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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 1945

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
MR. BENTON
OCT - 1 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1121

The Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Byrnes:

Attached is a brief report we have recently prepared on the Research and Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Services. As it contains a short account of the background and activities of this Branch, I believe it will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan
Director

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E.O. 12958
NND 760050
By NARS, Date 10-98

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INT 548/2

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The Research and Analysis Branch was established under the Office of Coordinator of Information in July, 1941. To provide and process information in the volume and quality demanded by global warfare, a staff of skilled academic personnel, researchers and specialists was assembled. Today the Branch roster numbers 800 on duty in Washington and 400 overseas in the European and Far Eastern Theaters. "Customers" include the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff, armed forces headquarters and field commands, the State Department and other executive departments, UNRRA, the War Crimes Commission and the FEA.

Beginning with generalized summary reports on foreign countries, R&A shortly assumed responsibility for the preparation of a major share of the Army's "MIS Strategic Surveys." A predominant and sometimes exclusive role was played in the production of the "ONI Monographs" pertaining to the Pacific Islands. Detailed topographic studies were also developed. The survey of North Africa included a research project on the regional railroads so comprehensive that it was used by the U. S. Army Engineers in the organization of North African overland transport. The studies on Normandy, Brittany and Southern France were used in the preliminary invasion planning. R&A has contributed one third of the work involved in the preparation of Joint Army-Navy Intelligence Studies (JANIS), of which 24 have been completed to date.

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By NARS, Date 10-9-87

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The Washington Branch, called upon from its earliest days for specialized reports for specific customers, prepared analyses of political trends, synopses of current opinion and biographies of enemy nationals. A series of policy papers were developed for the Joint Chiefs of Staff and shorter reports for the Joint Target Group. In addition the R&A Branch has been the chief contributor to the JIC Weekly. A representative of the Branch has collaborated with the Strategic Survey Committee on a number of strategic papers.

The Map Division, combining one of the world's largest map libraries with a highly developed technique of functional evaluation, has served, among others, the State Department, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Marshall. As an integral part of the intelligence work of this agency, the Map Division's large staff of professional geographers and cartographers has produced more than six thousand original maps and distributed over five million map copies. It was able to fill substantially all of the cartographic requirements of the American delegations at Cairo, Quebec and San Francisco.

Throughout the war, R&A staffs have been on duty at principal American or Allied Theater headquarters. In London strategic analyses of the enemy's economic situation were compiled and estimates made of his food resources, oil supply and military production as affected by Allied

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INT 548/4

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bombing. In this work R&A pioneered a new technique of estimating enemy losses. These estimates formed the basis of target priority lists and were heavily relied on by AAF and RAF planners. At Allied Force Headquarters in Algiers and later at Caserta R&A participated in detailed target priority evaluation as well as order of battle analysis. The first exploitation of the wealth of information on the enemy oil situation laid open by the sudden capitulation of Roumania was made by five R&A target analysis officers. They provided first-hand intelligence on the results of the Ploesti bombings, on enemy oil production and on the destination of oil shipments as well as establishing new target priorities. Information thus made available showed that R&A oil estimates had been accurate to within five per cent. In Burma R&A shared the responsibility for the tactical planning of the British advance. Field men of the Branch in China selected targets for the 14th Air Force and furnished the Theater Command specialized topographic and economic studies for use in strategic planning.

Reports on the political climate in occupied and enemy countries were developed by R&A men at the various Theater headquarters and as members of OSS teams in Athens, Sofia, Bucharest, Belgrade as well as in northern Italy, France, Austria and Germany. Some of these teams in many instances preceded military and diplomatic personnel into Russian-liberated territory and, as their sources were restricted

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by neither military channels nor diplomatic protocol, their reports added an additional dimension in the field of political observation. The "European Political Review," published and circulated to special "customers" throughout the European Theater from December 1944 to June 1945, provided American military and civil affairs officers a political yardstick on which to scale their operational planning for succeeding months. To the Army Civil Affairs and Military Government programs R&A has also furnished the special biographical lists used in the selection of reliable local personnel to fill government positions in occupied regions. The Branch prepared the original Civil Affairs Handbooks and contributed to the AMG training program at Charlottesville. The larger part of the extensive series of Civil Affairs Guides was prepared by the Branch. At the Civil Affairs Staging Area in Monterey detailed problems of military occupation of Japan were worked out; and, at present, a series of Civil Affairs Handbooks on Japan are being rushed to completion.

The USSR Division, by combining trends developed from an exhaustive knowledge of Russia with currently available information, has been able to predict many of Russia's most important policy decisions. It has thoroughly studied and reported with remarkable accuracy her capabilities and intentions. Special analyses have been made of grain stocks,

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ammunition supply, port capacities, airfields and rail transportation. In March 1944 the Division predicted to the day the length of time between VE-Day and Russia's declaration of war on Japan. The USSR handbook now used by American officers working with Soviet citizens was written by this Division.

At the request of the State Department, the Latin American Division prepared the dossiers on Argentina for the American delegation at Mexico City. It has also published studies of current instabilities in Latin America, the growth of Argentine power in 1944, the rise of the Sinarquista movement in Mexico and the Nazi use of anti-Semitism in Latin America. At present the Latin American Division is preparing basic studies of the major Latin American countries for the State Department.

The end of the war has brought an abrupt shift of emphasis in R&A activities. Intelligence research facilities are now occupied largely with the objectives of the War Crimes Commission, Reparations Commission and the coordinated "Safehaven" project. To build a foundation for future and long-range intelligence operations, the present Branch effort is designed to establish permanent, readily accessible sources of intelligence not otherwise obtainable. Captured enemy archives and official records are being examined and, in cooperation with the Field Photographic Branch of OSS,

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detailed strategic photographic coverage of western Europe, the Near East and China is being made. These efforts, in combination with R&A's many other activities, represent substantial progress made toward the ultimate intelligence target, a thorough knowledge of the other great powers' capabilities and intentions, on which the strategic decisions of this nation will be based.

William J. Donovan
Director

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244

[redacted] INT 805/1

29 May 1947

MEMORANDUM TO: Director of Central Intelligence

THROUGH : Chief, Interdepartmental Coordinating and Planning Staff

SUBJECT : ORE Production Program for the Quarter Beginning 1 July 1947

REFERENCE : Memorandum from Deputy Director to Chief, ICAPS and Assistant Director, ORE, dated 25 March 1947

1. In compliance with the reference above, there is submitted herewith an ORE Production Program for the quarter beginning 1 July 1947.

2. In preparing the subject program it has been thought desirable in the interest of clarity to restate in detail our conception of the ORE mission as it applies to the production and presentation of national intelligence.

3. It will be noted, therefore, that the first three paragraphs of the attachment deal with basic matters of mission and a general plan for accomplishing this mission. In this part of the attachment one hitherto over-looked item has been added in that under CIG Staff Intelligence it is contemplated that an effort will be made to make an estimate of the World Situation with the idea that such an overall estimate should be useful in bringing into proper perspective the various area situations and aligning them in such a manner to show their correlation to the whole and their significance to the national security of the U.S.

4. Paragraph 4 is a detailed schedule of intelligence production and presentation for the quarter commencing 1 July 1947.

5. In view of the basic nature of this subject to the operation of ORE, an indication of the Director's action on this topic would be appreciated at an early date.

A.H. McCOLLUM, Capt., USN
Deputy Assistant Director
Office of Reports and Estimates

Distribution listed on following page

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Attachment

Distribution:

Deputy Asst. Director, ORE (2)
ICAPS
Intelligence Staff
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Advanced copies to:

Director, Central Intelligence
Deputy Director, Central Intelligence

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ORE PRODUCTION PROGRAM FOR THE QUARTER BEGINNING 1 JULY 1947

1. The planned overall program of ORE provides for the production and planning for, or coordination of, production of the various types of reports requisite to fulfillment of the ORE Mission.

2. The program is based on the delineated statement of the ORE Mission and its objectives as indicated below:

a. The Mission of ORE is to:

(1) Produce and present national intelligence by implementing the research aspects of the NIR, utilizing pertinent intelligence information and intelligence available from all sources, and evaluating, correlating and integrating such data and interpreting its composite significance to U.S. national security.

(2) Assess the adequacy, accuracy, relevance and timeliness of available intelligence information and intelligence pertaining to U.S. national security. Establish requirements for the collection of intelligence information and intelligence from all sources. In coordination with appropriate agencies, establish requirements for the production of intelligence by CIG, the IAB and other appropriate agencies.

(3) Prepare, recommend implementation and amendment of, and review plans, policies and procedures for intelligence research and production related to the national security and for coordinated interdepartmental action in connection therewith.

b. The Objectives of the ORE Mission are to:

(1) Insure, to the maximum practicable extent, the availability and timely dissemination of the intelligence required to prevent surprise from any foreign source in vital matters pertaining to U.S. national security.

(2) Provide timely national intelligence requisite to Presidential and composite Governmental decisions and counsel upon foreign situations pertaining to U.S. national security.

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(3) Determine requirements for the collection of intelligence information and the production of intelligence required in support of U.S. national security.

(4) Determine quantitative, qualitative and timely inadequacies in coverage of both intelligence information and intelligence relating to U.S. national security.

(5) Provide recommendations on, and participation in, the preparation of plans and policies relating to coordination of the intelligence research and production activities of those agencies charged with responsibilities for, or capable of, supporting the U.S. national security.

3. In the fulfillment of its Mission, ORE is required to produce or coordinate the production of the following types of intelligence:

a. Basic Intelligence:

(1) Basic intelligence is that factual intelligence which results from the collation of encyclopedic information of a more or less permanent or static nature and general interest which, as a result of evaluation and interpretation, is determined to be the best available.

(2) This basic intelligence will be compiled and continuously maintained in National Intelligence Surveys to cover foreign countries, areas, or broad special subjects as appropriate.

b. Current Intelligence:

(1) CIG Daily Summary: A daily summary of significant intelligence and operational information for the President, the members of the NIA, and limited additional approved distribution.

(2) CIG Weekly Summary: A weekly compendium of concise analyses of significant emergent and current trends, presented in perspective and with consideration of their probable consequences, as a necessary supplement to the Daily and for the same recipients.

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(3) CIG Special Evaluations: Concise evaluations, primarily for the recipients of the Daily Summary, of current reports which require treatment at greater length than is possible in the Daily and with greater urgency than is possible in the Weekly, or which otherwise deserve special presentation as current intelligence rather than as Special Reports. Each item in the series shall be restricted to a single topic, and shall include such analysis and interpretation as its urgency permits.

c. CIG Staff Intelligence:

(1) Situation Reports: Analyses of the strategic and national policy aspects of the situation in each significant country or other appropriate geographical area or with respect to significant functional subjects of continuing interest. The items in this series, in their complete form, shall be designed for the use of staff officers below the IAB level, but succinct summaries of their essential contents shall be provided for use at the IAB level and above. Each item will be kept up to date by monthly review and revision as required. With reference to this possible monthly revision, it must be stressed that the series is not intended to become yet another form of current intelligence reporting but rather to consist of up-to-date analyses of the basic factors in the situations reported on.

(2) Special Reports: Analyses prepared by specific direction or in response to a specific authorized request, or on the initiative of ORE as it perceives the occasion in its continuing review of the world situation.

(3) Estimate of the World-Wide Situation: Analysis of the strategic aspects of the world-wide situation as it pertains to U.S. national security. This report is based primarily on the Situation and Special Reports. It is produced semi-annually, or oftener if the situation requires.

4. The following production program for the quarter beginning 1 July 1947 has been prepared with the long range objectives of ORE in view and with particular reference to the requirements for intelligence production which derive from the ORE Mission, and which fall into the types of intelligence discussed in paragraph 3 above. The quarterly program serves as a guide and is susceptible of modification to meet changing situations.

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a. Basic Intelligence:

(1) An Interim Editorial Board has been set up to coordinate the production, to edit and to arrange for the publication of the Defense Project. This Project was established for the purpose of developing and pooling the appropriate resources of all agencies of the U.S. Government for the production of basic intelligence on the USSR. All drafts are due from the producing agencies by 1 July 1947. These drafts will be reviewed from a substantive viewpoint by the regional branch concerned and then turned over to the Editorial Board. Arrangements will be completed for all printing requirements. It is anticipated that all editorial and graphic work will be completed and the edited work will be in the hands of the printer by the end of the quarter. Every phase of this problem will be handled with a view to the NIS program.

(2) A tentative T/O has been approved for a Basic Intelligence Division whose function is to coordinate the NIS program. This Division will be activated and the recruitment program will be pursued actively. All practical steps will be taken to prepare for the production and publication of the National Intelligence Surveys, including:

(a) Printing arrangements -- binders, paper, type, format and method of reproduction.

(b) Establishment of procedures within ORE.

(c) Development of inter-agency methods and procedures.

Specific goals cannot be stated at this time due to the inter-agency steps required to be taken on this program.

b. Current Intelligence:

(1) Daily Summary: The Daily Summary will be continued with such revisions and improvements as may be indicated by the results of the recent OCD survey.

(2) Weekly Summary: In view of the favorable reaction by a majority of the recipients, as disclosed by OCD surveys, the Weekly Summary will be continued, with such improvements as may be indicated by these surveys.

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(3) Special Evaluations: Special Evaluations will be produced as occasions demand. A schedule cannot be forecast, although it is anticipated that there will be an average of at least two each month.

c. CIG Staff Intelligence:

(1) Situation Reports: Exclusive of the time required for departmental concurrence and reproduction, it is planned to complete fifteen Situation Reports on the following countries:

Bulgaria	Sweden
Hungary	Iceland
Czechoslovakia	India
Italy	Egypt (including Sudan)
Spain	Greece
Germany	Siam
Austria	French Indochina
China	

In addition, it is anticipated that initial drafts of Situation Reports will be completed on the following five countries:

Finland
Belgium and Luxembourg
The United Kingdom
Palestine

The following seven Situation Reports, which will have been completed by ORE prior to 1 July, will also be reviewed and, if necessary, revised each month subsequent to publication:

Turkey
Korea
Denmark
Albania
Norway
Iran
Rumania

(2) Special Reports: Special reports in the ORE series will be prepared as occasions demand. A firm schedule is therefore impossible to forecast, although it is anticipated that at least two or three special reports will be completed each month. Reports on the following subjects are now under

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active preparation for possible publication during the quarter:

Possible Effects of Stalin's Death or Disability
Analysis of the Monnet Plan for the French Economy
The Kurdish Problem
Spanish Governmental Prospects
The World Federation of Trade Unions
Repercussions Attending the Disposition of the Italian Colonies

5. In addition to the production of reports and estimates outlined in paragraph 4 above, this Office plans to produce National Intelligence Requirements as indicated below:

[redacted] a. ORE will complete, prior to or during the quarter, NIR's on the following areas:

USSR
Korea
Iran
Greece and Turkey
The Arab States

b. Upon completion of the above, ORE proposes to develop NIR's on the following areas:

Eastern Europe
France
Italy
Brazil
[redacted] Argentina
Mexico

And, in addition, scientific NIR's on the following countries:

France
Sweden
Belgium
The Netherlands
Switzerland

c. The existing NIR on China will be reviewed and, if necessary, revised by 1 September.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR ADMINISTRATION
MR. PEURIFOY
MAY 25 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

315

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1. Mr Hulten
2. Mr. Peurifoy

May 24, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR: A - Mr. John E. Peurifoy
Through: OBP - William O. Hall
Subject: Modification of Survey Report Resulting from Conference between Robinson, CON and Armstrong, R

As a result of a counterproposal of CON and a conference with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Armstrong, it is suggested that the following modifications of the survey report be approved. These modifications have the approval of R and CON.

CON will continue its responsibility for "domestic" or internal U. S. security operations and will retain the necessary liaison channels with the civilian agencies, i.e., Treasury, Justice, and Post Office (excluding CIA).

CON will establish a small security clearance center which will be responsible for security action and operations with respect to U. S. citizens and foreigners within U. S. borders. This security clearance center will also be responsible for security action and operations with respect to U. S. citizens and aliens abroad in connection with repatriation passports, visas and other cases involving the movement into the United States of persons expected to cause internal difficulties.

CON will maintain an index file on foreign agents in the U. S. (required by the Foreign Agent Registration Act) but will maintain biographic files only on U. S. nationals; biographic files on foreigners will be maintained in BI.

R will receive all "foreign" security operations and liaison with CIA, Army, Navy and Air Force except for CON's responsibility for physical and personnel security of U. S. Missions abroad.

Although the formal liaison channels will be established as indicated above, the CON area will develop relationships at the working level as necessary with their opposite numbers in the domestic and internal security sections of the Military and CIA, and the R area will develop working relations as necessary with their opposite numbers on foreign intelligence with the civilian agencies.

R will be responsible for collection, evaluation, and dissemination of all information originating from foreign sources. R area will handle all operational intelligence matters except security matters in which civilian agencies or the divisions of CON are involved or required to take action, for example, visa cases, munitions, protective services, etc.

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1344

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R will get all files of FC except those files on U. S. nationals. The transferred files will include the FC master index file, the files of German Nazis, the ESP file, the war relocation file on Japanese, Neisi, etc.

On problems similar to the Dominican Republic revolution and the Bogota incident, the R area will provide all information, reports, and data to the political areas of the Department and will arrange to have CON notify its divisions who would be required to take action. The R area would also be responsible for informing the CON liaison man when action is required of the civilian agencies.

S/O

Stanley T. Crear, Chief
Division of Organization and Budget

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INT 758/3

April 29, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR: A - Mr. Peurifoy

Attached is a survey of R, FC, EUR/X and transmittal letter from Mr. Orear. I agree with the recommendations contained in the report insofar as they relate to the consolidation under a single direction of the Research and Intelligence Offices and the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation. On the basis of reading this report, my judgment would be that the consolidation should include EUR/X in order to insure one intelligence operation to avoid any possible duplication.

In addition to the recommendations contained in the report, I would urge strongly that the head of the new intelligence operation should adopt a more vigorous and active policy with respect to bringing to the attention of appropriate officials of the Department information which may be of assistance to them. This will be particularly essential if FC and EUR/X become part of the general intelligence operation.

In considering the study, I would particularly suggest that you scan the materials contained under tab "Exhibit A" as indicating the conscientious effort on the part of individuals in the several Divisions to reconcile their disagreements. On the whole, it appears that these efforts have not been particularly successful.

If you approve the general recommendation above, there are a number of additional steps necessary to place the proposed organization change in effect. I will request the staff to proceed with these additional steps if we have your concurrence.

Wm Hall

William O. Hall, Director
Office of Budget and Planning

Attachment

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR ADMINISTRATION
MR. PEURIFOY
APR 30 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Approved 5/3
Mr. Hall talk
with Mr. Peurifoy

OBP:WOHall:gr

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Survey Report

on

INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Prepared by
The Division of Organization and Budget

Fred W. Darnell
John H. Moore

April 27, 1948

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1347

UNCLASSIFIED

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INT 758/5

INDEX

		Page
	Cover Sheet	i
	Index	ii
	Summary	iii
I.	Introduction	1
II.	Description of Each Area Surveyed	2
	A. Research and Intelligence Group	2
	1. General	2
	2. Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination	2
	3. Office of Intelligence Research	3
	B. Division of Foreign Activity Correlation	5
	1. General	5
	2. Liaison Group	6
	3. Security Name Check Group	7
	4. Security Evaluation Group	7
	5. Administrative Group	7
	C. Special Assistant to Office of European Affairs	8
III.	Duplication and Conflict	9
IV.	Non-Coverage	12
V.	Recommendation	13
	A. Objectives	13
	B. Proposals	13

Exhibit A - Documents Relating to Attempts to Resolve Intelligence Conflicts
Exhibit B - Survey of Division of Foreign Activity Correlation

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INT 758/6

[redacted] SUMMARY

Survey Report on Intelligence Organizations in the Department of State

Problem: To determine whether the present functional assignments and operations in the intelligence field on the part of the Special Assistant for Research and Intelligence (R), the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation (FC), and the Special Assistant to the Office of European Affairs (EUR/X) either (1) constitute duplication in terms of personal services, (2) result in non-coverage of important intelligence matters, or (3) provide the most effective service to the Department.

Background: At the Budget Bureau hearings in October, 1947, witnesses from R and the Office of Controls (CON) testified that they were not sufficiently informed to be able to answer questions from the examiners as to whether or not duplication existed in the work of R, FC, and EUR/X. The Budget Officer then promised that the matter would be investigated, and the Assistant Secretary for Administration (A) requested that the investigation also cover the more important problem of completeness of coverage of intelligence material.

Two OB representatives, Fred Darnell and John Moore, were assigned to this task, have surveyed the three areas, and have prepared this report.

Conclusions:

1. There is a small amount of duplication between R and FC in terms of personal services.

2. Although the Department as a whole has a complete coverage of intelligence data from all known sources, each of the three groups gets a small amount of data which is not made available to the other two.

3. The Department's attempt to split intelligence work into separate fields of "security" and "positive" intelligence has not been successful. Consequently, the policy officers of the Department have to rely upon fragmentary "security" intelligence reports and "positive" research intelligence reports which are incomplete because they do not make the best use of the existing resources of personnel and data.

4. EUR/X serves more as a political advisor than as an intelligence unit.

Recommendations:

1. The entire intelligence function should be assigned to the R area, with the necessary supplementing of that organization to provide for prompt, efficient, and completely informed action on security action matters.

2. FC should be disbanded as a Division and its functions and personnel attached to the R area in a new pattern.

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3. EUR/X should remain attached to EUR, strengthened by the addition of an Assistant and required to establish a clearance channel with the R area on matters of joint concern.

4. Certain positive steps be taken to improve the working relations between the R area and the policy officers of the Department.

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Narrative Report

I. Introduction

This survey was begun on November 27 as a result of a discussion which developed in the Bureau of the Budget hearings in October pursuant to testimony to the effect that the employees of R, FC, and EUR/X were not familiar with the work done by each other group. The Bureau of the Budget pointed out that they had raised the same question the year before, but that no action had been taken by the Department. It was agreed at that point by the Budget Officer and the Assistant Secretary for Administration to conduct a survey to determine (1) whether any duplication existed in the work of these three groups, and (2) whether lack of close working relationships resulted in a non-coverage of any important intelligence data.

At the same time, in response to a request from the Director of COM, a management survey was made in FC, involving interviews with almost every employee and an examination of its records and procedures. The special report on the FC part of this larger survey, pointing out certain internal operational problems, was completed January 20 and furnished the Director of COM and the Chief of FC. (See Exhibit B)

In the R area, interviews were confined to the Special Assistant for Research and Intelligence, his immediate staff, Office Directors and Deputies, Division Chiefs and Assistants, and Branch Chiefs, except in those areas in which duplication or conflict appeared to occur, in which case the interviewing coverage was expanded. Records and procedures were not examined in detail except in those areas where duplication or conflict appeared evident. In EUR/X the Special Assistant in charge of the unit was the only person interviewed, but the information obtained was checked with two political Office Directors and a number of other persons in the political area, some of whom had formerly served in the EUR/X area.

Several interviews were held in DC, not only with the Division Chief and his assistants, but with a number of the employees in the mail-opening room, the Telegraph Branch, the Records Branch, and the Liaison Branch, in order to check the quantity and type of intelligence material furnished to each intelligence group and to determine whether any group had exclusive sources of such data.

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INT 758/9

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I. Description of Each Area Surveyed

A. Research and Intelligence Area (R)

1. General. The largest area is that headed by the Special Assistant for Research and Intelligence, including two offices, eight divisions, and 520 persons. These employees are engaged primarily in collecting, reviewing, and analyzing intelligence data of all sorts and producing research intelligence studies in political, economic and sociological fields for the benefit of end users elsewhere in this Department and in other Federal agencies.

The functional field assigned to this area is that of "positive" intelligence, and includes the use of all types of materials from the representatives abroad of State, CIA, and the military establishments, as well as foreign official and private reports, documents, maps, newspapers, pamphlets and other publications. Based on such data, studies are prepared on past and present political, economic or sociological trends in particular countries or geographic areas, including the prediction of future trends and events. These studies are used by the political and other officers of the Department to aid in the determination of present and future foreign policy decisions with respect to particular political or economic problems.

Although hasty "spot" reports are made upon request, the usual product is more lengthy report in which the full context is provided for the particular subject of discussion.

2. Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination (OCD). OCD is composed of three Divisions, the Intelligence Acquisition and Distribution Division (IAD), the Biographic Information Division (BI), and the Intelligence Reference Division (RRF).

The Intelligence Acquisition and Distribution Division, with 36 employees, maintains a Procurement Branch which conducts liaison activities with the Central Intelligence Agency and the military establishments for the purpose of securing copies of regular and special intelligence documents which the R area needs for the conduct of research and intelligence activities. The liaison officers employed in this Branch call upon many identical persons in the four other agencies who are also called upon by liaison officers from FC seeking copies of the same material. In the case of State and Army reading panels, panel members from IAD and FC sit side by side reading identical material and occasionally substituting for each other. Not only does IAD collect a greater quantity and more varied types of intelligence data from some of the same agencies as FC, but in addition it is engaged in procurement on a large scale of Foreign Government and private publications, books, pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals.

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1352

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The Division of Biographic Information, with 54 employees, is segmented on a geographic area basis, each country expert maintaining a large set of card files, cross-indexed alphabetically and by categories of activity or employment. These card files for each country are established on a standard pattern providing for the determination of the names of heads of national, regional and municipal governments, members of legislatures, police officers, political leaders, members of trade, professional and other groups, etc. In addition to the index cards, files are maintained containing copies of telegrams, airgrams, reports, dispatches, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, etc., containing biographic information on each individual person (FC maintains only a card file indicating available sources of biographic data on individuals). BI does not build its file on the basis of individual requests, but continuously develops on its own initiative as much information as possible on all important persons in any country. The Intelligence Reference Division, with 54 employees, receives, develops and maintains the Department's central collection of positive intelligence materials. This mass of material is cataloged and classified by type and geographic area and forms a working or reference file which can meet the informational requirements of the substantive officers of the Department. The group provides an information service which upon request collects all reference material available on any subject and provides the raw data to the analysts both in OIR and the rest of the Department.

3. Office of Intelligence Research (OIR). OIR is composed of five divisions: The Division of Research for Europe (DRE), Division of Research for American Republics (DRA), Division of Research for Far East (DRF), Division of Research for Near East and Africa (DRN), and Division of International and Functional Intelligence (IFI), and employs 325 persons. These divisions are staffed by country or area experts in the political, sociological, and economic fields who read, evaluate, and file the material secured for them by the Acquisition and Distribution Division (IAD), and produce research reports and surveys on their own initiative or at the request of the political and other areas of the Department, or other agencies of the Government. These divisions are staffed by persons who have expert knowledge of an economic field or of a country to which they are assigned and who in addition have special facility in the languages of these countries.

These groups evaluate the intelligence materials, analyze trends and tendencies, and develop background data for the purpose of preparing intelligence research studies, situation reports, and spot intelligence reports for use by the policy officers in the Department.

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In addition, these divisions work closely with their counterparts in CIA and the military intelligence agencies in the development of joint studies and projects. Some examples of major reports which would be prepared in these divisions are: - Potential Economic Contribution of Netherlands East Indies to the European Recovery Program, - The First Year of the European Comminform, - The Politics and Personnel of the Socialist Party in Italy.

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B. Division of Foreign Activity Correlation (FC)

1. General. FC is one of the six Divisions in the Office of Controls and presently employes 66 persons. In addition to the Office of the Chief, there is a Liaison group, a Security Name Check group, a Security Evaluation group, and an Administrative group. These employees are engaged primarily in collecting, reviewing and analyzing intelligence data in order to discover incidents with respect to persons, organizations, or situations which indicate present or future danger to the interests of the United States.

In some instances, the data is provided to other parts of the Department for action to be taken; for example the issuance or refusal of a visa or passport. In other instances, after appropriate review and clearance by the political officer, the senior officers of FC initiate positive action on the part of other Divisions and other Departments to provide for the security of U. S. interests. To illustrate, in the event FC receives through intelligence channels information suggesting the possibility of a revolution in a particular country, FC would arrange (1) with the Passport Division to prevent the issuance of passports to American citizens desirous of enlisting in the revolutionary forces; (2) with the Minitions Division to prevent any violation of U.S. laws with respect to the export of arms and ammunition to the revolutionary forces; (3) with the Visa Division to prevent aliens from entering the U.S. who are likely to make illegal purchases of arms and ammunition or recruit soldiers of fortune; (4) with DS to arrange for plans for the portection of U. S. citizens and their interests including their possible evacuation and repatriation. In addition, (5) FC would keep the political officers informed, (6) arrange to secure as much additional information as possible from the Central Intelligence Agency and from the intelligence arms of the military services, (7) and would arrange for cooperative action on the part of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Treasury Secret Service and Customs, and the Post Office Department. (The R area would be carrying on duplicating action in the case of items (5) and (6)).

The functional field assigned to this area is that of "security" intelligence, involving the use of data on both overt and covert activities of individuals and organizations. Frequently such data is fragmentary in nature and undependable as to source, but by its very nature it is of a character that it must be used speedily if it is to be used at all. To illustrate, if a rumor originating from an unreliable source and received through an intelligence agency is to the effect that an attempt will be made to assassinate an important foreign personage visiting the Secretary of State on the following day, there is neither time nor opportunity to check the reliability of the report and the decision must be made immediately whether or not to arrange for special protective measures.

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The reason FC was placed in the Office of Controls was that it appeared proper to do so in view of the basic plan to have one Office the focal point for all security matters in the Department of State. The other divisions in the Office of Controls are the chief end-users of the name-check reports prepared by FC, and these divisions work cooperatively with FC on plans and action programs involving security, since each one of them has jurisdiction over an activity which concerns a security phase of the work of the Department.

FC was the only Division in the Department covering intelligence matters until the Office of Strategic Services was transferred to the Department of State. FC's Liaison Branch is the outgrowth of the old U-L staff group attached to the Under Secretary's office and at that time was the exclusive liaison channel with the intelligence areas of the military establishments.

2. Liaison Group. The Liaison group conducts liaison activities with the intelligence areas of the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and Central Intelligence Agency for the purpose of securing copies of regular and special intelligence documents FC or other elements of the Department need to determine what security action must be taken to protect the interests of the United States. This group also conducts liaison activities with the Justice Department, Treasury Department, and other civilian agencies involved with security and law enforcement activities, including exclusive liaison with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In addition, this group engages in active liaison activities with the military agencies on matters relating to military and naval attaches at foreign posts and the handling of all special problems arising from civil or criminal acts and breaches of the peace on the part of members of the armed forces in foreign countries. This group acts as the channel for representation bythe Department of State to the military agencies on a large variety of routine administrative matters.

A former sub-unit of this group, now attached to the Office of the Chief of FC, negotiates agreements with local representatives of foreign nations with respect to the establishment of military training missions and arranges with the military establishments for the staffing of such missions.

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3. Security Name Check Group. The Security Name Check group responds to requests from within or without the Department for information with respect to persons or organizations concerning which some doubt has arisen from a security standpoint, as to the propriety of taking a certain action, for example, the issuance of a passport or visa, or the clearance of a conference delegate. This group checks with all other agencies within and without the Department likely to have data on the person or organization, borrows their files, and produces a brief informational or biographical sketch which is furnished the inquirer. On inquiries arising within the Department, FC makes recommendations as to the action to be taken.

4. Security Evaluation Group. This group of analysts reviews airgrams, telegrams, reports, and dispatches secured by the Liaison group with a view to detecting items indicating present or probable activity on the part of a person or group which is or may be inimical to the interests of the United States. These fragmentary items are brought to the attention of the appropriate political offices and if clearance is given, the senior officers of FC will then prosecute a security action program, as described previously in this report. These analysts, in reviewing the flow of documents, are responsible for adding names and references to the master security index file.

5. Administrative Group. In addition to handling the usual personnel, budget, travel, mail and file, and like items, this group also maintains the master index file of persons against which the security checks are made. This group also carries out the function of providing a secondary screening of informational copies of telegrams and airgrams furnished by the Department of State to Army, Navy, Air Force and FBI.

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C. Special Assistant to Office of European Affairs (EUR/X)

The EUR/X group differs from the R and FC groups in that it acts as a political adviser whose concern islimited primarily to communism and fascism, and more specifically to the political implications of these movements internally in the United States and in other countries. For example: the group isconcerned with the infiltration of Communists and their theories into national and international labor groups. The group is small, comprising one Special Assistant to the Director of EUR, three P-3 analysts, and three clerical employees.

They receive information copies of telegrams, airgrams, reports and despatches duplicating those received by R and FC on the subjects with which EUR/X isconcerned. EUR/X also receives private reports from a few personsabroad who have been trained to be expert reporters on these subjects during former assignments under the direction of the head of this unit. These reports, while few in number, are considered to be quite valuable and their dissemination is narrowly restricted in the Department, being available at present only to the Special Assistant for Research and Intelligence, the political Office Directors, and a selected group of political desk officers (Not to FC).

The Special Assistant in charge of this unit has for 25 years devoted his entire time and energy to the problem of communism and its political implications. His acquaintance with informed persons on this subject both in the U. S. and abroad is perhaps the largest of any person in Government, and his memory with respect to persons and incidents is phenomenal. This man, together with such assistants as have been available to him, has always been attached to one or another of the political Divisions or Offices since the beginning of the activity. The Special Assistant not only reviews material and proffers political advice, but joins with officers of the Department in a vigorous prosecution of action supporting American foreign policy. This is done in part through private anti-communist persons and groups in the U. S. and abroad.

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Duplication and Conflict

Duplication does exist clearly in a few instances in terms of personal services. Both IAD and FC employ reading panel members who review identical material at the panels in State and Army. Both Divisions have liaison officers calling upon identical persons in the Central Intelligence Agency, Army, Navy, and Air Force (exclusive of administrative matters). The basic purpose of the panel review and liaison activity is to secure or promote the flow of intelligence material to end-users in the Department. The collections made by the panel members frequently differ, as do the purposes for which the liaison officers make some of their calls.

There is little duplication between the files of BI and FC since the latter does not build up files upon the persons reported upon, but merely indicates on the master index cards the sources from which information is available. However, since BI is responsible for developing card and file records on every important person in a country, including political figures, professional persons, party leaders, labor leaders, etc., and since FC is endeavoring to build its master index to cover every person who is presently engaged in or likely to engage in covert subversive acts which are inimical to the United States, it is obvious that there will be an increase in the trend to cover the same persons in both Divisions.

A tremendous number of duplicate items, including those secured by the liaison officers of IAD and FC, are reviewed and analyzed by personnel of both areas. According to the present functional assignments in the Department the persons so engaged are contacting liaison, review and analysis from wholly different points of view. FC's point of view is that of "Security" intelligence which includes covert and overt acts or information of a security nature, whereas IAD's point of view is that of "positive" intelligence and also includes all overt or public acts and pertinent covert acts. Since many persons, organizations, and political situations do not fall exclusively into one or the other category, duplicate coverage is inevitable. This is exemplified by the reports prepared upon persons and organizations in the "curtain" countries, where everyone in a position of importance, political or otherwise, is clearly of interest to the positive intelligence group, while at the same time the fact that these persons are important in a Communist-dominated country is a clear indication of their close ties to subversive groups presumed to be of inimical interest to the United States.

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The conflict of jurisdiction illustrated in the proceeding paragraph is a far greater problem than duplication, and is the basis of the constant struggle which has gone on since the R and FC areas were established separately in the Department. Theoretically, the intelligence field of R was limited to "positive" intelligence, while that of FC was limited to "security" intelligence. Neither area was to engage in "counter-" intelligence in the sense of employing undercover agents and reporters. At the time these functional assignments were made, the Assistant Secretary for Administration recognized that frequent conflicts might arise, and requested that the two groups work together to develop working agreements to define and delimit their respective responsibilities. Many attempts have been made, both orally and in writing, (See Exhibit A) but the problem is not resolved and is not likely to be resolved as long as two organizations exist separately in the field of intelligence.

It would appear that attempts to segregate "security" intelligence from "positive" intelligence are futile, and that the Department should now abandon the artificial distinction which has been made in the past. Both R and FC use approximately the same sources and the same intelligence data, and provide service to the other elements of the Department. R uses the intelligence data to prepare full reports on general and frequently long-range trends in political groups, FC prepares reports and acts upon the fragmentary bit of information indicating that the long-range trend has "come to a boil" and that a crisis is imminent. R cannot produce a complete report on such a subject without covering the "covert" phases of activity; FC cannot produce a complete "security" report without covering the "overt" factors. Revolutions or peaceful changes in foreign governments effecting U. S. interests do not occur without prior activities on the part of individuals and groups over a considerable period of time. The studies and reports on the persons and groups involved in these situations should be timely and complete, including both overt and covert activities. To separate "positive" intelligence from "security" intelligence, both of which involve collection, study, and operations, is to create deliberate an obstacle to the preparation of complete and integrated reports.

The problems which arise from the jurisdictional difficulties inherent in the maintenance of two intelligence organizations in the Department are not limited to the areas themselves, but affect other areas of the Department and other Federal agencies as well. The Passport Division may know it should ask FC for a security name check, and the Aviation Division may know it should ask DRA for a report on South American air transportation systems, but the political officer cannot be sure whether he should call FC or RI for a report on a Bolivian delegate to an international conference in the United States, and Army Intelligence Division does not know whether to call R or FC, or both with respect to a proposed meeting of attaches in Frankfurt.

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Furthermore, outside agencies in their search for material will play one Departmental area against the other in trying to get restricted information. For example, an intelligence agency requested the Wedemeyer report of the R area, and when informed that it was not available, they made a second attempt by requesting it of FC, and in this case were refused.

Such problems will continue inevitably until such time as all intelligence activities of the Department are brought under one head.

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1361

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IV. Non-Coverage of Intelligence Data

It may be generally stated that the Department of State, through R, FC, and EUR/X has complete coverage on all intelligence material which is useful or informative. The CIA, the intelligence agencies of the military establishments and the informational sources among the civilian agencies of the U. S. Government have all been covered by liaison representatives and the material obtainable from these sources is flowing to the Department in a satisfactory manner. On the other hand, under the present system of operation, it is consistently true that reports prepared in either the R or FC areas are furnished to the end-users without checking or clearance with the other areas, with very few exceptions. In view of the fact that there are a number of items of an intelligence nature flowing exclusively to one or the other of these three areas, it is evident that the end-users must check with all three in order to be assured of having complete factual data, and it is a fact that many end-users do not know this and consequently make their action decisions on the basis of incomplete reports.

R has certain highly classified data secured from military intelligence agencies which is made available only to Assistant Secretaries and the political office directors, and is not available to FC or EUR/X.

FC has the exclusive liaison channel to FBI, and reports from that source, while used in FC, are not normally made available to R and EUR/X. Similarly, FC has a considerable amount of liaison contact with Secret Service, Customs, Bureau of Narcotics, and other civilian agencies, and has exclusive liaison with National Archives in the matter of review of the classified records of the Office of Censorship which are on file there. In addition, FC, now gets certain highly classified material from CIA which the latter agency specifically restricts as to dissemination to R.

EUR/X has in the past employed and trained certain persons who are now located in foreign posts. These persons had been sending in sealed reports which were forwarded unopened to EUR/X and were not made available to R or FC. In recent months arrangements have been made to provide this information to specified persons in the Office of the Special Assistant for Intelligence, but FC does not yet have access to these reports.

In addition, the head of this group receives a considerable amount of information from his large number of personal acquaintances here and abroad who are actively engaged in anti-communist study and activities. Examples are: Koestler, Kravechenko, Father Walsh, Mr. Mandel of the House Un-American Activities Committee, foreign and domestic labor union leaders, and many others.

Thus, one of the chief problems presented by the separate existence of two intelligence areas is that their products are incomplete to the degree that each has exclusive data either not available to or not sought by the other. For example: the group handling the more critical (in timing) field of security intelligence influences decisions and arranges for action on the basis of fragmentary information, although the full facts on the problem may exist in the other two areas but are unavailable or unused.

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V. Recommendations:

A. Objectives: Three objectives which should be sought in appraising proposa for change in the Department's intelligence organization structure are:

1. That the proposed intelligence organization must provide the Departmen both an alert and capable security action program and a thorough and competent research program, and

2. That all intelligence reports and predictions furnished to end-users shall be as accurate and complete as possible within the time limitations applicable and the resources available, and

3. That the intelligence organization should provide the least possible duplication in the fields of data collection, analysis, review, reporting and prediction which is compatible with the maintenance of a distinct and separate group of persons responsible for security action.

B. Proposals: To achieve these objectives, it is recommended that FC be separated from the Office of Controls, certain functions be consolidated with similar ones in the offices and divisions of R, and a new and strengthened security action group be established in the R area. More specifically this would involve:

1. Consolidation of the liaison staff of FC with the liaison staff of IAD

Discussion: This would eliminate duplication of review on reading panels and in liaison contact work. IAD would then be the sole liaison channel for the Department in the matter of securing intelligence material from the intelligence agencies of Army, Navy, Air Forces, and CIA, and from the law enforcement and security protection groups of Justice, Treasury and other civilian agencies. The only exception would be in the matter of those high level matters handled by S/S and the senior officers of the Department.

Such consolidation would also place in IAD the matters of general administrative problem liaison now handled by FC involving such items as civil claims and breaches of the peace on the part of military personnel abroad. It would also include the arrangements for establishment and maintenance of U. S. military missions abroad.

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2. Consolidation of the security name check work of FC into the BI work program.

Discussion: This would eliminate duplication of review and of card records and provide wider coverage of intelligence resources in the preparation of biographic reports.

It would be necessary to create a new area group in BI to cover the security name check work on U. S. citizens, and a central recording and expediting group would have to be established in the Office of the Division Chief to receive, expedite and release security name check reports.

It would be necessary to establish a group in BI to service security checks and other inquiries with respect to persons in international organizations.

3. The establishment in R, OIR, and the four DR divisions of the special Security Action Group.

Discussion: This would involve the establishment of a Special Deputy for Security Action in the Office of Mr. Armstrong, a similar Deputy with at least two professional assistants in the Office of the Director of OIR and the creation of a Special Assistant to the Chief for Security Action with one or two professional assistants in each of the DR divisions.

The Security Evaluation Group of FC is so small that one person has to review the flow of intelligence material for an entire continent, and the grades of most of the positions now established are at the apprentice professional levels, precluding the employment of enough highly trained and experienced persons for this work. On the other hand, the divisions of OIR in comparison are staffed so generously that assignments may be made on a country basis, and the grades of the positions established there afford an opportunity to employ the highest levels of professional personnel.

To strengthen the FC group in quantity and quality would accentuate the duplication and increase the competition and rivalry that now exists.

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The best solution would be the establishment of an intelligence structure which would permit a special affiliated but separate group in OIR and its divisions to work on security action matters. This would be similar to the organization plan of the Office of the Legal Adviser.

The Security Action persons located in the DR divisions would review all highly classified material, CIA reports and the information copies of telegrams and airgrams flowing into the Division, select items of apparent importance from a security standpoint, check the fragmentary items with the already existing group of research specialists for full background and context and then arrange for reporting the matter to the appropriate end-user. After proper clearance, they would arrange for the necessary security action to be taken by the Department or cooperating agencies. This plan would utilize the much larger flow of intelligence source material which now flows into OIR, as well as the specialized language training and expert knowledge available there.

4. EUR/X be required to establish a better clearance channel with R.

Discussion: Although EUR/X is a group primarily concerned with giving political advice to EUR and the other political offices and should remain in its present position in the Department's organization structure, it is true that it has many private intelligence contacts and some intelligence data which is not now available to the R or EC groups. Most of the contacts are personal ones developed by the head of the group over a long period of years, and most of the data is carried in his head.

Since he has stated that it is his intention to leave the Department in about two years, steps should be taken at once to provide him with an assistant of high professional grade, jointly suitable to him and to the R area, who will be introduced to the private contacts and instructed in the personal knowledge now not shared. The assistant should be assigned liaison duties between EUR/X and the R area, and provide the channel for clearance of information between the two.

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136

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5. That an education program be developed which would inform the policy officers of the Department how they can get the best use and service from the consolidated intelligence area.

Discussion: There is considerable question in the minds of the policy officers of the Department to whom they should turn for specific types of intelligence reports. This question as it relates to the security, biographic information, and positive intelligence fields will be settled by the recommendation that these fields be merged. However, the problem still remains in relation to the R area. There is considerable lack of knowledge throughout the Department of the R area's capabilities and services. There is no Intelligence Handbook which would serve as a reference manual for policy officers. There are too few indoctrination and informational sessions between the policy officers of the Department and the officers of the R area with whom they should work.

There has been some justifiable criticism that reports prepared by certain parts of the R area have not been timely or accurate.

One method of overcoming these difficulties would be the issuance of an Intelligence Handbook. The Handbook should include the type of intelligence data available; distribution of the R personnel resources in terms of area, country, function, and service; description of the type of service rendered by the R area; priority assignments procedure; etc.

Another method would be the scheduling of a series of meetings between personnel of the R area and its users to develop closer working relations. This mechanism would tend to resolve the conflicts of opinion on the problems of timeliness or accuracy of reports.

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Exhibit A

Documents Relating to Attempts
to Resolve Intelligence Conflicts

A-1 Memorandum from Assistant Secretary for Administration - Russell Plan
A-2 Memorandum from SA-E to CON - Division of Responsibility between CON and CCD
A-3 Memorandum prepared within CON - Survey of Intelligence Research Projects
A-4 Memorandum of Conversation - Counter-Intelligence Research
A-5 Memorandum from IAD to FC - Washington Document Center
A-6 Memorandum from CON to SA-E - Division of Responsibility between CON and CCD
A-7 Letter from SA-E to Navy Department - Defining State's Responsibility
A-8 Letter from SA-E to War Department - Defining State's Responsibility
A-9 Memorandum within CCD - Inauguration of Intelligence Reading Panel
A-10 Memorandum from OIR to CON - Coordination of Activities
A-11 Memorandum from CON to OIR - Coordination of Activities
A-12 Memorandum from OIR and CCD to CON - Results of Conference
A-13 Memorandum from CON to OIR and CCD - Working Arrangements
A-14 Memorandum from OBP to A-P - Elimination of Secondary Screening of Telegrams
A-15 Memorandum from CON to A-P - Elimination of Secondary Screening of Telegrams

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1367

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A-1

Department of State

Assistant Secretary

A-R/P

14 May 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LYON:

SUBJECT: Russell Plan of Intelligence Research Organization.

1. I have your comments on the above. Under the plan, the Special Assistant for Research and Intelligence and the Offices under his jurisdiction are limited to positive intelligence.

2. All aspects of security intelligence remain as previously under the exclusive jurisdiction of A-R. This includes, of course, the requisite security intelligence liaison with NIA and all other Federal agencies concerned. The liaison of the Special Assistant applies to positive intelligence matters only.

3. I realize, of course, that even with a clearly understood division of functions, possibilities of over-lapping between the two intelligence operations remain. These may be expected to occur most frequently in the field of collection and dissemination of information and in the several levels and spheres of interdepartmental liaison. On the basis of my past experience, I am entirely clear that this "peripheral overlap" can never be wholly eliminated but must be controlled through informal working agreements at all levels.

4. I made the foregoing very clear to Dr. Langer when Dr. Kent and Dr. Fahs first proposed that all intelligence materials should flow through OCD. I had a further talk on the matter with him yesterday. I am sure he fully understands what is expected of his organization in this sort of "team plan". So far as you are concerned, you should exercise great care that your liaison arrangements do not block the flow of positive intelligence material through OCD. I assume you have made mutually satisfactory arrangements with Colonel Fearing in this regard.

SIGNED: J. ANTHONY PANUCH

J. Anthony Panuch
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Administration

cc: Dr. Langer

1368

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December 11, 1946

TO: CON - Mr. Lyon

FROM: SA-E William A. Eddy

SUBJECT: Division of Responsibility between CON and OCD

Reference is made to our agreement upon division of responsibility between CON and OCD, in the meeting in my office yesterday morning which, in addition to yourself and myself, also was attended by the following:

Mr. Jack D. Neal - FC
Mr. D. A. Flinn - CON
Col. George A. Fearing - OCD
Mr. Paul Meyer - OCD
Mr. Forrest McCluney - SA-E

This memorandum is written in order that it may be a matter of record and form the basis of:

a. Approval by CDA and the issuance of appropriate departmental announcements.

b. Recommendations to A-R through HN requesting appropriate amendments in due course to the Departmental Regulations.

c. Advice to appropriate Geographic Offices or other interested elements in the Department and other intelligence agencies.

d. Internal administrative instructions within OCD and its component Divisions and FC for the purpose of implementing the general terms of our agreement, in which we all concurred.

It is our understanding, and it should be made clear to all concerned, that this agreement does not affect FC's existing responsibility as the Department's liaison channel with the War and Navy Departments for operational, administrative, counter-intelligence and other miscellaneous matters not involving secret intelligence.

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In general terms, it was agreed that CCD has the sole responsibility for:

I. a. Procurement of positive foreign intelligence from all sources outside the Department, except FBI.

b. Distribution of all such information and materials within the Department.

c. Representing the Department in the field of positive intelligence procurement, with all other federal agencies, except FBI, censorship and captured enemy documents centers.

d. Distribution to all other intelligence agencies, except FBI, of positive intelligence materials received from the Foreign Service.

e. Maintaining the central reference collection of positive intelligence information and materials within the Department.

f. Maintaining the central biographic files of the Department for positive intelligence purposes.

II. a. Performing the liaison necessary to discharge the foregoing responsibilities.

It may be expected that, from time to time, questions of responsibility or other operating problems involving CON and CCD will develop, which may be resolved under the foregoing provisions; however, the following conclusions were reached on specific existing or potential problems involving FC and IAD functions:

a. IAD, jointly with FC, shall represent the Department on MIS Reading Panel.

b. IAD shall arrange for personnel to visit the Intelligence Division (ID) of the War Department in connection with positive intelligence activities.

c. IAD shall receive all positive foreign intelligence materials directly from ONI and maintain liaison for this purpose with appropriate officers of ONI.

d. IAD shall arrange for personnel to visit ONI in connection with positive intelligence activities.

e. IAD shall maintain liaison with all elements of CIG for the exchange of positive foreign intelligence materials.

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No final agreement was reached on the following problems, and further investigation and discussion should be carried on between our operating officials with a view to determining and establishing the best procedures for representing the Department and promoting its best interests:

a. The acquisition and distribution of materials from the German Military Documents Center (GMDC).

b. The acquisition and distribution of materials from the Washington Document Center (WDC).

You will recall that it was my belief that FC has the primary interest in captured enemy documents. Further consultation and investigation confirm my belief, and we agree that FC shall have primary contact and liaison with German Military Documents Center on matters concerning such material. It has been ascertained that the Washington Document Center has been transferred to CIG, and that its future functions have not yet been clearly defined. Accordingly, it is suggested that the question of representing the Department's interest with WDC be postponed until such definition is forthcoming.

I am very glad to have agreement on our previously overlapping functions, and I believe it should lead to much closer cooperation between our two organizations. It should eliminate the possibility of embarrassment to the Department which could occur if we followed the courses of dual and conflicting representation of the Department's interests with outside intelligence agencies.

I should like to assure you that it is my desire, and that of the Director of OCD and of all operating officials in OCD, to effec t the closest, cordial cooperation between the two organizations.

If the foregoing represents your understanding of the agreement reached between us yesterday, I will instruct all personnel in my office to cooperate in every way with your office to implement the agreement.

SA-E:WAE:ejg

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1371

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INT 758/2

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A-3

FC - Mr. Neal:

December 17, 1946

CON - Mr. Flinn:

RE: Monthly Survey of Intelligence Research in Progress and Completed by CCL.

There is enclosed herewith the above-captioned survey, dated November 15, 1946 (copy No. 97). I have scanned the subjects of the various research projects being carried on in CCL and would like to commit for your consideration my observations with reference thereto.

Suggested Collaboration between FC and BI

Titles Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 50, 51, 88, 108, 137, 180 and 206 all deal with information being compiled by BI. In the main, it consists of biographic data on representatives to the General Assembly, Security Council and other international organizations as well as leading personalities in various countries. There are several projects dealing with personalities in Poland and other Russian satellite countries.

We have discussed this matter verbally before, and with the full knowledge that it is repetitious, it occurs to me that some of the effectiveness of the Security Intelligence Program within the Department is affected in permitting BI to prepare their material independently for the use of the Department and its officials. As I have previously indicated, I believe it would be a very worthwhile program to make the preparation of this type of biographic material a joint project between BI and FC. BI could prepare their usual material, which, I presume, does not bear a high classification. The accompanying document, prepared by FC, setting forth the subversive information on the individuals listed in the master document of BI could be an accompanying attachment with a higher classification as the needs might require. I do feel that FC has a definite service to render in this field and that an integration of the interests of BI and FC would be deeply appreciated by all of those officials of the Department that must deal with foreign diplomats, representatives and officials from day to day.

It would not be intended that FC reveal those sources or for that matter perhaps certain top secret information which it has, but would supply a summary of the facts for reference and use by Department officials.

Research Projects of CCL of possible interest to FC

Titles Nos. 29, 44, 47, 83, 86, 108, 112, 144, 180, 219, 221, 222, and 226, at first blush, appear to be research subjects which FC would be

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127

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interested in having available for reference and use in connection with the background of subversive organizations in other countries of the world. Some of these research projects are situation surveys that should be of considerable current interest.

I am informed by Mr. McCluney, SA-E, that copies of these research surveys will be made available to FC upon request, and furthermore, if FC is desirous of having OCL engage in a research survey for background information in connection with its work, sympathetic consideration will be given the request. I can visualize that where FC might require background on a country which background is primarily positive intelligence that OCL might be able to render a real service.

I submit this suggestion for your consideration in carrying forth the work of your division.

Conflict of Interests between OCL and FC

Specific reference in this regard is made to Title 227, "Activities in other American republics of Agentsof the Franco Government in Spain". I have been informed by Mr. McCluney, SA-E, that this request originated with ARA. You will recall that this is the project for which Harold Weisberg was gathering material. It is my opinion that this project, if it is done at all, should have been done by FC since it involves agents of a government outside the home country which is security intelligence or counter intelligence depending upon the term you wish to use. I cannot conceive in what manner a positive intelligence organization would consider itself interested in preparing material of this type, and I have so indicated my opinion to Mr. McCluney who could not put up any defense other than that it perhaps concerned the broader aspects of activities of Franco Spain in Latin America. From the information, however, which Weisberg has been attempting to collect that the survey embodies an examination of Falangist activities and activities of individual agents which can only be secured from the files of the FBI and other counter intelligence organizations with which FC has the primary responsibility for liaison and coordination of material available.

As soon as recent negotiations with SA-E have been finally resolved, I think this matter should come on the agenda for determination. I feel strongly that OCL has definitely gotten out of its field, perhaps through no fault of its own, but that factor should not alter in any way the stand that it is FC's job to do.

I would like for you to view the above observations in the light in which they are offered, namely, a protection and extension of the responsibilities of FC within its field. It ishoped that these observations may be of some assistance to you as a working paper.

Attachment: As stated.

CON:DAFlinn;ema

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INT 758/3

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A-4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Date: December 19, 1946

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE RESEARCH

PARTICIPANTS: SA-E Mr. McClumey
CCL Mr. Allan Evans, Director
CON Mr. Flinn
FC Mr. Neal

COPIES TO: Mr. Cummings
Mr. Bradford
Miss Wellington
Mr. Barger
Mr. Morris

At a meeting with the aforementioned persons, the matter of FC participation in intelligence research was discussed.

The immediate problem was one which Mr. Flinn of CON considered an infringement upon FC's jurisdiction by ICD. That Division worked on a research project entitled: "Franco Agents in Latin America". During the meeting it was learned that through error the project had gotten underway without consultation or collaboration with FC.

After a general discussion on the subject, FC's jurisdiction in the field of research projects involving counter intelligence problems was recognized. Mr. Evans stated that from time to time FC will be called upon to collaborate on research projects which touch on counter intelligen and in other instances FC may be called upon to perform a counter intelligence research project alone.

Mr. Evans stated that in going over the "Monthly Survey of Intelligen Research in Progress and Completed", if it is noted that there are project in which FC could contribute, a telephone call should be made to ICD, Executive 6101, extension 711.

I informed

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137

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/3

I informed Mr. Evans and Mr. McCluney that as I viewed the entire problem it appeared to be one which could be solved by a closer working relationship between FC and the CCL groups. By such a relationship a mutual confidence will arise and the Department as a whole will be better served on research matters.

Mr. Evans agreed on this point and stated that after the holidays we should make plans to get the personnel together as much as possible.

NOTE TO FC OFFICERS:

FC's jurisdiction in all phases of the field of Counter Intelligence is being recognized more and more. We should, and must, iron out, on an amicable basis, any overlappings between the positive intelligence and counter intelligence fields. We recognize SA-E's jurisdiction in the former and they recognize ours in the latter.

Whenever possible each of us must establish closer working relationship with the SA-E group. It is to our mutual interest and is the only way to handle the work for the benefit of the entire Department.

For better handling of CE work, see that jobs which should be handled by FC are performed by the Division. At the same time, don't infringe upon the prerogatives of other Divisions.

FC:JDNeal:cpv

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INT 758/33

COPY A-5

TO : FC - Mr. Bradford January 9, 1947

FROM : IAD - T. M. Nordbeck

SUBJECT: Washington Document Center

1. This will serve to confirm our conversation of this date, at which the following points were covered:

a. The conversation was conducted on the basis of Mr. Eddy's memorandum to Mr. Lyon dated December 11, 1946.

b. It was determined that there was no duplication, overlapping or conflict between the services which FC and IAD are currently requesting from WDC, and that the interest of FC and IAD in the activities of WDC were separate and distinct.

c. IAD perceived no objection to FC having direct access to WDC, through the appropriate office of CIG.

d. IAD undertook to obtain permission from the appropriate official of CIG for this direct contact.

2. We have consulted Col. Boberg, Chief, Requirements Branch, C&D, through whom all requests for WDC action must be submitted. Col. Boberg is agreeable to FC contacting the Requirements Branch directly, without going through IAD.

3. IAD will be glad to introduce to Col. Boberg the member of your staff whom you designate, and to render any other assistance to FC which you may desire.

cc: Mr. Eddy
Mr. Fearing
Mr. Strong

IAD:TMNordbeck:fc

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INT 758/34

COPY A-6

SA-E Mr. William A. Eddy January 15, 1947

CON Mr. F. B. Lyon

Division of responsibility between CON and OCD.

Reference is made to your memorandum dated December 11, 1946, bearing the above subject.

I have had an opportunity to review the resultsof our conference as set forth in reference memorandum and have had certain exploratory discussions within this Office and FC. I am in full agreement with the resolution of our problems as set forth by you but would like to make the following additional suggestions:

1. Although it is a matter of phrasing, it is suggested that the last sentence on the first page of your reference memorandum be changedto read "It is our understanding, and it should be made clear to all concerned, that this agreement does not affect FC's existing responsibility as the Department's liaison channel with the War and Navy Departments for operational, administrative, counter-intelligence and other miscellaneous matters not involving positive intelligence."

2. It is suggested since we are now in agreement, that a representative of MN be requested to be present at any future conference deemed appropriate where administrative detail is to be discussed. This will aid the representative from MN in helping to draft any Departmental announcements or regulations necessary.

3. With reference to Page 1, sub-paragraph c, it is requested that in distributing written advice to the appropriate geographic office, other interested elements in the Department, MI, ONI, and CIG, these communications be cleared with both of our offices prior to final distribution.

Specific reference is made to the first full paragraph on Page 3 of your reference communication dealing with the acquisition and distribution of materials from the German Military Documents Center (GMDC) and the Washington Document Center (WDC). I am informed by FC that Mr. Bradford (FC), Mr. T. M. Nordbeck (IAD) and Colonel Boberg of the Requirements Branch (C & D, War Department), have already had discussions on this subject and have resolved any difficulties that might have existed and reached a working agreement. This agreement should probably be formalized through MN at the same time other phases of the agreement are placed into effect by Departmental announcement or regulation.

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127

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I too, am of the belief that our agreement is the most forward step made in our field in the Department in some time. It certainly should negate any charges of duplication or confusion which may arise in the future. I will be pleased to offer any further cooperation which may be necessary to assist in resolving our activities into a more efficient operating organization.

I have already instructed Mr. Neal (FC) to follow through on this program with Mr. McCluney (SA-E). The working personnel are to be pulled in and appropriate instructions issued after an initial conference for the purpose of a determination of the detailed mechanics of operation.

CCN:DAFlinn;rh

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[redacted]

In reply refer to
SA-E

February 21, 1947

My dear Admiral Inglis:

In the past few weeks the Department of State has reviewed existing arrangements for exchanging intelligence information and materials with other federal agencies. Responsibility for performing this function has been clarified within the Department.

One of the responsibilities of the research and intelligence organization of the Department of State is to collect positive intelligence information and materials, both domestically and abroad, and to maintain a central collection of intelligence materials within the Department. Accordingly, it appears desirable for the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination to be the point of contact for exchanging positive foreign intelligence between the Department of State and the Navy Department, and to perform the necessary liaison with the Navy Department for that purpose.

The Office of Controls will continue its responsibilities for security intelligence and counter-intelligence and will continue to perform the necessary liaison with the Navy Department in the discharge of that responsibility, as well as its present responsibility as liaison channel for operational, administrative and other matters not involving positive foreign intelligence.

If the foregoing arrangements do not appear to be inconsistent with Navy Department requirements, it would be appreciated if necessary action is taken to:

1. Accredit the officers designated by the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination and the Office of Controls for performing liaison with the Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department, for purposes indicated above.

Rear Admiral Thomas B. Inglis,
Chief, Naval Intelligence,
Room 3076, Navy Department
Washington 25, D. C.

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13

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INT 758/37

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2. Authorize the dissemination by the Office of Naval Intelligence of positive foreign intelligence information and materials to the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination, Acquisition and Distribution Division, and of counter-intelligence and security intelligence to the Office of Controls, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation.

The foregoing arrangements would be very advantageous to the Department and, I believe, will result in better cooperation with the Navy Department.

Your favorable consideration of this proposal would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

William A. Eddy,
Special Assistant for
Research and Intelligence

[redacted]

IAD:THNordbeck:mjc 2/5/47
SA-E:FMcCluney 2/18/47 OCD FC SA-E

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INT 758/38

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[redacted]

In reply refer to
SA-E

February 21, 1947

My dear General Chamberlin:

In the past few weeks the Department of State has reviewed existing arrangements for exchanging intelligence information and materials with other federal agencies. Responsibility for performing this function has been clarified within the Department.

One of the responsibilities of the research and intelligence organization of the Department of State is to collect positive intelligence information and materials, both domestically and abroad, and to maintain a central collection of intelligence materials within the Department. Accordingly, it appears desirable for the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination to be the point of contact for exchanging positive foreign intelligence between the Department of State and the War Department, and to perform the necessary liaison with the War Department for that purpose.

The Office of Controls will continue its responsibilities for security intelligence and counter-intelligence and will continue to perform the necessary liaison with the War Department in the discharge of those responsibilities, as well as its present responsibility as liaison channel for operational administrative and other matters not involving positive foreign intelligence.

If the foregoing arrangements do not appear to be inconsistent with War Department requirements, it would be appreciated if necessary action is taken to:

1. Authorize representatives of both the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination and the Office of Controls to sit as State Department representatives on the Intelligence Division Reading Panel.

2. Authorize

Major General S. J. Chamberlin,
Director of Intelligence,
War Department
Room 2E800, Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

[redacted]

1361

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INT 758/39

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2. Authorize separate distribution, to their respective offices, of items selected by both Department of State members of the Reading Panel. This should not involve any appreciable duplication, since each member will select only items which pertain to the interests of his organization, as indicated above.

3. Address all material sent to the Department of State on "standard distribution" to the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination, Acquisition and Distribution Division.

4. Accredit the officers designated by the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination and the Office of Controls for performing liaison with the Intelligence Division, War Department, for purposes indicated above.

The foregoing arrangements would be very advantageous to the Department, and I believe will result in better cooperation with the War Department.

Your favorable consideration of this proposal would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

William A. Eddy
Special Assistant for
Research and Intelligence

[redacted]

IAD:TMNordbeck:mjc 2/5/47
SA-E:FMcCluney 2/18/47 CCD FC SA-E

1382

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March 5, 1947

OCD Col. George Fearing

OCD Mr. Paul T. Meyer

Inauguration of Intelligence Reading Panel

As directed on February 24th by Mr. William A. Eddy, Special Assistant for Research and Intelligence the operation of a Reading Panel on behalf of intelligence agencies of the Government was inaugurated this morning, March 5th in room 1166, New War Building, adjoining the Division of Communications and Records.

Objectives

The Panel was established on recognition by Mr. Eddy of the need for a system of selecting and expeditious disseminations of positive intelligence despatches and reports from our Foreign Service on behalf of the Intelligence Agencies. It was recognized under NIA Directive #7 that jurisdictional claim should not impede the full flow of intelligence and Major General Stephen J. Chamberlin, Director of Intelligence, WDGS has indicated that duplicate reporting by Military Attaches would be discontinued as soon as the War Department was assured that pertinent Foreign Service positive intelligence materials would be made available to that Department as it is received. It was also ascertained that the time lag for the duplication and transmittal of documents between the Department and the War Department averaged 12 working days and that this time lag will be reduced. It was, in addition, shown that under the practice of standardized distributions a great deal of unneeded intelligence was duplicated and distributed and that the Panel will reduce this unnecessary paper work; certain important intelligence was not distributed in the past and the Panel will eliminate these lapses.

Operation of Panel

The Panel Room is located in a position where all pertinent pouch materials may be scrutinized by members of the Panel within a few hours after it is received. The Analysts in ID/R automatically eliminate all passport, visa and administrative correspondence. A screening and allocation desk then eliminates intelligence information materials of a delicate nature which concerns only the Department such as policy and operational matters. While we have started slowly with approximately 175 papers passing through the Panel the first day the average time lag was somewhat less than 8 minutes. It is believed that when all reports and a few other items are routed over the panel in the course of the coming week that the time lag for a full flow of up to 400 documents per day will not be over 1/2 hour.

Members of the Panel

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1362

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INT 758/41

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Members of the Panel

The members of the Panel at the opening were as follows:

Allocation desk - Messrs. Ball and Feeney, DC/R; Mr. Chandler, IAD.

Mr. Bright, REF, to pick out intelligence needed by OIR.

Mr. Donovan, FC, to pick out intelligence needed by FC.

Colonel Newton and Major Flora, War Department Intelligence Group.

It is understood the Navy Department will nominate a member to begin next Monday, that CIG will follow with a member on Wednesday and that Army Air Force will delegate a member shortly thereafter. All members have alternates and there will be ample time allowed for members to circulate in their home areas for orientation and information as to the up to the minute needs of research staffs.

Staff

SA-E, Mr. McCluney, has authorized the use of 4 vacant budget slots for IAD administrative staffing of the Panel. Since IAD has nominated Chandler, one of our better Procurement Officers to the Panel, one of these positions has been filled as of today by Mr. Vincelet, who has transferred from Special Projects Division and will function as a Procurement Officer to relieve Mr. Chandler. We obtained the services of Miss Jean Kennedy, CAF-7, Procedure Specialist and Expediter from the Division of Management Planning. Clerk-Stenographer is being obtained from surplus to assist in general copy and photographic work. A CAF-2 duplicating machine operator has been obtained from Army next week. It is believed this staff, plus the 4 persons supplied by OIR will fully suffice the program even should it grow in scope.

General Comment

My observations today indicate that this is one of the most advanced steps taken in a long time by the Department towards cementing relationships with other agencies concerned. It was also indicated that OCD was able to select many documents essential to the OIR research programs which would not have found their way to the intelligence area through the ordinary Departmental channels. Similarly OIR and the War Department selected intelligence and all 3 areas rejected many documents as being of no interest although they would have received multiple copies through the old system. It is anticipated that through this operation and selection system that the amount of duplicating work necessary in the Department may be reduced 1/3 with a saving in man years in other areas of the Department and a reduction in time lags. The question of distribution of materials attached as enclosures to despatches and reports in limited numbers will be resolved at a point rather than as under the former confused system. It is further believed

that documents which

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INT 758/42

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that documents which are received from the Foreign Service posts in reproducable form will be delivered to the end users within two working days of the time they leave the Panel. It was found that the War Department has been sending the Department long lists of missing Foreign Service despatch numbers. This caused personnel in FC, FR, DC/R and REF as well as desk officers throughout the Department to begin wide searches for these items which in practically every case turned out to be of an administrative nature or a communication otherwise of no interest to the War Department. It can be roughly estimated that the Department will save some 20 man years since the War Department, now having access to all pertinent material through their Panel member, will discontinue sending these lists. The same will, of course, be true of the other intelligence agencies and we will have the record of such items which have been rejected by their members. Naturally the saving in paper work by the end-users throughout all intelligence organizations will be considerable.

We have heard general comment from high ranking officials of the War Department of their great pleasure that the Department has taken this forward step. It is apparent that officials within the Department will benefit. It is probable that if there is a free and expeditious exchange of intelligence source materials between the State, War and Navy Departments that the setting up of a Reading Panel by the CIG to cover these 3 areas may be unnecessary. Future plans contemplate a similar system for the dissemination of telegrams and airgrams.

I would like to stress that the establishment of the Reading Panel has been a joint project between OCD-IAD and ODA-DC/R. FC and FR have been of considerable assistance and MN has been apprised in general of the undertaking. Mr. Scott, Chief of the Division of Communications and Records, and his assistant, Mr. Kirby, have cooperated and assisted Mr. Strong, Chief of the Acquisition and Distribution Division, and Mr. Nordbeck, Assistant Chief, and myself in every possible way. It is contemplated that the Panel will continue to function as a Joint Departmental project, IAD in line with Departmental Regulations assuming the policy responsibili for the dissemination of positive intelligence and the direction of the members of the Panel and DC assuming responsibil ty for the procedural administration and custody of the Department's correspondence.

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INT 758/4

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A-10

TO: CON Mr. Robinson August 21, 1947

FROM: OIR Allan Evans

SUBJECT: Coordination of Activities of OIR and FC

It seemed to me that our recent discussions involved three principal points:

(a) a misconception on the part of FC as to the SA-E function of providing the foreign intelligence required by the Department in the conduct of foreign affairs and in the safeguarding of the national security, and the corresponding OIR function of preparing intelligence studies and spot intelligence for authorized recipients in the Department, CIG, and other Federal agencies;

(b) a general confusion as to the precise line between foreign positive intelligence and foreign security information;

(c) an apparent belief by FC that, for security reasons, OIR is not eligible to receive certain intelligence information in the Secret and Top Secret categories.

I believe that most of these points were reasonably well clarified during the course of our discussion but I will, with your permission, restate briefly OIR's position. For some time we have considered that "intelligence information" (or raw intelligence) is information, pertaining to foreign areas, which may affect U. S. foreign policy or national security; that "intelligence research" is the continuous process of assembling, evaluating, analyzing, and interpreting available intelligence information; and that "intelligence" isthe product of the interpretive process, issued in the form of finished estimates of actual or potential situations in foreign areas which may affect U. S. policy. The term "positive" is, in our view, simply a means of distinguishing between the subject matter of the intelligence which we produce and the subject matter of what is generally known as counter or security intelligence. The term in no wise describes a source of information, for the intelligence which OIR produces is built on material derived from overt and covert sources. By the same token, the term "intelligence Research" is no way connotes any distinctive time-lag in production, for on the basis of the research continuously in process, the OIR as an intelligence organization is prepared at any moment to assess one or more items of current "information" and transform them into properly focussed "intelligence" within the positive field.

I urge this latter point because upon it seemed to depend a large part of FC's misunderstanding of our functions. Not only do we produce long-range and sometimes lengthy intelligence reports utilized for such purposes

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INT 758/44

as SWNCC consideration, Kennan Committee consideration, and United Nations deliberations, but in addition we have a heavy responsibility for current, spot intelligence reporting, and to that end we maintain a close working relationship with the political, cultural, and economic areas of the Department, as well as with the positive intelligence agencies represented in CIG, G-2, ONI and A-2;

The distinction between positive and counter or security intelligence is, therefore, one of subject matter, not one of timing in production, and most particularly not one of raw information. We agreed, I remember, that just as FC requires our positive intelligence to assist in its work, OIR is interested in much of the raw information upon which FC works directly but, which, in addition to its value for security intelligence, has simultaneous value in positive intelligence. Foreign movements, covert or overt, involve us if they have potential influence on the political, social, or economic life of foreign nations. Subversion or penetration as such concern us whenever they affect foreign developments. A subversive movement may operate, by direct action, to injure U. S. property or personnel abroad, or to penetrate the U. S. itself; such activities we understand to be the concern of FC. The same subversive movement may aim at the over-throw of a foreign government, and under that aspect it is our concern because inevitably it involves the conduct of our foreign relations with that country. Plainly, therefore, FC and OIR will sometimes have complementary interests in the same intelligence targets, and will need to develop their complementary interpretations out of the same raw information.

As we pointed out at our meeting, the SA-E organization through special security measures is qualified to, and does, handle materials of all classifications. By regulation, the Special Assistant for Research and Intelligence is authorized, in consultation with A-P, to adopt such special security measures within the intelligence organization, additional to normal Departmental security regulations, as are required by the nature of our work. In fact, the SA-E organization does operate under security regulations beyond those of other areas of the Department and within itself has facilities for special handling of different classifications of material.

Your suggestion for a working arrangement based on general principles rather than on inflexible and unrealistic jurisdictional definitions, is, I believe, extremely sound. As I understood our tentative agreement, each of us would appoint a liaison officer to handle all matters of possible interest to OIR or FC. Each such officer would be in constant communication with his opposite number and would be kept constantly informed of projects under way in OIR and FC. Each would arrange for the exchange of pertinent intelligence information and intelligence reports, without regard to classification. Earlier agreements between BI and FC would continue in force and be unaffected by the new liaison arrangements. FC would, of course, continue its liaison functions with outside security organizations but would make available, through these liaison channels, information acquired thereby which might be of use to OIR.

As a starting

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INT 758/45

As a starting point, FC's functions in the field of intelligence production would be concerned with actual and potential subversive individuals, with espionage, and with penetration activities abroad aimed directly at U. S. interests. We recognize that in this last category there may be occasional areas of overlap but we hope that by close coordination and a gradual process of refinement of jurisdiction regarding potential political movements, we will arrive at a highly satisfactory working agreement.

If it is agreeable to you, I would like to nominate Mr. Louis Nemzer as my liaison officer under the terms of reference outlined above. I would appreciate your letting me know your reactions to this draft memorandum and I hope it may constitute the beginning of a really successful joining of forces.

CHR:AEvans;nhl

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INT 758/4

COPY A-11

TO: OIR Allan Evans August 28, 1947

FROM: CON H. Robinson

SUBJECT: COORDINATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF OIR AND FC.

Your memorandum of August 21 on the above subject has been read with considerable interest. In general, I should like to comment that your memorandum seems to outline the relationship between FC and OIR quite clearly. I agree with you in your feeling that the area of interest of OIR is the field of the larger political movements and longer range political implications of the intelligence which reaches the Department of State, whereas the interest of FC lies in the evidence which this intelligence may contain of subversive or hostile activity directed against the interests of the United States by individuals or organizations abroad. For instance, the development of the Communist Party in France, according to my conception, would fall within the sphere of interest of OIR, insofar as the political activities of that party would influence the French government in such a way as to affect the policy of the United States government toward the government of France. However, if members of the Communist Party in France, or Communist organizations in France should direct their efforts toward penetration of any agency of the United States government or toward damaging in any way the interests of the United States in France, such activity would fall within the purview of FC. Furthermore, if the activities of Communist or other hostile political organizations should affect the operations of the security control agencies of the United States, such as the Visa Division or the Passport Division, or others, that activity also would lie in the field which FC covers.

In my thinking about the subject matter with which OIR and FC deal, I distinguish between positive intelligence and counter intelligence or security intelligence. It seems to me that positive intelligence includes information concerning political developments abroad which are not aimed particularly against the United States, though they may indirectly influence the foreign policy of the United States, whereas counter intelligence or security intelligence, as I see it, deals primarily with the efforts of foreign intelligence or propaganda agencies to attack the agencies or interests of the United States. It seems clear to me that the source of the information which reaches the State Department is no criterion whatever whether such information lies in the field of interest of OIR or FC; just as you have pointed out in your memorandum, but that it is the nature of the information itself which should determine that question.

I wish to point out further that much of the intelligence in which FC is interested is of an operational or tactical nature so that it often becomes of immediate interest to the agencies of the Department in carrying on the

routine detailed functions

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INT 758/47

routine detailed functions for which they are responsible. For this reason it is frequently not possible for FC to make as full an evaluation of the raw intelligence which it receives as is possible for OIR, with its longer range research function. In fact, it is quite possible that an officer of FC may consider it necessary to relay a report to the field which is based solely on a suspicion because it may be important for departmental officers working in the field to know that that suspicion exists, even though it has not been fully substantiated. Of course, it is the policy to keep the dissemination of such unsubstantiated information to a minimum, but occasions do exist when speed of transmittal is more important than thoroughness of evaluation. As implied above, this grows out of the "operational" character of FC's intelligence activities.

Again referring to your memorandum, it becomes quite obvious that OIR and FC will often have mutual interests in intelligence received on the same subject and from the same sources. For this reason I agree with you that it is quite important for FC and OIR to arrange for a free exchange of informati However, I do feel obliged to point out that FC has been making a real effort to limit its intake of intelligence material as far as possible to such as lies within its field of interest, which is primarily foreign individuals and organizations hostile to the interests of the United States. This is beingdone because it is basically the threat to the security of the United States as revealed in such information which interests FC. However, when items appear which we believe will be of interest to OIR we will be glad to route them to you. I mention this limitation on FC's intake merely to forestall any suspicion of a lack of good faith which might be occasioned by a limited flow of information from FC to OIR. On behalf of FC I wish to state your reciprocal policy of forwarding information of counter intelligence or security interest to this division will be much appreciated. There is no question whatever of OIR's being entitled to any information passing through FC because of a high security classification. I realize that your personnel are cleared for the handling of highly classified information just as those in FC are.

If the type of relationship between OIR and FC which is indicated above is to be developed there will be much occasion for consultation back and for on problemsof mutual interest and there may even be occasion for the issuanc of joint reports or separate reports on different aspects of the same proble In order to facilitate such consultation, I am happy to acquiesce in your suggestion that liaison officers be appointed to work out a relationship bet FC and OIR. Mr. Broecker of FC has already had occasion to contact Mr. Nemz and as a result of a conference between them I feel that a cooperative relat ship can speedily be developed. In order to work out such a plan I have appointed Mr. T. W. Broecker as a lisison representative of FC to cooperate with your Mr. Nemzer in developing liaison between our two organizations. Mr. Broecker's office is located in 820A - 515 22nd Street and he may be reached on Extension 2594. If you feel that a further discussion of this problem is necessary I shall be glad to consult with you at any convenient time.

FC:TWBroecker:bk

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INT 758/48

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A-12

October 6, 1947

MEMORANDUM

TO: CON - Mr. Robinson
Mr. Neal

FROM: CCD - George R. Fearing, Jr.
OIR - Allan Evans

SUBJECT: Conclusions of our Conference on 6 October 1947

1. We agreed upon the modification of the first sentence in the draft regulation to establish a focal point for information on cases involving "security control measures relating to" the activities of individuals and organizations. With this modification, we were glad to concur in the draft text.

2. In respect of foreign and international organizations we reached further clarification of the principle that whereas the activities of agents or subversive personnel in such organizations are the concern of FC, the nations are the responsibility of OIR. It was further agreed that FC in supplying information to the rest of the Department relating to its interests in such organizations would (a) preferably contact us so that a final and complete evaluation could be delivered jointly concerning these organizations, or (b) indicate explicitly in any reply made without OIR participation that its information related to security intelligence alone and that further information and over-all evaluation should be obtained from OIR.

3. In further discussion of international organizations it was clearly indicated by FC that in certain recent cases where it had sent inquiries to the field concerning organizations, the failure to clear with OIR or BI had been an oversight. We drew from this conversation the conclusion, though it was not explicitly stated at the time, that all such inquiries concerning foreign and international organizations will be coordinated with us before they are sent out to the field.

4. FC reassured OIR and CCD that it knew of no criticism of their security outside the Department and had none itself. FC therefore undertook to impress upon its liaison officer with OIR that no security consideration stood in the way of free interchange of information.

We feel that with these understandings we have gone far to clear up the residual problems that remained after our previous discussion of some weeks ago. Complicated though these discussions may be, they are serving a most useful purpose. We are, on both sides, coming to realize the vital interdependence of our operations, and at the same time the urgent necessity of

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139

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making clear to our customers the distinction between our responsibilities. Gradually we come to appreciate the difference in the meanings of words we use so that we now know that the word "intelligence" to you means raw information and to us means finally evaluated and integrated information. We hope you are now aware that there exists no necessary distinction between our offices in the timing of the response to a request, in that we keep up to date on subjects of interest and are prepared to deliver an evaluation as of any moment. We, are, in the end, coming to identify a basic difference in our philosophies of operation: FC is prepared at any time to deliver such information within its field of competence as is at any moment available, whereas our object is to deliver a comprehensive evaluation which may both indicate gaps and uncertainties in the coverage and draw in any unexpected connotations pertinent to the subject requested. This last point probably explains much of whatever uncertainty remains between us; it will be met if, as we agreed this morning, we regard ourselves as partners in the service of the Department and carefully and explicitly indicate to our customers our respective fields of competence.

OIR:AEvans:nhl

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139

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/50

COPY A-13

OIR - Mr. Allan Evans
OCD - Mr. George R. Fearing, Jr. October 30, 1947

CON - Mr. Robinson

Working Arrangements.

I am in general agreement with your memorandum of October 6, 1947, concerning our conference on that date. However, I think it may be worthwhile to give you a few of my observations on the same subject.

From the nature of the Department's operations, I fully agree that it will usually not be possible for FC to institute extensive independent research in order to obtain information needed for a fully evaluated and comprehensive answer to an inquiry. The work of FC is operational in character for the most part. Its function is to furnish immediate information to action officers and to assemble as expeditiously as possible information already available in the Department or which may be obtained through liaison channels. Sometimes it is necessary to pass along even unevaluated information if it is pertinent to a pending decision, and in some situations it is necessary to advise action officers of the existence of a suspicion which cannot be substantiated, if the existence of that suspicion has a bearing on the decision to be made. Most situations of that type involve decisions of a security nature, and every effort is made to obtain an evaluation of information collected. However, the making of a security decision on a proposed course of action concerns the control activities of the Department and is, I believe, a matter within FC's field of competence.

Obviously, the fields of interest of FC, OIR and OCD may overlap in some areas. In carrying out our respective programs, it will of course be necessary to arrange for a free exchange of information. This is especially true in the area of international organizations where our interests are likely to overlap, since it is obviously impossible to draw a strict line of separation between different types of organizations and between the activities of subversive personnel within an organization and the activities of the organization itself.

In the interest of avoiding duplication and unnecessary overlapping effort, FC will arrange with OIR to clear with each other inquiries to the missions abroad. Further, FC will avail itself of the opportunity to consult with OIR concerning the evaluation of information on international organizations or on any other subject for the purpose of preparing a well-evaluated report. Similar inquiries from OIR are equally desirable. FC will also advise officers requesting information that additional data on the same subject may be available in OCD or OIR. We would hope that your people would do the same.

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139

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The type of relationship between FC and OIR which is indicated above will require the closest cooperation and consultation on problems of mutual interest. There may be occasion for the issuance of joint reports or separate reports on different aspects of the same problem. Thus, an active and consistent liaison arrangement is vital to its success. I am, therefore, very glad to act upon the suggestion made in your memorandum of August 21, to me regarding the appointment of liaison officers to handle all matters of possible interest to OIR and FC. Mr. Broecker of FC has already had occasion to contact Mr. Nemser, and as a result of a conference between them, arrangements for working out a cooperative relationship have been developed. It is planned to continue these discussions so that complete arrangements may be established at the working level. I am confident that along the lines set out above a satisfactory mutual working arrangement can be developed between FC, OCD and OIR to the considerable advantage of the Department.

UNCLASSIFIED

1394

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/5

A-14

A Mr. Peurifoy
THROUGH: OSP Mr. William O. Hall
OB Stanley T. Crear

April 7, 1948

Elimination of Secondary Screening of Telegram Copies Provided by State Department to Army and Navy

Problem:

To provide more economical, direct and faster transmission of information copies of incoming and outgoing State Department telegrams to the Departments of the Army and Navy by the elimination of secondary screening.

Background:

In the course of the survey of the intelligence functions performed by R, FC, and EUR/X conducted by Mr. Fred Darnell and Mr. John Moore of this Division, the problem identified above was encountered. Although the survey has not been completed, it is felt that the solution of this problem can be reached immediately.

Under the present functional assignments in the Department, DC/T prepares the master copy and produces all necessary information copies of every incoming and outgoing telegram, indicating on each the distribution made within the Department. An exception is that DC/T provides 12 copies of each telegram of an intelligence nature to FC, where they are recorded, screened, and if approved, 9 copies are released to Army and Navy. The remaining 3 copies are routed within FC and ultimately filed there. At present, of the 300 telegrams a day which FC receives for further distribution to these agencies, it withholds an average of only 10 a day. This process involved the use of six positions in a Special Telecommunications Unit in FC at the time the survey was made in November, although some economies in personnel have been effected since then.

It will be noted that this procedure makes it impossible for DC/T to indicate on information copies of telegrams whether or not distribution has been made to Army and Navy, and any inquiries must be referred to FC. The FC channel for distribution of telegrams to Army and Navy was created in consequence of the assignment to FC of the function of performing liaison activities with respect to security intelligence with the intelligence areas of the respective departments. It should be noted, however, that IAD has the responsibility for the function of performing liaison activities with respect to positive intelligence with the same intelligence areas. FC points out that its present exclusive control over the distribution of intelligence telegrams to Army and Navy gives FC's liaison officers an intangible but definitely worthwhile psychological advantage in dealing with those agencies. Within the past month letters have been received from the Secretaries of Army and Navy formally requesting that FC screening be eliminated.

1395

UNCLASSIFIED

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Conclusions:

1. The distributors in DC/T now review and route all telegrams and airgrams in the first instance, and they could screen for release to Army and Navy during the same operation with some additional assistance, eliminating the second duplicating screening review performed now in FC, and saving most of the manpower used therefor.

2. The system of recording used by FC is too complicated and constitutes an excessive use of manpower.

3. If DC/T determines distribution to Army and Navy, it would then be able to indicate such distribution on the master copy and on all copies distributed within the department of State, thus informing all interested persons at the time of original distribution, affording a single central point in the Department for all reference calls and eliminating many of the inquiries now directed to FC.

4. The present advantage of telegram control to FC's liaison function works to the disadvantage of IAD's liaison function.

5. The present system of secondary screening in FC is disliked by Army and Navy, and its elimination on our part would place the State Department in a position to denounce the similar practices which Army and Navy now use. OB's opinion on this point has the concurrence of S/S-R, CDA, DC, and IAD.

Recommendations:

1. That the Telecommunications Unit of FC be abolished.

2. That the function of screening information copies of telegrams and airgrams for release to Army and Navy be transferred from FC to DC/T.

3. That the remaining functions of the Telecommunications Unit be assigned to the Mail and File Unit of FC together with one of the positions and its incumbent.

4. That one CAF-5 position and incumbent be transferred from FC to DC/T.

5. That the remaining four positions be abolished, thus reducing FC by the four positions necessary to conform to the 1949 budget proposals and assisting the Office of Controls to take care of part of the proposed reductions in the total office budget for 1949.

OB:FDarnell & JMoore/rfw
4/7/48

1396

UNCLASSIFIED

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INT 758/54

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THRU : A -Mr. Peurifoy
OBP - Mr. Hall
COM -Mr. Nicholson

April 16, 1948

COM has reviewed the recommendations being submitted by OB proposing the transfer to DC of the Telecommunications liaison function with the Army and Navy of FC.

During the course of the recent survey of FC, Messers. Moore and Darnell called attention to a detailed method of handling, recording and routing messages to the Army and Navy. The system was initiated some time ago to meet more stringent security standards existing at a time when the Division was the sole liaison agency for the Department with the Army and the Navy. The recommendations for simplifying the procedure were adopted immediately while the survey was in progress with the result that there are now only two people performing this function in the Division, the remaining employees having been transferred to other work.

The proposed transfer will not eliminate all the functions formerly performed by the Telecommunications Unit since the FBI telecommunications traffic will continue to flow through the Division, as well as the normal Division traffic. However, the Unit as such has been abolished and the necessary functions are now being performed as a part of the regular mail and files operations of the Division.

Past experience in the Division proves that the loss of the routing of Army and Navy material through FC may have a detrimental effect on the effectiveness of the Division in terms of its other liaison duties with these agencies.

The function of distributing telegrams to the Department of the Army and the Department of the Navy has given FC a quid pro quo to offer in exchange for the security information received from those agencies. This facilitates the collection of security information by FC.

Apart from other considerations of the problem the Department received simultaneous proposals from the Army and Navy for the elimination of secondary screening of telegrams as a step in the routing of telecommunications traffic, in response to which the Department offered to eliminate such secondary screening and route the material direct from the communications center provided we were accorded similar direct service by those agencies. The Army, which

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139

INT 758 /

accounts for approximately 80% of the traffic, is unwilling to agree. As the Department proposed the internal transfer of this function as a means of obtaining similar consideration, it does not appear consistent to make the change in view of the Army's unwillingness to accord the Department similar direct service in complying with their request.

For purposes of clarity the specific OB recommendations and our position on each is as follows:

1. "That the Telecommunications Unit of FC be abolished."

   This has been done.

2. "That the function of screening information copies of telegrams and airgrams for release to Army and Navy be transferred from FC to DC/T."

   The loss of this function will deprive the Division of one of its means whereby information not freely volunteered by Army and Navy is sometimes obtained. In view of the benefits which the Department may derive from direct routing however, CCN will agree to the transfer of the function to DC if the Army and the Navy agree to a similar direct routing.

3. "That the remaining functions of the Telecommunications Unit be assigned to the Mail and File Unit of FC together with one of the positions and its incumbent."
   This has been done

4. "That one CAF-5 position and incumbent be transferred from FC to DC/T."

   This is to be reconsidered when agreement is reached under No. 2 above.

5. "That the remaining four positions be abolished, thus reducing FC by the four positions necessary to conform to the 1949 budget proposals and assisting the Office of Controls to take care of part of the proposed reductions in the total office budget for 1949."

   The four positions will not be filled, the personnel having been assigned to other duties in the Division, except for one person who has resigned.

CCN:CHStewart,Jr:rh

1394

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/5

January 20, 1948

MEMORANDUM

TO: OB - Mr. Stanley T. Grear

FROM: OB - Fred Darnall and John Moore

SUBJECT: Survey of Division of Foreign Activity Correlation

You will recall that following the hearings at the Bureau of the Budget in October, 1947, Mr. Hulten - A-P and Mr. Hall - OBP requested that a survey be made of FC, EURI and SA-E to determine (1) whether any duplication existed in the work of these three groups and (2) whether the absence of knowledge in each group of the work of the other two resulted in the non-covarage of some intelligence matters.

We have concluded our survey of FC, and before proceeding to the next group have prepared the attached narrative report to provide an answer to the question so frequently raised, "Just what do all those people do in FC?" The report describes the actual activities which occupy the time of all but four employees, whose work is not described completely in order to avoid reference to certain highly classified intelligence matters.

Stripped of detail, the essential job which FC performs for the Department is to discover, through a discerning review of the security intelligence data it secures, activities of persons or organizations or trends of incidents which can reasonably be stated to menace now or be predicted to menace in the future the security of the United States or its interests. It is the further job of FC to develop all possible additional information with respect to such items and to bring the data to the attention of the appropriate action officers, following up to make certain that consideration is given and decisions are made.

We have also prepared a tentative list of conclusions which are critical of the internal organization and operations of FC. These cannot be accepted as having complete validity until other areas involved in the intelligence field have been examined.

The draft of the report and the conclusions have been reviewed and discussed with Mr. Neal, Chief of FC, and his Assistant Chief, Mr. Amshey, and they agree that the factual presentation in the report is correct, and that the conclusions are reasonable. In fact, they were already aware of some of the criticisms, particularly with respect to the handling of mail and files, and have undertaken steps to improve the situation.

Mr. Hamilton Robinson, Director of CON, has expressed an original desire for and a continuing interest in this survey and has assigned his Deputy, Mr. Nicholson, and his Executive Officer, Mr. Steuart, to serve alternately with the OB representatives as part of the interviewing team. After this report has had your review, it is requested that copies be made available to Mr. Robinson - CON and Mr. Neal - FC.

1399

UNCLASSIFIED

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INT 758/1

Survey of Division of Foreign Activity Correlation

January 19, 1948

Fred Darnell

John Moore

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UNCLASSIFIED

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INT 758 /

INDEX

Narrative Report — Page

I. Functions..... 1
II. General Organization..... 2
III. Liaison Branch..... 2
IV. Travel Security & Security Evaluation Branch..... 4
V. Administrative Branch..... 6

Appendices

1. Conclusions
2. Position Chart - Present Assignments
3. Position Chart - 1949 Budget Estimates
4. Functional Chart - 1949 Budget Estimates
5. Definition of Security Intelligence
6. List of Informational Needs of FC prepared for War and Navy
7. Sources of FC Material
8. Description of distribution procedures in Telecommunications Unit
9. Descriptive information covering material prepared in FC

UNCLASSIFIED

1401

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/59

Preliminary Narrative Report

Survey of Division of Foreign Activity Correlation

I. FUNCTIONS

The Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Office of Controls, initiates policy and conducts operational and liaison activities with respect to the foreign security intelligence programs of the Department. Sixty-eight people are now employed, presently organized into three branches and engaged in the following activities:

1. Initiate and develop policy with respect to the collection, evaluation, use and distribution of foreign security information.

2. Develop, maintain and improve liaison channels between the Department and all other security, investigative and intelligence agencies to provide a two way flow of foreign security data. Review incoming and outgoing telegrams to determine which should go to War, Navy and FBI (not CIA) and which should be withheld.

3. Review security information from all sources, discovering significant items and preparing written summaries concerning persons, organizations or incidents which are now or are likely to be inimical to United States security interests, bring such matters to the attention of the appropriate action units of the Department and making specific recommendations as to whether a security risk exists.

4. Maintain a master index and provide a single central point for the Department and other investigative agencies to secure evaluated security name checks on persons suspected of subversive activities toward United States interests abroad.

5. Provide advisory opinions to Passport Division, Visa Division and all other interested work units of the Department with respect to the security risks to the United States involved in the movement of persons, American or alien, into or out of the United States and between foreign countries. Maintain special record files and provide advisory opinions on security questions to occupation authorities with respect to the international movement of Germans, Austrians and Japanese.

6. Arrange for the establishment of United States military training missions abroad.

7. Review copies of applications filed by agents of foreign government with the Department of Justice. Develop security information with respect to such persons and notifies the political divisions and the foreign missions.

UNCLASSIFIED

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II. GENERAL ORGANIZATION

Although the Department of State Organizational Manual sheet 1.814 dated August 1, 1947, indicates the existence of four branches and the functional chart prepared for the 1949 budget presentation dated September 1, 1947, indicates two branches, the latter most nearly represents the existing situation.

Mr. Jack Neal, as Chief, directs the activities of the Division; Mr. Amshey serves in the capacity of an all-around Assistant Chief and gives personal direction to the Armed Services Section and the Civilian Agencies Section; Mr. Jessop directs the Administrative Section and Mr. Broecker directs the Travel Security Section and the Security Evaluation Section.

In view of the organizational changes, reassignments of personnel and appointments of new personnel, many employees interviewed were unable to discuss their work assignments in terms of percentages of time spent on particular operations, and precise divisions of functions and operations have not yet been developed between the Sections. These points will be supported in the following discussions of the Sections.

III. LIAISON BRANCH

The Armed Services Section (five positions: two at P-4, and three clerical) and the Civilian Agencies Section (five positions: two at P-5, and 3 clerical), directed by Mr. Amshey, are the two Sections engaged primarily in liaison activities with other agencies, to the end that there will be assured a secure flow of security intelligence data into the Division from all sources within or without the Department as well as to assure a secure flow of security intelligence data out of the Department to those agencies which merit receiving it. In addition, these liaison channels afford the means of making official representations to the agencies concerned relative to official business of the Department.

In the case of Army, Navy, and Air, the work involves daily visits to those agencies, attendance at reading panels in the agencies, selection of materials from lists, arranging for the release to those agencies of State Department telegrams and airgrams after prior screening, establishment of new contacts and the discussion of special security problems. Mr. Rene Carroll has a primary assignment to the Army, Mr. Morris a primary assignment to Navy and Air, but the two men serve as alternates for each other, and are aided in the reading panel work by Mr. Simmons.

Mr. Morris and Mr. Carroll serve alternate weekly assignments on the Army Intelligence reading panel, where another Mr. Carroll from IAD also attends and indicates items to be sent to the intelligence area of the Department. All three men are informed of their respective needs and sometimes serve for each other. The primary interest of FC's panel member is security and counter intelligence material, while the IAD panel member selects material not only of interest to IAD, but to the whole Department.

INT 758/61

Mr. Simmons attends daily an Army Civil Affairs Division reading panel for telegrams coming from the occupied areas, selecting those he believes to be of interest to the entire Department, bringing them back in sextuplicate and turning them over to DC/T for distribution. The CAD Information Control Office makes available for review a list of all reports from occupied areas, and the liaison officer from FC makes selections from this of reports to be sent to the entire Department.

Although Navy has no reading panel, they do send FC copies of telegrams Navy selects on security and counter-intelligence matters. It is also understood that Navy sends regular intelligence material directly to OCD and that the latter Division has a liaison officer to Navy.

It is understood that military, naval and air attache reports, while available for review by the Chief of Mission, are sent directly to Army, Navy and Air Departments, and only made available to the State Department in Washington after screening by those Departments.

The direct representation work to the military agencies, requiring much of the time of Mr. Carroll and Mr. Morris also includes operational and administrative problems not involving positive foreign intelligence. Examples are such problems as securing the use of military aircraft for mission personnel, the prevention of proposed naval maneuvers in the vicinity of certain critical areas, the hospitalization of a South American Air Attache, robbery cases and other civil crimes on the part of armed forces abroad, etc.

In the case of FBI and CIA, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Mundy, respectively, have the agency assignments but their work does not involve daily visits to the agencies or personal investigation of agency records. Instead, most of their time is spent in the Department of State securing desired information or handling the special problems brought up by those agencies. They do, of course, make some visits to agencies, establish contacts and take care of the special security problems which the Department of State must take up with those agencies and they provide the primary channel between State and these two agencies for the flow of security intelligence documents with a few exceptions.

FBI is generally interested in foreign activities because of their reflection upon United States minority groups and the consequent effect upon internal security in the United States. They also call upon the State Department for advice or assistance in connection with such cases as securing reports on draft evaders who have fled from the United States and requests from foreign governments for FBI training of their police officials. Generally, the flow of inquiries between FBI and State in either direction go through FC, at the specific request of FBI that such traffic for the entire Department be restricted to a single channel.

Mr. Lewis also serves in a liaison capacity with the Post Office Department, the Customs Service, and the Secret Service when occasion arises.

In the case of CIA, the flow of telegrams and airgrams and despatches from State to that agency goes directly from DC/L, and not through FC. CIA material comes to FC on the basis of a selection by CIA and not on the basis of selection by a State Department representative. CIA also sends positive intelligence reports directly to IAD, to a Mr. Ingersoll, the decision and differentiation between FC and IAD interests being made by CIA.

Mr. Jessop, who heads the Administrative Section, is liaison officer to the Army security group for civil censorship in the occupied areas and to Federal Archives in connection with the records of the Office of Censorship.

IV. TRAVEL SECURITY & SECURITY EVALUATION BRANCH

The Security Evaluation Section, directed by Mr. Broecker, is presently divided into two units. One, headed by Mr. Donovan, is called the Security Evaluation Unit, and has two P-4's, two P-2's, one FSO and five clerical employees. The other, headed by Mr. Cherp, is called the Security Development Unit and has two P-4's, one P-3, two P-2's, three P-1's and five clerical employees. The 1949 budget estimate position chart shows sixteen positions assigned to the Section as a whole, but twenty-three persons are presently assigned, many of them very recently. A good many are individuals formerly employed in the Division on the project of screening German war documents.

The Security Evaluation Unit may be described briefly as having the function of answering the question, "Does a person (or organization) constitute a security risk to the United States in a given set of circumstances?" This is the single point in the Department of State to which all action units of the Department are directed (Departmental Regulation 298.1) to refer inquiries as to persons suspected of being security risks. There are about 300 such inquiries each week from within the Department, the chief inquirers being IEP, PR, PD, VD, and CSA. There are also about 300 inquiries a week from other agencies, primarily FBI, APC, MIS, ONI, and CIA.

Upon receipt of a name check request, a staff member fills out a check list indicating the sources to be checked and a typist prepares inquiry forms and sends them to the several sources (an average of nine for each name checked). Chief sources within the Department are the files of FC, PD, VD, and DC/R, and outside the Department are Army, Navy, CIA, and FBI. BI is called upon in only about 30% of the cases. When replies are received, a staff member reviews them and prepares a written summary and action recommendation, and forwards them to the work unit of the Department in which the request originated. In the case of name check inquiries originating in FBI, APC, CIA and ONI, after the FC staff member screens the material available, a liaison representative comes from the agency and reviews the material, and no summary is prepared in FC. In

either type of case however, the Master Index of names in FC is amended to show that an inquiry was made, and sources of data noted.

This Unit also recieves from the Department of Justice duplicate applications for all foreign agents registered there, secures and summarizes any security intelligence information available with respect to the persons, and forwards them to the political divisions for official comment to be transmitted from the Secretary of State to the Attorney General. This Unit also notifies United States missions abroad of the registration of these agents and the data concerning them.

Mr. English is the only Foreign Service Officer now assigned to the Division, and he has been working in the Security Evaluation Unit on name checks, organization checks and special reports, although the chart for FC indicates the only FSO assignment as being in the Office of the Chief. One report, prepared some months ago by Mr. English on the International Brigades was not released at the request of EUR on the basis that sufficient material was coming from the field. Mr. English later learned that DRE was preparing a like report, phoned a member of that Division, supplied him with a copy of the FC report, but has received neither acknowledgement nor the return of the report.

The Security Development Unit consists of a group of analysts, each with a separate geographic area assignment, who read and analyze the hundreds of reports, despatches, telegrams, airgrams, and other data secured for them from Department of State sources or through the liaison channel, discovering and noting every item covering a person, organization or situation which is now or appears likely to be subversive of or inimical to United States interest abroad. These analysts must make certain that a reference to such items is made on the "Master Index" of persons maintained by FC (used for security name checks) and they also relay to interested action units of the Department and to United States foreign missions any critically important information. Further, they prepare occasional spot reports on special security threats. About 60% of the source material used comes from State Department sources, one-half or more of the remainder coming from CIA, and the rest from Army, Navy, FBI, Coast Guard, Customs, Secret Service and other miscellaneous sources.

In addition, the analysts prepare a weekly selection of the more important or significant items, which are consolidated into a weekly summary report which is duplicated and circulated within CON. The analysts also interview many outgoing or returning Foreign Service personnel, providing the former with as much background information as possible on specific security problems in the area to which they are going, at the same time requesting such specific reports as are desired.

Without exception, the analysts stated that they neither received nor sent any material to EUR-X, and that their contacts were infrequent with analysts in the intelligence area who might be working on like problems. They do, however, see a periodic release listing the current and pending reports being prepared in the intelligence divisions. No such report is prepared in FC.

One member of the group, Mr. Hammond, attends a daily reading panel in DC/R, together with representatives of IAD and Army and Navy. DC does some screening before material is referred to the panel, and the IAD and FC representatives screen it again before giving it to the Army and Navy representatives. Mr. Hammond estimates that more than half of the material he screens would not be sent to FC if there were no reading panel. Mr. Hammond also selects material on oil or petroleum to be referred to a Mr. Hoffman on the Petroleum Board.

The Travel Security Section, also directed by Mr. Broecker, has one P-5, one P-4, one P-1, one CAF-9, and four clerical employees. Although indicated on the chart as a single Section, it does not so operate, and its personnel and functional assignments are not uniform. One group of four employees headed by Mr. Cox, a P-4, performs for Germany and Austria the identical duties carried on by analysts in the Security Development Unit plus maintaining files of Nazi Party members and German and Austrian nationals repatriated from the Western Hemisphere during World War II and providing advisory opinions to the occupation governments of Germany and Austria relative to the granting of exit permits from the two countries for German and Austrian nationals. As yet the files of Nazi Party members and German and Austrian repatriates are not carded into the Master Index maintained by FC.

Another group of two employees in the Section, headed by Miss Smith, maintains the most complete file in the United States on Japanese and Nisei, and all cases involving the travel of such persons are checked here, as well as any security name check case. The work goes beyond simple file maintenance and searching, the person in charge being expert in the language, customs, family relationships and other data necessary for adequate case revi

In the remaining group in this Section, Mr. Drury is concerned with a wholly different aspect of travel security. He reviews Visa Division outgoing telegrams and gives advisory opinions as to the security risks involved in granting visas to proposed alien visitors or immigrants to the United States. Mr. Drury also provides security advice to the Visa Division with respect to cases involving visitors, students, teachers and others now living in the United States and seeking to "regularize" their status here.

In an operation having some simularity to that of the analysts in the Security Development Unit, Mr. Drury also reviews a large flow of copies of telegrams and airgrams indicating the movement between countries of known subversive persons, thus discovering and proposing appropriate action in the case of apparent concentration of such persons in a particular localit

V. ADMINISTRATIVE BRANCH

The Administrative Branch, headed by Mr. Jessop, containing twenty employees, CAF-2 to CAF-12, provides the Division with the usual personnel, budget, space, supplies and other housekeeping services, and, in addition, directs the activities of the Mail and File Units and the Telecommunications Unit.

One part of the Mail Unit, with three clerical employees, receives and routes all telegrams, airgrams, despatches, and other material emanating from Department of State sources. Action material is carded before leaving the Unit and the outgoing response is checked off and the card destroyed. All mail routed to two or more points in FC passes through this mail room moving between points. One person is occupied full time filing cards, pulling them from files and enveloping material.

A separate part of the Mail Unit, employing two persons and occupying a separate room receives, routes and eventually files permanently classified material received from CIA, Army and Navy. Such material is usually highly classified, it is received and despatched by courier, covering invoices and receipts are used, and the greatest care is exercised in its handling and filing. The material is primarily informational in character, not "action" items.

CIA sends most of its material directly to IAD for further distribution in the Department, including FC, but in some instances sends items directly to FC. ONI sends their material directly to IAD, which forwards one copy to FC. MIS sends one copy of their material to FC and the remaining copies to IAD for further distribution in the Department.

The File Unit, with three clerical employees, maintains the Master Index of names referred to elsewhere in the report, which comprises fifty-six file drawers containing approximately 168,000 cards, filed alphabetically. A separate cross file of duplicate cards is maintained by country, of 54,000 persons in a special category. Most of the supporting data for the Index cards is on file in the operating Divisions of the Department and not in the FC File Unit.

In addition, a Kardex file record, transferred from ES, containing 500,000 names of persons and firms "black listed" during World War II is kept near the Master Index and is searched for security name checks. However, no attempt is made to keep this file current and it is estimated that in three years' time selected portions will be consolidated into the Master Index and the remainder destroyed or referred to Archives. The supporting file material for the Kardex is not maintained currently in the File Room, but is stored elsewhere.

It should be noted that there are many uncoordinated files, both in the File Unit and elsewhere in the Division, some of the larger and more important being those on Nazi Party members, Germans and Austrians repatriated from Latin America, War Relocation Authority records on Japanese and Nisei, the files in FC Telecommunications Unit and the Allocation Group of the Mail Unit, the FBI reports on Visa applicants and the censorship files.

The Telecommunication Unit, headed by Mrs. Libbey, and using five and sometimes six employees, receives from DC/T twelve copies of every in and out telegram selected by DC/T in accordance with a list provided by FC indicating the subjects which FC, Army, Navy and FBI are interested in reviewing. These copies are sorted, read, counted, recorded, routed by

means of a very elaborate procedure, three sets being retained in FC and the remainder enveloped for the couriers who pick them up from the several agencies. Any questionable item is picked out by the reader and referred to the appropriate liaison officer for clearance before release. Less than 10% are screened out.

There is also a Coordination and Review Unit through which all outgoing documents from FC are cleared. Memos and letters to other Departments need not clear through SS/CR, so this Unit provides a like type of review, covering both clerical errors and attending to necessary clearances, both within FC and in other Divisions of the Department when necessary. An average of about fifty items a day are reviewed, of which one will be stopped from release completely, 4 - 5 will require further clearance in FC and 6 - 7 will require clearance with other Divisions and 6 - 7 should be sent to additional offices for information.

A special unit, attached directly to the Office of the Division Chief, takes care of all arrangements for military, naval or air training missions Authorized by Public Law 242 of May 1926. The United States now has thirty three such missions, most of them in Latin America, involving the assignment of about two-hundred officer personnel and a larger number of enlisted men. Mr. Anderson and one clerical employee handle this work, arranging for meetings between foreign representatives in this country and United States military officials, drawing up the bi-lingual agreements, clearing the assignment of individual officers and arranging for allowances for the personnel involved. Five new training missions are now pending, and many older ones come up for renewal and revision each year.

Conclusions

1. There is no established uniform minimum standard of work assignment or review of security name check cases, either from the standpoint of grade level of personnel assigned nor speed of handling. The present organization affords the highest level of review and the most prompt review of security checks to visa and German exit permit cases only, although there is no evidence that they deserve such preferred handling.

2. Only an occasional security name check case is reviewed by the analysts in the Security Development Unit, yet they are the employees with the most comprehensive knowledge of the background(organizations, movements and related factors)in their respective areas.

3. It appears impractical to exercise 100% supervision over the work of the Security Development analysts, and it would be almost impossible to create written minimum standards for their product, yet the positions provided for such work are classified at low professional levels and are occupied by persons presumably qualified only for those grades.

4. While there is much evidence to indicate a constant activity on the part of senior officials of FC and SA/E to develop a close cooperative relationship with the intelligence area, inadequate means have been used to indoctrinate lower level employees of FC on this point, so that there is a real lack of close working relationship between analysts in the Security Development Unit and the employees in the intelligence area.

5. Formal working arrangements between FC and EUR-X are completely non-existent, and there is no flow of information or data between the two. The only exception is the occasional telephone call made to EUR-X by one of the four FC employees who have a personal acquaintance with Mr. Murphy as the result of years of service in the Department. Consequently FC reports are incomplete with respect to any data available exclusively in EUR-X.

6. Inter-departmental liaison assignments are split into three sections and a special unit attached to the Office of the Chief, relations with the Army involving three of the four units, the Armed Agency Section, the Administrative Section, and the office of one Chief.

7. The security intelligence files are now so scattered and decentralized in FC that it presents a difficult, if not impossible task to be certain that all source material is obtained and reviewed in making any specific study or report.

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8. The procedures in the Telecommunications Unit are too elaborate and complex, involving repeated sortings and countings and requiring the services of five persons to handle an average of only 300 messages a day.

9. Receipt, despatch, and the internal routing and distribution of telegrams, airgrams, letters and despatches is now scattered in three units.

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Appendix 2
Division of Foreign Activity Correlation
Staff Assignments
December, 1947

Office of Chief

Chief	1 P-8
Administrative Assistant	1 CAF-6

Training Mission Unit

Special Assistant	1 P-6
Clerk Stenographer	1 CAF-5

Administrative Branch

Special Assistant	1 CAF-12
Adm. Asst.	1 CAF-7
Clerk-Stenographer	1 CAF-3

Coordination & Review

Unit Head	1 CAF-7
Clerk	1 CAF-6

Mail & Allocation Section

Clerk	1 CAF-6
Clerk	2 CAF-4
Clerk	2 CAF-3

Telecommunications Section

Chief of Section	1 CAF-7
Clerks	4 CAF-5
Clerk	1 CAF-4

File Unit

Clerk-Typists	3 CAF-3
Clerk-Typists	1 CAF-2

Liaison Branch

Asst. Chief	1 P-6
Clerk-Stenographer	1 CAF-4

Armed Services Section

Divisional Assistant	2 P-4
Clerk-Stenographer	2 CAF-4
Clerk-Stenographer	1 CAF-3

Civilian Agencies Section

Divisional Assistant	2 P-5
Clerk-Stenographer	2 CAF-4
Clerk-Stenographer	1 CAF-3

Travel Security & Security Evaluation Branch

Acting Assistant Chief	1 P-4
Clerk-Stenographer	1 CAF-4

Travel Security Section

Divisional Assistant	1 P-5
Divisional Assistant	2 P-4
Divisional Assistant	1 CAF-9
Divisional Assistant	1 P-1
Clerk-Stenographer	1 CAF-4
Clerk-Stenographer	2 CAF-3

Security Evaluation Unit

Divisional Assistant	1 FSO
Divisional Assistant	2 P-4
Divisional Assistant	2 P-2
Clerk-Stenographer	3 CAF-4
Clerk-Stenographer	2 CAF-3

Security Development Unit

Divisional Assistant	1 P-5
Divisional Assistant	2 P-4
Divisional Assistant	1 P-3
Divisional Assistant	2 P-2
Divisional Assistant	3 P-1
Clerk-Stenographer	1 CAF-4
Clerk-Stenographer	4 CAF-3

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INT 458/69

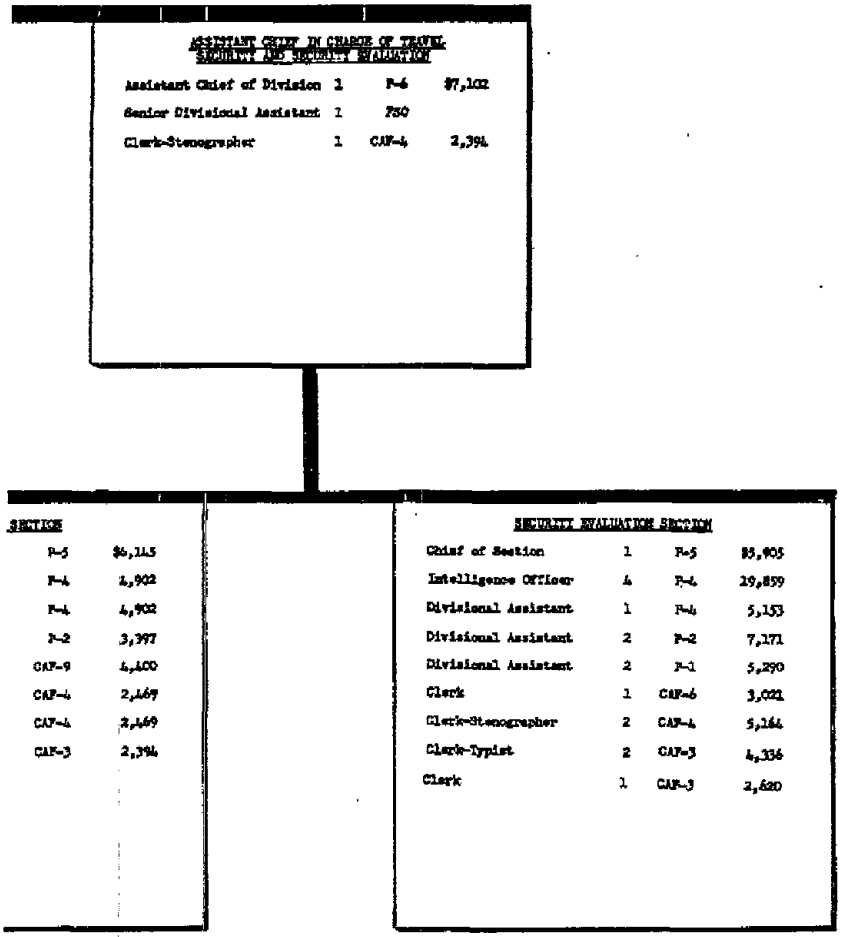
1412

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INT 758/70

SION OF FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION

September 1, 1947



DIVISION OF FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION	Departmental		FSO
	Number	Annual Salary	
Appropriated, 1948	68	$245,774	0
Requested, 1949	66	237,744	0
Filled, July 31, 1947	68	236,958	0
(*Denotes new positions requested)			

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1413

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/7

DIVI

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF			
Chief of Division	1	P-4	$9,975
Senior Divisional Assistant	1	FSO	
Administrative Assistant	1	CAF-6	3,166

,342
,896

ND ADMINISTRATION

$7,102
2,695

ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION			
Special Assistant	1	CAF-12	$5,905
Administrative Assistant	1	CAF-7	3,648
Chief of Unit	1	CAF-7	3,397
Clerk-Stenographer	1	CAF-3	2,168

TRAVEL SECURITY	
Chief of Section	1
Divisional Assistant	1
Intelligence Officer	1
Divisional Assistant	1
Divisional Assistant	1
Mail and File Clerk	1
Clerk	1
Clerk-Stenographer	1

MAIL AND FILES UNIT			
Clerk	1	CAF-6	$3,397
Clerk	2	CAF-4	4,863
Clerk	3	CAF-3	7,031
Clerk-Typist	5	CAF-3	11,292

TELECOMMUNICATIONS UNIT			
Chief of Unit	2	CAF-7	$3,397
Release Clerk	3	CAF-5	8,311
Clerk	1	CAF-5	2,770
Clerk	1	CAF-4	2,695

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INT 758/72

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE [illegible]

Special Assistant	1	P-6
Clerk-Stenographer	1	CAF-5

ASSISTANT CHIEF IN CHARGE OF [illegible]

Assistant Chief of Division	1
Secretary	1

ARMED SERVICES SECTION

Divisional Assistant	2	P-4	$9,804
Divisional Assistant	1	P-2	3,397
Clerk-Stenographer	2	CAF-4	4,863
Clerk	1	CAF-3	2,244

CIVILIAN AGENCIES SECTION

Senior Divisional Assistant	2	P-5	$11,610
Divisional Assistant	1	P-3	4,130
Divisional Assistant	1	P-1	2,645
Mail and File Clerk	2	CAF-4	5,510
Clerk-Typist	1	CAF-3	2,168

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les in connection with estab-
tes military, naval and air
es matters pertaining to main-
ce of such missions.

HARGE OF TRAVEL
T STATIONS

the travel security sec-
travel of Japanese and .
spective countries who may
of the United States; has
e coordination and dis-
ligence material coming in-
s the acquisition of
s proper distribution
d to other interested
es current counter-intelli-
vided to political desks an
ent agencies and also to
t's missions abroad.

SECURITY EVALUATION SECTION

Acts as the focal point within the Office of Controls on all security information; handles all requests for information of a security nature on persons or organizations; disseminates such information from within the Department to outside agencies and obtains such information from the outside intelligence and investigative agencies with which the Division has regular liaison and disseminates it within the Department; scans all counter-intelligence material coming into the Department for information pertinent to the Division's security work; develops files and indices on such information; makes spot reports on current security problems; provides representatives on the Department Reading Panel to select all incoming counter-intelligence information; acts as the Department's channel of contact in the Department of Justice in discharging the Department's responsibilities under the Foreign Agents Registration Act; maintains security information checks on persons registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act; provides this information to the Secretary for his comments in accordance with the Act; maintains files on foreign agents or persons registered under the Act.

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Is responsible for formulation of policy for the operation and supervision of the Division; is responsible for the close contact between this Division and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency and other security investigative and intelligence agencies on matters of policy, as this Division is the liaison office in the Department with these agencies on security matters; handles policy dealing with subversive elements inimical to the interests of the United States outside of this country; executes special assignments as directed by confidential instructions from the Secretary of State.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE CHIEF

Has responsibilities in connection with establishment of United States military, naval and air missions abroad; handles matters pertaining to maintenance and compensation of such missions.

ASSISTANT CHIEF IN CHARGE OF TRAVEL SECURITY AND SECURITY EVALUATIONS

Supervises the work of the travel security section in connection with the travel of Japanese and Germans to or from their respective countries who may be a threat to the security of the United States; has direct responsibility for the coordination and dissemination of counter-intelligence material coming into the Department; supervises the acquisition of security information and its proper distribution throughout the Department and to other interested government agencies; initiates current counter-intelligence spot reports to be provided to political desks and other interested government agencies and also to be provided to the Department's missions abroad.

TRAVEL SECURITY SECTION

Maintains close contact with all travel security units of the Government and reviews for security records pertaining to persons applying for entry into and exit from the United States; makes recommendations for the Department on the basis of all information available on such cases; maintains program for security control of those German and Japanese nationals traveling to and from their respective countries who may be a threat to the security of the United States; conducts all transactions for the Department involved in carrying out the provisions of the Tripartite Agreement for control of travel by Germans; also maintains the Department's extensive files on Americans of Japanese origin.

...TRATIVE SECTION

...sponsibility for all personnel ...vision, including liaison with ... and recruitment, hiring and ...al; supervises routine administ... the various branches of the ...f the normal business proced... such as ordering of supplies, etc; ...al records of the Division. In... leave reports charts, etc.; over... procedure for filing and carding; ...ing memoranda, telegrams, in..., to make sure that proper ... within the Division and that ... to the standard established in ...Correspondence Handbook and

MAIL AND FILES UNIT

...coming mail and routing of such within ... responsible for routing of outgoing ... the proper maintenance of records on ...cret correspondence; maintains a tally ...cords of incoming and outgoing mail; ...ier deliveries; maintains central index ... outgoing material; maintains card files ... and maintains the central files of the ...ch counter-intelligence information is ...such information readily available to ... of the Department.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS UNIT

...specialized administrative tasks in ... the receipt of telegrams and air... ...ine records on the release of top ...ret telegrams and airgrams to other ...ies the proper routing of such com... ...maintains records of release of such ...nications to other government agencies; ...al handling for officers of the Division ...requiring immediate action.

Acts ... Controls on ... quests for ... ...er ...ies ... within the ... such info... ...vestigative ... regular ... ...ment; scans ... into the ... Division's ... on such ... security ... Department ... intelligence ... channel of ... discharging ... Foreign ... information ... Foreign A... ...mation to ... ...nce with ... ...er persons ...

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION

September 1, 1947

ASSISTANT CHIEF IN CHARGE OF LIAISON AND ADMINISTRATION

Directs the operation of all liaison functions of the Division, including liaison with Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, Office of Naval Intelligence, Military Intelligence Division, Bureau of Customs, Coast Guard Intelligence and Secret Service; supervises liaison particularly with the War and Navy Departments on a wide variety of subjects of mutual interest; supervises the administrative work within the Division including liaison with Division of Personnel on recruitment of personnel, selection and assignments for the personnel, supervises administrative procedures for the various branches of the Division.

ARMED SERVICES SECTION

Releases under discretionary authority for the use of the War and Navy Departments information coming into the Department pertaining to matters of security interest; obtains for the use of the Department similar highly classified material on security and counter-intelligence from the War and Navy Departments and their representatives abroad; serves as representative of the Department on Military Intelligence Division Reading Panel; selects communications and other documents on this reading panel for distribution within the Department.

ADMINISTRA

Has immediate [illegible] matters within the Divi[illegible] Division of Personnel [illegible] assignment of personnel; [illegible]trative procedures for [illegible] Division; takes care of [illegible]ures of the Division [illegible] maintains the personnel [illegible]cluding work reports, l[illegible] sees the established [illegible] coordinates all outgoing [illegible]structions, notes, etc., [illegible] routing has been made wi[illegible] the material conforms to [illegible] the State Department Co[illegible] Security Manual.

CIVILIAN AGENCIES SECTION

Maintains daily contact with representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on security matters; supervises all inquiries to and from the Federal Bureau of Investigation for information on a case basis; acts as focal point in the Department with the Federal Bureau of Investigation on counter-intelligence matters; provides necessary distribution of incoming and outgoing information from Federal Bureau of Investigation within the Department; also maintains contact for the Department with Central Intelligence Agency on matters of mutual security interest; assists Central Intelligence Agency in the execution of certain orders based on instructions of the Director of Central Intelligence Agency and the Secretary of State; assures proper distribution within the Division of incoming communications of a counter-espionage nature from Central Intelligence Agency; disseminates from local and foreign departmental sources information of interest and current value to the Secret Service, the Customs Bureau, the Coast Guard Intelligence and the Office of Censorship; obtains from these agencies for the Department information of current value and interest to the Department.

M

Handles [illegible] the Division; is [illegible] mail, including [illegible] official top [illegible] desk for the [illegible] supervises courier [illegible] of incoming and [illegible] for the Division [illegible] Division in which [illegible] indexed; makes [illegible] action officers of

[illegible]

Performs [illegible] connection with [illegible] grams. Maintains secret and secret agencies; handles munications; [illegible] incoming communi[illegible] provides special [illegible] for telegrams [illegible]

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INT 758/76

Definition of Security Intelligence

A security intelligence program should be a considered review of activities and techniques, carried out by covert means, including sabotage and espionage, which are engaged in, employed, initiated, directed or used by an individual, agency or government, operating outside the United States, against the government, institutions or interests of the United States, or dedicated to influencing others against the United States, its institutions or interests. Information concerning such activities and techniques which are carried out by official, quasi-official or other overt means are, therefore, not within the scope of a security intelligence program.

The program should consist of the collection, coordination, and evaluation of the activities and techniques, which are within its scope. It should also include the proper dissemination of security information, with recommendations, for policy decisions based on the information so developed.

As an integral part of the program, the security intelligence organization of the Department should evaluate the degree to which groups or individuals operating covertly abroad constitute a danger to the security of the United States. A necessary corollary of this should be the analysis of the extent of infiltration by such individuals or groups into governments, labor unions, newspapers, radios, et cetera, in other countries.

1419

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INT 758/77

[redacted]

September 15, 1947

FC's Informational Needs

The following are subjects of information essential to FC's liaison with ONI and MIS:

Disloyal Americans
Subversive and other agents
Intelligence matters
Espionage and counter-espionage
Security matters at our Missions
Sabotage
Police training, requests for
Clandestine operations
Clandestine radio
Foreign penetration
Nationalism
Nazism, Fascism, Communism, Spanish Falange, Arrowheads, etc.
Japanese and German archives
United States Government officers and employees abroad - all FBI, War and Navy personnel (reports other than routine)
Foreign Government officers and employees
Censorship
Safehaven, political and economic
Movement of Axis technicians
Political and economic matters on all countries
Revolutionary activities and uprisings
Flight of capital, copyrights, patents, etc. - Japanese and German
Post-war intelligence security data
Propaganda information
Biographic data
Aviation
Repatriation
Movement of internees and detainees
Visas
Exit and reentry permit matters
Passports
Recognition of Foreign Diplomatic and Consular officers
Cultural relation matters including non-citizen visitors to the United States, exchange students, etc.

Shipping matters -

[redacted]

1420

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Shipping matters - arrival and departure of foreign government vessels, sailings, masters, general shipping, routing instructions and charters
Diplomatic couriers - Foreign
Establishment, maintenance, changes in and personnel of the United States military, military aviation, naval, and naval aviation missions to other countries and all matters relating to additional compensation and allowances connected therewith
Establishment, maintenance, changes in and personnel of foreign military, military aviation, naval, and naval aviation missions in the United States
Foreign students entering United States military and naval academies and other service schools or units
Assignment of foreign military and naval attaches, liaison officers, observers, advisers, shipping observers and the like, opening and closing of foreign military and naval liaison and observer's offices
Transportation details, priorities, etc., in connection with the foregoing
Foreign nationals serving in the United States armed forces
Permission for foreigners to visit plants and factories in the United States
Staff conversations concerning the other American republics
Air and Navy-State liaison matters - military and naval bases; air fields, aerial surveys, supplying military and naval equipment to foreign countries; requests for army or navy equipment at foreign service offices; courier and pouch services rendered by Army or Navy; White House and FDR correspondence of interest to the Army or Navy; etc.
All matters relating to civil and military or occupation forces and governments; also foreign relief
All matter relating to Lend-Lease and surplus property, stockpiles, and standards of substistence (also reverse Lend-Lease)
All matters relating to refugees, displaced persons and discharged enemy soldiers
All notices of American citizens returning from Russia or Russian-dominated territories
Efficiency reports on military and naval attaches and naval and military observers abroad
Petroleum reports and all related matters
Hydrographic reports and charts
Notices to Mariners

The following are subjects of information essential to FBI's liaison with the FBI and CIG:

Information concerning individuals engaged in subversive activities, including American citizens, in the United States and abroad

Information

1421

Information concerning travel or proposed travel to the United States of individuals and groups of individuals who may be expected to engage in subversive activities or espionage. This would include persons who have been in the Soviet Union or in countries dominated or influenced by the Soviets.

Information indicating political and economic trends in foreign countries which might influence the activities of groups or nationals of those countries in the United States

Information indicating trends of propaganda activities of foreign powers

Biographic information of any persons who may be anti-American

Appointment or proposed appointment of foreign diplomatic or consular representatives, particularly from countries which have not consistently been pro-democratic in the American sense

Information pertaining to crimes committed on United States flag vessels on the high seas or in foreign ports

Information pertaining to schemes or activities which constitute fraudulent use of United States mails

Information concerning persons engaged in smuggling activities in the United States or affecting the United States

Information concerning the counterfeiting of United States currency or the use of counterfeit United States currency

Information concerning the establishment of groups or movements intending to disrupt or overthrow present governments or affecting the relations of foreign governments with the United States

The following are subjects of information essential to FBI's Travel Control program:

Movement of German nationals or dual nationals, particularly technicians or scientists, including travel involving exit from Germany or reentry into Germany

Repatriation

142

Repatriation operations involving German nationals or Ausl nationals, including both action of individuals and activities of repatriation missions, such as the Argentine mission, Peruvian mission, etc.

Biographical or related information concerning the heads of foreign repatriation and immigration missions

All matters relating to refugees and displaced persons where German nationals or former German nationals may be involved in some way

Requests of foreign governments, chiefly Latin American, for the issuance of exit permits to German nationals or Ausl nationals

In connection with our broader responsibility of reviewing and cataloguing security information concerning German nationals and the German situation in general, it is necessary for the Travel Control Unit to receive data relating to the following subjects:

Nazi resurgence: organizations, political parties, activities of leading figures, etc.

Intelligence activities within Germany involving both German nationals and non-German elements

Communist Party activities within Germany, and the movement and activities of Comintern agents

Biographical data on prominent German political figures and functionaries of the governments of the various Laender

Safehaven, political and economic

Flight of German capital, copyrights, patents, etc.

Movement of detainees and internees

General political situation in Germany

Propaganda activities of Communist or Communist-dominated groups and/or parties

Cultural relations matters involving exchange of students, etc.

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INT 758/81

The following types of information essential to the operation of FCIS [illegible] invariably because (1) FC is building its files or may receive requests from individuals so that this information can be promptly furnished to other interested Government agencies and can be disseminated within the Department to all the interested [illegible] officers; (2) FC makes spot intelligence reports [illegible] every information is being received or will be received or evaluation to make it of great current interest to the counter-intelligence field; and (3) FC may at any time receive requests for information from within the Department or other Government agency for a security check on any individual or organization connected or having [illegible] to the United States or inimical to our best interests. It is, therefore, imperative that all such types of information as listed below be promptly routed to FC for coordination and indexing:

Agents of foreign powers who believed to be engaged in subversive activities whether within or outside of the U. S.

Foreign agents Registration Act - operations, suggested legislative changes, [illegible] possible violations.

[illegible] counter-espionage - sabotage

Foreign penetration of United States institutions or subversions either here or abroad

[illegible] of international organizations by United States Communists or by any of our persons hostile to the United

Nazi and Fascism - resurgence - Fascism, Falangism, Bolshevism

Political moves showing hostility toward the United States in any country on the part of persons or organizations.

Reports of propaganda hostile to the United States - its sources, influences, media of transmission, etc.

Counter-espionage and security data

Full biographic data on individuals who are or may be hostile or subversive to U.S., etc. regardless of political orientation

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1424

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/82

All data on non-governmental international organizations

Communist or fascist penetration - sources of income, officers, appeal, influence, propaganda media, meetings, numerical strength, etc.

All notices of American officials or other American citizens returning from Russian-controlled areas

Information on movement into and from Russian-controlled areas, particularly mass movements and reports from our missions concerning interviews with any individuals leaving Russian-controlled areas

Activities of subversive Americans abroad

Movement of Axis techniques into countries potentially or actively hostile to the United States. Hostile acts on the part of foreign governments or individuals toward American business interests or individual American citizens abroad.

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142

UNCLASSIFIED

INT 758/8

SOURCES OF INFORMATION OF
DIVISION OF FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION

Divisional Sources

- War Relocation Authority records of Japanese-Nisei.
- German file:
  - Nazi Party organizations and members outside Germany and Austria.
  - German and Austrian repatriates.
  - German and Austrian subversives outside Germany and Austria.
- Economic Security files of persons and firms on the black list - This file is not kept current - it is expected to be out of date within two years.
- Sub file of 54,000 special category cards.
- Master index file of F. C. - 160,000 items.

Departmental Sources

- Telegrams and airgrams selected by DC.
- Dispatches and reports selected by F. C. from DC reading panel.
- Biographic Information Division files (BI).
- Visa Division files (VD).
- Passport Division files (PD).
- Division of Security and Investigations files (CSA).
- Division of Communications/Research files (DC/R).

External Sources

- Material selected by F. C. from Army Intelligence reading panel.
- Telegrams selected by F.C. from Army Civil Affairs Division reading panel
- Material made available by Army Civil Affairs Division, after selection by F.C., from lists of reports from occupied areas.
- Telegrams and Reports from Navy selected by Navy on security and counter intelligence.

1421

UNCLASSIFIED

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INT 758/e

- Material from FBI selected by FBI; also material in answer to specific request.

- Army Censorship Division reports.

- Microfilm of Office of Censorship in Archives.

- Treasury and its agencies, Coast Guard, Customs, Secret Service, etc.

- Post Office.

- Justice - Foreign Agent Registration information. Alien Property Custodia records.

- CIA - "DB", "SO", and "OO" reports. All reports are selected by CIA for transmittal to F.C. and the Department. F.C. is the exclusive channel for "DB" reports.

- United States Air Force.

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1427

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INT 758/8

Description of Procedures Used in Telecommunication Section

December 12, 1947

This Unit receives from DS/T, through the Message Service, (FC messenger picks up the first trip early in the morning) 12 copies each of every incoming and outgoing telegram and airgram selected by DC/T in accordan with a list provided by FC indicating the subjects which FC, Army, Navy and FBI are interested in reviewing. In addition, this Unit receives through regular channels action telegrams referred to FC.

The following steps constitute the handling of the 12 copy telegrams:

1. The 12 copies are sorted into four sets, the first set containing one copy of each and referred to as the Reading Set, the second set containing one copy of each and referred to as the File set, the third set containing one copy of each and referred to as Mr. Neal's set, and the fourth set containing the remaining nine copies.

2. The Reading Set and the File Set are date stamped.

3. The Reading Set and File Set are sorted by post and put into numerical sequence.

4. Two clerks compare the Reading Set with the File Set.

5. Both sets are counted.

6. A clerk reads through each copy in the Reading Set and indicates the routing, including the number of copies to go to Army, Navy and the routing within FC.

7. Entries of the indicated routing, as well as the date, number, post, etc. are made in ledgers.

8. Two clerks take the ledgers and the fourth set, composed of nine copies, and distribute copies to the War, Navy and FBI in accordance with the distribution which has been entered in the ledger. Normally four copies go to War Department and four to the Navy, the remaining copy going to FBI if the router believes it should, otherwise being sent to Navy.

9. While two employees are carrying out step 7, a third employee takes the Reading File set and sorts the copies into stacks and counts them. After counting they are redistributed in accordance with the routing within the Division which has been indicated upon the face of each copy.

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14

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INT 758/86

10. The File set is filed in a set of file cases in this Unit, by posts and in numerical sequence and is retained for three months before burning

The copies to War, Navy and FBI are picked up by employees of those Departments; in the first two cases officer personnel, signed for and carried away by hand. The Army insists on collections at 9:30, 2:30 and 4:30. The Reading copy is routed to other persons in the Division and may or may not come back to this Unit for destruction.

One other time-consuming task is the searching for telegrams at the request of Army and Navy which they claim not to have received. If the reference is not found in the ledgers, the desks check with CS to secure copies, sometimes having to secure clearance from the action office or drafting officer before release. A high percentage of telegrams make reference to preceeding telegrams and the clerks refer to the ledger in each such instance.

The quantity received ranges from 300 to 350 items on each week day, with Mondays totalling about twice that of other days. Approximately 20 are questionable and approximately 10 are being withheld each day from War and Navy.

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INT 758/8

Descriptive Information Covering Material Prepared In FC

December 1, 1947

Jose Aguero, nephew of the President of Cuba. Question of failure to declare certain merchandise before Customs by Aguero. (Letter to Bureau of Customs based on Cuban Embassy note).

Felix Renato Verbeken Ghyssens, convicted German-Belgian traitor, entry into Chile with visa granted in Paris. (Airgram to Berlin asking investigation and report).

Alleged statement by FBI in Mexico re expenditures for hoof-and-mouth disease campaign which claimed that FBI was impressed with "honesty and energy" as result of investigation. (Instruction to Mexico City asking retraction and clarification).

Salvador Ocampo, Chilean Communist Senator. Results of surveillance of - conducted while Ocampo in US at request of Chilean Foreign Office. (Instruction to Santiago based on FBI report).

Gold smuggling from US to Europe. Use by Polish Embassy, Washington, of diplomatic pouch to send gold from US to Poland. (Memorandum to EE for information).

Vanko Guerguiff. Reportedly under assignment by Bulgarian Government to act as "receptionist" at Bulgarian Mission, Washington, but has disappeared. (Letter to FBI asking investigation based on statements made by a friendly member of the Bulgarian Mission).

List of suspected Yugoslav Communists. (Letter to American Vice Consul, Port Said, Egypt, letters to CIA, ONI, MID, FBI).

Louis Colovich, suspected Yugoslav Communist who apparently intends to immigrate to South America. (Instructions to Buenos Aires and Santiago).

B-17's licensed for export to France. B-17's required for photographic work in French territory. (Memorandum to Mr. Cummins with copy to Mr. Walner).

Information regarding marriage between Warren Irwin Boe, boatswain's mate first class, US Navy, to Mrs. Lilita Bowman. (Airgram to Auckland, New Zealand, stating no possibility of marriage).

Commendation by Captain Mackinnon, USN, of Mr. Frederick Hunt, American Consul at Martinique. (Letter to Navy).

142

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INT 758/88

[redacted]

Liaison activities between the Department of the Air Force and the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation. (FC memorandum setting forth the efforts made to establish).

Request by Aviation Francaise for film of Aleutian and Alaskan air bases. (Letter to the Assistant Chief of Air-Staff-2, transmitting request).

The establishment of an American Consulate at Malta. (Letters to CIA, Navy, and Army).

Ladislaw Borowiec, passport applicant. Secret CIA memorandum concerning —. (Memorandum to Mrs. Shipley, PD).

Advisability of approving the passport application executed by George Alexander Kennedy, who desires to proceed to China. (Memorandum to Mrs. Shipley, PD, setting forth the opinion of FC in this matter).

Issuance of visa to Madamme Danielle Bapperen at Paris. Information furnished Paris in connection with possibility that this person has Communist connections. (Airgram to Paris).

Issuance of permits for travel from US Zone of Germany to the US Zone of Austria. Information furnished on this matter. (Letter to Miss Mary Jellinek of Middleboro, Massachusetts).

Information concerning Princess Edda von Wrede and Prince Edmund von Wrede. Request for —, and opinion re their return to Argentina. (Telegram to Buenos Aires).

Information concerning the political background of Professor Louis Cazamian, former Sorbonne scholar. (Letter to Grinell College, Grinell, Iowa).

Communist influence on the principal Moslem leaders. Study prepared in FC of Communist strategy in the Arab lands. (Circular instruction to certain American diplomatic and consular offices).

December 8, 1947

Pre-examination for immigration purposes of Mr. Arne Minden Aas, a Norweigan subject. (Note to the Norwegian Embassy).

Emergency and war-time legislation affecting the operations of FC. (Memorandum from FC to CON regarding).

Case of Jose Aguero violation of Customs regulations. (Letter to Bureau of Customs).

[redacted]

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INT 758/89

[redacted]

Eugenisz Kin, suspected of being a Soviet operator in Venezuela. (Letters to the Air Force, Army, Navy, CIA, FBI, and Customs).

Unpaid hotel bill incurred by Lt. Manigian in Greece. (Instruction to Athens enclosing memorandum from the Department of the Army).

Certain reports on petroleum received from American diplomatic and consular posts. (Letter to Army-Navy Petroleum Board transmitting).

Appointment of Lt. James H. Davis as Assistant Military Attache at Praha. Supported by the Embassy at Praha. (Letter to Department of the Army).

Italian Embassy list of Italian ships for the Navy Department. (Letter to Department of the Navy transmitting).

List of Italian ships. Acknowledging receipt of from Italian Embassy. (Memo to Italian Embassy).

Release by the Department of the Army of certain aerial photography covering Guatemala. (Instruction to Guatemala City regarding).

Sale of airplanes by the Casa Trading Corporation to the Government of El Salvador. Issuance of License covering. (Notes to the Attorney General and El Salvador Embassy).

Carmen Meana, Secretary of the Coordinating Committee for the Spanish Republic. Information concerning this person. (FC memo to PD).

Travel to Brazil of Albert de Haydin and wife, of Germany. (Airgram to Rio de Janeiro and memo to PD).

The Department's policy of the denying of United States transit facilities to War Crime repatriates to Germany. (Instruction to Guatemala regarding).

German entry permits for Odoriz and wife. (Airgram to Buenos Aires).

Issuance German entry permits for Edda and Edmund von Wrede. (Airgram to Berlin).

Replacement of Major Hohn M. Turner by Major Winston S. Hey as member of the United States Military Aviation Mission to Bolivia. (Memo to Army General Staff and note to Bolivian Embassy).

December 10, 1947

Microfilm concerning Katyn Forest murders. (FC memo to EE).

Information regarding Tito Watsson Saboris, reportedly a Communist. (Instructions to Lima and San Jose).

[redacted]

INT 758/9.

[redacted]

Departure from Ciudad Trujillo of ships in connection with the anticipated Venezuelan revolution. (Letters to Customs, FBI).

Attempt to export airplanes to Nicaragua. Involvement of Colonel Emilio Gonzalez Cervantes, Nicaraguan Military Attache in —. (Memos to CPA, Le).

Instituto de Cultura Hispano Uruguayo and the Spanish Republican Government in Exile. (FC memo to WE).

Information on the subversive activities of a French national in the employ of the Soviet Intelligence Service, Mr. Honag Van Hiet, was. (Instructions to Paris, Saigon, and Brussels).

Information concerning the, and the officers of, the International Rescue and Relief Committee. (FC memo to GTI).

Investigation of Veste Cornelius Kylberg. (Request to Navy Department for results of -).

State Department need of cables originated by the Budget Office of the Department of the Army concerning the use of appropriated funds in the occupied areas. (FC memo to A-S).

Exit permit for Mrs. Eva Reuter. Interest of Chilean Embassy in - . (Airgram to Berlin, memo to Chilean Embassy).

Otto Sales Company proposed shipment of ammunition for use by the Siamese Government (FC memo to MD and SEA regarding).

Assignment of certain individuals as members of the United States Naval Mission to Colombia and Peru. (Two notes to Colombian Embassy, one note to Peruvian Embassy).

[redacted]

142

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 10290
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7:11 p.m.

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FROM: Munich (Via Pouch)

TO: Secretary of State

NO: Unnumbered, June 12

SENT DEPARTMENT UNNUMBERED, AMEMBASSY LONDON UNNUMBERED, RETEADD INFORMATION BONN, PARIS, ISTANBUL, EMBASSY VIENNA UNNUMBERED

URTEL 2, June 11.

Yaroslav Stetsko, AKA Varyl Denkiw, is president of emigre political organization ABN--anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Zeppelinstrasse 67, Munich

Stetsko also a leading figure in [illegible]--Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandera), a Ukrainian apparatist group which, though now frequently professing democratic principles, has both in the Ukraine during World War II and in the emigration engaged in strong-arm totalitarian tactics. Stefan Bandera, leader of OUN (B), also in West Germany

OUN (B) set up non-communist "government" of Ukraine in Lvov June 1941 and appointed Stetsko Prime Minister. Germans disbanded government after a few days of existence and Stetsko imprisoned in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp until 1944. ABN established in Munich after war by OUN (B) and has remained creature of the latter. ABN includes mostly minor, extreme nationalist, non-Russian, anti-communist emigre groups--Byelorussians, Armenians, Cossacks, Georgians, Turkestani, Slovaks, Hungarians, Czechs, etc., in addition to (UN (B). ABN, considerably weakened by withdrawals of moderate more democratic member groups in 1953 and 1954

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EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

Stetsko travels abroad frequently, was a [illegible] Madrid and last October in Taiwan--where, according to ABN publications, he was received by high officials, including Chiang Kai Chek. FYI [illegible] visitor's visa to US [illegible] Department's approval.

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DIVISION OF BROADCASTING AND RECEPTION
RECEIVED
JUN 1956
A.M. 7:18 P.M. 5:16

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HDS-12

NOTE: Referenced telegram not identified [illegible]

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: April 16, 1958

SUBJECT: Concern of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the World anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation about activities of Yaroslav Stetzko and General Ferenc Farkas

PARTICIPANTS: Francis J. McNamara, Director of American Sovereignty Campaign of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Consultant, House Committee on Un-American Activities

EE - Mr. Kendrick

COPIES TO:

EUR -	Mr. Kohler	ARA
EE -	Mr. Leverich	IRS
EE -	Mr. Sutterlin	FE/CA
EE -	Mr. Stefan	
U -	Mr. Curtis (2)	AmConGen MUNICH
SY -		Amemb MEXICO CITY

APR

Mr. McNamara called at the Department at his request to inquire about the background and activities of Yaroslav Stetzko and General Ferenc Farkas. He had just returned from Mexico City where he had been attending an anti-Communist conference from March 20-25, called by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (supported by several Far Eastern governments) and the Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent. About 90 delegates representing 65 nations participated in the conference. The purpose of the meeting was to develop plans for a World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation to be held in Istenbul in 1958 during the anniversary dates of the Hungarian Revolt. If arrangements cannot be made to hold the conference in Istenbul the next preferences are Greece or Portugal. Mr. Marvin Lee, head of the Committee of One Million, was placed in charge of preparatory work for the Congress.

Mr. McNamara said that various delegations had become concerned during the course of the proceedings in Mexico City over the tactics and position taken by Mr. Stetzko and General Farkas. Although the two were elected to the Steering Committee several of the members were beginning to doubt the wisdom of this choice. As the meeting progressed it became evident that Mr. Stetzko and General Farkas were not so anti-Communist as anti-Russian. The other delegates at the conference have no quarrel with the Russian people and thought Mr. Stetzko's and General Farkas' vehemence and energies were misdirected and would prove to be divisive for purposes and aims of the Congress. Mr. McNamara and Mr. Lee had subsequently made sufficient inquiries about Messrs. Stetzko and Farkas to conclude that the men had a very disreputable reputation and could, if anything, cast a bad shadow over the Congress and harm their efforts to secure wide support for the endeavor. He asked if the Department was familiar with Mr. Stetzko or General Farkas.

OFFICIAL USE ONLY Mr. Kendrick

611.45613/4-1658

Mr. Kendrick said that he thought both Mr. Stetzko and General Farkas were anti-Communist. They did, however, have bad political reputations because of their far-rightist orientation. Mr. Stetzko's Ukrainian organization is based on the fuehrer principle, is extremely anti-Russian, and has a long record of murder, terror and coercion perpetrated in the DP camps in Germany against those Ukrainians who do not share their views. It would be difficult, however, for the VFW to document a case against Mr. Stetzko or show his direct involvement in these activities. General Farkas was judged by a Hungarian court in 1947 to be a war criminal based upon his wartime record and collaboration with the Nazi Government. Mr. Kendrick said he personally thought it would hurt the VFW and the Congress to become associated with Mr. Stetzko and General Farkas. Mr. Kendrick suggested that Mr. McNamara might wish to contact the American Committee for Liberation for advice on emigre political groups representing the peoples of the USSR.

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EUR:EE/PJJKendrick,Jr.:mg

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PROBLEM AREAS

1. EUROPE AND NATO

   a. MLF/ANF

   b. Alternatives (if ANF fails)

2. OUTSIDE EUROPE

   a. India

   b. Japan

   c. Israel/UAR

3. MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS

   a. NDNA

   b. Comprehensive Test Ban

   c. Nuclear Free Zones

   d. No-first-use Policy

   e. U.S. - USSR

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4. PEACEFUL USES

   a. EURATOM

   b. IAEA and Bilaterals

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5. U.S. WEAPONS POLICIES

   a. Overseas Deployments

   b. Physical Security

   c. R&D

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6. POLICIES TOWARD EXISTING NUCLEAR POWERS

   a. France

   b. U.K.

   c. Chinese

   d. USSR

Probable Consequences

1. (1) An ANF, if established, would probably satisfy FRG nuclear aspirations for near term (though a US insistence on retention of veto would disturb Europeanists). Alternativ would be less likely to satisfy the FRG since continuance of UK as well as French deterrent would emphasize FRG inferiority. Eventually (~5 years), the FRG would probably insist on acquiring independent control of nuclear weapons through one means or another.

(2) So long as deGaulle lives, France would probably not join an ANF even were the US to provide technological assistance and withdrew veto; she might, but probably would not, withdraw from NATO. With deGaulle gone, France might well come to terms with whatev if any, arrangements for nuclear sharing had come into existence.

(3) Soviet attitudes toward Europe might harden; Soviets, in face of ANF, might be able to assert a greater measure of control over satellites; a Warsaw Pact missile "MLF" is possible, but improbable; possibilities for German unification would be diminished for some years.

(4) As prolification proceeds elsewhere, it would be difficult to curb European appetite some (e.g. Benelux) might line up with nuclear powers; others (e.g. Norway) pursue neutrality; others (e.g. FRG, Italy, and Sweden) develop nuclear capabilities.

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2. (a) India would probably proceed with a nuclear program. Provided there were adequa US assistance in delivery systems, she probably could effectively counter Chinese capabi ity. In the absence of great power guarantees she might (in 5-10 years) become interested in collective security, perhaps with Japan. Pending the achievement of an adequate Indian nuclear capability, increased US involvement may be inevitable to deter or respond to a preemptive Chinese attack. Assuming an Indian nuclear program, Pakistan would feel gravely threatened and would seek nuclear weapons from the US, Chinese and/or Soviets.

(b) Japan might well attempt to acquire an independent nuclear capability to counter th Chinese. This would be particularly likely if the US in any way encouraged such development or indicated a possible weakening of its commitment. She might outdo and thereby eclipse the Chinese. She might in time assume a lead role in Asian collective security. She could (in 10-15 years) have the capability of seriously injuring the US. Japan might move toward neutrality vis-a-vis the US-Chinese confrontation, possibly without acquiri nuclear weapons.

(c) Israel would probably develop a modest capability. The UAR, feeling menaced, would attempt to obtain weapons from Soviets, and might succeed, especially in the light of the Chinese as a potential alternative source.

(d) Other nations, seeing prolification proceed, would seek to build or acquire weapons. Indonesia, Australia, and possibly Canada, South Africa, Brazil, and Mexico are possibilities.

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3. (a) Without US and Soviet support, the treaty would fail.

(b) Probably no new agreement; and as prolification proceeded the need to test would cause some nations to withdraw from or violate even the limited ban.

(c) Almost certainly, no agreement in Near East and probably none elsewhere.

(d) None.

(e) While a broader area of common interest between the US and the USSR might devel as independent nuclear states emerge and the US attempts to reduce its own commitments abroad, mutual apprehension might negate the realization of these common interests and lead to a renewed arms race. Lesser powers could play off one against the other in an attempt to get nuclear weapons. The risks of loss of restraint and control would multiply as the centers of nuclear power grow.

4. (a) French and other European nuclear programs would be helped because of participation in Euratom, but these effects would probably not be decisive.

(b) Europe as above; because of competition to supply fissionable material, reactors and other equipment, and the absence of adequate controls, potential Nth countries are likely to have rather easy access to the ingredients necessary for a weapons program. As political inhibitions against nuclear weapons acquisition diminish, pressures to apply available facilities and personnel to weapons production may be irresistible.

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5. (a) Initial deployments depend on choices under 1 and 2 above; as prolification proceeded, deployments and commitments abroad would probably be reduced.

(b) Nth nations might not wish expensive safety devices; U.S. assistance would help somewhat.

(c) 1. No defense system could prevent deaths of millions, even at hands of lesser powers; broad but thin ABMs plus SAMs plus shelters (at cost of $5-10 billion) might limit potential damage to the US or the USSR from lesser powers to 10-20 million deaths; sophisticated system (at cost of $30 billion) would do better but might upset US-Soviet stability.

2. Difficult to predict what progress might be made in warning and identification; it will be difficult to bell the Nth nation cat.

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6. (a) Enough assistance could possibly draw France into the ANF, but probably would not while de Gaulle lives.

(b) UK would probably merge most of its deterrent into an ANF, but might well reestablish independent capability as prolification proceeded.

(c) In the near term it is unlikely that the Chinese can be tamed. Early acquisition of Japanese-Indian nuclear capabilities might negate the effect vis-a-vis these two countries and perhaps more broadly.

(d) Soviets' development would proceed as in the past.

[redacted]

Overall

(a) After 15-20 years a number of nations would individually have the capability of destroying at least 5-20 million US lives.

(b) US, Soviets, and other great powers may be increasingly unwilling to undertake military commitments abroad. Chinese, and others more aggressive and irresponsible, may wish to fill the vacuum.

(c) New regional groupings and balances and resulting stability could conceivably ensue, with the probability of neither localized nuclear nor general war substantially increased. But it seems more probable that multiplied nuclear capabilities would increase the probability of nuclear use, heighten the difficulties of control and identification, and increase the danger of escalation to global warfare.

[redacted]

COURSE II

Same as in Course I.

- Without strong leverage, and multilateral cooperation, efforts to establish safeguards will fail. Consequences as in Course I, but at a slower rate.

Substantial reduction in visible weapons deployments could reduce resulting desires, but could also result in decreased credibility of US commitment and consequent incentive for independent capabilities.

No difficulty.

Consequences as in Course I.

France would be slightly delayed, as compared to Course I; would be slightly more irritated; would proceed with planned programs.

UK consequences as in Course I.

In the near term, it is unlikely the Chinese can be tamed.

Soviet consequences as in Course I.

COURSE II

(1) Same as Course I though we might hold the line on German acquisition of nuclear capabilities a little longer.

(2) Similar to Course I, though French irritation at controls would be greater and France would be even more likely to stay out of ANF.

(3) Same as Course I.

(4) With prolification slowed slightly elsewhere and some direct US pressure, FRG and other European independent capabilities would be delayed slightly (1-2 years) but would in due time develop.

It is doubtful that generalized US assurances would persuade the Indians from going ahead with a nuclear weapons program within the next few years. Without US assistance on acquiring delivery systems, India would not for some time be able to counter the Chinese nuclear threat. Thus, need for US commitment would be greater than in Course I. Reaction of Pakistan to Indian nuclear capability would be as in Course I.

Japanese move to acquire independent nuclear capability and/or move toward neutrality might be prevented or at least deferred for a longer period than under Course I.

Success with Israel would depend upon the specificity of the guarantees and sanctions. Without substantial pressure she would probably go ahead, with the consequences described under Course I.

Other nations would also proceed, as under Course I, but at a somewhat slower rate.

Soviet opposition to ANF, plus delay (caused by referral to ENDC) and intervening new nuclear capabilities, would probably combine to make agreement impossible.

An agreement might be signed, and would have some effect in slowing prolification; doubtful that determined nations would forever refrain from testing.

Agreements are possible but not likely; if signed they, too, would slow spread, but some nations would, in time, withdraw.

None.

Modest disarmament measures might lower US-Soviet tension and make more cooperation possible, but would not greatly affect prolification. Eventually, consequences could be as in Course I.

CONSEQUENCES

COURSE III

1. (a) U.S. pressure and slowed proliferation elsewhere would keep FRG in line for an extra 5-10 years (and perhaps longer). This could be at the cost of amicable U.S.-FRG relations. More hopefully FRG interest in, and progress toward, reunification might reduce pressures for acquisition of nuclear weapons.

(b) Extreme French irritation at U.S. opposition to testing would make withdrawal from NATO more likely; thus, so long as de Gaulle lives, France would be unlikely to join ANF and continuing French resentment might even preclude subsequent participation.

(c) If USSR really was persuaded U.S. was prepared to hold the line on German acquisition of nuclear weapons, progress toward European settlements and German reunification might be possible despite ANF (though realization of peaceful reunification would be impossible with Germany in the ANF and strong NATO).

(c) With proliferation slowed elsewhere, and FRG in check, other European nuclear capabilities would be much delayed.

2. (a) An optimum package including guarantees might stop India from going ahead with a nuclear program for at least 3 to 5 years. This would have desirable effects in Pakistan and elsewhere. A determined stand by India against nuclear proliferation could have a big impact on other countries. Unfortunately, even the present program might not succeed over the long term, and an eventual Indian nuclear decision would result in similar decisions in Pakistan and elsewhere.

(b) Similar results for Japan as in the case of India, but with a greater probability of long-term success, due to greater Japanese industrial strength and organizational capabilities.

(c) Such a program might be able to delay Israel/UAR acquisition indefinitely, assuming no sharply heightened security problems or intervening outside assistance to UAR. All of Africa might remain free of nuclear weapons.

(d) Other nations might be kept in line, the critical factor probably being success with India. Weapons acquisition would probably be delayed at least 5-10 years.

3. (a) Soviets would probably initially insist on abandonment of ANF concept. U.S. would have to face the question very early. If U.S. and Soviets could agree on an NDNA measure, an agreement with most nations other than Chinese and satellites, and perhaps France, would probably result. This agreement, coupled with other measures, could have an increasingly stabilizing effect.

(b) An agreement would probably result if a consensus could be reached with Soviets on inspection, which might also be useful in conjunction with other disarmament measures.

(c) Nuclear Free Zone agreements would probably result in Africa and Latin America and would serve to reinforce other agreements; there would be

a fair chance of extension to the Arab-Israeli area. U.S. could probably adjust at relatively low cost to a curtailment of transit rights.

(d) None.

(e) Modest U.S.-USSR reductions could probably be agreed upon; they would diminish tensions and make greater U.S.-USSR cooperation possible; they might have marginal effect upon proliferation incentives.

4. (a) External safeguards on Euratom would hamper European developments and possibly enhance psychological restrictions on national programs; if control led to Euratom's collapse, independent programs might arise as substitutes. In either case, French and other European resentment could result, especially during de Gaulle's lifetime. Effective external safeguards on Euratom would remove a significant and notorious exception to the IAEA system.

(b) It will be difficult to obtain enough leverage on Nth nations and their other suppliers to ensure complete success with external controls (France and China will be very unlikely to cooperate and others might not also; IAEA controls may not turn out to be completely effective even if established). Yet even partial success would serve to delay development of basic weapons technology and make decisions to undertake weapons programs more difficult.

5. (a) Reduced emphasis on tactical nuclear weapons will create a Western European need for U.S. (and Soviet) reassurances and (possibly) compensatory Soviet moves. In the absence of such measures and movement toward detente, European incentives for independent nuclear capabilities could increase.

(b) British, and particularly French, might balk at PALs.

(c) (1) No defense system could prevent deaths of millions, even at the hands of lesser powers; broad but thin ABMs plus SAMs plus shelters (at a cost of $5-10 billion) might limit potential damage to the U.S. or the USSR from lesser powers to 10-20 million deaths; sophisticated system (at a cost of $30 billion) would do better but might upset U.S.-Soviet stability.

6. (a) France would be furious; would proceed with programs with only modest delays; might withdraw from NATO. Improbable that she would join ANF in de Gaulle's lifetime. The example to Nth nations would be present, but might be marginal unless we went even further.

(b) U.K. would probably cooperate; U.K. White Paper would have a desirable effect but not a very significant one since most countries would have an interest in nuclear capabilities to deal with less sophisticated threats than that of the USSR. U.K. might willingly agree to give up special relationship in an ANF context.

(c) It would be a long time before China would cooperate, and in the meantime, the pressures on India and Japan would continue.

(d) Soviets could prove unwilling to alter policies, such as hostility to any form of ANF, and competition with the Chinese could lead them to even more intractable positions. However, their long-range interests in stopping simultaneous nuclear encirclement by both the Chinese and the Germans might lead to limited but effective cooperation with the U.S.

Overall

This course should succeed in substantially retarding proliferation (bringing a pause of perhaps 10-15 years). Inability to arrive at a non-spread agreement (due to problems with ANF or for other reasons) would substantially reduce possibilities of success. Permanent success would probably depend on subsequent movement toward disarmament which in turn would require bringing France into concert with her neighbors and the eventual growth of responsibility in China. The latter event may be remote.

The principal costs would be:

(1) Temporary (and perhaps indefinite) alienation of France; resentment of FRG, and perhaps India and Israel, over U.S. pressures; and irritation of other Nth nations over controls and pressures for reactor safeguards.

(2) Risk that guarantees to India might involve us in conflict with China.

[redacted]

[redacted]

COURSE IV

(1) FRG would probably be willing to accept neutralization with reunification, particularly if under US pressure. Soviets might or might not agree, and pressures would be required for GDR. If reunification proceeded, German nuclear aspirations would be at best temporarily abated, although a united Germany may not long be willing to remain militarily and politically subordinated if it proved impossible to get weaker powers (e.g., UK and France) to renounce nuclear weapons.

(2) The consequences for France are as in Course III, but even more so; NATO would be radically altered; an Atlantic Alliance of sorts might continue, with or without the absorption of UK and French deterrents.

(3) Soviet security problems would be greatly reduced at first; there would probably be looser Soviet control over the satellites, along with increased Western orientation. Apparent risks include Soviet concern and possible forceful intervention if a united Germany fails to pursue neutrality or carry out agreements restricting armaments, if a violent uprising in one or more of the satellites occurs.

(4) Proliferation would probably be halted in Europe, assuming no rearming of Germany and no major proliferation elsewhere.

India would not develop weapons so long as the Chinese capability remained crippled; and might be deterred even thereafter by the Chinese example. India would, however, be under renewed pressure if the Chinese capability were revived and China continued her belligerent course.

Japan would respond similarly to India.

Israel-UAR (and the rest of Africa) could be controlled if we demonstrated our commitment to follow through on our threats and guarantees and if India and Japan stayed in line.

Other nations would follow.

As in Course III, but with greater probability of success.

As in a. above.

As in a. above.

Problems would be similar to those under Course III.

An approach to minimum deterrence would be useful in US-Soviet relations and would have some psychological benefits for proliferation in terms of Great Power self-denial. The risk would be that we might make a first rank deterrent appear easier to obtain.

COURSE IV

Problems would be similar to those under Course III.

As in a. above.

As in Course III.

Would eliminate physical security problems.

Consequences as in Course III, but greater French hostility and possibly increased example value for Nth nations.

Consequences as in Course III.

Might serve as a powerful influence upon Nth nations, and would reduce or eliminate pressures upon India and Japan so long as the capability remained impaired. Risk of nuclear retaliation on US or on Taiwan or elsewhere in Far East, probably extremely small. Risk of conventional response in SEA. Permanent elimination of the capability would be impossible; a single attack could make it more difficult than ever to bring Chinese to responsibility; consolidation of Afro-Asian hostility likely.

Lessened tensions with Soviets unless attacks on China made some Soviet response seem appropriate.

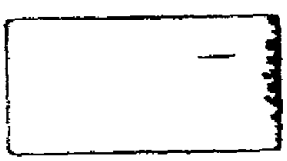
Overall

Course IV may offer a substantially greater possibility of halting proliferation in Europe than Course III; but final success there as well as in the Far East and elsewhere may in the end depend upon success with China. Course IV probably has a far greater chance of containing proliferation in Asia, but it is not clear that even this course will succeed there. The principal additional costs and risks of Course IV seem to be these:

(1) Even greater difficulties with France.

(2) Danger of instability in Europe arising from a re-united Germany that may intervene in Eastern Europe or that may be unwilling to accept a military status inferior to great powers.

(3) Risks and political costs of attacking Chinese nuclear facilities as balanced against the necessity of controlling Chinese nuclear capabilities and the unlikelihood of China's voluntary cooperation within the foreseeable future.



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US NUCLEAR EXPORT CONTROLS: POLICY AND PROCEDURES

I. Policy

(For the purposes of this particular paper, it is assumed that no detailed study is needed of US policy and procedures regarding export of nuclear-connected items to the Sino-Soviet Bloc. This policy is one of rigorous control and denial to the Soviet Union, Communist China, or other states inimical to the US of anything which would be helpful to them in achieving or improving a nuclear weapons capability. Adequate enforcement machinery exists, there are no countervailing policy considerations of significance to be taken into account, and while the situation in regard to Soviet and Chinese nuclear weapons development is by no means what we would want, US export control policy and procedures have not been of any significance in bringing about this situation.)

General

Our major export control problems related to proliferation lie within the Free World rather than with the Communist countries, although our anti-proliferation goal is the same with respect to everyone. Since World War II, the policy line of the US Government on proliferation has been clear and consistent--we have been opposed to the development of national nuclear weapons capabilities by any additional countries (except the UK, which was a special exception due to the intimate World War II US-UK collaboration in the nuclear field). Our basic legislation in this field dating from 1946 and as since amended bears clear witness to this, as do pronouncements of do pronouncements of Executive Branch spokesmen at every level.

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However, the world of 1964 is markedly different from the world of 1946, and the current expression of our anti-proliferation and corresponding export control policy is best understood when we recognize that US policy to be realistic must take into account inter alia the following facts and developments:

a. The gradual spread throughout the world of a general understanding of nuclear technology, both in theoretical and technological terms.

b. The growth of a significant nuclear industry and civil programs in the US and abroad, especially since the 1953-54 period and the subsequent establishment of the IAEA. (The US peaceful uses program is addressed fully in another paper in this series, but a short account is attached as an annex to this paper for convenience.)

c. The continuation of UK weapons research and development, with US assistance, throughout a considerable portion of the postwar period.

d. The Soviet weapons program and nuclear threat, and, subsequently, the French program and the first Chinese explosion.

e. NATO nuclear weapons sharing arrangements as presently constituted, and the possibility of a more direct sharing via MLF or an Allied Nuclear Force as now suggested by the British.

f. Increased emphasis on the fact that delivery vehicles as well as nuclear warheads must be dealt with in any realistic anti-proliferation policy.

g. Conclusion of the limited Test Ban Treaty.

[redacted]

NSAM 294

The most recent authoritative expression of US policy for internal guidance in this area is NSAM 294 of April 20, 1964, in which the key general paragraph is as follows:

"It is the policy of this government to oppose the development of nuclear forces by additional states, other than those whose forces would be assigned as part of a NATO nuclear force targetted in accordance with NATO plans, and except when supreme national interests were at stake, used only for the defense purposes of the alliance."

This formulation is not intended nor does it profess to oppose all types of nuclear activity by all states. Its target is a nuclear weapons capability in the hands of and therefore at the unilateral disposal of any individual nation. It will be recognized that the language can accommodate the present UK nuclear force. It cannot accommodate the present and prospective French force, although the door is left open should the French Government place its force at NATO disposal. It cannot accommodate nuclear forces in the hands of any inimical or neutral power, inasmuch as the possibility of NATO direction of such forces would be out of the question.

The NSAM 294 expression of US opposition applies without doubt to export of nuclear weapons, weapons design information, fissionable material for use in nuclear weapons, nuclear delivery systems, and the testing of nuclear weapons, insofar as these are being developed for national purposes. The policy does not oppose these things per se, (except for testing--see below), nor does it oppose foreign production of fissionable materials or

dissemination of nuclear information per se, since it has been the US Government view that atomic energy is capable of major peaceful as well as military uses, and that it is in our interest to carry out a peaceful uses program both at home and in cooperation with foreign countries. It does not oppose military nuclear cooperation per se. To reiterate, it opposes one thing only--the development of nationally-held nuclear forces.

After the general expression of opposition quoted above, NSAM 294 goes on to particularize one target country--France--and to delineate the export control and cooperation policy to be followed with respect to that country. It is described as a policy of denying to France those things which would be "reasonably likely to facilitate these efforts (France's strategic nuclear weapons program) by significantly affecting timing, quality, or cost, or would identify the US as a major supplier or collaborator." The policy "is not intended to restrict unduly full and useful cooperation in non-strategic programs and activities."

Nature of Policy

While NSAM 294 specifically names only France as a target country, it is intended to be of broader application, and the cooperation and export control policy enunciated has been assumed to be generally applicable by the enforcement agencies concerned. It will be noted that it is a highly selective and highly discriminating policy. It aims at learning about any national weapons program planned by any Country X and at persuading Country X not to undertake a program or not to persevere if one is already under way.

If Country X will not be persuaded, the policy aims at denying such US assistance as would be of material benefit to the weapons program, in terms both of warheads and means of delivery. This policy has envisaged only such US counter-measures as are directly related to impeding the weapons program itself, i.e., it has not envisaged punitive or broad measures of other kinds unrelated to the weapons program to attempt to force friendly countries into compliance. In essence, the policy is one of attempting to isolate and hamper Country X's nuclear weapons program on a selective denial basis, while preserving intact or as nearly intact as possible the fabric of US-Country X relationships otherwise. Given the general nature of Free World industrial and trading interrelationships, the particular nature of the relationships obtaining between the US and our allies, and the interrelationship of any given weapons program and the scientific-industrial base which sustains it, it can be seen that problems of the utmost complexity can arise in implementing this policy.

Testing

US opposition to nuclear weapons testing, as compared to other facets of a weapons program, is based on a treaty obligation rather than on US unilateral policy. In adhering to the Test Ban Treaty we renounced for ourselves testing in the three prohibited environments and concurrently assumed an obligation not to assist others in such testing. This has obvious export control consequences, and since France is the country with which most of our problems in this area are likely to arise, we explained

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our policy in an Aide-Memoire given the French Government last February. The purport of the Aide-Memoire is that the US will not find it possible to permit export to France of any material, equipment, or information to be used in devising, conducting, or evaluating any sort of nuclear test as long as the French contemplate testing in any environment prohibited by the Treaty. The criterion here is not that the assistance be of "significant" benefit to testing; it is only that it be intended for some direct use in testing. In such event it is to be denied.

II. Procedures

Three complementary regulatory systems are involved in the implementation of US policy described above: (a) the system administered by the Department of Commerce to enforce the Export Control Act of 1949, as amended; (b) the regulatory structure administered by the Department of State to control International Traffic in Arms, derived from Section 414 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended; and (c) the regulatory activities prescribed under the Atomic Energy Act to control source material, by-product material, special nuclear material, facilities for the production or utilization of special nuclear material, and technical data relating thereto. There is another organization which plays a parallel or reinforcing role: The United States Military Information Committee (US-MICC), which coordinates the release to other governments of classified military information and material, except for Restricted Data under the Atomic Energy Act, foreign dissemination of which is administered by the AEC and Department of Defense.

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In summary, these control systems comprehend the following objectives:

A. The Export Control Act of 1949, as amended, sets forth as policy that the US will use export controls to the extent necessary:

1. To protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and to reduce the inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand;

2. To further the foreign policy of the US and to aid in fulfilling its international responsibilities;

3. To exercise necessary vigilance over exports, from the standpoint of their significance to the national security of the US;

4. To formulate and apply such controls to the maximum extent possible in cooperation with allies with which the US has defense treaty commitments;

5. To formulate a unified commercial and trading policy to be observed between non-Communist and Communist-dominated nations;

6. To use US economic resources in trade with Communist-dominated nations to further US national security and foreign policy objectives.

To carry out these objectives, the Department of Commerce has established an Export Control Review Board, an Advisory Committee on Export Policy, and an Operating Committee, in descending order of hierarchical importance. This committee structure enables all possibly concerned agencies of the Government, ranging from Commerce to the Office of Emergency Planning, to express their views and, in case of major policy disagreement, to achieve resolution by the Secretaries of State, Defense and Commerce.

B. The International Traffic In Arms Regulations derives from Section 414 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended. This Act confers upon the President authority to control, in the furtherance of world peace and the security and foreign policy of the US, the export and import of arms, ammunition and implements of war, including technical data relating thereto. The President, by Executive Order, conferred these functions upon the Secretary of State, in consultation with appropriate agencies. In turn, the Secretary of State delegated authority to the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Politico-Military Affairs, who assigned functional responsibility to the Director, Office of Munitions Control.

C. The Atomic Energy Act prescribes control over atomic weapons or parts thereof; any parts of atomic weapons systems or any other items or information revealing Restricted Data; and activity, classified or unclassified, which would constitute directly or indirectly engaging in the production of special nuclear material outside the United States; source, by-product and special nuclear materials; utilization and production facilities; and any other item or technical data to be exported subject to the terms of an atomic energy Agreement for Cooperation with another nation.

The Atomic Energy Commission may distribute special nuclear material abroad, may license the export of production and utilization of facilities, and may permit the communication of Restricted Data abroad, only pursuant to an Agreement for Cooperation. However, source and by-product material may be distributed abroad either by an Agreement or when the Commission determines such exports will not be inimical to the United States.

[redacted]

D. *The US Military Information Control Committee* (US-MICC) derives authority from Presidential delegation to the Secretaries of State and Defense. US-MICC is responsible for policy and procedures designed to enable disclosures of classified military information to foreign governments and international organizations, taking into account both US foreign policy-military objectives and the preservation of the security of US military secrets. In so doing, US-MICC, among other activities, reviews its existing policies and procedures to keep them up to date, assures that the releasing agencies act consistently in applying these policies and procedures, and evaluates foreign government security systems to determine their ability to protect US classified information. The Committee consists of representatives of the Secretaries of State, Defense, Army, Navy, Air Force, the AEC, and Director of CIA. The Department of State provides the Chairman and Deputy Chairman. JCS are entitled to have an observer, as is NASA. Other departments and agencies may participate as US-MICC deems appropriate.

As to implementing procedures, it should be noted that the regulatory systems concerned must deal with a wide variety of materials, which might be sought by a wide variety of countries, both friendly and unfriendly. Because of the highly selective and discriminating nature of the US policy outlined in I above, it is necessary, in implementation, to use what amounts to a case-by-case approach, taking into account for a country like France, for example, such things as:

1. Technical state-of-the-art and industrial know-how available to France internally or from other countries;

[redacted]

2. Competitive hardware available to France;

3. US military hardware and data currently in French hands (received via formal channels or obtained by other means);

4. Ongoing data exchange and military hardware agreements;

5. Foreign subsidiaries and licenses of US companies;

6. Military hardware and data previously cleared by the US to countries other than France;

7. Evaluation with respect to the current US policy on expansion of exports, and effect on the US economy (positive or negative) of the specific release and potential related releases:

(a) US competitive position, employment, and profit dollars;

(b) Balance of Payments.

8. In certain instances, receipt by the US on a reciprocal basis of significant technology, or other items of military value.

The object of such a case-by-case approach would be two-fold: to determine the technical significance of the proposed export, and to identify other considerations involved. The final result is a determination as to approval or denial which takes both technical and other factors into account. To date it has been principally Defense, State, and the AEC which have been concerned in such determinations as have been made; Commerce has been relatively uninvolved, since the principal Commerce concern has been in the East-West trade. The agencies concerned are still in the process of devising the machinery and accumulating the supporting body of facts necessary to do

a fully comprehensive export-control job. In the meantime they are applying the above criteria on an ad hoc basis, and are working out recommendations to the White House for improved procedures.

III. Effectiveness

Before addressing the effectiveness of the policy and procedures described above, several general observations may be in order:

a. In the world of today prevention of nuclear weapons proliferation cannot be achieved through a policy of denial by the US, even if that denial were carried to a point of total embargo, as was substantially the case during the 1946-53 period. A policy of US denial can hamper to a greater or lesser degree and it can make the weapons-acquiring process slower and more expensive, but US denial action alone cannot prevent a modern industrialized nation from attaining a nuclear weapons capability of some sort if it so desires.

b. It should be recognized that the US peaceful uses program, the space cooperation program, and the program of nuclear weapons cooperation with NATO allies have unquestionably contributed in some degree to the ultimate weapons-making and delivery potential of the foreign countries involved. This is a calculated risk which the US has run. It is not believed that the contribution to nuclear weapons potential has been significant, and there are grounds for believing that in terms of adversely affecting intention to unilaterally construct weapons these programs may have been helpful.

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c. The foregoing points up the fact that while anti-proliferation is a US goal with high priority, it is not the only US goal, and our other goals must be taken adequately into account in attempting to achieve the anti-proliferation goal.

d. Assessing the effectiveness of our policy of selective denial is also complicated by the fact that our export control mechanisms have as yet not been focused on trade with friends except in very limited respects, and the US Government has not kept records on US-friendly country trade in the detail which would now enable us to say quickly and with exactitude what has gone to a given country, in terms of the entire range of equipment, materials, technology, etc., which could be useful in a weapons program.

In coming to grips with the effectiveness question, it may be useful to think of all potential US assistance to another country's weapons program as lying along a spectrum. At one end would be the most important and obvious items of assistance--such things as nuclear warheads themselves, weapons design information, and fissionable material for weapons use. At this end of the spectrum our controls are comprehensive, detailed and fully effective. Weapons have been transferred to no country. Weapons design information and fissionable material for use in weapons have gone only to the British.

Control of these items is relatively simple because their nature is unmistakable, the intent of a would-be possessor is unmistakable, and the US Government is in full possession of whatever is proposed to be transferred.

[redacted]

To a great extent the same thing is true of complete delivery vehicles. Some vehicles, such as Polaris or Minuteman missiles, are so uniquely pinked with nuclear warheads that there can be no uncertainty as to their intended use and hence no difficulty in ruling on any proposed transfer. Other vehicles, such as the F-104, may be employed in either a nuclear or a conventional role, so there obviously cannot be the same degree of certainty as to type of use that might or could be made. The control of total delivery systems including aircraft is still comparatively simple, however, and an adequate basis exists within the US Government for review and decision with respect to proposed transfer of any such systems.

It is when we must deal with sub-systems and componentry that the task becomes really difficult, for two reasons. One is that at this level, it becomes difficult or impossible to categorize items as being unmistakably for utilization in a nuclear weapons program. Inertial guidance technology, for instance, is obviously important to a missile program. It is also important in a number of civilian uses and non-nuclear military programs, however, and it is therefore necessary to assess very carefully the utilization intended by a would-be possessor.

It is also more difficult to use the "significant assistance" criterion meaningfully at this level. To do so demands a very high degree of knowledge about individual country programs, potentialities, and intentions, which the enforcement agencies have not generally accumulated as yet. An individual item may well seem to be of no great significance in itself, and thus go unchallenged, or be approved after review, although from a cumulative point of view the over-all potentiality of the receiving country

may be significantly improved if enough individual items are received. Such things as computers and integrated circuitry pose difficulties for both the foregoing reasons.

Thus, in assessing our policy and procedures we must realize that there is what could best be called a "threshold" of assistance. Items above the threshold are relatively easy to spot and easy to control. Items below the threshold are difficult to identify as significant, and in fact may not even be recognized. If known, these may be difficult to stop, because considerations arguing for approval are quite important, and other major policy goals of the US are advanced by cooperation with friendly countries. Extensive denial of sub-threshold items to friendly countries in fact poses a serious foreign policy dilemma to the US.

France is of course the principal country of present concern and a look at the effectiveness of our selective denial policy there may be worthwhile. We have not given the French any assistance in terms of weapons or material for weapons, and our principal direct contribution to their over-all program is probably a 1959 agreement under which we have furnished fuel for a land-based prototype submarine reactor, under safeguards which give us the right to inspect the fuel and facility. But through French purchases, through service-to-service agreements, and trhough industry-to-industry agreements of various kinds, we have unquestionably given France a good deal of the scientific-technological-industrial underpinning required for a weapons and delivery systems effort.

[redacted]

It was essentially the realization of the cumulative effect of our cooperation with France, carried out over a period of years, which led to the re-affirmation of policy represented by NSAM 294. We have not completed the stocktaking effort envisaged by NSAM 294, which of course applies to other countries as well as France, or fully evaluated the ramifications of the policy. It is clear however that if we are to move into more restrictive controls on the great range of sub-threshold items, this will call for a drastic re-vamping of the US export control system and profoundly affect our industrial-business community as well as our relationships with France and other countries against which we exercise such controls.

Attachment:

1. Annex - Export Control: Peaceful Uses

Department of State
December 10, 1964

[redacted]

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ANNEX

Export Control: Peaceful Uses

The following report contains a summary of the nature and effectiveness of US policy and procedures regarding controls on the export of nuclear equipment, materials, or technology, directly or indirectly useful for the production of fissionable materials for peaceful purposes.

In the Atomic Energy Act, provision is made for "a program of international cooperation to promote the common defense and security and to make available to cooperating nations the benefits of peaceful applications of atomic energy." The Act provides further that no cooperation with any nation shall be undertaken until an agreement for cooperation has been developed which contains (1) the terms, conditions, duration, nature, and scope of the cooperation; (2) a guaranty by the cooperating party that security safeguards and standards as set forth in the agreement for cooperation will be maintained, and (3) a guaranty by the cooperating party that "any material to be transferred pursuant to such agreement will not be used for atomic weapons, or for research on or development of atomic weapons or for any other military purpose," and a guaranty by the cooperating party "that any material...transferred pursuant to the agreement for cooperation will not be transferred to unauthorized persons or beyond the jurisdiction of the cooperating party, except as specified in the agreement for cooperation."

Under this legislative authorization the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission have joined in working out a broad-scale international Atoms for Peace Program with many countries around the

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world. This program is controlled by bilateral agreements for cooperation in the civil uses of atomic energy which provide for the transfer abroad of special fissionable materials of US origin. These agreements (of which there are now 37 in force with 35 different countries) include a requirement that any such material that is transferred abroad be subject to US safeguards (controls to ensure that material which is transferred for peaceful purposes is not diverted to a military purpose.)

These bilateral agreements are of two kinds: those covering small transfers for research purposes and those covering large amounts of material for power projects. All research agreements include the provision that, if AEC requests, its representatives will be permitted to inspect materials and equipment to ensure that they are not being used for military purposes. Inasmuch as power reactors require much larger quantities of fissionable material as fuel and may also produce substantial quantities of plutonium or Uranium 233, the safeguards provisions in power agreements are more elaborate than those in research agreements and give the US the following rights:

(1) To review the design of reactors and pertinent associated facilities.

(2) To require the maintenance and submission to USG on demand of fuel and operating records.

(3) To request periodic or special reports on the operation of the facility.

(4) To require storage in AEC-designated facilities of any fissionable materials not currently being utilized by the cooperating governments.

(5) To have access to all places and data necessary to verify compliance with the terms of the agreement.

(6) To have a first option to purchase all special nuclear materials that such reactors generate.

(7) To approve in advance any reprocessing facility in which irradiated fuel of US origin is reprocessed.

(8) In the event of non-compliance with the provisions of the cited Article, or the guaranties set forth elsewhere, and the failure of the cooperating government to carry out the provisions of the cited Article within a reasonable time, to suspend or terminate the agreement and require the return of any materials, equipment, and devices transferred under it.

In recent years, in recognition of the preferability of international safeguards to bilateral safeguards, most US bilateral agreements function to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) at Vienna at a mutually agreeable time. During the past two years some 14 countries have agreed to such transfer.

The IAEA safeguards system provides the Agency with essentially the same rights that are granted to the US Government under its bilateral agreements. In the event that the IAEA discovers a violation, or what appears to be a violation, of the undertaking that material will be used only for peaceful purposes, Article XII C of the Statute of the Agency provides in part that:

"The Board shall call upon the recipient State or States to remedy forthwith any noncompliance which it finds to have occurred..., shall report the noncompliance to all /IAEA/ members and to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations. In the event of failure of the recipient State or States to take fully corrective action within a reasonable time, the Board may take one or both of the following measures: direct curtailment or suspension of assistance being provided by the Agency or by a member, and call for the return of materials and equipment made available to the recipient member of group of members. The Agency may also, in accordance with Article XIX suspend any noncomplying member from the exercise of the privileges and rights of membership."

In addition to material that is sent abroad under bilateral agreements and subject either to bilateral or IAEA safeguards, material for peaceful purposes can also be sent abroad under two other agreements. One is a US-IAEA agreement which came into force on August 7, 1959. Under this agreement the US Government has made available to the IAEA 5,000 kilograms of U-235, which can be distributed (either by sale or grant) to member states under IAEA safeguards. Under this Agreement, arrangements have been completed for the supply of US materials under IAEA safeguards to the following countries: Pakistan, Finland, Yugoslavia, Congo (L), Norway, and Mexico.

Also, under agreements signed between the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) on February 18, 1959, and July 25, 1960, as amended, the US Government has made available to EURATOM 70,000 kilograms of U-235.

This material is to be supplied (on a sale or lease basis) to EURATOM itself or to EURATOM member states through the EURATOM Supply Agency. This material is not subject to US bilateral safeguards, nor is it subject to those of the IAEA. It is, however, fully subject to EURATOM safeguards, which are compatible with those of the US Atomic Energy Commission and those of the IAEA. Periodic meetings are held between representatives of EURATOM, the US AEC and the US Department of State to verify that the methods and procedures followed by EURATOM are compatible with those of the US Government and the IAEA.

With regard to the effectiveness of US policies and procedures on nuclear exports for peaceful purposes three things can be said:

1. As a result of the above-described bilateral and international controls that have been operative during the term of the US Atoms-for Peace Program, it can be said with a high degree of assurance that US nuclear materials and equipment supplied for peaceful purposes to foreign countries have not been diverted to military uses.

2. The policies and procedures covering the peaceful program which are now in force are not designed in such a way that they would be certain to prevent diversion of materials or equipment to military purposes. The intent is rather to give a high degree of assurance that if such diversions are made, they will be detected at a very early stage, so as to provide the United States Government or the international organization a basis for taking early corrective steps.

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3. The US policies and procedures now in operation are designed to prevent the misuse only of nuclear materials and equipment which are brought into a country from an outside source. They are not designed to prevent the internal development of a nuclear weapons program using only indigenous materials and equipment.

To clarify this point a bit further, the US policies and procedures have been designed to encourage countries to forswear the internal development of a nuclear weapons capability, but up to the present time there are no international controls which would prevent such development unless a country were to submit to them voluntarily. This, of course, stems from the fact that the primary leverage we have in getting countries to accept controls exists only in those instances where the US Government is supplying materials or equipment.

Department of State
December 10, 1964

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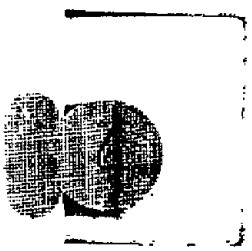

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TELEGRAM

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1538/1

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EXDIS (NODIS PER MR. MALONE)

SUBJ: THE ELECTORAL STAKES, THE POT AND THE JOCKEY WITH THE MONEY

REF: MEMCON APRIL 10 ANACONDA-MEYER

1. (SUMMARY) THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE [redacted] MADE TO DEPT BY [redacted] IN PRESENCE OF COUNCIL FOR LATIN AMERICA EXECUTIVES APRIL 10 [redacted]

[redacted] HAS MANY OF HIS FACTS WRONG TOO ABOUT ALESSANDRI'S CAMPAIGN FINANCES, PARTICULARLY THE LACK OF ANY EVIDENCE OF MEDIA ADVERTISING SHORTAGE IN ALESSANDRI'S BEHALF AND THE EASY CAPACITY OF HIS CHILEAN SUPPORTERS TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY CASH INSTEAD OF ENGAGING IN FLIGHT OF CAPITAL. ALSO US OPPOSITION TO CANDIDATE OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHO CONTROL GOVT AND LARGEST SINGLE PARTY WOULD DOUBTLESS PRODUCE A NEGATIVE REACTION THAT WOULD DO HARM TO IMMEDIATE AND LONGER-TERM US INTERESTS. THUS I REMAIN PERSUADED THAT IT IS TO OUR BENEFIT THAT WE REMAIN UNINVOLVED IN THE CAMPAIGN OF ANY ASPIRANTS TO THE CHILEAN PRESIDENCY AND TO PROLONG THE CURRENT TOTAL LACK OF ANY MENTION OF THE US IN THE CAMPAIGN. I RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL NOT MAKE THE US "POPULAR" WITH THE PARTIES (AS DISTINCT FROM THE MASS) AND I AM DELIBERATELY FOCUSING RESPONSIBILITY ON ME FOR THE DECISION IN RESPONSE TO THE SOLICITING OF ALESSANDRI AND TOMIC CAMPS SO THAT ANIMOSITIES WILL NOT BE DIRECTED AGAINST WASHINGTON. IT IS NOT A VERY COMFORTABLE POSITION TO BE A JOCKEY WITHOUT A SEAT OR POT BUT AS KING VICTOR EMMANUEL THE FIRST SAID JUST BEFORE EXPIRING FROM AN ASSASSIN'S BULLET, THESE ARE THE RISKS OF THE JOB. (END SUMMARY)

2. ANACONDA IS RIGHT TO BE ALARMED ABOUT ITS FUTURE IF ALESSANDRI IS ELECTED. TOMIC AND ALLENDE WOULD NATIONALIZE COPPER. TOMIC WOULD SEEK TO MAINTAIN SOME ACCEPTABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US; ALLENDE WOULD NOT. HENCE NEGOTIATION WOULD STILL BE INVOLVED WITH TOMIC WHILE EXPRORIATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION WOULD FOLLOW AN ALLENDE VICTORY. THE POINT IS THAT I SYMPATHIZE WITH [redacted]

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[redacted] CONCERNS FOR THE INTEREST OF HIS COMPANY.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, I WOULD OFFER THESE OBSERVATIONS ABOUT ANACONDA'S TRACK RECORD HERE:

A. IT WAS KENNECOTT WHO SURPRISED BOTH THE US AND CHILE IN 1964 BY OFFERING TO SELL 51 PERCENT OF ITS PROPERTIES TO THE GOC WITHOUT BEING REQUESTED. ANACONDA REFUSED TO FOLLOW SUIT.

B. IT IS KENNECOTT WHO IS CURRENTLY MANEUVERING TO TAKE OVER THE MANAGEMENT CONTRACT OF ANACONDA (AS WE REPORTED LAST MONTH). ANACONDA HAS NO RPT NO APPARENT KNOWLEDGE OF THIS ACTION ALTHOUGH KENNECOTT HAS PROBABLY CONTRIBUTED TO CURRENT ANACONDA PROBLEM. (EMBTEL [redacted]).

C. AT THE VERY TIME THAT [redacted] WAS MAKING HIS CASE TO THE DEPT., ONE OF [redacted] CAME HERE (EMBTEL [redacted]) TO URGE MY INTERVENTION WITH THE GOC TO SAVE THE EXTANT COPPER ARRANGEMENT. IT IS REASONABLE TO ASK HOW WE CAN MAINTAIN ANY RESTRAINING INFLUENCE WITH A GOVT AND A PARTY -- THAT OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS -- TO SAVE THAT ARRANGEMENT IF THE US WERE TO BE INVOLVED IN AN EFFORT TO DEFEAT THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF THAT PARTY.

D. [redacted]

[redacted] THERE IS NOT A CHILEAN OF ANY STRIPE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA WHO IS UNAWARE OF ANCONDA'S CURRENT INTENTIONS AND COMMITMENTS AND THAT ALL OF THE POLITICIANS SUPPORTED BY ANACONDA IN RECENT YEARS IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER WERE WIDELY KNOWN AND WITHOUT EXCEPTION PROVED EITHER BAD POLITICAL BETS OR DISAPPEARED INTO THE WOODWORK WHEN THE CRITICAL SHOWDOWN ON ANACONDA'S FUTURE OCCURRED LAST YEAR.

E. [redacted]

CONTRARY TO [redacted] ASSERTIONS THAT FREI ASKED THE US TO KEEP ME ON THE JOB, IT WAS [redacted]

WHO WENT TO THE DEPT FOLLOWING LAST YEAR'S NEGOTIATIONS TO MAKE THAT KIND OF REQUEST. I HAVE SINCE MONITORED THAT AGREEMENT WITH THE GOC.

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F. IT WOULD BE ALSO IMPRUDENT TO ACCEPT THE POLITICAL ASTUTENESS OF ONE WHO DECIDED [ ] TO PERMIT THE LAPSING OF AID EXPROPRIATION INSURANCE [ ] ON THE GROUNDS THAT THERE WAS NO RPT NO DANGER OF ANY GOC MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION DESPITE MY BEST EFFORTS IN THE PREVIOUS 15 MONTHS TO ALERT HIS COMPANY TO AN EVENTUALITY I FELT WAS INEVITABLE.
BT

NOTE: HANDLED AS NODIS PER MR. MALONE S/S-O 4/29/70

UNCLASSIFIED

Department of State TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

8074Q
1970 APR 29 AM 11:38

R 282000Z APR 70
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2231
BT
~~S E C R E T~~ SECTION 2 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1538/2

EXDIS (NODIS PER MR. MALONE)

4. [redacted] IS CORRECT IN STATING ALESSANDRI'S CAMP IS COMPLAINING OF LITTLE MONEY. HE IS INCORRECT IN ASSERTING THE OTHER TWO CANDIDATES HAVE AMPLE FUNDS. THE FOLLOWING IS PERTINENT:

A. IN ADDITON TO THE $200,000 ALESSANDRI IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE RAISED FOR HIS ELECTORAL KITTY, AN ENORMOUS SUM IS PROBABLY BEING PROVIDED IN KIND BY LEADING PUBLISHERS AND RADIO STATION OWNERS IN THE FORM OF HIDDEN YET VERY LARGE KICKBACKS ON ALESSANDRI ADVERTISING. THE NET COST WOULD THEN BE A FRACTION OF WHAT APPEARS ON ANY BOOKS. MOREOVER THE LEADING PUBLISHERS OF THE COUNTRY ARE STACKING NEWS AND PHOTOS TO SUPPORT THEIR COMMITMENT TO ALESSANDRI. THERE IS NO DEARTH OF ALESSANDRI "PAID" PROPAGANDA IN THE MEDIA.

B. [redacted] SEEMS TO BE IGNORANT OF THE CHILEAN LAW THAT PROHIBITS ANY ELECTORAL ADVERTISING ON TV. THEREFORE THERE IS NO RPT NO POSSIBLE TV COST.

C. ALESSANDRI COULD USE MORE MONEY WITHOUT ANY QUESTION, YET OUR MOST CAREFUL JUDGEMENT IS THAT THE AMOUNT THAT COULD BE USEFULLY EMPLOYED IN THE REMAINING FOUR MONTHS WOULD BE AT THE VERY MAXIMUM ONE MILLION DOLLARS. (HALF THE SUM HONESTLY AND EXPERTLY USED WOULD PROBABLY BE ENOUGH.) ONE THOUSAND CHILEANS EACH DONATING ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS COULD SUPPLY THAT SUM WITHOUT ANY CONTRIBUTION FROM ANY US QUARTER. ALESSANDRI'S CAMP INCLUDES THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE HIGH INCOME GROUP IN CHILE. THERE ARE LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF SUCH CHILEANS IN A POSITION TO MAKE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS. REASONABLE QUESTIONS TO ASK ARE WHY THEY ARE NOT, WHY MANY ARE INSTEAD CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN FLIGHT OF CAPITAL AND THEREFORE WHY THE USG SHOULD SEEK TO SUBSTITUTE FOR THEIR LACK OF COMMITMENT AND OF NATIONAL INTEREST. THIS SITUATION IS THE VERY ANTITHESIS OF WHAT I UNDERSTAND TO BE THE NIXON DOCTRINE.

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D. ONE POSSIBLE KEY TO THE SO-CALLED LACK OF MONEY HAS BEEN PROVIDED US IN CONFIDENCE BY [redacted] B6 AND OTHER HIGH-LEVEL ALESSANDRISTAS. THEY SAY THERE IS A DANGER OF OVER-CONFIDENCE THAT COULD LEAD TO COMPLACENCY BY BUSINESSMEN. HENCE THEY TOLD US SOMETIME AGO THAT THEY WOULD LAUNCH VIGOROUS, "POOR MOUTHING" CAMPAIGN TO "SCARE" CONTRIBUTORS AND TO KEEP THEIR SUPPORTERS INTERESTED.

E. ALESSANDRI'S PEOPLE HAVE SO FAR NOT GIVEN THE SLIGHTEST INDICATION OF ANY AWARENESS THAT THEY MUST BUTTRESS THEIR CANDIDATE'S HOUSEHOLD NAME AND HIS ZEST WITH SOME KIND OF ELECTORAL ORGANIZATION. THE TENSIONS BETWEEN GROUP OF HIS SUPPORTERS, THE DESIRE OF EACH FACTION TO BE COMMANDERS WITHOUT CONCERN FOR TROOPS IS BLATANTLY OBVIOUS IN SANTIAGO WHERE ONE-THIRD THE ELECTORATE IS LOCATED. MONEY CANNOT SUBSTITUTE TOTALLY FOR WILL AND EFFORT.

F. ANY SIGNIFICANT SUM ARRIVING FROM THE US WOULD BE AS DISCREET AS A MOON LAUNCH. [redacted] I HAVE HAD TOO MANY PAINFUL EXPERIENCES IN THE PAST TWO YEARS WITH SUPPORTERS OF ALESSANDRI WHO BELIEVE THAT DISCRETION SIGNIFIES ONLY TELLING THEIR FIVE CLOSEST FRIENDS. TO CITE AN EXAMPLE, IT WAS [redacted] WHO INFORMED ME B6 IN FEBRUARY THAT NACIONAL SENATOR PEDRO IBANEZ HAD BEEN TO US AGENCIES IN WASHINGTON SEEKING FUNDS FOR ALESSANDRI AND HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN.

5. NONETHELESS IN ANSWER TO A DIRECT QUESTION FROM [redacted] IN THE PRESENCE OF [redacted] ON APRIL 14 (EMBTEL [redacted]). I SAID I WAS NOT RPT NOT ADVISING ANACONDA TO ABSTAIN FROM ANY CONTRIBUTION IT OR OTHER US COMPANIES WISHED TO MAKE. THE QUESTION CAME AFTER I HAD TOLD THEM THAT IN MY LAST MONTHLY MEETING WITH THE US BUSINESS COMMUNITY I HAD OBSERVED THAT OPEN ALLEGIANCE TO ALESSANDRI HAD ITS INHERENT RISKS TO THEIR FUTURES AND THAT IN THEIR OWN SELF-INTEREST, THEY SHOULD BE DISCREET IN EXPRESSION AND ACTION. I TOLD HALL, AS I HAVE SAID TO THE US BUSINESS COMMUNITY FROM THE OUTSET OF MY STAY HERE, THAT IT WAS THE FUNCTION OF US BUSINESS TO BE PROFITABLE, THAT I WOULD NOT PRESUME TO INTERVENE IN THEIR PURSUIT OF THAT GOAL, THAT I WOULD PROTECT THEIR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS TO THE EXTENT THAT I COULD AT THEIR REQUEST BUT IN TURN THEY COULD NOT EXPECT ME TO INTERVENE BEYOND US OR CHILEAN LAW TO GUARANTEE THEIR PROFITS OR TO SEEK TO HAVE US SACRIFICE BROAD US GOALS FOR

ANY NARROW INTEREST. I EXPALINED TO BOTH GROUPS THAT IN MY VIEW THE ONE RELEVANT RESTRAINING INFLUENCE WE STILL HAD ON THE PDC (IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC OR MILAID) WAS THE FEAR THAT WE WOULD INTERVENE ON ALESSANDRI'S BEHALF IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND THAT AS LONG AS WE DID NOT WE HAD A REASONABLE HOPE OF MAINTAINING DECENT RELS WITH THIS GOC AND, IF TOMIC WON, WITH THE NEXT GOVT. I HAD ASKED THE US BUSINESS COMMUNITY IF ANYONE DISAGREED TO LET ME KNOW. ANACONDA, IT APPEARS FROM REF MEMCON IS THE ONLY COMPANY TO HAVE MADE AN APPROACH.

6. IN THE INTERIM I HAVE TAKEN SOUNDINGS WITH THOSE CHILEAN AND US BUSINESSMEN WHO WANT ALESSANDRI TO BE PRESIDENT AND WHOSE JUDGEMENT I MOST RESPECT; THEY ARE WITHOUT EXCEPTION AGREED THAT USG INTERVENTION (A) CX COULD NOT BE HIDDEN AND (B) WOULD HURT ALESSANDRI. MOREOVER, ALESSANDRI IS INFURIATED WITH ANACONDA AND WITH THOSE CHILEANS ACTING AS INTERMEDIARIES AS REPORTED IN EMBTEL [ ].
BT

NOTE: HANDLED AS NODIS PER MR. MALONE S/S-O 4/29/70

Department of State TELEGRAM

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R 282000Z APR 70 8075Q
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 1970 APR 29 AM 11:38
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2232
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~~S E C R E T~~ SECTION 3 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1538/3

EXDIS (NODIS PER MR. MALONE)

7. I RECGONIZE OF COURSE THAT ONCE THE US BUSINESS COMMUNITY MAKES ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ALESSANDRI KITTY (AND ANACONDA HAS GOOD REASON TO CONTRIBUTE ALONE THE AFOREMENTIONED MAXIMUM OF $500,000) IT WILL BE ~~DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN A USG POSTURE OF NEUTRALITY~~ AND NON-INVOLVEMENT. ANACONDA WOULD ARGUE THAT THEREFORE AN ATTEMPT TO SUSTAIN A DISTINCTION IS IN PRACTICAL TERMS MEANGINLESS. I DISAGREE. THE PAST FORTNIGHT I HAVE SOUGHT OUT TOMIC'S CAMPAIGN LEADERS WHO, INCIDENTALLY, ALSO WANT VERY MUCH A USG COMMITMENT TO THEIR CANDIDATE, TO EXPALIN WHY WE ARE GOING TO MAINTAIN COMPLETE NEUTRALITY, WHY WE BELIEVE SUCH NEUTRALITY IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ALLENDE VICTORY. WHEN THEY HAVE TALKED OF ANACONDA'S INTENTIONS TO SUPPORT ALESSANDRI, I HAVE ADMITTED THAT THE USG CANNOT CONTROL THE PRIVATE ACTIONS OF ITS CITIZENS AND THAT WE AGREE WITH TOMIC'S PUBLIC ELECTORAL AFFIRMATIONS THAT DISTINCTION MUST BE MADE BETWEEN THE USG AND THE ACTIONS OF PRIVATE AMERICANS. I REMAIN PERSUADED THAT AS LONG AS THE USG CAN HONESTLY ATTENTS TO ITS ELECTORAL NEUTRALITY WITH THE RESPECT TO ALESSANDRI AND TOMIC, IT WILL BE SUBSTANTIATED AND ACCEPTED BY TOMIC AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS DESPITE THEIR UNHAPPINESS WITH OUR NON-COMMITMENT TO THEM. SO FAR THEY ADMIT TO NO CONTRARTY KNOWLEDGE. THEY STATE THAT SO FAR NO US FUNDING FROM ANY SOURCE HAS OCCURRED.

8. AS FOR THE FUTURE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRIDSE IN CHILE, IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT HENRY FORD, HAS DONE MORE THE PAST TWO WEEKS TO AFFECT THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF US INVESTMENT IN LATIN AMERICA THAN ANYTHING ANACONDA OR THE USG DOES IN CHILE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A FORD DEAL WITH YUGOSLAVIA BY WHICH TRUCKS WIL BE PRODUCED BYA COMPANY IN ~~WHICH~~ FORD WILL HAVE ONLY 49 PERCENT INTREST AND THE YUGOSLAV STATE AGENCY 51 PERCENT FOLLOWED BY THE FORD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS WILL MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US COMPANIES TO INSIST ON CLASSICAL CONTROL. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN A CHILEAN ENVIORNMENT IN WHICH LOCAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE HAS BEEN FOR THE MOST PART A PARTNER OF GOVT IN THIS CENTRY AND IN WHICH STATIST THEORIES OF ONE KIND OR ANOTHER DOMINATE ALL THREE

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PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. FORD IS DEMONSTRATING THAT US BUSINESS IS DYNAMIC AND THAT EVEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES NEED US KNOW-HOW. [redacted] PLACED ITS MONEY ON FREI TO INSURE ITS FUTURE -- AND WHAT HAPPENED? IN PUTTING MONEY ON ALESSANDRI, IT WILL NOT STEM AN EVER MORE APPARENT TENDENCY THERE WHERE PROFOUND HISTORICAL DISTORTIONS HAVE CREATED AN UNPROPRITIOUS CLIMATE FOR CLASSIC CAPITALISM. WE INTEND TO DO OUR BEST WITH AN ALESSANDRI ADMINISTRATION TO SUPPORT BETTER INCENTIVES AND STRUCTURES FOR A MORE MODERN PRIVATE SECTOR BUT IT WILL BE AN UPHILL STRUGGLE.

9. A WORD ABOUT THE ELECTIONS. ALESSANDRI IS STILL IN FRONT AND TOMIC APPEARS TO BE GAINING STRENGTH ALTHOUGH STILL WELL BEHIND. FROM A US LONG-TERM INTEREST POINT OF VIEW, THE IDEAL FINISH WOULD BE ALESSANDRI AND TOMIC AHEAD OF ALLENDE. THIS WOULD BE A CRUSHING BLOW FOR THE MARXISTS. GREATER STRENGTH FOR ALESSANDRI CAN COME ABOVE ALL AT THE EXPENSE OF TOMIC. IT IS OUR VIEWS THAT ALLENDE WILL BE A MUCH STRONGER SECOND IF TOMIC (HE STARTED BEHIND THE OTHER TWO) LOSES GROUND. THIS IN TURN RAISES TWO UNPALATABLE POSSIBILITIES -- THAT THE CHILEAN CONGRESS MIGHT ELECT ALLENDE PRESIDENT AND THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WOULD BECOME SO WEAK A FORCE IN CHILE THAT THEY COULD NO LONGER ACT IN THE FUTURE AS THE EFFECTIVE BUFFER TO THE STEADILY GROWING COMMUNIST AND OTHER LENINIST FORCES. THIS SAME ANALYSIS HAS BEEN MADE BY THE VERY ASTUTE COMMUNIST PARTY WHICH WOULD PREFER ALESSANDRI TO TOMIC AND BY THE CARDINAL OF CHILE WHO RECENTLY INTERVENED INDIRECTLY TO WEAKEN ALESSANDRI AND TO HELP TOMIC. (MORE ON THESE TWO SUBJECTS IN AIRGRAMS.)

10. ONE FINAL THOUGHT ABOUT COMMITMENT. NONE OTHER THAN [redacted] IN A CONVERSATION LAST WEEK ACCUSED THE USG OF NOT EVEN CARING IF ALLENDE WERE ELECTED. IN THE EXCHANGE THAT FOLLOWED MY DENIAL [redacted] REFERRED TO OUR LACK OF ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR TOMIC AND HE WOVE HIS RESENTMENT INTO HIS GENERAL ARGUMENT THAT THERE NO LONGER WAS ANY MATERIAL REASON TO SUSTAIN A BELIEF OF ANY SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILE AND THE US. [redacted] HAS HIS OWN WELL-KNOWN REASONS FOR WISHING TO NORMALIZE RELS WITH CUBA (TO KEEP CHILE IMMUNE FROM TERRORISM, TO EMULATE MEXICAN NEUTRALITY AND TO MAKE SOUTH AMERICA AN INDEPENDENT FORCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS). WE HAVE FEWER AND FEWER TANGIBLE ASSETS TO EMPLOY TO RETAIN INFLUENCE BUT IF THE USE WERE TO COMMIT ITSELF TO AN ANTI-PDC ELECTORAL POSITION, THE SHORT AND LONG TERM CONSEQUENCES WITH RESPECT TO WHAT IS STILL THE LARGEST SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY IN CHILE AND THE GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES HERE.

11. CONCLUSION: I WOULD UNDERSTAND A THEORETICAL CASE TO HELP BOTH ALESSANDRI AND TOMIC TO DEFEAT THE CASTROIST ALLENDE AND TO DEMONSTRATE A HEDGING US SYMPATHY TO EACH.

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I CANNOT SEE ANY THEORETICAL ADVANTAGE IN HLEPING ONE TO FIGHT THE OTHER WITH INDIRECT BENEFITS TO ALLENDE PARTICULARLY WHEN SUCH A COMMITMENT COULD NOT BE "DISCREET" AND WHEN SUCH USG INTERVENTION WOULD LEAD TO THE FURTHER INDIRECT "COMMITMENT" TO BAIL OUT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHENEVER IT GOT INTO TROUBLE. THIS LONGER-TERM IMPLICATION OF "COMMITMENT" IS OF VERY GREAT INTEREST TO BOTH THE ALESSANDRI AND TOMIC CAMPS IN BOTH PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MATERIAL TERMS.

KORRY

BT

NOTE: HANDLED AS NODIS PER MR. MALONE S/S-O 4/29/70

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET

WDC declined not to (RA62)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

RA62

MEMORANDUM

April 29, 1970

TO : INR - Mr. Ray S. Cline

FROM : INR/DDC - Wymberley Coerr

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 11/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

SUBJECT: Ambassador Korry recommends that U.S. not intervene in Chilean Elections

REFERENCE: Santiago [redacted], ~~SECRET~~/[redacted] 29 April

Ambassador Korry emphatically recommends that the USG reject the advice of an Anaconda official that the USG give assistance to the presidential campaign of the conservative candidate, Alessandri. His principal arguments are:

a) Alessandri has sufficient funds and/or sources of funds;

b) Our assistance would surely become known. This would provide a bonus for the Chilean left wing and would have many unfortunate consequences not only for the U.S. position in Chile (especially with the ruling Christian Democratic Party), but also for Alessandri himself;

c) In no event, even with an Alessandri victory, will the climate in Chile be propitious for capitalistic enterprise.

COMMENT: STET

[redacted] With this telegram, the Ambassador has confounded predictions that he would soon recommend that we adopt a more positive stance and intervene with specific political action to help Alessandri. We endorse this position.

At the end of his message, Korry does raise the theoretical possibility that we might aid both Alessandri and the Christian Democratic candidate, Tomic, in an effort to force Allende into third place and thus out of consideration in the final decision that the Chilean Congress will make between the two candidates who lead in the popular election. I see no merit in such bulk intervention, and much risk.

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part X In Full_____
Exemption(s) B1 B3

INR/DDC:JRGallagher:sw

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CPR/R# Date: 4/23/97
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U3

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

What was, in the long run, possibly the most important action of the Banderists after the Second World War was the acquisition of control over a multi-national organization named the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, but more generally known as the ABN.

Originally created in 1943 in German-occupied territory, the ABN had been sponsored by the various non-Russian national groups of Eastern Europe collaborating with the Germans. Following the Second World War, it was reactivated in the British Zone of Germany at the initiative of Jaroslaw Stetzko (Munich), the immensely energetic vice-president and later president of the Bandera group. Its chief supporter was the Scottish League for European Freedom, an organization formed in 1944 to educate the British public regarding Eastern and Central European affairs and to warn the world at large of the Russian menace. By 1948, the ABN included representatives of fourteen national groups of the Soviet Union and its European satellites, drawn largely from the more fervently nationalist non-Russian associations but including a number of the moderates. By 1949, Stetzko was firmly in control.

A great increase in the activity of this organization after it came under the full control of its Banderist president, was an important development in the Ukrainian political emigration. In 1950, the ABN held a conference in Edinburgh under the auspices of its chief supporter, the Scottish League for European Freedom, and in 1951 it organized in New York a sponsor called the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, with a leading Banderist as secretary-general.

EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

ATT. 2.

On November 6, 1943, representatives of ten of the fourteen national groups making up the ABN complained publicly that in spite of a provision for annual conferences to hold elections, none had been convened since 1948, and on February 5, 1954, eight of the signatories to the complaint announced that on account of the illegal procedure of the Presidium in refusing to call elections in accordance with the statutes, they were withdrawing. They were quickly replaced by members of the same nationalities, but much of the aura of the association as a broad representation of the emigration was lost and its character as a spokesman for the extremist Galician nationalists was brought more clearly into the light. Its activity continued, nevertheless, at full tempo. And by 1954 it claimed, nevertheless, a membership of twenty-two national groups, with only the Poles failing to be represented owing to a territorial dispute with the Lithuanians. Temporarily in close cooperation with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian National Association, and apparently amply financed, it held large conferences, and issued a flood of anti-Bolshevik but also anti-Russian propaganda publications, including a steady fire of vituperation directed at the American Committee and the emigre organizations that cooperated with the American Committee.

In the winter of 1955-56 Stetzko, editor of the Baderist The Path of Victory and president of the ABN, made a world trip to Taipei, Formosa, where he announced that an agreement for cooperation had been made with the Asian People's Anti-Communist League. Cooperation with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent was already in effect, and in March 1958 the ABN, supported by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian National Association, which

EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

advertised it widely in its organs, the Ukrainian Bulletin and The Ukrainian Quarterly, held a large world Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation, in Mexico City.

In 1959 Bandera was assassinated in Munich by a Soviet agent, and his organization practically ceased to exist, except as embodied in the ABN which continued its activity. At one time it claimed the adherence of twenty-four national groups, and in 1962, in a speech in Germany, a representative of the ABN claimed 10,000,000 members, a figure apparently based on the total nominal membership of worldwide associations whose officials were lending moral support to the organization.

After Stepan Bandera publicly resigned as President of OUN-r in August 1952 and as Jaroslaw Stetzko (Munich) became President, Dr. Bohdan Kordiuk (Munich) and a group of intellectuals began to object to Bandera and to Stetzko and to demand moderation. By October 15, 1969, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad (OUN-z) with Dr. Kordiuk as President had been participating in the UNRada since March 1967. The OUN-z maintains close collaboration with the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (ZP-UHVR), headed by Mykola Lebed (United States).

Stepan Bandera was assassinated by a Soviet agent in Munich in 1959. Jaroslaw Stetzko (Munich) is now President of the Foreign Sections of OUN(ZCh/OUN), OUN-Bandera, OUN-r, and chairman of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), having eliminated Stepan Lenkawskyj who succeeded Bandera. This extremist organization appears to have more members, more support, more money and to be further to the right than all the other Ukrainian political parties combined.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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In evaluating Ambassador Korry's latest recommendations, it is pertinent to remember that in the recent past the Ambassador has made a number of comments on the Chilean election issue that tend to diminish the force of his current argument.

1) In a 19 January meeting in the Department, Mr. Korry said that an Allende victory would not be tantamount to a Communist Party victory. He said instead we had to act as if a UP victory would produce a Castro-type regime. (It is true that on many other occasions Mr. Korry has spoken in the direst terms of the consequences of an Allende victory.)

2) At the same meeting, Mr. Korry said that an Alessandri victory, in the long run, would be as bad for us as an Allende victory. It would mean eventually a military take-over under left-wing influence.

3) Mr. Korry states in the very message in which he recommends that we take action, that only because we in fact have not involved ourselves in the election do people believe that we have not. He stated also on 29 April (Santiago [redacted] that it was to our interest to remain uninvolved and thus prolong the alck of any mention of the US in the campaign.

4) Mr. Korry has said that Alessandri has plenty of money, that there are plenty of Chileans who could contribute the necessary $500 thousand or million, and that if they do not there is no reason why we should interfere to try to make up the gap. (Santiago [redacted]

5) Mr. Korry has said that "any significant sum arriving from the US would be as discreet as a moon launch". This was said in connection

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
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with a proposal to aid Alessandri alone, but is applicable to the current proposal [redacted].

6) US businessmen in Chile agree, Mr. Korry has said, that US intervention could not be hidden [redacted].

INR/DDC:JRGardner/sw 6-18-70

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Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to
Date 1/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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MEMORANDUM

June 22, 1970

TO : U - Ambassador Johnson

FROM : INR/DDC - Wymberley Coe

SUBJECT: [redacted] STET

Ambassador Korry is becoming increasingly apprehensive that the leftist candidate, Salvador Allende, will be elected President of Chile. He fears that Allende will come in a close second to the Conservative candidate, Jorge Alessandri, in the 4 September general election and will therefore be in a position to defeat Alessandri in the Congressional run-off on 24 October between the top two candidates.

There are grounds for the Ambassador's alarm. The three candidates are closely bunched and Allende, if he finishes a respectable second, could well win in Congress. [redacted] STET

[redacted]

Ambassador Korry reports that a group of U.S. and Chilean businessmen are contributing some $250,000 to fight the UP. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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Recommendations

ADDENDUM:

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INR/DDC:JRGardner:sw

The next 3 pages have been eliminated because they HAVE BEEN DENIED UNDER B1 & B3

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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EXCISE

PAGE 01 STATE 107632

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APPROVED BY INR/DDC-MR. COERR

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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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~~S E C R E~~ T STATE 107632

[ ] DECAPTION DECAPTIONED

SPECIAL HANDLING

FOR : KORRY FROM MEYER

REF : SANTIAGO 2526

1. THANKS FOR FURTHER AMPLIFICATION OF LOCAL SITUATION AND FOR CURRENT POLITICAL OVERVIEW.

2. PERHAPS I ERRED ON SIDE OF FRANKNESS AND INCOMPLETENESS IN ADVISING YOU OF THE FACT THAT WE HAD RECOMMENDED AGAINST THE PROPOSAL, WITHOUT EXPLAINING THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR THOUGHT PROCESSES.

3. THIS CAN AWAIT A BETTER MEDIUM OF DISCUSSION THAN CABLE EXCHANGE, BUT I WANTED YOU TO KNOW OF OUR PRE-DECISION POSITION DIRECTLY FROM ME RATHER THAN SECOND-HAND AND INDIRECTLY.

4. MOST IMPORTANT IS THAT ARA AND THE DEPARTMENT RECOGNIZE THE 40 COMMITTEE DECISION TRANSMITTED TO YOU THROUGH [redacted] AS BINDING AND AS AUTHORIZING EXECUTION OF PHASE I JUST AS SOON AS YOU RECEIVED THE TEXT OF THE DECISION. I COUNT ON YOU TO PROCEED WITH PHASE I. B-1

5. AS YOU KNOW, A DECISION ON PHASE 2 WAS DEFERRED BY THE COMMITTEE, WITH AUTHORIZED ACTION CONFINED TO DE-

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ACTION INRD-10

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3173

~~S E C R E T~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2979/1

[ ] DECAPTION..

FOR ASST SECY MEYER FROM KORRY

1. BEFORE ADDRESSING MYSELF IN OTHER CHANNELS TO CRITICAL QUESTIONS IN NSSM CONTINGENCY PAPER (ON WHICH I AM AWAITING CABLE PER MY WASHINGTON CONVERSATIONS LAST WEEK) AND TO [ ] POSSIBILITIES, I MUST CONFESS MY CONVICTION THAT SUCH CEREBRATING IS LARGELY MEANINGLESS BECAUSE OF THE RESTRICTIONS THE DEPARTMENT HAS IMPOSED. PERHAPS I AM INTERPRETING YOUR GUIDELINES TOO STRINGENTLY AND THE PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO GET SOME CLEARER SENSE OF WHAT IS TOLERABLE AND WHAT IS NOT.

2. THE CENTRAL FIGURE BETWEEN SEPT 4TH AND OCT 24TH WILL BE FREI. BY DIRECTION OR INDIRECTION HE CAN EXCERISE VERY SIGNIFICANT AND PERHAPS DECISIVE INFLUENCE OVER HIS PARTY, OVER THE MILITARY, AND OVER PUBLIC OPINION. THE MANNER IN WHICH HE CHOOSES TO AFFECT THESE CRUCIAL SECTORS IS CENTRAL TO THE MOST BASIC IF UNSTATED QUESTION OF THE CONTINGENCY PAPER -- HOW TO STOP ALLENDE FROM BECOMING OR REMAINING PRESIDENT. [ ]

3. THE INJUNCTION IS: "NO ONE IN THE EMBASSY SHOULD [ ] DEAL WITH ANYONE OUTSIDE THE EMBASSY INCLUDING FREI [ ] THIS PROHIBITION ENCOMPASSES THE "SETTING UP" OR "CONDITIONING" OF ANYONE INCLUDING FREI FOR AN EVENTUAL ROLE [ ].

4. WE HAVE ADHERED SCRUPULOUSLY TO THIS PROHIBITION.

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Acc. # 78-098 Box 19 Drawer 5, Box 19

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~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 02979 01 OF 02 042249Z

YOU WILL HAVE NOTED, I AM SURE, SANTIAGO 2881, PARA 5 WHICH REPORTS TO MY TOTAL REJECTION TO THE ATTEMPT BY [PEREZ ZUJOVIC] B-6 TO DRAW ME INTO A DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE MILITARY INTERVENTION OF SOME KIND. I HAVE TAKEN OTHER (REPORTED) ACTIONS TO KEEP THE US IN THE PUBLIC POSTURE OF TREATING ALL CANDIDATES EVEN-HANDEDLY. THUS FAR US MEDIA IN ITS TOTALITY AND THE CHILEAN MEDIA WITH THE EXPECTED EXCEPTION OF THE MARXISTS-LENINISTS HAVE KEPT US OUT OF THE CAMPAIGN AND EVEN THE ALLENDISTAS ARE FOCUSSING ON US COMPANIES RATHER THAN THE USG.

5. BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT THERE IS NO RPT NO WAY THAT I CAN REALISTICALLY ADDRESS MYSELF TO [C] CONTINGENICES WITHOUT KNOWING FREI'S THINKING. THERE IS NO PRACTICAL WAY OF GAINING ESSENTIAL INSIGHTS BY PLAYING THE ROLE OF AN INNOCENT OBSERVER. POLITICS, SAID LORD CECIL, ARE IMPOSSIBLE TO FOLLOW UNLESS YOU ARE IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH ALL THEIR DEVELOPMENTS. IT IS TO FLY IN THE FACE OF THIS SELF-EVIDENT DICTUM TO ELIMINATE THE MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE BY FAR POLITICIAN IN THE COUNTRY AND THE MAN WHO HOLDS ALL THE DECISIVE LEVERS.

6. I AM IN FULL ACCORD WITH YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE MANIFOLD DANGERS OF EXPOSURE TO THE UNITED STATES. I CAN ONLY ASSURE YOU THAT I WOULD NOT RUN RISKS THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE US; I CAN ONLY CITE AS EVIDENCE MY PERFORMANCE OF THE PAST EIGHT YEARS AS CHIEF OF MISSION TO SUPPORT THAT GENERAL ASSURANCE. IN DEALING WITH THE ANACONDA NEGOTIATIONS LAST YEAR, WHICH WERE NOT QUITE AS "EXPLOSIVE" AS THIS ISSUE, MY CRITICAL DECISION CAME WHEN THE DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN GOC AND COMPANY WERE HEADING FOR BREAKDWON AND PUBLII CONFRONTATION. AT THAT POINT I WENT TO FREI. I DID NOT RPT NOT GO TO SEEK TO NEGOTIATE WITH HIM; RATHER, IT WAS TO GET HIS APPRECIATION OF THE SITUATION INCLUDING WHAT ROLE HE WOULD PREFER I PLAY AND WITH WHOM.

7. I AM NOT SUGGESTING AN ANALOGOUS SCENARIO. BUT I AM EMPHASIZING THAT PAPER EXERCISES HAVE NO VALIDITY UNLESS THEY ARE BASED ON THE REAL WORLD. TO RUN THROUGH HYPOTETICAL CONTINGENCIES WITHOUT KNOWING THE TRUE INTENTIONS OF THE CONTROLLING FIGURE IS NOT ONLY INTELLECTUALLY

HYPOTHETICAL INTENTIONS

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DISHONEST BUT IT COURTS REAL DISASTER IN THAT IT RAISES THE POSSIBILITY OF WASHINGTON DECISIONS BASED ON THE LOGIC OF WHAT SHOULD BE AS DISTINCT FROM WHAT IS.

8. IT MAY BE SUGGESTED THAT WE HAVE OTHER INSTRUMENTS FOR ASSESSING THE SITUATION. MY EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST THREE YEARS LEAD ME TO AN OPPOSITE CONCLUSION. AS A CONSUMMATE POLITICIAN FREI CONVINCES EVERY VISITOR TO HIS OFFICE THAT HE AGREES WITH THEM WHICH IS ONE REASON HE IS SO EXTRAORDINARILY POPULAR NOW. AND THE QUASI-TOTALITY OF CHILEAN MILITARY AND POLTICIANS, WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF THE COMMUNISTS, HAVE A POLITICAL PERCEPTION LEVEL THAT IS SO MEDIOCRE THAT ONLY FOOLS WOULD TREAD ON THEIR PROJECTIONS OF FREI'S INTENTIONS. CHURCHILL SAID THAT "TRUE GENIUS RESIDES IN THE CAPACITY FOR EVALUATION OF UNDERTAIN, HAZARDOUS AND CONFLICTING INFORMATION". I WOULD HAVE TO ASPIRE TO FAR MORE THAN GENIUS TO EVALUTE AND TO RECOMMEND WHILE ISOLATING MYSELF FROM THE MOST ESSENTIAL INFORMATION AND TO OFFER APPRECIATIONS UNIQUELY BASED ON THE MOST HAZARDOUS OF INFORMATION.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02979 02 OF 02 042312Z

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ACTION INRD-10

INFO OCT-01 ES-07 CCO-00 /018 W

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P 042100Z AUG 70
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3174

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2979/2

[ ] DECAPTION

FOR ASST SECY MEYER FROM KORRY

9. IT WILL AGAIN BE SUGGESTED THAT I AM AN "ACTIVIST" WHO PROPOSES ACTION FOR THE SAKE OF ACTION. LET ME DISPOSE OF THIS KIND OF TYPE-CASTING IN WHICH THE DEPT INVARIABLY INDULGES AND WHICH IS AT THE ROOT OF THE TROUBLES FLUSHED OUT IN SOME OF THE RECENT TASK FORCES. THE REPORT I DID ON AFRICA CONVERTED US POLICY FROM ACTIVISM TO RESTRAINT; THE LOW PROFILE ARGUMENTS I MADE TO THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION FROM HERE AND WHICH I HAVE EXECUTED HERE ARE THE ANTITHESIS OF ACTIVISM; THE PAPER I DID FOR UNDERSEC RICHARDSON ON THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE US WITH THE LDCS WAS CRITICIZED FOR ITS RETREAT FROM HELTER-SKELTER ACTIVISM; THE RECOMMENDATIONS I HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING FOR THE SHARP REDUCTION IN OFFICIAL US PRESENCE HERE IS BEING OPPOSED BY BUREAUCRATS WHO WANT TO BE ACTIVE IN EVERYTHING. NEITHER LOW PROFILE NOR THE CAREFUL MATCHING OF REAL US INTERESTS TO US RESOURCE AVAILABILITY WAS INTENDED TO BE PASSIVISM. A CHIEF OF MISSION SHOULD BIDE HIS TIME AND HIS RESOURCES FOR THOSE RARE OCCASIONS WHEN US INTEREST IS VERY DEFINITELY AT STAKE. I BELIEVED AND I BELIEVE THAT THE ELECTION OF ALLENDE IS VERY POSSIBLE AND THAT IT WILL HAVE TREMENDOUS IMPACT ON US INTERESTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE; I BELIEVED THAT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG WOULD ALSO COME TO THAT CONCLUSION; I BELIEVED AND I BELIEVE THAT THE USG DID NOT RPT NOT HAVE TO BECOME INVOLVED IN ANY GREAT EFFORT TO ELECT ANOTHER CANDIDATE AND WE HAVE NOT. THEREFORE I DO NOT RPT NOT SEE ANY CONFLICT[ ]

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[ ]

10. A FINAL WORD ABOUT "CONDITIONING". FOR ME THAT WORD HAS ONLY ONE MEAING INSOFAR AS FREI AND THE PRESENT PROBLEM IS CONCERNED. 11 WAS AND IS TO MAKE FREI FEEL THAT HE HAS AN AWARENESS OF HISTORY, THAT HE CONSIDER' MOST CAREFULLY THE JUDGEMENT OF HISTORY IF CHILE WERE TO LOSE ITS FREEDOM FOR A LONG STRETCH. OBVIOUSLY A PRESIDENT OF HIS STATURE, OF HIS ACUITY AND OF HIS DEVOTION TO DEMOCRACY, WILL CONSIDER HISTORY'S JUDGMENTS WITHOUT PRODDING. BUT THE PRESSURES TO ACCEPT THE DEMOCRATIC DECISION OF AN ALLENDE PRESIDENCY ARE NO LESS STRONG THAN THE PRESSURES TO PREVENT CHILE'S CONVERSION INTO ANOTHER CUBA. AS THE US AMBASSADOR I HAPPEN TO BE ONE OF THE FEW PEOPLE WHITH WHOM HE CAN DISCUSS SUCH QUESTIONS DIS-PASSIONATELY AND WHOSE RESPONSES HE CONSIDERS VERY CAREFULLY. BUT IT HAS TO BE A DISCUSSIONS NOT A DEADPAN INTERVIEW IN WHICH I SEEK INFORMATION AND GIVE NOTHING. I WOULD GUESS THAT HE IS PUZZLED BY OUR PASSIVITY; I WOULD GUESS TOO THAT IT IS WEAKENING HIS NEVER-STRONG CAPACITY FOR ACTION; I WOULD ALSO HAZARD THE INCIDENTAL JUDGEMENT THAT THE US ALOOFNESS IS SERVING TO ENCOURAGE [ ] IN HIS CUBA POLICY FOR IT REINFORCES THE FEELING THAT THE US NO LONGER GIVES A DAMN WHAT HAPPENS IN CHILE. [B-1 B-1

]

11. I HAVE INDLUGED IN FRANKNESS AND WORDINESS BECAUSE I WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS WE HAVE IN RESPONDING TO THE NSC [ ] I DID NOT WISH TO REFER IN OTHER CHANNELS TO THE GUTTING NATURE OF YOUR INHIBITONS WITHOUT CHECKING BACK WITH YOU FIRST. HENCE I SEEK YOUR COUNSEL AND REQUEST YOUR APPROVAL TO PERMIT ME AND ME ALONE (WHILE ALL YOUR GROUND-RULES WOULD CONTINUE TO APPLY TO ALL OTHERS IN THIS MISSION) TO TRY TO DETERMINE DIRECTLY FROM FREI WHAT ARE HIS REAL INTENTIONS. BECAUSE I SHALL, OF COURSE, WISH TO MAKE SUCH SOUNDINGS IN THE MOST SUBTLE MANNER POSSIBLE, THERE MAY BE INDIRECT METHODS OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN US IN THE INTERIM. I WISH TO REITERATE THAT THERE WILL BE NO RPT NO RISKS OF ANY KIND SINCE THERE WILL BE

[illegible] US IN [illegible]
[illegible] BE NO RPT NO KI[illegible]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02979 02 OF 02 042312Z

NO RPT NO SUGGESTIONS OF ANY KIND OFFERED BY ME WITHOUT
FURTHER CONSULTATION WITH YOU. THE PURPOSES WILL BE TO
ELICIT INFORMATION VIA A LOGICAL AND JUSTIFIABLE EXPRESSION
OF INTEREST IN CHILE'S FUTURE.
[illegible]

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7-8-70 (RD018)

Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02570 0822462

84-61
ACTION INRD-10

INFO OCT-01 EB-07 CCO-00 /018 W 045048

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2908

[redacted] SANTIAGO 2570

ROGER CHANNEL

FOR ASST SECY MEYER FROM KORRY

REF STATE 107532

DECAPTION

DECAPTIONED

REFTEL VERY HELPFUL. WE PROCEEDING PHASE ONE.
KORRY

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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July 22, 1970

ARA - Mr. Crimmins

John:

Attached is a CIA Propaganda Guidance Item on Chile. The paper is late, but we unfortunately still need ARA comment by COB Thursday (or early on Friday AM).

My own view is that the paper wouldn't do much harm, but is cloudy and ineptly written. Some specific points that occur:

1) First para. The second sentence ~~lists~~ that the real danger is the example that a Allende success would offer third countries. This is of course a danger -- but the primary cost to us would be Chile itself.

2) Para. 2, last sentence: Allende is not making every effort to appear moderate (as later paragraphs themselves reveal) and to say so invites a misapprehension of the forces at work in Chile.

3) Para. 3d: Would Allende try to take Chile out of OAS?

All in all, I doubt the utility of this piece. In Chile itself we are encouraging, goodness knows, much propaganda that is -- I hope -- more telling than this. As to extra-Chilean targets, I don't know why at this point they should interest us.

James R. Gardner
INR/DDC

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 1/31/01 Declassify on Reason 25X1

PROPOSED AGENDA

Meeting of the 40 Committee, August 7, 1970

1. Summary of Developments: Chile, [redacted]

A. Chile. The 40 Committee on 27 June approved Part I of Ambassador Korry's proposal for infusion of [redacted] (in addition to [redacted] last March) for anti-Allende activities, but deferred discussion of his proposal [redacted] CIA will tell the Committee of the actions it has taken to date to implement the Committee's approval of Part I.

Ambassador Korry's proposal [redacted] has not been based on an apprehension that Allende would come in first in the popular vote; no responsible forecast that we have seen envisages such an outcome. The Ambassador believes that there is a real chance that Allende will be second in the general election and that, if he comes within five percent of the votes won by the front-running Alessandri, Congress could very well elect him president. An NIE approved on 30 July states, however, that Allende "must finish first on the popular vote to have much chance of election by the Congress". Papers prepared for the last meeting are at TAB 1A.

NF

**

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0000 9BE2

28 July 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR THE 40 COMMITTEE

SUBJECT: Proposed Agenda for the Meeting of the 40 Committee, Tuesday, 4 August 1970, 3:30 p.m., White House Situation Room

1. Summary of Developments: Chile

Peter Jessup

DO NOT FILE

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TO: ROOM 6635

Distribution

Mr. Mitchell
Mr. Packard
Mr. Johnson

Department of State

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PAGE 01 STATE 130820

182-87

ORIGIN INRD-10

INFO OCT-01 ES-07 /018 R

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DRAFTED BY ARA:JHCRIMMINS

APPROVED BY INR/DOC:MR. JAMES GARDNER

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P 1222Z AUG 70

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY

[redacted]

SECRET STATE 130820

[redacted]

REF: SANTIAGO 2979

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM MEYER

EXCISE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ____ Excise X Deny ____
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Exemption(s) 1.5 b1

1. I REGRET THAT MY ABSENCE IN BOGOTA AND JOHN CRIMMINS' ALMOST TOTAL ABSORPTION IN THE MITRIONE/FLY CASE HAVE DELAYED THIS REPLY.

2. LET ME TRY TO EXPLAIN OUR CONCERN ABOUT PHASE 2 AND FREI'S PARTICIPATION IN IT, A CONCERN WHICH WAS EXPRESSED IN MY EARLIER MESSAGE AND WHICH YOU SEEM TO BE MISUNDERSTANDING DESPITE THE MEETING OF MINDS WHICH CRIMMINS THOUGHT YOU AND HE HAD ATTAINED IN YOUR CONVERSATION.

3. PHASE 2 AS PRESENTED BY YOU IS A VERY SPECIFIC POLITICAL OPERATION DESIGNED TO TRY TO FORESTALL ALLENDE'S DESIGNATION BY CONGRESS [redacted] PHASE 2 IS A CONTINUATION OF PHASE 1 IN THAT BOTH ARE EFFORTS TO KEEP ALLENDE FROM BECOMING PRESIDENT. THE NSSM 97 EXERCISE IS ADDRESSED TO US POLICY AND STRATEGY IN THE EVENT OF ALLENDE'S ACCESSION. OF COURSE, NSSM 97 CAN AFFECT JUDGMENTS ABOUT PHASE 2 IN THE SENSE THAT CONCEIVABLY WE MAY DETERMINE THAT THE THREAT TO OUR INTERESTS IS SO GREAT AND OUR COUNTER-STRATEGY AND

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PAGE 03 STATE 130820

WE ALL WANT TO AVOID ANY AN INDISCRETION ON PHASE 2. I KNOW THAT YOU AND THE STATION CHIEF RE HAMPERED BY THESE RESTRAINTS, BUT I SEE NO OTHER PRUDENT COURSE, GIVEN THE STAKES.

7. TO SUM UP, I CERTAINLY EXPECT, AND HAVE EXPECTED ALL ALONG, AS CRIMMINS TOLD YOU, THAT YOU WOULD BE DEALING WITH FREI ON THE ELECTIONS AND ON HIS INTENTIONS TOWARD THEM. IF YOUR "CONDITIONING" OF HIM LEADS HIM TO TAKE ACTIONS ON HIS OWN IN CONSONANCE WITH OUR INTERESTS, GREAT. BUT THIS PROCESS HAS TO STAY VERY WELL SHORT OF PERMITTING HIM TO BELIEVE OR TO DEDUCE THAT WE ARE CONTEMPLATING A COVERT POLITICAL OPERATION OF A PHASE 2 NATURE.

8. IN THIS SENSE, I APPROVE THE SPECIFIC REQUEST YOU MAKE IN PARA 11.

9. IF THIS REPLY DOES NOT SATISFY YOUR NEEDS, PLEASE LET ME KNOW, BEING AS PRECISE AS YOU CAN ABOUT YOUR PROBLEM.
ROGERS

SECRET

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EXCISE

INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

STATE

REF: Embtel 3335, Deptel 143241

ROGER CHANNEL **DECAPTIONED**

1. In general review of file preparatory to further consideration of "Phase 2" (post - September 4 operations) we note that in paragraph 10 of your tel 3333 you stated that the [ ] had affected "Phase 2" because it affected [ ] who is the proposed "center-piece of that strategy". In paragraph 11 you stated your belief that "Phase 2" could nevertheless proceed, but "with certain extra precautions".

2. Your message of 1 September sent [ ] states that nothing has changed, since you had planned no direct role for yourself or the mission and the primary responsibility was with the Chileans.

3. Please give us your opinion as to whether or not you still contemplate extra precautions, and what their nature would be.

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir
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Date 2/1/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

END

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	APPROVED BY:
INR/DDC:JRGardner:sw	9-3-70	29032	INR/DDC - Wymberley Coerr

CLEARANCES:

ARA - Mr. Meyer

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U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1

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RA 88
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B1

September 4, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Mr. Charles A. Meyer

FROM: INR/DDC - Wymberley Coerr

SUBJECT: Chile -- Post-September 4 Operations
A Personal View

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1

1. Our basic problem, if the popular election of September 4 places Allende in close competition for the presidency in the congressional election of October 24, is to weigh the alternative risks to the U.S. that would be posed by

a) an Allende government, and

b) our attempt to block his presidency C

2. The case [ ] has been well argued. In essence: Allende hopes to establish a Marxist state, to expropriate U.S. investment, to follow a foreign policy friendly to Cuba and inimical to the U.S. I believe we have not given enough weight to forces in Chile that might frustrate his plans -- an intact military that has not oppressed or been defeated by the people (unlike Cuba when Castro took power); and powerful groups in labor, business and industry and on the land. Nevertheless, the penalties of an Allende victory would obviously be heavy.

3. In attempting to assess the penalties of being caught in our presently proposed operation, I believe it helpful to compare them with our hitherto most costly Latin American failure in covert operations -- Pigs' Bay. The American President was able to assume responsibility for that operation. I doubt he could do so for [ ]. Such action is beyond the pale, and evidence of our involvement would hurt our prestige and effectiveness in Latin America (not to mention the United States Government's reputation with its own citizens) even more than did Pigs' Bay. I assess the potential penalties [ ] as greater than those of an Allende victory.

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Exemption(s) B1

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4. [redacted]

[redacted]

5. We can always deny accusations, whether false or true, but if accusations in this case were supported by evidence our denials could not avert the heavy penalties involved. The only sure way to do so is to refrain[redacted]

Ref: TDCS 314/09784-70
dtd 9/17/70 Chile
(See JRC)

cc:
INR - Mr. Cline

INR/DDC:WCoerr:kmm

SECRET

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EXCISE

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Minute #1

SPECIAL ARA COMMITTEE ON CHILE - Meeting of 9/17/70

Present: Assistant Secretary Charles A. Meyer
Mr. Robert A. Hurwitch
Mr. Edward S. Little
Mr. James R. Gardner
[redacted]
Mr. John W. Fisher

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1, B3CA

1. Constitution of the committee. It will meet daily on weekdays at 8:45 a.m. Mr. Fisher will serve as Executive Secretary and initial action officer in ARA on 40 Committee matters on Chile subject to supervision and guidance of Messrs. Meyer, Hurwitch or Little.

2. Function of the committee: to screen flow of information and suggestions on Chile which come under purview of 40 Committee, make initial dispositions and recommendations, keep log, and follow up on decisions.

3. Subjects treated:

(a) Korry suggestion to persuade [redacted] to withhold public acceptance [redacted] in Chile of Allende as president-elect. Decision negative, because of impossibility of carrying out without excessive risk of leak.

(b) Korry suggestion to have [redacted] dissuade [redacted] from publicly accepting victory of Allende.

[redacted]

(c) [redacted]

(d) Korry suggestion that VOA carry more material such as certain recent Mercurio editorials. De-

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cision: Meyer to inquire of Shakespeare or Amerson about the current policy of USIA on Chile output. Our objective should be to have perhaps a modest intensification of Chile coverage but not to a degree which would draw attention to USG as a purveyor of anti-Allende material.

(e) Meyer question concerning provision of funds to thwart election of Allende by Congress. Decision: No further action necessary until Korry reports back on Frei's position on doing something about Allende.

JWFisher:pat

[redacted]

17 SEPTEMBER 1970

AMBASSADOR SENDS:

SITUATION REPORT

1. TRUST THAT CONSUMERS UNDERSTAND THAT EMBASSY 3741 "COMMUNIST TAKE OVER" IS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE BASE FOR PROPAGANDA ACTION THAT I HOPE WILL UNFOLD IN EUROPE AND LATAM.

2. COPEI ANTI-ALLENDE DECLARATION GIVEN GOOD PLAY MERCURIO TODAY UNDER CARACAS DATELINE AND HELPFUL.

3. ANTICIPATED VIAUX STATEMENT CAME OUT LAST NIGHT AND IN MERCURIO, CHANNEL 7 (GOVT) AND SEVERAL RADIO STATIONS. IT JUST MIGHT PROVIDE THE SPUR TO THE ARMED FORCES CINCS TO ISSUE THEIR OWN STATEMENT WHICH WAS MY INTENTION IN FORCING OSSA TO STOP WORKING AGAINST VIAUX STATEMENT. EMB WILL SEND SEPTEL.

[redacted]

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ___

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EXCISE

1. Headquarters [ ] to Santiago, 30 Sept. 1970
2. Headquarters [ ] to Santiago, 31 Oct. 1970
3. Headquarters [ ] to Santiago, 12 Oct. 1970
4. Headquarters [ ] to Santiago, 16 Oct. 1970
5. Note from Richard Helms dated 19 November, 1970 to General Haig transmitting a CIA "Postmortem of the Chilean Presidential Election."
6. CIA "Postmortem on the Chilean Presidential Election." dated 12 November 1970
7. Memorandum for the Record dated 22 Sept. 1970, prepared by Thomas H. Karamessines w/addendum on "TRACK II)
8. Santiago [ ] to Headquarters 5 Oct. 1970
9. Santiago [ ] to Headquarters 6 Oct. 1970
10. Director [ ] to Santiago 8 Oct. 1970
11. Memorandum for the Record, Subject [ ] prepared by William Broe, dated 10 Oct. 1970
12. "Report of CIA Chilean Task Force Activities, 15 Sept. to 3 Nov. 1970," dated 18 Nov. 1970
13. Memorandum dated 17 Oct. 1970, subject: "Talking Paper on TRACK I", on plain bond
14. Memo dated 9 Oct. 1970 on plain bond. (does not appear to be prepared by the State Department) Subject, Policy Decisions Related to Our Covert Action Involvement in the Sept. 1970 Chilean Presidential Election
15. Covert Annex to options paper for NSC on Chile, dated 27 October 1970

Chile Project (#S199900050)
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EXCISE

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RE003a

ACTION IN SUPPORT OF U.S. POSTURE TOWARDS CHILE

I. The courses of action recommended are posited on the following assumptions:

A. Allende will be elected October 24th by the Chilean Congress in a free and secret ballot by an overwhelming majority with the implicit approval of the armed forces.

B. Allende's election will provoke no overt hostility from any Latin American or Western European government and these governments will accept in regional and multilateral organizations an Allende government as representative of a sovereign, independent Chile.

C. An Allende Government will, despite reassuring articulations, have a profound anti-American bias and will work against US influences in the country, the area, and the world.

D. An Allende Government may for tactical reasons, wish to maintain its international credibility as a responsible debtor, as a trusted borrower, and as a sovereign nation that fulfills its international obligations independent of any great power.

E. An Allende Government will, at least in its first two years, encounter political opposition from anti-Communist forces and suffer from internal tensions (between Socialists of Maoist beliefs and orthodox Communists loyal to Moscow

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seeking dominance, and between non-doctrinaire opportunists and ideologues) in the management of a much-bureaucratized government.

F. An Allende Government will encounter serious economic problems and perhaps particularly coincidental with the March, 1971 nationwide municipal elections and two simultaneous Congressional by-elections; such problems could exacerbate tensions within the governing coalition and increase the potential of anti-government forces.

II. The objectives of US policies should be:

A. To bolster by covert action those forces opposed to the establishment in Chile of a Marxist-Leninist system.

B. To protect by quiet negotiation specific US interests in Chile so as to demonstrate the effective capacity of the US to influence events and so as to exploit to the maximum in defense of our legitimate interests the desires of an Allende regime for legitimacy.

C. To deal publicly with the new Chilean Government in a manner consonant with declared US policies for Latin America and to avoid converting in the public's mind the triumph of Allende into a defeat for this Administration.

III. Actions would be implemented at these three levels -- covert, diplomatic, and public -- in the following ways:

A. Covert:

1. Financial support to anti-Allende forces to [ ] operate radio stations and newspapers.

2. Financial support to [ ] [ ] opposition parties.

3. Financial support to selected anti-Allende personalities in the Armed Forces.

4. Acquisition of political assets within the Allende coalition.

5. Political action to exacerbate tensions between the disparate components of the Popular Unity coalition.

6. Political action to encourage the [ ] [...] so as to hamper the operation of the economy and to augment the political tensions.

7. Selected political action designed to maximize the opposition to the Allende Government in the March, 1971 nationwide municipal elections and the simultaneous two Congressional by-elections.

8. Propaganda action to publicize in the world media any contravention of Chilean constitutional guarantees of a pluralistic democracy, any shortcomings of the Allende Government, any tensions inside his ruling coalition and to combat his planned denigration of his political opponents.

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[ ]

B. Diplomatic:

1. Authorize the Ambassador to seek between October 24th and November 4th by unpublicized negotiation with Allende firm and quickly-provable commitments:

a. to meet Chile's financial obligations to US institutions, public and private,

b. to write the nationalization laws for copper and banks (expected to be submitted November 5 to the Chilean Congress) so as to assure compensation of a kind and of a term that would obviate Hickenlooper Amendment implementation or significant USG payments to private US companies holding AID investment guarantees,

c. to delay full diplomatic recognition to North Vietnam, North Korea and possibly East Germany (eschewing any effort on our part to affect the full recognition of Communist China or Cuba),

d. that Chile will not provide military bases to any foreign power or be used for the export of revolution via guerrilla training camps or dispatch of such trainees to other countries.

The Ambassador should inform Allende that the US and probably the hemisphere will look very seriously on any violation of the commitments outlined in the foregoing paragraph d.

[ ]

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The Ambassador should inform Allende of pertinent US legislation that might come into play and its implications for our bilateral relations, including our positions in multilateral organizations, if he were to ignore our views concerning the matters raised in paras a through c of this section.

2. Instruct the Department and the Ambassador to plan for the following unilateral actions:

a. Maintain a very compact A.I.D. presence that concentrates on people-to-people relations (Title II humanitarian programs, exchanges of students, small impact projects) and a very few technical assistants in fields of interest to the US (e.g., health). All other technical assistance will be phased out by quiet withdrawal and non-replacement over a period of several months; all other A.I.D. activities will be reduced commensurate with our obligations to the U.S. Congress to supervise and to audit projects.

b. Continue to deobligate A.I.D. funds in the pipeline to the maximum practicable extent and, predicated on an acceptable negotiation with Allende prior to November 4th, permit the disbursement of A.I.D. pipeline funds (less than $30,000,000, of which a large amount is in irrevocable special letters of credit) in accordance with the conditions of

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the original loans. (There has been only one A.I.D. loan of $2,500,000 for student exchanges in the past two full years.)

c. Cancel all replacement plans for the Peace Corps (which has been quietly reduced recently to some 90 volunteers) and assume the phase-out of this program unless the Allende Government requests in writing its continuance.

d. Maintain the Military Group (maximum 13 officers and men) until such time as the Allende Government requests its elimination; maintain the courses of training for Chileans in Panama and the US. Permit the fulfillment of contracted military aid commitments (value approximately $4,000,000 of which a significant part was paid by the Chileans in cash).

e. Phase out quietly the entire AFTAC presence from its three locations in Chile (Easter Island, Punta Arenas and Quintero).

f. Permit the continuance of the NASA station if the Chilean Government so requests in writing.

g. Reduce to the minimum possible the numbers of official Americans and local employees of all agencies of the US.

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3. Instruct the Department of State to:

a. Arrange with the Export-Import Bank to service exporters under a centralized review system.

b. [redacted]

c. Consult with the governments of Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic on the nature of our public posture to the Chilean Government.

C. Public Policy

1. President Nixon would implement our public policy of restrained relations with an Allende Government by acknowledging his election October 24th with a prompt and succinct cable of congratulations that would emphasize the Chilean traditions of democracy and of freedom.

2. The US would send a delegation to the inauguration of Allende headed by Assistant Secretary Meyer.

3. The US Mission to the OAS would distribute to all members the President's official statement on Allende's election and explain our level of representation at the

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[redacted]

inauguration. (We would seek in Western Europe, Japan and in Latin American capitals by diplomatic action to avoid any extravagant delegations to the inauguration.)

4. The US Government would eschew all other public statements.

[redacted]

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Chile Project (#1999000360)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1

Department of State TELEGRAM

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[ROGER] CHANNEL DECAPTION

[EYES ONLY] FOR UNDERSEC JOHNSON

1. UPON RETURN FROM EASTER ISLAND EVENING OF OCT 29 [redacted] B-1 INFORMED ME WASHINGTON NEEDED IMMEDIATE DECISION ON DISPATCH OF [redacted] TEAM. ADDED THAT THEIR PRESENCE AND MY APPROVAL URGED BY HIGHEST AUTHORITY OF GOVT. EXPLAINED THAT PRESS FOR DECISION LINKED TO THEIR IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE SO THEY COULD BE INSTALLED PRIOR TO ALLENDE INAUGURATION.

2. I APPROVED ON BASIS OF FOREGOING BUT I CONFESS THAT I FIND [redacted] B-1 THESE ORAL MESSAGES A LITTLE PUZZLING WHEN THEY CITE [redacted] INTEREST WITHOUT ANY DIRECT MESSAGE TO ME FROM YOU.
GP-3
KORRY

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (S) Downgrade to ____
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Box 19, Folder A-2, Chronology

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30 October 1970

AMBASSADOR KORRY ASKS THAT ALEXIS JOHNSON BE GIVEN INTERIM REPLY TO HIS MESSAGE OF 29 OCTOBER 1970 AS FOLLOWS:

A. Will be reporting shortly results discussion with [ ] night October 27.

B. Intend discuss also with Assistant Secretary Meyer.

//END//

(orig. sent to U.S. Johnson) Control [ ]

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
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Date 12/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

PROPOSED AGENDA

EXCISE

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1 NR

Meeting of the 40 Committee, November 17, 1970

1. Chile. At Tab 1-A CIA summarizes current and proposed covert actions in Chile keyed to NSDM 93. These actions are aimed principally at blocking ultimate communist control of Chile and include weakening the UP coalition, maintaining viable opposition to the UP, and exposing foreign communist activities in Chile. The program is budgeted at [redacted] At Tab 1-E ARA and INR support the program but emphasize the importance of insuring that various elements of the proposed program consist with each other.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

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November 18, 1970

MEMORANDUM

EXCISE

TO: J - Ambassador Johnson
THROUGH: INR/DDC - Wymberley Coerr
FROM: ARA - Charles A. Meyer

SUBJECT: Covert Action Program for Chile

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1

Attached is a CIA summary of current and contemplated covert actions in Chile that are keyed to NSDM 93. The program is estimated to cost [redacted]

The program appears in general to be well-conceived, but raises certain questions that should be kept under continuing review. The effect of inter-action between the various elements of the proposed program is particularly important. Should we, for instance, be successful in weakening the Socialist Party, would we wish also to weaken Allende, who might remain the only substantial obstacle to a substantial increase of Communist Party power?

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve (a) the proposed contingency budget of [redacted] and (b) the covert action program in its general outline, subject to continuing review of its major implementation actions.

Attachment:
As stated.

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir
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INR, Mr. [redacted]

Approve____

Disapprove____

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Chile Project (ESTP9900030)
U.S. Department of State
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15 DEC 1970

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EXCISE

Dear Ambassador Lodge:

My staff and I were happy to receive your letter of November 12 which commented on our recent Research Study (RSGS-3) "Is Allende the Prelude to a Communist Victory?", not only because we feel gratified that our paper found its way into your reading file, but even more because it gives us an opportunity for a brief dialogue with you on the very vital subject of the likely course of Chile's political evolution.

First of all, let me say that I do not think that there is any fundamental disagreement between us on the conclusion that the accession of Allende to power has been tragically bad news, for the United States as well as Chile. As our Research Study says twice on its first page, "the outlook for the survival of Chilean democracy does not seem favorable." Moreover, I think that our view of developments is entirely in accord with National Intelligence Estimate [ ] of July 30, 1970, "The Outlook for Chile," which, in paragraphs 45, 46 and 47, paints a gloomy prospect of that country's future under Allende.

What RSGS-3 attempted to do was to go beyond this starting point to examine one particular aspect of the political dynamics which will affect where Allende might lead Chile. This aspect relates to the prospect for harmony or division within Allende's "Popular Unity" coalition, and specifically to the nature of the inter-relationships of the two biggest parties in the coalition, the Communists and the Socialists. Our paper tried to elaborate on the thought in paragraph 47 of NIE [ ] which says that one of the "important obstacles" to Allende's success in achieving his Marxist goals will be the problem "of keeping the UP coalition together." We think we should be looking for weaknesses in the armor of the Allende administration, and this is possibly one.

I must say it seems to us that variations in the internal make-up and external allegiances of a Marxist state do make a substantial difference in the dangers which that country is likely to pose for American interests. As the President's trip in October implied, Yugoslavia

The Honorable
John Davis Lodge,
American Ambassador,
Buenos Aires.

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demonstrates the hopeful side. Admittedly, in the especially tempestuous circumstances of today's Latin America, a Marxist regime in any nation will radiate influences that can only complicate the achievement of American aims. It is still fair to say that our difficulties with a populist, nationalist, anti-Yanqui administration, whether in Chile, Peru, or Peronist Argentina, will be much more manageable than with a government run by a Communist Party fairly loyal to Moscow.

RSGS-3 went fairly deeply into the turbulent history of rivalry between the Communist and Socialist Parties in Chile, as well as into the rather diverse ideological currents that run through the Socialist Party. As we see it, Allende is not a disciplined Marxist thinker, but rather a consummate politician who has earnestly adopted fairly simplistic Socialist slogans and cliches. He will act on them, of course, but many of his moves will be opportunistic, tactically pragmatic, and eclectically heterodox. There is in him a consistent and strong strain of anti-Americanism, but he has as yet no record of being a Soviet puppet, and, as our study notes, his party in 1968 denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia (which Castro supported).

We have no illusions whatsoever about Chile's prospective divergence on a broad front from American foreign policy positions, but we do not believe that, as you write, it shows "a certain susceptibility to some forms of communist propaganda" for our paper to suggest that Allende's international outlook is more akin to those of such "third world" leaders as Boumedienne, Nasser, and Nyerere than to Brezhnev and Kosygin. Of course, the U.N. votes of these leaders and some of their other actions often coincide with the Soviet approach, but there is not a one-to-one correspondence of the kind the Chilean Communist Party would surely impose if it were entirely in control.

All of these radical nationalists, most of whom espouse an ill-defined "socialism," prefer to keep some balance in their position between the superpowers in an attempt to avoid undue dependence on either side. The United States will suffer from the fact that since, in Allende's view, Chile has suffered from lop-sided past dependence on America, the balancing act must now emphasize a growing distance from Washington. We think, however, that this distance in practice, as distinct from rhetoric, is more likely to be to some point between Belgrade and Algiers rather than all the way to Moscow or Peking.

I am sure that you have been following developments in Chile since Allende's inauguration as closely as we have. As we all have expected,

precious little has happened to encourage any optimism by the United States, although, as predicted, Allende is moving along his radical course shrewdly and with prudence. There have been a number of indications of friction between the Communist and Socialist Parties, even involving Allende's semi-support of an extremist youth-terrorist group which is a violent foe of the Chilean Communists. This friction has gone so far that our press of December 11 reports that Allende has had to start a campaign to restore a semblance of unity to the coalition.

It is in this interplay of forces within the coalition, to say nothing of those still remaining outside the regime, that, conceivably some opportunity may present itself for reducing the extent of damage to American interests in Chile. Our Research Study aimed at exploring one of the types of interplay that seemed not unlikely to occur, and which American interests require us to be alert for. I think it is too gloomy to resign ourselves to the inevitability of the worst so long as there is even a slight chance that Allende's Soviet oriented supporters may not completely carry the day. Our object is only to point a possible ray of light in a picture which we otherwise see about as dark as you do.

Sincerely,

Ray S. Cline

12/23/70

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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MEMORANDUM

December 23, 1970

TO : U - The Under Secretary

THROUGH: INR - Mr. George C. Denney, Jr.

FROM : INR/DDC - William McAfee

SUBJECT: 40 Committee Meeting December 23

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (Σ) Downgrade to
Date 2/7/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Chilean Media

The 40 Committee Secretariat has not forwarded an agenda for the meeting of December 23 but the main topic considered will be Chile. At the last meeting the chairman asked for a status report on Chilean media; this is attached at Tab 1-A. An ARA memorandum at Tab 1-B notes that the paper contains no recommendation for Committee action at this time but suggests that if the Forty Committee does receive a recommendation it look carefully at the security of the techniques by which CIA would provide support.

Chile - Friction in UP

The Agency was asked at a prior 40 Committee meeting to consider an action program to split the UP which supports Allende. A paper on friction within the UP was previously provided to Dr. Kissinger only. CIA provided us a copy today, December 23; it is at Tab 2. After listing some points of friction it summarizes operations undertaken to increase frictions, and mentions planning underway for other activities on which Mr. Crimmins will provide you his comment orally. The Committee is not being asked at this point to approve a program. We favor support of programs to accentuate frictions as long as the US hand is thoroughly concealed but the Department should be consulted fully on the format and timing of any program.

NR

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 14 ~~1970~~ 1971

Chile Project (#S199900090)
U.S. Department of State
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MEMORANDUM

To : INR/OD - Mr. Cline
Through: INR/DRR - Mr. Markham
From : INR/RAR/OD - G. H. Summerfield

Subject: CHILE - Facilitation of Subversive Activities in Latin America

Attached (Tab A) for your signature is a memorandum to Assistant Secretary Charles Meyer, in reply to his request for INR comments on a CIA study (Tab B), "Chilean Facilitation of Subversive Activities in Latin America", prepared for the White House and the Senior Review Group.

The CIA study clearly establishes the Chilean potential for such assistance to subversion. It sidesteps the difficult task of estimating probabilities, however, and fails to distinguish between the possibility of the Allende Government providing the aid, and unauthorized extremist groups doing so. The study draws on a mixture of firm intelligence (very limited), past actions and statements, and some speculation, resulting in a general impression that the Chilean Government intends to act along certain lines.

Our memorandum points out the foregoing, suggests some alternative explanations for certain past events, gives some differing assessments on specific points, and suggests the advisability of a full intelligence community estimate of the problem, which obviously is a serious one and warrants consideration in depth.

Attachments:

Tab A - Memorandum for Signature

Tab B - CIA Study, "Chilean Facilitation of Subversive Activities in Latin America"

Clearance:

DDC - Mr. Gardner

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir
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Date 3/14/14 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1

Meeting of the 40 Committee, May 26, 1971

[redacted]

2. Chile - Status Report in the Wake of the 4 April Elections. At Tab 2A is a CIA status report of late April describing the political situation after the municipal elections [redacted] Opposition: 48.90% of the vote; up 49.74%). At Tab 2B INR notes that the paper is on the Agenda merely to serve as a point of departure for a Committee discussion of Chile.

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EXCISE

RA153

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OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

8 FEB 1971

The Honorable
John Davis Lodge
American Embassy
Buenos Aires

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (5) Downgrade to __
Date 1/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I appreciate your letter of December 23, containing your additional comments on RSGS-3. I am glad to have your continuing comments, and will look forward to further exchanges between us on this very serious problem for the U.S. We too will be watching Allende's actions closely as guides to his sympathies and objectives. In this connection, starting this month, the intelligence community plans to put out joint [ ] assessments of events in Chile; we shall of course include you in the distribution list.

[redacted]

With best regards,

Sincerely,

[redacted]

Ray S. Cline

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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30 April 1971

THE FOLLOWING IS FROM AMBASSADOR KORRY REGARDING

YOUR REQUEST:

1. Consider it very improbable that Tello Troncoso acting with knowledge of any responsible authority in GOC, particularly Allende. Overriding influence in this judgment is nature of Castro-Allende relationship; Allende would not dream of interfering in Castro's affairs without arriving at a prior accord. Allende was very much in favor of the Castro visit to Chile on which he progressed quite far without the knowledge or approval of his Foreign Minister and against the more prudent position of the PCCh. Moreover, as you will see from separate cables today, he has apparently made up his mind to accelerate the Socialist revolution by quickly seeking the replacement of the Congress via the plebescite route. While he is quite different from Castro and while his tactics to and in power are unique, the affinities are so strong that it is barely conceivable at this time that he would meddle in Castro's foreign policy unbeknownst to Fidel. Secondly, Chilean foreign policy is traditionally prudent and Almeyda has demonstrated that this ingrained mode of conduct prevails even for an avowed "Maoist". Hence, he would not initiate any Tello-type action without the approval of the Cubans and without considering all the consequences to the unique Chilean strategy of arriving at Socialism.

2. Tello may have stated his perceptions of the Chilean experience as he believes them and as indeed the GOC publicly articulates its policies. There are many Socialists, as Tello is, who genuinely believe what he purportedly told the FAR representative. But few, especially career diplomats, such as Tello, would have risked going so far without specific instructions. We have heard unconfirmed reports that Tello is what is described in the trade as an activist and has similarly indulged in the past.

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EYES ONLY

3. It is conceivable that the FAR is seeking a channel to the Guatemalan Government, or some elements in it, and it is also possible that Castro is testing his Chilean companeros.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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MEMORANDUM

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (S) Downgrade to ___
Date 1/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

May 25, 1971

TO : J - Ambassador Johnson

FROM : INR/DDC - Wymberley Coerr

SUBJECT: Status Report on Chile in the Wake of the 4 April Elections

In the attached status report on Chile after the 4 April municipal elections, CIA analyses the election results and concludes that: (a) Allende was denied the clear popular majority he sought; (b) the political opposition was successful in its race against the Popular Unity forces, with resulting gains to its self-confidence and to the willingness of the "monied and privileged" to stay in Chile; and (c) the opposition possesses significantly enlarged media capabilities for use in the future.

We are informed by the Committee Secretariat that this status report, which is more than a month old, has been put on the agenda at the request of Dr. Kissinger to serve as an entry into a general discussion of the Chile question. It is not planned to discuss the report itself in detail.

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RARN-17

INTELLIGENCE NOTE

Prepared by Bureau of Intelligence and Research

June 4, 1971

CHILE: A PRECARIOUS SEARCH FOR GOOD LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

Chile's Unidad Popular government has sought good relations both with Latin American governments and with the radical left in these countries. In this delicate balance of GOC goals, the ideological similarity between the Chilean government and the Latin American left has given rise to concern in neighboring states that Chile will support the export of subversion. Nevertheless, evidence to date suggests that the Allende government will not permit Chile to be used as a base for foreign insurgency. This policy is unlikely to change unless (1) extremist influence in the UP were to increase significantly or (2) relations with neighboring states were to deteriorate seriously.

Mecca for the left. Chile, a popular site for asylum and meetings of Latin American leftists prior to the inauguration of Allende, has become even more of an attraction since Allende took office. According to one estimate some 1500 expatriates have gravitated there. Santiago has become a favored locale for strategy sessions, including cadre schools sponsored by the Chilean Communist Party (PCCh) and meetings of regional labor, student and religious organizations. A frequent theme of such meetings is revolution and opposition to governments in other Latin American countries. Foreign Minister Almeyda is

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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on record that the Chilean government will not inhibit these meetings, and GOC officials, although uneasy over the presence of large numbers of undisciplined expatriates, have been unwilling as yet to take meaningful action to stem the flow.

Conciliating neighboring governments. The presence of the expatriates and the leftist meetings in Chile have been a source of concern to other Latin American states, especially Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. (To a lesser extent this is also true in Peru and Bolivia.) Security forces in these countries have appraised this situation as indicating Chilean government support for the export of subversion. But, in contradiction to some early indications that Allende might provide clandestine assistance to neighboring insurgency movements, evidence to date suggests that the GOC has been sensitive to the concerns of neighboring governments and has sought to avoid actions which would strain bilateral relations. The GOC has courted the Peruvian and Bolivian governments. Interior Minister Toha instructed the Chilean military to determine whether terrorists were operating near the Argentine border because of concern that such activities would embarrass Chilean-Argentine relations. Chile has also warned Argentine and Mexican expatriates that they may reside in Chile only if they do not engage in political activities and do not grant press interviews.

Chilean relations with Brazil, currently the most strained of bilateral contacts, have also been marked by GOC circumspection: Chile has encouraged some of the more politically active of the Brazilian exiles to depart Chile and has discouraged requests for asylum at the Chilean Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Frequent criticism of the Brazilian government by the exiles does, however, appear in the Chilean press.

Contending Unidad Popular interests. The varied components of the Unidad Popular mirror the varied leftist spectrum outside the country, with each seeking to encourage and promote its foreign reflection. Thus because the UP is made up of diverse leftist elements, a prime consideration in the GOC's foreign policy has been to avoid antagonizing any of the various foreign counterparts. The diversity of the UP might also lead to sporadic future instances of one or another of the UP groups assisting similar groups elsewhere. But the nucleus of UP leadership is identified with the "pacific" or legal road to power; support for this route rather than the "insurgency" road is more probable in whatever official clandestine support the GOC might provide.

"Chile will not be isolated". Chilean governments have long had a healthy respect for geo-political reality, a respect heightened by growing regional inter-dependence and concern for Argentine intentions and suspicions. Ideology has been bent in the past to pragmatic national interests by more than one Chilean government (most recently

by the reformist Frei government's wooing of Brazil's military regime). The UP leadership appears to share this pragmatism--as clearly indicated by PCCh Secretary General Luis Corvalan when he noted that "Chile will take no action that might lead to the isolation of the country".

Will Chile export subversion? Chile's cautious and correct foreign policy, grounded as it is in domestic and foreign interests, is not immutable. Changing domestic considerations or a deterioration of international relations might upset the present delicate balance in favor of those within the UP who would like to see a Chilean commitment to revolutionary insurgency. In particular the rivalries and suspicions between the South American states might at some future date serve as a destabilizing influence on the UP. At a minimum, the GOC is likely to continue to allow Chile to be used as a haven for leftist expatriates and as a locale for Marxist meetings. It is possible, but not certain, that the GOC will provide some clandestine assistance to leftist political movements elsewhere in the hemisphere such as Uruguay's Frente Amplio. Extremist groups associated with the UP may provide sporadic assistance to foreign insurgency movements. But for the present, and barring a significant change in GOC domestic or international circumstances, it is unlikely that the GOC will provide financial support or training to facilitate the export of insurgency.

INR/American Republics
Acting Director: RWRichardson
Analyst : AHEisner
Ext. : 22331
Released by :
Drafted date : 6/4/71

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release____ Excise X Deny____
Declassify: In Part X In Full____
Exemption(s) B1.B3

RA181

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B1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED EXCISE

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dic
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 12/31/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1

SECRET

February 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: U - The Under Secretary

FROM: INR/DDC - William McAfee
For The Director, INR

SUBJECT: [redacted]

Chile: [redacted]

Chile: Radical Party Difficulties

Differences within the Radical Party over the political orientation the party should assume, and over the attitude the party should take toward Allende's plans to form a single Popular Front party in the 1973 congressional elections, have led to the resignation of the Radical ministers from the government. A convention is scheduled for late April which presumably will determine the direction the party will take. [redacted]

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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RA-182

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~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

EXCISE

March 1, 1972

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 4/3/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Under Secretary

FROM: INR/DDC - William McAfee
For the Director, INR

SUBJECT: [redacted]

1. [redacted]

Chile - Radical Party Difficulties

Dissension within the Radical Party over the orientation of the party has led to the resignation of Radical ministers from Allende's government. [redacted]

[redacted]

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Full Chile 2/17/72 OK'd

RD043

FORM DS 322(OCR)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3/28/72 Ref John Fisher, ARA/BC P B1 informed.

Chile Project (#S19990030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part X In Full____
Exemption(s) B1

EXCISE

C-IAWG

L/ARA:MBFELDMAN:JS
3/27/72 EXT 20734
ARA/BC:JWFISHER

EUR-E/FBX:RGLONG
INR/OPS:JRGARDNER

E/IFD/ODF:JAWINDER

ROUTINE PARIS

ROUTINE SANTIAGO

~~EXDIS~~

DECAPTIONED

JWF
MBF
RGL
JAW
JRG

SUBJECT: CHILE COPPER

REF: STATE 216989

1. THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY TAKEN STEPS SUGGESTING IT MAY INVOKE THE 1914 US-CHILE TREATY ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES IN REFERENCE TO ONE OR MORE ASPECTS OF THE COPPER PROBLEM. THAT TREATY ESTABLISHES A 5-MEMBER COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT ON DISPUTES. THE MEMBERS RECENTLY APPOINTED BY CHILE ARE EDMUNDO VARGAS (CHILE) AND MANFRED LACHS (POLAND). THE MEMBERS ORIGINALLY APPOINTED BY THE US ARE DECEASED AND HAVE NOT BEEN REPLACED. HOWEVER, IN 1965 THE US AGREED TO A CHILEAN SUGGESTION TO APPOINT MADAME SUZANNE BASTID, PROFESSOR OF LAW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, AS THE NEUTRAL CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION.

2. YOU ARE REQUESTED [ ] TO ATTEMPT B-1

Drawer 1

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FORM DS 322A (OCR)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 2 -

WITH UTMOST DISCRETION TO DEVELOP INFORMATION ON

THE RESOLUTION OF ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THE EXPROPRIATION OF US COPPER INTERESTS BY CHILE AND THE REPUDIATION BY THE GOC OF COPPER DEBTS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN

3. WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE THE EMBASSY'S COMMENTS ON THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS IF THE US SHOULD EXERCISE ITS RIGHT UNDER THE 1914 TREATY TO

YY

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Chile Project (#S1999000030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

Q req to NSCG for

[redacted]

April 11, 1972

To: The Under Secretary

From: S/PC - Samuel D. Eaton

CIA's April 4 Memorandum Entitled:
Chile: Conciliation, Confrontation, or Coup

ARA will comment separately and will be able to give more precise views on the current Chilean situation. My general reactions to the CIA memorandum are as follows:

I would agree with the basic assessment that the pressure on Chile's constitutional process is increasing but that military intervention is unlikely to occur in the immediate future. I would conjecture that the situation might come to a head before the CIA paper indicates--that is, within the next year. ARA may not agree with this.

The main sources of pressure on Chile's constitutional process are:

On the one hand--

-- Sharp opposition in the Chilean Congress and by sectors of the Chilean public to the degree of nationalization of private property, which the Allende administration wants to achieve.

-- Rising discontent over shortages and prices.

On the other hand--

-- Disaffection by the more radical of Allende's supporters with what they consider to be his conciliation.

[redacted]

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Allende will be faced sooner or later with the decision of whether to depart sharply from constitutional processes to implement his version of Marxian socialism or to lower the sights of his program.

The military probably will hold the key in the end. It is reluctant to move but probably would do so if Allende clearly violated the constitution or if there were severe disorders and if it felt that the bulk of public opinion was with it.

Thus, the mood and capability of the military are very important to watch.

Thus, too, public opinion will be very important. It will probably react mainly to the internal issues indicated above but it will also be affected significantly by external issues such as the posture of the United States and the ITT case.

[redacted]

[redacted]

RA-189

File Chile P B1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

EXCISE ~~SECRET~~ UNCLASSIFIED

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1 · 63

MEMORANDUM

May 15, 1972

TO : J - Ambassador Johnson

THROUGH: INR/DDC - William McAfee
For The Director, INR

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (4) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 11/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

FROM : ARA - Charles A. Meyer

SUBJECT: Elections at the University of Chile

In the attached memorandum CIA comments on [redacted] the recent election campaign in the University of Chile. This campaign saw the reelection of Edgardo Boeninger as rector, with an absolute majority of the vote, over the UP-backed candidate Felipe Herrera as well as the victory of at least 53 non-marxist candidates for the 100-man university advisory council, previously controlled by the UP. The memorandum notes that the election held national significance as an indicator of political trends in the country, with the result bringing another embarrassment to Allende and added momentum to the opposition.

[redacted]

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INR/DDC:JRGardner:sw

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

EXCISE ~~SECRET~~ UNCLASSIFIED

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part X In Full____
Exemption(s) B1. B3

MEMORANDUM

August 2, 1972

TO : J - Ambassador Johnson
THROUGH: INR/DDC - Mr. McAfee
FROM : ARA - John H. Crimmins

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to ____
Date 4/30/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1

SUBJECT: Comment on UP Victory in 16 July Chilean By-election.

In the attached status report to the 40 Committee, CIA comments on the results of the 16 July Congressional by-election in the province of Coquimbo, which the Communist candidate of the Popular Unity (UP) forces won with 55.6% of the votes over the opposition candidate, who received 44.9%.

The result was a disappointment to the opposition, which had hoped to repeat the victories it had won in two previous by-elections. The preponderant UP strength in the province, illustrated by the 61.7% of the vote won by government coalition parties in the 1971 municipal elections, was substantially reduced, but the opposition defeat was nonetheless clear. The CIA paper attributes the result to the vigorous campaign waged by the victor, a flow of government pre-election favors to the province, and, principally, dissensions among the opposition parties which were composed too late in the day to permit a fully effective campaign.

C

J

Recommendation:

That you note the attached report.

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INR/DDC:JRGardner:sw

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1. B3

EXCISE

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October 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 1/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

SUBJECT: U.S. Reaction to Possible Approach by Chilean Coup Plotters.

In a 17 October meeting in the office of Assistant Secretary Meyer, representatives of State and CIA and the NSC staff considered the question of what the U.S. attitude should be were there to be initiatives by elements in Chile seeking involvement of the United States in an attempt against Allende's government. Those present were: from State; Mr. Meyer, Deputy Assistant Secretary Crimmins, Mr. John Fisher, ARA-IA/BC and Mr. James Gardner, INR/DDC; from the NSC staff, Mr. William Jorden; and from CIA: [redacted]

There follow some reflections on the problem. In large part these are based on observations made in the meeting, but they do not purport to be a record of these observations, nor are the reflections confined to them.

It is unlikely that the United States will be asked to help in preparing or delivering a coup. Were such a request nonetheless made, there is little doubt that we should refuse. The risks would be too high. The picture of U.S. positive cooperation in a plot to overthrow a government with which we have official relations would be questionably attractive to the citizens of the United States and would not be suitable to the image we wish to present to the world. In addition to being undesirable, this kind of involvement would be unnecessary; i.e., it would at most have only marginal influence on the course of events.

It is more likely that we would be asked for assurances in advance of a planned coup that the United States would provide assistance to the new regime after it came to power. Such a request would raise two sets of problems: How much assistance could we in fact give? Within the limits established by our capabilities, how much assistance should we promise? Only the second problem lies within the scope of this memo. Of course, if we could in fact give nothing we could promise nothing, and the second problem disappears. But no matter how restricted our capabilities we presumably would be able to provide at least limited asistance and a warmly friendly attitude to a new government, and thus we do face the question of whether our response should be reserved and

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noncommittal, or to one degree or another unreserved and forward.

In other words, should we encourage, or should we carefully hold ourselves apart from a coup effort?

The issue is a real one only if we believed that our encouragement would be a determinative or material factor in the plotters' decision whether to move ahead with their purpose. Assuming that a successful coup would be in our interests (an assumption that is not altogether invulnerable, as is noted below), it is still open to question that declarations of future assistance would in fact bring it about or even affect its timing. One line of thought (espoused in the meeting by CIA representatives) attaches considerable weight to the innate caution of the Chilean military — whose participation would be essential to the success of a coup — and therefore believes that the anticipated degree and quality of U.S. support would be so important to it that it would regard as essential generous and specific promises of U.S. support. Another school holds that the would-be coup engineers in the Chilean military and elsewhere would naturally assume a high degree of U.S. favor to their enterprise and therefore would not regard specific U.S. assurances as an essential procondition to action. Still a third believes that the U.S. factor would not be of central moment to the plotters and for this reason surmises that we would not be pressed for commitments, and, indeed, that our attitude would be wholly irrelevant to the shape of their purpose.

These analyses, informed though they respectively may be, are essentially speculative and perhaps critically dependent for their validity on circumstances whose development is now impossible to foresee. There would seem to be no disagreement, however, with the obvious proposition that were a coup as likely to be put in train without as with specific promises from us, we should not make such promises. The concern of this memo is therefore the situation in which we would be asked for specific promises, and in which the nature of our answer would, in our judgment, determine whether the plotters would undertake a coup effort.

A number of considerations would be relevant to the nature of our response. A basic one would be our estimate of the chances for success the effort might have. It would seem that success should appear highly probable, if not indeed almost certain, before we engaged ourselves to aspiring new rulers. The situation in which success seemed dubious would be exactly the situation in which there would be an apparent almost even matching of forces, with consequent prolonged struggle, much bloodshed, a destitute economy and an embittered population, no matter who won. We should, it seems clear, be reluctant to take responsibility for such a situation, in the development of which, it also seems clear, our promises and comitments probably would become a public element in the struggle. If, instead of protracted conflict, the coup were quickly rolled up, our

part would the more certainly be publicized and subject to a variety of exaggerations that would be embarrassingly difficult to refute. These considerations would seem to require that the coup enjoy almost certain prospects of success before we gave commitments we would be reluctant to see publicized. On the other hand, if prospects of this quality existed, the chances of our being seriously approached would be relatively small -- people who believe they are certain to take power if they move might conceivably attempt to bargain in advance for as much as they believe we might be persuaded to give, but it is doubtful that the course of the bargaining would have much effect on their decision. The situation would seem to be, then, that the conditions which produced a serious approach to us, with our answer a genuine determinant in a decision whether to mount a coup, are precisely those conditions in which we should be most reluctant to give commitments. Conversely, only when commitments are least likely to be influential, least likely to be sought, and least likely to be necessary, could they safely be extended.

Would even a successful coup, painlessly accomplished, necessarily be in our interest? The consensus within the Agency, the Department and the Embassy is that the March Congressional elections will see an anti-UP victory that will bring the opposition anywhere from 55 to over 60 per cent of the vote. It therefore seems likely that the appeal and strength of the regime have peaked, that henceforward it is for Allende and his government pretty much of a downhill slide. In other words, the natural operation of the Chilean political process will in the long run produce desirable results. If this estimate is correct, it would seem more suited to our interest to await the relatively slow correction wrought by this process than to see the Chilean left displaced by force and extra-constitutional means. The legitimacy and moderation of an elected successor regime, and therefore its acceptability and permanence are, in the Chilean context, apt to be superior to those of one produced by an armed coup. (A different set of considerations would presumably govern if the regime itself seemed on the point of executing an "auto coup").

On the basis of presently available evidence it would therefore seem that we would be well advised to hold ourselves back from specific commitments to Chileans who seek assurances on our attitude toward a new regime produced by coup. If such commitments were to contribute to a decision to attempt a coup they would be too dangerous to give; if they would not contribute to such a decision they would be superfluous.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1 : B3

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EXCISE

December 29, 1972

Mr. Gerard P. Burke
Executive Secretary
President's Foreign Intelligence
Advisory Board
The White House

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (S) Downgrade to
Date 1/31/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Dear Jerry:

I have looked into the questions you raised with me in your 12 December letter about [ ] Allende's visit.

Mr. Meyer and his Deputy, Mr. Crimmins, did indeed ask [ ] the request was directed not only to Allende's New York visit, but also to his entire trip, especially the Moscow leg.

Allende's itinerary and INR's experience with [ ] indicated that [ ]

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[ ]

There was no special request levied on the FBI or CIA [ ]

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In summary, then, we did request [ ] effort on Allende's trip [B-1

] As Mr. Meyer indicated to you, the response we received was very helpful.

Please let me know if I can provide any further information.

Sincerely,

William McAfee
Deputy Director for Coordination
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

INR/SDC/CP:JRGardner:sw

[redacted]

P750028-1200

January 27, 1975

CHILE RESPONDS TO ONGOING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Chile's military government has shown itself sensitive to recent international criticisms concerning its treatment of political prisoners and its abridgment of human rights. Rebukes by the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly, the International Commission of Jurists, and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, together with the anticipated visit of Secretary Kissinger, apparently are working to produce some liberalizing of the internal security system.

The Evidence. Former Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda, the government's most important political prisoner, was released on January 11 after 16 months' imprisonment and deported to Romania. Along with Almeyda, the government also released without trial four ranking officials of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) regime. Almeyda personified the evils of the UP period in the eyes of the military junta, which repeatedly refused to release him until he had been formally tried on charges of embezzlement and misuse of government funds. His release must have been a bitter pill for the Pinochet government to swallow.

Other recent actions taken by the Chilean regime include:

--the release on January 9 of Gaston Pascal Lyon, father of Andres Pascal Allende, leader of the extremist Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and estranged husband of Laura Allende, after a month's detention without formal charges;

--a proposal by President Pinochet on New Year's Day to release 200 political prisoners, including Laura Allende, if Mexico were willing to accept them;

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. It is for normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level. It has not been coordinated elsewhere.

[redacted]

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EXEMPT FROM DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF E.O. 11652: 5B (2)
(Classified by R. Packman)

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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--the release to the UK Embassy of statistics on the number of prisoners taken since the fall of Allende and the current status of detainees;

--the creation, in the face of strong opposition from within the military, of a civilian committee to study the internal security problem and make recommendations by January 31;

--generally mild sentences for Chilean Army personnel secretly tried on charges of "crimes against the order and security of the Army," in contrast to mid-1974 trials of Chilean Air Force personnel on similar charges; and

--a drastic reduction of some 30 military tribunal sentences imposed over a year ago, constituting a virtual admission that the immediate post-coup sentencing was too severe.

Intelligence reports indicate that President Pinochet and his senior military advisers are considering a number of further steps:

--In deference to Secretary Kissinger's proposed visit to Santiago in February, the government reportedly is making plans to release several senior-level detainees.

--All political prisoners may soon be able to appeal sentences imposed by military tribunals directly to the Supreme Court.

--The government seems to be moving to enforce its stated policy position against the use of torture by members of the military intelligence apparatus.

--The "state of siege" may be downgraded, which would restrict the military's authority to take extralegal actions in security cases and would restore some degree of Chile's traditional juridical-procedural safeguards.

Offer to Mexico. President Pinochet's offer to send 200 political prisoners to Mexico "at no cost" to the Mexican Government was made formal on January 3 by Chilean diplomatic notes. Their freedom is conditioned on Mexico's willingness

to receive them. The majority of the prisoners are identified as members of the extremist MIR or MIR affiliates. The principal figure on the list is former President Allende's sister, Laura Allende Gossens, who was arrested in November 1974 as an MIR collaborator.

Mexico broke diplomatic relations with Chile on November 26, 1974, over the human rights issue,* and has never disguised its hostility toward the military regime since the fall of President Allende. President Echeverria reportedly has accepted an invitation to address the third meeting of the International Investigative Commission on the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, scheduled to meet in Mexico City February 18-21. Pinochet's offer to free 200 prisoners to Mexico tends to place Echeverria in a "put up or shut up" position.

Prisoner Statistics. The Chilean National Secretariat for Detainees has provided detailed--and apparently reliable--statistics to our embassy on the government's security operations. According to data, some 30,000 persons have been processed by security authorities on "political" or "national security" grounds since September 1973. About 90 percent of these individuals are free today in Chile or have been allowed to leave the country.

Of the remaining 10 percent (approximately 3,660 persons), about 760 are being held under "state of siege" authority without formal charges. This group includes:

--100 prisoners which the government offered to release last November 1974 provided other countries would accept them;

--100 additional prisoners to be released after placement of the above group;

--200 prisoners, including Laura Allende, offered to Mexico;

--100 prisoners whose cases are being studied further; and

* See INR IN-119, "Mexico's Break With Chile", December 2, 1974 (SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM).

[redacted]

--260 hard-core Allende and Popular Unity militants considered too dangerous to release (and who probably face prolonged imprisonment).

Approximately 2,900 persons are listed as being under formal court jurisdiction. This group includes:

--prisoners whose indictments are being prepared by the authorities (procesados);

--prisoners currently being tried by civilian or military courts;

--prisoners now serving sentences; and

--prisoners on probation who remain under court jurisdiction (about 600 persons).

Prospects. The Chilean Government is seriously concerned about internal security and will continue to arrest suspects. Rightly or wrongly, President Pinochet and the other chiefs of the armed forces assess the potential for violence as very high if security measures are relaxed too far. They appear to be resolved to weather international criticism for the sake of national survival. Nevertheless:

--the number of detainees probably will be reduced;

--the treatment of prisoners probably will improve; and

--the government may admit that charges against some detainees are unsubstantiated and that sentencing has been too harsh.

Statistics provided by the National Secretariat on Detainees may indicate increasing executive control over the once chaotic situation which characterized the government's security program. The offer to release prisoners to other countries suggests that the government wishes to reduce to the minimum those prisoners who have not been bound over to the judicial system. Finally, the offer to release 200 prisoners to Mexico shows that the Chilean military--in the face of what they consider to be hypocritical attacks by foreign governments--may be learning how to respond to international criticism.

Prepared by W. L. Lofstrom
x22251

[redacted]

EXCISE

RC 16

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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ACTION INRD-07

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4281

S E C R E T SANTIAGO 2042

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 9/4/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

[redacted]

EO 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PINR
SUBJ: YOUTH PARA

RENWO STATE 80530

1. EMBASSY HAS NO DIFFICULTY MAINTAINING OVERT CONTACTS WITH "DISSIDENT" YOUTH SINCE THEY ARE TO BE FOUND IN OPPOSITION POLITICAL ELEMENTS WITH WHICH WE HAVE TRADITIONALLY HAD FRIENDLY RELATIONS. YOUTH COMMITTEE IS CURRENTLY DEVOTING PRIORITY ATTENTION TO WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT BROADEN OUT LIMITED RANGE OF CONTACTS WITH YOUNG NON-MARXIST SUPPORTERS OF UP. WE ARE ALSO LOOKING AT POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVING OUT CONTACTS WITH YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS.

2. ACCESS TO YOUNG MARXISTS IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT [redacted]

[redacted]

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Chile Project (#S1999XXXXX)
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(4/73)

6-8-73

RC 21

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MEMO FOR THE FILE

SUBJECT: DOD Traffic with Santiago, Agust 1970-January 1971

The messages assembled by DOD in response to the Church letter (copy attached) contain inter alia the following elements:

1. In the period just after the popular election, the Army Attache is openly scornful of what he terms (approximate quote) "the less than valorous attitude of the Chilean Army in the face of the threat of a Commy takeover". In a comment added to an ARMA message, Ambassador Korry joins the ARMA in criticizing the Chilean Army for believing that it will be able to maintain its institutional and professional integrity under a Marxist regime.

2. There is an incomplete record regarding the crane to be acquired from the US by the Chilean Navy. A Sept. 18 SecDef message expresses opposition to going forward with the project and requests views. In an October 16 message, the MilGp and Embassy recommend that the project proceed. On January 14, "the NSC inter-agency group" is reported to have "tentatively concluded" that it was "inadvisable" to go ahead, and requests Embassy views on the likely impact on the Chilean armed forces.

3. An October 10 message orders the holding in abeyance of the processing and delivery of all grant materiel assistance and FMS materiel shipments, and the indefinite postponement of the departure from Chile of all Chilean military personnel on MAP training assignments. The message states the instruction is to be "closely held". An October 21 message rescinds the instruction.

4. An attache reports being asked by a Chilean military officer for information on US attitudes in the event of a military takeover. In response, reports the attache, he reviewed recent US recognition practices in such circumstances.

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5. Defense is requested (by some US military component in Santiago) to send a copy of an unclassified document on how Castro infiltrated the Cuban Navy; the document is to be provided to the Chilean Navy. (The record in these messages ends with the Defense reply that it is unable to identify the document in question and that more identification would be "helpful".)

6. The Army Attache recommends keeping the doors open to the Chilean Army on the grounds, in effect, that it might take over at some point.

7. There is an exchange between Santiago and Defense on what classified materiel has been released to the Chilean armed forces.

Attachment

ARA/BC:LGirdler:gcw
6/8/73

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SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROUTING SLIP		ADV ACT COPY TO	INFO COPY TO	TO		ADV ACT COPY TO	INFO COPY TO
TO							
	SECRETARY OF DEFENSE		✓		ASD (Telecommunications)		
	DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE		✓	2	GENERAL COUNSEL	✓	
	THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT				ASST TO SEC DEF & DEP SEC DEF		
	SECRETARY OF THE ARMY				ATSD (Atomic Energy)		
	SECRETARY OF THE NAVY			1	ATSD (Legislative Affairs)		
	SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE				DEFENSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY		
	CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF		✓		DEFENSE CONTRACT AUDIT AGENCY		
	DIR OF DEF RESEARCH & ENGINEERING				DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY		
	ASD (Comptroller)				DEFENSE MAPPING AGENCY		
	DASD (Administration)		✓		DEFENSE NUCLEAR AGENCY		
	ASD (Health and Environment)				DEFENSE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AGENCY		
	ASD (Installations and Logistics)				DEFENSE SUPPLY AGENCY		
	ASD (Intelligence)				NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY		
	ASD (International Security Affairs)		✓				
	ASD (Manpower and Reserve Affairs)						
	ASD (Public Affairs)		✓				
	ASD (Systems Analysis)						

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	PREP OF REPLY FOR DEP SEC OF DEF SIGNATURE		COMMENTS AND OR RECOMMENDATION
2	REPLY DIRECT (Fwd cy of reply for Sec of Def records)		COORDINATE REPLY WITH
1	APPROPRIATE ACTION		

REMARKS

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 7, 1973

OPIC

The Honorable
Elliot Richardson
Secretary of Defense
Washington, D. C. 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

As you know, the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations is engaged in the investigation of the activities of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company in connection with the election of Salvador Allende Gossens as President of Chile.

In connection with this investigation, it would be helpful to the Subcommittee if the Department would make available the cables from Santiago to the Department of Defense and from the Department of Defense to Santiago for the period August 1, 1970, through January 31, 1971. Either Mr. Jerome Levinson or Mr. Jack Blum of the staff of the Subcommittee would be available to examine the documents at your convenience.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Frank Church

Frank Church
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Multinational Corporations

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Current Foreign Relations

Issue No. 25
June 20, 1973

CONTENTS

	Page
EUROPE	
NATO Ministerial Meeting	1
NATO Ministers Discuss UK-Icelandic Dispute	4
MBFR Exploratory Talks June 9-15	7
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS	
Resolving the Colorado River Salinity Problem	9
Venezuela Challenges OAS Cuba Policy--Then Backs Away	10
NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA	
Agreement in Principle To Sell Phantoms to Saudi Arabia	13
US Military Sales Proposals for Kuwait	17
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS	
UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus Extended	19
Security Council Meets on Middle East	20
INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH	
Communist Economic Aid to the LDCs Still a Fraction of Western Efforts	25
Indochina: No Peace at Hand?	28

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NOTES

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E U R O P E

NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING

The 51st Ministeral Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, held in Copenhagen June 14-15, reflected a broad measure of Allied cohesion on the key issues of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR), the linkage between CSCE and MBFR, and the US proposal for a review of Atlantic relations.

The Ministers welcomed a reiteration of the US pledge to maintain and improve US forces in Europe, provided the Allies do likewise, and not to reduce them in the absence of reciprocal reductions by the other side. From the US point of view, this was the most successful NATO Ministerial in years. It was agreed that the next meeting will be held in Brussels December 10-11. (For discussions on the UK-Icelandic fisheries dispute see article below.)

Examination of NATO Relations

Noting that profound changes are taking place in every field of international activity, the Ministers agreed to examine their relationships in the light of these changes "in a spirit of solidarity and by a common effort." This represented a compromise following a tough statement by French Foreign Minister Jobert taking issue with the US initiative on this subject. Most other Ministers generally supported US current objectives and some specifically proposed that NATO formulate a new declaration of principles. Thus, the stage is set for later talks by the US with its Allies on the next steps in developing a set of common objectives and principles.

Agreements on CSCE

The Ministers all expressed satisfaction with the results of the multilateral preparatory talks on a CSCE. None expected the second (i.e., commission) phase of the Conference to begin

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substantive discussions before September. Many called for further Allied efforts over the summer to refine Allied positions for use in the second phase. It was generally agreed that a decision on the level of participation in the third phase should be taken in the light of progress in the second phase. The Ministers agreed that the second phase should not proceed under any artificial time limitations, and that they would inform the Finnish Government of their acceptance of July 3 as the date for the beginning of the first phase of the Conference.

Agreements on MBFR

The Ministers unanimously agreed on the paramount importance of maintaining Allied cohesion during negotiations on MBFR. They also agreed that Allied security should remain undiminished--with no change in the relative military balance between East and West--and that present NATO strategy should not be affected. There was strong support for an initial reduction in US and Soviet forces--within a general focus on stationed forces--leaving open the option of later reductions of other stationed and of indigenous forces. Only Germany pressed for guidelines allowing flexibility in dealing simultaneously with stationed and indigenous forces.

MBFR-CSCE Timing

Despite earlier indications that the Netherlands, Canada, and to a lesser degree Belgium would insist on tying the opening date for CSCE to Soviet agreement to begin negotiations on MBFR by October 30, the US approach on this issue was accepted--the Allies agreed after some debate that the two sets of talks should move ahead in parallel but not be explicitly linked. Accordingly, the communique placed the onus clearly on the Soviets to accept the October 30 date for MBFR, as the Allies upheld their part of the bargain by agreeing to begin the CSCE July 3, on schedule. (The Russians previously proposed that negotiations on MBFR should begin by the end of the year, with the precise date being fixed later by the direct participants, and Allied representatives in Vienna reacted negatively to this proposal.)

US Statements on Talks with the Soviets

In his address at the meeting, Secretary Rogers said that we did not expect the talks with Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev during his visit to the US to have the dramatic ground-breaking

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character of the US-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow last year, but that we expected them to be significant, and that we looked for a series of agreements on bilateral cooperation similar to those that were signed in Moscow in May 1972. He pointed out that we seek concrete results and not just grandiose generalities.

The Secretary noted that the implementation of the Moscow agreements has proceeded in a generally satisfactory manner, and that in addition to renewal of the US-Soviet exchanges agreement, we are now negotiating other possible agreements--e.g., on agriculture, oceanography, transportation, peaceful uses of atomic energy, and taxes. He assured the Council that there would be no decisions taken or agreements reached that would be detrimental to the Atlantic Allies, and that we would keep the NATO Allies advised as actively and fully as possible.

US View of CSCE

The Secretary pointed out to the Ministers that we have approached the CSCE with skepticism about the value of purely symbolic acts and with determination to press for progress on specific issues. He expressed our view that the initial meeting of Foreign Ministers in the CSCE should be brief--ideally no longer than a week--and that such a meeting is not the appropriate forum to carry out any extensive negotiations on points of substance. He expressed our opposition to any artificial timetable for the CSCE, stating that when we agreed to enter these talks, we agreed on the basis that we would insist on concrete results, and any artificial timetable would make it much more difficult to achieve such results.

The Secretary expressed our belief that the initial CSCE meeting of Ministers would not be the appropriate occasion to discuss drafts of any final CSCE documents which might be tabled by the Eastern powers or to seek agreement on the level of representation in the final stage of the conference.

US Views on MBFR/CSCE Linkage

In discussing MBFR, the Secretary reiterated our view that MBFR should focus initially on stationed forces and that indigenous force reductions, if any, should come in a subsequent phase. He also expressed our belief that it is important for negotiations on MBFR to begin on or before October 30. He pointed out that

we would be willing to see the first stage of the CSCE begin on schedule early in July, but that we have also told the Soviets in the strongest possible terms that we expect them to uphold their end of the agreement to begin MBFR negotiations no later than October 30.

US Stresses Need for NATO Strength

The Secretary told the Council that as we move toward negotiations on MBFR, it is more important than ever that NATO maintain its strength and that we not be misled by any euphoria about detente. He pointed out that there can be no doubt that improved relations with the USSR have come about because of the strength of the Atlantic Alliance. [redacted]

* * *

NATO MINISTERS DISCUSS UK-ICELANDIC DISPUTE

In discussions at the NATO Ministerial meeting in Copenhagen June 14-15, the UK and Icelandic Foreign Ministers presented their respective positions on the fisheries dispute between their countries. A round of statements by other Foreign Ministers urged an early resolution of the dispute. Secretary Rogers took the lead in urging that a clear distinction be made between the issue of the US base at Keflavik and the UK-Icelandic problem.

Neither Iceland nor the UK showed signs of yielding its current position, but the Icelandic Foreign Minister admitted that the fisheries and base issues are separate. NATO Secretary General Luns indicated that he would continue his behind-the-scenes efforts to bring about a withdrawal of British naval vessels from the fisheries zone claimed by Iceland and subsequent cessation of harassment of UK trawlers by Iceland.

Iceland's Case

Icelandic Foreign Minister Agustsson argued that the UK had provoked Iceland by sending warships to the area, and that the

Iceland's Agustsson--
UK Provocation
Requires UK Withdrawal

first step to resolve the dispute should be immediate UK withdrawal. He indicated that following UK withdrawal, talks between the two countries could be resumed. He expressed concern that no progress had been made toward resolution of the issue in two weeks following an Icelandic request for NATO assistance, and he concluded that the Icelandic people would find it necessary to reassess their participation in the Atlantic Alliance if NATO could not help.

Agustsson said that a request for review of the US-Icelandic Defense Agreement under Article VII of the Agreement would be submitted to the North Atlantic Council later this month. (Article VII provides that either government may request the North Atlantic Council to "review the continued necessity" for the defense facilities in Iceland and make recommendations to the two governments; that if no understanding between the two governments is reached within six months after such a request, either government may give notice of its intention to terminate the agreement; and that the agreement will then cease to be in force twelve months after such notice.)

British Rebuttal

In a rebuttal of the Icelandic argument, British Foreign Secretary Doublas-Home recalled that he and the previous Icelandic Foreign Minister had agreed in 1961 that any future disagreements would be referred to the International Court of Justice. He said that Iceland had reneged on this agreed procedure in the current phase of the dispute, but that the International Court had nevertheless given a judgment on what a fair catch for the UK would be. He added that the UK had indicated a willingness to shave the catch to even less than the Court's judgment in an attempt to conciliate the Icelanders, but that the Icelandic harassment of UK trawlers which began 18 months ago had not ceased, and that the British Government had not been able to refuse a request of its fishermen for protection. He promised that British warships could be withdrawn if Iceland could "find some way to assure us" that the harassment would cease.

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Norwegian, Danish, and Canadian Comments

The Norwegian Foreign Minister expressed concern about the effect of the dispute on the Alliance and appealed to the UK to make the first move by withdrawing its warships so as to pave the way for renewed negotiations. The Danish Foreign Minister took the same line, admitting that the UK had a right to stay in international waters but could nevertheless make a useful gesture by withdrawing. The Canadian Foreign Minister advised the Icelanders not to bargain economics for security by linking the base and fisheries issues, but he balanced his statement by expressing the hope that the UK would take the initiative to break the impasse.

US Position

Secretary Rogers stressed that there was no need for the Icelanders to associate the base issue with the fisheries issue, pointing out that discussions on the base had begun 18 months ago--well before the current fisheries dispute--and had been proceeding in a friendly atmosphere. He said that the US for its part would continue to ensure that the base was not a source of difficulty for the Icelanders. He expressed the hope that the Icelanders would not invoke Article VII of the US-Icelandic Defense Agreement until a *modus vivendi* could be worked out.

[redacted]

Secretary Rogers--Making a Clear Distinction between the Keflavik Base Issue and UK-Icelandic Problems

* * *

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MBFR EXPLORATORY TALKS JUNE 9-15

MBFR Communique

Allied and Eastern representatives in Vienna reached *ad referendum* agreement on the text of a final communique for the exploratory talks, with only the date of the negotiations yet to be specified. The draft communique:

- -- specifies Vienna as the site of the negotiations;
- -- provides on agreed designation for the negotiations--namely, "mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe;"
- -- indicates that an agenda for the negotiations has been discussed but not agreed on;
- -- describes the purpose of the negotiations as the strengthening of peace and security in all of Europe;
- -- acknowledges the principle of undimished security as the premise of the negotiations;
- -- establishes the right of the direct participants to introduce into the negotiations any topic relevant to the subject matter.

Although the Soviets refused to agree to the use of the term "balanced" or its equivalent in the description of the talks or elswhere in the communique, they did agree to a reference to "associated measures." This would permit raising constraints as a topic for negotiation. The Allies in the Ad Hoc Group were on the whole satisfied with the draft communique and reported on it positively to the North Atlantic Council. According to the Soviet representative in Vienna, the text is also likely to be satisfactory to Moscow.

German Presentation to DPC

In a forthright statement of the current German position on MBFR negotiations to the NATO Defense Ministers at the meeting of the

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NATO Defense Planning Committee in Brussels, German Defense Minister Leber formally enunciated his government's support for MBFR negotiations that would include both stationed and indigenous reductions.

Leber pointed out that reductions of stationed forces alone could have an impact on German public opinion which would force the German government unilaterally to reduce the Bundeswehr. Only if there were an agreement on an eventual reduction in German forces, even if implemented "some years later" than stationed reductions, would it be possible for a German government to maintain its forces at their present level in the immediate future and to sustain the current level of defense spending. Most other Defense Ministers, however, reiterated their governments' view that initial negotiations should concentrate on US and Soviet forces.

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I N T E R - A M E R I C A N A F F A I R S

RESOLVING THE COLORADO RIVER SALINITY PROBLEM

Secretary Rogers presented to the Mexican Government on May 13, 1973 a new proposal for a definitive and just solution to the Colorado River salinity problem with Mexico.

Moving To Improve the Quality of Water Delivered to Mexico

When President Nixon and President Echeverria of Mexico met in June 1972, President Nixon announced that the United States would take steps immediately to improve the quality of the water delivered to Mexico, and that he would appoint a Special Representative to find a permanent, definitive, and just solution to the problem.

Mexican President Echeverria: The US Is Meeting His Concerns about the Colorado River Salinity Problem.

Under Minute No. 241, an agreement of the International Boundary and Water Commission, the salinity of the water made available to Mexico at its principal diversion point was promptly reduced by more than 100 parts per million. The former Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, subsequently took up the task of the Special Representative. He submitted his report and recommendations on December 29, 1972, and the new US proposal of May 13 is based on his recommendations.

$70 Million for Public Works Construction?

The US proposal would provide for the eventual elimination from the water delivered to Mexico of all adverse effects from the saline drainage waters of the Wellton-Mohawk Irrigation District of Arizona. The introduction of these drainage waters

occasioned the salinity problem in 1961, and the removal of their adverse effect, together with other related undertakings and understandings, would constitute the proposed solution.

Assuming that agreement can be reached with Mexico on this basis, the solution would entail the construction and later operation and maintenance by the Federal Government of extensive public works, including the construction of the world's largest desalting plant. The estimated construction cost of these works is $70 million, and annual operation and maintenance would exceed $6 million. A construction program for these works will be presented to the Congress for authorization and funding as soon as an agreement is concluded.

Mr. Brownell met with Mexican officials during the week of June 11 to discuss the US proposal with them. Officials of both governments are now considering the proposal further for the purpose of accommodating the remaining divergent views. They expect to resume their discussion July 3 in Washington. [redacted]

* * *

VENEZUELA CHALLENGES OAS CUBA POLICY--THEN BACKS AWAY

In the first week of June, Venezuela's Ambassador to the OAS let it be known among his Permanent Council colleagues that he had instructions to request a special Council meeting on June 11 to discuss OAS policy toward Cuba. He indicated that Venezuela would put forward a draft resolution tied to the principle of "plurality of ideologies" and affirming the right of each member government to establish relations with Cuba whenever it judged it convenient.

Such a resolution, he explained, would not remove the diplomatic and trade sanctions applied against Cuba by OAS Foreign Ministers

in 1964, but would merely allow each member government to assess the present Cuban threat in terms of its own interests. Presumably, the sanctions policy would remain in force, but its implementation would be left to the judgment of each government.

Venezuela Shelves Its Own Proposal

Before the week ended, however, the Venezuelan Ambassador clearly got cold feet and was uncertain as to just when the Council should meet to discuss his proposal. He appears to have judged initially that he had the votes necessary for its approval by a simple majority (12 votes), only to discover afterward that at least one supporter--perhaps Costa Rica--had defected after having second thoughts about its juridical implications. Not willing to settle for the "moral" victory claimed by Peru after a similar go-round last summer, Venezuela decided finally to put its proposal on ice for awhile.

US Position

As in the case of Peru's very similar proposal last year, the United States opposed Venezuela's initiative as being both juridically unsound and politically unwise. We could not accept the specious argument that a Council resolution which flatly contradicted the "obligatory" character of sanctions adopted under the Rio Treaty "did not alter" present OAS policy toward Cuba. Nor could we agree that the Council was free to take such action by simple majority vote, when its mandate according to the 1964 decision is limited to lifting sanctions by two-thirds vote when Cuba no longer threatens hemispheric peace and security.

In our view, the "plurality of ideologies" principle sheds no new light on the question, since it is Cuba's interventionism--not its ideology--which accounts for the present sanctions policy. So long as Cuba persists in supporting violent revolution in other countries, we believe that any relaxation of the sanctions policy would be politically unwise.

We are gratified that Venezuela's proposal was abandoned without being tested in the Permanent Council, due to lack of sufficient votes to ensure its passage. We note nevertheless that the "freedom-of-action" concept has garnered significant additional support since it was first advanced by Peru and rejected by the Council last year (7 for, 13 against, 3 abstentions). Argentina, Barbados and Venezuela have clearly moved from the abstention to the affirmative column, while the opposition of Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Uruguay seems to have weakened significantly.

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OAS Special Committee To Meet in Lima

Commencing June 20th, the Special Committee established by the OAS General Assembly in Washington last April will meet in Lima to study possible reforms in the inter-American system. Whether Venezuela will attempt to use this occasion to resume its efforts on the Cuban question or await some other occasion is not clear. In any event the United States will continue to work with like-minded allies, such as Brazil, to oppose any present change, recognizing that despite our best efforts, our opponents may soon gain at least majority support for the Venezuelan proposal.

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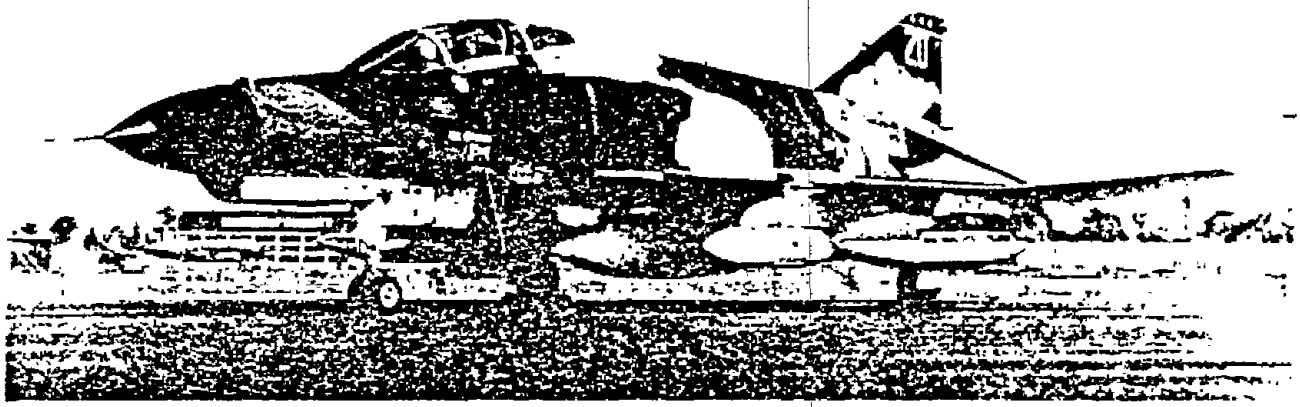
N E A R E A S T A N D S O U T H A S I A

AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO SELL PHANTOMS TO SAUDI ARABIA



The F-4 Phantom Jet

One of the principal US policies in the Persian Gulf since the British ended their protective treaty relationship has been to encourage friendly states in the area to assume increasing responsibility for collective security in this region. In the Gulf, the security of this area is being shared primarily by Iran and Saudi Arabia. In the Arabian Peninsula, Saudi Arabia must bear the primary responsibility for its own defense and to assist its smaller Peninsular neighbors. It is in this context that we have responded positively in the past to Saudi requests for the sale of military equipment and services and on which we based our agreement in principle to the sale of F-4 Phantom aircraft. These responses have been weighed in light of Saudi Arabia's limited manpower availabilities.

Background

Saudi Arabia recently requested US agreement in principle to sell F-4 Phantoms as a follow-on to shorter range Northrop F-5B and

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F-5E aircraft they are now acquiring from the US. Saudi concerns have been stimulated by the growing supply of Soviet arms into South Yemen and Iraq. In South Yemen, the Soviets have stepped up their deliveries of sophisticated weapons and aircraft.

The Saudis justifiably view the radical regime in Aden as representing a military threat to: (1) North Yemen, which is practically defenseless and which depends largely on Saudi Arabia for help in maintaining its security; (2) Oman because South Yemen continues to provide the base for the communist-led insurgency in Oman's western province of Dhofar; and (3) Saudi Arabia itself--last March, South Yemeni MIG's hit a Saudi border post. The Saudis are also concerned with the threat from Iraq, which has a substantial Soviet-equipped military force including MIG 21's.

The Saudis justify the need for a longer-range aircraft to protect the wide expanse of the Kingdom and to avoid building more air bases that would be required with only the shorter-range aircraft in their inventory. Even with the F-5's they are acquiring, they cannot provide satisfactory coverage to all parts of Saudi territory. The Saudis are also looking at the latest French Mirage F-1 as an alternative.

Political/Economic Background

The US has major and vital interests in Saudi Arabia because of the need of the Western world, and now including the US, for access to the Kingdom's vast oil resources. Saudi Arabia has become the world's largest oil exporter and soon will be the largest producer. Over the next seven to ten years, it will be the only country in the world capable of expanding its production enough to cover the anticipated increase in world energy requirements. It is also a major trading partner where we have enjoyed significant balance of payments benefits (over $1 billion a year) because of our large trade surplus, remittances received from sales of services, and oil income which ARAMCO returns to the United States. We have had close relations with Saudi Arabia since World War II, and American companies have played a major role in its development. Its leadership has been moderate and constructive with most of its attention in recent years directed at developing its human and material resources and building up an infrastructure for this vast and lightly-populated country.

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Military Relationship

The US has had an ongoing military supply relationship with Saudi Arabia since 1951. Over the past several years this has involved sales programs related to air defense systems to give Saudi Arabia an interceptor and airlift capability, to develop a modest naval force composed of small vessels, to have a modern logistical and vehicle repair system, and to modernize its internal security forces. These programs, which involve the sales of goods and services both on a government-to-government basis and through private American contractors, are expected to continue for a number of years because of the need for training numerous manpower skills.

Principal Considerations

In reaching agreement in principle to the sale of F-4 aircraft, the decision was taken after weighing the following factors:

(1) US interests and those of the Middle East will be best served if the US remains as the principal supplier of arms to Saudi Arabia. By responding positively now to the F-4's, it should ensure that aircraft in the post-1975 period will be of US origin and compatible with equipment now in or soon to enter the Saudi inventory.

(2) Saudi Arabia, if it acquires this aircraft will be dependent almost indefinitely on American contract support personnel. This factor plus our requirement that these aircraft cannot be transferred to third parties without our prior consent, will give us a considerable element of influence over their use.

(3) The Saudis have pointed out that US interests in the area are of growing importance, and we cannot appear to slight these interests without risking harm to our relations with Saudi Arabia.

(4) Responding positively will enable a moderate Arab regime to demonstrate the benefits of friendship with the US and bolster its ability to resist radical pressures to weaken its ties with the US.

(5) The request by the Saudis has not been made in the Arab-Israeli context (and it would be a mistake to look at it that way), but in terms of real Saudi concerns which are focused on the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf. Saudi Arabia is a vast

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country, and the Saudis have found that even with the F-5 aircraft (and its planned air-to-air refueling capacity) now entering their inventory they will have trouble providing air defense and air cover to Saudi forces along its frontiers. The Saudis have twice been attacked by South Yemeni forces and both times have found difficulty in supporting their frontier forces who are stationed several hundred miles from the nearest Saudi air base. The Saudis thus consider a longer-range aircraft a military necessity.

(6) The time frame for delivery and numbers involved have not yet been determined. These will be worked out after a final Saudi decision to choose the F-4 has been made. (The Saudis are also considering the French Mirage.) Even then, it will be several years before the aircraft are manufactured and the Saudi manpower to operate and maintain them is trained and in place.

(7) In making a decision on F-4's, we took into account the impact this sale might have on the Middle East balance of power. We concluded to our satisfaction that if the sale is consummated, it would not destabilize the military balance between Israel and the Arab states in the latter 1970's.

US Policy Interests

We have kept in close touch with the Israelis about our interests in the Gulf. While the Israelis are in general agreement with the strategic importance of the region, they have expressed concern about the sale of arms to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, especially the F-4. We can understand these concerns, but do not think they override our broader policy interest of doing what we think is necessary to support Saudi Arabia, which has major security responsibilities in the Peninsula and the Gulf and whose continued close friendship is very important to us. Our positive response reflects the very high value which the US places on this policy interest. [redacted]

* * *

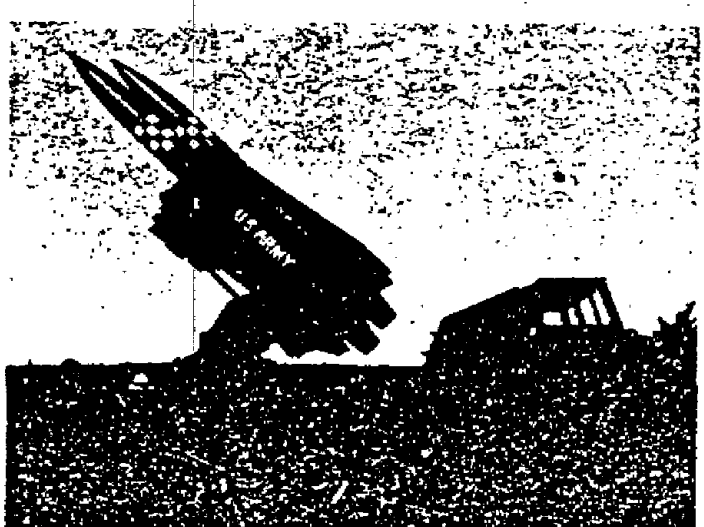
[redacted]

US MILITARY SALES PROPOSALS FOR KUWAIT

Our willingness to help Kuwait with its military defenses has been based on our desire to discourage political pressure or an actual military threat from Iraq in order that: (1) our valuable economic interests in Kuwait can be protected, and (2) to assure Kuwait's continued ability to remain a major world oil supplier. While we realize that Kuwait would not be able to defend itself in the face of a large-scale invasion by an outside power, Kuwait has the capability of building up a force large enough to hold off an aggressor for a few days until help comes from other sources. Although Kuwait, unlike Iran and Saudi Arabia, does not have regional security responsibilities, we have encouraged Kuwait to work closely with Saudi Arabia and Iran and to acquire US military equipment comparable to that found in Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Background

In January 1971 Kuwait was made eligible for Foreign Military Sales. Later that year Kuwait asked for an in-depth analysis of its defense requirements, and a Department of Defense Survey Team arrived in February 1972. Although not making specific recommendations, the conclusions of the Survey Team report pointed to Kuwait's acquiring F-5E aircraft, TOW anti-tank missiles, Hawk anti-aircraft batteries, and an integrated air defense/command system with reasonable radar, communications, and related equipment. In February 1973 a Kuwaiti team visited US installations in Europe to look at F-5 and F-4 aircraft, improved Hawk, and command/control systems.



The Hawk Missile

In April 1973, following the March 20 border skirmish with Iraq, we sent a team in response to Kuwait's request to present a comprehensive program based on the survey

report plus Kuwait's priority need for new motor vehicles, tanks, and some very quickly attainable air cover. In response to Kuwait's request, we demonstrated the F-8H and K Navy Crusaders. Since the F-8 is a used aircraft, which could be made available in six months, but which can be effectively used for only three or four more years, the Kuwaitis asked about a follow-on aircraft--either the "Lightweight Fighter" or the Phantom F-4 or appropriate new generation aircraft. The Kuwaitis have clearly indicated they do not desire the F-5.

While Iraqi troops have withdrawn from the Al Samitah post occupied on March 20, they still remain in other disputed areas along the frontier which Kuwait considers its territory. The Kuwaitis remain highly apprehensive because Iraqi inflexibility so far does not give them much hope for a mutually-agreed border settlement. In this emergency and over the near term, Kuwait has decided to upgrade its defensive capability and has turned to the US for assistance.

US Effort

The Defense Department team sent to Kuwait in April agreed in principle to provide equipment, training, and construction totalling $560 million. A little over half of the total is for equipment and training, and the balance is for construction. A new US sales team arrived in Kuwait on May 31 for further negotiations. No contracts on any of the offers have yet been concluded. No FMS credit is involved.

We do not expect a Kuwaiti decision on this program for several months. If a program of this nature is implemented, it is expected to take at least five years to allow for the necessary training and modest augmentation of Kuwait's armed forces which now total about 8,500. [redacted]

* * *

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS EXTENDED

On June 15 the Security Council by a vote of 14 (US) to 0, with the PRC abstaining, adopted a resolution on Cyprus virtually identical with those that have been adopted at six-month intervals in recent years.

Once Again, Six More Months

The resolution urged the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to cooperate to achieve the objectives of the Security Council, and extended the stationing of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further six months ending December 15 "in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

The Council's consideration of the question was relatively routine and the resolution itself was agreed to through consultations before the meeting opened. Following the vote the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece spoke, all taking a conciliatory line. All Council members except the PRC also spoke, generally indicating their support for UNFICYP's extension in order to preserve the climate necessary for continued progress in the intercommunal talks.

Cyprus: Generally Calm, but Peace Force Still Needed

US Supports a Reorganization of UNFICYP

The United States has sought over the past few months support for a reorganization of UNFICYP, both to help

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eliminate the deficit--estimated soon to reach $18.9 million--and to bring UNFICYP's size and structure into line with the functions it is actually performing.

Noting that the military situation had remained calm during the reporting period, the US Representative, Ambassador Scali, expressed "cautious optimism" about the possibilities for substantial progress and strongly urged "all sides to take full advantage of this promising atmosphere." He stressed UNFICYP's financial difficulties and regretted that effective support for it had been left to "a small number of states who continue to contribute more generously than their own interests or responsibilities would dictate."

Scali concluded by strongly supporting the Secretary-General's intention to study ways and means of reducing the UN financial and manpower commitment and make "appropriate recommendations" in his next report to the Council, and suggested that this study include creating alternative force models "based on hypothetical reductions in the neighborhood of 25 percent, 50 percent, and 75 percent of UNFICYP's current strength" of 3,144 men.

* * *

SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS ON MIDDLE EAST

At the request of Egypt the Security Council held ten meetings during June 6-14 to discuss the situation in the Middle East. On June 14 the President of the Council read a statement expressing the sense of the Council that the meetings should be suspended until mid-July.

Attention focused principally on a report submitted by the Secretary-General summarizing UN efforts in dealing with particular aspects of the Middle East situation (e.g., maintenance of the cease-fire, status of Jerusalem, refugees) and reviewing progress in the search for a settlement under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring in accordance with resolution 242 of November 22, 1967.

Representatives of 32 countries, including 9 foreign ministers or equivalent, participated in the debate. No strikingly new ideas or proposals were set forth, and the positions of the

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parties were largely predictable. The debate was by and large serious and moderate, and threats of resort to military force or action against western interests, particularly oil, were muted and indirect.

Egyptian Statement

The Egyptian Foreign Minister opened the debate indicating he would at a later date comment on the Secretary-General's report. With regard to the current situation, he said that his government had requested the Council to examine the question "after six years of effort and endurance have failed to put an end to the Israeli military occupation of our land." He noted that Egypt had called for the Council meetings that resulted in adoption of resolution 242 and said that at that time they had "called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all territories invaded in June 1967." He characterized Israel's posture since then as a demand to meet the vanquished and dictate its terms and declared that all UN resolutions on the subject "remained mere documents."

Zayyat's statement in his speech that Egypt accepted talks "without prior conditions" attracted particular attention during the debate. His subsequent explanation made clear, however, that Egypt still seeks a prior Israeli commitment to total withdrawal from occupied territories and considers Israel's refusal to give such a commitment to be an Israeli precondition to negotiations. He further stated that resolution 242's affirmation of "secure and recognized boundaries" for all did not mean that these should be established for Israel inside Egypt or Syria.

In conclusion, Zayyat announced Egypt's readiness to continue Jarring's talks with a view to achieving a just and lasting peace. "The price, however, has not been and shall not be the betrayal of our territorial integrity or the abandonment of the inalienable right of the Palestinians as a nation to live in peace within recognized and secure boundaries." He declared that a partial or interim settlement was completely unacceptable.

Israeli Position

Israel's Ambassador Tekoah spoke immediately after the Egyptian Foreign Minister. He stated that his government had repeatedly declared that it did not wish to freeze the existing situation and enumerated Israeli efforts to reach agreement which had been rebuffed by Egypt. He also asked, as a basic question, whether

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Egypt had abandoned the ultimate objective of bringing about Israel's destruction as an independent state.

With regard to the "secure and recognized boundaries" affirmed in resolution 242, Tekoah stated that the boundaries were not defined in the resolution but were subject to negotiation and agreement. In response to Mr. Zayyat's statement that Egypt accepted direct negotiations without prior conditions he stated that "Israel is prepared to enter into any free negotiations without preconditions." He ended with a call to Egypt to join Israel in building peace together.

The Suez Canal: Wider Than an Ocean

Egyptian Questions

On June 12 the Egyptian Foreign Minister put three queries to the Secretary-General, to which the latter replied on the 14th.

(1) Did the Special Representative intend to prepare aides memoires for Jordan and Syria in addition to his aide memoire of February 8, 1971, to Egypt and Israel on elements of a settlement? The Secretary-General responded that Ambassador Jarring had in 1971 indicated his intention of submitting an aide memoire relating to Israel and Jordan. Further, if Syria were to accept resolution 242 Jarring might also submit an aide memoire relating to Syria.

(2) Was the absence of reference to Gaza in the February 8 aide memoire without prejudice to the status of the strip as an

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"Arab territory" which "should be de-occupied"? The Secretary-General replied that this was in essence correct.

(3) Would the Secretary-General confirm that the US Permanent Representative, in his capacity as chairman of the Four Power meeting of June 24, 1971, did inform him that the Four "welcomed and supported" the February 8, 1971, initiative of the Special Representative and believed that Jarring was acting fully in accordance with the terms of his mandate under resolution 242? The Secretary-General confirmed that this conferred the general sense of that meeting.

US Position

Ambassador John Scali addressed the Council on June 14. His theme was the need to start a genuine negotiating process between Arab and Israeli. He described this meeting as a challenge to deal responsibly with the problem of the Middle East and an opportunity to reaffirm that the Council does not consider the present situation in the area either natural or permanent.

Ambassador Scali reaffirmed the US position that resolution 242 remains the landmark it was at its adoption. It recognized that peace in the Middle East must be based on a just settlement not only of the problems arising out of the hositilities of June 1967, but also of the underlying causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict. He enumerated the essential elements with which the UN began the search for peace in 1967: (1) The Council had not addressed the question of who was responsible for the outbreak of the fighting in June 1967, nor did it call for unconditional Israeli withdrawal. (2) Resolution 242 did not define the terms of settlement; it defined a set of "provisions and principles" which constitute a framework for the terms of a final settlement.

After recalling the main provisions and principles of resolution 242 Ambassador Scali noted in conclusion that it called for agreement and said the United States had never seen how such agreement was possible without an ongoing, serious negotiating process, either direct or indirect, which engaged the parties themselves.

Dismissing allegations of US partisanship in the dispute, he stated the overriding interest of the US was in peace to end the fear and uncertainty of the past quarter century. The parties must come to grips with the issues of sovereignty and security. The question of boundaries must be resolved as part of an overall agreement for a new relationship among the parties re-

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placing that defined in the 1949 armistice agreements. He went on to say:

> "But the fact is that resolution 242 is silent on the specific question of where the final border should be located. It neither endorses nor precludes--let me repeat: neither endorses nor precludes--the armistice lines, which existed between Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Syria on June 4, 1967, as the final secure and recognized boundaries."

He concluded by restating US determination to preserve the basis for agreement which resolution 242 represents, and to try to move forward with renewed energy.

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INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

This section of Current Foreign Relations, prepared by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, is for background purposes only. It is not an official statement of Department policy.

COMMUNIST ECONOMIC AID TO THE LDCs STILL A FRACTION OF WESTERN EFFORTS

In recent years Communist countries have placed increasing emphasis on foreign economic assistance as a major instrument for strengthening their political and commercial interests in the less developed countries (LDCs) of the non-Communist world. Direct comparisons between Communist and Western aid flow can be misleading--not the least of the difficulties being the definitional problem of what actually constitutes foreign aid, and the absence in Communist countries of any distinction between government and private sector activities.

Nevertheless, the orders of magnitude of available data clearly show that Communist aid efforts still represent only a small fraction of the Official Flows extended to the LDCs by the 16 member nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC), however qualified direct comparisons must be. (Communist aid includes provision of goods and services, either as grants or on deferred payment terms. Credits allowing five years or more for repayment are included.)

DAC aid flows comprise Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Other Official Flows (OOF). ODA is defined as "all contributions which are administered with the promotion of economic welfare of developing countries as the main objective and whose financial terms are intended to be concessional in character." OOF includes official export credits, and debt relief and contributions to multilateral institutions which are not sufficiently concessional

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to classify as ODA.

Aid Commitments--Communist Aid Dwarfed by US Totals Alone

Since 1954, Communist economic credits and grants to the LDCs--grants constituting only about 5 percent of the total--have amounted to $15 billion. Almost 45 percent of these commitments were extended during the last six years. Even so, these 1967-72 Communist commitments represented less than one-tenth of the official commitments made to the LDCs over the same period by DAC members. Commitments by the US alone were more than 4-1/2 times total Communist aid commitments in the 1967-72 period.

(billions of dollars)

	DAC Commitments			Communist Economic Commitments	Communist Commitments As % of DAC Commitments	US Commitments		
	ODA	OOF	Total			ODA	OOF	Total
1967	8.4	1.3	9.7	.4	4.2 %	4.5	1.0	5.5
1968	8.1	1.1	9.2	.6	6.4 %	4.0	.8	4.8
1969	7.7	1.5	9.2	.9	9.7 %	3.3	.6	3.9
1970	8.2	2.5	10.7	1.1	10.2 %	3.3	.8	4.1
1971	9.7	3.2	12.9	1.7	13.3 %	3.9	1.1	5.0
1972	11.3	4.5*	15.8	1.7	10.9 %	4.5	1.9*	6.4
	53.4	14.1	67.5	6.4	9.5 %	23.5	6.2	29.7

*Estimate

Aid Drawings

Communist economic aid performance is even less impressive when drawings of Communist aid by the LDCs are compared with gross disbursements of official assistance by the DAC member countries. Over half of the drawings on Communist aid for the period 1954-72 occurred in the last six years. In these six years (1967-72), drawings on Communist aid averaged only about 5.5 percent of the gross disbursements effectuated by the DAC member countries.

Terms

The terms of Soviet and East European aid are generally harder than those extended by DAC member countries in their ODA programs, although they compare more favorably with DAC country OOF terms. Approximately 60 percent of 1971 DAC ODA commitments were grants, while the terms on ODA loans averaged 28.7 years, had an average interest rate of 2.8 percent, and carried an average grace period of 6.5 years. Interest rates approximating 6 percent are common in OOF transactions.

Soviet grants are the rare exception, and the terms of Soviet development credits average about 12 years with 2.5 percent

[redacted]

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interest. Soviet commercial credits--about one-fifth of Soviet aid in 1972--average from 8-10 years with 3-3.5 percent interest--possibly slightly higher interest in some commercial transactions --although in 1972 some credits were for 10-12 year periods, and some carried an interest rate of 2.5 percent.

(billions of dollars)

	DAC Disbursements			Communist Economic Aid Drawn by the LDCs
	ODA	OOF	Total	
1967	7.2	1.1	8.3	.5
1968	7.1	1.4	8.5	.5
1969	7.2	1.5	8.7	.5
1970	7.5	2.4	9.9	.5
1971	8.8	2.8	11.6	.7
1972	9.8	3.2*	13.0	.6
	47.6	12.4	60.0	3.3

*Estimate

The financial terms of Chinese economic aid are more generous than those of the Soviets or East Europeans. Grants account for over one-third of Chinese aid, with the remainder consisting of interest-free credits with repayment terms that average 10-20 years after a 5-10 year grace period.

Net Flow

About three-fifths of Communist disbursements in the 1967-72 period were attributable to Soviet aid. The net outflow of Soviet aid, however, is significantly reduced by a rising level of repayments. In 1972, for example, economic aid drawings of $400 million were only $140 million higher than repayments made by the LDCs to the USSR for past aid. Several LDCs are now experiencing, or are approaching, a net outflow to the USSR.

Debt service payments have had less impact on the net transfer of DAC members' ODA, although they significantly reduce the net transfer of OOF. In 1971 gross ODA disbursements totaled $8.8 billion. Amortization and interest payments on past loans totaled $1.6 billion, leaving a net transfer of $7.2 billion to the LDCs. Gross OOF disbursements in 1971 were $2.8 billion, although amortization and interest payments of $1.9 billion reduced the net transfer to $0.9 billion.

1971 DAC Official Flows
(billions of dollars)

	Disbursements Gross Flow	- Amortization	= NET FLOW	- Interest	= NET TRANSFER
Bilateral ODA Grants	3.6	-	3.6	-	3.6
Bilateral ODA Loans	3.9	1.1	2.8	.5	2.3
Multilateral ODA	1.3	-	1.3	-	1.3
Total ODA	8.8	1.1	7.7	.5	7.2
Total OOF	2.8	1.5*	1.3	.4*	.9
ODA + OOF	11.6	2.6	9.0	.9	8.1

*Estimate

The combined ODA and OOF gross flow of $11.6 billion in 1971 was accompanied by amortization and interest payments of $3.5 billion which reduced the net transfer by about 30 percent to $8.1 billion. (UNCLASSIFIED)

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INDOCHINA: NO PEACE AT HAND?

"...in the Eye of the Beholder"

Hanoi's and Saigon's initial public commentary on the Joint Communique signed in Paris on June 13, 1973, shows some significant divergence in the way they interpret the meaning of the latest Vietnam agreement. While both the Communists and the Saigon government use the occasion to reaffirm their intentions to comply fully with this and the earlier Paris agreement on Vietnam, there is no evidence that they are any closer to agreement on the causes of the continuing hostility or on the major issues still dividing them. Their rhetoric alone does not bode well for a quick or early solution to the conflict.

Hanoi Sees an Important Victory

A DRV Foreign Ministry statement of June 14 describes the latest Vietnam agreement as "an important victory" for the Vietnamese people. Predictably, Communist media blame the "very serious and systematic violations of the cease-fire" by the US and GVN for the continued fighting and argue that the only correct way to maintain peace is to implement

scrupulously the Paris Agreement. More significantly, the DRV Foreign Ministry statement argues that this mean strict termination of US military involvement and interference in South Vietnam and the solution of the internal problems of South Vietnam on the basis of the recognition that there exist in reality in South Vietnam two administrations, two armies, two zones of control, and three political forces.

Of the Communique's 14 points, Communist media stress the importance of four provisions regarding South Vietnam: the delineation of the territory controlled by each side, the release of arrested and detained Vietnamese civilians, the formation of the Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, and the provision of democratic liberties. Of these, Hanoi clearly considers the proposed modalities to determine control of territory as being the most important to its side. On the issue of Cambodia and Laos, the Foreign Ministry statement merely repeats the language of the Communique while reaffirming Hanoi's stand that the internal affairs of Laos and Cambodia must be settled by the poeple of Laos and Cambodia without foreign interference.

Saigon Claims Reaffirmation of Paris Agreement Position

Initial South Vietnamese commentary indicates that they view the June 13 Communique as a reaffirmation of their previous position on the Paris Agreement. Of special note is the South Vietnamese claim that the Communique confirms that the GVN is the only legal government and that the Army of the Republic of Vietnam is the only legitimate army in South Vietnam. In this context Saigon stresses that Communist-controlled areas are only under temporary military control pending a political settlement. Saigon further sees the Communique as reaffirming that the implementation of "democratic liberties" is conditional on compliance with the in-place cease-fire. With regard to general elections, the South Vietnamese emphasize that the procedures for holding elections must be agreed upon before the implementation of the other political provisions of the Paris Agreement, such as the establishment of "democratic freedoms," the formation of the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord, and settelement of the problems related to the Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam.

Saigon insists that the Communique primarily means that the Communists must stop violating the cease-fire, immediately end land-grabbing operations, and cooperate with the GVN in determining zones of control. The GVN also emphasizes those provisions calling for the Communists to cease infiltration of men and supplies from the North and to withdraw their forces from Cambodia and Laos. With the exception of a few minor concessions--such as the agree-

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ment to allow the PRG delegation to the Two-Party Joint Military Commission to move into downtown Saigon--the GVN apparently sees the Communique as requiring no adjustments in its own basic position on military and political questions. [redacted]

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-11 INR-10 LAB-06

NSAE-00 RSC-01 SIL-01 OMB-01 SY-10 OPR-02 AID-20

NIC-01 PM-07 H-03 L-03 NSC-10 PA-03 PRS-01 SS-15

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI PINT PINS ELAB MILI
SUBJ: TRANSPORT STRIKE NEGOTIATIONS RESUMED

REF: SANTIAGO 3877

1. SUMMARY. MERCHANTS STRIKES CONTINUE AS GOVT/TRANSPORT TALKS BROKE DOWN. GOVT. THREATENED STRIKERS WITH STERN MEASURES, AND MEETINGS RESUMED TODAY. INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE CONTINUE IN SANTIAGO AND ELSEWHERE. REACTING TO NEW CABINET, OPPOSITION PARTIES CALLED ON MILITARY TO FORCE "RECTIFICATION" OF GOVT. POLICIES WHILE MIR SPECULATED THAT GOVT. IS ABOUT TO "CAPITULATE" TO OPPOSITION DEMANDS. VIAUX GOING TO PARAGUAY. END SUMMARY

2. MERCHANTS AND OTHER GUILDS EXTENDED STRIKE FOR 24 MORE HOURS THROUGH AUG 30. RETAIL SHOPKEEPERS LEADER RAFAEL CUMSILLE, HOWEVER, ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED SOME "POSITIVE" RESPONSES FROM GOVT. CONCERNING VARIOUS DEMANDS, ADDING THAT END TO MERCHANTS STRIKE COULD BE IN SIGHT. MINECONOMY CADEMARTORI [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03901 302201Z

MEANWHILE ISSUED STATEMENT DENOUNCING MERHANTS STRIKE AS POLITICALLY MOTIVATED AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH GOLPISTA DESIRES OF SOME OPPOSITION SECTORS. SHUTDOWNS IN PROVINCES, ESPECIALLY

[redacted]

SOUTHERN TIER AND VALPARAISO, APPARENTLY ALMOST TOTALLY EFFECTIVE AND INCLUDE MOST PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS. SIX UP DEPUTIES WHO ARE ALSO PHYSICIANS ISSUED PUBLIC DEMAND THAT NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSN.'S LEGAL REGISTRATION (PERSONALIDAD JURIDICA) BE CANCELLED.

3. GOVT./TRANSPORTATION CONFEDERATION TALKS BROKE DOWN AUG 30, AND MINPUBLIC WORKS GEN. MAGLIOCCHETTI ANNOUNCED THAT INTER-MINISTERIAL "OPERATIONS COMMAND" IS NOW RESPONSIBLE FOR DEALING WITH STRIKERS. MININTERIOR BRIONES PUT OUT STATEMENT, HIGHLY PUBLICIZED IN UP MEDIA, THREATENING STRIKERS WITH SEVERE PENALTIES INCLUDING CANCELLATION OF LEGAL REGISTRATION OF TRUCK OWNERS GUILD, ASSIGNMENT OF VEHICLES TO PERSONS WILLING TO WORK, POLICE PROTECTION FOR NON-STRIKERS, AND DIRECT GOVT. NEGOTIATIONS WITH LOCAL TRUCKERS ORGANIZATIONS, THEREBY BYPASSING VILARIN'S NATIONAL ORGANIZATION. GOVT. LA NACION AND OTHER UP PRESS REPORTED LAND TRANSPORT CONFEDERATION (RODADO) IS WRACKED BY INTERNAL DISSENTION AND TAXIBUS OWNERS PLAN TO RETURN TO WORK. MIDDAY NEWS STORIES TODAY REPORT NEW SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT BEING DRAFTED BY RODADO FOLLOWING RANEWED TALKS WITH GOC AUTHORITIES THIS MORNING.

4. TERRORIST INCIDENTS AND OTHER VIOLENCE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC ATTENTION. DEATH OF ARMY LT. AUG 29 (REFTEL) PROMINENTLY FEATURED IN OPPOSITION PRESS, WHICH STRESSED INVOLVEMENT OF MEXICAN RESIDENT "TOURIST" AND FACT THAT KILLING TOOK PLACE IN TRUCK BELONGING TO A GOVT.-CONTROLLED INDUSTRY. ARMY ISSUED STATEMENT DETAILING EVENTS SURROUNDING SHOOTING (THE LT. APPARENTLY DREW FIRST, AFTER A DISCUSSION OF POLITICS); MIN DEFENSE LETELIER DESCRIBED AFFAIR AS A "POLICE INCIDENT." TWO DYNAMITE BOMBS EXPLODED AT HOME OF SERGIO POLITOFF, MININTERIOR LEGAL ADVISOR, AND FOUR OTHER BOMBING INCIDENTS REPORTEDLY TOOK PLACE ELSEWHERE IN SANTIAGO LAST NIGHT. MARCH BY UP WOMEN IN RANCAGUA AUG 29 WAS FOLLOWED BY GENERALIZED STREET FIGHTING IN WHICH BUILDING HOUSING OPPOSITION NEWSPAPER EL RANCAGUINO WAS DAMAGED. VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM ALSO REPORTED IN OSORNO, VALPARAISO AND ARICA.

[redacted]

[redacted]

5. PDC STATEMENT CALLED ON NEW CABINET TO "RECTIFY" GOVT. POLICY BY HALTING ILLEGAL ACTS OF TYPE LISTED IN AUG 22 CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES RESOLUTION. PN STATEMENT COMMENTED THAT IT SAW NO EVIDENCE OF SUCH GOVT. "RECTIFICATION" IN SPITE OF MILITARY PRESENCE. LEADERS OF FTR, MIR'S LABOR SUBSIDIARY, OPINED THAT MILITARY PRESENCE IN CABINET SHOWS THAT GOVT. IS ON VERGE OF "CAPITULATING" TO OPPOSITION DEMANDS. PS ISSUED DECLARATION THAT MININTERIOR CARLOS BRIONES IS NOT A PS MEMBER AND WOULD BE PUBLICLY DENOUNCED BY PARTY IF HIS ACTIONS IN ANY WAY IMPEDED ATTAINMENT OF UP GOALS. RADICAL PARTY, ALSO A UP MEMBER,

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TOOK SHARP PUBLIC ISSUE WITH PS STATEMENT AS "INOPPORTUNE AND INCONVENIENT," NOTING THT THE TIMES REQUIRE TOTAL UNITY WITHIN UP.

6. IN OTHER POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, VARIOUS GUILDS CONTINUE TO PURSUE THEIR CAMPAIGN TO DEMAND ALLENDE'S RESIGNATION. LATEST ADHERENT IS CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENT FEDERATION (FEUC). OPPOSITION WOMEN IN RANCAGUA OPENED STREET BOTHS TO COLLECT SIGNATURES ON RESIGNATION PETITION. LEFT-LEANING PDC DEPUTY BERNARDO LEIGHTON ANNOUNCED HE GENERALLY AGREED WITH TOMIC LETTER PRAISING PRATS (REFTEL; PDC LEADERSHIP ISSUED STATEMENT THAT TOMIC LETTER DOES NOT RESPRESENT PDC THINKING. CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES DEFEATED PROPOSED PN RESOLUTION DECLARING CUBAN AMB. PERSONA NON GRATA; PDC VOTED WITH UP AGAINST RESOLUTION. SUPREME COURT ISSUED ANOTHER PUBLIC APPEAL TO ALLENDE TO HONOR COURT DECISIONS. CARABINEROS HEADQUARTERS ISSUED STATEMENT DENYING CLAIMS IN SOME OPPOSITION MEDIA THAT CORPS IS BEING SUBJECTED TO POLITICAL INFILTRATION BY UP. AFTER APPARENTLY RECHECKING THEIR CALENDARS, UP RESCHEDULED RALLY ON THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF ALLENDE ELECTION TO SEPT 4.

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7. ON EMERGING FROM CALL AT FONMINISTRY THIS MORNING PARAGUAYAN AMB LUIS GONZALEZ MAYA TOLD PRESS THAT GEN. ROBERTO VIAUX WILL PROCEED TO PARAGUAY NEXT TUESDAY, TO START FIVE YEARS EXILE TO WHICH SENTENCED UPON COMPLETION OF JAIL TERM FOR HIS ROLE IN 1970 SCHNEIDER KIDNAPPING. AMB ALSO SAID GOC HAS GRANTED SAFECONDUCT FOR GASSET BROTHERS, WHO TOOK REFUGE IN EMBASSY IN AFTERMATH OF JUNE 29 INSURRECTION. DAVIS

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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W/ w.h.o. Carlos Lorca

(W137)

HELP US TO SAVE THE LIFE OF DR. CARLOS LORCA T.

1. Background and Curriculum Vitae:

Age: 31 years

Graduated from University of Chile (School of Medicine). Majored in Psychiatry.

Also studied Economics, Sociology and Psychology (University of Chile).

President of Chilean University students.

General secretary of Socialist Youth.

Member of the board of the University of Chile.

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Decla
Exemption(s)

Elected as a Congressman in 1973, representing the State of Valdivia (South of Chile).

2. Arrest

On June 25, 1975, Dr. Lorca was arrested with Mrs. Carolina Wiff (a social worker) at Maule Street #120 at 16.30PM by a group of DINA agents. He was handcuffed, his glasses were taken from him and he was taken to a detention camp, but the Chilean authorities refuse to accept the fact they they have him.

We include six (6) affidavits sworn before a notary public of witness who saw the arrest take place. There is great fear for his life because DINA denies that they have him, although he has been seen at two detention camps, "Cuatro Alamos" and "Villa Grimaldi".

Dr. Lorca suffers from ulcers and he has a blood deficiency which implies a very slow coagulation factor. This is very serious as he could die in torture without his "interrogators" being aware of this fact during his "scientific questioning". Prisoners are generally beaten up, electric shock and other drugs are given to them and a large number die. This became evident during the last publicized list of persons who were reported "shot in combat in Argentina".

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3. Solidarity

The Committee for Peace, formed by all churches of Chile, has been fighting for Carlos' life. His Eminence Cardinal Raul Silva, the chief Rabbi, and Dr. Helmuth Frenz, Lutheran Bishop, have tried to get the authorities to admit that they have him.

The Chief Justice of Chile, Dr. Jose Maria Eyzaguirre, has personally tried to make DINA accept that they have him, but the answer is "we have no one by that name. (Prisoners are generally booked under false names so as to make the "Habeas Corpus" unapplicable.

The following institutions and governments have contacted the authorities demanding that Carlos' detention camp be made public:

F.M.J.D. Federation of World Youth
U.I.E. : International Students Union
O.C.L.A.E. : Latin American Students Federation
Red Cross International
Social-Democrat Parties of Europe
Argentine College of Psychiatrists

Visas for Carlos Lorca have been offered by the following governments:

England
Germany
France
Holland
Belgium
Denmark
Sweden
Norway
Finland
Italy
Mexico

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03950 041356Z

51
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 AID-20 OMB-01 COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06

SIL-01 SY-10 OPR-02 CU-04 HEW-08 SCI-06 INT-08 DOTE-00

RSR-01 (ADP) W

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O R 041258Z SEP 73
FM AMEBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5386
INFO DOD/DIA
USCINCSO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declas.
Exemption(s)

[redacted]SANTIAGO 3950

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINT, PINS, MILI, ELAB
SUBJECT: MONTERO STAYS ABOARD

1. SUMMARY. ALLENDE REJECTS MONTERO'S RESIGNATION. GUILDS IN 17 PROVINCES AND NATIONAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION DECLARE STRIKES. BOTH UP AND OPPOSITION PLANNING MASSIVE STREET DEMONSTRATIONS. SOME DIVISIONS WITHIN GUILD MOVEMENT APPARENT. END SUMMARY.

2. PRES ALLENDE HAS REJECTED RESIGNATION OF NAVY CINC MONTERO. IN SEPARATE STATEMENTS PRES AND MINDEF LETELIER ANNOUNCED SEPT 3 THAT MONTERO WILL STAY ON AS NAVY CINC. OPPOSITION PRESS SPECULATING THAT MONTERO'S RESIGNATION OFFER RESULTED FROM LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN HIM AS EXPRESSED BY MAJORITY OF ADMIRALS IN FRIDAY MORNING VALPARAISO MEETING AND LATER MEETING WITH LETELIER. PRESIDENT'S REJECTION, THEORIZING GOES, IS PRODUCT PRESIDENT'S UNWILLINGNESS TO NAME NEXT-IN-LINE ADM MERINO AS CINC. MERINO PARTICULARLY UN-

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03950 041356Z

ACCEPTABLE TO PS FOR HIS KNOWN OPPOSITIONIST STANCE AND INITIATION COURT ACTION AGAINST PS SECGEN ALTAMIRANO.

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3. MERCHANTS AND OTHER GUILDS IN 17 PROVINCES - BUT NOT SANTIAGO - DECLARED STRIKE OF INDEFINITE LENGTH BEGINNING SEPT 3. GROUPS OPERATING THROUGH MULTI-GUILD ORGANIZATIONS MET IN CONCEPCION OVER WEEKEND AND ISSUED STATEMENT WHICH DECLARED STRIKE AND ARGUED THAT "CURRENT GOVT SHOULD NOT CONTINUE DIRECTING THE DESTINY OF THE NATION."

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4. SHUTDOWN CALL HAS PUT RAFAEL CUMSILLE, LEADER OF SMALL MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION IN TIGHT POSITION. IN SUNDAY AFTERNOON RADIO ADDRESS CUMSILLE DENOUNCED HIS CRITICS, MENTIONING SPECIFICALLY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE'S JORGE FONTAINE AND PN'S RADIO AGRICULTURA, FOR ALLEGING THAT HE HAS BEEN TOO "SOFT" AND IS OPERATING WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF HIS GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS. CUMSILLE STATED THAT HE HAD JUST BEEN GIVEN VOTE OF CONFIDENCE BY ALL PROVINCIAL DIRECTORS MEETING OVER WEEKEND IN SANTIAGO AND THAT HE WILLING TO DECLARE FURTHER SHUTDOWNS IF GOVT NOT FORTHCOMING IN RESPONSE TO SERIES OF PETITIONS HIS ORGANIZATION HAS PRESENTED. HE ALSO CALLED FOR GREATER COOPERATION AMONG GUILDS. CUMSILLE MET SEPT 3 WITH RODADO HEAD JUAN JARA.

5. TRANSPORT STRIKE DRAGS ON WITH GOVT APPARENTLY STILL INSISTING THAT RODADO ACCEPT LAST FORMAL GOVT OFFER AS EXPRESSED EVENING AUG 29. UP PRESS STILL PLAYING HEAVILY ON THEME THAT BUS AND TAXI AS WELL AS SOME TRUCK OWNERS HAVE GROWN DISGUSTED WITH STRIKE AND, IN PARTICULAR WITH TRUCK LEADER VILARIN, AND ARE RETURNING TO WORK. RODADO LEADERS DENY THIS. FACT IS, HOWEVER, THAT MAJORITY OF SANTIAGO'S INTRA-CITY BUSSES AND TAXIS NEVER JOINED STRIKE TO BEGIN WITH. ALSO LINGERING ON DESPITE SUCCESSION OF MEETINGS

WITH NEW MINHEALTH IS MEDICAL STRIKE WHICH NOW ENTERING THIRD WEEK.

6. ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONALS (CUPROCH) WHICH HAS AMONG ITS ESTIMATED 120,000 MEMBERS PRIVATE SCHOOL TEACHERS, WHITE COLLAR COPPER TECHNICIANS AND LAN CHILE PILOTS HAS CALLED FOR 48 HOUR STRIKE BEGINNING TUESDAY AM IN SUPPORT OF TRANSPORT OWNERS.

7. BOTH UP AND OPPOSITION GROUPS PLANNING MASSIVE STREET MARCHES

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AND RALLIES. UP WILL RALLY DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO LATE AFTERNOON SEPT 4 IN CELEBRATION THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF ALLENDE VICTORY. FOLLOWING EVEING OPPOSITION WOMEN LED BY TRANSPORT OWNER WIVES WILL MARCH IN DEMAND OF ALLENDE'S RESIGNATION. CATHOLIC UNIV STUDENTS HAVE SWUNG BANNER ACROSS CU'S MAIN DOWNTOWN BUILDING DEMANDING "RESIGN AND LET US BEGIN AGAIN TO CONSTRUCT NATION'S INSTITUTIONS."

8. OPPOSITION PRESS GLOATING OVER MILITARY RAID ON LEFT EXTREMIST CAMP NEAR COAST IN CAUTIN PROVINCE. PICTURES OF HOME-MADE HAND GRENADES AND PS AND MIR FLAGS REPORTEDLY TAKEN FROM CAMP HAVE

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BEEN PUBLISHED. ACCORDING TO ONE EMBASSY SOURCE EXTREMISTS HAVE BEEN OPERATING OUT OF EXPROPRIATED FARMS IN AREA FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AND HAVE CAUSED CONSIDERABLE ALARM AMONG LOCAL PEASANTS. PRESS TALKS ABOUT MYSTERIOUS OFFLOADING FROM BOATS AND POSSIBLE INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN ARMS. ABOUT 20 INDIVIDUALS HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN ARRESTED, BUT ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, GROUP'S LEADERS HAVE ESCAPED AND ARE IN HIDING.

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9.OIL PIPELINE FROM COAST TO SANTIAGO ONCE AGAIN SUFFERED DYNAMITE BLAST EARLY MORNING SEPT 2. BOMB WAS THROWN EVENING SEPT 1 AT HOME OF PR'S ANSELMO SULE. TWO PCCH MEMBERS WERE KILLED WHEN TRUCK THEY WERE RIDING IN TO DISTRIBUTE FLOUR IN SANTIAGO SUBURB TURNED OVER. UP PRESS CLAIMING TRUCK INTENTIONALLY FORCED OFF ROAD IN PLANNED RIGHTIST SABOTAGE ATTEMPT. WELL-PLUGGED IN MEDIA SOURCES HAVE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT PATRIA Y LIBERTAD'S PABLO RODIRGUEZ HAS LEFT ECUADOR AND WILL RETURN TO CHILE WITHIN THE WEEK VIA MEXICO AND ARGENTINA.

10. PDC AND MININT BRIONES ENGAGED IN FURTHER BACK AND FORTH. IN LANGUAGE RELATIVELY MILD BY CONTEMPORARY CHILEAN STANDARDS BUT PRETTY HARSH COMING FROM BRIONES, MININT ATTACKED AYLWIN'S REJECTION OF DIALOGUE OFFER AND ARGUED THAT "ALLENDE GOVT HAS GIVEN MORE THAN SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE OF ITS ADHERENCE TO DEMOCRATIC NORMS, SUBMISSION TO JURIDICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ORDER, AND UNRESTRICTED RESPECT FOR FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION WHICH IN RECENT DAYS HAS DEGENERATED INTO VERITABLE LIBERTINAGE." PDC RESPONDED IMMEDIATELY BUT IN TERMS GENERALLY RESPECTFUL OF BRIONES THAT MININT SHOULD DEVOTE HIMSELF TO ENDING TRANSPORT STRIKE, CLOSING DOWN CHANEL 9 AS ORDERED BY COURST, GETTING FIRED EL TENIENTE WORKERS REINSTATED, AND OTHERWISE RECTIFYING GOVT POLICIES.

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 03950 041356Z

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04166 122328Z

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 EUR-25 SCS-03 AID-20 CCO-00 FBO-01 PM-07 H-03
INR-10 L-03 NIC-01 NSC-10 SPC-03 OC-06 OPR-02 PA-03
USSS-00 RSC-01 PRS-01 SCA-01 A-01 OMB-01 SS-15 SY-10
NEA-10 PC-04 DRC-01 /163 W

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
/Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 4166

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI PINT PINS MILI CU
SUBJ: CUBANS GO HOME

SWEDISH AMB, WHO LIVES OPPOSITE CUBAN CHANCERY, TOLD US THAT BETWEEN 0900-1000 HOURS YESTERDAY CHANCERY WAS SURROUNDED BY SOME 200 SOLDIERS. FIRING BROKE OUT, THE SOLDIERS WERE OBSERVED SHOOTING INTO UPPER FLOOR WINDOWS OF CHANCERY. SOME CARS INSIDE COMPOUND ALSO TOOK ROUNDS. SWEDISH AMB CLAIMED ONE CUBAN WAS KILLED. HE ALSO SAID THAT PAPAL NUNCIO CONTACTED ARMY GEN. BENAVIDES WHO RULED THAT CUBAN AMB. COULD LEAVE CHANCERY BUT OTHER STAFF MUST STAY. CUBAN EMBASSY IS NOW REPORTEDLY ORGANIZING DEPARTURE OF CUBAN CITIZENS FROM CHILE, AND HAS ASKED SWEDISH, INDIAN, PERUVIAN, NUNCIO, AND MEXICAN AMBASSADORS TO WITNESS CUBAN DEPARTURE. CUBAN AMB. ASKED SWEDISH AMB. TO PASS TO STOCKHOLM CUBAN VERSION OF ATTACK ON CHANCERY, WHICH SWEDISH AMB. DID. CUBAN AMB. ALSO APPARENTLY CONTACTING OTHER DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, E.G. BRITISH, TO EXPRESS HIS CONCERN ABOUT VIOLATION OF CUBAN RIGHTS. ACCORDING TO SWEDISH AMB., CUBAN AMB. ASKED SWEDEN

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04166 122328Z

TO HANDLE CUBAN INTERESTS IN CHILE; SWEDISH AMB. PASSED REQUEST TO STOCKHOLM.

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ISRAELI AMBASSADOR LEARNED FROM THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR THAT CUBAN AMBASSADOR GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI ASKED THE MEXICAN TO ACCOMPANY HIM TO THE AIRPORT TODAY TO PREVENT INCIDENTS WHEN HE AND A COUPLE OF OTHER CUBAN OFFICIALS DEPART CHILE. SAME SOURCE REPORTS CUBAN AMBASSADOR HAS HAND WOUND.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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Date Printed: 01/16/1999 DOC_NUMBER: 1973SANTIA04166 CHANNEL: n/a

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04289 161747Z

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44
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00
PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 ACDA-19 IO-13 AID-20 PC-04 SIL-01
LAB-06 SCS-03 SCA-01 OC-06 CCO-00 SY-10 OPR-02 EUR-25
NIC-01 OMB-01 DRC-01 /190 W

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O P 161647Z SEP 73
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5638
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
DOD/DIA PRIORITY
USCINCSO PRIORITY

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Dec
Exemption(s)

[redacted] SANTIAGO 4289

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINT, PINS, MILI
SUBJ: NOON WRAPUP - SEPT 16

1. CITY QUIET THIS MORNING EXCEPT FOR FIGHTER JETS AND HELICOPTERS WHICH BEGAN OVERFLYING CITY STARTING ABOUT 0700. NO INFORMATION YET RECEIVED WHETHER THESE AIRCRAFT PARTICIPATING IN ANY ACTION. MEANWHILE, A CLOSE LOOK AT THE MONEDA THIS MORNING CONFIRMS THAT IT IS A GUTTED, BURNED OUT SHELL EXCEPT FOR ONE WING OF FONMINISTRY. OUTER WALLS STAND, BADLY SCARRED BY SHELLS, ROCKETS AND BULLETS, BUT THE ROOFS ARE DOWN AND THE INTERIOR COMPLETELY DESTROYED.

2. JUNTA IS ESTABLISHING PRINCIPAL GOVT OFFICES IN FORMER UNCTAD BUILDING, RENAMED GABRIELA MISTRAL BY ALLENDEO

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04289 161747Z

AND NOW BAPTIZED "EDIFICIO DIEGO PORTALES" BY JUNTA.

3. FAMOUS STATUE OF CHE GUEVARA IN SANTIAGO WORKING

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CLASS SUBURB OF SAN MIGUEL WAS TORN DOWN AND TAKEN AWAY, ALLEGEDLY BY MILITARY UNIT.

4. JUNTA ISSUED EDICT 32 ANNOUNCING ANY PERSON FOUND DISTRIBUTIN SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA WILL BE SEVERELY PUNISHED BY MILITARY TRIBUNALS UNDER CODE VALID IN TIME OF WAR. EXPANDING ON PREVIOUS ANNOUNCEMENT, GOVT ANNOUNCED THAT AS PART OF GENERAL CLEAN-UP CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA, ANY TYPE OF WALL GRAFFITI IS PROHIBITED. NUMEROUS ANNOUNCEMENTS BEING BROADCAST CALLING ON EXMPLOYEES OF GOVT ENTITIES TO RETURN TO WORK THIS WEEK.

5. TOTAL OF 41 NEW APPOINTMENTS TO SECONDARY AND TERTIARY GOVT POSTS ANNOUNCED (SEPTEL), MOST IN SUCH TECHNICAL POSITIONS AS HEAD OF PORT AUTHORITY AND RAILROADS BUT SOME TO SUBCABINET LEVEL. OF 41, SIX ARE ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY, EIGHT RETIRED MILITARY OR CARABINERO OFFICERS, AND REST CIVILIANS WHO PRESUMABLY ARE TECHNICALLY QUALIFIED. MERCURIO REPORTS NEW UNDERSECFONMINISTRY WILL BE FABIAN VIO VALDIVIESO, FORMER DIPLOMAT IN FREI GOVT WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE CRITIC OF ALLENDE GOVT HANDLING OF BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE WITH ARGENTINA.

6. MERCURIO REPORTED EL SALVADOR HAS RECOGNIZED JUNTA. RECOGNITION BY SPAIN WAS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED.

7. A MEXICAN DC-9 AIRCRAFT ARRIVED YESTERDAY AFTERNOON AT PUDAHUEL AIRPORT TO CARRY ASYLEES FROM THE MEXICAN EMBASSY TO SAFETY IN MEXICO, ACCORDING TO TODAY'S EL MERCURIO (SEPT 16). THE AIRCRAFT WAS REPORTED READY TO DEPART LAST NIGHT WITH PART OF THE TOTAL OF 232 UNNAMED PERSONS SHELTERED BY THE MEXICANS. THE INTENTIONS OF MRS. ALLENDE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF HER FAMILY ARE STILL UNKNOWN.

8. EL MERCURIO THIS MORNING REPORTS RETIRED GENERAL CARLOS PRATS DROVE TO MENDOZA, ARGENTINA, CROSSING THE BORDER FROM CHILE IN A PRIVATE AUTO. MENDOZA SOURCES REPORTED HIS APPARENT INTENTION TO GO TO BUENOS AIRES TO [redacted]

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RESIDE.

9. NO REPORTS OF INJURIES TO ANY AMERICANS.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04323 171807Z

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AID-20

SR-02 ORM-03 OMB-01 SCS-03 SCA-01 OPR-02 A-01 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 ACDA-19 IO-13 SY-10 NIC-01 USSS-00

OC-06 CCO-00 NEA-10 DRC-01 /170 W

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O R 171714Z SEP 73
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5667
INFO DOD/DIA
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 4323

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CIN PINS
SUBJ: WRAPUP 12:00 SEPT 17

1. TRAFFIC INTO DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO EXTREMELY HEAVY THIS AM AS OFFICES AND BUSINESSES REOPENING. CONGESTION INCREASED BY PRESENCE OF NUMEROUS TRUCKS AND BUSSES WHICH HAD BEEN SIDE-LINED DURING TRANSPORT STRIKE AND ABSENCE OF TRAFFIC POLICEMEN. CARABINEROS OBVIOUSLY STILL DEVOTING ATTENTION TO MORE PRESSING PROBLEMS. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT GOVT FEELS IT HAS INTERNAL SECURITY SCENE UNDER CONTROL. ARMS SEARCHES AND MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST EXTREMISTS CONTINUE (SEPTEL).

2. GOVT PRESSING HARD ON THEME THAT COUNTRY RETURNING TO NORMALITY AND PRO PROMISING TRADITIONAL MEAT PIES AND RED WINE FOR CELEBRATION OF NATIONAL HOLIDAYS SEPT 18-19. (SEE SEPTEL ON ECONOMIC SITUATION.)

3. MILITARY GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO FOREIGN [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04323 171807Z

PRESS CRITICISM OF ACTIONS. STATEMENT EVENING SEPT 16 ATTACKED FOREIGN DISTORTIONS AND ARGUED - OBVIOUSLY IN RESPONSE TO CHARGES IT DID NT REPEAT - THAT MAJORITY OF

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CASUALTIES (NO NUMBER GIVEN) FAULT OF SUICIDAL TERRORISTIC ACTION AND THAT MAJORITY OF PRISONERS ARE EXTREMISTS WHO WILL BE DEALT WITH IN LEGAL MANNER BY MILITARY COURTS. MININT BONILLA STATED SEPT 17 THAT GOVT WILL SOON RELEASE LIST OF ALL PRISONERS. BONILLA GUARANTEED THAT THEIR LEGAL RIGHTS WILL BE PRESERVED.

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4. GOVT PRESSING QUOTE EITHER THEM OR US UNQUOTE THEME IN PUBLISHING INFORMATION THAT LEFT EXTREMISTS HAD BEEN PLANNING QUOTE AUTOGOLPE UNQUOTE FOR SEPT 17 WHICH WOULD HAVE INVOLVED ASSASSINATION OF CINCS AND ATTACKS BY THOUSANDS OF TERRORISTS - MANY OF THEM FOREIGNERS - ON MILITARY TROOPS WHILE LATTER WERE PRACTICING FOR SEPT 18-19 MILITARY MARCHES. WRITTEN PLANS FOR QUOTE AUTOGOLPE UNQUOTE WERE REPORTEDLY FOUND IN FILES OF FORMER INTERIOR UNDERSEC DANIEL VERGARA. ACCORDING TO LA TERCERA SOURCE AUTOGOLPE WAS ALSO TO INVOLVE ASSASSINATION OF ALLENDE AND ASSUMPTION OF CONTROL BY ALTAMIRANO. SAME SOURCE STATES THAT BOTH ALTAMIRANO AND MIR'S MIGUEL MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (SIM) HAS REPORT THAT ALTAMIRANO IN RED CHINESE EMBASSY. ENRIQUES ARE DEAD. PRESS REPORTS THAT 67 POLITICAL ASYLEES LEFT MEXICAN EMBASSY FOR TRAVEL TO MEXICO WITH MRS. ALLENDE AND HER FAMILY. REPORTS ARE THAT ABOUT 180 MORE ARE STILL IN THE EMBASSY. NO NAMES GIVEN. ALL DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS HAVE RECEIVED CIRCULAR NOTE REQUESTING NAMES INDIVIDUALS INSIDE MISSIONS IN ASYLEE STATUS.

5. MERCURIO REPORTS THAT GROUP OF GUILD MOVEMENT (GREMIALISTA) LEADERS WILL TRAVEL NEXT WEEK TO U.S,., CANADA AND WESTERN EUROPE TO EXPLAIN AND DEFEND MILITARY COUP. ACCORDING TO ARTICLE AMONG ELEVEN TRAVELLING WILL BE LEON VILARIN (TRANS-PORT), JULION BAZAN (CUPROCH), JORJE FONTAINE (CHAMBER OF COMMERCE), ORLANDO SAENZ (SOFOFA) AND MANUEL VALDES (SNA). SAENZ AND VALDES HAVE BEEN GIVEN HIGH LEVEL GOVT RESPON-SIBILITIES AND MAY FIND TRAVELLING DIFFICULT.

6. EMBASSY HAS BEEN TOLD BY LOCAL SOURCE WHO KNOWS CHIEF MILITARY SURGEON THAT LATTER HAD SUPERVISED 4-HOUR ALLENDE AUTOPSY AND HAD CONCLUDED WITHOUT DOUBT THAT ALLENDE [redacted]

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COMMITTED SUICIDE.

7. HEAVY EMPHASIS IN PRESS (TERCERA AND MERCURIO) ON ALLENDE'S LUXURIOUS LIFESTYLE AMPLIFIED WITH EXTENSIVE COVERAGE PRESIDENT'S TOMAS MORO RESIDENCE AND ANOTHER HIDEWAY HOME IN HILLS OUTSIDE SANTIAGO. NEWS REPORTS OF AMOUNT OF FOOD, IMPORTED LIQUOR ETC. HOARDED AT THESE LOCATIONS GIVEN HEAVY PLAY. PRESS ALSO ALLUDES TO, BUT DOES NOT PUBLISH, PORNOGRAPHIC PICTURES OF ALLENDE AND OTHER HIGH LEVEL UPERS WHICH WERE ALLEGEDLY FOUND IN ARAYAN HIDEAWAY. LA TERCERA

EDITOR TOLD CAO YESTERDAY THAT HE HAD SEEN THE PHOTOS.

8. SUNDAY' S EL MERCURIO NEWS OF WEEK REVIEW CARRIED SMALL LIST OF NATIONS WHICH HAVE ALREADY RECOGNIZED NEW GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING US. LOCAL AMERICAN NEWSMAN INFORMS US THAT HIS INQUIRY TO FOREIGN MINISTRY TO CHECK THE ACCURACY OF MERCURIO LIST MET WITH RAPID FOREIGN MINISTER ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT U.S. HAD NOT YET RECOGNIZED NEW GOVERNMENT.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04590 260055Z

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ACTION ORM-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 IO-13 ISO-00 SR-02 H-03 SCA-01 INRE-00

SSO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 PRS-01 USIE-00

PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SS-15 DODE-00 /088 W

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 4590

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINS, SREF
SUBJ: FOREIGNERS IN CHILE

REF: STATE 190545

1. EMBOFF SPOKE WITH UNHCR REP HASELMAN AFTERNOON SEPT 25. HASELMAN STATED THAT HE "OPTIMISTIC" PROBLEMS RELATING TO REFUGEES WILL BE SOLVED AND THAT GOC COOPERATING WITH "BEST WILL." WHILE NOT WISHING TO SPEAK OFFICIALLY FOR ICRC, HASELMAN DID STATE THAT GOVT BEING EQUALLY COOPERATIVE WITH THAT ORGANIZATION. HE BELIEVES ICRC REPS HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO INTERVIEW DETAINEES WITHOUT WITNESSES PRESENT AS PROMISED BY GOC AND HAVE ALSO BEEN ALLOWED TO DEAL WITH FOOD AND SHELTER CONCERNS OF DETAINEES IN NATIONAL STADIUM. AMCONSUL HAS SEEN ICRC REPS AS WELL AS CHILEAN RED CROSS REPS OPERATING WITHIN STADIUM.

2. AFTER A MEETING WITH HASELMAN SEPT 24, FONMIN HUERTA ISSUED COMMUNIQUE REAFFIRMING CHILE'S ADHERENCE TO 1951 CONVENTION AND 1967 PROTOCOL ON STATUS OF REFUGEES, AND ACCEPTING UNHCR OFFER OF ASSISTANCE IN RESOLVING PROBLEMS RELATING TO REFUGEES. COMMUNIQUE DECLARED (A) ALL REFUGEES WHO HAVE ENTERED COUNTRY IN "REGULAR" FASHION AND WHO ARE NOT IMPLICATED IN CRIMES ARE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04590 260055Z

FULLY PROTECTED AND HAVE RIGHT TO REMAIN; (B) REFUGEES WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES IN CHILE WILL BE TRIED HERE, BUT IF ORDERED EXPELLED WILL NOT BE RETURNED TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AGAINST

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THEIR WILL; AND (C) ALL REFUGEES IN "IRREGULAR SITUATION" WILL RECEIVE NECESSARY ASSISTANCE "TO NORMALIZE" THEIR R SITUATION IN CHILE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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3. HASELMAN GAVE IMPRESSION THAT MOST MF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH GOC OFFICIALS - HE SCHEDULED TO MEET 5:00 PM SEPT 25 WITH MININTERIOR - HAVE BEEN IN REGARD TO ESTABLISHING NORMS FOR REGISTRATION AND DOCUMENTATION OF REFUGEES IN "IRREGULAR STATUS," AND CREATING "LCLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE" SO THAT REFUGEES - MANY OF WHOM IN HIDING - WILL BE ABLE TO COME FORTH TO DO SO.

4. OUR INFORMATION INDICATES THAT GOC PROCEEDING ALONG LINES ESTABLISHED IN LAST WEEK REGARDING DETAINEES - THAT IS INTER-ROGATION AFTER WHICH DECISION IS MADE WHETHER TO DETAIN FURTHER OR RELEASE. MEDIA REPORTS APPROXIMATELY 300 INDIVIDUALS RELEASED FROM NATIONAL STADIUM SEPT 24. RAUL CARDINAL SILVA, ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO VISITED STADIUM SAME DAY, LISTENED TO PRISONERS COMPLAINTS ABOUT SLOW PROCESS AND URGED THEM TO BE PATIENT. AMCONSUL CONTINUES EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF DETAINED AMERICANS.

5. MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIAL (BARROS - CHIEF OF PROTOCOL) TOLD EMBOFF AS "OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF GOC POLICY" AFTERNOON SEPT 25 THAT CHILE "IS KEEPING ALL EXTERNAL PROMISES" AND THAT SAFE CONDUCTS WILL BE EVENTUALLY GIVEN TO ALL FOREIGHZRS SEEKING ASYLUM OR REFUGE IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS WHETHER THE MISSION IS A SIGNATOR OR NOT OF INTERAMERICAN ASYLUM TREATY. BARROS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOME CASES STILL UNDER STURV AND THAT GOVT NOT OBLIGED TO GRANT SAFE CONDUCTS "IMMEDIATELY." HE NOTED CASE OF ASYLEES HAVING TO WAIT AS MUCH AS TWO MONTHS FOR SAFE CONDUCTS UNDER ALLENDE ADMINISTRATION. BARROW ALSO REFERRED TO NUMEROUS REFUGEES WHO HAVE ALREADY LEFT AND STATED FOUR PLANELOADS HAVE GONE TO MEXICO AND ONE EACH TO VENEZUELA AND URUGUAY.

6. SOURCES IN DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY SOMEWHAT UPSET BY SLOWNESS OF GRANTING SAFE CONDUCTS. SITUATION PARTICULARLY CRITICAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04590 260055Z

IN SOME LATIN EMBASSIES WHICH HAVE LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF CHILEAN AND FOREIGN ASYLEES IN CRAMPED QUARTERS. ONE DIPLOMATIC SOURCE (COLOMBIA FIRST SERCRETARY) INDICATED GOV T "STALLING" ON ISSUE. NUNCIO HAS CALLED MEETING OF CHIEFS OF MISSION SEPT 26 REPORTEDLY TO DISCUSS REFUGEE AND ASYLUM ISSUES.

7. UNHCR REP HASELMAN TOLD BY EMBOFF OF GREAT INTEREST IN U.S. IN REFUGEE ISSUE, HOWEVER SENATE COMMITTEE NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED. WHILE IT MAY BE PRESUMED THAT HASELMAN REALIZED THAT HIS REMARKS MIGHT RECEIVE FURTHER DISSEMINATION, DEPT MAY WISH

[redacted]

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NOT TO REFER TO HIM BY NAME IN OPEN SESSION. IT MIGHT HOWEVER BE POINTED OUT THAT EMBASSY OFFICER HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH HIM AND THAT AMB DAVIS HAS EXPRESSED DESIRE TO MEET WITH UNHCR REP AS SOON AS HASELMAN'S SCHEDULE PERMITS.

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8. RE FREEDOM OF CHILEANS TO LEAVE COUNTRY, DOCUMENTATION REQUIREMENTS WHICH ALREADY COMPLEX UNDER ALLENDE REGIME UNDOUBTEDLY MORE STRICT UNDER PRESENT NATIONWIDE STATE OF SIEGE.
DAVIS

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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EE4

R

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04565 251518Z

50
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCSE-00 H-03 RSC-01 SSO-00 DRC-01 PRS-01

PPTE-00 SCA-01 /018 W
---------- 056988

O 251456Z SEP 73
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5838

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 4565

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CVIS CI, CHARLES EDMUND HORMAN
SUBJ: W/W: AMCIT MISSING IN CHILE

REF: STATE 190077

1. EMBASSY INFORMED THAT HORMAN MISSING SINCE 17 SEPT, BUT NO FIRM INFO ON HIS DETENTION. MILITARY AUTHORITIES CONTINUE DENY HE HELD AT NATIONAL STADIUM, WHICH OFFICIAL DETENTION CENTER FOR ALL PERSONS TO BE HELD MORE THAN OVERNIGHT. CONSUL SAW LIST OF DETAINEES AS OF 19 SEPT AND HORMAN'S NAME DID NOT APPEAR AS SUCH OR UNDER ANY OF SEVERAL POSSIBLE VARIANTS. EMBASSY CONTINUES TRY LOCATE HIM AND ALL OTHER MISSING AMCITS WITH FULL RESOURCES AT ITS DISPOSAL. CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST.
DAVIS

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04634 271735Z

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E113

46
ACTION ORM-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 IO-15 ISO-00 SR-02 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

ACDA-19 AID-20 SCA-01 DRC-01 /134 W

080022

O 271655Z SEP 73
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5883
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SANTIAGO 4634

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINS, SREF
SUBJECT: FOREIGNERS IN CHILE

REF: SANTIAGO 4590

1. EMBOFF SPOKE WITH UNHCR REP HASELMAN AGAIN EVEING SEPT. 26. HASELMAN PREOCCUPIED BY FACT THAT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR SEPT. 24 BETWEEN HIMSELF AND MININTERIOR BONILLA HAS BEEN POSTPONE. MEETING WHICH NOW SCHEDULED FOR NOON SEPT 27 IS TO DISCUSS AND, HASELMAN HOPES, RATIFY AGREEMENTS REACHED WITH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONCERNING REGISTRATION OF REUGEES. I AM MEETING WITH HUIELMAN TODAY AT 4:30 PM AND WILL REPORT ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS.

2. HASELMAN TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE PREFERS PUBLIC COMMENTS BE CONFINED TO STATEMENT THAT UNHCR AND GOC WORKING OUT MODALITIES FOR SAFETY OF REFUGEES. IF PLAN OUTLINED BELOW (PARA 3), WHICH HAS ALREADY RECEIVED APPROVAL MINISTRY FOREIGN RELATIONS, RECEIVES MININTERIOR'S IMPRIMATURE TODAY, HE HAS NO RPT NO OBJECTION TO HAVING IT MADE PUBLIC AS WELL. HASELMAN ASKED THAT HIS PERSONAL REGARDS BE SENT TO ASST SEC KUBISCH WHOM HE MET A FEW YEARS AGO IN MEXICO. HASELMAN SAID THAT HE WOULD PROBABLY BE LEAVING CHILE

[redacted]

[redacted]

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04634 271735Z

THIS WEEKEND AND WILL BE REPLACED BY AMB FRANCISCO URRUTIA, FORMER UNHCR LATIN AMERICAN REP SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE FRIDAY.

[redacted]

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3. PLAN TO NORMALIZE SITUATION OF REFUGEES IN COUNTRY IN "IRREGULAR STATUS" I.E. NOT PROPERLY DOCUMENTED WHICH WORKED OUT BY MINFON RELATIONS AND UNHCR REP AS FOLLOWS:

A. REFUGEES WILL APPROACH ONE OF 26 SUBCOMMITTEES - 15 IN SANTIAGO, 11 IN PROVINCES - TO BE ESTABLISHED BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AID TO REFUGEES. NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONSISTS OF REPS OF CHILEAN RED CROSS, CATHOLIC CHURCH, PROTESTANT CHURCHES, CARITAS, ETC.

B. REFUGEES' APPLICATIONS FOR NORMALIZATION OF SITUATION OR FOR PERMISSION TO LEAVE COUNTRY WILL BE REVIEWED BY MINISTRY FONRELATIONS, MINISTRY INTERIOR AND ARMED FORCES INTELLIGENCE.

C. REFUGEES WHOSE PETITITION TO STAY IN COUNTRY APPROVED WILL HAVE THREE MONTHS TO GET PAPERS IN ORDER. REFUGEES WHO WISH TO LEAVE AND ARE NOT WANTED FOR CRIMES WILL BE EXPELLED RAPIDLY AND BE AIDED BY UNHCR TO FIND NEW HOMES IN OTHER COUNTRIES. NONE WILL BE RETURNED TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AGAINST THEIR WILL. REFUGEES WANTED FOR CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS BY AUTHORITIES WILL BE INFORMED OF DECISION AND PROVIDED WITH LEGAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE AT THEIR REQUEST.

4. HASELMAN WANTS MINISTRY INTERIOR AGREEMENT TO TWO FURTHER POINTS: A) ESTABLISHMENT OF SAFE HAVENS IN CHURCHES WHERE REFUGEES NOW IN HIDING CAN GO WITHOUT FEAR OF BEING DETAINED FOR QUESTIONING, AND B) GOVERNMENT OKAY TO ALLOWING PETITIONS FOR NORMALIZATION TO BE ENTERED WITHOUT ADDRESSES. IN SUCH CASE ONLY AID TO REFUGEE COMMITTEES AND NOT GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTACT REFUGEES. HASELMAN STATES LATTER IS IMPORTANT TO DISPEL FEARS OF MANY REFUGEES THAT ATTEMPTS TO REGULARIZE STATUS WILL LEAD TO GOVERNMENT DISCOVERY AND ARREST.

5. HASELMAN MET WITH ASSEMBLED AMBASSADORS EVEINING SEPT 26 AT APOSTOLIC NONCIATURE AND FILLED US IN ALONG ABOVE LINES.
DAVIS

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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10-1-73 (LD0690)

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

10/1/73

Intl Red Cross delegates:

Mr. Eddie Leemann (in Valpso. today)

Mr. T.H.V. Kaiser (in the South)

Can be contacted tomorrow at Avda. Santa María 0150 telephone 776300

Charles Edmund HORTMAN
May 15, 1942 in New York
U.S. PPT B-0 90881
[illegible] 2 Oct 73

Ma. Luisa Torres
TIME
776262

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SC038

10.08.73

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R

CHARLES HORMAN

EDUCATION: 1960 Phillips Exeter Academy
1964 Harvard (Magna Cum Lauda)

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Films-King TV
Stimpson Babbitt
State of Washington

Freelance Short Stories
Personal Biography

Innovation Magazine (From start until we left N.Y.)

Travel:

Miami - 2 months
California - 1 month
Mexico - 3½ months
California - 5 months
Mexico 2 months
Central and South America until arrival Santiago

Date of Birth 15 May 1942
Place of Birth New York, N.Y.

DATA PROVIDED
BY MRS HORMAN
AT MY REQUEST.

RED

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 SANTIA 05135 231136Z

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R E182

43
ACTION SCS-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 ISO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 NSC-10 L-03 H-03

PRS-01 SS-20 SCA-01 INRE-00 SSO-00 SY-10 DODE-00 /068 W
---------- 053097

O 201749Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6261

[redacted] SANTIAGO 5135

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ✓Declass
Exemption(s) _____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, CASC, MILI
SUBJECT: CONTINUATION OF HORMAN CHRONOLOGY

REF: SANTIAGO 5132

FOLLOWING IS CONTINUATION UP TO OCT 15 OF CHRONOLOGY OF MISSION EFFORTS IN HORMAN CASE AS BEGUN IN REFTEL. CHRONOLOGY WILL BE CONTINUED IN SEPTEL.

5 OCT - CONSULAR OFFICERS CONTACTED THREE PERSONS REPORTED BY MRS. HORMAN TO HAVE RECEIVED CALLS INQUIRING ABOUT HER HUSBAND. TWO INDICATED THAT THE CALLERS HAD IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS BEING FROM MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND ONE WAS ASKED TO GO TO THE NEAREST CARABINERO STATION TO GIVE INFO ABOUT HORMAN. A CHECK BACK TO MILITARY INTELLIGENCE THROUGH COL. HON RECEIVED ANOTHER DENIAL OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HORMAN AND, SPECIFICALLY, ABOUT THE CALLS.

7 OCT - CONSULAR PERSONNEL CHECKED WITH ALL PERTINENT FOREIGN EMBASSIES TO INQUIRE ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT AMCITS (AND, SPECIFICALLY, HORMAN) MIGHT HAVE TAKEN ASYLUM THERE. MOST REPLIED THAT THEY HAD NO AMCITS AND A FEW (ARGENTINA, MEXICO, SWEDEN) REPLIED THAT THEY COULD NOT PROVIDE INFO ON PERSONS IN ASYLUM AT THEIR EMBASSIES.

-- AMBASSADOR TOOK ADVANTAGE OF CALL FROM F. WILLOUGHBY, JUNTA PRESS SECTY., TO POINT OUT DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN FONOFF

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05135 231136Z

NOTE ON HORMAN (SAYING HE DETAINED 20 SEPT) AND FACT OF HIS DETENTION 17 SEPT. WILLOUGHBY PROMISED TO CHECK (REPORTED BY SANTIAGO 4910).

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[redacted]

8 OCT - EMB. PROVIDED MRS. HORMAN WITH A CAR TO PERMIT HER TO TALK TO NEIGHBORS AGAIN ABOUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HER HUSBAND'S DETENTION.

-- JUNTA PRESS SECTY. WILLOUGHBY TOLD PAO THAT OFFICE OF SECTY. GEN. OF GOVT INVESTIGATING HORMAN CASE AND HAD INTERVIEWED COL. ESPINOZA AT NATIONAL STADIUM WHO STATED THAT HORMAN'S NAME NOT IN THEIR RECORDS OF DETAINEES.

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9 OCT - EMBASSY ARRANGED FOR A STORY (WHICH APPEARED 11 OCT) IN EL MERCURIO, COMPLETE WITH PHOTO, TELLING OF HORMAN'S DISAPPEARANCE, AND ASKING FOR INFO. A SPECIAL PHONE AT THE CONSULATE WAS USED FOR ANSWERING THE CALLS (WHICH WERE NOT NUMEROUS, AND NONE HELPFUL).

-- MR. HORMAN HAD HEARD THAT, IN ADDITION TO MORGUE, UNIDENTIFIED BODIES WERE TAKEN TO OTHER PLACES. CONSUL CHECKED WITH MORGUE DIRECTOR, WHO SAID THIS WAS NOT TRUE.

10 OCT - CONSULATE, AT MR. HORMAN'S REQUEST, ARRANGED FOR AN ADDITIONAL (TO THAT ALREADY DONE BY MORGUE) FINGERPRINT CHECK OF UNIDENTIFIED BODIES AGAINST THOSE OF HORMAN. THIS CHECK HAD A NEGATIVE RESULT.

-- AMBASSADOR DAVIS, IN MEETING WITH MR. HORMAN, SUGGESTED THAT HE ATTEMPT TO GET HIS SON'S DENTAL RECORDS FOR POSSIBLE USE IN CHECKING UNIDENTIFIED BODIES. MR. HORMAN LATER SAID THAT HE HAD FOUND THAT HIS SON'S CHILEAN DENTAL RECORDS HAD BEEN ROUTINELY DESTROYED, BUT THAT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET SOME FROM MINNESOTA.

-- CONSUL VISITED NATIONAL STADIUM AND SAW DETENTION LISTS -- HORMAN NOT INCLUDED. ALSO SAW COLLECTION OF STATEMENTS SIGNED BY RELEASED PRISONERS -- NONE BY HORMAN. (RPTD SANTIAGO 4958).

11 OCT - CONSULATE RECEIVED CALL FROM MAN WHO CLAIMED TO HAVE SEEN HORMAN BOARDING A PLANE FOR PUERTO MONTT, IN SOUTH OF CHILE, ON 5 OCT. CONSULAR OFFICERS CHECKED MANIFESTS FOR OCT

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 05135 231136Z

4, 5 AND 6 AND TALKED TO PERSONNEL AT AIRPORT. NO POSITIVE INFO -- INFORMANT APPEARS TO HAVE CONFUSED HORMAN WITH A CHILEAN OF SIMILAR DESCRIPTION WHO DID FLY ON 5 OCT.

-- COL. HON REVIEWED HORMAN CASE WITH COL. JUAN HENRIQUEZ OF ARMY G-2 WHO HAD NO NEW INFORMATION TO OFFER.

12 OCT - EMBASSY ARRANGED FOR MR. HORMAN TO SPEAK OVER PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AT NATIONAL STADIUM IN ATTEMPT TO SEE IF HIS SON MIGHT BE THERE AND NOT PROPERLY IDENTIFIED. HE WAS

ACCOMPANIED
BY CONSUL AND ANOTHER CONSULAR OFFICER. THEY WERE
MET BY COL. ESPINOZA, COMMANDER OF THE STADIUM, WHO SHOWED
THEM DETAINEE LISTS AND THE STATEMENTS SIGNED BY RELEASED
PRISONERS. THE COL. ALSO INTRODUCED MR. HORMAN OVER THE PA
SYSTEM AND INVITED ANYONE WITH INFO TO COME FORWARD. THREE
PERSONS DID SO, BUT THE INFO DID NOT PERTAIN TO HORMAN.

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-- AMBASSADOR STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF HORMAN CASE TO GENERAL
PINOCHET, PRES. OF JUNTA, AT PRIVATE EVENING MEETING.

-- POL COUNSELOR RAISED HORMAN CASE AND ASKED FOR CONTINUED
EFFORTS IN CLARIFYING SITUATION IN CONVERSATION WITH COMMANDER
COLLADO, MILITARY OFFICER ASSIGNED TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS.

13 OCT - CONSUL AND COL. HON DISCUSSED WITH MR. HORMAN THE
ISSUE OF THE ACTIVITIES AND ROLE OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, AS
WELL AS THE REASON WHY CAPT DAVIS WAS INVOLVED IN THE SEARCH
FOR HORMAN. BOTH EMBOFFS ASSURED MR. HORMAN THAT CAPT DAVIS
HAD BECOME INVOLVED BECAUSE HE HAD GIVEN HORMAN A RIDE FROM
VINA DEL MAR TO SANTIAGO, AND THAT THE CAPT WAS NOT RPT NOT
A NAVAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICER AS MR. HORMAN HAD COME TO BELIEVE.

-- MR. HORMAN LATER MET WITH AMBASSADOR DAVIS (CONSUL PRESENT)
WHO ASSURED MR. HORMAN THAT THE US GOVERNMENT HAD ASSOCIATION
OR TIE WITH CHILEAN POLICE OR INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WHICH
MIGHT INVOLVE HIS SON IN ANY WAY.

15 OCT - COL. HON MET WITH GEN. LUTZ, CHIEF OF ARMY INTEL-
LIGENCE, AND COMMANDER SERGIO HERRERA TO REVIEW CASE. COL.
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SANTIA 05135 231136Z

HON PROVIDED GEN. LUTZ WITH NEW INFO SHEET PREPARED BY
CONSULATE, GIVING ALL AVAILABLE ADDITIONAL DESCRIPTIVE DATA
ABOUT HORMAN. LUTZ REPEATED HORMAN'S NAME NOT ON LIST OF
DETAINEES AT NATIONAL STADIUM. LUTZ ALSO STATED THAT GROUPS
OF ROBBERS AND EXTREMISTS DRESSED IN MILITARY UNIFORMS HAD
BEEN RAIDING FOREIGNERS''''HOMES IN DAYS FOLLOWING COUP.
DAVIS

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T29

RELEASED IN PART
B6

TELECON
FM Rabasa/Secretary Kissinger
November 26, 1973
12:03

R: ..you're wonderful trip around the world.

K: And congratulations to you on the spectacular way you handled the Bogota Conference.

R: As I told you Henry, no agressiveness. I used...in my speech, saying we are getting to speak with Dr. Kissinger not against Dr. Kissinger.

K: You were a major influence and would not have happened without you.

R: ...Vasquez appointment and the 8 point..

K: He is coming up on Friday and I am inviting him to lunch.

R: I would like to get together with you , when can we meet in Mexico?

K: In February.

R: ...for security reasons and I want to propose Cozumal..

K: I have never been there. I would love to

R: A beautiful place and for us Latin American Foreign Ministers, to get together one or two days before your arrival to talk over any programs beforehand. I would like to send them over and then we can discuss these proposals and on the 3rd day get together with you... in the latter part of February.

K: The second part of February.

R: That is fine. I want it to be smooth and I will need time to adapt things physically and intellectually. I will make no type of official announcement.

K: Let's plan on it..

R: In principle , we are in agreement. It should be in second part of February.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 MAY 2004 200102979

K: I have two other things. We are going to make the ambassadorial appointment.. the man you suggested.

R: Fine.. the man I suggested.

K: It won't be announced so don't you announce it. What do you think of the DCM, Dean. Would he be good as Ambassador to Peru.

R: He is a good man. [redacted] B6

K: I thought maybe over New Year's I would go to Acapulco from about the 29th to the 6th or 7th of January.

R: Fine. Let me put it down. December 29th to

K: Say the 7th of January.

R: I will contact them.

K: Marvelous. I have that in mind.. we have taken care of the airlines..

R: The main thing is he is a good man, but he doesn't .. anything.

K: You can be sure we will settle it in the 6 months.

R: Even Texas. I might ask you to give it back to us.

K: I knew you were going to start on that.

R: And then New Mexico. A state a year.

K: I'll give you Southern California right now.

R: We can have a meeting.

K: I'll call you at the end of this week and let you know what the ...program will be.

R: Thank you very much

END

RC40

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B1

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (T) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 2/1/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

MEMORANDUM

November 27, 1973

TO : INR/DDC - Mr. William McAfee

FROM : INR/DDC - James R. Gardner

SUBJECT : ARA-CIA Weekly Meeting, 23 November 1973

PARTICIPANTS: ARA - Messrs. Kubisch, Shlaudeman and Bowdler (for latter half of meeting); CIA - [redacted] and INR/DDC - James R. Gardner

Chile

Most of the discussion centered around the CIA proposal for giving covert assistance to the Chilean PDC and private sector organizations. The sum proposed is [redacted] of which [redacted] would go to the PDC, [redacted] and another [redacted] for contingencies. The purpose of the assistance, as explained in the CIA memorandum of proposal and by [redacted] is to help the PDC and elements in the private sector bridge the radical change in the situation brought about by the Junta's overthrow of Allende.

Mr. Shlaudeman said that in his view the rationale for extending the assistance was a negative but real one. If we held off now we could be causing ourselves trouble, for it would look as if we had been interested simply in knocking off Allende. There was no question in his mind that a most important objective was for us to get out of political action in Chile once and for all. But the proposed program was a minimum one for a minimum time. He felt it should be extended with the clear understanding that after such and such a date the party would be over.

[redacted] said that one problem was that reflected in the claim of the PDC that, if there were no PDC activity, the only ones that would benefit would be the Communists, since they would continue to operate and would continue to receive money.

Mr. Shlaudeman commented that this claim presumed a condition in Chile that was unlikely; that is, one in which the military would tolerate political activity by the Communists. Nonetheless, without

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part X In Full_____
Exemption(s) B1, B3 CIA, NR

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the help of the PDC it was quite possible that the Junta would not be able to perform as an effective government, especially in the economic sphere. It needed the help of talented members of the PDC, although not necessarily that of the PDC itself. But a PDC break with the Junta, because of the effect it might have on individual dispositions to cooperate, could mean a breakdown in the effectiveness of the new government.

Mr. Kubisch said that, as we knew, he was in principle opposed to covert political operations:

(1) The political action possibilities available to us through CIA represented a means of influencing events and an instrument for action that should be used only if there were need.

(2) Given the evolution of events in the South American region in the last 25 years, and the increasing polarization in the region of contending political elements, and the history of our involvement in covert political and military action, we had to be extremely careful about using this instrument. In his view, we should employ it with the greatest reluctance and only when no other and better means were available. The damage to the US and to the USG were it to become known that we were engaged in covert operations could be very great, and across the board, in today's world. We have been hurt by publicity about covert programs. Therefore his initial stance would be one of strong skepticism when proposals for covert political action were raised. His preference was for none whatever in the hemisphere. It would be good if we could go for years without resorting to them, if such restraint would do us no harm. Therefore he would recommend use of such programs only if there were no other way to accomplish a vitally important end.

(3) He nevertheless wished to consider the present proposal carefully. The importance of Chile and the views of important US officials who were concurring in the proposal commanded our most careful attention. But his first reaction was clearly negative.

Mr. Kubisch then referred to the help that we had given to anti-Allende elements in the 1970 election and said that whatever it was we had done, we had done it to oppose Allende and we had not achieved our objectives. Our interests in Chile as a result of the 1970 elections came under direct and material threat. We now have a different situation in Chile. While it was understandable that we felt it necessary to oppose Allende in 1970, and to help his opposition once he was in office, the question now was whether, given the abrupt change in Chile and in the security situation there, it was really essential to fine tune a political situation simply to be a moderating influence and to help the opposition stay alive. He found it difficult to see a persuasive case that we should do so. His feelings was sharpened by the problems that seemed to be

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emerging between the Junta and the PDC, and by the fact that the Secretary had made it clear that the change in regime in Chile was very much in our interest and that we should do all we could to help the Junta succeed. In view of the Secretary's remarks, he would not be comfortable recommending assistance to any element in Chile that was not completely identified with the Junta. It was not essential to the success of the Junta that the PDC survive as an entity. He mentioned in this regard the situation in Mexico and Brazil.

Mr. Shlaudeman said that the case of the PDC in Chile was to be distinguished from Brazil and Mexico since the PDC was a real party with a real base, and it was the only real surviving element in the political system. What we were talking about in this proposal was help only in a transitional term. It was perhaps correct to say that the survival of the PDC as a party was not important -- but what was important was that we not give the impression that we had no problems with a right wing dictatorship and that we had no interest in the survival of democracy in Chile after all that we had said over the years. He therefore still felt it would be best to tell the PDC that we would finance it for three to five months but that we were getting out of this kind of activity for good in very short order, that it was up to the PDC to put its house in order.

Mr. Shlaudeman said he was talking only about assistance to the PDC, he was against that part of the proposal that had to do with assistance to [redacted]

Mr. Shlaudeman said that in his view, based on what he knew of the operations in Chile, the security risk would be minimal. The reaction of the junta if it found out about our assistance to the PDC would not be great if our aid went to the more conservative wing of the party and not to that represented by Tomić. Six or seven months from now, he said, the reaction would probably be somewhat sharper.

Mr. Kubisch asked what would happen if in January or February the Junta found out that we had made money available to the PDC. They naturally would ask what the hell we were doing, were we still intervening in Chile; still meddling? If we could say that our program had ended with the overthrow of Allende, our position would be sound, but if, on the other hand, we had to say that we had given a little to help the PDC over a transitional period, wouldn't the reaction be bad?

Mr. Shlaudeman said he really didn't think it would be.

Mr. Kubisch said that when Allende had been president, it was possible to make a case that his opposition should be supported. Now, however, the situation was much different, the right wing was in control. Were we perhaps not saying simply that the situation had gone too far the other way for our taste? In gross terms, when a major threat to US interest was involved, we should use means to correct the condition, no

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matter how extreme they might be. This was not such a case. Just because we did not like a government was no reason to intervene in their countries. He himself didn't like the Junta but he could not see it as a serious, extreme threat to our interests.

Mr. Shlaudeman said he agreed, but said that he was worried about the effects of a drastic, immediate cut off right now, especially since we had been saying every since 1962 that our primary interest in Chile was the survival of democracy.

Mr. Kubisch responded that Chilean democracy had taken the country close to disaster. He felt that, attractive as an orderly disengagement would have been, the present circumstances did not make this the preferable option. There were a lot of things that we favored abroad, that we thought were good things, but simply because we felt that way was no reason to use covert action to see them realized, unless, as he had said before, our interests were actually gravely threatened.

Mr. Kubisch concluded the discussion by saying that he wished to think about the matter a little more, even though he saw little prospect that his mind would change. It was agreed that Mr. Shlaudeman would speak to Ambassador Davis if the latter might advance any considerations that had not be given sufficient attention.

[redacted] NR

T55 *

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Foreign Minister Rabasa - Secretary Kissinger
December 3, 1973
4:15 p.m.

R: I wanted to talk with you to see if its suitable for you. I am thinking of making the meeting in Febrary, the 17th to the 24th, on the understanding that the 17th, a Sunday, the Foreign Ministers would arrive to discuss whatever they have to discuss and propose whatever they wish on the 18th, 19th and 20th and then if you could be so kind as to arrive for the 21st, 22nd and 23rd and go back to your business on the 24th.

K: OK.

R: We are not sure but we are now going to go ahead, but whether it will be Mexico City or Acapulco. Acapulco has problems.

K: It has problems?

R: Well, it has problems with water, there isn't enough water, and other things. We would have to make a big investment and it would be an unnatural thing.

K: Well, it's entirely up to you.

R: Thank you Henry. The only thing to be sure ...I am going to write the Foreign Ministers and the Ambassadors.it is all right for you to arrive the evening of the 20th and leave the 24th, or leave whenever you wish.

K: Are you telling me I have to leave right after....?

R: No, no, you can stay as long as you please, 1 month, 4 months....

K: Thank you, I am thinking of working with people I like.

R: Henry, I received the photo from McBride but the one I would like is the one taken when you were still here in Mexico. You know the one, we are sort of embracing.

K: I will get it for you.

R: So, I am going to officially say you have accepted to stay with us the 21st, 22nd and 23rd, leaving whenever you want. Thank you very much and a big embrasso. Please tell me exactly how you are arriving so I can be there to meet you. It will give me a fine excuse

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 6 NOV 2002 200102979

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to pass New Year's eve in Acapulco. I'm not going to bother you, but....

K: You couldn't bother me. I am delighted.

R: I will be calling you.

sdd:12/4/73

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

(E269)

PAGE 01 SANTIA 06146 142227Z

61
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 DRC-01 /099 W

006743

R 142211Z DEC 73
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6889
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6146

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ✓Der
xemption(s) _____

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, MILI, PFOR, MX, CI
SUBJ: JUNTA MEMBER COMMENTS ON MEXICO

1. FOLLOWING A CEREMONY HONORING THE JUNTA AT THE MILITARY ACADEMY ON DEC 11, I GREETED GENERAL LEIGH, JUNTA MEMBER AND CHILEAN AIR FORCE CINC, AND JOINED A GROUP OF TWO OR THREE OTHER GUESTS WITH WHOM HE WAS CHATTING.

2. IN THE COURSE OF HIS REMARKS, GENERAL LEIGH SAID HE FOUND IT VERY INTERESTING THAT THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED A VERY SERIOUS WARNING FROM THE MEXICAN ARMED FORCES THAT THEY WILL NOT STAND IDLY BY WHILE THE GOVERNMENT LEADS THE COUNTRY TO SOCIALISM.

3. COMMENT: LEIGH MADE THIS STATEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS COMPLAINT ABOUT THE ABSOLUTE CALM WITH WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD WITNESSED CASTRO'S MORE THAN 5,000 SUMMARY EXECUTIONS WITHOUT BENEFIT OF TRIAL. HE CONTRASTED THIS IMPASSIVITY WITH THE OUTRAGE EXPRESSED AT THE ACTION OF THE CHILEAN JUNTA WHICH, ALL TOLD, HAD NOT PRODUCED MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND SEVENTY-ODD DEAD, INCLUDING THOSE FEW SENTENCED TO DEATH AFTER TRIAL BY PROPERLY CONSTITUTED MILITARY TRIBUNALS.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SELF-JUSTIFICATION AND WISHFUL THINKING [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 06146 142227Z

MOTIVATE LEIGHT'S COMMENT ABOUT MEXICO AS MUCH AS ANY HARD INTELLIGENCE AVAILABLE TO GOC.
THOMPSON

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

T92 *

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Marvin Kalb/HAK
December 24, 1973/1:27 p.m.

K: Hello.

MK: Mr. Secretary. How do you feel?

K: Yesterday I was sick as a dog but today I'm recovered.

MK: Good. I didn't figure that a cold could knock you out for more than 24 hours. Listen, I just wanted to check with you briefly on two points. New York is badgering me about your going down to Mexico and I remembered your saying on the plane....

K: I was going...I had a plan to go to Acapulco on Saturday but I almost certainly will cancel it. You know its 98% certain that I'll cancel it.

MK: Right. Secondly, there is a report from Geneva that says that the security people, including Aron had had word on to Palestinian groups coming on land and air sent to Geneva last Thursday to try to disrupt the entire proceedings and they apparently had it in for you and Refid and Waldheim. Had any of this ever got to you.

K: I have to have a [redacted] policy of not commenting on security things but I got alot of threats.

MK: There was alot of that stuff going around. I would think so when I arrived there and all these fellows were standing around with these incredible machineguns.

K: There was some basis for it.

MK: What are you going to be doing today. Work in the State Department.

K: I spent the monring with the President and I'm now on the way to the State Department to have lunch with Fulbright and then I'll work there in the afternoon.

MK: Is there anything special about the President's meetings?
K: No, just going over the situation.

MK: The whole middle East trip.
K: Yeah.
MK: OK Sir. I thank you very much.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 6 NOV 2002 200102979

T91*

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
F.M. Robasa/HAK
December 24, 1973/1:22 p.m.

K: Hello.

R: Hello Henry.

K: Amilio, how are you?

R: I followed you like Jules Verne--all around the world. All followed by success which I'm very glad for you and for your country and for myself as your friend.

K: You are a good friend.

R: Henry, your secretary called me the other day that you were planning to come here instead on the 29th, the 2nd of January.

K: About the 4th.

R: I told her you know you are completely welcome whenever you want although I would have more time if it had been the first date but you are welcome whenever you want Henry. I just want your confirmation what are your plans.

K: Can I call you say after Christmas. One problem is how to get down there because I don't like to travel in a military plane right now/ with the Energy Crisis you see.

R: I understand. I repeat you are always welcome but I hoped you could make it as your firsdt idea was though because we'll have a longer time to speak and to pass the new years -- I would like it very much, no but I would not molest you in any way.

K: I am anxious to talk to you at length.

R: I have some documents prepared for you for this future meeting. Also Henry, I wanted to tell you, why you don't invite when you come here in February, your father and mother. They can either stay with you or at our home and we would like very much to have them here. They can go to social meetings that we are arranging to have or they can stay at home or see what ever they want.

K: I may do that. That's a good idea.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 6 NOV 2002 200102979

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R: Please think about it and I would like to have them at home. We have plenty of space as my daughter is already married as you know and two of my sons are out of Mexico so they will have a nice place to stay. My boys will personally talk care of them and they can go to the social acts that they want and not go to the ones they don't want and we'll treat them very nice and as though they were members of the family.

K: Let's consider that.

R: Alright. Then, you are not decided on the date yet?

K: No. I will know on Wednesday.

R: The 26th. I repeat you are completely welcome at any date.

K: Can I call you on Wednesday.

R: Please do. I'll either be at my office or at my house.

K: AGood. I will call you on Wednesday.

R: OK. And I repeat. Whenever you wish and whatever your plans are it's alright but I do hope that if you can stay by the first date it would be better because we could talk more lengthy and I really would like to give you a new year hug here in Acaculpo.

K: I would like that very much.

R: But any date is suitable for us.

K: Wonderful.

R: OK Henry. My regards to your parents. Think about that idea and I'll expect your call on Wednesday.

K: Thank you. A big abrazo to you.

T93

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Dean Brown - Secretary Kissinger
Dec. 24, 1973
4:30

B: Nice to have you back.

K: Thank you.

D: We felt so lost for awhile. Do you want me to do something about these Jordanians?

K: As long as you give them the feeling that something special was done. Can you do that?

B: But if they really want to talk to you can I say that....

K: Wednesday,....

B: Wednesday, just in case.

K: I also want to talk to you and Nat about appointments.

B: Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 6 NOV 2002 200102979

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SANTIA 06305 272226Z UNCLASSIFIED

70
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 NIC-01 AID-20 DRC-01 /159 W
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R 272124Z DEC 73
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6988
INFO AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
__/__Release ___Excise ___Deny __/__Decla
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6305

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PFOR
SUBJ: EXTRADITION OF ASYLEES

1. SUMMARY. STAGE BEING SET FOR EXTRADITION REQUESTS FOR POLITICAL ASYLEES. END SUMMARY.

2. SEVERAL CASES ARE PENDING WAY THRU CHILEAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND MINFONRELATIONS WHICH MAY BE PRECURSORS OF LARGE NUMBER EXTRADITION REQUESTS TO BE PRESENTED TO FOREIGN GOVTS BY GOC IN COMING MONTHS. GOC'S STATED POSITION IS THAT INDIVIDUALS WHO [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 06305 272226Z

HAVE SOUGHT ASYLUM IN SANTIAGO EMBASSIES AND WHO THE GOVT DETERMINES TO BE PERSECUTABLE FOR COMMON CRIMES WILL NOT BE GRANTED SAFECONDUCTS TO LEAVE COUNTRY UNTIL GOC HAS READY

FOR SIMULTANEOUS PRESENTATION REQUESTS FOR EXTRADITION (SANTIAGO 5810).

3. CURRENTLY OVER 250 ASYLEES HAVE THEIR SAFECONDUCT REQUESTS IN "DEFERRED" STATUS WHILE CHILEAN COURTS BEGIN PROCESS OF AMASSING MATERIAL TO BE USED IN CHARGES AGAINST THEM. BY LAW ALL CASES MUST PASS THRU SUPREME COURT WHICH WILL DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO ASK MINFONRELS TO REQUEST EXTRADITION. PRESUMABLY EXTRADITION WILL NOT BE REQUESTED FROM COUNTRIES WITH WHICH CHILE HAS NO BILATERAL EXTRADITION TREATIES NOR WITH THOSE THAT ARE NOT SIGNATORIES OF INTERNATIONAL ASYLUM TREATIES WHICH CONTAIN EXTRADITION CLAUSES. OTHER THAN GENERAL STATEMENTS TO EFFECT THAT GOC WILL HONOR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, THERE IS NO CLEAR INDICATION HOW JUNTA WILL ULTIMATELY DEAL WITH PROBLEM OF ASYLEES WANTED FOR COMMON CRIMES RESIDING IN EMBASSIES OF LATTER GROUP OF (PRIMARILY EUROPEAN) NATIONS.

4. TO DATE, CASES CONSIDERED BY COURTS HAVE INVOLVED IMPORTANT UNIDAD POPULAR PERSONALITIES PEDRO VUSKOVIC AND PATRICIO PALMA AS WELL AS LESSER LIGHTS. VUSKOVIC, A SOCIALIST, IS FORMER MINECON, CABINET LEVEL CHIEF OF CORFO (CHILEAN DEVELOPMENT CORP) AND MAN MANY CHILEANS BLAME HEAVILY FOR ECONOMIC DISASTER WHICH BEFELL CHILE. VUSKOVIC, WHO CURRENTLY IN RESIDENCE IN MEXICAN EMBASSY, AND 2 OTHER CORFO EMPLOYEES, ARE CHARGED WITH THEFT (HURTO). FISCAL (REVIEWING ATTORNEY) OF SUPREME COURT HAS REVIEWED CASE AGAINST THEM PRESENTED BY LOWER COURT AND HAS RECOMMENDED THAT SUPREME COURT ASK MINFONRELS TO SEEK VUSKOVIC'S EXTRADITION.

5. IN CASE OF COMMUNIST PATRICIO PALMA, FORMER DIRECTOR OF DIRINCO (PRICE CONTROL AGENCY), SUPREME COURT FISCAL RULED THAT CHARGES AGAINST IM DATING FROM BEFORE SEPT 11 COUP FOR PUBLIC BREACH OF FAITH (PREVARICACION) ARE NOT EXTRADITABLE OFFENSES AND THEREFORE RECOMMENDED AGAINST THE COURT SEEKING MINFONRELS' ACTION. PALMA IS REPORTEDLY CURRENTLY IN THE EMBASSY OF HONDURAS. SUPREME COURT MUST NOW DECIDE TO APPROVE OR REJECT RECOMMENDATIONS.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 06305 272226Z

6. CASE WHICH HAS GONE FURTHEST AND WHICH HAS APPARENTLY ALREADY BEEN RECOMMENDED BY SUPREME COURT FOR EXTRADITION INVOLVES JAIME FLORES, FORMER GOC INTERVENTOR OF COBRE CERRILLOS (62 0/0 PHELPS DODGE), WHO ON THE MORNING OF SEPT 11 REPORTEDLY LIFTED COMPANY'S PAYROLL FROM SAFE AND MADE OFF WITH IT AND HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY TO ARGENTINE EMBASSY. CASE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST BECAUSE SUBJECTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN GRANTED SAFECONDUCTS, AND, HAVE LEFT CHILE, ACCORDING TO CHILEAN PRESS, ARE BEING DETAINED AT GOC REQUEST BY ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES. EXTRADITION REQUESTS FOR THEM MAY BE FIRST TO LEAVE MINFONRELS.

7. COMMENT. GIVEN STATE OF INTERNATIONAL OPINION IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE MANY COUNTRIES EXTRADITING CHILEAN POLITICAL ASYLEES. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT EXTRADITION COURSE IS SOMEWHAT FACE-SAVING WAY OF MANEUVERING AROUND STRONG INTERNAL PRESSURES NOT TO LET ALLENDE-ERA PERSONALITIES ESCAPE WITHOUT PUNISHMENT FOR THEIR REAL OR IMAGINED CRIMES.BEGINNING OF EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS IN NO WAY COMMITS GOC TO CLEARING ALL EMBASSIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SOME POLITICAL FIGURES ARE JUST "TOO HOT" TO LET LEAVE COUNTRY. SOME NATIONS, NOTABLY THOSE SUCH AS SWEDEN AND ITALY, WHICH ARE NOT HIGH ON GOC'S FRIENDSHIP LIST, MAY FIND THEMSELVES WITH GUESTS FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. ASYLEES WILL BECOME, IN MANY INSTANCES, HOSTAGES IN INVOLVED BILATERAL DEALINGS. ONE MEMBER OF FRG EMBASSY TOLD EMBOFF RECENTLY THAT ONCE FRG GETS RID OF APPROXIMATELY 50 ASYLES WHO WILL BE PROBABLY GRANTED SAFE-CONDUCTS WITHOUT TROUBLE,IT WILL THEN BEGIN "PUTTING THE PRESSURE ON" TO GET SAFECONDUCTS FOR APPROXIMATELY 30 MORE WHO CURRENTLY IN DEFERRED STATE. ASYLEES AND PROBLEMS THEY CREATE FOR CHILE'S BILATERAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL IMAGE WILL BE ISSUES OF CONCERN FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

THOMPSON

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

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CHILEAN REACTION TO ARMS BAN

A. Immediate Reaction

1. General public reaction. Chilean public reaction to the arms ban has been minimal. News stories have been buried in the international cable pages of the press, and the media have refrained from comment. Thus the Chilean public probably does not yet fully understand the meaning of the ban. When the GOC takes a position, or provides the media with a line to follow, we expect public opinion will follow along.

2. Junta reaction. We do not know specifically, but the ban is one of a continuing series of disappointments. The Junta saw it coming, although belatedly, and presumably had already discounted receiving significant US military help beyond that already committed, i.e. the A-37 and F-5 aircraft. The Junta members probably feel that the US Congress and public were successfuly misled by Marxist propaganda. They will surely feel some resentment, and some dismay over the increase in the military imbalance with Peru which this arms ban signifies. The Junta is not to regard the action as responsible more of pressure and is evidence that the US cannot be relied upon in a critical security area.

3. Junta support. We doubt that the ban has evoked the loss of Junta support. It is too early, and the news has not yet been assimilated. We think it likely that any loss in support over the long term, presumably due to recognition that the Junta's human rights practices have cost Chile some US cooperation, will be offset by a patriotic "rally round the flag" reaction as Chilean world isolation becomes more evident and the Peruvian threat takes on added weight.

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4. Strength and aspirations of the Junta's opponents.

Whether the opponents are heartened depends on who is meant by "opponents." The Soviet Union and Cuba, some of the other countries who have either broken or strained relations with Chile, and the active UP opposition inside and outside Chile (i.e. the parties of the UP, etc.) will be pleased to see this evidence of increasing isolation of the GOC. They probably are somewhat strengthened.

We do not believe that the Christian Democrats should be classified as "opponents" of the Junta. The bulk of that party still does not want to see the Junta overthrown, knowing full well that the alternatives at the moment are worse, and it as patriotic as for as Pérez is concerned. The PDC in general wants some influence on the Junta and improvements in its ways of doing things. The PDC would be heartened by GOC positive attempts to get out of its isolation, which could result in increased influence for it. A general toughening of the GOC line, however, might end up in confrontation, from which the PDC would likely emerge with even less influence and status than it has now.

The reaction of the MIR is irrelevant. It will be happy along with the other Junta-haters to see US support falling off, but it will not change its attitude. And, of course, the arms cut-off makes no difference in the ability of the security forces to hunt down what remains of the MIR--this takes rifles, and good intelligence, not tanks.

full implication will take a while to sink in. It will be seen as making the Junta's job harder, but it is not the end of their world.

7. ~~We foresee~~ There probably will be no fundamental changes in foreign policy, ~~as likely, although~~ but the Junta may ~~well make some tactical changes.~~ be more enterprising. It ~~cannot hope for much support from~~ may seek to deepen its relations with the Third World, ~~which has seen Chile in an unfavorable light,~~ although and Chile has no real community of interests with the communist countries that have maintained relations, ~~(the PRC and Romania)~~ it might be tempted to try playing the PRC against the USSR. We expect the GOC will appoint some civilians to replace military ambassadors, and will open some missions in Africa, where Chile is now unrepresented. ~~But fundamental new departures in foreign policy are unlikely without an equally fundamental change in domestic policies, which it does not appear the GOC is willing to undertake.~~

8. Nasserist dreams. We do not see a radicalization of the regime, the confiscation of foreign property, or an inclination toward foreign adventures.

9. Junta unity. The Junta has been and is unified. As far as we can see, differences within the Junta are measured in relatively small degrees, and rather than a split, we can expect that the Junta members and the Chilean military in general will rally together against what they will be inclined to see as another example of the success of the "Marxist-inspired propaganda campaign" against Chile. The cutoff of military assistance for practical purposes has little effect on internal security practices and only weakens Chile in the face of a perceived classic military threat from outside (Peru). It could

Finally, GOC leaders may take the ban as a sign that the economic blockade they perceive is a growing threat -- i.e., the progressive shutdown of bilateral assistance and a growing reluctance of international financial institutions (and as the IBRD) to entertain Chilean loan applications.

14. Junta perception of how it is seen by others. We believe that the Junta is convinced, as it has said, that it struck a severe blow at "world Marxism" in September 1973, and that the communist/socialist world is determined to retaliate. The enmity of the USSR, Cuba, and most communist countries can thus be taken for granted. The Junta understands that the PRC and Romania continue to maintain relations for special reasons, and hardly deludes itself that ~~they have any real love for it.~~ Chile is the object of true love It apparently believes that many Third World countries have been led astray by the USSR, and that some investment of increased diplomatic attention on its part could be productive in that sector.

The Junta considers that the "Marxist propaganda campaign" has unhappily managed to convince an influential segment of US opinion that Chile is a bloody, fascist dictatorship, as it has also done in the UN, in several other countries in Western Europe, and in Mexico. It may recognize that its human rights practices (and poor handling of public relations) have played a part in adding an element of truth to the campaign, but it does not consider that these have been serious enough to be the cause of all the external censure. Objectively, human rights violations in Chile have probably been little worse (if indeed worse at all) than those in such

other countries in recent years as South Korea, South Vietnam, Greece, Portugal, and Brazil, to say nothing of the USSR and Cuba. The Junta notes that the US, and others, does not take equal exception to the violations in those countries, and is thus led to the conclusion that Chile has been singled out for political reasons. We suspect that the Junta sees a certain domestic political cynicism at work in this arms cutoff to a small, far away country, which cannot retaliate.

Thus the Junta is unlikely to react with real soul-searching, since it considers that the criticism is unfair at best and hypocritical at worst. In the absence of greater pressure, it may eventually react with the same cynicism by attempting to improve its human rights image with measures and pronouncements aimed at catching attention but giving away little or nothing in actual control of the country, or in relaxing its internal security measures.

POL:RSSteven/CRStout:gkl
1.2.74

Approved:DCM:HBThompson

T171 *

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Mr. Hummell/Sec. Kissinger
12:20 p.m. 1/6/74

K: Art, your maniacal Japaneseclients have gone off the reservation again. Tanaka has made a statement rejecting my criticism of their pro-Arab policy

H: Hm huh.

K: Now, when the hell did I criticize their pro-Arab policy.

H I don't know that you ever did.
Is this a news ticker?

K: Yeh. (end of tape0)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 12 NOV 2002 200102979

T169 *

RELEASED IN FULL

Telcon
Sen. Javits/HAK
January 6, 1974 - 11:40 a.m.

K: Hello.

J: Good morning, Henry.

K: Jack, welcome home.

J: And a Happy New Year to you.

K: Happy New Year. Sorry I missed you in Acapulco.

J: What a shame. Everybody was expecting you. The Escadangs were devastated.

K: Well, I.... Why were they devastated? They could use their house.

J: I know, but they were all set to go elsewhere and they'd have been so honored with you.

K: Well, I'll be down eventually.

J: Well, Mary had talked about it and, you know, said what arrangements she was making. She was so proud that you would come down and use it. We missed you because we knew it would do you good.

K: Oh, it would have been great. But first I didn't feel well...

J: Oh you didn't?

K: No. I came back with the flu and....

J: Listen, you and I have to have a very special talk about your physical conditions. You know, in this respect I have the _____ to dictate to you.

K: I wish you would.

J: I'm very serious about it because you know I'm almost twenty years older than you are and I think I'm in a hell of a better shape than you are.

K: That's right.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 MAY 2004 200102979

J: I'd like to, you know, talk to you about that because in the first place you'll have more fun out of life as you go along, and in the second place you're too good a man to run yourself down the drain unthinkingly. On that score, you know.

K: Well, I'd like to see you apart from getting advice on my physical condition.

J: Listen, I'm the maddest tennis player and athlete alive.

K: I know it. In fact, I'm told in Acapulco that you two are trying to time their visit so that you're not there because they don't mind playing with you in the morning but I understand you track them out on the tennis court in the middle of the day.

J: That's bad. (laughter) Oh, I'm not that bad.

K: I forget which Mexican told me that they were in awe of you because not only did you play every day, but you played in mid-day.

J: (laughter) That's wonderful.

Well, Henry, you've been doing lots of things. Have they been going well?

K: They've been going well. You know, we're sitting on a powder keg.

J: I know we are.

K: And in this phase now at last the Israelis have understood that we're saving them rather than destroying them.

J: Yes. And I think you've got a better relationship now with the people of the country and you know, that's very, very important.

K: You mean the Israelis or the Americans?

J: Well, the Americans. I think that's worked around very well. I think you stand well and I... Yeah, I really do, I think that there are always a few sign posts but politically my - as I smell the wind - it's very good as it stands now and especially as you begin to make a team of the Department, which is, I think the very, very big objective, one of those objectives which nobody will give you a medal for but which will make you a historic Secretary of State.

K: Well, I agree with you.

J: You know what I mean? If you stand on their shoulders, which they are

more than willing you should do, but those shoulders have to be stout and strong.

K: Well, you know, my problem has been that after I became Secretary I was immediately thrown into the Middle East crisis. But now I've got all my people appointed and Bill has been very good about confirming them. So I think within two weeks of the Congress coming back all my top people should be confirmed and then I have my own team in there.

J: Very good. I hear Sisco's staying.

K: Sisco is staying. We are going to announce him tomorrow or the day after, as Under Secretary. Do you think that's a good appointment?

J: Very good. I think especially with you he will draw enormous resource from the confidence you will vest in him. He's a man who flowers and blossoms if confidence is vested in him. And he gets very conspiratorial if it's drained away.

K: That's a very sharp observation. You are right.

J: You see, it works in reverse with Joe.

K: In fact, that was one hesitation I had about appointing him because I had just seen his conspiratorial side. But I have now recognized him, in his travels with me that if you work closely with him he is really very loyal. He

J: Not only is he loyal, but you know, he isn't kidding me. He's got damn good standing with the Arabs. And he's earned it, which is all O.K. You know what I mean? And he values it highly, too, which is good too.

K: Now, Jack, I'm thinking of appointing somebody in charge of Congressional relations who's a bit of an off-beat appointment. It's Nat Davis. I don't know whether you know him.

J: I know a little bit about him.

K: He was our Ambassador in Chile. He's the youngest career minister we've got. He was in the Peace Corps with Shriver and when our Ambassador to Guatemala was killed when LBJ was President, he volunteered to go down there as Ambassador. I've had him back here as Director General of the Foreign Service. He's so good that if Sisco hadn't stayed I would have made him Under Secretary. But I thought it would be better to have somebody with substantive knowledge

He can always learn about the Congress but maybe I'm wrong there.

J: Can I be exposed to him?

K: Will you be exposed to him?

J: I say, can I be exposed to him?

K: Sure. Are you in town tomorrow?

J: I will be tomorrow.

K: Would you like to meet him?

J: Yeah. Shall I just call him, or will he call...?

K: I'll ask him to call you.

J: Alright. I'll see him late in the afternoon.

K: Good. Wonderful.

J: That's great. And, Henry, do we need to talk about anything?

K: Well, let's have breakfast. We don't need to talk except, I mean we don't need to talk on an emergency basis.

J: Well, is tomorrow morning agreeable to you, because I'm coming down tonight.

K: Is that the only day you're in town?

J: Well, I could be in town Tuesday morning but it would interfere with the doctor's appointment I have at Bethesda. I could rearrange that.

K: Because I have made an appointment which I could probably change.

J: Well, if you can change it, fine. But if you can't, if you have your office leave a message on this phone I'll do it Tuesday morning and rearrange my appointment at Bethesda.

K: O.K. Could you do it early, as we have staff meeting at 8:00.

J: Or even earlier.

K: Let's do it at 7:45.

J: Quarter of eight. Where? At your office?

K: Yeah.

J: I'll see you then.

K: Good.

J: Now if there is any problem just leave a message.

K: If you don't hear from me we will meet at 7:45.

J: Good. Marion sends love.

K: Send her mine.

J: Good and I'll see you tomorrow.

K: Good.

J: Great.

T170 *

TELCON
Secretary Kissinger/Joe Sisco
1/6/74 12:20 p.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Joe, I already got what I called about.

S: I sent it over a little after 11:30
Was it all right?

K: I had to change two paragraphs;if you don't get better than that Joe I'll--

S: Do you suppose I'm relaxing?

K: I think you are slipping a bit
No it's very good. I changed the end a little bit.

S: You noticed what I was trying to do--I thought I was being very subtle in that last paragraph.

K: No, no you did very well. I'm just spelling it out a little more.
What is your thinking now that you had a chance

S: I still think we've got to go and in view of the fact that Fahmi is leaving around Friday for Moscow I think we ought to be shooting for Wednesday myself

K:But I think Fahmi should put it off

S: That's a little embarrassing, but I bet he sends you back a message in the next 12 or 24 hours saying--of course we struck that sentence out, so he doesn't know we're

K: But I told Eilts to raise it when he gets there

S: And he won't get there until tomorrow night and won't see Fahmi until Tuesday so I think on Tuesday, we'll get a big scream from Fahmi that you do it right away.

K: Yeh, Okay. Bye.

S: Have a good day.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 12 NOV 2002 200102979

EXCISE

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B6

DD60

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EXCISE

UNCLASSIFIED

Jul. 7

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B6

Mrs. Joyce Horman

Dear Mrs. Horman:

In response to our repeated oral and written requests to the Chilean Government for information concerning the circumstances surrounding the death of your husband, we have received from the Chilean Foreign Ministry a note dated December 13, 1973. Upon receipt of the Spanish text of the note, the Department prepared an official translation. I am enclosing for your information the full English text of that note with the exception of those paragraphs which relate exclusively to the death of Mr. Frank Teruggi and as such have no bearing on your husband's case.

The text of the note fails to answer a number of specific questions which were formally submitted to the Chilean Government. The Department, therefore, is continuing its efforts to seek additional information.

Sincerely yours,

Charles T. Anderson, Chief
Welfare/Whereabouts Unit

Enclosure:
As stated

SCA:SCS:DSCandey:bb:1/7/74 Clearances: ARA/LA/PAF:Kate Marsha
ARA/BC/C:AIsaacs

[redacted] POSS DUPE

E319

PAGE 01 SANTIA 00197 142156Z

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73
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-03 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SCA-01 VO-03 SY-10

AID-20 INSE-00 DRC-01 /177 W

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R 142131Z JAN 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7139
INFO AMEMBASSY BERN
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#5199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0197

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINT, PFOR
SUBJ: ASYLEES IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

REF: SANTIAGO 0011 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS EMPTYING AS INFLOW OF ASYLEES HAS FALLEN TO TRICKLE AND GOC CONTINUES TO GRANT SAFE-CONDUCTS FOR THEM TO LEAVE COUNTRY. JUNTA APPARENTLY SOFTENING ITS [redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00197 142156Z

POSITION ON SOME ASYLEES WHO PREVIOUSLY HAD DEPARTURE REQUESTS PLACED IN "DEFERRED" STATUS. COURTS STILL DEALING WITH POSSIBLE EXTRADITION CASES. END SUMMARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

2. LATEST GOC REPORT INDICATES THAT BETWEEN DEC 28 AND JAN 11 ONLY 46 NEW ASYLEES WERE REPORTED TO MINISTRY OF FONRELS. DURING SAME TIME PERIOD GOC GRANTED SAFECONDUCTS TO LEAVE COUNTRY TO APPROXIMATELY 200 ASYLEES OR "GUESTS."

3. ACTUAL STATISTICS AS OF JAN 11 SHOW THAT DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS HAVE GRANTED ASYLUM TO 3,888 INDIVIDUALS SINCE SEPT 11 MILITARY COUP. OF THAT NUMBER SAFECONDUCTS HAVE BEEN GRANTED TO 3,602, 239 HAVE BEEN DEFERRED AND 47 ARE STILL BEING PROCESSED. GOC HAS ALSO GRANTED 558 SAFECONDUCTS TO FOREIGNERS EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY, 714 TO REFUGEES AND 1,902 TO OTHER INDIVIDUALS AS A COURTESY TO DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS.

4. STATISTICS ALSO INDICATE WHICH EMBASSIES WERE MOST FORTHCOMING IN GRANTING ASYLUM STATUS. ARGENTINA LEADS LIST WITH 688 FOLLOWED BY MEXICO (622), FRANCE (533), VENEZUELA (322), SWEDEN (216) AND ITALY (207). AMONG EMBASSIES STILL WITH SIGNIFICANT ASYLEE POPULATIONS ARE MEXICO (45), ITALY (35), VENEZUELA (28), FRANCE (24), FRG (24) AND SWEDEN (21). MOST COUNTRIES WHICH ACCEPTED ASYLEES OR GUESTS STILL HAVE A FEW ON HAND, BUT SOME, FOR INSTANCE CANADA, ARE NOW COMPLETELY EMPTY, OR WILL BE BY END OF WEEK.

5. REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF DEFERRED CASES (FROM 276 TO 239 IN RECENT WEEKS) WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT GOC SIFTING THROUGH ORIGINAL DEFERRAL DECISIONS AND LETTING SOME WELL-KNOWN, BUT RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT FIGURES LEAVE. ONE SUCH CASE IS THAT OF EDUARDO LABARCA, LEFTIST AUTHOR AND POLEMICIST, WHO LEFT OVER WEEKEND TO TAKE UP RESIDENCE, AT LEAST INITIALLY, IN COLOMBIA.

6. CHILEAN SUPREME COURT CONTINUES TO REVIEW EXTRADITION REQUESTS DEVELOPED BY LOWER COURTS; HOWEVER, NO NEW DEVELOPMENTS HAVE COME FORTH SINCE SUBJECT LAST REPORTED ON IN SANTIAGO 6305.
THOMPSON

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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FACT SHEET -- HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE
(Prepared January 15, 1974.)

(Z16B)

Figures without asterisk are from public sources.

Total arrested in Chile since September 11		13,500*
Arrested originally and held in National Stadium in Santiago		7-8,000
Released from Stadium		6,500
Presently held in Stadium		0
Detained as of December 31, 1973		3,637*
Detained in Military School	45*	
Detained in Chile Stadium	420*	
Detained in Chacabuco	1,250*	
Detained in Valparaiso	620*	
Detained on Dawson Island	42*	
Detained on Quiriquina Island	360*	
Detained in public jails	400*	
Detained at military bases or police stations	500*	
Executions acknowledged		100 (app
Executions according to intelligence source		320*
Number killed attempting to escape military custody		40
American citizens detained (27 detainees had been released by October 17)		0
American citizens dead since coup		2
Chilean & foreigners who sought "guest" status or asylum in foreign embassies		3,888
Received safeconducts	3,602	
Safeconducts in process	47	
Safeconducts "deferred" indefinitely	239	
Safeconducts issued to others		3,043
Total Safeconducts issued (as of 1/11/74)		6,776
Refugees who have left Chile (as of 1/4/74)		3,500
Additional Refugees scheduled to leave Chile by 2/3/74		1,500
Estimated refugees still "underground"		500-2,000
Total dead: According to Chilean authorities (private source)		1,070
According to Barnes article in October 8 Newsweek		2,796
According to October 21 Washington Post article on CIA Director Colby's statement to Congressional Committee		2-3,000
Recent		1,500*

(81)

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as (S) Downgrade to ___
Date 4/11/00 Declassify on ___ Reason 25X1

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) b1 b3

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ACTION ARA-20

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 SR-02 ORM-03 SCA-01 VO-03 SSO-00 NSCE-00

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R 162134Z JAN 74
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INFO AMEMBASSY BERN
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AMEMBASSY LIMA
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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
US MISSION GENEVA 312
US MISSION USUN NEW YORK 701

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0250

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINT, PFOR
SUBJ: GOC REAFFIRMS ASYLEE POLICY

REF: SANTIAGO 0197 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. FONMIN HUERTA HAS REAFFIRMED GOC DECISION TO GRANT SAFECONDUCTS TO ALL ASYLEES CURRENTLY IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, END SUMMARY.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00250 162216Z

2. IN LENGTHY RESPONSE TO DEC 17 LETTER ADDRESSED TO HIM BY COLOMBIAN FONMIN ALFREDO VASQUES CARRIZOSA, GOC FONMIN

UNCLASSIFIED

ISMAEL HUERTA INDULGED IN SOME SELF-PRAISE ABOUT CHILE'S HANDLING OF ASYLEE MATTERS AND BY INFERENCE REAFFIRMED STATED GOC POSITION THAT SAFECONDUCTS WILL EVENTUALLY BE GRANTED TO ALL ASYLEES.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. VASQUEZ' LETTER HAD ASKED THAT HUERTA SPEED UP ISSUANCE OF SAFECONDUCTS FOR 9 CHILEANS WHO AT TIME OF WRITING WERE STILL IN COLOMBIAN EMBASSY. TWO OF 9 HAVE SINCE RECEIVED PERMISSION TO DEPART COUNTRY, LEAVING AMONG THE 7 REMAINING WELL-KNOWN UP PERSONALITIES CARMEN LAZO (SOCIALIST PARTY -- PS -- CONGRESS-WOMAN), HERNAN DEL CANTO (PS CABINET MEMBER) ADONIS SEPULVEDA (PS LEADER) AND OSCAR GUILLERMO GARRETON (HEAD OF VOCIFEROUS AND VIOLENCE-ORIENTED SMALL MAPU PARTY). LATTER IS PARTICULAR BETE NOIRE OF JUNTA WHO IS ON VARIETY OF "MOST WANTED" LISTS AND WHOM CHILEAN NAVY HAD FORMALLY CHARGED IN MILITARY COURTS WITH TREASON EVEN BEFORE SEPTEMBER COUP.

4. IN HIS RESPONSE HUERTA RECOUNTED GOC'S "EXTREME GENEROSITY" IN PROVIDING SAFECONDUCTS TO LEAVE COUNTRY TO 3,419 ASYLEES (LATEST FIGURE ACTUALLY 3,602), MANY OF THEM IN EMBASSIES WHICH NOT SIGNA-TORIES OF ASYLUM TREATIES. HUERTA ALSO PROMISED THAT THOSE REMAIN-ING IN COLOMBIAN EMBASSY WILL BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE WHEN GOC HAS FINISHED INVESTIGATIONS TO DETERMINE WHETHER SAFECONDUCTS WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY SIMULTANEOUS PRESENTATION OF EXTRADITION REQUESTS.

5. COMMENT. GOC HAS STATED FOR LAST FEW MONTHS THAT ALL ASYLEES AND "GUESTS" IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS WILL EVENTUALLY GET SAFECONDUCTS TO LEAVE COUNTRY, THOUGH EXTRADITION MIGHT BE ASKED FOR SOME. RECOGNITION THAT GARRETON AND OTHERS WILL BE GIVEN SAFECONDUCT IS IMPLICIT REAFFIRMATION OF THIS POLICY. TWO OF MANY UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ARE ""HOW LONG IS EVENTUALLY" AND WHETHER GOC WILL REQUEST EXTRADITION OF ASYLEES IT DETER-MINES TO BE WANTED FOR COMMON CRIMES FROM NATIONS WITH WHICH IT HAS NO EXTRADITION TREATIES. CASE NOW WENDING ITS WAY THROUGH COURT SYSTEM WHICH SEEKS EXTRADITION OF FORMER COMMUNIST GOVERNOR (INTENDENTE) OF CONCEPCION PROVINCE VLADIMIR LENIN CHAVEZ, CURRENTLY RESIDENT IN EMBASSY OF FRG (COUNTRY WITH WHICH [redacted]

[redacted]

CHILE HAS NO EXTRADITIONTREATY), MIGHT GIVE SOME INDICATION, ONCE RESOLVED, OF WHAT GOC POLICY WILL BE.
THOMPSON

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

Z220 R

[redacted]

January 17, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Subject: Former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. Orlando Letelier del Solar

On January 14 Mr. Robert Elliott, Deputy General Counsel of HUD, came to visit me in his capacity as attorney for former Ambassador Letelier of Chile, and as President of the Fundacion Chile. He gave me the attached copy of a letter from Dr. Naomi M. Kanof (a dermatologist who happens to be known to me personally) noting that Letelier had been under treatment by Dr. Kanof for skin cancer. Dr. Kanof asserts that exposure to sun and wind could result in multiple cancers, and Mr. Elliott wanted me to be aware of this possibility in view of the fact that Letelier is evidently confined on an island where such exposure very likely occurs.

I told Mr. Elliott that, as he recognized, this was a matter involving the Chilean Government and one of its own nationals, in which the U.S. had no standing to interfere. I said I would bear the information about Letelier's health in mind if the subject should be mentioned to me after my arrival in Chile, but that he should not assume that the U.S. Government could or would take any effective action. Elliott said he understood the position.

David H. Popper

Attachment

[redacted]

82D280, 13623

January 23, 1974

AA92

Mr. Charles Anderson
ARA-LA-PAF
Rm. 3491-A
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C., 20520

Mr. Anderson:

In light of recent statements made by the Chilean Armed Forces and the U.S. State Department regarding the circumstances surrounding the murders of Frank Teruggi and Charles Horman, I feel called upon to clarify in writing some of the relevant facts.

Frank Teruggi and I were arrested in our home (Hernan Cortes 2575, Santiago) at approximately 20:15, September 20, 1973. No explanation was ever given us as to why we were arrested, nor was a search warrant or order of arrest ever shown. For that reason I believe there may have been no formal order of arrest ever issued, and also because when we were turned over to Carabineros at the Escuela de Sub-Oficiales near Plaza Zanartu, the arresting officer had to present us to them, explaining who we were, showing the books they had stolen from the house, etc. The officers on duty did not seem to be expecting us.

We were taken to the National Stadium that same night, and informally interrogated (separately) by an Army officer. The officer told me he believed Frank was a member of a leftist political party(he did not specify which, and seemed to be fishing for information on Frank from me), and Frank subsequently told me that the officer had not told him the same thing about me, nor had Frank told the officer he belonged to any party.

Frank was taken from the cell where we were being held at approximately 18:00 on September 21, and I never saw him alive again. The Chilean military claim he was released for lack of suspicion at this point, but there are a number of facts which make that impossible to believe, and leave numerous questions unanswered.

1. No prisoners were released, to my knowledge, within one day of their arrest. I talked to several persons in the stadium (who had not been arrested with Marxist literature or other materials which the military would deem "derogatory") who were aware of no charges or suspicions against them, and nevertheless were being held indefinitely. I myself was arrested under the same un-"derogatory" circumstances as Frank, and nonetheless was detained six days.

2. No prisoners were released less than an hour before curfew. If they were ready for release after 19:00, they would still be held at least until the next morning. It would have

Chile Project (#S19900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ___(3)(

been very difficult (even were it the normal practice) for the military to conduct a formal (recorded) interrogation clearing Frank of the previous evening's purported suspicions, and then complete the necessary paperwork and picture-taking in order to release him by an hour, or even less, before the 20:00 curfew.

3. Even had the interrogation, paperwork and picture-taking been done, the Chilean military would have them in its possession, and could show them publicly, with Frank's signature. Mr. Edmund Horman was in the National Stadium and was shown the release papers for "all" the U.S. citizens who had been held there. Charles Horman's papers were not there, and neither were Frank Teruggi's. But Frank certainly was held in the stadium. The Chilean military, like others, prides itself for being organized, disciplined and methodical in its procedures. If Frank Teruggi had been released normally, how could this be explained? (In addition, if papers are lacking relating to Frank's period of detention, then how can a lack of papers relating to Charles Horman's detention be taken as tantamount to his not having been detained?)

All of this leads me to believe, contrary to the military's allegation that Frank was released by them and fell victim to armed leftists, that he must have been in the custody of the Chilean military at the time of his death by multiple bullet wounds.

I leave you with these facts and questions, not without admitting certain pessimism about the possibilities for having them answered by further official investigations, but hoping that one way or another more light can be shed on the true circumstances and their implications as regards the murders of Frank and Charles.

Very sincerely yours,

[redacted]

BC

cc.: Mr. Frank Teruggi, Sr.
Mr. Edmund Horman

[redacted]

E-6

PAGE 01 MEXICO 00603 240045Z

14
ACTION EB-11

UNCLASSIFIED

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 RSC-01 TRSE-00

ARA-16 AEC-11 ISO-00 DRC-01 AID-20 USIA-15 PA-04

PRS-01 /081 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9724
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/18 Date: 11/19/97
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[redacted] MEXICO 0603

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B1 Exemptions
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TS authority to

EXCON

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS: ESTC, MX, CU, AR
SUBJECT: PRESS REPORT OF RELAXATION OF TRADE RESTRICTIONS FOR CUBA

NOVEDADES JANUARY 23 CARRIES EFE REPORT DATELINED WASHINGTON THAT USG WILL AUTHORIZE US CAR MANUFACTURERS IN ARGENTINA TO EXPORT CARS AND HEAVY VEHICLES TO CUBA. THIS REPORT MAY GENERATE NEW INQUIRIES FROM US FIRMS IN MEXICO, PRIMARILY AUTOMOTIVE SUPPLIERS, WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY TURNED DOWN SALES OPPORTUNITIES TO CUBA BECAUSE OF USG RESTRICTIONS. REQUEST COMMENT ON REPORT AND APPROPRIATE GUIDANCE IF REPORT IS TRUE.
MCBRIDE

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

T248 1*

TELECON
Mr. Kubisch/Secretary Kissinger
January 23, 1974
4:16 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

K: The schedule for that Mexican Foreign Ministers Conference -- what time do I have to be there?

Kubisch: You are expected to arrive on Wednesday, the 20th, late in the day and participate on Thursday, Friday and part of Saturday.

K: I have been trying to take a vacation and find a time to do it.

Kubisch: I know. What about going to the conference and staying on after that?

K: I can't because I have a speech to do on the 28th.

Kubisch: I had understood you were trying to go sometime in early February.

K: That I can't do either because I have to prepare for the energy conference.

Kubisch: You know you did offer to go to Panama on the 6th and 7th of February and on Tuesday the 5th we are having a seminar of all of the scholars and ex government officials and congressmen to discuss our Latin American policy just for a day.

K: Is it possible to move the Panama thing to the 7th and 8th?

Kubisch: I was going to suggest if you want to you can. They come back on Friday from an extensive trip. You could do it almost any day, any day next week if you wanted to.

K: No, no..let me do it on the 7th and 8th..let me think about it and I'll let you know.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 NOV 2002 200102979

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T2660

TELECON
Secretary Kissinger/Foreign Minister Rabasa
January 24, 1974, 8:15 p.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Emilio, how are you? How nice to hear from you.

R: Fine. You have _____ come over.

K: Well, I feel strongly about everything you've done.

R: I have explained to Miss Andrews that the President...

K: Well, I probably will not be able to come on the 1st. I will probably have to put it off until after our Mexico meeting. But I'm anxious to see you.

R: Can I meet you in Washington? Let's say the 4th.

K: When?

R: The 4th of February.

K: How about next week?

R: Let me see. Let me see, please. One moment, please.

K: Yes.

R: I have Canadian meeting next week - 28th and 29th. I can meet you the 31st.

K: I'm just looking over my schedule.

R: It would be better the 4th of February.

K: Since I'm holding up a lot of my own work until I can talk with you, I would like to have it as early as possible. You can't do it on the 28th?

R: No. I have Foreign Minister of Canada 28th and 29th here.

K: Right.

R: From Monday on up to the 5th.

K: How about the 30th?

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 NOV 2002 200102979

R: Fine.

K: Now, the only thing is...

R: I would prefer 31st because I don't know what time they're leaving.

K: I'll get Kubisch to call you in the morning.

R: The President is going to Austria, to Yugoslavia, to Rome, and to Germany, and I'll be with him on the trip. It is o.k. from the 31st up to the 4th included.

K: My problem is that I'm holding up a lot of my own work until I get your ideas -- also on procedures, etc.

R: That's what I want to speak to you about.

K: Should Kubisch come down earlier? But of course you'll be tied up the 28th and 29th.

R: That's the problem. I can have our Ambassador give the papers to Kubisch.

K: All right.

R: I will be with you the 31st, 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th.

K: Let's aim for the 31st.

R: Fine.

K: That's fine. Terrific.

R: I'll call my Ambassador to tell him to hand over the papers to Kubisch tomorrow, and I meet with you the 31st.

K: I look forward very much to seeing you next week.

R: Muchas abazos, Henry. Remember, we want your _____ in Mexico.

K: You are great.

R: A big abrazo, Henry.

END

1*
T267

TELECON
Mr. Donaldson/Secretary Kissinger
January 24, 1974
8:39 PM

RELEASED IN FULL

D: I want to ask you about the upcoming Church subcommittee on oil. They want to make public all of Jim Akins' testimony. There's a lot of stuff in that testimony that would do us some damage if released at this time.

K: Like what?

D: A lot of nasty remarks about different monarchs. A lot of hearsay stuff about deals with oil companies.

K: What do you suggest?

D: I suggest we get Stan Anderson up there tomorrow and have him edit out some stuff. They're willing to listen to him. To ask them to put Jack Erwin's testimony off the record, which would be damaging to the oil embargo. There's a lot of personal opinion in there by Akins, represented as Government opinion. I wouldn't care so much of that.

K: I agree with you, it should be done. It's good of you to ask and I agree.

D: Good.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 NOV 2002 200102979

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00424 281715Z UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-20 NSC-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7279

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 424

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CI
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. I CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER HUERTA AT HIS REQUEST AT 5:00 P.M. JANUARY 25. THE MEETING LASTED APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR AND FORTY-FIVE MINUTES. ALSO PRESENT WERE FOREIGN MINISTRY ECONOMIC ADVISOR CLARO, DIRECTOR U.S. AFFAIRS GOICOLEA AND JAIME LAGOS OF DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTER RAISED FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: CHILEAN ROLE AT FORTHCOMING MFM IN MEXICO, GOC INVITATION TO SECRETARY TO VISIT CHILE, AND FOREIGN MINISTER'S REQUEST FOR BILATERAL WITH SECRETARY AT MEXICO.

3. I RAISED FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: OUR REQUEST FOR EXEMPTION FOR SHIPMENT OF HORMAN REMAINS, MY NOTE REQUESTING SPECIFIC ANSWERSTO EARLIER QUESTIONS ON HORMAN AND TERUGGI CASES, ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL PROBLEM, COPPER NEGOTIATIONS, ANDEAN CODE RESTRICTIONS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT, AND AMBASSADOR POPPER'S ARRIVAL DATE.

4. FOREGOING SUBJECTS WILL BE REPORTED SEPARATELY.
THOMPSON

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00522 012034Z

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ACTION ARA-20

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-03 SCS-03 SCA-01 USIE-00 CIAE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7333
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0522

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CASC, EI, (WINN, PETER EDWARD)
SUBJ: W/W: ASSISTANCE TO US RESEARCHER PETER E. WINN, B. 16FEB 1942, NEW YORK, PPT D1447397 ISS NEW YORK 11 JUNE 1973

REF: STATE 12612, SANTIAGO 492

1. EMBASSY WAS ADVISED SHORTLY PRIOR TO 1200 HOURS, 30 JAN 1974, BY ONE OF PARTNERS OF YARUR TEXTILE FACTORY, THAT AMCIT PETER WINN HAD JUST BEEN TAKEN FROM FACTORY TO TACNA REGIMENT BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES. CONSULAR OFFICER CALLED TACNA REGIMENT AND WAS TOLD AMCIT HAD NOT RPT NOT BEEN DETAINED, BUT RATHER "INVITED" TO DISCUSS HIS SITUATION AT REGIMENT, BECAUSE HAD BEEN IN FACTORY WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION FROM PROPER AUTHORITIES AND BECAUSE PRESS CARD HE CARRYING NO LONGER VALID. REGIMENT OFFICER SAID WINN NOT UNDER ARREST AND THERE NO CHARGES AGAINST HIM BUT WOULD BE ASKED TO DISCUSS CASE LATER WITH MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

2. AT APPROX 1500 HOURS SAME AFTERNOON, WINN, WHO DESCRIBED SELF AS ECONOMIC HISTORIAN IN HISTORY DEPT OF PRINCETON UNIV., WRITER AND CORRESPONDENT FOR LONGHORN RADIO NETWORK (AFFILIATED WITH U OF TEXAS), CAME TO CONSULATE TO REPORT ABOVE INCIDENT.

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

SAID THAT AT APPROX 1130 HOURS HE HAD BEEN APPROACHED AT YARUR PLANT BY ARMY OFFICER IN CHARGE OF SECURITY AND TOLD HE HAD BEEN DENOUNCED BY ONE OF WORKERS AS BEING "LEFTIST AGITATOR" WHO HAD VISITED PLANT DURING ALLENDE PERIOD AND HAD BEEN FRIENDLY

[redacted]

WITH UP CHIEFS OF THEN-INTERVENED FACTORY. WINN SAID HE WAS TAKEN TO TACNA REGT, TREATED COURTEOUSLY, AND QUIZZED ABOUT REASONS FOR PRESENCE AT FACTORY AND WHY HAD NOT REQUESTED APPROPRIATE PERMISSION FOR VISIT. AT APPROX 1300 HOURS WAS TOLD COULD DEPART BUT CASSETTE RECORDER, RECORDED CASSETTE AND APPARENTLY OUT-OF-DATE PRESS CARD WERE RETAINED. WINN SAID HE WAS TOLD TO STAY CLOSE TO RESIDENCE SO MILITARY COULD CALL HIM.

3. CONSULATE MADE REPEATED ATTEMPTS FOR OVER THREE HOURS TO CALL TACNA REGIMENT TO TRY TO CLARIFY SITUATION, WITHOUT SUCCESS--LINE WAS ALWAYS BUSY. DURING THIS TIME JUNTA PRESS SECRETARY FEDERICO WILLOUGHBY ADVISED CONSUL THAT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED ABOUT WINN CASE. HE SUGGESTED WINN COMPLY WITH "APPOINTMENT" AT REGIMENT, AND THEN VISIT WILLOUGHBY PERSONALLY AFTER GETTING NEW PRESS CARD. MILITARY ATTACHE WAS ADVISED.

4. WINN WAS ADVISED BY CONSULAR OFFICERS THAT HE WAS WELCOME TO STAY AT EMBASSY OR CONSULATE IF HE FELT SELF IN DANGER. WHEN HE INDICATED HE DID NOT, IT WAS SUGGESTED TO HIM THAT HE STAY AT HOME TO AWAIT CONTACT FROM MILITARY AUTHORITIES. HE WAS GIVEN HOME PHONE NUMBERS OF THREE CONSULAR OFFICERS IN CASE IT NECESSARY TO CONTACT.

5. AT APPROX 2000 HOURS THAT EVENING, WINN CALLED CONSULAR OFFICER TO ADVISE HE GOING OUT BRIEFLY AND HAD HAD NO CALLS FROM MILITARY. AT APPROX 2200 HE CALLED AGAIN TO ADVISE THAT HE WAS AT RESIDENCE OF CBS REPORTER FRANK MANITZAS, AND THAT MILITARY PATROL HAD COME THERE AND REQUESTED HE ACCOMPANY THEM TO TACNA REGIMENT. CONSULAR OFFICER SPOKE WITH OFFICER IN CHARGE OF PATROL AND ACCOMPANIED PATROL AND WINN TO REGIMENT. MILITARY ATTACHE ALSO ADVISED OF THIS DEVELOPMENT. THERE WINN WAS QUESTIONED ABOUT HIS ACTIVITIES AND ASSOCIATIONS BY COMMANDING OFFICER OF REGIMENT. CONSULAR OFFICER, WHO PRESENT, AND WINN, AGREED OFFICER WAS COURTEOUS BUT FIRM. MILITARY OFFICER ADVISED WINN HE HAD TO MAKE REPORT NEXT DAY TO SUPERIORS, THAT WINN WAS FREE TO GO AND WOULD BE ADVISED, EITHER AT HOME OR THRU CONSULATE OF NEXT APPOINTMENT. AS IT WAS THEN AFTER CURFEW, MILITARY PATROL TOOK WINN AND [redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 00522 012034Z

CONSULAR OFFICER TO LATTER'S HOME WHERE WINN SPENT NIGHT.

6. ON 31 JANUARY, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND MILITARY ATTACHE ATTEMPTED, WITHOUT SUCCESS TO FIND OUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN WINN'S CASE. CONSUL ADVISED FONOFF OF SITUATION. IN EARLY EVENING, CONSULATE WAS ADVISED BY REGIMENT THAT WINN SHOULD APPEAR MORNING OF 1 FEB AT 1030 HOURS. WINN AGAIN ADVISED BY CONSUL THAT HE WAS WELCOME TO STAY AT EMBASSY, BUT HE DECLINED OFFER AND PROMISED TO ADVISE IF HE LEFT HIS RESIDENCE. HE WAS ALSO OFFERED EMBASSY'S ASSISTANCE IN GETTING SAFE CONDUCT, BUT HE DECLINED, SAYING HE ALREADY HAD ARRANGED TO LEAVE ON OWN ON FLIGHT TO BUENOS AIRES 2 FEB. WHEN CONSUL ATTEMPTED TO CALL [redacted]

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WINN AT RESIDENCE ON THREE OCCASIONS EVENING OF 31 JAN, THERE WAS NO ANSWER. AT APPROX 2200 HOURS, WINN CALLED CONSUL TO ADVISE HE HAD AGAIN GONE TO HOME OF FRANK MANITZAS AND WOULD SPEND NIGHT THERE. CONSUL ADVISED HIM OF APPOINTMENT AT 1030 NEXT DAY.

UNCLASSIFIED

7. WINN CAME TO CONSULATE AT 1025 AND WAS ACCOMPANIED TO REGIMENT BY CONSULAR OFFICER. REGIMENT COMMANDER INFORMED CONSULAR OFFICER, NOT IN PRESENCE OF WINN, THAT THERE WAS EVIDENCE TO INDICATE WINN WAS LEFTIST, SYMPATHIZER OF ALLENDE REGIME AND THAT HIS PRESENCE WAS INIMICAL TO CHILEAN INTERESTS. COMMANDER SHOWED CONSULAR OFFICER LETTER WINN HAD WRITTEN FROM PRINCETON ON 1 APRIL 1973 TO UP CHIEF OF YARUR FACTORY EXPRESSING SYMPATHY FOR ALLENDE REGIME AND ITS GOALS. COMMANDER THEN TALKED TO WINN AND CONSULAR OFFICER TOGETHER AND INFORMED WINN HE WOULD BE ASKED TO LEAVE CHILE. WINN INDICATED HE HAD ALREADY MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO DO SO. COMMANDER INDICATED HE WOULD SEND REPORT TO FONOFF WHICH WOULD INFORM EMBASSY BY NOTE (NOT YET RECEIVED). HE RETURNED WINN'S CASSETTE RECORDER, BUT KEPT CASSETTE THAT CONTAINED CONVERSATIONS AT YARUR FACTORY.

8. WINN PROCEEDS TO MAKE ARRANGEMENT TO DEPART. AS REPORTE
E E E E E E E E

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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T319

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
David Packard - Secretary Kissinger
February 1, 1974
6:50 p.m.

P: ____Let me say its just great.

K: Aren't you nice.

P: What I want to find out, Henry, is there any possibility you can come to our Business Council dinner on the 13th in Washington.

K: I am tentatively planning to do it.

P: Oh great. The thing is, as I suggested, I think this gang could help a little bit in various ways, and we'll be delighted.

K: I'm planning to do it.

P: While we're on the phone we haven't been able to break losse on the matter I talked to you about, the licenses with China. If you are going to be there on the 13th though rather than bother you now let's do it then.

K: Yes, let's do it on the 13th.

P: Thank you Henry. You're doing a great job, and ....carry on.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 NOV 2002 200102979

T311

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Speaker Carl Albert/Sec. Kissinger
Friday, Feb. 1, 1974
12:35 p.m.

K: Mr. Speaker.

A: Yes, sir.

K: How are you? I enjoyed the lunch very much yesterday. Mr. Speaker, I am calling you about a conference in Mexico City of the Foreign Ministers of the Western Hemisphere in which we are trying to bring about a new departure in Western Hemisphere relationships and it looks as if we are going to make very good progress there. Several of the countries and especially Mexico are putting on their delegations the Speaker of their assembly and also where they have a senate the senior member of the senate and we were wondering if you might consider an invitation to join our delegation. It would mean an enormous...

A: I would certainly like very much -- I would like to do so if it is at the right time.

K: Feb. 20 to 23.

A: Feb. 20 to 23. I don't have my appointments secretary here.

K: You don't have to answer this minute. If you could let us know in the course of the day or even early next week.

A: Right. I will get back in touch early next week. I would like to go. I am fairly well familiar with Mexico.

K: I told it to the Mexican Foreign Minister that I would like to invite you and he told me you speak good Spanish.

A: I speak it will enough to get by.

K: I said having heard you another night, I did not want to compete with you in a country where you could speak the language.

A: I am not that good. I can get by.

K: If you want to leave on Friday night that would be done. You would not have to stay until the end.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 NOV 2002 200102979

A: I will have to get back in touch with you because of certain engagements I have. Can I do that?

K: Absolutely.

A: I have several appointments to get out on that have to do with helping members of Congress.

K: Of course. I would think if you could come for any part of it but if for just a part, it would be better in the beginning than the end.

A: Better in the beginning.

K: Better to go the middle.

A: The 20th and 21st than coming down (later).

K: But any part of it would be good. But there is a very solemn opening ceremony and it would be very nice if we could have you there.

A: I would like very much to do it if I can get away.

K: Mike Mansfield is coming.

A: He is.

K: Definitely going.

A: When is Mike going down. I will see what I can do.

K: On the 20th.

A: I will see what I can do and be back with you early next week.

END

T320

RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
George Vest/Secretary Kissinger
February 1, 1974
6:59 PM

V: Marilyn Berger took it up with her editor. For the moment they want her to write a story.

K: Is she going to use all of it?

V: She's coming to see me tomorrow morning to go over it with me. I don't know how far she's willing to go through with this. I'll see her tomorrow morning.

K: OK.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 NOV 2002 200102979

T336

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Foreign Minister Rabassa - Secretary Kissinger
February 4, 1974
11:40 a.m.

R: How's Mr. Gromyko?

K: Well, he's just arriving.

R: Not as nice as your Mexican Foreign Minister.

K: That's the truth.

R: I'm just calling to say good bye, and to thank you for all your kindness and...

K: Not at all, have a very good trip.

R: Henry from the logistic point of view, the most important Mexican paper is the Excelsior, the Most important television man by the name of _____wolski and the most important magazine is called Siempre, that means always, Now, the man for the television has a correspondent here by the name of Ilando Sanchez. Would you mind, not on a different date on the same day, could you give him 15-20 minutes of your ti me so he could make something in view of the conference, then it will come out in the evening papers. From the Excelsior I will try to bring the top man, who is man called Shirz (phon.)

K: OK, I will do my best.

R: If you would just talk 15-20 minutes to television, the papers and the magazine.

K: I couldn't do it before the end of next week.

R: No, no, I will have our Ambassador call Kubisch or you, just sometime before the meeting. I will tryp to have the top man in the news media speak with you

K: Good, I will do it. Emilio you have saved the Latin American conference. You destroyed my bureau which will not survive it.

R: Henry in all history you will be the only Secretary of State who spent his time and _____ to Latin America.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 19 NOV 2002 200102979

K: I am counting on you to help me at the conference.

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Rabassa Page Two.

R: I am going to be very careful to make sure everything comes out nice and comfortable, frank atmosphere.

K: Good.

R: Thank you, Henry, and goodbye.

T352

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Larry Eagleburger/Secretary Kissinger
2/8/74 9:13 a.m.

K: What do you think of a press conference today?

LE: I think that you ought to do it, but I think that I am not agreed with by most. You are going to get an awful lot on energy sir,

K: What is the advantage--what am I getting out of it?

E: Hopefully you can set the stage for Mexico City, hopefully, you

K: Mexico City, I can do after the energy conference

E: Hopefully you can put the energy conference in context, so that they don't expect the goddamn world to come out of it; that is my biggest concern. That you are going to be blamed if it doesn't come out with great glowing success--that is the thing I'm concerned about that I would hope you would do--
I admit there are dangers. My biggest concern is the press is going look for a defeat out

K: The press is going to look for a defeat out of this conference, no matter what we do

E: I know that--but I am saying to the extent you can cool that in advance--
The other answer is the backgrounder on the energy conference--maybe that will do it.

K: I just think that they will get into tapping again--the Radford case --they are going to get into blackmail

E: On energy, you mean

K: Well on the embargo--why the President said what he did.

E: I thought about it last night--I think it is a close call either way and if you think they are going to get into Radford--then I guess --I'm concerne about the conference--that is my biggest concern--maybe a backgrounder would handle it then.
But I think something needs to be done before that--conf.....[end tape]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 17 MAY 2004 200102979

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00661 102337Z

61
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7426
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SANTIAGO 661

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CI
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY KUBISCH MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUERTA.

[redacted]UENOS AIRES FOR ASST SECRETARY KUBISCH

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY KUBISCH AND FOREIGN MINISTER HUERTA MET AT 12:00 NOON FEBRUARY 10. OTHER PARTICIPANTS WERE AMBASSADOR POPPER AND DCM THOMPSON (U.S.) AND RICARDO CLARO, FONMIN ECONOMIC ADVISOR (CHILE).

2. IN CORDIAL MEETING LASTING ALMOST TWO HOURS, KUBISCH RAISED FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: PURPOSES HIS TRIP, MEXICO MFM, GOC INVITATION TO SECRETARY TO VISIT CHILE, U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHILE, EXEMPTION FOR SHIPMENT OF HORMAN REMAINS, GOC REPLIES TO PENDING QUESTIONS ON HORMAN AND TERUGGI CASES, AND ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL PROBLEM.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER HUERTA RAISED FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: REQUEST TO USG FOR ASSISTANCE UNDER PL-480 TO DEAL WITH DIFFICULT SHORT-TERM FOOD SUPPLY SITUATION; NEED FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE WITH LONGER-TERM ECONOMIC PROBLEM, INCLUDING BOTH DEBT RESCHEDULING BY PARIS

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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CLUB AND RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT; AND GOC CONCERN ABOUT PERU.

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4. ABOVE SUBJECTS WILL BE REPORTED INDIVIDUALLY IN SEPTELS.
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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-20 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02
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CIEP-02 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
USIE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 L-03 NSC-10 PA-04 PRS-01
SS-20 SAM-01 STR-08 NIC-01 DRC-01 /156 W
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5319

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BRASILIA FOR ARA ASST SECY KUBISCH FROM KREBS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, ECON, ETRD, EFIN, EIND, CU, AR
SUBJECT: KUBISCH/VIGNES MEMCON: CUBAN DENIAL POLICY

1. SUMMARY. ASST SECRETARY KUBISCH TOLD FONMIN VIGNES THAT POTENTIAL SALES BY ARGENTINE SUBSIDIARIES OF US FIRMS TO CUBA HAS RAISED VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR USG. HE ASKED VIGNES WHETHER, IN LIGHT OF FORGOING, GOA MIGHT BE DISPOSED TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES IN ORDER TO PREVENT THIS PROBLEM FROM DOING DAMAGE TO OUR OVERALL BILATERAL RELATIONS AT A TIME WHEN LATTER ARE ENTERING NEW AND PROMISING PHASE. VIGNES SAID GOA PROBLEM IS THAT FIRMS ARE LOCATED IN ARGENTINA AND OPERATE UNDER ARGENTINE LAW AND GOA CANNOT ALLOW EITHER HOME GOVERNMENTS OR COMPANY HEADQUARTERS TO DICTATE POLICY. HE AGREED ON DESIRABILITY OF EXPLORING OTHER POSSIBILITIES AND SAID THAT MATTER COULD HAVE BEEN RESOLVED MUCH MORE EASILY IF IT WERE NOT FOR EXTENSIVE PUBLICITY TO DATE. END SUMMARY

2. MEETING TOOK PLACE 12:30-1:30 FEB 11 IN FONMIN VIGNES'

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 01100 112041Z

OFFICE. BESIDE KUBISCH AND VIGNES, PARTICIPATING WERE ARGENTINE UNDERSECRETARY FOREIGN AFFAIRS CARASALES, AMBASSADOR HILL, MINISTER KREBS AND MR EATON.

3. AT CLOSE OF DISCUSSION ON POSSIBLE CHANGE IN USG POSTURE REGARDING CUBA AND HOW THAT SUBJECT MIGHT BE TREATED AT FONMINS MEETING IN MEXICO, KUBISCH RECALLED THAT NEARLY 10 MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE ARGENTINA RE-ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND

ASKED VIGNES HOW RELATIONS DEVELOPING. VIGNES REPLIED "VERY WELL", THAT CUBAN REPRESENTATIVES BEHAVING AND CUBA IS A GOOD TRADE PARTNER BECAUSE IT PAYS PROMPTLY. KUBISCH ASKED HOW CUBANS WERE PAYING. VIGNES SAID THAT GOA BELIEVES IT CAN DISCOUNT CREDIT DOCUMENTS IN SWITZERLAND. VIGNES WENT ON TO DESCRIBE CREDIT LINE AS TOTALLING $1200 MILLION AT $200 MILLION PER YEAR EXCLUSIVELY FOR PURCHASES OF SPECIFIED CLASSES OF ARGENTINE MANUFACTURED GOODS, PRINCIPALLY VEHICLES, TRACTORS, HEAVY EQUIPMENT.

4. KUBISCH SAID THE POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN THIS TRADE BY US SUBSIDIARIES LOCATED IN ARGENTINE RAISES VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR USG, NOT ONLY IN THAT IT WOULD ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT FOR OTHER COUNTRIES BUT IN THAT IT WOULD AFFECT OUR COMPLIANCE WITH OAS SANCTIONS AND WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE STAND WE HAVE TAKEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. TO VIGNES' OBSERVATION THAT CANADIANS ARE SELLING TO CUBA, KUBISCH REPLIED THESE ARE WHOLLY CANADIAN FIRMS. VIGNES COUNTERED THAT THE FIRMS INVOLVED HERE ARE ESTABLISHED AND OPERATING UNDER ARGENTINE LAW.

5. KUBISCH SAID IF ARGENTINA IS DETERMINED TO PROCEED WITH THESE SALES, IT WILL CREATE A SERIOUS PROBLEM BOTH FOR THE US SUBSIDIARIES AND FOR THE USG. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER ARGENTINA INTENDS TO GO AHEAD IN THE LIGHT OF THE FOREGOING AND OF THE EFFECT IT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AT THIS JUNCTURE. VIGNES SAID HE HAD BEEN TOLD YESTERDAY THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM FOR THE FIRMS AND TURNED TO CARASALES, WHO NODDED CONFIRMATION. (COMMENT. THIS MAY HAVE REFERRED TO ALLEGATIONS APPEARING IN LOCAL PRESS, PRESUMABLY BASED ON SO-CALLED "INSIDE INFORMATION", TO THE EFFECT THAT USG WOULD GRANT WAIVERS. END COMMENT)

6. VIGNES WENT ON TO SAY THAT PROBLEM IS MUCH MORE SERIOUS

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FOR ARGENTINA BECAUSE IT CANNOT ALLOW EACH COUNTRY OR EACH COMPANY HEADQUARTERS TO DICTATE ARGENTINE COMMERCIAL POLICY. HE CITED FIAT CASE AS AN EXAMPLE; COMPANY HEADQUARTERS HAD APPROACHED GOA SEEKING RELIEF FOR LOCAL SUBSIDIARY ON SUPPLYING CUBA AS THE COMPANY WISHED TO HAVE THE ITALIAN PARENT COMPANY DO BUSINESS WITH CUBA.

7. KUBISCH ASKED WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE SOME ALTERNATIVE PRODECURE, SUCH AS ARRANGING THE SALE THROUGH "THIRD PARTY". VIGNES REPLIED "THIS WILL HAVE TO WORK ITSELF OUT. WE CANNOT ALLOW THIS ISSUE TO BECOME AN ELEMENT OF DISCORD". AT THE SAME TIME HE STATED FIRMLY THAT ARGENTINA MUST BE IN POSITION TO SET ITS OWN COMMERCIAL POLICY AND HE ASKED IF KUBISCH COULD AGREE WITH THIS FORMULATION. KUBISCH CONCURRED THAT THE FIRMS INVOLVED ARE ARGENTINE FIRMS AND THAT WE WOULD HOPE TO EXPLORE OTHER POSSIBILITIES AND THAT WE TOO WISHED TO AVOID HAVING THIS DAMAGE US/ARGENTINE RELATIONS.

8.CONCLUDING THE DISCUSSION, VIGNES OBSERVED THAT THE WHOLE MATTER COULD HAVE BEEN RESOLVED A GREAT DEAL MORE EASILY EXCEPT FOR THE FACT THAT IT HAS BEEN EXTENSIVELY PUBLICIZED OVER THESE

PAST MONTHS.
HILL

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00730 132245Z

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-03 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 SCA-01 VO-03

SY-10 AID-20 INSE-00 DRC-01 /178 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7467
INFO USUN MISSION NEW YORK 709
US MISSION GENEVA 321
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0730

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINT, PFOR
SUBJ: SITUATION REPORT: ASYLEES IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

REF: SANTIAGO 197

1. SUMMARY. STATUS OF ASYLEES IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS HAS NOT CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY DURING LAST MONTH.; *32 ,32 3,5483 #-;3 ?33, 43:94$3$, AND ONLY SMALL NUMBER OF PREVIOUSLY "DEFERRED" SAFECONDUSTS FOR DEPARTURE FROM COUNTRY HAVE BEEN ISSUED. LACK OF ACTIVITY EXPECTED TO EXTEND THROUGH FEBRUARY AND PART OF MARCH AS GOC BUREAUCRATS CONTINUE SUMMER VACATIONS. MAJORITY OF ASYLEES HAVE BEEN CHILEAN CITIZENS. GOVT HOLDING FIRM TO DECISION NOT TO GIVE SAFECONDUCTS TO "GUESTS" WHO ENTERED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00730 132245Z

EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AFTER DEC 11. SOME LATIN AMERICAN EMBASSIES DETECT HARDENING OF GOC POLICY REGARDING ASYLEES IN

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

THEIR MISSIONS. END SUMMARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

2. LATEST SATISTICS PREPARED BY FOREIGN MINISTRY AND GIVEN TO EMBOFF INDICATE THAT AS OF FEB 12, TOTAL OF 3,913 INDIVIDUALS HAD SOUGHT ASYLUM IN SANTIAGO DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. OF THAT NUMBER, SAFECONDUCTS TO DEPART COUNTRY HAVE BEEN GRANTED TO 3,670, THERE ARE 24 BEING PROCESSED AND 219 ARE IN "DEFERRED" STATUS WHILE GOC INVESTIGATES BACKGROUNDS TO DETERMINE WHETHER CRIMINAL CHARGES POSSIBLE OR PENDING. IN ADDITION TO SAFE-CONDUCTS GRANTED TO ASYLEES, GOVT HAS ISSUED 572 SAFECONDUCTS TO FOREIGNERS EXPELLED FROM CHILE, 1,139 TO REFUGEES AND 1,93# TO INDIVIDUALS AS COURTESY TO DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. SOME EMBASSIES WHICH HAD ACCEPTED ASYLEES ARE NOW EMPTY, BUT MOST OTHERS STILL HAVE SOME HANGING ON. MEXICO WITH 40 LEADS THE LIST, FOLLOWED BY ITALY (34), FRG (22), SWEDEN (16) AND VENEZUELA (13).

3. FOR FIRST TIME OFFICIAL GOC STATISTICS BREAK DOWN ASYLEE TOTALS BY NATIONALITIES. AS EXPECTED OVERWHELMING MAJORITY (2554) HAVE BEEN CHILEANS. BRAZILIANS (353), URUGUAYANS (278), AND ARGENTINES (147) FOLLOW IN THE LISTING. NO BREAKDOWN PRO-VIDED OF NATIONALITIES OF THOSE ASYLEES WHOSE SAFECONDUCTS STILL DEFERRED, BUT OUR PRESUMPTION IS THAT MAJORITY ALSO CHILEANS.

4. FONMIN FIGURES REVEAL GENERAL FREEZE ON ASYLEE MOVEMENT OVER LAST MONTH. ONLY 25 NEW ASYLEES HAVE BEEN REPORTED AS ENTERING EMBASSIES SINCE JAN 11 (REFTEL) AND ONLY 20 ADDITIONAL SAFECONDUTS HAVE BEEN GRANTED TO THOSE IN DEFERRED STATUS. INACTION ON GOC'S PART EXPECTED TO CONTINUE AT LEAST THROUGH FEBRUARY (TRADITIONAL SUMMER VACATION MONTH) AS BUREAUCRATS HEAD FOR THE BEACHES.

5. VACATION PERIOD HAS ALSO BROUGHT ACTIVITIES IN JUDICIAL SYSTEM TO NEAR HALT. PRIOR TO SUMMER RECESS SUPREME COURT ASKED FONMIN TO REQUEST EXTRADITION OF THREE HIGH-RANKING ALLENDE GOVERNMENT HIARARCHS, COMMUNIST VLADIMIR LENIN CHAVES (CURRENTLY IN FRG EMBASSY), AND SOCIALISTS PATRICIO PALMA (HONDURAN EMBASSY) AND HERNAN DEL CANTO (COLOMBIAN EMBASSY).

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 00730 132245Z

FONMINISTRY EXPECTED TO PRESENT REQUESTS IN DUE COURSE TO RECEIVING GOVERNMENTS ALONG WITH INDIVIDUALS' DEPARTURE SAFECONDUTS, PRESS REPORTS THAT ARGENTINE COURT IN CORRIENTES HAS DENIED ONLY EMTRADITION REQUEST AS YET FORMALLY PRESENTED BY GOC (FOR FORMER COBRE CERILLOS INTERVENTOR JAIME FLORES), PERHAPS NOT PROVIDING GOC WITH RENEWED ENTHUSIASM TO PUCH AHEAD WITH JOINT EXTRADITION-SAFECONDUT POLICY, ALTHOUGH ARGENTINE TENDENCY TO REJECT EXTRADITION REQUESTS I FACT OF LIFE WELL KNOWN HERE.

[redacted]

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6. DIPLOMATIC SOURCES HAVE TOLD EMBOFF THAT GOC HOLDING FIRM TO DECISION NOT TO GIVE SAFECONDUTS TO INDIVIDUALS WHO ENTERED EUROPEAN MISSIONS AFTER DEC 11 CUT-OFF DATE (SANTIAGO 5986, 1973). SOME MISSIONS HAVE BEEN SADDLED WITH SMALL NUMBER OF NEW CASES OF WALL-JUMPERS FOR WHOM THE GOC REFUSES TO GRANT SAFECONDUCTS.

7. SAME LATIN AMERICAN MISSION CLAIM TO HAVE PERCEIVED A RECENT CHANGE IN GOC POLICY TOWARD THEIR GRANTING OF ASYLUM. FONMINISTRY ISSUED AMBIGUOUSLY WORDED CIRCULAR DIPLOMATIC NOTE LAST WEEK TO MISSIONS OF ALL SIGNATORIES OF INTERNATIONAL ASYLUM TREATIES ASKING FOR LISTS OF ALL ASYLEES IN MISSIONS AS OF FEB 7, AND STATING THAT THOSE WHO ENTER SUBSEQUENT TO THAT DATE AND WHO HAVE NO CRIMINAL CHARGES AGAINST THEM WILL BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY "AFTER THEY HAVE COMPLETED NORMAL PROCEDURES FOR ISSUANCE OF A PASSPORT." SOURCE IN VENEZUELAN EMBASSY CLAIMS THIS IS GOC WAY OF SAYING THAT IT WILL NOT CONTINUE GRANTING SPECIAL EXIT FACILITIES TO SOME ASYLEES AND, IF PUT IN PRACTICE, WOULD DISCOURAGE EMBASSIES FROM GIVING ASYLUM. OTHER DIPLOMATIC SOURCES REPORT THAT SOME LATIN AMERICAN EMBASSIES PLEASED BY LANGUAGE, WHICH THEY WILL USE TO ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE INDIVDUALS FROM CAMPING ON THEIR PREMISES. HOWEVER, OTHERS ARGUE THAT WORDING IS INNOCUOUS AND FOREBODES NO CHANGE. SITUATION REMAINS CONFUSED AND SOME CLARIFICATION IS EXPECTED FROM FONMINISTRY IN NEAR FUTURE. POPPER

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T 396

RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
General Scowcroft/Secretary Kissinger
February 15, 1974
2:[illegible] pm

K: Have you talked to Haig?

S: Yes. I talked to him.

K: He told me to drop dead.

S: He said "oh God" . I said just relax. He is just droping by to debrief on the energy conference and talk about the Mexican conference and about the Middle East developments and I said I understand McClellan will be there too. I said you would be there about 9 or 10:00.

K: And you told him above all, I am not going to mention the Foreign Ministers. I think now it is fifty-fifty how this thing will go. I think it could turn out that Yamani is right.

S: Why would they come here.

K: Because they are ambarrassed. They may come here and say if I go to the Middle East they will help me settle it.

S: That is possible. I thought they may say we are going to lift the embargo but this is what we need to do it. Even being ambarrassed and negative will make it look worse for them.

K: OK.

S: Al is all primed.

K: OK, I'll see you over the weekend.

S: Try to get a little rest.

K: OK.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 17 MAY 2004 200102979

SB12

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
DR. Kabanni/Sec. Kissinger
Monday, February 18, 1974
12:35 p.m.

K: How are you.

SK: Fine. Thank you very much.

K: In reflecting further on our conversation yesterday, it occurred to me that I should receive that material that you wanted to give me yesterday and then handle it from here according to the agreement or to the procedures that I have outlined to your leaders rather than burden you with the responsibility for it and I was wondering if you could come for a few minutes at 2:30 today, if that would be a convenient time or tomorrow morning whichever is convenient for you.

SK: I will call back to your secretary and I will arrange for an appointment.

K: Good. I had not fully understood the evolution of this understanding out of the meeting in Algeria.

SK: Very good.

K: Good and we will proceed along the lines I had outlined to your President.

SK: You are still going to Mexico on Wednesday.

K: Yes but I would proceed exactly as I told you yesterday. Nothing in that has changed.

SK: Very good. Goody-bye , Sir.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 3 DEC 2002 200102979

SB10

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Senator Fulbright - Secretary Kissinger
February 18, 1974
10:10 a.m.

K: Mr. Chairman. How are you?

F: I'm fine. I just got back last night.

K: I called but you were not back yet. It was an interesting play, incidentally. It states alot of profound philosophical propositions in a bizarre way which is the only way you can be serious in the theatre these days I guess.

F: I think the visit was great success. I will get you the editorial, they did an excellent editorial.

K: In the Gazette?

F: Yes. The following Sunday.

K: I thought the questions were very friendly.

F: They were. I thought the press behaved extremely well.

K: And the coverage here, what little there was, was strictly substantive I called you last night to bring you up to date on where we stand with these two foreign ministers, and this has to be strictly for your information...

F: Sure.

K: They have had three propositions: (1) They are going...they will lift the embargo at the next meeting of the oil producers, but they don't want any discussion of it before. Having said this, of course, The Egyptian foreign Minister runs around town making enigmatic statements but that's their problem. Secondly, they want progress in , nevertheless on the Syrian side and thirdly, they want me to come ~~w~~ out quickly as a way of getting the talks started between Syria and Israel. Its a little bit absurd to have two foreign Ministers come collect a Jewish Secretary of State, but I can help them a little bit perhaps. They were going to stay here and cart me back to the Middle East with them, but I convinced Saqaaf I couldn't cancel the Mexico City meeting and couldn't go until next week but I probably will have to go out there next week. But there is a possibility we can settle it and not just get the talks started, of course we would have to work out the prisoner issue.

* UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 3 DEC 2002 200102979

F: You see, when you become indispensable ...an indispensable man, it becomes difficult to discharge your duties. That's the problem. Say one comment made by one of the more sophisticated members ....Len Williams ...he said "My god, it was a work of art. It was subtle as the Mona Lisa." But none of them wrote in such a fasion.

K: I have not seen any such comment.

F: It really went off well, it couldn't have been better.

K: Well I did it out of a very deep conviction.

F: I appreciate that and it was done so well, the timing, everything went off well.

K: The Press conference, too, due to the cooperation of your people down there, it was at a very high level.

F: I was really pleased with them. I thought there would be a few snide comments.

K: How does it look now with the Governor.

F: We think that many other things have deterred him, he keeps postponing and the longer he does that the less likely he is...he may decide not to run.

K: That would be good for the country.

F: That would be a very good thing. That's why I'm staying down there so much. I expect I will go back until he makes up his mind.

K: You did understand you you were invited to come along to Mexico. Our understanding was you really didn't have the time.

F: Right. I don't think it would be wise under the circumstances. Yes, I appreciate that but I don't think I should. So you really feel they will lift it, when about?

K: Probably about May 2 or 3 it looks like.

F: I think that's very good news because phsychologically it would be a trememdous lift on the situation. There's a great deal of hoarding and speculation that takes place, it would relieve the situation, they would quit hoarding and quit the speculation and that would be a tremendous thing. If we can keep from making mistakes. They must have reason to believe you can move the Syrians.

*

K: I think I can move the Syrians on the prisoner issue.

F: I still think the brig problem is Israel. We have to be very careful not to do anything they ....someplace there has to be some give.

K: I would like to get as much done without a flap so when we approach the broader issue.

F: The Jerusalem thing. I don't know what to day about it, I mean I don't want to cause you any trouble. The thing ought not to be ascepted as non-negotiable. It isn't strategic enough, its purely emotional, religious thing. I think I recall the original agreement in 48 the status was to be under the jurisdiction of the UN. I don't see how they can ignore that sort of charter of independence, or almost the equivalent, its their own constituation really. They...

K: They can't give up the claim to Jerusalem, its out of the question, for the Arabs I mean.

F: That's right. Well, anything I can do just let me know.

K: I'll be in touch before I leave.

F: When are you leaving.

K: About noon tomorrow, then I'll be back Saturday and then I'll leave for the Middle East. I'll call you tomorrow before I leave.

F: OK. Good luck.

SB7 *

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Senator Mansfield - Secretary Kissinger
February 18, 1974
8:24 a.m.

K: I called you last night but you had already left for the theatre. I wanted to tell you, on a confidential basis, where we stand. It has to be very confidential, but these governments have made three decisions: (1) They are going to lift the embargo without conditions at the next meeting of the oil ministers in ...not for about two weeks though. (2) Because of the tough situation the Syrians have they want us to make some move to help them get enough movement so the Syrian President can vote for it. They would construe a visit by me to the area as sufficient movement as long as the talks get started. This will be decided by the President today. They have made a specific request that I come out.

M: Well, you can't avoid it.

K: It may get me into trouble in Montana.

M: No it won't. We will put you down for another date as soon as you can.

K: They will?

M: Oh, yes.

K: But I don't see how I can refuse it.

M: Oh, no. You can't. That certainly takes precedence.

K: Again, confidentially, there is a very good chance, I have talked to them, but there is no sense in coming out if we can't get a list of prisoners, then we can't get the talks started. I'll know that tomorrow morning...I'll tell you on the plane, but there's a very good chance we will get the prisoner list.

M: The big thing is Israel. Don't worry about Montana. We will keep you on the on-call list.

K: They don't want any mention. They say that all the time and then the people in the Executive branch start leaking all over the place, but they want it to look like their decision, ...

M: Well, Fahmi indicated they had good news...

K: Well, these guys are blabbing so much since they've been here.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 03 MAY 2004 200102979

M: As far as I am concerned, Henry, I haven't heard a thing. Henry, I talked to Kubish about having Valeo go with us to Mexico.

K: If there is any space, we will take him along. I know the plane is full but I will be able to bump off staff surely.

END.
sdd

SB 8

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Sisco/Sec. Kissinger
9:20, Monday, February 18, 1974

K: Have we told the Arabs about that lunch.

S: Yes we have have arranged it.

K: And that it is a social lunch.

S: Right.

K: And that the Vice President has to leave early.

S: I did not know that. This is new to me.

K: I have invited him but he will leave about quarter to two.

S: When I pick them up I could tell them or I could call them.

K: Call them and tell them that he will be there with his wife and he will have to leave early.

S: Alright.

K: When are you coming in.

S: Fairly soon. I went into a line for an hour to get some gasoline this morning. I got up at 7:30. I will be in in about 20 minutes. Getting gasoline is a small problem if you are not Secretary of State. The line was around the block twice. Can you believe that?

K: Unbelievable. I note from an intelligence report that Faisal is saying he is fed up with our pressure on the oil embargo but I don't believe that.

S: While sitting in the line I was thinking about you yesterday and thinking it would be nice to get this shortage over. I will be in soon and I will call them first.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 03 MAY 2004 200102979

SB22*

RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
Mr. Kubisch/Secretary Kissinger
February 19, 1974
9:20 PM

HAK: Jack let's cancel Calvani tomorrow.

K: OK.

HAK: You know we have that cable because of the dinner. Did you see that cable?

K: I guess I haven't caught up with that one yet. A couple have just been brought in to me. I was just going over the speech. The dinner is going to be tomorrow night then?

HAK: There is a dinner tomorrow night, which I will skip. But it makes it impossible to have a Calvani meeting. The reception is turning into a dinner.

K: Yes, I see. The one by the Mayor of Mexico City.

HAK: Yes. But then since the next two evenings are free we can schedule some bilaterals.

K: You mentioned you might

HAK: To Calvani and Chile. Well you just schedule three.

K: OK. We scheduled Calvani for Thursday.

HAK: Yes, on the ground of the meeting, of the dinner.

K: Right. OK. And if he says he wants to maintain it notwithstanding the dinner.

HAK; Then we'll maintain it.

K: We'll maintain it. OK. I'll pass the word to them at once.

HAK: You can schedule a few of them for Thursday night.

K: OK.

HAK: And Friday night. Say two or three.

K: Alright. One on Thursday night and Chilean and I'd like.....

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 3 DEC 2002 200102979

HAK: Well the Venezuelan is Calvani, isn't he.

K: Yes. If he doesn't want to maintain one on Wednesday, we can reschedule him for Thursday and the third one could best be the Jamaican. The Caribbean he could be our most troublesome one.

HAK: Chile we want.

K: Chile, Jamaica and Venezuela if it's postponed and if not some other third one.

HAK: OK, good. Thank you.

END

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A-43

NO.

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EO11652: N/A
TAGS : CI, CASC

FROM : Amembassy SANTIAGO DATE: February 20, 1974

SUBJECT : Ambassador Popper's Meeting with Chicago Group

REF : Santiago 787

Forwarded as an enclosure to this airgram is a memorandum of conversation concerning the meeting held in Ambassador Popper's office on February 18 with the members of the Chicago "Commission of Inquiry," in which several Embassy officers also participated. The substance of the conversation was reported in the referenced telegram.

Chile Project (#S199900006)
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POPPER

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FORM DS-323 10-64

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Drafted by:	Drafting Date:	Phone No.:	Contents and Classification Approved by:
CONS:FPardy/POL:JSDavidow:gkl	2.20.74		POL:DNArzac, Jr.

Clearances:
AMB:DHPopper (draft) DCM:HBThompson (draft)

* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966 O - 205-218 (256)

Father Grant began by stating that the group had four basic questions it would like to pursue in this meeting. They are (1) the possibility of getting more Chileans into the US; (2) the group's desire to meet with the Ministers of Labor, Defense, Justice and Education; (3) Mr. Teruggi's own problem, of getting at the "real facts" concerning his son's death; and (4) whether or not the Embassy kept lists of Americans, other than those who registered in the Consulate.

Mr. Feinglass added that he had a letter for the Foreign Minister from Chilean UN Ambassador Bazan, whom he had seen after consulting with UN Undersecretary-General Bradford Morse and Guy Wiggins of the USUN Mission.

Mr. Teruggi, Sr. mentioned that he had two letters, one from Senator Stevenson and the other from Congressman Young, for the Ambassador, which the latter accepted.

Ambassador Popper thanked Father Grant for his introduction and welcomed the group to the Embassy on behalf of the staff. He said that he understood the group's general purposes, as he had been informed about them prior to their arrival. He asked if the meeting were being recorded, and various members of the group agreed to turn off their recorders.

The Ambassador said that as he saw it the group's interests could be divided into two categories -- the first dealing with the activities of the Embassy with respect to American citizens, especially in September and October. He added that the Embassy staff would be very happy to discuss this issue. He mentioned that he had not been here personally at the time, but had reviewed the record and decided that the Embassy had acted ably and responsibly. He said he was aware of the criticisms but was convinced that these were basically unjustified. He stated he would also be able to answer the questions about the registration system.

As to the second general topic, what has happened in Chile and the conduct of the GOC vis-a-vis Chileans and other foreigners, he would not be able to comment. It was not that he did not wish to be forthcoming, but rather that these questions related to the internal actions of a sovereign, independent state and should be directed to GOC officials. In this regard the Embassy would assist the group in making an initial contact with the GOC.

Father Grant hoped that the Embassy might be helpful in easing the way for the group. Ambassador Popper mentioned that he was very much a "new boy" here, having arrived only a few days ago and having not yet presented his credentials. He also mentioned the absence of Foreign Minister Huerta in Mexico, but said that the Embassy had been in contact with officials of the Foreign Ministry about the group and understood that the group would be received.

Mr. Thompson spoke to the refugee question, saying that the US has tried to be responsive to humanitarian considerations. He noted that in this context we were not speaking of Chileans, but of third-country nationals. Necessarily, our efforts are mainly supportive of the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, who works only on behalf of third-country nationals in Chile. He suggested that any idea of expanding this program to include Chileans would have to be taken up with the authorities in Washington.

Ambassador Popper added that the UN Refugee convention defines a refugee as one who had left his home country and could not return to it without serious danger and that this definition necessarily excludes Chileans in Chile.

Mr. Feinglass said that he had been informed by Mr. Morse's office that several European countries, including Germany, Sweden and France, had taken substantial numbers (400-500) whereas the US had taken none, or perhaps two or three.

Mr. Purdy said that more than 125 third-country nationals had applied to us for entry as refugees, and that over thirty cases had been approved, of which only 13 had actually gone to the US, the remainder having opted for other countries.

Mr. Thompson mentioned that there was no numerical limitation on the third-country nationals the US might accept, but that our normal grounds for exclusion are not waived. He added that the political affiliations of some of the refugees would mean some would be excludable. He added that only a small proportion of the refugees were interested in going to the US. Ambassador Popper reaffirmed this last point.

Mr. Feinglass asked if many Chileans had asked to enter the US. Mr. Thompson said that we had the normal immigration backlog and

had not experienced any significant increase because of the coup. He said it would be useful to remember that the number of individuals going to some European countries would be high because so many, for one reason or another, had sought sanctuary in European Embassies here. So, in addition to handling many cases from refugee centers, these Embassies had also admitted to their countries some of their "guests" as the GOC had issued them safeconducts.

Mr. Feinglass asked if there were many people left in embassies here and if the group might be able to visit with them.

Ambassador Popper replied that in this respect, the group would have to ask the GOC and the individual embassies. He responded that the American Embassy had no "guests."

Ms. Przyworski said that the group was interested in getting more Chilean "refugees" into the US and reviewed what had been said about immigration backlogs and excludability. She asked if there were not a possibility of waiving some of the provisions of normal immigration procedures to help such persons, and mentioned the example of Jews who left Poland in 1968, for whom she said Washington had waived some regulations. Could not the Embassy here apply the same conditional entry provisions to Chileans at this time?

Ambassador Popper said that she was talking about general policies and that these were made in Washington.

Ms. Przyworski asked if it were not possible to be flexible within the general policies.

Ambassador Popper said that the laws and regulations do allow for an exercise of judgment on our part and for communication with the Department on questions that were in doubt.

Mr. Purdy mentioned that there was a significant difference in the way the law was written for persons born in the two

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hemispheres, the Eastern Hemisphere having a provision for entry of 6% of its numerical limitation as "refugees."

Mr. Thompson added that the Embassy had been given no special procedures to follow, with regard to prospective Chilean immigrants, that would significantly change the thrust of the law.

Mr. Feinglass mentioned that he had been invited to testify before Senator Hughes' committee. He asked if the Embassies were merely instruments of Washington, which would have to change the rules.

Ambassador Popper pointed out that all Embassies and Consulates operate pursuant to instructions from the Department of State and do not, by themselves, have any power to change those rules without permission from Washington.

Mr. Thompson pointed out the distinction that Washington had adopted a special, expedited procedure for third-country nationals in the refugee centers but there has been no change with respect to Chileans who are in their own country.

Mr. Purdy pointed out that we were not issuing visas to third-country nationals, but rather pre-parole documents which allow them to enter the US provisionally and stay until their formal immigration status could be regularized.

Ms. Przyworski asked if everyone who had been associated with the Unidad Popular (UP) was ineligible to enter the US.

Mr. Purdy replied that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended, was very specific about who was excludable, and its provisions were not waived by the pre-parole documents procedure. He mentioned that there was a long list of organizations, affiliated with the Communist Party, membership in which rendered a person ineligible. He estimated that probably less than half of the persons who had been allied with the UP would be ineligible for visas.

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Ms. Przyworski inquired further about the leeway possible on refusing CP members and about the process used by the Embassy to determine who would be excluded.

Mr. Purdy replied that we first had to check with the US Embassy in the applicants' home countries to determine what might be known about them. If there is good evidence of CP membership we are obliged to refuse the applicant, and if there is doubt, we refer the case to Washington.

Ms. Przyworski asked if we make recommendations on these cases and asked about the lists of excludable organizations.

Mr. Purdy replied that we did make recommendations and that the list was classified and distributed periodically, as revised, to all Consulates.

Mr. Gutierrez asked about the difference between the treatment of applicants depending upon the hemisphere in which they were born.

Mr. Purdy outlined these differences, especially in their effect, of allowing those born in the Eastern Hemisphere fairly rapid entry once they qualify, whereas those born in the Western Hemisphere have a long wait ahead of them.

Mr. Feinglass asked if we were aiding only those who fled from Communism or whether we also aided those who fled any form of tyranny.

Ambassador Popper replied that refugee status was determined by the USG on the basis of its laws and on a case-by-case basis, depending on the situation.

Mr. Feinglass mentioned the case of Cubans who had been admitted in great numbers and who often took away jobs from Americans. He said this is acceptable and something we had to expect when people flee a "tyrannical situation." He added that Chile appeared to be in that situation and asked what the US is ready to do, to help protect refugees.

Ambassador Popper replied that it is not really a matter of "protection" and repeated that the US considers situations on a case-by-case basis.

Mrs. Langford asked about the use of judgment in these cases.

Ambassador Popper said that judgments do have to be made, but the important thing is that the judgment must be made within the limitations of the law.

Mr. Thompson added that it is important to define what is a refugee and to define just who qualifies for treatment as such. He said that in many cases it is difficult to determine whether a person can return to his country of origin, and that often there is the problem of finding out if the applicant's own story is completely correct. It is here that someone has to make a judgment as to whether he qualifies as a refugee under USG criteria.

Mrs. Langford again mentioned the application of the current laws to Chileans.

Mr. Purdy pointed out that neither the Executive nor the Congress had seen fit to change the existing laws and regulations as they apply to Chileans.

Ms. Przyworski asked if we might not be holding up Chileans who had job offers from entering the US as immigrants, for other reasons.

Mr. Purdy said that he begins processing all cases the day application is made, but that the entire process is lengthy.

Mr. Thompson added that Western Hemisphere applicants, including Chileans, are considered as a bloc and get priority dates only as they qualify and are then taken in strict chronological order.

Ms. Przyworski asked about the delay for Chileans.

Mr. Purdy said that persons from the Western Hemisphere who are now getting visas had qualified to get on the waiting list

prior to January 22, 1972. This was applicable to all persons from the hemisphere and there was no way of advancing an individual.

Ambassador Popper pointed out that this was nothing new: the law has been in operation for some years.

Father Grant said there were rumors that some churchmen in Chile were in a precarious position and asked if it would be possible for the Ambassador to intercede on their behalf as an act of mercy, to get them out of Chile and into the U.S.

Ambassador Popper replied that the US position on human rights was well known but that our ability to intervene in Chilean affairs was limited. He would want to know more about these cases before judging what we might be able to do and would be glad to receive any specifics Father Grant might wish to provide.

Ms. Przyworski said that it would be important for us, here in Chile, in judging the case of someone who was being accused of being a CP member, to bear in mind the bias of the GOC.

Mr. Thompson emphasized that the GOC does not "clear" our refugee or visa cases.

Ambassador Popper added that it is important to be clear as to the distinction between Chileans applying for visas and third-country nationals who sought refugee status.

Ms. Przyworski pressed for more information on the "clearance" of Chileans and the sources used therefor.

Mr. Purdy said that our information comes partly from our own files, and partly from the statements of the individuals themselves. About half of those who are excluded freely admit CP membership.

Ms. Przyworski asked if there were an informal way of finding out from the GOC about CP membership.

Mr. Purdy replied that there might be, but that we do not do so. He also pointed out that, relative to Father Grant's question, there is a special provision in our immigration law for clergymen which exempts them from the long wait.

Someone asked if the 13 admitted to the US had had to wait the two years.

Mr. Purdy replied that these were special pre-parole, third-country cases.

Mr. Gutierrez asked if there was a special dispensation for professionals.

Ambassador Popper and Mr. Purdy both replied that all those born in the Western Hemisphere are treated alike irrespective of profession.

Teruggi Case

Ambassador Popper began the discussion with a brief resume of the Mission's efforts to protect the welfare of American citizens in September-October 1973 (e.g. 600 welfare and whereabouts inquiries, 17 individuals released from jails, etc.) in the days following the coup.

Mr. Teruggi stated that he wished to talk to Mr. McNally (Don McNally, Embassy officer) who he stated had been quoted in a Chicago newspaper as saying that when he had been at the morgue he had seen no bullet wounds in th body supposed to be that of his son. (Mr. McNally denies having made any such statement.) He also stated that the New York Times had quoted McNally to the effect that he could not see the body in question because it had been covered by a sheet.

Mr. Purdy stated that McNally had never said that the body was covered by a sheet and had noted in conversation with him that he had seen bullet wounds in the head. Mr. Purdy added that

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when consular officers viewed the body, they were primarily concerned in making identification rather than in assessing cause of death. Consequently neither focused on the question of the number of bullet holes.

Mr. Teruggi said these issues were of importance because he and his wife want to be sure that they had received the right body. He asked if he could be sure of that. He acknowledged that an identification had been made on the basis of dental records but said this was done under GOC control.

Mr. Purdy pointed out that the body which he viewed with David Hathaway and the one which Steven Volk viewed with Mr. Anderson and Mr. McNally were apparently the same. On both occasions the body bore a tag with Teruggi's name and the same autopsy report number.

Mr. Teruggi noted that the GOC had stated that his son's body had been brought to the morgue at 9:15 p.m. on September 22 and that his son had been released from the National Stadium the previous evening. According to a report he had, his son had been "dead only a few hours" when brought to morgue. Mr. Teruggi wanted to know what had happened between the time his son had reportedly left the stadium and the time his body was brought to the morgue.

Mr. Purdy pointed out that the Embassy has no information to support or contest the claim that Teruggi had been dead only a few hours when brought to the morgue. Purdy added that we have no explanation of what Teruggi might have done in the intervening period. None of his friends whom we have interviewed report having seen him during that time period.

Mrs. Langford then stated that as lawyers (referring to herself and perhaps other members of committee) "we can only assume that Frank Teruggi, Jr., was shot while he was in the custody of the military." She asked Ambassador Popper if he agreed with her assumption. He replied that he would rather not speculate on who killed Teruggi and in what manner. Mrs. Langford stated that she hoped that Ambassador Popper would use his influence to see the case cleared up.

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Mr. Teruggi stated that prior to leaving the US, Mr. Charles Anderson of the Department had given him a summary of the GOC's most recent note, which stated that investigations have been completed and that no new information was developed. "Is this case closed"" he asked Ambassador Popper, who responded that "we have repeatedly tried to determine the facts in this case and we will continue to do what we can to clear up these discrepancies. In all honesty," he added, "I cannot be very optimistic about getting a fuller story at this date and after this lapse of time."

Mr. Teruggi responded that it is difficult for his family to understand how the USG can be helping the Government of Chile when "they don't even answer our questions."

Mr. Thompson noted that the GOC has answered our requests for information but not in a manner satisfactory to the Teruggi family--or indeed as completely as we would have liked. Mr. Thompson went on to note that conditions in Chile following the coup were chaotic. He acknowledged that Mrs. Langford's assumption that Teruggi, Jr., was shot while in military custody was one possible explanation for the latter's death, but there were several other possibilities as well. Mr. Teruggi asked if the Embassy knew at what time his son was released and if it was done during curfew hours to "set Frank up." Mr. Thompson responded that the Embassy has no information on what time Teruggi was released.

Mr. Teruggi asked why Frank had not signed a statement upon being released from the National Stadium, as did the Garrett-Scheshes who were released on the same day. Mr. Purdy responded that the practice of signing statements was not universally applied and that two other Americans, John Cerretti and Henry Warlow, released on the same day had not signed them.

Mr. Teruggi stated that David Hathaway had told him that when he was interrogated he had been asked questions about Frank's political leanings, but that Frank had told Hathaway that no questions were asked him about Hathaway. Mr. Teruggi

also noted that Marxist literature had been found in Frank's room and not in Hathaway's. Therefore, he asked if it did not look strange that the military held Hathaway for six days before releasing him and supposedly allowed the more suspect Frank to depart after only one night in custody.

Mr. Teruggi asked why the Embassy had denied that his son had been registered in the Consulate. Ambassador Popper stated that we had checked our consular files on repeated occasions and that Teruggi's name did not appear. We kept very careful records on these matters. Mr. Purdy asked Mr. Teruggi, Sr., where he had received the information that his son had been registered. Teruggi responded that David Hathaway had told him so, and then written him that when released from jail Consul Purdy had said that he had not been able to identify who Hathaway was while he was in jail because Hathaway had not been registered but that he had been able to get information on Teruggi, because the latter had registered.

Mr. Purdy explained that he had learned Teruggi's vital statistics after having been informed by the morgue that the fingerprints on a corpse there had been matched with those on Frank's application for a Chilean residence card. With information taken from that application, particularly Frank's passport number, the Embassy had wired to Washington to get next of kin information. At no time did Purdy tell Hathaway that Teruggi had been registered in the Consulate, but he noted that he could now understand how Hathaway could have made the assumption that Teruggi had done so.

Mr. Teruggi stated that he was sure that the first thing Frank would have done upon arriving in Santiago would have been to register at the Consulate, because Frank had not known anybody when he came to Santiago. Ms. Przyworski asked if the Embassy maintained lists of Americans other than those registered in the Consulate. She and others specifically asked whether the CIA engaged in surveillance of American citizens. Mr. Purdy responded that the Consulate asks some organizations (e.g. missionaries and large enterprises) to submit lists of resident member Americans. Ambassador Popper stated that the CIA does not monitor American citizens.

Mr. Teruggi stated that the Chilean military had never given the true story of his son's death. They have never explained why he was arrested or how they could have said on September 24 that he was still in the National Stadium when he was apparently already dead.

Mr. Purdy noted that the only explanation the Embassy has received from the GOC concerning the reason for Teruggi's arrest was that of curfew violation, but since the Embassy pointed out that Teruggi was arrested in his home, the Government had not offered any other explanation. Purdy also stated that given the confusion prevailing at the National Stadium in the first weeks after September 11, he did not think it strange that he could have been given inaccurate information.

Mr. Teruggi asked Ambassador Popper why he thought his son had been called from his cell in the National Stadium at 6 o'clock on the evening he was killed. Ambassador Popper responded that he could not speculate on why Frank had been called out. Mr. Teruggi asked what he should do now, adding that he did not want to let the matter lie. He stated that his son should not have been killed. His son had come to Santiago to study economics because he spoke Spanish and he understood the University at Santiago was the best in South America for this purpose. He had met with some boys from New York, but had not done anything wrong. Mr. Teruggi, Sr., knew that his son had been involved with the publication known as FIN. "I know he supported the Allende Government, but that's no reason to kill him." Several other members of the committee echoed the "no reason to kill him" phrase.

Mrs. Langford asked if a ballistics report had ever been prepared. Mr. Purdy noted that one report received from the GOC had stated that metal fragments had been taken from Teruggi's body but that the Embassy had received no further report, even though we had specifically asked about the possibility.

Mr. Teruggi asked what kind of pressure USG was putting on the Chilean Government to get the case cleared up. He noted that he would like to have a meeting with General Pinochet and authorities of the GOC. "What are you going to do to make my trip down here worthwhile"?

Mr. Thompson responded that we had already been in touch with the Chilean authorities and that the Foreign Office had designated a liaison officer who would assist the group in asking for appointments with GOC officials. He noted that it was a matter for the GOC to determine whether the requests would be favorably received or not.

Mrs. Langford asked that Ambassador Popper prepare a letter of introduction for Mr. Teruggi to present to General Pinochet. She asked what kind of pressure the Embassy would exert to make sure the Government would talk with members of group. Ambassador Popper responded that the Embassy had already paved the way for requests to be made to the GOC for appointments but noted once again that it is up to the Chilean Government to decide how to handle these requests.

Ambassador Popper then stated that he felt that the conversation had covered the case quite fully, as far as the Embassy's activities were concerned. He termed Teruggi's death a tragic and distressing episode in a period of strife and confusion. He stated that he understood Mr. Teruggi's anguish. "We have tried to find out what happened and we will continue to do so," he concluded.

Mr. Teruggi stated that the Chilean military should have been told to watch out for Americans, and be sure nothing happened to them.

Mr. Feinglass asked if the group could meet again with Ambassador Popper before they left Chile. The Ambassador agreed to meet with the group again if at the end of its visit it decided to do so.

Father Grant asked for Embassy assistance in visiting other embassies where there were asylees. Ambassador Popper responded that this was a question to be determined by the GOC and the other embassies. Father Grant stated that he has a letter of invitation from the French Ambassador. It was suggested that he call that Embassy and arrange to be met by a French Embassy officer rather than simply approaching it unannounced.

Father Grant stated that he had been asked by Father Hesburgh of Notre Dame to investigate the situation of St. George's School. He asked if the US Embassy would show as much concern with the fate of the school as it has with large US copper companies. He stated that it was his belief that the school had been confiscated by the Government of Chile. Mr. Thompson replied that the Embassy has expended considerable effort on the problems of St. George's School, was continuing to work on the issue, and that the legal situation is that the GOC has "intervened" the school. Ambassador Popper noted that negotiations continue between the Congregation of the Holy Cross and GOC authorities.

Father Grant asked what special efforts or pressure/Embassy would make on the Teruggi case. Ambassador Popper repeated that "we will do all we appropriately can." Mr. Teruggi ended the meeting by stating that "you'll just get the same answers if you ask the same questions."

The meeting began at 11 a.m. and ended at 12:30 p.m.

SB28
RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
Mr. Cooper/Secretary Kissinger
February 20, 1974

K: I am sorry I couldn't get back to you yesterday. And I am on the way to the airport, but I am interested in seeing if there is an Embassy you might be interested in. I was thinking of East German. Why don't you mull this over and I'll call you next week.

C: I'll do that. And do you mind if I do a few notations about where I think I could be useful?

K: Fine, you know my admiration for you.

C: And you know mine for you. And you are leaving for Mexico and then you have to go to Syria?

K: Yes. I'll probably call you Sunday.

C: OK.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAY 2004 200102979

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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Department of State
INFO: AmEmbassy Santiago

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINS, CI

USUN - New York 2/21/74

Communication from Perm Rep of Cuba to UN Transmitting Letter from Mrs. Allende Concerni Situation in Chile

Enclosed is a copy of a note from the UN Secretariat dated 2/12/74, on the above subject.

BENNETT

Enclosures:
1. Copy of Note
2. Communication from Perm Rep of Cuba dated 2/6/74
3. Letter from Mrs. Allende dated 12/30/73

(UN-3740/I)

cc: Ref. (2)
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REFERENCE PO 220

The enclosed translation of a communication dated ..... 6 February 1974 is transmitted to the Permanent Missions of the States Members of the United Nations at the request of the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations.

12 February 1974

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Translated from Spanish

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PERMANENT MISSION OF CUBA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Note No. 8

New York, 6 February 1974

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter addressed to you by Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de Allende which relates to the serious situation obtaining in Chile and to the gross violations of the most fundamental human rights being committed by the military régime installed in that country.

The message from Mr. Allende's widow refers to matters which affect the basic principles of the Organization and which are of interest and concern to its Members. It is an appeal to the conscience of mankind, calling for the urgent adoption of the measures required to put an end to the dramatic situation which she describes.

For that reason, I request you to arrange for this letter, and that of Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de Allende, to be circulated as an official United Nations document.

I take this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Ricardo ALARCON
Ambassador

His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim,
Secretary-General,
United Nations,
New York, N.Y.

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His Excellency
Mr. Kurt Waldheim
Secretary-General of the United Nations
By hand

Mexico City, 30 December 1973

Distinguished Secretary-General and esteemed friend,

Press reports and other, more direct reports transmitted through organizations in the United Nations system or linked to it have doubtless enabled you to form an idea of the action being taken by the present Chilean Military Junta against those who loyally served the legal Government of President Allende or who, out of considerations of humanity, simply do not accept the Junta's methods.

However, there is always a possibility that these reports may be insufficiently precise or accurate or that they may be denied by those responsible for the harsh repression.

For this reason, I have felt it necessary to pick out, from the huge mass of available material, certain indisputable facts which not even the Military Junta could disavow, since they emanate from or are confirmed by reports or orders issued by the Junta itself, and which justify official action by the United Nations, through its appropriate regularly established bodies, in order to ensure that the human rights so solemnly proclaimed on 10 December 1948 are upheld.

As you know, many juridical, charitable and humanitarian institutions throughout the world have felt it necessary to send delegations or commissions to Chile in order to verify on the spot the acts which are being denounced and to afford protection to those whose rights are being flouted. However, while these initiatives are important, they do not have the same status as action agreed upon at the level of the United Nations, and the delegates and

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representatives in question lack the backing of the supreme international organization. Thus, while these efforts have certainly served to confirm to world public opinion the horror of the events taking place in Chile, they have not been successful in providing the kind of information which would secure from international organizations and Governments which actively uphold the Charter of the United Nations and honour their own international commitments the support that is needed to alter the serious situation currently obtaining in Chile.

I am convinced that, in the light of the denunciations already published and the extremely well-founded presumptions regarding the reality of the acts of cruelty perpetrated in Chile against persons whose sole offence is that they dissent from the policies being applied by the Military Junta or support the ideals and plans which President Allende intended to implement, the time has come for the United Nations to take up the matter officially and to carry out the prior investigation which is essential if the relevant United Nations organs are to possess the reliable and adequate information which they require in order to make use of their powers.

With the object of helping to ensure that action of this kind by the United Nations is based on accurate information, and while setting aside a great number of facts which have come to my knowledge and confining myself solely to those whose veracity is now wholly beyond dispute, I venture to submit for your consideration the following compendium of facts, which might serve as background material for the course of action which I am proposing:

(a) It is a fact that the Military Junta, having only just assumed de facto power, ordered anyone caught bearing weapons to be shot on the spot by the troops seizing such weapons, without being given any kind of trial or opportunity to defend themselves. I shall not dwell on the fact that those who offered armed resistance to the Military Junta during the early days of its existence were persons who, being law-abiding and true to their own ideals, felt

it their duty to defend the legitimate Government against the onslaught of those who, lacking any justification but force, had seized power. Let us make the purely theoretical assumption that those who were caught bearing arms were dangerous criminals representing a serious threat to Chilean society. Yet, even on this supposition, made solely for the purposes of argument, the order to kill them on the spot without any kind of trial is a barbaric act which reveals the utmost contempt for human life and blatantly contravenes the fundamental principles governing the life of a society based on the rule of law. Not even the worst criminals lack the right to be heard, to be provided with an effective defence and to have the circumstances and background of the acts of which they are accused brought out in a proper trial. These shootings without legal process were ordered by the Military Junta by virtue of a special decree of 14 September which, because of the international outcry that it sparked off, was repealed in mid-October. A great number of Chileans and foreigners lost their lives under this decree.

(b) The Military Junta is holding prisoner a large number of prominent Chilean political figures in inhuman conditions on the inhospitable Dawson Island, which is close to Antarctica, has a very rigorous climate and lacks adequate shelter. Among them are President Allende's Ministers of State, university rectors, leaders of political parties and members of the parliament belonging to the Popular Unity Party who supported President Allende. In almost all cases, no specific charges have been brought, their only crime being that they were members or supporters of the constitutional government of President Allende. Their imprisonment has now lasted for almost four months, and there is no indication that it will come to an end in the near future. This, then, is an extremely severe punishment, since the conditions in which they are imprisoned are harsher than those

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found in any penal establishment in the world - a punishment which, moreover, has been imposed without any form of trial, without any time-limit and for the sole reason that the people involved were considered by the Junta to be its political adversaries. Such flagrant violations of the most fundamental human rights have been equalled only by those perpetrated during the period of Hitlerian fascism.

(c) Using the pretext of a so-called "internal state of war", the Junta has subjected to the most summary kind of court-martial proceedings - in many cases culminating in a death sentence - individuals whom it considers to be engaged in subversive activities directed against it. Civilians who do not form part of any recognized military organization have been subjected to the harshness of the decisions of military tribunals which are strictly subservient to the Military Junta. As a result, special tribunals totally lacking in impartiality are being sought in order to impose the harshest possible sentences on potential enemies of the régime. There is no need to point out that all this contravenes the norms established by the United Nations in respect of human rights.

(d) Hundreds, and even thousands, of Chileans and foreigners attempted to escape the repression of the Military Junta by taking refuge in embassies. A considerable proportion of them, and particularly those on whom the Junta wishes to vent its desires for political vengeance, have even now, almost four months after seeking asylum, been unable to obtain from the Military Junta the safe conduct needed to leave the country. There have even been cases of individuals who have taken refuge on the premises of foreign missions being subjected to serious attacks on their lives or to attempts to remove them from their place of asylum by persons who appear to be working in concert with the Junta. Consequently, while seemingly respecting the right of asylum and the inviolability of diplomatic premises, the Military Junta ignores its international

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obligations and endeavours to prevent those persons who have sought refuge and who believe in the force of international obligations and in the guarantees provided under international law to embassy premises from receiving on those premises the protection of life and liberty to which they are entitled. By the decision of the Junta, they seem to be condemned to imprisonment on those premises, since it is impossible for them to leave because of the Junta's refusal to grant them safe conduct.

In conclusion, there is another indisputable fact, which, as it has already given rise to protective action on the part of organizations in the United Nations system, I venture to mention here: the condition of thousands of foreigners who had hoped to find in democratic Chile in the period before the coup a place where they could live in freedom and who, immediately after the military coup took place, were subjected to savage persecution and restrictive measures. I do not feel it is necessary to elaborate on this point, since you undoubtedly already have sufficient information.

I shall pass over many other facts which I know to be true, but which, in order to be proved beyond all doubt, would require an official investigation, carried out by specialists and experts like those working for the United Nations. These include the torture of political prisoners; the inhuman conditions in which they are kept; the informing which has become a way of life; the unlawful searching of premises; the destruction of the property of persons who are being subjected to political persecution; the confiscation of the property of others; the massive dismissals of workers; the establishment of concentration camps such as those of Pisagua, Chacabuco, Islas de Quiriquina and Santa María, and the use of special detention vessels such as the Lebu and the Angamos; the violation of university autonomy; the threat to deprive all opponents of the illegal government of their nationality, etc.

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In these few lines, which, in view of the multitude of the abuses and crimes which have been committed, could not have been made briefer, I have tried to present to you a true picture of what is happening in Chile under the present Military Junta. I think that all these facts, which constitute blatant and grave violations of the fundamental principles upheld by the United Nations with regard to respect for the human person and guarantees of justice in the treatment of any individual, are sufficient grounds for the United Nations - taking up the world-wide clamour of repudiation which these acts have aroused in the conscience of mankind - to adopt, first, the measures needed to verify and prove these facts and, secondly, such measures as are considered appropriate to put an end to this contempt for the values which must be preserved for all mankind.

I have ventured to address these lines to you in the firm belief - based not only on my personal acquaintance with you and on my knowledge of your sense of justice and humanity, but also on a full awareness of the high duties which you so honourably discharge - that they will elicit the response which they deserve from you as a generous-hearted person and as the highest representative of the Organization which, at the present time, has the greatest measure of responsibility for the fate of mankind.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Hortensia B. de ALLENDE

[redacted]

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SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 AID-20 EB-11 CIEP-02
TRSE-00 STR-08 OMB-01 CEA-02 COME-00 DRC-01 /170 W
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ECON, ETRD, EIND, CU, AR
SUBJ: ARGENTINE TRADE WITH CUBA: US SUBSIDIARIES

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PRESS ACCOUNTS HERE CONCERNING FONMIN BARBOSSA'S STATEMENT IN MEXICO CITY ON SUBJECT, FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER, ARE QUITE CONFUSED. SOME HAVE IT THAT HE STATED USG WILL CONSULT WITH GOB BEFORE TAKING DECISION ON REQUESTS BY US FIRMS WITH SUBSIDIARIES IN ARGENTINA FOR LICENSE TO MAKE SALES TO CUBA. WE ANTICIPATE WE WILL BE QUERIED ON THIS POINT AND BACKGROUND OF HIS STATEMENT. EMBASSY REQUESTS AVAILABLE BACGROUND INFORMATION ON BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA AS RELATED TO SALES TO CUBA BY ARGENTINE SUBSIDIARIES US AUTO FIRMS AS WELL AS ON COMMENTS MADE TO PRESS BY BARBOSSA AND VIGNES.
HILL

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

SB 127*

RELEASED IN PART
B6

Telcon
Secretary Kissinger:Stephen Graubard
Sunday, March 18, 1974; a.m.

G: Hello.

K: Hello, Steve.

G: Hi, Henry, how are you?

K: OK.

G: Good, any chance?

K: No, I don't think so.

G: Really. You're just too busy.

K: Yeah.

G: Okay. Are you likely to be here next weekend, Henry.

K: Well, that's what I have my doubts about. I might go to New York for a day, and then I'm going to the Soviet Union.

G: Are you? And then you're there for a week - or longer?

K: For about a week. And then I'm planning to go on vacation.

G: You are? Well that I'm pleased by. For a week or two?

K: For about ten days.

G: Good. Somewhere warm?

K: Yes, to Mexico.

G: How nice. Do you have a few minutes to talk?

K: Yeah, a few minutes.

G: Well, how are you reacting to life?

K: Well, you know, the Europeans have managed now to turn it into an uproar.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 05 MAY 2004 200102979

G: Were you unhappy about the remarks made the other day by the President. Would you rather he hadn't said what he did?

K: Yes.

G: I felt that it was unnecessary. I mean, it serves no purpose.

K: It's sort of unfortunate, because what I said wasn't planned. And it gave the Europeans an opportunity to totally confuse the issue.

G: Yeah, it was very unfortunate.

K: I mean I spoke to a group of wives in an informal way and those morons in the State Department had the press in there without telling me.

G: Well what actually, I mean, I never could get it out what you in fact said to them. What did he mean by.....

K: I said nothing of any consequence, but by the time they got through distorting it, it was hopeless. I wasn't even talking about Europe. I was talking about a nuclear war, and I said, let's not kid ourselves, no government is going to survive the catastrophe of a nuclear war. No European government that ended World War I ever recovered its legitimacy. That's absolutely true.

G: Yeah, fantastic. Well that's interesting. I read the thing and I couldn't imagine what you had said.

K: What I had talked about was the impact of a huge catastrophe caused by governments on its population. It had nothing to do with the current crisis. It wasn't set in that context.

G: Of course. Well, again, when it comes out of context it's a meaningless phrase. I mean, it just doesn't mean anything. And nobody has understood it.

K: And in that context it's one hundred percent right.

G: Yeah, well, Henry, what exactly, what do you see. I mean, is it just ~~[illegible]~~ leave things alone there?

K: We're not going to make another move.

G: Well, this is what I feel very strongly. Has Bruce been going around importuning people?

K: No.

G: That never took off.

K: No, we canceled that.

G: I see. Is it because there was just no point.

K: There was no point. We knew what the facts were. I mean, everyone knows what it is.

G: Yeah, and is the severance in the British government at all helpful or even more problematical?

K: Well, in the short term it's helpful. In the long term it will be more problematical.

G: Yeah. And the Germans are just continuing to say, we don't know what the argument is about.

K: That's right. They're waffling all over the place.

G: Yeah. And why essentially? Just too worried about the French, or just a feeling let's not rock this boat as well as so many others?

K: I think that and the emotional need of the French. The French are beyond my understanding. DeGaulle I understood.

G: Yeah. Well the other day at the West European Studies this man Bahr who used to be the head of the French Delegation to the Common Market was there. He began to talk about the difference in generations and about the fact that the new generation doesn't understand things. So, when it came to questions, I mean the whole thing was an unbelievable performance. For example, among other things, he lashed out at the Dutch in response to a question. I think the question either from Kimmelberger or Leonchev. In a fashion, you cannot imagine the _____ "[speaks in French.]" On and on this way. But then I asked him, I mean, he went on and on talking about difference in generations. I said you sound positively _____. I said after all, this is all that he's talking about. But what would you have to do if you were an American to prove that the object is not simply to dominate you.

G: He said you would have to behave differently than you are now behaving.

K: Like what?

G: This is the next question. This is all in French. I said, "[French]", and again talking about the oil thing in terms of no planning. You know, I reminded him of all the things... Some day, Henry, I must show you however this Bill Bundy letter, and I'm sure you've heard from Nancy the end of that thing, where he said the crisis is over, as I told you, and France is now -- you know, that's how the whole thing ended.

K: Yes, that's what he told me too.

G: Unbelievable.

K: He wanted to get me to say that he shouldn't print it. And I said, no, I thought this was just putting a bandaid over a cancer.

G: Now what is his game here, Henry? Is he anxious not to have anything in there that would upset the Europeans? Is he anxious not to have anything in there...

K: He is anxious not to have anything in there that supports the Administration.

G: That's right. That is what I... I mean this is what Dan Bell and Irving Kristol and others said. But someday I must show you a letter from him that is theoretically a letter of criticism. I mean, this is not the last one. In the end he simply said, it's all over, as I told you, I mean, there is no problem anymore.

K: Yeah. What are you going to do with his article.

G: Well, this is the thing, Henry. There's nothing to do. I made a change in the beginning and sent it to the Times. The Times felt that their Laquer(?) piece is rather like it, which in a sense it is. But what I now feel, and this is one of the many things I want to talk to you about, I really feel that what I have in this article is the basis for a very important longer article. Where do you public it in this country. What is a serious journal? Again, you don't have the time to read this foreign policy, but it's just unbelievable crud.

K: You know I would have to say we are practically being...you know, we had a good foreign policy going and they are now killing it.

G: Yeah. But what can be done?

K: They are moving to the right of us on detente.

G: Absolutely. This is the thing.

K: I mean the very people who were accusing us of being warmongers, insensitive, immoral, and 5 thousand other things, now think we are not tough enough on the Russians.

G: Absolutely, but this is what it's all about.

K: The people who thought we were too tough on the North Vietnamese say we are too soft on the Russians.

G: That's right. But, Henry, how do you get anywhere in this country - how do you get any of these things said?

K: I think we are heading into a third republic state. We are going to become ungovernable. The press is going to be our parliament.

G: What can be done?

K: I don't know.

G: But this is it.

K: You know, they're not going to rest until they've torn me down.

G: Well, again, and you know some people imagine that I write this way because of a personal relation with you. It has nothing to do with you.

K: I know a clash with Europe won't do it because the Europeans are going to collapse on us before it's done. They haven't got the nerve to continue it.

G: Again, who is going to collapse first there?

K: The Germans, the Dutch. You know, we're going to kill the Davignon committee and nobody's going to make a decision anymore without checking with us.

G: Yeah, but the bigger thing, Henry, is that there is one kind of theme that is coming through from the left all the way over to the right. I mean not all the way over to the right, whatever the right is, but it is one kind of opinion and you cannot get another thing said. And again one thinks of trying to start something new, but what do you do - you can't start a new newspaper, you can't start a new journal. It would take years to build it up. But there is simply no outlet for a certain kind of opinion. What you just said about whether it's Third Republic or not, that's another matter.

K: Well, and they're moving with amazing uniformity. You know, last year the Democrats were hitting us for a $60 billion Defense budget. This year $95 billion isn't enough. Last year if you explained high manpower costs they'd sneer at you. This year I had Cy Vance and MacBundy in the other day and ~~they said~~ and I said, look, our budget is higher in detente. Oh, but that doesn't mean anything. Manpower is such a big slice of it and inflation.

G: Yeah.

K: Which is true, but they wouldn't have said that last year.

G: Yeah. You know it really was, Henry, and not for just one policy or something else...

K: But then you know, the suicidal...[end of tape]. ....but they systematically go after me.

G: But their illusion is this is why you have to look at least at this Brzyzinski thing. Because after all what Brzyzinski is telling you is, in a sense what it really is, it is a kind of...

[redacted] B6

G: Yes, but you see the only thing that I think can save this. May I just give you this to reflect on - you've probably reflected. I keep going around with these people and saying one thing. If you think there are going to be Democrats in the White House in '77, you are really mistaken. You aren't gonna make it. Not one of you are gonna be there. And, incidentally, I said it to someone yesterday, here in Washington, and, you know, I could almost see the man blanch. They have just taken it for granted that they're gonna be heirs to all this - it's simply a matter of waiting the thing out. It is by no means certain, Henry.

K: No, no, I think that Gerry Ford could probably beat anyone except Jackson.

G: I think he could beat Jackson. Incidentally, I don't think Jackson can get it without ~~suffering~~ such a struggle, including the killing-off of Chappaquidic, which isn't gonna be all that easy, because Chappaquidic is gonna stay in long enough for him to ruin the chances of a fair number of other people. What I am really worried about is that there is the illusion. I mean what you have in Brzyzinski is the illusion that in '77 he'll come back because he is the head of a trilateral commission that believes in a thing called Western Europe and also believes in a thing called Japan and these bad relations will be restored.

K: Well, first, our relations with Japan aren't bad. Secondly, if last year proved anything it's precisely the attempt to restore bad -- whatever I tried to do other than what the trilateral commission says it is trying to do. That's exactly the mistake we made. But when you listen to the establishment we always go wrong. That's right, if we hadn't lifted a finger with Europe nothing would have happened.

G: Yeah.

K: How is he going to establish good relations with Europe, precisely how? What ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ concrete steps would he take? I don't think he's gonna get into office, but supposing he did. How would he do it?

G: I have no idea. He has no idea. But it is a new kind of nostalgia, a nostalgia for something which again never existed.

K: Look, Kennedy tried, it, Johnson tried it, Nixon tried it. Isn't it probable that there's something organic he re?

G: Yeah, yeah, but also, Henry, what has got to be seen is these people still think that it is if they had any sympathy for us, which they lack, it is in respect to a recalcitrant France. It is France that is impossible. And the failure to see that it is a much deeper thing - that it is Europe in the terms - I continue to feel that what I wrote in that article is essentially right. You cannot understand it unless you understand a place called England, a place called Germany.

K: That's right.

G: You cannot understand this phenomenon.

K: Well, I think we'll let them stew in their own juice now. I'm sorry frankly that it reached these public proportions. I think if last week hadn't happened and we had just slowly disengaged from Europe and let them stew in their own juice it would have brought them back better than this public brawling. I wouldn't have had the President say what he said.

G: I didn't feel you did. I just knew you hadn't.

K: And you know I wouldn't have said publicly what I said. Although what I said wasn't so bad, if you read it.

G: Well, but this is it, you see, I only read it out of context.

K: What I said, two things that were taken deadly out of context. I said the big problem in this world is to create a cooperative world structure. There is a paradox that we know how to regulate relations with our enemies but we have not managed yet to create a cooperative structure with our friends - which happens to be true. That was one quote they played with. The other one was the legitimacy one which I put in a totally different section and which dealt with a different subject.

G: Yeah, well, Henry, again I don't want to quote my own article, but I think the thing really is to let the thing simply be. I think there should be no more talk about any visit.

K: No, no, that's out.

G: I think there's no need for it. And I think just play the whole thing down and see what happens. But what I still worry about is what is going on in this country, which again, nobody is writing about.

K: No I think the better strategy would have been just to let it die without an uproar.

G:] Yeah, but now that the uproar has happened, Henry, do you still not think that one should just forget it?

K:] I think one should just forget it, but you know now the trouble is the Europeans are gonna make an overture and that's gonna keep it up and up and up. They're gonna try to rescue these declarations now.

G:] Really?

K: Yeah.

G: Because they still think that that's what the issue is about.

K: That's right.

G: Who is there there, Henry, that you really do feel understands? Does Giscard not understand what's going on?

K: That I can't tell.

G: I mean they speak with one voice, with the master's voice.

K: Well, I don't know who's doing the speaking. You see, what makes us think they're nuts is whenever I see Jobert alone he tells me he disagrees with Pompidou.

G: Yeah. But it certainly doesn't sound that way.

K: No, but it isn't true that we have ever had any controversy. That's French pu blicity.

G: Yeah, very interesting. Well I am going over for about - I'm leaving a week Friday - for various things in connection with a book of essays that I've edited that is coming out in Italy, and things, and I really frankly to answer your question about what I want to do with the article, I would like to make it into something better, but I frankly don't know - you know, better in the sense of not fleshing it out and dealing much more with the real difficulties of some of these x mysteries(?) But once you did, I have no idea in this country at this moment where to put it. I have no idea who to offer it to.

K: Yeah, I agree. Harper and so forth wouldn't do it?

G: Who reads Harper?

K: Yeah.

G: Who reads The Atlantic?

K: Well, that's true.

G: I mean, The Atlantic wouldn't do it. Harper's might, but who reads it? So this is really, I think this is the most serious matter that exists, that there is this kind of nostalgia for moments when we were able to get on with our allies and when we were fairly tough with the Russians. Again, what you say about detente is absolutely true.

K: But look, they're not going to maintain their toughness. Do you think that Hinster(?) would be tough with the Russians for two years once he got into office?

G: But, Henry, he's never going to get in. I feel this so intensely and so certainly ... that would mess things up.

K: Yeah, well that I'm sure of too. Besides he couldn't stay in even if he got it.

G: It's never gonna happen. But it is the creation of a myth that is going to survive until the 1976 election.

K: I know.

G: And I think this myth - we're aware of that this myth has to be taken apart. And when his doctors say, look, I mean again the Europeans are constantly talking about detente. Who in God's name pushed detente with real ardor if not the Europeans. And the British seemed the _____ ones among them.

K: Okay, Steve - I know, I know, when Heath came into it all over here and the minute ~~that~~ detente ended the Europeans would be in Moscow. Okay, I've got to run.

G: Henry, bless you, and you don't think you'll be here at all next weekend.

K: I'm not sure yet.

G: Well, I'll just try to get to you from time to time, but this is not the man to do it through. Can I call Eagleburger?

K: Call Eagleburger.

G: And just say that you told me to.

K: Yes.

G: Okay, thanks. Goodbye, Henry.

K: Goodbye.

UNCLASSIFIED File - FM 5 Chile 740005 L12

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

S/S

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Chile Project (#S199900006)
[redacted] U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____
March 22, 1974

COPIES TO:
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ARA
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L
PM
ACDA
AID
NSC
RF:vhd

TO : The Secretary

FROM: S/P - Winston Lord

Sale of Military Equipment to Chile

The Chileans are pressing us for a wide variety of weaponry to redress their military imbalance with Peru. Some of these weapons were initially offered for sale to the Allende government. Nonetheless, adverse public and Congressional reaction to expensive military sales is certain to be heightened by the current human rights situation in Chile. This reaction could jeopardize our capacity to help Chile in other areas, and might also threaten broader interests, such as the FY 75 security assistance legislation about to be presented to Congress, and our ability to deliver on the Mexico City pledge to maintain present aid levels.

The basic issues, therefore, are:

-- Can we meet our previous commitments for military sales and our assurances of support for the junta without running a serious risk of jeopardizing our relations with Congress and our broader interests?

-- If we do sell, how much should we sell and when?

-- Are any counterbalancing moves available to draw the political poison from arms sales to Chile?

Background

1. The Equipment Picture

Although our grant material program with Chile was

[redacted] GDS

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terminated in 1968, the U.S. maintained a small FMS credit sales program during the Allende regime. On the day of the coup, September 11, 1973, sales of all lethal items to Chile were placed under review. Prior to the coup we had officially notified the Allende government of our willingness to sell the M-60 medium tank and authorized release to Chile of price and availability data on the F-5E aircraft to preempt purchase of MIG-21's from the USSR.

In August 1973 the GOC formally requested 15 M-60 tanks (cost: $7.5 million). Since the coup the GOC has advised the U.S. of its intention to request 18 F-5E's on a cash basis (cost: $60 million). Delivery of these tanks and aircraft will lessen, but not close, Chile's gap with Peru.

In addition, Chile has expressed interest in acquiring three major weapons packages (A-7D aircraft, extensive air defense including missiles and cannon, and the TOW anti-tank/assault weapon), a number of lesser items (air traffic control radar, vehicle mounted recoilless rifles, armored personnel and mortar carriers, anti-aircraft cannon and fire control radar, and riot control equipment), as well as a small package of non-lethal equipment. Neither the A-7D nor the TOW has previously been sold in Latin America.

The Junta is convinced that Chile faces a major threat from Peru, which now enjoys significant superiority in both tanks and fighter aircraft. If we deny what the Junta considers its minimal needs, Chile will make every effort to meet them elsewhere, and its disillusionment and frustration could have unpredictable long-term consequences.

2. The Economic Picture

Chile is seeking to reschedule its massive external debt obligations in order to help resolve the economic chaos inherited from the Allende period. On economic grounds alone, the expenditure of large sums on arms acquisitions at a time when Chile is pleading for concessional economic assistance and generous debt rescheduling is certain to increase criticism of Chile in the US Congress and elsewhere.

3. The Congressional Picture

Military sales to Chile are unpopular with important Members of Congress on three counts: (1) there is extensive distaste for the human rights record of the GOC; (2) opponents of US economic assistance criticize uneconomic use of limited resources by poverty-stricken regimes; and (3) there is concern lest military sales encourage arms races.

Congress has written all three counts into the legislative record. Of the many provisions in the Foreign Assistance and Foreign Military Sales Acts registering these concerns, only Section #4 of the FMS Act (the Conte-Long Amendment), which requires Presidential national security findings for sales of sophisticated equipment to Latin American countries, or interdepartmental findings that specific items are not "sophisticated", is mandatory. However, taken together these provisions unambiguously state the trend of Congressional thinking on three issues unavoidably relevant to major arms sales to Chile at this time.

These Congressional concerns cannot be dismissed as those of a marginal group, for their most intense advocates are Members whose support will be needed if we are to deliver on your pledge at Mexico City to "maintain, as a minimum, present aid levels."

Bureau and Agency Views

With multiple caveats, predominant views support authorizing sale now of the F-5E, M-60 medium tanks, an anti-tank weapons system (not the TOW), armored vehicles, mines, and certain other minor items, privately informing the GOC of the decision, and considering additional requests on a case-by-case basis.

This posture would arouse sharp Congressional criticism would not satisfy all the GOC's perceived needs, and could still result in acquisitions of other items from third countries. However, it would satisfy the GOC's most urgent needs, would specifically address GOC concerns over Peruvian acquisition of Soviet Tanks, and would permit the USG to honor prior commitments to Chile. It would also require no new findings or determinations under the Conte-Long Amendment.

In general, this posture is supported by ARA, PM, EB, and L in State and by DOD, CIA, and ACDA. No one strongly supports either holding all requests for FMS credit for major sales under review, or resuming normal FMS credit sales now.

Nonetheless, there are important dissenting views and refinements:

-- AID finds it difficult to support any option in view of their Congressional concerns. (Treasury has not commented.)

-- ACDA believes that after selling F-5E's and M-60's we should make a discreet approach to the GOC suggesting that it might wish to consult with Peru on the possibilities for exercising mutual restraint in arms acquisition. It argues that if we are reasonably forthcoming in meeting Chilean security needs, the GOC might be willing to approach the GOP along these lines.

-- L would have preferred to keep all sales under review given human rights and economic considerations, but accepted the limited-sales option because of Peruvian purchases of Soviet tanks. PM reluctantly assented to the tank sale for the same reason.

-- EB, while endorsing limited sales because it sees "no viable alternative," believes the Chilean authorities should be warned explicitly that significant military purchases by Chile will make it most difficult or even impossible for us to convince the Congress to authorize meaningful amounts of development assistance.

-- H endorses an alternative option of first making strong representations to the GOC to defer purchases of major military items by stressing the compelling economic rationale against such purchases; coupling this with efforts to reduce tension between Chile and Peru; and falling back to limited sales to Chile only if this fails. It believes that timing is an important element: any delays would give the GOC more time to improve the human rights situation and thus reduce Congressional criticism.

S/P Views

S/P was not involved in preliminary work on this issue, (memorandum at Tab A) but after careful study of

an admittedly complicated issue, it is our view that:

1. Sales of the F-5E aircraft (on a cash basis) and M-60 tanks (using FMS credit financing) would meet our previous commitments. Were we also to sell mines and an anti-tank system, these sales, whose total cost would approximate $70 million, with only about $10 million in credits, would meet Chile's minimal perceived urgent defensive needs.

2. Resumption of additional sales may also prove desirable, but we should first get a better grasp on the overall West Coast security picture and on possible counter balancing steps. The GOC is dependent on U.S. political support in many areas, and while the degree of dependence should not be exaggerated, it may permit us to defer resumption of further sales until mid-year, long enough to clarify the Chile-Peru situation, the possibility of countervailing steps, and the Chilean economic and human rights situation in Congress.

3. In any event, we need a better feel for the Chile-Peru situation. The Junta feels Chile's national security is in danger; Peruvian acquisition of Soviet tanks provides the immediate rationale for Chilean pressure to purchase; local arms races are a serious Congressional concern; ACDA recommends we push the Chileans to explore restraint with Peru after agreeing to resume sale to Chile. But we do not have a clear picture of what these tensions are, whether they are reducible by local or U.S. initiative, or, if so, whether such initiative would most effectively take place before or after resumed U.S. sales to Chile. A National Intelligence Study of arms acquisitions and the security situation on the West Coast of South America has begun but is unlikely to be completed before mid-May.

4. We could also usefully examine whether we can sensibly take other steps to preempt or counterbalance the certain adverse effects on other U.S. interests in Chile, the hemisphere and beyond (e.g. the security assistance program worldwide). The feasibility and desirability of such counterbalancing steps has not yet been examined at all.

[redacted]

Recommendations:

ARA, PM, and S/P recommend, in light of these considerations:

1. That you authorize immediate private notification to the Chileans that we are willing to sell now the F-5E's and the M-60's previously committed. We are also prepared to sell mines and the LAW anti-tank system, and will continue to examine their other arms requests on a case-by-case basis.

Approve HK Disapprove _____
APR 25 1974

2. That, in informing the GOC of this decision, we explain the possible consequences of public and Congressional reaction, emphasizing that we are doing so only in an effort to share our concerns with the GOC, not lecturing them about what they consider to be their own needs.

Approve HS Disapprove _____
APR 25 1974

3. That, before authorizing any additional sales, you direct an interagency task force chaired by State/ARA and consisting in addition of PM, S/P, INR, L, and H, in State, and of ACDA, DOD, AID, and CIA, to undertake a study of the possibilities and modalities for reducing tensions between Chile and Peru, including the role of possible arms control initiatives; taking into account the progress of the West Coast National Intelligence Study now underway. The task force should also explore possible steps the U.S. might take in the human rights field to preempt or minimize the adverse effects of resumed arms sales to Chile. The study should be submitted by April 12, 1974, in time for your consideration before your speech at the OAS General Assembly in Atlanta. (In view of the time pressure, we are moving ahead informally on this study now.)

Approve _____ Disapprove HK
APR 25 1974

Attachment:

Memorandum on Sale of Military Equipment to Chile.

Drafted:S/P:Einaudi/Simons
x20822:3/22/74
Clearances: ARA - Amb. Bowdler (draft)
PM - Mr. Stern (draft)

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 25, 1974

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Mr. Harry Shlaudeman
ARA/LA/BC - Mr. John Karkashian
ARA/LA/BC - Mr. Arnold Isaacs

FROM: H - William B. Richardson

SUBJECT: Bilateral between Admiral Huerta and Reps. Dante Fascell and Bill Mailliard at Mexico Foreign Ministers Meeting

The one-hour (7:00-8:00 p.m.) bilateral session took place in Admiral Huerta's suite at the Camino Real Hotel on February 22, 1974.

Participants

Admiral Ismael Huerta, Foreign Minister of Chile
Ricardo Claro, Economic Adviser to the Foreign Minister
Capt. Carlos Ashton, Public Relations Director for Chilean Foreign Ministry

Representative Dante Fascell (D-Fla.)
Representative William Mailliard (R-Calif.)
William B. Richardson (H)

Background

Prior to the U.S. delegation's departure to Mexico City, the Chilean Embassy had informed us that Admiral Huerta wanted to host a dinner or a luncheon for the Congressional delegation in Mexico at their convenience. Aboard the airplane enroute to Mexico City, the Congressional group, at the urging of Senator Mansfield, tentatively agreed not to accept the Chilean invitation

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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for both political reasons as well as a general Congressional policy not to show "preference" to any type of Latin government (i.e., if they accepted the Chilean invitation, they would be compelled to accept other similar invitations). I was then instructed to inform Ricardo Claro, who had literally been harassing me about setting up the necessary arrangements, that the Congressional group could not accept the Admiral's invitation because of scheduling conflicts and previous commitments. At one of the Secretary's briefings for the Congressional group, however, the Chilean matter came up again and Dante Fascell and Bill Mailliard agreed to meet with Huerta informally at some point during the conference. Senator McGee said he was reluctant to see Huerta as he had already talked to him and other Chilean officials in Washington previously. Speaker Albert, Senator Scott, and Senator Mansfield showed no interest in meeting with the Chilean Foreign Minister.

Claro and I tentatively set up a meeting for 6:15 p.m. on Friday. Fascell and Mailliard were literally "dragged out" of a reception that Mexican President Echeverria was giving for the U.S. Congressmen to attend the Huerta session. The Chileans did not seem perturbed when we arrived 45 minutes late.

Substance and Main Points Made by the Participants

The dialogue was conducted in a very open, friendly manner. Among the subjects covered were the human rights question, U.S. Congressional attitude towards the GOC, USG aid to Chile, and the Chilean domestic situation. Dante Fascell did most of the talking, and Claro, Ashton, and Huerta equally shared the GOC point of view.

Huerta

--Stated that he was disappointed in the conference, since "everything was decided upon beforehand with little room for negotiation in Mexico." At the time of the bilateral, an important drafting session was taking place among the Foreign Ministers which Huerta was not attending. The Chilean delegation was obviously feeling isolated. Huerta had not officially been received by the Mexican Government at the airport and had gone through a very embarrassing press conference. Other delegations did not appear to want to socialize with the Chileans throughout the conference.

--Stated that GOC "pronunciamiento" was the biggest defeat that the Soviets and Castro had ever had in the hemisphere. Allende's failure was an "irreparable" loss for the Communists.

--Stated that there was little Chile could do to improve its public image since most of the world press was strongly infiltrated by Marxists unfavorably disposed towards Chile.

--When Dante Fascell asked him if the GOC was interested in purchasing arms from the U.S., Huerta evaded the question and shifted the conversation to Peru's recent acquisition of Soviet tanks and Peru's "expansionist" tendencies. In response to a Dante Fascell question as to whether Chile feared an attack by Peru, Huerta emphasized that Velasco was a sick man and that he did not trust some of his "hothead" advisers (in the event that Velasco left the Presidency). Huerta affirmed that Chile must be prepared.

--Stated that military men were unfamiliar in playing the role of politicians.

--Stated that Chile had no human rights problem and that those in prison were there because they had committed illegal acts. He affirmed that military trials would begin soon, especially for the prisoners in Dawson Island.

--Remained silent when Dante Fascell informed him that a journalist recently returned from Chile (Bill Montalbano, Miami Herald) had privately told Dante Fascell that it would be in Chile's interest to "get them the hell out of prison" before somebody found them.

--Asked Dante Fascell and Bill Mailliard about prospects for financial aid being approved by the U.S. Congress. When both Members gave him a pessimistic answer, Huerta stated that he had had a very good meeting with Senator Kennedy in his last trip to Washington.

--Deferred all economic questions posed to him by Fascell to Ricardo Claro (even a simple question by Fascell, the status of copper production). Huerta did not seem to be at all well informed of the economic situation in Chile.

--Invited Fascell and Mailliard to Chile to "see for themselves" what was happening there.

Ricardo Claro

--Gave a status report on copper production, the debt rescheduling and compensation talks, and the economic game plan of the GOC.

--Stated that he had recommended to the GOC that they hire a Madison Avenue public relations firm to improve their public image in this country.

--At the conference had been quite outspoken in criticizing Federico Willoughby. Several reporters had complained to Claro of Willoughby's unresponsiveness and Claro concurred in their assessment.

--Told me that he had been under tremendous pressure by Huerta to set up this meeting.

Carlos Ashton

--Stated that junta accession to power was democratic in that they were responding to thousands of Chileans who had asked them to step in and "save the country."

--Asked Fascell if inviting Members of Congress to Chile would be helpful. They have recently invited Reps. Robert Roe (R-N.J.) and John Conlan (R-Ariz.).

--Repeatedly asked for suggestions as to how to improve their public image. Should the GOC invite journalists, etc?

--Was clearly the most conservative in the Chilean delegation.

Observations

The Chileans appeared to be extremely pleased with the meeting. The next day Claro told me several times how gratified Huerta had been with the session.

Fascell and Mailliard likewise felt the meeting had been useful. Fascell felt that Huerta's lack of political acumen was obvious and that he was a bit distressed by Huerta's silence when he asked him whether there were "10,000" political prisoners in the regional jails.

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Clearance: Mr. Jenkins (H)

SB 209 *

RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
Secretary Schlesinger/Secretary Kissinger
March 30, 1974
10:42 AM

K: How's Bermuda?

S: Very rainy.

K: Is it rainy. How is your moral?

S: Splendid.

K: That it can rain there that is why I go to Mexico, always you can be sure of good weather.

S: Yes.

K: Jim, this isn't a good line on which to talk, but you are seeing Dayan on Monday.

S: That's the plan.

K: Right. We are going over, with him the various disengagement schemes. He's really been the man who on the Egyptian disengagement and on the Syrian one has been the one who has carried the intellectual ball. I would be very useful if he could come back with some positive news on some of his concern. I don't have the list here in front of me so I don't want to go over individual items with you. If Brent could work with somebody, whom should he work with over the weekend.

S: He could work with John Whickem on that.

K: OK, I'll have him work with Whicken and I talked to the President about it yesterday, again not on items but as a general idea and he is sympathetic. too. So can Brent work with Whickem and if you could in your conduct when you see him, do it from that point of view it would be very helpful.

S: You want to give him something?

K: Yes, definitely.

S: You know the cobra is something they been insisting on .

K: If you feel you could spring a few of those that might be a good gesture and it might also help in other context.

S: The problem is that the others will reach for the cobra.

K: Yes, but wouldn't that be a good way of doing it?

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 14 MAY 2004 200102979

S: If you give the cobra to them you have to give it to the Jordanians, you may have to give it to the Jordanians, just elevated the capabilities. I don't know whether that's a worrysome point or not.

K: Why don't you raise that with him.

S: Right.

K: I don't want to go into individual weapons now, I'm more talking about the general attitude.

S: But you want to be forthcoming.

K: Exactly.

S: No problem, we can go as far as you want.

K: Let me - Brent has the list - let me go over the list with Brent. Let him talk to Whickem. I just wanted you to know my attitude.

S: OK. The Israelis are being fairly cooperative then.

K: Frankly it will have to go through a process and again frankly we are counting very much on Dayan's support in this process.

S: OK. Very good.

K: The more he can be strengthened the better it will be.

S: OK, we shall attempt to strengthen him.

K: Good. Many thanks. Have a good rest.

S: Bye.

END

MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES
ESTADISTICA DE ASILADOS Y SALVOCONDUCTOS POR EMBAJADA

NOMBRE EMBAJADA	ASILOS CONCEDIDOS	SALVOCOND. PARA ASILAD.	SALV. PEND. PARA ASILAD.	SALVOCONDUCTOS PARA EXPULSADOS	SALVOCOND. CORTESIA	SALVOCOND. PARA REFUG.
ARGENTINA	696	679	17	51	42	--
AUSTRIA	86	81	5	1	27	--
BELGICA	85	83	2	2	12	--
BOLIVIA	--	--	--	31	2	--
BRASIL	--	--	--	5	--	--
BULGARIA	--	--	--	--	16	--
CANADA	64	64	--	5	8	--
CIME	1	1	--	238	172	--
CHECOSLOVAQUIA	--	--	--	--	3	--
CHINA	--	--	--	--	2	--
COLOMBIA	67	60	7	15	75	--
COREA	--	--	--	--	31	--
COSTA RICA	17	16	1	--	1	--
CUBA	--	--	--	--	4	--
DINAMARCA	5	5	--	6	--	--
R. DOMINICANA	1	1	--	--	--	--
ECUADOR	10	10	--	10	85	--

UNCLASSIFIED
Chile Project (#S1999000006)
U.S. Department of State
Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____
UNCLASSIFIED

NOMBRE EMBAJADA	ASILOS CONCEDIDOS	SALVOCOND. PARA ASILAD.	SALV. PEND. PARA ASILAD.	SALVOCONDUCTOS PARA EXPULSADOS	SALVOCOND. CORTESIA	SALVOCOND. PARA REFUG.
ESPAÑA	8	8	--	28	5	--
FINLANCIA	150	138	12	--	7	--
FRANCIA	530	512	18	8	63	--
GUATEMALA	--	--	--	--	--	--
HOLANDA	76	68	8	5	22	--
HONDURAS	152	140	12	1	27	--
HUNGRIA	--	--	--	--	11	--
INDIA	--	--	--	5	16	--
ITALIA	208	175	33	3	16	--
JAPON	--	--	--	1	--	--
MEXICO	676	611	65	5	90	--
NICARAGUA	4	4	--	18	46	--
NORUEGA	30	26	4	--	26	--
NUN. APOSTOL.	3	3	--	--	6	--
PANAMA	302	298	4	1	15	--
PARAGUAY	3	3	--	--	1	--
PERU	26	24	2	25	124	--
POLONIA	2	2	--	--	11	--

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

NOMBRE EMBAJADA	ASILOS CONCEDIDOS	SALVOCOND. PARA ASILAD.	SALV. PEND., PARA ASILAD.	SALVOCONDUCTOS PARA EXPULSADOS	SALVOCOND. CORTESIA	SALVOCOND. PARA REFUG.
RDA	22	20	2	--	16	--
RFA	117	102	15	10	109	--
RUMANIA	--	--	--	--	3	--
RUSIA	--	--	--	--	283	--
SUECIA	210	194	16	65	65	--
SUIZA	63	60	3	1	26	--
SUD VIETNAM	--	--	--	--	6	--
SALVADOR	1	1	--	1	--	--
URUGUAY	11	1	--	7	55	--
USA	5	5	--	10	39	--
VENEZUELA	335	311	24	3	239	--
VIETNAM	--	--	--	--	11	--
YUGOSLAVIA	--	--	--	1	4	--
COMITE REF.	--	--	--	--	--	1729
VARIOS	5	4	1	10	217	--
T O T A L	3961	3710	252	572	2039	1729

UNCLASSIFIED

SB 227 1*

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Kubisch/Sec. Kissinger
April 12, 1974
10:15 a.m.

K: Jack, these letters are still not what I want.

JK: I'm sorry.

K: What I want is to say clearly what it is we expect. When you say we can settle some things that were left pending in Mexico that leaves it open to everything. It depends on his understanding of what was left pending in Mexico.

to

JK: You want name specifically what...

K: I think what we should say is: Since this meeting takes place so short a time after Mexico, we do not believe that any major results can occur. What we can do is reconfirm the spirit. Set up working groups for the preparation for the next meeting and perhaps if you want that scientific and technical thing or whatever and secondly, once you have established that you should say it would be unfortunate if the meeting in Washington with the American press in the present state of our situation would focus on the divisive aspect because that would destroy that new spirit. And we have to say that clearly. Can we do that?

JK: Sure. I guess I was not clear in my own mind what you wanted.

K: Can we get that done today please.

JK: Oh, yes.

K: Good. Thank you.

END.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 12 DEC 2002 200102979

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01996 162104Z

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E475

73
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 SCA-01 AID-20 SR-02 ORM-03 JUSE-00 SY-04

DRC-01 /165 W

085696

R 161941Z APR 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8209
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
US MISSION GENEVA 350
US MISSION USUN NEW YORK 760

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 1996

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINT, PFOR
SUBJ: ASYLEES IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS: THE MEN WHO CAME TO DINNER

REF: SANTIAGO 730

1. SUMMARY. APPROXIMATELY 250 INDIVIDUALS CONTINUE AS ASYLEES IN SANTIAGO DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. TOTAL HAS REMAINED VIRTUALLY UNCHANGED FOR LAST 3 MONTHS. GOC CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THAT ALL ASYLEES WILL BE GRANTED SAFECONDUCTS TO LEAVE COUNTRY BUT THAT LENGTHY

PROCESS OF AMASSING EVIDENCE FOR SIMULTANEOUS EXTRADITION REQUESTS RESPONSIBLE FOR CURRENT SNAIL'S PACE MOVEMENT. LATEST HIGH RANKING UP FIGURES TO DRIBBLE OUT OF BOTTLENECK ARE HERNAN DEL CANTO AND

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 01996 162104Z

PATRICIO PALMA. END SUMMARY.

2. LATEST GOC STATISTICS GIVEN TO EMBOFF BY FON MINISTRY SOURCES

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

REVEAL THAT AS OF APRIL 1 TOTAL OF 3,961 INDIVIDUALS HAD CLAIMED ASYLUM IN SANTIAGO DIPLOMTIC MISSIONS. FIGURES INDICATE THAT 48 ADDITIONAL INDIVIDUALS HAVE ENTERED EMBASSIES SINCE LAST STATISTICS MADE AVAILABLE IN EARLY FEBRUARY. PRESUMABLY ALL HAVE ENTERED LATIN AMERICAN MISSIONS, AS EUROPEANS EMBASSIES HAVE BEEN PROHIBITED FORM ACCEPTING ASYLEES OR "GUESTS" SINCE DECEMBER 11. SAFECONDUCTS TO DEPART COUNTRY HAVE BEEN GRANTED TO 3,710 ASYLEES. THERE ARE 60 REQUESTS BEING PROCESSED AND 192 ARE IN "DEFERRED" STATUS, WHILE GOC INVESTIGATES BACKGROUNDS TO DETERMINE WHETHER CRIMINAL CHARGES POSSIBLE OR PENDING AND, IN SOME CASES, PROCESSES EXTRADITION REQUESTS THROUGH CHILEAN COURT SYSTEM FOR TRANSMITTAL THROUGH FON MINISTRY.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. IN ADDITION TO SAFECONDUCTS GRANTED TO ASYLEES, GOC HAS ALSO ISSUED

572 SAFECONDUCTS TO FOREIGNERS EXPELLED FROM CHILE, 1,729 TO REFUGEES,

AND 2,039 TO INDIVIDUALS AS COURTESY TO DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS.

4. LACK OF MOVEMENT IN FLOW OF ASYLEES MEANS THAT MANY EMBASSIES STILL CONTENDING WITH GUESTS WHO VERY MUCH WOULD LIKE TO BE ELSEWHERE.

MEXICO LEADS LIST WITH 65 ASYLEES, WHICH IS 25 MORE THAN IT HAD IN FEBRUARY. SIMILARLY VENEZUELAN TOTAL HAS INCREASED FROM 13 TO 24. OTHER COUNTRIES STILL WITH SIZABLE NUMBERS OF ASYLEES ARE ITALY (33), FRANCE (18), ARGENTINA (17), SWEDEN (16) AND FRG (15).

5. LATEST UP FIGURES TO BE GRANTED SAFECONDUCT ARE FORMER SOCIALIST PARTY (PS) CABINET MINISTER HERNAN DEL CANTO NOW IN BOGOTA, AND PATRICIO PALMA, FORMER PS HEAD OF BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE (DIRINCO) WHO DEPARTED APRIL 15 FOR PANAMA CITY. ACCORDING TO CHILEAN PRESS BOTH WILL BE DETAINED PENDING ACTION BY RECEIVING GOVERNMENTS ON EXTRADITION REQUESTS PRESENTED BY FONMINISTRY. SUPREME COURT HAS RECENTLY AGREED TO RECOMMEND EXTRADITION FOR PS LEADERS PEDRO VUSKOVIC (CHARGE WITH THEFT) AND CARMEN LAZO (ACCUSED OF BIGAMY), WHO WILL THEREFORE PROBABLY SOON BE LEAVING THEIR RESPECTIVE ASYLUMS IN MEXICAN AND COLUMBIAN EMBASSIES.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 01996 162104Z

6. COLOMBIANS HAVE BEEN MOST VOLUBLE IN COMPLAINING TO GOC ABOUT SLOWNESS OF GRANTING SAFECONDUCTS FOR ASYLEES. COLOMBIAN AMBASSADOR DELIVERED NOTE TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE LAST WEEK WHICH APPARENTLY REPEATED COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S VASQUEZ' DECEMBER PLEA (SANTIAGO 250) TO GOC TO END ITS SNAIL PACE HANDLING OF ISSUE. EIGHT CHILEANS REMAIN IN COLOMBIAN EMBASSY INCLUDING RANKING UP FIGURES LAZO, OSCAR GUILLERMO GARRETON AND ADONIS SEPULVEDA.

POPPER

[redacted]

[redacted]

E486

PAGE 01 STATE 078277

16
ORIGIN IO-02

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R

INFO OCT-01 ARA-02 ISO-00 /005 R

66619
DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:JWKIMBALL:JBS
APPROVED BY IO:LKAHN

099462

R 172203Z APR 74
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] STATE 078277

FOLLOWING REPEAT BUCHAREST 1557 ACTION STATE, INFO USUN NEW YORK 16 APRIL 1974. QUOTE:

[redacted] BUCHAREST 1557

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OREP, PFOR, CI
SUBJ: IPU CONFERENCE - CHILE ISSUE

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

1. FOLLOWING IS IPU DELEGATION MESSAGE:

2. IPU SECRETARY GENERAL INFORMED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE APRIL 15 THAT GOC HAD NOT RPT NOT ACCEPTED IPU PROPOSAL TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES OF TWO OF ITS MEMBERS (ROMANIA AND VENEZUELA) TO "ASCERTAIN SITUATION" OF DETAINED CHILEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS.

3. MEXICAN REP SAID IT WAS USELESS TO PURSUE THIS COURSE FURTHER; THE GOC WOULD NEVER ACCEPT SUCH A MISSION. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHOULD TAKE MATTER TO IPU COUNCIL AND SEEK ENDORSEMENT OF A RESOLUTION (TO BE MADE PUBLIC) REGRETTING GOC'S ACTION. HE SUGGESTED A TEXT.

4. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, IT WAS DEBATED WHETHER GOC

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 078277

OBJECTED TO PROPOSED MISSION'S OBJECTIVES OR RATHER TO ITS COMPOSITION. US REP (DERWINSKI) SUGGESTED THAT MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO ASSIST DETAINED PARLIAMENTARIANS WAS

TO PRESS FOR RELEASE OF RED CROSS REPORTS CONCERNING THEM; CONSIDER RECONSTITUTING COMPOSITION OF PROPOSED IPU MISSION; THEN PURSUE PROJECT OF SENDING MISSION. ITALIAN REP ALSO OPINED THAT CURRENT COMPOSITION OF MISSION WAS PRIMARY OBSTACLE TO GOC AGREEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED

5. MEXICAN REP REITERATED CONVICTION THAT GOC WOULD NEVER ACCEPT AN IPU MISSION; ITS LAST REPLY WAS MERELY A DIPLOMATIC STALL. UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM CHILE; WHAT COULD THE IPU EXPECT? HE PRESSED CONSIDERATION OF HIS SUGGESTED TEXT. DEBATE PRODUCED FOLLOWING WORKING:

6. QUOTE: THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL, REGRETS THAT THE VISIT OF THE MISSION APPOINTED BY THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION TO THE CHILEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS DETAINED IN THAT COUNTRY WAS NOT ACCEPTED BY THE MILITARY JUNTA, AND

EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT THESE PARLIAMENTARIANS WILL BE FREED AND THAT THE PEOPLE OF CHILE, BY THEIR OWN FREE WILL, RESTORE PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. UNQUOTE.

7. DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL BE SUBMITTED TO IPU COUNCIL FRIDAY, APRIL 19. IF ADOPTED, AS EXPECTED, IT WILL BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS.

8. COMMENT. MEXICAN REP CARRIED QUESTION BY FORCE AND PASSION OF PRESENTATION. USSR ENDORSED IDEA OF IPU COUNCIL ACTION, BUT WAS OTHERWISE QUIET. WE WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN MODIFICATION OF TEXT IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH WAS DELETION OF PHRASE "WITHOUT ANY FOREIGN INTERFERENCE" IN CONNECTION WITH RESTORATION OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS. ATTEMPT BY ROMANIAN REP LATE IN SESSION TO INSERT PARA INSISTING UPON GOC ISSUANCE OF VISAS TO DETAINED PARLIAMENTARIANS DEFEATED 3-5 (US) WITH ONE ABSTENTION.

9. DEPT REPEAT AS DESIRED.
BARNE

[redacted]

[redacted]

UNQUOTE KISSINGER

[redacted]

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

4/18/74

(KD0845)

EXCISE

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET/SENSITIVE

Chile Project (#S1999[illegible]30)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part X In Full April 18, 1974
Exemption(s) B1 · B3

O XR B1, B3

Conc - IAWG [ ]

L - Mr. Feldman

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to_____
Date 2/11/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Mark:

A review of not only the summaries of the file on our 1970 activities, but also the documents themselves on which the summaries were based, surfaces the attached papers.

The 24 Sept. 1970 report sent to the Department by Korry [redacted] reports recommendations by [redacted] for promoting an economic downturn (p. 3). These recommendations were endorsed by Korry in a 25 September message (p. 4 of 25 Sept. message) and were, as you know, utilized by CIA's [redacted] in talking to ITT representatives.

B-1

B-3

The minutes of the 30 September 1970 40 Committee meeting note agreement that Charlie Meyer would talk to ITT's Geneen about stalling on the Sheraton complex in Santiago (minutes, p. 3); U. A. Johnson's 30 September notice to Korry of the 40 Committee action simply states that Meyer would talk to Geneen about "uncertainties in the private sector".

My files do not have the Richardson talk with Frei. I think I threw it out at time of receipt in 1970 as not relevant to DDC concerns as they then were.

Jim Gardner
INR/DDC

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET/SENSITIVE

J68

00009544

SB 279 *

RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
Jack Kubisch/Secretary Kissinger
April 18, 1974
9:30 PM

K: Jack, how are you?

JK: Just landed in Atlanta. I'm at the airport.

K: Oh, God. It wasn't that urgent. I just wanted to find out how your press conference went.

JK: The press conference, I think, went very well. I talked for about 10 minutes at the outset on the record reviewing the background as to how the meetings originated and the background of Mexico and in Washington and then went through the communique, the highlightes and expressed the view that you were highly gratified by the results and the constructive attitude and indicated what the results have been of the meetings and then went on -- and then read the announcement -- a 2 sentence announcement towards the end.

K: That was probably a mistake.

JK: Probably a mistake?

K: Yes, We should have saved that for another day.

JK: Possibly. Over-shadowed the other.

K: Don't you think?

JK: It's possible. But the problem was that it was already leaking all over the place.

K: Was it.

JK: In any case, it gave us the initiative because news was going to leak it over night, it was better for us to get our two sentences out at least.

K: Yes.

JK: But then there was 30 or 40 minutes of questions and I felt very interested and they went very well. I thought everyone seemed quite pleased that in effect, I think we've handled as well, as far as the press is concerned. They were expecting less and so we're somewhat pleased by things going better than they had intended to be. Rabasa was on the plane coming down. He said he thought it was a most successful conference.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 16 DEC 2002 200102979

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Far more than anyone had anticipated.

K: Actually it turned out to be pretty good.

JK: I've got my fingers crossed. If we just don't get some kind of backlash on these damn automobiles____and Argentina and so on. It just depends on how the press plays it.

K: Yes.

JK: And I just don't know how they will. For example, David Binder of the N. Y. Times said, well now if you are going to ~~issence~~ license these companies, don't you really expect that the policy will now collapse. I said absolutely not, there's no reason to assume it will collapse. The fact is, we're treating these as an exception. He said how can you refuse anybody. I said, here you have -- he said you seem to have made these concessions to the Argentine government under duress____, I said that's not true at all. There's been no question on U. S. Government from the Argentine ~~Government~~ Government, we've been really caught between the desire to have good relations with are Argentina.

K: Well, the basic point is how can we insist American Companies don't have to obey foreign laws.

JK: Yes. It's just an absurd posture and unsustainable position for us to be in. Really I think that these last two days have gone better since we had any reason to ~~xxxx~~ anticipate. We'll just have to see how the damn press plays it tomorrow. But thus far__lead into the meetings and the press yesterday.....

K: No, I think the conference itself will -- we're coming out superbly.

JK: I agree.

K: I'm just wondering now whether that Argentine thing~~x~~ is going to kill it.

JK: I don't think so. I think people who try and see wheels within wheels may think that you use this as a trump card to play to insure cooperation from the Argentines and the Mexicans and others who are prepared to press for a lot more on Cuba. I don't know, we'll just have to see how they play it. Dudley Thompson was on the ~~plane~~ plane coming down and several others Venezuelan. They were all really, I won't say ___, but they were really ~~quite~~ quite pleased. Very happy with the outcome.

K: Because they like to jocular way the meetings were conducted.

*

JK: Well that's what Dudley Thompson said. He said really the secret to the success, he felt, was your own personal -- your personality and the fact that when everything starts to get a little tense and a little formalistic, you would make some kind of remark that would relax the tension. I feel very good -- I feel like someone who's gone through about 2/3 of a difficult passage and I'm just keeping my fingers crossed and watching things.

K: If it was leaking anyway, we had no choice, unless the only other things we could have done was told ___we couldn't make a decision until Friday.

JK: Yes. It was just....

K: I don't know whether that would have worked.

JK: I have a feeling that there are really two stories that came out of tonight, or that came out of the meeting today. The wind up of the meeting and this license thing. They may play these two stories. I certainly did not relate them in any way. I said the matter never came up during the course of the conference.

K: Did you take questions on the conference first.

JK: Yes, Oh, yes.

K: And then you went into the license thing.

JK: That's right.

K: OK, well, we did what we could. OK. Many thanks, Jack. I yell and scream at your group but so far you've always come through.

JK: Thank you for everything.

K: See you soon.

JK: OK. Bye.

END

SB 270 1*

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Kubisch/HAK
April 18, 1974 - 9:09 a.m.

AHK: How are we doing on this G.D. thing.

K: Have you seen the draft yet?

HAK: Yes. It isn't all that bad.

K: I don't think so either. I must say we did a little rewritting after they left about 2:30 this morning.

HAK: I don't see -- on the subject of trade, "the Foreign Ministers attach special importance" to the status quo.

K: That needs to be clarified. That commitment is at a standstill. We'll clarify that as soon as they get here.

HAK: You can't say that. Because that has all the wrong connotations. Then we should have a paragraph or two which gives a little lift to the G.D. thing.

K: Christ, you know we had it and we argued about it. They want to keep the rhetoric out. They want to make it just a statement of the facts of what was discussed and what the agreement was consensus of. We have some sentences in the beginning and the end but very little.

HAK: But that makes it a catalog of things they are asking of us.

K: What I'll try and do if you agree is try and weed some phrasing in and around, or if you want, we could, we had a paragraph in on about between one and two and....

HAK: Also, I don't know whether that economic coercion paragraph is doing us much good.

K: As a matter of fact, let me tell you we rewrote the second sentence of it after the Ecuadoriansleft because they are the ones that had it in there and they had a sentence in there that they -- the foreign ministers -- the Latin American foreign ministers expressed their concern to you about the consideration being given in the U.S. Congress to. They were going to restrict imports, etc. They also expressed concern over proposals that would tend to restrict acc ess. The whole theme of that, even the title of that article is a problem for us.

HAK: That is right and that is what should be pointed out in it.

K: Yes.

HAK: That's exactly right. XXXXX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 3 MAR 2003 200102979

K: If we could make it a more balanced thing. The way we've got it now is that all forms of economic coercion from relations among the countries of the Americas. You know, we're subject to economic coercion in a sense at times too. It might be a charter of rights and duties, etc., by the time you get some balance both ways. That is what we were seeking to turn it to that. We don't favor economic coercion measures against us either. On the Panama thing, let me tell you that there was a disagreement privately between me and the Panamanian representatives on one point. The other two paragraphs stated the second paragraph is excellent. The first paragraph he wants to put in he said his Minister is insisting that they put in the first paragraph that the Latin American Foreign Ministers expressed their solidarity with Panama in exasperation as they had done in Bogota. I said, look, we went through that in Mexico. We wouldn't accept it there. The United States can't sign -- the Secretary of State can't sign that and I said we just can't do it, and to issue such a statement here in Washington, I said do you want a treaty or don't you.

AHK: They can do it separately if they want to.

K: On the other hand I do remember your comment at one point yesterday when we were talking about the 30 some Senators.

HAK: But not as part of a communique I signed.

K: Yes. The thing is, would you, if I can work this, would you be willing to have something in there that shows that they are pressuring you hard and they have solidarity with Panama.

HAK: Yes.

K: It is balanced so that it doesn't look like you are giving away the whole ballgame. You know if they are just thrilled with the way things are going on the negotiation with Panama then we must be giving everything away so there ought to be a little criticism of us or a little pressure on us in it, do you think so?

HAK: Yes, that doesn't bother me that they say I took note of their concern for progress.

K: OK.

HAK: That doesn't bother me so much but nowlook, I have the problem that the President wants to see the Egyptian Foreign Minister at 11:30 this morning and I have no way of not being there.

K: How about this. Why don't we have our meeting and then at 11:15 or something you call a recess for the drafting committee to do a redraft of the communique and then.....

HAK: And begin again when, at 2:30

K: Whenever you wish. We've got a buffet lunch available for all the delegates. They can just come and go, serve themselves. You can come or not as you please.

HAK: And then we meet again at 2:30.

K: That would be for the wrap-up. What we could do at 10. Have the discussion of the panorama of U.S. - Latin relations and that's when the Cuba thing is going to come up. Then consider the communique as it stands now, try and get a decision on these couple of items, whether it is going to be working groups or not, then you do a review of the international situation if time permits and call upon the drafting committee to go back and do a redraft and resubmit it to the ministers at 2:30. How about that.

HAK: OK. Good.

K: I'll see you at 10.

HAK: Good. Goodbye.

SB 290 1*

RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
Ambassador Dobrynin/Secretary Kissinger
April 22, 1974
7:10 PM

D: Hello, Henry.

K: How are you Anatol?

D: Thank you very much. How are you?

K: I am fine.

D: Are you going to listen to the concert given by Frank Sinatra?

K: That's my intention. Do you want to come along?

D: I intend to go.

K: I have tickets, come with me.

D: Really? No. They promised to give me two, for me and ___.

K: Well, I've got plenty of tickets.

D: Well, we'll check tomorrow, OK.

K: OK. You can come with me. I'll have the Mexican Foreign Minister with me and you can subvert him.

D: Well, thank you very much. We'll check tomorrow with you, OK.

K: I'm longing to know whether I'll see your Foreign Minister.

D: Well, I will give you tomorrow. All the answers. OK?

K: You have the answers already?

D: Positive.

K: Good.

D: Well, positive reaction. It's positive for all the way.

K: OK, good. And look we are going to try to work it -- we will proceed constructively. We'll discuss it tomorrow.

D: Yes. I feel a positive reply for you.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 16 DEC 2002 200102979

K: Good.

D: I simply didn't want to bother...

K: No, so I can proceed with my schedule. That's all I need to know today.

D: Yes, definitely.

K: And I have a new proposal for you on SALT.

D: Tomorrow, yes.

K: You can put an unlimited number of missiles on submarines.

D: You mean on the Mexican submarines.

K: Mexicans, in any submarine, even your own.

D: Your are meeting with the Foreign Minister of Mexico so I thought you even got the privilege to have unlimited ~~mx~~ on the Mexican submarines.

K: Well, that too, yes. Now you've given me a new idea. I think our Joint Chiefs will like that.

D: _____will know in what regards some talks with you two years ago.

K: OK, Anatol, see you at 1:00 tomorrow.

D: Yes, 1:00 tomorrow.

K: Good.

D: Bye.

END

5073 *
RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
Ambassador Dobrynin/Secretary Kissinger
April 22, 1974
7:10 PM

D: Hello, Henry.

K: How are you Anatol?

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K: OK. You can come with me. I'll have the Mexican Foreign Minister with me and you can subvert him.

D: Well, thank you very much. We'll check tomorrow with you, OK.

K: I'm longing to know whether I'll see your Foreign Minister.

D: Well, I will give you tomorrow. All the answers. OK?

K: You have the answers already?

D: Positive.

K: Good.

D: Well, positive reaction. It's positive for all the way.

K: OK, good. And look we are going to try to work it -- we will proceed constructively. We'll discuss it tomorrow.

D: Yes. I feel a positive reply for you.

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 14 NOV 2002 200102979

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K: Good.

D: I simply didn't want to bother...

K: No, so I can proceed with my schedule. K That's all I need to know today.

D: Yes, definitely.

K: And I have a new proposal for you on SALT.

D: Tomorrow, yes.

K: You can put an unlimited number of merves on submarines.

D: You mean on the Mexican submarines.

K: Mexicans, R any submarine, even your own.

D: Your are meeting with the Foreign Minister of Mexico so I thought you even got the privilege to have unlimited KKK on the Mexican submarines.

K: Well, that too, yes. Now you've given me a new idea. I think our joint chief will like that.

D: _____will know in what regards some talks with you two years ago.

K: OK, Anatol, see you at 1:00 tomorrow.

D: Yes, 1:00 tomorrow.

K: Good.

D: Bye.

END

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02337 302218Z

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /115 W

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R 301845Z APR 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8406
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
US MISSION GENEVA 0371
US MISSION USUN NEW YORK 0782

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 2337

E.O.11652:N/A
TAGS: CI PFOR SOCI
SUBJ: GOC APPEARS TO RULE OUT PRISONER EXCHANGE WITH CUBA

REF: SANTIAGO 2235 (NOTAL)

1. JUNTA SPOKESMAN FEDERICO WILLOUGHBY COMMENTED TO SANTIAGO PRESS APRIL 29 ON MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER RABASA'S REPORTED OFFER TO SERVE AS GO-BETWEEN IN EXCHANGE OF 100 PRISONERS IN CUBA FOR 100 CHILEAN "POLITICAL PRISONERS." WILLOUGHBY SHARPLY DENIED THERE WERE "POLITICAL PRISONERS," IN CHILE, CLAIMING THAT ALL DETAINEES ARE BEING PROCESSED IN CONNECTION WITH COMMON CRIMES. MATTER OF EXCHANGE IS ACADEMIC, AT ANY EVENT, HE CONTINUED, SINCE CHILEAN DETAINEES ARE UNDER CONTROL OF JUDICIAL SYSTEM "AND THEIR FREEDOM DEPENDS NOT UPON THE GOVERNMENT BUT UPON THE COURTS."

2. COMMENT. FON MIN HUERTA HAD PREVIOUSLY STATED (REFTEL) THAT EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS PROPOSITION WAS "WORTH FURTHER STUDY," BUT HE ALSO MADE SAME POINT ABOUT JUDICIAL CONTROL OF PRISONERS. PROPOSAL APPEARS TO BE DEAD.
POPPER

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02474 072321Z

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ACTION ARA-20

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-03 NIC-01

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PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /141 W

067218

R 072133Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8478
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 2474

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINT, PFOR, MX
SUBJ: ASYLEES IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS: SOME MOVEMENT

REF: CARACAS 3541

1. SUMMARY. AFTER MONTHS OF INACTION GOC APPARENTLY MAKING CONCERTED EFFORT TO LOWER NUMBER OF ASYLEES IN SANTIAGO'S DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. PAST FEW WEEKS HAVE SEEN SPEED-UP IN GOC'S GRANTING OF SAFECONDUCTS TO ASYLEES TO LEAVE COUNTRY. MOVEMENT FOLLOWS LONG PERIOD OF GENERAL INACTION. TOTAL NUMBER OF ASYLEES IN SANTIAGO EMBASSIES DID NOT CHANGE NOTABLY DURING FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF 1974. THOUGH GOC GRANTED OVER 4,000 SAFECONDUCTS FOR ASYLEES AND "GUESTS" TO LEAVE CHILE, FAIRLY STEADY POPULATION OF ABOUT 250 INDIVIDUALS IN EMBASSIES HAD BEEN MAINTAINED. GOVT HAS CONTENDED SINCE SHORTLY AFTER COUP THAT ALL THESE IN "DEFERRED" STATUS WOULD [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02474 072321Z

EVENTUALLY BE GIVEN SAFECONDUCTS TO LEAVE COUNTRY, BUT ONLY AFTER CHILEAN COURTS AND MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS HAD DETERMINED WHETHER SIMULTANEOUS EXTRADITION REQUESTS IN ORDER.

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3. APRIL 24 ASSERTION BY AIR FORCE CHIEF AND JUNTA MEMBER GENERAL GUSTAVO LEIGH (SANTIAGO 2255) THAT ALL FOREIGN EMBASSIES WOULD BE CLEARED OF ASYLEES WITHIN 30 DAYS APPARENTLY SIGNALLED SHIFT IN GOC HANDLING OF ASYLEE PROBLEM.

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4. LEIGH'S STATEMENT SOMEWHAT MODIFIED FEW DAYS LATER BY UNDER SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COLLADOS, WHO NOTED THAT GENERAL'S WORDS SHOULD BE TAKEN AS "LETTER OF INTENT" OF GOC'S BASIC PLANS, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT 30-DAY TARGET MIGHT NOT BE REALISTIC. IN SAME PRESS CONFERENCE COLLADOS REFERRED AT LENGTH TO RESOLUTION OF VENEZUELAN SENATE, CALLING ON GOC TO PROVIDE SAFECONDUCTS OUT OF COUNTRY FOR ALL ASYLEES AND CRITICIZING GOC FOR ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (REFTEL). COLLADOS ATTRIBUTED RESOLUTION TO ERRONEOUS INFORMATION. NEVERTHELESS, HE PROMISED THAT SITUATION OF ASYLEES IN VENEZUELAN EMBASSY WOULD BE DEALT WITH EXPEDITIOUSLY.

5. LATEST GOC STATISTICS INDICATE THAT GOVT CARRYING THROUGH ON PROMISE. NUMBER OF ASYLEES IN VENEZUELAN MISSION HAS FALLEN FROM 24 ON APRIL 1 TO 5 (INCLUDING JACQUES CHONCHOL) AT BEGINNING OF THIS MONTH. TOTAL NUMBER OF ASYLEES IN ALL MISSIONS HAS DECREASED IN THE SAME PERIOD FROM 252 TO 179. OTHER EMBASSIES WHICH HAVE SHOWN SIGNIFICANT DEPOPULATION INCLUDE ARGENTINA (17 TO 6) AND ITALY (33 TO 16). OTHER TOTALS HAVE DECLINED MINIMALLY OR REMAINED THE SAME. LARGEST GROUP NOW RESIDING IN MEXICAN EMBASSY WHICH HAS 62 AS COMPARED WITH 65 AS OF APRIL 1. LOCAL PRESS HAS CARRIED NUMEROUS STORIES POINTING OUT MEXICANS STILL ACCEPTING ASYLEES, THOUGH ALLEGEDLY NONE WHO HAVE BEEN RECENTLY TAKEN IN ARE WANTED BY CHILEAN AUTHORITIES.

6. MAY 7 EL MERCURIO CARRIES SMALL STORY REPORTING THAT COLOMBIAN AMBASSADOR STILL WAITING FOR GOC MINISTRY FONRELATIONS TO RESPOND TO NOTE HE DELIVERED IN EARLY APRIL (SANTIAGO 1996) WHICH REPEATED EARLIER PLEA BY COLOMBIAN FONMINISTER VASQUEZ THAT GOC SPEED UP ISSUANCE OF SAFECONDUCTS FOR ASYLEES WHO HAVE BEEN PLACED IN "DEFERRED" STATUS WHILE BACKGROUNDS CHECKED AND

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02474 072321Z

COURT CASES DEVELOPED TO JUSTIFY SUBSEQUENT EXTRADITION REQUESTS. COLOMBIAN EMBASSY STILL HAS 6 ASYLEES, 3 OF WHOM REMAIN IN DEFERRED STATUS. OTHERS PROBABLY WILL RECEIVE SAFECONDUSTS SHORTLY.

7. IN MAY 6 CONVERSATION WITH EMOFF, FONMINISTRY OFFICIAL IN CHARGE OF ASYLEE MATTERS STATED THAT EMBASSIES WOULD SOON BE CLEARED OUT, BUT HE REFRAINED FROM GIVING SPECIFIC DATE NOTING COMPLICATIONS PRESENTED BY ONGOING COURT CASES AGAINST SOME ASYLEES. OFFICIAL STATED THAT GOC'S INTENTION TO RELEASE

ALL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IS FIRM "BUT THAT THIS GOOD WILL COULD BE KILLED IF A CERTAIN EMBASSY (READ MEXICO) CONTINUES TO ACCEPT ASYLEES NEEDLESSLY."

8. COMMENT. PROBABLE THAT GOC HAS MADE SAME POINT TO MEXICANS. IN ANY EVENT JUNTA HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED THAT ASYLEES MORE OF A PROBLEM THAN THEY ARE WORTH, AND GOC WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO MOVE AHEAD WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED TO EMPTY EMBASSIES.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02606 132329Z

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

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R 132213Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8569
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY ROME
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted]SANTIAGO 2606

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINT, PFOR
SUBJ: ASYLEES: DEPARTURES CONTINUE

REF: A) SANTIAGO 2474, B) BOGOTA 4050

1. SUMMARY. GOC APPARENTLY MOVING AHEAD WITH PLANS TO REDUCE DRASTICALLY NUMBER OF ASYLEES STILL IN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. GOVT REAFFIRMS FRIENDLY TIES WITH COLOMBIA, MEXICO AND VENEZUELA AND PROMISES THAT FOUR ITALIAN EMBASSY ASYLEES PRVENTED FROM DEPARTING COUNTRY WILL BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE. END SUMMARY.

2. LATEST GOC STATISTICS INDICATE THAT GOVT MOVEING AHEAD IN ACCELEARTED MANNER TO REDUCE NUMBER OF ASYLEES IN SANTIAGO'S EMBASSIES. OVER LAST WEEK 15 ADDITIONAL SAFECONDUCTS FOR DEPARTURE HAVE BEEN ISSUED (REF A). TOTAL NUMBER OF ASYLEES IN "DEFERRED" STATUS REDUCED HOWEVER ONLY BY TEN (179 TO 169) OWING TO ACCEPTANCE OF FOUR NEW ASYLEES BY MEXICAN EMBASSY AND ONE BY COLOMBIANS.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02606 132329Z

3. IN MAY 10 PRESS CONFERENCE, UNDER SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COLLADOS PROMISED CONTUNED RAPID ACTION AND MAINTAINED

[redacted]

THAT GOC RELATIONS WITH MEXICO AND COLOMBIA WERE NORMAL DESPITE RECENT CRITICISM IN THOSE COUNTRIES OF GOC'S HANDLING OF ASYLEE SITUATION (REF B). COLLADOS ALSO DEFENDED ACTIONS OF CHILEAN CHARGE IN CARACAS IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION CONCERNING REPORT THAT FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF VENEZUALEAN SENATE HAD DEMANDED THAT HE BE WITHDRAWN FROM VENEZUELA. COLLADOS ADDED THAT ARRIVAL MAY 14 IN CARACAS OF NEW CHILEAN AMBASSADOR BESOAIN WILL FACILITATE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

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4. UNDER SEC ASSURED PRESS THAT FOUR CHILEANS WHO HAD TAKEN ASYLUM IN ITALIAN EMBASSY AND WHO WERE REMOVED FROM AIRCRAFT MAY 8, AFTER BOARDING IT WITH APPROVED SAFECONDUCTS IN THEIR POSSESSION, WERE CURRENTLY RESIDING IN ITALIAN EMBASSY AND WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE COUNTRY ONCE QUESTIONS RELATING TO THEIR IDENTITY WERE IRONED OUT. ACCORDING TO COLLADOS, AND CONFIRMED TO US BY ITALIAN EMBASSY SOURCES, FOUR WERE REMOVED FROM PLANE AFTER CHECK OF FINGERPRINTS TAKEN AT AIRPORT DID NOT MATCH THOSE ON OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS INDIVIDUALS CARRYING.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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P 131

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Cat. B — Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C — Caption and custody retained by S/S

Reviewed by: [illegible] FSO
Date: 9/30/96

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8575
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S E C R E T SANTIAGO 2625

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EO 11652: XGDS
TAGS: CASC, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: AMCIT MARIA GUADALUPE SANTA CRUZ LINDQUIST

REF: SANTIAGO 2573

SUBJECT'S FATHER REPORTS MISS SANTA CRUZ RELEASED TO HIS CUSTODY AFTERNOON MAY 14 FOR TRAVEL U.S. ASAP.

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Date 12/4/01 Declassify on ___ Reason 25X1

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Cat. B — Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C — Caption and custody retained by S/S
Reviewed by: [redacted] FSO
Date: 9/30 mb

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8575
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 2625

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EO 11652: XGDS
TAGS: CASC, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: AMCIT MARIA GUADALUPE SANTA CRUZ LINDQUIST

REF: SANTIAGO 2573

SUBJECT'S FATHER REPORTS MISS SANTA CRUZ RELEASED TO HIS CUSTODY AFTERNOON MAY 14 FOR TRAVEL U.S. ASAP.

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4. ORDONEZ ALSO DENIED REPORTS THAT HERNAN DEL CANTO, FORMER MIN INTERIOR IN ALLENDE GOVT, HAD MADE POLITICAL STATEMENTS IN VIOLATION ACCEPTED NORMS ASYLEE STATUS IN COLOMBIA, AND SAID THAT ANY ASYLEE DOING SO WOULD BE EXPELLED FROM COLOMBIA.

5. INTERVIEW WITH JUNTA MEMBER AND CARABINERO CHIEF GEN MENDOZA SCHEDULED FOR JUNE 7.

6. COMMENT. PARALLELS WITH MEXICAN FON MIN RABASA VISIT TOO CLOSE TO BE COINCIDENTAL. WE ASSUME COLOMBIAN GOVT SAW SAME ADVANTAGE AS GOM IN REMOVING ASYLEE PROBLEM AND IMPROVING SOMEWHAT STRAINED RELATIONS WITH CHILE. HOWEVER, VISIT OF ORDONEZ HAVING SOME UNFORESEEN REPERCUSSIONS.

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7. TO FURTHER COMPLICATE [ ] LIFE, ORDONEZ MADE COMPLETELY UNAUTHORIZED STATEMENT QUOTED PARA 1 ABOVE THAT COLOMBIA WOULD NOT RPT NOT ACCEPT MORE ASYLEES. ACCORDING [ ] COLOMBIAN FON MINISTER PUBLICLY REFUTED THIS LAST NIGHT IN BOGOTA. [ ]

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8. DESPITE THIS SOUR NOTE, DEPARTURE OF ASYLEES, EXPECTED EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS, AND GENERAL WARMING OF RELATIONS WITH COLOMBIA PARALLELS MEXICAN DEVELOPMENTS, AND WILL BE SEEN BY MANY CHILEANS AS SIGNIFICANT AND WELCOME EVIDENCE OF REVERSAL OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISOLATION TREND.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02712 172337Z

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ACTION ARA-20

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R 172226Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8631
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 2712

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, SOCI, MX
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS

1. SUMMARY. PUBLICATION IN MEXICO CITY DAILY EXCELSIOR OF ALLEGED DOCUMENTATION OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE BY COMMITTEE OF CHILEAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS BRINGS CHARGE OF CALUMNY FROM CHILEAN PRESS AND AMBIGUOUS DENIAL FROM CATHOLIC LEADERS. END SUMMARY.

2. MAY 16 EDITION OF SANTIAGO AFTERNOON PAPER LA SEGUNDA OF MERCURIO CHAIN HEADLINED AP REPORT OF PUBLICATION MEXICO CITY DAILY EXCELSIOR OF CHILEAN INTER-CHURCH "COMMITTEE FOR CO-OPERATION FOR PEACE/ DOCUMENTATION OF GOC VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING TORTURE IN INTERROGATIONS. SEGUNDA BANNERED "CALUMNY AGAINST CHILE" AND WARNED OF GRAVE REPERCUSSIONS FOR AUTHORS OF SUCH "FALSE" AND "OFFENSIVE" MATERIAL. SIGNERS OF ALLEGED "INTERNAL REPORT" OF COMMITTEE WHICH WAS USED BY EXCELSIOR DIRECTOR JULIO SCHERER TO SUPPORT ARTICLE IDENTIFIED AS SANTIAGO AUXILIARY BISHOP FERNANDO ARIZTIA, LUTHERAN

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02712 172337Z

BISHOP OF CHILE HELMUTH FRENZ, AND JESUIT FERNANDO SALAS, ALL OF PEACE COMMITTEE.

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3. MAY 17 PRESS COVERAGE ON STORY MORE DETAILED BUT VERY RESTRAINED. MERCURIO ITSELF CARRIED AP DESPATCH DATELINED MEXICO MAY 16 WITHOUT COMMENT, BUT WITH DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF ALLEGED 134 CASES OF TORTURE INCLUDING DESCRIPTION OF METHODS USED AND DEATHS OF 12 UNDER TORTURE AT HANDS GOC SECURITY ORGANS. OTHER PAPERS REPORTED IN LESS DETAIL, AND WITH SOME ECHOING OF CUSTOMARY LINE OF GOC AND ITS SUPPORTERS THAT CRITICISM OF CHILE FROM ABROAD IS PART OF MARXIST PLOT. PRESS PLAINTIVELY REPROACHFUL OVER STORY BY SCHERER, WHO REPORTEDLY GIVEN FULL FACILITIES AND COOPERATION BY GOC DURING HIS RECENT VISIT.

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4. MAY 17 PAPERS CARRIED "DENIAL" OF EXCELSIOR STORY SIGNED BY BISHOP ARIZTIA AND FATHER SALAS OF PEACE COMMITTEE. STATEMENT FIRMLY DENIED THAT COMMITTEE HAD GIVEN ANY DOCUMENT ON VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO SCHERER OR HAD GIVEN HIM VERBAL INFORMATION OF TYPE CITED. CHURCHMEN DENIED ANY POLITICAL INTENT OF COMMITTEE AND REFERRED TO ITS MISSION TO BRING SPIRITUAL, SOCIAL AND LEGAL AID TO ALL WHO NEED IT. FRENZ DENIAL THAT HE EVER SAW ANY MEXICAN JOURNALIST CARRIED IN MAY 17 LA SEGUNDA, BUT NO STATEMENT SO FAR BY GRAND RABBI OF CHILE ANGEL KREIMAN, WHO ALSO IDENTIFIED AS COMMITTEE MEMBER.

5. COMMENT. WHILE ARIZTIA AND SALAS DENIED GIVING DATA TO SCHERER OR GRANTING HIM INTERVIEW HE HAD REQUESTED, THEY CAREFULLY DID NOT STATE THAT INFORMATION WAS WRONG. EMBOFF SPOKE MAY 17 WITH SALAS AND ANOTHER WELL-INFORMED CATHOLIC PRIEST, FR. RENATO POBLETE (PROTECT). BOTH INSISTED NEITHER PEACE COMMITTEE NOR INDIVIDUAL LEADERS HAD GIVEN INFORMATION TO SCHERER, BUT BOTH DESCRIBED EXCERPTS OF EXCELSIOR REPORT PUBLISHED SO FAR IN SANTIAGO AS CLEARLY TAKEN FROM GENUINE PRIVATE REPORT WHICH HAS BEEN CIRCULATED AMONG CATHOLIC BISHOPS HERE AND OTHER CLERICS. THEY COULD NOT IDENTIFY SOURCE OF LEAK TO SCHERER. POBLETE SAID THAT FORMER PRES. AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT LEADER EDUARDO FREI HAD REFUSED TO BE INTERVIEWED BY SCHERER BECAUSE HE FEARED SCHERER WOULD MISREPRESENT HIS REMARKS.

6. GOC HAS NOT YET FORMALLY RESPONDED. SECGEN OF GOVT EWING [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02712 172337Z

STRESSED TO PRESS MORNING MAY 17 THAT SCHERER GIVEN EVERY COOPERATION BY GOC, EVEN SAW FORMER FONMIN ALMEYDA, SEEMED PREDISPOSED AGAINST JUNTA. IN WEEKLY PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 17, FONRELS UNDERSEC COLLADOS CITED HELP GIVEN TO SCHERER BY AUTHORITIES AND CHARACTERIZED HIS STORY AS "DISTANT FROM THE REALITY WE ALL KNOW."

7. WHETHER SCHERER INFORMATION EMANATED FROM COMMITTEE OR FROM OTHER CHURCH SOURCES, PUBLICATION OF THIS VERY SPECIFIC AND UGLY INFORMATION ON TORTURE AND APPARENTLY OTHER ASPECTS

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OF PROBLEM CAN ONLY AGGRAVATE ALREADY TENSE RELATIONS BETWEEN GOC AND CHURCH IN CHILE. PROMINENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (PROTECT) CONFIRM PRIVATELY TO US THAT DOCUMENT CITED BY SCHERER EXISTS AND DEPLORE EQUIVOCATION INHERENT IN DENIAL BY ARIZTIA AND SALAS. IN ANY CASE, STORY COINCIDES WITH OTHERS FROM ABROAD THAT TEND TO REINFORCE LOCAL LINE THAT MARXISTS HAVE ORGANIZED OPPOSITION TO JUNTA ABROAD, INCLUDING STORY OF ATTACK AT FRANKFURT BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL FOLLOWERS ON FOLKSONG GROUP HUASOS QUINCHEROS, ALL TENDING TO FEED FAST DEVELOPING NATIONALIST PARANOIA.
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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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R 222130Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8665
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

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[redacted] SANTIAGO 2773

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, MX, SOCI
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS -- STORIES PUBLISHED IN MEXICO

REF: SANTIAGO 2712

1. SUMMARY. AS GOVT ACTS TO TIDY UP EMBARRASSMENT CAUSED BY LEAK OF PEACE COMMITTEE DOCUMENT ON TORTURE, ADDITIONAL MATERIAL FROM SCHERER'S ARTICLES IN EXCELSIOR IS PUBLISHED INCLUDING PINOCHET INTERVIEW MINIMIZING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. MININTERIOR GEN. BONILLA CALLED CATHOLIC AUXILIARY BISHOP ARIZTIA AND FATHER SALAS TO HIS OFFICE EVENING MAY 17 TOGETHER WITH GROUP OF JOURNALISTS TO REINFORCE THEIR EARLIER DENIAL AND ISSUE GOC CAUTION. ACCORDING WEEKEND PRESS ACCOUNTS, MEETING WAS DESIGNED TO REQUIRE ARIZTIA AND SALAS TO DENY AGAIN THAT COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATION FOR PEACE HAD GIVEN DOCUMENT CONCERNING VIOLATIONS BY GOC OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO SCHERER OF MEXICAN PAPER EXCELSIOR. ARIZTIA ADMITTED GIVING SCHERER INTERVIEW BUT AGAIN DENIED THAT HE OR ANY OTHER AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL OF COMMITTEE HAD GIVEN DOCUMENT TO SCHERER.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02773 222155Z

3. ARIZTIA AND SALAS CAREFULLY SAID ONLY THAT EXCERPTS SO FAR RECEIVED HERE OF EXCELSIOR STORY HAD SOME RELATION TO PURELY

INTERNAL AND CONFIDENTIAL WORKING PAPERS OF COMMITTEE. BONILLA MADE CLEAR GOC REGARDS LEAK OF SUCH INFORMATION OUTSIDE "RULES OF GAME" AND UNPATRIOTIC. AS GOC HAS SUPPORTED WORK OF PEACE COMMITTEE, IT HAS RIGHT TO EXPECT COMMITTEE WILL BRING COMPLAINTS OF ABUSES DIRECTLY TO BONILLA RATHER THAN USE THEM "POLITICALLY." ARIZTIA DUTIFULLY AGREED THAT SUCH MATTERS WERE CHILE'S BUSINESS ONLY.

4. MERCURIO MAY 18 ALSO CARRIED EXCERPTS FORM SCHERER EXCELSIOR STORY ON PEACE COMMITTEE EFFORTS ACCOUNT FOR 131 PERSONS, ALLEGEDLY SEIZED BY AUTHORITIES AND SINCE MISSING, THROUGH HABEAS CORPUS FILED WITH SUPREME COURT EARLY APRIL (SANTIAGO 1743). SUFFERINGS OF FAMILIES OF MISSING DESCRIBED BY SCHERER, WITH EMPHASIS ON MODEST PERSONS OF LITTLE ECONOMIC MEANS AND NO GREAT POLITICAL CONSEQUENCE.

5. SOME PAPERS WENT ON OFFENSIVE AGAINST EXCELSIOR AND SCHERER, NOTING HISTORY OF SUPPORT FOR ALLENDE AND LINKS WITH ANTI-JUNTA LINE OF GOM. MERCURIO MAY 19 QUOTES "GOVERNMENT SOURCES" AS EQUATING SCHERER'S MORAL STATURE WITH HIS PHYSICAL SIZE, WHICH HE HAS FOR YEARS AUGMENTED WITH ELEVATOR SHOES "TO ALLEVIATE HIS APPEARANCE OF DWARFISM."

6. PINOCHET INTERVIEW THROUGH WRITTEN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS PUBLISHED IN EXCELSIOR AND REPORTED IN CHILE BY AP WAS FEATURED MAY 20. PINOCHET DENIED EXISTENCE IN CHILE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND SAID THAT WHILE SOME ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT LOWER LEVELS OF SECURITY FORCES MAY "NATURALLY" HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN FIRST DAYS AFTER COUP, SITUATION NOW FULLY UNDER CONTROL AND VIOLATORS HAVE BEEN PUNISHED. INTERVIEW IS NOT DATED BUTPRESUMABLY WAS OBTAINED BY SCHERER DURING HIS VISIT HERE WHICH PRODUCED THE PEACE COMMITTEE FLAP.

7. BONILLA MAY HAVE EXPRESSED EXCESSIVE OPTIMISM WHEN HE ENDED INTERVIEW WITH ARIZTIA AND SALAS BY SAYING THAT "WE LEAVE THE MATTER COMPLETELY CLOSED." ALL PARTIES ARE CAREFULLY AVOIDING CENTRAL POINT WHICH IS EXISTENCE OF COMMITTEE DOCUMENT AND DEGREE OF VALIDITY OF CHARGES OF TORTURE AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN

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RIGHTS.

8. WE WILL BE GRATEFUL FOR RECEIPT OF TEXTS OF ALL STORIES THIS SUBJECT FROM EMBASSY MEXICO.

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R 251815Z MAY 74
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INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted]ANTIAGO 2956

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, MX, SOCI
SUBJ: HUMAN RIHTS--STORIES PUBLISHED IN MEXICO

REF: SANTIAGO 2773

1. SUMMARY. REACTION TO MEXICAN PRESS PUBLICATION OF CHILEAN PEACE COMMITTEE DOCUMENT ON TORTURE SIMMERING DOWN, BUT ONE MEMBER RESIGNS AND COMMITTEE LAWYER DENIES BEING SOURCE OF LEAK. PDC LEADER SUPPORTS PEACE COMMITTEE WHILE GOC REMAINS SILENT.

2. EXCELSIOR STORY QUOTED IN MERCURIO MAY 18 IDENTIFIED HECTOR VALENZUELA VALDERRAMA AS SOURCE OF COPY OF HABEAS CORPUS PETITION FOR 131 PERSONS SEIZED BY GOC AND SINCE MISSING (SANTIAGO 1743 NOTAL). VALENZUELA IS FORMER PDC CONGRESSMAN AND FORMER PREISIDENT OF CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. AS ATTORNEY FOR PEACE COMMITTEE, HE SUBMITTED HABEAS CORPUS TO APPEALS COURT. MAY 23 MERCURIO CARRIED LONG LETTER FROM VALENZUELA ACKNOWLEDGING HE GAVE SCHERER COPY OF PETITION, WHICH IS PUBLIC DOCUMENT, BUT WITHOUT ANY OF DETAILS ON CASES WHICH WAS FILED WITH PETITION. IT IS LATTER WHICH COMPRISES MATERIAL USED BY SCHERER.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02956 251854Z

VALENZUELA CAREFULLY NOTED HIS RESERVE WITH SCHERER AT TIME, HIS OPPOSITION TO ALLENDE REGIME, AND CONTINUED INTENTION TO JOIN WITH OTHERS (E.G. PEACE COMMITTEE) TO STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT

WITHOUT SUPPORTING CALUMNY AGAINST CHILE.

3. ONLY NEWSPAPER LA SEGUNDA STILL TRYING TO MAKE MUCH OF EXCELSIOR STORIES RESULTING FROM VISIT TO CHILE OF PAPER'S DIRECTOR JULIO SCHERER. ON MAY 23 SEGUNDA PUBLISHED LETTER FROM LUIS POZO BURDILES, SECGEN BAPTISH CONVENTION OF CHILE, ANNOUNCING BURDILES' RESIGNATION FROM PEACE COMMITTEE BECAUSE OF DISAGREEMENT WITH "EXECUTIVES" OF COMMITTEE OVER ITS STRUCTURE AND EFFICIENCY. BURDILES NOT RPT NOT IMPORTANT FIGURE IN COMMITTEE OF COMMUNITY, AND SERVED ON COMMITTEE IN PERSONAL STATUS. AS FAR AS WE KNOW, NO RPT NO OTHER MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE HAVE RESIGNED.

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4. PDC IDEOLOGUE AND DEFENSE ATTORNEY IN CURRENT AIR FORCE TRIALS, JAIME CASTILLO, DEFENDED PEACE COMMITTEE MAY 21 IN HIS REGULAR NEWS COMMENTARY ON PDC'S RADIO BALMACEDA. CASTILLO QUOTED VARIOUS JUNTA PRONOUNCEMENTS ON RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, RECALLED THAT CHARGES OF ABUSE HAD BEEN MADE AGAINST ALL GOVTS INCLUDING ADMINISTRATIONS OF FREI AND ALLENDE, AND EVEN SPECIFICALLY AGAINST CHILEAN MILITARY AND POLICE DURING ALLENDE REGIME. PROPER COURSE WAS NOT RPT NOT POLEMICS OF LA SEGUNDA, BUT CAREFUL INVESTIGATION OF SPECIFIC CHARGES AND REFERRAL TO GOC FOR REMEDIAL ACTION, AS PROMISED BY GOC.

5. COMMENT. GOC SEEMS TO BE AVOIDING CONFRONTATION, AT LEAST IN PUBLIC, WITH PEACE COMMITTEE OVER LEAKED DOCUMENTS. AS PEACE COMMITTEE REPRESENTS THE THREE MAJOR FAITHS IN CHILE, IT IS AS UNASSAILABLE AS MOTHERHOOD. JUNTA APPEARS NO MORE WILLING THAN IT HAS BEEN IN PAST FEW MONTHS TO TANGLE DIRECTLY WITH CHURCH (CATHOLIC), OR WITH THE PDC, WHICH HAS SNUGGLED CLOSE TO LATTER'S SKIRTS.

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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ASYLEES

After some five months of general inaction, in which the number of hard-core asylees remained at slightly over ~~200~~ 260, the GOC began a concerted effort to eliminate or at least sharply reduce the problem after an April 24 statement by Gen. Leigh which promised to clear all the Embassies "within 30 days". The latest official statistics issued in mid-May showed a total of approximately 4,000 safe-conducts issued and 169 remaining asylees; since that time perhaps another 15 to 20 safeconducts have been issued, but additional asylees have been accepted by the Venezuelan (15) and Mexican (4) Embassies. All present asylees are Chilean.

The GOC failure to issue safeconducts to all asylees within a relatively short time (30 days is the rule of thumb) has led to strained relations with Colombia and to a lesser extent with Mexico and Venezuela. These governments reject the Chilean argument that issuance of safeconducts may be deferred until judicial processes leading to an extradition request are completed. GOC spokesmen including Foreign Minister Huerta, however, continue to state, apparently sincerely, that all asylees will be issued safeconducts in the near future.

* La Segunda May 31 reported 35 more safeconducts have been issued and total number of remaining asylees is now 112.

POL/JBTipton; jc : 5.30.74

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 3019

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINT, SOCI
SUBJ: CHURCH OFFICIALS ANSWER ATTACKS

1. SUMMARY. SANTIAGO ARCHDIOCESE ISSUED STATEMENT DEPLORING RECENT SHARP PUBLIC CRITICISM OF CARDINAL SILVA HENRIQUEZ AND BISHOP FERNANDO ARIZTIA, CATHOLIC REPRESENTATIVE ON INTER-DENOMINATIONAL COMMITTEE OF PEACE WHICH HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD HERE. MEANWHILE, EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN REPRESENTATIVE ANNOUNCED WITHDRAWAL FROM COMMITTEE. END SUMMARY.

2. SANTIAGO ARCHDIOCESE STATEMENT, DATED MAY 28 AND PRINTED IN SANTIAGO PRESS MAY 29, WAS SIGNED BY AUXILIARY BISHOPS ALVEAR (IN CHARGE IN SILVA'S ABSENCE), VALECH, AND HOURTON PLUS ALL SIX ARCHDIOCESAN REGIONAL ADMINISTRATORS. STATEMENT NOTED CHURCH'S RELUCTANCE TO REPLY TO CRITICISM, BUT CLAIMED "BITTER AND IMPLACABLE CRITICISM" FORCED HIERARCHY TO RESPOND. WHILE RIGHT TO DISSENT IN NON-DOCTRINAL MATTERS IS RECOGNIZED, "ABUSIVE AND INSOLENT LANGUAGE AND LACK OF RESPECT FOR THE TRUTH IS UNACCEPTABLE." STATEMENT DECRIED "THOSE WHO HAVE EASY ACCESS TO THE MEDIA AND WHO CLAIM TO REPRESENT THE OPINION OF THE CHURCH" WHEN "VAST MAJORITY OF ACTIVE CATHOLICS CONTINUES

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TO SUPPORT THEIR BISHOPS."

3. STATEMENT STRONGLY DEFENDED CARDINAL SILVA (RETURNING TO

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CHILE MAY 30, AND BISHOP FERNANDO ARIZTIA, CATHOLIC REPRESENTATIVE ON INTERDENOMINATIONAL COMMITTEE OF PEACE, NOTING THAT SLANDEROUS ATTACKS ON THEM DID LITTLE TO FURTHER NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. STATEMENT CONCLUDED WITH PLEA TO HALT "CAMPAIGN OF HATE" AND TO JOIN TOGETHER FOR GOOD OF CHILE.

4. UNDER FRONT-PAGE HEADLINE "MASSIVE RESIGNATION FROM PEACE COMMITTEE", MAY 29, LA SEGUNDA CARRIED TEXT OF LETTER FROM EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH INSTRUCTING ITS MEMBERS TO CEASE PARTICIPATION IN COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES. LA SEGUNDA NOTED THAT BAPTIST REPRESENTATIVES PREVIOUSLY WITHDREW (SANTIAGO 2956).

5. WELL-PLACED CHURCH OFFICIAL TOLD EMBOFF THAT ARCHDIOCESE STATEMENT IS INTENDED AS A DIRECT RESPONSE TO SEVERAL VICIOUS ANTI-SILVA LETTERS PRINTED IN AFTERNOON DAILY "LA SEGUNDA" AS WELL AS SEGUNDA'S OWN ATTACKS ON ARIZTIA FOR HIS ALLEGED ROLE IN MEXICO CITY EXCELSIOR'S PUBLICATION OF A DOCUMENT FROM HIS COMMITTEE WHICH COMPILED TORTURE ALLEGATIONS (SANTIAGO 2712). GREMIALISTA-CONTROLLED (I.E. CONSERVATIVE) CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FEDERATION (FEUC) HAS ALSO ISSUED PUBLIC LETTER WHICH WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF BISHOPS' STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS (SANTIAGO 2212). MOREOVER, GROUP OF ELDERLY SANTIAGO PRELATES ADDRESSED LETTER OF FULSOME PRAISE TO JUNTA, PUBLISHED IN MAY 30 SANTIAGO PRESS.

6. COMMENT: EVIDENTLY, WAVES CREATED BY CARDINAL SILVA'S REMARKS AND BISHOPS' STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONTINUE TO RIPPLE THROUGH CHILEAN SOCIETY. GOVERNMENT NO DOUBT APPROVES, AND MAY HAVE STIMULATED, EVIDENCE THAT CHURCH HIERARCY SPLIT ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE, WHILE CARDINAL'S SUPPORTERS STRESS PREPONDERANT CHURCH APPROVAL OF HIS POSITION. SIMILARLY, IN REACTING TO LEAK OF COMMITTEE OF PEACE DOCUMENTS ON TORTURE TO MEXICAN PRESS, SOME SOURCES WITHIN GOVERNMENT MAY BE HIGHLIGHTING DEFECTION OF PROTESTANT MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE, WHICH THEY CERTAINLY REGARD WITH SUSPICION. THUS, RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS CONTINUE TO PLAY PROMINENT PART IN THE ONGOING CONTROVERSY OVER HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH IS TAKING PLACE, MORE OR LESS COVERTLY, WITHIN CHILE.

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INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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[redacted]SANTIAGO 3085

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PFOR
SUBJECT: ASYLEES

1. SUMMARY. NO DOUBT IN CONNECTION WITH MEXICAN FONMIN RABASA VISIT, CHILEAN FONOFF HAS ISSUED NEW FIGURES SHOWING SHARP REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF ASYLEES LODGED IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN SANTIAGO. END SUMMARY.

2. FONOFF SPOKESMAN ANNOUNCED MAY 31 THAT, WITH MAY 29 GOC ISSUANCE 35 SAFE-CONDICT DOCUMENTS, TOTAL ASYLEES IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES NOW DOWN TO 112.

3. HE EMPHASIZED MEXICAN EMBASSY SITUATION WHERE ASYLEES NOW 51, A REDUCTION OF 16 IN THE WEEK, BUT NOTED MEXICANS HAVE ACCEPTED AS ASYLEES MORE THAN 40 PERSONS IN LAST THREE MONTHS.

4. SPOKESMAN CONCLUDED WITH ASSURANCE FONOFF DOING ALL POSSIBLE SOLVE ASYLEE PROBLEM SOONEST.
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 3089

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, CI, MX
SUBJECT: RABASA VISIT TO CHILE

REF: SANTIAGO 3082

1. SUMMARY. RABASA LEAVES FOR MEXICO WITH 71 ASYLEES AND CONDITIONAL PLEDGE THAT EX-FONMIN ALMEYDA MAY FOLLOW. MAY BE SIGNIFICANT BREAK IN CHILEAN POLICY. END SUMMARY.

2. AS REPORTED IN PRESS, MEXICAN FONMIN EMILIO RABASA OBTAINED LARGE MEASURE OF SUCCESS IN HIS SUDDEN VISIT TO CHILE. LEFT SANTIAGO JUNE 2 IN SPECIAL MEXICAN PLANE WHICH ALSO CARRIED 71 ASYLEES PREVIOUSLY LODGED IN MEXICAN EMBASSY, RELEASED BY GOC.

3. ON CONCLUSION HIS DISCUSSIONS JUNE 1 RABASA HELD PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH HE SAID:

A. HE HAD COME TO SANTIAGO ON MISSION ENTRUSTED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03089 031441Z

HIM BY PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA, TO REQUEST PRESIDENT PINOCHET TO ISSUE SAFE-CONDUCTS PROMPTLY FOR ALL 71 ASYLEES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS OF ASYLUM CONVENTIONS

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AND TO AVOID "AREAS OF FRICTION" BETWEEN MEXICO AND CHILE. PINOCHET SO ORDERED.

B. HE ALSO REQUESTED PERMISSION FOR DETAINED EX-U.P. FONMIN CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA TO LEAVE COUNTRY TO LIVE IN MEXICO. PINOCHET REPLIED HE COULD NOT COMPLY SINCE ALMEYDA WAS TO BE TRIED, BUT AGREED TO RABASA'S REQUEST THAT ALMEYDA MIGHT GO IF ACQUITTED. RABSA REMARKED HE WAS SURE ALMEYDA WOULD RECEIVE A FAIR AND OBJECTIVE TRIAL.

C. HE HAD TALKED FOR AN HOUR WITH ALMEYDA, FOUND HIM IN EXCELLENT PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CONDITION, AND EXPRESSED HOPE HE WOULD BE ACQUITTED.

D. MEXICO WOULD CONTINUE TO GRANT ASYLUM TO CHILEANS IF THOSE WHO SOUGHT IT WERE QUALIFIED UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

4. PRESS ALSO REPORTED THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL SOON EXCHANGE AMBASSADOR; MEXICO WILL RESUME THE ISSUANCE OF VISAS TO CHILEANS; A CHILEAN TECHNICAL COMMISSION WILL VISIT MEXICO TO ARRANGE FOR SHIPMENT TO CHILE OF SULPHUR, SUPERPHOSPHATES AND UREA.

5. COINCIDENTALLY, CHILEAN PRESS CARRIED REPORT OF INTERVIEW WITH ONE OF EX-PRESIDENT ALLENDE'S PHYSICIANS (ARTURO JIRON) IN EL HERALDO OF MEXICO CITY, IN WHICH LATTER CATEGORICALLY ASSERTS, WITH EVIDENCE, THAT ALLENDE DIED BY SUICIDE.

6. COMMENT: RABSA'S BOLD DIPLOMACY APPEARS TO HAVE TIPPED BALANCE TOWARD VIEWS OF MODERATES IN GOVT AND FONOFF PROFESSIONALS WHO HAVE BEEN URGING THAT ASYLUM PROBLEM BE LIQUIDATED BY PERMITTING QUICK DEPARTURE OF ALL ASYLEES. MODERATES ALSO STAND TO GAIN FROM PROJECTION INTO PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS OF POSSIBILITY OF EXPELLING FROM COUNTRY EX-ALLENDE GOVT HIERARCHS [redacted]

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SOON TO BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL. JUNTA OBVIOUSLY WEIGHED PROS AND CONS OF ACCEDING TO RABSA'S PROPOSALS AND DECIDED IT SHOULD ACT TO MEND ITS POLITICAL FENCES IN LATIN AMERICA. IF BOTH MEXICO AND CHILE CARRY THROUGH IN DIRECTIONS NOW INDICATED, SOME PROGRESS COULD BE MADE IN MODERATING HUMAN RIGHTS CRITICISMS WHICH STING CHILEANS AND WHICH THREATEN TO ISOLATE CHILE IN INTERNATIONAL CIRCLES.

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To : The Ambassador
Through : Deputy Chief of Mission
From : Political Counselor

June 3, 1974

Subject : Preparations for Washington Trip: Allegations in Chicago Group Report

Pursuant to your memorandum of May 29, the first thing to be said about the miscellaneous clippings you sent to me from an item in the recent issue of the New York Review of Books is that the impressions are so very dated and so largely based ultimately on hearsay. The Chicago Group was here in February, and from context it is evident that much of the information published dates back to the very earliest period immediately following the military takeover. A close look at the individual examples cited throughout, concerning which it would be impossible for us to comment in detail, shows they are the kind of rumors and reports so prevalent during those first weeks. For example, the story about the military search of a house in Las Barrancas (check marked in red) is an old saw heard in many variations; indeed, one of the variations turned up in a newspaper cartoon. Regarding the principal findings of the "Commission" sent to me for comment, I believe the following can be said:

1. There is no campaign of torture, let alone one that has systematic and organized character. As former Ambassador Dungan observed after his more recent visit here, the vast majority of Chileans go about their daily living in their customary manner and are not bothered in any way.

2. Politically motivated detentions indeed have been numerous, but the figure cited of 18,000 as of January 20 appears high; in any case, the situation is certainly improved now, when official figures give us a total of perhaps about 6,000. We have no information to confirm or deny the estimated total of 80,000 detained in the "past" six months, to say nothing of not knowing precisely what is meant by the "past" six months. We are not familiar with the list said to be available to the "Commission" of persons detained and missing, but the inter-denominational Committee of Coordination for Peace which has the

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cooperation of the GOC, works systematically on cases of persons detained and missing.

3. The allegation that no legal procedures are followed on a systematic basis is of course ambiguous because of the use of the adjective "systematic." In point of fact, although there are some problems as well as some differences of opinion among Chilean lawyers, most seem satisfied that appropriate legal procedures are in general being followed. The remarks of former Ambassador Covey Oliver are pertinent in this context. It is true that under Chilean procedures appropriate for the State of War, detentions can be long while investigations are completed to determine whether or not charges can be filed. It is also true that defense lawyers have access to their clients only after charges have been formulated in most cases, but this also is in accordance with local practice. In point of fact, current practice has been to give the defense at least 30 to 45 days to prepare after charges are filed. Although there is some evidence of secret military tribunals in the early months after the takeover, in the sense that the proceedings were closed to the public, recent trials have been open. We know of no case of additional sentences being imposed after military tribunals have announced their sentences.

4. The use of torture almost certainly continues in some cases, despite the fact that this technique is not condoned by the Governing Junta. Police interrogation in Chile at least since the period of the Christian Democrats has often included persuasion not acceptable to U.S. or other human rights standards. We do have reports that in some cases in which the use of torture has been proved the persons responsible have been punished. Not all persons arrested are tortured, and it seems reasonable to suppose that torture may well be the exception rather than the rule, but the incidence of abuse of internationally accepted standards of human rights is sufficiently high to cause serious concern.

5. Although there is some evidence of firings for political reasons, we have no information to suggest that the totals are anywhere nearly as high as the 160,000 figure which appears in this report. As we have said elsewhere, there have been political purges in government agencies such as the Foreign Ministry, but the principal aim particularly in the

private sector appears to have been to reduce the uneconomic hiring of additional personnel of the Allende years. Nevertheless, we can suspect that some grudges have been settled in this manner, and that given the choice between a Marxist and a non-Marxist competing for the same job the latter is more likely to be kept on.

10. There has been no campaign against foreign residents in Chile. The GOC deserves high marks for its cooperation with the UNHCR, ICEM and other organizations on the handling of refugees. More than 4,000 asylees in embassies have been given safeconducts and as of the moment less than 100 remain in foreign embassies. Such embassies as the Mexican and Venezuelan have accepted new asylees as recently as in the past few weeks, thus undercutting the implication in the text that embassies are being prevented from giving asylum.

We have no information to confirm or deny that prisoners and potential prisoners information is computerized. Neither do we have any information about arrests for spending time in Cuba.

So far as we know, the military continue to observe the restrictions announced by General Bonilla in November on home searches.

Persons arrested are commonly presumed guilty by police forces -- in the U.S., in Chile and elsewhere. The investigation following detention is used in Chile as the basis for either indicting the prisoner or freeing him. Under civil law procedures, no indictment is virtually certain, and the presumption always is that the person charged is guilty unless he proves otherwise in all civil law countries such as France and Chile.

There have been no recent reports of executions under the "Ley de Fuga."

Decree Law 81 of November 6, 1973 has been used to draw up a published "most wanted" list. This is a legal formality to put the persons indicated publicly on notice that they are wanted and should report to the authorities, and voluntary reporting by a person whose name is published, under the terms of the Decree Law is deemed to be an attenuating circumstance. It is curious that the deaths of the three persons named in the text as having had their names so published all took place well before the appearance of the Decree Law, as is evident from the text itself.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MEXICO 4496

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX, XM
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S SOUTH AMERICAN TRIP

REF: MEXICO 4454

1. EMBASSY SOURCE WHO HAS CLOSE CONTACT WITH OFFICIALS PLANNING PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S SOUTH AMERICAN TOUR INFORMED EMBOFF THAT PRESIDENT WILL MAKE "TECHNICAL STOP" AT SANTIAGO, PROBABLY ON HIS WAY FROM LIMA TO BUENOS AIRES. ACCORDING TO SOURCE'S INFORMATION, RABASA MADE ARRANGEMENTS DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO CHILE, AND GENERAL PINOCHET AND OTHER HIGH-LEVEL GOC OFFICIALS WILL MEET ECHEVERRIA AT AIRPORT. (THIS IS CONTRARY TO INFORMATION IN MEXICO CITY PRESS -- SEE MEXICO 4494).

2. EMBASSY HAS NO OTHER IMMEDIATE CONFIRMATION OF THIS INFORMATION.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/20/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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USIA-15 AID-20 IGA-02 COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02 TRSE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8839

[redacted] SANTIAGO 3154

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CI
SUBJECT: PINOCHET VIEWS

1. SUMMARY: JUNTA PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN OPTIMSITC MOOD RE CHILEAN ECONOMY; HOPES FOR INCREASED U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE INCLUDING MORE FMS CREDIT; DEFENDS GOC HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, EXPRESSING DETERMINATION TO PUNISH THOSE GUILTY OF ABUSES SUCH AS TORTURE; AND STATES FORMULA APPLIED TO EX-FONMIN CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA AS RESULT OF RABASANVISIT, LOOKING TOWARD DEPARTURE FROM COUNTRY IF ACQUITTED IN TRIAL, EQUALLY APPLICABLE TO ORLANDO LETELIER AND OTHER DEFENDANTS. END SUMMARY

2. I MADE SEPARATE CALLS ON THE FOUR MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT JUNTA PRIOR TO DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON CONSULTATION. HIGHLIGHTS OF MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET JUNE 3 FOLLOW:

3. THE ECONOMY. PINOCHET EXUDED SATISFACTION AND OPTIMISM ABOUT PRODUCTION RECOVERY IN MINES, AGRICULTURE, AND INDUSTRY. WITH REGARD TO MINING, HE NOTED THAT PRODUCTION IN STATE COPPER MINES UP ONE-THIRD LAST MONTH OVER SAME MONTH YEAR AGO. EXPECTATION IS FOR PRODUCTION OF 740 THOUSAND TONS OF COPPER [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03154 042239Z

FROM "GRAN MINERIA" IN 1974, WHICH SHOULD GIVE TOTAL CHILEAN PRODUCTION OF OVER ONE MILLION TONS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED INFLATION CONTINUES AND IS DIFFICULT TO CONTROL. ON OTHER HAND, NOTED THAT

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IN FIRST YEAR AFTER MILITARY TAKEOVER, BRAZIL HAD EXPERIENCED 600 PC INFLATION. GIVEN THE INHERITED DISASTER, HE THOUGHT PROGRAM TO CONTROL INFLATION WAS MAKING PROGRESS AND STILL MORE COULD BE DONE.

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4. PINOCHET SAID NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT IS NEEDED TO CREATE EMPLOYMENT, ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED THAT SUCH INVESTMENT CAN ADD FUEL TO INFLATION. HE NOTED THAT IMPORTANT JAPANESE AND SPANISH INVESTMENTS ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION BUT THAT U.S. INVESTORS ARE HOLDING OFF, APPARENTLY AWAITING PROMULGATION OF NEW IVVESTMENT CODE. HE PROMISED CODE WOULD BE APPROVED SOON. IN RESPONSE MY REFERENCE TO COPPER NEGOTIATIONS, HE SIMPLY CONFIRMED THEY ARE CONTINUING.

5. U.S. ASSISTANCE. I MENTIONED THAT WE HOPED TO BE HELPFUL WITH PROGRAMS IN AGRICULTURE AND NUTRITION AND HOPED BE ABLE MAKE SOME FOODSTUFFS AVAILABLE IN RESPONSE GOC REQUEST. PINOCHET SAID THAT WOULD BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED. I MENTIONED THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO BE HELPFUL IN SOME AREAS IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AND HOPE THIS CAN CONTINUE. PINOCHET ACKNOWLEDGED THIS BUT OBSERVED WITH A SMILE THAT NOT A SINGLE CARTRIDGE HAD YET BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE USG. HE SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED THAT AN EFFORT BE MADE TO SEE WHETHER OUR FY 1974 FMS CREDIT FOR CHILE COULD BE INCREASED. I RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTY OF THIS GIVEN EXISTING FUNDING LIMITATIONS. PINOCHET SAID HE UNDERSTOOD BUT HOPED SOMETHING MIGHT BE POSSIBLE SINCE A NUMBER OF HEMISPHERE COUNTRIES DO NOT REQUIRE FMS CREDITS AND ADDITIONAL CREDITS WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL TO CHILE.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS. I NOTED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS CONTINUE TO BE A PROBLEM. PINOCHET INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT GOC IS A CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH, UNLIKE COMMUNIST REGIMES, HAS AUTHENTIC RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN PERSON. HE INSISTED HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES WERE CONFINED TO THE FIRST MONTHS FOLLOWING THE COUP AND COULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE NATURAL HUMAN PASSIONS OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN THE INTENDED VICTIMS OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME. IN THIS REGARD HE ASKED RHETORICALLY HOW MANY OF THOSE NOW CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE WOULD HAVE SHOWN THE SAME CONCERN

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 03154 042239Z

IF HE AND HIS MILITARY COLLEAGUES HAD BEEN THE VICTIMS, ACCORDING TO PLAN, OF THE MARXIST AUTHORITIES. HE ASSURED ME THAT ABUSES WHICH MAY HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE FIRST MONTHS HAVE NOW ENDED. HE RECOGNIZED THAT ISOLATED INCIDENTS OF ABUSES MIGHT STILL OCCUR BECAUSE PEOPLE "ARE NOT PERFECT" BUT EXPRESSED FULL DETERMINATION TO BRING TO BOOK ANY ONE FOUND RESPONSIBLE.

7. PINOCHET NOTED THAT PERSONS NOW UNDER DETENTION IN CHILE, WHO ARE THE PRIMARY SOURCES OF ALLEGATIONS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, ARE THEMSELVES "NO ANGELS" AND HAVE THEIR OWN

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REASONS FOR MAKING ALLEGATIONS.

8. PINOCHET EXPRESSED SOME ANNOYANCE WITH ALLEGATIONS THAT GOC IS A RIGHTIST GOVERNMENT. HE SAID IT IS NOT. HE ASSERTED THAT NO RIGHTIST GOVERNMENT WOULD SHOW THE CONCERN FOR THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE POOR, THE PLIGHT OF THE SLUM DWELLERS, THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT, WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN, NOR WOULD IT CONTINUE THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND TITLES UNDER THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM AS THIS GOVERNMENT HAS DONE.

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9. LETTER FROM SENATOR KENNEDY. PINOCHET SAID HE WAS IN RECEIPT OF A VERY TOUGH LETTER FROM SENATOR KENNEDY ON HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS AND INTENDED TO RESPOND IN KIND.

10. VISIT OF MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER RABASA. I EXPRESSED VIEW THAT RABASA VISIT HAD BEEN BENEFICIAL TO CHILE AS WELL AS MEXICO. PINOCHET SAID HE THOUGHT SO. HE NOTED RABASA HAD COME WITH A SERIES OF REQUESTS RATHER THAN DEMANDS. SINCE, PRIOR TO RABASA'S ARRIVAL, PINOCHET HAD ALREADY AUTHORIZED HIS PEOPLE TO GIVE ASSURANCES THAT ALL ASYLEES IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES WOULD BE OUT WITHIN 20 DAYS, HE SAW NO REASON NOT TO AGREE TO ALLOW THOSE IN MEXICAN EMBASSY TO DEPART IMMEDIATELY. IN RETURN GOC NOW HAS ASSURANCES THAT MEXICO WILL MAKE DELIVERIES OF FERTILIZER, SULFER, SUGAR, ETC., AND WILL TAKE STEPS TO CUT DOWN THE TALK AGAINST CHILE.

11. LETELIER CASE. I SAID I THOUGHT THE ARRANGEMENT WORKED OUT WITH RABASA TO EFFECT THAT IF ALMEYDA FOUND INNOCENT HE WOULD BE FREE TO GO TO MEXICO WAS A VERY GOOD FORMULA. I MENTIONED SIGNIFICANT INTEREST IN U.S. IN SITUATION OF ORLANDO LETELIER BASED ON FACT THAT MANY PEOPLE KNOW HIM FROM HIS TOUR [redacted]

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 03154 042239Z

AS AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON AND FACT THAT HE HAS A SON WHO IS A U.S. CITIZEN. I SAID I ASSUMED THE ALMEYDA FORMULA WOULD ALSO BE APPLICABLE TO LETELIER. PINOCHET SAID IT WAS COMPLETELY APPLICABLE. IF LETELIER IS ACQUITTED, HE IS FREE TO GO WHERE HE WISHES, AS ARE THE OTHER DEFENDANTS.

12. PINOCHET CONCLUDED BY COMMENTING THAT MEMBERS OF GOC ARE NOT INHUMANE. PEOPLE LIKE ALMEYDA AND LETELIER HOLD ONE SET OF BELIEFS AND IDEAS, WHILE JUNTA MEMBERS HOLD ANOTHER. PINOCHET SAID HE HAPPENED TO THINK THE DEFENDANTS' IDEAS WERE WRONG. BUT IN ABSOLUTE TERMS, WHO IS TO SAY? IN ANY CASE, THEIR IDEAS AND BELIEFS ARE NOT AT ISSUE. THOSE ACQUITTED WILL BE FREE TO DEPART CHILE.

13. TO SUM UP FOREGOING COMMENTS, ELICITED BY MY QUESTIONS, I TOLD PINOCHET I WOULD TAKE BACK TO U.S. FROM HIM A MESSAGE OF OPTIMISM REGARDING GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC AND OTHER

PROSPECTS, AND OF HIS INTENTION THAT CHILE WOULD ADHERE TO HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS AND PURSUE ENLIGHTENED SOCIAL OBJECTIVES. HE NODDED AFFIRMATIVELY.

14. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THE RABASA FORMULA REGARDING CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA INVOLVES ANY EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED COMMITMENT TO ACQUIT ALMEYDA OR TO SUSPEND HIS SENTENCE IF HE IS CONVICTED. HOWEVER, I THINK IT USEFUL TO HAVE SUGGESTED THAT IF ANY TYPE OF CLEMENCY IS TO BE APPLIED TO ALMEYDA, WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN EQUAL TREATMENT FOR LETELIER.POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03190 052229Z

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ACTION ARA-20

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-03 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SY-04 DRC-01 /144 W
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R 052200Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8862
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 820
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Decla
Exemption(s)

[redacted] SANTIAGO 3190

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: CI, PFOR
SUBJECT: ASYLEES

REF: SANTIAGO 3085 (NOTAL)

1. IN WAKE OF DEPARTURE OF ALL ASYLEES IN MEXICAN EMBASSY (SANTIAGO 3089), GOC ANNOUNCED THAT TOTAL ASYLEES IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN SANTIAGO IS NOW 61 DISTRIBUTED AMONG 16 EMBASSY AS FOLLOWS: ARGENTINA 1, AUSTRIA 1, BELGIUM 1, COLOMBIA 4, COSTA RICA 2, FINLAND 7, NETHERLANDS 5, HONDURAS 6, ITALY 7, NORWAY 3, PANAMA 1, FRG 9, SWEDEN 5, SWITZERLAND 2, AND VENEZUELA 1.

2. ACTUAL NUMBER IS EVEN LOWER. PRESS JUNE 4 REPORTED ISSUANCE OF SAFECONDUCTS TO JACQUES CHONCHOL IN VENEZUELAN EMBASSY; CHONCHOL PLANS TO DEPART FOR PARIS JUNE 7. OSCAR GARRETON AND [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03190 052229Z

THE OTHER REMAINING THREE PERSONS IN COLOMBIAN EMBASSY RECEIVED SAFECONDUCTS; ADONIS SEPULVEDA, FORMER DEPUTYSECGEN OF SOCIALIST PARTY, ALREADY RECEIVED SAFECONDUCT AND PLANS TO

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TRAVEL SOON. HOWEVER, COLOMBIAN CHARGE ANNOUNCED THAT FIVE NEW PERSONS INCLUDING FORMER MIN. AGRICULTURE PEDRO HIDALGO RECENTLY ENTERED EMBASSY AND HAVE BEEN GRANTED ASYLUM. ALLENDE'S PRIVATE SECRETARY MIRIA CONTRERAS (UNIVERSALLY KNOWN AS "LA PAYITA") DEPARTED SANTIAGO FOR STOCKHOLM JUNE 4. ACCOMPANYING HER WERE EIGHT OF SIXTEEN PERSONS WHO RECENTLY ENTERED VENEZUELAN EMBASSY. FORMER SENATOR LUIS VALENTE ROSSI AND FORMER INVESTIGATIONES DEPUTY DIRECTOR CARLOS TORO, BOTH COMMUNISTS AND BOTH LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF HONDURAN EMBASSY, ALSO LEFT RECENTLY.

3. COMMENT. GOC HAS MADE FIRM DECISION, CONFIRMED BY PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR JUNE 3, TO TERMINATE ASYLEE PROBLEM AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. PROBLEM COMPLICATED, HOWEVER, BY POLICY OF SUCH GOVERNMENTS AS COLOMBIA TO CONTINUE GRANTING POLITICAL ASYLUM.
POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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SA19

1*

TELECON
Foreign Minister Rabasa/Secretary Kissinger
Wednesday, June 5, 1974
1:09 PM

RELEASED IN FULL

R: Hello Henry, Good Morning.

K: Emilo, I am sorry I am sorry I couldn't call you back.

R: I know you are all tied up.
Henry, ~~x~~ can I visit you Saturday?

K: I still haven't had a chance to clear my calendar. Let me call you before the end of the day. How much time would we need?

R: Half an hour. My idea is this Henry, I would take two people from Mexico who would speak with the people you are sending here. A man I think is called Maw that is Legal Advisor and then Trevos(?sp phonetic)

K: I will find half an half you can count on Saturday. I will let you know what time.

R: When I can go?

K: Yea. But it probably be more than half an hour.

R: I hope so

K: I am really unbelieveably busy right now.

R: I understand Henry. Then I think these two people will make contact with your people Friday.

K: Good.

R: After they have spoken then you can let me know what hour on Saturday we can meet.

K: Right.

R: I am leaving tomorrow.

K: Good.

R: Thanks a million. I am very sorry to be insistent at this point. Monday the whole thing starts and I have to clear things with you completely.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 10 FEB 2003 200102979

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K: Good.

R: Then I will be there tomorrow; Friday the two teams will meet and Saturday you have time decison. I will meet with you.

K: Right.

R: Thanks a million and My best to Nancy.

K: Thank you, Bye.

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PAGE 01 QUITO 03738 062245Z

E3

13
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-07 SP-03 SS-20 RSC-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 USIA-15 PRS-01 DRC-01

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R 061859Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY QUITO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1269
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

UNCLAS QUITO 3738

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, EC, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICO'S PRESIDENT TO VISIT ECUADOR

ECUADOREAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ANNOUNCED AFTERNOON JUNE 5 THAT MEXICO'S PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA WILL PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO ECUADOR FROM JULY 11 TO JULY 14. THE ANNOUNCEMENT PROVIDED NO ADDITIONAL DETAILS.
BREWSTER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/26/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART
( ) DENY
EO Citations
TS authority to
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 04634 061851Z

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71
ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-20 NSC-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10

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R 061805Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1969
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ MEXICO 4634

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, MX, XM
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S SOUTH AMERICAN TRIP

REF: MEXICO 4416 (NOTAL)

1. FOREIGN SECRETARIAT ANNOUNCED JUNE 5 THAT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA HAS ACCEPTED INVITATION OF PRESIDENT RODRIGUEZ LARA TO ADD ECUADOR TO SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES HE WILL VISIT NEXT MONTH. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WILL BE IN ECUADOR JULY 11-14 -- I.E. MAKING THIS FIRST STOP ON HIS SCHEDULE.

2. ECHEVERRIA REPORTEDLY IS STILL STUDYING SIMILAR INVITATION FROM BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT. GOM HAS EVINCED LITTLE EMPATHY FOR BANZER REGIME.
JOVA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/20/97
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PA Exemptions
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03264 072229Z

12
ACTION ARA-20

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

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USIA-15 SY-04 SR-02 ORM-03 DRC-01 /119 W

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R 072201Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8907
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA

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EXCISE

[redacted] SANTIAGO 3264

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, CO, PFOR
SUBJ: COLOMBIAN EMBASSY ASYLEES TO DEPART

REF: A) SANTIAGO 3190, B) SANTIAGO 2948, C) SANTIAGO 2927 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. ANOTHER BREAK IN CHILEAN POLITICAL ISOLATION APPARENTLY SECURED WITH VISIT OF SPECIAL COLOMBIAN EMISSARY AND RESOLUTION OF ASYLEE PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

2. COLOMBIAN GENERAL JORGE ORDONEZ, HEAD OF NATIONAL POLICE, ARRIVED IN SANTIAGO JUNE 5 AS A SPECIAL EMISSARY OF PRES PASTRANA TO DISCUSS PROBLEM OF ASYLEES IN COLOMBIAN EMBASSY SANTIAGO. AFTER INTERVIEW MAY 6 WITH MIN DEFENSE AND ACTING FON MINISTER CARVAJEL (HUERTA ILL), ORDONEZ ANNOUNCED GOC HAS AUTHORIZED DEPARTURE JUNE 10 WITH ORDONEZ OF ALL TEN ASYLEES REMAINING IN COLOMBIAN EMBASSY. NUMBER INCLUDES FIVE WHO ENTERED EMBASSY IN LAST FEW DAYS (REFTEL A). ORDONEZ ANNOUNCED EMBASSY NOW TO UNDERGO REPAIR AND THEREFORE "CANNOT RECEIVE MORE ASYLEES."

3. ORDONEZ DENIED THAT COLOMBIA HAD REFUSED AGREMENT FOR RETIRED CARABINERO GENERAL NOMINATED BY CHILE AS AMB TO COLOMBIA (REFTELS B, C). ENTIRE MATTER WAS "MISUNDERSTANDING"

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03264 072229Z

AND DELAY IN NAMING OF NEW AMBASSADORS FROM BOTH COUNTRIES RELATED ONLY TO MATTER OF ASYLEES.

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4. ORDONEZ ALSO DENIED REPORTS THAT HERNAN DEL CANTO, FORMER MIN INTERIOR IN ALLENDE GOVT, HAD MADE POLITICAL STATEMENTS IN VIOLATION ACCEPTED NORMS ASYLEE STATUS IN COLOMBIA, AND SAID THAT ANY ASYLEE DOING SO WOULD BE EXPELLED FROM COLOMBIA.

5. INTERVIEW WITH JUNTA MEMBER AND CARABINERO CHIEF GEN MENDOZA SCHEDULED FOR JUNE 7.

6. COMMENT. PARALLELS WITH MEXICAN FON MIN RABASA VISIT TOO CLOSE TO BE COINCIDENTAL. WE ASSUME COLOMBIAN GOVT SAW SAME ADVANTAGE AS GOM IN REMOVING ASYLEE PROBLEM AND IMPROVING SOMEWHAT STRAINED RELATIONS WITH CHILE. HOWEVER, VISIT OF ORDONEZ HAVING SOME UNFORESEEN REPERCUSSIONS.

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7. TO FURTHER COMPLICATE [redacted] LIFE, ORDONEZ MADE COMPLETELY UNAUTHORIZED STATEMENT QUOTED PARA 1 ABOVE THAT COLOMBIA WOULD NOT RPT NOT ACCEPT MORE ASYLEES. ACCORDING [redacted] COLOMBIAN FON MINISTER PUBLICLY REFUTED THIS LAST NIGHT IN BOGOTA.

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8. DESPITE THIS SOUR NOTE, DEPARTURE OF ASYLEES, EXPECTED EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS, AND GENERAL WARMING OF RELATIONS WITH COLOMBIA PARALLELS MEXICAN DEVELOPMENTS, AND WILL BE SEEN BY MANY CHILEANS AS SIGNIFICANT AND WELCOME EVIDENCE OF REVERSAL OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISOLATION TREND.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03264 072229Z UNCLASS

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

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USIA-15 SY-04 SR-02 ORM-03 DRC-01 /119 W

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R 072201Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8907
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] SANTIAGO 3264

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, CO, PFOR
SUBJ: COLOMBIAN EMBASSY ASYLEES TO DEPART

REF: A) SANTIAGO 3190, B) SANTIAGO 2948, C) SANTIAGO 2927 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. ANOTHER BREAK IN CHILEAN POLITICAL ISOLATION APPARENTLY SECURED WITH VISIT OF SPECIAL COLOMBIAN EMISSARY AND RESOLUTION OF ASYLEE PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

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3. ORDONEZ DENIED THAT COLOMBIA HAD REFUSED AGREMENT FOR RETIRED CARABINERO GENERAL NOMINATED BY CHILE AS AMB TO COLOMBIA (REFTELS B, C). ENTIRE MATTER WAS "MISUNDERSTANDING"

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03264 072229Z

AND DELAY IN NAMING OF NEW AMBASSADORS FROM BOTH COUNTRIES RELATED ONLY TO MATTER OF ASYLEES.

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PAGE 01 STATE 124661

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15
ORIGIN IO-02

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-02 ISO-00 /005 R

66619
DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RCREISJR:JBS
APPROVED BY IO:LKAHN

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R 121952Z JUN 74
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

UNCLAS STATE 124661

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 3729 ACTION SECSTATE 12 JUNE 1974. QUOTE:

UNCLAS GENEVA 3729

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
√Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: ILO, AORG
SUBJ: ILO: CHILEAN RESOLUTION

REF: STATE 123789

1. FOLLOWING ARE SPONSORS AND TEXT OF RESOLUTION ON CHILE:
"(CONSOLIDATED TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE SYSTEMATIC VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TRADE UNION FREEDOMS IN CHILE, SUBMITTED BY MR. BEREZECKI, WORKERS' DELEGATE, POLAND; MR. BORGOV, WORKERS' DELEGATE BULGARIA; MR. HLAVICKA, WORKER'S DELEGATE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA; MRS. MUNTEANU, WORKERS DELEGATE, ROMANIA; MR. NEUKRANTZ, WORKERS DELEGATE, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC; MR. OBUKHOVICH, WORKERS DELEGATE, BYELORUSSIAN SSR; MR. PIMNOON WORKERS DELEGATE, USSR; MR. POIDA, WORKERS DELEGATE, UKRAINIAN SSR; AND MR. TIMMER, WORKERS DELEGATE HUNGARY; THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES AND PARTICULARLY IN CHILE, SUBMITTED BY MR. J. HOUTHUYS, WORKERS' DLEGATE, BELGIUM; AND THE
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PAGE 02 STATE 124661

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE LABOUR AND TRADE UNION SITUATION IN CHILE, SUBMITTED BY MR. BENYA, WORKERS' DELEGATE, AUSTRIA; MR. CARLSSON, WORKERS' DELEGATE SWEDEN; MR.

NOBEL, WORKERS' DELEGATE SWITZERLAND; MR. PLANT, WORKERS' DELEGATE, UNITED KINGDOM; MR. SANCHEZ MADARIAGE, WORKERS' DELEGATE, MEXICO, MR. SUNDE, WORKERS' DELEGATE, NORWAY; AND MR. VOGNBJERG, WORKERS' DELEGATE, DENMARK.)
RESOLUTION CONCERNING HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN CHILE, SUBMITTED BY THE WORKERS' GROUP
PREAMBLE
THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION,
1. EXPRESSING ITS DEEP CONCERN AT THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION IN CHILE AS REGARDS THE ARREST, EXECUTION, DEPORTATION OF TRADE UNIONISTS, VIOLATION OF HUMAN AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, DISSOLUTIONS OF TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS AND RESTRICTIONS OF THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

2. REFERRING TO THE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, SUBMITTED TO AND ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNING BODY AT ITS 191ST (NOVEMBER 1973) AND 192ND (FEBRUARY-MARCH 1974) SESSIONS,

3. NOTING THAT THE MILITARY JUNTA HAS INCREASED TH WORKING WEEK BY FOUR HOURS (DECREE NO. 35) AND HAS AT THE SAME TIME FROZEN WAGES, WHICH IS CONTRARY TO ALL NATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN CHILE AND A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE PRINCILES AND STANDARDS LAID DOWN IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ILO AND IN THE HOURS OF WORK (INDUSTRY) CONVENTION, 1919 (NO. 1), WHICH HAS BEEN RATIFIED BY CHILE,

4. NOTING THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE SECURED THE DISMISSAL (BY LEGISLATIVE DECREE NO. 32) OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, SERVICES, THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND THE UNIVERSITIES, AND HAS PROHIBITED ANY EMPLOYMENT OF THOSE PERSONS IN VIOLATION OF THE MOST ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF NON-DISCRIMINATION BASED ON POLITICAL OR TRADE UNION VIEWS, AND, MORE PARTICULARLY, OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

DISCRIMINATION (EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION), CONVENTION, 1958 (NO. 111), WHICH AS BEEN RATIFIED BY CHILE,

5. STRESSING THE FACT THAT THE MILITARY JUNTA HAS SUSPENDED THE OPERATION OF THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEES AND THE LABOUR ARBITRATION COURTS (ORDER NO. 36), THUS ESTABLISHING STRICT CONTROL BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES OVER THE LABOUR COUNRTS,
6. NOTING THAT THE GOVERNING BODY DECIDED TO REQUEST THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO GIVE THEIR

CONSENT TO THE VISIT OF THE FACT-FINDING AND CONCILIATION COMMISSION ON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION,

7. NOTING THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE NOW RESPONDED FAVOURABLY TO THE REQUEST OF THE GOVERNING BODY;
OPERATIVE
1. URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES-
A) TO CEASE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND TO LIFT ALL RESTRICTIONS ON THE EXERCISE OF TRADE UNION ACITIVITIES;
B) TO CLOSE DOWN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN WHICH WORKERS, MILITANT WORKERS AND TRADE UNION LEADERS ARE INTERNED FOR POLITICAL REASONS;
C) TO GUARANTEE, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A GENERAL AMNESTY, THE LIFE AND FREEDOM OF THE WORKERS, MILITANT WORKERS AND TRADE UNION LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF ANY POLITICAL PARTIES WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, DEPORTED OR IMPRISONED;
D) TO REPEAT THE RESPRESSIVE ACTS, LEGISLATIVE DECREES AND ORDERS ISSUED SINCE 11 SEPTEMBER 1973, SO THAT THE CHILEAN WORKERS CAN FULLY ENJOY DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS;
E) TO REPEAT THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL ORGANISATION OF WORKERS (CUT) AND GUARANTEE ITS FREEDOM OF ACTION;
F) TO ABOLISH THE SPECIAL TRIBUNALS AND WITHDRAW TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES FROM THE JURISDICTION OF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES;
G) TO PUT AN END TO THE TORTURING OF TRADE UNION MILITANTS AND LEADERS AND PUNICH THOSE WHO WERE UNCLASSIFIED

RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH INHUMAN ACTIVITIES;
H) TO GRANT SAFE CONDUCTS TO ALL TRADE UNION LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF ALL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONSS WHO HAVE TAKEN REFUGE IN EMBASSIES;
2. INVITES THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE TO INSTRUCT THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL-
A) TO TAKE WITH TH UTMOST URGENCY THE STEPS NECESSARY TO SEND THE FACT-FINDING AND CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO CHILE;
B) TO SET UP, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 26, PARAGRAPHS 3 AND 4, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION, A COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY TO STUDY THE FAILURE OF CHILE TO APPLY THE HOURS OF WORK (INDUSTRY) CONVENTION, 1919 (NO. 1), AND THE DISCRIMINATION (EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION) CONVENTION,1958 (NO. 111), BOTH OF WHICH CHILE HAS RATIFIED, AND TO SUBMIT A

REPORT ON THE SUBJECT TO THE 195TH SESSION OF THE GOVERNING BODY;
C) TO FOLLOW CONTINUOUSLY THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADE UNION SITUATION IN CHILE."
2. RESOLUTION ENJOYED SUFFICIENT SUPPORT IN ALL GROUPS TO BE ELECTED AS NUMBER TWO AMONG FIRST FIVE RESOLUTIONS SELECTED FOR PRIORITY CONSIDERATION. SUPPORT FOR RESOLUTION PARTICULARY STRONG IN WORKER AND GOVERNMENT GROUPS. LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS SEEM TO HAVE ADOPTED A "HANDS OFF" ATTIDUDE TOWARD ISSUE. MOST WEO'S PLACED CHILE AS NUMBER TWO ON THEIR LIST OF FIVE PRIORITY RESOLUTIONS.

3. CHILEANS ARE NATURALLY OPPOSED TO RESOLUTION, BUT ACCEPT INEVITABLY THAT CHILE IS HOT ISSUE IN ILO THIS YEAR. CHILEANS ARE PREPARED TO RESPOND TO CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THEM WITH RECITATION OF HISTORY OF INACTION BY ILO RE QUESTION OF TRADE UNION FREEDOMS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

4. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTION WILL BEGIN TODAY AND SHOULD REVEAL MORE CLEARLY ATTITUDES AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS TOWARD RESOLUTION AS IT NOW STANDS AND ANY POSSIBILITIES THAT MAY EXIST FOR MODIFYING AMENDMENTS.
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RESOLUTION NOT LIKELY TO COME TO VOTE BEFORE END THIS WEEK OR EARLY NEXT WEEK. DALE
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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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R 022203Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2548
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, CO, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA VISIT TO COLOMBIA REPORTEDLY TO BE CANCELED.

MEXICAN UN AMBASSADOR JORGE CASTANEDA TOLD AMBASSADOR JOVA JULY 1 THAT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S SCHEDULED VISIT TO COLOMBIA WILL BE CANCELLED BECAUSE MEXICAN PRESIDENT DOES NOT WISH TO GET INVOLVED IN COLOMBIAN INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION.
JOVA

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*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 01 BOGOTA 05841 032207Z

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ACTION ARA-20

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R 032122Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3606
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
INFO AMCONSUL CALI
AMCONSUL MEDELLIN

UNCLAS BOGOTA 5841

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: OVIP CO MX
SUBJ: MIN OF FOREIGN RELATIONS ANNOUNCES POSTPONEMENT OF ECHEVERRIA VISIT

REF: MEXICO 5590

1. ON JULY 2, THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS ANNOUNCED THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE VISIT TO COLOMBIA OF MEXICAN PRES ECHEVERRIA.

2. FOL IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF FONMIN ANNOUNCEMENT:

"IN RESPECT TO THE OFFICIAL VISIT THAT HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICO, LICENTIATE LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ, WAS GOING TO MAKE TO THIS COUNTRY FROM JULY 29 TO AUGUST 1 OF THIS YEAR AT THE INVITATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA DR. MISAEL PASTRANA BORRERO, THE TWO HEADS OF STATE HAD AGREED ON THE NECESSITY OF THIS VISIT IN VIEW OF THE FIRM FRIENDSHIP EXISTING BETWEEN COLOMBIA AND MEXICO. DUE TO THE FACT, HOWEVER, THAT THE AFOREMENTIONED DATES ARE VERY CLOSE TO THE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION IN COLOMBIA, A POSTPONEMENT IS ADVISABLE. CONSEQUENTLY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP THAT DISTINGUISHES THE COLOMBIAN-MEXICAN RELATION-
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PAGE 02 BOGOTA 05841 032207Z

SHIP, THE FOREIGN OFFICES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE IN TOUCH AT AN EARLY DATE IN ORDER TO SET A NEW DATE FOR THIS VISIT WHICH COLOMBIA AWAITS WITH THE MOST SINCERE FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS THE MEXICAN NATION.".
VAKY

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 05726 091949Z

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USIA-15 DRC-01 NIC-01 OMB-01 /098 W

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R 091809Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2628
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

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UNCLAS MEXICO 5726

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, MX, XM
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S VISIT TO SOUTH AMERICA

REF: MEXICO 4416 (NOTAL)
MEXICO 4634 (NOTAL)

1. ON JULY 4 THE PERMANENT COMMISSION OF THE MEXICAN CONGRESS WENT THROUGH THE FORMALITY OF GIVING PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA PERMISSION TO MAKE HIS FORTHCOMING TRIP BY UNANIMOUS VOTE.

2. FINAL ITINERARY IS AS FOLLOWS: "TECHNICAL STOP" OVERNIGHT IN SAN JOSE, JULY 10-11; ECUADOR, JULY 11-14; PERU, JULY 14-17; ARGENTINA, JULY 17-21; BRAZIL, JULY 21-25; AND VENEZUELA, JULY 25-29. IN BRAZIL HE WILL VISIT SAN PAULO JULY 21, RIO DE JANEIRO JULY 22 AND BRASILIA JULY 23-24.

3. ANNOUNCED PURPOSES OF THE TRIP ARE TO EXPLORE WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS POSSIBLE MEANS FOR EXPANDING ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS AND FOR PROTECTING THE PRICE OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS WHICH
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 05726 091949Z

PROVIDE INCOME VITAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO AND THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA. IN ADDITION, THE PRESIDENT WILL DOUBTLESSLY DISCUSS THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES, LOS MATTERS, THE REORGANIZATION OF THE OAS, AND THE READMISSION OF CUBA TO HEMISPHERIC ORGANIZATIONS.
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ACTION ARA-20

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USIA-15 AGR-20 EB-11 COME-00 AID-20 DRC-01 /147 W
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R 112130Z JUL 74
FM AMEBUASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7521
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 170
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
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UNCLAS SAN JOSE 2646

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, CS
SUBJECT: MEXICAN PRESIDENT'S STOP IN COSTA RICA

1. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ARRIVED IN SAN JOSE ATH W P.M., JULY 10, FOR A "TECHNICAL STOP" BEFORE PROCEEDING ON TO QUITO AT 8 A.M., JULY 11. ECHEVERRIA'S BREIF STOP INCLUDED A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ODUBER, A PRESS CONFERENCE, AND A BANQUET HOSTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA.

2. ECHEVERRIA' STOP WAS WIDELY COVERED IN THE PRESS AND INCLUDED CONSIDERABLE BUILD-UP IN THE GOVERNMENT-ORIENTED MEDIA. PRESS REPORTS SAID ODUBER AND ECHEVERRIA, DURING THEIR PRIVATE
MEETING, DISCUSSED COFFEE AND BANANA PRICES,
THE NEED FOR INCREASED COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, AND THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE LATIN AMERICAN DMFRONT# FOR BETTER PRICES FOR EXPORTED PRODUCTS.

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02646 112158Z

3. DURING HIS PRESS CONFERENCE, ECHEVERRIA EXPRESSED HIS COUNTRY'S DESIRE FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING WITH CENTRAL AMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA. HE STRESSED HIS CONCERN OVER THE UNJUST "COMMERCIAL DISEQUILIBRIUM" THAT EXISTS IN THE WORLD AND THE NEED TO DEFEND THE PRICES OF EXPORTS SUCH AS COFFEE AND BANANAS. LATER HE WAS REPORTED SAYING, "EVEN THOUGH WE ARE NOT BANANA

EXPORTERS WE ARE FIRMLY SUPPORTIVE OF THOSE COUNTRIES (SEEKING BETTER PRICES). WE ARE WITH YOU." WITH RESPECT TO CUBA, ECHEVERRIA WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, "WE ARE RESPECTFUL OF WHAT OCCURS INTERNALLY WITHIN EACH COUNTRY, BUT (WE) ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THOSE WHO WANT TO REVIEW THE CUBAN ISSUE."
LANE

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PAGE 01 QUITO 04632 131622Z

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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R 131401Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY QUITO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1736
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
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UNCLAS QUITO 4632

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, EC, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN PRESIDENT IN QUITO

1. MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ARRIVED IN QUITO JULY 11, BEING MET BY PRESIDENT RODRIGUEZ AND HIS FULL CABINET. HE CONFERRED PRIVATELY WITH RODRIGUEZ LATER IN THE DAY, ATTENDED AN EVENING BANQUET HOSTED BY RODRIGUEZ IN HIS HONOR AND WAS SCHEDULED TO HAVE ANOTHER PRIVATE SESSION WITH RODRIGUEZ THE MORNING OF JULY 12.

2. THE ATMOSPHERE HAS BEEN ONE OF WARMTH AND A BUSY SCHEDULE WAS CONTRIVED FOR ECHEVERRIA AND THE LARGE ACCOMPANYING PARTY, WHICH INCLUDES THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. ECHEVERRIA'S TENTEREST IN PAINTING HAS BEEN DULY NOTED AND ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR HIM TO CALL ON NOTED ECUADOREAN PAINTER
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PAGE 02 QUITO 04632 131622Z

OSWALDO GUAYASAMIN.

3. IN SPEECHES AT THE JULY 11 BANQUET, ECHEVERRIA HAMMERED ON THE NEED FOR LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO STRENGTHEN THEIR DEVELOPING COMMON FRONT IN DEFENSE OF BETTER RAW MATERIALS PRICES AND HE PRAISED ECUADOR'S NATIONALISTIC PETROLEUM POLICY. HE CALLED ON ECUADOR

TO JOIN A MULTINATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO CONTROL COFFEE SALES, ADDING THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR ECUADOR TO JOIN OTHER BUDDING EFFORTS TO CONTROL COMMODITY PRICES (AN UNDOUBTED REFERENCE TO UPEB, THE BANANA PRODUCERS' GROUP), EFFORTS WHICH MIGHT ONE DAY CULMINATE IN THE FORMATION OF A LATIN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION TO DEAL WITH ALL COMMODITY PRICES. HE AND PRESIDENT RODRIGUEZ, ASCRIBED MANY LA PROBLEMS TO THE "SELFISH BEHAVIOUR" OF POWEFUL INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES.

4. PRESIDENT RODRIGUEZ ECHOED ECHEVERRIA ON PRICES AND THE NEED FOR LATIN AMERICAN UNITY AND SOLIDARITY. HE SOFTENED HIS RHETORIC WITH A REFERENCE TO TLATELOLCO, STATING THAT THE DECLARATION OF EQUALITY BY THE UNITED STATES OPENED UP UNSUSPECTED POSSIBILITIES FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE WORLD. HE ASSERTED THAT THE UNITY OF LATIN AMERICA AND OTHER GROUPS OF 3RD WORLD NATIONS, ON A REGIONAL BASIS, WAS INDISPENSABLE TO CONFRONT THE INDUSTRIALIZED GREAT POWERS, NOT FOR BELLICOSE PURPOSES, BUT RATHER TO INFLUENCE THEM TO ENGAGE IN CIVILIZED DIALOGUE IN A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. THUS, RODRIGUEZ CONCLUDED, TLATELOLCO WOULD SOON TAKE ON A "UNIVERSAL DIMENSION", TO THE HONOR OF THE HUMAN RACE.
BREWSTER

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ACTION ARA-20

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R 130048Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2732
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MEXICO 5912

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP MX JM
SUBJECT: PRES ECHEVERRIA ADDS JAMAICA TO ITINERARY

REF: MEXICO 5726 (NOTAL)

1. ACCORDING TO ARTICLE IN NOVEDADES JULY 11, PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WILL VISIT JAMAICA JULY 29-31. (SOME PUBLISHED ITINERARIES SHOW ECHEVERRIA DEPARTING CARACAS JULY 29 AND OTHERS, EQUALLY AUTHORITATIVE, SHOW HIM RETURNING TO MEXICO CITY JULY 31. THIS REPORT WOULD EXPLAIN DISCREPANCY.)

2. JAMAICAN CHARGE SAID VISIT IS AN UNOFFICIAL REST STOP FOR A DAY OR TWO. HE TERMED PUBLICATION OF ABOVE REPORT UNFORTUNATE AND SAID VISIT STILL TENTATIVE BUT VERY LIKELY.

3. COMMENT: THIS MAY BE AN INDICATION ON A CUBA VISIT. HOWEVER, WE NOTE ALSO THAT ECHEVERRIA -- WHO NEVER TAKES PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED VACATIONS IN MEXICO -- STOPPED OFF TO REST IN BAHAMAS FOR ABOUT TWO DAYS ON WAY BACK FROM EUROPE IN FEBRUARY (AND PERHAPS ALSO TO MAKE TRIUMPHANT RETURN ONLY AFTER ALL LATAM FONMINS WERE IN TOWN FOR MEETINGS PREPARATORY TO THEIR CONFERENCE WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER). JOVA

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ACTION ARA-20

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R 161856Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY QUITO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1774
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
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UNCLAS QUITO 4698

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, EC, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL VISIT COMPLETED

REF: QUITO 4632

1. MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA LEFT QUITO FOR LIMA THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 14 AFTER A HEAVILY PUBLICIZED FOUR DAY OFFICIAL VISIT. IN A PRE-DEPARTURE PRESS INTERVIEW, ECHEVERRIA SAID HIS VISIT HAD HAD "EXCELLENT RESULTS" AND HAD LEFT "A POSITIVE BALANCE IN EVERY ASPECT".

2. THE PRINCIAPL OBJECTIVE OF HIS TRIP, ACCORDING TO ECHEVERRIA, WAS TO PROMOTE "A COMMON FRONT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE PRICES OF OUR PRODUCTS" MENTIONING, AS AN EXAMPLE, COFFEE - AND CITING THE MEXICAN PROPOSAL TO CREATE AN ASSOCIATION OF COFFEE-EXPORTING COUNTRIES. HE CITED THE PROPOSED CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES AND SAID IT INVOLVED A "TRUE NATIONALIST ALLIANCE", BASED ON A
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"NEW NATIONALISM". HE ALSO INDICATED MEXICO'S GREAT SYMPATHY FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE ANDEAN PACT, SAYING "MEXICO'S RELATIONS WITH THE PACT WILL BECOME CLOSER AND NOT ONLY BILATERALLY ... BUT WITH THE GROUP ITSELF".

3. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WAS ALSO QUESTIONED RATHER CLOSELY ABOUT MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNAL

POLITICAL CONDITIONS. REGARDING THE LATTER, HE DENIED EMPHATICALLY THAT THERE WERE ANY POLITICAL PRISONERS IN MEXICO OR THAT ANYONE IS PERSECUTED FOR THEIR IDEAS. BRISTLING AT ONE QUESTIONER WHO REFERRED TO MEXICO AS AN "APPARENT DEMOCRACY", ECHEVERRIA CALLED MEXICO A "YOUNG, MESTIZO DEMOCRACY ... STRIVING FOR THE BEST IN A CLIMATE OF TOLERANCE". HE DENIED THAT THE OPPOSITION WAS KEPT BY THE GOM DECLARING THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, IT WAS WELL FINANCED BOTH FROM INTERNAL AND FOREIGN SOURCES.

4. HE WOULD NOT BE VISITING CUBA, ECHEVERRIA CONTINUED, BECAUSE THE COUNTRY WAS NOT ON HIS ITINERARY, BUT RELATIONS WITH HAVANA WERE "MAGNIFICENT". THE BEST HE COULD SAY ABOUT RELATIONS WITH CHILE, HOWEVER, IS THAT THEY "WERE NOT AT THE FREEZING POINT". HE SPOKE OF HIS TRIPS TO CHINA AND THE USSR AND CHARACTERIZED THEM AS AN ATTEMPT TO ENLARGE MEXICO'S HORIZONS AFTER A PERIOD OF LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON THE U.S. HE SPOKE OF THE COLORADO RIVER SALINITY PROBLEM AND THE TREATMENT OF MEXICAN MIGRANT LABOR IN THE U.S. BUT INDICATED HE HAD HAD "POSITIVE RESULTS" IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON.

5. REGARDING LOS, ECHEVERRIA INDICATED "SYMPATHY" FOR THE ECUADOREAN 200-MILE TERRITORIAL SEA THESIS, BUT SAID THAT MEXICO FAVORED THE PATRIMONIAL SEA CONCEPT. UNREPORTED BY ANY OF THE LOCAL MEDIA, BUT CARRIED IN THE PRENSA LATINA FILE, WAS A FURTHER COMMENT PURPORTEDLY MADE BY THE MEXICAN PRESIDENT TO THE EFFECT THAT "THE THESIS OF A 12-MILE TERRITORIAL SEA AND A 188-MILE ECONOMIC ZONE DOES NOT CONTRADICT THE ECUADOREAN STAND; THE TWO THESES SUPPORT EACH OTHER".

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6. MAJOR POINTS OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE FOLLOW SEPTEL.
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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PE
SUBJ: VISIT OF MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA

REF: LIMA 5231 (NOTAL)

1. MEXICAN PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ARRIVED LIMA JULY 14. PRESS BUILD-UP OF VISIT INTENSE AND ARRIVAL WELL COVERED. CROWD AT AIRPORT WAS LARGE AND RECEPTION WARM. IN PRESS CONFERENCE AT AIRPORT ECHEVERRIA STATED TAT PERUVIAN REVOLUTION WAS IN VANGUARD OF LATIN AMERICA. HE ADDED THAT COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA WHICH DEFEND THESIS OF 200 MILE TERRITORIAL SEA SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS. HE STATED THAT MEXICAN POSITION OF 12 MILE TERRITORIAL SEA AND 188 MILE PATRIMONIAL SEA IS NOT DIVERGENT; ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS CONVERGENT WITH PERUVIAN POSITION OF 200 MILE

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PAGE 02 LIMA 05818 162315Z

TERRITORIAL SEA. THE 200 MILE THESIS WILL BECOME REALITY, HE SAID, WHEN THERE IS GREATER INTERNATIONAL EQUALITY AND COASTAL NATIONS BECOME STRONG ENOUGH TO DEFEND IT.

2. ON JULY 15 PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA MET WITH PRESIDENT VELASCO FOR 3 HOURS AND LATER WAS GUEST AT STATE DINNER, DURING WHICH HE PROPOSED THAT LATIN AMERICA FORM ITS OWN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

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TO DEFEND ITS INTERESTS AGAINST MORE POWERFUL NATIONS. ITS FORM WOULD BE THAT OF A FORUM WHICH WOULD STUDY ECONOMIC CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT CONCERTED ACTION IS NEEDED IN AREA OF PROTECTING PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS.

3. COMMENT: MIDWAY THROUGH VISIT, IT APPEARS THAT PERUVIANS HAVE GONE OUT OF THEIR WAY TO WELCOME ECHEVERRIA WITH UNUSUAL DEGREE OF PRESS COVERAGE AND EXCEPTIONAL PRAISE, EVEN BY LOCAL HYPERBOLIC STANDARDS. ECHEVARRIA HAS ADROITLY PLAYED DOWN PERUVIAN-MEXICAN DIFFERENCES ON TERRITORIAL SEA ISSUE AND HAS, AS EXPECTED, LAID STRESS ON ECONOMIC THEMES, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEAR TO HIS HEART CONCERNING MUTUAL LATIN ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND NEED FOR EQUITABLE RAW MATERIALS PRICES. PERUVIAN PRESS, POSSIBLY IN RECOGNITION OF VELASCO'S GAFFE AT JUNE 26 PRESS CONFERENCE, HAS MADE NO SPECIFIC MENTION OF ECHEVARRIA'S CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES (SEE REFTEL).
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05296 182136Z

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UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5296

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, AR, MX.
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA VISIT TO ARGENTINA.

1. MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ARRIVED HERE AFTERNOON OF JULY 17 FOR A FOUR DAY OFFICIAL VISIT. HE WAS MET AT AIRPORT BY MRS. PERON, SEVERAL CABINET MINISTERS, AND OTHER HIGH GOA OFFICIALS. STATEMENTS GIVEN BY BOTH MRS. PERON AND ECHEVERRIA AT AIRPORT WERE WARM IN TONE AND EMPHASIZED GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, THE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE PROGRESS OF LATIN AMERICA AND PAID TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF PERON. MRS. PERON DISPLAYED OBVIOUS EMOTION IN SPEAKING OF EX-HUSBAND.

2. THE GOA HAS APPARENTLY TRIED TO PROVIDE A FULL SCHEDULE FOR ECHEVERRIA. HE WAS WELL RECEIVED BOTH BY THE PRESS AND HIS ARGENTINE HOSTS. HE WILL MEET WITH THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS ON THE EVENING OF JULY 18.
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USIA-15 EUR-25 COA-02 DLOS-07 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01
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R 182125Z JUL 74
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1069
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX, PE
SUBJECT: VISIT OF MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA

REF: LIMA 5818, QUITO 4698

1. MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA DEPARTED FOR BUENOS AIRES JULY 17 AFTER THREE-DAY VISIT TO LIMA. PERUVIAN PRESS COVERAGE WAS HEAVY DURING VISIT. AT PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 16, ECHEVERRIA PARRIED QUESTIONS AND SUMMED UP MAJOR HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS VISIT HERE, AS NOTED BELOW.

2. POLITICAL - REITERATED THAT MEXICO'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH CUBA WERE "NORMAL AND VERY CORDIAL." HE LATER ADDED THAT

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 LIMA 05898 182224Z

RELATIONS WITH CUBA ARE "EXCELLENT, TO SUCH A POINT THAT TRADE HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY." TURNING TO CHILE, HE STATED THAT RELATIONS HAD ALWAYS BEEN GOOD (SIC) AND THAT MEXICO WAS COMMITTED TO KEEPING THEM THAT WAY. RE LOS MATTERS, HE SAID MEXICO IS SYMPATHETIC TO NATIONS LIKE PERU WHICH ADVOCATE THE CONCEPT OF A 200-MILE TERRITORIAL SEA, NOTING AS REPORTED REFTEL THAT MEXICAN AND PERUVIAN POSITIONS ARE

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CONVERGENT.

3. ECONOMIC - ECHEVERRIA PLAYED ON NEED FOR COMMON FRONT IN DEFENSE OF HEMISPHERIC INTERESTS, PUTTING SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON FORMATION OF A LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, A FORUM ("FORO ECONOMICO") TO DEFEND LATIN AMERICAN INTERESTS AGAINST POWERFUL NATIONS BY STUDYING ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND CONSULTATION. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED, ALONG SAME LINES, NEED FOR ACTION TO PROTECT RAW MATERIALS PRICES. DURING MEETING WITH ANDEAN COMMON MARKET, HE PROPOSED THE CREATION OF A MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRICE OF LDC'S TO TRADE IN BASIC PRODUCTS, WHICH WOULD THUS STRENGTHEN BARGAINING POWER OF THE THIRD WORLD.

4. OTHER - BOTH GOVERNMENTS SIGNED WIDE-RANGING CULTURAL AND TECHNICAL AGREEMENTS CALLING FOR, INTER ALIA, STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, TRANSFER AND EXCHANGE OF TECHNOLOGY, AND FOR CREATION OF A SILVER PRODUCER'S CARTEL SIMILAR TO OPEC AND CIPEC, AS WELL AS FOR MUTUAL COOPERATION IN FIELDS OF HYDROCARBONS, MINING, AND NUCLEAR ENERGY.

5. COMMENT: WARM RECEPTION OF ECHEVERRIA BY GOP AND EXTENSIVE FAVORABLE PRESS COVERAGE INDICATE EXTENT OF PERU'S EFFORT TO PORTRAY CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH MEXICO AS COUNTERWEIGHT TO PERU'S RELATIVE IDEOLOGICAL ISOLATION FROM HER CLOSER GEOGRAPHIC NEIGHBORS. SPEECHES AND PRESS COVERAGE MADE ALLUSIONS TO COMMON REVOLUTIONARY ANTECEDENTS OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS, AND EFFORTS WERE MADE TO EMPHASIZE SIMILARITY IN HISTORIES OF PERU AND MEXICO IN REGARD TO THOROUGH AGRARIAN REFORM AND PETROLEUM NATIONALIZATION POLICIES.

ECHEVERRIA LAID LESS STRESS ON HIS PROPOSED UNCTAD CHARTER FOR ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES, AND MORE ON HIS ECONOMIC FORUM PROPOSAL, WHICH ONE KNOWLEDGEABLE LOCAL

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REPORTER STATES IS A WARMED-OVER SUGGESTION FROM 1969 VINA DEL MAR MEETING. HIS INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCER CARTELS DOVETAILS WITH PERUVIAN INTEREST IN THIS SUBJECT, ALTHOUGH FEW SPECIFICS WERE MENTIONED DURING VISIT AS TO HOW SUCH CARTELS MIGHT ACTUALLY FUNCTION.

CONTRARY TO REPORTS MENTIONED QUITO 4698 AND REITERATED HERE IN THE PRESS TO EFFECT THAT ECHEVERRIA WILL NOT TRAVEL TO CUBA, ONE LOCAL REPORTER TELLS US THAT MEXICAN PRESS ENTOURAGE UNDERSTANDS THAT ECHEVERRIA HAS MADE CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR POSSIBLE 48-HOUR TECHNICAL STOP IN HAVANA SHOULD HE DECIDE TO CAP HIS VISIT BY GOING TO CUBA. APPARENTLY SUCH A VISIT IS NOT CONSIDERED LIKELY BUT DOES REMAIN A POSSIBILITY. ANOTHER DIFFERENCE BEETWEEN ECHEVERRIA STATEMENTS IN ECUADOR AND PERU CONCERNS HIS TREATMENT OF CHILE. IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO HIS REMARK ABOUT HIS COUNTRY'S RELATIONS WITH CHILE "WERE NOT AT THE FREEZING POINT" MADE IN QUITO (QUITO 4698), HERE HE PUT ON MUCH MORE POSITIVE FACE BY NOTING THAT RELATIONS

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GOOD, NEATLY AVOIDING EXACERBATING THIS ISSUE HERE.

ONLY UNTOWARD INCIDENT DURING VISIT OCCURRED DURING ECHEVERRIA ARRIVAL AT AIRPORT WHEN HE BROKE THROUGH SECURITY CORDON TO GREET CROWDS. ACCORDING SEVERAL SOURCES, PERUVIAN SECURITY OFFICIALS SHOVED SEVERAL PHOTOGRAPHERS AND REPORTERS. IN ADDITION, LOCAL REPORTER WHO HAS FOLLOWED MEXICAN AFFAIRS CLOSELY INFORMS US THAT MEXICAN PRESS CORPS MORE DISENCHANTED WITH THIS TRIP THAN EXPECTED, WITH LITTLE ENTHUSIASM ON THEIR PART BEING GENERATED. NONE OF THIS CAME THROUGH IN OFFICIAL PERUVIAN COVERAGE WHICH WAS, AS MENTIONED ABOVE, EFFUSIVE. *REPORT ON JOINT COMMUNIQUE BEING SENT SEPTEL.*
DEAN

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*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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(Z146) ~~JBK~~ cc: Hu 7/18

ARA/BC

[redacted]

July 18, 1974

Memorandum

TO: ARA - Mr. Kubisch

THROUGH: ARA - Mr. Shlaudeman

FROM: ARA/BC/C - Arnold M. Isaacs

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Chilean Ambassador, July 18, 1974.

We understand that the purpose of Ambassador Heitmann's call is to express GOC concern over our decision to contribute up to $1.4 million for Chilean refugee resettlement and integration, in response to an appeal circulated by the UNHCR. Ambassador Popper has already been called in on this subject, and the Chilean charge has raised the matter with Mr. Shlaudeman.

Aside from a general apprehension that publicity will further sour their international image the Chileans have several specific preoccupations:

1. They are distressed that our contribution to the UNHCR is earmarked for Chilean refugees.

Response: It is standard practice for the UNHCR to appeal to the international community for additional funds to underwrite specific activities. The United States Government customarily responds to such appeals as a humanitarian matter. Any allocation of funds over and above our annual contributions to international agencies requires a Presidential Determination Order, the terms of which would preclude a contribution to the UNHCR's general fund.

2. They have heard that the Soviets are behind the solicitation, and even that the President and Brezhnev might have reached some understanding about it in Moscow.

[redacted]

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Response: This is purely a UNHCR initiative. We have no current knowledge of any planned USSR contribution to the special appeal, although the appeal included the USSR. We have never discussed this matter with the Soviets.

3. They understand that the UNHCR plans to administer the program from Mexico. Given the state of GOC-Mexican relations, this would be very offensive to Chile.

Response: The UNHCR does not plan to administer the Chile program from Mexico. It is our understanding that the program will be administered principally from Geneva, Santiago, Buenos Aires and Lima, since the bulk of the Chileans under the UNHCR's mandate are in Argentina and Peru.

You may wish to add that it would seem to be to the GOC's advantage that the Chileans now in Peru move elsewhere, and to recall Congressional interest in humanitarian assistance to refugees from Chile as expressed in our foreign aid legislation and elsewhere.

Attached is a draft telegram transmitting the guidance prepared for Ambassador Popper's use.

ARA/BC/C:AMIsaacs:mg
Clearance:
ARA/BC:WLowenthal

Attachment:
Draft telegram

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PAGE 01 LIMA 05897 182159Z

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UNCLAS LIMA 5897

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PE, MX
SUBJECT: JOINT COMMUNIQUE AT END OF MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

REF: LIMA 5818

1. PRESIDENTS VELASCO OF PERU AND ECHEVERRIA OF MEXICO SIGNED JOINT COMMUNIQUE MORNING OF JULY 17 PRIOR TO DEPARTURE OF ECHEVERRIA FOR BUENOS AIRES, CONTAINING FOLLOWING HIGHLIGHTS.

2. POLITICAL - STRONG SUPPORT EXPRESSED FOR LATIN AMERICA AS NUCLEAR FREE AREA, AND PROPOSAL THAT LA COUNTRIES LIMIT ARMS SPENDING AND USE MONEY FOR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT. BOTH GOVERNMENTS CALLED FOR RE-INCLUSION OF CUBA IN "INTERAMERICAN DIALOGUE" AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT CUBA WILL BE PRESENT AT NEXT MFM IN BUENOS AIRES. SUPPORT ALSO GIVEN TO PANAMA IN ITS BID
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PAGE 02 LIMA 05897 182159Z

FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER CANAL ZONE. BOTH COUNTRIES NOTED THEIR SUPPORT FOR ECHEVERRIA'S PROPOSED ECONOMIC CHARTER AND HOPED THAT IT WOULD BE ADOPTED BY NEXT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING.

3. ECONOMIC - BROAD STATEMENT MADE AFFIRMING NEED FOR LA ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND STATING THAT, TO THIS END, LAFTA

MUST BE RESTRUCTURED. PERU PROMISED TO COOPERATE WITH ANY SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF REGULATION OF COFFEE PRICES AND BOTH COUNTRIES EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO FIX BETTER PRICES FOR THEIR RAW MATERIALS. A CULTURAL AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED, AS WAS AGREEMENT CALLING FOR TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY AND PROMOTION OF SCIENCE.

MOST IMPORTANT POINT APPEARED TO BE CALL FOR FORMATION OF AN ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION (SEE REFTEL). ITS DUTIES WOULD BE NUMEROUS: TO STUDY STRATEGIES OF DEVELOPMENT; TO ARTICULATE ACTIONS TO DEFEND PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS; TO COORDINATE STRATEGIES OF COMMERCIALIZATION AND USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES; TO STRENGTHEN BUYING POWER OF MEMBER COUNTRIES RE GOODS, CAPITAL, AND TECHNOLOGY; TO GUARANTEE FURNISHING OF SUPPLIES AND FOODS; TO ORIENT AND STIMULATE ACTION OF DIVERSE PROCESSES OF REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL INTEGRATION; TO DEFINE, ORIENT, AND SUPPORT AGREEMENTS ON "INDUSTRIAL CO-INVESTMENT" AND COOPERATION; TO ASSIST SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL WORK; AND TO DESIGN AND PUT INTO OPERATION FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT WILL STIMULATE BASIC ACTIVITIES FOR ALL LATIN AMERICA.

BOTH GOVERNMENTS CALLED FOR THE FORMATION OF ASSOCIATIONS OF EXPORTERS OF RAW MATERIALS WITH GOAL OF COLLECTIVELY DEFENDING "FAIR PRICES". INCLUDED IN THIS, PRESUMABLY, BUT MENTIONED SEPARATELY, WAS A CALL FOR INITIAL CLOSE COOPERATION AMONG SILVER PRODUCING NATIONS WITH EVENTUAL FORMATION OF CARTEL TO CONTROL PRICES (SEE REFTEL).
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DRAFT/TELEGRAM

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Santiago - Immediate

Info: Routine - Buenos Aires, Lima, Mexico USUN New York, UNMission Geneva

11652:GDS

TAGS: CI, UN, SREF

SUBJ: UNHCR Fund for Chilean Refugees

REF: A Santiago 4156 B State 143995

1. Summary - USG contribution to UNHCR Chilean Refugee program cannot be made to general fund of UNHCR. UNHCR does not plan to administer Chilean Refugee Program from Mexico City. Total maximum USG contribution to UNHCR appeal is $1.4 million to cover through CY 1975.

2. As stated in reftel B, USG has responded to UNHCR international for special contributions for Chilean Refugee Program. However, proposed 1.4 million USG contribution (reftel B) is maximum proposed contribution based on largest possible caseload estimate. Should other governments contribute less than anticipated, U.S. contribution will be reduced accordingly to remain within approximate 1/3 ratio. Initial increment of U.S. contribution will be approximately $500,000 including $50,000 earmarked for ICRC operations in Chile and up to $40,000 to be passed to ICEM for movement of non-mandate refugees which have already been taken place. Further, UNHCR appeal and proposed USG $1.4 million contribution cover period beginning July 1, 1974 and ending December 31, 1975.

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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3. It is not, rpt. not, possible for U.S. to make contribution to UNHCR general fund within terms of the Presidential Determination Order. ~~Further such a contribution would put U.S. over 25% Congressional limitation on regular contributions to UN agencies. Second, domestic political reasons indicate that direct contributions to Chilean Refugees appeal is preferable course.~~ FYI -- limitation END FYI

4. UNHCR does not, rpt not, plan to administer Chilean Refugee Program from Mexico. UNHCR never had any intention of administering this program from Mexico, rather plans to continue to administer program from Geneva, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima as appropriate to developing circumstances. UNHCR does not, rpt not, currently have office in Mexico City and has no intention of establishing one there. FYI:GOC possibly confused with fact that UNHCR currently has REP in Mexico City for two week period to look into assistance requests by Chilean Refugees to UNDP Office, Mexico City. Rep stopped Mexico City on way from Europe to home leave in Uruguay. Current plans indicate Rep will set up fund for emergency assistance to Chilean refugees and others in Mexico. No permanent Rep will be established in Mexico City to supervise fund. Fund will be administered from

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Geneva and New York as appropriate. UNHCR well aware of possible implications of any attempt to administer Chilean refugee program from Mexico City. End FYI.

5. Department currently has no knowledge of any planned USSR contribution to special appeal for Chilean refugee program by UNHCR, though appeal included USSR. However, should we obtain information indicating USSR plans contribution to Chilean Refugee Program we will notify Post immediately.

FRJ/Drafter 7/17/74
LAW/ A
Clearances: Pappas Turner Isaacs Shlaudeman

~~6. Foregoing was drawn upon in responding to GOC's~~ [redacted]

~~GOC concern~~

6. Foregoing information was provided to Chilean Charge Burr when latter called on Deputy Asst Secy Shlaudeman July 17 to raise same questions Collados raised with Ambassador (ref a). In addition, Shlaudeman pointed out that it would seem to be to GOC advantage that refugees now in Peru move elsewhere; and recalled the considerable interest in U.S. Congress for humanitarian assistance to refugees from Chile.

7. Foregoing may be drawn upon in future conversations with GOC.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04294 01 OF 03 211717Z UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 DRC-01 SS-20 IO-14 SR-02 ORM-03

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DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS JULY 22

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINTS, PINT
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

REF: STATE 155648

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY:

1. FOLLOWING MATERIAL ON HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE SHOULD BE REGARDED AS INFORMATION FROM WHICH DEPARTMENT CAN DRAW RATHER THAN FINISHED PRESENTATION FOR CONGRESSIONAL HEARING. WE HAVE CLASSIFIED THIS MATERIAL IN ORDER TO BE CANDID AS REQUESTED AND LEAVE TO DEPARTMENT'S JUDGMENT HOW TO HANDLE DECLASSIFICATION. WE CONSIDER HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IN CHILE UNDER TWO ASPECTS: CIVIL RIGHTS AND POLITICAL RIGHTS:

2. CIVIL RIGHTS. AS REGARDS REFUGEES AND ASYLEES, SITUATION HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY CLEARED UP IN CHILE. INCIDENCE OF ARRESTS FOR INTERNAL SECURITY REASONS APPEARS TO HAVE DROPPED, BUT WE STILL RECEIVE REPORTS OF MANY, OFTEN BASED SOLELY ON DENUNCIATIONS. MALTREATMENT UNDER INTERROGATION IS AN OLD PROBLEM IN CHILE, ANTEDATING BOTH JUNTA AND ALLENDE AND REPORTED UNDER LATTER. JUNTA HAS MADE IT CLEAR IT IS OPPOSED TO TORTURE, AND WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT, AS COMPARED WITH FIRST MONTHS AFTER [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04294 01 OF 03 211717Z

COUP, SITUATION HAS SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED. DETENTION CAMP PRISONERS PROBABLY DOWN TO ABOUT 5,000 NOW. AS FOR TRIALS, LEGAL SAFEGUARDS IN PROVINCIAL MILITARY TRIBUNALS HAVE LEFT

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MUCH TO BE DESIRED, BUT OBSERVERS WERE IMPRESSED WITH REGARD FOR PROPER PROCEDURES DEMONSTRATED IN RECENT SANTIAGO AIR FORCE TRIAL. LESS DEFENSIBLE WAS VIRTUALLY COMPLETE RELIANCE ON CONFESSIONS AS BASIS FOR SENTENCES DEMANDED, AND PROSECUTORIS INSISTENCE ON APPLYING RIGOROUS STATE OF WAR PENALTIES RETRO ACTIVELY TO ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN DURING ALLENDE GOVERNMENT.

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3. POLITICAL RIGHTS. PICTURE IS LESS PROMISING IN THIS AREA. JUDGING BY PRESENT TRENDS, WE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE PROSPECTS ARE FOR FURTHER HARDENING RATHER THAN LIBERALIZATION, ALTHOUGH WHAT HAPPENS IN FIELD OF EDUCATION MAY BE A PARTIAL EXCEPTION AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION HAS NEVER BEEN IN DOUBT.

4. NEED FOR PERSPECTIVE. WITHOUT IGNORING OR CONDONING REPRESSIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESENT CHILEAN REGIME, WE WOULD SUGGEST NEED FOR VIEWING IT WITH A SENSE OF PERSPECTIVE. REGIME IS NOT TO BE COMPARED WITH, FOR EXAMPLE, A COMMUNIST STATE IN TERMS OF TOTALITARIAN REGIMENTATION. MOST CHILEANS GO ABOUT THEIR DAILY LIVES IN NORMAL FASHION, ALTHOUGH POLITIRJA DISCOURSE IS INHIBITED BY FEAR OF DENUNCIATION.

5. NO ONE NOT PRESENT IN CHILE DURING THE ALLENDE YEARSICAN FULLY GRASP THE DEPTH OF THE WIDESPREAD RELIEF THAT WHAT TO SO MANY WAS A NIGHTMARE IS PAST, OR THE SENSE OF GRATITUDE TO THE ARMED FORCES FOR BRINGING IT TO AN END. SIMILARLY, FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY IT IS DIFFICULT TO COMPREHEND THAT CHILE HAS BEEN THROUGH A CIVIL WAR UPHEAVAL, AND THAT THE SENSE OF NATIONAL INSECURITY IS STILL ACUTE. TERRORISM IN NEIGHBORING ARGENTINA STANDS AS EVIDENCE TO MOST CHILEANS OF WHAT COULD HAPPEN HERE, WERE HARSH SECURITY RESTRICTIONS NOT IMPOSED.

6. WITH THEIR ROMAN-HISPANIC-CIVIL LAW, RATHER THAN ENGLISH COMMON LAW BACKGROUND, MOST CHILEANS ACCEPT AS LEGITIMATE THE EXTRAORDINARY STATE-OF-EMERGENCY RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY JUNTA, AS WELL AS LEGAL PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD SEEM TO US LESS THAN EQUITABLE FOR DEFENDANTS IN CRIMINAL CASES. FOR ALL THESE REASONS, DESPITE THE RIGORS OF ECONOMIC AUSTERITY, HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AND CONTINUING INFLATION, WE BELIEVE THAT POPULAR SUPPORT FOR [redacted]

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THE JUNTA HAS THUS FAR HELD UP TO A SURPRISING DEGREE. END SUMMARY.

7. CIVIL RIGHTS

A. REFUGEES. DOWNFALL OF ALLENDE FOUND THOUSANDS OF MORE OR LESS SYMPATHETIC FOREIGNERS IN COUNTRY. SOME LEFT NORMALLY, BUT MANY OTHERS TOOK REFUGE IN UNHCR "SAFE HOUSES" AND FOREIGN EMBASSIES. PROBLEM OF REMOVING THESE THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONS FROM CHILE WAS BASICALLY RESOLVED BY END OF FEBRUARY 1974. ONLY

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A HANDFUL, PERHAPS 50 TO 100, WHO ARE REGISTERED AS REFUGEES WITH UNHCR REMAIN IN CHILE. GOC HAS COOPERATED FULLY WITH INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES SUCH AS UNHCR AND ICEM AND WITH CODEPI INTERDENOMINATIONAL CHURCH GROUP ESTABLISHED SHORTLY AFTER COUP TO ASSIST REFUGEES. SOME THOUSANDS OF CHILEANS HAVE ALSO LEFT COUNTRY IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. BETWEEN 12,000 AND 15,000 ARE CURRENTLY IN ARGENTINA AND PERU, WHILE OTHERS ARE SCATTERED IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. S/R/ORM CAN PROVIDE MORE ACCURATE INFORMATION THAN WE CAN ON DIMENSIONS OF THIS EXODUS AND STEPS BEING TAKEN TO ASSIST. EMBASSY HAS PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED STATISTICAL DATA ON CHILEANS WHO HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE IN U.S.

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B. ASYLEES. AFTER SEPTEMBER 11, 1974, SEVERAL THOUSAND CHILEANS AND FOREIGNERS SOUGHT ASYLUM IN LATIN AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN EMBASSIES IN SANTIAGO. BY FEBRUARY, 1974 ALL BUT SOME 250 "HARD-CORE" ASYLEES, ALL OF THEM CHILEANS, HAD BEEN GIVEN SAFE-CONDUCTS AND DEPARTED. GOC EVIDENTLY MADE DECISION IN EARLY

MAY TO RELEASE THE REMAINDER. ORIGINAL GOC INTENTION RE MOST OF THESE "DEFERRED" CASES WAS APPARENTLY TO PRESENT RECIPIENT GOVERNMENT WITH SAFECONDUCT AND REQUEST FOR EXTRADITION BACK TO CHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY. CHILEAN SUPREME COURT HAS SO FAR APPROVED APPROXIMATELY 80 EXTRADITION REQUESTS, BUT NONE TO OUR KNOWLEDGE HAS BEEN HONORED BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS. EXODUS OF ASYLEES MATERIALLY SPEED BY MEXICAN FONMIN RABASA'S DRMATIC VISIT HERE IN LATE MAY AND BY PRESSURES FROM OTHER LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS (IN PARTICULAR, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA). BY JULY 12, GOC CLAIMED TO HAVE ISSUED SAFECONDUCTS TO ALL ASYLEES IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES EXCEPT FOR NINE PERSONS IN ITALIAN EMBASSY; GOC CLAIMS THAT SINCE ITALY HAS NOT RECOGNIZED JUNTA FORMALLY, IT HAS NO ONE WITH WHOM TO DEAL ON QUESTION OF SAFECONDUCTS.

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 04294 01 OF 03 211717Z

GOC ALSO ANNOUNCED AT THAT TIME THAT A TOTAL OF 8,416 SAFE-CONDUCTS HAD BEEN ISSUED TO REFUGEES AND ASYLEES AND THEIR FAMILIES.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04294 02 OF 03 211734Z

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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4294

C. ARREST AND DETENTION OF CITIZENS

(1) ARREST. INCIDENT OF ARRESTS OF PERSONS FOR PURPORTED INTERNAL SECURITY REASONS IS PROBABLY DOWN, BUT SUCH ARRESTS ARE NEVERTHLESS CONTINUING. IN ADDITION, SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF WHAT GOC CLAIMS ARE "COMMON CRIMINALS" HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, GENERALLY WITHOUT ARREST WARRANTS, SPECIFIC CHARGES, OR OTHER LEGAL SAFEGUARDS WHICH UNDER CHILEAN LAW ARE WAIVED UNDER "STATE OF WAR" DECLARED BY GOC SEPTEMBER 11 AND STILL PREVAILING TODAY. MANY ARRESTS IN BOTH CATEGORIES ARE BASED ON DENUNCIATIONS BY OTHERS. IN INTERNAL SECURITY CASES THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PERMIT RECOURSE TO AMPARO, THE CIVIL LAW VERSION OF HABEAS CORPUS. FROM GOC POINT OF VIEW, HOWEVER, THESE ARRESTS ARE NOT ARBITRARY, SINCE IN EACH CASE SECURITY FORCES BELIEVE THEY HAVE REASON TO SUSPECT THAT THOSE APPREHENDED, WHETHER FOR CRIMINAL OR INTERNAL SECURITY REASONS, MIGHT HAVE COMMITTED OR HAVE BEEN AN ACCESSORY TO AN OFFENSE, OR BE IN A POSITION TO DO SO. UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF CHILEAN LAW, THE BURDEN OF PROOF OF INNOCENCE LIES WITH THE ACCUSED TO A MUCH GREATER EXTENT THAN UNDER AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE.

(2) INTERROGATION. ONCE DETAINED, ANY PERSONS ARE HELD FOR SOME TIME, WITH NO INFORMATION PROVIDED TO THEIR FAMILIES AS TO WHERE THEY ARE OR WHAT, IF ANY, CHARGES HAVE BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST THEM. NOR DO LAWYERS HAVE ACCESS TO THEM AT THIS STAGE. IT IS DURING THIS PERIOD THAT INTERROGATION TAKES PLACE, AND WHEN, IN OUR UNDERSTANDING, TORTURE IS MOST LIKELY TO OCCUR. USE OF TORTURE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04294 02 OF 03 211734Z

APPEARS TO BE ASSOCIATED EXCLUSIVELY WITH INTERROGATION, ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF THOSE INTERROGATED ARE TORTURED; THAT PERCENTAGE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN DROPPING WITHIN LAST MONTHS EVEN ACCORDING TO SOME CRITICS OF JUNTA. GOC OFFICIALS FROM PRESIDENT PINOCHET ON DOWN HAVE STATED REPEATEDLY THAT THE GOC OPPOSES USE OF TORTURE. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY OFFICIALS THAT A FEW MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO WERE FOUND ABUSING PRISONERS HAVE BEEN PUNISHED. WE CANNOT CONFIRM THIS, BUT RECENT VISITING

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ARGENTINE JURIST SEBASTIAN SOLER SAID PUBLICLY HE KNEW OF SOME FIVE CASES.

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(3) DETENTION CAMPS. THERE ARE ABOUT TEN SPECIAL DETENTION CENTERS LISTED BY ICRC IN CHILE, OF WHICH BEST KNOWN ARE PISAGUA AND CHACABUCO IN THE NORTH. IN ADDITION, INTERNAL SECURITY PRISONERS ARE BEING HELD IN PUBLIC JAILS AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS THROUGHOUT CHILE. CURRENT TOTAL IS PROBABLY AROUND 5,000, DOWN FROM THE 6,000 FIGURE USED BY GENERAL LEIGH IN APRIL 24 PRESS CONFERENCE. GOC HAS STATED THAT POLICY IS TO INVESTIGATE SITUATION OF EACH DETAINEE FULLY, THEN E ITHER RELEASE
HIM OR BRING HIM TO TRIAL. THIS SEEMS TO BE HAPPENING, BUT IT IS AN AGONIZINGLY SLOW PROCESS; IN EFFECT, SOME CHILEANS ARE BEING HELD IN PREVENTIVE DETENTION. WE DO NOT YET KNOW WHEN OR HOW FORMER DAWSON ISLAND GROUP OF SENIOR OFFICIALS IN ALLENDE GOVERNMENT WILL BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL (A FEW HAVE BEEN RELEASED). CONDITIONS IN DETENTION CENTERS OF ALL TYPES APPEAR TO BE ADEQUATE IF SPARTAN.

D. TRIALS (1) PERSONS ACCUSED OF INTERNAL SECURITY OFFENSES ARE TRIED BY MILITARY TRIBUNALS RATHER THAN CIVIL COURTS. SUCH TRIALS BEGAN THROUGHOUT CHILE SHORTLY AFTER COUP AND ARE CONTINUING. LEGAL SAFEGUARDS AND JUDICIAL PROCEDURES IN MANY OF THE MILITARY TRIBUNALS, PARTICULARLY IN PROVINCES, HAVE LEFT MUCH TO BE DESIRED. MOST HAVE BEEN CLOSED TO PUBLIC; IN MANY CASES ONLY EVIDENCE AGAINST ACCUSED WAS HIS OWN "CONFESSION" OR THAT OF OTHERS, WHICH WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE IN SOME CASES WAS EXTRACTED BY DUBIOUS MEANS; LAWYERS HAVE OFTEN BEEN UNABLE TO DEFEND THEIR CLIENTS ADEQUATELY; AND TIME DEVOTED TO EACH INDIVIDUAL'S CASE HAS OFTEN BEEN MINIMAL. HOWEVER, RECENT SANTIAGO AIR FORCE (FACH) TRIAL OF 64 PERSONS, MOSTLY FACH PERSONNEL, WAS CHARACTERIZED BY CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO LEGAL SAFEGUARDS AND PROCEDURES AND MAY WELL CONSTITUTE PRECEDENT FOR

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FUTURE TRIALS. SENTENCES IN THIS TRIAL DUE TO BE HANDED DOWN SHORTLY.

(2) UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS FOR TRIALS IS HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL. ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1973 GOVERNING JUNTA ISSUED DECREE LAW 3 DECLARING STATE OF SIEGE THROUGHOUT CHILE; DECREE LAW 5 ISSUED FOLLOWING DAY INTERPRETED STATE OF SIEGE AS STATE OF WAR (A HIGHER STATE OF MILITARY EMERGENCY). IN FACH TRIAL, PROSECUTOR EXPOUNDED THEORY THAT AT SOME UNSPECIFIED POINT PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 11 COUP, ALLENDE GOVERNMENT HAD LOST ITS LEGITIMACY AND THAT A DE FACTO "STATE OF INTERNAL WAR" EXISTED. UNDER THIS THEORY, PERSONS WHO ACTIVELY WORKED TO SUPPORTE ALLENDE WERE CONSORTING WITH "THE ENEMY" AS DEFINED IN CHILEAN CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE. OTHERWISE INNOCENT ACTS OR MINOR INFRACTIONS OF MILITARY

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DISCIPLINE WERE THUS CONSIDERED AS WARTIME OFFENSES. MANY LAWYERS AND OTHER CRITICS TAKE SHARP ISSUE WITH WHAT IS IN EFFECT A RETROACTIVE DECLARATION OF A STATE OF WAR, ESPECIALLY SINCE SENTENCES ISSUED BY MILITARY TRIBUNALS OPERATING UNDER STATE OF WAR RULES ARE REVIEWED ONLY BY MILITARY ZONE COMMANDER AND ARE NOT APPEALABLE TO CIVIL COURTS.

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(3) HUNDREDS OF DEFENDANTS HAVE BEEN CONVICTED AND SENTENCED ON THIS BASIS. IT IS ALSO TRUE, HOWEVER, THAT A NUMBER OF THESE DEFENDANTS HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF ACTS (E.G., VIOLATION OF GUN CONTROL LAW) WHICH WERE CLEARLY CRIMES PRIOR TO COUP AND WHICH IN MANY CASES GAVE MILITARY TRIBUNALS ORIGINAL JURISDICTION; ONLY QUESTION AT ISSUE IN THESE CASES, THEREFORE, WOULD BE WHO HAS REVIEW JURISDICTION SINCE COURTS OF FIRST INSTANCE ARE MILITARY TRIBUNALS IRRESPECTIVE OF EXISTENCE OF STATE OF WAR. WORTH NOTING THAT DEATH SENTENCES HANDED DOWN SINCE FEBRUARY HAVE BEEN COMMUTED, AND THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT ANY FUTURE DEATH SENTENCES IMPOSED ON PRESENT DETAINEES WILL BE SIMILARLY HANDLED.

E. A CAVEAT. ALL OF ABOVE MUST BE SEEN IN LIGHT OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMON LAW PRACTICE AND CHILEAN (OR OTHER) CIVIL LAW SYSTEMS, AS POINTED OUT BY INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS VISITOR TO CHILE COVEY OLIVER. INDEED, WHAT APPEARS LEGAL, ACCEPTABLE AND JUSTIFIED UNDER CHILEAN LAW DIVERGES WIDELY FROM AMERICAN STANDARDS. IT IS THEREFORE DIFFICULT FOR ORDINARY CHILEANS ENTIRELY TO UNDERSTAND UPROAR

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 04294 02 OF 03 211734Z

OVER EVENTS IN CHILE ABROAD. OUTSIDE CHILE THERE HAS UNDENIABLY BEEN MUCH DISTORTION AND EXAGGERATION REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN THE COUNTRY, AS EVIDENCED BY MANY COMMUNICATIONS WE RECEIVE FROM CONCERNED U.S. CITIZENS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04294 03 OF 03 211749Z

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[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4294

8. POLITICAL RIGHTS

A. POLITICAL PARTIES. MARXIST AND OTHER LEFIST POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPS ARE OUTLAWED, AND "DEMOCRATIC" PARTIES WHICH OPPOSED ALLENDE ARE UNDER STRICT "RECESS" WHICH FORBIDS THEM TO ENGAGE IN ALL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OR MORE THAN A MINIMUM OF INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT EITHER MEASURE WILL BE REVOKED AT ALL SOON. OFFICIAL LINE OF JUNTA IS THAT DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES WILL BE RESTORED, UNDER A NEW CONSTITUTION, WHEN A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM FREE OF THE DESTRUCTIVE FACTIONALISM AND DEMAGOGY OF THE PAST CAN BE CREATED. PUTATIVE DATE FOR THIS CHANGE SEEMS TO BE RECEDING; IT IS CERTAINLY A MATTER OF MANY MONTHS, OR SOME YEARS. (JUNTA CHIEFS ARE PRONE TO SPEAK OFFHANDEDLY OF FIVE TO TEN.) MEANWHILE, REAL POSSIBILITY EXISTS FOR HEAD-ON CONFRONTATION BETWEEN GOC AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, CHILE'S LARGEST, AND ONLY REALLY ACTIVE "RECESSED" PARTY.

B. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND ELECTIONS. CONGRESS REMAINS CLOSED, VOTING ROLLS WERE RECENTLY DESTROYED ON THE GROUND THAT ALLENDE HAD DOCTORED THEM, SUCH OFFICIALS AS MAYORS WHO WERE FORMERLY ELECTED ARE NOW APPOINTED BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, AND ELECTIONS OF ALL TYPES INCLUDING THOSE IN TRADE UNIONS, STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS, AND CIVIC GROUPS ARE BANNED. AS INDICATED ABOVE, THERE IS LITTLE SIGN THAT RETURN TO A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WILL TAKE PLACE IN LESS THAN A NUMBER OF YEARS.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04294 03 OF 03 211749Z

PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE ACQUIRING THE TRAPPINGS OF PERMANENCE; RECENT "STATUTE OF THE GOVERNING JUNTA" PROVIDES AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK WHICH APPEARS TO BE AT LEAST A SEMI-PERMANENT ARRANGEMENT. SUCH ANNOUNCED PROGRAMS AS RECENT REGIONALIZATION SCHEME ARE LONG-RANGE IN DESIGN, AND JUNTA HAS REPEATEDLY STATED IT WILL NOT TURN GOVERNMENT OVER TO CIVILIANS UNTIL IT ACCOMPLISHES ITS MISSION OF REBUILDING CHILE'S BASIC INSTITUTIONS, AND ENABLING CHILE TO EMBRACE A NEW FORM OF DEMOCRACY FREE OF THE POLITICAL ABUSES WHICH LED CHILE TO MARXISM AND CHAOS. THE REGIME REFUSES TO DISCUSS ANY TIME FRAME.

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C. TRADE UNION RIGHTS. MOST BASIC TRADE UNION RIGHTS SUCH AS RIGHT TO STRIKE, RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND RIGHT TO ELECT UNION OFFICERS HAVE BEEN "SUSPENDED," AND THERE IS NO INDICATION WHEN THIS SUSPENSION WILL BE LIFTED. PRO-ALLENDE CENTRAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (CUT) WAS DISBANDED, AND NO NEW ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN FORMED TO TAKE ITS PLACE. NEVERTHELESS, TRADE UNIONS CONTINUE TO EXIST AND DO HAVE SOME INFLUENCE AT BOTH SHOP AND GOVERNMENT LEVELS. WHILE A HANDFUL OF GENUINE UNION LEADERS WERE KILLED OR OTHERWISE SUFFERED, THIS OCCURRED IN IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF COUP, AND FEW SUCH PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN ENCOUNTERED SINCE. MOST OF TOP "TRADE UNION" LEADERS OF ALLENDE ERA, E.G., LUIS FIGUEROA, ROLANDO CALDERON, ARE MORE ACCURATELY DESCRIBED AS POLITICAL LEADERS WITH A LABOR CONSTITUENCEY; MANY TOOK POLITICAL ASYLUM IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES AND ARE NOW OUTSIDE OF CHILE. THE PRINCIPAL TRADE UNION LEADERS NOW ACTIVE IN CHILE STATE THAT THEIR PRIMARY TASK IS TO KEEP THEIR UNIONS IN EXISTENCE UNTIL THEY CAN AGAIN FUNCTION NORMALLY.

D. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND CENSORSHIP. STRINGENT SELF-CENSORSHIP AND IN SOME CASES PRIOR CENSORSHIP OF THE MEDIA CONTINUE. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT EITHER WILL CEASE SOON. NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO STATIONS WHICH SUPPORTED THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT WERE CLOSED AND INSOME CASES SUBSEQUENTLY REOPENED UNDER NEW, PRO-JUNTA OWNERSHIP. PUBLICATION OF LEFTIST IDEAS IS FORBIDDEN. ACTUAL BURNING OF BOOKS, HOWEVER, OCCURRED ONLY IN A VERY FEW INSTANCES AND IN THE DIRECT AFTERMATH OF THE COUP. THERE IS A GENERAL RELUCTANCE AMONG CITIZENS TO DISCUSS "POLITICAL" TOPICS OPENLY FOR FEAR OF DENUNCIATION AND SUBSEQUENT PENALTIES SUCH AS DISMISSAL FROM JOBS OR DETENTION. WHILE THIS

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FEAR MAY BE EXAGGERATED, SINCE GOC'S PROCLAIMED POLICY IS "TO PROSECUTE CRIMINALS, NOT TO PERSECUTE IDEAS," NEVERTHELESS IT IS THERE, WITH SOME REASON. IT MUST BE NOTED THAT PEOPLE HAVE LOST THEIR EMPLOYMENT BECAUSE OF THEIR PRIOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, AND THAT MANY ARE FINDING IT VERY DIFFICULT TO GET NEW JOBS.

E. RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT ALLEGATIONS THAT GOC IS ATTEMPTING TO SUPPRESS OR OTHERWISE LIMIT PRINCIPAL ESTABLISHED RELIGIONS. ALTHOUGH IN MID-APRIL CATHOLIC CHURCH PUBLICLY PROTESTED ALLEGED GOC VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS INCLUDING "PHYSICAL PRESSURES" (I.E., TORTURE) ON DETAINEES, BOTH SIDES ARE ACTIVELY WORKING TO MAINTAIN DIALOGUE AND OPEN CONFRONTATION APPEARS UNLIKELY AT THIS TIME. GOC HAS, HOWEVER, IMPRISONED LEADERS OF ONE EXOTIC QUASI-RELIGIOUS SECT (SILO) AND DISBANDED ANOTHER (DIVINE LIGHT).

F. EDUCATION. UNDER ALLENDE REGIME, ENTIRE EDUCATIONAL

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SYSTEM BECAME SHARPLY POLITICALLY POLARIZED, AND RESULTING STRIFE SEVERELY AFFECTED QUALITY OF CHILEAN EDUCATION. IN REACTION TO THIS SITUATION, GOC HAS INSTALLED MILITARY RECTOR-DELEGATES IN ALL EIGHT CHILEAN UNIVERSITIES IN VIOLATION OF TIME-HONORED LATIN AMERICAN TRADITION OF UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY. AVOWED PURPOSE WAS TO RESTORE UNIVERSITIES TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS. MANY UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS HAVE BEEN DISMISSED AND MANY STUDENTS HAVE BEEN DENIED READMISSION, GENERALLY ON GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE ACTIVELY PRO-UP OR WERE OTHERWISE UNQUALIFIED TO GIVE OR RECEIVE HIGHER EDUCATION. AS NOTED PREVIOUSLY, MARXIST AND OTHER LEFTIST BOOKS HAVE BEEN BANNED AND ARE REPORTEDLY UNAVAILABLE EVEN IN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES. SOME TEACHERS WITH LEFTIST IDEAS ARE STILL FUNCTIONING, HOWEVER. THE JUNTA HAS SET OUT TO REORGANIZE THE COUNTRY'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AT ALL LEVELS, AND SOME CURRICU LA HAVE
ALREADY BEEN "RESTRUCTURED" TO ELIMINATE "POLITICAL" TOPICS. THERE ARE REPORTS THAT GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES MAY BE RELAXED.

9. CONCLUSION: WHILE THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN CHILE ARE A MATTER OF CONCERN, THEY LEND THEMSELVES IN MOST AREAS TO QUALIFIED RATHER THAN UTTERLY SWEEPING CONCLUSIONS. IN SOME AREAS THERE ARE TENDENCIES TOWARD IMPROVE-MENT. WE SEE LITTLE SIGN THAT CHILEANS IN THE MASS HAVE YET

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REACHED POINT WHERE THEY WILL STRONGLY OBJECT TO JUNTA'S PRACTICES. OUTSIDE CRITICS SHOULD IN OUR VIEW BE ASKED TO BEAR IN MIND DEPTH AND IMMEDIACY OF CHILE'S RECENT TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE, AND TO JUDGE CHILE NOT ONLY BY ABSTRACT STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS BUT ALSO BY STANDARDS PREVALENT IN OTHER SOUTH AMERICAN MILITARY REGIMES. INTER-NATIONAL CRITICISM DESIGNED TO MOVE CHILE BACK TOWARD ITS TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION IS CERTAINLY IN ORDER, BUT NOT, IN OUR VIEW, THE IMPOSITION OF OFFICIAL SANCTIONS THROUGH DENIAL OF MILITARY OR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.
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PAGE 01 BRASIL 05429 231257Z UNCLASSIFIED

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1. WITH SCARCELY A PERCEPTIBLE BACKWARD GLANCE, PRESS TREATMENT SURROUNDING ECHEVERRIA VISIT HAS BECOME MORE BALANCED REGARDING SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS AND HEAVILY CORDIAL IN TONE. IN THE VANGUARD OF THE SHIFT WAS THE EDITORIAL RELEASED BY THE OFFICIAL NEWS SERVICE AGENCIA NACIONAL, WHICH NOTED ALMOST TWO CENTURIES OF RELATIONS WITHOUT SERIOUS DIFFERENCES, ATTRIBUTING THEM NOT TO THE DISTANCE SEPARATING THE TWO COUNTRIES PHYSICALLY BUT TO ANALOGIES

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PAGE 02 BRASIL 05429 231257Z

IN THEIR POSITIONS ON WORLD PROBLEMS: "LOVERS OF PEACE, PLEDGED TO THE CAUSE OF DEVELOPMENT," ETC. SIGNALLING PRINCIPAL BRAZILIAN INTEREST, EDITORIAL GOT SPECIFIC ONLY ON STUDY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF MARITIME SERVICE, AND INCREASE IN FLIGHTS AND TOURISM BETWEEN THE TWO. ASSERTING THAT VISIT WILL BE WATERSHED IN BELATERAL RELATIONS, EDITORIAL WENT ON TO REFER TO PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION

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AND ECONOMIC SECURITY "AT THE SERVICE OF DEVELOPMENT," STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF PEACE, AND CONCLUDED "BRAZIL IS RECEIVING PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WITH THE CONSIDERATION DUE (THIS) FRIEND, THE CONFIDENCE MERITED BY HIS STATESMAN'S VISION, AND THE ATTENTION DUE A COUNTRY WHICH IN A EPOCHS OF HISTORY HAS MAINTAINED WITH ARDOR AND ZEAL THE WORSHIP OF INDEPENDENCE, JUSTICE, AND LIBERTY."

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2. SIMILARLY POSITIVE (AND SOMEWHAT PLATITUDINOUS) WAS INTERVIEW GIVEN BY FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA TO EXCELSIOR AND REPORDUCED HERE IN VARYING VERSIONS. ALSO NOTING HISTORY OF HARMOUNIOUS RELATIONS, SILVEIRA CALLED VISIT EVENT OF HIGHEST CONTINENTAL SIGNFICANCE, AND SAID HE WAS OPTIMISTIC REGARDING FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER QUESTION, SILVEIRA SAID HIS ATLANTA STATEMENT ON COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY EMPHASIZED RELEVANCE OF TOPIC TO DEVELOPMENT, IN ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE MORE PRECISE LIMITS TO THEME LAUNCHED AT UN BY BRAZILIAN INITIATIVE. ANSWERING QUESTION ABOUT COMMETTEE TO RESTRUCTURE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, SILVEIRA STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING PRINCIPLES WHICH WILL PERMIT BETTER ORDERING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN LA AND U.S., AND WHICH WILL FAVOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ASKED ABOUT ACCUSATIONS OF BRAZILIAN EXPANSIONISM, SILVEIRA (IN ONE VERSION) BEGAN BY DECLARING SUCH ASSERTIONS SO GROUNDLESS THAT HE SHOULD NOT BOTHER WITH TOPIC. HE WENT ON TO ASSERT THAT BRAZIL'S EFFORTS TOWARD, AND AGREEMENTS WITH, ITS NEIGHBORS WERE ALL BASED ON FREE CONSENT AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. IN ANSWER TO OTHER QUESTIONS, HE EXPRESSED CONTINUING BRAZILIAN SUPPORT FOR LAFTA, AND FOR DEFENSE OF PRIMARY-PRODUCTS PRICES.

3. IN SIGNED COLUMN ON SIGNIFICANCE OF VISIT, WELL-CONNECTED JOURNALIST FLAVIO SALLES (FOLHA DE SAO PAULO) SAID THAT WHILE

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POLITICAL MATTERS WILL BE TREATED DURING VISIT, ECONOMIC-COMMERCIAL SIDE WILL GET PRINCIPAL EMPHASIS: THUS JOINT STATEMENT WILL NOT CONTAIN ITEMS SUCH AS THOSE IN LIMA AND BUENOS AIRES CALLING FOR RETURN OF CUBA TO SYSTEM. ACCORDING TO SALLES, ECHEVERRIA IS NOT TRAVELING TO RESOLVE SUCH PROBLEMS, BUT TO FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH SOUTH AMERICA, TO REAFFIRM "NATURAL" HEMISPHERIC LEADERSHIP (ALONG WITH ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL), AND TO COUNTER-ACT THE EFFECTS OF PERON'S SKILLFUL DIPLOMACY ON THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF ARGENTINA AND MEXICO IN THIS RESPECT. PRESTIGIOUS COLUMNIST CASTELLO BRANCO DECLARED SIMPLY THAT TALKS DURING THE VISIT WILL BE OBJECTIVE IN TONE ANDLIMITED TO BELATERAL MATTERS.

4. ECHEVERRIA'S ARRIVAL AND ACTIVITIES IN SAO PAULO JULY 21 RECEIVED SUBSTANTIAL COVERAGE DESPITE VERY ROUTINE NATURE OF EVENTS SO FAR (GREETING AT AIRPORT, VISITS TO TRADE FAIRS, ETC.). HIGH POINTS ARE HIS VARIOUS DEPARTURES FROM PROTOCOL (LEAVING PRESCRIBED ROUTE TO GREET NEWSMEN, PASSING UP

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OFFICIAL CAR TO RIDE IN BUS WITH ENTOURAGE), AND HIS REMARKS TO PRESS THAT HE WILL PROPOSE TO THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT THE RETURN OF CUBA TO THE OAS (AS REPORTED) AND THAT HE HOPES TO CONCLUDE A NAVIGATION AGREEMENT. REGARDING THE LATTER POINT, IT HAS BEEN ASSERTED HERE THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT HAS ALREADY BEEN NEGOTIATED AND IS TO BE SIGNED DURING THE VISIT.
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, AR, MX
SUBJ: VISIT OF MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA

1. SUMMARY: MEXICAN PRESIDENT EXHEVERRIA DEPARTED ARGENTINA ON JULY 21 AFTER A FIVE DAY OFFICIAL VISIT. PRESS COVERAGE THROUGHOUT HIS STAY WAS EXTENSIVE AND FAVORABLE. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE SIGNED ON JULY 19 CONTAINED LITTLE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF EARLIER STOPS ON THE TOUR. AT LEAST ON THE SURFACE, GOA TREATMENT AT ALL TIMES APPEARED CORDIAL. THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT SOME ARGENTINE OFFICIALS WERE LESS THAN ENCHANTED BY EXHEVERRIA'S PERFORMANCE. ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF TRIP WILL BE COVERED IN SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

2. MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA LEFT ARGENTINA ON JULY 21 AFTER A FIVE DAY OFFICIAL VISIT. MRS. PERON AND MOST OF THE CABINET SAW HIM OFF AT THE AIRPORT AS HE DEPARTED FOR BRAZIL.

3. PRESS COVERAGE WAS EXTENSIVE AND FAVORABLE. THE ONLY GAFF REPORTED WAS THAT ECHEVERRIA FORGOT TO SAY GOODBY TO FONMIN VIGNES AND RETURNED AFTER TAKING SEVERAL STEPS TOWARD THE

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AIRPLANE TO GIVE VIGNES AN "ABRAZO". THE LOCAL ENGLISH PAPER ALSO QUOTED ECHEVERRIA AS SAYING MRS. PERON "IS BECOMING A STATESWOMAN IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY". THIS INFERENCE THAT MRS. PERON IS ENGAGED IN ON-THE-JOB TRAINING WAS NOT CARRIED BY THE SPANISH-LANGUAGE PAPERS AND ONE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT WHO HEARD THE REMARK TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE DID NOT INTERPRET IT AS INTENDED IN A DEROGATROY SENSE.

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4. IN ADDITION TO THE NUMEROUS GOA DIGNATARIES, ECHEVERRIA ALSO MET WITH A WIDE RANGE OF ARGENTINE POLITICAL FIGURES. HE ALSO HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH HE FIELDED QUESTIONS IN AN IMPRESSIVE MANNER. HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE CONGRESS, WAS OVERLY LONG AND PEDAGOGIC. AT TIMES HE APPEARED TO BE LECTURING HIS ARGENTINE HOSTS ON HOW TO SAFEGUARD DEMOCRACY AND COMBAT THEIR TERRORIST PROBLEM. TWO CABINET MINISTERS WERE OBSERVED MAKING UNCOMPLIMENTARY HAND SIGNS DURING THE SPEECH.

5. THE JOINT DECLARATION SIGNED ON JULY 29 CONTAINED LITTLE NEW AND APPERAS TO TOUCH ON MANY OF THE SAME POINTS AS THE JOINT COMMUNIQUES FROM EARLIER STOPS. THE NEED TO RESTRUCTURE THE OAS, THE DESIRE TO SEE CUBA PARTICIPATE IN LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS AND IN THE MFM, THE PROPOSAL TO SET UP AN ORGANIZATION FOR LA CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION AND PROTECTION FOR RAW MATERIAL PRICES WERE ALL MENTIONED. HOMAGE WAS ALSO PAID TO THE MEMORY OF PERON AND SUPPORT WAS GIVENFOR ARGENTINA'S POSITION ON LOS.

6. COMMENT: WHILE THERE WERE NO TANGIBLE RESULTS OF ANY GREAT MAGNITUDE ACHIEVED BY THE TRIP, IT WAS PROBABLY OF SOME SMALL HELP TO MRS. PERON. SHE CARRIED OFF HER NEW ROLE AS CHIEF OF STATE WELL, WHICH WILL ADD TO HER IMAGE AMONG ARGENTINES. ECHEVERRIA WHILE ALWAYS WARMLY AND CORDIALLY RECEIVED DID NOT SEEM TO MAKE THAT GREAT AN IMPRESSION FOR ONE WHO APPEARS TO HAVE HOPES OF PLAYING S SIGNIFICANT LEADERSHIP ROLE IN LA. FOR HIS TRIP TO HAVE MUCH IMPACT IN THE LONG RUN SOME TYPE OF FOLLOW UP ON THE TOPICS HE DISCUSSED WITH THE GOA AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON THIS TOUR WILL BE NECESSARY. AS THE DEPARTMENT KNOWS, I HAVE KNOWN ECHEVERRIA SINCE HE WAS SUB-MINISTER OF GOBERNACION. WHEN HE GREETED ME IT WAS CORDIAL, BUT CORRECT. IT WAS QUITE A CONTRAST WITH HIS ENTHUSIASTIC GREETING TO THE CHINESE AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS. RABASA,

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WHO I HAVE ALSO KNOWN, SEEMED SUBDUED EXCEPT WHEN TALKING ABOUT HIS PARENTS.
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRASILIA 5484

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, BR, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA VISIT; ECHEVERRIA, RABASA INTERVIEWS

REF: BRASILIA 5429

1. HIGHLIGHTS OF ECHEVERRIA'S SECOND DAY IN BRAZIL WERE VISITS TO A STEEL PLANT AND A VOLKSWAGEN FACTORY, AND LUNCH AT SAO PAULO'S JOCKEY CLUB. WIDELY QUOTED WAS HIS REMARK THAT MEXICO'S "INTEGRATIONIST POLICY . . . IS INSPIRED IN A NATIONALIST SPIRIT, WITHOUT HOSTILITY TO FOREIGN CAPITAL, AND HAS AS (ITS) CENTRAL OBJECTIVE COMBATTING THE EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL INFLATION." CONSERVATIVE DAILY O GLOBO HIGHLIGHTED OTHER REMARK (NOT CARRIED BY OTHER PAPERS) THAT "IT IS IMPORTANT TO PROMOTE THE INTEGRATED

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DEVELOPMENT OF ALL LATIN AMERICA, BUT IT IS NECESSARY, ABOVE ALL, TO ACHIEVE AN EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RICHES, SINCE THERE WILL NOT BE SOCIAL PEACE WITHOUT THIS." SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN NO COMMENT ON THIS STATEMENT, WHICH TOUCHES A LOCAL ISSUE OF SOME SENSITIVITY; INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE MINISTER CAMPILLO SAENZ WAS QUOTED TO SIMILAR EFFECT BY JORNAL DO BRASIL. CAMPILLO WAS ALSO CREDITED

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WITH REMARK THAT MEXICO'S "THREE THOUSAND KILOMETERS OF BORDER WITH THE UNITED STATES GIVES US THE GREAT RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE LATIN AMERICANS OF AFFIRMING OUR PERSONALITY WITHIN A NATIONALIST SPIRIT, WITHOUT HOSTILITIES TOWARD OTHER COUNTRIES," AND WITH SUGGESTION THAT LA COUNTRIES HARMONIZE THEIR RULES REGARDING FOREIGN CAPITAL, EXPLAINING "IF THE OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY ONE COUNTRY ARE DIFFERENT FROM THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT OTHER NATIONS OFFER, THE INVESTORS WILL PLAY WITH THOSE DETAILS, TRYING TO BENEFIT THEMSELVES TO THE MAXIMUM."

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2. VISIT IN GENERAL SEEMED TO BE PROCEEDING IN FRIENDLY FASHION, WITH ECHEVERRIA AND COMPANY PAYING REPEATED TRIBUTE TO SIZE AND STRENGTH OF BRAZILIAN ECONOMY, AND TO ITS CONTRIBUTION TO LA INTEGRATION. ACCORDING TO PRESTIGIOUS ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 29 BRAZILIAN-MEXICAN AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED "AT THE ENTREPRENEURIAL LEVEL." ECHEVERRIA'S CONTINUING NONCHALANCE TOWARD PROTOCOLARY NICETIES WAS NOTED BY JORNAL DO BRASIL, WHICH REPORTED THAT ECHEVERRIA ARRIVED (EVENING JULY 22) IN RIO, WHERE GOVERNOR CHAGAS FREITAS AND OTHER AUTHORITIES WERE WAITING, TWO AND A HALF HOURS LATE.

3. WIDELY-READ NEWSWEEKLY VEJA CAME OUT JULY 22 WITH INTERVIEW WITH ECHEVERRIA CONDUCTED JUST BEFORE HIS TRIP BEGAN. ASKED ABOUT PURPOSE OF TRIP AND POSSIBILITY OF LA "PACT," ECHEVERRIA NOTED CONTINUING DIVISIONS AMONG LA COUNTRIES, ADDING THAT BENEFICIARIES OF THAT DIVISION ARE "THE LARGE BUYERS OF OUR BASIC PRODUCTS." THUS, HE SAID, "I AM GOING TO PROPOSE THAT WE DEFEND OURSELVES A LITTLE MORE." ECHEVERRIA ADDED, "MEXICO HAS BEEN DEPENDING, FUNDAMENTALLY ON ONLY ONE MARKET: THE UNITED STATES, OUR GOOD NEIGHBORS AND GOOD FRIENDS. BUT THIS IS NOT USEFUL (CONVENIENTE), NOT EVEN FOR THE AMERICANS." IN RESPONSE TO SUBSEQUENT

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QUESTIONS, ECHEVERRIA CALLED FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER AS A MEANS OF AVOIDING INTERNATIONAL STRIFE, SPOKE OF POSSIBLE BRAZILIAN-MEXICAN COOPERATION IN EXPANSION OF MEXICAN ELECTRICAL AND PETROLEUM INDUSTRIES, DEFINED THE THIRD WORLD AS THE TWO-THIRDS OF HUMANITY NOT ENJOYING A HIGH DEGREE OF ECONOMIC, TECHNOLOGICAL, AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, AND CALLED FOR THESE COUNTRIES TO FORGET THEIR IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES, AS THE GREAT POWERS ARE DOING, IN ORDER TO FAVOR THEIR INTERESTS. ECHEVERRIA AGREED THAT THE MEXICAN ECONOMY IS MIXED, ADDING THAT "IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE AN ESSENTIALLY NATIONALIST CRITERION IN ORDER TO DEFEND ONESELF AGAINST THE TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES AND MANY FORMS OF PRESSURE AGAINST THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES." HE CONFIRMED THAT HE WOULD TAKE PART IN THE CARACAS LOS CONFERENCE, AND SAID "I WILL SPEAK OF THE NON-COMPREHENSION OF JAPAN, THE U.S., AND THE USSR IN RELATION TO THE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT GREAT FISHING POWERS."

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4. IN ESTADO DE SAO PAULO INTEVIEW CARRRIED JULY 23, FOREIGN MINISTER RABASA SAID INTER ALIA THAT MEXICAN-BRAZILIAN TALKS HERE WOULD HAVE AN OPEN AGENDA, THAT CUBA WOULD BE DISCUSSED IF IT AROSE BUT MEXICO WOULD NOT RAISE IT (PLANNING TO STICK TO BILATERAL MATTERS INCLUDING CULTURAL AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGE), THAT ALL LA NATIONS SHOULD UNITE IN SUPPORT OF ECONOMIC CHARTER, THAT MEXICO HOPED TO ACHIEVE TRUE LA INTEGRATION AND HAD NO LEADERSHIP ASPIRATIONS, AND THAT TRUE INTEGRATION WOULD REQUIRE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. RABASA PRAISED THE NEW DIALOGUE BUT AGREED U.S. TRADE LAWS (OR THEIR EXECUTION) COULD CREATE PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT ARGENTINA FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES HAS NOT YET INITIATED CONSULTATIONS REGARDING THE MARCH 1975 MEETING IN BUENOS AIRES, AND THAT IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUESTIONS, VIGNES HAD SAID HE HAD NOT DECIDED WHETHER CONSENSUS WAS NECESSARY OR A SIMPLE MAJORITY WAS ADEQUATE TO PERMIT CUBAN PARTICIPATION. ACCORDING TO RABASA, VIGNES SAID RESOLVING THAT QUESTION WOULD BE ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF HIS CONSULTATION.
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UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5529

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PLOS, EGEN, AR, MX.
SUBJECT: ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S VISIT.

1. JOINT DECLARATION OF PRESIDENTS OF ARGENTINA AND MEXICO DEALT WITH A NUMBER OF ECONOMIC QUESTIONS. PARTICULAR EMPHASIS WAS ON SUPPORT FOR LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION. DECLARATION ADVOCATED REFORMING STRUCTURE OF LAFTA SO AS TO EVENTUALLY ARRIVE AT A LATIN AMERICAN COMMON MARKET. BOTH EXPRESSED INTENTION OF ESTABLISHING CLOSER RELATIONS WITH THE ANDEAN GROUP "AND OTHER SUBREGIONAL GROUPS". THEY ALSO AGREED ON FORMING BINATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL LATIN AMERICAN FIRMS AS INSTRUMENTS OF LATIN AMERICAN
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05529 261107Z

INTEGRATION, AND STATED THAT "PREFERENTIAL CONDITIONS" SHOULD BE GRANTED TO SUCH FIRMS.

2. DECLARATION GAVE SUPPORT TO SEVERAL LA SACRED COWS SUCH AS PERMANENT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATURAL RESOURCES, SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF STATES TO ENSURE THAT FOREIGN INVESTORS OBEY LAWS AND POLICIES OF HOST COUNTRY

(ADDING THAT COUNTRY OF ORIGIN HAS RESPONSIBLITY FOR BEHAVIOUR OS MULTINATIONALS); JUST PRICES FOR LDCS' EXPORT PRODUCTS, BOTH RAW MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURES; IMPROVED TERMS OF TRADE FOR LCDS; AND THOROUGH REVISION OF WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM TO FAVOR LDCS.

3. THEY STATED THA MTN HAS EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO INCREASE LDC PARTICIPATION IN WORLD TRADE, BUT ONLY IF LDCS ARE GRANTED DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT, ARE NOT REQUIRED TO GIVE RECIPROCITY FOR CONCESSIONS THEY RECEIVE, AND IF MARGINS OF PREFERENCE ESTABLISHED BY GSPS ARE MAINTAINED.

4. THEY AGREED ON NECESSITY OF OBTAINING RECOGNITION OF RIGHTS OF COASTAL STATES OVER SEAS ADJACENT TO THEIR COASTS, UP TO A DISTANCE OF 200 MILES, WITHOUT AFFECTING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL RULES. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT COASTAL STATE SOVEREIGNTY EXTENDS TO THE OUTER EDGE OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF EVEN WHEN IT IS MORE THAN 200 MILES FROM THE COAST. FURTHERMORE, THEY SAID THE COASTAL STATE SHOULD HAVE EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS TO EXPLORATION, RESEARCH, EXPLOITATION AND CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES OF ITS AREA.

5. MRS. PERON MANAGED TO SECURE PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S AGREEMENT TO A STATEMENT IN THE JOINT DECLARATION SUPPORTING ARGENTINA'S POSITION IN ITS CONTROVERSY WITH BRAZIL OVER JOINT USE OF THE PARANA RIVER SYSTEM. THE TWO COUNTRIES AGREED THAT EXPLOITATION AND CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES WHICH ARE SHARED BY TWO OR MORE STATES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT EQUITABLY ON THE BASIS OF A "SYSTEM OF ADEQUTE PRIOR INFORMATION AND CONSULTATION."
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6. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA DID NOT SECURE PRESIDENT PERON'S AGREEMENT TO CREATE A PERMANENT LATIN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION FOR CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN THE ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICALAREAS. THE JOINT DECLARATION STATES THAT PRESIDENT PERON, AND SHE RECEIVED IT WITH GREAT INTEREST AND PROMISED TO STUDY IT.

7. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE TWO SPEECHES ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. PRESIDENT PERON'S WAS SHORT AND CORDIAL, BUT WITH LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT, WHEREAS ECHEVERRIA'S WAS FULL OF CALLS TO COMBAT "COLONIALISM",SUBJUGATION" AND "DEPENDENCE". FOR EXAMPLE, "UNDERDEVELOPMENT IS THE RESULT OF A SYSTEM ORGANIZATED TO BENEFIT THE POWERFUL NATIONS. IT (UNDERDEVELOPMENT) IS THE OPPOSITE POLE AND THE LOGICAL COUNTERPART OF SOCIETIES FOUNDED ON OPULENCE, WASTE AND EXPLOITATION."

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E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, BR, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA VISIT: ECHEVERRIA, GEISEL SPEECHES

REF: BRASILIA 5484

SUMMARY: ECHEVERRIA VISIT CONTINUED ROUTINELY. HE ARRIVED JULY 23 IN BRASILIA, WHERE AT FORMAL DINNER HE AND GEISEL EXCHANGED SPEECHES. THE VISITOR'S WAS RATHER POINTED. END SUMMARY.

1. ECHEVERRIA BEGAN JULY 23 IN RIO BY VISITING A SHIPYARD WHERE, ACCORDING TO O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, IN TALKING WITH REPORTERS HE "EMPHASIZED THE NECESSITY OF RESTRUCTURING THE OAS TO PERMIT THE ENTRY OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE CONTINENT (SIC), ESPECIALLY CUBA." ACCORDING TO SAME

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STORY, ECHEVERRIA ALSO CALLED "INDISPENSABLE" THE UNION OF LA COUNTRIES REGARDING THEIR PRODUCTS: "WHAT WE ARE GOING TO PROPOSE TO THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT", HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, " IS THE CREATION OF AN ORGANISM TO DEFEND OUR PRODUCTS IN THE UPS AND DOWNS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET." AFTER VISITING TWO MONUMENTS AND DEPOSITING WREATH AT TOMB OF UNKNOWN SOLDIER,

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ECHEVERRIA LUNCHED WITH GOVERNOR CHAGAS FREITAS AND LEFT FOR BRASILIA.

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2. HIS NONCHALANT STYLE CONTINUED TO ATTRACT COMMENT: NOTED WERE THE RELAXING EFFECT HE HAD ON HIS SECURITY PROTECTION, HIS TARDY (30-40 MINUTES) ARRIVAL IN BRASILIA, WHERE HE WAS GREETED BY PRESIDENT GEISEL, FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA, AND OTHER AUTHORITIES, AND HIS TARDY (45 MINUTES) ARRIVAL AT THE PRESIDENTAL PALACE, WHERE HE AND GEISEL (DESCRIBED AS "GOOD-HUMORED" DURING THE WAIT) EXCHANGED DECORATIONS AND MET PRIVATELY (WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS) FOR ABOUT 20 MINUTES.

3. TWO PRESIDENTS MET AGAIN AT FORMAL DINNER AT FOREIGN MINISTRY, THIS TIME EXCHANGING SPEECHES. HIGHLIGHTS:

A. GEISEL PRAISED CHEVERRIA'S "INTENSE CONCERN WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ... AND ... CLEAR COMPREHENSION OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS." HE WENT ON TO DECLARE BRAZIL'S "SOLIDARITY IN THE WORKING UP (ELABORACAO)" OF THE ECONOMIC CHARTER, NOTING BRAZIL'S PREVIOUS EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY, AND SAID BRAZIL WAS COMMITTED TO COOPERATION WITH OTHER NATIONS WITH A VIEW TO "NATIONAL ANC CONTINENTAL" DEVELOPMENT. REITERATING ANOW-FAMILIAR POINT, GEISEL DECLARED THAT BRAZIL DOES NOT SEEK TO PREDOMINATE, AS IT DOES NOT ACCEPT HEGEMONIES. NOTING THE ABSENCE OF BELATERAL PROBLEMS, HE CALLED IT "EVIDENT" THAT BRAZIL AND MEXICO HAVE BROAD POSSIBILITIES OF ESTABLISHING "INTENSE AND FRUITFUL BELATERAL INTERCHANGE OF EVERY KIND." ACKNOWLEDGING THAT PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORTATION CONTINUE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, GEISEL SAID THE MOMENT HAD ARRIVED TO "ESTABLISH NAVIGATION LINES, STIMULATE AIR TRANSPORT, AND ADJUST THE MODALITIES OF COOPERATION IN ALL FIELDS, IN ORDER TO MAKE RECIPROCAL RELATIONS REAL AND ADVANTAGEOUS

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FOR BOTH."

B. ECHEVERRIA SAID HIS VISIT CAME AT TIME "WHEN THE READJUSTMENT OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE GREAT HEGEMONIC POWERS PRESENTS TO THE REST OF THE WORLD SERIOUS ALTERNATIVES: ACCEPT THE LIFE-MODELS OF THE DOMINANT COUNTRIES AND TIE OURSELVES TO THEIR STRATEGY, OR TAKE OVER THE DIRECTION OF OUR OWN DESTINY." ASSERTING THAT BRAZIL AND MEXICO HAVE DEALT SEVERE BLOWS TO "SUPPOSED RACIAL SUPERIORITY BASED ON AN ETHNOCENTRIC VISION OF THE WORLD," ECHEVERRIA SAID ETHNIC INTEGRATION IS ONLY ONE STEP: "ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IS THE GREATEST CHALLENGE WE WILL HAVE TO OVERCOME IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE TRUE INTERNAL COHESION." HE CALLED FOR THE LA NATIONS, WHILE RECOGNIZING THEIR DIFFERENCES, TO ACHIEVE THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE CONGRUENCE IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT POLICIES. " TO GIVE COHERENCE TO ALL THESE TASKS, WE HAVE POINTED OUT THE NECESSITY OF GREATING A MULTINATIONAL INSTITUTION TO UNITE WITH EACH OF THE

EXISTING INSTRUMENTS, WHILE LOOKING AT THE PROBLEM FROM A BROADER PERSPECTIVE, FROM WHICH MAY ARISE STRATEGIES OF OVERALL COORDINATION." AFTER DECLARING THAT BRAZIL AND MEXICO CAN DO MUCH TOGETHER, ECHEVERRIA WENT INTO AN EXTENSIVE DEFENSE OF ECONOMIC SOVEREIGNTY, AND FROM THERE TO A SERIES OF ASSERTIONS TO THE EFFECT THAT MEXICO'S POLICIES ARISE FROM THE STRUGGLES AND NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE. "FOR YEARS, OVERALL STATISTICS OF THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF MY COUNTRY MADE IT POSSIBLE TO THINK THAT WE HAD TRIUMPHED OVER UNDERDEVELOPMENT, ALTHOUGH IT WAS ENOUGH TO SEE THE SURROUNDING SOCIAL REALITY TO CONVINCE US OF THE CONTRARY . . . . COMBATTING INTERNAL ECONOMIC INEQUALITY HAS BEEN, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENTAL PERIOD, THE FIRST OF OUR OBJECTIVES."

4. ACCORDING TO THE JORNAL DE BRASILIA, TWO PHRASES WERE STRICKEN FROM ECHEVERRIA'S SPEECH AFTER THE ADVANCE TEXT WAS DISTRIBUTED TO REPORTERS. THEY ARE (AS PRINTED ON THE PAPER'S FRONT PAGE): "THE SPEED WITH WHICH EVENTS ARE OCCURRING THESE DAYS WILL DEMAND FROM THIS GREAT COUNTRY (BRAZIL) THE VISION NECESSARY TO ADAPT ITSELF TO THEM (THE EVENTS) WITH JUSTICE AND TIMELINESS;" AND "THIS PEACE

CANNOT BASE ITSELF ON THE CONTAINMENT OF THE MARGINALIZED MASSES, BUT RATHER IN THEIR EFFECTIVE INCORPORATION IN THE HISTORIC WORK. IF WE DO NOT PROVIDE IT TO THEM, THEY WILL DO IT THEMSELVES. HISTORY WILL JUDGE OUR ACTS BY THE WAY WITH WHICH WE CONFRONT THIS GREAT CHALLENGE OF OUR PEOPLES." COMMENT: EVEN AS DELIVERED, THE SPEECH SEEMS, IN THE BRAZILIAN CONTEXT, POINTED ENOUGH.
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EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR VE, MX
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S VISIT TO VENEZUELA

REF: CARACAS 7048

1. PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVARRIA OF MEXICO BEGAN A FOUR-DAY VISIT TO VENEZUELA JULY 25. THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT IS TREATING THE OCCASION WITH THE FULL REGALIA OF A MAJOR STATE VISIT.

2. DURING THE EVENING OF JULY 25 PRESIDENT PEREZ DECORATED ECHEVERRIA WITH THE ORDER OF THE LIBERATOR. PEREZ' SPEECH ON THIS OCCASION IS REPORTED REFTEL. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S SPEECH, IN RESPONSE, REPEATED THE MAJOR THEMES ALREADY MADE FAMILIAR DURING HIS CURRENT FOREIGN TRIP:

(A) THE NECESSITY FOR THE INTEGRATION OF LATIN AMERICA WAS STRESSED. JUST AS SIMON BOLIVAR ACHIEVED THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE AREA IT IS TODAY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CURRENT GENERATION

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PAGE 02 CARACA 07073 262234Z

TO GAIN ITS ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

(B) WHILE LAUDING VENEZUELA'S MOVES TO PROMOTE INTEGRATION, ECHEVERRIA AT THE SAME TIME CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF A LATIN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CONSULTATION AND CORRDINATION WHICH WOULD COMPLEMENT EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS AND FACILITATE JOINT PROGRAMS OF BROAD PERSPECTIVE SUCH AS THE RATIONAL USE OF NATURAL

RESOURCES, COMMERCIAL TIES, COORDINATION OF POLICIES IN REGARD TO FOREIGN CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE IN REGARD TO FOOD RESERVES, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL INTERCHANGE, AND THE CREATION OF LATIN AMERICAN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

(C) ASSAULTS ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY ALSO OCCUR WHEN STATES YIELD BEFORE FOREIGN INTERVENTION OR COLONIALIST PRETENTIONS. IN CONTRAST, LATIN AMERICAN COHESION BOTH DEFENDS AND STRENGTHENS THE INDEPENDENCE OF STATES.

(D) MEXICO IS CONVINCED THAT IN ORDER TO FIGHT UNDERDEVELOPMENT IT IS NECESSARY TO ACT SOLIDLY ALONGSIDE THE THIRD WORLD AND FOR THIS REASON PROPOSED DURING UNCTAD III THE ADOPTION OF A CHARTER OF ECONOIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES.

(E) LIKE MEXICO, VENEZUELA WILL SOON CONTROL ITS PETROLEUM AND WILL BE ABLE TO PUT THESE RESOURCES AT THE SERVICE OF ALL ITS CITIZENS. VENEZUELA'S PROBLEM IS NOT THE SCARCITY OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES BUT THE STRUCTURAL IMBALANCE IMPOSED BY FOREIGN DOMINATION. COLONIALISM DOES NOT PROMOTE THE PROGRESS OF MANKIND BUT RATHER THE PROGRESS OF SOME AT THE COST OF OTHERS.

3. ON JULY 26 IN A 30-MINUTE LOW-KEY, UNEMOTIONAL ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF THE VENEZUELAN CONGRESS ECHEVERRIA DREW APPLAUSE ONLY ONCE, WHEN HE DECLAIMED THAT A STATE'S CHOICE OF A PARTICULAR POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC ORGAINZATION DOES NOT JUSTIFY ITS EXCLUSION FROM THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. THE ABSENCE OF CUBA, HE EMPHASIZED, MAKES IMPOSSIBLE A COMPLETE AMERICA. ECHEVERRIA ALSO LAUDED THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES SHARED BY VENEZUELA AND MEXICO. HE PROPOSED THAT THE POLITICAL DIVERSITIES REPRESENTED IN THE VENEZUELAN CONGRESS ALSO BE EMULATED IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. HE PROTESTED FOREIGN PRES-
SURES
THAT WISH THE CONTINUATION OF THE EXISTING SIMPLIFIED ECONOMIES IN LATIN COUNTIRES IN ORDER TO PROTECT THEIR FOREIGN MARKETS, THE

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ACTIONS OF TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES, AND NATIONAL INTERESTS THAT WISH TO SUBDIVIDE THE WORLD. SPEAKING OF INTEGRATION HE SAID THAT THE OAS HAS A USEFUL ROLE DURING THE SPOCH OF THE COLD WAR BUT THAT THE LATIN AMERICAN STATES TODAY SHOULD PREVENT ITS USE AGAINST THEIR INTERESTS BY HEGEMONIC POWERS.

4. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA IS SCHEDULED TO LEAVE CARACAS MONDAY, JULY 29. DESTINATION IS PRESUMABLY JAMAICA (MEXICO'S 5912). ONE CARACAS NEWSPAPER HAS ATTRIBUTED A STATEMENT TO MEXICAN PRESS SECRETARY MAURO JIMENEZ THAT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WILL "SOON"MAKE A VISIT TO CUBA. THIS STATEMENT WAS MADE IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTER'S QUESTION AND NO DETAILS WERE OFFERED.
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E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, BR, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA VISIT: AGREEMENTS, JOINT DECLARATION

REF: BRASILIA 5517

SUMMARY: ON FINAL DAY OF VISIT, ECHEVERRIA LAID CORNER-STONE OF NEW EMBASSY, VISITED CONGRESS AND SUPREME COURT, MET WITH GEISEL FOR SIGNING OF 11 AGREEMENTS AND ISSUING OF JOINT DECLARATION, FAVE PRESS CONFERENCE, AND HOSTED DINNER. THERE WAS CONTINUING COMMENT THAT VISIT HAD MORE COMMERICAL THAN POLITICAL CONTENT, BUT IT DID PUT MEXICO ON THE MAP. END SUMMARY.

1. ECHEVERRIA BEGAN BUSY LAST DAY IN BRASILIA BY LAYING CORNERSTONE OF NEW MEXICAN EMBASSY, LATER VISITING
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CONGRESS (WHERE HE WAS DECORATED WITH ORDER OF MERIT OF THE CONGRESS) AND SUPREME COURT. AT CONGRESS, ECHEVERRIA CONTINUED TO FLIRT WITH IMPROPRIETY BY EXTOLLING STRENGTHENED LEGISLATURE, " ALTERNTIVES" FOR PEOPLE TO SELECT, AND FREE PRESS.

2. IN MORNING MEETING WITH GEISEL, 11 AGREEMENTS WERE

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SIGNED, COVERING ESTABLISHMENT OFMIXED COMMISSION, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION,MARITIME TRANSPORT, TOURISM COOPERATION, TALKS ON PEMEX-PETROBRAS COOPERATION, TALKS ON ESTABLISHMENT OF LINES OF CREDIT FOR TRADE,AND COOPERATION BETWEEN GOB'S NATIONAL BANK OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ANDMEXICO'S NACIONAL FINANCIERA SA.

3. JOINT DECLARATION AFFIRMED SUPPORT FOR NON-INTERVENTION, PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, "UNEQUAL TREATMENT FOR UNEQUAL COUNTRIES," ADOPTION BY NEXT UNGA OF ECONOMIC CHARTER, RIGHT OF COASTAL STATES TO EXPLOIT AND DEFEND SEA AND SUBSEA RESOURCES OUT TO 200 MILES, RIGHT OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO DEFEND PRICES OF EXPORT PRODUCTS, AND ESTABLISHMENT IN LA OF "COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR DEVELOPMENT." ECHEVERRIA PLUMPED FOR CREATION OF LA ORGANISM OF CONSULTATION AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION, IDEA WHICH GEISEL PROMISED TO STUDY, BOTH PRESIDENTS PRAISED TLATELOLCO AND WASHINGTON MEETINGS, CALLED FOR "REVITALIZATION" OF LAFTA, AND EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT SIGNING OF THE 11 AGREEMENTS. FINALLY, GEISEL ACCEPTED ECHEVERRIA'S INVITATION TO VISIT MEXICO.

4. RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS AT PRESS CONFERENCE (WHICH SO FAR, AT LEAST, HAS BEEN SCANTILY REPORTED), ECHEVERRIA EXPLAINED THAT DELETIONS HAD BEEN MADE FROM HIS SPEECH (REFTEL) " BECAUSE IT WAS VERY LONG AND I WANTED TO SHORTEN IT," DECLAREDTHAT IN NONE OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH GEISEL HAD THEY TOUCHED ON CUBA (THIS JIBES WITH WHAT WE HAVE HEARD SO FAR FROM GOOD SOURCES), DEFENDED THE RETURN OF CUBA TO THE OAS ON THE GROUNDS THAT CUBANS NO LONGER EXPORTING REVOLUTION, AND DREW APPLAUSE FROM THE LRGE MEXICAN PRESS CONTINGENT WHEN HE EXPLAINED THAT HE COULD MAINTAIN HEALTH DESPITE HEAVY SCHEDULE OF LAST FEW WEEKS BECAUSE HE SLEPT WITH A CLEAR CONSCIENCE. HE DENIED THAT

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BRAZIL AND MEXICO ARE DEVISING A SHARED HEGEMONY, ADDING THAT SOLE CONCERN OF BRAZILIAN EXPANSIONISM WAS NATIONAL INTEGRATION. HE ALSO DENIED THAT IMPORTANCE OF VISIT HAD BEEN PRIMARILY COMMERCIAL, CITING HIS MIGNIGHT-TO-DAWN MEETING WITH INTELLECTUALS IN RIO (WHICH HE SAID WOULD RESULT IN A SMALL BOOK), AND HIS VISITS TO THE CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME COURT.

5. COMMENT: DESPITE HIS DENIAL ABOUT THE PREDOMINANCE OF COMMERICAL SIGNIFICANCE, ASSERTIONS TO THIS EFFECT CONTINUE. IN THIS REGARD, HOWEVER, WE FIND COGENT THE OBSERVATION OF A SENIOR FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL WHO ACCOMPANIED ECHEVERRIA THROUGHOUT THE VISIT THAT ITS REAL PURPOSE WAS TO MODITY MEXICAN "INSULARITY" AND TO COUNTERACT THE LACK OF PROJECTION THAT MEXICO AND, IN PARTICULAR, ECHEVERRIA HAVE HAD IN SOUTH AMERICA. IN THIS SENSE, THE OFFICIAL THOUGHT, THE VISIT HAD BEEN LARGELY SUCCESSFUL.

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UNCLAS CARACAS 7048

FOR: USIA/ILA

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OEXC VE
SUBJECT: PEREZ SPEECH AT CASA AMARILLA ON OCCASION OF ECHEVERRIA'S VISIT

1. VENEZUELA PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ, SPEAKING AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE OCASION OF THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF MEXICO'S PRESIDENT ECHVERRIA, IN A STRONGLY NATIONALISTIC SPEECH, MADE AN APPEAL FOR LATIN AMERICAN INTERGREATION AS A DEFENSE AGAINS THE RICH AND SUPER ARMED STATES.

2. PRESIDENT PEREZ SAID, "WE WILL EMPHASIZE OUR FERVOR IN THE DEFENSE OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES AMONG THEM PETROLEUM AND IRON."

3. PRESIDNT PEREZ CONTINUED: "MY GOVERNMENT ASPIRES, MR. PRESIDENT, TO MAINTAIN A SERIOUS DIALOGUE WITH THE INTER-NATIONAL COMMUNITY. TO HELP WITH ALL THE EFFORT THAT IS NECESSARYTO COORDINATE THE ACTION OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES IN ORDER THAT THERE BE A VOICE WITH WHICH WE IDENTIFY IN THE JUST DEBATE THAT WE MAINTAIN IN ORDER TO BE HEARD AND
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PAGE 02 CARACA 07048 262052Z

ESPECTED IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY WHERE THE RICH AND SUPER-ARMED POWERFUL STATES ALONE PRETEND TO DICTATE THE INTERNATIONAL LAW THAT RULES NOT ONLY THE DESTINY OF THE WORLD BUT THE VERY FATE OF EACH ONE OF OUR PEOPLES."

4. THE VENEZUELAN CHIEF OF STATE STRESSED THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL, INDEPENDENT ROLE FOR HIS COUNTRY. HE SAID:

"IN THIS WORLD THAT CONCENTRATES POLITICAL, MILITARY AND TECHNOLOGICAL POWER IN VERY LIMITED CENTERS, VENEZUELA DOES NOT WANT TO RELY ON OTHERS BUT TO WORK TOGETHER, NEGOTIATING, MAKING INTERCHANGES OF PROFOUND IDEAS, OF PRODUCTS, OF TECHNOLOGY AND OF GOOD WILL IN ORDER TO PACIFY AND TO PUT THINKGS IN ORDER."

5. ON THE THEME OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE, THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES STRONGLY IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES CONTROL OF NATURAL RESOURCES. "WE BELIEVE IN INTERDEPENENCE WHICH IS FUNDAMENTAL TO AUTHENTIC INDEPENDENCE. IN ORDER TO BE INTERDEPENDENT, IT IS NECESSARY TO KNOW HOW TO BE INDEPENDENT AND FOR THIS REASON VENEZUELA WILL EMPHASIZE WITH FERVOR IN THE DEFENSE OF ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, AMONG THEM PETROLEUM AND IRON, AND IS INITIATING A POLICY OF DEFENSE OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND NATURE IN ORDER NOT TO SUBJECT THEM TO THE EXCESSES OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION AND TO CAPITALIST SELFISHNESS."

6. WHILE PRESIDENTS PEREZ AND ECHEVERRIA WERE EXCHANGING REMARKS, THE MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY MAURO JIMENEZ, IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTER'S QUESTION, SAID THAT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WILL "SOON"MAKE A VISIT TO CUBA. JIMENEZ DID NOT ELABORATE ON THE DETAILS OF THE UPCOMING TRIP.

7. ON THE SAME SUBJECT, CARACAS' ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER, THE DAILY JOURNAL, REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT PEREZ AND ECHEVERRIA MET WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES TO DISCUSS VENEZUELA'S POSSIBLE RENEWAL OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA.
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR VE MX
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA CONCLUDES VISIT TO VENEZUELA

REF: CARACAS 7073

1. PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA OF MEXICO CONCLUDED AN ACTIVE FOUR-DAY VISIT TO VENEZUELA JULY 29, DEPARTING FOR A TWO-DAY STOP IN JAMAICA PRIOR TO RETURNING TO MEXICO.

2. PRIOR TO DEPARTURE PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AND PRESIDENT PEREZ SIGNED A LENGTHY JOINT DECLARATION IN WHICH THEY:

A. CALL FOR THE JURIDICAL EQUALITY OF STATES, SELF-DETERMINATION, NON-INTERVENTION, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM, FULFILLMENT IN GOOD FAITH OF OBLIGATIONS, PROHIBITION OF THE USE OR THREAT OF FORCE AND OF ECONOMIC AGGRESSION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF CONTROVERSIES, RESPECT OF HUMAN
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PAGE 02 CARACA 07202 302314Z

RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

B. URGE THE NEED TO RESTRUCTURE THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND AGREE TO WORK TO SPEED UP THIS PROCESS.

C. EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES, BEGUN AT TLATELOLCO, AND WHICH WILL CON-

TINUE IN BUENOS AIRES, COULD INCLUDE THE ATTENDANCE OF ALL THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF AMERICA.

D. URGE THE END OF THE ARMS RACE AND THAT ALL NATIONS OF THE REGION SIGN THE TREATY FOR THE PROSCRIPTION OF NUCLEAR ARMS IN LATIN AMERICA AND URGE THAT ALL NUCLEAR POWERS THAT HAVE NOT ADHERED TO ADDITIONAL PROTOCOLS ONE AND TWO DO SO SOON.

E. REPUDIATE COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, HEGEMONY, AND THE INTERFERENCE OF ECONOMIC POWERS, SUCH AS TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, IN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES.

F. EXPRESS THEIR DESIRE THAT THE THIRD UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE LAW OF THE SEA FIND EQUITABLE FORMULAS GOVERNING THE EXPLOITATION AND CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

G. SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA IN ITS DESIRE TO INTEGRATE THE CANAL TO FULL PANAMANIAN SOVEREIGNTY. SUPPORT THE DESIRE OF LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN LATIN AMERICA, FOR ACCESS TO THE SEA.

H. SUPPORT A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER ENDING THE EXPLOITATION OF NATIONS FOR THEIR RAW MATERIALS. SUPPORT THE FORMULATION AND ADOPTION OF THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES DURING THE NEXT SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. INVITE OTHER STATES TO ADOPT CODES OF CONDUCT TO REGULATE THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE ACTIVITIES OF TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES. STATE THAT TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES ARE SUBJECT TO NATIONAL LAWS, BUT THAT THE NATIONS WHICH ARE HEADQUARTERS OF TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES OR FROM WHERE THEIR CAPITAL ORIGINATES HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COMPANIES' ACTIONS.

I. REAFFIRM THE WILL OF BOTH STATES TO EXERCISE FULL SOVEREIGNTY OVER THEIR NATIONAL RESOURCES. AGREE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF UNCLASSIFIED

COMMON TREATMENT OF FOREIGN CAPITAL, TRADEMARKS, PATENTS, LICENSES, ROYALTIES, BY THE MEMBERS OF THE ANDEAN PACT AND MEXICO TO PROMOTE NATIONAL AND REGULATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

J. AGREE TO WORK FOR BETTER PRICES FOR RAW MATERIALS AND TO FORM ASSOCIATIONS OF PRODUCING COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND OF OTHER DEVELOPING AREAS. AGREE TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTITUTING MULTI-NATIONAL BUSINESS FIRMS OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO COMPLEMENT THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

K. STATE THAT MULTILATERAL COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT) SHOULD GUARANTEE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES A GREATER PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE THROUGH A GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF NON-RECIPROCAL, NON-DISCRIMINATORY PREFERENCES BY ALL DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

L. REITERATE SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION FORESEEN IN THE TREATY OF MONTEVIDEO AND SUPPORT FOR THE REVITALIZATION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN FREE TRADE AREA (ALALC). WORK FOR PROGRESSIVELY CLOSER TIES BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE ANDEAN PACT COUNTRIES BY PUSHING THE WORK OF THE MIXED ANDEAN-MEXICAN COMMISSION.

M. CREATE A PERMENENT LATIN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION, COMPLEMENTARY TO THOSE ALREADY EXISITING, TO STUDY STRATEGIES OF DEVELOPMENT, TO DETERMINE POLICIES OF COOPERATION, DEFEND THE PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS, COORDINATE THE USE AND COMMUERCIALIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES, GUARANTEE THE SUPPLY OF INDUSTRIAL AND FOOD SUPPLIES, GUIDE REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL INTEGRATION, ASSIST IN FOMENTING JOINT INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENTS, PROMOTE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL INVESTMENT AND THE FORMATION OF TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL, AND CREATE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS TO STIMULATE LATIN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT. ESTABLISH A JOINT COMMISSION TO MEET IN CARACAS WITHIN THE NEXT THIRTY DAYS TO COORDINATE THE EFFORTS OF THE VENEZUELAN AND THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENTS IN CARRYING OUT THIS INITIATIVE.

N. PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF STABLE PRICES FOR AGRICULTURAL
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PRODUCTS SUCH AS COFFEE, CACAO, SUGAR, BANANAS, COTTON, BY CREATING MULTI-NATIONAL FIRMS AND OTHER MECHANISMS. PROMOTE TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BY INCREASED COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MEXICAN INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN TRADE AND THE VENEZUELAN INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN TRADE.

O. PROMOTE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL INTERCHANGE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, INCLUDING AN INTERCHANGE OF TECHNICAL STUDENTS.

P. PRESIDENT PEREZ ACCEPTED THE INVITATION OF PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA TO VISIT MEXICO DURING THE COMING YEAR.

3. THE FULL SPANISH LANGUAGE TEXT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION AND A LISTING OF THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS REACHED DURING THE VISIT ARE BEING FORWARDED BY AIRGRAM.
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UNCLAS KINGSTON 2674

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJ: VISIT BY MEXICAN PRES ECHEVERRIA

PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA COMPLETED A WHIRLWIND TWO-DAY VISIT TO JAMAICA ON JULY 31. ORIGINALLY RUMORED TO BE A REST STOP FOLLOWING ECHEVERRIA'S TRIP TO VENEZUELA, THE VISIT ACTUALLY INCLUDED AN ACTION-PACKED PROGRAM THAT LEFT THE MEXICAN PRESIDENT'S HOSTS GASPING. THE JAMAICANS WERE ALSO OVERWHELMED BY THE SIZE OF ECHEVERRIA'S PARTY NUMBERING NEARLY 200 IN TWO AIRCRAFT. BESIDES THE USUAL SOCIAL EVENTS ECHEVERRIA AND PM MANLEY HAD SEVERAL LENGTHY CONVERSATIONS AND SIGNED AGREEMENTS FOR SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND A JOINT VENTURE IN THE ALUMINUM DEVELOPMENT FIELD. WE WILL BE REPORTING SEPARATELY ON THESE AGREEMENTS. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ALSO HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE, BUT HE MADE NO MAJOR POLICY STATEMENTS IN THE COURSE OF HIS BUSY VISIT.
GERARD

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE (MC) IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/20/97
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04591 022003Z UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 4591

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PFOR, SOCI
SUBJ: INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS ON CHILEAN DEATH SENTENCES

REF: SANTIAGO 4512

1. AS EXPECTED, FOUR DEATH SENTENCES RECENTLY ISSUED BY AIR FORCE TRIBUNAL (REFTEL) HAVE EVOKED INTERNATIONAL REACTION. CENSORED SANTIAGO PRESS AUG 2 REPORTS PROTESTS FROM SWEDISH LABOR, "SWEDISH COMMITTEE FOR CHILE," FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY, ARGENTINE SENATE, BISHOP SERGIO MENDEZ OF CUERNAVACA (MEXICO), VENEZUELAN SENATE, AND BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

2. ON DIPLOMATIC LEVEL, ICRC REPRESENTATIVES TOLD US THEY RECENTLY MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO GOC REAFFIRMING ICRC OPPOSITION TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. WE UNDERSTAND SEVERAL EMBASSIES IN SANTIAGO ARE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO PROTEST DEATH SENTENCES AND BELGIANS HAVE ALREADY DONE SO.

3. COMMENT. OUR ASSESSMENT REMAINS THAT DEATH SENTENCES WILL BE COMMUTED. WHEN THEY ARE, THIS WILL CERTAINLY BE HERALDED ABROAD AS RESPONSE TO PRESSURE OF WORLD OPINION. DOUBTFUL REGIME PLANNED IT THAT WAY. SEEMS MORE LIKELY IT IS RESULT OF LEGALISTIC CHILEANS PLAYING OUT THE SCENARIO BY THE BOOK--

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CONVICTION, THOROUGH REVIEW, NEW DECISION.
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SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

1740 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Statement by Professor Riordan Roett, Director of Latin American Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C. before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, Representative Dante Fascell, Chairman, Monday, August 5, 1974.

Statement-United States-Chilean Relations

Any discussion of United States-Chilean relations must be considered in the broader context of United States relations with Latin America in general. It is no longer sufficient to consider a return to the "traditional" relationship, charaterized by varying degrees of paternalism and neglect in different historical periods. The very terms "paternalism" and "neglect" indicate the quality and tone of the relationship between the United States and its neighbors in the hemisphere - one of dependence and subordination.

It can be argued that the history of Latin America after independence in the early 19th century allowed for no other relationship. The security interests of the United States, itself a new nation, required firm and audacious efforts to preclude European colonization. The lack of self-generating economic development in Latin America, combined with a high level of societal inequality and political chaos in the vast majority of the republics, contrasted sharply with the process of modernization in North America (it is interesting to note that Chile was one of the few exceptions to this general interpretation of the 19th century). As that gap grew ever larger, it led to increasing interest and intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American nation-states. The Platt Amendment, the Roosevelt Corollary, and the moralism of Woodrow Wilson's policy in Mexico represented the apogee of direct, military intervention.

With the promulgation of the Good Neighbor Policy, under Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration, and the succeeding initiatives of Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy that resulted in the Alliance for Progress, paternalism and intervention continued but normally under different auspices, save in the Caribbean where the traditional methods were employed. The emphasis shifted to diplomatic, economic, and advisory intervention. Much of the United States role in Latin America after 1945 was predicated on a shared view of the threat to hemispheric security posed by the Soviet Union and international communism. With a reduction in international tension, and the movement from bipolarity to multipoloarity, the United States adopted a

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developmentalist approach to Latin America that necessitated the transfer of hundreds of millions of dollars of public and private funds, the stationing of tens of thousands of North Americans in Latin America, and required the creation of a "partners in progress" mentality that ended in failure, as had other initiatives.

This all too brief summary of the history of the United States relations with Latin America should indicate the futility of a return to the past for models for structuring a new relationship. The United States must realize that Latin America has changed dramatically over the past two decades. Neither outright military intervention nor more subtle social and economic assistance "package" programs are warranted or required. For better or for worse, Latin American nations have begun to come of age. The recognition of a need for a new policy can best begin in the United States Congress. It does not necessitate the wholesale condemnation or abandonment of past policy. All great powers act in their own interests and those interests often appear to require decisions and policies that will, after the fact, be seen as outmoded or incorrect or actually deleterious to the long-range interests of that power. It requires little courage, and perhaps less intelligence, to condemn the past and attack the United States as an imperialist power bent on the total subversion of Latin American sovereignty. It does require statesmanship and leadership to determine to reshape policy and to restructure an outmoded relationship.

It should be noted that the coming of age of Latin American nation-states (not all of course, but the majority) coincides with the emergence of a series of military governments, with varying ideologies, all authoritarian in that there is little of the pluralist structure of politics that our own constitutional system represents and protects. What is important to remember, and this must be differentiated from the issue of whether or not the United States "caused" the military governments now in power, is that the era of militarism heralds the arrival of the "state" in the nation-state concept. Prior to this time, the governments of Latin America have been weak, ineffectual decision-making units. Today, under the military in a majority of countries, or under authoritarian civilian governments such as that in Mexico, national priorities are set by national citizens. National resources are employed in response to national programs of development. Human resources are identified and utilized in pursuit of Brazilian, Ecuadorean, or Chilean objectives. There is little that we can do or should do to change this state of affairs.

To recommend the adoption of such a policy does not mean that the United States and its citizens should be or are unconcerned when the emergence of a capacity to govern and to

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develop is accompanied by the violation of human rights and civil liberties, as has happened in a majority of the Latin American states. It does mean that we must be careful to sort out national policy and citizens legitimate but non-official response to events in Latin America. It requires the elimination of those policies that appear to support and/or strengthen governments not congruent with our own political preferences and ideals - even though we simultaneously recognize the right of other nation-states to govern themselves according to their own dictates and preferences.

This is not the time for the United States to think of ways to regain the initiative we once thought we had in Latin America. That initiative brought little but criticism or worse from wide segments of the peoples of Latin America and the United States. A new policy towards Latin America, which would obviously include Chile, and which would best serve the interests of the United States in the conduct of its foreign affairs would emphasize the following:

1) a reduction and eventual elimination of bilateral economic assistance;
2) an increase in legitimate multilateral social and economic assistance through existing and possibly new international institutions;
3) the reduction and possible elimination of military assistance to Latin America except in those instances in which hemispheric security is endangered. That will require the establishment of rigorous standards for policy-makers to preclude a continuing series of loop-holes and exceptions;
4) the continuation of humanitarian aid;
5) a combined search, with our Latin America neighbors, for new institutional mechanisms to mediate conflict and foster development in the hemisphere. This will require a reexamination of the role and functioning of the OAS; serious consideration should be given to moving OAS headquarters from Washington to Latin America and asking the Latin nations to bear the burden of operating costs.

It must be recognized that with new and vigorous governments in Latin America, the possibility for international conflict will increase although it is not inevitable. Where as the United States was able in the past to prevent the possibility of such conflict, it will not have that power in the future. The threat to withhold arms or economic assistance no longer deters. Latin American states have both the resources and the will to conduct an increasingly independent foreign policy. Under such circumstances, it would be in the best interests of the United States to avoid the duplication of the special relationships of the past, and the expense as well, and concentrate on less "political" and more diplomatic and international suasion in accomplishing national objectives in Latin America.

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The adoption of an overall policy approach such as I have recommended here would have obvious and direct application to the state of United States relations with Chile. Serious consideration of the five point porgram I suggest would eliminate the need to use moral standards to judge the internal activities of the Chilean government and provide a more impartial and mature approach. Rather than condemning the Chilean government for what it has done or has not done, and threatening to utilize military and economic assistance as "weapons" to induce certain policy responses as we have done in the past, Chile would naturally fall within the confines of the new policy. Clearly, the adoption of a new set of standards will not eliminate the sincerely felt and justifiable concern for the policies followed by the Chilean government, allegedly, in treating political prisoners. It will eliminate the possibility of employing United States policy in that struggle to gain recognition of the need to protect human rights in all nations at all times and transfer it to international public andprivate organizations and return it to the hands of private groups in the United States who are able to work through like-minded and concerned groups.

The continual effort to employ United States policy in Latin America as a weapon in the struggle to achieve respect for human rights is counterproductive. It creates bilateral tension that prevent the negotiation and settlement of other outstanding issues. It reduces the possibility of quiet, effective pressure being brought to bear by the United States government, through its diplomatic representatives in Latin America, on governments thought to violate human rights. The recommendation that policy be removed from the struggle for human rights is not to reduce the importante of those rights; it is to recognize the realities of power and of sovereignty in the late 20th century in Latin America.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05008 211849Z

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ACTION SIL-01

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07
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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINT, ELAB, SHUM
SUBJECT: ITF BOYCOTT REACTION: CHILEAN DELEGATION PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: SANTIAGO 4968

1. SUMMARY: DURING AUGUST 20 PRESS CONFERENCE, CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS JUST BACK FROM STOCKHOLM ITF CONGRESS CLAIMED TWO-DAY BOYCOTT WAS CHILEAN VICTORY OVER STERNER MEASURES DESIRED BY "MARXISTS." DELEGATES SOUGHT TO POSE AS BELEAGURED HEROES FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CONTINUING CAUTIOUSLY ATTEMPT TO INDUCE GOVERNMENT TO RELAX PRESENT RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE UNIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. ALL EIGHT CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS WHO ATTENDED RECENT STOCKHOLM ITF CONGRESS HELD PRESS CONFERENCE AUG 20 AFTER FIRST CALLING ON MIN LABOR GEN. DIAZ. ACTING AS SPOKESMAN FOR GROUP, PORT WORKERS (COMACH) CHIEF EDUARDO RIOS CLAIMED TWO-DAY BOYCOTT REPRESENTED MAJOR "VICTORY" FOR CHILE IN THAT MARXIST FORCES, "LED BY EUROPEANS WITH SWEDES AT THEIR HEAD," WANTED IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL BOYCOTT. MARXISTS WERE SO COMMITTED TO CHILEAN

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05008 211849Z

BOYCOTT, RIOS ARGUED, "THAT THEY COULDN'T LEAVE ITF CONGRESS WITH EMPTY HANDS," AND TWO-DAY BOYCOTT "WHICH IS AN INSIGNIFICANT MEASURE" WAS RESULT.

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3. RIOS STRESSED POST-BOYCOTT ITF ACTION WILL DEPEND ON REPORT OF ITF INVESTIGATING TEAM, ALTHOUGH, HE ADDED, "I DOUBT IF THERE WILL BE PROBLEMS." RIOS THEN POINTEDLY CITED NUMEROUS GOVT STATEMENTS TO EFFECT THAT TRADE UNION ACHIEVEMENTS WILL BE RESPECTED. SAID RIOS, "WE BELIEVE IN THE WORD OF THE MILITARY LEADERS."

4. RETURNING TO ITF CONGRESS THEME, RIOS AND OSCAR FRIAS OF MARITIME WORKERS CLAIMED THAT CHILE'S "BEST ALLIES" IN STOCKHOLM WERE LABOR LEADERS FROM MEXICO, BRAZIL, U.S., HONDURAS, BOLIVIA, AND "SOME GROUPS" FROM ARGENTINA. EVEN THOUGH CHILEAN DELEGATES WERE NOT SEATED, RIOS CLAIMED THEY WERE ACTIVE IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS AND HAD ISSUED A DECLARATION STATING ANY BOYCOTT WOULD HURT CHILEAN WORKERS MOST. MENTIONING SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER PALME BY NAME, RIOS SAID POLITICAL PRESSURE AGAINST CHILE DURING CONGRESS WAS "TREMENDOUS." HE PRAISED FAIRNESS OF ITF SEC. GEN. BLYTHE, HOWEVER, NOTING THAT CHILEAN MARIXSTS WERE NOT SEATED AND OFFENSIVE ANTI-CHILEAN SLOGANS HAD BEEN REMOVED FROM MEETING HALL.

5. IN SEPARATE STATEMENT, MIN LABOR DIAZ EXPRESSED HIS "EXTRAORDINARY SATISFACTION" OVER ACTIVITIES OF CHILEAN DELEGATION. TWO-DAY BOYCOTT, HE CLAIMED, DEMONSTRATED "THE FAILURE OF MARXIST EFFORTS BEGUN IN GENEVA (ILO CONFERENCE) AND DESIGNED TO CULMINATE IN STOCKHOLM."

6. COMMENT: LITTLE QUALITATIVELY NEW IN PRESS CONFERENCE, WHICH FOLLOWS LINE OF PREVIOUS CHILEAN REACTION TO BOYCOTT (REFTEL). AS EXPECTED, RIOS AND COMPANY ARE PLAYING THE ROLE OF VALIANT DEFENDERS OF CHILEAN HONOR TO THE LOCAL AUDIENCE, WHILE AT SAME TIME CONTINUING CAUTIOUS ATTEMPT TO INDUCE GOVERNMENT TO RELAX PRESENT RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE UNIONS. POPPER

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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ACTION ARA-20

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INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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[redacted] USE SANTIAGO 5092

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, MX, PINT, PINS
SUBJECT: LACRAMPETTE KILLERS DEATH SENTENCES COMMUTED

REF: SANTIAGO 0079

1. AN INCIDENT IN LAST DAYS OF ALLENDE REGIME WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN ONE OF LAST STRAWS TO CHILEAN MILITARY WAS MURDER OF ARMY LT. HECTOR LACRAMPETTE ON AUG 29, 1973, BY YOUNG LEFTISTS WHO INCLUDED MEXICAN CITIZEN JORGE ALBINO SOSA GIL. ON JAN 3, 1974, MILITARY COURT SENTENCED SOSA GIL AND CHILEAN DAVID QUINTANILLA DIGUENO TO DEATH, AND THREE OTHER CHILEANS TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT.

2. TOP REVIEW LEVEL IN CHILEAN MILITARY JUSTICE SYSTEM, MARTIAL COURT (SIC), ANNOUNCED AUG 22 THAT SOSA GIL AND QUINANILLA DIGUENO SENTENCES HAD BEEN COMMUTED TO LIFE JAIL TERMS FOR "ROBBERY WITH HOMICIDE." THREE OTHERS HAD SENTENCES REDUCED TO 15 YEARS FOR "ROBBERY WITH VIOLENCE."

3. SINCE TRIAL WAS INSTITUTED AND CONDUCTED UNDER NORMAL "TIME OF PEACE" RULES, DEFENDANTS MAY STILL APPEAL TO SUPREME COURT.

4. COMMENT: LACRAMPETTE KILLING, ESPECIALLY WITH INVOLVEMENT OF "FOREIGN EXTREMIST" SOSA GIL, WAS BITTERLY RESENTED BY [redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05092 232123Z

CHILEAN MILITARY, AND IF ANY DEATH SENTENCE WERE TO BE CARRIED OUT IN 1974 CHILE, THIS COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO BE IT. COMMUTATION OF DEATH SENTENCES AND GREAT REDUCTION OF PRISON TERMS FOR OTHERS EMPHASIZES ONCE AGAIN GOC CONCERN WITH

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

HUMANITARIAN IMAGE AND UNLIKELIHOOD ANY MORE DEATH SENTENCES WILL BE CARRIED OUT.

5. AS FURTHER INDICATION GOC AWARENESS IMPORTANCE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION, JUNTA MEMBER AND AIR FORCE CINC GEN. LEIGH NOTED IN US (MIAMI SPANISH STATION) TV INTERVIEW DESCRIBED IN AUG 23 PRESS THAT CHILEAN AF ALONE IS CURRENTLY TRYING 12 PERSONS FOR "MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS," AND "THERE HAVE BEEN OTHERS."
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

Chile Project (#S199900006)
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UNCLAS SANTIAGO 5693

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CI
SUBJECT: CHILEAN CHALLENGE TO USSR AND CUBA ON DETAINEES

1. JUNTA PRESS SPOKESMAN WILLOUGBY SEPT. 17 TOLD PRESS GOC HAD RECEIVED ABOUT 300 COMMUNICATIONS FROM FAMILIES OR FRIENDS OF PERSONS JAILED FOR POLITICAL REASONS IN CUBA AND USSR. MESSAGES HAD ARRIVED FROM SPAIN, UK, US, MEXICO, AND ARGENTINA. THEY WILL BE TRANS-MITTED TO ICRC AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED IN HUMAN RIGNTS.

2. CONSERVATIVE "EL MERCURIO" SEPT. 18 PRINTED LEAD EDITORIAL STATING THAT LIBERATION OF DETAINEES OFFERED BY PRESIDENT GENERAL PINOC
ET DURING SEPT. 11 ANNIVERSARY REPORT TO NATION "IS NOT CONDITIONAL AND DEPENDS ONLY ON ACT OF PARDON TO BE GIVEN UNDER GOC SOVEREIGNTY." SAID IT WOULD BE PITY IF PINOCHET'S CHALLENGE TO USSR AND CUBA TO RELEASE SAME NUMBER OF PRISONERS AS CHILE SHOULD FALL INTO VACUUM ON PART OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHO COULD DO MUCH TO HELP THOSE DEPRCVED OF LIBERTY. CONCLUDED POINTEDLY THAT SILENCE OF "TOTALITARIAN COMMUNISM" CAN BE DISCOUNTED, BUT VOICES OF "GREAT MORAL PRESTIGE" SHOULD BE UNCLASSIFIED

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LIFTED TO INSIST THAT USSR AND CUBA MAKE THE HUMANITARIAN GESTURE ASKED OF THEM.
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B1 Chile Coup Info

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release____ Excise X Deny____ September 20, 1974
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Exemption(s) B1. B3

ARA/CIA Meeting, 20 September 1974

Bill -

Jim - JS

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (5) Downgrade to ____
Date 2/1/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1

The ARA meeting this morning was changed at the last minute to one with Harry Shlaudeman when Ambassador Bowdler was called away.

The questions to which Shlaudeman was anxious to have answers from [redacted] had to do with the Friday New York Times story on the trucker's strike in Chile. Harry said that ~~Hearst~~ Reston had called him twice yesterday seeking his comments on the story he was writing and that he had refused to comment. [redacted] said that he was absolutely certain that no CIA money had gone to the truckers. There had, he said, been an in-house proposal to support the truckers; he had taken it directly to Colby with an adverse recommendation which Colby had approved; a proposal for CIA support of the trucker's strike had, therefore, not even been made to the 40 Committee.

[redacted]

The discussion then moved on to what could be done. [redacted] only suggestion, to which Shlaudeman nodded assent, was an outright denial at the noon press briefing.

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C.I.A. Is Linked to Strikes In Chile That Beset Allende

Intelligence Sources Report That Money Was Distributed to Help Truck and Taxi Drivers and Shopkeepers

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 — The Central Intelligence Agency secretly financed striking labor unions and trade groups in Chile for more than 18 months before President Salvador Allende Gossens was overthrown, intelligence sources revealed today.

They said that the majority of more than $8-million authorized for clandestine C.I.A. activities in Chile was used in 1972 and 1973 to provide strike benefits and other means of support for anti-Allende strikers and workers.

William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence, had no comment when told of The Times's information.

In testimony today before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Kissinger asserted that the intelligence agency's involvement in Chile had beeen authorized solely to keep alive political parties and news media threatened by Mr. Allende's minority Government. The clandestine activities, Mr. Kissinger said, were not aimed at subverting that Government.

Among those heavily subsidized, the sources said, were the organizers of a nationwide truck strike that lasted 26 days in the fall of 1972, seriously disrupting Chile's economy and provoking the first of a series of labor crises for President Allende.

Direct subsidies, the sources said, also were provided for a strike of middle-class shopkeepers and a taxi strike among others, that disrupted the capital city of Santiago in the summer of 1973, shortly before Mr. Allende was overthrown by a military coup.

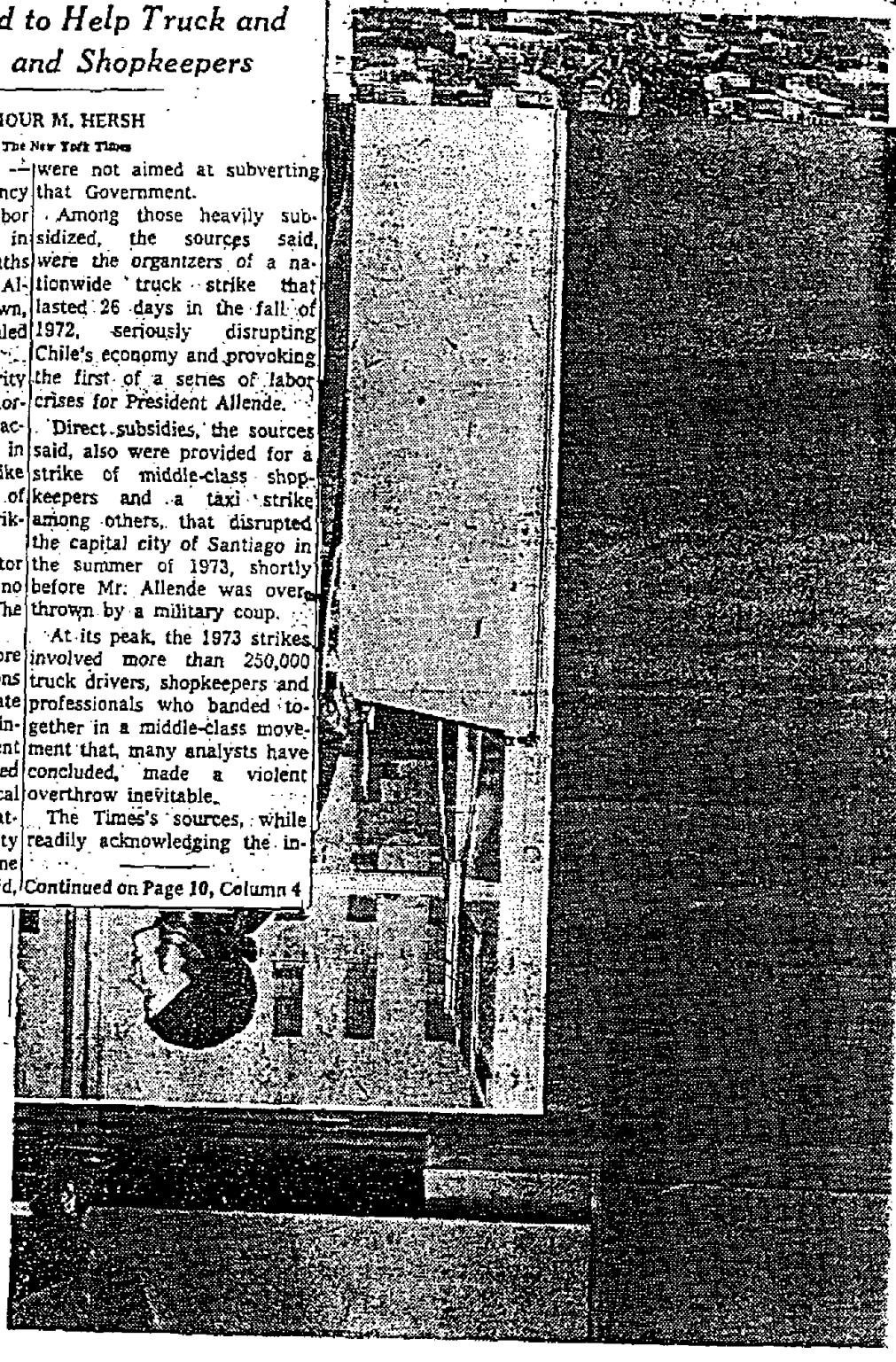
At its peak, the 1973 strikes involved more than 250,000 truck drivers, shopkeepers and professionals who banded together in a middle-class movement that, many analysts have concluded, made a violent overthrow inevitable.

The Times's sources, while readily acknowledging the in-

Continued on Page 10, Column 4

RIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1974

ed to Anti-Allende Strikes



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Telcon
Secretary Kissinger/Robert O. Anderson
October 4, 1974; 9:40 a.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Hello.

A: Henry, how are you this morning?

K: OK. How are you?

A: Fine. Say, I ran into a piece of information that I think could be very useful to you on your trip abroad. It looks as if Mexico has a discovery comparable to the North Slope, and it's not too far below Houston and it's on shore, which means it can be developed quite rapidly. Now the Mexican government has been quite cozy about it -- are you aware of it?

K: They told me something like this, yes.

A: Yes. Well there is enough to conceivably -- we think it could support at least 2 million barrels a day of exports out of Mexico, and maybe as much as 3. Unfortunately I don't believe anyone in OPEC is aware of this. I have felt maybe if some publicity could be given to it without involving our government that it might be useful. I think it would be better if you were in a posture of commenting on it rather than the bearer of it. I'm sure actually the field is far enough along that the Mexican government is offering some oil for delivery this month and next -- well, this quarter. So I thought I'm going to be in London tomorrow and over until next week, that if the occasion arose I might see if I couldn't at least say something that might start a lead toward this.

K: But what would you accomplish with it?

A: Well, I think psychologically it would be a real setback to the OPEC group. We think very seriously there's as much as 5 million barrels a day now that is without a home, and the prospect of another 2 or 3 coming out of production, even if it's a few years off, would do a great deal towards driving world oil prices down. As a matter of fact, for the first time I really believe we're going to see a break.

K: Yeah, I don't think they can take the heat.

A: Well, it's almost unmanageable now. Even the prospect of 2 or 3 million barrels which is much closer to market coming downstream would really put a hell of a lot more heat on them.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2003 200102979

K: Yeah, well the only thing I'm wondering about is if we get the word out too quickly whether it will hurt our bargaining position with the Mexicans.

A: Well I understand the reason they've been so cozy about it is there is internal disagreement whether they should cash in on this, which is conceivably as much as 7 to 10 billion a year for Mexico -- or follow the Norwegian pattern and sit on it as a national treasure. Now, I know enough about Mexico that I don't believe they're going to sit on this kind of money very long.

K: No.

A: And actually I think it is sufficiently useful in the OPEC matter to leak it unless there's some reason our government wouldn't want to.

K: Well, the only concern that I have is what it does to our bargaining position with Mexico, since it's bound to come out anyway.

A: Well, it will, yeah. They have offered 60,000 barrels a day for immediate delivery. I think it was $10:50 a barrel. And this thing is so situated that they can deliver oil into either the Atlantic or the Pacific. It's on the Isthmus of Tawanapek right at the bottom of the Gulf of Tawanapek.

K: Yeah. Well, I hadn't thought it through. My general strategy in a negotiation is to try to assemble as many cards as possible and not play them peacemeal, but I have no strong views, if I did I would tell you.

A: Well, it's a piece of information that you might find useful.

K: No, the information is extremely useful. I didn't know the extent of it. I knew they had some, but I didn't know the extent.

A: Well, Henry, if you'd like, I would have our company come into Washington just as private people to talk to you about it.

K: My problem is that I'm going off to the Middle East and I have next to no time before that.

A: Yes, well, I have looked into this quite carefully and our people are satisfied there's probably 18 to 20 billion barrels there, which is as much or more than Prudho Bay.

K: I don't mind your -- maybe you can get it out in a low-key way if it doesn't start a stampede towards the Mexicans.

A: No, I don't think it would. Actually it would be better if it came from Europe as a rumor. I'll see people over there and can get it started in a very quiet way.

K: OK, why don't you do that.

A: And really, I think psychologically it's very helpful to you right now.

K: Right.

A: Good. How have you been?

K: I've been fine.

A: I've thought about you.

K: Thank you.

A: Goodbye.

SC302 *

TELCON
Robert Ingersoll/Kissinger
12:49 pm - 10/17/74

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Hello.

I: Yes, Henry.

K: Bob, I'm going to bring Simon who tells me he has seen a State Department paper on negotiations on oil we're going to have with Mexico. And I'm glad you see my papers before I do.

I: Well, I haven't seen it.

K: Do you know what he's talking about?

I: No. I sent you a notice of the meeting I had with the Arco people. That just told about the discovery.

K: Look, I know about the discovery. Bob Anderson has been peddling it all over the city last year. How he thinks you can get a concession when you've already declared that it's vital to you, I would like to get some advice on. Well I just want to understand how these great ~~xxxxxxxx~~ business men think.

I: I don't know why they did that. I have no idea.

K: Because they thought it would put pressure on the Arabs., All it will do is force a coalition between Mexico and the Arabs because Mexico will have an interest in selling the oil at the highest prices. If they had a brain in their head they would get a maximum production of the Mexican oil first and that would bring down the prices.

I: Right.

K: What I would like to know is something entirely different. There seems to be a talking paper prepared for the President for his meeting with Echeverria so I expect it came out of ARA, which is busy peddling it around town. The Secretary of the Treasury has already given me his views and seen the paper.

I: I'll find out what it is.

K: You stop these guys from sending papers around town that are not approved by the seventh floor.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L. FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2003 200102979

I: Right. I wasn't aware of it.

K: I'll talk to you after one of our meetings this afternoon on the personnel thing.

I: Fine. Thank you.

SD48

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TELECON
Ambassador Zahedi/Secretary Kissinger
December 5, 1974
6:47 PM

RELEASED IN FULL

(Missed first part)

K: I pay a visit here occasionally.

Z: ____about the possibilities of his majesty coming to the U.S.

K: We want it very much.

Z: It might be possible sometime after the 15th of May.

K: Alright.

Z: Because I have to make a Venezuelan visit which would be from the 5th to the 10th and from the 10 to the 15 go to Mexico and it would be a few days after the 15th.

K: Let me check with the President's schedule and get back to you.

Z: I have the picture of the Queen for Mrs. Kissinger.

K: Good.

Z: Are you going to be here for a few days?

K: Until Tuesday.

Z: How do I send the picture.

K: Maybe you can come by.

Z: It will just be for a minute.

K: Terrific.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 6 JAN 2003 200102979

SD57

*

TELECON
Senator Percy/Secretary Kissinger
December 7, 1974
11:33 AM

RELEASED IN FULL

P: Good morning.

K: How are you?

P: Fine. I just wondered if you knew that Echeverria will be up at the U.N. on Wednesday in connection with the charter.

K: No, I didn't.

P: It's highly confidential. I have good resources inside the Mexican delegation, but he'll probably be there. I do not detect in the Mexican delegation the negative attitude that Rabasa expressed to Scali that he thinks this is very serious. I think this will simmer and cool off very quickly. I have expressed to the delegation that we intend within time to have a charter that will be meaningful. Scali's speech was not aimed at the charter. I've had a good response from the Mexican delegation to the tone of that speech.

K: I know Echeverria well. I think the reaction will be very unpleasant. That has been his pet.

P: Their feeling as Rabasa expressed it to Scali, is that the Mexican people will be outraged at this. I can't believe that. I can understand Echeverria and there's no question of their disapproval.

K: This depends in part on how they -- on what the Mexican government says and the Mexican public's reaction.

P: I'm more convinced then ever we simply could not have acceded to the pressure.

K: We voted that way so we obviously agreed with it.

P: I wish I could have pulled something together but there was no way without total capitulation on our part. We even made a few changes on the floor in order to get New Zealand and Australia which helped a little bit.

K: OK. Thank you for all the work you've done.

P: Thank you.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 6 JAN 2003 200102979

12/9/74

RD092

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S 7424125

Chile Project (#S199900030) F
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify in Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s) NR

SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM

December 9, 1974

To : The Secretary

From: INR - William G. Hyland

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (W) Extend as (5) Downgrade to ____
Date 2/7/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X6

Peru and Chile: The Military Balance and Aid Cutoff

Summary

[redacted]

[redacted]

Politically, US denial of arms:

--would severely damage US-Chilean relations, but would not change Chile's human rights practices in the near future;

[redacted]

[redacted]

--would further isolate the Pinochet government in the international community.

* * *

SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM
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UNCLASSIFIED

Pages 2 thru 5 have been eliminated because they are entirely irrelevant

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In international forums, public airing of a US refusal to sell arms to Chile could add considerable weight to the various UN resolutions condemning or censuring Chile.

--Countries in the forefront of the anti-Chile campaign might seek to use the attendant publicity to build support for a move in the UN General Assembly or another UN organ to expel the Pinochet government.

--West European countries which have already taken a strong stand against the Chilean military regime would probably read the US action as a confirmation of their positions.

--Human rights organizations, whether UN (Commission on Human Rights), OAS (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights), or private (Amnesty International), would step up their criticism of the Chilean regime.

Ongoing Chilean relations with Western Hemisphere nations, especially Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay, where alleged internal security problems have also contributed to a systematic denial of human rights, probably would remain unaffected. Other hemisphere governments are not likely to follow Mexico's lead and break diplomatic relations with Chile.

Political Effects - Internal. Over the next year, a denial of military assistance would do little to weaken unity of purpose among Chile's ruling military or produce a fundamental reversal of their position on internal security and human rights. Regardless of whether or not the US grants military assistance to Chile, through most of 1975 the

Pinochet government is likely to adhere to a plan announced on November 11 to release political detainees in groups of 100, contingent on the willingness of other countries to accept them. However, it will probably continue to:

--insist that many former Unidad Popular (UP) detainees be tried for embezzlement, maladministration, and corruption;

--rely largely on military tribunals to handle the cases of those charged with violating national security measures, despite recent indications that the civil courts are regaining some of their previous autonomy; and

--actively seek and detain persons considered real or potential security risks, especially members of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (MIR), even though many MIR leaders already have been killed, detained, or exiled.

Chilean Government concern on political detentions and the denial of human rights is based on the fear that, if the more important detainees are released in response to international pressures and are allowed to remain in the country, they will ally themselves with existing foci of opposition or themselves become the nuclei of active resistance to the government. The junta apparently fears that any relaxation of security measures would give rise to a devastating wave of terrorism from both the left and the right similar to that which is now taking place in Argentina.

The Pinochet government appears to continue to enjoy a large measure of support from a majority of Chileans. They are either indifferent to foreign criticism of Chile or have rationalized the short-term cost of sacrificing human rights as being worth the eventual benefits to be derived from the junta's efforts to clean house as well as to bring economic recovery.

Over the longer term, US censure of the regime, implicit in a denial of military assistance to Chile, combined with the junta's refusal to move toward easing internal security measures, could:

--damage prospects for survival of the military regime; and

[redacted]

--encourage civilian political elements to press for the opening up of the Chilean political system.

Drafted: INR/RAA:WLofstrom/GHSumm:maw
x22229:12/6/74

[redacted]

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E-2

PAGE 01 OTTAWA 04177 272256Z

UNCLASSIFIED

62
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARA-06 EB-07 COME-00 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 SP-02 AID-05 NSC-05 CIEP-01

TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-01 OMB-01 CEA-01 FEA-01 OES-03

DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 PA-01 PRS-01 USIA-06 NIC-01 /084 W

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P 272220Z DEC 74
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5296

11/19/97

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date:
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART

[redacted] OTTAWA 4177

FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

9501608

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ETRD, ESTC, CU, CA
SUBJECT: LITTON SUB'S FURNITURE DEAL WITH CUBA

1. DEPARTMENT'S CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE OF DEC 26 ON SUBJECT MATTER APPEARS TO US TO BE SATISFACTORY LINE FOR TIME BEING. MATTER IS EFFECTIVELY BETWEEN PARENT COMPANY, LITTON$, AND ITS CANADIAN SUB, COLE, FOR THE PRESENT AT LEAST. IT WOULD BE UNSEEMLY AND IMPOLITIC FOR USG TO INTERJECT ITSELF MORE DIRECTLY INTO AFFAIR AT THIS MOMENT. TIME FOR ACTION MAY COME IF AND WHEN LITTON SUBMITS FORMAL APPLICATION.

2. PRES'S OF DEC 26 (MONTREAL GAZETTE REPORTS THAT INDUSTRY, COMMERCE & TTRADE (ITC) MINISTER GILLESPIE MET ON DEC 24 W.J. PHILLIPS, CANADIAN PRESIDENT OF COLE DIVISION OF LITTON BUSINESS EQUIPMENT LTD, AND ADVISED HIM, "TO TELL THE US PARENT COMPANY THAT IF THE US DIRECTORS OF COLE FEAR REPRISAL UNDER THE ENEMY TRADING ACT, THEY SHOULD BE FIRED AND REPLACED BY CANADIAN DIRECTORS. ALL COLE'S DIRECTORS ARE US CITIZENS AND RESIDENTS. ...PHILLIPS IS A CANADIAN, BUT HE IS NOT A DIRECTOR, NOR ARE MOST OF THE OTHER SENIOR OFFICERS DIRECTORS, GILLESPIE SAID. ...'WHAT I AM HOPING IS THAT AS A RESULT OF THE NOTE TO THE US ADMINISTRATION (MCKINNEY

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PAGE 02 OTTAWA 04177 272256Z

TO STABLER) AND THE STRONG VIEWS CONVEYED TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE US PARENT, THAT THE US DIRECTORS WILL FIND IT EXPEDIENT TO CHANGE THEIR VIEWS.'"

3. SENIOR ITC OFFICIAL CALLED DCM DEC 26 TO SAY HE HAD BEEN WITH GILLESPIE IN REGINA WHEN MINISTER HAD FIRST LEARNED OF PROPOSED FURNITURE SALE TO CUBA AND OF ITS BEING ABORTED. OFFICIAL SAID GILLESPIE WAS JUBILANT OVER

REPORT, WHICH HE REPRESENTED AS PLAYING INTO HANDS OF NATIONALISTS IN GOVERNMENT. OFFICIAL SAID AFFAIR COULD NOT HAVE BEEN BETTER TIME NOR HANDIER FOR THOSE NATIONALISTS TO DRAMATIZE THEIR CONCERN OF "US IMPERIALISM" AND HASTEN PENDING LEGISLATION TO COMPEL SUBS OF FOREIGN FIRMS TO OBSERVE CANADA'S NATIONAL POLICIES. HE SAID BEST US OFFICIAL REACTION HE COULD ENVISAGE WOULD BE SOME INDICATION FROM WASHINGTON THAT TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT WOULD BE MODIFIED OR ABROGATED. HE NOTED WITH GUARDED OPTIMISM YEAR-END NEWSWEEK INTERVIEW OF SECRETARY'S THAT THERE WOULD BE EVOLUTION IN CUBA POLICY IN 1975.

4. OFFICIAL WENT ON TO SAY HE WAS DISTRESSED OVER THIS KIND OF EPISODE JUST AT TIME NATIONALISTS IN GOVERNMENT WERE BEGINNING TO SUFFER LOSS OF MOMENTUM TO OTHERS WHO FELT BILATERAL COOPERATION WITH USG SO NECESSARY IN LIGHT OF RECESSION, INVESTMENT AND MONETARY PROBLEMS, TRADE NEGOTIAIONS, AND SO ON. EVEN EMR MINISTER MACDONALD HAD BEEN MODERATING BELLIGERENT STAND. BALANCE OF TWO FORCES WITHIN CABINET WAS SO DELICATE AT BEST, THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT COULD ONLY BE SERIOUS SETBACK FOR THOSE BELIEVING IN BASIC INTERDEPENDENCE. EDITORIAL REACTION COAST TO COAST ONLY SUPPORTED NATIONALISTS, AND LESSER LIGHTS LIKE SECSTATE FAULKNER (CHARGED WITH PROBLEM OF TIME MAGAZINE) COULD TAKE IMMEDIATE ENCOURAGEMENT TO PRESS THEIR EXTREME NATIONALISM. COMMENT: THIS OPINION, AS INDICATED, WAS VOLUNTEERED BY FRIENDLY ITC OFFICIAL WHO WE BLIEVE IS SINCERE. FACT THAT US ACCOMMODATION ALONG LINES HE RECOMMENDS, HOWEVER, WOULD NO DOUBT BE TRMPETED BY GILLESPIE AND FRIENDS AS ACHIEVEMENT SHOULD NOT SWAY OUR JUDGEMENT AS TO BEST MANNER OF DEALING WITH MATTER.

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5. OFFICIAL SAID THAT "SMALL POTATO" ASPECT OF CASE (OFFICE FURNITURE, AND ONLY IN AMOUNT OF $500,000) ONLY POINTED UP UNDERLYING MISFOURTUNE THAT WE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO COPE WITH PROBLEM OF FOREIGN SUBS SOONER. HE SPECULATED THAT PERHAPS RUSSIANS HAD PUT UP CUBANS TO INSPIRE OR ENCOURAGE THE DEAL. HE DID NOT SPECULATE THAT GILLESPIE MIGHT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED AT EARLIER STAGE.

6. COMMENT: THIS ISSUE IS NO DOUBT HARBINGER OF MORE AND PERHAS WORSE TO COME. GOC IS INCREASINGLY PREOCCUPIED WITH EXPANDING ITS TIES WITH CUBA, E.G.:

A. GILLESPIE ANNOUNCED AT HIS DECEMBER 13 ANNUAL LUNCHEON FOR COMMERCIAL DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES IN CANADA THAT HE WOULD BE LEADING TRADE MISSIONS TO CUBA (AND VENEZUELA), AMONG OTHER PLACES, IN THE NEW YEAR.

B. EXPORT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (EDC) ANNOUNCED DECEMBER 17 SIGNING OF FINANCING AGREEMENT TO SUPPORT

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SALE TO CUBA OF THREE 10,000 TON OIL TANKERS. EDC HAS AGREED TO LEND UP TO $24 MILLION TO FINANCE 80 PERCENT OF SALE PRICE OF TANKERS FOR EMRESA MARITIMO PORTUARIA DE IMPORACION (MARPORT), HAVANA. EDC LOAN AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH BANCO NACIONAL DE CUBA, WHO IS BORROWER ON BEHALF OF MARPORT. FINANCING TO COVER CONSTRUCTION PERIOD OF VESSELS WILL BE PROVIDED BY BANK OF MONTREAL AND BANQUE CANADIENNE NATIONALE. REPAYMENT OF LOAN WOULD BE MADE IN 16 SEMI-ANNUAL INSTALLMENTS COMMENCING SIX MONTHS AFTER DELIVERY OF EACH TANKER. TANKERS TO BE BUILT BY MARINE INDUSTRIES LIMITED OF TRACY, QUEBEC, AND ARE SCHEDULED FOR DELIVERY JUNE AND DECEMBER, 1977 AND JUNE, 1978.

C. CBC RADIO NEWS DECEMBER 26 REPORTED EDC PRESIDENT HUGH AITKEN IN MEXICO CITY TO DISCUSS WITH CUBAN DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCIAL OFFICIALS CUBA'S DEVELOPMENT NEEDS DURING PERIOD 1976-80.

D. PROPOSED CIDA $10 MILLION HIGHLY CONCESSIONAL

[redacted]

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LOAN PACAKAGE FOR CUBA (OTTAWA 4149, DE EMBER 23).

D. INCREASING CANADIAN TOURISM TO HAVANA (SEE OTTAWA 4138, DECEMBER 20 REPORTING POSSIBLE CANADIAN AVAIATION NEGOTIATIONS WITH CUBA.)

F. DISPATCH OF CANADIAN ATHLETIC TEAMS PRESENTLY IN CUBA FOR CONDITIONING AND TRAINING.

7. LITTON SUB'S FURNITURE DEAL WITH CUBA IS TAILOR-MADE FOR THOSE CANADIAN NATIONALISTS WHO FIND IN EXTRATERRITORIAL APPLICATION OF U.S. LAWS AND REGULATIONS A POPULAR VEHICLE FOR PRO-CANADIANISM AND, BAD NEWS FOR US, ANTI-AMERICANISM.
PORTER

[redacted]

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00049 01 OF 02 031830Z

UNCLASSIFIED

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42
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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P 031725Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1612

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0049

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EXDIS

DECAPTIONED

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MILI, OVIP, CI
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT PINOCHET WARMLY WELCOMES SECRETARY'S VISIT; REQUESTS U.S. SUPPORT FOR PARIS CLUB DEBT RENEGOTIATIONS; HOPES U.S. CAN FIND WAY TO HELP WITH MILITARY ASSISTANCE; AND ASSERTS CENTERPIECE OF GOC POLICY IS FRIENDSHIP WITH U.S. END SUMMARY

2. I CALLED ON PRESIDENT PINOCHET JANUARY 3 TO SOLICIT ANY VIEWS HE MIGHT WISH TO EXPRESS IN ADVANCE OF MY DEPARTURE FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE COM CONFERENCE AND CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON. FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL AND DCM WERE ALSO PRESENT.

3. SECRETARY'S VISIT: PRESIDENT PINOCHET BEGAN BY EXPRESSING HIS GENUINE PLEASURE AT THE PROSPECT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT, ASSERTING THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY HELPFUL. HE NOTED THAT THE GOC WOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOSE THE SECRETARY TO THE SAME VIEWS WHICH HAD BEEN EXPRESSED TO MEMBERS OF HIS POLICY PLANNING STAFF DURING THEIR OCTOBER VISIT HERE. IN ADDITION, THE SECRETARY WOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE FOR HIMSELF THE REALITY OF THE CHILEAN SITUATION, SO DIFFERENT FROM THE IMAGE WHICH HAS BEEN CREATED ABROAD. HE THOUGHT THIS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SECRETARY WOULD BE ABLE TO SEE FOR HIMSELF THAT THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT RESPECTS HUMAN RIGHTS. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WOULD

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00049 01 OF 02 031830Z

NOT CONTEND THAT ABUSES HAVE NOT OCCURRED OR THAT THEY DO NOT STILL OCCUR ON OCCASION, BUT THE FACT IS THAT A MILITARY OFFICER IS SERVING A PRISON TERM AS RESULT OF SUCH TRANS-

[redacted]

GRESSIONS AND THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT ABUSES ARE RAPIDLY DECLINING.

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4. THE SECRETARY WOULD APPRECIATE THAT CHILE HAS SPECIAL PROBLEMS. IT IS CLEARLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE GOC TO HANDLE THE JURIDICAL ASPECT OF ARMED TERRORISM OTHER THAN BY MEANS OF MILITARY TRIBUNALS, SINCE THE CIVILIAN COURTS OF ORDINARY JUSTICE HAVE NO BODY OF STATUTE LAW ENVISAGING SUCH OFFENSES. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD BEEN HOLDING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE WITH A VIEW TO ATTEMPTING TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN VIOLENT ACTS AND SUCH OFFENSES AS DISTRIBUTION OF PROPAGANDA, REMANDING PERPETRATORS OF THE LATTER OFFENSES TO CIVILIAN COURTS. I AGREED THAT A SHARPER DISTINCTION BETWEEN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND OTHER OFFENSES COULD BE HELPFUL.

5. THE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT OFFICIAL GOC PROPOSALS FOR THE RELEASE OF 200 PRISONERS TO MEXICO WERE BEING CARRIED FORWARD IN SUCH A WAY THAT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO SAY THAT HE HAD NO OFFICIAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE GOC OFFER. PRESIDENT PINOCHET SAID HE HOPED SOON TO BE ABLE TO DELIVER THE 200 PRISONERS, "WITH LAURA ALLENDE AT THEIR HEAD," TO MEXICO.

6. I SAID THAT AS OF NOW THE TENTATIVE DATE FOR THE SECRETARY'S VISIT REMAINED FEBRUARY 18, BUT THAT THIS OF COURSE DEPENDED UPON AGREEMENT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED WITH REGARD TO PROPOSED DATES. I SAID WE WOULD BE IN TOUCH FURTHER WITH THE GOC AS SOON AS MORE DEFINITE WORD WAS AVAILABLE.

7. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED THAT I DETERMINE THE SUBJECTS THE SECRETARY WOULD LIKE TO COVER IN ORDER THAT THE GOC MIGHT BE FULLY RESPONSIVE TO HIS INTERESTS. HE SAID HE ASSUMED THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD WISH TO HAVE GOC VIEWS ON SUBJECTS ON THE AGENDA FOR THE BUENOS AIRES MFM. I SAID I WOULD SEEK TO DETERMINE THE SECRETARY'S INTERESTS AND INFORM HIM. I SAID I SHARED HIS ASSUMPTION AND FURTHER ASSUMED THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD WISH TO HAVE CHILEAN VIEWS ON BILATERAL MATTERS AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE WHICH POSES SUCH PROBLEMS FOR US.

[redacted]

[redacted]

8. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE: PRESIDENT PINOCHET SAID THE GOC VERY MUCH NEEDS U.S. SUPPORT IN THE NEXT ROUND OF PARIS CLUB DEBT RENEGOTIATIONS. HE NOTED THAT FALLING COPPER PRICES HAVE POSED A SERIOUS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM TO THE GOC AND THAT DEBT RELIEF IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE GOC TO MANAGE THE SITUATION. I SAID I WAS HOPEFUL THAT WE COULD BE OF ASSISTANCE IN THIS REGARD, AS WE HAD BEEN LAST YEAR.

9. PRESIDENT PINOCHET ALSO EXPRESSED HIS STRONG DESIRE THAT

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THE USG AVOID PLACING ANY OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF POTENTIAL U.S. INVESTORS IN CHILE.

10. I SAID THAT FAR FROM IMPEDING U.S. INVESTMENT IN CHILE, WE HAD HOPED TO SEE IT REVIVE. WE HAD BEGUN SOME PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH CHILEAN AUTHORITIES ABOUT RENEWED OPIC OPERATIONS HERE WHICH MIGHT SERVE AS A FURTHER INCENTIVE TO POTENTIAL U.S. INVESTORS. I SAID THAT I WOULD BE CONSIDERING WITH MY COLLEAGUES IN WASHINGTON OTHER POSSIBLE WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT BE OF ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITIES OF GUARANTEES FOR LOW-COST HOUSING PROGRAM AND EX-IM BANK ACTIVITIES.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00049 02 OF 02 031813Z

42
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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P 031725Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1613

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0049

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11. MILITARY ASSISTANCE: THE PRESIDENT SAID HE COULD NOT FAIL TO MENTION GOC INTEREST IN U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE, NOTING THAT THE GOC REMAINED HOPEFUL THAT WE WOULD FIND A WAY TO HELP. I SAID THAT BOTH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE EMBASSY HAD EXERTED EVERY EFFORT TO ASSIST CHILE IN THIS AREA. THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, FROM PRESIDENT FORD DOWN, HAD CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION WITH REGARD TO CHILE. I READ AND LEFT WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, PRESIDENT FORD'S DECEMBER 30 COMMENT ON AID TO CHILE IN HIS STATEMENT UPON SIGNING THE FAA OF 1974, NOTING THAT I HAD SEEN NOTHING OF THIS STATEMENT IN THE LOCAL PRESS. THE PRESIDENT GRIMACED AT THE PART OF THE STATEMENT IN WHICH PRESIDENT FORD INDICATED HE SHARED CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, BUT SEEMED TO TAKE MY POINT ABOUT PRESIDENTIAL OPPOSITION TO THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE CUT-OFF FOR CHILE.

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12. I ALSO REMINDED THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH CHILEAN CHARGE GUZMAN IN WHICH THE SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD WORK TO CHANGE THE RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION IN THE NEW CONGRESS. HOWEVER, I OBSERVED THAT THIS WOULD INEVITABLY REQUIRE SOME MONTHS. PRESIDENT PINOCHET ACKNOWELDGED THAT DELAY WOULD BE INEVITABLE AND ASSERTED HE THOUGHT THE NEW CONGRESS WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT THAN THE OLD ONE. I SAID THAT MIGHT BE TRUE, BUT OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES MIGHT ALSO CHANGE IN THE INTERIM. I ALSO NOTED THAT WE WERE EXAMING CAREFULLY HOW MUCH LEEWAY THE RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION LEFT US WITH REGARD TO MILITARY TRAINING, AND WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH CHILEAN MILITARY LEADERS. PRESIDENT PINOCHET REMINDED ME AGAIN THAT [redacted]

[redacted]

DURING THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT HE HAD MADE CLEAR TO MY PREDECESSOR, TO GENERAL UNDERWOOD, USCINCSO, AND TO GENERAL MAYBRY, USARSO, THE CHILEAN ARMY'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT SOVIET ARMS EVEN AT THE BARGAIN PRICES AND FAVORABLE CREDIT TERMS THEN BEING OFFERED. HE REMARKED THAT CHILE WAS NOW PAYING THE PRICE OF HAVING ASSUMED THAT POSITION.

13. GOC POLICY: GENERAL PINOCHET CONCLUDED BY SAYING THE UNITED STATES WILL ONE DAY UNDERSTAND THAT CHILE IS A TRUE FRIEND, PROBABLY THE BEST, AND PERHAPS THE ONLY TRUE FRIEND IN THE HEMISPHERE. EVEN THOUGH CHILE IS A BETTER FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES THAN THE U.S. IS OF CHILE, FRIENDSHIP WITH THE U.S. CONTINUES TO BE A CENTERPIECE OF GOC POLICY. "IN OUR CASE," HE SAID, "THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN TRUE, AND IT IS TOO LATE TO CHANGE NOWM"
POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [redacted]
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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E902

PAGE 01 SANTIA 00072 041623Z

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51
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 L-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02
PM-03 NSC-05 SS-15 /067 W
---------- 061349

R 041606Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1629
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0072

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PFOR, SREF, MX
SUBJ: CHILEAN DETAINEES TO MEXICO

1. IN REGULAR FRIDAY PRESS CONFERENCE JAN 3, UNDERSEC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COLLADOS SAID MINISTRY HAD HANDED OVER NOTES TO AMBASSADORS IN CHILE OF VENEZUELA AND BRAZIL (IN ABSENCE OF CHILEAN-MEXICAN RELATIONS, THOSE TWO COUNTRIES REPRESENT INTERESTS), THUS "MAKING OFFICIAL" GOC DECISION ANNOUNCED IN PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S NEW YEARS EVE SPEECH THAT IF GOM IS WILLING TO RECEIVE THEM IN MEXICO CITY, UP TO 200 DETAINEES UNDER GOC STATE OF SIEGE STATUS WILL BE SENT THERE "AT NO COST" TO MEXICO. COLLADOS SAID THE 200 PERSONS ARE "NOT NECESSARILY" THE SAME AS THOSE NAMED IN LISTS OF DETAINEES ALREADY GIVEN TO INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATIONS AS ELIGIBLE FOR RELEASE INTO EXILE. IN REPLY TO QUESTION COLLADOS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD LIST INCLUDES "SOME PERSONAGES THAT IN SOME WAY ARE OF INTEREST" TO GOM.

2. COMMENT: SANTIAGO PRESS HAS CARRIED REPORTS FROM MEXICO TO EFFECT THAT GOM KNEW NOTHING OF PINOCHET OFFER OTHER THAN WHAT IT HAD SEEN IN PAPERS.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00072 041623Z

3. PERSON DETAINED WHO MAY BE OF MOST INTEREST TO GOM IS LAURA ALLENDE, SISTER OF LATE PRESIDENT. FROM A REMARK MADE TO THE AMBASSADOR BY PRESIDENT PINOCHET JAN 3, WE GATHER SHE IS ON

THE LIST. AS SUCH, SHE PRESUMABLY IS BEING USED AS BAIT, TO ENSURE THAT MEXICO TAKES ALL 200; GOC WANTS TO GET RID OF THESE PEOPLE. HER INCLUSION, HOWEVER, IS ALSO INDICATION OF GROWING SENSITIVITY OF GOC LEADERS TO THEIR IMAGE PROBLEM.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00175 091916Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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R 091839Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1694
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0175

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINS, SHUM
SUBJECT: STATUS OF LAURA ALLENDE AND FAMILY

REF: A) SANTIAGO 7066 (1974); B) SANTIAGO 0067; C) SANTIAGO 0072

1. GIVEN INTEREST IN US AND MEXICO OVER FATE OF ALLENDE FAMILY, FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF SITUATION MAY BE USEFUL:

2. LAURA ALLENDE DE PASCAL, SISTER OF PRESIDENT SALVADOR ALLENDE, REMAINS IN GOC DETENTION AT TRES ALAMOS CENTER IN SANTIAGO. PRESS HAS STATED AND AUTHORITATIVE GOC SOURCE HAS CONFIRMED TO EMBASSY THAT SHE IS INCLUDED IN LIST OF 200 POLITICAL PRISONERS PRES. PINOCHET HAS OFFERED TO SEND TO MEXICO. SHE IS REPORTED TO BE IN GOOD HEALTH AND UNDER REGULAR SURVEILLANCE OF HER OWN DOCTOR, WHO CONFIRMS OLD CANCER IS NOT RPT NOT A PROBLEM.

3. MARIANNE PASCAL ALLENDE, LAURA'S GROWN DAUGHTER, WAS ARRESTED WITH LAURA NOV 2. UNDERSTOOD TO BE HELD WITH MOTHER AND TO BE IN GOOD SHAPE. NO MENTION OF HER EVENTUAL FATE HAS BEEN MADE, ALTHOUGH SHE MAY WELL BE OFFERED TO MEXICO AT SAME TIME AS LAURA.

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4. GASTON PASCAL LYON, LONG-SEPARATED HUSBAND OF LAURA AND FATHER OF MARIANNE AND ANDRES. ARRESTED DEC 9 AND DETAINED AT TRES ALAMOS. HABEAS CORPUS (AMPARO) FILED BY ATTORNEY

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WAS REJECTED BY SANTIAGO APPEALS COURT JAN 2 (REF B). APPEAL FROM THIS DECISION HAS BEEN MADE TO SUPREME COURT, WHICH ON JAN 7 ASKED MIN INTERIOR TO PROVIDE COPY OF DECREE UNDER WHICH PASCAL WAS ARRESTED. ATTORNEY FOR PASCAL ALSO ASKED SUPRME COURT TO SEND JUDGE TO TRES ALAMOS TO INTERVIEW PASCAL, SINCE "UNTIL NOW HE HAS NOT BEEN INTERROGATED, NOR HAS HE BEEN TOLD THE CAUSE OR REASON FOR HIS DETENTION."

5. ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE, SON OF LAURA. SINCE THE DEATH IN OCTOBER OF MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ, CHIEF OF THE OUTLAWED EXTREMIST MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) AND A FUGITIVE. GOC HAS CLAIMED HE IS IN NORTH-CENTRAL CHILE TRYING TO GET ACROSS BORDER TO BOLIVIA OR ARGENTINA.

6. OTHER PASCAL ALLENDE CHILDREN ARE SO
JPEDRO GASTON AND
DAUGHTER DENISE. PEDRO TOOK ASYLUM IN EMB OF ECUADOR AT TIME OF COUP AND SUBSEQUENTLY LEFT CHILE FOR ECUADOR. DENISE LEFT CHILE WITH PRES. ALLENDE'S WIDOW HORTENSIA BUSSI DE ALLENDE.

7. COMMENT: THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION THAT ARRESTS OF LAURA, MARIANNE, AND GASTON PASCAL LYON WERE PRIMARILY INTENDED TO PUT PRESSURE ON MIR CHIEF ANDRES. GOC HAS CLAIMED (AND WE HAVE NO REASON TO DOUBT IT) THAT LAURA WAS INVOLVED WITH MIR HERSELF AND POSSESSED HAND GRENADES, BUT NOTHING AT ALL HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT REASONS FOR ARRESTS OF MARIANNE OR PASCAL LYON. APPARENT WILLINGNESS OF GOC TO LET LAURA DEPART FOR MEXICO MAY REPRESENT RECOGNITION THAT POLITICAL COST OF CONTINUED DETENTION IS TOO HIGH AND LIKELY EFFECT ON ANDRES TOO LITTLE. WE HAVE NOT NOTED INTEREST FROM ANY QUARTER IN FATE OF PASCAL LYON, WHO HAS BEEN SEPARATED FROM LAURA FOR YEARS AND WHO TO BEST OUR KNOWLEDGE WAS NOT INVOLVED IN POLITICAL OR EXTREMIST ACTIVITY OF ANY SORT BEFORE OR AFTER COUP.

8. CIVIL JUDICIARY NOW APPEARS TO BE TAKING SAME INTEREST IN PASCAL LYON'S CASE AS IN THAT OF EXPELLED CHRISTIAN

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00175 091916Z

DEMOCRATIC LEADER RENAN FUENTEALBA -- I.E., VERIFICATION THAT HE IS BEING HELD UNDER ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES PRESCRIBED BY STATE OF SIEGE LAW.
THOMPSON

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00215 102205Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 L-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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R 102127Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1721
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0215

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: CI, MX, PFOR, SREF
SUBJ: LIST OF CHILEAN DETAINEES OFFERED TO MEXICO

REF: SANTIAGO 0072

1. FOREIGN MINISTRY JAN 10 RELEASED NAMES AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF PERSONS ON LIST OF 200 DETAINEES WHOSE RELEASE IS CONDITIONED UPON THEIR ACCEPTANCE BY MEXICO (REFTEL).

2. BY EMBASSY TALLY, LIST CONTAINS 117 MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) OR MIR AFFILIATES; 36 COMMUNISTS; 30 SOCIALISTS; 4 MEMBERS OF UNITARY POPULAR ACTION MOVEMENT (MAPU); ONE FROM CHRISTIAN LEFT; TWO FROM RADICAL PARTY; TWO FROM EXTREME LEFT TERRORIST ORGANIZED VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE (VOP); ONE FROM TROTSKYITE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (POR); ONE FROM EXTREME LEFT SOCIALIST OFFSHOOT ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION (ELN); ONE "CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC EXTREMIST"; AND THREE WITHOUT POLITICAL AFFILIATION. (NOTE: LIST AS PUBLISHED ADDS TO ONLY 198). ALL EXCEPT MIR AND THE MINOR GROUPS OF EXTREME LEFT WERE PART OF ALLENDE'S POPULAR UNITY POLITICAL COALITION.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00215 102205Z

OF LIST, 28 ARE WOMEN.

3. MAJOR NAME ON LIST IS LAURA ALLENDE. ONLY OTHERS

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OF INTEREST ARE ARTURO PEREZ PALAVECCINO, A FAIRLY OBSCURE FORMER DEPUTY AND SOCIALIST, AND CLAUDIO ALEMANY, LONG-TIME HEAD OF COMMUNIST PARTY'S TRADE UNION AFFAIRS COMMISSION. AT FIRST READING, WE SEE NO NAMES OF CHILEANS ABOUT WHOM WE HAVE RECEIVED INQUIRIES THROUGH CONGRESSIONAL OR DEPARTMENTAL CHANNELS.

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4. COMPLETE LIST FOLLOWS BY AIRGRAM.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

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R 101727Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1712
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: CI, PINS, SHUM
SUBJ: GASTON PASCAL LYON RELEASED

REF: SANTIAGO 0175

1. SANTIAGO PRESS JAN 10 REPORTED THAT GASTON PASCAL LYON, LONG-SEPARATED HUSBAND OF LAURA ALLENDE AND FATHER OF MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) LEADER ANDRES PASCAL, WAS RELEASED PREVIOUS DAY FROM TRES ALAMOS DETENTION CENTER AND IS NOW AT HOME AND BACK TO WORK. NO REASON WAS GIVEN FOR RELEASE -- PASCAL HAD BEEN ARRESTED DEC 9 AND HELD WITHOUT CHARGE.

2. COMMENT: REQUEST OF PASCAL'S LAWYER TO SUPREME COURT TO SEND JUDGE TO INTERVIEW PASCAL AT TRES ALAMOS (REFTEL) MAY HAVE CONVINCED GOC THAT HIS CONTINUED DETENTION WAS NOT WORTH THE PUBLIC RELATIONS COST, PARTICULARLY WHEN LAURA ALLENDE PRESUMABLY WILL BE RELEASED TO MEXICO. THERE IS NO INDICATION PASCAL IS PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES OR IS AWARE OF WHEREABOUTS OF HIS MUCH-SOUGHT SON.
THOMPSON

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00196 01 OF 02 101602Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 SY-04 SCCT-01 AID-05

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R 101503Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1707
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0196

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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EO 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: CI, PINS, SHUM
SUBJ: "POLITICAL PRISONERS" IN CHILE

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 6851; (B) HCS-10,345

1. SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO HEAD OF GOC'S SECRETARIAT FOR DETAINEES, A GRAND TOTAL OF 30,000 PERSONS HAVE BEEN FORMALLY PROCESSED BY THE SECURITY AUTHORITIES ON "POLITICAL" OR "NATIONAL SECURITY" GROUNDS SINCE THE COUP OF SEPT 11, 1973. OF THIS TOTAL, ABOUT 90 PERCENT ARE TODAY FREE IN CHILE OR HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. OF REMAINING 10 PERCENT, 760 ARE TRUE "POLITICAL PRISONERS" IN SENSE OF BEING HELD WITHOUT FORMAL CHARGE, WHILE ANOTHER 2,900 ARE UNDER FORMAL COURT JURISDICTION, AWAITING TRIAL, OR SERVING SENTENCES. GOC HAS OFFERED OR WILL OFFER ABOUT 400 OF THE 760 FOR RE-SETTLEMENT ABROAD, AND EXPECTS THAT ANOTHER 100 WILL BE RELEASED IN CHILE. FINAL 260 ARE HARD CORE WHO ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN DETAINED INDEFINITELY. SOURCE SAID MININTERIOR BENAVIDES IS EXPECTED TO MAKE NATIONAL RADIO/TV ADDRESS THIS WEEK ON STATUS AND STATISTICS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00196 01 OF 02 101602Z

2. EMBOFF CALLED ON COL. JORGE ESPINOZA ULLOA OF NATIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR DETAINEES (SENDET) ON JAN 8 TO CLARIFY LIMITED STATISTICS ON DETAINEES GIVEN BY ESPINOZA IN PRESS CONFERENCE

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JAN 3. UN REFUGEE COMMISSION LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE GILLES SICOTTE CAME ON SAME ERRAND AND JOINED CONVERSATION MIDWAY. IN PRESS CONFERENCE JAN 3 ESPINOZA HAD STATED THAT THERE ARE 760 "STATE OF SIEGE" DETAINEES, PLUS 2,900 SECURITY CASES AT THE DISPOSITION OF CIVIL AND MILITARY COURTS, FOR TOTAL OF 3,660. (THESE FIGURES TALLY CLOSELY WITH THOSE GIVEN TO EMBASSY IN NOVEMBER BY UNDERSEC JUSTICE (REFTEL A) ESPINOZA REPEATEDLY USED WORDS "POLITICAL PRISONERS" TO REFER TO THESE CATEGORIES.

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3. TOTAL OF 2,900 IN CIVIL AND MILITARY COURT SYSTEM INCLUDES THOSE WHOSE INDICTMENTS ARE BEING PREPARED (PROCESADOS), THOSE IN TRIAL, THOSE ALREADY TRIED AND SERVING SENTENCES, AND THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN RELEASED AFTER COMPLETING SENTENCES BUT WHO STILL REMAIN UNDER SOME FORM OF COURT JURISDICTION. THIS LATTER GROUP NUMBERS SOME "30 PERCENT" (SAID ESPINOZA'S AIDE SEPARATELY) OR "600" PERSONS (SAID ESPINOZA). ESPINOSA AFFIRMED SPECIFICALLY THAT OF 2,900 IN COURT SYSTEM, ONLY SOME 2,300 ARE ACTUALLY STILL UNDER PHYSICAL DETENTION.

4. ESPINOZA SAID 760 "STATE OF SIEGE," OR UNPROCESSED CASES INCLUDE 100 NAMES ALREADY PUBLISHED OF THOSE WHO WILL BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE AS SOON AS PLACES ARE FOUND ABROAD FOR THEM (SANTIAGO 6868). GOC HAS READY A SECOND LIST OF 100 NAMES TO BE PUBLISHED WHEN FIRST 100 ARE PLACED. STILL ANOTHER 200 ARE ON LIST TO BE SENT TO MEXICO, IF THAT GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS CURRENT GOC OFFER (SANTIAGO 0072). HE SAID LAURA ALLENDE IS DEFINITELY INCLUDED IN THAT LIST. OF REMAINING 360, SOME 100 CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE RELEASED IN CHILE AFTER FURTHER INVESTIGATION AND CONSIDERATION OF THEIR CASES. CORE GROUP OF SOME 250, WHICH INCLUDES THOSE "TOO DANGEROUS" TO RELEASE, WILL REMAIN IN CUSTODY INDEFINITELY. ESPINOZA EMPHASIZED THAT ALL OF THESE FIGURES MUST BE TAKEN AS APPROXIMATE, SINCE THERE IS CONSTANT MOVEMENT IN AND OUT OF JUDICIAL CATEGORIES, NEW RELEASES, NEW ARRESTS, ETC. MOST NEW DETAINEES HELD MORE THAN FEW DAYS ARE MEMBERS OF TERRORIST MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR).

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5. ESPINOZA PERMITTED EMBOFF AND SICOTTE A BRIEF LOOK AT A WORKING CHART WHICH PURPORTEDLY SUMMARIZED IN PERCENTAGES UP TO DEC 30, 1974, THE PROCESSING OF ALL NATIONAL SECURITY CASES FROM SEPT 11, 1973. EMBOFF WAS UNABLE TO TAKE NOTES BUT IS REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT CHART, BASED ON DECLARED TOTAL OF 30,000 NATIONAL SECURITY CASES SINCE COUP, WAS IN FOLLOWING CATEGORIES:

(A) -AT DISPOSITION OF COURTS" 8 PLUS PERCENT (THE 2,900 DISCUSSED IN PARA 3 ABOVE).

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(B) "STATE OF SIEGE CASES" ABOUT 3 PERCENT (THE 760 DISCUSSED IN PARA 4 ABOVE);

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00196 02 OF 02 101638Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 AID-05 SY-04 SCA-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1708
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0196

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(:) "SUBTOTAL DETAINED OR PROCESSED" 10 PLUS PERCENT (TOTAL 3660 OF (A) AND (B) ABOVE);

(D) "LEFT CHILE, SAFECONDUCTS, ETC." - (PERCENTAGE NOT CLEAR BUT ESPINOZA SAID "OVER 8000 PERSONS." GOC HAS PUBLICLY CLAIMED THAT ABOUT 8400 PERSONS HAVE LEFT WITH SAFECONDUCTS AFTER TAKING ASYLUM IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES, ETC. THIS WOULD EQUAL ABOUT 27 PERCENT OF TOTAL 30,000);

(E) "SENTENCES COMPLETED" - 2 PLUS PERCENT OR ABOUT 600 TO 700 PERSONS. (PERSONS SENTENCED TO SHORT TERMS WHO HAVE COMPLETED PENALTIES AND ARE AT LIBERTY WITH NO FURTHER HOLD FROM JUDICIAL SYSTEM);

(F) "LIBERATED IN CHILE BY ORDER OF MIN JUSTICE" - ABOUT 62 PERCENT (OR 18,600 PERSONS);

(G) "SUBTOTAL LIBERATED IN CHILE OR ABROAD" - 89 PLUS PERCENT (OR SOME 26 TO 27 THOUSAND PERSONS).

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00196 02 OF 02 101638Z

THESE PERCENTAGES AND TOTALS ARE OBVIOUSLY ONLY APPROXIMATE, BUT DO MATCH WITHIN REASONABLE LIMITS OTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON SOME SUBCATEGORIES. ESPINOZA SAID HE HAD RECOMMENDED PUBLICATION OF THIS CHART AND OTHER FULL DETAILS ON PRISONERS, BUT SUPERIORS HAD REFUSED TO DO SO. HE ASKED EMBOFF AND SICOTTE NOT RPT NOT TO RELEASE DATA.

6. ACCORDING TO ESPINOZA, INTELLIGENCE/SECURITY AGENCIES HAVE TIME LIMIT OF 72 HOURS TO HOLD DETAINEES BEFORE THEY MUST NOTIFY SENDET. HE EMPHASIZED THAT CONSIDERABLE NUMBERS OF PERSONS MAY BE HELD FOR A FEW HOURS WHILE POLICE VERIFY THEIR IDENTITIES, QUESTION THEM, ETC., AND THE "GREAT MAJORITY" OF THESE ARE THEN RELEASED. (IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT WAYS ARE FOUND TO KEEP OTHER PERSONS LONGER THAN 72 HOURS--SEE SANTIAGO 0130). HE SPECULATED THAT IT MAY BE IN THIS CATEGORY THAT THERE IS MISUNDERSTANDING WHICH MAY YIELD INFLATED FIGURES ON DETAINEES APPEARING ABROAD. ANOTHER MISUNDERSTANDING MAY RESULT FROM FACT THAT STATISTICS ON DETENTIONS INCLUDE PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED TWO OR MORE TIMES. HE CLAIMED THAT SOME PERSONS ARRESTED ON POLITICAL SUSPICION AND THEN RELEASED GO RIGHT BACK TO SAME ACTIVITIES, WHICH RESULTS IN REARREST. WHEN ASKED DIRECTLY IF HE WERE SATISFIED THAT SENDET IS INDEED INFORMED OF ALL DETAINEES HELD MORE THAN TIME PRESCRIBED, ESPINOZA HEDGED A BIT, EXPLAINING THAT "WE MUST UNDERSTAND" THAT IN SOME CASES SECURITY AGENCIES DO NOT WANT A DETAINEE'S ACCOMPLICES TO KNOW FOR CERTAIN THAT HE IS DETAINED (REF B). ESPINOZA'S AIDE, A CARABINERO CAPTAIN, IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, SHRUGGED AT SAME QUESTION AND LEFT CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT SENDET PROBABLY DID NOT KNOW ABOUT ALL CASES. BUT BOTH OFFICERS MADE CLEAR THAT SUCH CASES WERE FEW.

7. WHEN ASKED WHY STATISTICS ON DETAINEES AND "DISAPPEARANCES" GATHERED BY VARIOUS SOURCES, SUCH AS INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATORY GROUPS, SEEMED TO BE GENERALLY HIGHER, ESPINOZA POINTED OUT THAT ASIDE FROM OBVIOUS POLITICAL BIAS OF SOME GROUPS, THE MIR AND OTHER OPPONENTS OF THE GOC THEMSELVES USE "TRICKS." GOC SECURITY AGENCIES HAVE NOTED NUMBER OF CASES OF APPEALS FROM FAMILIES AND FRIENDS TO SENDET, TO THE REFUGEE AND INVESTIGATORY AGENCIES, AND TO THE COURTS (THROUGH HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS, OR AMPARO), SEEKING

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INFORMATION ON PERSONS SUPPOSEDLY DETAINED BY THE GOC AND ABOUT WHOM THE GOC GENUINELY KNOWS NOTHING. IN A NUMBER OF INSTANCES FOREIGN POLICE (BOLIVIA, ARGENTINA) HAVE LATER REPORTED TO THE GOC THAT SUCH PERSONS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN THOSE COUNTRIES FOR USING FALSE DOCUMENTATION. ESPINOZA SAID THAT EVEN THE CLOSEST FAMILY MEMBERS IN MANY CASES DO NOT KNOW THAT THE SUBJECT HAS SECRETLY LEFT THE COUNTRY OR GONE INTO HIDING, AND MAKE THEIR INQUIRIES IN GOOD FAITH. THESE CASES INFLATE THE ESTIMATES ON SUPPOSED DETENTIONS.

8. ANOTHER "TRICK" WHICH HAS CAUSED CONFUSION HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE OF MIRISTAS AND OTHERS OF CARRYING OR HAVING HIDDEN IN EASILY DISCOVERABLE PLACES LISTS OF REAL OR CODE NAMES OF SUPPOSED CONTACTS. WHEN THE POLICE CAPTURE SUCH LISTS THEY NATURALLY EXPEND GREAT EFFORT IN TRYING TO FIND THE CONTACTS. THE REAL NAMES ARE OFTEN OF COMPLETELY INNOCENT PEOPLE WHO ARE RELEASED AFTER QUESTIONING, BUT WHO TAKE POLICE TIME, SWELL THE DETENTION LISTS, AND OF COURSE THEREAFTER REPRESENT "GOC TYRANNY." THE CODE NAMES ARE MORE OFTEN MEANINGLESS FALSE LEADS FOR THE POLICE.

9. ESPINOZA PRIVATELY ADVISED THAT MININTERIOR BENAVIDES WILL PROBABLY ADDRESS THE NATION ON RADIO/TV IN NEXT FEW DAYS ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF DETAINEES, AND IS
E
XPECTED TO GIVE MUCH MORE DETAIL ON NUMBERS.

10. COMMENT: FIGURES GIVEN BY ESPINOZA ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE GIVEN US IN EARLY NOVEMBER BY UNDERSEC JUSTICE (REF A), AND DIFFERENCES ARE EASILY ACCOUNTABLE FOR IN SHIFTS DURING THREE MONTH PERIOD. BUT FIGURES FROM THESE TWO SOURCES FOR THE CATEGORY OF THOSE "AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE COURTS" ARE MUCH LOWER THAN THOSE ATTRIBUTED TO MININTERIOR BENAVIDES IN SRF'S REPORT (REF B).

11. ESPINOZA CONFIRMS THE GOC'S ANNOUNCED DESIRE TO REDUCE TO THE MINIMUM THE "POLITICAL PRISONER" PROBLEM BY PLACING THE MAJORITY OF THE REMAINING PERSONS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN FORMALLY ENTERED INTO THE JUDICIAL

SYSTEM (THE 760 "STATE OF SIEGE" CASES) OUTSIDE OF
SECRET

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CHILE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00217 111720Z UNCLASSIFIED

46
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1723
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0217

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, SHUM
SUBJECT: RELEASE OF EX-FONMIN CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA

SUMMARY. IN MAJOR CONCESSION TO WORLD OPINION, GOC HAS RELEASED TO ROMANIA ONE OF MAJOR FIGURES FROM ALLENDE PERIOD STILL DETAINED IN CHILE. RELEASE WAS WELL TIMED TO IMPACT ON CHILEAN RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., UN AND FRG. END SUMMARY.

1. IN NATIONWIDE RADIO/TV BROADCAST EVENING JAN. 10, INTERIOR MIN. GENERAL BENAVIDES ANNOUNCED THAT GOC WOULD EXPEL TO ROMANIA JAN. 11 FORMER FOREIGN AND THEN DEFENSE MINISTER CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA MEDINA. INCLUDED WITH HIM WOULD BE FORMER JUSTICE MIN. IN ALLENDE GOVERNMENT JORGE TAPIA VALDES, AND ALLENDE PERSONALITIES OF LESSER IMPORTANCE LUIS ENRIQUE MUNOZ SCHULTZ,

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00217 111720Z

MAXIMO TACCHI MORAGA, AND LEOPOLDO ZULJEVIC LOBRIN.

2. BENAVIDES SAID CONDUCT OF ALMEYDA AND TAPIA

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AS MINISTERS HAD RESULTED IN "VERY SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITIES" AGAINST NATIONAL INTEGRITY AND SOCIAL PEACE. SUCH ACTS, HOWEVER [redacted] AS ILLEGAL IMPORTATION OF ARMS INTENDED FOR CIVIL WAR, AND USE OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM TO IMPOSE CONTROL OF CONSCIENCE, ARE NOT COVERED IN CHILEAN LEGAL SYSTEM BY PUNISHMENTS ADEQUATE FOR CRIMES. THEY WERE IN ADDITION RESPONSIBLE FOR "OTHER MINOR CRIMES."

3. DECISION TO RELEASE THESE SENIOR DETAINEES WAS "CATEGORIC PROOF" TO WORLD OF GOC'S "GENEROSITY AND GOOD WILL" ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. RELEASE CONFIRMED GOC'S WILLINGNESS NOT TO PROLONG "UNNECESSARILY" DETENTION OF THOSE WHO HAVE NOT BEEN SENTENCED, AND ITS "EQUALLY IMMOVABLE" DETERMINATION TO GUARANTEE SECURITY OF CHILEANS, BY EXPELLING PERSONS DANGEROUS TO THE STATE.

4. COMMENT: DECISION TO RELEASE ALMEYDA WAS NOT EASY ONE TO MAKE. MANY GOC SUPPORTERS HAVE STRONG FEELINGS ABOUT HIM AND OTHER ALLENDE HIERARCHS, AND WOULD MUCH RATHER SEE THEM PUNISHED THAN EXILED. GOVERNMENT IS INVOLVED IN JUDICIAL PROCEEDING AGAINST ALMEYDA, AND RELEASE FROM DETENTION BEFORE PROCESS IS ENDED MAKES IT INCONSISTENT FOR GOC TO CLAIM IT HAS TO HOLD OTHERS UNTIL JUDICIAL PROCESS CONCLUDED. RELEASE IS ALSO EMBARRASSING ADMISSION THAT GOC AFTER SO MANY MONTHS HAS FOUND NOTHING OF REAL SUBSTANCE TO CHARGE HIM WITH. MOST IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, GOC BELIEVES ALMEYDA IS THE ONE SURVIVOR OF THE ALLENDE PERIOD WHO COULD BEST HEAD A CHILEAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE. HIS RELEASE WAS THUS AN EXTRAORDINARY CONCESSION BY GOC TO WORLD OPINION.

5. IN ADDITION TO GOC RECOGNITION OF NEED TO IMPROVE ITS HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE GENERALLY, WE BELIEVE FOLLOWING WERE IMPORTANT FACTORS IN DECISION ON RELEASE AND [redacted]

[redacted]

ITS TIMING: A) GOC'S EXPECTATION THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL VISIT CHILE IN FEBRUARY, AND RELATED GOC DESIRE MAKE HELPFUL GESTURE WHILE AVOIDING IMPRESSION IT MAKES CONCESSIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER OUTSIDE PRESSURE: B) FEBRUARY MEETING OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE BECAUSE OF UNGA RESOLUTION LAST FALL REQUESTING RELEASE OF ALMEYDA); AND C) CONNECTION BETWEEN ALMEYDA RELEASE AND GERMAN AID FOR CHILE (SANTIAGO 0047 AND BONN 18907).

THOMPSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00238 132112Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01
INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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R 132021Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1733
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0238

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, SHUM
SUBJECT: ALMEYDA AND FRIENDS DEPART

REF: SANTIAGO 0217

1. SUMMARY. FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA, FORMER JUSTICE AND EDUCATION MINISTER JORGE TAPIA, AND THREE OTHER MUCH LESSER LIGHTS OF ALLENDE PERIOD DEPARTED SANTIAGO FOR EXILE IN ROMANIA JAN 11. IN SPEECH PREVIOUS NIGHT IN ADDITION TO ANNOUNCING ALMEYDA RELEASE, MININTERIOR GEN. BENAVIDES CLAIMED DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM IS GOING FORWARD, RESTATED GOC OFFER TO MEXICO OF 200 DETAINEES, AND SAID QUESTION OF RELEASE OF THOSE AWAITING TRIAL OR ALREADY SENTENCED IS STILL UNDER STUDY. END SUMMARY.

2. ALMEYDA, TAPIA, AND OTHER THREE ALLENDE-ERA OFFICIALS RELEASED WITH THEM (REFTEL) DEPARTED SANTIAGO MORNING JAN 11

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00238 132112Z

WITHOUT INCIDENT FOR EXILE IN ROMANIA. WIRE SERVICES REPORT THEIR ARRIVAL IN BUCHAREST. ACCORDING TO ONE NEWS REPORT, DURING BRIEF STOPOVER IN FRANKFURT, ALMEYDA REFUSED TO COMMENT

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

ON CHILEAN POLITICAL SCENE OR TO REPLY TO QUESTIONS ON WHETHER HE HAD BEEN TORTURED, HINTING HOWEVER THAT HE MIGHT DO SO AT LATER DATE.

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3. IN ADDITION TO ALMEYDA, A SOCIALIST, FURTHER IDENTIFICATION OF OTHER MEMBERS OF GROUP AS FOLLOWS. TAPIA, MEMBER OF RADICAL PARTY, A NON-MARXIST COMPONENT OF ALLENDE'S POPULAR UNITY POLITICAL COALITION, SERVED AS MINISTER OF EDUATION IN ADDITION TO JUSTICE MINISTER. HE WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN EARLY 1973 "NATIONAL CONSOLIDATED EDUCATION" (ENU) PLAN TO OVERHAUL CHILEAN EDUCATION, A SCHEME CRITICS OF ALLENDE, INCLUDING TOP MILITARY OFFICERS, BITTERLY OPPOSED AS ATTEMPT AT MARXIST BRAIN-WASHINGTON. ZULJEVIC, A COMMUNIST, WAS SUPT. OF CUSTOMS FOR FIRST HALF OF ALLENDE GOVT. MUNOZ WAS MINOR OFFICIAL OF CENTRAL BANK. TACCHI WAS CITY COUNCILMAN (REGIDOR) OF VAL-PARAISO, AND WAS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN ILLEGAL IMPORTATION OF ARMS. NO PARTY AFFILIATIONS FOR LATTER TWO KNOWN.

4. SANTIAGO PRESS GAVE MODERATE COVERAGE TO RELEASE AND DEPARTURE OF GROUP, ALTHOUGH STORY WAS OVERSHADOWED BY CHILEAN VICTORY IN REGIONAL DAVIS CUP TENNIS MATCHES. MEDIA TOOK CUE FROM MININTERIOR BENAVIDES (REFTEL), STRESSING GROUP'S RELEASE WAS DUE TO GOC'S RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND ITS HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, AND WAS NOT BECAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE. MOST STORIES STRESSED GOOD HEALTH OF GROUP, WITH GOC'S "LA PATRIA" HEADLINING THAT ALMEYDA DEPARTED "FAT AND VERY HEALTHY." HIGH CIRCULATION "LA TERCERA" TOOK OCCASION TO PRAISE ROMANIA WHICH, LIKE PRC, RETAINED ITS EMBASSY IN SANTIAGO AFTER 1973 COUP. MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS, TERCERA NOTED, FACILITATED ALMEYDA RELEASE AND SHOWS GOC CAN WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH GOVERNMENTS OF DIFFERING IDEOLOGIES.

5. ALTHOUGH ALMEYDA RELEASE WAS HIGHPOINT OF BENAVIDES SPEECH EVENING JAN 10, HE ALSO REITEREATED, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS ONE NOTCH LESS POLEMICALLY, NOW-STANDARD GOC PROPAGANDA CHALLENGE TO USSR AND ITS COHORTS TO RELEASE THEIR POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE STRESSED THAT CHILEAN DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM IS MOVING FORWARD, ALBEIT SLOWLY, AND THAT PLACES FOR MORE THAN HALF

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00238 132112Z

OF FIRST LIST OF 100 HAVE NOW BEEN FOUND ABROAD. BENAVIDES REITERATED THAT GOC IS STILL AWAITING MEXICAN REPLY TO PINOCHET OFFER TO EXILE 200 MORE TO MEXICO, AND HE CHALLENGED GOM TO PUT UP OR SHUT UP. QUESTION OF EVENTUAL RELASE OF THOSE DETAINEES AWAITING TRIAL OR ALREADY SENTENCED CONTINUES UNDER STUDY, HE SAID, BUT HE AGAIN STRESSED INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY WHICH HAS CONTROL OVER THESE PERSONS.

6. COMMENT. AS REPORTED REFTEL, RELEASE OF ALMEYDA WAS SIGNIFICANT GOC CONCESSION TO WORLD OPINION, LOCAL RHETORICAL

NOTWITHSTANDING. HOWEVER, REACTION AMONG PRO-JUNTA SUPPORTERS BEST SUMMED UP BY "EL MERCURIO" EDITORIAL COMMENT THAT GOC SHOULD NOT EXPECT ITS CRITICS TO BE APPEASED BY NIMEYA RELEASE, SINCE THEY SURELY WILL FIND SOME OTHER ITEM" ISSUE WITH WHICH TO BELABOR JUNTA.
POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

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R 152059Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1770
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___D
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 0303

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, RO, SHUM
SUBJ: RELEASE OF CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA TO ROMANIA

REF: SANTIAGO 0217

1. ROMANIAN CHARGE TOLD EMBOFF JAN 14 THAT GOR AS LONG AGO AS DEC 1973 HAD INFORMED GOC OF IT WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE EX-FONMIN ALMEYDA SHOULD GOC DECIDE TO RELEASE HIM. OFFER WAS MADE SUBSEQUENTLY TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET, MOST RECENTLY ON DEC 31, 1974, AT YEAR-END DIPLOMATIC RECEIPTION, ALSO TO FOREIGN AND INTERIOR MINISTERS, AND EXTENDED TO INCLUDE ALL OF SENIOR PERSONS DETAINED AT RITOQUE CAMP AND SOME SPECIFICALLY LISTED DETAINEES OF LESSER IMPORTANCE.

2. INTERIOR MINISTER REPORTEDLY CALLED ROMANIAN AMB AFTERNOON JAN 9 WITH OFFER TO RELEASE ALMEYDA AND OTHER FOUR TO DEPART JAN 11, AFTER JAN 10 PUBLIC STATEMENT. CHARGE SAID NO CONDITIONS HAD BEEN LAID DOWN AND THAT ALMEYDA AND OTHERS WERE FREE TO STAY IN ROMANIA OR LEAVE, AS THEY

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00303 152141Z

DESIRED. HE SPECULATED THAT GOC HAD CHOSEN ROMANIA BECAUSE GOR HAD NEVER TRIED TO PRESSURE GOC ON DETAINEES. ADDED THAT RELEASED PERSONS ALL APPEARED IN GOOD HEALTH,

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EXCEPT THAT ONE OF LESS IMPORTANTONE HAD SOME PHYSICAL PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH HIS AGE.

3. CHARGE STRONGLY DISCOUNTED POSSIBILITY THAT ALMEYDA WOULD BECOME HEAD OF CHILEAN GOVT IN EXILE. CHARGE SAID HE HAD FOUND FROM HIS TALKS WITH MEMBERS OF CHILEAN LEFT THAT THEY WERE DISUNITED AS EVER, IN GENERAL, BUT WERE ALMOST UNANIMOUS AGAINST ESTABLISHING GOVT IN EXILE. HE ADDED THAT SAME POINT HAD BEEN MADE BY CHILEAN EXILES WHO ATTENDED NOV 1974 MEETING OF ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

4. COMMENT. GOC DISLIKE OF MAKING CONCESSIONS UNDER PRESSURE COULD HAVE INCLINED IT TOWARD RELEASING ALMEYDA TO ROMANIA, PARTICULARLY SINCE RELEASE IN ANY EVENT WOULD PLEASE FRG. (SANTIAGO PRESS REPORTS THAT FRG HAS NOW ALLOWED DISBURSEMENT OF 21 MILLION MARK LOAN SUSPENDED AFTER MILITARY COUP.) GOC'S CHOCE OF ROMANIA CAN ALSO BE TAKEN AS FURTHER ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH IT, AND AS A DIG AT ROMANIA'S SOVIET AND CUBAN ALLIES.
POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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INTELLIGENCE NOTE

BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

Y18

January 27, 1975

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

CHILE RESPONDS TO GROWING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Chile's military government has shown itself sensitive to recent international criticisms concerning its treatment of political prisoners and its abridgment of human rights. Rebukes by the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly, the International Commission of Jurists, and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, together with the anticipated visit of Secretary Kissinger, apparently are working to produce some liberalizing of the internal security system.

The Evidence. Former Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda, the government's most important political prisoner, was released on January 11 after 16 months' imprisonment and deported to Romania. Along with Almeyda, the government also released without trial four ranking officials of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) regime. Almeyda personified the evils of the UP period in the eyes of the military junta, which repeatedly refused to release him until he had been formally tried on charges of embezzlement and misuse of government funds. His release must have been a bitter pill for the Pinochet government to swallow.

Other recent actions taken by the Chilean regime include:

--the release on January 9 of Gaston Pascal Lyon, father of Andres Pascal Allende, leader of the extremist Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and estranged husband of Laura Allende, after a month's detention without formal charges;

--a proposal by President Pinochet on New Year's Day to release 200 political prisoners, including Laura Allende, if Mexico were willing to accept them;

STATE DEPT. DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW
☒ Release ... Withdrawal No.
☐ Declassify ... Date: 9/1/96
EO 12356 ... FPC/HLP/Policy

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

EXEMPT FROM DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF E.O. 11652: 5B (2)
(Classified by M. Packman)

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--the release to the US Embassy of statistics on the number of prisoners taken since the fall of Allende and the current status of detainees;

--the creation, in the face of strong opposition from within the military, of a civilian committee to study the internal security problem and make recommendations by January 31;

--generally mild sentences for Chilean Army personnel secretly tried on charges of "crimes against the order and security of the Army," in contrast to mid-1974 trials of Chilean Air Force personnel on similar charges; and

--a drastic reduction of some 30 military tribunal sentences imposed over a year ago, constituting a virtual admission that the immediate post-coup sentencing was too severe.

Intelligence reports indicate that President Pinochet and his senior military advisers are considering a number of further steps:

--In deference to Secretary Kissinger's proposed visit to Santiago in February, the government reportedly is making plans to release several senior-level detainees.

--All political prisoners may soon be able to appeal sentences imposed by military tribunals directly to the Supreme Court.

--The government seems to be moving to enforce its stated policy position against the use of torture by members of the military intelligence apparatus.

--The "state of siege" may be downgraded, which would restrict the military's authority to take extralegal actions in security cases and would restore some degree of Chile's traditional juridical-procedural safeguards.

Offer to Mexico. President Pinochet's offer to send 200 political prisoners to Mexico "at no cost" to the Mexican Government was made formal on January 3 by Chilean diplomatic notes. Their freedom is conditioned on Mexico's willingness

to receive them. The majority of the prisoners are iden fied as members of the extremist MIR or MIR affiliates. principal figure on the list is former President Allende' sister, Laura Allende Gossens, who was arrested in Novem ber 1974 as an MIR collaborator.

Mexico broke diplomatic relations with Chile on November 26, 1974, over the human rights issue,* and has never disguised its hostility toward the military regime since the fall of President Allende. President Echeverri reportedly has accepted an invitation to address the thi meeting of the International Investigative Commission on the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, scheduled to meet in Mexico City February 18-21. Pinochet's offer to 200 prisoners to Mexico tends to place Echeverria in a "s up or shut up" position.

Prisoner Statistics. The Chilean National Secretari for Detainees has provided detailed--and apparently reli able--statistics to our embassy on the government's secu operations. According to data, some 30,000 persons have been processed by security authorities on "political" or "national security" grounds since September 1973. About percent of these individuals are free today in Chile or been allowed to leave the country.

Of the remaining 10 percent (approximately 3,660 per sons), about 760 are being held under "state of siege" authority without formal charges. This group includes:

--100 prisoners which the government offered to relea last November 1974 provided other countries would accept them;

--100 additional prisoners to be released after place ment of the above group;

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--100 prisoners whose cases are being studied further, and

* See INR IN-119, "Mexico's Break With Chile", December (SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM).

--260 hard-core Allende and Popular Unity militants considered too dangerous to release (and who probably face prolonged imprisonment).

Approximately 2,900 persons are listed as being under formal court jurisdiction. This group includes:

--prisoners whose indictments are being prepared by the authorities (procesados);

--prisoners currently being tried by civilian or military courts;

--prisoners now serving sentences; and

--prisoners on probation who remain under court jurisdiction (about 600 persons).

Prospects. The Chilean Government is seriously concerned about internal security and will continue to arrest suspects. Rightly or wrongly, President Pinochet and the other chiefs of the armed forces assess the potential for violence as very high if security measures are relaxed too far. They appear to be resolved to weather international criticism for the sake of national survival. Nevertheless:

--the number of detainees probably will be reduced;

--the treatment of prisoners probably will improve; and

--the government may admit that charges against some detainees are unsubstantiated and that sentencing has been too harsh.

Statistics provided by the National Secretariat on Detainees may indicate increasing executive control over the once chaotic situation which characterized the government's security program. The offer to release prisoners to other countries suggests that the government wishes to reduce to the minimum those prisoners who have not been bound over to the judicial system. Finally, the offer to release 200 prisoners to Mexico shows that the Chilean military--in the face of what they consider to be hypocritical attacks by foreign governments--may be learning how to respond to international criticism.

Prepared by W. L. Lofstrom
x22251

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January 27, ~~1975~~

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WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
26 FEB

EXEMPT FROM DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF E.O. 11652: 5B (2)
(Classified by M.J Packman)
Chile Project (#SI99900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declassify
Exemption(s) _____

--the release to the US Embassy of statistics on the number of prisoners taken since the fall of Allende and the current status of detainees;

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* See INR IN-119, "Mexico's Break With Chile", December 2, 1974

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Prepared by W. L. Lofstrom
x22251

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 0615

LIMDIS

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, UN, SHUM
SUBJECT: CHILEAN DEMARCHE REQUESTS US ASSISTANCE IN UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

1. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF GOC MEMORANDUM HANDED TO AMBASSADOR JAN 28 BY FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL. CONVERSATION BEING REPORTED SEPTEL.

2. QUOTE. MEMORANDUM.

1. BECAUSE OF THE EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1973 AND BECAUSE OF THE ATTITUDE ASSUMED BY TERRORIST GROUPS, THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE WAS FORCED TO MAKE USE OF THE EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES PROVIDED IN THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE FOR USE IN A SITUATION OF INTERNAL COMMOTION OR WHEN NATIONAL SECURITY IS GRAVELY ENDANGERED.

2. THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE HAS ENDEAVORED TO AMELIORATE THE EFFECTS OF THESE EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES AS THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN RETURNING TO NORMALITY. IT WAS THIS PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION WHICH ALLOWED THE GOVERNMENT TO RESOLVE SATISFACTORILY THE SITUATION OF THE REFUGEES AND OF THE ASYLEES IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES, BOTH OF WHICH ACTIONS

[redacted]

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RECEIVED THE RECOGNITION OF THE APPROPRIATE AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

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3. IN ADDITION, THE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN ITS GOOD WILL IN RESOLVING THE SITUATION OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE STATE OF SIEGZ. TO THIS END, THE GOVERNMENT HAS STATED ITS DESIRE TO RELEASE 300 PERSONS (SIC) UPON DEPARTURE FROM CHILE ONCE A PLACE HAS BEEN FOUND FOR THEM, AND HAS ALSO PROPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO THAT IT RECEIVE 200 OTHERS, AMONG WHOM IS LAURA ALLENDE.

UNCLASSIFIED

4. IN THE SAME MANNER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY RELEASED FIVE IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT, AMONG WHOM ARE FORMER MINISTERS CLODOMIRO ALMEYDA AND JORGE TAPIA.

5. IN SPITE OF THESE AND OTHER ACTIONS, WE HAVE INFORMATION THAT IN THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH WILL MEET IN GENEVA IN FEBRUARY, THE ENEMIES OF CHILE WILL TRY AGAIN TO DIVERT THE DELIBERATIONS OF THIS ORGANIZATION TO TOTALLY POLITICAL TOPICS, WITH THE EVIDENT PURPOSE OF ATTACKING CHILE WITH FALSE DATA.

6. IN VIEW OF THE SITUATION DESCRIBED ABOVE AND KEEPING IN MIND THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP WHICH UNITES OUR PEOPLES, THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE REQUESTS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO SUPPORT THE DELEGATION OF CHILE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SO THAT THIS ORGANIZATION MAY NOT BE DIVERTED FROM ITS OBJECTIVES, THEREBY AVOIDING ITS TRANSFORMATION INTO AN INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL ACTION AGAINST CHILE.
SANTIAGO, JANUARY 1975 UNQUOTE
POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINS
SUBJECT: CHILE -- HUMAN RIGHTS

REF: STATE 23898

1. SUMMARY: BASED ON AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH MININT BENAVIDES, WE SUGGEST POSSIBILITY OF STEPS WHICH MIGHT RESULT IN ADMISSION OF LIMITED NUMBER OF SELECTED CHILENAS INTO US. END SUMMARY.

2. WE ARE REPORTING SEPARATELY THE GIST OF MY FEB 3 CONVERSATION WITH MININT GEN BENAVIDES IN WHICH LATTER GAVE US ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE GOC WISHES TO PUSH FORWARD WITH PROGRAM FOR RELASE OF DETAINEES INTO EXILE, BUT LITTLE INDICATION GOC YET APPRECIATES IMPORTANCE OF REIVING NORMAL LEGAL AND PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS FOR DETAINEES.

3. DURING MY JAN 29 CONVERSTATION WITH BENAVIDES I HAD RAISED QUESTION WHETHER GOC WOULD REACT NEGATIVELY IF USG SHOULD ADMIT A LIMITED NUMBER OF CHILEAN DETAINEES, OR OF CHILEAN REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA AND PERU. HE HAD NOT SEEMED CONCERNED AT THE THOUGHT, BUT WE WERE UNABLE TO PURSUE MATTER IN DETAIL.

4. AT FEB 3 MEETING, I RETURNED TO QUESTION BY ASKING HOW GOC WOULD FEEL IF USG, LIKE VARIOUS

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00753 032208Z

EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS, SHOULD INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT INDIVIDUAL DETAINEES-- FOR INSTANCE, PROFESSORS [redacted] IN US, OR

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PROFESSIONALS SUCH AS DOCTORS WITH OPPORTUNITIES THERE. SAID I WAS RAISING THIS QUESTION IN APURELY PERSONAL CAPACITY, SINCE I HAD NOT HAD OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS IT IN WASHINGTON.

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5. BENAVIDES INDICATEDAGAIN THAT GOC WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM. HE POINTEDLY ASKED WHETHER SECRETARY'S VISIT ZUS STILL ON: WHAT SEEMS TO BE IN HIS MIND IS THOUGHT THAT RELEASE OF A NUMBER OF CHILEAN DETAINEES FOR TRAVEL TO US MIGHT BE POLITICALLY VALUABLE IN CONNECTION WITH ATMOSPHERICS SURROUNDING SECRETARY'S TRIP, WHEN HE MAKES IT.

6. COMMENT: AS RESULT THESE CONVERSATIONS WITH BENAVIDES, I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO ADDRESS TWO POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION. FIRST, DEPT MIGHT WISH TO PUSH FORWARD WITH PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHING PAROLE PROCEDURE FOR ADMISSION OF CHILEANS CURRENTLY IN OR SOUTSIDE CHILE. SECOND, DEPT MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER SUGGESTING SHORT LIST OF NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS OF INTEREST TO AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES OR OTHER SOURCES FOR RELEASE AS "SPONTANEOUS" GESTURE BY GOVERNMENT OF CHILE, SAY SHORTLY BEFORE SECRETARY ARRIVES IN COUNTRY. SUCH INDIVIDUALS SHOULD OF COURSE BE ADMISSIBLE TO US.

7. THIS PROCEDURE WOULD AVOID THE KIND OF CRASS POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM INDULGED IN BY MEXICAN FONMIN RABSA WHEN HE VISITED CHILE LAST MAY TO BARGAIN FOR RELEASE OF CHILEAN DETAINEES. IT WOULD ALSO AVOID ANY INFERENCE THAT THE USG WAS EXERTING PRESSURE IN CHILE. AT SAME TIME, IT COULD PROVIDE DEMONSTRATION OF WAY WHICH QUIET AND DISCREET US REPRESENTATIVES RE HUMAN RIGHTS, OVER TIME, HAD PRODUCED A BENEFICIAL, HUMANITARIAN RESULT. DEPT MAY WISH TO EXAMINE CONGRESSIONAL AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THESE GENERAL SUGGESTIONS.

8. IN CONNECTION WITH FOREGOING, WITHIN LAST FEW DAYS HIGH MININT OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN SOUNDING OUT DATT WITH

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00753 032208Z

RESPECT TO POSSIBILITY OF FAIRLY DRAMATIC RELEASE OF, SAY, UP TO 200 DETAINEES AROUND TIME OF SECRETARY'S VISIT TO CHILE, AS MEANS OF DEMONSTATING CHILEAN DESIRE TO IMPROVE ITS IMAGE. SUGGESTION, HOWEVER, WAS NOT AT THAT TIME LINKED TO POSSIBILITY OF DETAINEES' ADMISSION TO US.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00789 042232Z

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 00789

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EO 11652: XGDS-4
TAGS: CI, PINT, PFOR, SHUM
SUBJ: CHILE: HUMAN RIGHTS AND PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS

REFS: STATE 23898; SANTIAGO 723 AND 658

1. SUMMARY: MY FEB 3 CALL ON INTERIOR MINISTER GENERAL BENAVIDES PRODUCED ADDITIONAL DETAIL ON GOC POLICY OF RELEASING DETAINEES, BUT LITTLE OF SIGNIFICANCE IN CONNECTION WITH RESTORATION OF PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS AND NORMAL LEGAL PROCESSES IN NEAR FUTURE. BENAVIDES TOOK LINE THAT HIS MANDATE EXTENDED ONLY TO DETAINEE ASPECTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

2. MOST OF MY CONVERSATION WITH GEN BENAVIDES COVERED STATUS OF GOC DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM AND GENERAL DETAINEE SITUATION, ALONG FAMILIAR LINES. IT APPEARS FROM BENAVIDES' COMMENTS THAT GOC EXPECTS VENEZUELA TO ACCEPT 26 DETAINEES AVAILABLE FOR RELEASE THROUGH THAT COUNTRY; THAT IT EXPECTS MEXICO TO ACCEPT THOSE OF THE 200 DETAINEES OFFERED BY PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN HIS DECEMBER 31 SPEECH WHO ARE WILLING TO GO THERE; AND THAT NEW LIST OF SOME 120 NAMES IS NOW BEING CIRCULATED TO RESPONSIBLE ORGANIZATIONS TO DETERMINE WHETHER THESE DETAINEES TOO CAN BE PLACED IN COUNTRIES OF RECEPTION.

3. BENAVIDES IS IMPRECISE IN HIS STATISTICS, BUT [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00789 042232Z

IN KEEPING WITH SOME EARLIER INDICATIONS WE HAVE RECEIVED, TOOK LINE THAT NOT ALL THOSE STILL DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGE UNDER STATE OF SIEGE LEGISLATION

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WOULD BE RELEASED IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. SOME OF THEM, HE SAID, ARE MILITANTS, AND EVEN IF EXILED WOULD BE LIKELY TO RETURN ILLEGALLY TO CHILE. HOWEVER, SOME OF THESE PEOPLE HAVE BY NOW BEEN HELD FOR UP TO 16 MONTHS, AND [redacted] CASES WILL BE REVIEWED FROM TIME TO TIME, SINCE [redacted] TO GET RID OF THEM AS SOON AS IT SAFELY CAN. BENAVIDES NOTED THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET HAS AUTHORITY TO COMMUTE SENTENCES OF INDIVIDUALS ALREADY CONVICTED, SO THAT THEY MAY GO ABROAD. INFERENCE IS THAT BARRING SOME SPECIFIC ELEMENT OF RISK FOR GOVERNMENT, MOST DETAINEES WITH PROSPECTIVE SAFE HAVENS ABROAD MIGHT EVENTUALLY BE ALLOWED TO DEPART FROM CHILE.

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4. I ASKED SPECIFICALLY WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO THE REMAINING SENIOR UP OFFICIALS STILL HELD AT RITOQUE. BENAVIDES SIAD THAT THEIR FATE WAS A MATTER OF PRESIDENTIAL DECISION. HE THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT MOST WOULD EVENTUALLY BE FREED TO GO ABROAD, BUT THAT A HARD-CORE FEW SUCH AS COMMUNIST LEADER LUIS CARVALAN WOULD BE RETAINED INDFINITELY.

5. AT SEVERAL POINTS IN CONVERSATION I TOOK OCCASION TO POINT OUT THAT WHILE GOC'S DETAINEE RELEASE POLICY WAS CONSTRUCTIVE AND CERTAINLY HELPFUL IN MODERATING CRITICISM, FOREIGN OBSERVERS WOULD BE EVEN MORE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED IF PROGRESS COULD SOON BE DEMONSTRATED TOWARD RE-STORING PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS AND NORMAL LEGAL PROCESSES. BENUVIDES AVOIDED SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF THESE ASPECTS OF PROBLEM. HE STATED THAT HIS MANDATE DID NOT EXTEND BEYOND DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM, AND THAT THESE WERE MATTERS FOR MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND OTHER GOC AUTHORITIES.

6. BENAVIDES DID HOWEVER EXPLAIN ONCE AGAIN THE UTILITY OF THE NEW LEGAL CODE OF NATIONAL SECURITY OFFENSES WHICH THE GOC NOW HAS UNDER PREPARATION. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, HE NOTED IT WAS DESIGNED TO COVER CRIMES NOT PROPERLY DESCRIBED OR HANDLED IN TRADITIONAL CHILEAN LEGISLATION. IMPRESSION HE GAVE WAS THAT HIGH-JACKING, TERRORISM, AND INTERNAL SECURITY OFFENSES BROADLY DEFINED WOULD [redacted]

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BE SHARPLY PENALIZED. BENAVIDES INDICATED SOMEWHAT VAGUELY THAT ALL SUCH OFFENSES EXCEPT THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVING ARMED FORCES MIGHT EVENTUALLY BE HANDLED IN CIVIL COURTS. BUT IN GENERAL BENAVIDES TAKES AN EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE VIEW RE-GARDING RESTORATION OF CIVILIAN LEGAL AUTHORITY. THOUGH ADMITTING TERRORIST GROUPS HAVE BEEN LARGELY DESTROYED IN CHILE, HE MAINTAINS THAT COMMUNIST PARTY IS BUSILY REORGANIZING, AND THAT IT HAS ALREADY LAUNCHED A PROPAGANDA PAMPHLET CAMPAIGN WHICH HAS TO BE COUNTERACTED. ACCORDINGLY, HE FEELS, MILITARY SECURITY MEASURES MUST BE RETAINED.

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7 I OPENED UP QUESTION OF GOC'S WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE FUTURE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES, BUT RECEIVED [redacted] SIMPLY A REPLAY OF PINOCHET'S DEC 31 STATEMENT TO EFFECT THAT ONLY COMMISSIONS WHICH COULD INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES COULD BE RECEIVED IN CHILE. IT DID NOT THEREFORE SEEM TO ME EXPEDIENT TO PRESS QUESTION WHETHER INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MIGHT RETURN TO CHILE. WILL HOLD THAT MATTER IN RESERVE FOR A MORE AUSPICIOUS OCCASION.

8. COMMENT: BENAVIDES REFLECTED CONFIDENCE THROUGHOUT THAT STEPS GOC HAD TAKEN TO RELEASE DETAINEES HAD SUBSTANTIALLY EASED ITS IMAGE PROBLEMS ABROAD. HE RECALLED THAT IN EARLY DAYS OF JUNTA, THERE HAD BEEN CONSTANT STREAM OF JOURNALISTS, COMMITTEES, ETC. WHO DESIRED TO VISIT HIGH-LEVEL DETAINEES. NOW SUCH EFFORTS WERE RARE. BENAVIDES APPEARS TO FEEL THAT IF DETAINEE RELEASES CONTINUE, FOREIGNERS WILL GRADUALLY TIRE OF BAITING CHILE, AS THEIR ATTENTION IS FOCUSSED ON OTHER PROBLEMS.

9. CLEARLY, IF WE ARE TO CONDUCT DIALOGUE ON BROAD HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM, THIS WILL HAVE TO BE DONE WITH SOME ONE OTHER THAN BENAVIDES. AT SAME TIME, WE WILL STAND READY TO RESPOND TO HIS DESIRE FOR FURTHER DISCREET INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH RESPECT TO ANY ASPECTS OF THE DETAINEE PROGRAM HE CONSIDERS OF INTEREST TO USG.
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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00979 131922Z

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 0979

DOE FOR OSA/ISA/IA

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, SREF, SHUM
SUBJECT: STATUS OF DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM AND RELATED HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS

1. SUMMARY: THIS REPORT PROVIDES AN OVERALL REVIEW OF DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM AND RELATED ITEMS, RESPONSIVE TO VARIOUS REQUESTS. MOST OF INFORMATION HEREIN HAS ALREADY BEEN REPORTED SEPARATELY. REPORT DESCRIBES THE THREE CATEGORIES OF DETAINEES, THE DWINDLING DAWSON ISLAND/RITOQUE GROUP OF SENIOR ALLENDE-ERA PERSONALITIES, ASYLEES IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES, AND PROGRAM OF REUNITED CHILEAN FAMILY MEMBERS WITH EXILED CHILEANS ABROAD. WHILE APPRECIABLE PROGRESS IN DISPOSING OF DETAINEES HAS ALREADY OCCURRED AND MORE IS EXPECTED, WE THINK GOC IS INCORRECT IN ITS APPARENT BELIEF THAT THIS PROGRAM ALONE WILL REVOLVE ITS INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS; THIS NOW APPEARS TO DEPEND AS WELL AS ON PROGRESS IN SUCH OTHER IMPORTANT AREAS AS REESTABLISHMENT OF DUE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. CATEGORY I - PERSONS DETAINED UNDER STATE OF SIEGE

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00979 131922Z

REGULATIONS

GOC CLEARLY WANTS TO REDUCE THIS GROUP, ESTIMATED AT SOME

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1200 PERSONS, TO A HARD-CORE MINIMUM ASAP. FIRST LIST OF 100 PERSONS SLATED FOR RELEASE AND EXILE WAS MADE PUBLIC NOV 11, 1974; THEIR CASES HAVE BEEN LARGELY RESOLVED, AND MAJORITY HAVE DEPARTED CHILE. MIN INTERIOR GEN. BENAVIDES TOLD US RECENTLY A SECOND LIST WITH SOME 120 NAMES HAD BEEN PREPARED BY GOC AND GIVEN TO ICEM TO FIND PLACES OVERSEAS FOR THOSE NAMED, BUT WE HAVE NO INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION OF EXISTENCE OF THIS LIST. LIST OF 200 TO MEXICO, NOW DOWN TO 157 SINCE GOC ADMITS 43 ON IT PREFER DETENTION AT HOME TO EXILE OVERSEAS, HAS NOT YET BEEN ACCEPTED BY GOM, BUT GOC FULLY EXPECTS EVENTUAL ACCEPTNACE. IN ADDITION, OTHER GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN DRIBBLING OUT OF DETENTION INTO EXILE. GROUP OF 27 (ONE MORE NAME HAS BEEN ADDED TO ORIGINAL 26) TO VENEZUELA, INCLUDING FIVE IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES FROM DAWSON ISLAND/ RITOQUE GROUP, DEPARTED CHILE FEB 13. ICEM HAS SUCCESSFULLY PLACED FAIR NUMBER OF PERSONS OVERSEAS IN ADDITION TO LIST OF 100. FINALLY, GOC CONTINUES TO RELEASE PEOPLE FROM DETENTION WITHOUT IMPOSING EXILE. ALL THESE ELEMENTS ADDED TOGETHER ACCOUNT FOR MUCH OF CATEGORY I DETAINEES. ACCORDING TO BENAVIDES, REMAINDER ARE TOO DANGEROUS TO RELEASE, EVEN INTO EXILE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE HELD FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE, SUBJECT TO CONTINUOUS REVIEW OF THEIR STATUS. PROBLEM OF COURSE REMAINS THAT NEW PERSONS ARE STILL BEING ADDED TO CATEGORY I, ALTHOUGH MAGNITUDE OF NEW ADDITIONS IS UNCLEAR.

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3. CATEGORY II - INDICTED AND/OR UNDER TRIAL

JUDICIAL SYSTEM, PRIMARILY MILITARY TRIBUNALS, CONTINUES TO MOVE RAPIDLY TO CLEAR UP ESTIMATED BACKLOG OF 700 PENDING CIVILIAN CASES. WE ALSO HEAR RUMORS, CONFIRMED IN ONE CASE, OF MILITARY COURTS TRYING MILITARY PERSONNEL, ALTHOUGH NATURE OF CHARGES IS IN DISPUTE. THIS PROCESS MAY BE CONCLUDED IN NEAR FUTURE, WITH ESSENTIALLY NO BACKLOG OF PERSONS AWAITING TRIAL.

4. CATEGORY III - CONVICTED AND SERVING SENTENCES

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GOC HAS MADE NO PUBLIC MOVE TOWARD RELEASE, PRESUMABLY INTO EXILE, OF THIS GROUP OF PERHAPS 1,000 PERSONS. HOWEVER, GOC IS PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO SOME KIND OF RELEASE PROGRAM FOR SENTENCED PRISONERS. THERE IS BEHIND THE SCENES MANEUVERING, MOSTLY BY THE ENERGETIC REV. SAMUEL NALEGACH, EX. DIR. OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES (COMAR), WHO IS PRESENTLY CIRCULATING A LIST OF NEARLY A THOUSAND NAMES OF CONVICTS IN HOPES OF INDUCING VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO TAKE THEM. ORIGIN AND OFFICIAL STATUS OF THIS LIST ARE MURKY. ACCORDING TO NALEGACH (WE CANNOT CONFIRM), GOC WOULD COMMUTE JAIL SENTENCES TO EXILE

AND OUST ALL WHO COULD BE RELOCATED ABROAD. NO INDICATION WHEN THIS MIGHT HAPPEN. NOTE: TOTAL OF ALL THREE CATEGORIES PROBABLY STILL STANDS AT OR UPWARDS OF 3,000 PERSONS. THESE DO NOT INCLUDE PEOPLE HELD IN INTERROGATION CENTERS, A CONSTANTLY SHIFTING GROUP.

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5. DAWSON ISLAND/RITOQUE GROUP

GROUP OF SENIOR PERSONALITIES OF ALLENDE ERA CONFINED FIRST AT DAWSON ISLAND AND NOW RITOQUE IS DWINDLING RAPIDLY. OF EMBASSY'S UNOFFICIAL ORIGINAL LIST OF 39, ONLY 17 ARE LEFT. MOREOVER, WITH DEPARTURE OF LETELIR, ALMEYDA, TAPIA, AND FIVE TO VENEZUELA, VERY FEW TRULY PROMINENT NAMES REMAIN. LUIS CORVALAN, HEAD OF COMMUNIST PARTY, HEADS LIST, FOLLOWED BY FORMER MINISTERS ANIBAL PALMA, JOSE CADEMARTORI, CARLOS MATUS, FERNANDO FLORES, LUIS MATTE, AND PEDRO FELIPE RAMIREZ; THEN FORMER UNDERSEC INTERIOR DANIEL VERGARA AND FORMER UNIVERSITY RECTOR ENRIQUE KIRBERG. BENAVIDES TOLD US THAT EACH CASE IN THIS GROUP IS DECIDED UPON PERSONALLY BY PINOCHET, BUT SAID THAT OVER TIME NEARLY ALL WOULD BE RELEASED. WE CAN EXPECT CORVALAN TO BE ONE OF THE LAST TO GO.

6. ASYLEES

TOTAL ASYLEES IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES AS OF FEB 6 WAS 140. SINCE THEN A FEW MORE HAVE DEPARTED, WITH NO KNOWN ADDITIONS. APPARENTLY GOC HAS INCREASED ITS SECURITY MEASURES AROUND SUCH PROMINENT HAVENS AS COLOMBIAN EMBASSY, THEREBY MAKING INGRESS MORE DIFFICULT. POOL OF POTENTIAL ASYLEES APPEARS INEXHAUSTIBLE, HOWEVER. FEW NOW HAVE ANY POLITICAL RECORDS OF NOTE. GOC CONTINUES TO EXPEDITE ISSUANCE OF SAFE CONDUCTS

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 00979 131922Z

TO ASYLEES, BUT PROBLEM REMAINS OF FINDING COUNTRIES WILLING TO ACCEPT THEM.

7. FAMILY REUNION PROGRAM

RECENTLY, NALEGACH SEEMS TO HAVE OBTAINED OR TO BE OBTAINING A GOC MANDATE TO OPERATE A REFUGEE CENTER FOR THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONALS (NEITHER A NEW NOR SIGNIFICANT ITEM) WHICH ALSO COULD PROCESS, IN CONJUNCTION WITH UNHCR, CHILEAN FAMILY MEMBERS WHO WISH TO JOIN THEIR EXILED CHILEAN HEADS OF FAMILY ABROAD. ALTHOUGH UNHCR HAS BEEN QUIETLY WORKING IN THIS AREA, PERTINENT GOC DECREE WOULD PROVIDE LEGAL AUTHORITY FOR PROGRAM. IN THE PROCESS, NALEGACH'S ORGANIZATION WOULD HAVE ITS NAME CHANGED TO "COMMISSION TO ASSIST FOREIGNERS" (CALEX). DECREE HAS NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED IN DIARIO OFICIAL.

8. COMMENT: GOC SEEMS TO BELIEVE PROGRESS IN DETAINEE RELEASE

PROGRAM AND SUCH RELATED ACTIVITIES AS ASYLEE SAFECONDUCTS WILL RESOLVE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IN CHILE AND SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED BY THE WORLD AS DOING SO. THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS IN THIS SPECIFIC AREA AND MORE IS LIKELY, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO SUBSTANTIAL MOVE TOWARD IMPROVING DUE PROCESS GUARANTEES, CORRECTING ABUSES BY INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, MODIFYING STATE OF SIEGE, OR RESTORING GENERAL POLITICAL RIGHTS. UNTIL THERE IS PROGRESS IN AT LEAST SOME OF THESE AREAS, GOC CAN BE EXPECTED TO HAVE A POOR WORLD IMAGE.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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Information on the Case
of 119 Prisoners

We have looked into the background of the two foreign publications which alleged that 119 Chileans of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) were killed, wounded, or escaped abroad. On July 15, Lea, a Buenos Aires magazine which may have been revived on a one-time basis, printed a list of 60 names of Chileans reportedly killed in Argentina, Mexico, France, Venezuela and Colombia in an internal purge of the MIR. Source for the Lea article was an unsigned dispatch from a Mexican news service called Fonel. The latter is unknown to us. The address of the masthead for Lea's editorial offices does not exist. There is some information that Lea has antecedents associated with right-wing groups in Argentina. As to the story itself, there is no confirmation from any other source or government that such purges occurred, nor have the bodies of the 60 persons named been produced or identified. There were three bodies recently found in Argentina accompanied by papers identifying them as Chileans. Further investigation by family members did not substantiate this. The bodies remain unidentified. We have no evidence to support the Lea story.

The June 25 issue of O Dia of Curitiba, Brazil, in an article datelined from Buenos Aires (but with no date) listed 59 Miristas killed or escaped in a firefight in Salta, Argentina. There is no confirmation (or denial) by the Argentine Government that this firefight occurred in Salta or elsewhere. O Dia is an obscure, supposedly monthly newsletter, though only three issues have appeared this year. It is owned by a Curitiba business promoter. He told a U.S. official he obtained the story from a "good friend" in Buenos Aires following a recent visit. He did not elaborate. Of interest is that the alleged names of two of the bodies found in Argentina appear on the list of 59.

The appearance of the two lists in foreign publications has understandably caused consternation among many Chileans over the fate of missing family members. The Interdenominational Committee for Peace in May gave a list of 163 "disappeared" Chileans to the Minister of Justice. The Chilean courts failed to appoint a magistrate to investigate. Spurred on by the two lists published abroad, the Committee has reviewed its files. It asserts that almost all of the 119 names are on its list of 163 missing persons sent to the Ministry of

Chile Project (#S199900006)
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Exemption(s) _____

Justice. In a report dated July 29, the Committee claims there is direct evidence of government detention of 77, indirect evidence of 26, and no evidence on 16. Additionally, it claims the government officially had acknowledged detention of four of the 119. The Committee representatives admit some detainees could have been released without the Committee's knowledge. They observe, however, that such persons must have gone underground without contacting their families. As a final note, the Supreme Counrt on August 13 again reaffirmed its previous decision that an investigating magistrate is unnecessary

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reports that on its list of 500 "missing" persons, almost all (114) of the 119 names appear. The government had not officially notified ICRC of its arrest of any of these individuals and ICRC had never seen any of them in detention. The ICRC continues in constant contact with the government on the general question of disappeared persons.

In regard to the charge that in at least four cases the government admitted detention, in one case ICRC information conflicts with that of the Committee where evidence of detention, according to the Committee, included an ICRC sighting in the Tres Alamos Center. On another two, the government now states it was in error in replying to the British Embassy that they were in custody and in good condition.

Generally,the government has denied any involvement in the stories published abroad. It has suggested a left wing plot to embarrass the government. Presumably, additional motivation would be to pressure the government into disclosing what happened to missing persons. The Church hierarchy and the pro-government El Mercurio have recommended the government investigate. The Santiago press reported August 5 that the Chilean "civil police" would look into the affair at the request of the Ministry of the Interior. A Foreign Ministry official has told us the Ministry also is reviewing the matter. Cardinal Silva and two bishops have also seen President Pinochet. We understand the President promised to investigate.

With regard to your concerns about the Peace Committee's ability to operate freely, as reflected above the Committee has been taking an energetic position in pursuing the matter of missing Chileans. Our recent communications do not reflect, or anticipate, government pressure to proscribe the Committee's activities.

The foregoing is the information we have available to the moment. It does not permit us to support, or deny, contending speculation with respect to this case. In the meantime, important Chilean elements have clearly signaled to their government that clarification is required.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01118 201733Z

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 1118

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINS, SOPN, SHUM
SUBJECT: PINOCHET'S VIEWS ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

1. SUMMARY: PINOCHET CLAIMS THAT COMPLETE FREEDON OF EXPRESSION EXISTS IN CHILE, BUT WITH STRINGS ATTACHED, AND THAT HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IS OBVIOUSLY MUCH BETTER THAN WORLD OPINION BELIEVES. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN SPEECH TO CHILEAN NATIONAL PRESS ASSOC. FEB. 17 SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WERE RESTRICTIONS ON PRESS DURING THE FIRST MONTHS OF JUNTA RULE, "WE CAN TODAY INDICATE THAT THERE EXISTS COMPLETE LIBERTY OF EXPRESSION, WITHOUT LIMITATION OTHER THAN THAT OF ETHICS AND COMMON SENSE, THEREBY AVOIDING A FALL INTO LICENSE OR OTHER VICES.".

3. HE WENT ON TO REMIND MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO BE OBJECTIVE AND REALISTIC, RELFECTING MORAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES ABANDONED DURING THE RECENT PAST. HE STATED THERE CANNOT BE A RETURN TO SENSATIONALIST JORNALISM. IN CLOSING, PINOCHET CALLED UPON CHILEAN PRESS TO EXPLAIN "THE TRUTH" CONCERNING CHILE AGAINST THE DAILY LIES AND SLANDERS OF ITS ENEMIES. "TRUTH IS ON OUR SIDE", HE DECLARED.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01118 201733Z

4. SPEAKING WITH PRESS FEB. 18, PINOCHET EXPRESSED HIS SATISFACTION IN NEWS, NOT CONFIRMED, THAT MEXICO WOULD ACCEPT 151 DETAINEES, BUT SAID HE HAS NO ILLUSIONS THAT

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

THE "HUMANITARIAN ACTS" OF GOC WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE MARXISTS AND PRO-MARXISTS.

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5. HE SAID THE FOREIGN PRESS IGNORES MEASURES ADOPTED BY GOC IN FAVOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS, CITING THE LIFTING OF STATE OF INTERNAL WAR, THE GRANTING OF SAFE CONDUCT PASSES, THE CONTINUING RELEASE OF DETAINEES HELD UNDER STATE OF SIEGE, AND THE DROPPING OF CHARGES IN SOME CASES, ALLOWING THOSE PERSONS TO PEAVE CHILE.

6. REFERRING TO "FALSE STORIES OF TERROR", PINOCHET SAID HE PERSONALLY HAD ORDERED THE CREATION OF MEDICAL TEAMS TO MONITOR THE HEALTH OF DETAINEES, AND HAD PUNISHED TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE THOSE OFFICIALS WHO HAD "OVERSTEPPED" THEIR AUTHORITY, SEPARATING THEM FROM THE SERVICE IN SOME CASES AND APPLYING LEGAL PENALTIES.

7. COMMENT: IN TAKING TACK THAT PRESS SITUATION IN CHILE IS OBVIOUSLY GOOD AND THAT ISSUES CONTINUALLY RAISED BY CRITICS ARE OVERSTATED OR INEXISTENT, PINOCHET IS RISKING IMPAIRMENT OF HIS CREDIBILITY. ALTHOUGH FEW IF ANY PUBLICATIONS SUFFER PRIOR CENSORSHIP, THERE REMAINS SELF-CENSORSHIP, WHICH IS IN MANY WAYS MORE CONFINING.

8. IN AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WE AGREE PROGRESS IS BEING MADE ON RELEASE OF DETAINEES, BUT UNTIL THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT ON OTHER FRONTS (DUE PROCESS, MODIFYING STATE OF SIEGE), CHILE WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE BOTH A PROBLEM AND A POOR WORLD IMAGE.
POPPER

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01164 212141Z

E990

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(V) Classify as (C) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to __
Date 1/25/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

64
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-02 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 /045 W

003341

R 212045Z FEB 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2278

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise ✓ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part ✓ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B-1

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 1164

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PFOR, PINS
SUBJ: GOC CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT ORLANDO LETELIER

1. SUMMARY: GOC'S PRACTICE OF VIGOROUSLY COUNTER-ATTACKING ITS CRITICS, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH INSPIRED PRESS STORIES, IS AGAIN DEMONSTRATED IN NEW ATTACK ON FORMER AMB. TO U.S. AND CHILEAN FONMIN ORLANDO LETELIER. END SUMMARY

2. TIMING STORY TO COINCIDE WITH LETELIER'S PRESENCE IN ANTI-JUNTA "TRIAL" IN MEXICO, FONMIN UNDER SEC VALDES "CONFIRMED" ON FEB. 20 STORIES APPEARING IN SANTIAGO PRESS THAT GOC HAS SECRET DOCUMENT SENT BY LETELIER TO FONMIN ALMEYDA AND PRES. ALLENDE BEFORE CHILEAN ELECTIONS OF MARCH 1973. IN THIS DOCUMENT LETELIER ALLEGEDLY PROPOSED PLAN IN WHICH US CITIZEN PILOT ROBERT B. SHEA, FOR PAY, WOULD FLY SHIPMENT OF ARMS INTO CHILE, OSTENSIBLY FOR USE BY ANTI-ALLENDE ELEMENTS. SHEA WOULD BE "CAUGHT" BY GOC AND OPERATION EXPOSED AS "CIA INTERVENTION" IN CHILE, THUS GAINING SYMPATHY AND VOTES FOR ALLENDE REGIME. THIS STORY WAS HEADLINED IN TABLOID "LA SEGUNDA" FEB. 20 AND PICKED UP BY REST OF PRESS FEB. 21.

3. COMMENT: EMBOFFS THEN AT POST RECALL THAT LETELIER DOCUMENT CITED BY GOC [redacted] IN LATE 1972 OR EARLY 1973. IT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN RETIRED FROM POST FILES, HOWEVER, AND WE CAN LOCATE NOOTHER REFERENCES TO MATTER HERE. WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT LETELIER WAS REPORT-
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 01164 212141Z

ING PROPOSAL MADE TO HIM BY OTHERS, AND INVITING GOC TO SEND INTELLIGENCE EXPERT TO WASHINGTON TO CONSIDER MATTER IF PROPOSAL OF INTEREST. SOMETHING OF THIS MAY ALSO HAVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASSIFIED

APPEARED IN JACK ANDERSON'S COLUMN DURING THAT PERIOD.

CAUTION: THIS MESSAGE APPEARS TO CONTAIN SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

B1

2/27/75

Case Number: 200000044

H#21

<<<<.>>>>
[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01325 271413Z

73
ACTION SY-04

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 SCCT-01 SCA-01 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 USSS-00 /020 W

076842

R 271240Z FEB 75
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0068
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 1325

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
(Y) Classify as C ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date 4/25/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 35X1

FOR A/SY/FO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS
SUBJ: ALLEGED COMBINED TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

1. ON FEB 20 SECURITY OFFICER, AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY ADVISED THE RSO OF THE FOLLOWING: THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TO ARGENTINA HAD APPROACHED THE AUSTRALIAN AMB DURING THE COURSE OF A DIPLOMATIC FUNCTION AND ADVISED HIM THAT HE WAS IN RECEIPT OF INFORMATION, SOURCE UNIDENTIFIED, THAT AN EXTERNAL (OUT-SIDE OF ARGENTINA) EXTREMIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION WOULD LAUNCH SIMULTANEOUS TERRORIST ATTACKS IN BOLIVIA, CHILE, URUGUAY, AND ARGENTINE. THE TARGET DATE FOR THESE ATTACKS TO START WAS IDENTIFIED AS THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY. NO OTHER DATES WERE FURNISHED CONCERNING ALLEGED ATTACKS TO BE CARRIED OUT IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THE MATTER WAS TAKEN SO SERIOUSLY BY THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT THAT VARIOUS DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS IN LA PAZ DISMISSED THEIR EMPLOYEES IN THE EARLY PART OF THE AFTERNOON FEB 18. THE AUSTRALIAN SECURITY OFFICER ADVISED THAT AS A RESULT OF THIS INFORMATION REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AUSTRALIAN, FRENCH, SWISS, AND FINNISH DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS WITHIN ARGENTINA HELD A MEETING IN THE AFTERNOON OF FEB 18. THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING WAS THE ELECTION OF THE SENIOR DIPLOMAT PRESENT, SWISS, TO APPROACH THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE AND ADVISE THEM OF THE INFORMATION RECEIVED AND
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01325 271413Z

REQUEST ADDITIONAL PROTECTION. THE SECURITY OFFICER COULD NOT COMMENT AS TO WHETHER THE APPROACH TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAD BEEN MADE BY THE SWISS REPRESENTATIVE, HOWEVER, HE DID STATE THAT THE FEDERAL POLICE PROTECTION OF THE AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE HAD BEEN INCREASED AND THAT ADDITIONAL CONTRACT GUARDS HAD BEEN PLACED WITHIN THEIR DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENT. HE FURTHER STATED THAT THE FOLLOWING WAS AN ESTIMATE ON THE PART OF THE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY WITH RESPECT TO INFORMATION FURNISHED AND THAT THIS ESTIMATE WAS NOT BASED ON KNOWN FACT.

A. THE ALLEGED SIMULTANEIOUS TERRORISTS ATTACKS COULD POSSIBLY TAKE PLACE.

B. SHOULD SUCH BE THE COURSE THE ATTACKS WOULD BE A ONE TIME ONE THING SPECTACULAR.

C. THE ATTACKS COULD TAKE THE FORM OF EITHER KIDNAPPINGS OR ASSASSINATION.

D. THE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR WAS PROBABLY RELATED TO BUT NOT A REHASH OF SIMILAR INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THE WEST GERMANS AT AN EARLIER DATE.

E. THAT THE ERP AND MONTONEROS MAY HAVE GONE OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY AND RECRUITED ASSISTANCE OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE JAPANESE RED ARMY OR PLO TO CARRY OUT SUCH SIMULTANEIOUS OPERATIONS SINCE THEY HAVE MORE EXPERIENCE IN THE AREA.

2. THE LEGAL ATTACHE ADVISED THAT ON FEB 18 THE AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR, HUGH DUNN, HAD CONTACTED HIS OFFICE TELEPHONICALLY:

"DUNN HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A CEREMONY INAUGURATING THE NEW MEXICAN CHANCERY BUILDING. WHILE AT THIS CEREMONY, HE WAS APPROACHED BY A JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUE WHO IS GENERALLY WELL INFORMED ON THE LOCAL POLITICAL SCENE. THIS COLLEAGUE, WHOM DUNN DID NOT CARE TO IDENTIFY OVER THE TELEPHONE, INFORMED HIM THAT THE COMBINED TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS, THE ELN OF BOLIVIA; THE MIR OF CHILE; TUPAMAROS OF URUGUAY, AND THE ERP OF ARGENTINA WERE GOING TO ESCALATE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AGAINST DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN BOLIVIA, CHILE, URUGUAY AND ARGENTINA. AMBASSADOR DUNN'S COLLEAGUE TOLD HIM THAT VARIOUS DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS

[redacted]

Case Number: 200000044

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 01325 271413Z

IN LA PAZ WERE DISMISSING THEIR EMPLOYEES EARLY THIS AFTERNOON BECAUSE OF THIS THREAT. AMBASSADOR DUNN DESIRED TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER WE HAD ANY INTELLIGENCE WHICH WOULD TEND TO CORROBORATE HIS COLLEAGUE'S INFORMATION. I TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE, THERE WAS NO AVAILABLE INFORMATION INDICATING THAT THE COMBINED GROUPS OF THE EL, MIR, TUPAMAROS AND THE ERP HAD PLANNED ANY ESCALATION OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AGAINST DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS".

3. THE RSO CONTACTED BOTH [redacted] CONCERNING THE REPORTED INFORMATION BY THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR. BOTH OFFICES WERE OF THE OPINION THAT THE REPORTED INFORMATION SOUNDED LIKE A VARIATION OF INTELLIGENCE WITH A WEST GERMAN ORIGIN WHICH CIRCULATED DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF FEB 1975. NO INFORMATION HAS COME TO THE ATTENTION OF [redacted] WHICH WOULD INDICATE CURRENT INVOLVEMENT OF THE JAPANESE RED ARMY OR THE PLO IN JOINT OR SUPPORT OPERATIONS TO THE ERP OR MONTONEROS. B1

HILL

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01279 281411Z

44
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 /013 W
---------- 096486

R 281336Z FEB 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2347

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___De
Exemption(s) _____

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 1279

E.O.11652:N/A
TAGS: CI, SHUM (LIDI CESPEDES, SERGIO)
SUBJ: SERGIO LIDID CESPEDES, CHILEEN NATIONAL

1. REQUEST DEPARTMENT INFORM CONGRESSMAN GEORGE E. BROWN THAT LIDI IS ON LIST OF 157 DETAINEES WHO IT IS EXPECTED WILL BE RELEASED TO MEXICO IN NEAR FUTURE.

2. CONGRESSMAN BROWN WROTE AMBASSADOR CONCERNING LIDID ON JULY 31, 1974. AMBASSADOR'S RESPONSE AUGUST 12 ASSURED BROWN WE WOULD INFORM HIM OF ANY CHANGE IN SITUATION.
POPPER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01626 181827Z

UNCLASSIFIED

EJ020

21
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07
L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
SR-02 ORM-01 /068 W

105336

R 181630Z MAR 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2537
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 1626

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINS, SHUM
SUBJECT: STATUS REPORT ON POLITICAL DETAINEES AND ASYLEES

REF: A. SANTIAGO 0196 (NOTAL); B. SANTIAGO 1437 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: GOC HAS RELEASED OFFICIAL STATISTICS ON POLITICAL PRISONERS TAKEN SINCE COUP OF 1973, AND SUBSEQUENT DISPOSITION. INFORMATION ON TOTAL AND SUBCATEGORIES OF PERSONS STILL DETAINED AGREES ROUGHLY WITH EARLIER INFORMATION REPORTED TO DEPT, BUT OVERALL TOTAL OF PERSONS DETAINED AND RELEASED HAS APPARENTLY RISEN FROM 30,000 TO 40,000 SINCE END 1974. SOME 4,500 TO 4,800 DETAINEES ARE STILL HELD ON POLITICAL OR NATIONAL SECURITY GROUNDS, ACCORDING TO GOC'S OWN ADMISSION. END SUMMARY.

2. IN PRESS CONFERENCE MARCH 14 MIN. OF INTERIOR BENAVIDES ISSUED NEW STATISTICS ON NUMBERS OF DETAINEES (UNDERSTOOD AS "POLITICAL PRISONER" OR "NATIONAL SECURITY" CASES UNDER PRESENT REGIME.

3. DETAIMED SINCE COUP: 41,759; FREED: 36,605 (INCLUDING [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 01626 181827Z

27,438 RELEASED IN CHILE AND 9,167 REQUIRED TO LEAVE COUNTRY); CONVICTED AND SERVING SENTENCES 1,557; IN PRELIMINARY JUDICIAL PROCESSING 1,780; TO THIS IS ADDED 400 "COMMON

[redacted]
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DELINQUENTS" FOR TOTAL OF 3,737 AT DISPOSITION OF COUNRTS; UNDER STATE OF SIEGE LAW THERE ARE 1,116 DETAINEES, I.E. THOSE HELD WITHOUT CHARGE AND THUS NOT BEING PROCESSED IN THE MILITARY OR CIVIL COURT SYSTEMS. THUS TOTAL STILL DETAINED IN SAID CATEGORIES IS 4,853, INCLUDING 400 DESCRIBED AS COMMON CRIMINALS (WE NOTE RELATIVELY MINOR INTERNAL INCONSISTENCY OF TOTALS AND WILL CHECK GOC TRANSCRIPT OF ACTUAL BENAVIDES STATEMENT WHEN OBTAINED.)

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4. IN SAME CONFERENCE, BENAVIDES ANNOUNCED THAT MEXICO HAS COMMUNICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT 95 DETAINEES OUT OF ORIGINAL LIST OF 200 OFFERED BY GOC. THOSE ACCEPTED INCLUDE LAURA ALLENDE GOSSENS. THIS GROUP MAY LEAVE FOR MEXICO BY MARCH 21. OF REMAINDER OF MEXICO LIST, 62 WERE REJECTED BY GOM AND 43 HAD EARLIER REFUSED GOC OFFER TO LEAVE FOR MEXICO. LISTS OF THOSE ACCEPTED AND REJECTED ARE BEING POUCHED TO DEPT. AND MEXICO.

5. COUNT OF ASYLEES IN SANTIAGO EMBASSIES RELEASED BY FONMINISTRY MAR. 13 TOTALS 75: ITALY 52, VENEZUELA 21, COLOMBIA 1, COSTA RICA 1. DURING WEEK OF MAR. 10, 22 MORE ASYLEES DEPARTED UNDER SAFE CONDUCT, REDUCING TOTAL FROM 96 OR 97 REPORTED MAR. 6.

6. COMMENT: ANNOUNCEMENT BY BENAVIDES MAY BE LOWER-PROFILE OUTCOME OF PLAN FOR NATIONWIDE RADIO/TV ADDRESS UNDER GOC CONSIDERATION IN EARLY JAN (REFTEL A). FIGURES IN SUBTOTALS MATCH THOSE GIVEN EMBASSY BY INFORMATIVE

GOC SOURCE AT THAT TIME, WITHIN REASONABLE DEGREE OF VARIATION CONSIDERING DATES OF DATA. DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN IS JUMP FROM TOTAL OF 30,000 DETAINEES SINCE COUP AND 27,000 RELEASED IN COUNTRY OR EXPELLED, TO BENAVIDES' ALMOST 42,000 DETAINEES AND OVER 36,000 RELEASED OR EXPELLED. THESE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT SIGNIFICANTLY REFLECTED IN CHANGES IN SUBTOTALS OF THOSE DETAINED; DIFFERENCE OF 10,000 MAY REPRESENT NEW DETENTIONS AND RELEASES IN PERIOD JAN - FEB 1975, OR MORE COMPLETE DATA INCLUDING FULLER REPORTING FROM

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 01626 181827Z

PROVINCES THAN THOSE AVAILABLE IN JAN. FACT REMAINS THAT TOTAL NUMBERS OF SECURITY DETAINEES IN COURT PROCESSING OR UNDER NON-JUDICIAL DETENTION UNDER STATE OF SIEGE LAW APPEAR TO HAVE RISEN SINCE LATE DEC 1974, DESPITE GOC EFFORT TO HAVE OTHER NATIONS ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS UNWANTED ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL SECURITY CASES.
POPPER

[redacted]

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01741 212215Z

E1023

63
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15

SR-02 ORM-01 /078 W

047784

P R 212158Z MAR 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2598
INFO USMISSION USUN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY PRIORITY

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 1741

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, MX, PFOR, SREF, SHUM
SUBJECT: DETAINEES DEPART FOR MEXICO

REF: SANTIAGO 1626

REFTEL REPORTED GOC ANNOUNCEMENT THAT MEXICO WOULD TAKE 95 OUT OF ORIGINAL GROUP OF 200 DETAINEES OFFERED TO GOM IN PINOCHET SPEECH OF DECEMBER 31. ALL 95 DEPARTED SANTIAGO FOR MEXICO CITY MORNING OF MARCH 21 ON CHARTERED BRANIFF FLIGHT. SOME RELATIVES WILL APPARENTLY FOLLOW LATER. INCLUDED IN 95 WERE LAURA ALLENDE GOSSENS, SISTER OF LATE PRESIDENT, COMMUNISTY PARTY DIRECTOR OF LABOR AFFAIRS CLAUDIO ALEMANY; AND FORMER SOCIALIST PARTY DEPUTY ARTURO PEREZ.
POPPER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

RD 103d

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UNCLASSIFIED

ENCLOSURE 6 TO SANTIAGO A-[illegible]

CASE OF CHARLES E. HORMAN

HANDWRITTEN WORK NOTES NOT CONSIDERED TO BE "DOCUMENTS"

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

248 1 October 1973 - Notes about International Red Cross contact

249 3 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about conversation with Mrs. Horman

250 5 October 1973 - Notes made by Joyce and Edmund Horman at meeting with Ambassador Davis and others by Consul Purdy thereafter

251 5 October 1973 - Handwritten notes by Consul Purdy

252 App. 10 October 1973 - Handwritten Note from Vice Consul Anderson to Consul Purdy

253 16 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about telecon Purdy/Charles Anderson, SCS

254 App. 18 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about telephone call

255 18 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about telecon Purdy/Edmund Horman

256 18 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about telecon Purdy/Charles Anderson, SCS

257 20 October 1973 - Handwritten note about call by Edmund Horman

258 24 October 1973 - Handwritten note about telecon Purdy/Charles Anderson, SCS and Kate Marshall, P

259 App. 24 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about conversation with Inspector Rojas, Investigaciones

260 25 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about telecon Purdy/Charles Anderson, SCS and Kate Marshall, P

261 30 October 1973 - Handwritten notes about telecon Purdy/Candey, SCS

262 15 November 1973 - Handwritten notes about telecon Purdy/Charles Anderson, SCS

263 16 November 1973 - Handwritten notes by Consul Purdy

264 16 November 1973 - Handwritten note on telecon Purdy/Charles Anderson and Betty Banks

265 17 November 1973 - Handwritten notes on telecon Purdy/Ambassador Davis, Arnold Isaacs and Kate Marshall, P

266 November 1973 - Handwritten notes about contacts with Dr. Borgoño, GOC Health Official [illegible] OSA/BC

267 App. March 1974 - Handwritten note from Vice Consul Anderson to Consul Purdy

268 21 March 1974 - Handwritten notes about shipment of human remains, including notes on telecons 21, 22 and 23 March Purdy/Charles Anderson and Douglas Candey, SCS

UNCLASSIFIED

3-30-75

RD103a
0039-0698

AIRGRAM

PA/I

55 Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

A-54

HANDLING INDICATOR

UNCLASSIFIED
(Unclassified when enclosures removed)

Chile Project #S19990003b.
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise _____ Deny _____
Declassify: In Part _____ In Full X
Exemption(s) _____

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TO : Department of State

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS : CGEN, CI

FROM : AmEmbassy SANTIAGO

DATE: March 30, 1975

SUBJECT : Request for Teruggi and Horman Records

REF : STATE 059311 -SCS

FOR PA/FOI

Enclosed are copies of the complete records held by the Embassy, not already provided to the Department, relating to the deaths of Amcits Frank R. Teruggi and Charles E. Horman, as requested in reftel. Consul Purdy holds no files different from those of the Embassy and Department.

Many of the enclosures are handwritten notes, made hurriedly at the time and not transcribed or amplified in any way. It is clearly impractical to transcribe them now and they may be intelligible only to the drafters or the persons addressed in them. The Embassy believes these are not "documents" and therefore are not suitable for transmission in response to a request under the Freedom of Information Act. They are enclosed in the attached (as adapted for PA/FOI) w

Enclosures:

1. Teruggi Case - Documents suitable for release.
2. Teruggi Case - Documents whose release should be cleared with DOC.
3. Teruggi Case - Handwritten working notes not considered to be "documents".
4. Horman Case - Documents suitable for release.
5. Horman Case - Documents whose release should be cleared with DOC.
6. Horman Case - Handwritten working notes not considered to be "documents".

(See next page)

UNCLASSIFIED
(Unclassified when enclosures removed)

POUCH DATA

TO	Action	Info	Initials
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RESTRICTED DISTRIBUTION

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SP	COM	FRB	INT
AR	TAR	TR	ANR
IR	ARMY	NAVY	CSD
IIA	NSA	CIA	

event the Department decides differently. If necessary, Consul Purdy, who is familiar with most of them, will be on consultation in Washington the week of May 11-17 and could answer questions about them.

Enclosures are divided, within each case file, into three categories each with a covering list: a) documents the Embassy judges suitable for release; b) documents provided by officials of the Government of Chile on a confidential or non-attributable basis and whose release, if desired, the Embassy believes should be cleared with the GOC; and c) handwritten work notes the Embassy believes should not be released as explained above.

The Department may wish to advise Senator Kennedy, if he does not already know, that a Government Accounting Office review team visited Santiago for over three weeks in late 1974, was shown copies of all records relating to the Teruggi and Horman cases, and discussed these cases at length with all Embassy officers concerned.

POPPER

Dept decided to release all.

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____
X386

EXDIS DISTRIBUTION
ACTION

L-2

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ARMY 3	NAVY 5	OSD 26
NSA 3	CIA 16	

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POST ROUTING

Action	Info.	Initials
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Taken:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.

P750059-1052

FILE DESIGNATION

[redacted] A-55

HANDLING INDICATOR NO.

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : GENEVA, USUN

EO11652: GDS
TAGS : CI, PFOR, PINT, PORG, SHUM

FROM : Amembassy SANTIAGO DATE: March 30, 1975

SUBJECT : Human Rights Situation in Chile

REF : (A) State 12320; (B) State 34811; (C) State A-1045

I. INTRODUCTION. To assist in meeting Congressional requirements, the Department's instruction of January 17 (ref A) requested of posts a documented and updated appraisal of the record, current status and prospects of host governments "in discharging their obligations under international law" to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.

There is no doubt regarding the nature of the human rights situation in Chile. The country is living under an authoritarian regime, controlled by its military leaders. Eighteen months after the coup which brought the regime to power, a legal State of Siege continues to exist. Under its authority, the constitutional and legal safeguards granted to Chileans and to others under the political constitution of 1925 and long-standing legal provisions have in many important respects ceased to prevail. While violent internal opposition has been virtually wiped out, at least for the time being, there has been no substantial relaxation of the government's internal security controls. However, as indicated below, steps are being taken to reduce the number of detainees held on internal security grounds, primarily through exile to other countries.

We are not asked in this report to apply judgmental criteria to the human rights record of the present government of Chile. Rather, we assume, we are asked to document the failure of the government to observe the standards laid down in the International and Inter-American Declarations,

FORM DS-323 10-64

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

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Typed by:	Drafting Date:	Phone No.:	Contents and Classification Approved by:
POL:JBTipton:gkl (Amb D H Popper-Introduction)	3.27.75		AMB:DHPopper

References:
POL:CRStout

the International Covenants, treaty provisions regarding the treatment of civilians during hostilities, and the country's own constitutional and legal instruments.

Nevertheless, in doing so we would note, for whatever they may be worth, the mitigating circumstances cited by the government to justify its current practices.

The Junta maintains that it assumed power to prevent economic chaos and an impending leftist dictatorship. It contends, rightly or wrongly, that the measures it has taken are a transitory necessity sanctioned under the existing provisions of Chilean law covering emergency situations. It further asserts that it intends to return the country to a democratic system more just and stable than that of the past, when it believes it can safely do so. Accordingly, it has initiated work on a new constitution, and on new legislation which will reflect the need to deal effectively with modern terrorism and other forms of latter-day violence.

Finally, the Junta considers that Chile has been singled out for unprecedentedly harsh treatment, in a world in which scores of other countries carry on similar or worse practices; and it notes that in international agencies its principal accusers are communist states whose control of the individual is much more stringent than that applied in Chile.

We do not defend the Junta's human rights practices. They fall short of those prevalent in many, though not all, countries. Nor do we regard the evolution of Chilean life toward a new democratic order as by any means assured. But we do believe that these factors may to a degree be relevant to a documented survey of the human rights situation in Chile. It should not be forgotten that Chile has normally lived under democratic regimes for generations, and that the bulk of the country accepts the present restrictions, uncomfortably, as temporary expedients to deal with a situation unprecedented in its history.

II. AUTHORITARIANISM, TOTALITARIANISM, AND INTERNAL SECURITY.

Speaking for the GOC, Under Secretary of Interior Lt. Col. Enrique Montero stated during a nationwide radio/television address November 28, 1974: "This is an authoritarian government, and this authority will prevail even though /for it to do so/ may be hard or painful" (Santiago 7280, November 19, 1974). We have no quarrel with Montero's description of his own government. In Webster's words, the military government has imposed "a political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or a small autocratic elite not constitutionally responsible to the body of the people."

It is not, however, a totalitarian system, defined as "a political regime based on subordination of the individual to the state and strict control of all aspects of the life and productive capacity of the nation" (Webster's Third International Dictionary, Unabridged). As will be shown below, there are definite trends in this direction. Yet, although there are some GOC leaders and others in influential positions who would like to impose their vision of the ideal society on Chile, the GOC has not yet made any sustained effort at regimentation of the private lives of Chileans.

The GOC's overriding concern has been and probably will continue to be internal security. The government has made clear that it will pursue, destroy, or neutralize all those who would oppose it by force of arms or internal subversion, and that it will take whatever measures it believes necessary to this end. The GOC appears to conceive of the restrictions it has imposed as limited in nature and time, amply justified given the political turbulence of recent Chilean history, and only prudent in the face of a vengeful and implacable enemy. Yet it is precisely the GOC's zeal for internal security at all costs which has led to the most serious violations of human rights.

Documentation: Declaración de Principios del Gobierno de Chile, 11 de marzo de 1974 (cf Santiago 1353, March 19, 1974); La Junta de Gobierno Frente a la Juridicidad y Los Derechos Humanos (speech by General Leigh April 29, 1974 (cf Santiago 2373, May 3, 1974); speech by General Augusto Pinochet September 11, 1974 (cf Santiago 5561, September 11, 1974).

III. RIGHTS VIOLATED.

Note: In both this section and the next, we have generally followed the listing of human rights contained in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights since the Declaration is the most widely accepted international yardstick in measuring a country's human rights practices.

1. Right to life

During the first four months after the coup, some 100 people were executed as the result of death sentences issued by military tribunals. In addition, an undetermined number of people, perhaps another 100, were killed "trying to escape" from GOC authorities. An undetermined but much larger number were killed as a result of military/police roundups of activist supporters of the Allende government in the weeks immediately following the coup. Since early 1974, however, to our knowledge no executions as a result

of court-ordered death sentences have taken place, nor are we aware of any instances of persons "killed trying to escape." Reports of people "disappearing" are still occasionally heard, and their bodies are sometimes thereafter recovered. Yet this type of execution, usually attributed to government security forces, seems to be relatively rare. One such confirmed case occurred in August, and another recently (Santiago 937).

Documentation: OAS Human Rights Commission Report, especially pp. 150-152 and 168; Amnesty International Report, especially pp. 31-37.

2. Torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.

GOC leaders have admitted that some "abuses," including torture, have been committed against detainees, especially in the early days after the coup. They have denied, however, that torture or other mistreatment of prisoners is in any way government policy; have stated that they have ordered that it cease; and have claimed that officials have been punished for abusing prisoners. The most recent statement along these lines was made by President Pinochet on February 18, 1975 (Santiago 1118). See also General Leigh's speech, April 29, 1974 (Santiago 2373, May 3, 1974). We know of no instance, however, in which the names of those officials so punished, or the punishment they received, has been announced.

There is overwhelming circumstantial evidence that torture of prisoners does take place, and that it has done so since the Junta has been in power. In nearly all cases, when it does occur, it does so during the interrogation of a person just after his initial detention, and takes place in locations other than the long-term detention centers. Torture does not appear to be applied to all persons being interrogated but only to those whom the security services believe are unwilling to talk or who are suspected of lying. A wide variety of methods appears to be employed, including application of electricity to sensitive parts of the body, beatings, degradation, deprivation of sleep, sexual abuse, and witnessing torture of others including family members.

Documentation: OAS Human Rights Commission Report, especially pp. 77-138 and p. 169; Amnesty International Report, pp. 57-63; International Commission of Jurists Report, pp. 24-26.

3. Equal protection of the law; right to an effective remedy for violation of rights by competent national tribunals; fair and public hearings by an independent and impartial tribunal; presumption of innocence until proved guilty; freedom from ex post facto penalties.

A State of Siege, still in effect, was imposed on the day of the coup. A State of War was also declared at that time, thereby giving military tribunals operating under the Code of Military

Justice jurisdiction over nearly all types of security cases. The Junta maintains that it is entitled to exercise its extraordinary powers in this way, pursuant to the Chilean Political Constitution of 1925 and various Chilean statutes of long standing.

Although the legal State of War was ended September 11, 1974, Decree Law 640 of that date set out a new range of graduated options for government through emergency measures, and Decree Law 641 declared a "State of Siege, level of Internal Defense," in which the wartime provisions of the Code of Military Justice and the emergency powers of the government apply substantially as they do under the State of External or Internal War (see Santiago A-181. September 25, 1974). Thus, despite a few changes in nomenclature, the practices of the regime with respect to persons detained on internal security grounds remain virtually unchanged, even though internal, politically motivated violence has become very rare.

The system of military justice, as applied in Chile since the coup, has been exhaustively analyzed and heavily criticized by numerous investigative bodies. As indicated below, internal security suspects are typically seized without warrants or in major dragnet operations; their families are not informed of their whereabouts; and they may be detained indefinitely without charges. Other criticisms center around disregard for due process, including use of confessions obtained through torture, denial of any or of adequate access of lawyers to their clients, secret trials, inadequate time to prepare legal defense, application of internal security legislation retroactively, denial of the right of habeas corpus (amparo), and inability to appeal to civilian tribunals. The Chilean civil courts have also been sharply criticized for almost invariably refusing to become involved in security cases, especially in refusing to hear amparo requests. Further, Decree Law 788 (Santiago 7433 December 6, 1974) which declared that previous decree laws which touched on provisions of the Constitution ipso facto amended the Constitution, has caused considerable confusion about which provisions of the Constitution are actually in force, have been amended, have been suspended, or have been repealed. This decree law also in effect gave constitutional status to any future decisions to which the regime wishes to apply it.

In a related area, the GOC has not fully honored its obligations under Article 36 of the Vienna Consular Convention. Within the last few months, the USG has protested GOC failure promptly to notify the Embassy of an arrest of an American citizen (Conger case), GOC failure to authorize timely consular access to arrested Americans (Cerretti et al case), and mistreatment of arrested American citizens by GOC authorities (Cerretti et al). Other

embassies have also experienced difficulties in these areas (e.g. case of a Swiss newsman, case of a Dutch priest).

Documentation: ICJ Report, pp. 5-15; OAS Human Rights Commission Report, pp. 139-149; Santiago 7264, November 27, 1974; Santiago 1304; Santiago 1370.

4. Freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

In the days following the coup, mass arrests involving thousands of people took place. In an attempt to regularize the use of the arresting power, the Junta issued Decree Law 228 (published January 3, 1974) which specifies that the power to detain people under a State of Siege shall be exercised by the Junta through the issuance of decrees. In addition, government security agencies are supposed to notify the Secretariat of Detainees within 72 hours after a person is detained (Santiago 196). It is clear that both provisions are consistently ignored by GOC security agencies. Many, if not most, persons are detained without warrant and taken to an interrogation center where they are often held for more than 72 hours (see also Santiago 0647, para 3). During this period, family members are not notified of the detainees' whereabouts; in his September 11, 1974 speech General Pinochet specifically rejected this possibility, alleging that to provide such notification could prevent the security services from following up leads developed during interrogation. After interrogation, many persons are released rather than sent on to detention centers.

The GOC operates several major detention centers (Tres Alamos, Quiriquina, Chacabuco, Ritoque, Puchuncavi are the best known). These centers are visited by ICRC representatives, and detainees may receive visits from relatives, friends, and lawyers. There appears to be almost unanimous agreement among qualified observers that conditions at these centers are adequate if Spartan. Torture does not appear to take place in any of these centers, in contrast to the interrogation centers.

Most foreign groups tend to describe all persons detained for security reasons as "political prisoners." The GOC, however, sharply divides this group into three categories: Category I--persons detained without charge under State of Siege regulations (GOC officials and the Santiago press often refer to this category as "political prisoners" -- reos políticos); Category II--those subject to and under the control of the judicial process, nearly always military rather than civilian justice, and awaiting trial; and Category III--those convicted by tribunals, again nearly always military, and serving their sentences. In a March 14, 1975 statement, Minister of Interior Benavides gave the following figures for persons held in each category: Catego 1,417; Category II--1,780; Category III--1,557 (Santiago 1678). The GOC has generally excluded all common criminals from these

categories, and has consistently distinguished them from security detainees. The GOC has never, however, provided any figures on persons held in interrogation centers. Thus, the combined total of all three categories is less than the actual number of persons being held at any one time for security reasons.

On September 11, 1974, General Pinochet announced that the GOC was willing to release into exile nearly all of its security detainees. The detainee release program got off to a slow start, but on November 11 a list of 100 persons (apparently all Category I) was announced (Santiago 6868, November 12, 1974) with subsequent lists promised once these first 100 were placed. No subsequent public lists have yet appeared, although there are at least two other lists of uncertain status which are presently being circulated to embassies and others who might be able to arrange for countries of reception. Most but not all of the persons on the original list of 100 have now departed for exile abroad. In addition, 95 detainees have been sent at GOC expense to Mexico, 26 to Venezuela, and lesser numbers to other countries. The GOC has also released into exile several prominent leaders of the Allende era, including former Cabinet Ministers Clodomiro Almeyda, Orlando Letelier, Jaime Tohá, and Jorge Tapia, and such senior political leaders as Hugo Miranda, Anselmo Sule, and Carlos Morales. Another dozen or so top Allende era leaders remain in detention with no charges brought against them, however, and two have died while in GOC custody (Jose Tohá, General Alberto Bachelet).

Various GOC critics have charged that forced exile as the price for release from detention is, in effect, arbitrary exile within the meaning of Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Decree Law 81 empowers the GOC to exile citizens in the interests of State security; this decree was used in November 1974 in the highly publicized expulsion case of former Senator and Christian Democratic Party President Renán Fuentealba (Santiago 7433, December 6, 1974, and previous).

Beginning in mid-1974, combined military/police sweeps of entire neighborhoods have taken place. Troops have sealed off an entire area, usually in the early morning hours after curfew, and systematically searched all homes in the area and checked the identity and police records of most residents. The announced GOC goal is to suppress crime and to control common criminals (delinquentes), but some persons caught in these sweeps have admittedly been processed on security grounds.

In addition, several hundred persons described by the GOC as hard-core common criminals have been sent without trial to GOC workcamps in Pisagua and elsewhere for "rehabilitation" (Santiago 4446, July 26, 1974).

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 70-76; ICJ Report, pp. 19-27; ICRC Half-Yearly Report on Chile, January-June 1974; Amnesty International Report, pp. 15-30.

5. Freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence, and from attacks on honor and reputation.

All constitutional guarantees regarding searches and seizures have been suspended under the State of Siege regulations, and the home is no longer inviolate to GOC security forces. Many of the detentions of persons without warrant described above have taken place at their homes. Many homes have been searched without warrant, particularly in the mass military/police sweeps, and property including books and personal papers has been confiscated. There is a pervasive belief among Chileans, although with little documentation to support it, that the GOC has installed a large number of telephone taps and reads private correspondence in the postal system, particularly that going to or coming from abroad. The GOC has publicly admitted that it censors correspondence to and from security detainees.

In the area of attacks on honor and reputation, there does not appear to be a deliberate GOC policy of slander against its opponents, in spite of sometimes vicious press campaigns against such prominent figures of the Allende era as Orlando Letelier. Most of the GOC statements in this area have been political attacks on political opponents (e.g. March 20, 1975 Foreign Ministry press release on Carlos Altamirano), although occasionally the distinction tends to blur.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 70-76; ICJ Report, pp. 19-27; Amnesty International Report, pp. 15-30; Santiago 1164.

6. Freedom of movement and residence within the borders of the State; the right to leave and to return to the country.

There is no restriction on internal movement within Chile. Nor is there any political restriction on Chileans traveling abroad, although a high exit tax (relative to other Western Hemisphere countries) may serve to limit international travel somewhat for economic reasons. Decree Law 604, however, provides that the GOC may bar entry into Chile of any Chilean or foreigner who "dishonors, defames, or deprecates" Chile or the GOC (Santiago 4803, August 20, 1974); this decree law was apparently applied to former Senator Aniceto Rodriguez in mid-September 1974 (Santiago 5612, September 13, 1974). In other words, this decree law raises the prospect of permanent

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exile of Chileans from Chile. The GOC has also announced that Chileans exiled abroad must apply for readmission to Chile and that each case would be studied individually.

7. Freedom from arbitrary deprivation of nationality.

Decree Law 175 empowers the GOC to deprive Chileans of their citizenship for activities abroad "against the interests of the State" (Santiago 6074, December 11, 1973). This decree law has been applied in at least two cases, Herman Uribe Ortega (Santiago 5494, September 9, 1974) and Luis Figueroa Mazuela (Santiago 5870, September 26, 1974).

8. Freedom from arbitrary deprivation of property.

As well as outlawing political parties and groups of the Left, Decree Law 77 also provides that property belonging to such entities will be confiscated by the government. In addition to the political parties themselves, this Decree Law has been applied to dozens of individuals, business enterprises, and other entities. A substantial number of automobiles, private homes, and other goods have been confiscated without compensation.

On the other hand, the regime is committed to the protection of private property belonging to other segments of the population. Land and belongings illegally expropriated under the Allende regime are in many cases being restored to their owners, through normal judicial processes. The home of the late Pablo Neruda, at the seaside resort of Isla Negra, was taken over by the government, but his widow has been allowed to continue in occupancy and it is expected to become a national monument after her death.

Documentation: OAS Report, p. 162.

9. Right to freedom of opinion and expression.

GOC leaders have repeatedly stated that Marxism as an ideological doctrine is unacceptable in Chile. The clearest statement of this position is contained in the "Declaration of the Principles of the Government of Chile" (Section III, Article 5) and in Decree Law 77. The GOC has moved forcefully to translate these statements of ideological position into concrete action. All newspapers, magazines, radio broadcasts, books, and other expressions of opinion which reflect a "Marxist" point of view, as determined by the GOC, have been banned. All media outlets are presently subject to "self-censorship;" in the past, some have had prior censorship (Ercilla, Que Pasa, Mensaje, Radio Balmaceda). The limitation was made more clear in an interview published on March 6, 1975, in which the Junta Director for Information and Social Communications said: "Currently all

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means of diffusion have self-censorship . . . That means that each of the editors, in good conscience, has to decide if there is anything that does not agree with the general principles of the Junta of Government." Nevertheless, Junta policy was put in other words by President Pinochet on February 17, 1975, when he claimed publicly that "there exists complete liberty of expression, without limitation other than that of ethics and common sense" (Santiago 1118).

There is no free discussion of any political themes in Chile today, except for the political philosophy of the Junta, and there is a pervasive reluctance to engage in such discussion for fear of possible denunciation and subsequent incarceration. Many Chileans believe, rightly or wrongly, that the security services have established a network of informers (soplones) who are constantly alert for criticism of the Junta and its policies. In one widely publicized case, the GOC brought charges, later dismissed by the courts, against former University of Chile Law School Dean Eugenio Velasco, for sharply criticizing GOC human rights policies. Velasco is clearly non-Marxist and was in the forefront of opposition to the Allende Government.

Diversity of opinion in the educational system, particularly at the university level, has been restricted to a fairly narrow range, and substantial numbers of university students and professors have been expelled. In some cases, entire departments have been abolished (e.g. Center for the Study of the National Reality - CEREN - at Catholic University Santiago). A system of military monitors at the secondary school level has also been established, although the principal motivation appears to be order and discipline rather than the control of substantive educational content.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 153-155 and p. 170; ICJ Report, pp. 10-11; ICJ Press Release, December 5, 1974.

10. Freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

Meetings of such organizations as trade unions and civic associations are strictly controlled, usually requiring a previous government permit and often including a government monitor. In sharp contrast to previous Chilean governments, there has been only one major street rally (September 11, 1974) in the 18 months the Junta has been in power, and that occurred with explicit GOC authorization and tacit support. An unauthorized street demonstration, a political rally, or a trade union strike is unthinkable in the present environment.

Those political parties which supported the Allende government are outlawed (Decree Law 77) and, according to GOC statements, will remain so indefinitely. Those that opposed Allende have been "recessed" (Decree Law 78), also apparently indefinitely, and are prevented from engaging in such standard political party activities as recruiting members, holding meetings, presenting views on public issues, or nominating candidates for public office.

Documentation: OAS Report, p. 162; Report to ILO Governing Body, Document GB, 195/3/1, 195th Session.

11. Right to take part in the government, directly or through freely chosen representatives; expression of the popular will through periodic and genuine elections.

There are no elections of government officials of any kind at any level, nor are there elections for officers of most private groups. With but minor exceptions, all such officials are appointed directly or indirectly by the government, and "political suitability" is often applied as a criterion. All general electoral rolls have been destroyed (Decree Law 130). As noted above, political parties no longer perform their traditional function of ensuring interaction between the government and the populace. Although the GOC has created a regionalization scheme and several new institutions directed, for example, at women and youth to play this role, there is great doubt that they genuinely allow the citizen the full participation in civic life which the GOC alleges. The GOC view of "participation" appears to be a paternalistic, from-the-top-down type of arrangement, with no effective decision-making power at the grass-roots level.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 156-157; Santiago A-40, February 26, 1975.

12. Right to work, to free choice of employment, to protection against unemployment, to an existence worthy of human dignity, to form and to join trade unions, and to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of the individual and his family.

After the coup, the GOC disbanded only a few trade unions and trade union federations, the most important of which were the Chilean Workers Confederation (CUT) and the Teachers Union (SUTE). Although the remainder continue to exist, their activities are sharply circumscribed by Decree Law 198. The right to strike and to bargain collectively has been "suspended;" trade union meetings are subject to prior government approval and monitoring; and election of officers has also been suspended.

There has been discrimination in employment against persons known to hold or suspected of holding Marxist beliefs or otherwise out of favor with the GOC, and many have been dismissed from government and private employment. Moreover, many of these persons have had serious problems in finding new jobs.

As one result of the GOC's policy of economic austerity, the official unemployment rate has hit nearly unprecedented levels (10.4 percent in October 1974 and 9.5 percent in November 1974, according to official government figures, which may be considerably understated--see Santiago A-30, January 5, 1975). Public concern about the unemployment problem has been rising (see Santiago A-36, February 19, 1975). The GOC has established an expanded unemployment insurance program and has announced a program of public works employment for the unemployed, but both measures have been criticized as "too little and too late" to alleviate suffering among some low-income unemployed. Families of security detainees, in addition to suffering the absence of the principal bread-winner, have apparently been subjected to other kinds of economic discrimination.

Documentation: ILO Report; OAS Report, especially p. 162.

IV. RIGHTS RELATIVELY UNENCUMBERED.

1. Freedom from discrimination on grounds of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national or social origin, property, or birth.

As noted above, however, there is discrimination on the basis of political opinion.

2. Freedom from slavery.

3. Recognition as a person before the law.

4. Right to asylum.

After the coup hundreds of persons, both Chileans and foreigners resident in Chile, sought political asylum in foreign embassies. Although initially slow to process these cases, once the new government was able to get the bureaucratic machinery moving again the asylees began to move out of Chile at a reasonable pace. However, a hard core of some 250-300 remained, nearly all of whom had

played an active role in the Allende government. A GOC decision was made in mid-1974 to let this group go as well and the Embassies were generally clear soon thereafter, with the exception of the Italian Embassy, where bilateral relations problems hampered progress. However, as the GOC security forces successfully broke the terrorist-inclined Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) starting in October, and as the economic situation became increasingly difficult, a new wave of asylees composed mainly of disillusioned MIRistas and persons seeking a better economic situation abroad began entering the embassies. This situation prevails today. The GOC has processed these cases efficiently, and the undeniable delays in the physical departure of these asylees are largely the result of the unwillingness of many countries to accept them. As the supply of potential asylees appears to be inexhaustible, however, the asylee problem will continue for the foreseeable future, though doubtless at a reduced rate.

In the area of refugees, a number of third-country nationals, perhaps as many as 15,000, were in Chile at the time of the coup, and many had good reason to fear for their safety. Nevertheless, with some exceptions including the deaths of two US citizens in the early days of the coup, under circumstances that have never been clarified, the GOC's record in dealing with the refugee problem is good. The GOC authorized the operation of an interdenominational committee to assist refugees, respected the several safe havens which this committee established, cooperated fully with the UNHCR and related agencies, and expedited the issuance of safe conduct and the physical departure of those who chose to leave Chile. Consequently, the refugee problem was effectively resolved within four or five months after the coup, and has not been an issue since.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 158-161.

5. Marriage and the family.

6. Freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

The GOC has placed no restrictions on the mainstream religions--Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. However, two quasi-religious sects, Divine Light and SILO, were forcibly disbanded, and a few of their leaders were detained without charge for long periods.

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7. Right to social security.

8. Right to rest and leisure.

9. Right to an education.

10. Free participation in cultural life.

There is one other area in which the GOC's record is good--its openness in receiving foreign investigators checking into human rights violations. Of the dozens of public and private groups who have requested entry to Chile, only two have been turned down: delegations of the International Transport Workers Federation in November 1974 (according to the GOC, due to scheduling conflicts with an ILO investigating team visiting at the same time), and of the International Parliamentary Union. Although General Pinochet warned in his December 31, 1974, year-end speech that such investigatory bodies might henceforth be denied entry to Chile unless they also investigated reports of human rights violations in such countries as Cuba and the Soviet Union (Santiago 1134), to date there has been no important problem in this area.

V. CONCLUSION.

It is clear that normal human rights standards customarily observed in Chile have in many respects been seriously impaired under the Junta's authority. Many human rights abuses and denials of fundamental freedoms have been instituted through Government decision, on the ground that the suppression of certain rights is required during the present period of emergency, to deal with actual or potential violence and subversion. In this sense, those in authority in Chile explicitly "encourage and direct" violations.

The evidence also leads to the conclusion that Chilean authorities "ignore (i.e., do not react to) and condone" certain violations not sanctioned by any type of law. It is unthinkable, for example, that the use of the Air Force War Academy as an interrogation center in which torture is applied, a charge repeatedly made in the available documentation, is unknown to Air Force Commander and Junta member General Gustavo Leigh. Nor can the wide-ranging activities of DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional) have escaped their scrutiny.

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The great majority of Chileans in Chile do not have problems with the GOC and are not subject to persecution. They live a generally normal life. The military government has brought order and tranquility out of the political chaos inherited from Allende, and most Chileans appreciate this. However, many of those Chileans who do have problems with the GOC--and there are thousands of them--appear frequently to be the victims of arbitrary and draconic procedures inconsistent with approved human rights standards.

Moreover, there is a concern among people in all sectors of the society that one day they too could face such problems. And, except in a few limited areas, there has been no recent indication that the overall human rights situation will improve dramatically in the near future.

POPPER

AIRGRAM

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FROM : Amembassy SANTIAGO DATE: March 30, 1975

SUBJECT : Human Rights Situation in Chile

REF : (A) State 12320; (B) State 34811; (C) State A-1045

I. INTRODUCTION. To assist in meeting Congressional requirements, the Department's instruction of January 17 (ref A) requested of posts a documented and updated appraisal of the record, current status and prospects of host governments "in discharging their obligations under international law" to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.

There is no doubt regarding the nature of the human rights situation in Chile. The country is living under an authoritarian regime, controlled by its military leaders. Eighteen months after the coup which brought the regime to power, a legal State of Siege continues to exist. Under its authority, the constitutional and legal safeguards granted to Chileans and to others under the political constitution of 1925 and long-standing legal provisions have in many important respects ceased to prevail. While violent internal opposition has been virtually wiped out, at least for the time being, there has been no substantial relaxation of the government's internal security controls. However, as indicated below, steps are being taken to reduce the number of detainees held on internal security grounds, primarily through exile to other countries.

We are not asked in this report to apply judgmental criteria to the human rights record of the present government of Chile. Rather, we assume, we are asked to document the failure of the government to observe the standards laid down in the International and Inter-American Declarations,

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the International Covenants, treaty provisions regarding the treatment of civilians during hostilities, and the country's own constitutional and legal instruments.

Nevertheless, in doing so we would note, for whatever they may be worth, the mitigating circumstances cited by the government to justify its current practices.

The Junta maintains that it assumed power to prevent economic chaos and an impending leftist dictatorship. It contends, rightly or wrongly, that the measures it has taken are a transitory necessity sanctioned under the existing provisions of Chilean law covering emergency situations. It further asserts that it intends to return the country to a democratic system more just and stable than that of the past, when it believes it can safely do so. Accordingly, it has initiated work on a new constitution, and on new legislation which will reflect the need to deal effectively with modern terrorism and other forms of latter-day violence.

Finally, the Junta considers that Chile has been singled out for unprecedentedly harsh treatment, in a world in which scores of other countries carry on similar or worse practices; and it notes that in international agencies its principal accusers are communist states whose control of the individual is much more stringent than that applied in Chile.

We do not defend the Junta's human rights practices. They fall short of those prevalent in many, though not all, countries. Nor do we regard the evolution of Chilean life toward a new democratic order as by any means assured. But we do believe that these factors may to a degree be relevant to a documented survey of the human rights situation in Chile. It should not be forgotten that Chile has normally lived under democratic regimes for generations, and that the bulk of the country accepts the present restrictions, uncomfortably, as temporary expedients to deal with a situation unprecedented in its history.

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Speaking for the GOC, Under Secretary of Interior Lt. Col. Enrique Montero stated during a nationwide radio/television address November 28, 1974: "This is an authoritarian government, and this authority will prevail even though /for it to do so/ may be hard or painful" (Santiago 7280, November 19, 1974). We have no quarrel with Montero's description of his own government. In Webster's words, the military government has imposed "a political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or a small autocratic elite not constitutionally responsible to the body of the people."

It is not, however, a totalitarian system, defined as "a political regime based on subordination of the individual to the state and strict control of all aspects of the life and productive capacity of the nation" (Webster's Third International Dictionary, Unabridged). As will be shown below, there are definite trends in this direction. Yet, although there are some GOC leaders and others in influential positions who would like to impose their vision of the ideal society on Chile, the GOC has not yet made any sustained effort at regimentation of the private lives of Chileans.

The GOC's overriding concern has been and probably will continue to be internal security. The government has made clear that it will pursue, destroy, or neutralize all those who would oppose it by force of arms or internal subversion, and that it will take whatever measures it believes necessary to this end. The GOC appears to conceive of the restrictions it has imposed as limited in nature and time, amply justified given the political turbulence of recent Chilean history, and only prudent in the face of a vengeful and implacable enemy. Yet it is precisely the GOC's zeal for internal security at all costs which has led to the most serious violations of human rights.

Documentation: Declaración de Principios del Gobierno de Chile, 11 de marzo de 1974 (cf Santiago 1353, March 19, 1974); La Junta de Gobierno Frente a la Juridicidad y Los Derechos Humanos (speech by General Leigh April 29, 1974 (cf Santiago 2373, May 3, 1974); speech by General Augusto Pinochet September 11, 1974 (cf Santiago 5561, September 11, 1974).

III. RIGHTS VIOLATED.

Note: In both this section and the next, we have generally followed the listing of human rights contained in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights since the Declaration is the most widely accepted international yardstick in measuring a country's human rights practices.

1. Right to life

During the first four months after the coup, some 100 people were executed as the result of death sentences issued by military tribunals. In addition, an undetermined number of people, perhaps another 100, were killed "trying to escape" from GOC authorities. An undetermined but much larger number were killed as a result of military/police roundups of activist supporters of the Allende government in the weeks immediately following the coup. Since early 1974, however, to our knowledge no executions as a result

of court-ordered death sentences have taken place, nor are we aware of any instances of persons "killed trying to escape." Reports of people "disappearing" are still occasionally heard, and their bodies are sometimes thereafter recovered. Yet this type of execution, usually attributed to government security forces seems to be relatively rare. One such confirmed case occurred in August, and another recently (Santiago 937).

Documentation: OAS Human Rights Commission Report, especially pp. 150-152 and 168; Amnesty International Report, especially pp. 31-37.

2. Torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishmen

GOC leaders have admitted that some "abuses," including torture, have been committed against detainees, especially in the early days after the coup. They have denied, however, that torture or other mistreatment of prisoners is in any way government policy have stated that they have ordered that it cease; and have claime that officials have been punished for abusing prisoners. The most recent statement along these lines was made by President Pinochet on February 18, 1975 (Santiago 1118). See also General Leigh's speech, April 29, 1974 (Santiago 2373, May 3, 1974). We know of no instance, however, in which the names of those officials so punished, or the punishment they received, has been announced.

There is overwhelming circumstantial evidence that torture of prisoners does take place, and that it has done so since the Junta has been in power. In nearly all cases, when it does occur, it does so during the interrogation of a person just after his initial detention, and takes place in locations other than the long-term detention centers. Torture does not appear to be applied to all persons being interrogated but only to those whom the security services believe are unwilling to talk or who are suspected of lying. A wide variety of methods appears to be employed, including application of electricity to sensitive parts of the body, beatings, degradation, deprivation of sleep, sexual abuse, and witnessing torture of others including family members.

Documentation: OAS Human Rights Commission Report, especially pp. 77-138 and p. 169; Amnesty International Report, pp. 57-63; International Commission of Jurists Report, pp. 24-26.

3. Equal protection of the law; right to an effective remedy for violation of rights by competent national tribunals; fair and public hearings by an independent and impartial tribunal; presumption of innocence until proved guilty; freedom from ex post facto penalties.

A State of Siege, still in effect, was imposed on the day of the coup. A State of War was also declared at that time, thereby giving military tribunals operating under the Code of Military

Justice jurisdiction over nearly all types of security cases. The Junta maintains that it is entitled to exercise its extraordinary powers in this way, pursuant to the Chilean Political Constitution of 1925 and various Chilean statutes of long standing.

Although the Legal State of War was ended September 11, 1974, Decree Law 641 of that date set the precedent of unilateral executive declaration of [illegible] and Decree Law 640 declared a State of Siege [illegible] with the various provisions of the Code of Military Justice and the emergency powers of the government apply substantially as they do under the State of External or Internal War (see Santiago A-181, September 25, 1974). Thus, despite a few changes in nomenclature, the practices of the regime with respect to persons detained on internal security grounds remain virtually unchanged, even though internal, politically motivated violence has become very rare.

The system of military justice, as applied in Chile since the coup, has been exhaustively analyzed and heavily criticized by numerous investigative bodies. As indicated below, internal security suspects are typically seized without warrants or in major dragnet operations; their families are not informed of their whereabouts; and they may be detained indefinitely without charges. Other criticisms center around disregard for due process, including use of confessions obtained through torture, denial of any or of adequate access of lawyers to their clients, secret trials, inadequate time to prepare legal defense, application of internal security legislation retroactively, denial of the right of habeas corpus (amparo), and inability to appeal to civilian tribunals. The Chilean civil courts have also been sharply criticized for almost invariably refusing to become involved in security cases, especially in refusing to hear amparo requests. Further, Decree Law 788 (Santiago 7433 December 6, 1974) which declared that previous decree laws which touched on provisions of the Constitution ipso facto amended the Constitution, has caused considerable confusion about which provisions of the Constitution are actually in force, have been amended, have been suspended, or have been repealed. This decree law also in effect gave constitutional status to any future decisions to which the regime wishes to apply it.

In a related area, the GOC has not fully honored its obligations under Article 36 of the Vienna Consular Convention. Within the last few months, the USG has protested GOC failure promptly to notify the Embassy of an arrest of an American citizen (Conger case), GOC failure to authorize timely consular access to arrested Americans (Cerretti et al case), and mistreatment of arrested American citizens by GOC authorities (Cerretti et al). Other

embassies have also experienced difficulties in these areas (e.g. case of a Swiss newsman, case of a Dutch priest).

Documentation: ICJ Report, pp. 5-15; OAS Human Rights Commission Report, pp. 139-149; Santiago 7264, November 27, 1974; Santiago 1304; Santiago 1370.

4. Freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

In the days following the coup, mass arrests involving thousands of people took place. In an attempt to regularize the use of the arresting power, the Junta issued Decree Law 228 (published January 3, 1974) which specifies that the power to detain people under a State of Siege shall be exercised by the Junta through the issuance of decrees. In addition, government security agencies are supposed to notify the Secretariat of Detainees within 72 hours after a person is detained (Santiago 196). It is clear that both provisions are consistently ignored by GOC security agencies. Many, if not most, persons are detained without warrant and taken to an interrogation center where they are often held for more than 72 hours (see also Santiago 0647, para 3). During this period, family members are not notified of the detainees' whereabouts; in his September 11, 1974 speech General Pinochet specifically rejected this possibility, alleging that to provide such notification could prevent the security services from following up leads developed during interrogation. After interrogation, many persons are released rather than sent on to detention centers.

The GOC operates several major detention centers (Tres Alamos, Quiriquina, Chacabuco, Ritoque, Puchuncavi are the best known). These centers are visited by ICRC representatives, and detainees may receive visits from relatives, friends, and lawyers. There appears to be almost unanimous agreement among qualified observers that conditions at these centers are adequate if Spartan. Torture does not appear to take place in any of these centers, in contrast to the interrogation centers.

Most foreign groups tend to describe all persons detained for security reasons as "political prisoners." The GOC, however, sharply divides this group into three categories: Category I--persons detained without charge under State of Siege regulations (GOC officials and the Santiago press often refer to this category as "political prisoners" -- reos políticos); Category II--those subject to and under the control of the judicial process, nearly always military rather than civilian justice, and awaiting trial; and Category III--those convicted by tribunals, again nearly always military, and serving their sentences. In a March 14, 1975 statement, Minister of Interior Benavides gave the following figures for persons held in each category: Category 1,417; Category II--1,780; Category III--1,557 (Santiago 1678). The GOC has generally excluded all common criminals from these

categories, and has consistently distinguished them from security detainees. The GOC has never, however, provided any figures on persons held in interrogation centers. Thus, the combined total of all three categories is less than the actual number of persons being held at any one time for security reasons.

On September 11, 1974, General Pinochet announced that the GOC was willing to release into exile nearly all of its security detainees. The detainee release program got off to a slow start, but on November 11 a list of 100 persons (apparently all Category I) was announced (Santiago 6868, November 12, 1974) with subsequent lists promised once these first 100 were placed. No subsequent public lists have yet appeared, although there are at least two other lists of uncertain status which are presently being circulated to embassies and others who might be able to arrange for countries of reception. Most but not all of the persons on the original list of 100 have now departed for exile abroad. In addition, 95 detainees have been sent at GOC expense to Mexico, 26 to Venezuela, and lesser numbers to other countries. The GOC has also released into exile several prominent leaders of the Allende era, including former Cabinet Ministers Clodomiro Almeyda, Orlando Letelier, Jaime Tohá, and Jorge Tapia, and such senior political leaders as Hugo Miranda, Anselmo Sule, and Carlos Morales. Another dozen or so top Allende era leaders remain in detention with no charges brought against them, however, and two have died while in GOC custody (Jose Tohá, General Alberto Bachelet).

Various GOC critics have charged that forced exile as the price for release from detention is, in effect, arbitrary exile within the meaning of Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Decree Law 81 empowers the GOC to exile citizens in the interests of State security; this decree was used in November 1974 in the highly publicized expulsion case of former Senator and Christian Democratic Party President Renán Fuentealba (Santiago 7433, December 6, 1974, and previous).

Beginning in mid-1974, combined military/police sweeps of entire neighborhoods have taken place. Troops have sealed off an entire area, usually in the early morning hours after curfew, and systematically searched all homes in the area and checked the identity and police records of most residents. The announced GOC goal is to suppress crime and to control common criminals (delinquentes), but some persons caught in these sweeps have admittedly been processed on security grounds.

In addition, several hundred persons described by the GOC as hard-core common criminals have been sent without trial to GOC workcamps in Pisagua and elsewhere for "rehabilitation" (Santiago 4446, July 26, 1974).

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 70-76; ICJ Report, pp. 19-27; ICRC Half-Yearly Report on Chile, January-June 1974; Amnesty International Report, pp. 15-30.

5. Freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence, and from attacks on honor and reputation.

All constitutional guarantees regarding searches and seizures have been suspended under the State of Siege regulations, and the home is no longer inviolate to GOC security forces. Many of the detentions of persons without warrant described above have taken place at their homes. Many homes have been searched without warrant, particularly in the mass military/police sweeps, and property including books and personal papers has been confiscated. There is a pervasive belief among Chileans, although with little documentation to support it, that the GOC has installed a large number of telephone taps and reads private correspondence in the postal system, particularly that going to or coming from abroad. The GOC has publicly admitted that it censors correspondence to and from security detainees.

In the area of attacks on honor and reputation, there does not appear to be a deliberate GOC policy of slander against its opponents, in spite of sometimes vicious press campaigns against such prominent figures of the Allende era as Orlando Letelier. Most of the GOC statements in this area have been political attacks on political opponents (e.g. March 20, 1975 Foreign Ministry press release on Carlos Altamirano), although occasionally the distinction tends to blur.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 70-76; ICJ Report, pp. 19-27; Amnesty International Report, pp. 15-30; Santiago 1164.

6. Freedom of movement and residence within the borders of the State; the right to leave and to return to the country.

There is no restriction on internal movement within Chile. Nor is there any political restriction on Chileans traveling abroad, although a high exit tax (relative to other Western Hemisphere countries) may serve to limit international travel somewhat for economic reasons. Decree Law 604, however, provides that the GOC may bar entry into Chile of any Chilean or foreigner who "dishonors, defames, or deprecates" Chile or the GOC (Santiago 4803, August 20, 1974); this decree law was apparently applied to former Senator Aniceto Rodriguez in mid-September 1974 (Santiago 5612, September 13, 1974). In other words, this decree law raises the prospect of permanent

exile of Chileans from Chile. The GOC has also announced that Chileans exiled abroad must apply for readmission to Chile and that each case would be studied individually.

7. Freedom from arbitrary deprivation of nationality.

Decree Law 175 empowers the GOC to deprive Chileans of their citizenship for activities abroad "against the interests of the State" (Santiago 6074, December 11, 1973). This decree law has been applied in at least two cases, Herman Uribe Ortega (Santiago 5494, September 9, 1974) and Luis Figueroa Mazuela (Santiago 5870, September 26, 1974).

8. Freedom from arbitrary deprivation of property.

As well as outlawing political parties and groups of the Left, Decree Law 77 also provides that property belonging to such entities will be confiscated by the government. In addition to the political parties themselves, this Decree Law has been applied to dozens of individuals, business enterprises, and other entities. A substantial number of automobiles, private homes, and other goods have been confiscated without compensatio

On the other hand, the regime is committed to the protection of private property belonging to other segments of the population. Land and belongings illegally expropriated under the Allende regime are in many cases being restored to their owners, through normal judicial processes. The home of the late Pablo Neruda, at the seaside resort of Isla Negra, was taken over by the government, but his widow has been allowed to continue in occupancy and it is expected to become a national monument after her death.

Documentation: OAS Report, p. 162.

9. Right to freedom of opinion and expression.

GOC leaders have repeatedly stated that Marxism as an ideological doctrine is unacceptable in Chile. The clearest statement of this position is contained in the "Declaration of the Principles of the Government of Chile" (Section III, Article 5) and in Decree Law 77. The GOC has moved forcefully to translate these statements of ideological position into concrete action. All newspapers, magazines, radio broadcasts, books, and other expressions of opinion which reflect a "Marxist" point of view, as determined by the GOC, have been banned. All media outlets are presently subject to "self-censorship;" in the past, some have had prior censorship (Ercilla, Que Pasa, Mensaje, Radio Balmaceda). The limitation was made more clear in an interview published on March 6, 1975, in which the Junta Director for Information and Social Communications said: "Currently all

means of diffusion have self-censorship . . . That means that each of the editors, in good conscience, has to decide if there is anything that does not agree with the general principles of the Junta of Government." Nevertheless, Junta policy was put in other words by President Pinochet on February 17, 1975, when he claimed publicly that "there exists complete liberty of expression, without limitation other than that of ethics and common sense" (Santiago 1118).

There is no free discussion of any political themes in Chile today, except for the political philosophy of the Junta, and there is a pervasive reluctance to engage in such discussion for fear of possible denunciation and subsequent incarceration. Many Chileans believe, rightly or wrongly, that the security services have established a network of informers (soplones) who are constantly alert for criticism of the Junta and its policies. In one widely publicized case, the GOC brought charges, later dismissed by the courts, against former University of Chile Law School Dean Eugenio Velasco, for sharply criticizing GOC human rights policies. Velasco is clearly non-Marxist and was in the forefront of opposition to the Allende Government.

Diversity of opinion in the educational system, particularly at the university level, has been restricted to a fairly narrow range, and substantial numbers of university students and professors have been expelled. In some cases, entire departments have been abolished (e.g. Center for the Study of the National Reality - CEREN - at Catholic University Santiago). A system of military monitors at the secondary school level has also been established, although the principal motivation appears to be order and discipline rather than the control of substantive educational content.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 153-155 and p. 170; ICJ Report, pp. 10-11; ICJ Press Release, December 5, 1974.

10. Freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

Meetings of such organizations as trade unions and civic associations are strictly controlled, usually requiring a previous government permit and often including a government monitor. In sharp contrast to previous Chilean governments, there has been only one major street rally (September 11, 1974) in the 18 months the Junta has been in power, and that occurred with explicit GOC authorization and tacit support. An unauthorized street demonstration, a political rally, or a trade union strike is unthinkable in the present environment.

Those political parties which supported the Allende governmen are outlawed (Decree Law 77) and, according to GOC statements will remain so indefinitely. Those that opposed Allende have been "recessed" (Decree Law 78), also apparently indefinitely, and are prevented from engaging in such standard political pa activities as recruiting members, holding meetings, presentin views on public issues, or nominating candidates for public office.

Documentation: OAS Report, p. 162; Report to ILO Governing Body, Document GB, 195/3/1, 195th Session.

11. Right to take part in the government, directly or through freely chosen representatives; expression of the popular will through periodic and genuine elections.

There are no elections of government officials of any kind at any level, nor are there elections for officers of most privat groups. With but minor exceptions, all such officials are appointed directly or indirectly by the government, and "politic suitability" is often applied as a criterion. All general elec toral rolls have been destroyed (Decree Law 130). As noted above, political parties no longer perform their traditional function of ensuring interaction between the government and the populace. Although the GOC has created a regionalization scheme and several new institutions directed, for example, at women and youth to play this role, there is great doubt that they genuinely allow the citizen the full participation in civi life which the GOC alleges. The GOC view of "participation" appears to be a paternalistic, from-the-top-down type of arran ment, with no effective decision-making power at the grass-roots level.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 156-157; Santiago A-40, February 26, 1975.

12. Right to work, to free choice of employment, to protection against unemployment, to an existence worthy of human dignity, to form and to join trade unions, and to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of the individual and his family.

After the coup, the GOC disbanded only a few trade unions and trade union federations, the most important of which were the Chilean Workers Confederation (CUT) and the Teachers Union (SUTE). Although the remainder continue to exist, their activities are sharply circumscribed by Decree Law 198. The right to strike and to bargain collectively has been "suspended;" trade union meetings are subject to prior government approval and monitoring; and election of officers has also been suspende

There has been discrimination in employment against persons known to hold or suspected of holding Marxist beliefs or otherwise out of favor with the GOC, and many have been dismissed from government and private employment. Moreover, many of these persons have had serious problems in finding new jobs.

As one result of the GOC's policy of economic austerity, the official unemployment rate has hit nearly unprecedented levels (10.4 percent in October 1974 and 9.5 percent in November 1974, according to official government figures, which may be considerably understated--see Santiago A-30, January 5, 1975). Public concern about the unemployment problem has been rising (see Santiago A-36, February 19, 1975). The GOC has established an expanded unemployment insurance program and has announced a program of public works employment for the unemployed, but both measures have been criticized as "too little and too late" to alleviate suffering among some low-income unemployed. Families of security detainees, in addition to suffering the absence of the principal bread-winner, have apparently been subjected to other kinds of economic discrimination.

Documentation: ILO Report; OAS Report, especially p. 162.

IV. RIGHTS RELATIVELY UNENCUMBERED.

1. Freedom from discrimination on grounds of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national or social origin, property, or birth.

As noted above, however, there is discrimination on the basis of political opinion.

2. Freedom from slavery.

3. Recognition as a person before the law.

4. Right to asylum.

After the coup hundreds of persons, both Chileans and foreigners resident in Chile, sought political asylum in foreign embassies. Although initially slow to process these cases, once the new government was able to get the bureaucratic machinery moving again the asylees began to move out of Chile at a reasonable pace. However, a hard core of some 250-300 remained, nearly all of whom had

played an active role in the Allende government. A GOC decision was made in mid-1974 to let this group go as well, and the Embassies were generally clear soon thereafter, with the exception of the Italian Embassy, where bilateral relations problems hampered progress. However, as the GOC security forces successfully broke the terrorist-inclined Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) starting in October, and as the economic situation became increasingly difficult, a new wave of asylees composed mainly of disillusioned MIRistas and persons seeking a better economic situation abroad began entering the embassies. This situation prevails today. The GOC has processed these cases efficiently, and the undeniable delays in the physical departure of these asylees are largely the result of the unwillingness of many countries to accept them. As the supply of potential asylees appears to be inexhaustible, however, the asylee problem will continue for the foreseeabl future, though doubtless at a reduced rate.

In the area of refugees, a number of third-country nationals perhaps as many as 15,000, were in Chile at the time of the coup, and many had good reason to fear for their safety. Nevertheless, with some exceptions including the deaths of two US citizens in the early days of the coup, under circumstances that have never been clarified, the GOC's record in dealing with the refugee problem is good. The GOC authorize the operation of an interdenominational committee to assist refugees, respected the several safe havens which this committee established, cooperated fully with the UNHCR and related agencies, and expedited the issuance of safe conduct and the physical departure of those who chose to leave Chile Consequently, the refugee problem was effectively resolved within four or five months after the coup, and has not been an issue since.

Documentation: OAS Report, pp. 158-161.

5. Marriage and the family.

6. Freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

The GOC has placed no restrictions on the mainstream religions--Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. However, two quasi-religious sects, Divine Light and SILO, were forcibly disbanded, and a few of their leaders were detained without charge for long periods.

7. Right to social security.

8. Right to rest and leisure.

9. Right to an education.

10. Free participation in cultural life.

There is one other area in which the GOC's record is good--its openness in receiving foreign investigators checking into human rights violations. Of the dozens of public and private groups who have requested entry to Chile, only two have been turned down: delegations of the International Transport Workers Federation in November 1974 (according to the GOC, due to scheduling conflicts with an ILO investigating team visiting at the same time), and of the International Parliamentary Union. Although General Pinochet warned in his December 31, 1974, year-end speech that such investigatory bodies might henceforth be denied entry to Chile unless they also investigated reports of human rights violations in such countries as Cuba and the Soviet Union (Santiago 1134), to date there has been no important problem in this area.

V. CONCLUSION.

It is clear that normal human rights standards customarily observed in Chile have in many respects been seriously impaired under the Junta's authority. Many human rights abuses and denials of fundamental freedoms have been instituted through Government decision, on the ground that the suppression of certain rights is required during the present period of emergency, to deal with actual or potential violence and subversion. In this sense, those in authority in Chile explicitly "encourage and direct" violations.

The evidence also leads to the conclusion that Chilean authorities "ignore (i.e., do not react to) and condone" certain violations not sanctioned by any type of law. It is unthinkable, for example, that the use of the Air Force War Academy as an interrogation center in which torture is applied, a charge repeatedly made in the available documentation, is unknown to Air Force Commander and Junta member General Gustavo Leigh. Nor can the wide-ranging activities of DINA (Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional) have escaped their scrutiny.

The great majority of Chileans in Chile do not have problems with the GOC and are not subject to persecution. They live a generally normal life. The military government has brought order and tranquility out of the political chaos inherited from Allende, and most Chileans appreciate this. However, many of those Chileans who do have problems with the GOC--and there are thousands of them--appear frequently to be the victims of arbitrary and draconic procedures inconsistent with approved human rights standards.

Moreover, there is a concern among people in all sectors of the society that one day they too could face such problems. And, except in a few limited areas, there has been no recent indication that the overall human rights situation will improve dramatically in the near future.

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TAGS: PFOR, OCON, OAS, CI, IAHRC, SHUM

SUBJECT: IAHRC'S REPORT ON CHILE

REF: A) STATE 082252; B) STATE 083614

1. CONVERSATION APRIL 14 BETWEEN AMBASSADOR TRUCCO AND DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SHED FURTHER LIGHT ON CHILE'S INTENTIONS REGARDING OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION OF IAHRC'S REPORT ON CHILE. TRUCCO REVIEWED HIS RECENT ACTIONS IN OAS AND SPECIFICALLY HIS EXCEPTION TO THE FACT THAT IAHRC REPORT WAS SENT TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OR THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. TRUCCO CONTENDS THAT THE REPORT IS NOT A FINAL DOCUMENT AND AS SUCH SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN DISTRIBUTED TO THE UN BODY. TRUCCO COMPARED PERFORMANCE OF THE IAHRC UNFAVORABLY WITH THAT OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. HE COMMENTED THAT NOW THAT THE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 STATE 086449

IAHRC REPORT HAD BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE UN BODY, HE FELT THAT OASGA WOULD DEFER TO THE LATTER IN ITS CONSIDERATION OF THE ISSUE AS THE "EASIEST WAY OUT."

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2. TRUCCO NOTED THAT CHILE WOULD PREFER TO DEAL WITH THE MATTER IN THE SMALLER AND FRIENDLIER OAS CONTEXT. HOWEVER, IT WAS PREPARED TO WORK AS COOPERATIVELY AS POSSIBLE WITH THE UNHRC. TRUCCO SAID HE WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO AVOID DEBATE ON THE ISSUE DURING THE OASGA BUT RATHER WELCOMED IT. HE SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND SOME PROCEDURAL CHANGES SO THAT THE IAHRC COULD AVOID SOME OF THE "MISTAKES" MADE IN CHILE IN FUTURE CASES.

3. TRUCCO SAID HE DID NOT ANTICIPATE ANY DIFFICULTIES DURING THE OASGA BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MEXICO CONCEIVABLY MIGHT BE TROUBLESOME. HE TENDED TO DISMISS THIS POSSIBILITY BUT ADDED THAT SHOULD IT PROVE TO BE THE CASE HE WAS QUITE PREPARED TO TAKE ON THE MEXICANS. HE STATED THAT AS THERE ARE NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, HE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO RAISE SOME EMBARRASSING ITEMS FOR MEXICO SUCH AS THE TLATELOLCO INCIDENT.

4. ROGERS SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THAT CHILE WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO SWEEP THIS ISSUE UNDER THE RUG, ADDING THAT HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE A MISTAKE. HE APPLAUDED TRUCCO'S POSITIVE APPROACH WITH RESPECT TO RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING FUTURE PROCEDURES, BUT EXPRESSED DOUBT AS TO THE WISDOM OF ENGAGING IN A DIVISIVE POLEMIC WITH MEXICO.

5. TRUCCO SAID THAT CHILE WOULD ANSWER ANY SPECIFIC INQUIRIES CONCERNING ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, BUT HE MADE CLEAR THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD CHILE ENTERTAIN A FURTHER VISIT IN COUNTRY FROM THE IAHRC. HE REITERATED THIS POINT WHEN ASKED WHETHER CHILE HAD INVITED THE IAHRC TO VISIT CHILE AGAIN TO INVESTIGATE A SPECIFIC CASE.

6. FOR USUN: IN REVIEWING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNHRC WHICH HE ATTENDED, TRUCCO SAID HE HAD WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY PERSUADED THE GOC TO AGREE TO RECEIVE THE [redacted]

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UNHRC TEAM IN CHILE. HE SAID THAT IN LARGE PART THAT DECISION WAS BASED ON CHILE'S SUCCESS IN KEEPING SOCIALIST COUNTRY MEMBERS OFF THE TEAM. HE SAID HE NOW UNDERSTOOD THAT THE SOVIETS WERE ATTEMPTING TO UNDO THAT AGREEMENT AT THE CURRENT MEETING OF ECOSOC IN NEW YORK AND WERE ATTEMPTING IN THAT BODY TO OBTAIN ONE OR MORE SOVIET OR SOCIALIST COUNTRY MEMBERS ON THE TEAM. TRUCCO REQUESTED THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION TO ECOSOC DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HELP BLOCK THE SOVIETS. HE SAID THAT IF SUCH A CHANGE WERE MADE IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE TEAM HE WAS CERTAIN HIS

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GOVERNMENT WOULD WITHDRAW ITS INVITATION TO THE UNHRC TO VISIT CHILE. REQUEST USUN ASCERTAIN IF ANY SUCH MOVE IS AFOOT. KISSINGER

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FILE DESIGNATION

[redacted] A-74 R

HANDLING INDICATOR NO.

TO : Department of State

INFO: USMission Geneva, USMission USUN

E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: ICEM, SHUM, CI

FROM : AmEmbassy SANTIAGO DATE: April 20, 1975

SUBJECT : ICEM Activities in Chile

REF :

Roberto Kozak, head of the ICEM office in Santiago, called on Ambassador Popper April 3 seeking support for ICEM activities in Chile, and specifically for U.S. contributions to ICEM/Latin America's budget. The Ambassador said that he understood the USG contributes to the UNHRC but did not know about ICEM/LA. He offered to pass on Kozak's appeal to the Department. Kozak later sent further documentation to the Embassy on ICEM activities, and some charts of their resettlement accomplishments are enclosed.

Kozak made the following comments of interest:

ICEM Caseload - About four months ago ICEM's caseload was about 800, mostly families of asylees and refugees. They have since then moved 400-600 persons a month out of Chile, and their current caseload is 2,500 persons.

GOC Cooperation and Resettlement Possibilities - The GOC on the whole has been quite cooperative with ICEM since it began its resettlement program in October 1973. There is one very troublesome problem, however, that ICEM

Enclosures:
1) ICEM Caseload - Resettlement from Chile as of March 1975
2) ICEM Caseload - Resettlement from Chile, Movements from Other Countries - November 1973-March 197
3) ICEM Caseload - Resettlement from Chile - October 1973 - March 1975

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DAO		✓	
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FORM 10-64 DS-323

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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Exemption(s) _____

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INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

CASELOAD OF PERSONS IN PROCESSING FOR DEPARTURE UNDER THE SPECIAL PROGRAMME FOR RESETTLEMENT FROM CHILE AS AT 15 MARCH 1975a)

Country of Resettlement	Total	UNHCR Mandate Caseload	Non Mandate Caseload		Prison Release Programme	
			Persons in Asylum in Embassies	Others outside Embassies	Detainees	Family Members
Algeria	1	1	-	-	-	-
Argentina	138	132	-	6	-	-
Australia	16	6	-	6	2	2
Austria	22	4	-	-	5	13
Belgium	51	-	-	3	16	32
Bolivia	1	1	-	-	-	-
Bulgaria	7	7	-	-	-	-
Canada	24	9	-	11	1	3
Colombia	30	16	1	-	6	7
Costa Rica	17	3	-	-	8	6
Cuba	25	24	-	-	1	-
Denmark	63	20	3	-	13	27
Ecuador	17	12	5	-	-	-
Finland	27	-	-	3	8	16
France	105	33	-	17	32	23
German Dem. Rep.	15	-	-	9	4	2
Germany, Fed. Rep. of	104	-	-	4	49	51
Hungary	8	8	-	-	-	-
Ireland	13	-	-	3	7	3
Israel	10	-	-	-	10	-
Italy	80	40	31	-	6	3
Lebanon	1	-	-	-	1	-
Mexico	15	15	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	23	1	-	-	7	15
Norway	5	3	-	-	2	-
Peru	20	20	-	-	-	-
Roumania	328	16	93	-	106	113
Spain	1	1	-	-	-	-
Sweden	144	48	1	15	26	54
Switzerland	6	4	-	-	2	-
United Kingdom	429	47	-	226	70	86
U.S.A.	3	-	-	-	1	2
Venezuela	35	-	30	-	5	-
Yugoslavia	3	3	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1,787	474	b)164	303	c)388	c)458

a) Report prepared by ICEM in Santiago on the basis of its records and information from foreign embassies and UNHCR.

b) The countries indicated are not necessarily those of the embassies in which persons sought asylum.

c) Since 6 December 1974 a total of 107 persons were released from prison and were moved from Chile by ICEM together with 80 dependents.

Programme Control Section
27 March 1975

Hq 16734/75

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Countries of first asylum/ Nationality or former nationality	TOTAL	Algeria	Australia	Belgium	Denmark	France	German Dem. Rep.	Germany (Fed. Rep. of)	
ARGENTINA									
Argentine	23	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	
Bolivian	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
Brazilian	32	4	-	1	-	6	-	12	
British	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Chilean	902	8	87	19	17	4	19	14	
Colombian	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Honduran	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Spanish	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Uruguayan	75	-	-	-	2	8	-	3	
Total ex Argentine	1,045	13	87	20	20	19	19	34	
PERU									
Chilean	1,039	-	176	1	-	7	-	-	
Peruvian	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total ex Peru	1,040	-	176	1	-	7	-	-	
OTHERS									
Chilean	27	-	-	-	6	-	4	1	
Uruguayan	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Total ex Others	32	-	-	-	6	-	5	1	
GRAND TOTAL	2,117	13	263	21	26	26	24	35	

a) 2 to Canada; 1 to Finland; 1 to Netherlands; 1 to Paraguay; 1 to Yugoslavia

b) 4 to China; 1 to Costa Rica; 3 to Poland

c) 2 to Austria; 1 to Finland; 1 to Italy; 2 to Mexico.

Hq 16748/75

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TEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

RESETTLEMENT FROM CHILE

Enclosure 2

Other Countries

3 - 31 MARCH 1975

tries of * Resettlement										
xem-burg	New Zealand	Norway	Peru	Portugal	Rou-mania	Sweden	Switzer-land	U.K.	Vene-zuela	Others
-	-	1	1	1	5	8	-	4	-	-
-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	1	1
-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-
-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	57	1	188	5	5
-	3	6	2	6	461	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
-	-	3	1	-	-	57	-	-	6	a)6
-	3	11	4	12	466	128	3	194		
6	43	-	-	-	371	-	-	226	-	8
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	43	-	-	-	371	-	-	226	-	b)8
-	-	-	-	-	4	2	1	3	-	6
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	4	2	5	3	-	c)6
6	46	11	4	12	841	130	8	423	6	20

Programme Control Section
2 April 1975

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PROVISIONAL REPORT ON MOVEMENTS EFFECTED BY THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL Com

- 6 OCTOBER 7

Nationality/ Former Nationality	TOTAL	Argentina	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Bolivia	Canada	Colombia	Cuba	Denmark	Ecuador	Finland	Co... France
Argentine	113	33	-	7	3	-	1	-	4	1	-	1	
Austrian	6	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	
Bolivian	513	4	-	12	4	58	4	-	21	-	-	6	
Brazilian	335	7	-	3	3	-	16	1	34	10	-	3	
British	11	-	4	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	
Bulgarian	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Chilean	6,395	475	125	171	113	-	92	149	300	311	16	98	4
Colombian	26	-	7	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	
Cuban	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
Czechoslovak	11	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	
Dominican	20	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
Ecuadorian	47	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	20	-	
French	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
German (Fed.Rep.)	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guatemalan	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	
Haitian	13	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Honduran	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Hungarian	14	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	
Italian	6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Mexican	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Nicaraguan	12	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Panamanian	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Paraguayan	22	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	
Peruvian	30	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Polish	8	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	
Salvadorian	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	
Spanish	35	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	7	-	-	1	
Stateless	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Swedish	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Swiss	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Uruguayan	328	6	6	4	7	-	8	-	25	2	1	7	
U.S.A.	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
U.S.S.R.	29	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	4	
Venezuelan	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Yugoslav	17	-	7	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	13	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	
TOTAL	8,073	527	156	204	135	58	152	152	404	327	37	122	7

* 13 to Algeria; 6 to Brazil; 30 to Bulgaria; 1 within Chile; 5 to China; 38 to Costa Rica; 6 to Czechoslovakia; 4 to El Salvador; 42 to Hungary; 2 to Israel; 1 to Lebanon; 1 to Luxembourg; 14 to New Zealand; 6 to Nicaragua; 2 to Paraguay; 25 to Peru; 21 to U.S.A.; 10 to U.S.S.R.; 31 to Yugoslavia.

Hq 16749/75

OPEAN MIGRATION UNDER THE SPECIAL PROGRAMME FOR RESETTLEMENT FROM CHILE

1975

Enclosure 3

of Resettlement															
er-any ed. sp. f)	Hondu-ras	Ire-land	Italy	Mexico	Nether-lands	Norway	Panama	Poland	Rou-mania	Spain	Sweden	Switzer-land	United King-dom	Vene-zuela	Others
22	-	-	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	11	8	2	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	5	-	-	7	9	1	-	-	6	-	161	46	1	-	10
19	-	-	10	-	25	4	3	-	1	-	60	28	1	1	17
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
620	87	75	583	526	43	113	30	38	317	45	600	187	290	70	192
1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1
-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	1
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
7	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	7
-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	2	-
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1
12	6	-	-	-	19	2	4	-	-	-	167	5	-	1	6
3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
8	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	5
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
800	102	75	608	535	112	124	37	38	327	46	1,050	287	297	94	*258

Programme Control Section
2 April 1975

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SF-102

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Mr. Sisco
Sec. Kissinger
May 8, 1975
9:22 a.m.

K: Chuck Percy is in my office and -- about several things, including the Mexican Charter -- are you familiar with that.

S: Sure.

K: He says there is a meeting set up that he set up with the Zambian For. Min. and Schwebal to see whether they would help us modify the Charter. He says that meeting was cancelled on instructions -- the night before last -- from the Department.

S: Never heard of it.

K: When Percy has arranged something we cannot have subordinates cancelling.

S: We certainly cannot. I will look into it right away and will give him a call.

K: I told him I am not as optimistic as he is about what can be achieved.

S: Nevertheless we should not take that kind of action without checking with him. I will look into it and give him an early call.

K: Appreciate it.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 5 FEB 2003 200102979

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

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FILE DESIGNATION

A-86

HANDLING INDICATOR

PRIORITY

TO : Department of State

E.O.11652: XGDS3

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TAGS: PFOR, US, CI

FROM : AmEmbassy SANTIAGO DATE: May 18, 1975

SUBJECT : FY 1976-77 CASP for Chile

REF :

Enclosed is this Mission's proposed Country Analysis and Strategy Paper for Chile for fiscal years 1976-1977.

POPPER

Enclosure: FY 1976-77 CASP

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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FORM DS-323

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JSIA	NSA	CIA	

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION I: CASP OVERVIEW

Summary of U.S. Interests 3
Ambassador's Overview 4
Statement of Major Issues 8

SECTION II: ISSUE ANALYSIS 9

SECTION III: INTEREST, POLICY AND RESOURCE ANALYSIS

Political Development of Chile 17
U.S. Economic Prosperity 19
Fair Treatment and Safety of U.S. Citizens and Property 21
World Order 22
Other Interests 23

ANNEX A: SUMMARY OF RESOURCES

Table 1 - Summary of Financial Resources by U.S. Agency and Other Major Donors
Table 2 - Summary of Personnel by U.S. Agency

ANNEX B: CASP EVALUATION REPORT

APPENDIX: ALTERNATIVE STATEMENT ON U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHILE

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

SUMMARY OF LONG-TERM U.S. INTERESTS IN CHILE

For a variety of reasons Chile enjoys greater influence in the hemisphere and greater attention there and elsewhere, particularly in Europe, than would appear warranted by the country's size and power.

Chile's small economy is a market for some $400-$500 million per year of U.S. exports. U.S. investment in Chile, once valued at somewhere around $1 billion, is now only something more than $100 million, although it is expected to grow during the next five years. More significantly for the moment, Chile owes the U.S. $1.5 billion in debt and $500 million in compensation for expropriated enterprises.

In addition to its position as a major world supplier of copper, Chile also has important known reserves of iron ore, molybdenum and nitrates and is believed to have other important unexploited mineral reserves. There is a U.S. interest in their sound development, with appropriate American participation.

In the event of closure of the Panama Canal or a general war situation, Chile's geographic location and long coastline would assume importance in terms of anti-submarine warfare and surveillance capabilities and port facilities. Chile's simmering territorial controversy with Peru could erupt in a conflict which would impair political stability in South America and confront us with difficult alternatives, especially if Peru were supported by communist elements.

Temporarily overshadowing all the foregoing is an intangible U.S. political interest: quite erroneously, much of the world considers us to have been involved in the overthrow of the Allende regime and to be insufficiently concerned with the restoration of democratic government in Chile. To the extent that we can properly encourage Chile to return to its normal governmental practices, our general political credit among the nations most friendly to us, and in multilateral organizations, will be enhanced. Such a development would contribute materially to our ability to promote all U.S. interests in Chile.

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AMBASSADOR'S OVERVIEW

The year 1975 finds the Chilean Junta firmly established in power. Contrary to our expectations a year ago, the regime has been extraordinarily successful in stifling terrorist activity--so much so that the state of public order in Chile, however produced, ranks high.

On the other hand, the country's economic situation has deteriorated much more sharply than we had anticipated. World economic conditions, and particularly the persistence of unrenumerative prices for copper, have been largely responsible for Chile's deep depression. The country has been plagued by continuing inflation and high unemployment, while the government's austerity measures have hampered the private sector without stemming the economic decline.

During the CASP period, accordingly, economic pressures may subject the Junta to the severest tests it has yet experienced. If the current steps to curb inflation and stimulate production fail, elements in the government and outside it will press for the only visible alternative: reversion to a state-directed, populist economic system, allocating resources without much regard for the market mechanism.

In such circumstances, changes in the Junta and in the composition of the government could not be excluded. It is impossible to foresee to what degree additional or different civilian elements might be brought into the Administration, or whether continued economic stress would pave the way for an ultimate, violent Leftist take-over. Trends of this character develop slowly; I would not anticipate fundamental shifts during the next year. But the situation must be carefully watched.

Chile's difficulties are of course enormously complicated by the continuing international furor over its human rights practices. Indeed, improvement in this area may in the end be critical to the Junta's survival. The inequity involved in singling out Chile in a world of sinners in this regard is patently clear, but largely irrelevant. The broad front of democratic European communist bloc and radical third-world countries opposing Chile in the political and economic arenas can only be breached if the Junta moves more rapidly toward relaxation of its authoritarian internal security controls, and toward restoration of traditional Chilean democratic practices.

American policy toward the Junta must be formulated against this background. It is clear from the legislative record and the American press that Congress and a vocal element of American opinion have wanted to withhold U.S. military and to some degree economic assistance to Chile, to bring about a change in the practices of the Chilean regime if not to displace the regime itself. Several members of the Embassy staff believe that the United States should apply its power and influence a good deal more vigorously than it has, to improve the Junta's human rights practices. A paper embodying this view is appended to this document.

Emotionally satisfying though it might be, I would not consider a major change of this character in U.S. policy toward Chile to be justified in present circumstances. Nothing that has happened in the interim has changed the view expressed in the last CASP paper that United States interest can best be served by maintaining and strengthening the present government in Chile, while encouraging it to eradicate its human rights abuses and broaden its political base as quickly as possible consistent with domestic security. In conventional political and economic terms it is after all a highly friendly government.

There has been some progress toward human rights improvements. While less than satisfactory from our point of view, this has provided a base for additional efforts by Chileans in and outside the government to move further ahead. We can offer incentives in this regard, by pointing out that our ability to help Chile depends largely on the Chileans' performance in this area. The more rapidly they make the needed adjustments, the more effectively we can seek to dismantle the Congressional ban on military assistance and limitations on our economic aid. But we are unlikely to gain ground by direct pressure tactics which would undercut the moderates in Chile, force the Junta to react in paranoid fashion, and create a Chilean siege mentality which could only be breached by violence.

What does this mean in practical terms, during the CASP period?

First, we should continue to make our preferences on human rights clear to the Chileans, to encourage them to move in the directions we consider beneficial, and to acknowledge progress made and to be made. In multilateral forums, we should seek similar objectives, through balanced judgments reached in the context of a comparison of Chile's behavior with that of other authoritarian regimes.

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Second, we should continue to maintain economic and financial aid to Chile, at approximately the current level of $150 million annually in loans, grants, and other types of assistance plus generous debt rescheduling terms, and should use our influence in the international financial institutions to increase the level of multilateral support. Our aid plays a major part in satisfying minimum nutritional levels, helping Chile to deal with its housing and agricultural development problems, and reducing Chile's balance of payments strains. The loss of our economic support would bring disaster to the country. Continuing it preserves the possibility of a return to greater normality.

Third, the Executive Branch should do what it can to restore the modest military assistance program, which was brought to a halt by Congress at the end of 1974. We should make it clear to the Chileans that they can influence the outcome of this process by what they do to improve their human rights situation.

This should not, however, be the sole or perhaps even the main justification for resumption of military aid. The extreme imbalance in military capability as between Chile and Peru is a highly destabilizing factor on the South American continent. If Peru were to be tempted because of its superiority to launch a military adventure, the resulting destruction of hemisphere stability could only be harmful to us.

For this reason, the existing program comprising the supply of F-5E aircraft, M-48 tanks and TOW anti-tank weapons should be reactivated. At the very least, the ancillary equipment and training support for items already purchased, which were retroactively cut off by the Congressional arms ban, should be provided. If some element of constraint were still needed, this could be met by a requirement that acquisitions be entirely by purchase rather than by FMS credit.

The Department asked to have included in this statement my recommendation on the most effective way to achieve whatever saving may be necessary in the Peace Corps budget. The Country Team's judgment, in which I concur, is to the effect that we should seek direct contributions from the GOC and, failing that, that a gradual reduction in the Peace Corps presence would be the best solution.

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

I do not believe that either of these courses would significantly affect U.S.-Chilean relations.

Current and proposed funding levels for U.S. agencies operating in Chile are adequate. Staffing levels are tight, and the entire Mission is working to capacity. I note one existing problem and one potential one. First, the Embassy Administrative Section badly needs an Assistant GSO position. Second, the Embassy Consular Section has been under considerable pressure because of sharply increased requests for non-immigrant visas. The demand went down to a manageable level after some recent changes in GOC policy, but if it should go up again I would have to ask for an additional position.

We have also submitted a request for an additional local position in the Commercial Unit. I urge approval of this request to enable the Embassy to devote increased resources to the promotion of U.S. exports.

David H. Popper
Ambassador

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STATEMENT OF MAJOR ISSUES

ISSUE NO. 1

How can the United States best induce the GOC to bring its human rights practices up to acceptable standards?

ISSUE NO. 2

How much and what kind of U.S. economic resources should be provided the GOC?

ISSUE NO. 3

Should U.S. military sales, credit and grant training for Chile be resumed?

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ISSUE ANALYSIS

STATEMENT OF ISSUE NO. 1

How can the United States best induce the GOC to bring its human rights practices up to acceptable standards?

IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS

1. The military will remain in power during the CASP period and will improve its human rights practices only slowly, usually in response to international pressure.

2. There continues to be a difference in perception between the USG and the GOC on the importance of human rights.

3. It is stated US policy to ascertain the facts and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, consistent with the US commitment to other goals, including that of maintaining international peace and security.

4. The human rights issue will remain the prime item of concern of the U.S. Congress and important elements of U.S. public opinion vis-a-vis Chile, and will be the major factor affecting our bilateral relations with Chile.

5. There is some prospect that the judicious use of leverage available to the United States would result in improvements in GOC human rights practices.

ISSUE RESOLUTION

Recommendation: That the United States continue to try to convince the GOC that it is in the latter's interest to treat its own citizens properly:

-- that it maintain and, in order to reestablish a normal bilateral relationship, emphasize somewhat more forcefully that the ability of the United States to cooperate with the GOC is closely related to GOC performance in the area of human rights;

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-- that it demonstrate its continuing concern in this area through its public and active cooperation with responsible international organizations concerned with human rights;

-- that the Embassy continue to use its full resources to monitor carefully GOC performance in the human rights area.

Reasons for Recommendation: The GOC's human rights practices have caused widespread concern in the United States and in many other countries and have contributed materially to isolating the present Chilean Government. Because of some U.S. Government identification with current Chilean regime in the eyes of the world, we tend to be tarred by the Chilean brush. Moreover, the image and reality of the Junta's behavior in the human rights area have directly limited the ability of the USG to assist the Chilean Government in those areas in which we, for our own interests, wish to do so.

The USG has made this point to senior Chilean Government officials orally and repeatedly at various levels, places and times. It has indicated its concern publicly, and supported objective international studies of the Chilean situation. U.S. officials have maintained contact with persons and organizations interested in the subject, and have reported on GOC actions. Through an informal channel (Foreign Ministry), the Chilean Government has been made aware of special U.S. interest in certain individual cases involving Chilean citizens.

The Chilean Government persists in its practices because it believes they are necessary to ensure the maintenance of internal security and political control. Although there have been improvements in some of those practices as the security situation has improved, sustained external pressure on the GOC, plus incentives for change, offer the best hope of convincing it of the need to make more basic changes and thus to conform more closely to internationally recognized standards. The United States is the most influential single country in this regard. If the GOC restores normal human rights safeguards, the likelihood of improper treatment of U.S. citizens who have run afoul of Chilean authorities should be largely eliminated.

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Alternatives: The first alternative is a shift to passivity. This posture would be indicated if (a) we judged that our other interests in Chile outweighed our concern with human rights and that pressures with respect to human rights would endanger these interests; and/or (b) we concluded that international pressure from other sources would be sufficient to cause the GOC to modify its behavior without our intervention; or (c) we decided that we would put no more pressure on Chile than we do on other countries which engage in similar human rights practices, (at a risk of continued conflict over the issue between the Executive Branch and important sectors of Congress and U.S. domestic and world opinion.) We conclude that none of the above factors apply. In addition, such a policy would be out of line with the mainstream of U.S. opinion and with USG policy.

The second alternative is to speak out much more strongly on the issue and to take firm and public action against the GOC, through the further reduction or elimination of U.S. assistance through sponsorship or endorsement of condemnatory actions in international forums. As described more fully in the discussion of alternatives for Issue No. 2, such a course of action ignores our other interests in Chile, would engender marked Chilean Government hostility to the United States, and would not necessarily produce the desired changes in the Chilean Government's human rights practices.

The USG could also decide to express its concern exclusively in international forums, with the goal of keeping the human rights issue out of our bilateral relations. A decision would still be required on a basic U.S. stance, however, and the USG could not avoid being held accountable by the GOC.

STATEMENT OF ISSUE NO. 2

How much and what kind of U.S. economic resources should be provided the GOC?

IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS

1. Terms of trade, particularly low copper prices, will inhibit Chile's ability to invest and grow.

2. The GOC will follow economic policies designed to attain eventual economic recovery and growth.

3. The U.S. Congress will continue to place limits on economic assistance to Chile as long as Chilean human rights practices are not materially improved, but will distinguish between it and military assistance, which has been banned.

4. Economic assistance is essential to Chile's political development and contributes to U.S. economic prosperity.

ISSUE RESOLUTION

Recommendation: Through a mixture of new credits, deferral of old debts and economic aid, the United States should assist Chile in closing the balance of payments gap so that a satisfactory rate of economic development will be possible. (U.S. aid would total approximately $150 million each year, exclusive of debt relief.) We should also encourage other countries and international financial institutions to do the same, and continue to remind the GOC that its human rights practices affect the degree of economic cooperation we can offer.

Reasons for Recommendation: For the first time in several decades Chile is following economic policies which, if successfully pursued, should eventually allow it to set its economic house in order. It is important to the U.S. that the GOC's economic program succeed. Part of our stake is economic: Chile owes the U.S. $1.5 billion in debt and $500 million in compensation claims; U.S. investment here is valued at over $100 million, and sizeable additions to this amount are expected during the next five years; and the U.S. traditionally runs a large trade surplus with Chile. An expanding economy may be a necessary (although not in itself sufficient) condition for relaxation of the present authoritarian political system.

Without substantial foreign assistance, a significant portion of which must come from the U.S., Chile's economic program is likely to fail. The country is presently under extraordinary economic pressure, largely beyond its control, and some traditional creditors are reluctant to offer assistance or cooperate economically with the present GOC because of political considerations. An abrupt change in the present U.S. policy of economic support to Chile would adversely affect overall U.S.-Chilean relations and probably further discourage other creditors from helping the GOC.

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Alternatives: Our policy recommendation is a package of USG assistance in FY 76 and FY 77 totaling approximately $150 million each year, exclusive of Paris Club debt rescheduling. There are essentially three alternatives to this policy: (a) more aid than we have recommended; (b) a cutoff of all aid to Chile; and (c) continuing aid to Chile, but at a reduced level.

Although a higher level of resources transfer to Chile is in some ways desirable and justifiable, we seriously doubt that significantly greater amounts can be obtained from the various U.S. trade and aid agencies. Our recommendation therefore is tailored to what we perceive to be Washington realities. Chile could use more. Any attempt to increase the assistance level would, however, almost certainly run into strong Congressional opposition. This opposition could endanger our ability to conduct even our more modest aid proposal.

Termination of economic assistance to Chile would have the virtue of eliminating a source of friction between the Administration and elements of the U.S. Congress and the media. Some of our European allies would also applaud. This reflects their belief that an aid cutoff is the best way to get improvements in GOC human rights practices.

Such a decision on our part would almost surely alter the nature of the present Chilean regime. We believe, however, that these changes probably would be contrary to our other political and economic interests in Chile and in this hemisphere. We are also skeptical that the desired human rights effects would be obtained. The Chilean Government would be likely to react with hostility toward the U.S., renege on its debt and compensation obligations to us, and become more repressive.

A more modest level of U.S. assistance than the $150 million recommended was also considered. By reducing our aid level we might alter the image that we are closely linked with Chile's military regime and, thereby, lessen Congressional and media criticism of our present policy. It could also be argued that a lower level of aid could be used as a bargaining chip with the GOC to try to get them to improve their human rights practices. Since Chile is also one of the comparatively well-to-do countries in the less developed world, a case can be made that our aid should be channeled to the more needy.

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We have concluded that the recommended U.S. aid level of $150 million, together with other foreign credit available to the GOC, is about the minimum which will allow Chile to scrape through the CASP period. A more modest aid level would neither spare us from Congressional and media criticism nor be adequate to meet Chile's minimum needs.

STATEMENT OF ISSUE NO. 3

Should U.S. military sales, credit and grant training for Chile be resumed?

IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS

1. The military will remain in power through the CASP period.

2. There will be tension between Chile and Peru and and danger of conflict. A continued or increasing military imbalance vis-a-vis Peru will increase the danger of war.

3. In principle, Chile will be prepared to cooperate with regional or other diplomatic initiatives to reduce the chance of conflict.

4. The Chilean Armed Forces have a valid requirement to modernize and rationalize their equipment; developments which at least temporarily reduce the threat of Peruvian aggression would likewise reduce the urgency of modernization.

5. The Armed Forces will make strenuous efforts to modernize. They will look to any source willing and able to supply arms (although preferring the United States) and will, if they believe it necessary, divert money from development to arms purchases.

6. U.S. Congressional and public attitudes toward Chile will improve very slowly if at all unless the GOC acts favorably on human rights.

ISSUE RESOLUTION

Recommendation: That the United States resume grant training and credit and cash sales of military equipment to Chile at current planning levels for FY 76 and after.

Reasons for Recommendations:

1. Maintaining the arms limitation would seriously erode the favorable disposition of the Chilean military toward the United States and lead to a deterioration in

the Armed Forces' capabilities, thus making it more difficult to secure Chilean cooperation in other areas where U.S. interests are involved.

2. The creation of a minimum Chilean deterrent is the most effective way of reducing the chance of war with Peru. The provision of U.S. equipment is the most effective way of creating the deterrent. At the same time, reduction of the Peruvian threat by diplomacy (presumably with Chilean cooperation) should also be pursued. Any success would help reduce Chilean pressure for arms purchases.

3. Since the provision of U.S. military assistance is closely linked to GOC human rights practices, the most effective way of inducing the U.S. Congress to authorize the resumption of assistance would be through improvements in Chilean human rights practices. It seems probable that if such improvements do not take place this year, Congress will reaffirm the arms ban. The result would be to turn the GOC to alternate sources of arms supplies and probably to harden its resistance to human rights changes. ..

Alternatives: The first possibility is to make no serious attempt to remove the congressional arms ban. This alternative would reduce tension between the U.S. Congress and the Executive Branch, and might help improve the United States' world image. At the same time, however, it would remove a potentially significant element of leverage the USG has with the GOC on the human rights issue and perpetuate a major source of discord in United States-Chile bilateral relations. All of the drawbacks of the present Congressionally imposed policy would continue.

The second alternative is to center the major USG effort to prevent a Chile-Peru war on the forceful and consistent use of bilateral and multilateral diplomatic channels. We believe that such efforts in and of themselves would not be sufficient ot deter an arms race or to convince the GOC that it could rely on international assurances to prevent a conflict or to provide concrete and timely support in case of Peruvian aggression. Such a policy would force the USG into a high profile stance in which it might possibly antagonize one or both of the parties to the dispute. Moreover, this alternative is not responsive to the other justifications for supplying arms to Chile.

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NON-MAJOR ISSUE

STATEMENT OF ISSUE

How should the United States encourage the GOC to move toward reviving democratic institutions and civilian participation in the government?

ASSUMPTIONS

This issue may be viewed within the major human rights framework, but there are also important differences. The Chilean Government is expected to stay in power and to move of its own volition only slowly, if at all, toward a restoration of democratic institutions and greater civilian participation. The Country Team considered questionable the IG thesis in connection with the 1975-76 CASP that an authoritarian government is inherently unstable in the Chilean environment. In the long term, however, a democratic system is in keeping with Chilean traditions and expectations, and attempts to establish a permanent dictatorship would be opposed by many Chileans. Concern with this issue in the United States is less acute than in the case of human rights, and foreign interference in this area is likely to be less acceptable and effective in Chile. Nevertheless, if the human rights problem is largely removed from controversy, U.S. public and Congressional attention is likely to turn to the problem of democracy in Chile.

ISSUE RESOLUTION

Recommendation: That the USG continue to seek to encourage the reestablishment of some type of democratic system; that particular attention be paid to maintaining an independent judiciary and Controller General's Office, preserving the option for the reconvening of a legislative assembly, ensuring the survival of democratic political parties, and encouraging increased civilian participation in government.

Reason for Recommendations: There are obvious limits to the pressure which the USG can exert on the Chilean government to move toward a full restoration of some type of democratic system. Nevertheless, the longer term prospects for stability in Chile and for a government responsive to U.S. interests would be greater if there were an evolution in this direction.

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INTEREST, POLICY AND RESOURCE ANALYSIS

1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILE

The U.S. interest in the Political Development of Chile is reflected in three primary areas of concern, and (treated below) one area of lesser concern:

(1) Human rights;
(2) Revival of civil rights and democratic political institutions; and
(3) Professionalism and favorable disposition of the Armed Forces.

Human Rights. The GOC's human rights practices have caused concern. Further, because of some USG identification with the GOC, we tend to be tarred by the GOC brush. Moreover, the image and reality of the GOC's behavior in the human rights area have directly limited the ability of the USG to assist the GOC in those areas in which the USG, in its interests, wishes to do so. There has been some improvement in GOC practices, but little change in the institutional framework.

Revival of Civil Rights and Democratic Political Institutions. The GOC has made no significant progress toward the restoration of such rights as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, or the right to participate in government, or toward the creation or revival of institutions that give effect to these rights. Moreover, world hostility to the present regime has helped create a siege mentality, in which reestablishment of a more traditionally Chilean political system becomes more difficult.

Professionalism and Favorable Disposition of Armed Forces. Since the coup, the officer corps has worked under great pressure. It had to shift abruptly from conventional professional military duties (still of high priority because of tension with Peru) to management of the government and the assurance of internal security The attitudes toward the United States of the officers now leading the country, and their analysis of USG policy, are reflected directly in Chilean policy. The corps' traditionally favorable disposition toward the United States has been affected by what many officers consider a lack of U.S. understanding for what they are doing in Chile, as heightened by the Congressional ban on U.S. military assistance to Chile.

ANTICIPATED CHALLENGES OR OPPORTUNITIES

-- Although there may be improvements, on balance the GOC's behavior in the human rights area is expected to continue to be contrary to U.S. interests and to U.S. international human rights commitments, thus to impair U.S.-Chilean bilateral relations.

-- While the United States favors the development of democratic institutions, there is as yet no visible tendency toward a return to democratic patterns in Chile.

-- The professionalism of the Armed Forces will deteriorate as long as senior officers continue to hold dual responsibilities and are identified with and absorbed in political roles.

-- Assuming that the Congressional arms ban continues, the present favorable disposition of the Armed Forces toward the United States will be further eroded.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHALLENGES OR OPPORTUNITIES

Chile attracts world and U.S. political attention to a much greater degree than its size and intrinsic importance would suggest. Political developments here, and U.S.-Chilean bilateral relations, therefore take on added significance.

ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION

Insufficient or Poorly Used Resources. The GOC may fail to generate sufficient internal and external resources, or use what are available to it so inefficiently, that it cannot finance economic growth and social programs at an acceptable level. Economic growth and social development will not guarantee political stability, increased personal freedom, or eventual movement to revive democratic institutions, but their absence will make such developments less likely, and could increase U.S. humanitarian concern for the Chilean people.

PROPOSED ACTION PLAN

OBJECTIVE 1: GOC adherence to internationally recognized standards of governmental conduct in the area of human rights.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
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OBJECTIVE 2: Movement toward reestablishment of a viable democratic system.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
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OBJECTIVE 3: Reduced military and increased civilian participation in GOC leadership.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
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OR [illegible]

OBJECTIVE 4: Resumption of U.S. military assistance to GOC.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
800 MAPT	800 MAPT
20000 FMSC	20000 FMSC

Comment: This level of military assistance will help Chile to build up its deterrent against Peru, and thus contribute to reducing Chilean-Peruvian tension.

2. U.S. ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

U.S. Economic Prosperity as it relates to Chile is reflected in three areas of primary concern:

(1) Rapid improvement in Chile's economic situation to allow Chile to finance imports from the United States, compensate for expropriated private properties, and make payments on its debt to the United States;
(2) Increased level of U.S. trade with Chile; and
(3) Continued unimpeded U.S. access to raw materials.

Chilean Economic Policies. The GOC will attempt to minimize its net payments on debt during the CASP period. Low copper prices, however, will inhibit Chile's ability to invest and grow. To the extent that it is able to reschedule foreign obligations, and that additional resources become available and are added to the country's productive capacity, Chile's longer term ability to meet its financial obligations and be a good trading partner will be enhanced. In any case, Chile will continue to be heavily dependent on foreign resources to carry out its development program. Assuming a rise in copper prices, there should be some improvement in the balance of payments during FY 77. This would enable Chile to meet a higher proportion of its foreign obligations and to rely less on concessionary assistance.

There will be growing impatience, already discernible, with the present market-oriented economic program as economic recovery lags behind expectations. This will be accompanied by pressures to return to uneconomic populist programs and state intervention. Nevertheless, in balance we believe that a major role will be preserved for free market forces.

The GOC will rely principally on exchange rate adjustments to dampen import demand and promote exports, although the severe BOP situation in CY 1975 may force it to suspend or counteract recent import liberalization measures. The Foreign Investment Statute will be implemented and will encourage additional U.S. investment.

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Efforts by the Chilean Armed Forces to modernize their equipment inventories rapidly could interfere with efforts to reschedule foreign debt and with economic development, particularly if the United States is not available as a source.

U.S.-Chilean Trade. Import growth will slow in FY 1976 because of balance of payments difficulties; the currently growing U.S. share of the Chilean market should level off at the historic average of around 30 percent. Chile's ability to import and its choice of sources will depend heavily on credit availabilities and a successful foreign debt renegotiation. EXIM Bank, PL 480-Title I and CCC credits will be key determinants of the level of U.S. exports. Toward the end of the CASP period, the GOC will be increasingly concerned with access to the U.S. market as it attempts to diversify its exports.

Chilean Raw Material Exports. It is likely that Chile, because of its own financial difficulties and because of the world trend toward producer associations, will join producer-association efforts to manage exports of iron ore, as well as copper. Even though the United States does not usually import significant quantities of Chilean raw materials, Chilean cooperation with a cartel could adversely affect U.S. purchases of the commodity concerned in third countries. Additionally, Chilean membership in such cartels could make Chile subject to exclusion from the GSP, and to other U.S. legislative restrictions. Chile will not however, discriminate against the United States in terms of access.

ANTICIPATED CHALLENGES OR OPPORTUNITIES

-- Continued low copper prices will make it impossible for the United States to collect net compensation and debt payments and/or expand the volume of trade. Simultaneously, severe impor constraints caused by the low prices will adversely affect Chile economic recovery efforts and increase pressure for inefficient allocation of resources.

-- Chilean attempts to diversify exports to the United States will increase the likelihood of bilateral trade disputes.

-- Chilean membership in cartel commodity arrangements that attempt to manipulate prices may complicate U.S.-Chilean relatic

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The GOC is pursuing policies that tend to channel resources into those areas where Chile has comparative advantage. It is making increasing use of market forces to decide the size and pace of those flows. The program is related to U.S. economic prosperity, because in the longer run its success will increase Chile's ability to meet its massive foreign obligations and to become a healthy trade partner. External factors such as the

adverse

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adverse terms of trade currently obscure the benefits of the national policies being pursued and make them more vulnerable to attack from Chileans who feel themselves affected adversely by the results of the program.

ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION

Optimum Level of U.S. Investment in Chile. U.S. direct investment in Chile is not large at present--between $100-150 million. Many U.S. firms are interested in investing here in the coming year, particularly in mineral exploitation. These new investment flows, while they might eventually be substantial, are not expected to be very great during the CASP period, nor are they expected to cause bilateral difficulties between Chile and the United States.

PROPOSED ACTION PLAN

OBJECTIVE 1: To help provide Chile with the financial resources needed during the CASP period to surmount its immediate BOP difficulties and, in the longer term, to develop a strong economy.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (millions)		Estimated FY 77 Resources (millions)	
Generous debt relief ca.	100	Generous debt relief ca.	100
L	25	L	25
		L (housing guarantee loan)	50
EXIM	50	EXIM	50
PI	50	PI	25
CCC	20	CCC	10

OBJECTIVE 2: Minimize friction that could be caused by Chile's attempts to diversity exports.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
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OBJECTIVE 3: Maintain U.S. access to raw materials at reasonabl prices.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
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3. FAIR TREATMENT AND SAFETY OF U.S. CITIZENS AND PROPERTY

The U.S. interest in Fair Treatment and Safety of U.S. Citizens and Property as related to Chile is reflected primarily in the concern that the GOC treat fairly U.S. citizens suspected of subversive or criminal activity.

Continuing Chilean Violation of International Standards. Chilean military leaders are likely to continue their hardline approach to internal security matters. This approach allows Chilean security organizations to operate with few restrictions, and without close supervision. Evidence indicates they operate autonomously with little coordination. In this environment there is the possibility of U.S. citizens suspected of subversive, or criminal, activities being detained and mistreated without the knowledge of the U.S. Embassy or possibly of responsible senior Chilean authorities. As a result of recent experience, however, the GOC should perform better in the future.

ANTICIPATED CHALLENGES OR OPPORTUNITIES

-- The GOC may continue to violate international standards and mistreat U.S. citizens suspected of subversive or criminal activities.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The mistreatment of a U.S. citizen by Chilean authorities will bring an immediate negative reaction from the U.S. public and Congress, with possible serious consequences for U.S.-Chilean relations.

PROPOSED ACTION PLAN

OBJECTIVE 1: To ensure that the GOC treat American citizens fairly.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
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4. WORLD ORDER

The U.S. interest in World Order as it relates to Chile is reflected primarily in the area of concern over the possibility of war between Chile and Peru. A minor area of concern related to the U.S. interest in world order is that Chile maintain its acceptable record (apart from the human rights problem) of adherence to international law, peaceful settlement of disputes, and support for international peacekeeping and arms control efforts.

Chile-Peru Tensions. Tensions between Chile and Peru have increased at the approach of the centennial of the War of the Pacific (1879-83), in which Peru lost large areas to Chile. Peruvian revanchism, Chile's weakened economic and military position, recent Peruvian purchases of substantial amounts of modern weapons, and Peru's increasingly close relations with the Soviet Union and Cuba have convinced the Chilean government that an attack by Peru is possible within the next year or two. Chile has been engaged in an all-out search for arms to redress the serious imbalance with Peru, a country that has some motivation and a clear capability for mounting an attack on Chile.

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ANTICIPATED CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The United States can reduce the possibility of war between Chile and Peru.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHALLENGES OR OPPORTUNITIES

A Chile-Peru conflict would adversely affect the peace and stability of the hemisphere and the political and economic recovery of Chile.

PROPOSED ACTION PLAN

OBJECTIVE 1: Create an environment that will contribute to reducing the chances of conflict.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
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Comment: Facilities that would be made available to the GOC should U.S. military assistance be resumed would be used to build up the Chilean deterrent (see Political Development section).

5. OTHER INTERESTS

Control of Movement of People and Goods to and from the United States. GOC cooperation in disrupting the cocaine traffic from Chile to the United States continues to be excellent and deserving of U.S. support. Deterioration of this cooperation could quickly become an important challenge to U.S. interests.

Chile's economic (and, to a lesser extent, political) difficulties have intensified efforts by Chileans to emigrate illegally to the United States. The increased demand for non-immigrant visas has sorely strained the capabilities of our Consular Section, and the rising refusal rate for NIV's has had some adverse effect on Chileans' favorable disposition toward the U.S. However, recent GOC measures limiting the amount of foreign exchange available to international travelers and imposing a sharply higher exit tax seem to be inhibiting travel by Chileans, thereby keeping our visa problems within manageable limits.

	Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)		Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
Narcotics	870	Narcotics	100

Favorable Disposition of Chileans Toward the U.S. The majority of Chileans traditionally have thought well of the United States and the American people. There has always been an undercurrent of anti-Americanism, however, mainly in intellectual and artistic and, to some extent, academic circles,

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based on U.S. foreign policy and the Chilean perception of U.S. cultural achievements. Under the current regime in Chile, there has been a perceptible decline in sympathy for the United States among those who support the military government and believe that the United States has let Chile down after it ousted an anti-U.S. Marxist government. On the other hand are people who criticize the United States for being too closely identified with the Junta.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
1,359	ca 1,360
284 CU	250 CU

Economic and Social Development of Chile. Chile's economic and social development is of concern to the U.S. insofar as it affects U.S. economic prosperity and Chile's political development. This sector is therefore discussed and analyzed, and resources are attributed, under those two priority interests.

Humanitarian Assistance. During the economically difficult period ahead there will be an increasing number of unemployed in Chile. The Government is expected to increase expenditures to maintain food consumption at pre-existing levels in order to keep this problem from affecting political, economic or social development. Food supply will be tight, however, and a further deterioration in Chile's terms of trade or a natural disaster could make hunger a major problem. In this event, large additional resources would be needed.

Estimated FY 76 Resources (000)	Estimated FY 77 Resources (000)
PII 5,000	PII ca 5,000

Open Channels of Communication Between the United States and Chile. The Mission has open and easy access to leaders of the Government, the military institutions, the media, the universities, cultural entities, and other groups of interest to the United States, including such democratic political groups as the recessed Christian Democratic Party. The Mission will have to remain in touch with important in and out groups and individuals in order to keep itself well informed. That contact is also important for maintaining USG credibility and access to groups and individuals who may hold positions of greater importance in Chile's future. As far as communication from the United States to Chile is concerned, the shrinking number of media outlets and the direct or indirect GOC control under which they operate will make it increasingly important for USIS to place materials which keep the United States and its policies and actions in focus for the Chilean people.

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Table 1

SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES
BY U.S. AGENCY AND OTHER MAJOR DONORS

U.S. AGENCIES	U.S. Dollar Resources (000) FY 74 Actual	FY 75 Est.	FY 76 Pln.	FY 77 Pln.
State				
Salaries & Expenses				
Program	524	594	500	500
Shared	530	647	550	550
Representation Allowance	8	8	8	8
FBO	42	39 1/	100 2/	100
Cultural Program (CU)	234	340 1/	245 2/	250
Other (specify) FSI	3	8	8	8
AID				
Program				
Grant	429	940	1,095	1,175
Housing Investment Guarantee	-	-	-	50,000
Narcotics	70	30	870	100
Loan	-	22,400	26,000 3/	25,000
PL 480, Title I	-	51,700	50,000 3/	50,000
PL 480, Title II	2,370	4,091	4,181	3,840
Administrative	401	686	585	580
USIS				
PAO Resources	1,106	1,199	1,359	1,360
DOD				
FMS-Cash	50,000	60,000	65,900	63,600
FMS-Credit	15,000	-	20,000	20,000
MAP-T	900	592	800	800
MAP-M	-	-	-	-
EDA	-	-	-	-
Peace Corps				
Program	129	129	142	159 5/
Administrative 4/	127	292	369	517 5/

Table 1 (continued)

SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES
BY U.S. AGENCY AND OTHER MAJOR DONORS

U.S. AGENCIES	U.S. Dollar Resources (000)			
	FY 74 Actual	FY 75 Est.	FY 76 Pln.	FY 77 Pln
FAS				
Program	65	73	70	70
Administrative				
DEA				
Program	Financially supported from regional office in Caracas.			
Administrative				
NASA				
Program	-	2,000	2,000	2,000
Administrative	-	190	190	190
EXIM				
Program	-	50,000	50,000	50,000
Administrative				

	CY 73	CY 74	CY 75	CY 76
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS/MAJOR BILATERAL DONORS				
IMF	-	145,000	188,000	188,000
IBRD/IDB	11,000	13,000	50,000	75,000
OAS	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200
UNDP	4,000	3,000	4,500	4,500
Brazil	-	63,000	35,000	35,000
FRG	5,000	5,000	11,000	11,000
Argentina	35,000	83,000	35,000	35,000
PRC	3,000	12,000	18,000	13,000
France	3,000	5,000	10,000	15,000
Romania	15,000	14,000	6,000	6,000

[redacted]

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1/ Actual; not an estimate

2/ $38,182 is estimated for 3 month FY 1977 transition; not included in table

3/ Estimated total between 50 to 75 million

4/ Includes volunteer support and training

5/ FY 1977 transition: Program 36, Administrative 114

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Table 2

SUMMARY OF PERSONNEL BY U.S. AGENCY

U.S. Agencies	Personnel Totals FY 74 Actual			FY 75 Actual			FY 76 Pln.			FY 77 Pln.		
State	Off	Clk	FSL	Off	Clk	FSL	Off	Clk	FSL	Off	Clk	FSL
Executive Direction	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	3
Political	12	6	2	12	5	2	12	6	2	12	6	2
Economic/Commercial	9	2	5	8	2	5	8	2	6	8	2	7
Consular	5	0	9	5	0	9	6	0	9	6	0	10
Administrative	7	11	43	7	11	46	6	11	51	6	11	51
Subtotal	35	21	61	34	20	65	34	21	71	34	21	73
Total		117			119			126			128	
AID												
U.S.												
Direct Hire		7			14			16			16	
Contract		1			2			10			10	
PASA		-			-			-			-	
Local		25			33			36			36	
Total		33			49			62			62	
USIS												
U.S.		14			12			12			12	
Local		42			40			40			40	
Total		56			52			52			52	
DOD												
Marine Guards		10			10			11			11	
Attache												
U.S.		8			8			8			8	
Local		4			4			4			4	
MILGROUP												
U.S.		15			15			15			16	
Local		6			6			6			6	
Total		43			43			44			45	
Peace Corps												
Staff												
U.S.		2			2			2			2	
Local		4			4			5			5	
PCVs		50			50			75			94	
Total		56			56			82			101	

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

Table 2 (continued)

SUMMARY OF PERSONNEL BY U.S. AGENCY

U.S. AGENCIES	Personnel Totals FY 74 Actual	FY 75 Actual	FY 76 Pln.	FY 77 Pln.
FAS				
Total U.S.	1	1	1	1
Total local	3	3	3	3
NASA				
Total U.S.	6	3	3	3
Total local	1	0	0	0
DEA				
Total U.S.	3	5	6	6
IAGS				
Total U.S.	5	5	4	4
Total Local	2	1	1	1
TOTAL				
U.S.	178	181	211	228
Local	148	156	166	168

CASP EVALUATION REPORT FY 1975-76

CASP OBJECTIVES

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILE

A. Maintenance of political stability in Chile.

Remarks: The IG review of the current CASP stated that "the chief U.S. political goal in Chile is that there should not be retrogression to a government hostile to U.S. interests in the Hemisphere." Foreign economic assistance up to December 1974 has helped promote conditions of basic internal order and economic recovery, although the economic situation is serious in CY 1975. Chile was politically stable during the period of review. This stability has a strongly authoritarian cast, however, and there has been little movement toward the reconciliation and democratic development envisioned in the CASP. Economic problems and Chile's isolation contributed to the GOC's siege mentality.

B. Encourage respect for human rights.

Remarks: Under the general topic of political liberalization, the IG review decided to place the "greatest emphasis on promoting respect for human rights." Progress has been unsatisfactory. In important areas, the GOC has not "adhered to recognized standards of governmental conduct in the area of human rights," and this failure has directly impaired the ability of the USG to cooperate with the GOC. In accordance with the CASP, representations have been made to the GOC, and have contributed to a greater GOC awareness of the problem. There has been progress in releasing detainees, and procedural changes have been made recently of some importance, if carried out. Perhaps because of different perceptions of the security threat they face, however, GOC leaders have not made the substantial modifications of human rights practices likely to modify Congressional and other attitudes on assistance.

C. Encourage eventual revival of democratic political institutions.

Remarks: Progress has been scant. The judiciary and the Controller General's Office continue to be independent, but they have not challenged the authority of the Junta, and their institutional role is more limited than under previous governments. There has been no progress toward the reconvening of a legislative assembly, or toward restoration of general political rights. The non-UP political parties still exist legally, but their activities are severely restricted. There has been progress toward increased civilian presence in government only in the economic area. The GOC's intention to maintain its authoritarian character has become more clear during this period.

D. Encourage democratic pluralism in information, culture, education and labor.

Remarks: Unsatisfactory progress. Mission officers continue to have ready and direct access to key people in the GOC, in the media and in all other fields concerned, but the GOC has if anything strengthened its general authoritarian control. A few foreign correspondents (including Americans) have been expelled and/or barred from Chile for writing what the Junta considers "falsehoods" or tendentious information about Chile, but the GOC is now more careful. Trade unions continue to exist but cannot adequately protect labor's interests.

E. Contribute to traditional role of Chilean Armed Forces and their favorable disposition toward the U.S.

Remarks: Progress was reasonably satisfactory until Congress' imposition of the military assistance ban in December 1974. Because of the direct and indirect impact of the ban on all aspects of the objective, prospects for the remainder of FY 75 are not good. There are signs of increased anti-Americanism in the officer corps.

U.S. ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

A. Resolve US-GOC bilateral economic problems concerning debt, compensation, and return of U.S. properties.

Remarks: Our objectives of compensation and return of U.S. properties have been achieved. Progress toward settling debt obligations continues.

B. Increase U.S. exports to Chile to 30 percent of the import market.

Remarks: Progress satisfactory.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILE

A. Provision of level of international financial assistance needed if GOC economic recovery program is to have a good chance of success.

Remarks: Progress satisfactory until last quarter of FY 1975.

B. Sound GOC economic and social policies as a basis for a stable political and economic system.

Remarks: Progress on developing sound economic policies is satisfactory, although implementation has been sluggish. Progress on developing sound social policies is fair. The GOC has taken some measures to alleviate the effect of the austerity program on the poor, but those at the bottom of the economic scale and the lower middle class have apparently paid a higher price than others.

OPEN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHILE

A. Maintain intellectual, professional and cultural contact with the United States.

Remarks: Overall progress has been mixed. We have been successful in those areas in which the Mission has direct action; independently of U.S. official efforts, the number of international congresses in Chile, of visiting academics, professionals and cultural individuals and groups has risen, but is far below what it would normally be.

Negatively, the disapproval of the Chilean regime shown by many American academics and intellectuals has resulted in some reduction of contacts.

FAIR TREATMENT AND SAFETY OF U.S. CITIZENS AND PROPERTY

A. Safety of U.S. citizens and property.

Remarks: Progress has been satisfactory in establishing physical protection of U.S. citizens and property from terrorist attacks. The terrorist threat envisioned in the CASP has not materialized, and there is no indication it will in the near future. Progress has been mixed on safeguarding the legal rights of U.S. citizens. In one highly publicized case in which a U.S. citizen was detained, the GOC did not carry out its responsibilities under the Vienna Convention. After a USG protest, the GOC apologized and promised full compliance in the future. In another case involving three U.S. citizens, consular access was not granted quickly enough, and there were charges of torture. A few other problems have arisen involving U.S. citizens who, although not detained or arrested, have had sufficiently serious difficulties with the GOC to require USG intervention. There is no resolution in sight of the St. George's School problem.

OTHER INTERESTS

1. Control of movement of people and goods to and from the United States.

Remarks: GOC cooperation in disrupting the cocaine traffic from Chile to the United States has been excellent. The austere Chilean economic situation has led to increased illegal immigration of Chileans to the United States and to growing pressure by Chilean citizens for issuance of non-immigrant visas. The non bona fides of many visa applicants and the consequently sharply higher refusal rate has led to some minor public relations problems and put the Consular Section under greater pressure.

2. Favorable disposition of Chilean people toward U.S.

Remarks: Mixed progress. The majority of Chileans still holds the United States and the American people

in high esteem. However, this favorable disposition has suffered some erosion over the past year on the part of: (a) pro-Junta Chileans, because of continuing criticisms of Chile in the United States, U.S. failure to support the GOC wholeheartedly, and of supposed U.S. softness toward communism; and (b) those who are in varying degrees critical of or against the Junta, many of whom believe the United States is too closely identified with it.

3. World Order.

Remarks: Progress has been satisfactory except, as noted previously, in the human rights area.

4. Humanitarian assistance.

Remarks: Progress satisfactory.

US POLICY TOWARD CHILE -- AN ALTERNATIVE

Why an alternative proposal?

In last year's CASP (FY 75-76), this Mission concluded that it was in the U.S. interest to support this GOC, but recognized that human rights might be a problem. The recommended and approved policy was to try privately and quietly to persuade the GOC to improve its human rights practices, without threatening or imposing sanctions. This policy of friendly persuasion has not worked, and the GOC has not significantly modified its human rights practices.

Meanwhile, Congress, a substantial portion of U.S. public opinion, and the majority of the "free world" nations and international organizations have increasingly come to regard the GOC as an international pariah, largely because of its human rights practices. Some punitive actions have already been taken (e.g. the Congressional ban on military assistance to the GOC), and others are threatened (e.g. refusal by some countries to renegotiate the GOC's foreign debt).

Yet this year's CASP fails to take into account either the past failure of our efforts or the new situation. The key human rights recommendation is no different in any respect than the FY 75-76 CASP. There is no reason to believe that persuasion alone will be any more successful than it has been in the last year. Nowhere in the CASP is the recommendation further defined in terms of specific tools and concrete actions.

The alternative discussed below argues basically that the cost to the United States of continued support of the GOC now outweighs the benefits obtained therefrom. It proposes a course of action, including tangible measures, which has the best chance of furthering U.S. interests while at the same time causing real changes in the GOC's behavior.

Premises

1. As the FY 76-77 CASP now states, the military are and will be in control of Chile for at least the length of the CASP period. Withdrawal of U.S. political, economic, and military support will not cause the GOC to fall during the CASP period, nor most probably for the remainder of this decade.

[redacted]

2. The military leaders of Chile have lost their best chance to build the new and better society which they envision. In the political area, the military have failed to build a consensus, to broaden their political base, or to reconcile a bitterly divided nation, but instead have chosen to establish an authoritarian government intent upon imposing its will and its ideas. In the social area, in spite of a concern for the well-being of their fellow citizens and especially for the problems of the disadvantaged, they do not seem to know what to do or how to do it, and few concrete developments have taken place. In the economic area, the general thrust of their policies has been endorsed by many observers as having the potential for eventually achieving a strong and healthy economy, but the social cost at the moment is great and has the potential of alienating large segments of the population.

3. Yet the military government still remains sufficiently flexible and non-ideological to be able to change course and recoup some of its lost opportunities if it were motivated to do so.

4. At least in the human rights area, however, and probably others as well, as the CASP states, the GOC "will improve its human rights practices only slowly, usually in response to international pressure".

5. In the absence of that pressure, the GOC will continue doing what it is doing, i.e. failing to make meaningful changes in its human rights behavior. Continued U.S. support for the GOC, as proposed in the CASP, in effect, is support for an unacceptable status quo.

Issue

Is a status quo policy by the USG toward the GOC in the overall U.S. interest now and throughout the CASP period? The basic premise of this paper is that it is not.

Recommendation:

That it should be U.S. policy to inform the GOC that we will take no new initiatives to assist Chile politically, economically, or militarily unless and until its human rights practices have reached an acceptable standard. It should be made clear that existing commitments will be honored and economic and military assistance presently in the pipeline will be delivered. It should also be made clear that the GOC's human rights practices shall be deemed

[redacted]

"acceptable" only when there is a reasonable consensus to this effect of such impartial international bodies concerned with this area as the International Committee of the Red Cross, the OAS Human Rights Commission and the UN Human Rights Commission. Further, that this policy decision be publicly reported to the Congress in accordance with Section 32 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 and Section 46 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974.

Reasons for Recommendation

1. As noted earlier, there is no reason to believe that persuasion in and of itself, as advocated in the CASP, will be any more successful in modifying GOC behavior than it has been in the past, even with the addition of the Congressionally-imposed ban on military assistance as a bargaining chip.

2. On the other hand, an immediate cutoff of all U.S. support, including pipeline assistance, and an immediate move into a "cool and correct" relationship with the GOC somewhat along the lines of U.S./Chile relations during the Allende period, could produce shock and confusion and increase the chances of GOC leaders withdrawing into an unproductive siege mentality.

3. The above recommendation is a more measured approach and provides the GOC time to react in an orderly fashion during which pipeline aid and other U.S. assistance is continuing.

4. It also provides the most effective incentive to the GOC to improve its human rights behavior and to make other desirable changes in its practices, especially in the area of establishing a more open society and reviving democratic political institutions.

5. U.S. foreign policy spokesmen have stated that the human rights question is only one factor in U.S. relations with any given country. In Chile at this time, it is and should be the dominant factor. There are no other U.S. interests in Chile, individually or collectively, which outweigh it. Further, the cost to the U.S. of continued identification as the principal supporter of the present GOC significantly outweighs the benefits received. This point requires further elaboration.

Costs and Benefits:

Continued USG support to a regime of the type of the present GOC, in a country of little strategic importance whose natural resources are not important to the United States, gives the appearance that the USG in practice attributes a low priority to human rights considerations. The U.S. Congress, reflecting the will of significant groups in the United States, is now giving human rights a much higher priority in its view of desirable foreign policy, as shown among other actions by the ban on military assistance to Chile which Congress directly linked to human rights. The U.S. Executive Branch is having increasing difficulty with Congress in obtaining support for its foreign policy, in part because of failure to demonstrate conclusively a sufficiently high concern for human rights considerations abroad. To continue our present support for the GOC in the face of its continued serious human rights violations is to squander Executive Branch capital and credibility with Congress over a relatively unimportant issue when much more important ones are at stake. Further, by acting as a GOC advocate and protector in international fora and in representations to other governments (e.g. the 1975 Paris Club Chilean debt renegotiations), we are expending our influence and effectiveness with our traditional friends and world allies over an issue of relatively little vital importance to us. The benefits received in return for our present policy of support for the GOC are relatively insignificant -- another favorable vote in the UN, the possibility that someday Chile may repay a substantial part of its monumental debt to the United States, continued close military cooperation in a country with little strategic importance, a chance to sell more U.S. exports to a market of minor importance, and close narcotics control cooperation. Even if all of these benefits were to evaporate as a result of adoption of the recommendation, an unlikely event, the damage to fundamental U.S. interests would be minimal.

If the above recommendation were adopted, the authors of this paper estimate the chances as six out of ten that the GOC would respond favorably and would markedly and rapidly improve its human rights practices. In this eventuality, we believe that all but one of the U.S. interests in Chile identified in the CASP would be advanced. The exception is the favorable disposition of the Armed Forces, and this would probably be only temporary. The military would resent being seen as having been publicly forced by

the USG to take remedial action in human rights and possibly other areas, but it is unlikely they would or could take important countermeasures against us, and their hurt pride would heal in time, especially if as a result of an improved human rights situation the United States were able to resume military assistance.

If the recommendation were adopted and the US action were forcefully rejected by the GOC, it is possible that the GOC could withdraw into a siege mentality similar to that of Rhodesia or South Africa. The authors of this paper estimate the chances of this eventuality at three in ten. In this situation, there could be some damage to U.S. interests but, as noted above, none of our interests would be damaged beyond a tolerable degree. The GOC needs U.S. support too badly, and it neither could nor would enter into an alliance with Cuba or the USSR. There could be a tendency to clamp down even harder in the human rights area; there would be even less chance of a revival of democratic institutions; favorable disposition of the Chilean military would go by the boards along with the ability of the U.S. military to influence them; in the long run, the economy would be less able to service debts to the U.S. or to import U.S. goods, although a total default on debts to the U.S. would be unlikely; the chance of a Peruvian attack on Chile could increase as the GOC was seen to be almost totally isolated in the world; and there could be less open communication channels with the GOC, although this might be balanced somewhat by better communication with other sectors of Chilean opinion. In other areas, the effects of this "worst case" possibility would not be marked. In terms of protection and welfare of U.S. citizens, the GOC would still be bound by its responsibilities under the Vienna Convention; for its own reasons, the GOC would continue its programs to control the narcotics traffic, although perhaps without the present close cooperation with DEA and therefore less effectively; in terms of favorable disposition of the Chilean populace, every Chilean who became angry at the United States for our action would probably be balanced by one or more who applauded it; and adoption of the recommendation would in no way bar U.S. humanitarian assistance to Chile in case of earthquake or other natural disaster.

If the recommendation were adopted and there were no change in GOC policy, an eventuality that the authors of this paper estimate at only one in ten, there would nevertheless be some damage to U.S. interests. This damage would

be reduced in degree from the "worst case" outlined above, however, and therefore even more acceptable to us.

Other Alternatives:

In addition to this policy proposal and the one contained in the CASP, there are two other possibilities. As the CASP notes, the USG could, in effect, ignore the human rights situation in Chile and mount a major program of political, economic, and military assistance. This is what some Chileans and perhaps the GOC expected, especially shortly after the coup when the then Foreign Minister spoke of a possible U.S. "mini Marshall Plan" for Chile. In the present atmosphere, such a possibility is unrealistic for Chile or probably any other country.

The second possibility, again as the CASP notes, is that the USG could assume a posture of open and notable hostility toward the GOC, more or less along the lines that Mexico is following today. This alternative is unwarranted and undesirable at this time. However, it should be kept in mind in the eventuality that the GOC does not respond favorably to our efforts within a reasonable period of time, say by the time of the next CASP. Even if the recommendation in this paper were adopted, the USG would not thereby have exhausted its ability to influence events in Chile. Additional measured responses such as withdrawing our Ambassador and voting with the GOC's critics in the UN and elsewhere would remind the GOC that the USG could take even harsher measures if it chose.

John B. Tipton
Political Officer - FSO-4

Robert S. Steven
Political Officer - FSO-4

Arthur B. Nixon
Labor Attaché - FSO-3

Michael K. Lyons
Political Officer - FSO-5

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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ACTION ORM-01

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3359
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

[redacted] SANTIAGO 3466

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PINS, ICEM, SHUM
SUBJECT: DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM: ICEM APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE

REF: STATE 177261 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. ICEM REP URGES GREATER U.S. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO ICEM'S LATIN AMERICAN OPERATIONS, EXPRESSES HOPE FOR RAPID AUTHORIZATION OF A U.S. PAROLE PROGRAM FOR CHILEAN REFUGEES/DETAINEES, AND REPORTS PROGRESS IN GOC'S DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM. END SUMMARY.

2. ICEM RESIDENT REP. ROBERTO KOZAK CALLED ON AMBASSADOR MAY 22 TO APPEAL FOR ADDITIONAL U.S. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR ICEM PROGRAMS AND TO URGE RAPID U.S. DECISION ON ESTABLISHMENT OF A PAROLE PROGRAM FOR CHILEAN REFUGEES/DETAINEES. KOZAK LEFT COPY OF TELEGRAM FROM ICEM DIRECTOR JOHN THOMAS NOTING ACTION BY SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE CUTTING $460,000 FROM U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO ICEM'S REGULAR OPERATING PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA. KOZAK ADDED THAT THIS FIGURE REPRESENTED ABOUT HALF OF REGULAR U.S. CONTRIBUTION, AND THAT CUT IF SUSTAINED WOULD MEAN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN ICEM'S REGULAR OPERATIONS. HE WAS CAREFUL TO SEPERATE REGULAR PROGRAM [redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03466 231816Z

FROM SPECIAL CHILEAN REFUGEE/DETAINEE PROGRAM WHICH IS FUNDED BY SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS; APPARENTLY USG HAS NOT CONTRIBUTED TO THIS PROGRAM.

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3. AMBASSADOR NOTED SHORTAGE OF FUNDS FOR REFUGEE PROGRAMS, GIVEN SOUTHEAST ASIA REFUGEE PROBLEM (REFTEL). SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO COMMENT KNOWLEDGEABLY ON ICEM'S REGULAR LATAM PROGRAM. AMBASSADOR FURTHER STATED THAT, ALTHOUGH CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS ON POSSIBLE PAROLE PROGRAM FOR CHILEANS ARE WELL ADVANCED ON POSSIBLY CONCLUDED, FINAL USG DECISION HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE.

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4. KOZAK REPORTED IN PASSING THAT GOC APPEARS TO BE ANXIOUS TO SPEED ITS DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM. AS OFF-HAND ESTIMATE, HE SAID PERHAPS AS MANY AS 2,000 PERSONS SENTENCED BY MILITARY TRIBUNALS (CONDENADOS--OUR CATEGORY III) MAY EVENTUALLY DEPART; ICEM HAS ALREADY PLACED FIRST 14 CONDENADOS UNDER PROVISIONS OF RECENT GOC DECREE AND ICEM/GOC AGREEMENT (SANTIAGO 3247 NOTAL). KOZAK CLAIMED ICEM HAS ALREADY BEEN ABLE TO LOCATE SOME 1,000 "SLOTS" IN COOPERATING COUNTRIES TO ACCOMMODATE ADDITIONAL PERSONS. MEANWHILE, RELEASE INTO EXILE OF THOSE HELD WITHOUT CHARGE UNDER STATE OF SIEGE PROVISIONS (OUR CATEGORY I) IS PROCEEDING (SANTIAGO 3374 NOTAL), AND CLAIMED PANAMA HAD AGREED TO TAKE 300 PERSONS (COUNTING FAMILY MEMBERS). HE IS ALSO ACTIVELY PURSUING POSSIBILITY OF VENEZUELAN FINANCING FOR ADDITIONAL RESETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES/DETAINEES IN MEXICO. KOZAK CLAIMED THAT GOC HAS NOW GIVEN HIM PERMISSION TO ATTEMPT TO RESETTLE 464 CATEGORY I DETAINEES.

5. CABLE FROM THOMAS MENTIONED LATTER'S APPEARANCE BEFORE THE EILBERG HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE AND STATED THOMAS HAD BEEN PROVIDED WITH COPY OF LETTER FROM EILBERG TO FRANK KELLOGG (SIR) INDICATING SUB-COMMITTEE WAS WILLING TO SUPPORT PAROLE OF 400 CHILEANS IN US. MESSAGE SAYS NO FURTHER WORD HAS BEEN GIVEN BY STATE. IT ALSO REQUESTS AMBASSADOR'S SUPPORT FOR SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST FOR FUNDS TO BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS TO RESTORE US CONTRIBUTION TO ICEM'S LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAMS TO PREVIOUS LEVEL.

6. COMMENT: BELIEVE KOZAK UNDERSTANDS THAT THERE IS LITTLE WE CAN DO FOR HIM IN CONNECTION WITH ICEM'S REGULAR LATIN [redacted]

AMERICAN PROGRAM. WE WOULD LIKE TO KEEP HIM INFORMED AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE REGARDING POSSIBILITY OF PAROLE FOR CHILEAN REFUGEES/DETAINEES.

7. KOZAK'S STATISTICS ON DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM INDICATE SOME PROGRESS IS BEING MADE IN SPEEDING UP DEPORTATION OF DETAINEES HELD UNDER STATE OF SIEGE AND, MORE RECENTLY, OF PRISONERS CONDEMNED FOR INTERNAL SECURITY OFFENSES. HOWEVER, SINCE GOC'S SECURITY AGENCIES CONTINUE TO ARREST AND HOLD POLITICAL PRISONERS, ICEM IS LIKELY TO BE IN RESETTLEMENT BUSINESS FOR THEM FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD TO COME.
POPPER

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PAGE 01 STATE 137736

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AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03

CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 /083 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/BC/C:AMISAACS:MG
APPROVED BY ARA:HARYAN
ARA/BC:JEKARKASHIAN
USOAS:FMCNEIL (DRAFT)

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, CI, US, OAS, PFOR

SUBJECT: CHILEAN AMBASSADOR'S CALL

1. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TRUCCO'S CALL ON DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY RYAN JUNE 11.

2. CUBA ISSUE AT SAN JOSE. TRUCCO EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT UPCOMING MEETING OFPLENIPOTENTIARIES TO AMEND RIO TREATY WOULD ACT ON CUBA SANCTIONS QUESTION. HIS OWN INSTRUCTIONS AS HEAD OF GOC DELEGATION WOULD BE CONFINED STRICTLY TO THE PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT FOR WHICH THE MEETING HAD BEEN CONVOKED. HE ANTICIPATED THAT MOST OTHER PLENIPOTENTIARIES WOULD BE SIMILARLY LIMITED. HE EXPECTED CONTINUED GOC SUPPORT FOR REVISION OF ARTICLE 17 MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO LIFT SANCTIONS BY SIMPLE MAJORITY. RYAN POINTED OUT THAT ALTERNATIVE TO MEETING IN SAN JOSE MIGHT BE ONE IN MEXICO [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 137736

CITY, AND WONDERED IF CHILEANS WOULD LIKE THAT. (COMMENT: CONFERENCE OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES IS CHARGED BY OASGA WITH AMENDING RIO TREATY. ANY ACTION ON CUBA SANCTIONS WOULD

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HAVE TO TAKE PLACE IN A SEPARATE SUBSEQUENT MEETING OF THE TREATY'S ORGAN OF CONSULTATION. THIS COULD BE CALLED AT SAN JOSE OR ELSEWHERE. WE ASSUME THE TWO-THIRDS RE- QUIREMENT FOR LIFTING SANCTIONS WILL BE CHANGED TO SIMPLE MAJORITY IN THE PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT ADOPTED TO

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EMERGE FROM SAN JOSE. HOWEVER, ANY CHANGE IN THE CUBA SANCTIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO REQUIRE TWO-THIRDS UNTIL THE PROTOCOL GOES INTO EFFECT AFTER COMPLETION OF RATIFICA- TION OF PROCESS -- PROBABLY AT LEAST A YEAR IN THE FUTURE.)

3. HUMAN RIGHTS. RYAN ASKED IF TRUCCO COULD REPORT ANY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS. TRUCCO PARRIED QUESTION BY ANTICIPATING THAT ANTI-JUNTA PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN IN CHILE AND ABROAD WOULD ACCELERATE AS GOC'S ENEMIES TAKE ADVAN- TAGE OF THE DIFFICULT WINTER CHILEANS FACE, THE US CONGRESS'S CONSIDERATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND THE IBRD'S CONSIDERATION OF NEW LENDING. HE SAID HE WOULD BE SURPRISED, GIVEN EXPECTED ARRIVAL SOON OF UNHRC TEAM, IF HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION TOOK TURN FOR WORSE. IN PASSING HE NOTED THAT DEPARTURE OF CONTROVERSIAL FUGITIVE SERGIO ZAMORA HAD BEEN IGNORED BY INTERNATIONAL PRESS. RYAN INTERJECTED THAT NEW JUSTICE MINISTER SCHWEITZER DID NOT SEEM TO BE HAVING MUCH IMPACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION THUS FAR. TRUCCO COMMENTED THAT HE WAS IN DIRECT TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH SCHWEITZER ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS THAT COME TO HIS ATTENTION. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE NOTED THAT SCHWEITZER HAD ASSURED HIM THAT ENRIQUE KIRBERG WOULD BE FREE TO LEAVE CHILE AS SOON AS JUDICIAL PRO- CEEDINGS AGAINST HIM ARE CONCLUDED. RYAN REMINDED TRUCCO OF SERGIO DIEZ' PROMISE TO CONGRESSMAN FRASER TO INFORM LATTER FULLY ABOUT GOC IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW INTERNAL SECURITY LAW SAFEGUARDS. TRUCCO SAID HE WOULD REMIND DIEZ (NOW IN GENEVA CONSULTING WITH UNHRC) TO DO SO.

4. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT. TRUCCO INQUIRED WHEN NEW FAA MIGHT BE EXPECTED. WE POINTED OUT THAT NORMALLY THE FAA

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IS NOT ENACTED UNTIL SIX MONTHS OR SO INTO THE NEW FISCAL YEAR, BUT THAT CONGRESS COVERS THE INTERIM VIA DEVICE OF CONTINUING RESOLUTIONS. WE ANTICIPATED THAT AT MINIMUM CONGRESSIONAL CRITICS WOULD CONSIDER SAME RESTRICTIONS ON CHILE TO APPLY IN CONTINUING RESOLUTION AND QUITE POSSIBLY AMEND THE CR WITH EVEN MORE RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE. KISSINGER

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

[redacted] STATE 139066

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SREF, US, CI

SUBJECT: PAROLE OF CHILEAN REFUGEES

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PREPARED STATEMENT USED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS IN EXECUTIVE SESSION TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE JUNE 12.

2. QUOTE: MR. CHAIRMAN, I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO APPEAR BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE TO SPEAK ON THE SUBJECT OF CHILEAN REFUGEES. MY STAFF AND I HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD FOR MANY MONTHS TO OBTAIN APPROVAL OF A PROPOSAL TO PAROLE INTOTHE UNITED STATES A LIMITED NUMBER OF CHILEAN REFUGEES AND DETAINEES FROM CHILE AND PERU, PLUS SPOUSES AND DEPENDENTS. SO WHEN THIS HEARING WAS SUDDENLY CALLED I SIMPLY TORE UP MY SCHEDULE FOR TODAY AND CAME ON UP.

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FIRST LET ME REVIEW BRIEFLY THE HISTORY OF THE CHILEAN REFUGEE PROBLEM. THERE HAVE BEEN THREE DISTINCT RESETTLEMENT EFFORTS FOR REFUGEES IN AND FROM CHILE. THE FIRST, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SEPTEMBER, 1973 OVERTHROW OF THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT, INVOLVED THE RESETTLING OF ALMOST 3,600 NON-CHILEAN REFUGEES AND THEIR DEPENDENTS IN 41 DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. THE MAJOR PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES WERE

ARGENTINA, FRANCE, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, WHICH TOOK A TOTAL OF OVER 2,300 OF THESE PEOPLE. NINETEEN WERE PAROLED INTO THE UNITED STATES.

THE SECOND EFFORT INVOLVED CHILEAN REFUGEES IN PERU. WE ESTIMATE THAT UP TO 4,000 CHILEANS FLED TO PERU FOLLOWING THE COUP. THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT ADMITTED THEM IN TRANSIT ONLY AND ASKED THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER TO CONDUCT A RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM. IN 1974 OVER 1,500 WERE RESETTLED IN SOME 15 COUNTRIES, PRINCIPALLY CANADA, NEW ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA, LUXEMBURG, HUNGARY AND ROMANIA. THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT ACCEPTED ANY. THERE ARE STILL ABOUT 1,200 IN PERU. ONLY LAST WEEK THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, IN LIMA, CALLED IN AMBASSADORS FROM A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN PERU, ASKING FOR A RENEWED EFFORT TO RESETTLE THESE PEOPLE.

THE THIRD REFUGEE EFFORT INVOLVES DETAINEES IN CHILE. OUR BEST INFORMATION INDICATES THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 4,000 TO 5,000 CHILEANS CURRENTLY IN DETENTION IN CHILE. THEY INCLUDE MEMBERS OF A NUMBER OF POLITICAL PARTIES. SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN CONVICTED AND OTHERS HAVE NOT. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF SENTENCES WERE PASSED BY MILITARY, NOT CIVILIAN, COURTS. SOME DETAINEES HAVE BEEN HELD WITHOUT CHARGE FOR AS LONG AS 21 MONTHS. THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGES HAVING DETAINED OVER 41,000 PERSONS AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER SINCE THE COUP. OF THE 36,000 RELEASED, 9,000 HAVE BEEN REQUIRED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. IN A SPEECH LAST SEPTEMBER, CHILEAN CHIEF OF STATE PINOCHET OFFERED TO RELEASE AND EXILE DETAINEES WHO COULD BE RESETTLED IN OTHER COUNTRIES. RECENTLY THE CHILEAN GOVERN-

*MENT BROADENED THE CRITERIA TO INCLUDE THOSE CHILEANS WHO HAVE BEEN CONVICTED OF CRIMES RELATED TO "INTERNAL SECURITY". A CHILEAN COMMISSION HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO RULE WHETHER SENTENCES CAN BE COMMUTED TO ENABLE DEPORTATION OF THESE PEOPLE. SOME HAVE BEEN RELEASED AND WILL BE RESETTLED IN CANADA AND IN MEXICO. THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT OFFERED TO RESETTLE ANY OF THEM.

NOW LET ME SPELL OUT THE REASONS WHY I HAVE BEEN WORKING SO HARD TO OBTAIN AUTHORIZATION TO PERMIT THE RESETTLEMENT OF CHILEAN DETAINEES AND REFUGEES, AND THEIR FAMILIES, IN THE UNITED STATES.

FIRST AND FOREMOST, THERE IS A HUMANITARIAN NEED FOR SUCH ACTION. WE SYMPATHIZE WITH THE PLIGHT OF THE REFUGEES AND DETAINEES AND WE WISH TO DO OUR PART IN THE INTERNATIONAL RESETTLEMENT EFFORT.

SECONDLY, THERE IS STRONG RELIGIOUS SUPPORT IN CHILE FOR SUCH A U.S. EFFORT. FOR EXAMPLE, BOTH FATHER POBLETE, ADVISER TO CARDINAL SILVA OF CHILE, AND BISHOP FRENZ, LUTHERAN LEADER OF CHILE, HAVE REPEATEDLY URGED US TO TAKE THIS ACTION. WE ARRANGED FOR BOTH OF THEM TO MEET WITH STAFF COUNSEL FOR THE SENATE AND HOUSE COMMITTEE.

THIRD, WE HAVE BEEN ASKING THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER OF REFUGEES TO GET OTHER COUNTRIES TO TAKE IN VIETNAMESE REFUGEES. IT IS INCONSISTENT TO SEEK COOPERATION FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND OTHER COUNTRIES ON THE VIETNAMESE REFUGEE PROBLEM IF WE REFUSE TO LIFT A FINGER TO HELP THE CHILEANS. RECENTLY THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION EXPRESSED TO OUR SANTIAGO EMBASSY ITS HOPE FOR RAPID AUTHORIZATION OF THE ENTRY OF CHILEANS INTO THE U.S.

FOURTH, OUR ACCEPTANCE OF CHILEANS WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR CONCERN FOR REFUGEES EXTENDS TO ALL PERSONS IN NEED, REGARDLESS OF THE NATURE AND POLITICAL COLORATION OF THE GOVERNMENT FROM WHICH THEY ARE FLEEING. SUCH ACTION WILL ALSO HELP TO IMPROVE THE U.S. IMAGE IN THE EYES OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN CHILE AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES.

FIFTH, THE SECURITY RISK TO US IS MINIMAL. ALL CHILEANS WILL BE CAREFULLY SCREENED, ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS. IT IS NOT PROPOSED TO BRING IN COMMUNISTS, TERRORISTS OR ECONOMIC DISTRESS CASES. IN THE COURSE OF OUR CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS WE HAVE BEEN TOLD REPEATEDLY THAT IT IS UNDESIRABLE TO BRING IN COMMUNISTS. ALL I CAN DO IS SAY ONCE AGAIN THAT WE DO NOT, REPEAT NOT, INTEND TO BRING IN COMMUNISTS.

SIXTH, SO FAR AS I CAN DISCERN, IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROPOSAL WILL IN NO WAY HELP THE COMMUNIST PARTY. ON THE CONTRARY, I AM CONVINCED THAT REFUSAL TO ACCEPT CHILEAN DETAINEES AND REFUGEES WOULD SERVE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA PURPOSES.

SEVENTH, THERE IS GREAT DOMESTIC INTEREST IN THIS PROPOSAL. WE HAVE BEEN RECEIVING DAILY CALLS FROM

REPRESENTATIVES OF MANY ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS INCLUDING, FOR EXAMPLE, THE U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, AND THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION. THEY ASK WHY, AFTER ALL THESE MONTHS, WE DO NOT MOVE AHEAD.

NOW, IN CONCLUSION, LET ME REVIEW BRIEFLY THE STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN IN OBTAINING APPROVAL FOR OUR PLAN. FOLLOWING THE SECRETARY'S DECISION, LAST NOVEMBER, TO REQUEST THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO EXERCISE HIS PAROLE AUTHORITY ON BEHALF OF CHILEAN REFUGEES AND DETAINEES, WE BEGAN OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH CONGRESS. BOTH COMMITTEES WERE INFORMED OF THE PROPOSAL IN WRITING ON DECEMBER 16 AND WERE ASKED FOR COMMENTS. WE HAD TWO MEETINGS WITH THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, THE LATEST IN FEBRUARY, IN A LETTER DATED MARCH 25 THE COMMITTEE RECOGNIZED THE HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED AND SAID IT DID NOT OBJECT TO A PAROLE PROGRAM FOR CHILEAN DETAINEES ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS. WE ALSO REQUESTED CONSULTATION WITH THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE. WE MET WITH MR. LOUGHRAN OF YOUR STAFF EARLIER THIS YEAR.

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ON APRIL 23, DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL WROTE TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL URGING THAT HE UTILIZE HIS AUTHORITY UNDER SECTION 212 (D) (5) OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT TO PAROLE INTO THE UNITED STATES 400 REFUGEES AND DETAINEES, AND THEIR FAMILIES.

ON MAY 29, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY MET WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND GENERAL CHAPMAN. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND GENERAL CHAPMAN INDICATED THEY DID NOT FAVOR A CLASS PAROLE FOR A FIXED NUMBER OF PEOPLE. THEY DID, HOWEVER, OFFER TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY, PURSUANT TO THEIR STANDARD POLICIES, ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, THOSE CHILEAN REFUGEES AND DETAINEES FAVORABLY RECOMMENDED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE FINDS THIS ACCEPTABLE. WE HAVE SINCE WORKED OUT WITH THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE THE PROCEDURES AND GUIDANCE FOR OUR EMBASSIES IN SANTIAGO AND LIMA FOR IMPLEMENTING THIS PROJECT. WE ARE SATISFIED THOSE PLANS ARE SOUND AND REALISTIC, AND WE ARE READY AND EAGER TO GET STARTED.

THANK YOU. END QUOTE.

3. FYI. ROGERS APPEARANCE BEFORE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE CAME IN RESPONSE TO LAST-MINUTE REQUEST BY COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN EASTLAND. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT PREVIOUS DAY HAD INFORMED SENATE AND HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEES OF PLANS TO MOVE AHEAD ON CASE-BY-CASE PAROLE PROPOSAL. SENATORS EASTLAND, BURDICK, HRUSKA, KENNEDY AND ABOUREZK ATTENDED HEARING. REACTION WAS MIXED. KENNEDY WAS SUPPORTIVE OF DEPT'S EFFORTS AND TRIED TO COUNTER EASTLAND'S INITIAL MISGIVING. AT END OF HEARING, EASTLAND APPEARED SATISFIED WITH WHAT WE ENVISAGED. DEPARTMENT HAS INFORMED CHILEAN EMBASSY HERE OF CIRCUMSTANCES OF ROGERS TESTIMONY AND GENERAL OUTLINES OF PAROLE MECHANISM. KISSINGER

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OAS, PFOR
SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE (RIO TREATY)

1. DURING CONVERSATION WITH ME MORNING JULY 2, FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO SAID THAT MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER RABASA WILL MAKE AN UNPUBLICIZED VISIT TO COSTA RICA TODAY FOR DISCUSSION WITH HIM ABOUT THE OAS CONFERENCE. HE DOES NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT RABASA HAS IN MIND BUT WILL TALK TO ME MORE ABOUT IT LATER.

2. FACIO ALSO SAID THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE HAD TOLD HIM THAT HIS COUNTRY WOULD NOW VOTE FOR THE AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 17 OF THE RIO TREATY. IN ADDITION, HE HAD HEARD THAT URUGUAY HAD NOW DECIDED NOT TO OPPOSE THE AMENDMENT TO THE TREATY. CONSEQUENTLY, FACIO THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM IN GETTING THE NECESSARY VOTES TO AMEND THE TREATY.

3. FACIO SAID HE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE BEST ACTION IS TO PROCEED FROM THE AMENDMENT OF THE TREATY TO A VOTE ON A RESOLUTION FOR LIFTING THE SANCTIONS. HE FELT, HOWEVER, THAT THIS ACTION SHOULD BE A SURPRISE MOVE TO AVOID UNNECESSARY ADVANCE PUBLICITY AND FUSS.
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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4945
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

UNCLAS CAIRO 6574

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR, EG, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO EGYPT SET

LOCAL PRESS JULY 2 ANNOUNCES THAT VISIT OF PRESIDENT OF MEXICO SCHEDULED FOR JULY 28.
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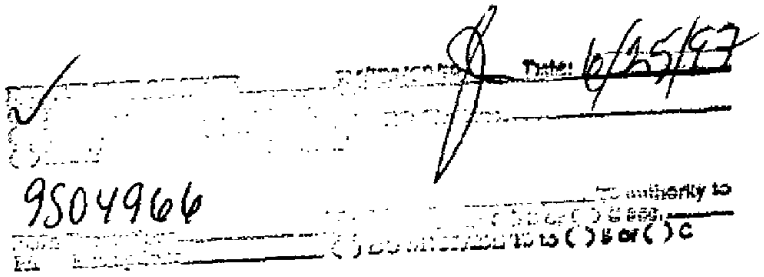

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX, IS, PORG
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA VISIT TO ISRAEL AND HIS SECGEN CHANCES

REF: MEXICO 5894

1. ISRAELI AMBASSADOR AYNOR CALLED ON ME YESTERDAY AFTERNOON TO "ASK ADVISE". SAID HE HAD HEARD, WITH SOME DISMAY, ON EVENING NEWSCAST LAST NIGHT THAT PRES. ECHEVERRIA PLANNED TO VISIT ISRAEL IN THE COURSE OF HIS TOUR OF MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, AND SOUTH ASIA BEGINNING LATER THIS MONTH. NO PRIOR ISRAELI CLEARANCE HAD BEEN OBTAINED AND, RATHER INGENUOUSLY, HE ASKED WHETHER IN MY EXPERIENCE THIS WAS THE WAY ECHEVERRIA NORMALLY PROCEEDED IN MATTERS OF THIS SORT.

2. HAVING JUST COME FROM PRESIDENCY MYSELF AFTER PRESENTING SENATOR MANSFIELD TO PRESIDENT, I WAS ABLE TO PASS ON TO HIM ECHEVERRIA'S CONFIRMATION THAT HE DID INDEED HOPE TO VISIT ISRAEL, WHERE (ECHEVERRIA EXPLAINED) MEXICO HAD IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS TO PURSUE. I REMARKED UPON ECHEVERRIA'S NON-PROTOCOLARLY MANNER AND SAID I WAS SURE NO OFFENSE WAS MEANT. I ALSO MENTIONED ECHEVERRIA'S OWN REFERENCE TO SUDDEN VISIT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO
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MEXICO IN 1966 WITH ONLY 27 HOURS' ADVANCE NOTICE. AMB. AYNOR SEEMED REASSURED AND AGREED WITH ME THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT NEITHER PROTOCOL NICETIES NOR CORRENT POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN MEXICO AND ISRAEL PREVENT HIS BEING WARMLY WELCOMED THERE.

3. ON LARGER SUBJECT OF TRIP'S PURPOSE, AMB. AYNOR AGREED THAT ECHEVERRIA'S CAMPAIGN FOR UN SECRETARY GENERALSHIP WAS A KEY MOTIVATING FACTOR. MOREOVER (TO MY SURPRISE) HE SEEMED NOT TO LOOK WITH DISFAVOR UPON THAT EVENTUALITY, OPINING THAT HE WOLD CERTAINLY BE AN IMPROVEMENT UPON WALDHEIM. HE COULD NOT IMAGINE THAT EITHER US OR USSR WOULD EXERCISE VETO ON HIS CANDIDACY. IN ANY CASE, A THIRD WORLD SECGEN WAS WHAT WAS NEEDED TO MAKE THE UN WORK PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE PROBLEMS CREATED BY A THIRD WORLD DOMINATED GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

4. AN EQUALLY IMPORTANT FACTOR, HE THOUGHT, WAS ECHEVERRIA'S DESIRE TO B A GENUINE THIRD WORLD LEADER. HE MENTIONED A RECENT CONVERSATION WHICH HE HIMSELF HAD HAD WITH ECHEVERRIA, IN WHICH THE LATTER INQUIRED IN DETAIL ABOUT PRESIDENT TITO'S AGE AND HEALTH, LEAVING THE IMPRESSION THAT HE ASPIRED TO SUCCEED TITO AS LEADER OF THE THIRD WORLD NATIONS.

5. I REMARKED TO AMB. AYNOR THAT I THOUGHT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO ENCOURAGE ECHEVERRIA TO PLAY A CONCILIATORY ROLE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD. FOR THIS REASON ALONE, IT SEEMED TO ME MORE THAN WISE TO ENDORSE HIS PLANS TO VISIT NOT ONLY ARAB COUNTRIES BUT ISRAEL AS WELL, AND TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF HIS VISIT TO STRESS THIS POINT WITH HIM (ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF CONFRONTATION OVER "ZIONISM" AT WCIWY HERE). JOVA

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S UNEXPECTED INVITATION TO PRESIDENT FORD

1. SENATOR MANSFIELD AND I HAD A MOST CORDIAL CONVERSATION LASTING MORE THAN AN HOUR WITH PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WHO RECEIVED THE SENATOR AT THE DOOR OF HIS CAR.

2. THE FIRST PART OF THE CONVERSATION WAS DOMINATED BY ECHEVERRIA WHO DESCRIBED HIS FORTHCOMING TRIP TO AFRICA AND THE MID EAST (REPORTED IN SEPTEL) AND STRESSED THE COMPARATIVE POLITICAL PEVGS#ENJOYED BY MEXICO DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION THANKS TO HIS TACTICS OF OPENING DOORS TO THE LEFT, BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY.

3. WHEN SENATOR MANSFIELD HAD OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK, HE MENTIONED THAT HE BROUGHT GREETINGS FROM PRESIDENT FORD WHOM HE HAD SEEN JUST PRIOR TO TRAVELING TO MEXICO. THE SENATOR SAID THAT HE HAD OBSERVED TO PRESIDENT FORD THAT NO U.S. PRESIDENT HAD VISITED MEXICO CITY SINCE JOHNSON'S TIME AND THAT IN HIS OPINION SKCH A VISIT WAS NOW DUE. HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAD REPLIED THAT WHILE HE WOULD ENJOY VISITING MEXICO, HE DID NOT WISH TO COME AT SUCH A TIME AS MIGHT INTERFERE WITH THE DELICATE POLITICAL PROCESS CONNECTED WITH THE FORTHCOMING MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

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RM ECHEVERRIA RESPONDED WITH ENTHUSIASM SAYING THAT HE WISHED SENATOR MANSFIELD WOULD ASSURE PRESIDELA FORD ON A PERSONAL BASIS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME HE REQUESTED THE AMBASSADOR TO DO SO ON AN OFFICIAL BASIS, THAT PRESIDENT FORD WOULD BE WELCOMED WITH ENTHUSIASM AT ANY TIME HE CHOSE TO COME. ECHEVERRIA SAID THAT HE HIMSELF WOULD NOT RETURM FROM HIS TRIP TO AFRICA AND THE FAR EAST UNTIL MID-AUGUST, BUT HOPED THAT WE COULD WORK OUT A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY DATE FOR A VISIT BY PRESIDENT FORD, HOPEFULLY ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. FORD, ANY TIME AFTER HIS RETURN IN MID-AUGUST.

5. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE OBSERVED THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WOULD BE CHOSEN BY THEIR PARTIES POSSIBLY IN SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, THAT THE PRI CANDIDATE WOULD WIN (UNDERSTATEMENT OF THE YEAR) BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WHILE THE PAN CANDIDATE WOULD GET A MAXIMUM OF PERHAPS 12 TO 14 PERCENT OF THE VOTE. HE COULD ASSURE US THAT THE MEXICAN POLITICAL PROCESS WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AND THAT PRESIDENT FORD WOULD BE EVEN MORE ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED THAN DURING HIS VISIT TO LAREDO AND MAGDALENA DE KINO. HE REMINISCED REGARDING PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VISIT WHICH WAS DONE, (HE SAID NOT WCTHOUT TRACES OF DISMAY) WITH ONLY 28 HOURS' NOTICE, THAT HE WAS THE ARRANGER FOR THYS VISIT AND IT WAS ONE OF THE MOST GRANDIOSE MEXICO HAS HAD -- WITH MORE NOTICE PRESIDENT FORD WOULD GET AN EVEN BETTER RECEPTION.

6. AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION ECCEVERRIA HIMSELF AGAIN RAISED THE MATTER OF A POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AND WARMLY REITERATED HIS INVITATION.

7. COMMENT: REGARDLESS OF ECHEVERRIA'S OPEN-HEARTED STATEMENT OF WELCOME, I WOULD RECOMMEND AGAINST ANY PRESIDENTIAL VISIT, IF INDEED ONE IS TO TAKE PLACE, UNTIL AFTER THE MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN CHOSEN. A VISIT BEFORE THAT MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS AN ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE CHOICE OF THE CANDIDATES. JOVA

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 05894 030548Z

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INFO OCT-01 AF-06 NEA-10 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15

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AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSYPORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA

Date: 6/25/97

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[redacted] MEXICO 5894

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX, KU, IS, CE, TD, GY, SG, IR, IN, TZ, EG, SA
SUBJ: MORE COUNTRIES ADDED TO PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S TRAVEL SCHEDULE

REF: MEXICO 5594 (NOTAL)

1. WHEN I CALLED ON ECHEVERRIA TOGETHER WITH SENATOR MANSFIELD TODAY, HE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD ADDED KUWAIT, ISRAEL, SRI LANKA, AND TRINIDAD-TOBAGO TO HIS TRAVEL SCHEDULE WHICH MEANT THAT HE WOULD BE AWAY FROM MEXICO UNTIL MID-AUGUST.

2. THE PRESIDENT ADDED THAT THIS WAS A PARTICULARLY COMPLI-

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 05894 030548Z

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CATED TRIP BUT HE SAW GREAT BENEFITS FOR MEXICO AS HE HOPED TO GET ARAB OIL INVESTMENTS BOTH ON A DIRECT BASIS AND THROUGH GRANTS TO THE INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. THE ISRAELIS HAD BEEN UNHAPPY AS HE WAS VISITING THE VARIOUS ARAB CAPITALS AND BECAUSE OF SOME OF MEXICO'S POSITIONS AS PART OF THE GROUP OF 77, HENCE HE HAD DECIDED TO BALANCE HIS VISIT BY INCLUDING ISRAEL. THIS WILL NOW MAKE THE ARABS UNHAPPY BUT THIS IN TURN WILL BE BALANCED OFF BY AGAIN MAKING THE ISRAELIS UNHAPPY AS HE WILL RECEIVE PALESTIN LIBERATION CHIEFS AT SOME (UNSPECIFIED) POINTS IN HIS TRIP.

3. HIS VISIT TO GUYANA WAS MAKING THE VENEZUELANS UNHAPPY BECAUSE OF THEIR BORDER DIFFICULTIES BUT GUYANA WAS AN IMPORTANT LINK OF HIS NEW CARIBBEAN STRATEGY. SIMILARLY, HE WOULD VISIT TRINIDAD TOBAGO TO OFFSET PRIME MINISTER WILLIAMS SENSITIVITY BECAUSE OF HIS GROWING FRIENDSHIP WITH MANLEY OF JAMAICA.

4. ECHEVERRIA SAID THE MAIN PURPOSE OF HIS TRIP WAS TO CARRY MEXICO'S MESSAGES OF PEACE AND OF GREATER WORLD SOCIAL JUSTICE.

5. DURING THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION THE PRESIDENT TOLD SENATOR MANSFIELD THAT HE WOULD BE UNDER GREAT PRESSURE DURING THIS TRIP TO JOIN OPEC AND ALSO TO JOIN THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP. WHILE HE DESIRED GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH THESE GROUPS, HE MAINTAINED STOUTLY THAT HE WOULD NOT JOIN THEM.

6. ECHEVERRIA SAID HE KNEW HIS TRIP WOULD HAVE GREAT HAZARDS BUT AS IN SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT IN THE SAME AREA, THE RISKS WERE WORTH TAKING.
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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E-5.

PAGE 01 MEXICO 05859 020151Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8651
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 11/19/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

UNCLAS MEXICO 5859

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, MX, PN, CU
SUBJECT: RABASA COMMENTS ON PANAMA, SAN JOSE MEETING

1. FOREIGN SECRETARY EMILIO RABASA TOLD PRESS JUNE 30 THAT MEXICO REITERATES ITS SUPPORT FOR "THE JUST DEMANDS" OF PANAMA IN RELATION TO THE CANAL. HE NOTED THAT THE GOM HAS TAKEN A CLEAR AND DEFINITE POSITION ON THIS MATTER NOT ONLY AT THE BOGOTA MEETINGS BUT ALSO AT THOSE IN WASHINGTON.

2. ON THE FORTHCOMING OAS MEETING ON RIO TREATY IN SAN JOSE, RABASA CAREFULLY QUALIFED HIS STATEMENTS. HE SAID THT OAS MEMBERS ARE NOT DISPOSED TO LIFT THE SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA BY A MAJORITY INSTEAD OF A TWO-THIRDS VOTE. MEXICO IS SEARCHING FOR A FORMULA FOR LIFTING THE SANCTIONS WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE RATIFICATION OF AMENDMENTS TO THE RIO TREATY BY ALL ITS MEMBERS, A PROCESS WHICH COULD TAKE TWO OR MORE YEARS. FOR THIS REASON, HE ADDED, MEXICO HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE IN CONTACT WITH VARIOUS OTHER COUNTRIES, BUT AS OF THE MOMENT, THE SITUATION IS RATHER INPRECISE.
JOVA

UNCLASSIFIED

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

A-30 A
R Human Rights

3 July 1975

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Mr. William D. Rogers

FROM: ARA/BC - John E. Karkashian JEK

SUBJECT: UN Human Rights Commission

On July 7 a working group of the United Nations Human Rights Commission will arrive in Santiago to study the Human Rights situation in Chile. The group will be composed of: Ghulam Ali Allana, Chairman, (Pakistan); Leopoldo Benites (Ecuador); Abdoulaya Dieye (Senegal); Felix Ermacora (Austria); and Mrs. M. J. T. Kamora (Sierra Leone). Also accompanying the Group is Marc Schreiber, Head of the U.N. Secretariat Human Rights Office and two members of his staff.

As far as we know, the UNHRC group is composed of able and unbiased people. We expect it will conduct its investigation competently and report fairly. The Group has held a preliminary meeting in Geneva and has already interviewed some Chilean exiles. It expects to present its final report in January of 1976.

After nearly two years in power, the GOC remains determined to give overriding priority to its internal security requirements, broadly construed. Exercizing state of siege powers, conventional procedural safeguards are largely lacking for persons detained and interrogated; treatment is often harsh; long delays before trial are the rule. We estimate that more than 4000 persons are under detention. Indications that the GOC might "demilitarize" its judicial procedures and curb the far-ranging authority of the security agencies, particularly DINA, have not materialized.

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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The GOC's human rights practices have created a highly critical climate in the U.S. Congress, particularly with liberal members, as well as with much of the media. The Chilean failure to effect fundamental changes in those practices was responsible for the inclusion of Section 25 in last year's Foreign Assistance Act. This section effectively prohibited military assistance to Chile by the U.S. Government and limited economic assistance to a level of $25 million during FY 1975. The GOC's human rights practices have also been the subject of resolutions in the last UN General Assembly, in the International Labor Organization, in UNESCO, in the OAS, the Paris Club creditors meeting in May and the current UN International Women's Year Conference in Mexico.

The critical congressional and media reaction in the U.S. has made it extremely difficult to carry out a supportive bilateral policy or to be helpful to Chile's needs on the international level. We have attempted to modify the more strident and politically motivated actions against the GOC in various international fora with some success. We were instrumental at the last Paris Club meeting to obtain a multilateral agreement among Chile's major creditors to reschedule its 1975 debts to them. In the World Bank, we were successful in obtaining support for a $20 million agricultural loan.

We have been particularly forthcoming in our bilateral economic assistance. A.I.D. loans in FY 1975 totaled $20 million, while our PL 480 Title I program totaled approximately $57.8 million. We were unable to provide any military assistance in FY 1975 due to the restrictions of Section 25 of the FAA of 1974.

In our contacts with GOC officials we have reiterated that without real improvements in the human rights field, we do not anticipate any change in the attitude of Congress, various interested international organizations and the media. So far, very little improvement has been made beyond the release of a large number of detainees. It was hoped that the Internal Security Law, promulgated in April, would serve to provide effective habeas corpus and prompt notification to relatives of detainees. As far as we can tell, these provisions of the law are not being effectuated. Until the GOC takes some concrete

steps to restore habeas corpus, trial - or at least review - by civilian courts, and judicial warrants for arrest, Chile's present image outside the country will remain the same.

ARA/BC/C:RDriscoll:bjd

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 05963 040249Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 USIE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8713

UNCLAS MEXICO 5963

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, MX, CU
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ANNOUNCES VISIT TO CUBA

1. DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 3, PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAS ADDED A TWO-DAY VISIT TO CUBA TO THE END OF HIS ITINERARY FOR HIS FORTHCOMING TOUR OF ASIAN, AFRICAN AND CARIBBEAN NATIONS. HE WILL DEPART MEXICO JULY 8 AND RETURN AUGUST 16.

2. CONTACT AT FOREIGN SECRETARIAT CONFIRMED PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO CUBA BUT WAS UNABLE TO GIVE EMBOFF FINAL ITINERARY BECAUSE OF LAST MINUTE CHANGES. JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04698 051545Z

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00
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SAJ-01 OMB-01 EA-06 DIWY-01 OIC-02 DPW-01 SIL-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3846
INFO USMISSION UNUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted]L SANTIAGO 4698

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: PINOCHET CANCELS UNHRC VISIT TO CHILE

1. SUMMARY. IN SURPRISE SPEECH JULY 4 PRESIDENT PINOCHET SAID: "I HAVE MADE MAJOR DECISION: I HAVE DIRECTED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION NOT COME TO CHILE." HE PUT HIS DECISION IN CONTEXT OF WORLD COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHILE, FACT THAT COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WOULD NOT SUBMIT TO INVESTIGATION, AND UNFORTUNATE FACT THAT THOSE WHO COULD HELP DO NOTHING FOR CHILE. DECISION THUS REPRESENTS REVERSION TO ORIGINAL PINOCHET LINE THAT CHILE WOULD RECEIVE SUCH STUDY GROUPS ONLY IF THEY ALSO INVESTIGATED USSR AND CUBA. END SUMMARY.

2. PINOCHET'S SPEECH WAS GIVEN LATE IN DAY IN NORTHERN TOWN OF VALLERNAR AT BEGINNING OF TOUR THROUGH NORTH. TEXT WAS RELEASED BY GOC INFORMATION OFFICE LATER.

3. PINOCHET PUT DECISION IN CONTEXT OF ASSERTION THAT ARMED FORCES TOOK OVER COUNTRY IN SEPT 1973 AND WOULD REMAIN IN POWER

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04698 051545Z

DESPITE POLITICIANS' CONTINUING "DEMOGOGIC" ATTEMPT TO RETURN TO OFFICE. HE SAID WORLD COMMUNISM WAS REACTING AGAINST TAKEOVER, SINCE IT HAD LOST BATTLE IN CHILE, AND "IT DOES NOT HESITATE

TO SLANDER, BY SENDING PERMANENT COMMISSIONS TO SEE IF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE RESPECTED." HE ASKED RHETORICALLY HOW MANY SUCH COMMISSIONS HAD BEEN SENT TO CUBA AND USSR, OR TO VIETNAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA, AND TO OTHER PARTS OF WORLD "WHERE THE MOST HORRIBLE CRIMES ARE COMMITTED" THESE COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, ARE EXEMPT FROM EXAMINATION BECAUSE THEY BEAR "SHIELD OF MARXISM-LENINISM."

4. PRESIDENT RECOGNIZED HIS DECISION WOULD CAUSE REACTION FROM MARXIST WORLD, AND CONTINUED: "UNFORTUNATELY THAT WORLD WHICH CAN DEFEND US, WITH A COWARDICE THAT I DO NOT KNOW HOW TO JUDGE, HIDES ITS HEAD AND LEAVES THIS DAVID FIGHTING AGAINST GOLIATH. BUT DO NOT FORGET THAT DAVID DEFEATED GOLIATH."

5. COMMENT: IN LAST DECEMBER 31 SPEECH TO NATION PINOCHET LAID DOWN LINE (STATED NOT QUITE SO FORCEFULLY IN SEPT 11, 1974, ANNIVERSARY SPEECH) THAT IN GENERAL CHILE WOULD NOT RECEIVE HUMAN RIGHTS STUDY GROUPS UNLESS USSR AND CUBA WERE ALSO INVESTIGATED. APPARENTLY WITH CONSIDERABLE NUDGING, HIS ADVISORS GOT HIM TO ALLOW UNHRC GROUP TO COME, IN BELIEF THEY HAD OBTAINED REASONABLE GUARANTEES OF GROUP'S OBJECTIVITY. JUGDING FROM INFORMED COMMENT AT AMBASSADOR'S JULY 4 RECEPTION, PINOCHET DECISION WAS SET OFF BY (1) RECENT CHILEAN EXPERIENCES AT ILO MEETING IN GENEVA AND UN-SPONSORED CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR IN MEXICO, WHERE ANTI-GOC RESOLUTIONS WERE POLITICALLY INSPIRED AND WENT BEYOND CONCLUSIONS DRAWN BY PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIVE BODIES, AND (2) FACT THAT UNHRC GROUP HAD TAKEN TESTIMONY FROM CHILEAN EXILES BEFORE ARRIVAL IN CHILE. QUESTION THEREFORE ARISES WHETHER STUDY GROUP ENTRY WOULD BE ALLOWED IF IT INVESTIGATED ONLY SITUATION AT TIME OF ITS ARRIVAL.

6. PINOCHET SPEECH WAS EMPHATIC THAT DECISION WAS HIS OWN. AT EARLIER STAGE, ANY DECISION OF SUCH IMPORTANCE WOULD HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED IN NAME OF ENTIRE JUNTA. WE ARE STRUCK WITH USE OF FIRST PERSON PRONOUN IN THIS CASE, AND WILL BE WATCHING CAREFULLY FOR ANY INTERNAL GOC REACTION.
POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ARA-10 ISO-00 OMB-01 IO-10 PM-03 NSC-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5012
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

UNCLAS CAIRO 6692

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, EG, MX, XF
SUBJECT: SADAT TO AFRICAN SUMMIT; MEXICAN PRESIDENT POSTPONES ARRIVAL IN EGYPT

REF A. CAIRO 6574 (NOTAL); B. MEXICO 5894

1. LOCAL PRESS ANNOUNCES JULY 5 THAT PRESIDENT SADAT WILL ATTEND AFRICAN SUMMIT SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN KAMPALA JULY 28, SAME DATE PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED (REF A) FOR ARRIVAL PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA.

2. CONFLICT RESOLVED WITH SUBSEQUENT ANNOUNCEMENT JULY 6 THAT MEXICAN PRESIDENT'S TRIP RESCHEDULED FOR AUG 4-7. MEXICAN EMBOFF TELLS US THAT RESCHEDULING NECESSITATED BY ECHEVERRIA'S EXPANDED ITINERARY (REF B) RATHER THAN RESULT OF SADAT'S PLANS TO ATTEND SUMMIT.
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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3881
INFO AMEMBASSY LIMA
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 4754

[redacted] DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: CANCELLATION OF UNHRC VISIT TO CHILE

REF: SANTIAGO 4737 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. EMBASSY TRANSMITS SUMMARY OF GOC EXPLANATION OF WHY PRESIDENT PINOCHET CANCELLED VISIT OF UNHRC STUDY GROUP. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT IS SCHEDULED TO BE PRESENTED TO DEPARTMENT AND TO UN ASAP. TO US EXPLANATION IS FAR FROM CONVINCING, AND IT LENDS CREDENCE TO EMBASSY'S BELIEF THAT PINOCHET WAS AHEAD OF HIS STAFF IN ANNOUNCING DECISION. HIS ORIGINAL STATEMENT APPEARED TO BE AN UNCONDITIONAL REJECTION OF STUDY GROUP VISIT, AND SANTIAGO PRESS HAS SO TAKEN IT. EXPLANATION LEAVES OPEN POSSIBILITY OF VISIT LATER, UNDER UNDEFINED CONDITIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HANDING AMBASSADOR ADVANCE COPY OF GOC STATEMENT ON CANCELLATION OF UNHRC STUDY GROUP VISIT TO CHILE (REFTEL), FONMIN CARVAJAL JULY 7 GAVE ORAL EXPLANATION OF GOC POSITION DRAWING ON STATEMENT BUT PRESENTING IT IN MORE REASONABLE LANGUAGE. KEY, FINAL TWO PARAGRAPHS WERE REPORTED IN REFTEL. BULK OF STATEMENT EXPLAINED GOC DECISION. STATEMENT SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04754 081700Z

OUTSIDE USG UNTIL
GOC MAKES IT PUBLIC. SUMMARY FOLLOWS.

3. IN GESTURE THAT DID NOT SATISFY ITS "INTERNATIONAL DETRACTORS," STATEMENT SAYS GOC ACCEPTED VISIT OF UNHRC GROUP TO STUDY "PRESENT SITUATION" RE HUMAN RIGHTS. GOC COOPERATED FULLY IN PREPARING FOR VISIT.

4. IT WAS LATER SHOWN THAT CAMPAIGN OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED LIES AGAINST CHILE INTENSIFIED, PARTICULARLY IN UN FORUMS, AS EXEMPLIFIED BY ILO MEETING IN GENEVA AND INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE IN MEXICO WHICH SHOWED DISDAIN FOR UNHRC STUDY BY PREJUDGING SITUATION AND CONDEMNING CHILE. THIS DEMONSTRATED THAT DEFAMATORY CAMPAIGN WAS STILL DECEIVING WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND THAT THERE WAS NO "SERIOUS DISPOSITION" IN INTERNATIONAL ARENA TO INVESTIGATE AND ADMIT TRUTH ABOUT CHILEAN SITUATION.

5. ORALLY, CARVAJAL EMPHASIZED FURTHER POINT THAT UNHRC WORKING GROUP HAD EXCEEDED ITS MANDATE TO INVESTIGATE "PRESENT SITUATION" BY TAKING TESTIMONY IN EUROPE AND NEW YORK FROM EXILES AND REFUGEES WHO HAD BEEN ABROAD FOR MORE THAN A YEAR AND HAD NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT CURRENT SITUATION. FURTHERMORE, ON EVE OF GROUP'S ARRIVAL, THERE WAS DETECTED "SUBVERSIVE DESIGN" INTENDED TO PRODUCE "FALSE IMAGE" OF CHILE (CARVAJAL'S PHRASE) THAT WOULD UNFAVORABLY IMPRESS GROUP. DESIGN WAS INSPIRED BY RADIO MOSCOW; IT SOUGHT TO FILL EMBASSIES WITH "PHONY PERSECUTED POLITICIANS, FOMENT STREET AGITATION, AND UNLEASH GUERRILLA STRUGGLE." AIM WAS TO CREATE PUBLIC ALARM AND PROVOKE SECURITY COUNTER MEASURES.

6. THESE CIRCUMSTANCES LED GOC TO CONCLUSION GROU COULD NOT NOW CARRY OUT ITS TASK PROPERLY OR COME TO KNOW "PRESENT REALITY" OF CHILE. PENDING REESTABLISHMENT OF NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF OBJECTIVITY AND CARRYING OUT HIS PRIMARY DUTY OF PRESERVING DOMESTIC PEACE, PRESIDENT THEREFORE TO HIS GREAT TEGRET HAD TO HALT (DEJAR SIN EFECTO LA VISITA) STUDY GROUP VISIT "UNTIL MORE PROPITIOUS OCCASION."

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7. COMMENT: THIS LINE OF ARGUMENT HAS MERIT AND IS FIRMLY BELIEVED BY MANY CHILEANS. IT SEEMS FORCED, HOWEVER, AND NOT LIKELY TO CONVINCE THOSE WHO DO NOT ALREADY ACCEPT CHILEAN POSITION.

8. MOREOVER, GOVERNMENT EXPLANATION OF PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S DECISION FOLLOWS BY SEVERAL DAYS ANNOUNCE-MENT OF DECISION ITSELF; AND ANNOUNCEMENT WAS COUCHED IN LANGUAGE SO TOUGH AS NOT TO ADMIT POSSIBILITY

OF COMPROMISE THAT IS IMPLICIT IN EXPLANATORY STATE-
MENT. THIS STRENGTHENS EMBASSY'S BELIEF THAT PINOCHET
MOVED WELL AHEAD OF HIS STAFF, LEAVING TO THEM
UNGRATEFUL TASK OF JUSTIFYING WHAT HE HAD DONE.
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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W
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INFO AMEMBASSY LIMA
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 4754

[redacted] DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: CANCELLATION OF UNHRC VISIT TO CHILE

REF: SANTIAGO 4737 (NOTAL)

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04754 081700Z

OUTSIDE USG UNTIL
GOC MAKES IT PUBLIC. SUMMARY FOLLOWS.

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OF COMPROMISE THAT IS IMPLICIT IN EXPLANATORY STATEMENT. THIS STRENGTHENS EMBASSY'S BELIEF THAT PINOCHET MOVED WELL AHEAD OF HIS STAFF, LEAVING TO THEM UNGRATEFUL TASK OF JUSTIFYING WHAT HE HAD DONE.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [redacted]
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ACTION ARA-06

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8785

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LIMDIS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX, KU, IS, CE, TD, GY, SG, IR, IN, TZ, EG, SA,
SUBJECT: FOREIGN SECRETARY NOT TO ACCOMPANY ECHEVERRIA ON ALL OF TRIP

REF MEXICO 5984

1. AMBASSADOR MANUEL TELLO, FOREIGN SECRETARIAT DIRECTOR-IN-CHIEF (BILATERAL AFFAIRS), INFORMED THE AMBASSADOR YESTERDAY THAT HE AND UNDER SECRETARY JOSE GALLASTEGUI, BUT NOT SECRETARY RABASA, WILL ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ON HIS THIRTEEN-COUNTRY VISIT (SEE REFTEL). SUBSEQUENTLY, RABADA'S (RECENTLY REASSIGNED) CHEF DE CABINET GONZALIZ PARRODI TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT RABASA WILL JOIN PRESIDENTIAL PARTY FOR PART OF TRIP. HE SAID RABASA HAS TO GO TO BELGIUM (REPORTEDLY TO SIGN GOM AGREEMENT WITH COMMON MARKET) AND TO MOSCOW. REASON FOR MOSCOW VISIT UNKNOWN.

2. COMMENT: IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE THAT RABASA MIGHT DECIDE TO ATTEND ALL OR PART OF SAN JOSE CONFERENCE ON RIO TREATY BEGINNING JULY 16. HIS ABSENCE FROM PRESIDENTIAL ENTOURAGE DURING PART OF TRIP REVEALS ONCE MORE PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S VERY GREAT CONFIDENCE IN HIS OWN GRASP OF AND COMPETENCE IN FOREIGN POLICY, BOTH IN GENERAL AND IN DETAIL.
JOVA

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Date: 6/25/97
EO citation:
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06052 082319Z

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R 082249Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8775

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EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: LEA'S TRAVELS: IS THIS TRIP REALLY NECESSARY?

1. DESPITE THE FAWNING AND HOOPLA WITH WHICH PRES. ECHEVERRIA'S TRICONTINENTAL TRIP WAS LAUNCHED, BY NO MEANS EVERYONE IN MEXICO IS CONVINCED THAT HIS 42-DAY ABSENCE FROM THE COUNTRY IS A GOOD THING. PRIVATELY, MORE THAN A FEW MEXICANS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE SIZE OF HIS ENTOURAGE (SOME 200-ODD WITH HANGERS-ON), ITS COSTS, ITS DUBIOUS PURPOSES, AND ITS INTERRUPTION OF ONGOING GOVERNMENTAL WORK AT HOME.

2. A FEW BRAVE SOULS HAVE CUTIOUSLY EXPRESSED THEIR MISGIVINGS IN PRINT IN RECENT DAYS, USUALLY IN OBLIQUE FASHION BY UNDER-SCORING PRESSING PROBLEMS WHICH THE PRESIDENT WILL BE LEAVING BEHIND. A NOTABLE EXAMPLE WAS A COLUMN IN INFLUENTIAL "EXCELSIRO" JULY 8 BY SAMUEL DEL VILLAR. WITH DEFT SARCASM; DEL VILLAR:

-- PRESUMES ECHEVERRIA TRIP MUST BE EXTRAORDINARILY IMPORTANT TO MEXICO'S INTERESTS, SINCE OTHERWISE PRESIDENT'S LENGTHY ABSENCE DURING PERIOD OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY AND POLITICAL SENSITIVITY WOULD NOT BE JUSTIFIED.

-- DESCRIBES AS "ABSURD" THE NOTION THAT MEXICO FACES ANY SORT OF CRISIS SO SERIOUS THAT IT COULD WEAKEN THE SYSTEM'S STABILITY UNLESS PRESIDENT WERE ON HAND TO DEAL WITH IT.

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-- NOTES NEVERTHELESS THAT TRADE DEFICIT HAS BECOME SO SERIOUS THAT EMERGENCY MEASURES MAY SOON BE REQUIRED, AND THAT POLITICALLY THIS PORTION OF EACH PRESIDENT'S TERM (WHEN HIS SUCCESSOR IS CHOSEN) IS FAR AND AWAY THE MOST DELICATE.

-- DISMISSES AS "FRIVOLOUS" THE EXPLANATION THAT THE TRIP'S PURPOSE LIES IN ADVANCING ECHEVERRIA'S CANDIDACY FOR UN SECRETARY GENERALSHIP, OBSERVING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD HIMSELF ALREADY DISMISSED HIS CHANCES FOR THAT POST.

-- SIMILARLY DOWNPLAYS TRIP'S VALUE IN TERMS OF IMPROVING MEXICO'S IMAGE ABROAD, SINCE PREVIOUS TRIPS HAVE OBVIOUSLY LEFT LITTLE MORE THAN MOST GENERAL IMPRESSION OF THIS COUNTRY'S POLICIES AND PURPOSES.

-- CONCLUDES THAT PRIME JUSTIFICATION MUST LIE IN PROSPECTS FOR CLOSER TIES WITH OPEC COUNTRIES, TIES WHICH REQUIRE THE PERSONAL ATTENTION OF THE PRESIDENT (AND THE MOST EXPENSIVE TRIP TO DATE) TO SOLIDIFY, AND WHICH MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO HELP MEXICO OUT OF ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

3. COMMENT: WE CANNOT HELP BUT AGREE WITH DEL VILLAR'S IMPLICATIONS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S SIX-WEEK ABSENCE FROM HIS POST DURING A PERIOD OF GROWING ECONOMIC STRAINS AND INTENSE POLITICAL MANEUVERING SUCH AS THE PRESENT ONE REFLECTS AN ATTITUDE OF SUPREME SELF-CONFIDENCE -- IF NOT OUTRIGHT ARROGANCE.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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INFO OCT-01 AF-06 NEA-10 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8749
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

UNCLAS MEXICO 6020

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR, MX, AG, EG, CE, SG, TZ, GY, SA, KU,
IN, TD, IR, IS
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S TRIP

REF MEXICO 5894

THIS CABLE CONSOLIDATES REPORTING OF EARLIER CABLES (REFTEL AND PREVIOUS) ON NATIONS MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WILL VISIT BETWEEN JULY 8 AND AUGUST 16: GUYANA, SENEGAL, ALGERIA, EGYPT, IRAN, INDIA, ISRAEL, KUWAIT, SRI LANKA, SAUDI ARABIA, TANZANIA, TRINIDAD, AND TOBAGO, AND CUBA. THE GOM HAS NOT ANNOUNCED EITHER THE DATES OR SEQUENCE OF VISITS. JOVA
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AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

[redacted]IEXICO 6095

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR,MX,AG,EG,CE,SG,TZ,GY,SA,KX,IN,TD,IR, IS
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S TRIP

REF: MEXICO 6020

1. MEXICAN PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ANNOUNCED JULY 7 HIS ITINERARY FOR HIS FORTHCOMING TRIP AS FOLLOWS: GUYANA, JULY 8-10; SENEGAL, JULY 10-14; ALGERIA, JULY 14-17; IRAN, JULY 17-21; INDIA, JULY 21-23; SRI LANKA, JULY 24; TANZANIA, JULY 25-28; KUWAIT, JULY 28-AUG 1; SAUDI ARABIA AUG 1-4; EGYPT, AUG 4-7; 8 4AEL, AUG 7-10; TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AUG 10-13; AND CUBA, AUG 14-18.

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Date 6/25/97

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2. FOLLOWING BACKGROUND MAY BE USEFUL TO POSTS ALONG ROUTE OF ECHEVERRIA'S TRIP. DURING HIS FOUR AND A HALF YEARS AS MEXICO'S PRESIDENT, ECHEVERRIA HAS BROUGHT UNACCUSTOMED ACTIVISM TO GOM FOREIGN RELATIONS AND ATTEMPTED TO INSCRIBE MEXICO FIRMLY AMONG LEADING NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD. IN THIS QUEST FOR LEADERSHIP, MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN GEARED INCREASINGLY TOWARD PROMOTING THIRD WORLD UNITY IN SUPPORT OF A "NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER." ECHEVERRIA IS ENORMOUSLY PROUD OF HIS INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING THE CHAPTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES (CERDS) AT THE UNCTAD CONFERENCE IN CHILE IN APRIL 1972, AND OF THE LEADING PART TAKEN BY THE GOM IN ITS ADOPTION AT THE UNGA IN DECEMBER 1974. SINCE ITS APPROVAL, HE HAS TIRELESSLY SOUGHT TO PROMOTE THE CHARTER AS THE IDEAL"FRAMEWORK" FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

3. ECHEVERRIA'S THIRD WORLD STANCES AND RHETORIC ARE DESIGNED NOT ONLY TO PUT HIM IN WHAT WE BELIEVES IS THE VANGUARD OF THE MOVEMENT BUT ALSO TO WIN SUPPORT FROM THE NATIONALISTIC AND LEFTIST ELEMENTS WITHIN MEXICO AND DEMONSTRATE GOM INDEPENDENCE OF US INFLUENCE. IN PURSUIT OF THE LATTER, THE GOM IS ACTIVELY SEEKING NEW SOURCES OF TRADE, INVESTMENT AND TEHCNOLOGY TO OFFSET THE CURRENT US PREPONDERANCE IN THESE AREAS(THE US ACCOUNTS FOR TWO-THIRDS OF MEXICO'S TRADE AND 80 PERCENT OF ITS FOREIGN INVESTMENT).

4. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN NUMEROUS OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL HINTS FROM THE GOM THAT ECHEVERRIA, WHO CANNOT SEEK ANOTHER TERM AS PRESIDENT OF MEXICO WHEN HIS CURRENT TERM EXPIRES IN DECEMBER OF 1976, IS INTERESTED IN HEADING AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. BOTH SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN AND HEAD OF THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION HAVE BEEN MENTIONED. IN PUBLIC, ECHEVERRIA IS CURRENTLY DOWNPLAYING THIS AS "PREMATURE". NEVERTHELESS, HE HAS INTENSIFIED HIS ALREADY SUBSTANTIAL LEVEL OF ACTIVITIES IN THE FOREIGN RELATIONS SPHERE: SINCE TAKING OFFICE IN 1970, ECHEVERRIA HAS TRAVELLED ABORAD 7 TIMES TO A TOTAL OF 23 NATIONS. HIS CURRENT (8TH) TRIP WILL BE HIS LONGEST IN TERMS OF BOTH DURATION (42 DAYS) AND NUMBER OF NATIONS VISITED (13).

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DURING THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS, ECHEVERRIA HAS SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED THE TEMPO OF FOREIGN VISITS TO MEXICO AND OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES HELD HERE.

5. ECHEVERRIA'S TRIPS ABROAD ARE GENERALLY CHARACTERIZED BY AN ARDUOUS SCHEDULE OF HIGHLY VISIBLE ACTIVITY. THE MEXICAN CHIEF OF STATE SEEKS TO CULTIVATE AN IMAGE AS A TIRELESS AND DYNAMIC LEADER. HE LOVES TO HAVE CROWDS TURNED OUT FOR HIM AND TO MEET PEOPLE. IN PARTICULAR, ECHEVERRIA LIKES TO MEET WITH INTELLECTUALS FOR INFORMAL AND GENERALLY ONE-SIDED "DISCUSSIONS" WHICH OCCASIONALLY ARE EMBARRASSING TO HIS HOSTS AND DRAG ON FOR HOURS, DISRUPTING HIS SCHEDULE. ECHEVERRIA'S DISLIKE OF FORMALITY IS LEGEND. NEVERTHELESS, MEXICANS ATTACH CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO JOINT COMMUNIQUES AND NEGOTITATE TENACIOUSLY TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT ON SUCH PET TOPICS AS CERDS AND NIEO.

6. THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONTEXT IN WHICH TRIP TAKES PLACE IS EVE(FOUR MONTHS HENCE) OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION. SELECTION(NOT ELECTION) IS ESSENTIALLY CLOSED PROCESS IN WHICH CURRENT RULING ELITE, HEADED BY PRESIDENT, MAKES THE CHOICE. ECHEVERRIA'S ABSENTING HIMSELF FOR 42 DAYS AT THIS TIME REFLECTS CONFIDENCE IN HIS CONTROL OF DOMESTIC SITUATION.

7. AS USUAL PRESIDENT IS TRAVELING WITH HUGE ENTOURAGE, WHICH REPRESENTS MAJOR GOVERNMENTAL, PRIVATE, AND POLITICAL INTERESTS(HOWEVER, NONE OF THREE OPPOSITION PARTIES IS REPRESENTED).

8. REPORTS ON SUBSTANCE AND ATMOSPHERICS OF ECHEVERRIA'S VISITS, AND IN PARTICULAR ANY IMPRESSIONS FROM PRESS OR HOST GOVERNMENT SOURCES OF DYNAMICS AMONG SUPPORTING ACTORS, WOULD BE APPRECIATED.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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Briefing Paper

CHILE

Human Rights

Question: What is the current state of human rights in Chile?

Answer: The Chilean government acknowledges the suspension of many constitutional guarantees because of the threat it perceives from armed extremist elements in Chile. While reaffirming its intent eventually to comply strictly with all of its obligations under international conventions on human rights, it points out that these conventions recognize the prerogative of governments to suspend some of these rights temporarily. While there have been indications of some easing of the more serious restrictions of civil liberties, no real changes have as yet taken place. Government statistics show a downward trend in the number of detainees. The program to release into exile many detainees has been in operation and it has been extended to persons already convicted and serving sentences. New legislation has been enacted for procedural safeguards against arbitrary and unacknowledged detentions, but little change in actual detention practices has been reported. The United Nations Human Rights Commission has formed a Working Group which was planning to visit Chile. This visit was cancelled by the GOC on the grounds that it had uncovered subversive plans to create public alarm and commotion that would make it impossible for the Working Group to fulfill its task adequately. If not admitted later, the Working Group intends to submit a partial report to the UN Secretary General based upon interviews of Chileans residing in New York, Paris, Mexico and Peru.

Question: What is the Executive Branch doing about the human rights situation in Chile?

Answer: Among other things --

-- Ambassador Popper in Santiago and Department officials have repeatedly alerted the Chilean Government to the importance we, the Congress and broad sectors of the American public attach to respect for human rights. We have also transmitted inquiries to the GOC about the welfare and whereabouts of detainees, primarily those having American relatives.

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

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-- We are funding part of the Chile budget of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which traces detainees and monitors their treatment.

-- We are also funding part of the budget of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for resettlement of third-country refugees and resettlement or integrations of Chilean refugees now in Peru and Argentina. The Attorney General has agreed to exercise his authority under Section 212(D)(5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act to parole into the U.S. a limited number of Chilean refugees in Peru and detainees in Chile eligible for release, subject to security and other screening.

-- We have sought with other members of the United Nations -- in the UN Human Rights Commission, the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly, UNESCO and the International Labor Organization -- to assure concerned and objective attention to human rights problems in Chile. Depending on their nature, we have supported or abstained on resolutions emanating from these bodies. Our objective has been to encourage a useful dialogue between the UN and Chile rather than politically motivated invective.

-- At the recent OAS General Assembly, Assistant Secretary Rogers forthrightly supported the fact finding efforts of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and took the position that its findings and recommendations, together with Chilean Government comments, merited the attentive consideration of the OAS.

Question: Why should we aid the government which so flagrantly violates the civil rights of its citizens?

Answer: The intent of our proposals is to help foster conditions leading to economic recovery and normalization, after the severe economic and social dislocation of recent years. Although we have strong preferences for democratic institutions, we recognize that we can neither impose our own political and legal structures on other nations nor sit in judgment on whether internal circumstances may justify the interruption of traditional democratic practice in other countries. There are many ways to express concern about human rights. We do not believe that sanctions such as the withholding of assistance are a desirable or effec-

tive method. I might note that the bulk of our assistance is targeted at small farmers, agrarian reform recipients and cooperative members. Spokesmen for the Catholic Church of Chile, whose concern about human rights is not open to question, have expressed oppostión to proposals to deny external assistance to Chile.

ARA/BC/C:AIsaacs
Revised:ARA/BC:WLowenthal:bjd
7/9/75

Clearance:ARA/BC:JEKarkashian JEK (draft)

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Briefing Paper

CHILE

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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ARA/BC/C:AIsaacs
Revised:ARA/BC:WLowenthal:bjd
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Clearance:ARA/BC:JEKarkashian (draft) JEK

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04824 01 OF 02 102105Z

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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E. O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: CI, CHUM, PFOR
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET ON UNHRC STUDY GROUP

SUMMARY. PRESIDENT JUSTIFIES DECISION ON UNHRC WORKING GROUP; INDICATES BAN ON VISIT NOT NECESSARILY FINAL; SUGGESTS WILLINGNESS RECEIVE "TRULY IMPARTIAL" INVESTIGATIVE GROUP; RECOGNIZES DICISION POSES DIFFICULTIES FOR USG; BUT NEVERTHELESS REQUESTS US ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT PINOCHET ASKED ME TO SEE HIM AT HIS HOME AT 11:30 A.M. TODAY, JULY 10. FONMIN CARVAJAL AND DCM ALSO PRESENT. MEETING LASTED FORTY MINUTES AND WAS CORDIAL THROUGHOUT.

2. PINOCHET BEGAN WITH A JUSTIFICATION OF HIS ACTION IN BANNING VISIT OF UNHRC WORKING GROUP. THIS WAS COUCHED IN NOW FAMILIAR TERMS OF EVIDENCE THAT BY COMMUNIST DESIGN CARDS ARE STACKED AGAINST CHILE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. RECITAL ON THIS POINT INCLUDED ALLEGEDLY IMPROPER TRANSMITTAL TO UN BY OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SECRETARY REQUE OF INCOMPLETE AND CLASSIFIED REPORT ON CHILE, WITHOUT CHILEAN COMMENTS SUBMITTED THEREON, WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY PUBLISHED BY UN AND NOW SELLING IN US; THE PROCEDURAL IRREGULARITIES IN THE ILO CONDEMNATION OF CHILE AND THE ACTION OF THE MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR; EVIDENCE THAT COMMUNISTS WERE DETERMINED TO UTILIZE WORKING GROUP VISIT, THROUGH STAGED SEEKING OF ASYLUM IN EMBASSIES, DEMONSTRATIONS, ETC., TO PROVOKE GOC REACTIONS WHICH WOULD MAR CHILEAN IMAGE; AND IMPROPER BEHAVIOR OF WORKING GROUP

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04824 01 OF 02 102105Z

ITSELF IN TAKING TESTIMONY IN PARIS, NEW YORK (ALLEGEDLY WITH HELP OF CUBAN AMBASSADOR) AND LIMA, BEFORE COMING TO CHILE, WITH INTENTION OF SUBSEQUENTLY PREPARING ITS REPORT IN CARACAS, A HOTBED OF

CHILEAN REFUGEES.

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3. I SAID I COULD APPRECIATE CHILEAN MOTIVATION AND COULD UNDERSTAND AN EMOTIONAL REACTION. HOWEVER, I WONDERED WHETHER COST OF TAKING THIS STEP MIGHT NOT EXCEED COST WHICH GOC FORESAW WAS INVOLVED IN VISIT.

4. PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD CONSIDERED MATTER VERY CAREFULLY AND WAS PERSUADED THAT THE GROUP WOULD CONDEMN GOC IF IT CAME. HE THOUGHT THAT THE VERY ACT OF ACCEPTING THE VISIT OF THIS WORKING GROUP TENDED TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION THAT ITS IMPARTIALITY WAS LIKEWISE ACCEPTED. IF GROUP THEN CONDEMNED CHILE, AS HE FULLY EXPECTED, CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE WORSE THAN THOSE OF DENYING THE GROUP ENTRY.

5. I SAID THAT PART OF THE PROBLEM WAS THE DRAMATIC IMPACT OF THIS
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AFTER CHILE HAD ADMITTED A NUMBER OF OTHER INVESTIGATIVE GROUPS AND HAD AGREED TO ADMIT THIS ONE. IF GROUP CAME AND THEN CONDEMNED CHILE, AND GOC THEN WISHED SAY THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT IT COULD NOT OBTAIN A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION AND WOULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH SUCH GROUPS IN THE FUTURE, THAT WOULD BE ONE POSITION. BUT TO HAVE ACCEPTED THE GROUP AND THEN TO REFUSE ENTRY SEEMED DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY PUBLICLY IN A CONVINCING WAY. FURTHERMORE, A REPORT ISSUED BY THE STUDY GROUP WITHOUT VISITING CHILE WOULD PROBABLY BE WORSE FOR CHILE THAN ONE ISSUED AFTER A VISIT.

6. PRESIDENT REVERTED TO POINT THAT CHILEAN EXPERIENCE WITH PREVIOUS GROUPS HAD BEEN HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY. HE WAS PERSUADED IT WAS BETTER TO REFUSE UNHRC GROUP ENTRY THAN TO LEND CREDENCE TO ITS INEVITABLE CONDEMNATION OF CHILE BY PERMITTING IT TO COME.

7. I SAID THAT COL. VALDES, UNDER SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, AND AMB. TRUCCO HAD SEEN ACTING SECRETARY INGERSOLL AND ASST. SEC. ROGERS YESTERDAY. I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ACTING SECRETARY HAD EXPLAINED THAT WHILE WE HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO BE HELPFUL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04824 01 OF 02 102105Z

TO CHILE, INEVITABLY THIS DECISION MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR US TO CONTINUE TO DO SO. THE HOPE HAD BEEN EXPRESSED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER THE DECISION TAKEN NOT AS A CONCELLATION OF THE VISIT BUT AS A POSTPONEMENT, AND TO WORK TOWARD RESCHEDULING THE VISIT.

8. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE DECISION COULD BE REGARDED AS A POSTPONEMENT RATHER THAN A DEFININTIVE CANCELLATION. POSSIBLY SOMETHING COULD BE DONE TOWARD THE END OF THE YEAR. HE SAID HE WAS NOT OPPOSED TO THE VISIT OF AN IMPARTIAL GROUP;

INDEED HE WOULD WELCOME A VISIT BY TRUSTWORTHY, PRESTIGIOUS "MEN OF GOOD WILL". HE THEN COMMENTED AGAIN ON THE EVIDENCE OF PARTIALITY IN THE BEHAVIOR OF THE WORKING GROUP IN TAKING TESTIMONY BEFORE COMING TO CHILE AND IN PLANNING TO GO TO CARACAS THERAFTER.

9. I SAID I DID NOT FIND IT UNREASONABLE FOR THE GROUP TO TAKE TESTIMONY PRIOR TO ARRIVAL IN CHILE, TO GAIN PERSPECTIVE ON THE PRESENT SITUATION, THOUGH PERHAPS ITS PLAN TO PROCEED TO CARACAS COULD BE CONSIDERED IMPRUDENT. HOWEVER, THESE ITEMS WERE NOT NECESSARILY EVIDENCE THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO OBTAIN A FAIR HEARING FROM THE WORKING GROUP. OBVIOUSLY THE GROUP WAS NOT GOING TO DEPART SAYING THAT THE SITUATION IN CHILE WAS PERFECT. ON THE OTHER HAND, I THOUGHT IT ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT HAVING SEEN THE SITUATION IN CHILE FOR ITSELF, HAVING HAD FREEDOM TO TALK TO DETAINEES AND THE MAN IN THE STREET, AS WELL AS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, IT MIGHT VERY WELL PRODUCE A BALANCED REPORT.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04824 02 OF 02 102110Z

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10. THE PRESIDENT LAUGHINGLY SAID THAT I WAS A GOOD ADVOCATE, BUT HE STILL THOUGHT DECISIVE ACTION OF THE KIND HE HAD TAKEN WAS WHAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT THE UN REQUIRED. HE NOTED THAT THE US SOMETIMES ACTED DECISIVELY TOO, AND IN HIS OPINION TO VERY GOOD EFFECT. HE RECOGNIZED THE DECISION POSED PROBLEMS FOR US AND OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILE. HE REITERATED THAT CHILE IS AND HAS BEEN A GREATER FRIEND OF THE US THAN THE US IS OF CHILE. HE REMARKED, AS HE HAD WITH ME A FEW DAYS PREVIOUSLY, UPON CHILE'S TRULY DESPERATE PLIGHT IN TERMS OF LACK OF MILITARY

SUPPLIES AND SAID HE REALLY DID NOT KNOW WHERE TO TURN. HE EXPRESSED HOPE FOR US UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT.

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14. PRESIDENT'S REFERENCE TO THE VISIT OF A TRULY IMPARTIAL GROUP [redacted]

MIGHT LATER CONCEIVABLY PROVIDE A BASIS FOR SOME PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. OF COURSE, WHAT CHILE MOST WANTS IS A PRESTIGIOUS GROUP WHICH WILL JUSTIFY GOC ACTIONS PAST AND PRESENT. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO SUGGEST A GROUP SUFFICIENTLY OBJECTIVE TO BE FREE, EVEN IN CHILE'S EYES, OF THE TAINT OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OR MANIPULATION AND WHICH WOULD BE WILLING TO CARRY OUT AN INVESTIGATION HERE. ONE POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE A GROUP OF JURISTS SELECTED FROM THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, OR SOME SIMILAR GROUP OF UNCOMMITTED PERSONALITIES. THERE WOULD STILL REMAIN, HOWEVER, THE QUESTION OF WHO WOULD CREATE, ORGANIZE AND FINANCE SUCH AN OPERATION. END COMMENT.
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE

1. IN RELATIVELY BRIEF AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE BEFORE BOARDING PLANE FOR 13-NATION TOUR, PRES. ECHEVERRIA MADE FOLLOWING NOTEWORTHY REMARKS:

-- U.N. SECGEN CANDIDACY. PRESIDENT DENIED HE WAS CAMPAIGNING FOR SECGEN NOMINATION, SAYING SUCH CAMPAIGN WAS "POINTLESS" AND NOTING THAT ATTENTION WOULD NOT FOCUS UPON ELECTION OF A NEW SECGEN FOR ANOTHER TWELVE TO SIXTEEN MONTHS.

-- PANAMA CANAL. "IF PANAMA FAILS TO SECURE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL, WE WOULD CONSIDER IT A DEFEAT FOR LATIN AMERICA." NEVERTHELESS, HE ADDED, "I HAVE VERY FIRM HOPES THAT TALKS ARE NOW GOING DOWN THE RIGHT ROAD."

-- CUBA. ECHEVERRIA CALLED CUBA A "VERY IMPORTANT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LABORATORY" WHOSE ACHIEVEMENTS HE WANTED TO SEE FIRST HAND. HE ADDED HE INTENDED TO INVITE CUBAN PRESIDENT, PRIMER MINISTER, AND ENTIRE CUBAN GOVERNMENT TO VISIT MEXICO "BECAUSE OUR RELATIONS ARE EXCELLENT AND OUR INTERCHANGE THE BEST

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THERE HAS EVER BEEN BETWEEN TWO LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES".

-- NON-ALIGNED GROUP. PRESIDENT SAID NON-ALIGNED NATIONS HAD INVITED MEXICO TO PARTICIPATE AS AN OBSERVER IN RECENT YEARS, AND MEXICO IS NOW VERY INTERESTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS GROUP'S ACTIVITIES.

-- HIS ITINERARY. COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED WERE CHOSEN BECAUSE THEY WERE "VERY IMPORTANT," PRESIDENT SAID:
SOME, FOR STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH CARIBBEAN; OTHERS, BECAUSE THEY ARE MAJOR PETROLEUM EXPORTERS "AND WE INTEND TO URGE THAT OIL REVENUES BE APPLIED TO THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT"; ISRAEL, BECAUSE IT IS A COUNTRY OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE; INDIA AND IRAN, FOR GREATER CONTACT WITH ASIA "AND BECAUSE WE HAVE MULTIPLED OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM."

2. FONSEC RABASA, THE ONLY GOM CABINET SECRETARY TO DEPART WITH PRESIDENTIAL PARTY, ALSO REMARKED TO PRESS ON TRIP'S SIGNIFICANCE NOTING THAT ECHEVERRIA WILL HAVE SET A "HISTORIC" MEXICAN RECORD FOR PERSONAL CONTACT WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENT HEADS -- APPROXIMATELY FIFTY VISITS. ADDED THAT PRESIDENT WOULD SURELY INVITE OTHERS TO VISIT MEXICO, AND CONCLUDED THAT THE SPIRIT OF THE TRIP REFLECTED "A SPECIAL THIRD WORLD VOCATION" ON ECHEVERRIA'S PART.
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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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E. O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: CI, CHUM, PFOR
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET ON UNHRC STUDY GROUP

SUMMARY. PRESIDENT JUSTIFIES DECISION ON UNHRC WORKING GROUP; INDICATES BAN ON VISIT NOT NECESSARILY FINAL; SUGGESTS WILLINGNESS RECEIVE "TRULY IMPARTIAL" INVESTIGATIVE GROUP; RECOGNIZES DICISION POSES DIFFICULTIES FOR USG; BUT NEVERTHELESS REQUESTS US ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT PINOCHET ASKED ME TO SEE HIM AT HIS HOME AT 11:30 A.M. TODAY, JULY 10. FONMIN CARVAJAL AND DCM ALSO PRESENT. MEETING LASTED FORTY MINUTES AND WAS CORDIAL THROUGHOUT.

2. PINOCHET BEGAN WITH A JUSTIFICATION OF HIS ACTION IN BANNING VISIT OF UNHRC WORKING GROUP. THIS WAS COUCHED IN NOW FAMILIAR TERMS OF EVIDENCE THAT BY COMMUNIST DESIGN CARDS ARE STACKED AGAINST CHILE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. RECITAL ON THIS POINT INCLUDED ALLEGEDLY IMPROPER TRANSMITTAL TO UN BY OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SECRETARY REQUE OF INCOMPLETE AND CLASSIFIED REPORT ON CHILE, WITHOUT CHILEAN COMMENTS SUBMITTED THEREON, WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY PUBLISHED BY UN AND NOW SELLING IN US; THE PROCEDURAL IRREGULARITIES IN THE ILO CONDEMNATION OF CHILE AND THE ACTION OF THE MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR; EVIDENCE THAT COMMUNISTS WERE DETERMINED TO UTILIZE WORKING GROUP VISIT, THROUGH STAGED SEEKING OF ASYLUM IN EMBASSIES, DEMONSTRATIONS, ETC., TO PROVOKE GOC REACTIONS WHICH WOULD MAR CHILEAN IMAGE; AND IMPROPER BEHAVIOR OF WORKING GROUP

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04824 01 OF 02 102105Z

ITSELF IN TAKING TESTIMONY IN PARIS, NEW YORK (ALLEGEDLY WITH HELP OF CUBAN AMBASSADOR) AND LIMA, BEFORE COMING TO CHILE, WITH INTENTION OF SUBSEQUENTLY PREPARING ITS REPORT IN CARACAS, A HOTBED OF

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3. I SAID I COULD APPRECIATE CHILEAN MOTIVATION AND COULD UNDERSTAND AN EMOTIONAL REACTION. HOWEVER, I WONDERED WHETHER COST OF TAKING THIS STEP MIGHT NOT EXCEED COST WHICH GOC FORESAW WAS INVOLVED IN VISIT.

4. PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD CONSIDERED MATTER VERY CAREFULLY AND WAS PERSUADED THAT THE GROUP WOULD CONDEMN GOC IF IT CAME. HE THOUGHT THAT THE VERY ACT OF ACCEPTING THE VISIT OF THIS WORKING GROUP TENDED TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION THAT ITS IMPARTIALITY WAS LIKEWISE ACCEPTED. IF GROUP THEN CONDEMNED CHILE, AS HE FULLY EXPECTED, CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE WORSE THAN THOSE OF DENYING THE GROUP ENTRY.

5. I SAID THAT PART OF THE PROBLEM WAS THE DRAMATIC IMPACT OF THIS
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AFTER CHILE HAD ADMITTED A NUMBER OF OTHER INVESTIGATIVE GROUPS AND HAD AGREED TO ADMIT THIS ONE. IF GROUP CAME AND THEN CONDEMNED CHILE, AND GOC THEN WISHED SAY THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT IT COULD NOT OBTAIN A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION AND WOULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH SUCH GROUPS IN THE FUTURE, THAT WOULD BE ONE POSITION. BUT TO HAVE ACCEPTED THE GROUP AND THEN TO REFUSE ENTRY SEEMED DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY PUBLICLY IN A CONVINCING WAY. FURTHERMORE, A REPORT ISSUED BY THE STUDY GROUP WITHOUT VISITING CHILE WOULD PROBABLY BE WORSE FOR CHILE THAN ONE ISSUED AFTER A VISIT.

6. PRESIDENT REVERTED TO POINT THAT CHILEAN EXPERIENCE WITH PREVIOUS GROUPS HAD BEEN HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY. HE WAS PERSUADED IT WAS BETTER TO REFUSE UNHRC GROUP ENTRY THAN TO LEND CREDENCE TO ITS INEVITABLE CONDEMNATION OF CHILE BY PERMITTING IT TO COME.

7. I SAID THAT COL. VALDES, UNDER SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, AND AMB. TRUCCO HAD SEEN ACTING SECRETARY INGERSOLL AND ASST. SEC. ROGERS YESTERDAY. I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ACTING SECRETARY HAD EXPLAINED THAT WHILE WE HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO BE HELPFUL

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TO CHILE, INEVITABLY THIS DECISION MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR US TO CONTINUE TO DO SO. THE HOPE HAD BEEN EXPRESSED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER THE DECISION TAKEN NOT AS A CONCELLATION OF THE VISIT BUT AS A POSTPONEMENT, AND TO WORK TOWARD RESCHEDULING THE VISIT.

8. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE DECISION COULD BE REGARDED AS A POSTPONEMENT RATHER THAN A DEFININTIVE CANCELLATION. POSSIBLY SOMETHING COULD BE DONE TOWARD THE END OF THE YEAR.
HE SAID HE WAS NOT OPPOSED TO THE VISIT OF AN IMPARTIAL GROUP;

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INDEED HE WOULD WELCOME A VISIT BY TRUSTWORTHY, PRESTIGIOUS "MEN OF GOOD WILL". HE THEN COMMENTED AGAIN ON THE EVIDENCE OF PARTIALITY IN THE BEHAVIOR OF THE WORKING GROUP IN TAKING TESTIMONY BEFORE COMING TO CHILE AND IN PLANNING TO GO TO CARACAS THERAFTER.

9. I SAID I DID NOT FIND IT UNREASONABLE FOR THE GROUP TO TAKE TESTIMONY PRIOR TO ARRIVAL IN CHILE, TO GAIN PERSPECTIVE ON THE PRESENT SITUATION, THOUGH PERHAPS ITS PLAN TO PROCEED TO CARACAS COULD BE CONSIDERED IMPRUDENT. HOWEVER, THESE ITEMS WERE NOT NECESSARILY EVIDENCE THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO OBTAIN A FAIR HEARING FROM THE WORKING GROUP. OBVIOUSLY THE GROUP WAS NOT GOING TO DEPART SAYING THAT THE SITUATION IN CHILE WAS PERFECT. ON THE OTHER HAND, I THOUGHT IT ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT HAVING SEEN THE SITUATION IN CHILE FOR ITSELF, HAVING HAD FREEDOM TO TALK TO DETAINEES AND THE MAN IN THE STREET, AS WELL AS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, IT MIGHT VERY WELL PRODUCE A BALANCED REPORT.

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POPPER

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CU, SW, PFOR

SUBJECT: CHILEAN FORMIN SUB SECRETARY'S CALL ON ACTING SECRETARY

1. AMBASSADOR MANUEL TRUCCO, COLONEL ENRIQUE VALDEZ, AND CHEF DE CABINET DEMETRIO INFANTE MET WITH ACTING SECRETARY INGERSOLL LATE AFTERNOON JULY 10. ALSO ATTENDING MEETING WERE UNDERSECRETARY MAW AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY RYAN. VALDEZ CAME TO DELIVER MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT PINOCHET. MESSAGE TURNED OUT TO BE SAME AS STATEMENT CHILE'S PERMREP GAVE TO THE UN SECGEN AND FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL DELIVERED TO OUR AMBASSADOR IN SANTIAGO. IT GIVES REASONS FOR "WITHDRAWAL OF PERMISSION" OF UNHCR WORKING GROUP TO CHILE.

2. VALDEZ WENT ON TO AMPLIFY REASONS WHY PRESIDENT PINOCHET HAD "MOST REGRETFULLY" MADE HIS DECISION. HIS EXPLANATION CLOSELY FOLLOWED STATEMENT. HE FURTHER ALLEGED THAT "MORE THAN 1,000 PERSONS" HAD RECENTLY RETURNED CLANDESTINELY TO CHILE FROM ARGENTINA AND WERE PREPARING TO DISRUPT PUBLIC ORDER. VALDEZ ALSO POINTED

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OUT WORKING GROUP'S "IMPROPRIETY" IN TAKING TESTIMONY FROM CHILEANS IN PARIS, NEW YORK AND LIMA BEFORE GOING TO SANTIAGO. ALSO WORKING GROUP CHAIRMAN ALLANA HAD MADE "DISTORTED" STATEMENTS TO PRESS. VALDEZ CONFIRMED THAT GOC HAD SENT A COMMISSION TO LIMA TO TALK TO GROUP CHAIRMAN ALLANA. THE COMMISSION CARRIED THE PERSONAL INVITATION OF PINOCHET TO VISIT CHILE WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES ARE MORE PROPITIOUS. THESE CONVERSATIONS ARE STILL GOING ON IN LIMA. HE ALLEGED THAT INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN IN THE PRESS AND ESPECIALLY IN THE UN BODIES HAD PREJUDICED THE WORKING GROUP. VALDEZ CLOSED BY ASKING THAT CONSIDERATIONS SURROUNDING THE CHILEAN DECISION BE MADE KNOWN TO PRESIDENT FORD.

3. THE ACTING SECRETARY, WHILE NOTING THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET IS IN BEST POSITION TO JUDGE EVENTS IN CHILE, SAID IT WAS "UNFORTUNATE" THAT VISIT WAS POSTPONED. HE POINTED OUT THAT USG HAD BEEN ABLE TO BE HELPFUL TO CHILE AT OASGA AND PARIS CLUB MEETING PRECISELY BECAUSE OF ANTICIPATED VISIT OF WORKING GROUP. HE FURTHER POINTED OUT THAT HIS DECISION WAS GOING TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES IN CONGRESS WHEN PROPOSED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WERE UNDER CONSIDERATION LATER THIS YEAR. VALDEZ REPLIED THAT DECISION HAD BEEN "DULY PLANNED," AND THAT GOC HAD BEEN AWARE OF CONSEQUENCES. ACTING SECRETARY REPLIED THAT CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL CRITICS, "WILL BE GIVEN MORE AMMUNITION," THAT THE DECISION CREATES DOUBTS ABOUT WHAT THE TRUE SITUATION IN CHILE IS.

4. MR. INGERSOLL THEN ASKED WHAT CONDITIONS MIGHT HAVE TO PREVAIL SO THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET MIGHT PERMIT THE WORKING GROUP TO COME TO CHILE. VALDEZ REPLIED, "FUNDAMENTALLY, A CHANGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE", BUT A VISIT WAS IMPOSSIBLE NOW. VALDEZ SAID THAT CHILE HAS NOTHING TO HIDE, THAT CHILE WOULD WELCOME VISITS BY DISTINGUISHED U.S. CITIZENS, SUCH AS CONGRESSMEN AND UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS.

5. A DISCUSSION FOLLOWED ON WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO RECONSTITUTE UNHRC WORKING GROUP AND ON HOW ANOTHER GROUP MIGHT BE SENT IN ITS PLACE. [redacted] IN REPLY TO A QUESTION FROM AMBASSADOR RYAN, AMBASSADOR TRUCCO SAID THAT HE HOPED TO ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS WITH CONGRESSMAN FRASER AND SENATOR MCGEE FOR COL. VALDEZ. IN CLOSING MR. INGERSOLL ASKED

THE CHILEANS TO THINK ABOUT ALTERNATIVES BEFORE THEY CAME TO LUNCH WITH HIM JULY 11.

6. TWO CONCLUSIONS EMERGE AS POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS OF PINOCHET'S DECISION TO POSTPONE THE UNHRC WORKING GROUP VISIT. THE FIRST IS THAT PINOCHET, WHO ANNOUNCED HIS DECISION DURING ONE OF HIS WORKING TOURS IN THE PROVINCES, MADE UP HIS MIND INDEPENDENTLY WITHOUT CONSULTING THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA OR HIS MINISTERS. PINOCHET IS SENSITIVE TO INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM OF CHILE'S HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES. HE MIGHT HAVE DECIDED THAT CHILE HAD SUFFERED ENOUGH AT THE HANDS OF "TAINTED" INTERNATIONAL GROUPS. THE OTHER, POSSIBILITY, IF INDEED THE DECISION WAS "DULY PLANNED," IS THAT THE GOC NOTED THE WORKING GROUP TAKING TESTIMONY IN PARIS, NEW YORK AND LIMA, AND THEN, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE VOTE AGAINST CHILE IN THE ILO AND THE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN MEXICO, DECIDED THAT THE GROUP WOULD WRITE AN UNFAVORABLE REPORT. BASED ON THIS ASSUMPTION, ALONG WITH THE NEAR CERTAINTY THAT DISSIDENT LEFT WING GROUPS WOULD DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO EMBARRASS THE GOC DURING THE GROUP'S VISIT, THE PRESIDENT TOOK THE ADVICE OF THE HARD LINERS IN THE GOC THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO PUT OFF THE VISIT AND TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES RATHER THAN TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES OF STILL ANOTHER UNFAVORABLE REPORT FROM AN INTERNATIONAL GROUP. REGARDLESS OF THE REASON, THE GOC'S ACTION HAS MADE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION OF CHILE DURING CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE ON THIS YEAR'S FAA AND IN INTERNATIONAL FORA MUCH MORE DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE. 44

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Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: July 11, 1975
TIME: 1:00 p.m.
PLACE: Eighth Floor Dining Room

SUBJECT: Acting Secretary's Luncheon for Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs Valdez

DECONTROL

PARTICIPANTS: CHILE

Colonel Enrique Valdez, Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs
Ambassador Manuel Trucco
Sr. Demetrio Infante

UNITED STATES

The Acting Secretary
Under Secretary Maw
Assistant Secretary Rogers
Ambassador Popper
Ambassador Ryan

Chile Projects (#S19990030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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The Acting Secretary opened the conversation asking about the planned Congressional contacts which Ambassador Trucco had mentioned at the Wednesday meeting. Trucco replied that he had been in touch with Congressman Fraser's staff but the Congressman had been unable to find time to see him and Under Secretary Valdez. Trucco said that he had nevertheless had a long, substantive conversation with the Congressman's Administrative Assistant, John Salzburg, in which he had put forth the Chilean position on the UNHRC Working Group situation. Attempts to arrange a meeting with Senators McGee and Stone had likewise not been successful. The Ambassador affirmed his intention to continue his efforts with Congress upon his return from San Jose at the end of the month.

Mr. Ingersoll then stated that after a full review of the situation he wanted the Chilean Government to clearly understand that he could see no chance of resuming military sales to Chile at this time under the present circumstances. He expressed the

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earnest hope that President Pinochet might review the situation, reconsider his decision and renew the invitation for the UNHRC Working Group to go to Chile. He also emphasized the hope that this might take place sooner than later.

Ambassador Trucco did not reply directly to the Acting Secretary's statement but rather launched into a long discussion of the biased nature of the Working Group, and its selection process.

He also discussed at length the GOC intention to invite U.S. congressmen and public figures to go to Chile in order to see the true state of human rights there.

Finally referring back to the Acting Secretary's statement Trucco pointed out that President Pinochet had stated on July 4 that the visit of the UNHRC group had been put off "until a more propitious occasion" and that it would not be realistic to think of anything happening in so short a time which could be interpreted as a sufficient change in the situation to justify renewing the invitation to the Working Group. At this juncture he reiterated the desire of the GOC to encourage the visit of as many people and groups as possible in order to demonstrate that Chile is an open country and an open society. At the same time he reiterated the fact that the situation was such that a visit of the UNHRC Working Group would not be possible this soon after the President's withdrawal of the invitation.

Trucco then described GOC plans to host a meeting of the Latin American Conference of Municipalities in October. This will involve delegations from all of Latin America, Spain and the Phillipines. The Mayoress of Santiago is presently travelling around the continent extending invitations and they are hopeful of attracting a large number of delegates and feel this will have a positive impact on Latin American public opinion. He asked for State Department assistance in extending an official invitation to the American League of Municipalities to send delegates or observers to this Conference. He also indicated his intention to invite U.S. senators and congressmen to the conference or to come to Chile either in groups or individually to observe the state of human rights.

Assistant Secretary Rogers suggested that the Ambassador see the Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Sparkman, about the possibility of inviting members of the Committee or its staff to Chile, a suggestion which Trucco eagerly embraced.

The Ambassador then described his plans to sponsor high-level academic seminar on "An International View of Chile" to which he hoped to invite a group of prestigious university figures including the Presidents of MIT and Columbia University.

There ensued a discussion of the unjustified bias against Chile in the U.S. academic community. This led Trucco to review in considerable detail the history of the condemnation of Chile in various international fora including the ILO, the OAS, the International Commission of Jurists and the International Women's Conference in Mexico. He also described the absurdity of the recent election of Cuba to the UN Human Rights Commission.

Ambassador Popper indicated that while all this may be true there is the fact that the UNHRC Working Group is presently seized of the Chile situation and will be presenting two reports - a preliminary one to the UNGA in September and a final report to the UNHRC in February. He made the point that these reports will certainly be more condemnatory of Chile without the possibility of a Working Group visit to Chile than with such a visit.

Trucco countered with what he termed "the reality of the July 7 decision" which to him meant that action plans must be made on the basis of what can be done in light of the decision and not on what might have been more appropriate.

The Acting Secretary offered the assistance of the Department in encouraging Congressional visits to Chile.

Mr. Rogers asked about the status of a planned visit to the US by GOC Minister of Justice Miguel Sweitzer, a project which he had discussed with Trucco prior to the withdrawal of the UNHRC invitation.

Trucco stated that he still hoped that such a visit could be arranged to coincide with the American Bar Association Convention in August.

Mr. Maw pointed out that the Convention would be held in Montreal this year. Trucco indicated that he intended to follow through on this visit.

The discussion then turned to the UNHRC Working Group and a possible rescheduling and readjustment in makeup. Ambassador Popper observed that from his experience with the UN it would

not be possible to change the composition of the Group. However it was agreed that changes in modalities (particularly the inclusion of GOC rebuttals in any printed reports) should be considered. Also a clearer definition of the Working Group's terms of reference would be desirable.

The Acting Secretary again reiterated his concern over the "loss of momentum" toward a better international understanding of the Chilean situation and again expressed hope that the situation could be turned around promptly.

Mr. Maw stressed the need for "on the spot" observers to report on their findings in order to dispel the almost overwhelming negative impact of the withdrawal of the invitation.

The Acting Secretary then excused himself to attend to other pressing business.

Discussion after his departure centered on the need to act within a compressed time framework, further mention of the need to involve the US Congress and a final reprise of rationale of Pinochet's action by Ambassador Trucco.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06161 110051Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

EUR-12 /078 W

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R 110010Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8835
INFO AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMCONSUL BELIZE

[redacted]EXICO 6161

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, GT, MX, BH
SUBJECT: MEXICO'S POLICY TOWARD BELIZE

REF: A) MEXICO 4889; B) GUATEMALA 3005

1. ACCORDING TO NEWS REPORTS RECEIVED HERE, PRES. ECHEVERRIA TOLD NEWSMEN JULY 9 IN GEORGETOWN THAT "MEXICO HAS NO TERRITORIAL ASPIRATIONS TOWARD BELIZE." HE ADDED THAT "WE HAVE STUDIED THE TREATIES SIGNED AT THE END OF THE LAST CENTURY IN MINUTE DETAIL, AND WE HAVE NOT DEDUCED-- AS SOME WOULD HAVE LIKED-- ANY BASIS FOR A POSSIBLE AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE BY MEXICO WITH RESPECT TO BELIZE. "WHAT THIS MEANS," HE CONTINUED,"IS THAT(THE MATTER) OUGHT TO BE STRAIGHTENED OUT AMONG ENGLAND, GUATEMALA, AND BELIZE."

2. COMMENT: AS ILLUSTRATED REFTELS, THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION IN WAKE OF ECHEVERRIA'S LAST PUBLIC STATEMENT ON BELIZE, SINCE HE SEEMED TO IMPLY A CHANGE IN GOM POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THAT TERRITORY. LATEST ECHEVERRIA STATEMENT SEEMS TO

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06161 110051Z

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CONFIRM THAT CHANGE, I.E., THAT MEXICO HAS GIVEN UP ITS LEGAL CLAIM TO THE NORTHERNMOST PORTION--OR AT LEAST THAT IT HAS ABANDONED ANY THOUGHT OF USING FORCE TO MAKE ITS CLAIM STICK. ON THE OTHER HAND, AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED FROM A GUEST IN PRO-BELIZEAN GEORGETOWN, ECHEVERRIA INDICATED LESS SYMPATHY TO GUATEMALA'S CLAIM OVER THAT TERRITORY THAN HE HAD ON THE PREVIOUS OCCASION (WHEN CUATEMALAN PRESIDENT LAUGERUD WAS AT HIS SIDE).
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 MONTEV 02336 112005Z

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62
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03
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IO-10 ARAE-00 /071 W
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P R 111933Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9318
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 11/19/97
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[redacted] MONTEVIDEO 02336

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OAS, PFOR, UY
SUBJ: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE (RIO TREATY)

REFS: A) STATE 133832 (NOT RELEVANT), B) MVD 2053, C) MVD 2302

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. SUMMARY. GOU MADE CLEAR IN OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT CONSIDERS SAN JOSE CONFERENCE COMPETENT ONLY TO CONSIDER AMENDMENTS TO RIO TREATY. EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE CUBAN QUESTION WILL BE RESISTED AS OUTSIDE COMPETENCE OF THIS MEETING. IF ARTICLE 17 IS AMENDED, GOU MAINTAINS FORMAL RATIFICATION REQUIRED PRIOR TO DISCUSSION LIFTING SANCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE GOU ISSUED AN OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE JULY 10 REGARDING THE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 MONTEV 02336 112005Z

SAN JOSE CONFERENCE. THE COMMUNIQUE READS AS FOLLOWS:
" ON THE EVE OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES FOR THE REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE WHICH IS TO BE HELD IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA JULY 16, THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPRESSES THE FOLLOWING:

"(1) THIS MEETING HAS AS ITS EXCLUSIVE OBJECTIVE THE ADOPTION OF DECISIONS ON THE AMENDMENTS PRESENTED TO SAID TREATY; ADJUST AND

COORDINATE THE TEXTS AND PREPARE THE PROTOCOL OF REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE AND ACCEDE TO IT.

"ALL OF THIS AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM BEGUN IN APRIL 1973.

"(2) WHATEVER OTHER MATTER WHICH WOULD BE BROUGHT UP, THEREFORE, IS OUTSIDE OF THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING AND, THEREFORE, COULD NOT BE A SUBJECT TO BE CONSIDERED.

"(3) THE AMENDMENTS TO THE INTER-AMERICAN RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE TREATY WHICH MAY BE ADOPTED IN SAN JOSE WILL COME INTO EFFECT WHEN THOSE AMENDMENTS HAVE BEEN RATIFIED BY THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBER STATES WHICH MAY BE ESTABLISHED IN THE PROTOCOL AMENDMENT. UNTIL THEN THE AMENDMENTS DO NOT CONSTITUTE A JURIDICAL BASIS FOR THE ADOPTION OF DECISIONS.
"(4) TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE CHARACTER OF THE MEETING, THE GOVERNMENT OF URUGUAY HAS MADE UP ITS DELEGATION TO THIS EVENT WITH THOSE SPECIALISTS IN THE SUBJECT WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN PREVIOUS STUDIES IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND PROPOSE MEASURES FOR RESTRUCTURING IT."

3. IN A BRIEF STATEMENT TO REPORTERS, FOREIGN MINISTER BLANCO REPORTEDLY SAID "THE URUGUAYAN POSITION IS MADE UP OF VARIOUS POINTS. PRINCIPALLY WE MAINTAIN THAT THE MEETING IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA WAS CALLED TO CONSIDER A VERY PRECISE SUBJECT WHICH IS THE REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM OR, MORE CORRECTLY, OF THE TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. THEREFORE, THERE MUST ONLY BE ANALYZED THE PLANS AND DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE REFORMS AND THE INCLUSION OF ANY OTHER SUBJECT IS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW. THE MEETING HAS BEEN CONVOKED FOR A SUBJECT AND IT MUST BE CONFINED TO THAT." BLANCO ALSO SAID: "THE [redacted]

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URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT WHAT IS AGREED TO IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, CONCERNING REFORM OF THE REFERRED TREATY, WILL ENTER INTO FORCE WHEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE OAS RATIFY THE REFORMS IN ACCORDANCE WITH RATIFICATION PROCEDURES. THE DESIRE TO GIVE IMMEDIATE EFFECT TO WHATEVER RESOLUTION WITHOUT WAITING FOR RATIFICATION, WE BELIEVE HAS NO JURIFICIAL VALIDITY." FINALLY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS SAID THAT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE MEETING WILL ONLY CONSIDER ASPECTS OF THE REFORM OF THE TREATY, THE GOU WOULD ONLY SEND A DELEGATION TO ANALYZE THOSE SUBJECTS.

4. GOU HAS OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED THAT ITS DELEGATION WILL BE HEADED BY AMBASSADOR TO OAS MATEO MARQUES SERE. OTHER DELEGATES REPORTED REF C ARE CONFIRMED, AS WELL.

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5. COMMENT. FOREIGN MINISTER BLANCO INFORMED AMABSSADOR OF THE ABOVE SEVERAL HOURS BEFORE RELEASE.THE PETITION IS CONSISTENT

WITH URUGUAY'S ROLE UP TO NOW AND CONTAINS NO SURPRISES. BLANCO WAS VERY STRONG IN EXPRESSING THE VIEW THAT ANY MANEUVER DESIGNED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR FORMAL RATIFICATION ACCORDING TO ESTABLISHED TREATY PROCUDURES WOULD NOT BE JURIDICIALLY CORRECT OR ACCEPTABLE TO URUGUAY. WE CAN EXPECT, THEREFORE, STRONG OPPOSITION BY URUGUAY TO THE KINDS OF "FREEDOM OF ACTION" DEVICES, ETC. WHICH ARE BEING TALKED ABOUT TO DEAL IN SAN JOSE WITH THE SANCTIONS ISSUE.
END [redacted]

6. GDS.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 04129 01 OF 02 151757Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 NEA-10 ISO-00 EB-07 AID-05 STR-04 TRSE-00

COME-00 AGR-05 DHA-02 EUR-12 IO-10 INT-05 FEAE-00

CIEP-01 OMB-01 ACDA-05 OES-03 PM-03 L-03 NSC-05

CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01

SP-02 /115 W

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R 151635Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1585
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

[redacted]ECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 4129

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, MX, SG, EGEN, ETRD
SUBJ: MEXICAN PRESIDENT VISITS SENEGAL

REF: MEXICO 6095

1. SUMMARY: MEXICAN PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA VISITED DAKAR FROM JULY 10 TO JULY 14. DURING VISIT, BOTH PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AND PRESIDENT SENGHOR REPEATEDLY ENUNCIATED NEED

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PAGE 02 DAKAR 04129 01 OF 02 151757Z

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FOR THIRD WORLD UNITY IN CREATING NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO) AND COOPERATION IN ARRESTING DETERIORATION IN TERMS OF TRADE. ECHEVERRIA WAS PRAISED PUBLICLY AS INITIATOR OF CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES. HOWEVER, IN PRIVATE, SOME SENEGALESE LEADERS EXPRESSED FEELING HE WAS TRYING TOO HARD TO CATAPULT HIMSELF TO THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP POSITION. END SUMMARY

2. WHILE IN SENEGAL PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AND HIS ENTOURAGE HAD MEETINGS WITH GOS OFFICIALS, ATTENDED LUNCH GIVEN BY PRESIDENT SENGHOR, VISITED INDUSTRIES AND TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTES IN DAKAR AREA, VISITED VARIOUS MUSEUMS AND MADE SIDE TRIP TO GOREE ISLAND FROM WHERE MANY SLAVES LEFT AFRICA FOR WESTERN HEMISPHERE YEARS AGO. ECHEVERRIA REQUESTED TOUR OF TYPICAL SENEGALESE MARKET WHICH HE FOUND SIMILAR TO MARKETS IN MEXICO. HE LATER RELATED HIS VISIT THERE TO NEED FOR COUNTRIES SUCH AS MEXICO AND SENEGAL TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN ECONOMIC SYSTEMS BASED ON THEIR OWN TRADITIONS WITHOUT ASSUMING FOREIGN WAYS ALWAYS BEST.

3. IN TOAST MADE AT LUNCH FOR PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA, PRESIDENT SENGHOR PRAISED COURAGEOUS POSITION ECHEVERRIA TOOK IN FORMULATING CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES. HE DWELT AT LENGTH ON COMMON PROBLEMS FACING MEXICO AND SENEGAL IN STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM OF GREAT POWERS. HE STRESSED NEED FOR THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY AND NOTED THAT MEXICO BY ITS SIZE, POLITICAL TRADITION, AND ACTION OF ITS PRESIDENT HAD BECOME A MOVING FORCE IN LATIN AMERICA, THE THIRD CONTINENT OF THIRD WORLD.

4. ECHEVERRIA REPLIED BY ALSO UNDERLINING NECESSITY FOR COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS OF THIRD WORLD. ECHEVERRIA STRESSED THAT PRODUCERS OF FOOD ON LARGE SCALE SHOULD NOT ONLY PRODUCE FOR THEIR OWN NEEDS AND IN EXPECTATION OF COMMERCIAL PROFIT, BUT WITH VIEW TOWARDS CREATION OF FOOD RESERVES FOR ALL HUMANITY. HE SAID NOTHING COULD BE MORE SHAMEFUL THAN TO USE FOOD AID AS NEW ELEMENT OF DOMINATION. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA IN HIS REMARKS ALSO WELCOMED INDEPENDENCE OF PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, CONDEMNED APARTHIED, ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND DENIAL OF POLITICAL RIGHTS IN [redacted]

RHODESIA. HE MADE SPECIAL POINT OF ANNOUNCING THAT UNIVERSITY OF THIRD WORLD AND INSTITUTE OF THIRD WORLD HAD BEEN OPENED IN MEXICO CITY.

5. IN PRESS CONFERENCE HELD JOINTLY WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR, PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA CALLED FOR ACCELERATING PACE TOWARDS NIEO. ON SUBJECT OF CUBA, HE AVERRED THAT AT COSTA RICAN MEETING OF OAS, MEXICO WOULD PROPOSE THAT DECISION WITH REGARD TO RELATIONS WITH CUBA SHOULD BE TAKEN BY SIMPLE RATHER THAN TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY VOTE. HE SAID MEXICO NOT YET MEMBER OF OPEC BECAUSE IT HAD NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY INVITED AND WAS NOT YET LARGE PETROLEUM EXPORTER. AFTER HISTORICAL REVIEW OF US-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND US-MEXICAN WAR OF CENTURY AGO, ECHEVERRIA NOTED THAT EXPANSION OF US HAD NOT BEEN ONLY WESTWARD BUT SOUTHWARD. INVADERS OF MEXICO, FRENCH OR ANGLO-SAXON, HE CONTINUED, HAD ALWAYS BENEFITED FROM COMPLICITY OF MEXICAN BOURGEOISIE. HE SAID THAT IS WHY MEXICO DECIDED TO TURN TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR TOWARDS THIRD WORLD.

6. JOINT COMMUNIQUE SIGNED BY TWO PRESIDENTS SAID CONSTRUCTION OF NIEO SHOULD BE ON BASIS OF PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED IN CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES. IT TOO CALLED FOR LDC SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION ON RAW MATERIALS. IT SAID THAT PEACE IN WORLD MUST BE FACILITATED BY DIALOGUE AND DETENTE. SERIOUS PROBLEMS HAD TO BE RESOLVED WITH HELP OF ALL COUNTRIES, AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE A GREATER ROLE THAN HITHERTO. TWO CHIEFS OF STATE BELIEVED STRICT MEASURES NEED TO BE TAKEN WORLDWIDE AND URGENTLY TO BRING ABOUT GENERAL AND TOTAL DISARMAMENT. ON BILATERAL COOPERATION, TWO PRESIDENTS NOTED NEW ACCORDS (1) CREATING A JOINT COMMISSION OF COOPERATION, (2) ESTABLISHING COOPERATION ON MATTERS OF TOURISM, AND (3) PROVIDING FOR COPRODUCTION OF MOVIES. CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WERE ALSO APPROVED AND IT WAS AGREED THAT SENEGAL WOULD SEND MISSION TO MEXICO TO STUDY ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION, AGRICULTURE, STOCK-RAISING, FOOD TECHNOLOGY, WATER MANAGEMENT AND IRRIGATION.

7. EMBASSY POUCHING COPIES OF COMMUNIQUE TO DEPARTMENT (ARA/MEX) AND MEXICO CITY.

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8. COMMENT: CALL FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT A NEW ELEMENT IN COMMUNIQUES ISSUED IN SENEGAL AFTER SUCH CHIEF OF STATE VISIT, AND THEREFORE PROBABLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 04129 02 OF 02 151734Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 NEA-10 ISO-00 EB-07 AID-05 STR-04 TRSE-00

COME-00 AGR-05 DHA-02 EUR-12 IO-10 INT-05 FEAE-00

CIEP-01 OMB-01 ACDA-05 OES-03 PM-03 L-03 NSC-05

CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01

SP-02 /115 W

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R 151635Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1586
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 4129

MEXICAN WISHES. ACCORDING TO SENEGALESE ATTENDING DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION FOR ECHEVERRIA, MEXICAN PRESIDENT SEEMED TO TRY TOO HARD DURING VISIT TO BURNISH HIS THIRD WORLD IMAGE. SENEGALESE ALSO GREW WEARY WHEN, AT LUNCH, ECHEVERRIA FOLLOWED HIS TWENTY MINUTE WRITTEN TOAST WITH RAMBLING EXTEMPORANEOUS DENUNCIATION OF EVILS OF SLAVE TRADE, GLORIES OF AFRICAN AND MEXICAN MARKETS, AND APPROPRIATENESS OF CHANGING APPELLATION OF LATIN AMERICA TO LATIN-INDO-AFRO-AMERICA. ECHEVERRIA SPENT MINIMUM TIME WITH

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AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT CEREMONIES AND GRATUITIOUS COMMENTS ABOUT US IN HIS SPEECHES SUGGESTED THAT HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTENT ON DEMONSTRATING MEXICAN RESISTANCE TO U.S. INFLUENCE. MEXICAN AMBASSADOR AND OTHER OFFICIALS IN ECHEVERRIA'S ENTOURAGE SEEMED SOMEWHAT EMBARRASSED BY PRESIDENT'S BEHAVIOR AND WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO BE FRIENDLY TO U.S. REPRESENTATIVE.
AGGREY

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 02932 160728Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 810

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 11/19/97
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FOIA Exemptions TS authority
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[redacted] SAN JOSE 2932

EXDIS DECAPTIONED

USDEL 004

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION: ARA, USOAS, L

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR DE LA COLINA OF MEXICO HAS GIVEN US THE TEXT OF A PROPOSED RESOLUTION TO SETTLE THE CUBA QUESTION. HE TOLD US THAT HE INTENDS TO LAUNCH THIS PROPOSAL ONLY IF HE CAN OBTAIN 14 CO-SPONSORS, I.E. THE REQUIRED TWO-THIRDS FOR ACTION UNDER THE RIO TREATY. THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION WHICH IS A VARIATION OF THE FREEDOM OF ACTION FORMULA FOR WHICH WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY STATED OUR SULNORT, IS SUBMITTED BELOW IN OUR ROUGH TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH. END SUMMARY.

2. QUOTE THE XVI MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS SERVING AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION, UNDER THE RIO TREATY,

CONSIDERING
THAT THE MEMBER STATES PARTY TO THE RIO TREATY HAVE RENEWED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOLIDARITY AND INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION, NON-INTERVENTION AND RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE SET FORTH IN THE RIO TREATY AND THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION;

THAT THE CONFERENCE OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES MEETING IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA HAS AGREED TO (SIGNED) A PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENTS TO THE RIO TREATY WHICH WITH UNANIMOUS

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02932 160728Z

(GENERAL) (MAJORITY) APPROVAL OF SAID STATES PARTY MODIFIED THE STANDARD CONTAINED IN ARTICLE 17, CONCERNING DRADOPTION OFPECISIONS, TO THE EFFECT THAT IN ORDER TO LEAVE WITHOUT EFFECT THE MASSURES ADOPTED IN CONFORMITY WITH ARTICLE 8 ONLY AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF SAID STATES WILL BE REQUIRED; AND

DESIRING

TO ELIMINATE THE LIMITATIONS IMPOSED ON THE
SOVERIGN POWERS OF THE STATES PARTY TO THE RIO TREATY
BY RESOLUTIONS APPROVED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLES
8, 17 AND 20 OF SAID TREATY, WHICH NO LONGER HAVE THE SUPPORT
OF THE TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY ORIGINALLY REQUIRED TO ADOPT
THEM:

(BEGIN UNDERLINE ALTERNATIVE TEXT END UNDERLINE: TO
PROMOTE INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE BROADEST POSSIBLE
WAY:)

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RESOLVES
I. TO SOLEMNLY REAFFIRM THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION
AND TO URGE THE STATES PARTY TO WATCH OVER ITS OBSERVANCE
IN THE HEMISPHERE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE
ORGANIZATION, TO WHICH END THEY PROCLAIM ONCE AGAIN THEIR
SOLIDARITY AND REITERATE THEIR WILL FOR CONSTANT COOPERATION
WITH THE AIM OF REALIZING FULLY THE PURPOSES OF A POLICY
OF PEACE;

II. TO LEAVE THE STATES PARTY TO THE RIO TREATY FREE
TO NORMALIZE, UNILATERALLY AND ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL
POLICIES AND INTERESTS OF EACH ONE, THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE
REPUBLIC OF CUBA AT THE LEVEL AND IN THE MANNER THAT
EACH STATE CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE, AND

III. TO TRANSMIT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS THE TEXT OF THIS RESOLUTION. END QUOTE.

3. COMMENT: WE THANKED DE LA COLINA FOR HIS EFFORTS AND
SAID THAT WE WOULD BE SENDING HIS DRAFT TO WASHINGTON
IMMEDIATELY AND WOULD COMMENT ON IT WHEN WE HAD HAD
A CHANCE TO STUDY IT. AT FIRST READING THE DRAFT DOES NOT
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PAGE 03 SAN JO 02932 160728Z

APPEAR TO RAISE MANY SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS FOR US, ALTHOUGH
WE ARE LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT FIRST VERSION OF
QUOTE DESIRING END QUOTE PARAGRAPH.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06283 160027Z

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 OIC-02 EB-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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P R 160005Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8899
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
( ) DENY
( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART
INR/RS/CR/RR Date: 11/19/97
EO Citations

[redacted] MEXICO 6283

FOIA Exemption
PA Exemption
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. ___ authority to
( ) DOWNGRADE to ( ) S or ( ) C
9501608

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, OCON, OAS, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN-CUBAN RELATIONS: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE

REF: MEXICO 6238

1. ON EVE OF SAN JOSE MEETING ON RIO TREATY (WHERE GOM HOPES MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT CUBAN SANCTIONS), DEVELOPMENTS IN PAST FEW DAYS REFLECT SOME CONCERN AND UNEASE ON PART OF MEXICANS.

2. EMBASSY HAS REPORTED (REFTEL) THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY RABASA NOW PLANS TO ATTEND SAN JOSE MEETING. THERE HAD EARLIER BEEN INDICATIONS THAT HE WOULD ATTEND "IF NECESSARY" (I.E., IN SUPPORT OF GOM POLICY) BUT UNTIL RECENTLY GOM HAD APPARENTLY NOT FELT RABASA'S PRESENCE ESSENTIAL.

3. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ON JULY 11 (IN DAKAR) REPORTEDLY RESPONDING TO CRITICISM AT HOME OF HIS PLANNED VISIT TO CUBA, STATED THAT HE HAD INCLUDED CUBA ON HIS ITINERARY AT THE REQUEST OF MEXICAN BUSINESSMEN.

4. COMMENTS: ANY CRITICISM OF ECHEVERRIA ON CUBAN VISIT HAS BEEN MUTED, AND REASON FOR HIS STATEMENT MAY

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06283 160027Z

HAVE BEEN OTHER THAN THAT CITED. AT LEAST ONE COLUMNIST (EXCELSIOR) CONSIDERED ECHEVERRIA'S STATEMENT MOTIVATED BY NOTORIOUS "CARLOS" TERRORIST AFFAIR IN PARIS AND EXPULSION BY GOF OF THREE CUBAN DIPLOMATS. "CARLOS" CASE, ARISING JUST BEFORE SAN JOSE CONFERENCE, MAY ALSO EXPLAIN RABASA'S DECISION TO ATTEND THAT MEETING.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06283 160027Z

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 OIC-02 EB-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 /076 W
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P R 160005Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8899
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

[redacted]XICO 6283

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, OCON, OAS, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN-CUBAN RELATIONS: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE

REF: MEXICO 6238 N

1. ON EVE OF SAN JOSE MEETING ON RIO TREATY (WHERE GOM HOPES MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT CUBAN SANCTIONS), DEVELOPMENTS IN PAST FEW DAYS REFLECT SOME CONCERN AND UNEASE ON PART OF MEXICANS.

2. EMBASSY HAS REPORTED (REFTEL) THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY RABASA NOW PLANS TO ATTEND SAN JOSE MEETING. THERE HAD EARLIER BEEN INDICATIONS THAT HE WOULD ATTEND "IF NECESSARY" (I.E., IN SUPPORT OF GOM POLICY) BUT UNTIL RECENTLY GOM HAD APPARENTLY NOT FELT RABASA'S PRESENCE ESSENTIAL.

3. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ON JULY 11 (IN DAKAR) REPORTEDLY RESPONDING TO CRITICISM AT HOME OF HIS PLANNED VISIT TO CUBA, STATED THAT HE HAD INCLUDED CUBA ON HIS ITINERARY AT THE REQUEST OF MEXICAN BUSINESSMEN.

4. COMMENTS: ANY CRITICISM OF ECHEVERRIA ON CUBAN VISIT HAS BEEN MUTED, AND REASON FOR HIS STATEMENT MAY

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HAVE BEEN OTHER THAN THAT CITED. AT LEAST ONE COLUMNIST (EXCELSIOR) CONSIDERED ECHEVERRIA'S STATEMENT MOTIVATED BY NOTORIOUS "CARLOS" TERRORIST AFFAIR IN PARIS AND EXPULSION BY GOF OF THREE CUBAN DIPLOMATS. "CARLOS" CASE, ARISING JUST BEFORE SAN JOSE CONFERENCE, MAY ALSO EXPLAIN RABASA'S DECISION TO ATTEND THAT MEETING.
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PAGE 01 STATE 169037

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E.O. 11652: GDS DECAPTIONED

9501608

TAGS: PFOR, OAS

SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE (CUBA) - MEXICAN RESOLUTION

REF: SAN JOSE 2923 ~ SHOULD BE 2932

FOR USDEL TO SAN JOSE MEETING

SUMMARY: EXCEPT FOR THE QTE DESIRING UNQTE PARAGRAPH AND THE WORD, QTE NORMALIZE, UNQTE IN THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH, MEXICAN TEXT IS ACCEPTABLE, BUT YOU SHOULD AVOID COMMITMENT TO CO-SPONSOR AT THIS TIME. END SUMMARY

1. PRESENT QTE DESIRING UNQTE PARAGRAPH GIVES US THE FOLLOWING PROBLEMS:

A. WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE NOTION THAT THE APPLICATION OF THE RIO TREATY IMPOSES QTE LIMITATIONS ON THE SOVEREIGN POWERS OF THE STATES PARTY. UNQTE PARTNERSHIP IN THE

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TREATY AND ACCEPTANCE OF ITS OBLIGATIONS ARE SOVEREIGN ACTS.

B. DO YOU THINK THIS PARAGRAPH WOULD BE INTERPRETED TO COVER ALL SANCTIONS IMPOSED AGAINST CUBA RATHER THAN JUST THOSE IMPOSED BY RESOLUTION I OF THE 9TH MFM (SUSPENSION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, TRADE, AND TRANSPORTATION)? AS WRITTEN, THE PARAGRAPH APPEARS TO EMBRACE ALSO THE 8TH MFM (1962) RESOLUTIONS WHICH PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR THE

EXCLUSION OF CUBA FROM THE OAS SYSTEM AND THE IADB, AND PROHIBITED ARMS TRADE WITH CUBA.

C. THE CLOSING PHRASE, QTE WHICH NO LONGER HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY ORIGINALLY REQUIRED TO ADOPT THEM, UNQTE DOES NOT, IN OUR VIEW, NECESSARILY FOLLOW FROM A VOTE BY THE MAJORITY TO AMEND ARTICLE 17. IT IMPLIES THAT SANCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE MAINTAINED WHEN THERE IS NO LONGER TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR THEM, WHICH IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 17.

2. IF THE PRESENT QTE DESIRING UNQTE PARAGRAPH IS DROPPED, WE CAN ACCEPT THE ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE ALREADY PROPOSED BY THE MEXICANS. OTHERWISE, WE HOPE THE PARAGRAPH COULD BE REVISED AS FOLLOWS:

QTE DESIRING TO ELIMINATE THE LIMITATIONS IMPOSED ON THE STATES PARTY TO THE RIO TREATY BY RESOLUTION I OF THE 9TH MFM, APPROVED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLES 8, 17, AND 20 OF SAID TREATY. UNQTE.

3. WE WOULD LIKE TO REPLACE QTE NORMALIZE UNQTE IN PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH WITH QTE DETERMINE UNQTE OR QTE ESTABLISH UNQTE, SINCE EITHER IS MORE CONSISTENT WITH NOTION THAT STATES SHOULD BE FREE TO ACT AS THEY SEE FIT, AND WOULD LEAVE US A SOMEWHAT STRONGER LEGAL BASIS FOR CONTINUING OUR BILATERAL SANCTIONS POLICY.

4. ALSO WE WONDER TO WHAT DEGREE YOU THINK THE PRESENT WORDING OF THIS PARAGRAPH, TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PRESENT QTE DESIRING UNQTE PARAGRAPH, MIGHT IMPLY INVITATION TO READMIT CUBA TO OAS PARTICIPATION. WOULD

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IT BE PREFERABLE TO BEGIN THIS PARAGRAPH, QTE TO LEAVE EACH STATE PARTY TO THE RIO TREATY FREE TO ... UNQTE?

5. FINALLY, WE HOPE QUESTION OF CO-SPONSORSHIP CAN BE DEFERRED AT THIS TIME PENDING YOUR FURTHER ASSESSMENT OF THE NEED FOR IT. IN GENERAL, OUR VIEW IS THAT TO CO-SPONSOR WOULD PUT US IN A MORE ACTIVIST STANCE THAN WE WANT TO ASSUME- WE HOPE EITHER THAT MEXICANS COULD FIND 14 CO-SPONSORS WITHOUT INCLUDING US OR THAT THEY MIGHT AGREE TO PRESENT THE PROPOSAL ON THE BASIS OF ASSURANCES SHORT OF CO-SPONSORSHIP. BASED ON YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS WE WOULD REVIEW THIS POSITION IF CO-SPONSORSHIP WERE THE ONLY WAY TO GET THIS OR A SIMILAR RESOLUTION CONSIDERED. KISSINGER

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 04171 171117Z

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AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY RABAT

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PAGE 02 DAKAR 04171 171117Z

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, SG, EGEN, ETRD
SUBJ: PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S POSITION WITH RESPECT TO SECOND PRODUCERS/CONSUMERS MEETING

REF: A) STATE 95205; B) DAKAR 3474; C) DAKAR 3505; D) DAKAR 4129 (NOTAL)

1. IN TOAST GIVEN DURING LUNCHEON FOR MEXICAN PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA, PRESIDENT SENGHOR STATED HIS VIEWS ON CONVENING SECOND CONSUMERS PRODUCERS MEETING WHICH HE REFERRED TO AS PARIS CONFERENCE.

2. PRESIDENT SAID: QUOTE OF COURSE WE WOULD NOT OPPOSE PROJECT OF CREATING THREE COMMISSIONS WHICH WOULD STUDY EACH ELEMENT OF PROBLEM SEPARATELY. NOR WOULD WE OPPOSE BEGINNING THE SPECIAL CONFERENCES WITH (ONE ON) ENERGY, WHICH PARTICULARLY INTERESTS THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. WHAT WE HAVE ASKED, WHICH IS RATIONAL, AND EFFECTIVE, IS THAT WHEN THE PARIS CONFERENCE RECONVENES, IT BEGIN WITH A GENERAL DISCUSSION ON RAW MATERIALS, A DISCUSSION WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE DEFINITION OF CERTAIN BASIC PRINCIPLES. IF THEY DO NOT WANT TO GIVE US THIS SATISFACTION, WHICH IS LEGITIMATE BECAUSE IT IS MORAL, TO TWO-THIRDS OF HUMANITY, I DO NOT SEE HOW WE CAN AVOID CONFRONTATION. UNQUOTE

3. COMMENT: SENGHOR'S POSITION THUS SEEMS TO BE IN ACCORD WITH THAT GIVEN BY YOUSSOUPH SYLLA, CABINET DIRECTOR IN FOREIGN MINISTRY IN HIS EARLIER DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR (REFTEL B) AND COUNTER TO US POSITION IN THAT IT STRESSED PRIOR AGREEMENT ON THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES RATHER THAN CONCENTRATION ON ACHIEVABLE, PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS. THERE COULD BE SOME COMMON GROUND, HOWEVER, IF BY BASIC PRINCIPLES SENGHOR DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THOSE SET FORTH IN NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER OR CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

4. AMBASSADOR HAS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR EVENING JULY 19 AND COULD RAISE QUESTION OF RAW MATERIALS AND PARIS CONFERENCE. WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ANY GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PROVIDE BEFORE THAT MEETING.
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EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OCON OAS
SUBJ: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE: NEW MEXICAN DRAFT ON CUBA

REF: SAN JOSE 2932 (USDEL 004)
SAN JOSE 2944 (USDEL 006)

1. SUMMARY: DE LA COLINA OF MEXICO HAS CIRCULATED A SECOND DRAFT OF HIS RESOLUTION ON CUBA. IT REFLECTS SUGGESTIONS MADE BY VARIOUS DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING OURS. CASTILLO ARRIOLA OF GUATEMALA IS PUSHING HARD TO GET A BRIEF DELAY AND A DIFFERENT VENUE TO APPROVE THE FREEDOM OF ACTION FORMULA. (USDEL 006) INSTRUCTIONS REQUESTED. END SUMMARY.

2. DE LA COLINA HAS DISCUSSED HIS DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FREEDOM OF ACTION ON CUBA WITH ALARGE NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS HERE AND HAS MADE ANUMBER OF DELETIONS AND CHANGES WHICH HE BELIVES WILL MAKE IT MORE GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE. THE FOLLOWING IS OUR TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH OF THE REVISED DRAFT:

3. QUOTE: THE XVI MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS SERVING AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION, UNDER THE RIO TREATY,

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02966 172359Z

THAT THE MEMBER STATES PARTY TO THE RIO TREATY HAVE RENWED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOLIDARITY AND INTER--AMERICAN COOPERATION, NON-INTERVENTION AND RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE SET FORTH IN THE RIO TREATY AND THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION, AND

DESIRING

TO PROMOTE INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE BROADEST MANNER POSSIBLE;

RESOLVES

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I. TO SOLEMNLY REAFFIRM THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION AND TO URGE THE STATES PARTY TO WATCH OVER LHKQUE VELEN) ITS OBSERVANCE IN THE HEMISPHERE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION, TO WHICH END THEY PROCLAIM ONCE AGAIN THEIR SOLIDARITY AND REITERATE THEIR WILL FOR CONSTANT COOPERATION WITH THE AIM OF REALIZING FULLY THE PURPOSES OF A PLICY OF PEACE;

II. TO LEAVCTHE STATES PARTY TO THE RIO TREATY FREE TO CONDUCT, UNILATERALLY AND ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL POLICIES AND INTERESTS OF EACH ONE, THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA AT THE LEVEL AND IN THE MANNER THAT EACH STATE MAY CONSIDER APPROPRIATE, AND

III. TO TRANSMIT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS THE TEXT OF THIS RESOLUTION. END QUOTE.

4. DE LA COLINA HAS MADE UNEQUIVOCALLY CLEAR THAT HE DOES NOT PLAN TO TAKE ANY ACTION ON CUBA UNLESS HE HAS AT LEAST FOURTEEN CO-SPONSORS, THE TWO-THRIDS MAJORITY REQUIRED FOR SUCCESS. HE AHS BEEN EQUALLY FORTHRIGHT IN SAYING THAT TUE U.S. MUST BE AMONG THE FOURTEEN CO-SPONSORS.

5. AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD HAS TOLD DE LA COLINA THAT HE WOULD TENTATIVELY AGREE TO U.S. CO-SPONSORSHIP PROVIDED THERE ARE THIRTEEN OTHER CO-SPONSORS AND PROVIDED HE COULD OBTAIN AUTHORIZATION FROM WASHINGTON.

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6. DESPITE SOME OPPOSITION MENTIONED IN USDEL 006, GUATEMALA'S PROPOSAL TO DEAL FINALLY WITH THE SANCTIONS IS STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE. CASTILLO ARRIOLA HAS TOLD DE LA COLINA THE SAME THING HE TOLD US, I.E., THAT GUATEMALA WOULD PQUE IN FAVOR OF A FREZQOM OF ACTION FORMULA IF IT IS DEALT WITH IN A SEPARATE MEETING IN A COUPLE OF WEEKS.

7. OUR SOUNDINGS WITH BOLIVIA AND BRZIL HERE INDICATE THAT THEY TOO MIGHT BE GROUGHT AROUND TO VOTING IN FAVOR OF FREEDOM OF ACTION IN A SEPARATE MEETING SOON AFTER THE SAN JOSE CONFERENCE IS OVER, AT A DIFFERENT PLACE.

8. DE LA COLINA'S CURRENT THINKING IS, PROVIDED ALL GOES WELL WITH HIS DRAFT RESOLUTION, TO HAVE THE PERMANENT COUNCIL MEET HERE IN SAN JOSE. THE COUNCIL WOULD DEAL WITH ONLY ONE ITEM; IT WOULD CONVOKE A MEETING OF THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION AT A GIVEN PLACE AND TIME FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF VOTING ON THE FREEDOM OF ACTION RESOLUTION (WHICH WOULD OF COURSE HAVE ENOUGH SPONSORS TO ASSURE APPROVAL).

9. COMMENT: THE MOOD HERE IS GOOD, BOTH WITH RESPECT TO THE AMENDMENT OF THE TREATY AND ON CUBA. PERU AND MEXICO, OUR CHIEF ANTAGONISTS IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, HAVE BOTH GONE OUT OF THE WAY TO COOPERATE WITH US IN AN EFFORT TORESOLVE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WE HAVE WITH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE DRAFT OF THE TREATY AMENDMENTS. OUR OBVIOUS GOOD WILL ON THE CUBA QUESTION HAS BEEN CRUCIAL IN SECURING THIS COOPERATION.

10. WE ARE NOT ENCOURAGING THE GUATEMALAN PROPOSAL, BUT WE TEND TO THINK IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO GO ALONG WITH IT IF IT MEANS APPROVAL BY 16 OR 17 VOTES RATHER THAN A MERE 14.

11. ACTION. REQUEST AUTHORITY, IF CONSENSUS DEVELOPS,

A. TO CO-SPONSOR MEXICAN RSSOLUTION PROVIDED AND ONLY PROVIDED THERE ARE AT LEAST THIRTEEN OTHER CO-SPONSORS.

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PAGE 04 SAN JO 02966 172359Z

B. TO AGREE TO THE GUATEMALAN PROPOSAL TO CALL A MEETING OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL HERE IN SAN CSE TO CONVOKE THE ORGAN QD CONSULTATION UNDER THE RIO TREATY LJB A SPECIFIED TIME AND PLACE (ROUGHLY TWO WEEKS, PROBABLY IN TRINIDAD) FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF ADOPTING THE MEXICAN REENOLUTION CO-SPONSORED BY FOURTEEN OR MORE STATE SIVFATORY TO THE RIONBREATY.

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS ALL OAS CAPITALS.
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USDEL 006

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OCON, OAS
SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE

1. CUBA WAS STILL FRONT AND CENTER JULY 16, THOUGH WITH THE FORMAL OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE DELEGATES BEGAN TO SETTLE DOWN TO THE WORDADAY BUSINESS OF AMENDING THE RIO TREATY.

2. THE IDEA THAT THE 14 VOTES REQUIRED TO APPROVE A FREEDOM OF ACTION FORMULA IS PROBABLY AVAILABLE HAS BEGUN TO SINK HOME TO SOME OF THE RELUCTANT DELEGATIONS. AMBASSADOR CASTILLO ARRIOLA APPROACHED US TO SAY THAT GUATEMALA IS NOT YET PREPARED TO VOTE FOR FREEDOM OF ACTION AT SAN JOSE, BUT WOULD SUPPORT IT IF A SEPARATE CONFERENCE WERE TO BE HELD TEN DAYS OR TWO WEEKS AFTER THE CLOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE. CASTILLO'S ARGUMENT WAS THAT IF WE SHOULD MOVE DIRECTLY FROM AMENDMENT OF THE RIO TREATY TO THE CUBA QUESTION HERE, IT WOULD DETRACT FROM THE IMPORTANT WORK DONE ON RIO TREATY REFORM AND INDEED WOULD LEAD TO INTERPRETATIONS THAT THE WHOLE REFORM EFFORT HAD BEEN A COVER TO DEAL WITH THE CUBA PROBLEM. CASTILLO SAID HE HAD TALKED WITH BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR

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SANZ AND BELIEVED THAT BOLIVIA WOULD FOLLOW GUATEMALA'S LEAD ON SUPPORTING A FREEDOM OF ACTION FORMULA AT A LATER DATE.

3. WE PROMISED TO TRANSMIT GUATEMALA'S VIEWS TO WASHINGTON. DE LA COLINA OF MEXICO, WHO IS STILL THE QUARTERBACK ON THIS MATTER, SAID THAT HE WAS RECEPTIVE TO GUATEMALA'S APPEAL, SINCE HE WAS DESIROUS OF GETTING AS LARGE A MAJORITY AS POSSIBLE FOR HIS INITIATIVE, AND A FEW DAYS WOULD HARDLY MATTER. HE SUGGESTED TRINIDAD AS A GOOD PLACE TO HOLD A MEETING SOMETIME IN AUGUST. HE SAID, HOWEVER, AND WE AGREED, THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE ON THIS WITHOUT THE APPROVAL OF FACIO, WHOSE VIEWS WE DO NOT YET HAVE. THE CHIEFS OF THE COLOMBIAN AND VENEZUELAN DELEGATION HAVE TOLD US THEY DO NOT LIKE GUATEMALA'S PLOY.

4. THE CONFERENCE PR
THE ELECTIONODYFACIO AS CHAIRMAN AND THE DECISION TO GET RIGHT DOWN TO BUSINESS. NICARAGUA TRIED TO CHANGE THE RULES APPROVED BY THE PERMANENT COUNCIL SO THAT THIS CONFERENCE COULD APPROVE AMENDMENTS ONLY BY TWO-THIRDS VOTE BUT THE MAJORITY-VOTE FORMULA WON WITH ONLY FIVE VOTES OPPOSED (U.S. INCLUDED). RATIFICATION WILL REQUIRE TOW-THIRDS OF ALL MEMBERS.

5. THE SPEECHES AT THE FORMAL OPENING SESSION BY FACIO, ORFILA, ODUBER AND VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR MACHIN WERE UNEXCEPTIONABLE. ODUBER'S WAS THE MOST INTERSTING. HE MADE AN IMPRESSIVE APPEAL FOR A STRONG TREATY, SAYING THAT ONLY THE PROTECTION PROVIDED BY THE TREATY MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR COSTA RICA TO DISPENSE WITH AN ARMY. HE MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY (PERHAPS TO THE DISCOMFITURE OF SOME PRESENT) PAST INCURSIONS BY COSTA RICA'S NEIGHBORS, IN WHICH THE TREATY HAD COME TO THE RESCUE.

6. THE AFTERNOON SESSION WAS TAKEN UP WITH A DISCUSSION OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE RIO TREATY. THE U.S. SOUGHT TO RETAIN THE SPECIFIC INJUNCTION THAT AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO RESOLVE DISPUTES IN THE HEMISPHERE BEFORE TAKING THEM TO THE UN. THIS VIEW GOT SOME SUPPORT (BRAZIL, CHILE,

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NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, URUGUAY, PARAGUAY). WE HAVE HELD A MEETING WITH BRAZIL, CHILE AND EL SALVADOR IN ORDER TO PRESENT A UNITED FRONT AT THURSDAY MEETING, THOUGH OUR CHANCE OF WINNING ON THIS ISSUE IS NOT GOOD.
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PAGE 01 STATE 169131

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, OAS
SUBJECT:SAN JOSE OAS MEETING

USDEL SAN JOSE FOR MAILLIARD

FOLLOWING GUIDANCE PREPARED FOR USE OF DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN AT NOON BRIEFING JULY 17 (NO QUESTIONS ASKED AT BRIEFING):

Q: IS THE U.S. TAKING THE LEAD ON SOLVING THE CUBA SANCTIONS ISSUE IN SAN JOSE? FROM PRESS REPORTS OF AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD'S STATEMENTS AND OF THE CIRCULATION OF A U.S. POSITION PAPER AMONG THE DELEGATES DOWN THERE, IT WOULD SEEM SO.

A: NO. AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD SAID AT A PRESS CONFERENCE THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD GO ALONG WITH A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM THAT COMMENDED
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PAGE 02 STATE 169131

ITSELF TO A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. THAT POSITION IS CONSISTENT WITH THE ONE WE HELD TO AT THE MAY MEETING OF THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. FOURTEEN COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE TO APPROVE ANY PROPOSAL ON CHANGING CUBAN SANCTIONS. IF ANY COUNTRY COULD BE SAID TO BE TAKING THE LEAD, IT IS MEXICO.

Q: IS THE U.S. CIRCULATING A PROPOSAL THAT MEMBERS BE GIVEN FREEDOM OF ACTION WITH RESPECT TO CUBA?

A: NO. THERE IS NO U.S. PROPOSAL. WE UNDERSTAND THAT VARIOUS DELEGATIONS ARE CIRCULATING PROPOSALS. THE MEXICANS IN PARTICULAR HAVE A DRAFT RESOLUTION IN SPANISH AND IN ENGLISH THEY ARE SUPPORTING AND SHOPPING AROUND.

Q: IS IT TRUE AS AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID THAT THERE ARE ENOUGH VOTES TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM IN SAN JOSE?

A: AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE 14 VOTES, BUT THAT HE WAS NOT DOING THE COUNTING AND WAS NOT SURE.

Q: WILL THE U.S. VOTE TO LIFT THE SANCTIONS?

A: THAT DEPENDS ON THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION, AND HOW STRONG THE CONSENSUS AMONG THE LATINS IS WHEN AND IF IT IS PUT TO A VOTE. KISSINGER

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AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, AG, MX
SUBJECT: BOUMEDIENE - ECHEVERRIA LOVE-IN

REF: ALGIERS 1580

1. ECHEVERRIA'S ALGERIA VISIT JULY 14-17 PRODUCED WARM BATH OF SOFT-CORE THIRD WORLD RHETORIC BUT LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE. ITS SPIRIT TYPIFIED BY BANNER PUT UP BY ALGERIANS AND READING, "TOTAL SUPPORT TO ALL JUST CAUSES IN THE WORLD."

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2. ECHEVERRIA MADE OBVIOUS EFFORT IN SPEECHES AND PRESS CONFERENCES TO INGRATIATE HIMSELF. HE STRESSED IDENTITY OF ALGERIAN AND MEXICAN EXPERIENCES (REVOLUTIONARY TRIALS, AGRARIAN REFORM, NATIONALIZATION OF OIL RESOURCES) AND EMPHASIZED MEXICO'SSOLIDARITY WITH ALGERIA'S "AVANT GARDE AND REALISTIC POLICY" AND INTERNATIONAL VIEWS AND WITH NONALIGNED/THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC DEMANDS.

3. HE ALSO CALLED FOR JUSTICE FOR PALESTINIANS BASED ON UN RESOLUTIONS, EXPRESSED DESIRE MEET WITH ARAFAT, STATED HE DID NOT SEE MEXICO JOINING OPEC FOR MOMENT, AND PARADED MEXICO'S CUBA AND ALLENDE TIES AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY.

4. COMMERICAL AGREEMENT SIGNED BY COMMERCE MINISTERS. ACCORDS BEING PREPARED ON ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL, COMMERCIAL, CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC MATTERS. WE UNDERSTAND MEXICANS TRYING TO WIN AUTO PLANT PROJECT FOR MEXICAN VOLKSWAGEN AFFILIATE, ARGUING NEED FOR THIRD WORLD MUTUAL SUPPORT; WE DOUBT THEIR PROSPECTS ARE VERY GOOD.

5. FINAL COMMUNIQUE STRESSED ALGERIAN-MEXICAN AGREEMENT ON THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY AND ON NECESSITY OF NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND OF REINFORCEMENT OF BATTLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, RACISM, COLONIALISM, ETC. COMMUNIQUE SALUTED VICTORIES OF INDOCHINA PEOPLES, CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA, OPPOSED CUBA EMBARGO, SUPPORTED PANAMA CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER CANAL AND PAID HOMAGE TO ALLENDE.

6. AFTER PRESENTING BOUMEDIENE'S EXPLANATION OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, COMMUNIQUE SIMPLY REMARKED THAT ECHEVERRIA HAD "LISTENED WITH GREAT INTEREST." WOULD NOTE THAT CONTENTS OF FBIS REPORT OF ECHEVERRIA PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS ON KISSINGER "RECENT THREATS" (FBIS LONDON LD 170241Y) WERE NOT CARRIED IN LOCAL PRESS.

7. WE WOULD CLASSIFY VISIT AS FAIRLY ROUTINE IN TERMS FESTIVITIES ARRANGED AND RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED. THERE CONSIDERABLY LESS HOOPLA, FOR INSTANCE, THAN THERE WAS FOR KIM IL SUNG VISIT. BOUMEDIENE'S DINNER FOR ECHEVERRIA ND LATTER'S DINNER IN RETURN, BOTH HELD AT PALAIS DU PEUPLE, UNINSPIRING. THERE ONLY SO MANY THINGS ALGERIAN COOKS CAN DO WITH BOILED

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MUTTON. IN THEIR SPEECHES TWO HEADS OF STATE VIED WITH EACH OTHER IN MONOTONY OF DELIVERY, BUT BOUMEDIENE WON HANDS DOWN. FOR THE OCCASION, ALGERIANS IMPORTED SPANISH-SPEAKING INTERPRETER WHO IS SECOND SECRETARY OF EGYPTIAN EMBASSY MADRID, INDICATING

LENGTHS TO WHICH ARABIZATION BEING PURSUED. NON-SPANISH, NON-ARABIC SPEAKERS AT DINNER LEFT IN TOTAL IGNORANCE AS TO PROCEEDINGS. MRS. BOUMEDIENE MUCH IN EVIDENCE AT DINNER TABLE AND AT AIRPORT FAREWELL, LOOKING VERY PRETTY. SHE AND MEXICAN LADIES PROVIDED ONLY NOTE OF GAIETY TO PROCEEDINGS.

8. CONTACT WITH PARTY LIMITED BY ALGERIAN PROTOCOL ARRANGEMENTS. ONLY COMMENTS ON VISIT WE ABLE TO EXTRACT FROM TWO BRIEF CONTACTS WERE THAT VISIT HAD GONE WELL BUT PARTY TIRED AND HOT (TEMPERATURE WAS LOCALLY UNHEARD OF 102 ON SECOND DAY OF VISIT). AT THIS RATE, THEY SHOULD BE EXHAUSTED BY TIME THEY GET TO CAIRO.

9. OF SOME INTEREST TO US IS FACT THAT MINISTR OF INTERIOR ABDELGHANI GIVEN SECOND-RANKING ALGERIAN SEAT AT DINNER TABLE, WELL ABOVE HIS SENIORS, PRESUMABLY MEANING HE DESIGNATED AS ESCORT OFFICER, BUT PERHAPS SAYING SOMETHING ABOUT HIS PLACE IN THE PECKING ORDER. FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFLIKA ABSENT AS USUAL.PARKER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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FILM= D750252-0686

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TYPE= TE

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FOIA Exemptions:
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SUBJECT= AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND MIDDLE EAST ISSUES

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PERSONAL OPINION, INTERVENTION, POLITICAL SITUATION, RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, ELECTION CANDIDATES

TAGS= PFOR, BGEN, EAID, PORG, SG, UN, OAU, (SENGHOR, LEOPOLD SEDAR)

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 04249 221027Z

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

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R 211830Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1646
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
US MISSION USUN 0854

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: XF, UNGA, ETRD, EGEN, PORG
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND MIDDLE EAST ISSUES

1. SUMMARY: DURING TWO-HOUR PRIVATE DINNER WHICH HE GAVE FOR ANDRE COULBARY, HIS AMBASSADOR TO US, AND AMBASSADOR AND MRS. AGGREY, PRESIDENT SENGHOR COMMENTED ON VARIOUS AFRICAN, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, MIDDLE EAST AND INTERNAL SENEGALESE ISSUES. THIS MESSAGE DEALS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND MIDDLE EAST ISSUES. SENGHOR SAID APPARENT HARDENING OF SENEGALESE POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAD LED HIM TO SUMMON HIS UN AMBASSADOR FOR CONSULTATIONS. HE ALSO SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTED HIS UN AMBASSADOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER TO OPPOSE MOVES TO OUST ISRAEL FROM UN. HE CONTINUES URGE ALL PARTIES TO MODERATION IN MIDDLE EAST AND TO HOLD HIMSELF OPEN FOR CONTACTS WITH BOTH SIDES. HE

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NOTED SENEGALESE FIGURE HAD BEEN PROPOSED TO HEAD ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. PRESIDENT WAS NONCOMMITTAL ON KOREA. FINALLY HE AGAIN REITERATED HIS APPRECIATION OF US CONCESSIONS ON DC-LDC ISSUES, ACCEPTANCE OF THREE-COMMISSION PROPOSAL OF SECRETARY KISSINGER AND BELIEF GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLES STILL REQUIRED AT START ANY PRODUCER/CONSUMER CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. SENEGALESE ROLE IN UN. SENGHOR SAID REPORTS FROM MANY SOURCES THAT SENEGALESE POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SEEMED TO HAVE HARDENED HAD LED HIM TO SUMMON AMBASSADOR TO UN MEDOUNE FALL TO DAKAR FOR CONSULTATIONS. I SAID I HOPED THIS CONSULTATION WOULD MEAN THAT SENEGAL WOULD HAVE A MODERATING INFLUENCE IN UN COUNCILS. I NOTED GREAT US CONCERN WITH THE TREND TOWARD EXPELLING ISRAEL FROM UN AND INDICATED THAT RESOLUTION WHICH HAD BEEN PUSHED THROUGH ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE WAS MOST DISQUIETING DEVELOPMENT.

3. THE UN AND ISRAEL. SENGHOR AGREED AND SAID FOREIGN MINISTER ASSANE SECK AND AMBASSADOR MEDOUNE FALL HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO OPPOSE IN AFRICAN AND OTHER COUNCILS RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR ISRAEL OUSTER, SENEGAL BELIEVED IN UNIVERSALITY OF UN AND PRESIDENT SENGHOR HAD REITERATED IN TUNIS SENEGAL'S BELIEF THAT GUARANTEEING FUTURE OF ISRAEL AND OF A PALESTINIAN STATE WERE ESSENTIAL TO PEACE IN REGION.

4. MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. HE HAD WRITTEN TO PLO LEADER ARAFAT AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN URGING THEM TO DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO SUPPORT CURRENT INITIATIVES FOR PEACE SETTLEMENT. HE TOLD RABIN HE WOULD BE IN PARIS ON JULY 24 AND WOULD BE WILLING TO RECEIVE HIS ENVOY, BUT HE DOUBTED IF RABIN WOULD HONOR HIS OFFER. SENGHOR SAID HE CONSIDERED SADAT COURAGEOUS MAN WHO REALLY WENT OUT ON A LIMB IN HIS EFFORTS FOR PEACE, BUT PROBLEM OF ISRAELI LEADERS WAS THAT THEY SEEMED TO TRUST NOTHING BUT FORCE. SENEGAL WOULD TRY TO HAVE MODERATING ROLE, BUT MANY OF THESE ISSUES WERE FRAMED NOW IN TERMS OF FUNDAMENTAL THIRD-WORLD PRINCIPLES AND ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF ISRAEL COULD TAKE A FEW MORE POSITIVE STEPS TO STRENGTHEN THE HAND

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OF MODERATE AFRICANS WHO DID NOT OPPOSE HER EXISTENCE.

5. SENEGALESE PROPOSED AS SECRETARY GENERAL ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. PRESIDENT SENGHOR SAID ISLAMIC CONFERENCE HAS REQUESTED THAT PRESIDENT SENGHOR PERMIT KARIM GAYE, PRESENT PRESIDENT OF SENEGALESE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL AND A FORMER SENEGALESE FOREIGN MINISTER, TO BECOME SECRETARY GENERAL OF ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. COMMENT: ONE OF PROBLEMS SENGHOR HAD WITH GAYE AS FOREIGN MINISTER WAS THAT HE TENDED TO BE TOO PRO-ARAB. THUS FROM POINT OF VIEW OF ISLAMIC STATES HE MIGHT BE GOOD CHOICE, ESPECIALLY SINCE IT WOULD TEND TO BOX IN SENEGALESE ON ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE. END COMMENT.

6. KOREA. I TOLD SENGHOR ANOTHER IMPORTANT ISSUE ON WHICH WE HOPED SENEGAL COULD HAVE A HELPFUL AND MODERATING ROLE WAS KOREAN QUESTION, ABOUT WHICH WE HAD TALKED FREQUENTLY IN PAST, AND WE WOULD AGAIN BE IN TOUCH WITH GOS WITH AIDE MEMOIRE ON POSITION WE HOPED THEY COULD SUPPORT. SENGHOR SAID KOREAN QUESTION AND PROBLEM OF FORMOSA WERE TWO REMAINING DIFFICULT ASIAN PACIFIC ISSUES. HE WOULD HEAR OUR VIEWS ON KOREAN ISSUE BUT HE COULD NOT MAKE COMMITMENT.

7. DC-LDC RELATIONS. ON COMMODITIES ISSUE, SENGHOR FEARED DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WERE IN FOR ABOUT THREE YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT CHANGES IN THE US POSITION THAT MOVED CLOSER TO MAIN CONCERN OF PRODUCER STATES. HE REPEATED STATEMENT HE MADE DURING ECHEVERRIA VISIT THAT HE ACCEPTED KISSINGER PROPOSAL OF COMMISSIONS AND OF DISCUSSING COMMODITIES, ONE BY ONE BEGINNING WITH ENERGY, BUT HE FELT THERE SHOULD BE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLES AS PRELUDE TO DETAILED CONSIDERATIONS.
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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 877
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

fmd 11/19/97

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date:
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OCON/OAS
SUBJ: CUBA DEVELOPMENTS

1. DE LA COLINA RECEIVED A CALL THIS MORNING FROM DOMINICIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, JIMEREZ, WHO SAID THAT HE WOULD ARRIVE BACK IN SAN JOSE WEDNESDAY AND SIGN THE SPONSORSHIP DOCUMENT. LIKE THE U.S. AND EL SALVADOR HE WILL SIGN ON AS A SUPPORTER BUT NOT A CO-SPONSOR. THIS DEVELOPMENT RELIEVED AN UNEASINESS THAT HAD BUILT UP YESTERDAY BECAUSE

OF CONTINUING SILENCE FROM SANTO DOMINGO, WHERE JIMEREZ HAS BEEN THE PAST FEW DAYS.

2. ACCORDING TO THE CHIEF OF THE COLOMBIAN DELEGATION, THE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR HAS RECOMMENDED THAT BOLIVIA ALSO SIGN. COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA ARE ALLEGEDLY TRYING TO TRADE THEIR SUPPORT ON A BOLIVIAN ACCESS - TO - THE - SEA RESOLUTION IN THE PERMANENT COUNCIL NEXT MONTH FOR BOLIVIAN COOPERATION ON THE CUBA QUESTION. WHETHER BOLIVIA GOES ALONG WITH THIS, OF COURSE, REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

3. IT APPEARS THAT NICARAGUA AND GUATEMALA WILL ABSTAIN.

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 03033 221830Z

4. DE LA COLINA TELLS US THAT HIS SCENARIO IS THE FOLLOWING: A MEETING OF "THE FOURTEEN" WEDNESDAY TO GO OVER POSSIBLE TEXTS; MEETING OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL LATE FRIDAY OR SATURDAY TO CONVOKE THE MEETING OF CONSULTATION; AND THE MEETING ITSELF TUESDAY, JULY 29.

5. RABASA ARRIVED IN SAN JOSE MONDAY NIGHT AND WILL DOUBTLESS BE MUCH IN EVIDENCE. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE STILL OPTIMISTIC.

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 TEHRAN 07091 221521Z

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ARA-06 ISO-00 FEA-01 ERDA-05 AID-05

CEA-01 CIAE-00 CIEP-01 COME-00 DODE-00 EB-07 FPC-01

H-02 INR-07 INT-05 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OMB-01 PM-03

USIA-06 SAM-01 OES-03 SP-02 SS-15 STR-04 TRSE-00

FRB-03 PRS-01 PA-01 EUR-12 ACDA-05 IO-10 NRC-05

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2638
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

[redacted] TEHRAN 07091

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: ENRG, PFOR, ETRD, EINV, IR, MX
SUBJ: ECHEVERRIA VISIT TO IRAN - OIL PRICES AND POSSIBLE ECONOMIC COOPERATION

REF: MEXICO 6095

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6/25/97

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1. SUMMARY. MEXICAN PRESIDENT'S IRANIAN VISIT BROUGHT FORTH STATEMENTS BY BOTH HEADS OF STATE SUPPORTING HIGHER OIL PRICES. SHAH REPEATED HIS DETERMINATION TO USE OIL WEALTH TO BUILD UP IRAN'S MILITARY STRENGTH. IRANIAN PRESS SAID EACH SIDE AGREED TO MAKE A $400 MILLION CREDIT AVAILABLE FOR JOINT VENTURES IN BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT FONMIN'S SOURCE INDICATED ECONOMIC AGREEMENT LIMITED TO IRAN'S INVESTING $400 MILLION IN MEXICO, IF MONEY AVAILABLE LATER. END SUMMARY

2. AT THE CLOSE OF THE JULY 17-21 VISIT TO IRAN OF PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA, A JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE CARRIED OVER NATIONAL IRANIAN RADIO AND TV WAS HELD IN WHICH THE SHAH REITERATED AT SOME LENGTH THE JUSTIFICATION FOR AN INCREASE IN THE PRICE OF OIL TO COVER THE ALLEGED 30-35 PERCENT DECLINE IN OIL REVENUES' PURCHASING POWER BECAUSE OF WORLD INFLATION. HE SAID IRAN WOULD NOT INSIST ON AN INCREASE IN OIL PRICES COMMENSURATE WITH THE OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES' ERODED BUYING POWER, BUT HE STATED THE AMOUNT OF THE INCREASE IN THE PRICE OF OIL WOULD BE DETERMINED BY "MANY FACTORS" IN CONSULTATION WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF OPEC. HE CLAIMED HIGHER OIL PRICES WOULD NOT UNDLY HURT THE WORLD ECONOMY AND REITERATED THE IRANIAN VIEW THAT PAST OIL PRICE INCREASES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ONLY A SMALL PART OF WORLD INFLATION. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA STATED THAT MEXICO WOULD UPHOLD A PRICE INCREASE AND NOT UNDERCUT OPEC BY SELLING OIL AT A LOWER PRICE. THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE RELEASED AT THE CLOSE OF THE VISIT STATED THAT THE TWO HEADS OF STATE "REAFFIRMED THAT THE PRICES OF OIL AND OTHER RAW MATERIALS SHOULD BE CLOSELY RELATED TO THAT OF OTHER COMMODITIES."

3. WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT STORIES APPERING IN WESTERN PRESS THAT OUL-PRODUCING STATES WERE SQUANDERING THEIR WEALTH ON WEAPONS, SHAH RECALLED THAT IRAN HAD BEEN INVADED BY FOREIGN POWERS IN BOTH WORLD WARS, ALTHOUGH IT HAD DECLARED ITS NEUTRALITY AND THAT "OUR COUNTRY WILL NOT BE TAKEN BY SURPRISE AGAIN. WE HAVE DECIDED TO DESTROY OUR COUNTRY OURSELVES BEFORE ALLOWING IT TO BE OCCUPIED BY THE ENEMY, BUT BEFORE THAT WE WILL FIGHT AND TO FIGHT WE NEED WEAPONS."

4. SHAH REAFFIRMED IRAN'S SUPPORT FOR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND ITS DESIRE THAT THE MEDEAST BE DECLARED A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE, BUT NOTED IRAN IS ATTAINING THE CAPACITY TO BECOME A NON-MILITARY NUCLEAR POWER.

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5. VISIT WAS ROUTINE BUT SUCCESSFUL IMAGE-BUILDING EXERCISE BY 184-MAN MEXICAN DELEGATION. IN PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS, ECHEVERRIA

STRESSED SIMILARITY MEXICAN AND IRANIAN REVOLUTIONS AND DESIRE FOR ECON, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THIRD WORLD PARTNERS. TWITTING OF SUPERPOWERS WAS HELD TO MINIMUM, APPARENTLY WELL BELOW OTHER ECHEVERRIA VISITS SUCH AS ALGIERS. LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE ACCOMPLISHED, THOUGH THREE ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS SIGNED: (1) PAYMENTS AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH COUNTRIES' CENTRAL BANKS; (2) FINANCIAL PROTOCOL BETWEEN THE GOI MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND FINANCE AND THE MEXICAN FINANCE MINISTRY, AND (3) LETTER OF ASSOCIATEION BY THE PRESIDENTS OF EACH COUNTRY'S CHAMBER OF COMMERCE SETTING UP A JOINT IRANIAN/MEXICAN BUSINESS COMMITTEE WHICH WILL MEET ANNUALLY. IRANIAN PRESS REPORTED EACH COUNTRY AGREED TO MAKE AVAILABLE $400 MILLION CREDIT FOR FINANCING JOINT VENTURES IN BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT DIRECTOR AMERICAN DIVISION AT FONMINISTRY HATEF SAID AGREEMENT WAS ONLY FOR IRANIAN INVESTMENT IN MEXICO, AND MEXICANS WERE TOLD IRAN WOULD HAVE NO MONEY FOR THIS BEFORE LATE SEPTEMBER AT EARLIEST. COMMUNIQUE INDICATED JOINT VENTURE PAPER MILLS, CEMENT PLANTS, MAN-MADE FIBERS, SUGAR MILLS, HEAVY EQUIPMENT MANUFACTURING (MAINLY FOR CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY AND OIL DRILLING PLATFORMS), COOPERATION IN PETROLEUM AND PETRO-CHEMICALS AND IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WERE DISCUSSED. THESE COVER SIMILAR TERRITORY TO PROJECTS REVIEWED AT THE JOINT MEXICAN-IRANIAN ECONOMIC COMMISSION MEETING (SUBCABINET AND TECHNICAL LEVEL) DURING THE EARLY JUNE VISIT OF A MEXICAN DELEGATION LED BY THE FINANCE UNDER SECRETARY.NOTHING YET ACCOMPLISHED ON ANY JOINT VENTURE AGREEMENTS, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE FURTHER CONCURRENCE OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS. CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC AGREEMENTS ALSO WERE SIGNED, BUT THESE COVER ROUTINE EXCHANGES OF TEACHERS, STUDENTS, AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL.

6. HATEF ALSO THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN NO REPEAT NO DISCUSSION OF FUTURE ECHEVERRIA ROLE IN AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (PARA FOUR REFTEL).
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 11/19/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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USDEL 033

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OCON, OAS, CU
SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE - CUBA SANCTIONS

1. AT INFORMAL MEETING OF FOURTEEN SUPPORTERS OF "FREEDOM OF ACTION" CALLED BY MEXICO (DE LA COLINA) THIS EVENING, COSTA RICA AGREED TO HOST ORGAN OF CONSULTATION. CONSENSUS WAS REACHED TO CONVOKE PERMANENT COUNCIL MEETING LATE ON FRIDAY, JULY 25, AFTER RIO TREATY CONFERENCE HAD FINISHED WITH APPROVAL OF FINAL TEXT OF PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT. (FORMAL SIGNING OF PROTOCOL WOULD COME A DAY LATER AFTER PREPARATION OF FORMAL TEXT). COUNCIL WOULD THEN CONVOKE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION FOR TUESDAY, JULY 29TH. IF RIO TREATY CONFERENCE DID NOT FINISH TEXT OF PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT FRIDAY, COUNCIL MEETING WOULD BE DELAYED UNTIL APPROVAL OF PROTOCOL, PANAMA SOUGHT TO PRECIPITATE COUNCIL MEETING PRIOR TO APPROVAL OF PROTOCOL BUT COSTA RICA AND MEXICO BEAT DOWN THIS ILL-ADVISED PROPOSAL.

2. WE CONFIRMED WE WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT CO-SPONSOR ANYTHING BUT WOULD OF COURSE SUPPORT CONVOCATION TE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION AND "FREEDOM OF ACTION" RESOLUTION.
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PAGE 01 STATE 174995

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ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 PRS-01 AID-05 /027 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/PAF:RVFIMBRES:JZ
APPROVED BY ARA/PAF:PNIEBURG
S/PRS:JTRATTNER
USIA:ILA:DDILLON (INFO)
USOAS:BMOON (INFO)
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 11/19/97
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UNCLAS STATE 174995

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS:PFOR, OAS
SUBJECT: SAN JOSE OAS MEETING AND THE CUBAN SANCTIONS QUESTION

THE FOLLOWING EXCHANGE TOOK PLACE AT THE DEPARTMENT'S NOON BRIEFING, JULY 24:

Q: CAN YOU TELL US WHAT IS GOING ON IN SAN JOSE WITH RESPECT TO THE CUBA SANCTIONS QUESTION?

A: I'LL TRY. IT'S MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THE DELEGATIONS IN SAN JOSE DISPLAYED A DECIDED CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF THE PRINICPLE OF LIFTING SANCTIONS BY SIMPLE MAJORITY WHEN THEY VOTED 19 TO 2 TO AMEND THE RIO TREATY TO PERMIT THIS. BECAUSE THE AMENDMENTS TO THE TREATY MUST BE RATIFIED BEFORE COMING INTO FORCE, THIS ACTION DOES NOT DIRECTLY AFFECT THE CURRENT OAS SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA. HOWEVER, THIS VOTE OF 19 TO 2 OBVIOUSLY SETS THE STAGE AND GREATLY INCREASES THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CUBAN SANCTIONS ISSUE ITSELF WILL BE DEALT WITH IN SAN JOSE.

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PAGE 02 STATE 174995

NOW YOU RECALL THAT THE DELEGATIONS--I DON'T HAVE INFORMATION AS TO WHAT'S HAPPENED AT TODAY'S DELIBERATIONS--BUT THE DELEGATIONS WERE EXPECTED TO VOTE OR CONSIDER CONSTITUTING THEMSELVES AS A SPECIAL ORGAN OF CONSULTATION UNDER THE RIO TREATY TO CONSIDER THE MEXICAN PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD FREE EACH MEMBER INDIVIDUALLY TO DETERMINE THE CONDUCT OF ITS RELATIONS WITH CUBA. IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT IF THIS WAS ADOPTED THIS MEETING WOULD THEN TAKE PLACE

NEXT WEEK, I BELIEVE TUESDAY.

AND OUR POSITION ON THIS MEXICAN RESOLUTION THAT IS EXPECTED TO BE INTRODUCED AT THIS SPECIAL ORGAN OF CONSULTATION IS THAT, AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE BEEN COMMITTED FOR SOME TIME TO GO ALONG WITH AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION PROVIDED IT ENJOYED ADEQUATE SUPPORT AMONG THE OTHER MEMBERS. AND IT LOOKS NOW AS THOUGH SUCH SUPPORT EXISTS. KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 03117 251336Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 IO-10 OIC-02 SAB-01 AID-05
CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 INR-07 NSAE-00 USIA-06
TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 SP-02 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01
OMB-01 FTC-01 JUSE-00 NSC-05 SS-15 STR-04 CEA-01 L-03
H-02 DODE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 INT-05 AGR-05 FEA-01 AF-06
EA-06 EUR-12 NEA-10 /144 W

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P 242352Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 939
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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EO Citations
Date: 11/19/97
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions

[redacted] SAN JOSE 3117

USDEL 036

950608

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PORG OAS MX CS
SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER RABASA AT SAN JOSE MEETING

1. MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER EMILIO RABASA CAPPED OFF HIS THREE-DAY STAY AT THE OAS MEETING OF PLENIPOTENCIARIES TO REFORM THE RIO TREATY IN SAN JOSE WITH A PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 23 AT WHICH TIME HE ANNOUNCED THAT THERE WERE 14 FIRM VOTES FOR A FREEDOM OF ACTION FORMULA ON CUBA SANCTIONS. EXCEPT FOR A BRIEF APPEARANCE, HE DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE FORMAL RIO TREATY MEETINGS. HE LEFT FOR MEXICO ON JULY 24.

2. RABASA EMBELISHED HIS CUBA SANCTIONS ANNOUNCEMNT BY NOTING, ACCORDING TO LOCA MEDIA, THAT "THE COUNTRIES WILL BE AT LIBERTY, WITHOUT VIOLATING THE

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 03117 251336Z

TIAR, TO ESTABLISH NOR NOT (TO ESTABLISH) RELATIONS WITH CUBA ONE MINUTE AFTER THE ACCORD IS ACHIEVED IN SAN JOSE, WHICH ONCE AGAIN WILL CONVERT ITSELF INTO AN HISTORIC CAPITAL." HE DESCRIBED THE BLOCKADE OF CUBA S A "MALIGNANT FISTULA THAT IS NECESSARY TO CUT AWAY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE." THE FOREIGN MINISTER AFFIRMED THAT THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION WOULD MEET JULY 29 OR 30, EMPHASIZING

THAT SAN JOSE WOULD NOT BE ANOTHER QUITO.

3. RABASA CHARACTERIZED THE CONFERENCE AS A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING TO BRING THE TREATY UP TO DATE, AND TO MAKE IT MORE FLUID AND DYNAMIC. HE IS ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GOOD DEAL OF PROGRESS ON REFORM, BUT THAT MEXICO IS "NOT TOTALLY SATISFIED."

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4. RABASA'S REPORTED RESPONSES ON OTHER SUBJECTS:

A. SELA: "...AN ENTITY TO PROTECT OUR COUNTRIES FROM THE TRANSNATIONALS, TO LOOK FOR BENEFITS IN PRICES, RAW MATERIALS, AND FORMATION OF LATIN AMERICAN COMPANIES."

B. PANAMA CANAL: MEXICO WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT PANAMA..."WE HAVE MANIFESTED OUR TOTAL SOLIDARITY TO GENERAL TORRIJOS."

C. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AND THE UN SECRETARY-GENERALSHIP: ECHEVERRIA HAS NOT PROPOSED HIMSELF AS CANDIDATE, SOME COUNTRIES AND INSTRUEMNTAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE.

5. AT LUNCH JULY 23 WITH PRESIDENT ODUBER AND FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO, THE OAS, ECHEVERRIA.S CANDIDACY FOR THE UN SECRETARY-GENERALSHIP, AND THE PURCHASE OF FERTICA BY THE CENTRAL AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WERE REPORTEDLY THE SUBJECTS OF DISCUSSION.

6. COMMENT: "LA NACION" SUMMED UP RABASA'S ROLE [redacted]

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IN THE SAN JOSE CONFERENCE AS FOLLOWS:
"HE ARRIVED, DID HIS THING, GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE, AND TODAY LEAVES." WE CONCUR.
TODMAN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06617 261431Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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USIA-15 FEA-01 INT-05 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01

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R 252325Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9092
INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

UNCLAS MEXICO 6617

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA PRESS CONFERENCES FEATURE OLD AND NEW REFERINS

1. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS REACHING US HERE,PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA REPEATED SOME WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS AND ADVANCED A FEW NOVEL ONES IN PRESS CONFERENCES JULY 23 AND 24 IN NEW DELHI AND COLOMBO. AMONG THE FAMILIAR REFRAINS:

-- OPEC: MEXICO WILL CONTINUE TO KEY EXPORT PRICES FOR ITS PETROLEUM TO OPEC PRICES. IF LATTER GO UP, MEXICO'S WILL FOLLOW.

-- OAS AND CUBA: RECENT ACTION TO AMEND RIO TREATY AND PAVE WAY FOR LIFTING SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA WAS A "POSTIVE" STEP BUT TOO LATE IN COMING. THERE IS NO CONTINENT ON EARTH WHERE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES DO NOT EXIST AMONG NATIONS; HARMONIC COEXISTENCE IS ESSENTIAL.
ARMS -- GREAT POWERS ARE STILL SPENDING ENORMOUS SUMS ON ARMS WHICH SHOULD BE CHANNELED INSTEAD INTO THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT.

-- UNITED NATIONS: NO NATION SHOULD WITHDRAW,
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06617 261431Z

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SINCE U.S, REPRESENTS HOPE FOR DIALOGUE, FOR EXCHANGE OF IDEAS,AND FOR DISCUSSIONS WHICH PROMOTE PEACE.

2. ECHEVERRIA REVISED OR ELABORATED HIS VIEWS ON A FEW TOPICS:
-- U.N. SECGENSHIP: ALTHOUGH UNLIKELY OF SUCCESS, LDCS SHOULD UNITE TO ENSURE THAT NEXT SECGEN IS A MAN FROM THE THIRD WORLD, SINCE PERIOD OF CRISIS AHEAD REQUIRES SOMEONE WHO CAN UNDERSTAND THEM.(HE MADE NO CLAIM THAT THAT MAN OUGHT TO BE HE, OF COURSE.)
-- DETENTE: GREAT POWER EFFORTS HAVE BEEN SUPERFICIAL, SHALLOW, PEDESTRIAN, AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS UNDERMINED BY TENSION-PRODUCING ACTIONS ELSEWHERE. THEY TALK IN ONE WAY AND ACT IN ANOTHER.
-- NON-ALIGNED GROUP: MEXICO IS WATCHING WITH MUCH INTEREST AND CONSIDERS ALL OF THEM ITS FRIENDS.IN MANY WAYS, THEIR EFFORTS DUPLICATE THOSE OF G-77; A UNITED FRONT IS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE ECONOMIC SOLIDARITY. MEXICO WILL JOIN THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP WHEN THERE IS SUFFICIENT COOPERATION AMONG THESE COUNTRIES TO GUARANTEE THEIR GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT.
-- AID AND NIEO: INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES' ASSISTANCE TO LDCS MUST NOT BE AN ACT OF CHARITY WHICH DISGUSTS GIVER AND HUMILIATES RECEIVER. IT MUST BE AN INSTITUTIONALIZED ACT OF COOPERATION WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, BASED ON JUSTICE AND RECOGNITION OF ESSENTIAL EQUALITY AMONG NATIONS.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03
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R 252330Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9090

[redacted] MEXICO 6620

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJECT: THIRD-COUNTRY ISSUES

REF: STATE 172095

1. SUBJECTS RAISED FOR COMMENT IN REFTEL ARE ADDRESSED IN SAME ORDER BELOW:

A. DISMANTLING OF OAS SANCTIONS HAS BEEN MATTER OF FIRST IMPORTANCE FOR GOM IN REGIONAL AFFAIRS. AS YOU KNOW, NOT ONLY RABASA BUT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA HAS HAMMERED AWAY AT THIS ISSUE FOR A LONG TIME. DESPITE RABASA'S COMMENT IN SAN JOSE EXPRESSING LESS THAN TOTAL SATISFACTION WITH CONFERENCE RESULTS, I AM SURE HE IS PLEASED. THE SAME IS TRUE OF ECHEVERRIA, NOW IN THE MIDDLE EAST. OBVIOUSLY, THE MEXICANS WILL CLAIM AS MUCH CREDIT AS POSSIBLE FOR THE SAN JOSE RESULTS BUT THERE SHOULD ALSO BE A FAVORABLE FALL-OUT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

B. RECIPROCAL MOVES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CUBA, DEPENDING UPON THEIR NATURE, WOULD MAKE FAVORABLE IMPRESSION HERE. GIVEN SUCCESS OF SAN JOSE MEETING FROM GOM VIEW, TEDIOUS OR PROLONGED PROCESS IN IMPROVING U.S.-CUBA RELATIONS MIGHT

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06620 260025Z

GENERATE IMPATIENCE HERE.

C. A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY, ACCEPTABLE TO PANAMA, WOULD BE EXTREMELY WELL RECEIVED HERE. MEXICO HAS BEEN IN FOREFRONT OF THOSE PRESSING US TO CONCLUDE A TREATY.

D. A BREAKDOWN IN TREATY NEGOTIATIONS, UNLESS CLEARLY NOT THE FAULT OF THE USG, WOULD UNQUESTIONABLY SUBJECT US

TO SHARP CRITICISM FROM GOM AND IN LOCAL PRESS.

E. AT SOMEWHAT LESSER LEVEL OF INTENSITY, FAILURE TO GET OPEC EXCLUSION FROM GSP IN THE TRA REMOVED WOULD ALSO DRAW CRITICISM.

2. WITH RESPECT TO E. ABOVE, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT MEXICO HAS TRADITIONALLY STRONGLY OPPOSED WHAT THEY SAW AS ECONOMIC AGGRESSION. EVEN THOUGH MEXICO MAY BENEFIT FROM TRA, GOM IS ON PRINCIPLE OPPOSED TO EXCLUSION CITED AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY FEEL BOUND TO EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH L.A. COUNTRIES AFFECTED. SIMILARLY, WITH RESPECT TO D, THOUGH CANAL TREATY DOES NOT IMPINGE DIRECTLY UPON MEXICAN VITAL INTERESTS, GOM WILL CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE STRONG SUPPORT FOR PANAMA.

3. MY LETTER TO YOU OF JULY 22 ADDRESSES IN SOMEWHAT GREATER DETAIL ASPECTS OF THESE THIRD COUNTRY ISSUES WHICH UNDER ECHEVERRIA ADMINISTRATION ARE SO SIGNIFICANT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 03122 252018Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 USIE-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 946
INFO ALL OAS CAPITALS PRIORITY 011

Excl 11/19/

EO Citations

[redacted] SAN JOSE 3122

FOIA Exemptions ( ) ( ) ( )
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( )

USDEL 041

9501608

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OCON, OAS, CU
SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE - CUBA SANCTIONS
REF: ~~STATE~~ San Jose 3120 USDEL 039

1. FOLLOWING IS SPANISH TEXT OF TEN COUNTRY DRAFT RESOLUTION TO CONVOKE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION WHICH IS TO BE PRESENTED AT THIS EVENINGS OAS PERMANENT COUNCIL MEETING:
QUOTE CONSIDERANDO:
QUE EL CONSEJO HA CONOCIDEO DE (TOMADO CONOCIMIENTO DE) LA NOTA DE LOS SENORES REPRESENTANTES DE LAS REPUBLICAS DE ARGENTINA, COSTA RICA, HAITA, PANAMA, TRINIDAD, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, MEXICO, PERU AND VENEZUELA, MEDIANTE LA CUAL SUS GOBIERNOS SOLICITAN QUE SE CONVOQUE A UNA REUNION DE MINISTROS DE RALACIONES EXTERIORES PARA SERVIR DE ORGANO DE CONSULTA EN APLICACION DEL TRATADO INTERAMERICANO DE ASISTENCIA RECIPROCA, A FIN DE EXAMINAR EL SIGUIENTE ASUNTO, QUE ESTIMAN URGENTE Y DE INTERES COMUN:

"LIBERTAD DE ACCION DE LOS ESTADOS PARTES EN EL TRATADO INTERAMERICANO DE ASISTENCIA RECIPROCA PARA NORMALIZAR O CONDUCIR SUS RELACIONES CON LA

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 03122 252018Z

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REPUBLICA DE CUBA AL NIVEL Y EN LA FORMA QUE CADA ESTADO ESTIMARE CONVENIENTE".

QUE EL CONSEJO HA TOMADO NOTA, ASIMISMO, DE LAS DIVERSAS EXPOSICIONES FORMULADAS POR LAS DISTINTAS REPRESENTACIONES EN EL CURSO DE LA SESION INICIADA POR DICHO ORGANO EL DIA 25; Y
QUE EL GOBIERNO DE COSTA RICA HA MANIFESTADO SU

BENEPLACITO PARA QUE LA REUNION DE CONSULTA TENGA POR SEDE LA CUIDAD DE SAN JOSE A PARTIR DEL 29 DE JULIO DEL CORRIENTE ANO DE 1975;

RESUELVE:

1. CONVOCAR A UNA REUNION DE MINISTROS DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES PARA SERVIR DE ORGANO DE CONSULTA, EN APLICACION DEL TRATADO INTERAMERICANO DE ASISTENCIA RECIPROCA, A FIN DE EXAMINAR EL SIGUIENTE ASUNTO: "LIBERTAD DE ACCION DE LOS ESTADOS PARTES EN EL TRATADO INTERAMERICANO DE ASISTENCIA RECIPROCA PARA NORMALIZAR O CONDUCIR SUS RELACIONES CON LA REPUBLICA DE CUBA AL NIVEL Y EN LA FORMA QUE CADA ESTADO ESTIMARE CONVENIENTE".

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2. AGRADECER Y ACEPTAR EL GENEROSO OFRECIMIENTO DEL ILUSTRADO GO BIERNO DE COSTA RICA PARA QUE LA REUNION DEL ORGANO DE CONSULTA SE CELEBRE EN LA CIUDAD DE SAN JOSE EL 29 DE JULIO DE 1975.

3. APROBAR EL PROYECTO DE REGLAMENTO QUE SE HA SOMETIDO A LA CONSIDERACION DE ESTE CONSEJO.

4. COMUNICAR AL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS EL TEXTO DE LA PRESENTE RESOLUCION Y MANTENERLO INFORMADO SOBRE LO QUE AL RESPECTO SE RESUELVA. END QUOTE.

2. THE PASSAGE OF THIS ANODYNE RESOLUTION WILL CLEARLY ESTABLISH THAT THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION IS TO DEAL WITH THE SUBJECT OF QUOTE FREEDOM OF ACTION END QUOTE IN RESPECT OF DIPLOMATIC AND TRADE RELATIONSHIPS WITH CUBA.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 947 IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL OAS CAPS 012

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/ES/GR/IR Date: 11/9/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( )S or ( )C
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( )S or ( )C

UNCLAS SAN JOSE 3123

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

USDEL 045

E.O. 1052 N/A
TAGS: OCON, OAS, CU
SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE - PERMANENT COUNCIL RESOLUTION CONVOKING XVI MFM - CUBA SANCTIONS

REF: SAN JOSE 311-, USDEL 041

1. FOLLOWING IS THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE TEN COUNTRY RESOLUTION WHICH WAS TRANSMITTED IN THE ORIGINAL SPANISH IN REFTEL. IT WAS ADOPTED BY THE PERMANENT COUNCIL IN THE EARLY MORNING OF JULY 26.

QUOTE WHEREAS:

THE COUNCIL HAS TAKEN COGNIZANCE OF THE NOTE FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ARGENTINA, COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR, HAITI, MEXICO, PANAMA PERU, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AND VENEZUELA THROUGH WHICH THEIR GOVERNMENTS REQUEST THE CONVOCATION OF MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO SERVE AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION IN APPLICATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE IN ORDER TO STUDY THE FOLLOWING MATTER, UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 03123 280655Z

WHICH THEY CONSIDER URGENT AND OF COMMON CONCERN:

'"FREEDOM OF ACTION OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE TO NORMALIZE OR TO CONDUCT THEIR RELATIONS WITH CUBA AT THE LEVEL AND IN THE FORM DEEMED ADVISEABLE BY EACH;"'

"THE COUNCIL HAS ALSO TAKEN NOTE OF THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS MADE

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE COURSE OF THE MEETING OPENED BY THAT ORGAN ON JULY 25, 1975; AND

"THE GOVERNMENT OF COSTA RICA HAS STATED THAT IT WOULD BE PLEASED TO BE HOST TO THE MEETING OF CONSULTATION IN SAN JOSE, STARTING ON JULY 29, 1975; AND ".THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZ ATION OF AMERICAN STATES,.
RESOLVES:

"1. TO CONVOKE A MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO SERVE AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION IN APPLICATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE, IN ORDER TO STUDY THE FOLLOWING MATTER: '"FREEDOM OF ACTION OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE TO NORMALIZE OR TO CONDUCT THEIR RELATIONS WITH CUBA AT THE LEVEL AND IN THE FORM DEEMED ADVISABLE BY EACH."'

"2. TO THANK THE GOVERNMENT OF COSTA RICA AND ACCEPT ITS GENEROUS OFFER TO BE HOST TO THE MEETING OF THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION IN SAN JOSE BEGINNING ON JULY 29, 1975.

"3. TO TRANSMIT THE TEXT OF THIS RESOLUTION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO KEEP IT INFORMED OF ANY DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE MEETING."

2. 18 COUNTRIES VOTED FOR THE RESOLUTION; ONLY THREE (CHILE, PARAGUAY AND BRAZIL) ABSTAINED. IN THE DEBATE CHILE, PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY COMPLAINED ABOUT THE HASTE OF CONVOCATION. SUPPORTERS OF THE RESOLUTION, INCLUDING THE U.S., FOR THE MOST PART CHOSE NOT TO ENTER THE DEBATE.

3. PERMANENT COUNCIL THEN TOOK UP CHILEAN RESOLUTION PRESENTED TODAY TO REQUEST INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD TO PRESENT AN UNCLASSIFIED

OPINION TO THE 16TH MFM ON WHETHER CUBA HAD CEASED TO CONSTITUTE A DANGER TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE HEMISPHERE. THE CHILEAN RESOLUTION FAILED WITH FOUR COUNTRIES (URUGUAY, CHILE, PARAGUAY AND SALVADOR) VOTING YES, FIVE VOTING NO AND 12 - INCLUDING THE U.S. ABSTAINING.

4. BRAZIL ABSTAINED ON EVERYTHING BROUGHT TO A VOTE; EVEN TO THE POINT OF BEING THE ONLY COUNTRY NOT TO VOTE FOR THE REGULATIONS FOR THE MFM. TODMAN

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 AF-06 EA-06 EUR-12 NEA-10 L-03

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R 290001Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9126
INFO AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

[redacted]EXICO 6669

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PORG PFOR UN GY MX
SUBJECT: GUYANA OFFICIAL CALLS FOR THIRD WORLD SECRETARY GENERAL FOR UN

1. THE MEXICO CITY PRESS JULY 27 QUOTES GUYANA'S MINISTER OF TRADE, GEORGE KING AS SAYING: "THE NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD MUST BEGIN WORKING NOW IN ORDER THAT THE NEXT SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN IS ONE OF ITS REPRESENTATIVES AND TO PREVENT THE FIVE(PERMANENT MEMBERS OF) THE SECURITY COUNCIL FROM VETOING THIS." KING WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT IS HIGH TIME THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS STOP DOMINATING THE UN.

2. WITH RESPECT TO ECHEVERRIA'S CANDIDACY, KING ASSERTED MEXICO HAS WON THE RESPECT OF THE ENTIRE THIRD WORLD AND THAT FOR GUYANA IT WILL BE A PLEASURE TO SUPPORT ECHEVERRIA'S CANDIDACY FOR SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN.

3. KING MADE HIS REMARKS ON ARRIVAL IN MEXICT JULY 26 WITH A NINE-MAN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL MISSION CALLED FOR IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE WHICH PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM AND PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA SIGNED ON JULY 10 AT THE END OF THE LATTER'S STATE VISIT TO GUYANA. INCLUDED IN THE GUYANA MISSION IS MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE GAVIN KENNARD.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06669 290040Z

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4. COMMENT: KING'S STATEMENTS, COMING FAST ON THE HEELS OF ECHEVERRIA'S VISIT TO GUYANA, ARE FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSES OF THE MEXICAN LEADER'S CURRENT TOUR OF 14 NATIONS IS TO PROMOTE HIS CANDIDACY.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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ACTION ARA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9127
INFO USUN NEW YORK 1028

[redacted] MEXICO 6670

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: FOREIGN SECRETARY RABASA DEFENDS MEXICO'S VIGOROUS THIRD WORLD POSITIONS

1. RABASA, WHO LEFT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S 14-COUNTRY TOUR TO GO TO SAN JOSE RIO TREATY CONFERENCE, TOUCHED BASE IN MEXICO OVER WEEKEND BEFORE REJOINING PRESIDENTIAL PARTY. (SOME PRESS ACCOUNTS, BUT NOT SECRETARIAT SOURCES, SAID RABASA WOULD GO TO MOSCOW TO SIGN COMECON AGREEMENT BEFORE JOINING ECHEVERRIA). DURING HIS BRIEF VISIT HOME, RABASA TALKED WITH EXCELSIOR REPORTER WHO RAISED SEVERAL ISSUES OF INTEREST.

2. ASKED WHETHER MEXICO WAS "UNDER PRESSURE FROM GREAT POWERS" BECAUSE OF THIRD WORLD INITIATIVE, RABASA REPLIED IN NEGATIVE. SHOULD SUCH PRESSURES BE EXERTED, HE SAID, THEY WOULD BE "ENERGETICALLY REJECTED". DID THIS MEAN, REPORTER ASKED, THAT GREAT POWERS HAD ABANDONED "COERCIVE ACTIONS"? NO, RABASA SAID, BUT PRESSURE FORMERLY EXERTED THROUGH ARMED INTERVENTION IS NOW APPLIED THROUGH ECONOMIC MEASURES. HENCE THE NEED FOR THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES ERCERDSL.

3. IS MEXICO TRYING TO LEAD IN LATIN AMERICA? NO,

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06670 290123Z

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EO Citations

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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Insc.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
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RABASA SAID; MEXICO HAS NEVER SOUGHT A LEADERSHIP ROLE, THOUGH "SOME COUNTRIES BELIEVE OR WANT TO BE LEADER."

4. DOES MEXICO'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE SQUARE WITH ITS NATIONAL REALITY? (THIS PENETRATING QUESTION, SELDOM PUBLICLY RAISED THOUGH FREQUENTLY PRIVATELY DISCUSSED IN MEXICO, TROUBLED RABASA ACCORDING TO THE REPORTER.) "ABROAD, WE HAVE NEVER CONCEALED THAT WE ARE A COUNTRY OF GREAT PRIVATIONS AND THAT UNFORTUNATELY THERE ARE MANY UNSATISFIED NEEDS, IN THE FIELDS OF PUBLIC HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND PRODUCTION. NOR HAVE WE DENIED THAT THERE ARE LARGE NUCLEI OF DISADVANTAGED (WITHIN MEXICAN SOKMCIETY). NONETHLESS, THE GOVERNMENT IS MAKING CONSTANT EFFORTS TO (AMERLIORATE) HEALTH CONDITIONS, (REDUCE), IGNORANCE AND LACK OF DEVELOPMENT ...IN HIS MANY TALKS WITH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. ...PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA HAS ALWAYS SPOKEN CLEARLY ABOUT THE SITUATION IN MEXICO."

5. DIPLOMATICALLY SPEAKING, ISN'T IT DANGEROUS FOR MEXICO (TO FOLLOW) SUCH AGGRESSIVELY INDEPENDENT POLICIES, HAVING AS A NEIGHBOR THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY? RABASA: "ITS'S WORTH RUNNING THE RISK, SO LONG AS MEXICO'S FOREIGN POLICY MEANS A REAFFIRMATION OF NATIONAL AUTONOMY."

6. RABASA FURTHER COMMENTED THAT MEXICO(AND, OBVIOUSLY, THE THIRD WORLD) HAS THE RIGHT TO FIX PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS. HIS RESPONSE TO A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE GREAT POWERS DO NOT HAVE A RIGHT TO "GIVE CREDIT, BUY OR NOT BUY, AID OR NOT AID" LDC'S WAS THAT "WE LIVE IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD."

7. WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE UN WITHOUT THE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF THE U.S., WHICH THREATENS TO WITHHOLD IT? RABASA: " IF THE U.S. REALLY WANTS PEACE IN OUR TIME, IT SHOULD CONSIDER THAT THE BEST MEANS OF ACHIEVING IT IS THROUGH--AND COMPLYING WITH THE POSTULATES OF--THE U.N."

8. COMMENT: OF SOME INTEREST IS THAT RABASA'S COMMENTS, SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVE IN TONE, ARE CONSIDERABLY LESS AGGRESSIVE THAN THOSE OF HIS UNDERSECRETARY, RUBEN GONZALEZ [redacted]

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SOSA(WHOSE STATEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH JUST CONCLUDED CLUB OF ROME MEETING IN GUANAJUATO WILL BE SUGJECT OF SEPTEL.) RABASA'S COMMENTS(AND REPORTER'S QUESTIONS) ALSO

SEEM TO REFLECT CONSIDERATION OF POINTS MADE IN SECRETARY KISSINGER'S JULY 14 MILWAUKEE SPEECH. (EMBASSY SENT TEXT OF SPEECH TO HIM UNDER FIRST PERSON NOTE OF JULY 16; TEXT WAS PRESUMABLY TRANSMITTED TO HIM BY SECRETARIAT OR CAME TO HIS ATTENTION DURING BRIEF STOPOVER IN MEXICO CITY.) QUESTION AND ANSWER ON MEXICO'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE VS ITS NATIONAL REALITY ALSO HAVE OVERTONES OF PORTION OF AMB. MOYNIHAN'S COMMENTARY ARTICLE, WHICH HAS RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION IN LOCAL INTELLECTUAL CICRLES, PRESS, AND FOREIGN SECRETARIAT.
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USDEL 051

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OCON, OAS, CU
SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE - 16TH MFM

1. HOUSEKEEPING DETAILS WERE QUICKLY CLEARED AWAY IN MORNING SESSIONS; IT BECAME OBVIOUS THAT THOSE OPPOSED COULD NOT ENGAGE IN DELAYING TACTICS, BUT INTENDED TO CATCH THE PLANE ALONG WITH EVERYONE ELSE. INAUGURAL SESSION CONSISTED OF BRIEF STATEMENT BY COSTA RICAN PRESIDENT ODUBER. ODUBER POINTED OUT THAT COSTA RICA HAD STRONGLY SUPPORTED SANCTIONS IN 1964 BUT STRESSED FACT THAT TIME HAD COME FOR CHANGE FOR THE GOOD OF THE SYSTEM, AND REITEREATED COSTA RICA'S CONTINUING ADHERENCE TO THE JREISIONS OF THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION. BY THAT TIME A RESPECTABLE NUMBER OF FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE PRESENT (SEVEN), MEXICO, PERU, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, NICARAGUA, HONDURAS, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AND COSTA RICA.

2. GENERAL COMMITTEE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION INCLUDING EXPLANATIONS ODLVOTE, WAS RELATIVELY BRIEF (2 1/2 HOURS). MEXICO SPOKE IN SUPPORT OF THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION FORMULA,

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 03188 300854Z

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AND URGED ITS PASSAGE. GUATEMALA PRODUCED ONLY MILD SURPRISE OF

SESSION. AMBASSADOR CASTILLO GAVE HIS BRIEF REMARKS, PERILS OF PAULINE TREATMENT, LEAVING EVERYONE IN DOUBT UNTIL FINAL LINE WHEN HE SAID GUATEMALA WOULD SUPPORT RESOLUTION. CHILE, PARAGUAY, URUGUAY AND NICARAGUA STRESSED THAT CUBAN INTERVENTION CONTINUED AND CRITICIZED PROCEDURES. BRAZIL DID NOT SPEAK AT ALL.

3. EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE. ALL MEMBERS WHO HAD NOT SPOKEN EARLIER, EXCEPT BRAZIL, PANAMA AND COSTA RICA (WHOSE PRESIDENT HAD ALREADY EXPLAINED VOTE) SPOKE. THE NEWLY COMPLETED RIO TREATY PROTOCOL, INTER-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY, PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION, NEED TO LET EACH COUNTRY DETERMINE ITS OWN RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBA IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS OWN INTEREST WERE FREQUENTLY CITED. EL SALVADOR ARGUED, AS THEY HAD IN QUITO, THAT SANCTIONS WERE NO LONGER JUST, THAT THEY CONFLICT WITH SOVEREIGNTY AND IMPEDED INTER-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY. COUNTRIES WHICH HAD ALREADY REESTABLISHED RELATIONS WKQH CUBA, SUCH AS ARGENTINA AND VENEZUELA, TENDED TO STRESS SOVEREIGN NATURE OF THEIR ACTS AND TO CHARACTERIZE THE SANCTIONS AS OUTMODED. HOWEVER, WITH EXCEPTION OF MEXICO (SEE BELOW) NONE CALLED INTO QUESTION ORIGINAL VALIDITY OF 1964 OAS RESOLUTION.

4. RABASA (MEXICO) CHARACTERIZED THIS AS A DAY OF LIBERATION FOR THE AMERICAS AND NOT SURPRISINGLY REITERATED TRADITIONAL MEXICAN POSITION THAT THE SANCTIONS NEVER WERE LEGALLY PROPER. HE MENTIONED IN PASSING THAT MEXICO CONSIDERED 1962 CUBAN EXCLUSION RESOLUTION AN ERROR. HE NOTED WITH APPROVAL NEW RIO TREATY ARTICLE 11 ON NON-INTERVENTION AND IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM AND STRESSED RELEVANCE OF ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE RIO TREATY, HE SAID, SHOULD NEVER AGAIN BE USED AS A MEANS OF REPRESSION ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS.

5. TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO MANAGED TO RAISE A FEW EYEBROWS BY CALLING FOR CUBAN REINTEGRATION INTO REGIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM (ESPECIALLY IN THE CARIBBEAN) BUT INDICATED CLEARLY THAT THE PRESENT RESOLUTION DID NOT PROVIDE FOR THIS. FOREIGN MINISTER JOSEPH THEN OBSERVED THAT RESOLUTION DID NOT GO FAR ENOUGH: HE WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE SEEN THE 9TH MFM RESOLUTION REVOKED OUTRIGHT.

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HE ALSO REFERRED TO INCLUSION OF BELIZE IN CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY, WHICH BROUGHT A PREDICTABLE (BUT LOW KEY) RESPONSE FROM GUATEMALA. URUGUAY, IN A BRIEF STATEMENT ENDORSED BY CHILE, STRESSED THAT THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION HAD NOT REQUAT NOT LIFTED THE SANCTIONS BUT HAD LEFT THEIR CONTINUATION IN EACH INDIVIDUAL CASE TO EACH MEMBER COUNTRY. URUGUAY ALSO STATED THAT RESOLUTION HAD NO EFFECT ON CUBAN EXCLUSION FROM OAS, AN INTERPRETATION THAT WAS NOWHERE CONTRADICTED BUT ALSO WAS IGNORED.

6. BRIEF STATEMENT IN EXPLANATION OF VOTE BY USDEL SENT SEPTEL.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06811 01 OF 02 010208Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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R 010042Z AUG 75
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 MEXICO V6811

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PBOR, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRRIA COMMENTS ON JUST ABOUT EVERYTHING

1. IN NINETY MINUTE PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 30
N KUWAIT,
THE HALFWAY POINT ON HIS 42-DAY, 14-NATION RAMBLE, PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA FIELDED QUESTIONS ON A LONG LIST OF TOPICS AND GENERALLY SUMMED UP THE PROGRESS OF HIS TRIP TO DATE. HIS HANDLING OF KEY QUESTIONS FOLLOWS IN SUMMARY FASHION:

2. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

A. ASKED REPEATEDLY ABOUT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HIS VISIT TO ISRAEL, ECHEVERRIA SAID MEXICO WAS NOT GOING TO "MEDIATE" NOR STLVE ARAB-ISRAELI PROBLEMS BUT WAS SERIOUSLY GOING TO STUDY SITUATION AS A RESPONSIBLE NEMBER OF UNITED NATIONS. NOTWITHSTANDING STRONGLY HELD VIEW OF ITS NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH, MEXICO WAS GOING TO DEVELOP ITS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06811 01 OF 02 010208Z

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OWN INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS AND DRAW ITS OWN CONCLUSIONS.

B. ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD STAY IN TEL AVIV OR JERUSALEM, ECHEVERRRIA SAID HE RECOGNIZED POLITICAL IMPLICATION OF QUESTION BUT FOR MEXICO THERE WAS NO IMPORTANT DISTINCTION. HCBB
I
SLY YF#WITHIN ISRAEL
WOULD BE UP TO ISRAELI OFFICIALS; HE HOPED TO VISIT BOTH CITIES AS WELL AS COUNTRYSIDE, LABOR CENTERS, AND HOLY SHRINES.

C. ECHEVERRIA FORCEFULLY AFFFIRMED GOM OPPOSITION TO ISRAEL'S EXPULSION FROM UNITED NATIONS, ADDING THAT IF ILLEGAL SEIZURE OF TERRIORIES WERE USED AS CRITERIA MANY OTHER NATIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE EXPELLED AS WELL, BEGINNING WITH SOME GREAT POWERS. ISRAEL'S EXPULSION WOULD ONLY MAKE IT APPEAR THE VICTIM IN THE CASE. U.N. SHOULD REMAIN FORUM FOR DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATION OF SUCH PROBLEMS.

D. PRESSED FOR HIS IDEAS ON AN EVENTUAL MIDEAST SOLUTIONS, ECHEVERRIA SAID THE ANSWER WAS ALL RIGHT THERE IN (WHAT ELSE?) THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AMD DUTIES, AND HE WHIPPED OUT A COPY AND QUOTED AT LENGTH FVOM ART. 16: NATIONS WHICH PRACTIC COLONIALISM, AGRESSION, OCCUPATION ETC., ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR COMPENSATING AFFECTED PEOPLES, FOR DAMAGES CAUSED. "NO ARAB COUNTRY, NOR THE PALESTINIANS, HAS YET SPOKEN OUT SO FUPLY AS DOES THIS ARTICLE OF THE CHARTER WHICH THEY'VE ALL SIGNED."

E. RE PALESTINIANS, ECHEVERRIA SAID HE WANTED TO HEAR ARAFAT'S ARGUMENTS, JUST AS HE WANTED TO HEAR ISRAEL'S. AT SAME TIME, HE CONCEDED THAT MEXICO HAD ALREADY MADE UP ITS MIND IN SUPPORT OF PALESTINIANS' "HISTORIC RIGHTS", EVEN THOUGH ALL ACTS MIGHT NOT YET BE IN AND EVEN THOUGH "HISTORIC RIGHTS" RAMINED TO BE CLEARLY DEFINED.

3. CUBA SANCTIONS AND CUBAN BEHAVIOR
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A. ECHEVERRIA CALLED 16TH MFM'S "FREEDOM OF ACTION" RESOLUTION "A VERY POSITIVE MEASURE, ONE WE HAD BEEN HOPINGXER." ADDED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY FOR NATIONS

OF AMERICA TO WORK OUT FREER AND MORE EQUITABLE RELATIONSHIPS, AND MFM ACTION REPRESENTED STP FORWARD. "DISTINGUISHED CUBAN OFFICIALS," HE SAID, HAD LATERLY STATED THAT CUBA'S PERIOD OF EXPORTING ITS REVOLUTION WAS OVER, AND ACTION TAKEN AT SAN JOSE MEANT OTHER GOVERNMENTS SHARED THE SAME VIEW.

B. ECHEVERRIA SAID HE HOPED DECISION WOULD LEAD TOWARD MORE BALANCED COEXISTENCE AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INTERVENTION IN CUBA'S AFFAIRS EITHER BY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES OR BY U.S. ADDED THERE SHOULD BE RESPECT ON BOTH (UNDERSCORE BOTH) SIDES, "SINCE REVOLUTIONS REALLY ARE NOT EXPORTABLE" AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS HAVE TO GROW OUT OF THE DISTINCT, IDIOSYNCRATIC CHARACTER OF EACH COUNTRY.

C. PRESIDENT EXPECTED INTERCHANGE WITH CUBA TO BE BENEFICIAL TO BOTH SIDES. CUBA'S PROGRESS UNDER REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT WOULD NOW BE MORE WIDELY KNOWN AND OBJECTIVELY APPRECIATED ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA. WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL FOR CUBA TO LEARN OF DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES IN OTHER LATIN COUNTRIES, SINCE CUBA IMPORTS MANY PRODUCTS IT HAS NOT YET LEARNED TO PRODUCE FOR ITSELF.

D. ECHEVERRIA GAVE GENEROUS PRAISE TO FOREIGN SECRETARIAT STAFF FOR HAVING PERSISTED OVER THE YEARS IN EFFORTS TO END SANCTIONS AND FINALLY SUCCEEDING.

4. UNITED NATIONS AND SECGENSHIP

A. NAMED BY ONE NEWSMAN AS A CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED WALDHEIM, ECHEVERRIA ADMITTED THAT HE HAD SEEN REPORTS THAT HE WAS IN THE RUNNING. BUT HE NOTED THAT NO ONE HAD ACTUALLY NOMINATED HIM, THAT WALDHEIM'S TERM WAS UNCLASSIFIED

FAR FROM OVER, AND THAT WALDHEIM "WHO IS DOING A GOOD JOB" MIGHT EVEN BE REELECTED.

B. U.N. AS AN ORGANIZATION, ADDED ECHEVERRIA, BADLY NEEDED STRENGTHENING SO THAT IS DECISIONS COULD BT IMPLEMENTED. UNFORTUNATELY, IT WEAKENED U.N. FURTHER TO HAVE PEOPLE ON ONE HAND -- LIKE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE -- THREATEN TO CUT OFF ITS ECONOMIC SUPPORT, AND ON

OTHER HAND NATIONS CALLING FOR EXPULSION OF ONE OF ITS MEMBER. UNITED NATIONS MUST BE STRENGTHENED SO THAT GRAVE WORLD PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE WITHHELD FROM ITS JURISDICTION, AS HAS RECENTLY BEEN THE CASE. FURTHER WEAKENING WILL MEAN THAT ONLY AVAILABLE SOLUTION TO THESE PROBLEMS WILL BE THOSE OF FORCE, INCLUDING NUCLEAR FORCE.

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63
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
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C. UNITED NATIONS IS NO LONGER MERELY A BIG MEETING PLACE IN NEW YORK BUT FALEMPLEX OF VALUABLE INSTRUMENTS WHICH POOR COUNTRIES MUST LEARN TO USE TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. WHY WEAKEN IT BY EXPELLING MEMBERS, WHEN IT COST SO MUCH WORK TO BUILD, AND WHEN IT CAN BE PUT TO USE TO SOLVE THIRD WORLD PROBLEMS? "INTERESTED PARTIES" HAVE ASSERTED THAT U.N. HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A FORUM OF CONFRONTATION RULED BY "TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY." WE MUST COMBAT THIS ASSERTION, HE SAID.

5. TRIP'S PURPOSE: A THIRD WORLD SELA?

A. ECHEVERRIA REMARKED THAT HE HAD SET OUT ON 14-NATION TRIP OVER OBJECTIONS OF MANY OF HIS COLLABORATORS AND DESPITE CRITICISM THAT MEXICO WOULD DERIVE LITTLE BENEFIT FROM IT. BUT RESULTS AT MID-POINT SEEMED WHOLLY POSITIVE. HE HAD NOT BROUGHT SUITCASE FULL OF MEXICAN MERCHANDISE TO SELL, NOR WAS HE GOING ABOUT WITH OUTSTRETCHED HAND ASKING UNCLASSIFIED

FOR LOAND. MEXICAN INDUSTRIALISTS, BANKERS, TECHNICIANS, STUDENTS., ETC., WOULD COME LATER TO BROADER CONTACT HE HAS INITIATED.

B. BUT ECHEVERRIA'S PURPOSE AND MSSAGE WERE MORE TRANSCENDENTAL: MEXICO, HE SAID, IS SKETCHING OUTLINES OF AN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION WHICH IT SEES AS INCREASINGLY NEEDED AMONG THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO STRENGTHEN THEIR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS. JUST AS MEXICO PROPOSED ECONOMIC SYSTEM FOR LATIN AMERICA (SELA), WHICH LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS ARE JUST NOW LAUNCHING, IT HOPED TO PROPOSE SIMILAR THIRD WORLD ORGANIZATION WHICH -- BEYOND GENERAL PURPOSES OF NON-ALIGNED GROUP AND G-77 -- MIGHT HAVE SOME PRACTICAL CONTENT. (COMMENT: THIS IS THE FIRST WE HAVE HEARD OF THIS PARTICULAR BRAINSTORM, BUT PROBABLY NOT THE LAST) JOVA

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 STATE 182599 TOSEC 080279

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00

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APPROVED BY ARA - WILLIAM D. ROGERS
ARA/MEX:MR. DREYFUS(SUB)
EUR/CAN:JROUSE (SUB)
S/S - MR. JOHNSTONE

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OAS
SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - REACTION TO OAS ACTION ON CUBA SANCTIONS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ASST SECY ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD

1. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS THE U.S. MEDIA (MOSTLY EAST COAST SO FAR) HAVE WELCOMED OUR POSTURE ON THE OAS RESOLUTION IN SAN JOSE TO GIVE FREEDOM OF ACTION ON BILATERAL POLICY TOWARD CUBA.

2. A NUMBER OF EDITORIALS CAUTION THAT PROBLEMS SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS AND COMPENSATION FOR EXPROPRIATION COMPLICATE THE OUTLOOK FOR U.S. CUBA RELATIONS. BUT THERE IS A DISTINCT AIR OF EXPECTATION, THOUGH EDITORIALISTS DIFFER ON WHETHER WE WILL MOVE FORWARD ON BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS RIGHT AWAY OR LATER.

3. LATIN AMERICAN MEDIA REACTION HAS GENERALLY REFLECTED THE VOTE OF THE GOVERNMENTS. MOST APPLAUDED THE SAN JOSE

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PAGE 02 STATE 182599 TOSEC 080279

RESULT, WITH THE MEDIA OF SOME ADVOCATES OF THE RESOLUTION, SUCH AS ARGENTINA, MEXICO AND PERU, CLAIMING CREDIT FOR THEIR GOVERNMENTS. IN URUGUAY THE VOTE WAS DENOUNCED AS A VICTORY FOR COMMUNISM. BRAZILIAN MEDIA CONFINED THEMSELVES PRIMARILY TO FACTUAL REPORTING; SCATTERED EDITORIAL COMMENT FOLLOWED THE POLITICAL PREJUDICES OF IN8IVIDUAL COMMENTATORS. CUBAN MEDIA MADE ONLY BRIEF FACTUAL REFERENCES TO THE VOTE, AND CASTRO DECLINED TO COMMENT TO FOREIGN

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JOURNALISTS.

4. U.S. BUSINESS INTEREST IN THE QTE MEANING UNQTE OF SAN JOSE HAS BEEN BRISK. SO FAR ARA HAS RECEIVED INQUIRIES FROM ABOUT 30 U.S. FIRMS ON OUR BILATERAL AND THIRD-COUNTRY SANCTIONS ON CUBA. COMMERCE HAS ALSO RECEIVED SIMILAR INQUIRIES. IN ADDITION, THE JAPANESE, YUGOSLAVIAN, WEST GERMAN AND GREEK EMBASSIES HERE HAVE MADE INQUIRIES. EMBASSY BEIRUT REPORTS THAT IT EXPECTS MOUNTING PRESSURES FROM THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO IGNORE SHIPPING SANCTIONS.

5. THE CANADIAN EMBASSY HAS INFORMALLY REMINDED US THAT CANADA AGREED NOT TO PRESS PENDING LICENSE APPLICATIONS OF U.S. SUBSIDIARIES BECAUSE OF ITS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE USG WOULD HAVE CLARIFIED ITS POLICY BY THE END OF JULY. WE REMINDED THE CANADIANS THAT WE WOULD EXAMINE LICENSE APPLICATIONS WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY TROUBLESOME TO THEM ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. WE CAN EXPECT A FORMAL DEMARCHE FROM THE CANADIANS VERY SOON. WE HAVE HAD NO SPECIFIC APPROACH FROM THE MEXICANS SINCE SAN JOSE, BUT PRESSURE ON U.S. SUBSIDIARIES IN MEXICO IS LIKELY TO INCREASE NOW.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05405 052250Z UNCLASSIFIED

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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R 052212Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4258
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO
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E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI; SHUM
SUBJECT: DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF CHILEAN EXTERMISTS: CURRENT STATUS

REFS: (A) STATE 183642 (NOTAL) (B) SANTIAGO 5384

1. SUMMARY: LENGTHY COMMITTÉE FOR PEACE REPORT RAISES ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING VERACITY OF "LEA" AND "O DIA" LISTS. SANTIAGO PRESS AND PRIVATE COMMENTS OF FOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL INDICATE GOC INVESTIGATION IS UNDER WAY. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO DIRECT REACTION YET TO "NY TIMES" AND "WASH. POST" STORIES. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED LENGTHY MIMEOGRAPHED LOW-KEY REPORT, DATED JULY 29, FROM INTERDENOMINATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEACE ENTITLED " CONCERNING THE SUPPOSED DEATH OF 119 CHILEANS." UNCLEAR WHAT DISTRIBUTION THIS REPORT HAS RECEIVED, BUT IT HAS NOT YET BEEN MENTIONED IN SANTIAGO PRESS. SELF-PROCLAIMED GOAL OF REPORT IS TO "CONTRIBUTE TO CLARFYING THE TRUTH" IN THIS AFFAIR.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05405 052250Z

3. REPORT NOTES THAT "HUNDREDS" OF PERSONS HAVE "DISAPPEARED" IN CHILE SINCE SEPTEMBER 11, 1973 COUP. IN "MAJORITY OF CASES,"

THERE IS DIRECT EVIDENCE PERSONS WERE DETAINED BY GOC SECURITY FORCES AND THERE IS INDIRECT EVIDENCE OF SAME IN MOST OF REMAINING CASES. IN SPITE OF NUMEROUS JUDICIAL ACTIONS, ESPECIALLY REQUESTS FOR AMPARA (HABEAS CORPUS), THESE PERSONS HAVE NOT BEEN SEEN AGAIN, AND GOVERNMENT HAS IN MOST CASES DENIED THEY WERE EVER DETAINED.

4. REPORT STATES THAT IN "MORE THAN HALF" OF DETENTION CASES, THERE IS A PERIOD OF "DISAPPEARANCE" LASTING DAYS OR WEEKS BEFORE PERSON "REAPPEARS" IN DETENTION CENTER, IS RELEASED, OR IS FORMALLY CHARGED WITH A CRIME. HOWEVER, "IT IS EXTREMELY RARE THAT PERSONS REAPPEAR AFTER FIVE OR SIX MONTHS." PEACE COMMITTEE HAS BEEN LOGGING CASES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS SINCE COUP, AND HAS FOUND THAT MOST SUCH CASES OCCURRED IN 1974. RECENTLY, COMMITTEE PRESENTED LIST OF 163 (NOT 166 AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED) TO COURT SYSTEM WITH REQUEST TO INVESTIGATE. (COMMENT: BOTH SANTIAGO APPEALS COURT AND SUPREME COURT REJECTED REQUEST.)

5. REPORT STATES RECENT "LEA" AND "O DIA" LISTS SHOULD BE SEEN IN THIS CONTEXT. OF 119 NAMES CITED IN THE LISTS, REPORT CONTINUES, THERE IS DIRECT EVIDENCE OF DETENTION BY GOC SECURITY FORCES FOR 77 OF THEM, INDIRECT EVIDENCE FOR 26, AND NO INFORMATION ON REMAINING 16. OF 119, 115 HAD BEEN SUBJECTS OF AMPARO REQUESTS. 105 OF THE 119 WERE ON COMMITTEE'S LIST OF 163 SENT TO THE COURTS. OF THE 119, LARGEST NUMBER (83) WERE REPORTED DETAINED BETWEEN MAY AND OCTOBER 1974, 22 MORE IN NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1974, AND REMAINING 14 IN 1975. IN 4 CASES, GOC OFFICIALS HAD OFFICIALLY ACKNOWLEDGED THESE PERSONS WERE DETAINED.

6. REPORT CONCLUDES BY CITING NUMEROUS "CONTRADICTIONS" IN "LEA" AND "O DIA" ACCOUNTS, THEN NOTES THE SUFFERING OF FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE 119 PLUS THE "UNCERTAINTY" LISTS HAVE AROUSED AMONG FAMILY MEMBERS OF OTHER DISAPPEARED PERSONS.

7. IN OTHER DEVELOPMENTS, SANTIAGO PRESS AUGUST 5 REPORTS CHILEAN "CIVIL POLICE" HAVE LAUNCQGD INVESTIGATION OF AFFAIR AT REQUEST OF MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. CHILEAN EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN INSTRUCTED TO REQUEST INFORMATION FROM

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05405 052250Z

ARGENTINE OFFICIALS.

8. AUGUST 5 SANTIAGO PRESS ALSO CARRIES OFFICIAL DENIAL BY GOC COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR COL. ORLANDO JEREZ OF PURPORTED HUNGER STRIKE BY POLITICAL PRISONERS AT PUCHUNCAVI DETENTION CENTER DEMANDING CLARIFICATION OF LISTS. SAME STORY ALSO REPORTS SANTIAGO AUXILLIARY BISHOP ALVEAR WILL HOLD SPECIAL MASS "TO ASK FOR CLARIFICATION OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED."

9. KANDELL AND OMANG STORIES (REF A) STILL NOT REPORTED IN SANTIAGO

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MEDIA.

10. FOR. MINISTRY DIR. OF INTL (POLITICAL) AFFAIRS (PROTECT) TOLD EMBOFF AUG 5 THAT MINISTRY HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ESTABLISH EXISTENCE OF "O DIA." SOURCE FOR "LEA"ARTICLE WAS ALLEGEDLY A "MEXICAN NEWS SERVICE" CALLED FONEL WHICH NO ONE HERE HAS HEARD OF. SOURCE STATED CHILEAN CONSUL IN BA IS DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS THAT ANY OF THREE BODIES WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES MATHC THEIR ACCOMPANYING CHILEAN IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS. SOURCE COMMENTED THAT BOTH LISTS "SMELL" AND WERE OBVIOUSLY PLANTED BY SOMEONE. FOREIGN MINISTRY IS INVESTIGATING.

11. COMMENT: WE FIND NO MAJOR FACTUAL FAULT WITH EITHER KANDELL OR OMANG STORIES. LATTER TENDS TO EXTRAPOLATE FROM KNOW FACTS PERHAPS MORE THAN PRESENTLY JUSTIFIED, BUT LINE OF SPECULATION IS LEGITIMATE. WE NOTE CONGEN SAO PAULO HAS FOUND "O DIA" WHERE APPARENTLY "NY TIMES" AND "WASHINGTON POST" WERE UNABLE TO DO SO, BUT WE READILY UNDERSTAND HOW THAT PUBLICATION COULD HAVE BEEN OVERLOOKED. WE WILL BE ANALYZING THIS AFFAIR IN SEPTEL.

12. FOR SAO PAULO: GIVEN DEPT INTEREST IN THIS SUBJECT, SUGGEST YOU REPEAT SAO PAULO 1595 AND 1608 TO DEPARTMENT.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06955 060111Z

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INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 SP-02 AID-05 EB-07 NSC-05

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INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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UNCLAS MEXICO 6955

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, ECIN, MX
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA TOUTS ECONOMIC ORGAN FOR THIRD WORLD

1. MEXICAN PRESS GAVE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE AUGUST 5 TO REPORTS FROM CAIRO ON PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S PROPOSAL FOR CREATION THIRD WORLD ORGANIZATION TO DEFEND ITS ECONOMIC INTERESTS. ANNOUNCEMENT APPARENTLY MADE AT DINNER IN ALEXANDRIA HOSTED BY EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT (ECHEVERRIA IS CURRENTLY ON 14-NATION THIRD WORLD TOUR). ACCORDING TO REPORTS, ECHEVERRIA'S NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE PERMANENT DEFENSE OF RAW MATERIALS, AND WOULD ASSIST IN THE EXPORTATION OF THIRD WORLD PRODUCTS IN INTERNATIONAL MARKETS. IN MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT, ECHEVERRIA NOTED THAT THE THIRD WORLD MUST ORGANIZE ITSELF TO FACE THE INTERNATIONAL MARKETPLACE WITH CONFIDENCE.

2. THE MEXICAN PRESIDENT IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE SYSTEM HE PROPOSES SHOULD DEFINE "THE MECHANISMS OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE IN ALL SECTORS, INCLUDING PETROLEUM, AND SHOULD OFFER REGIONAL OR COLLECTIVE GUARANTEES OF OPTIMUM LEVELS OF (THIRD WORLD) IMPORTS OF CAPITAL GOODS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06955 060111Z

AND TECHNOLOGY." MARKET INFORMATION WOULD BE EXCHANGED BY THIRD WORLD PRODUCERS. THE NEW ORGANIZATION, HE NOTED, WOULD BE DESIGNED IN PART TO COUNTER THE "IMPERIALISM" OF TRANS-NATIONAL ENTERPRISES.

3. COMMENT: WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN FURTHER AVAILABLE DETAILS ON NEW PROPOSAL MEXICO'S PERIPATETIC PRESIDENT. BRANDIN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLAS MEXICO 7031

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR PORG OAS CU US
SUBJ: CUBAN OFFICIAL GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE ON END OF OAS SANCTIONS, RELATIONS WITH US AND SELA

1. CUBA'S MINISTER FOR FOREIGN TRADE, DR. MARCELO FERNANDEZ FONT, GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE IN MEXICO CITY ON AUGUST 6 EN ROUTE FROM THE SELA MEETING IN PANAMA TO CUBA.

2. WITH RESPECT TO THE RESULTS OF THE SAN JOSE CONFERENCE, DR. FERNANDEZ IS QUOTED AS FOLLOWS: "CUBA IS NOT INTERESTED IN THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE LIFTED THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND BLOCKADE TO WHICH IT (CUBA) WAS SUBJECT FOR TEN YEARS SIMPLY BECAUSE CUBA DOES NOT BELONG TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES." HOWEVER, HE ADDED "NOW NATIONS FRIENDLY TO CUBA WILL BE ABLE TO RESUME THE COMMERCIAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WHICH WERE BROKEN BY THE OAS REQUIREMENT."

3. IN ADDITION, FERNANDEZ STATED "AS OF THIS MOMENT, NO ONE HAS SAID ANYTHING ABOUT THE POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMERCIAL OR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES". "DESPITE WHAT IS SAID," HE ADDED," THE US CONTINUES TO INTERVENE IN CUBAN AFFAIRS SINCE VARIOUS MERCHANT SHIPS HAVE STOPPED VISITING CUBA BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT THAT COUNTRY (I.E., THE US) THEN PURPOSELY
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 07031 080128Z

PLACES THEM ON A BLACK LIST."

4. THE CUBAN MINISTER SAID THAT SELA "WILL BRING GREAT BENEFITS TO LATIN AMERICA BECAUSE ITS ESSENCE AND SPIRIT ARE GENUINELY LATIN AMERICAN."
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05483 01 OF 02 082108Z

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EO 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: CI, PINS, SHUM
SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF CHILEAN EXTREMISTS

REFS: (A) STATE 183642 (B) STATE 184296

1. SUMMARY: WE CONCLUDE THAT REPORTS DESCRIBING DEATHS OR DISAPPEARANCES OF 119 CHILEAN EXTREMISTS OUTSIDE OF CHILE ARE PROBABLY UNTRUE, THOUGH MOST OR ALL CONCERNED ARE PROBABLY DEAD. MOST PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION WE CAN PIECE TOGETHER FOR WHAT WILL PROBABLY REMAIN SOMETHING OF A MYSTERY IS THAT GOC SECURITY FORCES ACTED DIRECTLY OR THROUGH THIRD PARTY, PLANTED REPORTS IN OBSCURE PUBLICATIONS TO PROVIDE SOME MEANS OF ACCOUNTING FOR DISAPPEARANCE OF NUMEROUS VIOLENT LEFTISTS. GOC SECURITY FORCES MAY HAVE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05483 01 OF 02 082108Z

KILLED SOME OR ALL OF THEM. END SUMMARY.

2. WHAT DO WE KNOW? -- FIRST LIST (SANTIAGO 5039) APPEARED

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IN ARGENTINA MAGAZINE "LEA." STORY WAS THAT 60 CHILEAN EXTREMISTS HAD BEEN KILLED OUTSIDE OF CHILE AS RESULT OF INTERNAL PURGES IN EXTREMIST GROUPS ARISING OUT OF CONFLICTS OVER MONEY, IDEOLOGY, ETC. KILLINGS WERE ALLEGED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN ARGENTINA, MEXICO, FRANCE, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA AND PANAMA.

3. "LEA" IS OBSCURE PUBLICATION WHICH MAY HAVE APPEARED FOR ONLY ONE ISSUE, MAY HAVE USED FALSE PUBLISHING ADDRESS, AND APPEARS TO BE TIED TO LOPEZ REGA AND RIGHT-WING ARGENTINE GROUPS.

4. SOURCE OF "LEA" STORY IS ALLEGEDLY OBSCURE MEXICAN NEWS SERVICE CALLED FONEL, UNKNOWN TO US AND TO CHILEAN FONMINISTRY. THERE IS NO CONFIRMATION FROM ANY OTHER SOURCE OR COUNTRY THAT SUCH PURGES HAVE OCCURRED, NOR HAVE THE BODIES OF THE 60 PERSONS NAMED BEEN PRODUCED OR IDENTIFIED.

5. SECOND LIST (SANTIAGO 5185) FIRST APPEARED IN JUNE 25 ISSUE OF "O DIA" OF CURITIBA, BRAZIL. ARTICLE ALLEGED THAT AN ADDITIONAL 59 CHILEAN EXTREMISTS "DIED, WERE WOUNDED, OR ESCAPED" IN ARMED CONFRONTATIONS WITH ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES IN SALTA AREA. STORY WAS DATELINED BUENOS AIRES, BUT WAS NOT ATTRIBUTED TO ANY WIRE SERVICE.

6. "O DIA" EXISTS, BUT IT IS AN OBSCURE, MORE-OR-LESS MONTHLY NEWSLETTER PUT OUT BY ONE PERSON IN CURITIBA (SAO PAULO 1595), WHO CLAIMS HE GOT THE STORY FROM "A FRIEND" ON A RECENT TRIP TO BUENOS AIRES (SAO PAULO 1608). THERE IS NO CONFIRMATION THAT SUCH A CLASH IN SALTA OR ANYWHERE ELSE ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE.

7. THERE IS SOME REASON TO BELIEVE "O DIA" LIST WAS DISTRIBUTED IN SANTIAGO BY A GOC SOURCE; ONE SANTIAGO NEWSPAPER SPECIFICALLY SO STATED. THERE IS NO INDICATION ANY HIGH-LEVEL GOC ELEMENT INVOLVED IN DISTRIBUTION.

8. NEARLY ALL OF 119 PERSONS WERE ON PEACE COMMITTEE LIST [redacted]

OF 163 DISAPPEARED PERSONS PRESENTED TO SANTIAGO APPEALS COURT AND SUPREME COURT IN MAY, AND HANDED PERSONALLY TO SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT EYZAGUIRRE AND MIN JUSTICE SCHWEITZER. MOST OF 119 HAD BEEN OBJECTS OF PREVIOUS AMPARO (HABEAS CORPUS) REQUESTS (SANTIAGO 5190). ORDINARILY THESE REQUESTS INCLUDE SWORN STATEMENTS THAT PERSONS CONCERNED HAD BEEN DETAINED.

9. PEACE COMMITTEE ALSO CLAIMS TO HAVE "DIRECT" EVIDENCE IN 77 OF THESE CASES AND "INDIRECT" EVIDENCE IN ANOTHER 26

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THAT THESE PERSONS WERE DETAINED IN CHILE BY GOC SECURITY FORCES. WE HAVE SEEN SEVERAL COMMITTEE FILES ON INDIVIDUALS INCLUDED IN THE 119, AND THEY APPEAR CONVINCING; SOME MIGHT BE FALSIFIED TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE, BUT WE DOUBT ALL ARE. FURTHER, COMMITTEE CLAIMS THAT IN FOUR CASES GOC HAD OFFICIALLY ACKNOWLEDGED PERSONS WERE DETAINED (SANTIAGO 5405). IN NO CASE DOES COMMITTEE HAVE KNOWLEDGE THAT PERSON WAS EVENTUALLY RELEASED OR SUBSEQUENTLY CONTACTED RELATIVES. ALL 119 NAMES ARE ON ICRC'S REFINED LIST OF PERSONS PRESUMED DETAINED BY GOC (SANTIAGO 5428), AND BRITISH EMBASSY/SANTIAGO TOLD US GOC HAD ASSURED EMBASSY THAT TWO PERSONS WHO SUBSEQUENTLY APPEARED AMONG 119 WERE IN GOC CUSTODY AND IN GOOD CONDITION (SANTIAGO 5280).

10. THREE BODIES ONLY (TWO OF THEM AMONG THE 119 AND THE OTHER OF SAME TYPE OF CASE) HAVE APPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES, ACCOMPANIED BY ALLEGED CHILEAN IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS. HOWEVER FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE SWORN TO DETAILED STATEMENTS THAT BODIES DO NOT BELONG TO THEIR MISSING RELATIVES. IN TWO OF THE THREE CASES, THEY HAVE FURTHER CLAIMED THAT ALLEGED IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS ARE CRUDE FORGERIES.

11. POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS: PRESS STORIES ARE TRUE AS PRINTED -- FOR VARIETY OF REASONS CITED ABOVE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT "LEA" AND O DIA" STORIES AT FACE VALUE. FURTHER, WE KNOW OF NO RESPONSIBLE SOURCE (SENIOR GOVERNMENT CIVILIAN ADVISER, FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL, SENIOR CHILEAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OFFICER, PEACE COMMITTEE OFFICIALS AND CLERGYMEN, DEFENSE LAWYERS AND MANY OTHERS) WHO WILL PUBLICLY ACCEPT STORIES AS TRUE. AFTER PERIOD OF INITIAL ACCEPTANCE (E.G. "EL MERCURIO" JULY 25 EDITORIAL - SANTIAGO

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 05483 01 OF 02 082108Z

5185), SANTIAGO PRESS DROPPED STORY, AND EVEN LEADING "EL MERCURIO" EVENTUALLY QUESTIONED LISTS AND CALLED FOR FULL INVESTIGATION (SANTIAGO 5384).

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05483 02 OF 02 082116Z

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ACTION ARA-04

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12. LISTS ARE A PLANT BY FORCES OPPOSED TO PRESENT GOC -- AT LEAST ONE SENIRO GOC CIVILIAN ADVISER SPECULATED ON THIS LINE ("WE WOULDN'T BE SO STUPID AS TO DO SOMETHING THIS CLUMSY."). MOTIVATION, IN ADDITION TO EMBARRASSING GOC IN CONJUNCTION WITH ABORTIVE UNHRC VISIT, WOULD BE TO PRESSURE GOC INTO DISCLOSING WHAT HAPPENED TO DISAPPEARED EXTREMISTS/COMRADES. (WE DO NOT QUESTION ASSERTION THAT ALL OR MOST OF 119 WERE OPPONENTS OF PRESENT GOC, ALTHOUGH NOT ALL ARE/WERE MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST MIR. NOR DO WE DOUBT THAT MIR, OTHER ORGANIZED OPPONENTS, OR PERHAPS EVEN INDIVIDUAL PEACE COMMITTEE STAFFERS WOULD BE WILLING TO PLANT SUCH LISTS). TENDING TO UNDERCUT THIS THEORY, HOWEVER, IS POSSIBILITY THAT SOME ONE CONNECTED WITH GOC DISTRIBUTED "O DIA" LIST BEFORE PUBLICATION IN CHILE. MORE IMPORTANT, EVEN ASSUMING THE "OPPOSITION" HAD THE CAPABILITY FOR MOUTING SUCH AN OPERATION, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THEY WOULD OR

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05483 02 OF 02 082116Z

COULD HAVE USED THA RIGHT-WING CONTROLLED "LEA" AND THE "O DIA" CHANNELS TO DISSEMINATE THE LISTS. FINALLY, IF THIS WERE AN OPPOSITION MANEUVER AND ANY OF THE 119 WERE STILL DETAINED, GOC COULD DISPROVE ARTICLES BY PRODUCING ALIVE AND WELL SOME OF PERSONS NAMED IN LISTS -- SOMETHING THAT HAS NOT YET OCCURRED -- OR BY RELEASING SOME INFORMATION ON HOW THEY ACTUALLY DIED.

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13. THE GOC PLANTED THE STORIES -- TO ASSUME THIS, ONE MUST EXPLAIN WHY GOC OR SOME AGENCY OR OFFICIAL WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TO CONCOCT A COVER STORY ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WE SEE THREE POSSIBLE REAONS: (A) UNHRC WOULD INEVIABLY LOOK INTO QUESTION OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS, AND SOME KIND OF PRIOR PUBLIC EXPLANATION OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM WAS URGENTLY NEEDED; (B) PRESSURE WAS ON GOC FROM PEACE COMMITTEE LIST AND IN COURTS; AND (C) EYZAGUIRRE AND SCHWEITZER MAY HAVE BEEN DEMANDING EXPLANATION FROM GOC ON WHAT HAPPENED TO THESE PEOPLE. WE CONCLUDE THAT GOC MIGHT WELL HAVE BEEN IMPELLED TO PLANT LISTS.

14. ADDITIONALLY, IT WOULD BE PLAUSIBLE TO ASSUME THAT ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES AND/OR RIGHT-WING GROUPS SUCH AS AAA AND LOPEZ REGA ELEMENTS EXTENDED AT LEAST TACIT COOPERATION TO GOC IN THIS MATTER. "LEA" APPARENTLY HAS SOME CONNECTION WITH LOPEZ REGA; AND ARGENTINES HAVE NEITHER CONFIRMED NOR DENIED ALLEGED CLASH IN SALTA.

15. IF THESE ASSUMPTIONS ARE JUSTIFIED, IT SEEMS TO US PROBABLE THAT MOST OR ALL OF THE 119 ARE DEAD (NONE HAS BEEN HEARD FROM) AND THAT SOME OR ALL MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED WHILE DETAINED, OR PERHAPS IN ENCOUNTERS WITH GOC SECURITY FORCES WITHIN CHILE. THE EVIDENCE IS CIRCUMSTANTIAL, BUT IT IS CONSISTENT WITH RECURRENT SECOND-AND THIRD-HAND REPORTS OF THE DEATHS OF VIOLENT LEFTIST EXTREMISTS AT THE HANDS OF THESE FORCES.

16. SEE ALSO [redacted] WHICH CONFIRMS IN SEVERAL RESPECTS PLAUSIBILITY OF ARGUMENT THAT SOME ELEMENT OF GOVERNMENT WAS INVOLVED IN PLANTING TWO LISTS TOTALLING 119 PERSONS.

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ACTION ARA-10

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INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
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UNCLAS MEXICO 7054

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR PORG UN OAS NU
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER MONTIEL'S PRESS CONFERENCE

1. NICARAGUAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALEJANDRO MONTIEL SARGUELLO SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS ABSTAINED DURING THE VOTE TO LIFT THE OAS BLOCKADE OF CUBA BECAUSE THE DANGER OF CUBAN INTERVENTION IN THE OTHER NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA CONTINUES.

2. MONTIEL ALSO SAID THAT HE BELIEVES IT IS INDEED POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE PAN AMERICAN UNITY. HE ADDED THAT THE OAS IS AN ORGANIZATION WHICH FULFILLS ITS MISSION BUT CONCEDED THAT IT HAS TO BE RESTRUCTURED IN ORDER TO OPERATE MORE EFFICIENTLY.

3. WITH RESPECT TO ECHEVERRIA'S POSSIBLE CANDIDACY FOR UN SECRETARY GENERAL, MONTIEL SAID THAT HIS COUNTRY WOULD SUPPORT THE MEXICAN LEADER'S NOMINATION AND THAT "IT WOULD BE A GREAT SOURCE OF PRIDE FOR ALL OF US IF (ECHEVERRIA) WERE TO BECOME THE FIRST LATIN AMERICAN SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN."

4. MONTIEL, WHO ESCORTED THE BODIES OF 17 MEXICAN VICTIMS OF AN AIR CRASH IN NICARAGUA, MADE HIS REMARKS TO THE PRESS DURING HIS BRIEF VISIT TO THIS COUNTRY AUGUST 6.
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ACTION NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5790
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

UNCLAS CAIRO 7950

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR, MX, EG
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA MESSAGE TO SADAT

ACCORDING TO CAIRO PAPERS, MESSAGE FROM ECHEVERRIA TO SADAT DELIVERED BY MEXICAN FONMIN RABASA AUGUST 9, AFFIRMED GOM VIEW THAT ISRAELI TROOPS MUST WITHDRAW FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES AND LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS MUST BE RECOGNIZED. MEXICAN AMBASSADOR TO CAIRO IS QUOTED AS SAYING ECHEVERRIA DECIDED SEND RABASA WITH THIS MESSAGE IN ORDER PREVENT ISRAELI MEDIA FROM DISTORTING GOM STAND.
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INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS: PFOR XF MX JO
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S VISIT TO JORDAN

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S AUGUST 10-13 VISIT TO JORDAN WAS FULL OF POMP AND CEREMONY BUT SHORT ON SUBSTANCE MEXICANS GENERALLY SUPPORTED ARAB POSITION ON ISRAELI WITH DRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, ALTHOUGH EXPRESSED APPREHENSION AT UN'S BEING WEAKENED BY ATTEMPTS TO REDUCE ITS MEMBERSHIP. EFFORT GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL TO ENTERTAIN 180 MANN ENTOURAGE FOR THREE DAYS TAXED JORDANIAN INENUITY AND ENERGY. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVVERRIA AND GROUP OF 180 SPENT ACTIVE AND HIGHLY VISIBLE THREE DAYS IN JORDAN AUGUST 10-13 EXHAUSTING JORDANIAN HOSTS (WHO AT ONE POINT WERE ALSO JUGGLING VISIT OF SAUDI CROWN PRINCE FAHD BIN ABD AL AZIZ AND PARTY)AND IN GENERAL SUPPORTING ARAB

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POSITIONS ON ME ISSUES. JORDANIANS WHO INITIALLY DESPAIRED OF BEING ABLE TO OCCUPY HUGE CONTINGENT OF MEXICANS FOR THREE DAYS NEVERTHLESS LAID ON FULL PROGRAM WHICH INCLUDE TWO STATE BANQUITS, MILITARY CERMONIES VARIOUS LUNCHEONS AND VISIT TO PETRA ROMAN RUINS OF HERASH AND RESORT PORT OF AQABA. MEDIA COVERAGE PROFUSE IN PART BECAUSE VISIT OVERLAPPED 23RD ANNIVERSARY OF KING HUSSEIN'S ACCESSION TO HASHEMITE THRONE. FOREGOINE CONCLUSION HOWEVER THAT IN SPITE OF FACT VIIST WAS LONGEST IN MEMORY OF AMMAN DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY SIGNIFICANCE WAS MINIMAL.

3. INPUBLIC STATEMENTS (BANQUIET SPEECHES AND PRESS CONFERENCES) ECHEVERRIA CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND REGAINING OF LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS ALL IN CONTEXT OF MORE GENERAL THEMESE OF SUPPORT FOR UN. PRESIDENT NOTED IN PRESS CONF THAT HE CAME TO MIDDLE EAST TO OBSERVE RATHER THAN TO PROMOTE SPECIFIC MEXICAN POSITION LATTER WILL BE DECLARED HE SAID DURING FORTHCOMING UNGA. (AMEMBASY AMMAN IS UNABLE TOFIND IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS ANY MENTION OF OCTOBER 5 AS DATE OF ECHEVERRIAS ATTENDANCE AT UNGA, AS REPORTED REFTEL.) LOCAL PRESS PRINTED ECHEVERRIAS STATEMENT REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT UN MUST NOT BE WEAKENED BY ATTEMPTS TO REDUCE ITS MEMBERSHIP (GOJ CONTROLLED EDITORIAL OPINION IN PRESS HAS C PAST SUPPORTED EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM UN).

4. FINAL JOINT COMMUNIQUE REPEATED ABOVE THEMES AND INCLUDED STATEMENT, "THE PRESIDENT REFERRED TO THE NEED TO GUARANTEE THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA. A SENTIMENT WITH WHICH HUSSEIN PRESUMABLY CHOSE NOT TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF PUBLICLY(ALTHOUGH HE HAS DONE SO IN PAST PRESS INTERVIEW). COMMUNIQUE ALSO DEVELOPED THEME OF GREATER ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG COUNTRIES OF THIRD WORLD AND INCLUDED ECHEVARRIAS PROPOSAL FOR SAFEGUARDING PRICES OF THIRD WORLD PRIMARY PRODUCTS. KING HUSSEIN SUPPORTED ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN MIDDLE EAST.

[redacted]

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5. CONCRETE RESULTS OF VISIT SLIM. AGREEMENT ON TRADE,INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION COOPERATIO WAS SIGNED AND INVITATION EXTENDED BY ECHEVEARRIA TO KING HUSSEIN

TO VISIT MEXICO. OFFICIALLY ACCEPTED. JORDANIANS ARE STILL WONDERING JUST HOW AND WHY IT ALL HAPPENED BUT AS USUAL THEY PERFORMED WITH GRACE AND GOOD HUMOR.
PICKERING

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 07353 190134Z

65
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 EA-09

AF-06 /082 W

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R 190005Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBEASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9493

UNCLAS MEXICO 7353

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR MX CU
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA BEGINS VISIT TO CUBA

1. SUMMARY: ECHEVERRIA ARRIVED IN CUBA AUGUST 18 TO BEGIN THE LAST AND LONGEST STATE VISIT OF HIS CURRENT 14 NATION TOUR. ECHEVERRIA AND CASTRO'S PRONOUNCEMENTS DURING THE COURSE OF THE FIRST DAY OF THIS VISIT (AS REPORTED IN THE MEXICAN PRESS) ARE LACED WITH MILITANT THIRD WORLD RHETORIC BUT NOT QUITE AS SHRILL AS HAS BEEN HEARD FROM THE TWO LEADERS IN THE PAST. THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT OF THE VISIT THUS FAR IS CASTRO'S REPORTED ACCEPTANCE OF ECHEVERRIA'S INVITATION TO VISIT MEXICO. END SUMMARY.

2. ON HIS ARRIVAL IN CUBA AUGUST 18, ECHEVERRIA WAS MET AT THE AIRPORT BY PRIME MINISTER FIDEL CASTRO AND PRESIDENT OSVALDO DORTICOS. TELEVISION AND NEWSPAPERS ACCOUNTS (REPLETE WITH PHOTOGRAPHS) INDICATE THAT CROWDS OF HALF A MILLION PEOPLE LINED THE ROUTE FROM THE AIRPORT TO GREET ECHEVERRIA WITH SHOUTS OF "VIVA MEXICO."

3. CASTRO WAS EFFUSIVE IN PRAISING ECHEVERRIA NOT ONLY FOR HIS POLICY TOWARD AND FRIENDSHIP FOR CUBA BUT ALSO FOR HIS ROLE IN LEADING LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION. IN A DECLARATION SYMBOLIC OF THIS FRIENDSHIP, CASTRO DECLARED THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD "GO WITH HIM (ECHEVERRIA) WHEREVER HE GOES" DURING THIS TRAVELS
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Date: 6/25/97
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 07353 190134Z

IN CUBA. ECHEVERRIA IN TURN CALLED CASTRO ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL PROTAGONISTS OF MODERN HISTORY. ADDITIONALLY, CASTRO REPORTEDLY ACCEPTED ECHEVERRIA'S INVITATION TO VISIT MEXICO SOMETIME DURING THE COMING YEAR.

4. WHILE THE TWO LEADERS'S SPEECHES WERE PREDICTABLY LACED WITH THIRD WORLD RHETORIC, NEITHER WAS AS SHRILL IN HIS MILITANCY AS BOTH HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS PUBLISHED THUS FAR IN MEXICO CITY. TYPICAL OF ECHEVERRIA'S REMARKS: "THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, THE VIETNAMESE STRUGGLE, AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA ARE AMONG MANY OTHER INDISPUTABLE INDICATIONS THAT OUR TIME IS ONE OF SOCIAL CHANGE, OUR EPOCH IS ONE OF THE REAFFIRMATION OF THE THIRD WORLD AND OUR TASK IS THAT OF CONSTRUCTING A MORE JUST AND HUMANE SOCIETY. WE ARE STRUGGLING WITH OUR OWN MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT FOR THE ADVENT OF A NEW ORLD ECONOMIC ORDER WHICH WILL ELIMINATE INJUSTICE AND ITS DEEP CAUSES."
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 197983

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43
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /016 R

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 197983 ACTION ATHENS BEIRUT BOGOTA BUENOS AIRES CARACAS LONDON MADRID MEXICO NICOSIA PARIS RABAT AUG 20.

QUOTE: [redacted] STATE 197983

STADIS
EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

UNCLASSIFIED

TAGS: ETRD, ESTC, CU, US

SUBJECT: THIRD COUNTRY RESTRICTIONS AGAINST TRADE WITH CUBA

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. AS MOST ADDRESSES AWARE, THE OAS ADOPTED ON JULY 29 A FREEDOM OF ACTION RESOLUTION ON CUBAN SANCTIONS. THE US GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO MODIFY US RESTRICTIONS AGAINST TRADE WITH CUBA AS THEY RELATE DIRECTLY TO THIRD COUNTRIES.

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PAGE 02 STATE 197983

BECAUSE EXISTING RESTRICTIONS HAVE AFFECTED YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT, WE SUGGEST YOU INFORM IT EARLY IN THE MORNING OF AUGUST 21.

2. THE MODIFICATIONS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN BY THE USG IN LIGHT OF THE DECISION TAKEN BY THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES ACTING UNDER THE RIO TREATY TO LEAVE TO EACH MEMBER STATE TO DETERMINE FOR

ITSELF THE NATURE OF ITS ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA. THE US SUPPORTED THE FREEDOM OF ACTION RESOLUTION. IN LIGHT OF THE ACTION BY THE OAS, THE US BELIEVES IT DESIRABLE TO CHANGE THOSE ASPECTS OF OUR CUBAN DENIAL POLICY WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECT THIRD COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO MAKE US

POLICY CONSISTENT WITH THE END OF MANDATORY OAS SANCTIONS. WE WOULD NOT WISH TO TAKE ACTION DETRIMENTAL TO OTHER COUNTRIES, WHICH FAVOR TRADE WITH CUBA, ONCE THE OAS MANDATORY SANCTIONS HAVE TERMINATED.

3. THE USG WILL GRANT LICENSES PERMITTING TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN US SUBSIDIARIES AND CUBA FOR TRADE IN FOREIGN-MADE GOODS WHEN THOSE SUBSIDIARIES ARE OPERATING IN COUNTRIES WHERE LOCAL LAW OR POLICY FAVORS TRADE WITH CUBA. SPECIFIC LICENSES WILL CONTINUE TO BE REQUIRED IN EACH CASE AND THEY WILL REMAIN SUBJECT TO REGULATIONS CONCERNING US ORIGIN PARTS, COMPONENTS, STRATEGIC GOODS AND TECHNOLOGY.

4. IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE, WE WILL ALSO TAKE STEPS TO PERMIT THE CONTINUATION OF ASSISTANCE UNDER THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961 TO COUNTRIES WHICH PERMIT SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT UNDER THEIR REGISTRY TO TRANSPORT GOODS TO OR FROM CUBA AND TO PERMIT BUNKERING OF FOREIGN FLAG VESSELS IN THE CUBA TRADE. ADDITIONALLY, WE WILL SEEK AUTHORITY FROM THE US CONGRESS FOR BROADER WAIVER AUTHORITY REGARDING THE EXISTING PL 480, TITLE 1, FOOD SALES SUSPENSION REQUIREMENT FOR COUNTRIES THAT TRADE WITH CUBA. AT PRESENT WAIVER AUTHORITY EXTENDS ONLY TO CASES OF TRADE WITH CUBA IN AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES AND FOODSTUFFS, NON-STRATEGIC RAW MATERIALS AND MEDICAL

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SUPPLIES.

5. ALTHOUGH SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS SAID WE ARE PREPARED TO START A BILATERAL DIALOGUE WITH CUBA, THE LIFTING OF US THIRD COUNTRY RESTRICTIONS AGAINST CUBA SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED IN THAT CONTEXT, BUT AS A COROLLARY TO THE OAS FREEDOM OF ACTION RESOLUTION. KISSINGER UNQUOTE MAW

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 07522 230146Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AGR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 EB-07 AID-05 IGA-01 COME-00 TRSY-06 OMB-01

/097 W

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R 222359Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9586

UNCLAS MEXICO 7522

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFR CU US
SUBJECT: CASTRO COMMENTS ON U.S. LIFTING OF THIRD COUNTRY SANCTIONS AND OTHER SUBJECTS

1. SUMMARY: IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN HAVANA ON AUG 21, PRIME MINISTER FIDEL CASTRO CALLED THE US LIFTING OF THIRD COUNTRY SANCTIONS "A POSITIVE STEP". CASTRO SAID THAT CUBA IS READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE US, BUT WILL NOT NEGOTIATE "WITH A DAGGER AT ITS BREAST". IN HIS SUBSEQUENT REMARKS, CASTRO MADE CLEAR THAT THE "DAGGER" HE REFERRED TO IS THE USG IMPOSED EMBARGO ON DIRECT TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA. END SUMMARY.

2. ON AUGUST 22, THE MEXICAN PRESS PUBLISHED LENGTHLY QUOTATIONS FROM CASTRO'S JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE IN HAVANA THE PREVIOUS DAY WITH VISITING MEXICAN PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA (VISIT SUBJECT OF SEPTEL). CASTRO, WHO WAS WELL INFORMED ABOUT AND ABLE TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE RECENT USG LIFTING OF SANCTIONS, MADE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THIS MOVE: "I SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT THESE ARE POSITIVE STEPS. WE RECEIVED THESE MEASURES WITH SATISFACTION. NEVERTHELESS, THE ESSENCE OF THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE CONTINUES; THAT IS, THE PROHIBITION OF ALL COMMERCE BETWEEN CUBA AND THE U.S. ...
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 07522 230146Z

Date: 6/25/97
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FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions

WE SINCERELY DESIRE THAT THE BLOCKADE BE LIFTED IN ITS ESSENCE; WE ARE NOT DEMANDING THAT THE UNITED STATES GIVE US A SUGAR QUOTA OR GIVE US CREDITS OR EVEN MAINTAIN THE RELATIONS (WITH US) IT MAINTAINS WITH OTHER OCUNTRIES. BUT THE PROHIBITION OF COMMERCE WITH CUBA IS STILL A VERY UNLAWFUL MEASURE AND VERY SERIOUS FOR THE CUBAN ECONOMY."

3. IN ADDITION ACASTRO STATED THAT THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT IS "READY TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES WITH COMPLETE SERIOUSNESS AND WITH COMPLETE SINCERITY AND RESPONSIBILITY", BUT THAT IT WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO HOLD SUCH DISCUSSIONS "WITH A DAGGER AT ITS BREAST".A SHORT TIME LATER IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE, CASTRO EXPLAINED WHAT HE MEANT BY A DAGGER: "WE FEEL THAT THE PROHIBITION OF TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA SHOULD BE ENDED. IT IS NOT EASY TO NEGOTIATE WHEN ONE HAS A DAGGER AT ONE'S BREAST." THE BUAN LEADER ADDED THAT ANY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN HIS COUNTRY AND THE US SHOULD COVER A WIDE RANGE OF PROBLEMS INCLUDING NOT ONLY US CLAIMS FOR INDEMNIFICATION AGAINST CUBA, BUT ALSO CUBAN CLAIMS FOR INDEMNIFICATION AGAINST THE US AS A RESULT OF 15 YEAR BLOCKADE AS WELL AS OTHER PROBLEMS SUCHAS GUANTANAMO.

4. IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTER'S QUESTION ABOUT WHEN CUBA HAD STOPPED EXPORTING REVOLUTION, CASTRO REPLIED THAT THEY HAD NOT STOPPED BECAUSE THEY HAD NEVER STARTED DOING SO. CUBA, HE EXPLAINED HAS "A PROFOUND CONVICTIONTHAT REVOLUTION CANNOT BE EXPORTED." CASTRO NOTED THAT "THERE IS A CONFUSION BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLIDARITY AND THE MATTER OF EXPORTING EVOLUTION".

5. TURNING TO THE ATTACK, CASTRO CHARGED THAT "THE UNITED STATES HAD MADE CONSIDERABLE REFFORTS TO EXPORT COUNTE
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REVOLUTION TO CUBA AND FAILED." EH ASSERTED THAT THE U.S. DID THIS IN "A INFAMOUS AND DISGRACEFUL ALLIANCE WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA" EXCEPT MEXICO. HE POINTED OUT THAT PRIOR TO THE OAS SANCTIONS, THE US HAD UNILATERALLY ESTABLISHED A BLOCKADE AGAINST CUBA AND THAT "AS ALWAYS THE OAS SANCTIFIED THE MEASURES OF THE UNITED STATEK." HE WENT ON TO CHARGE THAT THE SAME THING HAPPENED IN THE CASE OF US
UNCLASSIFIED

INTERVENTION INSANTO DOMINGO. IN ADDITION HE CITED CHILE AS ANOTHER CASE WHERE THE UNITED STATES HAD "EXPORTED COUNTERREVOLUTION"

6. ADDITIONALY, CASTRO DESCRIBED WATH HE CALLED "A LATIN AMERICAN BLOCKADE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES" AS FOLLOWS: "IT'S A BLOCKADE IN THE CONSCIENCE OF THE RURAL WORKERS, OF THE LABORERS OF THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS (AND) OF TME NEW GENERATIONS. IT'S A PSYCMOLOGICAL (AND) A MORAL BLOCKADE WHICH THE UNITED STATES CANNOT DILUTE SIGNIFICANTLY WITHOUT RADICALLY CHANGING ITS POLICY TOWARD ALL LATIN AMERICA". (NOTE: SOME NEWSPAPERS ATTRIBUTED AN ALMOST IDENTICAL STATEMENT TO MEXICAN PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA, BUT IT IS NOT IN-
CLUDED IN EITHER SUMMARY OR TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS CONFERENCE PUBLISHED BY SEMI-OFFICIAL EL NACIONAL.)

7. WHEN ASKED WHETHER SOCIALISM COULD BE ESTABLISHED PEACEFULLY, CASTRO RESPONDED: "I FEEL THAT REVOLUTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE PRODUCED IN THE WORLD IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER. I WOULD NOT DARE TO SAY THAT THERE COULD NOT BE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN ANY COUNTRY. VERY STRONG POPULAR MOVEMENTS HAVE RISEN IN LATIN AMERICA... WHICH CAN CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION. I WOULD NOT WANT TO ASSERT, IN ANY MANNER, NOR ESTABLISH AS A DOGMA THAT PEACEFUL TRANSITION IS IMPOSSIBLE. UP TO NOW IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE, BUT I BELIEVE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE IN MANKIND'S FUTURE DESPITE OUR OWN EXPERIENCES".

8. CASTRO WARMLY PRAISED VISITING MEXICAN PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA, AS "A DISTRINGUISHED STATESMAN OF THE WORLD", AS "THE GUIDING
FORCE" BEHIND THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES, SELA, AND NAMUCAR, AND "AS A STATESMAN WHO LIFTED HIS VOICE THROUGHOUT ALL LATIN AMERICAN IN CONDEMNATION COMMENDATION OF THE BLOCKADE AGAINST CUBA."
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 07522 230146Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AGR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 EB-07 AID-05 IGA-01 COME-00 TRSY-06 OMB-01

/097 W

041219 IM/IPS/CB/MR Date: 11/19/97

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
( ) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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EO Citations
9501608 TS authority to
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions

R 222359Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9586

UNCLAS MEXICO 7522

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFR CU US
SUBJECT: CASTRO COMMENTS ON U.S. LIFTING OF THIRD COUNTRY SANCTIONS AND OTHER SUBJECTS

1. SUMMARY: IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN HAVANA ON AUG 21, PRIME MINISTER FIDEL CASTRO CALLED THE US LIFTING OF THIRD COUNTRY SANCTIONS "A POSITIVE STEP". CASTRO SAID THAT CUBA IS READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE US, BUT WILL NOT NEGOTIATE "WITH A DAGGER AT ITS BREAST". IN HIS SUBSEQUENT REMARKS, CASTRO MADE CLEAR THAT THE "DAGGER" HE REFERRED TO IS THE USG IMPOSED EMBARGO ON DIRECT TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 07522 230146Z

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5. TURNING TO THE ATTACK, CASTRO CHARGED THAT "THE UNITED STATES HAD MADE CONSIDERABLE REFFORTS TO EXPORT COUNTE2-
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UNCLASSIFIED

INTERVENTION INSANTO DOMINGO. IN ADDITION HE CITED CHILE AS ANOTHER CASE WHERE THE UNITED STATES HAD "EXPORTED COUNTERREVOLUTION"

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I WOULD NOT DARE TO SAY THAT THERE COULD NOT BE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN ANY COUNTRY. VERY STRONG POPULAR MOVEMENTS HAVE RISEN IN LATIN AMERICA... WHICH CAN CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION. I WOULD NOT WANT TO ASSERT, IN ANY MANNER, NOR ESTABLISH AS A DOGMA THAT PEACEFUL TRANSITION IS IMPOSSIBLE. UP TO NOW IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE, BUT I BELIEVE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE IN MANKIND'S FUTURE DESPITE OUR OWN EXPERIENCES".

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JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] CONFIDENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

EXCISE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05825 262140Z

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ACTION VO-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 IO-10 INR-07 SCA-01 /028-W
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P R 262058Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4515
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1, B3

[redacted] SANTIAGO 5825

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (C) Downgrade to __
Date 1/23/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

NOFORN

E. O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: CVIS (CASTILLO ECHEVERRIA, CARMEN - AKA PASCAL)
SUBJECT: NIV VISA APPLICANT

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 6553 (NOTAL) (B) PARIS 21738

1. [redacted] RECENTLY REPORTED THAT CARMEN CASTILLO ECHEVERRIA WAS AN ACTIVE MILITANT OF THE EXTREMIST MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) UP TO THE TIME OF HER ARREST BY CHILEAN GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES IN OCTOBER 1974 [redacted]

[redacted]

2. BELIEVE, BASED ON ABOVE INFORMATION, PARIS CORRECT IN PRESUMING SUBJECT INELIGIBLE UNDER SECTIONS 212(A) (28) AND (29) OF INA.

3. FYI FOR PARIS: SUBJECT IS SEPARATED WIFE OF ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE, ONE OF FEW SENIOR MIR MEMBERS STILL AT LARGE. SHE WAS [redacted] MIR LEADER MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ AND WAS PRESENT DURING SHOOTOUT IN SANTIAGO ON OCTOBER 5, 1974, WHEN SECURITY FORCES [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05825 262140Z

KILLED ENRIQUEZ. WOUNDED IN THE EXCHANGE AND PREGNANT, SHE WAS RELEASED BY THE GOVERNMENT ON OCTOBER 26, 1974 AND TRAVELED TO PARIS AND THEN LONDON. [redacted] CONFIDENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

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NOTE BY OC/T: CAUTION: THIS MESSAGE APPEARS TO CONTAIN SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION.

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

[redacted]

DEPT. DISTRIBUTION
ORIGIN/ACTION

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USIA	NSA	CIA	
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UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

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FILE DESIGNATION

Original to be Filed in Decentralized Files.

[redacted]

HANDLING INDICATOR

A-126

NO.

TO : Department of State

E.O.11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, TZ, MX

DEPT PASS: MEXICO, DAR ES SALAAM (3)

FROM : Amembassy DAR ES SALAAM DATE: August 28, 1975

SUBJECT : Mexican President's Visit to Tanzania

REF : (A) Mexico 6020; (B) Mexico A-207

Mexican President Echeverria visited Tanzania July 25-28 as part of his current "third world" tour. The visit brought no surprises, and the rhetoric was as usual in such visits, with the Mexican President promoting his role as a third world spokesman. Aside from ceremonial and travel, President Echeverria laid the corner-stone of the $16,000,000 sisal mill agreed on during President Nyerere's visit to Mexico last April (Ref. B). A modest exchange program was also agreed to.

These doings are outlined in the Joint Communique (Enclosure 1), while the Mexican President's familiar views on the third world were outlined in his speech at the dinner given in his honor (Enclosure 2). Details of the Sisal Factory were included in a newspaper article printed July 24 (Enclosure 3).

Comment: The Mexican President was cordially received, but the visit came and went with few obvious repercussions. Mexico is anxious to improve its standing and influence in the Afro-Asian area, and Tanzania is anxious to expand its contacts with the more militant Latin American nations, so we can expect a gradual upswing in the up-to-now almost dormant level of Tanzanian-Mexican relations.

( ) DECLASSIFY ( ) EXCISE
( ) DENY EO Citations

Date: 6/25/97

9504966 LEVIN

Enclosures: As stated

FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Secs.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE to ( ) S or ( ) C

of which Mexico will provide $3 million;

SEP 8 11 1975

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

FORM DS-323 10-64

For Department Use Only
☐ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:	Drafting Date:	Phone No.:	Contents and classification approved by:
POL:HCMacDougall:mcw	8/27/75		CHARGE:HLevin

Clearances:

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE VISIT TO TANZANIA OF THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

Mexico

(1) At the invitation of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, H.E. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, the President of Mexico, H.E. Luis Echeveria Alvarez, made a State visit to Tanzania from July, 25th to July, 28th 1975.

(2) The President of Mexico was accompanied by his wife Mrs. Maria Esther Zuno de Echeveria, Senator Enrique Olivares Santana, President of the Permanent Commission of the Congress and President Great Commission of the Chamber of Senators, Deputy Carlos Sansores Perez, President of the Great Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Euquerio Guerrero Lopez, President of the Supreme Court of Justice, as well as high ranking officials of his government.

(3) While in Tanzania, Presodent Echeverria and his entourage had the opportunity to visit the site of the new capital of Tanzania, Dodoma, where he met and discussed with the officials of the Capital Development Authority.

(4) Later President Echeveria and his entourage visited the Tanga Region where he inspected the Sisal Estates at Mombo, and noted the advanced techniques that have been developed for the growth of sisal. In Korogwe, the two Heads of States laid down the Foundation Stone of the TANZAMEX Sisal Factory that will be constructed through the cooperation of both countries.

(5) President Echeveria and his entourage spent sometime in the Serengeti National Park viewing the Game and the manner in which these natural reserves are administered and how the animals are protected.

(6) The two Presidents had the opportunity to renew the dialogue initiated in Mexico during the course of the State visit that the President Nyerere made in April, 1975.

They held broad ranging discussions that developed in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternity befitting the relations existing between the two States.

(7) The two Presidents welcomed the independence of Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe and expr ssed their conviction that these new states should now take their rightful places, as full member States of the United Nations. They saluted the Declaration of Independence of the Comoro Islands, and expressed their satisfaction at the forthcoming independance of Angola and the Sychelles Islands.

(8) On the question of Namibia, they expressed their deep disappointment at the recent veto cast by the three of the Permanent Members of the Security Council and reaffirmed their conviction that South Africa racist regime is illegally occupying Namibia in contavention of the resolutions that have been adopted by the United Nations.

(9) The two Presidents reaffirmed the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self determination and indepence.

(1) As regards South Africa, the two Heads of State reiterated their condemnation of the racial policies of Apertheid as practiced in South Africa and called upon that regime to abolish these laws forthwith. In this regard they held the conviction that it is indispensable for the international community to apply strictly the measures adopted by the United Nations in order to eradicate completely the apertheid and other discriminatory practices.

(11) Aware of the serious economic problems the World faces today, and concerned about the negative effects of this situation, particularly on developing nations, the two leaders expressed their conviction that the only manner of insuring valid, permanent and general solution is by the creation of a new international economic order based on equity, justice and cooperation among states. They coincided in the opoinion that the new international economic order should be built on the principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the complete application of which, should be considered absolutely indispensable.

(12) Both Leaders emphatically reafirmed that their two nations are active members of the Third World and agreed that it is essential to broaden and perfect the bonds among nations forming part ofthis economic reality. Consequently, they ½ointed out that the Third World countries should

adopt common policies aimed at developing joint actions and coordinating their activities in relation to production of raw materials and their sale on world markets for just and stable prices.

(13) They agreed that the Tanganyika Coffee Board and the Mexican Institute of Coffee will coordinate their commercial policies in order to defend permanently the prices of their production of renumerative levels. In the negotiations on a new International Coffee Agreement, they will seek a minimum guarantee of income in foreign exchange for the producing countries.

(14) During their conversations President Echeveria explained the aims and purpose of the University and the Institute of Social and Economic Studies of the Third World that are beign established in Mexico, on the technology that is being developed by Third World countries for their use in programmes of development.

President Nyerere congratulated him for the initiative and offerred to senda to the University all available information about Tanzania.

(15) The two Heads of States expressed their satisfaction over the existing cooperation between Mexico and Tanzania in different areas and stated that this cooperation would be increased and cover wider areas in the future.

(16) In this regard they welcomed the progress already made in the field of Sisal, though the establishment of the terms and conditions between the two countries, for their trai

ning in cultivation and industrialisation of this important natural resource.

(17) They expressed their satsfaction for the progress already accomplished in the cooperation that Mexico has given in the planning of the construction of the new capital in Dodoma; and particularly the training programme of Tanzania technicians in Mexico, in the fields of construction, architecture, urban planning, sociology and economis. This programme is to be put into operation imeediately.

(18) The President of Mexico retariated his offer of 10 full scholarships to 10 young Tanzanians to study in any fields taught at the National Centre of Technical and Industrial Learning in Mexico City. President Nyerere also reiterated his offer of scholaships to Mexican technicians to come to Tanzania to specialire in Wildlife preservation and Natinal Parks anagement.

The two Heads of States agreed these programme of fellowship would begin in September, 1975.

(19) President Luis Echeveria Alvarez expressed to President Julius K. Nyerere his warm appreciations for the cordial and friendly welcome he received as well as the courtesies that he, his wife and members of his party, were accorded during their stay in Tanzania.

Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Luis Echeverria Alvarez, President of Mexico.

DAR ES SALAAM, 28th July, 1975.

ADDRESS BY LUIS ECHEVERRIA, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, AT THE OFFICIAL RECEPTION GIVEN AT DAR ES SALAAM BY HIS EXCELLENCY, DR. JULIUS NYERERE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, DURING THE VISIT OF THE MEXICAN HEAD OF STATE AND MRS. ECHEVERRIA.

25 JULY 1975.

MR. PRESIDENT:

In the name of the people of Mexico, I bring cordial greetings to the vigorous people of Tanzania, and express my deep appreciation for the warm hospitality my wife and I have received since our arrival in this beautiful country.

Your words and particularly the high honor you have done me by this fraternal reception unhampered by the trappings of protocol constitute for me a clear indication of the close ties which unite our two nations and echo the personal regard we hav for each other.

Under your inspired leadership, Tanzania achieved its independence and attained the integration which characterizes it today. The country continues to progress under the aegis of African cultural values and the generous philosophy of solidari of this continent.

The antisocial vestiges of the colonial era, the formation of life styles alien either to our realities or to our possibilities, and the fostering of discord among developing peoples have been and continue to be instruments for perpetuati subjugation and postponing the solution to our problems.

The formation of a new international society, on the other hand, calls for the strengthening of the identity of sovereign nations and the certainty that they may effect their own transformation in accordance with the political and social systems freely chosen by them.

In this way, the peoples of the Third World are gradually changing from spectators to actors on the stage of history. They analyse and transform reality on their own terms and unite, by bridging their differences, in order to overcome their common adversities.

The Constitution of Tanzania, its plans for development and the Declaration of Arusha set forth the necessity for a more equitable distribution of wealth, participation by all in progress, and the full utilization of natural resources in accordance with the best interests of the people. The same precepts govern its international policy.

We are at the threshold of a new era. Mexico and Tanzania, like an increasing number of other nations, are dedicating their efforts to the structuring of free societies, based on the development of the potentialities of their people as well as their resources.

The coordinated action of our peoples has already resulted in significant advances: the growing organization for price stabilization by countries which produce raw materials; the gradual complementarity of our economies and the adoption of common platforms all combine to increase the possibilities of finding a new and genuinely equitable type of co-existence.

We cannot accept the conditions imposed by an international structure which continues to demand stagnation and sacrifice of impoverished peoples and insists upon fulfilling the needs of a few powerful groups dedicated to sterile accumulation and waste.

To remedy this unjustice, it is essential to modify the present international division of labor that relegates us to the role of economic and cultural satellites of the major powers.

The emphatic support by Tanzania of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the international community in December of last year is convincing proof of its congruent political ideology and its solidarity with the causes of developing countries.

It is indispensable that the small and medium sized nations put the postulates of the Charter into practice through numerous agreements among themselves concerning the fields for logical and simultaneous action planned to eliminate the true causes of war: hunger and discrimination.

Respect for independence, for sovereignty, for the juridical equality of States and for territorial integrity, as well as repudiation of intervention in the internal affairs of other nations, are prerequisites of harmony and progress.

Our devotion to the cause of peace is opposed to the absurd race for armament. Those who encourage the race situate our planet on the rim of total destruction and defy the will of the vast majority of mankind, they distort the true meaning of all scientific progress and channel toward death the resources that should be employed for life.

The entrance of new nations to a state of independence and the growing force of democratic movements are unmistakable signs of our times.

Africa, which for so many years was subject to a prolonged, heterogeneous and conflicting colonial domination, is recognized today as the continent of liberation and, together, with Asia and Latin America, has joined the advance on the Twentieth Century. From here, I reiterate the fraternal greeting of my people to Mozambique and Cape Verde who have so recently attained the right to decide their destinies autonomously.

We likewise ratify, as we did during your visit to Mexico, our repudiation to the policy of "aparthoid", to the illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia, and to the rule that impedes the majority of Rhodesia's population from exercising their political rights.

Until only a few years ago, the relations between Africa and Latin America belonged to the sphere of good intentions; they were confined to infrequent visits of delegations and sporadic meetings which took place at the headquarters of international organizations. The walls of misinformation and the distance between our continents tried to keep us apart. Our interviews have proved the utter failure of this attempt.

Last June, we founded in Mexico an Institute and an Open University of the Third World as a means of exchanging experiences among developing countries and producing technologies appropriate to their needs and freely interchangeable.

I formally invite your country to take part in the work of these institutions, contributing the valuable knowledge

you have attained in technical planning at the level of the masses and in the practice of the unique "Ujamaa" system of Tanzania.

MR. PRESIDENT:

Your people's efforts, integrated today in a social revolution, give a new meaning to a patriotism expressed in persevering labor and creative imagination.

The policy of collectivism that you are encouraging in rural areas is a fundamental premise for attaining the goals of self-sufficiency that Tanzania has set itself. Your "Ujamaa" reminds Mexicans of the structure for agricultural production utilized by our indigenous communities and of the collective farms or "ejidos" of our modern agricultural reform.

Aside from these, there are other affinites that you undoubtedly noted during your recent stay in Mexico. Many of them come from the past, but an even greater number will unite us in the future, for both of us aspire to the supremacy of our countries and the consolidation of world peace.

A new phase of our relations, which began with your visit, opened wide horizons of cultural, economic and technical cooperation which we have come here to consolidate today.

My most fervent hopes are that the people of Tanzania and you, President Nyerere, will enjoy success in the plans you have undertaken, not only in winning your own well-being and prosperity but also in aiding other African countries and the rest of humanity to attain such worthy objectives.

-ends-

UNCLASSIFIED

Enclosure 3 of
Dar es Salaam A-126

Article from Tanzania Daily News

July 24, 1975

Mexicans in Dar for talks on sisal firm

By Herbert Temba

A FIVE-MAN delegation from Mexico has arrived in Dar es Salaam to hold talks with officials of the Government and the Tanzania Sisal Corporation on the proposed sisal yarn factory to be constructed in Korogwe, Tanga Region.

The delegation which arrived on Tuesday, is part of the entourage of President Luis Echeverria who is expected to begin a four-day state visit to this country tomorrow.

In April this year, President Nyerere paid a six-day visit to Mexico during which he signed an agreement for the construction of the factory.

Expected to have a 20,000-ton yearly production capacity of agricultural sisal thread, the factory will involve a 113 million/- investment. Mexico is to provide about 22 million/- as well as managers and technicians.

About 50 per cent of the total investment will be financed by the machinery suppliers while the remaining will be covered by the Tanzania Sisal Corporation and Cordemex, a Mexican sisal parastatal firm.

Cordemex will also be in charge of construction and technical direction. Its Director General, Dr. Federico Rioseco, who is leading the delegation said yesterday the talks with the Tanzanian officials would focus on the creation of the state-owned bi-national company, Tanzanex Cordage Company.

The delegation will meet officials of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ministry of Agriculture and the Tanzania Sisal Corporation.

The General Manager of Tanzanex has already been appointed and he is a Mexican, Mr. Francisco Faillo Contreras. Before the incorporation of the firm which took place during Mwalimu's visit to Mexico, various meetings between officials of the two countries had taken place.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 07684 292115Z

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ACTION NODS-00

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[redacted] MEXICO 7684

NODIS DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX, XF, UN
SUBJECT: ECHEVERRIA PROPOSALS RE MIDDLE EAST

FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER FROM AMBASSADOR

1. ECHEVERRIA ASKED ME TO CALL ON HIM LAST NIGHT TO HEAR HIS VERSION OF HIS RECENT THIRD WORLD TRIP, DETAILS OF WHICH ARE BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY. DURING CONVERSATION HE ASKED ME SPECIFICALLY TO RAISE WITH YOU FOLLOWING PROPOSAL REGARDING PALESTINE SITUATION, WHICH HE SAID WOULD BE MAIN SUBJECT OF RABASA'S PROPOSED VISIT WITH YOU.

(A) ECHEVERRIA IS FOLLOWING CLOSELY YOUR EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND WISHES YOU ALL POSSIBLE SUCCESS.

(B) HE HIMSELF WAS ANGUISHED BY SITUATION AND TENSIONS THAT HE ENCOUNTERED IN AREA. HE DID EVERYTHING WHILE IN ARAB COUNTRIES TO PREACH AGAINST EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM UN AND WHILE IN ISRAEL TO ADVOCATE A NATIONAL HOME FOR PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

(C) EXCEPT FOR BOUMEDIENNE, WHOM HE FOUND VERY CLOSE-MINDED, HE FOUND OTHER LEADERS RELATIVELY RESPONSIVE. ARAFAT WAS AN EMOTIONAL MYSTIC BUT IN HIS OPINION BASICALLY A GOOD BUT SOMEWHAT SHALLOW MAN, EXCEPT FOR THE FACT THAT HE SEEMED TO BE VERY MUCH UNDER INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIETS.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE ... Date: 6/25/97
EO Citations

PAGE 02 MEXICO 07684 292115Z

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( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
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SHOULD YOUR PRESENT MISSION SUCCEED, AS HE SINCERELY HOPES, WE MUST STILL WORRY LEST SYRIA AND OTHER ARAB STATES TURN AGAINST EGYPT AND THIS MIGHT REQUIRE SOME OTHER TYPE OF CONTINUING ATTENTION. SIMILARLY, SHOULD YOUR MISSION NOT PROSPER FULLY, HE HOPES THAT YOU COULD CONTINUE TO WORK WITH DISCRETION UNDER SOME SORT OF INTERNATIONAL SCREEN WHICH HE PROPOSED AS FOLLOWS:

(1) ECHEVERRIA ON HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO UNGA (AND PRESUMABLY AFTER CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES) WOULD PROPOSE THAT UN INVITE THREE CHIEFS OF STATE TO FORM A CONCILIATION COMMITTEE TO WORK FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE, BOTH ON THE SPOT IN EGYPT, ISRAEL AND FROM UN HEADQUARTERS. HE WOULD PROPOSE THAT SUCH A COMMITTEE BE COMPOSED OF THE SHAH OF IRAN ("A MOSLEM WHO HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS AND AT THE SAME TIME IS A GOOD FRIEND OF ISRAEL'S, HAVING CONTINUED TO SELL THEM OIL"), THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO HIMSELF ("UNIQUELY QUALIFIED BY VIRTUE OF HIS UNPRECEDENTED TRIP THROUGH THE AREA"), AND A EUROPEAN LEADER SUCH AS THE PRIME

MINISTER OF SWEDEN, THE PRESIDENT OF FINLAND OR THE PRESIDENZ OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION.

(2) SUCH A CONCILIATION COMMITTEE WOULD BE MORE THAN MERELY A SCREENAS IT WOULD SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE IN ITSELF. IT WOULD ALSO PROVIDE A COVER FOR YOUR OWN CONTINUED ACTIVITIES, SHOULD YOUR PRESENT MISSION REGRETTABLY NOT REACH A FINAL SOLUTION. EVEN IF YOU SHOULD SUCCEED, THE PROPOSED CHIEFS OF STATE COMMITTEE WOULD SERVE TO KEEP OTHER ARAB STATES FROM NIBBLING AWAY AT THE EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT. MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, BY PLACING THIS MATTER IN A UN CONTEXT (WHILE AT THE SAME TIME LINKING IT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO KEEP IT OUT OF THE BROUHAHA OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY POLITICS) IT WOULD STRENGTHEN THE UN SYSTEM AS A WHOLE AND HELP TO RESTORE ITS LUSTRE.

2. I THANKED PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA FOR THE EXPOSITION OF HIS PLAN AND PROMISED TO REPORT IT TO YOU AT ONCE, OBSERVING THAT PRIOR KNOWLEDGE WOULD MAKE YOUR CONVERSATION WITH RABASA MORE MEANINGFUL. I ASKED ECHEVERRIA WHETHER HIS PLAN ENVISAGED A WILLINGNESS TO STATION ON-THE-SPOT OBSERVERS REPRESENTING THE PROPOSED THREE CHIEFS OF STATE. ECHEVERRIA APPARENTLY HAD [redacted]

[redacted]

NOT THOUGHT OF THIS BUT ON REFLECTION SAID THAT HIS PLAN SHOULD IN INDEED INCLUDE ON-THE-SPOT OBSERVERS AND THAT THEY COULD EITHER WORK ALONG SIDE THE PROPOSED AMERICAN OBSERVERS, THUS

DILUTING THEIR PRESENCE, OR COULD EVEN CARRY OUT THEIR OBSERVER FUNCTION WITHOUT THE AMERICANS, SHOULD YOUR OWN PLAN NOT SUCCEED.

3. IN CLOSING EHCEVERRIA REITERATED AGAIN HIS VERY STRONG HOPES FOR YOUR OWN SUCCESS, REPEATING THAT HIS PLAN WOULD BE PROPOSED ONLY AS A SUPPLEMENT TO YOUR EFFORTS AND INSURANCE IN CASE YOU DID NOT SUCCEED FULLY, AS WELL AS A MEANS OF RESTORING LUSTRE TO THE UN SYSTEM. JOVA

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

E38

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 07738 300158Z

16
ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 OMB-01 /069 W
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R 300015Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9706
INFO USMISSION USUN NY

[redacted] MEXICO 7738

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJ: ECHEVERRIA AND THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP

REF: MEXICO 7618

1. ECHEVERRIA SAID THAT DURING HIS TRIP AT LEAST NINE OF THE COUNTRIES HE VISITED WERE MEMBERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP AND THAT HE HAD BEEN SUBJECT TO CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE TO JOIN THIS GROUP. HE HAD REFUSED TO DO THIS, HOWEVER, AS HE CONSIDERS THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP, AS CONTRASTED WITH THE THIRD WORLD, TO BE HIGHLY POLITICAL AND OVER-IDENTIFIED WITH THE SOVIET UNION. MANY OF THE MEMBERS IN HIS VIEW ARE NON-ALIGNED IN NAME ONLY BEING IN FACT CONTROLLED BY THE RUSSIANS. THE THIRD WORLD ON THE OTHER HAND, IN HIS OPINION, IS A GROUPING OF STATES, MANY OF WHOM ARE POLITICALLY FRIENDLY TO THE WESTERN WORLD BUT WHO ARE BOUND TOGETHER FOR ECONOMIC REASONS AND IN ORDER TO PROTEST THEIR PRODUCTS AND OTHER ECONOMIC INTEREST FROM THE CONSUMER NATIONS. MANY PEOPLE BOTH IN MEXICO AND IN THE UNITED STATES CONFUSE THE NON-ALIGNED WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND USE THE TERMS INTERCHANGEABLY, AND THIS, IN HIS OPINION, WAS A MISTAKE.

2. WHILE REFUSING TO JOIN THE NON-ALIGNED, ECHEVERRIA

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 07738 300158Z

IM/IPR/CRT Date: 6/25/97
( ) DENY EO Citations:
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
To authority to

HAD FELT IT WAS POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF MEXICO'S OBSERVER REPRESENTATIVE AND HAD THUS ASKED FOREIGN MINISTER RABASA HIMSELF TO ATTEND THIS YEAR'S MEETING IN LIMA.

3. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, OUR FEARS EXPRESSED REFTEL WOULD APPEAR TO BE UNFOUNDED.
JOVA

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

SG 188 *

TELECON
Foreign Minister Rabasa/The Secretary
September 4, 1975
Time: 6:58 p.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: How are you?

R: Fine. Say, congratulations on the settlement. You did a wonderful job. We are very happy.

K: Aren't you nice.

R: You showed them again. I am here in New York. I am going to deliver my speech tonight. I am going to blast you as usual. When can we meet?

K: I will be down tomorrow. Can I call your office? I don't have my schedule in front of me. We may be able to meet tomorrow or Saturday.

R: Sunday I have to leave for Mexico. If you want to have lunch or dinner that would be even better.

K: I really don't have time.

R: O.K. I am at the Park Lane.

K: We will call you.

R: Or you can get in touch with me through our permanent mission in New York.

K: Good.

R: You will reach me tomorrow?

K: I will call you tomorrow morning.

R: We will meet tomorrow or Saturday?

K: Yes. Look forward to it.

R: My best to Nancy.

K: Thank you. Bye.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 6 MAR 2003 200102979

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

J7

September 4, 1975

UNCLASSIFIED

To: SCA - Mr. Leonard Walentynowicz

From: ARA - Ambassador Ryan

Subject: GAO Draft Report

Attached to this memorandum are observations on the draft report by our Embassy in Santiago, Chile and by Consul Fred Purdy, now stationed in Manila. We have also discussed the matter with Assistant Secretary Nathaniel Davis. We include a list of suggested changes in the draft which we believe to be factually correct or strike a better balance in the account of events.

ARA supports the judgment made by Santiago that Embassy personnel did their best under especially difficult circumstances and were effective in rendering protective services to the large number of U.S. citizens caught in events in Chile in September 1973. Embassy personnel checked on the welfare of over 600 American citizens and reported to relatives or friends in the United States. Embassy officers were instrumental in securing the release of 17 Americans detained by Chilean authorities and obtained safe conduct passes and helped arrange transportation for over 40 American citizens who would have been unable to leave Chile otherwise. This was accomplished in the midst of street violence and Chilean administrative disorganization, and with efforts impeded by the lack of diplomatic relations with the new regime, difficulties in communication, a strict curfew, and severe military restrictions on personnel movement and activity.

As the report notes, all Americans being held in detention were released within two days of the assumption of diplomatic relations with the Military Government on September 24. This contrasts favorably

UNCLASSIFIED

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
√ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny √ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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with such references in the report to nationals of other countries being held "long periods of time," and "three months."

The full resources of the Embassy were committed to the effort to verify detentions of Americans, locate any American detainees, and obtain their release. The Embassy's military attaches and Military Group officers were the principal ones who were in a position to make informal contact with the Chilean military officers who had assumed control. These officers spent much of their time in the days following the coup calling on Chilean officers who might be knowledgeable about detained Americans, reviewing lists of detainees, checking out reports on individual Americans, and making informal representations for release. There was not an office of the Embassy which was not involved in the Embassy's efforts to afford consular protection and assistance to Americans.

Four additional personnel were immediately available to the Consulate as it concentrated its work on welfare and whereabouts of U.S. citizens because visa functions were suspended for two weeks. Another Vice Consul and two secretaries were added a few days later. As the Chairmen (Senator Kennedy and Congressman Fascell) noted in their letter of October 3, 1974, "trained consular personnel" were the key factor, and untrained recruits might have been of marginal use. The Embassy's experienced consular officers who were knowledgeable in Chilean law and practice were, of course, the principle asset the Embassy had in this regard. In answer to the Chairmen's question - and as the report notes - these personnel devoted maximum efforts to consular responsibilities and were not diverted to other, non-consular functions.

Refuge was given Americans in a number of cases, both in the homes of Embassy officers (which were located in safer places than the Embassy offices) and on occasion in the Chancery. For example, the wife of one of the Americans later found dead was given refuge, first in an officer's home and later in the Chancery. As the report notes, some Americans' attitudes toward the U.S. Government were such that they were reluctant to register, reluctant to seek assistance at U.S. offices, and suspicious of official efforts on their behalf. Some persons turned elsewhere.

We see two contributing factors, duly noted by the GAO report, which inhibited the Embassy from a more constructive role following the intervention of the military on September 11, 1973. As pointed out by the Embassy, and noted by the GAO report, a serious flaw was the physical separation of the Consulate from the Chancery. This affected coordination, and within the first few days at least, injected an element of danger in communications between the Chancery and the Consulate. The latter became attenuated in the immediately succeeding day[redacted] permitted the Chancery to direct inquiring Americans to the Consulate.

The second factor touches upon the clarity of Department policy on Vienna Convention violations during the period of nonrecognition and the legal issues involved. This uncertainty extends to policy on guidelines governing admittance of U.S. citizens to Embassy premises for protection. The Embassy's effort during this period before diplomatic contact was resumed was on intense but informal representations rather than formal demarches or public confrontational tactics. The objective was to facilitate access to detained Americans and to set them free. To have approached the GOC formally and at the top level would have been regarded as precipitate recognition. The de facto regime which was seeking immediately to legitimize itself most likely would have publicly portrayed such U.S. approaches as recognition. We leave for L in its memoranda to address these issues.

With respect to the declassification of the classified documents referred to in the report, Embassy, Santiago has no objections. For our part, we are seeking GAO identification of the documents for ARA review and possible declassification.

Finally, we believe that the recommendations made are constructive and would help make more responsive the ability of Consulate officials to be of assistance during crises and other emergencies.

Attachments

Drafted: ARA/BC:RVFimbres
Ext.23023-9/4/75

1. Santiago 5766
2. Santiago 5989
3. Manila 12358
4. Suggested Draft Changes

SUGGESTED DRAFTING CHANGES

Page 4, Para 3: The Embassy estimates that there were approximately 2,800 Americans resident in Chile on September 11, 1973.

Page 9, Para 2: This subparagraph is confusing. A consulate in a capital city is part of the diplomatic mission, regardless of whether its offices are physically located in the same building as other elements of the Embassy. Consulates in cities other than the capital are independent posts. Although known bureaucratically as "constituent posts", they are in fact independent of the Embassy. In practice they operate in close collaboration with an Embassy, but they can and do report independently to the Department.

Page 12, Registration System ff: As the report correctly points out, Americans residing abroad are reluctant to register with our Embassies and Consulates for a variety of reasons. Further, when U.S. citizens do register, they rarely take the trouble to report any subsequent changes of address. The point is that when an emergency comes any registration list will be nearly useless, and the Embassy will just have to cope. Finally, in the specific Chilean circumstance the Ambassador judged that asking American citizens to register in the public media would have led to undue alarm in a situation which at no time contemplated general evacuation of American citizens in Chile.

Page 13, Para 3: Registration is a simple process. Rarely, if ever, would an American citizen have to stand in line to register.

Page 14, Para 2: During the period in question there were hour-by-hour reports and expectations that the authorities would open the Santiago airport. Two points: (1) until the airport opened no foreign aircraft could have landed, and (2) once opened commercial flights resume, thus eliminating the need for evacuation aircraft.

Page 20, Para 3: The Embassy suspended visa services for almost two weeks, thus effectively increasing the staff available for protective services from 1 to 5 officers. Further, the Embassy got the services of another Vice Consul and two American secretaries. The Embassy also had a 24-hour watch system operating in the Chancery proper during the first days after the coup. This watch system handled many protection problems. Finally, the Embassy simply was not informed that Americans were being arrested immediately after the 11th, and thus, had no reason to increase the Consulate staff. Once it realized what was happening, it took appropriate steps.

Page 21, Para 3: See remarks for Page 20, para 3.

Page 22, Para 1: See remarks for Page 20, para 3. Further, the Embassy believed at that time that it was doing all that could be done. It is only in hindsight that it now realizes that extra staff would have been handy even if it were not being used all the time. The report should note that protection work by its nature depends on good contacts in the field. Thus, extra help would have been marginally useful.'

Page 22, Para 3: We were not aware of any case of Americans receiving protection by a foreign embassy except with the possible exception of (1) a woman who asked help for the Brazilian father of the child she was carrying (we believe she wound up at the Swedish Embassy), and (2) the Boorstin family, which was flown out on a Mexican plane and apparently never approached our Embassy.

Page 22, Para 4: There is no record of most calls made to a Consulate. Our Consular Sections do not have the time or resources to make a record of every call. Even though the Embassy tried to make a record during the period immediately after the coup, it could only log those it considered to be most important.

Page 29, Para 1: Here, the report accepts as fact that the calls were made.

Page 23, Para 2: See remarks for Page 20, para 3 and Page 22, para 1.

Page 23, Para 3: The Chief of the Consular Section tried to telephone many American citizens who had indicated anxiety to leave Chile as soon as possible on the night of September 18/19 concerning the UN flight. Several could not be reached at the telephones they had given the Embassy, some only a few days before. We do not believe that more staff in the Consular Section would have solved this problem.

Page 23, Para 4: How many are many? The Embassy also has "many" letters indicating exactly the opposite. (See Santiago 5989 attached.) The report also ignores the simple truth that in a situation like the coup, Consular officers are not going to be able to do everything Americans may ask or demand. As usual, some customers will not be satisfied. But most, as in this case, are satisfied.

Page 28, Para 2: See comments on Page 12, Registration System ff. At no point, before, during or after September 11 did the Embassy see the need for evacuation. The situation, in its judgment, did not require it.

This is a dubious judgment in our opinion. The Embassy expected the airport to open at any time. Thus, the need for a special evacuation flight did not exist because commercial flights would have been available.

Page 31, Para 2: "Since the September 1973 coup, Chilean authorities have frequently violated..." We believe that "frequently" overstates the case. "Several times" would be better.

Page 32, Para 1: The Junta placed Chile under a constitutional "State of War" for a year, starting on September 11, 1973. In September 1974, the Junta lowered this to a "State of Siege." "State of Siege" concepts exist in almost all Latin American constitutions. During a state of siege or state of war, normal constitutional rights are suspended, including the "48-hour provision" mentioned in this paragraph. Thus, the Junta was acting within its constitutional rights, if not in accordance with the Vienna Convention.

Page 32, Para 3: Consulates find out about detained Americans in two ways: (1) when a witness brings it to the Consulate's attention and (2) more usually when local authorities inform the Consulate. A Consulate is dependent on the good faith of a local government in observing the Vienna Convention. During the period of administrative chaos after the coup in Chile, it is no surprise that we were often not informed of detentions. The surprise is that we heard anything at all.

Page 33, Para 2: This paragraph we feel wrongly implies that we did not talk to the GOC about imprisoned or missing Americans until formal recognition. The Embassy did talk to the GOC, such as it was at that time, on several different levels. This was especially true of our military attaches and the Military Group officers.

Page 33, Para 3: This paragraph ignores the fact that without diplomatic relations there cannot be any diplomatic notes. Further, the paragraph ignores the fact that the Ambassador and the mission have other compelling responsibilities as well as the important one of protecting American citizens. Finally, until the U.S. Government recognized the new military govern-

ment, the Ambassador was constrained from approaching the Chileans about anything, much less detained American citizens.

Page 36, Para 2: U.S. policy with regard to asylum for third country nations is that it can only take place in U.S. territory. Thus, the paragraph's premise that non-Americans, therefore, have an advantage not enjoyed by U.S. citizens is incorrect.,

Page 39, Para 1: Except in the case of a Professor Harrison, we have no records showing that American citizens requested protection in U.S. facilities.

Page 39, Para 3: See remarks for Page 22, para 4.

Page 40, Para 1: See remarks for Page 22, para 4.

Page 48, Para 2: This paragraph probably refers to the Boorstin family. See remarks for Page 22, para 4. As we noted there, we have no indication that the Boorstins ever asked for U.S. protection.

Page 41, "PROTECTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY": So far as property and manuscripts were concerned, the problem was principally one of requests to send materials through the diplomatic mail, a service which the Embassy was not authorized to provide, and which we believe is probably contrary to law.

Page 45, Para 3: See remarks for Page 33, para 3 about diplomatic notes.

Page 48, Para 2: To the best of our knowledge, only the Dutch Vice Consul was able to gain admittance to the National Stadium. He was allowed entry only once.

Page 49, Para 3: See remarks for Page 48, Para 2.

Page 50, Para 1: This paragraph overlooks the fact that once the Embassy found out that an American citizen was detained, it was able to obtain quick release.

Page 50, Para 2: The first sentence appears to contradict the rest of the paragraph.

Page 52, Para 4: This is done at most posts informally. Most Consular officers maintain fairly close liaison with their colleagues, especially those representing European countries.

Page 65, Paras. 1 & 2: These paragraphs incorrectly imply that task forces and country desks exist exclusively for protection functions.

General Observations:

1. Apparently the GAO investigators were unable to recreate mentally the atmosphere of chaos in Santiago during and after the coup.

2. The report places a great deal of faith in "formal diplomatic notes" of protest. The formal protest is used after all other means have failed. The report does not make clear how such notes would have improved the lot of any American detainees. In the case of U.S. citizens subsequently expelled, such as the two priests mentioned, there were government suspicions of their involvement in activities inimical to Chile. We believe it is highly unlikely that the new military government would have allowed these Americans to remain in Chile under any circumstances after they were arrested. In the case of the two Americans killed during the coup, they were dead before the Embassy knew they were detained.

ARA/BC:9/5/75

UNCLASSIFIED DRAFT

(J34)

[redacted]

Initial Draft

9/26/75

R

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Mr. Rogers

FROM:

SUBJECT: Chile and the Human Rights Issue - UN and OAS Meetings

The Situation:

-- The second anniversary of the Chilean Junta has come and gone. Real progress on the human rights issue is yet to be observed.

-- The GOC has not changed its mind about denying further entry of investigative groups.

-- The OASGA resolution of May 19, 1975 on the "Status of Human Rights in Chile" requested the Inter-American Human Rights Commission to "secure by all appropriate means, additional information, to consider that information, and to submit a report on the status of the human rights in Chile to the next session of the General Assembly ensuring that the Government of Chile has reasonable time to submit its own observations."

-- In the next few ~~days~~ weeks the UN will be focusing on the Working Group report in Chile.

-- The IAHRC will meet in Washington October 6-24

-- In your statement at the last OASGA you said we should remain seized of the problem.

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-- OAS S/G Orfila has/been encouraging a new visit to Chile by the IAHRC.

-- Ambassador Trucco has offered Santiago as the site of ~~the~~ next May's OASGA.

Discussion:

-- Unless the IAHRC visits Chile again, its report to the 1976 General Assembly will be dated, incomplete and unfair. It will focus on past sins and not on present reality.

-- The Allana report at the UN will also have the same deficiencies.

-- Trucco's invitation for the next OAS General Assembly to be held suggests he is looking for a less painful way to refurbish Chile's reputation. A quick count of the delegates leads us to believe the offer will prosper despite exception by Mexico, Venezuela, and perhaps several others. Their alternative would be to offer another site rather than see the OAS presence as a benediction to the Chilean Junta.

-- In the meantime, there will be pressure for Chile to accept another IAHRC visit. If this is rejected, any chance for bringing the General Assembly to Santiago would immediately disappear.

Course of Action:

-- We should push for a request by the IAHRC to enter Chile to up-date its earlier report. We should use the leverage provided us by Trucco's [redacted] invitation. If Chile accepts, this could prod Chile into improved internal security practices, the IAHRC would be strengthened, and the Congress appeased to some degree.

-- If Chile declines, the Junta will have defined more clearly its pariah status. While this would be unfortunate, it would help us clarify our own position. In the OAS we would oppose a GA meeting in Santiago or "individual" visits by OAS leaders.

-- We should link the foregoing to our posture at the UN on the Allana report. At that time we should commend Chile's initial willingness to receive a number of investigating groups, regret that it reversed this posture, thus preventing the more balanced and fair account which Chile desires, and we should note the reasons the GOC gave for withdrawing its invitation. We should observe that the unfortunate result is a dated report which might not reflect the situation now existing in Chile following new measures

announced by the GOC. With the forthcoming meeting of the IAHRC in October, suggest the UN ask that the OAS group remain seized of the problem and urge the GOC to accept a visit by that group.

USOAS:REWhite/ARA:BC:RVFimbres:ng
9/26/75

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

(Z187A) K

September 29, 1975

SUBJECT: Secretary's Meeting with Foreign Minister Carvajal

PARTICIPANTS:

Chile
Foreign Minister Patricio Carvajal
U.N. Permanent Representative Ismael Huerta
Ambassador to the U.S. Manuel Trucco
Foreign Ministry Political Advisor Enrique Bernstein
Foreign Ministry Economic Advisor Thomas Lackington

US
The Secretary
Assistant Secretary William D. Rogers
Chile Desk Officer Robert S. Driscoll

COPIES TO:

Foreign Minister: I want to thank you for giving us this opportunity to talk to you.

The Secretary: Well, I read the Briefing Paper for this meeting and it was nothing but Human Rights. The State Department is made up of people who have a vocation for the ministry. Because there were not enough churches for them, they went into the Department of State.

Foreign Minister: We would like to leave these documents with you.

The Secretary: My God! What's that? One of your speeches?

Foreign Minister: It consists of several documents. One explains the current status of the economy. Another explai

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ARA:WDRogers

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the requirements of the armed forces. Another is the state of the laws under the new level in the state of seige; one concerns the new Council of State, and the final one explains the legal dispositions the government is thinking of taking.

The Secretary: My view on the question of human rights is that it is on two levels. One is that it is a total injustice. Nobody goes around making statements regarding what is going on in Kampala or the Central African Republic or hundreds of other countries around the world. The other is the problem of helping your government under the present conditions, which we did not create, but which make it difficult for us. It would help enormously if something can be done. We will study the documents. We understand the problem. It is not in the interest of the United States to turn Chile into another Portugal. (I'll be in great trouble when this is leaked to the papers.) However this is my personal conviction, and I stand behind it.

What can be done visibly to bring about a change in Congressional attitudes? We do not need to discuss it now. However it is our problem. Otherwise, Congress will place restrictio upon restriction against U.S. interests. Look at Turkey-- the restrictions there do not serve any U.S. interest.

This is the issue we face. (I have not read fully all the Briefing Papers.) I do not know what can be done. Anything to alleviate that situation, and in a somewhat visible way,

[redacted]

would be enormously helpful. This is the basic orientation, but the solution has to be a Chilean one. We don't know the details of what you can do.

We have a problem with the Turks. They from Cyprus? so adhered to principal that they withdrew 15,000 troops without telling us. This is something we could have used with our Congress. But they were intent on showing they could not yield to pressures. It would have ended the whole thing if we could have issued a communique stating the reduction. They had 35,000 troops, and now they only have 20,000. This is not exactly analogous.

Foreign Minister: Regarding Human Rights, first I am convinced that the alleged violations of Human Rights are absolutely false. I have conducted my own personal investigation in my own country to be absolutely convinced in my own conscience to make sure they are not taking place.

The Secretary: Why did you cancel United Nations group? You shouldn't have invited them in the first place. Why did you invite them?

Foreign Minister: We had to cancel because there was a bad a phere to begin with. They started badly. Both here in New Y and in Lima they talked to people regarding the situation. T were supposed to investigate the present situation. However, were hearing old testimony. And the atmosphere inside and ou the country was being artificially made into a commotion(sic). The commotion made impossible a thorough and impartial

investigation, and I think the government was right in not authorizing the visit. The Working Group has prepared a report which is not fair. My President left the door open for a later visit of the Working Group, but with the report I feel the door is closed. It was unfortunate. We have admitted the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, and the International Committee of the Red Cross has been there since 1973.

The Secretary: Why did you invite the group to begin with?

Foreign Minister: They created artificially a very bad atmosphere. The Government of Chile has followed a plan to liberalize emergency measures, but the Government of Chile must take measures to control terrorism. Terrorism is a very serious problem all over the world.

The Secretary: That does not happen in the United States. In this country they only shoot at the President.

Foreign Minister: I have asked David Popper whether he would prefer to live in Buenos Aires or Santiago. He answered "no" because his colleague in Buenos Aires lives like a prisoner in his Embassy.

The Secretary: I have no precise suggestions to make. I don't know the conditions. Our point of view is if you do something, let us know so we can use it with Congress.

I see in this document you paroled 200 people, and they have gone to Panama.

Ambassador Trucco: We have authorized more than 200 people to leave the country, and they have no place to go because no one will allow them in. The President of Colombia said he would have to take measures against the Chileans already there. And Facio says some are creating trouble in Costa Rica. Costa Rica is not willing to accept any more Chileans. They are creating problems.

The Secretary: You will know what to do. We cannot go beyond what we have said. What other problem do we have to discuss?

Ambassador Trucco: One problem we are having is with the Ex-Im Bank limitation of the $500,000(sic).

The Secretary: Why?

Ambassador Trucco: The previous listing on Chile has not changed with circumstances. This situation dates from the Popular Unity Government.

The Secretary: It took me two years to get our institutions to reduce credit to your country. (To Rogers) Will you call Casey?

Assistant Secretary Rogers: [redacted] I'll call today. Everything is fine with the IDB and the World Bank?

Ambassador Trucco: With the World Bank we are experiencing certain delays, but we are not pressing the World Bank.

Assistant Secretary Rogers: We should have no problem. We are leaning hard on the bureaucracy.

[redacted]

The Secretary: Bill, talk to the Ex-Im Bank. These are vestiges of the previous government.

Your situation with the private banks?

Assistant Secretary Rogers: Do you need any help?

Ambassador Trucco: No, we don't. Our Finance Minister is coming next month, and presently their offers have doubled.

The Secretary: As I understand it, with commercial sales you're alright--the problem's with FMS.

Ambassador Trucco: The problem with commercial sales is that no export licenses have been approved since 1974.

Assistant Secretary Rogers: It is cleared now for purchases made prior to June 1974.

The Secretary: How about the $10 million of sales you are talking about. We could go forward in Congress with a proposal for $20 million in credit, but Congress would throw it out. Our tentative judgment is not to do it. Do you have any problems with that? On cash sales, could we do more?

Assistant Secretary Rogers: The original figure was $6 million, but we changed it to $10 million.

Foreign Minister: On our list here we have items which are in excess of $10 million.

The Secretary: Why do we have to say no commercial sales? Why don't we go through with it? If $10 million are not

enough, we could add a few millions.

Assistant Secretary Rogers: We are prepared to be responsive

The Secretary: If $10 million is not enough, add more.

What next, part of south Peru or part of western Bolivia?

Foreign Minister: The new government in Peru is improved. We have hope for better relations with this President. And with Bolivia we are working earnestly to resolve our problems, but we have made no commitments regarding the form of the solution.

The Secretary: Thank you. That would be very helpful.

Foreign Minister: Regarding Peru, we still have Soviet influence. They are receiving a Soviet training vessel in Callao with over 100 "cadets."

The Secretary: But how many Soviets are there now?

Assistant Secretary Rogers: In southern Peru?

The Secretary: What is our position? Soviets in the north are alright; but in the south, they are bad?

Foreign Minister: We have just heard that the Soviets are on board a ship. But this just proves the continued close relation between the armed forces and the Soviet Union.

The Secretary: The new Government of Peru has not been in office long enough to make any changes yet.

Foreign Minister: On the day of the coup--August 29--at 8:00 a.m., the Peruvian colleague of the Chilean military commander in Arica called him to say that they were going

to take over the government, "and we are going to eradicate communism and Marxism from Peru." That morning I sent a cable to my Embassy in Lima. The Embassy said it was 9:30 a.m and all was normal. We hope to have better relations, but there is still some Soviet influence.

The Secretary: We will treat these requests sympathetically. On PL 480 I understand Chile is getting 2/3 of the total for Latin America.

Ambassador Trucco: Yes, this is going well.

The Secretary: How is the economic situation? Is it improvin

Foreign Minister: Yes, it is improving. I believe the economic measures to be sound. The Finance Minister is very strict. I have never seen a Finance Minister like this one in Chile. Traditionally, after the budget was approved, we used to ask the Foreign Minister for more money. But this is not the case with this government. Now he asks for cuts. He has cut us to 80% of the original budget. The measures are very strict, but they are good for the country. I am convinced that next year it will be better. We have been expanding our nontraditional exports, and next year we may not have to renegotiate the external debt. The measures are very good and the people willing to cooperate.

Ambassador Trucco: The Balance of Payments deficit is wiped out and completely financed.

The Secretary: (To a whispered exchange in Spanish between Trucco and Carvajal about a copper producer-consumer conferen

We have agreed to do it.

Ambassador Trucco: We are attending a copper exporters meeting in Lima.

The Secretary: Stay in touch with us. We can set up some sort of ad hoc group which can set objective criteria to define the interests of the producers and the interests of the consumers. This might be according to a percentage of production and consumption.

Ambassador Trucco: Ambassador Popper has had recent meeting with the three Financial Ministers to discuss the Chilean position.

Foreign Minister: Our impression is very good regarding your speech on the matter.

The Secretary: As I stated in my speech we favor this. Why don't you coordinate among the producers? We will set this up.

One other thing: I have heard that you want to invite the OAS General Assembly to Santiago.

Foreign Minister: Yes, in April of next year.

The Secretary: Do you think that would be alright with the other countries?

Foreign Minister: Nobody had made any statement against it.

The Secretary: How about Mexico?

Ambassador Trucco: I have spoken to Colina (of Mexico).

He was skeptical. He said that the situation had passed. But I do not know what situation he was referring to.

The Secretary: Maybe Echeverria?

Ambassador Trucco: I also talked with President Lopez of Colombia.

The Secretary: We won't oppose.

Ambassador Trucco: I have talked with BurelliRivas of Venezuela; and he talked to President Perez; and Perez thought it had some merit. Panama also is in favor. I believe a meeting of the OAS General Assembly would do a lot of good.

The Secretary: I would rather like it.

Ambassador Trucco: It would show the real situation and how it has been distorted. They would see the effect of the social programs and the economic programs to bring the country back to normalcy.

The Secretary: Would I have to stay the whole week? I would have to listen to too many speeches.

Assistant Secretary Rogers: Last year the meeting was good. It only lasted two days.

The Secretary: Last year was outstanding. It was the best I ever attended. The Foreign Ministers met for two days, and the other sessions were left to the experts. I would be in favor of such a meeting.

Ambassador Trucco: The only country with which we might have some problems is Mexico, but they can be assured

they would receive all courtesies.

The Secretary: Do you have the facilities?

Assistant Secretary Rogers: They are excellent.

Foreign Minister: I am sure they are better than those (OAS) in Washington.

The Secretary: That is not hard to do.

Ambassador Trucco: They would be the same facilities arranged for the 1972 UNCTAD.

The Secretary: If you can get your Latin American friends to support it, the U.S. will have no difficulties.

Ambassador Trucco: (Handing over another document) This is on the talks in Santiago among the countries of the Andean Pact on the limitation of armaments. Ambassador Bernstein presided over these talks.

Assistant Secretary Rogers: Should we make a public statement on these talks?

Ambassador Trucco: Nothing at this time.

This version was agreed upon by Ambassador Lackington, Desk Officer Driscoll, and interpreter Hervas.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 06602 012037Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted]ENOS AIRES 6602

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, AR
SUBJECT: CAMPORA'S RETURN TO ARGENTINA

REF: BA 6490

SUMMARY: WHILE NO DEFINITIVE EXPLANATION HAS YET BEEN GIVEN FOR HECTOR CAMPORA'S SUDDEN RETURN TO ARGENTINA, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT SOMEONE WITHIN PRESENT GOVERNMENT GAVE CAMPORA GREEN LIGHT TO RETURN. LIKELY FIGURE WITH MOST TO GAIN FROM CAPORA'S RETURN IS FOREIGN MINISTER ROBLEDO, WHO, IT IS SPECULATED, WILL COLLECT DUE BILL FROM CAPORA BY ENLISTING HIM IN DRIVE TO REORGANIZE PARTY FOR '77 ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING HIS RETURN TO ARGENTINA SEPTEMBER 27, FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA MADE SHORT STATEMENT AT AIRPORT WHICH HINTED STRONGLY AT HIS INTENTION TO AGAIN PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN ARGENTINE POLITICS (REFTEL). ON SEPTEMBER 29 FROM HIS COUNTRY ESTATE IN SAN ANDRES DE GILES, CAMPORA ISSUED A STATEMENT TO NEWSMEN, THRUST OF WHICH WAS THAT HE HAD RETURNED TO ARGENTINA AT THIS DIFFICULT MOMENT BECAUSE THE COUNTRY AND THE JUSTICIA-
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 06602 012037Z

LISTA PARTY NEEDED THE VERY BEST EFFORTS OF ALL OF ITS CITIZENS TO SOLVE THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY.

2. STATEMENT AT AIRPORT HINTING AT ACTIVE ROLE CAMPORA APPEARS READY TO PLAY, ALONG WITH SECOND DECLARATION STRESSING NEED FOR JUSTICIALISTAS TO PULL TOGETHER TO HELP COUNTRY THROUGH CRISIS,

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
( ) RELEASE
( ) EXCISE
( ) DENY
(X) DECLASSIFY
( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART
IM/IPS/CR/IR
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
EO Citations
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

3. WEIGHT TO SPECULATION THAT CAMPORA'S FUTURE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES WILL TAKE PLACE WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF ORTHODOX PERONIST PARTY ORGANIZATION. THESIS IS BUTTRESSED BY FACT THAT SINCE HIS ARRIVAL NO STATEMENT BY AUTENTICO PARTY SPOKESMEN HAS BEEN MADE CONCERNING CAMPORA'S RETURN NOR HAVE ANY AUTENTICO LEADERS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE PAID CALL ON CAMPORA. THIS IS PARTICULARLY PUZZLING SINCE DURING HIS EXILE AUTENTICOS EXPENDED GREAT EFFORT IN IDENTIFYING CAMPORA AS ONE OF LEADING LIGHTS OF DISSIDENT PERONIST LEFT.

3. MOST SERIOUS POLITICAL OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT DESPITE HIS DENIALS INTERIOR MINISTER ANGEL ROBLEDO (FORMER GOA AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO) IS MAN WITHIN GOA MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR CAMPORA'S RETURN. ACCORDING TO THIS LINE OF REASONING, ROBLEDO IS AT PRESENT MANEUVERING TO PLACE HIMSELF IN STRONGEST POSSIBLE POSITION FOR '77 ELECTIONS. HIS TWO MOST OBVIOUS RIVALS IN '77 FROM WITHIN PERONISM ARE PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT ITALO LUDER AND ECONOMY MINISTER CAFIERO.
ASSUMING MRS. PERON DEPARTS FROM SCENE, LUDER, WOULD HAVE AT LEAST A YEAR TO BUILD RECORD FROM WITHIN THE CASA ROSADA WHICH HE COULD TAKE TO THE PEOPLE IN NEXT ELECTION. SIMILARLY, CAFIERO, WITH CONTROL OF ECONOMY MINISTRY, COULD EMERGE AS STRONG CANDIDATE PROVIDED HE MAKES SOME PROGRESS IN SOLVING COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, ROBLEDO, DESPITE HOLDING ON TO INTERIOR MINISTRY, WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BUILD BASE FROM WITHIN ADMINISTRATION FOR A CREDIBLE CANDIDACY. AS ODD MAN OUT WITHIN ADMINISTRATION, ROBLEDO'S ONLY POSSIILITY OF BUILDING POWER BASE WOULD COME FROM HIS POSITION AS JUSTICIALISTA PARTY LEADER. ALL PERONIST FACTIONS, INCLUDING THOSE WHO WOULD WISH TO SUPPORT LUDER OR CAFIERO, REALIZE THAT HETEROGENOUS PERONIST MOVEMENT, WHOSE ONLY AGGLUTINATING FORCE WAS GENERAL PERON, MUST CONVERT ITSELF INTO INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL PARTY OR FORFEIT ALL HOPES FOR 1977 THIS CIRCUMSTANCE GIVES ROBLEDO AS FIRST VICE PRESIDENT OF JUSTICIALIST PARTY A MEANS TO FURTHER HIS PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS AS MAN WHO REORGAN-

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IZED AND REUNITED PERONISTS AND MADE THEM INTO A COHERENT POLITICAL PARTY WITH AN INSTITUTIONALIZED STRUCTURE.

4. ON DAY ROBLEDO WAS NAMED INTERIOR MINISTER (SEPTEMBER 15) HE GAVE TELEVISION INTERVIEW IN WHICH HE MADE REFERENCE TO SEVERAL OF THE PROMINENT PERONISTS WHO FELL INTO DISREPUTE JUST BEFORE, DURING AND SHORTLY AFTER CAMPORA'S PRESIDENCY. ROBLEDO NOTED AT TIME THAT WHILE CAMPORA HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM PERONIST PARTY HE "HAD NOT APPEALED EXPULSION" AND SUGGESTED APPEAL ROUTE OPEN AS COURSE CAMPORA MIGHT WISH TO TAKE. WITH RESPECT TO JORGE DANIEL PALADINO, WHO UNTIL FALL FROM GRACE IN 1971 HAD BEEN EXPECTED TO BE PERONIST CANDIDATE IN 1973 ELECTIONS, ROBLEDO OPINED THAT PALADINO WAS STILL A MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING OF PERONIST PARTY. AT TIME OF THESE STATEMENTS, MOST PUBLIC ATTENTION WAS FOCUSED ON QUESTION OF MRS. PERON'S DEPARTURE, LUDER'S FIRING OF DAMASCO, AND THE CAFIERO MISSION TO THE U.S.

NOW, WITH CAMPORA'S RETURN, ROBLEDO'S EARLIER OBSERVATIONS ARE BEING RE-EXAMINED AND GIVEN GREATER POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE. INDEED WHILE ROBLEDO HAS BEEN IN THE U.S. FULFILLING LAST DUTIES AS FOREIGN MINISTER, SOURCES FROM WITHIN THE PERONIST SUPERIOR COUNCIL WHO RESPOND TO THE VERTICALISTA LINE HAVE LEAKED OBVIOUSLY INSPIRED STORIES THAT AS PART OF PARTY REORGANIZATION AN "AMNESTY" WILL BE OFFERED TO MANY IF NOT ALL OF THE "EXCOMMUNICATED" AND LAPSED PERONISTS.

5. CLEARLY, IF IT IS ROBLEDO'S INTENTION TO USE A REORGANIZED AND REVITALIZED PERONIST PARTY AS HIS VEHICLE TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY, THEN CAMPORA'S RETURN UNDER ROBLEDO'S SPONSORSHIP MAKES A LOT OF POLITICAL SENSE. THOUGH NEVER ACTUALLY A LEFTIST, CAMPORA, DURING HIS BRIEF AND INEPT INCUMBENCY, ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE USED BY MONTONERO AND LEFTIST PERONIST YOUTH FACTIONS. HE BECAME THEIR SYMBOL OF GENUINE PERONISM WHICH THEY CONSTANTLY OPPOSED TO THE USURPATION OF THE FALSE PERONIST LOPEZ REGA. WHILE IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT EVEN WITH CAMPORA'S HELP ROBLEDO COULD BRING MANY OF THESE LEFTISTS BACK INTO THE FOLD, HIS REINCORPORATION OF CAMPORA INTO THE ORTHODOX PERONIST MOVEMENT WOULD, HOWEVER, DEPRIVE LEFTISTS OF THEIR ONLY FIGURE OF NATIONAL STATURE. SIMILARLY, IF PALADINO AND MANY OTHER PROMINENT PERONISTS COULD BE RETURNED TO THE FOLD FROM WHICH THEY FELL DURING THE INTENSE INFIGHTING WHICH PRECEDED PERON'S RETURN TO ARGENTINA, ROBLEDO COULD THUS DEMONSTRATE HIS SKILLS
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AS A PARTY HEALER AND EMERGE AS A SYMBOL OF UNITY AND CONTINUITY WHICH PARTY COULD CHOOSE TO LEAD IT IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1977.

6. COMMENT: GIVEN THE CENTRIFUGAL FORCE NOW AT WORK IN THE PERONIST PARTY, BRINGING IT TOGETHER AGAIN WILL BE A HERCULEAN TASK--AND ROBLEDO DOES NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING A HERCULES. HOWEVER, PROVIDED CAMPORA PLAYS THE ROLE WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED HIM (I.E., RE-ENTERING THE ORTHODOX RANKS AND SIDING WITH THE CENTRISTS RATHER THAN WITH THE LEFT), THE EFFECTS OF HIS RETURN ARE LIKELY TO BE POSITIVE FOR THE GOA AND FOR CONSTITUTIONALISM.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

X136 *

TELECON
Mr. Rogers/The Secretary
October 16, 1975
Time: 6:15 p.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Did you see that INR summary that the Panimanian military delegation is leaving for Cuba?

R: I did.

K: Raise cain with them. Go to Lopez and tell him it is tough enough to do the things we have promised them without such nonsense.

R: Let's do that. The Mexican's have offered to help us.

K: Good. Tell Rabasa.

R: O.K. I will prepare something right away.

K: Second I could take the trip on November 6, but I think early January is realistic.

R: That would beO.K. I don't think there is a difference between the two dates. I would like to tell everyone to stand down on November as soon as you decide.

K: I will let you know tomorrow. I will be gone most of December.

R: You have a vicious travel schedule starting tomorrow.

K: I will be back until the middle of November.

R: We can do it in January. I don't think it would be that bad.

K: Yes. O.K. Is it going to be very hot in January?

R: No. Rio will be warm, but not as bad as Washington in the summer.

K: I would aim for January 10.

R: Don't you have -- there was some rumor about the Soviets coming?

K: No.

R: Let's don't do anything until we have fixed dates.

K: O.K. Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 15 APR 2003 200102979

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08351 232015Z

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USCINCSO FOR POLAD

DIA DOD FOR DIN-2D4/DIR-3B3

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, MILI, AR
SUBJECT: SITREP NO. 13 AIR FORCE REVOLT

1. AF REVOLT NOW DEFINITELY OVER. NORMAL AIR SERVICE HAS BEEN RESTORED AT AEROPARQUE. BRIGADIER CAPELLINI HAS BEEN FLOWN TO UNNAMED AIR BASE. REPORTEDLY, HE WILL BE ONLY OFFICER TO SUFFER DISCIPLINARY ACTION. AS EXPECTED, YESTERDAY'S STRIKE WAS LIFTED ALMOST AS SOON AS IT BEGAN.

2. CROWDS OF CIVILIANS GATHERED AT MORON YESTERDAY TO CHEER REBELS AND SOME 300-500 PEOPLE DEMONSTRATED AGAINST MRS. PERON AND IN FAVOR OF CAPELLINI IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES LAST NIGHT. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08351 232015Z

CROWD SURGED DOWN FLORIDA STREET UNTIL STOPPED BY POLICE CORDON. POLICE HAD TO USE TEAR GAS AND SHOTS FIRED IN AIR TO BREAK UP DEMONSTRATION. TWO EMBASSY COMMUNICATORS WERE FORCED FROM RESTAURANT WHERE THEY WERE HAVING DINNER AND WERE LINED UP ON STREET WITH ARMS IN AIR ALONG WITH OTHER PATRONS. THEY WERE NOT GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES, BUT WERE RELEASED

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AFTER PERIOD OF TEN TO FIFTEEN MINUTES.

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3. "POCKET AF REBELLION" SERVED TO UNDERLINE IMPOTENCE OF MRS. PERON'S GOVERNMENT, SHE APPEARED IMMOBILIZED AND NEVER GAVE ORDER THAT IT BE SUPPRESSED. AF DID IT ON ITS OWN. THUS, HER SPEECH LAST NIGHT (TEXT OF WHICH WE ASSUME DEPARTMENT HAS VIA FBIS) REFLECTED AN ALMOST BIZARRE DIVORCEMENT FROM REALITY. SHE SPOKE IN FIRST PERSON OF HAVING PUT DOWN REBELLIION WITH SERENITY, OF AVOIDING BLOODSHED AND ACCOMPLISHING GREAT THINGS FOR ARGENTINE PEOPLE. IN FACT, HOWEVER, SHE WAS NOT EVEN A PROTAGONIST. .AS LA OPINION PUTS IT THIS MORNING, SPEECH REFLECTS "CERTAIN MISINFORMATION CONCERNING REALITY OF THE SITUATION THROUGH WHICH COUNTRY IS PASSING." MILITARY ARE BOUND TO HAVE BEEN PROFOUNDLY IRRITATED BY TONE AND CONTENT OF SPEECH, WHICH TOOK ALL CREDIT FOR HERSELF AND BARELY MENTINED MILITARY.

4. MILITARY WILL ALSO BE DISTURBED BY IMPLICATION THAT SHE CLEARLY DOES NOT PLAN TO GO ON LEAVE. ON CONTRARY, SHE EMPHASIZED HER INTENTION OF CONTINUING IN OFFICE. DOUBTLESS HER REPEATED USE OF FIRST PERSON WAS ALSO MEANT TO SIGNAL THAT INTENTION. MEANWHILE, HER PERFORMANCE OF PAST FEW DAYS HAS SIMPLY UNDERLINED HER INCAPACITY. EXCEPT FOR HOLDING STERILE CABINET MEETINGS AND ISSUING WEIRD COMMUNIQUES (SEE SEPTEL) SHE TOOK NO ACTION AT ALL. PUBLIC IMAGE IS ONE OF MRS. PERON COWERING AND THEN FAINTING IN CASA ROSADA BASEMENT DURING DECEMBER 20 AIR-RAID SCARE. AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERWOMAN WHO WAS A CLOSE EYEWITNESS REPORTS THAT WHEN MRS. PERON EMERGEED FROM CASA ROSADA ABOUT 10:00 P.M. DECEMBER 20, SHE APPEARED TO BE IN A TRANCE, GRIMACING AND STUMBLING. SEVERAL OF HER BODYGUARDS REPORTEDLY GRABBED HER AND VIRTUALLY THREW HER IN THE BACK OF HER CAR. OTHER REPORTS INDICATE THAT EVEN DURING CRISIS SHE REFUSED TO SPEAK TO INTERIOR MINISTER ROBLEDO, WHOM SHE HAS COME TO DETEST. THE TWO COMMUNICATE THROUGH A THIRD PARTY RATHER THAN SPEAKING DIRECTLY TO ONE ANOTHER.

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5. AS SOME OBSERVERS HAVE PUT IT: "MRS. PERON'S GOVERNMENT IS DEAD--HAS BEEN DEAD FOR MONTHS." IT APPEARS, NONETHELESS, THAT ITS EXISTENCE AS A LVIING CORPSE HAS BEEN PROLONGED FOR YET ANOTHER FEW DAYS, OR EVEN WEEKS. TO THEIR CREDIT, THE ARMED FORCES ARE STILL HOPING CIVILIANS WILL PRODUCE SOME CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS OF REMOVING MRS. PERON FROM OFFICE. BUT TIME IS CLEARLY RUNNING OUT. UNLESS MORE GRACEFUL WAY IS FOUND, MILITARY MAY SOON HAVE TO PUT HER ON A PLANE TO MADRID, AS THEY DID LOPEZ REGA.

6. GOVERNMENT, AND COUNTRY, REMAIN IN STATE OF CRISIS, BUT CRISIS COULD CONTINUE FOR YET SOME TIME TO COME. IMMEDIATE ISSUE, THAT OF AF REVOLT, HAS PASSED. THUS, WHILE WE WAIT FOR THE OTHE SHOE TO DROP, EMBASSY WILL TERMINATE SITREP SERIES. IN CLOSING OUT, WE REPEAT OBSERVATION OF BUENOS AIRES HERALD THAT "THERE ARE USUALLY MORE CASUALTIES AT A MEXICAN WEDDING THAN IN AN ARGENTINE REVOLT." HILL

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ANNEX

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MEMORANDUM OF LAW

This memorandum presents views of the Republic of Chile concerning a legal proceeding that is reportedly pending in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia under Civil Action No. 86-3085. This legal proceeding is apparently brought by Veronic DeNegri and others against the Republic of Chile and the Armed Forces of Chile. It is referred to below as "the DeNegri proceeding."

Preliminarily, the Republic of Chile advises that the Armed Forces of Chile are not a separate legal person either under Chilean law or under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. 1603(b). The Armed Forces are an integral part of the Chilean state. The Armed Forces have no separate capacity to bring legal proceedings, to defend legal proceedings, or to engage in legal transactions except on behalf of the Republic of Chile itself.

I. INTRODUCTION

The plaintiffs in the DeNegri proceeding have attempted to serve legal documents upon the Embassy of Chile and its military mission. The Clerk of the District Court has also mailed legal documents to the military mission. As discussed under point IV below, such methods both violate the diplomatic immunities of the Republic of Chile and its diplomatic mission, and are improper under Section 1608 of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act,

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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28 U.S.C. 1608. The Republic of Chile, nevertheless, is concerned about a possible exercise of jurisdiction in the DeNegri proceeding, as a result of these invalid and improper attempts to serve legal process and, thus, suggests consideration of the legal standards presented in this memorandum.

The Republic of Chile also presents this memorandum so that the District Court may determine, at the earliest appropriate occasion, the lack of jurisdiction over the subject matter of this legal proceeding. The Republic of Chile is advised that the District Court is empowered to determine, at any time and at its own initiative, that it lacks jurisdiction over the subject matter of a legal proceeding. See Rule 12(h)(3) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, and Louisville and Nashville Railroad v. Motley, 211 U.S. 149 (1908). Professor Moore of the United States has also written that when a court lacks jurisdiction over the subject matter and even when the parties before the court do not call attention to this lack of jurisdiction, "the court at any stage of the proceedings has a duty to raise such a defense on its own initiative." Moore's Federal Practice, Vol. 2A, Section 12.23, page 12-204 (second edition 1986).

When a foreign sovereign is the defendant, the United States Supreme Court has ruled that a court must determine its jurisdiction over the subject matter, and sovereign immunity, "even if the foreign state does not enter an appearance to assert an immunity defense . . . ." Verlinden B. V. v. Central Bank

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of Nigeria, 461 U.S. 480, 493-494 n.20 (1983). Other United States courts have also determined that they must independently determine their own jurisdiction in all cases against foreign sovereigns. MOL, Inc. v. People's Republic of Bangladesh, 736 F.2d 1326, 1328 (9th Cir. 1984); Frolova v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 761 F.2d 370, 373 (7th Cir. 1985); Jackson v. The People's Republic of China, 794 F.2d 1490 (11th Cir. 1986); In Re Korean Airlines Disaster of September 1, 1983, M.D.L. Docket No. 565 (D.D.C. Memorandum and Order of August 1, 1985); McKeel v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 722 F.2d 582, 585-87 (9th Cir. 1983); Meadows v. Dominican Republic, 628 F. Supp. 599, 603 (N.D. Cal. 1986).

The DeNegri proceeding presents this question of lack of jurisdiction. It also raises the most serious questions about the principle of sovereign immunity under international law and the competence of a court in one country to assert jurisdiction against a foreign sovereign with respect to matters that have occurred exclusively within the territory of that foreign sovereign. In this regard, all of the events in question occurred entirely within Chile. All participants in the events were Chilean nationals and were present in Chile at all times. The injuries and death occurred in Chile to Chilean nationals. As a result, formal charges have been filed in Chile by Chilean authorities and criminal proceedings are pending in Chile. To assert jurisdiction in such circumstances would be inconsistent

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with the concern of the United States Congress in adopting the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, that United States courts not be "turned into small 'international courts of claims' . . . open to all comers to litigate any dispute which any private party may have with a foreign state anywhere in the world." Verlinden B.V. v. Central Bank of Nigeria, 461 U.S. at 490, citing Hearings on H.R. 11315, page 31.

The plaintiffs in the DeNegri proceeding have remedies available in Chile. They have retained Chilean counsel who has participated directly on their behalf in the criminal proceedings in Chile. As a result, the plaintiffs have acquired the legal status, under Chilean law, of "interested parties" in those Chilean criminal proceedings. Plaintiffs have not, however, attempted to avail themselves of civil tort remedies available in Chile. See point VII below. They have preferred instead to initiate the civil proceedings in question within the United States.

Because of the impropriety of these civil proceedings and their implications under international law and for ongoing criminal proceedings in Chile, the Republic of Chile desires that the District Court promptly determine its own jurisdiction concerning the subject matter, and suggests that the authorities discussed below be given consideration.

II. THE COURT LACKS JURISDICTION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER UNDER UNITED STATES LAW

A. The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act Governs Jurisdiction In Every Case Against a Foreign Sovereign.

The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. 1330, 1604-1607, is the exclusive basis by which a United States court may have subject matter jurisdiction in cases against a foreign sovereign government. The United States Supreme Court made this clear in its decision in Verlinden B.V. v. Central Bank of Nigeria, 461 U.S. 480 (1983). The Supreme Court recognized that all actions against foreign sovereigns involve important federal and international concerns: "Actions against foreign sovereigns in our courts raise sensitive issues concerning the foreign relations of the United States, and the primacy of federal concerns is evident." 461 U.S. at 493. In view of these concerns, the Supreme Court concluded that the United States Congress had intended the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act to be the exclusive basis for determining jurisdiction in "every" case against a foreign sovereign:

> To promote these federal interests, Congress exercised its Article I powers by enacting a statute comprehensively regulating the amenability of foreign nations to suit in the United States. The statute must be applied by the district courts in every action against a foreign sovereign, since subject matter jurisdiction in any such action depends on the existence of one of the specified exceptions to sovereign immunity . . . . At the threshold of every action in a district court against a foreign state,

[illegible]

> therefore, the court must satisfy itself that one of the exceptions applies--and in doing so it must apply the detailed federal law standards set forth in the Act.

461 U.S. at 493-494 (emphasis supplied). In this regard, the legislative history to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act states that it was "intended to preempt any other State or Federal law . . . for according immunity to foreign sovereigns." House of Representatives Report No. 94-1498, 94th Congress, 2d Session (referred to below as "House Report"), page 12.

Other United States courts have also ruled that the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. 1330(a), is the only basis for subject matter jurisdiction in cases against a foreign sovereign. For example, while aliens may possibly sue individual persons for torts in violation of the "law of nations" under 28 U.S.C. 1350, they may not sue a foreign sovereign under this statute--because a foreign sovereign may only be sued under 28 U.S.C. 1330. Amerada Hess Shipping Corp. v. Argentine Republic, 638 F.Supp. 73 (S.D.N.Y. 1986), appeal pending; In Re Korean Airlines District of September 1, 1983, M.D.L. Docket No. 565 (D.D.C. Memorandum and Order of August 1, 1985); Tel-Oren v. Libyan Arab Republic, 726 F.2d 774 (D.C. Cir. 1984), at 776 n. 1 (opinion of Judge Edwards) and at 805 n. 13 (opinion of Judge Bork). Nor may a foreign sovereign be sued under 28 U.S.C. 1331 or 1332. McKeel v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 722 F.2d 582, 585-587 (9th Cir. 1985); O'Connell Machinery Co. v.

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M. V Americana, 734 F.2d 115, 116 (2d Cir. 1984); Goar v. Compania Peruana de Vapores, 688 F.2d 417, 421-422 (5th Cir. 1982); Rex v. Cía. Peruana de Vapores, 660 F.2d 61, 64-65 (3d Cir. 1981); Williams v. Shipping Corp. India, 653 F.2d 875, 880-881 (4th Cir. 1981).

The United States Government has adopted the same view, that 28 U.S.C. 1330(a) is the only basis for subject matter jurisdiction in cases against a foreign sovereign. See Statement of Interest of the United States, in Guy von Dardel v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 84-0353 (filed December 8, 1986), page 25. Thus, if jurisdiction is lacking under this statute, no jurisdiction may exist against a foreign sovereign under United States law.

B. A Foreign Sovereign Is Immune From Jurisdiction Unless An "Exception" In 28 U.S.C. 1604-1607 Clearly Applies.

The jurisdictional framework established by the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act "begins with the presumption that foreign states are immune from suit." Frolova v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 761 F.2d at 372. Thus, the Supreme Court in the Verlinden case noted that the jurisdictional section of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. 1330(a), confers jurisdiction only where a foreign sovereign does not have

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sovereign immunity under one of the "exceptions" of 28 U.S.C. 1604-1607:

> If one of the specified exceptions to sovereign immunity applies, a federal court may exercise subject matter jurisdiction under 1330(a); but if the claim does not fall within one of the exceptions, federal courts lack subject matter jurisdiction.

461 U.S. at 489.

The first immunity section, 28 U.S.C. 1604, states the basic presumption, that a foreign sovereign is to be accorded immunity unless one of the limited exceptions in sections 1605-1607 applies. The principal immunity exceptions then appear in 28 U.S.C. 1605. (The next section, 28 U.S.C 1606, states consequences that may result if sovereign immunity is not conferred. The final section, 28 U.S.C. 1607, applies only to counterclaims.)

An analysis of 28 U.S.C 1605 indicates that none of its limited exceptions to sovereign immunity applies to the apparent subject matter of the DeNegri proceeding. Some of these exceptions are totally irrelevant, such as the "commercial activity" exception of Section 1605(a)(2); the expropriated property exception of Section 1605(a)(3); the real estate and inheritance exception of 1605(a)(4); and the maritime claim exception of Section 1605(b).

The discussion below establishes that the other potential exceptions to the fundamental rule of sovereign immunity also

do not apply--specifically, the tort claim exception of Section 1605(a)(5), the waiver exception of Section 1605(a)(1), and the international agreement clause of Section 1604.

C. All Foreign Sovereigns Are Immune From Non-Commercial Tort Claims Unless Both the Injury and the Alleged Tortious Acts Have Occurred Within the United States.

Besides occurrence of the injury in the United States, the tort claim exception, 28 U.S.C. 1605(a)(5), removes sovereign immunity and provides jurisdiction only for limited types of tort claims. Significantly, it permits a district court to exercise jurisdiction against a foreign sovereign only where the injury occurs "in the United States" itself. 28 U.S.C. 1605(a)(5); Persinger v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 729 F.2d 835 (D.C. Cir 1984); Perez v. The Bahamas, 652 F.2d 196 (D.C. Cir. 1981) (ruling that The Bahamas were immune from tort claims based on injuries in Bahamian territorial waters inflicted by Bahamian gunboats). The apparent subject matter of the DeNegri proceeding involves injuries that occurred entirely within Chile, not at all within the United States. For this sole reason, the district court may not exercise jurisdiction.

Besides occurrence of the injury in the United States, the legislative history to 28 U.S.C. 1605(a)(5) shows that the United States Congress intended a second requirement--that the tortious act or omission must also occur within the United States. House Report, page 21. The United States courts have, thus, ruled that

not only the injury, but also the tortious act or omission, must occur within the United States and not abroad. Persinger v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 729 F.2d at 842-843; Asociacion de Reclamantes v. United Mexican States, 735 F.2d 1517, 1524-1525 (D.C. Cir. 1984); Frolova v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 761 F.2d 370, 379-380, (7th Cir. 1985); Olsen v. Government of Mexico, 729 F.2d 641, 645-646 (9th Cir. 1984); Kline v. Republic of El Salvador, 603 F. Supp. 1313, 1315-1316 (D.D.C. 1985).

The apparent subject of the DeNegri proceeding concerns not only injuries occurring entirely within Chile, but also alleged acts and omissions entirely within Chile. None were within the United States. For this reason, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act prevents the District Court from exercising jurisdiction.

D. The Republic of Chile Has Never Waived Its Immunity, Either By International Agreement Or By Any Other Act.

The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. 1605(a)(1), allows a court to exercise jurisdiction where a foreign sovereign has waived its immunity either explicitly or by implication. In view of the purposes of the statute and the potential "sensitivity" of all actions against foreign sovereigns, Verlinden B.V. v. Central Bank of Nigeria, 461 U.S. at 493, these waiver exceptions have been very narrowly interpreted.

The legislative history lists only three examples of waivers by implication: (1) an agreement to arbitration by the foreign state of the dispute in question, (2) an agreement by a foreign state in a contract dispute that the contract is governed by the law of a particular country, and (3) the filing of a responsive pleading by a foreign state in a case in the United States without raising the defense of sovereign immunity. House Report, at page 18. The "courts have been reluctant to stray beyond these examples when considering claims that a nation has implicitly waived its defense of sovereign immunity." Frolova v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 761 F.2d at 377. Even "provisions allegedly waiving sovereign immunity are narrowly construed." 761 F.2d at 377. The same court has said that "courts rarely find that a nation has waived its sovereign immunity . . . without strong evidence that this is what the foreign state intended." 761 F.2d at 377, referring to Maritime Int'l Nominees Establishment v. Republic of Guinea, 693 F.2d 1094, 1100 n. 10 (D.C. Cir. 1982). Thus, a foreign state does not waive its sovereign immunity, unless there has been "an intentional and knowing relinquishment of the legal right." Castro v. Saudi Arabia, 510 F. Supp. 309, 312 (W.D. Tex. 1980).

The Republic of Chile has never explicitly or otherwise waived its right of sovereign immunity in connection with any subject matter involved in the DeNegri proceeding. It has never made "an intentional and knowing relinquishment of the legal

right" to sovereign immunity. It has never intended to waive its sovereign immunity. In fact, as discussed under point III below, the Republic of Chile adheres to the absolute principle of sovereign immunity under international law, and retains its sovereign immunity unless it has explicitly relinquished that immunity in writing in a particular case. Moreover, under Chilean law, there is a statute that provides a detailed procedure that must be followed before the Republic of Chile may relinquish its sovereign immunity in particular cases. Decree Law No. 2349, Article 4, Diario Oficial No. 30,201, October 13, 1978. Neither that law nor its detailed procedures have been followed in connection with the subject matter of the DeNegri proceeding.

In addition, the Republic of Chile has never waived its sovereign immunity in any international agreement that might in any way be relevant to the DeNegri proceeding. In this regard, it has been claimed before other courts, that other foreign states waived their sovereign immunity by entering into international agreements which do not specifically address the subject of sovereign immunity--such as the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The courts, however, "have generally required convincing evidence that a treaty was intended to waive sovereign immunity before holding that a foreign state may be sued in this country." Frolova v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 726 F.2d at 378. Accordingly, the courts have rejected the view that adherence to such general

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international agreements have, in any way, resulted in any waiver of sovereign immunity. Frolova v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 761 F.2d at 376-378; Berkovitz v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 735 F.2d 329, 333 (9th Cir. 1984); Rio Grande Transport Inc. v. Compagnie Nationale Algerienne de Nauvigation, 517 F.2d 1155, 1160 (S.D.N.Y. 1981); In re Korean Airlines Disaster of September 1, 1983, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, M.D.L. Docket No. 565 (opinion of August 1985) at p. 5-6. The United States Government has also adopted this view. See Statement of Interest of the United States, in Guy Von Dardel v. Union of Soviet Socialists Republics, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 84-0353 (filed December 8, 1986), at pages 22-24.

For these reasons, the Republic of Chile may not be deemed, in any fashion, to have waived its sovereign immunity.

E. No International Agreement Deprives the Republic of Chile of Its Sovereign Immunity.

The basic immunity provision in the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. 1604, is "subject to existing international agreements of which the United States is a party at the time of enactment of this Act. . . ." The legislative history to this clause indicates that it applies only "in the event an international agreement expressly conflicts" with the Foreign Sovereign

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Immunities Act. House Report, page 17. The provision was intended not to upset the NATO Status of Forces Agreement or other "agreements to which the United States is a party, calling for exclusive non-judicial remedies through arbitration or other procedures for the settlement of disputes." House Report, page 17. Moreover, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act prevails whenever "international agreements are silent on a question of immunity . . .; the international agreement would control only where a conflict was manifest." House Report at 18.

The United States Government, in another case before the District Court, has made clear that for an international agreement to deprive a foreign sovereign of its sovereign immunity, that international agreement "must expressly provide for amenability to suit or otherwise conflict with the FSIA's immunity provisions." Statement of Interest of the United States, in Guy Von Dardel v. Union of Soviet Socialists Republics, cited above, page 21. The same conclusion was reached in Colonial Bank v. Compagnie General Maritime et Financiere, 645 F. Supp. 1457, 1460-1461 (S.D.N.Y. 1986). The Republic of Chile has never entered into any international agreement that would relinquish or limit, in any respect, its sovereign immunity in cases of tort. No such international agreement exists.

For all of the above reasons, the District Court, under United States law, lacks jurisdiction in the DeNegri proceeding.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

III. THE COURT LACKS JURISDICTION UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

As discussed below, any exercise of jurisdiction in the DeNegri proceeding by a United States court against the Republic of Chile would also violate international law and, thus, give rise to an international claim by the Republic of Chile against the United States. See Restatement of the Law Second, Foreign Relations Law of the United States, Sections 3 and 8 (1965), pages 8-14, 23-25. Principles of international law are, in addition, relevant to the interpretation of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. Congress purported to base the main principles of this statute on "international law." See 28 U.S.C. 1602. The legislative history has numerous references to the intent of Congress to conform to international law:

> Sovereign immunity is a doctrine of international law under which domestic courts, in appropriate cases, relinquish jurisdiction over a foreign state. . . .
>
> Sovereign immunity as a doctrine of international law was first recognized in our courts in the landmark case of The Schooner Exchange v. M'Faddon, 7 Cranch 116 (1812).

House Report, page 8.

> In virtually every country, the United States has found that sovereign immunity is a question of international law to be determined by the courts.

House Report, page 9.

> Section 1602 sets forth the central premise of the bill: That decisions on claims by foreign states to sovereign immunity are best made by the judiciary on the basis of a statutory regime which incorporates standards recognized under international law.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

House Report, page 14.

It is universally recognized under international law that a foreign state, like the Republic of Chile, may not be sued in the national courts of another country (like the United States) with respect to alleged torts that occurred within the foreign sovereign's own territory. Indeed, for the majority of the world's countries, sovereign immunity is absolute. There are no exceptions to sovereign immunity unless a foreign sovereign explicitly relinquishes its sovereign immunity. Most Latin American countries adhere to this view. Indeed, virtually all countries of Latin America are parties to the Inter-American Convention on Private International Law of 1928 (Bustamante Code). Under Articles 333-335 of this international treaty, foreign states are entitled to immunity, except in certain cases involving real property and inheritances and except where the foreign state has voluntarily and intentionally submitted to a court's jurisdiction.

The Republic of Chile has consistently applied these principles. For example, the case of Senerman Rapaport v. Republic of Cuba, Revista De Derecho Jurisprudencia, Vol. 72 (1975), Part II, Page 54; 65 International Law Reports 29 (Chile Supreme Court 1975), decided that legal proceedings could not be maintained in Chile against a foreign state, even for a contract to sell real property, in view of the equality of sovereigns and the "principle of international law . . . that a sovereign State shall not be subject to the jurisdictional power of the courts of

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

another State." 64 International Law Reports at 30. This principle applied even to Cuba, a hostile nation with which Chile did not maintain diplomatic relations. In fact, the Government Attorney's Office of the Republic of Chile asserted sovereign immunity to the Supreme Court of Chile on Cuba's behalf. See also Oppenlander De Soska v. Embassy of Ecuador, Fallos de la Corte Suprema, Vol. 221, 1959, page 171, 65 International Law Reports 2 (Argentina Supreme Court, 1951), holding that a tort claim based on an industrial accident could not be maintained where "the government of Ecuador does not consent to this Court trying the action."

Many developing countries and socialist nations adhere to this absolute view of sovereign immunity. Indeed many such countries have specific statutes adopting this absolute view of sovereign immunity. See for example Argentina, Act No. 21,708, Boletin Oficial 28-12-77, Article 24, reprinted in United Nations Legislative Series, Materials On Jurisdictional Immunities Of States And Their Property, ST/LEG/SER.B/20 (1982), page 4 (this is referred to below as "U.N. Legislative Series"); Czechoslovakia, Act Concerning Private International Law And The Rules Of Procedure Relating Thereto, Section 47, in U.N. Legislative Series, pages 14-15; Hungary, Law Degree No. 13 Of 1979 On Private International Law, Section 17(c), in U.N. Legislative Series, page 17; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Law Dated 8 December, 1961, Proceedings of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,

UNCLASSIFIED

1961, No. 50, page 526, Article 61, in U.N. Legislative Series, page 40. Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Portugal, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad, and Venezuela, also follow the absolute view of sovereign immunity under their laws. See U.N. Legislative Series, pages 78-79, 559-560, 564-565, 592-593, 601, 604-605, 610-611, 638. The views of such countries are to be respected by United States courts. See Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Sabbatino, 376 U.S. 398, 429-430 (1964).

Certain western countries have a more liberal view of sovereign immunity. Some have adopted statutes that restrict, in a limited fashion, the traditional immunities of foreign sovereigns. For tort claims, however, each of these statutes creates only a very limited exception, requiring at a minimum that either the injury, or the tortious act, or both, occur entirely within the forum:

United Kingdom. The State Immunity Act, Section 5, requires that any injury, death or damage to property be "caused by an act or omission in the United Kingdom." U.N. Legislative Series, page 43; 17 International Legal Materials 1123 (1978).

Canada. The Canadian statute, An Act to Provide for State Immunity in Canadian Courts, Section 6, limits immunity only with respect to an injury, death or property damage "that occurs in Canada." 21 International Legal Materials 798 (1982).

Pakistan. State Immunity Ordinance, 1981 Sections 5 and 7 would appear to permit tort actions only where the tort relates

UNCLASSIFIED

to a commercial transaction or to the possession or use of immovable property in Pakistan. U.N. Legislative Series, pages 20-27.

Singapore. The State Immunity Act 1979, Section 7, limits immunity in tort actions, only where the death, injury or damage is "caused by an act or omission in Singapore." U.N. Legislative Materials, page 30.

South Africa. The Foreign Sovereign Immunity Act (1981), Section 6, limits immunity in tort actions, only where the death, injury or damage is "caused by an act or omission in the Republic" of South Africa. U.N. Legislative Series, pages 36-37.

European Convention. There exists a European Convention on State Immunity. Article 11 of that Convention restricts sovereign immunity in tort cases only "if the facts which occasioned the injury or damage occurred in the territory of the State of the forum, and if the author of the injury or damage was present in that territory at the time when those facts occurred." Council of Europe, No. 74 (1972); U.N. Legislative Series, page 159; 11 International Legal Materials 470 (1972).

Foreign courts have, understandably, rarely been confronted with tort claims against foreign sovereigns where the events have occurred abroad. On the few occasions when those cases have been brought, however, immunity has always been granted and the case dismissed:

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Amanat-Kahn v. Fredson Travel Inc. (1982) 36 Ontario Reports 17, 64 International Law Reports 733 (Canada, High Court of Ontario 1982), an airline crash tort action against the Government of Pakistan for negligence in failing to provide proper security at Karachi Airport. The Canadian court dismissed the case on grounds of sovereign immunity from jurisdiction, holding that operation of an airport is a sovereign act and noting that "the acts alleged to have created liability upon the government of Pakistan all arose in Pakistan or other foreign countries." 64 International Law Reports, at 737.

Church of Scientology Case, Case No. VI ZR 27-76, 65 International Law Reports 193 (Federal Republic of Germany, Federal Supreme Court 1978). A tort claim was asserted against the head of New Scotland Yard for having made false accusations against plaintiff in a report issued in the United Kingdom. The court concluded that it lacked jurisdiction because the head of Scotland Yard was carrying out police functions of the British Government and, thus, entitled to sovereign immunity.

Immunity of United Kingdom from Jurisdiction Case, 24 International Law Reports 207 (Federal Republic of Germany: Ct. of App. Schleswig, March 26, 1957). An individual accompanying British forces in Germany following World War II was sent to the Soviet Zone in Germany to bring back certain arms and military plans. He was arrested by Soviet forces, sustained injuries, and subsequently brought suit against the United Kingdom in a West

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

German court. That court refused to exercise jurisdiction on grounds of sovereign immunity.

Societe Anonyme Eau, Gaz, Electricite et Applications v. Office D'Aide Mutuelle, 23 International Law Reports 205 (Belgium: Ct. of App. Brussels, January 25, 1956). The plaintiff suffered damages in a traffic accident involving a British military truck transporting troops in Belgium. The court concluded that claims relating to the transport of troops on the order of a foreign government (apparently from abroad) could not be heard because the foreign state was entitled to immunity.

U Kyaw Din v. The British Government, 23 International Law Reports 209 (Burma: High Court of Rangoon, July 14, 1948), where immunity was accorded in a tort action relating to the deliberate destruction of property by the British forces when evacuating Rangoon in 1942.

The United States is participating in an effort by the International Law Commission of the United Nations to draft an international convention on the jurisdictional immunities of foreign states. Article 14 of that draft convention, in its initial form, would have deprived a foreign state of its sovereign immunity in tort actions only where:

> the act or omission . . . occurred wholly or partly in the territory of the State of the forum, and if the author of the act or omission was present in that territory at the time of the act or omission.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 1984, Vol. II, Part Two, United National Publication No. A/CN.4/SER.A/1984/Add.1 (Part 2), page 66. The commentary to this provision indicates the limited nature of this exception:

> The existence of two cumulative conditions is necessary for the application of this exception. The act or omission causing the death, injury or damage must occur in whole or in part in the territory of the State of the forum so as to locate the locus delicti commissi within the territory of that State. In addition, the author of such act or omission must also be present in that State at the time of the act or omission so as to render even closer the territorial connection between the State of the forum and the author or individual whose act or omission was the cause of the damage in the State of the forum.

Ibid, pages 66-67.

Even with these limitations, Article 14 was criticized within the International Law Commission because it "found no support in the general practice of States." Yearbook of the International Law Commission 1984, Vol. II, Part One, page 10. Accordingly, Artitle 14 has been further limited to apply only to "insurable risks" arising from the occupation of real property or the transport of passengers or cargo, provided the act or omission occur in the forum and provided the author of the act or omission be also within the forum at the time of the occurrence. Ibid., page 11.

See also, Draft Articles for Convention on State Immunity, Article III.F., International Law Association, Report of the

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Sixtieth Conference, Montreal, 1982 (London 1983), 22 International Law Materials 287, which would require that the tortious act or omission "occur wholly or partly in the forum State" before jurisdiction could be asserted; Inter-American Draft Convention on Jurisdictional Immunity of States (1983), Articles 5 and 6(e), 22 International Legal Materials 292 (1983), which, though never adopted, would have restricted immunity only if the tort arose from commercial activity in the forum.

The subject matter of the DeNegri proceeding would not satisfy any of these criteria which reflect the most liberal view of international law on sovereign immunity. Under the laws of all nations, and the law of nations, the Republic of Chile is immune from jurisdiction in this proceeding. The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act was intended to reflect, not depart from, this consensus as to sovereign immunity under international law. For these reasons as well, the District Court lacks jurisdiction.

IV. THE COURT LACKS PERSONAL JURISDICTION; NO VALID SERVICE HAS OCCURRED

Under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. 1330(b), a court may obtain personal jurisdiction over a foreign sovereign only if (A) jurisdiction over the subject matter exists under 28 U.S.C. 1330(a), and (B) valid service has occurred under 28 U.S.C. 1608.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

A. In analyzing 28 U.S.C. 1330(b), the United States Supreme Court has stated:

> Under the Act, however, both statutory subject matter jurisdiction (otherwise known as "competence") and personal jurisdiction turn on application of the substantive provisions of the Act. . . . 1330(b) provides personal jurisdiction whenever subject matter jurisdiction exists under subsection (a) and service of process has been made under 28 U.S.C. 1608. Thus, if none of the exceptions to sovereign immunity set forth in the Act applies, the District Court lacks both statutory subject matter jurisdiction and personal jurisdiction.

Verlinden B.V. v. Central Bank of Nigeria, 461 U.S. at 485 n.5.

As discussed in points II and III above, the Republic of Chile has clear sovereign immunity from the subject matter jurisdiction of the court in the DeNegri proceeding. For this reason, "the District Court lacks both statutory subject matter jurisdiction and personal jurisdiction."

B. The second requirement for personal jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. 1330(b), is that valid service of legal documents must occur under 28 U.S.C. 1608. The provisions of Section 1608 are "the exclusive means of service under the FSIA." Lippus v. Dahlgren Mfg. Co., 644 F. Supp. 1473, 1476 (E.D.N.Y. 1986); Luccino v. Foreign Countries, 631 F. Supp. 821, 825 (E.D. Pa. 1986). The Section 1608 requirements must be strictly followed. Gray v. Permanent Mission of People's Republic of China, 443 F. Supp. 816, 821 (S.D.N.Y. 1978); Magnus Electronics, Inc. v. Royal Bank of Canada, 620 F. Supp. 387, 389 (D.C. Ill. 1985),

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

> It is also contemplated that the courts will not direct service in the United States upon diplomatic representatives . . . or upon consular representatives . . . .
>
> * * *
>
> A second means, of questionable validity, involves the mailing of a copy of the summons and complaint to a diplomatic mission of the foreign state. Section 1608 precludes this method so as to avoid questions of inconsistency with section 1 of article 22 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 23 UST 3227, TIAS 7502 (1972), which entered into force in the United States on December 13, 1972. Service on an embassy by mail would be precluded under this bill. See 71 Dept. of State Bull. 458-59 (1974).

House Report, pages 25-26 (emphasis supplied). Courts have thus rejected service of process by mail on diplomatic missions. See 40 D. 6262 Realty Corp. v. United Arab Emirates Government, 447 F. Supp. 710, 712 (S.D.N.Y. 1978); Lucchino v. Foreign Countries, 631 F. Supp. 821, 826-827 (E.D. Pa. 1986).

For these reasons, the above attempts do not constitute proper or valid service under 28 U.S.C. 1608 against the Republic of Chile (including the Armed Forces of Chile which, as discussed above, is not a separate legal person but is an integral part of the Republic of Chile).

C. The Republic of Chile reserves its position under international law that no proper service of process can be made against a foreign state in a legal proceeding of this nature, whether or not the method of service is provided under United States law.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

D. Where a foreign government is concerned, United States law on personal jurisdiction also requires "minimum contacts" with the forum. This requirement has four parts:

> [T]he court must examine the extent to which defendants availed themselves of the privileges of American law, the extent to which litigation in the United States was foreseeable to them, the inconvenience to defendants of litigating in the United States, and the countervailing interest of the United States in hearing the suit.

Texas Trading v. Federal Republic of Nigeria, 647 F.2d 300, 314 (2d Cir. 1981).

These factors cannot depend on diplomatic and other governmental activities of a foreign government in the United States. General governmental and diplomatic activities do not create "minimum contacts." See Fandel v. Arabian American Oil Company, 345 F.2d 87 (D.C. Cir. 1965). Foreign states "should not be subject to suit for conducting internationally protected activities". Statement of Interest of the United States, in Von Dardel v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, cited above, page 27. Instead, "minimum contacts" for a foreign government require a connection with the specific activity on which the alleged cause of action is based. Ibid., pages 26-27.

When these standards are applied, the required "minimum contacts" are missing for the events in question. The Republic of Chile has never "availed [itself] of the privileges of American law" with respect to any matter involved in the DeNegri proceeding. Such litigation in the United States was not "forseeable".

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

In view of the pending criminal proceeding in Chile and the connection of all events and participants with Chile, the factors of "convenience" to defendants and "countervailing interest of the United States in hearing the suit" also cannot be met. For these reasons as well, personal jurisdiction is lacking.

V. THE COURT SHOULD NOT EXERCISE JURISDICTION BECAUSE NO COGNIZABLE "CAUSE OF ACTION" EXISTS, AND NONE MAY PROPERLY EXIST

Before a court may exercise jurisdiction in any matter, whether against a private defendant or a foreign sovereign, there must be a cause of action or claim recognized by the tribunal. This requirement is not met here: (A) United States law does not provide a cause of action in cases between foreign parties involving foreign events that have no connection with the United States; (B) United States courts have refused to recognize a cause of action for foreign events involving conduct by military personnel, even United States military personnel; (C) recognition of a cause of action or claim would exceed international rules on jurisdictional competence; and (D) international law creates no private cause of action where the "responsibility" of a foreign sovereign itself is in question. Thus, even if the District Court believes, incorrectly, that it has jurisdiction, there is not any claim cognizable in United States courts as to which jurisdiction may be exercised.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

A. Under United States law, courts may exercise jurisdiction only if a private right of action, or cause of action, has been accorded with respect to the subject matter. Davis v. Passman, 442 U.S. 228, 239 (1979). The existence of a cause of action, however, must be carefully reviewed when a case involves international relations. Tel-Oren v. Libyan Arab Republic, 726 F.2d 774 (D.C. Cir. 1984), at 801-802 (concurring opinion of Judge Bork).

Reserving the right to address specific claims in the event a complaint is validly served, the Republic of Chile suggests that no cause of action has been conferred by United States law that would apply to a case between foreign parties involving events and injuries that occurred entirely within a foreign land. Even where private parties are defendants, United States courts rarely imply a cause of action in cases between foreign parties with respect to foreign events. As stated in Lauritzen v. Larsen, 345 U.S. 571, 578 (1953), quoting Rex v. Jameson, [1896] 2 Q.B. 425, 430:

> . . . if any construction otherwise be possible, an Act will not be construed as applying to foreigners in respect to acts done by them outside the dominions of the sovereign power enacting. This is a rule of international law, by which one sovereign power is bound to respect the subjects and the rights of all other sovereign powers outside its own territory.

The Supreme Court in the Lauritzen case ruled that the Jones Act did not grant a cause of action to a Danish seaman hired in the United States, but injured aboard a Danish ship while in a Cuban

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

port. Other decisions have consistently denied causes of action in similar circumstances. See Restatement of the Law Second, Foreign Relations Law of the United States, Section 38 (1965), pages 107-111 (referred to below as "Restatement"); Foley Bros. v. Filardo, 336 U.S. 281 (1949)(Eight Hour law provides no cause of action covering employment in foreign country); McCulloch v. Sociedad Nacional de Marineros de Honduras, 372 U.S. 10 (1963) (National Labor Relations Act does not provide cause of action to foreign seamen on foreign-flag ships); Commodity Futures Trading Commission v. Nahas, 738 F.2d 487, 493 (D.C. Cir. 1984); Fitzgerald v. Texaco, Inc., 521 F.2d 448, 454 (2d Cir 1975), (plaintiffs can recover under a statute "only if they are able to establish some significant national contacts warranting application of the statute to non-resident aliens"); Montreal Trading Ltd. v. Amax, Inc., 661 F.2d 864, 870 (10th Cir. 1981) (no anti-trust cause of action where transactions occurred in Canada and were directed toward trade with Korea); Nat. Bank of Canada v. Interbank Card Association, 666 F.2d 6, 8-9, (2d Cir. 1981); Fidenas AG v. Compagnie Internationale, 606 F.2d 5 (2d Cir. 1979) (no cause of action under securities laws where transactions and parties were foreign); Mormel v. Girofinance, S.A., 544 F.Supp 815 (S.D.N.Y. 1982) (U.S. securities laws do not provide cause of action for predominantly foreign frauds). These limitations also apply to causes of action under state laws. In fact, state laws must be more restrictive in their

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

scope, so that they do not have "a direct impact upon foreign relations . . . [or] adversely affect the power of the central government to deal with those problems." Zschernig v. Miller, 389 U.S. 429, 441 (1968).

Thus, United States laws should not be interpreted as affording a cause of action with respect to a foreign dispute between foreign parties involving injuries abroad.

B. Even where a cognizable cause of action or claim might otherwise exist with respect to a foreign dispute between foreign parties, the cause of action may not be extended to cover acts of military personnel abroad, especially not acts of a foreign sovereign's soldiers within that sovereign's own territory.

The United States Supreme Court has refused to extend causes of action, where United States military personnel are involved. In Feres v. United States, 340 U.S. 135 (1950), the Supreme Court refused to interpret the Federal Tort Claims Act to cover military torts. In Chappell v. Wallace, 462 U.S. 296 (1983), soldiers brought claims of blatant racial discrimination against their superior officers. Of course, such racial discrimination would violate the United States Constitution as well as international law. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court ruled that civilian courts should not imply a cause of action under the Constitution and that "such a remedy will not be available when 'special factors counseling hesitation' are present." 462 U.S. at 298.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

In Sanchez-Espinoza v. Reagan, 770 F.2d 202 (D.C. Cir. 1985), the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled that the courts should be "hesitant" to recognize damage remedies for foreign nationals who have been injured by tortious acts abroad of U.S. military personnel. The Sanchez-Espinoza case involved injuries inflicted by "Contra" forces in Nicaragua, who were allegedly aided by U.S. military personnel in Central America. The plaintiffs, Nicaraguan nationals, alleged that torts were committed by United States military forces in violation of international law. The Court of Appeals ruled that it would not find a cause of action against the United States Government in these circumstances:

> Just as the special needs of the Armed Forces require the courts to leave to Congress the creation of damage remedies against military officers for allegedly unconstitutional treatment of soldiers, see Chappell v. Wallace, supra, so also the special needs of foreign affairs must stay our hand in the creation of damage remedies against military and foreign policy officials for allegedly unconstitutional treatment of foreign subjects causing injury abroad. The foreign affairs implications of suits such as this cannot be ignored . . . . Whether or not the present litigation is motivated by considerations of geopolitics rather than personal harm, we think that as a general matter the danger of foreign citizens' using the courts in situations such as this to obstruct the foreign policy of our government is sufficiently acute that we must leave to Congress the judgment whether a damage remedy should exist.

770 F.2d at 208-209.

Certainly, if alleged torts in violation of international law and committed abroad by U.S. military personnel will not give

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

rise to a cause of action in United States courts, then it follows that similar tort allegations against a foreign sovereign for acts of its military personnel cannot properly give rise to a cause of action in the same United States courts.

C. International law places limitations on the ability of one nation to regulate, and impose liability rules concerning, disputes between foreign parties with respect to events abroad. These international limitations on a nation's "jurisdiction to prescribe or jurisdiction to enforce" a rule of law with respect to foreign disputes, are recognized in the United States. Restatement, cited above, Sections 8 and 38, pages 23-25, 107-111; Lauritzen v. Larsen, 345 U.S. at 578; F.T.C. v. Compagnie de Saint-Gobain-Pont-A-Mousson, 636 F.2d 1300, 1315-1317 (D.C. Cir. 1980); Commodity Futures Trading Commission v. Nahas, 738 F.2d 487, 493 (D.C. Cir. 1984). By contrast, United States courts have usually found a cause of action covering foreign events to be consistent with international law, only where the parties are United States citizens or where the events include significant conduct or effects within the United States. Blackmer v. United States, 284 U.S. 421, 437 (1931) (U.S. citizens as parties); Leasco Data Processing Equipment Corp. v. Maxwell, 468 F.2d 1326, 1332 (2d Cir. 1982) (significant conduct within United States); Tumari v. Bache & Co. (Lebanon) S.A.L., 730 F.2d 1103, 1107 n.11 (7th Cir. 1984). Compare Steele v. Bulova Watch Co., 344 U.S. 280 (1952) (U.S.

UNCLASSIFIED

trademark laws may cover trademark infringement by U.S. citizens abroad), with Vanity Fair Mills, Inc. v. T. Eaton Co., 234 F.2d 633, 641-643 (2d Cir. 1956) (no cause of action for trademark infringement against a Canadian citizen for use abroad of a trademark that the defendant registered in Canada). These international constraints on the ability of one nation to prescribe causes of action with respect to events in another nation, are additional reasons why the District Court should not recognize a cause of action in the DeNegri proceeding.

D. Finally, a state's responsibility for injuries to individuals, under international law, may only be asserted by another sovereign state, not by a private plaintiff. Restatement, cited above, Sections 174 and 175, pages 526-527. The only exceptions are where there is an explicit international agreement giving an alien a remedy (such as an international claims agreement), or where the foreign state itself provides a remedy under its own laws or by agreement. Restatement, Section 175, page 527. See Dames & Moore v. Reagan, 453 U.S. 654, 679-680 (1981). Compare Restatement, Section 3, for issues other than state responsibility.

In fact, international law itself does not provide any cause of action to individuals. "To imply a cause of action from the law of nations would completely defeat the critical right of the sovereign to determine whether and how international rights should be enforced in that municipality." Handel v. Antukovic,

UNCLASSIFIED

601 F.Supp. 1421, 1428 (C.D. Calif. 1985). As the Supreme Court has stated:

> The traditional view of international law is that it establishes substantive principles for determining whether one country has wronged another. Because of its peculiar nation-to-nation character the usual method for an individual to seek relief is to exhaust local remedies and then repair to the executive authorities of his own state to persuade them to champion his claim in diplomacy or before an international tribunal.

Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Sabbatino, 376 U.S. 398, 422, (1964) (emphasis supplied); see Dreyfus v. Von Finck, 534 F.2d 24, 31 (2d Cir. 1976) (international law "deals primarily with the relationship among nations rather than among individuals . . . . Like a general treaty, the law of nations has been held not to be self-executing so as to vest a plaintiff with individual legal rights"); Hunt v. BP Exploration Co. (Libya) Ltd., 492 F.Supp. 885, 903 (N.D. Texas 1980):

> It is doubtful that Hunt, as a private individual, would have standing to raise as a cause of action . . . violation of customary international law . . . . Even where the United States enters into a treaty with another nation, . . . unless the treaty is self-executing it must be implemented by legislation before it gives rise to a private cause of action.

Compare Tel-Oren v. Libyan Arab Republic, 726 F.2d at 811-819 (concurring opinion of Judge Bork) with Filartiga v. Pena-Irala, 630 F.2d 876, 887 (2d Cir. 1980), ruling that a cause of action existed under the law of nations against a private defendant. Where a foreign sovereign is the defendant, there is no basis for contending that international law provides a private cause of

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

action on issues of state responsibility. See Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Sabbatino, 376 U.S. at 422; compare Statement of Interest of the United States, in Von Dardel v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 84-0353 (filed December 8, 1986), pages 24-25.

Thus, issues of state responsibility under international law are left to sovereign states for resolution among themselves either diplomatically or through other international procedures. International law confers no private cause of action in this area. In addition, before the issue of state responsibility can even be considered, the individual in question must have exhausted all domestic remedies within the foreign state concerned. Restatement, Section 206, pages 610-614. As discussed in point VII below, plaintiffs in the DeNegri proceeding have not pursued, or exhausted, domestic remedies within Chile. Moreover, these remedies apply only in Chile. Chilean law provides no cause of action against the Chilean state that may be exercised outside Chile.

All these considerations further suggest that the District Court in the DeNegri proceeding should not recognize a claim or cause of action. The Republic of Chile also reserves its position under international law that the United States may not prescribe a cause of action in its courts or otherwise exercise jurisdiction with respect to the events in question.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

VI. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A FOREIGN SOVEREIGN FOR CLAIMS BASED ON ALLEGED ACTS OF ITS SOLDIERS IN ITS OWN TERRITORY IS NOT JUSTICIABLE UNDER EITHER THE "POLITICAL QUESTION" OR "ACT OF STATE" DOCTRINES

Extension of any cause of action to a foreign government defendant presents an additional issue--justiciability of the claim. The Republic of Chile suggests that the District Court is being asked to decide a non-justiciable question: Whether the Republic of Chile itself should be held "responsible" by a United States Court for acts of military personnel within Chile. The Republic of Chile itself is conducting its own criminal proceedings with respect to the events and soldiers involved. The Republic of Chile has not sought, and indeed strongly opposes, the intervention of any United States court with respect to these matters. Understandably, a finding by a United States court that a foreign government itself is "responsible" for these events should be expected to affect the sensitivities of any sovereign.

A. Issues affecting foreign relations have been viewed as non-justiciable "political questions", especially when no treaty or statute expressly confers a cause of action for the particular issue. Diggs v. Richardson, 555 F.2d 848, 851 (D.C. Cir. 1976) (claim for violation of a United Nations resolution is not justiciable, "in the absence of domestic legislation evincing an intention for judicial enforcement" of the resolution's terms); Tel-Oren v. Libyan Arab Republic, 726 F.2d at 823-827

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

(concurring opinion of Judge Robb); Cranston v. Reagan, 611 F. Supp. 247, 253 (D.D.C. 1985) (even where a statute puts the issue "within the court's province to decide," possible foreign policy consequences of judicial action "render the case non-justiciable"); In re Korean Air Lines Disaster of September 1, 1983, 597 F. Supp. 613, 616-617 (D.D.C. 1984) (tort claims against United States under the Federal Tort Claims Act were not justiciable, when based on the exercise of military and national security activities abroad).

The basis of the political question doctrine is that certain questions either are not suited to resolution by United States courts, or have been allocated to the political branches of the United States Government. The Supreme Court has expressed the following criteria for a "political question":

> It is apparent that several formulations . . . may describe a political question, although each has one or more elements which identify it as essentially a function of the separation of powers. Prominent on the surface of any case held to involve a political question is found a textually demonstrable constitutional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political department; or a lack of judicially discoverable and manageable standards for resolving it; or the impossibility of deciding without an initial policy determination of a kind clearly for non-judicial discretion; or the impossibility of a court's undertaking independent resolution without expressing lack of the respect due coordinate branches of government; or an unusual need for unquestioning adherence to a political decision already made; or the potentiality of embarrassment from multifarious pronouncements by various departments on one question.

Baker v. Carr, 369 U.S. 186, 217 (1962) (emphasis supplied).

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Only one of these criteria need be present. Cranston v. Reagan, 611 F. Supp. at 252; In re Korean Air Lines Disaster, 597 F. Supp. at 616. Certainly, "one or more elements" described by the Supreme Court are present here. Finding a foreign state "responsible" for acts of its military personnel within its own borders involves a "demonstrable constitutional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political department." The reasons for this are that (1) questions of state responsibility for injuries to individuals are, under international law, left for resolution among nations through diplomatic and political means (see point V.D. above); and (2) under the United States Constitution, such diplomatic and political remedies are allocated to the Executive Branch. In these areas, "the President alone has the power to speak or listen as a representative of the nation." United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp., 299 U.S. 304, 319 (1936); Chicago & Southern Air Lines v. Waterman S.S. Corp., 333 U.S. 103, 111 (1948). United States positions on a foreign nation's responsibility, and similar matters "intimately related to foreign policy . . . are rarely proper subjects for judicial intervention." Haig v. Agee, 453 U.S. 280, 292 (1981). See Matthews v. Diaz, 426 U.S. 67, 81 (1976).

Holding a foreign state "responsible" in these circumstances also involves "an initial policy determination of a kind clearly for non-judicial discretion" as well as "the potentiality of embarrassment from multifarious pronouncements by various

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departments on one question." Not only has the issue of state responsibility for acts of military personnel abroad been an issue committed to foreign relations between nations, but also courts have been reluctant to recognize any cause of action even where United States military personnel are involved. See Sanchez-Espinoza v. Reagan, 770 F.2d at 208-209. Compare, Japan Whaling Assn. v. American Cetacean Society, 106 S. Ct. 2860 (1986), where the existence of an express Congressional statute and treaty made justiciable the issue of the Secretary of Commerce's statutory actions in response to violations of whaling quotas by Japanese fishermen.

B. Moreover, this issue of state "responsibility" for acts of military personnel within the foreign state's own territory, is also not justiciable under the "act of state" doctrine:

> Every sovereign state is bound to respect the independence of every other sovereign state, and the courts of one country will not sit in judgment on the acts of the government of another done within its own territory. Redress of grievances by reason of such acts must be obtained through the means open to be availed of by sovereign powers as between themselves.

Underhill v. Hernandez, 168 U.S. 250, 252 (1897), ruling that a claim of assault by a Veneuelan military commander against an American citizen in Venezuela could not be adjudicated by United States courts; Oetjen v. Central Leather Co., 246 U.S. 297 (1918), ruling that a seizure by a Mexican general of a Mexican citizen's property in Mexico could not be adjudicated; Ricaud v. American Metal Co., 246 U.S. 304 (1918), ruling that a seizure

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by a Mexican general of an American citizen's property in Mexico could not be adjudicated. These decisions were cited with approval in Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Sabbatino, 376 U.S. 398, 416-418 (1964).

The "act of state" doctrine precludes judicial inquiry into the validity or lawfulness of alleged foreign state acts performed within a foreign state's own territory. Ibid., 376 U.S. at 401. The doctrine reflects "the proper distribution of functions between the judicial and political branches of government on matters bearing on foreign affairs." 376 U.S. at 427-428. Consequently, it even precludes judicial inquiry into the propriety or motivations of foreign government actions within its own borders. Hunt v. Mobil Oil Corp., 550 F.2d 68 (2d Cir. 1977). The issue of state responsibility in the DeNegri proceeding would involve such judicial inquiry into alleged foreign government acts. In addition, the act of state doctrine should be applied so that the District Court does not violate the international law principle of non-intervention into the internal affairs of a sovereign nation: "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State." Charter of the Organization of American States, Article 18, 2 U.S.T. 2394; Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations, Principle 3, GA Res. 2625 (XXV), 25 UN GAOR, Supp. (No. 28), page 121, U.N. Doc. A/8028

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(1970). For these reasons also, the issue is not justiciable.

VII. THE COURT SHOULD NOT EXERCISE JURISDICTION BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES IS NOT A PROPER OR CONVENIENT FORUM

In the event the District Court decides to exercise jurisdiction despite the authorities discussed in points II through VI above, it should then consider the doctrine of forum non conveniens, as applied by the United States Supreme Court in Piper Aircraft Company v. Reyno, 454 U.S. 235 (1981). The case involved an aircraft crash in Scotland and a suit against the American airplane manufacturer. The Supreme Court ruled that a foreign forum could not be rejected simply because the rules of liability, or potential damages, in the foreign forum would be less favorable than in the United States. In its decision, the Supreme Court stated that the appropriate analysis requires a "balancing" of both private and public interests. 454 U.S. at 257.

With respect to "private interest" factors, the Supreme Court in the Piper Aircraft case considered the location of witnesses and evidence. It ruled that it was reasonable to find that many of the relevant interests were located in Great Britain, even though the claims against the American manufacturer would involve

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evidence in the United States. 454 U.S. at 257-58. In the DeNegri proceeding, virtually all of the relevant evidence and witnesses are located in Chile.

With respect to "public interest" factors, the Supreme Court in the Piper Aircraft case stated:

> Scotland has a very strong interest in this litigation. The accident occurred in its airspace. All of the decedents were Scotish. Apart from Piper and Hartzell, all potential plaintiffs and defendants are either Scotish or English. As we stated in Gilbert, there is "a local interest in having localized controversies decided at home."

454 U.S. at 260.

In the DeNegri proceeding, the Republic of Chile has an overwhelming interest in the subject matter of the litigation. All events were in Chile. The potential defendants are all Chilean. The Republic of Chile has brought criminal proceedings against one of its soldiers, in Chile, in connection with these Chilean events. There is an overriding interest in having any other proceedings also occur in Chile.

The Supreme Court in the Piper Aircraft case also addressed the question of whether there is an adequate remedy in the foreign country. The laws of Chile clearly provide such remedies for the plaintiffs. A leading precedent in Chile is Pino Silva v. Republic of Chile, Docket No. 16,129 (Court of Appeals of Concepion, June 15, 1982). The plaintiff in that case was permanently crippled from an assault by a soldier, during the martial law imposed twelve days after the military government

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came to power in September 1973. The soldier was charged and convicted of unnecessary violence. Following the conviction, the victim brought a civil tort action against the Republic of Chile. Under Chilean law, a civil proceeding cannot be completed until a verdict is reached in a related criminal proceeding; however, a criminal conviction is conclusive evidence of tort liability. The Court of Appeals affirmed a judgment of 8,390,000 pesos (approximately $195,000 in June 1982), concluding that there was a civil tort remedy against the Republic of Chile in these circumstances.

The plaintiffs in the DeNegri proceeding have such an avenue available to them in Chile. The plaintiffs have also shown an ability to participate in Chilean legal proceedings, because they have hired counsel and have become "interested parties" in the pending criminal proceedings in Chile involving these same events.

By contrast, a decision to exercise jurisdiction in the United States would present the "practical problems" that concerned the Supreme Court in the Piper Aircraft case:

> The American courts, which are already extremely attractive to foreign plaintiffs, would become even more attractive. The flow of litigation to the United States would increase and further congest already crowded courts.

454 U.S. at 251-252. See also, Castillo v. Shipping Corp. of India, 606 F. Supp. 497, 503-504 (S.D.N.Y. 1985) (dismissal in favor of forum in India, and on grounds of sovereign immunity);

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Cheng v. The Boeing Company, 708 F.2d 1406 (9th Cir. 1983) (dismissal in favor of Taiwanese forum despite presence of American as well as foreign plaintiffs and argument that Taiwanese court might have to apply U.S. law).

For these reasons as well, the District Court should not exercise jurisdiction.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The United States District Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction over the DeNegri proceeding, and personal jurisdiction over the Republic of Chile. Valid service also has not occurred. Moreover, even if the District Court should, incorrectly, believe that it has jurisdiction, it should not exercise jurisdiction because no cognizable "cause of action" exists, because the issue of government "responsibility" is not justiciable in this case, and because the United States is not a proper or convenient forum. Thus, the case should be dismissed.

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EXCMA. CORTE,

ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY, por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, en las gestiones relativas al exhorto enviado por mi representado para recabar el testimonio del General HECTOR OROZCO SEPULVEDA, a US. Excma. digo:

Que vengo en formular las observaciones que siguen, en relación con el dictamen emitido por el señor Fiscal de este Excmo. Tribunal, a fin de que US. Excma. se sirva tomarlas en consideración al resolver en definitiva sobre la procedencia o improcedencia de las preguntas y cuestiones formuladas en el exhorto.

1. El señor Fiscal opina, primeramente, que por su naturaleza el exhorto es susceptible de ser acogido a tramitación, y en cuanto a su contenido, que son procedentes las preguntas (a) hasta (g) de las páginas 5 a 8 del exhorto; (cc) de la pág. 21; (h), (i), (j), (k), (l) e (y) de las páginas 9 a 19, en todo lo cual este apoderado está de acuerdo.

2. El señor Fiscal estima que son improcedentes para interrogatorio las materias indicadas en las letras (m), (n), (o), (p), (q), (r), (s), (t), (u), (v), (w) y (x) de las páginas 10 a 18, "salvo que su contenido no constare en las actuaciones del proceso o no aparezcan directamente relacionadas con la actividad judicial del declarante en dicha causa". Fundamenta su opinión el señor Fiscal (página 2 de su dictamen) en que

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tales preguntas se referirían a actuaciones del señor OROZCO como Fiscal instructor en la causa 192-78 del Segundo Juzgado Militar, y que por lo tanto no sería ajeno al juicio, y que "es de la esencia del testigo que sea una persona extraña al acto que se trata de probar". Esta afirmación debe aceptarse con reservas. Es cierto que el testigo debe ser "ajeno" o "extraño" al acto, pero sólo en el sentido de que no debe encontrarse respecto de éste en una situación de la que derive responsabilidad civil o penal a su respecto. Un testigo de un accidente automovilístico pude haber "intervenido" en éste socorriendo a las víctimas, conversando con los protagonistas, etc., sobre todo lo cual es habitual y corriente que testifique. Los testigos de un testamento o escritura pública han estado presentes en su otorgamiento y los han firmado: no son, por lo tanto "ajenos" al acto en un sentido absoluto, sino sólo respecto de los derechos y obligaciones que pueden emanar de tal acto.

Por lo tanto, no divisa esta parte inconveniente en que se interrogue al señor OROZCO sobre actuaciones suyas en calidad de Fiscal instructor, ya el procedimiento en que tuvo tal calidad tenía por objeto establecer la posible responsabilidad de terceros, y en ningún caso del propio Fiscal.

3. El señor Fiscal estima también improcedentes para su interrogatorio las preguntas de las letras (z), (aa) y (bb) de la página 20; (dd), (ee) y (ff) de las páginas 22 y 223. Aduce para ello que ellas tendrían clara vinculación con el sumario instruído por el señor OROZCO, razón respecto de la cual podemos formular

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las mismas consideraciones que en el párrafo anter
para manifestar nuestra discrepancia con la opinión
señor Fiscal.

Respecto de las tres últimas: (
(ee) y (ff), agrega el señor Fiscal otra razón: que e
redactadas en términos que "sugieren actos de pos
ilicitud". Al respecto, debemos hacer notar que
declaración del señor OROZCO se solicita como test
no como inculpado o sospechoso de algún delito, cas
el cual según la ley chilena no podría interrogár
bajo juramento. No se trata de establecer responsabilid
personales del señor OROZCO en el delito que se inves
en los Estados Unidos (homicidios de ORLANDO LETE
y RONNIE MOFFITT). De lo que se trata de dilucidar
si la investigación paralelamente llevada a cabo en C
no alcanzó mejores resultados por una actividad insufici
o psicológicamente inclinada a apreciar los antecede
de modo favorable a los inculpados, por relaci
personales o de amistad. La justicia de los Estados Un
no está interesada en asuntos que sean puramente inte
de Chile. Por otra parte, si el señor OROZCO estima
tales preguntas pudieren comprometerlo personalmente
algún acto ilícito, tiene otras vías, dentro de la
chilena, para negarse a contestar. En cambio, al
formulársele las preguntas, se le priva de una oportuni
para afirmar la corrección de su desempeño. Por lo der
las preguntas en cuestión no son en el fondo sino un pe
de explicación sobre hechos que constan públicamente
el proceso de extradición de MANUEL CONTRERAS y otr
La opinión del señor Fiscal parecería sugerir que el se

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OROZCO había actuado ilícitamente, cosa que no puede presumirse mientras él no responsa a las preguntas.

Disiente, por lo tanto, este apoderado, de la opinión del señor Fiscal en estas preguntas y estima que ellas pueden legalmente ser formuladas al testigo.

4. En cuanto a los párrafos relativos a los "Procedimientos que habrán de seguirse", este apoderado está en principio de acuerdo con el señor Fiscal en que la forma de producir el testimonio solicitado debe ajustarse a la lex fori (la de Chile), pero estima igualmente que los puntos (1), (2), (6) y (7) no son en absoluto incompatibles con la ley procesal penal chilena (que el testigo declare bajo juramento, que responda a las preguntas por separado y dé razón de sus dichos, etc.), de manera que ningún inconveniente habría en proceder de la manera que allí se indica, salvo en cuanto específicamente ello estuviere prohibido por la ley chilena. En cuanto a los puntos (3), (4) y (5) de este párrafo, en realidad ellos no son de procedimiento, sino de fondo, ya que se refieren a las materias sobre las cuales deberá interrogarse al testigo, aunque se las haya incluído en el acápite relativo al procedimiento. Por lo tanto, puede procederse así, ya que en materias vinculadas al fondo rige la ley del país exhortante.

En esta virtud,

SIRVASE US. EXCMA. tener presentes estas consideraciones y en definitiva resolver como en ellas se indica, acerca de la procedencia de las peticiones formuladas en el exhorto.

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SOBRE LA ESTRUCTURA Y FUNCIONAMIENTO DE LA JUSTICIA MILITAR CHILENA

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1.- La Justicia Militar de Chile está, desde hace más de cincuenta años regida por un Código que se llama Código de Justicia Militar. (Su primer texto oficial fue promulgado el 24 de diciembre de 1925).

2.- Si bien dicho texto original ha tenido numerosas modificaciones, principalmente encaminadas a aumentar el número de Juzgados Militares, en líneas generales se ha mantenido el mismo sistema: La Justicia Militar se ejerce por los Juzgados militares y navales (posteriormente se han creado los de aviación), por los Fiscales, los auditores, las Cortes Marciales y la Corte Suprema. Es oportuno señalar que el artículo 86 de la Constitución Política, (en vigencia desde el 18 de septiembre del mismo año 1925, en que se dictó el Código de Justicia Militar), dispone que la Corte Suprema "tiene la superintendencia directiva, correccional y económica de todos los Tribunales de la República".

3.- En concordancia con esa disposición, el Código de Justicia Militar establece (artículos 171 y 172 del texto vigente) que contra las sentencias de las Cortes Marciales procederá, para ante la Corte Suprema el recurso de casación, en la forma y en el fondo y el de revisión, en términos semejantes a los que rigen los recursos en contra de las sentencias de las Cortes de Apelaciones.

4.- Respecto de la manera de nombrarse sus miembros de la actual composición de la Corte Suprema, la Dirección Jurídica redactó en agosto de 1978 un Memorándum que fue remitido en Circular al Cuerpo Diplomático chileno. Se acompaña fotocopia de ese estudio.

5.- Los Tribunales Militares chilenos tienen jurisdicción para juzgar todos los asuntos de la jurisdicción militar y para conocer de los delitos cometidos fuera del territorio nacional en los casos siguientes :

a) Cuando ocurran en territorio ocupado por las armas chilenas;

b) Cuando se trate de delitos cometidos por militares en el ejercicio de sus funciones o en comisión del servicio; y

c) Cuando se trate de delitos contra la soberanía del Estado o de su seguridad exterior o interior.

6.- El Tribunal competente para juzgar al autor de un delito lo es también para juzgar a los cómplice y encubridores.

7.- En todo lo no previsto especialmente en el Código de Justicia Militar es aplicable a los Tribunales Militares lo establecido en las disposiciones pertinentes del Código Orgánico de Tribunales. Asimismo se aplican las disposiciones pertinentes de los Códigos de Procedimiento Civil y Penal en aquellas materias no reguladas por el Código de Justicia Militar.

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8.- La jurisdicción militar de un determinado sector del territorio nacional corresponderá ejercerla al Comandante en Jefe de la respectiva División, Brigada o Escuadra, quién actuará asistido por un Fiscal letrado (abogado) para la sustanciación de los procesos y por un auditor para la dictación de las resoluciones y sentencias. Tanto los Fiscales como los Auditores son abogados pertenencientes a un escalafón especial.

9.- Cuando una misma persona hubiere cometido delitos de jurisdicción militar y de jurisdicción común, que no sean conexos, el Tribunal Militar conocerá de los primeros y el Tribunal Ordinario de los segundos.

10.- Hay una Corte Marcial, con asiento en Santiago, que ejerce jurisdicción sobre todos los fiscales, auditores y jueces militares de la República, la cual está formada por dos Ministros de la Corte de Apelaciones de Santiago y por un representante del ejército, aviación y carabineros. Presidirá el Tribunal el Ministro más antiguo de la Corte de Apelaciones; la Corte podrá funcionar con tres de sus miembros, debiendo siempre estar integrada y presidida por un Ministro de Corte. Los dos Ministros de Corte que integran el Tribunal se designarán anualmente por sorteo. Se aplican a la Corte Marcial las disposiciones pertinentes del Código Orgánico de Tribunales y de los Códigos de Procedimiento Civil y Penal, a falta de disposiciones especiales. Corresponde a la Corte Marcial resolver las cuestiones de competencia, implicancia y recusación deducidas ante los juzgados militares; asimismo conocerán de los recursos de amparo en favor de detenidos por orden de una autoridad judicial del fuero militar.

11.- De la implicancia o recusación de miembros de la Corte Marcial y de las cuestiones de competencia entre un Tribunal Militar y otro del fuero común conocerá la Corte Suprema.

12.- El procedimiento penal que debe seguirse en los procesos militares es muy semejante al que se sigue por los Tribunales ordinarios: Todo proceso criminal debe comenzar por la instrucción de un sumario mandado instruir por el Juez correspondiente y que, en el caso de la jurisdicción militar es llevado adelante por un Fiscal. La duración del sumario es normalmente a veinte días, pero el Juez puede ampliar ese plazo según las circunstancias. El sumario es normalmente secreto para asegurar el éxito de la investigación.

13.- Cuando haya motivo para sospechar que una persona es autor, cómplice o encubridor de un delito el Fiscal podrá decretar su prisión o limitarse a citarlo a prestar declaración. Si el preso es un civil la prisión se hace efectiva en un lugar público de detención; si fuere un militar en el cuartel o en el establecimiento de la institución que el mandamiento de detención indique.

14.- Cerrado el sumario el Fiscal elevará el proceso al Juez, junto con su dictamen. El Juez puede según los casos ordenar el sobreseimiento (declaración de no culpabilidad) o bien la continuación del proceso en forma plenaria, esta es pública y con intervención de las partes interesadas. El sobreseimiento, sino es apelado, debe ser elevado en consulta a la Corte Marcial cuando se trate de delitos que la Ley castigue con penas aflictivas. De la sentencia de dicha Corte Marcial puede recurrirse a la Corte Suprema, como se ha expresado más arriba.

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COMPOSICION Y ANTECEDENTES SOBRE LA CORTE SUPREMA

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1.- Al principio de nuestra vida independiente, la administración de justicia continuó rigiéndose por las leyes españolas. En 1981 se suprimió la Real Audiencia, la que fué reemplazada por una Corte de Apelaciones. La Constitución de 1918 mantuvo dicha Corte de Apelaciones y creó la Corte Suprema. Las Constituciones que se han dictado a continuación (1823, 1828, 1839 y 1925) mantuvieron y respetaron la total independencia de la Corte Suprema, la que tiene a su cargo "la superintendencia directiva, correccional y económica de todos los tribunales de la Nación, con arreglo a la ley que determine su organización y atribuciones".

2.- En cumplimiento de dicha disposición se dictó el 15 de octubre de 1875 la ley de Organización y Atribuciones de los Tribunales, la que ha regido sobre la materia durante 88 años.

3.- En efecto el 15 de junio de 1943 en cumplimiento de lo dispuesto en la ley Nº 7.200, que puso en vigencia el Código Orgánico de Tribunales, que sobre la base de la ley de 1875, rigen actualmente estas materias con muy leves modificaciones.

4.- En conformidad con dichos textos constitucionales y legales, "En facultad de juzgar las causas civiles y criminales pertenece exclusivamente a los Tribunales establecidos por la ley".

5.- Ahora bien, la generación del Poder Judicial chileno, desde el nombramiento del más modesto Secretario de un Juzgado de Menor Cuantía (8ª categoría del escalafón judicial) hasta el nombramiento de los Miembros y Fiscal de la Corte Suprema (1ª categoría) se hace mediante "la formación de las listas, ternas y propuestas" que debe hacer el tribunal respectivo (Corte de Apelaciones o Corte Suprema) mediante votación secreta y por mayoría absoluta de los magistrados presentes. (artículo 282 del C.Orgánico de Tribunales).

6.- Los ascensos dentro del servicio se hacen con sujeción al "Escalafón Judicial" que será formado por la Corte Suprema y publicado en el Diario Oficial antes del 15 de marzo de cada año. De los errores u omisiones en que se incurra en el Escalafón se puede reclamar a la Corte Suprema.

7.- Para las designaciones de jueces letrados, ministros y fiscales de las Cortes de Apelaciones se forman ternas previo concurso público. En cambio "para proveer el cargo de ministro o fiscal de la Corte Suprema, este tribunal enviará al presidente de la República una lista de cinco personas, en la que deberán figurar los dos miembros más antiguos de las Cortes de Apelaciones". (Artículo 283).

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8.- Según el artículo 254 del C. Orgánico de Tribunales "para ser miembro de la Corte Suprema se requiere: 1º Ciudadanía natural o legal; 2º Tener 26 años de edad; 3º Tener título de abogado; y 4º Haber ejercido por 15 años la labor de abogado; o servido por seis años un juzgado de departamento, o por 6 años uno de capital de provincia, o por 4 años uno donde tenga asiento una Corte de Apelaciones o por 2 años el cargo de miembro de una de estas Cortes".

9°.- Las estrictas y precisas disposiciones que someramente se ha señalado permiten afirmar, clara y documentadamente, que los miembros que componen en la actualidad la Corte Suprema de Chile, son todos funcionarios de carrera del servicio judicial chileno, con la antiguedad que se señala en las respectivas hojas de servicio.

CORTE SUPREMA DE JUSTICIA

NOMBRE	ANTIGUEDAD EN EL SERVICIO	ANTIGUEDAD EN LA CORTE SUPREMA
I.Borquez	1935	1963
V.M.Rivas	1920	1969
E.Correa L.	1929	1971
J.M.Eyzaguirre	1932	1960
Carlos Letelier		
Robadille	1943	1979
L.Maldonado	1933	1966
E.Ulloa	1933	1974
R.Retamal	1936	1966
O.Ramirez	1933	1969
G.Erbeta	1937	1974
E.Zúñiga	1937	1975
M.Aburto	1945	1974
A.Hearrohn	1943	1975
G.Chamorro	1936	1975
R.Pica	1937	1968

10.- De las disposiciones legales vigentes y de las respectivas hojas de servicio, a base de las cuales se ha confeccionado el cuadro que antecede, se desprende lo siguiente:

a) Que todos los actuales miembros de la Corte Suprema son antiguos funcionarios de carrera del servicio judicial del país;

b) Que el más antiguo en el servicio es el señor V.Manuel Rivas, pues entró en el año 1920 osea hace 61años;

c) Que el de menor antiguedad es el señor M.Aburto, quien entró al servicio judicial en 1935, osea hace 37 años.

d) Que, en conformidad con el artículo 93 del Código Orgánico de Tribunales, el Presidente de la Corte Suprema es "nombrado por la misma Corte, de entre sus miembros y durará tres años en sus funciones, pudiendo ser reelegido".

e) De la disposición mencionada se desprende que el nombramiento de la Corte Suprema es un acto de la competencia interna de la misma Corte, verificando sin ninguna intervención del Poder Ejecutivo, el cual se le notifica sólo por motivos de cortesía, al igual que se commica al Decano del Cuerpo Diplomático residente;

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f) El actual Presidente señor Israel Borquez fué nombrado en esa forma, al iniciarse el año judicial 1978.

II.- La independencia del Poder Judicial, establecidas en las disposiciones constitucionales y legales citadas más arriba, y que la tradición chilena señala con orgullo, se han mantenido inalterables en los últimos años, como lo demuestran por ejemplo las siguientes sentencias:

a) La sentencia del 20 de agosto de 1976, que declaró inaplicable, por ser inconstitucional, el artículo 15 del decreto ley Nº128;

b) La sentencia de 11 de octubre de 1976 que declaró inaplicable, por inconstitucional, el decreto ley Nº 1247;

c) La sentencia de 7 de abril de 1977, por la cual se acogió un recurso de amparo deducido por la detención ilegal del señor Carlos Contreras Maluje; y

d) La sentencia de 19 de diciembre de 1977, por la cual se acogió el reclamo interpuesto en contra del decreto supremo que ordenó privar de la nacionalidad chilena al señor Humberto Elgueta Guerin, dejándo sin efecto, a lo que al señor Elgueta Guerin se refiere, dicha privación de nacionalidad.

En todas las sentencias mencionadas la Corte Suprema ha llegado a conclusiones contrarias a lo sostenido por el Gobierno actual y ha dejado sin efecto algunos de sus decretos o resoluciones.

UNCLASSIFIED

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TELEGRAM

1/7/77

HR Relations

CONTROL: 0149
7 Jan 77
1635

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

DD076

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT SHUM AR
SUBJECT: Human Rights Working Group and US Interest Cases

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0149

AMB
DCM
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RF
CHRON

REF: (a) Buenos Aires 7429, (b) Buenos Aires 8297

1. Counselor Edgardo Flores, a career diplomat, has recently come to the Foreign Ministry's human rights working group from his former post in Switzerland. Flores served a total of six years in the US in the early 1960s, four in the Argentine Embassy in Washington, and two in the consulate in New York. He has two children born in the US. Flores' English is excellent, although our discussions are held in Spanish. Captain Roberto Seisdedos has now proceeded to his new command in Trelew and, according to Flores, will not be replaced by a Navy (or other military) officer in the working group. The group is now headed by Counselor Juan Carlos Arlia, another career diplomat. The working group is located in office of Under Secretary Allara, and is probably to be overseen by Navy Captain Santoianni of the Under Secretary's staff.

2. In two meetings with Emboffs, Flores has been friendly and

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:YThayer:jr	1/7/76	121	A/POLCOUNS:AGFreeman

CLEARANCES: CONS:GWhitman (in draft) AMB:RCHill

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _____ ( ) Extend as _____ ( ) Downgrade to _____
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

UNCLASSIFIED
[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

80F178
22/185

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

UNCLASSIFIED

correct; also increasingly frank about the limitations on what information he is able to get from the Interior Ministry in answer to informal Embassy inquiries. On Jan. 6 he informed Emboff that due to its heavy workload the Interior Ministry is no longer able to make checks on cases without more detailed information, i.e. the full name, birth date, address, identification card number, parents' names and address, if known, etc. Without refusing to take names lacking the additional information, Flores indicated that it is doubtful the Interior Ministry would or would take the time to run checks.

3. In answer to general questions asked in a previous meeting, Flores said that the Interior Ministry does not intend to inform foreign embassies of the specific charges against Argentine citizens being held under the state of siege. Anyway, he remarked, in most cases the answer would only be that the person is being held on suspicion of committing acts against the national security (subversive acts or affiliation). Flores also said that the Interior Ministry would not reveal the names of those on the "Christmas lists" who have actually been released or of those who have been turned over to the courts to answer civil or criminal charges. As the Ministry of Justice is responsible for civil and criminal proceedings, Flores said, relatives would have to query the Justice Ministry for information on specific cases. (Embassy continues to seek information on the significance of these lists, but we increasingly

hear allegations that a large number of those appearing on these lists have not returned to their homes and we are only aware of a few who have been remanded to the normal judicial process.)

4. Flores also advised that the Interior Ministry does not intend to "facilitate" access of foreign consular officials to detainees in the case of third-country nationals and Argentines. The issue arose during an earlier discussion about the parole program: whether consular officers would be able to interview detained refugees who might potentially be considered for parole into the US either in jail or some other location. The question is also pertinent to the new program of the Interior Ministry to allow detained Argentines to petition to leave the country if accepted by a foreign country. (We have several cases--Juan Carlos Gallardo, Juan Mendez, Dora Goldfarb--in which the family has asked whether the Embassy could provide a visa should their relative be authorized to leave the country. The Embassy was interested in knowing how the required visa interview might take place, since the detainee would probably not be released from jail to make a personal appearance to the consular officer. Although we have no test cases yet, it appears that the Interior Ministry does not intend to simplify the problem of access should such a case arise.)

5. On Antonio Misetich [redacted], Flores said the Argentine Embassy's reply was in error, that Misetich was not in the

[redacted]

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hands of the Executive and had, in fact, disappeared. The Argentine Ambassador has received instructions to correct any misunderstandings on this case, he said.

6. Flores said the status of Juan Mendez was unchanged (reftel A). (Embassy heard from Mendez' father ~~today~~ yesterday morning that a decree authorizing him to leave the country lacked only the President's signature. See septel.)

7. Embassy ~~today~~ On Jan. 6 asked for information on Claudia Ines Peiro, Mr. and Mrs. Americo Delia Sady, Angel Bustalo, Edmundo and Susanna Szapiro, and Miguel Angel Poinsteau (Amcit mother). From Flores' discussion, Embassy does not expect replies will be forthcoming unless more identification can be obtained.

8. Juan Mendez' father told Emboff ~~today~~ on Jan. 6 that he received letter from Cong. Koch in December saying Koch and group of congressmen intend to submit a bill when January session opens requesting expansion of parole program to include Argentine citizens. Embassy would appreciate learning of further developments.

9. Embassy has learned from wife of Juan Carlos Gallardo, who we note is subject of considerable Department communication, that Professor Gallardo is currently being held in Sierra Chica prison in Buenos Aires province, that she has visited him and he wishes to go to US, and that he has submitted petition to leave the country (see reftel B).

10. COMMENT: In view of Flores' comments, Embassy would appreciate an effort to obtain identification information on each case submitted for inquiry.

HILL

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00530 221621Z

46
ACTION ARA-10

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

E1703

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 IO-11 /082 W

101069

P R 221607Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6734
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 0530

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINS, CS, CI
SUBJECT:GOC GRANTS SAFE CONDUCT TO PASCAL ALLENDE

REFS: (A) 75 SANTIAGO 8346, (B) SANTIAGO 0399, (C) SANTIAGO 0402

1. FOREIGN MINISTRY ANNOUNCED JANUARY 21 GOC DECISION TO GRANT SAFE-CONDUCTS TO MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) CHIEF ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE AND COMPANION MARIE ANNE BEAUSIRE, CURRENTLY IN COSTA RICAN EMBASSY RESIDENCE (REF A). MINISTRY STATEMENT SAID PRESIDENT PINOCHET HAD MADE DECISION IN CONSIDERATION OF SPECIAL BOND OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN CHILE AND COSTA RICA. RELEASE ALSO STATED GOC WOULD REQUEST EXTRADITION OF PASCAL IN FUTURE.

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS JANUARY 22, BOTH PERSONS HAVE VISAS FOR CUBA AND MEXICO BUT WILL REMAIN IN COSTA RICA UNTIL LEGAL ASPECTS OF CASE ARE SETTLED. REPORTEDLY THEY WILL TRAVEL ON JANUARY 23 OR 24.
POPPER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SANTIA 00530 221621Z

46
ACTION ARA-10

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

E1765

R

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 IO-11 /082 W

101069

P R 221607Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6734
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 0530

E.O. 11652: N/A
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POPPER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

SH276

RELEASED IN PART
B6

TELECON
Ambassador Dinitz/Secretary Kissinger
February 26, 1976
Time: 3:10 p.m.

D: Hello. Hello Mr. Secretary.

K: How are you?

D: Fine. Thank you for returning my call. I had subsequent to our conversation yesterday I talked with Rabin. With regard to the UNDOF with the Syrians we have no intention of working towards the expulsion of the UNDOF. He will make a statement tomorrow in the papers that we are interested in keeping the agreement. The other thing, he told me that Allon will see you on the 12th. Did you know that?

K: Yes, he invited himself.

D: He called Rabin from the airport before he left for Mexico.

K: Allon went to Toon and said he could stop in Washington on the way back if I could see him.

D: I didn't hear from you so Rabin asked me to check to see if this was arranged. Toon said you invited him for lunch which is fine.

K: I try to be friendly.

D: I am going to see Allon tomorrow when I go to Miami. Do you want lunch for just the two of you?

K: No, you too.

D: I didn't know whether there was any intention of you being alone.

K: Absolutely not.

D: I will see Allon tomorrow.

K: Make a suggestion of whom to have there at the lunch. I think the fewer the better.

D: It should be a working lunch since it is the only meeting -- you thought about four people besides?

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 28 MAY 2003 200102979

K: Fine -- four, five, three -- whatever you want.

D: I will deliver the resumee of our conversation also.

K: Yes.

D: I told him that you appreciated that he has done this.

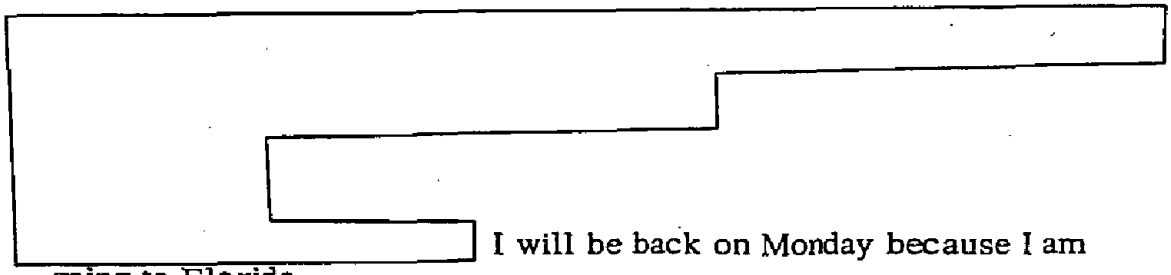
K: There is no problem between him and me.

D: I told him about UNDOF and he said call you immediately and say you shouldn't be concerned because that is not the line of the government. Do you have anything else -- I will relate what was in our conversation yesterday. I suggested to Rabin that instead of teams of lawyers that we should send our description of what we consider to be the end.....

K: I am not so eager to hurry things along.

D: I understand. Rabin understands the difficulty of the publication but he had no choice. O.K. Mr. Secretary.

B6



I will be back on Monday because I am going to Florida.

K: O.K.

D: O.K. Mr. Secretary.

K: O.K. Bye.

E139

Department of State TELEGRAM

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AN: D760123-0229

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02157 011408Z

44
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARAE-00 AID-05 PC-01 OMB-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 SAJ-01 /084 W
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE — IM/IPS/CR/IR — Date: 6/24/97
RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART — EO Citations
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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

P R 011251Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5093
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PANAMA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L BUENOS AIRES 2157

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, AR
SUBJECT: RECOGNITION OF NEW GOA
REF: BA 2076 (NOTAL)

1. FOREIGN MINISTRY INFORMED US THIS AFTERNOON (MARCH 31) THAT 52 STATES HAVE RECOGNIZED NEW GOVERNMENT SO FAR. ALL SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, IRAN, GABON, IRELAND, NORTH KOREAN, RED CHINA, ALBANIA, LEBANON, AND COLOMBIA, AMONG OTHERS, HAVE EXTENDED RECOGNITION SINCE REFTEL. VENEZUELA STILL HAS NOT DONE SO, BUT SINCE WE UNDERSTOOD BOGOTA AND CARACAS WERE COORDINATING MATTER OF RECOGNITION, WE ASSUME THAT AS FIRST HAS RECOGNIZED, SECOND WILL DO SO SHORTLY. PANAMANIAN AMBASSADOR STILL INDICATES HE EXPECTS MOMENTARILY TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS TO PRESENT RECOGNITION NOTE.

2. MEXICO HAD INDICATED EARLIER THAT IT WOULD APPLY ESTRADA DOCTRINE AND THUS RECOGNITION WAS AUTOMATIC. IT HAS SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS TOO WILL BE CONTINUED. HOWEVER, SOME 28 ASYLEES MANAGED TO GET INTO
PAGE 02 BUENOS 02157 011408Z

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MEXICAN EMBASSY BEFORE TROOPS SEALED IT OFF. PROBLEM OF WHAT TO DO WITH THEM COULD RAISE FUTURE IRRITATIONS BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS.

3. SOVIET UNION HAS NOT YET RECOGNIZED. SOVIET DCM, HOWEVER, CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THAT HE ENVISAGES NO PROBLEMS AND EXPECTS INSTRUCTIONS SHORTLY. IF AND WHEN USSR RECOGNIZES, WE WOULD EXPECT EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO FOLLO SUIT, THUS BRINGING NUMBER OF RECOGNITIONS CLOSE TO 60-- AND. ARGENTINA MAINTAINED RELATIONS WITH ONLY 64 COUNTRIES BEFORE COUP.

4. QUESTION OF CUBAN RECOGNITION IS PUZZLING ONE (SEE REFTEL). FOREIGN MINISTRY TODAY TOLD US CUBAN RECOGNITION WAS "CONDITIONAL," BUT WOULD NOT ELABORATE FURTHER. SOME REPORTS HAVE INDICATED JUNTA IS CONSIDERING WAYS AND MEANS TO BREAK OR BRING ABOUT SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA. SO FAR, HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION OF THOSE REPORTS. HILL

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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AN: D760104-0183

PAGE 01 MEXICO 03546 182133Z

12
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-11

DHA-02 /070 W
---------- 075226
R 181838Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3695
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s)

[redacted]

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR OAS
SUBJECT: OASGA AND ORFILA'S INTERVIEW WITH PINOCHET
1. OPPOSITION TO MEXICO'S PARTICIPATING IN JUNE OASGA AT SANTIAGO SEEMS TO BE RISING, IN NO SMALL PART THANKS TO SECGEN ORFILA'S APPARENTLY COMPLIMENTARY REMARKS ABOUT GEN. PINOCHET. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS HERE, ORFILA DESCRIBED PINOCHET AS A PERSON OF "GREAT SENSITIVITY, PERSONALITY, AND SIMPLICITY." MEXICANS, OF COURSE, ARE MORE ACCUSTOMED TO HEARING HIM DESCRIBED BY THEIR LEADERS AS GORILLA NUMBER ONE IN LATIN AMERICA.

2. INFLUENTIAL EXCELSIOR EDITORIALIZED MARCH 18 THAT ORFILA HAD GONE BEYOND BOUNDS OF POLITICAL PROPRIETY IN GIVING A TACIT BLESSING TO PINOCHET GOVERNMENT. EXCELSIOR POINTED OUT THAT "EVEN U.S., WHOSE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN OBVIOUS PARTIALITY TO CHILEAN JUNTA, HAS ALSO EXPRESSED CONDEMNATION OF PINOCHET REGIME." IT ADDED THAT LAST OCTOBER USG ACCEPTED SANTIAGO AS SITE FOR OASGA ON THE CONDITION THAT CHILE PERMIT AN INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, NOTING THAT SUBSEQUENTLY U.S., ARGENTINE, AND URUGUAYAN MEMBERS OF IAHRC HAD RESIGNED "IN DISILLUSION" BECAUSE OAS HAD IGNORED ITS DENUNCIATION OF
PAGE 02 MEXICO 03546 182133Z

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CHILEAN REPRESSEION.

3. EXCELSIOR CONCLUDED THAT "FOR THESE AND OTHER REASONS" OAS UNDER ORFILA'S LEADERSHIP HAD AGAIN SHOWN ITS INCAPICITY TO SERVE GREATER INTERESTS OF LATIN AMERICANS, ANDTHAT MEXICO SHOULD THINK SERIOUSLY ABOUT REFUSING TO TAKE PART IN OASGA "WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY BE MANIPULATED BY PINOCHET GOVT" FOR ITS OWN POLITICAL PURPOSES. "MERE FACT OF HOLDING OASGA MEETINGS IN DIEGO PORTALES BUILDING, THE VERY SEAT OF USURPER GOVERNMENT, IN ITSELF GIVES (OAS) BLESSING TO GOLPISTA AUTHORITIES."

4. GOVERNMENT-LINING NACIONAL HAS AVOIDED COMMENTING SO FAR. MEANWHILE, OAS REP DE LA COLONA TOLD AN INTERVIEWER IN WASHINGTON MARCH 17 THAT HE SILL HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING MEXICAN PARTICIPATION IN SANTIAGO OASGA AND THAT THE DECISION WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE BY FONSEC GARCIA ROBLES.
THOMPSON

[redacted]

E135

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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AN: D760119-0408

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02061 01 OF 02 301250Z

44
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05

PC-01 OMB-01 A-01 OPR-02 SY-05 OC-05 CCO-00 ARAE-00

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 TRSE-00 OPIC-03 XMB-02

ACDA-07 SAJ-01 /102 W
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P R 291945Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5037
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IT/CMR
( ) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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Date: 6/24/97
EO Citations
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 2061

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, MILI, PFOR, AR
SUBJECT: VIDELA'S MODERATE LINE PREVAILS
1. SUMMARY: IT IS TOO EARLY TO MAKE ANY FIRM PREDICTIONS CONCERNING FINAL SUCCESS OF THE EXPERIMENT IN GOVT UNDERTAKEN BY THE ARMED FORCES ON MAR 24. EVEN SO, WITH VIDELA NOW NAMED PRES AND HIS NEW CABINET NOW NAMED, IT IS PERHAPS A CONVENIENT MOMENT TO REPORT SEVERAL SHORT-TERM CONCLUSIONS: A) VIDELA IS AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING IN A STRONG ENOUGH POSITION TO KEEP THE HARDLINERS IN CHECK AND IMPOSE A MODERATE APPROACH; B) THE TERRORISTS ARE LIKELY TO KEEP A RELATIVELY LOW PROFILE FOR THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE ARMED FORCES HAVE LAUNCHED A MASSIVE DRIVE AGAINST THEM; C) THE NEW
PAGE 02 BUENOS 02061 01 OF 02 301250Z

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GOVT HAS NOT YET PRESENTED ITS FULL ECONOMIC PROGRAM, BUT THE APPROACH EVIDENCED SO FAR IS ENCOURAGINGLY PRAGMATIC AND DELIBERATE, AND D) ONCE THE GOVT BEGINS TO IMPOSE AN AUSTERITY PROGRAM, LABOR REACTION MAY STIFFEN, BUT SO FAR IT HAS BEEN ALMOST NONEXISTENT; INDEED, ABSENTEEISM REPORTEDLY CEASED TO BE A PROBLEM ALMOST THE DAY AFTER THE COUP. THE USG OF COURSE SHOULD NOT BECOME OVERLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE JUNTA, BUT SO LONG AS THE NEW GOVT CAN HEW TO A MODERATE LINE THE USG SHOULD ENCOURAGE IT BY EXAMINING SYMPATHETICALLY ANY REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE COUP D'ETAT WHICH CULMINATED DURING THE EARLY HOURS OF MAR 24 CAN NOW DEFINATELY BE JUDGED AS MODERATE IN CHARACTER. IN THEIR FIRST STATEMENTS THE THREE MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA INDICATED THEY HAD TAKEN POWER ONLY TO SAVE THE COUNTRY AND THAT THEIR TAKEOVER WAS NOT DIRECTED AT ANY GROUP OR SECTOR. THEY DID NOT ATTACK THE MEMORY OF GEN PERON, NOR DID THEY SAY ANYTHING DEROGATORY ABOUT PERONISM OR ANY OTHER PARTY. THEY HAVE ARRESTED SOME HIGH OFFICIALS SUCH AS RAUL LASTIRI, JULIO GONZALEZ AND GOV CARLOS MENEM WHO ARE BELIEVED TO BE GUILTY OF MAL-FEASANCE OR ABUSE OF POWER AND THEY HAVE ROUNDED UP A GOOD NUMBER OF SUSPECTED TERRORISTS. BUT IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO MASSIVE ARRESTS. NO ONE HAS BEEN PUT AGAINST A WALL AND NO ONE HAS BEEN PULLED IN SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY HAPPENED TO BE A PERONIST OR BECAUSE THEY SERVED IN THE LAST GOVT. MOST CONGRESSMEN, GOVERNORS AND OTHER DEPOSED OFFICIALS HAVE SIMPLY BEEN TOLD TO GO HOME. MRS. PERON HERSELF IS IN CUSTODY BUT CLEARLY THE JUNTA DOES NOT INTEND TO MAKE A MARTYR OF HER. IF THERE IS AN INVESTIGATION OF HER QUESTIONABLE ACTIVITIES, IT WILL PROBABLY BE A FAIR ONE, AND IF SHE IS CONVICTED, HER SENTENCE IS LIKELY TO BE NOTHING MORE THAN EXILE. INDEED, MANY IN THE MILITARY WOULD LIKE TO PUT HER ON A PLANE TO MADRID EVEN WITHOUT AN INVESTIGATION.

3. SEVERAL EXTREME LEFT-WING PARTIES, MOSTLY TROTSKYITES AND MAOISTS IN ORIENTATION, HAVE BEEN BANNED, BUT THE CHARTERS OF OTHER PARTIES, INCLUDING THE ORTHODOX

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COMMUNIST PARTY (PCA), REMAIN IN FORCE. POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS SUSPENDED TEMPORARILY AND THE VARIOUS PARTIES HAVE HAD TO REMOVE SIGNS AND SLOGANS FROM THEIR HEADQUARTERS. THEIR ORGANIZATIONS ARE INTACT, HOWEVER, AND SEVERAL OF THE EMBASSY'S SOURCES WITHIN THE PARTIES HAVE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT LIMITED POLITICAL ACTIVITY MAY RESUME WITHIN SIX MONTHS OR SO.

4. PRIOR TO THE COUP, THERE HAD BEEN FEARS THAT HARDLINE COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD MIGHT EXCEED THEIR ORDERS AND ARBITRARILY SHOOT OR ARREST ANY LABOR LEADERS, PERONIST OR LEFTIST THEY DID NOT LIKE. AS INDICATED ABOVE, HOWEVER, THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. VIDELA AND HIS MODERATE COLLEAGUES KEPT THE HAWKS IN LINE. FURTHER, THE SMOOTHNESS WITH WHICH THE COUP WAS CARRIED OUT AND THE WAY IN WHICH IT WAS ACCEPTED BY THE PEOPLE DID MUCH TO ENHANCE VIDELA'S IMAGE. PROBABLY AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS, THEREFORE, HIS POSITION RELATIVE TO THAT OF THE HARDLINERS WILL BE OVERPOWERING. IT IS MOST UNLIKELY THAT ANY OF THEM WOULD TRY TO MOVE AGAINST HIM. IF THEY DID, THEY WOULD LOSE. THUS, FOR NOW, VIDELA'S MODERATE POLICIES SEEM SAFE.

5. IF FENDING OFF THE HAWKS WAS VIDELA'S FIRST CONCERN, COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE TERRORISTS WAS HIS SECOND. INDEED, IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THE SECOND OUTRANKS THE FIRST, BUT THE NEW GOVT NEEDED A FIRM POLITICAL BASE IN ORDER EFFECTIVELY TO CONFRONT THE TERRORISTS AND THUS ITS FIRST THOUGHT HAD TO BE FOR INSTITUTIONAL UNITY. WITH THAT NOW ASSURED, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, THE ARMED FORCES HAVE LAUNCHED A NATIONWIDE EFFORT AGAINST THE TERRORISTS. MANY SUSPECTED TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN ROUNDED UP. WIDESPREAD SEARCHES ARE BEING CONDUCTED AND SHIFTING ROADBLOCKS HAVE RESULTED IN THE CAPTURE OF SEVERAL GUERRILLAS IN CORDOBA AND ELSEWHERE.

6. FOR THEIR PART, THE GUERRILLAS ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE SOME HIT-AND-RUN OPERATIONS SUCH AS TODAY'S ASSASSINATION OF A POLICE COMMISSIONER, BUT THEY WILL PROBABLY KEEP A FAIRLY LOW PROFILE FOR THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. TACTICALLY, THEY WILL PROBABLY WANT TO GET THE LAY OF THE LAND AND

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WAIT FOR THE MILITARY TO DROP ITS GUARD. STRATEGICALLY, THEY PROBABLY HOPE POPULAR OPINION WILL BEGIN TO SWING AGAINST THE MILITARY GOVT WITHIN A FEW WEEKS. THAT WOULD BE THE TIME TO MOVE. THEY MAY HAVE SOME RECALCULATING TO DO, HOWEVER, FOR SO FAR THE MILITARY HAVE NOT BEHAVED IN THE REPRESSIVE WAY THE TERRORISTS SEEM TO HAVE EXPECTED. IF VIDELA CAN HOLD TO HIS MODERATE COURSE, THE GUERRILLAS MAY BE SURPRISED TO FIND SEVERAL WEEKS FROM NOW THAT THE GOVT CONTINUES TO ENJOY POPULAR SUPPORT.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02061 02 OF 02 301236Z

44

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05

PC-01 OMB-01 A-01 OPR-02 SY-05 OC-05 CCO-00 ARAE-00

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 TRSE-00 OPIC-03 XMB-02

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P R 291945Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5038
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 2061

7. EQUALLY AS PRESSING AS THE TERRORIST PROBLEM IS THAT OF THE ECONOMY. THE GOVT HAS NOT YET HAD A CHANCE TO PRESENT ITS PLAN, BUT THE ECONOMIC TEAM IS NOW IN PLACE AND LOOKS IMPRESSIVE. THE CONTACTS THE EMBASSY HAS HAD SO FAR WITH ECON MIN MARTINEZ DE HOZ AND SOME OF HIS ASSISTANTS INDICATE THEY HAVE A FIRM GRASP OF THE PROBLEMS AND HOPEFULLY WILL HAVE A PRACTICAL APPROACH TO THEIR SOLUTION. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC PROGRAM WILL FOLLOW ASAP.

8. AS ENCOURAGING AS THE NEW GOVT'S OWN PERFORMANCE SO FAR HAS BEEN PUBLIC REACTION TO IT. MOST ARGENTINES WERE GLAD TO BE RID OF MRS. PERON'S PATHETICALLY INCOMPETENT GOVT. BUT THEY DID NOT RUSH INTO THE STREETS TO CHEER

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THE ARMED FORCES OR JEER THE PERONISTS. THEY APPROVE OF WHAT THE ARMED FORCES HAVE DONE, BUT THEY HAVE SOME HEALTHY RESERVATIONS. THEY HAVE SEEN MILITARY GOVTS START OFF WELL BEFORE, ONLY TO FAIL FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD. THEY HOPE THIS ONE WILL BE DIFFERENT AND AT THIS POINT ARE WILLING TO GIVE IT THEIR SUPPORT. BUT NO ONE SEEMS TO EXPECT MIRACLES, AND THAT IS ONE OF THE MOST MATURE PHENOMENON ABOUT THIS COUP.

9. EVEN LABOR SO FAR IS QUIESCENT. ABSENTEEISM, FOR EXAMPLE, DISAPPEARED AS A MAJOR PROBLEM ON MAR 25. MANY LABOR LEADERS HAVE MADE THEIR PEACE WITH THE MILITARY AND ARE WILLING TO COOPERATE. FOR ITS PART, THE JUNTA HAS HANDLED LABOR INTELLIGENTLY AND WITH PRUDENCE. SOME OF THE MORE CORRUPT LABOR LEADERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, BUT MOST LEADERS HAVE BEEN LEFT ALONE. THE CGT IS INTERVENED BUT MOST UNIONS WITHIN IT ARE FUNCTIONING MORE OR LESS NORMALLY. THE CRUNCH, HOWEVER, HAS NOT YET COME AND WILL NOT UNTIL THE GOVT INTRODUCES ITS ECON PROGRAM AND BEGINS TO IMPOSE AUSTERITY MEASURES.

10. US POSITION. THIS WAS PROBABLY THE BEST EXECUTED AND MOST CIVILIZED COUP IN ARGENTINE HISTORY. IT WAS UNIQUE IN OTHER WAYS TOO. THE US HAS NOT BEEN ACCUSED OF BEING BEHIND IT, EXCEPT BY NUESTRA PALABRA, THE ORGAN OF THE PCA. THE EMBASSY HOPES TO KEEP IT THAT WAY. CLEARLY, WE SHOULD NOT BECOME OVERLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE JUNTA. THAT WOULD NOT BE GOOD FOR THEM OR FOR US. NONETHELESS, ARGENTINA'S BEST INTERESTS, AND OURS, LIE IN THE SUCCESS OF THE MODERATE GOVT NOW LED BY GEN VIDELA. HE HAS A CHANCE OF PULLING ARGENTINA TOGETHER AGAIN, STOPPING TERRORISM AND GETTING THE ECONOMY GOING. HIS GOVT, MOREOVER, HAS PROMISED TO SOLVE QUICKLY OUR VARIOUS INVESTMENT PROBLEMS (EXXON, CHASE MANHATTAN, STANDARD ELECTRIC, ETC.) AND TO BRING ABOUT A BETTER CLIMATE IN GENERAL FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT. SHOULD VIDELA'S GOVT FAIL, THAT MIGHT ON THE ONE HAND OPEN THE DOOR TO THE HARDLINERS, WHO WOULD RETURN ARGENTINA TO THE POLARIZATION OF THE PAST AND WHO, BEING MORE NATIONALISTICALLY INCLINED THAN THE MODERATES, WOULD NOT TAKE AS FAVORABLE AN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE US

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AND US INVESTMENTS. ON THE OTHER SIDE, VIDELA'S FAILURE COULD ALSO BRING ABOUT CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE EXTREME LEFT MIGHT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A BID FOR POWER, WHICH WOULD CLEARLY RUN CONTRARY TO ALL OUR INTERESTS.

10. THUS, WHILE WE SHOULD MOVE DISCREETLY AND KEEP OUR DISTANCE, WE SHOULD ALSO, SO LONG AS THE VIDELA GOVT STICKS TO A MODERATE COURSE, LOOK SYMPATHETICALLY ON ANY REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE IT MAY DIRECT TO US.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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FROM: Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

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Videla's Moderate Line Prevails

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" MONTEVIDEO
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify. ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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1. Summary: It is too early to make any firm predictions concerning final success of the experiment in govt undertaken by the Armed Forces on Mar 24. Even so, with Videla now named Pres and his new cabinet now named, it is perhaps a convenient moment to report several short-term conclusions: a) Videla is at least for the ~~present~~ time being in a strong enough position to keep the hardliners in check and impose a moderate approach; b) The terrorists are likely to keep a relatively low profile for the next few weeks, especially in view of the fact that the Armed Forces have launched a massive drive against them; c) The new govt has not yet presented its full economic program, but the

D BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
OL:WSSmith:cc WSS	3/30/76	128	AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

NCES: All in Draft:
AO:PACoughlin POL/R:DSmock [illegible] A/DCM:HMcLWoodward
COM:ROgden ~~USIS:JWoodward~~

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AMB:RCHILL (draft)

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approach evidenced so far is encouragingly pragmatic and deliberate, and d) Once the govt begins to impose an austerity program, labor reaction may stiffen, but so far it has been almost nonexistent; indeed, absenteeism reportedly ceased to be a problem almost the day after the coup. The USG of course should not become overly identified with the Junta, but so long as the new govt can hew to a moderate line the USG should encourage it by examining sympathetically any requests for assistance. End Summary.

2. The coup d'etat which culminated during the early hours of Mar 24 can now definitely be judged as moderate in character. In their first statements the three members of the Junta indicated they had taken power only to save the country and that their takeover was not directed at any group or sector. They did not attack the memory of Gen Peron, nor did they say anything derogatory about Peronism or any other party. They have arrested some high officials such as Raul Lastiri, Julio Gonzalez and Gov Carlos Menem who are believed to be guilty of malfeasance or abuse of power and they have rounded up a good number of suspected terrorists. But it is now clear that there have been no massive arrests. No one has been put against a wall and no one has been pulled in simply because they happened to be a Peronist or

because they served in the last govt. Most congressmen, governors and other deposed officials have simply been told to go home. Mrs. Peron herself is in custody but clearly the Junta does not intend to make a martyr of her. If there is an investigation of her questionable activities, it will probably be a fair one, and if she is convicted, her sentence is likely to be nothing more than exile. Indeed, many in the military would like to put her on a plane to Madrid even without an investigation.

3. Several extreme left-wing parties, mostly Trotskyite and Maoist in orientation, have been banned, but the charters of other parties, including the orthodox Communist Party (PCA), remain inforce. Political activity is suspended temporarily and the various parties have had to remove signs and slogans from their headquarters. Their organizations are intact, however, and several of the Embassy's sources within the parties have expressed hope that limited political activity may resume within six months or so.

4. Prior to the coup, there had been fears that hardline commanders in the field might exceed their orders and arbitrarily shoot or arrest any labor leader, Peronist or leftist they did not like. As indicated above, however, this did not happen. Videla and his moderate

colleagues kept the hawks in line. Further, the smoothness with which the coup was carried out and the way in which it was accepted by the people did much to enhance Videla's image. Probably at least for the next several months, therefore, his position relative to that of the hardliners will be overpowering. It is most unlikely that any of them would try to move against him. If they did, they would lose. Thus, for now, Videla's moderate policies seem safe.

5. If fending off the hawks was Videla's first concern, coming to grips with the terrorists was his second. Indeed, in order of importance the second outranks the first, but the new govt needed a firm political base in order effectively to confront the terrorists and thus its first thought had to be for institutional unity. With that now assured, at least for the time being, the Armed Forces have launched a nationwide effort against the terrorists. Many suspected terrorists have been rounded up. Widespread searches are being conducted and shifting roadblocks have resulted in the capture of several guerrillas in Cordoba and elsewhere.

6. For their part, the guerrillas are likely to continue some hit-and-run operations such as today's assassination of a Police Commissioner, but they will probably keep a fairly low profile for the next few weeks. Tactically,

they will probably want to get the lay of the land and wait for the military to drop its guard. Strategically, they probably hope popular opinion will begin to swing against the military govt within a few weeks. That would be the time to move. They may have some recalculating to do, however, for so far the military have not behaved in the repressive way the terrorists seem to have expected. If Videla can hold to his moderate course, the guerrillas may be surprised to find several weeks from nowthat the govt continues to enjoy popular support.

7. Equally as pressing as the terrorist problem is that of the economy. The govt has not yet had a chance to present its plan, but the economic team is now in place and looks impressive. The contacts the Embassy has had so far with Econ Min Martinez de Hoz and some of his assistants indicate they have a firm grasp of the problems and hopefully will have a practical approach to their solution. Detailed analysis of economic program will follow ASAP.

8. As encouraging as the new govt's own performance so far has been public reaction to it. Most Argentines were glad to be rid of Mrs. Peron's pathetically incompetent govt. But they did not rush into the streets to cheer the Armed Forces or jeer the Peronists. They approve of what the Armed Forces have done, but they have some

healthy reservations. They have seen military govts start off well before, only to fail further down the road. They hope this one will be different and at this point are willing to give it their support. But no one seems to expect miracles, and that is one of the most mature phenomenon about this coup.

9. Even Labor so far is quiescent. Absenteeism, for example, disappeared as a major problem on Mar 25. Many labor leaders have made their peace with the military and are willing to cooperate. For its part, the Junta has handled Labor intelligently and with prudence. Some of the more corrupt labor leaders have been arrested, but most leaders have been left alone. The CGT is intervened but most unions within it are functioning more or less normally. The crunch, however, has not yet come and will not until the govt introduces its econ program and begins to impose austerity measures.

10. US Position. This was probably the best executed and most civilized coup in Argentine history. It was unique in other ways too. The US has not been accused of being behind it, except by Nuestra Palabra, the organ of the PCA. The Embassy hopes to keep it that way. Clearly, we should not become overly identified with the Junta. That would not be good for them or for us. Nonetheless, Argentina's best interests, and ours, lie

in the success of the moderate govt now led by Gen Videla. He has a chance of pulling Argentina together again, stopping terrorism and getting the economy going. His govt, moreover, has promised to solve quickly our various investment problems (Exxon, Chase Manhattan, Standard Electric, etc.) and to bring about a better climate in general for foreign investment. Should Videla's govt fail, that might on the one hand open the door to the hardliners, who would return Argentina to the polarization of the past and who, being more nationalistically inclined than the moderates, would not take as favorable an attitude toward the US and US investments. On the other side, Videla's failure could also bring about conditions under which the extreme left might have an opportunity to make a bid for power, which would clearly run contrary to all our interests.

10. Thus, while we should move discreetly and keep our distance, we should also, so long as the Videla govt sticks to a moderate course, look sympathetically on any requests for assistance it may direct to us.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04451 121932Z

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U.S. Department of State
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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00
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NOFORN

EO 11652: XGDS4
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, PFOR, CI
SUBJECT: DETENTION OF CHILEAN LAWYER: HERNAN MONTEALEGRE KLENNER

1. SUMMARY: GOC SECURITY FORCES (DIRECTORATE OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE - DINA) EARLY MAY 12 PICKED UP CHILEAN LAWYER HERNAN MONTEALEGRE KLENNER AND TOOK HIM TO CUATRO ALAMOS, AN AUTHORIZED PLACE OF DETENTION. ALL FORMALITIES OF SD 187 WERE OBSERVED. MONTEALEGRE AS A LAWYER HAS WORKED CLOSELY WITH DEFUNCT PEACE COMMITTEE AND SUCCESSOR VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY. HE HAS DEFENDED MANY PERSONS IN TROUBLE WITH GOC FOR POLITICAL/ SECURITY REASONS, BUT ALSO NATIONAL UNIFORMED POLICEMEN (CARABINEROS) ACCUSED OF MURDER. AS FAR AS EMBASSY KNOWS, HE HAS NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN POLITICS. HE WAS ONE OF LARGE GROUP THAT MET WITH CODEL MOFFETT AT VICARIATE. REASON OF DETENTION IS UNKNOWN; EMBASSY WILL REPORT FURTHER AS INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE.

2. MONTEALEGRE'S WIFE, MARIA LUZ NOVOA DE MONTEALEGRE, CALLED ADCM'S HOME THEN VISITED HIM MORNING MAY 12. SHE SAID THAT AT 5:15 IN THE MORNING (JUST BEFORE END OF CURFEW) DINA AGENTS CAME TO THEIR HOUSE WITH WRITTEN AUTHORIZATION TO DETAIN HER HUSBAND AT CUATRO ALAMOS CENTER. SHE SIGNED AUTHORIZATION, AND IT WAS COUNTERSIGNED BY DINA AGENT (CLAUDIO TORRES)--ALL IN

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04451 121932Z

CONFORMITY WITH REQUIREMENTS OF SUPREME DECREE 187 OF LATE JANUARY. COPY OF AUTHORIZATION POUCHED TO ARA/BC.

3. MRS. MONTEALGRE SAID AGENTS WERE COURTEOUS AND SOLICITOUS. THEY ADVISED HER HUSBAND TO TAKE ALONG ROUGH, WARM CLOTHING AND PERSONAL EFFECTS. FTER SHOWING SEARCH WARRANT, THEY

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WENT THROUGH HIS PAPERS CURSORILY, TAKING SOME DOCUMENTS CONCERNING TRIAL HE JUST ENTERED AS DEFENSE LAWYER (BELOW).

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5. MONTEALEGRE HAD BEEN CAREER DIPLOMAT FOR NINE YEARS, WAS IN LONDON AT TIME OF SEPTEMBER 1973 COUP. HE WAS FIRED IN OCTOBER 1973 ON BASIS THAT CHILEAN CHARGE IN LONDON FOUND HIM UNWORTHY OF CONFIDENCE. HIS WIFE BELIEVES HE WAS IN FACT SACKED BECAUSE OF HER FATHER, EDUARDO NOVOA MONREAL, INFLUENTIAL LEGAL ADVISER TO ALLENDE GOVERNMENT. NOVOA WAS ABROAD AT TIME OF COUP AND TOOK UP RESIDENCE IN MEXICO WITHOUT RETURNING TO CHILE.

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10. COMMENT: MONTEALEGRE IS WELL KNOWN TO EMBASSY AND HAS BEEN EXCELLENT SOURCE. HE SEEMS GENERALLY WELL BALANCED, AND WE KNOW HE IS TRUSTED BY SENIOR CATHOLIC CHURCHMEN AS DISCREET AND RELIABLE. ONLY ADDITIONAL PERSONAL INFORMATION WE HAVE IS THAT HE WAS ONCE A JESUIT PRIEST, AND A BIOGRAPHIC CARD WITHOUT SOURCE DESCRIBING HIM AS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT. AS FAR AS WE KNOW, HE HAS NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN POLITICS.

11. WE CAN EXPECT THAT NEWS OF MONTEALEGRE'S DETENTION WILL GET TO THE US SOON, AND THAT CODEL MOFFETT WILL IMMEDIATELY CONCLUDE DETENTION RESULTED FROM HIS PRESENCE AT VICARIATE MEETING WITH THEM. EMBASSY HAS NO BASIS FOR MAKING JUDGMENT ON THIS POINT NOW. WE SHALL BE IN TOUCH WITH WIFE AND VICARIATE AND COMMENT AS MORE INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE.

12. FROM CORRECT MANNER OF DETENTION (PRECHT DESCRIBED IT AS "FIRST-CLASS") WE JUDGE THAT MONTEALEGRE IS IN NO DANGER OF MISTREATMENT OR OF DISAPPEARING. WE EXPECT TO FIND EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO BRING INFORMALLY TO GOC'S ATTENTION REACTION THE DETENTION IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE IN THE US.
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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ACTION ARA-10

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04451 121932Z

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10. COMMENT: MONTEALEGRE IS WELL KNOWN TO EMBASSY AND HAS BEEN EXCELLENT SOURCE. HE SEEMS GENERALLY WELL BALANCED, AND WE KNOW HE IS TRUSTED BY SENIOR CATHOLIC CHURCHMEN AS DISCREET AND RELIABLE. ONLY ADDITIONAL PERSONAL INFORMATION WE HAVE IS THAT HE WAS ONCE A JESUIT PRIEST, AND A BIOGRAPHIC CARD WITHOUT SOURCE DESCRIBING HIM AS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT. AS FAR AS WE KNOW, HE HAS NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN POLITICS.

11. WE CAN EXPECT THAT NEWS OF MONTEALEGRE'S DETENTION WILL GET TO THE US SOON, AND THAT CODEL MOFFETT WILL IMMEDIATELY CONCLUDE DETENTION RESULTED FROM HIS PRESENCE AT VICARIATE MEETING WITH THEM. EMBASSY HAS NO BASIS FOR MAKING JUDGMENT ON THIS POINT NOW. WE SHALL BE IN TOUCH WITH WIFE AND VICARIATE AND COMMENT AS MORE INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE.

12. FROM CORRECT MANNER OF DETENTION (PRECHT DESCRIBED IT AS "FIRST-CLASS") WE JUDGE THAT MONTEALEGRE IS IN NO DANGER OF MISTREATMENT OR OF DISAPPEARING. WE EXPECT TO FIND EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO BRING INFORMALLY TO GOC'S ATTENTION REACTION THE DETENTION IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE IN THE US.
BOYATT

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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SI 280 *

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Mr. Rogers (ARA)
5/17/76; 5:18 p.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: What is that letter in the Washington Post today that Mexico is going Communist and we have kept it from the President.

R: I didn't even see it.

K: It is in the Post and the President asked me to comment on it and it will of course mean a visit of me to Mexico announced on May 24.

R: Let me take a look at it and get back to you.

K: Can you draft an answer for me.

R: I didn't notice it. Nobody brought it to my attention.

K: You better hold off on when we should make the announcement.

R: We will hold it off.

K: It will not be this Friday.

R: When is a good time?

K: Before this primary is not.

R: Wednesday or Thursday of next week?

K: Yes, but even then it will get us into the California primary. First tell me the facts on this gd thing.

R: Let me get back to you.

K: I would think you could balance a Communist against a Fascist regime.

R: (laughs) We have. It is a balanced trade.

K: It is not exactly clear to me in what wat Mexico is Communist.

R: Okay. I will get on that.

K: Okay.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 23 JUL 2003 200102979

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Translated from the Spanish 6/11/76 RF KTT [redacted] show to RF HR-R wwyz

List of Uruguayans who have died as a result of physical assault

CP0001

1972

May 22. Walter Sanzó Bianchi, 32 yrs, skilled worker, 2 children.
" 25. Luis Carlos Batalla, 32 yrs, mason, 2 children.
June 3. Edison Marín, day labourer.
" 26. Juan Fachineli, teacher.
July 15. Hector Lorenzo Jurado, Methodist pastor.
" 23. Carlos Alvariza, 36yrs, doctor, 3 children.

1973

March 12. Roberto Comensoro, 23yrs, student.
May 25. Oscar F. Fernández Mendieta, farm worker.
June 12. Ruben Luzardo.
August 22. Walter H. Arteche, 27 yrs.
Gerardo Alter, 27 yrs, Argentinian.
September Hugo Leonardo de los Santos, student.
Dec. 19. Gilberto Gowland, worker.

1974

March 5. Aldo Perrini, 34 yrs., grocer, 2 children.
April 21. Laura Raggio, 20yrs., student.
May 12. Alberto Blanco.
June 29. Nibya Sabalsagaray, 24 yrs., teacher.
August 12. Angelmo García, bank clerk.
Nov. 22. Iván Morales, 26yrs., 3 children.
" Horacio Rujlica.
Dec. 13. Luis Eduardo González González, 22yrs.
" 20. Graciella Estefanell, 34yrs. María de los Angeles Corbo de Brum, 26yrs. Héctor D. Brum Cornelius, 28yrs., Mirtha Y. Hernández de García, 29yrs., and Floreal García Larrosa, 31yrs.; Amaral García Hernández, 3 yrs., son of the last two named, disappeared and there has been no news of him to this date.

1975

April 29. Amelia Lavagna de Tizzo, 58yrs.
May José D. Rodríguez Yic, master of the port of Montevideo
July 30. Alvaro Balbi, 34 yrs., 4 children, office worker, musician.
Sept. 26. Carlos Curuchaga, 63 yrs., doctor.
" 29. Pedro Ricardo Lereno Martínez, 33 yrs., office worker, 2 daughters.
Dec. 16. Carlos M. Argonta Estable, 64yrs., doctor.

80D177
Box 4861

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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1976

Jan. 5. Julián López, docker.

March 2. Oscar E. Bonifacic Oliveira, 56 yrs., worker.

March 10. Eduardo Mondello Techera.

March Yvo Fernández, docker.

" Aldabalde, auctioneer (Minas)

April Yic, mason.

" 20. Telba Juárez de Fachelli, 29 yrs., student teacher, died in Buenos Aires.

" 23. Ary Cabrera, 41 yrs., bank clerk. Eduardo Chissela, 28 yrs., student. Elida Alvarez, 24 yrs., student, 1 child.
Ricardo Gil, 28 yrs., teacher.
Luis Ferreira, 37 yrs., worker.

May 20. Zelmar Michelini, 53 yrs., 10 children, senator, former Minister.
Hector Gutiérrez Ruiz, 42 yrs., 5 children, deputy, former President of the Chamber of Deputies of Uruguay.
Willy Whitelaw Blanco, 28 yrs., student, 2 children.
Rosario Barredo Longo de Schroeder, 3 children.

Disappeared in Montevideo

Fernando Miranda, 53 yrs., notary.

Eduardo Bleier.

Disappeared in Buenos Aires

- Félix Míguez
- Ricardo del Fabro
- Alejandro Nogueira
- Adriana Ferrara de Nogueira
- Winston Mazzuchi
- Nebio Ariel Melo
- Manuel Liberoff
- Ettore Pierri

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..../3

Violations of Human Rights in Uruguay during the period of May 1975 to May 1976

May 1975

May 1. - Mass arbitrary arrests of Uruguayan citizens, without any legal order or justification, on that day and preceding days.

May 4. - Guillermo Israel, correspondent of the ADN news agency (DDR) is expelled from the country.
- 40 employees of the Clinical Hospital are fired because they refuse to sign a document which violated their freedom of conscience.
- José Rodríguez Yic, land master of the port of Montevideo, dies under torture.

May 13. - Law 14.373 provides for the seizure of goods for political crimes; its application is wide and imprecise.

May 16. - The Director of Secondary Education imposes the censure of books in the libraries of all secondary schools (circular 1376/75).

May 19. - 48 headmistresses of primary schools are removed from their posts.
- A decree is passed which states that all journalists working on newspapers closed down by the government may not be employed in their profession.

May 26. - Death of Celso Fernández, Raúl Melogno and María Luisa Karaián. According to the official explanation, they died in a confrontation with the police. According to informed sources, the last two surrendered, and were unarmed.

June

June 4. - The Lithuanian Centre of Uruguay is closed down and its leaders arrested.

June 6. - The Post Office authorities are ordered to seize all "Marxist and antidemocratic" correspondence (printed matter, photographs, films, records, etc.).
- Drs. Ricardo Caritat, J. Panizza and Tabaré González are fired from their positions in the Intensive Care Unit of the Clinical Hospital.

June 29. - Students of the Zorrilla Secondary School (Montevideo) take flowers to the school in memory of their dead teacher, N. Sabalsagaray. Punishment: some of them, who are still minors, are jailed for several days; others are forbidden to study in any public or private establishment for a period of from 2 to 4 years.

July

July 30. - Alvaro Balbi, 34 yrs., 4 children and 1 expected, office worker and musician dies under torture. He had been arrested the previous day.

August

Aug. 6. - The Metalworkers Union (UNTMRA) is broken into by the police, the building is closed down and leaders arrested.

Aug. 8. - Félix Míguez, an Uruguayan political refugee is kidnapped in Buenos Aires.

Aug. 15 - The ANTEO and EPU (United Peoples' Publications) bookshops are closed down.

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September

- Ricardo del Fabro, 25 years, disappears in Buenos Aires. There is no news of him to this date.

Sept. 7. - Juan Artola, publications secretary of the WSCFLA (World Student Christian Federation in Latin America) is arrested.

Sept. 11. - 150 medical students are arrested for an act of support for the Chilean people (sit-down strike). They are beaten and made to stand still for long-periods; 10 men and 6 women are later freed.

- Joel Casal, leader of the FUS (Uruguayan Health Federation) leaves for Caracas after 53 days of asylum in the Venezuelan Embassy in Montevideo. Cruelly tortured, he had escaped from the Military Hospital (July 25) and had taken refuge in the Embassy.

Sept. 18. - The University Cinema of Uruguay, established in 1948, is closed down.

Sept. 19. - The production of the play "Andar por los fuegos", which opened the previous day in the Round Theatre in Montevideo, is forbidden.

- The Uruguayan actress China Zorilla and the Argentine singer Mercedes Sosa are forbidden to perform in Uruguay.

Sept. 26. - Carlos Curuchaga, 63 years, well-known doctor from Mercedes, who is recovering from a partial paralysis, is again assaulted, resulting in further paralysis, and dies in the Clinical Hospital.

Sept. 29. - Pedro Ricardo Lerena Martínez, 33 years, 2 daughters, employee in the Rural Bank, dies under torture. He was arrested in May 1975 and his family and lawyers were forbidden to visit him.

October

Oct. 2. - The Medical Federation of Uruguay, the first mutual society of the country, is intervened by the government.

Oct. 10. - The theatre director and actor Ruben Yáñez is forbidden to work in Uruguay.

- All the books of the writers Juan Carlos Onetti, Eduardo Amorín and Mario Benedetti are forbidden, and must be removed from all public libraries.

Oct. 11. - "El Civismo", weekly paper of the "Rocha Movement" (National Party, "blanco"), is closed down for 20 weeks.

- "El Correo" (the UNESCO Courrier) is confiscated because of an article on women in socialist countries.

- "Radio Colonia" is closed down for 48 hours.

- Dr Orlando Rojas, born in Paraguay but legally a citizen of Uruguay, whose wife and children are Uruguayan, is deported from the country. He had worked as an odontologist in Montevideo for many years.

Oct. 12. - The distribution of the Pastoral Letter of the 15 Catholic bishops is forbidden because it speaks of a "wide amnesty".

- The foreign newspapers "La Opinión" and "Jornal do Brazil" which reported this event are confiscated.

- The Church accepts the censure and changes the term in question, but the vast majority of the parishes do not read the corrected Letter.

Oct. 15. - During the week commencing October 15, 300 persons connected with the outlawed Communist Party and the Leftist Liberation Front are arrested. In almost all cases their houses are looted.

Oct. 25. - Arrest of José Luis Massera, deputy and first secretary of the Communist Party. Former professor in the Faculty of Engineering and Humanities, and a distinguished mathematician.

Oct. 28. - Arrest of Wladimir Turiansky, deputy and trade union leader, and of many other union leaders and leaders of the Communist Party.

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November

Nov. 3. - Arrest of Juan Carlos Urruzola, 64 years, employed by the Foreign Press Club of Montevideo, former journalist on "El Popular".
- 4 nuns of the Dominican Order (3 Argentines and 1 Chilean) are expelled from the country.
- Victor Cayota, 48 years, Luis Guidotti, 62, and Omar Genovese, 61 years and in very poor health, are tried by the military court for organizing a Solidarity Fund for the families of professors who who had been tried. They had been arrested 3 months earlier, and will be freed in May 1976 by a special dispensation of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Nov. 7. - Dr Hugo Carlos Sacchi, 65 years, a famous gynaecologist, is arrested in his consulting room. As a result of the treatment he received he has a cardiac arrest and twice has to be hospitalized in the Military Hospital.

Nov. 11. - "El Telégrafo", a Paysandú daily paper, is closed down for 5 days and its main writers arrested.

Nov. 19. - Elections in the Notaries' Association. The Ministry of the Interior censures the list of candidates; out of 44 candidates they remove 33 names.
- 3 persons who had sought asylum in the Mexican Embassy leave in exile:
Carlos Borche, president of the Press Association, who had been in prison for several months for defending the freedom of the press;
Carlos Puchet, journalist on "Ultima Hora", a daily paper which had been closed down;
Alejandro Maggiani, leader of the electrical trade union.
- Sonia Bialous de Dutrenit, a chemist of Polish origin, who had come to Uruguay as a child and was legally a Uruguayan citizen and had Uruguayan children, is deported to Argentina, with no reason given, and deprived of her documents of citizenship.
- Rumours abound that most of the people arrested are subjected to increasing brutal torture, including highly refined psychological torture.

December

Dec. 11. - Alejandro Nogueira Rodríguez, 23 years, Uruguayan, and Adriana Ferrara de Nogueira, 22 years, Uruguayan, are arrested in Buenos Aires. Despite many enquiries, there is no news of them.
- Arrests and trials by the military court of persons connected with the dissolved Communist Party . The number of cases runs into the hundreds.

Dec. 14. - Luis Sabini, employed by the magazine "Crisis" published in Buenos Aires and a member of the "Community of the South" (a cooperative publishing house), is arrested in Buenos Aires. For a long time there is no news of him, until finally in April the authorities admit that he has been arrested.

Dec. 16. - Carlos María Argenta Estable, 64 years, docker, dies in the Military Hospital as a result of torture. He was a member of the outlawed Socialist Party.
- It is claimed that the number of tortured prisoners who have to be admitted to the Military Hospital is increasing. Dr Massera, with a fractured leg, and Dr Sacchi, with an aggravation of the ulcer from which he was suffering, are among them.
- Torture is being carried out not only in barracks and police buildings, but also in private houses confiscated from prisoners.

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January 1976

Jan. 4. - A law is passed which widens the jurisdiction of military justice allowing it to try all persons accused of political crimes. Persons arrested up till 14.4.72 were up till now tried by civil courts; the present law is retroactive, and means that they are to be tried by military courts.
- Julián López, docker, arrested at the end of 1975, dies under torture.

Jan. 10 - A communiqué of the C.N.T. (National Workers' Confederation) protests against the systematic looting of prisoners' houses.

Jan. 11. - Gen. Liber Seregni, leader of the Frente Amplio in the 1971 elections, is arrested. He had already been imprisoned during the period 9.7.73 to 2.11.74. It is later claimed that the conditions of detention are extremely hard.
- Several members of the theatre group "El Galpón" are arrested (Blas Braidot, Sara Larocca, César Campodonico, Mario Gallup).

Jan. 16. - "Perspectivas de Diálogo", the Catholic review of the Jesuit fathers, is closed down; its main leaders, Father Juan Luis Segundo, Ricardo Cetrulo and Andrés Assandri, are arrested and later released after exhaustive interrogation.
- The World Student Christian Federation and the Frontier Internship programme are forbidden in Uruguay; their headquarters are closed down and their property impounded.

Jan. 23. - Mgr. Guy de Saint Hillaire, secretary of the Papal Nuncio, takes steps to attempt to free Dr Massera. According to the daily "El País", his action causes "deep uneasiness in government circles".

February

Feb. 8. - Winston Mazzuchi, 31 years, and Nebio Ariel Melo, 32 years, Uruguayan trade union leaders from the city of Mercedes, are kidnapped in Buenos Aires. Their whereabouts is still unknown to this date.
- The organization Amnesty International publishes the terrifying letter of an "Uruguayan officer" giving a detailed account of a series of tortures, together with two photographs.

March

March 2. - Oscar E. Bonifacio Cliveira, 56 years, a worker from Cinoca, who was arrested in December, dies under torture.
- Sra de Bacchi, 72 years, is arrested as a means of persuading her son, Antonio Bacchi, a trade union leader, to present himself to the authorities.
- José Pedro Martínez Matonte, a distinguished teacher, headmaster of the Villa Garcia primary school and founder of the secondary school, is tried by a military court.

March 10. - Eduardo Mondello Techera dies under torture. His father, A.Monello is arrested and tortured for opening his son's coffin against the orders of the military authorities.
- Ivo Fernández, docker, dies under torture.
- Aldabalde, an auctioneer from Minas, dies under torture.

March 25. - Navia, an Associated Press journalist, is put under pressure by the Joint Staff to limit information on the military coup in Argentina.

April

April 5 - Complete collections of the weekly Marcha, together with th...

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office's books and files (5 tons of paper) are seized by the army and burned in the municipal incinerator.
- Yic, a bricklayer, dies under torture.
- The Institute of Pedagogy is closed down.

April 11. - 52 Uruguayans who had sought refuge in the Mexican Embassy arrive in Mexico. 98 refugees still remain in the Embassy, including several soldiers.

April 13. - The daily newspaper "La Nación" of Buenos Aires is confiscated.

April 20. - Telba Juárez de Fachelli, 29 yrs., a student teacher, dies in Buenos Aires of gunshot wounds. She had been arrested on April 16, having escaped from the Women's Prison in Montevideo on 30.7.71.

April 22. - Villaverde, a journalist with the Reuter agency, is warned by the Military Intelligence Service that he could no longer claim the protection of professional secrecy. He had been arrested on June 6, 1975, and held for 36 hours.

April 23. - 5 bodies are discovered on the coast in the Rocha Department; they had been handcuffed, tortured and mutilated. Informed sources name them as the following:
Ary Cabrera, 41 yrs., former bank clerck, arrested on April 5 in Buenos Aires.
Eduardi Chissela, 28 yrs., student, arrested on April 16 in Buenos Aires.
Elida Alvarez, 24 yrs., 1 child, who lived in Buenos Aires and went to Uruguay on March 28, where she was arrested at the port of Colonia together with two of her countrymen.
Ricardo Gil, 28 yrs., teacher, who was studying in Buenos Aires on a scholarship.
Luis Ferreyra, 37 yrs., a worker from Funsa, also arrested on March 28 at the port of Colonia.

April 25. - Another body is found on the Rocha coast.

May 1976

May 6. - The theatre company El Galpón, which was established in 1951 and was highly regarded both in the country and internationally, is dissolved and all its goods and property confiscated, including two theatre halls. In 1955 it had become a legal corporation.

May 9. - A seventh body is found on the coast of Uruguay: a woman who had been tortured and mutilated. The body was found by a fishing boat off the "La Floresta" beach.
- Eduardo Bleier, arrested at the beginning of December and later hospitalized in the Military Hospital for an emergency operation, is still being held and nothing is known about his state of health. He was a member of the Communist Party.
- Fernando Miranda, 53 yrs., a distinguished writer, professor in the Faculty of Law and Secretary-elect of the Electoral Board of Montevideo, had been arrested at his home on 30.11.75. Several efforts to locate him had failed. In May the government informs the State Council that he is not being held prisoner and that they have no news of him.

May 19. - Dr Manuel Liberoff, 58 yrs., a doctor, is arrested in Buenos Aires. He had been held for several months in Montevideo, subjected to brutal torture, and finally deported from the country. He was a leader of the Medical Federation.
- Ettore Pierri, journalist, is arrested. He had also been held for several months in Montevideo and later freed. He had worked with "Marcha" and wrote for several newspapers which had been closed down by the government ("Epoca", "Patria", "De Frente", and "La Idea").

May 20.- - Zelmar Michelini, 53 yrs., 3 children, senator and former

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home early on the morning of May 18, is assassinated in Buenos Aires.

- Assassination of Héctor Gutiérrez Ruiz, 42 yrs., 5 children, deputy and former president of the Chamber of Deputies, who had been abducted on May 18.
- Assassination of Willy Whitelaw Blanco, 28 yrs., 2 children, medical student, and his wife Rosario Barredo Longo, 3 children. Both had been tried in Montevideo accused of being connected with the MLN, and had been provisionally freed. Their three children, aged between 2 months and 4 years, disappeared, but after great efforts by their grandparents they were found and taken to Uruguay.
- More bodies are found on the Uruguayan coast. Informed sources state that they now number at least ten.

June 1, 1976

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6/76

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

LATIN ★★ AMERICA

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN
110 Maryland Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

CV005

May - June

AS
EB

Amembassy, MONTEVIDEO

URUGUAY - SURVEY OF EVENTS AND CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

On the morning of May 18 two prominent Uruguayan parliamentarians former Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Hector Gutierrez Ruiz and former Senator Zelmar Michelini--were abducted noisily and without ha from their respective places of residence in downtown Buenos Aires. adductions occurred in the presence of numerous witnesses, including police and military personnel whose failure to intervene can only ind: cate that they had received orders to that effect. In the three days that followed, the Argentine authorities showed total disinterest in t matter: relatives of the victims were refused permission to lodge offi complaints; investigations were promised but not undertaken; no one ev came to collect the fingerprints left by the adductors at the scenes o both crimes. On the evening of May 21, the bullet-ridden bodies of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz were discovered in an abandoned car along with those of Mr. and Mrs. William Whitelaw, allegedly former Tupamaro guerrillas; papers found in the car attributed the murders to an Argentine guerrilla organization. A third prominent Uruguayan, former Senat Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, narrowly escaped the fate of his friends and colleagues when he managed to gain asylum in the Austrian Embassy.

It is clear that the abduction and execution of the two outstanding Uruguayan parliamentarians and human rights advocates was carried out officially by the Argentine government. Equally obvious is the complic of the Uruguayan government, which instigated and ordered the assassina tion of its principal adversaries. Senator Michelini had left with a friend a note indicating that he had learned of plans to "remove him from Argentina"--plans that were discussed with the Argentines by Urugu Foreign Minister Juan Carlos Blanco shortly before Michelini'a abductic Evidence of serious splits existing at the time within the Uruguayan government, and the increasing political isolation of President Bordabe suggest that the latter may well have decided to eliminate major opposi tion leaders at just that moment. Moreover, both men had been placed under a virtual death sentence by the Uruguayan authorities; for months the Uruguayans had been issuing communiques to the Argentines referring to Michelini and Gutierrez Ruez as "dangerous Tupamaro leaders"; addi-

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Editor's Note: The Congress is now taking its 4th of July recess and will not reconvene until after the Democratic Convention. We are takin advantage of this brief respite to put together the UPDATE. As you wil note, UPDATE has not come out since April. During the summer months, UPDATE will appear on a bi-monthly basis. We regret the interruption, but due to the demands on the office, it has been unavoidable.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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19/52

nally, by revoking Michelini's travel documents, they had made it impos
r him to flee to safety.

As US citizens, we feel obliged to point out an element of US responsib
rough inaction for these tragic events. While the international press,
man rights organizations, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Pop
veral foreign governments and numerous internationally-known public figu
cluding many members of the US Congress--urged respect for the lives and
fetv of the two murdered parliamentatians; while it received numerous fo
l requests for prom t action; the US State Department made only token
stures on their behalf. Since the Argentine government, anxious for US
cs, is highly sensitive to pressure from the US on human rights, it is p
ole that swift and strong pressure at top diplomatic levels could at lea
ve saved the lives of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz.

The murders of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz were followed only days lat
the equally "official" execution of former Bolivian President Juan Jose
orres; by the theft of a list containing the names and addresses of thous
aliens residing in Argentina; and by the subsequent abduction and tortu
26 individuals whose names figured on that list. All of these developm
dicate dramatically that official violence in Uruguay and Argentina resp
national borders, and that--notwithstanding the reassuring statements m
General Jorge Videla when he assumed the presidency of Argentina--human
ghts are in no better shape there than they were under the government of
abel Peron.

Only weeks after the assassination of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz, the
uguayan government announced the removal from office of President Juan M
ordaberry, and his replacement on an interim basis by octogenarian lawyer
lberto Demichelli--appointed vice-president and head of the Uruguayan Cou
State, which since the coup, has advised the President in the absence o
arliament. The removal of Bordaberry from office marks the disappearance
uguay of the last vestiges of a constitutionally elected government. Wh
he emotional shock caused by the death of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruez th
as undoubtedly the factor which percipated Bordaberry's downfall, it had
pparent for some time that the President had outlived his usefulness. In
op secret memorandum sent to the generals last fall and later leaked to t
exican daily Excelsior, he had advocated the definitive demise in Uruguay
olitical parties and an electoral system. That Bordaberry should actuall
ave said such a thing instead of simply delaying elections year after yea
as probably what made his removal inevitable; a cosmetic job was necessar
o clean up the immage of the regime. Consequently, the Uruguayan general
eportedly backed by the US Embassy, have announced plans for what they
uphemistically label "a return to democracy" in Uruguay; following severa
ntermediate steps, including the replacement within a 70-day period of Pr
ent Demichelli, "elections" are to be held in 1984. However, only the tw
raditional parties will be allowed to participate in those elections; and
ven they will only be able to vote for a single presidential candidate, p
iously designated by the Armed Forces.

A further sign that the Uruguayan government now includes murder in its
rsenal of repressive weapons has been the discovery in recent weeks of at
east 12 bodies on the Uruguayan shores of the River Plate. All of them w

orribly mutilated and had been underwater for prolonged periods of time. hough the authorities claim that the victims were of oriental stock (the ad swollen their facial features, thus stretching their eyes), at least everal have been identified as Uruguayans who had disappeared following rrest in Uruguay or Argentina. not true

. The Uruguayan government's disregard for even the most sacred principl nternational law was apparent last week when police invaded the Venezuel mbassy in Montevido, forcibly removed a woman who had sought asylum ther nd beat two Embassy officials who tired to intervene on behalf of the vi hile the Uruguayans deny any responsibility for this violation of Venezu overeignty, the Venezuelan government has protested vigorously and threa o break off diplomatic relations if the women is not returned to the Emb

The US Congress has responded in several ways to continuing gross viol f human rights in Uruguay and to crimes perpetuated against Uruguayans a ther foreigners in Argentina:

. In mid-June, the Sub-Committee on International Organizations and Mov ents of the House Committee on International Relations (headed by Congre on Fraser), held preliminary hearings on human rights in Uruguay and hea estimony from Senator Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, sole survivor of the inc hich took the lives of his two colleagues in Buenos Aires. Senator Ferr ldunate described the murder of his friends, as well as the wholesale vi ion of human rights for which the Uruguayan government is responsible, a aised the issue of US complicity in both. He accused the US Embassy in ontevido and the US State Department of intervening in Uruguayan affairs artificially stabilizing" a tyrannical regime which, lacking popular sup ould not survive without massive moral and material assistance from the vidence of US intervention on behalf of the Uruguayan dictatorship inclu tate Department letters addressed to members of the US Congress, in whic naccurate statements and incorrectly quoted documents are used to delibe ely misrepresent the human rights situation in Uruguay. Senator Ferreir ldunate urged that in the future, the US government let the Uruguayan pe fight their own battles". In supplementary hearings on human rights in ruguay scheduled for late July, the Sub-Committee will receive testimony rom representatives of the human rights organizations, the US academic c unity, and the Department of State.

. Contained in the Appropriations Bill for FY 77 just approved by the ouse is an amendment sponsored by Congressman Edward Koch cutting off ilitary aid to Uruguay. This amendment, which would deny the Uruguayan overnment a projected $3,000,000 in military aid, is intended fundamenta s a sign of outrage over continuing violations of human rights. Since t enate version of the Bill does not contain language pertaining to Urugua the fate of the Koch amendment will be decided in Conference some time af after the July 4 recess. The State Department is planning to pressure in Conference for removal of the Koch amendment; it is therefore especially important that our constituents register their concern with the House and Senate Conferees, including Representatives Mahon (D.-Tx.), Cederberg (R. Mich.), Passman (D.-La.), Long (D.-Md), Roush (D-Ind.), Obey (D.-Wisc.), Bevill (D.- Ala.), Chappel (D.-Fla.), Shriver (R.-Kan.), Conte (R.-Mass.) and Senators Inoye (D-Hawaii), Proxmire (d.-Wisc.), McGee (D.-Wyoming) Chiles (D.-Fla.), Johnston (D.-La.), Brooke (R.-Mass.), Hatfield (R.-Oreg

d Mathias (R.-Md.). The Conference Committee will probably be meeting t
st of July.

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ERGENCY PAROLE PROGRAM FOR REFUGEES FROM ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY

On June 15, 1976, Senator Kennedy and Congressman Donald Fraser and Edw
ch introduced concurrent resolutions in the House and Senate. It states

"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). Tha
is the sense of the Congress that the Attorney General, in accordance w
isting law and US hamanitarian tradition, should parole into the United
ates those aliens having fled to Argentina and those Uruguayans in Urugu
o are in danger of losing their lives because of their political beliefs

The fact sheet on the plight of South American refugees living in Argen
na inserted into the Congressional record by Congressman Koch states:

The U.N. High Commissioner on Refugees has sent out an "urgent appeal"
mber countries of the UN to accept k,000 refugees living in Argentina.
ferred to the "marked deterioration" of the situation. The UN is mainta
g close contact with the Argentine government and pressing that governme
portect the refugee centers, but stresses resettlement of refugees as t
lution of "most pressing urgency". Three thousand (3,000) refugees livi
Argentina have already been resettled in Western Europe and Communist b
untries. The United States has to date done nothing.

The positive support of Senator James O. Eastland (D.-Ms.) and of
ngressman Peter Rodino (D.-NJ), Chairman of the respective Judiciary Com
ttees for this resolution is extremely important. Also important is the
pport of Congressman Joshua Eilberg (D.-Pa.), Chairman of the Subcommitt
Refugees. On June 23 he formally requested a report from both the Depa
nt of State and Justice on the possibility of the U.S. receiving refugee
om Argentina and Uruguay. The State Department recommendation, if appro
ll determine the extent and magnitude of the program.

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OREIGN MILITARY AUTHORIZATION - HUMAN RIGHTS AND LATINAMERICAN INTERESTS

Sifting through the Conference Report on the Foreign Military Authori-
ation Bill is like trout fishing. If you stay long enough you are bound
o catch or at least snag something interesting. The House-Senate Con-
erence concluded their work on June 16. Among the provisions that effect
OLA's continuing concern for human rights are the following:

HUMAN RIGHTS - Congress went on record as delcaring that the principle
oal of U.S. foreign policy shall be to promote the increased observance
f internationally recognized human rights. The language provides that
o security assistance be provided to any country which engages in a con-
istent pattern of gross violations of human rights except in cases where
xtraordinary circumstances effecting the security of the country obtain.

Secondly, the position of Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs within the Department of State was established. Furthermore, it required reports by the Secretary of State on human rights conditions in a particular country upon request by the International Relations Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee or of the Senate or House as a whole. The report is to contain: 1) overview of human rights practices; 2) remedial steps already taken by the United States; and 3) whether any extraordinary circumstances exist which necessitate continuing such assistance.

Finally, it allowed termination, restriction, or continuation of assistance by joint resolution of Congress.*

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ANNUAL ARMS CEILING: The House has approved a $9 billion ceiling on U.S. arms sales. The Conference could only agree that U.S. arms sales should exceed the current level and that the President should examine the ramifications of a ceiling on arms sales and the possibilities of multilateral negotiations with other arms suppliers toward this end.

REPORTS ON COMMERCIAL LICENSES: Conferees agreed to a provision which required that all proposed licenses for the export of "major defense equipment" valued at $7 million or more be reported to the Congress. A stipulation that Congress would have 30 calendar days to disapprove the issuance of the licenses by concurrent resolution was deleted.

EXTORTION AND ILLEGAL PAYMENTS: A report is required if the President determines that officials of a foreign country receiving security assistance have received illegal or otherwise improper payments from a U.S. corporation in return for a contract to purchase defense articles or services or that such officials extort money in return for allowing a U.S. citizen or corporation to conduct business in that country.

U.S. CITIZENS IMPRISONED IN MEXICO: The President is directed to communicate with the President of Mexico emphasizing the continuing desire of the U.S. to maintain friendly relations and the concern of the U.S. over treatment of U.S. citizens arrested in Mexico. The Secretary of State is directed to report every 4 months to both the House and the Senate on progress toward full respect for the human and legal rights of all U.S. citizens detained in Mexico.

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CHILE LEGISLATION - A REVIEW

On June 2 the House passed an amendment by Donald Fraser (D.-Minn.), which limited assistance to Chile to $25 million and also a weak military amendment which permitted government and commercial cash sales.

On June 11 Senator Humphrey (D.-Minn.), brought to the Senate floor an

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* Ed. note: The House version read that aid could be cut off by a concurrent resolution. The joint resolution requires the President's signa-

endment limiting economic aid to $30 million. It won Senate approval. dy's strong amendment prohibiting military assistance was also ratified.

In Conference, both houses met to reconcile their differences on provis r economic and military assistance. The result looks like this:

A complete cut-off of all military assistance (including grants and edits) and government and commercial arms cash sales to Chile. Pipeline d was not terminated.

A ceiling of $27.5 million on economic assistance to the Chilean Junta is includes AID development assistance, PL480 Food for Peace Title I ans, and Housing Guaranty loans. Eximbank, OPIC and Commodity Credit ans were included under this ban in the original House and Senate bills, t were deleted in the Conference report. There was also agreement on a iver provision which would free up to $27.5 million if the President of e US certified to Congress that certain conditions had been met: a) that e Junta "does not engage in a consistent pattern of gross violations of ternationally recognized human rights, including torture....." b) "has rmitted the unimpeded investigation by internationally recognized com- ssions on human rights...." and c) "has taken steps to inform the familie prisoners of the conditions and charges against such prisoners."

Though the amendments were somewhat weakened in Conference, they will ad to a powerful condemnation by Congress of the violation of human rights Chile and should translate into strong pressure on the Junta to ease up newhat.

For their substantial efforts in behalf of human rights in Chile, WOLA uld like to urge letters of appreciation to Senators Kennedy, Humphrey, /its, Case, Brooke and McGee and Representatives Fraser, Fascell, Whalen, l Hamilton.

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LTILATERAL BANKS

Though much has been done by Congress, much remains to be done. The Jun still receiving large amounts of US aid through the multilateral banks.

The Harkin Amendment, attached to the replenishment bills for the Inter- erican Development Bank and the African Development Fund and signed into v on May 31, 1976, instructs the U.S. Executive Director to the Banks to te against any loan to any country engaging in human rights violations, less the loan would directly benefit the needy people. On June 17 the U.S rector to the IDB voted against a $ 21 million industrial loan to Chile to mply with the Harkin Amendment. This is the first time this human rights gislation has been implemented and the first time the U.S. has ever voted ainst a loan in the Bank because of the violation of human rights. This an important precedent.

Early in 1977 there will be two important issues for all individuals and oups interested in human rights. The replenishment bill for the World

ank comes up between January and May. Then OPIC comes up for Congressio ction. The House Banking and Currency Subcommittee on International Dev ent Institutions and Finance will begin hearings on the replenishment bi n January.

The Washington Office on Latin America will be carefully monitoring the ssues and keep the readers of the Legislative Update informed. The U.S, as large voting shares in the multilateral banks, and if they are not mad ensitive to human rights issues, they can counteract these positive con- ressional initiatives.

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ENTRAL AMERICA - CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AT LAST

Much of the interest of heretofore ignored Central Americanists the Hous nternational Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Organiza- ons recently held hearings on Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador.

The June 8 and 9 , 1976, hearings focused on human rights violations and e relationship between U.S. military and economic assistance and the main nance of military dictatorships in those three countries.

The hearings generated some controversy in diplomatic circles. In addi- on to provoking official denunciations of this "invasion into internal fairs" by the governments of Nicaragua and El Salvador, they motivated ists by both Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza and U.S. Ambassador to caragua, James Theberge to Rep. Edward Koch (D-N.Y.), an outspoken critic U.S. support of the Somoza regime. Ambassador Theberge told Mr. Koch at he knew of no pattern of human rights violations in Nicaragua, and ged him to be careful about alienating a strong friend and ally. Somoza so assured Koch that there were no human rights violations in his country d, in response to Koch's inquiry, he stated that all the Nicaraguans who d signed affadavits stating that they were victims of torture or prolonged tention without charges had perjured themselves!

The first day of hearings began with Representative Jack Murphy who had latedly requested permission to testify. Characterizing Somoza as a aceful civilian leader, Murphy went on to say that in Nicaragua there are political prisoners, no torture, and no government sanctioned assassina- ons. Under rigorous cross examination by Koch, Murphy revealed his long d enduring friendship with Somoza.

Following Murphy, Lic Rene de Leon Schlotter, Guatemalan Christian Demo- at leader, Dr. Fabio Castillo, former rector of the National University El Salvador, but now exiled in Costa Rica, and Father Fernando Cardenal,

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otnote: On June 24, 1976, Senators Humphrey and Kennedy charged that the ate Department is rushing through a new $9.2 million commitment for the lean air force to beat a congressional ban on further weapons aid for le. Kennedy, author of the legislation banning aid to Chile, said, "It's rageous. It's a clear total violation of the spirit" of the provision.

icaraguan Jesuit priest and university professor testified. They all re-
orted that their governments are committing gross violations of human and
olitical rights and that the U.S. aid programs serve to perpetuate the rul
: military dictatorships in their countries. (Pedro Joaquin Chamorro,
caraguan newspaper publisher, had been invited to testify, but his goverr
nt would not allow him to leave the country due to charges of slander
ich had been brought against him approximately six months earlier by a
moza crony. After many months of judicial inaction, during the course of
ich Chamorro was not allowed to leave Nicaragua, judgment on his case wa
ddenly reached, within hours of the termination of the hearings.)

The second day of the hearings, the Rev. William Wipfler, Mission Direct
r Latin America of the National Council of Churches, Professor Miles Wolp
the State University of New York at Pottsdam, Betty Sumner of Syracuse
iversity, and Hewson Ryan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-
erican Affairs testified.

The testimony of Wipfler, Wolpin, and Sumner reinforced and complemented
at of the national witnesses. Ryan, however, refused to comment on human
ghts violations in the three countries. He alternately claimed that the
S. embassies had not been advised of these human rights violations, that
ey would not have enough staff to investigate the veracity of the charges
they had been advised of them, that to attempt to investigate such
arges would violate the sovereignty of the nation involved, and that each
arge brought a counter-charge which cancelled it out.

Congresspersons Donald Fraser, Michael Harrington, and Koch showed im-
tience with the State Department's evasiveness. As Subcommittee Chair-
rson Fraser adjourned the hearings, he expressed an interest in holding
ture hearings and requested that the State Department investigate each of
e charges made by the witnesses. The State Department is currently work-
g on that task.

The official hearing report, which will contain each of the witnesses'
atements, the transcripts of the hearings, and material submitted for the
cord, should be available for distribution by the House International
lations Committee by the end of the summer.

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6/2/76

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03641

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 DHA-02 SCCT-01 PA-01 PRS-01

USIE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 SS-15 SSO-00 INRE-00

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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3641

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, AR
SUBJECT: EX-PRESIDENT TORRES OF BOLIVIA REPORTEDLY KIDNAPPED
REF: SMITH/ZAMBITO TELECON

1. WIFE OF EX-PRESIDENT JUAN JOSE TORRES OF BOLIVIA LAST NIGHT REPORTED TO POLICE THAT HER HUSBAND MISSING. APPARENTLY HE DEPARTED HOUSE ON SEVERAL CALLS YESTERDAY, BUT WAS TO RETURN HOME SHORTLY. HE REPORTEDLY MADE FIRST CALL AND THEN DISAPPEARED. AS OF MOMENT NO FURTHER WORD HAS BEEN HEARD FROM HIM. WIFE, OS COURSE, FEARS HE KIDNAPPED OR WORSE.

2. ACCORDING TO NEWS SOURCE, MRS. TORRES WENT TO BOLIVIAN EMBASSY THIS MORNING TO REPORT EX-PRESIDENT'S DISAPPEARANCE AND TO REQUEST EMBASSY'S INTERVENTION WITH GOA IN LOCATING HIM AND HAVING HIM RETURNED SAFELY. SAME NEWS SOURCE INDICATES EMBASSY AGREED TO TAKE ACTION ON HIS BEHALF. WHETHER THEY DO OR NOT REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

3. PRIVATELY, GOA SOURCES HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER TORRES' DISAPPEARANCE. THEY INSIST GOA NOT RESPONSIBLE BUT THEY WELL AWARE THAT IT WILL BE BLAMED; HENCE, THEY EXPRESS HOPE THAT TORRES CAN BE FOUND AND RETURNED SAFELY AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.
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4. COMMENT: GOA SOURCES ARE PROBABLY CORRECT. UNLESS TORRES FOUND QUICKLY, HIS CASE MAY QUICKLY REPLACE THAT OF MICHELINI AND GUTIERREZ RUIZ AS CAUSE CELEBRE.
HILL

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

6/2/76

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INFO RUESLZ/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ 291
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CO S			PE4		
ADM			GEO		
USIS		✓	B & F		
SCI			CHRON		✓
SY			RF		✓

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, AR, BL
SUBJECT: REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE OF FORMER BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT IN BUENOS AIRES

1. ON JUNE 2, UNDP EMPLOYEE EMMA TORRES, DAUGHTER OF FORMER BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT TORRES, INFORMED US THAT SHE HAD LEARNED OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HER FATHER IN BUENOS AIRES ON JUNE 1. SHE SAID THAT TORRES, WHO HAS BEEN LIVING IN ARGENTINA IN EXILE FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS, LEFT HIS HOUSE FOR A HAIRCUT AND NEVER RETURNED. WE UNDERSTAND THAT BUENOS AIRES PRESS AND RADIO HAVE CARRIED ACCOUNTS OF TORRES' DISAPPEARANCE.

2. ACTION REQUESTED. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION THAT EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES CAN PROVIDE ON THIS MATTER.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SY-05

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DECONTROL
ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3642

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ELAB, AR
SUBJECT: CGT INTERVENTOR KIDNAPPED

[redacted]

1. IN THEIR MOST SIGNIFICANT OPERATION SINCE THE MILITARY TAKEOVER MARCH 24, TERRORISTS KIDNAPPED COL. JUAN ALBERTO PITA, MILITARY INTERVENTOR OF THE CGT, SUNDAY EVENING (MAY 30) AS HE WAS DRIVING HOME WITH HIS WIFE NEAR THE CITY OF LA PLATA.

2. FEDERAL AND LOCAL POLICE IMMEDIATELY CORDONED OFF THE SURROUNDING STREETS AND LAUNCHED A NATIONWIDE DRAGNET FOR THE ABDUCTORS. PITA, WHO HAD NO BODYGUARD AND HAD TAKEN NO SPECIAL SECURITY PRECAUTIONS SINCE BEING NAMED CGT INTERVENTOR A MONTH AGO, WAS APPARENTLY FORCED AT GUNPOINT TO BOARD ANOTHER CAR WHICH DROVE OFF, LEAVING MRS. PITA UNHARMED.

3. THE ARMY GENERAL HIGH COMMAND ISSUED A TERSE STATEMENT ANNOUNCING THE KIDNAPPING. PITA WAS THE HIGHEST RANKING OFFICIAL ATTACKED SINCE THE MARCH 24 COUP. HIS ABDUCTION WAS APPARENTLY TIMED TO EMBARRASS AND DISCREDIT THE GOA ON THE EVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE WHICH OPENED TODAY (JUNE 1) IN GENEVA.

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4. PITA HAD DEFINED HIS MISSION AS A "STRATEGY OF DIALOGUE" BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND LABOR. HE PLEDGED TO COMBAT SUBVERSION AND CORRUPTION IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND TO FOLLOW THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S DIRECTIVES IN ESTABLISHING A SINGLE, CENTRALIZED AND APOLITICAL LABOR MOVEMENT.

5. PITA HAD MADE IT CLEAR HE INTENDED TO WORK EXCLUSIVELY THROUGH MILITARY OFFICIALS, WHILE MAINTAINING OPEN COMMUNICATIONS WITH LABOR LEADERS "ON CONCRETE SUBJECTS." HE SAID ONLY "AUTHENTIC LEADERS WHO ACT AS GENUINE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARGENTINE WORKER" WOULD BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NATIONAL REORGANIZATION.

6. PITA WAS BORN IN SAN CARLOS DE BARILOCHE. HE ENTERED MILITARY ACADEMY IN 1944 AND OCCUPIED A NUMBER OF HIGH POSTS IN THE ARMY HIGH COMMAND. FOR THE LAST TWO YEARS HE SERVED AS CHIEF OF THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY GENERAL STAFF.

7. COMMENT. THE ABDUCTION OF PITA HAS BEEN VIEWED BY MANY AS A "TACTIC OF DESPERATION," A RELATIVELY SIMPLE, LOW-RISK ATTACK CALCULATED TO REAP WIDESPREAD PUBLICITY FOR ARGENTINE TERRORISTS. GOA HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY CONCERNED TO PRESENT A UNIFIED FRONT AT THE LABOR CONFERENCE IN GENEVA AND TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ITS POLICIES OF LOCAL LABOR REORGANIZATION, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY IN ITS BATTLE AGAINST SUBVERSIVE TERRORISM.

8. THE KIDNAPPING, HOWEVER, WAS AGAIN A REMARKABLY SMOOTH, SWIFT OPERATION CARRIED OUT IN DAYLIGHT HOURS IN A HEAVILY TRAVELED LOCATION, NOT 20 MINUTES FROM PITA'S HOME.

9. A NUMBER OF ARGENTINE PAPERS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE PITA CASE ILLUSTRATES HOW THE BADLY BATTERED TERRORIST GROUPS HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO SPOT ACTIONS AGAINST EASY TARGETS. (TERRORISTS HAVE SUFFERED HEAVY LOSSES IN RECENT WEEKS, INCLUDING 18 DEAD IN A SPATE OF RAIDS OVER THE WEEKEND.) AS THEY CONTINUE TO SUFFER HEAVY LOSSES, LA OPINION PREDICTS, THE TERRORISTS MAY BE FORCED TO FALL BACK ON ACTIONS THAT PRODUCE THE MOST PUBLICITY WITH THE LEAST WASTE OF THEIR HARD-PRESSED RESOURCES.
HILL

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 L-03 H-02 SCCT-01 ACDA-07

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5866
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted]

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR, UY
SUBJECT: KIDNAPPED CHILDREN RETURNED SAFELY
REF: BUENOS AIRES 3563

DECONTROL

1. THE THREE MISSING CHILDREN, KIDNAPPED WITH THEIR URUGUAYAN PARENTS WHO WERE FOUND MURDERED WITH THE BODIES OF MICHELINI AND GUTIERREZ RUIZ, WERE FOUND SAFE AND UNHARMED SATURDAY MORNING AND WERE REUNITED WITH RELATIVES.

2. THE CHILDREN WERE LEFT ON STEPS OF A SUBURBAN BUENOS AIRES CLINIC AT MIDNIGHT. THEY STAYED AT CLINIC UNTIL DELIVERED TO A POLICE STATION THE NEXT MORNING. RELATIVES PICKED THEM UP AND REPORTED THEM CLEAN AND WELL CARED FOR. THE CHILDREN WILL RETURN WITH THEIR GRANDPARENTS TO URUGUAY.

3. THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD, WHICH EARLIER PERSUADED THE GRANDFATHER TO MAKE A PUBLIC PLEA FOR THE CHILDREN, CREDITED THE CONCERTED EFFORT BY LOCAL JOURNALISTS FOR SAVING THE CHILDREN'S LIVES. THE HERALD ALLEGED GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE TOTALLY UNAWARE OF THE CHILDREN'S DISAPPEARANCE UNTIL PUBLICIZED IN THE LOCAL PRESS AND USED THE INCIDENT TO CALL FOR A FREE PRESS TO KEEP THE GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE PEOPLE,

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03613 021301Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 H-02 L-03 SCCT-01

ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 INR-07 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5859
INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3613

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, UY
SUBJECT: FERREIRA LEAVES ARGENTINA FOR PARIS
REFS: (A) BUENOS AIRES 3465 (B) MONTEVIDEO 1835

DECONTROL

1. FORMER URUGUAYAN SENATOR AND PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE LEFT WITH HIS SON FOR PARIS MAY 28 UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE AUSTRIAN EMBASSY.

2. FERREIRA HAD SOUGHT REFUGE IN THE AUSTRIAN EMBASSY SINCE MAY 23 WHEN HE HEARD UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS HAD BEEN INQUIRING ABOUT HIM AT HIS HOME WHILE HE WAS ATTENDING THE WAKES OF MICHELINI AND GUTIERREZ RUIZ.

3. DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES REPORT THAT THE AUSTRIAN EMBASSY HAD ORDERS TO SEEK OUT FERREIRA AND BRING HIM TO SAFETY. AUSTRIAN OFFICIALS APPARENTLY PICKED UP FERREIRA AT HIS APARTMENT AND BROUGHT HIM TO THE EMBASSY. THE AUSTRIAN AMB AND A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UN HIGH COMMISSION ON REFUGEES ACCOMPANIED FERREIRA TO THE AIRPORT.
HILL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

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FROM: Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, AR

SUBJECT: Interior Minister Says There Is International Plot to Defame GOA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): —
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC ~~PRIORITY~~ IMMEDIATE

INFO: Amembassy LA PAZ
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REFS: (a) Buenos Aires 3641 (b) Buenos Aires 3642 (c) Buenos Aires 3664

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1. This morning's discovery of the body of former Bolivian (now officially confirmed) President Torres, who was reported missing June 1, came not long after Interior Minister Gen Harguindeguy called an evening press conference (June 2) to charge that Torres' disappearance was part of an "international campaign to discredit Argentina's military government."

2. At the hastily called press conference, following his meeting with Pres Videla, Harguindeguy insisted Torres was neither arrested nor being detained by Argentine authorities and suggested Torres might as easily have disappeared "of his own free will". The Federal Police will investigate the case, he said. (Associated Press reported yesterday that Bolivian

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CLEARANCES:
USIS:MO'Brien (in substance)
A/DCM:WBeal
AMB:RCHill (by phone)

[redacted]

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President General Banzer requested President Videla make a full investigation of the Torres case.)

3. Referring to Torres case and international press coverage of Michelini/Gutierrez Ruiz cases, Harguindeguy said there is no doubt an organized campaign exists, directed from outside the country, to discredit the present authorities and obstruct the process of national reorganization. (The Michelini/Gutierrez Ruiz cases and Torres disappearance were both covered--but very discreetly--by the local press.)

4. GOA, Harguindeguy said, is "no less concerned than the press about this problem of the disappearance of political personalities and prisoners." He reiterated the govt's "absolute repudiation of violence, of any extreme ideology."

5. Harguindeguy referred to press commentary, particularly in the foreign press, as "a total deformation of national reality". He said thousands of letters arrive each day, mostly from Europe, full of false information and requests for the liberation of people who have never even set foot in Argentina. The similarity of the letters, he said, supports his charge of a coordinated concerted foreign campaign to defame the country.

6. Harguindeguy refused to answer questions but added that the Federal Police and a Federal Judge were continuing investigation into abduction and deaths of Michelini and

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Gutierrez Ruiz, and that search continues for missing Colonel Pita who was kidnapped May 30.

COMMENT: Harguindeguy's charge of an international campaign has an overly defensive ring to it and will not be well received by reps of the foreign press/here or by other skeptical observers. It does, however, at least indicate concern at top levels over rapidly tarnishing Argentine image abroad.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

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JUN 3 1976

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To: The Secretary

From: INR - Harold H. Saunders HS

The OAS in Perspective: What Kind of Inter-American Organization?

You have already received the normal briefing paper on issues and talking points for your various meetings at the OAS General Assembly. The purpose of this memorandum is to offer a background picture of the inter-American dynamics that have produced the positions that you will encounter and to analyze the broader options for inter-American organization. This follows from our earlier memorandum to you discussing the nature in today's world of the "special relationship" and the "new realities" of Latin America. The question here is: "What kind of inter-American organization suits the present relationship?"

As you know, only three issues on the OAS agenda are likely to stir much interest and debate at either the formal or the informal sessions:

OAS Charter Reform. We have expressed:

--our displeasure with the Permanent Council's proposals; and

--our preference for a streamlined institution capable of effective action in peacekeeping, protection of human rights, and cooperation for development.

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(With [redacted] Attachment)

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The US position is now clear to all, but in identifying those Latins who are willing to assume paternity for reform proposals that are essentially ours, it is important to understand how present positions have evolved.

Cooperation for Development. Because of the broad concerns with development and North-South economic issues, the Latins will perhaps be watching us more closely in this area than in any other to determine our readiness to help make the OAS an organization that can be useful in present circumstances. Practical steps for technical exchanges can:

--help diffuse radical pressures for condemning "economic aggressors";

--provide a framework for explaining what we can and cannot do; and

--move discussion to applying regionally the elements of our position at Nairobi and at last year's UN 7th Special Session.

Human Rights. The Latins will respond soberly and positively, and in some cases sincerely, to anything you say regarding the importance of protecting human rights, but they are just as likely to acquiesce in Chile's attempt to trim the Inter-American Human Rights Commission's sails, if indeed that is Chile's aim. The reason is simple: too many OAS members have been, are, or can easily see themselves one day in a situation similar to Chile's.

We explore the three issues at greater length below:

Charter Reform

A critical point has been reached in the process of reforming the OAS Charter that began three years ago. Since the last OASGA, the drafting task has been in the hands of the Permanent Council, which will present the fruit of its labors to the Santiago meeting. In the US estimation, the draft:

--is badly drawn and embodies no vision of the OAS or its role in the inter-American system;

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--enshrines concepts such as Collective Economic Security that are totally unacceptable to the US and objectionable to some other member states; and

--leaves untouched structural deficiencies that contribute to the OAS's inefficiency and wastefulness.

In specific terms, the draft articles least acceptable to the US resulted from an effort, primarily by Peru, Panama and Mexico, to restrain US economic influence in the hemisphere. When the reform process began in mid-1973, there was considerably more tension and animosity in the inter-American atmosphere than exists today, and the Latins transformed the reform effort into a search for means to curb US "economic aggression." In fact, Latin leaders had long viewed the OAS as an instrument for controlling US political and military adventurism in the hemisphere, and they now have shifted their focus and tactics to using the OAS to control US economic activity.

In more general terms, charter reform problems are an outgrowth of an OAS in transition. Everyone agrees that a new charter should mirror the "new realities" in hemispheric relations, but few agree on what the "new realities" are. Throughout the 1950s and well into the 1960s, the OAS role derived from the Cold War context within which it was created in 1948. The organization functioned largely as an instrument of US policy designed to safeguard our strategic interests in the Western Hemisphere. The Latins may have been unhappy about the failure of the OAS to channel significant developmental aid in their direction, but there was little that they could or tried to do about it.

As East-West strategic concerns have increasingly given way to the North-South developmental debate, the Latins have--in charter reform discussions and elsewhere--emphasized the OAS role in economic matters. The US has not resisted exploring the OAS's potential contribution to cooperation for development, but the issues involved entail all the complexity of the global dialogue transferred to the regional setting, and disagreements have resulted.

One issue that has been settled, if only implicitly, is the most basic one of all: "Should there be an OAS?" The organization has been the target of unending criticism, and

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it is an efficiency expert's nightmare, but it is perceived by the Latins as a necessary and sometimes useful instrument of inter-American diplomacy, a judgment in which we have concurred. The reasons vary with the size and situation of each country, but at the heart of the matter is the overwhelming presence of US power--economic, political, military and social-cultural--in the hemisphere. So great is the power disparity that not even a solidly united Latin front (as in an OAS without the US) would restore a semblance of symmetry.

Within this context, the OAS assures the Latins of an opportunity to bring their concerns and demands to the attention of the US in a regularly constituted forum. That they often fail to curb or control the impact of US actions, real or potential, is a result of the power discrepancy involved rather than an inherent defect in the OAS.

From the Latin perspective, two things can occur when the OAS addresses significant hemispheric items:

--The organization can provide unique access to the US policymaking process, thus assuring consideration or at least an airing of their interests.

--When their interests are ignored or damaged, the OAS becomes a convenient public platform from which to denounce the US.

Either way, the Latins reap benefits from an organization that costs them very little monetarily.

From our viewpoint, the irritation and frustration are probably worthwhile:

--The OAS still has a hemispheric peacekeeping role, last exercised in the El Salvador-Honduras dispute of 1969, but residually available if needed.

--While the OAS may not be a spectacularly effective institution, US participation signals our commitment to hemispheric cooperation and development. To withdraw would result in political damage to our hemispheric position that is not warranted by the cost of continuing membership.

--It is better to deal with the Latins directly in an organization to which we belong and can influence than indirectly through something akin to SELA from which we would be excluded.

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--In a more positive light, a revitalized OAS might further US policy aims by performing useful service in some areas of economic development and protection of human rights.

While continued existence of the OAS is a basic assumption of all parties concerned, the specific role it should play in hemispheric affairs is unclear, and here we return to the charter reform difficulties. Depending upon how the issues are resolved, the OAS of the future may be:

--A slightly altered version of the current model: an organization to be used or misused by the Latins as the occasion demands and tolerated by the US for the lack of a more appealing alternative. This would be the outcome if an impasse in the reform debate forced a premature termination of the entire reform effort. No one relishes this prospect, but most of the Latins could live with it and we would have no other choice.

--An effective institution for promoting inter-American cooperation in a limited number of areas, especially cooperation for development, peacekeeping, and human rights. Given this version of the OAS, the organization's bureaucracy would be reduced, its attention and resources focused on technical rather than political questions, and its image as a truly inter-American rather than a US-dominated institution refurbished. This is the direction in which the US would prefer to see the OAS proceed, and majority Latin support would be forthcoming if they were to perceive tangible economic benefits in the offing.

--A Latin-dominated institution designed to promote Latin economic interest vis-a-vis the US and control US economic power in the hemisphere. An OAS of this type is implicit in the charter reform proposals of Peru and its supporters, Panama, Ecuador and Mexico. The OAS would become a channel for conveying Latin demands to the US, and given the Peruvian concept of Collective Economic Security, an instrument to punish US "economic aggression."

The US has yet to set forth in detail its version of a new inter-American approach that we believe should be embodied in a revised charter. We have indicated our

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displeasure with the Permanent Council's handiwork and registered a strong preference for a bureaucratically-streamlined institution capable of effective action in three specific fields--peacekeeping, protection of human rights and cooperation for development. Otherwise, we have merely attempted to expand the debate beyond the frequently parochial confines of the Permanent Council and sought to elicit fresh ideas from the Latins themselves. This strategy has been well-advised in light of the fact that reform proposals--and almost any other initiatives which we favor--stand a much better chance of prospering if they emerge publicly under Latin sponsorship.

Through extensive travel, including your own five-nation tour last February, US representatives have engaged high-level Latin officials directly in the reform process. The US position is now clear to all, and an encouraging degree of Latin support has been forthcoming. The Costa Rican, Colombian and Uruguayan Foreign Ministers are the most likely candidates for Latin leadership in circumventing anti-Washington bias.

When the General Assembly considers the Permanent Council's report, it will have essentially three tactical alternatives:

--Instruct the Permanent Council to rework its draft. This option offers no prospect for an improved draft and has no support among member states.

--Instruct the Permanent Council to convene a special General Assembly to consider the present draft. Favored by Peru, Ecuador, and perhaps Mexico, countries that approve of the economic concepts embodied in the Permanent Council's draft.

--Determine that the draft should be reviewed by some group other than the Permanent Council before being presented to a special General Assembly for final consideration. This is preferred by us. We are currently trying to develop consensus support for a small six-to-eight member study group composed of prominent inter-American personalities who have not previously participated in the reform effort.

Probably the best that the US can expect at Santiago is a decision to pass the present draft to an intermediate study group to which all member states would appoint representatives. Many Latins have expressed approval in

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principle for the US suggestion of a more limited, workable committee, but none are willing to be excluded from the group.

Even the creation of a larger study group is not a foregone conclusion. The Peruvians are apparently lobbying heavily, and in some cases successfully, for submitting the Permanent Council's draft directly to a special OAS General Assembly to be held in December in Lima. The Peruvians are probably peddling the notion that:

--an intermediate study group is another US contrivance to sidetrack the entire reform effort; and

--the US should state specifically what it cannot abide in the draft charter, and the points at issue could be negotiated.

If this is the Peruvian strategy, and it works, the Santiago discussions could penetrate more deeply into substantive charter issues than we or most of the Latins would prefer.

Cooperation for Development

Of all the topics that might conceivably be raised at Santiago, none will inspire more Latin interest than this one or offer a better handle for trying to turn the OAS into practical avenues. Human rights and peacekeeping are widely acknowledged as suitable concerns for the OAS, and in both areas the organization has well-established procedures and reasonably good track records. Latins will judge the sincerity of our intentions primarily by our record on economic cooperation. It is a relatively new area for institutionalized OAS action, and the task is made all the more difficult by the suspicion, if not cynicism, with which the Latins have come to regard US responses to their felt needs. From their perspective, the notion of a "special relationship" can best be made tangible through US actions that serve their developmental aspirations.

As Santiago, your hemispheric counterparts will expect a strong reaffirmation of US intention to accord Latin America special consideration despite the global nature of developmental problems. They will have read and carefully analyzed your Nairobi address, and they will want to know precisely what special advantages they can expect from the implementation of US proposals on subjects dealt with at

Nairobi. Hemispheric trade and technology transfer are priority concerns for them, and any specific initiatives you offer will be welcome.

At a minimum, US initiatives to direct discussion toward hemispheric cooperation for development may help resolve the charter reform debate over Collective Economic Security. We have strongly resisted the implementation of this concept in the form of a semi-juridical framework within which "economic aggressors" would be tried and penalized. Instead, we have urged that the term be understood in a constructive sense--i.e., cooperation for development. Substantive US proposals on matters such as trade and technology transfer would lend credence to our past protests and weaken the advocates of an inter-American economic court system.

Beyond that, the most likely outcome at Santiago is an agreement to convene committees of technical experts on inter-American trade and technology transfer, perhaps as adjuncts to standing OAS committees, or perhaps in the more grandiose form of a special General Assembly of hemispheric Finance Ministers, a proposal already made by the Panamanians. Entrusting future discussions to technical experts should help channel them in a productive direction.

In a more general sense, the Santiago discussions will be helpful if they result in a more precise understanding of the possibilities and limitations of the OAS as a vehicle for promoting regional development. Hopefully, the Latins will come to perceive cooperation for development as:

--A two-way process rather than a US giveaway: a process in which they will participate as donors and recipients, although not necessarily in equal measure.

--A regional undertaking which must ultimately be viewed within the larger North-South developmental context, and as such, an undertaking that cannot be expected to yield definitive solutions to what are essentially global problems.

Human Rights

If for no other reason than the site, the protection of human rights in the hemisphere will be a significant issue at the Santiago General Assembly. Nonetheless, majority support for an action oriented resolution against Chile or

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anyone else is unlikely.

Traditionally, general assemblies have simply received the Inter-American Human Rights Commission's (IAHRC) report and acknowledged the commission's services, but this year a more extended and pointed discussion may develop. Should you make a strong statement regarding the protection of human rights, your comments will probably:

--be echoed strongly by at least Jamaica, which opposed holding the OASGA in Santiago on human rights grounds, and perhaps Costa Rica; and

--strike a sympathetic but less enthusiastic chord with the representatives of Venezuela, Colombia, and some of the other Caribbean nations.

The remaining member states, and especially Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina, will prefer silence, but, if forced, will adopt the position that human rights is an area of vital concern in which they cannot permit interference with their sovereign rights and obligations.

The specific case of Chile's human rights performance is inscribed in the agenda, but the broader question involves the role of the IAHRC. Chile has placed on the agenda an item entitled "Means for the Promotion of Respect for Human Rights and Facilitating the Cooperation of Member States to that End." The Chileans maintain that their objective is to strengthen the IAHRC, but it is difficult to stifle the suspicion that they seek precisely the opposite. They speak of defining more precisely the role and procedures of the IAHRC when, in fact, the Commission has been reasonably effective in the past by proceeding on the basis of a loose, permissive interpretation of a vague mandate. The Chileans may be trying to hem in the IAHRC by explicitly setting forth its powers. The Chilean initiative probably reflects their feeling that they have been singled out for discriminatory treatment by the IAHRC, but the impact of diminishing the IAHRC's powers will be felt throughout the continent, not just in Chile.

The Latins will tolerate the IAHRC because dismantling it is politically inconceivable, and because it heralds their respect for human rights. But they will not be enthusiastic about increasing its powers, and many will probably welcome a chance to circumscribe its activities somewhat.

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If you have not had a chance recently to review the present situation in Chile, you may want to glance at the attached rundown on current human rights practices there.

Summary Reflections

At Santiago, the atmosphere will reflect neither a new and robust OAS rising Phoenix-like from the ashes, nor a dying corpse sounding its death rattle. Rather you will be dealing with an organization in transition: one that once discharged its duties in a reasonably precise and parochial fashion but now must deal with global developmental problems that cannot be resolved within its regional framework.

The charter reform debate illustrates the difficulty in defining the OAS's role within this new context, but solid bases for profitable hemispheric cooperation do exist. Because both we and the Latins have prominent stakesin the North-South debate, and because Latin America is, by almost any standard, the third world area most intimately and importantly linked to the US, the OAS is a potentially useful forum for regional discussion of global problems.

If the OAS's potential is to be realized, however, its limitations as well as its possibilities have to be understood. If a new, modified "special relationship" is to emerge, it must evolve out of a mutual effort to solve common global problems, rather than out of a US willingness to yield regional concessions to its hemispheric neighbors. Minimizing possibilities for rhetorical politicking in the OAS and encouraging the discussion of troublesome economic issues by technical experts might be steps in the right direction.

Whether or not we succeed in streamlining the OAS and whether or not it becomes the institutional expression of a revitalized "special relationship", its residual function as a potential hemispheric peacekeeper probably makes it worth all the fuss and expense--to both us and the Latins.

Drafted: INR/RAR:JEBuchanan
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Human Rights Practices in Chile

Although some tentative signs of improvement in human rights practices are now evident, the Chilean Government remains an authoritarian regime obsessed with internal security problems. Santiago appears unlikely to modify temporarily or rescind any of the extraordinary security measures in force since the September 1973 coup which overthrew Salvador Allende.

An Authoritarian Regime. The military government now in power in Santiago is an aberration in Chile's long tradition of civilian parliamentary rule. There are currently no elected officials at any level--the election rolls were destroyed by the military shortly after coming to power in 1973--and elections are unlikely for at least the next 2-3 years. Guarantees of personal and civil rights long held to be an integral part of the Chilean political system have been suspended in political or security cases--a category which continues to be very broadly defined.

Legally, the military govern under the State of Siege provisions of the 1925 Constitution.

--Military courts have almost exclusive jurisdiction in cases involving national security, with appeal to the Supreme Court possible only in limited cases.

--Civilian courts have shown great reluctance in pursuing writs of habeas corpus (amparo) on behalf of security detainees or missing persons assumed to be under arrest, and in reviewing military court decisions.

--Search warrants are technically necessary, but their use by the security forces has not been widespread.

Chileans widely believe that the Government monitors telephone conversations and intercepts mail. The security forces, especially the National Directorate of Intelligence (DINA), continue to detain and interrogate suspected subversives and those they feel might provide information on anti-government plotting and terrorism. The majority of the most serious current violations of personal and human rights occur during this initial period of detention and interrogation. Treatment of long-term prisoners in regularly established centers is generally acceptable, although conditions are

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described as spartan. Medical attention is considered adequate.

Human Rights Violations. Since the coup, the Chilean Government has been widely accused of violating virtually all of the internationally recognized standards established for the protection of human rights. These violations include:

--Loss of life, including military court death sentences and cases of prisoners who have died while in custody.

--Arbitrary arrest, detention and exile, the first two widespread and difficult to quantify, the latter being intensified in recent months.*

--Torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, primarily during the interrogation process when security personnel have reason to believe that the detainee has timely intelligence.

--Arbitrary deprivation of property, both of individuals and outlawed political groups, which was very common in the months following the coup and continues to be used on a regular, if more selective, basis.

--Repression of freedom of expression and opinion, including direct government supervision of education, manifesting itself in clearly understood guidelines for self-censorship, the closure of radio stations, confiscation and shutdown of independent magazines, and the ouster of hundreds of university professors, staff and students.

Some Signs of Improvement. The numbers of political/security detainees officially acknowledged by the Government have fluctuated considerably in the two and one half years since the coup. As of November 1975, there were 4,027 detainees, down some from 4,754 in March 1975, and the backlog of pending cases seemed to be clearing up. Specifically, between March and November 1975:

--those detained without charges under the State of Siege fell from 1,417 to 512;

* Internal exile, or relegacion, in which the Government requires suspected individuals or dissidents to take up residence in remote regions of Chile and restricts their right to work and travel, has also been common.

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--those with legal proceedings pending declined from 1,780 to 1,398; and

--those convicted and serving sentences increased from 1,557 to 2,117.

As of January 30, 1976, however, the number of category one detainees--those detained without charges and most clearly identified as "political prisoners"--had risen to 667, of which some 300 were considered too dangerous to either release or put on trial. The number is probably even greater now.

The Government has cooperated with an international program to exile political/security prisoners. As of early March:

--some 330 persons, presumably including family members of detainees, had actually left Chile under this program; and

--about 850 petitions for commutation of sentence had been approved.

Immediately prior to Treasury Secretary Simon's visit to Santiago on May 7, 49 category 1 prisoners (detained without charge), including four prominent Allende-era political figures, were released, some to go into exile. Announcement of the release of a second group of 50 detainees was made public on May 19, and on May 25 Santiago officially publicized its intention to free an additional 207 political prisoners.

Chilean procedures for accounting for detainees have been clarified and regularized during the last 12-18 months--a considerable improvement over the chaotic period immediately after the coup, when the lack of precise information gave rise to highly exaggerated estimates on the numbers of dead, missing and detained. However; the exact number of "political prisoners" is still virtually impossible to estimate, since the definition of that category is unclear, and since the government, for intelligence reasons, does not reveal the names of all security detainees.

Chilean Self-Regulation. Stricter legal guidelines for the arrest and interrogation of suspected political enemies were instituted in May 1975 and in January 1976. The May law:

--clarifies the state of emergency under which the military governs;

--prohibits torture;

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--establishes conditions regarding the notification of families of arrestees; and

--sets limits on the time suspects may be held by security forces without charging them for specific violations.

The January decree put some teeth into the earlier measure, which had not been rigorously observed by the security forces. It specified the detention centers in which security cases could be held, prescribed medical examinations to preclude torture during interrogation, and authorized independent on-site inspection of the official centers.

Supreme Court President Eyzaguirre and Minister of Justice Schweitzer have separately conducted independent inspections of the authorized centers and found nothing serious amiss. Their obvious seriousness of purpose in carrying out the provisions of the January decree will probably help to discourage abuses, although there could be "unofficial" detention and interrogation centers which would not fall within the purview of the independent inspectors. On the whole, at least until very recently, the January decree has been observed by the security forces, and complaints of this type of human rights abuse have diminished considerably.

Other encouraging developments are:

--The revelation of Secretary Simon that 41 security force personnel have been tried and convicted for abuses of detainees.

--Chilean agreement to meet soon--in order to discuss procedures for an on-site review of the human rights situation in Chile--with the UN Human Rights Commission working group that was denied permission to visit Chile at the last minute last July.

Contrary to US hopes, however, Chile did not, during the Simon visit, budge on the restoration of habeas corpus or the elimination of the state of siege, and refuses to consider the release of Luis Corvalan, Secretary General of the banned Chilean Communist Party.

Finally, according to reliable clandestine reports, President Pinochet is considering a reorganization of the intelligence forces which, if implemented, would restrict DINA and the service groups to a strict intelligence function,

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and delegate responsibility for arrest and interrogation of suspected subversives to the police. The plan has not been implemented, and is unlikely to be in the near future. Nonetheless, it points to serious high-level consideration of the problems caused by an uncontrolled security force.

Prospects. Chile lobbied extensively to have the OAS General Assembly meet in Santiago, in order that the world could appreciate the exaggerations and distortions fabricated by the "international communist conspiracy against Chile." However, as the date of the Santiago meeting approaches, the strategy could backfire.

--Aside from image problems caused by stepped-up detentions of potential troublemakers and enemies of the regime, the government could be embarrassed by security measures designed to prevent spontaneous popular demonstrations against the government or a stampede of asylees into Santiago's foreign embassies.

--Public manifestations of the grinding poverty to which most lower class Chileans have passively submitted will probably be obvious to the visiting delegations, and are likely to be quickly reported by representatives of the international media.

--Despite announcements to the contrary, the Government will probably try to prevent the accreditation of journalists known to be unfriendly to the regime, which will cause more unfavorable publicity.

--Even normal security precautions designed to protect the delegates will probably be widely misinterpreted and could cause disagreeable incidents.

The Chilean National Directorate of Intelligence (DINA) does not now anticipate major security problems during the General Assembly, but is well prepared for the possibility of minor acts of spontaneous violence or protest.

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E.O. 11652: GDS

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TAGS: SREF

SUBJECT: REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA

1. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT REFUGEE SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE ARE SOME 18,000 FOREIGN REFUGEES IN THE COUNTRY, PRINCIPALLY CHILEANS WITH LESSER NUMBERS OF PARAGUAYANS, URUGUAYANS AND OTHERS.

INTERESTED CONGRESSMEN, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND UNHCR SUGGEST THAT DURING RECENT MONTHS MANY FOREIGN REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND RETURNED TO THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN OTHERS HAVE DISAPPEARED. REFERRING TO THE REPORTED KIDNAPPING AND MURDER OF URUGUAYAN EXILES INCLUDING FORMER SENATOR ZELMAR MICHELINI AND FORMER SPEAKER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES HECTOR GUTIERREZ BUIZ, CONGRESSMAN KOCH IN A RECENT LETTER TO THE DEPARTMENT STATED QUOTE IT IS ALLEGED THAT THESE MURDERS INDICATE THAT ELEMENTS WITHIN THE ARGENTINE MILITARY ARE COOPERATING WITH THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS OF CHILE AND URUGUAY TO ELIMINATE TROUBLESOME EXILES UNQUOTE.

[redacted]

3. WE ARE INFORMED THAT THE UNHCR, SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, HAS MADE SEVERAL APPROACHES TO THE GOA (THE PRESIDENT, FOREIGN MINISTER, AND ARGENTINE AMBASSADORS IN GENEVA AND NEW YORK) ABOUT THE WELFARE AND PROTECTION OF REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA AND REMINDING THE GOA OF ITS OBLIGATIONS AS A SIGNATORY TO THE GENEVA CONVENTION ON REFUGEES. THE UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE IN BUENOS AIRES (MUELLER) HAS ENDEAVORED WITH LITTLE SUCCESS TO EXTEND THE PROTECTION OF THE OFFICE OF THE UNHCR TO THE REFUGEES. THE DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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P.2 UNHCR/GENEVA (JAEGER) IS PRESENTLY IN ARGENTINA REVIEWING THE SITUATION.

4. BUENOS AIRES SHOULD CONTACT MESSRS. MUELLER AND JAEGER AND REPORT ASAP ON THE REFUGEE SITUATION.

5. FYI: THERE HAVE BEEN RECOMMENDATIONS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION ESTABLISH A PROGRAM FOR PAROLING FOREIGN REFUGEES FROM ARGENTINA TO THE UNITED STATES. ADDRESSEES VIEWS ON THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE APPRECIATED. KISSINGER

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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AN: D760214-0081

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03664 031516Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 SCCT-01 FBIE-00 IO-13

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5885
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3664

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, PINS, AR, BL
SUBJECT: BODY OF EX-BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT TORRES FOUND
REF: A) USUN 2357, B) BUENOS AIRES 3641

1. MEDIA CARRYING STORY THAT BODY TENTATIVELY IDENTIFIED AS THAT OF FORMER PRESIDENT OF BOLIVIA GEN. JUAN JOSE TORRES WAS FOUND JUNE 2 IN SAN ANDRES DE GILES, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE; ABOUT 120 KILOMETERS FROM BUENOS AIRES. POLICE HAVE NOT YET ISSUED REPORT.

2. COMMENT. PRELIMINARY EMBASSY CHECKS WITH LOCAL SECURITY SOURCES CONFIRM THAT BODY IS THAT OF TORRES. WE WILL FOLLOW UP WITH DETAILS AS AVAILABLE.

3. SEPTEL *IN PREPARATION ON MIN INTERIOR PRESS CONFERENCE* JUNE 2 ON TORRES' DISAPPEARANCE, AND WE WILL INCLUDE ANY IMMEDIATE GOA REACTION TO FINDING OF BODY.

4. PENDING FURTHER INFORMATION, WE WILL HAVE TO RESERVE JUDGMENT ON WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TORRES' MURDER. THERE IS

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03664 031516Z

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NO QUESTION, HOWEVER, THAT IT WILL BE WIDELY ASSUMED IN ARGENTINA AND ABROAD THAT THE KILLING WAS WORK OF GOA SECURITY FORCES ACTING OFFICIALLY, OR AT LEAST THAT OF SEMI-OFFICIAL "DEATH SQUAD" WHICH HAS TACIT APPROVAL OF GOA. COMING ON HEELS OF MURDERS OF THE URUGUAYAN EXILES MICHELINI AND GUTIERREZ, IT WILL BE TAKEN AS INDICATION OF CAMPAIGN TO ELIMINATE LEFTIST EXILE LEADERSHIP IN ARGENTINA AND PROBABLY TO INTIMIDATE EXILE COMMUNITIES HERE. IT MAY WELL PROVOKE ALREADY NERVOUS EXILES INTO RUN FOR SAFETY ABROAD, DIRECTLY OR INTO EMBASSIES IN BUENOS AIRES.

5. ON OTHER HAND, MINISTER ECONOMY MARTINEZ DE HOZ CALLED ME AND STATED THAT GOA HAD NO REPEAT NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR MURDER TORRES. HE CONSIDERED THAT KILLING WAS WORK OF LEFTIST EXTREMISTS KILLING "ONE OF THEIR OWN" AND HAVING BLAME FALL ON GOA.
HILL

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ACTION-COPY

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VV ESA645CZA032
RR RUESBA
DE RUESUZ #4901 1551545
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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 1814
RUESDC/AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO 578
RUESNA/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 640
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6057
RUESUP/AMCONSUL SAO PAULO 5977
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ECOM		✓	AID		
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CO S			PSH		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		✓	BCF		
SCI			CHRON		✓
SY			IF		✓

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SHU, BR
SUBJECT: ARGENTINA ALLEGEDLY EXTRADITES BRAZILIAN LEFTIST TO CHILE

REF: BRASILIA 4806

1. WE WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING FOR OUR OWN PURPOSES ANY INFORMATION ACTION POSTS MAY HAVE RELEVENT TO REFTEL. CONGEN SAO PAULO WILL, OF COURSE, RESPECT POSTS' GUIDANCE REGARDING WHAT PORTION OF ANY SUCH INFORMATION MIGHT BE PASSED TO DIAS.

CRIMMINS

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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6/4/76

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ADM			GSO		
USIS		✓	B & F		✓
SCI			CHRON		✓
SY			HF		✓

.O. 11652: GDS
AGS: SREF, PA
UBJ: PARAGUAYAN REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA

EF: STATE 136607

. EMBASSY CAN NOT ESTIMATE HOW MANY OF THE APPROXIMATELY 00,000 PARAGUAYANS LIVING IN ARGENTINA COULD BE LASSIFIED AS POLITICAL REFUGEES BUT THE VAST MAJORITY MIGRATED FOR ECONOMIC REASONS. MOST OF THOSE WHO WERE XILED OR FLED PARAGUAY FOR POLITICAL REASONS DID SO IN HE LATE 1950S AND EARLY 60S. SINCE THEN THIS PRACTICE AS VIRTUALLY CEASED.

2. THE POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THESE "REFUGEES" RANGES OVER THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM: THEIR COMMON DENOMINATOR IS BEING ANTI-STROESSNER. MANY ARE DISSIDENTS FROM THE RULING COLORADO PARTY ITSELF. THERE ARE ALSO SOME COMMUNISTS AND ACTIVE TERRORISTS AMONG THEM. SOME PARAGUAYANS WERE REPORTEDLY INVOLVED IN A TERRORIST SKYJACKING INCIDENT IN THE ARGENTINE BORDER TOWN OF FORMOSA LAST YEAR, AND A RECENT PRESS REPORT FROM BUENOS AIZDES SAID SEVERAL PARAGUAYAN NATIONALS HAVE BEEN SHOT BY ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES IN ANTI-TERRORIST ACTIONS IN THAT CITY.

3. MOST PARAGUAYAN POLITICAL EXILES ARE ARGENTINE RESIDENTS OF LONG STANDING, OFTEN AS MUCH AS TWENTY YEARS. THEY HAVE SETTLED THERE PERMANENTLY AND THEIR PRESENCE HAS BEEN TOLERATED BY SUCCESSIVE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENTS. WE ARE NOT AWARE THAT THE PARAGUAYAN REFUGEE COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA IS IN ANY PARTICULAR DANGER NOW FROM THOSE WHO WOULD SEEK TO EMBARRASS THE NEW MILITARY GOVERNMENT OR FROM ANY OTHER QUARTER. OF COURSE IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE THAT SOME OF THEM COULD BE THE OBJECT OF AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT, BUT SINCE NONE IS WELL KNOWN INTERNATIONALLY, WE CONSIDER THIS UNLIKELY. FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT WE DO NOT SEE THE NEED TO PAROLE ANY OF THESE PEOPLE, WHO NOW HAVE LIVED IN ARGENTINA FOR ONE OR TWO DECADES, INTO THE UNITED STATES.

LANDAU
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A PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
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3/7/77

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S/S - Jones

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Santiago Chile
June 10, 1976
Secretary's Suite
11:35 a.m.-11:50 a.m.

DECAPTIONED

PARTICIPANTS: The United States
The Secretary
Under Secretary Rogers
Ambassador Popper
Luigi R. Einaudi, S/P - Notetaker
Anthony Hervas, Interpreter

Chile
Foreign Minister Carvajal
Finance Minister Cauas

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

DISTRIBUTION: ARA, S/P

Carvajal

If you do not mind, I believe it is better for Cauas to take the lead.

Cauas

Today a $21 million loan to Chile for the private sector was to have come up on the IDB agenda. Yesterday the Chilean Director told us that the United States wanted to delay the vote on this loan for one week so as to comply with informing Congress because of the Harkin Amendment. The loan had been technically agreed to, but now we have learned that Simon has gotten in touch with Congress again on the vote.

The Secretary

Look, I am going to get this situation under control when I get back to Washington. We will not have harrassment of Chile. I will not have my statements on human rights here used to injure Chile. I told your President, and I repeat it to you: we trust your good faith and your good will on this matter. You must do as circumstances require. But the decision to do what must be done must be a Chilean decision.

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I will see to this matter when I get back to Washington. [To Rogers] Why don't we send a cable to tell them we support the loan from the foreign policy viewpoint?

Rogers

I don't understand what the problem is. I just spoke to Parsky.

The Secretary

They want to get into the human rights business.

Rogers

Yes, but they promised to check with us.

The Secretary

What can they be asking Congress? It is not a good idea to get Congress into the specifics of IDB lending. If we allow that to happen now, the process that will be unleashed will be an extremely regrettable one.

Cauas

Yes. For Chile, and for the IDB.

The Secretary

It is a bad precedent to let Congress approve loans. I've got to have a meeting with Simon Monday. I will not favor taking this up with Congress. If they get worried about every loan, then the IFI's will become like the Appropriations Committee. I am extremely worried. This is a question of principle. It has nothing to do with Chile. I would say the same of France.

Rogers

Yes. Then we would have government by the press.

The Secretary

It is not good for Congress to get into the details of every loan to every country.

Cauas

It will be bad for the IDB, and bad for the World Bank and the IMF as well.

The Secretary

I am strongly in favor of the loan. My prime function in government this year is to take the blame. Let them say that Henry Kissinger with his well known fondness for dictatorship has ordered this. Einaudi here believes that too. He would have me cut Chile off completely.

Cauas

When I learned of the problem, I took responsibility for a week's delay myself so as not to create problems.

Rogers

It would be a fatal precedent. The IDB and the World Bank have important loans coming up for Brazil, Chile, Argentina. They would all be attacked.

The Secretary

It would ruin our foreign policy. If you think you have problems . . . We have a bunch of Congressmen who think that Mexico is going communist. The next thing we'll hear is that we must stop loans to Mexico.

My position is for the loan and against consulting with Congress on it. I will try to resolve this with Simon. When asked, he will say that in view of my foreign policy interest, he has decided to approve the loan.

Cauas

The second point I wanted to bring up relates to Great Britain. [Hands the Secretary a document.]

The Secretary [Reads]

I will take it up with the British Foreign Secretary in two weeks. Is there time for that?

Cauas

Yes.

The Secretary

I want to tell you that I appreciate the way things have been conducted here. I have been very impressed by Chile and particularly by the Chilean people. You have handled the OAS meeting with great dignity. Few countries would permit a meeting with an agenda as explicitly directed against them. It has been a great credit to you. And that is one thing I will not fail to point out to Congress.

We have told you what, in our judgment, will be helpful in the general situation. We have also heard what you have said. The decision you must take is a matter of your own judgment. As I told your President, we don't want to weaken your government, we want to strengthen our capacity to help.

Carvajal

Thank you very much. You are very kind.

The Secretary

It has been a very good visit. I have really been impressed by your people. We wish you well.

Carvajal

That was our intention when we offered Santiago as a site for the Assembly.

The Secretary

You showed great courage and great dignity.

Carvajal

And on human rights, the publicity you gave it is testimony to our concerns as well.

I will be at the airport to say goodbye.

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E.O. 12356

The Secretary

If I say something to the press along these lines about my general impression, will I embarrass you?

Carvajal

Not at all.

DRAFTED:
S/P:LEinaudi:jrr 1/13/77

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APPROVED BY ARA PAF:PJOHNSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
UNCLAS STATE 142453
E.O. 11652: N A
TAGS: SOPN, CI
SUBJECT: NOON PRESS BRIEFING OF JUNE 10, 1976
THE FOLLOWING ARE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS QUOTED FROM THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S NOON BRIEFING ON JUNE 10.
1. Q. DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY RESPONSE TO THE REPORT THIS MORNING IN THE WASHINGTON POST THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE WAS OFFICIALLY INVOLVED IN THE MURDER OF A UNITED STATES CITIZEN THERE AFTER THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENTS IN 1976?
A. YOU ARE REFERRING TO THE POST STORY?
2. IT WAS WRITTEN BY JOANNE OMANG AND WAS DATELINED -- I THINK IT WAS OUT OF CHILE. IT WAS IN ONE OF THE BACK SECTIONS OF THIS MORNING'S PAPER.
A. YES I HAVE SOMETHING ON THAT. THE U.S. CONSUL HAS BEEN VISITING MR. GONZALES AND HIS FAMILY BECAUSE HIS SON IS A U.S. CITIZEN SINCE HE TOOK REFUGE IN THE ITALIAN EMBASSY SOME MONTHS AGO. THE CONSUL REPORTS THE FAMILY APPEARS WELL AND THAT THEY HAVE HAD ACCESS
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 02 STATE 142453
TO MEDICAL ASSISTANCE.
IN THE VISIT BY OUR CONSUL ON JUNE 9 -- THAT IS YESTERDAY -- MR. GONZALES REFERRED TO THE HORMAN CASE -- AND YOU ARE REFERRING TO MR. HORMAN -- FOR THE FIRST TIME. AND THE EMBASSY IS PREPARING A REPORT ON THE MATTER.
NOW I WOULD ADD, DESPITE OUR NORMAL PRACTICE OF NOT COMMENTING ON INTELLIGENCE MATTERS, WE STATE CATEGORICALLY THAT NO U.S. INTELLIGENCE REPRESENTATIVES WERE PRESENT WHEN THIS ALLEGED ORDER WAS GIVEN. NOR WAS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AWARE OF OR IN ANY WAY INVOLVED IN ANY CHILEAN INTERROGATION OF HORMAN.
Q. THAT IS RATHER AMAZING. HOW CAN YOU KNOW WHO WAS PRESENT? HAVE YOU CHECKED ALL THE RECORDS OF ALL THE MOVEMENTS OF ALL THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS WITHIN THE LAST FEW HOURS WHO WERE MOVING AROUND THERE SEVERAL YEARS AGO?
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declas
Exemption(s) _____

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A. HENRY, I THINK THE STATEMENT IS PRETTY CLEAR.
4. Q. IT'S CLEAR. BUT IS IT BELIEVABLE?
Q. TO REFER BACK TO THE NON-REPRESENTATIVES. DOES THIS INCLUDE INTELLIGENCE -- THEY MAKE A DISTINCTION OUT AT THE AGENCY BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS AND AGENTS AND CONTRACTORS -- THIS INCLUDES ALL THOSE CATEGORIES?
A. I AM NOT GOING TO GO BEYOND WHAT I HAVE SAID ON THIS PARTICULAR SUBJECT.
5. Q. FRED, CAN YOU AT LEAST CLEAR UP THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN U.S. INTELLIGENCE REPRESENTATIVES NOT BEING PRESENT AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT NOT BEING AWARE? IT SEEMS TO ME YOUR SECOND STATEMENT LEAVES OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOMEBODY MIGHT HAVE BEEN THERE BUT DID NOT INFORM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT.

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A. NO. I DO NOT READ THAT INTO THE STATEMENT AT ALL. BUT I AM NOT GOING TO ADD TO WHAT I HAVE SAID WITH REGARD TO THE POST STORY.
6. Q. HAS THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT EVER SAID ANYTHING ABOUT WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THIS FELLOW?
A. I DO NOT KNOW.
7. DO YOU KNOW WHERE HE IS FROM?
A. I DO NOT HAVE THAT INFORMATION WITH ME. I THINK THE POST ARTICLE MAY HAVE HAD A REFERENCE TO HIS HOME TOWN. I AM NOT SURE ON THAT.
8. Q. DOES THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT KNOW HOW HE DIED?
A. IAPS. I AM NOT GOING TO SAY ANYTHING MORE ON THIS PARTICULAR SUBJECT.
9. Q. FRED. MAY I REPEAT A QUESTION I ASKED EARLIER? DOES THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT KNOW HOW MR. HORMAN DIED?
A. AND I WILL HAVE TO REPLY THE WAY I DID BEFORE: SIMPLY THAT I AM GOING TO LIMIT MY COMMENTS ON THE SUBJECT TO WHAT I HAVE ALREADY SAID.
10. Q. CAN YOU SAY WHETHER THE REPORT WHEN IT IS COMPLETED WILL BE MADE PUBLIC OR WHETHER IT IS FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY?
A. I DO NOT KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT.
11. FRED. ARE YOU SAYING YOU DON'T KNOW THE ANSWERS TO LARS' QUESTION OR YOU DO KNOW AND WON'T TELL US?
A. I AM SAYING I DO NOT WANT TO GO BEYOND PRECISELY

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WHAT I HAVE SAID ON THE QUESTION REGARDING THE HORMAN STORY IN THE WASHINGTON POST TODAY. I HAVE SAID ALL THAT I AM IN A POSITION TO SAY ON THE MATTER.
12. Q. DO YOU THINK YOU COULD TAKE THE QUESTION OR

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XAMINE IT, RE-EXAMINE YOUR ANSWER, AND PERHAPS SEE
F YOU CAN FIND OUT WHY YOU CAN'T TELL US OR WHETHER
OU CAN TELL US?

. I THINK THE ANSWER IS PRECISELY WHAT I HAVE SAID,
T. WE ARE NOT GOING TO GO BEYOND --.

3. THAT IS NOT AN ANSWER, FRED, IF YOU FORGIVE ME.
THINK IT'S A LEGITIMATE QUESTION, AND I THINK IT
SERVES AN ANSWER, AND I AM ASKING YOU IF YOU WILL SEE
F YOU CAN GET US AN ANSWER AND NOT SIMPLY SIT WITH THIS
ND OF BUREAUCRATIC STATEMENT THAT YOU ARE NOT GOING
O DISCUSS THIS MATTER FOR YOUR OWN REASONS.

. YOU SEEM TO BE VERY WELL INFORMED ABOUT THE MOVE-
ENT OF U.S. INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS AND QUICK TO PROVIDE
HAT KIND OF INFORMATION. I DON'T KNOW WHY WE CAN'T
ET THIS OTHER INFORMATION ALSO.

A. ILL TAKE THE QUESTION. ROBINSON
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SI 340 *

TELECON
Mr. Joe Califano/Secretary Kissinger
June 15, 1976
Time: 4:55 p.m.

RELEASED IN PART
B6

C: How are you, Henry?

K: I am in good shape.

C: Listen, I am calling with respect to Coca Cola and something that has happened in Cuba. From two different areas Coke has gotten signals from Cuba -- one directly from the Cuban minister of finance and commerce who had been seen by a Mexican national who runs Coke in Mexico in connection with a football game. That one was renewed within the last month or so. They past word they would be interested. Secondly, through Colombia. The Cuban attache in Colombia said to a Coca Cola bottler that we would be interested in having Coke come into Cuba.

K: We would be violently against it.

C: You would. Well here is why I am calling. You know how much they want to get in there. You and I talked about this some months ago, but Herbie Jones who probably you don't know, went to Cuba with Mancowitz and they got interviews with Castro. He went on television and said Pepsi would soon be in Cuba. He said he was working through an Italian company to get them into Cuba. Austin was watching this and then these other things happened a few weeks afterwards.

K: [redacted] B6

C: Austin would like to go to Cuba, but I take it you don't want him to go?

K: I don't want him to go. It will give all the wrong signals. I will tell [redacted] about this, but I don't think he is as likely to listen to me as you are. B6

C: Well I guess there is nothing -- there is no way to do it but there is no way that he will do it without licensing. He won't let them do it if it is a problem. I don't know if you can have any inpact on [redacted]. Herbie Jones made some money off of interviewing Castro and now thinks — well, is there any way you can get a message to [redacted]? B6 B6

K: This I will do. I will tell him we will make it as hard as possible for him if he goes ahead. [redacted] B6

C: I would rather have the [redacted] in the world. O.K. Henry, take care of yourself. B6

K: You will be doing your best to take care of me.

C: We will have a lively few months. I think Reagan has a better than 50/50 chance of getting the nomination.

K: My hope will be to keep foreign policy from not being to devisive.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT L FUNSETH
DATE/CASE ID: 14 AUG 2003 200102979

I think if the democrats get in, they will be doing most of what we are doing. You think Reagan has a chance?

C: Oh hell yes. I think he has a tremendous chance. Some think he is going to get it.

K: I read your article in the Post this weekend. I thought it was very good.

C: It seems arrogant for people to be preparing -- you can't just come in.

K: They will be assailed by conflicting pressures, the democrats. You have so many premadonas in the democratic party.

C: I think you will be surprised on the foreign policy thing aside from an over-simplification of the defense debate and isolated issues that may explode over the Middle East, etc. I don't think foreign policy will be a major issue.

K: If they keep it to that platform I don't have to rush out to defend our foreign policy. Why on Africa?

C: Just a problem -- it can always explode there or in the Middle East.

K: I don't think that the democrats would be less for majority rule than the Lusaka Speech.

C: No, I was using it just in case it explodes. I don't see it as a major issue aside from the Defense budget. Those I think will be and they are debated unrealistically -- everyone knows you can't transfer defense spending to the domestic budget. Even two years out 75% of that budget he won't be able to touch. I would like to be ablt to tell him...

K: It was a very good piece. You can tell him that I will get in touch with [redacted] B6

C: O.K. Henry. Thank you and bye.

K: Bye, bye.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION ARA-10

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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1501

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, SREF, PINS, AR, CI, UY
SUBJ: KIDNAPPING OF REFUGEES IN BUENOS AIRES
REF: BUENOS AIRES 3960

PARA THREE REFTEL STATES REFUGEES REPORTED THEY WERE INTERROGATED BY SECURITY OFFICERS FROM CHILE AND URUGUAY. NOT CLEAR FROM TEL HOW MANY URUGUAYAN SECURITY OFFICERS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED SINCE CABLE AS RECEIVED HERE IN SOME CASES USES PLURAL IN REFERENCE TO URUGUAYAN AND SINGULAR IN OTHER CASES. IN ANY EVENT, IMPORTANT POINT TO US IS WHETHER THROUGH UNHCR REP REFUGEE(S) INVOLVED CAN IDENTIFY BY NAME URUGUAYAN SUPPOSEDLY INVOLVED. IF NOT, WOULD BE USEFUL HAVE INFORMATION FROM REFUGEE(S) OF PREVIOUS ENCOUNTER AND WHERE WITH ALLEGED OFFICIAL(S) AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION ON WHICH IDENTIFICATION OF URUGUAYAN NATIONAL COULD BE BASED OR VALUE OF ALLEGED RECOGNITION EVALUATED. SIRACUSA

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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AN: D760235-0051

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6036
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3985

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, SREF, AR
SUBJECT: ABDUCTION OF REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA
REF: (A) STATE 143914, (B) BUENOS AIRES 3960, (C) BUENOS AIRES 3918

1. PER REF A, CHARGE OBTAINED APPOINTMENT WITH DIRECTOR GENERAL OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY PEREYRA, SENIOR FONOFF CIVILIAN, EVENING JUNE 14.

2. CHARGE EXPRESSED USG CONCERN OVER REFUGEE ABDUCTION, AND RAISED BROADER ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. TO ILLUSTRATE FOR HIM HOW FOREIGN PRESS COVERED SUCH MATTERS AND HOW CONGRESSIONAL CRITICS DEALT WITH THEM, HE WAS ALSO PROVIDED WITH COPIES OF WASHINGTON POST STORY ON ABDUCTION AND REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN KOCH AT CIAR ON JUNE 7. CHARGE ALSO TOLD HIM HE HAD RAISED MATTER WITH AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO US, ARNALDO MUSICH. MUSICH, WHO IS ACCOMPANYING MINECON MARTINEZ DE HOZ ON US VISIT, WAS ADVISED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE WOULD PROBABLY PLAY A ROLE IN CONVERSATIONS DURING VISIT.

3. PEREYRA'S RESPONSE WAS AN IMPASSIONED, ALMOST FANATIC DEFENSE OF GOA. WITH REGARD TO SUBSTANCE OF THE ISSUE, PEREYA CONTENDED THAT GOA WAS DOING BEST IT COULD IN AN ALL-OUT WAR WITH

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EXTREMISTS: THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO PREVENT OCCASIONAL EXCESSES BY EMBATTLED SECURITY FORCES WHO SHED THEIR BLOOD DAILY, AND THAT HE AND PRESIDENT VIDELA WERE AS DEEPLY AND GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS ANY FOREIGN OBSERVER. HE DID NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON THE TRUTH OR FALSEHOOD OF THE ABDUCTION REPORTS.

4. WHEN HE REACHED THE TOPIC OF THE UNHCR, PEREYRA'S INDIGNATION WAS BARELY CONTROLLED. HE SAID THAT ARGENTINA HAD PROVIDED A REFUGE FOR OVER 500,000 ALIENS SINCE 1973, MOST OF THEM CHILEANS. THE COUNTRY HAD MADE AN ENORMOUS EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM, AND THE EFFORT WAS TOTALLY UNRECOGNIZED. HE SAID THAT THE UNHCR HAD, ON ITS OWN, CHOSEN SOME OF THESE ILLEGAL ALIENS TO BE SUPPORTED IN THE STATUS OF REFUGEES AND CLAIMED THE RIGHT TO REPRESENT THEM BEFORE THE GOA. HE NOTED THAT ARGENTINA DID NOT RECOGNIZE ANY STANDING OF THE UNHCR ON BEHALF OF LATIN AMERICANS SINCE ARGENTINA HAD APPROVED IT'S ACTIVITIES WITH A HEMISPHERIC RESERVATION. HE SAID THAT THE UNHCR CLAIMED STATUS MERELY ON THE BASIS OF A UN RESOLUTION, AND ASKED IF THE US WAS PREPARED TO ABIDE BY EVERY RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE UN. HE MADE THE ANALOGY OF THE UNHCR ATTMEPTING TO REPRESENT ALL THE ILLEGAL MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE US. AS FOR HIS OWN CONCERN FOR THE ABDUCTED CHILEANS, PEREYRA STRESSED THAT HE, HIMSELF, HAD TURNED OUT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT ON FIRST HEARING OF THE INCIDENT AND HAD PERSONALLY ARRANGED FOR STATIONING POLICE AT 25 LODGING PLACES HOUSING CHILEAN REFUGEES.

5. IN A REVIEW OF EVENTS AT THE OASGA, PEREYRA EXPRESSED SATISFACTION OVER HIS CONCLUSION THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS REALISTIC AND UNDERSTOOD THE GOA PROBLEMS. ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HE STATED THAT THE SECRETARY HAD QUOTED FROM HERODOTUS A REFERENCE TO REFUGEES TAKING OVER THE CITY THAT GAVE THEM REFUGE, AND THIS INDICATED HIS IMPLICIT AGREEMENT WITH THE GOA'S POSITION.

6. COMMENT: PEREYRA WAS NOT DISPOSED TO GIVE ONE INCH ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WHILE HE DISPLAYS ALMOST ALL ASPECTS OF THE SEIGE MENTALITY, CHARGE CREDITS HIM WITH SINCERITY IN HIS EXPRESSION OF CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. IF GOA IS IN FACT UNABLE TO CONTROL SECURITY FORCES HE HAS GREAT JUSTIFICATION FOR CONCERN.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

6/17/76

Amnesty International
53 Theobald's Road
London WC1X 8SP
England

17 June 1976

ALØ77

LIST OF REFUGEES DETAINED OR MISSING IN ARGENTINA

(This replaces list issued on 10 May 1976)

BOLIVIAN

PASCUALI CABRERA Jorge Alberto	Professor in Faculty of Agronomy; detained in November 1975. Now in Villa Devoto. DOB 5.12.46.
PRIETO TERAN Quide Agustin	DOB 14.10.50. Detained in Villa Devoto.
RIVEROS TELLERIAS Rose Mary	Aged 23; ONI 92.067.343; detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
SANGUINES Jose	Arrested 4 April 1976.
TRONCOSO Eduardo	Arrested 4 April 1976.
VALDIVA ARIAS Crisosto	Detained in Villa Devoto.

BRAZILIAN

DA SILVA Maria Ines	DOB 26.1.53. Detained in Unidad 2, Olmos. Married to DE BRITO, Xavier.
DE BRITO ARIASAFE Xavier	DOB 5.10.53. Married to DA SILVA Maria.
ESPINDOLA Norma	DOB 3.6.43.
JACOB RILLA Maria Regina	Aged 29; held in Unidad 8, Olmos.
MARCONDES Regina	Student; disappeared in Buenos Aires 10 April 1976 with Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez.
MARQUES DOS SANTOS Sydney	Journalist; abducted in Buenos Aires on 16 February 1976 and since disappeared. The Army and the Ministry of the Interior have denied the arrest.
PARANAGUA Paulo Antonio	Aged 27; detained in Unidad 9, La Plata.
PAUMGARTTEN DEANE Luisa	DOB 17.8.48; detained in Unidad 2, Villa Devoto.
SAINTEMBERG KOUTZII Flavio	DOB 20.3.43. Detained Unidad 9, La Plata.
VIEIRA DA CUNHA Jose Antonio	Detained in Unidad 7.

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CHILEAN

BARRIOS Benilda	Aged 43; previously social worker with the Chilean Agrarian Reform Institute. Arrested January 1976 and detained at Rosario.
BARRIOS Isabel Cornejo	Aged 15; daughter of Benilda Barrios.
BARRIOS Jorge Cornejo	Aged 17; son of Benilda Barrios.
BENADO REJOVITZKY Ernesto	Took Argentinian nationality in 1973/4. Lawyer. Arrested 24 November 1975. No reason given for his arrest and has not been accused. Detained under State of Siege at Unidad 2, Resistencia.
BRAVO MORENO Luis	Technical mechanic; arrested 1 December 1975. Detained in Unidad 2, Resistencia.
BUSTOS Juan Jose	Detained in Unidad 2, Resistencia.
CONCHA CORTES Emilio E.	DOB 29.11.47. Detained in Mendoza. His father lives in Sweden.
CORAJE Leonidas	Detained in Villa Devoto.
CORAJE Victor	Detained in Villa Devoto.
DE FILIPPI MADARIAGA Leda Cilia	DOB 3.8.46. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. C.I. 5.278.594 (Santiago).
ENRIQUEZ ESPINOZA Edgardo	Aged 35; industrial engineer. Leader of Chilean Resistance Movement of the Revolutionary Left of Chile (MIR). Arrested 10 April 1976 and since disappeared.
ESPINOSA MACHIAVELLO Miguel Angel	DOB 12.1.54. Detained in Unidad 7, Resistencia. Married to RUBIO FARIAS DE ESPINOSA Elizabeth.
FERNANDEZ FLORES Hernan	Detained in Rosario.
FERNANDEZ ORTEGA Angelica del Carmen	Seamstress; Roman Catholic. Arrested 17 February 1975 at her home. DOB 23.8.47. Detained in Mendoza.
FLORES Luis Ricardo	Detained April 1976 in Buenos Aires.
GALAZZO GAVILAN de PIZARRO Alicia	Aged 30; former professor of Economics at University of Chile, Santiago. Arrested 24 November 1975. Wife of PIZARRO HOFER Roberto. Now detained in Villa Devoto; not accused.

GONZALEZ DEL RIO Carlos	Detained in Villa Devoto.
HORNAZABAL SILVA Mario	DOB 15.3.50. Arrested by police in Rosario 4 February 1976. Formerly radio/telegraph operator at Caja Marina-Mercante at Valparaiso, Chile. Arrested allegedly due to contact with leftwing organizations in Argentina. Detained in Carcel de Coronada. Wife PEREZ ALAMOS Maira also detained.
IBANEZ BARRALES Jose	DOB 24.9.34; detained in Villa Devoto.
IBARRA RODRIGUEZ de MARTINEZ LARA Lucia	Detained in Rosario.
IPOLA Emilio de	Husband of ROJAS Gloria. Aged about 36; detained with her in Villa Devoto. Accused of "ideologo de la guerrilla".
LETERLIER SOTOMAYOR Sergio	Aged 30; economist. Arrested 24 November 1975 and detained in Unidad 2, Resistencia. Worked in CESO. It is alleged that he entered Argentina with false documents.
LONGOBARDI de VARGAS Lizy	Detained in Villa Devoto.
LUCERO MARINELLO Monica Maria Ines	Aged 29; university professor of English. Arrested with husband and young son. Her state of health is delicate and she is detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. CI 5.473.718 (Santiago).
MALDONALDO GONZALEZ Luis Rene	DOB 28.11.50; detained in Rosario. His wife lives in Venezuela, where he has been promised work.
MARILO TORO Rafael	Detained in Unidad 2,
MARTINEZ LARA Francisco	DOB 2.8.48. Detained in Rosario.
MERY PARDO Maria	DOB 21.4.48. Detained in Villa Devoto. Wife of MICHAUD ESPINOSA Ivan.
MICHAUD ESPINOSA Ivan	DOB 31.10.42. Arrested 3 February 1976; detained in Villa Devoto. Parents French; wife MERY PARDO Maria.
MORAL ZUNIGA Ana	Detained in Villa Devoto.
MUNOZ Mario	Aged 36; mineworker, founder and leader of Aconcagua Union of Workers and Miners of Chile.
MUNOZ Martin Sergio	Aged 31; former professor of Political Science at University of Chile. Arrested 24 November 1975 and now detained in Unidad 2.

PALMA HERRERA Catalina	Aged 28; sociology student. Arrested 24 November 1975 and detained in Unidad 2, Villa Devoto. Not accused.
PEREZ ALAMOS Maira	Arrested late February 1976. Married to HORNAZABAL SILVA Mario. Now three months pregnant. Detained in Casa Correccional de Mujeres, Rosario.
PINTO DE LANDI Brunilda	Aged 32; CI 7.922.900 (Cap. Federal); now detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
PIZARRO HOFER Roberto	Aged 31; former Dean of Faculty of Economics at University of Chile. Arrested 24 November 1975 and detained in Unidad 2, Villa Devoto. Not accused. Pizarro and his wife had visas to go to Mexico, but they were not used. The Peronist admin did not release them, allegedly to avoid trouble with Chilean junta.
RAMIREZ MORAGA Juan	Detained in Sierra Chica.
ROJAS Gloria	Professor in FLACSO: disappeared with her husband Emilio de IPOLA (Argentinian) 7 April 1976 in Buenos Aires. Now held at Villa Devoto.
RUBIO FARIAS DE ESPINOSA Elizabeth	Detained in Villa Devoto.
SALINAS ALVAREZ Gabriel	Aged 28; professor. Arrested summer of 1975. Detained in Villa Devoto. Almost totally blind and his health is weak.
SEPULVEDA QUEZADA Enrique Dr	DOB 15.2.11. Pediatrician. Arrested February 1976; detained at Villa Devoto.
SERRANO COSTAGLIOLA Leonardo	Former professor of Philosphy and student of Mathematics at University of Chile.
TOER Mario	Detained in Villa Devoto; he has become blind through having strong light shone in his eyes.
VARGAS Agustin	Detained in Villa Devoto.
VARGAS GALARZA Rene Segunda	Detained in Olmos; arrested allegedly for stealing clothes.
VARGAS ZEPEDA Alvaro	DOB 26.12.40. Detained in Villa Devoto. Argentinian wife also detained in Villa Devoto.
VIDELA GODOY Victor	Aged 29; Arrested 13 February 1976; not charged.

VIVEROS CARRASCO Leonidas	DOB 9.11.57. Detained in Villa Devoto.
VIVEROS VEGA Leonidas	DOB 5.11.28. Detained in Villa Devoto.
ZAVALA SAN MARTIN Ximena	Sociology student arrested 24 November 1975 and detained in Unidad 2.

GERMAN

ZIESCHANK Klaus Manfred	Aged 24; born in Argentina but has German passport. Student at University of Technology, Munich. Arrested 26 March 76 while working in factory for vacation. Seen in military barracks 6 May 1976, but has since disappeared. The authorities deny all knowledge of his detention.

ITALIAN

CARLUCCI Francesco	Born in Senise (Potenza) 1948. Detained in Villa Devoto.
D'ERRICO Pasqualino	Born Cingoli (Macerata) 1943. Detained in Rawson prison.
FRAGALE Wanda	Born Cosenza 1948; detained in Villa Devoto.
PORCU Angelo	Born Villa Puzzu (Ca) 1941..Now detained in Sierra Chica.
PRIVITERA Salvatore	Born Granmichele (Macerata) 1947. Detained in Cordoba.
ZITO Giuseppe	Born Acerra (Na) 1942. Detained in Sierra Chica.

PARAGUAYAN

ALDERETE PAEZ Federico Luis	No details.
BAEZ ROMERO Diego	DOB 12.11.46. Detained in Unidad 7, Resistencia.
CARRETO Ismael	Arrested 5 December 1975; since disappeared.
CEPRETO Ismael Estanislao	DOB 13.11.31. Detained in Unidad 7, Resistencia.
CURIAN Candida Graciela	Aged 32; CI 1.922.818 (Cap. Federal); detained in Unidad 9, Olmos.
FERNANDEZ CENTURION Sixto	Detained 16.9.75; now in Resistencia.

FERREIRA VRIGNAUD Edmundo	Accused of possessing arms and illicit relationship; detained in Sierra Chica.
IBARRA Isabel	DOB 8.7.35. CI 6.214.061. (Cap. Federal) Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
IBARRA Leonor Maria	DOB 11.7.41. CI 7.139.243. (Cap. Federal) Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
JAIME DE FONTES Mamerta	DOB 13.5.39. Wife of FONTES Eriberto A. (Uruguayan) detained in Unidad 9, La Plata. Detained in Unidad 8, La Plata. CI 1.709.597 (Residencia).
JARA Matrimonio	Both arrested 5 December 1975; she died in Moron, Buenos Aires and he has disappeared.
LEIVA MONTIEL Ramon	DOB 14.1.29. Detained in Penal de Candelaria since 6.4.76.
MARTINEZ Nidia Segastiana	Aged 18; detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. Has never had documents.
PALACIOS Jose	Catholic leader; arrested 5 December 1975.
PAREDES BENITEZ Juan Bautista	DOB 19.5.35; detained in Villa Devoto.
RAMIREZ Julio	Detained in Unidad 9, La Plata.
RAMIREZ SANCHEZ Dionisio	Arrested 5 December 1975; DOB 9.10.46. Detained in Villa Devoto.
ROJAS Edilberto	Detained in Unidad 7, Resistencia.
ROMAN Maria Ester	Detained in Villa Devoto.
SAMUDIO Luciano Ramon	Detained in Villa Devoto since 5 December 1975.

SPANISH

GONZALEZ ALVAREZ Diamantino	DOB 12.2.44. Detained in Unidad 9, La Plata.
HERMIDAS SANCHEZ Antonio	Aged 34; detained in Cordoba.
LOPEZ ORTEGA Miguel Antonio	DOB 12.1.51. Detained in Chaco since 31 Dember 1974.
SANCHEZ NADAL Roberto	DOB 2.9.48; detained in Sierra Chica.

PERUVIAN

TERRONES Marta	Aged 21; detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. CI 6.712.217.

URUGUAYANS

ACUNA ACCERA Abel Ramon	DOB 29.6.49. Carpenter. Detained in Sierra Chica.
ARIEN MELO CUESTA Bebio	Aged 32; milk technician. Disappeared.
ARMSTRONG AMARO Daniel	DOB 22.10.46. Detained in Departamento de Asuntos Extranjeros.
ARTIGAS DIYORIO Circe Bernadette	Aged 29; CI 1.082464. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
BELLUSCI DE ETCHART Zelmira	Aged 58.
BENAVIDEZ BELLUSCI Nancy	Aged 20; CI 1.402.833. Detained in Unidad 9, Olmos.
BEREAU SANCHEZ Ana Maria	Aged 21; CI 1.232.015. Detained in Unidad 9, Olmos.
BRUSA Mauro	Aged 58.
CALEGARI DE CACCIAVIGLIANI Nidia	Aged 50; CI 22.196 (Salto). Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos since April 1975.
CAMPBELL MARTINEZ Adolfo Ricardo	Aged 38; CCKBA 13.332 (Paysandu). Detained in Sierra Chica since April 1975; accused of violating Law 20840.
CARBALLO VESPACIANO DE GONZALEZ Carmen Clotilde	DOB 13.2.49. Arrested with 21 others in Buenos Aires on 10 April 1976. Allegedly member of international revolutionary junta. CI 1.137942. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. Husband detained in Sierra Chica.
CARDOSO RODRIGUEZ Marta Irene	Aged 28; detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. CI 1.114.762 (Passport 188076). Married to DATENA Luis.
CARLEVARO BOTTERO DE ROCCO Emilia M.	Aged 32; medical student. CI 890.743. Detained in Unidad 9, Olmos since 2 April 1975. Husband detained in Uruguay.
CARPANOLO Roque	Detained April 1975; detained in Sierra Chica.
CULTELLI Andres	Aged 55; detained in Sierra Chica and threatened with deportation to Uruguay.

CULTELLI Adolfo	Aged 54; teacher and journalist.
DATENA ARIAS Luis Miguel	Aged 30; printing worker. CI 1.169.514. Detained in Sierra Chica. Married to CARDOSO Marta, detained in Olmos.
DE LOS SANTOS DE LOBOS Mirtha	DOB 26.6.44. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. Husband DE LOBOS TIMOTE Alfredo.
DE LOBOS TIMOTE ALfredo	Married to DE LOS SANTOS Mirtha.
DUCASCU DE LEGUISAMO Clarive	DOB 9.12.33. CI 44.385 (Colonia) Olmos.
ECHENIQUE SAN PEDRO Antonio Rozas	DOB 13.1.45; detained in Villa Devoto.
ECHENIQUE SAN PEDRO Eden Mario	DOB 3.5.47; detained in Villa Devoto; accused of possessing false documents.
ECHENIQUE SAN PEDRO Mario Isidoro	DOB 13.8.37; detained in Villa Devoto. Accused of possessing false documents.
ERRO Enrique R.	Detained in Villa Devoto.
ESCALE TOBENA Ramon	DOB 29.10.49. Detained in Villa Devoto.
ESTEVEZ ALONSO Nelson	DOB 3.2.48.
FABIER RATTIN DE CARPANESSI Estela	Aged 31; detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
FARIAS LEBDOUSCHKA Pablo Leon	Detained in Villa Devoto. Trade unionist. Accused of possessing false documents and possessing firearms. The latter accusation is allegedly false.
FEINSTEIN Mauricio	Detained in Unidad 2.
FERRARA DE NOGUEIRA Adriana Maria	Aged 22; arrested with her husband 11 December 1975 and they have since disappeared.
FERREIRA FERNANDEZ de SABINI Eda M.	DOB 10.10.32. CI 613.277. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
FONTES MORA Eliberto Ariel	DOB 12.2.32. CI 1.098.169. Detained in Unidad 9, La Plata since 16 December 75. Married to JAIME DE FONTES Mamerta.
FRANCO Pablo	No details.
GARCIA de SOUZA Margarita	Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. Aged 37; CI 852.395.
GOMEZ BUSTOS Victor Hugo	Aged 21; detained in Sierra Chica.
GONNET de QUIROGA Sonia	Aged 29; CI 1.665.632. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.

GONZALEZ PETRAGLIA Fernando	Aged 28; law student. Arrested 10 April 1976 with 21 others. Allegedly member of international revolutionary junta. Arrested with wife. CI 1.143.795. Detained in Sierra Chica. Wife detained in Olmos.
GRIOT ABONDET Anibal	Detained in Rawson.
HERNANDEZ Nelson	Aged 34; detained in Sierra Chica.
LEGUISAMO Jacinto	Wife DUCASCU Clarive also detained.
LENUR PEREIRA DE PARODI Susy	Aged 28; in printing trade. Trained in organizing cooperatives. Arrested 16 December 1975 with her husband. Detained in Olmos, Unidad 8. CI 1.076.613.
LOCKHART SANTILLAN Marta Edith	Aged 29; student of Architechture. CI 32.427 (Soriano). Married to CAMPBELL Adolfo, detained in Sierra Chica.
LOMBARDI MONTERO DE RUKES Marina Rosa	Aged 30; student of Architecture. CI 1.038.523. Detained in Olmos since April 1975. Husband detained in Uruguay.
LOPEZ Cesar Dante	DOB 20.9.39. Detained in Unidad 2, Sierra Chica. Wife LUCERO M. detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
MANERAS Gabriel	Aged 21; detained in Villa Devoto.
MAZZUCHI FRANTACHES Winston	Aged 31; book-keeper. Disappeared.
MOGORDOY CARPESSI Julio Cesar	DOB 9.6.50. Detained in Unidad 9, La Plata since 5 November 1975. His girlfriend MORENO CARRESSE Charo detained in Unidad 8, Olmos.
MOGORDOY CARRESSE Washington	DOB 15.4.48. Detained in Unidad 9, La Plata. He has no relatives in Argentina.
MONTIEL Juan Carlos	Detained in Unidad 2.
MORENO CARRESSE Charo Naomi	CI 1.395.866. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. In April 1976, she had a baby in prison.
MORON SOMPOLINSKY Silvia	DOB 15.12.50. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. Husband ARMSTRONG AMARO Daniel.
NOGUEIRA RODRIGUEZ Alejandro	Aged 23; arrested 11 December 1975 with his wife and they have since disappeared.
OLIVERA COLZANI Maria Christina	Aged 20; CI 1.517.515. Detained in Unidad 8, Olmos. Wife of ACUNA AGGERO.

PERE BARBIER Juan Carlos	DOB 20.2.42. Carpenter. Detained in Sierra Chica.
PINEYRO PARODI Juan Carlos	Aged 28; author and printer. Arrested with his wife LENUR PEREIRA DE PARODI Susy in December 1975. Detained in Unidad 9, Olmos.
PLANAS MAZZEI Arturo	DOB 16.6.57.
QUIROGA DE GIMENEZ Iris	Aged 32.
RODRIGUEZ SMITH James	No details.
SABINI FERNANDEZ Luis Ernesto	DOB 14.2.38. Detained in Unidad 9, Olmos since 16 December 1975.
VIVANCO ROQUETA Walter	Detained in Comisaria del Tigre since April 1976.
WILKINS Hugo Maria	DOB 27.10.28. Detained in Sierra Chica since April 1975. Has Argentinian wife.

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Although the Argentinian authorities have instructed all foreigners to regist the majority have not done so for fear of reprisals. On 10 June, a list of refugees was stolen from the refugee agency in Buenos Aires. The next day, 25 (mainly Chilean) were abducted from two hotels in Buenos Aires. They were fre. 24 hours later, but all had been tortured. Protection therefore, even for recognized refugees is totally inadequate.

Some of the refugees are accused of having no documents or false ones. As many have had to flee their native country because of political persecution, they are unable to obtain the necessary papers. In other cases, governments refuse to renew the passports of political exiles, which effectively means that they are stranded in Argentina.

Prisoners are often allegedly tortured at the investigation stage. From information received, it would seem that once detainees are transferred to Villa Devoto, they are not in actual danger.

The detained Chileans are in a comparably better condition that the Argentinians. They are not in isolation, but are not allowed visitors. Food appears to be passable.

This list should be used in conjunction with Amnesty International Circular NS 103/76 - The Situation of Refugees in Argentina.

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Department of State TELEGR

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ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 PRS-01

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9850

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 5949

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

LIMDIS **DECAPTIONED**

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: CHILEAN REACTION TO SECRETARY'S TRIP
REF: (A) STATE 141319 (B) SANTIAGO 5750

1. FROM THE BILATERAL POINT OF VIEW, THE SECRETARY'S SANTIAGO VISIT WAS MOST HELPFUL. THE HUMAN RIGHTS EMPHASIS, THOUGH PERFECTLY CLEAR, WAS CAST IN TERMS WHICH DID NOT ANTAGONIZE THE CHILEANS. THE SECRETARY'S PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THE OASGA (PARTICULARLY THE SENTENCE ON THE "IMPAIRMENT" OF US-CHILEAN RELATIONS) AND, AS FAR AS WE KNOW, HIS PRIVATE COMMENTS TO PINOCHET AND OTHERS WERE BALANCED BUT FIRM. FROM OUR CONTACTS WITH CHILEAN LEADERS WE SENSE THAT THE MESSAGE GOT THROUGH: THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE U.S. DOMESTIC ASPECT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IS REAL AND NOT A CHIMERA OF CONGRESSIONAL EXTREMISTS; THAT THE USG DESIRES MORE PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE GOC; AND THAT IT IS NOW UP TO CHILE TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR THEM.

2. THE ISSUE NOW IS SHALL ADHERE TO THE GUIDANCE GIVEN IN THE SECRETARY'S MEXICO PRESS CONFERENCE, WITHHOLDING JUDGMENT UNTIL THE GOC PROMULGATES AND IMPLEMENTS ITS NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THAT ACT MAY BE USEFUL, BUT NO

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MATTER HOW SWEEPING ITS LANGUAGE, IT WILL MEAN LITTLE UNLESS IT IS PUT INTO EFFECT QUICKLY AND -- CONTRARY TO OUR PRESENT EXPECTATIONS -- IS EFFECTIVE EVEN DURING THE CURRENT STATE OF EMERGENCY.

3. THE PROSPECTS IN THIS REGARD HAVE UNFORTUNATELY BEEN DIMMED BY THE HARSH TERMS OF THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE BILL. WE WILL SHORTLY REPORT ON HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT IT DAMAGES THE OUTLOOK.

4. MEANWHILE, AS THE LEFTIST OPPOSITON CONDEMNS THE SECRETARY FOR STRENGTHENING THE JUNTA, A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER HAS TOLD US THAT SENIOR PARTY LEADERSHIP WAS QUITE HAPPY WITH THE SECRETARY'S POSITION. IT IS NO MEAN FEAT TO PLEASE BOTH THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AT THE SAME TIME.

5. THIS MESSAGE SHOU
5750, ON THE RECEPTION ACCORDED THE SECRETARY IN CHILE. HIS VISIT WAS THE CLIMACTIC ELEMENT IN CHILE'S SUCCESS IN STAGING THE OASGA. IN SOUTH AMERICA, IF NOT EVERYWHERE OUTSIDE IT, THE CHILEANS BELIEVE THEY HAVE MADE IT PLAIN THAT THEY CAN BE CONSIDERED AS A FULL AND RESPECTABLE MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
POPPER

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05992 01 OF 02 182157Z

70
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01

COME-00 FRB-03 XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 NSCE-00

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5992

USDEL 79

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OAS
SUBJ: OASGA: RESULTS FROM U.S. VIEWPOINT
SUMMARY: THREE CENTRAL ISSUES -- HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC RELATIONS, AND OAS REFORM -- CONFRONTED YI OASGA, AND CHOICE OF SANTIAGO AS SITE FOR MEETING MADE IT INEVITABLE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE WOULD DOMINATE. CHILE'S REPUTATION FOR SYSTEMATIC VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING UNHRC CHARGE OF "INSTITUTIONALIZED TORTURE", MADE IT CERTAIN THAT OAS WOULD HAVE TO FACE ISSUE SQUARELY OR LEAVE SANTIAGO WITH ITS OWN REPUTATION TARNISHED. CONTROVERSY DOGGED CHILE'S INVITATION FROM TIME IT WAS ISSUED LAST FALL. UNTIL WEEK BEFORE GA, UNCERTAIN HOW MANY COUNTRIES WOULD SEND FONMINS OR WHICH, APART FROM MEXICO, WOULD REFUSE TO ATTEND.

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05992 01 OF 02 182157Z

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BEYOND SENSITIVE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, COMPLEX SUBJECTS OF COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND OAS CHARTER REFORM PROVIDED BROAD SCOPE FOR NEGOTIATION AND POTENTIAL FOR FIREWORKS. POSSIBILITY OF LOSING SUBSTANTIAL GROUND IN HEMISPHERIC ARENA OF NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE OR CONFRONTATION OVER BASIC UNDERPINNINGS OF OAS WERE MUCH IN MINDS OF USDEL DURING CONFERENCE PREPARATIONS. DECISION TO AVOID PURELY REACTIVE STANCE AND TO PUT FORWARD INITIATIVES OF OUR OWN ON EACH OF THE CENTRAL ISSUES GAVE USDEL MORE ACTIVIST AND FORTHRIGHT ROLE THAN LATINS HAVE BEEN USED TO IN OAS FORUMS. RESULT WAS NOT ONLY A STRENGTHENED US NEGOTIATING STANCE, BUT ALSO, IT SEEMS TO US, A PERCEPTIVE REDUCTION IN LATIN AMERICAN CYNICISM REGARDING USEFULNESS OF THE ORGANIZATION. KEY ELEMENT OF STRATEGY WAS SECRETARY'S ATTENDANCE AND ABILITY TO CONVEY ESSENCE OF US POSITIONS IN SERIES OF PERSUASIVE STATEMENTS ON EACH OF THREE MAIN ISSUES. OBJECT WAS TO SET TONE FOR LATER COMMITTEE WORK, DEFUSE POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SIDE ISSUES (TRADE ACT, PANAMA CANAL, INES, ETC.) AND LAY GROUNDWORK FOR FINAL RESOLUTIONS REFLECTING BASIC US GOALS.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND ELSEWHERE IN THE AMERICAS PROVED TOUCHIEST SUBJECT OF GA, AS ANTICIPATED. UNLIKE OTHER YEARS, HOWEVER, IT WAS SUBJECT OF FRANK EXCHANGE AMONG FONMINS, SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AT COMMITTEE LEVEL AND BROADLY SUPPORTED RESOLUTIONS ENDORSING WORK OF IAHRC AND DEMONSTRATING BASIC COMMITMENT OF US TO CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THIS HEMISPHERE. CHILE, WHICH TOOK CALCULATED RISK IN SPONSORING GA, SAW ITSELF VINDICATED BY NEARLY UNIVERSAL ATTENDANCE OF FONMINS, BALANCED TREATMENT OF CHILE'S FAULTS AND PROGRESS IN DEBATE AND RESOLUTIONS, AND NET GAIN FOR ITS INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL IMAGE. MANY DELEGATES EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT PUBLIC SCRUTINY BY OAS, ESPECIALLY CHILE PUBLICATION OF FULL REPORT OF IAHRC AND GOC'S REPLY IN PRESS, MARKED SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD REESTABLISHMENT OF FREEDOM HERE.

COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT WAS TREATED IN SECRETARY'S LENGTHY STATEMENT IN PRIVATE DIALOGUE THAT WAS GREETED AS POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION BY MAJORITY OF OAS FONMINS. PUB-

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PERVASIVE QUESTION OF FUTURE OF OAS, EMBEDDED IN THREE-YEAR LONG PARLAY OVER CHARTER REFORM, WAS RESOLVED TEMPORARILY BY USDEL RESOLUTION TO HOLD SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN LIMA AN UNSPECIFIED DATE BUT AUTHORIZING THE PERMANENT COUNCIL TO PRECEDE THE SPECIAL GA BY SOME FORM OF HIGH LEVEL REVIEW OF THE DRAFT CHARTER AND OTHER PROPOSALS AT A TIME AND PLACE DECIDED BY THE PC. COMPROMISE ON STUDY PANEL VERSUS FIXED DATE FOR SPECIAL GA AVOIDED POTENTIALLY EMBARRASSING SHOWDOWN HERE AND PROVIDES ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR CONFLICTING VIEWPOINTS TO BE RECONCILED BEFORE PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT STAGE IS REACHED. AMONG BASIC DOCUMENTS FOR POSSIBLE INTERMEDIATE STUDY PHASE WILL BE SECRETARY'S OUTLINE OF VIEWS ON MEASURES TO REVITALIZE THE OAS.

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS OF USDEL AS VI GA CONCLUDES ITS DELIBERATIONS ARE THAT HERE IN SANTIAGO OAS HAS MADE SOLID PROGRESS TOWARD REESTABLISHING ITS IDENTITY AS AN IMPORTANT FORUM FOR PRESENTATION OF MEMBER STATES' CANDID VIEWS ON INTER-AMERICAN ISSUES. NO STATE PROVED MORE WILLING TO SPEAK OUT AND ENGAGE IN FRANK DIALOGUE THAN USA, TO RELIEF OF MAN ELEMENTS OF OAS, BOTH MEMBER STATE DELEGATIONS AND SECRETARIAT, WHO THOUGHT WE HAD ABANDONED INTEREST IN ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE. PERHAPS MOST NOTABLE FEATURES OF VI OASGA WERE OPEN AND SERIOUS DEBATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, NEITHER UNANTICIPATED NOR RESENTED BY CHILE, AND UN-CHARACTERISTIC LACK OF DISCORD ON CORE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES OF THIS HEMISPHERE. END SUMMARY

1. HUMAN RIGHTS: GIVEN THE LOCALE OF THE GA, THIS WAS CERTAIN TO BE THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE. OUR STRATEGY WAS TO MAINTAIN UNITY OF PURPOSE WITH THE DEMOCRATICALLY-INCLINED LA AND CARIBBEAN STATES, PARTICULARLY VENEZUELA

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AND COLOMBIA. USDEL'S STRATEGY WAS TO MEET THE CHILE ISSUE SQUARELY, STATE OUR CONVICTIONS IN TERMS OF UNIVERSAL/INTER-AMERICAN DECLARATIONS, SUSTAIN THE IAHRC REPORTS, AND ADVOCATE PRACTICAL MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN IAHRC. STRAIGHTFORWARD EXPRESSION OF VIEWS BY SECRETARY DURING INFORMAL DIALOGUE PUT USDEL SQUARELY ON RECORD AS SUPPORTER OF IAHRC, SPECIFICALLY ITS ANNUAL REPORT AND SPECIAL REPORT ON CHILE WHICH RECOGNIZED GOC'S EFFORTS TO RECTIFY BAD SITUATION, CALLED UPON ALL MEMBER GOVERNMENTS TO COOPERATE WITH IAHRC, AND ADVOCATED BROADENING AND STRENGTHENING OF IAHRC MANDATE TO REPORT ON STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALL HEMISHPERE COUNTRIES. THIS WAS LINE USDEL PURSUED IN LATER COMMITTEE WORK AND IN CORRIDOR COVERSATIONS. KEY ARENA WAS WORKING GROUP SET UP BY COMMITTEE I (POLITICAL/JURIDICAL AFFAIRS) TO ARRIVE AT SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF RESOOLUTIONS ON THREE HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA ITEMS -- IAHRC ANNUAL REPORT, SPECIAL REPORT ON CHILE, AND CHILEAN PROPOSALS TO REGULATE PROCEDURES OF IAHRC.

2. BASIC CONFLICT BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE/LIBERAL REGIMES, EVIDENT IN PUBLIC DEBATE IN COMMITTEE I, MIRRORED IN LATE-NIGHT DELIBERATIONS OF WORKING GROUP THAT PITTED COLOMBIA/TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO AGAINST BRAZIL/URUGUAY/HONDURAS. ALTHOUGH NOT A MEMBER, USDEL REPRESENTATIVE ATTENDED WORKING GROUP SESSIONS AND SUPPORTED PRO-HUMAN RIGHTS VIEWPOINT. RESULT WAS THREE SEPARATE RESOLUTIONS THAT STRENGTHENED HAND OF IAHRC, RECOGNIZED CHILE'S EFFORTS TO IMPROVE, RENEWED MANDATE OF IAHRC TO CONTINUE MONITORING PROGRESS ELSEWHERE AND IN CHILE, AND SENT CHILEAN PROPOSALS FOR RESTRICTIONS ON IAHRC TO PERMANENT COUNCIL TO STUDY AND REPORT TO NEXT OASGA. VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, AND US SUPPORTED SOFTER RESOLUTION ON CHILE CASE ONLY ON CONDITION THAT CHILE NOT VOTE FAVORABLY ON RESOLUTION.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05992 02 OF 02 182223Z

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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5992

USDEL 79

3. EXCEPT FOR RESOLUTION ON CHILE, ON WHICH CHILE AND BRAZIL ABSTAINED AND JAMAICA SWITCHED IN PLENARY FROM YEA TO NAY, VOTES WERE UNANIMOUS. ACCORDING TO IAHRC PRESIDENT AGUILAR AND US MEMBER AMBASSADOR WOODWARD, FULL DEBATE OF SENSITIVE QUESTION AND NEAR-UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF RESOLUTIONS CONSTITUTED STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF COMMISSION'S WORK TO DATE AND SOLID MANDATE FOR RENEWED EFFORT TO INCREASE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THIS HEMISPHERE. THEY SALUTED COURAGEOUS STAND OF SECRETARY AND STAFF WORK OF USDEL FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF REAL BREAKTHROUGH IN OAS TREATMENT OF THIS SENSITIVE AND VITAL TOPIC. CHILEAN DELEGATION, MEANWHILE, WAS NOT DISPLEASED WITH OUTCOME WHICH WAS PRESENTED BY CONTROLLED PRESS AS CHILEAN DELEGATION, MEANWHILE, WAS NOT DISPLEASED WITH OUTCOME WHICH WAS PRESENTED BY CONTROLLED PRESS AS CHILEAN VICTORY AND AS VINDICATION OF GOC'S EFFORTS TO

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CHANGE CHILE'S IMAGE IN THE AMERICAS.

4. COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: OUR STRATEGY WAS TO DEMONSTRATE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF USG TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN LATIN AMERICA, RELATE THE SECRETARY'S UNCTAD PROPOSALS TO THE OAS FRAMEWORK, SUPPORT CONVOCATION OF A SPECIAL GA ON DEVELOPMENT AND, ABOVE ALL, MOVE DIALOGUE ON COOPERATION FROM POLITICAL/IDEOLOGICAL PLANE TO A TECHNICAL/OPERATIONAL LEVEL. HERE AGAIN, SECRETARY'S ROLE WAS CRUCIAL IN SETTING STAGE FOR AMICABLE TREATMENT OF KEY ECONOMIC ISSUES IN COURSE OF NEXT 10 DAYS OF COMMITTEE WORK. AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WAS ACHIEVED TO HOLD SPECIAL GA ON COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT, DATE AND PLACE TO BE SET BY PERMANENT COUNCIL, IN WHICH THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSALS WILL BE DEALT WITH IN BROAD CONSIDERATION OF NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES IN GENERAL AND SPECIAL US-LA RELATIONSHIP IN PARTICULAR.

5. OASGA PASSED SET OF RESOLUTIONS THAT ESTABLISHED MACHINERY FOR EXAMINATION OF VARIOUS PROPOSALS -- INCLUDING THE SECRETARY'S AS WELL AS LIEVANO AND FACIO PLANS FOR SPECIAL U.S. TRADE PREFERENCES FOR LATIN AMERICA -- LEADING TO CONSIDERATION AT SPECIAL GA ON DEVELOPMENT, ANTICIPATED FOR SOME TIME IN SPRING OF 1977. TWO AREAS WERE GIVEN SPECIAL TREATMENT: (A) BY TERMS OF RESOLUTION ORIGINALLY SUBMITTED BY DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT FINANCING (INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES BANK PROPOSAL, WITHOUT STIPULATION WHETHER REGIONAL OR WORLDWIDE) WAS REFERRED TO CEPCIES FOR A STUDY, DRAWING UPON ADVICE OF IDB, AND (B) RECOMMENDATIONS ON TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION WILL BE DEVELOPED BY SPECIAL WORKING GROUP ACCORDING TO TERMS OF CHILEAN-SPONSORED RESOLUTION.

6. TWO OTHER ECONOMIC SUBJECTS EMERGED FROM FONMINS' PRIVATE AGENDA AS FOCUS FOR COMMITTEE II DISCUSSIONS: RESOLUTION EXPRESSING REGRET FOR ECUADOR/VENEZUELA EXCLUSION FROM GSP UNDER 1974 TRADE ACT, AND SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED, MIDDLE-INCOME, AND LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES OF HEMISPHERE. WORKING GROUP ON TRADE ACT RESOLUTION HELD FOUR LENGTHY SESSIONS

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BEFORE COMBINATION OF MODERATE LA/CARIBBEAN DELEGATIONS, WITH STRONG PROMPTING FROM USDEL, ERODED SUPPORT FOR PUNITIVE ECUADOREAN LANGUAGE AND ISOLATED GOE DELEGATION. VENEZUELAN DELEGATION CONCURRED WITH US POSITION THAT CONFRONTATIONAL TRADE ACT RESOLUTION COULD SOUR NEW CLIMATE OF US-LA COOPERATION THAT DEVELOPED OUT OF FONMINS' PRIVATE DIALOGUE AND TO WHICH SECRETARY'S MESSAGE MADE SIGNAL CONTRIBUTION. OFFENSIVE RHRASING WAS GRADUALLY STRIPPED AWAY, US AND LA POSITIONS CLEARLY LABELED, AND OPERATIVE CLAUSES BROUGHT GENERALLY INTO LINE WITH PAST US STATEMENTS. ONCE TEXT WAS AGREED TO IN WORKING GROUP, RESOLUTION WAS ACCEPTED WITHOUT COMMENT BY COMMITTEE II AND PLENARY. SITUATIONS OF MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED, MIDDLE INCOME AND LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES DEALT WITH BY NOW-TRADITIONAL SET OF RESOLUTIONS POINTING TO NEED FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS.

7. OAS REFORM. OUR STRATEGY WAS TO WRENCH THE OAS OUT OF ITS STEADY DESCENT INTO IRRELEVANCE BY PRESENTING A STRONG CASE THAT USG INTEREST LIES IN A REVITALIZED OAS WITH LEADERSHIP LEVELS IN FREQUENT CONTACT AND PRESENT BUREAUCRATIC CLUTTER ELIMINATED. SECRETARY WAS UNABLE TO ADDRESS OAS REFORM PERSONALLY IN INFORMAL DIALOGUE BUT LEFT BEHIND BRIEF MEMORANDUM OUTLINING HIS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRUCTURAL AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN ORGANIZATION. SINCE WE BEGAN THE EFFORT LAST FALL AND WINTER TO REFOCUS ATTENTION OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS ON INADEQUACIES OF CHARTER TEXT ABOUT TO EMERGE FROM PERMANENT COUNCIL, A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS EXPRESSED INTEREST IN OUR IDEAS, AND WE CAME TO SANTIAGO HOPING TO ENGINEER REFERRAL OF THE PC DRAFT TO SOME FORM OF INTERMEDIATE STUDY PANEL. WE WERE ALREADY ON RECORD AGREEING TO THE CONVOCATION OF A SPECIAL GA ON CHARTER REFORM IN LIMA AT AN UNSPECIFIED DATE, SO THE OBJECTIVE WAS TO WIN AGREEMENT FOR RECONSIDERATION OF THE PRESENT DRAFT IN LIGHT OF OUR PROPOSALS SOMETIME BEFORE GOING TO LIMA.

8. GENERAL COMMITTEE MET JUNE 14 TO CONSIDER NEXT STEPS IN OAS REFORM. PERU PRESENTED RESOLUTION INSTRUCTING

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PC TO COMPLETE WORK ON PRESENT DRAFT AND FORWARD IT, TOGETHER WITH OTHER PROPOSALS (E.G., THE SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM) TO MEMBER-STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR COMMENT PRIOR TO CONVENING OF SPECIAL GA IN LIMA. SUPPORTED WEAKLY BY URUGUAY, USDEL ARGUED NEED FOR SOME INTERMEDIATE STUDY OF PC DRAFT BEFORE CONVOCATION OF LIMA GA. PERU ACCEDED TO REWORDING OF ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION, AND RESULTING TEXT, UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED BY GENERAL COMMITTEE AND PLENARY, INSTRUCTS PC TO COMPLETE WORK ON ITS TEXT AND, IF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS DEEM IT NECESSARY, TO CONVOKE "A MEETING OF SPECIAL HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES TO REVIEW AND SEEK TO RECONCILE DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND TO SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY." ARGENTINA, TRINIDAD/TOBAGO, URUGUAY, NICARAGUA AND CHILE SPOKE OF CLEAR NEED FOR INTERMEDIATE REVIEW BECAUSE OF GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT NEW OAS CHARGER SHOULD BE ONE ALL MEMBERS CAN ACCEPT. OTHER DELEGATIONS SUGGESTED THAT STUDY PANEL WAS MERE CONTINGENCY BUT ALL AGREED TO CHANGE IN WORDING THAT MET MINIMAL US REQUIREMENTS.

9. EVEN SO, REFORM IDEAS SUGGESTED IN SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM DID NOT PRODUCE GROUNDSWELL OF SUPPPORT HERE. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE AS AFTER INFORMAL DIALOGUE CONCLUDED MOST FOREIGN MINISTERS DEPARTED AND WE WERE LEFT WITH THE PERMANENT COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES MEETING AS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05992 01 OF 02 182157Z

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5992

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05992 01 OF 02 182157Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05992 02 OF 02 182223Z

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5992

USDEL 79

3. EXCEPT FOR RESOLUTION ON CHILE, ON WHICH CHILE AND BRAZIL ABSTAINED AND JAMAICA SWITCHED IN PLENARY FROM YEA TO NAY, VOTES WERE UNANIMOUS. ACCORDING TO IAHRC PRESIDENT AGUILAR AND US MEMBER AMBASSADOR WOODWARD, FULL DEBATE OF SENSITIVE QUESTION AND NEAR-UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF RESOLUTIONS CONSTITUTED STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF COMMISSION'S WORK TO DATE AND SOLID MANDATE FOR RENEWED EFFORT TO INCREASE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THIS HEMISPHERE. THEY SALUTED COURAGEOUS STAND OF SECRETARY AND STAFF WORK OF USDEL FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF REAL BREAKTHROUGH IN OAS TREATMENT OF THIS SENSITIVE AND VITAL TOPIC. CHILEAN DELEGATION, MEANWHILE, WAS NOT DISPLEASED WITH OUTCOME WHICH WAS PRESENTED BY CONTROLLED PRESS AS CHILEAN DELEGATION, MEANWHILE, WAS NOT DISPLEASED WITH OUTCOME WHICH WAS PRESENTED BY CONTROLLED PRESS AS *CHILEAN VICTORY AND AS VINDICATION OF GOC'S EFFORTS TO*

[redacted]

CHANGE CHILE'S IMAGE IN THE AMERICAS.

4. COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: OUR STRATEGY WAS TO DEMONSTRATE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF USG TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN LATIN AMERICA, RELATE THE SECRETARY'S UNCTAD PROPOSALS TO THE OAS FRAMEWORK, SUPPORT CONVOCATION OF A SPECIAL GA ON DEVELOPMENT AND, ABOVE ALL, MOVE DIALOGUE ON COOPERATION FROM POLITICAL/IDEOLOGICAL PLANE TO A TECHNICAL/OPERATIONAL LEVEL. HERE AGAIN, SECRETARY'S ROLE WAS CRUCIAL IN SETTING STAGE FOR AMICABLE TREATMENT OF KEY ECONOMIC ISSUES IN COURSE OF NEXT 10 DAYS OF COMMITTEE WORK. AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WAS ACHIEVED TO HOLD SPECIAL GA ON COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT, DATE AND PLACE TO BE SET BY PERMANENT COUNCIL, IN WHICH THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSALS WILL BE DEALT WITH IN BROAD CONSIDERATION OF NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES IN GENERAL AND SPECIAL US-LA RELATIONSHIP IN PARTICULAR.

5. OASGA PASSED SET OF RESOLUTIONS THAT ESTABLISHED MACHINERY FOR EXAMINATION OF VARIOUS PROPOSALS -- INCLUDING THE SECRETARY'S AS WELL AS LIEVANO AND FACIO PLANS FOR SPECIAL U.S. TRADE PREFERENCES FOR LATIN AMERICA -- LEADING TO CONSIDERATION AT SPECIAL GA ON DEVELOPMENT, ANTICIPATED FOR SOME TIME IN SPRING OF 1977. TWO AREAS WERE GIVEN SPECIAL TREATMENT: (A) BY TERMS OF RESOLUTION ORIGINALLY SUBMITTED BY DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT FINANCING (INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES BANK PROPOSAL, WITHOUT STIPULATION WHETHER REGIONAL OR WORLDWIDE) WAS REFERRED TO CEPCIES FOR A STUDY, DRAWING UPON ADVICE OF IDB, AND (B) RECOMMENDATIONS ON TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION WILL BE DEVELOPED BY SPECIAL WORKING GROUP ACCORDING TO TERMS OF CHILEAN-SPONSORED RESOLUTION.

6. TWO OTHER ECONOMIC SUBJECTS EMERGED FROM FONMINS' PRIVATE AGENDA AS FOCUS FOR COMMITTEE II DISCUSSIONS: RESOLUTION EXPRESSING REGRET FOR ECUADOR/VENEZUELA EXCLUSION FROM GSP UNDER 1974 TRADE ACT, AND SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED, MIDDLE-INCOME, AND LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES OF HEMISPHERE. WORKING GROUP ON TRADE ACT RESOLUTION HELD FOUR LENGTHY SESSIONS

[redacted]

BEFORE COMBINATION OF MODERATE LA/CARIBBEAN DELEGATIONS, WITH STRONG PROMPTING FROM USDEL, ERODED SUPPORT FOR PUNITIVE ECUADOREAN LANGUAGE AND ISOLATED GOE DELEGATION. VENEZUELAN DELEGATION CONCURRED WITH US POSITION THAT CONFRONTATIONAL TRADE ACT RESOLUTION COULD SOUR NEW CLIMATE OF US-LA COOPERATION THAT DEVELOPED OUT OF FONMINS' PRIVATE DIALOGUE AND TO WHICH SECRETARY'S MESSAGE MADE SIGNAL CONTRIBUTION. OFFENSIVE PHRASING WAS GRADUALLY STRIPPED AWAY, US AND LA POSITIONS CLEARLY LABELED, AND OPERATIVE CLAUSES BROUGHT GENERALLY INTO LINE WITH PAST US STATEMENTS. ONCE TEXT WAS AGREED TO IN WORKING GROUP, RESOLUTION WAS ACCEPTED WITHOUT COMMENT BY COMMITTEE II AND PLENARY. SITUATIONS OF MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED, MIDDLE INCOME AND LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES DEALT WITH BY NOW-TRADITIONAL SET OF RESOLUTIONS POINTING TO NEED FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS.

7. OAS REFORM. OUR STRATEGY WAS TO WRENCH THE OAS OUT OF ITS STEADY DESCENT INTO IRRELEVANCE BY PRESENTING A STRONG CASE THAT USG INTEREST LIES IN A REVITALIZED OAS WITH LEADERSHIP LEVELS IN FREQUENT CONTACT AND PRESENT BUREAUCRATIC CLUTTER ELIMINATED. SECRETARY WAS UNABLE TO ADDRESS OAS REFORM PERSONALLY IN INFORMAL DIALOGUE BUT LEFT BEHIND BRIEF MEMORANDUM OUTLINING HIS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRUCTURAL AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN ORGANIZATION. SINCE WE BEGAN THE EFFORT LAST FALL AND WINTER TO REFOCUS ATTENTION OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS ON INADEQUACIES OF CHARTER TEXT ABOUT TO EMERGE FROM PERMANENT COUNCIL, A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS EXPRESSED INTEREST IN OUR IDEAS, AND WE CAME TO SANTIAGO HOPING TO ENGINEER REFERRAL OF THE PC DRAFT TO SOME FORM OF INTERMEDIATE STUDY PANEL. WE WERE ALREADY ON RECORD AGREEING TO THE CONVOCATION OF A SPECIAL GA ON CHARTER REFORM IN LIMA AT AN UNSPECIFIED DATE, SO THE OBJECTIVE WAS TO WIN AGREEMENT FOR RECONSIDERATION OF THE PRESENT DRAFT IN LIGHT OF OUR PROPOSALS SOMETIME BEFORE GOING TO LIMA.

8. GENERAL COMMITTEE MET JUNE 14 TO CONSIDER NEXT STEPS IN OAS REFORM. PERU PRESENTED RESOLUTION INSTRUCTING

[redacted]

PC TO COMPLETE WORK ON PRESENT DRAFT AND FORWARD IT, TOGETHER WITH OTHER PROPOSALS (E.G., THE SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM) TO MEMBER-STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR COMMENT PRIOR TO CONVENING OF SPECIAL GA IN LIMA. SUPPORTED WEAKLY BY URUGUAY, USDEL ARGUED NEED FOR SOME INTERMEDIATE STUDY OF PC DRAFT BEFORE CONVOCATION OF LIMA GA. PERU ACCEDED TO REWORDING OF ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION, AND RESULTING TEXT, UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED BY GENERAL COMMITTEE AND PLENARY, INSTRUCTS PC TO COMPLETE WORK ON ITS TEXT AND, IF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS DEEM IT NECESSARY, TO CONVOKE "A MEETING OF SPECIAL HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES TO REVIEW AND SEEK TO RECONCILE DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND TO SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY." ARGENTINA, TRINIDAD/TOBAGO, URUGUAY, NICARAGUA AND CHILE SPOKE OF CLEAR NEED FOR INTERMEDIATE REVIEW BECAUSE OF GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT NEW OAS CHARGER SHOULD BE ONE ALL MEMBERS CAN ACCEPT. OTHER DELEGATIONS SUGGESTED THAT STUDY PANEL WAS MERE CONTINGENCY BUT ALL AGREED TO CHANGE IN WORDING THAT MET MINIMAL US REQUIREMENTS.

9. EVEN SO, REFORM IDEAS SUGGESTED IN SECRETARY'S MEMORANDUM DID NOT PRODUCE GROUNDSWELL OF SUPPPORT HERE. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE AS AFTER INFORMAL DIALOGUE CONCLUDED MOST FOREIGN MINISTERS DEPARTED AND WE WERE LEFT WITH THE PERMANENT COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES MEETING AS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
POPPER

6/19/76

VV ESA774DOA062
RR RUESBA [redacted]
DE RUESDO 2270 1711620 6/19/76
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
R 191607Z JUN 76
FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1529
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 6040/6041
BT

AMB		✓	DAO
DCM		✓	L GATT
			DEA
POL	3	✓	FAS
ECON		✓	AID
POL/R		✓	MILGP
CONS		✓	[illegible]
ADM			[illegible]
USIS		✓	[illegible]
[illegible]			CHRON
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MONTEVIDEO 2270

ACTION-COPY R

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, SHUM, UY
SUBJ: IRRESPONSIBLE CHARGES BY WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE

REF: USINFO MESSAGE 172034Z

1. USINFO MESSAGE 172034Z, COVERING WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE'S TESTIMONY BEFORE FRASER COMMITTEE, STATES HE SAID ZELMAR MICHELINI AND GUTIERREZ RUIZ, URUGUAYANS RECENTLY MURDERED IN ARGENTINA, HAD APPLIED FOR VISAS TO COME TO THE US THROUGH US EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES. HE ALSO CHARGED, ACCORDING TO THIS REPORT, THAT THE US AMBASSADOR TO URUGUAY HAD RELAYED THIS INFORMATION TO URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT WHICH PROMPTLY CANCELLED ALL THEIR PAPERS, LEAVING THEM STRANDED IN ARGENTINA, AND THAT THIS WAS REALLY A DEATH SENTENCE CARRIED OUT AT THE BEHEST OF THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT. THE OBVIOUS IMPLICATION OF THIS TOTALLY UNFOUNDED AND IRRESPONSIBLE CHARGE IS THAT THE US AMBASSADOR TO URUGUAY HAD PARTICIPATED IN WHAT HE CHOSE TO CALL "A DEATH SENTENCE".

2. NEITHER THIS EMBASSY NOR EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES (CONFIRMED IN BUENOS AIRES 4035 TO MONTEVIDEO ON JUNE 19, 1976) HAS ANY RECORD THAT EITHER MICHELINI OR GUTIERREZ RUIZ EVER APPLIED FOR A VISA, WERE EVER ISSUED OR REFUSED A VISA, OR WERE EVER THE SUBJECTS OF A VISA CLEARANCE INQUIRY TO EMBASSY MONTEVIDEO. ALSO SEE BUENOS AIRES 6629 OF OCTOBER 3, 1975. MOREOVER, I DID NOT AT ANYTIME DISCUSS IN ANY MANNER WITH GOU OFFICIALS THESE INDIVIDUALS, OR THEIR STATUS. INSOFAR AS I HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THEY, AS WELL AS WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE, WERE PERSONAGES INVOLVED IN URUGUAYAN INTERNAL POLITICS FROM WHICH THIS EMBASSY HAS REMAINED SCRUPULOUSLY ALOOF.

3. THE SAME INTEGRITY CANNOT BE ATTRIBUTED TO SILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE WHO HAS EITHER DIRECTLY, OR THROUGH HIS ASSOCIATES, ATTEMPTED AT VARIOUS TIMES TO INVOLVE THIS EMBASSY, ME PERSONALLY OR OTHER OFFICIALS IN

[illegible] PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): [redacted]
[redacted] ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date: Declassify on: Reason:

DECONTROL UNCLASSIFIED

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21/185

POLITICAL AFFAIRS; FOR EXAMPLE:

A) BEFORE I WAS ASSIGNED TO THIS POST, AS THE DEPARTMENT IS FULLY AWARE, HE AND OTHER URUGUAYAN POLITICAL FIGURES IN BUENOS AIRES, NOTABLY EX-SENATOR ERRO, PARTICIPATED IN A DELIBERATE SMEAR CAMPAIGN CHARGING THAT I WAS A CIA AGENT, THAT I HAD PARTICIPATED IN A WHOLE SERIES OF NEFARIOUS DEALS IN LATIN AMERICA ETC., ETC.; THE OBJECTIVE OBVIOUSLY BEING TO CLOUD MY ACCEPTANCE TO THIS COUNTRY AND MY RELATIONS WITH A GOVERNMENT HEADED BY HIS POLITICAL ENEMIES.

B) UPON HIS DEPARTURE FROM HERE TO ASSUME THE DIRECTORSHIP OF APU IN WASHINGTON, FRANK ORTIZ, WHO HAD BEEN CHARGE FOR YEAR BEFORE MY ARRIVAL, VISITED BUENOS AIRES AS PART OF PREPARATION FOR HIS NEW ASSIGNMENT. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THERE CAME BACK REPORTS FROM BUENOS AIRES THAT ORTIZ HAD MET SECRETLY WITH WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE. THIS ALLEGATION WAS TOTALLY FALSE AND WAS PRECISELY AGAIN INTENDED TO DIMINSH THE CREDIBILITY OF ORTIZ AND ME, THE NEW AMBASSADOR, WITH THE URUGUAYAN AUTHORITIES.

C) AT VARIOUS TIMES ACCUSATIONS OF MY HAVING INTERVENED IN ONE SIDE OR OTHER IN LOCAL POLITICS CAME TO MY ATTENTION AND WERE TRACEABLE TO ADHERENTS OR ASSOCIATES OF WILSON FERREIRA. IN NOT ONE SINGLE INSTANCE (MOSTLY INVENTIONS CHARGING ME WITH SECRET MEETINGS WITH POLITICAL FIGURES ETC.) WAS THERE EVEN A SHRED OF TRUTH. AS A MATTER OF POLICY, I HAVE DIRECTED OFFICIALS OF THIS EMBASSY TO MAINTAIN REGULAR CONTACT WITH THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION, INCLUDING WILSON FERREIRA ADHERENTS. BUT THIS IS ALWAYS DONE OPENLY, MOSTLY IN PUBLIC PLACES, NEVER IN SECRET AND NEVER BY ME.

D) MORE RECENTLY, WHEN WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE'S SON WAS BRIEFLY HELD IN PRISON AND THEN RELEASED HERE, HE THANKED AN EMBASSY OFFICER FOR MY SUPPOSED INTERCESSION FOR HIM. THE FACT IS THAT I HAD NOT INTERCEDED AND THE OBVIOUS PURPOSE OF THIS PLOY, WHICH WAS WIDELY COMMENTED ON IN MONTEVIDEO, WAS AGAIN TO SEEK TO INVOLVE ME IN URUGUAYAN POLITICS.

E) ABOUT ONE YEAR AGO THE UN REP. IN BUENOS AIRES, WHO WAS VISITING MONTEVIDEO, TOLD THE DCM THAT WILSON FERREIRA WANTED TO MEET WITH HIM IN BUENOS AIRES. THE DCM OF COURSE DECLINED THE INVITATION. HOWEVER, THE MERE FACT OF TRANSMITTING THE MESSAGE WOULD ENABLE FERREIRA TO SAY THAT HE HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE EMBASSY.

4. THE OBVIOUS OBJECTIVE OF THE TACTICS WHICH HAVE BEEN USED BY WILSON FERREIRA AND HIS ADHERENTS IS THAT OF THE DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD;

A) FOR INTERNAL IMPACT HERE HE SEEKS TO DISCREDIT ME AND THIS MISSION WITH THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT BY CHARGING SOME SECRET LIAISON WITH HIM--THE PURPOSE BEING TO UPSET GOOD RELATIONS AND THEREBY, PRESUMABLY,

p2

WEAKEN HIS URUGUAYAN POLITICAL ENEMIES; AND

B) FOR EXTERNAL IMPACT, HE CHARGES ME AND THIS EMBASSY WITH SUPPORTING A DICTATORIAL VIOLATOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER TO UNDERMINE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND URUGUAY, THUS AGAIN REDUCING THE BENEFITS WHICH HIS POLITICAL ENEMIES MIGHT DERIVE FROM NORMALLY GOOD RELATIONS.

5. AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE THIS EMBASSY HAS DONE ITS UTMOST TO REPORT OBJECTIVELY ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN URUGUAY, TO INFLUENCE PRIVATELY THE GOU TO CORRECT SUCH ABUSES AS EXIST, AND TO REMAIN SCRUPULOUSLY OUT OF INTERNAL URUGUAYAN POLITICS. WHILE THERE IS OBVIOUSLY SOME SUBSTANCE TO THE CHARGES THAT WILSON FERREIRA HAS MADE ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THIS COUNTRY, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THOSE OF AI WHICH APPARENTLY SPONSORS HIM, THE TRUTH IS SO FAR REMOVED FROM THE EXAGGERATIONS AND DISTORTIONS WHICH HE AND AI HAVE TYPICALLY ENGAGED IN THAT THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY CONCLUDED, APPARENTLY, THAT ITS BEST DEFENSE IS SIMPLY TO PUBLISH WHAT HE HAS BEEN SAYING ABROAD. WHATEVER THE IMPACT ON THE WORLD MAY BE, HIS RECENT DECLARATIONS HAVE TENDED TO UNDERMINE HIS CREDIBILITY IN URUGUAY WHERE THE PEOPLE KNOW BETTER WHAT HAS APPENED.

6. ACTION REQUESTED

A) I ASK THAT THE DEPARTMENT INFORM CONGRESSMEN FRASER AND KOCH, AND OTHERS WHO MAY BE INTERESTED IN THESE MATTERS, OF THE FALSENESS OF WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE'S CHARGE AGAINST ME IN REGARD TO MICHELINI AND GUTIERREZ RUIZ, AS REPORTED USINFO. THEY SHOULD ALSO BE MADE AWARE, IN THIS ERA OF GROWING DANGER TO DIPLOMATS, OF THE IRRESPONSIBILITY OF SUCH CHARGES WHICH OBVIOUSLY EXPOSE ME, MY FAMILY AND ASSOCIATES HERE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF REPRISALS BY THOSE WHOULD WOULD BELIEVE, AS WILSON FERREIRA HAS IMPLIED, THAT I PARTICIPATED IN THE "DEATH WARRANT" OF POLITICAL FIGURES IN BUENOS AIRES. OUR FLAG AT HALF-MAST IN MEMORY OF OUR DIPLOMATS MURDERED IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS TESTIMONY TO THIS DANGER. IT IS DOUBLY DANGEROUS THAT THE US CONGRESS BE USED AS SPRINGBOARD FOR SUCH ACCUSATIONS BECAUSE OF THE PRESTIGE AND WIDE AUDIENCE THIS FORUM COMMANDS. SINCE U.S. REPRESENTATIVES HAVE EMONSTRATED COMMENDABLE INTEREST AND CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BY GIVING WILSON FERREIRA A HEARING, PERHAPS THEY CAN ALSO INFLUENCE HIM ON THE VIRTUES OF THE TRUTH AND DANGER OF IRRESPONSIBILITY.

B) PROVIDE THIS EMBASSY WITH FULL TEXT OF WILSON FERREIRA'S TESTIMONY. SIRACUSA

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6/19/76

VV ESA713BRA555
RR RUESBA
DE RUEHDT 2580 1710520
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
R 190432Z JUN 76
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO RUERC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7910
INFO RUESLZ/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ 292
RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 871
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	ACT	INF		ACT	INF
AMB		✓	DAO		
DCM		✓	L'GATT		
			DEA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECON		✓	AID		
PO/R		✓	MILGP		
CO S			PE		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		✓	BASE		
ST			CHRON		✓
SY			IF		✓

VT R

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: FPOR, UN, BL
SUBJ: DEATH OF FORMER BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT: CIRCULAR LETTER

UN HAS CIRCULATED TO ALL PERMANENT MISSIONS LETTER FROM BOLIVIAN PERM REP CONCERNING DEATH OF FORMER BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT JUAN JOSE TOYRES. EXCERPTS FROM THE LETTER ARE TRANSMITTED BELOW:

SIR,

AT A MEETING OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL HELD ON 11 MAY 1976 IT WAS THE PAINFUL DUTY OF THIS MISSION TO ANNOUNCE THE ASSASSINATION OF THE AMBASSADOR OF BOLIVIA TO THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, GENERAL JOAQUIN ZENTENO ANAYA, FORMER MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC AND FORMER COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATION, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN PARIS ON 11 MAY. THE TREACHEROUS NATURE OF THE CRIME OBLIGED US TO PROTEST PUBLICLY AGAINST THIS ACT OF TERRORIISM WHICH PLUNGED THE BOLIVIAN FAMILY INTO MOURNING AND WAS AN EXPRESSION OF THE POLICY OF FRATRICIDAL VIOLENCE WHICH IS FRIGHTENING PEOPLE IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

TODAY I MUST INFORM YOU OFFICIALLY OF THE CRIME WHICH TOOK THE LIFE OF GENERAL JUAN JOSE TORRES IN THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES, IN THE REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA, ON 2 JUNE 1976. AFTER BEING KIDNAPPED BY AN EXTREMIST COMMANDO, HE WAS FOUND DEAD UNDER A BRIDGE, HAVING BEEN SHOT SEVERAL TIMES IN THE HEAD.

ALL BOLIVIA WAS DEEPLY SADDENED BY THIS DEATH OF A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE COUNTRY, WHO WAS PREVIOUSLY COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATION. THE CONDEMNATION HAS BEEN GENERAL AND COMPLETE.

AS A RESULT OF THESE CRIMES, WHICH WE ALL DEPLORE, MY COUNTRY HAS BECOME THE VICTIM OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY OF UNSUSPECTED SCOPE. ALTHOUGH WE BOLIVIANS ALWAYS STRUGGLE COURAGEOUSLY AS REGARDS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, WE HAVE NEVER RESORTED TO POLITICAL CRIMES AS A MEANS OF GAINING POWER.

[redacted]

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22/185

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~ ( ) In Part (X) In Full Decontrol
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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I WOULD REQUEST YOU TO CIRCULATE TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS THIS DENUNCIATION, WHICH ENTAILS THE PROTEST OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA, OF THE BARBARIC ASSASSINATION OF THE AFOREMENTIONED FORMER HIGH OFFICIAL OF THE STATE AS A MANIFESTATION OF A SPURIOUS TERRORIST WAR.

ACCEPT, SIR, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

(SIGNED) MARIO R. GUTIERREZ
AMBASSADOR
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE

SHERER

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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BB3 09

June 22, 1976

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To: ARA - Hewson A. Ryan, Acting

From: ARA/BC - William Lowenthal

Subject: Charles Horman

Bob Driscoll talked to Herb Thompson in Mexico June 21. He explained Diuguid's allegation that a reliable Chilean had informed the Embassy of Horman's death before it was confirmed to his parents and that the Embassy had done nothing to check it out. Herb said that he does not remember any such information ever coming to him. He thinks he would remember if it had. However, he was in the Department on consultation when the Embassy supposedly received this information. He does recall on his return that everything that could be done to find Horman was being done. He reminded Driscoll that at the time the Embassy was tracking down several hundred Americans whose relatives had reported them missing. There was no way to know then that Horman would turn out to be one of two Americans killed. Horman, as the Embassy later found, was dead before the Embassy knew he was missing.

Disagreed about source.

ARA/BC/C:RSDriscoll:mg
Ext.22575 6/21/76
cc:ARA/PAF:PJohnson

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 DHA-02 HEW-04 AID-05 /077 W

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R 061900Z JUL 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 138
INFO USUN NEW YORK 1316
USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6503

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, CI
SUBJ: CHILE -UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WORKING GROUP

REF: USUN 2743 AND USUN 2708

1. IN JULY 5 CONVERSATION WITH MIGUEL SCHWEITZER, JR., (SON OF JUSTICE MIN) WHO ASSISTS SERGIO DIEZ IN ARGUING CHILE'S HUMAN RIGHTS CASES IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, AMBASSADOR REVIEWED PROSPECTIVE ACTIVITIES OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WORKING GROUP RE CHILE.

2. SCHWEITZER CONFIRMED THAT WORKING GROUP WAS PLANNING TO MEET IN NEW YORK LATE IN JULY. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT WORKING GROUP HAD TYPICALLY STACKED ITS ACTIVITIES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MAKE GOC COOPERATION AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE. IT HAD DONE THIS BY ANNOUNCING THAT IT WOULD FIRST MEET IN MEXICO -- PRINCIPAL CENTER OF CHILEAN EXILE ACTIVITIES -- BETWEEN JULY 12 AND JULY 22, AND THEN BY INFORMING GOC THAT, "IF IT WISHED", IT MIGHT MEET WITH WORKING GROUP ON JULY 25 AND 26. GOC REACTION HAD BEEN PREDICTABLY SOUR, BUT SCHWEITZER ASSUMES GOC REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE THERE.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06503 062007Z

3. SCHWEITZER SAID HE PERSONALLY BELIEVES THAT, EVEN AT SOME COST TO ITS PRIDE, GOC SHOULD PERMIT WORKING GROUP TO VISIT CHILE. WORKING GROUP'S FINDINGS WOULD BE PREDDUDICIAL,TO BE SURE, BUT AS SCHWEITZER SEES IT, GOC WOULD THEN HAVE COMPLIED WITH REQUESTS OF UN AGENCIES THAT GROUP BE ALLOWED TO ENTER CHILE, AND MATTER WOULD

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'BE DISPOSED OF ONCE AND FOR ALL. SCHWEITZER STRESSED THAT THIS
-WAS HIS PERSONAL VIEW; THERE WAS NO SIGN SO FAR THAT
PINOCHET WAS ABOUT TO AGRE.
POPPER

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06815 132130Z

67
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05

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129438

R 132025Z JUL 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 296

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6815

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINT,
SUBJ: GOC CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

REF: 75 SANTIAGO 6207

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC CONTEMPLATES PROMULGATING FOUR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1976, AT ITS THIRD ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. THE ACTS WILL COVER HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY DURING EMERGENCY SITUATIONS. THE PRESENT LEVEL OF STATE OF SIEGE MAY BE LOWERED, BUT WE CAN EXPECT ALSO THAT THE FULL IMPLEMENTATIONS OF THE NEW RIGHTS WILL BE SUSPENDED AS LONG AS A STATE OF EMERGENCY IS IN EFFECT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SECRETARY TO THE CHILEAN COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM CONFIRMED TO EMBOFF THAT WITHIN 30 DAYS THE COMMITTEE PLANS TO PRESENT TO THE TEXT OF FOUR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL. THE GOC INTENDS TO PROMULGATE THESE ACTS ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1976, THE 3RD ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUP.

3. THE FOUR ACTS, REPORTED IN REFTEL, DEAL WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL BASES OF THE NEW INSTITUTIONALITY, NATIONALITY, GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY DURING EMERGENCY SITUATIONS, AND "HUMAN RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS." THE LAST WILL BE THE MOST NOTEWORTHY AND WILL [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06815 132130Z

HAVE APPROXIMATELY 30 ARTICLES. THIS WEEK'S "ERCILLA/ NEWS-MAGAZINE REPORTEDLY WILL INCLUDE AN INTERVIEW WITH COMMITTEE PRESIDENT ENRIQUE ORTUZAR, WHO WILL DISCUSS THE FOUR ACTS IN SUBSTANCE. EMBASSY WILL REPORT FURTHER IF APPROPRIATE.

4. THE FOUR ACTS ARE THE SAME ONES MENTIONED BY PRESIDENT

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PINOCHET IN THE LATTER'S SEPTEMBER 11, 1975 SPEECH (PARA 7 REFTEL). IN THIS SPEECH, THE PRESIDENT PROMISED THEIR PROMULGATION WITHIN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1976. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE DELAY IN PROMULGATION, THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY STATED THAT THE STUDIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN READY FOR PRESENTATION EARLIER, BUT IT WAS DECIDED TO ISSUE THE ACTS AFTER THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. ACCORDING TO THE SECRETARY, THE GOC DID NOT WANT THE MEDIA TO "MISINTERPRET" THE PROMULGATION AND THINK THAT THE OAS PRESENCE IN ANY WAY INFLUENCED THEIR ISSUANCE.

5. WHEN ASKED ABOUT A TIME SCHEDULE FOR FINISHING THE CONSTITUTION, THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD AGREED NOT TO ESTABLISH ONE. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, HE ADDED, WAS TOO IMPORTANT TO RUSH, AND THE COMMITTEE'S THINKING IS TO TAKE THE TIME "NECESSARY" TO COME UP WITH A CONSTITUTION THAT WILL FIT WITHIN THE "NEW DEMOCRACY" ENVISIONED BY THE JUNTA. (THIS THOUGHT IS THE SAME AS THAT REPORTED IN SANTIAGO A-28 OF JANUARY 5, 1975).

6. COMMENT: SECRETARY KISSINGER IN REMARKS MADE TO THE PRESS JUNE 11 IN MEXICO CITY, NOTED THAT A CONSTITUTIONAL ACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD BE FORTHCOMING AND THAT THE USG WOULD WITHOLD JUDGMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE UNTIL THEN. OUR UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE ACT WOULD BE ISSUED SOONER THAN SEPTEMBER 11, BUT THAT DATE IS AN ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE ONE FOR THE GOC. IT IS ALSO PLAUSIBLE THAT GOC HELD UP PROMULGATION OF THE ACTS BECAUSE OF THE OASGA. INERTIA AND LACK OF ENTHUSIASM MAY ALSO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE DELAY.

7. THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT ON EMERGENCY POWERS WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF CERTAIN CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS DURING EMERGENCY SITUATIONS. HE SAID THE COMMITTEE WOULD PROBABLY RECOMMEND TO THE GOC A REDUCTION IN THE CURRENT LEVEL OF STATE OF

[redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06815 132130Z

SIEGE ON SEPTEMBER 11. EVEN WITH SUCH A REDUCTION WE CONSIDER IT UNLIKELY THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS WILL COME FULLY INTO EFFECT ON SEPTEMBER 11.
POPPER

[redacted]

NNNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

UNCLASSIFIED

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

TO : ARA - Ambassador Shlaudeman DATE: July 15, 1976

FROM : ARA/BC - R. V. Fimbres

SUBJECT: The Charles Horman Case.

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

Here is a draft letter to Kennedy on the Horman case. Factually, it is the best Driscoll and I have been able to dredge up in about four man-days. It will not do. It will only deepen suspicions by the Washington Post and by the Hill that we have deliberately been less than candid. The letter does not, cannot, lay to rest suspicions that the USG "fingered" Horman and Teruggi:

-- We "withheld" for almost two years any reference to a Chilean memorandum which accused Teruggi, and Horman, of leftist activities. At these times we are not accused of ineptness but of byzantine maneuverings.

-- We failed to pursue the basis for the GOC's allegations concerning Horman and Teruggi. This is a lead. We have done nothing about it.

-- The Horman family reportedly has a letter from CIA in response to an FOI request, which "admits" the Agency knew something of Horman's alleged activities. However, CIA told ~~Teruggi~~ their information was unrelated to Horman's death. CIA is checking this out for me.

-- Lew Diuguid insists he has a source for his assertion that the Embassy superiors were informed early on of Horman's fate but failed to follow-up. (He claims similar reports from Chilean sources were also ignored.) Lew hints broadly that his source is an FSO here in Washington who was in Santiago at the time of the coup. Lew has asked this person to repeat his statements to us.

-- Vice Consul Anderson's participation in this matter will eventually be the subject of further probing.

-- We keep telling the families and the press that we are diligently pursuing every lead, doing everything to develop the circumstances surrounding the deaths of these

[redacted]

Americans. This is overdrawn. And the matter has been handled by too many offices, with the result reflected in the draft letter.

-- The files are in such disarray that we cannot begin to assure anyone that we know what we are talking about without a further thorough research and necessary follow-up with the authors. This will require a lot more time than we have had until now to work on this project. There is some spare manpower about: Fred Smith, formerly with L, SCA, and Embassy Mexico City, is back in the building, without a forward assignment.

-- Finally, because BC also is unconvinced the total U.S. role is honestly and accurately reflected in the records available to the Department, I cannot recommend that you sign this letter -- it will just recycle more accusations and questions from the Hill and the press. With respect to other U.S. agencies, I don't believe BC is in the position of responding in their behalf. I suggest that we only speak for the Department. But you may be able to accept the agency's categorical denial on the basis of what you know and your talks with Langley.

Attachment:

Draft letter to Senator Kennedy, with incoming and attachments.

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USIS		✓	S & E		
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BY			FF		

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, AR, IS
SUBJECT: ISRAELIS ARRESTED IN ARGENTINA

1. CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION HAS BEEN DEVOTED HERE THIS WEEK TO REPORTS ON THE ARRESTS IN CORDOBA OF A GROUP OF EIGHT JEWS - FIVE ISRAELIS AND THREE ARGENTINES. THE DETAILS OF THE ARRESTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN CLARIFIED AND THE REPORTS EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS FOR OTHER JEWS IN ARGENTINA.

2. THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF SOUTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS IN THE MFA (ARMON) TOLD US THAT THE MINISTRY BELIEVES THAT THE ARRESTS WERE CAUSED BY A "MISUNDERSTANDING." HE SAID THE GROUP WAS RETURNING FROM A SEMINAR WHICH HAD BEEN HELD IN A JEWISH CLUB (COMITE) IN CORDOBA WHEN THEY WERE ARRESTED BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES. THE FIVE ISRAELIS HAD BEEN IN ARGENTINA ONLY A FEW DAYS AND HAD BEEN SENT THERE BY THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION'S YOUTH AND PIONEER DEPARTMENT OT WORK ONLY WITH EDUCATION AND HEBREW LANGUAGE MATTERS. NO OTHER ARRESTS HAD BEEN REPORTED. THE OUTCOME IS NOT YET CLEAR BECAUSE THE ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES HAVE INFORMED THE ISRAELI EMBASSY THAT THEY MUST STUDY THE MATERIALS FOUND ON THE GROUP AT THE TIME OF THEIR ARREST; THE MATERIALS ARE IN HEBREW AND PRESUMABLY MUST BE TRANSLATED. THE CASE IS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT THE GROUP IS HELD BY REGIONAL MILITARY AUTHORITIES RATHER THAN BY THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES AND ACCESS TO THEM HAS BEEN DENIED TO THE EMBASSY.

3. MEMBERS OF THE GROUP HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS YOSEF AND KATI PICK, YITZHAK AND CLARA ESTRUGO, AND AMNON RUDIN. THE ARGENTINES HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS TWO ADVISORS TO COMITE AND THE SISTER OF A SECRETARY IN THE YOUTH AND PIONEER DEPARTMENT IN BUENOS AIRES. RUDIN AND THE PICKS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE ONLY ISRAELI PASSPORTS BUT THE ESTRUGOS ARE DUAL NATIONALS AND TRAVELED TO ARGENTINAL WITH ARGENTINE PASSPORTS. MRS. ESTRUGO'S PARENTS ARE REPORTED TO RESIDE IN CORDOBA.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Sanitized~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Declassified
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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4. COMMENT: THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE MFA INFORMED THE CHARGE' THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CASE AND THAT HE WAS CALLING IN THE ARGENTINE CHARGE' TO ASCERTAIN THE FACTS AND EXPRESS THAT CONCERN. ARGENTINA HAS A LARGE AND PROSPEROUS JEWISH COMMUNITY WHICH, ACCORDING TO COMMENTS WE HAVE HEARD, HAS NOT BEEN AS SUPPORTIVE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AS MOST ISRAELIS WOULD LIKE. RABBI ABRAHAM HERSHBERG, CHIEF RABBI OF MEXICO AND PRESIDENT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN RABBINICAL COUNCIL, BRIEFLY DISCUSSED THE CASE DURING A CALL ON THE CHARGE' ON JULY 27 AND SAID THAT HE HAD UNDERTAKEN AN EFFORT TO OBTAIN MORE INFORMATION.

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PAGE 01 - SANTIA 07659 062212Z

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02
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USIA-06 DHA-02 HEW-04 AID-05 ORM-02 TRSE-00 EA-07
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USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 7659

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: UNGA, EAID, XM
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: HUMAN RIGHTS PROCEDURES IN THE UN

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 7523 (B) GENEVA 6328

1. I WELCOME MY COLLEAGUE AMBASSADOR CARTER'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CONSIDERATION OF WAYS TO ADVANCE OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE: TO INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS PROCEDURES.

2. AMBASSADOR CARTER IS OF COURSE QUITE CORRECT IN CITING THE PROVISIONS OF ECOSOC RESOLUTION 1503 AS A MODEL FOR THE PROCEDURES OF UN BODIES DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNICATIONS. ALTHOUGH I AM A BIT RUSTY NOW ON MY UN METHODOLOGY, IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT SUCH COMMUNICATIONS ARE NORMALLY HANDLED ON A QUIET, NON-CONTROVERSIAL BASI DESIGNED -- IN THE CLASSICAL MANNER -- TO PROVIDE GENTLE SUASION TO COUNTRIES ACCUSED OF SPECIFIC VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHTS OF INDIVUALS AND GROUPS. UNDER THE RESOLUTION, AS AMBASSADOR CARTER NOTES, INVESTIGATION BY AN AD HOC COMMITTEE CAN BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY WITH THE CONSENT

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07659 062212Z

OF THE NATION CONCERNED AND IN COOPERATION WITH IT.

3. THE CHILEAN CASE SEEMS TO ME TO BE QUITE A DIFFERENT MATTER. THE CHILE WORKING GROUP HAS ITS SOURCE IN RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND ITS SUBCOMMISSION, REFLECTING THE CONCERN OF THE INTERNATIONAL

UNCLASSIFIED

COMMUNITY REGARDING MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHILE.

4. AMBASSADOR CARTER'S REFERENCE TO RESOLUTION 1503 IMPELLED ME TO LOOK BACK AT THE FIRST PROGRESS REPORT OF THE AD HOC UNHRC WORKING GROUP ON CHILE DATED SEPTEMBER 4, 1975 (DOCUMENT A/10285). AT THAT STAGE IN THE PROCEEDINGS, THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT HAD PROPOSED THAT RESOLUTION 1503 SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR THE HANDLING OF COMMUNICATIONS OR INDIVIDUAL COMPLAINTS (CF. ANNEX 3, DOCUMENT A/10285). BUT FROM PARAGRAPH 28 OF THE REPORT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE WORKING GROUP REFUSED TO APPLY RESOLUTION 1503, EXPLAINING THAT THE MANDATE OF THE WORKING GROUP WAS NOT DERIVED FROM PROCEDURAL HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS BUT FROM SPECIAL DECISIONS OF COMPETENT UN ORGANS.

5. AS I SEE IT, THE POINT IS THAT WITH THE CREATION OF THE CHILE WORKING GROUP THE UN BEGAN TO BREAK NEW GROUND IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION. AT LEAST ORIGINALLY -- WHILE THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT WAS STILL PREPARED TO RECEIVE THE GROUP IN CHILE -- WE COULD FORESEE THE POSSIBILITY OF GREATLY INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH ACTIVITIES. THROUGH WHAT I CONCEIVE TO BE A MAJOR BLUNDER, THE GOC ENDED THAT PHASE OF THE OPERATION BY ITS SUDDEN DECISION NOT TO ALLOW THE GROUP TO COME TO CHILE. NEVERTHELESS, THE EXERCISE STILL HAS A VERY PERCEPTIBLE EFFECT.

6. PERSONALLY I WOULD AGREE WITH THE WORKING GROUP THAT THE PROVISIONS OF RESOLUTION 1503 ARE NOT SUITABLE FOR THE PANORAMIC TYPE OF SURVEY WHICH THE GROUP HAS BEEN CONDUCTING UNDER ITS MANDATE. ALL I AM SAYING IS THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF PRODUCING ULTIMATELY FRUITFUL RESULTS, AND OF ESTABLISHING FRUITFUL PRECEDENTS FOR FUTURE INVESTIAGIONS, WILL BE ENHANCED IF SOME BASIC STEPS ARE TAKEN TO PROTECT THE WORKING GROUP AGAINST CHARGES OF UNDUE BIAS. SINCE RESOLUTION 1503 DOES NOT APPLY, WE NEED SOMETHING ELSE TO TAKE ITS PLACE.

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07659 062212Z

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

SJ 224 *

RELEASED IN PART
B6

TELECON
Mr. Yeo/Secretary Kissinger
August 21, 1976
Time: 9:31 a.m.

K: How are you?

Y: Fine. I wanted to call you to see if you wanted any further description of the Mexican situation.

K: What Mexican situation?

Y: Mexico is practically broke.

K: Is it Mexico or Brazil.

Y: It is Mexico.

K: He told me it was Brazil.

Y: The...

K: What he discussed with me is that we are trying to bail out...

Y: We are attempting to ehlp...

K: No, no, the only reason I am confused Ed is because he told me in Kansas City that he was -- that Brazil was broke.

Y: Well, the ...

K: Are those...

Y: In the first instance it involves Mexico and the jist is that they have about $23-25 billion in debt and they have $150 million in reserves. They are losing $150 million a week.

K: Then the question is do we want to bail out Echeverria?

Y: There are two questions. The first instance is there is a question of whether it is even bailable. There is a question of whether we get the IMF, which I have done, there is a question of whether the situation can be saved in the financial sense or whether they will have to reschedule the debt. If they do that we will have a bunch of badly bent bankers. Our people have $10 billion down there. The shock of this would badly affect Brazil -- the financial shock.

K: I see.

Y: Because in reality the Mexican situation is one of the greates financial con jobs of all time. They concealed their numbers -- there is no one in the financial community that has any idea of the situation.

K: Can this wait until Monday morning.

Y: Yes, it certainly can.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: APPEALS REVIEW PANEL
APPEAL ACTION: RELEASED IN FULL
DATE/CASE ID: 20 MAY 2005 200102979

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 3 MAR 2003 200102979

*

K: The reason I ask is I promised to take my wife to Camp David, and if I don't leave the office within an hour I may have a divorce on my hands. B6

Y: I wanted you to know about it now because Echeverria is under tremendous pressure.

K: To do what?

Y: If he decides to save the situation he has to accept a brutal devaluation.

K: Which he said he would never do.

Y: But he has to because of the line up of events, not because of what we are telling him. By reducing the budget deficit he has to reverse everything he has done to save it. People are telling him about the realities of the situation -- not realities manfactured by us.

K: He could turn on us.

Y: That is the second alternative. He could declare a debt moratorium, impose controls and turn on us.

K: I think that is more likely. What do we do then?

Y: Well, I think there are a number of things we could do to prepare the way. There is one final thing -- he would join OPEC in wxchange for some money.

K: He will do that in practice if not in name. That knocks him off the GSP.

Y: He is sitting under enormous pressure -- facing great humiliation.

K: Can I propose this -- can I get my people to work over the weekend and we get together at 9:30 on Monday morning or is that too late?

Y: No, no. I will be here this weekend working. The only thing I have had a very limited group in the Treasury working on this for fear it will leak out. If it does that then rather than make it through the next week it wouldn't make it through Monday afternoon.

K: Let me put to work here Rogers and Shlaudemann and tell them not to have more than one other person working on it, if that is possible in this organization. Whom should they get in touch with, you?

Y: Fine.

K: Let's meet at 9:30 Monday morning.

Y: Fine.

K: O.K. Good.

SJ 242 *

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Mr. Yoe (Treasury)
8/24/76; 1:03 pm

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(D)

Y: Since we last talked two things have happened. One is Daou acting for Viddever offered ~~Viddex~~ Fund services this morning. Two is that Ritodde(?) who runs the Central Bank came back and asked for the beginning of immediate negotiations on the basis of the plan we had layed out for them whereby there would be secret negotiations between the Fund and Mexican Government.

K: Good. And if that happens I don't need Rogers to go down there. The less political I can make it the better off I am.

Y: Much better.

K: You are sure they didn't give you a stretch of the beach in Cancun. A little hotel . . .

Y: I will not be doing the negotiating. The Fund will be doing this.

K: But you are not forgetting your friends -- remember the undertow in Cancun is very bad. Take the income but not the vacation.

Y: This is good news though.

K: This is really the best thing that could happen and they must have rammed it down Echeverria's throat. There are only two possibilities. Either he doesn't know the full implications [redacted] B1 Either he doesn't know about it in which case it will still blow up when they have to implement it or he ~~doesn't~~ does and they rammed it down his throat. His instinct is positive as I said yesterday. It is much better if you handle it. The only way for us to get into it is if they refuse to talk.

Y: You have to get into it.

K: I mean sending emissaries to Echeverria. Watch one thing. They may be working us in to get a lot of conditions stated that they will then kick us in the teeth with.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CLASSIFIED BY DEPT. OF STATE, M. GRAFELD, DAS, A/RPS, ACTING
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 14 APR 2003 200102979
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 25X6
DECLASSIFY AFTER: HAK'S DEATH

*

Y: The conditions are coming from the IMF.

K: It is unavoidable. If you smell the beginning of a confrontation you better tell me so.

Y: I have done a memo and will have it hand-delivered.

K: I would be very grateful.

Y: I will keep your people informed through Dale at the Fund.

K: Okay.

Y: I don't plan on telling anybody except Bill, that this thing is actually starting to transpire.

K: I will tell nobody except Schlaudeman.

Y: Okay. Thank.

K: Good work.

Y: Thank you.

Case Number: 200000044

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ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 /018 R

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN

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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 221838

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF CARMEN SABINO

DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION ON MARIA DEL CARMEN SABINO, AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL EMPLOYED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION ASSISTED CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. SHE WAS REPORTEDLY DETAINED ON AUGUST 29, SEEN IN CUSTODY ON AUGUST 31 BUT HAS SINCE BEEN UNHEARD FROM. FORD FOUNDATION IS CONCERNED ABOUT HER SAFETY. KISSINGER

[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 221837

43
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-02 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 /020 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:CHARRIS:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA/ECA:FERONDON (INDRAFT)
ARA:GLISTER

R 081428Z SEP 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 221837

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(D Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (D In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN JUAN MENDEZ

1. CONGRESSMAN RAILSBACK HAS EXPRESSED INTEREST IN JUAN MENDEZ, AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL. MENDEZ REPORTEDLY IS BEING HELD AT PEN UNIT NO. 9, LA PLATA. HE WAS DETAINED ON AUGUST 26, 1975. MENDEZ WAS ACQUITTED OF THE CHARGE AGAINST HIM, BUT KEPT IN PRISON UNDER THE STATE OF SIEGE PROVISIONS OF ARGENTINE LAW. MENDEZ APPARENTLY WAS JAILED FOR DEFENDING POLITICAL PRISONERS.

2. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE ANY AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON MENDEZ AND HIS PRESENT SITUATION. KISSINGER

[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05844 081724Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 /072 W

R 081103Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7005

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5844

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS ROUND-UP

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 5756, (B) BUENOS AIRES 5672

1. SOME 780 REFUGEES, MOSTLY CHILEAN AND URUGUAYAN, HAVE LEFT ARGENTINA IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS, ACCORDING TO UNHCR SOURCES. THE LATEST TO LEAVE WERE 49 URUGUAYANS WHO LEFT FOR HAVANA SEPT 2. THREE HUNDRED MORE ALREADY HAVE RESETTLEMENT OFFERS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY AND WILL LEAVE SHORTLY, SOURCES ADD.

2. ALTHOUGH THE ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY HAD RELAXED SOMEWHAT IN RECENT WEEKS-- PROBABLY BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN NO MAJOR INCIDENTS OF PERSECUTION SINCE THE DISAPPEARANCE OF 23 URUGUAYANS IN MID-JULY--A RECENT GOVERNMENT REGULATION ON ILLEGAL ALIENS IS CAUSING NEW ALARM. ON SEPT 2, GOA ANNOUNCED THAT ALL FOREIGNERS WITHOUT PROPER DOCUMENTS WOULD HAVE 60 DAYS IN WHICH TO REPORT TO IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES. SIMILAR REGULATIONS, DESCRIBED AS NECESSARY TO CONTROL "MIGRATORY FLUCTUATIONS, HAVE BEEN ROUTINELY ANNOUNCED BUT RARELY ENFORCED IN THE PAST. MANY OF THE ESTIMATED 500,000 ILLEGAL RESIDENTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN WELCOME AS LOW-COST ADDITIONS TO THE LABOR FORCE, PARTICULARLY IN BORDER TOWNS. THIS TIME, HOWEVER, REFUGEES FEAR IT WILL BE USED AGAINST THEM. AS GOA DOES NOT SHARE THE UNHCR'S DEFINITION
[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05844 081724Z

OF A REFUGEE UNDER UN PROTECTION, NOR HAS IT COOPERATED IN PROVIDING REFUGEES WITH ARGENTINE DOCUMENTS IN THE PAST, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF-- AND HOW-- THE GOVT INTENDS TO PRESS COMPLIANCE OR SANCTIONS ON THE SOME 20,000 PERSONS ILLEGALLY IN THE COUNTRY FOR POLITICAL REASONS. UNHCR OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD EMBOFF THAT RIGHT NOW THEIR HANDS ARE TIED AND THEY MUST WAIT TO SEE HOW THE GOVERNMENT ENFORCES THE REGULATION ONCE THE 60-DAY DEADLINE IS UP.

3. LA OPINION REPORTED SEPT 1 THAT AT LEAST 20 ASYLEES ARE HOUSED IN THREE FOREIGN EMBASSIES--AUSTRIA, ITALY AND MEXICO. EX-PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA AND HIS SON HAVE REPORTEDLY NOT REQUESTED SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE MEXICAN EMBASSY WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN SINCE THE COUP. THE PAPER NOTED THAT A NUMBER OF THE ASYLEES LEAVE THE EMBASSIES OCCASIONALLY TO VISIT FAMILY AND FRIENDS AND GO ABOUT THE CITY APPARENTLY WITH NO MAJOR WORRIES.

4. FORMER UCR LEGISLATORS SOLARI IRIGOYEN AND AMAYA REMAIN DETAINED (SEE REF A) "ALMOST INCOMUNICADO", ACCORDING TO FREINDS, IN FIFTH CORPS HEADQUARTERS. AUTHORITIES SAY THEY ARE STILL STUDYING THE CASE OF THE TWO LAWYERS WHO WERE KIDNAPPED FROM THEIR HOMES AUGUST 17 AND LATER DUMPED AT A POLICE CHECKPOINT IN RIO NEGRO. MEANWHILE, IN A NOTE TO UCR NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ON FRIDAY, SEPT 3, AN INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL REPRIMANDED THEM FOR RELEASING AN APPEAL FOR THE SAFETY OF THE TWO KIDNAPPED LAWYERS AUG 25. THE OFFICIAL GRATUITOUSLY SAID THE THE UCR APPEAL GAVE "A FALSE IMPRESSION OF PARTY ACTIVITIES, WHICH HAD BEEN SUSPENDED IN ORDER TO INSURE INTERNAL PEACE".

5. THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, A GROUP OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL PERSONS FORMED LAST DECEMBER, COMPLETED ITS FIRST WORKING DESSION LAST WEEK, SEPT 1, BY INVITING ALL ARGENTINES TO JOIN IN ITS FIGHT FOR "PEACE AND THE RIGHT TO LIVE WITHOUT FEAR". THE SESSIONS WERE DIVIDED INTO FOUR TOPICS: THE RIGHT TO LIVE, SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE, CONSTITUTIONAL PRECEDENCE, AND THE PROTECTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOMS. THE PREVIOUS WEEK, THE ASSEMBLY HAD STRONGLY PROTESTED INCREASING VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT VIDELA (SEE REF B).
[redacted]

Case Number: 200000044

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05844 081724Z

6. SIGNIFICANTLY, IN A DECLARATION AUG 28, THE BUENOS AIRES LAWYERS ASSOCIATION ADDED ITS VOICE TO THOSE PREVIOUSLY RAISED AGAINST RISING VIOLENCE. CITING THE ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL ACTIS AND THE KIDNAPPING OF SOLARI IRIGOYEN AND AMAYA AS WELL AS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF TWO BUENOS AIRES MEMBER LAWYERS, THE ASSOCIATION REPUDIATED THE RISE OF UNCONTROLLED VIOLENCE AND CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT TO "LEAD THE COUNTRY BACK TO THE PATH OF LAW AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES".

7. AN MERICAN PRIEST FROM CORDOBA, TOLD EMBOFF TODAY, SEPT 7, THAT THE FIVE SEMINARIANS ARRESTED WITH FATHER JAMES WEEKS IN EARLY AUGUST ARE STILL IN JAIL IN CORDOBA BUT THAT AUTHORITIES HAVE PROMISED TO DO WHAT THEY CAN TO "ACCELERATE" THE INVESTIGATION. THE PRIEST, FREDERICK KETTNER, PICKED UP STUDENT VISA APPLICATIONS FOR THE SEMINARIANS, WHI WILL CONTINUE THEIR STUDIES IN THE US IF AND WHEN THEY ARE RELEASED.

8. NOTE: HUMAN RIGHTS ROUNDUP SERIES IS NOT INTENDED AS PRIMARY REPORTING INSTRUMENT ON SUBJECT; RATHER, IT IS BEING INITIATED AS DEVICE THROUGH WHICH DEVELOPMENTS NOT NECESSARILY WARRANTING CABLE IN AND OF THEMSELVES CAN BE BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF DEPARTMENT IN TIMELY FASHION. SERIES WILL ALSO BE USED TO REPORT MINOR DEVELOPMENTS IN ONGOING CASES (SUCH AS SOLARI IRIGOYEN AND AMAYA CASES) WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN SUBJECTS OF SEPARATE REPORTS.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05853 082145Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 MCT-01 SY-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 USSS-00 SCS-03 SCA-01 /067 W

P 081930Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7010

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5853

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CASC, ASEC, SHUM, PINS, AR (KRAISELBURD, DAVID)
SUBJECT: KIDNAPPING OF U.S. CITIZEN: KRAISELBURD, DAVID;
DPOB - 11/3/74 SANTA BARBARA, CA

REF: BUENOS AIRES 5794

1. SUBJECT'S FATHER RAUL KRAISELBURD VISITED EMBASSY SEPTEMBER. HE STATED THAT ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AND POLICE ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO LOCATE HIS SON AND SAW NO NEED FOR EMBASSY HELP AT THIS TIME. CONOFF REITERATED EMBASSY'S WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST IF NECESSARY.

2. FATHER SAID HE HAS NOT BEEN CONTACTED BY ABDUCTORS THUS FAR.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

031222
ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [redacted] 9/8/76 Page: 1
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1976BUENOS05850 Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

I 138

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05850 081933Z

71
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCS-03 SCA-01 DHA-02 L-03 H-02 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 /029 W

029391

R 081605Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7008

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5850

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Exemption(s): ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, CASC, AR
SUBJECT: THREATENED CLOSURE BY GOA OF WATCHTOWER AND BIBLE TRACT SOCIETY

REF: BUENOS AIRES 5737

1. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 2 FROM FRANK ELDEN DEAN ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF WATCHTOWER BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETY IN ARGENTINA STATING THAT ON SAME DAY FEDERAL POLICE CLOSED DOWN ORGANIZATION'S MAIN OFFICES IN BUENOS AIRES. LETTER REQUESTS EMBASSY TAKE LEGAL OR OTHER APPROPRIATE ACTION IN THEIR BEHALF.

2. EMBASSY WITHOLDING REPLY UNTIL DEPT.'S RESPONSE REFTEL RECEIVED.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

Current Class: [redacted] Page: 1

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

E3467

PAGE 01 STATE 224047

11
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 /072 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSDRISCOLL:MG
APPROVED BY ARA:HWSHLAUDEMAN
ARA/AND/P:CFULLER
I/O:WHEWITT

---------- 051854

R 100123Z SEP 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
INFO AMEMBASSY LIMA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

[redacted] STATE 22404

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: CI, SHUM, MASS, ECON

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR TRUCCO'S CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHLAUDEMAN SEPTEMBER 2.
REF: STATE 214523

1. TRUCCO SAID HE HAD JUST RETURND FROM NEW YORK, WHERE HE HAD MET WITH CHILEAN AMBASSADOR SERGIO DIEZ. THE UNHRC WORKING GROUP CONTINUES TO BE A DIFFICULT PROBLEM. THE GOC WANTS THE WG TO DESIGNATE TWO MEMBERS (OTHER THAN ALLANA) TO GO TO CHILE TO MAKE THEIR ON-SITE INVESTIGATION. THE WG POSITION IS THAT ALL GO TOGETHER OR THAT TWO GO FIRST WITH THE OTHER THREE COMING A WEEK OR SO LATER. THE GOC INSISTS ON ITS ORIGINAL PROPOSAL.

2. PART OF THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE WG ONLY HAS A MANDATE TO STUDY CONDITIONS IN CHILE. THE GOC HAS SUGGESTED TO ALLANA THAT THE WG VISIT OTHER COUNTRIES BESIDES CHILE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 224047

FURTHER, NO DOCUMENTS MENTION THE PROGRESS THAT IS BEING MADE IN CHILE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE RED CROSS NOTES A 25 DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE JUNTA MUST GET SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE ONLY BRIGHT SPOT IS THAT ARGENTINA IS DRAWING SOME OF THE ATTENTION AWAY FROM CHILE.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. TRUCCO THEN SAID THAT SERGIO DIEZ HAD MET WITH LEONARD GARMENT SEPTEMBER 2. GARMENT SAID THAT HE PLANNED TO MEET WITH ALLANA. TRUCCO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF AMBASSADORS BENNETT AND GARMENT IN TRYING TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS GOING BETWEEN THE GOC AND THE WG.

4. SHLAUDEMAN ASKED TRUCCO IF HE THOUGHT THAT CHILE WAS GOING TO BE ON THE UNGA AGENDA. TRUCCO REPLIED THAT THE UNGA WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER THE WG REPORT WHICH NOW CONTAINS THE DAMAGING TESTIMONY THE WG RECEIVED IN MEXICO. PARENTHETICALLY, TRUCCO CLAIMED THAT HE HAD ENCOURAGED PRESIDENT PINOCHET TO ALLOW THE WG VISIT AFTER THE OASGA. NO UNMANAGEABLE SECURITY PROBLEMS HAD OCCURRED DURING THE OASGA, SO HE URGED PINOCHET TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY. BUT THE WG DECISION TO GO TO MEXICO ENDED HIS INITIATIVE. NOW "WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF WOUNDED PRIDE ON BOTH SIDES."

5. TRUCCO ASKED WHETHER WE HAD HEARD ANYTHING FURTHER ABOUT NEW PERUVIAN ARMS PURCHASES. SHLAUDEMAN REPLIED THAT WE COULD NOT CONFIRM AN SU-22 PURCHASE AS A FACT. PERU HAS INQUIRED ABOUT PURCHASING AIRCRAFT FROM SEVERAL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S. RIGHT NOW THE GOP IS PROBABLY CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVES. IT WANTS TO REPLACE OLD EQUIPMENT. UNDER SECRETARY MAW WOULD BE GOING TO LIMA DURING THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 6 (SINCE POSTPONED TO WEEK OF SEPT. 13) FOR MORE NEGOTIATIONS ON MARCONA. WE DO NOT KNOW IF HE WILL BE ABLE TO TALK ABOUT OTHER THINGS.

6. TRUCCO MENTIONED A RECENT VIRGINIA PREWITT NEWSLETTER WHICH ALLEGED THAT PERU WOULD GET A DOLLARS 200 MILLION LOAN FROM THE U.S., ANOTHER DOLLARS 100 MILLION FROM CANADA PLUS THE SOVIET PLANES. SHLAUDEMAN REPLIED THAT USG HAD NO INTENTION OF MAKING ANY LOANS TO PERU FOR [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 224047

AIRCRAFT.

7. TRUCCO COMMENTED THAT THE SU-22 PURCHASE, IF TRUE, WOULD MAKE THE ARMS IMBALANCE PROBLEM EVEN MORE ACUTE. IT WOULD SUPPLEMENT THE ALREADY DISASTROUS (FOR CHILE) IMBALANCE IN ARMOR, WHICH TRUCCO DESCRIBED AS "FIVE HUNDRED TO NOTHING".

8. SHLAUDEMAN ASKED TRUCCO WHY THE CHILEANS DID NOT TAKE UP THEIR PROBLEMS DIRECTLY WITH THE PERUVIANS. TRUCCO REPLIED THAT THIS WAS A POSSIBILITY AND MENTIONED THE RECENT TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN PINOCHET AND MORALES

BERMUDEZ FROM THE TWO COUNTRIES' RESPECTIVE SCHOOL SHIPS. SHLAUDEMAN SAID HE WAS SURE THE TWO PRESIDENTS COULD RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS. IF THE U.S. COULD ASSIST IN ANY WAY,

UNCLASSIFIED

WE WOULD DO SO WITH GREAT PLEASURE.

9. SHLAUDEMAN EXPLAINED TO TRUCCO THAT WE WERE STILL TRYING TO ACCOMMODATE HIS REQUESTS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT DELIVERIES AND REPAIRS. WE HOPE TO HAVE A DECISION FOR HIM THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 5.

10. COMMENT: THE VIRGINIA PREWITT NEWSLETTER TRUCCO REFERRED TO SAYS THAT PERU WILL OBTAIN "AROUND DOLLARS 200 MILLION" BALANCE -OF-PAYMENTS FINANCING FROM U.S. BANKING SYNDICATE. THE GOP WILL ALSO OBTAIN "UP TO DOLLARS 170 MILLION FROM CANADIAN AND JAPANESE PRIVATE LENDER -- AND THE RUSSIAN SU-22'S AS WELL." SEPTEL FOLLOWS ON BANK FINANCING.INFORMATION REGARDING SU-22'S SUBSTANTIALLY AS STATED BY SHLAUDEMAN. KISSINGER

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05909 102053Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 L-03 /023 W
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R 101909Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7047

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5909

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF CARMEN SABINO

REF: STATE 221838

1. EMBASSY IN CONTACT WITH FORD FOUNDATION ON CASE. FOUNDATION OFFICIAL TOLD EMBOFFS THAT MISS SABINO WAS TAKEN FROM HER APARTMENT BY UNIDENTIFIED MAN AUGUST 29, WHO LATER PICKED UP HER TYPEWRITER. APPARENTLY SHE IS SUSPECTED OF PREPARING SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE. A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS HAS BEEN FILED.

2. EMBASSY'S UNOFFICIAL INQUIRIES TO GOA HAVE TURNED UP NO NEW INFORMATION.
CHAPLIN

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PAGE 01 STATE 224047

11
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 /072 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSDRISCOLL:MG
APPROVED BY ARA:HWSHLAUDEMAN
ARA/AND/P:CFULLER
I/O:WHEWITT

---------- 051854

R 100123Z SEP 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
INFO AMEMBASSY LIMA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 224047

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: CI, SHUM, MASS, ECON

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR TRUCCO'S CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHLAUDEMAN SEPTEMBER 2.
REF: STATE 214523

1. TRUCCO SAID HE HAD JUST RETURND FROM NEW YORK, WHERE HE HAD MET WITH CHILEAN AMBASSADOR SERGIO DIEZ. THE UNHRC WORKING GROUP CONTINUES TO BE A DIFFICULT PROBLEM. THE GOC WANTS THE WG TO DESIGNATE TWO MEMBERS (OTHER THAN ALLANA) TO GO TO CHILE TO MAKE THEIR ON-SITE INVESTIGATION. THE WG POSITION IS THAT ALL GO TOGETHER OR THAT TWO GO FIRST WITH THE OTHER THREE COMING A WEEK OR SO LATER. THE GOC INSISTS ON ITS ORIGINAL PROPOSAL.

2. PART OF THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE WG ONLY HAS A MANDATE TO STUDY CONDITIONS IN CHILE. THE GOC HAS SUGGESTED TO ALLANA THAT THE WG VISIT OTHER COUNTRIES BESIDES CHILE.
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 STATE 224047

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UNCLASSIFIED

3. TRUCCO THEN SAID THAT SERGIO DIEZ HAD MET WITH LEONARD GARMENT SEPTEMBER 2. GARMENT SAID THAT HE PLANNED TO MEET WITH ALLANA. TRUCCO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF AMBASSADORS BENNETT AND GARMENT IN TRYING TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS GOING BETWEEN THE GOC AND THE WG.

4. SHLAUDEMAN ASKED TRUCCO IF HE THOUGHT THAT CHILE WAS GOING TO BE ON THE UNGA AGENDA. TRUCCO REPLIED THAT THE UNGA WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER THE WG REPORT WHICH NOW CONTAINS THE DAMAGING TESTIMONY THE WG RECEIVED IN MEXICO. PARENTHETICALLY, TRUCCO CLAIMED THAT HE HAD ENCOURAGED PRESIDENT PINOCHET TO ALLOW THE WG VISIT AFTER THE OASGA. NO UNMANAGEABLE SECURITY PROBLEMS HAD OCCURRED DURING THE OASGA, SO HE URGED PINOCHET TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY. BUT THE WG DECISION TO GO TO MEXICO ENDED HIS INITIATIVE. NOW "WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF WOUNDED PRIDE ON BOTH SIDES."

5. TRUCCO ASKED WHETHER WE HAD HEARD ANYTHING FURTHER ABOUT NEW PERUVIAN ARMS PURCHASES. SHLAUDEMAN REPLIED THAT WE COULD NOT CONFIRM AN SU-22 PURCHASE AS A FACT. PERU HAS INQUIRED ABOUT PURCHASING AIRCRAFT FROM SEVERAL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S. RIGHT NOW THE GOP IS PROBABLY CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVES. IT WANTS TO REPLACE OLD EQUIPMENT. UNDER SECRETARY MAW WOULD BE GOING TO LIMA DURING THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 6 (SINCE POSTPONED TO WEEK OF SEPT. 13) FOR MORE NEGOTIATIONS ON MARCONA. WE DO NOT KNOW IF HE WILL BE ABLE TO TALK ABOUT OTHER THINGS.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 STATE 224047

AIRCRAFT.

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BERMUDEZ FROM THE TWO COUNTRIES' RESPECTIVE SCHOOL SHIPS. SHLAUDEMAN SAID HE WAS SURE THE TWO PRESIDENTS COULD RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS. IF THE U.S. COULD ASSIST IN ANY WAY,

UNCLASSIFIED

WE WOULD DO SO WITH GREAT PLEASURE.

UNCLASSIFIED

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10. COMMENT: THE VIRGINIA PREWITT NEWSLETTER TRUCCO REFERRED TO SAYS THAT PERU WILL OBTAIN "AROUND DOLLARS 200 MILLION" BALANCE -OF-PAYMENTS FINANCING FROM U.S. BANKING SYNDICATE. THE GOP WILL ALSO OBTAIN "UP TO DOLLARS 170 MILLION FROM CANADIAN AND JAPANESE PRIVATE LENDER -- AND THE RUSSIAN SU-22'S AS WELL." SEPTEL FOLLOWS ON BANK FINANCING.INFORMATION REGARDING SU-22'S SUBSTANTIALLY AS STATED BY SHLAUDEMAN. KISSINGER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05908 102051Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-02 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 /020 W
063852

R 101908Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7046

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5908

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR
SUBJECT: STATUS OF ARGENTINE JUAN MENDEZ

REF: STATE 221837

EMBASSY HAS NO NEW INFORMATION ON MENDEZ CASE. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT UNCOMMON THAT PERSONS REMAIN IN JAIL UNDER STATE OF SIEGE EVEN AFTER THEY ARE CLEARED OF CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THEM. AUTHORITIES OFTEN CLAIM THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED OFFICIAL ORDERS TO RELEASE APPARENTLY ACQUITTED PRISONERS, WHICH COULD MEAN FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS ARE UNDERWAY OR SIMPLY THAT THE PROCESS FROM THE COURTS TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES HAS BEEN STALLED SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY. EMBASSY WILL REPORT NEW DEVELOPMENTS.
CHAPLIN

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Buenos Aires, Argentina

September 13, 1976

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Fernando Rondon, Esquire
ARA/ECA Room 4906
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Fred:

Here are press clippings of the statements made by the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights and the Buenos Aires Lawyers Association as requested in State 223616.

I'm also sending along a copy of another statement which is being sent to the press by a group of relatives of missing persons. Emilio Mignone, whose daughter Maria was abducted in May, gave it to me. Mignone is a well-regarded academician who worked for the OAS in Washington from 1962-67. I got to know him because Maria is one of my "cases."

Mignone is a member of the Permanent Assembly and is also active in and ecumenical group of Church and laymen concerned about human rights violations. He said that relatives of missing persons are beginning to group together to share information and try to bring collective pressure against the government. The press release is the first step. They are unlikely to push very hard, however, out of fear of jeopardizing the lives of those detained. Nevertheless, it is another indication that the pressure is building internally as well.

Saludos,

Yvonne Thayer
Political Officer

Enclosures: As stated

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DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
X Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Classify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
_____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____
9/14/76

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Memorandum of Conversation

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DATE: September 14, 1976

SUBJECT: Labatt's Initial Courtesy Call on the Labor Minister

PARTICIPANTS: General Horacio Tomas Liendo, Minister of Labor
Anthony G. Freeman, Labatt, American Embassy

REFS: Buenos Aires 6133 and 6002 PLACE: Labor Ministry

COPIES TO:

AMB	LEGATT	INR/DDR/RAR/SA
DCM	SCIATT	INR/OIL/B Argentina
POL	DAO	ILAB Labor Department
POL/R	MILGP	
ECOM	ARA/ECA	

1. Auto Workers' Strike

Asked about the status of the strike in the auto industry, General Liendo said that the workers were back on the job in all of the factories which had been struck, with the exception of GM's Barracas plant. The Barracas plant had been a perennial trouble spot. For that reason, he had decided to take a firsthand look at the site the previous week. Labor/management relations there had not been conducted in a positive manner. He did not offer further clarification, but there was a suggestion that labor conditions at the plant long had been less than satisfactory. The basic fault seemed to lie with GM's plant manager. Nevertheless, the communists had played a very active role in the latest strike as well.

The strike did not spread to other industries, being confined largely to the auto plants in the Greater Buenos Aires area. It was true that there had been a one-day stoppage in the metalworking plants, but this coincided with "The Day of the Metal Worker". Although the government no longer recognized this day as a legal holiday, the Ministry had decided to chalk off the stoppage as a celebration unconnected with the auto workers' strike.

As for the prospects of a new resurgence, Liendo did not expect further strikes, at least in the near future. True, the working class was experiencing hard times, and the communists were trying

LABATT:AGFreeman:cc
(Drafting Office and Officer)

APPROVED: POL:WSSmith

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BA-9
4-12-76

to make the most of it. The government was engaged in a race to pull the country out of the recession before serious social problems began. Liendo thought that the government would be "lucky" and would win the race. Most of the auto companies already were back to a five-day work week, which was an indicator that the industry was recovering. GM's Barracas plant would reopen the following week and he expected that its workers would return to their jobs.

2. Disappearance of FITE leader Alvarez

The Labatt then raised the question of Pedro Eugenio Alvarez, ex-Secretary General of the Argentine public entertainment workers union (SUTEP), stating that the State Department had received frantic inquiries from the AFL-CIO concerning an alleged ransom demand of a half million dollars for Alvarez' release, presumably from the ERP. On account of his holding the position of secretary general of a democratic Interamerican trade union organization (FITE), Alvarez enjoyed very close ties with the AFL-CIO. The latter was extremely concerned about his welfare and safety, and was exerting pressure on the State Department to intervene on his behalf. We were aware that charges of alleged mismanagement of housing funds had been made against Alvarez while director of the Banco Hipotecario. There was a rumor circulating in Buenos Aires trade union circles that Alvarez had been arrested by the authorities, presumably in connection with these charges. The Minister said he had seen a report about Alvarez in the "diario" and shuffled through the reading file on his desk, but couldn't find what he was searching for. The report had mentioned something about Alvarez having been seized on the "Costanera" (Buenos Aires' riverside area noted for its restaurants), but he could not recall the details. The Labatt asked whether the Minister could inquire into the matter, stating that if he could confirm that Alvarez was in the custody of the authorities, this would help matters considerably. Liendo agreed to do so on an urgent basis and report back. But tell the AFL-CIO, he added with a wry smile, not to pay the ransom. Alvarez wasn't worth it, in his opinion.

3. Trade Union Reorganization

Liendo regretted that the work involved in preparing a reform of the basic trade union law (Ley de Asociaciones Profesionales) had not moved along more rapidly. He had been pressed with other, more urgent problems. (He phrased this explanation in such a way that it could also be interpreted as meaning that the reform plan itself had run into snags.) Nevertheless, everything was on the tracks.

Asked in what time frame, he said that some guidelines would be out before the end of the year, but the revised trade union law would not be ready until next year. One thing was sure: there would be no place for the corrupt, old labor bosses under the reorganization scheme.

4. A Message to Latin America's Friends

Labatt asked the Minister if he had any observations about the Argentine scene which he would like the Labatt to mention at the U.S. labor officers' conference in San Jose, Costa Rica. In a world of nation-states, the Minister replied, each nation knew what was best for itself and had to make its own decisions, without the interference of outside parties. Nobody knew better than the Swedes what had to be done in Sweden, and the same was true for Argentina. However, Argentina was a member of the international community and, as such, had agreed to certain international principles, such as respect for trade union liberties. There was nothing wrong about that. Argentina believed in these values too. However, Latin America was facing an emergency, and in an emergency it was sometimes necessary to suspend temporarily such liberties. It hurt when Latin America's friends failed to comprehend the critical nature of the problem and not only did not give their support but even went so far as to join the common enemy--the communists--in attacks against the Latin American governments. Such criticism from friends abroad could "drown" the weakest countries in Latin America which lacked stable institutions such as a solid labor movement, and only would serve the interests of the communists. In the case of Argentina, unlike other countries in Latin America, there was a strong labor movement. The current government was working hard to restore the trade union organizations to normality "as soon as possible", and needed the continued understanding and support of its friends abroad in the interim. Liendo recognized that the AFL-CIO and ICFTU already had restrained themselves from attacking the GOA's labor policies. This was a welcome gesture and the government was very grateful.

5. The CGT's Role in a Hemispheric Trade Union Alliance

Liendo said he had had contacts with the AFL-CIO. He supported what he understood to be the geopolitical objective, not only of the U.S. labor movement but of the U.S. government as well, which was to forge an interamerican trade union movement whose two anchors at each end would be the AFL-CIO and the Argentine CGT. Such a movement would help to resist not only communist

advances in the hemisphere, but also those of the ICFTU. (He appeared to be in agreement with this latter presumed objective as well.) There was no other labor movement in Latin America as important as the Argentine CGT in his view, and it was only natural that the CGT should assume its rightful place in the sun. (He explicitly downplayed the importance of the Venezuelan CTV and the Mexican CTM, relative to that of the CGT.)

6. ILO Activities

Asked to comment on the ILO program in Argentina, the Minister said that the ILO regional office in Buenos Aires had played a positive role and he thought very highly of its director, Dr. Perla Roque de Marinelli. The government was in the process of preparing a new request to the ILO for assistance.

7. Comment

The 2,400 workers of GM's Barracas plant returned to their jobs on September 20, thus ending the cycle of auto worker strikes in the Buenos Aires area which had begun several weeks earlier. There have been unconfirmed reports, however, of continuing sporadic slowdowns in SEGBA, the city's public light and power facility (as well as isolated incidents of sabotage), and in some of the city's metalworking plants.

Two days after the above reported conversation, the Minister's security adviser telephoned Labatt on behalf of the Minister to report that he had not been able to obtain any information concerning the disappearance of FITE leader Alvarez. No complaint of a kidnapping had been registered with the police in this case. Other elements of the Embassy also proved unsuccessful in obtaining any further information. On September 24, AIFID sources informed Labatt in San Jose that intermediaries had paid a $300,000 ransom to Alvarez' kidnappers and that Alvarez had been released.

UNCLASSIFIED 9/15/76

9/15/76 CONFIDENTIAL 5980
15 Sep 76
1007

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM	CLASSIFICATION
AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	[redacted]

E.O. 11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT: N/A
CASC, PFOR, AR
Argentine Response to US Protest in Weeks' Case

CU1140

ACTION: SecState WASHDC

REF: Buenos Aires 5218

AMB
DCM
POL
CONS
CHRON

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5980

1. Reftel transmitted the text of the Embassy's note 228 of August 9, 1976 protesting lack of notification and denial of consular access in the case of the arrest of Father James Martin Weeks. On Sept 13, 1976 the Foreign Office requested that the Ambassador call to receive a copy of the Ministry's response. As the time specified was inconvenient, the DCM called to receive the note from the Ministry's Coordinator of Foreign Policy (a new position in the Under Secretary's office).

2. The DCM received and read the note and commented that, given the specifically legal nature of its content, he was not competent to comment on it. He observed that, on the basis of his instructions, it would appear that there is a difference between the US and Argentine interpretation of Article 36 of the Vienna Convention. He further observed that notification to

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
DCM:MChaplin/pm	9/13/76	180	Amb: RCHill

CLEARANCES:
POL:WSSmith

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): ___

DECONTROL

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION

( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ or ___ Reason ___

80F178
21/185

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

Consul of arrests of his nationals is a generally accepted practice contained in most of the United States Consular Bilaterals.

3. The Ministry officials by their comments clearly wished to consider the matter closed, as a fruitless prolemic about legal nicaties. The DCM responded that he believed that differences of interpretation should be clearly identified, but that the US interpretation of the points raised in the Ministry's note would have to come from the Department of State.

4. Since the Foreign Office stated that the identical text was being delivered to Dept today, text of Ministry's unnumbered note of Sept 14 is being transmitted by A/air pouch to ARA/ECA.

5. The Embassy awaits the Department's comments on the Argentine note with interest.

HILL

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM FS-413A
4-68
CONTINUATION SHEET

UNCLASSIFIED 9/15/76

UNCLASSIFIED TELEGRAM

CONTROL 6013
15 Sep 76
1830

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT:

N/A
CASC,AR (ERB, Patricia Ann)
W/W: Arrest of Patricia Ann ERB

CU112

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 6013

REF: Buenos Aires 5976

1. Police comisaria (precinct) having jurisdiction over location of Miss Erb's home advised 9-14-76 it did not rpt not have her in custody.

2. Director of Federal Security, Federal Police of Argentina (FPA), advised Embassy 9-15-76 that ~~Patricia Ann~~ Miss Erb was not rpt not in custody of FPA nor, as far as he could determine from Argentine Army contacts, had she been detained by Argentine Army Intelligence Service (~~SIDE~~ SIE).

3. A relatively high-ranking source within SIE advised Embassy 9-15-76 that Miss Erb not rpt not held

TED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
ONS:WWHitchcock:dr	9-15-76	213	The Ambassador

ARANCES:
EGATT:RWScherrer (auto)
A/DCM: WBeal

DECONTROL

80F178
21/185

A[redacted]A PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

UNCLASSIFIED

by SIE. He said that check of pertininent records available to him revealed no rpt no derogatory or subversive information concerning Miss Erb.

4. Director of Villa Devoto jail (only jail in Buenos Aires city) said 9-15-76 she not rpt not being held there.

5. Embassy continuing check with other possible sources of information and will report to Department soonest.

HILL

I 149

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05979 151335Z

14
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEA-10 DHA-02 ORM-02 IO-13 AID-05 SCS-03
SCA-01 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /094 W

122257

R 151306Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7086
INFO AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
( ) In Part (✓) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5979

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: GOA BANS ANTI-SEMITIC PUBLICATIONS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 5835

1. GOA YESTERDAY (SEPTEMBER 13) OFFICIALLY CLOSED DOWN THE "EDITORIAL MILICIA" AND BANNED EIGHT OF ITS MOST RECENT ANTI-SEMITIC PUBLICATIONS. "EDITORIAL MILICIA" IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PRODUCING MOST OF THE PRO-NAZI, ANTI-SEMITIC PUBLICATIONS THAT HAVE PROLIFERATED IN ARGENTINA IN RECENT MONTHS. THE BAN HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED FOR SEVERAL WEEKS BY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY (SEE REFTEL), WHICH IS ALSO CONCERNED OVER BOMBINGS OF SYNAGOGUES, JEWISH CENTERS AND SCHOOLS.

2. MOST RECENT ATTACKS--BOMB EXPLOSIONS IN THE HEBREW SOCIETY AND THE BANK OF ISRAEL IN CORDOBA--PROMPTED ANOTHER PROTEST FROM THE DELEGATION OF ARGENTINE-ISRAELI ASSOCIATIONS (DAIA) CORDOBA OFFICE ON SEPTEMBER 11. THE STATEMENT REPUDIATED THE WAVE OF "COWARDLY AGGRESSIVE ACTS BY ANTI-SEMITIC GROUPS THAT ARE TRYING TO CREATE CHAOS AND DIVISION WITHIN ARGENTINE SOCIETY."

3. COMMENT. MEMBERS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY WITH WHOM [redacted]

Case Number: 200000044

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05979 151335Z

EMBOFFS HAVE SPOKEN HAVE GREETED THE GOA'S MOVE AGAINST ANTI-SEMITIC LITERATURE WITH RELIEF. WHETHER YESTERDAY'S BAN WILL EFFECTIVELY CURB ANTI-SEMITIC LITERATURE REMAINS TO BE SEEN BUT AT LEAST GOA HAS DEMONSTRATED TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY ITS GOOD INTENTIONS.
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED 9/15/76

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

9/15/76
CONTROL: 5994
15 Sep 76
1250

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM	CLASSIFICATION
AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	[redacted]

E.O. 11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT: N/A
CASC:AR: (LOKEN LOPEZ, Gwenda Mae)
W/W: ARREST REPORT: Gwenda Mae Loken Lopez

CU111

ACTION: SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5994

AMB
DCM
CONS
POL
CHRON
REF

REF: A) BA 5973, B) BA 5344, C) State 219364

1. Ref A reported the current status of the legal proceedings against Mrs. Lopez. The process is now proceeding normally, and there are no grounds to assert that there is unreasonable delay. If trial process completed within four to six months (para 1, ref A), this would be well within customary time for such cases before Argentine courts.

2. Since some uncertainty has existed about whether Executive Branch deportation order or Judicial Branch proceedings have precedence under Argentine law, Embassy obtained opinion from Argentine law firm on that point. Firm of Bruno and Salas states that legal [redacted] procedures of the judicial system take precedence over expulsion order issued by Executive Branch and that order can not legally be executed until judicial processes are completed. It is the law firm's opinion that the expulsion of

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
DCM:MChaplin/pm	9/15/76	180	AMB:RCHill

CLEARANCES:
CONS:GWhitman (in draft) POL: POL:WSSmith

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny DECONTROL [redacted] 80F178 21/185
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date ____ Declassify on ____ or __ Reason ____

CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED

OPTIONAL FORM 163
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

Olga Talamante before completion of the judicial process was done extralegally by the then new military government with the acquiescence of the courts which were still uncertain of their authority with respect to the new regime. The attorney therefore believes that the Talamante case cannot be cited as a precedent in obtaining Lopez' expulsion before completion of the judicial processes.

3. Ref B recommended Embassy and Department press GOA for speedy trial of Lopez. Ref C instructed the Embassy to make representations with the object of obtaining Lopez' expulsion prior to the completion of the judicial process. As things now stand, we believe that the trial process is moving forward at an acceptable pace. In view of the legal advice that we have received, we do not believe it is feasible or productive to press the GOA to expel Lopez. Embassy has, since sending ref B, made a variety of informal approaches to officials in the GOA in an effort to have Lopez expelled or, failing that, to expedite judicial process. This process seems to be moving now, though it is not clear that the Embassy show of interest was responsible.

4. Embassy does not believe it would be fruitful to attempt to make a formal representation to GOA in Lopez' case. She has admitted acts which are grave violations of GOA security laws. She does have a public defender who is working in her behalf and the Embassy has regularly had access to her since August 4 (as Dept

is aware from Weeks case, GOA contends that it may deny consular access when prisoner incommunicado). ConGen has been in correspondence with Judge, urging appropriate treatment for Lopez and we expect that local American Priest will be able to obtain permission to visit Lopez in addition to consular visit.

5. At this point Embassy does not believe additional pressure on GOA would be effective in obtaining Loken's expulsion. Embassy is not disposed to make argument with GOA that Loken case may attract US Congressional and public interest since this would elicit response that Loken is an admitted aide to Terrorist groups. At this point the best we can counsel is patience, and we can give assurances that Embassy will follow her case closely to assure prompt and equal legal treatment.

6. Consul visiting Lopez Sept 15 and will report current status upon return to Buenos Aires.

STILL.

Case Number: 200000044

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 06041 161832Z

17
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 L-03 SCS-03 SCA-01 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 /025 W

R 161338Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7118

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 6041

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SHUM, CASC, AR
SUBJECT: JEHOVAH WITNESSES

REF: (A) STATE 224228, (B) BUENOS AIRES 5950

1. POLCOUNS RAISED JEOHVAH WITNESS PROBLEM SEPT 15 WITH DIRECTOR OF WORSHIP AT FOREIGN MINISTRY. COUNSELOR EMPHASIZED THAT US HAD NO WISH TO INTERFERE IN ARGENTINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WHETHER DECREE 1867 (SEE REF B) IS IN COMPLIANCE WITH ARGENTINE CONSTITUTION IS MATTER FOR ARGENTINE COURTS TO DECIDE. HOWEVER, COUNSELOR NOTED, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONCERN IN US AS TO DECREE'S IMPLICATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION, AND EMBASSY FELT GOA SHOULD BE AWARE OF THIS CONCERN.

2. DIRECTOR OF WORSHIP REPLIED THAT QUESTION WAS UNPLEASANT ONE. HE PERSONALLY ADMIRED WITNESSES AS HARD-WORKING, MORALLY UPRIGHT GROUP WHICH IN MANY WAYS OTHER ARGENTINES WOULD DO WELL TO EMULATE. FURTHER, HE INSISTED, GOA'S ACTION DID NOT REFLECT RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE ON ITS PART. ON CONTRARY, MANY RELIGIONS ARE PRACTICED IN ARGENTINA. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THERE ARE CERTAIN PRACTICES OF THE JEHOVAH WITNESSES WHICH ARE CIVIC/ POLITICAL IN NATURE. REFUSING TO SALUTE FLAGE IS ONE OF THEM. REFUSING TO SERVE IN ARMED FORCES IS ANOTHER. LATTER, HE POINTED OUT, IS DIRECT CONTRAVENTION OF ARTICLE 21 OF THE CONSTITUTION. INDEED, HE NOTED, ARTICLE 21 DEMANDED NOT JUST THAT CITIZENS "SERVE" IN ARMED
[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 06041 161832Z

FORCES, BUT THAT THEY "BEAR ARMS IN DEFENSE OF COUNTRY."

3. DIRECTOR WENT ON TO SAY THAT DESPITE OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES ABOVE AND DESPITE FACT THAT MEASURES CANCELLING WITNESSES REGISTRATION HAD BEEN ON BOOKS SINCE 1950, ACTION AGAINST THEM AT THIS POINT MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN NECESSARY HAD THEIR ACTIVITIES BEEN RESTRICTED TO BUENOS AIRES OR TO "STRATEGICALLY SAFE" AREAS OF COUNTRY. SUCH PRACTICES IN PROVINCES OF CORRIENTES AND MISIONES, WHICH ARE VIRTUALLY SURROUNDED BY BRAZIL, HOWEVER, ARE QUITE ANOTHER THING. IN THESE STRATEGIC BORDER PROVINCES, THE GOA COULD NOT AFFORD TO TOLERATE THE EXAMPLE OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD NOT SWER ALLEGIANCE TO OR DEFEND THE ARGENTINE FLAG. GOVERNORS OF THOSE PROVINCES HAD DEMANDED ACTION AND CENTRAL AUTHORITIES HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO COMPLY.

4. DIRECTOR CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE HAD NO DOUBT GOA'S ACTION WAS PERFECTLY LEGAL, AND GIVEN GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS ABOVE, PRAGMATICALLY SOUND. WITNESSES HAD FULL RECOURSE TO COURTS AND COULD APPEAL DECREE TO SUPREME COURT IF THEY WISHED. HE ADDED THAT GOA INTENDED TO IMPLEMENT DECREE WITH AS MUCH FLEXIBILITY AND COMPASSION AS POSSIBLE AND IN SO DOING WOULD TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION CONCERN IN US MENTIONED BY COUNSELOR.
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

SJ340 *

TELECON
The Secretary/Ambassador de Olloqui of Mexico
9/25/76 12:27 pm

RELEASED IN PART
B6

K: Mr. Ambassador.

O: Congratulations on your success in South Africa. And congratulations on everything you have undertaken. I will be very brief.

B6

[redacted]

O: Thank you very much Mr. Secretary. I will see you tomorrow.

K: Bye.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H. MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2003 200102979

6052

(E5)

JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

7623089

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...

Mexico City, October 1976.

9701416
DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART EO Citations
( ) DENY
TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

Honorable & Mrs. Ford:

On next December 1st., I will have the honor of assuming the Constitutional Presidency of Mexico for the 1976 - 1982 period through the election of my fellow citizenz which took place on July 4th.

In such a meaningful event and being aware of your friendship and interest in Mexico, I would be very pleased to begin my term with your attendance to the ceremonies covering the change of government. I am positive that this occasion will allow you to renew your warm feelings towards our country.

Sincerely,

Lic. José López Portillo
Constitutional President
Elect of Mexico

602

Doc. 8

K 2001K

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UNCLASSIFIED

S/S-

NOV 12 1976

Memorandum of Conversation

CONFIDENTIAL

NODIS

DECAPTIONED

DATE: October 7, 1976
TIME: 4:40 p.m.
PLACE: Waldorf Towers

SUBJECT: The Secretary's Meeting with Chilean Foreign Minister

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s) NR

PARTICIPANTS: Chile

Foreign Minister Patricio Carvajal
Manuel Trucco, Ambassador to the U.S.
Ismael Huerta, Ambassador to the U.N.
Mr. Tomas Lackington, Adviser to the Foreign Minister, Notetaker

United States

The Secretary
Philip C. Habib, Under Secretary for Political Affairs
Harry W. Shlaudeman, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs
Anthony Hervas, Interpreter
Leonard Levine, Notetaker

Distribution: S(Aherne), S, S/S, WH(Rodman)

The Secretary: Since the time of Versailles there hasn't been so much attention paid to ceremony. If my staff had let me know you were here I would not have kept you waiting. Mr. Minister it's a pleasure to see you. I'm sure you got a lot of publicity here. I didn't realize we overthrew a government. I was the security adviser at that time. We had no contact with your people.

Carvajal:

ARA/AND:L.Levine:jn
(Drafting Office and Officer)
10-12-76 x22575
FORM DS-1254
2-65

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

MICROFILMED
BY S/S-I

The Secretary: I don't know. ARA is too busy sending me memoranda on human rights to report anything else.

Shlaudeman:

The Secretary:

Shlaudeman:

The Secretary:

Shlaudeman:

Carvajal:

The Secretary:

Carvajal:

The Secretary:

Carvajal: Our ability to continue buying weapons through cash sales is important.

The Secretary: Personally I am opposed to what Congress did. If Ford wins, we will attempt to undo it. If Carter wins there is no possibility.

UNCLASSIFIED

The Secretary: I want to be realistic. I can only speak for our Administration. I am deeply worried about military imbalance. I have spoken to Senator Kennedy about it. What we will do I can't say. What else happens on human rights will be important.

Carvajal: Well I think we are progressing toward normalcy, toward improvements in human rights. But at the same time the situation is every day harder.

The Secretary: All of my experts said that if we cut off FMS we would still have commercial sales. I was uneasy and they turned out wrong. The problem will arise again next year with Congress. We will certainly make every effort.

Carvajal: And the only real economic assistance to Chile in next year's legislation approved by Congress was $27.5 million. Of that, $15 million for PL-480 and $12.5 in credits and grants. I should like to confirm what Minister Cauas said to Secretary Simon on September 21. It would be better if economic aid were eliminated. We feel that assistance is generating problems in Chile and the U.S. Congress. We think it would be better if there was no new assistance.

The Secretary: I don't know what to say. If we cut off economic assistance, what is the result? Where will it end?

Trucco: There's nothing left.

The Secretary: Their imagination is boundless.

Trucco: I was there when Cauas spoke to Simon. For this amount - $27.5 million - we had this distress.

The Secretary: You want to drop PL-480 also? You want to drop all aid?

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

Trucco: Yes. That's the $27.5 million.

Shlaudeman: That's what Congress has approved.

Trucco: After all there is nothing else. For the $27.5 million we have speeches in Congress against the Chilean Government.

The Secretary: Is this your suggestion?

Carvajal: It's similar to what we talked about last year. It's better to drop aid and not have all this publicity.

The Secretary: The whole thing is a goddamn disgrace. You may be right.

Shlaudeman: What about the international lending institutions? That bothers me.

The Secretary: What about the Harkin Amendment?

Shlaudeman: The next step would be legislation specifically against Chile in the IDB. I think the Secretary has a point.

The Secretary: At least maybe we can use this to restore commercial sales. Let me think about it. It's a new way of conducting foreign policy.

Carvajal: The other thing is with lending institutions. Several banks and lending institutions have made it clear to Chile that we can pass their test.

The Secretary: Which I understand is remarkable. You have made a remarkable improvement.

Carvajal: We think we're moving. Our performance will permit us access to international lenders but we have to request the cooperation of the U.S. Government. We don't like the idea of having a negative vote in the IDB.

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

The Secretary: We have two serious problems. One is the Harkin Amendment, the other is cases in which we have pressures. What about the World Bank? Are we voting against you there?

Trucco: I thought you didn't apply the Harkin Amendment to the World Bank. So far only to IDB.

The Secretary: I think somebody told me that Fraser was against this.

Shlaudeman: He changed his mind.

Trucco: In the case of the Harkin Amendment we notice that all the Latin American countries were supporting us--even Mexico.

The Secretary: I'm against politics in the international lending institutions. It will never work if every country attacks others. It will destroy the multilateral character. A lot depends on who wins the election. Rather it depends on the attitude of the new President. If the President makes a fight there will be possibilities. The President may be able to do something. I don't think Carter will if he wins.

Carvajal: I have some information and reports about the new chapters of our constitution that was promulgated September 11. Here are some excerpts from President Pinochet's constitution, acts and a summary.

The Secretary: How long will you keep the state of emergency? I understand that it voids the constitution.

Carvajal: Emergency rules are included in the constitution.

The Secretary: I frankly have not seen an analysis.

Shlaudeman: We did one for you. I'll send it to you.

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The Secretary: Thank you. As I told you in Santiago, and in my speech, these are the problems. We hope very much that they can be reconciled. I have the warmest recollections of my trip. I don't know what you did with my wife during the day, but she was dazzled by Santiago. One problem is human rights abuse. I disagreed with Congress but it is a major issue as you know. Let me study this. After the election we should talk. It is dangerous to let it drop.

Carvajal: I think that before the election you could do something about the situation.

Huerta: We are troubled by a resolution before the third committee suggesting economic sanctions. The Dutch are behind it.

The Secretary: Economic sanctions against Chile?

Huerta: It's an idea that came up last September.

The Secretary: You think it has a chance?

Habib: I never heard of it.

The Secretary: It's totally inappropriate to pass economic sanctions against Chile. I can tell you 30 states with human rights problems worse than Chile's. We will oppose it.

Trucco: When you see the Amnesty International report, there is one page on Cuba, three on the USSR and 48 on Chile.

The Secretary: Let's not overthrow leftist governments. It's an unforgivable sin. The UN shouldn't apply sanctions to any country but can Scranton get in touch with van der Stoel.

Habib: I'll get in touch with Scranton.

The Secretary: I want to see the cable before. Why don't you let me think about dropping economic aid.

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Trucco: Our idea is to help you.

Carvajal: We both have the same problem.

The Secretary: I understand.

Carvajal: You can guide it better, but it could be rejected.

The Secretary: I'll look into the UN matter.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09894 082257Z

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ACTION ARA-10

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (C) Downgrade to
Date 12/5/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 L-03 PRS-01 MCT-01 DODE-00 /051 W

Chile Project (#S1999-00030) 129158
U.S. Department of State
Release____ Excise____ Deny____
Declassify: In Part____ In Full____
Exemption(s)____

R 082127Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1762

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 9894

EO 11652: XGDS2[illegible]

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: MURDER OF COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER

REF: [illegible]

1. SUMMARY: THE BODY OF A COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER WAS FOUND IN STRANGE CIRCUMSTANCES. THE INDICATIONS POINT TO HER HAVING BEEN KIDNAPPED AND KILLED BY GOC SECURITY FORCES. END SUMMARY.

2. THE REFERENCED [illegible] TOLD OF THE MURDER OF COMMUNIST PARTY (PCCH) CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER MARTA UGARTE ROMAN, WHO DISAPPEARED ON AUGUST 9. THE PCCH MEMBER WHO GAVE INFORMATION ON THE DEATH BELIEVED SHE HAD BEEN KILLED BY THE DIRECTORATE OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE (DINA). SEVERAL COMMUNISTS COMMENTED THAT THE MURDER HAD SERIOUSLY SCARED ALL ELEMENTS OF THE CHILEAN LEFT.

3. THE SANTIAGO PRESS BEGAN REPORTING THE DEATH SOON AFTER THE BODY WAS FOUND SEPTEMBER 12 ON A DESERTED BEACH NEAR VINA DEL MAR. UGARTE REPORTEDLY HAD SUFFERED EXTENSIVE INTERNAL INJURIES, HAD MANY RIBS AND HER RIGHT ARM BROKEN, HAD BEEN RAPED, AND WAS DRAGGED ONTO THE BEACH BY A WIRE WRAPPED AROUND HER NECK. THE MURDER WAS HANDLED AS A NORMAL POLICE STORY, BUT THERE WERE UNUSUAL ELEMENTS. THIS DISTINCTIVE QUALITY WAS EMPHASIZED WHEN THE SUPREME COURT OCTOBER 4, ACCORDING
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09894 082257Z

TO THE PRESS, WITHOUT HAVING BEEN ASKED, ORDERED THE COMPETENT APPEALS COURT TO APPOINT A MAGISTRATE TO INVESTIGATE THE CRIME. THE COURT REPORTEDLY BASED ITS DECISION ON THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE CASE, AND THE "STRANGE CIRCUMSTANCES" SURROUNDING IT. THE PRESS HAS NOT MENTIONED URGARTE'S COMMUNIST CONNECTION, BUTTHE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC RADIO

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BALMACEDA REPORTED THAT BEFORE THE COUP SHE HAD WORKED AS A SECRETARY FOR A COMMUNIST DEPUTY.

4. COMMENT: THE EMBASSY SHARES THE BELIEF OF THE COMMUNISTS THAT GOC SECURITY FORCES KILLED UGARTE. THERE IS NO DIRECT EVIDENCE, BUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES POINT THAT WAY: THE DISAPPEARANCE WITHOUT WITNESSES, THE SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE HER BODY WAS FOUND IN SUCH UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES, HER PCCH LEADERSHIP POSITION, AND THE CONTINUING DINA CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PCCH, IN WHICH A NUMBER OF COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN DETAINED ILLEGALLY AND HAVE NOT REAPPEARED.

5. THE HITCH IN THIS SUPPOSITION IS THE UNUSUAL SURFACING OF THE MUTILATED BODY, ESPECIALLY ON THE EVE OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WHY WOULD DINA DISCLOSE SUCH AN ATROCITY, SINCE UGARTE'S PCCH STATUS WAS BOUND TO BECOME KNOWN, AND THE GOC TO BE ACCUSED OF THE KIDNAPPING AND MURDER? IT MAY BE THAT THE KILLERS WERE STUPID; IT WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST TIME. IN ADDITION, THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF BODIES FOUND IN UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE SANTIAGO AREA IN RECENT MONTHS. THE SECURITY FORCES MAY BELIEVE THEMSELVES IMMUNE FROM PROSECUTION (AS THEY GENERALLY ARE) AND MAY WANT TO INTIMIDATE COMMUNISTS STILL AT LARGE--WHICH THEY HAVE APPARENTLY DONE IN THIS CASE.

6. THE EMBASSY IS NOT SANGUINE THAT THE INVESTIGATING MAGISTRATE WILL CLARIFY CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CRIME--UNLESS IT CAN BE DETERMINED THAT UGARTE WAS KILLED BY A PSYCHOPATHIC RAPIST. WE RECALL THE CASE OF LUMI VIDELA, A MEMBER OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIRL, WHO WAS THROWN OVER THE WALL OF THE ITALIAN EMBASSY RESIDENCE IN NOVEMBER 1974 (74 SANTIAGO 6670). A MAGISTRATE WAS APPOINTED TO LOOK INTO HER BIZARRE MURDER, BUT NOTHING CAME OF IT. IF THE INVESTIGATING MAGISTRATE SHOULD UNEARTH ANY CLUES, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT SUPREME COURT JUSTICE EYZAGUIRRE

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MIGHT BE MORE INCLINED TO PRESS FORWARD THAN WAS HIS PREDECESSOR IN 1974.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR [illegible] 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
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TS authority to
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

S

LS NO. 58940 - B

ACTION is assigned to AAA

EMBASSY OF MEXICO

No. 3476 Washington, October 8, 1976

Mr. Secretary:

On specific instructions from the Government of Mexico, I have the honor and particular pleasure cordially to invite the United States Government to send representatives to the Ceremony for the Transfer of Powers to be held on Wednesday, December 1, 1976, during which José López Portillo will be sworn in as the Constitutional President of the United Mexican States.

In view of the ties of friendship which so happily unite Mexico and the United States, it would be a great honor for Mexico if the United States delegation to the aforesaid event were headed by an official whose rank was no lower than that of Secretary of State or Special Ambassador.

The Government of Mexico will bear the living expenses of the head of the delegation and his wife during their stay in Mexico City. A detailed program of the activities is being prepared and will be transmitted to Your Excellency as soon as the Embassy receives it.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1976 OCT 20 PM 12 19
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

His Excellency
Henry A. Kissinger,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

I should be grateful to Your Excellency for informing the Embassy in due time of the names of the members of the United States delegation to the Ceremony for the Transfer of Powers of the Government of Mexico, as well as of the date and flight on which it will arrive at Mexico City. I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

[Signature]

José Juan de Olloqui
Ambassador

10/12/76

AFFIDAVIT OF OLGA TALAMANTE

10/12/76 P 06

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I, Olga Talamante, of [redacted]

do depose and state the following:

1. In August 1973, I travelled to Argentina after having graduated from the University of California at Santa Cruz, where I majored in Latin American studies. My intention in going to Argentina was to stay for about six months and possibly to attend the University of Buenos Aires for continuing my studies in Latin American history. I had met previously in Mexico a family that lived in Azul, in the province of Buenos Aires. I contacted them and found there was a possibility of getting a job teaching English in Azul. Since the University of Buenos Aires at that time was in turmoil, and in fact the rector of the University was being ousted, I decided to go to Azul, and there I got a job teaching English in a private institute.

2. When I came to Azul in August 1973, Juan Domingo Peron was about to return to Argentina. The Argentine Government was then supporting some social welfare programs which had been instituted in Azul as in other parts of the country. While I was teaching English classes in Azul, I came to know a number of young people, including Susana Pioli, now 18 years old, Mirta Varela, 27 years old, Edith Stahelli de Frias, 25 years old, Osvaldo Gasparini, 22 years old, Ruben Piazza, 20 years old, Eduardo Gonzales, 29 years old, Eduardo

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B7 B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Grutsky, 18 years old, Juan Gonzales, 35 years old, and Julio Varela, 27 years old. I came to know these people through the activities of a municipal cultural commission in Azul, of which Eduardo Gonzales was the director.

3. At that time, several programs were being conducted in Azul to provide community services, community activities and cultural activities for adults and children. Some of those taking English classes were also engaged in the work of the cultural commission. The purpose of the community centers operated by the cultural commission was to provide social services which had not previously been made available by the government. The aim of the government and its officials was that people who had not had access to cultural activity and to basic social services such as tutoring programs and legal aid should now benefit from them. The cultural commission and the community centers in Azul were supported through government funding, were under the auspices of the municipal government, and operated under the direction of the Mayor of Azul, with whom the director of the cultural commission worked. The social programs were directly related to the general activities of the municipal government. I recall many times when we informed the government of an activity that we were about to carry out so that official assistance would be available for the events contemplated. Throughout the summer of 1973 -- which is during the months of November, December, and January in Argentina -- these programs in fact were very much encouraged by the government. The federal

government policy was to support the programs, and it financed them, acting through the provincial governments and then the county and city authorities.

4. In 1973 and 1974, I continued to teach English, and on a volunteer basis I worked at one of the community centers. The nine people that I referred to earlier (see pages 1-2, supra) also worked at the community centers. There were three such centers in Azul. Of the nine people I have mentioned, three were high school students or graduates; several were workers at the ceramic tile factory in Azul; two were store clerks. We all worked at the centers on a volunteer basis. The centers that were operating under the government's auspices were providing services such as voter registration, legal aid, tutoring programs, and health care clinics. The centers also sought to have municipal lighting installed where needed and to have sections of the barrios levelled to avoid seasonal flooding. One of the main programs provided by the city and the cultural commission through the community centers was a series of children's activities, including field trips, puppet shows and other cultural events for those living in the poorest sections of Azul.

5. In June 1974, after President Juan Peron's death, the attitude of city officials with whom we were in contact began to change gradually. Slowly, funds that had been previously allotted for the programs of the community centers were reduced. For example, we began to notice that there was no longer a readiness on the part of city officials to respond to

our requests as they had done previously. When we asked for paint that they had given us before, they said they had run out of it. Medical services that had been given to people free were now being charged for. The whole attitude of the officials in charge of carrying out these programs appeared to be changing. However, we never received word from the city officials or from the provincial or federal governments that the programs were to stop. In fact, we continued to receive enough assistance and materials to conclude that we would be able to continue the programs, albeit on a reduced scale.

6. The nine people I have mentioned (see pages 1-2, supra) who worked in the community centers were respected members of the Azul community. They had all attended school there. They had their friends, their families in Azul. Their civic interest was exemplified in the community center activities that they undertook, and they were widely admired for these activities. None of these people had had any encounters with the law; none had ever been arrested. The work they carried on in the community centers contributed to the social status and prestige they enjoyed in Azul. An example is Eduardo Gonzales who was the cultural commission director and whose father also had been deeply engaged in civic affairs. When I attended his father's funeral, all the principal city officials were present, and the family received expressions of condolence from several levels of government. The three high school students whom I mentioned lived at home. Susana Pioli lived with her mother; her father

had died some time before; she was a third-year high school student planning to continue in school and possibly go on to college. Another student, Ruben Piazza, had graduated from one of the local high schools and had attended medical school in La Plata during one semester; he was in Azul on a vacation from the medical school. Eduardo Grutsky was a high school student; he lived with his parents, having lived in Azul for most of his life where his father was a businessman. Mirta Varela and Julio Varela were married; they were both from Azul. Julio Varela was well known in the Azul community, his father having been one of the all-time football heroes, as was the son. The son was also active in Catholic Church activities. Juan Gonzales was from one of the barrios where a community service center was located; he had long been involved in community service programs. He had also worked on a housing project. Eduardo Gonzales is married and has two children, a little boy and a little girl. Osvaldo Gasparini had graduated from one of the Azul high schools, and he had continued his studies in La Plata. He was back in Azul working as a store clerk. Osvaldo Gasparini underwent heart surgery in October 1974 and was thereafter in precarious health. Edith Stabelli de Frias was a store clerk; her family had land and cattle in the outskirts of Azul. She also had teaching credentials. She was married and was three-months pregnant in November 1974.

7. Early in November 1974 I was preparing to depart from Argentina and return to the United States. I wanted to see about

entering graduate school in the United States, so I was getting ready to say goodbye to my friends in Azul. The activities in the community centers had continued up to that point with regularity, but, of course, at a reduced level because of the financial cutbacks reported previously. There had been no events to make us think that anything out of the ordinary was going to happen. We decided to have a party which was in a way to say goodbye to each other. We arranged a barbecue at the house of one of the families engaged in community center work. This was the Piazza family. The barbecue began during the day of November 10. Barbecues in Argentina are somewhat of a whole-day affair, with people coming in and out. The meat is laid out and cooked; there are drinks and salads; it is an informal gathering where one comes and goes and has different meals during the day. We were at the house for most of the afternoon listening to music and enjoying ourselves.

8. About 9:30 in the evening people started to leave. It was between 9:30 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. that I left together with Eduardo Gonzales; we were planning to walk downtown. We stepped out of the house and crossed the street. An unidentified car pulled in front of us, and a man got out and he said that we had to accompany him for questioning. We asked him why, and he did not answer. He took my purse away, and he said we had to go in the car with him. He pulled a gun out and pointed it at us and said we had to do what he told us to do. We went into the car. On approaching us, he had identified himself as a policeman and showed us a badge very fast before putting it away. He pointed

the gun at us, so we climbed into the car. He kept pointing the gun at us and said if we moved or said anything he was going to shoot us. Another friend, , walked out of the house, somewhat behind us, and he also was apprehended at that point and put in the same car.

9. Then the three of us were driven to the police station, which was not very far from where the party had been. We were taken into the police station and stood up against a long wall with our hands against the wall and our feet spread out. We were not allowed to speak to each other at all or even to turn our heads to look at each other. As we were held against the wall, I learned from the sounds that other people at the barbecue had been arrested while they were going home, and a couple of people while they were still in the house. That same night, a couple of other people, Susana Pioli being one of them, were arrested. She had not been at the party but had been arrested later at her home. The following day still other people were brought into the police station for questioning. They were people who had been working at the community service centers. Some were released.

10. In the police station, we spent most of that night and the following day with our hands against the wall and with our feet spread out. We were not allowed to look in any other direction except straight at the wall. In the early morning hours of November 11, I was taken to a room, with my hands tied behind my back, and a cloth bag was put over my head and tied. I was told to sit in a corner and stay there, not move, and not

talk to anyone. I could tell there were other people in the same situation that I was by the shawdows cast by their figures.

11. During the day of November 11, I was interrogated by police officers. They identified themselves as police officers. They said they knew that I had killed police officers, and that I had been involved in bombings of police stations, and that it was best for me to admit these crimes; otherwise terrible things would happen to me. Then I was beaten with blows from their fists and kicked between the legs. Both the police officer who was speaking and others around him beat me with their fists, kicked me, and hit me on the head and on all parts of my body. The accusations included my having killed the chief of police who had been killed in Buenos Aires. In fact, I had not been in Buenos Aires for three months previous to the arrest. When I was being interrogated, the police said if I gave a no answer I was sure to be hit. So, when they asked me, did you do it, and I said no, I was immediately smashed against the wall by one of the people in the room.

12. After this phase of the interrogation, I was put into the same room with some of the other people with whom I was arrested. We were woken up in the middle of the night (November 11-12) by a group of people whom I could not see, but believed to be the same police officers in the police station. They beat us, kicked us, and dragged me by the hair. The others in the room were Eduardo Gonzales, Ruben Piazza, and Julio Varela. During this time, there was no real interrogation; the process was

mainly accusations, and then we were all beaten and kicked, and I was dragged across the floor by someone who grabbed my hair. I was kicked in the chest and between the legs several times. Then we were left in the same room.

13. On the morning of November 13, I was taken to a room by myself, to what looked like an office. I believe there were at least three men there; at least I was spoken to by three men. There might have been other people present but I was not able to see because at this point they had put adhesive tape over my eyes down to the tip of my nose. I was seated on a chair with my hands tied behind my back and they informed me that the serious interrogation was going to take place at this point and that I was better off to respond adequately. They then again asked me about the activities that I was supposedly involved in -- the killing of the police chief in Buenos Aires -- and they related it to the activities that we carried on in the community centers. Next, they applied to me electric shocks while I was fully clothed; they applied it to my arms and my face, to my lips and my head. At that point I was threatened with very, very horrible things that were going to happen to me if I did not answer adequately. I later found out in prison that the people who were next door heard me screaming during the subsequent torture and began to ask what was happening, so the police officers turned the radio up very loud so that my screams should not be heard.

14. They threatened me with gang rape, and they threatened me with killing and throwing me in a ditch some place. They said they could get rid of me and no one would ever find out what happened to me; they could say that I tried to escape, that in fact I had escaped, and that they didn't know where I was. They gave proof that they were able and willing to do this by beating me and by applying further electric shocks. They said that they could apply the electric shocks for so long that I would be unable to bear children, that I would go crazy, that they would burn my whole body up with the electric shocks. That went on for a couple of hours right there in that office, and then they stopped. They said they would get to me later.

15. Hardly an hour later I was then taken to an upstairs room. This was still in the police station; I had already been upstairs before then to be examined by a doctor. Everyone else was also examined by a doctor. I was asked at that time if I suffered any heart ailments, and I said I did because I thought that they would take that into consideration. I told them that I did have a weak heart.

16. When I was taken upstairs, my eyes were covered so I did not know exactly what room I was in. I was taken into several rooms before I was finally deposited into one room. I was sat down on what seemed to me to be a bed. They took all my clothes off, and then they strapped me to the bed. They

tied me spread-eagle fashion. They tied both of my wrists to the bedpost and both of my ankles to the bedpost. I heard at least five or six different voices, and I could sense that there were several people in the room. The radio was on very loud and they seemed to be plugging and unplugging things constantly. Then they proceeded to apply the electric shocks throughout my body. On my head, on my eyes, on top of the adhesive tape, on my nipples, vulva, vagina, the joints of my legs, and my fingers and my toes, and at one point they stopped and asked me if I would rather be raped; they asked what I preferred, whether I preferred to be given the electric shocks or to be raped. I told them I didn't want either. At one time they went through the motions of preparing to rape me, but in fact they did not. I was given the electric shock treatment first tied up with my head facing up. Then they untied me, put me face down, and proceeded to apply the electric shocks in that position also. I became numb and was very hazy. I believe it went on for a few hours, two or three hours; I lost sense of time. Later, trying to reconstruct the period of time from how long people heard me scream, we concluded that it was two to three hours. My joints were numb completely and I had lost all sense of time and place by the end of the torture. They stopped and told me to put my clothes on, which I could not do by myself, so one of them helped me put my clothes on. I was taken then to another room, where I was left tied up to a chair. I was left there the remainder of that day and that night.

17. It was not until the following morning (November 14) that I was taken downstairs and the adhesive tape was taken off. They then informed us that we were going to be taken to the prison that afternoon. Later that morning, Judge Ippolito, of the federal district court in Azul visited the police station. He asked me if I had been mistreated, and I told him I had been. He said he would ask for a doctor's examination of me, and I was taken into a room by the same doctor who was the police doctor and who had examined us before the torture. This doctor looked at my face and at my stomach, and said "you don't have any signs of torture." He immediately went out of the room and said, "this woman is lying she does not have any signs of torture." He told the Judge this.

18. Later that day, all ten of us were taken to Azul prison, Unit 7. Before we were transported to the prison, one of the police officers read to me a statement that stated generally my personal data such as name, place of birth, and nationality. This was done also to the other people who had been arrested. I was forced to sign the statement by another police officer who held a gun pointed at my head. Upon arriving at the prison, I was immediately asked by the receiving penal officer whether I was the one that had been tortured with electric shocks. I said yes, and he said well, "we have to have an examination right away." A male nurse came to examine me. He said that he did not want to make a statement, that he wanted the doctor to examine me, the official prison doctor. So then the doctor came,

and it was at that time that I first saw all the marks that I had on my body. The doctor proceeded to describe them and enumerate them in the prison record. The prison officials evidently feared being held responsible for what had been done to me at the police station, thinking I might claim later that they had done it at the prison. So they took note of and recorded all the bruises and burns and in general the condition that I arrived in, so there is a medical record of that at the prison.

19. Because I did not have direct relatives who could visit me, I did not have visiting hours for a period of almost four weeks. I was not able to communicate with the men who were arrested at and after the party on November 10. The women and I were put in the same cell. I learned that they had been subjected to very much the same treatment at the police station -- beating, kicking, dragging by the hair, and constant verbal and physical harassment by the police officers. They related to me that they had been subjected to the same threats of rape and threats of being killed if they did not answer adequately the questions that were being put to them.

20. On arrival at the prison, we were in deplorable condition in view of what had been done to us at the police station, the fact that we had had nothing to eat since November 10, and that we had been bound with nylon ropes. We had bruises from the ropes on our wrists and ankles. Since we had been lying on the floor for four nights and four days, with no blankets, we were very stiff and very weak, especially the woman who was three-

months pregnant. She was suffering additionally from an anemic condition. Although I was not in direct contact with the men because I was denied visiting privileges, relatives of the other women told me the men had been beaten. Eduardo Gonzales, even four weeks after the arrest (which was the first time I was permitted to see him), still showed very large bruises on his face and, in fact, the official picture that was taken of him by the prison authorities clearly shows this condition. I was able to see this photograph when we were taken to see the director of the prison as he had it posted along with pictures of all the other prisoners. I was not able to talk in private with the men until several weeks after the arrest because prison officials were always present. However, the six men were able to convey to me that they had been subjected to the same abusive treatment and torture that I had undergone. Osvaldo Gasparini, who had had heart surgery not long before the arrests, was in particularly poor physical condition. He was subjected to blows directly to the scar of the operation and this action has had very adverse effects on him. All of the six men were beaten, kicked and severely bruised by the police officers, and they were constantly threatened with being killed and were subjected to electric shock.

21. At the prison, I and the other three women who were arrested with me, together with others, were housed in a single cell. There were 17 of us at one time in the cell. Part of our cell

was a bathroom with one cold-water shower. The cell had one window for ventilation. One of the worst things about our cell was that it was directly under the men's bathroom which was located on the second floor. A sewer pipe from that bathroom was constantly leaking urine and feces. We had continually to clean the walls of our cell; when we asked the prison authorities to fix the sewer pipe they refused, saying it would take too much money and time. They said we could just keep cleaning up the sewage. We were housed in that single cell with very little ventilation. The prison was not heated, and there were strict quotas on the amounts of clothing and blankets that we were permitted to have. During the winter, the temperature would go below freezing, and still we were not provided with adequate heating or adequate clothing. As a result, several of us suffered frostbite of our hands and feet. Susana Pioli, Mirta Varela and I complained about the situation, but our requests for additional blankets and clothing and better methods of heating the cell were in vain.

22. Edith Stahelli de Frias, the woman who was three-months pregnant when arrested, was due to give birth to her child in May. The prison officials ignored our requests on behalf of Edith for medical care. They waited until the last minute -- when we she was already in labor -- to take her to the hospital. They brought both her and her baby back to the prison within three hours of the birth. She received no post-natal care and, in fact, Edith arrived back at the prison still

unconscious from the anesthesia. We took the baby and waited for the mother to recover. Edith and her baby were allowed to stay in a separate cell for a few weeks. This was at our request, to protect the baby from infections through living in the same cell with 16 adults. For six months, the mother experienced bleeding and became progressively weaker. She fainted several times before she was finally taken to the hospital, where it was discovered that she still carried part of the placenta in her uterus -- a dangerous condition that could have caused a fatal infection. Later the mother and baby were forced to lodge in the common cell with the rest of us because of a regulation requiring political prisoners be kept apart from non-political prisoners.

23. The food provided for the political prisoners was basically bread, some vegetables, and some meat. The baby was not given any special treatment or food. Edith had to get everything she needed from her relatives. This included vitamins, certain vegetables, cheese and fruit the baby needed. We asked about examinations and shots for the baby; the prison officials delayed and often ignored the requests totally.

24. The six men (see pages 1-2, supra) were housed in a solitary confinement row in individual cells. Osvaldo Gasparini, who had had the heart operation, was left alone in a cell. He had a number of heart seizures in which he lost consciousness; the prison guards would often go by, ignoring him. Later they would

sometimes -- but not always -- bring doctors to see him. The doctors would give him a couple of pills to make him sleep and that would be the end of the doctors' efforts.

25. The women, including myself, were allowed to go out onto a small patio in the morning and in the afternoon for up to a period of two hours in the morning and in the afternoon. We were also permitted to go outside to hang up our clothes after washing them -- something the men could not do. The men had to hang their clothes inside their cells. The men, at first, were also allowed to exercise outside daily for two hours. Until December 31, 1975, we were allowed to receive books, magazines, newspapers and to write letters without restrictions, except that we knew our letters were read by prison officials. But there was no restriction on the number of letters sent and received.

26. Some time after we were arrested, a lawyer who had been contacted by one of the relatives came to see us. We saw him but once, and we later learned that owing to pressure from government officials he withdrew from our case.

27. I was summoned with Mirta Varela in December 1974 to the chambers of Judge Ippolito where we gave statements separately. My statement was given to the Judge's secretary; the Judge was not present. He only came into the room once to ask me on which day I had been tortured. He made no further inquiries. After giving the statement in which I told about my torture, a different statement was read to me. After the formal complaint of torture was filed, I was returned to the prison.

28. On December 31, 1974, the Judge's secretary came to the prison and read us the Judge's decision which stated we were to remain in preventive custody. The secretary also read the charges against us. The charges under which we were held involved violations of Articles 1 and 2 of the Argentine Security Law, Law No. 20.840. The charges made by the police were that they found subversive written material and weapons in the house where we held the barbecue. The weapons and material that the police claimed to find in the house were not produced until three days after our arrest. All the people at the party, including the people who owned the house, said that these things were not in the house. The secretary of the Judge then proceeded to inform us that we were being detained so that investigation could be conducted of the aforementioned charges. At the time we were read the statement, identical charges were dismissed as to four other people arrested along with me in November. However, because the state of siege had been imposed, they continued to be held under the Executive Power Law. The four people were Susana Pioli, Pedro Frias , Teresa Frias , and Argentino Gonzalez Gonzales. Three of these people have now been released; one remains in Argentina and two were allowed to leave the country under a constitutional law that allows political prisoners without any charges the option to leave Argentina. Susana Pioli is still detained without any charges, because at the time of her arrest she was a minor, and therefore was not allowed to make the choice

of leaving Argentina. She continues to be in prison without any charges to this day.

29. After the statement by the Judge's secretary was read to us, we proceeded to get another lawyer. With the assistance of relatives of one of the prisoners, we retained Dr. Perez Abraham, of Azul.

30. In May 1975, I was visited by a lawyer from the United States, Leonard Weinglass, and Edward McCaughan, a friend from the committee which had worked to free me. They discovered that the federal prosecutor had yet to file formal charges against us, but the two were informed that the Judge would sentence us in July. July was the date set because it was eight months after our arrest; if we were to be sentenced at all, we would receive the minimum sentence. In this event, we would legally be eligible for parole. The Judge had also given us this explanation on previous occasions. However, we were not sentenced in July, for several reasons which were later conveyed to us by relatives of other prisoners. First, there were several strikes by government workers. In addition, the Judge received serious threats. He received a picture of his daughter with a letter encouraging him to make the "right" decision in this case. As a consequence, the Judge took a month's vacation in July and August. Thus, sentencing was delayed until September 1975 -- ten months after we had been arrested. The procedure consisted of the filing of charges by the prosecutor, the defense lawyer presenting our case in writing, and the Judge reviewing the evidence before passing

sentence. There was no trial and no direct or cross-examination; there was no appearance by the defendants before the Judge. The Judge gave each of us a three-year sentence. After passing sentence, the Judge resigned immediately.

31. After being informed of the sentence, all nine of us (excluding Susana Pioli who had no charges pending against her) decided to appeal our sentence to the appellate court in La Plata, which is also in the province of Buenos Aires. Throughout the proceedings of the case even before sentencing, our lawyer, Perez Abraham, was the victim of threatening letters, and before the sentence was passed, his house was bombed. We came to realize that because of these threats and attacks, his representation of us had become perfunctory and pro forma, so after the decision to appeal, we relieved him from further responsibility in our case. We did not retain another lawyer. We were informed that a public defender in La Plata had been assigned to our appeal, but we never saw nor heard from him. After filing the appeal, we did not receive any reply during the six months that followed.

32. During that period of six months, conditions at the prison changed for the worse. In December 1975 we were informed that the military were assuming complete control of the prison with special attention to political prisoners. We were also informed of new regulations which restricted visiting hours to only a half hour on Saturdays and a half hour on Sundays, whereas previously we had two hours on each of those days. They also restricted the amount of recreation time to one hour per day.

They limited the amount of reading material to one book per person per week, plus one newspaper and one magazine a week. Finally, visiting privileges were restricted to parents, spouses, and children only, whereas before other relatives could visit the prisoners.

33. On March 27, 1976, three days after the military coup in Argentina, I was in my cell with the rest of the women political prisoners when a female guard and a military officer came in and told me to get dressed. I asked them where they were taking me, but they did not reply. They merely said I had to go with them. I got dressed and went with them to that part of the women's section of the prison where the solitary confinement cells are located. I was put in one of the cells with nothing but a cot to sit on and ordered to wait. I waited about four or five hours until four or five military officers came to get me. By that time they had told the women in the cell to pack my things as I was leaving. Again, they did not inform them where I was to go. I took my personal effects and was led outside the prison. Here, I was given my documents (my passport and other identification papers that had been kept in the prison office), and I signed some papers. I was then taken, handcuffed and heavily guarded, in a paddy-wagon to a small airfield on the outskirts of Azul near the prison. There we waited until a small plane landed. Five men came out of the plane, one of them came to the paddy-wagon, took my handcuffs off, put new ones on, took all of my things to the plane, took me to the plane, seated

me, and proceeded to lock my handcuffs to a chain attached to the floor.

34. Throughout the trip, the men refused to answer any of my inquiries. We landed in Buenos Aires at an airfield which I believe belongs to the air force. It was not the international commercial airport in Buenos Aires. From this field, I was driven to a large prison in Buenos Aires, to Villa de Voto. There, I was registered after an argument among the guards whether they should register me or not. At this point, I became very scared because I didn't know whether they were trying to get rid of me. They finally registered me and then took me to the second floor of the prison. There were women prisoners on the first floor, but I was taken to a completely empty second floor. I spent that evening there in a large empty cell with only a cot and a couple of blankets. I was still not told where I was being taken or what was happening to me, so I believed that I was being transferred to that prison. The following morning there was a change of guards, but the new guards also did not know what was happening, or they would not tell me.

35. I spent the entire day in that cell until the evening, at which time I was taken out by a different route from that by which I had come into the prison, through the back. They put my things in a station-wagon and I was handcuffed to a prison authority. I was taken in that station-wagon which was led by another car with a couple of men pointing machine guns at people so that they would give way to our caravan. We were taken to the airport, and there I was met by United States Embassy officials.

36. They told me I was going home and asked me if I would object to a medical examination, which I did not object to. I was examined by an Argentine doctor and asked to sign an affidavit in front of the Embassy official in which I stated that immediately prior to my release I had not been harassed or in any way physically abused by any authority. I signed the paper. One of the Embassy officials then told me that I was being released under a special law providing for the explusion of foreigners who were in government custody.

37. I was put on a plane and flown directly to New York, and from there I proceeded to California. I was taken from Azul on the afternoon of March 26, 1976, spent that night in Buenos Aires, and then on the 27th in the early evening I was flown from Buenos Aires to New York and arrived in New York on the morning of the 28th.

38. Since my release, I have learned in letters from relatives that the sentence has been confirmed for the people who were arrested with me and who had filed the appeal. Susana Pioli, the woman who was in prison without any charges, remains in prison. I have also learned from relatives of those people in prison and from letters directly from the men that prison conditions have gotten much worse since I left. It has evidently become a consistent practice to treat political prisoners worse than common prisoners. I observed this before leaving Azul, and news that I have received from the prisoners' relatives confirms that the practice has worsened. Non-political prisoners, for

example, get more visiting hours with relatives; they are allowed to write more often; and they are allowed to receive food and other articles from relatives. This is specifically the case in the Azul prison. Through letters from relatives and from the men themselves, I have learned that protein and vitamin deficiencies are such that Ruben Piazza has suffered loss of hair and loss of teeth. The man who had the heart operation, Osvaldo Gaspirini, is in especially bad shape. His family has been trying to get a court order to have him transferred back to Azul prison since his doctor is in Azul and it would be easier for him to get medical attention there. (the men prisoners were transferred from Azul prison to Sierra Chica in June , 1975. To the best of my knowledge, they remain there today.) When relatives have complained about the situation, they have been harassed and threatened. The relatives sometimes have taken vitamins to the prisoners but the latter have never received them. The nine are not allowed any sort of food supplement to their diets. In the case of Susana Pioli, her mother has made many trips to Buenos Aires to try to secure her release, but to no avail. The government officials have also denied Susana the option to leave the country.

39. All the nine people who remain in prison have been losing weight as a result of a deficient diet, and the situation of the baby and her mother continues to be serious as now the diet from the prison which is totally inadequate cannot be supplemented by the food that relatives were previously allowed to bring in. My information concerning the prison and health conditions of the six men comes from letters I have received from their relatives.

40. After having filed for parole, the nine people still in prison have concluded that they have no other recourse to alleviate their situation, given the internal situation in Argentina. No one has been able to suggest to them any further steps that they could take in Argentina to secure their release.

Olga Talamante
OLGA TALAMANTE

STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
COUNTY OF) ss.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 13 day of Oct., 1976.

Notary Public

My Commission expires:

OFFICIAL SEAL
NOTARY PUBLIC-CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY
My Commission Expires Feb. 26, 1977

SK7 *

TELECON
The Secretary/Don Kendall
10/13/76 4:45 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

DK: Henry, on the 22nd of October, I am taking agroup of 13 chief executives to Mexico to meet with Portillo. Murphy from General Motors, Sears and Robuck, Arco, and some others. It will be about 13 or 14. I have been working on it since last June and Portillo asked if I would put such a group together. He wanted to make a serious effort to try to get American investments back in Mexico. He was very serious. He has told us that he plans on spending the entire day with us. They have requested no government involvement. Whether he is serious or not only time will tell but some people are beginning to find out about this and I wanted you to know it in case there is any message you would like to get across at the meeting. And I wanted you to know so you won't wonder why I didn't tell you.

K: Well, I think it is a good idea. We have had an opportunity to have a long talk with Lopez Portillo recently. Except you might get across that it is awfully hard to do business with them when there is this constant harrassment publically. He has to chang the tone a little bit.

DK: I think he already knows that. He has also asked me to put put together a list of people in the business and academic communities for the inauguration.

K: Do you want us to have our Ambassador alerted?

DK: I would just as soon not. I think the less information that is out about it the better. But I leave it up to you. Once it gets into that -- you sending communications down there -- then too many people know about it.

K: Okay, fine.

DK: Good.

K: Many thanks.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 21 JUL 2003 200102979

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(E3)

PAGE 01 MEXICO 13189 142339Z

63
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CPR-01 NSC-05 PA-02 SS-15 USIA-15

PRS-01 /050 W

065838

P 142330Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8032

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART
9701416
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

UNCLAS MEXICO 13189

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, MX
SUBJECT: INVITATION TO MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

1. ON OCT 13 I RECEIVED A FIRST-PERSON NOTE FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY GARCIA ROBLES DATED OCT 7 INVITING THE US TO SEND A DELEGATION TO THE INAUGURATION OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO ON DECEMBER 1.

2. FOLLOWING IS TRANSLATION OF TEXT:
"MR. AMBASSADOR: I HAVE THE HONOR TO ADDRESS YOUR EXCELLENCY IN ORDER TO ASK THAT YOU TRANSMIT TO YOUR GOVERNMENT AN INVITATION TO DESIGNATE A DELEGATION, HEADED BY A PERSON WITH RANK NOT BELOW THAT OF SECRETARY, MINISTER OF STATE OR AMBASSADOR ON SPECIAL MISSION, TO BE PRESENT AT THE CEREMONY OF ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE OF LICENCIADO JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES, WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE DECEMBER 1 IN MEXICO CITY.

"IN PARTICULAR I WISH TO INFORM YOUR EXCELLENCY THAT THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT WILL BEAR THE COSTS OF THE STAY IN THE CAPITAL OF THE CHIEF OF THE DELEGATION AND HIS SPOUSE.
"I TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST AND MOST DISTINGUISHED CONSIDERATION. SIGNED, ALFONSO GARCIA ROBLES"

3. MY RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE US
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13189 142339Z

DELEGATION WILL BE FORWARDED SEPARATELY.
JOVA

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10-15-76

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09991 151442Z

65
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01

USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSC-05 MCT-01 ARAE-00 /049 W
---------- 074994

P 151345Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1808

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 9991

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CU, CI, US
SUBJECT: LETELIER ASSASSINATION: ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN EXILES

REF: A) 75 SANTIAGO 1131 B) 75 SANTIAGO 1607

1. REFTELS REPORTED THE VISIT TO SANTIAGO IN FEBRUARY 1975 OF CUBAN EXILES ARZANDRO VIDEL VALDES, FRANCISCO BATLLI, AND LUIS FUENTES. THEY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS MEMBERS OF A COMMITTEE FOR CUBAN COVERNMENT IN EXILE AND, ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, URGED PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN AN INTERVIEW TO RECOGNIZE AN EVENTUAL CUBAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. PINOCHET WAS NONCOMMITTAL.

2. OCTOBER 13 AN EMBOFF WAS VISITED BY A CHILEAN CIVILIAN WHO AT THAT TIME HAD BEEN ON THE STAFF OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE JUNTA (COAJ)--A COMMITTEE UNDER MILITARY LEADERSHIP THAT ADVISES THE PRESIDENT ON A BROAD RANGE OF SUBJECTS. THE SOURCE SAID THAT ABOUT TWO WEEKS AFTER THE FEBRUARY 19, 1975 MEETING WITH PINOCHET, A LETTER ARRIVED FROM THE CUBANS TO THE PRESIDENT, WHICH WAS BUCKED TO COAJ FOR RECOMMENDATION. OUR SOURCE SAID HE WAS ASKED TO HANDLE THE MATTER. HE FOUND THE LETTER VERY CRUDE, IN STYLE AND LANGUAGE, AND ALSO IN THOUGHT: THE CUBANS SUGGESTED THAT IN RETURN FOR THE USE OF CHILE AS A SAFEHAVEN IN CASE OF TROUBLE ABROAD, THEY WOULD TAKE CARE OF ANY CHILEAN EXILES THE GOC WOULD LIKE TO INDICATE. THE SOURCE RECOMMENDED STRONGLY AGAINST ANY FURTHER CONTACT WITH THE CUBANS, AND COAJ RETURNED THE LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09991 151442Z

ON THAT BASIS. THE SOURCE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO THELETTER BUT IS TRYING TO FOLLOW UP.

3. COMMENT: THE SOURCE SAID HE DOUBTED THIS INFORMATION WOULD BE RELEVANT TO THE LETELIER ASSASSINATION, BUT THOUGHT IT WORTH NOTING TO THE EMBASSY. WE ARE NOT ABLE TO CHACTERIZE SOURCE'S

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RELIABILITY. HE SEEMS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND WELL INFORMED. WHILE HE WAS ON THE COAJ STAFF HE SURPRISED EMBOFFS BY HIS STRONG CRITICISM OF THE GOC. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN HIRED BECAUSE HE WOULD REPRESENT A DIFFERENT VIEWPOINT; EMBOFFS COULD NOT HELP WONDERING WHETHER HE WAS A PROVOCATEUR.
POPPER

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** None
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

10-15-12
Letelier
FR38

ARA - John Keane

October 15, 1976

ARA/AND/CH - Robert S. Driscoll

The Paraguayan Caper

1. I strongly recommend that we give these cables to the FBI intact rather than editing them.

a. The FBI knows that we communicate by cable. They will probably ask for the originals. If they were to suppenaa them, I do not know how we could resists.

b. The General Walters connection may or may not be important. Besides Stroessner, Colonel Manuel Contreras considers himself a bosum buddy of the General. I think that the FBI should know. The General is an old hand. He can take care of himself.

c. If the fact that we intentionally witheld information on the Letelier investigation became public, we would be subject to a storm of criticism. I recognize that we run the risk of leaks. In my judgement we run greater risks if we appear to withold information.

2. Please let me know if you want me to pass this information informally.

Ext.22575

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PAGE 01 STATE 257200

71
ORIGIN IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 L-03 DHA-02 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AF-08 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 AID-05
IGA-02 EB-07 OMB-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 CU-02 /127 R

DRAFTED BY IO/HR:WEHEWITT:BKM
APPROVED BY IO:JABAKER
ARA/LA/BC:RDRISCOLL
L/UNA:DSTEWART
L/HR:CRUNYON
D/HA:KHILL
ARA:HWSHLAUDEMAN

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ✓Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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P R 162315Z OCT 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[redacted] STATE 257200

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT:UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 9683, (B) SANTIAGO 9892, (C) USUN 4371

1. IN REPLY TO EMBASSY'S QUERY PARA. 5 REF. (A), THERE APPEAR AT END OF THIS MESSAGE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF RESOLUTION ON CHILE AS REPORTED TO THE DEPT., ADOPTED BY SUBCOMMISSION AUGUST 31. DEPT HAS NOT RECEIVED FINAL REPORT OF SUBCOMMISSION AND RESOLUTION TEXT PROBABLY CONTAINS MINOR EDITORIAL DIFFERENCES FROM FINAL VERSION.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 257200

RESOLUTION WAS PROPOSED BY SUBCOMMISSION EXPERT MEMBERS FROM TUNISIA, NETHERLANDS, ITALY, YUGOSLAVIA, NIGERIA, THAILAND, KENYA, MEXICO, AUSTRIA, IRAQ, PAKISTAN, FRANCE, INDIA, USSR AND UK. RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 15-2 (EXPERTS FROM COSTA RICA AND NICARAGUA)-0.

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2. FULL TEXT OF DRAFT RES, TOGETHER WITH SUBCOMMISSION DISCUSSION AS REPORTED IN GENEVA 6955 BEING POUCHED SANTIAGO.

3. REPORT OF SUBCOMMISSION SESSION WILL BE CONSIDERED AT 33RD REGULAR SESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC)

SCHEDULED TO MEET IN GENEVA FEBRUARY-MARCH 1977. SUBCOMMISSION RESOLUTION THEREFORE WILL NOT BE BEFORE 31ST UNGA. IN PARTICULAR, THE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH INVITING CONSIDERATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF VARIOUS FORMS OF AID AND ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN TO CHILE IS ADDRESSED TO THE HRC AND NOT TO THE GA. OBVIOUSLY, WHILE THE RESOLUTION ITSELF WILL NOT BE BEFORE THE UNGA, THE IDEAS CONTAINED IN IT MAY BE ADVANCED BY ANY UNGA MEMBER WITH RESPECT TO UNGA ACTION ON THE REPORT TO BE PRESENTED TO THE UNGA BY THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP.

4. ADVANCE COPY OF REPORT OF HRC AD HOC WORKING GROUP POUCHED BY USUN (REFTEL C) JUST RECEIVED. DEPT NOT IN A POSITION TO COMMENT IN DETAIL ON VIEWS EXPRESSED BY VALDES IN REF. (B) UNTIL REPORT HAS BEEN CAREFULLY STUDIED. RE EMBASSY'S COMMENT PARA 6 REF. (B) ON JUSTIFICATION FOR UN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS IN RELATION TO SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CHILE, UN CHARTER RESERVES TO SECURITY COUNCIL RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHETHER A SITUATION QUALIFIES FOR CHAPTER VII MEASURES AND TO DECIDE WHAT MEASURES SHALL BE TAKEN. IN THE PAST, DEPT HAS NORMALLY OPPOSED GA RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS UNLESS DEPT CONSIDERS SITUATION QUALIFIES FOR DETERMINATION UNDER ARTICLE 39 AND MEASURES PROPOSED WOULD BE PROPER UNDER ARTICLE 41. WE WOULD THEREFORE NOT RPT NOT EXPECT TO SUPPORT IN UNGA ANY PROPOSAL CALLING FOR MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST CHILE. CHILEAN FM CARVAJAL MADE COMMENT TO THE SECRETARY TO THE EFFECT THAT THE DUTCH [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 257200

WERE CONSIDERING INTRODUCING A HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION, INCLUDING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, ON CHILE IN THE UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE. USUN HAS CHECKED DIRECTLY WITH THE DUTCH WHO DENY ANY PLANS TO INTRODUCE SUCH A RESOLUTION ON CHILE. YOU SHOULD INFORM FOREIGN OFFICE AND PRESENT SUMMARY OF OUR VIEWS ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AS DESCRIBED ABOVE. EMBASSY SHOULD EXPRESS CAVEAT THAT OUR FURTHER REACTION TO DETAILS OF REPORT OF AD HOC WORKING GROUP MUST AWAIT OUR STUDY OF IT.

5. RE EMBASSY'S CONCERN THAT CHILE SITUATION MUST NOT RECEIVE TREATMENT DISSIMILAR TO THAT OF MANY OTHER STATES WHICH EMBASSY CONSIDERS TO BE GUILTY OF SIMILAR PRACTICES AS THOSE CHARGED TO CHILE, DEPT LOOKS FORWARD TO OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THIS CONCERN WITH AMBASSADOR WHEN HE VISITS DEPARTMENT LATER THIS MONTH.

6. FOLLOWING ARE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF SUBCOMMISSION RESOLUTION:

QTE.

1. EXPRESSES ONCE AGAIN ITS PROFOUND DISTRESS AT THE CONSTANT, FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, INCLUDING THE INSTITUTIONALIZED PRACTICE OF TORTURE, CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT, ARBITRARY ARREST AND SUBSEQUENT DISAPPEARANCE, DETENTION AND EXILE;

2. URGES ONCE AGAIN THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO TAKE, WITHOUT DELAY, ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO RESTORE AND SAFEGUARD HUMAN RIGHTS IN FULL COMPLIANCE WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, TO WHICH CHILE IS A PARTY, TO STOP TORTURE AND CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT, ARBITRARY ARREST AND SUBSEQUENT DISAPPEARANCES AND PERSECUTION FOR POLITICAL REASONS, AND TO FREE ALL PERSONS STILL DETAINED WITHOUT A CHARGE BROUGHT AGAINST THEM OR ARRESTED FOR POLITICAL REASONS;

3. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE REPORT OF [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 257200

ITS AD HOC WORKING GROUP, TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS TO PUT AN END TO THE FLAGRANT AND MASS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE;

4. DEEMS IT ALSO IMPORTANT FOR THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUS ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE STATE SECURITY AGENCIES OF CHILE, PARTICULARLY BY THE DINA, OFTEN IN COLLABORATION WITH SIMILAR AGENCIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES;

5. INVITES THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO RECOMMEND APPROPRIATE MEASURES REGARDING LEGAL AND HUMANITARIAN AID THAT MAY BE MADE AVAILABLE TO POLITICAL PRISONERS AND OTHER PERSECUTED PERSONS IN CHILE, AS WELL AS MEASURES TO RENDER FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND OTHER RELIEF TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERINGS OF THEIR DEPENDENTS;

6. FURTHER INVITES THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONSIDER THE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF AID AND ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN TO THE CHILEAN REGIME;

7. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO INVITE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR ILO, UNESCO, THE WORLD BANK, OAS AND THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION, TO

INFORM THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDING THEIR RECENT ACTIVITIES THAT RELATE TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, SO THAT THE COMMISSION MAY TAKE SUCH INFORMATION INTO ACCOUNT WHEN DEALING WITH THIS QUESTION AT ITS THIRTY-SECOND SESSION. UNQTE. KISSINGER

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[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 257200

71
ORIGIN IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 L-03 DHA-02 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AF-08 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 AID-05
IGA-02 EB-07 OMB-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 CU-02 /127 R

DRAFTED BY IO/HR:WEHEWITT:BKM
APPROVED BY IO:JABAKER
ARA/LA/BC:RDRISCOLL
L/UNA:DSTEWART
L/HR:CRUNYON
D/HA:KHILL
ARA:HWSHLAUDEMAN

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

100116

P R 162315Z OCT 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 257200

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT:UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 9683, (B) SANTIAGO 9892, (C) USUN 4371

1. IN REPLY TO EMBASSY'S QUERY PARA. 5 REF. (A), THERE APPEAR AT END OF THIS MESSAGE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF RESOLUTION ON CHILE AS REPORTED TO THE DEPT., ADOPTED BY SUBCOMMISSION AUGUST 31. DEPT HAS NOT RECEIVED FINAL REPORT OF SUBCOMMISSION AND RESOLUTION TEXT PROBABLY CONTAINS MINOR EDITORIAL DIFFERENCES FROM FINAL VERSION. CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 STATE 257200

RESOLUTION WAS PROPOSED BY SUBCOMMISSION EXPERT MEMBERS FROM TUNISIA, NETHERLANDS, ITALY, YUGOSLAVIA, NIGERIA, THAILAND, KENYA, MEXICO, AUSTRIA, IRAQ, PAKISTAN, FRANCE, INDIA, USSR AND UK. RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 15-2 (EXPERTS FROM COSTA RICA AND NICARAGUA)-0.

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2. FULL TEXT OF DRAFT RES, TOGETHER WITH SUBCOMMISSION DISCUSSION AS REPORTED IN GENEVA 6955 BEING POUCHED SANTIAGO.

3. REPORT OF SUBCOMMISSION SESSION WILL BE CONSIDERED AT 33RD REGULAR SESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC)

SCHEDULED TO MEET IN GENEVA FEBRUARY-MARCH 1977. SUBCOMMISSION RESOLUTION THEREFORE WILL NOT BE BEFORE 31ST UNGA. IN PARTICULAR, THE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH INVITING CONSIDERATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF VARIOUS FORMS OF AID AND ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN TO CHILE IS ADDRESSED TO THE HRC AND NOT TO THE GA. OBVIOUSLY, WHILE THE RESOLUTION ITSELF WILL NOT BE BEFORE THE UNGA, THE IDEAS CONTAINED IN IT MAY BE ADVANCED BY ANY UNGA MEMBER WITH RESPECT TO UNGA ACTION ON THE REPORT TO BE PRESENTED TO THE UNGA BY THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP.

4. ADVANCE COPY OF REPORT OF HRC AD HOC WORKING GROUP POUCHED BY USUN (REFTEL C) JUST RECEIVED. DEPT NOT IN A POSITION TO COMMENT IN DETAIL ON VIEWS EXPRESSED BY VALDES IN REF. (B) UNTIL REPORT HAS BEEN CAREFULLY STUDIED. RE EMBASSY'S COMMENT PARA 6 REF. (B) ON JUSTIFICATION FOR UN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS IN RELATION TO SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CHILE, UN CHARTER RESERVES TO SECURITY COUNCIL RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHETHER A SITUATION QUALIFIES FOR CHAPTER VII MEASURES AND TO DECIDE WHAT MEASURES SHALL BE TAKEN. IN THE PAST, DEPT HAS NORMALLY OPPOSED GA RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS UNLESS DEPT CONSIDERS SITUATION QUALIFIES FOR DETERMINATION UNDER ARTICLE 39 AND MEASURES PROPOSED WOULD BE PROPER UNDER ARTICLE 41. WE WOULD THEREFORE NOT RPT NOT EXPECT TO SUPPORT IN UNGA ANY PROPOSAL CALLING FOR MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST CHILE. CHILEAN FM CARVAJAL MADE COMMENT TO THE SECRETARY TO THE EFFECT THAT THE DUTCH ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WERE CONSIDERING INTRODUCING A HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION, INCLUDING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, ON CHILE IN THE UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE. USUN HAS CHECKED DIRECTLY WITH THE DUTCH WHO DENY ANY PLANS TO INTRODUCE SUCH A RESOLUTION ON CHILE. YOU SHOULD INFORM FOREIGN OFFICE AND PRESENT SUMMARY OF OUR VIEWS ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AS DESCRIBED ABOVE. EMBASSY SHOULD EXPRESS CAVEAT THAT OUR FURTHER REACTION TO DETAILS OF REPORT OF AD HOC WORKING GROUP MUST AWAIT OUR STUDY OF IT.

5. RE EMBASSY'S CONCERN THAT CHILE SITUATION MUST NOT RECEIVE TREATMENT DISSIMILAR TO THAT OF MANY OTHER STATES WHICH EMBASSY CONSIDERS TO BE GUILTY OF SIMILAR PRACTICES AS THOSE CHARGED TO CHILE, DEPT LOOKS FORWARD TO OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THIS CONCERN WITH AMBASSADOR WHEN HE VISITS DEPARTMENT LATER THIS MONTH.

6. FOLLOWING ARE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF SUBCOMMISSION RESOLUTION:

QTE.

1. EXPRESSES ONCE AGAIN ITS PROFOUND DISTRESS AT THE CONSTANT, FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, INCLUDING THE INSTITUTIONALIZED PRACTICE OF TORTURE, CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT, ARBITRARY ARREST AND SUBSEQUENT DISAPPEARANCE, DETENTION AND EXILE;

2. URGES ONCE AGAIN THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO TAKE, WITHOUT DELAY, ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO RESTORE AND SAFEGUARD HUMAN RIGHTS IN FULL COMPLIANCE WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, TO WHICH CHILE IS A PARTY, TO STOP TORTURE AND CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT, ARBITRARY ARREST AND SUBSEQUENT DISAPPEARANCES AND PERSECUTION FOR POLITICAL REASONS, AND TO FREE ALL PERSONS STILL DETAINED WITHOUT A CHARGE BROUGHT AGAINST THEM OR ARRESTED FOR POLITICAL REASONS;

3. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE REPORT OF ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 04 STATE 257200

ITS AD HOC WORKING GROUP, TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS TO PUT AN END TO THE FLAGRANT AND MASS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE;

4. DEEMS IT ALSO IMPORTANT FOR THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUS ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE STATE SECURITY AGENCIES OF CHILE, PARTICULARLY BY THE DINA, OFTEN IN COLLABORATION WITH SIMILAR AGENCIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES;

5. INVITES THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO RECOMMEND APPROPRIATE MEASURES REGARDING LEGAL AND HUMANITARIAN AID THAT MAY BE MADE AVAILABLE TO POLITICAL PRISONERS AND OTHER PERSECUTED PERSONS IN CHILE, AS WELL AS MEASURES TO RENDER FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND OTHER RELIEF TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERINGS OF THEIR DEPENDENTS;

6. FURTHER INVITES THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONSIDER THE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF AID AND ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN TO THE CHILEAN REGIME;

7. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO INVITE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR ILO, UNESCO, THE WORLD BANK, OAS AND THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION, TO

INFORM THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDING THEIR RECENT ACTIVITIES THAT RELATE TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, SO THAT THE COMMISSION MAY TAKE SUCH INFORMATION INTO ACCOUNT WHEN DEALING WITH THIS QUESTION AT ITS THIRTY-SECOND SESSION. UNQTE. KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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10-19-76
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 10107 191928Z

53
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 MCT-01 FBIE-00 JUSE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1861

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 10107
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, CU, CI, US
SUBJECT: LETELIER ASSASSINATION: ORLANDO BOSCH

REF: SANTIAGO 9991

1. ON OCTOBER 15 A CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL TOLD AN EMBOFF THAT THE MINISTRY HAD BEEN KEEPING AN EYE ON ORLANDO BOSCH'S ACTIVITIES FOR SOME TIME AND WAS NOW REVIEWING IT URGENTLY. THE OFFICIAL SAID THE MINISTRY'S FILE TRACED BOSCH TO COSTA RICA AND GUATEMALA EARLY THIS YEAR. THEY AHD REPORTS ON COSTA RICAN FOREIGN MINISTER GONZALO FACIO'S TRIP TO GUATEMALA TO CONFER WITH THE GOG ABOUT BOSCH. THE OFFICIAL FURTHER ASSERTED THAT BOSCH HAD IN HIS POSSESSION AT ONE TIME A COMPLETE SET OF CHILEAN IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS DATED 1966, INCLUDING TAX RECORDS AND OTHER PAPERS. THESE DOCUMENTS HAD APPARENTLY BEEN STUDIED CLOSELY BY CHILEAN DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS AND BEEN FOUND TO LOOK AUTHENTIC.
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*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 10222 212132Z

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ACTION ARA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 10222

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

E. O. 11652:SGDS
TAGS: PFOR, CI
SUBJECT: ASSASSINATION OF ORLANDO LETLIER

1. A FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL RECENTLY RETURNED FROM UNGA HAS TOLD US THAT, WHILE IN THE UNITED STATES, HE AND SOME OTHER CHILEAN COLLEAGUES WERE BRIEFED ON THE LETELIER ASSASSINATION BY A "HIGH U.S. SECURITY OFFICIAL." U.S. OFFICIAL APPARENTLY DECLARED THAT DINA WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE. RATER, IT WAS A COMMUNIST GROUP, "THE SAME ONE THAT HAD PLOTTED TO SINK THE 'ESMERALDA.'"

2. SOURCE IS FRIENDLY TO THE US., AND RELIABLE IN IMPORTANT MATTERS. HE IS NOT AVERSE, HOWEVER, TO EMBELLISHING DETAILS IF IT SERVES THE CHILEAN INTERST OR FEEDS HIS EGO. WOULD APPRECIATE CLARIFICTION.
BOYATT

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*** Current Handling Restrictions ***
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

(revised 10/28/76)

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OCT 27 1976

FOIA Exemptions
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EO Citations
IM/IPS/CMR Date: 6/18/97
9701446

TO: The Secretary

FROM: ARA - Harry W. Shlaudeman

Invitation to the Inauguration of Jose Lopez Portillo

The Problem

We have received an invitation from the Government of Mexico to send a delegation to the December 1 inauguration of their new President. During your meeting in Washington with Lopez Portillo last month, you told him you hoped to be able to attend the ceremony. Assuming that you will head the U. S. delegation, who should accompany you?

Background/Analysis

-- It would be most appropriate for you to head the U.S. delegation to Lopez Portillo's inauguration. Secretary Rogers headed our delegation to Echeverria's investiture (I misinformed you on this point) in 1970, and given the intensity and significance of our relationship with Mexico, your presence would be most helpful in giving a clear expression of our desire to maintain a close, friendly and cooperative relationship with Mexico, and particularly with Lopez Portillo, with whom we seem to have gotten off to a good start during his recent visit to the U.S.

-- With regard to additional members of the delegation, who should number no more than eight or nine, three or four congressional leaders would be appropriate, as would several business leaders who have had dealings with Mexico. The U.S. delegations to

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the previous two Mexican Presidential inaugurations have included the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, and, of course, the U. S. Ambassador to Mexico. (For your information, Senator Mansfield headed the U.S. delegation to Diaz Ordaz's 1964 inauguration, and the list was at that time heavily weighted on the congressional side.)

A representative delegation would look something like this:

Henry A. Kissinger
Secretary of State (Head of Delegation)

Joseph John Jova
U. S. Ambassador to Mexico

William D. Rogers or Harry W. Shlaudeman
Under Secretary Assistant Secretary
for Economic Affairs for Inter-American Affairs

Senator Gale W. McGee of Wyoming
Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Affairs
Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico
He is demonstrating an increasing interest in
Latin American affairs.

Representative Dante B. Fascell of Florida
Chairman of the International Political and
Military Affairs Subcommittee of the House
International Affairs Committee

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas

A. W. Clausen
President, Bank of America
Clausen has had an interest in Mexico and met
with Mexican cabinet officials.

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Irving Shapiro
Chairman, E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company

Daniel V. Boorstin
Librarian of Congress

Robert H. McBride
Former U. S. Ambassador to Mexico
Currently Professor at the University of Virginia

We would like to have a few more days to consider other names. I will have a final recommendation for you by the end of the week.

ARA/MEX:J.T.Dreyfuss:mvg
10/27/76 x-29894

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14028 050003Z

(E6)

14
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CPR-01 NSC-05 PA-02 SS-15 PRS-01 NSCE-00
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O 042320Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8399

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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UNCLAS MEXICO 14028

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

REF: MEXICO 13189

1. FOREIGN OFFICE NOTE, DATED NOV 3, TRANSMITS OFFICIAL PROGRAM OF EVENTS FOR TRANSFER OF EXECUTIVE POWER NOV 28-DEC 3 (SEE BELOW) AND REQUESTS THAT EMBASSY, PRIOR TO NOV 10, PROVIDE GOM NAMES AND TITLES OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVES TO INAUGURATION CEREMONIES. FONOFF REQUESTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE INFORMATION RE ARRIVAL DATE AND FLIGHT NUMBER OF OFFICIAL U.S. DELEGATION.

2. PROGRAM TRANSMITTED BY FONOFFICE NOTE IS AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN PROGRAM

NOVEMBER 28 ARRIVAL OF SPECIAL MISSIONS

NOVEMBER 29

11:00 AM DELIVERY OF COPIES OF LETTERS OF ACCREDITATION OF THE HEADS OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS TO THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS.
PLACE: SECRETARIAT FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS
DRESS: DARK BUSINESS SUIT

2:00 PM LUNCHEON OFFERED BY THE CHIEF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT AND MRS. SENTIES, IN HONOR OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS, THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND OFFICIAL INVITEES.
PLACE: NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14028 050003Z

NOVEMBER 30

12:00 DELIVERY OF LETTERS OF ACCREDITATION OF THE HEADS OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, LICENCIADO LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ, AND GREETING OF OFFICIAL INVITEES.

PLACE: NATIONAL PALACE
DRESS: DARK BUSINESS SUIT

DECEMBER 1
11:00 AM OATH OF OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, LICENCIADO JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO.
PLACE: NATIONAL AUDITORIUM
DRESS: DARK BUSINESS SUIT

DECEMBER 2
1:00 PM PRESENTATION OF SPECIAL MISSIONS, THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND OFFICIAL INVITEES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO.
PLACE: NATIONAL PALACE
DRESS: DARK BUSINESS SUIT
2:00 PM LUNCHEON OFFERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO IN HONOR OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS, THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND OFFICIAL INVITEES.
PLACE: COURT YARD OF NATIONAL PALACE

DECEMBER 3
5:00 PM THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNION WILL RECEIVE THE DEPUTIES AND SENATORS FORMING PART OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS OR WHO ARE OFFICIAL INVITEES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.
DRESS: DARK BUSINESS SUIT
5:00 PM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT OF JUSTICE WILL RECEIVE THE MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIAL POWERS FORMING PART OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS OR WHO ARE OFFICIAL INVITEES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.
DRESS: DARK BUSINESS SUIT

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7:30 PM RECEPTION OFFERED BY THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS IN HONOR OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS, THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND OFFICIAL INVITEES.
PLACE: SECRETARIAT FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS
MEN: DARK BUSINESS SUIT OR UNIFORM
LADIES: LONG DRESS.

END OF PROGRAM.

3. ACTION REQUESTED. DEPARTMENT PROVIDE INFORMATION REQUESTED ON COMPOSITION AND ARRIVALS OF U.S. DELEGATION TO INAUGURATION FOR TRANSMISSION TO GOM BY NOVEMBER 10.
CALDERHEAD

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14032 050013Z

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14
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /016 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8401

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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UNCLAS MEXICO 14032

FOR S/S

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PDIP PFOR MX
SUBJECT: FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE FOR PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER

REF STATE 270843

1. FOLLOWING MESSAGE WAS RECEIVED IN EMBASSY NOV. 3 AT 6:30 PM FROM WIFE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO TO WIFE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

"DEAR MRS. CARTER,
WARMESTS CONGRATULATIONS ON LAST NIGHT'S ELECTORAL VICTORY. I THINK IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT BOTH OUR HUSBANDS WILL BEGIN THEIR RESPECTIVE PRESIDENTIAL TERMS AT APPROXIMATELY THE SAME TIME. IN MY OPINION THIS AUGURES (SIC) WELL FOR THE FRIENDSHIP AND CLOSE RELATION BETWEEN OUR TWO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

WE ALSO LOOK FORWARD TO A PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE CARTER AND LOPEZ PORTILLO FAMILIES.

WE ARE SENDING YOU AN OFFICIAL INVITATION TO BE OUR GUEST AT THE PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION IN MEXICO CITY ON DECEMBER 1ST, AND HOPE YOU CAN COME. EVEN IF PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER CANNOT BE WITH US, I URGE YOU TO ATTEND AS MY OWN GUEST.
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14032 050013Z

WITH BEST REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

CARMEN ROMANO DE LOPEZ PORTILLO".

END TEXT.
CALDERHEAD

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

S/S \W

Orig:O/fadrc

COPIES TO: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ARA
RF (jhw)

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November 5, 1976

TO: The Secretary

FROM: ARA - William H. Luers, Acting WHL

Inauguration of Jose Lopez Portillo as President of Mexico - December 1

The Problem

The Mexican inauguration ceremonies will last for five days. Which events should you attend?

Discussion

The Mexican Government has now given us an outline of the ceremonies involved in the inauguration of their new President. The swearing-in ceremony will take place at 11:00 am, December 1. However, ceremonies and festivities involving visiting delegations extend for five days, from November 29 through the night of December 3.

The schedule is similar to the one that inaugurated Echeverria in 1970. On that occasion Secretary Rogers arrived on the afternoon of November 29, presented credentials to the outgoing President on November 30, and departed following the 11:00 am swearing-in of Echeverria on December 1.

Your minimum participation would be attendance at the presentation of credentials to Echeverria at noon November 30, and the swearing-in ceremonies at 11:00 am on December 1. However, I recommend that you extend your stay for one additional day to participate in the luncheon given by Lopez Portillo on December 2.

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MICROFILMED
BY S/S-I

11/1/76 JHC

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IM/IPS/SCRB Date 6/18/91
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RECOMMENDATIONS:

November 29 - 11:30 AM

Delivery of copies of Letters of Accreditation of the Heads of Delegation to the Secretary of Foreign Relations.

Recommendation:

While it would be a nice gesture towards Garcia Robles, whom you have met in Mexico and at the UN, I do not believe it is necessary for you to plan to arrive in Mexico City in time to attend.

Will attend _____ Will not HK NOV 11 1976

November 29 - 2:00 PM

Luncheon for Special Delegations hosted by the Chief of the Department of the Federal District.

Recommendation:

If you decide to attend the presentation of copies of credentials earlier in the day, you should attend the luncheon. If you do not attend the presentation ceremony, you should not attend the luncheon.

Will attend _____ Will not HK NOV 11 1976

November 30 - 12:00 NOON

Delivery of Letters of Accreditation to President Echeverria.

Recommendation:

You should attend this ceremony, as it would be a slight to Echeverria if you did not.

NOV 11 1976 Will attend HK Will not _____

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December 1 - 11:00 AM

Swearing-in of Lopez Portillo.

Recommendation:

You should attend.

NOV 11 1976 Will attend HK Will not _____

December 2 - 1:00 PM

Presentation of Special Delegations to President and Mrs. Lopez Portillo.

Recommendation:

Although this one is not an absolute necessity, I believe that it would further the work already done to establish a good working relationship with Lopez Portillo if you were to attend this ceremony.

NOV 11 1976 Will attend HK Will not _____

December 2 - 2:00 PM

Luncheon offered in honor of the Delegations by President and Mrs. Lopez Portillo.

Recommendation:

If you stay in Mexico for the 1:00 PM presentation function, you should also attend the luncheon.

NOV 11 1976 Will attend HK Will not _____

December 3 - 7:30 PM

Reception offered by the Secretary of Foreign Relations for the Special Delegations.

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Recommendation:

I do not believe it necessary for you to remain for this function, although it would be appropriate for you to do so if you wished.

Will attend _____ Will not HK NOV 11 1978

ARA/MEX:J.T.Dreyfuss:mrg
11/5/76 x-29894

White House issued press announcement 11/15 with delegation (see cy 76229?? of cable attached) 11/16/76 jlh

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CDIR Date
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November 5, 1976

COPIES TO:
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RF/hjb

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Delegation to the Inauguration of Jose Lopez Portillo

We have received an invitation from the Government of Mexico to send a delegation to the December 1 inauguration of their new President.

The official U. S. delegations to the last three Mexican Presidential inaugurations have numbered approximately ten persons and it is recommended that a similar number of delegates be named for the forthcoming inauguration. Secretary Rogers headed the delegation to the Echeverria inauguration six years ago.

In response to the personal invitation extended to Secretary Kissinger by the President-elect during his Washington visit, the Secretary informed him that he would be delighted to attend.

The two previous Mexican Presidential inaugurations have included the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs and the U. S. Ambassador to Mexico.

Traditionally, several members of the Congress have been named to the Delegation, as well as outstanding Americans from the private sector.

The Department of State recommends the following delegation to the inauguration of Jose Lopez Portillo for the consideration of the White House.

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Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger
Head of Delegation

William D. Rogers
Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

Joseph John Jova
U. S. Ambassador to Mexico

Harry W. Shlaudeman
Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs

Senator Mike Mansfield
One of Mexico's best friends in the Congress and head of the delegation to the Mexican inauguration in 1964

Senator Jacob K. Javits
Has visited Mexico on several occasions and was instrumental in establishing the Mexico-U.S. Quadripartite Committee

Senator Barry Goldwater
Is interested in Mexico and is from a border state

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez
A representative from southern Texas and a distinguished Mexican-American

Representative Dante B. Fascell
Is the ranking Latin-Americanist on the Hill

Lady Bird Johnson
Her selection would be regarded in Mexico, where she is still very popular, as a particularly graceful gesture

Saul Bellow
1976 Nobel Prize Winner

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Otis Chandler
Publisher of the Los Angeles Times and has long had an interest in Mexico

for C. Arthur Borg
Executive Secretary

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ARA/MEX:J.T.Dreyfuss:mrg
11/5/76 x-29894

Clearance:

ARA - Mr. W. H. Luers

*

SK 1/28

TELECON
The Secretary/Chief Justice Burger
11/8/76 4:45 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Mr. Chief Justice, how nice to hear from you.

B: I see you will be getting a little bit of a rest finally.

K: I have got the prospect of a rest.

B: I almost envy you. I just received a call from the Ambassador of Mexico who said he had a formal invitation which would be the subject of a conversation between himself and the new President-elect. urging me and Mrs. Burger to attend his inauguration. I assume that there is something in the machinery for a delegation from the US down there and I was a little puzzled by a direct invitation to me.

K: There is something in the mill. I was going to head the delegation. But there is a custom on the part of the Mexican President also to invite some personal guests.

B: Well, in the first place, I am not overly anxious to take a trip to Mexico City. I am overly anxious to avoid any diplomatic problem.

K: Well, Mr. Chief Justice, there are no diplomatic problems. We could make you the head of the delegation. I have no overwhelming interest in it. Frankly, I wanted an excuse to take a vacation in Mexico but I can do that any time.

B: I have no desire to head the delegation I assure you.

K: I am sure we can work this one out. I will check exactly what the Mexicans have in mind.

B: Because I don't want to get wires crossed here. If I can make it, I would be perfectly content to go as a personal guest of the President.

K: Let me check just what this is about. I have never headed a delegation to one of these events.

B: I just headed a delegation to the funeral of the Irish President, but there were no complications there.

K: Let me check.

B: Henry, I will do it any way you want.

K: Many thanks.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: [redacted]
Felix C. Vargas, Political Officer

DATE & PLACE: Nov. 9, 1976, Vargas' Residence
Santiago, Chile

SUBJECT: DINA involvement in Orlando Letelier's Death

COPIES TO: Chargé/ADCM, POL, POL/R,
ARA/AND/CH, INR/OIL/B, INR/RRA

[redacted] mentioned to me (November 6) that he had come across some disturbing bits of information implicating the DINA in the murder of Orlando Letelier. (See earlier memo.) A lady friend of his knew of a recent trip to the States by a DINA agent and was willing to discuss it. [redacted] asked me if I would be interested in talking with her on Nov. 9. The meeting was set up for 1930 hours.

[redacted]

[redacted] her husband is a very good friend of DINA agent Raul Baden. Baden has frequented her house often and is a "drinking buddy" of her husband's. On more than one occasion Baden has stayed late into the night drinking and conversing with her husband. [redacted] told me that Baden has since borrowed money from husband and has not paid up -- which might explain why he does not come around any more.)

In the week preceding Letelier's death, Baden reportedly told her husband that he would be travelling to Vancouver Thursday, Sept. 16 on a Canadian Pacific flight. Baden stated that he was accompanying " a superior" GOC official and that upon arrival they would be renting a car and travelling to Washington. The drive would be hurried, he stated, as they had only four days to get to their destination. Baden mentioned that he would be travelling with a passport under a false name.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise_X_ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_X_
Exemption(s) B6

[redacted] she next saw Baden on October 29 while walking downtown. Baden was wearing a new, "US made" suit. She complimented him on it, to which he replied, "Yes, I paid $200." [redacted] asked him when he had been in the U.S. and he replied that he had not been to the U.S. But he had been abroad, she insisted. Yes, he replied, but to Mexico and Argentina. They continued conversing and then Baden asked what she thought about the Letelier assassination. She replied that it was repugnant and it was terrible that such a thing should happen. She then asked him what the international opinion was. Baden answered, "Oh, they think the DINA did it." He then told her that an anti-Castro Cuban exile by the name of Huerta (false name , she assumes) accompanied him back to Santiago and that he -- Huerta -- would be talking to President Pinochet. Baden then excused himself and left. [redacted] has not seen him since.

[redacted] describes Baden as tall, muscular, with light colored hair. He is of German extraction. She states that Baden belonged to the GAP (Grupo de Amigos Personales), Allende's bodyguards. He was arrested shortly after the coup, but released later and given a new job. Baden is reportedly obsessed with material items and money. [redacted] says of him: "He is a man without principles and morals, a mercenary who will sell himself to the highest bidder." Baden reportedly underwent specialized driver's training outside of Chile and can conduct high-speed maneuvers with cars.

Curiously, it was [redacted] who said, after learning of Letelier's death, "Baden was involved."

[redacted] who knows Baden, told me that he has heard that Baden will be travelling to Europe in the near future. "Watch the headlines [redacted] to see who is next."

COMMENT: [redacted] exhibited a great nervous tension when we began our conversation. We talked about a number of unrelated subjects and had two drinks before we began talking about Baden. (She later confessed she was hesitant to say too much for fear that I might be associated with some "American intelligence apparatus" -- which in turn could have collaborated with the DINA in Letelier's death.) She is about 25 and attractive.

[redacted] sounded convincing and sure of herself. My conversation on Nov. 6 on the same subject left me with many doubts. After talking to [redacted] I am inclined to think that there is something here worthy of some follow up.

POL: FCVargas:seo

POL: DHClare

ADCM:CRStout

Chargé:

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GDS 4

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14246 100009Z

(611)

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-04 SIL-01 LAB-04 SS-15 IO-13 NSC-05

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035599 97 Date: 6/15/97

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions DE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

P 092345Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8498

UNCLAS MEXICO 14246
ATT: ARA/LA/MRSD O'GRADY PASS TO AFL-CIO LEE AND MCDONOUGH
ELAB

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: INAUGURAL CEREMONY INVITATION TO AFL-CIO PRESIDENT MEANY.

AIFLD REP ESTRADA RECEIVED LETTER OF INVITATION TO INAUGURAL CEREMONY OF PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO FOR AFL-CIO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY. ESTRADA ASKED THAT FOLLOWING TEXT BE TRANSMITTED FOR ACTION ERNEST LEE OF AFL-CIO. WE ARE POUCHING ORIGINAL OF LETTER TO LEE.

BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MR. MEANY: ON DECEMBER 1ST, I WILL HAVE THE HONOR OF ASSUMING THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENCY OF MEXICO FOR THE 1976-1982 PERIOD THROUGH THE ELECTION OF MY FELLOW CITIZENS WHICH TOOK PLACE ON JULY 4TH.

IN SUCH A MEANINGFUL EVENT AND BEING AWARE OF YOUR FRIENDSHIP AND INTEREST IN MEXICO, I WOULD BE VERY PLEASED TO BEGIN MY TERM WITH YOUR ATTENDANCE TO THE CEREMONIES COVERING THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. I AM POSITIVE THAT THIS OCCASION WILL ALLOW YOU TO RENEW YOUR WARM FEELINGS TOWARDS OUR COUNTRY. SINCERELY, LIC JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO, CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT ELECT OF MEXICO (SGD) END TEXT.
JOVA

UNCLASSIFIED

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SANTIA 10767 092106Z

E3578

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 SS-15 NSC-05

MCT-01 SY-05 FBIE-00 SP-02 /046 W

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R 092035Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2110

UNCLASSIFIED

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 10767

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release Y Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

EO 11652: GDS-4
TAGS: PINR, CI
SUBJ: DEATH OF ORLANDO LETELIER

1. EMBOFF NOV 8 LEARNED OF ALLEGATIONS THAT MAY LINK DINA TO THE ASSASSINATION OF EX-CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. ORLANDO LETELIER. THIS HEARSAY INFORMATION IS BEING REPORTED ONLY BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AND HIGH INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT. A MEMCON WILL BE POUCHED TO ARA/AND/CH.

2. ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE, DINA AGENT RAUL BADEN ACCOMPANIED ANOTHER GOC FUNCTIONARY (PRESUMABLY DINA ALSO) ON A TRIP TO VANCOUVER, CANADA ON THE THURSDAY (SEPT. 16) PRECEDING LETELIER'S DEATH. BADEN REPORTEDLY TOLD A FRIEND THAT THE TRIP WAS UNEXPECTED AND THAT UPON ARRIVING IN VANCOUVER THEY WOULD RENT A CAR AND DRIVE QUICKLY TO WASHINGTON, EXPECTING TO REACH THEIR DESTINATION IN FOUR DAYS. THE PAIR DID NOT TRAVEL UNDER THEIR TRUE NAMES, THE SOURCE SAID.

3. THE SOURCE TOLD EMBOFF THAT SHE MET BADEN IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO ON OCTOBER 29. BADEN WORE A NEW "U.S. MADE" SUIT, BUT DENIED HAVING BEEN IN THE U.S. RECENTLY; HE CLAIMED INSTEAD THAT HE TRAVELLED TO MEXICO AND ARGENTINA. BADEN THEN REPORTEDLY ASKED SOURCE IMPRESSIONS OF THE LETELIER MURDER. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT HE ACCOMPANIED AN ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN EXILE NAMED HUERTA, BACK TO SANTIAGO. THE LATTER WOULD BE TALKING TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET, HE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 10767 092106Z

CLAIMED.

4. THE SOURCE DESCRIBED BADEN AS TALL, MUSCULAR WITH LIGHT COLORED HAIR. HE IS OF GERMAN EXTRACTION. THE SOURCE STATED THAT BADEN HAD BELONGED TO THE GAP (GRUPO DE AMIGOS PERSONALES), ALLENDE'S BODYGUARDS.

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HE WAS ARRESTED SHORTLY AFTER THE COUP, BUT RELEASED LATER AND GIVEN A NEW JOB. BADEN REPORTEDLY UNDERWENT SPECIALIZED DRIVER'S TRAINING OUTSIDE OF CHILE AND CAN CONDUCT HIGH-SPEED MANEUVERS WITH CARS.

5. COMMENT: THE SOURCE, A YOUNG CHILEAN, SOUNDED CONVINCING AND SURE OF HERSELF AS SHE SPOKE AT LENGTH ON BADEN. SHE LEARNED THE INFORMATION IN PARA TWO FROM HER HUSBAND, ALLEGEDLY A FRIEND OF BADEN. SHE INITIALLY EXHIBITED NERVOUSNESS AND WAS HESITANT TO CONVERSE. SHE LATER INFORMED EMBOFF THAT SHE FEARED BADEN WOULD LEARN OF HER TALK.
BOYATT

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [illegible]
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 14245 100006Z

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ACTION SS-14

UNCLASSIFIED

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARA-06 SSO-00 /021 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8496

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR 97 Date: 6/15/97
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TS authority to

[redacted] MEXICO 14245

LIMDIS

FOR S/S

FOR PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER FROM AMBASSADOR JOVA

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX
SUBJECT: INVITATION FROM JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO TO PRESIDENT ELECT CARTER

1. LAST NIGHT, PRESIDENT-ELECT LOPEZ PORTILLO, HIS FAMILY AND MOST IMPORTANT STAFF MEMBERS HAD DINNER WITH US AT THE RESIDENCE. JLP CALLED ME ASIDE AND ASKED ME TO SEND THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER: (A) HE APPRECIATED YOUR TELEPHONE CALL PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON ON SEPT. 26. HE REGRETS THAT YOU COULD NOT SEE EACH OTHER AT THAT TIME BUT GIVES HIGHEST PRIORITY TO AN EARLY MEETING. HE HAS SENT SMALL DELEGATION OF SENATORS TO WASHINGTON TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS WITH YOUR STAFF, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT NOTHING COULD REPLACE DIRECT PERSONAL CONTACT BETWEEN YOU BOTH. (B) HE HIMSELF FOUND HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT-ELECT MOST USEFUL AS IT WAS UNBURDENED BY PROTOCOL. (C) HE NOW WOULD LIKE TO INVITE YOU TO MAKE A SIMILAR VISIT AS PRESIDENT-ELECT. HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO SEE YOU EITHER BEFORE HIS OWN INAUGURATION(DEC. 1), OR ANY TIME THEREAFTER. HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO HAVE MEETING IN MEXICO CITY BUT IF MORE CONVENIENT FOR YOU, WOULD BE EQUALLY HAPPY TO RECEIVE YOU AT ANY PLACE ALONG THE BORDER OR ONE OF THE SEASIDE
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 14245 100006Z

RESORTS SUCH AS CANCUN(WHICH IS, FOR INSTANCE, CLOSER TO MIAMI THAN IT IS TO MEXICO CITY).

2. LOPEZ PORTILLO STRESSED THAT HE IS MOST EAGER TO ESTABLISH PERSONAL CONTACT WITH YOU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AT THE SAME TIME, HE DOES NOT WISH YOU TO FEEL THT HE

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IS PRESSURING YOU, WOULD UNDERSTAND IF YOU PREFERRED TO WAIT A LITTLE UNTIL YOU HAVE CHOSEN YOUR ADVISORS, BUT PARTICULARLY HOPES THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE AN INFORMAL MEETING TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS OF PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP BEFORE YOUR INAUGURATION. IN ANY CASE, HE STRESSED THAT THIS WOULD NOT BAR OTHER MORE FORMAL VISITS ONCE BOTH OF YOU ARE IN OFFICE. HE ALSO OBSERVED THAT AS IN THE CASE OF HIS OWN VISIT TO WASHINGTON, PRESIDENTS-ELECT COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO MAKE COMMITMENTS.

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3. COMMENT: THERE IS A LONG TRADITION OF MEXICAN PRESIDENTS-ELECT BEING INVITED TO VISIT THE U.S. PRESIDENT PRIOR TO TAKING OFFICE. THESE MEETINGS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN WASHINGTON, AND ON ONCE OCCASION AT THE LBJ RANCH, AND HAVE PROVED USEFUL IN ADDING A PERSONAL FLAVOR, MOST IMPORTANT TO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. AS FAR AS I CAN RECALL, NO U. S. PRESIDENT-ELECT HSS COME TO MEXICO PRIOR TO TAKING OFFICE. SUCH A VISIT WOULD BE A VISIBLE SIGN OF YOUR WILLINGNESS TO PLACE THE RELATIONSHIP ON A FULLY EQUAL BASIS. IT WOULD ALSO BE SEEN AS A CONFIMATION OF THE IMPORTANCE YOU ATTACH TO LATIN AMERICA AND SPECIFICALLY TO MEXICO.

4. SHOULD THE VISIT TAKE PLACE PRIOR TO JLP'S DEC. 1 INAUGURAL, IT WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE THAT YOU ARE BOTH IN THE SAME STATUS. IT WOULD HAVE THE DISADVANTAGE THAT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA WOULD STILL BE ON THE SCENE AND IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE THAT THE MEETING TAKE PLACE AT SOME POINT OTHER THAN MEXICO CITY ITSELF. AFTER DEC. 1, THIS WOULD NOT BE A CONSIDERATION AND THE VISIT COULD BE HELD EITHER IN MEXICO CITY OR ELSEWHERE.

5. PLEASE ACCEPT MY CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR

ELECTORAL VICTORY AND BE ASSURED THAT ALL OF US IN THIS EMBASSY STAND READY TO HELP YOU IN ANY WAY.
JOVA

CONFIDENTIAL

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

R58A

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X November 10, 1976
Exemption(s) ____

DECAPTIONED

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

To: ARA - Harry W. Shlaudeman

From: ARA/AND/CH - Robert S. Driscoll

Subject: Chilean Army Officers Juan Williams and Alejandro Romeral

Williams and Romeral, you recall, were given diplomatic visas in Official Paraguayan passports as a result of a favor Pinochet asked of Stroessner. We subsequently cancelled the visas.

However, these two obtained diplomatic TDY visas in Official Chilean Passports from our Embassy in Santiago sometime in August. The Chilean Foreign Ministry asked our Embassy for the visas in a Note. I heard that they were in Washington working in the Military Mission as of ten days ago.

The Visa Office asked me November 10 if we wanted to revoke these visas as well. The advantage is that we would put the GOC on notice that we will not tolerate this sort of nonsense. The disadvantage is that we might compromise a source. I told the Visa Office that I would have to defer to you. I recommend, in spite of the risk to a source, that we cancel the visas.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____

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~~SECRET/NODIS~~

11/10/76 HUMAN RIGHTS FILE
NOV. 10, 1976

DD250

R

Query Seisdedos on:

Ivo Maria Domerque DOB 8/8/54 French citizen, CI 6.39.956,
disappeared in Rosario (private Argentine inquiry;
Dora Goldfarb, missing from Mendoza jail, numerous queries, naturalized
American father and siblings
Dr. Claudio Santiago Berman, psychiatrist
Antonio Misetich, Atomic scientist who worked with CNEA, arrested in May
Ernesto Benado-Chilean
Luis Iturriaga Casali-Chilean labor leader
Enrique Erro—already brought up
Mario Gerardo Jacub, president of Argentine Lawyers Assn, abducted Nov. 1
NA Herald press report, writ of habeas corpus, Brinan and Markin interes

Previous queries on Enrique Erro

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14325 110010Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CPR-01 NSC-05 PA-01 SS-15 USIA-06

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P 110003Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8535

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/TR Date: 6/18/9
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MEXICO 14325

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, MX
SUBJECT: COMPOSITION OF DELEGATION TO PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

REF: MEXICO 13189 ✓

AS REPORTED REFTEL, FOREIGN SECRETARIAT REQUESTED NAMES OF DELEGATION MEMBERS BY NOVEMBER 10. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING SOONEST WHO WILL COMPRISE US REPRESENTATION. IF FULL INFORMATION NOT YET AVAILABLE, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW WHO WILL HEAD THE DELEGATION.
JOVA

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 01 STATE 279130

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DRAFTED BY ARA/MEX: J.T.DREYFUSS:DMM
APPROVED BY ARA: W.H.LUERS
NSC: MCFARLAND (PHONE)
S: DPASSAGE
S/S:MR. SEBASTIAN

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TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 279130

LIMDIS

E.O11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, MX

SUBJ: U.S. DELEGATION TO LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION

REF: MEXICO 13189 ✓

1. IN RESPONSE TO MEXICAN NOTE INVITING US TO SEND DELEGATION TO JLP INAUGURATION (REFTEL) EMBASSY SHOULD IMMEDIATELY INFORM GOM THAT SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER WILL HEAD U.S. SPECIAL MISSION. ALSO INFORM GOM THAT WE WILL SHORTLY GIVE THEM LIST OF OTHER MEMBERS OF U.S. DELEGATION.

2. IN DELIVERING NOTE OF RESPONSE TO GOM, INFORM MEXICANS THAT FOR THE MOMENT WE WISH TO KEEP SECRETARY'S IMPENDING VISIT TO MEXICO TO ATTEND INAUGURATION CONFIDENTIAL AND DO NOT REPEAT NOT WANT PUBLICITY ON MATTER. KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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11-12-16
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R58

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____
November 12, 1976

[redacted]

To: SCA/VO/COD - Mr. Lautz

From: ARA/AND/CH - Leonard B. Levine

Subject: Revocation of Visas Issued to Juan Williams and Alejandro Romeral

In response to your telephonic request of November 10, ARA asks that you not initiate action to revoke the official visas issued to Williams and Romeral in their Chilean Official Passports.

ARA/AND/CH:LBLevine:mg
Ext.22575

Clearance:ARA:HWShlaudeman

(Substance - See memo Driscoll/Shlaudeman of 11/10/76)
attached

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14459 130040Z UNCLASSIFIED

13
ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8598

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/TR Date: 6/18/97
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EXDIS DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, MX
SUBJECT: CEREMONIES IN CONNECTION WITH LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION

1. IN ADDITION TO ITEMS ON PROGRAM FOR LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION TRANSMITTED MEXICO 14028, EMBASSY INFORMED THAT A COCKTAIN-BUFFET AND A SPECIAL PERFORMANCE OF BALLET FOLKLORICO WILL TAKE PLACE ON WEDENSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 1. ALL MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS AND ALL SPECIALLY INVITED GUESTS OF GOM WILL BE INCLUDED IN INVITATION LIST.

2. BY AGREEMENT WITH GOM, EVENING OF TUESDAY, NOV 30, IS BEING LEFT FREE FOR SOCIAL EVENTS BY AND FOR MEMBERS OF NATIONAL DELEGATIONS AND SPECIAL GUESTS. AMBASSADOR WOULD BE PLEASED TO ARRANGE RECEPTION AT RESIDENCE FOR THIS EVENING, TO BE HOSTED BY HEAD OF US DELEGATION OR BY AMBASSADOR OR JOINTLY. GUESTS WOULD INCLUDE ALL MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL DELEGATION AND THOSE US GUESTS WHO HAVE RECEIVED SPECIAL INVITATIONS FROM MEXICAN GOVERNMENT, ALONG WITH SELECTED MEXICAN GUESTS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICAN COMMUNITY. IT IS HARD TO PREDICT EXTENT OF GOM OFFICIAL PARTICIPATION OR AMOUNT OF CROSS-EXCHANGE WITH OTHER OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS, SINCE MANY EMBASSIES ARE LIKELY TO BE ARRANGING RECEPTIONS FOR THIS DATE. WOULD APPRECIATE INDICATION WHETHER EMBASSY SHOULD PLAN SUCH RECEPTION, AND, IF AFFIRMATIVE, NAMES OF ANY PERSONS DEPT WOULD LIKE INCLUDED IN GUEST LIST.

[redacted]

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MEXICO 14459 130040Z

3. DIPLOMATIC CORPS IS TENTATIVELY DISCUSSING A LUNCHEON AT CAMINO REAL HOTEL AT 1:30 P.M. ON FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, AS RETURN HOSPITALITY BY OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS FOR PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO. QUESTION WILL BE DECIDED AT SPECIAL MEETING OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS SCHEDULED FOR NOV 17.

4. ON QUESTION OF "SPECIAL GUESTS", FOREIGN RELATIONS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF PRESIDENT-ELECT HAVE JOINTLY PROMISED TO PROVIDE EACH EMBASSY SOONEST WITH A LIST OF "SPECIAL GUESTS" INVITED FROM ITS COUNTRY, AND TO UPDATE LIST AS ACCEPTANCES OR REGRETS ARE RECEIVED. WE WILL FORWARD LIST PROMPTLY ON RECEIPT. ACCORDING TO COMBINATION OF PRESS REPORTS AND RUMORS, AS MANY AS 75 PRIVATE INVITATIONS HAVE BEEN ISSUED TO US PERSONALITIES. SOME OF NAMES MENTIONED ARE SENATOR MANSFIELD, MRS. LYNDON JOHNSON, GOVERNORS OF FOUR BORDER STATES. WE KNOW INVITATION WENT TO GEORGE MEANY. A NUMBER OF PRESIDENTS OR BOARD CHAIRMEN OF US COMPANIES REPRESENTED IN MEXICO HAVE ALSO BEEN INVITED--IN EACH CASE BY LETTER PERSONALLY SIGNED BY PRESIDENT-ELECT.
CALDERHEAD

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

President signed letter to Portillo (S/S 7624441)

6/18/97

S/S-7624441

P761186-2314

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TS authority to

UNCLASSIFIED

November 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Invitation for the President to Attend the Inauguration of Mexico's President on December 1

Mexico's President-elect, Jose Lopez Portillo has sent the President a letter inviting him to attend the inauguration in Mexico on December 1.

The Department, on November 5, forwarded to you a recommended official delegation list, headed by the Secretary of State. We do not believe it would be appropriate for President Ford to attend the inauguration. American Presidents have not done so in the past, and the delegations from most other countries (except perhaps for one or more of Mexico's smaller neighbors in Central America who in the past have sent their Vice Presidents) will be headed at most by their foreign ministers or their ambassadors to Mexico.

Attached is a suggested reply from the President to Lopez Portillo thanking him for the invitation and informing him that although the President will not be able to attend personally, he intends to appoint Secretary of State Kissinger to head the U. S. Delegation to the inauguration.

for C. Arthur Borg
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Suggested Reply.
2. Letter from Lopez Portillo.

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ARA/MEX:J.T.Dreyfuss:mrg
11/11/76 x-29894

Clearance: ARA - Mr. Luers

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Suggested Reply

Dear Mr. Lopez Portillo:

I very much appreciate your kind invitation to attend your inauguration as President of Mexico on December 1. I do indeed feel a strong friendship for and interest in Mexico, and I look back with pleasure on our meeting and conversations in Washington during your September visit.

Although I would be honored to be able to be in Mexico City during the ceremonies in which you will assume the reins of Government, unfortunately I will not be able to do so. However, I have asked Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to represent me at these meaningful ceremonies and to head the delegation of distinguished Americans who will represent the United States at your inauguration.

Mrs. Ford joins me in sending to you and Mrs. Lopez Portillo our warm regards and our hopes for the prosperity and well being of Mexico and its people.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
Jose Lopez Portillo,
President-elect of the
United Mexican States,
Mexico, D. F.

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PAGE 01 STATE 281537

(E16)

46
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSC-05 SS-15 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CPR-01

PA-02 PRS-01 SSO-00 H-02 SY-05 USSS-00 CCO-00 A-01

OPR-02 MMO-04 /049 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/MEX:J.T.DREYFUSS:MRG
APPROVED BY ARA/MEX:J.T.DREYFUSS
NSC:D.LAZAR
S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

UNCLAS STATE 281537

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: PINT, MX, OVIP (HENRY A. KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: DELEGATION FOR INAUGURATION OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

REF: DREYFUSS-CALDERHEAD TELECON; STATE 279130 ✓

1. WHITE HOUSE ON NOVEMBER 15 ISSUED PRESS NOTICE ANNOUNCING U.S. DELEGATION TO LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION. MAKEUP OF DELEGATION IS:

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OF DELEGATION:

HENRY A. KISSINGER - SECRETARY OF STATE

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESIDENT:

JOSEPH JOHN JOVA - U.S. AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO
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PAGE 02 STATE 281537

HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN - ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

MIKE MANSFIELD - SENATOR FROM MONTANA

PETE WILSON - MAYOR OF SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

JAMES A. BAKER, III - HOUSTON, TEXAS

EDITH GREEN - PORTLAND, OREGON

LEON PARMA - SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI - CONGRESSMAN FROM WISCONSIN

JOHN J. RHODES - CONGRESSMAN FROM ARIZONA

JOHN TOWER - SENATOR FROM TEXAS

2. EMBASSY SHOULD OFFICIALLY INFORM GOM OF MAKEUP OF US DELEGATION. ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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SK177

TELCON
SEC. KISSINGER
MIN. ESCOVAR (VENEZUELA)
November 16, 1976
10:15 a.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: How are you?

E: It is nice to hear from you. I am here in New York on the way to Europe and for me it is a pleasure to say hello.

K: Aren't you nice. Is there any chance of your coming to Washington.

E: I am leaving today with the President for Europe and I had the opportunity to say hello and to express to you my great affection and best regards.

K: I am terribly touched. Are you going to be in Mexico for the inauguration of the President of Mexico.

E: No. I will accompany the President for 15 days in Europe. That is why I have to leave this evening.

K: I see. I want you to know that working with you was one of the great joys of being in public life.

E: Thank you very much and I hope to see you in Venezuela or any other place. You can be sure that I have a good friend in you and great admiration and affection for you.

K: The feeling is mutual.

E: Thank you very much.

K: Have a good trip.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 11060 172056Z

UNCLASSIFIED E 3595

67
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 OMB-01
ARAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 MCT-01 SAJ-01 SCA-01 SY-05 /097 W
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O P 172016Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2248
USMISSION USUN NY IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ SANTIAGO 11060

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM SREF PFOR CI
SUBJECT: RELEASE OF DETAINEES: FIRST BATCH AND 18 EXCEPTIONS

REF: SANTIAGO 10997

1. THE GOC WILL RELEASE THE FIRST GROUP OF STATE OF SIEGE DETAINEES THE AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER 17. ALL 134 NAMES ARE FROM THE TRES ALAMOS DETENTION CAMP. THE LIST FROM PUCHUNCAVI IS EXPECTED SHORTLY. CUATRO ALAMOS, UNDER DINA CONTROL, RARELY HAS MANY PEOPLE IN IT. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO ANNOUNCED THE NAMES OF THE 16 PERSONS, NOT INCLUDING POTENTIAL EX-CHANGEES CORVALAN AND MONTES, WHO WILL BE RELEASED ABROAD IF COUNTRIES WILL ACCEPT THEM. ICEM REPORTS THAT 13 OF THE 16 HAVE VISAS AND TWO OTHERS ARE PENDING. AMONG THE 16 ARE THE FEW SENIOR UP LEADERS STILL DETAINED.

2. AMONG THOSE TO BE RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY FROM
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 11060 172056Z

TRES ALAMOS WE FIND THE FOLLOWING US INTEREST CASES: HERNAN MONTEALEGRE KLENNER, PENDING SAO, SANTIAGO 10820 AND PREVIOUS; HUGO URRESTARAZU AND GARCIELA SALAZAR DE URRESTARAZU, SANTIAGO 1476, SENATOR HUMPHREY, NUMEROUS PRIVATE INTEREST; AND CECILIA BIMIMELIS (SANTIAGO 10820 AND SANTIAGO 9008 AND PREVIOUS). WE ARE REVIEWING THIS

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3. FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE SIXTEEN PEOPLE ONLY TO BE FREED ABROAD (EXCLUDES EX-PCCH SECRETARY GENERAL CORVALAN AND EX-PCCH SENATOR MONTES), FOUR HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE US PAROLE PROGRAM -- TWO WERE DENIED, ONE WITHDREW AND ONE IS CONSIDERED INACTIVE.

A) AYRES MORENO, LUZ DE LA NIEVES; HAS VISAS TO SWEDEN, ITALY AND FRG; HAD SPONTANEOUS ABORTION WHILE IN DETENTION (SANTIAGO 10003, 74 SANTIAGO 3302); US INTEREST, SENATOR BUCKLEY.

B) BREIN PIZARRO, HERNAN; VISA REQUEST TO FRG SUBMITTED 8/28/76.

C) BRUIT GUTIERREZ, CARLOS ENRIQUE; HAS VISA TO FRANCE.

D) BUSTOS STREETER, EDWIN PATRICIO; HAS VISA TO ITALY.

E) CADEMARTORI INVERNEZZI, JOSE; HAS VISAS TO RUMANIA, FRANCE, FRG AND ITALY, A VETERAN OF DAWSON (SANTIAGO 8870).

F) DIAZ ARMIJO, GLADYS; VISAS FOR AUSTRIA, FRG; APPLIED FOR AND THEN WITHDREW FROM PAROLENPROGRAM (SANTIAGO 2110); CONGRESSMAN WAXMEN INTERESTED

G) FRODDEN ARMSTRONG, RICARDO; VISA FOR NORWAY; DENIED FOR US PROGRAM 212 (A) (28); SENATOR KENNEDY INTERESTED

H) ITURRA MUNOZ, RAUL ALBERTO; NO VISA, NO RECORD.
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I) JOIGNANT MUNOZ, ALFREDO; VISAS TO FRANCE, RUMANIA, DAWSON ISLAND VETERAN, ALLENDE'S CHIEF OF PLAINCLOTHED POLICE.

J) MOYA RAURICH, JOSE MIGUEL; VISA TO BELGIUM

K) PALESTRO ROJAS, TITO; VISAS TO AUSTRIA, RUMANIA, NORWAY; DAWSON ISLANDER, EX-MAYOR OF SANTIAGO SUBURB KNOWN FOR ERECTING LARGE STATUTE OF FIDEL CASTRO.

L) ROMANO LORCA, PATRICIO, VISA REQUEST TO NORWAY ASKED 7/2/76.

M) TORO RAMIREZ, VICTOR; VISA TO CUBA.

N) VAN YURICK ALTAMIRANO, CRISTIAN; VISA TO UK; DENIED FOR US PROGRAM 212 (A) (28).

O) VERGARA BUSTOS, DANIEL; VISAS TO AUSTRIA, RUMANIA, FRANCE; DAWSON ISLANDER; ALLENDE'S VICE MINISTER OF INTERIOR.

P) ZURITA CAMPOS, JAIME; VISA TO MEXICO; HAD APPLIED FOR US PROGRAM BUT REPORTEDLY WAS RELEASED DECEMBER 18, 1975 AND PLACED IN INACTIVE CATEGORY. BOYATT

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14598 171922Z

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ACTION SS-14

UNCLASSIFIED

(E18)

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARA-06 SSO-00 /021 W

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O 171911Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8669

[redacted] MEXICO 14598

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY IN PART 9701416
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

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FOR S/S

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDIP PFOR MX
SUBJECT: VISIT TO MEXICO OF MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER

REF MEXICO 14245 AND 14032

1. DRAWING ON NOV. 17 ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORT EMANATING FROM ATLANTA, WORD IS BEING QUICKLY PASSED ABOUT MEXICO CITY THAT MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER, WIFE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER, WILL, IN THE CAPACITY OF A PRIVATE CITIZEN AND AS A SPECIAL GUEST OF MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO, ATTEND THE INAUGURATION OF MEXICO'S PRESIDENT-ELECT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO ON DEC. 1.

2. THE FOREING OFFICE AND THE PRIVATE SECRETARY OF MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO HAVE CALLED REQUESTING CONFIRMATION OF THE STORY. I WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF THE DEPT COULD CONFIRM THE REPORT SO THAT I CAN INFORM FONOFF AND LOPEX PORTILLO STAFF.
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 281810 UNCLASSIFIED

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/MEX:H.B.LANE:MRG
APPROVED BY ARA/MEX:J.T.DREYFUSS
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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, MX, US

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR DE OLLOQUI NOVEMBER 15

1. DE OLLOQUI CALLED ON THE SECRETARY AT 5:30 PM, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15, TO DISCUSS ECHEVERRIA'S CANDIDACY FOR THE UN SECRETARY GENERALSHIP. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD MADE EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS AMONG UN MEMBERS AND THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE A GENERAL CONSENSUS OF SUPPORT FOR WALDHEIM. HE SAID THAT, OF COURSE, THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT REPEAT NOT TELL ECHEVERRIA TO WITHDRAW HIS CANDIDACY AND THAT PERSONALLY HE LIKED ECHEVERRIA VERY MUCH. DE OLLOQUI SAID HE HOPED EVENTS WOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED TO PUT BLAME ON THE UNITED STATES. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS CONFIDENT ON THAT SCORE, THAT WE WISH NEITHER THE ENMITY OF ECHEVERRIA NOR OF MEXICO, AND THAT WE WILL USE THE GREATEST CIRCUMSPECTION IN THIS

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 281810 UNCLASSIFIED

MATTER.

2. ALSO BRIEFLY DISCUSSED WERE THE SECRETARY'S PLANS TO VISIT MEXICO LATER THIS MONTH AND TO LEAD THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION. THE MEETING WAS CORDIAL WITH SOME GOOD NATURED PROBING ON THE SUBJECT

OF WHO MAY GET WHAT UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATIONS HERE AND IN MEXICO. DE OLLOQUI SEEMED CONFIDENT THAT HE WILL GET A GOOD POSITION. KISSINGER

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 282447

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46
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 SSO-00 /022 R

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APPROVED BY S/S: CABORG
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M:LSEAGLEBURGER
S:DPASSAGE
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O 171850Z NOV 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 282447

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

EO. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, ROSALYNN), MX

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER, DATED NOVEMBER 11, 1976, TO MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS AND THE KIND INVITATION TO ATTEND YOUR HUSBAND'S INAUGURATION.

JIMMY HAS SO MUCH WORK TO DO RIGHT NOW, AND I AM NOT SURE IF HE WILL BE ABLE TO LEAVE THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, I WOULD LOVE TO COME AND ATTEND THE CEREMONIES ON DECEMBER 1.

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO INVITE YOU AND THE

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PAGE 02 STATE 282447

PRESIDENT-ELECT TO OUR OWN INAUGURATION IN JANUARY. JIMMY AND I WOULD BE HONORED IF YOU COULD BE WITH US ON THIS OCCASION.

I JOIN YOU IN LOOKING FORWARD TO A PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR FAMILIES, AND I THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR

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GRACIOUS INVITATION. SINCERELY, ROSALYNN CARTER. END TEXT.

2. SIGNED ORIGINAL WAS SENT FROM ATLANTA VIA INTERNATIONAL MAIL DIRECTLY TO MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO. KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14626 180015Z UNCLASSIFIED

61
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8683

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TS authority to
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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EXDIS **DECAPTIONED**

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) MX
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MEXICO: SCENARIO SUBMISSION #1

1. FOLLOWING IS PROPOSED SCENARIO FOR SECRETARY'S VIST.
TUESDAY 23 NOVEMBER
---- ARRIVAL AT ACAPULCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. NO ARRIVAL CEREMONY OR STATEMENT; NO PRESS CONFERENCE OR RECEPTION BY LOCAL OFFICIALS. PROCEED IMMEDIATELY BY LIMOUSINE TO PRIVATE RESIDENCE.
NOVEMBER 24-28
PRIVATE STAY IN ACAPULCO
MONDAY 29 NOVEMBER
1800 DEPART ACAPULCO
1840 ARRIVE MEXICO CITY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. MET AT PLANESIDE BY AMB JOVA AND FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL (PROTOCAL OFFICE WILL HAVE AMBASSADOR MANUEL ACALA AT AIRPORT TO RECEIVE ALL DELEGATIONS - WE SUSPECT HIGH LEVEL GOM OFFICIAL WILL BE NAMED LATER.)
1845 BRIEF ARRIVAL STATEMENT AT PLANESIDE WITH SIMULTANEOUS, LOCALLY PROCURED INTERPRETATION. NO PRESS QUESTIONS.
1850 PROCEED IMMEDIATELY FROM PLANESIDE TO WAITING LIMOUSINE AND TO HOTEL. (IF SECRETARY WISHES TO HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE, WE SUGGEST PROCEEDING FROM PLANESIDE TO VIP LOUNGE FOR ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND QUESTONS AND THEN TO LIMOUSINE).
1930 ARRIVE CAMINO REAL HOTEL
1930 FREE TIME
(WE SUGGEST SECRETARY MAY WISH TO HOST A DINNER PARTY FOR

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14626 180015Z

THE OFFICIAL US DELEGATION. ALTERNATIVELY, HE MIGHT WISH TO RECIPROCATE THE HOSPITALITY OF HIS MEXICAN HOST IN ACAPULCO. IN EITHER CASE AMB AND MRS JOVA WOULD BE PLEASED TO MAKE ARRANGMENTS AT THE RESIDENCE. NOTE BELOW THAT THURSDAY EVENING IS ALSO AVAILABLE.) NO PRESS OPPORTUNITIES.

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TUESDAY NOVEMBER 30
1130 DEPART CAMINO REAL ACCOMPANIED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHLAUDEMAN AMB JOVA, AND SPECIAL GOM MILITARY AIDE.
1155 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL PALACE
1200 PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF ACCREDITATION TO PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ AND GREETING OF OFFICIAL INVITEES. DARK SUIT, SECRETARY WILL PRESENT A SINGLE LETTER OF ACCREDITATION ON BEHALF OF ENTIRE DELEGATION. DELEGATION HEADS WILL PRESENT LETTERS IN ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF ACCREDITED AMBASSADORS (US IS NO. 19).
1245 DEPART NATIONAL PALACE
1310 ARRIVE HOTEL
1340 DEPART CAMINO REAL FOR LAS MANANITAS RESTAURANT AND GARDENS, CUERNAVACA
1500 ARRIVE LAS MANAITAS FOR PRIVATE LUNCH
1700 DEPART LAS MANAITAS
1830 ARRIVE HOTEL
1940 DEPART HOTEL
1955 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE
2000 RECEPTION FOR OFFICIAL DELEGATION AND SPECIAL US GUESTS INVITED BY PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO. DARK SUIT. APPROX 201, GUESTS. PRESS PHOTO OPPORTUNITY ONLY.
2200 RETURN TO HOTEL
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1
1030 DEPART HOTEL FOR NATIONAL AUDITORIUM ACCOMPANIED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHALUDEMAN AND SPECIAL MILITARY AIDE.
1045 ARRIVE NATIONAL AUDITORIUM
1100 OATH OF OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC LICENCIADO JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO
1230 DEPART NATIONAL AUDITORIUM FOR HOTEL
1245 ARRIVE HOTEL
1545 DEPART HOTEL
1555 ARRIVE AT EMBASSY
1600 ADDRESS ASSEMBLED EMBASSY STAFF
1620 DEPART EMBASSY
CONFIDENTIAL

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1630 ARRIVE HOTEL
1940 DEPART HOTEL
1955 ARRIVE PALACE OF FINE ARTS
2000 GOM HOSTED COCKTAIL-BUFFET AND SPECIAL PERFORMANCE OF MEXICO'S "BALLET FOLKLORICO" FOR OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS AND SPECIALLY INVITED GUESTS. DARK SUIT. (NOTE: TIMES FOR THIS EVENT ARE TENTATIVE.)
2300 DEPART PALACE OF FINE ARTS FOR HOTEL
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2
1230 DEPART HOTEL FOR NATIONAL PALACE. ACCOMPANIED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND MRS. SHLAUDEMAN AND AMBASSADOR AND MRS. JOVA

1250 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL PALACE
1300 PRESENTATION OF OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS (WITH

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SPOUSES) TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO.
DARK BUSINESS SUIT.
1400 LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO IN COURTYARD OF NATIONAL PALACE.
1530 DEPART LUNCHEON AND RETURN TO HOTE
1545 ARRIVE AT HOTEL. FREE TIME
(NOTE: EVENING MAY BE USED FOR SMALL DINNER PARTY-SEE NOTE FOR MONDAY, 29 NOVEMBER).
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3
1330 LUNCHEON AT CAMINO REAL IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO HOSTED BY OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS TO THE INAUGURATION (TO BE CONFIRMED).
1530 DEPART HOTEL FOR AIRPORT
1615 ARRIVE AT AIRPORT, BRIEF DEPARTURE STATEMENT RELEASED TO PRESS BY EMBASSY.
Q1620 DEPARTURE.

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2. AS SOON AS WE KNOW IDENTITY OF OTHER DELEGATION HEADS ATTENDING, WE WILL ASSESS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BILATERALS.

3. WHAT ARE THE SECRETARY'S PREFERENCES FOR MONDAY AND THURSDAY EVENINGS?

4. OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR SIGHTSEEING INCLUDE VISIT TO [redacted]

[redacted]

NEARBY (10 MINUTES) CHAPULTEPEC CASTLE OR A REPETITION OF VISITS MADE ON PREVIOUS TRIPS TO NEARBY SITES OF TEOTIHUACAN PYRAMIDS AND NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY.

5. MORE DETAILED INFORMATION ON PRESS OPPORTIITIES WILL BE PROVIDED ON GOM OFFICIAL EVENTS IN SEPTEL.
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14658 182234Z

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ACTION SS-25

UNCLASSIFIED

(E24)

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 182220Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8700

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART 9701416

[redacted] MEXICO 14658

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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( )

EXDIS

DECAPTIONED

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), MX
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MEXICO: SCENARIO SUBMISSION #2

REF MEXICO 14626 ✓

1. WE CAN NOW CONFIRM THAT RETURN HOSPITALITY IN FORM OF SITDOWN LUNCHEON WILL TAKE PLACE AT 1330 FRIDAY DEC. 3, AT MAIN SALON HOTEL CAMINO REAL. IT WILL BE GIVEN BY THE CHIEFS OF OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS TO INAUGURATION AND PRESIDED OVER BY SENIOR DELEGATION CHIEF, VICE PRESIDENT CASTILLO OF COSTA RICA. PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO WILL BE GUESTS OF HONOR, AND 60 MEXICAN OFFICIALS AND SPOUSES WILL ALSO BE GUESTS. SINCE 100 SPECIAL MISSIONS ARE EXPECTED TO BE ACCREDITED AT INAUGRUATION, DIPLOMATIC CORPS BY CONSENSUS ESTABLISHED RULE OF THUMB THAT EACH DELEGATION'S ATTENDANCE AT LUNCHEON SHOULD BE LIMITED TO SIX PERSONS -- DELEGATION CHIEF AND SPOUSE PLUS FOUR OTHER INDIVIDUALS FROM DELEGATION. IN CASES OF LARGE DELEGATIONS, FEELING WAS THAT TOTAL OF EIGHT PER DELEGATION SHOULD BE LIKELY MAXIMUM.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHETHER SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER WILL BE PRESENT AT DEC. 3 LUNCHEON. IF SO, CAN DEPT INFORM US WHICH ADDITIONAL FOUR PERSONS (INCLUDING DELEGATES AND SPOUSES) ARE LIKELY TO PARTICPATE?
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14673 182357Z

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ACTION SS-25

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8706

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ MEXICO 1467

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FOR S/S

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP MX
SUBJECT: INVITATIONS FROM LOPEZ PORTILLOS TO THE SECRETARY AND TO MRS. CARTER

1. MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO CALLED IN PERSON LAST NIGHT TO EXPRESS HER GRATIFICATION THAT MRS. CARTER HAD ACCEPTED TO ATTEND THE INAUGURATION. SHE SAID SHE PRESUMED MRS. CARTER WOULD BE STAYING AT THE EMBASSY RESIDENCE BUT, IF NOT, WOULD BE HAPPY TO PROVIDE A SUITE AT THE HOTEL CAMINO REAL.

2. SHE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT SHOULD MRS. CARTER WISH TO HAVE A FEW DAYS OF REST AT ACAPULCO, SHE WOULD BE HAPPY TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ARRANGMENTS FOR HER TO GO BEGINNING DEC. 2. SHE HERSELF WILL BE PREPARED TO JOIN MRS. CARTER'S PARTY FOR A DAY'S VISIT AFTER THE FOURTH. I TOLD MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO I WOULD COMMUNICATE THIS KIND INVITATION TO MRS. CARTER.

3. MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO ALSO WISHED TO EXTEND AN INVITATION TO MRS. CARTER AND SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER FOR DINNER ON THE EVENING OF NOV. 30, THE EVE OF THE INAUGURATION. IT WOULD BE A SMALL, INTIMATE DINNER AT THEIR PRIVATE RESIDENCE. I ALSO UNDERSTOOD HER TO SAY THAT SHE WAS INTENDING TO INVITE MR. PAUL AUSTIN, PRESIDENT OF COCA COLA AND A SELECT FEW OF MEXICAN AND VISITING GUESTS. THIS DINNER WOULD BE AT 9:00 OR 9:30 P.M.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14673 182357Z

4. PLEASE ADVISE THE DESIRES OF BOTH THE SECRETARY AND MRS. CARTER. I RECOMMEND ACCEPTING AS IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO GO THERE AFTER THE SUGGESTED RECEPTION AT THE RESIDENCE FOR THE U.S. OFFICIAL DELEGATION AND OTHER AMERICAN "SPECIAL GUESTS".
JOVA

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14656 182259Z

21
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CPR-01 PM-04 SAM-01 NSC-05 USIA-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8699

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UNCLAS MEXICO 14656

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PINT MX OVIP (HENRY A. KISSINGER)
SUBJECT: DELEGATION FOR INAUGURATION OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

REF STATE 281537

1. FOREIGN RELATIONS SECRETARIAT HAS ASKED WHETHER SPOUSES OF US DELEGATION MEMBERS TO LOPEZ PORTILLO'S INAUGURATION WILL ACCOMPANY THEM. IT HAS ALSO REQUESTED INFO ON DATE, TIME AND CARRIER FOR ARRIVAL SPECIAL REPS.

2. USIA WIRELESS FILE NOV. 17 REPORTS THAT SYLVAN MARSHALL OF WASHDC, HAS BEEN DESIGNATED BY WHITE HOUSE AS SPECIAL REP. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION. IF REPORT IS CORRECT, WILL MR. MARSHALL REPLACE SEANTOR JOHN TOWER, LEAVING TOTAL NUMBER OF REPS AS ELEVEN, INCLUDING SECRETARY KISSINGER?
JOVA

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November 18, 1976

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DOUGLAS P. BENNETT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Credentials for the United States Delegation to the Inaugural Ceremonies of the President-elect of the United Mexican States

There are attached for the President's signature letters accrediting the persons named on the attached list as the Personal Representative and Representatives of the President to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States. These ceremonies are scheduled to be held at México from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

(s)
Robert B. Off
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Under Secretary for
Management

Attachments:

1. List.
2. Memorandum for the President with credentials (10).

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14682 191649Z

47
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FOR S/S

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX
SUBJECT: VISIT OF MRS. CARTER

1. MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO'S OFFICE CALLED REGARDING SEATING OF MRS. CARTER AT THE INAUGURAL CEREMONY. IT IS CURRENTLY PLANNED TO SEAT HER IN THE FRONT ROW OF THE SPECIAL INVITEES SECTION; MR. AND MRS. PAUL AUSTIN WOULD ALSO SIT THERE. THE PRECISE QUESTION IS: "DOES MRS. CARTER WISH SOMEONE ELSE TO SIT WITH HER IN ORDER THAT SEATS MAY BE RESERVED?"

2. MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO IS PLANNING TO GO IN PERSON TO THE AIRPORT TO MEET MRS CARTER, HENCE WE WOULD APPRECIATE ITINERARY AND TRAVEL PLANS AS SOON AS CONVENIENT.
JOVA

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TELCON
11/19/76; 3:26 pm
Sec Kissinger/Amb Dobrynin

K: You have just decided to accept my proposal.

D: We accept him as Ambassador to Moscow.

K: That is a wise decision.

D: It is what I am calling you about. Gromyko asked me to tell you.

K: I appreciate this.

D: What about SALT. Is it better to wait until the next Administration?

K: Well. If you will permit me to do some more assassination plots in this country so I can get rid of some people, we will have SALT talks before January 20.

D: You are seeing the President elect.

K: I know you have my office bugged because I was just talking about SALT and what I would tell the President elect. I was going to tell him the thing to ask is to tell you to destroy all your heavy missiles.

D: It is a modest proposal.

K: I know you were just waiting to accept that, I can tell him.

D: I looked at his last press conference and it was not quite clear what his position is on SALT.

K: It is not fully clear to me either. We were just debating that. Are you willing to negotiate it before January 20?

D: I am interested and we are prepared anytime possible.

K: Let me talk to the President about it.

D: Next week let's get together and quietly discuss things.

K: I will sit down with you but I don't promise you I will be quiet.

D: I am used to it. So I will prepare myself for the occasion.

K: It was good to see you at that lunch the other day.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

D: You let me know.

K: Wait. I am going away Tuesday.

D: Tomorrow.

K: Tomorrow to Plains but Tuesday to Mexico. Maybe late Monday afternoon we can meet for a drink. Let's aim for that.

D: Okay.

K: I will call you Monday morning.

D: Thank you very much, Henry.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14729 01 OF 06 192317Z

70
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 /026 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8734

DEPARTMENT OF STATE M/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 6 MEXICO 14729

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: OVIP, PDIP, MX
SUBJECT: GOM PRIVATE GUESTS AT INAUGURATION OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

1. FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS JUST MADE AVAILABLE LIST OF 381 AMERICANS WHO HAVE BEEN GIVEN A PERSONAL INVITATION TO INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT-ELECT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO. INFO IS NOT YET AVAILABLE AS TO HOW MANY HAVE ACCEPTED OR REGRETTED, BUT GOM HAS REQUESTED A REPLY BY NOV. 23. WE DO NOT YET KNOW JUST WHAT ARRANGEMENTS GOM PLANS FOR THESE PRIVATE GUESTS, BUT SEVERAL HOTELS AND ASSORTED BUSES AND CARS HAVE BEEN RESERVED, AND VARIOUS RECEPTION CENTER COURTESIES ARE BEING PREPARED.

2. THE INVITED AMERICANS (EXACTLY AS NAMES APPEAR ON OUR COPY OF LIST) ARE:

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EXECUTIVE OFFICER
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SAN FRANCISCO

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CHAIRMAN & EXEC. OFFICER
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14729 01 OF 06 192317Z

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14729 02 OF 06 192348Z

70
ACTION ARA-10

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70
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 00005 200015Z

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14769 200112Z UNCLASSIFIED

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FOR S/CPR JAMES KABLER

E.O. 11652: ADS: DECLASSIFY 12/4/76.
TAG: OTRA, MX
SUBJ: INAUGURATION OF LOPEZ PORTILLO SCENARIO SUBMISSION NO. 1 FOR OFFICIAL DELEGATION EXCLUDING THE SECRETARY

1. PARAGRAPH 2 BELOW PROVIDES SCENARIO FOR US OFFICIAL DELEGATION EXCLUSIVE OF THE SECRETARY. EACH DELEGATION MEMBER AND SPOUSE WILL HAVE A RENTED CAR AND DRIVER AT THEIR DISPOSAL PLUS AN EMBASSY ESCORT OFFICER TO SUGGEST ACTIVITIES AND TO ASSIST IN MAKING ANY NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS. WE WILL ALSO SUGGEST FURTHER ACTIVITIES ASAP.

2. SUNDAY, 28 NOVEMBER - ARRIVALS MET BY ESCORT OFICERS. NO OFFICIAL PROGRAM PLANNED BECAUSE OF UNCERTAINTY OF ARRIVAL TIMES.

MONDAY, 29 NOVEMBER

1100 - PRESENTATION OF COPY (REPEAT COPY) OF LETTER OF ACCREDITATION BY AMBASSADOR JOVA TO FOREIGN MINISTER GARCIA ROBLES. DUE TO LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY FOREIGN MINISTRY, AMBASSADOR JOVA, ASST. SEC. SHLAUDEMAN AND SENATOR MANSFIELD ONLY WILL PARTICIPATE. DARK SUIT. NO WIVES.

2000 - GET-TOGETHER PARTY AT RESIDENCE FOR OFFICIAL DELEG-

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14769 200112Z

GATION. STRICTLY TENTATIVE -- TO BE CONFIRMED-- BAY BE FOR LUNCH OR DRINKS OR SUPPER.

TUESDAY, 30 NOVEMBER

1800 - RECEPTION AT EMBASSY RESIDENCE FOR OFFICIAL

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DELEGATION, US GUESTS INVITED BY THE LOPEZ PORTILLOS, AND MEMBERS OF AMERICAN COMMUNITY. APPROXIMATELY 200 PEOPLE. DARK SUIT, LONG DRESSES.

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WEDNESDAY, 1 DECEMBER

0945 - ASSEMBLE AT RESIDENCE (COFFEE SERVED).

1100 - INAUGURATION OF LOPEZ PORTILLO. DELEGATION MUST ARRIVE AT NATIONAL AUDITORIUM AT 10:15. DRESS: DARK SUIT. EXPECTED TO END ABOUT 12:30.

2100 - SPECIAL PERFORMANCE OF NATIONAL BALLET FOLKLORICO. OPTIONAL. PLEASE TELL US SOONEST HOW MANY WILL WISH TO ATTEND. DARK SUIT, LONG DRESSES.

THURSDAY, 2 DECEMBER.

1300 - PRESENTATION OF OFFICIAL DELEGATION (WITH SPOUSES) TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO. NATIONAL PALACE. (RECEPTION WITH RECEIVING LINE.)

1400 - LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO IN COURTYARD OF NATIONAL PALACE. DARK SUIT. ANTICIPATED DURATION - 2 HOURS.

2000 - POSSIBILITY THAT DINNER TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY EVENING WILL BE HELD AT THIS TIME.

FRIDAY, 3 DECEMBER.

1330 - LUNCHEON HOSTED BY ALL OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS AND WIVES FOR PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO.

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CAMINO REAL HOTEL. TOTAL US PARTICIPATION LIMITED TO SIX OR EIGHT. SEE MEXICO 14658.

1700 - PRESIDENT OF MEXICAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES (LIC. AUGUSTO GOMEZ VILLANUEVA) WILL RECEIVE MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL DELEGATION (AND WIVES, WE ASSUME, TO BE CONFIRMED) WHO ARE THEMSELVES LEGISLATORS.

1930 - RECEPTION AT FOREIGN MINISTRY FOR ENTIRE DELEGATION AND WIVES. DARK SUIT, LONG DRESSES.

SATURDAY, 4 DECEMBER - DEPARTURE.
JOVA

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14755 200123Z

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ACTION SS-25

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EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) MX
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MEXICO: SCENARIO SUBMISSION #3

REF A. MEXICO 14626, B. MEXICO 14658

1. FOLLOWING IS REVISED PROPOSED SCENARIO FOR SECRETARY'S VISIT (IT IS DRAFTED ON ASSUMPTION SECRETARY WILL STAY AT RESIDENCE -- CAN BE ALTERED ACCORDINGLY FOR HOTEL.)
TUESDAY, 23 NOVEMBER
---- ARRIVAL AT ACAPULCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. MET BY EMBASSY STAFF, RABASA, AND MR. LARREA. NO ARRIVAL CEREMONY OR STATEMENT; NO PRESS CONFERENCE OR RECEPTION BY LOCAL OFFICIALS. PROCEED IMMEDIATELY BY LIMOUSINE TO PRIVATE RESIDENCE.
NOVEMBER 24-28
PRIVATE STAY IN ACAPULCO
MONDAY 29 NOVEMBER
1800 DEPART ACAUPULCO
1840 ARRIVE MEXICO CITY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. MET AT PLANE-SIDE BY AMB AND MRS. JOVA AND HIGH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL (PROTOCOL OFFICE WILL HAVE AMBASSADOR MANUEL ACALA AT AIRPORT TO RECEIVE ALL DELEGATIONS - SUSPECT HIGH LEVEL GOM OFFICIAL WILL ALSO BE NAMED LATER).
1845 BRIEF ARRIVAL STATEMENT AT PLANESIDE WITH SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION. (WE RECOMMEND DEPT PROVIDE INTERPRETER FOR VISIT.) NO PRESS QUESTION.
1845 PROCEED IMMEDIATELY FROM PLANESIDE TO WAITING LIMOUSINE

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14755 200123Z

AND TO RESIDENCE. (IF SECRETARY WISHES TO HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE, WE SUGGEST PROCEEDING FROM PLANESIDE TO VIP LOUNGE FOR ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND QUESTIONS AND THEN TO LIMOUSINE).
1930 ARRIVE RESIDENCE.
2030 EVENING FREE (SEE MEXICO 14736) FOR ALTERNATIVES.

TUESDAY 30 NOVEMBER
1120 DEPART RESIDENCE ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR JOVA, ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHLAUDEMAN AND SPECIAL GOM MILITARY AIDE.
1155 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL PALACE.
1200 PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF ACCREDITATION TO PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ AND GREETING OF OFFICIAL INVITEES. DARK SUIT. SECRETARY WILL PRESENT A SINGLE LETTER OF ACCREDITATION ON BEHALF OF ENTIRE DELEGATION. DELEGATION HEADS, ACCOMPANIED BY TWO OTHERS, WILL PRESENT LETTERS IN ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF ACCREDITED AMBASSADORS (U.S. IS NO. 19) SUGGEST AMBASSADOR JOVA AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHLAUDEMAN
OF OFFICIAL DELEGATION PARTICIPATE WITH SECRETARY.
1245 DEPART NATIONAL PALACE
1230 LUNCHEON - STILL FREE (SEE MEXICO 14736)
1600-
1800 FREE TIME
1845 POSSIBLE CALL ON MRS. CARTER AT HER SUITE IN RESIDENCE PRIOR TO RECEPTION.
1900 RECEPTION AT EMBASSY RESIDENCE FOR OFFICIAL DELEGATION AND SPECIAL US GUESTS WHO HAVE RECEIVED INAUGURAL INVITATIONS FROM PRESIDENT LOPEZ PROTILLO. DARK SUIT. APPROX 200 GUESTS. PRESS PHOTO OPPORTUNITES ONLY.
2045 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR PRIVATE HOME OF PRESIDENT-ELECT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO
2100 PRIVATE DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT -ELECT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO. GUESTS INCLUDE MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER, AMB AND MRS. JOVA AMONG OTHERS. (SEE MEXICO 14673).
2330 DEPART LOOPEZ PORTILLO HOME FOR RESIDENCE.
2345 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE.
WEDNESDAY 1 DECEMBER
0930 DELEGTION ASSEMBLES AT RESIDENCE (COFFEE SERVED).
1015 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR NATIONAL AUDITORIUM.
1045 ARRIVE NATIONAL AUDITORIUM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1100 CEREMONY OF OATH OF OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC LICENDIADO JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO.
1245 DEPART NATIONAL AUDITORIUM FOR RESIDENCE.
1245-
2000 FREE TIME. LUNCH HOSTED BY FORMER PRESIDENT ALEMAN COULD BE SCHEDULED DURING THIS TIME, BUT WE SUGGEST HOLDING FREE FOR BILATERALS, OR FOR SIGHTSEEING.
2100 PROBABLY SMALL DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO. STILL STRICTLY TENTATIVE WITH NO FURTHER DETAILS YET AVAILABLE. (NOTE: LARGE COCKTAIL-BUFFET PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN DROPPED, ALTHOUGH SPECIAL PERFORMANCE OF BALLET FOLKLORICO WILL STILL BE GIVEN FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO ATTEND.
THURSDAY 2 DECEMBER
1230 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR NATIONAL PALACE FOR PRESIDENT'S

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GALA LUNCH.
1250 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL PALACE.
1300 PRESENTATION OF OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS (WITH SPOUSES)
TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO. DARK BUSINESS SUIT.
1400 LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO
IN COURTYARD OF NATIONAL PALACE.
1530 DEPART LUNCHEON
1615 ARRIVE AT AIRPORT. BRIEF DEPARTURE STATEMENT
RELEASED TO PRESS BY EMBASSY.
1620 DEPARTURE.
JOVA

UNCLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE Tm/IPS/IR Date 6/18/97 P770021-0661 7624508 E31
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

November 22, 1976

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UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DOUGLAS P. BENNETT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Additional Designations to the U.S. Delegation to the Inaugural Ceremonies of the President-elect of the United Mexican States

There are attached for the President's signature letters accrediting Jack Ford as Personal Representative of the President, and William D. Rogers and Dennis E. Carpenter as Representatives of the President with the rank of Special Ambassador, at the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of the President-elect of the United Mexican States.

/s/
Robert B. Off
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Under Secretary for
Management

Attachment:

Memorandum for the
President with credentials (3).

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Decontrolled following White House announcement

FCA/PAS/PC

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P770021-0659

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CPR Date 6/18/97
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] USE

Nov. 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER /S/

SUBJECT: Additional Designations to the United States Delegation to the Inaugural Ceremonies of the President-elect of the United Mexican States

There are transmitted for your approval letters accrediting the following-named persons to attend the inaugural ceremonies of the President-elect of the United Mexican States:

Jack Ford, as your Personal Representative;

William D. Rogers, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, as your Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador;

Dennis E. Carpenter, State Senator of California, as your Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador.

John J. Rhodes, United States Representative from the State of Arizona, whose name was recommended to you on November 18, 1976, has advised the Department that he will be unable to attend the inaugural ceremonies.

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Attachments:

Letters of credence (3).

MICROFILMED BY S/S-I

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Decontrolled following White House announcement

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin x22204 11/22/76 DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S

P770021-0663

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

UNCLASSIFIED

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November 22, 1976

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date 6/18/97
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TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: M - Lawrence S. Eagleburger

FROM: M/DG - Carol C. Laise CCL.

Additional Designations to the U.S. Delegation to Attend the Inaugural Ceremonies of the President-elect of the United Mexican States

There is attached for your approval a Memorandum for the President transmitting the credentials of Jack Ford as Personal Representative of the President, and of William D. Rogers and Dennis E. Carpenter as Representatives of the President, with the rank of Special Ambassador, at the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of the President-elect of the United Mexican States.

Attachment:

Memorandum for the President

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

Drafted: FCA/PAS/PE:SFSheskin
x22204: 11/22/76
Concurrences: S/CPR - Amb. Black STB/K
ARA - Mr. Shlaudeman
M - Mr. Off

SK210 *

TELECON
The Secretary/Marquis Childs and Jane Childs
11/22/76 6:05 pm

RELEASED IN PART
B6

K: How are you?

C: Pretty well, how about you?

K: I am fine.

C: I am bothering you for just a minute because I know that you are going to head the delegation in Mexico and we were asked or invited to go down but I wanted to know what your reading is about the way Echeverria is behaving.

K: Not very well.

C: He is behaving strangely isn't he?

K: We don't know but what he might not be thinking of a coup.

C: Do you think that is possible?

K: No, but he is certainly not fading out like Mexican Presidents usually do. He is building himself a future position.

C: Well, it won't be at the UN will it?

K: That is what he would like.

[redacted] B6

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

[redacted] B6

K: Bye.

C: Thank you so much Henry.

K: I will see you tonight probably.

C: Okay.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 11197 222055Z

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ACTION ARA-06

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 INR-05

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2304

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 11197

LIMDIS

UNCLASSIFIED

E. O. 11652: XGDS2
TAGS: PFOR, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER ASSASSINATION - ORLANDO BOSCH AND THE GOC

REF: SANTIAGO 9991

1. AS WITH THE REFTEL, THE EMBASSY SUBMITS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR WATEVER USE IT MIGHT HAVE IN THE INVESTIGATION OF ORLANDO LETELIER'S ASSASSINATION. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PASS IT TO THE FBI.

2. A CHILEAN OFFICIAL WITH EXCELLENT SOURCES IN THE GOC AND ITS INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES TOLD AN EMBOFF NOV. 19. THAT ORLANDO BOSCH HAD ARRIVE IN CHILE ABOUT DEC. 15, 1974, AND LEFT ABOUT DEC. 15, 1975 FOR PANAMA, WHERE HE REMAINED FOR A SHORT TIME, AND THEN TRAVELED TO COSTA RICA, WHERE HE HAD PROBLEMS BECAUSE HE WAS CARRYING A FALSE CHILEAN PASSPORT. HE LEFT COSTA RICA IN MAY 1976 FOR VENEZUELA, WHERE HE APPLIED FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. TH SOURCE SAID THAT BOSCH IS NOW "SINGING" TO VENEZUELAN AUTHORITIES, APPARENTLY ON THE LETELIER ASSASSINATION.

3. THE SOURCE SAID THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED WITH FONIMINSTER CARVAJAL WHETHER ANY INFORMATION ON BOSCH SHOULC BE GIVEN TO THE EMBASSY, AND HAD RECOMMENDED THAT THE MINISTRY NOT COMMENT TO US. THE SOURCE ADDED THAT HE HAD A CLEARER PICTURE OF WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE REGARDING LETELIER'S ASSASSINATION THAN ANYONE ELSE, AND

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SANTIA 11197 222055Z

PARTICULARLY US AUTHORITIES. BUT HE WOULD NOT RLEASE HIS INFORMATION TO THE USG BECAUSE IT WOULD IMPLICATE CHILE IN THE ASSASSINATION -- THAT IS, IT WOULD "MAKE CHILE LOOK BAD." HOWEVER, ASKED AT THE END OF THE CONVERSATION WHETHER AN AGENCY OF THE GOC OR ANY ORGANIZATION SPONSORED BY THE GOC WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING, HE SAID NO.

UNCLASSIFIED

4. COMMENT: THE SOURCE HAS BEEN A VERY RELIABLE PROVIDER OF INFORMATION IN THE PAST. HE DOES NOT EXAGGERATE OR BUILD HIMSELF UP. HE WARNED AGAINST RELEASING THE CONVERSATION TO ANYONE ELSE, SINCE HE FEARED THE CONSEQUENCES SHOULD HE BE COMPROMISED. THE EMBASSY OFFICER DOUBTS THAT HE COULD OBTAIN MORE SPECIFIC INFORMATION.
BOYATT

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

SK209

*

TELECON
The Secretary/Mr. Hartman
11/22/76 5:55 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Before I get out of here I am going to get that gd Soviet apartment thing started and you are not goint to block me.

H: Did you see the note in your book today?

K: No.

H: It says where we stand on the request that we have made and what we need on the things that they have promised us.

K: In my . . .

H: In your notes for your meeting today.

K: For what meeting?

H: Your meeting with Dobrynin. He told me on Friday that he was meeting with you so I prepared it. I think we can go ahead now.

K: Okay.

H: Then we have got something to show the congressional committees.

K: But you will give me this as a farewell present or should I send you to Chad?

H: Oh Chad. That would be a pleasure.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK208

*

TELECON
Mr. Roy Atherton/Secretary Kissinger
November 22, 1976
Time: 6:26 p.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Can you explain to me why it should take from 9:45 in the morning to now to produce two cables.

A: There were four cables...

K: Why?

A: We had one going...

K: Well, where are they -- I am leaving...

A: We got a little behind in the drafting because I was diverted -- but they should be up to you within five minutes.

K: O.K.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14799 222137Z UNCLASSIFIED

#33

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8774

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/DS/CR/IR Date 6/18/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

[redacted] MEXICO 14799

EXDIS

DECAPTIONED

FOR S/S

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) MX
SUBJ: SECRETARY'S VISIT: PROPOSED ARRIVAL STATEMENT

1. FOLLOWING IS THE PROPOSED ARRIVAL STATEMENT:

MY WIFE AND I ARE PLEASED TO BE IN MEXICO ONCE AGAIN WHERE WE HAVE SPENT SO MANY MEMORABLE DAYS, BOTH AS OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE VISITORS TO THIS GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL NATION. TODAY, IT IS A PARTICULAR HONOR FOR ME TO BE HERE AS THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AT THIS IMPORTANT AND HISTORIC MOMENT -- THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO.

AS YOU WELL KNOW, IT IS AN HISTORIC MOMENT FOR BOTH NATIONS SINCE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 24 YEARS, WE ARE CHANGING RESPECTIVE PRESIDENTS AT THE SAME TIME. ALTHOUGH THIS COINCIDENCE MAKES BOTH OUR COUNTRIES THINK IN THE FIRST INSTANCE OF CHANGE, IT SHOULD ALSO REMIND US OF CONTINUITY. FOR BOTH OF US ARE FORTUNATE TO BE CARRYING OUT PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER THROUGH THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. BOTH NATIONS ARE FORTUNATE TO HAVE A CONTINUITY OF BASIC PRINCIPLES THAT ENABLES EACH SUCCESSIVE PRESIDENT TO BUILD ON THE ACHIEVEMENTS

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 14799 222137Z

AND LESSONS OF THE PAST. BECAUSE OF THESE ASPECTS OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEMS, RELATIONS BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE DEVELOPED, AND I'M SURE WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOPE, WITHOUT THE SHOCKS AND REVERSES WHICH (TO) OFTEN CHARACTERIZE MODERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

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MEXICAN-US RELATIONS, ALWAYS CLOSE, HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY CHARACTERIZED BY THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT. THE FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN FOREIGN SECRETARY GARCIA ROBLES AND MYSELF AND MY MEETING WITH YOUR DISTINGUISHED PRESIDENT, LUIS ECHEVERRIA, HAVE HOPEFULLY CONTRIBUTED TO FURTHERING THESE PRINCIPLES.

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THUS IT IS WITH REGRET THAT WE PREPARE TO BID AN OFFICIAL FAREWELL TO PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AND OUR MANY GOOD FRIENDS IN THE OUTGOING ADMINISTRATION. BUT I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE CLOSE AND CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WHICH HAS CHARATERIZED US-MEXICAN RELATIONS IN THE PAST SIX YEARS WILL CONTINUE AND EXPAND IN THE NEXT SIX YEARS. THE FRANK AND CORDIAL RAPPORT ESTABLISHED DURING PRESIDENT-ELECT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN SEPTEMBER POINTS TO SUCH A CONTINUATION.

ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, I WISH TO CONVEY OUR MOST CORDIAL GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES TO YOUR NEW PRESIDENT AND THE GREAT NATION HE SERVES.
JOVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

UNCLASSIFIED

SK213 *

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Dick Valeriani
11/23/76; 10:30 am

RELEASED IN FULL

V: I am sorry I didn't get back to you last night. I went to see Henry the K run.

K: How did he do?

V: Came in second. I wanted to check before you left for Mexico on your feeling on the meeting Saturday.

K: I thought it was a good meeting.

V: Were your concerns alleviated?

K: At this point my interest is to see that he succeeds.

V: I know that.

K: I don't think I should make any comments. He is making a very serious effort to get on top of it.

V: Do you think he is getting there?

K: I think he is definitely getting there.

V: How about the people briefing him.

K: We are talking on deep background. I don't really want to get into this.

V: Do you think he is getting the right kind of information?

K: I will have to see.

V: You came out with a good feeling rather than apprehensive.

K: Yes. It was a good meeting.

V: You were satisfied with the way it went.

K: Yes. I did more talking than he did.

V: Did he listen attentatively?

K: As well as you can on your knees.

V: (laughter) Okay.

K: Right.

V: Thank you. Have a good vacation.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE Lm/IPS/CP Date 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

E40

November 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Rogers:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at Mexico from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
William D. Rogers,
Under Secretary of State for
Economic Affairs,
Department of State.

FCA/PAS/PC:GFSheskin
x22204: 11/22/76

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GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR
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( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART 9701416
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( )

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez,

President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Leon W. Parma as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Parma will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23,1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin x22204: 11/17/76 DC S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S

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GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE Limited Case Date: 11/1997
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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TS authority to

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez,
President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Sylvan M. Marshall as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Marshall will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger
Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

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x22204: 11/23/76

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE Im/IPS/CA Date 6/18/97
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

November 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Zablocki;

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at México from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
Clement J. Zablocki,
House of Representatives.

FCA/PAS/PG:SRSheskin
x22204: 11/19/76

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14869 232305Z

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ACTION SS-15

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8810

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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TS authority to
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

[redacted] MEXICO 14869

FOR S/S

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER), MX
SUBJ: MRS. CARTER'S TRAVEL PLANS -- INAUGURATION OF MEXICAN PRESIDENT

1. PLEASE PROVIDE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE INFORMATION CONCERNING MRS. CARTER'S TRAVEL PLANS. SPECIFICALLY, EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING: DATE, TIME OF ARRIVAL, AND AIRCRAFT INFO, WHO WILL ACCOMPANY, AND CONFIRMATION THAT MRS. CARTER WILL STAY AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. MRS. CARTER' SUITE AT RESIDENCE CONSISTS OF TWO DOUBLE ROOMS, A SITTING ROOM AND TWO BATHS. WOULD APPRECIATE NAMES OF THOSE IN HER PARTY WHO WOULD ALSO OCCUPY AVAILABLE DOUBLE BEDROOM.

2. MORS. LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS REITERATED HER INVITATION FOR MRS. CARTER TO VISIT ACAPULCO FOLLOWING INAUGURATION CEREMONIES. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER MRS. CARTER WILL ACCEPT INVITATION.
JOVA

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

E 43

GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE Interagency Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY IN PART 9701416
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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TS authority to

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría

President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Jack Ford as my Personal Representative to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Ford will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Personal Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S
x22204: 11/22/76

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez
President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated the Secretary of State of the United States of America, Henry A. Kissinger, as my Personal Representative to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Secretary Kissinger will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Personal Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

PCA/PAS/PC:SESheskin DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S
x22204: 11/17/76

GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR 97 Date: 9/18/97
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FOIA Exemptions
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( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez,

President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Clement J. Zablocki, United States Representative from the State of Wisconsin, as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Zablocki will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin x22204: 11/17/76 DC S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S

-7699

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GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE Date 6/18/97
( ) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY IN PART 9701416
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez
President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Harry W. Shlaudeman as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Shlaudeman will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S
x22204:11/17/76

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GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date 6/8/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY IN PART 9701416
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez,
President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Pete Wilson as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Wilson will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SESheskin DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S
x22204: 11/17/76

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CB Date: 6/18/97
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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

(537)

November 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Wilson:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at México from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
Pete Wilson,
Care of the Department of State.

FCA/PAS/EC:SFSheskin
x22204: 11/19/76

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE Interagency Date: 6/18/97
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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

E38

November 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Parma:

It give~ me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at México from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
Leon Parma,
Care of the Department of State.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin
x22204: 11/19/76

E44

GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE Date: 6/18/97
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez
President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Joseph J. Jova as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Ambassador Jova will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin x22204: 11/17/76 DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/17 Date 6/18/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

TO: The Secretary

FROM: ARA - Harry W. Shlaudeman

Visit to Mexico for the
Lopez Portillo Inauguration

Attached is a Memorandum for Mrs. Kissinger for her participation in the Lopez Portillo inauguration.

Attachment:

Memorandum for Mrs. Kissinger.

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GDS

MICROFILMED
BY S/S-I

Drafted: ARA/MEX:HBLane:bjf
x29293:11/23/76

DEPARTMENT OF STATE P760189-1694

BRIEFING PAPER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. KISSINGER

Subject: Your Participation at the Inauguration of Jose Lopez Portillo of Mexico, November 29 to December 2, 1976

I. PURPOSE

The Lopez Portillo inauguration gives us an opportunity to emphasize our close and cooperative ties with Mexico and, in particular, to strengthen the positive and friendly relationship with Lopez Portillo begun during his recent visit to the U.S.

Since Lopez Portillo's visit to Washington last September, short term financial problems have worsened. The Echeverria administration did not implement a stabilization program to support the September 1 float - devaluation of the peso and a second float, which took place on October 26, has increased the devaluation since September 1 to over 50 percent. The current tribulations of the Mexican economy have been compounded by the lame duck status of the outgoing administration and a lack of public confidence in the Government's ability to restore financial stability.

In addition to emphasizing the importance we have traditionally placed on our bilateral relations with Mexico (Secretaries of State Dulles and Rogers also attended Mexican Presidential inaugurations), the Secretary's visit is a public expression of our confidence in Lopez Portillo as he undertakes the difficult task of restoring domestic trust in the Mexican Government and international confidence in the peso.

II. CURRENT MEXICAN SCENE

Although over the past 25 years the Mexican economy has performed impressively, her current financial diffi-

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GDS

culties underscore long-term economic problems that have been building up:

-- Income disparities have widened especially in the last five years. Organized labor and government workers have been granted wage increases greater than cost of living and productivity increases, and have benefitted therefore, at the expense of the rest of the economy and especially at the expense of the most impoverished.

-- Unemployment has risen. Investment has not been of a nature to generate maximum new employment. The rising price of labor has generated substitution of capital for labor in both the manufacturing and modern agricultural sectors.

-- Mexico has the highest population growth rate of any major country. The economy is increasingly unable to provide jobs, housing, farmland, and social services for its rapidly growing population. The quality of life in urban centers is deteriorating as thousands of impoverished campesinos flock there seeking jobs. There are predictions that by 2000, Mexico City could be the world's largest city with a population of 31 million.

-- Growth in the agricultural sector has lagged and food imports have increased alarmingly in recent years. Due to the mystic of land reform, the government has not come to grips with the troublesome problem of sporadic land seizures, which have potential to seriously reduce existing efficient agricultural production. On November 19 Echeverria decreed that some substantial properties in Sonora were to be given to landless campesinos, an action which enraged property owners throughout Mexico.

Mexico's current financial difficulties are also eroding the prosperity of the most politically aware. This creates a more serious problem for Lopez Portillo than the rising level of discontent among the masses where there is little effective interest group mobilization and culturally ingrained passivity toward authority. A split within the ruling coalition would be a real danger to Mexican political stability. Unlike his predecessors Lopez Portillo did not come up through the party and the political bureaucracy (Interior Secretariat) but has an academic and public administration background. While this augurs well for the economy and for governmental efficiency, he does not have a band of strong supporters to back him up if he takes the strong but unpopular measures necessary to restrain the inflation and public sector deficit spending which led to Mexico's current financial predicament.

It is also possible that Echeverria could attempt to take advantage of Lopez Portillo's relatively weak position and continue to exercise a significant degree of behind-the-scenes control. If Echeverria does depart in peace this should clear the air and restore some degree of confidence in the private sector which appears willing to go at least half way in creating a better relationship with the incoming administration.

Increased oil production would enable Mexico to close her trade balance. However, Pemex (the national petroleum enterprise) has been reluctant to expand crude oil production before it can be integrated into production of refined derivatives and petrochemicals. It is probable, however, that Lopez Portillo will order Pemex to expand production rapidly since increased oil exports are the most readily available help for the balance of payments deficit.

III. ISSUES

Mexicans are quick to take offense at suggestions that they are dependent on the U.S. You should avoid such topics as family planning, population control, land reform, and petroleum policy unless they raise them.

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Our bilateral relations with Mexico have been good although there are a number of specific issues between us:

-- Trade: Mexico had an unprecedentedly large trade deficit with the U.S. in 1975. First quarter 1976 statistics, however, indicated an improvement. On August 31 Mexico floated the peso, breaking a 22-year exchange parity with the dollar. The float, which was not supported by a firm stabilization program, resulted in financial confusion and thus far is benefitting neither tourism nor exports.

-- Undocumented Workers (Illegal Aliens): The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that there are 8 million illegal aliens in the U.S. of which 60 percent are Mexican. The Mexicans dislike the term "illegal alien" and refer to them as "undocumented workers."

-- Narcotics: Based on seizure data, 80-90 percent of the heroin entering the U.S. comes from Mexico. The Mexican Government, with U.S. support, has undertaken an intensive campaign to destroy the opium poppy crop by aerial spraying of the poppy fields with weed killers. We are optimistic that reduction in the flow of heroin to the U.S. from Mexico will soon follow.

-- U.S. Prisoners: Over 500 Americans are currently imprisoned in Mexico. The large majority are young people accused of drug offenses. Physical abuse at the time of arrest had been substantially verified in a number of cases.

The United States and Mexico have agreed upon the text of an Exchange of Sanctions Treaty that would allow prisoners to continue their

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confinement in their home countries. The treaty will probably be signed in Mexico City near the end of this month (November). It must be then ratified by both Senates and the U.S. Congress must pass implementing legislation before any prisoners can be transferred. No prisoner will be transferred without his own consent. fter transfer the transferee will be subject to the parole and prison procedures that apply in the prison which receives him.

-- Petroleum: Mexico has recently become a net exporter of oil, thanks to the recent extensive oil finds in Tabasco and Chiapas. Given extreme sensitivity to any attempt on our part to influence Mexican oil policy, we heretofore have refrained from raising the issue of petroleum exports.

-- Echeverria's Candidacy for UN Secretary General: Echeverria has announced his candidacy to succeed Waldheim. We believe a broad consensus of support in favor of Waldheim's reappointment exists among UN members both large and small. We favor Waldheim's reappointment but have no desire to embarrass Echeverria. This is another topic you will want to avoid.

Attachment:

Biographic sketches.

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Department of State

November 1976

CONFIDENTIAL

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E58

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FOR S/CPR JAMES KABLER

FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec
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E.O. 11652: ADS DECLASSIFY 12/4/76
TAGS: OTRA, MX
SUBJ: LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION: SCENARIO FOR OFFICIAL DELEGATION EXCLUSIVE OF THE SECRETARY

REF: A. MEXICO 14769; B. MEXICO 14028

1. REF A INADVERTENTLY OMITTTED FROM MONDAY 29 NOVEMBER SCHEDULE THE 2:00 PM LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE CHIEF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT AND MRS. SENTIES. EVENT REMAINS AS GIVEN REF. B.
JOVA

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

-2696

E45

GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/TR Date: 6/15/97
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TS authority to
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To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría
President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Mike Mansfield, United States Senator from the State of Montana, as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Senator Mansfield will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

650

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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Date 6/18/97
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TS authority to

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Álvarez

President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Mrs. Edith Green as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mrs. Green will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested her.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from her the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which she bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin x22204: 11/17/76 DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S

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E35

November 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Marshall:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at México from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
Sylvan M. Marshall,
Care of the Department of State.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin
x22204:11/24/76

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GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE Date 6/18/97
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To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Álvarez,

President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated William D. Rogers, as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Rogers will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin x22204: 11/22/76 DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S

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TS authority to

E34

November 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Shlaudeman:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at México from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
Harry W. Shlaudeman,
Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs,
Department of State.

FCA/PAS/HC:CSFSheskin
x22204: 11/19/76

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S - J. COVEY
S/S-O:S.STEINER

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) MX

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MEXICO - SCHEDULE

REFERENCE: MEXICO 14755 AND PREVIOUS

1. SECRETARY HAS APPROVED MAIN ELEMENTS OF FOLLOWING SCHEDULE. EMBASSY SHOULD REVIEW SCHEDULE AND PROVIDE CLARIFICATION AND FURTHER INFO REQUESTED BELOW.

2. SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE

NOVEMBER 23

3:00 PM WHEELS UP ANDREWS (DC-9)

7:00 ARRIVE ACAPULCO

[redacted]

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 STATE 286825

NOVEMBER 24 - NOVEMBER 28 -- ACAPULCO

NOVEMBER 29

6:00 PM WHEELS UP ACAPULCO (NO TIME CHANGE)

6:40 ARRIVE MEXICO CITY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. MET AT PLANESIDE BY AMBASSADOR JOVA AND FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL.

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6:45 POSSIBLE BRIEF ARRIVAL STATEMENT. PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. NO PRESS QUESTIONS.

6:50 PROCEED WITH LIMOUSINE TO AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE (WHERE SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER WILL STAY).

7:20 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE. PERSONAL TIME (70 MINUTES).

8:30 POSSIBLE DINNER BY FORMER PRESIDENT MIGUEL ALEMAN

NOVEMBER 30

BREAKFAST AT RESIDENCE FOLLOWED BY COURTESY CALL ON ECHEVERRIA. EMBASSY SHOULD REQUEST.
10:45 AM MEETING WITH U.S. DELEGATION AT THE RESIDENCE (30 MINUTES)

11:15 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR NATIONAL PALACE

11:50 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL PALACE

12:00 PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF ACCREDITATION TO PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AT NATIONAL PALACE AND GREETING OF OFFICIAL INVITEES. DARK SUIT. SECRETARY WILL PRESENT A SINGLE LETTER OF ACCREDITATION ON BEHALF OF ENTIRE DELEGATION. U.S. PRESENTATION IS 19TH, RANKED IN ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF ACCREDITED AMBASSADORS.

12:45 DEPART NATIONAL PALACE FOR RESIDENCE

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1:15 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE. PERSONAL TIME (30 MINUTES).

2:00 LUNCH WITH COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO AT THE RESIDENCE. (TO BE CONFIRMED BY DEPARTMENT WITH THE COLOMBIANS)

4:00 CALL ON GARCIA ROBLES (TIMING ILLUSTRATIVE). EMBASSY SHOULD REQUEST.

5:00 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR ANTHROPOLOGY MUSEUM. (TOUR APPROXIMATELY 1 1/2 HOURS)

PERSONAL TIME

7:00 RECEPTION AT THE RESIDENCE FOR U.S. DELEGATION, SPECIAL U.S. INVITEES, HEADS OF DELEGATIONS OF

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KEY COUNTRIES, SELECTED MEXICAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY. (APPROXIMATELY 200 PEOPLE)

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9:30
(OR 8:45) DEPART RESIDENCE FOR LOPEZ PORTILLO HOME.

10:00
(9:00) LATE SUPPER GIVEN BY MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO FOR A SMALL GROUP, INCLUDING MRS. CARTER, SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER, THE JOVAS, AND MR. PAUL AUSTIN, COCA-COLA. (TO BE CONFIRMED)

12:00 RETURN TO RESIDENCE

DECEMBER 1

BREAKFAST AT THE RESIDENCE. PERSONAL TIME

10:20 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR NATIONAL AUDITORIUM.

10:55 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL AUDITORIUM

11:00 OATH OF OFFICE FOR PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12:30 DEPART NATIONAL AUDITORIUM FOR RESIDENCE

1:05 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE. PERSONAL TIME (25 MINUTES).

1:30 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR CUERNAVACA.

3:00 ARRIVE AT LAS MANANITAS RESTAURANT FOR LUNCH, ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. KISSINGER AND MRS. CARTER. (OTHERS?)

5:00 DEPART CUERNAVACA FOR MEXICO CITY.

6:30 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE. PERSONAL TIME.
EVENING (SEE NOTES PARA 12)
SPECIAL PERFORMANCE OF THE BALLET FOLKLORICO BEING CONSIDERED ALONG WITH INVITATIONS TO OTHER FUNCTIONS WHICH MAY BE FORTHCOMING.

DECEMBER 2

9:00 POSSIBLE BREAKFAST WITH NEW MEXICAN FOREIGN SECRETARY (TIMING ILLUSTRATIVE-EMBASSY SHOULD REQUEST)
1030 BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO. (TIMING

ILLUSTRATIVE - EMBASSY SHOULD REQUEST.).

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11:30 PERSONAL TIME (45 MINUTES).

12:15 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR NATIONAL PALACE.

12:50 ARRIVE NATIONAL PALACE.

1:00 PRESENTATION OF DELEGATIONS, DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND SPECIAL GUESTS TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO.

2:00 LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO IN COURTYARD OF NATIONAL PALACE.

4:00 DEPART PALACE FOR AIRPORT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CONFIDENTIAL
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4:30 ARRIVE AT AIRPORT. POSSIBLE BRIEF DEPARTURE STATEMENT.

4:45 WHEELS UP MEXICO CITY.

3. ON ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE STATEMENTS: WERE SUCH STATEMENTS MADE IN 1970? WOULD STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY BE APPROPRIATE AND IN KEEPING WITH PROTOCOL?

4. EMBASSY SHOULD REVIEW DURATION TIMES OF ALL EVENTS, ESPECIALLY TRAVEL, AND RECOMMEND CHANGES.

5. SECRETARY IS ACCEPTING MIGUEL ALEMAN'S INVITATION FOR MEXICO CITY. HE PREFERS DINNER NOVEMBER 29.

6. SEND BRIEF SCENARIO FOR NOVEMBER 30 MEETING WITH US DELEGATION.

7. ARA IS PREPARING CABLE TO BOGOTA ON APPROACH TO LIEVANO FOR BILATERAL (LUNCH NOVEMBER 30). NEED SUGGESTED SCENARIO (LIEVANO HAS REQUESTED PRIVATE, "ONE-ON-ONE" MEETING - ARA RECOMMENDING SHLAUDEMAN AND NOTETAKER ON US SIDE.)

8. SEND BRIEF SCENARIO ON VISIT TO ANTHROPOLOGY MUSEUM (5 PM NOVEMBER 30). WHO TO ACCOMPANY, HOW LONG?

9. QUESTION OF SCENARIO FOR NOVEMBER 30 RECEPTION IS BEING ADDRESSED AT DEPARTMENT. PLEASE SEND AS COMPLETE A GUEST LIST AS IS PRESENTLY AVAILABLE AND SEND ADDITIONS AND CORRECTION DAILY.

10. DEPARTMENT QUESTIONS PRACTICALITY OF HAVING ENTIRE

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DELEGATION MEET AT RESIDENCE. GIVEN TRAFFIC PROBLEMS AND DISTANCES INVOLVED, WOULD IT BE BETTER FOR DELEGATION TO ASSEMBLE AT THE NATIONAL AUDITORIUM? PLEASE ADVISE.

11. SEND BRIEF SCENARIO FOR VISIT TO CUERNAVACA AND

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LUNCH AT LAS MANANITAS RESTAURANT DECEMBER 1.

12. HAS COCKTAIL-BUFFET DEFINITELY BEEN DROPPED? IF SO, SECRETARY PREFERS A DINNER BE ARRANGED AT A MEXICO CITY RESTAURANT. PLEASE PROVIDE ALTERNATIVES. ALSO, PROVIDE MORE INFORMATION ON PERFORMANCE OF BALLET FOLKLORICO.

13. SINCE SECRETARY RECENTLY ADDRESSED EMBASSY STAFF HE WILL NOT DO SO THIS TIME.

14. EMBASSY SHOULD REQUEST PRIVATE VISIT BY SECRETARY WITH LOPEZ PORTILLO, CALLS ON GARCIA ROBLES AND NEXT FOREIGN MINISTER, IF POSSIBLE AS INDICATED IN ABOVE SCHEDULE. IF THOSE TIMES NOT CONVENIENT SUGGEST ALTERNATIVE TIMES. WHEN CONFIRMED SEND SCENARIOS.

15. IS NOVEMBER 30 DINNER TO BE HOSTED BY BOTH PRESIDENT-ELECT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO, OR ONLY LATTER? IS TIME 9 PM OR 10 PM?

16. AS SOON AS AVAILABLE, SEND MORE INFORMATION ON DECEMBER 1 DINNER, TO BE HOSTED, ACCORDING REFTEL, BY PRESIDENT-ELECT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO. KISSINGER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date 6/18/91
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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

November 23, 1976

UNCLASSIFIED
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DOUGLAS P. BENNETT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Additional Designation to the U.S. Delegation to the Inaugural Ceremonies of the President-elect of the United Mexican States

There is attached for the President's signature a letter accrediting Sylvan M. Marshall, an attorney of the District of Columbia, as a Representative of the President with the rank of Special Ambassador at the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of the President-elect of the United Mexican States.

/s/
Robert B. Off
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Under Secretary for
Management

Attachment:

Memorandum for the
President with credential.

UNCLASSIFIED
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

Decontrolled following White House announcement

FCA/PAS/PC:BCRenn

700

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GERALD R. FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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PA Exemptions
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( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( )

To His Excellency

Luis Echeverría Alvarez
President of the United Mexican States.

Excellency:

Desiring to give evidence of my appreciation of the cordial relations existing between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, I have designated Dennis E. Carpenter as my Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States.

I have entire confidence that Mr. Carpenter will be acceptable to you in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore ask that you receive my Representative favorably and accept from him the renewed assurances of my high regard and of the friendship which he bears of the Government and people of the United States of America for you and the Government and people of the United Mexican States.

Very truly yours,

By the President: /s/ Gerald R. Ford

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State.

Washington, November 23, 1976.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin DG S/CPR ARA/MEX ARA S/S-S
x22204: 11/19/76

DEPARTMENT OF STATE Im/IPS/CE Date 6/18/97
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E39

November 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Carpenter:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at Mexico from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
Dennis E. Carpenter,
State Senator of California,
Care of the Department of State.

FCA/PAS/EC:SFSheskin
x22204: 11/19/76

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE Im/IPS/CB Date 6/18/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

E36

November 23, 1976

Dear Mrs. Green:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the President has designated you his Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency José López Portillo as President of the United Mexican States, which are to be held at México from November 28 through December 3, 1976.

A list naming the members of the United States Delegation is enclosed. There is also enclosed the letter accrediting you in the capacity indicated.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures:

1. List of Delegates.
2. Letter of credence.

The Honorable
Edith Green,
Care of the Department of State.

FCA/PAS/PC:SFSheskin
x22204: 11/19/76

[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 288034 TOSEC 310027

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ORIGIN SS-15

UNCLASSIFIED

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APPROVED BY: S/S-O:AWOTTO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
(X) RELEASE ( ) EXCISE ( ) DENY
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EXDIS

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FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE DTD 240100Z NOV 76

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L MEXICO 14888

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX(KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: GUEST LIST FOR RECEPTION ON NOV. 30 FOR U.S. OFFICIAL DELEGATION ETC.

REF: STATE 286825 (PARA 9)

1. AS REQUESTED PARA 9 REFTEL, FOLLOWING IS A PARTIAL LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT GUESTS AT PROPOSED BUFFET NOV. 30, 7:00 TO 9:00 P.M. AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

OFFICIAL U.S. DELEGATION TO INAUGURATION;
MRS. ROSALYN CARTER; MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON; FORMER PRESIDENT AND MRS. MIGUEL ALEMAN; PRESIDENT OF PRI AND MRS. PORFIRIO MUNOZ-LEDO; FORMER MEXICAN FONSEC AND MRS. EMILIO RABASA; FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND MRS. JEAN BELIARD; FRENCH TERRITORIAL MINISTER JEAN LECANUET; AMBASSADOR OF ITALY AND MRS. RAFFAELE MARRAS; FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER OF ITALY FANFANI;
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 288034 TOSEC 310027

MR. AND MRS. MELCHOR PERUSQUIA; MR. AND MRS. JORGE LARREA; MR. AND MRS. EUSTAQUIO ESCANDON; PHILIPPINE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. CARLOS ROMULO; PARAGUAYAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALBERTO NOGUES; EGYPTIAN MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MOHAMMED RIYAD; FORMER MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. CARILLO FLORES; MINISTER OF GOVERNACION MARIO MOYA

UNCLASSIFIED

PALENCIA; AMB. OF MEXICO TO U.S. AND MRS. JOSE JUAN DE OLLOQUI; OAS SECRETARY GENERAL ALEJANDRO ORFILA; OAS REP IN MEXICO XAVIER CORTINA Y CORTINA; MR. FRANCISCO AGUIRRE, ADVISOR TO ORFILA; MR. AND MRS. JORGE DIAZ SERRANO, POSSIBLE NEXT DIRECTOR OF PEMEX; MR. AND MRS. JOSE CARRAL, VICE PRES. BANK OF AMERICA; DR. AND MRS. ANTONIO ORTIZ MENA, IADB; GOV-ELECT OF PUERTO RICO CARLOS ROMERO CARCELO;

UNCLASSIFIED

ALSO WILL INVITE THE FOLLOWING WHO HAVE BEEN INVITED BUT AS YET NOT CONFIRMED ATTENDANCE:

DR. MICHAEL E. DEBAKEY; DR. JEROME B. WIESNER, MIT; HON. SOL. M. LINOWITZ; MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM HOBBY JR., PUBLISHER HOUSTON POST; MR. AND MRS. JOSEPH KRAFT, COLUMNIST; ERIC SERVARIED, CBS NEWS; BARBARA WALTERS, ABC NEWS; AMORY HOUGHTON JR., CORNING GLASS WORKS; HENRY FORD II, FORD MOTOR CO.; MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM FLYNN, ZACAPA PETROLEUM; MR. ARMAND HAMMER, OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORP.; MR. AND MRS. ROBERT ANDERSON, ARCO; MR. AND MRS. GEORGE P. SCHULTZ, BECHTEL CORP.; MR. AND MRS. ROBERT W. CHAMBERS, PUBLISHER, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION NEWSPAPER; MR. AND MRS. PAUL AUSTIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD COCA COLA; HON. MOON LANDRIEU AND MRS. LANDRIEU, MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS.

2. WE STILL DON'T KNOW PRECISELY WHO IS COMING BUT WILL ADD TO LIST AS NAMES ARE RECEIVED. JOVA UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 STATE 288225

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APPROVED BY S/CPR:WRCODUS
ARA/MEX:GFALK
:ROFF
S/CPR:BWWHITEHEAD
/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

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TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 288225

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, MX

SUBJECT: U.S. DELEGATION TO LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION

REF: STATE 287995

FOR JOHN HAMILTON

MR. AND MRS. JAMES A. BAKER III WILL NOT ATTEND INAUGURATION. PLEASE DELETE THEM FROM DELEGATION LIST. ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 287995

UNCLASSIFIED

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 PM-04 SAM-01 NSC-05 OPR-02 PA-01

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IM/IPS/CR Date: 6/18/97

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APPROVED BY S/CPR:WRCODUS
ARA/MEX:GFALK
M:ROFF
S/CPR:BWWHITEHEAD
S/ - :DLMACK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 287995

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, MX

SUBJECT: U.S. DELEGATION TO LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION
REF: MEXICO 14656

FOR JOHN HAMILTON AND B & F (NATIVA SIMOES)

1. THERE FOLLOWS PERTINENT INFORMATION AND SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS REQUESTED FOR PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION EXCLUDING SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER.

2. TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS:

MR. JACK FORD (AND U.S. SECRET SERVICE AGENTS)

NOVEMBER 29 AMERICAN FLT. 93 8:25AM-1:49PM DC-MEX CITY

DECEMBER 4 EASTERN FLT. 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CITY-ATL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 STATE 287995

EASTERN FLT. 380 3:04PM-4:30PM ATL-DC

SENATOR AND MRS. MIKE MANSFIELD (MAUREEN)

NOVEMBER 28 EASTERN 137 8:29AM-10:10AM DC-ATL
EASTERN 905 11:10AM-1:23PM ATL-MEX CITY

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DECEMBER 4 EASTERN 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CITY-ATL
EASTERN 380 3:04PM-4:30PM ATL-DC
(ON STANDBY FOR EASTERN 904 12:25PM-7:11PM MEX CITY-DC)

CONGRESSMAN AND MRS. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI (BLANCHE)

NOVEMBER 28 EASTERN 137 8:29AM-10:10AM DC-ATL
EASTERN 905 11:10AM-1:23PM ATL-MEX CITY

DECEMBER 3 EASTERN 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CITY-ATL
MRS. ZABLOCKI: EASTERN 380 3:04PM-4:30PM ATL-DC
MR. ZABLOCKI: DELTA 313 4:45PM-5:36PM ATL-CHARLESTON

DECEMBER 4 EASTERN 214 7:14PM-7:50PM CHARLESTON-CHARLOTTE
EASTERN 394 8:20PM-9:15PM CHARLOTTE-DC

MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM D. ROGERS (SUZANNE OR SUKI)

NOVEMBER 28 AMERICAN 93 8:25AM-1:49PM DC-MEX CITY

DECEMBER 3 EASTERN 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CITY-ATL
EASTERN 380 3:04PM-4:30PM ATL-DC

MR AND MRS. HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN (CAROL)

NOVEMBER 28 EASTERN 137 8:29AM-10:10AM DC-ATL
EASTERN 905 11:10AM-1:23PM ATL-MEX CITY

DECEMBER 4 EASTERN 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CITY-ATL
EASTERN 380 3:04PM-4:30PM ATL-DC

SENATOR AND MRS. DENNIS E. CARPENTER (MADINE)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASSIFIED

NOVEMBER 29 WESTERN 691 10:40AM-3:40PM SAN DIEGO-MEX CTY

DECEMBER 3 WESTERN 692 4:40PM-5:57PM MEX CTY-SAN DIEGO

MAYOR AND MRS. PETE WILSON (BETTY)

NOVEMBER 28 WESTERN 691 10:40AM-3:40PM SAN DIEGO-MEX CTY
OPEN RETURN

MRS. EDITH GREEN

NOVEMBER 28 UNITED 289 8:15AM-10:10AM PORTLAND-LA
WESTERN 601 11:40AM-4:55PM LA-MEX CITY

OPEN RETURN

UNCLASSIFIED

MR. AND MRS. JAMES A. BAKER III (SUSAN)

NOVEMBER 30 EASTERN 137 8:29AM-10:10AM DC-ATL
EASTERN 905 11:10AM-1:23PM ATL-MEX CITY

DECEMBER 2 OPEN RETURN (TO HOUSTON)

MR. AND MRS. LEON W. PARMA (BARBARA)

NOVEMBER 28 WESTERN 691 10:40AM-3:40PM SAN DIEGO-MEX

DECEMBER 4 WESTERN 692 4:40PM-5:57PM MEX CTY-SAN DIEGO

MR. AND MRS. SYLVAN M. MARSHALL (MARA)

NOVEMBER 28 EASTERN 137 8:29AM-10:10AM DC-ATL
EASTERN 905 11:10AM-1:23PM ATL-MEX CITY

DECEMBER 4 EASTERN 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CTY-ATL
EASTERN 380 3:04PM-4:30PM ATL-DC

PLEASE MEET AND ASSIST.

3. PLEASE MAKE APPROPRIATE ACCOMMODATIONS ARRANGEMENTS AT THE MARIA ISABEL-SHERATON HOTEL AND PROVIDE GROUND

TRANSPORTATION FOR DELEGATION MEMBERS DURING THEIR STAY.

4. EXPENSES FOR DELEGATION (NOT PICKED UP BY HOST GOVERNMENT) WILL BE FUNDED BY THE OFFICE OF PROTOCOL. S/CPR WILL NOT RPT NOT REIMBURSE EMBASSY FOR GROUND TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES FOR DELEGATION. EMBASSY SHOULD PAY ALL EXPENSES AND FORWARD COPIES OF BILLS CONVERTED TO U.S. DOLLARS TO MR. BENNY W. WHITEHEAD, S/CPR, ROOM 1238, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, FOR REIMBURSEMENT.

5. ASSUME DELEGATION WILL RECEIVE BRIEFING AND/OR BRIEFING MATERIALS UPON ARR;VAL BY EMBASSY STAFF.

6. ATTENDANCE BY DELEGATION MEMBERS AT BALLET FOLKLORICO WILL DEPEND UPON THE SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE SO RESERVE FOR ALL UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.

7. NOTE THAT FUNDING FOR THE SECRETARY'S STAFF WILL BE HANDLED SEPARATELY FROM REMAINDER OF PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION.

8. FYI THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE FOR DELEGATION IS AS FOLLOWS:

PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESIDENT

THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER (HEAD OF DELEGATION)
MRS. KISSINGER

MR. JACK FORD

CLASSIFIED

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESIDENT

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH J. JOVA
MRS. JOVA
THE HONORABLE MIKE MANSFIELD
MRS. MANSFIELD
THE HONORABLE CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
MRS. ZABLOCKI
THE HONORABLE WILLIAM D. ROGERS
MRS. ROGERS
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 287995

THE HONORABLE HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN
MRS. SHLAUDEMAN
THE HONORABLE DENNIS E. CARPENTER
MRS. CARPENTER
THE HONORABLE PETE WILSON
MRS. WILSON
MRS. EDITH GREEN
MR. JAMES A. BAKER III
MRS. BAKER
MR. LEON W. PARMA
MRS. PARMA
MR. SYLVAN M. MARSHALL
MRS. MARSHALL

ROBINSON

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PAGE 01 STATE 287995 TOSEC 310036

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APPROVED BY: S/S- MR SEBASTIAN

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, MX

SUBJECT: U.S. DELEGATION TO LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION
REF: MEXICO 14656
FOR JOHN HAMILTON AND B & F (NATIVA SIMOES)

1. THERE FOLLOWS PERTINENT INFORMATION AND SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS REQUESTED FOR PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION EXCLUDING SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER.

2. TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS:

MR. JACK FORD (AND U.S. SECRET SERVICE AGENTS)

NOVEMBER 29 AMERICAN FLT. 93 8:25AM-1:49PM DC-MEX CITY

DECEMBER 4 EASTERN FLT. 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CITY-ATL
EASTERN FLT. 380 3:04PM-4:30PM ATL-DC

SENATOR AND MRS. MIKE MANSFIELD (MAUREEN)

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NOVEMBER 28 EASTERN 137 8:29AM-10:10AM DC-ATL
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DECEMBER 4 EASTERN 908 9:50AM-1:46PM MEX CITY-ATL
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MR. ZABLOCKI: DELTA 313 4:45PM-5:36PM ATL-CHARLESTON

UNCLASSIFIED

DECEMBER 4 EASTERN 214 7:14PM-7:50PM CHARLESTON-CHARLOTTE
EASTERN 394 8:20PM-9:15PM CHARLOTTE-DC

UNCLASSIFIED

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MAYOR AND MRS. PETE WILSON (BETTY)

NOVEMBER 28 WESTERN 691 10:40AM-3:40PM SAN DIEGO-MEX CTY
OPEN RETURN

MRS. EDITH GREEN

NOVEMBER 28 UNITED 289 8:15AM-10:10AM PORTLAND-LA
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UNCLASSIFIED

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PLEASE MEET AND ASSIST.

3. PLEASE MAKE APPROPRIATE ACCOMMODATIONS ARRANGEMENTS AT THE MARIA ISABEL-SHERATON HOTEL AND PROVIDE GROUND TRANSPORTATION FOR DELEGATION MEMBERS DURING THEIR STAY.

4. EXPENSES FOR DELEGATION (NOT PICKED UP BY HOST

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5. ASSUME DELEGATION WILL RECEIVE BRIEFING AND/OR BRIEFING MATE
RIALS UPON ARRIVAL BY EMBASSY STAFF.

6. ATTENDANCE BY DELEGATION MEMBERS AT BALLET FOLKLORICO WILL DEPEND UPON THE SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE SO RESERVE FOR ALL UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.

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8. FYI THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE FOR DELEGATION IS AS FOLLOWS:

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MRS. KISSINGER

MR. JACK FORD

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESIDENT

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH J. JOVA
MRS. JOVA
THE HONORABLE MIKE MANSFIELD
MRS. MANSFIELD
THE HONORABLE CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
MRS. ZABLOCKI
THE HONORABLE WILLIAM D. ROGERS

UNCLASSIFIED

MRS. ROGERS
THE HONORABLE HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN
MRS. SHLAUDEMAN
THE HONORABLE DENNIS E. CARPENTER
[redacted]

[redacted]

MRS. CARPENTER
THE HONORABLE PETE WILSON
MRS. WILSON
MRS. EDITH GREEN
MR. JAMES A. BAKER III
MRS. BAKER
MR. LEON W. PARMA
MRS. PARMA
MR. SYLVAN M. MARSHALL
MRS. MARSHALL

ROBINSON UNQTE ROBINSON

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UNCLASSIFIED

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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C O N F I D E N T I A L MEXICO

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX(KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ: GUEST LIST FOR RECEPTION ON NOV. 30 FOR U.S. OFFICIAL DELEGATION ETC.

REF: STATE 286825 (PARA 9)

1. AS REQUESTED PARA 9 REFTEL, FOLLOWING IS A PARTIAL LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT GUESTS AT PROPOSED BUFFET NOV. 30, 7:00 TO 9:00 P.M. AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

OFFICIAL U.S. DELEGATION TO INAUGURATION;
MRS. ROSALYN CARTER; MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON; FORMER PRESIDENT AND MRS. MIGUEL ALEMAN; PRESIDENT OF PRI AND MRS. PORFIRIO MUNOZ-LEDO; FORMER MEXICAN FONSEC AND MRS. EMILIO RABASA; FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND MRS. JEAN BELIARD; FRENCH TERRITORIAL MINISTER JEAN LECANUET; AMBASSADOR OF ITALY AND MRS. RAFFAELE MARRAS; FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER OF ITALY FANFANI; MR. AND MRS. MELCHOR PERUSQUIA; MR. AND MRS. JORGE LARREA; MR. AND MRS. EUSTAQUIO ESCANDON; PHILIPPINE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. CARLOS ROMULO; PARAGUAYAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALBERTO NOGUES; EGYPTIAN MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MOHAMMED RIYAD; FORMER MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS. CARILLO FLORES; MINISTER OF GOVERNACION MARIO MOYA PALENCIA; AMB. OF MEXICO TO U.S. AND MRS. JOSE JUAN DE OLLOQUI; OAS SECRETARY GENERAL ALEJANDRO ORFILA; OAS REP IN MEXICO XAVIER CORTINA Y CORTINA; MR. FRANCISCO AGUIRRE, ADVISOR TO ORFILA; MR. AND MRS. JORGE DIAZ

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14888 240136Z

SERRANO, POSSIBLE NEXT DIRECTOR OF PEMEX; MR. AND MRS. JOSE CARRAL, VICE PRES. BANK OF AMERICA; DR. AND MRS. ANTONIO ORTIZ MENA, IADB; GOV-ELECT OF PUERTO RICO CARLOS ROMERO CARCELO;

ALSO WILL INVITE THE FOLLOWING WHO HAVE BEEN INVITED

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BUT AS YET NOT CONFIRMED ATTENDANCE:

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DR. MICHAEL E. DEBAKEY; DR. JEROME B. WIESNER, MIT; HON. SOL. M. LINOWITZ; MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM HOBBY JR., PUBLISHER HOUSTON POST; MR. AND MRS. JOSEPH KRAFT, COLUMNIST; ERIC SERVARIED, CBS NEWS; BARBARA WALTERS, ABC NEWS; AMORY HOUGHTON JR., CORNING GLASS WORKS; HENRY FORD II, FORD MOTOR CO.; MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM FLYNN, ZACAPA PETROLEUM; MR. ARMAND HAMMER, OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORP.; MR. AND MRS. ROBERT ANDERSON, ARCO; MR. AND MRS. GEORGE P. SCHULTZ, BECHTEL CORP.; MR. AND MRS. ROBERT W. CHAMBERS, PUBLISHER, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION NEWSPAPER; MR. AND MRS. PAUL AUSTIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD COCA COLA; HON. MOON LANDRIEU AND MRS. LANDRIEU, MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS.

2. WE STILL DON'T KNOW PRECISELY WHO IS COMING BUT WILL ADD TO LIST AS NAMES ARE RECEIVED.
JOVA

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*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 24, 1976

Dear Mr. Lopez Portillo:

I very much appreciate your kind invitation to attend your inauguration as President of Mexico on December 1. You know of my strong friendship for Mexico, and I recall with pleasure our meeting and conversations in Washington during your September visit.

Although it will not be possible for me to attend the inauguration, I have asked Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to head the delegation of distinguished Americans who will represent the United States. In addition, as an expression of my personal interest I have asked my son Jack to be a member of the delegation.

Mrs. Ford joins me in sending to you and Mrs. Lopez Portillo our warm personal regards and best wishes for the success of your administration and the prosperity and well being of Mexico and its people.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
Jose Lopez Portillo
President-elect of the
United Mexican States
Mexico, D.F.

MICROFILMED
BY S/S-I

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14958 01 OF 02 250414Z

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EXDIS DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) MX
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MEXICO: SCENARIO SUBMISSION #4

1. FOLLOWING IS REVISED, PROPOSED SCENARIO NUMBER FOUR.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29
(NOTE: PROTOCOL OFFICE INFORMED US THAT ALL DELEGATIONS ARRIVING FOR LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION WILL PROCEED THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT OFFICIAL VIP LOUNGE. ARRIVALS WILL BE HEAVILY COVERED BY THE LOCAL MEDIA. THEREFORE, PROPOSED ARRIVAL SCENARIO IN MEXICO CITY FOR SECRETARY HAS BEEN REVISED AS FOLLOWS.)

1810 ARRIVE MEXICO CITY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT . MET AT PLANESIDE BY AMBASSADOR JOVA AND FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL.
PROCEED DIRECTLY TO VIP LOUNGE.
1815 BRIEF ARRIVAL STATEMENT. PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. NO PRESS QUESTIONS. (MICROPHONE AND CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETATION BY HERVAS.)
1825 DEPART AIRPORT FOR FOREIGN SECRETARIAT.
1900 ARRIVE FOREIGN MINISTRY
APPOINTMENT WITH GARCIA ROBLES
1930 DEPART FOR RESIDENCE.
2000 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE (45 MINUTES PERSONAL TIME).
2045 DEPART FOR ALEMAN DINNER
2100 ARRIVE AT ALEMAN HOME. OTHER GUESTS INCLUDE PERESQUIAS, CHITO LONGORIA (BANKER), ERIC KOENIG

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14958 01 OF 02 250414Z

(MEXICAN SUGAR MAN)--BOTH OF THE LATTER HAVE US WIVES--AND JOVAS. DARK SUIT, LONG DRESSES.
2330 DEPART FOR RESIDENCE.
(NOTE: DCM CALDERHEAD IS HOSTING AN INFORMAL RECEPTION MONDAY EVENING FOR REMAINDER OF US DELEGATION IN HIS HOME. IF SECRETARY WISHES, HE COULD STOP BY THIS RECEPTION TO

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GET ACQUAINTED WITH US DELEGATION EN ROUTE TO ALEMAN DINNER. THIS COULD SUBSTITUTE FOR MEETING WITH US DELEGATION, SCHEDULED FOR 1045 NOV 30, RELIEVING WHAT IS PROBABLY GOING TO BE AN UNREALISTICALLY TIGHT SCHEDULE. PLEASE ADVISE.)

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30
BREAKFAST AT RESIDENCE:
DEPART FOR APPOINTMENT WITH PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA (TIME DEPENDS UPON PLACE OF APPOINTMENT--WHETHER LOS PINOS OR PRIVATE RESIDENCE AT SAN JENONIMO--AND TIME. WE HAVE REQUESTED BUT HAVE NO RESPONSE).
1045 GET ACQUAINTED MEETING WITH U.S. DELEGATION AT RESIDENCE (TIMING DEPENDENT UPON SCHEDULING OF ABOVE APPOINTMENT). SECRETARY WILL GREET U.S. DELEGATION IN LARGE LIVING ROOM, ADJACENT TO DINING ROOM AND TERRACE. INFORMAL MINGLING WITH COFFEE AND SWEET ROLLS SERVED. (COULD BE CANCELLED; SEE NOTE FOR MONDAY EVENING ABOVE).
1115 DEPART FOR NATIONAL PALACE.
1150 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL PALACE
1200 NOON PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF ACCREDITATION TO PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AT NATIONAL PALACE AND GREETING OF OFFICIAL INVITEES. DARK SUIT. SECRETARY WILL PRESENT A SINGLE LETTER OF ACCREDITATION ON BEHALF OF ENTIRE DELEGATION. U.S. PRESENTATION IS 19TH, RANKED IN ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF ACCREDITED AMBASSADORS. ACCOMPANIED BY JACK FORD, AMB. JOVA, SEN. MANSFIELD, CONG. ZABLOCKI.
1300 DEPART NATIONAL PALACE FOR RESIDENCE.
1330 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE. PERSONAL TIME (30 MINUTES).
1400 STAG LUNCHEON AT RESIDENCE WITH COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO AGUIRRE. SECRETARY RECEIVES LIEVANO AGUIRRE AND PROCEEDS TO RESIDENCE LIBRARY ADJACENT TO MAIN LIVING ROOM. BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN LIBRARY WITH BEVERAGE SERVED. ASSISTANT SEC-

RETARY SHLAUDEMAN AND NOTE-TAKER PRESENT. AFTER BILATERAL ENDS, LIGHT LUNCHEON SERVED ON RESIDENCE TERRACE (ASSUMING PLEASANT WEATHER) OR IN LIBRARY ITSELF IN EVENT OF INCLEMENT WEATHER.
1600 LUNCHEON ENDS. (PERSONAL TIME 30 MINUTES).
1630 LEAVE RESIDENCE FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM.
1645 ARRIVE ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM. TO BE MET BY MUSEUM DIRECTOR DR. IGNACIO BERNAL AND USIS OFFICER DONALD ALBRIGHT.
TOUR OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM. ENGLISH-SPEAKING GUIDE WILL BE PROVIDED. (AS WE UNDERSTAND THE SECRETARY VISITED THE MUSEUM THREE YEARS AGO WE WILL TRY TO ARRANGE TOUR IN AREAS OF MUSEUM HE DID NOT SEE AT THAT TIME. MUSEUM IS NOW ON STRIKE BUT DIRECTOR PLANS OPEN FACILITY ESPECIALLY FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY.)

1745 LEAVE ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM FOR RESIDENCE.
1800 ARRIVE RESIDENCE.
AS ALTERNATIVE TO TOUR OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM, SECRETARY MAY WISH TO VISIT THE DIEGO RIVERA MUSEUM. THIS IS A UNIQUE COLLECTION OF RIVERA PAINTINGS, BELONGING TO THE WEALTHY AND COLORFUL MRS. LOLA DE OLMEDO.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14958 02 OF 02 250206Z

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ALTERNATE SCENARIO WOULD BE:
1615 LEAVE RESIDENCE FOR DIEGO RIVERA MUSEUM.
1650 ARRIVE DIEGO RIVERA MUSEUM. TO BE MET BY MRS. DELORES OLMEDA, OWNER AND DIRECTOR OF THE MUESUM. TOUR MUSEUM. DURATION 30 MINUTES.
1720 LEAVE MUESUM FOR RESIDENCE.
1800 ARRIVE RESIDENCE. (PERSONAL TIME 60 MINUTES.)
(NOTE: YET ANOTHER ATTRACTIVE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE VISIT TO CARMEN CARRILLO GIL MUSEUM OF ART, A COLLECTION OF OROZCO, SIGUEIROS, RIVERA, PAALEN (SURREALISTIC) AND GERZSO (ABSTRACT) PAINTINGS. ABOUT 40 MINUTES FROM RESIDENCE.
1900 RECEPTION AT THE RESIDENCE FOR U.S. DELEGATION, SPECIAL U.S. INVITEES, HEADS OF DELEGATIONS OF KEY COUNTRIES, SELECTED MEXICAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY. (APPROXIMATELY 200 PEOPLE).
2045 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR LOPEZ PORTILLO HOME.
2115 LATE SUPPER GIVEN BY PRESIDENT-ELECT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO FOR A SMALL GROUP, INCLUDING MRS. CARTER, MR. PAUL AUSTIN, COCA COLA AND THE JOVAS. (HAS BEEN CONFIRMED)
(THIS HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS ALMOST A FAMILY AFFAIR AS LOPEZ PORTILLO WANTS IT TO BE INTIMATE--WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER WAS TO

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BE INCLUDED BUT MAY HAVE BEEN DROPPED FOR THE SAKE OF "FAMILY ATMOSPHERE".) LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS JUST SENT WORD THAT THIS DINNER WILL PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR A PRIVATE DISCUSSION, THUS REPLAC-

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ING NEED FOR A FORMAL CALL - HE APPRECIATES SECRETARY'S COURTESY IN OFFERING TO CALL.

2400 RETURN TO RESIDENCE

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1

BREAKFAST AT RESIDENCE. PERSONAL TIME.

0930 U.S. OFFICIAL DELEGATION ASSEMBLES AT RESIDENCE FOR COFFEE (NOTE: THE INAUGURATION IS THE ONLY OFFICIAL PROGRAM WHERE ALL THE U.S. OFFICIAL DELEGATION WILL BE PRESENT AND SEATED TOGETHER. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE MORE IMPRESSIVE A DISPLAY OF U.S. INTEREST IN THE INAUGURATION AND NEW GOVERNMENT IF THE DELEGATION COULD ARRIVE TOGETHER. WHILE THE LOGISTICAL PROBLEM MAY BE SOMEWHAT GREATER, WE THINK IT CAN BE OVERCOME PERHAPS WITH A BUS TO FOLLOW THE SECRETARY'S LIMO. PLEASE ADVISE.)

1010 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR NATIONAL AUDITORIUM.

1030 ARRIVE AT NATIONAL AUDITORIUM. ESCORTED INSIDE AND SEATED. U.S. DELEGATION WILL BE SEATED ON MAIN FLOOR IN CENTER SECTION, FACING THE PODIUM.

1100 OATH OF OFFICE FOR PRESIDENT.

1230 (OR 12:45--DIFFICULT TO PREDICT) DEPART NATIONAL AUDITORIUM FOR RESIDENCE.

1300-1315 ARRIVE AT RESIDENCE (30 MINUTES PERSONAL TIME).

1345 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR ITALIAN AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

1400 LUNCHEON HOSTED BY ITALIAN AMBASSADOR. OTHER INVITEES INCLUDE FRENCH MINISTER OF JUSTICE LE CANUET, MRS. CARTER, SENATOR AND MRS. MANSFIELD, ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND MRS. SHLAUDEMAN AND JOVAS.

1615 LUNCHEON ENDS.

1615-1800 FREE TIME.

EVENING: WE HAVE JUST LEARNED THAT RESTAURANTS LISTED IN MEXICO 14889 WILL BE CLOSED DECEMBER 1, DUE TO INAUGURAL HOLIDAY. THE SECRETARY COULD DINE PRIVATELY OR WITH OTHERS AT RESIDENCE AND ATTEND BALLET FOLKLORICO AT 2100, WHERE SEATS WILL BE RESERVED. OTHER ALTERNATIVES MAY ALSO DEVELOP.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2

0900 POSSIBLE BREAKFAST WITH NEW FOREIGN SECRETARY (WE ARE EXPLORING, BUT IDENTITY IS TIGHTLY .

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GUARDED SECRET UNTIL EVENING OF NOV 30. IT IS STILL POSSIBLE THAT NEW FOREIGN MINISTER WILL BE PRESENT AT TUESDAY EVENING DINNER AT LOPEZ PORTILLO PRIVATE RESIDENCE.

1030 - FREE - BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS BEEN REPLACED BY DINNER TUESDAY EVENING.

1225 DEPART RESIDENCE FOR NATIONAL PALACE.

1250 ARRIVE NATION
AL PALACE.

1300 PRESENTATION OF ENTIRE DELEGATION, DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND SPECIAL GUESTS TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO.

1400 LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO IN COURTYARD OF NATIONAL PALACE.

1600 DEPART PALACE FOR AIRPORT.

1630 ARRIVE AT AIRPORT. POSSIBLE BRIEF DEPARTURE STATEMENT.

1645 WHEELS UP MEXICO CITY.

JOVA

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APPROVED BY ARA/MEX:J.T.DREYFUSS
S/S - MR. GAMBLE

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UNCLAS STATE 290085

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, MX.

SUBJECT: TRANSMISSION OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT-ELECT LOPEZ PORTILLO:

BEGIN QUOTE:

NOVEMBER 24, 1976

DEAR MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO:

I VERY MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR KIND INVITATION TO ATTEND YOUR INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT OF MEXICO ON DECEMBER 1. YOU KNOW OF MY STRONG FRIENDSHIP FOR MEXICO, AND I RECALL WITH PLEASURE OUR MEETING AND CONVERSATIONS IN WASHINGTON DURING YOUR SEPTEMBER VISIT.

ALTHOUGH IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR ME TO ATTEND THE INAUGURATION, I HAVE ASKED SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER TO HEAD THE DELEGATION OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS WHO WILL REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES. IN ADDITION, AS AN UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STATE 290085

EXPRESSION OF MY PERSONAL INTEREST I HAVE ASKED MY SON JACK TO BE A MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION.

MRS. FORD JOINS ME IN SENDING TO YOU AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO OUR WARM PERSONAL REGARDS AND BEST WISHES FOR THE SUCCESS OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION AND THE PROSPERITY AND WELL

BEING OF MEXICO AND ITS PEOPLE.

SINCERELY,

GERALD R. FORD

END QUOTE.

2. THE WHITE HOUSE WILL NOT RELEASE TEXT OF MESSAGE, BUT HAS NO OBJECTION TO RELEASE BY GOM. ROBINSON

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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APPROVED BY S/S-S: LJREDDY
S/S: MR. GAMBLE
S/CPR:JKNOWLES (PHONE)
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 289969 TOSEC 310119

E.O. 11652:

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), MX

SUBJECT: DELEGATION LIST

1. FOLLOWING IS THE U.S. DELEGATION LIST TO THE INAUGURATION OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO:

PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OF DELEGATION:

THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER
SECRETARY OF STATE

MRS. KISSINGER

PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT:

MR. JACK FORD
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PAGE 02 STATE 289969 TOSEC 310119

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESIDENT:

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH J. JOVA
UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO

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MRS. JOVA

THE HONORABLE MIKE MANSFIELD
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MONTANA

MRS. MANSFIELD

THE HONORABLE CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE FROM WISCONSIN

MRS. ZABLOCKI

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM D. ROGERS
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

MRS. ROGERS

THE HONORABLE HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

MRS. SHLAUDEMAN

THE HONORABLE DENNIS E. CARPENTER
STATE SENATOR OF CALIFORNIA

THE HONORABLE DENNIS E. CARPENTER, STATE SENATOR OF CALIFORNIA, REPRESENTING THE 36TH SENATORIAL DISTRICT, ORANGE AND SAN DIEGO COUNTIES. ACTIVE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN CALIFORNIA SINCE 1962. ELECTED TO THE STATE SENATE IN 1970. REELECTED IN 1974. CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE REPUBLICAN CAUCUS.

MRS. MADINE CARPENTER

THE HONORABLE PETE WILSON
[redacted]

[redacted]

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO

THE HONORABLE PETE WILSON, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO, GRADUATE OF YALE (1955) AND UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SCHOOL OF LAW AT BOALT HALL (1962). ELECTED TO THREE TERMS OF THE CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY, 1966-1971. ELECTED MAYOR OF SAN DIEGO IN 1971.

MRS. BETTY WILSON

MRS. EDITH GREEN OF PORTLAND, OREGON

MRS. EDITH GREEN, US REPRESENTATIVE OF THE 3RD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, OREGON (PORTLAND), 1955-1975. RETIRED LAST YEAR. CURRENTLY A MEMBER OF SEVERAL EDUCATIONAL ADVISORY BOARDS.

MR. LEON W. PARMA OF SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

MR. LEON W. PARMA, PRESIDENT OF LYON ELECTRIC COMPANY, INC., SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA (MANUFACTURES ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT FOR POULTRY, FARM, FACTORY, AND EDUCATIONAL USE). EXECUTIVE MANAGER OF CALIFORNIA STATE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND SAN DIEGO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

MRS. BARBARA PARMA

MR. SYLVAN MARSHALL

MR. SYLVAN M. MARSHALL, SENIOR PARTNER IN THE LAW FIRM OF MARSHALL, LEON, WEILD AND MOHONY, WITH OFFICES IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON. HE HAS BEEN DECORATED BY A NUMBER OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES FOR LEGAL SERVICES, INCLUDING MEXICO AND IRAN. HE IS HONORARY CONSUL OF FINLAND IN WASHINGTON.

MRS. MARA MARSHALL

ROBINSON

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14979 300850Z

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8864

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MRN SHLD READ 14979 VICE 4979)

FOR S/S. PLEASE PASS TO MRS. CARTER.
E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER), MX
SUBJECT: INAUGURATION OF LOPEZ PORTILLO: LETTER FROM MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO

1. MRS. JOVA HAS JUST RECEVED THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO WITH THE REQUEST THAT WE TRANSMIT ITS TEXT TO MRS. CARTER:

2. QUOTE: NOVEMBER 25,1976
MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER
WIFE OF THE PRESIDENT ELECT
PLAINS, GEORGIA

DEAR MRS. CARTER:
I WOULD LIKE TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND WORDS AND ESPECIALLY FOR YOUR INVITATION TO ATTEND THE INAUGURATION WHICH I WILL BE ABLE TO ASSIST IN THE REPRESENTATION OF JOSE. WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO RECEIVING YOU IN MEXICO AND SHOWING YOU OUR MEXICAN HOSPITALITY. I WOULD CERTAINLY ENJOY MEETING YOU AT THE AIRPORT.
WHATEVER PROGRAM YOU DESIRE, PLEASE CALL US AND WE WILL ARRANGE IT. IF YOU COULD SPARE A COUPLE OF DAYS AND TAKE A SHORT HOLIDAY, WE WOULD CERTAINLY APPRECIATE THIS.
[redacted]

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14979 300850Z

WITH MY BEST PERSONAL REGARDS TO YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND,
SINCERELY,
CARMEN ROMANO DE LOPEZ PORTILLO.
END QUOTE.

3. COMMENT: END OF FIRST SENTENCE FIRST PARAGRAPH WE HAVE CONFIRMED

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TO MEAN THAT MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO WILL ATTEND PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S INAUGURATION AND WILL REPRESENT HER HUSBAND. WE HAVE ALSO CONFIRMED SECOND PARAGRAPH THAT THE MENTION OF A HOLIDAY IS A REFERENCE TO THE INVITATION PREVIOUSLY TRANSMITTED TO VISIT ACAPULCO AFTER THE INAUGURATION. MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO ALREADY KNOWS THAT MRS. CARTER WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT BUT WISHED NONETHELESS TO TRANSMIT THE INVITATION FORMALLY.
JOVA

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 14965 261659Z

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) , MX
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MEXICO: INVITATION FROM MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO

1. THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS JUST BEEN RECEIVED: QUOTE. DEAR MR. SECRETARY: ON WEDNESDAY EVENING DECEMBER 1, I AM GIVING A SMALL PRIVATE DINNER FOR MRS. CARTER, IN CHAPULTEPEC CASTLE. IT WOULD BE AN ADDITIONAL HONOR FOR ME IF YOU AND MRS. KISSINGER COULD ALSO BE PRESENT. ALTHOUGH MY HUSBAND WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE, AS HE WILL BE WITH HIS NEW CABINET MEMBERS, I WOULD ESPECIALLY INVITE THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOMINATED BY MY HUSBAND IF YOU WISHED TO COME. SINCERELY, CARMEN ROMANO DE LOPEZ PORITLLO. END QUOTE.

2. COMMENT: AS YOU ARE AWARE FROM THE SCHEDULE, THIS DINNER WOULD BE IN ADDITION TO THE DINNER WHICH THE PRESIDENT ELECT AND MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO ARE OFFERING TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 30. THIS DINNER ON WEDNESDAY IN EFFECT WOULD PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A BILATERAL WITH THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER (WHOSE IDENTITY CANNOT BE REVEALED UNTIL INAUGURATION EVE). MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO SAID THAT BAROQUE MUSIC WOULD BE PLAYED(CASTLE WAS EXTENSIVELY REMODELED BY MAXIMIALIAN AND CARLOTA AND SERVED AS THEIR RESIDENCE). THE SETTING ALONE WOULD MAKE THE EVENING MEMORABLE.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 14965 261659Z

3. MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO IS PLANNING THE DINNER FOR NINE P.M., BUT THIS IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

4. MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO MADE TWO SUBSTANTIVE POINTS: BY GIVING TWO DINNERS FOR THE US HEAD OF DELEGATION AND FOR

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THE WIFE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT, SHE AND HER HUSBAND WISH TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO BEGINNING AN ERA OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. SECOND, THE DINNERS WILL ALSO POINT UP THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THEY ATTACH TO ESTABLISHING CLOSE, PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS.

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5. FINALLY, MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO PARTICULARLY ASKED THAT WE KEEP THE TWO DINNERS UNDER WRAPS, SINCE THERE IS CONSIDERABLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE JEALOUSIS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS WILL BE AROUSED.

6. PLEASE ADVISE.
JOVA

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11/26/76

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note No. 3476, dated October 8, 1976, inviting the United States Government to send representatives to the Ceremony for the Transfer of Powers that will take place on December 1, 1976, at which Licenciado Jose Lopez Portillo will be sworn in as the Constitutional President of the United Mexican States.

I am pleased to inform you that President Ford has designated the Secretary of State to head the United States Delegation as his Personal Representative.

Other Representatives of the President with the rank of Special Ambassador are:

The Honorable
Joseph J. Jova
American Ambassador to Mexico

The Honorable
Mike Mansfield
U.S. Senator from
the State of Montana

His Excellency

Jose Juan de Olloqui,

Ambassador of Mexico.

The Honorable
Clement J. Zablocki
U.S. Representative from
the State of Wisconsin

The Honorable
William D. Rogers
Under Secretary of State
for Economic Affairs

The Honorable
Harry W. Shlauderman
Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs

The Honorable
Dennis E. Carpenter
State Senator from
the State of California

The Honorable
Pete Wilson
Mayor of San Diego, California

The Honorable
Edith Green
of Portland, Oregon

Mr. Leon W. Parma
of San Diego, California

Mr. Sylvan M. Marshall
of Washington, D.C.

Additionally, Mr. Jack Ford, the President's son, will be a member of the U.S. Delegation as the President's Personal Representative.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Secretary of State:

ARA/MEX:G.Falk:dmm
11/24/76:x-29364
S/S:7622083
FADRC:163-0843

Clearances:ARA/MEX:Mr.JT Dreyfuss
S/CPR :Mr.WR.Codus
M :Mr.RB,Off
S/S-S Mr. Straka

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PAGE 01 STATE 290741 TOSEC 310208

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FOR COVEY FROM BROWN (S/PRS), FOR FUNSETH, MEXICO

E.O. 11652: N/A

TA : SOPH, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SLBJECT: PRESS REPORTS ON MEXICAN INAUGURATION, SUNDAY NOVEMBER 28.

1. "TURMOIL OF MEXICAN TRANSITION SEEN TAKING PRESSURE OFF NEW PRESIDENT," MARLISE SIMONS, WASHINGTON POST, DATELINED MEXICO CITY, (EXCERPTS):

DESPITE THE BITTER POLITICAL DIVISION AND ECONOMIC CRISIS DURING PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA'S FINAL MONTHS IN POWER, THE OUTGOING LEADER MAY HAVE PAVED THE WAY FOR A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL ENJOY THE GOODWILL AND CONFIDENCE NECESSARY TO CONSOLIDATE AND BROADEN THE REFORMS OF THE PAST SIX YEARS.

IN THE FIVE MONTHS SINCE PRESIDENT-ELECT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO WON AN UNOPPOSED ELECTION TO A SIX-YEAR TERM,
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PAGE 02 STATE 290741 TOSEC 310208

ECHEVERRIA HAS TAKEN RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH UNPOPULAR AND CONTROVERSIAL MEASURES AS THE DEVALUATION OF THE LONG-STABLE MEXICAN PESO AND THE MASSIVE LAND EXPROPRIATIONS FROM WEALTHY RURAL ELITES.

AS A RESULT, LOPEZ PORTILLO ASSUMES OFFICE WEDNESDAY THE

BENEFICIARY OF ECHEVERRIA'S LOSS OF PRESTIGE AND CLEARED

OF BLAME FOR MEASURES WHICH MANY ANALYSTS HERE BELIEVE WERE INEVITABLE. MANY ALSO ARE CONVINCED THAT LOPEZ PORTILLO AND ECHEVERRIA HAVE COORDINATED THESE MOVES.

"ECHEVERRIA IS LETTING HIS SUCCESSOR ARRIVE IN THE SILENCE AFTER THE STORM. PEOPLE ARE SO EXASPERATED BY THE CONFUSION AND CHOAS THEY'RE EAGER TO BELIEVE THE NEXT MAN," COMMENTED ONE SEASONED OBSERVER. "LOPEZ PORTILLO WOULD HAVE TO REALLY MAKE A MESS TO LOSE THE SUPPORT OF THE COUNTRY."

ECHEVERRIA'S MANY CRITICS AND HIS REMAINING SUPPORTERS AGREE THAT THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT HAS LEFT HIS SUCCESSOR A LOAD OF IMMENSE PROBLEMS, INCLUDING A FAST-ERODING CURRENCY, UNREST AND STAGNATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND A NEED FOR AUSTERITY FOR THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES.

YET, OBSERVERS HERE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT ECHEVERRIA'S ACTIONS, WHICH HAVE CAUSED MUCH PANIC AMONG THE RICH, HAVE BEEN SOLELY DRIVEN BY A HUNGER FOR POWER AND FAME AS THE ANGRY ESTABLISHMENT HERE CLAIMS. NOR DO THEY SEEM TO HAVE BEEN DIRECTED BY ECHEVERRIA ALONE.

WHILE THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT HERE IS LESS CONSTRAINED THAN THAT OF THE WHITE HOUSE IN 'ASHINGTON AND ECHEVERRIA HAS GAINED A REPUTATION FOR INCREASING IT FURTHER, A MEXICAN PRESIDENT IS NOT A DICTATOR. NO CONTROL IS EXERCISED BY THE RUBBER STAMP CONGRESS, BUT THE RULING PARTY, WHICH HAS KEPT A TIGHT GRIP ON THE COUNTRY FOR HALF A CENTURY, HAS PRODUCED A POLITICAL ELITE. THIS GROUP AND OTHER PRESSURE GROUPS DEMAND MORE CONSULATION THAN THE PUBLIC BELIEVES.

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IT IS UNLIKELY, THESE OBSERVERS BELIEVE, THAT ECHEVERRIA'S MAJOR DECISIONS, INCLUDING HIS CONTROVERSIAL DEVALUATION, WERE MADE WITHOUT CONSULTING OTHER LEADERS, INCLUDING LOPEZ PORTILLO, WHO HAS BEEN ECHEVERRIA'S FINANCE MINISTER SINCE MAY 1973. ..."

2. "MIDDLE CLASS ASKS FAIR DEAL IN MEXICO," ALAN RIDING, NEW YORK TIMES, DATELINED MEXICO CITY, (EXCERPTS):

THE RUMORS AND POLITICAL HYSTERIA OF RECENT WEEKS ARE SLOWLY ABATING AS PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ PREPARES TO LEAVE OFFICE WEDNESDAY, BUT PRESIDENT-ELECT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO IS INHERITING AN ANGRY AND MILITANT MIDDLE CLASS, WHICH NO LONGER SEEMS WILLING TO BE IGNORED AS A SILENT MINORITY.

AFTER SIX YEARS OF GOVERNMENT ORIENTED TOWARD HELPING THE COUNTRY'S PEASANTS AND WORKERS, POLITICAL ANALYSTS BOTH FEEL THAT MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO WILL HAVE TO FIND A WAY OF APPEASING THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASSES IF HE IS TO ENJOY THEIR BACKING FOR THE TOUGH ECONOMIC MEASURES HE MUST SOON TAKE.

IRRITATED BY CONSTANTLY HIGHER TAXES, SHAKEN BY THE RECENT DEVALUATIONS OF THE MEXICAN PESO AND FRUSTRATED BY THE LACK OF POLITICAL OPTIONS, THE MIDDLE CLASS IS SHOWING SIGNS OF DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS OPEN HOSTILITY TOWARDS PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ.

IN A COUNTRY WHERE ONE PARTY HAS BEEN IN POWER WITHOUT INTERRUPTION SINCE 1929 AND NO OPPOSITION GROUP IS TAKEN SERIOUSLY, THE MIDDLE CLASS HAS FOUND NO MORE EFFECTIVE WAY OF EXPRESSING ITS FEELINGS THAN COMPLAINING, RUMOR-MONGERING AND MOVING SAVINGS OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

BUT POLITICAL ANALYSTS BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT FEEL THAT MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO WILL HAVE TO FIND A WAY OF APPEASING THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASSES IF HE IS TO ENJOY THEIR BACKING FOR THE TOUGH ECONOMIC MEASURES HE MUST SOON TAKE. ..."
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[redacted] MEXICO 15030

FOR S/S

FOR S/CL

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: INVITATION FOR JACK WATSON TO INAUGURAL

1. APPARENTLY LOPEZ PORTILLO'S OFFICE HAS INVITED JACK WATSON AS A SPECIAL GUEST TO INAUGURATION CEREMONIES. WE HAVE HAD QUERY AS TO WHETHER OR NOT HE ACCEPTS THIS INVITATION AND WILL BE PRESENT.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AS TO MR. WATSON'S PLANS IN ORDER THAT WE MAY CONFIRM TO GOM. JOVA

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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APPROVED BY ARA/MEX: J.T.DREYFUSS
M: R.OFF (PHONE)
S:HAL COLLUMS
NSC: M.BROWNELL (PHONE)
S/S: ;R. BRIDGES
S/CPR: W.CODUS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, MX, (SHEILA WEIDENFELD)

SUBJECT: INAUGURATION OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

1. MRS. SHEILA WEIDENFELD, PRESS SECRETARY TO MRS. FORD WILL TRAVEL TO MEXICO IN CONJUNCTION WITH INAUGURATION, BUT, NOT, REPEAT NOT, AS AN OFFICIAL DELEGATE. MRS. WEIDENFELD WILL ARRIVE NOVEMBER 30 WITH MR. JACK FORD ON AMERICAN FLIGHT 93 AT 1:49 P.M.

2. WHITE HOUSE HAS REQUESTED THAT, WHERE APPROPRIATE, MRS. WEIDENFELD BE INCLUDED IN EVENTS IN WHICH MR. JACK FORD WILL BE PARTICIPATING. ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 STATE 292091 TOSEC 310328

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UNCLAS STATE 292091 TOSEC 310328

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

FOLLOWING FULL TEXT EDITORIAL WASHINGTON STAR, NOVEMBER 30, ENTITLED "TRANSITION MEXICAN STYLE":

BEGIN TEXT: FOR ANYONE BORED BY THE SEDATE TRANSITION FROM GERALD FORD TO JIMMY CARTER, A VERY DIFFERENT PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS AUDIBLE ACROSS THE RIO GRANDE. PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ'S SEEMINGLY INTERMINABLE SWAN SONG HAS STRUCK ONE DISCORDANT NOTE AFTER ANOTHER. "TURMOIL" IS THE FAVORED HEADLINE WORD TO DESCRIBE THE ATMOSPHERE IN MEXICO FOR TOMORROW'S INAUGURATION OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO.

THE INCOMING PRESIDENT HAS OUR BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON MEXICO'S PROBLEMS, AND HIS EMPHASIS ON IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES WILL BE WELL RECEIVED IN OFFICIAL WASHINGTON.

MUCH OF THE INSTABILITY FACING MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO IS TRACEABLE AT LEAST ON THE SURFACE TO LAMEDUCK ACTIONS OF MR. ECHEVERRIA. THERE EVEN HAVE BEEN RUMORS OF A PRE-INAUGURAL
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PAGE 02 STATE 292091 TOSEC 310328

COUP, WITH SOME ACCOUNTS UNCLEAR AS TO WHETHER THE IDEA

WOULD BE TO THROW MR. ECHEVERRIA OUT PREMATURELY OR KEEP HIM IN OFFICE.

IN RECENT WEEKS, THE MEXICAN PESO AFTER 22 YEARS OF BEING PEGGED AT 12 TO THE DOLLAR HAS BEEN DEVALUED BY MORE THAN 50 PER CENT, CAUSING A FLIGHT OF CAPITAL, THE PARALYSIS OF MUCH CROSS-BORDER BUSINESS AND AN EXTREME CASE OF FINANCIAL ANXIETY. IN A LAST MINUTE LAND-REFORM GESTURE, MR. ECHEVERRIA EXPROPRIATED ALMOST 250,000 ACRES TO BE USED FOR COMMUNAL FARMS, TOUCHING OFF DEMONSTRATIONS FOR MUCH MORE OF THE SAME BY OTHER LANDLESS PEASANTS.

AT LEAST PARTLY AS A RESULT OF THE MASSIVE DEFICIT SPENDING ENGAGED IN BY PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA FOR A VARIETY OF PROJECTS, THE MEXICAN ECONOMY IS IN A RARE MESS. THE COUNTRY LABORS UNDER A 20 PERCENT INFLATION RATE AND ENDURES CHRONICALLY HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT PUT VARIOUSLY BE-TWEEN A QUARTER AND A HALF OF THE WORK FORCE. WITH THE MISERY AND SOCIAL UNREST THAT SUCH STATISTICS IMPLY, IT IS AN UNENVIABLE RESPONSIBILITY THAT PRESIDENT-ELECT LOPEZ PORTILLO TAKES UP.

THE INCOMING PRESIDENT HAS HAD A LONG TIME TO THINK ABOUT IT, TOO--13 MONTHS SINCE HIS SELECTION BY THE DOMINANT INSTITUTIONALIZED REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (PRI), WHOSE NOMINA-TION MADE HIS ELECTION CERTAIN. TO AN OUTSIDER, IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT MR. ECHEVERRIA IS OF THE SAME PARTY RATHER THAN ONE DEDICATED TO GIVING MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK.

HOW IS MR. ECHEVERRIA'S PERFORMANCE TO BE EXPLAINED? LEFTIST HYPER-ACTIVITY? A CONTINUATION OF THE LAME-DUCK PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN TO BECOME A HERO OF THE THIRD WORLD AND THE CHOICE TO REPLACE SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM IN THE UNITED NATIONS? THE BID FOR INTERNATIONAL HONOR, AFTER ALL, LED TO SUCH EARLIER FOLLIES AS MEXICO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE LABELING OF ZIONISM AS RACISM.

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THERE IS A KINDER INTERPRETATION OF MR. ECHEVERRIA'S RECENT EXERTIONS. ACCORDING TO THIS, BY PERFORMING SOME CONTROVERSIAL ACTS IN HIS FINAL DAYS IN OFFICE, HE IS MAKING LIFE EASIER FOR MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO. THE ARGUMENT IS MADE MOST CONVINCINGLY IN THE MATTER OF THE DEVALUATION, WHICH WAS INEVITABLE IN THE LIGHT OF MEXICO'S INFLATION. IN THE CASE OF LAND REFORM, FOR WHICH THE 1910 MEXICAN REVOLUTION SUPPOSEDLY WAS FOUGHT, MR. ECHEVERRIA COULD BE SEEN AS TAKING SOME OF THE HEAT FOR A SIMILARLY REFORM-MINDED SUCCESSOR.

WHATEVER THE NUANCES OF MR. ECHEVERRIA'S RECENT BEHAVIOR, PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER SHOULD COUNT HIMSELF LUCKY IN HIS CHOICE OF A PREDECESSOR, EVEN IF HE DID HAVE TO WIN A CLOSE ELECTION. END OF TEXT.

ROBINSON

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MEXICO 15169

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF LOPEZ PORTILLO'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

REF: A) MEXICO 15168; B) MEXICO 15157

1. SUMMARY. TO THE EXTENT THAT WORDS CAN RESTORE CONFIDENCE, PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S INAUGURAL SPEECH OF DEC. 1 SHOULD HELP. HE SET FORTH A SERIES OF MEASURES TO HELP MEXICO'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, INVESTMENT, AND SAVINGS. HE PLEDGED CONTINUED FREE CONVERTIBILITY. END SUMMARY.

2. TO MEET THE IMPERATIVE NEED TO REESTABLISH ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE IN MEXICO, LOPEZ PORTILLO'S CHOICE OF CABINET MINISTERS AND HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS HAD BEEN EAGERLY AWAITED AS THE TWO MOST IMMEDIATE INDICTIONS OF THE DIRECTION IN WHICH HE WOULD SEEK TO GUIDE THE MEXICAN ECONOMY. HIS CHOICES OF MINISTERS WHICH WERE ANNOUNCED LAST NIGHT(REFTEL A), LEAVE US WITH SOME RESERVATIONS (BEING REPORTED SEPTEL). WE GIVE HIM HIGH MARKS, HOWEVER, FOR HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS (REFTEL B). THE MAINECONOMIC POINTS ARE SUMMARIZED IN THE FOLLOWING

PARAGRAPHS.

3. EXCHANGE RATE AND SYSTEM:CONTRARY TO SOME PREVIOUS EXPECTATIONS, JLP NEITHER ANNOUNCED A NEW PESO/DOLLAR PARITY NOR PROMISED TO ESTABLISH
ONE IN THE FUTURE. HE DEVOTED AN IMPRESSIVE AMOUNT OF TIME

TO EDUCATING THE PUBLIC ON THE REAL MEANING OF DEVALUATION. EFFORTS

WOULD BE MADE TO DESIGN MEASURES TO DISCOURAGE CAPITAL FLIGHT.

4. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS:NO DIRECT MENTION WAS MADE OF MEXICO'S OVERWHELMING FOREIGN DEBT, BUT JLP PROMISED THAT BORROWING ABOAD BY THE PUBLICSECTORWOULD HENCEFORT BE LIMITED FOR CAPITAL GOODS ONLY. MEASURES AFFECTING THE PRIVATE SECTOR WERE LESS SPECIFIC, BUT IT APPEARS THAT MOVES WILL BE MADE TO SUBSTITUTE TARIFF PROTECTION FOR IMPORT QUOTAS. ATTENTION WILL BE GIVEN TO INCREASING LABOR INTENSIVE AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS.

5. MONETARY POLICY: THERE WAS LITTLE DISCUSSION PER SE, BUT THE "DOLLARIZATION" OF THE MEXICAN ECONOMY WAS DESCRIBED AS A THREAT TO MEXICAN SOVEREIGNTY. TWO INTERESTING PROPOSALS WERE MADE FOR THE CREATION OF "STORE OF VALUE" INSTRUMENTS, PRESUMABLY TO WEAN MEXICANS AWAY FROM HOLDING DOLLARS. ONE PROPOSAL CALLS FOR THE MINTING OF TRADITIONAL MEXICAN SILVER COINS WHICH HE CALLED "OUR STRONG PESOS". THE OTHER PROPOSAL IS FOR THE ISSUANCE OF NEW LONG-TERM

BONDS BACKED BY THE PRODUCTION OF BASIC RAW MATERIAL AND LINKED TO THE WORLD MARKET PRICE OF SILVER AND OIL. JLP MADE SOME INTERESTING COMMENTS WHICH SEEMED TO AFFECT THE FUTURE ABILITY OF STATE GOVERNMENTS TO BORROW ON THEIR OWN.

6. INVESTMENT POLICY: THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE GOM WOULD SEEK TO ORIENT INVESTMENT TO THE FOLLOWING PRIORITIES OF SECTORS: AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK, ENERGY, PETROCHEMICALS MINING, STEEL, CAPITAL GOODS, TRANSPORTATION AND BASIC CONSUMER GOODS. HE SEEMED TO MAKE A MUTED CALL FOR MORE FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

7. TAX POLICY: TAX RATES SHOULD BE ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION. PROGRES-SIVE TAXATION OF INCOMES WILL BE REINSTATED. IN AN EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE REINVESTMENT OF EARNINGS, HIGHER TAXES WILL BE APPLIED TO COMPANIES' DISTRIBUTED PROFITS. EMPHASIS WAS

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GIVEN TO ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. THE PRESIDENT APPEARED TO OPEN THE DOOR FOR A FORM OF REVENEUE SHARING WITH STATES.

8. WAGES AND PRICES: THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT HE WISHED TO AVOID FURTHER DETERIORATION OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION. SALARIES SHOULD BE TIED TO AN IMPROVED COST OF LIVING INDEX WHICH SHOULD BE DEVELOPED. STRONG EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE, HOWEVER, TO CONTROL INFLATION. A SYSTEM WILL BE PROPOSED TO GIVE SALARY INCREASES FOR INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY, BUT SUCH INCREASES ARE TO BE CHANNELED PARTIALLY OR WHOLLY TOWARD SHARES SUCH AS THE CAPITAL STOCK OF PROPOSED JOINT WORKERS INVESTMENT BANK. THE PRESIDENT DEMONSTRATED A GOOD GRASP OF BASIC RELATIONSHIP AMONG WAGES, COSTS AND PRICES.

9. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS: THE PRESIDENT PROPOSED THREE NEW LAWS WHOSE

AFFECT ON THE ECONOMY IS PRESENTLY HARD TO ASSESS. A GOVERNMENT

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EXPENDITURE LAW IS TO GIVE PROGRAMMATIC ORIENTATION TO GOM EXPENDITURES. A SINGLE MINISTRY IS TO BE PLACED IN CHARGE OF BUDGET AND PUBLIC EXPENDITURES. NOTE: THIS SEEMS TO BE DESIGNED AFTER THE USG'S OMB AND MAY REFLECT THE EARLIER EFFORTS OF THE EMBASSY AND OMB TO RESPOND TO EXTENSIVE REQUESTS ON HOW OMB OPERATES. A PUBLIC DEBT LAW WOULD SEEK TO GIVE THE MEXICAN CONGRESS BETTER CONTROL OVER THE EXECUTIVE EXPENDITURES, PARTLY BY MAKING MORE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC ON THE GOM'S PUBLIC DEBT. THE ADMINISTRATION ORGANIZATION LAW SETS FORTH THE CHANGES DEMANDED IN SECTORIAL STRUCTURE AND RECLASSIFIES GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES.

10. AGRICULTURAL POLICY: THIS SECTION WAS WEAKER THAN WE HAD EXPECTED. THE PRESIDENT GAVE EMPHASIS TO MEXICO'S SEEKING SELF SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD. ATTENTION IS TO BE PAID TO TECHNICAL AND SOIL RESEARCH IN TROPICAL AGRICULTURAL LANDS. THE PRESIDENT'S FUTURE POLICY ON AGRICULTURAL REFORM DID NOT COME THROUGH CLEARLY. HE STATED THAT "LAND REFORM IS MEXICO".

11. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: JLP SAID HE WOULD PLACE PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON STIMULATING AGRO-INDUSTRY, MINING, AND THE STEEL INDUSTRY BY "GIVING SUPPORT TO SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED INDUSTRIAL AND MINING OPEREATIONS". HE WOULD IMPROVE UPON "SIMPLE IMPORT-SUBSTITUTION POLICIES BY INSTITUTING PROGRAMS FOR VERTICAL INTEGRATION

IN SPECIFIC FIELDS." A SPECIALIZED MINISTRY WILL BE SET UP TO

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HANDLE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR AFFAIRS EXCLUSIVELY.
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PAGE 01 STATE 293040 TOSEC 310399

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UNCLAS STATE 293040 TOSEC 310399

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT JEREMIAH O'LEARY FRONT PAGE BYLINER WASHINGTON STAR WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 1 HEADED "NEW MEXICAN PRESIDENT EXPECTED TO STEER CLOSER TO CENTER, U.S."

2. MEXICO CITY - THE INAUGURATION TODAY OF JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO AS MEXICO'S 60TH PRESIDENT SIGNALS A CLEAR RETURN TO THE POLITICAL CENTER AND IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OVER THE NEXT SIX YEARS.

3. THE IMPORTANCE THAT WASHINGTON ATTACHES TO THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN MEXICO IS UNDERLINED BY THE PRESTIGIOUS AMERICAN OFFICIAL DELEGATION HEADED BY SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A- KISSINGER. THE DELEGATION ALSO INCLUDES MRS. KISSINGER; ROSALYNN CARTER, WIFE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT JIMMY CARTER; LADYBIRD JOHNSON, WIDOW OF PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, WHO HAD ALWAYS BEEN POPULAR WITH THE MEXICANS, AND OTHER STATE DEPARTMENT AND CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES.

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PAGE 02 STATE 293040 TOSEC 310399

4. THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE MEXICAN CAPITAL IS ONE OF EAGER-NESS FOR THE NEW LOPEZ PORTILLO ADMINISTRATION TO TAKE CHARGE AND GET MOVING TO DISPEL THE WIDESPREAD SENSE OF

UNREST CREATED IN RECENT WEEKS BY OUTGOING PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA.

5. MEXICO HAS BEEN IN DEEP ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TURMOIL SINCE ECHEVERRIA DEVALUED THE PESO FROM 8 CENTS TO SLIGHTLY LESS THAN A NICKEL AND THEN PERMITTED LANDLESS PEASANTS IN THE NORTH TO SEIZE LARGE TRACTS OF RICH FARMLAND FROM THEIR OWNERS. THIS UNREST WAS ACCENTUATED ON THE EVE OF THE INAUGURATION WHEN FIVE BOMB BLASTS SHOOK VARIOUS PARTS OF THE CAPITAL.

6. JUST AS THE CARTER TRANSITION PERIOD IN THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF WILD GUESSING AND HIGH UNCERTAINTY, THE MEXICAN TRANSITION HAS BEEN THE SAME. MUCH OF THAT GUESSWORK ENDED LAST NIGHT WHEN LOPEZ PORTILLO'S CABINET CHOICES WERE MADE PUBLIC ON NATIONAL RADIO AND TELEVISION.

7. AS IN WASHINGTON ALSO, THERE WILL BE A HONEYMOON PERIOD OF UNDEFINED DURATION FOR THE NEW PRESIDENT.

8. THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DISILLUSIONED BY ECHEVERRIA'S OPEN COURTSHIP OF THE THIRD WORLD AND THE POLITICAL LEFT, AS WELL AS THE SHOCK OF THE LAND SEIZURES AND THE DEVALUATION OF THE CURRENCY, ARE UNABASHEDLY HAILING LOPEZ PORTILLO AS A MAN WHO WILL RESTORE NORMALCY AND STABILITY.

9. THE DIFFERENCE MAY WELL BE AS MUCH A MATTER OF STYLE AS OF POLICY.

10. PERCEPTIVE MEXICANS READILY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE 56-YEAR OLD NEW PRESIDENT HAS INHERITED A MESS WHICH IS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNTANGLE OVERNIGHT.

11. ECHEVERRIA PROBABLY DID HIM A FAVOR BY DEVALUING THE PESO BUT ECHEVERRIA PROBABLY OPENED A PANDORA'S BOX FOR HIS SUCCESSOR BY SUPPORTING THE LAND SEIZURES IN SONORA AND SINALOA STATES. LOPEZ PORTILLO FROM NOW ON WILL BE A UNCLASSIFIED

MAN ON A TIGHTROPE FACING THE CRITICAL ISSUE OF LAND IN A COUNTRY WITH AN EXPLODING POPULATION AND ALMOST NO AVAILABLE ARABLE LAND TO SATISFY A LAND HUNGER OF THE POOR FARMERS.

12. ECHEVERRIA'S ACTIONS WERE DESIGNED TO MAKE HIM A PLACE IN HISTORY JUST AS HIS PREDECESSOR, GUSTAVO DIAZ ORDAZ, DID BY CONSTRUCTING THE EFFICIENT METRO SUBWAY SYSTEM. ECHEVERRIA ALSO WAS PLAYING UP TO THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES IN HOPES THAT HE WILL BE ELECTED SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

13. BUT LOPEZ PORTILLO IS ALREADY PROJECTING THE IMAGE OF A MAN WHO IS WELL AWARE OF WORLD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REALITIES AND WHO WILL NOT INDULGE IN THE KIND OF GRAND-

STANDING WITH THE MEXICAN COMMON MAN THAT WAS ECHEVERRIA'S TRADEMARK.

14. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES BECAME CONSIDERABLY STRAINED IN THE SECOND HALF OF ECHEVERRIA'S TERM ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE AS WELL AS THE MATTER OF THE PRISONERS EACH COUNTRY HAS IN JAILS OF THE OTHER.

15. ECHEVERRIA INCREASINGLY IDENTIFIED HIMSELF WITH THE FAR LEFT IN CUBA AND MARXIST CHILE BEFORE THE 1973 COUP. BUT LOPEZ PORTILLO SHOWS EVERY SIGN OF WANTING CLOSER IDENTIFICATION WITH THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND THE UNITED STATES TO ATTRACT INVESTMENT AND TRADE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF STABILITY AND GENERALLY TO OPERATE IN MUCH CLOSER COOPERATION WITH WASHINGTON.

16. BUSINESSMEN ALREADY ARE HAILING LOPEZ PORTILLO'S DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST "MORDIDA," LITERALLY "THE BITE." MORDIDA IS THE PERCENTAGE RAKEOFF FOR ACCOMPLISHING ALMOST ANY TYPE OF BUSINESS HERE AND HAS BECOME COMMONPLACE. LOPEZ PORTILLO SAID IN HIS CAMPAIGN THAT HE WOULD PUT AN END TO THE PRACTICE BECAUSE, IN EFFECT, MEXICANS WOULD BE DEVOURING THEMSELVES.

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17. NONE OF THIS MEANS THAT LOPEZ PORTILLO WILL BECOME A PATSY FOR U.S. INTERESTS. A MORE REALISTIC ASSESSMENT IS THAT HE WILL NOT MAKE UNNECESSARY WAVES IN THE COMPLEX RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO NEIGHBOR NATIONS. IT IS STILL A FACT OF LIFE THAT NO MEXICAN PRESIDENT CAN AFFORD TO SEEM TOO SNUG WITH THE AMERICANS BECAUSE NO ONE HERE HAS FORGOTTEN THE LOSS OF TEXAS AND WHAT IS NOW MOST OF THE AMERICAN WEST. THE LOST BATTLE BETWEEN THE U.S. MARINES AND THE BOY CADET HEROES OF CHAPULTEPEC ALSO IS ENGRAVED IN THE NATIONAL MEMORY.

18. AND THERE ARE STILL TWO PLACES NO MEXICAN PRESIDENT CAN EVER BE SEEN: THE AMERICAN EMBASSY OR A CATHOLIC CHURCH. THIS HAS GIVEN RISE TO THE SAYING, "PITY POOR MEXICO, SO FAR FROM GOD, SO CLOSE TO THE UNITED STATES."

19. BUT LOPEZ PORTILLO BY ALL ACCOUNTS IS A VERY PRACTICAL MAN. HE KNOWS THAT MEXICO'S $2 BILLION NEGATIVE BALANCE OF TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES CAN ONLY BE OFFSET BY TOURISM AND INVESTMENT FROM THAT POWERFUL NEIGHBOR.

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HE PROBABLY NEVER WOULD HAVE ANTAGONIZED AMERICAN JEWS, SO IMPORTANT TO TOURISM, BY VOTING AGAINST ISRAEL IN THE UNITED NATIONS AS ECHEVERRIA DID.

20. BUT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S PROBLEMS PRIMARILY WILL BE DOMESTIC ONES THAT CANNOT BE SOLVED BY QUIXOTIC FOREIGN POLICY.

21. HE FACES A SURGING POPULATION WITH A GROWTH RATE OF 3.2 PERCENT ANNUALLY. THIS MEANS THAT MEXICO'S 60 MILLION PEOPLE WILL BE DOUBLED BY THE YEAR 2000 AND THERE ARE ALREADY 11 MILLION PEOPLE TRYING TO MAKE A LIVING IN THE CAPITAL ALONE.

22. IN AN ARID COUNTRY THAT DEPENDS SO HEAVILY ON AGRI-CULTURE, THE NEW PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO FIND NEW LAND RE-SOURCES THROUGH IRRIGATION, HYDROELECTRIC DAMS AND BY DIVERTING MORE AND MORE OF THE NATION'S ENERGY TO
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INDUSTRY.

23. WHETHER HE CAN OR WILL DO ANYTHING TO REDUCE THE POPULATION EXPANSION BEFORE IT REACHES A CRITICAL STAGE IS PROBLEMATICAL. OFFICIALLY MEXICO IS A SECULAR STATE BUT MOST MEXICANS ARE DEVOUT CATHOLICS WHO RESIST FAMILY PLANNING SCHEMES OF ALL SORTS AND WHO PUT A PREMIUM ON LARGE FAMILIES.

24. MEXICO CITY IS ABLAZE WITH NEON SIGNS, BANNERS, FLAGS AND ALL THE OTHER TRAPPINGS OF A JOYOUS OCCASION ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL WHETHER THE DECORATIONS ARE DE-SIGNED FOR THE INAUGURATION OR FOR THE CHRISTMAS SHOPPING SEASON. MEXICAN TROOPS MADE SOME APPEARANCE ON THE STREETS IN FRONT OF KEY GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN THE PAST 24 HOURS BUT THIS IS STANDARD AND THE MOOD IS JUBILANT BECAUSE OF THE CHANGE TAKING PLACE TODAY.

25. MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER MADE A BIG HIT AT A RECEPTION LAST NIGHT IN THE AMERICAN EMBASSY BY UTTERING SEVERAL SENTENCES IN PAINFULLY MANGLED SPANISH, CLIMAXED BY HER DECLARATION THAT SHE WOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE BETTER WHEN SHE MOVES INTO THE WHITE HOUSE WITH HER SPANISH-SPEAKING HUSBAND NEXT MONTH. ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 15168 01 OF 02 020230Z

71
ACTION ARA-10

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 MEXICO 15168

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, MX
SUBJECT: LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURAL SPEECH

1. PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO DELIVERED A ONE HOUR AND FORTY-FIVE MINUTE INAUGURAL SPEECH FOLLOWING HIS OATH-TAKING THIS MORNING IN THE NATIONAL AUDITORIUM. HIS PROGRAM FOR ADDRESSING THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PLIGHT OF THE COUNTRY ARE BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY.CLEARLY, LOPEZ PORTILLO'S ESSENTIAL PURPOSE WAS TO BEGIN AN ALL-OUT EFFORT AT THE DIFFICULT PROCESS OF RESTORING THE HEAVILY ERODED CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT. HIS SPEECH WAS UPBEAT, DIGNIFIED, STATESMANLIKE, AND IN MANY PASSAGES ELOQUENT. NO REALIST EXPECTED HIM TO CRITICIZE OPENLY ECHEVERRI'S POLICIES. INDEED, HE DELIBERATELY BEGAN WITH A BRIEF TRIBUTE TO HIS PREDECESSOR, WHO FLANKED HIM ON THE PODIUM. NEVERTHELESS, LOPEZ PORTILLO'S CONSTANT REFERENCES TO THE COUNTRY'S CURRENT STATE OF CRISIS, ITS MANY PROBLEMS AND HIS COMMITMENT TO SOLVE THEM, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY THE NEED TO "FACE THE TRUTH OF OUR SITUATION" WERE ALL CLEAR SIGNALS THAT HE HAD CORRECTLY READ THE TEMPER OF THE TIME AND PLACE AND WAS TRYING TO EXORCIZE THE CLIMATE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MEXICO 15168 01 OF 02 020230Z

OF UNCERTAININTY AND UNREST THAT CHARACTERIZED ECEHVERRIA'S LAST MONTHS IN POWER.

2. LOPEZ PORTILLO PLEADED REPEATEDLY FOR CALM, COURAGE, PATIENCE, AND COOPERATIVE EFFORT BY ALL CLASSES OF SOCIETY IN THE WORK OF CONTINUING MEXICO'S SOCIAL RE-

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VOLUTION. HE CONDEMNED NOT ONLY INSIDIOUS RUMORS (WHICH HE IMPLIED WERE IN PART A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT AT DESTABILIZATION) AS WELL AS THE WIDESPREAD TRANSMISSION OF RUMORS THAT AROSE FROM FEAR ABOUT THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL WELL-BEING OF THE COUNTRY. IN SEVERAL DIFFERENT WAYS HE EMPHASIZED THAT FEAR WAS MEXICO'S GREATEST DANGER, COMMENTING IN HIS PERORATION, "IF WE ROCK THE BOAT AND IT SWAMPS, WE ALL DROWN. IF WE WANT TO MOVE AHEAD WITHOUT A SHIPWRECK, THE FIRST TASK IS TO CALM DOWN OUR NERVOUS AND PANIC-STRICKEN ACTIVITY. THIS IS WHAT WE REALLY HAVE TO FEAR. LET US REJECT IT."

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3. IN THE COURSE OF TRYING TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE, LOPEZ PORTILLO ALSO STRESSED THE NEED TO "BIND UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS". HE CALLED ON PESSIMISTS NOT TO ALLOW RESENTMENT TO CLOUD THEIR INTELLIGENCE, INVITED INTELLECTUALS TO RECONCILE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, WITH THE NEED FOR PUBLIC SERVICE, AND ASKED THOSE WHO FEEL NO ALLEGIANCE TO THE NATION(DESNACIONALIZADOS) AT LEAST "NOT TO HINDER THE REST OF US. THUS THEY WILL HELP US." IN A MOVING AND REVEALING PASSAGE HE ASKED "DISPOSSESSED AND MARGINALIZED GROUPS" FOR FORGIVENESS FOR NOT HAVING YET LIFTED THEM OUR OF THEIR MISERY, OF WHICH THE ENTIRE COUNTRY IS ASHAMED. HE CALLED UPON ALL MEXICANS TO BELIEVE IN HIS SINCERITY, ADDING "I WILL HAVE TO PROVE MY ABILITY AND DISCERNMENT THROUGH MY SERVICE. BUT FOR THIS I NEED TIME. GRANT IT TO ME."

4. THE JADED MAY SAY THAT LOPEZ PORTILLO GAVE AN "ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN" ADDRESS, GENERALIZING ON A NUMBER OF POLITICAL THEMES AND NOT ALWAYS BEING SPECIFIC ABOUT REMEDIES FOR CURRENT PROBLEMS. THERE IS SOME TRUTH IN THIS--BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT MERIT IN THE SPEECH, WHICH

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THE AUDIENCE APPEARED TO FIND ENCOURAGING AND MOVING, AND TO WHICH IT GAVE MANY STANDING OVATIONS, WAS THAT HE WAS FRANK ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF PROBLEMS. HE WAS PARTICULARLY FRANK IN ADMITTING THAT HE NEEDED TIME AND THE COOPERATION OF ALL ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY TO COPE WITH MEXICO'S CURRENT DIFFICULTIES. IT WAS A PLEA FOR TIME, FOR PATIENCE, FOR FAITH AND FOR GOOD WILL.

5. FOLLOWING ARE BRIEF SUMMARIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY, EDUCATION. LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY, HEALTH, HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, AND ARMED FORCES.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 15168 02 OF 02 020230Z

71
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FOREIGN POLICY.
THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THE CONTINUITY OF MEXICO'S FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS BASED UPON SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE, AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE PLEDGED SUPPORT FOR THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES(AUTHORED BY PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA, WHO STOOD AND RECEIVED A STANDING OVATION AT THIS POINT IN THE SPEECH).
"ONLY WHEN ORDER IS MAINTAINED AMONG THE POWERFUL CAN THERE BE JUSTICE FOR THE WEAK WITH WHOM WE MAKE JOINT CAUSES TO STRENGTHEN OUR POSITION," THE PRESIDENT SAID. (THIS WAS THE ONLY REFERENCE TO MEXICO'S SOLIDARITY WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD).
IN A REFERENCE TO MEXICO'S STRONG POSITION ON DISARMAMENT, THE PRESIDENT REITERATED HIS COUNTRY'S DETERMINATION TO EXERT ITSINFLUENCE TO ENSURE THE PEACEUFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS AND THE PROHIBITION OF GENOCIDAL WEAPONS THAT THREATEN THE EXISTENCE OF HUMANITY. IN AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO MULTI-LATERAL AFFAIRS, LOPEZ PORTILLO SAID THAT MEXICO, AS A SOVEREIGN NATION, REAFFIRMS ITS DETERMINATION
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 15168 02 OF 02 020230Z

TO ACCEPT AND PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN SUPERNATIONAL

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FORMULAS OF ORGANIZATION. HE SAID THAT MEXICO REJECTS ALL FORMS OF HEGEMONIC OR IMPERIALISTIC SUBJUGATION ANDRENEWS ITS DEMAND FOR AN END TO COLONIALISM. "WE WILL PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA WHERE GOALS ARE CLEARLY STATED," HE SAID. DENOUNCING ALL FORMS OF SUBMISSION, HE CONCLUDED BY REAFFIRMING MEXICO'S DTERMINATION TO PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW AND JUST SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER FOR UTILIZING THE WORLD'S RESOURCES TO PROMOTE A BETTER LIFE BY DISPELLING IGNORANCE, HUNGER, DISEASE AND VIOLENCE.

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

THE PRESIDENT REITERATED MEXICO'S COMMITMENT TO A POLICY ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS THAT WOULD LEAD TO A JUST AND MORE RATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION, PROMOTE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND RESTORE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE RURAL AND URBAN AREAS. SUCH A POLICY, HE SAID, WOULD BE ENTRUSTED TO THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS AND AIMED AT PROMOTING THE AVAILABILITY OF ESSENTIAL SPACE, ADEQUATE SERVICES, AND PUBLIC HOUSING FOR ALL.

ARMED FORCES

IN HIS ONLY REFERENCE TO THE ARMED FORCES, LOPEZ PORTILLO CALLED ON MEXICO'S SOLDIERS TO DEMONSTRATE VALOR AND LOYALTY IN SAFEGUARDING THE NATION'S INTEGRITY, PLEDGING THAT HE WOULD NEVER ASK THEM TO SUPPORT ARBITRARY MEASURES OF COVER-UPS AND ABUSE.

EDUCATION

THE PRESIDENT REITERATED HIS INTENTION TO INCREASE SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION (RESEARCH, TEACHING, ETC.), EMPHASIZING ITS IMPORTANCE TO INCREASING THE NATION'S PRODUCTIVITY AND THE REALIZATION OF ITS DEVELOPMENT GOALS. PLEDGING TO SEEK NEW WAYS OF MARSHALLING RESOURCES TO CREATE CAPITAL FOR EDUCATION, HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WOULD COORDINATE ITS EFFORTS MORE CLOSELY WITH THOSE OF THE STATES.

LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY

THE PRESIDENT PLEDGED HIMSELF TO FORMULATION OF A RATIONAL EMPLOYMENT POLICY BASED UPON SOCIETY'S OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE EVERY WORKER WITH SUFFICIENT

TRAINING TO MEET HIS NEEDS. WITH REGARD TO SALARIES, HE STRESSED THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO ENSURE THT THEY ARE BASED ON PRODUCTIVITY AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF JUSTICE RATHER THAN "BLIND DEPENDENCE ON SUPPLY AND DEMAND." THE PRESIDENT STATED HIS STRONG SUPPORT FOR LABOR UNIONS AND THE JUST PROCESSES OF DEMOCRATIZATION THROUGH WHICH SUCH UNIONS ASSIST MEXICO'S WORKERS TO IMPROVE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING.

HEALTH

LOPEZ PORTILLO DEFINED HIS GOALS IN THE FIELD OF

HEALTH AS ENCOMPASSING NOT ONLY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DISEASE, BUT THE PROMOTION OF FAMILY PLANNING, HEALTH EDUCATION, AND REHABILITATION, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS UPON PREVENTIVE MEDICINE. (THE PRESIDENT MADE NO MENTION OF CONTROLLING DRUG ABUSE EITHER IN ITS NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL RAMIFICATIONS.) ONLY A BRIEF REFERENCE WAS MADE TO FAMILY PLANNING.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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PAGE 01 STATE 292946 TOSEC 310382

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UNCLAS STATE 292946 TOSEC 310382

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT MARLISE SIMONS BYLINER WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 1 HEADED "MEXICO IS TENSE AS IT PREPARES FOR THE INAUGURATION."

2. A WAVE OF BOMBINGS IN THE NIGHT, CONTINUED PEASANT TAKEOVERS OF LARGE LANDHOLDINGS AND A STATE OF FULL POLICE ALERT SET MEXICO ON EDGE TODAY AS FOREIGN DIGNITARIES ARRIVED FOR THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW PRESIDENT WEDNESDAY.

3. THE FOUR BOMB BLASTS, BLAMED BY AUTHORITIES ON LEFTIST TERRORISTS, INJURED TWO PERSONS AND CAUSED AN ESTIMATED $100,000 DAMAGE TO WIDELY SCATTERED BUILDINGS IN THE CAPITAL.

4. SECURITY PERCAUTIONS WERE TIGHTENED AS ROSALYNN CARTER, 'IFE OF PRESIDENT ELECT JIMMY CARTER, ARRIVED HERE THIS AFTERNOON TO JOIN SOME 1,200 OTHER FOREIGN GUESTS ATTENDING THE INAUGURATION.
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PAGE 02 STATE 292946 TOSEC 310382

5. PRESIDENT LUIS ECHEVERRIA COULD NOT CONSTITUTIONALLY SUCCEED HIMSELF, HAS PRODUCED A TUMULTUOUS CHANGE-OF-COMMAND BY ORDERING EXPROPRIATIONS OF LARGE FARMS, GIVING THEM TO PEASANTS, AND BY DEVALUING THE LONG STABLE MEXICAN PESO.

6. IN RECENT DAYS ECHEVERRIA HAS PUBLICLY DENIED RUMORS THAT A MILITARY COUP WOULD BE STAGED BEFORE THE INAUGURATION. WHILE HIS OWN FUTURE POLITICAL PLANS ARE NOT KNOWN, HE HAS OFFERED HIMSELF AS A CANDIDATE FOR THE POSITION OF SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

7. MRS. CARTER AND LADYBIRD JOHNSON HAVE COME TO THE INAUGURATION AT THE INVITATION OF THE WIFE OF INCOMING PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO.

8. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER HEADS AN OFFICIAL U.S. DELEGATION THAT INCLUDES UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM D. ROGERS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARRY SHLAUDEMAN, SENATE MAJORITY LEADER MIKE MANSFIELD (D-MONT.) AND PRESIDENT FORD'S SON, JACK FORD.

9. BUT THE ATTENTION OF THE PRESS AS WELL AS FOREIGN OFFICIALS IS CENTERED ON MRS. CARTER, WHO IS MAKING HER FIRST DIPLOMATIC TRIP ABROAD SINCE HER HUSBAND WON THE ELECTION NOV. 2.

10. KISSINGER IS CARRYING ON DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES AFTER SPENDING FIVE DAYS WITH HIS WIFE, NANCY, IN ACAPULCO, A MEXICAN RESORT. LAST NIGHT KISSINGER MET FOR NEARLY AN HOUR WITH ECHEVERRIA. THIS MORNING FOREIGN MINISTER CARLOS ROMULO OF THE PHILIPPINES MET WITH KISSINGER AT THE U.S. AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

11. ACCORDING TO A MEXICAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN, ECHEVERRIA AND KISSINGER TALKED OF "WORLD PROBLEMS." THE SPOKESMAN DECLINED TO SAY WHETHER THE TWO HAD DISCUSSED ECHEVERRIA'S BID FOR THE OFFICE OF U.S. SECRETARY GENERAL.

12. YESTERDAY THE OUTGOING MEXICAN PRESIDENT WHO HAS UNCLASSIFIED

SPENT MUCH TIME AND ENERGY ON A FOREIGN POLICY MARKED BY ITS THIRD WORLD FERVOR, SENT A LETTER TO THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL OFFERING HIS CANDIDACY. THE COUNCIL IS TO MEET FRIDAY TO RECOMMEND ITS CHOICE FOR SECRETARY GENERAL. KURT WALDHEIM, WHOSE FIRST FIVE-YEAR TERMS ENDS DEC. 31, IS EXPECTED TO BE CHOSEN FOR A SECOND TERM.

13. THE LETTER CAME AS A SURPRISE IN MEXICAN POLITICAL CIRCLES, WHERE IT WAS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT ECHEVERRIA HAD GIVEN UP HOPE FOR THE POST.

14. "I HAVE RECEIVED THE GOOD WILL AND SUPPORT OF NUMEROUS MEMBER STATES FROM DIFFERENT REGIONAL GROUPS FOR MY CANDIDACY," ECHEVERRIA'S LETTER SAID. "THEREFORE I ASK YOU TO TAKE NOTE THAT FROM 1 DECEMBER ONWARD ... I SHALL BE AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE U.N."

15. LAST NIGHT'S BOMBINGS HAVE PUT THE NERVES OF PEOPLE IN THE CAPITAL FURTHER ON EDGE. MEXICO CITY HAS BEEN BESET BY UNLIKELY AND ALARMING RUMORS, RANGING FROM AN IMPENDING COUP TO ATTEMPTS ON THE LIVES OF ECHEVERRIA'S WIFE AND CHILDREN.

16. POLICE HAVE BLAMED THE 23D OF SEPTEMBER COMMUNIST LEAGUE FOR THE BOMBINGS, AS THEY HAVE ALL RECENT URBAN TERRORIST ACTION, BUT THEY HAVE OFFERED NO PROOF.

17. FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S MASSIVE EXPROPRIATION OF LAND-HOLDINGS BY THE GOVERNMENT IN MEXICO'S NORTHERN FARM BELT, A GROUP OF NEARLY 1,000 PEASANTS BELONGING TO AN INDEPENDENT FEDERATION HAS OCCUPIED SOME 30 LARGE ESTATES IN THE STATE OF DURANGO. THE PEASANTS CLAIM THE ESTATES ARE LARGER THAN PERMITTED BY LAW AND THEY DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT EXPROPRIATE THESE ALSO.

18. IN THE STATE OF JALISCO, NORTHWEST OF MEXICO CITY, ANOTHER 24 ESTATES ARE BEING HELD BY LANDLESS PEASANTS WHO DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT FINALLY ACT ON THEIR PETITIONS FOR LAND, FILED MANY YEARS AGO.

19. MRS. CARTER WAS MET AT THE AIRPORT TODAY BY MEXICO'S
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FUTURE FIRST LADY, CARMEN LOPEZ PORTILLO, WHO IS ACTING AS HER HOSTESS AND WILL ACCOMPANY MRS. CARTER ON A VISIT TO MEXICO'S FAMED MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

20. TONIGHT THE LOPEZ PORTILLOS ARE GIVING A PRIVATE DINNER AT THEIR HOME, WHERE MRS. CARTER REPORTEDLY WILL GIVE THEM A LETTER FROM HER HUSBAND. (END TEXT.) ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 292953 TOSEC 310380

E78

41
ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 PRS-01 SSO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA:LKOLARIK:LK
APPROVED BY PA:WDYESS
S/S -MR. SEBASTIAN
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, S/PRS

070321

O 011938Z DEC 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IB Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

UNCLAS STATE 292953 TOSEC 310380

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT ALAN RIDING BYLINER NEW YORK TIMES WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 1 HEADED "MEXICO'S NEW CHIEF INHERITING A CRISIS."

2. JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO,WHO BEGINS A SIX-YEAR TERM AS PRESIDENT OF MEXICO TOMORROW, WILL INHERIT AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS THAT DEMANDS HIS IMMEDIATE ATTENTION BUT HAS ITS ROOTS IN ALMOST INSOLUBLE SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

3.THE INAUGURATION OF MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO WILL ITSELF DISPEL MUCH OF THE RECENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL UNCERTAINITY, WHICH HAS STEMMED FROM RUMORS OF AN IMMINENT MILITARY COUP OR AN ATTEMPT BY THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT, LUIS ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ TO REMAIN IN POWER.

4. MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO IS EXPECTED TO MOVE QUICKLY TO RESTORE BASIC CONFIDENCE IN THE ECONOMY BY STABILIZING THE MEXICAN CURRENCY AND BY SEEKING THE BACKING OF BOTH MEXICAN

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PAGE 02 STATE 292953 TOSEC 310380

AND FOREIGN BUSINESSMEN AND BANKERS FOR THE AUSTERITY PROGRAM THAT NOW SEEMS NECESSARY.

5. IN ADDITION, HAVING REMAINED SILENT ABOUT HIS PLANS FOR THE COUNTRY SINCE HIS ELECTION JULY 4, MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO CAN COUNT ON POPULAR SUPPORT FOR ANY ATTEMPT TO

ASSERT HIS AUTHORITY, NOT ONLY OVER THE COUNTRY BUT MORE SPECIFICALLY OVER THE LINGERING IMAGE OF PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA.

6. AS A RESULT, DESPITE THE PRESENT CRISIS, THE NEW PRESIDENT WILL PROBABLY ENJOY A BRIEF HONEYMOON WHILE THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL FORCES DETERMINE THE RESPONSE TO HIS POLICIES.

7. SOME PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, WILL NOT WAIT. ENCOURAGED BY PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S MASS EXPROPRIATION OF PRIVATE FARMS IN NORTHWEST MEXICO TWO WEEKS AGO, LANDLESS PEASANTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR CAMPAIGN FOR LAND.

8. MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO IS THEREFORE UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO DEFINE HIS POLICY TOWARD THE RURAL SECTOR IF VIOLENCE IS TO BE AVOIDED. FARM WORKER ORGANIZATIONS WANT HIM TO PRESS ON WITH THE EXPROPRIATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE FARMS, WHILE CONSERVATIVES ARE DEMANDING AN END TO LAND INVASIONS AND GOVERNMENT AGITATION AMONG THE PEASANTRY.

9. DISCONTENT WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT OVER THE UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION THAT FOLLOWED THE RECENT DEVALUATIONS OF THE MEXICAN PESO MAY ALSO COME TO A CLIMAX SOON IN NEW WAGE DEMANDS.

10. AFTER DECREEING A 23 PERCENT NATIONWIDE WAGE INCREASE JUST TWO MONTHS AGO, PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA COMMITTED THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO REVIEWING WAGES AGAIN ON JAN. 1, JUST AT THE TIME THAT ITS AUSTERITY PROGRAM SHOULD BE TAKING EFFECT.

PERSONAL STYLE MAY HELP
UNCLASSIFIED

11. BUT IF MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO OVERCOMES THESE TWO TESTS OF HIS POLITICAL STRENGTH AND SKILL, MANY MEXICAN ANALYSTS BELIEVE HIS PERSONAL STYLE OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP BRING TOGETHER MANY SECTORS OF SOCIETY THAT HAVE BEEN DRIVEN TO POSITIONS OF NEAR CONFRONTATION BY MR. ECHEVERRIA.

12. UNLIKE THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT, WHO HAS USED FIERCE LANGUAGE TO CUDGEL CONSERVATIVES AND MOBILIZE LEFTISTS, MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO PREFERS TO WIN POINTS THROUGH HARD

BARGAINING IN PRIVATE. "THERE WILL BE LESS POPULISM AND DEMAGOGUERY," ONE OF HIS AIDES SAID "BUT THIS DOESN'T MEAN HE'S GOING TO MOVE TO THE RIGHT."

13. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE LOPEZ PORTILLO GOVERNMENT

CAN--OR INDEED WANTS TO--CONTINUE THE REFORMIST POLICIES OF MR. ECHEVERRIA MAY DEPEND ON SUCH EXTERNAL FACTORS AS THE WILLINGNESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND FOREIGN BANKERS TO CONTINUE MAKING UNCONDITIONAL LOANS TO SUSTAIN THE MEXICAN ECONOMY.

14. MOST ECONOMISTS BELIEVE THAT MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO CANNOT HOPE TO STABILIZE THE PESO AND CONTROL INFLATION--RUNNING AT ABOUT 30 PERCENT THIS YEAR--IF HE CONTINUES MR. ECHEVERRIA'S POLICIES OF MASSIVE DEFICIT SPENDING ON SOCIAL REFORM PROJECTS.

15. THE ECONOMY IS EXPECTED TO GROW BY ONLY 2 PERCENT THIS YEAR, AND AN EVEN GREATER RECESSION IS BEING FORECAST FOR NEXT YEAR AS THE GOVERNMENT TRIES TO CUT ITS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT OF 3 BILLION DOLLARS, REDUCE ITS CHRONIC BUDGET DEFICIT AND SLOW THE GROWTH OF ITS FOREIGN DEBT, NOW 24 BILLION DOLLARS.

16. ONCE STATE FINANCES ARE IN BETTER SHAPE, HOWEVER, ECONOMIC GROWTH CAN BE RESUMED AND SOME OF THE FRUITS OF PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S VAST INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES WILL BE HARVESTED. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE LAST SIX YEARS, OIL RESERVES HAVE TRIPLED, OIL PRODUCTION HAS DOUBLED AND OIL EXPORTS HAVE BEGUN, WHILE THE STEEL,
UNCLASSIFIED

PETROCHEMICAL AND ELECTRICITY INDUSTRIES HAVE ALL DOUBLED THEIR CAPACITIES.

17. AN EXPANDING ECONOMY MAY ALSO ENABLE MR. LOPEZ PORTILLO TO CARRY OUT ONE OF HIS MAIN GOALS--A MAJOR FISCAL REFORM SWITCHING THE EMPHASIS FROM INDIRECT TO DIRECT TAXATION AND THE LOAD FROM THE MIDDLE TO THE UPPER CLASSES.

18. THE EXPECTATION THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT CAN RESTORE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN THE ECONOMY, HOWEVER, DOES NOT EXTEND TO A BELIEF THAT IT CAN RESOLVE THE ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS AND SOCIAL INJUSTICES THAT ARE DEEPENING THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN THE COUNTRY.
(END TEXT.) ROBINSON

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 15157 010519Z

E80

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 SSC-01 CPR-01 EB-07 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 AID-05

AGRE-00 HEW-06 INT-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 COME-00 /091 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8958
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IB Date: 6/18/97
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UNCLAS MEXICO 15157

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINR, PINT, MX
SUBJECT: JLP CABINET

I. PRESIDENT ELECT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS NAMED THE FOLLOWING CABINET SECRETARIES:

1. AGRICULTURE - FRANCISCO MERINO RABAGO

2. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION - EMILIO MUJICA MONTOYA

3. NATIONAL DEFENSE - GENERAL FELIX GALVAN LOPEZ

4. PUBLIC EDUCATION - PORFIRIO MUNOZ LEDO

5. INTERIOR - JESUS REYES HEROLES

6. FINANCE - JULIO RODOLFO MOCTEZUMA CID

7. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE - FERNANDO SOLANA

8. NAVY - ADMIRAL RICARDO CHAZARO LARA

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 15157 010519Z

9. PUBLIC WORKS - PEDRO RAMIREZ VAZQUEZ

10. NATIONAL PATRIMONY - JOSE ANDRES DE OTEYZA

11. PRESIDENCY - CARLOS TELLO MACIAS

12. ATTORNEY GENERAL - OSCAR FLORES SANCHEZ

13. WATER RESOURCES - JESUS ROBELS LINARES

14. AGRARIAN REFORM - JORGE ROJO LUGO

15. FOREIGN RELATIONS - SANTIAGO ROEL GARCIA

16. HEALTH - DR. EMILIO MARTINEZ MANAUTOU

17. LABOR - PEDRO OJEDA PAULLADA

18. TOURISM - GUILLERMO ROSELL DE LA LAMA

II. OTHER KEY APPOINTMENTS ANNOUNCED INCLUDE JORGE DIAZ SERRANO AS DIRECTOR OF PEMEX, MANUEL GONZALEZ COSIO AS HEAD OF CONASUPO AND CARLOS HANK GONZALEZ AS MAYOR (REGENTE) OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT.
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SECTO 31050 012227Z

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ACTION SS-25

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W

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O 012135Z DEC 76 ZFF-4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

Im/IPS/ce/ce 6/18/97

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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, MX
SUBJ: NOVEMBER 30 DINNER WITH LOPEZ PORTILLO FAMILY

REF: MEXICO 14965

1. ON EVENING NOVEMBER 30, LOPEZ PORTILLO FAMILY HOSTED A DINNER AT THEIR HOME WITH MRS. ROSALYNN CARTER, SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER, AND MR. JACK FORD AS GUESTS OF HONOR. ATMOSPHERE WAS ONE OF OPEN FRIENDLINESS AND INFORMALITY -- PRACTICALLY A FAMILY OCCASION. GUESTS INCLUDED NEWLY-NAMED SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS SANTIAGO ROEL GARCIA AND HIS WIFE, THE PHILLIP ALSTONS, PAUL AUSTINS, AND ROBERT CHAMBERS OF ATLANTA, AS WELL AS AMBASSADOR AND MRS. JOVA.

2. IN INFORMAL TOASTS AND REMARKS MADE JUST BEFORE MIDNIGHT, PRESIDENT-ELECT EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE PERSONAL PRESENCE OF MRS. CARTER IN MEXICO FOR THE INAUGURATION, AND MADE THE POINT THAT MEXICO AND THE US WERE BEGINNING NEW ADMINISTRATIONS ALMOST SIMULTANEOUSLY. HE ADDRESSED SECRETARY KISSINGER NOTING THE FACT THE HE REPRESENTED PRESIDENT FORD, AND COMMENTING ON HIS PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SECRETARY AND ON THE LONGSTANDING TRADITION OF US-MEXICAN FRIENDSHIP AND COLLABORATION.

3. IN REPLY, TO LOPEZ-PORTILLO REMARKS, MRS. CARTER THANKED THE PRESIDENT-ELECT ON BEHALF OF HER HUSBAND, AND EMPHASIZED PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S SPECIAL INTEREST

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PAGE 02 SECTO 31050 012227Z

IN LATIN AMERICA AND IN MEXICO IN PARTICULAR.

4. PRESIDENT-ELECT SPOKE SEPARATELY TO MR. JACK FORD, WHOM HE THANKED IN AN EXTREMELY WARM MANNER FOR HIS PRESENCE, EMPHASIZING HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE HOSPITALITY THAT PRESIDENT FORD AND HIS FAMILY SHOWED TO THE

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LOPEZ PORTILLOS DURING THEIR VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

5. COMMENT: WITHOUT DOUBT DECEMBER 1 IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANT DAY IN THE LIVES OF THE LOPEZ PORTILLOS. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT, AS DAY BEGAN, THE NEW PRESIDENT WAS ENGAGED IN ENTERTAINING REPRES-ENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AND SPECIALLY INVITED AMERICAN GUESTS. THE OCCASION WAS ONE FOR WHICH HE AND HIS FAMILY HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE AND MADE EXTENSIVE SPECIAL EFFORTS. PREVIOUSLY (SEE MEXICO 14965) LOPEZ PORTILLO FAMILY HAD ASKED THAT INFORMATION ABOUT THE NOVEMBER 30 AND DECEMBER 1 DINNERS SHOULD BE CLOSELY HELD, NOT APPARENTLY WISHING OTHER NATIONS TO CONCLUDE THAT TOO MUCH WAS BEING DONE FOR THE US. LAST NIGHT, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT-ELECT MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN SHOWING THAT HE AND HIS ADMINISTRATION INTENDED TO CARRY OUT AN EXTREMELY CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. IT IS CLEAR THAT HE REALIZED THE US HAD A SIMILAR DESIRE AND INTENTION FOR CLOSE COOPERATION WITH MEXICO, DEMONSTRATED BY THE PRESENCE OF THE SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER, THE SON OF THE INCUMBENT PRESIDENT AND THE WIFE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT.
KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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E-84

PAGE 01 SECTO 31051 020445Z

17
ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 USIE-00 SSO-00

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
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UNCLAS SECTO 31051

DEPT FOR S/PRS, NSC FOR MR. SCOWCROFT AND WHITEHOUSE FOR MR. NESSEN, RUEHFO FOR IPS/PL

EO 11652 : N/A
TAGS : OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJ : SECRETARY'S VISIT: SECRETARY KISSINGER'S INTERVIEW WITH LOCAL PRESS AT THE NATIONAL PALACE, MEXICO CITY, NOV. 30, 1976

TEXT :

Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF HIM? (REFERS TO LOPEZ PORTILLO)

A. I THINK HE, YOU KNOW, TO SAY SOMEBODY IS A STRONG MAN DOESN'T SAY MUCH IN MEXICO BECAUSE YOU SPECIALIZE IN STRONG MEN BUT I WAS VERY IMPRESSED WITH HIM AND WE HAD A VERY GOOD TALK.

Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF MEXICO'S FUTURE?

A. I THINK MEXICO IS A GREAT COUNTRY AND EVEN IT HAS SOME TEMPORARY DIFFICULTIES, IT IS BOUND TO COME OUT OF THEM. IT IS ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE WORLD. IT IS ALREADY AT THE POINT OF BEING A DEVELOPED COUNTRY, SO I'M VERY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF MEXICO. IT WILL HAVE A GREAT ROLE TO PLAY.

Q. WHAT SHOULD WE DO TO HAVE A BETTER ECONOMIC FUTURE?

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PAGE 02 SECTO 31051 020445Z

A. (INAUDIBLE).....NOT BEFORE OUR PRESIDENT IS INAUGURATED.

Q. DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY AT THIS END OF THE MR. ECHEVERRIA'S PRESIDENCY?

A. WELL, WE ALWAYS WORKED CLOSELY WITH PRESIDENT

ECHEVERRIA AND WE SOLVED ALL OUR PROBLEMS ON THE BASIS OF FRIENDSHIP, EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT AND SO WE HAVE WARM FEELINGS ABOUT PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA AND WE HAVE A GOOD BASIS ON WHICH TO WORK WITH HIS SUCCESSOR, LOPEZ PORTILLO.

Q. MR. SECRETARY DO YOU SEE ANY PROBLEMS IN THE TRANSITION BETWEEN THE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS?

A. IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES -- THERE SEEM TO BE NO PROBLEMS IN MEXICO AND I'M POSITIVE THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS A PERMANENT FEATURE AND WE ARE BOTH MAKING A TRANSITION AT THE SAME TIME AND WE WILL MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN OUR FRIENDSHIP.

Q.
THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

Q. WHAT IS YOUR CONCLUSION OF THE INTERVIEW WITH (INAUDIBLE) PHILIPPINES?

A. WE HAD A VERY GOOD TALK--WE TALKED ABOUT OUR BASE NEGOTIATIONS AND WE HAD A VERY GOOD TALK, AND WE MADE PROGRESS.
KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

SK220 *

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Bill Rogers
12/3/76; 2:14 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

K: When I see Boyd can I make this suggestion of separating Defense from the other arrangements.

R: I wouldn't. I would rather leave that to the negotiating process. My own feeling about it is the more we stay out of it, the better off we are from the Washington end. I think it is better to have Ellsworth go back and listen for another round rather than make a substantive suggestion at this point.

K: Okay. Good. Well, I just wanted to get your judgment. In the selfish manner of this Department they have got more people coming to this meeting.

R: I noticed that. Shall I peel out?

K: No. You I want there.

R: It seemed quite overloaded.

K: I am just going to drop Habib. What Jordan is doing up here only the devil knows.

R: He is on his way to Florida for 5 or 6 days of vacation and golf.

K: I want you to come. We will have to drop Habib.

R: Phil is a helpful guy to have around. With his relations with Vance, he will be helpful. I don't know that he isn't a good man to have in this meeting.

K: Yes. That is a good point. Okay. I will get back to you on this.

R: Okay.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CARLOS T. LORCA M.D.

(W135)

1.- Curriculum Vitae:

Age : Born November 19 , 1944 (32 years old)

Nationality : Chilean Citizen

Status : Married to Gabriela J. Bravo

Dependants : Ricardo B. Lorca (Aged 3)

Studies : Elementary & Grammar School in Lima , Peru
High School - in Chile - Instituto Nacional
Graduated from the School of Medicine - University of Ch
Majored in Psychiatry .
Studied Economics, Sociology and Psychology at the Univ
of Chile .
Studied and finished English at the Chile-Britain Cultu
In-titute

Activities: Was Nominated President of the Circle of Medical Stud
Was elected Member of the Board of the University of
representing the Students .
Was elected General Secretary of the Socialist Youth .
Was elected a Congressman in 1973 representing the Pr
of Valdivia.

2.- Arrest:

On June 25, 1975, Dr. Lorca was arrested with Mrs. Carolina Wiff, Social Worker, at Maule Street # 120 at 16.30 pm by a large group DINA Agents who came in 10 cars. He was handcuffed, his glasses we taken from him and he was taken to a detention camp for interrogat

On July 1, 1975 a writ of Habeas Corpus was presented by his young brother Jaime at the Court of Appeal, but the writ was not accepte by a 2 to 1 vote, because the Secretary of Interior denied that he was under arrest, and the DINA did not even answer the Courts peti of information.

On July 18 a writ of Habeas Corpus was presented to the Supreme Co with six sworn affidavits of actual witnesses of the arrest. In th only case the Supreme Court by a 4 to 1 vote accepted the writ and again contacted the Secretary of Interior and the Dina. The Secret answered that no one by that name was held in custody, and the DIN did not bother to reply to the Supreme Courts petition. Consquentl for lack of evidence , the writ was thrown out of Court , but the Supreme Court sent all the information to a Criminal Court with th recommendation that they investigate this disappearance. Naturally at a lower Court without any power nothing happened .

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) b6

3.- Reports on Carlos's Imprisonment :

Several detainees have seen Carlos at different prisons and Torture Camps such as "Cuatro Alamos", "Villa Grimaldi", "Colonia Dignidad" in the South of Chile .
He was also seen walking alone in one of the slum areas of Santiago, closely followed by DINA agents. This information was reported to the Catholic Church .
On July 17 1975 the Italian Lawyer Guido Calvi telephoned Colonel Espinoza at the office of the Secretary of Defense and the Colonels reply which was taped stated that he could not supply any more information as this man is under arrest and he will be tried by the Courts.

Chile's principal Newspaper " El Mercurio" has on several ocassions published acts of protest and solidarity with this young Congressman, and has even recommended that his arrest be admitted to stop what they call marxist propaganda .

Last August Lorca's parents received information that Carlos had been shown to a newly imprisoned young socialist. He was according to this report with mental damage, two broken limbs and in a very critical condition . The young man was warned that unless he made a full confession he would suffer the same punishment. The young man made a complete confession and gave the addresses of wanted persons, so for his good behaviour he was sent to "Tres Alamos", where his family could visit him . He sent word to the Lorca family that they should try to get Carlos out as soon as possible due to his critical condition.

Carlos Lorca's father spoke to Harry Schlaudeman, Asst. Secretary of State for Latin America in September 1976, and Under-Secretary Schlaudeman instructed the officer at the Chile Desk Robert Driscoll to make enquiries and to inform the Chilean Government that Carlos would be received in the U.S.A. Of cour Carlos Lorca Sr. was advised that if the Junta insisted on the denial there was not much he could do .

Through a young Attorney, Robert Kissel, of Culpsville Pa., wh stated that he had a very good contact in the White House, Mr. Lorca received a letter which stated that a Mr. Foster Chanock who was one of President Ford's political aides had received i formation through their channels that Dr. Lorca was alive, tha he would eventually be tried and sentenced to prison or expell from the country .

Lorca's father made a special trip to Buenos Aires, and from t he gave all this information to Robert Driscoll, who stated af several days that he could not contact Mr. Chanock as he was a away from Washington campaigning for Mr. Ford. Later Mr. Lorca told that Mr. Chanock had been ordered by someone to keep out the Lorca case , as this might embarrass the Junta .

Mr. Lorca in November 1976 received a letter from the President of the Committee for Human Rights of the Organization of American States where they notified the Chilean Government that this Commit was satisfied with the evidence they had seen that the Chilean Go ment was holding Dr. Lorca. They requested that he be immediately released, and that those responsible for his arrest be duly punish The deadline for this action was February 1st, 1977, and as far as we know nothing has happened .

4.- Solidarity from all the World :

The following Institutions and Governments have contacted the Chilean Authorities demanding that Dr. Lorca's imprisonment be mad public :

Amnesty International
Federation of World Youth
Latin American Students Federation
Red Cross International
Social Democratic Parties of Europe.
Argentine College of Psychiatrists .
Chilean Vicary of Solidaity (Catholic Church)
U.S. Committee to save Chilean Health Workers .
European Common Market
The Following Countries have offered Visas for Residency of Dr. Lorca and his family :

England
Germany
France
Holland
Belgium
Denmark
Sweden
Norway
Finland
Italy
Mexico
New Zealand
Siria .

5.- Lorca's parents feel that the only Government in the world who can obtain the liberation of their son is the United States Government and they have faith that with Presidents Carter's pledg for Human Rights, their son still has a chance .

Information relative to Dr. Lorca's family who live in constant fear that they may be arrested by the Dina for their efforts on behalf of Dr. Lorca :

SK221 *

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Phil Habib
12/3/76; 3:18 pm

K: Have you talked to Hartman about that matter?

H: Yes. He is supposed to have a paragraph up to you. He feels the meeting between him and Kubisch and Macomber--they felt it was well for them to get together and at that point somebody suggested it to you and you felt there might be some value to meeting with them. In any event they should get together and I don't see any need for it. It will get the Greeks all excited.

K: All right, then we will not do it.

H: He is supposed to have a note to you.

K: He has. I wanted to know whether it was before or after.

H: After.

K: You agree with me that the Vance appointment was a good one.

H: I think it was the best possible when you look at the other names.

K: I certainly recommended him.

H: I am glad you did. That is the kind of person you would like to have succeed you. He will never be dishonorable with respect to anything you did.

K: You worked with him in Paris.

H: I know him very well.

K: He will keep you on.

H: I am not so sure you will recommend it.

K: I would strongly recommend it.

H: I will tell Hartman to scrub it then.

K: Yes.

H: Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK224 *

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Marvin Kalb
12/3/76; 5:05 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

Kalb: You had a good time down there?

K: Yes. I had a great time.

Kalb: Did the President-elect contact you before his announcement on Vance?

K: No. This has to be off the record anyway because I am not taking calls from anyone except old friends.

Kalb: Okay. I am not going to quote you because he made a reference in the news conference that implied he checked with you.

K: It depends what checked means.

Kalb: Did he check with you about the selection of Vance as Secretary of State?

K: He would have to talk about this. I thought you meant did he tell me ahead of time he was going to make an announcement.

Kalb: Did he discuss Vance with you?

K: I think he knows my view of Vance which is highly favorable.

Kalb: I assume you knew him.

K: I knew him in '67 - '68 on the Vietnam negotiations.

Kalb: Right.

K: I tried to recruit him for the Nixon administration.

Kalb: So your sense is it is in good hands -- like Allstate.

K: I think he is the best man he could possibly have appointed, don't you?

Kalb: That is excellent. I have known him fairly well during the 60's but not well -- just on the fly. But mostly during the period when he was working on the Paris Peace talks and I thought during that particular time he appeared to be skillful and knowledgeable.

K: He is calm, decent, honorable, thoughtful and I think he is a superb choice.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

Kalb: Yes. Cardid did -- did you see the news conference . . . well, he was asked whether there would be a role for you. There was a large hint that he dropped in which he said in a particular part of the world, I would reserve the right to call on him.

K: Yes.

Kalb: He does mean the Middle East there, doesn't he?

K: I have urged him not to make any precise suggestions until he gets everything together and I really don't think it is a good idea for me to do something on a semi-permanent basis.

Kalb: I remember you telling me that.

K: Yes.

Kalb: But you did also say that if a specific assignment came along, that you felt you could help on, you would.

K: Absolutely. I want it to succeed. And it is in all of our interests. We have come through ten years of civil war. We have got to succeed. The next 8 - 10 years are absolutely decisive.

Kalb: When will you see Vance?

K: He has a board meeting Monday and he is going to try to come down late Monday because I am leaving for NATO Tuesday.

Kalb: That is right.

K: We will almost certainly get together Monday.

Kalb: Remember -- what you were thinking of, I want you to think of but I was trying to crack a joke. Please have your meeting on an occasion when I can have a picture of both of you -- you know the succession.

K: It will be about 4:00.

Kalb: If you could allow us in for courtesy.

K: Absolutely.

Kalb: He is not going to NATO with you, is he?

K: I doubt it. I don't see how he can.

Kalb: You have not talked with him about it.

K: No.

Kalb: It would be almost too fast.

K: If it had been somebody totally new but most of these governments know him in one way or another.

Kalb: I had a private feeling when the idea came up, a lot of my colleagues got excited but there was one thing that gnawed at me. That was the sense I don't think you should look like the Hirak of international diplomacy.

K: It should not look like my successor needs me.

Kalb: That is why I think Vance is a good selection and your judgment is excellent. I thank you. I am glad you had a good time in Mexico. Bernie told me he got a word in with you.

K: The devil.

Kalb: Okay.

SK230 *

TELECON
The Secretary/Amb. Dobrynin
12/4/76 12:15 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

D: (Missed first part) . . . You see how attentive to your remarks I am.

K: I want to congratulate you on getting approbation for doing what should be taken for granted. I thought it was a good thing.

D: Really. We were quite a little surprised about the whole thing. It wasn't intentional.

K: I never thought there was any such intention.

D: That is the point. It wasn't intentional. But it was done so it would clear the way out. Henry, there is a letter from Mr. Brezhnev to the President on the subject of a letter which was sent from the President to Mr. Brezhnev. This is the answer saying that it is a good idea and he hopes that we will keep our relations on a equal basis. So how to do it?

K: Why don't you send it over to Scowcroft. Can you send me a copy?

D: Maybe I will send my assistant and he will give it to your secretary.

K: Yes. Send your assistant to my secretary. Anatol, I am so glad that you are following channels religiously in my last four weeks in office.

D: Do you know Vance very well?

K: Very well. I worked with him for many years. He is very judicious and very fail minded and I think on the policies on which you and I are interested, he will pursue lines very parallel to what we are doing. He will be coming down here and why don't I invite you to lunch for the three of us.

D: That would be good.

K: He is coming down on Monday and we will then work out arrangements. And I think he will come down permanently about the 15th of December.

D: Anytime after Monday, I will be available.

K: It won't be next week because I am going to NATO.

D: Well, just arrange it.

K: I will askhim if he has no problems and I think he won't. He is a good friend of mine.

D: Okay. Thank you very much.

K: Good Anatol.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK227 *

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Ted Koppel
12/4/76; 3:11 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

TK: You looked sensational. Tanned and well rested.

K: Yes. Where was I on TV?

TK: I have got the camera on you right now. We are across the street and zooming in through the window. How was your vacation?

K: Very pleasant. We missed you. We expect you to show up.

TK: Normally I don't let you go without me. Do you remember when we came back from China last year Cy Vance had just been there and you told me of a conversation with the Chinese . . .

K: That was a personal conversation.

TK: I wanted to be clear on what the proposal was for. In effect a no first strike agreement.

K: Something like that.

TK: Yes. Our indications are the Chinese are the only ones who are exceedingly unhappy.

K: I don't think the Israelis are exactly jubilant.

TK: That is possible but they are being more diplomatic about it.

K: Are the Chinese saying bad things?

TK: We have a man in Hong Kong and he is telling us the Chinese are not happy and not making much of a secret about it. It doesn't surprise me, does it you?

K: No.

TK: I think the Chinese view him as being a fuzzy _____.

K: Of the people that were available, he was the best choice.

TK: What is going to happen to Brzezinski. Do you know?

K: I don't know. My instinct tells me he probably will not be NSC advisor having said he will be.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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TK: It will be a struggle, although Vance is low key.

K: All we will need is Schlesinger in the White House and it will be a three course ring.

TK: You put Schlesinger in CIA -- it could happen.

K: It could.

TK: How is your schedule for the next couple of weeks because we wanted to have you and Nancy over some evening.

K: Next week I am going to be away.

TK: Right -- in Europe. Are you going away for Christmas?

K: We have not decided. Why don't we talk over the next weekend.

TK: That will be fine. In fact, I am not sure we would have anybody else over. Just a quiet evening.

K: We would love to do it.

TK: Good. I will give you a call next week then.

K: Good.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 15295 040103Z

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 CPR-01 PA-02 PRS-01 USIE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9019

DEPARTMENT OF STATE EM/ZRS/SR Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
(X) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART
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FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

UNCLAS MEXICO 15295

DEPT PASS TO WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENT FORD FROM AMBASSADOR JOVA

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (FORD, JACK) MX
SUBJECT: PARTICIPATION OF JACK FORD AT LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

YOU COULD NOT HAVE HAD A MORE ABLE AND PERSONABLE REPRESENTATIVE THAN YOU SON JACK FORD. JACK ACQUITTED HIMSELF WITH GRACE AND DIGNITY. ALL OF US IN MEXICO CITY WERE PROUD TO HAVE HIM WITH THE SECRETARY AS YOUR PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE; OUR MEXICAN HOSTS WERE DELIGHTED AT YOUR THOUGHTFULNESS IN SENDING HIM; AND PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO WAS ESPECIALLY MOVED AT YOUR EXPRESSION OF PERSONAL CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM.

3. JACK DID A FINE JOB FOR THE UNITED STATES HERE AND WE ARE GRATEFUL.
JOVA

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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RELEASED IN FULL

SK234

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Pete Day
12/6/76; 3:53 pm

K: Pete, I just had a call from Dinitz who of course has denied any evil conduct with respect to that resolution but he also says that they have information that they are moving 700 Syrian troops into _____ tomorrow and they are warning against it. The minimum we have to do is tell Sarkis so that we don't get accused of having tracked it.

D: Okay. We will send out something.

K: Okay.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Peter Ramsbotham
12/6/76; 1:00 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

R: I have been in touch with Tony Crosland. He would be very happy to see you Saturday morning.

K: Instead of Friday afternoon?

R: He would like to do that too on Friday afternoon, with officials and would you be prepared to do this because he would like you to come alone if you could for a chat with him at his house and you can have photographers.

K: Oh, sure.

R: You and he would be on your own for an hour on Saturday morning at Landsdown place.

K: I know where it is.

R: It can be as official outside as they like.

K: Excellent.

R: I think you are engaged for lunch.

K: Yes.

R: And you are going to the football game that afternoon together. Dennis Healey would like to catch you for a moment.

K: We will do that after the football at the end of the day.

R: We will work on that.

K: Good.

R: Privately in the evening are you staying in town? He said if you would like Nancy to come to Kent he would be delighted.

K: That is very sweet of him but I don't think we will do that. We are going to the threatre and if he would like to join us, we would be delighted.

R: In the evening.

K: Why don't you give him the choice.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

R: We will fix it.

K: Since he made me switch from a first division football match to a second division match, he got 10 points there. It was a true proletarian move.

R: Okay. Good.

SK-231 *

TELECON
Ambassador Ramsbotham/Secretary Kissinger
December 6, 1976
9:50 am

RELEASED IN FULL

K: I know your Foreign Secretary specializes in being difficult. Let me explain why I want to see him Saturday morning rather than Friday afternoon. If I spend Saturday in London it will be for personal reasons and without doing anything official at all I will be in the same position as Simon. . . and since I am changing the soccer game to accommodate him.

R: You want an hour's talk on that morning.

K: If not with him, then somebody.

R: Saturday morning.

K: Yes - with somebody who has plausible responsibility.

R: You are coming back on Friday afternoon.

K: I will be coming back earlier than I had planned so I can see him at 4:00.

R: You will be seeing him at 4 and you will have the evening free.

K: No, that evening the Prime Minister is giving a dinner.

R: And Saturday you will join him at the soccer game.

K: Yes. I want to see some personal friends in London. But if I had an hour's appointment -- if not Crosland, maybe Richards will sacrifice himself.

R: Certainly, but I don't think sacrifice is the word. But I am sure he will be delighted.

K: Or Healy.

R: We will do that. An hour would be about right.

K: Yes.

R: I would love to see you sometime before I leave on the 14th.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

K: How about breakfast on the 14th.

R: I would love to do that.

K: Good

END

4-12-76
RGEN PRA PROJECT (S20000044)
S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] 12/7/76

AY026

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

DATE: December 7, 197

SUBJECT: Conversation with Captain Roberto J. Seisdedos: Part II

PARTICIPANTS: Captain Roberto J. Seisdedos, Human Rights Working Group
Counsel Juan Carlos Arlía, Human Rights Working Group
Mr. Charles W. Bray, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
Mr. Wayne S. Smith, Political Counselor
Ms. Yvonne Thayer, Political Officer

PLACE: Foreign Ministry

COPIES TO: AMB, DCM, ARA-Mr. Bray

I opened the conversation by recalling our conversation of the night before. I suggested that what we should be considering at this point in our conversation was the practical problem of how to deal with what might become a serious irritant in the relations between our two countries. I noted that the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs had just indicated to me that (1) a list of those detained by the government and (2) measures against those responsible for excesses might be forthcoming by January. I said that this was very much to be hoped, since it would assist considerably in relieving some of their preoccupations. I asked Captain Seisdedos if he could elaborate on the Undersecretary's statement.

Captain Seisdedos said that unfortunately he could not. He said they indeed hoped that such measures would be possible by January, but that the Undersecretary probably had information to which he was not yet privy. He noted that the Undersecretary had just returned from Mexico with Interior Minister Harguindeguy, and since it is the latter who has blocked the issuance of a list of the det inees, it may be that the Undersecretary is aware of a change in attitude on he Interior Minister's part. Seisdedos reiterated the hope that such lists would be forthcoming and he also expressed the hope that the recently instituted courts martial system will speed up the processing of those detained.

I asked if the GOA planned to answer our Note protesting the treatment accorded Gwenda Mae Loken. Neither Captain Seisdedos, nor Arlía was certain. They believed her allegations were being investigated and that an answer might be prepared when the investigation had been completed.

POL:WSSmith:mg

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Cleared: ARA:CWBray

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4-12-76

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Ms. Thayer stated that it might help considerably if a list of detainees could be published. She noted that there have been few letters, or other expressions of concern, in the cases of those who have actually been charged and brought before the courts. It is those who are held incommunicado, or who have simply disappeared, who are the subjects of most of the correspondence received by the Embassy. Captain Seisdedos said this coincided with their own experience too. Mr. Arlía cut in to say that they frequently receive letters concerning those who had been tried, but usually this was in the case of those who had not been found guilty on grounds of insufficient evidence, and who therefore were frequently still detained. He repeated that if people are not carried on the books as being held under the State of Siege, or charged with some specific crime, then the government does not have them.

Mr. Smith asked what happens then to all those who simply disappear and on whom the government seems to have no record. Mr. Arlía replied that probably the great majority who disappear are terrorists who have gone underground and thus have dropped out of sight.

Captain Seisdedos said that speaking of lists, he had one of military personnel recently killed in the Federal Capital and Buenos Aires Province. It was a long list, and he noted with some bitterness that he did not recall a single voice of protest or concern raised on behalf of these men whose most fundamental human right--to live--had been extinguished by the terrorists.

I agreed that the terrorists were guilty of heinous crimes, but I repeated that the government itself is sworn to uphold the law. Its legitimacy is indeed based in part on its willingness to do so and it cannot be judged by the same standards as the terrorists. Captain Seisdedos agreed, but he argued that many of the allegations made against the Argentine Government are false. Frequently those released and expelled from the country claim they were tortured. He said he thought the best argument to refute the charges was to point out that the authorities were not so naive as to torture people and then let them go. He recalled that Patricia Erb had of her own free will written and signed a document describing her experience and incarceration in which she had said she had not been mistreated. Further, he said the Argentine Government had released Gwenda Mae Loken in good faith even though they had no doubts concerning her involvement in subversion. They had expelled her as an indication of the value they place on their relations with the U. S., but they had never dreamed she would make the statement she did after her return to the United States. He stated that the responsible officers in the government would have to think very carefully in the future as to the advisability of expelling such people.

Captain Seisdedos emphasized, however, that the Human Rights Working Group had been cooperating closely with the Embassy until now, and would continue to do so. They would do everything they possibly could to satisfy U. S.

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UNCLASSIFIED

expressions of concern with respect to human rights, but that if their best was not enough, the U. S. simply would have to keep its military assistance.

Mr. Arlía then remarked that Father Drinan's conduct in his first meeting at the Foreign Ministry, during which he made threats against the GOA, suggested that the U. S. might be going back to a big stick policy. He asked if this was the case. I said that it was not, but emphasized that Congressman Drinan was expressing the legitimate concerns of his constituents and of the American people as a whole.

Captain Seisdedos concluded by reiterating that this is a "dirty fight," but he emphasized it is not a war. He would never define it as a war because that might suggest the subversive delinquents were belligerents. They were not; they were criminal and did not have the rights of belligerents, and would not be accorded such rights.

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94-22-ARINA PROJECT (S2000044)
ARCHIVE, DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _ _____ Reason ____

[redacted] CLASSIFIED 8/9/76 AY028

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

DATE: December 7, 1976

SUBJECT: Conversation with Regional Representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Robert Muller, Regional Representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees
Mr. Charles W. Bray, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
Ms. Yvonne Thayer, Political Officer

PLACE: UN Offices

COPIES TO: AMB, DCM, ARA-Mr. Bray

Mr. Muller, a Swiss, represents the UNHCR in all of Latin America, including Mexico. He has been in Argentina 14 months.

Mr. Muller began by explaining the historical background of the refugee situation, particularly the influx of Chileans into Argentina following the fall of the Allende government in 1973. As Argentina does not recognize South Americans as refugees (having signed the 1951 UN Convention on refugees with a geographical reservation excluding the American hemisphere), the status of the Chileans, Paraguayans, Bolivians and Uruguayans who have sought exile in Argentina has always been unclear. During the Peronist government, the exile-refugees were largely left alone but were eyed with suspicion by Argentine authorities and most never regularized their status. Following the military takeover in March 1976, refugee groups began to be harassed by unidentified elements--presumably including members of the security forces--abducted, tortured, detained, threatened, and, in some cases, assassinated. Their plight led to the UN High Commissioner's appeal for resettlement opportunities outside Argentina. Of the original 14,000 mandated refugees, approximately 2,000 have been resettled outside the country. UNHCR estimates another 2,000 have left on their own. For the 10,000 still under UN protection, some 1,200-1,500 offers of resettlement remain. (Canada will take another 500 persons; the UK 70; the U. S. 200 cases--up to 600 persons; France and Switzerland have no quotas and will continue to take urgent cases).

More importantly, Muller indicated that the military government has acknowledged finally that it has a "refugee problem" and has reversed its earlier

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hostile attitude toward the UNHCR. Relations with government officials have improved and the government is now cooperating in order to move refugees out of the country.

Harassment of refugees has virtually ceased since August.

In September, the Interior Ministry issued a decree asking illegal aliens (refugees) to register with immigration officials. The Ministry has told UNHCR that it will investigate the persons registered and prepare a list of those who will be allowed to regularize their status in Argentina and those who will not. Persons in the latter group will be given UNHCR priority for resettlement abroad. Muller does not know when the list will be ready but is pressing the Interior Ministry.

Muller said that most of the refugees have not engaged in political activities while in Argentina. The one possible exception were certain groups of Uruguayans who, he believes, may have participated in a propaganda effort against the Uruguayan government, although he said he does not believe they were terrorists. Some 40 Uruguayans disappeared from their homes in Buenos Aires in July and September. Several of them later turned up in the hands of authorities in Uruguay who claimed they had been arrested in Uruguay after feigning their abduction in Argentina. Muller denied the Uruguayan police version but said witnesses in Argentina would be fearful to testify against it. He also said that UNHCR had information that three Chileans arrested in Argentina later appeared in Chilean custody, despite GOA assertions that it would not forceably repatriate refugees. UNHCR officially protested in one of the cases.

Viewing the Argentine situation in general, Muller said he is pessimistic, although not so much for the refugees as for the Argentine people. He said he believes the rapidly deteriorating economic situation is likely to further exacerbate labor unrest and cause widespread discontent which is likely to be met with a move to a more hard-line, repressive government. The human rights problem, Muller said, is far greater for the Argentine people at this point and the solution for them is more difficult.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 15380 070112Z UNCLASSIFIED

71

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03
INR-07 NSAE-00 USIA-06 XMB-02 OPIC-03 SP-02 CIEP-01
LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 NSC-05 SS-15 STR-04 CEA-01 /078 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9047
INFO TREASURY WASHDC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CRR Date: 6/18/97
RELEASE DECLASSIFY
EXCISE DECLASSIFY EO Citations
DENY IN PART
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TS authority to
CLASSIFY as S or C Sec.
DOWNGRADE TS to S or C
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEXICO 15380

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: EFIN MX
SUBJECT: FOREIGN BANKERS REACTION TO JLP INAUGURATION ADDRESS

1. SUMMARY: OUR SAMPLING OF FOREIGN BANKERS ATTENDING JLP INAUGURATION INDICATES THEY FOUND SPEECH ENCOURAGING, BUT ARE AWAITING MORE SPECIFIC INDICATIONS OF JLP POLICIES BEFORE MAKING POLICY DECISIONS. MEDIUM-SIZED AND LARGER BANKS APPEAR TO BE WILLING TO MAINTAIN THEIR EXPOSURE AT CURRENT LEVELS, BUT SEVERAL BANKERS INDICATED THERE IS PRESSURE FROM SENIOR MANAGEMENT TO REDUCE EXPOSURE. END SUMMARY.

2. LARGE NUMBER OF FOREIGN BANKS ARE REPRESENTED AT INAUGURATION CEREMONIES OF JLP. CONVERSATIONS OF EMBASSY OFFICIALS WITH THOSE BANKERS INDICATE THAT BANKERS FOUND JLP'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS UPBEAT AND ENCOURAGING, BUT WOULD HAVE LIKED TO KNOW MORE SPECIFICS OF NEW ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC POLICIES. ON THURSDAY NIGHT NEW FINANCE MINISTER MOCTEZUMA HOSTED DINNER AND ONFRIDAY PRESIDENT HOSTED BREAKFAST FOR VISITING BANKERS. WHILE SOME BANKERS HAD EXPRESSED HOPE THAT MORE DETAIL MIGHT BE PROVIDED ON ONE OR BOTH OF THESE OCCASIONS, NONE WAS FORTHCOMING. BANKERS WERE LIMITED FOR MOST PART TO TEN-SECOND CONVERSATIONS WITH SENIOR GOMOFFICIALS. PROBLEMS IN ORGANIZING NEW GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT DIFFICULT TO SEE NEW SENIOR OFFICIALS PRIVATELY.

3.VISITING OFFICIAL OF LARGE TEXAS BANKTOLD FINATT THAT HIS SENIOR MANAGEMENT WANTED SOME POSITIVE SIGNS THAT GOM IS MOVING

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 15380 070112Z

TO STABILIZE ECONOMY WITHIN THREE MONTHS OR THEY WOULD START REDUCING THEIR EXPOSURE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE CLASSIFICATION OF LOANS TO MEXICAN PUBLIC SECTOR ENTITIES BY COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY, AND EXPRESSED OPINION THAT POLITICAL FACTORS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BEFORE ANY SUCH ACTION.

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4. REPRESENTATIVE OF LARGE NEW YORK BANK SAID THEY WERE ADOPTING LOW PROFILE FOR TIME BEING. HIS COMMENTS IMPLIED THAT HIS SENIOR MANAGEMENT WAS CONSIDERING HOW THEY COULD REDUCE THEIR EXPOSURE OVER COURSE OF NEXT YEAR.

5. SENIOR OFFICIAL OF LARGE PENSYLVANIA BANK EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT INAUGURAL SPEECH AND EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT HIS BANK'S EXPOSURE WAS HEAVILY ORIENTATED TOWARD PUBLIC SECTOR AND MOSTLY SHORT-TERM.

6. BANKERS THAT TEND TO BE MOST OPTIMISTIC ARE THOSE WITH LARGEST EXPOSURES; I.E, BANK OF AMERICA AND CITIBANK, THOUGH IN PRIVATE THEY TOO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERNS.

7. ONE ITEM IN JLP SPEECH THAT DID IMPRESS BANKERS WAS HIS STATEMENT, "WE WILL SUPPORT COMPANIES WHICH IN GOOD FAITH WERE FORCED TO INCUR DEBTS IN DOLLARS IN ORDER TO PREVENT RISE IN COSTS AND DEPELETION OF THEIR CAPITAL". THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO KNOW HOW NEW GOVERNMENT WILL IMPLEMENT THIS.

8. NEW FINANCE MINISTER, MOCTEZUMA CID IS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN TO BANKERS WHICH IS PROBABLY NEGATIVE FACTOR, AT LEAST UNTIL MOCTEZUMA CAN PROVE HIMSELF. ROMERO KOLBECK, AS HEAD OF NACIONAL FINANCIERA, WAS KNOWN TO BANKERS, BUT NOT VERY WELL AS LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS HANDLED MOST OF NAFINSA'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH COMMERCIAL BANKERS. WE HAVE NOT HEARD ANY REMARKS ABOUT TELLO IN PART BECAUSE HIS POSITION WOULD NOT NECESSARILY PUT HIM IN DIRECTO CONTACT WITH FOREIGN BANKERS.

9. BRITISH BANKER EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT REACTION OF U.S. BANKS TO MEXICO'S SITUATION. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT MEXICO'S DIFFICULTPERIOD WOULD LAST SEVERAL YEARS, BUT THAT THE LONGER-TERM OUTLOOK WAS STILL THE BEST AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. SHOULD U.S. BANKS TRY TO PULL OUT, HE SAID, THIS WOULD ENDANGER

THE REST OF THE BANKING COMMUNITY
JOVA

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/R Date 6/18/97
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 298245

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MORNING SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT REPORTS

1. SOARES: PORTUGAL IN REVIEW

PRIME MINISTER SOARES TOLD VISITING SENATOR BROOKE THAT THE CRITICAL PROBLEM IN PORTUGAL IS TO LINK ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND DEMOCRACY. IF THE GOP CAN ACCELERATE ECONOMIC RECOVERY, JOIN THE COMMON MARKET, AND COUNT ON FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE US, IT WILL HAVE PASSED THE WORST STAGE IN CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL. SOARES ALSO SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT:

--HAS MADE STRIDES IN IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC CLIMATE, AS EVIDENCED BY REDUCED ABSENTEEISM, A PROJECTED FIVE

PERCENT GNP INCREASE, AND A 93 PERCENT RISE IN TOURISM;

--IS MOVING VIGOROUSLY AGAINST COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, AND LABOR; AND

--NEEDS TO DO MORE TO DEFEAT COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF UNIONS, WHICH IS THE MOST VULNERABLE POINT OF THE ENTIRE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE.

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TURNING FROM ECONOMICS TO POLITICS, SOARES CLAIMED:

--THE COMMUNISTS WILL NEVER VOTE FOR THE DOWNFALL OF THE GOVERNMENT, AS THEY FEAR RIGHTIST MILITARY INTERVENTION.

--THE RESULTS OF THE DECEMBER 12 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WILL NOT SIGNIFICANTLY ALTER THE EXISTING SITUATION.

--BOTH GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION STILL HAVE A LOT TO LEARN TO MAKE THE INEFFICIENT ASSEMBLY FUNCTION PROPERLY. (CONFIDENTIAL) LISBON 8425, 12/7.)

2. FRG: PARTING IS SUCH SWEET SORROW

EMBASSY BONN REPORTS THAT THE CDU'S KOHL AND THE CSU'S STRAUSS, UNABLE TO OVERCOME THEIR DIFFERENCES, ISSUED A JOINT COMMUNIQUE DECEMBER 6 WHICH SPELLED THE END OF THEIR 27-YEAR POLITICAL ALLIANCE. ACCORDING TO THE EMBASSY:

--KOHL GAVE THE CSU AN ULTIMATUM TO REVERSE ITS DECISION TO FORM A SEPARATE FRAKTION IN THE BUNDESTAG AND FORESWEAR FOURTH PARTY AMBITIONS OR FACE CDU COMPETITION IN BAVARIA.

--STRAUSS REFUSED TO YIELD, AS RETREAT WOULD HAVE COST HIM THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE CSU.

UNDER BUNDESTAG RULES, ONCE THE TWO PARTIES COMPETE IN AN ELECTION, THEY CANNOT FORM A FRAKTION WITHOUT THE CONSENT

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OF THE MAJORITY OF THE BUNDESTAG.

EMBASSY COMMENT: THERE IS STRONG INDICATION THE CDU PLANS TO MOVE INTO BAVARIA. IF SO, IT WILL BE ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE CSU GOES NATIONWIDE. OVER THE LONG RUN, THE CENTRIFUGAL FORCES CREATED BY STRAUSS' ACTION ARE UNPREDICTABLE, BUT THE PROLIFERATION OF SPLINTER PARTIES IS A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY. (CONFIDENTIAL) BONN 20580, 12/7.)

3. GISCARD'S TRIP TO YUGOSLAVIA

THE QUAI'S EASTERN EUROPEAN CHIEF TOLD EMBASSY PARIS THAT PRESIDENT GISCARD'S VISIT TO BELGRADE DECEMBER 6-7 IS AIMED AT UNDERSCORING FRENCH INTEREST IN YUGOSLAVIA'S CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY. DESPITE THE LARGE SIZE OF THE FRENCH DELEGATION, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT MAJOR AGREE-

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MENTS WILL EMERGE FROM THE VISIT. ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE, THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE HAS BEEN DELAYED BY YUGOSLAV CHANGES WHICH THE GOF REJECTED OR DEFLECTED. THESE INCLUDE:

--SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO "COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ARMAMENTS;"

--OBLIQUE ENDORSEMENT OF NON-ALIGNMENT; AND

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--THE MALTESE THESIS THAT THE US AND THE USSR SHOULD LEAVE THE MEDITERRANEAN A "LAKE OF PEACE" AND THAT THE MEDITERRANEAN STATES SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING. (CONFIDENTIAL) PARIS 36091, 12/7.)

4. MORE OIL ON SINAI WATERS

THE EGYPTIAN GENERAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT IS IN THE PROCESS OF COMPLETING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THREE COMPANIES, INCLUDING GULF OIL AND CONOCO, FOR AWARDS OF EXPLORATION AND PRODUCTION AGREEMENTS FOR ON-AND OFF-SHORE BLOCKS IN THE SINAI. MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS LEGAL DIRECTOR AL-ARABY TOLD EMBASSY CAIRO THAT ACCESS TO THOSE BLOCKS IN THE BUFFER ZONE WOULD BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE UN, BUT THAT SINCE THE [redacted]

[redacted]

SINAI AGREEMENT IS SILENT ON THE QUESTION OF CIVILIAN ACTIVITY AND SINCE THE AREA IS SOVEREIGN EGYPTIAN TERRITORY, HE FORESAW NO PROBLEM IN GAINING ACCESS.

EMBASSY COMMENT: CONOCO HAS TOLD US THAT THEY INTEND TO WRITE THE AGREEMENT SO THAT THEY BEAR NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROCURING PERMITS TO WORK THEIR AREA. WE CAN NEVERTHELESS EXPECT TO BE DRAWN INTO THE MATTER SOONER OR LATER. (CONFIDENTIAL) CAIRO 16748, 12/6.)

5. LOPEZ PORTILLO: THE FIRST FIVE DAYS

THE ATTENDANCE OF WORLD LEADERS AT PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S INAUGURATION WAS A BOOST TO MEXICAN PRIDE AND HELPED BUILD A SPIRIT OF SELF-CONFIDENCE ABSENT IN THE WANING MONTHS OF THE ECHEVERRIA ADMINISTRATION. ACCORDING TO EMBASSY MEXICO:

--THE PRESIDENT, IN MAKING CLEAR THAT HE EXPECTS SCRUPULOUS HONESTY AND DEDICATION, HAS LAID A GOOD FRAMEWORK FOR RESTORING CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

--HOWEVER, EXPECTATIONS ARE HIGH AND THERE IS BOUND TO BE SOME DISILLUSIONMENT WHEN HE DOESN'T PERFORM MIRACLES.

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EMBASSY COMMENT: THE QUESTION IS HOW LONG THE ATMOSPHERE OF "GOOD FEELINGS" WILL CONTINUE. PUBLIC CONFIDENCE WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE UNTIL EARLY NEXT YEAR, WHEN OPINION LEADERS WILL HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO SURVEY DEVELOPMENTS AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE CHANGES NOW TAKING PLACE ARE SHADOW OR SUBSTANCE. (CONFIDENTIAL) MEXICO 15381, 12/7.)

6. FTAI: SOMALIS BACKING OFF?

THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY GIVEN TWO PUBLIC INDICATIONS THAT IT HAS NO INTENTION OF FORCIBLY ANNEXING THE FTAI:

[redacted]

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--THE FTAI MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, MOHAMED ELABE, AFTER A VISIT TO MOGADISCIO, SAID THERE WAS NO TRUTH TO RUMORS THAT SOMALIA WANTS TO ANNEX THE FTAI.

--FIVE LEADERS OF THE SOMALI-SPONSORED SOMALI COAST LIBERATION FRONT WERE EXPELLED FROM THE ORGANIZATION FOR "CONSPIRACY TO OBSTRUCT THE INDEPENDENCE OF DJIBOUTI."

EMBASSY MOGADISCIO COMMENT: ELABE'S STATEMENT WAS UNDOUBTEDLY AUTHORIZED BY THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT. THESE ACTIONS REFLECT A DELIBERATE EFFORT BY THE GOVERNMENT TO MUTE OVERT ANNEXATIONIST APPEALS AND PROVOCATIVE ACTS THAT INCREASE THE RISK OF ETHIOPIAN COUNTER-REACTION. THE SOMALIS APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT IF THEY CAN AVOID AN ARMED CONFLICT WITH ETHIOPIA, THEY STAND A REASONABLE CHANCE OF ACQUIRING DJIBOUTI THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS. (CONFIDENTIAL) MOGADISCIO 1975, 12/5 AND 1993, 12/7.) ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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12/9/76 (ALØ29) 12/9/76

File: HR Argentina R

TO: D/HA

Subject: Seminar on Argentine Situation.

Here are the highlights of a panel discussion on the Argentine situation sponsored by WOLA. These are based on my notes which are not necessarily quotes on what was said. The panel consisted of Eldon Kenworthy of Cornell University and the Latin American Studies Organization (LASO); Peter Miscelli, representing 16 U.S. Chambers of Commerce in Latin America; and Bill Luers.

In the prefatory remarks, Miscelli expressed the frustration of the U.S. business community in Latin America at the way the news media has distorted the human rights issue. He read from a report by the Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce which asked for understanding of what the new government is faced with given the disruptive political and economic history which Argentina has recently undergone. He said the last Chamber of Commerce meeting in Mexico City supported human rights--but not those actions which restricted loans and other economic collaboration with Latin American governments.

Kenworthy sought to underline the dilemma of the Argentine people--either support the regime or be politically neutral. But he stressed that neutrality is not enough for the military. The de facto situation is that any allegation of "subversion" i.e., not supportive of the regime, is dangerous. He claimed Argentina is the least safe country in the world. The GOA indiscriminately attacks the populace as a whole, in essence "removing the water which supports the fish" (those who do not go along with the government's imposition of a very severe, conservative, economic policy). U.S. policy, he asserted, is that so long as Videla handles his public relations well there is no real problem. (Our difficulty with Chile was not its conduct but its bad PR.) And the US Government is giving tacit support to this Argentine PR program. On top of this, the US is giving no help at all to the 20,000 "refugees" in Argentina.

Luers' thrust was to try to explain U.S. policy, not to justify the activities of the Argentine Government. He underlined that there is no aid and no grant military assistance. He mentioned that while there is no overriding U.S. interest in Argentina, there are special things to consider such as the $1.4 billion U.S. investment, that

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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Argentina is one of the two or three most important countries in the hemisphere, and that potentially it is a major exporter to a food hungry world. On human rights, the US has talked to President Videla and all the Ministers of Government. There has also been numerous USG efforts to achieve release of US citizens and others. The US has also publicly spoken out regarding the situation there. Less rhetorically, we have embarked on a parole program to help refugees in Argentina, and while we recently favored an $8 million IDB loan, this gave us an opportunity to express to the Argentines the difficulty we had in reaching this decision given the human rights situation. Generally, Luers said he had talked to democratic leaders in Latin America who warned that US bilateral actions would give rise to greater Argentine nationalism and accordingly be self-defeating with respect to promoting human rights. He finished by pointing to certain possible dangers from a heavy-handed approach:

- moral imperialism
- amalgamation of the southern cone against us
- the U.S.S.R. could also accuse of of violating the human rights of American citizens, e.g., unemployment
- negative reactions of the sort we experienced from the Jackson-Vanik approach

Questions to Luers were as follows:

Q. Isn't it true that we like repressive regimes because they support US policy?

A. Difficult for me to say. I am sure that Videla does not see himself serving the US rather than his military and the welfare of the Argentine people. (Kenworthy: But isn't it true that the economic policies they are pursuing are congenial to us? While it may not be an overt conspiracy of support for US policy, certainly it is a love affair).

Q. (Bruce-Cameron - Americans for Democratic Action). Why do we grant military aid to countries in which we have no vital interest? It is not punitive to deny aid to governments who use this aid in pursuit of their own objectives.

A. There has to be some consistency in the way we do things. Over a long period of time we provided arms in the fight against Communism. Just because we have revised this concept doesn't mean that we can quickly turn around and dramatically reduce the arms flow. Preferentially, it would be nice if we could start all over again every time we change our mind. Certainly, an option open to the new Administration could be zero-base aid. But because we have traditionally supported the military this option has not been available to us in the past. Our policy now is to reduce military collaboration despite the growing number of military regimes.

Q. But you admitted you are planning to increase FMS sales to Argentina from $30 to $48 million. This is in your FY'78 budget. This doesn't make sense.

A. It is in the budget but it does not mean that the suggested figure will survive. It depends on the outcome of the human rights issue. This $48 million is just a planning figure. It was set up last year.

Q. But as we look at the past military aid to Argentina it was even less several years ago. There has generally been a manifold increase in the last few years. Prior to this recent increase it was rather low.

A. When Argentine bottoms were being used in the Cuban trade we considerably lowered our assistance. Admittedly, after the Argentine ships were no longer involved aid went up considerably.

Q. Indeed, if you were scaling down your military assistance over time as you said, you should have hung on to the low level you reached during the Cuba issue.

A. Perhaps so.

Q. (Larry Birns - Council of Hemispheric Affairs). Why did the State Department refuse to testify recently on the Argentine situation?

A. We did not refuse to testify. We felt that public airing of the human rights issue at that time could have had an impact on the direction of the Argentine Government was taking. In fact, this direction is still unresolved.

Q. I understand the Argentine report on human rights was "dynamite." But then you proceeded to classify it thwarting the intent of the Congress. I admit that the question of classification is unclear but your motivation to classify it was to head off action on a possible joint resolution directed against Argentina.

A. We have not tried to thwart the Congress. How could we since the Congress was not in session. The justification for the classification is that it contained information provided in confidence by the Argentine Government and other governments. In addition, there is a series of other reports which are to be provided in unclassified form.

Q. The reports to accompany the budget request are not the same thing. They do not contain the backdrop and other information essential to the Hill in considering a joint resolution.

Q. How about the request to declassify the reports?

A. It is being looked at. I'm unsure where we are on this matter.

Q. (Torres-UAW). Why can't we put together a program to help Argentines come to the U.S. given their dire circumstances?

A. The UNHCR has not made such a request. We need a recommendation from them.

Q. (Rosemary Chalk - National Association for the Advancement of Science). Can't we get a list of all those detained in Argentina?

A. We have asked for such a list and continue to push it.

Finally, Birns took issue with the assertion that the Argentine public would close ranks behind the GOA if we pressed on human rights. His thesis was that the outs, the tortured, the repressed would welcome U.S. demarches on human rights. Admittedly others supportive of the government would react.

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12/9/76

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER JLP--PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND HIS FIRST ROUND OF APPOINTMENTS TO KEY POSITIONS IN THE SECRETARIAT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT MEXICO, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, WILL RETURN TO A MORE NARROWLY FOCUSSED FOREIGN POLICY WHICH REFLECTS THE COUNTRY'S IMMEDIATE NEEDS DURING THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD OF INTERNAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIUM. WITHOUT REPUDIATING PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S FLAMBOYANT SUPPORT OF THIRD WORLD ISSUES, LOPEZ PORTILLO APPARENTLY INTENDS TO PLACE GREATER EMPHASIS ON IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND TO ADHERE LESS DRAMATICALLY TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY UNDERLYING TRADITIONAL MEXICAN POLICY. PRAGMATISM AND SELF-INTEREST WILL BE THE DOMINANT MOTIVATIONS.

WHILE THERE WILL PROBABLY BE NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN MEXICO'S BASIC POSITIONS ON A WIDE RANGE OF NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES, THE TONE AND STYLE OF MEXICAN POLICY WILL LIKELY BE LESS CONFRNTATIONAL. MOREOVER, MEXICO IS NOT LIKELY TO PLACE ITSELF AUTOMATICALLY IN THE FOREFRONT OF CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES (E.G., ZIONISM-RACISM) WHERE THE POLITICAL RETURNS ARE SMALL IN COMPARISON TO THE POTENTIALLY ADVERSE IMPACE ON MEXICO'S IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND/OR BROADER POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS, PARTICULARLY INVOLVING THE UNITED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 15605 110134Z

STATES. END SUMMARY.

2. INAUGURAL ADDRESS

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL MESSAGE WAS PROBABLY MORE SIGNIFICANT IN TERMS OF WHAT HE DID NOT SAY THAN WHAT HE DID SAY ABOUT MEXICO'S FOREIGN POLICY (SEE MEXICO 15168 FOR SUMMARY).

FIRST, THE PRESIDENT DEVOTED ONLY THREE PAGES OF A 70 PAGE ADDRESS TO FOREIGN POLICY--A CLEAR INDICATION THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S FIRST PRIORITY IS TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE AND COPE WITH MEXICO'S SERIOUS INTERNAL PROBLEMS. HE BEGAN IN LOW KEY BY OUTLINING IN GENERAL TERMS THE TRADITIONAL MEXICAN PRINCIPLES OF INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, ETC. HE ENDORSED MEXICO'S COMMITMENT TO DISARMAMENT, ANTI-COLONIAL POSTURE, REJECTION OF IMPERIALISM OF ANY HUE AND ALL FORMS OF SUBMISSION, BUT HE DID SO WITH A SIMPLE, MATTER-OF-FACT STYLE THAT CONTRASTED SHARPLY WITH THE POLITICAL ORATORY OF ECHEVERRIA'S FOREIGN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS. TUCKED IN BETWEEN THE LINES WAS AN ENIGMATIC BUT PERHAPS SIGNIFICANT REFERENCE THAT MEXICO "WILL PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA WHERE GOALS ARE CLEARLY STATED." WHILE REAFFIRMING MEXICO'S SUPPORT FOR THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES, JLP'S REFERENCE HARDLY DRAMATIZED THIS LEITMOTIF OF THE ECHEVERRIA ERA AND UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES REPRESENTED A MINIMUM GESTURE TO HIS PREDECESSOR'S FOREIGN POLICY.

IN SUM, JLP'S INAUGURAL FOREIGN POLICY SUMMARY WAS LOW-KEY, SOBER, UNDRAMATIC, AND REFLECTIVE OF THE GREATER PRIORITY AND URGENCY WHICH HIS ADMINISTRATION CURRENTLY ATTACHES TO INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

3. FOREIGN SECRETARY

THE SELECTION OF FOREIGN MINISTER SANTIAGO ROEL AND HIS KEY LIEUTENANTS IN THE FOREIGN SECRETARIAT ALSO APPEARS CONSISTENT WITH JLP'S DESIRE TO RETURN TO A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH PLACES PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON MEXICO'S IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL NEEDS. ALTHOUGH NOT AN EXPERIENCED DIPLOMAT, ROEL IS REPORTEDLY CLOSE TO JLP AND HAS ALREADY TRAVELLED ABROAD ON JLP'S BEHALF. HIS LACK OF DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCE MEANS THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN IDENTIFIED WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND/OR MULTILATERAL POSITIONS ESPOUSED BY PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA. THUS, HE IS TRULY LOPEZ PORTILLO'S MAN WITH AN OPEN RECORD ON MAJOR AND CONTROVERSIAL FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS. THE FACT THAT HE IS FROM MONTERREY,

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WHICH HAD BEEN A CENTER OF ANTI-ECHEVERRIA FEELING, MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN A POLITICAL FACTOR IN HIS SELECTION AS A MEMBER OF JLP'S CABINET. AS AN IMPORTANT PRI FIGURE, ROEL COULD HELP PROVIDE LOPEZ PORTILLO WITH DOMESTIC POLITICAL INPUT INTO FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS--AN INPUT ECHEVERRIA WAS OFTEN ACCUSED OF IGNORING. JUDGING FROM HIS ACTIONS SO FAR, ROEL WILL BE A CAUTIOUS CHANCELLOR. HE HAS TWICE TURNED OFF INQUIRING REPORTERS, COMMENTING YESTERDAY JUST PRIOR TO A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT THAT MEXICO WAS NOT IN A MOOD TO TOLERATE ERRORS, HE COULD NOT SAY ANYTHING, AND "DECLARATIONITIS" WOULD BE ABSURD.

4. OTHER TOP APPOINTMENTS

IN ADDITION TO THE SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, LIC. SANTIAGO ROEL, THE FOLLOWING KEY SRE POSITIONS HAVE BEEN FILLED TO DATE:

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A. UNDERSECRETARY "A" (CURRENTLY PRIMARILY ECONOMIC AFFAIRS) - JOSE JUAN DE OLLOQUI, FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S., WITH WIDE CONTACTS IN THE U.S. AND AN ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL BACKGROUND. DE OLLOQUI HOPED FOR THE NUMBER ONE POSITION, AND HAS INDICATED THAT HE STILL HOPES TO MOVE UP TO IT BEFORE TOO MUCH TIME HAS PASSED.

B. UNDERSECRETARY "B" (CURRENTLY POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS)--ALFONSO ROSENSWEIG-DIAZ, FORMER CHIEF LEGAL ADVISOR TO SRE, A LONG-TIME PROFESSIONAL, WITH A REPUTATION AS A FOLLOWER RATHER THAN AN INNOVATOR. HE HAS A U.S. WIFE; HIS BROTHER IS CURRENTLY MEXICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N.

C. UNDERSECRETARY "C" (CURRENTLY MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS) --MARIA EMILIA TELLEZ BENOIT, FORMER OFFICIAL MAYOR (CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER) OF SRE. MS. TELLEZ IS ALSO A CAREER DIPLOMAT AND LAWYER WITH 30 YEARS SERVICE, MOST OF IT IN THE SECRETARIAT. REPORTEDLY SHE HAS TURNED DOWN IMPORTANT AMBASSADORIAL POSITIONS BECAUSE SHE IS CARING FOR AN AGED MOTHER. SHE WAS AT UNAM LAW SCHOOL WITH BOTH ECHEVERRIA AND LOPEZ PORTILLO AND HAS TIES OF FRIENDSHIP FROM THIS PERIOD.

D. OFFICIAL MAYOR - GUILLERMINA SANCHEZ MEZA DE SOLIS, FORMER PRI DEPUTY, 1970-73, TRAINED IN ECONOMICS AND MARRIED TO AN ECONOMIST. HER FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERIENCE, IF ANY, IS UNCLEAR.

E. AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. - HUGO B. MARGAIN, CURRENTLY AMBASSADOR TO LONDON. MARGAIN SERVED AS AMBASSADOR TO THE

U.S. UNDER DIAZ ORDAZ AND AS SECRETARY OF FINANCE UNDER ECHEVERRIA UNTIL LOPEZ PORTILLO WAS APPOINTED TO THAT JOB.

FOR THE MOST PART, THE ABOVE POSITIONS WERE FILLED BY FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS, RATHER THAN IDEOLOGUES. DE OLLOQUI AND MARGAIN BRING TO THIS FOREIGN POLICY TEAM CONSIDERABLE EXPERIENCE, ECONOMIC EXPERTIS, AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE U.S., WHICH SHOULD PROVE VERY HELPFUL TO JLP DURING THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD.

IN SUM, THESE SRE APPOINTMENTS APPEAR TO GIVE THE NEW PRESIDENT A SOLID TEAM TO HANDLE FOREIGN POLICY IN THE NEAR TERM.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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V67

Lavin

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ARA - Mr. Luers

Subject: Jaime Lavin Cable

Bill:

1. The following is according to a conversation with Wendy Turnbull. Wendy Turnbull submitted the affidavit from Miranda Pinto, which she received August 19, 1976, to London. London replied a month later that they were grateful for the affidavit and that it was very interesting "in the light of the murder of Orlando Letelier". London neither confirmed nor denied their information. However, Wendy says that if there had been any mistake London would have pointed them out to her. In this affidavit, Miranda Pinto said only that Lavin was a torturer.

2. "The list of torturer's" is not an Amnesty document. It was prepared by various Chilean Solidarity Groups. According to Wendy the reason Tom Jones must ask for London permission to give us this document is because London must confirm that it is accurate before Amnesty U.S. can list it as an Amnesty document. The sources for this list are the members of the Armed Forces who were in jail at the same time in Capuchinos prison. They then tried to verify this data with other

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testimonies. Wendy is not in a position to tell me wheather or not is was verified. The list was released October 7, 1976; Lavin is on the list.

3. The information that Lavin was accused in the Russell tribunal came from Bill Wipfler, of the World Council of Churches, and he boched it. Wendy now says that the source was the International Commission of Inquiry which took place in Mexico City February 18-20, 1975. In the section on testimonios y Denuncias, General Sergio Poblete accused Lavin of being a torturer. His testimony appeared on pages 164-173, Lavin's name appeared on 170.

4. On January 20th -- subsequently to Lavin's arrival in the U.S. made a statement to Wendy Turnbull which was tapped by New York Times Marilyn Chase. In that statement Miranda Pinto, for the first time, made specific allegations about Lavin torturing him personally.

NOTE: "Testimonios y Denuncias" can be obtained from Amnesty NY in their Spanish edition intitled Third Session of the International Commission of Inquiry.

Case Number: 200000044

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR
SUBJECT: JOSEFA MARTINEZ FREED; LETELIER SOTOMAYOR, ~~OTHERS EXPELLED~~

REF: A) BA 7606; B) STATE 298736

1. FORNMINISTRY HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP INFORMED EMBOFF TODAY (DEC. 10) THAT JOSEFA MARTINEZ HAS BEEN FREED. HE GAVE NO FURTHER DETAILS. (REFTEL A).

2. BRITISH EMBASSY TOLD EMBOFF TODAY THAT SERGIO LETELIER SOTOMAYOR LEFT FOR LONDON NOVEMBER 30 (REFTEL B). AN EXPULSION ORDER (APPARENTLY THE SECOND) WAS SIGNED AROUND NOV. 18. HE HAS GONE TO ENGLAND ON A WORLD UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATIONS SCHOLARSHIP.

3. THE INTERIOR MINISTRY YESTERDAY RELEASED THE NAMES OF 198 DETAINEES WHO AS OF OCTOBER ARE NO LONGER BEING HELD BY THE EXECUTIVE UNDER STATE OF SIEGE PROVISIONS. THE LIST INCLUDES THE NAMES OF 13 FOREIGNERS--6 CHILEANS, 2 PARAGUAYANS, A MEXICAN, A BULGARIAN, A PERUVIAN, AN URUGUAYAN AND A SPANISH EX-PRIEST--WHO WERE EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY IN OCTOBER. THE COMMUNIQUE DID NOT SPECIFY WHETHER THE OTHERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED OR WERE STILL FACING CRIMINAL CHARGES. HOWEVER, CALL TO HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP AT FONMINISTRY BY EMBOFF BROUGHT ASSURANCE THAT AT MOST ONLY "ONE OR TWO PERCENT" OF THOSE ON THE LIST COULD STILL BE HELD FOR PROCESSING BY MILITARY OR CIVIL COURTS: "THE REST ARE ON THE STREET," ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY. WE WERE ALSO INFORMED THAT ANOTHER 300 DETAINEES ARE TO BE RELEASED VERY SOON, AND THAT A TOTAL OF SOME 500 MAY BE FREED BEFORE END OF YEAR.
[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 08039 102140Z

WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE ANY NAMES ON LIST WHICH ARE FAMILIAR TO US AS OF AMERICAN INTEREST, BUT ARE POUCHING LIST TO ARA/EC.
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CARLOS T. LORCA M.D.

Chile Project (#3199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s) B6

(W1351)

B6

1.- Curriculum Vitae:

Age : Born November 19 , 1944 (32 years old)

Nationality : Chilean Citizen

Status : Married to Gabriela J. Bravo

Dependants : Ricardo B. Lorca (Aged 3)

EXCISE

Studies : Elementary & Grammar School in Lima , Peru
High School - in Chile - Instituto Nacional
Graduated from the School of Medicine - University of Chi
Majored in Psychiatry .
Studied Economics, Sociology and Psychology at the Univer
of Chile .
Studied and finished English at the Chile-Britain Cultura
In-titute

Activities: Was Nominated President of the Circle of Medical Studen
Was elected Member of the Board of the University of Ch
representing the Students .
Was elected General Secretary of the Socialist Youth .
Was elected a Congressman in 1973 representing the Prov
of Valdivia.

2.- Arrest:

On June 25, 1975, Dr. Lorca was arrested with Mrs. Carolina Wiff, a Social Worker, at Maule Street # 120 at 16.30 pm by a large group o DINA Agents who came in 10 cars. He was handcuffed, his glasses wer taken from him and he was taken to a detention camp for interrogati

On July 1, 1975 a writ of Habeas Corpus was presented by his younge brother Jaime at the Court of Appeal, but the writ was not accepted by a 2 to 1 vote, because the Secretary of Interior denied that he was under arrest, and the DINA did not even answer the Courts petit of information.

On July 18 a writ of Habeas Corpus was presented to the Supreme Cou with six sworn affidavits of actual witnesses of the arrest. In thi only case the Supreme Court by a 4 to 1 vote accepted the writ and again contacted the Secretary of Interior and the Dina. The Secreta answered that no one by that name was held in custody, and the DINA did not bother to reply to the Supreme Courts petition. Consquently, for lack of evidence , the writ was thrown out of Court , but the Supreme Court sent all the information to a Criminal Court with the recommendation that they investigate this disappearance. Naturally at a lower Court without any power nothing happened .

3.- Reports on Carlos's Imprisonment :

Several detainees have seen Carlos at different prisons and Torture Camps such as "Cuatro Alamos", "Villa Grimaldi", "Colonia Dignidad" in the South of Chile .
He was also seen walking alone in one of the slum areas of Santiago, closely followed by DINA agents. This information was reported to the Catholic Church .
On July 17 1975 the Italian Lawyer Guido Calvi telephoned Colonel Espinoza at the office of the Secretary of Defense and the Colonels reply which was taped stated that he could not supply any more information as this man is under arrest and he will be tried by the Courts.

Chile's principal Newspaper " El Mercurio" has on several ocassions published acts of protest and solidarity with this young Congressman, and has even recommended that his arrest be admitted to stop what they call marxist propaganda .

Last August Lorca's parents received information that Carlos had been shown to a newly imprisoned young socialist. He was according to this report with mental damage, two broken limbs and in a very critical condition . The young man was warned that unless he made a full confession he would suffer the same punishment. The young man made a complete confession and gave the addresses of wanted persons, so for his good behaviour he was sent to "Tres Alamos", where his family could visit him . He sent word to the Lorca family that they should try to get Carlos out as soon as possible due to his critical condition.

Carlos Lorca's father spoke to Harry Schlaudeman, Asst. Secretary of State for Latin America in September 1976, and Under-Secretary Schlaudeman instructed the officer at the Chile Desk Robert Driscoll to make enquiries and to inform the Chilean Government that Carlos would be received in the U.S.A. Of course Carlos Lorca Sr. was advised that if the Junta insisted on their denial there was not much he could do .

Through a young Attorney, Robert Kissel, of Culpsville Pa., who stated that he had a very good contact in the White House, Mr. Lorca received a letter which stated that a Mr. Foster Chanock, who was one of President Ford's political aides had received information through their channels that Dr. Lorca was alive, that he would eventually be tried and sentenced to prison or expelled from the country .

Lorca's father made a special trip to Buenos Aires, and from the he gave all this information to Robert Driscoll, who stated afte several days that he could not contact Mr. Chanock as he was alw away from Washington campaigning for Mr. Ford. Later Mr. Lorca w told that Mr. Chanock had been ordered by someone to keep out of the Lorca case , as this might embarrass the Junta .

Mr. Lorca in November 1976 received a letter from the President of the Committee for Human Rights of the Organization of American States where they notified the Chilean Government that this Committ was satisfied with the evidence they had seen that the Chilean Gove ment was holding Dr. Lorca. They requested that he be immediately released, and that those responsible for his arrest be duly punishe The deadline for this action was February 1st, 1977, and as far as we know nothing has happened .

4.- Solidarity from all the World :

The following Institutions and Governments have contacted the Chilean Authorities demanding that Dr. Lorca's imprisonment be made public :

Amnesty International
Federation of World Youth
Latin American Students Federation
Red Cross International
Social Democratic Parties of Europe.
Argentine College of Psychiatrists .
Chilean Vicary of Solidaity (Catholic Church)
U.S. Committee to save Chilean Health Workers .
European Common Market
The Following Countries have offered Visas for Residency of Dr. Lorca and his family :

England
Germany
France
Holland
Belgium
Denmark
Sweden
Norway
Finland
Italy
Mexico
New Zealand
Siria .

5.- Lorca's parents feel that the only Government in the world who can obtain the liberation of their son is the United States Government and they have faith that with Presidents Carter's pledge for Human Rights, their son still has a chance .

Information relative to Dr. Lorca's family who live in constant fear that they may be arrested by the Dina for their efforts on behalf of Dr. Lorca :

[redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 15590 102242Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

O 102225Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9127

[redacted] MEXICO 15590

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UNCLASSIFIED

E88

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Im/Ips/ce Date: 6/18/97

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
( ) RELEASE
( ) EXCISE
( ) DENY
( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART
EO Citations
9701416

FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
TS authority to
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM JOVA

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDIP, OVIP, MX (MRS. CARMEN ROMANO DE LOPEZ PORTILLO)
SUBJECT: ATTENDANCE OF MRS LOPEZ PORTILLO AT INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

1. AS YOU KNOW, MRS LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS ACCEPTED THE INVITATION BY MRS CARTER TO ATTEND PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL CEREMONIES. I UNDERSTAND THAT WHILE MRS CARTER WAS HERE SHE ALSO MENTIONED TO PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO THAT HE TOO WOULD BE VERY WELCOME. WHILE TEMPTED TO COME, I UNDERSTAND THAT HE RECOGNIZES THE PROTOCOL COMPLICATIONS INVOLVED AND WILL PROBABLY NOT ATTEND THE ACTUAL INAUGURATION. HE IS ATTRACTED BY THE POSSIBILITY OF COMING TO WASHINGTON A COUPLE OF DAYS LATER ON THE PRETEXT OF PICKING UP MRS LOPEZ PORTILLO SHOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE FOR AN INFORMAL MEETING WITH NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

2. I HAVE JUST HAD CALL FROM FOREIGN MINISTER SANTIAGO ROEL WHO CONFIRMED THE ABOVE AND ASKED THAT I COMMUNICATE WITH YOU PERSONALLY IN ORDER TO STRESS IMPORTANCE THAT THE GOM ATTACHES IN HAVING NEW MEXICAN AMBASSADOR (HUGO MARGAIN) FULLY ACCREDITED AND IN OPERATION FOR ARRIVAL OF MRS LOPEZ PORTILLO. ROEL WOULD ACCOMPANY MRS LOPEZ PORTILLO AND WOULD HOPE TO CALL ON YOU BEFORE INAUGURATION AND ON SECRETARY-DESIGNATE VANCE IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER.

3. THE FOREIGN MINISTER TOLD ME THAT AMBASSADOR MARGAIN WILL BE IN WASHINGTON AS OF DEC 28. I MADE CLEAR TO HIM THAT PRESI-

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 15590 102242Z

DENT FORD WILL BE OUT OF WASHINGTON FOR SEVERAL DAYS OVER THE HOLIDAYS. HE REITERATED THE STRONG WISH THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD RECEIVE MARGAIN, EVEN ON AN EXCEPTIONAL BASIS, AFTER HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON AND BEFORE THE JAN 20 INAUGURAL DATE. MARGAIN IS PROCEEDING OVER THE WEEKEND TO LONDON TO UNDERTAKE HIS FAREWELLS THERE AND HAS COMMITMENTS THROUGH DEC 23.

UNCLASSIFIED

HE COULD ROUTE HIMSELF BACK BY WAY OF WASHINGTON ARRIVING THERE ON THE NIGHT OF DEC 23 OR MORNING OF DEC 24 *SHOULD*, BY ANY CHANCE, THE PRESIDENT PREFER TO RECEIVE HIM BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE ON HOLIDAY; HE RECOGNIZED THAT IT WAS PROBABLE THAT PRESIDENT FORD MIGHT BE LEAVING WASHINGTON BEFORE DEC 24.

4. RECOMMENDATION: HAVING IN MIND (A) THE TRULY EXTRAORDINARY HOSPITALITY AND MANY COURTESIES EXTENDED TO YOU AS HEAD OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, TO JACK FORD AS THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE AS WELL AS TO MRS. CARTER, I RECOMMEND THAT EVERY COURTESY POSSIBLE BE EXTENDED TO MRS. LOPEZ PORTILLO AND HER SUITE DURING THE VISIT. (B) I RECOMMEND SPECIFICALLY THAT PRESIDENT FORD BE REQUESTED TO RECEIVE AMBASSADOR MARGAIN, EVEN ON AN EXCEPTIONAL BASIS, AS THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE VISIT AND WOULD ALSO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PRESIDENT FORD TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE COURTESIES SHOWN TO JACK FORD DURING HIS VISIT HERE. (C) I ALSO RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT PROPOSE TO PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER THAT A DAY OR TWO AFTER THE INAUGURATION THAT HE RECEIVE PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO FOR AT LEAST AN OFFICE VISIT AND PREFERABLY ALSO FOR AN INFORMAL FAMILY MEAL.
JOVA

UNCLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED

SK238 *

TELECON

The Secretary/Amb. Dinitz
12/13/76 6:40 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

D: I hope I'm not disturbing you . . .

K: Oh, Simcha . . .

D: Because Rabin wanted me to pass on to you two points of information. I think the meeting was very good.

K: You had your Defense Minister well coached.

D: I could have of course claimed all the credit but he really -- ever sinse he came here -- he is full of praise of whatever happened in the past and what you did. You never know but I think he really feels it. I had planned to give him hell to tell him to look at the situation first but I felt he was very receptive from the beginning. He was on Walter Cronkite tonight and said beautiful things about you. It was a taped interview of about 20 minutes but he really was full of praise -- I think well deserved. Two things -- first of all -- I wanted to tell you that for the last few days we are conducting a level control of the area around _____ with regard to boats -- not who are exiting but boats who are coming in. Suspicious vessels we are veering away to other ports. This has been working now for a number of days.

K: As long as the Syrians don't object, why don't you keep it going?

D: The Prime Minister wanted you to know about it since you had been out of town for the last few days.

K: Well, let's see what the Syrians do. You never know, they might welcome it. How long have you been doing it?

D: About 10 days.

K: That is interesting.

D: And so far there are no problems.

K: Well, let's see what happens. I will tell the President.

D: I think that answers several problems.

K: I think if you get away with it, it is a good move.

D: It was my suggestion.

K: It is a good idea. And it is very interesting that there haven't been any complaints. What's the nationality of the ships?

D: Some of them Egyptian, some of them Libyan. Ships is too big a word for them.

K: I understand but it could not be modest. No Soviet ships?

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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D: No, no, no. For instance, a couple of days ago, there was one with trucks on it and we told them to go . . .

K: Did you tell them to go to Haifa (?)

D: No, we told them to go some place north (laughter)

K: Okay.

D: The second point of information is thePrime Minister saw Hussein on the weekend.

K: How did it go?

D: I just have the preliminary report. He is going to send me within a day or two the full report. He said there was no revelations. I will give you a full report.

K: On the first point, let's keep it going until we see what hell breaks lose and then let's examine it together. I will keep it at my level.

D: Yeah. On the other thing, I will probably have within a day or two and I will get in touch with you.

K: Okay Simcha.

D: Okay. Thank you Mr. Secretary. Best regards to Nancy.

K: Okay.

SK243

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RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Bill Edmondson
12/14/76; 1:09 pm

K: Can you ask Ramsbotham whether when we see the South African tomorrow we can give them a general idea of what the British are thinking without going into details but just the procedures.

E: Okay.

K: Maybe a rough idea of the plan. Without being very specific.

E: Yes. Okay. Will do and we'll try to get back to you this evening when we meet.

K: Okay.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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SK248

TELECON
The Secretary/Dick Valeriani
12/15/76 6:45 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Hello.

V: Did you have a nice lunch?

K: Lunch? Oh yes, yes indeed.

V: Have you thought about the overseas writers?

K: Can I call you about it tomorrow?

V: Sure. I would like to put in another request although I'm sure you won't do it. But Meet the Press would like to have you on.

K: No.

V: I told them what I thought your answer would probably be. Okay, thank you.

K: Thank you Dick.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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SK 246

TELECON
Mr. Sonnenfeldt/Secretary Kissinger
December 16, 1976
Time: 12:36 p.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

S: I know you are busy but I have a number of things to check out — one thing I want to check is Agronsky and Karnow.

K: I have no objection.

S: They do want to put something on film.

K: Hold on 1/2 a second.

Hello.

S: Yes. I wanted to be sure about it. I will have lunch with Winston because he is in the same ball park and see how to handle it.

K: O.K. Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK247 *

TELECON
The Secretary/Charles Robinson
12/16/76 10:38 am

RELEASED IN FULL

R: I just wanted to urge you to try to find a date or time that is convenient to meet with Yakub-Kahn, the Pakistani Ambassador.

K: To do what?

R: To follow up on your commitment to Guirangaude.

K: Commitment! For god sakes don't you guys push me. What did I promise?

R: You indicated that you would talk to him.

K: But I forget about what.

R: You agreed to talk about a postponement or a moratorium.

K: Okay.

R: And there is an article in the Washington Post. . .

K: That is all right. I will probably see him tomorrow.

R: Friday is when it was scheduled.

K: Don't get me mad.

R: I won't if I can help it. We will get a paper to you today.

K: How many people know about this?

R: Winston Lord and Hal Sonnenfeldt are the only ones that I know of. We will try to keep it down to a handful. There is a question of whether you want Roy Atherton to sit in on the meeting with Byrode.

K: Byrode will have to sit in.

R: And Atherton as well?

K: Yeah.

R: Okay. And you can send someone to Brazil if you want. That was my other reason for calling.

K: Okay.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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SK253

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Phil Habib
12/17/76; 3:04 pm

K: Scranton can abstain but only if he writes a tougher statement than this. I want him to say that we are putting the assembly on notice that from now on we will vote against any resolution condemning us.

H: Okay.

K: Get an additional paragraph and after I approved that, he can abstain.

H: Okay. I will get right to him.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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X255

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
MR. PALEY
SEC. KISSINGER
December 17, 1976
11:45 a.m.

K: Bill, how are you today? That was a nice party last night.

P: We enjoyed having you. I wanted to correct something I said last night -- that is the understanding we had in Moscow was a proposal put forward on my part and accepted verbally but not signed by them. I think I said that the agreement had been signed by both parties but this was the modus operanda in which we would pay so much money and certain conditions were lined out that he accepted in principle and we proceeded accordingly. Regarding that arrangement we would have had a preferred arrangement. When my people got there they said forget about that and started with new figures which was beyond what they decussed with me. Our people have been ordered to come back and now I have a cable reconfirming the first figures he gave to me.

K: I figured that once you pulled out they would run for cover.

P: We have to stick together now -- the three of us. I just did not want you to believe that I had this in writing on both sides. It was a dirty runout.

K: I will tell Dobrynin that it is G-D stupidity.

P: I did not mention this before, but I mentioned his name and they said as far as they are concerned they think of him as an American.

K: I have hard that they say this.

P: I had not mentioned his name but obviously as a result of the lunch you had arranged they gave me VIP treatment. They could not have been nicer. I got a long beautifully. It was a great surprise to me when they pulled away.

K: I wish I had known about that. It was probably some idiot at a lower level. You should have gone to Dobrynin.

P: They are coming back now and we have permission from the Dept. of Justice we will go back as a group and divide up events which can be done easily and they won't have us over the barrell. O.K., Henry, we will see you soon.

K: O.K. Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

K252 *

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Professor Brzezinski
12/17/76; 9:30 am in New York

RELEASED IN FULL

K: In my view it is the most interesting job in the government.

B: I suddenly remember you saying that to me four or five years ago when I was visiting you in your previous job and I remember it very clearly.

K: I still think having had both the Cabinet position and NSC position you are more in the -- you get more of an overview in the NSC position.

B: I think so and it is the kind of a job in which one gets exposed to many more unlearning experiences but more opportunities to make a constructive input.

K: Because you can back the issue. In a Department there are so many decisions that really don't affect the fundamental strategy very much that are just necessary.

B: I hope very much that your schedule will permit it for me to come and see you before too long and talk to you and get your sense of how best to operate. I must say that I remember when you sent in your job after Rostow and made jokes about it but I think it is much more difficult to go in after you than Walt.

K: If I may suggest something to you, Zbig. I think within six months the events are going to impose their own necessities. I don't know anyone in the country who I think has a better overall grasp than you do.

B: I can think of one person immediately that I am speaking to.

K: I wish you all the best and I will give you any public support I can.

B: I will always remember you coming in '68 and I am sure we have disagreed in the past and we will again and it in no way detracts from the respect I have for you.

K: I have had eight years doing that and I am delighted it is going to such good hands.

B: I will call you. Are you going away?

K: I will be on Christmas day for a week.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

B: Perhaps after the New Year's I will try to make an appointment with you.

K: Certainly.

B: Okay.

K: Certainly.

B: All right.

K: I am sure Scowcroft will give you any cooperation he can too.

B: Yes. I have no doubt he and Hyland will be very helpful but if you can, I would like an overview discussion with you. It would be extremely valuable.

K: At least I can give you my experience in that position.

B: Right. Your concept of the position was particularly interesting.

K: I think it is a position in which you can have a distinct influence on shaping the direction of events.

B: It is going to become difficult because the problems are becoming increasingly difficult to control.

K: I learned it is always better to dominate it rapidly than let them build up. That is sometimes much easier said than done. My best to M_____ and congratulations.

B: To end on a joke -- I suppose Stanley Hoffman is preparing our tooling, don't you think?

K: I would think so.

B: All the best.

K: Thanks.

SK249

TELECON
Mr. Atherton/Secretary Kissinger
December 17, 1976
Time: 5:26 p.m.

K: On the 50 million for Israel... RELEASED IN FULL

A: Yes.

K: When Am I going to do it. I still haven't gotten the paper.

A: I think it must be in one of your action folders -- let me check with Jock.

K: Can we get the thing signed tomorrow morning.

A: I think we can do it. We have to renegotiate the agreement with the Israelis and we have to clear it with OMB. The memo asks your authority to clear it with OMB.

K: Why don't you clear it with OMB and then I will sign the memo when it comes.

A: O.K.

K: O.K. Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK257 *

ELCON
Sec Kissinger/PWRodman
12/18/76; 4:40 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

K: Where are you?

R: At home.

K: Peter, this morning at the Africa meeting, which you missed . . . .

R: I was there this morning. At 11:00.

K: Were you?

R: Yes.

K: They were talking about these talking points for these various meetings. Do we have those?

R: Yes. I have everything on Africa.

K: Even if I didn't myself do it?

R: You reviewed them all in meetings.

K: That's right. I wanted to make sure we had all talking points.

R:Jockwould always make a copy and send it over. I have systematically gone through his file to make sure I had everything. Those are one of the important items.

K: Okay.

R: Okay. Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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SK261

TELECON
The Secretary/Amb. Dobrynin
12/20/76 6:25 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

D: (Missed first part) . . . I think it is a good personal touch.

K: How about having lunch with Vance and me on January 4. He can't do it this week because he's going to Plains. At 1:00 here.

D: Okay. January 4 at 1:00 in your office?

K: In my dining room in the State Department.

D: I understnad that. Okay, thank you very much.

K: As long as I have got you on the phone, do you think you could calm down your Ambassador to Zambia a little bit.

D: In Zambia? Are you serious or what?

K: He's really giving inflamatory speaches.

D: What's his name?

K: I don't know his name.

D: Do you want me to say anything to Gromyko? I really don't know anything about it.

K: I think it will create a bad impression if we cut each other up in Africa right now. I will get you the facts tomorrow.

D: Okay, then I will be prepared to send something to Gromyko.

K: But at any rate, January 4 we will meet

D: When are you leaving?

K: On Saturday.

D: I wish you a merry Christmas.

K: And I wish you a merry Christmas Anatol.

D: I have something to warm you up.

K: I appreciate it very much that you came to my dinner. I was very touched.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

D: It was very important and I really saw your appreciation.

K: Well, it is mutual.

D: Okay, Henry, thank you very much.

K: Okay Anatol.

SK260 *

TELECON
The Secretary/Amb. Esenbel
12/20/76 6:52 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

E: How are you Mr. Secretary?

K: I am fine. How are you Mr. Ambassador?

E: I am so happy to hear your voice again. And I will be seeing you in New York on the 11th.. There is a big dinner I will be coming to with my wife.

K: Isn't that nice.

E: I wanted just to talk to you about this transition period. I assume you have been talking to Mr. Vance. He knows our problem and he knows me. He knows Turkey. I would very much like you to impart to him the importance of this defense treaty.

K: I have and I think you will find he is much more sympathetic than you think. from his reputation.

E: Yes, but during this critical period before the new administration is inaugurated, we would very much appreciate it if you would make them understand how important is this situation.

K: I have done that.

E: If by any occasion you can see him again, please try to remind him that it is a rather urgent matter for Turkey because we are entering a new election year and I am a little bit bothered about this thing.

K: I think you will find him quite sympathetic

E: All right. Thank you very much Mr. Secretary.

K: Right.

E: I hope very much to see you in New York and we will have a party for you on the 13th I guess.

K: That is right.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK270

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TELECON
The Secretary/Amb. Dinitz
12/21/76 6:48 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

D: How are you Mr. Secretary?

K: Okay.

D: I have difficulty in getting flights on Thursday. I can change my flight from 8:30 to 12:30.

K: The trouble is I will be in Boston.

D: I know that. I thought of two possibilities. A, maybe you can . . . when are you leaving?

K: Tomorrow morning.

D: Would you like me to stop in this evening or early tomorrow morning?

K: No, I am tied up all evening.

D: If you think it can wait until I come back.

K: It is something that should be dealt with. I can't discuss it on the phone. I have to see you before my people here begin leaking against you.

D: The other possibility is for me to see you . . .

K: Why don't we do it early tomorrow morning?

D: That would be fine.

K: Okay, why don't you come in at 8:00.

D: 8:00 would be fine. Thank you Mr. Secretary.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

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SK267

RELEASED IN FULL

TELCON
Sec Kissinger/Roy Atherton
12/21/76; 1:30 pm

K: I know NEA no longer briefs me but when Marvin Kalb has to tell me about an Egyptian-Syrian communique, it is getting ridiculous.

A: I don't know about it either. I have not seen it. We knew there was going to be one.

K: He says they have agreed to coordinate or unify or something.

A: The last I heard, they were going to issue one. Why don't we get ahold of it and send you a little memo with a quickie analysis.

K: Okay.

A: Good.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK268 *

TELECON

The Secretary/Mr. Gruenwald
12/21/76 4:10 pm

RELEASED IN FULL

G: How are you?

K: I am fine.

G: I have been thinking about whether you would possibly enjoy a little party up here in New York among your other hundreds.

K: I am quite literally eating my way out of this place.

G: I don't want to impose on your time.

K: Can we do it after I leave? I would love to do it.

G: Whatever you prefer.

K: Would you prefer before? I would like to do it but it's a little difficult before the 20th.

G: Well, in that case, why don't we do it after you come back from your holiday. You are going away right after the 20th aren't you?

K: About the first of February.

G: Would you like to have it sometime between the 20th and the time you leave? Or do it after you get back from vacation?

K: Could I get back to you.

G: Any time. Whatever you want to do.

K: It is a very nice thing to do and I would love it.

G: Swell.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 22 JUL 2003 200102979

SK274 *

TELECON
Mr. Cyrus Vance/Secretary Kissinger
December 24, 1976
Time: 10:10 a.m.

RELEASED IN FULL

K: How are you Cy?

V: I am alright, how are you?

K: O.K. I have arranged for lunch with Dobrynin for the 4th and I have told the Chinese as you suggested that I was going to have lunch with you and them after that. I think we have to invite them in case it gets out that we had lunch with Dobrynin and they weren't invited to a lunch. It wouldn't be good. I am assuming that is still on.

V: It is still on.

K: You just name it -- the 10th is fine. I am going to New York after the 7th, but could come down.

K: Why don't we do it on the 7th?

V: Fine. You got a second, Henry?

K: Yes.

V: Botha called me last night and said he is going home Friday next. He said he wanted a moment to chat. I said I would see him next Thursday when I will be back in Washington and I wanted to check with you to find out what was going on before that time.

K: We are backing the British proposal. Also we think their tactics were lousy and I think that he is inclined to go ahead with that. A lot depends on what his perception of the new administration is. If he thinks you are out to do him in he is less likely to support it. You don't have to give him any assurances on South Africa -- we haven't. I think that it would be helpful just to tell him what I have just told you. A second point is to indicate to them in some way that there is a point beyond which it isn't possible to push people.

V: What?

K: That if they accept this we will back this plan we will back this plan and it will not be a departure for another major change.

V: I am just making a couple of notes. Let's see if there is anything else. I guess that's about everything I can think of for the moment.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 23 JUL 2003 200102979

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K: I will be gone next week Cy.

V: You will be gone all week?

K: Yes.

V: I have to go down to that island which is like going to the north pole. I have hitched a ride with Fritz Mondale so I have to leave Monday morning and maybe will have to stay through Wednesday. Well, have a good holiday.

K: Same to you Cy. O.K. Bye, bye.

*

SK276

RELEASED IN FULL

TELECON
Ambassador Schaufele/Secretary Kissinger
December 24, 1976
Time: 1:15 p.m.

K: Could you send those Rhodesian plans -- not the talking points -- to Botha?

S Yes, I wanted to check with you before I did it.

K: I think I have given him so much that it doesn't add anything to it, with a note to say it isn't to be taken up with the Rhodesians, and I have told Richard to see what could be done to conform it to Annex E and he agreed and would make an effort. Richard doesn't object if I go into detail about it.

S: How was Richard otherwise -- he doesn't have much to offer. I just wish he would stop talking.

K: Well, yes. O.K. Thank you.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT H MILLER
DATE/CASE ID: 23 JUL 2003 200102979

12/27/76 ATTACHMENT 3

DD 074A R

December 27, 1976

Steps we might propose that the GOA take to improve the human rights situation in Argentina (roughly in order brought up at meeting):

ACCEPTABILITY TO GOA		HUMAN RIGHTS DESIRABILITY
6	1. Publish at once a list of all held in detention.	1
8	2. Reinstitute humane and long-respected procedures, that is, regularized detention proceedings by which each person would be inscribed at the point of detention, families would be notified promptly and charges would promptly and publicly be laid;	6
15	3. Reestablish the jurisdiction of civilian courts over the detention process, including their duty to entertain application for and in appropriate cases grant relief in the nature of habeas corpus or amparo;	8
13	4. Give all prisoners access to their families and lawyers; end the practice of holding persons incommunicado;	2
12	5. Release all detainees who are not promptly charged;	7
14	6. Provide for public (not secret) trials in security cases, with all guarantees necessary for defense; trials should be before civilian courts except in cases of infraction of military codes by military personnel;	9
10	7. Promptly and thoroughly investigate under immediate supervision of personnel not themselves responsible for detentions or prisons all reports of abuse of prisoners and try persons apparently guilty and punish those found guilty;	5
7	8. Invite the ICRC and IAHRC to Argentina;	11

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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22/185

17	9. Recognize as relevant minimum standards of conduct Common Article 3 of the Geneva Convention of 1949, which applies to internal conflict;	4
9	10. Permit detainees who so desire to seek and enjoy asylum abroad;	12
3	11. Ensure that no foreign nationals are forcibly repatriated when they have a well founded fear of being persecuted at home for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion;	13
5	12. Stop harassment of judges and of lawyers representing unpopular clients, especially criminal defendants;	10
11	13. Seek out and punish both right- and left-wing extremists who have violated the law;	3
2	14. Stop harassment of foreign residents;	15
1	15. Stop harassment of Catholic Church, Jews;	15
4	16. Stop harassment of members of the academic community;	15
16	17. Regularize police jurisdictions so that outsiders and Argentines will know where to go for help.	14

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PAGE 01 STATE 311786 TOSEC 340062
ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 PRS-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /019 R

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APPROVED BY PA:WDYESS
S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
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UNCLAS STATE 311786 TOSEC 340062

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT MARQUIS CHILDS OP-ED COLUMN THE WASHINGTON POST TUESDAY DECEMBER 28 HEADED "THE MEXICAN CHANGES THAT MUST COME."

2. PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO IS A LARGE, IMPRESSIVE MAN, WHO, WHILE OUTWARDLY CALM, NEVERTHELESS KNOWS HE HASN'T A MOMENT TO LOSE IF HE IS TO OVERCOME THIS COUNTRY'S GRAVE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS. HE TOLD ME THAT HE HAS SIX MONTHS TO BRING ABOUT AT LEAST A DEGREE OF STABILITY.

3. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES ARE AS IMPORTANT AS ANY ASPECT OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE INCOMING CARTER ADMINISTRATION. MEXICO, ALONG WITH MOST OF LATIN AMERICA, HAS BEEN TAKEN

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PAGE 02 STATE 311786 TOSEC 340062

FOR GRANTED TOO LONG. THE NEWS THAT GETS INTO THE U.S. PRESS, FOR INSTANCE, IS USUALLY SENSATIONAL--A RIOT OR AN EARTHQUAKE.

4. THAT WAS TRUE WHEN THE PESO WAS DEVALUED AND CAPITAL BEGAN TO FLOW OUT OF THE COUNTRY. PORTILLO IS FRANK TO SAY

THAT MUCH OF THIS CAPITAL HAS NOT RETURNED. BUT SINCE TAKING OFFICE LESS THAN A MONTH AGO, HE HAS INSPIRED A NEW CONFIDENCE. HE KNOWS, HOWEVER, THAT IS NOT ENOUGH TO BRING ABOUT THE CHANGES THAT MUST COME.

5. "IN VIEW OF THE FLUCTUATION IN YOUR RULES AND REGULATIONS WE CANNOT ORGANIZE FOR THE LONG TERM," HE SAID, "AND THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN AGRICULTURE. YOUR ANTI-DUMPING LAWS MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO WORK IN COMPETITION.

6. "I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A JOINT COMMISSION NAMED TO STUDY TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THIS SHOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO WORK IN COMPETITION AND ORGANIZE BOTH INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE FOR THE LONG TERM."

7. INVESTMENT IN MEXICO MUST MEAN JOBS, WHICH WOULD EASE THE GREATEST CRISIS--UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT. IF MEXICANS CANNOT FIND JOBS IN T;EIR OWN COUNTRY, THEY GO OVER THE BORDER, WHICH HAS HAPPENED ON A MASS SCALE. TODAY THERE ARE 7 TO 8 MILLION ILLEGAL ALIENS, A LARGE PROPORTION MEXICANS.

8. THIS NUMBER IS BOUND TO GROW IF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT CONTINUE AT THE ESTIMATED RATE OF 40 PER CENT. THE ILLEGALS HAVE HELPED TO PUSH UP THE U.S. UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, AND THEY ARE ELIGIBLE FOR WELFARE WITHOUT ANY PROOF OF U.S. CITIZENSHIP.

9. "YOUR INCOMING PRESIDENT DOESN'T HAVE THE LAND PROBLEM
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THAT BESETS ME," LOPEZ PORTILLO SAID. "AGRARIAN REFORM MEANS SECURITY, EFFICIENCY AND JUSTICE. THOSE ARE ALL TIED TOGETHER AND YOU CANNOT HAVE ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER."

10. ONE OF HIS IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS IS TO PERSUADE THE SQUATTERS WHO HAVE MOVED INTO RICH AGRICULTURAL LANDS IN THE NORTH TO YIELD TO THE LAW. THE PRESIDENT KNOWS THAT BREAKING UP THE BIG HACIENDAS INTO SMALL PLOTS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BRING A DECLINE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AND MEXICO HAS HAD TO INCREASE ITS IMPORTS OF FOODSTUFFS IN RECENT YEARS.

11. IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT 4 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION SUPPLIES FOOD NOT ONLY FOR HOME CONSUMPTION BUT ALSO TO FEED LARGE AREAS OF A HUNGRY WORLD. IN MEXICO ABOUT 48 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE WORK ON THE LAND, AND MANY ARE PART-TIME WORKERS BARELY EKING OUT A LIVING.

12. SEVENTY PER CENT ARE UNDER 30 YEARS OF AGE AND MORE THAN 50 PER CENT ARE UNDER 14. THIS, AS LOPEZ PORTILLO

SAYS, PRESENTS THE CLASSICAL GROWTH PROBLEM. BEFORE HE BECAME MINISTER OF FINANCE AND WAS ACTIVE IN POLITICS, HE SPENT PART OF HIS LIFE IN SERIOUS PROFESSIONAL STUDIES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT, HOUSING AND THE ECONOMY.

13. "I BELIEVE WE ARE ON THE WAY TO BRINGING THE POPULATION INCREASE UNDER CONTROL," HE SAID. "TWO YEARS AGO THE RATE OF INCREASE WAS 3.6 PER CENT. THAT HAS BEEN REDUCED TO 3.2 PER CENT AND I BELIEVE THAT BY 1982 IT WILL BE 2.6 PER CENT." BUT EVEN WITH THIS REDUCTION, WHICH THE PRESIDENT SAYS IS VOUCHED FOR BY TOP DEMOGRAPHERS, EDUCATING THE YOUNG AND FINDING JOBS FOR THEM IS AN OVERWHELMING UNDERTAKING.

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14. AS HE SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, HE WILL DEVOTE HIMSELF TO TRYING TO MASTER AN ECONOMY THAT, ALONG WITH PROBLEMS WITHIN THE COUNTRY, GOT A SEVERE JOLT FROM THE WORLDWIDE DEPRESSION.

15. THE OIL BONANZA THAT CAME IN A FEW YEARS AGO IS SUFFICIENT FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION WITH A MINIMUM OF EXPORTS. AGAINST THE WISHES OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO KEEP THE BULK OF IT IN THE GROUND PENDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF REFINERIES AND A PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY, LOPEZ PORTILLO MEANS TO INCREASE THE OUTPUT FOR SALE ON THE WORLD MARKET.

16. LOPEZ PORTILLO KNOWS THAT, IF HE FAILS TO AID THE ECONOMY, THE FUTURE WOULD BE UNCERTAIN--NOT ONLY FOR MEXICO, WITH ITS 64,000,000 PEOPLE, BUT FOR THE BIG NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH. UNEMPLOYMENT, TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE WILL BE EXPORTED ACROSS A 2,000-MILE BORDER.

17. AS WITH PROBABLY EVERY HEAD OF STATE AROUND THE WORLD, LOPEZ PORTILLO IS ANXIOUS FOR A TALK WITH THE NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENT AS SOON AFTER HIS INAUGURATION AS POSSIBLE. IN THE OPINION OF THIS OBSERVER, FOR THE STABILITY OF THE CONTINENT AND, FOR THAT MATTER, THE WORLD, HE SHOULD HAVE A VERY HIGH PRIORITY. (END TEXT.)

ROBINSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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E/S 03

NODIS REVIEW
Cat A - Caption removed; transferred to O/FADRC
Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Caption and custody retained by S/S
Reviewed by Elijah Kelly Jr.
Date 4-10 19 86

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

[redacted] S/S 7626294

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MEMORANDUM

S/S

NODIS

December 19, 1976

NODIS REVIEW 4/11
Cat. A - Caption removed; transferred to O/FADRC
Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C - Caption and custody retained by S/S
Reviewed by: [illegible]
Date: 11 19

To: P - Mr. Habib

From: ARA - Harry W. Shlaudeman

DECAPTIONED

Investigating the Horman Case

As you may recall, two American citizens, Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi, were killed in the aftermath of the Chilean Coup. We have not been able to establish responsibility in either case, although the reasonable assumption is that both were murdered by Chilean security forces or irregulars connected in some way to those forces.

The death of Charles Horman in particular has been the subject of extensive congressional and press attention. Senator Javits has continued over these past three years to demand a better accounting than the Department is so far able to give him. In my confirmation hearings last June I promised him that we would do everything possible to clear up the case.

Behind much of the agitation over this affair is the allegation that Horman was fingered by the CIA. We have no evidence in support of that contention, but a Chilean--one Rafael Gonzalez Verdugo--has made statements to the press and to a consular officer directed at implicating the Agency. Gonzalez, a permanent resident alien of the United States with an American citizen wife, is currently in asylum in the Italian Embassy in Santiago.

Some time ago I asked Fred Smith, recently our Consul General in Mexico City, to examine the record of the Horman case and give me recommendations on what further action we might take. He has produced a comprehensive report (Tab 2). Smith has recommended that Gonzalez be reinterviewed and has drafted a set of very precise questions for the purpose (draft telegram at Tab 1).

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]
XGDS-2

Chile Project (#S19990006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

The Italians have been trying once again to persuade the Chilean Government to let Gonzalez leave the country. I have been holding off pending the results. It now appears that the Chileans are not about to relent.

I believe we must now pursue the matter, although it is my own view that the CIA was not involved in the Horman tragedy. I have cleared the attached cable with the CIA and have made a few minor changes in the questions it contains at that Agency's suggestion.

Recommendation:

That you approve the telegram at Tab 1.

Attachments:

1 - Telegram to Santiago
2 - Memo from Fred Smith on Further Steps

Drafted:ARA:HWShlaudeman:jn;mms
ext. 29210 1/15/77

Clearance:INR/DDC - Mr. McAfee
L - Mr. Aldrich

[redacted]

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S/S 7626294

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ACTION MEMORANDUM
S/S

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Cat. C - Caption and custody retained by S/S
Reviewed by: OVA
Date: 11 19 22

Chile Project (#S19900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ___ Deny
Declassify: In Part ___ In Full
Exemption(s)

NODIS

December 29, 1976

To: P - Mr. Habib

From: ARA - Harry W. Shlaudeman

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SECRET
XGDS-2
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Drafted:ARA:HWShlaudeman:jn;mms
ext. 29210 1/15/77

Clearance:INR/DDC - Mr. Tom McAfee
L - Mr. Aldrich CIA

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REPORT ON MEETING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP:

(In no cases are the names of the people who met with us to be used.)

Dr. Enrique Mignone, lawyer, university administrator
Frederico Westerkamp, physicist, university professor
Rabbi Roberto Gretz
(Westerkamp has studied at Columbia; Gretz at U. of Cincinnati)

The Assembly has a board representing economic, political and labor groups. Includes a Catholic and Methodist bishop, representatives of political parties. It was created prior to the present administration.

The Assembly has workshops, seminars, and tries to publish documents, but that is difficult. Censorship is very strong. The only newspaper that publishes freely is the Buenos Aires Herald. Our last statement we could not get published anywhere; we have no access to radio or tv, though we can print and distribute things ourselves.

A major step last year was a presentation to the Supreme Court where we discussed 1,000 people who have disappeared. The judiciary's hands are tied, however. They ask after people, but the government denies any knowledge of them. Some 20-30,000 writs of habeus corpus have been presented to the lower court, but not one has been honored. Government simply says they don't have the people. A lot of judges have resigned, giving reasons of health or something, but real reason is because they are unhappy with treatment of habeus corpus proceedings.

The government has at least 8,000 identified prisoners, though the government admits to only 4,000 -- 8,000 in jail under executive power, some for actions, some simply for opinions. Our group does not sympathize with terrorists; we just ask for due process.

Of 8,000 in prison legally, 800 have cases pending. Only a few are ever acquitted. Of the 8,000, perhaps 20% are in jail for some activity, the rest for their opinions. Only parents are allowed to visit; not their

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

lawyers.

Some prisoners are treated better than others. Many are threatned with torture. (Westerkamp's son, a leftist, age 24, is in jail and has been tortured. He was an activist student but never engaged in terrorism. Torture - electric shock, beaten with chains, kicked)

The co-chairman of the Assembly, a man active in the teachers union, was arrested 5 months ago. Disappeared for 12 days. Then the government produced him. His wife visits him. The first few days in jail he was subjected to water torture. There are no charges against him.

The most severe problem -- We estimate 15-25,000 who have completely disappeared, picked up by the armed forces. Many have been killed, some are in concentration camps, torture is routine. It is deliberate government policy to kill them. Some bodies have been found in rivers, ocean. Government just says: "This is a dirty war." What should USG do?

Rabbi: We are very pleased with pressure from the Carter administration. Argentine government is very conscious of its image. Pressure from outside is more effective than from inside. Cutting off military aid is a good move. Pressure is good up to the point where it might break US links with Argentina. You shouldn't cut everything off. This is the most unpopular government, but it is more because of falling standards of living than human rights, as far as the average man in the street is concerned.

MEETING WITH DELEGATION OF ARGENTINE-ISRAELI ASSOCIATIONS:

(Reps were a lawyer, an advertiser, and an Italian translator)

Spokesman insisted there is no official antisemitism, and the populace is not antisemitic, but acknowledged there are no Jews in the army and very few anywhere in government or military.

The group is a federation of 130 organizations. (Embassy spokesman says they represent a conservative viewpoint within the Jewish community.)

Spokesman says they are preoccupied with neo-nazi organizations and their publications. They carry out a vigorous fight and the government has been forced to act against those publications. Nobody is detained because he is Jewish. But if he happens to be detained, he is treated worse than others. They are very worried about this problem and do not hesitate to speak out about it. They believe the government is beginning to be aware of the need to take action against antisemitism in the repressive forces. So we are careful not to cause adverse reaction by making the wrong public statements. Worried about Timmerman. Only the Buenos Aires Herald has published the fact that Timmerman hasn't been charged with anything. His son was released and allowed to emigrate to Israel. Jews may emigrate to Israel at will, but not many want to do that. Were Jews disproportionately represented in the leftist groups? - No.

It is difficult to visit prisoners, whether Jewish or not, though rabbis are often successful in doing so. Do any Jewish people think as Argentine government does, apparently, that Timmerman did obtain his money illegally? Spokesman said he did not personally believe that, but can't speak for Jewish community. President Videla has said Timmerman is being held only for investigation of financial things. We say, let him out so he can get his documents together and make his case.

To Jacobo Kovadlov, the American Jewish Committee rep -- We know only what has been in the Times and Post. It was a mistake to close down the American Jewish Committee office here because now we have nobody to relate to. Spokesman said Kovadlov apparently left for personal reasons; they have talked to him in New York since he left.

MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO:

The mothers -- Sra. Maria de la Gard; Sra. Marta de Vazquez; Sra. Maria del Rosario de Cerrutti; Sra. Juanita Pargament. (Again, names not to be used. They are afraid because of this meeting. But they say it would only help them if members, say, made speeches on the House floor referring to this meeting, but without names.)

The mothers parade to the plaza each Thursday afternoon at 3:30 p.m., about 100-150 strong. They do not ask that their sons be released; only that they be told where their sons are, and that they receive due process. Some disappeared 20 months ago and we don't know if they are alive or dead.

The group published an ad in La Prensa and La Nacion in October. No repercussions. But after another ad on December 10, signed by 1,000 mothers and therefore much more attention-getting, there has been trouble. Two days before the ad a group of mothers were picked up at church. The day the article was published a mother and a French nun were kidnapped at home. We believe repression since that day has increased a lot. One night a large number of people were imprisoned in another city (La Plata).

There are now 3 or 4 mothers in custody. We do not know what has happened to them but do not believe they have been killed. But the Sub-Secretary of the Interior has asked us not to go to the Plaza anymore because we make a bad image. We say we will stop when they tell us where our sons are.

One day everybody in the Plaza was taken to jail for 2-3 hours, but treated OK and released. The mothers are more and more fearful. The mothers' stories --

1) My son was a lawyer, a defender of human rights and of those who had been imprisoned. He often went to the jails to visit his clients. One day he was taken from home and has disappeared.

2) Son, age 31, a surgeon, taken 1 year ago. He was not political. I

have absolutely no knowlege of why he was taken.

3) Son was a student of economics at the university. I know of no political activities. But I speculate that someone at the university may have pointed him out as a leftist, something of that sort, and he disappeared.

4) My daughter, 23, a psychologist, and her husband 25, a veterinarian, were picked up 20 months ago from their home. I know of no political activities they were involved in. She was a social worker and concerned with the problems of the lower classes. They were Peronists, but not especially active. We believe she was pregnant with her third child, because the mother (wife of a diplomat in Mexico) received a letter before the arrest indicating that.

What happens to the children in such cases? If the grandparents will keep them, OK. Otherwise, the government may deposit them with a neighbor, or may simply put them out for adoption and the parents are not told where. In one case a grandmother recognized a grandchild who had been placed for adoption with another family.

Do you believe the US is doing all it can? - "Yes. But we would like to see even a little more pressure, though not necessarily sanctions against the Argentine government. The American government is the only hope we have."

Dave Secrest:jr

STATE EMT BI 004 (S)/U 11-1-77 R

I, Patricia Ann Erb, age 19, United States citizen, feel ~~it~~ my duty as a human being and as a Christian, to communicate to national and international organizations what I saw and experienced during my abduction and imprisonment by the Armed Forces of Argentina in the military headquarters of Campo de Mayo.

As a student at the University of Buenos Aires, I participated in a student organization sponsored by the University with delegates from the various classes in the University. As a sociology major I participated along with other sociology students in field work in the poverty ghettos.

On September 13, 1976, I was abducted in Buenos Aires, where I lived with my parents (protestant missionaries) since 1953, by armed men in civilian clothing. I was blindfolded and conducted to a room that gave the impression of being in a barn, where there were many men and women. Days after, when security was relaxed by officials and subofficials, I was able to see many persons blindfolded and chained to the floor, as I was. Sometimes when our hands were free we could remove part of our blindfolds enough to see and talk in low voices.

The day after my abduction, I was conducted as were many others, to rooms which we called "the torture house." There, men dressed in civilian clothing, would begin interrogations, using torture "when it was necessary" in attempts to extract confession. That torture took various forms: beating with clubs, fists, kicking, immersing in water or in fecal substance to almost the drowning point and applying "La Picana," (electric machine) that is touched to the more sensitive parts of the body, like mouth, eyes, nose, ears, vagina, breast, penis, feet, and hands. To cause a stronger sensation they would tie us with rope to a wire bed which carried an electrical current, plus entangled wire between the fingers and toes, splashing water on to augment the pain. These methods were aimed at obtaining confession of our own activities, names, and addresses (which in some cases did not exist), or sometimes used only as punishment. After these interrogations we were conducted again to the "barn" where the rest of the prisoners were being held, and they by their turn were conducted to the interrogation etc; while the rest of us from our place heard their screaming and howling. They would come back almost unconscious and moaning in great pain. Sometimes doctors would come and look after the worst injuries such as broken bones, ribs, bleeding kidneys, etc.

I am very sorry I can't remember the names of all the prisoners who were with me. When I knew about the possibility of being freed, because of my nationality, I tried to memorize as many names as I could. I gave them out in the Federal Prison of ___ Devoto, so that their families, who didn't know of their whereabouts, would be aware of where they were. Among the names I remember are: Eduardo Raul Herbilhaa; Elena Barberis; Ana Maria Lanzilotto, pregnant; Domingo Menna, this man tied with large chains and tortured to extremes; Liliana Delfino; Maria Eugenia Lopez; a man whose last name was D'Angelo; and then names like Silvia; Maria Rosa and hus husband Miguel; Juan Carlos; Cristiana; Osmar; Lila; Tony; Augusto; Pancho; Graciela. They all were very badly nourished and tortured. Some with broken bones and wounds of which they complained.

By night our sleep was accompanied by rats that ran over and around our bodies. We were also at the mercy of being raped by the sub-officials. I wish to share my concerns with the international organizations; the United States Congress; and American Churches so that they will act on behalf of the many Argentine persons whose lives are affected. At the same time we appeal to the Argentine Government to declare which Argentine and foreign citizens are being held as prisoners, for until now many imprisoned people are considered dead or missing.

- Patricia Erb

For further information contact: Delton Franz, Washington Representative, Mennonite Central Committee, 100 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC Ph. 544-6564

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Codel Reuss Jan 3-6, 1977

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REPORT ON MEETING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP:

(In no cases are the names of the people who met with us to be used.)

Dr. Enrique Mignone, lawyer, university administrator
Frederico Westerkamp, physicist, university professor
Rabbi Roberto Gretz
(Westerkamp has studied at Columbia; Gretz at U. of Cincinnati)

The Assembly has a board representing economic, political and labor groups. Includes a Catholic and Methodist bishop, representatives of political parties. It was created prior to the present administration.

The Assembly has workshops, seminars, and tries to publish documents, but that is difficult. Censorship is very strong. The only newspaper that publishes freely is the Buenos Aires Herald. Our last statement we could not get published anywhere; we have no access to radio or tv, though we can print and distribute things ourselves.

A major step last year was a presentation to the Supreme Court where we discussed 1,000 people who have disappeared. The judiciary's hands are tied, however. They ask after people, but the government denies any knowledge of them. Some 20-30,000 writs of habeus corpus have been presented to the lower court, but not one has been honored. Government simply says they don't have the people. A lot of judges have resigned, giving reasons of health or something, but real reason is because they are unhappy with treatment of habeus corpus proceedings.

The government has at least 8,000 identified prisoners, though the government admits to only 4,000 -- 8,000 in jail under executive power, some for actions, some simply for opinions. Our group does not sympathize with terrorists; we just ask for due process.

Of 8,000 in prison legally, 800 have cases pending. Only a few are ever acquitted. Of the 8,000, perhaps 20% are in jail for some activity, the rest for their opinions. Only parents are allowed to visit; not their

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lawyers.

Some prisoners are treated better than others. Many are threatned with torture. (Westerkamp's son, a leftist, age 24, is in jail and has been tortured. He was an activist student but never engaged in terrorism. Torture - electric shock, beaten with chains, kicked)

The co-chairman of the Assembly, a man active in the teachers union, was arrested 5 months ago. Disappeared for 12 days. Then the government produced him. His wife visits him. The first few days in jail he was subjected to water torture. There are no charges against him.

The most severe problem -- We estimate 15-25,000 who have completely disappeared, picked up by the armed forces. Many have been killed, some are in concentration camps, torture is routine. It is deliberate government policy to kill them. Some bodies have been found in rivers, ocean. Government just says: "This is a dirty war." What should USG do?

Rabbi: We are very pleased with pressure from the Carter administration. Argentine government is very conscious of its image. Pressure from outside is more effective than from inside. Cutting off military aid is a good move. Pressure is good up to the point where it might break US links with Argentina. You shouldn't cut everything off. This is the most unpopular government, but it is more because of falling standards of living than human rights, as far as the average man in the street is concerned.

MEETING WITH DELEGATION OF ARGENTINE-ISRAELI ASSOCIATIONS:

(Reps were a lawyer, an advertiser, and an Italian translator)

Spokesman insisted there is no official antisemitism, and the populace is not antisemitic, but acknowledged there are no Jews in the army and very few anywhere in government or military.

The group is a federation of 130 organizations. (Embassy spokesman says they represent a conservative viewpoint within the Jewish community.)

Spokesman says they are preoccupied with neo-nazi organizations and their publications. They carry out a vigorous fight and the government has been forced to act against those publications. Nobody is detained because he is Jewish. But if he happens to be detained, he is treated worse than others. They are very worried about this problem and do not hesitate to speak out about it. They believe the government is beginning to be aware of the need to take action against antisemitism in the repressive forces. So we are careful not to cause adverse reaction by making the wrong public statements. Worried about Timmerman. Only the Buenos Aires Herald has published the fact that Timmerman hasn't been charged with anything. His son was released and allowed to emigrate to Israel. Jews may emigrate to Israel at will, but not many want to do that. Were Jews disproportionately represented in the leftist groups? - No.

It is difficult to visit prisoners, whether Jewish or not, though rabbis are often successful in doing so. Do any Jewish people think as Argentine government does, apparently, that Timmerman did obtain his money illegally? Spokesman said he did not personally believe that, but can't speak for Jewish community. President Videla has said Timmerman is being held only for investigation of financial things. We say, let him out so he can get his documents together and make his case.

To Jacobo Kovadlov, the American Jewish Committee rep -- We know only what has been in the Times and Post. It was a mistake to close down the American Jewish Committee office here because now we have nobody to relate to. Spokesman said Kovadlov apparently left for personal reasons; they have talked to him in New York since he left.

MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO:

The mothers -- Sra. Maria de la Gard; Sra. Marta de Vazquez; Sra. Maria del Rosario de Cerrutti; Sra. Juanita Pargament. (Again, names not to be used. They are afraid because of this meeting. But they say it would only help them if members, say, made speeches on the House floor referring to this meeting, but without names.)

The mothers parade to the plaza each Thursday afternoon at 3:30 p.m., about 100-150 strong. They do not ask that their sons be released; only that they be told where their sons are, and that they receive due process. Some disappeared 20 months ago and we don't know if they are alive or dead.

The group published an ad in La Prensa and La Nacion in October. No repercussions. But after another ad on December 10, signed by 1,000 mothers and therefore much more attention-getting, there has been trouble. Two days before the ad a group of mothers were picked up at church. The day the article was published a mother and a French nun were kidnapped at home. We believe repression since that day has increased a lot. One night a large number of people were imprisoned in another city (La Plata).

There are now 3 or 4 mothers in custody. We do not know what has happened to them but do not believe they have been killed. But the Sub-Secretary of the Interior has asked us not to go to the Plaza anymore because we make a bad image. We say we will stop when they tell us where our sons are.

One day everybody in the Plaza was taken to jail for 2-3 hours, but treated OK and released. The mothers are more and more fearful. The mothers' stories --

1) My son was a lawyer, a defender of human rights and of those who had been imprisoned. He often went to the jails to visit his clients. One day he was taken from home and has disappeared.

2) Son, age 31, a surgeon, taken 1 year ago. He was not political. I

have absolutely no knowlege of why he was taken.

3) Son was a student of economics at the university. I know of no political activities. But I speculate that someone at the university may have pointed him out as a leftist, something of that sort, and he disappeared.

4) My daughter, 23, a psychologist, and her husband 25, a veterinarian, were picked up 20 months ago from their home. I know of no political activities they were involved in. She was a social worker and concerned with the problems of the lower classes. They were Peronists, but not especially active. We believe she was pregnant with her third child, because the mother (wife of a diplomat in Mexico) received a letter before the arrest indicating that.

What happens to the children in such cases? If the grandparents will keep them, OK. Otherwise, the government may deposit them with a neighbor, or may simply put them out for adoption and the parents are not told where. In one case a grandmother recognized a grandchild who had been placed for adoption with another family.

Do you believe the US is doing all it can? - "Yes. But we would like to see even a little more pressure, though not necessarily sanctions against the Argentine government. The American government is the only hope we have."

Dave Secrest:jr

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ATTACHMENT 5

DD0748

Basic Requests

(1) Publish and keep up to date a list of all held in detention by security or military forces under procedures authorized by the state of siege declared November 6, 1974.

(2). Reinstitute humane and long-respected procedures, that is, regularized detention proceedings by which each person would be inscribed at the point of detention, families would be notified promptly and charges would promptly and publicly be laid.

(5) If you are holding people who have not been promptly charged, release them or, if this is preferable, permit them voluntarily to leave the country.

(7) Investigate and punish cases of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Such investigations should be conducted by persons unconnected with the detention process.

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Overall considerations: Our goal should be to phrase each of our proposals so as to demonstrate to the GOA the utility from its standpoint of taking the suggested action. We want to emphasize the way in which each will strengthen the Argentine nation and respond to its critics -- without sounding patronizing.

(1) Publication of the lists. The problem of phrasing our approach on this issue is greatly reduced by the fact that the GOA already seems to be moving in the desired direction. However, while we understand they are now preparing lists of detainees, we do not know whether they intend to publish lists of all detainees or only those detained after a certain date. Under the circumstances, we would probably want to convey to the GOA our pleasure with the apparent progress which it is making toward publishing lists of detainees and add that we hope these lists will include the names of all detainees as they are detained -- an important step in our view toward regularizing the detention process.

(2) Regularization of detention procedures. Here we might argue that continued use of the military court system to prosecute subversives needlessly antagonizes potential supporters of the government's campaign against subversion and that there is no reason not to return to established legal procedures. We could point out that in most security cases the GOA seems

to have ample evidence to prosecute in open court and that in any event, under the National Security Laws, it has additional legal weapons to use against proven subversives. By prosecuting suspected subversives in military court where they have no legal guarantees, the GOA only contributes to the emotionalism which is tearing the country apart. Instead it should try to heal the wounds by returning to established legal procedures.

(3) Release or charge detainees. In this case, we should not appear to be supplying the GOA with a rigid answer to a painful problem -- detainees. Rather we should stress the existence of alternatives which the GOA could pursue that would answer its critics and contribute to the restoration of legal order in Argentina. Our basic point is that if detainees are not promptly charged, they should either be released or be permitted to seek and enjoy asylum abroad. With regard to the asylum question, we might ask the GOA to show the same style of pragmatism toward Argentine nationals as it has toward nationals of other South American countries in Argentina which have sought asylum elsewhere.

(4) Investigation of abuses. One of the arguments the GOA has used to justify its failure to prosecute human rights abuses by members of the security forces is that such action would demoralize them and greatly weaken the GOA's ability to defend

the nation against subversion. However, now that there is some consensus within the GOA that subversion is declining, the GOA must reexamine its priorities. Under the present circumstances, there is no excuse for encouraging immorality by not prosecuting official human rights violations. In other words, having now won part of its battle against subversion, the GOA must begin to correct abuses within its own camp if it is to preserve the country.

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DD074

January 4, 1977

Desired Human Rights Improvements and GOA Actions in that Field

1. Publish a list of all held in detention.

30 DEC Argentine press reports that the Interior Ministry will begin to publish a weekly list of persons being held or freed by the Executive.

2. Regularize detention procedures.

3. Reestablish jurisdiction of civilian courts.

29 NOV A new law authorizing special military tribunals to try persons accused of subversive crimes goes into effect. The law extends the jurisdiction of military courts to cover lesser offenses formerly tried by civilian courts, such as intent to commit a crime against national security.

4. Give prisoners access to families and lawyers.

5. Release all detainees who are not promptly charged.

3 OCT La Opinion reports that over 300 persons under detention by the Executive have been released.

22 OCT Presidency officials inform Embassy that large numbers of those being held under State of Siege provisions are being released.

21 DEC Federal appeals court upholds the constitutional right of the government to hold people indefinitely under the State of Siege.

22 DEC Executive releases list of 541 detainees freed by the Executive since November 1.

30 DEC GOA publishes list of 123 freed detainees. Press reports that this brings the number of people released since March 24 to over 1660.

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UNCLASSIFIED

6. Provide for public trials before civilian courts in security cases which are not clearly military.

8 OCT Argentine Supreme Court has ruled that the jurisdiction of military justice system over subversion and arms control cases applies only when it is clear that the offense is actually linked to the security of the nation.

7. Investigate and try persons guilty of abusing prisoners.

8. Invite international organizations such as ICRC and IAHRC to Argentina.

15 NOV Amnesty International concludes ten day visit.

7 DEC Foreign Ministry tells Embassy that ICRC is currently visiting Argentina and that OAS would be welcome.

15 DEC President Videla tells President of ICRC that a program of assistance to detainees may be organized.

27 DEC Embassy reports on upcoming ICFTU visit to Argentina.

9. Recognize Article 3 of Geneva Convention.

10. Permit detainees to seek asylum abroad.

7 OCT Embassy reports that for the second time in five months a federal judge has ruled that the constitutional right of persons to leave the country is in force. In both cases, GOA has appealed to the Supreme Court.

10 OCT Argentine Court rules that Institutional Act suspending the constitutional right to opt to leave the country is valid.

11. Ensure that foreign nationals are not repatriated against their will.

22 NOV UNHCR informs Embassy that there are still 10,000 refugees wishing resettlement. There have been no attacks on refugess in recent months.

12. Stop harassment of judges.

13. Punish both left and right wing extremists.

14 OCT Embassy reports that a significant number of policemen have been quietly punished or fired in recent weeks. According to sources, GOA is slowly but steadily working out undesirable and undisciplined elements from the police forces, including some who have been responsible for AAA type activities.

22 OCT Presidency officials report that the "central authorities" are beginning to get "wild elements" in the security forces under control.

2 NOV SRF reports that Army G-2 has been ordered to assure that security forces refrain from common crimes; 32 Buenos Aires police officers and two Army officials are reported under arrest.

14 DEC In interview with American journalists, President Videla acknowledges that security forces may be committing excesses but notes it is not the GOA's wish.

29 DEC USDAO reportd that 14 soldiers in I Corps region have been arrested for improper conduct during countersubversive operations.

14. Stop harassment of foreign residents. (See No. 11)

15. Stop harassment of Catholic Church; Jews.

6 DEC Jewish leaders inform the Embassy that anti-Semitism is a far less serious problem than it was earlier.

30 DEC Embassy reports that according to Church sources there are no longer any priests or members of religious organizations under detention.

16. Stop harassment of academics.

3 DEC B.A. 7874 reports on unusual firing of General Vilas, the hard-line general responsible for

purge at Bahia Blanca University.

17. Regularize police jurisdictions so that outsiders and Argentines will know where to go for help.

7 OCT Embassy reports on establishment of human rights working group in Foreign Ministry to handle all approaches on human rights from foreign governments.

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PAGE 01 STATE 001453
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-01 DHA-02 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 /021 R

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DECONTROL

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: CLAUDIA PEIRO

REF: STATE 286308 AND B.A. 7824

1. DEPARTMENT IS RECEIVING DOZENS OF LETTERS CONCERNING DETENTION OF CLAUDIA INES PEIRO, AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL WHO IS REPORTEDLY BEING HELD AT VILLA DEVOTO. SHE WAS REPORTEDLY ARRESTED IN RESISTENCIA, ARGENTINA, ON MAY 17. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHETHER THIS CASE HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP OF FOREIGN MINISTRY SO THAT THIS MAY BE MENTIONED IN OUR RESPONSES.

2. LETTERS ARE COMING FROM CONGRESS, CHURCHMEN AND PUBLIC. VOLUME IS SECOND ONLY TO LETTERS FROM JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00103 052126Z
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0103

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: THREAT AGAINST ARGENTINE AFFILIATE OF STERLING DRUG

DEPT FOR ARA/ECA; PANAMA FOR RSS

REF: B.A. 8137

1. ON 12/30/76, [redacted] VICE PRESIDENT/GENERAL MANAGER B6
FARMACIA, STERLING DRUG AFFILIATE HERE, ADVISED EMBASSY OFFICERS THAT (SAME DATE) THE WIFE OF AN ARGENTINE OFFICIAL OF THE COMPANY WAS CALLED BY THE ERP AFTER 1900 HOURS. THE CALLER THREATENED THE DEATH OF HER SON BEFORE JANUARY 2, 1977. HE THEN DEMONSTRATED THE AUTHENTICITY OF HIS CALL BY REVEALING SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE FIRM, INCLUDING A VISIT TO ARGENTINA BY THE COMPANY'S U.S. PRESIDENT. HE SAID THE ERP HAD SOMETHING PLANNED FOR HIM TOO.

2. [redacted] THINKS THE INFORMATION CAME FROM INSIDE THE COMPANY, B6
AS ONLY 23 PEOPLE KNEW OF THE PROPOSED VISIT OF THE COMPANY PRESIDENT. AS PRECAUTION, HE IMMEDIATELY SENT THE FAMILY TO MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY.

3. RSO COMMENT: U.S. COMPANIES IN ARGENTINA AND THEIR MANAGEMENT
[redacted]

[redacted]

HAVE BEEN HIT HARD BEFORE FROM OBVIOUS "INSIDE" LEAKS
OF INFORMATION (I.E. CHRYSLER ARGENTINA). THESE TACTICS PRESENT
LITTLE DANGER TO THE TERRORISTS IN PROPORTION TO THE FEAR THEY
INSTILL IN COMPANY MANAGEMENTS.
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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00088 051646Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 MCT-01 TRSE-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 B1
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Date 5/8/91 Declassify on 5/7/11 Reason 25X1

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: 30 SUSPECTED TERRORISTS KILLED AT YEAR'S END

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7655

1. THIRTY ALLEGED SUBVERSIVES WERE KILLED BY SECURITY FORCES IN SEPARATE INCIDENTS ON DECEMBER 31, BRINGING THE TOTAL OF REPORTED POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED DEATHS TO AROUND 1,500 FOR 1976. THE HEAVIEST NUMBER OF FATALITIES OCCURRED IN THE LAST TWO MONTHS WHEN AT LEAST 250 SUSPECTED SUBVERSIVES WERE KILLED.

2. ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF LAST FRIDAY'S INCIDENTS, WHICH COME FROM OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUES, EIGHT PERSONS IN TWO CARS WERE KILLED ESCAPING A ROADBLOCK NEAR NUNRO, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, AT 2 A.M.; SEVEN PERSONS WERE KILLED AFTER FIRING ON POLICE DURING A HOUSE-TO-HOUSE IDENTIFICATION CHECK AT 2 A.. IN BOULOGNE, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, (TWO NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS WERE REPORTEDLY WOUNDED IN THE INCIDENT); AND FIVE PERSONS IN TWO CARS WERE KILLED TRYING TO EVADE A ROADBLOCK IN MADERO, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE. IN BAHIA BLANCA, THE MILITARY REPORTED THAT THREE PERSONS WERE KILLED IN A ROADBLOCK SHOOTOUT AND TWO ESCAPED, INCLUDING ONE WHO WAS IDENTIFIED AS CARLOS ALBERTO OLIVA. SEVEN MORE PERSONS WERE KILLED IN ROSARIO. AT A SPECTACULAR RAID IN ROSARIO AT 6:30 AMN POLICE REPORTED THAT [redacted]

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DURING AN EXCHANGE OF GUNFIRE AND TEAR GAS BOMBS, THREE FEMALES WERE PUSHED OUT OF AN EIGHTH-STORY WINDOW PRESUMABLY BY THEIR SUBVERSIVE COLLEAGUES). WHEN THE SHOOTING LATER SUBSIDED, SECURITY FORCES FOUND TWO MEN IN THE ROOM, KILLED BY GUNFIRE. ALL OF THOSE KILLED WERE IDENTIFIED AS MONTONEROS. (LA OPINION (JANUARY 2) POINTED OUT THAT FOR THE LAST WEEK OFFICIAL RELEASES HAVE BEEN USING THE WORD MONTONERO, A WORD THAT HAD BEEN BANNED FOR PRESS USE IN MARCH AND REPLACED BY THE PHRASE "GROUP OUTLAWED IN 1975." THE PAPER NOTED THAT THE DECISION TO USE THE WORD MONTONERO IMPLIED THAT THE SECURITY FORCES NOW BELIEVE THE GROUP IS SUFFICIENTLY WEAKENED SO AS TO NO LONGER CONSTITUTE A GRAVE THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY.)

3. LA OPINION (JANUARY 2) WAS THE ONLY PAPER TO COMMENT ON THE DECEMBER 31 RASH OF TERRORIST KILLINGS, NOTING THAT "IN THE GREAT MAJORITY OF CASES, THE EXTREMISTS WERE SURPRISED IN PASSIVE ACTIONS, HIDDEN IN THEIR HIDEOUTS OR CIRCULATING IN CARS WHEN THE CONFRONTATIONS TOOK THEM UNAWARE". THIS SITUATION THE PAPER ATTRIBUTED TO THE "ADVANCED STATE OF DISINTEGRATION AND VIRTUAL RETREAT OF THE SUBVERSVIE GROUPS." (IN A DECEMBER 31 ARTICLE ON THE DECLINE OF SUBVERSIVE CAPABILITY, LA OPINION REPORTED THAT SUBVERSIVE GROUPS HAD LOST AT LEAST 1,500 COMBATANTS THROUGH DESERTION, BESIDES HEAVY FATALITIES AT THE HANDS OF SECURITY FORCES.)

4. THE ABOVE INCIDENTS WERE ALL REPORTED EXCLUSIVELY FROM OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUES, AS IS CUSTOMARY. WHILE WE HAVE NO REPEAT NO INFORMATION CONCERNING THESE INCIDENTS OTHER THAN THAT ATTRIBUTED TO GOVERNMENT SOURCES, IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT THE RECENT REPORTS OF SUCH INCIDENTS PERSISITENTLY INVOLVE A PATTERN OF SHOOTOUTS WITH CARLOADS OF TERRORISTS WHO TRY TO ESCAPE ROADBLOCKS AND FATAL CONFRONTATIONS AT 2 AND 3 A.. DURING "ROUTINE" HOUSE-TO-HOUSE INVESTIGATIONS, IN WHICH THERE ARE NEVER ANY REPORTS OF CIVILIAN WITNESSES AND RARELY INJURIES TO THE SECURITY FORCES INVOLVED. THERE IS ON RECORD [redacted] REPORT [redacted] QUOTING A SECURITY OFFICIAL TO THE EFFECT THAT SOME B1

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OF THE OFFICIALLY REPORTED CONFRONTATIONS IN LA PLATA WERE "FABRICATIONS" USED BY THE SECURITY FORCES TO EXPLAIN AWAY THE KILLING OF PRISONERS IN DETENTION. NEVERTHELESS, SECURITY OPERATIONS HAVE BECOME CONSIDERABLY LESS BLATANT THAN THE PILAR MASSACRE IN AUGUST AND HAVE ALSO TAKEN ON A MORE ROUTINE QUALITY IN

Case Number: 200000044

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BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

MEXICO: OUTLOOK FOR THE LOPEZ PORTILLO ADMINISTRATION

UNCLASSIFIED

Summary

The outlook for the new Mexican Government is of special significance to the United States. A multitude of intertwined relationships--a mutual border, substantial bilateral trade, billions of dollars of US investment--join the two countries. As a result, the problems of one often have considerable impact on the other.

Jose Lopez Portillo, who took office as President of Mexico on December 1, faces a formidable array of problems at the opening of his six-year term. The short-term effects of some of the policies of his predecessor, Luis Echeverria, provide his most immediate tasks:

--to restore confidence in government;

--to stabilize an economy in psychological crisis since last fall's devaluations of the peso; and

--to effect some reconciliation between business and labor, landowners and landless peasants.

Mexico's new President will also have to deal with more deeply rooted problems:

--the high under- and unemployment rate;

--lagging industrial and agricultural productivity; and

--skyrocketing population growth.

Lopez Portillo brings a variety of experience and skills to the job. A former professor

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Report No. 675
January 6, 1977

and Secretary of Finance, he is an intellectual, a pragmatic, and a skilled administrator whose personal style is to stress reason and compromise rather than rhetoric and ideology. He appears, in the first weeks of his administration, to have made a good beginning on the tasks before him. His inaugural address, stressing calm, confidence, and reconciliation, and his cabinet appointments, indicating responsible administration, have generally been well received. In addition, he has taken steps to garner support from the private sector and to avert armed conflict over land invasions.

Under Lopez Portillo's administration, Mexican-US relations should improve. He has stressed the need for a more cooperative relationship between the two countries and is hoping for special trade preferences for Mexican exports, increased investment, and more US tourism to bolster the Mexican economy. In return, the US may look for a more constructive approach to the problem of illegal Mexican immigration, continued cooperation on the joint narcotics control program, and a more moderate stance from Mexico on Third World issues.

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Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo, who took office on December 1, faces a formidable array of pressing problems at the opening of his six-year term. How effectively he deals or comes to terms with them holds important implications for the US.

Mexico's significance for the US lies in the multitude of intertwined relationships that join the two countries: a mutual border, substantial bilateral trade, billions of dollars of US investment in Mexico, and a host of jointly undertaken projects ranging from the eradication of agricultural pests to narcotics control. Because of this interrelationship, the domestic problems of one country often have considerable impact on the other--for example, Mexican unemployment becomes illegal immigration to the US; and US recessionary cycles depress Mexico's export and tourism industries, heightening its balance of payments deficit with the US.

Background

During the period from World War II to the early 1970's, Mexico's economic managers emphasized growth in industry and manufacturing, achieving an impressive, sustained GNP growth rate of more than 6 percent annually. However, as former President Echeverria found when he took office in 1970, the growth pattern had masked such basic national problems as an exploding population rate, burgeoning unemployment, neglected rural development, inequities of income distribution, and inadequate programs for the poorest sectors of Mexican society.

In an effort to build for the future, the Echeverria administration poured huge sums into ambitious long-term projects--dams, steel mills, increased petroleum exploration--and into social programs, including schools, roads, and hospitals. Hit hard by the "stagflation" that gripped the US in the mid-1970's, Mexico saw a sharp drop in tourism and export earnings and a steep rise in the cost of imports at the same time that government spending and borrowing were at an all-time high. By the spring of 1976, Mexico's foreign

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debt was estimated at some $22 billion, pressures were building for the devaluation of the peso, and the private sector was becoming increasingly concerned by Echeverria's anti-business diatribes. Devaluation rumors, begun in April, became a self-fulfilling prophecy as capital flight snowballed, forcing Echeverria to take the necessary--but bitter--pill of allowing the devaluation of the peso on September 1.

In the wake of a second devaluation on October 26, rumors of an "imminent coup"--although unfounded--gained widespread credence, an indication of how badly public confidence was shaken. These rumors were exacerbated by Echeverria's sudden action in mid-November seizing some 250,000 acres of privately owned agricultural land for distribution to landless peasants. Additional land distributions on the eve of his departure from office raised the hopes of additional thousands of landless peasants and resulted in widespread land invasions in northern Mexico. As Echeverria relinquished the presidency, Mexico was in the grip of a psychological crisis.

Two Transitions

Echeverria's inheritance, on taking office from Diaz Ordaz, was a prospering economy but a middle class restive under the authoritarian one-party system, and a shockingly neglected segment of society--the rural and urban poor--which had not shared in the prosperity. Student violence was high, and pressures from the left threatened to force Echeverria to turn to increasing repression in order to govern. Considered at the beginning of his term to be another conservative president, little different from the lackluster Diaz Ordaz, Echeverria instituted a number of social programs and surprised observers by outflanking the left with rhetoric--a favorite move being to call demonstrating leftist students "fascists." Although private-sector profits certainly did not suffer under Echeverria (they were, in fact, at an all-time high), private-sector psychology eventually succumbed to the years of Echeverria's left-leaning verbal barrage, resulting in cutbacks in private investment and a torrent of capital flight.

On leaving office, Echeverria said that the accomplishments of his administration will be better understood in the future than they are today. He is probably right. Although his immediate legacy to Lopez Portillo appears to be a

national economy in disarray and a badly divided society, these are short-term effects that Lopez Portillo--with skill and a little luck--can overcome in the first years of his term. In the long run, Echeverria's investments in infrastructure should provide a solid basis for further expansion of Mexico's fundamentally sound economy--particularly in petroleum and steel.

There is, however, another bequest from Echeverria that is likely to cause difficult medium-term problems for Lopez Portillo. By raising the expectations of the landless campesinos for more land and of labor for continuing wage increases, Echeverria encouraged demands that Lopez Portillo could fulfill only at the expense of agricultural productivity and higher industrial prices. However, higher productivity and greater production are major components of Lopez Portillo's economic stabilization program. Openly to deny these demands could require stern repressive measures; Lopez Portillo is more likely to follow the time-honored--and more prudent--course of watering down demands by persuading sector leaders of the need for restraint. The new President will find his ability to achieve compromise between conflicting interest groups put to the test from the very first days of his administration.

Lopez Portillo

Lopez Portillo, at 56, brings a variety of experience and skills to the presidency, which should stand him in good stead at this juncture in Mexico's political life. Trained as a lawyer, he taught history and political science for some 20 years at Mexico's National University and at the Polytechnic Institute. His public service career includes experience in the Secretariat of National Patrimony and in the Secretariat of the Presidency, and he has served as Director General of the Federal Electricity Commission and as Secretary of Finance. He is an intellectual and a pragmatist as well as a skilled administrator, willing to delegate authority and interested in streamlining the government structure. His style is to emphasize reason and compromise, rather than rhetoric or ideology, and he is inclined to take a realistic and moderate approach to problems.

Inaugural Speech

Lopez Portillo's inaugural speech appears to give a good picture of the man, his style, and his priorities.

Statesmanlike--in parts, eloquent--it was clearly an all-out effort to restore the heavily eroded confidence in government. In it, he realistically acknowledged the many problems facing Mexico and frankly admitted that he needed time and the cooperation of all elements of society to deal with them. Emphasizing that the greatest danger to Mexico is fear, he asked for time, patience, faith, and goodwill to bind up the nation's wounds.

The address, largely devoted to economic policy, called for an austerity program and a national effort to increase production and promised to restructure taxes, cut government spending, reduce foreign borrowing, control imports, and attack the problem of inflation.

Lopez Portillo did not outline specific programs, but spoke at length on the economic policies that his government would pursue:

--Exchange rate. No fixed exchange rate was announced, and no promise was made to establish one in the future. The President, however, spent an appreciable amount of time explaining to the public the real meaning of devaluation and indicated that he would introduce measures designed to discourage capital flight.

--Balance of payments. The size of Mexico's huge foreign debt was not mentioned, but the President promised that foreign borrowing by the public sector will be limited to that required for capital goods; attention will be given to increasing labor-intensive exports; and, for the private sector, moves will be made to substitute tariff protection for import quotas.

--Investment policy. The government will seek to focus domestic and foreign investment primarily on agriculture and livestock, energy, petrochemicals, mining, steel, capital goods, transportation, and basic consumer goods.

--Tax policy. The President called for the adjustment of tax rates for inflation and the reinstatement of progressive taxation of incomes. To encourage reinvestment, higher tax rates will be applied to companies' distributed profits.

--Wages and prices. Stressing the need to avoid further deterioration of income distribution, the President

proposed to tie salaries to an improved cost-of-living index and to make strong efforts to control inflation.

--Natural resources. Mexico must make rational but intensive use of its natural resources. Citing fossil fuels as an example, Lopez Portillo warned against past errors of senseless waste and pressed for improved use of such non-renewable energy sources as oil, gas, and coal, until techniques in atomic, solar, and geothermal energy are developed.

--Agriculture. Mexico will emphasize the need to become self-sufficient in food production, and a program will be set up for technical research in tropical agricultural areas. Lopez Portillo did not, however, spell out his policy on agrarian reform.

--Industrial development. Special emphasis will be placed on stimulating the agricultural, mining, and steel industries, with support for small- and medium-sized operations. A special ministry will be set up to coordinate industrial sector affairs.

Foreign policy was dealt with only briefly. The President stressed the continuity of Mexico's traditional foreign policy, based on the principles of sovereignty, independence, and international solidarity. He pledged support for the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS) and reiterated Mexico's determination to continue to press for the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the prohibition of weapons that threaten humanity's existence.

Finally, Lopez Portillo proposed three new laws related to reform of government administration which indicate his concern for streamlining government structure in order to increase its efficiency and responsiveness:

--an administration law to reorganize and regroup the cabinet ministries, possibly creating a few "super" ministries;

--a public debt law that would give the Mexican Congress better control over executive branch expenditures; and

--a government expenditure law that would place a single ministry, similar to the US Office of Management and Budget, in charge of the budget and government spending.

The Cabinet

Lopez Portillo's selections for cabinet and other high government positions are generally of high quality and have been favorably received by political groups of the center and the right. Breaking with the Echeverria administration, Lopez Portillo has demonstrated his independence by surrounding himself with close associates and has retained only two of Echeverria's former cabinet officers--both of whom received posts of lesser importance. While many other Echeverria appointments have been kept on in second- and third-level positions, Lopez Portillo has made it clear that he intends to be his own man--another reassuring sign to the private sector.

Among his major cabinet appointments are:

--Secretary of Government, Jesus Reyes Heroles;

--Secretary of the Presidency, Carlos Tello Macias;

--Secretary of Finance, Julio Rodolfo Moctezuma Cid; and

--Secretary of Foreign Relations, Santiago Roel Garcia.

These men are close to Lopez Portillo, have broad previous experience in government, and generally have established good records in administration, planning, and finance.

The relative importance and responsibilities of some of the other cabinet positions remain unclear, pending the passage of Lopez Portillo's bill to reorganize the government. In his proposal, already before Congress, the President seeks to streamline the unwieldy Mexican bureaucracy in order to reduce waste and duplication and to improve its usefulness as an instrument of planning. His program calls for:

--a merger of the Secretariats of Agriculture and Hydraulic Resources to maximize agricultural and forestry production;

--a combined Secretariat of Patrimony and Industrial Development, noting that energy resources are the key to Mexico's development and that only by their sound and expeditious exploitation can basic industries flourish;

--a new Secretariat of Commerce to coordinate production and distribution, to promote the competitiveness of Mexican exports, and to manage import control policy;

--a new Secretariat of Human Settlements and Public Works to unite government programs related to housing, population, and urban welfare;

--a new Secretariat of Programming and Budget to combine the planning and budget activities now scattered among three Secretariats; and

--the creation of a Secretariat of Fishing to encourage exploitation and consumption of fisheries resources.

Prospects

Many of the problems facing Lopez Portillo are the enormous and intractable issues that faced his predecessor--skyrocketing population growth, a staggering unemployment rate, and an ever-widening gap between rich and poor. Before he can begin to wrestle with these, however, Lopez Portillo must first deal with more immediate problems left him by Echeverria: restoration of confidence in government, stabilization of the economy, improvement of balance of payments, and reconciliation or compromise between such conflicting interests groups as business and labor, peasants and landowners. On some of these he has made a good beginning:

--his inaugural address, stressing calm, reconciliation, and confidence, was well received by the public;

--his cabinet appointments, indicating responsible administration, buoyed the mood of the private sector;

--the armed confrontations over land invasion appear to have been diverted into legal channels, at least for the present; and

--his private talks with businessmen have garnered support for his first investment and development programs.

His next immediate challenge came from labor's threat to demand huge wage increases on January 1, which, if granted, could have seriously jeopardized economic stabilization measures. However, a compromise was achieved, with increases of 9 and 10 percent authorized. In his choice of

the highly capable and efficient Pedro Ojeda Paullada, former Attorney General, for the post of Secretary of Labor, Lopez Portillo seems to have indicated his concern that the labor sector may present his administration with some of its most difficult problems. Ojeda's effectiveness is increased by the addition to his team of Alejandro Gertz, formerly his executive officer in the Attorney General's office.

If private-sector confidence can be restored, reversing capital flight and encouraging savings and investment, Lopez Portillo will likely turn to the two major items stressed in his campaign:

--stimulating agricultural production to make Mexico self-sufficient in food, create jobs in labor-intensive agriculture, and provide farm products for export; and

--increasing development of Mexico's energy resources, particularly petroleum and natural gas, to fuel an expanding economy and provide needed foreign earnings.

The problems facing the Lopez Portillo government are formidable, and the most deep-rooted cannot be solved within the term of one administration. However, Mexico's basically sound economy and wealth of natural resources should, with careful nurturing and a favorable international economic climate, provide the growth necessary to keep those problems within manageable limits.

Implications for Mexican-US Relations

Mexican-US relations, in the main friendly and cooperative for three decades, suffered during the term of President Echeverria. His verbal blasts at the US, economic imperialism, and allusions to "dark interests" promoting Mexico's "economic destabilization" took a heavy toll of US goodwill, as did his unprecedented (for Mexico) activism in international forums and his ardent espousal of Third World causes.

Lopez Portillo is well aware that these actions have hurt Mexico in tangible ways, including a drop in US tourism and reduced US investment. He has repeatedly stressed his desire for a friendlier, more cooperative relationship with the US and indicated that his choice of Ambassador to the US would be one of his most important appointments. He has chosen Hugo Margain, a former Finance Minister, who served

as Ambassador to the US from 1965 to 1970 and, most recently, as Ambassador to Great Britain, where he is said to have forged strong economic links for Mexico among British financial circles. Margain has long been a champion of Mexico's efforts to assert greater political and economic independence from the US. He nevertheless favors a close working relationship between the two countries on matters of mutual concern. This, coupled with his strong economic and financial background, points toward the course that Lopez Portillo will pursue with the US, emphasizing:

--friendship and cooperation, but not at the cost of compromising Mexico's independent posture;

--increased US investment in Mexico, but channeled into areas serving Mexican development goals; and

--US trade preferences to allow Mexico to boost its manufactured and agricultural exports to the US.

Lopez Portillo understands the constraints placed on these measures by the US political process. He hopes, nevertheless, that the US will show its support by early action on such matters as an increase to $200 in US customs exemption to encourage more US tourism to Mexico and legislation to grant Mexico a higher US legal immigration quota.

In three areas of major interest to the US--narcotics, illegal migration, and petroleum--the prospects are mixed. Lopez Portillo has pledged his all-out support in continuing Mexico's efforts in the joint narcotics control program, with emphasis on poppy eradication. In the last year, this program has seen some success in reducing the supply of Mexican heroin available in the US. However, corruption among some Mexican officials is a problem, and although Lopez Portillo has promised to wage war against this, he is likely to find it a well-nigh impossible task. Nevertheless, to the extent that Mexico continues its commitment to the narcotics control program and that official corruption can be contained or limited, some continued diminution of the quantity of "Mexican brown" reaching the US can be expected. As long as the demand for narcotics in the US continues, however, Mexico will remain a prime transit point for drugs from other areas destined for the US.

Illegal migration, with deep roots in Mexico's most intransigent problems--population growth, unemployment,

rural and urban poverty--seems unlikely to abate. Lopez Portillo hopes to combat the labor outflow by creating more jobs in industry and agriculture and is looking to greater US involvement to help create those jobs. Higher employment and lower birth rates, however, are long-term approaches. In the meantime, illegal migration to the US will continue, building pressures within the US for tighter border control and more deportations and building reactions in Mexico to violations of the migrants' human rights. To the extent that such measures--if they are taken--prove successful in shutting off the US safety valve, the Mexican Government will face increasing social unrest at home.

A wide range of proposals concerning "undocumented aliens" is being discussed at various levels in the Mexican Government:

--resurrection of the "bracero program" for temporary Mexican labor;

--the formation of a joint US-Mexican commission to study the problem and make recommendations to both governments; and

--the creation of special industries in rural areas of high emigration which would receive special support from the US Government for their exported products.

Given the complexities of the issue, the lack of a broad base of factual data on illegal immigration, and Lopez Portillo's pragmatic orientation, it seems likely that Mexico may propose a joint study as an initial step.

Mexico's oil reserves are presently estimated at some 20-40 billion barrels, and exploration by Pemex, the Mexican Government-owned petroleum company, continues to locate promising areas for future drilling. Further testing may reveal that Mexico's reserves range close to the 60-billion-barrel mark--about the extent of Kuwait's. With the increased investment in exploration, drilling, and production capacity of recent years, Mexico has once again become self-sufficient in oil and, in 1976, began exporting crude oil, reaching a year-end rate of some 100,000 barrels a day. Given a major production effort, it is estimated that Mexico's exports could reach 300,000 b/d in 1977 and 850,000 b/d in 1979.

Lopez Portillo has called for increased--but rational--exploitation of Mexico's energy resources. He has named as

Director General of Pemex, Jorge Diaz Serrano, a long-time friend and a former private contractor to Pemex for oil exploration. Diaz is said to be highly knowledgeable on both the technical and financial aspects of petroleum production and to be favorably disposed toward Mexican private business and US oil companies.

Although pressures exist for a conservationist approach, and some quarters favor exporting only refined petroleum products, Mexico's current foreign indebtedness would appear to dictate that--at least over the next decade--every effort be made to lift and export crude oil as rapidly as possible. This rapid production would allow Mexico to reduce its debt and provide capital for expansion of other aspects of its economy. To make the concerted development effort, Pemex would require additional equipment and technical assistance, especially for offshore drilling--a situation that could provide opportunities for US petroleum-related industries. Mexico's nationalistic sensitivities, however, would require the utmost delicacy in handling any foreign connections in the development of its petroleum industry.

Beyond the term of Lopez Portillo, it seems likely that Mexico, once its debt problems become more tractable, would revert to a more conservationist approach to its petroleum resources:

-there is a built-in reluctance to allow any one factor to dominate the economy;

--too-rapid development and production would result in waste of associated natural gas and limit the long-term productivity of the fields.

In the international arena, the US can expect a more moderate stance from Mexico and, perhaps, an atmosphere of better understanding in working out compromises on such issues as Law of the Sea, disarmament, and Third World demands for a New International Economic Order. Lopez Portillo has felt that his predecessor's frenetic involvement in every Third World cause has proved of no benefit to Mexico and, in fact, has occasionally involved the country to its detriment in quarrels not its own. Moreover, Mexico's large foreign debt and its need for continued inflows of private and official investment tend to dictate moderate courses of foreign policy aimed at retaining US and other international confidence in the country's management. Under Lopez Portillo,

Mexico can be expected to focus its energies on the multilateral issues that directly involve its own interests.

On balance, then, while the US can expect a friendlier tone and greater cooperation in working with the Lopez Portillo government on matters of mutual concern, it must also expect hard bargaining and must attempt to forge compromises over the thorny issues on which Mexico's interests diverge from those of the US.

Prepared by D. E. Morris
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Approved by L. E. Misback
x20584

EXEMPT FROM DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE E.O. 11652: 5B 1, 2, 3
(Classified by M. Packman)

1/6/77 Jan 19, 1977 C. Flores copy

January 6, 1977

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HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP

Claudia Ines Peiro: Arrested in Resistencia on May 17, presumably transferred to Alcaldia Prison on June 2, is now thought to be held in Villa Devoto. Charges and whereabouts unknown.

Juan Mendez: Congressional information that he has been acquitted of remaining charges and will soon be allowed to leave country. Verify. ?

Sra. y Sr. Americo Delia Sady: Taken from home May 10. No word or response to family petitions. US relatives, congressional interest.

Angel Bustillo: Lawyer, arrested in 1975. Aging and in failing health. Reportedly at La Plata prison, Unidade 9. PEN 3196 7-12-76

Alba Garofolo:

Julio Yañez: Arrested in Cordoba September 30.

Julia Klenk, 38 years old, mother of three children. Believed arrested in Bariloche around November 9, 1976 and taken to Viedma Prison. se inicio averiguacion

Edmundo Daniel Szapiro (D.N.I. 11.179.097) and Susana Nascia de Szapiro (D.N.I. 13.222.920): Taken in Buenos Aires on September 15, 1976.

Miguel Alfredo Poinsteau: American mother.

Jorge Fernando di Pasquale: Taken from home December 29, 1976.

Area replied with PEN + location of Marta Alicia PAVELA
Maria Susana PAVELA

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U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0132

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, AR, CU
SUBJECT: SANTUCHO FAMILY IN CUBA

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8403

[redacted] THE ARGENTINE ASYLEES WHO LEFT THE CUBAN EMBASSY FOR CUBA ON DECEMBER 27 INCLUDE MARIO SANTUCHO'S THREE CHILDREN, HIS SISTER-IN-LAW OFELIA AND HER CHILDREN. MANUELA SANTUCHO WAS NOT IN THE GROUP.
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Case Number: 200000044

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8428

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 0105

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJ: BERMANN GRANDCHILD REAPPEARS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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REF: STATE 000438

ABDUCTION OF BERMANN RELATIVES ON NOV 13 HAS RECEIVED WIDE PUBLICITY IN BUENOS AIRES PRESS. THE INFANT GRANDCHILD WAS REPORTEDLY RETURNED TO DR. SYLVIA BERMANN LATE IN DEC ALTHOUGH THERE IS STILL NO WORD ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF IRENE TORRENTS AND DAMIAN SOTO BUENO. DR. BERMANN HAS WRITTEN TWICE TO PRESIDENT VIDELA ASKING HIM TO INTERCEDE IN THE CASE. THIS IS ALL THE INFORMATION THE EMBASSY HAS AVAILABLE ON THIS CASE AT THIS TIME.
HILL

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00150 072033Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-01 DHA-02 VO-03 SCA-01 SS-15 NSC-05
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8455

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: STATUS OF ARGENTINE NATIONAL JUAN MENDEZ

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7429 AND OTHERS

DECONTROL

1. JULION MENDEZ, FATHER OF JUAN MENDEZ, TOLD EMBOFF JAN. Y THAT A DECREE AUTHORIZING HIS SON TO LEAVE ARGENTINA WAS "ON PRESIDENT VIDELA'S DESK" AND WOULD LIKELY BE SIGNED WITHIN THREE WEEKS. MR. MENDEZ SAID HE RECEIVED THIS NEWS YESTERDAY FROM AN UNDER SECRETARY OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. MR. MENDEZ REFUTED THE INFORMATION GIVEN TO CONG. DRINAN BY INTERIOR OFFICIAL COLONEL FLOURET THAT THERE WERE THREE CHARGES PENDING AGAINST HIS SON. HE SAID THAT THE UNDER SECRETARY ASSURED HIM THAT FLOURET WAS MISINFORMED, THAT THERE WERE NO OUTSTANDING CHARGES AGAINST HIS SON AND THAT HIS "GOOD NAME AND HONOR" WOULD NOT BE IMPUGNED. MR. MENDEZ ALSO REMARKED THAT ALTHOUGH THE JUDGE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CASE HAD RECOMMENDED JUAN MENDEZ BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, THE FAMILY DECIDED THAT RATHER THAN CONTINUE TO WORK FOR HIS RELEASE THROUGH THE JUSTICE MINISTRY MENDEZ SHOULD PETITION THE INTERIOR MINISTRY TO LEAVE ARGENTINA AS PERMITTED BY A RECENT DECREE.

2. MR. MENDEZ SAID THAT HIS SON'S PETITION INCLUDED HIS INTENTION TO LEAVE FOR EITHER FRANCE OR THE US, IF AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE ARGENTINA. ALTHOUGH HE INTENDS TO RESETTLE IN THE US, HE WOULD

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 00150 072033Z

GO VIA FRANCE IF NECESSARY (I.E., IF HE WERE UNABLE TO GET A US

Case Number: 200000044

VISA IMMEDIATELY--SEE SEPTEL ON DISCUSSIONS WITH FONMINISTRY HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP; OR IF THE DECREE SPECIFICALLY AUTHORIZES HIS DEPARTURE ONLY TO FRANCE). MR. MENDEZ SAID THAT WHEN THE DECREE IS SIGNED HE WOULD CONTACT THE US EMBASSY TO TRY TO ARRANGE SON'S VISA TO US. MENDEZ SAID THAT HE HAS BEEN IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH CONGRESSMEN KOCH, RAILSBACK AND DRINAN, ALL OF WHOM HAVE ALLEGEDLY PLEDGED TO HELP FACILITATE JUAN MENDEZ' ENTRANCE INTO THE US. HE ADDED THAT HIS SON HAS NEVER BEEN A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND HAS NO POLICE RECORD. MR. MENDEZ ALSO TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE RECEIVED A LETTER IN DECEMBER FROM CONG. KOCH IN WHICH THE CONGRESSMAN SAID HE INTENDED TO PRESENT A BILL IN THE 1977 CONGRESSIONAL SESSION TO RECOMMEND THE PAROLE PROGRAM BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE ARGENTINE CITIZENS. (MR. MENDEZ IS AWARE THAT SUCH A STEP WOULD TAKE SOME TIME AND IS HOPEFUL THAT HIS SON CAN GET A REGULAR VISA TO THE US.)
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

J0049

<<<<.>>>> [redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 00163 072140Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEA-10 H-01 L-03 DHA-02 /027 W
----------072145Z 108156 /70

R 072054Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8461

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0163

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): DECONTROL
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____
DECONTROL

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR
SUBJECT: STATUS OF ARGENTINE NATIONAL DORA GOLDFARB

REF: STATE 001273

1. ISRAELI EMBASSY CONFIRMED TO US JAN. 7 THAT IT IS AWARE OF GOLD-FARB CASE AND HAS EXPRESSED INTEREST TO FONMINISTRY. IF ASKED RPT IF FORMALLY ASKED, GOI WILL REPLY THAT IT WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT DORA GOLDFARB IN ISRAEL IF SHE WERE TO BE RELEASED BY GOA. SO FAR NO ACTUAL REQUEST FOR A VISA OR GUARANTEE OF ENTRY HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO ISRAELIS BY GOLDFARB HERSELF, HER PARENTS, OR GOA.

2. ISRAELI EMBOFF PROFESSED TO KNOW RELATIVELY LITTLE ABOUT GOLDFARB POLITICAL BACKGROUND EXCEPT FACT THAT SHE IS COMMUNIST.
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

J008

<<<<.>>>>
[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 00162 072158Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 SY-05 MCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 /064 W
----------0722072 108342 /73

R 072052Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8460

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0162

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): DECONTROL
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: 39 SUSPECTED SUBVERSIVES KILLED IN FIRST WEEK OF 1977

DECONTROL

REF: BUENOS AIRES 0088

THE NUMBER OF REPORTED DEATHS OF SUSPECTED SUBVERSIVES KILLED IN CONFRONTATIONS WITH SECURITY FORCES CONTINUED ITS CLIMB INTO THE NEW YEAR. SO FAR, 39 SUSPECTS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE FIRST WEEK OF 1977. THE ONLY REPORTED FATALITY SUFFERED BY THE SECURITY FORCES IN THAT SAME PERIOD WAS THE JANUARY 4 DEATH OF AN ARMY CONSCRIPT WHO WAS SHOT DOWN BY A TERRORIST COUPLE IN A FLEEING CAR WHILE MANNING A ROAD BLOCK IN SAN JUSTO, BA PROVINCE. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS OF OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUES, 17 ALLEGED TERRORISTS WERE KILLED ON JANUARY 4. NINE MONTONEROS WERE KILLED IN TWO SEPARATE BUT SIMILAR INCIDENTS WHILE SPRAY PAINING MONTONERO SLOGANS ON WALLS IN TWO TOWN IN BA PROVINCE. AN ERP COUPLE WAS SHOT WHILE RESISTING A HOUSE SEARCH IN BA PROVINCE. IN SANTA FE SIX PERSONS WERE KILLED BY SECURITY FORCES WHO REPORTEDLY WERE ATTEMPTING TO LOCATE MONTONERO LEADER

MARIO FIRMENICH, BELIEVED TO BE HIDING IN THE AREA. ON JAN. 5 ARMY COMMUNIQUES REPORTED THAT TEN PERSONS WERE KILLED IN CLASHES WITH POLICE AFTER BEING CAUGHT PAINING MONTONERO SLOGANS IN RAMOS MAJIA, BA PROVINCE. ANOTHER 12 TERRORIST SUSPECTS WERE KILLED ON
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 00162 072158Z

JANUARY 6. OFFICIAL REPORTS SAID THAT A LARGE GROUP OF TERRORISTS

Case Number: 200000044

IN TEN CARS ATTEMPTED TO AMBUSH A MILITARY CONVOY TRANSPORTING SUBVERSIVE PRISONERS NEAR LA PLATA IN BA PROVINCE. IN THE AMBUSH ATTEMPT SIX TERRORIST ATTACKERS AND TWO OF THE PRISONERS WERE KILLED; NONE OF THE PRISONERS ESCAPED. FOUR MORE SUSPECTS WERE KILLED IN A SHOOTOUT IN A BA PROVINCE RAILWAY STATION IN A JOINT OPERATION THAT REPORTEDLY FOR THE FIRST TIME UTILIZED AN AIR FORCE HELICOPTER ARMED WITH ARTILLERY.
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

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UNCLASSIFIED

E91

PAGE 01 STATE 005839
ORIGIN CPR-01

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 SS-15 /023 R

DRAFTED BY S/CPR:RHOOD
APPROVED BY S/CPR:BWWHITEHEAD

----------112033Z 008927 /46

R 111947Z JAN 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/PS/CR/P Date 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY IN PART 9701416 Im/1

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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( )

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, MX

SUBJECT: U.S. DELEGATION TO LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION

REF; STATE 287995

FOR B & F (NATIVA SIMOES)

PLEASE EXPEDITE COPIES PAID HOTEL BILLS FOR PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION EXCLUDING SECRETARY AND MRS. KISSINGER TO OFFICE OF PROTOCOL, ATTN BENNY W. WHITEHEAD, JR. ROBINSON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

1/12/77

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January 12, 1977

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

[redacted]

Wayne S. Smith, Esquire
Chief/Political Section
American Embassy
Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Dear Wayne:

On January 7 we had a rather fascinating 90 minutes with Philippe Labreveux of Le Monde. Bob Zimmermann, George Lister, Charles Runyon and I were present. Much of what Labreveux said is contained in the enclosed articles from Proceso, a Mexican magazine.

We were struck by what Labreveux said about the absence of Argentine organizations working on behalf of human rights. He stated that the only effective one is the Liga Argentina por los Derechos Humanos, a group dominated by Communists. Nonetheless, the League has lawyers who present habeas corpus petitions in an effort to get prisoners on record, and it has a network of informants. Labreveux stressed the importance of habeas corpus petitions, noting that the League is convinced that those murdered at Pilar would not have been executed if some kind of legal step had been taken on their behalf.

He described the Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos as a timid group which occasionally makes declarations but does not take any sort of meaningful action on behalf of prisoners.

Labreveux stated that the Consejo Argentino por los Derechos Humanos is basically a two-man outfit: Roca and Garçon Maceda. He suggested that the Argentine Communists have little use for these two lawyers who are connected with terrorism, which the PCA opposes.

[redacted]

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Compared to Chile, things are very different in Argentina, he went on, because the Chilean Church hires lawyers and is far more progressive. In Argentina, even the Nuncio finds himself to the left of the bishops. He said that the Church is without bearings (desorientada) as are most Argentines. In Chile, there are committees grouping the relatives of prisoners. But in Argentina people are arrested for forming such groupings, as happened in Cordoba in mid-October, according to Labreveux.

He urged that the United States do all it can on behalf of human rights. He first called for a cutoff of military assistance but changed his mind when he recommended military-to-military contacts. (We pointed out that such contacts were unlikely without our modest military assistance.)

Labreveux feels that multilateral and organization approaches would be the most effective ways to influence the Argentines. For example, he suggested working in common with the European nations (the French and Italians); encouraging the Nuncio; encouraging the Scandinavians; taking more refugees (a very important gesture); fostering American Church to Argentine Church activities; union-to-union programs (so that the Argentine unions do not feel alone); and military-to-military dialogue.

We asked him to tell us about Cordoba. After briefly reviewing that city's role in the downfall of Ongania, Levingston and Lanusse, he described today's "reign of terror" under Menendez and his deputy Juan Bautista Saciain, the latter an unbalanced angel of vengeance. Even the Cardinal is afraid of speaking to Menendez, Labreveux stated. There is no question, he reported, that Menendez and Saciain control all government repression. Not even right-wing groups operate in Cordoba.

Terror also prevails in La Plata and Bahia Blanca. General Vilas is responsible for the arrests of Solari Irigoyen and Amaya. Alfonsin told Labreveux that Amaya was beaten for 15 straight days, that he had a scar right across the crest of his head. The Radicales are afraid to speak out, Labreveux claimed. Alfonsin made Labreveux promise not to publish anything. The military fear to release Solari because the latter could describe his torture.

Labreveux pitied the UCR which after 80 years of existence cannot even publish a daily newspaper. (Labreveux was unaware that General Vilas was retired. We told him.)

The Communists ("and I am not one") are so much better organized. They have suffered 10 dead, 50 abducted and 300 in jail. Yet the PCA does not wish to confront Videla, who is viewed as the lesser of other evils.

In an aside, Labreveux said Uruguay is worse than Argentina and for no reason. They have the same levels of repression but the most horrid forms of torture. He claimed that 2,000 Uruguayan Communists were arrested early in 1976.

Labreveux also felt that it would be better to have a strong president with defined ideas than to have Videla. I think Labreveux would argue that Videla's weakness should not be used to excuse Argentina as a consistent violater of human rights. Labreveux seems to doubt that things could get much worse. While there was little time to discuss economic questions, the French reporter suggested that Martinez de Hoz is guilty of social repression or as Argentine soccer fans say, he is a "Hood Robin" who robs from the poor to give to the rich.

Labreveux left us to go have lunch with John Salzberg. (George Lister's notes on this encounter are attached.) Labreveux told us that he might return in February to report on the hearings.

I am writing a letter rather than memcon in order to ask you a few questions about Labreveux's comments. We'd really appreciate your comments.

We are interested in the role of human rights groups within Argentina. Are the Church and Permanent Assembly ineffective? Is it true that the Communist Liga is the only group showing courage on the human rights front? Do we have contact with the Liga? Why are the Communists sticking their necks out? Are the bar associations totally intimidated? Are lawyers harassed for defending political prisoners? Was this Mario Yacub's crime? Is the state of siege simply a situation in which

he who is captured has no recourse and he who tries to help a prisoner finds himself condemned too? (By the way, ARA, INR and L are considering hiring a lawyer to comment on Argentine laws in order to give us a better idea of what might or might not fly in terms of human rights recommendations. I'll be sure to advise the Ambassador if the lawyer project goes much further, but it does reflect our interest in what is happening to the law, lawyers and judges.)

It would also be useful to have a better feel for what is happening in the provinces. What is the ambiente in, say Cordoba or Rosario? Could the Videla regime become unraveled in the provinces? Could Martinez de Hoz' policies spark another Cordobazo? I'll bet that you and your crew would like nothing better than to travel and stick your nose in provincial corners. I'm not suggesting travel, but when you (and I assume Econ too) learn tidbits about conditions in the interior, I hope you'll share them.

I also want to reiterate the interest with which the human rights roundups are received. They are very well written and full of nuggets. They are read avidly throughout our building. I guarantee you that Embassy Buenos Aires has a wide readership - which is a mixed blessing of course!

My best to you and POL.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fernando E. Rondon

Enclosures: As stated.

cc: Ambassador Hill

Concurrence:ARA/ECA:RWZimmermann

bcc: ARA:CWBray
ARA:GLister
D/HA:WSpear
H:LPezzullo
INR:JBuchanan

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PAGE 01 STATE 007808
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CPR-01 NSC-05 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 /034 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/MEX:HBLANE/ARA:WHLUERS:MBB
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
ARA/EX:JTDREYFUSS
S/S-S:EDENHAM
S/S: MR. BRIDGES

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R 131656Z JAN 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY IN PART 9701416 Im/IPS/CR/IR
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PDIP, MX

SUBJECT:FAREWELL MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER TO PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING PERSONAL MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO AT APPROPRIATE TIME PRIOR TO JANUARY 20.

2. QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: AS I APPROACH THE END OF MY TERM AS SECRETARY OF STATE, THE WARM MEMORIES OF YOUR INAUGURATION ARE. FRESH IN MY MIND. WE WERE MOVED BY THE SPECIAL ATTENTION YOU SHOWED TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION IN MEXICO CITY. AND I HAVE BEEN PROFOUNDLY IMPRESSED BY THE WISDOM AND UNDERSTANDING YOU BRING TO YOUR HIGH OFFICE.

THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT YOUR TENURE AS PRESIDENT WILL SEE AN EVEN CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO

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PAGE 02 STATE 007808

COUNTRIES. THE DEEP AND EXPANDING TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES HAVE PROBABLY NOT BEEN MATCHED BY ANY TWO NATIONS IN HISTORY. THAT WE CAN BE SO CLOSE, AND YET SO PROUDLY INDEPENDENT IS A MEASURE OF THE PRAGMATIC AND OPEN QUALITIES OF OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR LEADERS.

AS YOU KNOW I HAVE GREAT AFFECTION FOR MEXICO, AND I WILL RETURN AGAIN AND AGAIN. IT IS A SOURCE OF PRIDE TO ME THAT WE HAVE SO MANY CLOSE FRIENDS THERE.

LET ME CLOSE BY WISHING YOU AND YOUR FAMILY MY MOST

SINCERE BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS AND GOOD HEALTH.

WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.
KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted] USE

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TELEGRAM

ACTION: POL
INFO: AMB
CHARGE
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[redacted] STATE 13726
Classification 1/21/77

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

R 210030Z JAN 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS
BT
[redacted] STATE 013726

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 00139 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 19 JAN 77

QUOTE [redacted] USUN 0139

DEPT. PLEASE PASS TO ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, XL, XM
SUBJECT: THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN STATES AT THE 31ST UNGA

REF: A) 76 USUN 690 B) 76 STATE 303618 C) 76 USUN 6313 D) 76 USUN 6391 E) 76 USUN 6359 F) 76 USUN 6322 G) USUN 0081

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN (LATIN) ISSUES WERE AWAY FROM CENTER-STAGE AT THE 31ST UNGA, AND WHILE THE LATINS WERE NOT KEY ACTORS, THEY PROVIDED US SOME IMPORTANT SUPPORT. FURTHERMORE, IN CONTRAST TO OTHER REGIONAL GROUPS, THE LATINS TENDED TO ABSTAIN ON POLITICAL ISSUES SENSITIVE TO US. DIVISIONS WITHIN THE LATIN GROUP BETWEEN THE HISPANICS AND THE CARIBBEAN COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS CONTINUED TO BE EVIDENT. LATIN ISSUES INCLUDED THE PANAMA CANAL, HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, BELIZE, AND THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. PUERTO RICO WAS NOT RAISED FORMALLY BUT CUBA, IN ITS STATEMENTS, ATTEMPTED TO AGITATE MATTERS. OUR REPLIES TO THE CUBANS WERE WELL RECEIVED. LATIN PERFORMANCE AT 31ST UNGA REFLECTED BOTH THE FORCE OF TRADITIONAL HEMISPHERIC RELATIONSHIPS AND WESTERN TIES, AS WELL AS ATTRACTIONS OF CLOSER IDENTIFICATION WITH THIRD WORLD. COMPETITION FOR LATIN VOTE WILL REMAIN KEEN. IN THAT CONNECTION, OUR WILLINGNESS TO SEEK PROGRESS ON CANAL ISSUE SHOULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT EFFECT WITH LATINS. END SUMMARY.

2. SUPPORT FOR US POSITIONS: WITH WITHDRAWAL OF THE KOREAN RESOLUTIONS, NO REPETITION OF THE ANTI-ZIONISM RESOLUTION, AND A GENERALLY CONCILIATORY ATMOSPHERE AT THE 31ST UNGA, LATIN SUPPORT FOR US POLITICAL POSITIONS

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Classification

OPTIONAL FORM 151
(Formerly FS-412
January 1975
Dept. of State

UNCLASSIFIED

WAS LESS EVIDENT THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS. NEVERTHELESS LATIN SUPPORT WAS SIGNIFICANT ON A RANGE OF POLITICAL ISSUES AS WELL AS SOME ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS. LATIN COSPONSORSHIP OF THE PRO-SOUTH KOREAN DRAFT RESOLUTION (10 OF 20 COSPONSORS, WITH SOME HALF-DOZEN ADDITIONAL POSITIVE VOTES ANTICIPATED) WAS AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF VOTING STRENGTH WHICH ENCOURAGED WITHDRAWAL OF THE PRO-NORTH KOREAN DRAFT WHICH HAD CUBA AS ITS ONLY LATIN COSPONSOR. ADDITIONALLY, LATINS REPRESENTED ALMOST ONE-THIRD OF THOSE VOTING WITH US AGAINST THE GUAM RESOLUTION. LATIN SUPPORT FOR WESTERN POSITIONS ALSO HELPED ACHIEVE SATISFACTORY COMPROMISES ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES, INTER ALIA: THE LIBYAN AMENDMENT TO THE GERMAN HOSTAGES RESOLUTION, A UKRANIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION CRITICAL OF US PERFORMANCE AS HOST COUNTRY, OPEC EFFORTS TO OPPOSE ADOPTION OF A NEW SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS MORE CLOSELY TO OPEC MEMBERS, AND RESOLUTIONS ON HABITAT, AND THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. AMONG THOSE WHO SOMETIMES VOTED WITH US, NICARAGUA WAS THE MOST RELIABLE, FOLLOWED BY HAITI AND URUGUAY AND THEN CHILE, COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA AND GRENADA.

3. ABSTENTIONS AND ABSENCES: A STRIKING FEATURE OF LATIN VOTING ON ISSUES OF INTEREST TO US WAS THE LARGE PERCENTAGE OF ABSTENTIONS -- PARTICULARLY IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER REGIONAL GROUPS. MOST OF THE LATINS SEE ABSTENTION AS A MEANS OF INDICATING NON-SUPPORT FOR A RESOLUTION. IF VOTES WITH US AND ABSTENTIONS ARE CONSIDERED TOGETHER, OVER HALF OF THE LATINS FREQUENTLY FELL INTO THESE TWO CATEGORIES ON ISSUES OF INTEREST TO US. FREQUENT ABSTAINERS ON SUCH ISSUES WERE THE BAHAMAS, AND EL SALVADOR, FOLLOWED BY COSTA RICA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, GUATEMALA, PARAGUAY, URUGUAY AND SURINAM. ABSENCES TOO COULD BE SIGNIFICANT IN THIS REGARD. HONDURAS HAD A LONG LEAD IN THIS RESPECT WITH GUATEMALA AND HAITI DISTANT SECONDS. ON THE UNGA VIETNAM MEMBERSHIP RESOLUTION WHICH CRITICIZED OUR VETO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, CHILE, GRENADA, GUATEMALA, HAITI, HONDURAS, PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY ALL WERE ABSENT. THE VOTE AS A WHOLE WAS: 124-1(US)-3.

4. OPPOSITION: OVERALL, HOWEVER, THE LATIN RECORD ON CONTENTIOUS ISSUES WHERE THERE WAS A FIRM NONALIGNED OR G-77 POSITION, WAS NOT ENCOURAGING. ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, THE LATIN VOTING RECORD WAS ONE OF UNIFORM

OPPOSITION. THOSE LATINS WHO WERE IN ALMOST UNIFORM OPPOSITION TO US POSITIONS, INCLUDING VOTES OF PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY TO US, INCLUDED: CUBA, JAMAICA, GUYANA, PANAMA, AND -- IN CONTRAST TO A SLIGHTLY LESS NEGATIVE RECORD LAST YEAR -- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO. AMONG THOSE SINGLING US OUT FOR GRATUITOUS CRITICISM (REFS B AND C) WERE CUBA, GUYANA, PANAMA AND PERU.

5. MAJOR UNGA POLITICAL ISSUES:

(A) SOUTHERN AFRICA: WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A FEW VOTES ON INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPHS CONDEMNING NATO OR THE US AND OTHERS AND A FEW ABSTENTIONS ON THE RESOLUTIONS CONTAINING SUCH PARAGRAPHS, THE LATIN RECORD ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS WAS ONE OF ALMOST UNIFORM SUPPORT FOR NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE AND OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AND SOUTH AFRICA. AN EXCEPTION WAS THE LATIN VOTE ON THE ISRAELI/SOUTH AFRICAN COLLABORATION RESOLUTION, WHICH MANY LATINS SAW AS A GRATUITOUS AND UNFAIR ATTACK ON ISRAEL.

(B) MIDDLE EAST (ME) ISSUES:

LATIN SUPPORT FOR PRO-ARAB POSITIONS ON THE ME REMAINED HIGH WITH, HOWEVER, SOME SLIGHT INCREASE IN ABSTENTIONS ON SOME ISSUES. ON HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL AND DIVISIVE ME RESOLUTIONS, E.G., ISRAELI/SOUTH AFRICAN COLLABORATION, THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE, AND THE OMNIBUS RESOLUTION ON THE ME SITUATION, HALF OR MORE OF THE LATINS SOMETIMES ABSTAINED AND A FEW LATINS CAST NEGATIVE VOTES. COSTA RICA WAS BY FAR THE MOST FREQUENT LATIN OPPONENT OF PRO-ARAB RESOLUTIONS, SOMETIMES OPPOSING RESOLUTIONS IN ISOLATION WITH ISRAEL. NICARAGUA FOLLOWED WITH HAITI AND GUATEMALA NEXT. BOTH BRAZIL AND MEXICO AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF OTHER LA COUNTRIES ABSTAINED ON THE ISRAEL/SOUTH AFRICA COLLABORATION AND THE OMNIBUS RES ON THE SITUATION IN THE ME.

6. LATIN DIVISION: DIVISION IN THE LA GROUP OVER LATIN ISSUES WAS EVIDENT ON THE BELIZE RESOLUTION AND THE RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE. ADDITIONALLY, THERE WAS SOMETIMES DIVISION ON ISSUES WHERE THE US WAS DIRECTLY INTERESTED. DIVISION WAS BASICALLY BETWEEN THE CARIBBEAN COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS PLUS CUBA ON THE ONE HAND AND SOME OF THE HISPANICS ON THE OTHER. ON THE BELIZE VOTE, FOR INSTANCE, OF THE LATINS, ONLY PANAMA, SURINAM AND THE CARIBBEAN COMMONWEALTH STATES PLUS CUBA SUPPORTED [redacted]

THE PRO-BELIZE RESOLUTION, WHILE THE SOLE OPPOSITION TO THE RESOLUTION WAS FROM EIGHT HISPANICS. THE TWELVE NEGATIVE VOTES ON THE RESOLUTION ENTITLED "PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE" CAME FROM ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, BRAZIL, CHILE, COSTA RICA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, PANAMA, PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY. THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEANS PLUS CUBA WERE JOINED BY COLOMBIA, MEXICO, AND VENEZUELA IN CONDEMNING CHILE. THEN, ON THE FALKLANDS, THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEANS (LESS GRENADA WHICH WAS ABSENT) WERE THE ONLY LATINS NOT TO SUPPORT THE PRO-ARGENTINE RESOLUTION. ON OTHER, NON-LATIN, ISSUES THE LINES OF DIVISION WERE LESS CLEAR. ENMOD (REF D) WAS AN ISSUE WHICH SERIOUSLY DIVIDED THE LATINS.

7. LATIN LEADERSHIP AND COORDINATION: IN THE ABSENCE OF MAJOR FOCUS ON LATIN ISSUES, AND BECAUSE OF THE SPECTRUM OF LATIN VIEWS ONPOLICIAL ISSUES, NO SINGLE LEADER EMERGED. DIFFERENT INDIVIDUALS PLAYED IMPORTANT ROLES ON DISPARATE ISSUES: MEXICO'S MARIN ON DISARMAMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, AND URUGUAY'S VIGOROUS AND ARTICULATE AMBASSADOR GIAMBRUNO ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE; (1) AMBASSADOR ILLUECA OF PANAMA WAS INFLUENTIAL DURING HIS NOVEMBER TERM AS SC PRESIDENT, BUT OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE LA GROUP. LA GROUP CHAIRMEN MAANGED SELECTION OF LA GROUP CANDIDACIES IN A USUALLY SYSTEMATIC AND RESPONSIBLE FASHION, BUT DID NOT EXERCISE LEADERSHIP ON OTHER KINDS OF QUESTIONS. AMBASSADOR ORTIZ DE ROZAS OF ARGENTINA, IN THE WINGS AS A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE CANDIDATE FOR UN SECRETARY GENERAL, SHOULD THE CANDIDACES OF WALDHEIM AND MEXICO'S EX-PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA BOTH HAVE FAILED, WAS AN ACTIVE AND RESPECTED DELEGATE BUT HE DID NOT SEEK A LEADERSHIP ROLE AMONG THE LATIN AMERICAN GROUP. (1) COUNSELLOR THOMAS OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO WAS BIGOROUS AND ABLE IN COMMITTEE V (ADMINISTRATION AND BUDGET) WHICH WAS ATYPICAL OF LATIN INVOLVEMENT IN THAT COMMITTEE;

8. LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES:
(A) THE PANAMA CANAL: PANAMA CONTINUED EFFORTS TO DEMONSTRATE WIDESPREAD INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION AND KEEP OUT NOSE TO THE NEGOTIATING GRINDSTONE. THE PANAMANIAN DELEGATION TOOK ADVANTAGE OF A NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES OF VARYING APPROPRIATENESS TO REITERATE STRONGLY -- AND SOMETIMES OFFENSIVELY -- PANAMANIAN VIEWS. FOR EXAMPLE, A FACET OF PANAMIAN PRESSURE WAS AN EFFORT TO INCLUDE A RELATIVELY CONTENTI-

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OPTIONAL FORM 151
(Formerly FS-412
January 1975
Dept. of State

OUR PARAGRAPH ON THE CANAL NEGOTIATINS IN THE RESOLUTION ON THE AMPHICTYONIC CONGRESS. HOWEVER, OPPOSITION BY BOLIVIA AND OTHER LATINS TO POLITICIZATION OF THE RESOLUTION RESULTED IN A MORE OBJECTIVE AND SHORTER REFERENCE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHERMORE, THE PANAMANIANS ACCEPTED OUR SUGGESTION TO INCLUDE AN ADDITIONAL PHRASE WHICH GAVE THE PARAGRAPH SOMEWHAT MORE BALANCE. BASED ON GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENTS AND OUR OWN CONVERSATIONS, PANAMA APPEARED TO ENJOY SUPPORT ON THE CANAL, NOT ONLY AMONG LATINS BUT AMONG THE UN MEMBERSHIP AS A WHOLE.

(B) HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE: THE PARTIALLY-SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-ATTACK LAUNCHED BY GIAMBRUNO OF URUGUAY (REF E) AND SUPPORTED BY A SIZABLE NUMBER OF HISPANICS IS WORTH REEMPHASIZING. LATIN SUPPORT FOR THE URUGUAYAN POSITION THAT THE COMMUNIST WERE DEMONSTRATING A GROSS DOUBLE-STANDARD IN SIGHTING IN SO EAGERLY ON CHILE CAME LARGELY FROM LATINS THEMSELVES CONCERNED ABOUT CRITISM OF THEIR OWN RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

(C) BELIZE: ALTHOUGH DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF BELIZE WAS SOMEWHAT BRIEFER AND LESS ACRIMONIOUS THAN LAST YEAR WITH A FEW SHIFTS IN THE VOTE THE RESOLUTION, THE NET EFFECT WSS MUCH THE SAME-- ANOTHER IMPRESSIVE EXPRESSION OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE BELIZEAN POSITION.

(D) FALKLANDS: IN CONTRAST TO THE 30TH GA WHEN THE FALKLANDS WERE NOT CONSIDERED, THIS GA WAS THE SCENE OF A REPETITION OF THE SKIRMISH OVER THE FALKLANDS PREVIOUSLY UNLEASHED IN THE COMMITTEE OF 24. AN INTERESTING ELEMENT WAS ARGENTINE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE ORTIZ DE ROZAS' CONTENTION THAT THE 1975 ICJ OPINION BUTTRESSED ARGENTINA'S ARGUMENT THAT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NOT SELF-DETERMINATION IS THE GOVERNING PRINCIPLE IN THE CASE OF THE FALKLANDS.

9. PUERTO RICO: PUERTO RICO WAS NOT RAISED FORMALLY AT THE 31ST UNGA BUT WAS REPEATED TOUCHED UPON BY CUBA IN VARIOUS STATEMENTS, SOME OF WHICH WE REPLIED TO. THE GENERAL THRUST OF THE CUBAN LINE WAS TO RE-CAPITULATE THE COMMITTEE OF 24 CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT ON PUERTO RICO. A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON OUR "STATESMANLIKE" RIGHTS OF REPLY AND

SAID THAT THE RESULTS OF THE PUERTO RICAN ELECTIONS REENFORCED OUR POSITION ON PUERTO RICO.

10. INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY ASSESSMENTS:

(A) ARGENTINA: WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE FALKLANDS AND A MODERATE LEVEL OF ACTIVITY ON DISARMAMENT ITEM S AND ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, ARGENTINA PLAYED A SMALL AND CAUTIOUS ROLE AT THIS GA, OUT OF PROPORTION TO ITS TALENTED DELEGATION.

(B) BARBADOS: IN SPITE OF THE ANTICIPATED FOREIGN POLICY LINE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND REPEATED PRO-TESTATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP BY THE NEW PERM REP, BARBADOS DID NOT VOTE WITH US ON ANY ISSUE OF IMPORTANCE TO THE US AND FREQUENTLY VOTED AGAINST US.

(C) BRAZIL: BRAZIL KEPT A LOW PROFILE DURING THE GA AND WAS ALMOST TOTALLY INACTIVE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, DEMONSTRATING ITS CONTINUING DISTANCE FROM LDC POSITIONS ON SUCH QUESTIONS. WITH THE EXCPETION OF IMPORTANT HELP ON ENMOD, BRAZIL ABSTAINED OR VOTED AGAINST US ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANT TO US.

(D) CUBA: AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS, THE CUBAN DLEL-GATIONS WAS EXTRAORDINARILY ACTIVE, USUALLY VERY EFFECTIVE AND UNIFORMLY UNHELPFUL TO US ACROSS A VERY BROAD SPECTRUM OF ISSUES. CUBAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE ALARCON, WITH TALENT AND EVIDENT RELISH, ATTACKED US IN PLENERY AND IN A VARIETY OF COMMITTEES ON ISSUES INCLUDING: "DESTABILIZATION," THE CUBANA CRASH, THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, PUERTO RICO, A MILITARY EXERCISE IN CENTRAL AMERICAN, SOUTHERN AFRICA, WEATHER MODIFICATION, AND "AGGRESSION" IN MOST CORNERS OF THE GLODE. THE CUBANS WERE ACTIVE AS A MEMBER OF THE NONALIGNED COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

(E) GUYANA: IN ADDITION TO VOTING THE WRONG WAY ON ALMOST EVERY ISSUE, THE GUYANESE DELEGATION WAS A LEADER AMONG THE NONALIGNED (REF G).

(F) MEXICO: THE MEXICAN ROLE (HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE US AND THE USSR) IN THE DISARMAMENT DEBATE (REFS D AND F) CONSTITUTED MEXICO'S MOST SIGNIFICANT

[redacted]

Classification

ACTIVITY. IN THE ECONOMIC AREA, MEXICO WAS MUCH LESS ACTIVE THAN LAST YEAR AND FAILED TO ACHIEVE ANY MAJOR SUCCESSES. MEXICO WAS NOT AGGRESSIVE ON THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES WHICH WAS BARELY MENTIONED IN G-77 RHETORIC. MEXICO'S DELEGATION WAS ACTIVE, HOWEVER, IN PROMOTING PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDACY FOR THE UN SECRETARY GENERALSHIP.

(G) PERU: PERU'S VOTING RECORD SUGGESTED NO CHANGE IN PERUVIAN FOREIGN POLICY. PERU CONTINUED TO VOTE AGAINST US OR ABSTAIN ON CONTESTED ISSUES.

(H) VENEZUELA: THE GENERALLY UNREMARKABLE PERFORMANCE OF THEVENEZUELAN DELEGATION DURING THE GA WAS PUNCTUATED MAINLY BY PRESIDENT PEREZ' HIGHLY PUBLICIZED PLENARY ADDRESS LATE IN THE SESSION.
VENEZUELA DID PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN TWO KEY ECONOMIC QUESTIONS -- CIEC AND IFAD. CIEC: CO-CHAIRMAN PEREZ-GUERRERO HELPED ACHIEVE G-77 ACCEPTANCE OF POSTPONEMENT OF THE DECEMDER CIEC MINISTERIAL MEETING. EARLIER, THE VENEZUELAN DELEGAION HAD WORKED (IN VAIN) TO MOE THE G-77 TO AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE ON THE GA RESOLUTION ON CIEC; IFAD: THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT REACHED ITS 1 BILLION DOLLAR TARGET WHEN VENEZUELA JOINED NORWAY (THE ONLY OTHER CONTRIBUTOR) IN TRANSFERRING SUFFICIENT FUNDS FROM THE MORIBUND UN SPECIAL FUND TO IFAD DESPTIE OPPOSITION FROM G-77 RADICALS.

11. CONCLUSION: PERFORMANCE OF THE TWENTY-SEVEN-MEMBER LATIN AMERICAN GROUP AT THE 31ST UNGA REFLECTED, ON THE ONE HAND, THE FORCE OF TRADITIONAL HEMISPHERIC RELATIONSHIPS AS WELL AS TIES WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES ELSEHWERE. ON THE OTHER, IT REFLECTED THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ATTRACTIONS OF CLOSER IDENTIFICATION WITH THE THIRD WORLD. OIL CONSIDERATIONS WORKED IN DIFFERENT WAYS ON DIFFERENT ISSUES, DEPENDINGON THE COUNTRY INVOLVED. ADDITIONALLY, THERE WAS SOLIDARITY WHEN AN HISPANIC COUNTRY WAS FACED WITH AN EXTERNAL ISSUE OR PRESSURE. PREDICTABLY, COMPETITION FOR THE LATIN VOTE WILL REMAIN KEEN, IN THIS CONNECTION, CONTINUED WILLINGNESS ON OUR PART TO SEEK PROGRESS ON THE CANAL ISSUE SHOULD HAVE A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT WITHIN THE LATIN AMERICAN GROUP. IT SHOULD ALSO BE EMPHASIZED THAT LATIN COLLEAGUES REMAINED MOST APPRECIATIVE OF OUR CONSULTATION.

BENNETT

UNQUOTE HABIB

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Classification

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UNCLASSIFIED (E93)

PAGE 01 MEXICO 00854 242312Z
ACTION CPR-01

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 SS-15 /023 W
----------250244Z 028888 /71

R 242302Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9867

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 6/18/97
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART 9701416
FOIA Exemptions TS authority
PA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

[redacted] MEXICO 0854

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX
SUBJ: U.S. DELEGATION TO LOPEZ PORTILLO INAUGURATION

REF: STATE 005839

PAID COPIES HOTEL BILLS TOTALLING USDOLS 3,044.59 AND RECEIPTS FOR US DOLS 263, REPRESENTING DELEGATION ATTENANCE COST AT LUNCHEON/RECEPTION IN HONOR LOPEZ PORTILL, AIRPOUCHED JANUARY 24, 1977. POUCH REGISTRY NUMBER 313534.
JOVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 030278
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 NEA-10 /023 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER
D/HA:MSPEAR (INFO)

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R 101508Z FEB 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 030278

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
~~Exemption(s)~~: DECONTROL
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF PABLO SCHMUCKLER

DECONTROL

1. RABBI ROSENTHAL OF B'NAI B'RITH HAS REQUESTED INFORMATION ON ARGENTINE NATIONAL, PABLO SCHMUCKLER, WHO REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED ON JANUARY 29 IN BUENOS AIRES.

2. HE IS THE SON OF PROFESSOR SCHMUCKLER, WHO TAUGHT FORMERLY AT UNIVERSITY OF CORDOBA. THE PROFESSOR WAS APPARENTLY LEFT OF CENTER AND EMIGRATED TO MEXICO. HE HAS CLAIMED THAT ANTI-SEMITISM PLAYED A ROLE IN HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE UNIVERSITY. HE BELIEVES HIS SON MAY HAVE BEEN DETAINED IN ORDER TO GET AT HIM. ACCORDING TO ROSENTHAL, THE FATHER MAINTAINS THAT THE SON IS NOT ACTIVE POLITICALLY.

3. ROSENTHAL IS TRYING TO CONTACT THE DAIA FOR INFORMATION ON THIS AND OTHER CASES INVOLVING JEWS.
VANCE
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PAGE 02 STATE 030278

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UNCLASSIFIED

E3752

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01311 152120Z
ACTION CU-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 USIA-06 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
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R 152010Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3459

[redacted] SANTIAGO 1311

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OEXC CI (COLONEL LAVIN, JAIME)
SUBJECT: THE LAVIN FILE

1. THE ONLY INDICATIONS THAT HAVE REACHED US HERE ON LAVIN AS A TORTURER STEM FROM A RUSSELL "TRIBUNAL" IN MEXICO OR BELGIUM, FEBRUARY 1975. THE SWEDISH CHARGE PASSED US A LIST WITH SUCH A TRIBUNAL NAMED AS THE SOURCE ON LAVIN, AND RADIO MOSCOW IS BANGING AWAY ON THE SAME THEME.

2. IT MAY BE THAT OTHER REPORTS OF LAVIN'S ALLEGED ACTIVITY DERIVE FROM THIS SAME "TRIBUNAL"." WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S SUPPLYING US WITH WHATEVER INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE AS WELL AS DEPARTMENT'S JUDGEMENT AS TO WHETHER THE RUSSELL "TRIBUNAL" WAS A SERIOUS OR AN ANTI-JUNTA PROPOGANDA EXERCISE.
BOYATT

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01389 01 OF 02 172317Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------172330 085164 /70/61

P 171955Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3504

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 1389

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FOR ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS FROM CHARGE BOYATT

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (LAVIN, JAIME)
SUBJECT: LAVIN AFFAIR

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
√Release ___Excise ___Deny √Declass
Exemption(s) _____

REF: A) STATE 33797; B) SANTIAGO 1217

1. I PERCEIVE WE HAVE YOUR ATTENTION. SERIOUSLY, WE RETURN TO THE FRAY ON THIS ONE WITH SOME DIFFIDENCE. HOWEVER, THE OPERATIONAL ISSUES AND THOSE OF PRINCIPLE ARE SO IMPORTANT THAT ANY ILLUMINATION RESULTING FROM FURTHER DIALOGUE WOULD BE WORTHWHILE. IN THE SPIRIT OF PURGING THE SOUL AND SHARPENING THE WIT, WE SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION.

2. IN OUR CONTACTS WITH THE GOC WE HAVE ARGUED THE CASE EXACTLY AS YOU DO IN REF A. IN PRESENTING THE BASIC RATIONALE FOR USG ACTIONS; THE AMBASSADOR WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL, I WITH LAVIN, AND SEVERAL OTHER OFFICERS WITY THEIR INTERLOCUTORS, HAVE MADE PRECISELY THE ARGUMENTS YOU ELABORATE IN PARAS 1 AND 4 OF REF A. REGARDING LAVIN'S ALLEGATIONS

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01389 01 OF 02 172317Z

ABOUT HIS COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY VISIT, MY RESPONSE TO HIM (PARA 3 OF REF B) CLOSELY PARALLELED YOUR COMMENTS (PARA 6, REF A). FURTHERMORE, IN ANSWER TO LAVIN'S HINTS THAT THE GOC MIGHT TIGHTEN UP ON THE PAROLE PROGRAM, I STRONGLY COUNSELLED HIM AGAINST INDULGING IN WHAT WOULD BE ESSENTIALLY AN EXERCISE IN SELF-HARM.

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3. OUR CONCERNS FOCUS ON OUR INTERNAL DIFFERENCES ABOUT THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE, I.E., PROBLEMS REMAINING AND LESSONS TO BE LEARNED, NOT THE PAST. WE ARE NOT QUARRELING WITH THE DECISION TO SEND LAVIN HOME. THE DOMESTIC/POLITICAL IMPERATIVES WERE CLEAR AS WAS THE "NO-WIN" REALITY OF THE SITUTATION. LAVIN'S CONTINUED PRESENCE WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN A BROUHAHA WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN DAMAGING TO HIM PERSONALLY AND TO US/CHILE RELATIONS. SO FAR, SO GOOD.

4. FROM THIS POINT ON THREE SERIOUS (TO US AT LEAST) PROBLEMS MUST STILL BE DEALT WITH: THE QUALITY OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S (AI) VERBAL ASSERTIONS, THE MCCARTHYIST MANNER IN WHICH AI HAS THUS FAR PROCEEDED, AND HOW THE USG DEALS WITH AI IN THIS AND SIMILAR CASES.

5. AI'S CLAIMS. TO DATE USG ACTIONS IN THE LAVIN CASE SEEM TO BE BASED IN LARGE PART ON AI'S ORAL ALLEGATIONS. THE FACT THAT AI SAYS SOMETHING IS SO DOESN'T MAKE IT SO - PARTICULARLY REGARDING A MATTER SO FRAUGHT WITH POLITICAL AND MORAL IMPLICATIONS. WE WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON AI'S CLAIMS IN THE ORDER YOU PRESENTED THEM IN PARA 2 OF REF A AS FOLLOWS:

-- AI CLAIMS PINTO'S TESTIMONY WAS GIVEN SIX MONTHS BEFORE THE LAVIN VISIT. WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE TESTI-MONY OF COLONEL PINTO WAS TAKEN SOME TIME BETWEEN [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 01389 01 OF 02 172317Z

THE 10TH AND 20TH OF JANUARY, 1977. THE MATTER COULD BE SETTLED IF AMNESTY WERE TO SUPPLY A DATED, NOTARIZED DOCUMENT;

-- PINTO'S TESTIMONY IS REPORTED AS HAVING BEEN CHECKED WITH OTHER TESTIMONY. LET AI SUPPLY THAT OTHER TESTIMONY. ARE THEY TALKING ABOUT ACCUSATIONS MADE IN A "RUSSELL TRIBUNAL?" IS THIS PARTICULAR "RUSSEL TRIBUNAL" LIKE THE VIET NAM "RUSSELL TRIBUNAL" WHICH CONDEMNED MANY DISTRINGUISHED US CITIZENS AS WAR CRIMINALS, OR, ARE THESE "OTHER REPORTS" AT LEAST PRIMA FACIE SERIOUS? LET THEM BE PRODUCED AND THEN WE CAN MAKE JUDGMENTS:

-- LAVIN'S NAME IS REPORTED TO APPEAR ON A LIST. THERE ARE PLENTY OF LISTS FLOATING AROUND REGARDING ALLEGATIONS AS TO TORTURE IN CHILE. HERE IN SANTIAGO

THE SWEDISH CHARGE GAVE US A LIST HE OBTAINED FROM SOME STUDENT GROUP IN GENEVA ON WHICH LAVIN'S NAME

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APPEARS. LAVIN'S NAME WAS PUT ON THIS LIST BECAUSE HIS NAME APPEARED IN A RUSSELL TRIBUNAL PROCEEDING. WE, ABOVE ALL, SHOULD BE SUSPICIOUS OF CHILE LISTS SINCE MANY OF OUR OWN RESPECTED COLLEAGUES APPEAR ON LISTS CLAIMING ALL SORTS OF THINGS ABOUT THE PAST IN CHILE:

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01389 02 OF 02 172318Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3505

[redacted]SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 1389

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-- THE CONFIRMING WITNESS, A SECRET WITNESS, MAY OR MAY NOT BE SERIOUS. IT IS NOT CLEAR FROM REF A WHETHER YOU SPOKE TO THIS WITNESS AND, IF SO, WHAT WERE HIS ALLEGATIONS? IS IT CARBACHO OR ANOTHER ALLENDE ACTIVIST WITH AN AXE TO GRIND? WHO IS THIS SECRET WITNESS AND HOW RELIABLE IS HE? AGAIN, LET THE ACCUSATIONS BE PUT INTO THE RECORD.

6. AI AND MCCARTHYISM. WHILE MCCARTHYISM IS A BUZZ WORD, IT IS ALSO VERY DESCRIPTIVE. IT ACCURATELY DESCRIBES THE GAME THAT AI HAS PLAYED IN THIS AFFAIR, AT LEAST TO DATE. WE CANNOT AVOID THE ISSUE BY AVOIDING THE USE OF THE WORD. IN THE EARLY '50'S SENATOR MCCARTHY WAIVED LISTS AND CLAIMED TO HAVE SWORN AFFIDAVITS WHICH WOULD PROVE THE EXISTENCE OF A NUMBER OF COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. FOR MONTHS NEITHER THE LISTS NOR AFFIDAVITS WERE PRODUCED. WHAT DID COME TO LIGHT WAS SO FULL OF STANTIAL AND HEARSAY EVIDENCE THAT IT COULD ONLY BE CHARACTERIZED AS JUNK. IN THE MEANTIME, THE ACCUSED WERE TREATED AS IF THE CASE AGAINST THEM HAD BEEN PROVED; THEY WERE FIRED FROM JOBS, ETC. IN THE LAVIN CASE AI IS WAIVING AROUND LISTS AND CLAIMING IT HAS
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 SANTIA 01389 02 OF 02 172318Z

CONDEMNING AFFIDAVITS. TO DATE THE DOCUMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN PRODUCED. MEANWHILE, LAVIN IS TREATED AS IF HE WERE GUILTY AND ASKED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

7. THE PROBLEM FOR US IS THAT AI HAS NOT EVEN PRODUCED PIECES OF PAPER WHICH PURPORT TO BE EVIDENCE. AI FORCED THE ISSUE IN SUCH A WAY AS WOULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE LAVIN PERSONALLY AND AFFECT BILATERAL RELATIONS ADVERSELY. THEY ARE BOUND TO SHOW THEIR EVIDENCE, AND THE DEPARTMENT IS BOUND TO PRESS THEM. UNTIL AI AT LEAST MAKES A PRIMA FACIE CASE, THE USG IS ASSOCIATED WITH A PROCESS THAT IS SUBJECT TO THE CHARGE OF MCCARTHYISM. WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPERATIVE FOR USG TO KEEP PUSHING AI AND WE ARE DELIGHTED THAT YOU HAVE FORMALLY ASKED AI TO PRODUCE THE EVIDENCE. IF AI DOES NOT COME THROUGH, WE BELIEVE THE DEPARTMENT IS OBLIGATED TO MAKE AN ISSUE OF IT PUBLICLY -- PERHAPS BY MEANS OF AN-OTHER LETTER TO THEM THAT WOULD BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS.

8. THE USG AND AI. USG HANDLING OF THE LAVIN CASE IS IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF HOW WE DEAL WITH AI AND SIMILAR GROUPS IN THE FUTURE. IF WE DON'T CALL AMNESTY ON THIS ONE, WHAT IS TO STOP THEM FROM PROCEEDING IN THE FUTURE IN A SIMILAR FASHION AGAINST A HOST OF CHILEAN OFFICIALS OR OFFICIALS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS

ARE NOT OBSERVED (A DEFINITION THAT TAKES IN A LOT OF TERRITORY - MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD). WE HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT AMNESTY'S GOOD INTENTIONS AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS IN MANY CASES. ON THE OTHER HAND, JUDGING FROM THEIR REPORTS AND LETTERS WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, THERE IS OFTEN AN EMOTIONAL TINT, A NAIVETE AND A BUILT-IN BIAS AGAINST THE GOC WHICH MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT WHEN DEALING WITH THEM. FOR INSTANCE, AI ASSUMES THAT A CHILEAN LEFTIST OUTSIDE OF CHILE IS A MORE RELIABLE WITNESS THAN WHEN IN THE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01389 02 OF 02 172318Z

CTUNTRY. THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY SO. THE EXPATRIOT CHILEAN, OFTEN A DEDICATED AND TOTAL POLITICAL ENEMY OF THIS REGIME, IS FREE TO SAY ANYTHING, HOWEVER UNTRUE. THIS REGIME'S FAULTS, AND THEY ARE MANY AND SERIOUS, ASIDE, THERE IS A COMMUNIST-FINANCED AND ORCHESTRATED AGITPROP CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GOC. THESE GROUPS ARE PREPARED TO SPEND MONEY (E.G., THE REPORT THAT MARXIST MONEY

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FUNNELED THROUGH CUBA FINANCED CONGRESSMAN HARRINGTON'S 1975 TRIP TO MEXICO) AND SAY ANTHING AGAINST THE GOC. OUR POINT IS THAT WE PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF OUR OWN POLICY, WE MUST HOLD AI TO A STRICT ACCOUNTING.

9. PERSONAL ASIDE FROM BOYATT TO LUERS. I WOULD LIKE TO GO OUT ON A LIMB (FAMILIAR TERRITORY) AND BET YOU A CASE OF YOUR FAVORITE BRAND THAT AI DOES NOT HAVE A PRESENTABLE CASE AGAINST LAVIN. ON THE BASIS OF MANY YEARS' EXPERIENCE WITH ZEALOTS AND SHEER INTUITION I BELIEVE THAT AI IS STALLING IN PRODUCING THEIR DOCUMENTS BECAUSE THEY JUST DON'T HAVE A GOOD CASE. HAD AI BEEN IN POSSESSION OF THE GOODS ON LAVIN, THEY WOULD HAVE PRESENTED PUBLISHABLE DOCUMENTATION TO THE NEW YORK TIMES AND WASHINGTON POST AND NAILED LAVIN WHILE HE WAS IN THE U.S.. THIS CASE GIVES OFF THE DISTINCT ODOR OF RETREAT. IF AI HAS A GOOD CASE, FINE; WE CAN PROCEED ON THAT BASIS. LET'S FIND OUT.

10. FINALLY, LET ME SAY THAT THE ABOVE ARE MY VIEWS AND THOSE OF ALL MISSION OFFICERS WHO HAVE DEALT WITH THE LAVIN AFFAIR. AMBASSADOR POPPER RETURNS SUNDAY AND MAY HAVE FURTHER COMMENTS FROM HIS OWN PERSPECTIVE. BOYATT

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URGENT UNCLASSIFIED

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

February 19,1977

To: Bill Luers

Subject: Isabel Letelier - Lavin Case

In recent days I have had several conversations with Isabel Letelier about Lavin. She says she heard his name mentioned frequently by the wives of Air Force personnel involved in the Air Force trial of 1974. They mentioned Lavin as someone who had tortured men and women. Also, when Orlando was brought from Dawson Island he was held with others in the basement of the Air Force installation where torturing was conducted. Loud rock and roll music was played continually,but screams could be heard. Orlando heard Lavin's name at that time. Furthermore, Lavin's name was mentioned at the hearings of the so-called Helsinki Tribunal, in Mexico City,in 1975. President Echeverria opened those hearings personally. Isabel intends to submit an affidavit on this.

Isabel knows three "reliable" people in the U.S. who say they were tortured by Lavin. Two of them are afraid for themselves or their families. One is preparing an affidavit for Rick Wright of Amnesty International. You should receive it soon.

Isabel returns to Geneva for the UNHRC meeting,which will include discussion of Chile. She leaves Wednesday and will probably remain about one week.

G. Lister

cc: Mr. Devine
Amb. Todman-Mr. Bray-Mr. Grunwald

UNCLASSIFIED

02/24/77 [redacted]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum UNCLASSIFIED

BNØ28

TO : Political Section

DATE: 24 FEB 77

FROM : RSO:RJKelly Ronald Kelly

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: Summary of Terrorist Activities Reported February 17-24, 1977

February 17: Two groups of persons, reportedly terrorists, robbed a total of 9 vehicles from two garages in Buenos Aires.

Two terrorists and one police officer were killed in a gunbattle in Ezpeleta, approximately 20 kms south of Buenos Aires.

Bomb was thrown from a vehicle at the intersection of Cordoba and Gran Canaria. Two workers of the Roca RR station were injured.

February 18: At approximately 0130 hrs, 9 terrorists, one of whom was a woman, were shot and killed by the police in an area between Pinto & Lujano Streets in Buenos Aires. Newspaper reports reflect that this shoot out was approximately 1 1/2 hrs duration.

At approximately 0835 hrs, a remote control bomb was detonated in Aeroparque at approximately the same time the President's plane was departing for Bahia Blanca. Police speculate that the explosive device was to have exploded as the President's plane taxied past it on the runway. However, due to the plane's light load, it did not utilize the full runway and was airborne prior to passing over the area in which the bomb was planted. The President and his party were not injured. Police also deactivated a second explosive device a short distance from the first.

Two armed persons entered a local garage and robbed two vehicles.

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UNCLASSIFIED

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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20/185

February 18: (cont) During the evening, incendiary devices were placed inside buses at several locations in Buenos Aires. Police alerted all patrol cars to pay particular attention to bus terminals.

A bomb exploded at Mexico and Virrey Cebellos causing material damage but no personal injuries. This is the residence of an Air Force intelligence service officer.

February 20: Four armed men in a Ford Falcon vehicle placed a bomb which exploded shortly after their departure at Cucha Cucha 300. Police set up traffic control road blocks but were unsuccessful in apprehending anyone.

February 22: Three terrorists engaged in a shoot out with Federal Police officers at Lafuente and F. Rivera. They escaped towards the Villa Soldati RR Station where one of the terrorists was apprehended. Police using helicopters and radio motor patrol re-engaged the two remaining terrorists at another location. One of the terrorists was captured; the other apparently escaped.

Two persons driving a Fiat 125 open fire with automatic weapons at police personnel at the location of Acevedo & Cabrera. The two men escaped and no policemen were injured.

At approximately 5:30 p.m. there was an explosion in a Japanese cargo ship anchored at dock F-5 in a military zone. Extent of damage is unknown.

February 24: Local press reported that Ana Marie Gonzalez, teenage terrorist who murdered Federal Police Chief Cesaro Cardozo, was killed in a confrontation with security forces in the first week of January.

MASSACHUSETTS

2/28/77

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

ALØ46

February 28, 1977

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2000000)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part* ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

The Honorable
Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Secretary:

At the outset, let me express my hope that your recent trip to the Middle East has provided some support for an expectation of progress in that key region. Also, I want to emphasize, as I did recently in the Senate, my pleasure at the initial statements and actions that you and the President have made on the importance of human rights considerations in the forumulation and implementation of our foreign policy. You will have my full support for this effort. I was particularly pleased to see the initial steps taken with regard to the military assistance program.

Following up particularly your statement with regard to Argentina and the violation of human rights there that justified the proposed reduction in military assistance, I would like to suggest consideration of additional steps with regard to that country.

A brief history is that as Chairman of the Senate Refugee Subcommittee, I strongly supported the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees in his efforts to assure the protection of foreign political refugees in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. We also have worked closely with the International Red Cross in each of those countries along with other human rights organizations.

After lengthy delay, our pressure on the Administration ultimately produced, in 1975, a special parole program in Chile and in Argentina and Peru for political refugees from Chile, later extended to other refugees in Argentina.

80D177
Box 4855

It did not include Argentine nationals. Given the condition of human rights in Argentina, as evidenced by your own actions, I would hope that you would consider extending the current program to include Argentine nationals in Argentina.

In further support of the serious nature of the situation in Argentina, I am enclosing the attached letter to me from the Argentine Commission for Human Rights, signed by Olga Talamante, a US citizen who herself was imprisoned and tortured in Argentina. I am also including a list of individuals who appear to be without political terrorist backgrounds who remained detained. I also would like to stress the fact that some ex-parliamentarians, such as former Senator Solari Irigoyen, also are detained. A lawyer who was arrested with Dr. Solaria Irigoyen, Dr. Mario Abel Amaya, died in prison. Both had been among the few attorneys willing to defend political prisoners. Hopefully, we also might support the Mexican government in its efforts to obtain Argentine government permission for former President Campora to leave the Mexican Embassy, where he sought refuge, to obtain asylum in Mexico.

I believe, as you expressed, that the situation in Argentina justifies continuing US concern and reiteration of the importance of human rights considerations in our bilateral relationship. In addition to requesting of the Argentina government their collaboration with a parole program, let me suggest that the currently available, but not released, funding for FY '77 of some $48 million in military sales assistance for Argentina might well be withheld on human rights grounds. There might appear to be a conflict if on the one hand, the new Administration reduced the level of planned assistance for next year, but released three times that amount a few weeks later --- without a very significant reversal of the human rights situation.

Similarly, I would hope that an effort would be made to insure that the object of reducing our military support to Argentina will not be undercut by any sudden spurt of commercial arms sales, which require license approval.

Looking forward to your assistance in this matter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy

[redacted] SECRET UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01591 01 OF 02 282010Z

EXCISE 3773

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3614

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 1591

NODIS DECAPTIONED

EYES ONLY

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release _V_Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) B1, B3

FOR ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS ARA FROM POPPER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4
TAGS: OVIP (LAVIN, JAIME)
SUBJECT: THE LAVIN AFFAIR

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (S) Downgrade to ___
Date 1/23/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

REF: A) STATE 43161; B) SANTIAGO 3603

1. YOUR TELEGRAM IS A SAD COMMENTARY ON THE POISONOUS ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING WASHINGTON CONSIDERATION OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM, AND THE SUSPICIONS WHICH IT HAS CREATED. I AM STRUCK BUT NOT SURPRISED BY YOUR STATEMENT THAT MARK SCHNEIDER (LET ALONE CARBACHO) BELIEVES THAT "THE CHILEANS MUST HAVE LEARNED FROM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT THAT CARBACHO AND HIS WIFE INFORMED SENATOR KENNEDY THEY KNEW LAVIN AS A TORTURER".

2. YOUR CABLE INDICATES THAT THEIR SUSPICION EXTENDS TO THIS EMBASSY. IN THE STRICTEST TERMS THIS COULD NOT BE SO, SINCE NO MEMBER OF THIS EMBASSY HAD EVER PREVIOUSLY HEARD THAT SENATOR KENNEDY HAD RECEIVED ANY INFORMATION FROM CARBACHO ON THIS CASE.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 01591 01 OF 02 282010Z

3. BUT YOUR QUESTIONS GO TO A BROADER POINT: HOW COULD THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT HAVE LEARNED OF CARBACHO'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST LEVIN? COULD THE EMBASSY HAVE BEEN A SOURCE FOR IT?

4. CARBACHO WAS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL DEFENDANTS AT THE AIR FORCE TRIAL. HE WAS ONE OFONLY 5 FACH TRIAL PRISONERS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES ON PAROLE. HIS FAMILY HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN CONGRESSIONAL CIRCLES IN WASHINGTON. THUS, IT WOULD BE NATURAL FOR A KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSON TO ASSUME THAT HE AND HIS WIFE MIGHT HAVE BEEN A

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SOURCE OF THE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST LAVIN. THAT IS WHY I STATED IN SANTIAGO 1569 THAT I THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THAT THIS EMBASSY WAS THE SOURCE. WITHOUT REVEALING WHY, I HAVE THIS MORNING CAREFULLY QUESTIONED THE FEW PEOPLE INVOLVED WITHIN THIS EMBASSY ON DISCUSSIONS THEY MAY HAVE HAD CONCERNING THE LAVIN CASE, WITH ANY CHILEANS AND EVEN IN THIS OFFICE. I HAVE REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT NO ONE HERE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONNECTION THE GOC MAKES BETWEEN CARBACHO AND THE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST LAVIN.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, I HAVE DONE SOME FURTHER RESEARCH ON THIS MATTER. I THINK I CAN TELL YOU HOW THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT LEARNED OF THE CARBACHO INVOLVEMENT.

6. YOU MUST REALIZE THAT IN THE MURKY CONFLICT BETWEEN SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS OF THE JUNTA, EACH SIDE HAS PENETRATED THE OTHER'S ORGANIZATIONS. WE MONITOR RADIO MOSCOW'S DAILY PROGRAM, "ESCUCHE, CHILE", AND FREQUENTLY FIND THERE BITS OF INFORMATION WHICH SHOW A SURPRISING DEGREE OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT INSIDE JUNTA ACTIVITIES. AT THE SAME TIME, WE FREQUENTLY LEARN FROM SENSITIVE SOURCES THAT DINA IS AU COURANT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ANTI-JUNTA COMMUNITY, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE CHILE. SO IT WOULD NOT BE AT ALL SURPRISING IF THE GOC HAD PICKED UP WORD OF CARBACHO'S

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 01591 01 OF 02 282010Z

INVOLVEMENT THROUGH SUCH MEANS.

7. IN FACT, HOWEVER, THERE IS AN EVEN SIMPLER EXPLANATION. ASIDE FROM JACK ANDERSON'S TV COMMENTS JANUARY 24, THE LAVIN CASE BROKE PUBLICLY ABOUT JANUARY 29. ON JANUARY 31 MOSCOW RADIO WAS DESCRIBING THE LAVIN AFFAIR AS A SHARP DIPLOMATIC DEFEAT FOR PINOCHET. ACCORDING TO THAT BROADCAST, RETIRED CHILEAN AIR FORCE GENERAL SERGIO POBLETE HAD NAMED LAVIN DURING THE MEXICO "INQUIRY" OF 1975 AS A TORTURER OF HIS EX-AIR FORCE COLLEAGUES. THE BROADCAST CONTINUES: "ON THE BASIS OF RELIABLE INFORMATION, WE STATE THAT COMMANDANTE JAIME LAVIN FARINA PERSONALLY TORTURED THE WIVES OF THE "CONSTITUTIONALIST" OFFICERS CAPTAIN CARLOS CARBACHO AND LT HUMBERTO FRIAS". ONE NEED NOT LOOK ANY FURTHER TO EXPLAIN DINA'S INVOLVEMENT WITH MRS CARBACHO'S PARARTS.

8. I AM EQUALLY CERTAIN THAT NO ONE IN THIS EMBASSY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT'S INFORMATION REGARDING AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S CONNECTION WITH THE CASE. THE WASHINGTON POST OF JANUARY 29 CITES "TESTIMONY BY FORMER PRISONERS PRESENTED IN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS" AS A SOURCE FOR THE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST LAVIN. FURTHER, A STORY IN THE NEW YORK TIMES JANUARY 30 MENTIONS PROTESTS AGAINST LAVIN'S VISIT FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONL AS WELL AS OTHER ORGANIZATIONS. THIS ARTICLE ALSO

DESCRIBED COLONEL MIRANDA PINTO AS AN ACCUSER OF LAVIN. THESE ARE THE SOURCES MENTIONED IN YOUR FEBRUARY 15 CABLE (STATE 33797). THE GOC DID NOT NEED TO LEARN OF THEM FROM THIS EMBASSY, AND IT DID NOT.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01591 02 OF 02 282020Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3615

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 1591

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9. NOW LET ME COME BACK TO THE EMBASSY'S ROLE. TOM BOYATT MENTIONED CARBACHO IN HIS CABLE SIMPLY BECAUSE, AS INDICATED ABOVE, CARBACHO WAS AN OBVIOUS POSSIBLE SOURCE OF THE ALLEGATIONS. NOBODY HERE CONVEYED SUCH INFORMATION TO ANY GOC REPRESENTATIVE. NOBODY MENTIONED THE NAME OVER THE TELEPHONE. ONE MEMBER CASUALLY MENTIONED TO LAVIN THE NAMES OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND COLONEL MIRANDO PINTO, WHICH HAD APPEARED IN THE PRESS REPORTS CITED ABOVE.

10. I HOPE THE FOREGOING WILL ENABLE YOU TO PUT MARK SCHNEIDER'S MIND AT REST. PLEASE TELL HIM THAT ON JANUARY 31 RADIO MOSCOW HAD DISCLOSED MRS CARBACHO'S CONNECTION WITH THE CASE.

11. NOW TO THE FINAL POINT: HOW CAN WE PROTECT MRS CARBACHO'S FAMILY. I SUGGEST THAT WE LET THE GOC KNOW WE ARE AWARE OF THE CASE, AND THAT IF ANYTHING HAPPENS TO THE PARENTS THERE WILL BE AN OUTCRY. THE CHILEANS MAY DENY THAT THEY EVER APPROACHED THE PARENTS. BUT THEY WILL BE ON NOTICE, IN ANY EVENT.

[redacted]

13. SINCE THIS CABLE IS ALREADY TOO LONG, I WILL NOT COMMENT HERE ON YOUR ILLUMINATING DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND THE DEPARTMENT. I WILL ONLY SAY THAT I HAVE NO DOUBT OF THEIR SINCERITY. I HOPE THAT UNDER THE NEW GUIDELINES SET BY THIS ADMINISTRATION, A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST CAN BE ESTABLISHED. FOR MY PART, I WILL ALWAYS BE READY TO CONSULT WITH THEIR REPRESENTATIVES -- AS I HAVE ON OCCASION DONE IN THE PAST.
POPPER

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01746 01 OF 02 051516Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 MCT-01 INR-07 CIAE-00 /020 W
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R 042022Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9444

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 1746

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ASEC, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

1. SUMMARY: THE AMBASSADOR HAS REQUESTED RSO TO PREPARE AND SUBMIT TO SY AND ARA A WEEKLYSUMMARY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN BUENOS AIRES THAT COME TO OUR ATTENTION. THE FOLLOWING REPORTS COVER THE WEEKS FROM FEB. 10 THRU MAR. 3. DEPT. SHOULD REALIZE THAT THESE ARE FRAGMENTED REPORTS AND CANNOT IN ALL CASES BE FURTHER CONFIRMED. THEY DO NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT ALL OF THE TERRORIST OR COUNTER-TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN BUENOS AIRES.

2. FEB. 10: FOUR PERSONS IDENTIFIED AS TERRORISTS STOLE DOCUMENTS FROM THE CIVIL REGISTRY OFFICE. FOUR TERRORISTS ROBBED DRUGSTORE AND ESCAPED IN A STOLEN VEHICLE. A MILITARY PATROL CHECKING PASSENGERS ON A BUSLINE WAS SHOT BY AN UNKNOWN PERSON WHO WAS LATER IDENTIFIED AS A MEMBER OF THE MONTONEROS.

FEB. 11: THERE WERE 3BOMB ATTACKS AGAINST AUTOMOBILE AGENCIES AND 5 OTHER REPORTED BOMB INCIDENTS. PEDRO ALBERT LOMBARDERO, EXECUTIVE OF A METALLURGICAL ENTERPRISE, WAS ASSASSINATED WHEN HIS VEHICLE WAS INTERCEPTED BY OTHER VEHICLES.

FEB. 12: FEDERAL POLICE OPERATION CENTER INFORMED ALL PERSONNEL THAT DUE TO INFORMATION RECEIVED CONCERNING A PLANNED SERIES OF

[redacted]

[redacted]

DECONT

TERRORIST ATTACKS AND BOMB THREATS, ALL POLICE ELEMENTS MUST

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
~~Exemption(s)~~: DECONTROL
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade

MAINTAIN PARTICULAR VIGILANCE. SIX EXPLOSIONS WERE REGISTERED NEAR THE LIGHT AND POWER HOTEL. OSCAR SMITH, FORMER SECRETARY LIGHT AND POWER UNION, WAS KIDNAPPED SHORTLY AFTER HE DEPARTED HIS RESIDENCE.

FEB. 15; POLICE AND MILITARY ELEMENTS WERE ENGAGED IN A 4-HOUR FIREFIGHT WITH TERRORISTS IN THE BELGRANO SECTION OF BUENOS AIRES. ONE POLICEMEN WAS KILLED, 6 SERIOUSLY INJURED; 2 TERRORISTS KILLED AND ONE CAPTURED. IN COMPLETING THIS ACTION, POLICE DISCOVERED A TERRORIST FIRST AID STATION AND NUMBEROUS MILITARY AND POLICE UNIFORMS, AS WELL AS WEAPONS.

FEB. 16; TERRORIST ELEMENTS FIRED AT FEDERAL POLICE PATROL CAR. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS AND THE ATTACKERS ESCAPED.

FEB. 17: TWO GROUPS OF PERSONS, REPORTEDLY TERRORISTS, ROBBED A TOTAL OF 9 VEHICLES FROM TWO GARGAGES IN BUENOS AIRES. TWO TERORIRSTS AND ONE POLICE OFFICER WERE KILLED IN A GUNBATTLE IN EZPELETA, APPROXIMATELY 20 KMS SOUTH OF BUENOS AIRES. BOMB WAS THROWN FROM A VEHICLE AT THE INTERSECTION OF CORDOBA AND GRAN CANARIA. TWO WORKERS OF THE ROCA RR STATION WERE INJURED.

FEB. 18: AT APPROIXIMATELY 0130 HRS. 9 TERRORISTS, ONE OF WHOM WAS A WOMAN, WERE SHOT AND KILLED BY POLICE IN AN AREA BETWEEN PINTO AND LUJANO STS. IN BUENOS AIRES. NEWSPAPER REPORTS REFLECT THAT THIS SHOOT OUT WAS APPRIXIMATELY 1 1/2 HRS DURATION. AT APPROXIMATELY 0835 HRS, A REMOTE CONTROL BOMB WAS DETONATED IN AEROPARQUE AT APPROXIMATELY THE SAME TIME THE PRESIDENT'S PLANE WAS DEPARTING FOR BAHIA BLANCA. POLICE SPECULATE THAT THE EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS TO HAVE EXPLODED AS PRES. VICELA'S PLANE TAXIED PAST IT ON THE RUNWAY. HOWEVER, DUE TO THE PLANE'S LIGHT LOAD, IT DID NOT UTILIZE THE FULL RUNWAY AND WAS AIRBORNE PRIOR TO PASSING OVER THE AREA IN WHICH THE BOMB WAS PLANTED. THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY WERE NOT INJURED. POLICE ALSO DEACTIVATED A SECOND EXPLOSIVE DEVICE A SHORT DISTANCE FROM THE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 01746 01 OF 02 051516Z

FIRST. TWO ARMED PERSONS ENTERED A LOCAL GARAGE AND ROBBED TWO VEHICLES. DURING THE EVENING, INCENDIARY DEVICES WERE PLACED INSIDE BUSES AT SEVERAL LOCATIONS IN BUENOS AIRES. POLICE ALERTED ALL PATROL CARS TO PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO BUS TERMINALS. A BOMB EXPLODED AT MEXICO AND VIRREY CABELLOS CAUSING MATERIAL DAMAGE BUT NO PERSONAL INJURIES. THIS IS THE RESIDENCE OF AN

Case Number: 200000044

AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE OFFICER.

FEB. 20: FOUR ARMED MEN IN A FORD FALCON VEHCILE PLACED A BOMB WHICH EXPLODED SHORTLY AFTER THEIR DEPARTURE AT CUCHA CUCHA 300. POLICE SET UP TRAFFICE CONTROL ROAD BLOCKS BUT WERE UNSUCCESSFUL IN APPREHENDING ANYONE.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 01746 02 OF 02 051440Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 MCT-01 INR-07 CIAE-00 /020 W
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R 042022Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9445

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 1746

FEB. 22: THREE TERRORISTS ENGAGED IN A SHOOT OUT WITH FEDERAL POLICE OFFICERS AT LAFUENTE AND F.RIVERA. THEY ESCAPED TOWARDS THE VILLA SOLDATI RR STATION WHERE ONE OF THE TERRORISTS WAS APPREHENDED. POLICE USING HELICOPTERS AND RADIO MOTOR PATROL RE-ENGAGED THE TWO REAMINING TERRORISTS AT ANOTHER LOCATION. ONE OF THE TERRORISTS WAS CAPTURED; THE OTHER APPARENTLY ESCAPED. TWO PERSONS DRIVING A FIAT 125 OPEN FIRE WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS AT POLICE PERSONNEL AT LOCATION OF ACEVEDO AND CABRERA. THE TWO MEN ESCAPED AND NO POLICEMEN WERE INJURED. AT APPROXIMATELY 5:30 P.M. THERE WAS AN EXPLOSION IN A JAPANESE CARGO SHIP ANCHORED AT DOCK F-5, IN MILITARY ZONE. EXTENT OF DAMAGE IS UNKNOWN.

FEB. 24: LOCAL PRESS REPORTED THAT ANA MARIA GONZALEZ, TEENAGE TERRORIST WHO MURDERED FEDERAL POLICE CHIEF CESAREO CARDOZO, WAS KILLED IN A CONFRONTATION WITH SECURITY FORCES IN THE FIRST WEEK OF JANUARY. ARGENTINE ARMY PERSONNEL ENGAGED IN A SHOOT OUT WITH TWO TERRORISTS AT PARRAL AND YERBAL STS. THE TERRORISTS A MAN AND A WOMAN, ESCAPED THE SCENE. THE MAN APPARENTLY WAS WOUNDED IN THE LEG.

FEB. 25: A MEMBER OF THE GERMAN EMBASSY WAS KIDNAPPED, ROBBED AND HELD HOSTAGE FOR SEVERAL HOURS AND WAS RELEASED UNHURT. THE KIDNAPPERS CLAIMED TO BE MONTONEROS BUT POLICE SPECULATED

THAT THEY WERE CRIMINALS. A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL EXPLODED AT A CAR AGENCY AT BARTOLOME MITRE 3200, CAUSING MINOR FIRE DAMAGE. SEVERAL TERRORISTS ATTEMPTED TO ENTER THE MUNICIPAL POLICE CLINIC [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01746 02 OF 02 051440Z

LOCATED AT ACOYTE AND AVELLANEDA, CARRYING A SUSPICIOUS PARCEL. WHEN THE POLICE ATTEMPTED TO INVESTIGATE, THE TERRORISTS OPENED FIRE AGAINST THEM. TERRORIRSTS WERE SUPPORTED IN THEIR ESCAPE BY SEVERAL OTHER PERSONS WHO THREW HAND GRENADES TO COVER THEIR EXCAPE.

FEB. 26: TWO ARMED MEN ATTACKED A POLICEMAN AND CONFISCATED HIS WEAPON AND STOLE A VEHICLE AT IRIGOYEN AND CAMINO DE CINTURA IN SAN JUSTO, WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES.

FEB. 28: PLICE CONFISCATED WEAPONS AND PRINTING MATERIAL LOCATED AT MAYO AND FRAGATA SARMIE. DURING THIS OPERATION A TERRORIST WAS KILLED.

MAR. 1: EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS DETONATED AT ROSALES 3019, OLIVOS, NEAR AN ISRAELI SCHOOL. THERE WAS MATERIAL DAMAGE. THERE WAS A SHOOT OUT BETWEEN TERRORISTS AND MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES AT BOULOGNE SUR MER AND LAVALLE STS. IN WHICH TWO POLICE OFFICERS WERE INJURED AND ONE TERRORIST WAS KILLED.

MAR. 2: A PARCEL APPEARING TO BE A BOMB WAS DISCOVERED AT THE TELEPHONE COMPANY OFFICES AT CORRIENTES AND MAIPU. HOWEVER, AFTER EXAMINATION IT WAS LEARNED THAT THE PACKAGE WAS A DECOY.

3. IN RECENT MEETINGS WITH FEDERAL POLICE AUTHORITIES, THEY HAVE STATED THAT THE TERRORIST SITUATION WOULD BE SOLVED OVER THE LONG HAUL AND THAT THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE MONTONEROS AND PARTICULARLY OF THE ERP HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY WEAKENED. HOWEVER, THE TERRORISTS STILL HAVE THE POWER TO STRIKE WITH FORCE SPORADICALLY AT SELECTED TARGETS AND POLICE HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE INCREASE IN BOMBING ATTACKS. THE PRIME OBJECTIVE REMAINS TO UNDERMINE AND EMBARRASS THE ARGENTINE GOVT. SOURCES WARN THAT IN THIS CONNECTION A KIDNAPPING OR ATTACK ON A DIPLOMAT WOULD CREATE A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR THE GOA, PARTICULARLY IF THE PERSON CONCERNED WAS A U.S. DIPLOMAT. CONSEQUENTLY, SOURCES ADVISED THAT MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY REMAIN ALERT AND APPREHENSIVE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 01746 02 OF 02 051440Z

TO THE TERRORIST THREAT.
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

3/8/77 Delivered to Min. Esp. Affairs North American Office Mr. Stone R

DD113

No. 89

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship of the Argentine Republic and has the honor to refer to Embassy Notes No. 25 dated January 27, 1977, No. 367 dated December 23, 1976 and No. 310 dated October 21, 1976 concerning the death of an American citizen Mrs. Chris Anne Olson de Oliva. Mrs. Oliva was killed by Argentine Security Forces in Cordoba on October 19, 1976.

As pointed out in previous notes, the Department of State in Washington continues to receive inquiries in the United States from the family of Mrs. Oliva regarding the circumstances surrounding her death.

The Embassy is in receipt of a telegram from the Department of State dated March 2, 1977 instructing the Embassy to raise the matter again with the Government of Argentina.

It would accordingly be appreciated if the Ministry would provide the information requested as promptly as possible in order that the Embassy may report to the Department of State.

The Embassy takes this opportunity to reiterate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship of the Argentine Republic the assurances of its highest consideration.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BUENOS AIRES, March 4, 1977

CONS:GOHuey:dr
x 110 3-4-77
POL:AFreeman

DCM:MChaplin

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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22/185

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

S/S /

(H114) D/5
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[redacted]

March 8, 1977

TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: P - Mr. Habib

FROM: ARA - William H. Luers, Acting
S/P - Anthony Lake

Transmission of PRM/NSC-17 -- Review of United States Policy Toward Latin America

Issue for Decision

Your approval of the response to PRM/NSC-17 -- Review of United States Policy Toward Latin America.

Recommendation:

That you approve the attached Borg-Brzezinski memorandum transmitting the response to PRM/NSC-17.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Borg-Brzezinski memorandum transmitting the response to PRM/NSC-17

Drafted: ARA Staff: S/P Staff
x20527:3/8/77

Concurrence: D - Lynn Pascoe

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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GDS

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I. Background and Setting

Human rights violations are widespread in Latin America. The worst present offenders include Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Cuba. Nicaragua, Paraguay, El Salvador and Guatemala are receiving increasing attention. Brazil has a high public profile but we judge the situation there to be improving. Mexico is often mentioned for mistreatment of U.S. drug offenders, and Haiti in connection with refugees here.

The human rights issue, in its present form, is a new one for United States foreign policy. But the issue has old roots. To some extent, there is a clash between traditional U.S. values (which emphasize the rights of individual humans above all) and those of Latin America (which subordinate individual rights to the collective good, as expressed by government). In all Latin countries, military and police establishments have traditionally had greater freedom of action than in this country.

Some of the abuses of the last decade, however, have been unacceptable by any set of values. To make the situation more uncomfortable for us, the worst human rights violators--excluding Cuba--are countries traditionally close to the United States. Governments in these countries feel genuinely threatened by leftist insurgencies and by "international communism." The feeling of threat is understandable: these countries have in fact faced guerrilla movements of dimensions that far exceed anything within our experience. When a political system sees its basic survival threatened, it is willing to give up anything else--including the goodwill of the U.S.--to win.

In recent months, in the wake of growing Congressional pressures, the United States has given more consistent priority to human rights issues in foreign policy. Much of our leverage has already been used. Congress has limited economic aid to Chile and effectively banned military assistance and sales. Secretary Vance has announced that Foreign Military Sales credits would be reduced for Argentina and eliminated for Uruguay. We have cut FMS programs for various countries. We have voted against an Inter-American Development Bank loan for Chile and told other governments that their human rights performance might affect our votes.

We have now discussed human rights privately with all Hemisphere governments (except Cuba's). We have recently and repeatedly expressed urgent concern to the worst offenders. We have worked to strengthen the Human Rights Commission of the OAS.

Internal weaknesses in our performance have included clientism and conscious or unconscious identification with friendly regimes. Part of this weakness reflects a desire to avoid cutoffs of programs which will help us to exert a salutary influence.

Results of our pressures are, of course, impossible to measure precisely. We are convinced that our pressure has had effect, at least in countries where the guerrilles have already been defeated. (Argentina has the only insurgency of major proportions. There are smaller guerrilla groups elsewhere. Several countries have continued abuses long after the threat seems to us to have disappeared.)

Our pressures have had their costs. We do not consider these costs out of proportion. The two major ones are these:

-- Our relations with the right-wing regimes (which dominate South America below the Caribbean littoral) are far more strained than our public realizes. We have for some months been concerned by trends toward formation of a bloc of conservative countries. Such a bloc would be highly divisive in the hemisphere. On the other hand, we think that the public in these countries is much more attracted than governments to the new U.S. emphasis on values in foreign policy.

-- Some Latins--and not all of them right-wingers--have accused us of raising a fuss about "human rights" in order to provide a sop for our conscience while we go on as the world's greatest resource gluttons. "Economic rights," this line goes, are far more important to the Latin people than what we are pushing. We do not accept the suggestion that the sanctity of the person is less important than economic development. The accusation that we undervalue "economic rights" does, however, hit home.

In addition, the human rights issue is linked to many of our specific interests in the hemisphere. Rough measures have been taken to protect American tourists and officials. Our narcotics programs have led to repressive measures affecting both local and American citizens. Putting it the other way around, at least one government has let us know that additional pressure on human rights will affect its ability to cooperate in narcotics enforcement.

All of the following options are based on the assumption that we have the following minimum objectives:

-- To do what we can to eliminate human-rights abuses.

-- Where abuses continue despite our efforts, to make clear to the world public that we disapprove and should not be identified with the abuses.

-- To provide encouragement and (where we can) concrete support for governments that have good human-rights records.

-- To be impartial as between Cuban and right-wing regimes.

-- To accomplish the foregoing objectives while simultaneously advancing other U.S. foreign policy interests.

II. Issues and Options

1. A Single Standard For All Countries?

Should we have a single standard for measuring human rights violations in any country, whether in Latin America or Africa, sophisticated Chile or primitive Haiti?

Option A: Yes. If we define human rights in terms of torture, murder and arbitrary arrest (see Issue 2 below), we can establish a standard so basic that we can expect any country to observe it.

Option B: No. We must expect something more from Pinochet than from Idi Amin--or Brezhnev--if only because we have more responsibility for the Chilean situation, and more leverage to change it. We must also expect more

from Chile than from Haiti, because Chile has a long history of respect for human rights. And we must expect more from Chile than neighboring Argentina, because Argentina faces a violent insurgency while Chile has no visible problem.

Option A, clearly, has maximum ideological appeal. Some Congressmen and members of the public prefer this approach. It might be workable if we defined "human rights" very tightly. The effects of a rigid standard would be more noticeable in Latin America than in most other regions, since some of the least developed countries in the hemisphere are heavily dependent on us.

But Option B would be far more feasible in practice, allowing us to make important judgments on a range of issues and values. There would be costs to our other interests, but the costs would not be so high, and the world public would probably perceive the outcome as more fair. We could stay with Option B, whereas the rigid Option A might soon founder on shoals like Haiti: small, friendly, dependent on us, trying to improve, but in the Middle Ages.

Under either option, we should be aware of the risk that we will be seen to use muscle in the Americas that we would not dare use elsewhere.

2. Emphasize basic human rights or broader civil rights?

Traditionally, we have promoted broad civil/political rights in Latin America rather than basic human rights. Latin abuses, and a different level of awareness here, have forced a change in our approach. What rights shall we emphasize in the future?

The question of defending the "priority" human rights remains one for policy. It is not an easy decision.

Option A: Top priority to basic human rights. While we prize democracy and prefer to deal with its practitioners, we recognize that we cannot force our system on others. But we insist on respect for basic human rights, such as the right not to be tortured, murdered or arbitrarily imprisoned. We believe such rights transcend national boundaries.

Option B: There is no sharp dividing line between "basic" and "civil" rights. While we recognize that we cannot force our system on others, we make clear by high-level attention and appropriate programs that countries with democratic systems get along much better with us.

The American public and Congress are now most concerned about basic rights. Option A responds. We have argued that such rights transcend national sovereignty--a key phrase, because it implies that other rights may not transcend national frontiers. If we direct our big guns only at abuses of basic rights, we can argue that we are not "intervening in the sovereign rights of states"--a treasured Latin value. And we maximize our chances of accomplishing something by narrowing our focus. We need not give up our interest in broader political and civil rights, but we can pursue this interest at a different level.

In favor of Option B, it is a fact that democracy and the more basic rights are closely related. There are only a few authoritarian regimes that respect human rights. Democracy provides visible means to claim basic rights, to defend them, and to change governments which do not respect them. Thus any dividing line between basic rights and broader political rights must be controversial. Neither the U.N. nor the OAS declarations on human rights draw any dividing line.

3. How to Respond to Abuses?

When we have decided that there is an abuse to which we should react, we must still decide how to accomplish our ends. There are two extreme options that, in practice, are almost out of the question. One is to let serious abuses pass with no effect on our relations. (Our public would not allow this even if we liked it.) The other is to treat human rights as the only issue in our relations. (Our other interests in Latin America are usually diverse, sometimes important, and frequently represented by vocal groups in this country.)

We are left with only one viable strategic option: to respond as effectively and appropriately as we can to serious abuses. But a great many tactics are available. We present them below as an illustrative continuum, ranging from relatively mild and traditional steps upward to overt, punitive measures. These are examples, not a definitive list.

-- Unpublicized diplomatic approaches by our Ambassador.

-- Concerted efforts, through exchange programs and social contacts, to encourage people who defend human rights and to identify ourselves with them.

-- Support investigations through the U.N. and OAS human rights commissions.

-- Warnings by our Ambassador that relations may be seriously damaged if abuses continue. Concerted parallel warnings by other personnel of all agencies at the embassy to military, police, intelligence, and other official contacts. Indications of specific steps needed to avoid damage to relations.

-- Reductions of programs, staffs, and symbols that tend to identify us with the government in question.

-- Open denunciations of human-rights abuses.

-- Termination of all programs, loans, and exchanges that support the government or appear to constitute an endorsement of it.

-- Reduction of embassy to small staff aimed only at maintaining formal diplomatic relations.

The stronger steps would have an impact on other U.S. interests. Actual decisions, therefore, will inevitably be taken on a case-by-case basis. This paper makes no attempt to discuss the pros and cons.

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Most of the above steps would create some resentments. It follows that when a government responds to our pressure by improving human rights, we should acknowledge the change by sending prompt positive signals. Otherwise our diplomacy would be all stick and no carrot.

4. Multilateral or Bilateral Approach?

This is a question of tactics, and the options are not exclusive. We shall undoubtedly wish to pursue both approaches whenever we can.

Option A: Pursue human rights violations where possible through the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and, to a lesser extent, the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Option B: Use bilateral channels for protesting abuses and pursuing improvements in human rights.

The multilateral option can be pursued at a lower cost and has the great advantage of lining up other countries with us. This is especially important in Latin America, where unilateral U.S. "intervention" ranks about as low as torture in the range of mortal sins.

But, for the foreseeable future, the greatest opportunities for bringing about change lie in bilateral relations. Bilateral approaches are quicker, can be more private, are much less cumbersome, and can be used far more frequently.

Internal Capacity to Assess Reports and Make Determinations

Field reporting on human rights violations has been uneven, although some has been very good. Posts should be helped to improve their reporting. However, it is not necessary to strengthen significantly the internal capacity of the USG to assess reports and to make determinations on "consistent patterns of gross violations of human rights." Although it is frequently difficult to obtain details as precisely and as quickly as needed, the central problem is the need for greater awareness and sensitivity in routine day-to-day relationships rather than the creation of additional parallel structures and staff.

3/8/77

ARGENTINE COMMISSION for HUMAN RIGHTS

COMISION ARGENTINA POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS (CADHU)
Washington, D. C. Information Bureau

AL051

International Offices:
Geneva
Rome
Paris
Mexico City

March 8, 1977

Senator Edward Kennedy
431 Russell Bldg.
Washington DC, 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

We are writing you to express our alarm at recent news received from Argentina related to two political prisoners whose names appeared, with 41 others, in a "death list" made public by the Washington Post on February 5.

According to this last report Dr. Ernesto Villanueva, former Dean of the University of Buenos Aires, and Dr. Jorge Taiana, son of a former Education Minister, have been transferred from their regular cells to a "death row".

The fact that Jose M. Rappaport, another prisoner whose name figured in the "death list", was found dead in his cell February 5, after being transferred to a "death-block" in La Plata jail, makes us fear for their lives.

Both Dr. Villanueva and Dr. Taiana are very respected professionals, held prisoners by the Argentine military authorities without due charges.

We urge you to contact the Argentine authorities and intercede in their behalf. We believe that your concern might safe the prisoners lives.

Sincerely

Ana Suarez
Press Secretary

Horacio Lofredo
Representative

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

MEXICO IN THE GROUP OF 77

With the inauguration in December 1976 of President Jose Lopez Portillo and the advent of a severe domestic economic crisis, Mexico may return to a more modest role in the Group of 77 (G-77) than it has played in the past few years. Mexico has a strong nationalistic sentiment, however, motivating its policy in the North-South dialogue, and it will continue to press for positive action on basic G-77 positions on a wide range of issues, particularly where Mexico has a significant economic stake.

History of Membership

Mexico is one of the original members of the Group of 77, the caucus group of less developed countries formed at the first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964. Between 1964 and 1970, Mexico was only moderately active in the group; its role expanded greatly during the last years of the tenure (1970-76) of former President Echeverria, who sought to promote Mexico's prestige in the Third World by making it an LDC spokesman on economic matters. To most LDCs, Mexico's credentials, however, were largely suspect because of the overwhelming reality of the US influence on the Mexican economy.

Reasons for Membership

Better terms of trade and access to developed-country markets have long been important goals of Mexican policy, and Mexico's membership in the G-77 is viewed as being potentially useful in obtaining trade concessions from the developed countries.

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Report No. 750
March 9, 1977

Moreover, G-77 membership provides an opportunity to appear to be part of the Third World, to stress Mexican solidarity with the LDCs, and to de-emphasize ties to the US, which, in reality, are extremely pervasive. This aspect of G-77 membership is useful both domestically and on the international front.

Mexico's role in the Group of 77 is bolstered by a school of thought popular among some Mexican officials in favor of sweeping international changes, e.g., a new international division of labor and a restructuring of relations between countries on the basis of equity rather than considerations of wealth and power. Admittedly idealistic in tone and content, this approach has nevertheless been a motivating factor in Mexico's participation in the G-77.

Leadership in the G-77

In virtually every international forum during the past few years, Mexico has actively advocated that the Third World obtain implementation of the New International Economic Order. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS) was, in fact, proposed by Echeverria at the UNCTAD conference in Chile in 1972. (It was adopted by the UN in 1974 despite the strenuous objections and reservations of developed countries, ten abstentions, and the negative votes of the US and five others.)* At the most recent UNCTAD conference (Nairobi, 1976), US delegates found that Mexico was one of the main proponents of uncompromising adherence to extreme LDC demands.

The Lopez Portillo administration is expected to give Mexico a new style and a slightly different thrust in the Group of 77, moving the country away from its frequent past alignment with some of the more radical G-77 member countries and toward more moderate positions. Lopez Portillo is unlikely to press for legalistic, political confrontation between the developed countries and those of the Third World in multilateral negotiations. Many Mexican officials now believe that frenetic involvement in Third World activities has been of little actual benefit to Mexico and that the Group of 77:

--spends excessive time and energy trying to settle all problems at once, without success in any

* Belgium, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, and the United Kingdom.

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tangible way in changing the economic relations between DCs and LDCs; and

--would be better advised to try for agreements on a reduced number of subjects certain of execution than to approve broad, inoperative resolutions.

Foreign Policy Interests

President Lopez Portillo has stressed the continuity of Mexico's traditional foreign policy, which he describes as one based on the principles of sovereignty, independence, and international solidarity. He has pledged support for CERDS and has reiterated Mexico's determination to continue to press for the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the prohibition of weapons that threaten humanity's existence. He has also indicated that Mexico could serve as a "bridge builder" to help the US improve relations with Latin America, a role consistent with his wish to enhance the US perception of the value of Mexican cooperation. Mexico has also tried to appear in the past as a promoter of cooperative regional organizations. In this regard, Mexico--with Venezuela--helped establish the new Latin American Economic System, SELA, which includes Cuba and excludes the US.

Most of Mexico's foreign policy interests revolve around bilateral issues with the United States. Geography and history, a common border, important bilateral trade, billions of dollars of US investment, and a host of joint endeavors between the two neighboring nations dictate that relations with the US by far are Mexico's prime foreign policy concerns.

Issues of Importance to Mexico

Regardless of changes in style and degree of Third World involvement, Mexico will continue in the G-77 (as elsewhere) to pursue policies in support of basic Mexican interests.

Trade Problems. Trade issues have long been of great importance to Mexico. Thus, just prior to the first UNCTAD conference in 1964, US and Mexican officials exchanged views on the upcoming meeting, outlining concerns that are still issues of importance to Mexicans. Mexico, for example, particularly wanted UNCTAD to address the problem of long-term deterioration in the terms of trade.

Moreover, Mexico is competitive in some manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and therefore vigorously seeks

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markets for its industrial products in industrialized countries. It is competitive also in many agricultural products and seeks markets for them as well. Mexico is one of the strongest proponents in the Group of 77 for special and differential treatment for goods of developing countries, and it has refused to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade largely because GATT makes no provision to treat LDC products in a preferential way. Abel Garrido of Mexico, a spokesman for the Latin American group in the G-77, played a very active role at the Nairobi UNCTAD in discussions of manufactures and multilateral trade negotiations; his stance was described by a US delegate as being "generally very tough."

Economic Sovereignty. Mexico is an ardent champion of the right of LDCs to develop and control the wealth from their own natural resources. Mexico will continue to press for facilitation of the transfer of technology and for controls on its cost, and, concomitantly, it will push for greater restrictions to govern activities of the multinational corporations.

Debt Moratorium. Mexico is not in favor of a general debt moratorium for LDCs and/or the cancellation of all bilateral official debts of the 29 hardcore LDCs as proposed at the G-77 Manila Conference in spring 1976. Mexico depends on its links to US and European capital markets for a large measure of its foreign borrowing and would suffer if private lenders lost confidence in the intent of LDCs to repay.

Permanent G-77 Secretariat. In the past, Mexico supported a permanent G-77 Secretariat and lobbied unsuccessfully for its approval at the G-77 conference in Mexico City in September 1976. If an effective G-77 organization were established, the political clout of the non-aligned movement would be diluted, and Mexico--not a member of the non-aligned--might have a greater role in LDC affairs. At the UN sessions last fall, a Mexican resolution, approved by consensus, proposed--in the absence of a G-77 Secretariat--that the UNCTAD Secretariat be required to give support to LDC meetings as and when requested by developing nations. The US offered an explanatory interpretation intended to limit such support to that which would be available ordinarily to any group of countries.

Issues of Importance to the US

Although Mexico and the US are sometimes in disagreement over G-77 issues as such, most of the issues affecting the two countries are bilateral (e.g., trade restrictions, drug traffic, and illegal migrants). Nevertheless, the fact

that the relationship between the two countries is basically good can sometimes be obscured by highly charged rhetoric in international forums. Some of the posturing is for domestic as well as international consumption, and some of it reflects deeply felt aggravations rather than Mexican intent to have a fundamental foreign policy inimical to the US.

On the Common Fund, for example, Mexico has publicly maintained solidarity with the Group of 77 on the need for such a fund to finance buffer stocks and stabilize commodity prices. But Mexican officials have been frank to stress privately to the US that the Common Fund is more likely to hurt Mexico than help it because Mexico imports far more commodities than it exports. It has only a mild interest in 3 commodities (coffee, cotton, and hard fibers) of 18 which the G-77 has proposed for Common Fund coverage and no interest in seeing prices raised for most of the others, which include tea, jute, copper, tin, iron ore, fertilizer, tropical timber, rubber, and vegetable oils.

The Mexican position on Law of the Sea is influenced by patriotic sentiment strongly favoring complete national sovereignty over natural resources. This principle was a motivating factor in the creation of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone in June 1976. The zone allows for Mexican conservation and administration of all mineral and marine resources within the 200 miles. The move won widespread support from the Mexican public.

The US and Mexico have agreed to a provisional boundary for fishing jurisdiction and have reached bilateral agreement to phase out US shrimping. In bilateral relations, Mexico is likely to maintain its current working relations with the US in seeking solutions to fishing problems. Mexico is committed to the full utilization of fisheries resources and, through bilateral agreements, will make available under license to foreign interests any supplies surplus to its national catch. Mexico is bent on expanding its fishing fleet as quickly as possible in order to do all the fishing in its own waters itself, and eventually this could pose serious problems to US fishing interests.

In LOS conferences Mexico is one of the strongest opponents to the US position. On the deep seabed resource issue, which came up at the LOS negotiations in New York in September 1976, Mexico was often aligned with Algeria, India, and some African states in its hostility to exploitation of seabed mineral resources by the developed countries. Mexico has pressed for the proposition that all seabed resource exploi-

tation be carried out under the auspices of an international seabed authority for the benefit of the less developed countries. It accused several Latin American countries of "selling out" to the developed countries by offering to compromise on this issue during the September sessions in New York.

Receptivity to US Pressures and Incentives

In a comment acknowledging the extent to which US policies and actions have an effect in Mexico, Lopez Portillo has stated that for better or worse the US has an important role to play in the solution of Mexico's national problems. He also admitted in a recent interview that when Mexico emphasized its Third World leadership role, relations with the US were not at their best. Since Mexico has an overriding need for massive credit and investment to weather its current economic crisis, it follows that Lopez Portillo must realize that he has to downplay Mexico's G-77 role and stress good relations with the United States. At the same time, he appears sincere in wanting cooperation rather than confrontation.

The Mexican President reportedly views his recent (February 1977) US trip as a resounding success. During the trip he held discussions with President Carter, other US officials, and US and international financial institutions. His agenda for discussion and the subjects listed in the joint communique issued by the two Presidents indicate areas in which Mexico would like the US to be more forthcoming.

Economic, Monetary, and Investment Questions. The joint communique stated that Mexico's desire for "increased and improved access" to international financial institutions was discussed by the two Presidents. Such access is essential because Mexico's credit rating is being strained by its large debt and its hitherto easy access to international private capital markets is becoming less certain. A favorable US attitude facilitates Mexico's access to financial markets, specifically the Inter-American Development Bank and other international lending organizations.

While in the US, Lopez Portillo met with IMF officials and with private bankers and industrialists. He fielded questions from them, hoping to improve the prospects for future foreign private investment in Mexico. The display of bilateral warmth and cooperation that the Washington trip afforded could reinforce the Mexican image with the international financial institutions and the commercial banks.

"A better balance in trade between the two countries" was also discussed by President Carter and President Lopez Portillo. The latter stressed that Mexico wants trade not aid to correct its $2.5 billion annual trade deficit with the US and that he is seeking immediate or at least short-term steps to correct the imbalance. Mexico's dependence on the US is underscored by the fact that some two-thirds of Mexican exports go to, and two-thirds of its imports come from, the US. Conversely, Mexico is the US' fourth largest market. US trade policy can have an emotional content for both government and public in Mexico, and protectionist US policies can cause short flareups with little warning. In 1971, Mexico reacted very adversely to the temporary 10 percent import surcharge and led moves to condemn the US for not consulting with the Third World prior to imposition of the surcharge. Lopez Portillo touched on this subject obliquely during his recent visit when he said that the US has a responsibility to examine those decisions that can affect or interfere with Mexican development efforts.

Anxious to close the dollar trade gap with the US, Lopez Portillo called for "equitable treatment" during his Washington visit. His call was in effect a plea for special treatment, specifically that the US lift present restrictions on Mexican exports, particularly shoes and agricultural products. This may be difficult to do, but if the US responds positively to some degree, the US might then be justified in expecting Mexico to heed advice to join the GATT or in assuming that Mexico would play a more conciliatory role in the G-77.

According to the communique, immigration was another subject discussed during the visit. Mexico's population growth, unemployment, and rural and urban poverty contribute to the illegal migration to the US, building counterpressures within the US for tighter control measures. To the extent that the US takes such measures and is successful in them, the Mexican Government will face increasing social unrest at home. The Mexican Government wants the US to refrain from steps that might result in a massive deportation of Mexican migrants. Mexico would also welcome a change in US legislation to grant Mexico a higher US legal immigration quota. In the long run, the trade measures advocated by Lopez Portillo during the presidential discussions would help the Mexican economy and thereby reduce the pressures to migrate.

The prospect of a bilateral working commission working under the personal supervision of both the US and the Mexican

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Presidents emerged from the joint discussions and was referred to in the joint communique. A mechanism such as this would not only lead to better communications but would, hopefully, enable joint and constructive progress on the key matters of bilateral concern.

Recent estimates of Mexican petroleum reserves indicate that Mexico's supplies may rival Kuwait's. If so, Mexico could well become a substantial source of petroleum and natural gas for the United States. Mexico's offer to supply the US with natural gas during the 1977 winter illustrates the potential importance such supplies could have for the US economy. It is not difficult to imagine a scenario in which Mexican petroleum might provide incentives for changes in US trade policy vis-a-vis Mexico.

Prognostication

The intertwined nature of the Mexican-US relationship coupled with US financial hegemony appears to afford the US some leverage on its less wealthy and somewhat truculent southern neighbor. It is highly problematical, however, whether or not direct US pressures could secure a specific Mexican stance in the Group of 77. Should Mexico appear too supportive of US positions, it would certainly be held suspect by the Third World, especially if it received special favors from the US.

Lopez Portillo's speech to the US Congress seemed to have been written directly to reassure the Mexican audience at home and the Third World audience that Mexico was not subservient to the US and had not disavowed the Third World. In a press conference in Mexico following the trip, the President of Mexico further asserted, "We did not go there to seek loans. Our country is in no way broke." Both messages bespeak the ambivalent feelings of Mexico toward the US--insistence on independence with a desire for special treatment. They also give evidence of a proud, nationalistic sentiment which could easily be turned against the US in the G-77 and other international groups if the US pressured Mexico toward policies not perceived by Mexico as in its own interest.

Prepared by J. L. Lyon
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(Classified by M. Packman)

Approved by H. L. Estep
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Department of State

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FOL REPEAT GENEVA 1724 ACTION SECSTATE INFO USUN NEW YORK DATED 08 MAR 7

QUOTE [redacted] GENEVA 1724

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: UN, SHUM
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: ITEM 5: CHILE REPLIES TO U.S. STATEMENT

1. AFTER DELIVERY OF STATEMENT ON SUBJECT ITEM BY US DELEGATION MEMBER, BRADY TYSON, AT P.M. MEETING MARCH 8 (TEXT IN SEPTEL), REPLIES WERE MADE BY FOLLOWING DELEGATIONS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) URUGUAYAN DEL (GIAMBRUNO) DECLARED THAT A DISTINCTION HAD TO BE MADE BETWEEN CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND ATTACKS ON CERTAIN COUNTRIES. WITH SOME EMOTION HE NOTED THAT THE URUGUAYAN TERRORISTS WERE ARMED AND THAT OFTEN THE GOU DEFENDING U.S. CITIZENS IN URUGUAY. GIAMBRUNO EXPRESSED RESENTMENT AT THE TONE OF THE TYSON STATEMENT AND THE ATTACK ON URUGUAY BY A SUPERPOWER. HE ALSO NOTED 1503 PROCEDURES REQUIRING CONFIDENTIALITY MIGHT HAVE BEEN WISELY EMPLOYED IN THIS SITUATION. FINALLY, SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD THROUGHOUT THE U.S.-INDOCHINA CONFLICT REFRAINED FROM MENTIONING CAMBODIA OR VIET NAM, REFUSING TO COMMENT ON THE

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FORM 4-68 FS-412

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DESTRUCTION OF A PEOPLE AND ENTIRE COMMUNITIES.

(B) BRAZILIAN OBSERVER DEL SAID IT MADE LITTLE DIFFERENCE THAT U.S. DEL HAD QUALIFIED HIS CRITICISMS. USDEL HAD MADE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST HIS COUNTRY AND WAS PLAYING FOR DOMESTIC POLITICS AT HOME. ALSO ACCUSED U.S. OF INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

(C) ARGENTINA OBSERVER ECHOED BRAZILIAN REPLY. BOTH DELS REQUESTED THE RIGHT TO SPEAK AGAIN ON ISSUE OF OCCASION WARRANTED.

(D) CHILE (DIEZ) MADE MOST VITROILIC STATEMENT. IN A BELLOWING VOICE HE QUESTIONED HOW THE U.S. AFTER VIET NAM COULD ACCUSE CHILE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. SAID CHILE WAS NOT GUILTY OF KILLING ONE MILLION PEOPLE AS THE U.S. HAD DONE IN VIET NAM AND CHILE WOULD NOT BE THE INDO-CHINA OF LATIN AMERICA. CATTO UNQUOTE VANCE

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TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS ROUND-UP NO. 13

FOR COORDINATOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS DERIAN AND ARA/ECA

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 1328 (B) BUENOS AIRES 1852

1. PERMANENT ASSEMBLY PETITIONS VIDELA. ARGENTINE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS SENT A PETITION TO PRESIDENT VIDELA ASKING HIM TO RELEASE PRISONERS BEING HELD WITHOUT CHARGE AND TO PUBLISH A LIST OF ALL PERSONS DETAINED, ACCORDING TO LA OPINION TODAY (AR 22). ALONG WITH THE PETITION IT SENT A LIST OF 321 PEOPLE WHOSE DISAPPEARANCES HAVE BEEN DOCUMENTED BY THE ORGANIZATION. THE PETITION WAS SIGNED BY MEMBERS OF THE PERMANET ASSEMBLY, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT MONSIGNOR JAIME DE NEVARES (BISHOP OF NEUQUEN), ALICIA MOREAU DE JUSTO (WIDOW OF EX-SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER JUSTO). METHODIST BISHOP CARLOS GATTINONI, EMILIO MIGNONE, OSCAR ALENDE, RAUL ALFONSIN, ALFREDO BRAVO, GENARO CARRIO AND RICARDO MOLINO; AND BY AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF OTHER PERSONS, INCLUDING BISHOP PONCE DE LEON OF SAN NICOLAS AND BISHOP JORGE NOVAK OF QUILMES. WHILE REAFFIRMING THE ASSEMBLY'S "UNEQUIVOCAL REPUDIATION OF TERRORISM OF WHATEVER
[redacted]

KIND," THE PETITION STATES THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S PUBLISHING

DECONTROL
ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
~~Exemption(s):~~ DECONTROL
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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A LIST OF NAMES AND LOCATION OF DETAINEES AND RELEASING THOSE NOT CHARGE WOULD ALLEVIATE THE "PROLONGED ANGUISH OF THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES" AND WOULD HAVE IMPORTANT REPERCUSSIONS IN BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CIRCLES. :THE ASSEMBLY HAS TWICE BEFORE SENT LETTERS TO PRESIDENT VIDELA ASKING FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA, FOLLOWING ITS MEETINGS IN AUGUST AND DECEMBER 1976, AND ON BOTH OCCASIONS HAS REVEIVED COURTEOUS BUT NONCOMMITTAL REPLIES FROM THE PRESIDENT. THE PETITION IS PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT FOR ITS SPECIFIC REQUESTS OF VIDELA ON BEHALF OF PRISONERS AND FOR THE STATURE OF THE SIGNATORIES, WHOSE NAMES LISTED ABOVE APPEARED IN THE LOCAL PRESS.

2. CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS. THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE ARGENTINE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE ANNOUNCED AT THE END OF ITS MEETING MARCH 19 THAT IT WOULD SEND TO PRESIDENT VIDELA AND THE MILITARY JUNTA A DOCUMENT REVIEWING THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS FROM THE RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVE. COUNCIL PRESIDENT CARDINAL PRIMATESTA SAID THAT THE CHURCH WAS NOT INSENSITIVE TO INNUMBERABLE APPEALS FROM ANGUISHED FAMILIES WHICH IT HAD RECEIVED AND WISHED TO BRING THEM TO THE ATTENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT. PRIMATESTA RECALLED THAT THE COUNCIL HAD MET WITH BOTH PRESIDENT VIDELA AND THE JUNTA ON TWO SEPARATE OCCASIONS IN 1976 AND THAT THE GOVT ANNOUNCED A LARGE NUMBER OF PRISONER RELEASES AT CHRISTMAS TIME. HE SAID THE DOCUMENT WOULD BE COMPLETED SHORTLY AND AND WOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC. COMMENT: SOURCE TOLD EMBOFF MAR 21 THAT ARGENTINE CHURCH INTENDED TO PRESENT CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENT REQUESTING IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION NOW WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IF NOTHING WAS DONE BY THE TIME OF THE ANNUAL FULL BISHOPS' CONFERENCE IN MAY, THE CHURCH WOULD TAKE A FIRM PUBLIC POSITION ON THE ISSUE, INCLUDING PUBLISHING THE NUMBER AND NAMES OF DETENTION AND DISAPPEARANCE CASES IT HAS RECEIVED. CHURCH SOURCES HAVE RECENTLY PREDICTED TO EMBOFFS THAT THE CHURCH WOULD LAUNCH A MORE CONCERTED EFFORT TO PRESS THE GOVT FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02262 01 OF 02 241836Z

3. CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS. LA OPINION (MAR 8) PUBLISHED A PASTORAL LETTER WRITTEN BY BISHOP DESIDENO ELSO COLLINO OF LOMAS DE ZAMORA, BA PROVINCE, CRITICIZING POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND THE SUSPENSION OF INDIVIDUAL GUARANTEES. REMARKING ON THE GROWING NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH ARMED MEN ACTING WITH IMPUNITY ASSAULT FAMILIES, STEAL PERSONAL BELONGINGS AND ABDUCT FAMILY

MEMBERS, BISHOP COLLINO SAID THAT IN THESE CASES THE ENDS DO NOT JUSTIFY THE MEANS. "TO USE THE SAME METHODS THAT WE CONDEMN IN THE ADVERSARY IS TO JUSTIFY THE ACTIONS OF THE ADVERSARY. THE REPRESSION OF SUBVERSION DOES NOT JUSTIFY ATTACKING THOSE WHO CAN OFFER NO RESISTANCE," HE SAID. AUTHORITIES MAY, AND SOMETIMES SHOULD, SUSPEND FOR A PRUDENT PERIOD "CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES," BUT NOT ALL CITIZENS' GUARANTEES, MUCH LESS TO THE HANDS OF UNKNOWN ARMED BANDS, THE BISHOP SAID. HE WARNED THAT IF THE "MARGIN OF ERROR" IN THE ANTI-SUBVERSION FIGHT WERE NOT DIMINISHED, IT COULD "PREPARE THE WAY FOR THE MOST DESPICABLE OF TOTALITARIANISMSN MARXISM." COMMENT: THE BISHOP'S LETTER WAS READ IN ALL PARISHES OF LOMAS DE ZAMORA AND DISTRIBUTED TO ALL ARGENTINE BISHOPS. IT APPEARS TO BE THE MOST DIRECT AND OPEN CONDEMNATION OF THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY EFFORT AND ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE CHURCH'S INCREASINGLY OUTSPOKEN CRITICISMS OF THE METHOS PERMITTED BY THE GOVT TO END SUBVERSION. LA OPINION WAS THE ONLY PAPER TO MENTION THE LETTER AND PUBLISH MAJOR EXCERPTS, TO WHICH THE GOVT SO FAR HAS NOT PUBLICLY REACTED.

4. ANTI-SEMITIC PUBLICATIONS BANNED. GOA PROHIBITED THE DISTRIBUTION, SALE AND CIRCULATION OF ALL PUBLICATIONS PRODUCED BY EDITORIAL ODAL IN A DECREE PUBLISHED MARCH 3. THE DECREE CITED ODAL FOR PRODUCING MATERIAL "CONTRARY TO NATIONAL SENSIBILITIES" AND FOR ADDING TO THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE STATE OF SIEGE. JEWISH GROUPS HAD PROTESTED THE ACTIVITY OF ODAL WHICH TOOK UP PUBLICATION OF ANTI-SEMITIC, PRO-NAZI TRACTS WHEN GOA SHUT DOWN EDITORIAL MILICIA IN SEPTEMBER 1976. THE LATEST DECREE SPECIFICALLY BANS ODAL PUBLICATIONS AND [redacted]

WHETHER OR NOT SIMILAR MATERIAL WILL BE PRODUCED UNDER YET ANOTHER DIFFERENT NAME REMAINS TO BE SEEN. JEWISH LEADERS HERE FAVORED THE GOVT'S MOVE BUT OBSERVED THAT THE GOVT'S REAL POSITION ON ANTI-SEMITISM WILL DEPEND ON ITS ACTUAL ENFORCEMENT OF THE BAN AND CONTROL OF OTHER ANTI-SEMITIC WORKS AND ATTACKS.

5. ERP LIST. AMBASSADOR HILL WAS ENT A LETTER DATED MARCH 2 SIGNED BY THE ERP LISTING NAMES OF 43 PRISONERS IN UNIT 9 OF LA PLATA PENITENTIARY WHO HAVE BEEN "SENTENCED OR TRIED AND WILL BE CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY OFFICIALS OF THE ARMED FORCES." ALL BUT TWO OF THE NAMES ARE THOSE MENTIONED BY JACK ANDERSON

Case Number: 200000044

IN HIS COLUMN. (EMBASSY LEARNED AND REPORTED EARLIER THAT ANDERSON'S LIST PROBABLY CAME FROM A SMUGGLED LIST OF PRISONERS IN LA PLATA. REFTEL A) INDEPENDENT SOURCES HAVE CONFIRMED THAT MANY OF THOSE NAMED ARE IN LA PLATA. SINCE REPORTED DEATHS OF RAPPAPORT AND GEORGIADIS IN FEBRUARY, EMBASSY IS NOT AWARE OF ANY FURTHER FATAL INCIDENTS CONCERNING PRISONERS ON ANDERSON'S LIST. A SECOND LETTER SENT TO AMBASSADOR SIGNED BY THE "COMMISSION OF RELATIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS" GIVES THE EXACT SAME LIST WITH THE ADDITIONAL COMMENT ALLEGING THAT IN RECENT MONTHS THERE HAVE BEEN 5,000 DEATHS, 30,000 DETENTIONS AND 15,000 DISAPPEARANCES AND THAT PRISONS HAVE BEEN TURNED INTO CONCENTRATION CAMPS. THE LATTER HAS A POSTSCRIPT NOTING RAPPAPORT AND GUTIERREZ (PROBABLY GEORGIADIS) WERE SHOT TO DEATH AND THAT THREE MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES HAD BEEN ABDUCTED.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02262 02 OF 02 241919Z
ACTION ARA-10

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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 2262

FOR COORDINATOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS ERIAN AND ARA/ECA

6. HABEAS CORPUS WRITS. WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN FILED ON BEHALF OF 108 DISAPPEARED PERSONS IN A NUMBER OF SEPARATE COURT ACTIONS IN THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF MARCH, 69 ON MARCH 2-3 ALONE (SEE REFTEL B.). IN ALL CASES, THE WRITS REQUEST INFORMATION ON THE LOCATION OF AND CHARGES AGAINST PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED, SOME IN 1977 BUT MOST IN 1976. ONE OF THE WRITS IS FOR ARGENTINE CINEMA PRODUCERS RAYMONDU GLEYZER. THE VOLUME OF REPORTED WRITS IN THE TWO-WEEK PERIOD IS FAR GREATER THAN THE USUAL DOZEN OR SO CASES REPORTEDLY FILED EACH WEEK. CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCES OFFER NO EXPLANATION FOR THE SUDDEN

INCREASE IN WRITS ALTHOUGH THEY TOLD EMBOFF THEY ENCOURAGE PERSONS WHO REPORT DISAPPEARANCE CASES TO FILE WRITS FOR THE PUBLIC RECORD.

7. DETAINEE LISTS. INTERIOR MINISTRY LISTS CONTINUE TO BE PUBLISHED WEEKLY. ON MARCH 12, THE MINISTRY ANNOUNCED 33 WERE ARRESTED, 13 REMOVED FROM EXECUTIVE DETENTION UNDER STATE OF SIEGE PROVISIONS (PEN), ONE CHILEAN EXPELLED AND THREE ARGENTINE CITIZENS (INCLUDING ROBERTO BERGALLI) AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. ON MARCH 19, THE MINISTRY ANNOUNCED 58 HAD BEEN DETAINED AND 52 REMOVED FROM DETENTION STATUS UNDER PEN. SOURCES COMMENT THAT ONLY A FRACTION OF THOSE WHO DISAPPEARED OR ARE ARRESTED ARE [redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02262 02 OF 02 241919Z

SUBSEQUENTLY LISTED AS DETAINED UNDER STATE OF SIEGE PROVISIONS. THIS OBSERVATION IS SUPPORTED BY THE NUMBER OF WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS FILED FOR DISPPEARED PERSONS DURING THE SAME PERIOD WHEN NAMES DO NOT APPEAR ON THE INTERIOR MINISTRY LIST OF NEW DETAINEES.

8. SOLARI IRIGOYEN APPEAL. TWELVE PROMINENT RADICAL POLITICIANS, INCLUDING FORMER PRESIDENT ARTURO ILLIAN AND RADICAL PRESIDENT RICARDO BALBIN, RELEASED A DECLARATION ON MARCH 12 CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF FORMER SENATOR SOLARI IRIGOYEN. THE DECLARATION NOTED THAT HE HAS BEEN JAILED WITHOUT CHARGE FOR SIX MONTHS AND AS SUCH HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF HIS FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY SAID MARCH 22 IN SANTA CRUZ THAT GOA IS CONSIDERING A REUQEST FOR SOLARI IRIGOYEN TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

9. OPTION TO LEAVE COUNTRY. NEWSPAPERS REPORTED MARCH 16 THAT THE SPECIAL COMMISSION CHAIRED BY INTERIOR MINISTER HARDUINDEGUY WILL RECOMMEND THE CONSITNUATION OF THE SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF OPTION FOR STATE OF SIEGE PRISONERS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. THE COMMISSION, CREATED BY PRESIDENTIAL DECREE, HAD UNTIL MARCH 15 TO RECOMMEND WHETHER THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT SHOULD BE REINSTATED ONCE ITS PRESENT 180-DAY SUSPENSION LAPSES IN LATE APRIL. ALTHOUGHT THE COMMISSION LATER (MAR 17) DENIED ITS FINDINGS ARE FINAL, THE PRESS REPORTED THAT ITS CONCLUSIONS WILL BE THAT DESPITE SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS IN THE ANTI-SUBVERSION WAR, THE SECURITY SITUATION STILL DOES NOT PERMIT THE REINSTATEMENT OF THE RIGHT OF OPTION. THE CASE OF MIRTHA ATENCIA, WHO A FEDERAL JUDGE RULED ON FEB 7 HAD TO BE RELEASED OR PERMITTED TO LEAVE ARGENTINA WITHIN 20 DAYS, IS STILL PENDING AND IS EXPECTED TO GO TO THE SUPREME COURT FOR RESOLUTION.

Case Number: 200000044

10. JEHOVAHS WITNESSES. A FEDERAL COURT JUDGE HAS RULED THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTRY DOES NOT HAVE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO BAN THE JEHOVAHS WITNESSES BUT THAT IT CAN PROHIBIT THE SECT'S PUBLICATIONS AND ORDER THE CLOSING DOWN OF ITS MEETING PLACES AND PUBLISHING HOUSES. THE RULING WAS IN RESPONSE TO AN APPEAL FILED [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02262 02 OF 02 241919Z

BY THE JEHOVAHS WITNESSES FOLLOWING THE INTERIOR MINISTRY'S SEPT. 8 DECREE IMPLEMENTING THE PROHIBITION OF THE SECT. THE WITNESSES HAVE MADE NO PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THE RULING. SEE SEPTEL.

11. LAWYER ABDUCTED. HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER TERESA ALICIA ISRAEL WAS TAKEN FROM HER HOME IN BUENOS AIRES ON MARCH 8 BY ARMED MEN CLAIMING TO BE PART OF A "JOINT ARMED FORCES COMMANDO." ISRAEL WORKS FOR THE ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE WHICH HAS SENT APPEALS ON HER BEHALF TO GOA AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. SHE IS REPORTEDLY THE FIRST LAWYER, OUT OF SOME 40 WORKING FOR THE LEAGUE ON BEHALF OF STATE OF SIEGE PRISONERS, TO HAVE DISAPPEARED. THE REPLY TO A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS FILED BY HER MOTHER SAID THAT SHE WAS NOT BEING HELD BY EITHER POLICE OR ARMED FORCES.

12. PUBLISHER ARRESTED. TWENTY-SEVEN ITALIAN PUBLISHING HOUSES HAVE WRITTEN PRESIDENT VIDELA ASKING FOR INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF ARGENTINE PUBLISHERS DANEIL DIVINSKY AND HIS WIFE ANA MARIA SILER, WHO WERE ARRESTED UNDER PEN EMERGENCY PROVISIONS ON FEB 16. MEXICAN NOVELIST JUAN ROLFO AND A GROUP OF MEXICAN MAGAZINE WRITERS HAVE ALSO WRITTEN ARGENTINE AUTHORIES REQUESTING THE RELEASE OF THE VIDINSKYS.

13. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT: GOA HAS REJECTED A REPORT BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNING ARGENTINA FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A FORNMINISTRY STATEMENT ISSED MAR 23. THE STATEMENT CHARGES THAT ALLEGATIONS MADE IN THE AMNESTY REPORT WERE BASED ON HEARSAY EVIDENCE AND LACKED VERACITY AND OBJECTIVITY. THE REPORT, WHICH WAS SUBMITTED TO THE ARGENTINE GOVT ON FEB 22, ACCUSED ARGENTINA OF HOLDING "ABOUT 5,000 TO 6,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS, MOST OF WHOM HAVE NOT BEEN CHARGED OR TRIED," AND OF CARRYING OUT UNOFFICIAL EXECUTIONS AND WIDESPREAD TORTURE IN UNOFFICIAL DETENTION CENTERS; AND ALLEGES THAT "SINCE THE MARCH COUP BETWEEN 2,000 AND 5,000 PEOPLE HAVE VANISHED WITHOUT A TRACE." THE ARGENTINE STATEMENT SAYS THAT VERY LITTLE OF THE REPORT IS BASED ON MATERIAL GATHERED BY THE AI MISSION TO ARGENTINA IN

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 02262 02 OF 02 241919Z

NOVEMBER. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS NOT PROVIDED WELL-FOUNDED PROOF THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED, BUT HAS BUILT ITS AFFIRMATIONS ON THE BASIS OF JUDGMENTS BASED ON THE EVIDENCE OF THIRD PARTIES, LINKED IN SOME WAY TO SUBVERSIVE TERRORISTS AND WHICH TEND TO DISTORT THE TRUTH OF EVENTS IN ORDER TO PRESENT THEM IN A WAY CONVENIENT TO ITS SPURIOUS INTERESTS," THE STATEMENT SAYS. IT STRESSES THAT SECURITY FORCES ARE ACTING IN LEGITIMATE DEFENSE OF SOCIETY AND THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO "RESPOND IN PROPORTION TO THE ATTACKS OF THE TERRORISTS."
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full RECOMMEND
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TO : Department of State

FROM : Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

DATE: March 24, 1977

SUBJECT : An End to "The Time of Silence"

REF :

SUMMARY. President Videla's March 6 reference to a termination of "the time for silence" inspired considerable speculation about Argentina's political future. For the moment, the armed forces probably have in mind simply broader consultations with representatives of various social sector Neither the civilian politicians nor the public is demanding much more, and from the government's point of view, a limited "opening" may help stem a dangerous tendency toward the isolation of the armed forces in power.

1. During his March 6 return flight from a state visit to Peru, President Videla told reporters that "the time for silence is ending" and that durin 1977 consultations would be undertaken with political leaders and represen atives of other sectors. These consultations, according to the President, would be part of a search for "political definition," and would mark a new phase of the National Reorganization program which he termed the "phase of creativity."

2. Videla's statements were warmly welcomed in the news media. Speculati as to their significance would have been normal under any circumstances, b it was further encouraged by the fact that his comments coincided with a flurry of activity connected with the approaching anniversary of the Marc 24, 1976 coup: all three armed services have held separate meetings at the general officers level to evaluate the first year of military govern- ment; the junta has made its appraisal based upon the reports of the thre services; church authorities have drafted a confidential report that will soon be presented to the junta; rumors have circulated freely, although apparently without foundation, concerning impending changes in government structure ("fourth man" theme) and cabinet personnel (especially Martinez de Hoz and/or his chief aides); and labor leaders discussed (but rejected making another attempt at convoking a plenum before March 24.

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3. We have been told that Videla's airborne remarks were a slip on his part, but an indirect source in the presidential secretariat claims that last week's army meeting endorsed the president's call for a dialogue. The consensus of journalistic, political and official comment we have heard and read supports our own view that the government does not have in mind a "political opening" in the sense of a quickened, purposeful move toward restoration of civilian political participation in the government. Despite the lack of specifics as to the form and substance of the proposed consultations, we believe that the government's plans do not include (a) any kind of elections whatsoever; (b) discussions with political parties per se (as opposed to individuals who are politicians); or (c) a timetable for renewed civilian political participation.

4. Interior Minister Harguindeguy sounded quite categorical on these points when he offered his "personal interpretation" of Videla's remarks. On March 17, after the Army's general officers meeting, Harguindeguy told reporters that the end of "the time for silence" meant that the "phase of creativity" would evolve with individual contributions from patriotic, talented and intelligent Argentines: "I do not interpret the president's comments to mean that the closing of the period of silence in any way signifies initiation of a dialogue with political groups."

5. The great majority of Argentines, including most civilian politicians, are neither surprised nor particularly disappointed that the junta is not considering a return to the norms of civilian politics in the near future. On the contrary, they appear to be satisfied with the prospect of having their views considered by the government. Peronists and Radicals have told us that their parties are totally unprepared for electoral participation. Argentine workers are primarily concerned about their salaries and standard of living, and, for them, an immediate return to civilian government is not an issue that raises much ardor at this point. The track record of Argentina's current group of civilian politicos, and particularly their shabby performance during the pre-coup period, does not inspire confidence on the part of most Argentines.

6. In the past year, the junta has quietly and informally consulted informed and influential citizens, and the "opening" to which Videla referred may simply involve intensifying, publicizing and institutionalizing this practice. If so, it would be the type of cautious, limited step typical of this government; a measure designed to suggest progress in the political field but one devoid of explicit promises as to outcomes. Certain sectors within the government have undoubtedly conceived more involved and detailed proposals for an eventual shift from military to civilian rule. For now, however, these exercises amount to contingency planning rather than the drafting of proposals for near-term implementation.

7. The decision to initiate a "political opening" of any kind is important evidence that the junta and the armed forces are sensitive to the danger that the military in power may become, or be widely perceived as, isolated from the remainder of society. Among other things, the government's human rights record and its refusal to provide the media with information on what transpires

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in government councils are contributing to the image of a government going its own way, oblivious to public opinion and concerns. That is an image that the government can ill afford, and one that it may be trying to correct through broader consultations with representative Argentines.

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Americo Grossman
Patricia Derian, D/HA
Fernando Rondon, ARA/ECA

March 24, 1977

P B6

PLACE: Ms. Derian's office

DISTRIBUTION: Amb. R. C. Hill

Grossman is an Argentine industrialist and a long time supporter of Peronist causes. He presently backs the Videla government as the only viable political alternative for troubled Argentina.

Grossman is in the U.S. as a self-appointed ambassador promoting mutual understanding. He claims his trip has the blessing of the Junta and that a flowery letter from Peronist leader Bittel enables him to speak on behalf of his party. His trip is financed, however, by US-Argentine business interests.

Grossman described the human rights situation as very bad. He expressed the hope, nevertheless, that President Videla would soon get the situation under control. He had high praise for recent US actions on behalf of human rights in Argentina. He warned, however, that had his party been in power when military credits were reduced, a mass rally denouncing the US would have taken place. The military government, he explained, is too unpopular to be able to attract crowds. Grossman had even greater praise for our vote in the World Bank, which was accompanied by a human rights statement. He thinks we should keep voting yes with a human rights disclaimer. It is important to keep up the pressure on the military regime, he stated, but US actions should be modulated to prevent playing into the hands of military nationalists.

COMMENT: Grossman wants to see the military government share power with civilians. He does not call for elections but simply a sharing of Cabinet posts, governorships, etc. He seems to think that US human rights pressure will contribute to the civilian opening. If an opening fails to take place, he fears that reasonable Peronists who want to collaborate with the military will be overtaken in their party by those who want to oppose the military openly. Unfortunately, Grossman does not speak English [redacted] and is inarticulate. [redacted] He could soon wear out his welcome if he stays in Washington for two months. He is already irritating the Argentine Embassy as he purports to give them his own perceptions of the US. Nonetheless, the Argentine Junta seems willing to play along with this Peronist Ambassador.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): DECONTROL
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2580

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJ: ARGENTINE JOURNALISTS KIDNAPPED

1. SEVERAL JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN VICTIMS IN A WAVE OF KIDNAPPINGS IN BUENOS AIRES IN THE PAST WEEK. HECTOR FERREIROS, KIDNAPPED ON MARCH 31, WAS FOUND SHOT TO DEATH IN A FIELD NEAR QUILMES IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE ON APRIL 5. GEN. LANUSSE'S FORMER PRESS SECRETARY EDGARDO SAJON DISAPPEARED ON HIS WAY TO WORK APRIL 1. THERE HAS BEEN NO INFORMATION ON HIS CASE DESPITE PERSONAL APPEAL BY GEN. LANUSSE TO PRESIDENT VIDELA, A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS FILED BY THE SAJON FAMILY AND A COMPLAINT LODGED BY THE SAJON FAMILY AT A POLICE STATION IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE ON APRIL 5. FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH VIDELA ON SAJON'S BEHALF ON APRIL 3, GEN. LANUSSE SAID HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT RUMORS THAT THE MISSING MAN MAY HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND TAKEN TO LA PLATA ALONG WITH OTHER OPEOPLE SUSPECTED OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE GRAIVER FINANCIAL SCANDAL. THE GRAIVER FAMILY BANKING EMPIRE COLLAPSED FOLLOWING THE BANKRUPTCY OF A GRAIVER BANK IN NEW YORK AND THE ALLEGED DEATH OF ARGENTINE FINANCIER DAVID GRAIVER IN A PLANE CRASH IN MEXICO LAST YEAR. THE INTERIOR MINISTRY HAS ANNOUNCED THAT NEITHER THE ARMED FORCES NOR THE FEDERAL OR PRIVINCIAL POLICE HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON SAJON'S WHEREABOUTS.

[redacted]

2. ARGENTINE JOURNALIST RODOLFO WALSH REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED

Case Number: 200000044

IN EARLY APRIL. AN EDITORIAL IN THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD APRIL 5 SAID HE MAY HAVE BEEN SEIZED FOR POLITICAL REASONS. (SEE SEPTEL)

3. FOUR MEN, INCLUDING JOURNALIST EDUARDO DUSCHATZKY TWO MEMBERS OF THE ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE EDUARDO JULIO ANZORENA AND ROBERTO ANTONIO DI VITA, AND ARGENTINE PEACE COUNCIL MEMBER JORGE ALBERTO KREYNESS, REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED ON APRIL 1 AND HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD FROM SINCE. THE LEAGUE HAS MADE INQUIRIES AT LOCAL POLICE STATIONS AND THE INTERIOR MINISTRY SO FAR WITHOUT RESULT. A LEAGUE MEMBER APPEALED TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY TO ASSIST IN LOCATING THE FOUR MEN IN A LETTER TO THE EMBASSY TODAY (APRIL 6). THE EMBASSY IS FOLLOWING THIS AND THE PRECEEDING CASES AND WILL REPORT ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS.
HILL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

CT013

April 7, 1977

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

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Honorable Robert C. Hill
American Ambassador
American Embassy
Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
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B-6
(P 4)

Dear Mr. Ambassador: from Fred Rondon.

The purpose of this letter is to report on Patt Derian's conversations where Embassy officers were not present, as well as give you a few of my own impressions.

Our lunch with Robert Cox at the American Club was just perfect. Patt discussed Jimmy Carter the man, and his life-long dedication to human rights. I think Cox recognized that the Administration's dedication to basic rights is a very genuine, long-range commitment. Patt gave him a signed copy of the President's United Nations' Address. (Other copies went to Muller of the UNHCR, Timmerman of La Opinion, Mrs. Justo of the Permanent Assembly and the Nuncio. I think a sixth would have gone to Mr. Jenner of the Red Cross had one been available.)

Cox described the horrors of the Peronist era, leftist terrorism and the present-day situation. There was nothing new in this although Cox is very articulate. A few specific points:

- Solari Irigoyen's offense to the Armed Forces came in 1972 when he publicly criticized the Trelaw Prison killings in the aftermath of Santucho's escape to Chile.

- Gustavo Roca was contemptible because he had published a newspaper or magazine exalting leftist violence.

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- Christopher Roper is a Marxist businessman.

- There is no way to confirm whether crematories exist in Cordoba. It is the kind of horror story that has a certain pornographic quality that people pass around as the truth.

- Perhaps the most dangerous of the hard-line generals is Suarez Mason. (On the other hand, Neustadt spoke well of Suarez; perhaps because they are neighbors.)

- The American Embassy has performed well on the human rights issue.

Our session with the Permanent Assembly was undoubtedly the most passionate exposition of the human rights picture which we experienced. Ninety-year-old plus Alicia Moreau de Justo spoke with great dignity, lucidity and, indeed, fire. She characterized the human rights situation as barbaric. She described an incident which took place on March 16. Armed men invaded a home at night where an elderly grandmother, a mother and young daughter lived. Two young men were visiting at the time. These thugs broke into the house, ransacked it, stealing at will, and took everyone with them except the older woman. The prisoners were blindfolded. At an unknown place of detention, the mother was beaten with rubber truncheons. She could hear her daughter's screams in a nearby room. Finally, the mother was released at an unknown spot (she had been blindfolded throughout her ordeal) and she made her way home. To this day, she is desperately trying to locate her daughter, who, to her knowledge, is guilty of no subversive activity.

Labor leader Bravo then told the story of a family that with much trouble was able to recover the body of a daughter who died in prison in Cordoba. An autopsy later revealed that two live rats had been sewn into the girl's vagina and had torn her body apart as they tried to get out.

Mr. Pimentel discussed the problem of habeas corpus petitions and the intimidation of the press in connection with the publication of the writs. The La Opinion reporter who covered the courts was kidnapped; other papers simply ignore the subject. Pimentel described

how the Assembly tries to document disappearances, largely through families that inform the Assembly of what is happening.

The Westerkampfers (he teaches physics) described the conditions of their son's detention at Sierra Chica: a crowded cell, confinement 23 out of 24 hours, and no reading material. They did note that the food improved slightly after a Red Cross visit.

Finally, Emilio Mignone told us of his daughter Monica's disappearance and his conviction that the Navy is holding her.

We left this meeting subdued and went to the Canadian Residence. We were briefed on the refugee "sit-in" at the Canadian Embassy and Canada's efforts on behalf of the refugees. Patt briefed the Ambassador on the Administration's human rights commitment and determination to do something about the pandemic spread of repression in the world. He told us that he was leaving the next day for a meeting of Canadian Ambassadors to be held in Mexico City. Human rights was to be on the agenda and, the Ambassador continued, this conversation would be very helpful to him in Mexico. He stated that Canada had not pressed Argentina on the human rights issue but that as a result of our conversation, there might be a change. The Ambassador also mentioned that a bomb had been discovered in an automobile very near his Residence, possibly meant for him. Our meeting with the Canadians was very pleasant.

On Saturday morning I had breakfast with Bernardo Neustadt. He will be spending his week in Washington as Orfila's house guest. I promised to try to arrange an appointment with Todman, and noted that Patt looked forward to meeting him in Washington. Neustadt claimed that Videla had ordered an accounting of all prisoners in detention and that a list would be published by May. He stated that the Army Command was holding strategy sessions on waging the peace. He felt he would be able to report on positive developments during his visit to the United States. (I seem to have heard this before.) He was very disturbed by the disappearance of Edgardo Sajon, saying that he had heard it might be related to

the Graiver bankruptcy case. Neustadt was troubled that the government might now be making secret economic arrests in addition to political ones.

Our other meetings have, of course, been recorded in Memoranda of Conversation. While we were able to review several of these in Buenos Aires, I look forward to going over these memos in more contemplative circumstances.

What came across most clearly to me is the continuing hope that nearly everyone we spoke to places in Videla. People - at least most of our contacts - do not blame him for the seemingly uncontrollable activities of the goon squads. The Navy seems to operate secretly in an effort to polarize the Army. It would appear that some of the military and leftist extremists are doing all they can to provoke a civil war. Timmerman fears that his newspaper will be closed in some kind of Reichstag incident, signaling a hard-line triumph. He declared that the Montoneros would eventually win a civil war if one took place. He, therefore, welcomed the Carter Adminstration's efforts, including the military credits reduction, because it had finally stiffened the moderates and given them the courage to face up to the hard liners. The business community, Timmerman suggested, is at long last afraid of what the United States might do in the economic arena and is, therefore, backing the moderate cause.

Our sessions with the Foreign Ministry were almost beside the point. [redacted] seemed in another world. I really sympathize for those on your staff who deal with this Alice in Wonderland character. B6

I guess we must continue judging events in Argentina with extreme caution and hope that we will take every opportunity we can find to nurse whatever forces of moderation exist in that tragic society.

My very best.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fernando E. Rondon

Concurrence: D/HA - Ms. Derian (in draft)

[redacted]

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[redacted] STATE 078969

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINE SUPREME COURT

BEGIN UNCLAS

1. APRIL 7 WASHINGTON POST CARRIES FOLLOWING STORY DATELINED BUENOS AIRES: "ARGENTINE COURT CHALLENGE. THE PARENTS OF A MAN WHO DISAPPEARED HERE FIVE MONTHS AGO ARE ASKING ARGENTINA'S SUPREME COURT TO ORDER THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO DISCLOSE INFORMATION IT MAY HAVE ON HIS WHEREABOUTS.

DR. JOSE LEVITAN'S PETITION REGARDING HIS SON, CLAUDIO AUGUSTO LEVITAN, 23, CONTENDS THE HIGH COURT'S STATUS IS EQUAL TO THAT OF THE MILITARY JUNTA. THE CASE IS BELIEVED TO BE THE FIRST CHALLENGE OF ITS KIND TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO WASHINGTON POST CORRESPONDENT KAREN DEYOUNG."

END UNCLAS BEGIN [redacted]

2. DURING DERIAN VISIT, JUAN DE ONIS REPORTED THAT PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS PLANNING TO PETITION SUPREME COURT ON BEHALF OF 600 INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED HABEAS CORPUS. ASSEMBLY APPARENTLY HOPES THAT COURT WILL APPOINT A JUDGE TO INVESTIGATE SITUATION AND THIS WILL LEAD TO INFORMATION ABOUT 600 CASES OR TO DETERMINATION BY COURT THAT LEGAL PROCESSES ARE NOT FUNCTIONING IN ARGENTINA. ASSEMBLY REPORTEDLY BELIEVES THAT SUPREME COURT IS MADE UP OF SUFFICIENTLY HONEST JUDGES AND THAT THEY WILL TAKE CASE VERY SERIOUSLY.

3. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE DETAILS ON THESE CASES IF AVAILABLE AND EMBASSY'S COMMENTARY OF ROLE OF SUPREME COURT IN PROTECTING RULE OF LAW IN ARGENTINA.

VANCE

BT
#8969 [redacted]

DECONTROL

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: CASE OF ARGENTINE NATIONALS, CLAUDIO LUIS Y PRADO AND WIFE SANDRA ZONCA

REF: STATE 071519

PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER EMBASSY HAS BEEN ABLE TO LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT LUIS Y PRADO CASE AND WHETHER IT HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP.
VANCE

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Santiago, April 12, 1977

[redacted]

The Honorable William H. Luers
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Inter-American Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I appreciate very much receipt of your letter dated March 7 enclosing the Amnesty International documentation on the Lavin affair, which I have shown only to DCM Tom Boyatt and Political Counselor Charles Stout.

The first point that strikes us is that if we had had this documentation, or any substantial part of it, we would not of course have approved Lavin for an IVP grant. Some of it we could not have expected to get, for reasons you have previously communicated to me. But unfortunately we did not receive any details with respect to the accusations at the Russell Tribunal in Mexico City, a principal documentary base for the allegations against Lavin, apart from the fragmentary notes which appeared in the press.

Now that the United States Government is laying such great stress on human rights problems, I would hope that we and other field posts could be sent, in timely fashion, much more of the substance of what goes on in events like the Russell Tribunal meeting, and as much as possible of the statements by individuals of the type given to you by Amnesty International.

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

82D288, 13625

On the Lavin matter itself, a great deal of the evidence comes from the Russell Tribunal - particularly the list of torturers. The list has appeared in different contexts - one version was surfaced here by the Swedish Charge - but all lists appear to stem from the Russell proceeding.

We wonder how one can assess the veracity of the Russell Tribunal information. To a considerable extent this meeting was political street theatre rather than a serious effort to identify wrongdoers. At that session we understand that all three of our Santiago service attaches were accused by name of having participated actively in the plot to overthrow Allende. There are apparently many other assertions which would hardly stand up under analysis. We have the continuing problem of deciding how to evaluate such statements against the denials made by the other side.

More worrisome to me are the accusations of Poblete, Miranda Pinto and Carbacho. None of us doubts that these three men were mistreated. We will obviously never know whether they have exaggerated the extent of their mistreatment, and whether or not Lavin - who denies all complicity - was either a participant or an onlooker. One could pick flaws in some of the testimony: for example, how does Miranda Pinto know that two of the "torturers" were "Brazilian Air Force Commanders" and the third a "civilian Jew" who had been in a concentration camp in Russia. It could be that someone experiencing torture would glean this much information about his torturers, but I have doubts. As Junta opponents, Amnesty sources might well embellish their experiences.

Having said all this, I am left about where I was before. I find no way to reconcile the claims of the two sides. Knowing Lavin, I find it difficult to

envisage him turning the crank on the generator. And I suspect we shall never clear the matter up.

In any event, I am glad it has faded into the background. Whatever the earlier sins of the Junta, we have not received reports of torture or mysterious disappearances in recent months. If we find that this continues to be the case, I hope that in due course we can begin to hold out some incentives to the Chileans for staying on their good behavior, and carry forward a dialogue to encourage them to go further.

I do not know if it is general in the area, but I have the feeling that since January we have had surprisingly little feedback from Washington with respect to policy views on Chile. We have of course a number of more general public statements from Terry Todman, you and others, and we look forward to what the President will say in a couple of days. But we have very little "feel" regarding the planning and analysis process which we know is going on in Washington.

I assume therefore that I shall be leaving here (in late May) before we embark on a new, Carter Administration tack with respect to Chile. I greatly regret this. As you can imagine, I have lived with this problem very intimately for over three years. But I hope that I may at least have set the stage for whatever action is to come.

I look forward to a good debriefing session in Washington. If I can continue to be helpful in any way, I want to do so.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

David H. Popper
Ambassador

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Santiago, April 12, 1977

[redacted]

EYES ONLY

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[redacted]

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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82D280, 13623

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE **UNCLASSIFIED**

AIRGRAM

P 70066-0357

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FILE DESIGNATION

Chile Project (#S199900006) A-51

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Exemption(s) B1

TO : Department of State

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Amembassy Lima
Amembassy Montevideo
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New York

FROM : Amembassy Santiago DATE: April 12, 1977

E.O. 11652: NOFORN, GDS 1 & 2

SUBJECT : Possible Shift in Chilean Foreign Policy--Implications for USG

REF :

TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, PINT, CI, AR, BR, PU, US

WARNING NOTICE--SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED--NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS--NOT RELEASABLE TO CONTRACTORS OR CONTRACTORS/CONSULTANTS

Summary: There are indications that Chile is shifting its foreign policy emphasis somewhat from the United States to its Southern Cone neighbors. In part the GOC wants to show us that our concentration on human rights damages other United States interests. This airgram lists a number of things the GOC hypothetically could do to get at the United States, but notes the restraints under which the GOC operates in its foreign relations. The conclusion is not surprising: The GOC can do little to us without harming itself more. Other than minor harassments in Chile, the GOC might make the most impact on the United States by working through its Southern Cone neighbors and other LAs. But, upon reflection, it may decide to do nothing at all along these lines. End of Summary

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Change in Policy Emphasis:

In early March the UNHRC meeting in Geneva approved by an overwhelming majority a resolution on human rights in Chile along the general lines of that approved by the UNGA in December 1976. The resolution gave only the slightest recognition of the improvement in Chilean conditions during 1976, and none

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Form DS-232

Drafted by:	Phone No.	Date:	For Department Use Only
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to the further and more dramatic improvement so far in 1977. President Pinochet reportedly reacted strongly to the resolution, and to the change in the US position--from abstention in December to cosponsorship (along with Cuba) in March. He told his colleagues that he intended to take a harder line toward the United States because Chilean policy had not been successful in efforts to restore balance to Chile's image abroad

So far there has been no evidence of actual change in GOC policy--a little smoke but no fire. indicate an impending switch on policy towards Panama the public rhetoric is hot, and we have detected what may--or may not--be intentional lack of cooperation with us on marginal matters such as hydrographic research and copper. We also have an indication that in one instance GOC policy has not changed in the key area of cooperation with the UNHRC on human rights (Santiago 2656).

Pinochet, however is a stubborn and proud man when aroused, and a shift in policy would be in character. The Embassy therefore believes it useful to examine what the GOC might do to damage US interests should it put its heart into the effort. We have considered a wide variety of possibilities, and no doubt the Chileans could come up with some surprises if they put their minds to it. We list the following as illustrative, beginning with some minor measures that would cost the GOC little or nothing, through some that would hurt them more than us:

Limit cooperation in hydrographic research
Harass or cold shoulder US officials in Chile
Refuse to allow Chilean narcotics expellees to return to Chile
Refuse support to US candidates in international fora
Limit cooperation in international fora (e.g., leave the UN Committee of 24, or vote in it against the United States on Guam and Puerto Rico)
Harass Braniff

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Take strongly LDC positions in the North-South dialogue
Stop payment of compensation for copper nationalization

Restraints on the GOC

A Chile that concentrated on working against US interests could be troublesome, as Allende showed. But the Chile of the Junta operates under a number of restraints:

a. Domestic: The Junta appears to be riding high at the moment, but in fact it is somewhat overextended politically. The GOC just outlawed its remaining democratic political opposition, and the only democratic voice left is that of the Catholic Church. In its sequential attempts to destroy leftist terrorists, Marxist subversives, and now the liberal center, the GOC had invoked nationalism. But jingoism has its risks, and the Junta could lose popular backing by assuming an outspokenly anti-US position. Government supporters are not in agreement on the new, tougher line. For the first time we see public comments from the governmental moderates about the "Fascist"or extremist influences in the GOC. Pinochet has enough enemies without alienating these relative moderates also.

b. Chilean Dependence: Chile depends on the outside world more than most. It needs foreign markets, foreign investment and loans, and thus is unlikely to risk a US cutoff of the F-5 and A-37 programs and other less important items remaining in the FMS pipeline. Chile depends on foreign trade, and would not cut off its markets willingly. Chile needs an efficient, reasonably priced Panama Canal. It cannot be sure how the Canal would be operated and what it would cost under Panama; in addition, Chile is skeptical about breaking bilateral treaties because of its uncomfortable relationship with Peru. Moreover, Chile fears Peru. It worries about the US attitude in case of a conflict, and it cannot count on Brazil and Argentina. The Junta would therefore be foolish to undermine a hemispheric system that might be of some help should Peru attack.

d. Ambivalent United States Attitude: Senior Chilean leaders are bemused about the USG's attitude. Despite the clear signal of a substantive change at Geneva, Pinochet and colleagues must have noticed the open attitude of President Carter towards Chile. Certainly the Foreign Ministry does. Moreover, the Ministry took pains to have published in Chile the corrected summary of the United States delegation's statement at the UNHRC (Santiago 2692).

e. International Isolation: Chile's isolation is still great. If it consciously casts off the United States, it cannot turn to the Communist world, or the Third World, for friendship. It is popular only with a few hard right regimes, which themselves are unpopular these days. Chile's position in Latin America has improved, but it has problems with countries such as Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia, not to mention Cuba and Peru. Chile's maneuvering space is therefore limited essentially to some other military regimes in Latin America, and a few other countries in the world. And some of those governments do not want to be identified with Chile.

The Southern Cone

The Southern Cone deserves special consideration. Since the coup the GOC has made a particular effort to improve relations with its neighbors in the southern area. It has had considerable success, but cannot be content. Chile withdrew from the Andean Pact on grounds of its incompatibility with Chile's basic economic goals but also in the expectation of gaining politically and economically from a shift east. Its attempt to associate itself more closely with the Plata Basin Organization was rebuffed; apparently neither Brazil nor Argentina wants a closer arrangement than observer. We have yet to see evidence of specific commercial advantage from this shift. Although the neighboring regimes are superficially similar and have some common problems, they are at various stages of development and have distinct interests. The Junta has true rapport only with Uruguay's leadership.

The current reaction of most of these countries to United States human rights policies gives a fillip

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to Chilean desires for closer cooperation. We see from [redacted] that the Chileans want to work with their neighbors in convincing the United States that its overall interests require a more careful position on human rights. But we wonder whether these countries, so heterogeneous in many respects, can provide Chile the protection it needs if it is to wash its hands of the United States and take positive steps to alienate us.

What Will Chile Do?

As already noted, Pinochet is a stubborn man. But he also is reasonably prudent, and not likely to exchange a lesser evil for a greater. We thus expect to see some signs of change in Chilean foreign policy, which should not go so far, however, as to risk alienating us. We shall probably find Chilean officials less cooperative in some areas of more interest to us than to them, and we can expect Chilean rhetoric to remain heated at least for a time. The GOC will also continue its effort to strengthen cooperation with the Southern Cone countries, which it would have done in any event. But it is in this area, where Chile would be shielded somewhat by other countries, that a change might be most meaningful. The Embassy nevertheless believes that the USG need take no precautionary steps. Chile can do little to harm us, and on reflection the GOC may decide not even to try.

POPPER

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e. International Isolation: Chile's isolation is still great. If it consciously casts off the United States, it cannot turn to the Communist world, or the Third World, for friendship. It is popular only with a few hard right regimes, which themselves are unpopular these days. Chile's position in Latin America has improved, but it has problems with countries such as Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia, not to mention Cuba and Peru. Chile's maneuvering space is therefore limited essentially to some other military regimes in Latin America, and a few other countries in the world. And some of those governments do not want to be identified with Chile.

The Southern Cone

The Southern Cone deserves special consideration. Since the coup the GOC has made a particular effort to improve relations with its neighbors in the southern area. It has had considerable success, but cannot be content. Chile withdrew from the Andean Pact on grounds of its incompatibility with Chile's basic economic goals but also in the expectation of gaining politically and economically from a shift east. Its attempt to associate itself more closely with the Plata Basin Organization was rebuffed; apparently neither Brazil nor Argentina wants a closer arrangement than observer. We have yet to see evidence of specific commercial advantage from this shift. Although the neighboring regimes are superficially similar and have some common problems, they are at various stages of development and have distinct interests. The Junta has true rapport only with Uruguay's leadership.

The current reaction of most of these countries to United States human rights policies gives a fillip

to Chilean desires for closer cooperation. We see from [redacted] that the Chileans want to work with their neighbors in convincing the United States that its overall interests require a more careful position on human rights. But we wonder whether these countries, so heterogeneous in many respects, can provide Chile the protection it needs if it is to wash its hands of the United States and take positive steps to alienate us.

What Will Chile Do?

As already noted, Pinochet is a stubborn man. But he also is reasonably prudent, and not likely to exchange a lesser evil for a greater. We thus expect to see some signs of change in Chilean foreign policy, which should not go so far, however, as to risk alienating us. We shall probably find Chilean officials less cooperative in some areas of more interest to us than to them, and we can expect Chilean rhetoric to remain heated at least for a time. The GOC will also continue its effort to strengthen cooperation with the Southern Cone countries, which it would have done in any event. But it is in this area, where Chile would be shielded somewhat by other countries, that a change might be most meaningful. The Embassy nevertheless believes that the USG need take no precautionary steps. Chile can do little to harm us, and on reflection the GOC may decide not even to try.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

Memcon for the files—Yvonne Thayer

With Dr. Emilio Mignone

April 15, 1977 12-2 pm

Mignone delivered copy of the Permanent Assembly's petition. He said it had been very carefully thought and worked out by a leading constitutional lawyer Genaro Carrio with plenty of precedent examples so that the Supreme Court would be hard pressed to ignore it. He said he saw four possible responses from the Court:

1) refuse to act on case (doubtful they would flaunt public opinion so openly—lots of pressure on justices to use petition as vehicle by which to act)

2) postpone a decision and in the meantime pressure govt to take steps to alleviate problem before hostile decision is made—by freeing many of the desaparecidos named or producing them, so that court can eventually decline that cause for a ruling exists (Mignone—most likely)

3) take positive action on a part of the petition. Petition asked that Court designate a judge to handle all special cases in which habeas corpus writs remain unanswered at lower court level, also asked that the habeas corpus be resolved on these specific 12 and another 413 cases. Court might try to resolve the cases named, but forego the special judge

4) approve the whole petition. Petitioners believe that if special office with Court-designated judge requests info from Interior Ministry on no. of complaints, for example, or on specific cases, Ministry will be required to respond. If Ministry's records on complaints are revealed, it would approximate the list of persons disappeared in the country since most families have brought these cases to the attention of the Ministry. It would provide the first statistical info on the situation in country.

On Supreme Court justices; they are competent, honorable men, all but one have had careers in the judiciary. Problem is they tend to be bureaucratic, narrow, strict interpreters of their duties and responsibilities. Under Latin law there is very little latitude. The law determines the sentence, the seriousness of crime, etc, little room for judge to make determination. All evidence, testimony, etc has to be contained on the legal brief. Judges will exclude all other considerations, even any special circumstances, the public environment etc. etc. when resolving a case. They will consider nothing but the letter of the law. Third, judges try to avoid political questions. They will interpret everything very narrowly and limit their rulings to strict judicial questions. They tend to grab onto one narrow legal question rather than approach the issue as a whole.

Mignone knows two of the justices: Judge Abelardo Rossi—retired

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federal judge.

Also newest who has not had a judicial career
Carlos Frias--a prominent Cordobes, intellectual, prof of
public and constitutional law at U of Cordoba, served as Ambassador
to Holland and the Vatican. Father was governor of Cordoba 30 years ago.
Very prestigious family. Frias publishes a lot on federalism, public
law, likely to have major input on Assembly's petition.

Dr. Emilio Mignone on Lanusse-Sajon-Graiver case

Lanusse has obvious political ambitions and is about to launch his campaign through publication of his "memoires. Sajon was one of the ghostwriters; it seems Hector Ferreiros helped too. Former Pres. Levingston loathes Lanusse for setting him up in the presidency only to pull him down and has joined with Saint Jean and the Navy to discredit Lanusse. The Bahia Blanca newspaper answers to Saint Jean and the Navy, which is control in area. The ~~numbers~~ Graiver investigation report was completed and given to Videla some days ago. ~~Videla~~ It will reveal that a number of banks, firms, gave the Montoneros "protection money" and that several banks had Montonero accounts; other economic corruption stories that will hurt some big VIPs, particularly those connected to Lanusse. Videla and Lanusse are on good terms. Videla stalled on taking action on Graiver report so the Bahia Blanca paper was fed stories to force release of ~~story report~~ the material. Saint Jean then announced that Videla would have incredible story soon, again to force Videla to reveal contents and take steps against persons named, including Lanusse connections. The other victim will be Enrique, who as Minister of Social Welfare had Graiver as his undersecretary.

~~Journalistic circles~~ La Opinion was to have been sold to Lanusse interests with Sajon as editor to support Lanusse's program and candidacy. No surprise that Timerman and Jara were taken. Wouldn't be a surprise to have Lanusse kidnapped next. Motive is not to ~~punish~~ "get" Videla by forcing human rights issue. Problem is that the technique of midnight kidnappings has now spilled into areas of political and military infighting. Ferreiros was very close to Gen. Della Tea and the two were about to launch under Ferreiros' editorship a publication expounding della Tea's political views and aspirations. Unexpected that Ferrieros would have been killed, unlikely that ~~Timerman and Jara will be killed~~ anti-Lanusse forces will go so far as to kill Timerman and Jara; However, should also be understood that foreign pressure on behalf Timerman, etc. won't make slightest impression on ~~kidnappers~~ persons involved. They would be perfectly happy to see moderate indecisive Videla fall as a by-product. Mignone said that next various factions within the Armed Forces will start killing each other off.

Viva Argentina!

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Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS02820

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02820 190006Z
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2820

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS SHUM AR
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF BASIC ELEMENTS INVOLVED IN GRAIVER SCANDAL

1. EMBASSY'S SUMMARY OF INFORMATION LEAKED TO THE PRESS THUS FAR CONCERNING ALLEGED FINDINGS OF THE MILITARY INVESTIGATION OF THE GRAIVER AFFAIR BEING SUBMITTED BY SEPTEL. PRESS OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS HAS HAD A FIELD DAY REPORTING A COMPLICATED SERIES OF ALLEGATIONS INVOLVING A WIDE RANGE OF INDIVIDUALS AND POTENTIALLY BEING OF GREAT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE. OBJECTIVE OF THIS CABLE IS TO SUMMARIZE WHAT APPEARS AT THIS POINT TO BE THE MAIN ELEMENTS OR ISSUES INVOLVED, AS FOLLOWS:
(A) OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS THERE HAS BEEN A SPATE OF KIDNAPPINGS OF JOURNALISTS, AT LEAST SOME OF WHOM MAY BE RELATED TO THE ONGOING INVESTIGATION OF THE GRAIVER AFFAIR. IN THE CASE OF TIMERMAN AND JARA OF LA OPINION, THE MIDNIGHT SEIZURES HAVE BEEN--BELATEDLY--ACKNOWLEDGED BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES AS HAVING BEEN OFFICIAL DETENTIONS. THE FOLLOWING OTHER DISAPPEARANCES HAVE NOT YET BEEN EXPLAINED: HECTOR FERREIROS, FORMER TELAM REPORTER AND REPORTEDLY A COLLABORATOR OF BOTH EX-PRESIDENT LANUSSE AND GENERAL DELLA TEA, WAS FOUND SHOT TO DEATH IN A FIELD ON APRIL 5; EDGARDO SAJON, FORMER PRESS SECRETARY IN THE LANUSSE GOVERNMENT AND A LA OPINION PRINTING DEPT HEAD DISAPPEARED OVER TWO WEEKS AGO; ENRIQUE RAAB, EX-LA OPINION REPORTER, WAS
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02820 190006Z

Current Class: [redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Maggaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Page: 1

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Case Number: 200000044

ABDUCTED FROM HIS HOME ON APRIL 16 BY A GROUP OF MEN IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES WHO MACHINEGUNNED DOWN HIS FRONT DOOR.
(B) THE INVESTIGATION OF THE GRAIVER FINANCIAL EMPIRE PRESUMABLY BEGAN AROUND THE TIME OF OR SHORTLY AFTER DAVID GRAIVER'S ALLEGED DEATH IN AN AIRPLANE ACCIDENT IN AUGUST 1976 IN MEXICO. THE INVESTIGATION, ACCORDING TO NEWS LEAKS, COVERS TWO PRINCIPAL ISSUES: (1) ALLEGED CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE GRAIVER FINANCIAL INTERESTS AND THE MONTONEROS; AND (2) FRAUDULENT FINANCIAL PRACTICES OF THE GRAIVER INTERESTS AND OTHERS RELATED TO THEM. THE ESSENCE OF THE CHARGE CONCERNING GRAIVER'S ALLEGED LINKS TO THE MONTONEROS IS THAT THE MONTONEROS DEPOSITED A SUM OF MONEY ESTIMATED AS BETWEEN 12 AND 25 MILLION DOLLARS IN GRAIVER BANKS FROM WHICH THEY DREW INTEREST FOR THEIR OPERATIONS IN ARGENTINA. THE ALLEGED DEPOSITS CHIEFLY CAME FROM RANSOM MONEY. GRAIVER ALLEGEDLY USED THE MONEY TO FOUND NEW BANKING ESTABLISHMENTS ABROAD. ACCORDING TO ONE VERSION, GRAIVER WAS INTRODUCED TO THE MONTONEROS THROUGH FORMER PERONIST ECONOMY MINISTER JOSE BER GELBARD WHO ALLEGEDLY HAD CLOSE TIES TO GRAIVER. (GELBARD ALLEGEDLY LOST $6 MILLION IN DEPOSITS WITH THE AMERICAN BAN AND TRUST CO. OF N. Y. WHEN THE BANK FOLDED FOLLOWING GRAIVER'S DEATH.) ACCORDING TO ANOTHER VERSION, GELBARD WAS INTRODUCED TO A MONTONERO LEADER NAMED CARLOS ALBERTO MAGUID THROUGH GRAIVER'S BROTHER-IN-LAW, OSVALDO PAPALEO, WHO WAS PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY DURING THE LAST PERONIST GOVERNMENT. IT HAS ALSO BEEN REPORTED THAT THE GRAIVER INVESTIGATION IS JUST THE TIP OF AN ICEBERG INVOLVING FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF LINKS BETWEEN THE MONTONEROS AND THE ARGENTINE INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL COMMUNITY. FOR EXAMPLE, LA NACION HINTED APRIL 17 THAT SOME 35-40 ARGENTINE AND MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES WOULD BE CITED FOR PROVIDING "PROTECTION MONEY" TO THE MONTONEROS.
(C) THE ALLEGATION OF ECONOMIC CRIMES PRESUMABLY RELATES TO THE FRAUDULENT FINANCIAL PRACTICES OF THE GRAIVER BANKS, BUT THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS IN THE PRESS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO INVESTIGATING TAX EVASION AND OTHER FRAUDULENT ACTIVITIES ON THE PART OF OTHER ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE RELATED TO THE GRAIVER INTERESTS.
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02820 190006Z

(D) THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS THAT DAVID GRAIVER'S TOP LEGAL ADVISOR JORGE RUBENSTEIN DIED, REPORTEDLY IN AN AUTO ACCIDENT, ALTHOUGH ACCORDING TO ANOTHER ACCOUNT HE DIED "OF A HEART ATTACK" WHILE IN DETENTION SOME MONTHS AGO. ANOTHER STILL UNEXPLAINED OCCURRENCE HAS BEEN THE REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE OF CARLOS MAGUID

IN LIMA ON APRIL 12. MAGUID APPARENTLY PARTICIPATED IN THE KIDNAPPING OF EX-PRESIDENT ARAMBURU IN 1970 AND SUBSEQUENTLY WENT INTO EXILE IN PERU.
(E) IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE ABDUCTION OF EDGARDO SAJON, EX-PRESIDENT LANUSSE MET WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA AND SHORTLY THEREAFTER ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT VIDELA TOLD HIM THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SAJON IN NO WAY WAS RELATED TO THE GRAIVER INVESTIGATION. LANUSSE WAS ATTACKED THEREAFTER BY LA NUEVA PROVINCIA, A RIGHTWING DAILY WHICH HAS CLOSE TIES TO BUENOS AIRES PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR ST. JEAN, FOR ALLEGEDLY HAVING ATTEMPTED TO PUT PRESSURE ON VIDELA TO TURN OFF THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE GRAIVER AFFAIR, BECAUSE IT HAD IMPLICATED MANY OF LANUSSE'S FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS. IN ADDITION TO THE 15 RELATIVES OR CLOSE BUSINESS ASSOCIATES OF DAVID GRAIVER, WHO ACCORDING TO A MILITARY COMMUNIQUE ARE UNDER DETENTION, THE PRESS HAS ALSO REPORTED THE ARREST OF PEDRO JORGE MARTINEZ SEGOVIA, WHO IS A BUSINESS ASSOCIATE OF ECONOMY MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ. THE INVESTIGATION IS THEREFORE FAR FLUNG, BUT IT REMAINS UNCLEAR AT THIS POINT HOW FAR ITS ORIGINATORS TEND TO GO AND WHO THEY ARE REALLY AFTER. (HOWEVER, IT DOES APPEAR THAT WHILE THERE MAY BE AN UNDERCURRENT OF ANTI-SEMITISM INVOLVED, THIS IS NOT PREDOMINANT.) WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT THE PRINCIPALS BEHIND THE INVESTIGATION, SUCH AS ARMY FIRST CORPS COMMANDER GENERAL SUAREZ MASON AND GOVERNOR ST. JEAN, ARE HARDLINERS WHO HAVE BEEN DISSATISFIED WITH VIDELA'S ALLEGED VACILLATIONS IN TERMS OF SUPPRESSING THE TERRORISTS, THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE RECALCITRANCE OF THE PRIVATE BUSINESS SECTOR TO MAKE ITS QUOTA OF ECONOMIC SACRIFICE. IT WAS THOUGH THAT VIDELA'S HAND HAD BEEN STRENGTHENED AS A RESULT OF THE SELF-EVALUATION PROCESS WHICH THE THREE ARMED SERVICES WENT THROUGH ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUP. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THOSE BEHIND THE GRAIVER INVESTIGATION [redacted]

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 02820 190006Z

INTEND TO PUT NEW PRESSURES ON VIDELA TO HARDEN HIS POLICIES. IT MAY BE, AS PLANNING MINISTER DIAZ BESSONE STATED TO THE PRESS, THE MILITARY INVESTIGATORS INTEND TO "ALLOW THE CHIPS TO FALL WHERE THEY MAY." IF VIDELA SHOULD FALL BY THE WAYSIDE IN THE PROCESS, THEN SO BE IT. HOWEVER, VIDELA'S APPOINTMENT OF AN ARMY GENERAL TO TAKE OVER THE INVESTIGATION, ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENCY, MAY IN EFFECT HAVE FORCED THE HARDLINERS TO STEP BACK AT LEAST MOMENTARILY FROM THIS PLAN, IF INDEED THAT IS THE PLAN, TO SEE HOW VIDELA HANDLES THE MATTER AT THIS JUNCTURE. HOPEFULLY, WE WILL HAVE GREATER INSIGHTS INTO THE

Case Number: 200000044

HARDLINERS' PLANS AND PROSPECTS AFTER VIDELA'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON SUBVERSION WHICH IS SCHEDULED LATE AFTERNOON TOMORROW. ANOTHER INDICATOR WILL BE WHETHER VIDELA DEPARTS FOR HIS VISIT TO PARAGUAY LATER THIS WEEK, AS SCHEDULED.
(F) THE WAY THE INVESTIGATION HAS BEEN CONDUCTED THUS FAR UNDOUBTEDLY IS A SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT FOR THE GOVERNMENT, AND VIDELA MUST BE AWARE OF THE IMPLICATIONS ABROAD. ENOUGH HAS BEEN SAID IN THE PUBLIC RECORD TO SUGGEST THAT THOSE BEHIND THE PROBE MAY BE WILD MEN SEARCHING FOR EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THEIR PRECONCEIVED NOTIONS. IT MAY BE THAT THEY HAVE SOLID EVIDENCE--ONLY TIME WILL TELL, BUT THE MIDNIGHT ABDUCTIONS AND OTHER PRESSURE TACTICS WHICH WE PRESUME HAVE BEEN USED AGAINST THOSE DETAINED UNDOUBTEDLY WILL JAUNDICE THE INTERPRETATION WHICH THESE DEVELOPMENTS ARE GIVEN ABROAD. FOREIGN CREDITORS PRESUMABLY WILL ALSO BE CONCERNED TO LEARN THAT SOME PART OF ARGENTINA'S FINANCIAL RESERVES ABROAD ARE OF TERRORIST ORIGIN.

2. SEPTEL FOLLOWS WITH MORE DETAILS.
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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 087456
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
X Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 087456

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: CASE OF ARGENTINE NATIONAL, FATHER CARLOS BUSTOS

1. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE WHATEVER INFORMATION EMBASSY CAN PROVIDE ON SUBJECT'S WHEREABOUTS.

2. BUSTOS IS A MEMBER OF THE LITTLE BROTHERS OF THE GOSPEL OF THE CHARLES DE FOUCALD ORDER. HE REPORTEDLY DISPPEARED ABOUT APRIL 12 IN BUENOS AIRES. BUSTOS BELONGS TO THE SAME GROUP THAT FATHER PATRICK RICE BELONGED TO.

3. U.S. INTEREST: NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA.
VANCE

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02869 01 OF 03 192308Z
ACTION ARA-10

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 2869

ARA/ECA FOR RONDON

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND ON GRAIVER CASE AS LEAKED TO (OR REPORTED IN) THE PRESS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2820

1.) EMBASSY TRANSMITS HEREWITH THE TEXT, PRACTICALLY IN ITS ENTIRETY, OF AN ARTICLE APPEARING IN LA OPINION APRIL 19, WHICH SUMMARIZES THE INFORMATION REPORTED IN THE ARGENTINE PRESS OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS CONCERNING THE GRAIVER AFFAIR. ENTITLED "THE GRAIVER CASE FORMS A TANGLED WEB OF PRESUMED CRIMINAL ASSOCIATIONS," THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS AN ADEQUATE SUMMARY OF THE INFORMATION ON THE PUBLIC RECORD THUS FAR: (NOTING THAT BUENOS AIRES PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR ST. JEAN HAS STATED THAT THE REVELATIONS REPORTED IN THE PRESS "WILL STIR UP PUBLIC OPINION," LA OPINION OBSERVES THAT THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED ARE BEING TRIED IN THE PRESS LONG BEFORE ANY FORMAL CHARGES HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO ANY COURT).

"EL SECUESTRO DEL SENOR EDGARDO SAJON, EX-SECRETARIO DE PRENSA Y DIFUSION DE LA PRESIDENCIA DE LA NACION (1971-73), Y ACTUAL DIRECTOR DE LOS TALLERES GRAFICOS DONDE SE IMPRIME LA OPINION, HECHO OCURRIDO EL LO. DE ABRIL Y QUE ESTE DIARIO CON-
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02869 01 OF 03 192308Z

SIGNO EN SUS EDICIONES DEL 2; A INFORMACION PUBLICADA POR LA NUEVA PROVINCIA DE BASHIA BLANCA, EL 3 DE ABRIL; Y UN COMENTARIO RECOGIDO POR LA OPINION DEL MISMO DIA ACERCA DE LA SIMULTANEIDAD ENTRE LA DESAPARICION DEL SENOR SAJON Y LAS DE ALGUNAS PERSONAS APARENTEMENTE VINCULADAS AL 'CASO GRAIVER', SON LAS NOTICIAS QUE ABREN LAS PUERTAS AL PUBLICO PARA EL CONOCIMIENTO DE LAS INVESTIGACIONES EN CURSO SOBRE LAS ACTIVIDADES DEL BANQUERO DAVID GRAIVER Y SUS EMPRESAS.

"EL 2 DE ABRIL, LA OPINION ANUNCIABA QUE EL SENOR SAJON HABIA SALIDO DE SU DOMICILIO EN LA MANANA ANTERIOR, CONDUCIENDO SU AUTOMOVIL PARTICULAR RUMBO A LA CAPITAL FEDERAL, SIN QUE SE VOLVIERA A TENER NOTICIAS DE SU PARADERO NI LOS ORGANISMOS DE SEGURIDAD SUMINISTRASEN DETALLE ALGUNO ACERCA DEL HECHO. APENAS 24 HORAS MAS TARDE, LA NUEVA PROVINCIA --BAJO EL TITULO 'EL "AFFAIRE" GRAIVER' Y EN LA SECCION 'CRONICAS DE LA REPUBLICA' -- APORTABA UNA VERSION SEGUN LA CUAL 'LA POLICIA BONAERENSE ESTARIA REALIZANDO UNA AMPLIA INVESTIGACION SOBRE LA ESCANDALOSA ESTAFA PERPETRADA POR EL BANQUERO PLATENSE DAVID GRAIVER' Y ATRIBULA AL TENIENTE GENERAL ALEJANDRO AGUSTIN LANUSSE ESTAR 'MANIOBRANDO PARA FRENAR LA INVESTIGACION, YA QUE ON LA MISMA SE ENCONTRARIAN INVOLUCRADOS ALGUNOS DE SUS ASESORES'.

"TRAS RECORDAR QUE EL TENIENTE GENERAL (RE) ALEJANDRO AGUSTIN LANUSSE PREPARABA LA PUBLICACION DE SUS MEMORIAS, EL COMENTARIO DECIA QUE EL LANZAMIENTO EDITORIAL DE LAS MISMAS TENIA EL PROPOSITO DE PRESENTAR AL EX PRESIDENTE DE LA NACION 'COMO FIGURA REPRESENTATIVA DEL CENTRO-IZQUIERDA SEGUN UNA ESTRATEGIA URDIDA POR SU CERDBRO GRIS, EL EX SECRETARIO DE PRENSA Y DIFUSION, EDGARDO SAJON."

"DOS DIAS MAS TARDE, Y MEDIANTE UNA CARTA, EL TENIENTE GENERAL LANUSSE RECLAMO DE LA DIRECTORA DE LA NUEVA PROVINCIA, SENORA DIANA JULIO DE MASSOT, QUE RATIFICARA 'LA SERIEDAD DE LA FUENTE ORIGINARIA DE ESA PRESUNCION' DE QUE EL ESTABA MANIOBRANDO PARA IMPEDIR LA INVESTIGACION.
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02869 01 OF 03 192308Z

"LOS INDICIOS DE QUE LA INVESTIGACION MENCIONADA POR LA NUEVA PROVINCIA TOMABA UN RUMBO EN EL SENTIDO DE LAS VINCULACIONES DE DAVID GRAIVER CON LA GUERRILLA, TRASCENDIERON EN VIRTUD DE UNA INFORMACION PUBLICADA AL DIA SIGUIENTE --4 DE ABRIL --EN LA PRIMERA PLANA DE LA RAZON. ALLI, TRAS OCUPARSE DE LA DESAPARICION

Case Number: 200000044

DEL SENOR SAJON Y DE LAS VISITAS HECHAS POR EL TENIENTE GENERAL LANUSSE AL TENIENTE GENERAL JORGE RAFAEL VIDELA PARA INTERESARLO EN EL ASUNTO Y CONSIGNAR QUE ENTRE TANTO SE HABIA PRODUCIDO LA DESAPARICION DE LOS DOCTORES MIGUEL DE ANCHORENA, HIPOLITO JESUS PAZ, VICENTE SOLANO LIMA Y ANGEL FEDERICO ROBLEDO (POSTERIORMENTE ACLARADAS POR LOS INTERESADOS EN FORMA TAL QUE NO APARECIAN SUJETOS DE INVESTIGACION ALGUNA), EXPRESABA QUE "LA INVESTIGACION QUE ESTARIA EN CURSO SERIA DE MUCHA MAS ENVERGADURA' YA QUE 'UNA SUMA DE INDICIOS Y OSTROS ELEMENTOS DE JUICIO' PERMITIRIAN 'DETERMINAR AUN MAS EN PROFUNDIDAD LAS CONEXIONES DE LA SUBVERSION O CONCRETAMENTE DE UNA DE LAS BANDAS DE DELINCURENTES SUBVERSIVOS, CON PODEROSOS INTERESES EMPRESARIOS, EN DIVERSOS MEDIOS DE LA ACTIVIDAD NACIONAL."

EL DIA SIGNUIENTE, LA NUEVA PROVINCIA INSISTIO SOBRE EL PARTICULAR BAJO EL TITULO "TRES NOMBRES EN DANZA: LANUSSE-SAJON-GRAIVER", CONSIGNANDO QUE LA INVESTIGACION HABRIA COMENZADO MEDIANTE UNA INDAGATORIA HECHA A LA MUJER DE DAVID GRAIVER--LIDIA PAPALEO, HERMANA DE OSVALDO PAPALEO, QUIEN FUERA EL ULTIMO SECRETARIO DE PRENSA Y DIFUSION DE MARIE ESTELA MARTINEZ DE PERON -- Y A JUAN E ISIDORO GRAIVER, PADRE Y HERMANO DE DAVID.

"SEGUN TRASCENDIDOS -- DECIA -- ENTRE LOS MEDIOS DE SEGURIDAD EXISTE LA POSIBILIDAD DE QUE LOS BANCOS DE GRAIVER HAYAN RECAUDADO Y CANALIZADO FONDOS DE LA GUERRILLA".

ORIGEN DE LA FORTUNA DE DAVID GRAIVER. EL HOMBRE INCULPADO DE ESTE MODO EN FORMA CONCRETA HABIA FALLECIDO VARIOS MESES ANTES-EL 6 DE AGOSTO DE 1976-EN UN ACCIDENTE AEREO OCURRIDO EN MEXICO, MIENTRAS VIAJABA ENTRE NUEVA YORK Y ACAPULCO. POCOS DIAS MAS
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PAGE 04 BUENOS 02869 01 OF 03 192308Z

TARDE SE ANUNCIABA QUE DOS BANCOS -- EL BANQUE POUR LA AMERIQUE

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02869 02 OF 03 192228Z
ACTION ARA-10

Case Number: 200000044

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 2869

ARA/ECA FOR RONDON

DU SUD, DE BRUSELAS, Y, EN SEGUIDA, EL NATIONAL BANK AND TRUST CO., DE NEUVA YORK -- SE PRESENTABAN EN QUIEBRA, DEJANDO SALDOS CONJUNTOS DE ACREEDORES POR UN VALOR QUE OSCILABA EN LOS 50 MILLONES DE DOLARES. DICHOES BANCOS PETENECIAN A DAVID GRAIVER.

LA REVISTA SOMOS, EN SU EDICION DEL 15 DE ABRIL UTLIMO, RESENA LA BIOGRAFIA DEL BANQUERO PRESUNTAMENTE MUERTO. HIJO HE JUAN GRAIVER, UN INMIGRANTE DE POLONIA LLEGADO A LA ARGENTINA EN 1931, EMPRENDIO A LOS 26 ANOS -- EN 1967 -- LA CARRERA COMERCIAL OPTANDO POR LA COMPRA DEL BANCO COMERCIAL DE LA PLATA MEDIANTE CAPITAL DE SU PADRE. A PARTIR DE ESE MOMENTO, SU FORTUNA COMMENZO A CRECER. SOMOS LE ATRIBUYE, POR ESA EPOCA, EXTENSAS CONNEXIONES OFICIALES, OBTENIDAS A TRAVES DE SUS FUNCIONES EN EL MINISTERIO DE BIENESTAR SOCIAL, DURANTE LA GESTION CUMPLIDA AL FRENTE DEL MISMO POR EL SENOR FRANCISCO G. MANRIQUE. ESTAS VINCULACIONES FUERON MUCH MAS ESTRECHAS POSTERIORMENTE, YA QUE SEGUN SOMOS 'GRAIVER INTUYO QUE MANRIQUE PODIA ENCABEZAR LA ALTERNATIVA ELECTORAL DEL SECTOR LIBERAL ARGENTINO Y NO DUDO EN BRINDARLE SU APOYO DURANTE LA CAMPANA PROESLITISTA QUE CULMINO EN LOS COMOCIOS DE 1973.'

POR ENTONCES, GRAIVER YA HABIA ADQUIRIDO, ADEMAS DEL BANCO PLATENSE, EL BANCO HURLINGHAM Y HABIA FUNDADO UNA EMPRESA DE
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02869 02 OF 03 192228Z

CONSTRUCCIONES -- FUNDAR S.A. -- QUE 'SI BIEN NO REALIZO NUNCO OBRAS DE ENVERGADURA, LE SIRVIO PARA ACRECENTAR EL PODER ECONOMICO DEL GRUPO.'

PER ESTO -- DICE LA REVISTA -- LO CUMPLIA GRAIVER SIN ABANDONAR SUS VINCULOS CON LOS RESTANTES GRUPOS POLITICOS Y,

SIMULTANEAMENTE, ENTRABA EN CONTACTO CON LOS SECTORES PERONISTAS A TRAVES DE LOS ORGANISMOS VINCULADOS A LA CONFEDERACION GENERAL ECONOMICA, LO QUE LO VINCULO A JOSE BER GELBARD Y A JULIO BRONER.

SOMOS AFIRMA QUE FUE DURANTE ESTA EPOCA -- ENTRE 1973 Y 1975 -- QUE EL BANCO PLATENSE CRECIO HASTA TOTALIZAR UN CAPITAL DE ALREDEDOR DE 500.00 MILLONES DE PESOS VIEJOS, CON 18 SUCURSALES Y MAS DE 600 EMPLEADOS. Y EN ESE MISMO PERIODO ES CUANDO GRAIVER, SEGUN LAS VERSIONES HASTA AHORA PUBLICADAS, TOMA CONTACTO CON ELEMENTOS SUBVERSIVOS Y APLICA LOS FONDOS RECAUDADOS POR ESTOS EN UNA SERIE DE SECUESTROS Y ASALTOS PARA REALIZAR DIVERSAS OPERACIONES TANTO EN EL PAIS COMO EN EL EXTERIOR, ENTRE ELLAS LA COMPRA DE DOS BANCOS -- EN BELGICA Y EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS -- Y EL PROYECTO DE ADQUISICION DE UN TERCERO -- EL SWISS ISRAEL TRADE BANK, FILIAL EN TEL AVIV--, PER DE ORIGEN SUIZO, ASI COMO OPERACIONES CON VARIAS EMPRESAS. EL DIARIO CLARIN, EN LA VISPERA, REPRODUCIENDO UN TEXTO DE LA NUEVA PROVINCIA, DE BAHIA BLANCA, EXPRESA SOBRE EL PARTICULAR QUE 'DEPOSITADOS EN SUIZA LOS MILLONES DE DOLARES QUE LA FAMILA BORN PAGO POR EL RESCATE DE SUS HIJOS, SECUESTRADOS DURANTE UN OPERATIVE COMANDO DEL CUAL SE HICIERON RESPONSABLES MONTONEROS, UN PRIMAVERAL DIA DE SETIEMBRE DE 1974, EN PLENO BARRIO NORTE, SE REUNEN LOS DOCTORES 'PAZ' Y 'PENALOZA', ROBERTO QUIETO, JOSE BER GELBARD Y DAVID GRAIVER. ES ALLI -- CONTINUA EL PERIODICO -- DONDE SE RETOCAN Y ULTIMAN LOS DETALLES DEL PACTO QUE, DESDE ENTONCES, UNIRIA, EN UNA HERMANDAD DIABOLICA, A LA SUBVERSION FINANCIERA Y A LA SUBVERSION ARMADA.'

POR OTRA PARTE, EL DIARIO LA PRENSA, REPRODUJO EL TEXTO
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02869 02 OF 03 192228Z

PUBLICADO POR LA NUEVA PROVINCIA EN EL QUE SE AFIRMA ADEMAS QUE EL DIARIO LA OPINION, 'PERTENECERIA -- CUANDO MENOS EN UN 50 POR CIENTO AL GRUPO GRAIVER.' ANADE QUE "EL MATUTINO 'INDEPENDIENTE', CUYO APOYO A LA GESTION GELBARDINA SOLO PODIA COMPARARSE EN EFUSIVIDAD, A LOS ELOGIOS VERTIDOS SOBRE LOS "MARTIRES DE TRELEW', HABRIA SIDO LA PRINCIPAL PUNTA DE LANZA IDEOLOGICA DEL DUO GELBARD-GRAIVER."

ACERCA DE LAS CONEXIONES ENTRE EL GRUPO MONTONEROS Y DAVID GRAIVER, INFORMANCIONES PUBLICADAS POR LA RAZON DE LA VISPERA, LA NACION DEL DOMINGO ULTIMO Y LA REVISTA SOMOS, EN EL NUMERO

ANTES CITADO, SENALAN QUE LA MISMA SE ORIGINO EN LOS MULTIPLES CONTACTOS ENTRE JOSE BER GELBARD, DAVID GRAIVER, OSVALDO PAPALEO, EX SECRETARIO DE PRENSA Y DIFUSION DURANTE EL GOBIERNO DE MARIA ESTELA MARTINEZ DE PERON, Y CARLOS MAGUID, MIEMBRO DE LA BANDA SUBVERSIVA MONTONEROS Y CONDENADO POR HABER PARTICIPADO EN EL ASESINATO DEL TENIENTE GENERAL PEDRO EUGENIO ARAMBURU EN 1970.

SI BIEN NINGUNA DE LAS VERSIONES CONSIGNA FECHA APROXIMADA DE LAS NEGOCIACIONES MENCIONADAS Y EL MOMENTO EN QUE ESTAS OPERACIONES SE CONCRETARON, SE AFIRMA QUE TRAS EL SECUESTRO DE LOS HERMANOS BORN, LA ORGANIZACION MONTONEROS COMENZO A DISTRIBUIR LOS INGENTES FONDOS DERIVADOS DE DICH 'OPERACION', ELIGIENDO PARA ESTE FIN EL CANAL ABIERTO CON GRAIVER.

SEGUN LOS DOS DIARIOS Y LA REVISTA MENCIONADOS, EN FECHA INCIERTA LOS MONTONEROS ENTREGARON A GRAIVER VARIOS MILLONES DE DOLARES CON LOS CUALES ADQUIRIO LOS DOS BANCO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS Y BRUSELAS A QUE SE HACE REFERENCIA.

"LA PRIMAERA CANTIDAD QUE LOS GRAIVER RECIBEN DE LOS MONTONEROS -- DICE SOMOS -- SON CUATRO MILLONES" PERO EL TOTAL ASCENDIA A DOCE MILLONES DE LA MISMA MONEDA YA QUE 'LA SEGUNDA SUMA QUE RECIBEN DE LOS MONTONEROS SON OCHO MILLONES.'

POR ESTAS SUMAS ADELANTADAS, CONTINUA LA REVISTA, GRAIVER
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 BUENOS 02869 02 OF 03 192228Z

SE COMPROMETIA EN ABONAR A LOS SUBVERSIVOS 'MAS DE CIENTO TREINTA MIL DOLARES' MENSUALES. 'UNA VEZ POR MES -- RELATA -- EL "DOCTOR PAZ" O EL "DOCTOR PENALOZA"(NOMBRES SUPUESTOS) LLEGABAN PUNTUALMENTE A LAS OFICINAS DE LA CALLE SUIPACHA (DONDE SE ENCONTRABAN LAS OFICINAS CENTRALES DE GRAIVER). UNA EMPLEADA, MUCHAS VECES LA SENORITA FANJUL, LO HACIA PASAR INMEDIATAMENTE A UN DESPACHO, DONDE LO ATENDIA GRAIVER OR RUBINSTEIN 'JORGE RUBINSTEIN, ADMINISTRADOR DE LAGUNOS DE LOS BIENES DE GRAIVER). CUANDO EL "DOCTOR PAZ" -- O EL "DOCTOR PENALOZA" -- SE IBAN, LLEVABAN CONSIGO MAS DE CIENTO TREINTA MIL DOLARES QUE ERA LA SUMA QUE DEVENGABAN LOS INTERESES DEL DINERO MENCIONADO.'

UNA SUMA DE LOS BIENES. CONFORME CON LAS VERSIONES SUMINISTRADAS POR LA REVISTA SOMOS, LOS BIENES DE GRAIVER COMPRENDERIAN, ADEMAS DE LOS BANCOS MENCIONADOS LOS SIGUIENTES: ACCIONES DE LA CLASE "A" DE PAPEL PRENSA, ('UTILIZANDO LA INFLU-

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02869 03 OF 03 192242Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 INR-07 INRE-00 SSO-00 /033 W
---------- 192329Z 015224 /63
O R 192015Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0091
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 2869

ARA/ECA FOR RONDON

ENCIA DE GELBARD -- DICE LA REVISTA -- LOGRO INTERESAR A LA SOCIEDAD PAPEL PRENSA, EMPRESA CON PARTICIPACION DE CAPITAL DEL ESTADO, DONDE INVIRTIO UN CAPITAL CONSIDERABLE'); INGENIERIA TAURO; BRISTOL CENTER, EN MAR DEL PLATA; EMPRESAS AGROPECUARIAS TIMBO SOCIEDAD ANONIMA; CRIARGO, SOCIEDAD ANONIMA(ESTAS DOS ULTIMAS EN LA LOCALIDAD DE GENERAL VILLEGAS, PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES); SOCIEDADES COMERCIALES EN LUXEMBURGO, PANAMA, VENEZUELA Y MEXICO; INMOBILIARIA JUAN GRAIVER, FUNDAR, EMPRESA CONSTRUCTORA; CONSTRUIR S.A., SANTA CECILIA, S.A. ; INVERCO S.A.; DEVEXPORT, S.A.; EMPRESAS GRAIVER ASOCIADAS; GALERIA DE VINCI; PRODUCCIONES ELYCON; COLPLAT, S.A. Y UNA CADENA DE AGENCIA DE PRODE, ADEMAS DE INCLUIR, SEGUN ESA FUENTE 'DOS DIARIOS, UN CANAL DE TELEVISION Y UNA RADIO.'

LA MUERTE DE GRAIVER. ACERCA DE LA MUERTE DE DAVID GRAIVER, EL MISMO TEXTO DE LA REVISTA SOMOS PONE EN BOCA DE UN EMPLEADO DE LAS OFICINAS DE GRAIVER EN SUIPACHA, EL SIGUIENTE RELATO: 'COME TODOS LOS MESES, VINO EL "DOCTOR PAZ", Y COMO NO ESTABAN NI GRAIVER NI RUBINSTEIN, LO ATENDIO SILVIA. YO ESTABA CIRCUNSTANCIALMENTE EN EL LUGAR Y OI QUE COMENTABAN LA MUERTE DE GRAIVER. EL LE DIJO QUE NO HABIA SIDO UN ACCIDENTE, SINO QUE ESTABA SEGURO DE QUE LO HABIAN MATADO. ELLA LE PREGUNTO COMO PODIA ESTAR TAN SEGURO, A LO QUE EL OTRO LE RESPONDIO: 'ES QUE ERA UN HOMBRE
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02869 03 OF 03 192242Z

MUY IMPORTANTE PARA NOSOTROS, Y HAY MUCHOS INTERESADOS EN HACER-LO DESAPARECER.' YO LE PREGUNTE DESPUES A SILVIA QUE HABIA QUERIDO DECIR, PERO ME CONTESTO QUE NO ME INTERESABA NI ME CONVENIA METERME EN ESO.'

AGREGA EL RELATO QUE DESPUES DE LA MUERTE DE GRAIVER 'LIDIA PAPALEO RECIBIO LA VISITA DE UN MIEMBRO DE LA ORGANIZACION TERRORISTS PARA TRATAR LA MENERA EN QUE LES IBAN A DEVOLVER LOS DOCE MILLONES DE DOLARES, A LOS QUE YA HABIA QUE SUMARLE UNA CANTIDAD TAL DE INERESES, DE MANERA QUE LA DEUDA LLEGABA A LOS DIECISIETE MILLONES. PARA DISCUTIR LAS CONDICIONES Y LAS POSIBILIDADES DE TERMINAR CON EL PROBLEMA, DECIDIERON REUNIRSE UNA SEMANA DESPUES EN EL DEPARTAMENTO DE LA ANGAROLA, LA QUE SE ASEGURA QUE NUNCA SUPO PARA QUE ISIDORO GRAIVER Y LIDIA PAPELLO LE PIDIERON PRESTADO SU DEPARTAMENTO. PERO LA DEUDA DEL GRUPO GRAIVER NUNCA PUDO PAGARSE.

ORIGEN DE LA INVESTIGACION. EN SU EDICION DEL SABADO ULTIMO, EL DIARIO CLARIN FIJA EL ORIGEN DE LA INVESTIGACION EN UN 'ERROR' COMETIDO POR 'UN INTEGRANTE DEL GRUPO GRAIVER'.

"HACE UN TIEMPO -- ANADE -- LA POLICIA DE LA PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES RECIBIO UNA DENUNCIA SOBRE EVASION DE DIVISAS, SI-NILAR A OTRAS QUE SE EFECTUABAN PERIODICAMENTE. DADO EL MONTO DE LA OPERACION ILICITA DE REFERENCIA, SE INFORMO DEL CASO A LOS SERVICIOS DE SEGURIDAD, DONDE SE DECIDIO EFECTUAR UN PROCE-DIMIENTO. LOS OFICIALES JOVENES DEL GRUPO VESTIAN DE CIVIL Y AL LLEGAR A LA CASA DE UNO DE LOS MIEMBROS DE LA FAMILIA GRAIVER, ESTE SE CONFUNDIO, Y CREYEHDO QUE SE TRABABA DE GUERRILLEROS LES REPROCHO QUE IRRUMPIERAN EN SU CASA, DADO QUE EL LOS 'PROTEGIA'.

INMEDIATAMENTE LOS MIEMBROS DEL SERVICIO DE SEGURIDAD ADVIR-TIERON EL ERROR Y FINGIENDOSE INTEGRANTES DE MONTONEROS SOLI-CITARON PRUEBAS DE LA FINANCIERA CON LA ORGANIZACION SUBVER-SIVE. ESTAS LES FUERON SUMINISTRADAS E INMEDIATAMENTE FUE DETENIDO Y TRAS AMPLIAR SUS DECLARACIONES FIRMO UN ACTA.
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02869 03 OF 03 192242Z

TIMERMAN Y JARA. EL 15 DEL CORRIENTE POR LA MADRUGADA, UN GRUPO DE FUERZAS DE SEGURIDAD CONCURRIO AL DOMICILIO DE ENRIQUE JARA, Y POSTERIORMENTE AL DE JACOBO TIMERMAN. TRAS

Case Number: 200000044

VIENTE HORAS DE DESCONOCERSE SU PARADERO, EL COMANDO DE LA ZONA I ANUNCIO QUE TIMERMAN SE ENCONTRA- DETENIDO EN RELACION CON LAS INVESTIGACIONES POR EL CASO GRAIVER.

SIMULTANEAMENTE, CON EL ANUNCIO DE LA DETENCION DE JARA, DIVERSAS FUENTES -- SEGUN EL DIARIO LA RAZON EN SU EDICION DE LA VISPERA -- CONSIGNARON LA PROBABILIDAD DE QUE SE CONSTITUYERA UN CONSEJO DO GUERRA."

2.) (A) FOR AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO: JARA IS URUGUAYAN-BORN.

(B) FOR AMEMBASSY LIMA: CARLOS MAGUID HAS BEEN LIVING IN EXILE IN LIMA FOR THE PAST FEW YEARS. HE REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED APRIL 12, 1977.
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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4/19/77

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Argentine Human Rights Situation: Talking Points

- The United States recognizes that Argentina has been the victim of a brutal terrorist onslaught which sought to destroy society.

- The first major victory of the terrorists probably came when the legal system found itself unable to cope with the situation due to the intimidation of judges.

- The terrorists scored another victory when Argentina's political institutions failed to produce leadership and the military took over to avert economic and political chaos.

- After a year in power, the Argentine government has made astonishing progress, breaking the back of terrorism and salvaging the economy.

- We are fearful, however, that the terrorists are on the verge of two further victories:

  (1) They appear to be succeeding in polarizing the Argentine military between so-called duros and moderates. If this is so and a hard-line approach wins out, Argentine society could be split as the terrorists want.

  (2) Inasmuch as they are able to provoke counter-terrorist excesses, they will succeed in driving a wedge between the United States, the West and Argentina.

- The question arises, why does the United States care so much about Argentina? Why don't we concentrate

our human rights efforts on countries such as Uganda, Cambodia and Cuba? There are a number of reasons, among them:

(1) Western values are at stake in Argentina.

(2) In a sense, Argentina is on the front line of the Western world, having to deal with terrorism and find ways to confront it for the rest of the world.

(3) Argentina's handling of the situation will have a lasting effect on this hemisphere.

- You wanted my thoughts on what Argentina might do. It is perhaps presumptuous for a non-Argentine to try to offer advice but as one friend speaking to another, I'll mention a few thoughts.

- I think it is fair to say that my government believes it essential for Argentina to start to wage the peace or risk losing the war. How?

- It seems to me that the government must recognize its unquestioned strength and gamble dramatically on the side of peace, seeking the help of the citizenry.

- The impression that the enemies of the government seek to convey that the Argentine government is not in full control of the situation must be corrected. There should not be unexplained disappearances attributed to mysterious right-wing forces.

- Arrests should not be made in the middle of the night by soldiers dressed in civilian clothes.

- Families should be notified of arrests.

- The government should acknowledge the names of all those that are being held and announce the charges against them.

- Detention procedures should be regularized with provisions made for legal defense and steps taken to assure the protection of judges and lawyers.

- Abuses such as torture and the summary execution of prisoners should be punished.

- Military camps should not be prisons.

- The constitutional "right of option" which allows Argentine citizens to leave the country rather than being held without charges by the executive power should be reinstated. This would be an important step.

- In short, the legal protections afforded by the Argentine Constitution should be guaranteed by the Argentine Armed Forces.

- We both know that military men are men of honor and of high ideals. I want my countrymen to respect the Argentine Armed Forces and learn that you are restoring Western laws and ideals that so many have given up for lost in Argentina.

Drafted:ARA/ECA:FERondon:jc
4/19/77

Concurrence: ARA/ECA - Mr. Zimmermann
ARA - Mr. Bray

[redacted]

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02889 201542Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 2889

DEPARTMENT FOR ARGENTINE DESK OFFICER RONDON

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR
SUBJECT: VIDELA DISCUSSES GRAIVER AFFAIR

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2875

1. PRESIDENT VIDELA LED OFF THE ARMY'S FOUR-HOUR PRESS CONFERENCE APRIL 19 WITH AN INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT CONCERNING THE WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION AND TERRORISM IN ARGENTINA, A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF WHICH WAS DEVOTED TO AN OVERVIEW OF THE GRAIVER CASE. VIDELA SHOWED UNACCUSTOMED EMOTION AND FORCEFULNESS IN DISCUSSING THE EXTENT OF SUBVERSION IN ARGENTINA AND SEEMED PARTICULARLY INDIGNANT WHEN HE GOT AROUND TO HIS EXPOSITION OF HOW THE GRAIVER AFFAIR FIT INTO THE SUBVERSIVE THREAT. VIDELA THEN EXCUSED HIMSELF FROM THE MEETING, SAYING HE HAD TO PREPARE FOR HIS DEPARTURE TODAY FOR PARAGUAY, AND TURNED THE BRIEFING OVER TO GENERALS VIOLA, MARTINEZ AND JAUREGUI WHO DREW A DETAILED PICTURE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VARIOUS SUBVERSIVE GROUPS, THE SUCCESSFUL TUCUMAN OPERATION AGAINST THE ERP AND AN EVALUATION OF THE CURRENT STRENGTH AND TACTICS OF SUBVERSION.

2. IN LEADING INTO THE GRAIVER CASE, VIDELA STATED THAT HE DID
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02889 201542Z

NOT WISH TO EVADE HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO INFORM PUBLIC OPINION OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE GRAIVER AFFAIR AND SUBVERSION, BUT HE DID SO HOPING THAT THE REPORTERS WOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FOREST (THE GLOBAL SUBVERSIVE PROBLEM) FOR THE TREES. THE "SO-CALLED GRAIVER CASE IS IMPORTANT, TRANSCENDENTAL AND SPECTACULAR," HE SAID, "BUT IT IS ONE PART OF THE WHOLE WHICH WE WILL DISCUSS IN DETAIL, WHICH IS SUBVERSION, BECAUSE THE GRAIVER CASE IS A CASE OF SUBVERSION." THE PRESIDENT'S TEXTUAL REMARKS CONCERNING GRAIVER FOLLOW:

2WHAT IS THE GRAIVER CASE? AS A RESULT OF AN INVESTIGATION CARRIED OUT BY THE POLICE OF THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES WITH REFERENCE TO ILLEGAL HANDLING OF FOREIGN CURRENCY AND DUE TO STATEMENTS ISSUED BY A CERTAIN GROUP OF PERSONS, DOCUMENTATION SEIZED AND SWORN STATEMENTS, THE INVESTIGATION REACHES A GROUP OF PEOPLE CALLED THE "GRAIVER GROUP" AND AS OF THAT MOMENT THE PROBLEM PRESENTS TWO DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS: ONE WHICH IS PURELY ECONOMIC AND REFERS EXCLUSIVELY TO THE ILLEGAL HANDLING OF FOREIGN CURRENCY AND OTHER CONNECTIONS WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND ABROAD. THE SECOND ASPECT, BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT, IS THAT THE SO-CALLED "GRAIVER GROUP,' WORKING IN FAVOR OF SUBVER-SION, HAD RECEIVED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AS DEPOSIT TO BE USED AS INVESTMENTS, IN THE COUNTRY AND ABROAD, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT AND WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THOSE INVOLVED IN THE CASE.

"IN VIEW OF THE GRAVITY OF THE CASE, THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY CORPS I, IN WHOSE JURISDICTION THE CASE HAD TAKEN PLACE, ASKED THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY FOR THE DESIGNA-TION OF A HIGHER RANKING OFFICER IN THE CAPACITY OF MILITARY INVESTIGATING JUDGE "PREVENTOR" SO THAT IN FULFILLMENT OF LAW 21,460, A JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION COULD BE CARRIED OUT AND, IF APPROPRIATE, TRANSMITTED TO A COURT-MARTIAL.

"IN COMPLIANCE WITH THAT REQUEST, A GENERAL WAS APPOINTED AS
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02889 201542Z

"PREVENTOR" AND, AS SUCH, IT IS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO TAKE THE INITIAL STEPS, KEEP THE EVIDENCE, DETERMINE "'PRIMA FACIE' THOSE RESPONSIBLE, AND PUT TOGETHER THE FUNDAMENTAL EVIDENCE SO THAT THE TRIBUNAL ATTACHED TO THE CASE MAY PROCEED UPON THE TERMINA-TION OF THE FIRST STAGE BY THE "PREVENTOR". IT IS WORTH NOTING

THAT DUE TO THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TWO ASPECTS OF THIS CASE, IT WILL BE NECESSARY AT A GIVEN MOMENT AND ON THE BASIS OF THE INITIAL RECORDED EVIDENCE, TO DEFINE THE AREAS OF COMPETENCE WHICH MAY ARISE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE TWO DIMENSIONS OF THE CASE: THE CASE OF COMMON ORDINARY CRIME IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, AND THAT OF SUBVERSIVE CRIME.

"THE INITIAL STEPS HAVE ALREADY BEGUN AND HAVE BORNE FRUIT. UPON THE "PREVENTOR'S" ADVICE, THE MILITARY JUNTA ACTING BY MEANS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT (THROUGH WHICH THE BEHAVIOR OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO TAKE LIVES OF OTHERS IS TO BE JUDGED), HAS DECIDED IN A RESOLUTION SIGNED TODAY TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE: JUAN GRAIVER; ISIDORO MIGUEL GRAIVER; LIDIA ELBA PAPALEO; RAFAEL IANOVEN; ORLANDO BENJAMIN REYNOSO; FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ BERNARDEZ, AND ALSO HEIRS TOTHE 'ESTATE OF DAVID GRAIVER AND JORGE RUBENSTEIN, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FACT THAT IN THE PROSECUTION OF THESE PROCEEDINGS OTHER PERSONS MAY BE INCLUDED IN THE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT.

"GENTLEMEN, PLEASE REST ASSURED, AND I BEG OF YOU THAT YOU TRANSMIT TO PUBLIC OPINION, THAT IT IS THE IRREVOCABLE DECISION OF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THE POLITICAL (AUTHORITIES?) AS WELL, TO CARRY THROUGH ON THIS CASE TO ITS ULTIMATE CONSEQUENCES."

3. VIDELA'S REMARKS AND THE TEXT OF THE JUNTA RESOLUTION (SEPTEL) PLACING DAVID GRAIVER, HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY AND CLOSE BUSINESS ASSOCIATES UNDER THE TERMS OF THE ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY APPEAR TO CONFIRM THE DEATH OF GRAIVER'S ADMINISTRATOR JORGE RUBENSTEIN. VIDELA DID NOT MENTION LA OPINION'S JACOBO
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PAGE 04 BUENOS 02889 201542Z

TIMERMAN AND ENRIQUE JARA IN HIS DISSERTATION AND, AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE FROM A SURVEY OF THIS MORNING'S PRESS, THERE WAS NO EXPLICIT DISCUSSION OF THE REASONS FOR THEIR DETENTION DURING THE PRESS BRIEFING. (SEE SEPTEL HOWEVER FOR TEXT OF ARMY COMMUNIQUE CITING LAW UNDER WHICH TIMERMAN IS BEING HELD.)

4. ON A SEPARATE ISSUE OF INTEREST TO THE DEPT, DURING THE QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD THE BRIEFERS READ A PREPARED RESPONSE TO A QUESTION WRITTEN IN BEFOREHAND BY THE LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE CONCERNING WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY INPUT FROM THE US MILGP

Case Number: 200000044

OR US COUNTERINSURGENCY EXPERIENCE GAINED FROM VIETNAM IN ARGENTINA'S WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION. THE SECOND PART OF THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER, IN LIGHT OF THE REDUCTION OF US MILITARY AID TO ARGENTINA ON ACCOUNT OF SUPPOSED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA, THERE WAS ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WAY THE ARGENTINES WERE FIGHTING THEIR WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION AND THE TECHNIQUES IMPARTED TO THE ARGENTINE ARMY BY "US INSTRUCTORS" OR OTHER US OFFICERS WHO OTHERWISE HAVE HAD CONTACT WITH THE ARGENTINE MILITARY. THE PREPARED REPLY WAS AS FOLLOWS: THERE NEVER WAS A NUMEROUS US MILITARY MISSION IN ARGENTINA; THE WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION IN ARGENTINA IS BASED ON ARGENTINE DOCTRINE, THE SPECIFIC ARGENTINE SITUATION AND THE EXPERIENCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES; IN ORDER TO DEFEAT SUBVERSION IN ARGENTINA, THE ARMED FORCES DEVELOPED THEIR OWN DOCTRINE; FOR THIS WAR THE ARGENTINES HAVE HAD NO NEED OF INSTRUCTORS OR MENTORS, WHO COULDN'T HAVE HELPED ANYWAY SINCE THE SUBVERSION IN ARGENTINA DIFFERS SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THAT ELSEWHERE; SPECIFICALLY THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM BEARS NO SIMILARITY TO THE SUBVERSION IN ARGENTINA SINCE MARXIST SUBVERSION ADAPTS ITS TACTICS TO THE PARTICULAR TERRAIN IN WHICH IT OPERATES; AND CONSEQUENTLY "WE HAVE NOT COMPARED METHODS, NOR ACCEPTED SUGGESTIONS, NOR EVEN ANALYZED RESULTS (JOINTLY)."

5. FURTHER DETAILS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE WILL FOLLOW.
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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02931 202213Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 L-03 H-01 SCS-03 SCA-01
IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01
USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 /051 W
----------210449Z 032803 /22

R 202125Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0133

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2931

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: SUPREME COURT ACTS ON PETITION ON DISAPPEARANCE CASES

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2744

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): DSCONTROL
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DECONTROL

1. THE SUPREME COURT ANNOUNCED (APR 19) THAT IT WILL ASK THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO INTENSIFY ITS INVESTIGATION INTO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF 425 PERSONS NAMED IN A GROUP PETITION PRESENTED TO THE COURT LAST WEEK. THE PETITION ASKED THAT THE COURT INVESTIGATE THE FAILURE OF HABEAS CORPUS WRITS TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THE STATUS AND WHEREABOUTS OF PERSONS WHO DISAPPEARED AFTER BEING DETAINED BY PERSONS CLAIMING TO BE SECURITY FORCES. ALTHOUGH THE COURT REITERATED ITS POSITION THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE JURISDICTION IN INDIVIDUAL HABEAS CORPUS REQUESTS (SUCH AS IN THE LEVITAN PETITION CASE), IT SAID IT WOULD URGE THE EXECUTIVE TO PRESS THE INVESTIGATIONS IN ORDER FOR JUDGES TO BE "IN CONDITION TO CARRY OUT THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY, RESOLVING, WITH THE NECESSARY EFFECTIVENESS THAT THE LAW DEMANDS, THE CASES WHICH COME UP BEFORE THEIR COURTS TO SAFEGUARD INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND EVENTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN CASE OF CRIME." THE COURT DECLARED IT HAD THE DUTY AND AUTHORITY TO HEAR APPEALS MADE TO IT AND TO GUARANTEE THE EFFICIENCY OF THE JUDICIAL FUNCTION, PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES, AND RESERVED FOR ITSELF
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02931 202213Z

THE RIGHT TO RE-EXAMINE THE ISSUES PRESENTED BY THE PETITION AT

Case Number: 200000044

A LATER DATE IF DETERMINED NECESSARY.

2. COMMENT: THE COURT'S RESPONSE, WHICH SKIRTED THE PETITIONERS' REQUEST THAT THE COURT CONDUCT ITS OWN INVESTIGATION INTO THE DISAPPEARANCE CASES AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S UNSATISFACTORY REPLIES TO HABEAS CORPUS WRITS, WAS NOT UNEXPECTED BY THE AUTHORS OF THE PETITION. TWO OF THE EIGHT LAWYER SIGNATORIES HAD PRE-DICTEDFTO EMBOFFS THAT COURT WOULD TAKE THE INTERMEDIATE STEP OF URGING THE EXECUTIVE TO RESOLVE THE DISAPPEARANCE CASES OF THE 425 PERSONS NAMED RATHER THAN DIRECTLY CONFRONT THE EXECUTIVE ON THE ISSUE OF DISAPPEARANCES AND FAULTY HABEAS CORPUS REPLIES. SOURCE TOLD EMBOFF THAT COURT JUDGES ARE UNDER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM ACQUAINTANCES AND COLLEAGUES TO TAKE ACTION ON BEHALF OF DISAP-PEARED PERSONS. ANNOUNCING THAT IT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO RE-EXAMINE THE QUESTION SIGNALS THAT THE COURT INTENDS TO ASSESS THE EXECUTIVE'S RESPONSE TO ITS REQUEST FOR AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE INVESTIGATIONS BEFORE DETERMINING ITS FINAL POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE EXECUTIVE ON DISAPPEARANCE CASES AND WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS. HILL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

7710713

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

SS

APR 20 1977

TO STW O

[redacted]

TO: The Deputy Secretary

THROUGH: P - Mr. Habib

FROM: ARA - Terence A. Todman

The Graiver Scandal in Argentina

It is still very unclear to us where the Graiver scandal in Argentina is leading to, and whether it will be used to smear former President Lanusse and Jacobo Timerman of La Opinion. We are, therefore, refraining from any premature comment. The following factors are involved:

- In August 1976 David Graiver died in a mysterious airplane crash in Mexico. Shortly thereafter his banks in New York and Brussels went bankrupt.

- Beginning in April 1977 the Argentine military began arresting a number of prominent Argentine newsmen and politicians, as it turns out because of connections to Graiver.

- Former President Lanusse's press secretary was detained, in what many interpreted as an effort to smear the center-left Lanusse. Graiver had, of course, begun building his financial empire thanks to his connections with Lanusse's Ministry of Social Welfare.

- La Opinion's very respected publisher, Jacobo Timerman, was also detained along with other members of his staff. La Opinion quickly acknowledged that Graiver had a strong financial interest in La Opinion but no more.

DECONTROL
ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2000000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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- To complicate matters, the press reported that former Argentine Economy Minister Jose Ber Gelbard, who has received asylum in the United States, had introduced Graiver to the Montonero terrorists.

- The fact that Graiver, Timerman and Gelbard are Jewish has led some to talk of a Dreyfus case although the Argentine government has publicly denied that religion or freedom of the press play any part in their investigation.

At this point, we frankly do not know what to make of this case. Our Embassy reported on April 20 that the atmosphere is very charged in Buenos Aires and counseled against commentary. Our worse fears are that the government is using the Graiver case to destroy the reputations of both Lanusse and Timerman, the former with Presidential aspirations, the latter a champion of human rights. The fact that Videla has named a special prosecutor suggests that he is fully aware that the world will be watching Argentina very carefully on this case.

The Argentine government is aware of our intense interest in this case because of conversations we have had with their Embassy in Washington. We will continue to voice an interest informally to the Argentines but do not recommend a public statement which might be viewed as an intrusion into an ongoing investigation.

We will also instruct our Ambassador to stay in touch with Timerman's son, who is running the newspaper without apparent problems.

FR

Drafted: ARA/ECA:FERondon:jc
4/20/77:x29166

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02890 201527Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
USIE-00 DHA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /061 W
----------201549Z 027028 /46

O 201445Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0110

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): DECONTROL
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2890

DEPARTMENT FOR ARGENTINE DESK OFFICER RONDON

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: GOA SANCTIONS GRAIVER FAMILY; ARMY CLARIFIES DETENTION OF JACOBO TIMERMAN

DECONTROL

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2875

1. PRESIDENT VIDELA ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY (APRIL 19) THAT AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THE GRAIVER GROUP HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE ARMED FORCES ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. HE SPECIFICALLY NAMED SIX PERSONS AND INCLUDED THE HEIRS AND STATUTORY BENEFICIARIES OF THE DAVID GRAIVER AND JORGE RUBINSTEIN ESTATES. THE ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY IS A FORM OF MARTIAL LAW PASSED JUNE 18, 1976, WHICH APPLIES TO PERSONS SUSPECTED OF PARTICIPATING IN TREASONABLE OR
SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OR OF GROSS ECONOMIC DELINQUENCY. IT HAS EFFECT OF REMOVING POLITICAL RIGHTS AND FREEZING ECONOMIC ASSETS OF ACCUSED. ROUGH ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE MILITARY JUNTA'S RESOLUTION FOLLOWS:
GIVEN THE ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ESTABLISHED 18
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02890 201527Z

JUNE 1976 WHICH AUTHORIZES THE MILITARY JUNTA TO CONSIDER

Case Number: 200000044

THE CONDUCT OF PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR HARMING THE SUPERIOR INTERESTS OF THE NATION, THE MILITARY JUNTA RESOLVES: 1) TO APPLY THE SANCTIONS ESTABLISHED IN CLAUSES OF ARTICLE 2 OF SAID ACT TO THE FOLLOWING PERSONS: JUAN GRAIVER, ISIDORO MIGUEL GRAIVER, LIDDIA ELBA PAPALEO, RAFAEL IANOVER, FERNANDO BENJAMIN REINOSO, AND FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ BERNARDEZ. THE MEASURES ESTABLISHED IN CLAUSES OF ARTICLE 2 AND IN THE SECOND PART OF SAID ACT WILL ALSO APPLY TO THE HEIRS AND STATUATORY BENEFICIARIES OF DAVID GRAIVER AND JORGE RUBINSTEIN.
ARTICLE 2. THE EXECUTIVE POWER WILL SEE THAT THE MENTIONED MEASURES ARE CARRIED OUT.
ARTICLE 3. THE SANCTIONS ORDERED IN THE PRESENT RESOLUTION TAKE EFFECT AS OF THIS DATE.
ARTICLE 4. THE CLAUSES REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE 2 OF SAID ACT INCLUDE: (A) THE LOSS OF POLITICAL AND UNION RIGHTS; (B) THE LOSS OF RIGHT TO EXERCISE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, POSITIONS OR COMMISSIONS AND TO SERVE IN HONORIFIC POSITIONS; AND (C) DETENTION IN A PLACE DETERMINED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE POWER AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE, THE PROHIBITION OF ADMINISTERING OR DISPOSING OF ONE'S GOODS THROUGH ACTS OF LIVING PERSONS, UNTIL SUCH DATE AS THE LEGITIMACY OF ACQUISITION OF THOSE GOODS HAS BEEN JUSTIFIED AND THE PROHIBITION OF EXERCISING THE PROFESSION FOR FOR WHICH ONE HAS BEEN LEGALLY PREPARED DURING THAT PERIOD.

2. IN REPLY TO A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF LA OPINION EDITOR JACOBO TIMERMAN, GENERAL SUAREZ MASON YESTERDAY (APRIL 19) INFORMED FEDERAL JUDGE MARQUARDT THAT TIMERMAN WAS BEING DETAINED AT THE DISPOSITION OF MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF LAW 21,460. THIS LAW DATES FROM 19 NOVEMBER 1976 AND COVERS NATIONAL SECURITY AND CRIMES OF A SUBVERSIVE NATURE. THE LAW PROVIDES THAT THE INVESTIGATION OF SUBVERSIVE CRIMES WILL BEGIN WITH A PRETRIAL UNDERTAKEN BY THE FEDERAL OR PROVINCIAL POLICE, THE ARMED FORCES, NAVAL PREFECTURA OR NATIONAL GENDARMERIE.
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[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02890 201527Z

ONCE COMPLETED THE PRETRIAL CASE WILL BE TAKEN DIRECTLY TO THE CHIEF OF THE MILITARY UNIT OR ORGANISM EQUIVALENT TO THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMY CORPS WHO WILL AUTHORIZE A MILITARY COURT TO COMPLETE THE INVESTIGATION AND RULE ON THE INVESTIGATED CHARGES.

Case Number: 200000044

3. COMMENT: VIDELA IN HIS ADDRESS STATED IN EFFECT THAT GRAIVER GROUP WAS FOUND TO HAVE CARRIED ON ILLEGAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND TO HAVE HAD LINKS TO SUBVERSION; HE DID NOT QUALIFY THIS BY SAYING THAT THEY WERE ACCUSED OF, OR SUSPECTED OF, THESE CRIMES. IN ADDITION, JUNTA HAS ALREADY DECIDED TO SANCTION GRAIVER FAMILY MEMBERS AND OTHERS WITH PENALTIES OF ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY--IN ADVANCE OF ANY FORMAL TRIAL, CIVIL OR MILITARY.

4. IN VIEW OF THE HIGHLY CHARGED ATMOSPHERE HERE AND THE MANY UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AT THIS POINT, OUR ADVICE REMAINS TO MAKE NO EVALUATIVE JUDGMENTS AT THE NOONDAY BRIEFING.
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02948 211923Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-02
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /067 W
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P 211800Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0147

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2948

ARGENTINA PROJECT ($200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS SHUM AR
SUBJECT: GRAIVER SCANDAL

REFS: (A) BUENOS AIRES 2869, (B) BUENOS AIRES 2889, (C) BUENOS AIRES 2890

1. IN ORDER TO AUGMENT INFORMATION CONTAINED IN REFTEL AND LOCAL PRESS ACCOUNTS, EMBASSY DISCUSSIONS WITH USUALLY INFORMED SOURCES PRODUCED FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF GRAIVER AFFAIR AND POSSIBLE POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS. WHAT FOLLOWS IS PARTLY A SUMMARY OF INFORMATION APPEARING IN THE LOCAL PRES AND CLANDESTINE CIRCULARS WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET REPORTED AND PARTLY A COMPILATION OF OPINION AND ANALYSIS OF EMBASSY SOURCES. EMBASSY CANNOT VOUCH FOR THE ACCURACY OF THIS INFORMATION, BUT IT IS SUBMITTED AS BEING ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE.

2. THE ROUTIME INVESTIGATION BEGAN LAST AUGUST INTO DAVID GRAIVER'S COLLAPSED FINANCIAL EMPIRE RECEIVED A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT BREAKS WHICH SHOWED GRAIVER HAD FINANCIAL DEALINGS WITH MONTONEROS. EARLY THIS YEAR SECURITY FORCES CAPTURED THE MONTONERO FINANCIAL CHIEF WHO REVEALED VAST SUMS DEPOSITED IN MONTONERO BANK ACCOUNTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND ALSO THE GRAIVER CONNECTION. SEPARATELY, GRAIVER'S FATHER JUAN GRAIVER WAS ALLEGEDLY DETAINED BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES WHO
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HE MISTOOK FOR MONTONEROS. UNDER THAT MISCONCEPTION HE DISCUSSED THE MONTONERO ACCOUNTS IN GRAIVER'S BANKS AND THE DIFFICULTY OF THE FAMILY IN PRODUCING THE BALANCE OF THE ACCOUNTS. ALLEGEDLY THE MILITARY THEN PROCEEDED TO PICK UP GRAIVER'S WIFE LYDIA PAPALEO, HE BROTHER ISIDORO AND HIS FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATOR JORGE RUBENSTEIN, TO QUESTION THEM FURTHER ON THE GRAIVER-MONTONERO RELATIONSHIP. DURING THE FOLLOWING WEEKS, OTHER PERSONS IMPLICATED IN THE CASE WERE PICKED UP--OR RATHER ABDUCTED--BY THE SECURITY FORCES. JORGE RUBENSTEIN ALLEGEDLY DIED WHILE IN DETENTION, PRESUMABLY OF A HEART ATTACK. HE WAS MORE THAN 70 YEARS OLD. SOURCES SAY AT LEAST 50 PERSONS HAVE BEEN DETAINED FOR QUESTIONING IN THIS CASE.

3. THE INVESTIGATION SHOWED THAT A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND BUSINESS FIGURES WERE VARIOUSLY CONNECTED TO THE GRAIVER CASE. SOME WERE FOUND TO HAVE HAD ILLEGAL DOLLAR ACCOUNTS IN GRAIVER'S BANKS(VIA HIS OVERSEAS BANKS)--THESE INCLUDE IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE ARGENTINE JEWISH COMMUNITY, UNIONS AND UNION OFFICIALS, PERONISTS AND OTHERS. SOME 35 TO 40 COMPANIES WERE FOUND TO HAVE HAD SPECIAL ACCOUNTS THROUGH WHICH TO FUNNEL MONEY TO THE PERONIST SOLIDARITY CRUSADE, MUCH OF WHICH APPARENTLY FOUND ITS WAY INTO ISABEL PERON'S POCKETS. SEPARATELY, RECORDS CAPTURED IN ERP AND MONTONERO ARCHIVES SHOW THAT PERONIST GROUPS EXTORTED VAST SUMS OF PROTECTION MONEY FROM SOME 300 FIRMS. THE GOVT HAS KNOW THIS FOR SOME TIME (APPARENTLY SOME RECORDS WERE FOUND WHEN SANTUCHO WAS KILLED LAST JULY.) SOURCES SAY GOA IS NOT EXPECTED RPT NOT TO PROSECUTE THE PERSONS AND FIRMS NAMED UNLESS IT CAN FIND ACTIVE COLLABORATION INSTEAD OF EXTORTION AS MOTIVE FOR PAYMENTS.

4. THE GRAIVER INVESTIGATION WAS JUST ABOUT COMPLETE WHEN JOURNALIST EDGARDO SAJON DISAPPEARED APRIL 1. WHEN FORMER PRESIDENT LANUSSE INTERCEDED IN HIS FORMER PRESS SECRETARY SAJON'S BEHALF, THE BAHIA BLANCA DAILY NEWSPAPER LA NUEVA PROVINCIA ACCUSED LANUSSE OF NOT BEING AS CONCERNED ABOUT SAJON AS HE WAS ABOUT BLOCKING THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE GRAIVER [redacted]

[redacted]

AFFAIR. THERE FOLLOWED A STRIDENT POLEMIC BETWEEN LANUSSE AND THE PAPER'S DIRECTOR SRA. MASSOT, DURING WHICH THE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED INCREASINGLY GREATER REVELATIONS ABOUT THE DEPTH AND SCOPE OF THE GRAIVER INVESTIGATION. A NUMBER OF SOURCES BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT VIDELA HAD THE RESULTS OF THE GRAIVER

Case Number: 200000044

INVESTIGATION SINCE EARLY APRIL BUT WAS HOLDING IT QUIET DUE TO THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CHARGES AND THE STATUS AND NUMBER OF PERSONS INVOLVED. FROM HERE ON, SOURCES SAY, THE MATTER BECAME FAR MORE POLITICAL THAN ECONOMIC. VIDELA IS UNDER GREAT PRESSURE FROM ALL SIDES TO REVEAL THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION IN WHICH A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF IMPORTANT PERSONS ARE NAMED. HARDLINE ELEMENTS IN THE MILITARY, INCLUDING GEN. SUAREZ MASON (WHO REPORTEDLY IS CLOSELY CONNECTED TO LA NUEVA PROVINCIA DIRECTOR AND HAS FED THE PAPER INFORMATION ON THE INVESTIGATION), BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE GOVERNOR IBERICO SAINT JEAN (WHO HAS PUBLICLY CALLED ON VIDELA TO REVEAL THE SCANDAL) AND OTHERS SEE THE SCANDAL AS A WAY TO DISCREDIT VIDELA AND NIS MODERATE LINE. MID-LEVEL ELEMENTS IN THE THREE ARMED FORCES ARE SAID TO BE UNITED IN INSISTING THAT THE GRAIVER MATTER BE MADE PUBLIC AND THAT THE POWERFUL PERSONS WHO EITHER PROFITED FROM ECONOMIC SUBVERSION OR WHO CAN BE SHOWN TO HAVE ACTUALLY FINANCIALLY SUPPORTED THE TERRORIST GROUPS BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. OFFICERS AT THIS LEVEL ARE THE ONES TO FIGHT THE "DIRTY WAR" AND ARE ALLEGEDLY OUTRAGED AT THE INCREDIBLE RESOURCES THEY HAVE SEEN COMMANDED BY THE TERRORISTS. ONE SOURCE SEES VIDELA'S HANDLING OF THE GRAIVER AFFAIR AS THE MOST DANGEROUS AND IMPORTANT TEST OF HIS POLITICAL ABILITIES. IF VIDELA PROBES TOO FAR AND TOO MANY IMPORTANT PEOPLE ARE HURT, POWERFUL INTERESTS COULD ENGINEER HIS COLLAPSE; IF HE DOESN'T GO FAR ENOUGH HE COULD ALIENATE SECTORS OF THE ARMY AND OPEN THE WAY FOR THE HARDLINERS. THE KEY QUESTION, SOURCES SAY, IS WHERE THE LIMITS WILL BE DRAWN. ONE INFORMED FINANCIAL SOURCE SAYS HE BELIEVES THAT THE TARGETS WILL NOT RPT NOT BE FOREIGN COMPANIES, THOSE COMPANIES FORCED TO PAY PROTECTION MONEY OR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AS SUCH. ARMY G-4, BRIG. GEN. GALLINO, HAS BEEN NAMED TO DIRECT THE MILITARY INVESTIGATION. HE IS REPORTEDLY CLOSE TO GEN. ROBERTO
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 02948 211923Z

VIOLA AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO FOLLOW PRESIDENT VIDELA'S INSTRUCTIONS IN HANDLING THE MATTER.

5. ALTHOUGH SOURCE SAYS IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT LANUSSE COULD BE TIED INTO GRAIVER INVESTIGATION, CHIEFLY THROUGH IMPLICATED FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES, HE SEES LANUSSE MATTER AS SEPARATE POLITICAL QUESTION. THE SAJON, FERREIROS, TIMERMAN, JARA AND RAAB ABDUCTIONS ARE CHEIFLY MOTIVATED BY EFFORT TO DISCREDIT LANUSSE AND BLOCK HIS ALLEGED EFFORTS AT SETTING HIMSELF UP AS CENTER-LEFT POLITICAL CANDIDATE. SAJON AND

Case Number: 200000044

FERREIROS WERE BOTH APPARENTLY INVOLVED IN HELPING WRITE LANUSSE'S MEMOIRES WHICH WERE TO HAVE BEEN HIS POLITICAL COMING-OUT STATEMENT. (ACCORDING TO ANOTHER SOURCE, FERREIROS HAD DIRECT LINKS TO TERRORS). IT IS RUMORED (AND SUBSEQUENTLY DENIED BY LA OPINION) THAT DAVID GRAIVER OWNED CONTROLLING STOCK IN THE COMPANY WHICH PUBLISHES LA OPINION. THE STORY IS THAT GRAIVER CEDED HIS CONTROLLING INTEREST TO LANUSSE WHO WAS COLLABORATING WITH TIMERMAN TO USE THE PAPER AS A VEHICLE FOR LANUSSE'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS. TYING TIMERMAN AND OTHERS TO THE GRAIVER SCANDAL IS SEEN CHEIFLY AS A WAY FOR LANUSSE'S ENEMIES TO STRIKE AT THE EX-PRESIDENT. ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT IS THAT GEN. ACDEL VILAS, THE HARD-HANDED OFFICIAL WHO WAS IN CHARGE OF REPRESSING SUBVERSION IN BAHIA BLANCA UNTIL RELIEVED OF HIS COMMAND SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, HAS ASKED THAT LANUSSE BE TRIED IN A MILITARY COURT OF HONOR FOR HIS STATEMENTS ON THE SAJON DISAPPEARANCE WHICH ACCORDING TO VILAS OFFEND THE GOVT AND THE ACTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES. VILAS' STATEMENTS WERE CARRIED IN THE LOCAL PRESS BUT NO OFFICIAL REACTION HAS YET BEEN MADE PUBLIC.

6. COMMENT: PRESIDENT VIDELA'S BRIEF BUT EMOTIONAL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE GRAIVER CASE WOULD BE PROSECUTED TO ITS "ULTIMATE CONSEQUENCES" FALL SHORT OF WHAT MANY OBSERVERS EXPECTED WOULD BE AT LEAST PARTIAL REVELATION OF SOME OF THE DETAILS OF THE CASE. DESPITE PRESSURE FROM GOV. ST. JEAN AND LA NUEVA PROVINCIA EDITORIALS THAT THE EXECUTIVE HAD AND WOULS SHORTLY BE PROVID-

[redacted]

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PAGE 05 BUENOS 02948 211923Z

ING "EXPLOSIVE" INFORMATION ON THE CASE, VIDELA MANAGED TO AT LEAST TEMPORARILY DEFUSE THE ISSUE BY HIS SANCTIONING THE SIX GRAIVER ASSOCIATES UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT AND ORDERING THAT A COMPLETE INVESTIGATION GET UNDERWAY.
HILL

[redacted]

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED 04/22/77

22 Apr 77
0936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
TELEGRAM

BN036

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM	CLASSIFICATION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES	[redacted]

E.O. 11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT: XGDS-4
PINS AR
Payments by American Companies to Guerrilla Organizations

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2969

REF: Buenos Aires 2820

AMB
DCM
POL3
POL/R
ECOM
USIS
RF
CHRON

1. High official of Office of Presidency told Emboffs April 21 that United States businesses in Argentina were among those who had payed protection money to leftist extremist groups including Montoneros and ERP, at least before military coup of March 1976. He declined to name specific companies. According to this source, assassinations of executives of both Argentine and foreign companies since coup are due in part to refusal of companies to continue to pay protection money after change of government.

2. Official indicated that GOA has not decided upon policy to be adopted toward such companies.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

HILL

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:RSSteven:jr	4/21/77	121	A/POLCOUNS:AGFreeman

CLEARANCES:
DCM:MChaplin
AMB:RCHill

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

50153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

80F178
20/185

UNCLASSIFIED 4/22/77

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS02970

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02970 221349Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 /013 W
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R 221237Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0160

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2970

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: CASE OF ARGENTINE NATIONAL CARLOS BUSTOS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): DECONTROL
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DECONTROL

REF: STATE 87456

ACCORDING TO NUNCIATURA, FATHER CARLOS BUSTOS WAS KIDNAPPED THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 8 IN BUENOS AIRES. NOTHING IS KNOWN ABOUT HIS PRESENT WHEREABOUTS. NUNCIATURA ALSO ADVISED THAT OF THE FOUR WORKING PRIESTS OF THE CHARLES DE FOUCALD ORDER ORIGINALLY IN ARGENTINA, TWO HAVE BEEN ABDUCTED AND ARE STILL MISSING (PABLO GAZZARRI IN DECEMBER, BUSTOS IN APRIL); FATHER PATRICK RICE WAS DEPORTED AND ONE IS STILL WORKING HERE. AT PRESENT CHURCH SAID A TOTAL OF THREE PRIESTS ARE REPORTEDLY MISSING IN ARGENTINA, ALL AFTER APPARENTLY HAVING BEEN KIDNAPPED.
HILL

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Current Class: [redacted]
Page: 1

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 STATE 090875
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 /067 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON:TR
APPROVED BY ARA: CWBRAY
----------221625Z 070791 /46

P 221520Z APR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 090875

ARGENTINA PROJECT (6200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DETENTION OF LA OPINION'S DIRECTOR JACOBO TIMERMAN

DECONTROL

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2890

1. AS EMBASSY HAS RECOMMENDED, DEPARTMENT HAS SO FAR REFRAINED FROM PUBLIC COMMENTARY ON THE DETENTION OF JACOBO TIMERMAN. THE EMBASSY SHOULD BE AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO EXPRESSING OUR CONCERN ABOUT THIS CASE FORMALLY TO THE GOA.

2. PENDING A DECISION ON ANY REPRESENTATIONS, DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF AMBASSADOR WOULD CONTACT TIMERMAN'S SON HECTOR AND CONVEY USG CONCERN OVER DETENTION OF TIMERMAN AND HOPE THAT HE WILL SOON BE FREE. AMBASSADOR SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS OUR HOPE THAT LA OPINION WILL BE ABLE TO CONTINUE PUBLICATION WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES.

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3. WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON ROLE,

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Case Number: 200000044

IF ANY, PLAYED BY GRAIVER INTERESTS IN FOUNDING AND/OR FINANCING OF LA OPINION. WHO ARE LA OPINION'S STOCK-HOLDERS?
VANCE

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02981 230030Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 MCT-01 COME-00 ACDA-07
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R 221749Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0165

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2981

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA

1. THIS REPORT GIVES A SUMMARY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE COME TO OUR ATTENTION DURING THE PERIOD FROM APRIL 8-14, 1977.

2. APR. 8: AT APPROXIMATELY 2375 HRS A BOMB EXPLODED AT FIGUEROA ALCORTA AND ESTRANDA AND AT APPROXIMATELY 2400 HRS FEDERAL POLICE ALERTED ALL PERSONNEL THAT A NEW EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS BEING USED BY TERRORIST ELEMENTS. THE CLARIN NEWSPAPER REPORTED THAT ON APR. 8 IN MONTO GRANDE, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, A CONFRONTATION TOOK PLACE BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND TERRORISTS: FIVE TERRORISTS WERE KILLED.

APR. 11: AT 2246 HRS, POLICE REPORTED THAT PERSONS ON A PASSING TRAIN OPENED FIRE ON THE FEDERAL POLICE PARKING LOT AT DORREGO AND LIBERTADOR.

AT 2330 HRS. AIR FORCE SECURITY FORCES AT SARMIENTO AVENUE, NEAR THE PLANETARIUM, WERE ENGAGED IN A CONFRONTATION WITH 4-5 MEN IN A BLACK FORD FAIRLANE WHO DID NOT STOP AT ACHECKPOINT. NO FURTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE.

[redacted]

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Case Number: 200000044

AT 2343 HRS THERE WAS AN EXPLOSION AT ARCOS AND MANZANARES.

LA RAZON REPORTED THAT MR. JOSE LUIS ARCE, EXECUTIVE OF THE SURREY AIR CONDITIONING ENTERPRISES WAS KILLED BY A GROUP OF PERSONS WHO INTERCEPTED HIS CAR AT REMEDIOS DE SAN MARTIN AVE. IN VALENTIN ALSINA.

APR. 12: AT APPROXIMATELY 2320 HRS, THERE WAS A BRIEF SHOOTOUT BETWEEN POLICE PATROL CARS AND ANOTHER VEHICLE A FEW BLOCKS FROM THE SAN ISIDRO RR STATION. ON SAME DATE, LA RAZON REPORTED THERE HAD BEEN A TEMPORARY STOPPAGE OF THE BELGRANO RR LINE AS A RESULT OF A BRIDGE BEING SET AFIRE.

APR. 13: AT 2200 HRS A BOMB WAS DETONATED AT QUINTANA 1334 IN ACASSUSO. THERE WAS ONLY MATERIAL DAMAGE. AT 2000 HOURS, AT LUGONES AVE. AND GENERAL PAZ, SEVERAL UNIDENTIFIED MEN OPENED FIRE AT THE ESCUELA MECANICA DE LA ARMADA (NAVY SCHOOL). NAVAL SECURITY FORCES ARRESTED TWO PERSONS IN CONNECTION WITH THIS INCIDENT.

APR. 14 AT 0100 HRS. A RR CAR AT THE LA LUCILA STATION WAS SET AFIRE.

LA RAZON REPORTED THAT A BOMB EXPLODED AT A CAR DEALER'S AGENCY LOCATED AT HIPOLITO AND IRIGOYEN 275 IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

APR. 14: AT 1005 HRS POLICE REPORTED THAT TWO ARMED MEN IN A FIAT KIDNAPPED A WOMAN FROM THE CORNER OF HUMEHUACA AND YATAY.

AT 1145 HRS FEDERAL POLICE WARNED ALL PATROLS THAT TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT GO TO SCHOOLS AND FACTORIES TO GIVE OUT PAMPHLETS AND CONDUCT LECTURES.

AT 1155 HRS AT AREVALO 1405, FIVE ARMED MEN ENTERED A SCHOOL [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02981 230030Z

GIVING A POLITICAL LECTURE TO PERSONNEL AND STUDENTS, RAISED A MONTONERO FLAG AND LEFT AFTER DISTRIBUTING TOYS.

APR. 15: AT 0800 HRS, THREE ARMED MEN ATTEMPTED TO KIDNAP A STUDENT FROM INSIDE A SCHOOL BUILDING AT SIMBRON 2960. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS BEING SOUGHT ON THIS INCIDENT.

Case Number: 200000044

3. RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH FEDERAL POLICE AND MILITARY PERSONNEL IN CORDOBA, TUCUMAN AND ROSARIO AS WELL AS DISCUSSIONS WITH SECURITY SERVICES IN BUENOS AIRES REFLECT THAT THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS HAVE SUFFERED HEAVY LOSSES IN MANPOWER, LOGISTICS AND LEADERSHIP. NEVERTHELESS, THEY STILL HAVE THE CAPACITY TO CONDUCT BOMBINGS, ASSASSINATIONS AND SOME LEVEL OF POLITICAL AGITATION.
HILL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

SS APR 22 1977

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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TO: The Deputy Secretary

FROM: ARA - Terence A. Todman

Another Argentine Newspaper Director Arrested

Our Embassy in Buenos Aires informed the Department this afternoon that Robert Cox, Director of the English language daily Buenos Aires Herald, was arrested today. We do not know why the arrest took place, but the result is that two of the most respected liberal voices in Argentine journalism, Cox and Timerman of La Opinion, are now under arrest.

I am trying to reach Argentine Ambassador Aja Espil to make the following three points:

-- The Department is very concerned that two respected newspaper directors in Argentina are now under arrest.

-- These arrests could have a very adverse effect on U.S. public opinion.

-- I regret that we cannot sit down together to discuss recent Argentine developments, but I will be absent next week. I have asked Bill Luers to do so in my place.

We will inform the press, on an if asked basis, that we are in touch with the Argentine government concerning the recent arrests of Timerman and Cox.

MICROFILMED
BY S/S-I

Drafted:ARA/ECA:FERondon:jc
4/22/77:x29166

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 091933
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 H-02 L-03 CIAE-00
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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)
D/HA/ORM:JCHAVCHAVADZE (PHONE)
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 091933

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: CASE OF ARGENTINE NATIONAL, CESAR GIOJA MANINI

1. CALIFORNIA OFFICE OF SENATOR HAYAKAWA HAS REQUESTED DEPARTMENT'S ASSISTANCE ON BEHALF OF ARGENTINE PRISONER CESAR GIOJA MANINI. HE WAS IMPRISONED IN MARCH 1976 BUT HAS NOT BEEN CHARGED. HE WAS A PERONIST DEPUTY FROM SAN JUAN PROVINCE AND ACTIVE IN CATHOLIC YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS. GIOJA HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN TOLD THAT HE WOULD BE RELEASED IF HE GOES TO ANON-LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY.

2. GIOJA'S COUSIN IN THE UNITED STATES SOUGHT SENATOR'S ASSISTANCE.

3. ARA/ECA ADVISED SENATOR'S OFFICE AND THE COUSIN, MR. MANINI, THAT MR. GIOJA WOULD HAVE TO QUALIFY FOR A U.S. VISA AND THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO PROCESS SUCH AN APPLICATION WHILE HE IS UNDER DETENTION IN SAN
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PAGE 02 STATE 091933

Case Number: 200000044

JUAN.

4. DEPARTMENT SUGGESTED THAT MR. MANINI HAVE A MEMBER OF HIS FAMILY IN ARGENTINA CONTACT MS. THAYER OR MR. STEVEN ABOUT THIS CASE TO SEE IF EMBASSY MIGHT BE ABLE TO ASSIST IN SOME WAY.
VANCE

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 092286
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 PA-01 PRS-01 USIA-06 SS-15
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DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON:ZC
APPROVED BY ARA:MR. LUERS
ARA/P:MYOHN (DRAFT)
D/HA:PDERIAN (INFO)

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P 232039Z APR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~ ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:SHUM, PINS, AR

SUBJECT:DETENTION OF JOURNALISTS COX AND TIMERMAN

DECONTROL

REFERENCE: FREEMAN-RONDON TELECON OF 4/22

1. NEWS OF ARREST OF COX OF BUENOS AIRES HERALD PROMPTED DEPARTMENT TO TRY TO REACH AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN. THE AMBASSADOR WAS IN NEW YORK, HOWEVER, AND WE FINALLY REACHED FIRST SECRETARY RUBIO ON FRIDAY NIGHT (APRIL 22). SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN, RONDON OF ARA/ECA TOLD RUBIO THAT THE DEPARTMENT WAS CONCERNED THAT TWO RESPECTED ARGENTINE NEWSPAPER DIRECTORS ARE NOW UNDER ARREST. DEPTOFF CONTINUED THAT ARRESTS COULD HAVE VERY ADVERSE EFFECT ON U.S. PUBLIC OPINION. RUBIO WAS ADVISED THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY WOULD HAVE LIKED TO DISCUSS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS EARLY NEXT WEEK WITH AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL BUT COULD NOT BECAUSE ASSISTANT SECRETARY WOULD
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 092286

BE OUT OF TOWN. ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS WOULD

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Case Number: 200000044

THEREFORE ASK ON MONDAY TO SEE THE AMBASSADOR TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS. RUBIO PROMISED TO INFORM AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL IN NEW YORK.

2. THE PRESS HAS BEEN INFORMED ON AN IF ASKED BASIS THAT WE ARE IN TOUCH WITH THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AND ARE SEEKING TO ASCERTAIN THE FULL FACTS OF THE SITUATION.

3. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, MIAMI HERALD AND WASHINGTON POST ARE ACTIVELY INTERESTED IN COX ARREST AND ARE EXPECTED TO SEND PROTEST TO ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT.

4. EMBASSY IS REQUESTED INFORM GOA OF OUR INTEREST IN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND THE VERY DELETERIOUS EFFECT WHICH JOURNALISTS' ARRESTS COULD HAVE ON U.S. PUBLIC OPINION. WE ASSUME EMBASSY WILL STAY IN TOUCH WITH BRITISH EMBASSY REGARDING COX, WHO IS THEIR NATIONAL, AND ELICIT BRITISH COMMENTS.
VANCE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03502 01 OF 02 282308Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 IO-13 DHA-02 HEW-04 ACDA-07 DPW-01
AID-05 A-01 OPR-02 SY-05 USSS-00 MCT-01 SIL-01
LAB-04 EB-08 COME-00 OMB-01 /111 W
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R 282040Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4578

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3502

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, CI
SUBJECT: CHILEAN SECURITY AGENCIES: IMPROVED PRACTICES, BUT STILL NASTY

1. SUMMARY: RECENT EVENTS INDICATE SECURITY AGENCIES ARE NOW GENERALLY FOLLOWING THE LAW IN SECURITY CASES. THIS PROCEDURAL CLEAN-UP PARALLELS MORE BASIC IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES (SANTIAGO 2539): NO REPORTS OF DISAPPEARANCES IN 1977 AND ONLY ONE ALLEGATION OF TORTURE, AND THE RELEASE OF HUNDREDS OF POLITICAL/SECURITY PRISONERS OVER THE LAST YEAR. THE COURTS CONTINUE TO PRESS ON PAST CASES OF DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER ABUSES. MEANWHILE, REPORTS ARE ACCUMULATING OF HARASSMENT INAD INTIMIDATION BY SECURITY AGENTS SOMETIMES POSING AS RED CROSS OR CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES. END SUMMARY

2. EXAMPLES OF PROCEDURAL IMPROVEMENT:
-- COMMUNIST YOUTHS: ON GOOD FRIDAY DINA PICKED UP THREE MEN AND A WOMAN FOR DISSEMINATING COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. THE ARRESTING OFFICERS FOLLOWED LEGAL PROCEDURES. WITNESSES WHO SAW THE QUARTET BEING ARRAINGED BEFORE A MILITARY JUDGE THREE DAYS LATER REPORT THAT THEY SHOWED NO SIGNS OF TORTURE. SIGNIFICANTLY DINA DID NOT AVAIL ITSELF OF THE TEN-DAY INCOMMUNICADO PERIOD [redacted]

PERMITTED UNDER NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ACT FOURN NOR EVEN THE FIVE-DAY PERIOD IN EFFECT DURING NON-EMERGENCY PERIODS. SHOULD THE CASE GO TO TRIAL IN A MILITARY COURT, THE MORE LENIENT PEACETIME RULES WOULD APPLY. THE CASE HAS RECEIVED NO PRESS PLAY.
-- RED SEPTEMBER AGAIN: IN CONTRAST TO THE FOREGOING, DINA ANNOUNCED WITH FANFARE ON APRIL 15 THE DETENTION OF TWO MEN AND A WOMAN. ACCORDING TO DINA THEY WERE ALLEGEDLY MEMBERS OF A

"RED SEPTEMBER" CELL, A PHOENIX-LIKE LEFT TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. TWO OTHERS WERE SUBSEQUENTLY PICKED UP, ONE AS HE ARRIVED AT THE AIRPORT FROM ARGENTINA. DINA SAID THE GROUP HAD STAGED THREE ROBBERIES AND WHEN DETAINED HAD FOUR NEW UZI SUBMACHINEGUNS AND A LIST OF AS MANY AS 17 PROSPECTIVE ASSASSINATION VICTIMS. A FEW DAYS LATER LOCAL PAPERS CARRIED AP AND UPI DISPATCHES REPORTING THAT RED SEPTEMBER HAD CLAIMED CREDIT FOR A BOMB SCARE AT LIMA'S AIRPORT WHEN JUNTA MEMBER MERINO ARRIVED. (COMMENT: JUST ABOUT EVERYONE TAKES RED SEPTEMBER WITH A LARGE GRAIN OF SALT. SECURITY FORCES REPORTEDLY HAD RUN INS WITH IT IN AUGUST AND OCTOBER 1976, AND EACH TIME THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT CONTAINS QUESTIONABLE ELEMENTS. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE OF THE CURRENT ALLEGED TERRORISTS WAS A PLUG UGLY IN FANATIC RIGHT WING "PATRIA Y LIBERTAD", AND THE SUPPOSED HIT LIST INCLUDES THE SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT; IDEOLOGUE JAIME GUZMAN; ONE OF "EL MERCUIRO'S" EDITORS; AND THE HEAD OF THE LOCAL INTERNATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION. PRESUMABLY SECURITY FORCES USE "RED SEPTEMBER" AS A GENERIC TERM TO COVER ONE OR MORE SMALL SPLINTER BANDS OF POLITICAL TOUGHS WHO HAVE MOVED INTO CRIMINALITY. END COMMENT)

-- THE MAN AT CUARTO ALAMOS: THE HUMAN RIGHTS GRAPEVINE HAS REPORTED THAT CUATRO ALAMOS, DINA'S INFAMOUS LEGAL DETENTION CENTER, WAS AGAIN IN USE. A VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY SOURCE TELLS US, HOWEVER, THAT JUAN SEPULVEDA, ITS ONLY KNOWN OCCUPANT, ENDED UP THERE BY DEFAULT. AN ALLENDE-ERA BUREAUCRAT, HE HAD LEFT FAR SOUTHERN PUNTA ARENAS AND MOVED TO VALDIVIA JUST BEFORE THE COUP. HE NAME CAME UP DURING THE PURGE IN SEPTEMBER 1973 AND HE WAS ORDERED TO RETURN TO PUNTA ARENAS -- A WARRANT LOST IN THE CONFUSION. RECENTLY HE APPLIED FOR A PASSPORT AND WAS DETAINED ON THE BASIS OF INTERPOL'S RECORDS CHECK. THE LOCAL MILITARY JUDGE [redacted]

LEARNED THAT PUNTA ARENAS NO LONGER WANTED HIM AND REMANDED HIM TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, WHICH STUCK HIM IN CUATRO ALAMOS UNTIL THEY FIGURE OUT WHAT TO DO NEXT. HE WILL PROBABLY BE FREED SOON.

3. INTIMIDATION CONTINUES: THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES CONTINUE TO HARASS AND INTIMIDATE DEMOCRATIC CRITICS OR OPPONENTS THROUGH VARIOUS FORMS OF MORE OR LESS SUBTLE PRESSURE. AGENTS, SOME OF WHOM CLAIMED TO BE FREM THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS, ICEM OR THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY, HAVE CALLED ON AND QUESTIONED -- OFTEN VERY POLITELY -- MANY OF THE 1800 PEOPLE WHO SIGNED A PETITION ON BEHALF OF 501 MISSING PERSONS. THE PATTERN BECAME SO COMMON THAT THE ICRC AND THE VICARIATE ISSUED PUBLIC STATEMENTS DENYING THAT THEIR PERSONNEL WERE MAKING SUCH CALLS.

4. TWO SPECIFIC CASES OF INTIMIDATION CAME TO THE EMBASSY'S ATTENTION DURING THE PAST WEEK. ON APRIL 14 COMMUNIST LABOR LEADER JUAN EDUARDO BERRIOS MORALES FILED AN "AMPARO" (HABEAS CORPUS)

PETITION ON BEHALF OF HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY (THE ACTION PUTS THE COURTS ON NOTICE THAT SHOULD ANYTHING UNTOWARD HAPPEN TO HIM OR HIS FAMILY, SECURITY FORCES ARE THE LIKELY CULPRITS). HE HAD BEEN HELD FOR A DAY -- APRIL 6 -- AND PUMPTED FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE VICARIATE'S LABOR ACTIVITIES (SEE PARA 6 BELOW). THE AGENTS ALLEGEDLY THREATENED THAT HE, HIS WIFE OR TWO SMALL CHILDREN WOULD BE IN TROUBLE IF HE REPORTED THE INCIDENT.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03502 02 OF 02 282353Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
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USIA-06 TRSE-00 IO-13 DHA-02 HEW-04 ACDA-07 DPW-01
AID-05 A-01 OPR-02 SY-05 USSS-00 MCT-01 SIL-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4579

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3502

5. IN ANOTHER CASE, REPORTED TO US, THE MOTHER OF A MISSING YOUNG MAN (MARTIN ELGUETA PINTO) HAD PLANNED TO VISIT HER HUSBAND EXILED IN MEXICO. SHE TOLD AN EMBOFF ABOUT THE HAM-HANDED EFFORTS OF TWO DINA AGENTS TO HAVE HER SIGN A STATMENT THAT HER SON WAS IN FACT LIVING WITH HER. AFTER BEING TURNED DOWN ON THIS APPROACH, A FEMALE AGENT SHOWED UP AND WARNED HER THAT IF SHE REFUSED TO SIGN, "THEY" HAD WAYS OF MAKING HER DAUGHTER DO SO IN HER ABSENCE.

6. MISTREATMENT: THE PETITION FILED BY BERRIOS (PARA 3) ALSO ALLEGES THAT HE WAS PHYSICALLY MISTREATED BY THE AGENTS WHO PICKED HIM UP. HIS DEPOSITION STATES THAT THE AGENTS BEAT HIM ON THE BODY (AVOIDING HIS FACE), STRIPPED HIM AND SUBJECTED HIM TO ELECTRIC SHOCKS. ACCURATE OR NOT (AND IT IS DARING TO MAKE CUSH AN ALLEGATION IN A FORMAL PETITION TO THE COURTS), THIS IS THE FIRST ALEGATION OF TORTURE WE HAVE HEARD OF AS OCCURRING IN 1977.

7. COURTS MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THE DISAPPEARANCE PROBLEM: AN APPEALS COURT HAS MOVED QUICKLY TO CARRY OUT THE SUPREME COURT'S INSTRUCTION THAT IT ASK EACH SECURITY SERVICE ABOUT MISSING COMMUNIST YOUTH LEADER CARLOS CONTRERAS. MORE TO THE POINT, THE COURT TOLD THE AIR FORCE TO PRODUCE THE MEN ASSIGNED TO THE VEHICLE WHICH CARTED CONTRERAS AWAY -- THE CAR'S LICENSE PLATES HAVE BEEN TRACED TO AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE.

[redacted]

8. PROBLEM OF PAST DISAPPEARANCES: THE SLATE IS CLEAN SO FAR THIS YEAR WITH RESPECT TO NEW DISAPPEARANCES. BUT NONE OF THOSE MISSING EARLIER HAVE REAPPEARED. THERE HAD BEEN RUMORS BEFORE EASTER THAT THE GOC WOULD SURFACE SOME OF THE MISSING BY THE SUBTERFUGE OF "DISCOVERING" A "CLANDESTINE" MEETING THEY WERE "ATTENDING".

9. COMMENT: THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE CURRENT ACTIVITY OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE WAY THEY WERE BEHAVING JUST A YEAR AGO IS STRIKING. THE FEW SUBVERSIVES DETAINED ARE ARRESTED UNDER EXISTING LEGAL PROCEDURES AND PLACED BEFORE COURTS; DISSENTERS ARE INTIMIDATED BUT NOT HEALD IN PREVENTIVE DETENTION OR -- WITH THE ONE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION ABOVE -- HARMED. THE INSTITUTIONS OF REPRESSION REMAIN IN PLACE -- AND GOVERNMENT CRITICS KNOW THEY RUN RISKS -- BUT THE RISKS FOR THE MOMENT SEEM TO BE SMALLER.
POPPER

[redacted]

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ARGENTINE COMMISSION for HUMAN RIGHTS

COMISION ARGENTINA POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS (CADHU)
Washington, D. C. Information Bureau

International Offices:
Geneva
Rome
Paris
Mexico City

May 3rd, 1977

Mr. Mark Schneider
Humanitarian Affairs
Department of State
Washington DC

MB -
Let it we ...

Dear Mr. Schneider:

At your request we have prepared a partial list of lawyers who have been abducted, arrested, killed, or exiled by the Argentine authorities since the military seized the government last year.

As you know the Argentine Government has not cooperated in releasing information about people being held in detention. We do not know therefore which of these people are being held formally under arrest, and which ones are simply "disappeared persons". Among the "disappeared persons" we are not able to verify in any way w-ether or not they are still alive. For these reasons I believe it would be important to inquire with the Argentine authorities for a complete report on the whereabouts and legal situation of all those in the list.

With respect to the activities of the lawyers in the enclosed list, they can be categorized as follows: most of them were involved directly or indirectly in defense of political prisoners, trade unionists, or other dissidents. A smaller group was involved in assisting or advising the various trade unions on labor related matters. We are not in a position to determine if any of them were involved in political activities not related to their profession.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to call me. Hoping to hear from you on any responses you may receive to your inquiries, I remain,

Horacio D. Lofredo

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Department of State

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 L-03 SSO-00 INRE-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00
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DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/B - LHENDERSON:ARA/AND/V - TWSONANDRES:L
APPROVED BY ARA/AND - MR. BAPN:BEY
L/ARA - MR. WILLIS (INFO)
ARA/CCA - MR. HOLLADAY (INFO)
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

UNCLAS STATE 103547

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, VE

SUBJECT: FLEETWOOD ARTICLE ON ORLANDO BOSCH IN NEW TIMES

1. SUMMARY: WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE NEW TIMES OF MAY 13 CARRIES BLAKE FLEETWOOD ARTICLE, LARGELY BASED ON EXCLUSIVE SIX-HOUR CARACAS INTERVIEW WITH ORLANDO BOSCH, ENTITLED "I AM GOING TO DECLARE WAR". IN ARTICLE (BEING POUCHED), BOSCH TRACES HIS PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN ANTI-CASTRO TERRORISM, INCLUDING CIA AND FBI CONTACTS IN SIXTIES, EXILE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION EFFORTS IN CARIBBEAN AND ELSE-
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PAGE 02 STATE 103547

WHERE, AND AGREEMENTS WITH GOV BEGINNING 1974. BOSCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9302099 IS|FPC|CDR Date: 4/26/96
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DENIED KNOWING ANYTHING ON LETELIER MURDER. NO USG SOURCES CITED IN ARTICLE, WHICH DEVOTES ONLY HALF PARAGRAPH NEAR END TO PROPPER AND WASHINGTON GRAND JURY. END SUMMARY.

2. FLEETWOOD WRITES THAT BOSCH WAS ANXIOUS TO TALK TO A FOREIGN REPORTER IN THAT GOV HAD PREVENTED OTHER INTERVIEWS. BOSCH STATED THAT AFTER BEING SENTENCED TO DEATH BY CASTRO BECAUSE OF HIS ANTI-CASTRO GUERRILLA MOVEMENT, HE FLED TO FLORIDA WHERE HE AND LUIS POSADO, WHOM HE THEN MET, WERE AMONG 6,000 CUBAN EXILES ON THE CIA PAYROLL. HE FELT "BETRAYED" BY THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION AND THE CIA AFTER THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS AND SUBSEQUENT USG REDUCTION IN

ANTI-CASTRO ACTIVITIES.

3. HE SUBSEQUENTLY WENT UNDERGROUND AFTER THE JOSE ELIAS DE LA TORRIENTE ASSASSINATION, WHICH HE PRAISED BUT ON WHICH HE DISCLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY, AND BEGAN TO DIRECT THE "INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE WAR". HE FELT TERRORISTS SHOULD OPERATE FROM CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN BASES, HIS MAIN GOAL BEING TO FORGE ALLIANCES WITH THE FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS OF NICARAGUA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, COSTA RICA AND VENEZUELA.

4. BOSCH SAYS THAT HIS FIRST PACT WITH THE GOV CAME IN NOVEMBER 1974 WHEN HE CLAIMS DISIP ARRESTED HIM ALTHOUGH THE GOV DENIED HE WAS IN THE COUNTRY. AT THAT TIME, HE MADE A FORMAL AGREEMENT WITH RIVAS VASQUEZ AND ORLANDO GARCIA, PROMISING THAT NO MORE TERRORIST ACTS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN VENEZUELA IF NO HIGH OFFICIAL OF THE CUBAN REGIME WOULD BE ALLOWED INTO VENEZUELA. HE LATER MADE CONTACTS IN CHILE WITH THE RIGHT-WING EXTREMIST AAA PARTY, AND CONSPIRED TO KILL TWO CUBAN DIPLOMATS WHO DISAPPEARED AUGUST 9, 1976 AND HAVEN'T BEEN HEARD OF SINCE. CARLOS RIVERO COLLADE, A FORMER CUBAN EXILE, CLAIMS BOSCH WAS

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TRAINED BY THE CHILEAN NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT. BOSCH REFUSED TO TAKE PERSONAL CREDIT FOR BOMBINGS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE OF FBI "HEAT" BUT BOASTED THAT CORU (COORDINATION OF THE UNITED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION) HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR OVER FIFTY IN MIAMI, NEW YORK, VENEZUELA, PANAMA, MEXICO AND ARGENTINA.

5. IN 1976 HE SET UP A NEW "DEAL" IN VENEZUELA TO LIVE

THERE UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME AND FROM THERE TO ORGANIZE OTHER TERRORIST ACTIONS ANYWHERE EXCEPT IN VENEZUELA, COSTA RICA AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. HE ACCEPTED A DISIP IDENTIFICATION CARD, BUT CLAIMS HE TURNED DOWN A GOV OFFER OF WEAPONS AND BODYGUARDS. UNTIL THE LETELIER AND CUBANA BOMBINGS, THE VENEZUELAN PACT WAS GOING WELL. THEN, BOSCH SAYS, HE WAS PUT IN "PROTECTIVE CUSTODY". HE FEELS THAT HE WAS SET-UP BY RICARDO MORALES NAVARETTE AND SAYS "WE'RE GOING TO ACCUSE HIM (VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT PEREZ) OF BETRAYING US", PRESIDENT PEREZ, THE INTERIOR MINISTER AND THE DISIP DIRECTOR WILL ALSO BE ACCUSED IF I GO ON TRIAL. AND, BOSCH STATED, AFTER HE DECLARES WAR, THERE WILL BE A LOT OF BOMBINGS, KIDNAPPINGS AND SHOOTINGS.

6. ON LETELIER, FLEETWOOD WRITES THAT CUBAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CLAIMED CHILE HIRED BOSCH TO KILL LETELIER AND BOSCH HANDED CORU THE MONEY FOR THE ASSASSINATION. BOSCH SAYS THAT HIS GROUP DID NOT COMMIT THE ASSASSINATION, AND

EVEN IF HE KNEW WHO DID, HE WOULDN'T TELL. A "CONFIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT" OBTAINED BY NEW TIMES SAYS THAT BOSCH TOLD THE GOV AT THE TIME OF HIS ARREST THAT THE "NOVO BROTHERS WERE INVOLVED" WITH THAT ASSASSINATION. ARTICLE SAYS THAT THE US HAS NOW BEGUN OFFERING LIMITED IMMUNITY TO SOME OF THE CUBAN EXILES, HOPING TO FORCE THEM TO TALK ABOUT THE LETELIER ASSASSINATION.

7. FLEETWOOD CITES VENEZUELAN LEGAL EXPERTS TO SAY THAT

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THE LIKELIHOOD OF CONVICTING BOSCH ON THE CUBANA BOMBINGS IS NOT GREAT AND IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE BOSCH WILL BE RELEASED.

8. USG RECEIVES LITTLE COVERAGE BEYOND REFERENCES NOTED ABOVE. FLEETWOOD DOES CITE FBI INFORMANTS AT TWO POINTS AS WELL AS THAT "CONFIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT" IN PARA 6. EUGENE PROPPER AND THE WASHINGTON GRAND JURY ALSO RECEIVE HALF A PARAGRAPH NEAR END OF ARTICLE REGARDING INFORMATION AVAILABLE PUBLICLY. CHRISTOPHER

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ACTION MEMORANDUM

S/S

[redacted]

May 10, 1977

TO: The Acting Secretary

FROM: D/HA - Mark L. Schneider, Acting

Request for an Appointment with Chilean Ambassador Cauas

Issue for Decision

Recommendation from ARA that Ambassador Cauas be called in for a frank discussion of human rights issues in Chile.

Background/Analysis

D/HA does not object to the recommendation that Ambassador Cauas be called in to discuss the human rights issue. However, D/HA does want to emphasize that the violations of human rights by the current regime and the assistance offered by the previous Administration to that regime prompted Congressionally-initiated legislation halting all arms transfers and reducing economic assistance to Chile. Following the Chilean refusal to permit the United Nations Human Rights Commission to make an on-site inquiry, the previous Adminstration voted against a Chilean loan in the IDB. And, as ARA has noted, U.S./Chilean relations are at a standstill. While the human rights situation remains unimproved in significant ways, those relations cannot be improved without engendering very bitter Congressional and public reaction jeopardizing our entire human rights policy.

It should at least be noted that the current investigation into the bombing deaths of an American woman and Orlando Letelier continues, and at least press reports have linked some elements of Chilean intelligence agencies with that investigation.

It should be recalled as well in considering the overall strategy put forth by ARA that Chilean bilateral relations

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with several other nations such as Italy, Mexico and several Scandinavian countries remain cool because of the regime's violations of human rights.

Ambassador Cauas is likely to be an accurate reporter to the Junta of this Administration's human rights policies.

D/HA concurs that in very recent months few, if any, additional new cases of disappearances, torture or lengthy detention without charge have surfaced. However, it also should be noted that the state of repression continues, the Cardinal most recently informing Ambassador Popper that harrassment of the Church and intimidation of the general public still continues. Also, political parties such as the Christian Democrats were during the recent months abolished, and labor unions and universities remain severely restricted.

D/HA concurs with the emphasis being placed on our desire to see an improvement to this situation particularly including: elimination of the state of siege, an end to harrassment of the Church, reorganization or abolition of the intelligence agencies, a forthcoming response on the subject of "disappeared" persons, the reestablishment of due process, and at least some beginning toward reassertion of traditional Chilean civil liberties.

Unless substantive improvements in these areas are forthcoming, D/HA would question the movement beyond the initial meetings with Cauas.

Recommendation

In this limited context, with the major emphasis on seeking improvement in the human rights situation, as a condition for any improvement in our relations, we recommend that you call the Ambassador in for a discussion.

D/HA:MLSchneider
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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Participants: Father Luis Antonio Diaz, Cardijn Institute
Felix C. Vargas, Jr., Political Officer

Date & Place: May 18, 1977, Embassy

Distribution: AMB/DCM, POL, POL/R, ECON, AID, ARA/AND/CH, INR/OIL/B, INR/RRA

Subject: DINA, the Inter-American Foundation

Father Diaz, who just returned from a trip to seven European countries and the U.S., came in on May 18 to give us additional information on possible DINA involvement in the arrest/torture of two Cardijn Institute collaborators, and to discuss worsening relations with the Inter-American Foundation.

DINA and Cardijn

Diaz provided additional information on the case of Luis Manuel Mardones, number two in the Cardijn Institute's Labor Department. According to Diaz, Mardones was arrested by several men in civilian clothing on May 12 and shortly thereafter taken to Cuatro Alamos. Mardones' wife informed the Cardijn people shortly thereafter and a writ of habeas corpus was filed later that day. Diaz stated that on the evening of May 13, several men, identifying themselves as DINA agents, arrived at the Mardones house and thoroughly searched it. The search was conducted in a careful and polite manner and the wife was interrogated as to her husband's work with the Cardijn Institute. Diaz said that among the papers taken from the house was a letter from Mardones to the Cardinal in which Mardones disavowed any connection or intent to colloborate with the Communists. As the men were departing, one of them, apparently feeling some sympathy for the anguished wife, told her not to worry, that her husband was unharmed and being detained at Cuatro Alamos. The man reportedly told the wife that she could visit her husband the following day.

On May 14 Father Diaz accompanied Mrs. Mardones to Cuatro Alamos and asked to see Mardones. After making several calls, the DINA officer in charge stated that he had received instructions to not allow anyone to see Mardones. When the wife pleaded to at least be allowed to give her husband a toothbrush and warm clothing, the officer replied that it was not necessary, as Mardones had arrived with the necessary personal items.

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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With the assistance of his father, a General in the Army Medical Branch, Diaz arranged a May 18 interview with a Colonel Saldias, an assistant to DINA chief Colonel Manuel Contreras. According to Diaz, Saldias stated he had no knowledge of the case, but would check into it. Saldias then reportedly suggested that Diaz request permission from the Ministry of Interior to see Mardones, if it was established that Mardones is detained at Cuatro Alamos. Diaz told me that he probably will be doing this on May 19.

Diaz described the work of Mardones as that of a "monitor", assisting Cardijn Labor Chief Manuel Bustos in setting up training seminars and inviting labor participants to attend. Mardones was one of the principal people inviting labor leaders from the outlying provinces to attend the Cardinal's May 1 mass in Santiago.

Diaz then discussed the strange case of Carlos Veloz, former labor leader and currently part-time employee of the Cardijn Institute. Veloz, who has been unemployed since February 1976, has a Canadian landed immigrant visa for himself and his family. According to Diaz, on May 1 Veloz, suspecting that he had been recently followed, sent his 15-year old boy out of their Villa Mexico apartment to get word to the Cardijn Institute. Diaz said that as the boy left the apartment building, he was accosted by several unidentified men, who abducted and later tortured and sexually abused him. Diaz stated that it was sad to see the boy, before a cheerful lad, now terrorized and unable to communicate well. After the family reported the incident to the authorities, three DINE (Army Intelligence) agents arrived, saying that they had orders to stay with the family in the apartment to provide "protection" against extremists that DINE believes perpetrated the incident. The three have been there ever since, says Diaz. According to Diaz, DINE arrested over twenty people in connection with this case and, along with numerous photos, have asked the boy to identify his assailants. The boy, said Diaz, picked out three among the photos shown -- one being a Mr. Suleta, a leader in the Villa Mexico community, a Christian Democrat and a "solid Christian", according to Diaz. Identifying Suleta is easy, says Diaz, because he has a large mole on one side of his face. Diaz dismissed the possibility that Suleta was involved, stating he believes that a GOC security agent disguised himself as Suleta to make it appear that Christian Democrats are now committing acts of violence.

Diaz stated that a meeting of 16 Santiago vicars and two Bishops (Alvear and Valech) will take place on May 19 to consider Church reaction to the cases of Mardones and Veloz. Diaz will recommend that he present another amparo on behalf of Mardones and that the Bishops do the same for Veloz. Diaz stated that the Cardinal -- presently in the U.S. -- is greatly needed at this time.

I asked Diaz why the GOC security forces would be interested in hitting the Cardijn Institute at this particular time. Diaz replied that the real target he believed was Manuel Bustos and the GOC seemed to be sending a message to him. And why not do it now, asked Diaz. With the Cardinal gone, the Government could safely assume that there would not be strong Church response to a new wave of DINA repression.

On Bustos, Diaz stated that the Cardijn Labor Section Chief was limiting Communist participation to the first course of the labor leaders' training seminars, which is quite elementary. Diaz stated that Cardijn knew exactly who the Communists were in the program and that their participation was closely monitored by Bustos and other Cardijn people.

Relations With The Inter-American Foundation

Diaz stated that the Cardijn Institute's relationship with Inter-American Foundation Southern Cone Director James O'Brien remains cold. Diaz visited O'Brien during the U.S. portion of the trip. According to Diaz, O'Brien stated that a Foundation grant worth US $96,000 for the labor workshops was still on and the money would be made available soon. A US $60,000 grant for an Evaluation and Studies Program, however was frozen in view of the Cardijn removal of Radomiro Tomic from a key leadership position (see attached Memo of February 3, 1977).

Diaz stated that he is optimistic that the European Church community will provide the needed funds, should the Inter-American Foundation not do so. Diaz said that he received very encouraging signals during his trip and that a June meeting of the European Church groups will consider giving aid to Cardijn. Diaz has not been given hope that O'Brien will make the funds for the second program available and will be writing a letter to him shortly.

COMMENT: The DINA move against the Cardijn Institute (if indeed there is one) may partially represent the GOC's

displeasure with the Church's labor activities. With the absence of Cardinal Silva, the GOC also catches the Church leaders ill-prepared to respond.

POL:FCVargas:sef 5/19/77 Approved:CHARGE:TDBoyatt

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POL:FCVargas:sef 5/19/77 Approved:CHARGE:TDBoyatt

POL:DHClare ADCM:CRStout

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA/ECA:FERONDON
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)
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U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 115514

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCES OF ARGENTINE NATIONALS

1. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE WHATEVER INFORMATION EMBASSY MAY HAVE ON THE FOLLOWING CASES, ALL OF WHICH ARE THE SUBJECT OF MULTIPLE QUERIES TO THE DEPARTMENT.

2. DR. VALENTIN BAREMBILT AND LIC. MARTA BREA, PSYCHIATRIST AND PSYCHOLOGIST RESPECTIVELY AT LANUS HOSPITAL, WHO DISAPPEARED RECENTLY.

3. ELISABETH KASEMANN, DAUGHTER OF NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLAR ERNST KASEMANN OF WEST GERMANY. ELISABETH WAS DETAINED IN BUENOS AIRESREPORTEDLY ON MARCH 8.

4. RICARDO ALBERTO SANDLER, SON OF HORA DEL PUEBLO DEPUTY HECTOR SANDLER, WHO IS IN SELF-IMPOSED EXILE IN MEXICO. SANDLER SENIOR WAS AMONG DEPUTIES WHO WELCOMED
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PAGE 02 STATE 115514

Case Number: 200000044

CAMPORA'S PRISON AMNESTY. REPUTABLE ARGENTINE INFORMED DEPARTMENT THAT SON, WHO DISAPPEARED ON MAY 11, IS VERY APOLITICAL. COLUMNIST JACK ANDERSON IS INTERESTED IN SANDLER CASE. CHRISTOPHER

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DISAPPEARANCES IN CHILE 1977

#5372 R P

May 26, 1977

EXCISE

Dear friend:

Since the military Junta took power in Chile in 1973, more than 2,000 people have disappeared. In March 8, 1977 the cases of 925 missing Chileans were presented to the Commission of Human Rights of the United Nations in Geneva, by an ad hoc Working Group that has been investigating violations of Human Rights in Chile since 1973. On that occasion the Chilean delegate, Mr. Sergio Diez, denied any official responsibility in these disappearances. Nevertheless, a resolution condemning the violations of human rights in Chile was passed by an overwhelming majority. The resolution was sponsored by: Austria, Cuba, Cyprus, the United States, England, Northern Ireland, Ruanda, Sweden and Yugoslavia.

The evidence of DINA involvement in missing persons despite the Junta's denials has been exposed all over the world. For the first time high officials of the Chilean Junta, including representatives of the police, have testified that the National Security Police (DINA) have been responsible for the mysterious disappearances of persons in Chile. An Appeals Court in January 1977 ordered the Interior Ministry to release CARLOS CONTRERAS MALUJE, missing since November 1976. But the Ministry gave the usual answer: that the person in question was not in custody. The Chilean Supreme Court has ordered an investigation of the incident.

The latest group of arrested persons reportedly includes members of the Popular Unity and Christian Democratic parties. Some of them have been released, but there are still eleven missing. These new disappearances have taken place between April 29th through May 13th. Enclosed is a list with their names.

I would appreciate your attention to this matter.

Cordially yours,

Isabel Letelier

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) 6b

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NEW DISAPPEARANCES IN CHILE
April 29, 1977 through May 13, 1977

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1. WILLIAM ZULETA MORA, Christian Democrat.

2. ROBERTO DROUILLAS, Christian Democrat.

3. LUIS RUBEN MARDONES, Christian Democrat, ex-president of the Federation of "Cuero y Calzado", connected with the Vicaria.

4. JAIME TRONCOSO VALDES, 27 years old, Chilean I.D [redacted] of Santiago, a student at the Law School of the University of Chile. Mr. Troncoso,

5. ISRAEL VICENTE GARCIA RAMIREZ, 20 years old, a high school student in Santiago. Arrested April 30, 1977 in Santiago. His father, VICENTE GARCIA, now exiled in Mexico, was arrested with his wife and mother-in-law. All three were released.

6. JORGE SALAZAR, retired army lieutenant.

7. OSVALDO FIGUEROA.

8. VICTOR URBINA.

9. VICTOR CONDORINO.

10. MARCELO SANTANA.

11. GUILLERMO BELLODORO.

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REPUBLICA DE CHILE
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES
DEPARTAMENTO EXTRANJERIA
Form. 7187

IMPUESTO

Nº 359

Santiago, 03 de Febrero de 19 77.-

CERTIFICADO DE VIAJES

LA DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES

certifica que, en su Departamento de Extranjería y Policía Internacional existe constancia que don LISANDRO CRUZ DIAZ .-. -- de nacionalidad Chilena domiciliado en Nº de registra el siguiente viaje: a contar del mes de Enero de 1977.-

SALIDA : 11 DE ENERO DE 1977 - LOS LIBERTADORES- ARGENTINA.

El presente certificado, se concede para presentarlo a

ALFREDO ROJAS SEPULVEDA
SUBCOMISARIO JEFE SUBROGANTE
DEPTO. EXTRANJERIA Y POLICIA INTERNACIONAL
CONTROL INTERNACIONAL

MANUEL CORNEJO CARRASCO
SUBCOMISARIO JEFE
VICTOR HUGO PANTOJA MORALES
SUBDIRECTOR
DIRECTOR GENERAL SUBROGANTE

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REPUBLICA DE CHILE
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES
DEPARTAMENTO EXTRANJERIA

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IMPUESTO

Nº 357

Santiago, 3 de FEBRERO de 19 77.-

CERTIFICADO DE VIAJES

LA DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES

certifica que, en su Departamento de Extranjería y Policía Internacional existe constancia

que don LUIS LAZO SANTANDER

nacionalidad CHILENA

domiciliado en XXXXXXX Nº XXX

de XXXXX registro 01 siguiente viaje: a contar de

ENERO DE 1977:

SALIDA ; 06 - 01 - 1977.- LOS LIBERTADORES - ARGENTINA

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

El presente certificado, se concede para presentarlo a

MANUEL CORNEJO OYARZUN
SUBCOMISARIO JEFE
Jefe Sección Control

PEDRO ROMO SEPULVEDA
SUBPREFECTO JEFE SUBGTE.
Jefe Depto. Extranjería y Policía Internacional

ANTONIO ANTOJA MORALES
SUBDIRECTOR
DIRECTOR GENERAL SUBGTE.

DEPTO. EXTRANJERIA
POLICIA INTERNACIONAL

DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES
POLICIA INTERNACIONAL
DIRECTOR GENERAL

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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REPUBLICA DE CHILE
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES
DEPARTAMENTO EXTRANJERIA
Form. 7182

UNCLASSIFIED

IMPUESTO

Nº 355

Santiago, 3 de FEBRERO de 19 77.-

CERTIFICADO DE VIAJES

LA DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES

certifica que, en su Departamento de Extranjería y Policía Internacional existe constancia

que don MOLINA PINTO ARROYO

nacionalidad CHILENA

de [redacted] domiciliado en [redacted] Nº XXX

de [redacted] registra el siguiente viaje: A CONTAR DE

ENERO DE 1977.

VIA : 06 - 01 - 1977.- LOS LIBERTADORES - ARGENTINA

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

El presente certificado, se concede para presentarlo a [redacted]

MANUEL CORNEJO OYARZUN
SUBCOMISARIO JEFE
Jefe Sección Central

SERGIO MORA SEPULVEDA
SUBPREFECTO JEFE SUBGTE.
Jefe Depto. Extranjería y Policía Internacional

DEPTO. EXTRANJERIA
Y POLICIA INTERNACIONAL

POLICIA CRIMINAL
DIRECTOR GENERAL

PANTOJA MORALES
DIRECTOR
GENERAL SUBGTE.

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DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES
DEPARTAMENTO EXTRANJERIA
Form. 7182

UNCLASSIFIED

EXENTO IMPUESTO

Nº 356

Santiago, 3 de FEBRERO de 19 77.-

CERTIFICADO DE VIAJES

LA DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES

certifica que, en su Departamento de Extranjería y Policía Internacional existe constancia que don HORACIO CEPEDA MERINKOVIC de nacionalidad CHILENA domiciliado en XXXXXXXXXXX Nº XXXXX de XXXXXX registra el siguiente viaje: a contar de ENERO 05 1977:

SALIDA : 06 - 01 - 1977.- LOS LIBERTADORES - ARGENTINA

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

El presente certificado, se concede para presentarlo a

MANUEL CORNEJO CHARLIN
SUBCOMISARIO JEFE
Jefe Sección Control

SERGIO ROJO SEPULVEDA
SUBCOMISARIO JEFE SUBROGTE.
Depto. Extranjería y Policía Internacional

POLICIA DE INVESTIGACIONES DE CHILE
DIRECTOR GENERAL

ROMULO PANTOJA MORALES
SUBDIRECTOR
DIRECTOR GENERAL SUBROGTE.

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DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES
DEPARTAMENTO EXTRANJERIA
Form. 7182

UNCLASSIFIED

IMPUESTO

N° 366.-

Santiago, 4 de FEBRERO de 19 77.-

CERTIFICADO DE VIAJES

LA DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES

certifica que, en su Departamento de Extranjería y Policía Internacional existe constancia

que don Edmundo ARAYA CABRERA de

nacionalidad CHILENA

domiciliado en ———— Nº ————

de ———— registra el siguiente viaje: Contar Diciembre

de 1976.-

SALIDA: 22-12-1976 LOS LIBERTADORES ARGENTINA

El presente certificado, se concede para presentarlo a ————

MANUEL CORNEJO PIZARZUN
Jefe Sección Control

Por SERGIO ROMO SEPULVEDA
SUBDIRECTOR JEFE SUBROGANTE
Depto. Extranjería y Policía Internacional

VICTORINO [illegible] MORALES
SUBDIRECTOR
DIRECTOR GENERAL SUBROGANTE

DIRECCION GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIONES
DEPARTAMENTO EXTRANJERIA
DIRECTOR GENERAL

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03951 272233Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 INSE-00 VO-03 SCA-01 /017 W
----------272237Z 096653 /65

P 272100Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0695

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3951

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____
DECONTROL

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS INTEREST CASES

1. ARGENTINE NATIONALS GUILLERMO AND LILIANA VOGLER (REF: BA 3365; RONDON-CHAPLIN LETTER OF MAY 17). INS PETITION GRANTING FIFTH PREFERENCE STATUS TO VOGLER FAMILY ARRIVED AT EMBASSY AND APPROPRIATE NOTIFICATION WAS SENT TO VOGLERS IN CARE OF THE FAMILY'S ATTORNEY BYRON B. PARK OF SAN FRANCISCO ON MAY 20. EMBASSY INFORMALLY EXPRESSED US INTEREST ON BEHALF OF LILIANA AND GUILLERMO VOGLER TO FONMINISTRY HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP PRIOR TO ARRIVAL OF PETITION, AND WILL INFORMALLY MENTION THIS
NEW DEVELOPMENT TO WORKING GROUP AT NEXT OPPORTUNITY.

2. ARGENTINE NATIONAL RICARDO ALBERTO SANDLER (REF: STATE 115514). SANDLER'S DISAPPEARANCE MAY 13 AND SUBSEQUENT EFFORTS BY HIS FAMILY TO LOCATE HIM HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN LOCAL PRESS. HIS FAMILY FILED A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS AND HIS EX-DEPUTY FATHER WROTE TO PRESIDENT VIDELA FROM HIS SELF-IMPOSED EXILE IN MEXICO. REPORTEDLY SANDLER WAS ABDUCTED BY SOME 30 ARMED MEN. A PARTNER AT SANDLER'S ARCHITECTURAL FIRM HAD ALSO DISAPPEARED BEFORE SANDLER WAS TAKEN. EMBASSY HAS NO FURTHER INFORMATION ON RICARDO SANDLER'S WHEREABOUTS.

3. ARGENTINE NATIONALS DR. VALENTIN BAREMBILT AND MARTA BREA
[redacted]

(REF: STATE 115514). EMBASSY HAS NO INFORMATION ON DISAPPEARANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

OF DR. BAREMBILT OR MARTA BREA.

4. ARGENTINE NATIONAL THOMAS JUAN KORNFELD (REF: STATE 83773). EMBASSY HAS NO INFORMATION ON WHEREABOUTS OF THOMAS KORNFELD BUT HAS SUBMITTED CASE TO FONMIN HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP.

5. ARGENTINE NATIONAL RICARDO LUIS ROMERO (REF: STATE 116019). EMBASSY HAS NO INFORMATION ON WHEREABOUTS OF ROMERO BUT WILL SUBMIT THE NAME TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP.
6. COMMENT: FONMIN HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP HAS NOT REPLIED TO EMBASSY INQUIRIES ON INDIVIDUAL CASES SINCE EARLY MARCH. EMBASSY PLANNING TO RAISE THIS ISSUE EXPRESSLY WITH MINISTER JUAN CARLOS ARLIA IN MEETING SCHEDULED NEXT WEEK.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED 5/27/77

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE123616

Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 123616
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 H-01 L-03 PRS-01 CIAE-00
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DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)

----------280450Z 105880 /14

DECONTROL

P 272226Z MAY 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 123616

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCES OF ARGENTINE NATIONALS
REF: STATE 115514

ACCORDING TO REPRESENTATIVE FROM AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE:

DR. VALENTIN BARENBLITT WAS RELEASED EARLIER THIS WEEK.

RICARDO ALBERTO SANDLER WAS RELEASED AFTER BEING WARNED REPORTEDLY THAT HIS FATHER IN MEXICO SHOULD STOP CRITICIZING THE GOA. VANCE

[redacted]

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EXCIS

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04445 01 OF 03 281633Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03
PRS-01 /063 W

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R 281440Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5017
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release ✓Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemptions(s) 4445 B1, B3

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3

E.O. 11652: GDS-1, 2, 4
TAGS: SHUM PFTING THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE

REF: A) SANTIAGO 4343; B) SANTIAGO 4103

1. SUMMARY: REF A PROMISED A FULLER REPORT ON THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PICTURE, FOLLOWING UP ON THE EVENTS DESCRIBED IN REF B. SITUATION AS OF MAY 27: [redacted] "DISAPPEARANCE" PROBLEM BEING SOLVED WITH UNANNOUNCED RELEASE OF HARDCORE SOCIALIST; GOC STILL HOLDING SOME PEOPLE ILLEGALLY; HARASSMENT OF DISSENTERS CONTINUES; AND, GOC SETS UP SOME PROVOCATIONS. FACTS AND MOTIVES SURROUNDING ONE SERIES OF DETENTIONS REMAIN OBSCURE.

2. THE DIVERSITY OF INCIDENTS SO FAR CLOUDS WHATEVER OVERALL PATTERN MAY EXIST AND MAKES DIVINING GOC MOTIVES HARDER STILL. ANY GAINS AGAINST SUBVERSIVES OR IN REMINDING DISSIDENTS OF THE POWER OF SECURITY SERVICES APPEAR TO BE OUTWEIGHED BY UNDOING THE IMPROVED RECORD GOC HAD BEEN BUILDING SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR. THE NATIONAL [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04445 01 OF 03 281633Z

INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE (DINA) SEEMS TO BE THE PRINCIPAL ACTOR IN CURRENT OUTBURST, ALTHOUGH ARMY INTELLIGENCE (DINE) AND INVESTIGACIONES (IC) MAY ALSO BE INVOLVED. THE BREADTH AND APPARENT CAPRICIOUSNESS OF THIS WAVE OF ACTIVITY DEMONSTRATE THE PITFALLS OF CHILE'S CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE. END SUMMARY.

3. NO NEW DETENTIONS: THE SPATE OF PREDOMINANTLY DINA ACTIVITY DURING APRIL-MAY APPEARS TO HAVE ABATED SHARPLY. LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCES REPORT NO DETENTIONS OR DISAPPEARANCES OCCURRING AFTER MID-MAY.

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WE BELIEVE THAT DINA MOVED FORCEFULLY AGAINST CHILEAN SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS, USING FOR JUSTIFICATION FABRICATED STORIES THAT 800 SOVIET-TRAINED EXILES WERE RETURNING TO CHILE. THIS OPERATION SEEMS TO HAVE INVOLVED SOME PRISONER MISTREATMENT AND AT LEAST A SCORE OF LENGTHY AND ILLEGAL DETENTIONS. OTHER REPORTS REVEAL DETENTIONS WERE MADE IN VALPARAISO AND PERHAPS ARICA.

4. DISAPPEARANCE PROBLEM IN HAND: AS REPORTED REF B, OF THE DOZEN OR SO DISAPPEARANCES RECORDED BY THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY A WEEK AGO, WE CONSIDERED ONLY A HANDFUL SERIOUS. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVED THAT ALL THOSE MISSING WOULD SURFACE EVENTUALLY. WE AT FIRST FEARED THAT TWO PROMINENT YOUNG SOCIALISTS MIGHT BE EXCEPTIONS (PARA 5, REF B). BUT ON MAY 26 THE MOTHER OF JAIME TRONCOSO VALDEZ TOLD US HE WAS RELEASED AFTER SIGNING PLEDGES HE WOULD FILE NO COMPLAINTS. THIS GIVES US HOPE THAT VICENTE GARCIA RAMIREZ MAY ALSO APPEAR.

5. AND AS MENTIONED IN REF A, JUDICIAL EMPLOYEE GUILLERMO BELLO REAPPEARED AT HIS HOME, CLAIMING THAT HE HAD HAD AMNESIA (AS IN THE 1976 BUDNIK CASE). OUR CURRENT IMPRESSION IS THAT HE WAS THE [redacted]

VICTIM OF A FREE LANCE OPERATION UNDERTAKEN BY SECURITY AGENTS ON BEHALF OF A GOC OFFICIAL INVOLVED IN INTELLIGENCE MATTERS WITH WHOM BELLO CLASHED OVER A CIVIL COURT CASE. BUT THERE MAY BE MORE TO THE STORY; BELLO HAD BEEN MISSING FOR 16 DAYS. AT LEAST TWO OTHER CASES APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN GOC-SPONSORED PLANTS (SEE PARA 8 BELOW).

6. ILLEGAL DETENTIONS CONTINUE: THE GOC HAS TACITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT IS HOLDING SOME PEOPLE UNDER DETENTION, BUT SUCH DETENTION INCOMMUNICADO EXCEEDS THE PERIOD PROVIDED UNDER GOC EMERGENCY LEGISLATION (10 DAYS), AND OTHER LEGAL PROVISIONS ARE NOT FOLLOWED. THE NUMBERS ARE NOT KNOWN, BUT MAY BE FEWER THAN A DOZEN. THE PLACE OF DETENTION IS ALSO UNKNOWN. A HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS HAD ACCESS TO DINA-CONTROLLED CUATRO ALAMOS PRECINCT STILL HAS BEEN UNABLE TO REACH DINA CHIEF CONTRERAS FOR PERMISSION TO VISIT THE FACILITY, ONE OF THREE LEGALLY AUTHORIZED DETENTION CENTERS IN CHILE. MINISTRY OF DEFENSE-CONTROLLED TRES ALAMOS HELD ONLY JORGE MONTES AS OF MAY 22. B-1

7. HARASSMENT OF DISSENTERS CONTINUES:

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04445 02 OF 03 281647Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03
PRS-01 /063 W
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R 281440Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5018
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4445

(A) ZALDIVAR CASE: UNKNOWN PERSONS RANSACKED THE OFFICES OF ANDRES ZALDIVAR, PRESIDENT OF THE NOW DISSOLVED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OVER THE WEEKEND MAY 21-22 (REF A). ZALDIVAR CONTINUES TO PURSUE VARIOUS LEGAL ACTIONS SUPPORTED BY PDC COLLEAGUES (VIRTUALLY ALL OF WHOM SEEM TO BE LAWYERS). GOVERNMENT-INSPIRED SUGGESTIONS THAT THE BREAK-IN WAS SPURIOUS HAVE BEEN PLAYED BACK IN THE PRESS, BUT WE PREFER THE LOGIC OF [redacted] REPORTING THE COMMUNISTS' BELIEF THAT SECURITY FORCES WERE SEEKING NOTES OR DOCUMENTS ZALDIVAR MAY HAVE ACQUIRED DURING A MEETING WITH PCCH ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL THE DAY BEFORE. MOST THOUGHTFUL LOCAL OBSERVERS ARE DISQUIETED BY SUCH APPARENT GOC ACTIONS, AS REFLECTED IN A HARDHITTING "EL MERCURIO" EDITORIAL MAY 26. HERETOFORE THAT PRO-GOVERNMENT PAPER HAD CONCENTRATED ON THE QUESTION OF PRESS FREEDOM WHEN PRODDING THE GOC.

(B) FATHER DIAZ, ADVISOR TO CATHOLIC CHURCH AND VICARIATE-ASSOCIATED CARDIJN FOUNDATION, HAS TOLD US THAT A CAR FULL OF MEN RAMMED HIS CAR AND SEEMED READY TO PICK HIM UP MAY 24. DIAZ SAYS

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04445 02 OF 03 281647Z

HE WAS ABLE TO EXTRICATE HIS VEHICLE FROM THE CRASH AND FLEE. HE HAS FILED CRIMINAL CHARGES.

8. THE RINGERS: WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT

DINA HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN RUNNING SEVERAL OPERATIONS DESIGNED TO CREATE THE ILLUSION THAT LEFTIST TERRORISTS STILL OPERATE IN CHILE, AND OTHERS AIMED AT DISCREDITING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, ITS VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY, AND ITS LABOR PROGRAMS:

(A) THE WIDELY SUSPECTED ROLE OF DINA IN CONDUCTING A NUMBER OF NOISE BOMBINGS JUST BEFORE MAY DAY WAS CONFIRMED [redacted] WE SPECULATE DINA HAD PLANNED TO ATTRIBUTE THESE ATTACKS TO THE PHANTOM RED SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION BUT THE PLAN ABORTED WHEN CARABINEROS PICKED UP A DINA COUPLE FLEEING AFTER PLACING A BOMB.

(B) SOME PHONY DISAPPEARANCES:

--THE VICARIATE KNOWS THAT DINA HAS BEEN COLLECTING INFORMATION ON ITS ACTIVITIES AND PERSONNEL AND HAS FOUND ITSELF CAUGHT UP IN SOME CASES OF PROVOCATION. THIS TIME AROUND, A VICARIATE OFFICIAL TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION'S SUSPICIONS REGARDING AT LEAST TWO OF THE MANY CASES WHICH HAD FLOODED IN RECENTLY. TO PROTECT ITSELF, THE VICARIATE PREPARES THE LEGAL PAPERS [redacted] INDIVIDUALS NEED TO FILE HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS, BUT INSISTS THAT THOSE MAKING THE STATEMENTS ACTUALLY FILE THE PAPERS. THIS SERVED THE VICARIATE IN GOOD STEAD WHEN AN EX-SOLDIER (SALAZAR HOJMAN), WHOM HIS MOTHER CLAIMED HAD DISAPPEARED, TOLD THE PRESS HE WAS ASTONISHED HIS NAME HAD BEEN AMONG THOSE ALLEGEDLY "DISAPPEARED".

[redacted]

--BUT THE CASE OF CARLOS DEL SOLAR SHOWS THE GOC'S HAND EVEN MORE CLEARLY. DEL SOLAR'S UNCLE MADE HIS DEPOSITION AT THE VICARIATE BUT DID NOT FILE AT THE COURTS. YOUNG DEL SOLAR HAD A FIELD DAY IN THE LOCAL PRESS: HE WAS AN ACTIVIST IN THE NOW DISBANDED, FASCIST PATRIA Y LIBERTAD*

9. THE BIZARRE VILLA MEXICO CASE GETS WEIRDER STILL: PARA 6 REF B MENTIONED FIRST ACCOUNTS OF STRANGE AND CONFLICTING STORIES REGARDING WHAT HAS SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN CALLED THE VILLA MEXICO CASE. THE STORY HAS ONLY GOTTEN MORE COMPLICATED AS THE GOC ATTEMPTS TO EXPLOIT IT. THE GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY ALLEGES THAT AT LEAST TWO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, ONE SOCIALIST, A COMMUNIST AND A CARDIJN FOUNDATION ACTIVIST ABDUCTED, TORTURED AND ABUSED THE 16-YEAR-OLD SON OF AN OLD-TIME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADER NOW WORKING WITH THE FOUNDATION. THE YOUTH REPORTEDLY IDENTIFIED SOME OF HIS ABDUCTORS, A FEW OF WHOM HAD

BEEN CONSIDERED FAMILY FRIENDS. MOST RECENT GOC ACCOUNTS ATTEMPT TO LINK THE MAY DAY BOMBINGS AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SOCIALIST TRONOCOSO (PARA 4 ABOVE) WITH THE EVENT.

10. WERE IT NOT FOR THE COMPLEXITY OF THE CASE, THE PROBABILITY THAT IT WOULD EVENTUALLY BE HEARD IN CIVIL COURT (KIDNAPPING IS A CIVIL CRIME), AND THE UNUSUALLY SAVAGE TREATMENT THE YOUGH ALLEGEDLY SUFFERED, WE WOULD WRITE THIS OFF AS YET ANOTHER GOC PLOY. AS THINGS NOW STAND, WE MUST AWAIT FURTHER

CLARIFICATION.

11. MEDIA TREATMENT OF THESE EVENTS DESERVES SPECIAL MENTION. ONLY RIGHTEST TABLOID "LA SEGUNDA" AND OFFICIAL "EL CRONISTA" HAVE PLAYED UP THE

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SANTIA 04445 02 OF 03 281647Z

SALAZAR, DEL SOLAR AND VILLA MEXICO STORIES. CONSERVATIVE AND GENERALLY PRO-GOC "LA TERCERA" HAS GIVEN THEM CAREFULLY RESTRAINED COVERAGE. BUT "EL MERCURIO" HAS SO FAR CARRIED NOT A WORD ABOUT THE GOC'S "REVELATIONS".

12. COMMENT: WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT PROMPTED THE GOVERNMENT TO END ITS THREE-MONTH-LONG HALT IN THE MOST SERIOUS REPRESSION OR TO ENGAGE IN SUCH OBVIOUS PLOYS AGAINST THE VICARIATE. WE SPECULATE THAT CONTRERAS AND HIS ILK FINALLY SOLD PINOCHET ON THE SECURITY
THREAT FROM RETURNING EXILES, AND PINOCHET AUTHORIZED THAT OPERATION. THE EFFORT AGAINST THE VICARIATE HAS BEEN A CONTINUING ONE, BUT THE NEED TO DISCREDIT IT MAY HAVE APPEARED MORE PRESSING AS ITS RECORDS OF PREVIOUS DISAPPEARANCES CONTINUE TO HANG OVER THE GOC. IN ADDITION, THE ANTI-VICARIATE MEASURE PERHAPS PROVIDED A TIMELY SIDESHOW TO COVER THE THRUST AGAINST SUBVERSIVES.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00003 281658Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03
PRS-01 /063 W
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R 281440Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5019
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
5/USMISSION USUN NY 14161

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4445

13. LOOKING BACK AT THIS WAVE OF ACTIVITY, WE ARE STRUCK BY HOW MUCH THE GOC LOST AND HOW LITTLE IT GAINED. UNLIKE PREVIOUS LULLS IN INTERNAL SECURITY ACTIONS, THE JANUARY/MARCH HALT IN ABUSES OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS WAS ALMOST TOTAL. EVEN SHOULD THE APRIL/MAY SPATE OF ACTIVITY PROVE TO HAVE BEEN SHORT-LIVED, AS NOW SEEMS POSSIBLE, THE ILLEGAL DETENTIONS AND PRISONER ABUSE WHICH OCCURRED HAVE DESTROYED THE GOC'S IMPROVING IMAGE BEFORE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCES. ONCE AGAIN IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT SO LONG AS EMERGENCY POWERS ARE IN EFFECT AND SECURITY SERVICES REMAIN AS CONSTITUTED AND OUTSIDE TRADITIONAL LEGAL CONSTRAINTS, ARBITRARY ABUSE OF THE PERSON IS A CONSTANT DANGER IN CHILE.

14. A NOTE ON SOURCING: WE THINK IT USEFUL TO DESCRIBE THE SOURCES FOR THESE REPORTS AND THEIR TIMELINESS. WE DRAW OUR INFORMATION FROM THE FOLLOWING SOURCES. ALL SHOULD BE PROTECTED.

--THE VICARIATE. KNOWN TO EMPLOY LEFTISTS AND TO HAVE COMPLEX INTERNAL POLITICS, BUT SILL [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00003 281658Z

THE CENTRAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR HUMAN RITHTS MATTERS. WE USE SEVERAL SOURCES WITHIN THE VICARIATE.

--LABOR CONTACTS. CUTTING THROUGH POLITICAL BIAS, THEY ALSO PROVIDE CONFIRMATION.

--WALK-INS. A NUMBER OF RELATIVES VISIT THE EMBASSY.

--OTHER CONTACTS.

15. THE EMBASSY CAN ONLY DETERMINE THE EXISTENCE OF TRENDS AFTER SUFFICIENT INDIVIDUAL INCIDENTS ACCUMULATE. WE SEEK OUT CONFIRMATION OF INDIVIDUAL INCIDENTS WHENEVER POSSIBLE, AND ALWAYS MULTI-SOURCE BEFORE IDENTIFYING A TREND. THIS PROCESS SOMETIMES CREATES A TIME LAG IN OUR REPORTING, BUT WE BELIEVE IT PROVIDES AS ACCURATE AND BALANCED AN ACCOUNTING AS THIS SENSITIVE, POLITICALLY, AND EMOTIONALLY CHARGED SUBJECT PERMITS.
BOYATT

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

[redacted] SECRET UNCLASSIFIED

E3866 EXCISE

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04445 01 OF 03 281633Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03
PRS-01 /063 W
----------290512Z 117797 /47

R 281440Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5017
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release _V_Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) B1 B3

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4445

E.O. 11652: GDS-1, 2, 4
TAGS: SHUM PFTING THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(V) Classify as (S) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to __
Date 11/23/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1,6

REF: A) SANTIAGO 4343; B) SANTIAGO 4103

1. SUMMARY: REF A PROMISED A FULLER REPORT ON THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PICTURE, FOLLOWING UP ON THE EVENTS DESCRIBED IN REF B. SITUATION AS OF MAY 27: "DISAPPEARANCE" PROBLEM BEING SOLVED WITH UNANNOUNCED RELEASE OF HARDCORE SOCIALIST; GOC STILL HOLDING SOME PEOPLE ILLEGALLY; HARASSMENT OF DISSENTERS CONTINUES; AND, GOC SETS UP SOME PROVOCATIONS. FACTS AND MOTIVES SURROUNDING ONE SERIES OF DETENTIONS REMAIN OBSCURE.

2. THE DIVERSITY OF INCIDENTS SO FAR CLOUDS WHATEVER OVERALL PATTERN MAY EXIST AND MAKES DIVINING GOC MOTIVES HARDER STILL. ANY GAINS AGAINST SUBVERSIVES OR IN REMINDING DISSIDENTS OF THE POWER OF SECURITY SERVICES APPEAR TO BE OUTWEIGHED BY UNDOING THE IMPROVED RECORD GOC HAD BEEN BUILDING SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR. THE NATIONAL

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04445 01 OF 03 281633Z

INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE (DINA) SEEMS TO BE THE PRINCIPAL ACTOR IN CURRENT OUTBURST, ALTHOUGH ARMY INTELLIGENCE (DINE) AND INVESTIGACIONES (IC) MAY ALSO BE INVOLVED. THE BREADTH AND APPARENT CAPRICIOUSNESS OF THIS WAVE OF ACTIVITY DEMONSTRATE THE PITFALLS OF CHILE'S CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE. END SUMMARY.

3. NO NEW DETENTIONS: THE SPATE OF PREDOMINANTLY DINA ACTIVITY DURING APRIL-MAY APPEARS TO HAVE ABATED SHARPLY. LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCES REPORT NO DETENTIONS OR DISAPPEARANCES OCCURRING AFTER MID-MAY. WE BELIEVE THAT DINA MOVED FORCEFULLY AGAINST CHILEAN SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS, USING FOR JUSTIFICATION FABRICATED STORIES THAT 800 SOVIET-TRAINED EXILES WERE RETURNING TO CHILE. THIS OPERATION SEEMS TO HAVE INVOLVED SOME PRISONER MISTREATMENT AND AT LEAST A SCORE OF LENGTHY AND ILLEGAL DETENTIONS. OTHER REPORTS REVEAL DETENTIONS WERE MADE IN VALPARAISO AND PERHAPS ARICA.

4. DISAPPEARANCE PROBLEM IN HAND: AS REPORTED REF B, OF THE DOZEN OR SO DISAPPEARANCES RECORDED BY THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY A WEEK AGO, WE CONSIDERED ONLY A HANDFUL SERIOUS. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVED THAT ALL THOSE MISSING WOULD SURFACE EVENTUALLY. WE AT FIRST FEARED THAT TWO PROMINENT YOUNG SOCIALISTS MIGHT BE EXCEPTIONS (PARA 5, REF B). BUT ON MAY 26 THE MOTHER OF JAIME TRONCOSO VALDEZ TOLD US HE WAS RELEASED AFTER SIGNING PLEDGES HE WOULD FILE NO COMPLAINTS. THIS GIVES US HOPE THAT VICENTE GARCIA RAMIREZ MAY ALSO APPEAR.

5. AND AS MENTIONED IN REF A, JUDICIAL EMPLOYEE GUILLERMO BELLO REAPPEARED AT HIS HOME, CLAIMING THAT HE HAD HAD AMNESIA (AS IN THE 1976 BUDNIK CASE). OUR CURRENT IMPRESSION IS THAT HE WAS THE

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 04445 01 OF 03 281633Z

VICTIM OF A FREE LANCE OPERATION UNDERTAKEN BY SECURITY AGENTS ON BEHALF OF A GOC OFFICIAL INVOLVED IN INTELLIGENCE MATTERS WITH WHOM BELLO CLASHED OVER A CIVIL COURT CASE. BUT THERE MAY BE MORE TO THE STORY; BELLO HAD BEEN MISSING FOR 16 DAYS. AT LEAST TWO OTHER CASES APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN GOC-SPONSORED PLANTS (SEE PARA 8 BELOW).

6. ILLEGAL DETENTIONS CONTINUE: THE GOC HAS TACITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT IS HOLDING SOME PEOPLE UNDER DETENTION, BUT SUCH DETENTION INCOMMUNICADO EXCEEDS THE PERIOD PROVIDED UNDER GOC EMERGENCY LEGISLATION (10 DAYS), AND OTHER LEGAL PROVISIONS ARE NOT FOLLOWED. THE NUMBERS ARE NOT KNOWN, BUT MAY BE FEWER THAN A DOZEN. THE PLACE OF DETENTION IS ALSO UNKNOWN. A HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS HAD ACCESS TO DINA-CONTROLLED CUATRO ALAMOS PRECINCT STILL HAS BEEN UNABLE TO REACH DINA CHIEF CONTRERAS FOR

PERMISSION TO VISIT THE FACILITY, ONE OF THREE LEGALLY AUTHORIZED DETENTION CENTERS IN CHILE. MINISTRY OF DEFENSE-CONTROLLED TRES ALAMOS HELD ONLY JORGE MONTES AS OF MAY 22.

7. HARASSMENT OF DISSENTERS CONTINUES:

[redacted]

NNN

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04445 02 OF 03 281547Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03
PRS-01 /063 W
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R 281440Z MAY 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5018
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4445

(A) ZALDIVAR CASE: UNKNOWN PERSONS RANSACKED THE OFFICES OF ANDRES ZALDIVAR, PRESIDENT OF THE NOW DISSOLVED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OVER THE WEEKEND MAY 21-22 (REF A). ZALDIVAR CONTINUES TO PURSUE VARIOUS LEGAL ACTIONS SUPPORTED BY PDC COLLEAGUES (VIRTUALLY ALL OF WHOM SEEM TO BE LAWYERS). GOVERNMENT-INSPIRED SUGGESTIONS THAT THE BREAK-IN WAS SPURIOUS HAVE BEEN PLAYED BACK IN THE PRESS, BUT WE PREFER THE LOGIC OF [redacted] REPORTING THE COMMUNISTS' BELIEF THAT SECURITY FORCES WERE SEEKING NOTES OR DOCUMENTS ZALDIVAR MAY HAVE ACQUIRED DURING A MEETING WITH PCCH ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL THE DAY BEFORE. MOST THOUGHTFUL LOCAL OBSERVERS ARE DISQUIETED BY SUCH APPARENT GOC ACTIONS, AS REFLECTED IN A HARDHITTING "EL MERCURIO" EDITORIAL MAY 26. HERETOFORE THAT PRO-GOVERNMENT PAPER HAD CONCENTRATED ON THE QUESTION OF PRESS FREEDOM WHEN PRODDING THE GOC.

B) FATHER DIAZ, ADVISOR TO CATHOLIC CHURCH AND VICARIATE-ASSOCIATED CARDIJN FOUNDATION, HAS TOLD US THAT A CAR FULL OF MEN RAMMED HIS CAR AND SEEMED READY TO PICK HIM UP MAY 24. DIAZ SAYS,

[redacted]

[redacted]

n/a

HE WAS ABLE TO EXTRICATE HIS VEHICLE FROM THE CRASH AND FLEE. HE HAS FILED CRIMINAL CHARGES.

8. THE RINGERS: WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT DINA HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN RUNNING SEVERAL OPERATIONS DESIGNED TO CREATE THE ILLUSION THAT LEFTIST TERRORISTS STILL OPERATE IN CHILE, AND OTHERS AIMED AT DISCREDITING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, ITS VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY, AND ITS LABOR PROGRAMS:

(A) THE WIDELY SUSPECTED ROLE OF DINA IN CONDUCTING A NUMBER OF NOISE BOMBINGS JUST BEFORE MAY DAY WAS CONFIRMED [redacted] WE SPECULATE DINA HAD PLANNED TO ATTRIBUTE THESE ATTACKS TO THE PHANTOM RED SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION BUT THE PLAN ABORTED WHEN CARABINEROS PICKED UP A DINA COUPLE FLEEING AFTER PLACING A BOMB.

(B) SOME PHONY DISAPPEARANCES:

--THE VICARIATE KNOWS THAT DINA HAS BEEN COLLECTING INFORMATION ON ITS ACTIVITIES AND PERSONNEL AND HAS FOUND ITSELF CAUGHT UP IN SOME CASES OF PROVOCATION. THIS TIME AROUND, A VICARIATE OFFICIAL TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION'S SUSPICIONS REGARDING AT LEAST TWO OF THE MANY CASES WHICH HAD FLOODED IN RECENTLY. TO PROTECT ITSELF, THE VICARIATE PREPARES THE LEGAL PAPERS WHICH INDIVIDUALS NEED TO FILE HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS, BUT INSISTS THAT THOSE MAKING THE STATEMENTS ACUTALLY FILE THE PAPERS. THIS SERVED THE VICARIATE IN GOOD STEAD WHEN AN EX-SOLDIER (SALAZAR HOJMAN), WHOM HIS MOTHER CLAIMED HAD DISAPPEARED, TOLD THE PRESS HE WAS ASTONISHED HIS NAME HAD BEEN AMONG THOSE ALLEGEDLY "DISAPPEARED".

[redacted]

--BUT THE CASE OF CARLOS DEL SOLAR SHOWS THE GOC'S HAND EVEN MORE CLEARLY. DEL SOLAR'S UNCLE MADE HIS DEPOSITION AT THE VICARIATE BUT DID NOT FILE AT THE COURTS. YOUNG DEL SOLAR HAD A FIELD DAY IN THE LOCAL PRESS: HE WAS AN ACTIVIST IN THE NOW DISBANDED, FASCIST PATRIA Y LIBERTAD*

n/a

[redacted]

9. THE BIZARRE VILLA MEXICO CASE GETS WEIRDER STILL: PARA 6 REF B MENTIONED FIRST ACCOUNTS OF STRANGE AND CONFLICTING STORIES REGARDING WHAT HAS SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN CALLED THE VILLA MEXICO CASE. THE STORY HAS ONLY GOTTEN MORE COMPLICATED AS THE GOC ATTEMPTS TO EXPLOIT IT. THE GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY ALLEGES THAT AT LEAST TWO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, ONE SOCIALIST, A COMMUNIST AND A CARDIJN FOUNDATION ACTIVIST ABDUCTED, TORTURED AND ABUSED THE 16-YEAR-OLD SON OF AN OLD-TIME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADER NOW WORKING WITH THE FOUNDATION. THE YOUTH REPORTEDLY IDENTIFIED SOME OF HIS ABDUCTORS, A FEW OF WHOM HAD BEEN CONSIDERED FAMILY FRIENDS. MOST RECENT GOC ACCOUNTS ATTEMPT TO LINK THE MAY DAY BOMBINGS AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SOCIALIST TRONOCOSO (PARA 4 ABOVE) WITH THE EVENT.

10. WERE IT NOT FOR THE COMPLEXITY OF THE CASE, THE PROBABILITY THAT IT WOULD EVENTUALLY BE HEARD IN CIVIL COURT (KIDNAPPING IS A CIVIL CRIME), AND THE UNUSUALLY SAVAGE TREATMENT THE YOUGH ALLEGEDLY SUFFERED, WE WOULD WRITE THIS OFF AS YET ANOTHER GOC PLOY. AS THINGS NOW STAND, WE MUST AWAIT FURTHER CLARIFICATION.

11. MEDIA TREATMENT OF THESE EVENTS DESERVES SPECIAL MENTION. ONLY RIGHTEST TABLOID "LA SEGUNDA" AND OFFICIAL "EL CRONISTA" HAVE PLAYED UP THE [redacted]

SALAZAR, DEL SOLAR AND VILLA MEXICO STORIES. CONSERVATIVE AND GENERALLY PRO-GOC "LA TERCERA" HAS GIVEN THEM CAREFULLY RESTRAINED COVERAGE. BUT "EL MERCURIO" HAS SO FAR CARRIED NOT A WORD ABOUT THE GOC'S "REVELATIONS".

12. COMMENT: WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT PROMPTED THE GOVERNMENT TO END ITS THREE-MONTH-LONG HALT IN THE MOST SERIOUS REPRESSION OR TO ENGAGE IN SUCH OBVIOUS PLOYS AGAINST THE VICARIATE. WE SPECULATE THAT CONTRERAS AND HIS ILK FINALLY SOLD PINOCHET ON THE SECURITY THREAT FROM RETURNING EXILES, AND PINOCHET AUTHORIZED THAT OPERATION. THE EFFORT AGAINST THE VICARIATE HAS BEEN A CONTINUING ONE, BUT THE NEED TO DISCREDIT IT MAY HAVE APPEARED MORE PRESSING AS ITS RECORDS OF PREVIOUS DISAPPEARANCES CONTINUE TO HANG OVER THE GOC. IN ADDITION, THE ANTI-VICARIATE MEASURE PERHAPS PROVIDED A TIMELY SIDESHOW TO COVER

n/a

THE THRUST AGAINST SUBVERSIVES.

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00003 281658Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03
PRS-01 /063 W
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R 281440Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5019
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
5/USMISSION USUN NY 14161

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4445

13. LOOKING BACK AT THIS WAVE OF ACTIVITY, WE ARE STRUCK BY HOW MUCH THE GOC LOST AND HOW LITTLE IT GAINED. UNLIKE PREVIOUS LULLS IN INTERNAL SECURITY ACTIONS, THE JANUARY/MARCH HALT IN ABUSES OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS WAS ALMOST TOTAL. EVEN SHOULD THE APRIL/MAY SPATE OF ACTIVITY PROVE TO HAVE BEEN SHORT-LIVED, AS NOW SEEMS POSSIBLE, THE ILLEGAL DETENTIONS AND PRISONER ABUSE WHICH OCCURRED HAVE DESTROYED THE GOC'S IMPROVING IMAGE BEFORE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCES. ONCE AGAIN IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT SO LONG AS EMERGENCY POWERS ARE IN EFFECT AND SECURITY SERVICES REMAIN AS CONSTITUTED AND OUTSIDE TRADITIONAL LEGAL CONSTRAINTS, ARBITRARY ABUSE OF THE PERSON IS A CONSTANT DANGER IN CHILE.

14. A NOTE ON SOURCING: WE THINK IT USEFUL TO DESCRIBE THE SOURCES FOR THESE REPORTS AND THEIR TIMELINESS. WE DRAW OUR INFORMATION FROM THE FOLLOWING SOURCES. ALL SHOULD BE PROTECTED.

--THE VICARIATE. KNOWN TO EMPLOY LEFTISTS AND TO HAVE COMPLEX INTERNAL POLITICS, BUT SILL

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00003 281658Z

THE CENTRAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR HUMAN RITHTS MATTERS

n/a

[redacted]

WE USE SEVERAL SOURCES WITHIN THE VICARIATE.

--LABOR CONTACTS. CUTTING THROUGH POLITICAL BIAS, THEY ALSO PROVIDE CONFIRMATION.

--WALK-INS. A NUMBER OF RELATIVES VISIT THE EMBASSY.

--OTHER CONTACTS.

15. THE EMBASSY CAN ONLY DETERMINE THE EXISTENCE OF TREN[illegible] AFTER SU[illegible]CIENT INDIVIDUAL INCIDENTS ACCUMULATE. WE SEEK OUT CONFIRMATION OF INDIVIDUAL INCIDENTS WHENEVER POSSIBLE, AND ALWAYS MULTI-SOURCE BEFORE IDENTIFYING A TREND. THIS PROCESS SOMETIMES CREATES A TIME LAG IN OUR REPORTING, BUT WE BELIEVE IT PROVIDES AS ACCURATE AND BALANCED AN ACCOUNTING AS THIS SENSITIVE, POLITICALLY, AND EMOTIONALLY CHARGED SUBJECT PERMITS.
BOYATT

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3/31/77

AAAS COMMITTEE ON SCIENTIFIC FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

AL061

Background Paper on Persecution of Argentinian Scientists

May 31, 1977

Introduction

The charter of the AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility (CSFR) includes a charge to maintain an awareness of actions by the governments of the United States and foreign countries which circumvent scientific freedom.[1] During its first meeting in October 1976, the Committee became aware of recent attacks on physicists and other scientists in Argentina. Since then, the committee has attempted to learn more about both the general extent of these persecutions, and the detailed circumstances surrounding individual cases of repressions of Argentinian scientists and scholars.

The Committee has found that violations of human rights have occurred in Argentina on a broad scale, especially since the military coup d'état of March 23, 1976. According to estimates published by Amnesty International (AI), as of January 1977 there were 5,000 to 6,000 political prisoners, two-thirds of whom have not been charged but are detained indefinitely, at the disposal of the Executive Power in Argentina.[2] AI further estimates that 15,000 persons have disappeared or been abducted in Argentina over the last two and a half years, as a result of arrests or abductions. It is difficult to determine how many of these political prisoners or missing persons are scientists or engineers.

In addition to these AI figures, there have been numerous reports by various other groups describing arbitrary dismissals of scientists from their jobs in Argentina. The purpose of this background paper is to summarize these reports and to describe the initial CSFR responses to the persecution of Argentinian scientists.

Dismissals of Scientists and Engineers

Although a detailed listing of individual cases or general estimates of arbitrary dismissals of Argentinian scientists and engineers is not available, the Committee has obtained some information regarding the scientific research or training institutions which have been directly affected by actions of the Argentinian government. SCIENCE has reported that:

GENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
garet P. Grafeld, Director
) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
mption(s):
lassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
=_____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

> According to a letter sent to General Videla (President of Argentina) by a group of Mexican scientists and intellectuals, nearly a hundred research scientists supported by Argentina's Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Cientificas Y Tecnologicas (CNICT) have been fired, and more than 600 have been fired from other government research institutions such as the National Research Institute for Agriculture and Cattle Breeding, the National Institute for Industrial Technology, the National Physics and Technology Institute at San Miguel, and the National Atomic Energy Committee.[3]

These same institutions and estimates were published in a report prepared by Amnesty International (10 Jan. 1977).[4]

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In addition, the Argentine Society of Physics (Sociedad Fisica Argentina, SFA) estimated that approximately one quarter of their membership have lost their jobs in late 1976. A listing prepared by SFA of over fifty physicists or engineers working in physics, fired from various National Agencies in Argentina or from Universities in La Plata, Rosario, Cordoba, and Tucuman, has been circulated to physicists in Europe and the U.S.[5]

Regarding the impact of these dismissals, J. Leite Lopes, director of the division of high energies at the Center for Nuclear Research, University of Strasbourg, France, noted in the BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS (December 1976):

> I have just received information that scientists in Argentina...are being dismissed from their jobs and forbidden to accept jobs in any educational or scientific institute in the country. At least 56 men and women associated with the Argentine National Research Council, including biologists like M. Cereijido; several collaborators of L.F. Leloir, an Argentine Nobel laureate in chemistry; and physicists...have been summarily dismissed by the "Interventor" of the council and by the military junta.
>
> I personally know what this means, not only for the possibility of continuation of one's own scientific work but also for the anxieties, personal crises and family suffering which ensue.[6]

Physicists are not the only scientists affected by these dismissals in Argentina. SCIENCE has reported that the letter from the group of Mexican intellectuals to General Videla stated also that "several hundreds" of physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers who worked for hospitals and mental health centers in Argentina have been dismissed.[7] OUTREACH, a report published by the Argentine Information Service Center, noted in October 1976 that the following dismissals had occurred in psychology and psychiatry:

> The School of Psychology of the University of Buenos Aires has been dismantled and 90% of its faculty fired. The three Mental Health Centers of the City of Buenos Aires have been closed and the Departments of Psychiatry located in the hospitals of the industrial belt of Buenos Aires intervened (sic) and their functioning reduced to 10% of normal.[8]

OUTREACH further noted that the Argentine Federation of Psychiatrists (AFP) had circulated a statement denouncing the abduction, disappearance or imprisonment without trial of nine Argentine psychiatrists, and reported that the quarters of the AFP had been repeatedly raided by the Argentine police.[9]

Amnesty International has also detailed reductions in the medical staff of various Argentine mental hospitals. Their report notes that the Borda hospital in Buenos Aires is a representative example of the extent of the cuts:

> The Borda had a full-time staff of 100 doctors and psychologists (caring) for 2,300 inmates and running an out-patients' clinic. In April 1976, seven heads of departments were "suspended" and more than 100

> volunteers dismissed...The prestigious psychiatric department of the Lanus hospital which taught students from all over Latin America has also suffered badly... The number of beds in the psycho-pathology unit and neurology unit has been reduced by 50%. The psychiatric wing of the Avellaneda hospital has been virtually forced to close after the dismissal of 58 doctors.[10]

Arrests and Abductions of Argentinian Scientists

Information about arrests or abductions of scientists in Argentina is very sketchy and incomplete, and personal witnesses to such incidents often risk their own safety by giving details to outside groups. Once learning about an arrest or abduction, however, it is important for an outside group to make its concerns known to appropriate government agencies. In his BAS article, J. Leite Lopes states:

> The solidarity of the international scientific community is the greatest -- and perhaps the only -- external help that a scientist in such a situation can receive.[11]

The AAAS Committee has prepared a list of names of eleven individuals, who appear to have been arrested or abducted by the Argentine government. The Committee has submitted this list to the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and has requested the Commission to do an on-site visit to Argentina in order to investigate these cases. The eleven individuals are:

1) Antonio MISETICH. Dr. Misetich is an Argentinian physicist of international reputation. He was arrested at his home in Buenos Aires on April 19, 1976, and imprisoned without formal charge. Initially, his arrest and detention were acknowledged through correspondence between U.S. scientists and the Argentine Embassy in Washington, D.C. More recently, however, representatives of the Argentine Foreign Ministry maintain that he was not arrested and that his whereabouts are unknown.[12]

Dr. Misetich is 38 years old, and obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Buenos Aires in 1964. From 1965-1966 he was a staff member at the Bell Telephone Laboratories in Murray Hill, New Jersey. In 1966 he went to the Francis Bitter National Magnet Laboratory at MIT and also worked at Brookhaven National Laboratory. In 1970, he returned to Argentina and became a staff scientist at the Argentine National Atomic Energy Commission (Comision National de Energia Atomica, CNEA). He held this position until his arrest, except for a year as Professor and Head of the Physical Chemistry Department at the University of Buenos Aires in 1973-1974. His Research interests include Solid State Physics and Magnetism and Optical Properties of Magnetic Materials.[13]

After the arrest of Dr. Misetich in April 1976, the Director of the National Magnet Laboratory at MIT wrote to the current Director of CNEA in Buenos Aires, offering a position to Misetich if the Argentinian authorities were to grant him permission to leave the country. It is not known whether or not this offer has been communicated to Dr. Misetich.

2) Federico ALVAREZ ROJAS. Dr. Alvarez Rojas is a physicist and has worked at CNEA since 1968, most recently as the director of the X-ray diffraction laboratory. His wife (Hilda Leikis de Alvarez Rojas) is a computer programmer, and worked at Bairesco S.A. (Burroughs). On October 1, 1976, Dr. Alvarez Rojas and his wife were abducted from their home by an armed group, believed to be acting on behalf of the Argentinian government. Since that time, vigorous efforts to find them have been made by the father of Dr. Alvarez Rojas, representatives of the Catholic church, and the Red Cross without success. There is no information on where they might be held nor the state of their health.14/

3) Juan Carlos GALLARDO. Dr. Gallardo received his Ph.D. at Yeshiva University in 1970 under the supervision of Prof. Leonard Susskind. Dr. Gallardo was the director of the Institute for Mathematics, Astronomy and Physics (IMAF) at the National University of Cordoba, until 1974 when he resigned in protest of government restrictions of campus activities. Dr. Gallardo remained at the Institute as a professor after his resignation. He was arrested in early March 1976 (before the March military coup) and has been charged with participation with guerillas. He has been held in a Cordoba prison (Sierra Chica) since that time, and is still believed to be there. The Committee has learned that the Chairman of the Physics Department at the Yeshiva University has written to the IMAF offering a position to Dr. Gallardo, without response.15/

4) Gabriella CARABELLI. Dr. Carabelli was also a physicist and a member of the faculty of the IMAF in Cordoba. She had previously worked in the Quantum Chemistry Group, University of Uppsala, in Sweden. She was arrested, along with her daughter in February 1976, and has not been located since that time. There is an unconfirmed report that her body has been found.16/

5) Eduardo PASQUINI. Dr. Pasquini is a nuclear physicist who has worked at the Center for Nuclear Studies in Saclay, Paris (1970-73) and in the Center for Nuclear Research in Strasbourg (Oct. 1973-March 1976). He then taught in the Physics Department, as an associate professor, at the University of Rosario. His wife is Dr. Liliana Mizraji de Pasquini, a renowned psychologist in Rosario, and also taught at the University, as an associate professor in the Faculty of Psychology. Both Dr. Pasquini and his wife were abducted from their home by a military commando of the Argentine army on the night of June 10, 1976. There is no information on their location or status.17/

6) Claudio BERMAN. Dr. Berman is a psychiatrist practicing in Cordoba, and was director of a small clinic there. He is also the brother of Dr. Sylvia Berman (see below). He was arrested at his home on April 27, 1976 by an army patrol, and was then apparently held in an old army prison in Cordoba (Campo de la Rivera). Afterwards he was transferred to a prison for those already serving trial sentences, and used for political prisoners. The military authorities have declined to inform this family of his whereabouts and it was only through an anonymous phone call (from one of his former patients who witnessed the arrest of Dr. Berman) that the family learned his location. He is now held completely incommunicado and without charges.18/

7) Sylvia BERMAN. Dr. Berman, a former president of the Argentine Federation of Psychiatrists (AFP), is also a psychiatrist with a private practice in Cordoba. In September 1976, the AFP denounced the methods

used by the Argentine government in their arrests and prisons; on November 13, military officials came to the home of Dr. Berman and arrested her daughter (Irene Torrents) and grandson. The officials also went to another home and arrested the fiancé of her second daughter. Dr. Berman herself has gone into hiding, but has continued to denounce these abductions through telegrams to the government. There is no information on the location of her relatives or her own whereabouts.19/

8) Monica MIGNONE. Ms. Mignone is a school teacher and educational psychologist who worked in Buenos Aires. She is also the daughter of Dr. Emilio Mignone, former Deputy Commissioner of Education for Argentina and former Ambassador of Education at the OAS. Ms. Mignone was arrested in May 1976 by four military men who appeared at her father's home. Dr. Mignone has been unable to obtain any information on his daughter's location or status.20/

9) Mario YACUB. Mr. Yacub is the President of the Argentine Lawyers Association, professor of law and political science, and one of the few lawyers working with political prisoners in Buenos Aires. Mr. Yacub was kidnapped by six armed civilians at his office on November 8, 1976. There has been no additional information on his location or status.21/

10) Horacio DATTORI. Dr. Dattori is an Argentine astrophysicist, formerly employed at the IMAF in Cordoba, until his dismissal after the military coup in March 1976. Dr. Dattori disappeared in August 1976, and is assumed to have been kidnapped by Argentine government forces. Dr. Dattori previously worked in Germany from 1971 to 1973 at the Max Planck Institute fur Physik und Astrophysik, under the supervision of Dr. Ehlers. Since his abduction, the relatives of Dr. Dattori have attempted to trace him without success. It is rumored that Dr. Dattori is being held in a concentration camp known as "La Perla" in Argentina.22/

11) Valentin BARENBLITT. Dr. Barenblitt is an Argentine psychiatrist who worked as the head of the psychiatric department of Policlinico de Lanus in Buenos Aires. In April 1976, during the widespread dismissals at Lanus, Dr. Barenblitt was suspended. On April 21, 1977, he was allegedly abducted in Buenos Aires. Shortly after his abduction, however, it was learned that he had been released but is still under suspension.23/

There are numerous other individual cases, involving physicists, biochemists, psychiatrists and psychologists, which have been brought to the attention of the Committee through various reports and press articles on general repressions in Argentina.

Communications with the OAS

The Chairman of the AAAS Committee (Dr. H. Bentley Glass) first wrote to the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in November 1976, expressing concern about the reports of arrests and dismissals of scientists in Argentina. The executive secretary to the Commission replied that this letter could not be processed without information on individual cases.

A second letter was sent from the AAAS Committee to the OAS on February 7, 1977, which included documentation on the first nine cases listed above. The Commission's executive secretary responded in March that these claims would be reviewed during the next Commission meeting in mid-May.

Following this response, the AAAS Committee sent a third communication to the OAS Commission in early May 1977. This communication included the submission of two additional individual cases (Dattori and Barenblitt) for the Commission's review, and also contained two formal requests by the Committee: 1) That the OAS Commission request an on-site investigation in Argentina in order to examine the alleged violations of human rights of scientists and other persons; and 2) That the Committee be given the opportunity to provide witnesses during the May OAS Commission meeting, to speak about the concerns of scientists over human rights violations of their colleagues in Argentina.

The request to provide witnesses was granted by the Commission, and the AAAS Committee invited Dr. Maximo Pedro Victoria, who had himself been imprisoned for seven months in Argentina in 1976, to testify on their behalf. Dr. Victoria appeared before the Commission on May 26, 1977, accompanied by Dr. Jeremy J. Stone, member of the AAAS Committee, and Ms. Rosemary Chalk, the Committee staff officer.

The Committee has not yet learned whether or not the Commission plans to request an on-site investigation in Argentina.

NOTES

1/ Charter of the AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility, published in SCIENCE, 3 September 1976, p. 877, 921. Point 6 of the Charter states that the Committee is charged with: "maintaining a current awareness of policies and actions of the governments of the United States and other nations which circumscribe scientific freedom and responsibility, including restraints upon the admission of scientists to attend scientific meetings or pursue professional opportunities."

2/ Amnesty International. Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Argentina. Released March 23, 1977, p. 18.

3/ Nicholas Wade. "Repression in Argentina: Scientists Caught Up in Tide of Terror." SCIENCE, 24 December 1976, p. 1398.

4/ Amnesty International. "Argentina: A Survey of Repression in Cultural, Scientific and Related Fields..." 10 January 1977, p. 10.

5/ The SFA Statement regarding dismissals of their membership appeared in SCIENCE (3/) and the January 10 AI report (4/). An incomplete listing of individual members appeared in a letter from C. De Dominicis (President, French Physical Society) in PHYSICS TODAY, February 1977, p. 66.

6/ J. Leite Lopes. "A Scientist's Plea for Human Rights in South America." BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, December 1976, p. 3.

7/ Nicholas Wade, op. cit. (3/).

8/ OUTREACH, October 1976, p. 9. OUTREACH is published by the Argentine Information Service Center, P.O. Box 4388, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

9/ Ibid.

10/ Amnesty International, 10 January 1977, op. cit., p. 10.

11/ J. Leite Lopes, op. cit. (6/).

12/ Brian Schwartz, Dept. of Physics, MIT. The information about Dr. Misetich's biography and the details surrounding his arrest are included in a paper titled "Help Antonio Misetich," presented by Schwartz during the Chicago Meeting of the American Physical Society, 7 February 1977.

13/ Ibid.

14/ The biography of Dr. Alvarez Rojas and the details surrounding his arrest are included in an open letter from his father, Mr. Federico Alvarez Rojas, Sr., a civil engineer who still resides in Argentina.

15/ The biography of Dr. Gallardo and the details surrounding his abduction are included in an article titled "Argentine Physicist Jailed in Cordoba," PHYSICS TODAY, June 1976, p. 72.

16/ The biography of Dr. Carbelli and the details surrounding her arrest are included in a newsletter dated September 1976, circulated by the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People (SCAP), New York City.

17/ The biography of Dr. Pasquini and the details surrounding his arrest are included in unpublished correspondence to the Argentine Ambassador in Paris from Dr. Dominicis, President of the French Physical Society, dated June 30, 1976.

18/ The biography of Dr. Berman and the details surrounding his arrest are included in the Amnesty International report, 10 January 1977, p. 4.

19/ The biography of Dr. Berman and the details surrounding the arrest of her relatives are included in an unpublished letter to CSFR from Ms. Jo Marie Griesgraber of the Washington Office on Latin America, Washington, D.C., dated November 29, 1976.

20/ The biography of Ms. Mignone and the details surrounding her abduction are included in an unpublished open letter from her father, Dr. Emilio Mignone.

21/ The biography of Mr. Yacub and the details surrounding his arrest are included in an unpublished open letter from the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), dated 17 November 1976.

22/ The biography of Dr. Dattori and the details surrounding his arrest are included in a "special action" newsletter from Amnesty International, dated 24 February 1977.

23/ The biography of Dr. Barenblitt and the details surrounding his abduction are included in a "special action" newsletter from Amnesty International, dated 25 April 1977.

5/31/77 Soc 14-1 Gallethin ... other tour P B6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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May 31, 1977

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Dear [redacted]

I have been asked to reply to your letter of April 20 to the President concerning Eduardo Munoz Salas and Oswaldo Gomez, two Chilean prisoners who are reportedly under detention in Argentina.

I regret that I have no information on this case. However, I will send copies of this exchange of correspondence to our Embassy in Buenos Aires in the hope that they may know something further about this matter.

As you may be aware, we are cooperating with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in a parole program for Chilean refugees in Argentina. A number of Chilean refugees will be able to travel to the United States, thanks to that program.

I hope this information is helpful.

Sincerely,

Fernando E. Rondon

Fernando E. Rondon
Acting Director
East Coast Affairs

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B7
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED

5/31/77

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 3997
31 MAY 77
INDICATE 1743
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO
DD 162

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, AR
SUBJECT: Arizona Governor Castro Quoted as Stating Human Rights Not Violated in Argentina

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

~~XXXXX~~ AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3997

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1. Arizona Governor Raul Castro, widely reported in Argentina press media to be President Carter's choice for US Ambassador to Argentina, was quoted in May 29 Buenos Aires press to have stated that "Human rights have not been violated in Argentina." Alleged quotes were taken from Mexican sources, including newspaper EXCELSIOR. Gov. Castro's remarks reportedly were made at Mexican-US Interparliamentary meeting at Hermosillo.

2. Gov. Castro reportedly said that President Carter's concern over human rights "does not signal any disruption of diplomatic relations or of friendship between Argentines and Americans", and added that "the question of human rights cannot interfere in the policies of free and sovereign nations. Respect for sovereignty must ~~by~~ be maintained." Asked whether US military assistance to Argentina might be restored, Gov. Castro was quoted as saying: "I have no official information regarding that, but I see a great strengthening of friendship and

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:RSSteven/YThayer:gcr	5/31/77	121	A/POLCOUNS:AGFreeman

CLEARANCES: CHARGE:MChaplin

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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Exemption(s): [redacted]
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OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
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Classification
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relations of all kinds between Argentina and the US." He noted that he had not been in South America for seven years and thus could not comment on the present governments in the region.

3. Local press included newsagency ANSA statement that President Carter had expressed interest in reincorporating Gov. Castro into diplomatic service and for that reason "had presented his candidacy to Congress".

4. AmEmbassy Mexico please cable full texts of alleged comments and any ~~xxxkgxx~~ background information available.

CHAPLIN

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Classification
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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
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Page: 1

Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04052 021939Z
ACTION SCS-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 SCA-01 L-03 H-01 DHA-02
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PPT-01 /025 W
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R 021342Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0752

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4052

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CASC, CPAS, SHUM, AR (RIEZNIK, ALEJANDRA ESTELA HERRERA DE)
SUBJECT: W/W: ALEJANDRA ESTELA RIEZNIK

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3976

1. SUBJECT'S HUSBAND RELEASED MAY 31. FAMILY PLANNING TO DEPART ARGENTINA AS SOON AS TRAVEL DOCUMENTATION IN ORDER.

2. LYDIA KORNBLIHTT, PABLO RIEZNIK'S MOTHER, VISITED EMBASSY JUNE 1. SHE SAID THAT HER SON HAD BEEN SEVERELY TORTURED PRIOR TO RELEASE, AND THAT ABDUCTORS HAD RETAINED ALL OF HIS IDENTITY DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING HIS PASSPORT. MOTHER IS STILL WORRIED ABOUT SON'S SAFETY AND ASKED EMBASSY TO SECURE REPLACEMENT DOCUMENTATION. SHE WAS TOLD THAT, ALTHOUGH EMBASSY UNABLE TO ASSIST HER IN OBTAINING ARGENTINE DOCUMENTS, EVERY EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO EXPEDITE VISAS TO UNITED STATES IF FAMILY DECIDED TO DEPART ARGENTINA AND IF US WAS DESTINATION.
CHAPLIN

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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2569
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE 3517
RUESLM/AMEMBASSY LIMA IMMEDIATE 2169
RUESQI/AMEMBASSY QUITO IMMEDIATE 1565
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DD165

[redacted] MEXICO 08942

SS FOR BODINE AND FOR TODMAN
E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, AR, MX
SUBJECT: ARIZONA GOVERNOR CASTRO QUOTED AS STATING HUMAN RIGHTS NOT VIOLATED IN ARGENTINA
REF: STATE 128009

1. FOLLOWING IS AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF THE SUBJECT NEWSPAPER ARTICLE, WHICH APPEARED IN MEXICAN EXCELSIOR ON MAY 28.
2. "HEADLINE: GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED IN ARGENTINA. DATELINE: HERMOSILLO, SONORA, 27 MAY.
3. SURPRISED BY THE QUESTION OF WHT WHAT WOULD BE HIS REACTION IF SENT AS AMBASSADOR TO A COUNTRY WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED, ARIZONA GOVERNOR RAUL CASTRO STATED 'I HAVE BEEN IN ARGENTINA MANY TIMES, I KNOW IT WELL, AND IN MY VERY PERSONAL OPINION, SUCH A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS NOT EXISTED.' CASTRO, INVITED FOR THE INAUGURATION OF THE XVII US-MEXICO INTERPARLIAMENTARY MEETING, INDICATED THAT ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT CARTER HAS GIVEN SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA, THIS DOES NO INJURY TO THE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE SOUTHERN GOVERNOR SAID THAT HE HOPES IN SHORT TIME HIS DESIGNATION AS AMBASSADOR TO ARGENTINA WILL BE APPROVED SINCE PRESIDENT CARTER HAS INDICATED HIS INTEREST THAT CASTRO RETURN TO THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, AN, BECAUSE OF THIS, HAS PRESENTED CASTRO'S CANDIDACY TO THE CONGRESS.
4. QUESTION: HAVE YOU NOT HEARD ABOUT THE TORTURE CAMPS IN CHILE, BOLIVIA AND ARGENTINA? CASTRO'S ANSWER: I HAVE NOT BEEN IN BOLIVIA IN 7 YEARS, I DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE OTHERS. AND BESIDES, WE MUST RESPECT THE MODALITIES OF

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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EVERY SOVEREIGN NATION. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SHOWN INTEREST IN THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT HE IMPOSES HIS CRITERIA ON FREE AND SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES. THE RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY MUST BE MAINTAINED.

5. QUESTION: ARE THERE POSSIBILITIES THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD RENEW ITS MILITARY AID TO ARGENTINA? CASTOR'S ANSWER: I DON'T HAVE OFFICIAL INFORMATION IN THAT RESPECT, BUT I SEE A GREAT EMPHASIS IN FRIENDSHIP AND RELATIONS OF ALL TYPES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA.

6. HE MINIMIZED THE PRESS CAMPAIGN OF CRITICISM IN ARIZONA AGAINST HIM AND QUALIFIED IT AS 'PURE RUMOR WHICH HAS PASSED, THE CAMPAIGN HAS DIED FOR LACK OF FACTS.' IN CLOSING HE INDICATED THAT A BORDER COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FORMED JOINING ARIZONA AND SONORA TO COMBAT DRUG TRAFFICKING AND WHICH HAS PERMITTED REDUCTION OF DRUG USE IN VARIOUS COUNTIES."

7. NO OTHER NEWSPAPER IN MEXICO CITY PICKED UP THIS NEWS ITEM AND WE HAVE SEEN NO EDITORIAL COMMENT ON GOVERNOR CASTRO'S ALLEGED STATEMENTS. WE ARE CHECKING WITH CONSULATE HERMOSILLO FOR ANY LOCAL REACTION IN THAT AREA.
THOMPSON
BT
8942

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04166 061918Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-01 DHA-02 SY-05 MCT-01 CIAE-00
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4166

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR, GW
SUBJECT: GERMAN NATIONAL ELIZABETH KASEMANN

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3949

THE IDENTITY OF 12 OF THE 16 SUBVERSIVES ALLEGEDLY KILLED IN A SURPRISE RAID AND SHOOTOUT WITH SECURITY FORCES IN MONTE GRANDE MAY 27 WAS RELEASED IN AN ARMY COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED JUNE 2 (SEE SEPTEL.) LISTED AMONG THE VICTIMS WAS ONE ISABEL KASERMAN WHO WAS IDENTIFIED AS A FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. FGR EMBASSY HAS IDENTIFIED VICTIM AS ELIZABETH KASEMANN, A GERMAN NATIONAL WHO WAS REPORTEDLY ABDUCTED AND DISAPPEARED ON MARCH 8 (SEE REFTEL). COMMENT: THE IDENTIFICATION OF MS. KASEMANN AS THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVE TO A HIGH LEVEL MEETING OF SUBVERSIVES BROKEN UP BY SECURITY FORCES IS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WITH EARLIER REPORTS OF HER ABDUCTION BY PERSONS CLAIMING TO BE SECURITY FORCES THREE MONTHS EARLIER. IF SHE HAD BEEN IN THE HANDS OF AUTHORITIES PREVIOUS TO THE MONTE GRANDE RAID, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HER NAME COULD HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THE LIST OF VICTIMS IN ORDER TO DISCOURAGE FURTHER PROBES BY THE WEST GERMAN EMBASSY INTO THIS CASE. EMBASSY ATTEMPTING TO CONTACT WEST GERMAN EMBASSY FOR MORE INFORMATION.
CHAPLIN

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GRENAD 00016 01 OF 02 160401Z

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NDC PRIORITY 0015

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 GRENADA 0016

TO ALL AMREP

A

SHUM
DIALOGUES JUNE 15, 1977

COND AND THIRD SESSIONS OF INFORMAL
N DEVOTED MAINLY TO HUMAN RIGHTS WITH
AND MINI STATES NEXT IN ORDER OF IMPRTANCE.
COUNTRIES ATTEMPTED TO REFOCUS DISCUSSION
HILE DEMOCRATIC STATES DEPLORED
INCLUDED ATTACK ON COUNTER-TERRORISM WHICH
ST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THE HEMISPHERE.
WERE VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, COSTA
/BOGAGO AND CHILE (SECOND TIME). AT
SECOND SESSION, PANAMA AND US READ SEPARATE
CANAL TREATY THAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN
AFAST AND COORDINATED IN LATER TALKS DURING
VIA SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

S AGAIN DOMINATED DEBATE AT FOREIGN
RNAL SESSIONS JUNE 15. VENEZUELAN
LED OFF MORNING LIST OF SPEAKERS WITH
RUCTIVE STATEMENT CONDEMNING ALL FORMS
EFERRING SPECIFICALLY TO GUZZETTI
RGONOVO/LETELIER ASSASSINATIONS, BUT
LITARIAN SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEM. POLITICAL
Y REAL ANTIDOTE TO TERRORISM. ESCOVAR
ALSO REFERRED TO "DELICATE SUBJECT"
S ON INTERNATIONAL CREDITS AND ARMS
TIAL THREAT TO NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

SENTED BY OAS AMBASSADOR MARCHAND,
MIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS AS WELL
OLITICAL RIGHTS AS PART OF OVERALL ISSUE
F INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY. HE DEPLORED
FLY TOO BUT SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME DEFENDING
CHARTER, ARGUING IT REPRESENTED CONSENSUS
OUR YEARS OF EFFORT. CONVENTION ON
NOMIC SECURITY, WHICH US VOTED AGAINST, IS AT
M MOVEMENT, MARCHAND SAID, AND BOTH
RVED EARLY APPROVAL OF OAS AS CONTRIBUTION
OR INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL JUSTICE, THE KEY
HUMAN RIGHTS.

EIRA OF BRAZIL, MOST OUTSPOKEN IN
UT HUMAN RIGHTS OF ANY MINISTER AT
E AT LENGTH ON THE NEED TO EXPAND
INCLUDE RIGHT TO FOOD, CLOTHING, A JOB
ATE OF DEVELOPMENT MAKES HUMAN RIGHTS
FERENT IN EACH COUNTRY, IN THE END,
IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM. HE SPOKE DARKLY,
CRETLY, OF "A WAVE OF AGGRESSIVE INTER-
E INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES" AND LAMENTED
S EXCHANGED DURING INFORMAL DIALOGUES.
HOULD SEEK COMMON GROUND, HE CONCLUDED,
AND LEAVE SENSITIVE DOMESTIC ISSUES ALONE.

5. ARGENTINE FONMIN MONTES CONCENTRATED ON TERRORISM AS AGGRESSION FROM ABROAD AIMED AT DESTROYING SOCIAL FABRIC OF HIS COUNTRY. THE OBJECT OF A VAST INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY. HE ASKED WHO WAS VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS IF NOT THE TERRORISTS WHO KILL AND MAIM INNOCENT CITIZENS? HE FAVORED STRENGTHENING THE IAHRC BUT ALSO FAVORED BROADENING ITS JURISDICTION TO ENCOMPASS REAL VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS BENT ON DESTROYING WHOLE FOUNDATION OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY.

6. FACIO OF COSTA RICA GAVE LENGTHY STATEMENT FOCUSED MAINLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS BUT WITH CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM THREADED THROUGH AS WELL AS A FEW BARBED ALLUSIONS TO VIOLENCE CLOAKED WITH GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY. HE SPOKE AGAIN OF NEED TO TAKE ACTION AIMED AT BRINGING PACT OF SAN JOSE (HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTION) INTO FORCE MORE QUICKLY AND ANNOUNCED COSTA RICA WOULD SUBJECT ITSELF UNCONDITIONALLY TO COMPETENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS COURT UNDER THE PACT AS SOON AS IT IS ESTABLISHED. REFERRING TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S NOTRE DAME SPEECH, HE CONGRATULATED THE US ON ITS STRUGGLE FOR SAME HUMAN RIGHTS ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE THAT IT HAS FOUGHT TO ESTABLISH IN ITS INTERNAL LIFE FOR 200 YEARS.

7. TRINIDAD/TOBAGO SPOKE BRIEFLY IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFERRED TO BELIZE AS COUNTRY WHOSE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE DENIED BY FOREIGN PRESSURE OR COLONIAL POWER.

8. MEXICO'S FONMIN ROEL SAID NO COUNTRY MORE JEALOUS OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY OR HOSTILE TO INTERVENTION THAN HIS BUT HE BELIEVES IAHRC REQUEST TO VISIT SHOULD BE HONORED UNLESS INSUPERABLE CONDITIONS MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE. ALL NATIONS OF HEMISPHERE SHARE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AS A BASIC VALUE AND MUST DEFEND THEIR HERITAGE. ON OAS REFORM, ROEL SAID PROCESS DELAYED TOO LONG ALREADY AND WORK ACCOMPLISHED HAD TO BE FINISHED. CHARTER IS NOT PERFECT DOCUMENT BUT REPRESENTS WORK OF NEARLY FOUR YEARS THAT MUST NOT BE ABANDONED OR DELAYED INTERMINABLY.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 OIC-02 IO-13 DHA-02 ORM-02 AID-05
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EUR-12
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0016

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 GRENADA 0016

9. CHILE'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AMBASSADOR SERGIO DIEZ, TOOK CHAIR FROM ADMIRAL CARVAJAL AT AFTERNOON SESSION TO DELIVER FULLSCALE REPETITION OF HIS STEMWINDING SPEECH AT LAST YEAR'S SANTIAGO OASGA. EMOTIONAL DEFENSE OF CHILE'S RECORD FOCUSED MAINLY ON "TOTALITARIAN NIGHTMARE OF ALLENDE ERA" AND NEED TO "RESTRUCTURE CHILE'S DEMOCRACY" TO COPE WITH INTERNATIONALLY PLANNED AND FINANCED ATTACK ON CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION. HE BLAMED PORNOGRAPHY AND RISING DIVORCE RATE ON SAMB SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN HIGHLY EMOTIONAL SPEECH ON CHILE'S EFFORT TO PERFECT DEMOCRACY AND FIND SOLUTION TO CRISIS OF MODERN STATE FACED WITHENEMIES BENT ON ITS DESTRUCTION. DIEZ DID ADMIT CHILE HAD SIGNED INTERNATIONAL DECLARATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, HE QUOTED SECRETARY VANCE APPROVINGLY ON WARNING THAT STATE USING TACTICS OF TERRORISM FACED DESCENT INTO NETHERWORLD OF ILLEGALITY AND POINTED OUT CHILE HAD ONCE ACCEPTED VISIT OF IAHRC. EXPERIENCE WITH COMMISSION A BAD ONE, HOWEVER, BECAUSE IT INVADED SOVEREIGNTY BY WRITING SERIES OF REPORTS ON INTERNAL CHILEAN SUBJECTS COMPLETELY OUTSIDE ITS PURVIEW, EDUCATION, LABOR LAW, UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATION, ETC. SENSELESS, HE CLAIMED, TO GIVE MORE MONEY TO A COMMISSION WHOSE SIVITS ARE REJECTED BY MOST COUNTRIES AS POLITICIZED INTEFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. IAHRC MUST BE REFORMED, HE CONCLUDED.

10. EL SALVADOR'S OAS AMBASSADOR, BERTRAND GALINDO, THANKED FONMINS FOR MINUTE OF SILENCE IN HONOR OF BORGONOVO AND DEVOTED NEXT TEN MINUTES TO ATTACK ON UNSPECIFIED LARGE COUNTRIES WHO ARE DENYING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH EXCUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BUT MAY BE SETTING BACK PROGRESS BY UNDERMINING ECONOMIES CAUSING UNEMPLOYMENT, PROVOKING DISORDER AND THUS INCREASING REPRESSION INSTEAD OF REDUCING IT. HE CALLED FOR CLOSER COOPERATION AMONG OAS STATES IN COMBATTING TERRORISM AND THEREBY DEFENDING HUMAN RIGHTS IN AN EFFECTIVE WAY.

11. PANAMA AND US READ SEPARATE STATEMENTS ON STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS JUST BEFORE CONCLUSION OF AFTERNOON SESSION OF INFORMAL DIALOGUES. TONE OF STATEMENTS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AT SECRETARY'S BREAKFAST MEETING WITH GONZALEZ-REVILLA AND PANAMANIAN OFFERED TO PROVIDE ADVANCE COPY FOR USDEL 'S INFORMATION AND USE IN RESPONDING. FIRST PANAMANIAN VERSION WAS TEMPERED FOLLOWING AMBASSADOR HABIB AND TODMSN'S APPROACH TO GONZALEZ-REVILLA FINAL STATEMENTS OF BOTH (SEPTEL) TRACK RELATIVE WELL AND PANAMA FONMIN CLEARLY PLEASED WITH RESULT.
MCGEE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05413 011537Z UNCLASSIFIED E3897
ACTION L-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-04 NSC
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R 011345Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO USMISSION GENEVA
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 5413

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, CI
SUBJ: THE REAPPEARED DISAPPEARED

REF: STATE 151062

1. THE EMBASSY IS SOMEWHAT TROUBLED BY REFTEL'S OFFHAND REFERENCE TO "DISAPPEARED" SINCE OF EIGHT NAMES CITED, THE MESSAGE ITSELF MAKES CLEAR THAT FOUR ARE DETAINED IN QUATRO (SIC) ALAMOS AND ONE HAS REAPPEARED. PARA 4 OF SANTIAGO 4445 REPORTED THE REAPPEARANCE OF THE SIXTH, JAIME TRONCOSO VALDES. VICTOR CONDORINI, A LONG TIME COMMUNIST WRITER FOR DEFUNCT "CLARIN" WAS HELD ONLY TWO DAYS. HE HAS BEEN FREE SINCE MAY 3. THUS OF THE EIGHT, ONLY VICENTE GARCIA ROMIREZ REMAINS MISSING (SEE PARA 7 SANTIAGO 4103) FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON GARCIA).

2. 2. DROUILLAS, ZULETA, FIGUEROA AND MARDONES ARE CAUGHT UP IN THE VILLA MEXICO CASE DESCRIBED IN SANTIAGO 4103 (PARA 6) AND 4445 (PARA 9). SEPTEL REPORTS THE CURRENT STATUS OF THIS SIGNIFICANT INCIDENT. MARDONES AND FIGUEROA WERE RELEASED JUNE 22 WHEN THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR DROPPED CHARGES. THE STATUS OF DROUILLAS AND ZULETA IS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT KIDNAPPING

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05413 011537Z

AND TORTURE CHARGES AGAINST THEM WILL BE DROPPED ALSO. ZULETA'S ROLE IN THE INCIDENT REMAINS CLOUDY.

3. THE GOC FLOATED A STORY LINKING TRONCOSO VALDEZ WITH THE MAY BOMBINGS BUT CONFUSED HIM WITH JORGE TRONCOSO AGUIRRE, A WATCHMAKER, WHO CONTINUES TO BE UNLOCATED. TRONCOSO VALDEZ, AS INDICATED IN PARA 3 REFTEL AND PARA 4 SANTIGO 4445, IS IN HIDING.

4. WE HAVE REPORTS THAT A CHILEAN CITIZEN COMING TO VISIT HIS FAMILY MAY HAVE DISAPPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES ON

UNCLASSIFIED

MAY 15 WHILE ENROUTE TO SANTIAGO. HIS FAMILY BELIEVES THAT HE MAY HAVE BEEN BROUGHT SECRETLY INTO CHILE BUT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO THIS EFFECT. ANOTHER REPORT INVOLVES A CHILEAN FEMALE WHO MAY HAVE BEEN [redacted]N FROM AN INTERURBAN BUS NEAR ARICA ON JUNE 16.

UNCLASSIFIED

5. PARA 14 OF SANTIAGO 4445 DESCRIBED AT SOME LENGTH THE EMBASSY'S SOURCES AND POLICIES IN FOLLOWING AND REPORTING THE LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE. WE URGE THE DEPARTMENT TO CONSULT IT AND OUR CONTINUING REPORTING BEFORE ASSUMING THAT A MAJOR CHANGE HAS GONE UNNOTICED HERE.
BOYATT

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] SECRET UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05501 061517Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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EXCISE

R 061439Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5518

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
__Release __✓Excise __Deny __Declass
Exemption(s) B1 B3

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: NXGDS-1, 2 WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: DINA FEELS THE HEAT

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 1/23/01 Declassify on Reason 3.5.C

1. EVIDENCE MOUNTS THAT CHILE'S NOTORIOUS SECRET POLICE AGENCY DINA (NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE) MAY SOON BE SEVERELY RESTRICTED. SIGNIFICANT STRAWS IN THE WIND INCLUDE:

-- PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT EYZAGUIRRE'S COMMENT TO US THAT HE AGAIN TOLD PRESIDENT PINOCHET THAT DINA WAS OUT OF CONTROL;

-- EYZAGUIRRE'S CONFIRMATION OTHAT PINOCHET TOLD CATHOLIC BISHOPS DINA WOULD SOON BE DISSOLVED (SEE ALSO [redacted]

-- COMMENTS [redacted] FROM A HARDLINE AIR FORCE OFFICIAL WITH MINISTERIAL RANK THAT CHILE'S IMAGE REQUIRED CHANGES IN DINA [redacted] AND

-- DINA'S OWN PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM CALLING FOR STRUCTURAL REFORMS IN THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY AREA [redacted]

2. AT THE SAME TIME, CIVIL COURTS AND CHILEAN MEDIA HAVE BECOME ALMOST BRASH IN THEIR POINTED CRITICISM OF DINA AND IN THEIR REVELATIONS OF ITS CLUMSINESS. A SEPTEL WILL FILL IN THE BACKGROUND OF THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES:

-- THE VELOSO/VILLA MEXICO KIDNAPPING FRAME UP CAME APART AT THE SEAMS WHEN THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR DROPPED DINA-BASED [redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05501 061517Z

CHARGES THAT A CATHOLIC CHURCH LABOR ACTIVIST, A SOCIALIST AND A COMMUNIST HAD KIDNAPPED AND TORTURED A 16-YEAR-OLD BOY. THE PROSECUTOR CALLED THE CHARGES "ABSOLUTELY GROUNDLESS." SINCE DINA HAD BROKEN ITS VERSION TO THE PRESS FIRST, THE STORY WAS FAIR GAME AND THE MEDIA PUBLISHED THE BOY'S ACCOUNT THAT HE WAS TORTURED BY SECURITY AGENTS;

-- "QUE PASA'S" EDITOR GOT QUICK AND WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FROM OTHER MEDIA WHEN HE THWARTED AN ABDUCTION ATTEMPT AFTER HIS CONSERVATIVE, TRADITIONALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT NEWSWEEKLY HAD RUN A SCATHING ACCOUNT OF THE VELOSO CASE AND A STIFF EDITORIAL;

-- A MILITARY COURT FOUND NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT DINA'S

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CONTENTION IT HAD ONLY RETURNED FIRE DURING THE APPREHENSION OF SHIELA CASSIDY IN NOVEMBER 1975 (AT LEAST ONE PERSON IN THE HOUSE WAS KILLED BY AGENTS DURING CASSIDY'S ARREST); AND

-- THE PRONOUNCED INTERVENTION OF PRESTIGIOUS "EL MERCU[illegible] INTO SECURITY AND POLITICAL AREAS THAT PAPER HAD HERETOFORE CONSIDERED OFF LIMITS.

3. COMMENT: WHEN I SPOKE WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET JUNE 20 HE LET ME KNOW THAT HE HAD UNDERSTOOD USG'S CONCERNS ABOUT THE SECURITY SERVICES' ACCOUNTABILITY AND THEIR REPURATIONS. MY READING AT THAT TIME WAS THAT THE PRESIDENT FREQUENTLY BLUSTERS THE LOUDEST PRIOR TO A POLICY SHIFT (SANTIAGO 5054). WE HAVE, OF COURSE, BEEN DISAPPOINTED IN THE PAST. BUT THERE IS THE SMELL OF SOMETHING IMPORTANT IN THE WIND, AND WE ARE CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC. BOYATT.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05608 01 OF 02 121800Z
ACTION L-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 DHA-02 MCT-01 PM-04 NSC-05
SP-02 SS-15 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 IO-13
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5608

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5608

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: PRESSURE AGAINST DINA MOUNTS

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 4103, (B) SANTIAGO 4445, (C) SANTIAGO 5413
(D) STATE 151062

1. SUMMARY: A ONCE PERVASIVE FEAR OF DINA HAS BEGUN TO FADE, AS ACCOUNTS OF ITS PREVARICATIONS AND INEPTITUDE GAIN WIDER COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA. MILITARY TRIBUNALS AND LAWYERS HAVE REJECTED DINA'S VERSION OF EVENTS IN TWO SIGNIFICANT CASES. THIS TELEGRAM HIGHLIGHTS A SERIES OF EPISODES IN WHICH DINA HAS BEEN BADLY DISCREDITED. END SUMMARY.

2. THE VILLA MEXICO/VELASO CHAPTER. WHILE MOTIVES AND FULL DETAINS MAY NEVER FULLY CLARIFIED, A CHRONOLOGY OF THIS CASE AT THIS POINT SHOULD BY ITSELF BE SUFFICIENT TO ILLUSTRATE DINA'S EXTREME STUPIDITY.

A. MAY 2: A GROUP OF MEN PICK UP THE 16 YEAR OLD SON OF CARLOS VELOSO, A LONG-TIME LABOR LEADER WORKING WITH THE CARDIJN FOUNDATION, WHICH IS SUPPORTED BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. THE BOY RETURNS HOME NEAR MIDNIGHT, OBVIOUSLY BADLY BEATEN AND SCARRED BY CIGARETTE BURNS. ON THE NEXT DAY THE VELOSOS REPORT THE INCIDENT TO CARDIJN CO-WORKERS. THEY FILE LEGAL PAPERS SEEKING PROTECTION FROM REPRISALS BY THE SECURITY AGENTS WHO ALLEGEDLY HAD

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05608 01 OF 02 121800Z

TORTURED THE YOUTH. CARDIJN AND THE CHURCH SEE THE INCIDENT AS ANOTHER EFFORT BY THE GOC TO DISCREDIT THEM AFTER THEIR ANTI-GOC MAY DAY ACTIVITIES AND JUST BEFORE THE ILO CONVENED IN GENEVA.

B. MAY 9. SECURITY AGENTS DETAIN A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATE (PDC) ACTIVITST FROM VILLA MEXICO, A SANTIAGO SUBURB. THE ACTIVITST, WILLIAM ZUELETA, LATER SAYS THAT HE MANAGED TO ESCAPE THEM AFTER A BEATING. HE SHOWS VICARIATE PERSONNEL THE PLACE WHERE HE HAD BEEN TORTURED.

C. MAY 9. EARLY THE SAME MORNING, OSWALDO FIGUEROA, A 50 YEAR OLD SOCIALIST, IS DRAGGED FROM HIS APARTMENT BY SECURITY AGENTS.

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D. MAY 11. SECURITY AGENTS OCCUPY THE VELOSO HOUSE, OSTENSIBLY TO PROTECT THE FAMILY FROM REPRISALS. IN FACT, THEY STAY FOR WEEKS, ISOLATING THEM FROM ALL OUTSIDERS. AGENTS PICK UP HUMBERTO DROUILLAS, A 59 YEAR OLD CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT ALSO FROM VILLA MEXICO; EDUARDO DE LA FUENTE, A LONG TIME COMMUNIST WHO HAD RECENTLY MOVED OUT OF VILLA MEXICO. (THEY MAY ALSO HAVE PICKED UP JORGE TRONCOSO AGUIRRE, A NEIGHBORHOOD LEADER OF THE UP - THE OLD ALLENDE COALITION - AND JEWELER.) SAME EVENING, AN AMBULANCE SPIRITS AWAY ZUELETA UNDER STRANGE CIRCUMSTANCES.

E. MAY 12. DINA AGENTS PICK UP LUIS MARDONES, AN EMPLOYEE OF THE LABOR SECTION OF THE CARDIJN FOUNDATION.

F. MAY 14. DINA AGENTS TELL FIGUEROA'S FAMILY THAT HE IS AT CUATRO ALAMOS. DINA, THEY SAY, HAD RESCUED FIGUEROA FROM THE SAME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHO HAD ALSO ABDUCTED VELOSO. DROUILLAS' FAMILY IS TOLD THAT HE IS AT CUATRO ALAMOS FOR HIS ROLE IN THE KIDNAPPING.

G. THE FOLLOWING WEEK, RIGHTIST TABLOID "LA SEGUNDA" AND GOC-OWNED "EL CRONISTA" FEATURE INTERVIEWS WITH THE VELOSO FAMILY IN WHICH THE BOY ABSOLVES DINA AND IDENTIFIES DROUILLAS, DE LA FUENTE AND ZULETA AS THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS ABDUCTION AND TORTURE. THE FATHER ADDS THAT THE BOY HAD BEEN RAPED BY HIS ABDUCTORS. ONE GOC VERSION CONFUSES JAIME TRONCOSO VALDEZ

[redacted]

(A 20 YEAR OLD PARALYTIC SOCIALIST ACTIVIST WHO HAD BEEN HELD FOR ONLY A WEEK OR SO) WITH JORGE TRONCOSO AND LINKED TRONCOSO WITH THE MAY DAY BOMBINGS AS WELL AS THE VELOSO KIDNAPPING. SINCE JORGE TRONSCOSO IS STILL MISSING, THE GOC FINDS IT CONVENIENT TO CONTINUE THIS CONFUSION.

H. THE CHURCH AND CARDIJN FOUNDATION MOUNT AN ARTICULATE DEFENSE. FULLY AIRED IN THE MEDIA, MOST OF IT EVIDENCES SKEPTICISM OF THE GOC VERSION. THE MEDIA APPEARS TO RELISH REPORTING ON THIS HERETOFORE TABOO AREA. THE GOC THEREUPON TAKES THE NOW UNUSUAL STEP OF DECIDING TO PROSECUTE THE CASE UNDER "TIME OF WAR" PROCEDURES RATHER THAN IN CIVIL COURTS AS A COMMON CRIME, OR UNDER MILITARY "TIME OF PEACE" RULES.

I. THE VELOSOS MEANWHILE ARRANGE FOR PAROLE INTO CANADA. DURING THE WEEK OF JUNE 6, THEY DECIDE TO RECANT, AND REVERT TO THEIR FIRST ACCOUNT. THE VICARIATE, ARMED WITH THEIR DEPOSITION, CONVINCES THE SUPREME COURT TO NAME A JUDGE TO HEAR THE ACCOUNT FIRSTHAND ON THE NEXT DAY SINCE THE VELOSOS ARE TO DEPART THAT EVENING. NEXT MORNING, THE VELOSOS ARE PICKED UP BY PLAINCLOTHED POLICE BUT ARE QUICKLY LOCATED AT A POLICE STATION. THE JUDGE RUSHES OVER AND OBTAINS THE YOUTH'S STATEMENT BEFORE HE IS WISKED AWAY BY THE MILITARY FOR A NINE HOUR INTERROGATION AND A WEEKEND IN IRONS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENT'S PRISON.

J. THE BOYIS RELEASED AND LEAVES FOR CANADA A FEW DAYS LATER. THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR RULES ON JUNE 23 THAT THE CHARGES AGAINST MARDONES, DE LA FUENTE, AND FIGUEROA ARE "COMPLETELY WITH MERIT." THEY ARE UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASED. THE MYSTERIOUS ZULETA AND DROUILLAS AND A NEW FIGURE -- JAIME SOTO VERA -- ARE HELD FOR POSSIBLE GUN CONTROL VIOLATIONS BUT RELEASED FROM INCOMMUNICADO STATUS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05608 02 OF 02 121750Z
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5609

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5608

K. "QUE PASA," GENERALLY ONE OF THE MOST CONSERVATIVE AND PRO-GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS, SUBSEQUENTLY RUNS A DEVASTITING ACCOUNT OF THE VELOSO CASE INCLUDING A CHRONOLOGY LARGELY BASED ON DATA SUPPLIED BY THE VICARIATE. ITS STORY PICTURES THE VOLOSOS EMBRACING SEVERAL OF THE ALLEGED ABDUCTORS. IT NOTES THAT YOUNG VELOSO WAS SO UPSET THAT HE VOMITED BLOOD IN THE PRESENCE OF REPORTERS. THE SAME ISSUE CONTAINS A GUEST EDITORIAL ESSENTIALLY ARGUING THAT AN EMERGENCY REGIME COULD NOT BE "INSTITUTIONALIZED," THUS HITTING AT THE BASIC TENET OF THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT.

L. NO ONE QUESTIONS THE VERACITY OF "QUE PASA'S" RESPECTED EDITOR, JAIME MARTINEZ, WHEN HE REPORTS THAT UNIDENTIFIED MEN HAD TRIED TO ABDUCT HIM TWO DAYS AFTER THE FOREGOING ARTICLE APPEARED. THE OUTCRY IS IMMEDIATE: THE GOC INSISTS THAT IT WILL GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THE MATTER; "EL MERCURIO" RUNS A SCATHING EDITORIAL ABOUT INTIMIDATION OF THE PRESS -- LEAVING NO DOUBT IN ANYONE'S MIND WHERE IT WAS PLACING THE BLAME.

3. MORE FALL OUT FROM THE SHEILA CASSIDY CASE: FOLLOWING THE NOVEMBER 1975 DETENTION OF BRITISH DOCTOR SHEILA CASSIDY, THE GOC HAD ASSERTED THAT DINA AGENTS HAD BEEN WOUNDED BY A HAIL OF AKA MACHINEGUN FIRE FROM SOMEONE ACCOMPANYING DR. CASSIDY (IN "RETURNING" THE FIRE, DINA KILLED A DOMESTIC IN THE HOUSE). DINA ALSO ALLEGED IT FOUND A CLANDESTINE HOSPITAL IN THE BUILDING. THESE CHARGES WERE REJECTED BY THE COLUMBAN FATHERS, OWNERS OF THE RESIDENCE. IN A QUIET RULING IN MAY 1976, THE MILITARY

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05608 02 OF 02 121750Z

JUDGE HEARING THE CASE FOUND NO EVIDENCE OF A CLANDESTINE HOSPITAL, NO EVIDENCE THAT THERE HAD BEEN FIRING FROM THE BUILDING,

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AND NO EVIDENCE THAT ANY DINA PERSONNEL HAD BEEN INJURED. NOW THE COLUMBAN FATHERS HAVE HAD THAT DECISION UPHELD BY A MILITARY APPEALS COURT (MIXED MILITARY AND CIVILIAN JUDGES) AND THE CASE HAS BEEN STAYED INDEFINITELY. THIS APPELLATE DICISION RECEIVED AMPLE MEDIA PLAY.

4. COMMENT: MANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE VELOSO CASE REMAIN UNANSWERED: HOW AND WHY DID DINA GET ITSELF INTO THIS MESS? WHERE IS JORGE TRONCOSO? WHAT IS ZULETA'S ROLE? VELOSO SENIOR'S? DETECTIVE THRILLER READERS CAN HAVE A FIELD DAY.

5. UNCLEAR AS THEY WERE, THE INCIDENTS MADE MANY POINTS TO ANY CHILEAN WHO CARED TO READ ABOUT THEM. DINA ARRESTS ILLEGALLY, DETAINS ILLEGALLY, TORTURES, INTIMIDATES, AND CAUSES PEOPLE TO DISAPPEAR -- AND THEN LIES ABOUT IT ALL.

6. IT WOULD SEEM UNLIKELY THAT ANY SECURITY AGENCY COULD SURVIVE INTACT AFTER SUCH A SERIES OF REVELATIONS. BUT WHETHER IT DOES OR NOT , THE EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW WEEKS HAVE ERODED FEAR OF THE ORGANIZATION: IT NO LONGER APPEARS OMNIPOTENT. INDEED, THE PUBLIC HAS SEEN THAT EVEN WITHIN THE ARMY, DINA HAS BEEN SNUBBED. THE VILLA MEXICO INCIDENT MAY NEVER BE CLARIFIED, BUT IT ALREADY HAS CHANGED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THIS GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES AND ITS CITIZENRY.
BOYATT

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [redacted]
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
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NOFORN/NODIS

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 1/23/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Chile Project (#S1999000C6)
U.S. Department of State
___Release ✓Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) B1, B3

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS*

No. 13, July 12, 1977

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

B1

* This round-up covers countries receiving development or security assistance or likely to make FMS cash purchases.

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Campora Exile Decision Reversed. Argentina's ambassador, Aja Espil, has told US officials in Washington that a decision to let former President Campora go into exile was reversed because of the reception accorded Chilean exile Clodomiro Almeyda (Former Minister under Allende) by the Department. (SECRET/EXDIS, State 153359, July 1)

INR Comment: Campora is something of a spokesman for at least part of the Peronist left. Argentine authorities believe that their situation is not fully understood in the US and have already protested the official US reception of Hipolito Solari Yrigoyen, a well-known lawyer-politician and human rights advocate who was recently released from an Argentine prison. They will be hesitant about granting Campora safe conduct if they think he will be similarly received. (SECRET)

Recent Human Rights Developments. Embassy Buenos Aires reported the following recent development on the human rights fronts:

--litigation continues over the government's ban on the Jehovah's Witnesses; the government has appealed a June 16 ruling which found the ban unconstitutional, and the case will go to the Supreme Court;

--another priest apparently has been kidnapped, but Church authorities have decided against taking a strong public stand because they do not wish to increase Videla's vulnerability to hardline pressure;

--Videla is considering a bill which outlines new regulations governing the constitutional right of state-of-siege detainees to leave the country;

--a federal judge has dismissed the government's case against 45 Radical Party leaders who signed a letter critical of official policies;

--since June 23, military trials have resulted in 21 convictions on subversion charges and four acquitals;

--the sentences of three convicted subversives have been reduced by two-thirds in accordance with a July 1976 law which provided for such action in cases in which suspects surrendered and renounced Marxist beliefs. (CONFIDENTIAL, Buenos Aires 5028, July 8)

INR Comment: Military and civilian court activity is increasing. At least some alleged subversives (in the non-combatant category) are being processed, and civilian judges appear willing to dismiss government charges against non-terrorist dissenters such as the Jehovah's Witnesses and Radical Party critics.

Church authorities realize that the Church could bring potentially decisive pressure for change in the government's human rights practices. They fear that Videla would be weakened in the process, however, and the way could be opened for a hardline takeover. After publishing a strongly critical bishop's manifesto in early May, the Church has again decided to hold its fire and hope that Videla's reputed moderation will bring gradual improvements. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Chile

Frei Said To Offer Support to Pinochet. Former President Eduardo Frei has decided to offer his tacit support to President Pinochet. Such support would be contingent upon Pinochet's taking steps to:

--reduce the state-of-siege;

--remove the arrest powers of the Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA);

--broaden the base of the Council of State in order to make it more democratic; and

--end the persecution of the Christian Democratic Party.

Frei's decision was prompted by what he sees as the lack of a viable alternative to the present government and his concern that too much external pressure on the Pinochet government could damage the prospects for an improvement on the human rights front in Chile.

[redacted] reported that Frei is convinced that democratic elements within the military would like to return to the barracks so long as Chile's internal security is not endangered. Frei also is reported to have said that, in talks with US officials, he had urged a human rights approach to dictatorial regimes designed so as not to harden their positions and thereby play into the hands of Marxist forces. [redacted]

INR Comment: If Frei is actually considering some sort of negotiations with Pinochet, this clearly represents a softening of his attitude toward the president. If it is also true that he now believes that external pressure is not likely to unseat Pinochet, Frei may sense that encouragement of domestic sentiment for military withdrawal from the government is the best hope for curbing Pinochet's authoritarianism and getting the nation on the path to eventual restoration of civilian rule. (SECRET)

Some Rights Progress Seen. Embassy Santiago's draft human rights evaluation reports the following improvements over the past year:

--a marked decline in the number of disappearances and reported cases of arbitrary detention and torture, with "dramatically significant quantitative improvement" during the first half of 1977;

--a decrease in the number of persons held for essentially political/security reasons from over 4,000 (November 1975) to under 400 (early 1977). Most of those being held on security charges were either convicted or standing trial for gun control violations;

--commutation into exile of the sentences of hundreds of detainees;

--evidence that the civilian judiciary has become more assertive, although not yet highly effective, in handling political/security cases.

On the negative side, the Embassy emphasizes the bans on civil and political liberties. The March 1977

dissolution of political parties and a formal press censorship law represent significant deteriorations.

The report concludes that President Pinochet is responsible for both past abuses and recent improvements. Particular attention is drawn to the president's curbing of DINA's activities in response to both civilian and military dissatisfaction with DINA's notorious excesses.

The Embassy's Defense Attache Office (DAO) dissents, arguing that the report does not present an "adequately balanced view" of Chilean events, and states that improvements made by Chilean authorities are too often overlooked. Emphasizing what it perceives as widespread popular support for the post-1973 junta and successes in such areas as minimum employment and low-cost housing, the DAO recommends a "flexible" US posture which would leave room for positive responses to Chilean improvements. (SECRET, Santiago 5448, July 1)

Panama

Exiles' Return Urged. Exiled Panamanian lawyer Jorge Turner and noted Colombian author Gabriel Garcia Marquez arrived in Panama on June 29, intending, according to press accounts, to discuss the status of leftist Panamanian exiles with General Torrijos. Turner claims to have discussed a general amnesty with Torrijos in Mexico on May 7, and on May 26, the GOP announced that 84 exiles (including Turner) could return. Torrijos indicated at the time that the cases of exiles not granted amnesty on May 26 would be reviewed individually. Embassy Panama believes that Garcia Marquez and Turner want to lobby Torrijos on behalf of that group. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Panama 4759, July 1)

INR Comment: Torrijos has been permitting the return of an increasing number of exiles over the past year. His main criterion appears to be whether an individual's presence in Panama would threaten political stability. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Paraguay

Stroessner Receives Rights Team. A two-man team representing the International League for Human Rights (ILHR) visited Paraguay from June 23 to July 2 to study the nation's legal system, particularly with respect to

cases of political prisoners. Assisted by Embassy Asuncion and accorded full cooperation by the Paraguayan authorities, the ILHR team met with President Stroessner and other officials, Church leaders, lawyers for political prisoners, former detainees, opposition political figures, and human rights leaders. According to Foreign Minister Nogues, the government's cooperative attitude reflected its conviction that openness is the best policy. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Asuncion 2735, July 6)

INR Comment: Stroessner's handling of the ILHR visit evidences his belief that the government's human rights position will withstand inspection by outside groups. It also substantiates earlier reports that his hesitancy about approving an Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC) visit results more from Brazilian and Uruguayan pressures than from concern about whatever findings an IAHRC team might report. Stroessner undoubtedly realizes that no investigation will give him a clean bill of health; but he probably feels that the inevitable criticism will be outweighed by the improvement in the country's image which should result from his permitting the visit to take place. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

NEAR EAST

Israel-West Germany

West German Terrorists On Trial in Israel. Reuters reported that two West Germans and three Arabs went on trial in Israel on July 6. They are accused of attempting to shoot down an Israeli airliner with a rocket at Nairobi in January 1976, the West German Embassy in Tel Aviv said. According to Reuters, Israeli officials refused to divulge information about the secret military trial, which is being held at an undisclosed location in Israel. The trial had been scheduled to start on June 15, but the hearing was postponed at the last moment when Israeli Chief of Staff Gur disqualified the Germans' two Israeli defense attorneys. They then asked to be represented by West German lawyers but were refused. (Reuters, July 6).

INR Comment: Kenyan officials arrested the Germans in Nairobi in January 1976. They were turned over to the Israelis and held in Israeli prisons for more than a year. During this period, Israel did not inform the Federal Republic that its nationals were under arrest in Israel and had not been tried. The West German Government protested in March. (CONFIDENTIAL)

EAST ASIA

Philippines

Detainee Release Publicized. Embassy Manila reports that 157 of the 500 detainees whom President Marcos recently ordered freed were formally released on July 7 in a ceremony covered by the press and TV. A Filipino "detainees committee" claims that only four of those released were bona fide political prisoners. An unidentified Philippine Constabulary officer said in a TV interview that most will still face charges in civil courts. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Manila 10544, July 8)

INR Comment: The release was clearly designed by senior Philippine government and military officials to secure maximum human rights publicity. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Malaysia

Human Rights No Western Monopoly. The Kuala Lumpur edition of the independent "New Straits Times," in a commentary on US human rights policy, says:

> "To withhold aid in order to encourage greater concern for human rights may well have the unintended consequence of 'destabilising' the government and bringing about more unpleasant conditions. Yet to argue that there is a different context to be considered does not amount to saying that human rights are relevant only to Western democracies. American policy must carefully avoid the cultural arrogance implied in such a view, just as leaders who wish to belittle the idea of human rights must beware of betraying the injunctions to human decency enshrined in their own traditions. For although stated in different terms and enjoined for different philosophical or religious reasons, native traditions of humaneness and moderation have long had a place in non-Western countries." (UNCLASSIFIED, Kuala Lumpur 4239, July 5)

Taiwan

Taipei Says MIG Defector Sought Human Rights. Preliminary news reports suggest that Taipei will seek

to exploit the July 7 defection of a PRC MIG pilot to Taiwan in its on-going campaign to criticize Peking's record on human rights and contrast it with conditions on Taiwan. A Taiwan military spokesman claimed that the pilot radioed repeatedly, "I want human rights," on his way to his landing on the island. The spokesman quoted the pilot as saying that there "are no human rights at all on the mainland" and broadcasts about people enjoying such rights in Taiwan had reinforced his decision to escape. (Reuters/FBIS, July 7) (In accordance with a longstanding and well publicized Republic of China offer, the pilot will receive over $700,000 in gold as a result of his defection.)

Thailand

Seventh Summary Execution Announced. On July 1, the Thai Government announced the summary execution (without trial) of an alleged rapist ordered by Prime Minister Thanin under the provisions of Article 21 of the Constitution. (UNCLASSIFIED, Bangkok 14636, July 5)

INR Comment: This marks the seventh execution carried out under Article 21. Prime Minister Thanin's use of the summary powers has been the subject of some public controversy in Thailand. Some of his military backers are privately critical of his reliance on Article 21 rather than the civil courts. They feel that the widely publicized executions damage Thailand's human rights image and demonstrate an insensitivity to US concerns. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Government Plans to Release 600. According to information provided to Embassy Bangkok by the Thai Director General of Corrections Department, the Thai government planned to release approximately 600 persons detained under Ordinance 22 on July 10. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Bangkok 14861, July 7)

INR Comment: Ordinance 22, promulgated after the military takeover last October, allows the government to arrest and detain in reform centers any person suspected of endangering Thai society. The Ordinance specifies nine different offense categories, three of which deal with political activity. Some 1600 Thai are currently detained under Ordinance 22, most for criminal offenses rather than political charges. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Refugees: A Problem of "Human Rights and Freedom." Armed Forces Deputy Supreme Commander Kriangsak in a

July 7 speech to the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Thailand expressed the hope that the US would not "try to be a moral arbiter for the rest of the world." He said that although it is often difficult for those born into Anglo-Saxon traditions to understand other people who undergo different processes of civilization, other countries such as Thailand cherish freedom and respect human rights but may not use same definitions as prescribed by Washington.

According to General Kriangsak, Thailand faces three major burdens to the Thai economy which obstruct the realization of basic human rights . . . subversion, the influx of refugees, and narcotics. With regard to refugees, Kriangsak said that the United States had fulfilled its responsibilities to refugees only "to a limited extent and more as a matter of form. America must not forget that the problem of refugees in Thailand is a problem involving human rights and freedom." (UNCLASSIFIED, Bangkok 14951, July 8)

J214

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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[redacted] STATE 167059

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISSAPPEARANCE OF MARIO GERARDO /ACUB

DECONTROL

REF: BUENOS AIRES 0457

1. DEPARTMENT CONTINUING TO RECEIVE QUERIES CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MARIO GERARDO YACUB, SECRETARY OF THE BUENOS AIRES BAR ASSOCIATION, AND DEFENDER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. YACUB WAS KIDNAPPED IN NOVEMBER.

2. ACCORDING TO A REPORT CIRCULATING IN WASHINGTON, YACUB WAS SEEN ALIVE IN JUNE AT A SECRET NAVY CAMP.

3. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE WHATEVER INFORMATION EMBASSY CAN PROVIDE ON THIS CASE. VANCE

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Date Printed: 04/17/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 77BUENOS05281 CHANNEL: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 01 OF 05 182123Z UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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USIA-06 DHA-02 LAB-04 SIL-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 OMB-01
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1383

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, ELAB, AR
SUBJECT: VIDELA CALLS FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE

SUMMARY: PRESIDENT VIDELA'S CALL FOR A NATIONAL DIALOGUE WITH CIVILIAN POLITICAL SECTORS IS SEEN BY MANY ARGENTINE POLITICAL OBSERVERS AS A SIGN THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND AUTHORITARIAN TENDENCIES IN THE ARMY IS BEING WON BY THE MODERATE MILITARY FACTION HEADED BY VIDELA. THERE IS VIRTUAL UNANIMITY IN THE ARMED FORCES THAT BASIC INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS ARE NECESSARY IF ARGENTINA IS TO BREAK ITS SUCCESSIVE CYCLES OF MILITARY TAKEOVERS REQUIRED TO UNDO THE CHAOS LEFT BY WEAK AND INEFFECTUAL CIVILIAN GOVERNMENTS. HOWEVER, THE ISSUES CURRENTLY DIVIDING THE ARMY APPEAR TO INCLUDE THE PERIOD OF TIME NECESSARY TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A RETURN TO STABLE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT, THE POLITICAL GROUP OR GROUPS WITH WHOM THE MILITARY SHOULD "DIALOGUE" CONCERNING THE FUTURE, AND THE STRUCTURE OR SHAPE WHICH THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE STABILITY DESIRED. THE VIDELA-VILOA FORCES APPEAR TO FAVOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH TRADITIONAL PERONIST AND RADICAL PARTY POLITICIANS AND A SHORTER TRANSITION PERIOD, WHEREAS AUTHORITARIAN AND RIGHTWING MILITARY MEN SEEM TO BE THINKING IN TERMS OF A MORE RADICAL REFORM OF THE POLITICAL

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05281 01 OF 05 182123Z

SYSTEM, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE MORE TIME. THERE SEEMS TO BE A ROUGH CORRELATION BETWEEN THE DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THAT THE MODERATES FAVORING A POLITICAL DIALOGUE TEND TO BE

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MORE SENSITIVE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM (AT LEAST FROM THE PUBLIC RELATIONS STANDPOINT), WHEREAS THE AUTHORITARIANS TEND TO BE MORE HARDLINE ON BOTH ISSUES. HOWEVER, THIS IS AN OVERSIMPLIFICATION. TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONAL RIVALRIES WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES AND PERSONAL AMBITIONS OFTEN SUPERSEDE THE IDEOLOGICAL OR POLICY DIFFERENCES AND CONFUSE THE ISSUES. DESPITE VIDELA'S RECENT GAINS IN THE ARMY, HE IS A LONG WAY FROM WINNING THE STRUGGLE. THE DIALOGUE HAS NOT YET BEEN FORMALLY APPROVED IN THE ARMY AND MOREOVER THE ARMY HARDLINERS APPEAR TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT WITHIN THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE. THE LATTER TWO SERVICES ARE PUTTING PRESSURE ON VIDELA TO RELINQUISH HIS COMMAND OF THE ARMY AND STEP DOWN FROM THE JUNTA WHILE REMAINING AS PRESIDENT, I.E. TO BECOME THE -FOURTH MAN." AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF THE OUTCOME OF THE IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE IS WHETHER VIDELA WILL BE ABLE TO RETIRE EXTREME HARDLINE GENERALS WHO OPPOSE HIS PLANS. THIS PAPER IS AN INITIAL ATTEMPT TO GET AT THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN "THE DIALOGUE" AND THE CONCLUSIONS CONTAINED HEREIN SHOULD BE REGARDED AS TENTATIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE UNLEASHING OF THE GRAIVER AND THE ALUAR SCANDALS BY RIGHTWING MILITARY HARDLINERS IN APRIL AND MAY HAS PROVEN TO REPRESENT NO MORE THAN A TEMPORARY INTERRUPTION IN PRESIDENT VIDELA'S ATTEMPT TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POSITION WITHIN THE MILITARY REGIME AND USE THIS POSITION TO BRING ABOUT THE POLITICAL REFORMS HE IS SEEKING. VIDELA WON MAJOR GAINS DURING THE MEETING OF ARMY GENERALS IN FEBRUARY AND, AS THE COUP MARKED ITS FIRST ANNIVERSARY IN MARCH, THE GOVERNMENT APPEARED TO OBTAIN A NEW DEGREE OF STABILITY. THEN CAME THE CHALLENGE FROM PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR SAINT JEAN (PREVIOUSLY RUMORED AS AN ASPIRANT TO THE "4TH MAN" [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05281 01 OF 05 182123Z

POSITION) IN THE FORM OF THE GRAIVER-ALUAR CRISES. HAVING DISSIPATED THE MOST FRIGHTENING ASPECTS OF THESE POLITICAL STORM CLOUDS (BY REMANDING THE ISSUES INVOLVED TO THE CIVIL AND MILITARY JUDICIAL SYSTEMS), VIDELA RECOVERED SUFFICIENT MOMENTUM TO MAKE A FRESH START TOWARD INITIATING THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL REFORM.

2. IN HIS ARMY DAY SPEECH OF MAY 29 VIDELA ANNOUNCED THAT PLANS WERE UNDERWAY TO INSTITUTIONALIZE A "WIDE AND GENEROUS DIALOGUE" WITH ALL SECTORS OF PUBLIC OPINION "EXCEPT THE CORRUPT AND SUBVERSIVES." SUCH A CIVIL-MILITARY DIALOGUE, SAID VIDELA, WOULD PREVENT THE ARMED FORCES, IN THE SOLITUDE OF THEIR POWER, FROM FALLING INTO ELITIST OR CORPORATIVIST HABITS; THE END

OBJECTIVE WAS TO BUILD "AN EFFICIENT AND STABLE DEMOCRACY." THERE WAS ANOTHER EQUALLY IMPORTANT DIMENSION TO THE SPEECH: HIS CALL TO BEGIN "WINNING THE PEACE" AFTER THE WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION WAS WON CARRIED WITH IT THE IMPLICIT PROMISE OF GREATER OBSERVANCE OF LEGALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE FUTURE.

3. VIDELA THEN REPAIRED TO A KEY MEETING OF ARMY GENERALS MAY 31-JUNE 1, IN WHICH IT IS SAID THAT ALL THE GENERALS PRESENT, EXCEPT TWO, ACCEPTED HIS PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE POLITICIANS IN THE DIALOGUE. ACCORDING TO A CASA ROSADA SOURCE, IT WAS AGREED THAT DETAILED PLANS FOR A NATIONAL DIALOGUE WOULD BE DRAWN UP AND PRESENTED AT THE NEXT REGULAR MEETING OF ALL THE GENERALS SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST. AMONG THE DETAILS PENDING CLARIFICATION ARE THE AGENDA TO BE DISCUSSED, WITH WHOM, WITH WHAT OBJECTIVE AND OVER WHAT PERIOD. REPORTEDLY, THOSE HIGH RANKING OFFICERS WHO CANNOT ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WILL BE EXPECTED TO RESIGN--OR THEY WILL BE RETIRED. FOR THIS PURPOSE, ARMY PROMOTION AND ASSIGNMENT PANELS WILL MEET EARLIER THIS YEAR. (FOLLOWING THE GENERALS' CONCLAVE RUMORS BEGAN CIRCULATING THAT ARMY I CORPS COMMANDER GENERAL SUAREZ MASON, A PRINCIPAL HARDLINER, WOULD BE REASSIGNED OR RETIRED AT THE END OF THE YEAR AND THAT SAINT JEAN WOULD BE REMOVED FROM THE BUENOS AIRES GOVERNORSHIP).

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05281 01 OF 05 182123Z

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 02 OF 05 182134Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

4. IN AN APPARENTLY SEPARATE ENDEAVOR IN EARLY JUNE, PLANNING MINISTER (GEN.) DIAZ BESSONE PRESENTED TO THE JUNTA A DRAFT INTRODUCTION TO A "NATIONAL PROJECT" OR PLAN FOR OVERHAULING THE NATION'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PREPARING THE WAY FOR A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLIC. ALTHOUGH OUR PALACE SOURCE VIEWED DIAZ BESSONE'S DRAFT AS A SEPARATE INITIATIVE INTENDED TO UPSTAGE THE PRESIDENT, THE PRELIMINARY WORKING PAPER SUBSEQUENTLY WAS EXAMINED EXTENSIVELY AT VARIOUS LEVELS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ARMED FORCES AND PRESUMABLY WILL PROVIDE THE FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR "THE DIALOGUE" WITH CIVILIAN SECTORS WHENEVER ONE GETS FORMALLY UNDERWAY. INDEED, VIDELA'S RECENT SPEECHES HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED IN THE PRESS AS MEANING THAT GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION PLANS ARE NOW CONCEIVED AS RESTING ON TWO PILLARS--THE NATIONAL PROJECT AND THE DIALOGUE. HOWEVER, IT IS APPARENT THAT THERE ARE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PLANS.

5. PARALLELING THE PLANS FOR A "NATIONAL DIALOGUE," IT IS ALSO RELEVANT TO NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GREATER RECOGNITION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IN VIDELA'S PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS. AS THE WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION WINDS DOWN, VIDELA HAS BEEN QUOTED AS SAYING, THE ABUSES WILL ALSO DISAPPEAR. IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVERT A NEGATIVE U.S. VOTE IN THE WORLD BANK, GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES APPEARED TO BECOME MORE

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05281 02 OF 05 182134Z

RESPONSIVE TO OUR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES. ON THE LABOR FRONT THERE ALSO HAS BEEN AN ALBEIT BRIEF CONTRIBUTION TO THE DIALOGUE AS THE GOVERNMENT CONSULTED A GROUP OF HANDPICKED LABOR LEADERS CONCERNING THE GUIDELINES FOR A NEW TRADE UNION LAW RECENTLY APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE BY THE JUNTA.

6. VIDELA'S RECENT INITIATIVES HAVE PRODUCED A FLURRY OF QUASI-POLITICAL ACTIVITY AROUND THE COUNTRY. OVERNIGHT, EVERY CONTACT BETWEEN A LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL AND A CITIZENS GROUP, EVERY PRONOUNCEMENT BY A PRESSURE GROUP WAS SEEN AS PART OF THE NEW DIALOGUE, THANKS IN PART TO THE MORNING DAILY "LA OPINION" WHICH, INTERVENED BY MODERATE (SOMETIMES ALSO REFERRED TO AS "POPULIST") MILITARY AUTHORITIES ANSWERABLE TO ARMY CHIEF OF STATE VIOLA, UNDERTOOK THE TASK UNOFFICIALLY--AND PERHAPS

UNCLASSIFIED

PREMATURELY--OF PROPAGATING THE NEW PHILOSOPHY. DESPITE THE BAN ON POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITY, UCRP-LEADERS ISSUED A STATEMENT CRITICIZING VARIOUS ASPECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY; PERONISTS ANNOUNCED THE OPENING OF A STUDY CENTER; A CONSERVATIVE STUDY AND ACTION GROUP CALLED "SEA" RELEASED A DOCUMENT SETTING FORTH ITS OBJECTIVES; CONSERVATIVE MINIPARTIES ANNOUNCED AN ATTEMPT AT UNIFICATION; AND A NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SPLINTER GROUP CAME INTO BEING. RESPONDING TO THE GENERALLY FREER AIR, SOME 3,000 PERONISTS ALSO STAGED A BRIEF STREET DEMONSTRATION ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF PERON'S DEATH BEFORE BEING DISPERSED BY POLICE. ON THE LABOR FRONT THE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE CONSULTED BY THE GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO A NEW UNION LAW STATED ITS PREFERENCE FOR RETAINING THE PERONIST LABOR LEGISLATION. THE INTERVENED AUTO WORKERS AND LIGHT AND POWER WORKERS UNIONS ALSO ISSUED STATEMENTS COMDEMNING THE GOVERNMENT'S LABOR POLICIES.

7. AS TO BE EXPECTED, THE VIDELA ADMINISTRATION VIEWED SOME OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS AS GOING TOO FAR TOO FAST AND IT REACTED WITH IRRITATION. THE RADICAL PARTY STATEMENT PUBLISHED TWO

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05281 02 OF 05 182134Z

AFTER THE MEETING OF THE ARMY GENERALS WAS PARTICULARLY UPSETTING FOR THE GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF ITS TRONG CRITICISM OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND MARTINEZ DE HOZ' ECONOMIC POLICY BUT ALSO DUE TO THE TIMING OF THE DOCUMENT'S RELEASE. VIDELA AIDES WERE FEARFUL IT WOULD ALARM THE HARDLINE GENERALS AND STRENGTHEN THEIR RESOLVE TO RESIST THE PRESIDENT'S PLANS. ACCORDING TO OUR PALACE SOURCE, THE PRESIDENT HAD A CAREFULLY DELINEATED GAME PLAN FOR BRINING THE ARMED FORCES AROUND TO HIS POINT OF VIEW. HE COULD NOT HAVE WON THE GENERALS' APPROVAL OF A POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN FEBRUARY, FOR EXAMPLE. THE RADICAL STATEMENT COULD HAVE UNDONE VIDELA'S SCENARIO, IT WAS ARGUED. IN ORDER TO CALM THE GENERALS, VIDELA AGAIN RESORTED TO THE COURT SYSTEM TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAD BEEN VIOLATED. HOWEVER, BY SELECTING A FEDERAL JUDGE OF KNOWN "DEMOCRATIC PERSUASION," IT WAS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION THAT THE CASE AGAINST THE RADICALS WOULD DIE A NATURAL DEATH. (INDEED, A NOT-GUILTY VERDICT WAS HANDED DOWN A WEEK AGO, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH STILL APPEAR DETERMINED TO CONTEST THE DECISION AND THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR IN FACT FILED AN APPEAL.)

8. IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD REASON TO BE DISPLEASED WITH THE CRITICAL TONE OF THE COMMENTS FROM TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PARTY AND TRADE UNION QUARTERS WHICH VIDELA'S CALL FOR A DIALOGUE HAD

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EVOKED, THE CREATIVE IMAGINATION OF AUTHORITARIAN OR CENTER-RIGHT CIVILIAN ELEMENTS WAS NO LESS DISTURBING. IN HIS N.Y. STATEMENT, EX-JUSTICE MINISTER AND "SEA" FOUNDING MEMBER JAIME PERIAUX NOT ONLY PREDICTED THAT THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT WOULD LAST 10 TO 12 YEAR. HE RESURRECTED THE "4TH MAN" THESIS BY REPORTEDLY ANNOUNCING THAT VIDELA PLANNED TO REMAIN AS PRESIDENT, ALTHOUGH STEPPING DOWN FROM THE JUNTA AND RETIRING FROM THE ARMY IN 1979. VIDELA WOULD DO BETTER, SUGGESTED PERRIAUX, IF HE ALSO GAVE UP THE PRESIDENCY IN 1979 AND HELD HIMSELF "IN RESERVE" SO THAT HE COULD LAUNCH HIS CANDIDACY AS THE FIRST CIVILIAN

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 03 OF 05 182150Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1385

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

PRESIDENT AT THE END OF THE PERIOD OF MILITARY RULE. PERRIAUX WAS IMMEDIATELY POUNCED ON BY OLD-LINE POLITICANS FOR HINTING THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEEK TO INCORPORATE ALL CENTER AND CENTER-RIGHT OPINION IN A SINGLE OFFICIAL PARTY TO FILL A ROLE SIMILAR TO THAT PLAYED BY THE PRI IN MEXICO. THIS IDEA HAD FIRST BEEN INTRODUCED BY "CARTA POLITICA'S" MARIANO GRONDONA BACK IN APRIL WHEN HE SUGGESTED THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL REORGANIZATION MOVEMENT ("MRN") WHICH, AS ONE ASTUTE POLITICAL OBSERVER CALLED IT, WAS NOT INTENDED "TO WIN ELECTIONS FIRST AND THEN GOVERN BUT TO GOVERN FIRST AND WIN ELECTIONS AFTERWARDS."

9. GRONDONA'S THESIS WAS DEVELOPED FURTHER IN THE JUNE 23 ISSUE OF THE FORTNIGHTLY MAGAZINE "CONVICCION," WHICH ALSO CONTAINED A DETAILED PLAN FOR GRADUALLY PREPARING THE COUNTRY FOR CIVILIAN RULE OVER THE NEXT 13 YEARS. BECAUSE THIS IS THE

UNCLASSIFIED

MOST ELABORATE STATEMENT OF AUTHORITARIAN (BUT NOT NECESSARILY ANTI-VIDELA) THINKING ABOUT THE POLITICAL FUTURE WHICH HAS APPEARED TO DATE, IT DESERVES SUMMARIZATION HERE. (SOME SAY IT WAS INSPIRED BY THE NAVY, HOWEVER, SEE HAB 8586 FOR THE OUTLINE OF A PLAN PREPARED BY AUTHORITARIAN GEN. OLIVERA ROVERE, THE ARMY'S SECREATRY GENERAL, WHICH BEARS SOME RESEMBLANCE.) THE "CONVICCION" ARTICLE FORESEES A FIVE-STAGE SCENARIO AS FOLLOWS:

(A) 1976-1979. DURING THE REMAINDER OF THE FIRST STAGE, [redacted]

CHARACTERIZED AS ONE OF "MILITARY ABSOLUTISM," THE CURRENT GOVERNING STRUCTURE REMAINS IN FORCE, I.E. NO CHANGE IN THE MILITARY JUNTA OR THE PRESIDENCY. TOWARDS THE END OF 1978 THE NUCLEUS OF THE MRN IS TO BE FORMED.

(B) 1979-1982, A NEW MILITARY JUNTA IS TO BE INSTALLED IN 1979, BUT VIDELA REMAINS AS PRESIDENT, I.E. AS "THE 4TH MAN." ADMIRAL MASSERA DND GENERAL AGOSTI, ALREADY RETIRED, BECOME LEADERS IN THE MRN. SOME PARTICIPATION OF CIVILIAN ELEMENTS TO BE ALLOWED IN THE GOVERNMENT, PRESUMABLY SELECTED FROM THE MRN.

(C) 1982-1985. IN ADDITION TO THE INSTALLATION OF A NEW JUNTA IN 1982, VIDELA MUST STEP DOWN FOR ANOTHER MILITARY MAN FROM THE MRN LEADERSHIP WHO WILL BE PRESIDENT UNTIL 1988. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO COME FROM THE MILITARY.

(D) 1985-1988. THE JUNTA CHANGES AGAIN, BUT THE PRESIDENT SELECTED IN 1982 REMAINS, HIS PRINCIPAL TASK BEING TO ORGANIZE A REFERENDUM (TO TAKE PLACE IN 1986) REGARDING THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS. MAYORS AND CITY COUNCILMEN WOULD BE ELECTED IN 1987 AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATORS IN 1988 FROM LISTS DRAWN UP REPRESENTING VARIOUS CURRENTS OF OPINION WITHIN THE MRN.

(E) 1988-1991. ANOTHER JUNTA IS INSTALLED, HOPEFULLY THE LAST IN THE REORGANIZATION PROCESS. THE NEW PRESIDENT WOULD COME FROM THE MRN, BUT HE COULD BE A CIVILIAN. IN 1989 THE MRN WOULD BE DISSOLVED TO ALLOW ITS MEMBERS TO REGROUP IN ONE OR MORE NEW POLITICAL PARTIES. POSSIBLY, IT WOULD BE SPLIT INTO TWO, LIKE AN AMOEBA, TO FORM THE START OF A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. ELECTIONS FOR MEMBERS TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS WOULD BE HELD IN 1990. BY 1991, THE AUTHORS OF THIS POLITICAL SCENARIO HOPE THE CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

MILITARY WILL HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WITHDRAW QUITELY AND SLOWLY TO THE SIDELINES, LEAVING THE CIVILIANS PRESUMABLY FREE TO CALL PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND TO RUN THE NEW GOVERNMENT ON THEIR OWN.

10. AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE IN MONTEVIDEO JUNE 24 VIDELA APPEARED TO BE REACTING NOT ONLY THE THE TRIAL BALLOONS LAUNCHED FROM AUTHORITARIAN QUARTERS, BUT ALSO TO BE RETREATING FROM THE EXCESSIVE EXPECTATIONS AROUNDES IN PERONIST AND RADICAL POLITICAL SECTORS BY HIS CALL FOR DIALOGUE. SAID VIDELA, THE PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSED DIALOGUE WITH CIVILIAN REPRESENTATIVES WAS TO ENRICH THE IDEAS OF THE ARMED FORCES AS THEY WORKED TOWARD THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF BUILDING A "STRONG, STABLE AND MODERN DEMOCRACY." A "CIVILIAN-MILITARY CONVERGENCE," HOWEVER, DID NOT MEAN THAT THE ARMED FORCES SHOULD FATHER THEIR OWN POLITICAL PARTY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE DIALOGUE EXCLUDED NOT ONLY SUBVERSIVES, ECONOMIC DELINQUENTS AND THE CORRUPT, BUT ALSO "THOSE WHO EXCLUDED THEMSELVES BECAUSE THEY DO NOT SHARE OUR IDEAS." HE GRUDGINGLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PROPOSED DIALOGUE COULD BE CALLED "A POLITICAL OPENING," BUT NOT IN AN ELECTORAL SENSE. "WE ARE FAR FROM THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTIONS, WHETHER MUNICIPAL, PROVINCIAL OR NATIONAL," HE SAID. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, VIDELA DISCLAIMED CURRENT CONSIDERATION OF A "4TH MAN" THESIS, SEEING NO NEED TO CHANGE THE EXISTING POWER STRUCTURE. HOWEVER, HE HEDGED, SHOULD CIRCUMSTANCES DURING THE REORGANIZATION PROCESS SO REQUIRE, HE WOULD NOT RULE OUT NEW SOLUTIONS INCLUDING A 4TH MAN IDEA.

11. THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER INCIDENTS OF STATEMENTS ON THE RECORD WHICH FURTHER SUGGEST THE PARAMETERS OF, OR CONSTRAINTS ON, VIDELA'S CALL FOR DIALOGUE:

-- IT IS RUMORED IN POLITICAL CIRCLES THAT AT A RECENT MEETING OF SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS ARCH-HARDLINER GENERAL SANTIAGO OMAR RIVEROS OPENLY CHALLENGED PRESIDENT VIDELA'S PLANS, ONLY TO BE ARGUED DOWN BY III CORPS COMMANDER GENERAL MENENDEZ, A

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HARDLINER WHO REPORTEDLY HAS MOVED INTO VIDELA'S CAMP. THESE REPORTS DO NOT MAKE CLEAR AT WHICH RECENT MEETING THE ALLEGED

ENCOUNTER TOOK PLACE, BUT SEE HAB-8606 FOR A DETAILED REPORT OF AN INCIDENT AT A MEETING OF THE ARMY HIGH COMMAND ON JUNE 30 WHICH SOUNDS AS IF IT MAY BE THE SAME EVENT. (MENENDEZ, INCIDENTALLY, IS INCREASINGLY BEING TOUTED AS A SWINGMAN AND POTENTIAL ARBITER WITHIN THE ARMY.)

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 04 OF 05 182159Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1386

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

-- THE DECISION TO OFFICIALLY HEADQUARTER THE MILITARY JUNTA AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS BUILDING LENDS THE IMPRESSION OF UPGRADING THE JUNTA VIS-A-VIS THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY. IT PARALLELED A RECENT DECREE PLACING LIMITS ON THE AMOUNT OF TIME THE EXECUTIVE POWER COULD HOLD UP LEGISLATION PROPOSED BY THE JUNTA'S LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY COMMISSION (CAL).

-- THE APPOINTMENT OF A PROTEGE OF PERRIAUX, DR. JUAN JOSE CATALAN, AS MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, GAVE THE IMPRESSION, PERHAPS ERRONEOUSLY, THAT VIDELA HAD MADE A CONCESSION TO THE CONSERVATIVE "SEA" GROUP.

-- ON THE SAME DAY THAT VIDELA ADMITTED IN MONTEVIDEO THAT THE DIALOGUE COULD BE INTERPRETED AS A LIMITED "POLITICAL OPENING," INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY EXPRESSLY REJECTED THIS DEFINITION.

-- TWO WEEKS AGO THE ARMY ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE CALLING FOR THE AGING POLITICAL PARTY CHIEFS AN

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D THE LEADERS OF OTHER KEY SECTORS OF SOCIETY TO TURN OVER THEIR LEADERSHIP POSTS TO A YOUNGER GENERATION AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONAL REORGANIZATION PROCESS.

-- DESPITE VIDELA'S DISAVOWAL OF THE "4TH MAN" THESIS, RUMORS

CONTINUE THAT HE MAY STEP DOWN FROM THE JUNTA EARLY NEXT YEAR, BUT REMAIN IN THE PRESIDENCY. CURIOUSLY, SOME SEE THIS AS A SIGN OF VIDELA'S GROWING STRENGTH AND THE ASCENDANCE OF THE MODERATE POSITION IN THE ARMY. ACCORDING TO THE OPTIMISTIC VERSION, VIOLA WOULD REPLACE VIDELA IN THE JUNTA AS COMMANDER OF THE ARMY. HOWEVER, WE DOUBT THAT VIDELA WILLINGLY WOULD PERMIT HIMSELF TO BE SEVERED FROM THE UMBILICAL CORD WHICH TIES HIM TO THE ARMY COMMAND STRUCTURE WHEN THE MOST LIKELY CONSEQUENCE WOULD BE HAVING SUCH OPPOSING POLITICAL FIGURES AS "POPULIST" VIOLA AS ARMY COMMANDER AND JUNTA MEMBER ON THE ONE HAND AND EITHER HARDLINER SUAREZ MASON OR SUPPOSEDLY EX-HARDLINER MENENDEZ AS ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF ON THE OTHER. SEE PARAGRAPH 17 BELOW.)

12. THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER INCIDENTS OR MILESTONES MARKING MORE CLEARCUT POSITIVE GAINS FOR THE VIDELA-VIOLA FORCES IN RECENT WEEKS: THE APPEALS COURT DECISION RELEASING EX-PRESIDENT LANUSSE AND FORMER AIDES FROM PREVENTIVE DETENTION (PORBABLY QUASHING THE CHARGES AGAINST LANUSSE IN THE ALUAR CASE FOR GOOD); GOVERNOR SAINT JEAN'S TELLTALE PROTESTATIONS OF HIS DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN CONVICITIONS TO THE "NEW YORK TIMES"; THE JUDICIAL DECISION ALREADY MENTIONED IN THE MATTER OF THE UCRP STATEMENT, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO STIMULATE RENEWED POLITICAL DEBATE; AND ADMIRAL MASSERA'S SPEECH A WEEK AGO DECLARING THAT DEMOCRACY WAS BEING REBUILT "EVEN FOR THOSE WHO TORE DEMOCRACY TO SHREDS."

13. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE MODERATES OF "POPULISTS" HAVE MADE IMPORTANT GAINS IN THE ARMY OVER THE PAST MONTH OR SO, AND THAT THIS WILL ADVANCE THE CHANCES OF THE "DIALOGUE" VIDELA SEEKS. THE END OBJECTIVE APPEARS TO BE THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FEDERALIST, REPUBLICAN AND PLURALIST DEMOCRACY TAILORED TO MEET THE DISTINCTIVE CHALLENGES OF THE ARGENTINE POLITICAL CULTURE--PERHAPS THROUGH SOME ADMISSION OF "CORPORATIST" PRINCIPLES. BUT

UNCLASSIFIED

JUST WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VIDELA'S PROPOSED DIALOGUE AND WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS? FIRST OF ALL, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT ACCORDING TO ITS OWN PROPONENTS "THE DIALOGUE" HAS NOT YET FORMALLY BUGEN. IN ORDER FOR THE ARMED FORCES OFFICIALLY TO APPROVE THE DIALOGUE, THEY MUST FIRST HAVE A CLEARLY DEFINED POLITICAL REORGANIZATION SCHEME ABOUT WHICH THEY CAN "DIALOGUE" WITH CIVILIAN SECTORS. OUR READING OF HAB 8597 SUGGESTS THAT THE ARMY HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHAT FORM THE GOVERNMENT'S STRUCTURE SHOULD TAKE IN THE MEDIUM TERM, LET ALONE WHAT THE NEXT CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD LOOK LIKE. THE DRAFT "NATIONAL PROJECT" WILL NOT BE READY UNTIL NEXT YEAR--IF THEN. SECONDLY, EVEN ASSUMING THAT VIDELA IS DISPOSED TO INCLUDE SOME OF THE OLD TIME POLITICIANS IN HIS PROPOSED DIALOGUE ABOUT THE FUTURE, WE SERIOUSLY DOUBT HE WOULD RESERVE A PRINCIPAL PLACE IN THE FUTURE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT HE IS PLANNING FOR POLITICAL FIGURES INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH THE POLITICAL DISASTERS OF THE RECENT PAST.

14. WE TEND TO VIEW VIDELA'S CALL FOR DIALOGUE PRINCIPALLY AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVICE INTENDED TO CONVINCE THE ARMED FORCES TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF PLANNING THE BASES FOR FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. AFTER ALL, A DILAOGUE OF SORTS HAS BEEN GOING ON BETWEEN CIVILIANS AND THE MILITARY SINCE THE COUP--ACTUALLY SINCE BEFORE THE COUP. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THE ALL-IMPORTANT DIALOGUE OF THE FUTURE, I.E. THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CIVILIAN GROUP EVENTUALLY TO TAKE OVER FROM THE MILITARY IS A LONG WAY FROM BEING APPROVED BY THE JUNTA, NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT THERE ARE RADICALS AND PERONISTS SALIVATING IN THE WINGS WHO THINK THEY WILL BE INVITED TO JOIN THE CABINET OR OTHER HIGH LEVEL POSTS AS EARLY AS NEXT YEAR.

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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USIA-06 DHA-02 LAB-04 SIL-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 OMB-01

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R 181751Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1387

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] SECTION 5 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

15. THERE COULD BE NEW SETBACKS FOR THE MODERATES' TIMETABLE. BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT MEETING OF ALL THE ARMY GENERALS SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST, THE HARDLINE GENERALS COULD STRIKE BACK AGAIN AND THE VIDELA "DIALOGUE" PUT IN THE TRASH BASKET. HAB-8606 SUGGESTS THAT VIDELA-VIOLA GROUP HAD CONSIDERABLY ROUGHER GOING IN THE HIGH COMMAND ("ALTOS MANDOS") MEETING OF JUNE 30 THAN IN THE GENERALS' MEETING A MONTH BEFORE. THE SUPPORT OF THE GENERALS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE 76TH GRADUATION CLASS OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY IS WHAT APPEARS TO GIVE VIDELA HIS DECISIVE EDGE IN THE MEETINGS OF GENERALS AS OPPOSED TO THOSE OF THE HIGH COMMAND.

16. A KEY CONSTRAINT ON THE DIALOGUE IN THE LABOR SECTOR IS WHETHER MARTINEZ DE HOZ' BECOMINC POLICY WILL PROVE SUCCESSFUL. UNTIL THERE ARE GREATHER SIGNS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY IT DOES NOT APPEAR LIKELY THAT HE WILL FAVOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, LET ALONE THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, IF HE HAS ANY SAY IN THE MATTER. MOREOVER, OUTBREAKS OF LABOR OR SOCIAL UNREST COULD PRODUCE DEMANDS FOR RENEWED AUTHORITARIAN MEASURES. ANOTHER POTENTIALLY CRUCIAL AND LARGELY UNKNOWN VARIABLE FOR THE MEDIUM TERM COULD BE THE NEW GENERATION OF YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS WHO HAVE BORNE THE BRUNT OF THE COUNTERINSURGENCY AND WHO PRESUMABLY HAVE AN INTEREST IN PREVENTING FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENTS FROM EXAMINING THE COUNTERTERRORIST METHODS USED TO WIN THE WAR. WHETHER THIS [redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05281 05 OF 05 182209Z

ELEMENT WILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL ROLE IN THE FUTURE IS STILL UNCLEAR, BUT SOME OBSERVERS FEAR THAT THERE ARE NATIONALIST AUTHORITARIAN IDEAS STIRRING IN THIS GROUP. (SEE HAB-8596 FOR A RECENT REPORT ABOUT ONE GROUP OF ARMY OFFICERS WITH NATIONALIST/CATHOLIC SOCIAL JUSTICE TENDENCIES.)

17 DESPITE VIDELA'S RECENT GAINS, THERE IS AN ACCOMMODATION PROCESS AT WORK WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES AND HE PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO COMPROMISE SOME ON HIS PROGRAM IN ORDER TO GAIN THE FULL ACQUIESCENCE OF THE MILITARY. NOT THAT WE SEE HIM WILLINGLY ACCEPTING THE "4TH MAN" THESIS BEFORE 1979

UNCLASSIFIED

WHEN, BY STATUTE, HE MUST GIVE UP HIS POSITION AS ARMY COMMANDER ANYWAY. UNLESS THERE IS MORE LOGIC AND DYNAMISM BEHIND THE PRESSURE FROM ARMY HARDLINERS AND THE OTHER TWO SERVICES FOR NOT ALLOWING VIDELA TO WEAR HIS JUNTA AND PRESIDENTIAL HATS SIMULTANEOUSLY THAN PRESENTLY MEETS THE EYE, WE ARE SKEPTICAL THAT HE IS ABOUT TO CONCEDE ON THIS POINT--ESPECIALLY WHEN HIS POSITION OF STRENGTH WITHIN THE ARMY APPEARS TO BE ON THE INCREASE. THE AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL THINKERS HAVE MADE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE (OR DIALOGUE), BY PLACING A 13-YEAR OUTSIDE LIMIT ON MILITARY RULE. VIDELA PUBLICLY STILL REFUSES TO BE DRAWN INTO A CONVERSATION OF TIMETABLES, BUT PRESUMABLY HIS SCENARIO CALLS FOR A SHORTER TRANSITION PERIOD. (CURIOUSLY, ADMIRAL MASSERA ALSO MAY BE THINKING IN TERMS OF A RELATIVELY BRIEFER REORGANIZATION PROCESS (5-6 YEARS WAS THE GUESS OF ONE OF HIS AIDES), BUT THIS IS PRESUMABLY BECAUSE OF MASSERA'S OWN PERSONAL POLITICAL AMBITIONS.)

18. ANOTHER APPARENT DISTINCTION IS THAT AT LEAST SOME CONSERVATIVE/AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL THINKERS TEND TOWARDS A BRAZILIAN-LIKE POLITICAL SOLUTION WITH ARTIFICIALLY STRUCTURED GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES, WHEREAS VIDELA'S CIVILIAN AIDES CARTER MORE TO THE TRADITIONAL PARTY POLITICIANS (RADICALS, [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05281 05 OF 05 182209Z

PERONISTS AND OTHERS). HOWEVER, VIDELA'S OWN GAME PLAN IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR ON THIS POINT. THE CURRENT POLITICAL LEADERS DO NOT INSPIRE MUCH CONFIDENCE IN IMILITARY RANKS AND VIDELA MAY BE FORCED TO STRETCH OUT HIS REORGANIZATION SCENARIO. SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS COULD INTERRUPT THE MILITARY CYCLE AS THEY HAVE THE OTHER ARGENTINE IMILITARY GOVERNMENTS OF THE RECENT PAST, REQUIRING A HASTY TRANSFER OF POWER ONCE AGAIN TO THE POLITICIANS. HOWEVER, OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE PREDOMINANT MOOD IN THE ARMED FORCES AT PRESENT IS IN FAVOR OF A LONGER RATHER THAN A SHORTER GESTATION PERIOD, NOTWITHSTANDING VIDELA'S RELATIVELY STRONGER POSITION.

19. IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE AT THIS POINT HOW EVEN VIDELA HIMSELF FORESEES DEVELOPING "THE DIALOGUE" INTO SOME NEW POLITICAL FORMULATION--AND IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT THE OUTCOME OF A PROCESS WHICH INVOLVES THE WILL OF SO MANY DISPARATE GROUPS AND THE AMBITIONS OF MANY POWERFUL MEN. WE BELIEVE THAT IF VIDELA CAN SUCCEED IN PRESENTING HIMSELF AS A MODERATOR DEVOID OF PERSONAL AMIBITION, HAVING ONLY NATIONAL INTERESTS IN MIND, THEN A USEFUL "DIALOGUE" CAN BE INITIATED WHICH AT THE LEAST WILL PROVIDE A CLIMATE IN WHICH CIVILIAN POLITICIANS, MILITARY POWER

SEEKERS AND BROKERS, INSTITUTIONS AND INTEREST GROUPS CAN EXPRESS THEMSELVES AND EXPECT AT LEAST A RESPECTFUL AUDIENCE. "DIALOGUE" MAY TURN OUT TO BE NOTHING MORE THAN A USEFUL RUBRIC TO COVER "POLITICAL VENTILATION"--BUT THIS IS, AFTER ALL A PROCESS BADLY NEEDED IN ARGENTINA JUST NOW. IF, HOWEVER, VIDELA CAN CONTROL THE DIALOGUE PROCESS FOR SUFFICIENT TIME, AND IF HE CAN SUCCEED IN ACCOMMODATING WITHIN THE PROCESS THE WISDOM OF THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS AS WELL AS THEIR POLITICAL APPETITES, THEN IT APPEARS POSSIBLE TO US THAT REAL BASIC CHANGE COULD RESULT.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 01 OF 05 182123Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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USIA-06 DHA-02 LAB-04 SIL-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 OMB-01
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1383

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (✓) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B-1
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, ELAB, AR
SUBJECT: VIDELA CALLS FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE

SUMMARY: PRESIDENT VIDELA'S CALL FOR A NATIONAL DIALOGUE WITH CIVILIAN POLITICAL SECTORS IS SEEN BY MANY ARGENTINE POLITICAL OBSERVERS AS A SIGN THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND AUTHORITARIAN TENDENCIES IN THE ARMY IS BEING WON BY THE MODERATE MILITARY FACTION HEADED BY VIDELA. THERE IS VIRTUAL UNANIMITY IN THE ARMED FORCES THAT BASIC INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS ARE NECESSARY IF ARGENTINA IS TO BREAK ITS SUCCESSIVE CYCLES OF MILITARY TAKEOVERS REQUIRED TO UNDO THE CHAOS LEFT BY WEAK AND INEFFECTUAL CIVILIAN GOVERNMENTS. HOWEVER, THE ISSUES CURRENTLY DIVIDING THE ARMY APPEAR TO INCLUDE THE PERIOD OF TIME NECESSARY TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A RETURN TO STABLE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT, THE POLITICAL GROUP OR GROUPS WITH WHOM THE MILITARY SHOULD "DIALOGUE" CONCERNING THE FUTURE, AND THE STRUCTURE OR SHAPE WHICH THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE STABILITY DESIRED. THE VIDELA-VILOA FORCES APPEAR TO FAVOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH TRADITIONAL PERONIST AND RADICAL PARTY POLITICIANS AND A SHORTER TRANSITION PERIOD, WHEREAS AUTHORITARIAN AND RIGHTWING MILITARY MEN SEEM TO BE THINKING IN TERMS OF A MORE RADICAL REFORM OF THE POLITICAL

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UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

SYSTEM, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE MORE TIME. THERE SEEMS TO BE A ROUGH CORRELATION BETWEEN THE DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THAT THE MODERATES FAVORING A POLITICAL DIALOGUE TEND TO BE MORE SENSITIVE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM (AT LEAST FROM THE PUBLIC RELATIONS STANDPOINT), WHEREAS THE AUTHORITARIANS TEND TO BE MORE HARDLINE ON BOTH ISSUES. HOWEVER, THIS IS AN OVERSIMPLIFICATION. TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONAL RIVALRIES WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES AND PERSONAL AMBITIONS OFTEN SUPERSEDE THE IDEOLOGICAL OR POLICY DIFFERENCES AND CONFUSE THE ISSUES. DESPITE VIDELA'S RECENT GAINS IN THE ARMY, HE IS A LONG WAY FROM WINNING THE STRUGGLE. THE DIALOGUE HAS NOT YET BEEN FORMALLY APPROVED IN THE ARMY AND MOREOVER THE ARMY HARDLINERS APPEAR TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT WITHIN THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE. THE LATTER TWO SERVICES ARE PUTTING PRESSURE ON VIDELA TO RELINQUISH HIS COMMAND OF THE ARMY AND STEP DOWN FROM THE JUNTA WHILE REMAINING AS PRESIDENT, I.E. TO BECOME THE -FOURTH MAN." AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF THE OUTCOME OF THE IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE IS WHETHER VIDELA WILL BE ABLE TO RETIRE EXTREME HARDLINE GENERALS WHO OPPOSE HIS PLANS. THIS PAPER IS AN INITIAL ATTEMPT TO GET AT THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN "THE DIALOGUE" AND THE CONCLUSIONS CONTAINED HEREIN SHOULD BE REGARDED AS TENTATIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE UNLEASHING OF THE GRAIVER AND THE ALUAR SCANDALS BY RIGHTWING MILITARY HARDLINERS IN APRIL AND MAY HAS PROVEN TO REPRESENT NO MORE THAN A TEMPORARY INTERRUPTION IN PRESIDENT VIDELA'S ATTEMPT TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POSITION WITHIN THE MILITARY REGIME AND USE THIS POSITION TO BRING ABOUT THE POLITICAL REFORMS HE IS SEEKING. VIDELA WON MAJOR GAINS DURING THE MEETING OF ARMY GENERALS IN FEBRUARY AND, AS THE COUP MARKED ITS FIRST ANNIVERSARY IN MARCH, THE GOVERNMENT APPEARED TO OBTAIN A NEW DEGREE OF STABILITY. THEN CAME THE CHALLENGE FROM PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR SAINT JEAN (PREVIOUSLY RUMORED AS AN ASPIRANT TO THE "4TH MAN" [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05281 01 OF 05 182123Z

POSITION) IN THE FORM OF THE GRAIVER-ALUAR CRISES. HAVING DISSIPATED THE MOST FRIGHTENING ASPECTS OF THESE POLITICAL STORM CLOUDS (BY REMANDING THE ISSUES INVOLVED TO THE CIVIL AND MILITARY JUDICIAL SYSTEMS), VIDELA RECOVERED SUFFICIENT MOMENTUM TO MAKE A FRESH START TOWARD INITIATING THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL REFORM.

2. IN HIS ARMY DAY SPEECH OF MAY 29 VIDELA ANNOUNCED THAT PLANS

WERE UNDERWAY TO INSTITUTIONALIZE A "WIDE AND GENEROUS DIALOGUE" WITH ALL SECTORS OF PUBLIC OPINION "EXCEPT THE CORRUPT AND SUBVERSIVES." SUCH A CIVIL-MILITARY DIALOGUE, SAID VIDELA, WOULD PREVENT THE ARMED FORCES, IN THE SOLITUDE OF THEIR POWER, FROM FALLING INTO ELITIST OR CORPORATIVIST HABITS; THE END OBJECTIVE WAS TO BUILD "AN EFFICIENT AND STABLE DEMOCRACY." THERE WAS ANOTHER EQUALLY IMPORTANT DIMENSION TO THE SPEECH: HIS CALL TO BEGIN "WINNING THE PEACE" AFTER THE WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION WAS WON CARRIED WITH IT THE IMPLICIT PROMISE OF GREATER OBSERVANCE OF LEGALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE FUTURE.

3. VIDELA THEN REPAIRED TO A KEY MEETING OF ARMY GENERALS MAY 31-JUNE 1, IN WHICH IT IS SAID THAT ALL THE GENERALS PRESENT, EXCEPT TWO, ACCEPTED HIS PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE POLITICIANS IN THE DIALOGUE. ACCORDING TO A CASA ROSADA SOURCE, IT WAS AGREED THAT DETAILED PLANS FOR A NATIONAL DIALOGUE WOULD BE DRAWN UP AND PRESENTED AT THE NEXT REGULAR MEETING OF ALL THE GENERALS SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST. AMONG THE DETAILS PENDING CLARIFICATION ARE THE AGENDA TO BE DISCUSSED, WITH WHOM, WITH WHAT OBJECTIVE AND OVER WHAT PERIOD. REPORTEDLY, THOSE HIGH RANKING OFFICERS WHO CANNOT ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WILL BE EXPECTED TO RESIGN--OR THEY WILL BE RETIRED. FOR THIS PURPOSE, ARMY PROMOTION AND ASSIGNMENT PANELS WILL MEET EARLIER THIS YEAR. (FOLLOWING THE GENERALS' CONCLAVE RUMORS BEGAN CIRCULATING THAT ARMY I CORPS COMMANDER GENERAL SUAREZ MASON, A PRINCIPAL HARDLINER, WOULD BE REASSIGNED OR RETIRED AT THE END OF THE YEAR AND THAT SAINT JEAN WOULD BE REMOVED FROM THE BUENOS AIRES GOVERNORSHIP).

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05281 01 OF 05 182123Z

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 02 OF 05 182134Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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Case Number: 200000044

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1384

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

4. IN AN APPARENTLY SEPARATE ENDEAVOR IN EARLY JUNE, PLANNING MINISTER (GEN.) DIAZ BESSONE PRESENTED TO THE JUNTA A DRAFT INTRODUCTION TO A "NATIONAL PROJECT" OR PLAN FOR OVERHAULING THE NATION'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PREPARING THE WAY FOR A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLIC. ALTHOUGH OUR PALACE SOURCE VIEWED DIAZ BESSONE'S DRAFT AS A SEPARATE INITIATIVE INTENDED TO UPSTAGE THE PRESIDENT, THE PRELIMINARY WORKING PAPER SUBSEQUENTLY WAS EXAMINED EXTENSIVELY AT VARIOUS LEVELS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ARMED FORCES AND PRESUMABLY WILL PROVIDE THE FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR "THE DIALOGUE" WITH CIVILIAN SECTORS WHENEVER ONE GETS FORMALLY UNDERWAY. INDEED, VIDELA'S RECENT SPEECHES HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED IN THE PRESS AS MEANING THAT GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION PLANS ARE NOW CONCEIVED AS RESTING ON TWO PILLARS--THE NATIONAL PROJECT AND THE DIALOGUE. HOWEVER, IT IS APPARENT THAT THERE ARE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PLANS.

5. PARALLELING THE PLANS FOR A "NATIONAL DIALOGUE," IT IS ALSO RELEVANT TO NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GREATER RECOGNITION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IN VIDELA'S PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS. AS THE WAR AGAINST SUBVERSION WINDS DOWN, VIDELA HAS BEEN QUOTED AS SAYING, THE ABUSES WILL ALSO DISAPPEAR. IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVERT A NEGATIVE U.S. VOTE IN THE WORLD BANK, GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES APPEARED TO BECOME MORE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05281 02 OF 05 182134Z

RESPONSIVE TO OUR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES. ON THE LABOR FRONT THERE ALSO HAS BEEN AN ALBEIT BRIEF CONTRIBUTION TO THE DIALOGUE AS THE GOVERNMENT CONSULTED A GROUP OF HANDPICKED LABOR LEADERS CONCERNING THE GUIDELINES FOR A NEW TRADE UNION LAW RECENTLY APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE BY THE JUNTA.

6. VIDELA'S RECENT INITIATIVES HAVE PRODUCED A FLURRY OF QUASI-POLITICAL ACTIVITY AROUND THE COUNTRY. OVERNIGHT, EVERY CONTACT BETWEEN A LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL AND A CITIZENS GROUP, EVERY PRONOUNCEMENT BY A PRESSURE GROUP WAS SEEN AS PART OF THE NEW

DIALOGUE, THANKS IN PART TO THE MORNING DAILY "LA OPINION" WHICH, INTERVENED BY MODERATE (SOMETIMES ALSO REFERRED TO AS "POPULIST") MILITARY AUTHORITIES ANSWERABLE TO ARMY CHIEF OF STATE VIOLA, UNDERTOOK THE TASK UNOFFICIALLY--AND PERHAPS PREMATURELY--OF PROPAGATING THE NEW PHILOSOPHY. DESPITE THE BAN ON POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITY, UCRP LEADERS ISSUED A STATEMENT CRITICIZING VARIOUS ASPECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY; PERONISTS ANNOUNCED THE OPENING OF A STUDY CENTER; A CONSERVATIVE STUDY AND ACTION GROUP CALLED "SEA" RELEASED A DOCUMENT SETTING FORTH ITS OBJECTIVES; CONSERVATIVE MINIPARTIES ANNOUNCED AN ATTEMPT AT UNIFICATION; AND A NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SPLINTER GROUP CAME INTO BEING. RESPONDING TO THE GENERALLY FREER AIR, SOME 3,000 PERONISTS ALSO STAGED A BRIEF STREET DEMONSTRATION ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF PERON'S DEATH BEFORE BEING DISPERSED BY POLICE. ON THE LABOR FRONT THE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE CONSULTED BY THE GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO A NEW UNION LAW STATED ITS PREFERENCE FOR RETAINING THE PERONIST LABOR LEGISLATION. THE INTERVENED AUTO WORKERS AND LIGHT AND POWER WORKERS UNIONS ALSO ISSUED STATEMENTS COMDEMNING THE GOVERNMENT'S LABOR POLICIES.

7. AS TO BE EXPECTED, THE VIDELA ADMINISTRATION VIEWED SOME OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS AS GOING TOO FAR TOO FAST AND IT REACTED WITH IRRITATION. THE RADICAL PARTY STATEMENT PUBLISHED TWO [redacted]

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AFTER THE MEETING OF THE ARMY GENERALS WAS PARTICULARLY UPSETTING FOR THE GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF ITS TRONG CRITICISM OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND MARTINEZ DE HOZ' ECONOMIC POLICY BUT ALSO DUE TO THE TIMING OF THE DOCUMENT'S RELEASE. VIDELA AIDES WERE FEARFUL IT WOULD ALARM THE HARDLINE GENERALS AND STRENGTHEN THEIR RESOLVE TO RESIST THE PRESIDENT'S PLANS. ACCORDING TO OUR PALACE SOURCE, THE PRESIDENT HAD A CAREFULLY DELINEATED GAME PLAN FOR BRINING THE ARMED FORCES AROUND TO HIS POINT OF VIEW. HE COULD NOT HAVE WON THE GENERALS' APPROVAL OF A POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN FEBRUARY, FOR EXAMPLE. THE RADICAL STATEMENT COULD HAVE UNDONE VIDELA'S SCENARIO, IT WAS ARGUED. IN ORDER TO CALM THE GENERALS, VIDELA AGAIN RESORTED TO THE COURT SYSTEM TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAD BEEN VIOLATED. HOWEVER, BY SELECTING A FEDERAL JUDGE OF KNOWN "DEMOCRATIC PERSUASION," IT WAS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION THAT THE CASE AGAINST THE RADICALS WOULD DIE A NATURAL DEATH. (INDEED, A NOT-GUILTY VERDICT WAS HANDED DOWN A WEEK AGO, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH STILL APPEAR DETERMINED TO CONTEST THE

DECISION AND THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR IN FACT FILED AN APPEAL.)

8. IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD REASON TO BE DISPLEASED WITH THE CRITICAL TONE OF THE COMMENTS FROM TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PARTY AND TRADE UNION QUARTERS WHICH VIDELA'S CALL FOR A DIALOGUE HAD EVOKED, THE CREATIVE IMAGINATION OF AUTHORITARIAN OR CENTER-RIGHT CIVILIAN ELEMENTS WAS NO LESS DISTRUBING. IN HIS N.Y. STATEMENT, EX-JUSTICE MINISTER AND "SEA" FOUNDING MEMBER JAIME PERIAUX NOT ONLY PREDICTED THAT THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT WOULD LAST 10 TO 12 YEAR. HE RESURRECTED THE "4TH MAN" THESIS BY REPORTEDLY ANNOUNCING THAT VIDELA PLANNED TO REMAIN AS PRESIDENT, ALTHOUGH STEPPING DOWN FROM THE JUNTA AND RETIRING FROM THE ARMY IN 1979. VIDELA WOULD DO BETTER, SUGGESTED PERRIAUX, IF HE ALSO GAVE UP THE PRESIDENCY IN 1979 AND HELD HIMSELF "IN RESERVE" SO THAT HE COULD LAUNCH HIS CANDIDACY AS THE FIRST CIVILIAN

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 03 OF 05 182150Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1385

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

PRESIDENT AT THE END OF THE PERIOD OF MILITARY RULE. PERRIAUX WAS IMMEDIATELY POUNCED ON BY OLD-LINE POLITICANS FOR HINTING THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEEK TO INCORPORATE ALL CENTER AND CENTER-RIGHT OPINION IN A SINGLE OFFICIAL PARTY TO FILL A ROLE SIMILAR TO THAT PLAYED BY THE PRI IN MEXICO. THIS IDEA HAD FIRST BEEN INTRODUCED BY "CARTA POLITICA'S" MARIANO GRONDONA BACK IN APRIL WHEN HE SUGGESTED THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL REORGANIZATION MOVEMENT ("MRN") WHICH, AS ONE ASTUTE POLITICAL OBSERVER CALLED IT, WAS NOT INTENDED "TO WIN ELECTIONS FIRST AND THEN GOVERN BUT TO GOVERN FIRST AND WIN ELECTIONS AFTERWARDS."

9. GRONDONA'S THESIS WAS DEVELOPED FURTHER IN THE JUNE 23 ISSUE OF THE FORTNIGHTLY MAGAZINE "CONVICCION," WHICH ALSO CONTAINED A DETAILED PLAN FOR GRADUALLY PREPARING THE COUNTRY FOR CIVILIAN RULE OVER THE NEXT 13 YEARS. BECAUSE THIS IS THE MOST ELABORATE STATEMENT OF AUTHORITARIAN (BUT NOT NECESSARILY ANTI-VIDELA) THINKING ABOUT THE POLITICAL FUTURE WHICH HAS APPEARED TO DATE, IT DESERVES SUMMARIZATION HERE. (SOME SAY IT WAS INSPIRED BY THE NAVY, HOWEVER, SEE HAB 8586 FOR THE OUTLINE OF A PLAN PREPARED BY AUTHORITARIAN GEN. OLIVERA ROVERE, THE ARMY'S SECREATRY GENERAL, WHICH BEARS SOME RESEMBLANCE.) THE "CONVICCION" ARTICLE FORESEES A FIVE-STAGE SCENARIO AS FOLLOWS:

(A) 1976-1979. DURING THE REMAINDER OF THE FIRST STAGE, [redacted]

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CHARACTERIZED AS ONE OF "MILITARY ABSOLUTISM," THE CURRENT GOVERNING STRUCTURE REMAINS IN FORCE, I.E. NO CHANGE IN THE MILITARY JUNTA OR THE PRESIDENCY. TOWARDS THE END OF 1978 THE NUCLEUS OF THE MRN IS TO BE FORMED.

(B) 1979-1982, A NEW MILITARY JUNTA IS TO BE INSTALLED IN 1979, BUT VIDELA REMAINS AS PRESIDENT, I.E. AS "THE 4TH MAN." ADMIRAL MASSERA DND GENERAL AGOSTI, ALREADY RETIRED, BECOME LEADERS IN THE MRN. SOME PARTICIPATION OF CIVILIAN ELEMENTS TO BE ALLOWED IN THE GOVERNMENT, PRESUMABLY SELECTED FROM THE MRN.

(C) 1982-1985. IN ADDITION TO THE INSTALLATION OF A NEW JUNTA IN 1982, VIDELA MUST STEP DOWN FOR ANOTHER MILITARY MAN FROM THE MRN LEADERSHIP WHO WILL BE PRESIDENT UNTIL 1988. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO COME FROM THE MILITARY.

(D) 1985-1988. THE JUNTA CHANGES AGAIN, BUT THE PRESIDENT SELECTED IN 1982 REMAINS, HIS PRINCIPAL TASK BEING TO ORGANIZE A REFERENDUM (TO TAKE PLACE IN 1986) REGARDING THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS. MAYORS AND CITY COUNCILMEN WOULD BE ELECTED IN 1987 AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATORS IN 1988 FROM LISTS DRAWN UP REPRESENTING VARIOUS CURRENTS OF OPINION WITHIN THE MRN.

(E) 1988-1991. ANOTHER JUNTA IS INSTALLED, HOPEFULLY THE LAST IN THE REORGANIZATION PROCESS. THE NEW PRESIDENT WOULD COME FROM THE MRN, BUT HE COULD BE A CIVILIAN. IN 1989 THE MRN

WOULD BE DISSOLVED TO ALLOW ITS MEMBERS TO REGROUP IN ONE OR MORE NEW POLITICAL PARTIES. POSSIBLY, IT WOULD BE SPLIT INTO TWO, LIKE AN AMOEBA, TO FORM THE START OF A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. ELECTIONS FOR MEMBERS TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS WOULD BE HELD IN 1990. BY 1991, THE AUTHORS OF THIS POLITICAL SCENARIO HOPE THE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05281 03 OF 05 182150Z

MILITARY WILL HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WITHDRAW QUITELY AND SLOWLY TO THE SIDELINES, LEAVING THE CIVILIANS PRESUMABLY FREE TO CALL PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND TO RUN THE NEW GOVERNMENT ON THEIR OWN.

10. AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE IN MONTEVIDEO JUNE 24 VIDELA APPEARED TO BE REACTING NOT ONLY THE THE TRIAL BALLOONS LAUNCHED FROM AUTHORITARIAN QUARTERS, BUT ALSO TO BE RETREATING FROM THE EXCESSIVE EXPECTATIONS AROUNDES IN PERONIST AND RADICAL POLITICAL SECTORS BY HIS CALL FOR DIALOGUE. SAID VIDELA, THE PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSED DIALOGUE WITH CIVILIAN REPRESENTATIVES WAS TO ENRICH THE IDEAS OF THE ARMED FORCES AS THEY WORKED TOWARD THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF BUILDING A "STRONG, STABLE AND MODERN DEMOCRACY." A "CIVILIAN-MILITARY CONVERGENCE," HOWEVER, DID NOT MEAN THAT THE ARMED FORCES SHOULD FATHER THEIR OWN POLITICAL PARTY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE DIALOGUE EXCLUDED NOT ONLY SUBVERSIVES, ECONOMIC DELINQUENTS AND THE CORRUPT, BUT ALSO "THOSE WHO EXCLUDED THEMSELVES BECAUSE THEY DO NOT SHARE OUR IDEAS." HE GRUDGINGLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PROPOSED DIALOGUE COULD BE CALLED "A POLITICAL OPENING," BUT NOT IN AN ELECTORAL SENSE. "WE ARE FAR FROM THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTIONS, WHETHER MUNICIPAL, PROVINCIAL OR NATIONAL," HE SAID. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, VIDELA DISCLAIMED CURRENT CONSIDERATION OF A "4TH MAN" THESIS, SEEING NO NEED TO CHANGE THE EXISTING POWER STRUCTURE. HOWEVER, HE HEDGED, SHOULD CIRCUMSTANCES DURING THE REORGANIZATION PROCESS SO REQUIRE, HE WOULD NOT RULE OUT NEW SOLUTIONS INCLUDING A 4TH MAN IDEA.

11. THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER INCIDENTS OF STATEMENTS ON THE RECORD WHICH FURTHER SUGGEST THE PARAMETERS OF, OR CONSTRAINTS ON, VIDELA'S CALL FOR DIALOGUE:

-- IT IS RUMORED IN POLITICAL CIRCLES THAT AT A RECENT MEETING OF SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS ARCH-HARDLINER GENERAL SANTIAGO OMAR RIVEROS OPENLY CHALLENGED PRESIDENT VIDELA'S PLANS, ONLY TO BE ARGUED DOWN BY III CORPS COMMANDER GENERAL MENENDEZ, A

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05281 03 OF 05 182150Z

HARDLINER WHO REPORTEDLY HAS MOVED INTO VIDELA'S CAMP. THESE REPORTS DO NOT MAKE CLEAR AT WHICH RECENT MEETING THE ALLEGED ENCOUNTER TOOK PLACE, BUT SEE HAB-8606 FOR A DETAILED REPORT OF AN INCIDENT AT A MEETING OF THE ARMY HIGH COMMAND ON JUNE 30 WHICH SOUNDS AS IF IT MAY BE THE SAME EVENT. (MENENDEZ, INCIDENTALLY, IS INCREASINGLY BEING TOUTED AS A SWINGMAN AND POTENTIAL ARBITER WITHIN THE ARMY.)

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 04 OF 05 182159Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 DHA-02 LAB-04 SIL-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 OMB-01
OPIC-03 /079 W
----------105792 182242Z /75

R 181751Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1386

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

-- THE DECISION TO OFFICIALLY HEADQUARTER THE MILITARY JUNTA AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS BUILDING LENDS THE IMPRESSION OF UPGRADING THE JUNTA VIS-A-VIS THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY. IT PARALLELED A RECENT DECREE PLACING LIMITS ON THE AMOUNT OF TIME THE EXECUTIVE POWER COULD HOLD UP LEGISLATION PROPOSED BY THE JUNTA'S LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY COMMISSION (CAL).

-- THE APPOINTMENT OF A PROTEGE OF PERRIAUX, DR. JUAN JOSE CATALAN, AS MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, GAVE THE IMPRESSION, PERHAPS ERRONEOUSLY, THAT VIDELA HAD MADE A CONCESSION TO THE CONSERVATIVE "SEA" GROUP.

-- ON THE SAME DAY THAT VIDELA ADMITTED IN MONTEVIDEO THAT THE

DIALOGUE COULD BE INTERPRETED AS A LIMITED "POLITICAL OPENING," INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY EXPRESSLY REJECTED THIS DEFINITION.

-- TWO WEEKS AGO THE ARMY ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE CALLING FOR THE AGING POLITICAL PARTY CHIEFS AND THE LEADERS OF OTHER KEY SECTORS OF SOCIETY TO TURN OVER THEIR LEADERSHIP POSTS TO A YOUNGER GENERATION AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONAL REORGANIZATION PROCESS.

-- DESPITE VIDELA'S DISAVOWAL OF THE "4TH MAN" THESIS, RUMORS [redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05281 04 OF 05 182159Z

CONTINUE THAT HE MAY STEP DOWN FROM THE JUNTA EARLY NEXT YEAR, BUT REMAIN IN THE PRESIDENCY. CURIOUSLY, SOME SEE THIS AS A SIGN OF VIDELA'S GROWING STRENGTH AND THE ASCENDANCE OF THE MODERATE POSITION IN THE ARMY. ACCORDING TO THE OPTIMISTIC VERSION, VIOLA WOULD REPLACE VIDELA IN THE JUNTA AS COMMANDER OF THE ARMY. HOWEVER, WE DOUBT THAT VIDELA WILLINGLY WOULD PERMIT HIMSELF TO BE SEVERED FROM THE UMBILICAL CORD WHICH TIES HIM TO THE ARMY COMMAND STRUCTURE WHEN THE MOST LIKELY CONSEQUENCE WOULD BE HAVING SUCH OPPOSING POLITICAL FIGURES AS "POPULIST" VIOLA AS ARMY COMMANDER AND JUNTA MEMBER ON THE ONE HAND AND EITHER HARDLINER SUAREZ MASON OR SUPPOSEDLY EX-HARDLINER MENENDEZ AS ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF ON THE OTHER. SEE PARAGRAPH 17 BELOW.)

12. THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER INCIDENTS OR MILESTONES MARKING MORE CLEARCUT POSITIVE GAINS FOR THE VIDELA-VIOLA FORCES IN RECENT WEEKS: THE APPEALS COURT DECISION RELEASING EX-PRESIDENT LANUSSE AND FORMER AIDES FROM PREVENTIVE DETENTION (PORBABLY QUASHING THE CHARGES AGAINST LANUSSE IN THE ALUAR CASE FOR GOOD); GOVERNOR SAINT JEAN'S TELLTALE PROTESTATIONS OF HIS DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN CONVICITIONS TO THE "NEW YORK TIMES"; THE JUDICIAL DECISION ALREADY MENTIONED IN THE MATTER OF THE UCRP STATEMENT, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO STIMULATE RENEWED POLITICAL DEBATE; AND ADMIRAL MASSERA'S SPEECH A WEEK AGO DECLARING THAT DEMOCRACY WAS BEING REBUILT "EVEN FOR THOSE WHO TORE DEMOCRACY TO SHREDS."

13. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE MODERATES OF "POPULISTS" HAVE MADE IMPORTANT GAINS IN THE ARMY OVER THE PAST MONTH OR SO, AND THAT THIS WILL ADVANCE THE CHANCES OF THE "DIALOGUE" VIDELA SEEKS. THE END OBJECTIVE APPEARS TO BE THE CONSTRUCTION OF A

FEDERALIST, REPUBLICAN AND PLURALIST DEMOCRACY TAILORED TO MEET THE DISTINCTIVE CHALLENGES OF THE ARGENTINE POLITICAL CULTURE--PERHAPS THROUGH SOME ADMISSION OF "CORPORATIST" PRINCIPLES. BUT [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05281 04 OF 05 182159Z

JUST WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VIDELA'S PROPOSED DIALOGUE AND WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS? FIRST OF ALL, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT ACCORDING TO ITS OWN PROPONENTS "THE DIALOGUE" HAS NOT YET FORMALLY BUGEN. IN ORDER FOR THE ARMED FORCES OFFICIALLY TO APPROVE THE DIALOGUE, THEY MUST FIRST HAVE A CLEARLY DEFINED POLITICAL REORGANIZATION SCHEME ABOUT WHICH THEY CAN "DIALOGUE" WITH CIVILIAN SECTORS. OUR READING OF HAB 8597 SUGGESTS THAT THE ARMY HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHAT FORM THE GOVERNMENT'S STRUCTURE SHOULD TAKE IN THE MEDIUM TERM, LET ALONE WHAT THE NEXT CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD LOOK LIKE. THE DRAFT "NATIONAL PROJECT" WILL NOT BE READY UNTIL NEXT YEAR--IF THEN. SECONDLY, EVEN ASSUMING THAT VIDELA IS DISPOSED TO INCLUDE SOME OF THE OLD TIME POLITICIANS IN HIS PROPOSED DIALOGUE ABOUT THE FUTURE, WE SERIOUSLY DOUBT HE WOULD RESERVE A PRINCIPAL PLACE IN THE FUTURE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT HE IS PLANNING FOR POLITICAL FIGURES INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH THE POLITICAL DISASTERS OF THE RECENT PAST.

14. WE TEND TO VIEW VIDELA'S CALL FOR DIALOGUE PRINCIPALLY AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVICE INTENDED TO CONVINCE THE ARMED FORCES TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF PLANNING THE BASES FOR FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. AFTER ALL, A DILAOGUE OF SORTS HAS BEEN GOING ON BETWEEN CIVILIANS AND THE MILITARY SINCE THE COUP--ACTUALLY SINCE BEFORE THE COUP. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THE ALL-IMPORTANT DIALOGUE OF THE FUTURE, I.E. THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CIVILIAN GROUP EVENTUALLY TO TAKE OVER FROM THE MILITARY IS A LONG WAY FROM BEING APPROVED BY THE JUNTA, NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT THERE ARE RADICALS AND PERONISTS SALIVATING IN THE WINGS WHO THINK THEY WILL BE INVITED TO JOIN THE CABINET OR OTHER HIGH LEVEL POSTS AS EARLY AS NEXT YEAR.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05281 05 OF 05 182209Z

Case Number: 200000044

ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 DHA-02 LAB-04 SIL-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 OMB-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1387

[redacted] SECTION 5 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5281

15. THERE COULD BE NEW SETBACKS FOR THE MODERATES' TIMETABLE. BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT MEETING OF ALL THE ARMY GENERALS SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST, THE HARDLINE GENERALS COULD STRIKE BACK AGAIN AND THE VIDELA "DIALOGUE" PUT IN THE TRASH BASKET. HAB-8606 SUGGESTS THAT VIDELA-VIOLA GROUP HAD CONSIDERABLY ROUGHER GOING IN THE HIGH COMMAND ("ALTOS MANDOS") MEETING OF JUNE 30 THAN IN THE GENERALS' MEETING A MONTH BEFORE. THE SUPPORT OF THE GENERALS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE 76TH GRADUATION CLASS OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY IS WHAT APPEARS TO GIVE VIDELA HIS DECISIVE EDGE IN THE MEETINGS OF GENERALS AS OPPOSED TO THOSE OF THE HIGH COMMAND.

16. A KEY CONSTRAINT ON THE DIALOGUE IN THE LABOR SECTOR IS WHETHER MARTINEZ DE HOZ' BECOMINC POLICY WILL PROVE SUCCESSFUL. UNTIL THERE ARE GREATHER SIGNS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY IT DOES NOT APPEAR LIKELY THAT HE WILL FAVOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, LET ALONE THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, IF HE HAS ANY SAY IN THE MATTER. MOREOVER, OUTBREAKS OF LABOR OR SOCIAL UNREST COULD PRODUCE DEMANDS FOR RENEWED AUTHORITARIAN MEASURES. ANOTHER POTENTIALLY CRUCIAL AND LARGELY UNKNOWN VARIABLE FOR THE MEDIUM TERM COULD BE THE NEW GENERATION OF YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS WHO HAVE BORNE THE BRUNT OF THE COUNTERINSURGENCY AND WHO PRESUMABLY HAVE AN INTEREST IN PREVENTING FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENTS FROM EXAMINING THE COUNTERTERRORIST METHODS USED TO WIN THE WAR. WHETHER THIS [redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05281 05 OF 05 182209Z

ELEMENT WILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL ROLE IN THE FUTURE IS STILL UNCLEAR, BUT SOME OBSERVERS FEAR THAT THERE ARE NATIONALIST AUTHORITARIAN IDEAS STIRRING IN THIS GROUP. E

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17 DESPITE VIDELA'S RECENT GAINS, THERE IS AN ACCOMMODATION PROCESS AT WORK WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES AND HE PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO COMPROMISE SOME ON HIS PROGRAM IN ORDER TO GAIN THE FULL ACQUIESCENCE OF THE MILITARY. NOT THAT WE SEE HIM WILLINGLY ACCEPTING THE "4TH MAN" THESIS BEFORE 1979 WHEN, BY STATUTE, HE MUST GIVE UP HIS POSITION AS ARMY COMMANDER ANYWAY. UNLESS THERE IS MORE LOGIC AND DYNAMISM BEHIND THE PRESSURE FROM ARMY HARDLINERS AND THE OTHER TWO SERVICES FOR NOT ALLOWING VIDELA TO WEAR HIS JUNTA AND PRESIDENTIAL HATS SIMULTANEOUSLY THAN PRESENTLY MEETS THE EYE, WE ARE SKEPTICAL THAT HE IS ABOUT TO CONCEDE ON THIS POINT--ESPECIALLY WHEN HIS POSITION OF STRENGTH WITHIN THE ARMY APPEARS TO BE ON THE INCREASE. THE AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL THINKERS HAVE MADE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE (OR DIALOGUE), BY PLACING A 13-YEAR OUTSIDE LIMIT ON MILITARY RULE. VIDELA PUBLICLY STILL REFUSES TO BE DRAWN INTO A CONVERSATION OF TIMETABLES, BUT PRESUMABLY HIS SCENARIO CALLS FOR A SHORTER TRANSITION PERIOD. (CURIOUSLY, ADMIRAL MASSERA ALSO MAY BE THINKING IN TERMS OF A RELATIVELY BRIEFER REORGANIZATION PROCESS (5-6 YEARS WAS THE GUESS OF ONE OF HIS AIDES), BUT THIS IS PRESUMABLY BECAUSE OF MASSERA'S OWN PERSONAL POLITICAL AMBITIONS.)

18. ANOTHER APPARENT DISTINCTION IS THAT AT LEAST SOME CONSERVATIVE/AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL THINKERS TEND TOWARDS A BRAZILIAN-LIKE POLITICAL SOLUTION WITH ARTIFICIALLY STRUCTURED GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES, WHEREAS VIDELA'S CIVILIAN AIDES CARTER MORE TO THE TRADITIONAL PARTY POLITICIANS (RADICALS, [redacted]

PERONISTS AND OTHERS). HOWEVER, VIDELA'S OWN GAME PLAN IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR ON THIS POINT. THE CURRENT POLITICAL LEADERS DO NOT INSPIRE MUCH CONFIDENCE IN IMILITARY RANKS AND VIDELA MAY BE FORCED TO STRETCH OUT HIS REORGANIZATION SCENARIO. SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS COULD INTERRUPT THE MILITARY CYCLE AS THEY HAVE THE OTHER ARGENTINE IMILITARY GOVERNMENTS OF THE RECENT PAST, REQUIRING A HASTY TRANSFER OF POWER ONCE AGAIN TO THE POLITICIANS. HOWEVER, OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE PREDOMINANT MOOD IN THE ARMED FORCES AT PRESENT IS IN FAVOR OF A LONGER RATHER THAN A SHORTER GESTATION PERIOD, NOTWITHSTANDING VIDELA'S RELATIVELY STRONGER POSITION.

19. IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE AT THIS POINT HOW EVEN VIDELA HIMSELF FORESEES DEVELOPING "THE DIALOGUE" INTO SOME NEW POLITICAL FORMULATION--AND IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT THE OUTCOME OF A PROCESS WHICH INVOLVES THE WILL OF SO MANY DISPARATE GROUPS AND THE AMBITIONS OF MANY POWERFUL MEN. WE BELIEVE THAT IF VIDELA CAN SUCCEED IN PRESENTING HIMSELF AS A MODERATOR DEVOID OF PERSONAL AMIBITION, HAVING ONLY NATIONAL INTERESTS IN MIND, THEN A USEFUL "DIALOGUE" CAN BE INITIATED WHICH AT THE LEAST WILL PROVIDE A CLIMATE IN WHICH CIVILIAN POLITICIANS, MILITARY POWER SEEKERS AND BROKERS, INSTITUTIONS AND INTEREST GROUPS CAN EXPRESS THEMSELVES AND EXPECT AT LEAST A RESPECTFUL AUDIENCE. "DIALOGUE" MAY TURN OUT TO BE NOTHING MORE THAN A USEFUL RUBRIC TO COVER "POLITICAL VENTILATION"--BUT THIS IS, AFTER ALL A PROCESS BADLY NEEDED IN ARGENTINA JUST NOW. IF, HOWEVER, VIDELA CAN CONTROL THE DIALOGUE PROCESS FOR SUFFICIENT TIME, AND IF HE CAN SUCCEED IN ACCOMMODATING WITHIN THE PROCESS THE WISDOM OF THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS AS WELL AS THEIR POLITICAL APPETITES, THEN IT APPEARS POSSIBLE TO US THAT REAL BASIC CHANGE COULD RESULT.
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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05303 182140Z
ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SS-14 SSO-00
INR-05 INRE-00 CIAE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 /036 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1394

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR, PDIP
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA

LIMDIS

REF: STATE 162292

1. ALL OF US HERE WHO HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NOTING ARGENTINE PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE, AND THOSE IN MISSION WHO HAVE THE BEST MEANS OF OBSERVING THE ARGENTINE WAR AGAINST THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT, HAVE GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO REFTEL AND TO POSSIBLE EFFECTS SOME STATEMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL INTEREST AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF IMPROVEMENT HERE MIGHT HAVE. WE CONCLUDE THAT AN INITIATIVE INVOKING THE PRESIDENT'S NAME WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE AT THIS TIME. THIS COURSE IS, HOWEVER, ONE WE MAY WANT TO TAKE IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.

2. WE AGREE THERE ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS IN FACT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, AND ARGENTINE EXCESSES IN THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM HAVE DIMINISHED. IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO COMMENT ON A SIGNIFICANT SAMPLING OF THE 342 NAMES LISTED RECENTLY AS THOSE OF PERSONS RELEASED FROM CUSTODY HERE AND CITED BY REFTEL. WE CAN POINT, HOWEVER, TO KNOWLEDGE THAT THREE PRESONS ON THIS LIST HAVE IN FACT GAINED THEIR FREEDOM. WHAT INTERESTS US EQUALLY IS FACT THAT THERE IS INCREASING OFFICIAL RECOGNITION
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Case Number: 200000044

THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES HAVE OCCURRED. AS WAR AGAINST TERRORISM WINDS DOWN, IT APPEARS TO US THAT THERE IS BETTER CONTROL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THOSE OF ITS OWN FORCES WAGING THE WAR. WE FURTHER BELIEVE THAT GENERAL VIDELA AND HIS MODERATE MILITARY COLLEAGUES ARE GAINING INFLUENCE IN THE LONGER AND LARGER QUESTION OF WHO ULTIMATELY WILL RULE IN ARGENTINA. (SEE BUENOS AIRES 5281)

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS MUCH THAT DISTURBS US. DISAPPEARANCE OF EIGHT PERSONS FROM MAR DEL PLATA, ALL LAWYERS OR WIVES OF LAWYERS, IS A BROODING SCANDAL WHICH DAILY ATTRACTS MORE ATTENTION HERE. OVER WEEKEND EMBASSY WAS GIVEN NEW INFORMATION CONCERNING HARASSMENT BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OF RANKING UNION MEMBERS. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO FIRM DATA ON THIS, WE CREDIT STORIES TO EFFECT THAT AT LEAST FIVE LABOR UNION LEADERS HAVE BEEN THREATENED WITH HARM UNLESS THEY PULL OUT OF LABOR AFFAIRS AND, ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE, LEAVE THIS COUNTRY. THE GRAIVER AFFAIR APPEARS TO BE HEADED TOWARD A RESOLUTION WHICH WE FEAR WILL BE UNSETTLING FOR THOSE WATCHING HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS IN ARGENTINA. "LA OPINION" FORMER EDITOR TIMMERMAN HAS, WE ARE TOLD, BEEN RECENTLY TRANSFERRED TO LA PLATA WHERE HE IS AGAIN BEING HELD INCOMMUNICADO AND AGAIN WE FEAR THE OUTCOME WILL BE DISTRESSING.

4. ALL THIS LEADS US TO HESITATE IN USING A PRESIDENTIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF AN IMPROVING SITUATION, LEST SUBSEQUENTLY WE DISCOVER THAT HUMAN RIGHTS GAINS HERE WERE ILLUSORY. CHARGE WILL BE SEEING MINISTER OF ECONOMY MARTINEZ DE HOZ TO QUESTION THE MINISTER WHAT ADVANCES IN HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCES ARE, IN HIS OPINION, WORTH OUR TAKING NOTE OF AND REPORTING TO OUR GOVERNMENT. CHARGE WILL AT THAT TIME TAKE NOTE OF SEVERAL "STRAWS IN THE WIND" WHICH LEAD US TOWARD ENCOURAGEMENT.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05303 182140Z

5. A DECISION ON ANY POSITIVE COMMENTS ON THE LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE SHOULD AWAIT THE REACTIONS OF THE MINISTER OF ECONOMY. CHAPLIN

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BRASIL05937

7/19/77

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BRASIL 05937 191251Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 IO-13 AID-05 OMB-01
TRSE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
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R 191205Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2820
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

[redacted] BRASILIA 5937

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM SREF BR AR
SUBJECT: ARGENTINE REFUGEES IN BRAZIL

DECONTROL

REF: (A) BRASILIA 5566 (B) STATE 163308 (NOTAL)

1. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE COMMENTS CONTAINED PARA 7, REF A, ARE VALID. AS WE POINTED OUT, REFUGEES UNDECLARED TO UNHCR WHO ARRIVE ON TOURIST VISAS OR ILLEGALLY AND TRY TO MELT INTO BIG CITY POPULATIONS DO RISK DISCOVERY BY THE POLICE AND, IN PRACTICAL TERMS, POSSIBLE REFOULEMENT. HAD TWO INDIVIDUALS DESCRIBED AS MONTONEROS REACHED UNHCR AUTHORITIES, WE DOUBT GOB SECURITY FORCES WOULD HAVE TURNED THEM BACK TO ARGENTINA, SURVEILLANCE HAD INDICATED THEY WERE PURSUING ACTIVITIES AGAINST GOB OR GOA IN BRAZIL.

2. INCIDENT WAS REPORTED IN PRESS HERE AS DESCRIBED REF B.
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Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

From: Cyrus Vance

Subject: The President's Interest in Argentine Human Rights Improvements

After consulting with our Embassy in Buenos Aires as you requested on the President's behalf, we do not believe that this is the right time to use the President's name publicly in connection with the human rights situation in Argentina. An exchange of messages with the Embassy on this subject is attached.

The Embassy points out three recent, very negative developments in the Buenos Aires region:

-- Eight lawyers or their wives have been kidnapped at a sea resort near Buenos Aires; one has been murdered brutally. It seems likely that the security forces are responsible.

-- The publisher of the only major Argentine newspaper which has demonstrated consistent courage on behalf of human rights is once more being held incommunicado.

-- At least five labor leaders have been warned recently to leave Argentina. (Earlier this month a prominent Jewish leader fled to the United States after being threatened.)

With respect to human rights improvements, the Embassy has been unable to verify whether more than three of 342 persons were released by the Argentine government in June. We do not doubt that many more were released but note that on July 1, the Interior Ministry announced 114 arrests under the state of siege provisions of the Argentine constitution and only 5 releases for the preceding week. There is

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also no further information concerning the restoration of the "right of option", whereby state of seige prisoners may seek voluntary exile.

Our Embassy is looking further into these matters and we will keep the National Security Council advised.

Nearly all serious violations of human rights in Argentina are now taking place in the Buenos Aires military region. The commander of the region, General Suarez Mason, is a notorious hardline general, and viewed as one of Argentine President Videla's principal rivals for power; Suarez is seconded by a retired General, who acts as governor. These men are being held responsible by many for the latest round of violence. In fact, Argentina's most important newspaper, La Nacion, which has not distinguished itself on behalf of human rights, called unequivocally on July 18 for the Argentine government to protect lawyers from barbarism.

There are also signs that President Videla may be gaining support from other generals for a greater ventilation of political ideas with civilian leaders. This promoted Argentina's oldest party, the Radicales, to criticize the governments's human rights record. The Radicales were accused of engaging in politics by the government but rather than punish the politicians, the government took the case to the courts. The lower courts ruled against the government and the matter is under appeal.

We will remain alert for favorable developments, as the President has directed, to express his gratification. We do feel, however, that we need a more clear cut step to applaud, such as a court decision accepted by the government or the restoration of the "right of option".

Attachments:

1. State 162292 dated July 12, 1977.

2 Buenos Aires 5305 dated July 18, 1977.

Drafting: ARA/ECA:FERondon:jh
7/19/77: X 29166

Concurrences: ARA/ECA:RWZimmerma
D/HA: OJones (dra

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GDS

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CODIFICATION

SEX

F: FEMALE

M: MALE

AGE

INCASE OF UNKNOWN AGE USE -1

RELIGION

C: CATHOLIC

J: JEW

NATIONALITY

AR: ARGENTINE

BR: BRAZILIAN

CH: CHILEAN

BO: BOLIVIAN

PA: PARAGUAYAN

UR: URUGUAYAN

US: NORTH AMERICAN

CU: CUBAN

FR: FRENCH

PR: PERUVIAN

IT: ITALIAN

ES: SPANISH

GE: GERMAN

PORT: PORTUGUESE

FO: FOREIGN

SW: SWISS

POL: POLE

CO: COLOMBIAN

YUGO: YOGOSLAVIAN

U: UNKNOWN

AR BR Re Sure R
AL111 Emily
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to GOA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

80D177
Box 4855

CODIFICATION

UD:	UNION LEADER
UL:	UNION LEADER
LAW:	LAWYER
JU:	JUDGE
MD:	MEDICAL DOCTOR
NU:	NURSE
ACA:	ACADEMIC
PSY:	PSYCHOANALIST
SOC:	SOCIOLOGIST
TEA:	TEACHER
PRO:	UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR
WR:	WRITER
AR:	ARTIST
PRE:	JOURNALIST AND EVERYTHING FROM PRESS
MIL:	MILITARY PERSONNEL OR DRAFTER SOLDIER
PO:	PUBLIC OFFICIAL
ARCH:	ARCHITEC
TV:	TELEVISION BUSINESS
PR:	MEMBER OF THE CHURCH
FIL:	FILM BUSINESS
THE:	THEATER BUSINESS
EM:	EMPLOYEE
NDP:	PSYCHIATRIST
I:	ENGINEER
CPA:	ACCOUNTANT
FAR:	FARMER
W:	WORKER
BUS:	BUSINESSMAN
SC:	SCIENTIST
PH:	PHYSICS
U:	UNKNOWN

EVENTS

ARR: ARRESTED
DIS: DISAPPEARED
KID: KIDNAPPED
KILL: KILLED
TR: TRANSFERRED
CR: SANCTIONED WITH THE LOST OF CIVIL RIGHTS
PEN: UNDER THE DISPOSAL OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE POWER
HC: HABEAS CORPUS
EXP: EXPULSED
REL: RELEASED
RO: RIGHT OF OPTION
RAN: RANSACKED

COMMENTARIES
COM:

SOURCE
SOUR:

J218

<<<<.>>>>
[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05341 192213Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 SY-05 MCT-01 /067 W
----------120495 192220Z /63

P R 192127Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1421
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5341

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, AR
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF ARGENTINA'S AMBASSADOR TO VENEZUELA; BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE GOVERNOR'S SON ALSO REPORTED MISSING

1. BUENOS AIRES NEWSPAPERS NOTED TODAY JULY 19 APPARENT DISAPPEARANCE OF ARGENTINA'S AMBASSADOR TO VENEZUELA HECTOR HIDALGO SOLA. HIDALGO SOLA ARRIVED SEVERAL DAYS AGO FROM HIS POST TO ATTEND THE MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE JULY 22.

2. ACCORDING TO ONE OF HIDALGO SOLA'S FRIENDS THE AMBASSADOR LEFT HIS APARTMENT YESTERDAY JULY 18 AT 8:30 IN THE MORNING WITHOUT ANY FEAR OR PREOCCUPATION. HE WAS SEEN PARKED ON A MAIN AVENUE LEADING TO HIS OFFICE BY ONE ACQUAINTANCE. HIDALGO SOLA WAS AT THAT TIME TALKING WITH ONE OR MORE PERSONS WHO HAD PARKED THEIR FORD FALCON JUST BEHIND HIS CAR. HIS FAMILY PROFESSES NO KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO THE AMBASSADOR. THIS AFTERNOON'S PRESS REPORTS THAT OCCUPANTS OF THE OTHER CAR WERE "HEAVILY ARMED."

3. HIDALGO SOLA IS A LONG TIME MEMBER OF THE RADICAL PARTY WHO CALLED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO HIMSELF JUST BEFORE LEAVING HIS
[redacted]
[redacted]

Current Class: [redacted]
ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____
UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

POST THIS TIME BY MAKING SEVERAL PRONOUNCEMENTS CONCERNING ARGENTINA'S INTERNAL POLITICS. AMONG HIDALGO SOLA'S SEVERAL SPECULATIONS WAS ONE WHICH FORESAW A RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE "MUCH SOONER THAN ANYONE MIGHT EXPECT". DURING HIS BRIEF STAY IN BUENOS AIRES BEFORE HIS DISAPPEARANCE HIDALGO SOLA WAS AN OUTSPOKEN FIGURE ON THE DIPLOMATIC/POLITICAL CIRCUIT. AS THOUGH THIS MIGHT BE INSUFFICIENT FOR GAINING HIM ENEMIES, HIDALGO SOLA IS REMEMBERED FOR HAVING RECEIVED DEPOSED ARGENTINE TRADE UNION LEADER CASILDO HERRERAS LAST YEAR AT HIS EMBASSY IN CARACAS. HERRERAS, WHO IS IN EXILE ABROAD, IS ANATHEMA TO HARDLINING MILITARY ELEMENTS. IT IS ALSO CONSIDERED RELEVENT IN LOCAL POLITICAL CIRCLES THAT HARDLINE MILITARY ELEMENTS STRONGLY OPPOSED PRESIDENT VIDELA'S RECENT OFFICIAL VISIT TO VENEZUELA BECAUSE THEY SAW IT AS PART OF MOVE TOWARDS A POLITICAL OPENING IN ARGENTINA. A KNOWLEDGEABLE AND WELL PLACED SOURCE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT I CORPS COMMANDER GENERAL SUAREZ MASON MIGHT BE BEHIND THE AMBASSADOR'S DISAPPEARANCE SINCE THERE IS A LONGSTANDING PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO. HOWEVER, OUR SOURCE COULD NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ACTION BY UNCONTROLLED SUBORDINATE ELEMENTS IN THE SECURITY FORCES.

5. IN A SEPARATE AND PERHAPS COMPLETELY UNRELATED INCIDENT, WE HAVE HEARD ON GOOD AUTHORITY THAT ONE SON OF BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE GOVERNOR ST. JEAN DISAPPEARED FROM HIS HOME JULY 17 AND HAS NOT SUBSEQUENTLY REAPPEARED.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA

110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-8045

AL 110

B6

Mr. Mark Schneider
Department of State
Room 7802
Washington D.C. 20520

CASE SHEET

Washington D.C. 19 July 1977

Country where the human rights violation ocurred: ARGENTINA

Name of the Victim MARIA TERESA ALVAREZ Cubillos

Nationality ARGENTINE age 22 occupation student

additional identification PARENTS: FRANCISCO & CAROLINA ALVAREZ

Home:

Date of the violation NOVEMBER 17, 1976 Place of the violation HER HOME

Description of the violation AT 11:00 p.m. on NOVEMBER 17, 1976 FIVE INDIVIDUALS, WHO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS MEMBERS OF THE "COORDINACION FEDERAL" CAME TO THE HOUSE & TOOK MARIA TERESA. FIVE DAYS LATER, SHE TELEPHONED TO SAY SHE WAS ALRIGHT & WOULD RETURN IN A FEW DAYS — THE CALL WAS ABRUPTLY CUT OFF. ON DECEMBER 13, 1976, SEVERAL MILITARY PERSONNEL CAME TO THE HOUSE, INQUIRED ABOUT THERESA & SEARCHED THE HOUSE. UPON LEARNING SHE HAD BEEN TAKEN 4 WEEKS PREVIOUSLY, THEY LEFT IMMEDIATELY

Legal actions undertaken in regard to this case "father contacted different Governmental departments to no avail."

Response received Feb 1977 the GOVERNMENT SAID MARIA THERESA WAS NOT IN ANY JAIL OF BUENOS AIRES. NO REPORT ON WHETHER SHE MAY BE IN
Documents enclosed (if any) A MILITARY OR CLANDESTINE JAIL.

The present situation within the country where the victim's human rights were violated is such, that it is impossible to seek legal recourse within that country. It is necessary therefore to have recourse to international agencies with jurisdiction on human rights.

We have received direct information regarding this case from relatives of the victim and from eye witnesses. None of these sources can be mentioned by name because of the serious risks to them from the local authorities. For our part, however, there is no problem being identified as the source of information if you should determine that this would in no way harm the situation for the victim.

Sincerely,

80D177
B 2Y 4R55

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05340 192218Z
ACTION ORM-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 DHA-02 IO-13 VO-03 SCA-01
INSE-00 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 FBIE-00 NSAE-00 /032 W
----------120541 200215Z /72

R 192110Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1420
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5340

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR, CI
SUBJECT: ERNESTO BENADO AND MIRTA ATENCIA AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE ARGENTINA

REF: (A) 76 BUENOS AIRES 7429, (B) BUENOS AIRES 1094

1. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE. THE NAME OF ERNESTO BENADO REJOVITZSKY APPEARED ON THE JULY 16 INTERIOR MINISTRY LIST OF PERSONS AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE ARGENTINA. EMBASSY WILL CONFIRM THE DATE OF HIS DEPARTURE AND PROPOSED DESTINATION WHEN IT BECOMES KNOWN IN ORDER FOR DEPARTMENT TO REPLY TO PARTIES INTERESTED IN THIS CASE. (REF. A)

2. ALSO APPEARING ON THE LIST OF PERSONS AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY WAS MIRTA CHRISTINA ATENCIA. MISS ATENCIA'S CASE GAINED PROMINENCE LAST FEBRUARY WHEN THE SUPREME COURT ORDERED ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES EITHER TO PERMIT HER TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY OR RELEASE HER WITHIN 20 DAYS. (SEE REF. B) GOA DID NOT COMPLY WITH THE ORDER IN FEBRUARY, BUT APPARENTLY HAS AUTHORIZED MISS ATENCIA'S DEPARTURE NOW IN JULY. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.

3. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT: GOA'S AUTHORIZING ERNESTO BENADO TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY IS PROBABLY IN RESPONSE TO STRONG
[redacted]
[redacted]

Case Number: 200000044

INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE. BENADO, A NATURALIZED ARGENTINE CITIZEN, IS UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE BEEN AN ACTIVIST WITH THE EXTREME CHILEAN LEFT AND PROBABLY A MEMBER OF THE CHILEAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION MIR, WHO WOULD NOT OTHERWISE APPEAR TO BE A STRONG CANDIDATE FOR RELEASE OUTSIDE OF ARGENTINA. END CONFIDENTIAL.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 169483
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 /034 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON:JH
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA/MEX:HLANE (DRAFT)
ARA/ECA:RGRAHAM
ARA/ECA:SWALTERS (DRAFT)
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)
D/HA: (INFO)

----------005774 202214Z /65

P 202058Z JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] STATE 169483

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR, UY

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DECONTROL

SUBJECT: EXCELSIOR REPORTER MISSING

1. WASHINGTON OFFICE OF MEXICAN NEWSPAPER EXCELSIOR NOTIFIED ARA/ECA JULY 20 THAT ITS CORRESPONDENT IN BUENOS AIRES, FLAVIO TAVARES HAS BEEN MISSING SINCE EVENING JULY 17.

2. TAVARES HAD GONE TO MONTEVIDEO TO ASSIST IN RELEASE OF PASCALE GRAZIANO, WHO HAD BEEN UNDER DETENTION BY URUGUAYAN AUTHORITIES. AFTER RELEASE, HE DEPARTED MONTEVIDEO FOR
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 169483

BUENOS AIRES ON EVENING JULY 17. HE REPORTEDLY WAS SEEN

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Case Number: 200000044

BOARDING PLANE IN MONTEVIDEO BUT HAS NOT BEEN SEEN SINCE.

3. TAVARES IS BRAZILIAN AND HAS BEEN LIVING AS AN EXILE IN ARGENTINA SINCE 1967. HIS FAMILY IS IN BUENOS AIRES AND FEARS THAT HE MIGHT BE RETURNED TO BRAZIL.

4. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE WHATEVER INFORMATION ADDRESSEE POSTS CAN PROVIDE ON TAVARES' WHEREABOUTS. VANCE

[redacted]

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return to

W. Hill

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to
Date 1/25/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release____ Excise✓ Deny____
Declassify: In Part✓ In Full____
Exemption(s) B-1

DATE: July 22, 1977
TIME: 5:00 to 8:00 p.m.
PLACE: Shelbourn Hotel, New York City

SUBJECTS: 1) Cuban Oral Statement on Exile Terrorism
2) Cuban Oral Statement on Assassination Plots in New York
3) US Representation on Cuban Detention of US Vessels

PARTICIPANTS:

US	CUBA
Culver Gleysteen, Coordinator ARA/CCA	Nestor Garcia Iturbe, First Secretary Cuban UN Mission
	Jesus Arboleya, Second Secretary, Cuban UN Mission

DISTRIBUTION: S, D, P, INR, M/CT, NSC-Mr. Pastor, FBI-Mr. Graham, Customs-Mr. Muegge, CIA-[redacted] L, ARA

Mr. Garcia phoned me early morning saying he had some information he wished to convey urgently. He and Arboleya (whom I assumed to be a goon -- he drove me to the Shelbourn Hotel where they had rented a suite for the meeting. (The Shelbourn is known because Fidel was thrown out of it in 1960 during the stormy UN session -- when Khrushchev banged his shoe -- for cooking chickens in his room and then stalked off to a hotel in the Harlem.)

Garcia opened by saying that Cuban exile terrorists were planning actions in the next few days and he was instructed to make the following oral statement on behalf of the Cuban Government. Garcia did not offer to provide me with a copy of the statement, which was in Spanish, but he translated it slowly into English as follows:

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7/25/77:x29272

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Cuban Oral Statement on Exile Terrorism

In response to information provided by the United States Government about terrorist actions, it is in the interest of the Cuban Government to provide some data on hostile actions being prepared on US territory by Cuban-born residents, who say they have support of the CIA and FBI. They are based in Florida and the name of their organization is CORU.

According to the information of the Cuban Government these elements plan to make armed attacks on Cuba before July 26 — an important anniversary of the Cuban Government. These attacks will be made by three vessels and are being mounted from Miami and will be re-staged in the Bahamian Islands. The objective are on the north coast of Cuba — Camaguey and Ciega d'Avila provinces. Targets will be fishing vessels and merchant ships.

The principal executor of the plot is Armando Lopez Estrada, a US citizen - naturalized, who has confessed to having been recruited by the CIA in the 1960's. He is the military chief of the terrorist band "Brigade 2506". He heads a group of 15 men trained for para-military action during the time they used to work under CIA orders.

Other members of the group are "Gerra" -- the number 2 man. He is 5'5", white, 150 lbs. He is an electrician. He drives a white station wagon when engaged in his profession.

Santana, who participated with Gerra in the attack on Boca de Sama in 1971.

Victor, known as "El Negro", 5'8", thin, curly hair and black; used to work as a mechanic. Now works in Amoco Gas Station at 8th St. and 36th Ave. in front of the Datsun Automobile Agency.

Armando, known as "The Palestinian", 26 years old, white, 5'7" and having a strong constitution -- unemployed -- lives with his mother Prado Avenue, Miami. Identified as one of the masked men in Bill Moyer's CBS TV program "The CIA's Secret War".

Pineiro, 40 years old, 170 lbs, owner of gas station at 8th St. and 104 Ave., SW Miami. Owner of one of the boats to be used; it is regularly moored at a marina at 22nd Avenue and Miami River. The boat is 29' long. Has a V-8 motor, sonar, CB

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equipment, 33 c[illegible]nuel[illegible] color blue, with [illegible] mo[illegible] for a 20 mm cannon on the prow.

Pedro, 42 years. 5'6". 145 lbs, white, lives at 58th Avenue between Flager and Ist Street NW in Miami. He is the owner of another of the boats which is V-24 model, license FL 3717 AH, blue and white color, sometimes kept at home on a trailer.

The others are known as Mesias, Rapheel, Carmego, Juan Arce, Ivan, Rojas, Becera, Perez Noa, and Jurito.

The third boat belongs to Lopez Estrada. It is blue with a white stripe and has an inboard motor. Has navigational equipment and CB — the latter provided by the CIA through another terrorist named Gerra (Garcia said that the statement did not indicate whether this was the same Gerra mentioned above). Lopez Estrada says he received some money from Lincoln and Omar Babun, whose office is at 741 SW 131st Ave.

Dr. Enrico Huertas, Administrator of the Jose Marti Bank, has been threatened in the shake-down to provide funds by Lopez Estrada, on the pains of being removed from his position as head of the Cuban Medical College in Exile. In place of Huertas, CORU is threatening to emplace Dr. Eacas, whose office is at 27 SW and 13 or 14 Street and whose home address is 2640 SW 12th Street, phone 649-6837. He is a member of CORU.

The group has weapons: 15 AR rifles, 15 modified M-16 rifles, 2 M-14 rifles -- sport model, 2 30cal. machine guns of WW II model, and one 20 mm. cannon.

The group used to meet with Lopez Estrada at the Versailles Restaurant, 3555 SW 8th Street, phone 444-0240 or 445-7614 -- usual at noon.

The plans of the terrorists were approved by Roberto Carballo, President of Brigade 2506, who lives in a townhouse at Reparto Lagunas in front on 104 Ave; his office is 11th St and 72 Ave., NW. He participated in a meeting in Pedro's house in early July. Also present were Lopez Estrada, Gaspar Jiminez Escobedo, Gerra, and Pedro.

Training activities for these terrorist plots have been conducted at a location described as following: take 8th Street SW out of Miami to the West — cross on left -- turn left and see radar base of US Army — proceed for 4 miles on orad, turn right and proceed 2 miles on 197 Ave. and turn right and find woods belonging to The Everglades. There Gerra conducts training, using weapons, uniforms, grenades, etc.

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Gaspar Jiminez is the deputy to Orlando Bosch as Chief of CORU. He is a fugitive from Mexican justice for the assassination of the Cuban Technician ~~Peterenan~~ Diaz Diaz. He lives at 5250 SW 82nd Street in Miami. There are frequent meetings in his house for laying terrotist plots. Following instructions from Bosch — known as "El Medico" — the group plans to attack planes on the ground and in flight of Air Cubana and Air Iberia on flights between Madrid and Havana.

Participating in the above aircraft sabotage plots are Ramon Sanchez, known as "Ramoncita", Raziel Rodriguez and his brother, Reynold, who have obtained legal US documentation. They are coordinating plans for Operations in Spain, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. They plan to kidnap personalities from Florida, New York, Mexico, and Venezuela. They are trying to collect money by extortion.

Orlando Bosch has given instructions to his group to prepare terrorist actions as soon as possible against Venezuela and Puerto Rico, including Manolo Ledo, who came from Puerto Rico for that purpose.

In Puerto Rico, the terrorists have the support of Raul Varandela Estevez. As part of these plans, Frank Castro, known as "Cylindro Gonzalez", travels freely and frequently from Miami using commercial airplanes and false documents and transporting explosives. On June 14 he arrived in Caracas from Grand Cayman with a final destination of Caracas bringing 100 lbs. of explosives given to him by Antonio Veciano-Blank, known as "Toni". On this trip he used a Cessna 401, licensed in the US no. 6226. Explosives were given to Afredo Aguilar, who lives in Venezuela. This Ramon Sanchez is tying to kill a Cuban, Migule Angel Peraza, who testified in a trial against the terrorist Selacova, who was sentenced in Miami. There is a plot to kill Peraza. Participating will be Ramon Sanchez, his brother, Luis, and Pablo Sarduy, known as "El Gajacito". Sarduy has also been identified as one of the masked men who appeared in Bill Moyer's CBS show on Cuban terrorism.

The weapons to kill Peraza will be supplied by Jimienz Escobado and Duney Perez Alamoas, who lives next door to Jiminez.

Roberto Carballo, who apparently has left CORU and is known as an FBI agent, has frequent contacts with Jiminez. They meet in a blue Volkswagen, a ranchwagon, Fla. plates ID 111-852. The

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vehicle has a dent in the rear fender and is missing a signal light. These contacts also used to go to the Versailles Restaurant at 8th and 36th Ave. Jiminez — known as "Marcos" — is head of CORU in the United States. He is living freely in Miami, having broken out of a Mexican jail, where he was incarcerated for a crime. According to Jiminez' own words, he received protection and an alert from the FBI about danger to his own person about a plot that would come from the Cuban Government.

The FBI alerted Jiminez in April, 1977, 24 hours after he arrived in Miami.

Other terrorists connected with CORU are: Gustavo Castillo known as "Tzvo", Luis Sanchez, Juan Hernandez, Juan Ganzales, Antonio Eswuierdo, Francesco Guzman Pastrana, known as "Negro".

CORU has its headquarters for these actions outside the US in Jiminez' house, where it maintains a quantity of birth certificates from Puerto Rico, drivers licenses, and other documents obtained by Raul Varandelo Estevez.

In this house also live Victor Manuel Quesada and Carlos Manuel Molina-Alvarado, both of whom participate in CORU activities. A frequent visitor and participant is Ives Vidanas, head of Abdala in Miami, who has secret links with CORU and meets with its leaders in Jiminez' house and also on the second floor of a cafeteria at Flager and 17th Avenue. The heads of CORU are trying to contact rightwing societies and organizations in the US such as the John Birch Society and the Minutemen. Because of the Cuban policy of the Carter Administration they think it is necessary to find help in rightwing sectors which they consider their natural allies.

On Bosch's orientation CORU is preparing its people with fascist literature such as Hitler's Mein Kampf.

Other elements of interest are: Dionisio Suarez Esquivel, actually in jail. According to CORU, he has not testified to the D.C. Grand Jury about the activities of the terrorist organization because the brothers Novo San Pol have threatened to kill him.

The heads of CORU have received a statement written by Bosch in which he says he has nothing to do with the denunciation made to the Novo brothers related to the death of Orlando Letelier,

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making clear that Letelier was killed by the Novo brothers as a result of a brotherhood agreement with the Chilean Junta.

The author of the bombing of the Soviet ship in New Orleans was Frank Castro.

The Government of Cuba has given these facts to the Government of the USA in the same spirit and for the purpose of making more effective the actions announced by the Government of the USA to end definitely the activities organized and executed against Cuba and other countries by terrorist elements living on US territory.

Cuban Oral Presentation about Assassination Attempts in New York

The Government of Cuba knows that some counterrevolutionary elements living in the US guided by the Cubans Felipe Rivero Diaz and Eduardo Paz have decided to concentrate their terrorist actions in New York. At present they are trying to find explosives and means to assassinate Ambassador Alarcon and the secretaries of the Cuban UN Mission Hugo Yidra and Julio Torez Rizo.

We have obtained information that the killer of the Chilean ex-Minister Orlando Letelier belongs to the Movimiento Nationalista Cubana.

I thanked Mr. Garcia for the above information and said that it would be conveyed promptly to the appropriate authorities of the US Government.

Representation About Cuban Detention of American Fishing and Pleasure Craft

I told Mr. Garcia that I had been instructed to inform him about our concern over the recent rash of detentions of American fishing and pleasure vessels in international waters. In some cases these vessels may have been in waters claimed as a territorial sea by Cuba, but we believed that the methods of detaining and inspecting vessels were excessivly heavy handed. We had requested information from the Cuban Foreign Ministry through the Swiss Embassy in Havana and also an explanation about these incidents. We were aware that the Cuban authorities may have placed their coastal patrols on a state of heightened alert as the result of information the US Government provided to the

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Cuban Government with regard to the detention of these fishing and pleasure vessels which we considered unjustified and which has caused us embarrassment with our Congress and the US public.

Mr. Garcia said he would report this representation promptly to Havana.

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UNCONFIDENTIAL

Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

F-25-7

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PAGE 01 STATE 173497 6733 STATE 173497

ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-07 CIAE-00 /022 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ANO/V:UCSERGEANT
APPROVED BY ARA - MR. STEDMAN
ARA/ANO - MR. BARNEBEY
ARA - MR. DEVINE

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R 2919422 JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY CARACAS

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED STATE 173497

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, VE, CH, US

SUBJECT: DINA/CUBAN EXILE INVOLVEMENT IN LETELIER CASE

1. EUGENE M. PROPPER, THE ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY WHO IS INVESTIGATING THE LETELIER CASE FOR THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, HAS REQUESTED THAT YOU OBTAIN INFORMATION FROM PRESIDENT PEREZ ABOUT THE CASE. THE DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN HIS REQUEST.

2. DURING HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, PRESIDENT PEREZ STATED THAT HE HAD "GOOD REPORTS BUT NO PROOF" THAT LETELIER WAS KILLED BY CUBANS SENT AND SUPPORTED BY THE CHILEAN SECRET POLICE (DINA). IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, IT WOULD BE APPRECIATED IF THE FOLLOWING REQUESTS COULD BE MADE OF PRESIDENT PEREZ:

(A) WE WOULD LIKE THE REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT PEREZ HAS CONCERNING THE CUBANS SENT TO KILL LETELIER AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH DINA. IT IS IRRELEVANT TO US WHETHER THIS INFORMATION COULD BE USED IN COURT; OUR PRIMARY CONCERN AT THIS TIME IS SIMPLY TO OBTAIN THE INFORMATION;

(B) OFFICIALS OF THE VENEZUELAN SECRET POLICE (DISIP) SENT ROLANDO OTERO HERNANDEZ INTO CHILE IN EARLY 1976, FOR THE PURPOSE OF HAVING MR. OTERO ATTEMPT TO INFILTRATE DINA TO FIND OUT WHAT IT DOES AND HOW IT OPERATES. OTERO SUCCEEDED IN INFILTRATING DINA AND WAS ORDERED BY DINA OFFICIALS TO TRAVEL TO COSTA RICA IN FEBRUARY, 1976, WHERE HE WAS TO KILL PASCAL ALLENDE AND A FEMALE COMPANION OF HIS. OTERO DID NOT CARRY OUT THE MISSION, BUT HE DID REPORT THE FACTS OF IT TO THE DISIP. WE UNDERSTAND THAT OTERO WAS GIVEN PHOTOGRAPHS AND PERSONAL INFORMATION ON ALLENDE TO ASSIST HIM IN HIS MISSION. THESE FACTS ARE VERY IMPORTANT IN SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DINA AND ANTI-CASTRO EXILES AND ANY INFORMATION IN THE POSSESSION OF THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT ON THIS INCIDENT, OR SIMILAR INCIDENTS WHICH SHOW THE OPERATION OF THE DINA IN THIS AREA, WOULD BE OF GREAT ASSISTANCE TO THE INVESTIGATION;

(C) WHEN ASSISTANT UNITED STATES ATTORNEY EUGENE M. PROPPER WAS IN CARACAS, HE SPOKE TO DISIP OFFICIAL RIVAS VASQUEZ WHO PROVIDED PROPPER WITH CERTAIN HELPFUL INFORMATION. PROPPER HAS INDICATED THAT HE IS MOST APPRECIATIVE OF THE ASSISTANCE HE RECEIVED. VASQUEZ TOLD PROPPER THAT HE HAD A SOURCE AT THE CORU MEETING WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC IN JUNE, 1976. THAT MEETING IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THE INVESTIGATION BECAUSE LETELIER'S MURDER WAS DISCUSSED THERE. WE WOULD LIKE WHATEVER INFORMATION YOU POSSESS ON THAT MEETING.

3. WE SHOULD STRESS THAT ANSWERING THESE TWO REQUESTS MAY GREATLY ASSIST IN BRINGING ABOUT A RESOLUTION OF THE LETELIER CASE AND MAY HELP TO DECREASE THE ESCALATING AMOUNT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. WE SHOULD FURTHER STRESS THAT COMPLYING WITH THESE REQUESTS CAN IN NO WAY HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE CUBANA AIRLINE CRASH CASE NOW PENDING IN THE VENEZUELAN COURT SYSTEM. VANCE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLASSIFIED

7/27/77

AL120

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA

110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-8045

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

27 July 1977

MEMORANDUM

Re: Argentine prisoners

(This is a copy of a message transmitted to WOLA by a relative of one of the prisoners listed below.)

El seminarista franciscano JORGE EDUARDO MERINO fue capturado el 20 de abril de 1975. Tiene sentencia provisoria de 5 años y abogado dice que puede ser reducida a 3 años. Ya sirvió 2 años. Su familia quiere saber si podemos ayudarles a sacarlo de Argentina. Se encuentra actualmente en el Penal de La Plata, Unidad 9, Buenos Aires.

Junto con el se encuentran en la misma carcel un grupo de 10 sacerdotes que también han sido sentenciados a varios años de prisión. Ellos quieren que se les expulse del país "en bloque". Sus nombres son los siguientes:

HUGO ORLANDO MATHOR
GIANFRANCO TESTA
JOAQUIN NUNEZ
SILVIO MELANIO LIUZZI
ELIAS MUSSI - sentenciado a 18 años de carcel
JAVIER MARTIN DOCE
RAUL TRONCOSO
FRANCISCO GUTIERREZ GARCIA
LUIS LOPEZ MOLINA
JORGE EDUARDO MOLINA

Asistencia también está pedido para las siguientes personas que se encuentran sometidas a barbaras torturas en Villa de Votos en la provincia de Buenos Aires:
HORTENCIA ESPINOLA
SUSANA LIGGERA.
Ellas fueron capturadas como en mayo de 1975.

S0D.77
Box 4853

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA
110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-8045

AL 119

CASE SHEET

Washington D.C. 27 July 1977

Country where the human rights violation occurred Argentina

Name of the Victim Jorge Enrique Taiana

Nationality Argentine age 27 occupation Sociology

additional identification

Date of the violation June 1975 Place of the violation

Description of the violation Tortured by the police June 1975. Imprisoned since then presently in U9 Prison of La Plata, Buenos Aires. The torture resulted in complete loss of hearing in his right ear.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
~~U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS~~
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release (-) Excise (-) Deny
Exemption(s):
~~Declassify~~ (-) ~~In Part~~ (-) ~~In Full~~
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to
Date Declassify on Reason

Legal actions undertaken in regard to this case Writ of Habeas Corpus

Response received His location is now known. There are no formal charges against him.

Documents enclosed (if any)

The present situation within the country where the victim's human rights were violated is such, that it is impossible to seek legal recourse within that country. It is necessary therefore to have recourse to international agencies with jurisdiction on human rights.

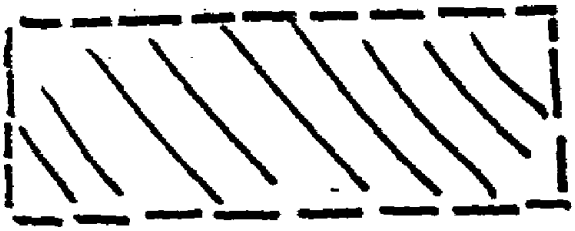
WOLA has received direct information regarding this case from relatives of the victim and from eye witnesses. None of these sources can be mentioned by name because of the serious risks to them from the local authorities. For our part, however, there is no problem being identified as the source of information if you should determine that this would in no way harm the situation for the victim.

Sincerely,

80D177
Box 4855

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA
110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-8045

AL 118



CASE SHEET

Washington D.C. 27 July 1977

Country where the human rights violation ocurred Argentina

Name of the Victim Jorge Alberto Taiana

Nationality Argentine age 65 occupation surgeon

additional identification

Date of the violation 5 April 1976 Place of the violation Buenos Aires

Description of the violation He was detained by the police and then taken to a ship under the custody of the Argentine Navy. He was then transferred to the Armed Forces Prison in Magdalena in Buenos Aires. Until now there have been no formal charges made against him, so no legal action has been possible.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

Legal actions undertaken in regard to this case

Response received

curriculum vitae

Documents enclosed (if any)

The present situation within the country where the victim's human rights were violated is such, that it is impossible to seek legal recourse within that country. It is necessary therefore to have recourse to international agencies with jurisdiction on human rights.

WOLA has received direct information regarding this case from relatives of the victim and from eye witnesses. None of these sources can be mentioned by name because of the serious risks to them from the local authorities. For our part, however, there is no problem being identified as the source of information if you should determine that this would in no way harm the situation for the victim.

Sincerely,

80 D 177

Box 485

DR. JORGE ALBERTO TAIANA

--Qualified physician at the Faculty of Medicine of the National University of Buenos Aires. He has an honorary diploma.

--1938. A fellowship to Europe to study thorasic surgery. He studied in London Dr. Price Thomas, in Sweden with Dr. Crawford, and in Germany with Dr. Sauerbrush.

--1942. A fellowship in Boston at Harvard University. He specialized in thorasic surgery with Dr. Churchill.

--1946. Director of the "Institute of Thorasic Surgery of Buenos Aires."

--1948. Professor at the University of Buenos Aires.

--1952. Dean of the Faculty of Medicine.

--1953. Rector of the University of Buenos Aires.

--1973. Minister of Education and Culture.

--Member of the Academy of Surgery in Rome, Madrid, Lyon and Mexico.

--General Secretary of the International College of Surgeons of South America.

--Vice-President of the International College of Surgeons.

--Member of the American College of Surgeons.

--Member of the Pan Pacific Surgical Association.

--He has participated in International Congresses all over the world.

--He has been invited by the International College of Surgeons to address surgeons from major capitals.

--President of the Association for the Promotion of Oriental Studies.

--Part of his medical research has included linking ancient medicine in Egypt with the pre-Colombian civilization.

Decorations include:
1952: Alfonso el Sabio of Spain
1953: Legion d'honneur of France
1957: Cruz of Balboa of Panama
1974: Eagle of Mexico

80D177
Box 4855

Case Number: 200000044

J231

R

<<<<.>>>>
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 176780
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 SCS-05 SCA-01 H-02 L-03
/028 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:DVANTREECK:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)
ARA/ECA:FERONDON (DRAFT)
----------126385 290146Z /72

R 281528Z JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 176780

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: CASE OF ARGENTINE NATIONAL, DR. CLAUDIO SANTIAGO BERMANN
REFS: STATE 271626 (1976), B.A. 7458 (1976), B.A. 00105

1. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WHICH MAY HAVE BECOME AVAILABLE ON DR. CLAUDIO SANTIAGO BERMANN. U.S. INTEREST: SON IS U.S. CITIZEN AND DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED A CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY FROM CONGRESSWOMAN PATRICIA SCHROEDER.

2. DR. BERMANN'S SON INDICATES FATHER HAS BEEN IMPRISONED IN A JAIL IN THE DISTRICT OF OLAVARRIA PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES SINCE APRIL 27, 1976 UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER. VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

AL123

7/28/77

July 28, 1977

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

TO : Ms. Derian

FROM : Ollie Jones

SUBJECT: Federico Alvarez Rojas

Patt:

Ms. Chalk of A.A.A.S. called on me with brother of disappeared Argentine physicist, Federico Alvarez Rojas today. He is one of 11 such scientists in Argentina on whom A.A.A.S. is seeking information. Five of these Mr. Kates is also interested in.

I asked Ms. Chalk to send by hand to me a note to you signed by the President of A.A.A.S. enclosing info on all eleven by noon tomorrow but without telling her why I want it. She will try to do so.

Attachment: Background Material

80D177
Box 4855

Case Number: 200000044

J229

<<<<.>>>>
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 ASUNCI 03082 281959Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 MCT-01 CIAE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 /025 W
----------121135 290402Z /23

R 281935Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0715

UNCLAS ASUNCION 3082

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PA, AR
SUBJ: INQUIRY REGARDING AGUSTIN GOIBURU

REF: STATE 176015

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

1. EMBASSY HAS NO RECENT INFORMATION REGARDING AGUSTIN GOIBURU OTHER THAN REPORT IN OPPOSITION NEWSPAPER "EL RADICAL" OF FEBRUARY 12-18, CLAIMING HE HAD BEEN KIDNAPPED IN ARGENTINA ON FEBRUARY 13. ARTICLE WAS CARRIED IN FEBRUARY 23 EDITION OF FBIS LATIN AMERICA DAILY REPORT, PAGE H 1.

2. WE WILL MAKE INQUIRIES TO SEE IF FURTHER INFORMATION IS OBTAINABLE AND REPORT ANY RESPONSE.
LANDAU

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

CP00028

Memo Presented on the 18 August 1977 By Dr. JOSE ANTONIO QUADROS of Montevideo, Uruguay, lawyer, former member of the Uruguayan Parliament, former Uruguayan ambassador to London, Paris and Bonn.

ANA INES QUADROS, born in Montevideo, today 32, divorced from Miguel Strauch, mother of three. Her parents: J.A.Quadros and Esther Herrera Méndez.

Since December 1973 Ana Inés was residing in Buenos Aires where she had to stay for political reasons and where she obtained permission to take up residence, was given a regular identity card and got a job.

In mid-July 1976 she was abducted in the streets of Buenos Aires, jailed, tortured and later brought over to Montevideo where her torments continued. The entire operation was carried out by the Uruguayan armed forces in cooperation with their Argentine opposite numbers. At this moment she is locked up in a concentration camp called "Punta de Rieles" near Montevideo. She is under military justice and lacks any possibility to choose her defense.

Two publications, viz. "Stern" of Western Germany (No.17 of 14 April 1977) and "Amica" of Italy (No.20,21 of 26 May) have devoted extensive articles on the specific case of Ana Inés. Other publications such as "The Sunday Times" (London, 27 March), "Le Monde" (9 April), "The Washington Post" (16 March), "The Morning Star" (24 March), "Excelsior" (Mexico,12 April), "El Día" (Mexico, 22 April), "El Universal" (Mexico, 2 April), have revealed the story as told by one Enrique Rodríguez Larreta Piera. This individual was among those kidnapped by the Uruguay armed forces together with Ana Inés but was released because apparently the armed forces feared even wider repercussions since he was kidnapped while on a visit from Montevideo to his daughter-in-law (also jailed) in Bs. As. and was thus not even a refugee.

Thereupon he left Uruguay and told his story to the world press as well as Anmesty International, The High Commisioner for Refugees in Geneva and the US Senate, at least.

His case is registed with the Human Rights Committee of the OAS under number 2155, and that of Ana Inés under number 2074.

No less tragic are the cases of the other members of the group, all absconded on or just before the 13 July 1976 in Buenos Aires, and listed on the enclosed sheet.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

80D177
Box 4861

Jose Felix Diaz Berdayes	
Nelson Eduardo Bean Bermúdez	
Leon Gaulberto Duarte Lujan	
Gerardo Gatti	(not reappeared)
Sergio Ruben Lopez Burgo	
Laura María Anzalone Cantoni	
Enrique Rodriguez Larreta Piera	(released)
Raquel Nogueira de Rodriguez Larreta	(Enrique's daughter-in-law)
Enrique Rodriguez Larreta (hijo)	(Enrique's son)
Sara Rita Mendez Lompodio	
Simon Antonio Riquelo	(Sara's son,40 days old on
María Mónica Soliño Platero	abduction,not reappeared)
Margarita María Michelini	
Raul Luis Altuna	
Aldeweiss Zahn Freire	
Alicia Alarcón	
Asilu Maceiro Perez	
Ana Salvo Lopez de Espiga	
Ana Inés Quadros Herrera	(subject of this memo)

(3) 14-16 8121/77

ARGENTINE COMMISSION for HUMAN RIGHTS

COMISION ARGENTINA POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS (CADHU)
Washington, D.C. Information Bureau

BH008

R

August 31st, 1977

President James Carter
White House
Washington D.C.

Dear President Carter:

On September 7th you will sign the new canal treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama. This treaty will be an important step forward towards the recognition of Panamanian sovereignty over the canal. For that occasion you will host the visit of the heads of state of most member nations of the Organization of American States. Among them will be those representing the worst human rights violators of our hemisphere, including General Videla with whom reportedly you will be having a personal meeting. We think this is an appropriate opportunity to share with you our views on the evolving policies of your administration with respect to Argentina.

Upon return from his visit to Argentina, Mr. Terence Todman, Assistant Secretary of State for Interamerican Affairs, was widely quoted by the world press saying that "violations of human rights have decreased" in that country, and that everyone he had spoken with believed that "there had been improvements in all areas." In addition, in a clear reference to the critical attitudes towards the repressive Argentine military regime prevailing in the U.S. Congress, Mr. Todman affirmed that some in the U.S. had a "distorted view of Argentine reality" and that the press was to be partially blamed for this situation.

Amnesty International, and the International Commission of Jurists as well as the United States' Department of State and the United States Embassy in Buenos Aires are well aware of the long list of human rights violations which have taken place in Argentina in the period immediately preceding Mr. Todman's visit to that country. Furthermore, contrary to Mr. Todman's statements to the press, opposition to the military regime of General Videla has been steadily growing in recent months. On June 4th, for example, leading members of the Radical Civic Union Party, some of whom met with Mr. Todman, made public a statement criticising explicitly all aspects of the military regime's policies. Five other political parties representing together over 80% of the electorate are currently discussing ways of promoting a prompt return to constitutional rule. In addition, some of the trade unionists who met with Mr. Todman had chosen only weeks before, not to be identified with the military regime by refusing to participate in the Argentine official delegation to the International Labor Organization's convention in Geneva, thus denouncing the total disregard for internationally recognized trade union rights in Argentina.

In short, Mr. Todman's public comments on Argentina are misleading

81P93
(51/52)

P.O. Box 2635 • Washington, D.C. 20013 • (202) 296-8340

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

because there is in fact no indication of any significant improvement in the human rights situation in Argentina, and because representative democratic political figures are now expressing openly, within the limits imposed by the repression, their disapproval of the military regime's political, economic, trade union and human rights policies. Mr. Todman's criticisms of the press are particularly unfair considering that journalists in Argentina have been severely victimized by the regime, and that members of the foreign press corp have often risked their jobs and their lives attempting to report accurately on the brutalities committed by the Argentine Armed Forces. These misrepresentations can only favor the resurgence of a U.S. policy conciliatory with the repressive military regimes of Latin America — a policy throughly discredited among the peoples of the world and the people of the United States.

The Washington Post of August 30 reports that in recent weeks the Argentine government has begun an ambitious public relations offensive in an attempt to change their international image which includes "a reputation for institutionalized repression, political imprisonment and torture that has brought them both verbal and economic sanctions." In this context your upcoming meeting with General Videla acquires special significance. Interested parties in the U.S. and particularly in those countries ruled by discredited and diplomatically isolated regimes, will attempt to portray your hosting and meeting with the Latin American dictators as an expression of tacit support for their past and current policies, as well a departure from your stated intentions on human rights. A week before your scheduled meetings with General Videla, the government controlled press in Argentina is already depicting this event as a significant diplomatic achievement of the military regime. We fear, Mr. President, that unless you explicitly and publicly disassociate yourself from the dictatorial and brutal practices of some of your guests you may, in the eyes of the world, be lastingly identified with them.

Therefore, in view of the above and deeply concerned about the damage being done to the cause of human rights and democratic liberties in Argentina in particular, and in the Americas in general, we recommend that you consider the following suggestions.

During your meeting with General Videla put forth specific basic requests whose fulfillment should become your administration's known and publicized basic criteria for evaluating whether or not there is any progress in the Argentine situation. These requests should be:

- to make public a complete list of all political prisoners held, including those "disappeared persons" presumed to be held in concentration camps around the country, the charges against them, and their places of detention.

- to restore and respect the constitutional right of prisoners held under State of Siege regulations to leave Argentina for the country of their choice

- to grant former President Dr. Hector Campora, who sought asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Buenos Aires 16 months ago, the safe-conduct to leave Argentina as he has requested.

- to thoroughly investigate the abduction and possible murder of Dr. Hidalgo Sola, Argentine Ambassador to Venezuela, to prosecute and punish those responsible for this action.

We also recommend that you address the issue exemplified by Mr. Todman's recent statements by instructing the Bureau of Interamerican Affairs of the Department of State, as well as all other branches of your administration, to depict accurately the political and human rights situation in Argentina, and to make known to the American people the information available to the U.S. government on human rights violations in Argentina.

Hoping that these recommendations contribute to the restoration of democracy in our hemisphere, and to the freedom and wellbeing of our peoples, I remain,

Horacio D. Lofredo

UNCLASSIFIED Department of State TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 06326 01 OF 02 252140Z 2282

ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /006 W

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R 251930Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1935

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 6326

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652:XGDS-2, AND 4
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: INTERIOR MINISTER SEES JACOBO TIMERMAN; CONGRESSMAN GILMAN ALSO PERMITTED INTERVIEW WITH TIMERMAN

REF: BUENOS AIRES 6173; BUENOS AIRES 6137

1. SUMMARY. CONGRESSMAN GILMAN'S RECENT MEETING WITH TIMERMAN IS SUMMARIZED BELOW. THERE IS ALSO CONTAINED A SUMMARY OF AN ALLEGED CONFESSION MADE BY TIMERMAN DURING HIS CAPTIVITY. UNDER GROUND RULES ESTABLISHED BY THE GOA, MR. GILMAN AGREED NOT TO GIVE ANY PUBLICITY TO HIS MEETING. THE DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS MESSAGE WOULD PLACE TIMERMAN IN IMMEDIATE JEOPARDY AND COULD ALSO ADVERSELY AFFECT US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING THE VISIT OF CODEL YATRON TO BUENOS AIRES, AUGUST 17-20, REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN GILMAN ASKED FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS FOR PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW JACOBO TIMERMAN, THE PUBLISHER OF "LA OPINION" UNTIL HIS ARREST LAST APRIL IN CONNECTION WITH THE GRAIVER INVESTIGATION. UNTIL NOW THE ONLY INDIVIDUALS ALLOWED TO VISIT TIMERMAN HAVE BEEN CLOSE FAMILY MEMBERS AND HIS R-[illegible] (WHO IS A UNITED STATES CITIZEN). WITHIN 24 HOURS OF MR. GILMAN'S REQUEST, THE FOREIGN MINISTER OBTAINED A GOVERNMENT DECISION TO PERMIT A CONFIDENTIAL INTERVIEW WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE EVENING OF AUGUST 18 IN GOVERNMENT HOUSE. MR. GILMAN INTERVIEWED TIMERMAN IN THE PRESENCE OF A FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL AND AN EMBOFF. AS A PRECONDITION FOR THE INTERVIEW, MR. GILMAN AGREED TO GROUND RULES LAID DOWN BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT HE WOULD NOT PUBLICIZE THE MEETING OR THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CONVERSATION. ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS, HOWEVER, THE CONGRESSMAN WAS AUTHORIZED TO INFORM "HIS COLLEAGUES," WHICH LATER WAS DEFINED TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCE BELIEVED THAT PRESIDENT VIDELA WAS AWARE OF THE DECISION TO PERMIT THE INTERVIEW, BUT IT WAS BEING HELD CLOSELY WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT.

3. TIMERMAN WALKED UNHANDCUFFED AND ALONE INTO A ROOM WHERE HIS VISITORS WERE WAITING. HE CONVERSED WITH THE CONGRESSMAN IN ENGLISH. HE WAS DRESSED IN CASUAL STREET CLOTHES AND AN OLD SPORT JACKET WHICH APPEARED TO BE HIS OWN. HIS MANNER WAS SUBDUED, BUT HE APPEARED TO BE REMARKABLY IN CONTROL OF HIS MENTAL FACULTIES. IN FACT, HE DEMONSTRATED CONSIDERABLE ACUITY AND WIT AND HIS CONVERSATION WAS LACED WITH BITTERSWEET IRONY AT TIMES. EXCEPT FOR A DISCOLORED (BLACK) SKIN AREA UNDER ONE FINGERNAIL, THERE WAS NO OUTWARD SIGN OF BRUISES.

4. MR. GILMAN ASKED HOW HE WAS BEING TREATED AND HOW HE WAS FEELING. TIMERMAN REPLIED THAT A PRISONER IN HIS CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD NOT ANSWER THAT KIND OF A QUESTION, BUT HE WAS ALRIGHT NOW -- WITH EMPHASIS ON THE "NOW". HE SAID HE HAD LOST WEIGHT, WHICH WAS A MIXED BLESSING. HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE SUBSTANTIALLY UNDERWEIGHT, BUT IT IS

BUENOS 06326 01 OF 02 252140Z

POSSIBLE THAT HE HAS BEEN GAINING AGAIN IN RECENT WEEKS AS A RESULT OF IMPROVED TREATMENT.

5. TIMERMAN SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHY HE WAS BEING HELD AS NO FORMAL CHARGES HAD BEEN LODGED AGAINST HIM. HE HAD NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO SEE THE MILITARY JUDGE'S INVESTIGATING REPORT, WHICH WAS SECRET. FROM THE NATURE OF THE QUESTIONS ASKED OF HIM, HOWEVER, THE MILITARY OFFICIAL'S HANDLING OF THE INVESTIGATION HAD NO SOURCE OF COMFORT FOR M.M. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL, ADMITTING THAT HE TOO HAD NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO SEE THE PRELIMINARY JUDICIAL REPORT, STATED THAT ACCORDING TO COMMON KNOWLEDGE MR. TIMERMAN WAS SUSPECTED OF "ECONOMIC SUBVERSION" IN CONNECTION WITH THE GRAIVER AFFAIR. THE OFFICIAL DOUBTED THAT TIMERMAN COULD BE GRANTED THE RIGHT OF OPTION OF SELF-EXILE ABROAD AS HIS CASE HAD NOW IN THE JUDICIAL PROCESS. TIMERMAN SAID HIS INTERROGATORS NEVER ONCE ASKED HIM ABOUT GRAIVER. INSTEAD, THE BULK OF THE QUESTIONS HAD TO DO WITH A PRESUMED WORLD JEWISH CONSPIRACY AGAINST ARGENTINA. HE WAS TOLD THAT SOVIET PREMIER KOSYGIN WAS A JEW. HIS INTERROGATORS ASKED WHAT HE KNEW ABOUT

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): ___
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SECRET MEETINGS BETWEEN ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER BEGUIN AND THE MONTONEROS AND A SECRET PLAN OF "THE ELDERS OF ZION" (IN THE LAST CENTURY) TO TAKE OVER PATAGONIA ("PLAN ANDINA"). AT ONE TIMERMAN SAID HE ALMOST GIVE IN TO TEMPTATION TO PLAY ALONG WITH THE ANTISEMITIC PARANOIA OF HIS CAPTORS AND INVENT A STORY ABOUT SECRET MEETINGS OF THE "ELDERS OF ZION" IN ARGENTINA. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT HE HAD ASKED HIS JAILER, A SIMPLE MAN, WHICH WAS THE EAST WALL OF HIS TINY PRISON CELL SO THAT HE COULD SAY HIS DAILY PRAYERS, BUT THIS INFORMATION LUDICROUSLY WAS DENIED ON SECURITY GROUNDS.

5. TIMERMAN WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO EXPLAIN TO THE CONGRESSMAN THE GOVERNMENT'S NEED TO TAKE EXTRAORDINARY ACTION AGAINST TERRORIST SUBVERSION AND ASKED FOR THE CONGRESSMAN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE SUBVERSIVE THREAT FACING THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT WHEN IT TOOK POWER. TIMERMAN SAID HE WAS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE VIDELA ADMINISTRATION AND HOPED THAT THE U.S. WOULD DO EVERYTHING IT COULD TO SUPPORT VIDELA. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS AT TIMES NAIVELY HAD APPROACHED THE ARGENTINE QUESTION AND RECALLED THAT HE HAD OFFERED LATE LAST YEAR TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE FRASER SUBCOMMITTEE ABOUT THE TERRORIST CONNECTIONS OF GUSTAVO ROSA AND CARLOS MACEDA, WHOSE TESTIMONY FRASER HAD TAKEN EARLIER. SHAKING HIS HEAD SADLY, "LOOK WHAT HAPPENS TO A MAN WHO WAS TRYING TO DEFEND THE GOVERNMENT," HE SAID.

6. TIMERMAN WAS VERY GRATEFUL FOR MR. GILMAN'S EFFORT TO SEE HIM AND ALSO FOR MS. DEFIANT'S INTEREST IN HIS WELFARE. GILMAN EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT JUSTICE WOULD BE DONE IN THE TIMERMAN CASE, IMPRESSING UPON THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL THAT TIMERMAN'S CAPTIVITY HAD EARNED ARGENTINA ENORMOUS NEGATIVE PUBLICITY ABROAD. TIMERMAN WAS THEN ESCORTED WITHOUT HANDCUFFS TO A JEEP WAITING OUTSIDE AND DRIVEN AWAY.

7. COMMENT: WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT TIMERMAN MAY HAVE BEEN GIVEN SOME COACHING BEFORE THE MEETING, THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE. TIMERMAN DID NOT SAY ANYTHING WITH RESPECT TO U.S. POLICY AND THE NEED TO SUPPORT THE MODERATE VIDELA FORCES THAT HE HAD NOT SAID BEFORE PUBLICLY IN HIS OWN NEWSPAPER WHEN HE WAS A FREE MAN. GOVERNMENT'S MOTIVE IN ARRANGING THE INTERVIEW APPARENTLY WAS TO APPEAR TO BE RESPONSIVE TO A PRESUMABLY FRIENDLY U.S. CONGRESSMAN WHO OPPOSED SANCTIONS AGAINST ARGENTINA AND WAS PERSONALLY WELL INFLUENTIAL IN AMERICAN JEWISH CIRCLES. ARGENTINES HAVE EXAGGERATED IDEAS OF INFLUENCE OF JEWISH THINKING ON U.S. DECISION-MAKING AND PURPOSE PRESUMABLY WAS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT TIMERMAN WAS IN REASONABLY GOOD HEALTH AND RECEIVING GOOD TREATMENT. NEVERTHELESS, AUTHORITIES APPEARED NERVOUS ABOUT HOW THIS MIGHT BE PLAYING WITH MASS OF MILITARY AND SO AVOIDED SENDING MORE PROGRESSIVE SPOKESMAN QUALITY TO THE EVENT. WE BELIEVE IT PREMATURE TO DRAW ANY CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE TIMERMAN CASE FROM THIS EVENT. END COMMENT.

8. EMBASSY ALSO HAS BEEN CONFIDENTIALLY TRANSMITTED A SERIES OF DOCUMENTS FROM NAVAL INTELLIGENCE SOURCES THAT WE ORIGINALLY WERE TOLD WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT TIMERMAN HAD CONFESSED TO BEING A COMMUNIST AND SOVIET SPY. HOWEVER, THE DOCUMENTS WE HAVE INSTEAD INCLUDE COMMENTS PURPORTEDLY MADE BY THE POLICE CHIEF OF THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, COL. CAMPS, IN A BRIEFING ON MAY 3, 1977. REPORTEDLY ACCORDING TO CAMPS, TIMERMAN DEFINED HIMSELF AS A MARXIST SINCE HIS YOUTH WHO HAD BEEN ACTIVE IN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS. HE ADMITTED PATTERNING HIS NEWSPAPER ALONG THE MARXIST LINES OF "LE MONDE". (SIC) HE ALSO ADMITTED THAT DAVID GRAIVER HAD PROVIDED ALL THE CAPITAL FOR THE NEWSPAPER AND THE PRINTING PLANT AND TIMERMAN ORIGINALLY HAD BEEN ACCORDED A 45 PERCENT INTEREST AS THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOR. ON THE DEATH OF GRAIVER, TIMERMAN ALLEGEDLY THREATENED GRAIVER'S WIDOW WITH DEATH UNLESS SHE TURNED OVER TO HIM HER LATE HUSBAND'S SHARES. HE ALLEGEDLY ADMITTED HAVING RECEIVED A $200,000 BRIBE TO WRITE A FAVORABLE STORY ON THE ALUAR DEAL AND ANOTHER $125,000 ON ANOTHER OCCASION BY ITT. ACCORDING TO COL. CAMPS' REPORTED STATEMENT, TIMERMAN ADMITTED ALL OF THESE THINGS IN A SIGNED CONFESSION. ANOTHER DOCUMENT INCLUDED IN THE PACKET CITES MEDIA ARTICLES AS REPORTING THAT TIMERMAN HAD BEEN A MEMBER OF A COMMUNIST YOUTH FRONT GROUP IN 1942, HAD ADMITTED BEING A "LEFTIST ZIONIST," HAD BEEN FRIEND OF FORMER PERONIST ECONOMY MINISTER JOSE BER GELBARD WHOSE POLICIES HE UNCONDITIONALLY SUPPORTED IN HIS NEWSPAPER, HAD PURSUED A CONFUSED EDITORIAL LINE WHICH AT ONE TIME SUPPORTED TERRORIST SUBVERSION AND SUBSEQUENTLY ATTACKED IT AND WHO WAS A SELF-CONFESSED SUPPORTER OF EURO-COMMUNISM AS OPPOSED TO THE SOVIET LINE. THERE IS ALSO A HODGEPODGE OF OTHER CHARGES SUCH AS THAT HE HIRED WELL-KNOWN LEFTISTS AND ALLEGED TERRORIST SUPPORTERS ON HIS NEWSPAPER STAFF.

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8/31/77

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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AT032

August 31, 1977

[redacted]

TO: ARA - Ambassador Todman

THROUGH: ARA - Ambassador Stedman

FROM: ARA/ECA - Robert W. Zimmermann

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with the American Jewish Committee - Thursday, September 1 - 5:00 pm

Four representatives of the American Jewish Committee will meet with you Thursday, September 1 at 5:00 pm. Those attending will be Richard Maas, President of the AJC, Bertram Gold, Executive Vice President, David Geller, Director of Latin American Affairs, and Jacobo Kovadloff, who ran the AJC office in Buenos Aires.

The discussion will center around Geller's recent trip to Argentina and the growing concern of the Argentine Jewish community that anti-Semitism is increasing within the GOA. Geller told us that the AJC is especially distressed by the Reznizky kidnapping (the son of leader of the Argentine Jewish community was kidnapped and only released after his father had interceded with President Videla) and the Timerman case (Timerman told Congressman Gilman that he had been questioned about an international Jewish conspiracy). Notwithstanding GOA assurances that religious persecution will not be tolerated, the AJC is worried.

I have attached a cable on the Gilman-Timerman conversation to illustrate why this AJC nervousness may be well justified.

Jim Bumpus and I would like to sit in on the meeting if you have no objections.

Attachment: As stated.

Drafted:ARA/ECA:JNBumpus:jc

[redacted]

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INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICAL WORKERS
FEDERACION INTERNACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES PETROLEROS Y QUIMICOS
FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DU PETROLE ET DE LA CHIMIE
INTERNATIONALER VERBAND DER PETROLEUM- UND CHEMIEARBEITER

GEORGE SACRE
PRESIDENT

CURTIS J. HOGAN
GENERAL SECRETARY

CABLE ADDRESS: I F P C W DENVER, COLORADO, U.S.A

P.O. Box 6603

DENVER, COLO. 80206, U.S.A

August 31, 1977

ACTION is assigned to ARA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
The Secretary of State
State Department of the United States
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

We draw your attention to a suppression of human rights in Argentina by the Military Junta in power of which the President of the Republic is a member.

We refer to the imprisonment of Sr. Diego Sebastian Ibañez, Secretary General of S.U.P.E. (Sindicato Unido Petroleros Del Estado) an affiliated free and democratic member union of this Federation.

The union (S.U.P.E.) has been "intervened" by the government and Sr. Ibañez imprisoned without charges or trial in the Penal de las Fuerzas Armadas at Magdalena, in the Province of Buenos Aires.

We request that you use your good offices to secure the release of Sr. Ibañez and further to this the restoration of free trade union rights in Argentina.

Your intervention is most urgently needed and will be most deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Curtis J. Hogan

Curtis J. Hogan
General Secretary

CJH/ljh

ANOMALIAS JURIDICAS DE PROCESOS Y CONDENAS A PROCESADOS Y CONDENADOS POLITICOS ENCARCELADOS EN CHILE

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I.- Proceso de la Armada. Causa 3926, caratulada "Contra Juan Cardenas y Otros", de la Fiscalia Naval de Valparaiso; Fiscal: Capitan de Fragata Victor Villegas.

a) Delito improcedente. La accion que realizan marinos y suboficiales es informar al gobierno constitucional de las maniobras golpistas y precaver de esta accion sediciosa (segun el art. 4° de la Constitucion Politica del Estado), que realizan oficiales sediciosos. Cumplian con su deber constitucional y patriotico.

b) Cambio procesal. Son detenidos el 6 de agosto de 1973. La acusacion que formulo el Fiscal en ese entonces, fue: "Incumplimiento de deberes militares". Segun el Codigo de Justicia Militar, esto significaba condenas que oscilan entre los 61 dias de arresto y 541 dias de prision. El cambio de regimen, impuesto el 11 de septiembre de 1973, significo un cambio en la acusacion, sin que mediaran nuevos antecedentes: "SEDICION O MOTIN FRUSTRADO".

c) Defensa dolosa y limitada. En general, la unica defensa posible, fue asumida por abogados del Colegio de Abogados, a traves de su departamento de Asistencia Judicial Gratuita, a traves de los senores Barraza y Neira. Estos abogados fueron nombrados de oficio por la Fiscalia Naval. Otra defensa era practicamente imposible por el temor y la persecusion.

d) El proceso.- Al centenar de marinos detenidos se les forzo a declarar bajo torturas. Desde el 13 de diciembre de 1973 al 25 de abril de 1974 fueron llevados al Campo de Concentracion de Riesco y al de Puchuncavi, donde debieron realizar trabajos forzados y vivir aislados. Fue imposible una defensa legal plena. Durante tres anos y dos meses, este proceso fue ilegal.

e) La condena.- La condena se formulo en terminos generales, sin especificar acusaciones ni cargos especificos, sin que los acusados lograsen conocer las acusaciones concretas formuladas en su contra. El asesor juridico del Juez Naval informo con mucha anticipacion a los familiares, convirtiendose la jefatura naval en parte, en un proceso que le correspondia juzgar. El caracter politico de la accion se evidencia en el hecho de haberse constituido los acusados - marinos, civiles y suboficiales - en defensores del gobierno constitucional. Los civiles involucrados en el proceso fueron condenados, ademas de la pena de presidio, a la inhabilitacion perpetua de sus derechos civiles y a no trabajar en la administracion publica. De este proceso, aun quedan como presos politicos:

1. Juan Cardenas Villablanca	condenado a	13 anos de presidio
2. Pedro Lagos Carrasco		8
3. Jaime Salazar Jeldres		8
4. Pedro Blasset Castro		8
5. Juan Roldan Beltran		8
6. Ernesto Zuniga Vergara		8
7. Sergio Fuentes Paredes		8
8. Hugo Maldonado Alvear		10
9. Hernan Pacheco Quiroz		11

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II. Proceso 830-74 de la Segunda Fiscalia Militar de Santiago

a) El procedimiento. La unica evidencia es lograda bajo tortura y amenaza de muerte. El Codigo Penal Chileno sostiene que la sola confesion es insuficiente como prueba acusatoria. Los acusados solicitaron que se recibiera, como medio de pruebas, las retractaciones por escrito al Juez, quien las rechazo de plano, desestimandolas.

b) Las condenas. Se aplicaron condenas maximas, para acusaciones que aparecen como verdaderos delitos impracticables, como es el caso de haber acusado a este grupo de opositores a la Junta Militar, de "poner en peligro la seguridad del Estado", probandose los medios requeridos para tal fin. Se rompio con la Doctrina Juridica de la unidad de la accion, que plantea que se condenen varias acciones antijuridicas como formantes de una sola accion y un solo delito. En este caso, por un lado se configuro el delito de conspiracion y subversion contral el gobierno de la Junta

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Militar, y por otro, se diferencio una de las acciones que constituyen parte del conjunto anterior, como son las acciones armadas de expropiacion.

La sola condena por conspiracion o subversion contra el gobierno, califica la accion como politica . Los prisioneros politicos de este proceso son:

1. Sergio Olivares Urtubia	condenado a 3 anos,	mas 5 anos
2. Jose Ovalle Canales	10	5
3. Valeriano Dinamarca	10	5
4. Hector Rivas Diaz	10	5
5. Sergio Monsalve Vergara	15	5

III. Proceso caratulado "Maltrato a las Fuerzas Armadas, causandole la Muerte"

a) Anomalias del proceso. La existencia de dos procesos con expedientes distintos. El primero, anterior al 11 de septiembre de 1973. En este se anexo el acta del examen de autopsia del oficial de ejercito muerto (Subteniente H. Lacrampette), en la que quedo constancia del grado alcoholico del oficial (48%) y de marihuana, tanto fumada como en especia, que portaba el occiso, con lo cual se explicaba facilmente el estado de intoxicacion del suboficial. En el primero constaba ademas, que el oficial disparo primero dos veces su arma de servicio, calibre 7-65. Dicha arma fue entregada por efectivos del Servicio de Investigaciones al Juez del 9° Juzgado del Crimen de Santiago, Sr. Albonico, en presencia de Jorge Soza Gil, uno de los inculpados, como parte de las pruebas del enfrentamiento.

Despues del 11 de septiembre de 1973, el 9° Juzgado se declaro incompetente y la IIa Fiscalia Militar tomo el proceso, cambiando el expediente, haciendo desaparecer las pruebas y evidencia de legitima defensa.

b) Revision dolosa del proceso . En septiembre de 1974, todos los implicados en el proceso fueron conducidos a la Segunda Fiscalia Militar de Santiago, donde el actuario les leyo la condena de 20 anos de Presidio Mayor a dos inculpados y 4 anos de presidio menor a otros tres. Uno de los inculpados es de nacionalidad mejicana y el gobierno chileno envio una nota a la Cancilleria Mexicana comunicando esta condena; de esto existe constancia en la Embajada de Venezuela en Santiago, a cuyo resguardo quedaron los asuntos diplomaticos de Mexico en Chile.

c) En febrero de 1975 se les comunico que las condenas no eran las que se les habian notificado, sino de cadena perpetua mas 3 anos de presidio para dos inculpados y de 15 anos de presidio para los tres restantes. Con este proceso, el gobierno Militar quiso ejemplarizar las acciones del "extremismo armado", sacando posteriormente afiches con sus fotografias, ilustrando esta tesis oficial: "que militantes de la izquierda se dedicaban a asesinar oficiales indefensos". La mayoria del pais se preparaba para defender a su gobierno ante los intentos golpistas ya conocidos. En esa preparacion legitima se encontraban estos prisioneros de guerra, cuya militancia politica la Junta Militar aprovecho como propaganda, desconociendo el hecho de la legitima defensa como atenuante de responsabilidad, y desconociendo tambien las graves alteraciones procesales, las que fueron totalmente arbitrarias. Estos prisioneros politicos son:

1. Jorge Soza Gila (ciudadano mexicano)	condenado a	presidio perpetuo mas 3 anos
2. David Quintanilla Digueno	" "	" " 3 "
3. Luis Save Lara	" "	15 anos de presidio
4. Carlos Garrido Oyarzun	" "	15 " " "
5. Luis Nunez Gonzalez	" "	15 " " "

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IV. Proceso 5-73 de las Industrias COMANDARI, CODECAR, DINAC, CORFO, INDUMET

La acusacion es por acciones armadas que se desarrollaron el mismo 11 de septiembre de 1973, en la zona industrial de San Miguel (comuna ubicada en el sur de la ciudad de Santiago), por obreros de las industrias, en defensa del gobierno. En estos enfrentamientos generalizados, murieron obreros y uniformados. El proceso estuvo a cargo del Comandante Roberto Sanchez.

a) Detencion y proceso. Fueron detenidos masivamente alrededor de 350 obreros de las industrias Comandari, e Indumet-Codecar. En estos enfrentamientos murieron carabineros. En los interrogatorios se busco identificar obreros y dirigentes responsables. El metodo para lograrlo fue la aplicacion generalizada de la tortura, en la XII Comisaria de Carabineros (ubicada en San Miguel), Regimiento Tacna, Estadio Chile, Estadio Nacional. Ocho trabajadores de INDUMET fueron fusilados.

b) La condena. El fiscal de la Segunda Fiscalia Militar de Santiago, no logro establecer autoria directa material, por lo que se baso en la presuncion de responsabilidad de los que tienen "mayor nivel intelectual". Se les acuso de ser los autores intelectuales de los enfrentamientos, de la muerte de los carabineros. Y esta presuncion se establece en circunstancias que:

- en cada zona industrial se desarrollaron multiples enfrentamientos;
- la unica consideracion del Fiscal, es buscar alguien responsable de los hechos cualesquiera sea su condicion;

Es muy dificil en una zona, donde pelean cientos de obreros, lograr la identificacion de un grupo, los autores intelectuales; la legitimidad de la accion de los trabajadores de San Miguel que luchan por su gobierno, defienden sus industrias ante el asalto de fuerzas sediciosas, es absolutamente valido. Los prisioneros politicos de este proceso son:

1. German Navarrete Carrillo condenado a cadena perpetua
2. Mario Ruiz Solis " " " "

V. Proceso FACH 1-73, "Contra Bachelet y Otros"

Se inicio el 16 de septiembre de 1973. El Fiscal fue el General de Aviacion Orlando Gutierrez, e involucro a miembros de la institucion, acusados de presuntas actividades politicas en favor del gobierno constitucional.

a) Anomalias del proceso.

- se usan como pruebas solamente declaraciones de los inculpados (autoincul-pacion);
- la casi totalidad de las declaraciones son logradas bajo tortura;
- los abogados de aproximadamente 70 procesados, solo tienen acceso al expediente, que posee mas de 2,000 fojas, solo por cinco dias.
- las defensas deben ser presentadas a una censura previa, ante el Consejo de Guerra, el que elimina aquellas partes que no son de su agrado.
- los abogados fueron acusados, llegandose incluso a su detencion.

b) Sobre el Delito y la Condena.- El procedimiento juridico del sumario se baso en la premisa de la existencia del Estado de Guerra con anterioridad al dia 11 de septiembre de 1973; sin establecer la fecha de su iniciacion, se hace aplicacion retroactiva de la disposicion que establece la vigencia del tiempo de guerra.

- Se establece retroactivamente el caracter de "enemigo" del Presidente y los Ministros de Estado y Partidos Politicos juridicamente reconocidos como tales.
- En base a lo anterior, se tipifica el delito de "traicion a la patria en tiempo de guerra" (Codigo de Justicia Militar, articulo 245, bajo el titulo "De la Seguridad Exterior del Estado").
- A pesar de la postulacion por parte del Fiscal del caracter de "enemigo" del Presidente y los Ministros de Estado, es decir, el gobierno constituido, se

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tipifica en los procesados el delito de "Sedicion" (segun el articulo 274 del Codigo de Justicia Militar), acusandolos de intentar derrocar al gob[illegible] legalmente constituido es decir, al gobierno "enemigo".

Tanta ficcion juridica es para ocultar que el delito de sedicion, segun el articulo 4° de la Constitucion Politica vigente (Ley Suprema sobre el Codigo de Justicia Militar, obviamente), lo desarrollan los golpistas.

Los prisioneros politicos que quedan en este proceso son:

1.	Ernesto Galaz Guzman	condenado a	30 anos y	1 dia
2.	Raul Vergara Meneses		30	1
3.	Belarmino Constanzo Merino		30	1
4.	Carlos Lazo Frias		30	1
5.	Erik Schnake Silva		25	1

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VI, Proceso 1-73-C de la Fiscalia de Aviacion de Santiago

La acusacion consiste en desarrollar organizacion politica que atenta contra la Seguridad Interior del Estado; afecta a ocho personas.

a) Anomalia del Proceso.-- Se lleva a cabo la detencion y el interrogatorio por parte del personal de la Fuerza Aerea, de la Guarnicion de "El Bosque", los prisioneros son compartidos por personal de la DINA, que continua el interrogatorio. Durante el traslado a los recintos de la DINA, los prisioneros intentan una fuga, logrando espacar uno, siendo baleado otro y resultando mal herido un agente de la DINA. El grupo permanecio luego incomunicado durante 10 meses en la Academia de Guerra Aerea, limitando este hecho la defensa juridica.

b) Sobre el delito y la condena .- Segun la legislacion vigente se condena por delitos contra la Seguridad Interior del Estado, dandose algunas penas de extranamiento, lo que evidencia la naturaleza de la accion politica del grupo detenido y condenado. En el caso del prisionero acusado del intento de fuga con agresion a miembros de las Fuerzas Armadas, se le aumenta la condena pretendiendo un escarmiento. El Consejo de Guerra no considera la declaracion del prisionero, sobre el hecho que se produjo por estar siendo torturado, como consta en el sumario, ni la legitimidad de la accion para un prisionero de guerra de este proceso.

Queda de este proceso, como prisionero politico:

Robinson Perez Vera, condenado a 15 anos de presidio.

VII. Proceso 1-73-B de la Fiscalia de Aviacion de Santiago

La acusacion se basa en la tesis general de "Traicion a la Patria en Tiempos de Guerra" del articulo 245 del Codigo de Justicia Militar.

a) Anomalias del Proceso .- Detencion e interrogatorio, efectuados por el Servicio de Inteligencia de la Fuerza Aerea, en mayo de 1974. El interrogatorio se verifico en la Academia de Guerra Aerea, donde permanecio incomunicado durante cuatro meses. Las unicas pruebas acusatorias son las declaraciones del inculpado, obtenidas bajo tortura. Adolecio de las misma limitaciones a la defensa juridica, indicadas en el proceso 1-73.

b) Sobre la condena y el delito .- El Fiscal pidio 30 anos de presidio, condena correspondiente a tiempos de guerra, que fue aplicada a cargos cometidos en tiempos de paz. La acusacion se basa en el delito de "Traicion a la Patria" en el titulo "Sobre Seguridad Exterior del Estado lo que implica relacion con un enemigo extranjero, potencia agresora que no existio.

El prisionero politico es:

Jorge Hernandez Figueroa, condenado a 30 anos.

VIII. Proceso 471-73 de la Fiscalia de Aviacion de Antofagasta

La acusacion se basa en el delito de "Traicion a la Patria" y "Sedicion", de los articulos 245 y 299 del Codigo de Justicia Militar.

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a) Sobre el proceso.- Se le mantuvo tres meses desaparecido e interrogatorios bajo torturas, para obtener declaraciones (7 de noviembre de 1973 al 11 de febrero de 1974). No se le permitio ejercer el derech de elegir su abogado defensor, debiendo aceptar el que designo la Fiscalia. El abogado militar tomo relacion con el acusado, 12 horas antes del Consejo de Guerra.

b) Sobre condena y delito .- Condenas de tiempo de guerra aplicadas a cargos correspondientes a tiempo de paz. Adjudicacion de relacion con una potencia extranjera, para imputarle el delito de "Traicion". La misma ficcion de basarse solo en el Codigo de Justicia Militar para acusarlo de "Sedicion" sin considerar la Constitucion Politica del Estado. El prisionero politico es:

Luis Gabriel Torres Valeria, condenado a presidio perpetuo.

IX. Proceso 84-74 de la Fiscalia de Aviacion de Santiago

La acusacion consiste en pertenecer a una organizacion clandestina y realizar actividades que atentan contra la Seguridad del Estado, basandose en la Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado.

a) Sobre el Proceso .- La incomunicacion tuvo una duracion aproximada de un ano, en la Academia de Guerra Aerea. El metodo procesal se basa en confesiones logradas bajo torturas, Durante el desarrollo del sumario por parte del Fiscal, no hay defensa juridica alguna. La relacion con los abogados se establece recien despues de 10 meses de detencion. Son trasladados a la Carcel Publica, y despues de un ano de estar alli recluidos, son sacados a interrogatorio por agentes de la DINA.

b) Sobre condena y delito .- La condena no esconde en ningun momento su naturaleza politica, ya que el proceso se instaura contra un partido politico : el Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (MIR), por su oposicion a la dictadura. De este proceso son prisioneros:

1. Ricardo Ruz Zanartu - condenado a 10 anos de presidio
2. Arturo Villavela Araujo - 15

X. Proceso 358-73 de la Fiscalia de Carabineros de San Felipe

Se les imputa el cargo de enfrentamiento con fuerzas militares.

a) Sobre el proceso.- Las confesiones se logran bajo la aplicacion de torturas, realizadas en unidades policiales (Petorca, La Ligua, San Felipe) y militares (Regimientos Coraceros). En uno de los interrogatorios muere bajo torturas ORLANDO GALDAMES ROJAS (octubre,1973). El propio Fiscal tomo declaraciones empunando armas de fuego. No existieron posibilidades de defensa; el abogado fue designado por la Fiscalia y solo tomo contacto con el acusado, un dia antes del Consejo de Guerra (13 de diciembre, 1973)/

b) Sobre la condena.- La condena se baso en presunciones. En las declaraciones de participacion y en la forma juridica del fallo condenatorio se dice que "podria, seria o habria sido el culpable". El proceso se baso en la Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado.

De este proceso quedan un prisionero politico:

Oscar Veliz Flores, condenado a 20 anos de presidio.

UNCLASSIFIED

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XI. Proceso 16.157 del 4° Juzgado de San Miguel

La acusacion consiste en robo con intimidacion y el proceso se caratul: "Contra Angel Guerrero Castillo, Ricardo Alarcon Alarcon, Mario Maureira Vasquez y otros".

a) Detencion e interrogatorio.- la detencion fue efectuada por efectivos de la DINA el 18 de agosto de 1976, como lo estipula el D.L. 1.009. Fueron obligados a firmar una veintena de hojas en blanco, bajo amenaza de muerte. Estas fueron utilizadas por la DINA para inculparlos como participantes en asaltos. En los interrogatorios y traslados entre "Villa Grimaldi" y "Cuatro Alamos" quedaron desaparecidos hasta hoy, Angel Guerrero y Mario Maureira; hay testigos que declararon haber presenciado su detencion el 25 de mayo y el 7 de agosto de 1976, respectivamente. Todos los recursos de Habeas Corpus fueron rechazados.

b) El proceso.- Transcurrido ya un ano del inicio del proceso, el sumario continua con caracter secreto. Se les procesa en tribunales de Justicia Ordinaria, presentadoseles como "asaltantes". Al pretender hacer uso de la peticion de libertad bajo fianza, se aduce el caracter politico de "extremistas peligrosos". La prolongacion innecesaria del proceso se debe a falta de elementos probatorios, obstaculizando las posibilidades de defensa, de sobreseimiento o de uso del D.S. 504 sobre extranamiento.

La acusacion presentada por la DINA es: actividad politica, documentacion subversiva, creacion de estructura politica clandestina. Segun el procedimiento habitual de enmascarar la existencia de presos politicos, separan una accion particular de todo el conjunto, rompiendo la unidad juridica de la accion. De este modo, por el presunto asalto, pretenden desconocer la naturaleza politica del trabajo de organizacion clandestina. De este proceso hay dos prisioneros politicos:

1. Ricardo Alarcon Alarcon
2. Esteban Amigo Latorre.

Santiago de Chile, Septiembre de 1977

UNCLASSIFIED

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SITUACION MEDICA DE ALGUNOS PRISIONEROS POLITICOS

1. MARIO LEIVA CASTRO, detenido en marzo de 1977. Sufre falta de ereccion del pene, como resultado de la aplicacion de electricidad en los interrogatorios. Esta procesado y recluido en la Carcel Publica de Santiago.

2. JORGE AGUILERA PAVEZ, detenido y en proceso desde junio de 1971. Sufre artritis y dolores articulares. La artritis tiene su origen en las bajas temperaturas de las celdas y en la inmovilidad resultante de encierros prolongados en la Carcel Publica de Santiago.

3 ARNALDO CARVAJAL GARCIA, detenido y en proceso desde junio de 1971. Cayo en un enfrentamiento armado y fue intervenido quirurgicamente, extirpandosele parte del estomago, hecho que le genera permanentes molestias.

4. DANIEL VERGARA RUFATTE.- detenido y procesado desde junio de 1971. Tiene un cuadro clinico grave, por haber recibido balazos en el estomago, comprometiendole la columna vertebral y generandole una paralisis en la pierna derecha; lo que consta en los informes del Comite Internacional de la Cruz Roja. La atencion medica del Servicio de Gendarmeria de Chile es sumamente deficiente.

5. MARCEL CARRASCO VALDIVIA.- detenido el 7 de octubre de 1976, procesado en la Carcel Publica de Santiago; sufre falta de ereccion del pene, como resultado de la aplicacion de electricidad en el glande, durante los interrogatorios.

6. JUAN CARDENAS VILLABLANCA.- condenado en el proceso de la Armada (N° 3926), actualmente recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Tiene lesiones en la columna vertebral a la altura de la duodecima vertebra dorsal; lesiones en los rinones que se traducen en micciones sanguinolentas luego de practicar ejercicios fisicos, razon por la cual debe permanecer inactivo. Estas lesiones resultaron de las torturas practidas durante los interrogatorios. Estuvo en tratamiento en el Hospital Van Buren de Valparaiso.

7. PEDRO LAGOS CARRASCO.- condenado en el proceso Armada (N° 3926), actualmente recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. En tratamiento por posible tuberculosis; tiene lesiones en la columna vertebral (region lumbar) y en los testiculos (requiere intervencion quirurgica), producto de la tortura.

8. JAIME SALAZAR JELDRES.- condenado en el proceso de la Armada (N° 3926) recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Tiene perdida de la audicion por efecto de las torturas.

9. HUGO MALDONADO ALVEAR.- condenado en el proceso de la Armada (N° 3926) recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Tiene una lesion osea en el temporal, por efectos de la flagelacion; conjuntivitis aguda y colicos hepaticos.

UNCLASSIFIED

DESCLASIFICADO

10. JUAN FUENTES RETAMAL.- condenado y recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Tiene supuracion permanente de los oidos, lesionados por las torturas.

11. SALVADOR ORMENO ORTEGA.- condenado y recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Tiene problemas generalizados en las articulaciones, especialmente en las rodillas, manos y codos. Actualmente no puede practicar ejercicios fisicos y camina con dificultad.

12. ERNESTO ZUNIGA VERGARA, condenado en el proceso de la Armada N° 3926), recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Tiene lesion en el oido izquierdo con supuracion y desviacion de la columna lumbar, como resultado de las torturas.

13. OSCAR VELIZ FLORES.- condenado y recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Sufre de ulcera gastrica, comprobada en examen clinico.

14. GERMAN NAVARRETE CASTILLO.- condenado, recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Sufre desgarros y dolor permanente en la espalda, con afeccion de la columna vertebral.

15. VALERIANO DINAMARCA BRAVO.- condenado y recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Esta en tratamiento de tuberculosis (incompleto); evidencia perdida de peso corporal; tiene salivacion con sangre; padece de xifosis. Todo como resultado de las torturas aplicadas por el Servicio de Inteligencia de Carabineros.

16. ARTURO VILLAVELA ARAUJO.- condenado y recluido en la Penitenciaria de Santiago. Durante la detencion fue baleado, por lo que fue sometido a intervencion quirurgica en el Hospital de la Fuerza Aerea, donde la extirparon parte de los intestinos. Actualmente esta hospitalizado y en estado muy delicado. Se espera la ficha medic para someterlo a una probable intervencion quirurgica por lesione al higado y/o vesicula. La colecistografia no evidencio existencia de vesicula, estimandose que esta le pudo ser extirpada en el hospital de la Fuerza Aerea, entidad que resiste entregar su ficha clinica.

17. RAUL VERGARA MENESES.- condenado en proceso de la Fuerza Aerea (1-73), recluido en la penitenciaria de Santiago. Tiene lesion en la articulacion de algunas costillas con el esternon, lo que le origina dolores periodicos. Todo como resultado de las torturas a que se le sometio. Tiene ademas hernia abdominal.

ENFERMEDADES FRECUENTES

Ademas de los casos descritos, que solo son un ejemplo de los multiples existentes, segun consta en el Informe del Comite Internacional de la Cruz Roja, hay afecciones menores:

1. El 90% de los prisioneros politicos de Santiago sufre de caries dentarias por la alimentacion carenciada y la prohibicion de consumir citricos.

2. Hay un progresivo avance de las enfermedades artriticas (7 casos) y digestivas (15 casos).

DESCLASIFICADO

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3. Son frecuentes las apariciones de parasitos y hongos en las carceles, razon por la cual periodicamente se ven afectados de dolencias dermicas.

Limitaciones

(a) Solamente tres veces al ano, un medico del Comite Internacional de la Cruz Roja, realiza examenes medicos a los prisioneros politicos. La atencion se obstaculiza en las carceles.

(b) No hay posibilidad de tratar las artritis, asi como tampoco las afecciones que no tienen origen infeccioso o impican disfunsiones leves.

(c) La atencion en los hospitales, cuando existen, de las carceles, es limitada.

(d) Los examenes de laboratorio son dificiles de obtener

(e) Las interconsultas medicas se logran en forma limitada

(f) En general, no se autoriza la atencion medica de profesionales elegidos por los prisioneros politicos, sino solo los de los establecimientos penales y del Comite Internacional de la Cruz Roja, los cuales no estan disponibles en situaciones de emergenc ni pueden abordar toda la fama de dolencias que aparecen.

Santiago de Chile, Septiembre de 1977.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07241 021159Z UNCLASSIFIED 6 36 of 42
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-05 IO-13 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /091 W
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R 012140Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6344
INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 7241

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CI, SP, SHUN
SUBJ: SPANISH SOCIALIST VISITS CHILE ON BEHALF OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

REF: MADRID 6167

1. SUMMARY: THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SPANISH SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (PSOE), FELIPE GONZALEZ, VISITED SANTIAGO AUGUST 28-31 OSTENSIBLY ONLY ON BEHALF OF CHILEAN PRISONERS, ERICH SCHNAKE AND CARLOS LAZO, AND NOT AS A POLITICIAN. BUT THE GOC GAVE HIM FREE REIN TO TALK WITH LOCAL OPPOSITION FIGURES (HE AVAILED HIMSELF OF THE CHANCE) AND HAD HIS TRIP PLAYED UP AS AN EXAMPLE OF CHILE'S OPENNESS. GONZALEZ DID HIS BEST TO DUCK PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE CHILEAN SCENE BUT LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS NOT AS BAD AS REPORTED ABROAD. END SUMMARY.

2. GONZALEZ VISITED SCHNAKE AND LAZO IN THEIR JAIL CELLS, MADE CALLS ON THE JUSTICE MINISTER MONICA MADARIAGA, SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT, JOSE EYZAGUIRRE AND THE HEAD [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 07241 021159Z

OF THE COMMISSION RESPONSIBLE FOR REVIEWING SUPREME DECREE TPR COMMUTATIONS--THAT WOULD ALLOW SCHANKE AND LAZO TO GO INTO EXILE.

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN ON HIS RECENT VISIT ALSO RAISED WITH MADARIAGA THE QUESTION OF DECREE 504 RELEASES FOR SCHNAKE AND LAZO. AT THAT TIME SHE GAVE AS HER "PERSONAL OPINION" THAT THESE TWO MEN, BECAUSE OF THEIR POLITICAL IMPORTANCE, SHOULD BE EXCHANGED FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS ELSEWHERE.

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4. APART FROM HIS OFFICIAL CALLS, GONZALEZ MET WITH CARDINAL RAUL SILVA, OFFICIALS OF CATHOLIC CHURCH'S HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP, MEMBERS OF FAMILIES OF SOME DISAPPEARED PERSONS AND WITH LEADERS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND SMALL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. IN PRESS INTERVIEWS HE CAREFULLY AVOIDED ANY POLITICAL STATEMENTS. HE DID NOTE, HOWEVER, IN DEPARTING SANTIAGO, THAT HE HAD HAD COMPLETE LIBERTY TO MEET AND TALK WITH WHOM HE WISHED, AND ADDED THAT IT WAS ALWAYS HARD TO GET A CLEAR PICTURE OF A COUNTRY FROM AFAR.

5. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE GOC IS MOVING TOWARD THE RELEASES OF SCHNAKE AND LAZO, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD FIND IT MORE PALATABLE IF AN EXCHANGE FOR COMMUNIST HELD POLITICAL PRISONERS COULD BE WORKED OUT.

6. THE GOC MADE ITS POINT THAT EVEN STAUNCH OPPONENTS COULD MOVE FREELY IN CHILE. GONZALEZ, BY "PLAYING BY THE RULES", MADE IT EASIER FOR MORE FLEXIBLE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE CONSERVATIVE GOC TO RISK FURTHER VISITS BY CRITICS.
BOYATT

[redacted]

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [redacted]
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

NOMINA DE NIETITOS SECUESTRADOS Y ABUELAS QUE LOS BUSCAN

BB011

a)-Bebés nacidos de sus madres en cautiverio:

-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en la segunda quincena de agosto de 1976. Hijo de Beatríz Haydée Neuhaus de Martinis y de Juan Francisco Martinis (Secuestrados y desaparecidos el 13/3/76 en Ramos Mejía).

ABUELA: Beatríz H.C. Aicardi de Neuhaus-L.C. 0061571-domiciliada en Pasco 730 de Ramos Mejía-Provincia de Buenos Aires.

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-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en la primera quincena de septiembre de 1977-cuyos nombres son de Hector Alberto si es varón o Alicia Cristina si es mujer-hijo de LilianaxGraciela Castille Barrios de Ovejero y Hector Ovejero-secuestrados y desaparecidos el 5/5/77 en la localidad de San Justo.

ABUELA: Eva H. Márquez de Castillo Barrios-L.C. 0033603-domiciliada en Rivadavia 2880-2°Piso E-Capital

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-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en junio de 1977. Hijo de Elena de LA Cuadra-detenida el 23/2/77.

ABUELA: Alicia Zubasnabar de de La Cuadra-L.C. 0728070-domiciliada en la calle 65 N°834,4°piso "C"-La Plata.

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-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en la segunda quincena de diciembre de 1976-hijo de Oscar Rómulo Gutierrez y Liliana Isabel Acuña de Gutierrez-secuestrados y desaparecidos el 26/8/76 en la localidad de San Justo.

ABUELA: Vilma Dalinda Sosarego de Gutierrez-C.I.N°6.126.782-domiciliada en Crevara 3246-Tablada-Provincia de Buenos Aires.

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-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyonacimiento en parto normal debió producirse en parto normal a mediados de enero de 1977-hijo de Ana María Baravalle y de Julio Cesar Galizzi-secuestrados el 7/8/76.

ABUELA: Mirta Micaela Acuña de Baravalle/D.N.I. N°0302436-domiciliada en Ramón Falcón 380-San Martín(Prov.de Buenos Aires)

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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LOT 81F93
(7/7) 52/52

-NIETO o NIETA:Cuyo nacimiento en parto normal debió producirse el 10/9/77 -hijo de Mónica María Lemos de Lavalle y Gustavo Antonio Lavalle-detenidos el 20/7/77en el barrio de San Fernando de José C. Paz.

ABUELA:Haydée Vallino de Lemos-C.I. N°3200056-domiciliada en Rivadavia 5951,Piso 12 "C"-Capital(Legal)/ Arizcun 1410-Palomar(Real)

.....

- NIETO o NIETA:Nacido en los primeros dias de diciembre de 1976-De ser varón se llama Martín Oganda-hijo de Stella Maris Montesano de Oganda y Jorge Oscar Oganda-secuestrados y desaparecidos el 16/10/76 en La Plata.

ABUELA:Delia Cecilia Giovanda de Califano-L.C. N°1012247-domiciliada en Sarmiento 159-Villa Ballester-Prov. de Buenos Aires.

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-NIETO o NIETA:Cuyo nacimiento en parto normal debió producirse desde el 15/1/77 al 15/2/77.De ser varón se llamaría Pablo Ernesto Mariezcurrena-hijo de Liliana Beatríz Caini de Marizcurrena y de Andrés Mrizcurrena-detenidos el 13/10/76 en la localidad de Martinez.

ABUELA:Elida -C.I.N°2531404-domiciliada en Italia 1769-Martinez.

.....

-NIETO o NIETA:Cuyo nacimiento en parto normal debió producirse en la segunda quincena de noviembre de 1977-hijo de Mónica Susana Masri de Roggerone y de Carlos María Roggerone-detenidos el 12/4/77 en la Capital Federal.

ABUELA:Clara Jurado-DNI N°0513754-domiciliada en Brasil 646,2°"B".Cap.Fed.

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-NIETO o NIETA:Cuyo nacimiento en parto normal debió producirse en octubre de 1976-hijo de María Claudia Garcia Irurreta Goyena de Gelman y de Marcelo Ariel Gelman-secuestrados y desaparecidos el 24/8/76 en la Capital Federal.

ABUELA;María Eugenia Cassinelli de Garcia-DNI n°3213011-domiciliada en Santa Fé 2534,Piso 11 "D"-Capital Federal.

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AS 032

P
B6

THE WIRTSCHAFTERS

PF

1 B6

Dear Ms Denar,
On Sept. 5 1977 Silvia Streger a 26 year old Argentinian citizen was arrested by army police forces in her apartment. Silvias place of detention is unknown. Please try to find out where Silvia is and why the Argentinian police took her away. She had no known political involvement yet I wonder why the police didn't have a warrant for her arrest. Let's work to improve human rights in Argentina.
Sincerely Jacob Wirtschafter

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (✓) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 210741
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-05 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
D/HA:MBOVA (PHONE)
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
_____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] STATE 210741

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE CASE OF ARGENTINE MARIO YACUB

REF: B.A. 5478

1. MRS. LEA BRASLOVSKY DE YACUB CALLED AT DEPARTMENT TODAY. SHE HAS DEFINITE INFORMATION HUSBAND, MARIO GERARDO YACUB, IS ALIVE IN PRISON IN BUENOS AIRES AREA (MOVED FREQUENTLY SO SHE DOES NOT KNOW PRESENT LOCATION) BUT SUFFERING MENTAL PROBLEMS. SHE CONCERNED THAT HE MAY BE KILLED BECAUSE OF THIS ILLNESS.

2. DEPARTMENT AWARE THAT EMBASSY CHECKED ON YACUB IN JULY BUT WOULD APPRECIATE WHATEVER COULD BE DONE. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNN

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UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET
NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON
Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (V) Extend as (S) Downgrade to ____
Date 12/31/ Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1
ile Project (#S199900006)
S. Department of State
=Release √Excise ___Deny √Declass
emption(s) b1, b3

H079

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS*

No. 22, September 13, 1977

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Iraq

Baghdad to Host Rights Symposium. The Iraqi News Agency announced on August 29 that early next year Baghdad will host an international symposium on human rights and democratic freedoms to mark the International Year for the Release of Political Detainees and Prisoners. Subject matter will include political and economic rights, freedom of the press, and racial discrimination. The symposium is being organized under the auspices of the Arab Jurists Federation, and representatives of its member organizations will form the core of participants. Representatives from the Arab Lawyers Federation, Arab Journalists Federation, and delegates from the Arab League have also been invited. The announcement stated that "delegates with observer capacity" will come from Amnesty International, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Organization for Progress (Austria), the Non-Governmental Organizations Conference (Geneva), the Special Commission on Human Rights (Geneva), and the Organization for the Liberation of Peoples (Italy). Representatives from branches of the Arab Jurists Federation in the US, Britain and Geneva will also participate in the symposium. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Baghdad 1506, September 3)

INR Comment: We agree with USINT Baghdad that the Iraqi organizers of the symposium probably intend to score points in the Arab arena by focusing on alleged human rights violations in Syria and Israel. It will be more difficult to impress competent international observers, such as those from Amnesty International, who cannot be controlled by the Baghdad authorities and who have independent means of measuring Iraqi performance. The Iraqis thus appear to have broader objectives than simply throwing darts at their Middle East rivals. The Bakr/Hussein regime has displayed sensitivity about its international reputation for laxity on the human rights front. With

* This round-up covers countries receiving development or security assistance or likely to make FMS cash purchases.

SECRET
NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON
UNCLASSIFIED

the Kurdish problem largely contained, the Iraqis probably believe they have a human rights case that is strong enough to withstand outside scrutiny. The symposium also provides those in the regime who may wish to improve internal police and judicial procedures with a practical reason for some domestic house-cleaning before the symposium takes place. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Nepal

King Birendra Non-Committal on Human Rights Problems. During their meeting on August 19, Ambassador Heck told the King that, according to US criteria and concepts, it appeared that violations of human rights were occurring in Nepal. Although King Birendra did not admit that a human rights issue existed, he agreed to further discussion on the subject. The King noted that he was considering political reforms but was concerned that, if he abandoned the "partyless" system and restored parliamentary government, the political parties would turn to outsiders for financing and thus bring in foreign influence. (CONFIDENTIAL, Kathmandu 3789, September 3)

Prime Minister Criticizes Koirala Activities in the US. Prime Minister Giri was quoted by the Indian press as saying that former Prime Minister B.P. Koirala had "misused" his special release from prison for medical treatment in the US by appearing on television shows. He reportedly added that if "anyone in the US" thought that Koirala's release was part of a compromise on the part of the Nepalese Government, they were wrong. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Kathmandu 3815, September 7)

INR Comment: Koirala, who still faces treason charges when he returns to Nepal, recently told television interviewers that he was interested in meeting President Carter to promote democracy in Nepal. Giri's statement may be designed to head off such a meeting. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Nepalese Concerned Over US Rights Policies. Nepalese officials and professionals at a recent human rights seminar sponsored by Embassy Kathmandu expressed concern that US human rights policies:

--can cause political destabilization in small countries such as Nepal;

--are not applied uniformly or fairly;

--constitute interference in another country's affairs.

The Nepalese also took the position that, should violations lead to a US aid cutoff to poor countries, this would be a violation of human rights in itself. The Embassy considers that the session was useful but noted that the absence of invited Foreign Ministry officials demonstrates the government's sensitivity on this issue. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Kathmandu 3836, September 6)

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

Indonesia

US Rights Policy Seen Through a Glass--Darkly. A member of the Supreme Advisory Council to the Indonesian President who is also a journalist recently called on the Public Affairs Officer in Jakarta to discuss human rights. He said that:

--the imposition by the US of its human rights values on other countries is a form of imperialism;

--the US does not understand the real problem of Communism in Southeast Asia because it is safe and far away;

--US society is oriented toward the protection of the rights of the individual over those of society; in Indonesia it is the reverse;

--Indonesian culture cannot be reconciled with the liberalism of US culture; the US is "too tolerant of murderers, and the courts release them too quickly in the name of human rights"; and

--in the world of Southeast Asia it is a question of kill or be killed, which is what happened in the attempted coup of 1965 and the subsequent massacres. Indonesians have no regrets about the imprisonment of Communists on the Island of Buru. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, USIS Dakarta Memcon, August 19)

INR Comment: These rough-hewn views probably are shared by many leading Indonesians. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Korea

Churchman, Poet Arrested. Embassy Seoul reports that:

--Rev. O Chung-il, Secretary General of the Korean Evangelical Church, has been arrested for circulating copies of an earlier speech in which a Rev. Cho Yong-sul accused President Pak of leftist tendencies; Rev. Cho had been arrested in July after delivering his speech;

--Poet Yang Song-ŭ was arrested for violating Emergency Measure 9 by publishing a poem--"Diary of a Slave" in the prominent leftist Japanese publication Sekai (The World). (CONFIDENTIAL, Seoul 7579, September 8)

INR Comment: The arrests demonstrate that foreign criticism of the government's human rights practices has not altered its continued determination to control domestic dissent. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Malaysia

Fourteen-Year-Old Boy Sentenced to Death. On September 1 the Penang High Court sentenced to death a fourteen-year-old boy for possession of a loaded pistol. The death sentence in such a case is mandatory under Malaysia's Internal Security Act. The sentence was strongly protested by opposition party members and lawyers. The Malaysian Bar Council appealed to the Prime Minister to repeal certain provisions of the Act because they "manifestly undermine the principles of democracy." (UNCLASSIFIED, Reuter 1120, September 2)

INR Comment: It is unlikely that the death sentence will be carried out. The Attorney-General and Law Minister told the press that the sentence was "unfortunate" and said that he would raise the case with the government pardons board. The rigorous provisions of the Internal Security Act have been under fire recently. Cases have occurred where an accused has been acquitted after a court trial, only to be re-arrested immediately for the same offense and detained indefinitely without trial. The Act is designed to combat Communism, and the government is unlikely to accede to pressures for a relaxation of its strict provisions. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Philippines

Marcos Outlines Conditions for a Return to Normalcy. Embassy Manila reports that in a September 7 speech to the armed forces, President Marcos reiterated his commitment to the eventual lifting of martial law. He stressed, however, that the return to "normalcy" would be gradual and depend upon events in the Muslim south and the maintenance of law and order in the country. He warned against over-optimism and said that he would reconsider his decision "if there are indications of a return to old vices." Marcos pointed out that the "liberalization" process had already started, and that over 66,000 prisoners--most of them admittedly criminal--had been released between 1972 and 1977. The curfew had also been lifted except for certain areas. Marcos further stated that elections would not take place at all levels at once: he emphasized that, even after the formation of a national legislature, the President would retain great power. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Manila 14096, September 7)

INR Comment: Marcos' statement underlines his continued interest in redeeming the Philippines' human rights reputation. It can also be construed, however, as an assurance to the police and military that he will not allow the liberalization process to set back law-and-order gains made under martial law. The linking of the Muslim insurgency with the lifting of martial law suggests that Marcos may view this problem as the final stumbling block in the way of a return to "normalcy." (CONFIDENTIAL)

LATIN AMERICA

Chile

Socialist Conference Urges Strong Measures Against Chile. Embassy The Hague reports that the Socialist International and the Dutch Labor Party sponsored a conference of international organizations and European Socialist parties on the future of Chile in Rotterdam on August 29-31. The conference issued a statement saying that the US holds a special responsibility for the situation in Chile and "the attitude of the present administration concerning human rights has created expectations in this field." Conference chairman, Willy Brandt, called for "all serious democratic forces in Chile and outside" to lay the basis for a functioning democracy in Chile. The conference also advised the constituent socialist parties of the Socialist

International to (a) press for an end to all loans and credits to Chile by international financial institutions; (b) end weapons transfer and training programs for the Chilean military, and (c) study the possibility of imposing economic sanctions. (CONFIDENTIAL, The Hague 4493, September 2)

Haiti

Mexico

Rights Record Weighed. According to Embassy Mexico's draft human rights evaluation report, Mexico sees itself in the forefront of countries advocating strong human rights policies both nationally and internationally. It has:

--long sustained a liberal policy of political asylum and immigration;

--denounced human rights violations in other countries; and

--traditionally followed a foreign policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

Despite initial reserve and some suspicion, high-level Mexican officials have become increasingly supportive of US human rights initiatives. For both political and philosophical reasons, however, Mexico will continue to stress a multilateral approach to human rights problems. Mexico will also place considerable emphasis on social and economic rights. Mexico, for example, would be unwilling to criticize socialist or Communist countries for violations of political rights without, at the same time praising them for their accomplishments in the fields of health care and education.

The Embassy considers that Mexico's domestic record is "good within the context of a developing country with a basically one-party system", i.e., it is not free from blemishes. According to the Embassy, "the 'average Mexican' --limited only by his economic, social and cultural means-- can read any author, travel and settle in the country freely, complain about the government, spend his money as he wishes, and generally live his entire life without experiencing being followed, spied upon, or wiretapped. However, those deeply tied to the political system (i.e., newspaper editors) or those seriously threatening the system (i.e., terrorists), will find their human rights to be much more limited. And those Mexicans who form part of the economically marginal population, while having the same political freedoms as the 'average Mexican', suffer from a deprivation of their basic economic, social and cultural rights." (CONFIDENTIAL, Mexico 14767, September 2)

INR Comment: The safest way for the "average Mexican" to avoid offical abuse of his human rights is to steer clear of confrontation with authority. Such contact obviously includes politically-oriented violence, but it could also involve confrontation of an essentially peaceful nature, e.g., student or trade union demonstrations, not sanctioned by the government. (CONFIDENTIAL)

AFRICA

Mozambique

INR Comment: The number of detainees is plausible and not out of line with an estimated 15,000 detainees a year ago. Most of the detainees are urban elements whose identification with the former Portuguese colonial system has made them inconvenient and, in some cases, suspect in the eyes of the new government. (SECRET/NOFORN)

Western Union Mailgram

2-051869E266 09/21/77 ICS IPMNY99 CSP WSHC
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MGM TDMT EAST ORANGE NJ 100 09-21 1252P EST

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EXCISE

SENATOR HARRISON WILLIAMS
SENATE OFFICE BLDG
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ___B6___

IN LIGHT OF FBI AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENTS EVIDENCE ON ROLE OF DINA IN ASSASSINATION OF ORLANDO LETELIER URGE YOU TO VOTE NOT TO CONFIRM APPOINTMENT OF NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CHILE

12:53 EST

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UNCLASSIFIED

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07119 222312Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SY-05 USSS-00 OMB-01 AID-05
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7119

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PINS, MILI, AR
SUBJECT: TROUBLES IN THE JUNTA

1. SUMMARY - IN THE PAST FEW DAYS THE EMBASSY HAS HEARD SEVERAL ACCOUNTS OF INCREASING TENSION BETWEEN PRESIDENT VIDELA AND HIS JUNTA PARTNER ADMIRAL MASSERA. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THINGS HAVE REACHED SUCH A SERIOUS STATE THAT THERE COULD BE AN OPEN FALLING OUT BETWEEN THE TWO MEN LEADING TO THE KIND OF INTER-SERVICE ARMED CONFLICT THAT HAS OCCASIONALLY TROUBLED ARGENTINE POLITICS. WHAT WE DO FORESEE IS INCREASING PUBLICITY FOR THE FALLING OUT, AND POSSIBLY AN ESCALATION OF MEASURES TAKEN BY ONE MAN AGAINST THE OTHER WHICH COULD LEAD TO LESS EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE RIVALRY BETWEEN VIDELA AND MASSERA IS INCREASING AND MAY BE BREAKING INTO THE OPEN. ALREADY THE QUARREL HAS TROUBLED POLICY MAKING. IT WAS AN OPEN SECRET THAT MEMBERS OF THE NAVY OPPOSED VIDELA'S TRIP TO WASHINGTON. NOTABLE AMONG OPPONENTS WAS DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER (NAVY) CAPTAIN ALLARA, ALTHOUGH HIS BOSS ADMIRAL MONTES IS REPORTED TO HAVE PLAYED A MODERATING ROLE. WHAT HAS SET RUMORS BUZZING TODAY IS THAT A SMALL PUBLICATION CALLED "CONVICCION,"
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
(X) Classify as S ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date 4/24/01 Declassify on ___ Reason 2.5X1

UNCLASSIFIED

WHICH IS BELIEVED BY MANY TO BE DIRECTLY LINKED TO THE NAVY, HAS COME FORTH WITH A BLISTERING ATTACK UPON THE VIDELA JOURNEY LIKENING THOSE WHO ATTENDED THE PANAMA TREATIES SIGNING TO LACKEYS JUMPING TO THE SIGNAL OF THE "OAS MANAGER" WHO TOLD THEM THAT THE "BOSS" WANTED TO SEE THEM IN WASHINGTON. THE PAPER'S EDITOR, HUGO EZEQUIEL LEZAMA, A FANATIC YOUNG RIGHT WINGER THOUGHT TO BE RABIDLY ANTI-US, PRINTED THE OPINION THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER FOR THE ARGENTINE PRESIDENT TO FOLLOW THE DIGNIFIED LEAD OF THE PRESIDENTS OF BRAZIL AND MEXICO.

3. TODAY SEPT 22 AN EXECUTIVE ORDER BANNED "CONVICCION" FOR THREE MONTHS, A FACT LIKELY TO BE WIDELY REPORTED AND, SO IT APPEARS, DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTED TO VIDELA'S HAVING ACTED TO CURB THE ACTIVITIES OF HIS NAVY RIVAL.

4. EARLIER [redacted] THERE HAD BEEN A REPORT OF THE VIDELA-MASSERA ARGUEMNT'S BEING EXPRESSED IN SUCH MINOR DISCOURTESIES AS ADMIRAL MASSERA'S HAVING CALLED A MEETING OF HIS ADMIRALS, AND HAVING INSISTED THEY ATTEND, AT PRECISELY A TIME WHEN VIDELA HAD SUMMONED HIS CABINET. TWO ADMIRALS ARE MEMBERS OF THE CABINET BODY. (NEWSPAPERS EARLIER THIS WEEK DID INDEED REFER TO A "PREVIOUSLY UNSCHEDULED" ADMIRALS' MEETING.) B1

5. ODDLY, IT SEEMS THAT MASSERA'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIS ARMY COLLEAGUE DID NOT EXPRESS ITSELF IN DIRECT ATTACKS ON THE RESULTS OF THE VIDELA WASHINGTON VISIT. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS WITH WHOM WE TALKED HAD TOLD US EARLIER THAT EVEN THOSE WHO OPPOSED THE TRIP HAD GONE QUIET IN THE FACE OF THE JOURNEY'S APPARENT SUCCESS. [redacted] HOWEVER, THAT MASSERA HAD BEEN PIQUED AT HEARING THAT VIDELA HAD SPOKEN FOR TWO HOURS IN WASHINGTON WITH MASSERA'S CLOSEST B1

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NAVY RIVAL, ADMIRAL MENDIA, SERVING NOW AS ARGENTINA'S REPRESENTATIVE ON THE INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD.

6. IN THIS MURKY POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW AT ALL WHETHER THE NOTORIUOUS ALFREDO BRAVO CASE FIGURES IN THE VIDELA-MASSERA RIVALRY. FACTS ARE, HOWEVER, THAT BRAVO DID INDEED DISAPPEAR WHILE THE PRESIDENT WAS IN THE US AND THE DISAPPEARANCE WAS INTERPRETED AS AN ATTEMPT

TO DISCREDIT THE PRESIDENT. BRAVO'S REAPPEARANCE IN LA PLATA CAUSED SPECULATION THAT IT WAS THE NAVY HAD HAD ENGINEERED THE DISAPPEARANCE, AND THAT ENORMOUS EFFORT HAD BEEN EXPENDED TO SMOKE OUT BRAVO'S WHEREABOUTS. (THIS ENORMOUS EFFORT WAS CLEARLY EXERTED UPON SOMEONE, ALMOST CERTAINLY AT VIDELA'S BEHEST, THOUGH IT COULD WELL HAVE BEEN AGAINST SOME OTHER ARM OF THE SECURITY APPARATUS.)

7. INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS? WHETHER BY DESIGN OR BY ACCIDENT THE ARGENTINE NAVY HAS IN RECENT DAYS TAKEN ON AN IMMEDIATE AND CREDIBLE ROLE AS THE NATION'S FIRST DEFENDER WHICIH COMES AS HEAVEN-SENT OPPORTUNITY FOR ADMIRAL MASSERA -- WHETHER IN PURSUING HIS QUARREL WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA OR MAKING HIMSELF INTO A NATIONAL HERO. NEWS BROKE THIS PAST WEEKEND OF A MYSTERIOUS FISHING FLEET STEAMING WITHOUT FLAGS OR MARKINGS OFF THE ARGENTINE COAST. TODAY THE NAVY ANNOUNCED THAT THREE OF ITS DESROYERS HAD TAKEN INTO CUSTODY THE SOVIET SHIPS "BUSSOL," "APATIT," "TEODOR LETTE," AND "MAGEIT" FOR ILLEGAL ENTRY INTO TERRITORIAL WATERS AND WAS BRINGING THE SHIPS TO AN ARGENTINE PORT. THE NOTICE CONTINUES THAT OTHER UNITS OF THE FLOTILLA HAD "ABANDONED THE 200 MILE AREA AHEAD OF IMMINENT CAPTURE." THIS EVENT TAKES PLACE ON THE HEELS OF A STIFF ARGENTINE PROTEST TO CHILE OVER TERRITORIAL WATERS VIOLATIONS AND UNAUTHORIZED OVERFLIGHTS. THESE WILL BE TOUGH ACTS FOR THE ARGENTINE ARMY TO FOLLOW.

8. PROGNOSIS. WHAT CONCERNS US NOW IS THAT THE MASSERA-

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 07119 222312Z

VIDELA QUARREL HAS BROKEN INTO THE OPEN WITH "CONVICCION" AFFAIR (THE BRAVO AFFAIR IS MORE A MATTER OF POLITICAL SPECULATION), AND THAT MASSERA'S NEXT ACT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE TO PRESERVE FACE BY ESCALATING THE ARGUMENT.

9. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER VIDELA IN HIS OWN MIND BLAMES THE NAVY FOR SUCH EXTRAORDINARY ACTS AS THE BRAVO DISAPPEARANCE, BUT FOR WHOMEVER ENGINEERS SUCH EVENTS THERE IS TROUBLE COMING: VIDELA TOLD A GROUP OF US AND ARGENTINE CORRESPONDENTS ON SEPTEMBER 21 THAT HEADS WOULD ROLL BECAUSE HE PERSONALLY WOULD TAKE ACTION AGAINST THESE PERPETRATORS. HE WENT ON TO RELATE THAT HE HAD HAD TO FACE UP TO RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH ACTS TOO LONG, AND THAT

DURING HIS VISIT TO THE US THIS HAD AMOUNTED TO A HUMILIATION GREATER THAN HE INTENDS TO CONTINUE TO BEAR.

10. THIS ALL LOOKS SERIOUS, BUT IT BEARS REMBERING TOO THAT THE JUNTA HAS SHOWN A REMARKABLE ABILITY TO WALK RIGHT UP TO CONFRONTATION AND THEN TURN BACK.
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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 229297
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E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF CARLOS NORIEGA

WOULD APPRECIATE ANY NEW INFORMATION EMBASSY MAY HAVE ON CARLOS NORIEGA. VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07145 01 OF 04 240209Z
ACTION ARA-14

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SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 7145

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ELAB, AIFLD, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: AFL-CIO SOLIDARITY VISIT: ASSESSMENT AND COMMENTS

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 6597 (B) BUENOS AIRES 7064

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. REFTEL B, WHICH REPORTS ILGWU PRESIDENT SOL CHAIKIN'S PRESS CONFERENCE, IS A GOODNSUMMARY INTRODUCTION TO THE RESULTS OF THE AFL-CIO SOLIDARITY TEAM'S 2 1/2 DAY VISIT TO BUENOS AIRES, SEPTEMBER 6-8. WE BELIEVE THAT THE VISIT WAS A SUCCESS IN TERMS OF DEMONSTRATING THE AFL-CIO'S SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARGENTINE UNION MOVEMENT AND IN INCREASING PRESSURE ON THE GOA, EVEN THOUGH NO SUBSTANTIALLY POSITIVE, IMMEDIATE RESULTS CAN BE EXPECTED AND, IN FACT, THE SHORT TERM PROSPECTS REMAIN BLEAK. THE
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Case Number: 200000044

VISIT TO SOME DEGREE WAS COMPLICATED BY AN INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN LABOR CENTRAL DELEGATION WHICH VISITED THE COUNTRY THE WEEK BEFORE AND WHOSE RESULTS WERE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE AFL-CIO. THE LOCAL CLAT REPRESENTATIVE HAS HAILED THE TWO VISITS AS BEING OF "HISTORIC IMPORTANCE" IN THE STRUGGLE TO REESTABLISH TRADE UNION LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS TO ARGENTINA. THE SUCCESS OF THE AFL-CIO MISSION WAS IN NO SMALL MEASURE DUE TO THE PERSONAL DYNAMISM AND COMMITMENT OF DELEGATION LEADER CHAIKIN WHO CAME ACROSS AS A TOUGH, AUTHENTIC UNION LEADER GENUINELY INTERESTED IN HELPING THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE AFL-CIO TEAM AVOIDED THE PITFALLS WHICH BEFELL THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) MISSION LAST FEBRUARY. THAT VIST WAS ESSENTIALLY A FACT-FINDING AND NEGOTIATING EXPEDITION. PLAYING OUT THE ROLE EXPECTED OF THE CHIEF OF A CONFEDERAL INTERNATIONAL LABOR CENTER, ICFTU'S OTTO KERSTEN CAME TO PRESSURE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES INTO RESTORING TRADE UNION LIBERTIES TO THE ICFTU'S ARGENTINE AFFILIATE LABOR UNION MOVEMENT. AS WE SAID ON THAT OCCASION, THE LION DEPARTED THE COUNTRY LOOKING LIKE A LAMB, EVIDENTLY CHARMED BY PRESIDENT VIDELA AND ADMIRAL MASSERA'S PROMISES THAT IMPORTANT CHANGES FOR THE BETTER WERE ON THE WAY. THEIR EXPECTATIONS HAVING BEEN RAISED BEYOND REASON BY THE VISIT, THE ARGENTINE LABOR LEADERS FELT LET DOWN WHEN KERSTEN APPEARED TO BE TAKEN IN BY THE GOVERNMENT'S EMPTY PROMISES.

3. THE AFL-CIO VISITORS TOOK A DIFFERENT TACK. AS REPRESENTATIVES OF A FRATERNAL FOREIGN NATIONAL CENTER, THE AMERICANS CAME PRINCIPALLY TO RENEW CONTACTS AND TO DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY WITH THEIR ARGENTINE TRADE UNION BROTHERS. THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE PLAYED DOWN RELATIVELY. IT IS WELL THAT THEY WERE, SINCE THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT YET PREPARED TO MAKE ANY OF THE MAJOR CONCESSIONS WHICH THE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 07145 01 OF 04 240209Z

LOCAL LABOR MOVEMENT WANTS.

4. THAT THE AFL-CIO TEAM WAS PRECEDED A WEEK EARLIER BY THE VISIT TO ARGENTINA OF A JOINT WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOR/LATIN AMERICAN CENTRAL OF WORKERS (WCL-CLAT) DELEGATION WAS BOTH AN ADVANTAGE AND A DISADVANTAGE. INSPIRED BY LABOR MINISTRY SPOKESMEN, THE MEDIA TREATED THE WCL-CLAT COLDLY (FOR HAVING INSPIRED RESOLUTIONS IN THE ILO AGAINST ARGENTINA AND FOR HAVING

Case Number: 200000044

PROVIDED PROTECTION TO THE MILITANTLY ANTI-GOA EXILE LABOR LEADER, RAIMUNDO ONGARO). ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRESS AT FIRST WELCOMED THE AFL-CIO VISIT, INTERPRETING IT AS PART OF A SERIES OF OFFICIAL U.S. MANEUVERS (TODMAN, DERIAN, CODELS, ETC.) BEING ORCHESTRATED WITH THE INTENT OF IMPROVING BILATERAL RELATIONS--AT LEAST UP TILL THE MOMENT THEY GOT WIND OF THE MESSAGE SOL CHAIKIN WAS SENDING AROUND TOWN.

5. CLAT SOURCES MAINTAIN THAT BEHIND CLOSED DOORS THEIR MEETINGS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE FRANK AND CORDIAL. THEY WERE EVEN ALLOWED -- QUIETLY -- TO VISIT SELECTED UNION CORELIGIONARIES IN TWO DIFFERENT JAILHOUSES -- A REQUEST WHICH THE AFL-CIO ALSO MADE AND WAS DENIED. THE CHRISTAIN LABOR GROUP WAITED UNTIL THE LAST DAY BEFORE ISSUING A FORMAL CONDEMNATORY STATEMENT OF WHAT THEY HAD FOUND IN ARGENTINA. THE COMMUNIQUE UPSET THE LABOR MINISTRY GREATLY BECAUSE IT COULD HAVE UNLEASHED A NEW WAVE OF CRITICISM FROM HARDLINE MILITARY SECTORS AGAINST THE MINISTRY FOR HAVING ALLOWED THE VISIT IN THE FIRST PLACE. THUS, MINISTRY OFFICIALS WERE THROWN INTO A MOMENTARY TIZZY ON THE EVE OF THE AFL-CIO'S ARRIVAL, FEARING PERHAPS THAT THE WORST WAS YET TO COME.

6. THIS MAY EXPLAIN THE FACT THAT ASIDE FROM THE UNEVEN PRESS TREATMENT, THE TWO MISSIONS HAD ABOUT THE SAME EXPOSURE TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. BOTH DELEGATIONS MET WITH THE CGT INTERVENTOR AND THE LABOR MINISTER. WCL-CLAT WAS DENIED PERMISSION TO SEE PRESIDENT VIDELA AND, UNFORTUNATELY, VIDELA LEFT THE COUNTRY (FOR THE U.S.) THE DAY THE AFL-CIO TEAM

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 07145 01 OF 04 240209Z

ARRIVED. A REQUESTED MEETING WITH ACTING PRESIDENT DIAZ BESSONE NEVER MATERIALIZED. THIS WOULD NOT HAVE SERVED ANY USEFUL PURPOSE ANYWAY, EXCEPT AS A MINOR FEAT OF ONES UPMANSHIP OVER WCF-CLAT. THE ARGENTINE TRADE UNIONISTS WANTED BADLY TO SEE A VIDELA SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON WITH GEORGE MEANY, BUT WE UNDERSTAND THAT MR. MEANY REJECTED THIS ON GROUNDS OF PRINCIPLE.

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Case Number: 200000044

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07145 02 OF 04 240212Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01
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R 231910Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2407
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 7145

USEEC

7. BEST THAT WE CAN TELL, THE WCL-CLAT AND AFL-CIO DELEGATIONS HAD ABOUT THE SAME DEGREE OF EXPOSURE TO UNION LEADERS IN BUENOS AIRES--MAXIMUM AUDIENCES BEING IN THE AREA OF 150 SPECTATORS. ONE POSSIBLE DIFFERENCE WAS THAT THE WCL-CLAT (THEY CLAIM) HELD OPEN DOOR DISCUSSIONS IN ALL CASES AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT ONE OF THEIR SESSIONS ENDED IN AN EMOTIONAL OUTBURST OF SINGING "LOS MUCHACHOS PERONISTAS." THE WCL GROUP ALSO SPENT MORE TIME IN ARGENTINA--UPWARDS OF A WEEK. THEY VISITED CORDOBA AND, WE GATHER, HELD A WELL-ATTENDED TRADE UNION MEETING THERE. THE AFL-CIO ABIDED BY THE RULE LAID DOWN BY THE GOVERNMENT NOT TO HOLD HUGE RALLIES WHICH MIGHT TAKE ON THE CHARACTERISTIC OF A PLENARY SESSION -- SOMETHING THE GOVERNMENT HAS DENIED THE MOVEMENT THESE PAST 17 MONTHS. THIS REQUIREMENT ALSO COINCIDED WITH THE WISHES OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25 UNION LEADERS WHICH HOSTED THE AFL-CIO VISIT. THE COMMITTEE, TO SOME DEGREE INFLUENCED BY GOVERNMENT PRESSURES BUT ALSO BY MORE ORDINARY [redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07145 02 OF 04 240212Z

PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS OF LEADERSHIP AMBITION, WANTED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AFL-CIO TO TAKE PLACE BEHIND CLOSED DOORS.

Case Number: 200000044

8. WE SUSPECT THAT, WHETHER CLAT HELD OPEN DOOR SESSIONS OR NOT, THE TURNOUT FOR THEM WAS ABOUT THE SAME AS THAT OF THE AFL-CIO, ESPECIALLY AS THE COMMITTEE OF 25 ACTED AS OFFICIAL HOSTS FOR THE WCL-CLAT MISSION AS WELL. MOREOVER, WE FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT IN MOST MINDS THE AFL-CIO WAS NOT CONSIDERED THE MORE IMPORTANT OF THE TWO IN TERMS OF THE RELATIVE PRESSURES WHICH THE TWO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS CAN BRING TO BEAR ON THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. DESPITE STRONG VESTIGES OF TRADITIONAL NATIONALISM IN THE PERONIST LABOR MOVEMENT AND APPARENTLY IMPORTANT INROADS WHICH CLAT HAS BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE IN RECENT YEARS, THE AFL-CIO IS HIGHLY RESPECTED IN THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT FOR THE POLITICAL CLOUT AND, WHAT'S MORE, FOR THE STRONG STAND WHICH THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

9. MOREOVER, WE THINK THE AFL-CIO'S PROCEDURE OF GIVING WEIGHT TO THE 25 MECHANISM AND OF TRYING TO WORK THROUGH THEM WAS A CORRECT MOVE. HOWEVER, IMPERFECTLY THEY MAY HAVE BEEN SELECTED IN THE CURRENT SEMI-CLANDESTINE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE COMMITTEE IS SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE INTERVENED AND NONINTERVENED AND VIRTUALLY ALL SHADES OF PERONIST LABOR THOUGHT ARE REFLECTED. IT IS THE ONLY BODY PURPORTING TO REPRESENT THE LABOR MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE DURING THE CURRENT PERIOD OF SUSPENSION OF LABOR ACTIVITIES. IT WAS INEVITABLE, BECAUSE OF PERSONAL RIVALRIES AND JEALOUSIES, THAT NOT ALL THE UNION LEADERS OUTSIDE THE 25 BOARD WOULD BE CONTACTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETINGS--AND SOME CRITICISM HAS BEEN HEARD IN THIS VEIN--BUT THIS IS DIFFICULT TO AVOID ENTIRELY, EVEN UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 07145 02 OF 04 240212Z

10. THE MOTIVATION BEHIND THE COMMITTEE OF 25'S PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE EX-LIGHT AND POWER LEADER JUAN JOSE TACCONE AND EX/UOM (METAL WORKER) AND EX-CGT BOARD MEMBER ALBERTO CAMPOS FROM THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE DESERVES FURTHER INQUIRY. THE MOST SIMPLE REASON WAS THAT THE TWO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE. HOWEVER, CAMPOS PARTICULARLY WAS A TARGET, WE SUSPECT, BECAUSE HE IS WIDELY REGARDED AS BEING A STAND-IN FOR THE JAILED FORMER TOP LABOR BOSS, LORENZO MIGUEL. UNDER MIGUEL'S LEADERSHIP, THE UOM WAS THE NERVE-CENTER OF THE "62 ORGANIZATIONS" POLITICAL MACHINERY SUPPORTING MRS. PERON'S REGIME WHILE IT LASTED. THE HISTORY OF DISAFFECTION OF THE "GROUP OF EIGHT" AND "INDEPENDENTS" FROM THIS POLITICAL MACHINE

Case Number: 200000044

IS CLOSELY TIED TO THE STORY OF THE MILITARY COUP AGAINST THE PERONIST GOVERNMENT IN MARCH 1976, WHICH WAS FACILITATED BY THE MILITARY'S ABILITY TO GAIN THE SUPPORT OF THE ANTIVERTICALIST LABOR LEADERS IN THE CONSPIRACY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ATTEMPT TO COLD-SHOULDER CAMPOS AND TACCONE DURING THE AFL-CIO VISIT WAS AT LEAST PARTIALLY GUIDED BY GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY OFFICERS WHO STILL HAVE SOME OF THE REMAINING LEADERS DELUDED INTO BELIEVING THAT THEY WILL NOT ONLY SURVIVE THE NATIONAL REORGANIZATION PROCESS BUT MAY EVEN EVENTUALLY INHERIT THE TOP CGT POSITIONS VACATED BY THE LEADERS WHOSE MANDATES THIS GOVERNMENT HAS TERMINATED. WE HAD THOUGHT THAT, TO A DEGREE, THESE OLD RIVALRIES HAD BEEN PUT ASIDE AS A RESULT OF GROWING RECOGNITION OF THE COLD REALITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LABOR POLICIES. INDEED, THE FORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25, WHICH INCLUDES FIVE LEADERS OF INTERVENED UNIONS (BUT NOT UOM) AND THE DECISION NOT TO FIELD A WORKER DELEGATION TO THE ILO CONFERENCE LAST JUNE, HAVE BEEN SEEN AS EVIDENCE OF A GROWING UNITY OF THE NONINTERVENED AND INTERVENED CAMPS AND A SENSE OF FATALISM WITH RESPECT TO THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS. WE THINK THIS TREND TOWARDS REALIZING THAT THEY ARE ALL IN THE SAME SINKING BOAT WILL CONTINUE TO GROW--ESPECIALLY AS MORE LEADERS ARE PRESSURED INTO RESIGNING FROM THEIR UNION POSTS--BUT THE INCIDENT INVOLVING CAMPOS (WHICH INCIDENTALLY CAMPOS SEEMED INPERVIOUS TO, AS HE [redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 07145 02 OF 04 240212Z

PARTICIPATED IN ALL EVENTS ANYWAY) SHOWS THAT THE GOVERNMENT RETAINS A SUBSTANTIAL CAPACITY TO MANIPULATE TRADE UNION LEADERS AGAINST EACH OTHER.

11. THE EMBASSY FELL AFOUL OF THE INTERVENDED VS. NONINTERVENED ISSUE INCIDENTALLY WHEN LABOR MINISTER LIENDO AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL VIOLA DECLINED TO ACCEPT OUR INVITATION TO LUNCH WITH THE AFL-CIO DELEGATION IN THE COMPANY OF EX-AS WELL AS CURRENT ARGENTINE TRADE UNION LEADERS. (LIENDO AND HIS ENTOURAGE EAGERLY ACCEPTED A HURRIEDLY PUT-TOGETHER SUBSTITUTE EVENT AS THE RESIDENCE TO WHICH NO LOCAL LABOR LEADERS WERE INVITED). WE ARE NOT ENTIRELY UNHAPPY ABOUT OUR UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO GET THE ARMY GENERALS TO SIT DOWN AND BREAK BREAD WITH LEADERS WHOSE MANDATES THE GOVERNMENT HAS TRUNCATED. WE WERE ABLE TO GET ACROSS THE POINT THAT WE DO NOT NECESSARILY

CONFIDENTIAL

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07145 03 OF 04 240216Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01
DHA-05 /104 W
----------130436 240437Z /21

R 231910Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2408
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 7145

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ACCEPT GOVERNMENT FIAT AS FAIT ACCOMPLI-- AND WE DID SO WITHOUT SUBSTANTIALLY ALIENATING EITHER LIENDO OR VIOLA.

12. NOT ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25 CAME OUT TO MEET THE AFL-CIO. BY OUR COUNT, TEN WERE ABSENT, WE THINK, MOSTLY BECAUSE OF THE GOVERNMENT PRESSURES HANGING OVER THE LABOR MOVEMENT. MUNICIPAL WORKER LEADER GERONIMO IZZETA IS REPORTED ILL, HEALTH UNION LEADER OTTO CALACE PERHAPS STAYED AWAY BECAUSE HIS SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT HAD JUST BEEN TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES, AND TOBACCO EMPLOYEE LEADER ROBERTO DIGON LEFT THE COUNTRY OVER A MONTH AGO ON A CLAT SCHOLARSHIP ALONG WITH HIS WIFE (A TELEPHONE UNION LEADER IN HER OWN RIGHT) WHO RECENTLY WAS RELEASED FROM PROLONGED DETENTION FOR BEING A MONTONERO SUSPECT. SODA FACTORY UNION LEADER JUAN RACCHINI (WHO EVIDENTLY IS NO LONGER A MEMBER OF THE 25) WAS CONSPICOUSLY ABSENT. SO WAS EX-GASTRONOMIC LEADER RAMON ELORZA (ALSO A NON-

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07145 03 OF 04 240216Z

MEMBER), WHO WE NOW PRESUME SHOULD BE CATALOGUED AS LIVING IN EXILE ABROAD. PERHAPS IT IS REMARKABLE THAT SO MANY LEADERS DID PARTICIPATE. AMONG THOSE WHO DESERVE SPECIAL MENTION ARE COMMERCIAL WORKER LEADER FLORENCIO CARRANZA, WHO WAS IN THE FINAL STAGES OF AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO HANG ONTO HIS JOB; TRUCK DRIVER HEAD RICARDO PEREZ, WHO WAS FORCED TO RESIGN BY THE GOVERNMENT (A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE AFL-CIO VISIT) ON HIS RETURN FROM THE ITF CONGRESS IN DUBLIN BECAUSE OF THE CONGRESS' BLANKET CONDEMNATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENTS; AND PAPER UNION LEADER FERNANDO DONAIRES, WHO HAD TAKEN ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE FROM HIS UNION FOLLOWING A THREATENING VISIT FROM MILITARY AND POLICE OFFICERS.

13. A DAY OR TWO FOLLOWING THE AFL-CIO TEAM'S DEPARTURE FROM BUENOS AIRES, THE PRESS REPORTED CARRANZA AND PEREZ' RESIGNATIONS. INEVITABLY IN SOME MINDS THESE RESIGNATIONS BECAME LINKED TO THE VISIT, ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY ACCURATE. NOR IS IT LIKELY THAT TEACHER UNION (CTERA) LEADER ALFREDO BRAVO'S ABDUCTION (THE DAY AFTER HE AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAD MET WITH THE AFL-CIO) WAS PRECIPITATED BY THE AFL-CIO MEETING. (HE HAS SINCE BEEN RESURFACED AND IS NOW UNDER OFFICIAL ARREST). NEVERTHELESS, THESE INCIDENTS ARE CHALKED UP IN WORKERS' MINDS AS NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURED SUBSEQUENT TO THE AFL-CIO VISIT AND, THEREFORE, AS EVIDENCE OF THE VISITORS' INABILITY TO TURN THE GOVERNMENT AROUND.

14. HOWEVER, THIS PENCHANT FOR LINKAGES CAN CUT BOTH WAYS. FOLLOWING THE AFL-CIO'S VISIT, DONAIRES DECIDED TO DEFY THE AUTHORITIES BY WALKING BACK INTO HIS UNION HALL AND REASSUMING HIS DUTIES. ALSO, A PROMINENT TRADE UNION LEADER WAS RELEASED FROM EXECUTIVE POWER CUSTODY ON THE DAY OF CHAIKIN'S PRESS CONFERENCE. THIS, OF COURSE, SERVES TO WHIP UP HOPES FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION PROVIDING FURTHER RELIEF.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 07145 03 OF 04 240216Z

15. NOTWITHSTANDING THE UNREALIZABLE, UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS IMPOSED ON THE AFL-CIO TEAM BY THEIR ARGENTINE COLLEAGUES IN TERMS OF HOPED-FOR IMMEDIATE CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT POLICY, THE MISSION WAS A SUCCESS IN REESTABLISHING TIES WITH THE LOCAL LABOR MOVEMENT. THE HIGH QUALITY OF THE TEAM WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR, ESPECIALLY SOL CHAIKIN WHO CAME ACROSS AS A SINCERE, TOUGH-TALKING, GENUINE LABOR LEADER OF THE FIRST ORDER. ONE LOCAL LEADER, ROBERTO GARCIA (TAXIS), TOLD US THAT UNTIL HE

HEARD CHAIKIN'S RIP-SNORTING EXTEMPORANEOUS ADDRESS AT THE SANITATION WORKERS HALL HE THOUGHT THE AFL-CIO WAS NOT SINCERELY INTERESTED IN ENDURING TIES WITH THE ARGENTINES. AFTER THAT FIERY SPEECH, GARCIA SAID HE WAS HOOKED. EVEN CLAT REPRESENTATIVES TOLD US HOW IMPRESSED THEY WERE BY CHAIKIN.

16. NEARLY AS WE CAN TELL FROM A SINGLE CONVERSATION AT THE LABOR MINISTRY, OUR RELATIONS ARE STILL INTACT. THE MISSION'S CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LABOR MINISTER BEHIND CLOSED DOORS WERE HARD AND TOUGH AND LACED WITH A HEALTHY DOSE OF ICY NEW YORK HUMOUR. LIENDO TOOK IT ALL LIKE A GOOD SOLDIER. EITHER HIS EAR FOR ENGLISH WAS INSUFFICIENT TO CATCH THE SARCASM OR ELSE HE MADE A CONSCIOUS EFFORT NOT TO MAR THE PROSPECTS FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS AT A MOMENT WHEN HIS PRESIDENT WAS EMBARKED ON A PROMISING MISSION TO WASHINGTON. LABOR UNDERSECRETARY (NAVY CAPTAIN) DALL'ASTA EVEN APPEARED PLEASED WITH THE AFL-CIO VISIT. HE NOTED THAT CHAIKIN HAD RAISED MANY OF THE SAME POINTS AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH WCL HAD INCLUDED IN ITS COMMUNIQUE, BUT CHAIKIN HAD DONE IT IN A LESS OFFENSIVE WAY. (WE THOUGHT THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS PARTICULARLY WELL DONE. THE ONLY CRITICISM HEARD WAS THAT THERE WAS NO MENTION OF THE WAGE PROBLEM.) DALL'ASTA ALSO SAID HE HAD NOT HEARD ANY COMPLAINTS FROM MILITARY QUARTERS (BUT WE SUSPECT THAT THE INTELLIGENCE REPORTS MAY NOT ALL BE IN YET). DALL'ASTA ALSO STATED THAT THE TRADE UNION REFORM BILL WAS TIED UP--ALMOST HOPELESSLY--IN THE MILITARY COMMANDS. WHILE THE BASIC PRINCIPLES (INCLUDING TRADE UNION PERSONALITY ONLY FOR FIRST-DEGREE UNIONS)

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 07145 03 OF 04 240216Z

HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY THE JUNTA AND ARE NOW ACCEPTED BY ALL, THERE IS A DISAGREEMENT AMONG THE MILITARY OVER THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS, I.E. WHEN AND HOW THE NEW RULES SHOULD BE PUT INTO EFFECT. HE ADMITTED THAT SOME OF THE SERVIES MAY JUST BE STALLING FOR TIME.

17. WHAT DALL'ASTA NEGLECTED TO TELL US WAS THAT THE LABOR MINISTER ISSUED A WARNING TO THE MEDIA WITHIN TWO HOURS AFTER THE PRESS CONFERENCE HAD ENDED ADVISING THEM TO EXERCISE DUE CAUTION AS TO WHAT WAS FIT TO PRINT. THE RESULT WAS THAT CHAIKIN'S REMARKS WERE TONED DOWN IN MOST PAPERS AND RECEIVED ONLY SCANT ATTENTION IN OTHERS. (NEWSCLIPS BEING POUCHED TO AIFLD'S DOHERTY, AS REQUESTED). SINCE THE AFL-CIO'S DEPARTURE, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME WHIFFS OF CRITICISM IN THE CAPTIVE OR

Case Number: 200000044

ANTI-LABOR PRESS. ONE UNFRIENDLY INTERPRETATION THAT HAS EMERGED SEES THE AFL-CIO/PERONIST RECONCILIATION AS AN IRONICAL BETRAYAL OF SOMEBODYS PRINCIPLES--EITHER THE AFL-CIO FOR ALLEGEDLY FROGETTING ITS COMMITMENT TO TRADE UNION

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07145 04 OF 04 240416Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01
DHA-05 /104 W
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R 231910Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2409
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 7145

USEEC

DEMOCRACY OR THE PERONISTS FOR FORGETTING THEIR NATIONALIST HERITAGE. THERE ALSO WAS SOME UNHAPPINESS IN UNION CIRCLES OVER A STATEMENT MADE INFORMALLY TO THE PRESS AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE BY ONE OF THE DELEGATION MEMBERS. IN CATEGORIC AND ALMOST GLEEFUL TERMS THE AFL-CIO'S PULLOUT OF THE ILO WAS REPORTEDLY CONFIRMED, WHICH SOME HERE FOUND UPSETTING AS THE ILO IS SEEN AS AN ESSENTIAL TOOL IN THE STRUGGLE TO GET THE GOVERNMENT TO REESTABLISH UNION LIBERTIES. ONE VERSION CURRENTLY MAKING ITS ROUNDS INTHE PRESS IS THAT THE AFL-CIO IS PLANNING A NEW TRADE UNION CENTRAL IN LATIN AMERICA AS A SEQUEL (SIC) TO ITS DEPARTURE FROM THE ILO.

18. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE AFL-CIO VISIT SERVED A VERY USEFUL PURPOSE--NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF THE SENSE OF SOLIDARITY

Case Number: 200000044

RESTORED WITH THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT, BUT ALSO AS A MEANS OF KEEPING UP THE PRESSURE ON THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. EVEN

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07145 04 OF 04 240416Z

THOUGH NO IMMEDIATE POSITIVE RESULTS CAN BE EXPECTED, THE VISIT SERVED AS A REMINDER TO THE GOVERNMENT THAT IT CANNOT HOPE TO GET AWAY OVER A PROLONGED PERIOD OF TIME WITH THE CURRENT SUSPENSION OF TRADE UNION LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT RISKING INCREASINGLY MORE ARTICULATE POLITICAL AND LABOR OPPOSITION FROM ABROAD.

19. UNION LEADERS APPEAR ENTICED BY CHAIKIN'S PROMISE OF CONTINUING TIES IN THE FORM OF LABOR GRANTS TO THE U.S. AND OTHER SUGGESTIONS OF ADDITIONAL FORMS OF SUPPORT. SOME LEADERS SEEM TO BELIEVE THEY HAVE A COMMITMENT FROM AIFLD TO FINANCIALLY SUPPORT THE CREATION OF A LOCAL PERONIST LABOR INSTITUTE WHICH WOULD FUND HUMAN RIGHTS SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES. WITHOUT COMMITING OURSELVES TO ANY PARTICULAR COURSE OF ACTION, THE EMBASSY WILL BE INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING AIFLD'S PROPOSALS AT THE EARLIES OPPORTUNITY AND PRESENTING THEM TO AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE CASTRO FOR HIS CONSIDERATION.
CHAPLIN

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Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE229296 9/23/77

Page: 1

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Case Number: S200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 229296
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 INR-07
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
INFO AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

UNCLAS STATE 229296

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: CASE OF URUGUAYAN NATIONAL, ADRIANA GATTI

REF: 155926 (STATE)

BECAUSE OF CONTINUING HIGH-LEVEL INTEREST IN GATTI CASE, WOULD APPRECIATE UPDATE ANY INFORMATION YOU MAY HAVE. VANCE

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

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2003

N

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
NEW JERSEY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B6

September 29, 1977

61 ACTION is assigned to: ARA

EXCISE

Mr. Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Asst. Sec., Cong. Relations
Dept. of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Bennet:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the letter I have received from _____ of East Orange, New Jersey.

I would appreciate any information which will enable me to respond to my constituent's inquiry. Please return the enclosed correspondence with your report.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

HAW:ps
Enclosure

Re: Opinion concerning appointment of [illegible] and the Chilean right of residence of wife of Bernardo Leighton.

(2)

UNCLASSIFIED 09/26/77

BK014 R

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Education

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Avelino Porto, Rector of Belgrano University
Dr. Jorge Vanossi, lawyer and law professor
Yvonne Thayer, Political Officer
F. A. Harris, Political Officer

DATE: September 26, 1977

PLACE: El Duende Restaurant

DISTRIBUTION: Chargé
POL
USIS
ARA/ECA
INR/OIL/B

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Dr. Porto proved to be an attractive, articulate, extremely bright and well-informed educator with a broad range of interests and capabilities. Trained as a lawyer, Dr. Porto began his career in the early 1950's assisting a Federal Court judge and teaching law at the University of Buenos Aires. Several years later, while Porto was still in his 20's he joined friends in founding the University of Belgrano. As rector (president) of that institution, Porto has guided the university's expansion into what is now the largest private university in Argentina. Well known as a writer, educator and administrator, Dr. Porto is currently vice-president of the Association of Rectors of Private Latin American Universities.

Dr. Porto displayed considerable interest in academic subjects--he lectures in law and history at Belgrano--literature, education, and Argentine politics. He claims affiliation to no political party, but he is acutely sensitive to the political nature of Argentine education. During our luncheon, Dr. Porto made the following observations:

The Ministry of Education: Minister Catalán is an unfortunate mistake, a man with no background in academia and no real interest in education. Catalan is most interested in promoting his own candidacy as a civilian Interior Minister, as his and other circles believe that the Junta will eventually replace the present Interior Minister Army General Harguindeguy with a civilian to please the political parties and democratic forces. The Education Ministry is at a complete standstill, no new policies are being developed; there is no guidance, no direction and no money.

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Private activity in education: Although the Education Ministry is moribund, privately educators are working on policy for the future. Belgrano has assembled eight "working groups" of prominent educators to study educational policy. Their research will hopefully be useful when the government eventually becomes interested in reviving the education sector.

Education budget: State expenditure for education is at an all-time low. A decade ago, Education got approximately 25% of the Federal budget, roughly the percentage expended in countries like Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico today. Now, Education receives only 7.4% of the state budget. Cuts in resources to the educational sector result from two reasons: One, education doesn't "show" like other government-funded social projects such as housing; and two, when Argentine governments, whether civilian or military, are upset with the country's social and administrative failings, they tend to blame the education sector. A cut in resources is a form of punishment. Belgrano University, which charges about $400 in annual matriculation tuition, doesn't pay its professors much more than public institutions. Like other universities, it has lost some staff.

Internal Security: Although some Belgrano students have disappeared and others have been detained for subversive activities, Belgrano University did not suffer massive purges in the internal security campaign. It did not have security agents infiltrating the student body. Porto spent considerable time and effort with students to minimize damage during student demonstrations and alienation in early 1970's and during Peronist regime.

The Ministry is conducting an anti-subversive education campaign among secondary school and university administrators. Courses are being given to help administrators identify subversive instructors, and libraries are being checked for subversive books. Porto has resisted Ministry pressures not to rehire several suspected professors.

Educational policy: Porto is opposed to centralized educational planning to the extent that the State determines the number of persons who can enter the university and allocates openings in the various professional schools. He also opposes State-determined hiring, promotion, tenure and salary policies for faculty. He believes the government should establish a basic educational philosophy and guidelines which would be the responsibility of each university rector to carry out in his own institution. Porto is distressed by the low priority and budget for scientific research.

Educational exchange: As vice-president of the Association of Rectors of Latin American Private Universities, Porto would like to have more contact with U.S. educators and university administrators.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/IAS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): NR
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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TO: The Secretary

FROM: ARA - Terence A. Todman

SUBJECT: A Time to Support Argentina's Videla

We have also just learned that Alfredo Bravo, a prominent human rights leader in Argentina, has been released. It is believed that he was kidnapped by the Navy during Videla's visit to Washington. Videla reportedly told a group of American correspondents that this was humiliating and that heads would roll.

Drafted:ARA/ECA:FERondon:jc
ASOS 9/27/77

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 231752
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-05 L-03 H-02 SCS-05 CA-01 /031 R

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)
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R 271520Z SEP 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 231752

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DETENTION OF FLORA DYBNER RAVEL

1. U.S. CITIZEN RUBEN DYBNER CALLED DEPARTMENT TO REQUEST ASSISTANCE FOR HIS ARGENTINE SISTER, FLORA DYBNER DE RAVEL WHO HAS BEEN JAILED IN ARGENTINA UNDER P.E.N.

2. NAME: FLORA DYBNER DE RAVEL
ADDRESS: [redacted] BUENOS AIRES
BIRTHDATE: DECEMBER 21, 1933
NEXT OF KIN: DANIEL RAVEL (SON) RESIDES AT VALENTIN GOMEZ ADDRESS, TELEPHONE [redacted]

CIRCUMSTANCES OF ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT: TAKEN FROM HER HOME IN MARCH 1977, NOW BEING HELD AT VILLA DEVOTO. NO CHARGES HAVE BEEN PLACED AGAINST HER.

3. PLEASE MAKE INQUIRIES ABOUT MS. DE RAVEL AT FOREIGN MINISTRY WORKING GROUP. VANCE
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PAGE 02 STATE 231752

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

Page: 1

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

B6

10/77 MS-PY

COPY FOR

AO 019

To: Patt

From: Mark

Re: Human Rights Talking Points_ Argentina

The summation of the human rights situation currently in Argentina is that a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights has been established. The rights violated include the right to be free from torture, from arbitrary detention, from invasion of the home, from the arbitary taking of life. They also extend to the full range of civil and political liberties which are denied or curtailed by the existence of a state of seige and the authoritar control of the military.

The talking points of current Secretary's book are adequate; how they do not respond directly to the question on Argentine minds: What do we have to do to obtain a change in U.S. positions on IFI loans,&on major arms sales?

Talking Points:

1. Release of the prisoners, either directly or through use of right of option. End to arbitrary arrest. End to prolonged detention withou charge.
2. Reinstitution of civilian due process.
3. End to use of torture and the punishment of those who commit those acts, with public disclosure.
4. Lifting of the state of seige
5. Accounting of those detained or sentenced
6. Reinstitution of civil liberties: association, expression, press.
7. Steps toward ending authoritarian rule and providing transitic to civilian democratic system.

One through five are required for any movement; six for substanti movement and seven for normal relationship.

To the Argentine assertion that there has been improvement in the human rights situation since Grenada, the following might be appropriate:

1. Torture continues. Disappearances continue. Arbitrary arrests continue. Very few of the detainees have been turned over to the courts and had their charges heard and decided. Several thousand political prisoners remain. The disppearances now number in the many thousands as well.
2. Neither the Inter-American Human Rights Commission nor the UN Human Rights Commission has been permitted into the country. In fact, the ARgentine representatives drew a sharp criticism for having threatened the UN Subcommission which was considering their case (the threat worked and the subcommission did not pass the case up to the UN Human Rights Commission).
3. Even with regard to right of option, administrative restrictions enable very few to utilize it. Many times that number have been pic

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

80 D 177
Box 4859

List of Prisoners:

Essential Factors: The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy submitted a list of 7500 names to you for the purpose of seeking from the Argentine Government information on their status and prospects for release or due process. This group includes the National Council of Churches, the Washington Office of Latin America, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Americans For Democratic Action and others. The list they submitted also includes the 3000 names previously turned over to the Argentine Foreign Ministry by the U.S. Embassy on direction of the Department. President Carter in his conversation with President Videla in September had informed Videla that we had received the original list and the Department would provide it to the Argentine Government. In addition, we have received a list of sixteen names from Senator Kennedy's office and twenty-three other names from family members, friends and human rights organizations. Senator Kennedy's office also asked you to urge that former Argentine President, Hector Campora, who is currently in refuge at the Mexican Embassy in Buenos Aires, be allowed to leave the country as soon as possible. While the Campora case has political overtones because of his opposition to the current regime, humanitarian considerations argue for your raising it.

Points to be made:

-- We have received a list of 7500 names from a coalition of human rights groups in the United States of persons alleged to have been detained or disappeared.

-- This list includes the 3000 names previously submitted by our Embassy at the direction of the President.

-- We cannot vouch for the accuracy of these names either but would appreciate whatever response you may be able to provide for the family and friends who are concerned.

-- We will provide the list to the Foreign Ministry.

-- In response to a letter from Senator Kennedy, there are sixteen names which have been added to the list. Senator Kennedy also requested that I note the continuing concern with regard to the status of former President Hector Campora in the Mexican Embassy. Permission to leave the country obviously would be welcomed by many people in the international community.

-- Others, including human rights organizations and Congressional offices, have submitted 23 other names to me, which I have included on the list.

-- In all of these cases, we obviously would hope to be able to respond first with information on their status, if they are detained and what their future situation will be and then hopefully to be able to report that they have been released.

10/1/77

AR 222E

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 65031 - C

MEMORANDUM

To: Major General Leopoldo Galtieri
Chief of the Second Corps of the
Argentine Army

Evidence and documents regarding the detention of Epifanio Méndez Fleitas and his son Epifanio Méndez Vall:

1. Events Leading Up to Both Persons' Detention

On Thursday, October 6, Epifanio Méndez Vall, a 24-year-old Paraguayan citizen, was traveling with the editor of Noticuer, an independent publication where he worked as a feature writer and photographer, on routine duties. At approximately 11 p.m. the car in which they were traveling was stopped in front of the Hotel Nogaró by police officers for a traffic violation. During an exchange of words between the driver and the officer who asked for pertinent identification, the occupants of the car were taken to the Second Precinct of the Federal Police, the precinct station for that area.

After being identified, Epifanio Méndez Vall was released during the morning of Friday, October 7. However, in mid-afternoon the same day two uniformed police officers appeared at Méndez Vall's home to inform him that he had to return to the police station in order to correct the document he had signed for his release (Exhibit 1: cassette, side B, annexed hereto). When he returned from work about 8:30 p.m. -- he had gone back to work that morning -- he went to the Second Precinct with his father Epifanio Méndez Fleitas in response to the police request.

80D177
Box 4855

Both were detained, remaining incommunicado in those quarters under military jurisdiction, accused of having ties with an Argentine extremist organization and of being members of an organization of Paraguayan workers according to the reply to the habeas corpus petition filed on their behalf on Monday, October 10, and, according to the reply to another habeas corpus petition filed on Thursday, October 13, accused of being members of the ERP and PRT extremist organizations (See annexed envelope 1 for additional evidence).

From their detainment on October 7 until Thursday, October 13, they were held at the police precinct. On Friday, October 14, when Mrs. Fredelinda Vall Méndez went there to take them food and clothing, she was told that they had been transferred. Since that time their whereabouts have been unknown to their relatives (Envelope 1 rejoinder to the Judge).

2. Steps Taken to Clarify the Motives and Situation of Both Persons

a. Civil Courts: On Monday, October 10, Major (DEM/R) Jesús María Villamayor filed a petition for habeas corpus for both detainees in the Court presided over by Acting Judge Tabares, in Dr. Macchi's clerk's office. The reply to the habeas corpus petition was that they were being held under military authority on charges of having ties with the subversive ERP organization and of being members of an organization of Paraguayan workers. On Thursday, October 13, Juan Bernardino Méndez Vall field a habeas corpus petition for both parties. The Ministry of Interior replied that no arrest order had yet been issued by the National Executive Authority. The Federal Police's reply is contained in the "last minute" testimony (Envelope 1). The reply was supplemented by the report of the Commander in Chief of the Army saying that the Army had no record of the parties concerned (Testimony,

envelope 1). The said habeas corpus was contested within the requisite 24 hours on October 26 (envelope 1).

All Civil Court proceedings, meaning the actions instituted and results, were made known to the competent judges of the Federal Chamber as well as to the civilian and military authorities of the Argentine Republic and international organizations.

b. Telegrams and letters were sent to the civilian and military authorities of the Argentine Republic. Documentation on the case was delivered to the respective authorities together with other documents proving the persecution across national borders to which we are systematically subjected by the current regime in power in Paraguay (Envelope 2: documentation on this point).

On Monday, October 17, we were granted an appointment in the President's Private Staff Office where we reported on and furnished documents regarding this and similar previous cases.

c. Owing to the fact that for many years Epifanio Méndez Fleitas has maintained relations with international organizations and well-known persons of indubitable democratic affiliation, the following organizations, well-known persons, and foreign governments have taken an interest in this case:

Organizations

1. United Nations (the UN's Commission on Human Rights gave priority consideration to the case);

2. The Commission on Human Rights of the OAS gave immediate attention to the case since Epifanio Méndez currently heads the Republican National Association, an exile organization recognized by the Organization of American States (Envelope 3: testimony);

3. Amnesty International made a television report on the case on United States television and has also granted it priority attention;

4. The International Red Cross was informed and sent documentation. We do not know what action it has taken;

5. The Charles de Gaulle Institute of which Epifanio Méndez is an honorary member and literary contributor to Espoir, the Institute's official organ, was informed and sent documentation on this matter (Envelope 4);

6. The ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) of which the Paraguayan Confederation of Workers in Exile (CPTE) is a fraternal member, was for that reason informed;

7. The ILO (International Labor Organization) was informed and sent documentation by CPTE;

8. The ORIT (Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers of the (ICFTU) was informed and sent documentation by CPTE;

9. The CTV (Confederation of Workers of Venezuela) was informed by CPTE;

10. The Journalists' Association of the Republic of Ecuador;

11. The Episcopal Council of the Republic of Argentina, was informed and agreed to take steps on behalf of both prisoners;

12. The oral, written, and televised press of Rio de la Plata was informed and sent documentation;

13. The European and United States press was informed and sent documents, and they informed the public of these facts.

Foreign Governments with which unofficial cordial relations are maintained

1. The Office of the President, Department of State, Senate, House of Representatives, California State Government, and United States Embassy in Argentina were informed and have taken action on the matter. Cordial relations have been maintained with the Carter Administration (See envelope 5);

2. The Government of the Federal Republic of the United Mexican States was informed and sent documentation;

3. The Government of the Republic of Colombia was informed and sent documentation;

4. The Government of Venezuela was informed and sent documentation and has taken a special interest in the case;

5. The Government of Costa Rica was informed and sent documentation;

6. Council of Ministers and Parliament of Sweden.

Academia

1. Newcomb College of Tulane University, New Orleans, U.S.A.;
2. Collegium pro America Latina of Belgium;
3. Stanford University, California, U.S.A.;
4. Sorbonne, France

A petition will be sent shortly to the President of Argentina from the Paraguayan community in the country and from personal friends of the detainees (Envelope 6, sample).

3. Replies to our demands There is no information other than that referred to and stated to date.

4. Background and personality of the prisoners

Epifanio Méndez Fleitas See cover of the book Ideologías de Dependencia y Segunda Emancipación [Ideologies of Dependence and Second Emancipation.] Envelope 7 contains several periodicals attesting to Epifanio Méndez' ideological persuasion and also several photocopies of periodicals

opposing our Party which prove Méndez' Colorado militancy (Envelope 8, photocopy O.I. Missions).

Méndez is also author of the following books: Bajo la verde arboleda [Under the Green Grove] (poems and stories); El valor social de la Historia [The Social Value of History] (philosophical essay); El orden para la libertad [Order for Freedom] (politics and history); Batallas por la democracia [Battles for Democracy] (collection of newspaper editorials written by him and by Dr. Osvaldo Chaves); Ordenamiento Económico y Financiero [Economic and Financial Order] (treatise on the Paraguayan economy); Diagnosis paraguaya [Paraguayan Diagnosis] which can be considered his leading work (historical-political-economic work); Sicología del Colonialismo [Psychology of Colonialism] (sociological essay); Ideologías de Dependencia y Segunda Emancipación [Ideologies of Dependencies and Second Emancipation] (sociological lecture), and Lo histórico y lo antihistórico en el Paraguay [Historic and Anti-historic in Paraguay] (historical documentary). (We are enclosing four works.)

Musician and poet, composer of over 40 musical works (Envelope 9). Founding member of Associated Paraguayan Authors (APA).

Exiled from 1956 to 1973 in the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, he moved to Buenos Aires with his entire family where he has since resided at [ ] His residence has been known to the Civil Courts since July 13, 1976. 86

As a composer and musician he recorded a long-playing record with the San Solano Group which was released this year in Buenos Aires (record is enclosed). Mr. Méndez Fleitas has sent many of his literary and musical works to distinguished Argentinians and foreigners (Envelope 10).

Epifanio Méndez Vall Born at Asunción, Paraguay, on March 9, 1953, he moved to Montevideo, Uruguay, with his family in 1959. He attended the José Pedro Varela Secondary School No. 5 in Montevideo and completed preparatory studies in engineering at the Alfredo Vázquez Acevedo Institute in the same city. He moved to Argentina with his parents and brothers and enrolled at the Engineering School of Córdoba, Argentina, in 1974. When personal circumstances forced him to abandon his studies, he returned to Buenos Aires where he lived in his parents' house. His political involvement is limited to joining the Colorado Youth in Exile. As a member of Colorado Youth he was a delegate to the organization's congress in July 1974 where he and 50 other youths were arrested by the police as the result of a false denunciation. They were absolved of blame and cleared of charges for that "offense." He is currently pursuing a career as a journalist and is beginning to work as a feature writer and photographer for Noticuer, a publication of the leather industry. He has a degree in drafting but supports himself as a photographer.

5. Remarks on the Case

We learned from the officers who went to get Epifanio Méndez Vall on Friday, October 7, to have him come to the Second Precinct to "correct his file," that a Paraguayan military delegation led by General Prieto Bustos of the Military College happened to be staying at the Hotel Nogaró. We wonder why he would have been released on Friday, October 7, if [a warrant for his] arrest dated November 29, 1976 existed.

We also wonder how one can believe that a warrant for Epifanio Méndez Fleitas' arrest existed in a district of the Argentine Army, on no lesser charges than having subversive ties, and yet he had not been sought earlier

at his home. Since everyone is aware of the effectiveness of the security authorities of the Republic of Argentina, it is difficult to believe that someone accused of being a subversive must go to them to be taken, particularly when the accused person's home address is public knowledge.

We further wonder how it is possible that a warrant for Méndez Fleitas' arrest could be entered in the La Plata Register, Page 28, dated February 13, 1975, Article 1(1), at the request of the Santa Delegation of the Federal Police in document S.F. 411, and yet the Federal Police failed to make the arrest when Mr. Méndez Fleitas was detained at Police Headquarters on an immigration matter from July 8 to 13, 1976.

The questions all but answer themselves. We believe that they must be considered carefully by the Argentine authorities in order to satisfy justice.

We who for more than 20 years have lived in exile and know the psychology and the power of Stroessner's tyranny would not be surprised if these libelous accusations are based on information from that regime. After repeatedly abusing the good faith of the authorities of friendly countries, it has used them to pursue across borders its unrelenting enemies. In the incident which concerns us we point to the strange coincidence of the presence of Paraguayan authorities so close to the chance traffic violation of the vehicle in which Epifanio Méndez Vall was traveling.

We, who have always abided by the cardinal principle of defense of national sovereignty, are faced with the entreguista ["sell out"] conduct of the current regime which governs our country and is set forth in the Itaipú Treaty. In 1966 dissident Colorados proclaimed: "The Sapena Pastor-Magalhaes Agreement on the Guayra Falls is contrary to the interests of

Paraguay and contrary to American solidarity." That historic pronouncement foresaw today's problems in reconciling the interests of the nations of the La Plata Basin and it advocated the system of multilateral negotiations among the countries bordering the Paraná affected by the said Treaty. This position, long staunchly maintained by the historic Colorado movement has been and still is the cause of systematic persecution by the Stroessner regime -- tied by powerful interests to a foreign country -- of those of us who maintain it. The childish and recurrent claim that we are involved in subversive activities or associated with extremist organizations is part of the strategy to destroy or silence us. Paraguay, America, and the world are aware of the historic basis of our ideology which is incompatible with totalitarian methodologies and systems, of the extreme left or right. They are also aware of our uncompromising respect for the principle of nonintervention in matters affecting the internal policy of other States.

On the basis of this memorandum, evidence, and documents, as well as information on steps taken and our modest remarks on the case, we believe that we have sufficiently helped the military authorities to clarify the situation of Epifanio Méndez Fleitas and Epifanio Méndez Vall.

After submitting to your Command these clarifications and proof of the thought, conduct, and intellectual and human worth of Epifanio Méndez Fleitas and Epifanio Méndez Vall, we invoke the inalienable right of petition and the universally sacred principles of the Declaration of Human Rights so that Your Excellency may give orders to the appropriate official under your jurisdiction for the immediate release of the said persons.

Fully confident that you will render a just decicion, we remain,

Respectfully,

[Signature]

Fredelina Vall Méndez

[Signature]

Juan Bernardino Méndez

[Signature]

José Liberto Méndez

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 04262 060742Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 4262

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR, SW
SUBJECT: MONTONEROS LEADER VISITS SWEDEN

REF: STOCKHOLM 4214 (NOTAL)

1. MONTONEROS GUERRILLA LEADER MARIO FIRMENICH MET WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN OLOF PALME ON OCTOBER 4 TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. THE MEETING WAS ARRANGED ON THE EVE OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN MADRID, WHERE THE ARGENTINE SITUATION WILL BE ON THE AGENDA. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, FIRMENICH ALSO HAD THE SPECIFIC GOAL OF ENLISTING SUPPORT FOR FORMER ARGENTINE PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA, WHO HAS BEEN STAYING AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES FOR ONE-AND-A-HALF YEARS AWAITING PERMISSION TO DEPART FOR MEXICO. PALME STATED THAT THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WOULD SEND TELEGRAMS TO THE UN AND THE ARGENTINE REGIME URGING RESOLUTION OF THIS CASE. HE SAID OTHER SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS WERE DOING THE SAME AND WAS OPTIMISTIC OVER CHANCES OF INFLUENCING ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IN THIS MATTER.

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Case Number: 200000044

2. REGARDING DAGEMAR HAGELIN CASE (REFTEL), FIRMENICH SAID HE WAS ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN SHE WAS NOT A MEMBER OF ANY GUERRILLA ORGANIZATION, POINTING OUT THAT THOUSANDS OF ARGENTINIANS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED WERE NOT INVOLVED IN POLITICS. DISCUSSING NEXT YEAR'S PLANNED WORLD FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP IN ARGENTINA, HE STATED THE HOPE THAT GAMES WOULD BE TRANSFORMED INTO A "PLATFORM AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP," WHILE EXPRESSING HIS UNDERSTANDING WITH THOSE WHO DECIDE TO BOYCOTT THE SERIES AS A SIGN OF SOLIDARITY.

3. FIRMENICH STATED HIS ORGANIZATION DOES NOT INTEND TO CRUSH THE MILITARY REGIME IN A MIGHTY BLOW OR THROUGH CLASSIC GUERRILLA "LIBERATION" TACTICS. INSTEAD, IT INTENDS TO CONCENTRATE STRIKES ON THE REGIME AT ITS WEAK POINTS IN ORDER TO "TIRE, WEAR OUT AND SPLIT" ITS MEMBERS.
KENNEDY-MINOTT

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07936 212146Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-05 SS-15 SP-02 L-03 CIAE-00
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7936

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PA, AR
SUBJECT: POLITICAL DETAINEE: AMILCAR SANTUCHO

REF: ASUNCION 4318

1. EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES HAS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION REGARDING AMILCAR MATINO (DR LANTINO) SANTUCHO:
(A) DATE OF BIRTH: APRIL 9, 1921 IN SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO, ARGENTINA.

(B) WIFE: MABEL NOEMI PEREA. OTHER FAMILY: SEE (F) BELOW.

(C) POLITICAL ACTIVITIES:

- PARTIDO COMUNISTA ARGENTINA (PCA) ACTIVIST IN SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO AS OF JUNE, 1963.

- MEMBER OF PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DE TRABAJADORES (PRT) (ERP POLITICAL ACTION ARM) AS OF MARCH 1967.

- INVOLVED IN PCA FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN IN SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO AS OF AUGUST 1968.

[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date: _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Case Number: 200000044

- MEMBER OF PRT AS OF APRIL 1970.

- MEMBER OF PRT TERRORIST GROUP OPERATING IN TUCUMAN AS OF MAY 1970.

- MEMBER OF PRT PROVINCIAL INTERIOR COMMITTEE, SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO AS OF MAY 1970.

(D) INFORMATION REGARDING PARAGUAYAN ARREST:
SANTUCHO ARRESTED MAY 16, 1975 REPEAT 1975 BY PARAGUAYAN AUTHORITIES. A PARAGUAYAN NATIONAL NOTICED SANTUCHO'S UNUSUAL BEHAVIOR AT BORDER CROSSING POINT WHERE HE APPEARED TO BE SIGNALLING FOR A CONTACT WITH A FOLDED COPY OF ERP NEWSPAPER. PARAGUAYAN POLICE WERE INFORMED WHEN BUS ENTERED PARAGUAYAN TERRITORY AND SANTUCHO AND CHILEAN MIR MEMBER, JORGE ISAAC FUENTES, WERE LATER ARRESTED BY PARAGUAYAN AUTHORITIES. AT TIME OF ARREST SANTUCHO WAS CARRYING A FALSE ARGENTINE PASSPORT IN THE NAME OF JUAN MANUEL MONTENEGRO. HE WAS ALSO CARRYING A FALSE BOTTOM SUITCASE WHICH CONTAINED ERP DOCUMENTS AND CONTACT INFORMATION REGARDING OTHER LEFTISTS IN VARIOUS OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. SANTUCHO AND CHILEAN MIR COMPANION, JORGE ISAAC FUENTES, WERE EVIDENTLY TRANSITING PARAGUAY FOR MEETING IN PERU OF JUNTA COORDINADOR REVOLUCIONARIO (JCR). SANTUCHO WAS PRT/ERP REPRESENTATIVE TO JCR SECRETARIAT MEETING WHICH WAS TO BE HELD IN JULY 1975 IN PERU.

(E) CONTACTS REGARDING ASYLUM:
THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR IN PARAGUAY EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE POSSIBILITY OF EXILING SANTUCHO TO MEXICO IN A DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT STROESSNER. PRESIDENT STROESSNER INDICATED TO HIS POLICE AUTHORITIES THAT HE WOULD OPPOSE SANTUCHO'S LEAVING FOR MEXICO AS HE WAS SURE THAT SANTUCHO WOULD UNDERTAKE ACTIONS ON
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07936 212146Z

BEHALF OF THE ERP AGAIN.
THE NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR IN BUENOS AIRES (WHO IS ALSO ACCREDITED TO PARAGUAY) CALLED ON REGIONAL LEGAL ATTACHE ON JANUARY 5, 1976 REGARDING THE GRANTING OF POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR SANTUCHO IN NORWAY.

(F) AMILCAR IS BROTHER OF MARIO SANTUCHO, FORMER ERP COMMANDER WHO WAS KILLED BY ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES

DURING SUMMER OF 1976.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 254716
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 MCT-01 SIG-01 CIAE-00
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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 DHA-05
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DRAFTED BY ARA:ECA:JBUMPUS:LK
APPROVED BY ARA:FJMCNEIL
ARA:ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
M/CT:J.T.JOHNSON(PHONE)
EUR:DNJOHNSON (PHONE)

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R 230655Z OCT 77
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECLASSIFIED
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] STATE 254716

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: MONTONEROS ACTIVITIES

REF: STOCKHOLM 4214

1. EMBASSY STOCKHOLM REFTEL (REPEATED TO ADDRESSEE POSTS) FURNISHED VALUABLE INFORMATION ON ACTIVITIES AND PLANS OF MONTONEROS (ARGENTINE EXTREME-LEFTIST GUERRILLA GROUP.)
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 254716

DEPARTMENT WAS ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN MONTONEROS POSSI-

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

BLE DECISION TO USE 1978 WORLD CUP SOCCER GAMES IN ARGENTINA AS "PLATFORM AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP."

2. ANY INFORMATION WHICH ADDRESSEE POSTS MAY HAVE OF MONTONERO ACTIVITIES AND PLANS WOULD BE APPRECIATED. EMBASSIES SHOULD OF COURSE ESCHEW ANY CONTACT WITH THIS TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. VANCE

[redacted]

NNN

M-15A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED
(when separated from classified attachment)

October 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Ambassador Todman
S/P - Mr. Lake

FROM: ARA/PPC; S/P - Ernest H. Preeg

SUBJECT: US Policy Toward Brazil/Southern Cone

Attached is the final version of my assessment of US relations with Brazil/southern cone.

Addressees listed below also received copies of an earlier draft for comment. The many useful comments received were taken into account in the final version, but I did not attempt to reach full agreement, and in fact views vary on a number of points. This paper should therefore be considered my personal best effort and not a consensus or cleared document.

For Distribution:

ARA	Amb Stedman	S/P	Mr. Kreisberg
	Mr. McNeil		Mr. Garten
	Mr. Arellano		Mr. Feinberg
	Mr. Einaudi		
	Mr. Shaw Smith	S/DHA	Mr. Schneider
	Mr. Barneby	EB	Mr. Hormats
	Mr. Zimmerman	INR	Mr. Estep
	Mr. Rogers		
	Mr. Finan		

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ✓Declass
Exemption(s) _____

ARA/PPC)EHPreeg/d
S/P)Ext. 20670

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(when separated from classified attachment)

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US Policy Toward Brazil/Southern Cone

Summary

The current military regimes in Brazil and countries to the south interrelate with respect to key US interests. Four countries--Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru--play determinant roles, with wide freedom of independent action; three others--Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia--are in contrast less consequential and subject to heavy external influence, particularly from within the region.

A number of possible developments over the coming year could have crucial importance for longer term US influence and interests in the region: improvement in the human rights situations in Argentina and Chile; progress on our own proliferation objectives in Brazil/Argentina; political reform in Brazil leading up to late 1978 elections; the ability of Peru to maintain its good record on human rights and begin transition to civilian government in the face of acute economic problems; and political reorientation of the US/Brazil relationship.

Medium Term Outlook: Several likely medium term trends in the region will also have major bearing on the appropriate course for US policy:

1. The authoritarian military-dominated regimes will gradually make concessions to internal and external pressures to liberalize the political process. Progress will be most striking in terms of protection of the individual, while the transition to some form of popular government will be slower and probably partial at best.

2. Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, with reasonably favorable external circumstances, can achieve steady economic growth over the next several years, including greater attention to social problems. Economic "success" (particularly compared with previous austerity or economic chaos under prior civilian rule) will reinforce the position of moderate-conservative economic strategists.

[redacted]

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3. One result of economic success in these semi-industrialized countries will be a continuing drift away from the G-77 bloc view on specific policy issues. Significant moves will take place in bilateral or limited size functional groupings rather than in the large and more political international forums.

4. Security ties will steadily diversify away from the United States as a result of our arms transfer and human rights policies, on the one hand, and the development of an indigenous defense industry in Brazil and Argentina on the other. The military in these countries will remain friendly to the United States, but the intimacy and pervasive bonds of the past will gradually and greatly diminish.

5. Local disputes and divergence of interests will prevent the emergence of a regional political bloc in the short term. However, the confluence of political and economic circumstances in these countries tends to strengthen the staying power of the current national strategies and to promote closer economic and even military sales relationships within the region. Over the longer term, a more cohesive grouping may emerge as a somewhat independent force in world politics.

6. Brazil, over the next several years, will steadily increase its power and influence, and become a counterweight to the United States throughout South America. A more balanced relationship with the United States will mean more frequent problems of conflicting interest, particularly in the trade field. Brazil will gradually be drawn into a position of influence in world politics, most importantly in black Africa.

7. The overall result of these developments on the US position in this region will be one of increasing popularity and decreasing influence. The relationship will be more and more in terms of shared interests and mutual accommodation rather than asymmetric dependence by these countries on the United States and corresponding preponderant leverage on our part.

US Policy Response: US immediate objectives in this region center on nuclear non-proliferation and human rights, for which elaborate strategies and policy mechanisms exist. The medium term objective is to develop a revised broader relationship with these countries, taking account of the changing circumstances enumerated above.

A medium term strategy will be determined most importantly by the course of relations between the United States and Brazil. This is not only because of Brazil's size and economic influence in the area, but because of the precedental impact of US actions toward Brazil and the political interaction among the existing military governments.

A policy framework consists of broad lines of policy applicable to the region as a whole and more detailed country strategies. Suggested general lines of US policy are elaborated for: (A) The Political relationship between the United States and the current military regimes; (B) Human rights; (C) Economic interests; and (D) Security ties.

An individual country strategy is elaborated only for Brazil, although the same basic approach in attenuated form would be applicable to Argentina. The central US objective should be to bring Brazil gradually into the community of industrial democracies. The primary focus for achieving this over the next several years should be in a strengthened bilateral structure based on a more balanced partnership, and informal country groups related to functional issues.

The substantive components of the evolving new relationship with Brazil should consist of agreed basic principles or concepts and a growing framework of specific functional ties. Statments of principle, which could take various forms and have a cumulative impact over time, might include: (1) Support for our long tradition of democratic processes and the rule of law; (2) Agreement to develop economic relations on the basis of a liberal trading system with fair, equitable procedures on both sides; (3) Recognition of the energy problem

as central to both of our economies, and on which we need to cooperate more closely; (4) Recognition of the growing complexity of urban problems in an advanced industrial society; (5) Agreement on the need for larger powers to work together constructively to maintain peace and solve disputes; and (6) Agreement on the need to transfer technology and resources to the poorer countries, and to seek closer collaboration to that end.

Suggested priority areas for developing strengthened functional ties are: (1) Energy cooperation (nuclear and non-nuclear); (2) Overall economic strategy (to seek an agreed and consistent set of objections); (3) International financial cooperation (including activities of the private banking sector and cooperation in Central Bank intervention and swap activities); and (4) Joint US-Brazil technical assistance /aid to poor countries (in the Amazon region or black Africa.

END SUMMARY

US Policy Toward Brazil/Southern Cone

1. Introduction

Brazil and countries to the south have a long history of interaction. Books have been written about parallel developments in the so-called southern cone (primarily the "most European" countries of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, but often including Paraguay and Bolivia as well), and among key ABC countries of Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

One of the most prophetic linkages--although in retrospect a diplomatic blunder--was the 1972 statement by the US President that, "As Brazil goes, so goes South America": within two years, three southern cone countries--Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay--had substituted repressive military for moderate to left civilian governments, "following the Brazilian example" in far harsher terms.

A policy assessment of this sub-region now is particularly appropriate for several reasons:

1. Human Rights Objectives - This region is likely to be the litmus test of US human rights policy. The human rights targets in the area include large and important countries (Brazil and Argentina alone account for over two thirds of the population of South America). At the same time, unlike the more static situation in most of Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe, South American countries have a deep and longstanding commitment to Western ideals and democratic processes. Over the next two to three years, there will almost certainly be substantial change in the situation of some if not all of these countries and the outcome will be a most tangible measure of the success of our human rights policies.

2. Political Orientation Toward the US - The political evolution in these countries, in addition to human rights objectives, will have a major effect on overall US interests and influence in South America. Most of the current military regimes have an unprecedented unity in political orientation which is strongly anti-communist, relatively internationalist

in economic outlook, and predisposed toward cooperation with the US despite the pressures we are exerting against them in the human rights field. Political changes over the next few years are likely to lead to lessened represssion and somewhat more democratic processes. Beyond that, however, the future political orientation of these countries, and its impact on various US interests, is unclear.

3. Nuclear Non-Proliferation - This pressing US interest is essentially a Brazil/Argentina issue, but there are also some secondary regional aspects. Argentine assistance to Peru for nuclear power development is a noteworthy element in what appears to be a broader alignment between these two countries. Chile has a significant card to play with respect to the Treaty of Tlatelolco. And growing energy needs present related opportunities for broader cooperation in the energy field--oil in Argentina, several major alternative sources in Brazil.

4. Brazil's Rise to Major Power Status - Brazil's emergence as a major power is not only inexorable but in a number of areas already a reality. Brazil is a major participant in the international trade and financial systems; its political/economic influence permeates all neighboring South American countries; its ethnic and cultural bonds with Africa underlie Brazilian sentiment for closer cooperation across the South Atlantic; and its program for development of nuclear technology puts Brazil in a category of major security interests. Brazil's relationship with the US is changing from the traditional "dependent" status to one of greater "equality" and independence, but the full implications of this new relationship, for neighbors in South America as well as the United States, are unclear.

In considering these issues, four of the current military regimes appear to be playing "determinant," or largely "independent" roles, while three others have "subsidiary" or "dependent" positions. The four determinant countries are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru. (Peru is not normally considered part of the "southern cone," but in terms of the

current configuration of military governments in South America, it interacts with its more conservative neighbors in a number of ways, and will be highly influential in the period ahead. Each of the four is likely to experience a significant political evolution away from total military rule over the next few years, while a highly distinct and independent set of circumstances in each makes it likely that the outcome will be determined primarily by internal developments and only secondarily by external influences. At the same time, the result in each of these countries will have a substantial effect on the future political character of South America and US interests in the area.

The three subsidiary countries are Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, and their situations are somewhat the reverse: significant internal changes unlikely except perhaps Bolivia; external influence, particularly from within the region, relatively more important, and the outcome unlikely to have a great impact on US interests.

As a consequence, the emphasis of this assessment is placed on the four key countries. Discussion of the other three (and other countries) is limited to where significant issues are raised. The time frame is the medium term of one to four years, and policy issues are discussed primarily in terms of consistent overall approach to the several countries in the region. The objective is to give a broader perspective of our interests and policy constraints in the area rather than to second guess those involved in specific issues for decision in coming weeks or months.

II. Medium Term Outlook for the United States: Increasing Popularity and Decreasing Influence.

Despite obvious differences country by country, and the degree of uncertainty involved, several common developments appear highly likely in the Brazil/southern cone region which, cumulatively, will have a major bearing on the appropriate course for US policy:

1. The authoritarian military-dominated regimes will gradually make concessions to internal and external pressures to liberalize the political process. Progress will be most striking in terms of protection of the individual, while the transition to some form of popular government will be slower and probably partial at best. Over the next several years return to a classic form of parliamentary democracy is unlikely; a limited return to elected government, with a continuing major role for the military, is most likely.

The cumulative trend toward conservative, highly authoritarian military government in these countries derives from a series of historical events. The Brazilian revolution of 1964 produced dynamic economic growth and political stability--at the conscious price of democratic institutions and social reform. The 1968 Peruvian revolution, similar in that a military regime replaced ineffective civilian government, started from the left, but developed major economic problems. The southern cone countries continued with weak civilian governments unable to put together successful economic or social strategies. Chile under Allende followed a leftward course while Argentina and Uruguay drifted, with popular discontent overtaken by terrorist assault. By the mid-1970's, hard-line military regimes in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay had adopted the Brazilian approach with a vengeance, while even in Peru, phase II of the Revolution was following a more moderate economic course and a more conciliatory political line with neighboring conservative regimes.

It now appears that in all of these countries there is the beginning of a swing in the other direction. There are growing pressures for reduced police power and transition to some form of popular or pluralist form of government; and successful economic austerity programs over the past couple of years should permit greater resources for social programs in the period ahead (except Peru, which faces at least two more years of austerity).

The emphasis for reform at this stage is on specific steps to protect the individual, or the "integrity of the person" category of human rights problems. A consistent

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pattern prevails throughout the region of specific goals to liberalize the judicial system and eliminate violations of the person: opposition groups in Brazil are pressing for habeas corpus, reduced government powers to cassate politicians and to inhibit the press, more control over local police abuses; in Chile the emphasis is on ending the state of siege, release of prisoners, elimination of arbitrary arrest, and greater press freedom; Argentina remains most grim, with disappearing persons, summary executions of suspected subversives, and other physical violations of the person the central concerns; Peru has the least direct threat to individuals, and pressure centers on greater press freedom and right of public political dissent. (However, the economic austerity ahead in Peru may create pressures for more authoritarian control.)

The process of transition from authoritarian military rule to some form of popular government, in contrast, is more nebulous, with pressure building up in each country to do something but with a longer term timeframe and no consistent set of end result objectives. The traditional political parties are widely discredited, weak or no longer functioning (with the possible exception of the Christian Democrats in Chile); the military in Chile and Peru have in mind transition to some form of "functional" or "corporatist" representation; Brazil, where a strong presidency long predates the current regime, now has a weak two-party Congress of pro-government and opposition parties that could be strengthened over time, or replaced by a proposed and more traditional four party structure (i.e. liberal, conservative, 2 central parties); Argentina has no obvious alternative to military rule at this point, with the Peronist party most likely to fill a political vacuum if the opportunity presents itself (but the direction of even this outcome is unclear since no new leadership of the Peronist party has emerged). In sum, there is a very broad spectrum of thought as to how best to return to popular rule, from traditional party politics to a "strong executive" model to varying corporatist schemes to vague references to the Mexican model.

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Some deadlines have been set: Peru and Bolivia back to civilian government by 1980, preceded by constituent assemblies; Brazil likely to make some changes in connection with elections in late 1978; a less credible Chilean transition by 1985 could be accelerated if pressures build up. Each country, to some extent, is jockeying for position to create a better public image for its planned return to democratic government, and the coming year will be crucial in developing momentum in this direction.

There are thus significant cross influences within the region: any relaxation of police power in Chile is closely observed in Argentina; the June 78 constituent assembly in Peru can influence the situation in Brazil and Chile; a visit by the IAHRC to Paraguay would be precedent for others; and the future political course of Brazil has pervasive influence throughout the region.

The US is most visibly involved through our human rights policy, which is a significant catalyst to the underlying cyclical swing away from authoritarian regimes. Again, however, there is a dichotomy in the impact of US objectives between the integrity of the person (category I) and return to popular government (category III). In the first instance, the US human rights stand is widely applauded outside the governments as helpful to achieving progress, and our pressure also appears to inhibit the more hard line factions within the military. Regarding a return to popular government, however, there is an ambiguous to negative attitude toward perceived US pressure to impose our unrestrained form of democratic government on these Latin American countries. The Christian Democrats in Chile and the parties of the left in general are most responsive to such a call, since early and open elections could benefit them most. The more general attitude, however, is that Latin American countries are very different from the United States, that an early return to overly pure forms of popular rule could lead back to endemic problems of political instability and corruption along the lines that led to military intervention in the first place, and that each country itself should decide how a return to more democratic processes is to be implemented.

2. Over the past three years, the conservative economic policies of most of these governments have successfully coped with the initial destablizing effects of the oil price increase and, in the southern cone, the excesses of previous regimes. With reasonably favorable external circumstances, steady economic growth over the next several years is feasible, including greater attention to social problems and unemployment. Economic "success" (particularly compared with previous austerity or economic chaos under prior civilian rule) will reinforce the position of moderate-conservative economic strategists in these countries.

Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are on a largely parallel economic track, and the medium-term outlook is good, if external conditions are reasonably favorable. (In contrast, renewed recession in the industrialized countries would have serious adverse economic impact on these countries, increase internal political tensions, and perhaps lead to greater repression rather than the liberalizing trend predicted above.) All three have implemented austerity programs over the past two to three years, and have successfully brought their external deficits under control. These programs were carried out at the cost of a drop in real wages, more unequal income distribution, rising unemployment, and varying complaints by investors. Now, however, the governments are in a position to resume steady growth without serious threat to renewed external disequilibrium. Chile conservatively predicts a 7% growth rate through the end of the decade (although it is most dependent on external factors, in particular the price of copper); Brazil is trying to hold down growth to the 4-5% level this year and next, and to accelerate to a more "normal" rate of 7+% thereafter; and Argentina should be able to maintain a 4-5% rate of growth over the next few years.

Such growth strategies, while potentially favorable in terms of permitting expansion of wages as well as investment, will not be easy to implement. Chile is in the strongest internal position, since Pinochet fully supports his economic team, and the result thus far of reducing unemployment from 18% to 13%, with a 10% target by early next year (not counting hidden unemployment) is a highly visible sign of movement in

the right direction. The Videla/De Hoz team in Argentina is now fairly well in control, but the future cohesion is shaky in view of rival factions within the military that seek to discredit Videla, and the traditionally strong "statist" economic philosophy in Argentina which conflicts with the largely international orientation of the current economic team; Brazil suffers from weariness with the long authoritarian control over economic decisions, plus invidious comparisons with the halcyon days before the oil price rise.

A key to whether the current regimes will be able to capitalize on their current situation will be the performance of the investment sector. Both Argentina and Chile are encouraging private investment, domestic and foreign, but political uncertainty is holding back major commitments. Brazil is more complicated in that it tries to balance tight fiscal restraint against the need to maintain a dynamic investment sector; it also has to compromise between strong domestic interests for a protectionist policy and the market oriented disciplines of an export led growth strategy. Economic slow-down has caused widespread discontent among domestic entrepreneurs, and has constrained the basic international orientation of the finance minister. However, the economic course for Brazil over the longer run would appear to dictate further liberalization and market orientation. The alternative of widespread control over economic decisions is becoming more and more unmanageable from the point of view of the technocrats in Brasilia.

The situation in Peru is somewhat analogous to the others, but with several years time lag. Austerity measures in response to past excessive spending and depressed markets are being faced by Peru during 1977-79. If Peru is successful in this difficult effort, balanced growth in the context of a more market-oriented economy is likely toward the end of the decade.

One could argue that no such analogy can be justified between Peru on the one hand and Chile or Brazil on the other. Certainly the largely socialist objectives of the Peruvian

revolution are in sharp contrast with the rhetoric of the Chilean economic team, most of whom boast of their "Chicago School" background. However, the reality lies somewhere in between, since in all of these countries, a large share of industry is state owned and unlikely to revert to private hands (even in "capitalist" Chile), and a complex set of government incentives/disincentives greatly influences decisions in the private sector. This factual similarity cuts across current rhetoric while at the same time acting as a limitation on integrating these countries into the highly market-oriented trading relationship that now prevails among the industrialized countries.

3. One result of economic success by these semi-industrialized and increasingly self-confident countries will be a continuing drift away from the G-77 bloc view on specific policy issues. From energy imports to foreign investment to trade in manufactures, the objectives of these countries cannot be met through the common positions espoused by the G-77. This does not mean a quick conversion to industrialized country status. Change will take place gradually and at the margins. Significant moves will be in bilateral linkages or limited size functional groupings rather than in the large and more political international forums.

This trend has already been apparent over the past couple of years, but the evolving realities of self-interest take time to gain acceptance and legitimacy in terms of government policy. Outwardly, these countries continue to participate as full members of the G-77, but privately, and in more limited functional forums, they are more and more bold in distinguishing their particular interests from the more general objectives of the G-77. In trade, these countries seek broad market access for manufactures, and are becoming more concerned about possible quota limitations in the shoe or textile sector than on gaining new but limited special preferences. (They are among the largest beneficiaries of existing tariff preferences, but further major gains are unlikely.) In the investment field, they seek more advanced technology, which they realize can only be

obtained through a mutually acceptable participation by multinational corporations, rather than through restrictive international codes and sanctions. In the financial field, a good bank rating is the requirement, and G-77 objectives in the field of debt rescheduling can be damaging. As for aid and other highly concessionary resource transfers, this is more and more a fourth world problem.

The drift away from G-77 solidarity, however, does not automatically propel these countries into the OECD club of advanced industrialized countries. As noted above, government ownership and intervention are widespread and traditional statist pressures, supported by indigenous industry, labor and more left wing political groups, conflict with the international market disciplines that now prevail among the industrialized countries. Time appears to be gradually on the side of further opening of the national economies, particularly in Brazil and Argentina, but the process will be gradual and for the foreseeable future partial.

Finally, there is a political dimension in that the conservative military regimes in the ABC countries are uncomfortable with radical left leaders that are often the most vocal spokesmen in the G-77. Even Peru, an active leader of the G-77 in the early 70's, now has become muted as the more moderate current government puts primary emphasis on solving its economic problems. The most frequent line heard throughout these countries, but particularly in Brazil, with regard to the political configuration of North/South relations, is that there should be less emphasis on rigid groups on both sides, and a greater flexibility in approaching particular problems.

4. Security ties will steadily diversify away from the United States as a result of our arms transfer and human rights policies, on the one hand, and the development of an indigenous defense industry in Brazil and Argentina on the other. The military in these countries will remain friendly to the United States, but the intimacy and pervasive bonds of the past will gradually and greatly diminish.

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Ties over the past 30 years between US and Latin American military establishments have been unique in their intimacy. Most generals and colonels on the Latin American side have spent considerable time in the United States and, until recently, their forces were largely dependent on US armaments and doctrine.

This situation is now undergoing fundamental change, although the full impact will not be felt until the current junior and middle ranks of officers succeed to senior positions. Brazil was already developing its own arms industry, but the shift away from dependence on the United States has been accelerated throughout the continent as a result of our arms transfer and human rights policies. The uncertainty and delay in the US Government's response to new requests for armaments has had negative effect on the United States as a reliable supplier and ally. There is frustration and criticism from officers on both sides, largely on grounds that Latin American countries have maintained a relatively low level of defense expenditures and that they have been loyal allies against the communist threat.

The situation is most acute in the southern cone where Chile now and Argentina by September 1978 will be totally cut off from arms purchases, including replacement parts for their American built planes and ships. This could lead over the next year or so to a cannibalization of exisiting equipment (expensive and humiliating) and early attempts to make major purchases in Europe or elsewhere. Chile is now cut off politically from all major suppliers, but as current human rights violations decline, a European source may develop; moreover, Chile feels most vulnerable in security terms in view of the Peruvian arms buildup and the border dispute with Peru over Bolivian access to the sea that may reach a decisive point in 1979.

The Brazil situation is potentially less contentious (unless a complex legal question over human rights conditions for puchase of replacement parts for Brazilian F-5s reaches an impasse) but more inexorable. Brazil will gradually become highly self-sufficient in arms production, and a supplier to others in the region.

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The overall result will be a steady and major decline in US influence and leverage in South America and in the security field. We should be able to maintain close liaison and cooperation, based on common political objectives, but the considerable leverage we now have in the southern cone should not last more than a couple of years.

5. Local disputes and divergence of interests will prevent the emergence of a regional political bloc in the short term. However, the confluence of political and economic circumstances in these countries tends to strengthen and to promote closer economic and even military sales relationships within the region. Over the longer term, a more cohesive grouping of these semi-industrialized nations may emerge as a somewhat independent force in world politics.

There were concerns in early 1977 that the southern cone countries, in response to US policy on human rights, would coalesce into a more entrenched and anti-American bloc. This has not happened for several reasons: Brazil, the key to an effective counter-weight to the United States, has nothing to gain from associating itself in this way with the tainted regimes to the south, and prefers to pursue a more independent foreign policy course in its own right; the southern cone military regimes justify their repressive actions largely in terms of an international communist threat which makes it extremely difficult for them to turn away from the United States, no matter how hard we pressure them on human rights; and longstanding territorial disputes, rivalries, and a relatively low level of economic ties inhibit close political cooperation.

Over the next several years, however, a different form of regional cohesion may evolve which could be largely independent of the United States, but not anti-American. As the southern cone countries (and Brazil) moderate repressive police powers and move toward some form of representative government, they will become more acceptable in international forums and better able to play an independent international role. Brazil remains the key, and all signs are that the independence already achieved from the United States (in

economic and military terms) will be directed in part to closer ties within the region. Unlike the long and ineffective attempt of Argentina, particularly under Peron, to become an independent force on the world scene (even while Brazil maintained a solid alignment with the United States), Brazil is now achieving this status, which will have major centrifugal effect on the countries to the south.

The result could be a loose regional grouping of semi-industrialized countries, with growing economic and security ties, pro-West in basic political orientation, but capable of highly independent action and substantial influence as a bridge between the industrialized and less developed groups.

The key to such an outcome is the evolution of the Brazil/Argentina relationship. Traditional rivalry and the Argentine obsession over gradual Brazilian hegemony in Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia, have long made any form of common cause remote. Recently, however, Argentina appears to be moving from a posture of antagonism to one of accommodation and even cooperation with its large neighbor to the north. In part this reflects a more self-confident (and self-critical) Argentine attitude, less prone to seek external causes for its internal shortcomings. It also indicates gradual acceptance of a less than equal power relationship with Brazil in some third countries, while correctly understanding that Brazil will never threaten to dominate Argentina itself. In any event, there is a growing number of guarded, vague, comments in both countries that a closer relationship is desirable. If the Argentine economy should achieve sustained growth, as anticipated, the basis for such closer ties will materialize.

6. Brazil, over the next several years, will steadily increase its power and influence, and become a counter-weight to the United States throughout South America (and in parts of the Carribbean). Brazil will be increasingly independent of the United States for its basic needs. A more balanced relationship with the United States will mean more frequent problems of conflicting interest, particularly in the trade field. Although the Brazilian role in world politics will remain ambiguous, it will gradually be drawn into a position of substantial influence, most importantly in black Africa.

A comprehensive analysis of Brazil is beyond the scope of this paper, but there seems to be no doubt that Brazil will continue on its path toward major power status. Questions were raised about Brazil's staying power in the wake of the oil crisis, but after three years of adjustment the external debt situation is under control and by next year the country should again be in position for sustained, fairly rapid expansion. The revised Brazilian economic strategy puts a premium on energy self-sufficiency and expanding export markets for manufactures, both sources for future cooperation as well as conflict with the United States.

The thrust of Brazil's policy toward the United States has been to end the long history of dependence and "automatic alliance" and achieve a more equal, independent status. This has been largely achieved: the share of Brazilian exports to the United States has declined steadily from 44% in 1960 to less than 20% today (smaller than the EC share); and the decision in September to terminate the remaining military agreements was symbolic of Brazil's independent security posture.

While rejecting the former relationship, however, Brazil remains ambiguous about its future role. It considers itself (and is) first among the semi-industrialized powers and therefore more and more estranged from a leadership role in the G-77. It is gradually extending its economic influence throughout South America (and is becoming the dominant presence in Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay to the south and Surinam to the north), but is not accepted as leader of the Latin American group in international forums. It is willing to be drawn into closer ties with black Africa (the tumultuous public reception for the recent visit of the Nigerian head of State was unprecedented), particularly in the former Portuguese colonies.

Brazil is, in fact, already a major regional power and a minor international power, and both roles will grow over time. Brazil has also achieved diversity in its geographic ties, the central fact that makes our relationship with Brazil greatly different from that with Mexico (and, by extension, most of South America from that of Central American/Carribbean).

Mexico, for at least a decade or two, will inevitably follow the Canadian path of preponderant dependence on the United States; Brazil, in contrast, is following more in the wake of Japan, with highly diverse geographic interests--plus an abundant supply of natural resources!

7. The overall result of these developments on the US position in this region over the next several years will be one of increasing popularity and decreasing influence.

The US human rights stand has increased our popularity greatly outside of government circles, and assuming moderate progress on human rights and some accommodation between the military and other political forces, we should be able to develop a relatively positive, albeit sometimes cool official relationship. In any event, the conservative sectors of the military have little choice other than outwardly good relations with us; a sharp rupture would leave them isolated internationally.

In contrast, US direct influence and leverage in these countries will steadily decline. Improved international standing on human rights (in effect, the result of a successful policy on our part) will reduce the political leverage in terms of moral authority we now have over the repressive regimes in these countries. Successful economic performance and the relatively low share of trade most of these countries have with the US (as a rough share of exports, Argentina 7%, Chile 10%, Brazil 20%, Peru 25%) will translate into even more limited economic leverage. Bilateral economic and security assistance have been almost totally phased out and are not likely to be reinstated in any significant way. US arms sales, particularly replacement parts for existing aircraft and vessels, will likely give us substantial leverage over Argentina and Chile during the next year or so. Looking ahead, however, these countries are diversifying purchases of military equipment away from the US to avoid a repeat of their current vulnerability.

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In sum, the longstanding relationship of great dependence on the United States has been eroding and this trend will continue. The considerable political and economic leverage we are currently bringing to bear against the southern cone countries in support of human rights objectives is hopefully a temporary phenomenon, after which the underlying trend will reassert itself more clearly. This does not mean a worsening relationship: the United States and the countries of South America share a wide range of political objectives and economic interests, and as the current governments move to liberalize the political process, our rapport with democratic elements will take on added substance. We will retain political influence through our moral authority, enhanced by our human rights stand, and American technology will remain the norm. There will be greater interplay, toward mutual interests, in multilateral forums. But the relationship will increasingly be in terms of shared interests and mutual accommodation rather than asymmetric dependence by these countries on the United States and corresponding preponderant leverage on our part.

III. US Policy Response

US immediate objectives in Brazil/southern cone center on nuclear non-proliferation and human rights. We have an elaborate strategy for each and critical decision points will likely be reached over the next 6 - 12 months in both cases (i.e., for non-proliferation, whether a multilateral/bilateral scenario can be agreed that will at least slow down the dissemination of dangerous technology; for human rights, in particular, if and when to make a significant positive response in the IFIs and for arms purchases to Argentina and/or Chile).

The medium term objective is to develop a revised broader relationship with these countries, based on the changing circumstances described in the previous section. The broader relationship would include the crucial elements of non-proliferation and human rights, but would also take account of other political, economic and security interests. This assessment concentrates on the medium term policy framework, but includes a number of shorter term measures that would support such a result.

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A medium term strategy for Brazil/southern cone will be determined predominantly by the course of relations between the United States and Brazil. Not only does Brazil's preponderant size entail proportionately greater US interests, but the character of the US relationship with the military-dominated government in Brasilia will have considerable fallout effect on the attitudes of the military regimes in the southern cone. Whatever rationale we might adopt to strengthen ties with Brazil will be treated as precedent by the other regimes "in transition" back to democratic government. Moreover, the more forceful US human rights policy in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay limits our freedom of action with these countries in other areas of policy. In addition, our economic interests, which will become relatively more important over time, do not face the same array of problems, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, in the southern cone countries as they do in Brazil.

A policy framework for our relationship with these countries should be a combination of broad lines of policy applicable to the region as a whole and more detailed country strategies. The following section sets out such broad lines of policy. A detailed strategy is presented only for Brazil. A medium term strategy for Argentina, however, would take a similar form as that for Brazil, only attenuated in intensity and somewhat longer in time frame. Chile and Peru, in contrast, have a narrower set of national interests (for example, export concentration in a few commodities) and other special circumstances (an acute debt problem in Peru; the Chile/Peru border dispute) that require more distinct country analysis. Such detailed analysis is not attempted here, but it would not, in any event, lead to substantial change in the overall approach suggested for the region.

Suggested General Lines of Policy: Brazil/Southern Cone

(A) Political relationship: Official government-to-government relationships should be correct and open to full discussion of issues, as between sovereign governments with a long history of

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friendship. At the same time we should continue to be frank and reservedly cool, as appropriate, in expressing displeasure with human rights violations. We should insist on maintaining dialogue with various elements in society, including opposition groups, but would do this in a way that avoids charges of interferences in the internal affairs of these countries. It would be both wrong in principle and counterproductive in practice to become involved in internal politics in the ways we have in the past, with all the recrimination and suspicion that this has engendered.

(B) Human Rights - We should continue to pressure these countries, as elaborated in PRM 28, with special effort to develop a more effective monitoring role for the UN and the IAHRC. Specific objectives as well as punitive acts on our part should remain concentrated in category I violations of the person, with transition to a more democratic structure of government (category III) dealt with in general terms, primarily through the moral suasion of our public statements and the level and intensity of official contacts. This distinction is not only to avoid unwarranted intrusion in the complicated internal political evolution of these countries, but because there is a much stronger indirect pressure on category III objectives (democratic processes) through progress in category I (violations of the person) in Latin America than in other parts of the world (and particularly the communist states). In Brazil/southern cone, personal safety and protection of basic rights almost immediately lead to renewed pressure by politicians, journalists, students, priests, etc. for a return to popular government. This is already evident in Chile. We are better off putting maximum pressure on protection of the individual and then letting nature take its course without US Government intervention.

The most difficult and crucial decision likely to arise in the human rights field (probably during the next 6 - 12 months) will be if and when to make a significant positive response to Argentina and/or Chile. In terms of improvements to date, the Chilean record is far better, and a gradual trend

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toward public recognition of this will create pressure for an official positive response on our part. On the other hand, the Videla government faces greater obstacles, including continued terrorism, while the Pinochet regime has even less justification now than in the past for not ceasing its violations. The precise timing and tactics for such a decision cannot be judged at this point, although there appears to be merit in keeping the two countries more or less on the same plane. Looking ahead to 1978 in this regard, a critical decision for both countries is the embargo on all arms sales, including replacement parts. In current legislation, these countries (as well as Uruguay) are explicitly listed for unqualified embargo. If a major redrafting of the security assistance act takes place next spring, as anticipated, an important positive move might be to seek exclusion of such country designations and to treat the southern cone countries under the same human rights criteria as apply to other countries. If country embargos are rewritten into the law, it would likely force these countries into early and expensive arms purchases elsewhere, with long term negative impact on US security and political ties.

A final human rights question that frequently arises in these countries is whether we are not judging our long-standing friends in South America more harshly than other countries, particularly with regard to democratic processes (category III). The facts would appear to justify this charge (i.e. we will presumably keep pressure on the southern cone for a more free press and some form of popular, elective process, while our objectives at Belgrade are more modest). It would be better, therefore, to state frankly that we do set higher standards for countries with whom we have long been aligned and who profess Western ideals; in fact, an effective response to the threat of communist dictatorship can best be based on a truly democratic political structure, and not by a dictatorship of the military. In contrast, for violations of the person (which are the direct triggers to the sanctions we have imposed), we should follow, as far as possible, a consistent approach for all countries.

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(C) Economic Interests - By and large, our economic interests are receiving reasonably favorable treatment in these countries, and our basic approach has been to support economic strategies that reestablish equilibrium and an orderly growth path that includes a more open trade and investment relationship. One objective we should pursue forcefully is equal treatment compared with the other industrialized countries. Although evidence of outright discrimination is rare, Brazil, in particular, has long pursued a policy of "diversifying" its economic ties. The specific substance of such and objective has never been made clear, but if discriminatory practices have ever been justified in the past, they certainly are not justified now.

We should also note our concern that development strategies take appropriate account of the needs of the poorest within countries, but our resources to help out in this area of human rights (category II) are extremely limited in the ABC countries. We can set an example, however, in our aid programs in Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay, and perhaps seek joint aid projects in these countries together with Brazil and Argentina on the donor side.

Investment relations are more a matter of political climate than national economic policy. If anything, overly generous investment incentives in Chile might entice US firms back into the extractive industries in a way that could cause a repeat of past expropriation disputes. This whole region (Peru and Bolivia, as well as Chile) is ripe for initiatives to combine private capital, host country and some World Bank participation for the extractive industries that avoid the political problems of the past. We are working toward this end, but perhaps without sufficient priority and zeal.

Finally, we need to continue our discussions in multilateral forums, from Law of the Sea to the MTN to the Common Fund. Reports vary as to whether our human rights policy has a negative tradeoff in terms of cooperation by Brazil/southern cone countries in such forums, but it would appear that any such negative effect is relatively small and is a price we should be willing to pay in pursuit of our human rights objectives.

(D) Security Ties - Current US security objectives in this region are modest in scope: maintain close contacts with national services, deny bases and access to adversaries, particularly the Soviets, and seek to avoid regional arms buildups and armed conflict.

As described earlier, our direct links and leverage have been greatly reduced by our policy to limit arms sales, phase-out of the MAAGs and, in the southern cone, severe restrains or prohibitions in the security field in pursuit of human rights objectives. It is assumed here that these policy objectives override corresponding loss in direct influence from earlier security ties.

Looking ahead, however, there is a need to develop a revised framework for the more modest level of contacts that will prevail. By its nature, it will be more political and less technical. The major components that need to be considered are:

(1) Clearer guidelines for arms sales. Even abstracting from human rights leverage, the uncertainty and delay of all decisions on arms sales are an unnecessary irritant. Hopefully some more expeditious if not semi-automatic decision process for non-sophisticated weapons can be developed, particularly for those Latin American countries where defense expenditure is below a given minimal level of GNP.

(2) An updated training and exchange program (IMET) - This is a key remaining resource, although diminished in amount as well. We should be more selective in the people we target as well as the kind of training we provide (or exchange). We probably should concentrate more on selecting the most promising younger officers and offering comprehensive training, including a broad view of US interests and ideals. This follows the French pattern, whereas our emphasis has been more on large group training for shorter periods of time. With the larger countries, particularly Brazil, the more these programs are reciprocal, the better.

(3) Integrated official liaison - The relative roles of the Defense Attache and the new Office of Defense Cooperation (ODC) are not fully clear, and will require a shaking down process over time. We may need to develop a more integrated approach for our various service-to-service linkages.

(4) A new start for US-Brazil security ties - The recent termination by Brazil of the US-Brazil military agreements can be rationalized in terms of obsolescence: the old agreements typified the former "dependent" relationship rather than a more balanced relationship in tune with Brazil's new status. This does not mean that Brazil will not want to continue some form of "special" relationship in the military field. However, in view of the unilateral termination of the old agreements by Brazil, it would be better for Brazil to take the initiative with respect to new forms of cooperation. For the time being we should concentrate on maintaining and enhancing service-to-service ties through the many individual linkages (often first in line at budget-cutting time). Later, some form of political chapeau might be developed, perhaps along the lines of the US-Canadian defense relationship.

The US/Brazil Relationship

Brazil is well on its way to being a highly self-sufficient industrialized country, a major regional power and substantial international power as well. The central US objective should be to bring Brazil gradually into the community of industrial democracies, taking on the responsibilities as well as the privileges of sharing the management of the world economy and polity.

From this premise, the basic policy choice for the United States is whether to hold back any initiative on our part and let the situation evolve further in Brazil (because the military is too oppressive or the economy not yet sufficiently advanced) or to actively seek to strengthen our relationship with Brazil toward the objective defined above.

The following is couched in terms of the latter, more activist option, as the means for describing more clearly the substance of policy involved; the basic political judgment on how fast and how far to proceed with Brazil is not addressed here, however, and more passive alternatives can easily be derived from this, in effect, maximum approach.

Basic policy orientation: primary emphasis on bilateral and informal groups: There is increasing use of the analogy between the situation of Japan in the early 50's and of Brazil in the late 70's, and Brazilians themselves are not inclined to oppose such comparison (as in the US-Brazil planning talks this October). There are in fact interesting parallels: Japan in the early 50's was a dual economy, with the rural half of its population poor and under-developed; domestic industry was fledgling (or "infant") and in need of protection; trade interests were shifting from preponderant dependence on the United States to broad geographic diversity; and it was widely accepted that Japan would soon be the dominant regional economic power.

Even accepting this analogy, however, the strategy for bringing Brazil gradually closer to the industrialized democracy grouping should be sharply different from that adopted for Japan. Our approach for Japan was to put the central emphasis on the multilateral institutions (GATT, IMF, OECD), and pressure Japan to accept the rules and to take on the full responsibilities of membership (i.e., drop special status in GATT and IMF; join as full member of the OECD). This is not feasible for Brazil over the next several years for the two principal reasons: (1) the current polarized North/South configuration in international bodies, and the continuing allegiance Brazil will have as a member of the developing country group; and (2) the declining relevance of the "rules" of these bodies for the economies of even the most advanced developing countries such as Brazil, and hence the declining significance of Brazil shifting official status. (For example, even if Brazil dropped its special developing country status in the GATT, the problems of export subsidies and other government incentives would probably still be addressed in bilateral or ad hoc negotiations rather than through juridical review of GATT articles.) A third, somewhat

controversial reason for eschewing this route, is the desirability of playing down the "bloc" structure in international relations.

There are, of course, some positive acts that Brazil could or should undertake in these institutions, from specific trade concessions in the MTN to participation in some open-ended research projects in the OECD International Energy Agency, and we would of course continue to consult closely in the broader forums such as the UN and the OAS. But the primary focus for developing a strengthened US/Brazil relationship over the next several years should come in our bilateral structure and in small informal groups. Such informal groups could be formed within the framework of international institutions and would thus constitute the practical means for evolving a new economic order that responds to the great diversity of national interests. This is a much broader subject, but highly relevant to the future course of US relations with Brazil (and Argentina).

The substantive components of the evolving new relationship with Brazil should consist of agreed basic principles or concepts and a growing framework of fairly specific functional ties. In simplest form, the principles would constitute the foundation of a balanced relationship between friendly countries with broadly agreed common objectives, while the functional structure would permit us to negotiate and reach mutual accommodation on the growing range of specific issues where our interests coincide or conflict.

A. Mutually Agreed Principles: Statements of agreed principles can take various forms, from communiques and toasts during State visits, to summation of cabinet level discussion to more routine statements in other forums. Statements could be unilateral as long as they were sufficiently acceptable that the other side could not object. They could relate to ultimate objectives rather than the current state of affairs, but to be effective there should be some reasonable movement or implementation process toward the objective.

Repetition and elaboration of such statements over time would tend to strengthen the common conceptual base, as well as to give direction to activities at the technical level. The kinds of concepts that could usefully be promulgated at this time are:

(1) Support for our long tradition of democratic processes and the rule of law. (Obviously, Brazil will not be specific on human rights, as such, but it is difficult for Brazil to deny its long allegiance to Western political ideals, and a solid statement now could help Geisel or others trying to liberalize the current situation.)

(2) Agreement to develop economic relations on the basis of a liberal trading system and fair, equitable procedures on both sides. (This is the most general language, with the more precise targets a growing degree of reciprocity and avoidance of any form of discrimination against the United States in favor of Europe or Japan.)

(3) Recognition of the energy problem as central to both of our economies and the need to cooperate more closely. (This could lead to specific follow-on in terms of bilateral technical cooperation.)

(4) Recognition of the growing complexity of urban problems in an advanced industrial society and the need to work together more closely. (There are various activities, usually limited to OECD countries, where Brazil might join in without appearing to break ranks with the G-77.)

(5) Agreement on the need for larger powers to work together constructively to maintain peace and solve disputes. (Recently Brazil has been as much a problem as a help, as in the Middle East and Southern Africa, but over time continued close consultation might help convince Brazil that "constructive" large power behavior entails an even-handed approach rather than taking sides on the basis of narrowly defined self-interest, as Brazilians often do in what they call their "pragmatic" approach to foreign policy.)

(6) Agreement on the need to transfer technology and resources to the poorer countries, and to seek closer collaboration to that end. (Brazil could become a useful partner to the United States in regional aid efforts in South America, such as food and health problems in the upper Amazon, or various projects in parts of black Africa.)

B. A Growing Structure of Functional Relationships. There are already a large number of bilateral and multilateral efforts where Brazil and the United States are engaged on specific functional problems. The question is one of choosing priorities for increased effort where there is likelihood of significant results, rather than elaborating an exhaustive list of such entities. To this end, the following are just a few selected areas where a greater effort might be made:

(1) Energy cooperation. There is considerable potential here, not only for nuclear cooperation but in various other forms of energy: oil, hydro-power, coal technology, solar, gasohol, and geothermal. The Brazilian energy program to 1985 is almost as elaborate as ours, and the technicians feel that there is scope for substantial technical cooperation and joint efforts. Unfortunately, the non-proliferation issue has put the rest of energy cooperation on political ice. (Last March, we offered help on non-nuclear energy if Brazil would back off on its nuclear technology, a "carrot" the Brazilians promptly rejected.) Now, however, our multilateral/bilateral approach on non-proliferation, plus the growing problems and delays in the Brazil/FRG agreement, could provide an opening to broader efforts in the energy field. A first step would be to organize the bureaucracies up to the task. In the US Government, the foreign affairs establishment lacks the resources and expertise to organize such an effort, while the energy experts in DOE are unfamiliar and therefore reluctant to take initiative in international endeavors. A similar situation exists in Brazil.

There is a working group on energy within the scope of the MOU; and a meeting late this year could be a start for more ambitious linkages. What the group needs is leadership and political impulse.

(2) Overall Economic Strategy - Whereas the trade working group under the MOU has met a couple of times (and could be given a more ambitious mandate), the broader, more senior economic group has never met. Such a meeting, perhaps at ministerial level, would be useful in developing an agreed and consistent overall strategy. This would include not only the trade balance (where the standard Brazilian objective is bilateral balance with the United States), but other key elements, such as distribution of the aggregate oil deficit, the relationship of current and capital accounts, the growing protectionist threat, the workings of the Brazilian exchange rate/subsidy mechanism, and the state of health of the international banking sector. There may not be specific, early payoff to such talks, but the objective is to get Brazil focused more on the broader responsibilities of a major participant in the world trade and payments sytem.

(3) International financial cooperation - This is an area where Brazil is most reluctant. As a major borrower from private banks, she is most interested in avoiding constraints on her freedom of action with the banks, and minimizing any IMF role in Brazilian affairs. The United States, in contrast, has an interest in better organization and information about major borrowers as well as lenders, particularly since US banks are now the principal conduit for transferring petrodollars through the Eurodollar market to such countries as Brazil.

We have toyed with the idea of an inner financial group, including the largest borrowers such as Brazil and Mexico, but so far nothing has resulted (and the procedural problems in organizing such a "club" are formidable). The first step would probably be for the IMF or home countries of the banks (i.e. the United States) to seek more complete accounting procedures from the banks and to establish some norms for bank lending. Concurrently, the simplest procedural step vis-a-vis borrowers would be for the United States to seek regular consultations with the major borrowing countries, such as Brazil, Mexico and Peru. A more ambitious approach

would be to include some monitoring role for the IMF over private bank lending to deficit countries.

An entirely different area of possible US-Brazil cooperation in the financial field would be in Central Bank swap arrangements. For example, Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia recently provided Peru with short term swap facilities to bridge the time until Peru completed its IMF standby. The US might cooperate or consider, as appropriate, joint participation with these stronger South American countries in their arrangements between Central Banks. (The opportunity may arise with Peru again next year.)

(4) Joint US-Brazil technical assistance/aid to poorer countries. This form of triangular aid projects exists in the Middle East and with India, and could offer significant potential with Brazil. Brazil's experience with tropical technologies and its regional links within South America and with Portuguese-speaking black Africa could complement US technology and financial resources. Projects could easily fit into a basic human needs set of objectives.

The foregoing is illustrative of an evolving US-Brazil relationship based on shared broad objectives and a growing network of practical, functional linkages. In addition, of course, there would be the many ongoing multilateral efforts, from Law of the Sea to the MTN to sugar and other commodity talks. The aggregate result, hopefully, is a more balanced and fully engaged partnership for pursuing mutual interests and resolving the growing number of instances, particularly in the economic field, of competing interests.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

10/29/77

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 65031 - A
MM/BP
Spanish

October 29, 1977

We received today, hand delivered by Mrs. Fredelinda Vall Méndez, the following items for the Commander of the Second Corps of the Argentine Army:

Open letter for Major General Leopoldo Galtieri;

Envelope containing a memorandum;

Envelope containing:

a. Document entitled "Ultimo Momento" dated October 17, 1977
b. Response to habeas corpus petition

Envelope containing photocopies of:

Telegram for the President of the nation
Telegram for the Chief of Staff
Telegram for the Minister of Interior
Letter for the Chief of the First Corps of the Argentine Army
Letter for the Commanding Officer of the Navy
Reply from the Ministry of Interior

Envelope containing empty OAS envelope;

Envelope with photocopy of Mr. Méndez' article published in Espoir;

Envelope containing photocopy of a card from the President of the United States and photocopies of correspondence from the United States Government;

Envelope containing photocopy of a petition to the President of Argentina;

80D177
Box 4855

Envelope containing photocopy of Mr. Méndez F.'s identity document;

Envelope containing three pages of photocopies;

Envelope containing the following photocopies:

3 from Armed Forces Commanders

1 from the President of Argentina

1 from the Charles de Gaulle Institute

1 from the President of Colombia

2 from the President of Mexico

Large envelope containing:

4 photocopies of newspaper articles

1 copy of Tetagua Ara

1 copy of Emancipación Paraguay

2 copies of El Desterrado [The Exile]

1 copy of Documentos para la Historia [Historical Documents]

After verifying the existence of all the envelopes with their respective contents, I accepted them, at the bearer's request, for immediate transmittal.

Receiving Office, Second Army Corps

[Signature]

Certification of signature

Enclosures: Copy of the book Psicología del Colonialismo [Psychology of Colonialism]
Copy of the book Diagnosis Paraguaya [Paraguayan Diagnosis]
Copy of the book Ideologías de Dependencia y Segunda Emancipación [Ideologies of Dependence and Second Emancipation]
Copy of the book Lo Histórico y lo Antihistórico [The Historic and the Antihistoric]
LP record of the San Solano band

Received.

[Signature]

Certification of signature

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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October 31, 1977

Dear Mr. President:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 16 and to express my pleasure that you were able to visit Washington to witness the signing of the Panama Canal Treaties. These Treaties will greatly strengthen relations among the nations of the Americas, and demonstrate our ability to resolve problems through frank discussion and negotiation as equals.

I also found it helpful to meet you personally to discuss issues of concern to both our governments. I gained a better understanding of your views, and hope that our meeting will stimulate further exchanges between our governments. You will have in Santiago Ambassador George Landau, who has my complete confidence. I urge you to speak with him as you would with me.

As I noted during our conversation, human rights considerations remain the major obstacle to restoration of the traditionally close relations between the United States and Chile. I earnestly hope such friendly and close relations can gradually be reestablished between our two countries. I am convinced, however, that there will be little change without increased evidence that your government is taking steps to safeguard and promote human rights and to restore to Chile the vigorous and open democratic tradition of which all Chileans have justly been proud.

I was particularly interested in your indication of willingness to receive two United Nations human rights observers, provided that they visit without publicity and meet privately with you before returning to the United Nations and making their report public. I have no intention of intervening in the affairs of your country, but I believe that the interests of Chile would best be served by such a visit and the subsequent submission to world opinion of an objective report concerning the human rights situation in Chile. I was pleased with the peaceful outcome of the demonstration by the Chilean women at ECLA headquarters, and hope that you will be able to

His Excellency
Augusto Pinochet Ugarte,
President of the Republic of Chile,
Santiago.

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cooperate with the United Nations Secretary General on this matter. I will follow the course of your government's discussions with the United Nations on both matters with great interest.

In this regard, let me mention the very important role played by the non-governmental human rights organizations, and my hope that they will continue to contribute to the advancement of human rights and my firm belief that they should retain their consultative status at the United Nations.

As you know, I had the opportunity to review Bolivia's desire for renewed sovereign access to the Pacific with Presidents Banzer and Morales Bermudez. I assured them, as I did you, of my government's support for negotiations to find a solution satisfactory to all three nations, and of our continued interest in the achievement of a peaceful settlement. I was pleased that you and they were subsequently able to take advantage of your joint presence in Washington to meet privately on this important subject.

Finally, let me repeat my profound interest in nuclear nonproliferation. You commented that Chile would be able to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and permit the Treaty of Tlatelolco to come into effect if Argentina were to do so. This would be a courageous and important decision. I discussed these same matters with President Videla, and urged him to take the remaining steps necessary to bring the Treaties into force. I expect that there may be some progress soon. We can all hope that Latin America, before too long, will become the first region in the world to bar nuclear weapons.

Sincerely,

/s/ Jimmy Carter

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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I address this appeal to all governments, to all Churches, to political parties and their leaders, and to all institutions in the world concerned with solidarity and the defense of human rights. To families all over the world, to all mothers, to all men of good will.

I do this urged by my grief as a mother, my responsibility as a grandmother and by the terrible anguish I feel faced with after the disappearance of my family over the past year. If I have not addressed public opinion before now, it was because of the hope of getting some result from the legal steps taken after the kidnapping and disappearance of all my children. In spite of following the classical means which in earlier days always produced an answer from the powers of justice this turned out to be a vain hope. The six writs of "habeas corpus" presented after the desappearance of my children had either no answer or a negative one. None of the attempts made in the Argentine Republic to obtain information as to their whereabouts bore any fruit.

On the 26th of July 1976, my youngest son was kidnapped together with his wife. Martin Belaustegui Herrera, who whould have been 20 years old the following day, and Maria Cristina Lopez Guerra, 21 years of age and two months pregnant, were coming home from work that afternoon. A group of fifteen armed men in civilian clothers were waiting for them concealed in the court of their house. Once they had caught the two young people, the so-called civilians blast the door with their machine-guns and pushed them inside. The neighbours were forbidden to open their doors or windows and, as usually happens in this type of action, terror prevented any reaction from them part. The people from the neighbourhood, thus frightenend, witnessed the kidnapping peeping t through their closed shutters. After a while spent inside the house, the two young people were seen to be shoved out and into a car with hoods over their heads. But this was not all: a few minutes later an army truck parked in front of the house and uniformed troops looted all its contents.

Neighbours cannot avoid weeping when they talk about this. "They were very young, good kids, hardworking. Why did they take them in this way? Why did they steal every thing from their house? If they did something wrong, why not take them to court? Why don't they say anything about it?". I, too, as a mother have asked myself why for over a year. All the steps we have taken since then have been useless, we have unable to obtain any information about the couple. If they are alive, where are they? If they have died... shouln't their bodies at least be given to their desperate parents?

80D177
Box 4855

On the 13th May 1977, at 7 p.m. my daughter's mother-in law received a call from a clinic in the city of San Antonio de Padua, Buenos Aires State, warning her that some civilians had left there a baby-girl, a year and a half old, with a note handing from her neck with the inscription "I am Valeria Belaustegui's daughter" and a phone number. She is the child of my daughter Valeria Belaustegui Herrera, 24 years of age, and her husband Ricardo Waiberg, 25 years of age. When baby's paternal grandmother arrived at the clinic she was informed by the staff, obvioully frightened about the whole case, that the baby was extremely upset and had been given sedatives and taken to the local police station. There she was handed over to her grandmother. The child suffers from a serious nervous condition. For several nights she woke up crying and calling her parents. We don't know what happened betweeb 5 p.m. when Valeria called the child's pediatrician to discuss a minor ailment, and 7 p.m., the time of the call from the clinic. All attempts at obtaining information concerning the whereabouts of my daughter and her husband have been unsuccessful. We don't know what happened to them, who kidnapped or arrested them, we don't know if they are alive or dead.

On the 30 th May of the current year, a Joint Armed Forces procedure took place in an apartment in downtown Buenos Aires. My son, Rafael José Belaustegui Herrera, 23 years old that very day, his wife Electra Irene Lareu, also 23, and their twenty month old son were staying there with some friends. The house-owner, my son and his wife were taken handcuffed, while the baby was left with the friend's wife. Once in the street my son managed to cry out: "Lareu, Belaustegui, we are being kidnapped". Maybe a goodwilled neighbour would dare to alert their families! The search for information about my son and his wife has been completely fruitless so far. Twenty days after this event, the baby's maternal grandparents received a call from a guardian on the staff of a children's institution belonging to the Ministry of Social Welfare, saying that the child had been left there and that they could pick him up. The child is later given to the care of his grandfather by a judge. The baby is anxious and nervous, sleeps poorly and is taking time to recover from his grief.

In less than one year a whole family has disappeared. Nobody has told me what they are accused of, or where they are. I don't know if they are sick, if they are being tortured, if they are alive or dead. If they are prisoners, I lnow that this horror of misinformation and doubts is one of the weapons employed by the government of my country in this so-called "war" in which the lists of arrested people are not made public. I'm not addressing the Argentinian authorities because all the steps I have taken in this direction have been absolutely useless.

I simply want, in my name and in the name of those two babies who have been separated from their parents, to ask those who are in a position to get in touch with or to influence the Argentinian Government to try, with all the means in their power, to find out from the military, civil or ecclesiastical authorities if my six children are alive or dead.

If they are alive, I ask those who hold them to inform me about it and about their condition. If they have died, I hope the strength and the forbearance to carry on, teaching my grandchildren lover for man and life, remembering the young and beautiful faces of my children, their capacity for love, their devotion to their own children, their generosity, their love for all.

I don't think I have the monopoly of pain in Argentina. I don't want you to interpret my words in this way. Maybe I have spoken as too sad a mother, but I also want to take upon myself the pain of all Argentinian mothers who are in the same circumstances. It is of utmost importance to ask the Argentina Government to publish the lists with the names of all those who have disappeared or been kidnapped, and the list of deaths.

By what right -as Christian men- have they become the inflictors, the administrators of so much pain? What is their idea of justice? Or do they think they will not have to account for the fate of 15.000 who have disappeared?

I believe that the time has come for all men with a sense of justice to ask for these lists of the men who govern the Argentine Republic.

I thank you for your attention and for any steps you take in order to alleviate our grief, our terrible uncertainty.

As an Argentinian, as a woman, as a mother, as a grandmother, thank you.

Matilde Herrera

MATILDE HERRERA

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APPROVED BY RSSTEVED

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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FOL RPT GENEVA 09238 SENT ACTION SEKSTATE DTD 26 OCT 77R

QUOTE: [redacted] GENEVA 09238

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI SHUM
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CHILEAN AMBASSADOR

1. IN A COURTESY CALL ON AMBASSADOR OF CHILE, MANUEL TRUCCO, YESTERDAY (OCTOBER 25TH), I USED THE OCCASION TO LEARN WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE G-77 REGIONAL GROUP OF LATIN AMERICAN STATES. BY ROTATION PROCEDURE, CHILE WAS SCHEDULED TO BECOME G-77 COORDINATOR, SUCCEEDING YUGOSLAVIA, AND CUBA WAS TO BECOME COORDINATOR OF THE REGIONAL GROUP. MEXICO, CUBA, VENEZUELA AND JAMAICA OPPOSED DESIGNATION OF CHILE FOR G-77 POSL. AFTER IMPASSIONED DISCUSSIONS, MEXICO AND CUBA PERSISTED IN OPPOSITION, STATING THAT CONSENSUS WITHIN THE GROUP REQUIRED UNANIMITY AND THEREBY VETOING THE DESIGNATION OF CHILE AS THE LATIN AMERICAN CANDIDATE POR THE POSITION OF G-77 COORDINATOR. IN RETALIATION, CHILE VETOED SELECTION OP CUBA AS REGIONAL COORDINATOR ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR TRUCCO MADE CLEAR THAT CHILE WAS QUITE

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 261120

PREPARED TO ACCEPT CUBA IN THIS ROLESBECAUSE IT INTERPRETS SUCH DESIGNATIONS AS PROCEDURAL ROLES RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE REFLECTIONS. THE IMPASSE CONTINUES AND AMBASSADOR TRUCCO INDICATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ACCEPT LESS THAN DESIGNATION AS G-77 COORDINATOR. FOR THE MOMENT YUGOSLAVIA CONTINUES IN THAT ROLE AND MAY WELL DO SO UNTIL THE END OF 1977, AT WHICH TIME THE AFRICAN NATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO DESIGNATE COORDINATOR.

2. TRUCCO AND I DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THE INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE. HE GAVE ME A

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COPY OF A MEMORANDUM DATED AUGUST 25TH, 1977 WHICH HE HAD GIEN TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF TEN EUROPEAN AND MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES WHICH HE HAD VISITED IN AUGUST TO EXPLAIN CHILE'S POSITION. A COPY OF THE MEMORANDUM IS BEING AIR POUCHED. HE SAID THAT CHILE IS ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TAKE JURISDICTION OF THE INVESTIGATION INTO MISSING PERSONS. HE STATES THAT THERE IS SOME CONFUSION AS TO THE OFFICIAL NUMBER OF THOSE DESIGNATED AS MISSING SINCE THE ICRC LIST CONTAINS 893 NAMES BUT THE ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO WAS QUOTED AS TELLING FELIPE GONZALEZ, A SPANISH SOCIALIST LEADER WHO RECENTLY VISITED CHILE, THAT THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY 500 MISSING.

3. AS AN INDICATION OF HIS COMMITMENT TO BRING IN AN OBJECTIVE INTERNATIONAL AGENCY, TRUCCO TOLD ME OF HIS EFFORTS WITH HIS PERSONAL FRIEND, SENATOR STONE OF FLORIDA, TO URGE THE AMERICAN RED CROSS TO TAKE A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE AND BRUTALITY. THIS EFFORT FAILED BECAUSE THE AMERICAN RED CROSS CLEARLY HAD NO JURISDICTION. HE BELIEVES THAT SOME OF THOSE DESIGNATED AS MISSING ARE RESIDENT IN [redacted]

OTHER COUNTRIES AND ALTHOUGH HE IS ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO ANY CHILEAN EFFORTS TO SEEK THE IDENTITY OF CITIZENS LIVING ABROAD, HE HOPES THAT ICRC, ICEM AND/OR UNHCR COUPD HELP IN IDENTIFYING CHILEANS ABROAD WHOSE NAMES ARE ON THE MISSING PERSONS LIST.

4. TRUCCO DESCRIBED AT LENGTH THE RECENT INCIDENT IN GENEA WHERE A CHILEAN STUDENT ACCUSED THE COUNSELOR OF THE CHILEAN EMBASSY OF HAVING TORTURED HIM DURING INCARCERATION IN 1973-74. TRUCCO DEMANDED A DIRECT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE ACCUSER AND THE ACCUSED. HIS DESCRIPTION OF THAT CONFRONTATION FAVORED THE INNOCENCE OF HIS COUNSELOR AND HE INDICATED THAT A LAW SUIT IS NOW BEING PLANNED IN GENEVA AGAINST THE GROUP THAT BROADCAST THESE CHARGES IN A RECENT PRESS CONFEJENCE.

5. ANOTHER COMMENT THAT MAY BE OF INTEREST WAS HIS REFLECTION THAT THE CREDIT TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES IN WHAT IT BELIEVES TO BE ITS SUCCESSFUL PRESSURE CAUSING THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS IN CHILE IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. HE CITED THE EXAMPLE OF RESENTMENT WHEN SEVERAL PROMINENT PRISONEJS WERE RELEASED SEVERAL MONTHS AGO. THE RESULT WAS THAT GENERAL PINOCHET DELAYED HIS LIFTING OF THE STATE OF SIEGE LAWS RATHER THAN APPEAR TO BE REACTING TO WASHINGTON PRESSURES AS A RESULT OF HIS VISIT DURING THE SIGNING OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY. ACCORDING TO TRUCCO, GENEJAL PINOCHET'S ORIGINAL INTENTION HAD BEEN TO LIFT THE MARTIAL LAW PROVISIONS ON THE SEPTEMBER 11TH ANNIVERSARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

6. TRUCCO IS A FORMER CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO THE OAS. HIS FATHER WAS ALSO A CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES. HE AND HIS FAMILY ARE OPENLY GENEROUS IN THEIR COMMENTS ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND GOVERNMENT. VANDEN HEUVEL UNQUOTE VANCE

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [redacted]
*** Current Classification ***

UNCLASSIFIED

11/2/77

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW CENTER
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

AR033B

JOSEPH A. PAGE
PROFESSOR OF LAW

Nov. 2, 1977

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to
Date Declassify on Reason

Dr. Virgil T. DeVault
Secretary General
International College of Surgeons
1516 North Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Ill. 60610

Dear Dr. DeVault:

This is to inform you of a matter which in my judgment merits the most serious consideration by the distinguished organization which you serve.

Dr. Jorge A. Taiana, a Vice President of the International College of Surgeons in 1950-52, 1960-62 and 1969-70, has been held prisoner by the military government of Argentina for the past 18 months. Dr. Taiana, Argentina's foremost surgeon, served as his country's Minister of Education in 1973-74. On April 5, 1976, shortly after the present military government took power by means of a coup d'etat, Dr. Taiana was arrested and imprisoned. He has remained incarcerated from that time to the present, and is clearly a political prisoner. But what is most outrageous about his case is the fact that the authorities have never charged him with any crime! He has had no opportunity to defend himself, because he does not know the specific (or even general) offense of which he has been accused. This seems to be as clear-cut a violation of human rights as could be imagined.

Dr. Taiana has been a Research Fellow in Surgery at Harvard under a Rockefeller Grant (1941-42), and has served as an assistant in surgery at the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Peter Bent Brigham and the New Deaconess Hospitals in Boston. He has made numerous trips to the United States to perform surgical services. In addition to his asso ciation with your organization, he is a member of the American College of Surgeons, the American College of Chest Physicians and the International Broncho-Esophagological Societ He belongs to academies and societies in Italy, Paraguay, Brazil, Spain, Mexico, France and Peru, as well as in his native Argentina. He has received decorations from the governments of Spain, France, Panama and Mexico. He has been Professor of Thoracic Surgery and Dean of the Faculty of Medical Sciences in Buenos Aires, and Rector of the University of Buenos Aires.

Though I have never met Dr. Taiana, I became interested in his case during a recent visit to Argentina. I feel that in addition to its obvious human-rights aspect, the continued imprisonment, without charges, of Dr. Taiana represents a deplorable waste of a human resource which could be serving mankind in Argentina or elsewhere.

I am bringing Dr. Taiana's plight to your attention in the hope that the Internation College of Surgeons might consider making some gesture on his behalf. The most effective step that could be taken at this point would be simply a letter to the U.S. Ambassador in Argentina expressing concern and asking that he look into the matter. Any communication should be sent to:

Hon. Raul Castro
U.S. Ambassador to Argentina
A.P.O., N.Y. 09871

If I can supply you with any further information, please write to me, or call me at (202) 624-8379.

With thanks for your kind and prompt attention, I am

Sincerely yours,

Joseph A. Page

Joseph A. Page

cc: Dr. Henry P. Leis, Jr.

Lot 81D208
Box4963(2/12)

Case Number: 200000044

K132
R

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 263988
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 CA-01
VO-03 /031 R

DRAFTED BY ARA:GLISTER:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS
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R 032334Z NOV 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full b5 CONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] STATE 263988

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: AR, SHUM

SUBJECT: BERMAN FAMILY
, ARGENTINE CITIZEN SILVIA BERMAN DOMICILED IN MEXICO CITY IS VISITING WASHINGTON AND HAS REQUESTED DEPARTMENT'S INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE ON FOLLOWING CASES:

2. HER BROTHER, CLAUDIO BERMAN, WAS ARRESTED IN APRIL 1976 AS REPUTED MARXIST IDEOLOGUE. GOA RECOGNIZES HE IS BEING HELD. CLAUDIO'S WIFE AND CHILDREN VISIT HIM IN JAIL IN CORDOBA. SILVIA BERMAN'S DAUGHTER, IRENE, WAS TAKEN IN NOVEMBER 1976. GOA DOES NOT REPEAT NOT ADMIT HOLDING HER. IRENE'S FUTURE HUSBAND, DAMIEN ALFREDO SOTO, WAS TAKEN AT SAME TIME.

3. SILVIA BERMAN LEFT ARGENTINA AT END OF MAY 1977, IN FEAR OF ARREST. SHE IS ATTENDING AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE AS MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION'S
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 263988

LATIN AMERICAN TASK FORCE. HER OFFICE PHONE IN MEXICO

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

CITY IS 588-3610.

4. MS. BERMAN HOPES USG CAN PROVIDE INFORMATION REGARDING ABOVE-MENTIONED THREE ARRESTED PERSONS AND THAT THEY CAN

QUALIFY FOR OPTION TO LEAVE ARGENTINA.

5. PLEASE CABLE ANY AVAILABLE INFORMATION. VANCE

[redacted]

NNN

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Current Class: [redacted] 11/7/77 Page: 1
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS08358 Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

K138

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 08358 081113Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 H-01
SS-15 /043 W
----------129736 081118Z /11

P R 072155Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3092
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NEW YORK

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8358

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR, PA
SUBJECT: DETENTION OF EPIFANIO MENDEZ FLEITAS AND SON

REF: (A) STATE 260863 (B) BA 8231

SUMMARY: MEMBERS OF PARAGUAYAN COLORADO EXILE COMMUNITY CALLED AT AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES TO DISCUSS DETENTION OF EPIFANIO MENDEZ AND HIS SON. SEVERAL VERSIONS OF WHY MENDEZ WAS DETAINED, VAGUE HOPES FOR HIS RELEASE, POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR MENDEZ AND HIS COLORADO PARTY FOLLOWERS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF MENDEZ' IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S. WERE DISCUSSED.

1. THREE MEMBERS OF THE PARAGUAYAN EXILE COLORADO PARTY YOUTH MOVEMENT, INCLUDING ANOTHER SON OF THE DETAINED LEADER EPIFANIO MENDEZ, CALLED ON EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER ON NOVEMBER 3. IN A LONG CONVERSATION WHICH SWITCHED BACK AND FORTH FROM OPTIMISM FLOWING FROM THE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES BEING BROUGHT TO BEAR ON GOA TO EFFECT THE RELEASE OF MENDEZ AND HIS SON, EPIFANIO, TO SOMBER EVALUATION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE COLORADO EXILE COMMUNITY CONTINUING TO LIVE IN ARGENTINA, THE FOLLOWING POINTS WERE RAISED:

2. DETENTION --
[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B3 & B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

EPIFANIO MENDEZ FLEITAS SPOKE TO HIS DAUGHTER, THERESA FAITH, IN PALO ALTO, CALIF [redacted] ON OCT 31. MENDEZ INDICATED IN THECALL THAT HE WAS BEING DETAINED FOR INVESTIGATION OF SUPPOSED CONNECTIONS WITH THE ERP/PRT. THIS IS THE SAME REASON GIVEN IN THE SECOND ARMY'S FORMAL HABEAS CORPUS REPLY. IT IS AT VARIANCE WITH THE INFORMATION GENERAL SUAREZ MASON REPORTEDLY PROVIDED TO CNGRESSMAN PAUL MCCLOSKEY LAST WEEK THAT MENDEZ AND SON WERE BEING HELD IN RESISTENCIA, CHACO FOR COMMON CRIMES. B6

LOCAL COLORADO PARTY MILITANTS BELIEVE THAT THE ACTION AGAINST MENDEZ IS INSPIRED BY THE PARAGUAYAN GOVERNMENT WISH TO KEEP EPIFANIO MENDEZ "FROZEN" UNTIL AFTER THE UPCOMING PARAGUAYAN ELECTIONS WITH THE HELP OF THE ARGENTINE POLICE WHO THEY CLAIM ARE ENGAGED IN SMUGGLING JOINT OPERATIONS IN CHACO PROVINCE.

3. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT --
THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT BUILDING FOR THE RELEASE OF MENDEZ AND HIS SON. THE COLORADO EXILE GROUP IN BUENOS AIRES (WHICH CLAIMS 400 TO 600 MILITANTS) HAS CONTACTED THE EMBASSIES OF COLUMBIA, VENEZUELA, COSTA RICA AND MEXICO, TO SEEK DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR THE RELEASE OF THEIR LEADER. THEY HAVE ALSO APPROACHED DR. DUTO OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES FOR HELP. FAMILY AND FRIENDS OUT-SIDEOF ARGENTINA HAVE CONTACTED THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE OAS AND THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. ASYLUM --
THIS SECOND DETENTION OF MENDEZ IN ARGENTINA IS CAUSING CONSIDERABLE APPREHENSION AMONG THE COLORADO EXILES IN BUENOS AIRES. THEY FEAR THAT UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA WILL GUARANTEE MENDEZ' FUTURE SAFETY HERE, HE WILL BE FORCED TO SEEK POLITICAL ASYLUM OUTSIDE OF THE-COUNTRY.

[redacted]

[redacted]

B3N1

THE GROUP INDICATED THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED A "TACIT PROMISE" FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN VENEZUELA FOR MENDEZ SHOULD THAT BE NEEDED. HOWEVER, THEIR REAL HOPE WAS THAT SOME SORT OF UNDERSTANDING COULD BE REACHED FOR MENDEZ' CONTINUED RESIDENCE IN ARGENTINA BECAUSE IF A MAN OF HIS STATURE IS FORCED OUT, THERE ARE NO GUARANTEES FOR THE ENTIRE EXILED COLORADO COMMUNITY IN THE COUNTRY. THEY ASSERTED THAT THERE WAS LIST OF OVER 200 LOCAL COLORADO RESIDENTS IDENTIFIED FOR ARREST SHOULD THE GOA DECIDE TO MOVE AGAINST THE GROUP.

5. RELEASE --
EMBOFF WAS UNABLE TO ELICIT ANY CONCRETE INFORMATION REGARDING A SCENARIO FOR MENDEZ FLEITAS AND HIS SON'S RELEASE FROM CHACO. THE COLORADO PARTY MEMBERS SEEMED OPTIMISTIC THAT THIS WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE PRESSURES OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA.

6. DR. OSVALDO CHAVEZ, WHO DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS AN PARAGUAYAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. AND OAS (DURING EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION) PAID A SEPARATE CALL AT EMBASSY TO DISCUSS THE MENDEZ CASE. CHAVEZ STATED THAT IT WAS BY PURE COINCIDENCE THAT THE TRAFFIC ALTERCATION INVOLVING THE SON TOOK PLACE IN FRONT OF A HOTEL WHERE A VISITING PARAGUAYAN MILITARY DELEGATION WAS BEING LODGED. CHAVEZ SAID HE HAD NO FIRM INFORMATION AT THIS DISPOSAL WHICH COULD EXPLAIN THE MOTIVES OF THE ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES WHO DETAINED MENDEZ, NOR COULD HE CONFIRM THAT THE PARAGUAYAN GOVERNMENT WAS RESPONSIBLE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 08358 081113Z

HOWEVER, HIS LINE OF CONJECTURE WAS THATON LEARNING THERE WAS A TRAFFIC INCIDENT NEAR THEIR HOTEL INVOLVING A PARAGUAYAN NAMED EPIFANIO MENDEZ THE VISITING MILITARY IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZED THE NAME, AND CONFUSING THE SON WITH THE FATHER, MAY HAVE PERSUADED THE ARGENTINES TO PICK UP MENDEZ SR. ON THE ALLEGATION HE WAS A SUBVERSIVE (WHICH CHAVEZ VEHEMENTELY DENIED). CHAVEZ SEEMED TO BELIEVE THAT THE PARAGUAYAN'S MOTIVE WAS TO HARASS AND INTIMIDATE MENDEZ ON ACCOUNT OF HIS PUBLIC STAND AGAINST THE STROESSNER REGIME AND THAT SOONER OR LATER HE WOULD BE RELEASEDBY THE ARGENTINES.

7. CHAVEZ INCIDENTALLY EXPRESSED INTEREST IN MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH EMBASSY. WOULD APPRECIATE ASUNCION'S COMMENTS.

8. EMBASSY COMMENT: MUCH OF THE COMMENTARY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EXILE COMMUNITY APPEARS TO BE BASED ON SPECULATION AND WE DO NOT HAVE HARDER INFORMATION AS TO THE REASONS FOR THE MENDEZ DETENTIONS ORTHEIR PROSPECTS. CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

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PAGE 01 STATE 268690
ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-05 SS-14 HA-02 IO-06 PRS-01
H-01 L-01 EB-04 SIL-01 SP-02 /048 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSSTEVEN:MG
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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 268690

STADIS//////////////////
LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR REPORTING ON SPECIFIC POLITICAL SUBJECTS

REF: (1) SANTIAGO 6030; (2) SANTIAGO 5448

1. HUMAN RIGHTS EVALUATION REPORT (REFTELS) IS BEING UPDATED AND REVISED. GIVEN COMPLEX PROCESS NECESSARY WITHIN DEPT TO PRODUCE AGREED FINAL REPORT, CHILE DESK PROPOSES TO PREPARE INITIAL REDRAFT AND CABLE IT TO YOU FOR COMMENT. TO ASSIST CHILE DESK IN PREPARING REDRAFT, PLEASE PROVIDE URGENTLY, IN DRAFT FORM, FOR USE IN SECTION A, ONE THROUGH THREE, SHORT STATEMENTS OF FINDINGS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ON SUBJECT. THIS SHOULD INCLUDE, IF REPORTS ARE REASONABLY CURRENT, FINDINGS OF IAHRC, ICRC, ILO, ICJ, AI. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 STATE 268690

DESK WILL ASSESS SEPT. 1977 UNHRCWG REPORT WHICH MAY NOT HAVE REACHED YOU. WHERE AN ORGANIZATION'S REPORT DOES NOT DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE EMBASSY'S OWN FINDINGS EXPRESSED IN THE EVALUATION, SIMPLY SO STATE. BASED UPON YOUR RECENT REPORTING, DESK WILL ALSO INCLUDE IN SECTION I B COMMENT ON THE STATUS OF LABOR MOVEMENT.

2. WE HAVE HEARD THAT EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET AMBASSADORS IN SANTIAGO HAVE PREPARED A RECENT JOINT REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE. RUMOR HAS IT THAT REPORT SUGGESTS SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN SITUATION. IF SUCH A REPORT

UNCLASSIFIED

E3993

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) 1.5.3

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(✓) Classify as (C) Extend as Downgrade to
Date 1/2/01 Declassify on Reason 1.5.1

000022A

EXISTS, AND YOU CAN OBTAIN COPY, PLEASE CABLE SUMMARY AND POUCH TEXT.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. WE HAVE READ [ ] OF NOV. 3 WITH INTEREST. SUGGESTION OF SIGNIFICANT REVIVAL OF MIR [ ] IS STARTLING IF ACCURATE. PLEASE COMMENT ON THIS SPECIFICALLY, AND UPON REST OF REPORT IF APPROPRIATE. WE NOTE CONTRAST OF THIS REPORT WITH OTHERS RECENTLY WHICH HAVE SUGGESTED STRONGLY THAT CNI WAS TRYING TO JUSTIFY ITS EXISTANCE BY PLANTING NOISE BOMBS. VANCE

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS, STADIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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11/10/77 H

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ZNY CCCCC ZZH
R 101435Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1547
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 3628
BT
[redacted] ASUNCION 4619

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TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB			DAO		
DCM		✓	[illegible]		
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ECOM		✓	AID		
PO:/R		✓	[illegible]		
CONS		✓	[illegible]		
ADM			[illegible]		
USIS		✓	[illegible]		
SCI			CHRON		✓
ST			AF		✓

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PA
SUBJ: AMILCAR SANTUCHO

REF: STATE 256523

1. FOLLOWING INFORMATION PROVIDED BY HIGH RANKING GOP SOURCE OCTOBER 7.

2. ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS APPROACHED GOP WITH OFFER TO EXCHANG MOPOCO LEADER EPIFANIO MENDEZ FLEITAS (BEING HELD AT RESISTENCIA) FOR SANTUCHO. GOP HAS REFUSED, AND EVEN THOUGH SANTUCHO IS BEING HELD AT EMBOSCADA, CONSIDERS HIM A "POLITICAL REFUGEE" (SIC).

3. GOP IS NOW CONSIDERING SENDING SANTUCHO TO SWEDEN OR "SOME OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRY" - IN RESPONSE TO HEAVY FOREIGN CAMPAIGN (FLOOD OF INQUIRIES AND COMPLAINTS BEING RECEIVED FROM ABROAD) O SANTUCHO'S BEHALF.

BRIGGS

BT
#4619 [redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED

(c) 17-16

ARGENTINE COMMISSION for HUMAN RIGHTS

BH01

COMISION ARGENTINA POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS (CADHU)
Washington, D.C. Information Bureau

PD - for trip - NB - also to include in briefing papers for use / particularly points in Jan. letter.

November 10th, 1977

Mr. Mark Schneider
Office of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs
Department of State
Washington DC 20520

Dear Mr. Schneider:

In view of the Secretary of State's upcoming visit to Argentina, a representative number of human rights, religious, trade-union, and political organizations and personalities have joined together and written Secretary Vance on the human rights situation in that country. I am enclosing a copy of this letter.

In our letter we put forth four basic criteria to evaluate any changes in the Argentine situation. We hope these can be brought up during discussions in Buenos Aires later this month.

Our letter also requests that the Secretary deliver on our behalf a partial list of political prisoners and disappeared persons to the Argentine authorities. This list was compiled in the U.S. by the Argentine Information and Service Center from sources in Argentina and outside in the various committees functioning around the world. The list contains approximately half the total number of victims of the repression in Argentina.

This list will be circulated internationally for comparison with other sources and will be regularly updated. We expect to have more than 10,000 names before Christmas. We will make each new version available to your office for your reference.

We hope that the list and your own efforts might encourage the Argentine government to make public a complete list with the proper explanations on the status of those detained or missing.

If I can be of any further help, please do not hesitate to call me,

cordially,

Gino Lofredo

Gino Lofredo

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(/) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to
Date Declassify on Reason

11/10/77

Buenos Aires, noviembre 10 de 1977.

BH016

A su Excelencia
Señor Embajador de los EE.UU.
RAUL CASTRO
Presente.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (5200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

De nuestra mayor consideración:

Nos dirigimos a Vd. en representación de cientos de madres de jóvenes que se los llama DESAPARECIDOS, los cuales fueron secuestrados por fuerzas de seguridad, de lo cual nadie se hace responsable por ello, ni se nos informan dónde están y qué ha sido de los mismos.

En nuestra incesante búsqueda de ayuda, solicitamos de Vd. la deferencia de permitirnos una entrevista, como fiel representante de un pais que goza de una absoluta democracia.

Agotadas ya todas las posibilidades ante las gestiones oficiales para poder averiguar sus respectivos paraderos y no pudiendo sobrellevar tan angustiosa situación, la que por demás resulta intolerable (en muchísimos casos hace más de un año que buscamos infructuosamente a nuestros hijos), es que deseamos esclarecer frente a Vd. algunos hechos.

Nos permitimos aclararle que somos única y exclusivamente MADRES que frente a nuestra Casa de Gobierno pedimos por la pronta aparición de los hijos que nos fueron arrebatados.

Jamás hemos exigido su libertad, solamente solicitamos que nos digan dónde están, que sean juzgados para aclarar qué delito han cometido (si lo hay), pero que cese esta tortura : física, que padecen ellos y la nuestra que ya ha destrozado nuestros corazones.

Por todo esto, confiamos en que nuestra esperanza no será defraudada ante el interés de los EE.UU. por apoyar los Derechos Humanos de la República Argentina.

Agradecemos anticipadamente la atención que pudiera dispensarnos al concedernos una breve entrevista.

Reciba nuestros respetos.

Tel:

C.I. 1674504 - 48.0550

D.N.I. 1.845.477 773-8284

L.C. 2195883 204-5644

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(51/52)

UNCLASSIFIED

DD248 11/10/77

TELEGRAM

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INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM: USIS BUENOS AIRES
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: AR, SOPN, SHUM
SUBJECT: GOA CONFISCATES NEWSPAPER EDITION

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO: USIA

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8460

REF.: BUENOS AIRES 7608

AmB
CHARGE
POL-3
POL/R
ECOM
USIS
RF
CHRON

1.- All copies of the November 7 issue of the weekly newspaper Correo de la Semana (Circ. 5,000) were confiscated by executive order. The GOA said an analysis of the latest edition "makes clear the evident purpose of showing to the reading public a situation of chaos, uncertainty and incoherence in the face of facts which, even if they are real and true, are distorted by the publication." Another reason given for the action was "the harm done to the image of the Nation as such and the principle of authority."

2.- Correo de la Semana is owned and operated by Francisco Manrique, a well-known Argentine journalist with a reputation for integrity and straight talk. His 'exposé'

DECONTROL
ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
USIS:MO[illegible]en:ldc	11-10-77	336	A/POLCOUNS:ACFreeman

CLEARANCES:
USIS: JHiggins

UNCLASSIFIED
[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

80F178
22/185

50153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

of Cabinet Ministers in the Illia government caused the downfall of several of them. An ex-Navy Captain, he is an [redacted] ardent anti-communist with an equal dislike for extreme right wing nationalism.

3.- A government media official who saw the offending issue said the front page was a collage of local newspaper headlines about the recent strikes encircling a quotation from interior minister Harguindeguy saying "strikes are prohibited." The official added personally he would not have confiscated the issue "because it will only call attention to a publication that few read anyway and exaggerate its importance."

4.- The Buenos Aires Herald echoed the same sentiments in an editorial November 10. The paper concluded that: "Closing down Correo de la Semana for a while has done far more damage to Argentina's image than anything ever printed in it, while the knowledge that the government is unable to stand even mild and friendly criticism from a magazine that has consistently shown a constructive approach to the country's problems is scarcely likely to enhance the [redacted] principle of authority."

5.- Comment: Once again (see reftel) the government's action seems hasty and ill-considered. The labor crisis was substantially [redacted] over when Correo de la Semana appeared and

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the confiscation served no useful purpose other than to focus public attention on the newspaper and the government's continued efforts to intimidate the media.

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 08488 102055Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-00 L-03 H-01 CIAE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 INRE-00 SSO-00 /028 W
----------054282 102059Z /63

O 102005Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3158
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8488

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
~~Exemption(s):~~ _____
~~Declassify:~~ ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SPON, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: AP LOCAL EMPLOYEE DISAPPEARS

1. OSCAR SERRAT, SENIOR LOCAL STAFF REPORTED FOR AP IN ARGENTINA DISAPPEARED THE EARLY MORNING OF NOVEMBER 10 AFTER LEAVING HIS HOME FOR WORK. AP IS CHECKING ALL ITS SOURCES TO DETERMINE THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISAPPEARANCE. ACCIDENT, SUDDEN ILLNESS, LEGAL ARREST OR OTHER NATURAL EXPLANATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN RULED OUT YET. NICHOLSON OF AP REPORTS THAT SERRAT WAS NOT A POLITICAL ACTIVIST AND NONEOF HIS RECENT STORIES TO NICHOLSON'S KNOWLEDGE COULD HAVE MOTIVATED POSSIBLE EXTRAL LEGAL ACTION BY GOA SECURITY OFFICIALS.

2. IN VIEW OF THE POTENTIAL SERIOUSNESS OF THE CASE, THE LOCAL AP OFFICE WANTS TO CHECK THOROUGHLY BEFORE MAKING ANY APPROACH TO GOA AUTHORITIES MEANWHILE WE BELIEVE THAT THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE ALERTED IN CASE AP NEW YORK CONTACTS THE DEPARTMENT.

3. NICHOLSON WILL KEEP IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE EMBASSY ON DEVELOPMENTS.
CASTRO
[redacted]

[redacted]

K 146

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 ASUNCI 04621 110230Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSC-05 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
H-01 HA-05 EA-01 PRS-01 USIA-06 /056 W
------------------061337 111844Z /70

R 101643Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1549
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] ASUNCION 4621

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PA
SUBJ: EPIFANO MENDEZ FLEITAS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8231

1. ACCORDING TO A HIGH LEVEL PARAGUAYAN OFFICIAL SOURCE CONSIDERED RELIABLE, THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT SHORTLY AFTER ARRESTING MOPOCO LEADER MENDEZ OFFERED TO EXCHANGE HIM FOR SUSPECTED ERP LEADER AMILCAR SANTUCHO, WHO HAS BEEN UNDER DETENTION IN PARAGUAY SINCE ENTERING PARAGUAY WITH FALSE DOCUMENTS IN MAY, 1976. (SEE SEPTEL.)

2. SOURCE SAID GOP WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE PROPOSED SWOP SINCE IT HAD HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH MENDEZ' ARREST AND DID NOT WANT TO BE SADDLED WITH YET ANOTHER POLITICAL PRISONER PROBLEM.

3. A FEW DAYS AFTER MENDEZ' ARREST, THE GOP SENT AN EMISSARY FROM J-2 (ARMY INTELLIGENCE) TO RESISTENCIA TO FIND OUT WHY MENDEZ HAD BEEN DETAINED AND IF HE HAD BEEN IN ANY WAY INVOLVED IN ANTI-PARAGUAYAN OR ANTI-ARGENTINE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY. HIS CONCLUSION WAS THAT MENDEZ HAD NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN ENGAGED IN SUCH ACTIVITY BUT THAT THE ONLY APPARENT REASON FOR HIS DETENTION WAS THE PROPOSED DEAL INVOLVING SANTUCHO.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Case Number: 200000044

THE EMISSARY HAD REPORTED MENDEZ TO BE IN GOOD HEALTH AND THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN MISTREATED.

4. SOURCE EXPRESSED CONCERN LEST THE EMISSARY'S VISIT TO RESISTENCIA BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE AND BE MISINTERPRETED ABROAD AS GOP INVOLVEMENT IN MENDEZ' ARREST.
BRIGGS

[redacted]

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Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS08459

11/10/77

Page: 1

Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08459 110202Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 H-02 SCS-05 CA-01 L-03 /031 W
----------060722 111604Z /46

R 101404Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3142

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8459

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: U.S. INTEREST HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

1. EMBASSY PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING CASES TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) ON OCT 31 AND NOV 8, 1977:

CASE NO.	NAME	US INTEREST	STATUS
144/77/10	AKSELBAD, JOSE	CONG. ROTH	(DISAPPEARED)
145/77/10	ALE, JOSE JOAQUIN	AFL/CIO	(DETAINED)
146/77/10	ANTONANZAS, NESTOR RUBEN	MRS. CARTER	(DISAPP.)
147/77/10	GALLETTI, LILIANA ELIDA	CONG. FRASER	"
148/77/10	LOGIURATO, HAROLDO	CONG. FRASER	"
149/77/10	PROL, LUIS ADOLFO	WHITE HOUSE	(DETAINED)
150/77/10	MENDEZ FLEITAS, E.	SEN. CRANSTON CONG. MCCLOSKEY WOMEN'S INT. LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM	(DETAINED)
151/77/10	MENDEZ FLEITAS, E. JR.	SEN. CRANSTON CONG. MCCLOSKEY WOMEN INT. LEAG. FOR PEACE & FR.	(DETAINED)
154/77/10	BETTINI, BAUTISTA	DEPT. OF STATE	(DISAPPEARED)
155/77/10	DEVOTO, JORGE A.D.	DEPT. OF STATE	"

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

156/77/10	LEDER, MAURICIO	DEPT. OF STATE	"
157/77/10	LEDER, MARCUS	DEPT. OF STATE	"
158/77/10	DOPAZO, BLANCA H.A.	AE/MONTEVIDEO	"
159/77/11	BEAUFAY, ANGELA	CONG. DOWNEY	"
160/77/11	GAUD, CARLOS A.	CONG. DOWNEY	"
161/66/11	ODELL, ALEJANDRO R.	CONG. HOLT	"

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS08626

UNCLASSIFIED 11/14/77

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Case Number: 200000044

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TION ARA-14 BUENOS 08626 152315Z

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MBASSY BUENOS AIRES
STATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3231
EMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

004052 152321Z /75

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8626

2: N/A
M, AR
ETENTION OF ALEJANDRO AND LILIANA DEUTSCH:
VELOPMENTS

A 7120 (B) BA 7014

O DEUTSCH'S RELEASED DAUGHTER SUSANA DEUTSCH
NCE ANTONIO GRANDERO MET WITH EMBASSY OFFICER
N NOVEMBER 11. SUSANA DEUTSCH RELATED DETAILS
EST, TORTURE, DETETNION AND PRESENT STATUS
ILY. MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN CORDOBA HAVE
DEUTSCH THAT THIRD ARMY CORPS HAS REQUESTED
INTERIOR TO PLACE ALEJANDRO AND LILIANA
TATE OF SIEGE EXECUTIVE DETENTION. ON
KING LEVEL OFFICIAL AT MINISTRY OF THE
OS AIRES INFORMED SUSANA DEUTSCH AND ANTONIO
REE PLACING ALEJANDRO AND LILIANA DEUTSCH
HAD BEEN DRAFTED AND WAS AWAITING
S SIGNATURE.

ALEJANDRO AND LILIANA DEUTSCH UNDER
ANIED BY PARALLEL CRIMINAL CHARGES,

08626 152315Z
[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE270157

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 270157
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05 COME-00 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 AID-05
EB-08 XMB-02 IGA-02 CTME-00 OMB-01 /097 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JC
APPROVED BY ARA:TATODMAN
ARA:FMCNEIL

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R 111349Z NOV 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 270157

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ALLARA MEETING WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN

1. ARGENTINE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GUALTER ALLARA, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL AND MINISTERS JUAN CARLOS ARLIA AND MIGUEL ANGEL ESPECHE GIL CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN ON NOVEMBER 4, 1977. AMBASSADOR CASTRO, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MCNEIL, COUNTRY DIRECTOR ZIMMERMANN AND DESK OFFICER BUMPUS ALSO ATTENDED.

2. AT ALLARA'S REQUEST, HE MET PRIVATELY WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN FOR FIFTEEN MINUTES BEFORE THE GENERAL CONVERSATION BEGAN. DURING THIS PRIVATE MEETING ALLARA ASKED FOR THE U. S. TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO BE TAKEN UP DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT:

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PAGE 02 STATE 270157

Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

Case Number: 200000044

A. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE: THE ARGENTINES RECOGNIZE THE U. S. GENERALLY DOES NOT FAVOR JOINT COMMUNIQUES BUT FEEL THE VISIT SHOULD BE HIGHLIGHTED BY A JOINT STATEMENT. IT SHOULD STRESS THE WILLINGNESS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES TO COOPERATE TO SOLVE COMMON PROBLEMS.

B. DISCUSSION ON TERRORISM: ALLARA POINTED OUT THAT THERE IS A GROWING WORLDWIDE CONSENSUS THAT TERRORISM IS A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT SOMETHING SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT IT NOW. WE SHOULD CONSIDER WAYS IN WHICH THE TWO QUESTIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND TERRORISM, CAN BE JOINTLY DISCUSSED.

C. CLARIFICATION OF U. S. POSITION ON IFIS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA: IN JUNE, THE U. S. ABSTAINED BUT EXPLAINED ITS VOTE ON AN ARGENTINE LOAN IN THE IBRD, STRESSING IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. YET, IN OCTOBER THE U. S. VOTED NO ON ARGENTINE IDB LOAN REQUEST IN THE FACE OF GREATER IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. THIS IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND; ARGENTINA WOULD LIKE US TO EXPLAIN OUR VIEWS AND INTENTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. AMBASSADOR TODMAN EXPLAINED OUR CRITERIA OF VOTING YES ON LOANS FOR THE NEEDY, BUT WARNED THAT OTHER ARGENTINE LOANS IN THE IFIS COULD FACE PROBLEMS.

D. MILITARY SALES: MANY ARGENTINES FAVOR CONTINUING PURHASES OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO ARE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING PURCHASING MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM OTHER SOURCES IF THE U. S. IS UNWILLING TO SUPPLY IT. THIS QUESTION IS CREATING DIVISIONS WITHIN THE ARGENTINE MILITARY, AND THEY WISH TO KNOW WHAT CRITERIA THE U. S. WILL APPLY TO MILITARY SALES TO ARGENTINA.

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PAGE 03 STATE 270157

E. MALVINAS: ALLARA STATED THAT ARGENTINA WAS CONCERNED THAT AN INCIDENT COULD DEVELOP. THERE IS ANOTHER MEETING WITH THE BRITISH IN DECEMBER, AND THEY WANT US TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE U.K. TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH AS THE U. S. DID WITH PANAMA ON THE CANAL.

3. DURING THE GENERAL DISCUSSION, THE PRINCIPLE TOPIC WAS THE SECRETARY'S VISIT AND THE ITEMS HE WOULD DISCUSS

TO FONMIN MONTES AS A MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY VANCE.

3. RESPONDING TO GENERAL OBSERVATIONS THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION CONTINUED TO BE CRITICAL, ESPECHE GIL, NORMALLY A TACITURN INDIVIDUAL, MADE A FORCEFUL AND ALMOST EMOTIONAL DENIAL THAT SITUATION HAD NOT IMPROVED. HE SAID THERE WERE MANY EVIDENCES OF IMPROVEMENT IN RESPONSE TO SPECIAL GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TOWARD THIS END. HE PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RIGHT OF OPTION, SAYING THAT IT WAS A SERIOUS AND GENEROUS MEASURE OF WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT WAS MOST PROUD. HE ASSERTED THAT IT WILL HAVE MAJOR RESULTS AND THAT CRITICISM OF THE MEASURE IS ENTIRELY UNFAIR BECAUSE ITS PROCEDURES HAVE NOT YET HAD EVEN THE MINIMUM TIME TO BE TESTED. WITH REGARD TO SERRAT HE RESPONDED THAT HE WAS FREE AND HOME NOW. WITH REGARD TO THE EXTRAJUDICIAL TREATMENT OF TIMERMAN, HE SAID THAT TIMERMAN WAS DEALT WITH UNDER A GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL REFORM MEASURE OF THE REVOLUTION AND HIS TREATMENT WAS NOT DISCRIMINATORY. HE WAS MOST EMPHATIC IN ASSERTING THAT THERE WAS NO ELEMENT OF RACISM IN THE TREATMENT ACCORDED TO TIMERMAN. (HE DID NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF LACK OF PROGRESS ON DETAINEES. THE DEUTSCHES' DETENTION HAS NOW BEEN REGULARIZED BY PLACING THEM UNDER THE EXECUTIVE POWER, AND MENDEZ AND HIS SON WERE RELEASED YESTERDAY.) ESPECHE CONCLUDED THAT SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT WOULD PROVIDE HIM AN OPPORTUNITY TO VERIFY THAT ARGENTINA HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY MOVING TOWARD NORMALITY.

4. NUCLEAR MATTERS:

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 08549 01 OF 02 141916Z

IN MEETINGS ON SUNDAY AND MONDAY GREAT CARE WAS GIVEN TO DESCRIPTION OF WHICH ACTIONS WOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH WHICH TECHNOLOGY AND/OR EXPORTS. THE MATTER OF A POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING (PARA 6 REFTEL) WAS SCARCELY DISCUSSED. THE TWO-STAGE APPROACH WAS DESCRIBED IN DETAIL AND WRITTEN OUT BY THE ARGENTINES TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDING. ESPECHE GIL INDICATED THAT GOA POSITION WOULD

BE WORKED OUT WITH ARGENTINE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION AND WE UNDERSTAND THIS TO HAVE BEEN THE CASE.

5. IN RESPONDING TO PRESENTATION OF POINTS 6 THROUGH 8 OF REFTEL, ESPECHE EMPHASIZED THAT GOA HAD IN NO WAY ALTERED ITS DISPOSITION TO RATIFY TREATY OF TLATELOLCO, AND THAT WHILE THE TREATY HAD NOT YET BEEN SUBMITTED TO LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY COMMISSION FOR THE NECESSARY APPROVAL, GOA CONTINUED TO INTEND TO DO SO. WHEN PRESSED ON AGREEMENT ON FIRST STAGE (PARA 8), HE RETREATED TO GENERALITIES, SAYING THAT GOA HOPED TO HAVE WIDEST RANGING DISCUSSIONS DURING VISIT. WHEN ASKED IF GOA COULD BE DESCRIBED AS DECLINING TO AGREE TO STAGE ONE, HE SAID HE WOULD GIVE US VERBATIM TEXT OF GOA POSITION IN RESPONSE TO US PROPOSALS.

5. TEXT PROVIDED AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA CONTINUES TO BE FULLY DISPOSED TO RATIFY THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO. THERE IS NO CHANGE IN ITS POSITION. THE POINTS EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT VIDELA TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND BY SUBSECRETARY ALLARA IN WASHINGTON TEN DAYS AGO CONTINUE VALID. IT IS

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 08549 01 OF 02 141916Z

PRECISELY THE ARGENTINE INTEREST THAT BOTH NUCLEAR TOPICS--THE TREATY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION--BE DEALT WITH IN DEPTH DURING SECRETARY'S VISIT. END TEXT.

6. WHEN HE WAS PRESSED THAT ARGENTINE STATEMENT WAS NOT HIGHLY RESPONSIVE, ESPECHE REQUESTED

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Case Number: 200000044

PAGE 01 BUENOS 08549 02 OF 02 141922Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3186

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8549

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A REVIEW OF DETAILS OF STAGE ONE AND TWO, PARTICULARLY PARA 8. HE SAID THAT, NOT BEING AN EXPERT IN A TECHNICAL SUBJECT, HE WISHED TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT HIS PREVIOUS DESCRIPTION OF THE US POSITION WAS CLEAR. WHILE HE THOUGH IT HAD BEEN, HE REQUESTED THAT DCM DEFER TRANSMITTAL OF GOA POSITION UNTIL 2 P.M. WASHINGTON TIME TODAY SO THAT HE COULD RECHECK WITH INTERESTED AGENCIES TO ASSURE THAT QUOTED TEXT WAS PRECISE RESPONSE THEY WISHED TO MAKE TO US DEMARCHE.

COMMENT: AS IS CLEAR FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH ESPECHE, MFA WANTS TO GIVE US IMPRESSION THAT GOA IS WELL-DISPOSED TO SIGNATURE OF TLATELOLCO TREATY AND THAT THERE ARE NO FORESEEABLE POLITICAL OR TECHNICAL PROBLEMS. IT IS ALSO EQUALLY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE MFA IS UNWILLING TO COMMIT ITSELF IN ADVANCE OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO SPECIFIC STAGE ONE PROPOSAL OUTLINED REFTEL -- AN INDICATION THAT THE GOA DOES WANT SOME CONDITIONS SATISFIED OR CONCESSIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES IN RETURN FOR AGREEMENT TO INITIATE RATIFICATION PROCESS OF TLATELOLCO TREATY IN ARGENTINA. WITHOUT SPECIFICS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE JUST HOW FAR

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08549 02 OF 02 141922Z

GOA IS WILLING TO GO TO MEET OUR CONDITIONS. ALL THE EVIDENCE UP UNTIL NOW SUGGESTS THAT MAIN ARGENTINE OBJECTIVE IN NUCLEAR FIELD IS TO OBTAIN

HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY SO THAT ARGENTINA CAN ACHIEVE A FULLY INDEPENDENT FUEL CYCLE. IN PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS, THEY HAVE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE UNWILLING TO PAY THE PRICE OF DEFERRING REPROCESSING. THE QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER THEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO PLAY THEIR MAIN ACCEPTABLE CARD -- RATIFICATION OF TLATELOLCO TREATY -- IN RETURN FOR THE LESS IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF OBTAINING AN ASSURED SUPPLY OF HEAVY WATER AND HEU FOR THEIR RESEARCH REACTORS. EVEN IF THE GOA AGREED TO STAGE ONE, THERE WOULD STILL BE A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER RATIFICATION WOULD BE APPROVED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY COUNCIL, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS HAD A HIGHLY NATIONALISTIC BENT AND WHICH HAS SHOWN ITSELF TO BE HIGHLY INDEPENDENT BY REJECTING THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS (IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE, PERHAPS WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S OWN BLESSING). MOREOVER, THERE IS THE QUESTION WHETHER THE GOA IS WILLING TO WAIVE PROVISIONS OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TLATELOLCO TREATY. STORY REPORTED REF B SUGGESTS THAT SOME ARGENTINES (AND PROBABLY CNEA SOURCE OF THE STORY) BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO MEET THE CONDITIONS OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TREATY BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION FROM SUCH COUNTRIES AS THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA AND THAT THEREFORE IT WILL BE A LONG TIME, IF EVER, BEFORE TREATY IS BINDING ON ARGENTINA.
CASTRO
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 08549 02 OF 02 141922Z

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08509 120703Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 PM-05 L-03 H-02 CIAE-00
DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-02 USIA-15 PRS-01 SP-02
/057 W
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R 111515Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3169

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8509

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DETENTION OF EIGHT POLITICAL PRISONERS

REF: STATE 266342

1. EMBASSY WILL MAKE FORMAL INQUIRY REGARDING EIGHT AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INTEREST CASES WITH FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON NOVEMBER 11, 1977.

2. INFORMATION IN REFTEL -- NAME AND PENAL INSTITUTION -- IS SUFFICIENT FOR IDENTIFYING PRISONERS.

3. FOREIGN OFFICE AND MINISTRY OF INTERIOR CAN IDENTIFY CASES OF INDIVIDUALS DETAINED UNDER PEN ON BASIS OF NAME ALONE AND WITH NAME AND CEDULA NUMBER THEY CAN LOCATE PERSONS IN ARGENTINE JAILS ON CRIMINAL CHARGES. HOWEVER, IN DISAPPEARANCE CASES FOWG AND MINISTRY OF INTERIOR MUST HAVE FULL INFORMATION TO CONDUCT COMPLETE INVESTIGATION -- I.E. NAME, CEDULA NUMBER, HOME ADDRESS, DATE AND PLACE OF DISAPPEARANCE AND IF AVAILABLE CIRCUMSTANCES AND IDENTIFICATION OF "ARRESTING OFFICIALS". THIS INFORMATION ALLOWS MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO LODGE FORMAL INQUIRY WITH APPROPRIATE PROVINCIAL POLICE AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08509 120703Z

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

Case Number: 200000044

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08508 120703Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
PA-02 PRS-01 /044 W
----------098321 121813Z /70

R 111515Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3168
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8508

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, BR
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF TERESA ISRAEL

REF: RIO DE JANEIRO 5262

ALTHOUGH THIS CASE HAS BEEN REPORTED ON IN B.A. HERALD, AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES HAS NOT RECEIVED ANY REQUEST FOR INFORMATION REGARDING ARGENTINE CITIZEN TERESA ISRAEL.
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08491 111329Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 HA-05 L-03
PA-01 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 /032 W
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O 111305Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3160
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8491

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: TIMERMAN LOSES ARGENTINE CIVIL RIGHTS

1. EX-LA OPINION EDITOR, JACOBO TIMERMAN, WAS PLACED UNDER THE "INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT" BY THE MILITARY JUNTA ON NOVEMBER 10. HIS INCLUSION UNDER THE ACT MEANS HE LOSES ALL CIVIL RIGHTS, THE USE OF PROPERTY AND OTHER ASSETS UNTIL LEGITIMATE OWNERSHIP IS ESTABLISHED, AND CAN BE HELD IN JAIL INDEFINITELY.

2. THE TIMERMAN FAMILY IS STUNNED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION. THEY LEARNED OF IT ONLY WHEN THEY READ THE MORNING PAPERS AND DO NOT KNOW HOW TO INTERPRET IT. TIMERMAN'S SON COMMENTED TO THE USIS PRESS OFFICER "WHY NOW AFTER SEVEN MONTHS? IT CAN'T BE ANYTHING BUT A VINDICTIVE ACTION." ONE FAMILY FRIEND VENTURED THE THEORY THAT THIS PAVES THE WAY FOR TIMERMAN'S RELEASE, BUT THE FAMILY IS NOW VERY PESSIMISTIC ON THAT SCORE.

3. IN A RELATED DEVELOPMENT, THE GOA ON NOVEMBER 8 CREATED A "NATIONAL COMMISSION OF PATRIMONIAL RESPONSIBILITY" (CONAREPA) TO INVESTIGATE AND RULE ON THE LEGITIMACY OF PROPERTY AND OTHER ASSETS HELD

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): [redacted]
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___
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BY THE PERSONS PROCESSED UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL

Case Number: 200000044

RESPONSIBILITY ACT.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08489 111314Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 L-03 H-01 CIAE-00 INR-07
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3159
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8489

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, SOP, AR
SUBJECT: SERRAT RELEASED

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8488

AP REPORTED OSCAR SERRAT WAS RELEASED IN EARLY MORNING NOVEMBER 11 AND IS NOW SAFE AT HOME. AP PROVIDED USIS WITH DETAILS OF HIS DETENTION.

SERRAT WAS INTERCEPTED BY TWO MEN IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES AS HE LEFT HOME NOVEMBER 10 FOR WORK. THEY BUNDLED HIM INTO A CAR WHERE HE WAS BLINDFOLDED AND HANDCUFFED. AFTER A ONE HOUR JOURNEY, HE WAS LED INTO AN UNDERGROUND ROOM, HOODED AND LEFT ALONE FOR APPROXIMATELY 2 HOURS. HE WAS THEN INTERROGATED ABOUT HIS RELATIONS WITH RODOLFO WALSH, A WELL-KNOWN LEFTIST ARGENTINE WRITER, AND ABOUT THE COMMUNIQUES SUBVERSIVE GROUPS OFTEN SEND TO THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS AGENCIES. AROUND 11 P.M. HE WAS PERMITTED TO CALL HIM HOME AND OFFICE. SHORTLY THEREAFTER HE WAS DRIVEN, STILL BLINDFOLDED, TO A SPOT NEAR HIS HOME AND RELEASED. SERRAT BELIEVES HE WAS HELD AT A MILITARY OR POLICE INSTALLATION JUST OUTSIDE THE FEDERAL CAPITAL.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08489 111314Z

COMMENT: GIVEN THE NATURE OF SERRAT'S INTERROGATION,

Case Number: 200000044

IT APPEARS HIS DETENTION WAS A "NORMAL" ONE AND NOT INTENDED TO COINCIDE WITH AMBASSADOR CASTRO'S ARRIVAL TO EMBARRASS THE GOA (AS SOME SPECULATED) OR SPECIFICALLY TO INTIMIDATE THE MEDIA. AP BUREAU CHIEF BILL NICHOLSON THANKED THE EMBASSY FOR ITS QUICK, WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT AND EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTION THAT ONLY THE FAST, HIGH-LEVEL CAMPAIGN THAT WAS ORGANIZED ON SERRAT'S BEHALF MADE HIS RELEASE POSSIBLE.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09231 01 OF 02 121521Z
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) B1, B3

~~S E C R E T~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9231

E. O. 11652: XGDS-2 WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE ~~INTELLIGENCE~~ SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED
TAGS: SHUM, PGOV, PINT, CI
SUBJECT: CNI'S FIRST QUARTER PERFORMANCE: GENERALLY IMPROVED, BUT SOME EXCEPTIONS

BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL

1. SUMMARY: THE CHILEAN NATIONAL INFORMATION CENTER'S (CNI) FIRST THREE MONTHS DEMONSTRATED, OVERALL, A CONTINUATION OF THE TREND TOWARD BETTER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BEGUN EARLY THIS YEAR BY ITS PREDECESSOR NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE (DINA). CNI ACTIVELY SOUGHT INTELLIGENCE LEADS, BUT MOST OF THE SIXTY-ODD DETENTIONS BELIEVED RELATED TO ITS INVESTIGATIONS -- EVEN IF INITIALLY CARRIED OUT BY CNI -- WERE QUICKLY TURNED OVER TO PLAINCLOTHED POLICE FOR BOOKING. NONETHELESS, ENOUGH CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE AND ALLEGATIONS OF CNI EXCESSES HAVE CROPPED UP TO CONCLUDE THE CNI DID NOT ELIMINATE ALL ITS INHERITED MODUS OPERANDI. PERPETRATORS OF A RASH OF BOMBINGS AND CONTINUING BOMB THREATS HAVE NOT BEEN CLEARLY IDENTIFIED; SEVERAL CASES OF PROLONGED ILLEGAL DETENTION AND PRISONER ABUSE HAVE COME TO LIGHT; AND SEVERAL ALLEGATIONS OF CNI RESPONSIBILITY FOR BRIEF, ILLEGAL AND ROUGH DETENTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE. THE COMBINATION OF THESE REPORTS MAY HAVE GIVEN PRESIDENT PINOCHET AN ADDITIONAL INCENTIVE TO REMOVE DINA/CNI CHIEF MANUEL CONTRERAS. END SUMMARY.

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2. BETTER OVERALL: WHEN THE GOC TRANSFORMED THE NOTORIOUS DINA INTO CNI IN MID-AUGUST, PRESIDENT PINOCHET TOLD INTERESTED OBSERVERS THAT THE CHANGE IN NAME SYMBOLIZED A MEANINGFUL CHANGE IN THE ORGANIZATION'S OPERATIONS. AND, INDEED, CNI GENERALLY CONTINUED THE PROCESS BEGUN IN JANUARY 1977 WHEN DINA SHARPLY CURTAILED ITS ILLEGAL OPERATIONS. WE REPORTED IN SANTIAGO 7064 THAT CARABINEROS CONDUCTED THE RAID ON A SANTIAGO NURSERY SCHOOL WHERE A GROUP WAS ARRESTED (OF THE GROUP A MILITARY COURT SUBSEQUENTLY LET THE MEN OUT ON PERSONAL COGNIZANCE WHILE KEEPING THE WOMEN INCARCERATED -- A VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY SOURCE SAYS THE MEN ARE INNOCENT BUT THAT THE LADIES WERE CAUGHT ACTIVELY OPPOSING THE GOC). IN A MAJOR

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Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
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CNI-INSPIRED INVESTIGATION IN CHILLAN (ALSO SEE BELOW) MOST OF THE 40 PERSONS SO FAR QUESTIONED WERE PICKED-UP BY PLAINCLOTHED POLICE OPERATING ON CNI INTELLIGENCE (ONLY SIX REMAIN IN CUSTODY). THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) TOLD EMBOFFS NOVEMBER 9 THAT THE LEVEL OF OVERT REPRESSION HAD DROPPED MARKEDLY AND CONTINUED AT A LOW LEVEL.

3. BEGIN SECRET NO FOREIGN. BOMBINGS: ATTRIBUTION UNCLEAR: THE REAL AUTHORS OF THE RASH OF BOMBINGS AND BOMB THREATS WHICH OCCURRED IN THE SANTIAGO AREA IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER HAVE YET TO BE IDENTIFIED. ALTHOUGH SOME MEMBERS OF MILITARY SECURITY SERVICES [ ] AND MAY KNOWLEDGEABLE OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT A CNI UNIT IS THE MOST PROBABLE CULPRIT, THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT CNI LAUNCHED A MAJOR INVESTIGATION [ ] AND EVENTUALLY PRODUCED A REPORT BLAMING THE BOMBINGS ON THREE SEPARATE GROUPS: HARDCORE REVOLUTIONARY LEFTISTS (MIR) -- GIVEN CREDIT FOR THE FEW ALLEGEDLY POWERFUL EXPLOSIONS; CADRE DRWN FROM EX-ALLENDE COALITION PARTISANS -- FOR THE NOISE BOMBS; AND RIGHTIST FANATICS OF THE SUPPOSEDLY OUTLAWED "PATRIA Y LIBERTAD" ILK -- ALSO NOISE BOMBS AND BOMB THREATS [ ]

4. THE ALLEGED PREMATURE EXPLOSION (NOVEMBER 5) OF A DEVICE BEING [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 09231 01 OF 02 121521Z

ASSEMBLED BY TWO MEN IN A HOUSE CONTINING LEFTIST PROPAGANDA, COUNTERFEITING EQUIPMENT AND RUSSIAN ARMS MAY CONSTITUTE EVIDENCE OF MIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE BOMBINGS. ALSO, [ ] REPORTS A SHOOTOUT BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND ALLEGED MIRISTAS WHICH SUPPOSEDLY LEFT THREE DEAD AND ONE WOUNDED. AND GOC-OWNED "EL CRONISTA" REPORTS THAT A MIR FLYER TAKES CREDIT FOR THE BOMBINGS. ON THE OTHER HAND, NO [ ] SOURCES HAVE PINPONTED A LIKELY LEFTIST GROUP [ ] CITES MIRISTAS AS VIGOROUSLY DENYING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BOMBINGS WHILE ADMITTING THE REMOTE POSSIBILITY THAT A SPLINTER GROUP MIGHT HAVE DONE IT. A KNOWLEDGEABLE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY SOURCE HAS NO CONFIRMATION OF THE ALLEGED SHOOTOUT, BUT THIS SOURCE DOES NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF MIR, LEFT OR RIGHT CULPABILITY. (COMMENT: DESPITE SOME "EVIDENCE" TO THE CONTRARY, EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT CNI REMAINS A MAJOR SUSPECT. WHILE WE DO NOT DOUBT THAT THERE ARE SYMPATHIZERS OF THE MIR, THE UP AND THE RIGHT WHO MIGHT WANT TO SET OFF BOMBS, WE THINK THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY ONE OF THE THREE DOING SO WITHOUT WORD GETTING OUT IS LESS THAN LIKELY. THAT THREE SUCH GROUPS WOULD START OPERATING AT THE SAME TIME SEEMS QUITE UNLIKELY. [ ] REPORTING LINKED DINA TO THE NOISE BOMBS DETONATED IN MAY. IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT DINA APPEARED INTERESTED IN TYING THE VILLA MEXICO CAPER INTO THE BOMBINGS (THROUGH THE DISAPPEARED JAIME TRONCOSO - SANTIAGO 6222) AND THEREBY TO THE PDC, THE COMMUNISTS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. THE PATTERN HERE IS REMINISCENT.) END SECRET NO FOREIGN

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09231 02 OF 02 121533Z
ACTION ARA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7139

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9231

5. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. THE ROUGH STUFF: VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY SOURCES BELIEVE THAT CNI HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR AT LEAST THREE SERIOUS INCIDENTS OF PRISONER ABUSE: ONE IN CHILLAN AND TWO IN SANTIAGO. ALL INVOLVED PROLONGED DETENTION, SUBSTANTIAL PHYSICAL ABUSE
AND DRUGGING. ACCORDING TO THE VICARIATE, SOME THREE WEEKS AGO TWO PERSONS ARRESTED IN CONCEPCION AND BROUGHT TO CHILLAN IN CONNECTION WITH THE MAJOR INVESTIGATION MENTIONED ABOVE WERE ABRUPTLY TOLD LATE ONE NIGHT THAT THEY WERE TO BE RELEASED ON BAIL. ALLEGEDLY THEY WERE PICKED UP AS THEY LEFT DETENTION AND NV AGAIN UNTIL SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7. THEY REAPPEAREDAT WIDELY SEPARATED LOCATIONS ALONG THE TRUNK NORTH/SOUTH HIGHWAY, ONE SERIOUSLY DISORIENTED; BOTH APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN DRUGGED. THEY HAVE NOW RETURNED TO CONCEPCION. THE SECOND INCIDENT BEGAN TWO-THREE WEEKS AGO IN SANTIAGO. TWO YOUNG MEN WERE PICKED UP BY WHAT WITNESSES HAVE IDENTIFIED AS THE SAME VEHICLE. ONE IS STILL MISSING; THE OTHER APPEARED A FEW DAYS AGO APPARENTLY IN A DRUGGED CONDITION. MEANWHILE A TEENAGED FEMALE ACQUAINTANCE OF THE PAIR DISAPPEAREDUNDER MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES LAST WEEK.

6. A RIGHTIST ACTIVIST, VICTOR FUENZALIDA, WAS SNATCHED DINA-STYLE OCTOBER 28. TWO DAYS LATERHE GROGGILY DROVE HIS CAR INTO A LAMPPOST MID-DAY ON A MAIN SUBURBAN THROUGHFARE. HE ALLEGED THAT HE HAD BEEN DRUGGED AND INTERROGATED BY PERSONS HE PUBLICLY SPECULATED MAY HAVE BEEN FROM THE LEFT. WE RULE OUT THE LEFT, BUT CONCEIVABLY SOME APOLITICAL MOTIVATION MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED (THE FUENZALIDAS ENJOY A RATHER UNSAVORY REPUTATION IN THE REAL ESTATE BUSINESS). HOWEVER,

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09231 02 OF 02 121533Z

FUENZALIDA ACKNOWLEDGED HIS ACTIVE ROLE IN "PATRIA Y LIBERTAD," (HE CONTINUED TO ATTEND LUNCHEONS OF THIS ALLEGEDLY OUTLAWED FASCIST GROUP) AND ASSERTED THAT HE "ASSSISTED" SECURITY SERVICES UNTIL RECENTLY. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT CNI "INVESTIGATORS" WORKED HIM OVER SEARCHING FOR RIGHTWING BOMBERS.

7. CHRISTIAN PRECHT, DIRETOR OF THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY (PROTECT

SOURCE AND FOLLOWING SUBSTANCE) TOLD EMBOFF OF A PARTICULARY HARROWING
EXPERIENCE. SEVERAL WEEKS AGO A MAN ALLEGING TO BE FROM THE CNI TOLD PRECHT THAT HE FEARED FOR HIS LIFE AND WOULD TELL WHAT HE KNEW OF CNI OPERATIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR VICARIATE HELP IN FLEEING CHILE. PRECHT, NOTING THE MAN'S NERVOUSNESS AND FEARING ENTRAPMENT, HAD HIM DICTATE WHAT HE KNOW BEFORE TWO VICARIATE LAWYERS. THE MAN DID SHOW UP AT THE VICARIATE ONCE AGAIN -- APPARENTLY MORE FRIGHTENED THAN BEFORE. PRECHT WAS STARTING TO PROCESS HIS CASE WHEN HE READ THE THE MAN HAD BEEN FOUND SHOT REPEATEDLY AND KNIFED. BRUISES FROM HANDCUFFS WERE STILL VISIBLE. HE IS TAKING HIS TRANSCRIPT AND THE FULL STORY TO SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT EYZAGUIRRE.

8. [ ] LIST TWO OTHER PEOPLE AS HAVING B1
DISAPPEARED DURING OCTOBER FROM VALPARAISO. THESE SAME SOURCES BELIEVE
6-7 PEOPLE MAY HAVE BEEN TORTURED AT "INVESTIGACIONES" STATIONS SINCE MID-AUGUST. UNABLE TO GAIN ACCESS TO SOME DETAINEES HELD INCOMMUNICADO, [ ] HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET DOCUMENTARY PROFF OF THESE ALLEGATIONS.

9. BEING TAKEN FOR A RIDE: WE HAVE HEARD GENERAL ASSERTIONS THAT A FEW
PEOPLE HAVE BEEN INTIMIDATED AND BEATEN WHILE BEING DRIVING BRIEFLY ABOUT IN A VEHICLE. THE VICARIATE ESTIMATES THERE HAVE BEEN 6-7 CASES OF THIS NATURE EACH MONTH. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH A

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 09231 02 OF 02 121533Z

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADER AT TROUBLED EL TENIENTE MINE WHO SAYS THAT HE HAS BEEN BEATEN BY MEN HE BELIEVED TO BE CNI AGENTS (SOME THIRTY PEOPLE
AT EL TENIENTE WERE BRIEFLY DETAINED IN CONNECTION WITH LABOR PROBLEMS, ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE). AND THE URUGUAYAN DAUGHTER OF THE UNHRC REPRESENTATIVE IN SANTIAGO BELIEVES SECURITY FORCES ATTEMPTED TO ABDUCT HER. THE POLICE LICENSING BUREAU REPORTS THAT THE SUSPECT VEHICLE'S PLATES BELONG TO THE GOC AND WERE ASSIGNED TO DIEGO PORTALES. CARABINEROS SENT THEIR ROUTINE REPORT
OF THE ALLEGED INCIDENT TO A MILITARY COURT RATHER THAN TO A CIVILIAN ONE -- AN UNUSUAL STEP INDICATING THE POLICE ASSUME SECURITY SERVICES ARE INVOLVED.

10. COMMENT: WHILE THERE IS NO HARD EVIDENCE AS YET, IT SEEMS LIKELY TO US THAT CNI HAS RETAINED SOME OF ITS ACTIVE INTERNAL SECURITY ROLE. EVEN IF CNI WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL THE FOREGOING INCIDENTS, THE RATE AND SEVERITY WOULD STILL BE CONSIDERED LOW COMPARED WITH EARLIER PERIODS SINCE THE COUP. NONTHELESS, WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT CNI HAS STAYED ILLEGALLY ACTIVE, AND COMPLAINTS FROM MILITARY AND CIVILIAN OPPONENTS OF CONTRERAS AND HIS METHODS, MUST HAVE PLAYED A PART IN PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S DECISION TO REMOVE MANUEL CONTRERAS. BOYATT

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE272375 11/14/77
Case Number: S200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 272375
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INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 /023 R

DRAFTED BY OES/APT/BMP:CGORSEY:EH
APPROVED BY OES/APT:OGANLEY
ARA/ECA:RZIMMERMAN
D/HA:MBOVA (INFO)
OES:TREYNDERS
OES/APT/BMP:MCRAWFORD

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 272375

E.O. 11652: N GDS

TAGS: SHUM, AR, TGEN

SUBJECT: VISIT OF PRESIDENTS OF AAAS AND NAS TO ARGENTINA

REF: A) BUENOS AIRES 7669, B) STATE 229207, C) BUENOS AIRES 6739

1. SUBJECT VISIT TENTATIVELY PLANNED FOR WEEK OF NOV. 28, NOT YET DETERMINABLE WHETHER HANDLER OF NAS WILL PARTICIPATE. DADDARIO TENTATIVELY PLANS VISIT OF FROM 5 - 6 DAYS BUT HE COULD EXTEND FOR SEVERAL DAYS IF NECESSARY.

2. TENTATIVE ITINERARY FOLLOWS.

-- DAY 1 - SCIENTIFIC CONTACTS; BUENOS AIRES

-- DAY 2 - SCIENTIFIC AND GOVERNMENT CONTACTS, BUENOS AIRES
[redacted]

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PAGE 02 STATE 272375

Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

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Case Number: S200000044

-- DAY 3 - OTHER ORGANIZATIONSAND CONTACTS WITH RELATIVES OF MISSING SCIENTISTS - BUENOS AIRES

-- DAY 4 - GOVERNMENT CONTACTS - BUENOS AIRES AND CORDOBA

-- DAY 5 - GOVERNMENT AND SCIENTIFIC CONTACTS - CORDOBA AND BUENOS AIRES

--TENTATIVE DAY 6 - GOVERNMENT AND SCIENTIFIC CONTACTS - BAHIA BLANCA

3. DADDARIO HAS HAD CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ALLARA AND PLANS TO PROVIDE AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL WITH LIST OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HE WISHES TO CONTACT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THOSE RECOMMENDED BY EMBASSY IN REF (A); ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR WILL ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS.

4. DADDARIO PLANS TO VISIT REPRESENTATIVES OF A NUMBER OF SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS, SOME OF WHOM AAAS WILL CONTACT FOR APPOINTMENTS ON ITS OWN. THERE ARE CERTAIN SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS NOT KNOWN TO AAAS FOR WHICH WE WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING APPOINTMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

-- DR. FRANCISCO GARCIA OLANO
PRESIDENT, ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE CIENCIAS EXACTAS, FISICAS Y NATURALES

-- ING. EDUARDO POUS PENA
PRESIDENT, SOCIEDAD CIENTIFICA

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PAGE 03 STATE 272375

-- DR. JOSE G. OSMAN DICK
ASOCIACION IBERO-LATINO-AMERICANA DE PSIQUIATRA

-- DR. ROBERTO CASTELIUCCIO
DIRECTOR, ASOCIACION ARGENTINA DE CIENIAS NEUROLOGICAS, PSIQUIATRICAS Y NEUROQUIRURJICAS

-- PASSARO
DIRECTOR, POLICLINICO DE LANUS, BUENOS AIRES

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-- DR. HORACIO J. RIMOLDI
CENTRO INTERDISIPLINARIO DE INVESTIGACIONES EN PSYCHOLOGIA, MATHEMATICA Y EXPERIMENTAL (CIIPME)

-- DR. BORIS SPIVACOW (MATHEMATICIAN)
CHIEF, CENTRO EDITOR DE AMERICA LATINA

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS OF PHYSICS AND PSYCHIATRY AT
-- THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES OF BUENOS AIRES, CORDOBA, AND BAHIA BLANCA

-- DR. HORACIO MASSITTI
FORMER DEAN, SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, BUENOS AIRES UNIVERSITY

-- DIRECTOR, NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR PHYSICS AND TECHNOLOGY AT SAN MIGUEL

--- IN ADDITION IF SOCIEDAD FISICA DE ARGENTINE (SFA) STILL EXTANT AN APPOINTMENT WITH AN SFA REPRESENTATIVE IS REQUESTED. DEPARTMENT SUGGESTS THESE APPOINTMENTS BE SCHEDULED FOR SECOND DAY OF VISIT, WHICH WOULD TENTATIVELY BE NOV. 29.

5. VISIT SCHEDULE LISTS THE FOLLOWING FAMILIES AND RELATIVES OF MISSING SCIENTISTS WITH WHOM DADDARIO [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 272375

WISHES TO MEET.

-- FEDERICO AND NOEMI ALVAREZ ROJAS, PARENTS OF FEDERICO ALVAREZ ROJAS,

-- MR. HERNANDO CARLOS D'OLIVO, FATHER OF JUAN CAROLS D'OLIVO
CASTULO PENA 985, JESUS MARIA, CORDOBA

-- MR. MARIO BREA, FATHER OF DR. MARTA BREA
FORMER DEAN, SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES

-- JACOBO AND SOFIA MOLDAVSKY, PARENTS OF ALDOLFO RUBEN MOLDAVSKY

GUEMES 393
AVELLANEDA, BUENOS AIRES

-- DADDARIO WOULD LIKE TO BROADEN THIS PART OF VISIT. ACCORDINGLY WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR 4 OR 5 MORE SUCH FAMILIES. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ADVICE AS TO WHETHER HIS MEETING WITH SUCH INDIVIDUALS MIGHT CREATE A SAFETY PROBLEM FOR THEM, AND AS TO A PROPER PLACE FOR SUCH MEETINGS TO OCCUR (I.E., THEIR RESIDENCES, DADDARIO'S HOTEL). AAAS WILL MAKE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS.

6. FOR YOUR INFORMATION WE WILL POUCH LISTING OF THOSE GOA OFFICIALS AND OTHER

PERSONS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHOM DADDARIO PLANS TO SEE ON HIS VISIT, APPOINTMENTS WITH WHOM ARE BEING MADE WITHOUT EMBASSY ASSISTANCE. VANCE

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
NATIONAL COMMISSION MEETING
WASHINGTON, D.C.
November, 1977

BN069

THE ARGENTINE JEWISH SITUATION: NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS OFFSET THE POSITIVE

Two negative trends have in significant measure offset positive developments affecting the Argentine Jewish community during the past year. The trends which concern us are: 1. The intimidation of Jewish community leaders and 2. Anti-Semitism within the security-panel system. In addition, there are other negative trends, affecting the entire Argentine nation, which pose a threat to the security of Argentine Jewry.

Negative Factors

Last week, the government announced that Jacobo Timerman, one of the most prominent members of the Jewish community, has been deprived of his civil rights and will be detained in prison indefinitely, without charges. His property has been placed in state custody. This most recent development came as a blow to those who believed that Timerman, the editor-publisher of La Opinion, would soon be released from prison because two courts had found no cause for his continued detention.

Seven months ago, Timerman was dragged from his home by a dozen heavily armed men in civilian clothing. Twenty-four hours later, in response to widespread and insistent inquiries, the government announced that he was being held prisoner; the "kidnapping" had been done by government agents. Initially, he was suspected of having links to the "Graiver case", and he was held for alleged subversion. After that allegation was dropped, he was held for alleged economic crimes. After a second court found insufficient basis for preferring charges, his wife, early this month, filed a petition for his release. The response of the government has been to make him a political prisoner.

The Timerman case has had a shattering effect upon the entire Jewish community. The Jewish masses have lost a champion and a voice. Under Timerman's direction, La Opinion, one of Buenos Aires leading dailies, did battle with Argentine anti-Semites and championed the cause of Zionism and Israel. Now, Timerman is silenced and humbled, and his paper is controlled and run by the army. That a world-famous journalist could be dealt with in this manner suggests to Jewish leaders that a similar fate could also be theirs, if they are too outspoken.

In June, Jacobo Kovadloff, the director of the Argentine office of the American Jewish Committee, received threatening phone calls warning him that "... if he does not leave the country the same thing that happened to Timerman will happen to him." A note delivered to his home warned, "Go away before it will be too late. We do not want Yankee or Jewish offices." Kovadloff fled the country, followed several days later by his wife and children. When officials of AJC subsequently closed the office, the Jewish community was the weaker.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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A frontal attack on the leadership of the Jewish community occurred several months ago when agents kidnapped the adult son of Dr. Nehemias Resnizky, the President of D.A.I.A., the representative body of Argentine Jewry. First public mention of the kidnapping appeared in an anti-Semitic right-wing magazine, Cabildo, which said that Resnizky's father "would not be able to continue with his campaign denouncing anti-Semitism in the Argentine government." It took three days to secure his release, after which he left the country.

It is obvious that the Timerman, Kovadloff and Resnizky cases have had a chilling effect on Jewish leadership. Less apparent, but also disconcerting, is the fact that the kidnap and release of Resnizky has given rise to some resentment and suspicion within the Jewish community, where people have been heard to say, "He got his son out, why not mine?' Some have been heard to wonder aloud whether there was a quid pro quo for his release, thus spreading seeds of suspicion which tend to undermine the confidence of the community in its leadership, at the very moment of crisis when solidarity is most crucial.

A second cause for concern is the prevalence of anti-Semitism within the security-prison system. This is manifest when Jews are interrogated about communal affairs and bizarre issues such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and alleged Jewish plans to create a second Zionist state in Argentina, a calumny first disseminated in Argentina about four years ago in a tract called The Andinia Plan. We have reliable information that Jews are also being subjected to more cruel physical mistreatment than non-Jews who are picked up for investigation. Some who have been detained and interrogated by the Argentine security services have said that elements of Nazism are prevalent, including Nazi symbols and recordings of Nazi speeches and music. Given the prevailing climate of fear, little is said or done to bring this practice to an end.

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS

As the foregoing trends have emerged, there have also been some positive developments in matters affecting the Jewish community of Argentina. When the House of Representatives Subcommittee on International Organizations held hearings on Human Rights in Argentina in September, 1976, the Anti-Defamation League offered testimony on anti-Semitism in Argentina. At that time, we described an eighteen-month series of bombings of synagogues and Jewish communal buildings and other violent manifestations of anti-Semitism. We also reported on the proliferation of Nazi books, in Spanish translation, and other anti-Semitic propaganda.

Since October, 1976, there have been few bombings and the volume of Nazi literature has been reduced. Although the Nazi books are still available, successive government decrees ordered the seizure of some titles and closed several publishing houses that produced Nazi tracts. The government also imposed modest sanctions against the anti-Semitic magazine Cabildo, which used the "Graiver case" as a vehicle for branding the entire Argentine Jewish community as part of a Zionist-Marxist-Montonero plot against Argentina. The ban was effective for only two months, so the magazine is again free to foment anti-Jewish prejudice.

A very promising development occurred in mid-October when the government proposed the legal prohibition of anti-Semitism. The Executive asked the Legislative Advisory Committee to study a proposed law which provides prison sentences for incitement to acts of violence and/or any discriminatory actions against people because of their race, religion, ethnic origin or color. The new law, which has been proposed by the Ministry of Justice, is apparently in response to a request made early this year by leaders of the Jewish community.

Looking back upon the events of the past year it is apparent that the Argentine government is sensitive to the issue of anti-Semitism and has taken some measures to deal with the problem. Unfortunately, these measures have generally been late in coming and far less forceful than one would reasonably anticipate. The adoption of the proposed group libel law, which would impose severe penalties upon those inciting to or committing anti-Semitic acts, would be a major step forward, if the law were adopted and enforced in a meaningful way. The past record of government prompts a wait and see attitude.

The Argentine government has also endeavored to assure Jews, at home and abroad, that it is not anti-Semitic. High-level officials have met with delegations of D.A.I.A. to discuss their complaints about conditions which threaten the security of the Jewish community. Representatives of ADL were invited to meet with Argentine President Jorge Rafael Videla and Foreign Minister Oscar Antonio Montes when they visited the United States last month.

Despite the assurances we have received from government officials, the negative trends previously cited are sufficient to largely offset the positive developments. We must remain preoccupied by incidents which undermine Jewish leadership and the existence of anti-Semitism within the security system, an area which is largely beyond the reach of the law and public scrutiny.

GENERAL FACTORS

Any attempt to assess the security of Argentine Jewry must take into account not only those trends which are directed specifically against Jews as Jews, but must also include developments which affect Jews as part of the total Argentine population. Here too, there is ample cause for concern. The suspension of certain basic legal guarantees has created an environment in which the rights of Jews and non-Jews alike are being violated on a major scale.

During the past year, the ADL Latin American Affairs Department has been deluged by pleas for help coming from relatives and friends of Argentine citizens who have either disappeared or are being held for long periods of time without formal charges against them. There is no indication that Jews are being singled out for arrest, but the dimensions of the problem are so huge that hundreds of Jews are affected. Some estimates as to the total number of disappeared in Argentina range up to 20,000.

When requests for aid are received by ADL, we turn to representatives of the Argentine government, the U.S. State Department and other organizations concerned with the problem of political prisoners. Because the Argentine government has persisted in its policy of not acknowledging whom it is holding we have had little success in locating those who have disappeared. We have, however, had modest success in helping to secure the release of prisoners. In October, the Argentine Foreign Minister accepted from ADL a list of more than 100 names of people disappeared or in prison; we have had no response yet, though six weeks have elapsed.

(more)

The problem of disappeared persons is distant and anti-septic when reported in statistical form. The overwhelming majority of cases get no public attention, even when an entire family disappears. For example, in June, 1976, five members of the Tarnapolsky family were kidnapped. Blanca, age 52, is a distinguished psychologist, author and educator. Those taken with her were her husband Hugo, daughter Betina, son Sergio and his wife Laura. All are still disappeared.

The Deutsch family is the exception. When five members of the Deutsch family of Cordoba, Argentina were kidnapped on August 27, 1977, their relatives in the United States launched a massive effort to publicize their disappearance and generate pressures on the Argentine government to disclose where they were being held. Ten days after the kidnapping, the army announced that they were being held for investigation of alleged subversive links. The case was reported in the New York Times and by wire services in papers around the world. An unprecedented number of U.S. Senators and Congressmen inquired about the Deutsch family and President Carter personally discussed the case with President Videla in September. Last month, Mrs. Deutsch and two of her daughters were released from prison. However, the father and youngest daughter remain in jail, despite the publicity and the intervention of President Carter. Ironically, the family was jailed in error by low-level police officials looking for the Deutsch's son.

CONCLUSION

So long as the Argentine government, as a matter of policy, permits security agents dressed in civilian clothing to routinely kidnap individuals and hold them indefinitely without acknowledging that they are prisoners, the security of all Argentine citizens will be tenuous. Jews will be in greater peril because of the prevalence of anti-Semitic sentiment among members of the security services.

The military forces justified their seizure of power in March, 1976 by the need to prevent the disintegration of the social and economic structure of the country. Once in power, they waged an aggressive "dirty war" against subversion and imposed stringent economic controls designed to turn the economy around. Now, the economy has improved and the guerrillas have been largely defeated. President Videla has said that 80% of the guerrilla strength has been destroyed and expressed the belief that the guerrillas would be eliminated by Christmas. However, government agents continue apace their war against "the enemy". Having eliminated gun-toting guerrilla subversives, they are now seeking out those whose ideas are considered subversive. On November 2, a worker was shot down and killed as he spoke in a main street of Buenos Aires. The official army communique on the incident said that "a patrol of the legal forces surprised an activist inciting a work stoppage and trying to stop some workers from going to their jobs, and shot him down....The legal forces are carrying out their mission of guaranteeing the right to work..."

In schools, there is an active effort to identify subversives. Anybody over the age of 15 is considered a potential subversive, so students are subject to denunciation by teachers and teachers to denunciation by students and other teachers. A journalist of the Buenos Aires Herald, the most outspoken paper in Argentina today, wrote, "If the recommendation of some would-be schoolmasters to the nation are followed, Argentina will become a paradise for the busy-body, the nosy parker, the part-time spy, the informer.....The mood in Argentina today is of McCarthyism triumphant. If anyone, particularly anyone in a position of authority, wants to destroy somebody he simply points his finger at him and yells "Commie" or "Subversive" at the top of his voice. If he has intellectual pretensions, there are euphemisms like "dissociative". These double whammies can also be used with deadly effect to discredit institutions and humane attitudes."

The columnist concludes by saying that "the prevailing atmosphere is unhealthy and bodes ill for the future." In such environment, Jews are especially vulnerable.

Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal
Director
Latin American Affairs Department

November 14, 1977

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SANTIA 09239 141721Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7142

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 9239

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, SHUM, PGOV
SUBJECT: RECENT EXAMPLES OF CHILEAN MILITARY JUSTICE

1. SUMMARY: THREE CURRENT LEGAL ACTIONS EXEMPLIFY A BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS FLAW IN THE CONTINUED USE OF "TIME-OF-WAR" MILITARY COURTS WHOSE DECISIONS ARE APPEALABLE ONLY UP THE MILITARY CHAIN OF COMMAND. INSULATED FROM CIVILIAN JUDICIAL REVIEW, THE JUDGES APPEAR BENT OF DEFENDING THE MILITARY INSTITUTION THROUGH FACE SAVING RULINGS EVEN WHEN THEY MAY SYMPATHIZE WITH THE DEFENDANTS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ARICA, A COURT MARTIAL OPERATING UNDER "TIME-OF-WAR" CONDITIONS CONVICTED EIGHT MEN FOR THEIR ROLE IN DISTRIBUTING AN ANTI-GOVERNMENT PAMPHLET IN MAY 1977. THE RING LEADER RECEIVED A FIVE YEAR SENTENCE. TWO OTHER COMMUNISTS, THREE YEARS, AND THE REST BETWEEN ONE AND TWO YEARS. THE DECISION IS BEING APPEALED UP THE CHAIN OF COMMAND WITHOUT MUCH EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL BE OVERTURNED OR THE SENTENCES REDUCED. ONE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY LAWYERS DEFENDED THE GROUP AND WAS QUOTED IN THE PRESS AS STATING THAT THE PROCEEDINGS WERE CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO THE LETTER OF THE LAW AND THAT SENTENCING WAS NOT UNDULY HARSH. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADERS TOLD US THAT THE CASE MARKS [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 09239 141721Z

A NEW STAGE OF GOC REPRESSSION IN THAT THE DETERRENT EFFECT OF A FIVE YEAR PRISON SENTENCE FOR MERELY CIRCULATING A CRITICAL FLYER WILL BE IMMENSE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE RINGLEADERS WERE REGARDED AS IMPORTANT COMMUNIST FIGURES IN THE SECURITY SENSITIVE ARICA AREA.

3. WE HAVE REPORTED PREVIOUSLY ON THE BIZARRE VILLA MEXICO CASE, INVOLVING THE MAY 1977 DETENTION OF A GROUP OF MEN FOR THE ALLEGED KIDNAP-TORTURE OF A YOUTH CALLED VELOSO. ALL BUT TWO OF THE DEFENDANTS WERE COMPLETELY

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LIBERATED AFTER VELOSO SWORE THAT HE HAD BEEN ABDUCTED BY DINA. A MILITARY COURT DROPPED TWELVE OF FIFTEEN CHARGES AGAINST THE REMAINING PAIR, BUT FINALLY CONVICTED THEM OF CONSPIRACY AND ARMS CONTROL VIOLATIONS. THE GOVERNMENT ASSERTED THAT EXPLOSIVES WERE FOUND IN THEIR HOMES. THEY WERE GIVEN A THREE YEAR SENTENCE, BUT IMMEDIATELY PLACED ON PAROLE. DEFENSE LAWYERS PRODUCED SIX WITNESSES TO PROVE NO EXPLOSIVES WERE FOUND IN THE DEFENDANTS' HOUSES. TESTIMONY BROUGHT OUT THAT THE PAIR CONFESSED UNDER DURESS (THEIR ACCOUNTS OF TORTURE AT THE HANDS OF DINA WERE PART OF THE RECORD). AND LAWYERS ARGUED THAT A TIME-OF-WAR COURT MARTIAL, GIVEN CONDITIONS IN CHILE, WAS TOTALLY UNJUSTIFIED. NEXT DAY GENERAL MOREL (SANTIAGO'S NEW ZONE COMMANDER) UPHELD THE CONVICTION AFTER A CURSORY REVIEW OF THE 700 PAGE COURT RECORD. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT IN THE ORIGINAL CHARGES, FILED BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND DINA, THE PROSECUTION ASSERTED THAT THE VICARIATE, THROUGH THE CARDIJN FOUNDATION, WAS BEHIND THE "CONSPIRACY." CHURCH LAWYERS ARE NOT GOING TO LET THIS CASE DIE WITHOUT FURTHER APPEALS.

4. RELATED TO THE FOREGOING, A SECRET MILITARY COURT IS [redacted]

REPORTEDLY CONDUCTING AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT'S CHARGES THAT THE VILLA MEXICO GROUP HAD BEEN TORTURED WHILE IN DINA'S HANDS. COURT PRESIDENT EYZAGUIRRE BASED HIS CHARGE ON FIRST-HAND EXAMINATION OF THE MEN DURING A SURPRISE VISIT TO CUATRO ALAMOS JUNE 2. HE BACKED IT UP WITH A MEDICAL REPORT PREPARED BY THE DOCTOR HE BROUGHT ALONG. FACED WITH THIS INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE, THE MILITARY HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO PROCEED TO LOOK INTO THE MATTER. VICARIATE LAWYERS LEARNED OF IT ONLY AFTER BEING TOLD THAT THE DEFENDANTS' ACCOUNTS OF TORTURE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR FURTHER INFORMATION.

5. COMMENT: A BASIC FLAW OF "TIME-OF-WAR" COURT MARTIALS STANDS OUT IN THESE CASES. INSTITUTIONAL LOYALTY REQUIRES SOME SORT OF FACE SAVING FINDING EVEN WHEN THE COURT SEEMS TO SYMPATHIZE WITH THE DEFENDANTS. UNLIKE "TIME-OF-PEACE" COURT MARTIALS (WHICH ENTAIL AUTOMATIC APPEAL TO A MIXED MILITARY/CIVILIAN COURT AND FROM THERE TO THE CIVILIAN SUPREME COURT) "WAR-TIME" RULES INSULATE THE MILITARY FROM CIVILIAN LEGAL REVIEW. CONTRARY TO THE EMBASSY'S UNDERSTANDING THAT THE GOC WOULD NOT RESORT TO "WAR-TIME RULES" UNDER THE LOWEST LEVEL OF STATE OF SIEGE ADOPTED SEPTEMBER 11, FIVE SUCH PROCESSES REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN STARTED SINCE MID-SEPTEMBER.

6. THE VILLA MEXICO CAPER HAS, SINCE ITS BEGINNING, BEEN A MOST UNUSUAL CASE. WIDELY REPORTED IN THE MEDIA, NO OTHER CASE HAS SO CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED TO THE CHILEAN

UNCLASSIFIED

PEOPLE THE BRUTALITY AND INSIDIOUS NATURE OF DINA.
BOYATT

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [redacted]
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EDWARD M. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

11/15/77

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United States Senate

AL206

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 15, 1977

file
Argentina

The Honorable
Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State
Washington, DC

Dear Cy:

As you may know, my office has been discussing with your human rights group a number of cases involving continued violation of human rights in Argentina. I appreciate the professional way in which they have responded to our requests.

I look forward to your forthcoming trip to Argentina as a key occasion for you to pursue our human rights interests. You have been asked by the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy to intervene on behalf of thousands of innocent people who have been kidnapped, detained and tortured in that unfortunate country. I support that request, and hope that you will seize every occasion to remind the Argentine authorities of the profound humanitarian issues at stake. In any event, I urge you to meet separately and privately with democratic political and human rights leaders in Buenos Aires --- thereby demonstrating our commitment to restoration of democratic rule and respect of human rights in Argentina.

I would like to draw to your attention five specific cases which I believe merit special efforts during your trip and in follow-up action both here and in Buenos Aires. These are cases, Cy, in which the families have appealed to me personally, and Amnesty International and church groups (including confidentially the Vatican) have taken a direct interest.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Box 4855

First is the case of Marcelo Gelman and Claudia Garcia-Gelman, the son and daughter-in-law of the Argentine poet Juan Gelman, who is an active critic and opponent of President Videla. Like so many other terrible cases, they were kidnapped but are reliably confirmed to be detained without charge in Argentine prisons. There is simply no excuse to penalize the children for the actions of their father --- I need hardly add legitimate actions; indeed, after we had made strenuous efforts Gelman's daughter was released by the Argentines last year.

Second are the terrible cases of the disappearance of the three children, and their respective spouses, of Mrs. Matilde Herrera. In less than a year following July 1976, a whole family disappeared in Argentina. I enclose a copy of Mrs. Herrera's self-explanatory and heartbreaking appeal, on which she has sought my personal intervention.

Third is the case of Dagmar Ingrid Hagelin, of dual Swedish and Argentine citizenship, who was shot and abducted by military security forces last January in Buenos Aires. Despite representations by the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Sweden and despite President Videla's undertaking last August to clear up this case, Argentina has yet to supply any information as to the whereabouts of this 17-year-old girl. I have a personal appeal from her father for help, and I hope that you can assist in responding to his plea and that of his Government.

Fourth is the case of former President Hector Campora, who remains under asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Buenos Aires. I believe it would be a positive and easily achievable gesture for President Videla to permit Campora to leave the country in the near future.

Fifth is the case of Claudio and Irene Bermann. Professor Bermann, Director of the Neuropathic Institute of Cordoba, has been under detention without charges since April 1976. I have an appeal from his sister, Dr. Sylvia Bermann, who is in hiding from the authorities, and whose daughter Irene was kidnapped in November 1976 and allegedly tortored while under detention without charges. The previous July, two close colleagues of Dr. Bermann's at the Policlinic Finochietto, Drs. Raul Fuentes and Juan Carlos Risau, were kidnapped with no word since about their whereabouts.

I do not underestimate the difficulty of your resolving these and I am sure many other cases of serious concern. But I am hopeful that through persistent efforts, on our part and that of other Governments and non-governmental organizations, our interventions will help rescue at least some of these unfortunate human beings. Please feel free to mention my personal concern to President Videla if you believe this will help. For my part, I am prepared to appeal directly on these and other cases as soon as you can advise me of the nature and results of your efforts.

My thanks and best wishes on this difficult but important trip,

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09302 160329Z
ACTION ARA-10

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 9302

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓Excise Deny ✓Declass
Exemption(s) B1, B3

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LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: XGDS-2 WARNING NOTICE -- INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED -- NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: REPORTING ON SPECIFIC POLITICAL SUBJECTS

REF: STATE 268690

1. NOT MUCH IS AVAILABLE HERE BY WAY OF RECENT REPORTS ON THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PICTURE. WE HAVE REVIEWED THE IAHRC THIRD REPORT ON CHILE

(FEBRUARY 1977); AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S MARCH 1977 SPECIAL REPORT ON *MISSING CHILEANS*, AND *FREEDOM HOUSE'S 1977 MAP OF FREEDOM* ISSUE. A LOCAL MEMBER OF THE ICJ KNOWS OF NOTHING RECENT FROM THAT SIDE; THE LAST SPECIAL ILO REPORT IS YEARS OUT OF DATE.

B1

2. ALTHOUGH THE IAHRC REPORT HAS NOW BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS, WE FOUND IT THOROUGH, FOCUSED ON INTERNATIONALLY IDENTIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS, THOUGHFULLY UNDERSTATED, AND GENERALLY ACCURATE. ITS CONCLUSIONS WERE TELLINGLY PHRASED, THE TONE JUDICIOUS. OF INTEREST IS THE SECTION ON THE CONTROLERIA, A FREQUENTLY OVERLOOKED POTENTIAL
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09302 160329Z

CHECK ON GOVERNMENT EXCESSES. TREATMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE CORRECTLY SHOWS ITS IMPOTENCE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA. A LONG DISCUSSION OF EMERGENCY POWERS EVENTUALLY CUTS THROUGH THE LEGALISMS AND GETS AT THE CORE: THE GOC RETAINS EXCESSIVE EMERGENCY AUTHORITY. THE DECREASE IN ABUSES DURING 1976 IS DULY NOTED.

3. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S MARCH 1977 REPORT, "DISAPPEARED PRISONERS IN CHILE", IS A GENERALLY ACCURATE SUMMARY OF THE DISAPPEARED

PROBLEM. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT AI EXPLICITY STATES THAT THE 1500 FIGURE FREQUENTLY QUOTED IS AN ESTIMATE BASED UPON VARIOUS

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Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as (✓) Downgrade to ____
Date 1/2/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25X1,6

REPORTS OF 1,000 DISAPPEARANCES PLUS 500 ASSUMED MISSING IN OUTLYING AREAS OR NOT BROUGHT TO AI'S ATTENTION. OTHERWISE THE REPORT APPEARS TO RELY LARGELY UPON VICARIATE DATA.

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4. FREEDOM HOUSE'S JAN-FEB 1977 ISSUE RANKS CHILE IN CATEGORY 7 (LEAST FREE) REGARDING POLITICAL RIGHTS AND CATEGORY 5 (POOR) WITH RESPECT TO CIVIL RIGHTS. THE PROGNOSIS IS SOWN AS POSITIVE. WE AGREE WITH THIS CATEGORIZATION OF THE GOC. WE NOTE WITH INTEREST THAT CHILE IS NOT MENTIONED IN THE BOYD OF THE REPORT EXCEPT AS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW A DOUBLE STANDAR HAS BEEN APPLIED.

5. WE HAVE NOT HAD TIME TO REVIEW IN DEPTH THE NEW ALLANA REPORT (THE VICARIATE LOANED US A COPY NOVEMBER 14) BUT WE NOTE THAT THIS REPORT, AS ITS PRDECESSOR AND UNLIKE THE IAHRC REPORT, TAKES A CONSIDERABLY BROADER VIEW OF "HUMAN RIGHTS".

6. SEPTEL DISCUSSED THE EEC JOINT REPORT, MENTIONED IN PARA 2 REFTEL.

7. SANTIAGO 9231, IN DISCUSSING ABUSES ATTRIBUTED TO CNI, CAST DOUBT ON THE VERACITY OF CNI'S REPORT THAT THREE GROUPS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECENT WAVE OF BOMBINGS. ADDITIONAL[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 09302 160329Z

[redacted] CREDIT CNI FOR A POLICAL ACTION OPERATION INVOLVING A ROBBERY OF A DOWNTONW PHARMACY BY CNI AGENTS PRETENDING TO BE LEFTISTS. THESE SOURCES ALSO CAST DOUBT ON GOC ASSERTIONS THAT TWO PEOPLE KILLED IN AN EXPLOSION NOVEMBER 5 WERE IN FACT BOMBERS WHOSE DEVICE DETONATED PREMATURELY. IN SUM, WHILE VIOLENT LEFTISTS UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO LIVE IN CHILE, WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT THEY HAVE THE ORGANIZATION, CAPABILITY NOR (AT LEAST AT LEADERSHIP LEVELS) THE INTENTION OF ENGAGING IN INDISCRIMINATE VIOLENCE.
BOYATT

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS, STADIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED 4/15/77

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE273712

Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 273712
ORIGIN ARA-14

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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

[redacted]STATE 273712

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: RODOLFO WALSH DISAPPEARANCE

DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED REQUEST FROM CONGRESSMAN ZABLOCKI CONCERNING RODOLFO WALSH. CONGRESSMAN HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT WALSH HAS BEEN BRUTALLY TORTURED, BUT IS ALIVE. WOULD APPRECIATE UPDATE ON ACTIONS WHICH EMBASSY MAY HAVE BEEN TAKING ON WALSH BEHALF AND ANY CURRENT INFORMATION ABOUT HIM. VANCE

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08576 151529Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 INR-07
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3201

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8576

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: US INTEREST HUMAN RIGHTS CASES: GOA (FOWG) RESPONDS

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 7666, (B) HARRIS TO BOVA/BUMPUS MEMO 10/31/77

1. FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) LAST WEEK PROVIDED INFORMATION ON ALMOST ALL EMBASSY'S OUTSTANDING HUMAN RIGHTS CASE INQUIRIES. SIXTY-THREE OF SIXTY-SEVEN OUTSTANDING CASES RECEIVED REPLIES. THE SUDDEN RESPONSE BY THE FOWG IS PROBABLY DUE TO FONOFF WANTING TO HAVE CLEAN SLATE PRIOR TO SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT AND THUS BE ABLE TO CITE ITS RESPONSIVENESS TO U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRIES. SEVEN OF CASES HAD BEEN PENDING FOWG ACTION FOR A YEAR. TWENTY CASES HAD BEEN PENDING FOR OVER SIX MONTHS.

2. PRELIMINARY EMBASSY REVIEW OF FOWG RESPONSES SHOWS LITTLE NEW INFORMATION --- THE PERSONS THE EMBASSY REPORTED AS DISAPPEARED ARE CONFIRMED BY THE FOWG NOT TO BE DETAINED AND THEIR WHEREABOUTS ARE REPORTED TO BE UNKNOWN TO THE GOA. THIS CATEGORY ANACHRONISTICALLY INCLUDED THIRD ARMY CORPS DETAINEES ALEJANDRO AND LILIANA DEUTSCH, WHO WERE THE SUBJECTS OF A RECENT VIDELA TO PRESIDENT CARTER LETTER. IN THE CASES OF PERSONS DETAINED BY PRESIDENTIAL DECREE OR THOSE IMPRISONED
[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECENTRL
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

FOR CRIMINAL ACTS, THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN PROVIDED IN A NUMBER OF

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

CASES WITH SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (E.G. CHARGES, DECREE NUMBER AND DATE). ONE PERSON, PAULA WASSERMAN (139/77/10), WAS REPORTED RELEASED FROM PEN ON 6/14/76.

3. EMBASSY IS REVIEWING CASES AND WILL BE WRITING TO CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. COMPLETE AND UPDATED LIST OF US INTEREST CASES PER REFTEL (A) WILL BE SENT TO DEPARTMENT AS SOON AS CASE BY CASE REVIEW AND CONGRESSIONALS ARE COMPLETED.
CASTRO

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VSA A-V SCIENTIFIC AIDS, INC. • 619 North Fairfax Avenue • Los Angeles, California 90046 • (213) 658-6911

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EXCL

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November 15, 1977

Senator Alan Cranston
The Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Cranston,

It has come to my attention that the family of Miguel Hernan Ovalle Narvaez, a citizen of Chile, believes that the government of Chile has kidnapped him and are keeping him incommunicado, and possibly doing him bodily harm. An obvious victim of political repression, his case is deserving of our human rights attention.

Would you please do all in your power to learn the whereabouts of this political victim in Chile so that his family can be spared the unnecessary cruelty of his "disappearance."

Thank you for your prompt attention to this grave personal matter.

Sincerely,

GD:iL

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release _/_Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) ___ 6b

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

DD 260

8607 11/15/77
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TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☒ CHARGE TO USIS

FROM: BUENOS AIRES | CLASSIFICATION [redacted]

11652: N/A
TAGS: SOPN, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: GOA AGAIN CONFISCATES NEWSPAPER

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO: USIA WASHDC PRIORITY

USIS 2
AMB
DCM
POL
POL R
CHRON
RF

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8607

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8460

1. /For the second consecutive week CORREO DE LA SEMANA (circ. 5,000) has been confiscated by the GOA. The GOA said this issue of the weekly represents "a new attempt to undermine the principle of authority". According to press reports CORREO reprinted last week's offending first page (see reftel) and carried a letter to the editor that made "offensive remarks about armed forces officers".

2. The BUENOS AIRES HERALD expressed its dismay with the GOA action in an editorial titled "The limits on press freedom". It said "both the press and the public would like to know exactly what is allowed and what is forbidden--what, in fact, are the limits to press freedom..." The HERALD added that the two GOA decrees "are surely unconstitutional measures..." and concluded

DRAFTED BY: USIS:MOBrien/vp | DRAFTING DATE: 11.15.77 | TEL. EXT.: 250 | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:
PAO:JHiggins
IO:JCorr
POL:AHarris/AGFreeman

UNCLASSIFIED

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DECONTROL
ARGENTINA PROJECT (200000)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

UNCLASSIFIED

"impatience with the press is understandable; but it is self-defeating. No government can be well-informed if it cannot count on an honest press. Intimidated newspapers never report what they should report nor say what they really think."

COMMENT: The GOA's action was taken by the Interior Ministry despite the recommendation of the Presidential Press Secretariat. It clearly illustrates a difference of opinion within the government on how to handle the press. So far the Interior Ministry has prevailed, to the annoyance of the Press Secretariat which must defend publically the Ministry's actions.

CASTRO

despite ?
contrary to

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Classification

ARGENTINA PROJECT (5200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Declassified
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED

11/15/79

ACTION-COPY

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R 152351Z NOV 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 8865
BT
C

[redacted] STATE 274042

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, SREF, AR

SUBJECT: GUILLERMO AND LILIANA VOGLER CASE

REF: B.A. 7965

1. DEPARTMENT CONTINUING TO RECEIVE QUERIES CONCERNING VOGLER CASE AND STEPS EMBASSY HAS TAKEN TO TRY TO BE OF ASSISTANCE.

2. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHEN EMBASSY TALKED TO LUZ VOGLER AND REASSURED HER CONCERNING VISA FOR GUILLERMO VOGLER.

3. HAS EMBASSY DISCUSSED THIS CASE RECENTLY WITH ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES AND INFORMED GOA OF U.S. WILLINGNESS TO ADMIT VOGLER? HAS CASE BEEN RAISED WITH INTERIOR MINISTRY?

4. STATEMENT IN REFTEL THAT CONSUL GENERAL HAD ISSUED CERTIFICATE TO ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES ON OCTOBER 21 LED TO CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION BECAUSE FOURNESS STATED THAT EMBASSY WAS MIS-INFORMING DEPARTMENT AND THAT CERTIFICATE WAS ISSUED TO LUZ. DEPARTMENT HAS EXPLAINED THAT CERTIFICATE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY GIVEN TO LUZ FOR ARGENTINE AUTHORITTES.

FOURNESSES ARE, OF COURSE, EXTREMELY UPSET THAT GOA HAS NOT YET RELEASED GUILLERMO AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT WOULD.

5. ARE THERE ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN LILIANA'S CASE?

6. DEPARTMENT REQUESTS THAT EMBASSY CONTACT LUZ VOGLER AND ASK HER TO TELEPHONE FOURNESS FAMILY. VANCE
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08603 152133Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 VO-05 CA-01 INSE-00 CIAE-00
SSO-00 /022 W
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O 152000Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3213

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8603

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, SREF, CVIS, AR
SUBJECT ARGENTINE DETAINEES GUILLERMO AND LILIANA VOGLER

REF: STATE 269590

1. GUILLERMO VOGLER
CONGEN AND EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER MET WITH MRS LUZ
VOGLER, WIFE OF GUILLERMO VOGLER ON NOVEMBER 11.

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B3NA
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECLASSIFIED
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

B3NA

B3 N1

4. LILIANA VOGLER
MRS LUZ VOGLER HAS BEEN UNABLE TO VISIT HER DAUGHTER AT VILL DEVOTO PRISON FOR THE LAST 5 WEEKS AS LILIANA VOGLERS CELLBLOCK IS REPORTEDLY BEING PUNISHED FOR PROTESTING THE LACK OF MEDICAL ATTENTION FOR A FELLOW INMATE WHO SUBSEQUENTLY DIED.

5. LILIANA VOGLER IS HELD UNDER PARALLEL AUTHORITIES OF PEN DECREE AND PREVENTIVE ARREST BY CRIMINAL COURT. MRS VOGLER [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 08603 152133Z

FEELS CERTAIN THAT LILIANA VOGLER WILL BE FOUND GUILTY AND SENTENCED TO A JAIL TERM OF UP TO 5 YEARS. THE PRESIDING JUDGE DID NOT ALLOW LILIANA VOGLER TO INTRODUCE TESTIMONY TO IMPEACH THE CONFESSION SHE SIGNED IN MID 1975 REPORTEDLY AFTER BEING BEATEN BY PROVINCIAL POLICE AUTHORITIES IN RIO CUARTO. MRS VOGLER STATED THAT HER DAUGHTER HAD THREE RIBS BROKEN. FURTHERMORE, THE LAWYER WHICH THE VOGLER FAMILY HIRED TO DEFEND LILIANA WAS TOLD TO WITHDRAW FROM THE CASE OR HE WOULD BE KILLED. LILIANA VOGLER HAS BEEN REPRESENTED

Case Number: 200000044

BY A COURT APPOINTED PUBLIC DEFENDER WHO MRS VOGLER DESCRIBED AT SYMPATHETIC BUT SO OVER WORKED THAT HE CAN OFFER LITTLE IN THE WAY OF DEFENSE. MRS VOGLER BELIEVES THAT THE SENTENCE IN HER DAUGHTERS CASE WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN THE NEAR FUTURE AS THE CASE HAS BEEN IN PROCESS FOR OVER TWO YEARS.

6. UNDER ARGENTINE PRACTICE, THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR WILL NOT PROCESS PETITIONS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY FROM PERSONS WHO HAVE CRIMINAL CHARGES PENDING AGAINST THEM.
CASTRO

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TELEGRAM

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INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☒ CHARGE TO USIS

FROM: BUENOS AIRES
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT: GDS
SHUM, SOPN, AR
Interior Minister calls in AP Bureau Chief

DD 259

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8586

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8489-C

1. AP Bureau Chief Bill Nicholson was called to the Interior Ministry last night (November 14) where he had a 45 minute meeting alone with Interior Minister Harguindeguy. While Harguindeguy ostensibly saw Nicholson to inform him of the Ministry's efforts to locate Serrat, Nicholson feels the real reason was to warn him and the AP to be careful. Nicholson said the Minister seemed to know a lot about what went on at AP, "more than you would think".

2. Harguindeguy said AP reporter Serrat "got off easy" and when asked about a guarantee for Serrat's future safety he replied "if we felt we had the proof, we'd throw him in jail for eight years". He also implied that the same goes for Nicholson. At another point the

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DRAFTED BY: USIS:MOBrien/vp
DRAFTING DATE: 11.15.77
TEL. EXT.: 250
CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:
USIS:JHiggins
USIS:JCorr
POL:Harris

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DCM:MChaplin

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22/185

Minister said "we know what you're doing here". When pressed for what he meant by that remark, he replied "You arranged an interview for Mrs. (Rodolfo) Walsh with Patt Derian". ~~To the best of our knowledge,~~ so what?

3. (Embassy Comment: To the best of our knowledge, Mrs. Derian did not meet Mrs. Walsh). However, Nicholson said that Mrs. Walsh visited the AP office two or three times and expressed an interest in meeting Mrs. Derian. When American correspondents met with Mrs. Derian at the PAO residence and she mentioned that one of the purposes of her visit was to meet with family members of disappeareds, Nicholson mentioned Mrs. Walsh's name, but said he didn't know how to get in touch with her. The ~~next~~ next day Mrs. Walsh appeared again at the AP office and Nicholson gave her the Embassy telephone number and said she could reach Mrs. Derian there. This was his only involvement.

4. "The Minister definitely tried to bully me" Nicholson told the USIS Press Officer. He said the atmosphere was tense and at times "tempers flared". He added that he would report the substance of this conversation to his New York editors today and had no objection to the Department transmitting the substance of this message to AP's Keith Fuller in New York.

5. Nicholson said he has no intention of leaving or changing AP's style of operation in the light of these developments.

CASTRO

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1592
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 3633
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POL/R		1 ✓	MILGP		
CONS		✓	PAO		
ADM		✓	GSO		
USIS			RSO		✓
SCI			CHRON		✓
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PA
SUBJ: SANTUCHO RELEASE

REF: A) STATE 274225; B) ASUNCION 4619

DOES SUGGESTION REFTEL A INDICATE USG HAS REASON TO BELIEVE SWEDEN OR SOME OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRY WILL ACCEPT SANTUCHO OR THAT USG IS WILLING TO APPROACH SUCH COUNTRIES TO DO SO? UNLESS THIS IS THE CASE, EMBASSY IS RELUCTANT TO APPROACH GOP IN MANNER SUGGESTED AS THIS COULD GIVE GOP IMPRESSION USG IS WILLING TO SOLVE SANTUCHO PROBLEM FOR IT.

BRIGGS

BT
#4697

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08639 161936Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 HA-05
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 L-03 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 PRS-01 /053 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3236
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted]BUENOS AIRES 8639

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: TIMERMAN WRITES EMBASSY OFFICER FROM JAIL

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8638

1. IN A HANDWRITTEN LETTER TO THE USIS PRESS OFFICER, EX-LA OPINION EDITOR JACOBO TIMERMAN PROPOSES THAT SECRETARY VANCE ASK PRESIDENT VIDELA TO LET HIM LEAVE THE COUNTRY ON THE SECRETARY'S PLANE. TIMERMAN SAYS THAT "CERTAINLY VIDELA COULDN'T REFUSE." THE LETTER WAS TAKEN (OR POSSIBLY SMUGGLED OUT) OF THE PRISON BY TIMERMAN'S SON HECTOR. THAT THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED THIS LETTER SHOULD BE CAREFULLY PROTECTED INFORMATION.

2. COMPLETE TEXT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: NOVEMBER 15, AS OF TODAY I'VE BEEN A PRISONER FOR SEVEN MONTHS.
QUERIDO MIKE:

THE AMERICANS HAVE DEMONSTRATED SUFFICIENT AUDACITY AND IMAGINATION TO EVALUATE THE FOLLOWING:
[redacted]
[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

IF MR. VANCE PROPOSES TO PRESIDENT VIDELA THAT HE LET ME LEAVE THE COUNTRY ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S PLANE, THAT IS TO SAY THAT I GO WITH MR. VANCE, CERTAINLY VIDELA COULDN'T REFUSE. IMAGINE IT, IT, IT MEANS AN IMPORTANT TRIUMPH FOR THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION THAT WILL HAVE WORLD WIDE REPERCUSSIONS.

BESIDES, NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS EXIST. I WAS DECLARED INNOCENT BY THE MILITARY TRIBUNAL. I AM NOT SUBJECT TO ANY TRIBUNAL-CIVIL OR MILITARY-NOR DO PENDING ACCUSATIONS EXIST. I WAS INCLUDED IN THE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT, BUT IT IS TO ESTABLISH THE LEGITIMACY OF MY PROPERTY, IT DOESN'T MEAN PRISON. THERE ONLY REMAINS THE PEN DECREE WHICH COMES UNDER VIDELA AND IT CAN BE SIGNED IN A FEW MINUTES. I BELIEVE THE MATTER IS NOT DIFFICULT. THANKS FOR EVERYTHING. UN ABRAZO, TIMERMAN. END QUOTE.

3. COMMENT: THE LETTER CLEARLY DEMONSTRATES THAT TIMERMAN HAS NOT LOST HIS SHARP MIND DURING HIS DETENTION. DESPITE HIS OPTIMISM, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE EASY, FEASIBLE OR EVEN POSSIBLE FOR PRESIDENT VIDELA TO AGREE TO RELEASE HIM. SUCH ACTION ON THE PART OF AN ARGENTINE PRESIDENT WOULD BE CONSIDERED AN IGNOMIOUS CAVING-IN TO THE AMERICANS, AND IT WOULD BE HIGHLY DANGEROUS POLITICALLY. IN ADDITION, TIMERMAN'S INTERPRETATION OF HIS STATUS UNDER THE ACT COULD BE WRONG.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08638 161935Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 /060 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3235

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8638

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DETENTION OF JACOBO TIMERMAN; A NEW LEGAL TWIST

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8639

SUMMARY: THE DECISION BY THE MILITARY JUNTA PLACING JACOBO TIMERMAN UNDER THE ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY APPEARS TO BE AN ACTION DESIGNED TO CONTINUE TIMERMAN'S INCARCERATION. TIMERMAN'S LAWYER BELIEVES THAT THE JUNTA'S DECISION WAS DESIGNED TO AVOID A FAVORABLE HABEAS CORPUS DECISION ON BEHALF OF THE EX-PUBLISHER. TIMERMAN HAS WRITTEN EMBOFF, HOWEVER, EXPRESSING OPINION THAT GOVERNMENT ACTION IS AIMED PRIMARILY AT EMBARGOING HIS PROPERTY AND STATING HIS HOPE THAT HE WILL BE SET FREE. END SUMMARY.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

1. BACKGROUND -----
THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS TAKEN SO FAR IN THE TIMERMAN CASE HAVE COVERED A RANGE OF CHARGES:

-- APRIL 18, 1977: GENERAL SUAREZ MASON ISSUED A PRESS STATEMENT ACCUSING THE ARRESTED TIMERMAN OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

-APRIL 23, 1977: MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR COMMUNIQUE
[redacted]
[redacted]

CHARGED TIMERMAN WITH ECONOMIC CRIMES.

-APRIL 28, 1977: PEN DECREE ISSUED BY MININT HARGUINDEGUY STATING THAT MR. TIMERMAN'S/WAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PUBLIC SAFETY.

-LAT SPRING, 1977: ARMY ANNOUNCED THAT TIMERMAN WAS BEING INVESTIGATED BY SECOND SPECIAL MILITARY COURT FOR SUBVERSION AND LINKS WITH GRAVIER GROUP.

-SEPTEMBER, 1977: SECOND SPECIAL MILITARY COURT CLEARED TIMERMAN OF ANY INVOLVEMENT IN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

-LATE OCTOBER, 1977: APPEALS COURT ASKED MININT FOR REASONS FOR TIMERMAN'S CONTINUED DETENTION.

-NOVEMBER 1, 1977: PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR ANNOUNCED THAT TIMERMAN HAD BEEN PLACED UNDER ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

2. TIMERMAN'S LEGAL SITUATION -----
FROM A LEGAL STANDPOINT, THE TIMERMAN CASE IS UNIQUE. SO FAR AS HIS LAWYER KNOWS, IT IS THE ONLY CASE OF THE THOUSANDS OF HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS PENDING IN THE ARGENTINE COURTS IN WHICH THE PLANTIFF HAS BEEN FOUND NOT TO BE INVOLVED WITH SUBVERSION BY A COMPETENT MILITARY TRIBUNAL. IN ADDITION, ARGENTINE COURTS HAVE BEGUN TO CONSTITUTIONALLY LIMIT THE EXECUTIVE'S STATE OF SIEGE DETENTION POWERS. FOR EXAMPLE, AN ARGENTINE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT LAST MONTH ORDERED THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF A SUGAR DEALER HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION ON PURELY ECONOMIC CHARGES. EARLIER DECISIONS OF THE COURT OF APPEALS AND THE SUPREME COURT IN THE ZAMORANO CASE REAFFIRMED THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE EXECUTIVE'S [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 08638 161935Z

STATE OF SIEGE DETENTION POWER IS NOT DISCRETIONARY, BUT MUST BE EXERCISED REASONABLY ON THE BASIS OF RELEVANT EVIDENCE AGAINST THE DETAINEE. ACCORDING TO TIMERMAN'S ATTORNEY, WITH THIS BACKGROUND, THERE WAS A SIGNIFICANT CHANCE THAT THE FEDERAL COURT OF APPEALS (THE MOST PROGRESSIVE COURT IN THE COUNTRY) WOULD HAVE ORDERED TIMERMAN'S RELEASE FROM EXECUTIVE DETENTION WITHIN THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS, AS THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT

SUCCESSFULLY REPLY TO THE COURT'S INQUIRIES OF LATE OCTOBER ASKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S CHARGES AGAINST TIMERMAN. TIMERMAN'S LAWYER BELIEVES THAT TO AVOID A SERIOUES (AND PERHAPS LOSING) LEGAL CLASH, THE JUNTA DECIDED TO TAKE EXTREME ACTION AND PLACE HIM UNDER THE ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

3. ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ----
THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT IS VIEWED BY LIBERAL JURIS HERE AS A REVOLUTIONARY EQUIVALENT TO A COMMON LAW BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES WHICH THE JUNTA HAS ADOPTED UNDER ITS EMERGENCY POWERS TO PUNISH PERSONS SUPPOSED
TO BE GUILTY OF SERIOUS CRIMES WITHOUT JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS. A SIMILAR ACT PASSED BY A PREVIOUS MILITARY GOVERNMENT WAS UPHELD BY THE ARGENTINE SUPREME COURT.

4. ARTICLE 1 OF THE ACT LISTS A NUMBER OF VAGUE PUNISHABLE ACTS SUCH AS TOLERANCE OR NEGLIEGENCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CORRUPTION, FAILURE TO OBSERVE BASIC MORAL PRINCIPLES IN THE EXERCISE OF PUBLIC FUNCTIONS,
SERIOUS NEGLIGENCE IN THE EXERCISE OF PUBLIC FUNCTIONS. ARTICLE 2 SETS FORTH PUNISHMENTS WHICH MAY BE APPLIED TO PERSONS FOUND BY THE JUNTA TO HAVE VIOLATED ARTICLE ONE, AMONG WHICH ARE THE LOSS OF POLITICAL RIGHTS, THE LOSS OF CITIZENSHIP AND/OR THE EXPULSION OF NATURLIZED CITIZENS, INTERMENT IN A PLACE DECIDED BY THE EXECUTIVE AND THE PROHIBITION AGAINST THE PERSON'S DISPOSING OF HIS GOODS UNTIL THEIR LEGITIMATE ACQUISITION HAS BEEN PROVISION.

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 08638 161935Z

5. THE JUNTA MUST CHOOSE WHICH OF THE ACT'S PENALTIES TO APPLY IN EACH CASE. DESPITE SPECULATION IN THE LOCAL PRESS, TIMERMAN HAS NOT BEEN INFORMED WHAT SPECIFIC ACTIONS THE JUNTA WILL TAKE. THE JUNTA TAILORS PENALTIES TO INDIVIDUALS CASES. FOR EXAMPLE, TWO OF THE 48 PERSONS UNDER THE ACT HAVE NOT BEEN DETAINED, ONLY THEIR GOODS HAVE BEEN EMBARGOED. RECENTLY THE JUNTA ESTABLISHED LEGAL PROCEDURES AND A BOARD TO LEGITIMIZE GOODS EMBARGOED UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT. HOWEVER, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT OR REVIEW MECHANISM FOR THE OTHER CATEGORIES OF PUNISHMENT INCLUDED IN THE ACT (SUCH AS LOSS OF CIVIL RIGHTS).

6. USIS PRESS OFFICER HAS RECEIVED LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 15 FROM JACOBO TIMERMAN EXPRESSING OPINION THAT THE RECENT

GOVERNMENT ACTION IS INTENDED ONLY TO PLACE AN EMBARGO ON HIS PROPERTY, BUT DOES NOT PRECLUDE HIS BEING PLACED AT LIBERTY. (SEE SEPTEL) UNTIL RECEIPT OF THIS LETTER, THE VIEW WE RECEIVED FROM THE TIMERMAN FAMILY WAS JUST THE OPPOSITE, I.E. THAT THE ACTION WAS DESIGNED TO CONTINUE HIS INCARCERATION INDEFINITELY. OUR REQUEST FOR AN EXPLANATION FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SO FAR HAS BEEN MET WITH VAGUE, PRO FORMA ANSWERS THAT THE ACTION IS REASONABLE AND LEGITIMATE UNDER REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA PROCEDURES. WE ARE PRESSING THE MINISTRY FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION.

7. WE UNDERSTAND THAT AN AIDE TO ADMIRAL MASSERA CONTACTED TIMERMAN FAMILY ON NOVEMBER 11 AND CLAIMED THAT ADMIRAL MASSERA HAD OPPOSED THE JUNTA'S TIMERMAN DECISION BUT HAD BEEN OUT-VOTED. WHETHER THIS IS ANYTHING MORE THAN A TYPICAL MASSERA PLOY, WE DO NOT KNOW.
CASTRO

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08653 162252Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 VO-03 ISO-00 /006 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3243

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8653

H PASS HONORABLE HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPERANCE OF HUGO FRANCISCO BELLAGAMBA

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF JUNE 10TH, 1976 ON BEHALF OF JOHN POLLOK, DIRECTOR OF LATIN AMERICAN INSTITUTE AT RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, THE EMBASSY MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY ON NOVEMBER 1976 TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HUGO FRANCISCO BELLAGAMBA. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. BELLAGAMBA NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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(4) Soc 14-12 11/14/77 TH R

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ACTION-COPY

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DE RUEHC #4225 3200614
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TO RUESAS/AMEMBASSY ASUNCION 6097
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 8864
BT
[redacted] STATE 274225

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CO S		✓	[illegible]		
ADM			[illegible]		
USIS		✓	[illegible]		
SCI		—	[illegible]		✓
[illegible]			[illegible]		✓

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, PA

SUBJECT: SANTUCHO RELEASE
REF:ASUNCION 4619

DEPARTMENT SUGGESTS EMBASSY SEEK APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO REINFORCE GOP POSITIVE CONSIDERATION OF SENDING SANTUCHO TO SWEDEN OR "SOME OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRY".

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 3634
BT
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SY			HF

FROM CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PA
SUBJ: SANTUCHO RELEASE

REF: (A) STATE 274225; (B) ASUNCION 4619; (C) ASUNCION 4697

DISREGARD ASUNCION 4697. EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO IMPRESS UPON GOP THAT IT IS IN ITS OWN INTEREST TO RESOLVE SANTUCHO CASE SWIFTLY INCLUDING ALONG LINES DISCUSSED WITH US BY GOP INFORMALLY (E.G., SENDING HIM TO EUROPE).

BRIGGS

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#4727

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08682 171749Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARA-10 INR-07 CA-01 SP-02 SS-15
IO-13 INRE-00 SSO-00 /054 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3257

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8682

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CVIS, PINS, SREF, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: ARGENTINE DETAINEES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B3 NA
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

REF: (A) STATE 277937 (B) STATE 263658 (C) BA 8526

1. FAMILY MEMBERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ARGENTINE CITIZENS BEING HELD BY EXECUTIVE (PEN) DECREE ARE INQUIRING AT EMBASSY AT RATE OF 10 TO 15 PER WEEK ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF PEN DETAINEES BEING ADMITTED INTO THE UNITED STATES IF, UNDER THE NEWLY INSTITUTED "RIGHT OF OPTION" PROCEDURES, THEY ARE RELEASED FROM PRISON AND PERMITTED TO LEAVE ARGENTINA. TO DATE, EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED INQUIRIES OF THIS KIND ON BEHALF OF 50 ARGENTINE DETAINEES.

2. AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, PETITIONS FOR RELEASE FROM DETENTION UNDER THE GOA'S LIMITED "RIGHT OF OPTION" PROGRAM MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CERTIFICATE FROM THE PROSPECTIVE RECEIVING COUNTRY'S EMBASSY STATING THAT THE APPLICANT WILL BE ADMITTED TO THAT COUNTRY IF HIS RELEASE FROM DETENTION IS APPROVED.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 08682 171749Z

3. THE EMBASSY HAS THUS FAR ISSUED ONLY ONE SUCH CERTIFICATE --

Case Number: 200000044

THAT IN THE CASE OF [redacted] B3 N A

[redacted] IN THIS CASE, EMBASSY FELT IT COULD ISSUE A CERTIFICATE SINCE THERE WAS REASONABLE CERTAINTY THAT [redacted] WOULD QUALIFY FOR AN IMMIGRANT VISA AND WOULD BE ADMISSIBLE TO THE UNITED STATES.

4. THE ISSUE REMAINS, HOWEVER, AS TO HOW TO HANDLE THE OTHER PROSPECTIVE CASES (NOW NUMBERING 50) OF INCARCERATED ARGENTINE CITIZENS MOST OF WHOM WOULD NOT QUALIFY FOR PREFERENCE STATUS FOR IMMIGRANT VISAS. WHILE WE WISH TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE IN THE HANDLING OF THESE CASES, IN ABSENCE OF AUTHORIZATION FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO PROCESS ARGENTINE DETAINEES AS PAROLEES UNDER SECTION 212(D)(5), THERE APPEARS TO BE NO PRESENT ALTERNATIVE TO TREATING SUCH CASES AS APPLICANTS FOR IMMIGRANT VISAS. ACCORDINGLY, WE ARE PROVIDING THEM, THROUGH THEIR FAMILY OR REPRESENTATIVE, WITH THE PRELIMINARY QUESTIONING KEYED FOR DETERMINING CLASSIFICATION FOR IMMIGRANT VISA PURPOSES, AS WELL AS INFORMATION ABOUT THE LABOR CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT, ETC.

5. EMBASSY ASSUMES THAT IN SEEKING APPROVAL FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR AUTHORIZATION FOR 500 REFUGEES AND DETAINEES FROM LATIN AMERICA (REFERENCE B), THE DEPARTMENT ENVISAGES A PROGRAM UNDER WHICH SUCH REFUGEES AND DETAINEES WILL BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES IN PAROLE STATUS UNDER CRITERIA SIMILAR TO THOSE UNDER WHICH CHILEAN, URUGUAYAN AND BOLIVIAN REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA ARE NOW BEING PROCESSED, EXCEPT THAT THE TERM "REFUGEE" WOULD NOT APPLY TO ARGENTINES UNDER DETENTION.

6. EMBASSY LOOKS FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THIS MATTER IN DETAIL [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 08682 171749Z

WITH ASST. SECRETARY DERIAN DURING HER FORTHCOMING VISIT TO BUENOS AIRES.
CASTRO

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08707 172300Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 H-02 /022 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3270

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8707

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF RODOLFO WALSH

REF: A) STATE 273712, B) BA 2663

EMBASSY HAS NOT RECEIVED PRIOR TO REFTEL (A), ANY U.S. INQUIRIES REGARDING SUBJECT CASE. EMBASSY PRESENTED FORMAL INQUIRY TO FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON NOVEMBER 17 CONCERNING WALSH DISAPPEARANCE. CASE NUMBER IS 186/77/11. PLEASE ADVISE CONGRESSMAN ZABLOCKI'S OFFICE.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

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Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS08692

11/17/77

Page: 1

Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08692 181801Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 VO-03 ISO-00 /006 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3261
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8692

H PASS HONORABLE ANTHONY C. BEILENSON,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON D.C.

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, UR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DETENTION OF JESUS BRAULIO LOPEZ-AMORIN

REF: BA 7360

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 2, 1977 REGARDING THE DETENTION OF BRAULIO LOPEZ.

2. WE DID RECEIVE YOUR EARLIER LETTER OF AUGUST 8, 1977 AND RAISED THE CASE WITH THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE. WE CABLED YOU ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1977 (BA 7360) WITH THE INFORMATION THAT MR. LOPEZ IS BEING HELD UNDER STATE OF SEIGE EXECUTIVE DETENTION PURSUANT TO DECREE NUMBER 209 OF JANUARY 28, 1977 IN UNTIL OF THE FEDERAL PENITENTIARY IN CORDOBA.

3. WE STILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THIS CASE AND INFORM YOU OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO AMBASSADOR.

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Case Number: 200000044

5. FOR DEPARTMENT:
PLEASE PASS COPY OF REFTEL TO BEILENSON'S OFFICE.
CASTRO

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08669 172204Z
ACTION ARA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3248
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8669

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
~~Exemption(s)~~: _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECLASSIFIED
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, PR
SUBJECT: MENDEZ FLEITAS DETENTION

1. MENDEZ FLEITAS VISITED EMBASSY ON NOVEMBER 15. AT HIS REQUEST HE TAPED A DETAILED REPORT OF HIS RECENT DETENTION WHICH IS BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT. HE OFFERED LITTLE NEW INFORMATION REGARDING THE DETAILS OR REASONS FOR HIS RECENT DETENTION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE WAS TREATED WELL THROUGHOUT.

2. EMBASSY COMMENT: MENDEZ' SPECIAL TREATMENT AND TRANSFER TO CHACO ON COMMERCIAL FLIGHT ARE INCONSISTENT WITH REGULAR GOA PROCEDURES IN SUBVERSION CASES AND ARE JUST ANOTHER INDICATOR THAT THE MENDEZ DETENTION WAS A POLITICAL OPERATION. HOWEVER, MENDEZ' INFORMATION STILL LEAVES US IN DOUBT WHETHER THIS WAS SOLELY AN ARGENTINE INITIATIVE OR ONE INITIATED AT THE REQUEST OF THE PARAGUAYANS.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

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11/18/77 P B6

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THE BHAKTIVEDANTA BOOK TRUST
SPANISH DIVISION
Founder-Acarya: His Divine Grace A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada
3764 WATSEKA AVE., LOS ANGELES, CA 90034 U.S.A. • TWX 910 340-7062/TEL. (213) 559-8540

United States Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Nov 18, 1977

To Whom it may concern,

I am writing this report in response to recent human and religious rights violations concerning "The International Society for Krishna Consciousness", the "Hare Krishna Movement", or "La Asociacion Internacional para la Conciencia de Krishna". This Society, founded originally by His Divine Grace A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, was started with the intention of giving freely, knowledge of spiritual life and at the same time fulfill one's social responsiblity. Of course, today the banner of inalienable human rights has grown in import, but the real inalienable rights are the rights of the soul, eternal rights. As of approximately 1 year the Argentine Government has prohibited the existence of our Society, which is simply interested in the spiritual welfare of the whole society. This should be considered an international crime in the eyes of the worlds' Gov'ts. I, myself, as of 3 days ago was put in jail simply for observing a wake for our beloved Spiritual Master, who, at the advanced age of 84 years, gloriously left this planet. This social policy is unbecoming of a civilized society, and, although their own constitution prohibits religious obstruction, and the freedoms therein, the gov't in Argentina persists in their persecutions of our members as if they were common criminals. Literally millions of people (especially in India), accept Krishna as God, and in literally 90% of all American Universities there are standing orders for all 60 volumes of our books. Unfortunately, these same books that have received great acclaim amongst learned scholars all over the world, here in Argentina, are treated as something against the morality of the people. In Argentina approximately $40,000.US worth of books have been confiscated by the gov't, the printing costs of which, have come from American funds.

We beg you to try and present this problem to the Argentine Government and try to make them understand this most basic of violations. The U.S. was started on the basis of these basic freedoms of religion, and it would be incorrect for it now to overlook these basic discrepancies. We are asking that the decreto that prohibited the liberty of our Society, be rescinded, and striken from the Argentine Law Books. One may rationalize that under martial law some restrictions must be taken, but why against an organization that has centers in every major American city, and is known for it's passivist philosophy? We again beg you to push this point and beg pardon for any inconvenience. I remain,

Yours truly,

John M. Gilbakian
Sub-director
Argentina, Chile, Peru and Bolivia

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Buenos Aires Noviembre 18 de 1977

De nuestra mayor consideración:

Nuestra preocupación por la seguridad, de nuestras hijas detenidas en el penal de Villa Devoto, nos obliga a escribir estas líneas: El día 2 de Noviembre ppdo. falleció en el penal una de las internas, se llamaba ALICIA PAIS, esta joven padecía de asma, sufrió muchos ataques y cuando sus compañeras pedían con su auxilio, eran sancionadas, y a la enferma no se le prestaba la atención necesaria que corresponde en estos casos, falleció sin tener la atención que merecia, la DOCTORA GONZALEZ que en ese momento se encontraba en el hospital, no quiso hacerse cargo de la enferma, no le prestó el auxilio necesario para salvar su vida, ALICIA PAIS, tenía esposo y deja dos hijitos.

Pasamos a las requisas: que a menudo se realizan en los diferentes pabellones; demás esta explicar el control que se nos hace a cada familiar que visita a la persona interna, además las visitas son en locutorios, los que cubiertos por grandes cristales impiden que tengamos algún contacto directo con los nuestros. ¿Es necesaria entonces la requisa que pretender hacerle a nuestras hijas?: Sabrán como es, en determinado momento, van las celadoras al pabellón y eligen un grupo de chicas al azhar, pretenden que las chicas elegidas se desnuden totalmente, a las que ellas se niegan como es natural. Los resultados son: Golpeadas por las celadoras una de las castigadoras es la celadora ESTELA MONTI, luego las internas arrastradas por los cabellos y a golpes son llevadas a las Celdas de Castigo, durante varios días son privadas de recreo comun, entrada exagerados alimentos y la visita de los padres, en estos últimos tiempos se limita la concesión que estamos teniendo 1 ó 2 visitas cada dos meses.

A demás ya viven tan atemorizadas, que si se sienten con necesidad de ir al odontologo, no lo hacen, pués en el trayecto de la celda al consultorio, reciben golpes e insultos por parte de los guardias. ¿ es esto justo?. Son innumerables los vejámenes que se producen a diario contra las detenidas, esperamos que este problema sea interpretado por gente de buena voluntad y se le de rápida solución .

Muy agradecidos , les saludamos muy atte

MADRES DE PRESITAS DE VILLA DEVOTO

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(51/52)

Current Class: [redacted] UNCLASSIFIED 11/18/77
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS08739

Page: 1
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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08739 181958Z
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3292

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8739

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM SREF AR
SUBJECT: NCO SUPPORT FOR GOA RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM

REF: A) STATE 267187, B) STATE 263658

1. EMBASSY HAS DISCUSSED POSSIBILITY OF NCO ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT FOR GOA RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF UNHCR, ICRC AND ICEM. ALL LOCAL OBSERVERS AGREE THAT THERE IS A GREAT NEED FOR NCO ORGANIZATION INVOLVEMENT IF THE ARGENTINE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM RESULTS IN THE RELEASE OF A SUBSTANTIAL PERCENTAGE OF THE ESTIMATED FOUR TO SIX THOUSAND POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING HELD BY GOA AUTHORITIES. THERE IS FURTHER AGREEMENT THAT BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL SUBVERSIVE LABEL ATTACHED TO THE DETAINEES IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR ARGENTINE VOLAGS TO AID IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THIS PROGRAM, THE GOA DOES NOT

AT PRESENT FORESEE THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL NCO SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM WHICH IS ONLY IN ITS

START UP PHASE. THE NCO REPS CONTACTED AGREE THAT THE LOGICAL ORGANIZATION TO ADMINISTER SUCH A PROGRAM IN ARGENTINA WOULD BE ICEM WHICH HAS PERSONNEL WITH EXPERIENCE AVAILABLE FROM THEIR

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08739 181958Z

Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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Case Number: 200000044

CHILEAN PROGRAM AND IS ANXIOUS TO UNDERTAKE THE WORK.

2. ICEM HAS ALREADY APPROACHED THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO OFFER THEIR SERVICES. MININT UNDER SECRETARY PALACIOS REPLIED THAT THE GOA SAW NO NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL NCO ASSISTANCE IN THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM AS THE NUMBERS PRESENTLY INVOLVED WERE SO SMALL. (EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS THAT OVER 500 CERTIFICATES IN RIGHT OF OPTION CASES HAVE BEEN ISUED BY SPANISH AND ITALIAN EMBASSIES FOR PRISONERS WHO HAVE CLAIM TO DUAL NATIONALITY.) ICEM DIRECTOR, JOHN THOMAS, WILL BE VISITING ARGENTINA FROM DECEMBER 3 TO 8 TO HOLD FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH SENIOR FONOFF AND MININT OFFICIALS ON ICEM SERVICES.

3. ICRC LATIN AMERICAN DELEGATE NESSI TOLD EMBASSY OFFICERS ON NOVEMBER 15 THAT ALTHOUGH ICRC FAVORED RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM AS IT WOULD IMPROVE OVERCROWDED PRISON CONDITIONS, IT DID NOT SEE A ROLE FOR THE ICRC IN ITS ADMINISTRATION. NESSI SAID THAT THE ICRC HAD TAKEN THE SAME POSITION IN CHILE AND THAT RED CROSS WOULD NOT INVOLVE ITSELF IN A POLITICAL PRISONER RELEASE PROGRAM UNLESS THERE WAS NO OTHER ORGANIZATION AVAILABLE. HE STATED THAT ICEM WAS BOTH ABLE AND WILLING TO UNDERTAKE A COORDINATING AND ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE IN AN ARGENTINE DETAINEE RELEASE PROGRAM

IF REQUESTED BY GOA.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

BH 018C

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA

1. Detentions. Since March 24, 1976 practically in our country there are no detentions for political reasons, etc.
Our Constitution and laws are against them. But the actual terror in which our country is living is aginst it.

2. Disappearances. Daily in every parts of Argentina there are made operatives during which people disappeared.

b) Operativos Rastrillos y "Pinzas". Great zones are searched and people are detained and disappeare.

c) From the street,"bar", shops, cinema, etc. people are detained and pass to be disappeared.

d) Following all these, come the detentions because of notes find on the prisoners, and accusations taken by force.

e) Situation of Concentration Camps. (There are named some of the known concentration camps).

III. PROCEDURE FOR THE FAMILIES TO FIND THE MISSING PERSONS.
(Explain the different places they have to visit, all without obtaining any reply about the whereabouts of the disappearances.)

IV) Released people. Some are re-leased, but always they are told not to speak about the time they had been in prison.

V. Actual Situation in the Legal Jails. (As they say the conditions are very bad.)

VI. Option Right to Leave the Country. (Explain the faults of this Option Right.)

VII. Press Freedom and Human Rights in Argentina. (We have no posibility of publishing in the newspapers).

VIII. Situation in the last time. Although detaintins continue, something is happening at the"concentration camps". From statements of very few who

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

were released from this hell,in the last 4 months the situation has become"better". Food is better, they have some mattresses, they have some cloths agsint the severe cold. The warden have been changed and they are a little better. But what has not stopped are the tortures.

11/18/77

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20520

AL214

Nov. 18, 1977

Dear Mr. Schneider:

I have read with deep concern your letter of October 18, 1977 to President Carter which dealt with the cases of eight prisoners in Argentina who were arrested on November 10, 1974. Ms. Bova, of my staff, called Olga Talamante about it. As a result of the additional information on the case which Ms. Talamante was able to supply, we sent a cable to our Embassy in Buenos Aires noting that seven of the prisoners' jail sentences were due to end on November 10, 1977 and asking our Embassy to alert the Foreign Ministry of our government's interest and concern in these cases.

The Embassy informed us that it would be making a formal inquiry with the Foreign Ministry about these cases on November 11, the day after seven of them were to be released.

As you may know, I will be going to Argentina with the Secretary on November 20. While there, I will personally raise these cases with the Argentine officials. I will let you know of any information I receive upon my return to Washington.

Sincerely yours,

S/11/18

Patricia M. Derian
Assistant Secretary for
Human Rights and
Humanitarian Affairs

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mr. Louis Schneider,
Executive Secretary,
American Friends Service Committee,
1501 Cherry Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

Drafted: HA/HR:MBova:di
11/18/77:ext. 22126

Clear with P/C (Aron) - J. Kempton

80D177
Box 4855

Current Class: [redacted] UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977ASUNCI04729

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Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 ASUNCI 04729 181358Z
ACTION ARA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1611
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] ASUNCION 4729

ARGENTINA PROJECT (5200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PA
SUBJ: MENDEZ FLEITAS DETENTION

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8669

1. AT BRIEF ENCOUNTER WITH FONMIN NOGUES NOVEMBER 16 HE ASKED CHARGE IF USG HAD TAKEN NOTE OF RELEASE IN ARGENTINA OF EPIFANIO MENDEZ FLEITAS. HE ADDED THAT NOTWITHSTANDING CLAIMS BY MENDEZ (SIX) THAT HE HAD BEEN ARRESTED BY THE ARGENTINE POLICE AT GOP'S REQUEST, THIS SIMPLY WAS NOT TRUE AND GOP HAD HAD NOTHING AT ALL TO DO WITH THE CASE.

2. COMMENT: AT THIS POINT WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE WHETHER NOGUES DISCUSSED THE MENDEZ CASE WITH GOA DURING HIS SHORT VISIT TO BA, OR WHETHER HE MAY IN FACT HAVE URGED GOA TO RELEASE MENDEZ BECAUSE OF THE UNWELCOME PUBLICITY ABROAD. ALTHOUGH THIS CASE WILL SOON GATHER DUST AND LOSE ITS IMMEDIACY, WE SHALL REPORT IF/WHEN WE CAN ANSWER EITHER QUESTION.
BRIGGS

[redacted]

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11/18/77

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
2101 CONSTITUTION AVENUE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20418

COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
[illegible]
TWX: [illegible]
TEL: (202) [illegible]

AL213

November 18, 1977

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mr. Raul H. Castro
Ambassador
Embassy of the United States of America
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The Committee on Human Rights of the United States National Academy of Sciences was formed out of concern that the human condition is absolutely diminished by deprivations of basic rights whenever, wherever and to whomever they may occur. Our Committee feels a special sense of responsibility toward scientific colleagues, worldwide and we concentrate our limited resources on selected cases whose situation is particularly troublesome and well documented. In April 1977, the Committee spoke out on behalf of a number of individuals from Argentina, Uruguay and the USSR. (See enclosure)

In my capacity as chairman of the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Human Rights I am writing to urge that you actively seek the release of Miss Elena Sevilla, physicist, from Villa De Voto prison. I have been told that you are well aware of the facts in the case of Miss Sevilla. I understand that Cornell University has offered a tuition-free scholarship to pursue advanced training in physics and that arrangements have also been made for living expenses and other incidental costs. My letter is in support of the petition of Cornell University and reflects the deep concern of the scientific community in the United States of America as it has been reflected to me through members of the National Academy of Sciences.

Our committee, Mr. Ambassador, will deeply appreciate your personal attention to inquiries with the Argentine Government on behalf of Miss Sevilla and your helping to expedite a visa for her under provisions of humanitarian parole.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W. Yates

Robert W. Yates
Chairman

80D177
Box 4855

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS08750

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Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08750 190016Z
ACTION H-02

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UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8750

H PASS HONORABLE S.I.HAYAKAWA
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF FOUR ARGENTINE STUDENTS,
JORGE KREYNES, ALBERTO DI VITA, EMILIO ANZORENA
AND EDUARDO DUSTCHAZSKY.

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF AUGUST 25, 1977 ON BEHALF OF [redacted] OF SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA, THE EMBASSY MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY IN OCTOBER 1977 TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FOUR MENIONED IN YOUR LETTER. THE FOREIGN OFFICE' WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORDS OF THE DETENTION OF JORGE KREYNES, ALBERTO DI VITA, EMILIO ANZORENA AND EDUARDO DUSTCHAZSKY, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

B6

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THESE CASES WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08750 190016Z

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

Page: 1

Case Number: 200000044

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09465 212254Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 CA-01 H-01 NSC-05 SS-15
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ACDA-12 /076 W
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R 212039Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7244
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY QUITO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
__Release X Excise __Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) B1

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 9465

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(✓ Classify as (C) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to __
Date 1/2/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 25A1.6

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, SREF, CI, EC
SUBJECT: CHILEAN NOTE ON THE STRANGE QUINTET

REFS: (A) STATE 272840 (B) QUITO 7888

1. THE GOC NOTE TRANSMITTED REF A APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF JORGE CAUAS' ATTEMPTS TO COPE WITH VARIOUS EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST ON THE HILL. THE WORKING LEVEL AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY (LETELIER) HAD HEARD OF THE INDIVIDUAL CASES BUT HAD NOT KNOWN WHAT CAUAS WAS DOING WITH THEM. HERE IS A CASE-BY-CASE RUNDOWN.

2. ARTURO VILAVELLA ARAUJO: [C] VIEWS VILAVELLA AS A SPECIAL CASE. HE WAS WOUNDED AT THE TIME OF HIS APPREHENSION AND HASTILY OPERATED UPON AT A MILITARY HOSPITAL. THE OPERATION WAS NOT A GREAT SUCCESS, AND VILAVELLA NEEDS FURTHER SURGERY. HE HAS, UNDERSTANDABLY, RESISTED ANOTHER STINT AT A MILITARY HOSPITAL. [C] THE GOC HAS AUTHORIZED THE OPERATION AT AN OUTSIDE HOSPITAL. VILAVELLA'S DL 504 COMMUTATION PETITION WAS INITIALLY RE-
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 09465 212254Z

JECTED; PRESUMABLY HE WOULD BENEFIT FROM A PRISONER RELEASE.

3. JORGE RENE PALMA PACHECO: A VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY LAWYER IS DEFENDING PALMA, WHOSE CASE IS BEFORE A TIME OF WAR ARMY COURT. HE WAS NEVER CONSIDERED AMONG THE DISAPPEARED.

4. GLORIA UGARTE ESCOBAR: MS. UGARTE WAS PHYSICALLY PRESENT AT THE SANTIAGO ICEM OFFICE NOVEMBER 21. HER CASE IS WELL KNOWN [C]. ACCORDING TO [C] NEITHER GLORIA NOR SISTER MARIA TERESA (REF B) WAS EVER DETAINED BY THE SECURITY SERVICES. TWO

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ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED GROUP TOLD AN EMBOFF THEY HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE UGARTE ESCOBARS. THE FATHER IN ECUADOR TOLD [redacted] THAT HE WOULD TAKE IN GLORIA BECAUSE SHE WAS BEING BEATEN BY HER COMMON-LAW HUSBAND. GLORIA DID GET HER TICKETS BACK IN APRIL BUT HAS REMAINED IN CHILE. ICEM NOW IS WORKING ON THE PAPERS FOR HER MONTH OLD CHILD. AS TO THE SOURCE OF THE UGARTE STORIES IN WASHINGTON, [redacted] NOTES THAT THE SISTERS HAVE AN AUNT UNHAPPILY RESETTLED IN ISRAEL. SHE IS A PROLIFIC LETTER WRITER AND HAS TAKEN UP THE CAUSE OF ALL REMAINING FAMILY MEMBERS IN CHILE WHOSE PLIGHT SHE DESCRIBES WITHOUT MUCH REGARD TO THE FACTS. THE TWO GIRLS ARE NOT REPEAT NOT RELATED TO MARTA UGARTE, THE PCCH CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER WHOSE MUTILIATED BODY APPEARED ON A BEACH IN SEPTEMBER 1976.

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5. REINALDA DEL CARMEN PEREIRA PLAZA: ALLEGEDLY PEREIRA CROSSED INTO ARGENTINA ON FOOT AT THE LOS LIBERTADORES (CARACOLES)/LAS CUEVAS BORDER AS SHOWN BY CHILEAN AND ARGENTINE BORDER CROSSING CARDS. SHE WAS 5-6 MONTHS PREGNANT WHEN SHE DISAPPEARED DECEMBER 15, 1976. HERS IS AMONG THE 13 CASES OF MISSING COMMUNISTS BEING CON-

[redacted]

[redacted]

SIDERED BY JUDGE ALDO CUSTAVINO. NONE OF THE THIRTEEN HAS EVER BEEN LOCATED. WE ENCOURAGE EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES TO PRESS THE GOA TO LOCATE PEREIRA, ET. AL., NOT IN ANY EXPECTATION THAT THEY WILL EVER BE FOUND, BUT AS A DETERRENT TO SIMILAR COLLUSION AMONG THE RESPECTIVE SECURITY SERVICES.
LANDAU

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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11/21/77

File Vance visit R

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Date ____ Declassify on ____ Reason ____

Joint Communique

of the Argentina Republic

and the United States

November 21, 1977

Buenos Aires, Argentina

1. The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cyrus Vance, visited the City of Buenos Aires at the invitation extended by his Excellency, the President of Argentina, Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, at his meeting in the City of Washington last September with his Excellency, the President of the United States, Mr. Jimmy Carter.

2. During the course of his visit Secretary Vance was received by Their Excellencies, the members of the Military Junta, Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, President of the Nation and Commander in Chief of the Army, by Admiral Emilio Eduardo Massera, Commander in Chief of the Navy, and by Brig. Gen. Orlando Ramon Agosti, Commander in Chief of the Air Force, in separate meetings.

3. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship, the Foreign Minister, Vice Admiral Oscar Antonio Montes, held conversations with the Secretary of State; there also were working sessions in which members of the visiting delegation, the Argentine Foreign Ministry and other State Agencies participated.

4. During the course of these meetings there was an exchange of ideas with regard to the international situation, with special attention being paid to the role of Latin America in the world.

5. Both governments expressed their firm determination to promote a fruitful understanding between the two countries.

6. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State exchanged views on important issues in the nuclear field. There was wide-ranging discussion of the evolution of international cooperation and existing problems in the field of transfer of nuclear technology in advancing the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and of the shared interest in measures to prevent all forms of proliferation of nuclear weapons, including the bearing of these efforts on hemispheric security.

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7. They discussed future cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. They expressed their interest in increasing the present cooperation and enlarging the scope of their existing Agreement for Cooperation to include relevant teachnology and ways of meeting Argentina's heavy water needs as well as provision of fuel to be used in the research reactors that Argentina has proposed to export to Peru, recognizing Argentina's potential as a significant nuclear supplier on the same basis as other suppliers.

8. Each side expressed satisfaction at the recent launching of an International Fuel Cycle Evaluation, to which both plan to make significant contributions of scientific talent and effort. Confidence was expressed that this broadly-based international study would contribute to a better understanding of how nuclear energy needs can be met in ways that minimize the risk of proliferation of nuclear weapons.

9. The U.S. reiterated its commitment to continue efforts to halt the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. Secretary Vance noted recent encouraging developments in the SALT negotiations and in negotiations relating to a comprehensive test ban treaty.

10. Minister Montes declared the intention of his Government to ratify the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Secretary Vance welcomed this Argentine announcement, noting that the United States had previously ratified Additional Protocol II to the Treaty. Secretary Vance declared the intention of his Government to ratify Additional Protocol I to that Treaty.

11. Minister Montes and Secretary Vance expressed joint support for the Treaty's goal of creating a zone forever free of nuclear weapons, and for the objective of bringing the Treaty and its protocols into full force for all of Latin America. They trust that all states whose actions are needed will promptly take the remaining steps to achieve this end.

12. The subject of human rights was dealt with at length. Both sides agreed that the protection and enhancement of human rights of all peoples is a major responsibility of all governments which adhere to the Universal Delcaration on Human Rights. They affirmed that respect for the integrity of the individual person and for the

rule of law are essential for governments to be able to assure to their people the full enjoyment of their human rights.

13. There was also an evaluation of the impact caused by the latest outbreak of international terrorism in various parts of the world. Both parties firmly repudiated terrorist actions and agreed on the necessity of multilateral cooperation in this area.

14. They agreed to provide their full support, cooperation and endorsement of the important work of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, noting the desirability of strengthening the Commission through the effective application of the resolutions approved by the O.A.S. General Assembly in Grenada. Both sides trust that international organizations will take into account, in making evaluations of human rights conditions, the influence which terrorism and social, economic and cultural injustice have on the full enjoyment of human rights in a country.

15. Taking into account the spirit which inspired the achievement of the Panama Canal Treaties, the two Parties expressed the hope that just solutions will be reached in other hemispheric questions. In the same spirit, both Parties view with satisfaction the continuation of negotiations aimed at a just resolution of the sovereignty dispute existing between Argentina and the United Kingdom.

16. Encouraged by the expansion in bilateral trade which has taken place in recent months the two parties affirmed their decision and commitment to achieve a broad and substantial increase in trade by both sides. The two parties expressed conviction that the meeting of the Mixed Commission which will take place early in 1983 will find means to achieve this objective. The Commission will also consider other subjects of cooperation in the bilateral as well as the multilateral field.

17. Considering that certain areas of this hemisphere have not yet achieved a satisfactory level of nutrition, the two Parties agreed to cooperate in studying and developing means of alleviating the situation through the transfer of knowledge and techniques for the production, processing and distribution of food to the affected areas. They agreed that officials of the two governments should meet soon to discuss useful forms of collaboration. In this way the two governments will work toward meeting human needs and improving the quality of life of the people of the world.

18. They agreed on the need for increasing cooperation between the two governments in curbing the illegal trafficking in narcotics and in improving drug rehabilitation programs. In so doing, they reaffirmed the Memorandum of Understanding of 1972 which relates to the interdiction of illegal trafficking in narcotics.

19. Finally, the parties reiterated the faith of both governments in the guiding principles under which both nations were founded and are sustained: Equality, justice, and full enjoyment of liberty.

Buenos Aires, November 21, 1977

APPROVED BY S/S - DAnderson 11/21/77

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Date 23 DEC 1977

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

DATE: November 21, 1977

SUBJECT: Private Meeting Between The Secretary and Foreign Minister Montes

PARTICIPANTS: Argentina: Foreign Minister Oscar A. Montes
Mr. Magnacca (interpreting)
Mr. Ferrari (notetaker for the Foreign Minister)

US: The Secretary
Notes by: Neil A. Seidenman, Interpreter, OPR/LS

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Secretary Vance told the Foreign Minister that he wished to obtain clarification on several matters in the human rights area of current concern to the United States: the Timerman case, the Deutsch family case, and right of option.

Foreign Minister Montes replied that, as promised, he would discuss these matters willingly, and disclose classified information to Secretary Vance for purposes of clarification. He went on to say that Timerman's case currently came under the Institutional Responsibility Act, which also covered cases such as Mrs. Peron and other members of her government, based on summary proceedings instituted in connection with charges of crimes against the national economy. The Timerman problem was that he was involved with the daily, Opinion, with financing supplied by Graiver. Timerman supplied the ideas and the staffing, Graiver provided the money. Graiver held a majority of stocks in the daily, and Timerman a minority. Graiver had left Argentina, as one also being sought under charges of economic crimes, and could not return to the country. However, Graiver died in an airplane crash, following which Timerman convened all the stockholders of the Opinion, and managed to buy up all of the Graiver stock. The present situation was that the Argentine government must have Timerman disclose the source of the money he used to buy out Graiver's stock, and to whom in the Graiver family the money went. All of the stock was now in Timerman's name.

Secretary Vance asked if Timerman was accused of economic crimes or violation of the economic laws. FM Montes said he was.

GDS

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Box 4966

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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Secretary Vance said he was asking this in particular, because there was feeling on the part of the public concerned that Timerman was not actually charged with anything, and was being held arbitrarily.

Foreign Minister Montes replied that there was no formal charge against him, but that the foregoing was the current status of the case. There had also been allegations of torture, he said, conveyed to him by an American representative in Buenos Aires. He accordingly had met secretly with a representative of Timerman at the Ministry of Interior to ascertain whether there was any substance to the allegation of torture, and he was able to confirm that at no time had Timerman been subjected to torture, and that his physical condition was good.

Secretary Vance asked why no word of charges had been released to the public.

Foreign Minister Montes said it was in order to avoid maneuvering that could thwart the investigation into the source of the money involved, and to whom it was paid, whether or not the money had been properly or improperly acquired in the first place. Graiver and members of his family had connections with the terrorists. $17 million of Graiver money had been traced to an account with the Bank of Belgium containing $50 million that had been paid to the terrorists as ransom in the Born brothers kidnapping case.

Secretary Vance indicated that, as the problem was seen from the outside, since Timerman and the Deutsch people were Jewish, the impression had arisen that there was an anti-Semitic movement on the part of the Argentine government, a reflection of which was seen to be the seizure and holding of Timerman and the two members of the Deutsch family. For this reason, the United States hoped that Argentina would grant the right of option to these individuals so as to lay aside this problem and eliminate grounds for the accusation of anti-Semitism.

At this point in the conversation, a note was brought in to Foreign Minister Montes, who after reading it, informed Secretary Vance that Ambassador Smith wished to converse with him. Secretary Vance thanked him, but replied that he wished to continue the conversation on the matter at hand for as long as it might take them to achieve adequate clarification.

In reply to Secretary Vance's previous statement, Foreign Minster Montes said that the anti-Semitic image stemming from the Timerman and Deutsch cases had been conveyed to him on other occasions in conversations with American and local Jewish representatives. He had not been in a position to clarify the matter then to the extent he was attempting to do so with Secretary Vance, because of the confidential nature of some of the information involved. But in the case at hand, the Argentine government was practically acting on behalf of the interests of Graiver, a Jew, despite his having been linked to the terrorist organization. Regarding the Deutsches, the present situation had to do with Deutsch, Senior, and Deutsch, the daughter, who had come under the jurisdiction of the Executive proceedings, Second Court of Cordoba. As to right of option, Deutsch, Senior, was probably to be released by the Court, which had just initiated its inquiry upon receiving jurisdiction. His only act was to aid his son to flee the country to escape arrest for terrorist activities. On the basis of this act, it was unlikely that he would be prosecuted. In the case of the daughter, who like the son (now out of the country) had also been involved with the terrorists, she probably would be sentenced. This was the present status of the two Deutsches under custody.

Secretary Vance suggested that some additional action on the father's case would be highly significant for world public opinion, thus demonstrating prompt due process on the part of the Argentine authorities.

Foreign Minister Montes stated that the Court had only recently acquired jurisdiction, under the pertinent decree transferring the case from the Executive to the Court, and within a short period the magistrate would make the decision as to what information regarding the case should be released for publication and what should be withheld from the public for purposes of ongoing investigation.

Secretary Vance asked if the proceeding under the Court's jurisdiction was secret or in open court.

Foreign Minister Montes said the Court had just initiated the proceeding based on the investigative file received on the case from the III Army Command that had had original jurisdiction, and accordingly, the case had been entirely confidential heretofore. Now, once the magistrate has completed his

examination of the Deutsch file, he would make the decision regarding the extent to which the case would be made public. But summary jurisdiction of the Court would proceed from information in the file developed by the III Army Command, as explained.

Secretary Vance stated that this, of course, was a domestic issue involving the responsibilities and prerogatives of the Argentine government. It was, therefore, as a friend that he wished to suggest that one problem in the perception of the situation in the eyes of the outside world was the secrecy in which the case was being handled. This was contrary to a sense of due process, which usually operated in terms of an open trial. This aspect was a large part of the problem. It was the problem with the detainees who were being held but had not yet been identified as having been charged with any offense. And it was associated with the problem with the list of people who had disappeared and could not be found. It could be assumed that some of the people involved had fled to the ranks of the terrorists or had gone underground, and thus, could not be accounted for by the authorities. But to hold individuals in custody without charges, and not to make public charges against individuals created a negative impression. Secretary Vance stressd that he raised the question as a friend of the Foreign Minister, who had asked him to be frank.

Foreign Minister Montes replied that he was grateful to the Secretary for his last remark, and asked that he take into account the fact that he, the Foreign Minister, was striving to have these matters clarified for his own purposes, and accordingly, had been engaging in daily contacts with the Ministry of Interior in order to clear up the matters of the list of disappearances and charges for offenses. This was indeed a conversation between friends, and he was not offended, he said, by their dwelling on a strictly internal matter, inasmuch as he realized that he was not being forced to explain, but rather only discussing a matter to be clarified between the two governments, which would benefit both countries.

Secretary Vance went on to make reference to another problem area: the question of Argentina's having ceased to allow the International Red Cross to visit the jails. There had been no visits permitted since April 1977, and this too was a subject that had raised misgivings.

Foreign Minister Montes said that he had recently met with representatives of the International Red Cross on two or

three occasions, and as of three days before, "thanks to the Almighty," the problem appeared to be cleared up with the Ministry of Interior. As of the beginning of December, visits could be resumed. On the previous Thursday (November 17), the Red Cross representatives had met with him to thank him for his mediation and for the outcome of the matter. He, accordingly, trusted that there would be no further problem with the Red Cross.

Secretary Vance said that he considered this to be very positive, indeed. The Secretary then made reference to the right of option. He pointed out that on their visit to Washington in September, the Foreign Minister and President Videla had told him and President Carter that the right of option had been restored, and on the basis of that, the President and he had understood that prisoners would be free to avail themselves of the right of option. However, to date only about 20 cases had been reported in which the right of option had actually been exercised. He asked why it took so long for right of option actions to be completed, and inquired whether or not it would be possible to expand the process in terms of what he and President Carter had understood in Washington.

Foreign Minister Montes explained that under the right of option, any detainee could request the option of leaving the country. He could do this through legal counsel, through a member of his family, etc., in the form of a signed petition, the forms for which were readily available at all places of detention. The prisoner must sign the petition. As of the time, it was true that only 17 signed petitions had been submitted, as of October 24. This was because one problem standing in the way of many potential applicants was that they were classified as "dangerous," and accordingly were not able to find a host country to go to. The right of option required the signature of the Ambassador of the intended host country. And in this connection, Foreign Minister Montes asked whether the United States would be able to receive some of the prisoners classified as "dangerous," whom the Argentine government would be willing to identify so as to facilitate their exit, if U.S. regulations would permit.

Secretary Vance replied that the United States would be willing to study the matter and look into some of the background involved.

Foreign Minister Montes said that he would communicate with Ambassador Castro in regard to this matter.

Secretary Vance agreed to this. However, he asked why other cases, not classified "dangerous," could not be dealt with more expeditiously.

Foreign Minister Montes explained that, in all cases under the jurisdiction of the Courts, only the Court itself could make the decision as to whether the individual was eligible for right of option. In fact, of the 17 right-of-option cases processed to date, all were still under the jurisdiction of the Executive, not under the judiciary. Once under the judiciary, only the magistrate could decide whether right of option might be approved.

Secretary Vance asked if anyone arrested and jailed was not automatically eligible for right of option.

Foreign Minister Montes replied that anyone was automatically entitled to it, provided he applied prior to referral of his case to the judiciary. Because when the person was arrested, within a given region, he was still under Executive jurisdiction, which at that stage could consider the right of option request immediately. But once the case had been referred to the judiciary, only the Court could authorize it.

Secretary Vance asked if the Court was military or civilian.

Foreign Minister Montes said it could be either. But in the case where the military court still had jurisdiction, right of option was facilitated because the case would still be under the Executive, which could act more quickly.

Secretary Vance said he understood. He then asked what determined the placing of the detained under Executive authority, as opposed to the judiciary.

Foreign Minister Montes said that when an arrest was made, the individual was under Executive custody. Only the Executive could make a legal arrest. Given the nature of the fight against terrorism, only the Executive was in a position to legally arrest and detain individuals for a period of time that would allow for investigation of the individual's possible connections with terrorist organizations, something the Civil Court system could not do. When all connections had been traced, sometimes through friends of the arrestee as witnesses, then the case would be referred to either a military or civilian court.

Secretary Vance said he understood the procedure. He then asked whether it would be possible to do something towards clarifying the status of those who were under arrest to date, in order to eliminate one extremely serious source of international criticism.

The Foreign Minister replied that all of this might seem an easy matter on the face of it, but it was far from being easy in Argentina. For example, if an individual were arrested, say, in the northern region, III Army Command, it would likely as not be kept very confidential for a period of time. The government was infiltrated, and it would be necessary to take precautions so that news of the arrest did not leak out to friends and associates of the arrestee, because these people would all get away and the investigation would be frustrated. This was why the Foreign Minister sometimes had so much difficulty in tracking down names of people arrested submitted to him by various organizations -- Jewish, Catholic, Moslem -- on lists of people who might have been arrested but whose names had not been forwarded to Interior or Army in the Capital, and whose identity was being kept confidential owing to the nature of the struggle going on. This was one of the Foreign Minister's main problems in this area.

The Secretary replied that he could understand the Foreign Minister's problem. However, the fact of the matter was that the procedures described were one on-going source of problems for Argentina in world public opinion. Perhaps the Argentine government could find a way to make some quick progress in this area, which would be greatly effective toward improving public perception of Argentina.

The Foreign Minister replied that he was all too aware of his problems in the area of international relations. He was in fact having weekly meetings with the Ministry of Interior to try to get the clearest possible report as quickly as possible regarding the status of individuals under custody following their arrest. He had conceived the idea that it might be accomplished by means of special Army or Air Force couriers delivering unwritten notification, which could not be picked up by infiltrators who might alert others. He felt this might be a workable arrangement with the Ministry of Interior, and was making efforts in this direction.

The Secretary stated that, speaking as a friend, without intending to intervene in Argentina's domestic affairs, he would urge them to do something in this area, because if there was to be a change in world public opinion, some convincing

action would be necessary. A further issue that had arisen was the question of torture. The Secretary said that he knew the Argentine government was completely opposed to torture. However, stories continued to appear indicating that "some torture" occurred. Such statements might be false, but he inquired whether or not the Argentine government had been saying or doing anything of much significance about this.

The Foreign Minister stated categorically that there was no physical torture. He had himself tried to arrange interviews with individuals concerning whenever there had been allegations of torture, just as he had done in the Timerman case. Unfortunately, the organizations or representatives involved subsequently failed to make themselves sufficiently heard by the media regarding their findings. The Foreign Minister explained that he was convinced that a statement by the government denying torture or clarifying matters on the basis of these direct interviews would only be seen by the public as biased evasive attempts on the part of the government to wash its hands of the problem. His hope was that the organizations concerned, once having ascertained that torture had not been employed, would act as the spokesman for the government, as it were, which would be more convincing to the international public. Unfortunately, the representatives carrying out the interviews mentioned have often been rather bashful about revealing their findings.

Secretary Vance inquired as to whether the International Red Cross could be asked to make the necessary statement, saying that they had looked into a case and found that allegations of torture were unfounded. This could be of help to Argentina.

The Foreign Minister said that might be a way.

Secretary Vance indicated to the Foreign Minister that Senator Kennedy had mentioned concern about Hector Campora, granted asylum by the Mexican Embassy, and could he not be allowed to leave the country?

The Foreign Minister replied that as a friend he wished to clarify that Campora, a former President, his son, and Abal Medina, were self-exiled at the Mexican Embassy, and that long conversations had been held with the Mexican government in regard to them. President Videla had told Mexican Foreign Minister Roel that Campora, Senior, was considered to be compromised, because as former President he was seen to be responsible for the present situation in Argentina, and the Armed Forces of Argentina would not

consent to a safe conduct for Mr. Campora, Sr. Accordingly, the Foreign Minister wished to proceed in the following manner with the Mexicans: obtain safe conduct for Campora, Junior; eventually persuade the Armed Forces Junta to grant the same for Medina; subsequently, when the pschological climate was right within the Armed Forces Junta, eventually do the same for Campora, Senior. This was the way they were approaching the problem with the Mexicans.

Secretary Vance thanked the Foreign Minister, stating that with this he had covered all his points in this area. He went on to say that military cooperation and the question of international financial assistance would be based on the human rights problem. He was concerned about the future, because in the event that tangible, visible progress in the human rights field failed to materialize in a way that could be reported to the world, we would be in a situatin where we would have to vote against Argentine loans in the international financial institutions. Obviously, this would be painful to us. We wanted to vote yes. But this matter has become very serious in Congress, which has passed legislation recently that could still be amended in various ways during the year. So that, in regard to military cooperation, again if there were no progress, by October 1978 we would have to cut off all sales and training. The Secretary said that this was the last thing he would want to see happen. It would be extremely bad for our relations with Argentina. That was why he was concerned about the lack of substantial progress that would show the world that there was a basis for our telling Congress that we should lift our ban on military matters and we should vote to approve loans for Argentina.

The Foreign Minister said he understood the Secretary very clearly. At the same time, he hoped the Secretary understood his situation. He compared himself to a mattress, being buffeted from the top and from underneath. Assailed by the United States about human rights; by the Armed Forces, especially the Navy, about the lack of assistance from the United States. They saw the American position from a less enlightened viewpoint. They did not understand that the United States was not turning against Argentina, but rather that this was a particular line of policy being pursued by the USG. So they would attack the Foreign Minister, because his conception continued to be that Argentina's relations with the United States could not be allowed to deteriorate. In addition, he was pressured by the Ministry of Finance when there were reports that the United States would vote against credits for Argentina. So the Secretary could see why he felt like a mattress.

The Secretary said he understood this very clearly, and for this reason he was trying to discover with the Foreign Minister if there was not some way to do something tangible. He realized that it could not all be done overnight. But Argentina could help its own cause by demonstrating progress.

The Foreign Minister replied that at present the terrorist problem in Argentina is being cleared up rapidly, and he expressed confidence that his country's image would be quite different by October, 1978.

Secretary Vance mentioned that, when President Videla was in Washington, he had told President Carter that a large number of the detainees would be released by Christmas. He asked if the Foreign Minister thought this would happen.

The Foreign Minister replied that he hoped it would, but advised the Secretary to pose this question to President Videla himself.

Secretary Vance expressed his gratitude to the Foreign Minister for his candor in responding to his questions, thereby helping him to understand the problems involved. He tried himself to speak frankly as a friend, and shared the Foreign Minister's view that U.S.-Argentine relations were extremely important.

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PAGE 01 STATE 279768
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 HA-05 SSO-00 /035 R

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON
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TO AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] STATE 279768

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: WHEREABOUTS OF MRS. ALFREDO FORTI

REF: CARACAS 11304

MRS. FORTI'S NAME IS INCLUDED ON LIST. EMBASSY IS AWARE OF DETAILS OF HER CASE. HABIB

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08813 01 OF 02 220435Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 FEA-01 ACDA-12 IO-14
EB-08 NRC-07 OES-07 ERDA-07 HA-05 COME-00 TRSE-00
SNM-05 DEAE-00 JUSE-00 AID-05 PC-05 MCT-01 SAB-02
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8813

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: MNUC, PARM, TECH, SHUM, ETRD, AR
SUBJECT: U.S.-ARGENTINA COMMUNIQUE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN BUENOS AIRES TODAY AT THE CONCLUSION OF SECRETARY'S VISIT. EMBASSY BRAZILIA SHOULD DELIVER COPY ASAP TO APPROPRIATE GOB OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH NUCLEAR ISSUES. FULL TEXT FOLLOWS:

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE ARGENTINE REPLUBLIC AND THE UNITED STATES NOVEMBER 21, 1977, BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA.

1. THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, MR. CYRUS VANCE, VISITED THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES AT THE INVITATION EXTENDED BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF ARGENTINA, LT. GEN. JORGE RAFAEL VIDELA, AT HIS MEETING IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON LAST SEPTEMBER WITH HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MR. JIMMY CARTER.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08813 01 OF 02 220435Z

Case Number: 200000044

2. DURING THE COURSE OF HIS VISIT SECRETARY VANCE WAS RECEIVED BY THEIR EXCELLENCIES, MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY JUNTA LT. GEN. JORGE RAFAEL VIDELA, PRESIDENT OF THE NATION AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY, BY ADMIRAL EMILIO EDUARDO MASSERA, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE NAVY, AND BY BRIG. GEN. ORLANDO RAMON AGOSTI, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE AIR FOCE, IN SEPARATE MEETINGS.

3. IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WORSHIP, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, VICE ADMIRAL OSCAR ANTONIO MONTES, HELD CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE; THERE ALSO WERE WORKING SESSIONS IN WHICH MEMBERS OF THE VISITING DELEGATION, THEARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND OTHER STATE AGENCIES PARTICIPATED.

4. DURING THE COURSE OF THESE MEETINGS THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF IDEAS WITH REGARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION BEING PAID TO THE ROLE OF LATIN AMERICA IN THE WORLD.

5. BOTH GOVERNMENTS EXPRESSED THEIR FIRM DETERMINATION TO PROMOTE A FRUITFUL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

6. THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE EXCHANGED VIEWED ON IMPORTANT ISSUES IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD. THERE WAS WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION OF THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND EXISTING PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD OF TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR TECHNLOGY IN ADVANCING THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, AND OF THE SHARED INTEREST IN MEASURES TO PREVENET ALL FORMS OF PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, INCLUDING THE BEARING OF THESE EFFORTS ON HEMISPHERIC SECURITY.

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7. THEY DISCUSSED FUTURE COOPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR INTEREST IN INCREASING THE PRESENT COOPERATION AND ENLARGING THE SCOPE OF THEIR EXISTING AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION TO INCLUDE RELEVANT TECHNOLOGY AND WAYS OF MEETING ARGENTINA'S HEAVY WATER NEEDS AS WELL AS PROVISION OF FUEL TO BE USED IN THE RESEARCH REACTORS THAT ARGENTINA HAS PROPOSED TO EXPORT TO PERU, RECOGNIZING ARGENTINA'S POTENTIAL AS A

SIGNIFICANT NUCLEAR SUPPLIER ON THE SAME BASIS AS OTHER SUPPLIERS.

8. EACH SIDE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT THE RECENT LAUNCHING OF AN INTERNATIONAL FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION, TO WHICH BOTH PLAN TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONTIBUTIONS OF SCIENTIFIC TALENT AND EFFORT. CONFIDNECE WAS EXPRESSED THAT THIS BROADLY-BASED INTERNATIONAL STUDY WOULD CONTIBUTE TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF HOW NUCLEAR ENERGY NEEDS CAN BE MET IN WAYS THAT MINIMIZE THE RISK OF PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

9. THE U.S. REITERATED ITS COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO HALT THE VERTICAL PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SECRETARY VANCE NOTED RECENT ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS IN SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND IN NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY.

10. MINISTER MONTES DECLARED THE INTENTION OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO RATIFY THE TREATY FOR THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA. SECRETARY VANCE WELCOMED THIS ARGENTINE ANNOUNCEMENT, NOTING THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD PREVIOUSLY RATIFIED ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL II TO THE TREATY. SECRETARY VANCE DECLARED THE INTENTION OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO RATIFY ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL I TO THAT TREATY.

11. MINISTER MONTES AND SECRETARY VANCE EXPRESSED JOINT SUPPORT FOR THE TREATY'S GOAL OF CREATIING A ZONE FOREVER UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 08813 01 OF 02 220435Z

FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND FOR THE OBJECTIVE OF BRINING THE TREATY AND ITS PROTOCOLS INTO FULL FORCE FOR ALL OF LATIN AMERICA. THEY TRUST THAT ALL STATES WHOSE ACTIONS ARE NEEDED WILL PROMPTLY TAKE TO REMAINING STEPS TO ACHIEVE THIS END.

12. THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS DEALT WITH AT LENGTH. BOTH SIDE S AGREED THAT THE PROTECTION AND ENHANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES IS A MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL GOVERNMENTS WHICH ADHERE TO THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THEY AFFIRMED THAT RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON AND FOR THE RULE OF LAW ARE ESSENTIAL FOR GOVERNMENTS TO BE ABLE TO ASSURE

Case Number: 200000044

TO THEIR PEOPLE THE FULL ENJOYMENT OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08813 02 OF 02 220440Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 FEA-01 ACDA-12 IO-14
EB-08 NRC-07 OES-07 ERDA-07 MCT-01 HA-05 SAB-02
COME-00 TRSE-00 SNM-05 DEAE-00 JUSE-00 AID-05
PC-05 /131 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3340
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8813

13. THERE WAS ALSO AN EVALUATION OF THE IMPACT CAUSED BY THE LATEST OUTBREAK OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD. BOTH PARTIES FIRMLY REPUDIATED TERRORIST ACTIONS AND AGREED ON THE NECESSITY OF MULTILATERAL COOPERATION IN THIS AREA.

14. THEY AGREED TO PROVIDE THEIR FULL SUPPORT, COOPERATION AND ENDORSEMENT OF THE IMPORTANT WORK OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, NOTING THE DESIRABILITY OF STRENGHTENING THE COMMISSION THROUGH THE EFFECTIVE APPLICATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS APPROVED BY THE O.A.S. GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN GRENADA. BOTH SIDES TRUST THAT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT, IN MAKING EVALUATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS, THE INFLUENCE WHICH TERRORISM AND SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL INJUSTICE HAVE ON THE FULL ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A COUNTRY.

15. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SPIRIT WHICH INSPIRED THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, THE

Case Number: 200000044

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08813 02 OF 02 220440Z

TWO PARTIES EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT JUST SOLUTIONS WILL BE REACHED IN OTHER HEMISPHERIC QUESTIONS. IN THE SAME SPIRIT, BOTH PARTIES VIEW WITH SATISFACTION THE CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT A JUST RESOLUTION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY DISPUTE EXISISTING BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

16. ENCOURAGED BY THE EXPANSION IN BILATERAL TRADE WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE IN RECENT MONTHS, THE TWO PARTIES AFFIRMED THEIR DECISION AND COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVE A BROAD AND SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN TRADE BY BOTH SIDES. THE TWO PARTIES EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT THE MEETING OF THE MIXED COMMISSION WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE EARLY IN 1978 WILL FIND MEANS TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE. THE COMMISSION WILL ALSO CONSIDER OTHER SUBJECTS OF COOPERATION IN THE BILATERAL AS WELL AS THE MULTILATERAL FIELD.

17. CONSIDERING THAT CERTAIN AREAS OF THIS HEMISPHERE HAVE NOT YET ACHIEVED A SATISFACTORY LEVEL OF NUTRITION, THE TWO PARTIES AGREED TO COOPERATE IN STUDYING AND DEVELOPING MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE SITUATION TRHOUGH THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNIQUES FOR THE PRODUCTION, PROCESSING AND DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD TO THE AFFECTED AREAS. THEY AGREED THAT OFFICIALS OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD MEET SOON TO DISCUSS USEFUL FORMS OF COLLABORATION. IN THIS WAY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL WORK TOWARD MEETING HUMAN NEEDS AND IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

18. THEY AGREED ON THE NEED FOR INCREASING COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENT IN CURBING THE ILLEGAL TRAFFICKING IN NARCOTICS AND IN IMPROVING DRUG
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 08813 02 OF 02 220440Z

REHABILITATION PROGRAMS. IN SO DOING, THEY REAFFIRMED THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDESTANDING OF 1972 WHICH RELATES TO

Case Number: 200000044

THE INTERDICTION OF ILLEGAL TRAFFICKING IN NARCOTICS.

19. FINALLY, THE PARTIES REITERATED THE FAITH OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS IN THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES UNDER WHICH BOTH NATIONS WERE FOUNDED AND ARE SUSTAINED: EQUALITY, JUSTICE, AND FULL ENJOYMENT OF LIBERTY. BUENOS AIRES, NOVEMBER 21, 1977.
CASTRO

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11/22/77

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 279357
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 /020 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)
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R 221530Z NOV 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 279357

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF MARIA CRISTINA LOPEZ GUERRA

DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN APPROACHED BY MR. AND MRS. LOPEZ GUERRA CONCERNING THEIR DAUGHTER, MARIA CRISTINA LOPEZ GUERRA, WHO DISAPPEARED IN ARGENTINA. (THE MOTHER AND FATHER ARE NOW U.S. RESIDENT ALIENS.)

A. NAME: MARIA CRISTINA LOPEZ GUERRA
B. AGE 21
C. IDENTITY NO. 7490828
D. CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISAPPEARANCE: MARIA CRISTINA WAS TAKEN FROM HER HOME AT CALLE NICARAGUA 10345, KILOMETER 22.6, RUTA 8 DEL PARTIDO DE 3 DE FEBRERO, B.A. ON JULY 26, 1976. SHE WAS ARRESTED TOGETHER WITH HER HUSBAND, MARTIN BELAUSTEGUI HERRERA, AND WAS 3 MONTHS PREGNANT AT THE TIME OF ARREST. THE PARENTS PRESENTED WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS FOR HER, BUT HAVE HAD NO RESPONSE.

ACTION REQUESTED: PRESENT CASE TO FOWG. HABIB
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PAGE 02 STATE 279357

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

UNCLASSIFIED

H105

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release ___Excise ___Deny ✓Declass
Exemption(s) B1, B3

No. 32, November 22, 1977

LATIN AMERICA

Chile

Embassy Takes Issue With UN Draft on Chilean Rights Situation. Embassy Santiago disagrees with the judgment of the drafters of the Chile Resolution at the UNGA to the effect that "the system of violation of human rights has now become institutionalized," and "there have been no significant changes leading to the restoration and safeguarding of human rights in Chile." The Embassy considers that while Chile appeared to have been on the verge of institutionalizing repression in 1975 and 1976, there is evidence that the government is now attempting to reverse that trend. The Embassy maintains that the abolition of the Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA) and the establishment of the Center for National Intelligence (CNI) is more than a cosmetic change. In this regard, a usually reliable clandestine source reports that:

--the nefarious Manuel Contreras has been ousted from the DINA/CNI directorship;

--CNI personnel cutbacks of approximately 20 percent are being initiated; and

--the requested resignations of most of the organization's colonels and lieutenant colonels have been accepted.

The Embassy reports that the European Common Market ambassadors in Santiago and the Embassy have concluded in separate studies that the performance of the Chilean security forces has improved in 1977:

--some 4,000 political prisoners have been released--leaving less than 300 in custody, some of whom are, in fact, convicted terrorists;

--there has been a sharp reduction in reports of disappearances--only 5-7 cases this year as opposed to 100 in 1976;

--ICRC estimates of instances of torture are down significantly; and

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to ___
Date 12/4/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

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--military courts now question "evidence" submitted by security forces and not infrequently dismiss the case. (CONFIDENTIAL, Santiago 9288, November 15; CONFIDENTIAL, STADIS, LIMDIS, Santiago 9303, November 15;

INR Comment: A number of Chilean leaders are convinced that if they are to get on with their primary task of developing the nation, Chile's human rights reputation must be changed. They recognize that cosmetic changes will not suffice at a time when Chile is under intense international scrutiny. President Pinochet appears to be listening to them. (CONFIDENTIAL)

El Salvador

Pressures on Romero From the Left, the Right, and the North. Embassy San Salvador reports three recent incidents which have tested President Romero's resolve to maintain a moderate course on human rights:

--the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) seized the Ministry of Labor and held the Ministers of Labor and Economy and over 100 employees for two days;

--a "lock-in" at a US-owned factory held the American managers and some 450 local employees captive for a day; and

--a prominent businessman was shot to death during an attempted kidnapping.

Security forces acted with prudence and restraint in the already tense atmosphere. According to the Embassy, there is a general belief that Romero chose moderation out of deference to the human rights aspect of El Salvador's relationship with the US. There is strong evidence, however, that his posture may also reflect a genuine concern for the welfare of the impoverished lower classes, since two of the incidents revolved around labor and wage issues. The political right and the business community, on the other hand, see a steadily worsening trend toward anarchy which they attribute to US human rights pressures on Romero.

On November 15, both morning papers in San Salvador carried a full-page open letter to Assistant Secretary Todman, stating that El Salvador is under systematic

terrorist attack. The letter claimed that government authorities have not taken measures to protect the life of the nation and its citizens because they fear that the US would impose sanctions. It called on Todman to declare that the US recognizes the government's right to take action "during a public emergency." The letter was signed by the Salvadorean League for Human Rights--a "paper organization" created by the Salvadorean Association of Industrialists. (CONFIDENTIAL, San Salvador 5236 and 5272, November 15; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, San Salvador 5279, November 16)

INR Comment: Romero has often been quoted as hoping to demonstrate to the US that it is the extreme left, rather than the government, which violates human rights in El Salvador. The prudence and restraint with which the government's security forces have acted in the five months since he took office, and especially during the current tense situation, lend credence to his assertion. (CONFIDENTIAL)

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

South Korea

No Progress on Prisoner Release Talks. Negotiations between South Korean Christian leaders and KCIA officials for the release of political prisoners did not go well this past week. [redacted]

Embassy Seoul reports that although the talks have lost momentum, they are continuing. (CONFIDENTIAL, Seoul 9711 and 1977, November 16 and 18, respectively;

Thailand

Thammasat Detainees Permitted Legal Counsel. In one of its last announcements before appointing the interim government on November 12, the Revolutionary Party modified the military court act to permit legal counsel for 18 persons arrested during the rioting at Thammasat University in October 1976. They apparently still will not have the right to appeal a guilty verdict. A Bangkok attorney who had been providing informal legal advice to the "Thammasat 18" expects

to represent them in court when the trial resumes November 17. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Bangkok 29285, November 15)

EUROPE

Romania

Goma in Paris. Paul Goma, noted author and leader of a short-lived Romanian dissident "movement," has arrived in Paris with his family on a one-year tourist visa. (UNCLASSIFIED, Washington Post, November 21)

INR Comment: Goma's departure from Romania was not unexpected. His fellow dissidents had gone into exile or been isolated by the regime. Goma, himself, was reported to be demoralized and ready to leave. The regime was more than willing to see him go. The question now is whether he will want, or be permitted, to return. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Bangladesh

CBS Rights Report Seen As "Nonsense." Embassy Dacca describes as "nonsense" statements made in a November 10 CBS Radio report on human rights in Bangladesh. The Embassy comments on the CBS claims (in quotes) as follows:

--"the free press has been muzzled" - the press is freer than under Mujib's regime;

--"all opposition leaders have been arrested" - there are opposition leaders in jail, most of whom were arrested by the previous regime; about 2,000 political detainees have been released in the past year (including 830 on November 7);

--"there are between 30,000 and 60,000 political prisoners" - while the Embassy does not have precise figures, it considers that these (also used by Amnesty International) are absurd, and estimates the number of political detainees at several thousand;

--"secret trials and executions are being held" - the courts martial of military personnel charged with

the September/October mutinies and the executions of at least 37 were not secret, nor is there any evidence of such treatment of civilian detainees. (CONFIDENTIAL, Dacca 6513, November 11)

INR Comment: Over the past year, the Zia regime has taken various steps to improve its rights reputation. Most recently, it abolished part of the martial law administrative structure and extended civilian authority in legal affairs. The regime undoubtedly resents criticism of the executions, however. It considers that the mutinies and coup attempt, which clearly demonstrated the country's fragility, justified the court martial process and the stern measures taken against the military dissidents. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Nepal

Koirala Expected to Face Charges. Embassy Kathmandu reports general local agreement that opposition leader and former Prime Minister B. P. Koirala will be tried on at least some of the seven charges pending against him, all of which carry the death penalty. Koirala was remanded to judicial custody upon his recent return to Nepal after spending five months abroad--most of it in the US for medical treatment. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Kathmandu 4938, November 14)

INR Comment: That Koirala is again under detention is no surprise. Efforts toward a compromise between him and the King which would promote political reforms have been continuing, however. The outcome of these negotiations is likely to affect the punishment Koirala receives. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Pakistan

Regime Charged With Rights Abuses. A British pro-South Africa interest group has charged Pakistan's "self-appointed military regime" with the arrest of four newspaper editors and the death of a fifth editor from brain hemorrhage "shortly after the same army authorities had closed his newspaper." The group's November 18 half-page paid advertisement in the Washington Post questioned the "double standard" of the US Congress in taking South Africa to task for human rights violations while abuses of the press in Pakistan, Turkey, Africa, and Communist countries pass without comment.

Reuter reported on November 15 that former Prime Minister Bhutto's wife also accused General Zia's government of rights violations:

--arresting thousands of Pakistan Peoples' Party supporters;

--flogging prisoners outside Bhutto's Lahore jail cell;

--torturing a prisoner with electric shocks. (UNCLASSIFIED, Washington Post, November 18 and Reuter, November 15)

INR Comment: The British group presumably was more interested in helping South Africa than in accurately reporting abuses elsewhere. According to Embassy Islamabad, the four editors were released after having been detained briefly. We know of no other media representatives presently in prison. Although the advertisement in the Post implies a connection between the closure of a fifth newspaper and the death of its editor, we have no reason to believe that the editor, who was not imprisoned, died from other than natural causes. The newspapers in question have been allowed to resume publication.

Some of Mrs. Bhutto's accusations may be partly true. Zia has arrested some of Bhutto's party workers, particularly in connection with alleged railway sabotage in Sind. Sentences of flogging are commonly awarded in Pakistan and at least some have been carried out. We are not aware, however, of any other allegations of prisoner torture under the martial law regime. It is generally conceded that human rights were abused far more severely under Bhutto than they are now. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED 11/23/77 Page: 1
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS08872 Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08872 231929Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 H-02 /022 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3374

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8872

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: U.S. INTEREST HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

REF: A) BA-7666, B) BA-8459

1. EMBASSY PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING CASES TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) ON NOVEMBER 11 AND 18, 1977:

CASE NO.	NAME	US INTEREST	STATUS
162/77/11	HAGELIN, DAGMAR	5 CONGRESSMEN	(DISAP.)
162A/77/11	FRIAS, EDITH STAHELLI DE	AMER. FRIENDS S.C.	(DETAINED)
163/77/11	GASPARINI, OSVALDO	"	"
164/77/11	GRUTSKY, EDUARDO	"	"
165/77/11	GONZALEZ, EDURDO	"	"
166/77/11	GONZALEZ, JUAN	"	"
167/77/11	PIOLI, SUSANA	"	"
168/77/11	PIAZZA, RUBEN ORLANDO	"	"
169/77/11	VARELA, JULIO	"	"
170/77/11	LAJMANOVICH, TERESA	DOS/HA	(DISAP.)
171/77/11	ARGUELLO, MARTA	CONG. YATRON	(DISAP.)
172/77/11	BOLLINO, ANGELA DE	"	(DISAPP.)
173/77/11	COLASKI, ALBERTO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
174/77/11	CORDERO, JULIO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
175/77/11	DEL CARPIO, JORGE	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08872 231929Z

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED Page: 1

Case Number: 200000044

176/77/11	DUNDA, DIEGO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
177/77/11	CAPARROS, ANTONIA	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
178/77/11	LUNA, GERARDO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
179/77/11	MASCIO, ANA MARIA	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
180/77/11	MOLINA, RAUL MATEO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
181/77/11	RANELA, ADRIANA	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
182/77/11	SALAMANCA, RENEE RUFINO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
183/77/11	TANGENTO, HUGO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
184/77/11	TORRES, OSVALDO	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
185/77/11	URANGA, ALICIA DE	CONG. YATRON	(DISAPP.)
186/77/11	WALSH, RODOLFO	CONG. SABLOCKI	(DISAPP.)

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08892 232314Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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USIA-06 IO-13 TRSE-00 MCT-01 HA-05 EB-08 /088 W
----------097321 240816Z /14

R 232050Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3384

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8892

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT RADICAL PARTY MEMBERS ARRESTED IN CORDOBA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

SUMMARY: A RADICAL PARTY BARBECUE IN CORDOBA, WHICH ENDED IN A MASS ARREST OF PARTICIPANTS DEMONSTRATES THE METHODS DEVELOPED BY THE ESTABLISHED POLITICAL PARTIES TO KEEP ALIVE DURING THE CURRENT PERIOD OF SUSPENSION OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. SUCH ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN LOW KEY THUS FAR AND OLD TIME PARTY POLITICIANS REMAIN BASICALLY DEMORALIZED, ESSENTIALLY FOLLOWING AND NOT INFLUENCING GOVERNMENT PLANS AND TIMETABLES FOR A POLITICAL OPENING. WHAT COULD ACCELERATE THE PACE OF POLITICAL EVENTS (AS WELL AS COMPLICATING THE TRANSITION PROCESS), HOWEVER, IS JUNTA MEMBER ADMIRAL MASSERAS LATEST POLITICAL MOVES. END SUMMARY.

1. EIGHTY FOUR YOUNG RADICAL PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS, INCLUDING FORMER NATIONAL DEPUTY CARLOS BECERRA, WERE ARRESTED AT UCRP OFFICES IN CORDOBA DURING A BARBECUE LAST WEEKEND. ACCORDING TO NEWS REPORTS, THE DETAINESS WERE TAKEN IN ARMY TRUCKS TO CORDOBA POLICE HEADQUARTERS AND THEY WERE SCHEDULED TO BROUGHT BEFORE A JUDGE YESTERDAY (NOVEMBER 22).
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08892 232314Z

2. POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITIES HAVE BEEN BANNED SINCE THE

MILITARY JUNTA TOOK POWER 20 MONTHS AGO, BUT IMPLEMENTATION IS SUBJECT TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ARMY CORPS COMMANDER OR OTHER MILITARY AUTHORITY IN EACH AREA AS TO WHAT CONSTITUTES "PARTY ACTIVITY". LARGE BARBECUE FETES ARE OCCASIONALLY ORGANIZED TO CIRCUMVENT THE BAN AGAINST POLITICAL PARTY AND TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES AND FROM TIME TO TIME WE HAVE HEARD OF BIRTHDAY OR ANNIVERSARY PARTIES IN SUCH CITIES AS ROSARIO AND CORDOBA WHICH HAVE SERVED AS COVER FOR POLITICAL PARTY CRONIES TO GET TOGETHER AND TALK.. IN SOME CITIES, LOCAL AUTHORITIES HAVE ALLOWED SUCH HARMLESS ACTIVITY TO PASS WITHOUT OFFICIAL NOTICE. HOWEVER, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS RECENTLY DISSUADED PERONIST PARTY LEADERS FROM SCHEDULING A DINNER WHICH WAS INTENDED TO BRING DIPARATE ELEMENTS OF THE MOVEMENT TOGETHER AND TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE.

3. THE PRESENT CASE MAY MARK THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT TOOK POWER THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAVE BUSTED UP SUCH A GET TOGETHER WHILE IT WAS IN SESSION. WE HAVE SCANT INFORMATION ABOUT THIS PARITCULAR EVENT, BUT WHAT MAY HAVE MADE THE DIFFERENCE IN THIS CASE WAS ITS YOUTH ANGLE. ACCORDING TO ONE NEWS REPORT, THIS BARBECUE WAS INTENDED TO KICK OFF A POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT IN UNIVERSITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. UCRP SOURCES TELL US THAT THE PARTY YOUTH MOVEMENT IS STILL INTACT AND OCCASIONALLY ABLE TO CONDUCT BULL SESSIONS IN THE UNIVERSITIES. ALSO, UCRP YOUTH WING EVIDENTLY MAINTAINS CONTACT WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY YOUTH MOVEMENT OF WESTERN EUROPE. OUR GUESS IS THAT THE UCRP YOUTH WING CONSTITUTES A MAJOR UNDERPINNING OF THE RADICAL PARTY'S(RELATIVELY MODERATE) LEFT WING, AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES PROBABLY VIEW THE UCRP YOUTH WARILY AS POTENTIAL AGENTS OF SUBVERSION, WHICH MAY EXPLAIN THE RECENT INCIDENT IN CORDOBA.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 08892 232314Z

THE ARREST MAY ALSO BE RELATED TO A STATEMENT ISSUED TO THE PRESS BY UCRP CHIEF BALBIN (SEE PARAGRAPH 5 BELOW).

4. WHILE THERE THUS MAY BE SPECIAL ANGLE TO THE CORDOBA ARRESTS, POLITICAL PARTY BARBECUES AND OCCASIONAL ISSUANCE OF STATEMENTS HAVE NOW BECOME PART OF THE LANDSCAPE, ALTHOUGH THE PROMOTERS CAN NEVER BE QUITE SURE HOW THE GOVERNMENT WILL REACT UNTIL AFTER THE EVENT. FROM TIME TO TIME, PROMINENT POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS CIRCULATE TO GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND THE PRESS STATEMENTS CONTAINING THEIR ANALYSES OF

THE CURRENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION WHICH THEY BILL AS REPRESENTING THEIR CONTIBUTION TO PRESIDENT VIDELAS CALL FOR A DIALOGUE. UNDER THE CURRENT RULES OF THE GAME THE AUTHORS SIGN THEIR NAMES AS INDIVIDUALS AND NOT AS MEMBERS OF ANY GIVEN POLITICAL PARTY, ALTHOUGH IT IS WELL UNDERSTOOD BY ALL THAT SUCH CONTRIBUTIONS ARE INTENDED AS PARTY DOCUMENTS. EMBASSY RECENTLY FORWARDED COPIES (B.A. A-139) OF A TYPICAL DOCUMENT EMITTED BY ANTIVERTICALIST PERONISTS AT THE TIME OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN'S VISIT LAST AUGUST.WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NATION LAST WEEK PERSUADED PERONIST LEADERS TO DELAY THEIR RELEASE OF ANOTHER STATEMENT SO AS NOT TO COMPLICATE THE VISIT OF SECRETARY VANCE. RADICAL PARTY LEADERS ALSO DISTRIBUTED A DOCUMENT RECENTLY CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY. AT TIMES, EXCERPTS OR SYNOPSES OF SUCH DOCUMENTS ARE REPORTED IN THE PRESS. MANY TIMES THEY ARE NOT.

5. RICARDO BALBIN, PRESIDENT OF THE UCRP NATIONAL COMMITTEE, HAD AN INTERVIEW WITH A NEWSPAPER IN MENDOZA LAST WEEK IN WHICH HE ISSUED SOME OF THE MOST POINTED PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS MADE BY A CIVILIAN POLITICAL FIGURE SINCE MARCH 1976. BALBIN WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE YOUTH OF THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR THE TIME THEY ARE CALLED UPON TO VOTE. NOBODY WAS DEMANDING AN IMMEDIATE RETURN TO THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, SAID BALBIN, BUT THE NATION, ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG, SHOULD BE CIVICALLY PREPARED FOR THE TIME THEY ASSUME THE RESPONSIBLITY OF GUIDING THE NATION.

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 08892 232314Z

6. THE OCCASIONAL BARBECUES AND STATEMENTS ARE INTENDED AS A REMINDER TO THE PARTY FAITHFUL AND GOVERNMENT THAT THE OLD POLITICAL PARTIES ARE NOT DEAD. THE POLITICAL LEADERS ALSO HOPE THEREBY TO INFLUENCE GOVERNMENT POLICY AND PERHAPS EVEN TO UNDERSCORE THEIR AVAILABLITY FOR GOVERNMENT JOBS WHENEVER THE HOPED FOR POLITICAL OPENING COMMENCES. THE TONE OF SUCH POLITICAL STATEMENTS SO FAR HAS BEEN GENERALLY VERY LOW KEY, WITH BALBINS REMARKS PERHAPS BEING SOMEWHAT OF A DEPARTURE FROM THE NORM. THE PREVAILING MOOD AMONG THE PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS, AT LEAST IN BUENOS AIRES, REMAINS QUITE GLOOMY ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF NORMAL CIVILIAN POLITICS. THE BASIC POSTURE AMONG OLDTIME PARTY LEADERS IS STILL ONE OF CAUTION AND AVOIDING A CONFRONTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THE POLITICAL PROS ESSENTIALLY ARE STILL WAITING FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND GIVE THEM

Case Number: 200000044

THE SIGNAL WHEN AND WHAT KIND OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS PERMISSIBLE. IN THIS CONTEXT, A CLOSE WATCH MUST BE KEPT ON THE SIGNALS BEING EMITTED BY ADMIRAL MASSERA (SEE BUENOS AIRES 8752). IF MASSERAS POLITICAL MOVES BECOME MORE BLATANT, THEY COULD ENCOURAGE GREATER AUDACITY ON THE PART OF THE POLITICIANS.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08893 232144Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3385
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8893

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS) SOPN, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL REACTS STRONGLY AGAINST U.S. CORRESPONDENTS

1. IN A HIGHLY UNUSUAL MOVE, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PRESS SECRETARY CALLED IN THE USIS PRESS OFFICER ONLY HOURS AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF SECRETARY VANCE TO ACCUSE CORRESPONDENTS KAREN DEYOUNG, WASHINGTON POST AND JUAN DE ONIS, NY TIMES, OF PUBLISHING STORIES ON THE DAY OF SECRETARY VANCE'S ARRIVAL WITH THE INTENTION OF DISRUPTING ARGENTINE-U.S. RELATIONS. THE SPOKESMAN SAID SEVERAL TIMES DURING THE HOUR AND 15 MINUTE LONG SERIES OF FULMINATIONS AGAINST THE CORRESPONDENTS THAT HE WAS ACTING ON HIS OWN AND THAT HE WAS NOT MAKING AN OFFICIAL PROTEST ON THE PART OF THE GOA.

2. THE SPOKESMAN, NAVY CAPTAIN ROBERTO PEREZ FROIO SAID HE HAD JUST RENEWED JUAN DE ONIS' VISA "IN SPITE OF MILITARY PRESSURE TO DENY IT". HE ADDED THAT THE MILITARY HAS "CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF HIS (ONIS') LINKS WITH LEFTIST GUERRILLAS". THE USIS PRESS OFFICER ASKED WHAT THE MINISTRY

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WAS GOING TO DO ABOUT THE ARTICLES AND PEREZ FROIO SAID THAT HE HAD CALLED DE ONIS IN YESTERDAY (MONDAY) AND THEY WOULD "TALK AGAIN" WHEN ONIS RETURNED FROM THE VANCE TRIP. NO MENTION WAS MADE OF PLANS TO TALK TO KAREN DE YOUNG.

3. PEREZ FROIO SAID THE STORIES PUBLISHED ON THE EVE OF VANCE'S VISIT WERE PART OF A "CONSPIRACY TO UNDERMINE US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS". HE ADDED "HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT WHILE VANCE IS MEETING WITH MONTES, TODMAN WITH OTHER OFFICIALS, DERIAN WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP ALL SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A BETTER RELATIONSHIP, THESE U.S. PAPERS ARE ATTACKING ARGENTINA CALLING VIDELA AN ASSASSIN AND PUBLISHING PURE LIES". HE CHARACTERIZED THE STORIES AS "EXTREMELY DETRIMENTAL" (PERIODISMO LAPIDARIO) AND "VICIOUS". PEREZ FROIO COMPLAINED THAT THE ONLY WIREPHOTOS OF THE VISIT TO BE SENT ABROAD BY THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS AGENCIES SHOWED THE MOTHERS PROTESTING AT THE SAN MARTIN PLAZA. THIS WAS ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION OF THE "CONSPIRACY" HE SAID.

4. AN ARGENTINE CORRESPONDENT WHO COVERS THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TOLD THE USIS PRESS OFFICER JUST BEFORE HE ENTERED PEREZ FROIO'S OFFICE THAT THE PRESS CHIEF WAS "VERY DISTRUBED" AND HAD BEEN CALLING IN LOCAL AND FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS TO COMPLAIN ABOUT THEIR COVERAGE OF THE VANCE VISIT AND OTHER EVENTS. THIS CORRESPONDENT ADDED THAT HE DIDN'T THINK PEREZ FROIO HAD ANY RIGHT TO DO THIS ASKING "WHO DOES HE THINK HE IS?"

5. COMMENT: DESPITE HIS DISCLAIMERS THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS PEREZ FROIO WAS ACTING ON ORDERS FROM HIS SUPERIORS IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. THE INCIDENT MARKED THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE MILITARY TAKEOVER THAT AN INFORMATION OFFICIAL OF THE GOA HAS [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 08893 232144Z

MADE THIS UNUSUAL COMPLAINT TO AM EMBASSY OFFICER. PEREZ FROIO WAS NOT EXPLICIT IN JUST WHAT IT WAS HE EXPECTED PRESS OFFIVER TO DO WITH THE INFORMATION GIVEN, MAKING ABUNDANTLY CLEAR ONLY THAT PEREZ FROIO WAS ANGRY WITH CORRESPONDENTS WHO IN HIS VIEW WERE "DAMAGING BILATERAL RELATIONS." THE PRESS OFFICER EXPLAINED SEVERAL TIMES THAT FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IS A REALITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THAT THE MEDIA ARE IN NO WAY UNDER USG CONTROL.

Case Number: 200000044

6. EMBASSY SUBSEQUENTLY RAISED THIS MATTER WITH ESPECHE GIL, HEAD OF NORTH AMERICAN DEPARTMENT AT MFA, FOR CLARIFICATION OF PEREZ FROIO'S INTENT AND AN EXPLANATION OF WHY THE DEMARCHE WAS MADE. ESPECHE GIL PROMISED A REPLY BY THE END OF THE WEEK.
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PAGE 01 STATE 282679
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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SS-15 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 AID-05 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /086 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/AND:CH:RSSTEVEN
APPROVED BY ARA:FMCNEIL
ARA/AND:MRBARNEBEY
ARA/RPP:TBOWIE
HA:KHILL

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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] STATE 282679

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, LAB, CI

SUBJECT: BANISHMENT OF CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS

REFERENCE: A) SANTIAGO 9556; B) STATE 281156

1. IT APPEARS THAT GOC MAY BE ENTERING NEW PHASE IN WHICH IT MAY BE LASHING OUT IN FRUSTRATION AND ANGER WITH SUCH MEASURES AS EXPULSIONS, DETENTIONS, AND HARSH STATEMENTS. THIS EXPLANATION OF GOC ACTIONS (I.E. MILITARY DECISION MAKING IN SANTIAGO) HAS BEEN EXPRESSED TO US PRIVATELY BY [redacted]

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PAGE 02 STATE 282679

CHILEAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON SOURCES (PROTECT).

2. WE RECOGNIZE THAT YOU HAVE JUST BEEN INSTRUCTED TO

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[redacted]XPRESS OUR CONCERN TO THE GOC OVER THE EXPULSION OF THE THREE WIVES OF DISAPPEARED CHILEANS (REFTEL B), AND MAY HAVE CARRIED OUT THE INSTRUCTION BY THE TIME THIS MESSAGE REACHES YOU. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT USG CONCERN OVER THE DETENTION AND BANISHMENT OF LABOR LEADERS TO DOMESTIC EXILE BE CONVEYED QUICKLY AND FORCEFULLY TO A HIGH LEVEL IN THE GOC IN SANTIAGO THROUGH WHATEVER CHANNEL YOU CONSIDER MOST APPROPRIATE. WE WISH TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE GOC THAT IT IS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS SUCH AS THESE WHICH HAVE BROUGHT OUR RELATIONS TO THEIR PRESENT DIFFICULT STATE, AND URGE THE GOC NOT TO PERMIT ACTIONS OF THIS NATURE TO CAUSE FURTHER STRAINS.

3. FYI LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION SOURCES HAVE INFORMED US THAT THE CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS FREZ AND LATUZ, WHO ARE ATTENDING CLAT MEETING IN SAN JOSE, ARE DETERMINED TO RETURN TO CHILE DESPITE PROBABILITY OF ARREST AND INTERNAL EXILE. WE UNDERSTAND THEY INTEND ARRIVE SANTIAGO ON BRANIFF 911 TUESDAY (NOVEMBER 29). EMBASSY SANTIAGO SHOULD SEND OFFICER TO AIRPORT TO OBSERVE ARRIVAL.

4. YOUR 9571 JUST RECEIVED. WHILE PROSPECT FOR A HELPFUL RESPONSE MAY BE POOR, NONETHELESS REQUEST YOU MAKE APPROACH DESCRIBED PREVIOUS PARAGRAPHS. VANCE

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PAGE 01 STATE 282679
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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

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[redacted] STATE 282679

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 282679 ACTION SANTIAGO
INFO USUN SANJOSE USCINCSO 25 NOV 77

QUOTE

[redacted] STATE 282679

(CORRECTED COPY FOR INCOMPLETE LINE PARA 2)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, LAB, CI

SUBJECT: BANISHMENT OF CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS

REFERENCE: A) SANTIAGO 9556; B) STATE 281156

1. IT APPEARS THAT GOC MAY BE ENTERING NEW PHASE IN WHICH IT MAY BE LASHING OUT IN FRUSTRATION AND ANGER WITH SUCH MEASURES AS EXPULSIONS, DETENTIONS, AND HARSH STATEMENTS. THIS EXPLANATION OF GOC ACTIONS (I.E. MILITARY DECISION [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 282679

MAKING IN SANTIAGO) HAS BEEN EXPRESSED TO US PRIVATELY BY CHILEAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON SOURCES (PROTECT).

2. WE RECOGNIZE THAT YOU HAVE JUST BEEN INSTRUCTED TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN TO THE GOC OVER THE EXPULSION OF THE THREE WIVES OF DISAPPEARED CHILEANS (REFTEL B), AND MAY HAVE CARRIED OUT THE INSTRUCTION BY THE TIME THIS MESSAGE REACHES YOU. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT USG CONCERN OVER THE DETENTION AND BANISHMENT OF LABOR LEADERS TO DOMESTIC EXILE BE CONVEYED QUICKLY AND FORCEFULLY TO A HIGH LEVEL IN THE GOC IN SANTIAGO THROUGH WHATEVER CHANNEL YOU CONSIDER MOST APPROPRIATE. WE WISH TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE GOC THAT IT IS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS SUCH AS THESE WHICH HAVE BROUGHT OUR RELATIONS TO THEIR PRESENT DIFFICULT STATE, AND URGE THE GOC NOT TO PERMIT ACTIONS OF THIS NATURE TO CAUSE FURTHER STRAINS.

3. FYI LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION SOURCES HAVE INFORMED US THAT THE CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS FREZ AND LATUZ,

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O ARE ATTENDING CLAT MEETING IN SAN JOSE, ARE DETERMINED TO RETURN TO CHILE DESPITE PROBABILITY OF ARREST AND INTERNAL EXILE. WE UNDERSTAND THEY INTEND ARRIVE SANTIAGO ON BRANIFF 911 TUESDAY (NOVEMBER 29). EMBASSY SANTIAGO SHOULD SEND OFFICER TO AIRPORT TO OBSERVE ARRIVAL.

4. YOUR 9571 JUST RECEIVED. WHILE PROSPECT FOR A HELPFUL RESPONSE MAY BE POOR, NONETHELESS REQUEST YOU MAKE APPROACH DESCRIBED PREVIOUS PARAGRAPHS. VANCE. UNQUOTE VANCE".

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EXCISE

CHRON (K604)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

B-6

Dear Mr. Dornan:

Thank you for your letter of [illegible], which transmitted an inquiry from the [illegible] family concerning the Chilean national [illegible] and the many other persons who have disappeared or been detained in Chile.

While reports of formal arrests of political dissidents and persons suspected of subversive activities have decreased sharply in the past months, the number of Chileans missing under ambiguous circumstances continues to attract worldwide attention. Estimates of the "disappeared" range from a few hundred to as many as 2500 since September 1973 and about 100 during 1976. During 1977 the number of actual and alleged disappearances has been very greatly reduced over 1976.

We have been deeply concerned about these disappearances and other evidences of human rights abuses in Chile. We continue to express our concern at every opportunity to the Chilean authorities. The Chilean Government has been urged to take immediate steps to stop the disappearances and to take every effort to account for persons who have disappeared in the past. In a great many instances we have undertaken to discuss with the Chilean authorities individual cases of concern to United States citizens and Congressmen.

The Honorable
Robert K. Dornan,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release _/Excise___Deny___Declass
Exemption(s) _B1_

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On July [illegible] President Pinochet of Chile gave a speech in which he described a process for an eventual return to elections and constitutional rule. The Central National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) was abolished and [illegible] replaced it. These are positive developments and we hope they will lead to further improvements in the observance of human rights in Chile. In that vein, we are continuing discussions with [illegible] Chilean Government.

[illegible] our inquiry in accordance with [illegible] will keep at your and your constituent's interest in this concern and as appropriate, any communications to the Chilean Government. If the [illegible] additional information we will ask that it be sent to us for further reply to you.

Finally, [illegible] point out that the International Committee of the Red Cross has responsibility for tracing detained persons and monitoring their treatment. You might suggest that your constituent write to:

Comite Internacional de la Cruz Roja
c/o Cruz Roja Chilena
Avenida Santa [illegible]
Correo 21, Casilla 246 V
Santiago, Chile Telephone: 77o134

Sincerely,

Stanley J. Seeger, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Affairs

Enclosure:

Correspondence returned.

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Clearance:
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09426 122238Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 /022 W
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R 122040Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3664

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9426

H PASS: HONORABLE GUS YATRON
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF DANIEL ANGEL ANTOKOLETZ (78/77/7)

REF: STATE 154279

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST FOR INFORMATION THE EMBASSY MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY IN JULY 1977 TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF DANIEL VICTOR ANTOKOLETZ. THE FOREIGN OFFICES WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR ANTOKILETZ, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 295885
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 NSC-05 /025 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:DVAN TREECK:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)
ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS

P B6

----------019162 121852Z /45

R 121733Z DEC 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 295885

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONAL JUAN CARLOS GONZALEZ GENTILE

1. MRS. CARTER HAS RECEIVED A LETTER FROM THE PARENTS OF JUAN CARLOS GONZALEZ GENTILE CONCERNING HIS DISAPPEARANCE. THE SON WAS "IN CHARGE OF THE WHOLE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES FOR THE PARTIDO PERONISTA AUTENTICO " ACCORDING TO THE PARENTS.

2. NAME: GONZALEZ GENTILE
FIRST NAME: JUAN CARLOS
DOB: 20 AUGUST 1946
I.D. 8.347.993
LAST HOME ADDRESS: SAN MARTIN 4378, SANTA FE, PROVINCIA DE SANTA FE, ARGENTINE
PLACE, HOUR AND DATE OF DISAPPEARANCE: BELGRANO STREET, SANTA FE, AT 9:00 A.M., 12 FEBRUARY 1977.
SECURITY FORCES WHICH WERE INVOLVED: REGIMENT OF THE CITY OF SANTA FE (PROVINCIA DE SANTA FE) BELONGING TO THE

UNCLASSIFIED

SECOND ARMY CORPS OF THE ARGENTINE ARMY.

3. WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE.

4. AS A RESULT OF THREATS TO THEIR PERSON, THE PARENTS NOW RESIDE IN BELGIUM: ROBERTO P. GONZALEZ, [redacted] BELGIUM. CHRISTOPHER

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X252

PAGE 01 BUENOS 09417 130132Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 HA-05 ISO-00 /008 W
----------022717 130156Z /63

R 121930Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3659

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9417

H PASS HONORABLE JAMES B. ALLEN
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B-6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

P
B6

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF HORACIO RAMIRO VIVAS-CEBALLOS (138/77/10)

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF SEPTEMBER 23, 1977 ON BEHALF OF [redacted] OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THE EMBASSY MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY IN OCTOBER, 1977 TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HORACIO RAMIRO VIVAS-CEBALLOS. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF MR. VIVAS-CEBALLOS.

B6

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

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[redacted]

K249

PAGE 01 STATE 295886
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /055 R

R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER (SUBS)

----------019148 121810Z /53

O 121734Z DEC 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 295886

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
~~Exemption(s):~~ _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DETENTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

1. DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN ALERTED BY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS TO THE DECEMBER 8 ARREST OF 15-25 PERSONS AT THE HOLY CROSS CHURCH WHO WERE DISCUSSING METHODS TO OBTAIN INFORMATION ABOUT RELATIVES WHO HAD DISAPPEARED.

2. IF THE EMBASSY HAS NO OVERRIDING OBJECTION, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT CONCERN OVER THE ARREST SHOULD BE COMMUNICATED TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTRY. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

SS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted]

TO: The Acting Secretary

FROM: ARA - William P. Stedman, Acting

SUBJECT: Progress on Human Rights in Argentina

Ambassador Castro, in his initial round of courtesy calls on Argentine government leaders, has received encouraging signs that the GOA may be moving to meet some of our human rights concerns. Specifically, he received assurances from Interior Minister Harguindeguy that U.S. consular officers could visit prisoners to complete preparations for right of option petitions. He was also informed by the Minister that Argentina may release some 375 prisoners in a Christmas amnesty. In addition, the Argentines have given permission for the ICRC to resume visits to prisoners in jails and military installations. These visits will be resumed on December 12.

If and when implemented, these Argentine moves might make it possible for us to reconsider our "no" votes in the IFIs and our hold up on military sales.

Drafted: ARA/ECA:JNBumpus:jp
12/12/77:x29166

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UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09415 130149Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 HA-05 ISO-00 /022 W
----------022832 130214Z /70

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B6

R 121900Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3657

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9415

H PASS HONORABLE SIDNEY R. YATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B-6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF HORACIO RAMIRO VIVAS-CEBALLOS (138/77/10)

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF OCTOBER 7, 1977 ON BEHALF OF [redacted] OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THE EMBASSY MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HORACIO RAMIRO VIVAS-CEBALLOS. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF MR. VIVAS-CEBALLOS.

B6

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

A042

[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 09420 130100Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /055 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3662
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9420

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED OF MOTHERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO AND THEIR SUPPORTERS

1. SUMMARY: IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE CONCERTED GOVERMENT ACTION, ABOUT SIXTEEN PERSONS ASSOCIATED THE "MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO" ARE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY SECURITY AUTHORITIES ON DECEMBER 8. ANOTHER WOMAN PROMINENT IN THE MOVEMENT WAS SNATCHED DECEMBER 10. THE WHEREABOUTS OF THOSE TAKEN ARE UNKNOWN. DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY HAVE BEEN ASKED TO HELP SEEK RELEASE OF THESE PERSONS. END SUMMARY.

2. SOME FIFTEEN PERSONS--BOTH WOMEN AND MEN--ASSOCIATED WITH THE "MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO" PROTEST MOVEMENT WERE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 8 FROM THE STEPS OF A CHURCH BY PERSONS WHO DESCRIBED THEMSELVES AS SECURITY OFFICERS. ON THE SAME NIGHT REMO BERARDO, AN ACTIVIST SUPPORTER OF THE MOTHERS GROUP WAS PICKED UP AT HIS HOME IN BUENOS AIRES' LA BOCA DISTRICT. EARLY SATURDAY MORNING DECEMBER 10 SEVERAL UNIDENTIFIED MEN PICKED UP MRS. ASUSANA DE VICENTI, THE MOTHER CREDITED WITH HAVING

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 09420 130100Z

ORIGINATED THE IDEA OF WEEKLY MEETINGS IN THE PLAZA DE MAYO, SOON AFTER MRS. DE VICENTI LEFT HER HOME FOR SHOPPING. REPORTEDLY

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): [redacted]
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___
DECONTROL

Case Number: S200000044

MRS. DE VICENTE STRUGGLED, BUT IN THE END WAS FORCED INTO THE ABDUCTORS VEHICLES. AS OF NOON MONDAY DECEMBER 12 NOTHING WAS KNOWN OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF ANY OF THE PERSONS TAKEN.

3. THE MOTHERS' GROUP HAD BECOME PARTICULARLY ACTIVE AS THE CHRISTMAS SEASON APPROACHED, PLANNING TWO MAJOR DEMONSTRATIONS AND PLACEMENT OF A LARGE ADVERTISEMENT IN "LA NACION," A LEADING BUENOS AIRES DAILY. THE CHURCH FROM WHICH SOME FIFTEEN PERSONS WERE TAKEN WAS ONE OF THREE POINTS IN THE CITY FOR COLLECTING SIGNATURES AND MONEY FOR THE PAID ADVERTISEMENT. IN ADDITION TO TAKING THE FIFTEEN GROUP MEMBERS, WHO HAD BEEN MEETING INSIDE THE CHURCH, "SECURITY OFFICERS" -- WHO USED SIX UNMARKED CARS FOR THEIR OPERATION -- TOOK SOME $250 COLLECTED BY THE GROUP AND A LIST OF SIGNATURES FOR THE ADVERTISEMENT. (COMMENT: THE ADVERTISEMENT DID APPEAR IN LA NACION'S DECEMBER 10 EDITION.)

4. THE PARTICULAR COLLECTION SITE AT WHICH THE ACTION TOOK PLACE -- THE CHURCH OF SANTA CRUZ-- WAS BEING MANNED BY MEMBERS OF THE "MOVIMIENTO ECUMENICO POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS" ("MEDH"), DESCRIBED AS AN ARGENTINE AFFILIATE OF THE WORLDWIDE CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION "PAZ Y JUSTICIA." ACCORDING TO THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD -- THE ONLY LOCAL NEWSPAPER TO COVER THE EVENT-- MEMBERS OF THE GROUP TAKEN INCLUDED ESTER CARRIAGA, ONE OF THE MOTHERS PROMINENTS IN THE PROTEST MOVEMENT, AND A FRENCH NUN KNOWN AS "HERMANA ALICIA." OTHER PERSONS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY AND LISTED BY THE HERALD WERE MARIA PONCE DE BLANCO, PATRICIA OVIEDO, JULIO FONEVILA, HORACIO ANIBAL ELBERT, EDUARDO GABRIEL ORANI AND RAQUEL BULIT. A FULL LIST IS NOT AVAILABLE BECAUSE OF CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ARREST-- PERSONS AT THE CHURCH WERE NOT ALL KNOWN TO ONE ANOTHER, AND IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THOSE NOT [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 09420 130100Z

TAKEN TO SAY WITH PRECISION WHICH OF THEIR NUMBER HAD BEEN GRABBED.

5. THE ABDUCTION OF REMO BERARDO HAS NOT YET BEEN REPORTED IN THE PRESS. BERARDO HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN THE "DISAPPEARANCE ISSUE" SINCE HIS OWN BROTHER'S DISAPPEARANCE IN JULY OF 1976. HE WAS A USEFUL CONTACT OF THE EMBASSY AND WAS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON DECEMBER 14.

6. ON SUNDAY DECEMBER 11 A MEMBER OF THE MOTHERS' GROUP MET WITH

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: S200000044

EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER TO REQUEST EMBASSY AND DEPARTMENT OF STATE ACTION ON BEHALF OF MISSING MOTHERS AND MEDH MEMBERS. MISS LUCIA BERARDO CALLED ON EMBASSY ON DECEMBER 12 WITH SIMILAR PLEAS FOR HER MISSING BROTHER. THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN PLAN TO SUBMIT HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS FOR DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHOSE NAMES ARE KNOWN TODAY, DECEMBER 12.

7. AMBASSADOR SEES ADMIRAL MASSERA THIS EVENING AND WILL INQUIRE WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THIS MATTER AND REGISTER OUR CONCERN. CASTRO

[redacted]

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12/12/77

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BUENOS 09416 131513Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 SCS-06 L-03 CA-01
/032 W
----------028218 131726Z /45

R 121930Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3658

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9416

H PASS HONORABLE DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B-6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF OSVALDO LA VALLE (89/77/9)

REF: STATE 175462

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR INTEREST ANDTHE CONCERN OF [redacted] B6
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, THE EMBASSY MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY IN SEPTEMBER, 1977 TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MR. OSVALDO LA VALLE. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. LA VALLE, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHERABOUTS.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 09416 131513Z

CASTRO

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO RUEHLE/USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 6031
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 9206
BT

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DECONTROL

[redacted] STATE 296542 TOSEC 120144

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part - (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM PATT DERIAN

E.O. 11652: NA

AGS: PFOR, AR

SUBJECT: ARGENTINA HUMAN RIGHTS

1. THOUGHT YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT N.Y. TIMES DEC. 11 REPORTS THAT EIGHT RELATIVES AND FORMER EMPLOYEES OF DAVID GRAIVER HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO UP TO 15 YEARS IN JAIL BY AN ARGENTINE COURT-MARTIAL, WHICH IS QUOTED AS SAYING THE PUNISHMENT IS "AN EXAMPLE OF THE PENALTIES THAT APLY TO PEOPLE WHO COLLABORATE, EVEN AGAINST THEIR WILL, WITH LEFT-WING GUERRILLA GROUPS IN ARGENTINA." (GRAIVER IS THE BANKER ACCUSED OF HAVING INVESTED MONEY ABROAD FOR GUERRILLAS, WHO WAS ALLEGEDLY KILLED IN 1976 IN AN AIR CRASH.)

2. GRAIVER'S FATHER, WIDOW, AND A BROTHER RECEIVED MAXIMUM 15 YEAR SENTENCES. HIS MOTHER WAS SENTENCED TO FOUR YEARS, THE LIGHTEST SENTENCE. ACCORDING TO THE TIMES, THE MILITARY COMMUNIQUE SHED NO FURTHER LIGHT ON THE BASIS FOR THE CHARGES, OR ON THE GROUNDS FOR CONVICTING HIS FAMILY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES.

3. ACCORDING TO THE TIMES, DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAY THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT PRESIDENT VIDELA WILL NOW BE ABLE TO ORDER THE RELEASE OF JACOBO TIMMERMAN, WHO EARLIER HAD BEEN CLEARED OF CRIMINAL CHARGES IN THE PROCEEDING.

4. TIMES ALSO STATES THAT ELSEWHERE IN BA ARMED MEN IN FIVE AUTOMOBILES RAIDED A MEETING OF RELATIVES OF MISSING PEOPLE AT THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HOLY CROSS PARISH, AND DETAINED ABOUT 25 OF THEM. PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO RAISE MONEY TO PLACE AN ADVERTISEMENT IN NEWSPAPERS WITH THE NAMES OF MISSING RELATIVES. (THESE ARE THE MOTHERS WHOSESONS AND HUSBANDS ARE MISSING, KNOWN AS THE "MAD WOMEN OF THE PLAZA DEL MAYA.")

CHRISTOPHER
BT
#6542

[redacted]

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BA-9
4-12-76

LOT 81F93
(7/7) 502/52

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

12/13/77

BB023

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TO : THE AMBASSADOR

DATE: December 13, 1977

FROM : POL:FAHarris

SUBJECT: Disappearances of persons connected to Mother's Group.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

CAREAGA, Ester Ballestrino de
BIANCO, Maria Ponce de
OVIEDO, Patricia
BULIT, Raquel
HERMANA ALICIA (French nun)
FONDEVILO, Julio
ELBAT, Horacio Aníbal
ORANI, Eduardo Gabriel
NIÑO, Gustavo (may have been taken later)
MASTROGIACOMO, Martin
Arquitecto y Sra. (Names unknown)
ANGELA (LNU)
CLOTILDE (LNU)

These people were taken by unidentified men in front of Santa Cruz Church on December 8th, presumably by members of the Argentine Security Forces.

The following people are also reported missing:

BERARDO, Remo Carlos - taken on December 8th, at 7:30 pm. from his home in La Boca.

DE VICENTI, Azucena Villaflor de - taken December 10th from street in front of her home in B.A.

SC10-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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K260

PAGE 01 STATE 296710
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JC
APPROVED BY ARA:FMCNEIL
ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
;RA:GLISTER (INFO)
HA:OJONES
S/S-O:LRFLEISCHER

R

----------025395 131206Z /17

R 130804Z DEC 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 296710

[redacted] FOR AMBASSADOR CASTRO

E.O. 11652: N/A

DECAPTIONED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: LIST OF 7,500 DISAPPEARED AND DETAINED

1. AT NEXT OPPORTUNITY, DEPT WOULD APPRECIATE
1. AT NEXT OPPORTUNITY, DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE AMBASSADOR AGAIN CALLING ATTENTION OF FOREIGN MINISTRY TO IMPORTANCE WHICH USG ATTACHES TO LIST OF 7,500 PRISONERS.

2. AMBASSADOR SHOULD REITERATE TO FOREIGN MINISTRY SECRETARY VANCE'S REQUEST THAT LIST BE GIVEN EARLY AND SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09446 140357Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 /008 W
----------034707 140626Z /17

R 131240Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3672

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9446

H PASS: HONORABLE BILL GRADISON
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF ADOLFO RUBEN MOLDAVSKY
(91/77/9)

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF NOV 21, 1977 REGARDING THE CASE OF MR. ADOLFO RUBEN MOLDAVSKY, WHO DISAPPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES ON AUGUST 1, 1977.

2. WE PRESENTED THIS MATTER TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON SEPT 28, 1977. WE INDICATED AT THAT TIME THAT THERE IS BROAD US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN MR. MOLDAVSKY'S WELLBEING.

3. THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE MOLDAVSKY FAMILY HERE AND WITH THE ALTMAN FAMILY OF YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO.

4. PLEASE LET US KNOW IF THERE IS ANYTHING FURTHER WE MAY DO. WE SHALL, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

5. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 09446 140357Z

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12/13/77 DB

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA

110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-8045

13 December 1977

To: George Lister
A.R.A.
Department of State room 6263
Washington, D.C. 20520

From: Juan Ferreira

Re: Argentine women detained December 8

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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Text of TELEX sent by Charles Harper of the World Council of Churches in Geneva to William Wipfler of the National Council of Churches in New York.

Information just received confirmed that there were approximately twenty persons detained on Thursday evening December 8 at a church called Iglesia Santa Cruz. Their whereabouts are still unknown. Of the twenty, nine names are as follows:

1. Alicia Domon (French), Sister of a French religious order, known as Hermana Alicia.
2. Renee Duquet (French), Sister of a religious order, known as Hermana Lioni.
3. Esther Careaga I.D. 424-14-55
4. Maria P. de Bianco Civic document 0288009
5. Azuzena de Vicentini Civic document 2.L95.883
6. Patricia Oviedo
7. Julio Sonsovilla
8. Raquel Bulit
9. Horacio Elbert

Please inform us of any additional names which come to your attention. In addition, we are informed that Carlos Gattinoni, one of the presidents of the Asemblea Permanente de los Derechos Humanos in Argentina, gave a press conference on the same day of the detention in which he asserted that over 12,000 persons are believed "to have either disappeared or have been arrested for political reasons in Argentina since the military government seized power in March 1976." A list was delivered by the Asemblea, according to Reuter wireservice, to General Videla by the Asemblea, containing names of 225 persons missing this year, whose relatives filed habeas corpus writs on their behalf. The Asemblea sources estimate that 6,000 persons are missing since March 1976 and claim that 6,000 are being held in prison for political reasons. We have not received direct confirmation of any relationship between this press conference and the detention of the twenty the Thursday evening, but are inquiring.

LOT 81F93 Box 11

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PAGE 01 STATE 298247
ORIGIN ARA-14

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 298247

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
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SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONAL RAFAEL A. PERROTTA, KIDNAP VICTIM

1. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE ANY AVAILABLE INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF RAFAEL A. PERROTTA, AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL.

2. PERROTTA IS DESCRIBED AS AGE 56, THE FORMER EDITOR OF "EL CRONISTA COMERCIAL " OF BUENOS AIRES (HAVING SOLD THE PAPER OVER 15 MONTHS AGO.) HE WAS IN POOR HEALTH DUE TO A HEART CONDITION. ACCORDING TO THE LETTER HE WAS "ON GOOD TERMS WITH" PRESIDENT VIDELA.

3. HIS DISAPPEARANCE AND A SUBSEQUENT RANSOM DEMAND OCCURRED IN LATE JUNE OR EARLY JULY, APPROXIMATELY AT THE TIME HIDALGO SOLA, THE ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO VENEZUELA, DISAPPEARED. "LA PRENSA" OF BUENOS AIRES APPARENTLY REPORTED ON THE PERROTTA KIDNAPPING.
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PAGE 02 STATE 298247

4. OTHER INFORMATION: RELATIVES MRS. BENGOLEA DE PERROTTA, WIFE; RAFAEL PERROTTA BENGOLEA AND SANTIAGO

PERROTTA BENGOLEA, NEPHEWS.

5. U.S. INTEREST: LETTER FROM ANA MARIA PERROTTA, [redacted] B6 CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09523 142127Z
ACTION ARA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3710

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9523

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT DETAINED OR ABDUCTED HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9420; STATE 295886

1. AMBASSADOR RAISED MATTER OF RECENTLY DETAINED OR ABDUCTED HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS FROM MOTHERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO GROUP DURING SOCIAL OCCASION WITH ADMIRAL MASSERA EVENING DECEMBER 12, DURING COURTESY CALL ON MINISTER OF ECONOMY MARTINEZ DE HOZ EARLIER ON THE SAME DAY, AND ON DECEMBER 13 WITH CHIEF OF THE ARMY STAFF GENERAL ROBERTO VIOLA. WE ARE CERTAIN VIOLA WILL TELL PRESIDENT VIDELA OF US CONCERN OVER THIS INCIDENT.

2. MASSERA PROFESSED NOT TO HAVE KNOWN OF EVENT UNTIL TOLD BY AMBASSADOR. HE THEN REFUSED TO REGISTER SURPRISE SINCE--IN HIS WORDS--THIS SORT OF MUDDLED, ILL-JUDGED CAPER IS WHAT ONE HAS COME TO EXPECT OF THE ARMY. VIOLA KNEW OF INCIDENT BUT DISCLAIMED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE ABDUCTIONS' ORIGINS AND/OR [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 09523 142127Z

INTENTIONS. HE CONFIDED THAT HE HAS MADE AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE CONSIDERABLE EFFORT TO DISCOVER WHO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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AUTHORED AND CARRIED OUT THE EVENT BUT SO FAR HAS NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL. VIOLA WENT ON TO SPECULATE THAT SOME "OFFICIAL AUTHORIZATION" OF THE ABDUCTIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE, HINTING THUS HIS BELIEF THAT ANOTHER MILITARY SERVICE (READ NAVY) HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE. MARTINEZ DE HOZ--AND ALSO DEFENSE MINISTER KLIX, TO WHOM THE SUBJECT WAS RAISED AT A SOCIAL OCCASION WITH A LARGER GROUP OF PEOPLE--TOOK THE HARD LINE THAT THIS IS BUT A NEW DIRTY INCIDENT IN AN OLD DIRTY WAR, ESSENTIALLY JUSTIFYING THE ABDUCTION AS HAVING PROPER SECURITY MOTIVATION EVEN WHILE DISCLAIMING KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS.--

3. PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTHERS' PROTEST MOVEMENT SPECULATE THAT THE ABDUCTION-DETENTION MIGHT HAVE BEEN STAGED TO DETER A LARGE PRE-CHRISTMAS DEMONSTRATION AT THE PLAZA DE MAYO SLATED FOR TOMORROW DECEMBER 15. IF THIS IS THE CASE THEN THEY EXPECT THE DETAINED GROUP TO REAPPEAR OVER THE WEEKEND, MONDAY AT LATEST. IF THIS FAILS TO TAKE PLACE THEN CLEARLY THE INCIDENT WILL TAKE ON EXTRAORDINARY SIGNIFICANCE IN THE HISTORY OF DISAPPEARANCES IN ARGENTINA.

4. BUENOS AIRES HERALD--WHICH IS STILL THE ONLY LOCAL PAPER THAT HAS COVERED THE DISAPPEARANCES--REPORTED TODAY DECEMBER 14 THAT THE EMBASSY OF FRANCE HAS PROTESTED THE DISAPPEARANCE OF TWO NUNS WORKING FOR A FRENCH MISSIONARY ORDER HERE. THE FIRST, SISTER ALICIA (NEE ANA MARIA DOMON), A NATURALIZED ARGENTINE, WAS MENTIONED IN THE BUENOS AIRES REFTEL AMONG THOSE WHO DISAPPEARED FROM THE CHURCH OF SANTA CRUZ. THE SECOND, A SISTER LEONIE (NEE RENEE DUQUET) IS REPORTED TO HAVE [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 09523 142127Z

BEEN TAKEN OVER THE PAST WEEKEND BY FOUR MEN DRIVING AN UNMARKED, US-MADE CAR. SISTER ALICIA IS REPORTED TO HAVE WORKED WITH A MONSIGNOR NOVAK IN THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT, WHILE SISTER LEONIE WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THE BISHOP OF SAN JUSTO, MONSIGNOR CARRERAS, AT THE CHAPEL OF SAN PABLO IN RAMOS MEJIA. THE HERALD GAVE AGES OF ALICIA AND LEONIE AS 40 AND 61, RESPECTIVELY.

5. WE WILL PURSUE OUR INQUIRIES, OF COURSE, INCLUDING AT FOREIGN MINISTRY.
CASTRO

12/14/77

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09532 142209Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 VO-03 /006 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3716

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9532

H PASS: HONORABLE MATTHEW F. MCHUGH
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR INQUIRY OF OCTOBER 28TH, 1977 REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF 24 ARGENTINE CITIZENS. TWENTY ONE OF THESE CASES ARE WELL KNOWN TO THE EMBASSY AND HAVE BEEN SUBJECTS OF EMBASSY ACTIONS.

2. IN THE THREE NEW CASES OF MARIA JOSE DE DEL CARPIO, RODOLFO URANGA AND ROQUE ROMERO, WE WILL MAKE FORMAL INQUIRIES AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. HOWEVER, ON THE BASIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL NAMES ONLY A LIMITED INVESTIGATION CAN BE CONDUCTED. IF YOU CAN PROVIDE US WITH FULL NAMES, ADDRESSES, IDENTITY CARD NUMBERS, INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR DISAPPEARANCES, A MORE COMPLETE CHECK CAN BE MADE TO SEE IF THEY HAVE BEEN DETAINED BY ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES.

3. THE EMBASSY HAS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON THE PERSONS LISTED IN YOUR CONSTITUENTS'S LETTER. THE NUMBER BEHIND EACH NAME IS THE EMBASSY CASE NUMBER.

ALBERTO COLASKI (173/77/11) UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 09532 142209Z

ANTONIA CAPARROS (177/77/11) DISAPPEARED
HUGO RANGENTO (183/77/11) DISAPPEARED

JORGE DEL CARPIO (175/77/11) DISAPPEARED
ADRIANA RANELA (181/77/11) DISAPPEARED
DIEGO DUNDA (176/77/11) DISAPPEARED
ANGELA DE BOLLINO (172/77/11) DISAPPEARED
ALICIA DE URANGA (185/77/11) DISAPPEARED
OSVALDO TORRES (184/77/11) UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION
JULIO CORDERO (174/77/11) DISAPPEARED
DANIEL DEUTSCH (LIVING IN THE USA)
ALEJANDRO DEUTSCH (111/77/9) UNDER EXECUTIVE DENTENTION
ELENA ROSENZWEIG DE DEUTSCH (115/77/9) FREED
SUSANA SILVIA DEUTSCH (114/77/9) FREED
ELSA ELISABETH DEUTSCH (112/77/9) FREED
LILIANA INES DEUTSCH (113/77/9) UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION
GERARDO LUNA (178/77/11) UNDER EXECUTIVE DENTION
MARTA ARGUELLO (171/77/11) DISAPPEARED
ANAMARIA MASCIO (179/77/11) DISAPPEARED
RENEE SALAMANCA (172/77/11) DISAPPEARED
RAUL MATEO MOLINA (180/77/11) DISAPPEARED

3. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST ON THESE CASES HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THESE CASES WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 10044 152127Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7491
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US MISSION GENEVA 1070

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 10044

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: BANISHED LABOR LEADERS REPORTED TO BE HAVING TOUGH TIME

REF: SANTIAGO 9704

1. SUMMARY: FRIENDS OF THE SIX LABOR LEADERS BANISHED TO THE FAR NORTH SAY THEY ARE LIVING IN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. CONCERNED BY THESE REPORTS AND ENCOURAGED BY LOCAL EMBASSIES, THE ICRC DELEGATE IS SEEKING PERMISSION FROM HIS HEADQUARTERS AND FROM THE GOC TO SPEND TWO WEEKS VISITING THE MEN WITH THE REGIONAL ICRC DOCTOR IN TOW. SOME LOCAL EMBASSIES HAVE CONSIDERED SENDING OFFICIALS TO VISIT THE MEN, BUT PROBABLY WILL AWAIT THE FINDINGS OF THE ICRC TEAM BEFORE MAKING A FINAL DECISION. ENS SUMMARY.

2. ACCORDING TO FRIENDS WHO HAVE VISITED THE SIX LABOR LEADERS BANISHED BY PRESIDENTPINOCHET IN LATE NOVEMBER THEY ARE HAVING A ROUGH TIME INDEED. THE SIX ARRIVED AT THEIR SEPARATE DESTINATIONS IN THE CHILEAN ALTIPLANO WITH [redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 10044 152127Z

LITTLE MORE THAN THE CLOTHES ON THEIR BACKS. JUAN MANUEL SEPULVEDA IS IN CHUCUYO; JUAN FINCHEIRA IN VISIVIRI; MILTON PUGA IN CAQUENA; CARLOS ARELLANO IN CORONEL ALCERRECA; CARLOS FREZ IN GUALLATIRI, AND HECTOR CUEVAS IN CHAPIQUINA. SOME OF THE SITES ONLY APPEAR ON LARGE SCALE MAPS, ALL ARE MORE THAN 13,500 FEET HIGH.

3. ACCORDING TO MANUEL BUSTOS PRESIDENT OF THE SUMAR TEXTILE UNION, ALL SIX HAVE BEEN VISITED BY FRIENDS AND RELATIVES. HE SAID THAT THE CHURCH-RELATED CARDIJN FOUNDATION IS INTERESTED IN SENDING A PRIEST AND DOCTOR TO

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ASSIST THEM. BUSTOS ADDED THAT ALL SIX WERE SUFFERING FROM ALTITUDE SICKNESS. HE ADDED THAT CUEVAS AND ARELLANO ARE IN PARTICULARLY BAD SHAPE AND ARE PHYSICALLY UNABLE TO WALK THE FIVE KILOMETERS TO SIGN IN TWICE A DAY AS REQUIRED BY THE POLICE. BUSTOS FEARS THAT DURING THE BOLIVIAN RAINY SEASON, WHICH BEGINS IN JANUARY, ONLY FINCHERIA AND ARELLANO WHO LIVE NEAR THE RAILROAD, WILL BE ACCESSIBLE TO VISITORS. IN SOME CASES, APPARENTLY, THERE IS NO WAY TO OBTAIN FOOD OTHER THAN THROUGH THE KINDNESS OF SUPERVISING CARABINEROS OR THE FEW RESIDENT FAMILIES.

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4. A CARABINERO IN THE HIGLANDS REPORTEDLY TOLD ONE OF THE VISITORS THAT TECHNICALLY THE MEN HAD BEEN "TRANSFERRED" ("TRANSLADO) RATHER THAN BANISHED (RELEGADO) SINCE THERE HAD BEEN NO DECREE APPROVED BY THE CONTROLORIA AS REQUIRED BY LAW FOR BANISHMENT. PERSONS TRANSFERRED ARE NORMALLY KEPT IN THAT STATUS FOR BETWEEN 30-60 DAYS. MEANWHILE, POLICE SAY THAT THEY HAVE NOW BEEN INSTRUCTED TO PERMIT VISITS BY ONLY NEXT-OF-KIN.

5. WE HAVE URGED SOME LABOR LEADERS AND OTHER EMBASSIES [redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 10044 152127Z

TO ENGAGE THE LOCAL OFFICE OF THE ICRC IN THE MATTER. PERHAPS AS A RESULT, THE RESIDENT ICRC DELEGATE HAS WRITTEN THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ASKING THE GOC'S PERMISSION TO SPEND APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS IN THE AREA BEGINNING ABOUT DECEMBER 20. HE WILL FOLLOW UP HIS LETTER WITH AN ORAL DEMARCHE DECEMBER 16. MEANWHILE HE HAS CABLED HEADQUARTERS FOR AUTHORIZATION WHICH HE EXPECT TO RECEIVE SHORTLY. THE ICRC REGIONAL MEDICAL OFFICER, NOW IN ARGENTINA, WILL RETURN IN A DAY OR SO AND WLL ACCOMPANY THE DELEGATE IF AUTHORIZATIONS ARE APPROVED.

6. SEVERAL LOCAL EMBASSIES WERE CHEWING OVER THE IDEA OF SENDING OFFICIALS TO VISIT THE SIX MEN. AT LEAST ONE SCANDINAVIAN AMBASSADOR OPPOSES THIS IDEA BECAUSE SUCH ACTION WOULD BE REGARDED BY THE CHILEANS AS INTERVENTION AND WOULD BE LIKELY TO LENGTHEN RATHER THAN SHORTEN THE RUSTICATION OF THE LABOR LEADERS. DEPENDING ON THE RESULTS OF THE ICRC VISIT THE ISSUE MAY COME UP AGAIN.

7. COMMENT: THE ON-SITE TRIP OF THE ICRC TEAM WILL BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN VERIFYING THE CURRENT ALLEGATIONS. IF ACCURATE, THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE SIX MEN REPORTEDLY ARE BEING FORCED TO LIVE ARE THE ROUGHEST TO COME TO OUR ATTENTION IN BANISMENT CASES. ISOLATED AND SUFFERING THE EFFECTS OF ALTITUDE, THEY SEEMINGLY WOULD BE BETTER OFF IN A REGULAR DETENTION CAMP SUCH AS TRES ALAMOS. IN EFFECT, THE GOC IS NOW HOLDING AT LEAST SIX PERSONS WITHOUT CHARGE UNDER EMERGENCY POWERS.

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8. IF THE SIX LABOR LEADERS HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED BY EARLY JANUARY AND IF THERE IS AGREEMENT AMONG THE INTERESTED EMBASSIES HERE ON THE UTILITY OF SENDING REPRESENTATIVES TO VISIT THE SIX LEADERS, WE WOULD PLAN FOR LABOR ATTACHE EDWARD ARCHER TO ACCOMPANY ANY SUCH EXPEDITION.
LANDAU

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 10044 152127Z

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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[redacted] SANTIAGO 10047

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, SHUM, PGOV, SOPN
SUBJECT: PINOCHET REFUSES APPEAL FROM RADIO COOPERATIVA

REF: SANTIAGO 9594

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC'S INTENT TO CLOSE DOWN THE BULK OF RADIO COOPERATIVA'S FACILITIES WAS MADE PUBLIC IN LATE NOVEMBER. COOPERATIVA'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS IMMEDIATELY SOUGHT AN INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN HOPES OF REVERSING THE DECISION. THAT REQUEST HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN. SEVEN OF THE CHAIN STATIONS WILL HAVE TO CLOSE BY DECEMBER 31 AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE OTHER THREE WILL ALSO FOLD. THE MOVE AGAINST COOPERATIVE IS POLITICALLY MOTIVATED. THE NETWORK HAS FOLLOWED AN INDEPENDENT LINE BUT IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED TO BE PDC-ORIENTED. END SUMMARY.

2. THE GOC'S OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF NOVEMBER 29 CARRIED DECREES (ALL WITH MID-OCTOBER 1977 DATES) ANNOUNCING THE CLOSING OF SEVEN RADIO STATIONS BELONGING TO THE COMPANIA CHILEAN DE COMUNICACIONES, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS RADIO COOPERATIVA. THE STATIONS TO BE CLOSED ARE THE BROADCASTING STATIONS IN ANTOFAGASTA, CONCEPCION, VALDIVIA, PUERTO MONTT AND PUNTA ARENAS AND THE RELAY STATIONS IN SANTIAGO AND ANTOFAGASTA. NOT INCLUDED ARE THREE STATIONS, ONE OF THEM THE COMPANY'S MAIN BROADCASTING STATION IN SANTTIAGO.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 10047 152138Z

THE OPERATING LICENSES OF THE CLOSED STATIONS HAD ALL EXPIRED, A FACT CITED BY THE GOC AS THE REASONS FOR THE CLOSINGS.

3. COOPERATIVA'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS IMMEDIATELY SOUGHT A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET (BY LAW THE ONLY OFFICIAL WHO CAN GRANT RADIO LICENSES). BY LETTER OF DECEMBER 7 PRESIDENTIAL CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL SERGIO COVARRUBIAS SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD NOT GRANT THE MEETING DUE TO A "HEAVILY BOOKED CALENDAR." REPORTEDLY, COVARRUBIAS ALSO USED THE LETTER TO REITERATE THE GOC'S DETERMINATION NOT TO ALLOW STATIONS TO OPERATE WITHOUT VALID LICENSES.

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4. COOPERATIVA'S OFFICIALS HAVE KEPT QUIET WHILE THE APPEAL TO PINOCHET WAS PENDING. THEY SAY THEY WILL NOW INSTITUTE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS TO BLOCK THE CLOSING AND CLAIM THAT THEY CAN DEMONSTRATE THAT REQUESTS FOR LICENSE RENEWALS WERE FILED WITH THE GOC.

5. COMMENT: COMING AT THE SAME TIME AS THE GOC TOOK OTHER MEASURES AIMED AT ITS MORE VOCAL OPPONENTS, IT SEEMS CLEAR TO US THAT THE MOTIVE FOR THE CLOSINGS IS POLITICAL NOT TECHNICAL. RADIO COOPERATIVA'S CHAIN IS ONE OF FOUR PROVIDING PROGRAMMING AND NEWS SERVICES THE LENGTH OF CHILE. AFTER THE CLOSURE OF RADIO BALMACEDA (SEE SANTIAGO 6886 IN JANUARY 1977) COOPERATIVE REMAINED AS THE ONLY NETWORK WHOSE RELATIVELY COMPREHENSIVE NEWS REPORTING HAS PROVED A CONSISTENT THORN IN THE GOC'S SIDE. THE NETWORK HAS A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC (PDC) ORIENTATION. GOC NEWS CZAR MAX REINDL HAS FEEQUENTLY CALLED IN THE COOPERATIVE MANAGMENT TO PROTEST THE RADIO'S NEWS PROGRAMS AND TO ISSUE SUBTLE WARNINGS THAT IF THE TONE OF THE REPORTING DID NOT CHANGE, COOPERATIVE WOULD BE INFOR SOME SANCTIONS. THE LICENSES OF THE SEVEN COOPERATIVA STATIONS HAD, IN FACT, EXPIRED. HOWEVER, THERE ARE REPORTS THAT SOME 60-70 OF CHILE'S 200 ODD STATIONS NOW OPERATE WITHOUT

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VALID LICENSES.

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DISPASSIONATE TREATMENT OF CHILE'S HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS.
LANDAU

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09715 01 OF 03 202138Z
ACTION ARA-14

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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 9715

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: *DISAPPEARANCE OF MOTHERS GROUP'S SUPPORTERS:*
LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9420 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: OVER THE WEEKEND ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES (GOA) MADE TWO DRAMATIC ANNOUNCEMENTS REGARDING THE DEC. 8-10 DISAPPEARANCES OF 13 PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO. ON FRIDAY NIGHT (12/16) THE GOVERNMENT'S INFORMATION OFFICE ISSUED A CAREFULLY WORDED COMMUNIQUE REPUDIATING ANY GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT AND BLAMING SUBVERSIVE NIHILISM FOR THE DISAPPEARANCES. THE FOLLOWING NIGHT (12/17) THE FIRST ARMY COMMAND ISSUED A BULLETIN ANNOUNCING THAT THE MONTONERO ORGANIZATION HAD CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE KIDNAPPING OF THE TWO FRENCH NUNS AND HAD MADE FOUR [redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 09715 01 OF 03 202138Z

DEMANDS, INCLUDING THE FREEING OF 21 POLITICAL PRISONERS, FOR THEIR RELEASE. THE MONTONERO PLOY IS, HOWEVER,

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WIDELY DISBELIEVED, AND FAMILY MEMBERS OF SOME OF THE DISAPPEARED PERSONS CALLED ON THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN EMBASSIES ON MONDAY (12/19) TO REGISTER THIS DOUBT AND URGE THAT DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE BE BROUGHT AGAINST GOA TO FORCE IT TO PRODUCE THE PERSONS ABDUCTED. WE ARE USING ALL EMBASSY RESOURCES TO TRY TO SORT OUT WHAT MAY ACTUALLY HAVE HAPPENED TO THE PERSONS ABDUCTED. ELEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT CONTACTED CONTINUE TO PROFESS MYSTIFICATION AND AT THE SAME TIME PRIVATELY TO DERIDE THE "MONTONERO PLOY". END SUMMARY

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA BROKE ITS OFFICIAL SILENCE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCES OF AT LEAST 13 MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE "MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO", AFTER A WEEK OF CONSIDERABLE DIPLOMATIC AND PRESS INTEREST, BY ISSUING AN INTRICATELY WORDED COMMUNIQUE LATE DECEMBER 17. THE PRESIDENCY'S COMMUNIQUE OBLIQUELY MADE THREE POINTS--THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT INVOLVED IN THE DISAPPEARANCES; "NIHILISTIC SUBVERSION" WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE ACTIONS; AND LASTLY, THE GOVERNMENT REJECTED THIS ATTEMPT TO CAUSE CONFRONTATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, THE CHURCH, AND FAMILIES CAUGHT UP IN EXTREMIST VIOLENCE. THE GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOT ANSWER QUESTIONS REGARDING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISAPPEARANCES OR DISPEL THE STRONG NEGATIVE REACTIONS IN FRANCE TO THE DISAPPEARANPD OF TWO NUNS FROM A TOULOUSE ORDER.

2. THE FOLLOWING NIGHT (12/17) IN AN UNUSUAL COMMUNIQUE THE FIRST ARMY COMMAND ANNOUNCED THAT THE AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE HAD RECEIVED A COMMUNICATION EARLIER THAT DAY FROM THE MONTONERO ORGANIZATION CLAIMING CREDIT FOR THE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 09715 01 OF 03 202138Z

KIDNAPPING OF THE TWO FRENCH NUNS, SISTER ALICIA AND SISTER LEONIE. ACCORDING TO THE ARMY COMMUNIQUE THE "MONTONERO" DOCUMENT DEMANDED:

A. THAT THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ISSUE A DOCUMENT REPUDIATING THE PRESENT ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT;

B. THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ISSUE A DOCUMENT REPUDIATING THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND GRANT ASYLUM TO ARGENTINE POLITICAL PRISONERS;

C. THAT THE MILITARY JUNTA SUBMIT A PUBLIC REPORT

TO THE UNITED NATIONS REGARDING THE STATUS OF DETAINED AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS IN ARGENTINA;

D. AND, THAT 21 "CRIMINAL SUBVERSIVES" (SEE LIST BELOW) BE RELEASED. THE ARMY COMMUNIQUE THEN WENT TO REPEAT PARTS OF THE PREVIOUS DAY'S PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE ANNOUNCEMENT.THE COMMUNIQUE WAS GIVEN WIDE PLAY IN THE ARGENTINE PRESS WITH NO COMMENT.

3. THE FRENCH PRESS AGENCY IN FACT DID RECEIVE THREE DOCUMENTS IN THEIR NOON MAIL ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17-- THE "MONTONERO" LETTER, A HANDWRITTEN LETTER IN FRENCH FROM SISTER ALICIA AND A 6 X 8 GLOSSY PHOTOGRAPH OF THE TWO FRENCH CAPTIVE NUNS SEATED BELOW A MONTONERO FLAG HOLDING A COPY OF THE DECEMBER 14 EDITION OF "LA NACION". THE "MONTONERO" LETTER STATED THAT ON DECEMBER 8 AND 10 TWO COMBAT CELLS OF THE MONTONERO ARMY HAD DETAINED THE TWO FRENCH NUNS. (NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE OTHER 11 DISAPPEARED PERSONS.) IT ADDED THAT THEIR DETENTION HAD TAKEN PLACE IN ORDER TO OBTAIN CERTAIN STATEMENTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, AND THE ARGENTINE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND TO FREE BEFORE DECEMBER 24 THE FOLLOWING PERSONS:

[redacted]

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 09715 01 OF 03 202138Z

EX-PRESIDENT HECTOR J. CAMPORA
JOURNALIST RODOLFO WALSH
EX-GOVERNOR OF STA. CRUZ "SR. COPERNIK"
EX-GOVERNOR OF MENDOZA DR. MARTINEZ VACA
EX-MINISTER OF EDUCATION DOCTOR TAIANA
EX-RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES LICENCIADO ERNESTO VILLANUEVA
EX-SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ASSOCIATION OF STATE WORKERS OF ROSARIO SR. OSCAR AGUIRRO
SECRETARY GENERAL OF TEACHERS' UNION SR. BRAVO
STUDENT LEADER DANTE GULLO
JOURNALIST EMILIANO ACOSTA

[redacted]

NNN

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09715 02 OF 03 202158Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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HA-05 SY-05 MCT-01 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00
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O R 202021Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 9715

SCRIPT WRITER GERMAN O' ESTERHEALD
PERONIST FEMININE LEADER DIANA ALSO
METAL WORKERS' UNION LEADER LORENZO MIGUEL
ALBERTO PICCININI
SERGIO TOMASSELLA
CURINA FORTUNATO
ALFREDO TEOFILO OLIVO
JUAN CARLOS PAROLINI
EDUARDO DE AYALA
GLORIA AYALA
NANCY AYALA

4. IN RESPONSE TO THE ARMY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MONTONERO LETTER, THREE RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED MEMBERS OF THE MOTHERS GROUP CALLED AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY ON MONDAY (12/19) TO URGE THE US GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE ITS PRESSURE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA TO RELEASE THEIR RELATIVES. THEY CLAIMED THAT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE FROM THE US AND FRANCE WAS THE ONLY HOPE FOR THEIR RELATIVES'
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[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 09715 02 OF 03 202158Z

RELEASE. THEY CHARACTERIZED THE MONTONERO DOCUMENT AS BEING A FABRICATION. THE FAMILY MEMBERS ARGUED THAT ALL THE EVENTS BEAR THE CLEAR HALLMARK OF A SECURITY FORCE OPERATION. THE TEN PERSONS TAKEN AT THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS ON DECEMBER 8 WERE ABDUCTED BY SIX CARLOADS OF

ARMED MEN DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES. STARTING LATER THAT SAME NIGHT MEN IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES AS POLICE OFFICERS SEARCHED FIVE OF THE ABDUCTED PERSONS' AND THEIR RELATIVES' HOMES IN WHAT WERE TERMED ROUTINE POLICE SEARCHES. IN THE CASE OF HORACIO ANIBAL ELBERT, HIS MOTHER'S, HIS FATHER'S AND HIS AUNT'S HOMES WERE SEARCHED BY FIVE SELF PROCLAIMED POLICEMEN WHO ACTUALLY CONDUCTED THE INVESTIGATION WHILE FIVE OTHERS GUARDED THE BUILDINGS ENTRANCES. THE FAMILY MEMBERS ALSO STATED THAT ONE OF THE DETAINEES MANAGED TO SEND A MESSAGE TO HIS FAMILY THROUGH A FREED PRISONER THAT HE WAS BEING HELD IN THE FEDERAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS. FAMILY MEMBERS ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT IN THE "MONTONERO" DOCUMENT ONLY THE TWO FRENCH NUNS WERE MENTIONED WITH NO DISCUSSION OF THE OTHERS TAKEN.

5. WE HAVE DEPLOYED EMBASSY RESOURCES AS BEST WE COULD TO TRY AND GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THIS MURKY BUSINESS. NOT SURPRISINGLY EVEN OUR CONTACTS WITHIN GOVERNMENT PRIVATELY DISCOUNT THE "MONTONERO PLOY." (COMMENT: A MONTONERO SPOKESMAN IN PARIS, ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT, AND ONE IM MEXICO CITY AS WELL HAS DISCLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NUNS'S ABDUCTIONS. THIS DENIAL HAS NOT BEEN PRINTED HERE AND WE DO NOT EXPECT IT WILL.) ONE VERY INFORMAL SOURCE ATTRIBUTED THE ABDUCTIONS TO THE STATE SECRETARIAT FOR INTELLIGENCY ("SIDE"), ADDING THAT THEY RESULTED FROM THE DECISION OF A LOW RANKING OFFICER. OTHER SOURCES SIMPLY [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 09715 02 OF 03 202158Z

PROFESS MYSTIFICATION--BUT AT THE SAME TIME DO NOT EXPRESS DOUBT THAT THE ABDUCTIONS WERE AUTHORED BY SOME--UNNAMED--BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY SERVICES.

6. FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICIALS HERE ARE DISMAYED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S AND "MONTONERO" STATEMENTS. THEY HAD BEEN CONFIDENT, UNTIL THE WEEKEND ANNOUNCEMENTS, THAT STRONG DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS BOTH HERE AND IN PARIS, PLUS THE SHARP PROTESTS OF THE FRENCH PRESS WOULD RESULT IN THE RELEASE OF THE TWO FRENCH NUNS. THE FIRST ARMY'S RAPID ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE "UNBELIEVABLE MONTONERO LETTER" (TO QUOTE A FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICIAL) RAISES FEAR THAT THE "MONTONERO PLOY" IS BUT A DEVICE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM BY PLACING THE BLAME ON A THIRD PARTY. EMBASSY OFFICIALS DOUBT THAT THE MATTER WILL BE RESOLVED SO EASILY, AND

EXPECT FRENCH DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE TO CONTINUE.

7. TWO FRENCH VISITORS ARE CURRENTLY IN BUENOS AIRES. THE PREVIOUSLY PLANNED VISIT TO THE FRENCH MISSIONARY COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA OF FRENCH BISHOP BERNARD STARTED LAST WEEK. ALTHOUGH THE FRENCH BISHOP HAS STATED THAT HIS VISIT WAS NOT A RESPONSE TO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE TWO FRENCH NUNS, HE HAS USED THE OCCASION TO MEET WITH THE PERMANENT COMMISSION OF THE ARGENTINE BISHOPRIC TO DISCUSS THE NUNS' DISAPPEARANCES. A MR. GADOT, PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT TO EDGARD FAURE, GAULLIST DEPUTY FROM DOUBS, ARRIVED FROM PARIS ON DECEMBER 19 SPECIFICALLY TO PRESSURE THE GOA INTO EFFECTING THE RELEASE OF THE TWO TOULOUSE NUNS.

8. THE FRENCH EMBASSY IS FURTHER DISTRUBED AT THE LACK OF RESPONSIVENESS FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. FOR EXAMPLE, OVER A WEEK AGO THEY PROVIDED THE LICENSE PLATE NUMBER OF A CAR REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN USED IN THE HOLY CROSS CHURCH ABDUCTIONS, BUT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS REFUSED TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE FURTHER.
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PAGE 04 BUENOS 09715 02 OF 03 202158Z

9. IN TALKS WITH PEOPLE CONNECTED IN SOME WAY WITH PERSONS ABDUCTED WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO COME UP WITH THE FOLLOWING CHRONOLOGY DESCRIBING AT LEAST SOME OF THE RELATED EVENTS:

DECEMBER 8

1600 - MOTHER MET IN PLAZA DE MAYO

200 - REMO BERARDO AND ANOTHER UNIDENTIFIED PERSON TAKEN FROM BERARDO'S ARTIST STUDIO IN LA BOCA AREA

2100 - APPROXIMATELY 10 PEOPLE, INCLUDING SISTER ALICIA, TAKEN FROM VESTIBULE OF THE HOLY CROSS CHURCH IN BUENOS AIRES. A SHEET WITH "MANY" SIGNATURES AND 140,000 PESOS (US$250) FOR THE MOTHERS' ADVERTISEMENT PETITIONING THE GOVERNMENT WERE TAKEN. THE PERSON WHO WAS ACTUALLY HOLDING THE MONEY WAS ROUGHTED UP AT THE CHURCH AND ASKED SEVERAL TIMES WHERE THE REST OF THE MONEY WAS BEING HELD. 30,000 PESOS BELONGING TO HIM

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WAS ALSO TAKEN, BUT HE WAS NOT ABDUCTED.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09715 03 OF 03 202203Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 9715

DECEMBER 9

0010 - FIVE ARMED MEN CONDUCTED A "ROUTINE POLICE SEARCH" OF THE APARTMENT OF HORACIO ANIBAL ELBERT'S FATHER-IN-LAW. ELBERT HAD BEEN TAKEN THREE HOURS EARLIER AT THE HOLY CROSS CHURCH. ANOTHER FIVE ARMED MEN GUARDED THE FRONT ENTRANCE OF APARTMENT HOUSE.

0215 - HORACIO ANIBAL ELBERT'S PARENTS HOUSE SEARCHED BY PERSONS IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES AS POLICE.

0830 - SENORA ASUZANA DE VICENTE, FOUNDER OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO MOTHERS' GROUP WAS FORCEABLY ABDUCTED NEAR HER HOME WHILE SHOPPING.

MORNING - POLICE SEARCHED APARTMENT OF MOTHERS' GROUP MEMBER KNOWN AS SENORA "QUITE". SHE WAS NOT AT HOME AND NO ONE DETAINED.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 09715 03 OF 03 202203Z

1530 - HORACIO ANIBAL ELBERT'S AUNT'S APARTMENT SEARCHED BY "POLICE OFFICIALS."

DECEMBER 10

MORNING - SISTER LEONIE ABDUCTED FROM HER HOME. LA NACION CARRIED MOTHERS' ADVERTISEMENT ASKING GOVERNMENT FOR INFORMATION WHETHER THEIR CHILDREN ARE DEAD OR ALIVE, SIGNED BY 834 WOMEN.

DECEMBER 15

2-4 PM - MOTHERS' GROUP MET IN THE PLAZA DE MAYO. A PLANNED "MASSIVE" PRECHRISTMAS DEMONSTRATION, WITH MOTHERS COMING FROM ALL OVER ARGENTINA TO PARTICIPATE, TURNED INTO A REGULAR SIZED THURSDAY GATHERING. THERE WAS NO POLICE HARASSMENT.

COMMENT: OUR PRELIMINARY VIEW IS THAT WHAT MAY HAVE BEGUN AS A MISTAKE IN JUDGMENT BY THE ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES IS NOW BEING COMPOUNDED BY FURTHER MISTAKES BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ITSELF. THE ACTOUNS TAKEN AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE MOTHER' GROUP IN AN EFFORT TO STEM THE MOTHERS' XMAS INITIATIVE TO FOCUS GOVERNMENTAL ATTENTION ON THE DISAPPEARANCE PROBLEM HAS BACKFIRED TERRIBLY. WHATEVER IMAGE BENEFITS THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT'S PLANNED CHRISTMAS MANESTY RELEASES WOULD HAVE HAD WILL NOW BE OVERSHADOWED BY THE UPROAR OVER THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE 13 MEMBERS OF THE MOTHERS' GROUP. THE SIZE OF THE ABDUCTION OPERATION, THE NUMBER OF WITNESSES, THE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 09715 03 OF 03 202203Z

FOLLOW-UP POLICE SEARCHES, AND THE FACT THAT THE MOTHERS AND NUNS ARE VIEWED EVERYWHERE AS BEING AGAINST THE MILITARY JUNTA--AND THUS INADVERTENT ALLIES OF ANY OTHER ANTI GOVERNMENT FORCES, PLUS A CERTAIN INEPTITUDE IN PRODUCING THE ALLEGED "MONTONERO" DOCUMENTS--ALL CONSPIRE TO DISCREDIT THE "MONTONERO INVOLVEMENT" AND THUS AT THE SAME TIME CONVINCE EVERYONE THAT AT LEAST ONE ELEMENT OF THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS COMMITTED A BLUNDER WHICH AT VERY LEAST WILL

REVERBERATE IN ARGENTINA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 STATE 303506
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B-6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 303506

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS:SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONAL MARCOS CIROS-GENOUD
1. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON DISAPPEARANCE OF MARCOS CIROS-GENOUD. WE HAVE RECEIVED AN INQUIRY FROM SENATOR SARBANES.

2. IDENTIFYING INFORMATION:

ID NO. 707-7567
FATHER'S NAME: MARCOS CIROS
ADDRESS: [redacted] PROVINCE
OF B.A. VANCE

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UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09748 212149Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05 IO-13 /091 W
119252 220456Z /17

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3836
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9748

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: AISC LIST OF DISAPPEARED AND DETAINED PERSONS - "THE LIST OF 7,500"

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 8958 (B) BUENOS AIRES 9109 (NOTAL)

1. LONDON TIMES STRINGER ANDREW TARNOWSKI MET WITH EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER ON DECEMBER 20 TO DISCUSS TARNOWSKI'S ALLEGATIONS THAT THE "ARGENTINE INFORMATION SERVICE CENTER" (AISC) LIST IS A "GROSS MISREPRESENTATION" OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA AND UNFAIR TO GOA. ACCORDING TO TARNOWSKI, A STORY HE WROTE ON THE VANCE VISIT WHICH APPEARED IN THE LONDON TIMES ON NOVEMBER 23 CORRECTLY CHARACTERIZED THE AISC LIST AS BEING FILLED WITH ERRORS AND DUPLICATIONS. TARNOWSKI SAYS HIS STORY PRODUCED A STRONGLY WORDED LETTER FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY GENERAL MARTIN ENNALS REBUTTING THE LONDON TIME'S PRESENTATION. TARNOWSKI FEELS THAT HIS REPUTATION AS A JOURNALIST IS AT STAKE.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 09748 212149Z

HE SAID FALSE RUMOURS HAVE BEEN CIRCULATING THAT HE RECEIVED 10 TO 20 THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE STORY FROM A PERSONAL FRIEND AT GOA'S NEW YORK PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRM. HE AND HIS

WIFE, ISABEL TRUJILLO, STRINGER FOR THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE HERE, HAVE BEEN CONDUCTING AN INTENSIVE STUDY OF THE LIST.

2. IN DISCUSSION WITH EMBOFF TARNOWSKI STRONGLY CRITICIZED THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR "ITS MISREPRESENTATION" OF THE LIST. EMBOFF POINTED OUT THAT EMBASSY AIDE-MEMOIRE (WHICH WAS LATER READ TO HIM) TRANSMITTING THE LIST SPECIFICALLY STATED THAT THE USG HAD NO MEANS OF VERIFYING THE INFORMATION ON THE LIST BUT WISHED TO MAKE IT AVAILABLE FOR THE GOA'S USE. TARNOWSKI RESPONDED THAT AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS LENT ITS PRESTIGE TO THE LIST, IT HAS RESPONSIBILITY TO CORRECT FALSE CHARACTERIZATIONS WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE WORLD PRESS. TARNOWSKI STATED THAT THE LIST DOES NOT CONTAIN 7,500 PERSONS BUT CONTAINS BY HIS ESTIMATE UNDER 5,700 PERSONS. (HE MAY BE CORRECT -- TO OUR KNOWLEDGE NO EARLIER COMPLETE TABULATION WAS MADE.) FURTHERMORE HE POINTED OUT THE LIST CONTAINS PERSONS WHO WERE DETAINED OR DISAPPEARED PRIOR TO THE MILITARY JUNTA'S ASSUMPTION OF POWER IN MARCH, 1976 -- SOMETHING, OF COURSE, APPARENT TO ANYONE READING THE LIST. FURTHERMORE, THE LIST COUNTS PERSONS WHO WERE DETAINED AND THEN RELEASED BY THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT.

3. TARNOWSKI IS EXTREMELY UPSET OVER THE AMNESTY LETTER TO THE LONDON TIMES. HE STATED THAT ATTACKING THE LIST WILL STRENGTHEN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS EFFORTS SUCH AS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S BY INSURING THAT "IN THE FUTURE THEY DO THEIR HOMEWORK."

4. EMBOFF REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT THAT TARNOWSKI'S PROBLEMS REGARDING THE LIST RELATE TO HOW THE LIST WAS DESCRIBED BY HIS

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 09748 212149Z

FELLOW JOURNALISTS; HE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT USG HAS SOME TYPE OF OVERRIDING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONTENT AND PRESS CHARACTERIZATION OF THAT DOCUMENT. WE BELIEVE THE TARNOWSKIS WILL SUBMIT SOME KIND OF "EXPOSE" TO THE TIMES WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09737 212018Z
ACTION H-02

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3833

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9737

H PASS HONORABLE CHARLES H. PERCY
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B - C
Declassify: In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

P B6

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCES OF ROLANDO HUGO JECKEL (127/77/10)
AND GUILLERMO MARTIN VILLALOBOS (211/77/11)

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF NOVEMBER 10, 1977, ON BEHALF OF [redacted] OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THE EMBASSY MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY ON OCTOBER 12, 1977, TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MR. ROLANDO HUGO JECKEL AND GUILLERMO MARTIN VILLALOBOS. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. JECKEL, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS. THEY HAVE NOT AS YET REPLIED REGARDING MR. VILLALOBOS.

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2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THESE CASES HAVE BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THESE CASES WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 09737 212018Z

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09736 212037Z
ACTION H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3832

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 9736

H PASS HONORABLE LEWELL WEICKER, JR.,
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF RAIMUNDO GLEYZER (13/76/11)

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 7, 1977 REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MR. RAIMUNDO GLEYZER, THE EMBASSY PRESENTED IN NOVEMBER 1976 A FORMAL INUIRY TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MR. BLEYZER. A REPLY WAS RECEIVED ON NOVEMBER 12, 1976 THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAD NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF MR. GLEYZER. NEXT WEEK THE EMBASSY WILL MAKE A FOLLOW UP INQUITY TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDING MR. GLEYZER.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS CASE HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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Current Class: [redacted] UNCLASSIFIED 12/22/77
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977BUENOS09763

Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09763 221649Z
ACTION ARA-14

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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 5158

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9763

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT MOTHERS GROUP DISAPPEARANCES : "MONTONERO" DOCUMENT BECOMING INOPERATIVE

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9715

1. WE SEE EVIDENCE THAT THE "MONTONERO PLOY" DESCRIBED REFTEL IS TO BE TREATED NOW BY GOA AS AN "INOPERATIVE" EXPLANATION OF THE FRENCH NUNS' DISAPPEARANCE.

2. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT ON TUESDAY (12/20) THE PAPAL NUNCIO RECEIVED A FORMAL REPLY FROM THE PRESIDENTS OFFICE TO THE NUNCIO'S EARLIER INQUIRY REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE MISSING NUNS. THE HAND DELIVERED RESPONSE (WE WERE NOT TOLD WHO SIGNED), REITERATED THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERN REGARDING THE NUNS DISAPPEARANCE AND PROMISED THAT EFFORTS

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 09763 221649Z

WERE UNDER WAY TO LOCATE THEM. NO MENTION WAS MADE OF MONTONERO INVOLVEMENT, THOUGH THE LETTER WAS DELIVERED THREE

UNCLASSIFIED

DAYS AFTER THE FIRST CORPS COMMUNIQUE.

3. THE PAPAL NUNCIO, MSGR. PIO LAGHI, CALLED ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON ON FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES. THE NUNCIO, REPORTEDLY, GEGAN HIS CONVERSATION BY STRONGLY QUESTIONING THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE "MONTONERO" LETTER WHICH MONTES DID NOT REBUT. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING THE NUNCIO STATED THAT HE COULD NOT SEND A REPORT TO ROME, ASSERTING THAT THE MONTONEROS WERE HOLDING THE NUNS FOR RANSOM, BASED ON NEWS STORIES; HE HAD TO RECEIVE AN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION REGARDING THAT EVEN FROM THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. ADMIRAL MONTES DID NOT AFFIRM HIS INTENTION TO SEND A NOTE.

4. WEDNESDAY'S (12/21) ARMY CONTROLLED DAILY LA OPINION FRONT PAGED A STORY THAT MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR HARGUINDEGUY HAD TOLD THE VISITING REPRESENTATIVE (A MR GADOT) OF MR EDGARD FAURE, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH HOUSE OF DEPUTIES, THAT HE WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT THE KIDNAPPING OF THE FRENCH NUNS WOULD HAV A "HAPPY ENDING." AGAIN A HIGH OFFICIAL SEEMS TO HAVE DENIED HIMSELF AN OPPORTUNITY TO CITE MONTONERO INVOLVEMENT.

5. OTHER EMBASSY CONTACTS -- INCLUDING ESPECHE GIL AT THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTRY'S NORTH AMERICAN DESK AND RICARDO YOFRE, SENIOR CIVILIAN AT THE PRESIDENCY, HAVE SIMPLY CLAMMED UP WHEN WE RAISED THE RECENT ABDUCTIONS, RATHER THAN TAKING GOA OFF THE HOOK BY REPEATING THE FIRST GORPS' ALLEGATION.

6. MEANWHILE THE FRENCH EMBASSY HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN POINTING OUT A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN KIDNAPPED SISTER ALICIA'S LETTER AND THE MONONERO'S DOCUMENT, BOTH OF WHICH WERE DELIVERED TO AGENCE FRANCE PRESS ON DECEMBER 17. SISTER ALICIA'S [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 09763 221649Z

LETTER STATES THAT SHE IS BEING HELD BY A DISSIDENT GROUP OF THE GOVERNMENT -- "UNGROUPE DISCIDENT AU GOUVERNEMENT ACTUEL". EMBASSY OFFICIALS POINT OUT THAT THIS IS NOT A DEFINITION THAT WOULD PRECISELY FIT THE MONTONEROS. IN ADDITION, THE SYNTAX OF THE FRENCH AND THE SUBSEQUENT USE OF THE WORD "AQUI" ALONGSIDE THE FRENCH WORD "ICI" INDICATE TO FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICIALS THAT THE SISTER TRANSLATED THE LETTER INTO FRENCH FROM A SPANISH ORIGINAL.

7. COMMENT: WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE CONSIDERED REACTION HERE BY THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TO IGNORE THE "MONTONERO LETTER. IF BY TACIT UNDERSTANDING THE MEMBERS OF THE

GOVERNMENT CONTINUE TO REGARD THE MONTONERO LETTER AS "INOPERATIVE", IT WILL ENHANCE THE CHANCES OF LOCATING AND RELEASING OF THE DISAPPEARED NUNS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE MOTHER'S OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

(H097)

~~SECRET~~/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON

UNCLASSIFIED

US+I

The EA items on Ind., Phil., & Korea have been sent to PD's box

H

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 37, December 29, 1977

hile Project (#S199900006)
.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise Deny ✓ Declass
xemption(s) B1 B3

SOVIET UNION
and
EASTERN EUROPE

USSR/Poland/Czechoslovakia

INR Review and Analysis

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (S) Downgrade to
Date 12/96 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Soviet Workers "Complaint" Group Adopts Rights Dissent Tactic. Unusual expressions of workers', as opposed to intellectuals', grievances are causing Soviet authorities obvious concern and may bring stronger measures to curb internal criticism. The press conference with Western newsmen held by a small unofficial workers "complaint" group early this month is one of the few instances in which workers have sought Western publicity for their cause. The move also confirms that although the workers have not espoused the broader goals of the human rights movement, they have at least established practical links with the intellectuals, and have, to some extent, adopted their tactics. Such a collaboration must seem potentially ominous to the Kremlin.

The arrest and psychiatric confinement of the leader of the group reflects this concern. Although the workers' complaints were non-ideological and confined to labor grievances, the official reaction was, in addition, in keeping with the policy of clamping down on all forms of internal criticism.

Surge of Polish Rights Activism. Rights activism increased in the pre-holiday season. Police rounded up students distributing leaflets endorsing President Carter's human rights stand in Warsaw's main shopping center. Thirteen persons were reportedly detained in five Polish cities for distributing leaflets and collecting signatures on a petition to the State Council calling for publication of the text of the UN Human Rights Convention ratified by Poland

~~SECRET~~/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON
~~EYES~~

UNCLASSIFIED

00000234.

earlier this year. Some 7,000 persons, according to a dissident spokesman, attended various human rights rallies on December 17. There are also reports that the police confiscated several duplicating machines used by dissident groups as well as a considerable number of copies of underground publications. A dozen different underground publications are rumored to be circulating in Poland.

New Czechoslovak Charter 77 Document Anticipated. The Charter 77 movement is expected to issue a new document on the first anniversary (January 1) of the Charter Manifesto. It reportedly will denounce the regime for continued violations of human and civil rights and call for broader implementation of these rights. The party daily Rude Pravo bitterly attacked Amnesty International on December 17 for calling attention to alleged violations of human rights in Communist countries while systematically ignoring repression in the West, including the US. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

AFRICA

Ethiopia

Urban Terrorism at New High.

INR Review and Analysis. The level of urban terrorism in Ethiopia has steadily increased since September and now surpasses the high level of March-April. Probably only a small proportion of the thousands of Ethiopians who have died since the Revolution began three years ago, however, have been executed by the Mengistu regime. Most have been victims of the periodic breakdowns of order that have accompanied the destruction of the old ruling institutions. Personal, class, and ethnic scores are being settled, and the government is unable to control the violence. In addition, the government contributes to the atmosphere of violence by its use of brutal and arbitrary measures to quell dissidence.

The current upsurge in terrorism in Addis Ababa began in September with the assassination of the head of the pro-government trade union. Government reprisals followed which, in turn, resulted in new killings of government officials, including a member of the ruling military council. The council apparently now has given a free hand to squads of urban dwellers' associations (kebeles) and the police to carry out a "red terror" designed to counter the "white terror" of counterrevolutionaries.

The EPRP is the most important of several underground groups warring with one another and against Mengistu. The EPRP core is just as radical as Mengistu, differing only on its goal of civilian rule. Its supporters, however, include many members of the former privileged classes who oppose Mengistu's social leveling. The EPRP conflict with the kebeles--who represent the urban proletariat--increasingly resembles a class conflict. Mengistu has tried to reach a truce with the EPRP but has been rebuffed.

MIDDLE EAST and SOUTH ASIA

India

Government Admits Wiretaps. Prime Minister Desai has told Parliament that he has personally reviewed the list of persons whose telephones are being tapped, saying that no new name could be added without his personal approval. He also said that no MPs are on the list, which is restricted to those who engage in violent activities. MPs, nevertheless, have charged that intelligence officials have maintained surveillance over their movements; a Communist MP alleged that the government has tapped the telephones of and maintained surveillance over his party members. (UNCLASSIFIED, Reuters 1134, December 17)

INR Comment: Indian law permits telephone taps and personal surveillance. Both practices were widely used by Prime Minister Gandhi against her political opponents during the 1975-77 State of Emergency. The new Janata government probably uses these powers far more sparingly, but it is unlikely that it will abandon them entirely. These police powers date back to the pre-independence period and are widely accepted in India as necessary to maintain law and order. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Pakistan

Mrs. Bhutto Under House Arrest For Threatening Agitation. The military government has placed Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto, wife of the jailed ex-Prime Minister and leader of the formerly

dominant Pakistan People's Party (PPP), under house arrest for two weeks from December 27 to January 10. Mrs. Bhutto was to have led a "Day of Democracy" agitation on January 5 (her husband's birthday) to demand his release and a return to civilian government. She has also threatened street violence unless the government immediately calls for elections. The Bhuttos' 24-year old daughter, along with prominent PPP leaders in the Punjab, was arrested on December 20 in the wake of a pro/anti-PPP riot stirred up by the two Bhutto women at a cricket match in Lahore.

INR Comment: Mrs. Bhutto's house arrest carries out a threat General Zia ul-Haq made on December 19 when he learned of the cricket match fracas. According to a reliable source, he has become more impatient with Mrs. Bhutto's provocative political behavior and evidently feels that the planned January 5 demonstration would have posed a significant threat to public order. All outdoor political activity has been banned since Zia postponed the elections in October.

General Zia has been observing some of the niceties of due process. Miss Bhutto was given the right to challenge her house arrest in court; other provincial courts are full of cases brought by PPP sympathizers challenging the legality of Mr. Bhutto's detention. A Supreme Court ruling in November upheld the legality of the present martial law regime, but also held that the regime is answerable to the law and the constitution for its actions. (UNCLASSIFIED, Reuter 1337, December 27; SECRET, Islamabad 12306, December 18)

LATIN AMERICA

Chile

Chile Now Less of an Issue in UN. USUN reports that the majority of the non-aligned nations are losing interest in the human rights issue in Chile because

--US policy towards Chile has defused efforts by certain delegations (e.g., Cuba) to use condemnation of the Chilean Government as a rallying point for non-aligned anti-Americanism; and

--there is general recognition that the Chilean human rights situation has improved.

The "tired and frustrated" Working Group (WG) on Chile also recognizes that human rights progress has been made, and hopes to find a way to make a quiet exit from the scene

while making it appear that the UN has won a victory. Members of the WG believe that this aim could be achieved if the Chilean Government would invite it for a visit, thereby enabling them to write a report finding that although some problems remain, there has been substantial improvement. The WG could then recommend that its mandate calling for vigorous oversight of Chile should be replaced by a much milder directive. However, negotiations over a possible visit remain stalemated over Chile's insistence on conditions unacceptable to the Working Group. (CONFIDENTIAL, USUN 5718, December 17)

Guatemala

Venezuela

INR Comment: [redacted] suggest that Perez is prepared to use harsh counterterrorist methods, including summary execution of guerrillas and their supporters. It seems likely, that DISIP and the military have been proceeding in a heavy-handed manner against the approximately 150-200 insurgents, who are more of an embarrassment than a threat to the government.

President Perez' basic inclination probably is to proceed against guerrillas with all available means. He is likely to be restrained by solicitude for his party's chances in the upcoming presidential election, however, as well as the need to preserve his own reputation as a human rights champion and the most outspoken regional supporter of the US rights policy.

Argentina

Christmas Amnesty Affects 432 Prisoners. On December 23 the government announced an amnesty affecting 432 persons jailed by the executive branch under state of siege powers. Three hundred and eighty-nine prisoners were released from executive custody, and 43 more were expelled, permitted to leave the country, paroled, or placed under house arrest. This was the largest release of executive detainees under the current military government, although, as Embassy Buenos Aires notes, it fell far short of expectations entertained by some observers.

Release from executive detention means only that those named will not be charged under national security laws; an unknown number of the 389 named may continue in jail as a result of parallel and pending criminal charges.

The government also stated that there are now 3,607 persons being held under executive authority, and that a list of their names will be published "at an opportune time." There is no way to check the government's figures. (CONFIDENTIAL, Buenos Aires 9881, December 28)

INR Comment: Whether the 389 are physically freed or held for criminal proceedings, official acknowledgement of their detentions means that they can now expect normal

prison treatment, and they no longer are candidates for the list of "disappeareds." The 17 protesters associated with the "Mothers of Plaza de Mayo" who disappeared in mid-December were not included in the amnesty, and no information has yet been received about them. (CONFIDENTIAL)

EAST ASIA and the PACIFIC

Indonesia

Massive Prisoner Release Goes Off on Schedule. The government announced the release on December 20 of 10,000 political prisoners. Official spokesmen said that while the detainees were being given "complete freedom," they would still be subject to government control and guidance "until their loyalty is assured." Those who could not find jobs, or who had no families to rejoin, would be offered voluntary resettlement outside of overcrowded Java. A house, two hectares of land, and temporary subsistence would be provided for each family.

During the release ceremonies the detainees took an oath of allegiance to Indonesia, agreed to be available to the authorities for further questioning on security matters, and pledged not to engage in actions to undermine political stability.

Embassy Jakarta officers who attended release ceremonies found the detainees generally in good health and spirits and saw no evidence of intimidation regarding resettlement. The government has promised foreign ambassadors and the International Committee of the Red Cross access to camps and resettlement areas. Amnesty International has called for the release of all remaining prisoners immediately and unconditionally, and says that it is unwilling to accept the December 20 release at its face value until the names, dates, and places of release are publicly made available. (UNCLASSIFIED, FBIS, December 20; UNCLASSIFIED, New York Times, December 20; CONFIDENTIAL, Medan 6498, December 20; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Jakarta 17054, December 20)

Six Boys Die in Cramped Cell. Reuter reports that the official Indonesian news agency issued a release on December 26 stating that six boys, between 10 and 16 years of age, had died in an eight-by-fourteen foot cell in South Sumatra, apparently because they could not get enough fresh air. They reportedly had been in prison since December 21, following their arrest for having put road blocks in front of a house. (UNCLASSIFIED, Reuter, December 26)

INR Comment: This tragic case of official neglect, if true, will not be helpful in Indonesia's attempts to improve its human rights reputation. (UNCLASSIFIED)

South Korea

Kim Moved to "Half-Way House". Government authorities transferred imprisoned opposition party leader. Kim Tae-jung to a hospital on December 19 for treatment of a rheumatoid condition he suffered from prior to his arrest last year. They denied he was being released on "sick bail" and said that his legal status remained unchanged. The event has renewed speculation among Korean dissidents about the timetable for the release of other political prisoners. (CONFIDENTIAL, Seoul 10652, 10672, December 19 and 22, respectively)

INR Comment: Seoul's disclaimer notwithstanding, Kim now enjoys better living conditions and greater access to his family and lawyer. His transfer to a de facto half-way house also may make it easier for negotiators from the KCIA and dissident church groups to agree on a compromise solution for the release of other political prisoners. If this occurs--and dissident sources expect some releases by the end of the year--it will, in turn, set the stage for Kim's eventual release. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Philippines

[redacted]

INR Comment: This is the second reported such instruction in six months. After a similar instruction in June apparently resulted in a decline in countersubversion initiatives, however, Marcos reportedly let it be known that the instruction would not be strictly enforced. [redacted] say that the new instructions are being enforced, recent evidence

of the torture of Communist Party chairman Jose Sison after his capture on November 10 raises doubts about how much the situation has improved.

Cambodia/UK

UK to Propose Cambodia Rights Resolution in UNHRC. Embassy Brussels reports that the British representative told the meeting of European Community political directors on December 14 that the UK will introduce a resolution charging human rights violations in Cambodia at the February meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission. (CONFIDENTIAL, Brussels 18734, December 16)

Casa de Gobierno
Capital

(S) 36 K

BH035

Ante informaciones aparición ~~nueve~~ Doce. cadáveres en playa Santa Teresita- MX tres carbonizados en La Salada; dos envenenados en una comisaría Gran Buenos Aires; cinco muertos en Rosario en enfrentamiento en lugar desconocido y cinco presuntos fugados cárcel Córdoba y temor se trate detenidos desaparecidos, solicitamos urgente identificación y publicidad nombres y explicación causas decesos.

Firman ...

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

RE --

Señor
Presidente de la Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación
Talcahuano 550
Capital

Ante noticia periodística/ aparición ~~nueve~~ Doce. cadáveres playa Santa Teresita, MEX tres carbononizados La Sal dos envenanados comisaría Gran Buenos Aires y sospecha podrían ser detenidos desaparecidos beneficiarios XXXXXXXX presentación P-51 / 78 solicitamos en ese expediente urgente investigación directa esa Corte. Constituímos domicilio legal.....

.....

RENEE EPELBAUM

MARIA DEL ROSARIO CERRUTI

ANGELICA MIGNONE

(5) 18

BH031

CO.SO.FAM

COMISION DE FAMILIARES DE PRESOS MUERTOS Y DESAPARECIDOS POR RAZONES POLITICAS EN ARGENTINA

-DECLARACION DE PRINCIPIOS

-OBJETIVOS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

APARTADO M8644 MEXICO I, D.F

DECLARACION DE PRINCIPIOS

Los familiares de presos, muertos y desaparecidos por razones políticas en la República Argentina, sentimos la necesidad y el deber de dirigirnos al pueblo mexicano, a sus instituciones y a la opinión pública en general, con el obeto de dar a conocer los fundamentos de nuestra actividad como comisión de familiares (COSOFAM).

Residimos en México, bajo el amparo solidario del pueblo y el gobierno de este país. Estamos aca porque el ataque que han sufrido nuestros familiares y, en muchos casos, nosotros mismos, nos ha obligado, a transitar el camino del exilio.

Pero aunque estemos geográficamente lejos de nuestra patria y de nuestros seres queridos, sentimos la impostergable nocesidad de proteger la vida, la integridad y la felicidad de ellos.

Nuestra máxima aspiración es que la paz y la justicia vuelva a ser marco digno de la vida de todos los argentinos.

Ha corrido ya mucha sangre sobre nuestras ciudades y nuestros campos. Sangre de nuestros hijos, esposos, padres y hermanos.

La lista de presos, muertos y desaparecidos crece dia a día, desgarrando a miles de familias argentinas.

La persecución, la tortura, los vejámenes, se han convertido en una práctica cotidiana de persecución política.

¿Quienes son las víctimas?

Ancianos, mujeres, hombres y niños, extranjeros o argentinos, de cualquier credo o religión, campesinos, obreros, estudiantes o profesionales, cuyo único delito fue y es alzar sus voces sensibles y humanitarias, para pedir justicia. La justicia que se expresa en un trabajo digno, en escuela para los hijos, en el pan para todos, en la seguridad, en el derecho a vivir sin temor, en el pleno respeto a los derechos humanos.

¿Quienes son los responsables?

La Junta Militar Argentina que desde el 24 de marzo de 1976 agudiza el proceso represivo en contra del pueblo y todas aquellas personas que le prestan su ayuda.

Esta es la tragedia de nuestros familiares y de todo nuestro pueblo. Es por ello que nos hemos unido, para hacerla conocer y para movilizar a todos los hombres respetuosos de los derechos humanos, para exigir el fin de este baño de sangre sin precedentes en nuestra historia.

No nos alienta ningún movil ajeno a nuestra condición de familiares, actuamos libres de cualquier tutelaje partidario, político o religioso. Y bienvenidos a todas aquellas personas o instituciones que, sintiendo la nuestra como una causa justa y humana deseen ayudarnos.

OBJETIVOS

a) Respecto a nuestros familiares presos.
1.—Suspensión definitiva de todo tipo de tortura y vejámenes.
2.—Libertad inmediata a todos los presos sin causas y vigencia plena del derecho de opción conforme lo establece la Constitución Nacional.
3.—Garantías para la integridad física y psíquica de los presos políticos.
4.—Que se juzgue a todos los detenidos con causa conforme a la Constitución Nacional y leyes que no contravengan a esta.
5.—Alojamiento de todos los presos en penales federales provinciales.
6.—Publicación mensual de la nómina de los detenidos.
7.—Garantías para que los liberados no sean nuevamente objeto de la represión.

b) Respecto a nuestros familiares no reconocidos oficialmente.
1.—Publicación de nóminas.
2.—Donde están y cuál es su estado de salud.
3.—Cese de detenciones y centros de detención no reconocidos oficialmente.

c) Respecto a nuestros familiares muertos.
1.—Publicación de la nómina de muertos en manos de los organismos represivos del estado. (Fuerzas de seguridad, paramilitares y parapoliciales).
2.—Lugar y fecha y circunstancias de su muerte.
3.—Entrega de los cuerpos a los familiares.

d) Respecto a nuestros familiares asilados.
1.—Otorgamiento de salvoconducto a todos los asilados en las distintas embajadas en la Argentina.

e) Cese definitivo de la persecución y represalias a los familiares de presos, muertos y desaparecidos por causas políticas.

f) Solidaridad material y moral con la lucha de los familiares en Argentina.

LA PAZ COMIENZA CON LA VERDAD Y LA JUSTICIA

"Hoy Argentina, la prensa censurada, la Iglesia perseguida, el pueblo padeciendo hambre e injusticia, campos de concentración y cárcel para miles y miles de hombres y mujeres de nuestra patria, sometidos a las más terribles crueldades.

"Nosotros desde acá, estiramos nuestras manos y sabemos que nos encontraremos con las de ustedes y que nuestra voz callada ahora por este bárbaro sistema, serán mil voces, las de ustedes mostrando al mundo la verdadera cara de esta Argentina bañada en sangre".

Llamado de un preso político argentino.

La persona abajo firmante

Señora Laura Beatríz Bonaparte de Bruschtein domiciliada en Atoyac 26 Dto. 10, Col. Cuauhtemoc, México 5, D.F., desea comunicar a la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos para los fines previstos en su estatuto y Reglamento lo siguiente:

1. Aída Leonora Bruschstein nacida en Beunos Aires 21 Mayo 1951 soltera, de profesión maestra.

Hechos: A las 10 horas de la mañana, el 24 de Diciembre de 1975 fue secuestrada por personal del Ejercito Argentino (Batallon 601) de su lugar de trabajo como maestra de alfabetisación en la villa de Monte Chingolo, Pcia. de Buenos Aires. Un día antes fue the escena de un frentamiento que dejó un saldo de 100 muertos mas o menos, incluyendo muchos vecinos del lugar. Sin previa identificación fue fusilada ese mismo día y enterrada en un fosa común en el cementerio de Avellaneda. La identificación posterior a su muerte fue realizada a través del frasco No. 24 donde se encontraban sus manos cercenadas, dato proporcionado por el Juzgado No. 8 de La Plata. Ver anexo en inglés para informe más detallado. Muchos testigos incluyendo personal militar que informaron de los tratos bestiales que fueron sometidos antes de ser muerto.

En enero de 1976 yo, domiciliada en Lavalle 730, 5to Piso, Dto. 9 de Capital Federal entabló un juicio por asesinato al Ejercito Argentino en el Juzgado No. 8 de La Plata.

Fosa Común: En la comisaria principal de la Policia de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, alrededor de 12 de enero, me informaron después de un interrogatorio de tres horas que mi hija estaba enterrada en la Fosa 28 del cementerio de Avellaneda. Al día siguiente fui al cementerio donde descubro la fosa común. Era una cuadrada de cinco por cinco entre la pared del fondo y el deposito de Coronas de Flores. Al lado había una foso de agua verde - en cima una cruzecito con un cajón abierta. Me causó una impresión tan tremenda que de esa forma se había enterado mas que 100 personas incluyendo mi propia hija. Dejé mas flores y me fuí.

2. Santiago Bruschtein, Argentino, Nacido 15 diciembre de 1918, padre de Aída Leonora Bruchstein, y doctor bioquimico teniendo un laboratorio en la ciudad de Moron.

Hecho: El 11 de Junio de 1976 llega un grupo de miembros de las Fuerzas Armadas vestidos de civil y fuertemente armados a su departamento en la calle Lavalle 730 5to piso, Dto. 9, Capital Federal circa de mediodía. Por estar doliendo de un infarto cardiaco estaba acostado acompañandole una enfermera. Sus medicos pronosticaban unos 3 meses más de vida y así estaba practicamente en un estado muribundo. Irrumpieron en su departamento pidiendo por mi y los hijos preguntando "Como un judio Hijo de puta se atreve a hacer un juicio por asesinato al ejercito Argentino" Lo hicieron levantar y golpeandolo, lo metieron en un coche, negandole totalmente que llevara algunos de sus remedios. En todo el operativo, segun testigos, participaron mas de 20 coches. Nunca más supimos de él. Segúninformes extra oficiales habrá fallicido al administrarle el personal militar los primeros golpes pero hasta el día de hoy no sernos devolvió ni siquiera su cuerpo.

3. Patricia Villa, Argentina, nacida en Buenos Aires, 1952, periodista, trabajaba en el Inter Press News Agency. Era hermana de mi nuera Ana Villa de Bruschtein.

Hecho: Septiembre de 1976: a las dos de la tarde llegó a su oficina del Inter Press en Buenos Aires una comisión policial quien la detuvo frente a muchos testigos. Fue llevada a la Coordinación Federal, Calle Moreno, Capital Federal. Una semana después su familia fue notificada por personal de la marina Argentina de su muerte. Les piden mantener el hecho como "secreto" si no le iban a pasar lo mismo a ellos. Sin embargo co cadaver nunca fue devuelta a su familia ni tampoco identificado.

4. Eduardo Suarez, Argentino nacido 1948. Marido de Patricia Villa, periodista unico hijo.

Hecho: En días posteriores a la detención de Patricia Villa fue arrestado en la calle de Capital Federal y llevado a Co-ordinación Federal. De ahí

no se supo mas nada a pesar de todas las denuncias.

5. Adrian Saidón, Argentino, nacido 1952, empleado Prometido de mi hija Alda. Hechos Los primeros días de Marzo, 1976, fue muerto por la policia en un enfrentamiento en la calle. Su cadaver nunca fue entregado a su papá, el Dr. Adrian Saidón, abogado y empresario a pesar de sus reclamos.

6. Irene Mónica Bruschstein de Ginsburg, Argentina, nacida el 21 de Agosto, 1954 de profesión artista plastica, casada con Mario Ginsburg Argentino, nacido en 1952, maestro mayor de obras y estudiante de architectura.

Hechos El dia 11 de mayo de 1977 a las 6 de la mañana entró en su departamento de Capital Federal una delegación conjunta de la Policia Federal y el Ejercito Argentino. Llevaron detenidos la pareja matrimonial, dejando los hijos Victoria de dos años nueve meses, y Hugo Roberto de un año y cinco meses de edad en la puerta del edificio.

Yo presenté inmediatamente un recurso habeas corpus en la embajada de Argentina en México, el padre de Mario hizo lo mismo en Buenos Aires por su hijo. Hizo denuncias a las Naciones Unidas, Amnestía Internacional, etc. A pesar de todo todavia no hay un indicio oficial sobre el paradero de su detención. Tengo una esperanza firme de que esten con vida.

La detención y desaparición de mi hija Irene Mónica y de su marido Mario figura ante su comisión como el caso Nº 2676 O.E.A.

Hasta ahora no hay respuesta del gobierno Argentino a este caso.

Como madre ,imposibilitada de volver a la Argentina por las razones descriptas y teniendo en cuenta la situación de completa inseguridad de Irene y Mario toda vez que no existe un jurista que pueda hacerse cargo de promover los recursos pertinentes en Buenos Aires pido que intervengan todas las instituciones que luchan por la defensa de los Derechos Humanos a fin que se inicie el procedimiento necesario y poder salvaguardar la vida y la libertad de las personas mencionadas.

Laura B. Bonaparte

DENUNCIA TESTIMONIAL:

La abajo firmante

Susana Yofre de Vaca Narvaja

de nacionalidad argentina, domiciliada en Cerrada de Mercaderes 16,2do.Piso, Dpto.202, Mexico 19, desea testimoniar ante la Comision Interamericana de Derechos Humanos para los fines previstos en su Estatuto y Reglamento lo siguiente:

1)NOMBRE DE LA PERSONA:

MIGUEL HUGO VACA NARVAJA:

Nacido en la Provincia de Córdoba, el 5 de Julio de 1915, libreta de Enrolamiento 2772633, de profesión abogado, padre de 12 hijos, fue Ministro - de Hacienda y de Gobierno a nivel Provincial, Presidente del Banco de Córdoba por dos periodos, profesor de la Universidad, Ministro del Interior y Candidato al Gobernador de Córdoba por la Unión Cívica Radical Intrasigente.

DOMICILIO:

Villa Walcarde, Córdoba

EL HECHO:

El 1o de Marzo de 1976 a las dos menos cuarto de la mañana penetraron en el domicilio doce hombres fuertemente armados identificándose como miembros de la Policia Federal. En esos momentos nos encontrabamos descansando mi marido, mi hijo Gonzalo y yo. Ellos dijeron que venían a practicar un allanamiento. Ataron las manos de mi esposo atras con una tira de plástico, lo llevaron al living y le prohibieron hablar. A mi hijo y a mi nos pusieron contra la pared en uno de los dormitorios con la cabeza tapada. Durante mas de media hora, revisaron y saquearon toda la casa. Robaron joyas artículos del hogar, treinta y tres peliculas filmadas de la familia, un proyector, cintas grabadas de discursos de mi marido de cuando era Ministro. Yo tuve una crisis nerviosa y empecé a gritar. Apresuraron el procedimiento "legal" y me llamaron para que me despidiera de mi marido que estaba con ropa de dormir y cubierto con una cubrecama. Yo pregunto entonces si es un procedimiento legal porque se lo llevan de esa forma. Entonces llaman a mi hijo para que le alcance un pantalón y zapatos. De esta manera mi esposo es retirado de casa y por versión de vecinos que presenciaron el hecho fue introducido en el baul de uno de los coches , ya que eran tres los coches en que se hicieron presentes.

No dejaron constancia del procedimiento, en el cual nada fue hallado, que pudiera comprometernos.

Esa misma noche nos presentamos en la seccional 14 de la policía de la Provincia de Córdoba

para denunciar el hecho. A las diez de la mañana del mismo dia 10 de Marzo se presento un recurso de Habeas Corpus en el juzgado Federal No.1. Fuimos a todos los organismos de seguridad y en todas partes respondieron que ellos no habian practicado el procedimiento. Quiero dejar constancia que esa misma noche en Cordoba se produjeron once secuestros mas. Desde entonces nunca mas hemos sabido de mi esposo.

2) A partir del secuestro de mi esposo, nuestro numeroso grupo familiar comienza a recibir amenazas de muerte, razon por la cual 26 miembros de mi familia pedimos asilo en la Embajada de Mexico, la que nos lo concedio con toda generosidad.

3) NOMBRE DE LA PERSONA:

MIGUEL HUGO VACA NARVAJA YOFRE

Nacido en la provincia de Cordoba, el 20 de Junio de 1941, de profesion abogado, casado y padre de 3 hijos. Fue procuardor del tesoro de la provincia de Cordoba, periodista de Radio Universidad, profesor suplente de la Universidad de Cordoba, profesor de historia del Colegio Nacional de Montserrat. Defensor de presos politicos y apoderado del Partido Autentico en Cordoba.

EL HECHO:

Fue detenido por la policía de la Provincia de Cordoba en el Juzgado Federal el 20 de Noviembre de 1975 mientras representaba al padre del joven Ciriani, que habia sido muerto por apremios ilegales en una dependencia policial. Desde ese dia hasta el 24 de Marzo de 1976 nunca fue indagado. Al no tener causa ni proceso se tramitó la opción para salir del pais, tramite que estaba terminado y el que le permitía viajar a Francia.

Despues del golpe militar, el penal no permitio que los presos politicos recibieran visita de sus familiares, ni de sus abogados, ni de sacerdotes. El 12 de Agosto de 1976 fecha en que aun seguían sin visitas, en un comunicado que aparecio en los diarios emitido por el 3er. cuerpo de Ejercito, anuncio la muerte de mi hijo con otros 2 detenidos Toranzo y Debreuil . El comunicado decia que al ser trasladados para ser interrogados habían intentado fugarse. Pero yo digo que esto no es cierto y paso a detallar porque:

Los presos que a fines de Setiembre fueron trasladados del penal de Cordoba, al penal de Sierra Chica, en el que sí habia visitas, contaron a sus familiares lo que realmente su-

cedio: Los tres jovenes fueron trasladados al patio del penal. Junto con ellos llevaron a otro preso para que presenciaria el fusilamiento de sus compañeros diciendole que al volver contara a sus compañeros lo que habia visto y que si no se portaban bien a todos les pasaria lo mismo.

4. CARLOS FELIPE ALTAMIRA YOFRE

Nacido el 29 de Julio de 1947 en la provincia de Còrdoba, soltero de profesión abogado,miembro del Colegio de Abogados de Córdoba,defensor de pros políticos y actuó en la investigación de los hechos de mi marido.

HECHO

El 27 de Mayo de 1976 a las 5 de la tarde mientras se diri a la casa de un cliente "Empresa MacKentor,Pavimentadora y Constructora de Córdoba" fué interceptado por hombres armados y según un testigo fué golpeado e introducido en el baù de un auto.Fuentes fidedignas indicaban que el Doctor Altamira estaba detenido en la Div sión de Informaciones de la Policía de la Provincia de Córdoba.Su madre presentó Habeas pus.No hubo contestación a este.Se dirigió al 3º Cuerpo del Ejército,negando estos que l tuvieran.Una semana después de detenido una patrulla militar se presentò a la empresa ll vándose las fichas y expedientes del Doctor Altamira ,cuya información según el oficial, la había obtenido del Doctor Altamira.

Además del recurso de Habeas Corpus,se hicieron telegramas a las autoridades nacionales eclesiásticas e inclusive organismos internacionales sin que hasta el momento se sepa su paradero.

5. GABRIELA YOFRE

Nacida el 4 de Junio de 1951 en Córdoba.Estudiante universi taria y madre de un hijo de 3 años.

HECHO

Entre los días 28 y 29 de Octubre de 1976,cuando caminaba po las calles de Capital Federal,sin precisar donde ,desapareció según de cree en un operat vo de control militar.Desde entonces no se supo mas de ella.Como consecuencia sus padres tuvieron que salir del país.

6. MARIA JOSE YOFRE

Argentina de 27 años ,detenida en"unidad 2" de Villa Devoto,

a disposición del Poder Ejecutivo Nacional (PEN) .Tiene pedida la opción y pido que le sea permitido salir del país.

Solicito a la Organización de los Estados Americanos protección para su vida .

DENUNCIA TESTIMONIAL:

Por la persona abajo firmante, SUSANA DE MIGEZ ,

En favor de:LIDIO ANTONIO MIGUEZ, nacido en Buenos Aires año 1940, de profesion empresario(fabricante de muñecos de mano y juguetes). Padre de tres hijos.

LOS HECHOS : El dia 10 de Enero de 1976, aproximadamente a las 4,15hs. de la mañana, fuimos despertados por fuertes golpes en la puerta de nuestra casa, Calle Juan Maurizzi 162, Córdoba.

Se presentaron alrededor de 15 personas, vestidas de civil, que dijeron ser policias. Allanaron nuestra casa y se llevaron a mi marido.

Ya en la mañana hicimos la denuncia del hecho, presentamos un recurso de Habeas Corpus ante el Juzgado Federal NO 1, redactado en su estudio por el Dr Jorge de la Rua. Hasta la fecha no hemos obtenido ninguna respuesta a las acciones realizadas y no hay indicios del lugar donde se podria encontrar mi marido.

Es de destacar que en la misma madrugada de la detencion de mi esposo, fueron detenidas, en similares caracteristicas, otras 16 personas mas.

En el mes de Marzo del mismo año, fueron descubiertos en el Lago San Roque,(Prov. de Cordoba) 24 cadáveres que nunca fueron identificados.

Algunas de los nombres que yo recuerdo de las persona s que desaparecieron junto con mi marido son: HECTOR OVERLIN-PILAR LOPEZ-NORMA WAQUIN-GLORIA WAQUIN-DANIEL SUAREZ Y SU ESPOSA-FERRARIS-A NNONE-BAUDRACCO. De ellos hasta el dia de hoy tampoco se sabe nada.

El Dr. Jorge de la Rua que hizo el habeas corpus de mi marido, se encuentra hoy exiliado en Venezuela, por amenazas recibidas por ser defensor de presos politicos.

A partir de la desaparicion de mi esposo, junto con otros familiares paso a integrar la COMISION de desaparecidos por causas politicas de la Pvcia.

da que inician todos los días decenas de familiares que lo único que piden es saber donde se encuentra su familiar.

Es así como nos presentamos, siempre en grupo, para nuestra propia seguridad, ante el 3er.Cuerpo de Ejército a cargo del General Lucio Benjamin Menendez, quien desde noviembre del año 75 se había hecho cargo del área seguridad y a quien responsabilizamos de todoas las detenciones.

Tambien nos presentamos ante la Aeronáutica, a la Gobernacion, a los juzgados Federal y Provincial, a la Policia Federal y Provincial, al Arzobispado. Enviamos telegramas al Ministerio del Interior, a la Presidencia de la Nacion y también a la Secretaría de Seguridad. Es allí donde nos presentamos con una nota como Comisión de Familiares y en ella figura mi nombre pues yo fui una de las personas que integraban la Comisión.

Eran ya los ultimos dias de Enro de 1976 y el Gobierno convoca a una reunión multisectorial , donde concurren todas las fuerzas políticas, el Gobernador, el Ministro de Gobierno, el arzobispo de Córcdba, Monseñor Primatesta, y todos los sectores del pueblo. Los únicos ausentes a esa rarnion son la policia Federal y el Comandante del 3er. cuerpo ejército quienes eran los principales convocados.

Allí hablan unas 29 personas, cada uno por su agrupacion y yo lo hago en nombre dela Comisión. Todos piden al Gobierno el total esclarecimiento de los hechos y que las personas desaparecidas aparezcan con vida. Asi lo promete el Gobierno. Hasta el 24 de Marzo de 1976, en que se produce el golpe militar no tuvimos ninguna respuesta.

Una vez la Junta militar en el gobierno, la comisión de desaparecidos se une a la comisión de presos politicos y comenzamos un accionar conjunto. Volvemos a iniciar todos los pasos enumerados anteriormente y ya somos cerca 300 personas las que nos movilizamos. A mediados de abril en momentos que nos encontramos frente a Aeronautica, camino a Carlos Paz, más de 30) personas fuimos amenazados y a los gritos nos ordenaron retirarnos, Al no cumplir la orden

LIGA ARGENTINA POR LOS DERECHOS DEL HOMBRE

JUECES, ABOGADOS Y COLABORADORES DE LA JUSTICIA

Miembro Fundador de la Federación Internacional por los Derechos del Hombre
Acreditado ante la ORGANIZACION DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (O. N. U.)
CORRIENTES 1785 - 5º "J" - Tel. 40-8067 - Buenos Aires

PLANILLA Nº 1

PROVINCIA ? (a obtener)

Nº Orden	PRESO O DESAPARECIDO (1)			RECLUIDO EN		GREMIO O PROFESION	A DISPOS. DEL	FAMILIARES		VINCULO O INFORME DE	OBSERVACIONES (2)
	Nombres y Apellido	del Depto.	Desde	Cárcel	Pab. Nº			Parentesco	Reside en		
1	Rafael San Martín (h)		28- 6-74	La Plata		abogado	PEN/causa			Com.Jur.	
2	Alejandro Ernesto Gaggi		7-77	id.		id.					La Opinión.
3	José Carlos Dumont		4/24			id.				Com.Jur.	
4	Elisa L.R.de Lesano		19-12-75			id.					E.Laura Batalla de Lesano
5	Emilio Mario Jarama	Tucumán?	16- 4-75	Tucumán		id.					Sobreseído/Opinión.
6	José María Vázquez			Magdalena		id.				Com.Jur.	Rr Subscr. Rales. Exteriores
7	César Cáceres		4/24			id.					
8	Hugo Ballagamba		D/24			id.					
9	Elena Kienebank		id.			id.					
10	Mario Gerardo Yasub		id.	desaparecido		id.					
11	Víctor Jacobo Kaf			id.							La Opinión
12											
13											
14											
15											
16											
17											
18											
19											
20											

(1) Indicar si apareció, y con vida.

(2) En cada renglón de observaciones, anotar si el preso y/o familiar reciben solidaridad, y continuar al dorso completando todos los datos que se crean útiles.

1/1978 R

AN 001

In 1978, a group of relatives of disappeared Uruguayans formed in Paris an association of families of disappeared Uruguayans (A.F.U.D.E.) to concern itself with the persisting problem of the disappearances of Uruguayan citizens in Uruguay and in neighboring countries. The A.F.U.D.E., composed of mothers, wives, sisters, and husbands of disappeared Uruguayans, seeks to inform international public opinion of the gravity of the systematic practices of the Uruguayan government to cause its citizens to "disappear", and to obtain information on the whereabouts of their disappeared relatives.

Representatives of A.F.U.D.E. have lodged complaints about the inhuman practices of their government before international bodies and have attended meetings of the U.N. Human Rights Commission to talk to governmental representatives and parliamentarians about their disappeared relatives. Two A.F.U.D.E. representatives have come to the United States to talk to U.S. government officials, United Nations representatives, and members of the Organization of American States about the documented list of over 100 persons disappeared since 1973, and also to present new evidence of and testimony to

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

820103
17419

the consistent practice of the Uruguayan government of violating all international Human Rights conventions and asylum treaties by pursuing the repressive practice of causing Uruguayan citizens to "disappear" in Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil.

MARIA DEL CARMEN ALMEIDA DE QUINTEROS: Mother of Elena Quinteros (30 years old), who was kidnapped by the Uruguayan armed forces in June 1976 on the grounds of the Venezuelan embassy in Montevideo. As a result of Elena's kidnapping from the embassy, a breach of diplomatic asylum treaties, the Venezuelan government broke off diplomatic relations with Uruguay. For the past three years, Mrs. Quinteros has been trying to get information on the whereabouts of her disappeared daughter.

General Background

Since 1973, there has been a progressive deterioration of the human rights situation in Uruguay: the General Assembly was dissolved; constitutional guarantees were suspended; all Union and political activities are prohibited; and cases of arbitrary detention, torture, and disappearances are rising precipitously in number. Many international bodies, including the O.A.S. (see 1978 CIDH report, 1976 CIDH Annual Report) have condemned the brutal practices of the Uruguayan

government and its military.

Approximately 400,000 Uruguayans, 18% of the active population, have left their country, 200,000 of them going to Argentina. There are approximately 5,000 political prisoners in Uruguay and over 50 reported deaths from ill-treatment, suicide, and torture, as well as over 15 disappearances in Uruguay. In 1974, the Uruguayan government began kidnapping political refugees in Argentina. In recent months, testimonies have been received confirming the collusion between the Uruguayan, Paraguayan, Brazilian, and Argentine security forces in the "disappearance" of Uruguayan citizens; this collusion is in violation of asylum treaties. 77 Uruguayans, including 6 children, have disappeared in Argentina. Some of these have been seen in Argentinian jails and pozos (wells), and some have been transferred to Uruguayan jails. 2 Uruguayans who disappeared in Paraguay were later seen in Uruguayan prisons. In Brazil, 4 Uruguayan disappeared in 1978, including 2 children. The O.A.S. Inter-American Commission on Human Rights passed Resolution 2155 in February 1979 accusing the Argentine and Uruguayan governments of cooperation in repressing the political exile community by illegally returning exiles to their home countries.

Mrs. Quinteros has additional information to present to the United Nations, the O.A.S., to the U.S. government, and to Mrs. Rosalynn Carter regarding the problem of disappeared Uruguayans.

~~SECRET~~/UNCLASSIFIED/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT

ile Project (#S199900006)
S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass.
emption(s) b1, b3

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 39, January 12, 1978

AFRICA

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (S) Downgrade to
Date 1/24/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Guinea

Situation Improves. According to Embassy Conakry, during December Sekou Toure ordered the releases of at least 62 political prisoners, the largest single political amnesty in Guinea's history. Those released appear to have been mostly middle- to higher-level former officials of less than ministerial rank arrested in a 1970-72 political purge (in the paranoid period that followed the raid on Conakry by Portuguese-backed exiles). Toure's motives for the amnesty derive essentially from his apparent willingness to listen once more to moderate advisors who appear to have urged pragmatism and conciliation internally (internal pressures which built up last summer have eased), pressures from abroad (particularly France and the US) concerning human rights, as well as from Toure's interest in increasing foreign assistance in an effort to correct internal economic weaknesses and lack of development. More releases reportedly are scheduled during the early part of this year. According to an Embassy source, it is intended that virtually all ranking political prisoners will be released before the end of 1978.

In a related development, Toure gave his assent last week for a visit to Guinea by a group representing the International Committee of the Red Cross to observe the human rights situation in Guinea. No date for the visit has yet been set. (CONFIDENTIAL, Conakry 2417, Conakry 0012, Conakry 0047, December 27, January 4, and January 6, respectively)

(37)

Kenya

Leading Intellectual Jailed. Embassy Nairobi reports that police arrested Kenya's leading intellectual dissident, author, and chairman of the Department of Literature of the University of Nairobi, Ngugi Wa Thiongo, on December 30. According to Wa Thiongo's wife, the police searched the house, confiscated 100 books, and detained the author for questioning. There has been no further word concerning his whereabouts, the specific reason for his detention, or the government's intentions in the case.

An avowed Marxist, Wa Thiongo has written forceful condemnations of the country's political-economic system, lambasting especially the current system and the acquisitiveness of the new Kikuyu elite. According to one source, President

~~SECRET~~/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/UNCLASSIFIED - XGDS-1,2

Kenyatta personally ordered the detention after some passages from a recently-published novel by Wa Thiongo were read to him.

Until now, leading intellectuals, journalists, and other critics not directly involved in the political process have been perceived as less of a threat than dissident politicians and have not been imprisoned. If, however, Wa Thiongo coninues to be held (either under the provisions of the Public Safety Act or for purported criminal offenses such as possession of subversive literature), Embassy Nairobi feels that there can be little doubt about the extent of the government's tolerance for criticism, and predicts that it will eventually be exposed to more serious criticism on human rights than heretofore. (CONFIDENTIAL, Nairobi 0052 and 0273, January 3 and 6, respectively)

INR Comment: The detention of Wa Thiongo, who has a considerable following among disenchanted university elements, was probably timed to coincide with the school's Christmas break. Sharp penalties imposed upon protesting students by the government in the last few years have rendered student activism almost inconsequential, although there is some apprehension that the arrest may touch off student protest. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Madagascar

President Questions West on Human Rights Policies. In an interview on a wide range of foreign policy subjects with the Paris-based periodical Afrique-Asie, President Ratsiraka responded to a question about the US human rights campaign by characterizing it as a two-sided policy. He asked specifically why the West continues to trade with, arm, and lend money to countries like Chile, Brazil, South Korea, South Africa, and Rhodesia. The President also declared that there is "not one political detainee" in Madagascar. (UNCLASSIFIED, Antananarivo 17, January 6)

INR Comment: Madagascar, which permits anti-government declarations and even tolerates considerable alleged coup-plotting by known opponents of the government, has a relatively good human rights record. We believe, however, that some of the suspected conspirators whose arrests have been reported in the past few months may still be detained without due process. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Uganda

EASTERN EUROPE

Czechoslovakia

Factionalism Plagues Charter 77 Movement. According to Embassy Prague, Jiri Hajek, former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister and original Charter 77 spokesman, is considering resigning from the Charter 77 movement because of increasing factionalism and a trend toward anti-Soviet attitudes which are likely to lead to punitive actions. Catholics and a group of intellectuals centered around the moderate position of recently appointed Charter spokeswoman, pop singer Marta Hajek. (CONFIDENTIAL, Prague 0013, January 3)

INR Comment: The Charter 77 movement has been plagued with factionalism virtually from its establishment in January 1977. Differences reportedly have existed between Czechs and Slovaks, Catholics and Protestants, intellectuals, and non-intellectuals, and former (expelled) Communists and non-Communists. There is also said to have been opposition

to Kubisova's appointment as spokeswoman last fall--allegedly because she appealed to elements more interested in defying the regime than in furthering the human rights struggle.

Factionalism within the Charter 77 movement has, for months, made it virtually impossible for the leadership to take decisive action. Hajek, the last of the three original spokesmen (one died of a stroke last March following intensive police interrogation and the other ceased his Charter activities after being released from prison), has been a powerful force in keeping the movement together. His resignation during this troubled time would constitute a serious setback to the movement. (CONFIDENTIAL)

USSR

Dissident Activity Continues. Embassy Moscow reports that Soviet tactics against dissidents in 1977 were reasonably successful in minimizing potentially embarrassing dissident activity during the Belgrade Conference and the October Revolution anniversary celebrations. While the Shcharanskiy case was drawing greater attention in the West than the Soviets probably expected, they apparently were able to break up embryonic human rights movements in Vilnius, Kiev, Tbilisi, and Yerevan. The Soviet tactics include isolating dissidents:

--from the West, through harassment of Western correspondents, stifling contacts with embassy officials, and curtailing the flow of mail;

--from one another, through exile, emigration, infiltration, and intimidation of family members; and

--from the Soviet public, through press attacks, close control of demonstrations, and arrest.

Nevertheless, dissident activities have not been halted; personal contacts with Westerners continue, and new members are joining the Helsinki group. The Embassy believes that the KGB will pursue its tactics in 1978, but not to the degree necessary to bring dissident activities to a complete halt. Potential sources of increased activism in 1978 are:

--the Shcharanskiy, Ginzburg, and Orlov trials; and

--broadening of refusenik demands for emigration rights to issues of religious freedom and Jewish cultural rights.

The Embassy believes that Soviet leaders are concerned about the consequences of a Shcharanskiy treason trial both at home and abroad. It estimates that they are prepared to accept possible negative foreign policy consequences, however, rather than tolerate any loss of domestic control. (CONFIDENTIAL, Moscow 0286 and 0287, January 7)

LATIN AMERICA

Chile

INR Review and Analysis

Implications of Pinochet Plebiscite Victory. Pinochet's overwhelming vote of support (75 percent) in the January 4 referendum, in which Chileans were asked to support or negate the legitimacy of his government

--will increase his personal power;

--seems likely to stall any moves toward internal liberalization; and

--will probably harden the regime's resistance to external pressures for improvements in human rights.

Pinochet called for the "national consultation" because he was angry and frustrated by what he perceived as US-Cuban collusion in the UN to pass a resolution condemning human rights violations in Chile. He clearly expected to win the plebiscite, but the margin of victory was larger than he had expected. Even given the element of fear which may have motivated some Chileans to vote "Yes," and the fact that opposition elements were largely denied the opportunity to express their positions publicly, the magnitude of the victory indicates substantial support for the regime.

Pinochet is flushed with victory, and it is highly unlikely that he will respond positively to any US and/or international pressures for internal change at this time. He has stated publicly that neither the state of siege nor the curfew will be lifted, and that there will be no more

elections for 10 years. Human rights progress in Chile is likely to be nonexistent in the immediate future, and if Pinochet perceives even a minimal threat to internal security, there may be a renewal of repressive measures.

It does not appear likely that, as clandestine sources reported earlier, he will carry out his threat to withdraw from the UN. However, should the UN Human Rights Commission, which meets in Geneva in February, pass another condemnatory resolution on Chile, Pinochet may reconsider that threat. (SECRET/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT)

A Stiff Letter to the UN. Immediately following Pinochet's January 4 plebiscite victory, he publicly promised Chileans that SYG Waldheim would be sent a harsh letter outlining Chile's position on the UN's condemnatory human rights resolution and its policy toward the UN Human Rights Commission. That letter was much milder than expected, according to Embassy Santiago.

The operative section stated: "I am informing you that the Chilean Government, from this moment on, will demand from the UNHRC a behavior strictly in accord with the law and in accord with the respect due it (Chile) and which our nation energetically demands as a sovereign and free country."

An official of the Foreign Ministry told the Embassy that negotiations with the UNHRC have not been broken off, and an on-site inspection by the commission remains a possibility. However, Chile is insisting upon new operational procedures, and if the UNHRC rebuffs this demand, Chile will restudy its position. (CONFIDENTIAL, Santiago 0106, January 6)

INR Comment: The government appears to be giving the UN and possibly the US another chance to soften what Pinochet views as discriminatory and unfair attitudes and policies toward Chile. The plebiscite victory has restored Pinochet's confidence, and he seems likely, at least in the near term, to resist UN demands to which he might previously have yielded. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Paraguay

Labor Leaders Detained. Embassy Asuncion has provided the following details concerning the mid-December arrest of Paraguayan labor and rural leaders:

--19 Christian Democratic trade unionists and rural activists are in jail, all having been beaten following their arrests and two apparently having been tortured by the Investigations Police;

--all 19 have been turned over to the courts on charges stemming from Paraguay's vague internal security laws; and

--judicial processing is liable to take months even if the detainees are found innocent.

The Paraguayan Labor Conferation (CTP), traditionally one of Stroessner's instruments of control, has protested the detentions in a letter to the Minister of Labor. It was the first time in 23 years, according to the Embassy, that the CTP has stood up to the government in defense of worker rights.

The Embassy attributes the incident to Police Chief Pastor Coronel's desire to maintain the myth of an omnipresent internal security threat to the country. The Embassy terms it a "major setback" for government officials disposed to improve Paraguay's human rights practices. (CONFIDENTIAL, Asuncion 17, 39, 76, and 91, January 3, 4, 6, and 9 respectively)

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00337 01 OF 02 162139Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
HA-05 AID-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SIL-01
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USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ___B1

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0337

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, ELAB, OEXC, CI
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON BANISHED CHILEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

REF: SANTIAGO 0300 (NOTAL) B) GENEVA 588

1. SUMMARY: THE DOZEN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (PDC) DETAINED JANUARY 13 ARRIVED AT THEIR DESTINATIONS IN REMOTE NORTHERN SITES JANUARY 14. THE RED CROSS REPRESENTATIVE HAS ASKED GENEVA'S AUTHORIZATION TO GET HIS DOCTOR TO THE AREA LATER THIS WEEK. THE GOC MOVED QUICKLY TO EFFECT THE BANISHMENT, RELYING ON STATE OF SEIGE EXECUTIVE POWERS. MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR THE EVENING OF JANUARY 15, PDC LEADERS SAID THEY VIEWED THE GOC'S ACTION AS A WARNING, BUT ADDED THAT IT MAY BE THE FIRST HINT OF THE ACROSS-THE-BOARD CRACKDOWN THAT GENERAL LEIGH HAS WARNED OF. THE EEC MAY CALL IN THE CHILEAN AMBASSADOR. END SUMMARY.

2. CARABINEROS HUSTLED 12 CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OF THE MAIN-STREAM LEFT OFF TO THE AIRPORT AT 0800 JANUARY 14 JUST AN HOUR BEFORE RELATIVES APPEARED AT THE JAIL RELYING ON GOC ASSURANCES THAT THEY COULD SEE THEM AT THAT TIME. THE 12
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00337 01 OF 02 162139Z

ARRIVED AT ARICA EARLY THE 14TH AND WERE SENT IN PAIRS TO REMOTE (AND WITH BUT ONE EXCPETION) MISERABLE WAY STATIONS IN THE HARSH ALTIPLANO AS FOLLOWS:

-- ANDRES AYLWIN AND JUAN REYES SALDIAS TO GUALLATIRI (THIS REPORTEDLY IS A COLLECTION OF THATCH/LEAN-TOS USED BY HIGHLAND INDIANS AS THEY DRIFT THROUGH THE AREA FOLLOWING GRAZING FLOCKS. AT 12,800 FT. IT IS FOUR HOURS BY 4-WHEEL DRIVE VEHICLE FROM PUTRE.)

-- GULLERMO YUNGE BUSTAMANTE AND SAMUEL ASTORGA

UNCLASSIFIED
Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(V) Classify as (C) Excise as ( ) Downgrade to __
Date 1/4/01 Declassify as _____ Reason 25X1,6

JOQUERA TO CHAPIQUINA (SAID TO BE A COMPARABLE SPOT).

-- JUAN SEPULVEDA MALBRAN AND HERNAN MERY TORO TO PUTRE (ONE OF THE MORE DESIRABLE OF THE SITES IN THAT IT IS NORMALLY ACCESSIBLE DURING THE RAINY SEASON AND CONTAINS ACTUAL BUILDINGS AND FOOD SUPPLIES).

-- BELISARIO VELASCO AND ENRIQUE HERNANDEZ ANDRADE TO PARINACOTA.

-- ELIAS SANCHEZ CABEZAS AND TOMAS REYES VICUNA TO CHUCUYO (ACCESSIBLE FROM PUTRE, LOCATED AT 13,400 FEET AND SIMILAR TO AYLWIN'S SITE--BUT REPORTEDLY REYES WILL GO TO CODPA -- SEE BELOW).

-- GEORGINA ACEITUNO SAAVEDRA AND IGNACIO BALBONTIN ARTEAGA TO CODPA (NEAR SEA LEVEL IN THE ATACAMA DESERT, ADEQUATE QUARTERS AND FOOD SUPPLIES).

3. EX-SENATORS TOMAS RYES AND ANDRES AYLWIN BOTH HAVE HEALTH PROBLEMS -- REYES, IN HIS MID-60'S REPORTEDLY SUFFERS FROM A DIABETIC CONDITION AND HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE;

[redacted]

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AYLWIN HAS BRONCHIAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATE WITH ARRESTED TB. AYLWIN ACCORDING TO THE PDC, WAS EVACUATED TO PUTRE WHEN HE SUFFERED ALTITUDE SICKNESS BUT WAS RETURNED TO GUALLATIRI ONCE HE RECOVERED FROM THE INITIAL ATTACK. EDUARDO FREI CALLED NORTHERN ZONE COMMANDER, GENERAL TORO, JANUARY 15 AND WAS ASSURED THAT REYES' MEDICAL PROBLEMS WOULD BE ATTENTED TO. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED HE IS IN CODPA, NEAR SEA LEVEL.

4. WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH LOCAL ICRC REPRESENTATIVE RUEFLI WHO TELLS US THAT HE HAS ASKED GENEVA'S PERMISSION TO GO TO THE AREA HIMSELF EVENTUALLY AND TO BRING THE ICRC DOCTOR BACK FROM BUENOS AIRES AND GET HIM IN THE NORTH BY LATER THIS WEEK.

(E)

5. AS REPORTED REFTEL, SOME 16 PEOPLE WERE DETAINED IN CONNECTION WITH A MEETING HELD AT YOUTH LEADER YUNGE'S DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO OFFICE. LABOR SOURCES SAY THAT THE GATHERING WAS TO DISCUSS MODERATE PDC POLICY TOWARD CUTS IN THE BUDGET OF THE CARDIJN FOUNDATION, A CHURCH-RELATED LABOR SUPPORT ORGANIZATION. A WEEK OR SO EARLIER MORE RADICAL PDCERS WORKING AT THE CARDIJN HAD BRIEFLY SEIZED THE PREMISES OBJECTING TO PERSONNEL CUTS. THE GOC MUST HAVE BEEN CONFIDENT THAT THE MEETING WOULD BE A LONG ONE SINCE THEY ALERTED THE MEDIA AND MADE THEIR RAID AN HOUR AFTER THE SESSION STARTED.

6. WE STILL ARE NOT SURE JUST WHAT LEGAL AUTHORITY THE

GOC USED. VIOLATION OF THE POLITICAL RECESS HAS BEEN MADE A CRIME UNDER VARIOUS DECREE LAWS. IT APPEARS THE GOC USED ITS EXECUTIVE POWERS UNDERS THE STATE OF SIEGE TO DETAIN AND BANISH THE GROUP.

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7. PDC PRESIDENT ANDRES ZALDIVAR AND FREI LIEUTENANT RAUL TRONCOSO MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR THE EVENING OF JANUARY 15.

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 00337 01 OF 02 162139Z

ZALDIVAR DESCRIBED THE GOC'S ACTIONS AS "MORBID." THE PAIR EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR THE HEALH OF REYES AND AYLWIN, BUT SEEMED COMFORTED BY THE RESPONSE FREI RECEIVED FROM GENERAL TORO (PARAGRAPH 3). THEY HOPED THAT A VISIT BY THE RED CROSS REPRESENTATIVE WOULD DETER THE GOC FROM IMPOSING SUCH HARSH BANISHMENTS IN THE FUTURE AS WELL AS MITIGATING CONDITIONS FOR THE 12. THEY SAID THAT ALTHOUGH BANISHMENT IS TRADITIONAL IN CHILE, NEVER BEFORE THE PRESENT REGIME HAVE PEOPLE BEEN SENT TO SUCH HAZARDOUS AREAS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00337 02 OF 02 162141Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7829
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0337

8. ZALDIVAR TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT AT A TIME WHEN CHILE NEEDED ALL THE SUPPORT IT COULD GET IN THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE, THE GOC'S ACTION WAS PARTICULARLY INEPT. ALTHOUGH HE PREFERRED TO BELIEVE THAT THE GOC HAS LEAPT AT A CHANCE TO TEACH THE OPPOSITION A LESSON, HE FEARED THAT THE DETENTIONS MIGHT SIGNAL THE BEGINNING OF THE ACROSS-THE-BOARD CRACKDOWN GENERAL LEIGH HAS BEEN PREDICTING. ZALDIVAR ADDED THAT MANY AIR FORCE AND NAVY OFFICERS WERE UNHAPPY

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WITH THE BANISHMENTS. ZALDIVAR JUST WANTED TO BRING US UP TO DATE AND HAD NO SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR US REACTION. HE NOTED THAT TOO ACTIVE A FOREIGN ROLE MIGHT TEND TO DELAY THE RELEASE OF THE TWELVE.

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9. THE DANISH CHARGE CAME TO THE EMBASSY JANUARY 16 IN HIS CAPACITY AS LEADER OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. HE SAID HIS COLLEAGUES WERE PARTICULARLY UPSET THAT WELL-KNOWN ANTI-MARXIST POLITICIANS WERE BEING SUBJECTED TO SUCH REPRESSION. THE LOCAL GROUP WOULD PROBABLY URGE THE EEC TO CALL IN THE CHILEAN AMBASSADOR AT COPENHAGEN TO EXPRESS CONCERN, AND IT INCLINED TOWARD ISSUING A PUBLIC STATEMENT. IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUERY, WE SAID THAT WE HAD NO WORD ON WHAT THE DEPARTMENT PLANNED BUT DID NOT RULE OUT

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00337 02 OF 02 162141Z

THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING WITH CAUAS.

10. COMMENT: WE TEND TO SUBSCRIBE TO ZALDIVAR'S THEORY THAT THE GOC TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE MEETING AS AN EXAMPLE FOR OTHER POLITICIANS RATHER THAN AS THE FIRST STEP IN A CALCULATED SWEEP. THE SEVERITY AND CALLOUSNESS OF THE SANCTION IS NOT UNPRECEDENTED, BUT REYES AND AYLWIN ARE THE BEST KNOWN POLITICAL FIGURES YET AFFECTED.

11. THE STEPS ALREADY TAKEN AND UNDERWAY APPEAR TO HAVE GREATLY REDUCED THE THREAT TO REYES' AND AYLWIN'S HEALTH AND WILL START THE PROCESS OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE GOC. WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE A LENGTHY BANISHMENT (THE LABOR LEADERS GOT OUT IN ABOUT A MONTH). WE ASSUME THAT DEBATE WITHIN THE GOC WILL BE SPEARHEADED BY THOSE WORKING ON THE BEAGLE CHANNEL ISSUE IN WHICH THE GOC IS BASING ITS FORMAL POSITION ON STRICT ADHERENCE TO INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND SEEKING WORLD SUPPORT.

12. FOR GENEVA: WE THINK IT IS A GOOD IDEA FOR THE RED CROSS TO GET UP AND SEE THE TWELVE AND VERIFY THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY ARE LIVING. THE DOCTOR WOULD BE A GOOD START.

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LANDAU

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M. Schneider

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 40, January 19, 1978

AFRICA

South Africa

Destruction of Black Squatter Camp. American Consul Cape Town reports that South African workmen, escorted by an armed police guard, bulldozed about 100 shacks in a squatter camp 10 miles outside of Cape Town on January 16. The government claimed demolition was necessary to avoid a probable outbreak of typhoid due to the camp's lack of adequate sanitation facilities. Razing of the entire camp, "Unibell," would leave about 15,000 blacks, mostly women and children, homeless.

South African officials have indicated they would slow down demolition if the residents, primarily of the Xhosa tribe, voluntarily moved to their designated homeland, the Transkei. Transkei officials tried to stop the razing, but camp leaders have now rejected the advice of the "Transkei Consul" in Cape Town to accept the government offer of free rail transportation to return to the Transkei. The residents said they would remain at "Unibell" until the government offered an alternative site with both jobs and accommodations.

Under South Africa's "Population and Racial Control Law," blacks need official permission to live in white areas. Government policy has been to restrict permission to those who are effectively employed, usually men, and to deny it to their families. Few of the squatters had left the camp by the afternoon of the 16th, but the government position is unlikely to change, and razing will continue. Journalists were permitted to observe the demolition, but others were refused entry to the camp. (UNCLASSIFIED, Cape Town 0049, January 17)

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
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Date 11/24/04 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

Christmas Amnesty. Local human rights advocates, including a prominent member of the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, have told Embassy Buenos Aires that most of the 389 persons listed as having been released from state-of-siege detention during the Christmas amnesty have, in fact, been released form jail. None of the Embassy's contacts

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claims to have examined the list on a case-by-case basis, but the Permanent Assembly spokesman said that he believed that at least 300 persons were granted full liberty and that, to his knowledge, none had been rearrested. (CONFIDENTIAL, Buenos Aires 0318, January 13)

INR Comment: If the Embassy's sources are correct, the Christmas amnesty represents a significant departure from the GOA's normal "release" policy. In the past, prisoners released from state-of-siege detention have usually remained in jail awaiting judicial action on parallel and pending criminal charges. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Chile

INR Review and Analysis.

Government Banishes Christian Democrats, Gives Safe Conduct to Asylees, Agrees to Admit Three Women. Acting from new confidence growing out of the January 4 plebiscite victory, the Pinochet government has arrested and sent into internal exile 12 Christian Democratic Party (PDC) leaders. The arrests are a clear signal that political activity will not be tolerated.

Pinochet almost certainly interprets his plebiscite victory as a personal mandate for carrying out the junta goal of structuring a new Chile in which the old political parties have no place. However, the government's treatment of the PDC leaders does not necessarily indicate the initiation of a new wave of repression. Their arrests and banishment have been well publicized, indicating that the government is making an example of them for other "recalcitrant" politicians. It is highly doubtful that Pinochet perceives the PDC as any clear and present threat to his government and the banishment of the party leaders may be of short duration (the late 1977 banishment of union leaders lasted approximately one month).

Internal exile or "rustication" is not an unprecedented practice in Chile politics. The government would probably brand any formal diplomatic protest as unwarranted interferences in the internal functioning of the nation. Since Pinochet is still euphoric over his plebiscite victory and in no mood to brook any international interference in his government, protests could even result in a prolongation rather than a shortening of the period of banishment.

In a more positive development, the Chilean Government agreed to safe-conducts for five political asylees in the

in the Venezuelan Embassy in Santiago. It also agreed to the admission of the three women (Chilean nationals) previously excluded from Chile because of their intention to search for missing ("disappeared") relatives. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Uruguay

EASTERN EUROPE

Czechoslovakia

New Human Rights Document. The Charter 77 movement, commemorating the first anniversary of its establishment (January 1), has issued a document which calls on the regime to

--release all political prisoners;

--cease harassment of human rights advocates;

--initiate a dialogue with Charter leaders "in appropriate places, not in the prison cells of State Security;" and

--honor the international covenants on human rights which it had ratified.

On January 12, Charter spokesmen released a letter thanking the Belgrade CSCE review conference for publicizing the Charter's demands for more human rights in Czechoslovakia. This was the first time that the Charter group had sent an official letter to an organization outside Czechoslovakia. The same day, despite the symbolic hunger strike in front of the court building, the Czechoslovak Supreme Court rejected the appeals of four intellectuals (three of them Charter signatories) convicted of subversion in October 1977. It did, however, reduce by one year the sentence of the non-Charter signatory who decided to collaborate with the authorities. (CONFIDENTIAL, Prague 116, January 13; UNCLASSIFIED, New York Times, January 11 and Reuter, January 12)

INR Comment: The latest document comes as a surprise: Charter factions reportedly were so divided over the timing and content of a new declaration that none was expected for the first anniversary. No information is available as to whether its release represented a compromise between the

factions or was forced through by the younger, more "radical" elements which are said to be increasing their influence in the movement. The letter to the CSCE review conference, which debated the trials of the intellectual dissidents last October, may reflect the assertiveness of these youthful elements.

However, despite protestations by Charter spokesmen--reiterated in the latest document--that the human rights struggle in Czechoslovakia will be continued, the movement has lost much of the momentum it had in early 1977. (CONFIDENTIAL)

USSR

INR Review and Analysis.

Continued Stirrings Among Dissidents. The investigation of the Shcharanskiy case reportedly has been extended until January 25. Attempts by the Shcharanskiy family to enlist a foreign lawyer have been firmly rebuffed, and it appears that a Moscow attorney with KGB "clearance" has already been selected. With CSCE re-opening this week in Belgrade-however, the Kremlin is probably reluctant to try him until after the Conference ends. The negative effects of a trial were conveyed to the Soviets last week by Senator Stevenson in Moscow, who reportedly told them that it would be "impossible" to lift restrictions on bilateral trade if Shcharanskiy were tried as a CIA agent.

Meanwhile, there have been unconfirmed reports that Sakharov's step-son and family have been granted exit visas to Israel. Sakharov has lately been pictured as tired and discouraged, but this development could revive his spirits and prompt him to renew his challenge to the authorities, an act that might lead, in turn, to his involuntary departure.

Although the dissident movement has been gravely affected by the arrests and exiles of the past year, there is some evidence of an upsurge of activity:

--several recently or soon-to-be-released political prisoners (including a Crimean Tatar leader and the founder of the Moscow branch of Amnesty International) are expected to renew their activities;

--plans are afoot among Jewish scientist refuseniks to hold a conference in Moscow in cooperation with an international scientific organization; and

--the CSCE Monitoring Group continues to function, albeit on a reduced scale.

Religious believers have been subjected to renewed pressures. There are reports that some Penteacostalists allegedly promised exit permission by the authorities were not allowed to emigrate or even travel to Moscow to protest. Unregistered Baptists have been harassed, and the son of a leading preacher in the Ukraine reportedly was beaten and detained for over 15 days. (CONFIDENTIAL)

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Iran

Resurgence of Dissent. A spokesman for a newly-formed Iranian Human Rights Committee claims that 76 persons died on January 9, when police opened fire on a demonstration by conservative religious elements in the city of Qom. The group sent UN Secretary General Waldheim (in Iran on an official visit) a copy of a letter to Prime Minister Amouzegar asserting that the streets of Qom were "littered with the dead and wounded."

On January 8, Grumman Corporation's Tehran office received a letter from the People's Sacrifice Guerrillas (Chariks) threatening to "destroy" F-14 and F-16 aircraft projects and claiming credit for the December 31 explosion at the Iran-American Society's Academic Center. (CONFIDENTIAL, Tehran 389 and 390, January 11; CONFIDENTIAL, Tehran 425, January 12)

INR Comment: Restiveness has been steadily growing in Iran over the past several months, partly due to the system's failure to provide an outlet for complaints about dislocations caused by Iran's efforts to modernize.

--Conservative religious leaders strongly oppose the Shah's policies of land reform and emancipation of women, and their willingness to speak out has been heightened by US emphasis on human rights.

--The Qom incident suggests that conservative elements may be more willing to resort to violence, and the police reaction to the demonstration may herald a reversal of the Shah's recent liberalization policies.

--The Grumman incident and the December 31 bombing may presage a new phase of terrorist activity

directly aimed at Americans. The Charik threat was the first against Americans in recent years, although three US employees of Rockwell International were killed by another Iranian terrorist group in August 1977.

Pakistan

Amnesty International Won't Defend Bhutto. Martin Ennals, the Secretary General of Amnesty International, was quoted by Pakistani newspapers on January 15 as saying that Pakistan's former Prime Minister Bhutto, currently under trial on criminal charges which include murder, "is not a political prisoner and Amnesty therefore will neither defend him nor will send observers to his trial." Ennals also reportedly expressed his happiness that there were now no prisoners of conscience in Pakistan. (UNCLASSIFIED, Islamabad 0493, January 15)

INR Comment: Martial law leader General Zia's international image on human rights will be enhanced by Ennals' remarks, if correctly reported. As we noted earlier, Zia has shifted Bhutto's trial from a military court to a civil court, and in December and January released the 54 accused in the so-called Hyderabad Conspiracy Case, the only remaining such group of political prisoners in Pakistan. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Bhutto Women Released. Pakistani newspapers reported on January 15 that the former Prime Minister's wife and daughter have been released from house detention. The two were arrested two weeks ago under martial law regulations for disturbing public order. Numerous other People's Party colleagues who had been arrested at the same time were also released. (UNCLASSIFIED, Islamabad 0493, January 15)

INR Comment: Mrs. Bhutto and the PPP had threatened mass demonstrations on January 5, in observance of "Democracy Day" to protest martial law. The demonstrations fell flat, partly because many party leaders were under detention. (UNCLASSIFIED)

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P75028-2190

January 27, 1975

CHILE RESPONDS TO GROWING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Chile's military government has shown itself sensitive to recent international criticisms concerning its treatment of political prisoners and its abridgment of human rights. Rebukes by the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly, the International Commission of Jurists, and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, together with the anticipated visit of Secretary Kissinger, apparently are working to produce some liberalizing of the internal security system.

The Evidence. Former Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda, the government's most important political prisoner, was released on January 11 after 16 months' imprisonment and deported to Romania. Along with Almeyda, the government also released without trial four ranking officials of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) regime. Almeyda personified the evils of the UP period in the eyes of the military junta, which repeatedly refused to release him until he had been formally tried on charges of embezzlement and misuse of government funds. His release must have been a bitter pill for the Pinochet government to swallow.

Other recent actions taken by the Chilean regime include:

--the release on January 9 of Gaston Pascal Lyon, father of Andres Pascal Allende, leader of the extremist Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and estranged husband of Laura Allende, after a month's detention without formal charges;

--a proposal by President Pinochet on New Year's Day to release 200 political prisoners, including Laura Allende, if Mexico were willing to accept them;

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Assistant [illegible] and other [illegible]

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UNCLASSIFIED

EXEMPT FROM DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF E.O. 11652: 5B (2) (Classified by M. Packman)

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

--the release to the US Embassy of statistics on the number of prisoners taken since the fall of Allende and the current status of detainees;

--the creation, in the face of strong opposition from within the military, of a civilian committee to study the internal security problem and make recommendations by January 31;

--generally mild sentences for Chilean Army personnel secretly tried on charges of "crimes against the order and security of the Army," in contrast to mid-1974 trials of Chilean Air Force personnel on similar charges; and

--a drastic reduction of some 30 military tribunal sentences imposed over a year ago, constituting a virtual admission that the immediate post-coup sentencing was too severe.

Intelligence reports indicate that President Pinochet and his senior military advisers are considering a number of further steps:

--In deference to Secretary Kissinger's proposed visit to Santiago in February, the government reportedly is making plans to release several senior-level detainees.

--All political prisoners may soon be able to appeal sentences imposed by military tribunals directly to the Supreme Court.

--The government seems to be moving to enforce its stated policy position against the use of torture by members of the military intelligence apparatus.

--The "state of siege" may be downgraded, which would restrict the military's authority to take extralegal actions in security cases and would restore some degree of Chile's traditional juridical-procedural safeguards.

Offer to Mexico. President Pinochet's offer to send 200 political prisoners to Mexico "at no cost" to the Mexican Government was made formal on January 3 by Chilean diplomatic notes. Their freedom is conditioned on Mexico's willingness

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to receive them. The majority of the prisoners are identified as members of the extremist MIR or MIR affiliates. The principal figure on the list is former President Allende's sister, Laura Allende Gossens, who was arrested in November 1974 as an MIR collaborator.

Mexico broke diplomatic relations with Chile on November 26, 1974, over the human rights issue,* and has never disguised its hostility toward the military regime since the fall of President Allende. President Echeverria reportedly has accepted an invitation to address the third meeting of the International Investigative Commission on the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, scheduled to meet in Mexico City February 18-21. Pinochet's offer to free 200 prisoners to Mexico tends to place Echeverria in a "put up or shut up" position.

Prisoner Statistics. The Chilean National Secretariat for Detainees has provided detailed--and apparently reliable--statistics to our embassy on the government's security operations. According to data, some 30,000 persons have been processed by security authorities on "political" or "national security" grounds since September 1973. About 90 percent of these individuals are free today in Chile or have been allowed to leave the country.

Of the remaining 10 percent (approximately 3,660 persons), about 760 are being held under "state of siege" authority without formal charges. This group includes:

--100 prisoners which the government offered to release last November 1974 provided other countries would accept them;

--100 additional prisoners to be released after placement of the above group;

--200 prisoners, including Laura Allende, offered to Mexico;

--100 prisoners whose cases are being studied further; and

* See INR IN-119, "Mexico's Break With Chile", December 2, 1974 (SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM).

[redacted]

--260 hard-core Allende and Popular Unity militants considered too dangerous to release (and who probably face prolonged imprisonment).

Approximately 2,900 persons are listed as being under formal court jurisdiction. This group includes:

--prisoners whose indictments are being prepared by the authorities (procesados);

--prisoners currently being tried by civilian or military courts;

--prisoners now serving sentences; and

--prisoners on probation who remain under court jurisdiction (about 600 persons).

Prospects. The Chilean Government is seriously concerned about internal security and will continue to arrest suspects. Rightly or wrongly, President Pinochet and the other chiefs of the armed forces assess the potential for violence as very high if security measures are relaxed too far. They appear to be resolved to weather international criticism for the sake of national survival. Nevertheless:

--the number of detainees probably will be reduced;

--the treatment of prisoners probably will improve; and

--the government may admit that charges against some detainees are unsubstantiated and that sentencing has been too harsh.

Statistics provided by the National Secretariat on Detainees may indicate increasing executive control over the once chaotic situation which characterized the government's security program. The offer to release prisoners to other countries suggests that the government wishes to reduce to the minimum those prisoners who have not been bound over to the judicial system. Finally, the offer to release 200 prisoners to Mexico shows that the Chilean military--in the face of what they consider to be hypocritical attacks by foreign governments--may be learning how to respond to international criticism.

Prepared by W. L. Lofstrom
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REPORT OF THE MOST NOTORIOUS CASES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN URUGUAY FROM AUGUST 1977 to JANUARY 30th 1978

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GENERAL REMARKS

- We have choosen 8 differents kinds of situations and selected some of the most representative cases in order to best examplify the situations.
- Neither the kinds of situations nor the number of cases are exhaustive.
- It must be remembered that this report is limited in time to the last 6 months. For that reason there are only four death cases reported as result of systematic practices of physical and psychological torture or abuses on detainees (although there are more than 60 death cases during the last years); twelve cases of disappearence in Uruguay and Argentina (although there are almost 100 cases since the end of 1975); one hundred of arbitrary arrests, administrative detentions or unfair trials (actually there are more than 6.000 political prisoners in Uruguay); and a few but significant cases of attacks against the Press (although more than 30 newspapers and other publications have been closed in Uruguay); etc.
- These situations confirm that the Uruguayan Government during the last 6 months had not stopped its violations of human rights, but has in fact, increased them.

I DEATHS in consequence of abuse or torture practices

1. PEREYRA, Hugo: 54 years old, detained on the fall of 1975 and later indicted by the Military. On August 1977, the Army delivered his corpse to his family with the head almost shattered and a large incision across the abdomen: The Armed Forces certified the reason for death as "cerebral embolism".

2. ESQUIVO, Héber: 42 years old with 3 children. Accused by a military court in 1972, detained at "Libertad" (Military Detention Establishment Nr. 1), last August he was forced to undergo a prolonged "plenton" (forced standing for long periods) which caused a fatal heart attack.

81D208
Box 4975

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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3. GARCIA, Marcelino, 63 years old, a former sargent. Also detained in "Libertad" prison, his death was a result of a heart attack (infarct) which not received any medical care.

4. SOARES NETTO, Myriam VIENES de: 46 years old, the widow of Deputy Soares Netto. Died in November 5th 1977 in the "Hospital Italiano". She was arrested by the Navy the 6th May 1977 and was held "incomunicado" without warrant of charge for more than three months. On 15th August 1977 a Military Court accused her of "Asistencia a la Asociacion" (Assistance to subversive association). On 29th October 1977 she was released and died seven days later - another example of omission of medical care. The official explanation of the Uruguayan Navy stated:

a) that when Mrs. Soares Netto was arrested the Army verified a pre-cancerous wound.

b) that only three months after she was admitted to the Military Hospital.

c) the same year, on September 18th, a biopsy indicated cancer.

d) Nevertheless the same day (September 18th 1977) Mrs. Soares Netto returned to the place of detention when she was previously held by the Navy,

e) 8 days later the Army returned her to the Military Hospital.

f) when she was finally released from custody she was admitted immediately to the "Hospital Italiano" in such a serious condition that she was put in the intensive medical care center, where she died seven days after.

5. CEDRES IBARBOUROU, Norma: widow, 45 years ols. Arrested in the fall of 1975 and salvagely tortured. According an official communicate she committed suicide at her cell in Punta Rieles", femenin prison, during the month of January 1978.

II DISAPPEARANCES

A. Disappearances in Uruguay

1. CASTRO, Julio: 69 years old, eminent teacher and journalist, he was for a long period the UNESCO Programme Director for several Latin America countries. He was also assistant director of "Marcha", an influential cultural weekly, until its close in 1974.
He was arrested on a street of Montevideo, on August 1st. 1977. Since this day no news about his whereabouts nor about the car he was driving when

detained. The Uruguayan Government have never admitted his detention, and on October 3rd. 1977, an official communicate stated that Julio Castro made a voyage to Buenos Aires the 22nd. September 1977. Nevertheless the Argentinean Government - answering officially to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission of the O.A.S. stated that in spite of the fact that his name figures in a passenger list, Julio Castro entrance in the Argentina Republic was not registered. The Reverend Josph Eldridge of the Washington Office of latin America Director, declared that"the Argentinean answer constitutes a documentary evidence of the Uruguayan authorities falsehood in order to cover their responsability in the Julio Castro's sequestration and murder". Those who known Julio Castro well are completely convinced that his age and feeble health would not enable him to survive the habitual treatement that the Military forces inflict to political detainees.

2. COHEN PAPPO, Ricardo: 28 years old, with one son, advanced Medical student. Arrested in Montevideo in the beginning of September 1977. Up to now his relatives have been unable to get any information about his actual situation.

3. ESCUDERO, Julio César: clerk of a Bank.

B. Disappearances in Argentina

1. D'ELIA PALLARES, Julio César, Uruguayan, 32 years old, married, an economist. Arrested in Buenos Aires the 2nd half of December 1977, the Argentinean authorities have refused to give any information about his detention.

2. DELIA, Yolanda de : wife of Julio C D'Elia, Uruguayan. When she was arrested with her husband, was 8 months pregnant.

3. BORELLI CATTANEO, Raúl: Uruguayan, 23 years old, a Medical student. Arrested in B. Aires on December 22nd, 1977 at 6 o'clock A.M. His relatives presented an appeal of "Habeas Corpus" and a complaint to the ACNUR, but the Argentinean Authorities didn't admit his detention.

4. MARTINEZ, Mario: Uruguayan, social worker. Arrested during the 2nd half of December 1977, in B. Aires.

5. CASTRO de MARTINEZ, Maria Antonia: Uruguayan, physician, the wife of Mario Martinez, was arrested with him.

6. CABEZUDO PEREZ, Carlos Federico: Uruguayan, 29 years old, Mathematics

professor, arrested in B. Aires on 30th December 1977.

7. CARNEIRO DA FONTOURA, Jubelinho Andrés: Uruguayan, 34 years old, student, arrested together with his wife Carolina BARRIENTOS an Argentinean on 30th December 1977 in B. Aires.

8. GOMEZ ROSANO, Célica: Uruguayan, 31 years old, employee. Arrested in B. Aires upon leaving her office, the 30th December 1977.

9. CASTILLO, Ataliva: Uruguayan, rural worker, arrested in B. Aires at the end of December 1977.

10. RIOS CASAS, Miguel Angel: Uruguayan, arrested in B. Aires during the last days of December 1977.

Note: Unless otherwise indicated , in all the cases cited above in which the persons were apprehended at their homes (in B. Aires), the Argentinean authorities have either refused to give any information about their detention, or have denied their detention. In all these cases the persons who were detained had not any penal or political antecedent in Argentina, but all of them had been persecuted in Uruguay by political reasons.

III Complete destruction of the constitutional Judicial Power and persecutions of lawyers.

The 1967 Uruguayan Constitution rests upon a carefully delineated separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers, that in fact has been utterly destroyed. The primary step in this process was the "coup d'état" of the 27th June 1973 which dissolved the elected General Assembly. Another recent step was the "Institutional Act. No. 8 of July 1st, 1977" by which the Executive (backed by the military) decrees the elimination of the Judicial Power as an independent State Power and makes the magistrates mere instruments of the Executive.

At the same time, the "Executive" took direct measures against the individuals who filled offices in the administration of justice. More than 10% of all judges and functionaries have been removed from office without following proper procedures, by a simple order of the Justice Ministry.

Lawyers have also been persecuted, in order to impede the exercise of their natural right to defend their clients, and to deny their clients right to be defended.

Among the numerous lawyers obliged to leave the country in the last three months we cite: ADREASSEN, Susana, CORBO, José Luis, URIOSTE, Fernando and MARTINEZ MORENO, José Carlos.

A list of lawyers arrested in these last six months is found below.

Thus the constitutional bulkward designed to protect the arbitrary exercise of Governmental powers has been completely destroyed.

IV DETAINMENTS

1. SCHUMANN PACHECO, Rodolfo: 55 years old, lawyer, one of the most famous penalists of Uruguay, author of many books and articles on Penal Law and Professor of Penal Law at the Law School of the Montevideo University. He never had any political activity except voting. He was arrested on September 30th 1977 and tried in a military court for "Asistencia a la Asociacion ", for "Usurpacion de Funciones" (Functions Usurpation), and for "desacato" (disobedience).

2. FRAGA, Jorge: Lawyer, he worked with Dr. Schuman and was captured with him.

3. FABRI, Hugo: Lawyer, 65 years old. Arrested on October 21st 1977 and later tried for "Atentado a la fuerza moral de las Fuerzas Armadas" ("Outrage against the moral resources of the Armed Forces"). He is prosecuted once (more than 6 years ago) he criticized an action of the military in a paper filed with a court. Being in prison, he suffered an heart attack.

4. BIASCO, Emilio: Lawyer, tried by a military court for "Atentado a la Fuerza moral de las Fuerzas Armadas". The prosecution is based on a plea filed with an administrative court which alleged that his client had been removed from public office for political reasons.

5. STURINI, Martha: notary.

6. COLETTA, Alvaro: Law student

7. GONZALEZ MENTHOL, Julian: Dentist, former Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry, captured on January 3rd 1978, tried by a military court for "escarnio"("derision") because he had criticized - 5 years ago during a session of the Faculty Council - the occupation and destruction of some universitary places by the military.

For the same reasons and almost at the same time many others university professors were prosecuted. The words considered punishable by the military courts in these cases, were pronounced also from universitary offices, some as long as 10 and even 15 years ago.

8. VIERA, Luis Alberto: Lawyer and notary.

9. FIRPO, Orlando: Notary.

10. FIRPO , Mario: Notary.

11. DRI, Jaime: Former Argentinean Deputy, captured in Montevideo on December 10th 1977.

12. ESTRELLA AVILA BORGES, Miguel Angel: 40 years old, Argentinean, pianist. Arrested in Montevideo on December 14th 1977 and tried by a military court. He is a world famous pianist , Musicians and noted artists (among them Yehudi Menuhin) from different countries have declared their concern about this actual situation.

13. ODASSO BIANUCCI, Raquel: Argentinean, 25 years old, captured in Montevideo on December 14th 1977 and tried recently by a military court.

14. OLIVERA CRAIZOZ, Luisina Beatriz: Argentinean, 24 years old. Arrested the 14th December 1977 and later tried by a military court in Montevideo.

15. BRACONY LUCERO, Jaime Luis: Argentinean, 36 years old, arrested in Montevideo on December 14th 1977 and tried later by the military court.

16. VILARO, Gustavo: 27 years old, bank clerk and student, arrested in Uruguan the first days of December 1977. Hospitalized in the Military Hospital after being tortured.

17. BARREIX de VILARO, Rosita: Social worker, wife of Gustavo Vilaro. Captured at the beginning of December 1977. No information about his detention had been given by the authorities.

18. RODRIGUEZ, Juan Manuel: 29 years old, professor of the Faculty of Economy (Economical Sciences).19. GUZMAN, Miguel, construction worker, 20. DOSSIL, Carlos, 21. FYNN, Cristina, 32 years old, social service, 22. ROSELLA, Jorge, 23. MARTINEZ, Ruben, 24. DURANTE, Julio, textile worker, 25. NAHOUM, Benjamin, engineer, 26. STURINI, Marta, notary, 27. CRIMINELLE, Oscar, 28. KAPLAN, Miguel, student, 29. URIARTE, Dacis, student, 30. NIN , Fernando, student, 31. SOLARI, Jorge, student, 32. CHIAPPE, Walter, 33. DURAN, Carlos, electrician, Christian Worker's Union leader, 34. IBARBURU, Ricerdo, agronomist, CASTELLI, Carlos, worker of the metalurgical branch, 36. BOTTI, Ricardo, 37. MUELA, Mary Gimnastic Eduaction teacher, 38. BARRIOS, Sixto, 39. LARREA, J, bank clerk, NOGUEIRA, Mario, textil worker, 41. LIGNERI, Graciela, textio worer, 42. VEZOLI,

43. MARICHAL, Graciela, 44. RODRIGUEZ, Alvaro, student , 45. GUEMES, Elbio, student, 46. ACCINELLI, Elbio, student, 47. ETCHENIQUE, Eduardo, student, 48. FERNANDEZ RAPETTI, Carlos, accountant, 49. FERNANDEZ CATTINO, Raul, accountant, 50. OREGGIONI, L., notary, 51. PEREZ ORTEGA, Juan Carlos, Lawyer, 52. ESPONDA DARDO, engineer, 53. ROSAS , Ricardo, engineer, 54. BONATIVA, Luis Pedro, rural producer, 55. REHERMAN, Celiar, 56. SWEDT, H, 57. CUNEO, José, 58. CARRIO, Pablo, 59. RUOCCO, Humberto, ACUNA , Carlos, 61. VARELA, Juan, 62. APARICIO, A, 63. ACOSTA, Mario, 64. PEREZ, Gualberto, 65. MEYER, Kurt, 66. EDELMAN, Julio, 67. VINAS, Luis, 68. SCARPA, Luis, 69. MUNIZ TABORDA, Judith, 70. MUNIZ TABORDA, Elvira, 71. HUERTAS,Jorge J. 72. TASSINO, Oscar, 73. GUTIERREZ,Ramon, 74 PALEIRO, Rosario, 75. LORIER, Alberto, 76. ARIGON, Eduardo, 77. TRELLES, O. 78. ACUNA, Carlos, 79. ORTIZ, J., 80. ESPINOLA, maria Mercedes, 81. ABELANDO, Hugo, 82. KONCKE, Marta, 83. RASENDE, Ana, 84. RODRIGUEZ, Juan C. 85. PEYROUX, Alberto, 86. MORALES, Amalia, 87. BARALDE, Juan Arturo, 88. TREJO, Alejandro, 89. SUAREZ, Ines, 90. BOTTANA, Nora, 91. LEV, Mario, 92. RODRIGUEZ, Anibal, 93. BLIXEN, Enrique, 94. MESA, Lidia, 95. ARREGUI, wario, writer, 96. BAUBETA, Milka (professor), 97. LATORRE, Raul, 98. PLATERO, Eduardo, 99. ALDROVANDI, Pedro, 100. GUARNIERI, Sonia, 101. GARCIA, Julio, 102. TERSAGHI, Daniel, 103. REGINESSI, Antonio, 104. PINEYRUA, Bernardo: Captain (Navy), former President of the Navy Club, on May 12th 1978 withdraw from active duty to retirement by order of the Navy Commander in Chief, and later tried by a military court.

V. ATTACKS AGAINST THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

1. On August 1977 the 3 editors of "El Dia" (newspaper), Dr. Guzman, Leonardo, Dr. Barbagelata, Anibal and Mr. Batlle Chevriere, Jose and two journalists of the same paper, Mr. Hierro, Luis and Mr. Crespo, Juan A., were arrested and interrogated for several hours about two news articles published by "El Dia". One reported a militar meeting held for decision of the new Chief of the Army nomination, and the other reproduced a judicial decisoon affirming the independency of the Judicial power and its judges. The Judge who signed that sentence was later removed from his office by an order of the Justice Ministry.

2. On 30th August 1977 the executive power decreed the closing (only for two editions)of the monthly review "Busqueda", edited by the jurist Ramon

Diaz and belonging to the close associates of Alejandro Végh Villegas Councellor of State. This sanction was inflicted because an article in the review criticized the "Institutional Act. Nr. 8" (see III above).

3. On September 12th 1977 the executive power mandated the permanent closing of the newspaper "El Heraldo" edited in the city of Young (Department of Rio Negro).

4. On 26 September 1977 the Executive decreed the closing for 10 editions of the newspaper "El Dia" as well as the expulsion from the country for an indefinite period of Dr. Leonardo Guzman, (see case 1 above), one of the paper's editor. Furthermore the Government decreed the suspension of all tax-exemptions and other benefits of the uruguayan press. The argument of these three sanctions was the publication in an advertising page of a coarse affront against the military.

The policy inquiry confirmed that the authorities of the newspaper were innocent of these insultants words (as they themselves had previously maintained). Some "El Dia" printing office workers were interrogated under torture in order to prosecute this case. The economic sanction was maintained for a month and Dr. Guzman was authorized to return to Uruguay only after three months.

5. From September 22nd to December 21st 1977 two Uruguayan newspapers did not receive the customary governmental advertising. This two month sanction was based on the unintentional neglect of publish an official communicate of the DINARP "Direccion Nacional de Relaciones Publicas" (an State office charged to assure the relationships between the Government and the Press).

6. In November 1977 a military court tried the journalist Guillermo Gonzalez (married, 42) for"Ataque a la fuerza moral de las Fuerzas Armadas" because he was the author of an interview (published 8 years ago) with political prisoner, in which the interviewed related the tortures inflicted during his detention period. The notary who asisted to this interview and certified it, Mr. José Maria Vilaboa was imprisoned and tried also at the same time that the journalist. (see situation III).

7. The Brasilian journalist Flavio TAVARES, correspondent of the newspapers "O Estado de Sao Paulo" and "Excelsior" of Mexico, was expelled from the country at the end of January 1978. Tavares had been captured and tried

by an Uruguayan military court on July 1977 because of his professional activities. Prior to his expulsion he was released in the beginning of January 1978.

VI Deprivation of the guarantees of a due process of law and equal protection of the law and of the right to a fair trial.

During the last months the military courts tried civilians for acts committed prior to the law which made them illegal. In many cases the same persons, was prosecuted again, for acts for which they had already servel a term in prison. Thus they were punished twice by the military courts. Among these are the following cases:

1. CAMPORA, David, Accountant. The military jurisdiction had ordered his release during the year 1973, but in reality he was not set free. 82 German Federal Republic Deputies addressed to the Uruguayan Government a petition asking for his freedom. Shortly afterwards the military courts tried him again for the same facts that had caused him original imprisonment.

2. ROMERO, Héctor: Worker.

3. DE VARGAS SACCONE, Washington: in this case we remark that this detainee, in the Libertad Prison, when he had news about his new trial, and fearing a new torture "process" (in orderto get his "confessions" that would permit another judicial proceeding) attempted suicide by cutting his arms vains. Nevertheless a military court tried him again,

VII EXPULSIONS

Besides the expulsions cited above, the Uruguayan Government ordered on September 1977 the expulsion of Leonel BRIZOLA, a former Governor of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil) in exile in Uruguay since 1964. He had no political activity and was not notified about the reasons of his expulsion.

VIII CASH PRISONS

In Uruguay, nowadays, the political prisoners must pay 10 new pesos for each day of detention or prison. This signifies that for each month in jail people must pay almost 60 dollars (the 75% of a good salary in Uruguay). Of course, this provision is applied only to political prisoners, and is not in force for the ordinary prisoners, who are allowed to work in prison and earn a low salary. The political prisoners who must pay for their stay

are not allowed to earn any salary or compensation for any kind of work or activity that they could (and often are forced to) perform.

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TELEGRAM

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FROM: AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

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TAGS: SHUM, PINS, SREF, AR
JECT: AMB DISCUSSES HUMAN RIGHTS, RIGHT OF OPTION AND BEAGLE CHANNEL WITH DEP FONMIN ALLARA

TION: SECSTATE WASHDC

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0786

SUMMARY: Anticipated fireworks failed to materialize at Jan 30 private luncheon with Dep. FonMin Allara at Embassy luncheon. My leading questions failed to jar Allara's composure as we discussed human rights and other sensitive topics. He asserted that the right of option program is to be vigorously carried out by GOA and denied that Massera's differences with Videla are significant. END SUMMARY

1. Missing Nuns and Mothers: Avoiding subleties, I told Dep FonMin that consensus in diplomatic corps and among private Argentines was that kidnapping of French Nuns and Plaza de Mayo [redacted] mothers was carried out by a GOA agency. There was no outburst from Allara and he said he concluded same thing. As an exculpatory note, Allara said probably some bumbling low-grade officer was behind kidnapping, for it was not an officially approved GOA project. On being asked, Allara refused to speculate on which might be the guilty GOA

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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agency. I suggested to him that this episode could be the straw that breaks the camel's back with regard to USG/GOA relations. I emphasized my government's concern over lack of progress in the human rights field. His response was limited to saying that GOA was trying its best but having problems with the meddling of a few hard-line military units which he failed to identify.

2. Jacobo Timerman Case: When I told Allara that I had been repeatedly advised in the US that Argentina was anti-semitic, his stoicism yielded a bit. He became defensive, saying that the Jewish community in Argentina loved the country. I reminded Allara that when I made my rounds to meet members of the Junta, Cabinet members and key military leaders, the Timerman case had been discussed at length. During these calls I was led to form the impression that Timerman would be released during the Christmas holidays-which did not take place. Congressional interest in this case was heavy and increasing. Allara responded that it was his impression that a solution to the Timerman case would be reached soon. I told him that this was more of the "promises promises" I had been hearing before, but without action. He repeated that a solution would be found soon; perhaps Timerman would be released from the P.E.N. and turned

over to the judicial system. I said this would be "double Jeopardy" since Timerman had been acquitted by a military tribunal and it would be seen as an unjudicial and unsophisticated act which would give Argentina a barbaric image abroad. Allara said he was not privy to all details in the Timerman case, but that something was in the wind.

3. Deutsch, Vogler and Rus Cases: I mentioned, in general terms, the cases of Deutsch family, Vogler and Rus. Allara was familiar with them. I explained that these were high interest cases in the eyes of the USG, Congress and the world. He commented that it was unfortunate they were all Jewish. He affirmed that he and FonMin Montes were sympathetic toward all these cases, but could not prevail against the pressure of a few military hard-liners.

4. Right of Option: The topic of the right of option seemed to agree with Allara. He immediately took the initiative, stating that the GOA could not support its current prison population. He said they were ready to release as many prisoners as possible under the right of option program and emphasized they wanted more embassies to issue certificates (guaranteeing entry into a foreign country) so the program could be implemented speedily.

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He said FonOff will furnish embassies with any and all background info they need on a prisoner. He concluded by pleading that all countries accepting right of option cases should monitor the activities of these individuals at their destinations. Allara said he feared many pockets of subversion were being formed in key capitals of the world. This he felt could be avoided by surveillance on the part of the host country.

5. Beagle Straits: Allara prophesied that the Beagle Straits differences would be resolved to the satisfaction of Chile and Argentina. He displayed no concern over the topic.

6. Times and Post Stories: On being asked if he had read recent stories in the New York Times and Washington Post, Allara said he was familiar with the contents of both. The Times story's thrust was the lack of progress by the GOA in the field of human rights. He characterized Juan de Onis, author of the Times story, as an arch enemy of Argentina and incapable of objectivity. He vigorously denied the Washington Post story's contention that Massera and Videla are on the point of a split. He repeated it was widely known that Massera had honest differences of opinion with the President, and these differences would not merit being called acrimonious debate. He did not foresee a real split nor a change of the

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current GOA.

7. COMMENT: Allara proposed that we get together for luncheon. He seemed more subdued than usual and I got the impression that he was taking soundings of my opinion about Admiral Massera as a potential leader. Allara impressed me that GOA is, in fact, ready to move ahead to make this program a reality. He offered his full personal cooperation on any problem I had to raise with the Foreign Office and asked that I call him directly. He did his best to leave the impression with me that the Argentine Navy offers its full cooperation to the United States and, after all, the Foreign Office is Navy controlled.

CASTRO

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January 31,1978

Dear Tex,

You requested a copy of what the Argentine human rights report might have looked like. A copy of one of the later drafts is attached. The adjectives changed almost every day as the report went from hand to hand. I'm sure that Jim would welcome your comments, particularly factual ones. Don't pick on the editorial style since it has the blessings of the seventh floor mighty.

As usual I reiterate my request for more frequent human rights roundups. There is no other way to inject order into the human rights information monster. The roundup should include a summary of terrorist activity for the period addressed as well as the plusses and minusses of the same period. As I think you know, the roundup is the basic reference document for the Christopher Committee reports and affects IFIs and Eximbank. It is also used to backup or reject arms transfer requests.

One last word, keep the information flowing to us on Deutsch,Timerman and Vogler. Guillermo Vogler is very angry and seems to want to join the ranks of Argentina's opposition in exile. The Fournesses are concerned that this will hurt Liliana and Luz. You can imagine all the ruckus that Deutsch,Timerman and Vogler will raise when they are free.

I hope you are enjoying BA's warmth. The Potomac is clogged with icebergs which at times are a much more impressive sight than what one sees in Foggy Bottom.

My best to Bill,Tony and Yvonne.

Fred

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 024687

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: CATALINA SCHIUMA

1. ARA/ECA HAS RECEIVED AN INQUIRY CONCERNING CATALINA SCHIMA, AN ARGENTINE CITIZEN, FROM FORD FOUNDATION DIRECTOR OF LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN PROJECTS, JAMES HIMES. HE REPORTED HER RECENT ARREST AND INDICATED THEIR REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE APPROACHING THE EMBASSY.

2. AVAILABLE INFORMATION:

CATALINA SCHIUMA, RESEARCH SPECIALIST, CENTER OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH (CIE), ZABALA 2677, BUENOS AIRES. FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING HER SITUATION AVAILABLE FROM DR. MIGUEL PETTY, B.A. TELEPHONE [redacted] B-6

3. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE ANY AVAILABLE INFORMATION.
VANCE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Argentina

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OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2007-0044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mr. Allen Harris
Human Rights Officer
American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Tex:

Welcome back from vacation! While you were gone you missed the visit of Herb Semmel from the Center for Law and Social Policy and Admiral Sanguinetti from the French-based International League for Human Rights. I had a chance to talk with both of them upon their return to the United States and thought I would pass on what they said for your information and in case any of it is news (some of it was to me).

Sanguinetti did most of the talking. He passed on the following information from a meeting with Harguindeguy. According to the Minister 43 additional people will be granted the right of option on February 15. 3,472 is the number of people under PEN (slightly lower than that published in the press). Of these six are religious, 144 are foreigners. 1,899 have been held since the days of Isabel Peron, leaving 1,583 as detained after the coup. Harguindeguy says Isabel released 729 such detainees in her day while the military have released 2,361. Evidently Harguindeguy agreed to give a dossier containing this and, perhaps, additional information to a third member of the Semmel Group, John Carroll, a Supreme Court Justice from New York. I'll pass it on if Carroll has it.

Harguindeguy said that two people are under house arrest and 46 are allowed freedom under surveillance with a check-in to the police station required every two weeks. Harguindeguy claims all detainees are in official prisons with a few exceptions, i.e. six or eight. He admitted that detainees may be kept for four to six days at military installations during

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their initial interrogration. In response to a question by the Group, Harguindeguy said that no lawyers are in prison for having defended terrorists, rather they are held for being "more deeply involved" with terrorists. He responded to the question of why the State of Seige has not been lifted when it is recognized that armed terrorism is under control, by saying that if the State of Seige were lifted all the detainees would have to be released and he did not want this to happen. The Government

Harguindeguy told the Group that by February 15, the GOA will begin to publish the names of the detained. Semmel stressed that it is necessary for the USG to make public its concern over those held at military installations and outside the regular prisons in detention centers so that the GOA will be under some pressure to include their names as well in any lists published. Perhaps, the presence of the ICRC could be used somehow to prod the GOA to be more accountable on this score. That is unless, of course, one wishes to accept Harguindeguy's account that only six to eight are held outside of the regular prisons in contrast to other reports that from 2,000 to 2,500 may be held in Campo de Mayo alone.

Admiral Sanguinetti was shocked by Massera, with whom the Group also met. He said he denied responsibility for any detentions and constantly smiled while the most terrible things were being discussed.

With regard to the right of option, Semmel stressed that we could expect the GOA to provide biased dossiers on those requesting exile -- i.e. indicating they are terrorists in an effort to discourage governments from receiving them. I told Semmel that the Embassy would not take such briefs at their face value, but you may wish to keep this in the back of your mind. Further on the right of option, Semmel recounted a conversation with Ambassador Castro which indicates that the Ambassador did not understand our willingness and ability to accept those opting to come to the U.S. In referring to a remark made by Foreign Minister Montes to the Group that neither U.S. nor France would accept refugees, Castro said there was an element of truth in this and said we had no refugee program and that such a program

would require an act of Congress. This, of course, is not the case Tex and we are sending a cable out to explain how the refugee program works. Semmel suggested we make some sort of statement that we have refugee numbers available and are not getting the cooperation of the GOA. One other thing, Semmel felt the attitude of the Embassy staff with whom he spoke was overly defensive of the Argentine Government's need to restore order in the wake of terrorism.

Sanguinetti made inquiries about 16 French detained or disappeared (six of whom are dual nationals). He ran up against a stone wall with regard to the eight who are disappeared, including the two nuns. Although he received the cooperation of the French Embassy, apparently, the GOA was not made aware of any connection with them, much to my disappointment. He will hold a press conference upon his return to France. Let's hope this will generate some additional pressure on the part of French public opinion.

Sanguinetti picked up two other stories of interest. One involved an eyewittness account of uniformed military dumping some 20 or 25 cadavers at La Chacarita cemetary a week or so ago. Another involves a meeting of private and public school directors presided over by Lt. Col. Valladares, military advisor to the Ministry of Education on December 22. Other such meetings were supposedly held around the country. The theme was that the war against terrorism had now entered the ideological phase and the directors should set aside an hour each day to reflect on their subordinates. If any of their subordinates seemed discontent, e.g. were demanding higher wages or complaining, this was a sign that they were subversives and they should be reported to Valladares. Fantastic as this seems it fits in with what Harguindeguy told John Carroll. Carroll asked him to define subversion. Harguindeguy replied that the aim of the government was to get rid of all toltalitarian parties, whether of the right or the left. Tex, if this is real, and if it is to be stopped, it can only be stopped now.

On that happy note I'll close. I'm sorry that I haven't been writing more often but I'll try whenever I come across something which I think may be of

use to you. We all appreciate very much the excellent work you've been doing. I'm sorry Herb Semmel didn't have a chance to meet you as I think he would have come away with a different opinion of the Embassy.

Yours truly,

Michele M. Bova
Human Rights Officer

P.S.

On November 22 we cabled the name of a young women who has disappeared, Teresa Lajmanovich, (State 279351). Since then the Embassy submitted her name to the Foreign Ministry Working Group (BA 8872). However, according to the girls sister Ana who lives here, her parents have gone to the Embassy to ask if the name was submitted and have been told it has not. Could you help relieve their anxiety by telephoning them or dropping them a line to assure them that we've made the inquiry? Their address is: [redacted] B6

cc:
ARA/ECA:F. Rondon

[redacted]

1/31/78

L055

<<<<.>>>>
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BUENOS 00752 311730Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-15 HA-05 AID-05 /082 W
----------103009 311756Z /43

P 311400Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4354

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 0752

FOR: ARA GEORGE LISTER

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: EXPULSION OF CAMUSSO DE RODRIGUEZ (84/77/9) AND
PEN DETENTION FOR HUMBERTO LOPPANO (272/78/1) ANNOUNCED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

REF: A) 77 STATE 213815; B) 77 BA-6703; C) 77 STATE 278462

1. MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED JAN 27 IN ITS (MORE OR LESS) REGULAR LISTING OF PEN ARRESTS, RELEASES AND EXPULSIONS THAT PEN DETAINEE ALCIRA PATRICIA CAMUSSO DR RODRIGUEZ (SEE RETELS A AND B) HAD BEEN EXPELLED, AND THAT HUMBERTO POLLANO HAD BEEN PUT OFFICIALLY UNDER PEN DETENTION. ACCORDING TO REFTEL C POLLANO IS FATHER-IN-LAW OF GUILLERMO MCGOUGH, DIRECTO OF OFICINAS NACIONALES IN THE OAS.

2. ANNOUNCEMENT LISTED THE NAMES OF 7 PERSONS TO BE RELEASED FROM DETENTION STATUS UNDER THE PEN AND 21 PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN PLACED UNDER PEN DETENTION, AS WELL AS TWO PERSONS, MRS. RODRIGUEZ AND A CHILEAN (ROLAND GOERGE GILLMORE RODRIGUEZ) WHO WERE TO BE EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY.

3. WE HAVE NO WORD REGARDING MRS.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 00752 311730Z

RODRIGUEZ'S CHILD, WHICH ACCORDING TO HER MOTHER-IN-LAW WAS TO HAVE BEEN BORN IN LATE 1977, OR INFO ON ACTUAL TIMING OF HER DEPARTURE. WE SHALL CHECK

WITH FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP AND FRENCH EMBASSY FOR FURTHER DETAILS.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

AR006

Christian Church
(Disciples of Christ)
In The United States And Canada

DIVISION OF OVERSEAS MINISTRIES
P.O. Box 1986
Indianapolis, Indiana 46206
(317) 353-1491
Cable: GO

Robert A. Thomas
President

Garland S. Farmer
Vice-President and Treasurer

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Connie Thurber
Administrative Assistant

Ann Douglas
Department of Latin America and the Caribbean

Garland S. Farmer
Department of Finance

Christine Rouse, *Associate*

Robert S. Bates
Department of Interpretation and Personnel

Itoko Maeda
Director of Interpretation

February 1, 1978

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Ms. Patricia Derian
Office on Humanitarian Affairs
U.S. State Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Derian:

I was very glad to read in the New York Times that you have been in Southeast Asia and that the various forms of repression have been obvious to you. I know that you will be a help to many unfortunate men and women who suffer in Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Korea, and elsewhere.

However, I am writing about two people in Argentina who have been held by the police, one of whom has been tortured during her two years incarceration and the other having been held more recently.

Alicia Wieland - a former Rotary exchange student to Youngstown, Ohio, photographer for a newspaper shut down by the Isabelita Peron regime and further harrassed by the military. Miss Wieland was imprisoned in Cordova, then Buenos Aires, now back in Cordova, as far as we know. She has been held for over two years.

Alicia Elena Alfonsin de Cabandie, identification number 8.863.490. She was 17 on January 5, 1978, married and well along in pregnancy. She was arrested at 688 Solis Street, 7th Floor, Apt. 30, in Buenos Aires on November 24, 1977.

We have received various appeals from friends and loved ones of these two young women, through church channels in Europe and Latin America. Please let me know what you have been able to do since Mr. M. Frisco Gilchrist of our International Human Rights Program Office wrote you a month ago about Mrs. Cabandie.

I hope that you will be able to help her and Alicia Wieland. Please let me know if you need more information.

Sincerely,

(Dr.) William J. Nottingham

WJN:md
cc Frisco Gilchrist

Transcribed and Signed by WJN

Lot 81D208
Box 4963 (2/12)

UNCLASSIFIED

H067

R

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) B1, B3

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 42, February 2, 1978

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (1) Extend as (5) Downgrade to ___
Date 11/24/04 Declassify on ___ Reason 25X1

EAST ASIA

Cambodia

Ieng Sary Defends Evacuation of Phnom Penh. Cambodian leaders now claim to foreign visitors that they decided to evacuate the estimated 3,000,000 residents of Phnom Penh in the span of one week in April 1975, in order to:

--avoid a food shortage in the city;

--increase agricultural production; and

--disperse and ease identification of Lon Nol forces hiding in the city.

Cambodian Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary gave this account to the Danish Ambassador to Peking during the January 7-21 visit of Nordic Ambassadors to Cambodia. The Danish Foreign Office provided Ambassador Dean with a copy of the conversation.

Sary claimed that only about 2,000 people died during the evacuation, and that an unspecified number of others died of malaria upon arrival in the rural areas. He stated that 2.3 million of the evacuees faced no hardship since they were originally farmers. He said that difficulties encountered by the remainder have now "by and large" been overcome. Housing, food, and clothing, he said, are all sufficient and evacuees, originally suspect, have been fully accepted as part of the community.

The Danish Ambassador comments that "this account cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Ieng Sary did not cast much light on the real extent of the human losses during the evacuation, and my request to visit an area where city dwellers had been sent was rejected." (CONFIDENTIAL, Copenhagen 0493, January 23.)

INR Comment: Ieng Sary's benign account of the evacuation and subsequent conditions in Cambodia is at odds with those of numerous Cambodian refugees. Their reports consistently note the brutality of those directing the evacu-

UNCLASSIFIED

ation, the forced separation of families, and the miserable conditions in the countryside which, together with a systematic policy of executions, may have led to the death of hundreds of thousands of Cambodians. (CONFIDENTIAL)

South Korea

Embassy Seoul also reports that a group of well-known Korean human rights activists have established a Korean Human Rights Council which they intend will be more aggressive in pursuit of its objectives than existing human rights committees are. The Korean media did not publicize the Council's formation.

INR Comment: Although Seoul is continuing its gradual loosening of political restraints, there are well-defined bounds beyond which it is not likely to permit transgressions. If the new Council is too aggressive, the government--already fearful of new student and labor unrest in the spring--can be expected to crack down. (SECRET)

Philippines

Marcos Permits Detainees to Run in Election. On January 25 Marcos repealed a Presidential decree which had banned detainees from voting, stating that "the move to return to normalcy requires that political rights...be enjoyed by every citizen who has not been found guilty of...crimes." The Secretary for Information told the press that detainees such as former Senator Aquino may file their certificate of candidacy for the interim legislature, but that they cannot be released from detention in order to campaign. (CONFIDENTIAL, Manila 1499, January 28; UNCLASSIFIED, Manila 1458, January 27.)

INR Comment: It is still not certain whether the opposition will participate in the April 2 election. The

new draft election code provides for "bloc voting"--i.e., voting by party list--to which opposition leaders have reacted adversely and strongly. (CONFIDENTIAL)

SOUTH ASIA

India

Foreign Minister Criticizes US Rights Record. In an extemporaneous address, Foreign Minister Vajpayee told a large crowd that the US still had much to do to achieve racial justice. He asserted that India had moved more expeditiously than the US in removing social injustices. He also argued that unless the US record improved, Washington would have difficulty convincing other countries to accept its human rights doctrine. Paraphrasing Martin Luther King, Vajpayee asked rhetorically whether it is possible for a black to become President of the US today, and declared that, while India had had a woman prime minister, it was "unimaginable" for the US to have a woman president. (UNCLASSIFIED, New Delhi 0874, January 18.)

INR Comment: Vajpayee is a nationalist who delights in pointing out the moral lapses of other countries. His comments, however, do not signal any changes in official Indian attitudes toward the US; Vajpayee is strongly in favor of a better balance in New Delhi's relations with Moscow and Washington. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Pakistan

Press Restrictions Lifted. Pakistan's military ruler, General Zia, recently announced a decision to remove government controls on the import and purchase of newsprint. (UNCLASSIFIED, Dawn, January 11.)

INR Comment: The allocation of scarce newsprint has traditionally been used by the government to ensure that newspapers carry only approved versions of the news. The decision to allow newspapers to control their own supplies could significantly enhance the freedom and independence of the Pakistani press. Procedural details have yet to be announced. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Government Establishes Special Courts. By establishing 12 special courts to try former elective office holders on "misconduct in office" charges, General Zia hopes to speed up the "accountability" process through Pakistan's traditionally leisurely court system. The special courts are

entirely within the civilian judicial system, and their findings can be appealed to the Supreme Court. (CONFIDENTIAL, Islamabad 0568, January 17.)

INR Comment: This step will garner more public support for General Zia than his past attempts to set up military tribunals, especially since misconduct charges have been levied against politicians who oppose Bhutto, as well as his supporters. Many of the cases against Bhutto's compatriots are based on the extensive "dirt" files now in the hands of the administration, which Bhutto kept on his colleagues to ensure their loyalty. (CONFIDENTIAL)

SOVIET UNION

Workers Form Unofficial Union. A group of protesting workers announced at a Moscow press conference in late January, the formation of an unauthorized union designed to defend workers treated unjustly. The group claims that the new organization, the "Trade Union in Defense of Workers," already has 200 members from around the country and intends to apply for membership in the ILO. (UNCLASSIFIED, Reuters, January 24 and 27)

INR Comment: The formation of the non-official trade union is additional evidence that a new strand is being added to the dissident movement. Failing to get a redress of grievances through regular channels, these disgruntled workers have turned to the Western press for support and publicity. This latest press conference is their third in two months, and the group's leader has credited Western radio broadcasts with gaining new recruits for the union. While intellectual dissidents have remained aloof from the dissenting workers, the mere possibility of an alliance will lead the authorities to take measures to quash the union. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Regime Continues to Harass Dissidents. The regime maintains its policy of selective arrest and harassment of other dissidents:

--A public lecturer has disclosed that a month ago four persons from Leningrad Oblast were tried and sentenced to 3 1/2 years in prison for attempts to publish underground religious materials.

--According to Andrey Sakharov, judicial proceedings are under way to deprive a Baptish minister and his wife of their children.

--Sakharov also confirmed that members of the Nakhodka Pentecostal community have been prevented from meeting Embassy officials and that the MVD's Office of Visas and Internal Registration has refused to honor official invitations to emigrate to Pentecostals from US co-religionists.

--The KGB has arrested yet another member of the Georgian branch of the Helsinki Monitoring Group. A second member of the Georgian group has been released from KGB custody but was told that a case of "parasitism" was being prepared against him.

--Two Leningrad refuseniks recently have been subjected to KGB harassment and warned against contacts with foreigners. On January 20, cameramen harassed a Leningrad ConGen officer while he was en route to meet one of them. (CONFIDENTIAL, State 02038, January 29; Leningrad 00254, January 26 and 00291, January 30; Moscow 01353, January 29.)

WESTERN EUROPE

Turkey

Turks Angered by Human Rights Report. Foreign Minister Okcun has taken strong exception with Ambassador Spiers to the Department's draft Human Rights Report on Turkey. He objected particularly to references to Turkey's minorities and to Greek Cypriot allegations of Turkish misconduct during the 1974 Cyprus intervention. The report is one of 109 reports required by Congress on all countries proposed for or receiving security or bilateral economic assistance.

In Turkish eyes to issue the report at this time, even with modifications, would call into question the fresh start in US-Turkish relations seen during the Secretary's recent visit to Ankara and thus would complicate US efforts to develop a productive working relationship with the new Ecevit government. Okcun told Ambassador Spiers that the draft did not reflect Ecevit's long dedication to the advancement of human rights, but repeated Greek Cypriot charges. The Turks fear that the latter would be given credence by inclusion in a US public document. The Foreign

Minister was particularly concerned that the mention of Turkey's Kurdish minority suggested a new US policy of encouraging separatism within Turkey. He said this encouragement of divisiveness is especially unwelcome at a time when his government is working to resolve major foreign policy problems, including bettering US-Turkish relations. (CONFIDENTIAL, Ankara 0801 and 0816, January 31.)

INR Comment: The Ecevit government probably sees this report, no matter how amended, as an example of US insensitivity to Turkey's sovereignty and national pride. Ecevit himself has long been suspicious of US motives and may take this incident not simply as a personal affront, but as a conspiratorial effort to discredit his foreign policy initiatives. (CONFIDENTIAL)

AFRICA

Angola

Violations of Religious Freedom. In early January the Catholic bishops of Angola protested the "frequent and lamentable" violation of religious and other freedoms in Angola, according to Vatican Radio. In a letter read to all churches, the bishops of Angola's 12 dioceses complained that Catholics, possibly half of the population, suffered discrimination for their beliefs. The letter said that steps had not yet been taken to implement constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion. It also complained that freedom of speech has practically disappeared at the public level and arbitrary arrests and prolonged imprisonment have taken place on unfounded suspicion without proper trial. (UNCLASSIFIED, FBIS, January 24 and 26.)

INR Comment: In an apparently retaliatory action on January 25 the Angolan Government seized the Catholic-owned radio station and all its assets. The government justified its actions by claiming a constitutional monopoly on the dissemination of information. It also renounced a concordat between Portugal, its former colonizer, and the Roman Catholic Church which had permitted the private radio station to operate.

LATIN AMERICA

Chile

Court Permits Christian Democrats to Move to Less Remote Location. The Santiago Appeals Court has ruled that the 12 Christian Democratic Party (PDC) leaders who were "rusticated" to the barren and inhospitable highlands of Chile's northern Arica Province can choose where they wish to reside within the province. Although the Chilean Government probably could have appealed the decision successfully, it has agreed to let the PDCers move to more pleasant surroundings. A PDC source has informed our Embassy that the exiles have taken advantage of the ruling, and all 12 have now moved to the port city of Arica. The Embassy sees this as an indication that those within the government who are somewhat more sensitive to international and domestic criticism may have won a point. (CONFIDENTIAL, Santiago 0639, January 27; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Santiago 0659, January 30.)

INR Comment: To many government hardliners, the current disposition of the PDCers is probably of limited significance. They probably view the original act of rustication as sufficient to forcefully convey the government's message that it has only limited tolerance for domestic political party activity. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Argentina

Recent Rights Developments. The foreign diplomatic community in Buenos Aires is expressing growing concern over the local human rights situation. Ambassador Castro's soundings have revealed agreement among diplomats from the EC countries and Sweden that conditions warrant some sort of multilateral approach to the Videla government. EC representatives are drafting a statement on the situation pursuant to directions from the EC Political Commission, but it probably will not be completed for weeks. The German, Danish, and Swedish ambassadors strongly favor a joint demarche, the French seem less enthusiastic, and the Netherlands ambassador expressed reluctance on trade grounds.

On January 25, Argentine Ambassador Aja Espil, fresh from a trip to Buenos Aires, told Department officers that President Videla's disgust over the December disappearances of the 13 persons associated with the "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" prompted Videla's December 23 announcement that a complete list of state-of-siege detainees would be published. Aja Espil also expressed hope that the recent appointment of

a new police chief for Buenos Aires Province would help curb the vigilante activity of security personnel.

Judge John Carro of the New York State Supreme Court visited Buenos Aires in late January as part of a delegation from the International Federation for the Rights of Man. Interior Minister Harguindeguy told Carro that:

--the right of option program (enabling state-of-siege prisoners to petition for exile) began functioning on December 20, 1977; 115 petitions had been filed, 10 were considered and approved in December, and 43 more cases would be decided on February 15;

--there were 3,472 state-of-siege detainees as of January 20; 1,889 were arrested before the military government assumed power; 1,700 have charges pending against them, and 1,400 of those cases will be tried in civilian courts; and

--publication of the list of prisoners would begin on January 27.

Members of the Carro mission and another Paris-based human rights group also met with Navy Commander Massera. The Admiral expressed sympathy with the human rights victims, bemoaned his inability to change matters, and blamed the situation on the army. (CONFIDENTIAL, State 023405, January 28; Buenos Aires 657, January 26 and 704, January 27.)

INR Comment: Despite the promises of Videla and Harguindeguy, there is still no official published list of state-of-siege detainees. Harguindeguy may be encountering the same uncooperative attitude on the part of various security entities holding prisoners that he has faced in the past.

Massera's lament is now familiar but difficult to credit. He is a clever, unscrupulous politician whose subordinates have been guilty of human rights abuses. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Venezuela

INR Comment: This report is further evidence, but not proof, that high officials in the Venezuelan Government may have condoned violations of human rights in order to combat a bothersome left-wing insurgency in eastern Venezuela.

UNCLASSIFIED 2/3/78 S-EC

DECLASSIFIED BB046

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES | CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT: N/A
SHUM, SREF, AR
FIRST LIST OF PEN DETAINEES RELEASED

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4440
[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0903

REF: BUENOS AIRES 741

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

AMB
DCM
POL-3
POL/R
ECON
USIS
RF
CHRON

1. PRESS SECRETARY OF MINISTRY OF INTERIOR LAST NIGHT (FEBRUARY 3) RELEASED LIST OF APPROXIMATELY 700 PERSONS DETAINED IN FEDERAL DISTRICT PRISON U-2 (DEVOTO) UNDER EXECUTIVE STATE OF SIEGE POWER (PEN). ALSO PUBLISHED LIST OF ONE PERSON PLACED UNDER PEN, SEVEN RELEASED FROM PEN, AND EIGHT GRANTED PERMISSION TO LEAVE COUNTRY. PRESS DID NOT AGREE ON EXACT NUMBER; LA NACION SAID 702, NOTICIAS ARGENTINA SAID 705, AND LA OPINION USED THE FIGURE OF 730. AS DEVOTO IS WOMENS PRISON, ABOUT 675 NAMES WERE WOMEN, REMAINDER WERE MEN. FORM IN WHICH NAMES ARE LISTED MAKES EXACT COUNT DIFFICULT.

2. AMONG THOSE RELEASED FROM PEN WAS ABELARDO ARCE, FORMER CGT LEADER. MARIA ALICIA PANERO, U.S. DUAL

DECONTROL

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

DRAFTED BY: MChaplin | DRAFTING DATE: 2/1/78 | TEL. EXT.: 278 | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPR.: AMB:RCastro

LOT 81F93
(7/7) SR/SL

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL WAS AUTHORIZED TO DEPART COUNTRY. [illegible] WAS AUTHORIZED TO DEPART THE COUNTRY IN A LIST PUBLISHED IN DECEMBER. APPARENTLY BOTH ARE STILL CONFINED TO DEVOTO, SINCE BOTH NAMES APPEARED ON THE LIST OF 675 WOMEN DETAINED THERE AS OF JANUARY 25.) ALSO ON THE LIST OF THOSE DETAINED IN DEVOTO WAS LUCIANA VOGLER.

3. MINISTRY STATEMENT HEAVILY STRESSED THAT PUBLICATION OF LIST OF DETAINEES WAS BEGINNING OF PROCESS SPECIFICALLY DISPOSED BY PRESIDENT VIDELA, AND FULFILLS PROMISE MADE AT TIME OF RELEASE OF 389 PERSONS RELEASED FROM PEN IN DECEMBER.

BEGIN [redacted]

4. COMMENT: STORY SEEMS TO HAVE BROKEN LATE, AS ONLY LA OPINION CARRIES MORE THAN LISTS AND TEXTS OF ANNOUNCEMENTS. OPINION STORY IS INTERESTING, HOWEVER, IN STRESS IT GIVES TO PRESIDENT VIDELA'S PERSONAL INITIATIVE IN PUBLICATION OF LISTS OF PRISONERS AND IN ACTIVATING RIGHT OF OPTION PROCESS. STATES THEY ARE EVENTS WHICH FLOW DIRECTLY FROM HIS STRATEGY ADOPTED AFTER HIS VISIT WITH PRESIDENT CARTER IN SEPTEMBER 1977. CONFIRMS THAT ADVISORY BOARD TO START PROCESSING FIRST KXK FIFTY CASES UNDER REVISED RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM HAS BEEN APPOINTED, AND WILL START ISSUING RECOMMENDATIONS. CITES OSTENSIBLY FAVORABLE STATEMENTS ABOUT TREND OF HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN ARGENTINA MADE RECENTLY BY VISITING RETIRED FRENCH KEN ADMIRAL, VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR, AND U.S. AMBASSADOR

DA-11
4-12-76

[redacted]

CASTRO. [illegible] ATTRIBUTED TO AMBASSADOR CASTRO WAS FUNDAMENTALLY DISTORTED.

5. WE WERE TOLD BY A NUMBER OF SOURCES THAT THESE MEASURES WERE GOING TO BE ANNOUNCED, BUT REPEATED DELAYS NURTURED SKEPTICISM. STYLE OF PRESENTATION COULD HAVE BEEN VIDELA EFFORT TO ASSURE THAT MASSERA DOES NOT STEAL HIS THUNDER AS CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THAT IS NOT NECESSARILY A DETERMINING FACTOR. THIS WAS PROBABLY THE EASIEST LIST TO PUBLISH, IN THAT FEW DANGEROUS CRIMINALS OR SUSPECTS ARE IN DEVOTO, AND FROM OUR RAPID READING OF IT, NO PERSONS WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY AMONG THE DISAPPEARED HAVE MIRACULOUSLY REAPPEARED. IT IS, HOWEVER, A SIGNIFICANT MOVE IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION.

CASTRO

[redacted]

BA-II
4-II-77

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<<<<.>>>>

[redacted]

2/3/78

L057

PAGE 01 LIMA 01041 031937Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCS-06 CA-01 L-03 H-01 HA-05 /031 W
----------034786 031958Z /45

P R 031902Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8565

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] LIMA 1041

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DETENTION OF ARGENTINE CITIZEN RUBEN E.R. CABRAL

1. AMBASSAODR HAS RECEIVED A LETTER FROM ARGENTINE CITZEN RUBEN D. CABRAL ANDRADA (L.E. 3,467,810) RESIDENT IN LIMA, REQUESTING U.S. ASSISTANCE IN EFFECTING RELEASE OF HIS SON, RUBEN E.R. CABRAL, WHO WAS ALLEGEDLY ARRESTED IN EARLY NOVEMBER AT HIS DOMICLILE, AGUARIBAY 940, ITUZAINGO, PRIVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES.

2. ACCORDING TO LETTER, SON HAD BEEN DETAINED PREVIOUSLY, RELEASED, AND WAS PREPARING TO LEAVE ARGENTINA FOR PERU WHEN HE WAS REARRESTED.

3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION ON PRESENT SITUATION OF CABRAL AND ON POSSIBILITY OF EFFECTING HIS RELEASE AND DEPARTURE FROM ARGENTINA.

DECON 5/3/78.
SHLAUDEMAN

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2/4/78

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PAGE 01 STATE 030373
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:DVANTREECK:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)

----------053754 041600Z /43

R 040725Z PEB 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 030373

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: GRACIELA EUGENIA PERNAS AND JULIO POCCE
"
REF: B.A. 2600

ARA HAS RECEIVED CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY FROM CONGRESSMAN JIM LEACH CONCERNING GRACIELA EUGENIA PERNAS AND HER HUSBAND, JULIO POCCE. WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION ADDITIONAL TO REFTEL. VANCE

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2/4/78

L059

PAGE 01 BUENOS 00903 041534Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 L-03
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----------054266 041536Z /40

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4440

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0903

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS SHUM, SREF, AR

REF: BUENOS AIRES 0741

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. PRESS SECRETARY OF MINISTRY OF INTERIOR LAST NIGHT (FEB 3) RELEASED LIST OF APPROXIMATELY 700 PERSONS DETAINED IN FEDERAL DISTRICT PRISON U-2 (DEVOTO) UNDER EXECUTIVE STATE OF SEIGE POWER (PEN). ALSO PUBLISHED LIST OF ONE PERSON PLACED UNDER PEN, SEVEN RELEASED FROM PEN, AND EIGHT GRANTED PERMISSION TO LEAVE COUNTRY. PRESS DID NOT AGREE ON EXACT NUMBER; LA NACION SAID 702, NOTICIAS ARGENTINA SAID 705, AND LA OPINION USED THE FIGURE OF 730. AS DEVOTO IS WOMENS PRISON, ABOUT 675 NAMES WERE WOMEN, REMAINDER WERE MEN. FORM IN WHICH NAMES ARE LISTED MAKES EXACT COUNT DIFFICULT.

2. AMONG THOSE RELEASED FROM PEN WAS ABLEARDO ARCE, FORMER CGT LEADER. MARTA ALICIA PANERO, US DUAL NATIONAL WAS AUTHORIZED TO DEPART COUNTRY. (HER SISTER WAS AUTHORIZED TO DEPART THE COUNTRY IN A LIST PUBLISHED IN DECEMBER. APPARENTLY BOTH ARE STILL CONFINED TO DEVOTO, SINCE BOTH NAMES APPEARED ON THE LIST OF 675 WOMEN DETAINED THERE AS OF JAN 25.) ALSO ON THE LIST OF THOSE DETAINED IN DEVOTO WAS LUCIANA VOGELER.

[redacted]

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3. MINISTRY STATEMENT HEAVILY STRESSED THAT PUBLICATION OF LIST OF DETAINEES WAS BEGINNING OF PROCESS SPECIFICALLY DISPOSED BY PRESIDENT VIDELA, AND FULFILLS PROMISE MADE AT TIME OF RELEASE OF

UNCLASSIFIED

389 PERSONS RELEASED FROM PEN IN DECEMBER.

4. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE. COMMENT: STORY SEEMS TO HAVE BROKEN LATE, AS ONLY LA OPINION CARRIES MORE THAN LISTS AND TEXTS OF ANNOUNCEMENTS. OPINION STORY IS INTERESTING, HOWEVER, IN STRESS IT GIVES TO PRESIDENT VIDELA'S PERSONAL INITIATIVE IN PUBLICATION OF LISTS OF PRISONERS AND IN ACTIVATING RIGHT OF OPTION PROCESS. STATES THEY ARE EVENTS WHICH FLOW DIRECTLY FROM HIS STRATEGY ADOPTED AFTER HIS VISIT WITH PRESIDENT CARTER IN SEPTEMBER 1977. CONFIRMS THAT ADVISORY BOARD TO START PROCESSING FIRST FIFTY CASES UNDER REVISED RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM HAS BEEN APPOINTED, AND WILL START ISSUING RECOMMENDATIONS. CITES OSTENSIBLY FAVORABLE STATEMENTS ABOUT TREND OF HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN ARGENTINA MADE RECENTLY BY VISITING RETIRED FRENCH ADMIRAL, VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR, AND U.S. AMBASSADOR CASTRO. WHILE WE DON'T KNOW WHAT THE FIRST TWO SAID, STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO AMBASSADOR CASTRO WAS FUNDAMENTALLY DISTORTED.

5. WE WERE TOLD BY A NUMBER OF SOURCES THAT THESE MEASURES WERE GOING TO BE ANNOUNCED, BUT REPEATED DELAYS NURTURED SKEPTICISM. STYLE OF PRESENTATION COULD HAVE BEEN VIDELA EFFORT TO ASSURE THAT MASSERA DOES NOT STEAL HIS THUNDER AS CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THAT IS NOT NECESSARILY A DETERMINING FACTOR. THIS WAS PROBABLY THE EASIEST LIST TO PUBLISH, IN THAT FEW DANGEROUS CRIMINALS OR SUSPECTS ARE IN DEVOTO, AND FROM OUR RAPID READING OF IT, NO PERSONS WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY AMONG THE DISAPPEARED HAVE MIRACULOUSLY REAPPEARED. IT IS, HOWEVER, A SIGNIFICANT MOVE IN A POSITIVE DIRECTTION.
CASTRO

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2/7/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00965 072127Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SS-15 PM-05
SP-02 L-03 CA-01 INRE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
MCT-01 SY-05 EUR-12 /074 W
----------073964 072133Z /46

O 072051Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4468

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 965

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: PROGRESS REPORT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA

REF: STATE 31249

1. THE EMBASSY USED THE FOLLOWING INDICATORS BY WHICH TO MEASURE PROGRESS OF LACK THEREOF WITH REGARD TO THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT'S OBSERVATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. COMMENTS RELATE PRIMARILY TO DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST THREE MONTHS:

A. A. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RIGHT OF OPTION--
NEW PROGRAM NOW DEFINITELY BEING IMPLEMENTED BY GOA. SOME RECENT APPROVALS, SUCH AS GUILLERMO VOGLER AND PINERO SISTERS WERE PROCESSED UNDER PREVIOUS PROCEDURE. GOA HAS TOLD US AND OTHER EMBASSIES THEY WILL HELP IN HARMONIZING PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF PROGRAM WITH COUNTRIES' VISA REQUIREMENTS.

B. REGULARIZATION OF THE STATUS OF PRISONERS --
(THIS INCLUDES PUBLICATION OF NAMES OF PEOPLE ARRESTED OR RELEASED FROM CUSTODY UNDER EXECUTIVE--STATE OF SEIGE--PEN, AS WELL AS CURRENT LISTS OF PRISONERS HELD UNDER THE PEN.) APPROXIMATELY 440 HELD UNDER THE PEN HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM PEN SINCE CHRISTMAS, OF WHICH 389 WERE ON THE CHRISTMAS

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 00965 072127Z

LIST. LIMITED NUMBERS OF EXPULSIONS HAVE CONTINUED TO BE ANNOUNCED. THE PUBLICATION ON FEB 3 OF A PARTIAL LIST OF

705 PRISONERS HELD UNDER PEN WAS A SIGNIFICANT EVENT WHICH WILL GENERATE INCREASING PRESSURE ON GOA TO CONTINUE TO PUBLISH MORE SUCH LISTS.

C. TREATMENT OF PERSONS BEING HELD --
ICRC JAIL VISITS RESUMED DEC 77. THEY REPORT POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE BEING HELD UNDER SAME PHYSICAL CONDITIONS AS OTHER PRISONERS. IN LAST SIX MONTHS GOA HAS ADOPTED PROGRAMS TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR SUSPECTED TERRORISTS TO SURRENDER TO GOVERNMENT AND RECEIVE GUARANTEES OF HUMANE TREATMENT. COOPERATIVE PRISONERS RECEIVE REDUCED SENTENCES.

D. DISAPPEARANCES -- OUR DATA SHOW THESE AS DECLINING, IN PART, NO DOUBT, TO THE DECLINE IN REMAINING NUMBERS OF SUSPECTS, AS WELL AS MORE SELECTIVE TARGETING. WE HAVE NO INFORMATION THAT SECURITY FORCES HAVE ABANDONED THEIR PRACTICE OF ABDUCTION OF SUSPECTS. THERE ARE CONTINUING REPORTS OF EXTRA-LEGAL DETENTION CENTERS AND OF EXECUTIONS OF ABDUCTEES. THERE IS SCANT INFORMATION ON THESE AREAS, SO NO TREND CAN BE IDENTIFIED.

F. TORTURE -- WE HAVE NO INFORMATION TO SUGGEST THAT SECURITY FORCES HAVE ABANDONED PRACTICE OF TORTURE TO OBTAIN INFORMATION.

G. GREATER CONTROL OVER THE SERVICES EMPLOYED IN CONTROLLING SUBVERSION --
WE HAVE HEARD REPORTS THAT PRESIDENCY IS CONTINUING EFFORTS TO OVERCOME RESISTANCE TO REORGANIZE COUNTERSUBVERSIVE OPERATIONS AND INTELLIGENCE IN THE FEDERAL DISTRICT INTO A SINGLE UNIT STAFFED BY ALL THREE SERVICES, WITH OBJECT OF ACHIEVING CLOSER CONTROLS, AND VIRTUALLY ELIMINATING POS-

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 00965 072127Z

SIBILITY OF UNAUTHORIZED OPERATIONS. THIS COMPLEMENTS REPORTS OF EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH TIGHER CONTROLS OVER SECURITY FORCES AND TO PUNISH CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES BY POLICE CARRIED OUT IN NAME OF COMBATTING SUBVERSION. ROLLS OF POLICE HAVE BEGUN TO BE REDUCED. ARMED FORCES ARE RESUMING THEIR CONVENTIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING CYCLES WICH HAD BEEN SUSPENDED TO DIVERT RESOURCES TO COUNTERSUBVERSIVE PROGRAMS.

2. NOT MEASURABLE, BUT OF EQUAL OR GREATER IMPORTANCE IS THE MATTER OF "SENSITIVITY"--THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT SEES THE NEED OF PUTTING IN ORDER

ITS EFFORTS AGAINST TERRORISM, WHETHER BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC OPINION, FOREIGN PRESSURES OR SOME INNER SENSE OF LEGALITY AND JUSTICE. IN PAST, GOA HAS STONEWALLED CHARGES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, CALL ATTENTION TO ABUSES BY TERRORISTS. SIGNIFICANT EVENT OCCURRED FEB 6 WHEN SEVERAL FONOFF OFFICIALS CALLED IN EMBOFF TO COMPLAIN OF AMBASSADOR CASTRO'S PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF ARGENTINA'S BAD HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE OVERSEAS (BA 493). THEY SPELLED OUT A LIST OF RECENT ACTIONS SUCH AS THE INAUGURATION OF THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM, LIST OF DETAINEES, AND ACTIONS ON HIGH-INTEREST US CASES SUCH AS VOGLER AND DEUTSCH, ALL OF WHICH RESPONDED TO PROBLEM AND FOR WHICH GOA SHOULD RECEIVE CREDIT. THEY ASKED WHAT DO WE HAVE TO DO TO SHOW WE ARE SOLVING PROBLEM? THIS IS A NEW RESPONSE FROM A GOA OFFICIAL. IN PAST THEIR TACTIC HAS BEEN TO TEMPORIZE, APPARENTLY ASSUMING USG WOULD LOSE INTEREST.

3. WE STILL HAVE NO SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION REGARDING WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ABDUCTION OF THE FRENCH NUNS AND THEIR ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT ASSOCIATES, ALTHOUGH IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVE THAT ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES WERE INVOLVED. WE KNOW THAT MANY IN THE GOVERNMENT AND EVEN THE SECURITY FORCES WERE APPALLED BY THESE ABDUCTIONS. BESIDES THE NUNS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES, THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED REPORTS OF SOME 26 DISAPPEARANCE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 00965 072127Z

CASES FROM DECEMBER 1, 1977 TO JANUARY 20, 1978, WHICH IS COMPARABLE TO THE FIGURE FOR THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR.

4. WE COMMEND TO DEPT THE EXCELLENT DEC 77 REPORT ON ARGENTINA TO AAAS BY EMILIO DADDARIO WITH WHICH WE AGREE, PARTICULARLY WITH HIS COMMENT ON IMPACT ABROAD OF THE PRESIDENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, AND THE PRESCRIPTION IN FINAL PARAGRAPH: QUOTE WHILE THE SITUATION IN ARGENTINA IS AN UNHAPPY ONE, WE MUST FACE THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS STRONGLY ENTRENCHED AND HAS SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT FROM THE PEOPLE. THE BRIGHTEST PROSPECT FOR BETTERMENT OF THE REPRESSED AND IMPRISONED SCIENTISTS IS THROUGH STEP-BY-STEP PROGRESS TOWARDS MODERATION, ACKNOWLEDGING THE POSITIVE ACTIONS WHICH THE GOVERNMENT NOW SEEMS READY TO TAKE, AND ENCOURAGING OTHERS. END QUOTE.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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2/7/78

A046

PAGE 01 STATE 031753
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 /020 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:DVANTREECK:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
ARA:GLISTER (INFO)

----------071191 071759Z /43

R 071536Z FEB 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 031753

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONAL CARMEN RODRIGUEZ GONZALEZ

DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED AN INQUIRY FROM THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA (WOLA) CONCERNING CARMEN RODRIGUEZ GONZALEZ, AN ARGENTINE CITIZEN. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY AVAILABLE INFORMATION AND SUBMISSION OF HER NAME TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WORKING GROUP.

AVAILABLE INFORMATION:

CARMEN RODRIGUEZ GONZALEZ

AGE: 46

ID: 3.086.825

DISAPPEARED: DECEMBER 22, 1977

UNCLASSIFIED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/TPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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PAGE 02 STATE 031753

REPORTEDLY TAKEN BY ARMED CIVILIANS DRIVING FORD FALCON

WITH LICENSE NUMBER 501.877.

HOME ADDRESS: BALDOMERO FERNANDEZ 3605, 3RD FLOOR, APT.C BUENOS AIRES.

HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS HAVE PRODUCED NO RESULTS. VANCE

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TELEGRAM

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INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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FROM	CLASSIFICATION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES	[redacted]

E.O. 11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT: GDS
SHUM, AR
MFA CONSTERNATION AT U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS ATTITUDES

BI 031

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO: AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

AMB
DCM
POL-3
POL/R
ECON
USIS
RF
CHRON

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES: 998

REF: BUENOS AIRES 0965 (NOTAL)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ☒ In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

1. WE BELIEVE IT SIGNIFICANT THAT EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER WHO DEALS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS WAS CALLED IN TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON FEBRUARY 6 FOR TOUR D'HORIZON WHICH TURNED INTO A 3-HOUR AND 15-MINUTE DEBATE ON EFFORTS TAKEN BY THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT TO STRAIGHTEN OUT ITS HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND U.S. PERCEPTIONS OF CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS. JUAN CARLOS ARLIA, DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY COORDINATION DEPARTMENT, AND MIGUEL ANGEL ESPECHE GIL, WHO HEADS THE NORTH AMERICAN DESK, TOGETHER AND ALTERNATELY MADE LONG PRESENTATIONS CENTERED UPON EFFORTS MADE TO BE

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:WHHallman:MAHarris:eg	2/8/78	278	DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:

UNCLASSIFIED
[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

50153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

81F93
50/52

UNCLASSIFIED

RESPONSIVE TO USG HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS, "AS FAST AS WE CAN" AND FACT THAT TO ARGENTINE EYES THESE EFFORTS HAVE NOT BEEN NOTICED NOR APPRECIATED.

2. CITED PARTICULARLY AS EVIDENCE OF EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE HERE WERE: (A) CHRISTMAS AMNESTY LIST, WHICH RELEASED MORE THAN 300 PRISONERS FROM "PEN" STATUS; (B) IMPLEMENTATION OF LAW 21,650 TO PROCESS APPLICATIONS FROM PEN PRISONERS FOR RIGHT OF OPTION TO LEAVE ARGENTINA; (C) COMMENCEMENT OF PUBLICATION OF COMPLETE LIST OF PERSONS DETAINED BY THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE "PODER EJECUTIVO NACTIONAL"; AND (D) PLACING THE TIMERMAN, DEUTSCH AND VOGLER CASES INTO REGULAR LEGAL CHANNELS, AND THUS COMPLYING WITH OUR URGING THAT CASES SHOULD BE GOTTEN AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE INTO PROPER ADJUDICATION.

What?

3. ARLIA AND ESPECHE GIL EACH MADE STRONG PERSONAL CASE FOR USG'S taking note of THE PROGRESS TAKEN BY GOA. IDEA PRESENTED WAS THAT MFA MUST BE GIVEN SOME RECOGNITION OF ITS EFFORTS IN ORDER TO CONTINUE ITS UPHILL WORK AMONG OTHER ELEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT. ARLIA AND ESPECHE GIL WERE BOTH DISAPPOINTED BY REMARKS OF AMBASSADOR CASTRO DURING TRIP TO THE SOUTH OF ARGENTINA, WHICH AS REPORTED HERE IN THE PRESS CALLED ATTENTION TO ARGENTINA'S BAD HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE OVERSEAS (SEE BUENOS AIRES 493).

4. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT WHILE IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN LAST MONTHS BY GOA TO REGULARIZE THE STATUS OF PEN PRISONERS DID NOT GO TO HEART OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS EITHER IN ARGENTINA OR IN U.S., THESE WERE IMPORTANT STEPS FORWARD. KEY ISSUES WERE PAST

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Classification
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DISAPPEARANCES AND PROCEDURAL CHANGES ELIMINATING "MIDNIGHT OPERATIONS." CONTINUING DISAPPEARANCES NOT ONLY PROVIDED AMMUNITION FOR ATTACKS ON GOA BY ITS ENEMIES, BUT SERIOUSLY UNDERCUT ABILITY AND WILL OF THOSE SEEKING TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS (MEMCON FOLLOWS).

CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [redacted] Page: 1
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978CARACA01302 Channel: n/a

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L062

PAGE 01 CARACA 01302 081849Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 /030 W
----------084567 090207Z /13

R 081455Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1093

[redacted] CARACAS 1302

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: WHEREABOUTS OF MRS. ALFREDO FORTI

REF: (A) 77 CARACAS 11304, (B) STATE 279768 & PREVIOUS

1. LAWYER AND FAMILY FRIEND OF MR. ALFREDO FORTI HAS CALLED US TO REQUEST ANY INFORMATION USG MAY HAVE CONCERNING THE RECENT PUBLICATION BY GOA OF LIST OF "POLITICAL PRISONERS." LAWYERS SAYS HE UNDERSTANDS THAT SUCH A LIST MAY CONTAIN THE NAME OF MRS. ALFREDO FORTI (NELIDA AZUCENA SOSA DE FORTI). LAWYER STATES THAT ARGENTINE EMBASSY HERE HAS NOT BEEN COOPERATIVE, AND HE THEREFORE IS TURNING TO US FOR ASSISTANCE.

2. EMBASSY REQUESTS ANY INFORMATION THAT COULD BE PASSED TO LAWYER.
VAKY

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Current Class: [redacted] Page: 1

UNCLASSIFIED

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2/10/78 BBØ47 1066 101945Z FEB 78

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
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FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: EEC HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO: AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUPBLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

AMB
DCM
POL-3
POL/R
ECON
USIS
DAO
RF
CHRON

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES: 1066

REF: BUENOS AIRES 0657

1. EMBASSY POLOFF WAS GIVEN FEBRUARY 6 NEW INFORMATION ON EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DEMARCHE ON HUMAN RIGHTS BEFORE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO DUTCH EMBASSY SOURCE, DRAFTING HAS BEEN GOING ON SINCE DECEMBER. THE DRAFT, WHICH SHOULD BE COMPLETED THIS WEEK, IS A CAREFULLY WORDED DOCUMENT WITH THREE BASIC PARTS: FIRST, RECOGNITION OF RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS SUCH AS THE LARGE DECEMBER DETAINEE

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:YThayer:eg	2/9/78	278	DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:
DAO:Col.Goetze
POL:WHHallman

[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION
UNCLASSIFIED

50153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

LOT 81F93
(7/7) 52/52

RELEASE LIST; TWO, A JOINT PROTEST ON THE LACK OF GOA COOPERATION AND COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL CONSULAR NORMS ON CASES OF THE NINE'S FOREIGN NATIONALS; AND THREE, AN EXPRESSION OF GENERAL CONCERN OVER THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. A LIST OF SPECIFIC CASES REFERRED TO IN PART TWO WILL BE AVAILABLE BUT WILL NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE TEXT OF THE DEMARCHE, ACCORDING TO DUTCH DIPLOMAT.

2. THE DRAFT AS IT STANDS NOW DOES NOT INCLUDE SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR ACTION, (ALTHOUGH HELP WITH FOREIGN CITIZEN CASES IS CLEARLY IMPLIED), NOR WILL IT RECOMMEND ANY SPECIFIC PUNITIVE ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY THE NINE. THE EUROPEAN MISSIONS HERE ARE CONSIDERING RECOMMENDING THAT THE DEMARCHE BE MADE VERBALLY AND CONFIDENTIALLY AND VIA THE ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR IN DENMARK, SINCE COPENHAGEN IS PRESENTLY THE PRESIDING SEAT OF THE EEC. NO FURTHER ACTION IS CONTEMPLATED, THE DUTCH EMBASSY OFFICIAL SAID, ADDING THAT EUROPEAN COMMERCIAL INTERESTS AND FAVOR FOR THE "QUIET DIPLOMACY" APPROACH ARGUE AGAINST TAKING A MORE CONFRONTATIONAL STAND WITH GOA OVER HUMAN RIGHTS. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE DUTCH ARE DRAGGING THEIR HEELS ON MAKING HUMAN RIGHTS GESTURES WHICH COULD DISRUPT THEIR FAVORABLE TRADE RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA. WHAT OUR DUTCH FRIEND MAY HAVE CITED HERE IS HIS AMBASSADOR'S OWN POSITION -- WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT IN THE END PREVAIL.)

3. AMBASSADOR CASTRO RAISED HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE WHEN HE SAW IRISH AMBASSADOR FEBRUARY 1. AT THAT TIME IRISH AMBASSADOR PRODUCED A COPY OF AN EEC TRADE COMMISSION REPLY TO CRITICISM AGAINST THE RECENT EXTENSION OF THE EEC-ARGENTINA TRADE AGREEMENT IN LIGHT OF ARGENTINA'S BAD HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. THE COMMISSION'S REPLY INDICATED THAT TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE EEC HAD IN FACT COOLED CONSIDERABLY AND THAT ARGENTINA WAS GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND THAT "AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS COULD ONLY BE CONSIDERED AGAIN WHEN THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN ARGENTINA HAD DEVELOPED IN A PEACEFUL MANNER."

4. SWEDISH EMBASSY HERE PLANS TO WAIT OUT THE ANTICIPATED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DEMARCHE ON HUMAN RIGHTS BEFORE DOING ANYTHING ON ITS OWN. THE SWEDES HAVE APPARENTLY DECIDED TO ADHERE TO COMMUNITY INITIATIVES RATHER THAN STRIKE OUT ON THEIR OWN.

5. A SENIOR ARGENTINE ARMY OFFICER INFORMED US RECENTLY THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS WITHDRAWN TWO SLOTS IN THE FRENCH ARMY WAR COLLEGE TRADITIONALLY RESERVED FOR ARGENTINE ARMY OFFICERS. THIS OPPORTUNITY WAS CONSIDERED A PLUM ASSIGNMENT INVOLVING TWO YEARS' RESIDENCE IN PARIS ON HIGH PER DIEM AND FRENCH LANGUAGE TRAINING. IT WENT TO TOP ARGENTINE OFFICERS. ACCORDING TO THE ARMY OFFICER, THE ACT WAS TAKEN AS A DIRECT RESPONSE TO THE NUNS' ABDUCTION. THIS ACTION FULFILLS THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST TO ITS MILITARY ATTACHE HERE TO "FIND SOMETHING THAT WOULD HURT".

UNCLASSIFIED

6. WE HAVE BEEN PROMISED A COPY OF THE EEC DEMARCHE DRAFT WHEN IT IS COMPLETED HERE AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW OUR EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES' INITIATIVES ON BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Barbara Castro

CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

2/9/78

<<<<.>>>>
UNCLASSIFIED

L064

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01017 092128Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 /008 W
----------097335 100700Z /17

R 092045Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4498

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 1017

H PASS: HONORABLE BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (✓) Excise B-2 ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF GABRIELD EDUARDO DUNAYEVICH (249/78/1)

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROSENTHAL:

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER DECEMBER 28, 1977 IN BEHALF B6
OF [ ] REGARDING THE
DISAPPEARANCE OF HER COUSIN, GABRIEL EDUARDO DUNAYEVICH,
IN MAY OF 1976.

2. WE PRESENTED THIS MATTER TO THE ARGENTINE MINISTRY
WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON FEBRUARY 6, 1978. WE
INDICATED TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE THAT THERE IS
US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS CASE.

3. WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED ANY ANSWER, BUT WE SHALL
KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS AS WE HEAR OF THEM.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01017 092128Z

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

<<<<.>>>>

[redacted]

2/9/78

L063

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01015 01 OF 02 092102Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-12 COME-00 USIA-06
MCT-01 AID-05 SS-15 A-01 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 /088 W
----------097119 092143Z /64

R 092019Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4495
INFO DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 1015

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade t
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF TERRORIST AND RELATED ACTIVITIES MONTH OF DECEMBER

1. THIS REPORT GIVES A SUMMARY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO US BY THE SECURITY FORCES DURING THE MONTH OF DECEMBER.

2. DEC 1: MONTONEROS DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS AT VILLA LUGANO, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, ENTITLED "SUMMONS OF THE MONTONERO PERONIST MOVEMENT". THE LEAFLETS WERE SIGNED BY THE CAPITAL ZONE GENERAL SECRETARY, FELIPE LAROQUE.

ON THE SAME DATE, MOTTOS WERE WRITTEN ON THE BATHROOM WALLS OF RENAULT ARGENTINA DEMANDING AN INCREASE IN SALARIES AND REFERRING TO ACTIONS TO BE CARRIED OUT DURING THE WORLD SOCCER CUP COMPETITION. THEY WERE SIGNED BY LIBERATION ARMED FORCES (FAL), REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES (FAR) AND THE MONTONEROS.

ON THE SAME DATE, AT PUEYRREDON AVE. AND BARTOLOME MITRE IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL, A PLACARD WAS DISCOVERED ON A

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01015 01 OF 02 092102Z

ROOFTOP CRITICIZING THE GOA. THE PLACARD WAS SIGNED BY THE COMMUNIST WORKERS FEDERATION.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEC 2: THREE MEMBERS OF THE CUSTODIOS FOR A CHRYSLER EXECUTIVE RESIDING IN BANFIELD, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, WERE ATTACKED BY TERRORISTS AS THEY WERE LEAVING THE AREA OF HIS RESIDENCE. THE TERRORISTS, USING MACHINEGUNS AND HAND GRENADES, KILLED 2 CUSTODIOS AND WOUNDED ONE. THEY ESCAPED IN A CHEVY SEDAN AND A DODGE PICKUP TRUCK THAT HAD BEEN USED IN THE ATTACK.

- ON THE SAME DATE, A BOMB EXPLODED IN A FIAT SEDAN PARKED AT URUGUAY AND MONTEVIDEO STS. IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. THIS LOCATION IS NEAR THE GOVTS ATTORNEY GENERALS OFFICE. THE RESULTING EXPLOSION SERIOUSLY WOUNDED SIX PERSONS AND DAMAGED VEHICLES AND BUILDINGS IN THE AREA. THE FIAT REPORTEDLY HAD BEEN STOLEN EARLIER THAT WEEK BY SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS.

- ON THE SAME DATE, A BOMB EXPLODED AT THE ARMANDO CAR AGENCY IN LA PLATA, CAUSING CONSIDERABLE MATERIAL DAMAGE.

- THREE YPF (NATIONAL OIL COMPANY TRUCKS CARRYING EXPLOSIVES FROM SANTA FE TO SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO PROVINCES WERE HIJACKED BY PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES.

- ON THE SAME DATE, THE MANAGER OF MICRO OMNIBUS QUILMES CO. WAS ATTACKED BY PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES. THE ATTACKERS THEN DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS AND FLED.

- THREE PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES ROBBED A PROVINCIAL POLICE CPL. OF HIS GUN IN LA PLATA (CITY).

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 01015 01 OF 02 092102Z

- FOUR CARS WERE STOLEN FROM A GARAGE LOCATED IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL BY PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE MONTONEROS.

- ON THE SAME DATE, SEVERAL PERSONS ROBBED A PROVINCIAL POLICE CORPORAL OF HIS WEAPON AND I.D. CARD.

DEC. 4: IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 2 MEN ROBBED A FEDERAL POLICE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF HIS GUN AND AMMUNITION. THEY ESCAPED IN A RENAULT 12 AND WERE ACCOMPANIED BY TWO WOMEN.

DEC. 5: ISSUE 18 OF EVITA MONTONERO WAS RECEIVED IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES OF RADIO STATION 11 IN

UNCLASSIFIED

SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO. ON THE SAME DATE, AN ENVELOPE CONTAINING MONTONERO LEAFLETS WAS DELIVERED TO THE PARISH OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

DEC 6: MONTONERO LEAFLETS WERE FOUND IN THE STREETS OF MAR DEL PLATA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

- IN LANUS, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 2 MEN AND 2 WOMEN MACHINEGUNNED TO DEATH CPL. HERCULANO OJEDA OF THE BUENOS AIRES PROVINCIAL POLICE. THE WOMEN GOT OUT OF THE CAR, SPRINKLED CPL. OJEDA WITH GASOLINE AND SET HIM ON FIRE.

- FEDERAL POLICEMAN DOMINGO SCAPIESTRA WAS ROBBED OF HIS GUN BY 2 MEN AND 2 WOMEN WHO FLED THE SCENE IN A RENAULT

DEC 12: NICOLAS A. MORENO, SECRETARY OF THE COURT OF JUSTICE IN CORDOBA WAS MURDERED BY SEVERAL PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES WHEN HE WAS LEAVING HIS HOME.

DEC 13: SUBVERSIVE LEAFLETS WERE FOUND NEAR THE BORGWARD ARGENTINA FACTORY, SIGNED BY THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY.

- NAVY CAPT. CARLOS A. FRASCH WAS ROBBED OF HIS WEAPON [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 01015 01 OF 02 092102Z

AND I.D. CARD IN MAR DEL PLATA BY PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES.

DEC 14: A A$10 BANK NOTE WITH A SUBVERSIVE INSCRIPTION BY MONTONEROS WAS FOUND IN THE CHACO PROVINCE.

DEC 15: ONE OF THE BODYGUARDS OF RETD GEN. ROBERTO NIETO, COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY, WAS KIDNAPPED [redacted] BY PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES AND QUESTIONED ABOUT GEN. NIETO'S MOVEMENTS. HE WAS LATER RELEASED.

[redacted]

NNN

[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01015 02 OF 02 092115Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-12 COME-00 USIA-06
MCT-01 AID-05 SS-15 A-01 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 /088 W
----------097222 092141Z /64

R 092019Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4496
INFO DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 1015

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA

DEC 16: MONTONEROS SENT SEASONS GREETINGS CARDS TO PERSONS IN COMODORO RIVADAVIA, CHABUT PROVINCE.

- ON THE SAME DATE, 200 PASSPORTS FROMS NO. 620-400-B TO 620-601-B, WERE STOLEN BY PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES FROM THE ITALIAN CONSULATE IN ROSARIO.

- ON THE SAME DATE, 8 SUBVERSIVES SHOT TO DEATH PEUGEOT EXECUTIVE ANDRES GASPAROS. THEY AMBUSHED HIM WHILE HE WAS TRAVELING IN A VEHICLE. THE TERRORISTS ESCAPED IN A DODGE TRUCK.

- SHOTS WERE FIRED AT A PASSENGER TRAIN AT KM 1640, ON THE WAY FROM PCO. DE MOTERO TO LAGUNA TOMA.

DEC 17: SEVERAL PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES STOLE AUTOS IN MORON, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE. ON THE SAME DATE, CAR REGISTRATIONS WERE STOLEN FROM THE VEHICLE REGISTRAR'S OFFICE IN CASTELAR, BUENOS AIRES PROV.

DEC 20: MONTONERO LEAFLETS WERE LEFT IN A BUS IN LA PLATA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01015 02 OF 02 092115Z

- AN EXPLOSIVE WAS DISCOVERED AND DEACTIVATED AT THE SAN ANTONIO PADUA GOLF CLUB, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE. MONTONERO MOTTOES WERE PAINTED ON THE WALLS OF BUILDINGS IN THIS AREA.

- BOMBS WERE FOUND IN THE BANCO DE HURLINGHAM BUILDING IN VILLA MADERO, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

- A BOMB WENT OFF AT 333 CROVARA ST, IN LA PLATA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

DEC 22: SUBVERSIVE LEAFLETS SIGNED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, BERISSO, ENSENADA AND LA PLATA AREA COMMITTEE, WERE DISTRIBUTED IN THE STREETS OF TOLOSA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

DEC. 27: ISSUE 18 OF EVITA MONTONERO, COVERING SEPT. AND OCT. 1977, WAS RECEIVED IN THE OFFICES OF TV CHANNEL TEN IN TUCUMAN.

- JORGE A. ALVAREZ IN MAR DEL PLATA REPORTED RECEIVING A LETTER FROM GENOA, ITALY CONTAINING THE PUBLICATION "MOVEMENT" OF THE MPM SUPERIOR COUNCIL.

DEC 29: TWO MEN AND 2 WOMEN STOLE A DODGE 1500 IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL.

- TWO MEN AND A WOMAN IN A DODGE 1500 (BELIEVED TO BE THE VEHICLE REPORTED ABOVE) SHOT AND KILLED A POLICE SUBINSPECTOR OF THE BUENOS AIRES PROVINCIAL POLICE IN QUILMES.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 01015 02 OF 02 092115Z

DEC 30: LEAFLETS SIGNED BY THE MONTONEROS CRITICIZING THE NATIONAL GOVT AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WERE FOUND IN BAHIA BLANCA/CURIA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE.

DEC 31: ISSUE 18 OF EVITA MONTONERO WAS RECEIVED BY RADIO STATION 9 IN SALTA PROVINCE.

RSO COMMENT: THE REPORTED INCIDENTS REFLECT REDUCED ACTIVITY BY THE TERRORISTS IN ALL FIELDS. THIS IS SUPPORTED BY OTHER INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE SECURITY FORCES WHICH REFLECT MAJOR WEAKNESS IN TERRORIST ELEMENTS SINCE AUGUST 1977. THEIR PRINCIPLE ACTIVITY IS CENTERED IN THE SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL AREA OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES WHERE THEY HAVE THEIR STRONGEST CADRE. THE SECURITY FORCES STILL EXPRESS CONCERN THE MONTONEROS MIGHT ENGAGE IN SOME SPECTACULAR DURING THE WORLD CUP SCHEDULED FOR JUNE 1978.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS01034

Channel: n/a

2/10/78

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[redacted]

L066

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B-3

N/A

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01034 101532Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 H-01 SCS-06 CA-01 L-03 SSO-00
/031 W

----------107361 101535Z /43

O 101514Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4508

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (✓) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B-3 NA
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 1034

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SREF, CVIS, SHUM, AR (VOGLER, GUILLERMO)
SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF FAMILY OF FORMER ARGENTINE DETAINEE GUILLERMO VOGLER

REF: (A) 77 STATE 307686 (B) 77 STATE 308813 (C) BA 614

1. EMBASSY ISSUED IMMIGRANT VISAS FEBRUARY 9 TO MRS. LUZ VOGLER, HER MINOR DAUGHTER MARIA, AND MRS. ANTONIA VOGLER, MOTHER OF FORMER ARGENTINE P.E.N. DETAINEE GUILLERMO VOGLER. LUZ VOGLER INFORMED EMBASSY THEY PLAN TO DEPART FOR SAN FRANCISCO SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12. WE ASSUME THAT THEY WILL INFORM GUILLERMO AND FOURNESS FAMILY OF THEIR TRAVEL PLANS, BUT DEPT MAY ALSO WISH TO NOTIFY CONG. MILLER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN VIEW HIS PAST INTEREST.

2. LILIANA VOGLER REMAINS IN VILLA DEVOTO PRISON. IN CONVERSATION WITH CONSOFF FEBRUARY 8, LUZ VOGLER SAID THAT INITIAL SENTENCE OF NINE YEARS FOR LILIANA WAS BEING APPEALED TO COURT OF HIGHER JURISDICTION IN CORDOBA. WITH REGARD TO LILIANA'S CONDITION, LUZ, WHO VISITED HER LAST WEEK IN JAIL, SAID SHE COMPLAINED OF POOR DIET AND LACK OF EXERCISE AND SUNSHINE, BUT THAT THERE WAS NO PROBLEM OF PHYSICAL ABUSE. MATTER OF LILIANA'S TRANSFER TO PRISON IN CORDOBA REMAINS WITH JUDGE. LUZ SAID INTERNATIONAL RED

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01034 101532Z

CROSS REPRESENTATIVE IN B.A. HAD INTERVIEWED LILIANA AND WAS MAKING REPRESENTATIONS TO ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES TO DELAY OR BLOCK TRANSFER TO CORDOBA, WHERE CONDITIONS FOR

PRISONERS ARE SAID TO BE FAR WORSE. LUZ SAID THAT, IN HER ABSENCE, HER SISTER, WHO LIVES IN BUENOS AIRES, WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE VISITS AND FOLLOW UP ON OTHER INITIATIVES.

[illegible] 3. [illegible]

B-3

13

CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

Case Number: 200000044

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UNCLASSIFIED

CP22

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01029 110323Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 H-02 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-15 SCS-06 L-03 CA-01 PA-02 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 /086 W
----------118728 111750Z /20

R 101423Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4503

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 1029

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: U.S. INTEREST HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9959 AND PREVIOUS

EMBASSY PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING CASES TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) ON FEBRUARY 6, 1978:

CASE NO.	NAME	US INTEREST	STATUS
243/78/1	SZAFIRSTEIN, ROSANA JUDITH	CONG.MOORHEAD	DISAPPEARED
244/78/1	LOPEZ, GRISELDA SUSANA	CONG.MOORHEAD	DISAPPEARED
245/78/1	DEGREGORI, EDUARDO JOSE	AMCIT AUNT	DISAPPEARED
246/78/1	HISI, JOSE LUIS	AMCIT UNCLE	DETAINED
247/78/1	HISI, CARLOS ALBERTO	AMCIT UNCLE	DETAINED
248/78/1	COLOMBO, ALVARO MARTIN	DEPT OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
249/78/1	DUNAJEVICH, GABRIEL EDUARDO	SEN.JEVITS AMCIT BROTHER	DISAPPEARED
250/78/1	SEGURA, LUSA AMANDA	A.I.	DETAINED
251/78/1	CASSINO, JOSE ALBERTO	CONG.FRASER	DISAPPEARED
252/78/1	CASSINO, CLARISA ADRIAN GARCIA DE	CONG.FRASER	DISAPPEARED
253/78/1	TARNOPOLSKY, BETINA	CONG.FENWICK	DISAPPEARED
254/78/1	TARNOPOLSKY, BLANCA		

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 01029 110323Z

Case Number: 200000044

	EDELBERG DE	CONG.FENWICK	DISAPPEARED
255/78/1	TARNOPOLSKY, HUGO A.	CONG. FENWICK	DISAPPEARED
256/78/1	TARNOPOLSKY, SERGIO	CONG.FENWICK	DISAPPEARED
257/78/1	TARNOPOLSKY, LAURA DEL DUCA DE	CONG.FENWICK	DISAPPEARED
258/78/1	FERNANDEZ VIDAL, ENERSTO	CONG.MOORHEAD	DISAPPEARED
259/78/1	LOGIURATO, FABIAN	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
260/78/1	LOGIURATO, LUIS	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
261/78/1	LAREU, ELECTRO IRENE	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
262/78/1	BELAUSTEGUI HERRERA, RAFAEL	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
263/78/1	BELAUSTEGUI HERRERA, MARTIN	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
264/78/1	RENNELLA, CARLOS RAFAEL	AMCIT SISTER	DETAINED
265/78/1	WAISBERG, RICARDO	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
266/78/1	BELAUSTEGUI, VALERIA	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
267/78/1	MARTINEZ ABELLEIRA, JORGE ALBERTO	CONG.MOORHEAD	DISAPPEARED
268/78/1	CABEZAS, GUSTAVO ALEJANDRO	CONG.MOORHEAD	DISAPPEARED
269/78/1	SARAGOVI, HORACIO OSCAR	CONG.MOORHEAD	DETAINED
270/78/1	BERARDO, AMADO	A.D.L.	DISAPPEARED
271/78/1	VELAZCO, OLGA BEATRIZ	CONG.MOORHEAD	DISAPPEARED
272/78/1	POLLANO, HUMBERTO	DEPT. OF STATE	DETAINED

FOLLOW UP ON US CASES PREVIOUSLY PRESENTED:

63/77/74	SCHPREJER, ALBERTO MAXIMO	CONG.MOORHEAD	DETAINED
210/77/11	LOPEZ GUERRA, MARIA CRISTINA	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
237/77/12	ELBERT, HORACIO ANIBAL	CONG.MOORHEAD	DISAPPEARED

CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

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2/10/78

L068

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01074 102149Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 L-03
CA-01 VO-03 SCS-06 PPTE-00 /043 W
----------113982 102156Z /70

P 102015Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4526

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 1074

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CARR, SHUM, AR(PANERO, MARTA ALICIA)
SUBJECT: RELEASE OF US CITIZEN MARTA ALICIA PANERO

REF: A) BA-0684; B) BA-0903

1. DIRECTOR OF VILLA DEVOTO PENITENTIARY WHERE SUBJECT WAS DETAINED CONFIRMED IN RESPONSE TO OUR INQUIRY, THAT MARTA ALICIA PANERO WAS RELEASED FROM JAIL ON FEB 2, 1978, ON THE BASIS OF "RIGHT OF OPTION" TO

LEAVE THE COUNTRY GRANTED IN 1977.

2. FEB 6 TEL CONVERSATION WITH SUBJECT'S MOTHER CONFIRMED THAT SUBJECT DEP BUENOS AIRES FOR MIAMI ON FEB 2 ACCOMPANIED BY HER FATHER.

3. IT HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY INDICATED THAT SUBJECT WOULD PROBALY SETTLE IN PHILADELPHIA AREA. NO KNOWN ADDRESS AT THIS TIME.

4. EMBASSY HAS NO INFO WHEN MARTA ALICIA'S SISTER, MARIA SUSANA PANERO (ALSO USC), MAY BE RELEASED. REGRET ANY CONFUSION RESULTING FROM REFTEL B DATED FEB 4, WHICH STATED THAT MARTA ALICIA WAS STILL IMPRISONED AND MARIA SUSANA WAS AUTHORIZED TO DEP THE COUNTRY. THE LIST MENTIONED IN REFTEL B WAS COMPILED EIGHT DAYS PRIOR TO MARTA ALICIA'S RELEASE. THAT LIST INCLUDES MARIA SUSANA AMONG PRISONERS HELD AT VILLA
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01074 102149Z

DEVOTO PRISON. MARIA SUSANA WAS NOT RPT NOT AUTHORIZED TO DEP. THE COUNTRY AND WAS NOT INCLUDED IN THE LIST PUBLISHED IN DEC

1977. AS BEING AUTHORIZED. MARIA SUSANA HAS NOT BEEN GRANTED AUTHORIZATION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

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[redacted]

2/10/78

L067

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01038 101609Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 L-03 H-01 SS-15 NSC-05 CA-01
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 /055 W
----------108240 111410Z /46

R 101530Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4509

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 1038

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: WHEREABOUTS OF MRS. ALFREDO FORTI

WE ARE SORRY TO INFORM YOU THAT THE LIST OF 705 DETAINEES RELEASED FEBRUARY 3 BY THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT DID NOT CONTAIN THE NAME NELIDA AZUCENA SOSA DE FORTI. MRS. FORTI REMAINS IN THE "DISAPPEARED" CATEGORY.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

[redacted] (XGDS-2)

2/13/78. AS 008

TO : AMB, DCM, POL3, POL/R, USIS, ARA/ECA(BUMPUS), HA(~~BOVIS~~)

DATE: February 13, 1978

FROM : POL:WHHallman

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Mr. and Mrs. Jose Westerkamp came to the Embassy during the afternoon of February 9 to pass on some disturbing news concerning disappearances in La Plata.

According to the Westerkamps three young men disappeared shortly after midnight on February 3 within minutes of having been released from La Plata prison .

Gonzalo Carranza was apparently released first--at about 10 minutes past midnight. He had been held in "UNIDAD 9 - PABELLON 2" charged under PEN with a specific crime, and was believed to have been released in accordance with a judge's decision following a legal process.

Carranza's mother told Mr. and Mrs. Westerkamp that her son's release had been confirmed to her by prison authorities when she attempted to visit her son at prison during the following weekend. She confirmed this in a telephone call to Blanca Vollenweider here at the Embassy. Her son never arrived home. Mrs. Carranza said that she had been told by a priest (She did not give his name.) that Gonzalo had been taken by members of the Army two or three blocks from the prison's entrance, within minutes of his middle-of-the-night exit.

Mrs. Carranza was also told by the priest that a young man named Guillermo Segalli and another whose last name was Dominguez had been released within an hour of Gonzalo, and that both had disappeared under similar circumstances. Segalli's mother also called the Embassy to confirm this.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] (XGDS-2)

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UNCLASSIFIED

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Segalli's departure was apparently expected--his name had appeared on the PEN release list. He had been held under PEN for 17 months but never charged. The priest who spoke with Mrs. Carranza did not know the first name of Dominguez, nor the circumstances of his detention.

Families of persons in prison at La Plata are anguished at this news. The Westerkamps, who have a son in jail there, hope now that his name will not appear on a PEN list since they believe he could be actually safer remaining in prison. (Comment: Minister of Interior Harguindeguy recently told an American judge that he had told Mrs. Alfredo Bravo "your husband is actually safer in La Plata in prison--there are people who would otherwise do him in."). The Westerkamps reported that it is commonly believed that prison authorities had to be in league with the Army abductors; they would never otherwise have arranged prisoner releases to take place at that hour of the night.

PERMANENT ASSEMBLY

Dr. Westerkamp said that he has resigned from his position of leadership in the Permanent Assembly because he fears that Communists or people with Communist associations are taking charge of the Assembly's activity. He did not elaborate, but did say that he is the only person who has resigned. He said that members of this "communist" group had all along opposed contacts between the Assembly and American Embassy. He said that when the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo originally came to the Assembly asking that space within its headquarters be given them for organizing their activities it was the same leftist group that had voted against this and thereby, according to Westerkapm, "pushed the mothers into the arms of the Liga--a Communist-oriented organization." Mrs. Westerkamp at this point said she was acquainted with several of the mothers and believed it unlikely that many of them had a Communist orientation.

BIOGRAPHIC NOTE

Westerkamp mentioned again that he has been dismissed from his position as Professor of Physics at the Buenos Airs Univeristy, he believes because of his association with the Permanent Assembly. He said that it came as a surprise when his name did not appear among those of other professors rehired for the academic year beginning March 1978. Only a few weeks before Westerkamp has been commended by his department head and been guest of honor at a luncheon given by his colleagues. His dismissal, Westerkamp believes, must have been the decision of the University Rector.

PRESS REPORT

After this memorandum was put in final form the story of the Carranza abduction, and the abductions of several others, was published in the Buenos Aires Herald. It explains further the nature of the charges against and the release of Carranza, and it adds a name--that of "Gallardo" to the list of persons apparently abducted. See below:

BUENOS AIRES HERALD

Monday, February 13, 1978

Parolee vanishes

GONZALO Abel Carranza, an inmate of Correction Unit (prison) Nine in La Plata, vanished after being released on parole at 12.10am on the third of this month, according to his mother, Sara Garcia Muñiz de Carranza. Mrs Carranza and her son's father-in-law, Jorge Aurelio Mazza, have sent letters to the Federal Court of Criminal Appeals, which ordered the release, on parole and to Interior Minister General Albano Harguindeguy reporting the young man's disappearance and asking for their help in locating him.

The missing man was arrested three years ago, placed at the disposal of the executive and tried and convicted of having had in his possession multiple copies of banned publications. He was acquitted of all other charges after it was confirmed that he had not had arms in his possession and had not participated in any violent or illegal action.

In December 1976 Carranza was taken off the list of those held at the disposal of the executive and put under the exclusive jurisdiction of the courts. Last October, his case was reviewed by the Federal Court of Criminal Appeals. In view of the fact that Carranza had been a civil servant employed by the justice department and had no previous criminal record, the court ordered his five-year sentence reduced to three and a half years. At the same, he was stripped of all civil rights for life.

With his sentence ending next May 6, Carranza filed for parole, and last January 31 the appeals court ordered his release. Mrs Carranza said she waited three days and then went to the prison where her son was being held. She was told that her son had been released that same morning at 12.10 along with three other inmates. Mrs Carranza says that she subsequently learned that the other three men — allegedly identified as Segall, Dominguez and Gallardo — also supposedly disappeared after leaving the prison.

Mrs Carranza, who was born in Spain, says that she is now completely alone. Her husband deserted her years ago, her only daughter lives in Europe and her other son died of leukemia 15 months a[illegible]

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2/13/78

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PAGE 01 STATE 037984
ORIGIN ARA-14

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CA-01 L-03 INRE-00 /036 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON:JC
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
HA:MBOVA (INFO)
S/P:JWALKER (INFO)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 037984

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
[redacted] ( ) In Part (X) In Full SECRET
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE PRISONER RELEASES

REF: B.A. 965

DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY'S BEST ESTIMATE OF NUMBER OF PRISONERS ACTUALLY FREED AS A RESULT OF TRANSFER OF 440 FROM EXECUTIVE POWER. EMBASSY ESTIMATED EARLIER THAT OVER 300 PRISONERS WERE ACTUALLY FREED AS A RESULT OF CHRISTMAS RELEASES. DOES THIS ESTIMATE STILL HOLD? VANCE

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2/14/78 BB050

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TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Exc S-60

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

P
B3NA

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, SREF, AR
SUBJECT: SECOND LIST OF PEN DETAINEES RELEASED

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

DECONTROL

AMB
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POL-3
ECON
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RF
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES: 1163

REF: BUENOS AIRES 903 (NOTAL)

1. MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR RELEASED ON FEBRUARY 13 A LIST OF 795 PERSONS BEING DETAINED UNDER EXECUTIVE STATE OF SIEGE POWERS (PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL) IN LA PLATA PRISON (UNIT 9 OF THE ARGENTINE PENITENTIARY SYSTEM). THIS, PLUS THE LISTING OF 708/PEN DETAINEES IN VILLA DEVOTO PRISON ISSUED ON FEBRUARY 3 ACCOUNT FOR 40% OF THE APPROXIMATELY 3,600 PEN PRISONERS [redacted] ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE GOA. [redacted] ADDITIONAL PEN PRISONER LISTS FOR THE REMAINING FEDERAL PENITENTIARIES ARE EXPECTED TO BE ISSUED PERIODICALLY OVER THE NEXT WEEKS. VILLA DEVOTO AND LA PLATA ARE TWO OF THE LARGEST FACILITIES. (ACTUAL EMBASSY COUNT)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B3NA
( ) Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:FAHarris:eg	2/14/78	277	DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:
POL:WHHallman

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

50153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

LOT 81F93
(7/7) 52/52

Classification
UNCLASSIFIED

DISCOVER

2. EMBASSY'S ANALYSIS OF THE LA PLATA LIST FAILS TO ~~LIST~~ 4 PEN DETAINEES WHO HAD SOUGHT EMBASSY RIGHT OF OPTION CERTIFICATES FOR THE PRISON OFFICIALS IN THAT FACILITY:

[redacted] B3 N A

WE ARE CHECKING TO SEE IF THE INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN TRANSFERRED OR IF THE LIST IS INACCURATE IN THIS REGARD OR PERHAPS ABBREVIATED. (SEE ALSO "TESTA" CASE BELOW.)

3. ALTHOUGH A CHECK OF THE VILLA DEVOTO AND LA PLATA PEN PRISONER LISTS AGAINST THE EMBASSY FILE OF 663 DISAPPEARED PERSONS HAS NOT PRODUCED ANY "APPEARANCES", THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY HAS NOTED THAT 14 PERSONS IN THE VILLA DEVOTO LIST WERE AMONG THE APPROXIMATELY 2,400 DISAPPEARED CASES IN ITS FILES. THEY ARE NOW ANALYZING THE LA PLATA PEN LIST.

4. THE FOLLOWING U.S. HIGH INTEREST CASES WERE REPORTED TO BE DETAINED IN LA PLATA.

BRAVO, ALFREDO PEDRO	117/77/9
GELSTEIN, ISIDOR	209/77/11
LIUZZI, SILVIO MELIANO	98/77/9
DOCE, FRANCISCO JAVIER	96/77/9
MATHOT, HUGO ORLANDO	100/77/9
MUSSE, ABRAHAM ELIAS	102/77/9
PEREZ ESQUIVEL, ADOLFO MARIA	92/77/9

SCHPREJER, ALBERTO MAXIMO 63/77/4

TAIANA, JORGE ENRIQUE 137/77/10

TRONCOSO, RAUL REINOSO 104/77/9

WESTERKAMP, GUSTAVO 73/77/6

ONE OTHER PERSON OF HIGH INTEREST, TESTA, JOHN FRANCO 103/77/9, WHO WAS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED (SEE 1977 STATE 192160) TO BE DETAINED IN LA PLATA (BUT HAD NOT MADE A RIGHT OF OPTION APPLICATION WITH EMBASSY) DID NOT APPEAR ON THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR'S LIST. WE ARE CHECKING ON THIS MATTER.

5. EMBASSY COMMENT: PUBLICATION OF THIS SECOND INSTALLMENT OF THE NAMES OF PEN DETAINEES WAS MADE WITH CONSIDERABLE PRESS PLAY AND FLOURISH. THE ARMY CONTROLLED LA OPINION OF FEBRUARY 14 CARRIED A FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL PRAISING THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE ACTION AND POINTING OUT HOW THIS COMPLIES WITH VIDELA'S LONG RANGE PLANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENT.

CASTRO

FileName : ...ext/t78024/aaaaacvz.tel

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 03430 281719Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-12 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 H-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-02
USIA-15 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00 /103 W
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R 281717Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8609
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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UNCLAS MEXICO 03430

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, MX, UR, JA (LOPEZ-PORTILLO, JOSE)
SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF MEXICAN PRESIDENT

1. FOREIGN MINISTER SANTIAGO ROEL ANNOUNCED ON FEBRUARY 27 THAT PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO WILL VISIT RUSSIA (MAY 13-31) AND JAPAN (LATE OCTOBER) DURING THIS YEAR.

2. ANNOUNCEMENT CONFIRMS STATEMENT LAST WEEK BY DEPARTING JAPANESE AMBASSADOR ISUTOMU WADA THAT LOPEZ PORTILLO WOULD BE VISITING JAPAN. IN HIS REMARKS WADA SAID JAPAN WILL CONTINUE TO INVEST US$ 120 MILLION ANNUALLY IN MEXICO, AND THAT IN 1977 THERE WAS A US$ 600 MILLION LEVEL OF TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, WHICH WAS UNFAVORABLE TO MEXICO. HE ADDED THAT 40,000 JAPANESE TOURIST VISITED MEXICO DURING 1977. THOMPSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR WL Date: 5/23/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART

FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

06 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

DECONTROL E4172 E4173

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01538 071620Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 FBIE-00 L-03 CA-01 CIAE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 SY-05 SCS-06 MCT-01 /041 W
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R 071529Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8367
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 1538

BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGATT

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OGEN SHUM PGOV CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: POSSIBLE WILLIAMS AND ROMERAL IDENTIFICATIONS

REF: A) SANTIGO 1479, B) SANTIAGO 1527

1. REFTEL (B) REPORTED THE POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION OF RAFAEL UNDURRAGA CRUZAT AS ALEJANDRO ROMERAL JARA. IN INTERVIEWS WITH THE MEDIA, UNDURRAGA HAS DENIED THAT HE IS ROMERAL AND DECLARED THAT HE WOULD SUE "SEGUNDA". HE IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS MANAGER OF AN ELECTRONICS FIRM NAMED UNDURRAGA-PHILLIPS AND STATED THAT AT THE TIME OF LETELIER'S DEATH HE WAS DOING ELECTRONIC WORK FOR THE CHILEAN TELEPHONE COMPANY. UNDURRAGA ACKNOWL-EDGED A RELATIONSHIP WITH TOWNLEY (REF A) AND SAID THAT HE HAD SERVED FIVE MONTHS IN JAIL IN 1973 FOLLOWING THE TALCAHUANO INCIDENT. HE STATED THAT NEITHER HE NOR TOWNLEY HAD LINKS WITH PATRIA Y LIBERTAD AND THAT BOTH HAD BEEN ABSOLVED OF THE 1973 CRIME (COMMENT: COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER "EL SIGLO" ON JUNE 19, 1973 CARRIED AN ARTICLE CHARGING THAT UNDURRAGA WAS A PATRIA Y LIBERTAD
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01538 071620Z

ACTIVIST AND THAT THE CONCEPCION COURT OF APPEALS HAD CONFIRMED HIS "CONFESSION" OF THE CRIME). UNDURRAGA CLAIMED THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN TOWNLEY AFTER 1973 UNTIL BRIEFLY IN 1977 WHEN BOTH GREETED EACH OTHER FROM PASSING VEHICLES. HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE TOWNLEY WAS WORKING WITH THE CIA NOR THAT HE WAS THE MAN SAID TO BE JUAN WILLIAMS ROSE. UNDURRAGA ALSO DENIED HAVING BEEN IN THE U.S. AND SAID THAT HIS ONLY TRIP, A BUSINESS ONE, HAD BEEN TO BOLIVIA IN 1976.

2. THE 1976-78 CHILEAN BIOGRAPHIC DICTIONARY HAS THE

FOLLOWING ON UNDURRAGA: BORN IN SANTIAGO ON JULY 2, 1942; MARRIED WITH THREE CHILDREN. HE GRADUATED FROM CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY IN 1968, RECEIVING AN ELECTRONICS DEGREE. HE FOUNDED THE COMPANY "INGENIERA ELECTRONICA" IN 1974, ALONG WITH PABLO PHILLIPS DAVILA AND JUAN URETA FERNANDEZ. UNDURRAGA SERVED AS A LIEUTENANT JUNIOR GRADE IN THE CHILEAN NAVY IN 1963 AND PRESENTLY BELONGS TO THE NAVY RESERVE. HE RESIDES IN SANTIAGO.

3. THE PEESS CONTINUES DIGGING UP INFORMATION ON MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY, THE AMERICAN CITIZEN ALLEGED TO BE IDENTIFIABLE WITH "JUAN WILLIAMS ROSE" (REF A). "ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" FRONT PAGED THE SUGGESTION THAT TOWNLEY WAS A DOUBLE AGENT. THE PAPER STATES THAT IN MARCH 1973 TOWNLEY RESIDED IN THE LUMBER TOWN PANGUIPULLI IN VALDIVIA, THE FIEFDOM OF NOTORIOUS MIR LEFTIST JOSE LIENDO, NICKNAMED "COMANDANTE PEPE". DURING THAT PERIOD TOWNLEY SUPPOSEDLY HAD CONTACT WITH THE EXTREME LEFT.

4. "LA SEGUNDA" KEPT ALIVE THE IDEA THAT TOWNLEY WORKED WITH THE CIA IN ITS MARCH 6 STORY. BUT IN SPITE
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

OF FEEDING LEADING QUESTIONS TO PEOPLE WHO KNOW TOWNLEY, "LA SEGUNDA" COULD NOT GET ANYONE TO SUBSTANTIATE THE PAPER'S INSINUATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, LA SEGUNDA'S MARCH 6 STORY CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING RHETORICAL QUESTIONS: "THE CONTINUING MYSTERY IS FOR WHOM DID TOWNLEY WORK? IT IS KNOWN THAT HE WORKED AGAINST THE UP, BUT ON WHOSE ACCOUNT? IS HE AN AGENT OF THE CIA? DOES HE WORK NOW FOR THE CIA? A"ACCORDING TO "LA SEEEEEGUNDA" THE DESCRIPTION OF TOWNLEY GIVEN BY MARIANA CALLEJAS (SANTIAGO 1479) WAS INTENTIONALLY INACCURATE. TOWNLEY IS NOW SAID TTO BE 1.80 MTS TALL, LIGHT COMPLEXION, AND BLUE EYES. AN UNIDENTIFIED "LA SEGUNDA" SOURCE ALLEGES HE SAW TOWNLEY IN A LOCAL SUPERMARKET AS RECENTLY AS FEBRUARY 7-9, 1978. PABLO RODREIGUEZ, A PATRIA Y LIBERTAD LEADER, IS QUOTED AS STATING HE KNEW TOWNLEY BACK BEFORE THE COUP WHEN TOWNLEY COLLABORATED WITH PATRIA Y LIBERTAD EVEN THOUGH HE WAS NEVER A MEMBER OF THAT GROUP.

5. "EL MERCURIO" FRONTPAGED AN EFE WIRE STORY DATELINED MEXICO CITY WHICH QUOTES A SOCIALIST PARTY SOURCE LINKING TOWNLEY TO "THE EXTREME RIGHT, SUPPORTERS OF EX PRESIDENT FREI, AND REPRESSIVE AGENCIES OF THE GOC" (SEE FBIS ASUNCION PA 061958X FOR EFE TEXT). ALTHOUGH THE ITEM ONLY MENTIONS IN PASSING THAT TOWNLEY AT ONE TIME WORKED FOR IOS IN CHILE, "EL MERCURIO" PLAYED UP THE "VESCO CONNECTION" IN ITS HEADLINE AND PRINTED A PHOTO OF VESCO ALONGSIDE.
BOYATT

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K-553

DRAFT

TO: USIS

THRU: POL

FROM: LAB:EEArcher

SUBJECT: PEN LIST

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

The PEN freedom to write list is interesting for what it says and doesn't say. According to the Colegio de Periodistas, the following persons are members of the Santiago region:

#14 Julio Cesar Navarrete Pacheco (#1,968) freed now lives in Arica where he was an elected member of the regional council of the newspapermen's union. The present regional council are all appointed by the government.

#19 Guillermo Galvez Rivadeneira (#1,353) picked up by security forces in front of the union's offices. Never seen or heard from again. He is listed on the Vicariate's list of disappeared persons.

#26 Denis Camilo Jones Molina (#1,524) tried by the Air Force in 1975 and subsequently released from prison in 1977. He left Chile.

#41 Teodoberto Rojas Gomez (#478) freed from prison, presently living in Santiago.

#46 Gabriel Sanhueza Donoso (#533) former editor of the newsmagazine "Que Pasa" died recently of natural causes.

#48 Ramiro Sepulveda Contreras (#1,537) freed from prison, presently working in a publishing house in the Santiago area.

#57 Luis Archivaldo Villaflor Rivera (SAP 533) freed, presently lives in La Serena.

The Colegio believes the following are members of other regional councils outside Santiago.

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3/8/78

#13 Pilar Catalina Espinoza freed from prison in Salamanca presently lives with her husband, (#56) Victor Andres Vial De la Jara in Calbuco where he is employed as a fisherman. Vidal de la Jara is harassed by Chilean security forces who have asked several of his employees to fire him for reasons of national security.

#24 Sergio Gutierrez Patri freed, presently lives in Santiago.

#25 Guillermo Jofre finished his sentence and freed. Presently lives in Valparaiso.

#29 Alejandro Lizana freed.

#42 Ricardo Rojos Ross M. freed present whereabouts is not known.

#43 Gustavo Saez Saez was in prison in Laja and subsequently freed. He was reported to be in severe economic difficulties while living in Concepcion.

#56 Victor Andres Vidal de la Jara was relegated or banished to Calbuco. He now lives there with his wife #13 and works as a fisherman.

The Colegio believes that the following are not journalists:

#9 Carmen Bueno listed by the Vicariate as disappeared.

#34 Fernando Ortiz Letelier a professor and member of the university council during the Allende period. Listed by the Vicariate as disappeared.

#37 Manuel Recabarren Rojas former president of the Printers Union of El Mercurio. Listed by the Vicariate as disappeared.

The Vicariate of Solidarity lists the following persons as disappeared:

#8 Alejandro Avalos Davidson

#9 Carmen Bueno Cifuentes GOC reports her as died outside of Chile-119 list

#11 Mario Eduardo Calderon Tapia-119 list also

#15 Hector Contreras Rojas

#17 Luis Duran Rivas-119 list

#19 Guillermo Galvez Rivadeneira He was arrested on June 28, 1976 and disappeared.

#21 Maximo Gedda Ortiz

#22 Jorge Arturo Grez Aburto

#30 Jorge Herman Muller Silva

#31 Marta Neira Munoz-119 list

#34 Fernando Ortiz Letelier

#36 Carlos Freddy Perez Vargas

#37 Manuel Recabarren Rojas

#38 Miguel Rivas Rachitof

#39 Alfredo Rojas Casteneda

#50 Gonzalo Toro Garland

LAB:EEArcher:sef 3/8/78

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M. Schneider
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~~SECRET~~/WNINTEL/ORCON/NOCONTRACT/ORCON

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

hile Project (#S199900006)
.S. Department of State
_Release _√Excise __Deny √Declass
:emption(s) 1, 3

No. 47, March 8, 1978

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to __
Date 12/9/21 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Indonesia

Student Protests Rekindled. Indonesian troops and security officers entered two University of Indonesia campuses in Jakarta on March 3 to break up anti-government student protests. This action follows recent violence between troops and student demonstrators on the prestigious and volatile Gajah Mada University campus in which several students and soldiers reportedly were injured and about 150 students arrested. In yet another incident, 69 high school students in Jakarta reportedly were arrested last week for gathering at the grave of a student killed during a 1966 student movement which helped to depose former President Sukarno. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Surabaya 0089, February 27; CONFIDENTIAL, Surabaya 0089, March 2.)

INR Comment: These incidents occurred after three weeks of relative quiet following the military crackdown on dissent. They indicate continuing support for demonstrations directed against what the students see as military repression and massive corruption. The military, however, appears to be determined to break up all forms of protest. There may be more confrontations over the next two weeks when the People's Congress meets to elect a new president and adopt new state policies for the next five years. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Singapore

Well-Known Lawyer Released From Detention. Embassy Singapore reports that on February 26 the Singapore Government released G. Raman, a well-known lawyer who had been detained without trial under the Internal Security Act for approximately one year. During his detention, Raman confessed publicly to being a Communist and participating in Communist-front activities. Conditions imposed on his release include a $100,000 bond, a two-year suspension from the practice of law, travel restrictions, and a ban on political activity. (CONFIDENTIAL, Singapore 950, March 1.)

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS01886

Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 01886 142134Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 SY-05 MCT-01
NAS-01 OES-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /071 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4923

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(L) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 1886

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: WEINSTEIN DISAPPEARANCE

REF: BUENOS AIRES 1791

1. EMBASSY HAS HEARD THROUGH THREE RELIABLE SOURCES THAT BEATRIZ ROSALIA IPARRAGUIRRE DE WEINSTEIN HAS BEEN RLEASED AND HAS RETURNED TO HER FAMILY.

2. A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES HUMAN RIGHTS DELEGATION (BUENOS AIRES 1871) WAS TOLD BY MRS. WEINSTEIN'S SISTER THIS MORNING 3/14 THAT THE ABDUCTED WOMAN HAD BEEN RELEASED IN THE AVELLANEDA SECTION OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES. BUENOS AIRES HERALD EDITOR BOB COX HAD SIMILAR WORD FROM MRS. WEINSTEIN'S HUSBAND DURING THE AFTERNOON OF THE SAME DAY. (NAS DELEGATION WAS PASSING BACK THROUGH BUENOS AIRES FROM MONETVIDEO, EN ROUTE TO THE US)--ACCORDING TO DR. WEINSTEIN THE RELEASE TOOK PLACE AT 0300. AN ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORTER ALSO SPOKE TO DR. WEINSTEIN AND WAS GIVEN THE SAME STORY.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01886 142134Z

3. FROM WHAT WE CAN DETERMINE ABDUCTION WAS A ROUTINE SECURITY PICKUP. ALTHOUGH RUMORS CIRCULATED EARLIER TODAY (3/14) THAT A RANSOM HAD BEEN PAID DR. WEINSTEIN

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DID NOT MENTION THIS IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH COX.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

The File copy of this uocument was forwarded to Department of State in accordance with FOI request - State 153356 June, 1978 - a copy only retained by Post

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) [redacted]

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
Amembassy Santiago

Participants: Jose Antonio Cousiño, Director of Journalism School, Catholic University and Editorial Writer for "El Mercurio"
Marcelo Rosas, PDC Youth Leader
Felix C. Vargas, Jr., Political Officer

Date & Place: March 14, 1978, Chamberi Restaurant, Santiago

Distribution: AMB/DCM, POL, POL/R, ECON, USIS, DAO, ARA/AND/CH, INR/OIL/B

During a brief chat at lunch -- Cousiño had arrived 45 minutes late -- the "Mercurio" writer discussed the newspaper's political position and current news developments.

"El Mercurio"

Cousiño claimed that, while the newspaper supported the GOC economic policy ("it would not be as successful were it not for our support"), it was not hesitant to criticize human rights abuses. He reminded us of past editorials expressing disapproval of expulsions, disappearances and GOC measures restricting freedom of the press (i.e. Bando 107). Turning to Rosas, he stated that, although the Christian Democrats may think otherwise, "El Mercurio" supported an accelerated return to a democratic political system. (Comment: According to Rosas, Cousiño had recently said that "Mercurio" sought a dialogue with mainstream PDCers. Rosas speculated that this reflected a growing disillusionment with the GOC among the paper's editorial staff. He claimed that "Mercurio" Assistant Director Arturo Fontaine is on board with this idea).

Letelier Investigation

Cousiño said that for the present, "Mercurio" plans to continue its investigation of the Letelier case. People are calling in frequently, claiming to have information and the daily is checking out all good leads. He said that some writers are uneasy in that they fear that continuing probes may reveal GOC involvement. While the daily remains firm in its belief that the GOC is clean, it has not discarded the possibility completely. Should it be shown that DINA was involved, Pinochet will simply find a way

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INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 48, March 15, 1978

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

China

Human Rights in the New Constitution (INR Review and Analysis). Reflecting the stress of China's leaders on "great order in the land," the new Chinese constitution provides the legal framework for more effective government and more rights and security for the individual. It gives broad and explicit powers to government and to a revived judiciary. At the same time, it carefully defines and limits the responsibilities of each organ of government and places strict requirements on state officials. This should reduce abuses of power and improve Peking's ability to coordinate and control the country's administrative machinery.

The constitution explicitly resurrects such rights of individuals as election by secret ballot, public trial, and defense in court. It also encourages intellectual activities and explicitly protects from discrimination formerly suspect groups (e.g., non-party intellectuals, returned overseas Chinese, and national minorities). In a clause found in neither previous constitution, citizens can appeal against infringements of their rights to organs of state at any level.

In actual practice, however, the rights granted by the constitution are still severely circumscribed by the continuing requirement that citizens must support the socia system, the "leadership" of the Communist Party, and the dominance of "Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought." Moreover, reflecting the push for economic development, there is new stress on labor discipline and prohibition against economic crimes, as well as a notable absence of freedom concerning employment, residence, travel, and emigration. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

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Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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...udent Protests Undermining Suharto's Position (INR ...iew and Analysis). While President Suharto will certainly be reelected president by the current People's Consultative Assembly, his position is being undermined by student protests. His tenure after the election will depend on his ability to maintain the unity of the military and damp down the protests. In Jakarta's present tense atmosphere, overreaction by either the students or the authorities could precipitate widespread violence.

Since January 21 the students have been sternly suppressed by the military. Reacting to a call for Suharto's ouster, the government has prohibited publication of news of protests or criticism of the government. Several hundred students have been arrested, armed troops sent to university campuses and into high schools, and student council activities banned. Recently, security troops have acted roughly, and there are rumors of injuries and even deaths.

The situation in Jakarta at this time is highly volatile. Many students are reported to have infiltrated from other areas to demonstrate while the Assembly is in session. Protests in the form of poster-hanging and pamphleteering in universities and high schools are continuing. Student strikes have halted almost all academic activity at the major colleges in Jakarta, Bogor, and Bandung, and several well-known university rectors are publicly siding with the students.

The authorities are determined to maintain order, but their tough measures may prove counterproductive. Some of the students are children of the military elite, and harm to them could split the military, which heretofore has been solidly behind Suharto.

The top military leaders do not want Suharto to leave office under public pressure. They believe, however, that his effectiveness has been diminished. If dissidence increases, they may conclude that he should be eased out of office in Javanese style--with dignity and appropriate timing. (SECRET/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT)

Philippines

Government Gives Aquino TV Time. The Philippine Government permitted imprisoned opposition leader Benigno Aquino to give a 90-minute televised interview on March 10 to reply to President Marcos' charges that he was a Communist sympathizer and a CIA agent. This was Aquino's first chance to take his case to the public on TV since the campaign for the Assembly elections began in mid-February. He used the occasion to score several points against Marcos and martial law. Although he feared that the government might edit the taped program, the interview reportedly was broadcast uncut. (CONFIDENTIAL, Manila 3940, March 11)

INR Comment: The fact that Marcos allowed Aquino this opportunity may temper some of the criticism Marcos has received over his handling of the Aquino case. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Detainee Reportedly Tortured. According to information provided to Embassy Manila last week by a staffer of the Catholic Church-sponsored Task Force on Detainees, two Filipinos arrested on December 12 in Manila reportedly were tortured in a safehouse before they were released on December 17. The staffer doubts that there were any official police records of their arrest since they were never taken to a detention center. (CONFIDENTIAL, Manila 3862, March 10)

INR Comment. This is the first report of alleged torture which INR has received since last December. (CONFIDENTIAL)

South Korea

Labor Day Demonstrations. Embassy Seoul reports that the KCIA blocked demonstrations by church groups scheduled for Korean Labor Day on March 10 by keeping the dissidents away from the demonstration site at Myongdong Cathedral. However, a surprise demonstration did break out at the official Labor Day commemorative meeting in Seoul hosted by the government and the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU). In the presence of the prime minister, the mayor of Seoul, and FKTU leaders, 20 young women textile workers -- apparently members of the Christian "Urban

Industrial Mission" -- demonstrated vocally against government-sanctioned labor conditions. Police and FKTU guards forcibly removed the demonstrators, beating some in the process.

(LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Seoul 2003, March 11; CONFIDENTIAL, Seoul 1824, March 7; SECRET/

INR Comment: Much of Korean labor - and most of its leaders - are content with Korea's current prosperity and do not want to get entangled in political protest. (CONFIDENTIAL)

SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

USSR

Tactical Preliminaries to Moscow Trials (INR Review and Analysis). The conclusion of the Belgrade CSCE conference removed one factor hindering the opening of the trials of dissidents Shcharanskiy, Orlov, and Ginzburg. Movement on the Shcharanskiy case is now stalled by his refusal to talk to his regime-appointed defense attorney. This should delay matters only briefly, however, since the regime can force him to accept an appointed counsel. The regime may be planning for a trial opening soon.

The regime attaches more importance to the Shcharanskiy case than to the Orlov and Ginzburg cases and will handle it differently. It now appears that the latter two will be tried on relatively narrow charges and may receive relatively light sentences. Ginzburg's participation in disbursing Solzhenitsyn's book royalties to needy families of imprisoned dissidents has evidently been dropped from the indictment. Quick trials with minimal publicity would reduce Soviet embarrassment over prosecuting these men, who are best known for acts of mercy and for observance of the CSCE concluding document.

The Shcharanskiy case, however, has been selected by the Soviets as a set piece to discredit ties between the dissidents and the foreign (specifically American) journalistic and diplomatic communities. Despite US

admonitions, the Soviets appear determined to prosecute Shcharanskiy for treason and stage-manage the case for high publicity. This accounts, in part, for their insistence on hand-picking the defense attorney since an uncooperative lawyer might pick embarrassing holes in the prosecution's case and could leak discrediting information to the dissident community and thence to the foreign press. (CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS)

Czechoslovakia

Charter 77 Signatory Vaclav Havel Released. Reuter reports that three Czechoslovak dissidents held since January 28, when police prevented them from attending a railway workers' ball, were released on March 13. According to dissident sources, the police are continuing their investigation into charges that the three men obstructed police and attacked an official during the incident. Playwright Vaclav Havel, an original Charter 77 signatory, was one of these released. He is still under the cloud of an unexpired 14-month suspended sentence meted out in October 1977, however. (UNCLASSIFIED, Reuter 1855, March 13)

AFRICA

South Africa

Changes Affecting Prisoners Largely Cosmetic. Minister of Justice James Kruger last week announced:

--the closing of Robben Island, the notorious prison colony off the Cape Town coast;

--a proposal to appoint "retired" legal men in each province to ensure the "proper protection" of all detainees. These appointees would report directly to the minister on the condition of each prisoner.

--the decision to release several prominent political detainees, including World editor Percy Qoboza, who was a victim of the October government

crack-down on its black critics and their sympathizers. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Pretoria 1184, March 3; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Pretoria 1231, March 4; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Johannesburg 651, March 10)

INR Comment: These actions reflect the government's growing awareness of the abhorrence with which the world views its treatment of political prisoners, particularly in the wake of Steve Biko's death while in detention. None of these measures will significantly improve prison conditions, however. Many of the prisoners now held at Robben Island undoubtedly will be transferred to a new maximum security prison to be built north of Johannesburg. Dozens of less prominent detainees of the October crack-down are still in prison, furthermore.

The opposition parties and some members of the legal community criticize Kruger's prisoner welfare oversight plan for failing to remove the abuses of the present system. They call, instead, for substantive reforms which would provide for no detention without due process, immediate access to the prisoner by both his family and counsel, and laws rather than administrative orders to govern procedures affecting prisoners welfare. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Terrorism Trial to Reconvene in Secret. The trial of 17 members of the banned Pan African Congress (PAC) charged with terrorist acts has reconvened "in camera" at the request of the prosecution. The government had argued that its witnesses feared reprisals for their testimony. Only reporters with police press cards are allowed to attend court sessions. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Cape Town, March 10)

INR Comment: The government seems particularly anxious to win this trial. Its desire to hold secret sessions may reflect its concern that public fervor in support of the defendants in an open trial could get out of hand, especially against the background of the recent death of the PAC's revered leader, Robert Sobukwe. The government may also fear that public discussion of its pre-trial "persuasion" tactics would provoke disruption of the court proceedings. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

Rights Update. Recent Argentine human rights developments include:

--publication by the government of the fifth and sixth lists in a series designed to identify all persons acknowledged by the government as state-of-siege prisoners; the six installments name a total of 2,993 prisoners out of 3,747 currently held, according to government figures;

--Foreign Ministry notification of Embassy Buenos Aires on March 10 that nine persons who are of high interest to the US have not "disappeared" as was previously thought but are under state-of-siege detention in Cordoba (central Argentina); and

--the March 8 abduction of an internationally known medical specialist, Beatriz Rosalia Iparraguirre de Weinstein, who, according to Embassy Buenos Aires, was not a political activist.

(CONFIDENTIAL, Buenos Aires 1791, March 10; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Buenos Aires 1680, March 6; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Buenos Aires 1841, March 13)

INR Comment: When serial publication of the detainee list is completed, the government will come under heavy pressure to account for the thousands who have allegedly disappeared but failed to show up on the list. The coincidence of the Weinstein kidnapping with publication of the prisoner lists again emphasizes the absence of a consistent pattern in Argentine human rights matters. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Chile

State of Siege Lifted. Chile's State of Siege, which had been in effect since September 11, 1973, was lifted on March but the State of Emergency has been extended for an additional six months. The government has given up the right to:

--incarcerate people indefinitely;

--try dissidents in "time-of-war" courts martial;

--send dissenters into internal exile; and

--strip persons of their citizenship.

Under the State of Emergency, however, the government has retained a number of powers:

--the president can decree the arrest and detention of individuals for up to five days;

--dissidents can still be expelled;

--labor and political activities are prohibited; and

--freedom of the press is limited.
(CONFIDENTIAL, Santiago 1703, March 10)

INR Comment: The State of Siege had either to be extended or lifted on March 11. President Pinochet said that he had decided to lift it because the January 4 plebiscite had demonstrated the widespread support his government enjoys. However, it is likely that pragmatic political reasons played a more significant role in the decision. The UN Human Rights Committee is currently drafting another resolution on Chile, and Pinochet would like to soften that resolution. He probably sees the lifting of the State of Siege as one way to accomplish that goal.

The continuation of the State of Siege would have required unanimous approval by the junta. Air Force representative Leigh strenuously objected to its continuance last September, and according to clandestine sources, he agreed to the last six-month extension only after Pinochet promised that he would lift the State of Siege in December. Since Pinochet did not respect that promise, it is doubtful that Leigh would have consented to another extension.

Recent revelations concerning the Letelier-Moffitt assassinations have made Chile the target of a great deal of unfavorable publicity. Pinochet probably hoped that lifting the State of Siege would provide a counterweight (albeit a weak one) to that publicity. (SECRET/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT)

Uruguay

Information Office Created. On March 8, a government spokesman announced the creation of the Central Office for Information on Persons (OCIP), charged with responsibility for responding to queries and accusations concerning persons "linked to national security-crimes." Government sources claim that OCIP will emphasize prompt, written replies to all inquiries. Information requests from foreign governments and recognized international organizations must still be submitted to the Foreign Ministry. Government officials have confirmed, however, that the existing informal channel available to Embassy Montevideo will remain in effect.

OCIP has been on the drawing board for about a year, with President Mendez having mentioned such a facility to President Carter during their September 1977 meeting. Embassy Montevideo views its long-delayed emergence as the first concrete human rights accomplishment of the newly-installed Army Commanding General, Gregorio Alvarez. As such, according to the Embassy, it is an "important positive development" and may be a harbinger of things to come. (CONFIDENTIAL, Montevideo 0779, March 9; CONFIDENTIAL, DIA's IR 69000035, March 10)

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Iran

Prisoners Released; Demonstrations Rumored. The Tehran press reported on March 14 that 589 detainees were to be freed that day, including 26 political ("anti-state") prisoners, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Shah's father, Reza Shah. (One of those released, it has been confirmed, was Mahmoud Mazaheri-Tehrani, the student-activist husband of an American citizen.) Some 322 of those to be freed are persons convicted in military courts of minor offenses involving sentences of less than three months.

Embassy Tehran expects two more amnesties in the next few weeks: first, the traditional pardon of prisoners on the March 21 Iranian New Year's Day; and secondly, a general release of those covered by the amnesty bill recently passed by the parliament for which administrative arrangements are still being formulated. The Tehran press estimates that some 700 prisoners will be released on New Year's Day. Meanwhile, rumors have circulated in Iran that widespread anti-regime demonstrations will occur on March 15 in an attempt to disrupt the celebration of Reza Shah's birth centenary. (CONFIDENTIAL, Tehran 2464, March 12; Tehran 2522, March 12; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Tehran 2572, March 14)

INR Comment. The release of almost 600 prisoners on March 14 and the news of expected additional amnesties may have been calculated to take some of the steam out of the rumored demonstrations scheduled for March 15. On the other hand, on the face of it, the releases tend to reinforce the Shah's statements after the recent riots in Tabriz that he plans to continue the process of political liberalization despite the series of disruptions which began last November. Despite a rash of warnings from many sources about plans for widespread disorders on March 11, the day passed quietly in Iran. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Iraq

Collective Rather Than Individual Rights Stressed. Iraq will continue to oppose efforts to establish a High Commissioner for Human Rights, according to the Chief of the International Organizations Bureau at the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The official has told our Interests Section in Baghdad that, for reasons of sovereignty, Iraq desires to emphasize collective rather than individual rights. Iraq particularly wishes to avoid situations where individual complainants could enlist the aid of international organizations on behalf of their causes. He observed that the stress upon indivudal rights was of central concern during the days when the US dominated the UN, and implied that Third World countries in today's changed circumstances would handle the issue differently. (CONFIDENTIAL, Baghdad 463, March 4)

INR Comment. The Iraqis have traditionally displayed sensitivity to accusations that their human rights record contains serious blemishes. They probably view the

High Commissioner proposal as an idea that would facilitate the efforts of those who wish to embarrass the Iraqi Government by focusing attention upon Baghdad's alleged human rights violations. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Pakistan

Regime Rounds Up Bhutto Supporters. Authorities arrested three editors of a pro-Bhutto newspaper in Lahore and confined Mrs. Bhutto to her home for 15 days on March 12 for violation of a martial law order banning all political activity. The Urdu-language newspaper belonging to Bhutto's Peoples Party (PPP) had published Mrs. Bhutto's charge that the military regime planned to transfer her husband's trial from a civil to a military court in order to deprive the former prime minister of the right of appeal to the Supreme Court. The government denied the charges.

In related moves, the government has arrested several hundred PPP activists since March 1, including a former federal minister and a former provincial governor. It has also brought charges against or temporarily suspended publication of two other newspapers. (CONFIDENTIAL, Islamabad 2528, March 14; UNCLASSIFIED, Reuter 1450 and 1117, March 12)

INR Comment: The government's clamp-down on political activities is widely seen as anticipating violence when a verdict is announced in Bhutto's murder trial, probably in the next day or so. Bhutto faces a possible death sentence if he is found guilty of conspiracy to murder a political opponent. He appears to have received a fair trial, but his involvement in the conspiracy rests on the testimony of one witness and the verdict could go either way.

Mrs. Bhutto's comments reflected the attitudes of most observers, who view the martial law authority's elaborate precautions as an indication of a guilty verdict which could prompt a violent reaction on the part of Bhutto's supporters. General Zia's "caretaker" regime has so far demonstrated a better human rights record than Bhutto's did. However, in its fumbling efforts to bring about Bhutto's political demise through a guilty verdict, the military authorities' record is likely to deteriorate sharply in coming days. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Syria

Assad Emphasizes Need for More Individual Freedom. In a March 8 inaugural address, President Assad pointed to excesses in the application of martial law and said that he had ordered these practices stopped. He also stressed that individual belief and expression will not be questioned as long as individuals exercise their rights within the framework of the law. Embassy Damascus considers that Assad takes his commitment to individual freedom seriously, and believes that additional progress can be expected so long as freedom does not upset the stability which has accompanied Assad's presidency. (CONFIDENTIAL, Damascus 1357, March 9)

INR Comment: Assad has managed to remain in power in part by exploiting the competition for influence among a host of internal security organizations while concommitantly displaying responsiveness to a popular desire for greater individual freedom. As a result of his successful efforts to enhance the regime's stability in recent months, Assad apparently feels sufficiently confident to shift the above balance slightly by curtailing some of the prerogatives of his security apparatus. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Tunisia

Many Union Officials Held Without Charges. In a March 9 conversation with Embassy Tunis, Dr. Zmerli, president of Tunisia's League for the Rights of Man, expressed pessimism about the human rights situation in Tunisia. He criticized what he considers to be the government's general disregard for individual rights, as seen in its continuing detention of 100 individuals--mostly labor union officials--arrested in the aftermath of the January general strike and riots. Zmerli claimed that the government has held them under very poor conditions, has not brought formal charges against them, and has not given them access to their attorneys. One of the detainees has died in custody. Furthermore, when League officials have attempted to bring these matters up with the government, they have been faced with a "wall of silence," according to Zmerli. (CONFIDENTIAL, Tunis 1755, March 10)

INR Comment: Tunisia's leaders clearly hold the union leadership responsibile for the destructive rioting which left several hundred dead and wounded. The interest

and concern shown by various international labor organizations and governments friendly to Tunisia, however, may moderate its approach to the trials and soften the sentences of those found guilty. (CONFIDENTIAL)

UNITED NATIONS

UN Human Rights Commission Makes Some Headway (INR Review and Analysis). The recently concluded 34th session of the UN Human Rights Commission (HRC) was probably one of the least contentious on record. Thanks in large measure to the active and constructive role played by the African members under the leadership of Commission chairman M'Baye of Senegal, as well as the tactics of the US delegation, the HRC took a step toward a more even-handed treatment of serious human rights violations.

Uganda. For the first time, the HRC agreed that an "eminent African personality" would undertake a thorough study of the human rights situation in Uganda under the Commission's confidential procedures. In a significant reversal of the former African reluctance to single out a fellow OAU member, the Africans, spearheaded by Senegal and Nigeria, maintained a solid front in overriding Communist and some other Third World opposition.

Cambodia. Also for the first time, the Commission publicly decided to inquire about the human rights situation in Cambodia. Although the decision was a compromise on a UK-inspired resolution that called for an investigation, it ensures that the issue will be raised again by the HRC next year. It was given little chance of success at the start of the session.

Chile, Middle East, South Africa, Cyprus. The HRC adopted the usual public resolutions on Cyprus, Chile, human rights violations in the occupied Arab territories, South Africa's apartheid policies, Western assistance to South Africa, and for the first time, a resolution on Palestinian self-determination. The divisive debate on these issues which has severely disrupted past HRC sessions was absent for the most part.

High Commissioner for Human Rights. The proposal for a High Commissioner for Human Rights was not voted on. Although the post is still strongly opposed by both Communist and Third World countries (among the latter are India, Nigeria, and Brazil), it received a new, though tenuous, lease on life by being listed among several suggestions for improving the UN human rights machinery to be considered at the ECOSOC this spring and the UNGA this fall.

National and Regional Commissions. In obvious moves to sidetrack the High Commissioner proposal, the Indians and Nigerians, respectively, came up with two proposals for the creation of national and regional human rights commissions. From these governments' standpoint, such commissions would be more manageable alternatives to either a High Commissioner or the investigatory procedures of the HRC itself.

It is unclear at this time whether the more even-handed treatment toward human rights exhibited by the Third World countries, particularly the Africans, stemmed from an African decision to be more forthcoming largely because an African was in the chair, or whether their attitude (and those of some of the other Third World countries) represents a stronger commitment to investigating violations of human rights wherever they occur. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 3851 ACTION SECSTATE INFO USUN NEW YORK, DAKAR AND MONROVIA MAR 11.

QUOTE: [redacted] GENEVA 3857

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, UNHRC
SUBJECT: 34TH HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION--POSITIVE BALANCE SHEET

SUMMARY: IN TERMS OF U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES THE RESULTS OF THIS HRC SESSION TAKEN AS A WHOLE WERE NOTABLY POSITIVE. FOR THE FIRST TIME ACTION WAS TAKEN UNDER THE HRC'S CONFIDENTIAL "1503" PROCEDURES TO INVESTIGATE THE SITUATION IN UGANDA AND EQUATORIAL GUINEA AND ESTABLISH "CONTACTS" WITH PARAGUAY THROUGH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. BOLIVIA, MALAWI, REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND ETHIOPIA WILL BE KEPT UNDER SCRUTINY BY THE HRC, WHILE INDONESIA IS SIMPLY INVITED TO CONTINUE COOPERATION WITH THE COMMISSION. URUGUAY HAS BEEN ASKED TO PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION TO THE HRC. THE "PUBLIC" RESOLUTION ON CHILE WAS FORMULATED TO MEET U.S. CONDITIONS FOR CO-SPONSORSHIP, FORCING OUT CUBAN AND YUGOSLAV COSPONSORSHIP. MOREOVER AN IMPLICITLY CRITICAL "DECISION" ON CAMBODIA WAS ADOPTED WHICH INVITES INFORMATION FROM ALL SOURCES ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN THAT COUNTRY FOR INCLUSION IN A REPORT BY THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL. THE SOVIETS ELICITED NO SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT FOR AN ATTEMPT TO INJECT THE NEUTRON BOMB ISSUE INTO HRC BUSINESS. ON THE OTHER HAND PREDICTABLE RESOLUTIONS WERE ADOPTED ON THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS ISSUE AND PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION RIGHTS OVER U.S. OPPOSITION, ALTHOUGH EVEN HERE LANGUAGE IN THE SETTLEMENTS TEXT CONCERNING THE APPLICABILITY OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION WAS MODIFIED TO ENABLE U.S. SUPPORT. THE RESOLUTIONS ON THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN APARTHEID ISSUES, WHILE UNACCEPTABLE, WERE NEVERTHELESS PURPOSELY MODERATED TO ENABLE U.S.-WEO ABSTENTIONS. USEFUL THIRD WORLD INITIATIVES ON NEW NATIONAL AND REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS WERE ADOPTED. THE U.S. CANDIDATE FOR THE HRC'S SUBCOMMISSION WAS RE-ELECTED. USDEL WAS ABLE TO KEEP THE IDEA OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ALIVE. MEASURED AGAINST SOVIET WISHES TO EXTINGUISH THE IDEA, THIS WAS AN ACCOMPLISHMENT. AFRICAN AND OTHER NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT WAS KEY TO THE SUCCESS OF U.S. AND WEO EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE POSITIVE ACTIONS RECORDED BY THIS HRC SESSION. THE COOPERATION AND SKILL OF THE SENEGALESE CHAIRMAN WAS IMPORTANT TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS. JUST AS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, THERE WERE CLEAR

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INDICATIONS OF A CONTINUING NEW NON-ALIGNED THRUST ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES THAT IS COMPATIBLE WITH AND CONTRIBUTIVE TO OUR POLICIES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE 34TH SESSION OF THE HRC, COMPRISING 32 NATION-MEMBERS, ENDED MARCH 10 AND REPRESENTED A SINGULARLY SUCCESSFUL SESSION FROM THE U.S. STANDPOINT. THE FOLLOWING IS A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S POSSIBLE USE IN TRANSMITTING TO THOSE POSTS WE APPROACHED ON HRC ISSUES. USDEL BELIEVES THAT THE PRE-SESSION GROUNDWORK EFFORTS AT USUN AND IN CAPITALS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS CONTRIBUTED IMPORTANTLY TO THE OVERALL POSITIVE OUTCOME OF THE SESSION.

2. THE CONFERENCE WAS GENERALLY CHARACTERIZED BY AN ATMOSPHERE OF PRINCIPLED COMPROMISE AND SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS ON MOST OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES BEFORE IT. CONFRONTATIONS WERE RARE AND WHEN THEY DID OCCUR THE SOVIETS-EE'S AND ESPECIALLY THE CUBANS WERE MORE OFTEN THE LOSERS THAN THE U.S. AND WEO'S.

3. FOR THE FIRST TIME MEANINGFUL FOLLOW-UP ACTION WAS TAKEN UNDER THE HRC'S CONFIDENTIAL "1503" PROCEDURES, I.E., CLOSED DEBATES AND VOTES. MOREOVER UGANDA WAS THE FIRST COUNTRY EVER TO BE SINGLED OUT FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION UNDER THESE PROCEDURES. A "PROMINENT AFRICAN" IS TO BE APPROACHED TO INVESTIGATE CONDITIONS THERE. ADDITIONALLY A DECISION WAS TAKEN TO REQUIRE EQUATORIAL GUINEA EITHER TO RESPOND MEANINGFULLY TO THE COMPLAINTS AGAINST IT UNDER THE CONFIDENTIAL PROCEDURES OR BE CONFRONTED WITH A PUBLIC DEBATE AT NEXT YEAR'S SESSION. SOLID AFRICAN PRESSURE (IVORY COAST, LESOTHO, RWANDA, AND ESPECIALLY SENEGAL AND NIGERIA) PUSHED THROUGH THESE DECISIONS OVER SOVIET-EE AND SOME OTHER THIRD WORLD OPPOSITION. IT WAS DECIDED TO ASK THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO ESTABLISH "CONTACTS" WITH PARAGUAY TO OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION THERE. DECISIONS WERE ALSO TAKEN TO KEEP THE SITUATIONS "UNDER REVIEW" IN BOLIVIA, MALAWI, SOUTH KOREA AND ETHIOPIA. URUGUAY WILL BE ASKED TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON "RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" AND TO PROVIDE "FULLEST POSSIBLE EXPLANATION" RE THE "PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY RESTORATION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS" IN THAT COUNTRY. THEIR RESPONSES WILL BE CONSIDERED AT THE NEXT HRC. WHILE INDONESIA, KOREA AND ETHIOPIA WERE TREATED MORE LIGHTLY THAN THE MAGNITUDE OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST THOSE COUNTRIES WOULD SEEM TO MERIT, ALL WILL BE KEPT UNDER SCRUTINY AND HAVE BEEN ASKED TO CONTINUE THEIR COOPERATION WITH THE HRC.

4. PUBLIC RESOLUTIONS WERE ADOPTED ON CHILE, ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION RIGHTS, SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICIES AND SOUTH-AFRICAN-WESTERN "ASSISTANCE." HOWEVER WE BELIEVE IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT WHEN THESE ARE CONSIDERED TOGETHER WITH THE 1503 DECISIONS THE HRC CLEARLY DISAVOWED SELECTIVE MORALITY. [redacted]

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5. SPECIFICALLY, THE CHILE RESOLUTION WAS SHAPED TO ACCOMMODATE U.S. CONDITIONS FOR CO-SPONSORSHIP TO THE EXTENT THAT THE CUBANS AND YUGOSLAVS WITHDREW THEIR CO-SPONSORSHIP IN THE ELEVENTH HOUR. A PARTICULAR POINT OF CONTENTION WAS WHETHER OR NOT THE RESOLUTION WOULD "TAKE NOTE" OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S MOST RECENT REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN CHILE. THIS WAS ANATHEMA TO CUBA WHICH REGARDS THIS AS AN IMPLICIT EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR THE OAS.

6. AS IN OTHER MULTILATERAL FORA, THE SOVIETS RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE NEUTRON BOMB UNDER THE ITEM CONCERNING THE IMPACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT (SEE SEPTELS). HOWEVER THEIR EFFORTS WERE ONLY RHETORICAL AND TENTATIVE AND THEY DID NOT IN THE END PRESS THE ISSUE VIA AN ALLEGEDLY POLISH RESOLUTION (CIRCULATED INFORMALLY). INDEED THE SOVIETS RESPONDED WEAKLY TO STRONG UK AND U.S. STATEMENTS ON THE ISSUE.

7. THE ARAB-ISRAELI RESOLUTIONS WERE TOUGH AND CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE U.S. BUT, IN LIGHT OF PARTICULARLY STRONG ARAB EMOTIONS AT THIS JUNCTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST DISPUTE, THEY COULD HAVE BEEN MUCH WORSE. PART A OF ONE RESOLUTION CONDEMNED THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY AND ALLEGED TORTURE OF "PRISONERS OF WAR." PART B OF THE SAME RESOLUTION, HOWEVER, WAS SUBSTANTIVELY UNCHANGED FROM THE 1977 RESOLUTION REGARDING APPLICABILITY OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IN ORDER EXPRESSLY TO ENABLE U.S. PARTICIPATION IN A CONSENSUS. THE FINAL ARAB RESOLUTION ASSERTED A PALESTINIAN RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION TO BE PURSUED (IMPLICITLY) BY ARMED STRUGGLE. IT WAS SIGNIFICANT, HOWEVER, THAT THE TONE OF THESE RESOLUTIONS WAS MODERATED TO SPLIT THE WEO'S BETWEEN CONSISTENT U.S. AND CANADIAN "NO" VOTES AND OTHER WEO ABSTENTIONS.

8. THE HRC ALSO ADOPTED TWO SOUTH AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. THE FIRST DEALT WITH THE HRC WORKING GROUP REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HOWEVER, DUE TO AFRICAN DESIRES TO AVOID PROVOKING OUTRIGHT WESTERN, ESPECIALLY U.S. OPPOSITION, IT WAS TONED DOWN SUBSTANTIVELY AND RHETORICALLY FROM THE COUNTERPART RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN 1977, DESPITE CUBAN PREFERENCES AND PRESSURE FOR EXPLICIT ENDORSEMENT OF THE 1977 HAVANA SEMINAR DECISIONS ON AFRICA. SIMILARLY A RESOLUTION CONCERNING WEO COMMERCIAL-NUCLEAR LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WAS ALSO NOTABLY FREE OF ANTI-WESTERN VERBIAGE. INSTEAD THE EMPHASIS WAS ON INTRODUCING PRESSURES FOR PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF APARTHEID AS AN INTERNATIONAL CRIME. THIS WAS COUPLED WITH OTHER RESOLUTIONS BEARING ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID CONVENTION AND THE CELEBRATION OF 1978 AS INTERNATIONAL ANTI-APARTHEID YEAR. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT FOR THE LONGER TERM THE AFRICANS HAVE DECIDED TO MOVE FOR INCREASED PRACTICAL

PRESSURES IN UN FORA RATHER THAN INDULGENCE IN EMOTIONAL ANTI-WESTERN OUTBURSTS.

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9. UN HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY: HRC ACTIONS ON IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTING AND PROCEDURAL MECHANISMS WERE MIXED BUT GENERALLY POSITIVE. OTHER COMMISSION MEMBERS WERE CLEARLY UNRECEPTIVE TO ENDORSING OR TAKING STEPS TOWARD THE CREATION OF THE POST OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DESPITE OUR STRONG URGING. THIS IDEA WAS LISTED ALONG WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER SUGGESTIONS BEARING ON PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY THAT ARE TO BE STUDIED IN AN OVERALL ANALYSIS TO BE PRESENTED STO THE NEXT SESSION. HOWEVER, IF CONSIDERED AGAINST INTENSE SOVIET EFFORTS TO HAVE THE IDEA EITHER DISAVOWED OR BURIED PERMANENTLY, THE FACT THAT THE CONCEPT HAS BEEN KEPT ALIVE AND WILL BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IS SIGNIFICANT. CLEARLY A LOT MORE WORK HAS TO BE DONE WITH THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WHO SEEM TO PERCEIVE A HIGH COMMISSIONER AS BEING UNIQUELY A HIGH LEVEL INVESTIGATOR WITH A UN CARTE BLANCHE TO INTERFERE WITH OR EMBARRASS MEMBER STATES.

10. SIMILARLY, A JORDANIAN PROPOSAL TO LENGTHEN HRC SESSIONS WAS NOT PRESSED TO A VOTE, BUT FORWARDED AS AN IDEA TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE OVERALL ANALYSIS EXERCISE, WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THERE WAS INSUFFICIENT COMMISSION SUPPORT.

11. HOWEVER, THE COMMISSION DID ADOPT AN INDIAN INITIATED RESOLUTION ADVOCATING THE CREATION BY ALL UN MEMBERS OF NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS. EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THE COMMISSION ADOPTED A NIGERIAN PROPOSAL CALLING FOR THE CREATION OF REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS WHERE NONE PRESENTLY EXIST. IT WAS STATED PUBLICLY AS WELL AS PRIVATELY BY THIRD WORLD PROPONENTS, E.G., EGYPT, THAT THE INTENDED MODEL FOR AFRICA IS THE OAS INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WE CONSIDER THESE IDEAS SOUND STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND FIND EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANCE FOR OUR LONG RANGE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN THE FACT THAT KEY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES INITIATED AND PRESSED THEM TO FORMAL ADOPTION. IN SUM, OTHERS WELL OUTSIDE THE WEO HUMAN RIGHTS "BLOC" ARE INDEPENDENTLY MOVING TO ENHANCE HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS.

12. THE U.S. ROLE AS A PRIME MOVER IN THE HRC WAS PRESERVED BY THE RE-ELECTION OF AMBASSADOR W. BEVERLY CARTER, JR., (23 VOTES) TO THE HRC'S SUBCOMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES. THIS BODY, COMPRISING 26 MEMBERS SERVING IN A PRIVATE EXPERT CAPACITY, IS THE CHANNEL THROUGH WHICH COMPLAINTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS LODGED WITH THE UN ARE DIRECTED FOR SCRUTINY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TRANSMITTAL TO THE HRC.

13. CAMBODIAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WERE EASED INTO

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THE SPOTLIGHT OF UN ATTENTION BY CONSENSUS ADOPTION OF A "DECISION" THAT ASKS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SUBMIT THE RELEVANT RECORDS OF THIS SESSION'S PROCEEDINGS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF "DEMOCRATIC" KAMPUCHEA FOR ITS RESPONSE. THAT RESPONSE TOGETHER WITH "ALL INFORMATION WHICH MAY BE AVAILABLE ABOUT THE SITUATION" IS TO BE REPORTED BACK TO THE HRC NEXT YEAR THROUGH THE SUBCOMMISSION. THE DECISION WAS A COMPROMISE ON A UK-INITIATED RESOLUTION THAT CALLED FOR A MORE STRAIGHTFORWARD INVESTIGATION. HOWEVER, MINIMAL AS THE DECISION WAS, IT WAS IMPLICITLY CRITICAL AND SEEMS TO PERMIT THE CONSIDERATION BY THE HRC OF INFORMATION SUBMITTED FROM ALL SOURCES, INCLUDING THE DETAILED CHARGES MADE IN THE UK'S SPEECH. SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF THE CASE AGAINST CAMBODIA WILL REQUIRE CLOSE AND CAREFUL COORDINATION BEFORE THE 1978 HRC SESSION.

14. ADDITIONALLY, THE COMMISSION WAS ABLE TO ADDRESS, AT LEAST INITIALLY, FAR MORE AGENDA ITEMS THAN IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO IN RECENT YEARS. RESULTS WERE MIXED. THE MOST NOTABLE FAILURE WAS THE EFFORT TO MOVE FORWARD ON A DRAFT DECLARATION ON RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE. THE DRAFT FOUNDERED DUE TO ANGRY THIRD WORLD OPPOSITION (MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN ALIKE), TO SOVIET INSISTENCE ON LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR THE FREEDOM NOT RPT NOT TO BELIEVE IN A RELIGION. ON OTHER SUBJECTS, INITIAL STEPS WERE TAKEN BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VARIOUS WORKING GROUPS TO COME UP WITH PROPOSALS ON MEASURES TO (A) PROMOTE RIGHTS OF ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES; (B) ENHANCE RIGHTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS; AND (C) RECONSIDER THE RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE DECLARATION. THE SWEDISH-INITIATED TEXT OF A DRAFT CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE WAS ACCEPTED AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION BY A WORKING GROUP TO MEET JUST BEFORE THE NEXT HRC SESSION. UN MEMBER STATES WILL SUBMIT COMMENTS THAT WILL BE COMPILED FOR THE WORKING GROUP'S CONSIDERATION. UNDER THE HEADING OF THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ISSUE OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION TO MILITARY SERVICE WAS HELD OVER FOR THE HRC AGENDA.

15. ONE AREA OF PARTICULAR POTENTIAL CONCERN FOR THE U.S. EMERGED AT THIS HRC: THE AMERICAN INDIAN ISSUE. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY COUNCIL SPOKE TWICE, AS REPORTED SEPTEL. SPEAKING ON THE ITEM OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION THE IITC EFFECTIVELY PRESENTED THOUGH EXAGGERATED THE ARGUMENT OF CONSISTENT USG DENIAL OF THIS RIGHT TO OUR INDIAN POPULATION. THEY AGAIN SPOKE LATE IN THE SESSION ON THE TOPIC OF ALLEGED CALCULATED JUDICIAL PREJUDICE AGAINST INDIANS AND ALLEGED BRUTAL MISTREATMENT OF INDIAN PRISON INMATES. WHILE NO RESOLUTIONS WERE PRESENTED, THE STATEMENTS AT THIS SESSION MAY WELL BE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR ESCALATED ACTION AT FUTURE HRC SESSIONS.

16. MANY OTHER DELEGATIONS WERE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY

THE USREP'S REPLY TO THE FIRST OF THE ABOVE STATEMENTS THAT WE WELCOMED THE INDIANS' USE OF THE HRC FORUM, AND PROMISED CONTINUED USG EFFORTS TO RESPOND TO INDIAN COMPLAINTS. HOWEVER, IT WAS OUR IMPRESSION THAT MOST OTHER COUNTRIES, QUITE APART FROM THE SOVIETS-EE'S, BELIEVE THE INDIANS' COMPLAINTS HAVE SOME VALIDITY. UNLESS WE SHOW POSITIVE IMPROVEMENT IN THIS AREA, WE MIGHT FIND OTHERS RAISING THIS SUBJECT AT A LATER TIME.

17. LASTLY, THE COMMISSION MUST ALSO BE CONSIDERED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ITS FUNCTION AS A FORUM TO EXPOUND AND EXCHANGE VIEWS, AS WELL AS TO FUNCTION AS A MECHANISM. FROM THIS STANDPOINT THE U.S. ALSO PROFITTED CONSIDERABLY. FOR EXAMPLE, SOVIET DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ITS CHRISTIANS AND JEWS WAS RAISED VIGOROUSLY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN RECENT YEARS IN STRONG STATEMENTS BY U.S. CHIEF DELEGATE MEZVINSKY AND CONGRESSMAN JOHN BUCHANAN. SEVERAL CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION REPS, AS WELL AS THE ISRAELI OBSERVER DEL HERE, EXPRESSED THEIR DEEP APPRECIATION. ADDITIONALLY THERE WERE SEVERAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE USSR, CUBAN AND ARGENTINE DELS. NONE RESPONDED AND ALL SEEMED DECISIVELY OUTPOINTED WHEN THE U.S. OFFERED TO ACCEPT HRC INVESTIGATION OF RACIAL ETHNIC MINORITY HUMAN RIGHTS IN AMERICA UPON THE EXPECTATION THAT THE SOVIETS, CUBANS AND ARGENTINIANS WOULD ALSO OPEN THEIR DOORS TO THE HRC TO INVESTIGATE THE COMPLAINTS AGAINST THEM.

18. HOWEVER, EXCHANGES OF RHETORICAL BLOWS WERE RARE. MORE STRIKING, PARTICULARLY IN THE CLOSED SESSION DEBATE, WAS THE LEAD IN DEFENSE OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS TAKEN BY SUCH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS SENEGAL, NIGERIA, COLOMBIA, LESOTHO AND PANAMA. THESE RESPONDED STRONGLY TO REJECT SOVIET-CUBAN ARGUMENTS THAT REVOLUTIONARY SITUATIONS "JUSTIFIED" THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE "MAJORITY." THERE WAS ALSO A NOTABLY HIGH LEVEL OF DEBATE ON THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. THE THEME PRESSED TIME AND AGAIN WAS THAT THE WEST WAS "GUILTY" OF A DOUBLE STANDARD ON HUMAN RIGHTS BY REFUSING TO TAKE PRACTICAL ACTION ON SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN THIS DEBATE HAD SOME COMFORTABLE MOMENTS FOR THE U.S. WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE DELEGATE FROM LESOTHO IN TRACING HISTORIC LOWPOINTS OF MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN CITED "PRAGUE, 1968." NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS CLEAR THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL CONTINUE TO BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MEASURES OF U.S. MORAL CREDIBILITY IN THIS FORUM.

19. INDEED THE AFRICANS THROUGHOUT THE HRC WERE THE KEY, GENERALLY CONTROLLING FACTORS. IN PARTICULAR KEBA M'BAYE, CHIEF JUSTICE OF SENEGAL, PROVED HIMSELF TO BE A SUPERB CHAIRMAN. AS DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL, HE PROMISED AND DELIVERED A CREDIBLE AND CREDITABLE SESSION OF THE HRC. HE WAS A TOUGH AND EFFICIENT MANAGER OF SESSION PROCEEDINGS AND YET POLITICALLY DEFT ENOUGH TO PRE-EMPT SEVERAL DEVELOPING CONFRONTATIONS BY WORK BEHIND THE SCENES TO OBTAIN CONSENSUS ACTIONS OR AT LEAST SOFTEN

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THE STING OF DECISIONS UNACCEPTABLE TO US (AFRICAN AND ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUES) AND TO OTHERS. USDEL WOULD STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT CONSIDER AN APPROPRIATE EXPRESSION OF U.S. APPRECIATION FOR M'BAYE'S CONTRIBUTION AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS IN SENEGAL. INDEED ONLY NEXT YEAR WHEN M'BAYE IS NO LONGER IN THE CHAIR OF THE HRC WILL WE BE ABLE TO SEE CLEARLY WHETHER THIS SESSION WAS A PHENOMENON OR A STEP FORWARD TOWARD A FRAGILE BUT PROMISING NEW INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS UNDERSTANDING. IN ANY EVENT THIS SESSION HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES IN THE UN FORA CAN BE PURSUED WITH, RATHER THAN IN SPITE OF, THE THIRD WORLD.

20. THE PRIVATE REMARKS OF A SOVIET DELOFF TO ONE OF OUR DELOFFS YESTERDAY SUGGEST THE SOVIETS ARE CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN CONTENT WITH THIS SESSION.
THE SOVIET OBSERVED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE PLEASED WITH THE MEETING'S RESULT. OUR DELOFF REMARKED THAT SHARE-AND-SHARE ALIKE WAS PRESUMABLY ACCEPTABLE TO ANY MARXIST-LENINIST. THE SOVIET RESPONSE WAS: "YES, BUT NOT HERE." VANDEN HEUVEL
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Douglas Bernhard

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Mr. Warren Christopher
Department of State
Washington, D.C., 20525

EXCISE

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Dear Mr. Christopher,

With eighteen months having passed since the assassination of former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. Orlando Letelier, I am glad to hear that the delay in prosecution of this case may be nearing its end. It appears that the Justice Department and the State Department are finally ready to prosecute Letelier's assassins.

Joining with many persons feeling a strong commitment to see justice prevail, I will continue to watch carefully this investigation, and I hope and pray that my government will proceed to do everything necessary to resolve the case of brutal murder, for political reason, in our nation's capital. I would ask for your personal commitment in this behalf. Most sincerely,

Douglas R. Bernhard

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SS-15 L-03
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 2131

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OGEN, PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: DEVELOPMENTS MARCH 23

REF: SANTIAGO 2127

1. SUMMARY. PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF MARCH 23, AS REPORTED SANTIAGO MEDIA, WERE MEETING AT FOREIGN MINISTRY TO ASSESS STATUS OF USG/GOC PROGRESS ON LETELIER CASE, GOC DECLARATION LATE IN DAY PUTTING FORTH ITS VIEWS OF CURRENT STATUS, USG LAWYER ETCHEBERRY'S FORMAL REQUEST TO JUDGE GONZALEZ FOR FERNANDEZ AND TOWNLEY TO APPEAR IN HER COURT, AND THE DEPARTURE OF ASSISTANT US ATTORNEY PROPPER FOR RETURN TO WASHINGTON. END SUMMARY.

2. MORNING MEETING IN OFFICE OF FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL INCLUDED, FOR GOC, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER VALDES, INTERIOR UNDERSECRETARY MONTERO, CNI HEAD MENA AND [redacted] FOR USG, AMBASSADOR, DCM, PROPPER AND ETCHEBERRY. [redacted] PROPPER'S IMMINENT DEPARTURE AND WAS A GENERAL REVIEW OF PROGRESS TO DATE. ASKED IF IT HAD BEEN DEMONSTRATED THAT THE GOC HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE LETELIER ASSASSINATION SCHWEITZER REPLIED THAT THAT HAD ALWAYS BEEN HIS VIEW, BUT THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION IS WHAT THE USG THINKS. ON THE ISSUE OF WHETHER PROPPER IS SATISFIED WITH THE COOPERATION RECEIVED FROM THE GOC, SCHWEITZER STATED: "MR. PROPPER UNDERSTANDS THAT THERE HAS BEEN GOC COOPERATION, JUST AS WAS PROMISED IN THE UNITED STATES (I.E. THE MONTERO VISIT). BUT HE STILL HOPES THAT OTHER ACTIONS WILL BE CARRIED OUT, SPECIFICALLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE LETTERS ROGATORY."

3. AMPLIFYING THE GOC POSITION, THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR ISSUED AN EIGHT-POINT DECLARATION THE EVENING OF MARCH 23. IN SUMMARY, AND INFORMAL TRANSLATION, IT SAYS:

-- ON MARCH 15 THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR INFORMED JUDGE LIBEDINSKY THAT IT HAD THE WILLIAMS AND ROMERAL PASSPORTS, AND ON MARCH 17 IT SHOWED THEM TO LIBEDINSKY.

--ON MARCH 20 LIBEDINSKY TOOK TESTIMONY FROM THE TWO PERSONS CORRESPONDING TO THE PASSPORTS, DETERMINED THAT THEY CAME UNDER MILITARY JUSTICE, AND THEREFORE DECLARED HIMSELF INCOMPETENT TO CONTINUE WITH THE CASE.

-- ON MARCH 22 THE SAME TWO PERSONS WERE PRESENTED TO JUDGE JUANA GONZALEZ IN RESPONSE TO THE LETTERS ROGATORY. USG LAWYER ETCHEBERRY TOLD THE JUDGE THAT US ATTORNEY PROPPER WAS NOT INTERESTED IN THE PERSONS WHO TRAVELLED UNDER THE NAMES WILLIAMS AND ROMERAL ON CHILEAN PASSPORTS; RATHER THAT THE LETTERS ROGATORY WERE DIRECTED TO THE PERSONS WHOSE PHOTOS HAD BEEN ATTACHED. THE JUDGE ACCEDED TO THE USG POSITION THAT QUESTIONING THE TWO PERSONS THEN IN COURT WAS UNNECESSARY.

-- ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE PROVIDED THE COURTS, THEIR OWN DECLARATIONS, AND INFORMATION RECEIVED BY THE GOVERNMENT, "IT CAN BE AFFIRMED THAT THESE TWO PERSONS HAD NOTHING WHATSOEVER TO DO WITH THE DEATHS OF MR. LETELIER AND MRS. MOFFITT."

-- REGARDING THE TWO PERSONS CORRESPONDING TO THE PHOTOGRAPHS, CAPITAN FERNANDEZ HAS BEEN PLACED AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE COURT; HE HAS NOT YET BEEN QUESTIONED BECAUSE OF THE REQUEST OF THE USG LAWYER THAT HE APPEAR AT THE SAME TIME AS MICHAEL TOWNLEY--"WHO, TO THIS DATE, HAS NOT APPEARED BEFORE THE COURT."

-- "IT STANDS OUT CATEGORICALLY, ON THE BASIS OF EVIDENCE NOW AVAILABLE, THAT THERE HAS NOT APPEARED ANY LINK BETWEEN CHILEAN CITIZENS AND THE DEATH OF ORLANDO LETELIER."
--"THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT BY THE ACTIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE IT HAS COMPLIED IN ALL ASPECTS WITHIN ITS POWER, AND CONTRIBUTED DECISIVELY TO CLARIFYING THE FACTS -- AS IT HAD SAID PUBLICALLY IT WOULD DO."

--"NEVERTHELESS, WITH ITS CONTINUING CONCERN TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, (THE GOC) REPEATS THAT IT WILL PROVIDE ALL NEW ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE THAT MAY BE RELEVANT, IN THE INTEREST OF THE AFOREMENTIONED OBJECTIVE."

4. FOLLOWING UP WHAT HE HAD TOLD JUDGE GONZALEZ AT MARCH 22 APPEARANCE OF "WILLIAMS" AND "ROMERAL" (REFTEL), USG LAWYER ETCHEBERRY MADE FORMAL REQUEST TO GONZALEZ MARCH 23 FOR APPEARANCE IN HER COURT OF MICHAEL TOWNLEY AND CAPTAIN ARMANDO FERNANDEZ, AND THAT THEY BE QUESTIONED JOINTLY.

5. ASSISTANT US ATTORNEY PROPPER DEPARTED SANTIAGO FOR RETURN TO US NIGHT OF MARCH 23. HE MADE NO DEPARTURE STATEMENT. IN ANSWER TO PRESS QUERIES HE SAID THAT USG WAS INTERESTED IN FERNANDEZ, AS WELL AS TOWNLEY; HE NEITHER DENIED NOR CONFIRMED THAT HE WOULD SOON RETURN TO CHILE. LANDAU

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] BRUSSELS 10217
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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6793
INFO RUFHEE/ALL EC CAPITALS
RUIAGN/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0177
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 1427
RUESAS/AMEMBASSY ASUNCION 0037
RUQMAT/AMEMBASSY ATHENS 1516
RUESBG/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA 0145
RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 0424
RUEHBAC/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 0648
RUESRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS 0270
RUIADR/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0275
RUDKHLQ/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 1003
RUKOBT/AMEMBASSY JAKARTA 0265
RUESLM/AMEMBASSY LIMA 0150
RUDKFDQ/AMEMBASSY LISBON 1685
RUFHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 1859
RUMJMA/AMEMBASSY MANILA 0415
RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO 0494
RUESDO/AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO 0108
RUDKSNQ/AMEMBASSY OSLO 3053
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 2364
RUDKRP/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 0604
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0303
RUESNA/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 0226
RUDKFMQ/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 2210
RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY SUVA 0060
RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0972
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 2461
RUDKKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0516
RUFHAU/AMEMBASSY VIENNA 2575
RUEHBAZ/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 0363
RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 9101
RUEHCR/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 0082
RUEHBAM/AMCONSUL MELBOURNE 0040
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E.O. 11652: N/A

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OPTIONAL FORM 151
(Formerly FS-412
January 1975
Dept. of State

TELEGRAM

REF: (A) BRUSSELS 9861 (NOTAL)
(B) BRUSSELS 9838 (NOTAL)

1. THE MOST IMPORTANT ACTION TAKEN BY THE ICFTU EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING IN HAMBURG MAY 17-19 WAS TO APPROVE FILING OF AN ILO COMPLAINT AGAINST THE USSR AND POLAND FOR VIOLATING TRADE UNION FREEDOMS (REF A). IN ADDITION, THE BOARD RESOLVED TO "INTENSIFY ACTION FOR THE REESTABLISHMENT OF TRADE UNION FREEDOM IN TUNISIA" (REF B).

2. OTHER SIGNIFICANT DECISIONS, ACCORDING TO ICFTU SOURCES, DEALT WITH:

A. INDONESIA. A DELEGATION OF ICFTU BOARD MEMBERS WILL VISIT INDONESIA AT THE TIME OF THE NEXT CONGRESS OF THE ALL-INDONESIA LABOUR FEDERATION (FBSI), STILL NOT SCHEDULED, BUT LIKELY TO BE HELD LATE THIS YEAR. A "FACT-FINDING" GROUP MADE UP OF MEMBERS OF ICFTU AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIAT STAFFERS, WILL GO TO JAKARTA IN A FEW WEEKS AS AN ADVANCE TEAM.

B. WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (WCL). ALTHOUGH THE BOARD PASSED NO RESOLUTION ON RELATIONS WITH THE WCL, THE CONSENSUS WAS THAT THE ICFTU SHOULD LET ITS FUTURE POSUE TOWARD THE WCL HINGE ON HOW WCL PEOPLE HANDLE THEMSELVES AT THE ILO CONFERENCE IN GENEVA NEXT MONTH: I.E., WHETHER THEY TAKE POSITIONS CLOSE TO THE ICFTU'S OR TO THOSE OF THE EAST EUROPEANS.

C. SOUTH AFRICA. A BOARD RESOLUTION URGES AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS TO "CONTINUE PUTTING STRONGEST PRESSURE ON GOVERNMENTS FOR DISINVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, ESPECIALLY WHERE UNION RIGHTS ARE DENIED" AND TO "CONTINUE MOBILIZING RANK-AND-FILE PRESSURE CAMPAIGNS ON COMPANIES WITH INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, COORDINATED WITH ORGANIZATION EFFORTS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA."

D. CHILE. THE BOARD ADOPTED (WITHOUT PUBLICITY) A "CLARIFICATION" OF THE ICFTU'S 1975 CONGRESS RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A BOYCOTT OF CHILE, WHICH HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED BY VERY FEW NATIONAL CENTERS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE NEW ZEALAND FEDERATION OF LABOR (FOL) HAS TAKEN THE RESOLUTION VERY SERIOUSLY, HOWEVER, AND THAT AT THE REQUEST OF THE FOL'S JIM KNOX THE BOARD APPROVED A FURTHER RESOLUTION THAT WILL ALLOW THE FOL TO LIFT ITS SHIPPING

BAN ON CHILE WITHOUT ITS LEADERS BEING ACCUSED OF VIOLATING ICFTU POLICY.

E. INTERNATIONAL FAIR LABOR STANDARDS. A 14,000-WORD ICFTU "DEVELOPMENT CHARTER," IN GESTATION FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS, WAS APPROVED. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE CHARTER ASKS THAT INTERNATIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS INCLUDE "NEW RULES...TO ENSURE THAT EXPORTERS IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MEET MINIMUM FAIR LABOR STANDARDS." (FULL TEXT OF CHARTER POUCHED TO S/IL.)

F. INTEGRATION OF WOMEN. THE BOARD ENDORSED A PAPER TITLED "THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS," WHICH CALLS FOR THE ELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF MORE WOMEN TO TRADE UNION POSITIONS. (THE ICFTU EXECUTIVE BOARD INCLUDES ONLY ONE WOMAN, SHIRLEY CARR, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE CANADIAN LABOR CONGRESS (CLC), WHO TOLD THE ICFTU BOARD THAT IN THE CLC A MALE VICE PRESIDENT IS IN CHARGE OF WOMEN WORKER QUESTIONS.)

G. URUGUAY. THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF URUGUAYAN WORKERS (CGTU) WAS SUSPENDED IN HOPES THAT THIS ACTION WOULD HAVE A "SALUTARY IMPACT" WITHIN THE CGTU, E.G., BRINGING ABOUT "REINSTATEMENT OF ALL THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS WHO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO WITHDRAW FROM THAT CONFEDERATION," ACCORDING TO A SECRETARIAT PAPER.

H. NEXT ICFTU CONGRESS. THE 12TH ICFTU WORLD CONGRESS IS SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN MADRID OCTOBER 1 TO 5, 1979.

I. NEW AFFILIATES. APPLICATIONSFOR AFFILIATION WERE ACCEPTED FROM THE BASUTOLAND FEDERATION OF LABOR, WHICH CLAIMS 12,000 MEMBERS, AND THE NATIONAL WORKERS UNION OF THE SEYCHELLES, WHICH CLAIMS 6,000 MEMBERS. A THIRD NEW AFFILIATE, THE LESOTHO COUNCIL OF WORKERS, WITH A CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP OF 2,000, WAS ACCEPTED ON THE CONDITION THAT IT SUPPLY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON ITS MEMBER UNIONS. HINTON

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EXCISE

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release X Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) B6

March 26, 1978

Mr. Warren Christopher
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20525

Dear Mr. Christopher:

The investigation of the assassination of Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean ambassador to the United States, in the streets of our capital, is long overdue. We who take President Carter's commitment to human rights seriously and hold a deep interest in Latin America are gratified that the Justice Department and the Department of State are beginning to investigate this incident.

We will monitor the course of the investigation with interest. Furthermore, we expect that the U. S. government will use all of the resources at its disposal to guarantee that justice is expeditiously done.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick T. Fisher

Frederick T. Fisher
Latin American Bibliographer
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INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 50, March 29, 1978

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (5) Downgrade to _
Date 1/24/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

Philippines

Rights Activist Sees Fewer Abuses of the Person. Father James Reuter, Director of the Church's Office of Mass Media, and a leading Philippine human rights activist, has told Ambassador Newsom that US intervention has created a marked sensitivity in the Marcos government to the treatment of individuals. Reuter considers that there has been a decline in torture and arbitrary detention of Filipinos during the past few months. He does not believe that there has been any improvement in government restrictions on freedom of expression, however, and complained that the government has:

--closed down all the Office of Mass Media's publications;

--refused to act on applications for new publications; and

--banned 10 Easter week religious programs from television because they had been produced by the sister of Marcos' opponent, Benigno Aquino. (CONFIDENTIAL, Manila 4831, March 28)

South Korea

~~SECRET~~/EXDIS/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT

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XDGS-2

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) 1, 3

SOVIET UNION

Soviet Union

Rights Update (INR Review and Analysis). Soviet repressive actions against dissidents continue with the trial of two more Helsinki Group members, retaliation against a noted physicist, and a warning to another:

--Ukrainian Helsinki Group members Marinovich and Matusevich went on trial in a small town south of Kiev on charges of anti-Soviet activity, with close relatives of the accused barred from attending.

--Dr. Polikanov of the Dubna Physics Institute was expelled from the Communist Party and faces probable dismissal from the Institute for telling foreign journalists last November that he had refused to accept a research assignment in Geneva because he was not permitted to bring his family;

--Authorities warned Sakharov that any repetition of his March 12 demonstration would result in prosecution.

Still No Shcharanskiy Trial. The latest warning on the damage a Shcharanskiy trial would do to Soviet-US relations was conveyed to Arbatov and responsible officials of the Soviet legal establishment by Orville H. Schell, former president of the New York Bar Association. We still have no firm indication when the trial will begin.

Emigration Dips. Jewish emigration visas issued during the first half of March (883) dropped by 30 percent compared with the preceding two-week period. Thus far, total emigration still exceeds last year's corresponding period by almost 95 percent; the dip, therefore, is not yet a trend. (CONFIDENTIAL)

LATIN AMERICA

Chile

Prospects for Mezvinsky Visit Good. Chile's Foreign Minister has invited US Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) Mezvinsky to Chile to discuss with President Pinochet ways to break the impasse between Chile and the UN Human Rights Commission. Ambassador Mezvinsky cannot speak for the UNHRC, but the discussion could be the first step in arranging a visit to Chile by the Commission's ad hoc working group. (CONFIDENTIAL, Santiago 2105, March 23; CONFIDENTIAL, State 074811, March 23)

INR Comment: Current prospects for productive discussions are good. Chile's leaders are determined to improve their country's human rights reputation, and a resolution of the longstanding problems with the UNHRC's ad hoc working group would be a significant step forward. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Haiti

Trials Set Rights Precedents. Embassy Port Au Prince reports that a military court martial sentenced Army Lt. Ernst Remy to six years imprisonment on March 22, and discharged him from the Army for having murdered a civilian in the presence of several witnesses. Remy had escaped prosecution for two similar murders in the past due to his status as the son of Haiti's Ambassador to Venezuela, nephew of an Army colonel with an important command, and a member of the Army officer corps.

On March 21, a civil court sentenced two members of the para-military Volunteers for National Security (descendant of the notorious Tontons Macoute) to four months imprisonment for beating an editor whose newspaper had criticized the Volunteers.

Both trials received extensive coverage in the press. Remy's sentencing was described as the only time "a member of the armed forces has been publicly judged for murdering a civilian." The sentencing of the two Volunteers was said to be the first time that members of the "Macoutes" had been brought before a court as defendants. The Embassy considers that the two precedent-setting trials demonstrate the government's increasing sensitivity to domestic and international human rights pressures. (UNCLASSIFIED, Port Au Prince 971, March 23)

El Salvador

Rights Criticism Moderates. Embassy San Salvador reports that the human rights front was quieter in February and notes a decrease in the frequency and bitterness of church attacks against President Romero. Archbishop Romero (no relation) is also reported ready to name high-level church representatives to a church-government "mixed commission" to investigate human rights incidents. Meetings of the commission may begin next week.

The Embassy also reports that President Romero told Ambassador Devine last week that he was not aware of any political prisoners being held by his government. He said that when he took office last July he had told security officials that political prisoners only bring problems, and he wanted no such complications in his administration. Romero also deplored the anachronistic attitudes of the older landowners and spoke of the urgent need for socio-economic change, especially in the countryside. (CONFIDENTIAL, San Salvador 1211, 1385, 1402, March 13, 22, 23, respectively)

INR Comment: Romero, who was dangerously isolated last fall, appears to have regained the support of the military and the wealthy elite. If, in fact, the church, his most adamant human rights critic, decides to relent and enter into a dialogue with the government, Romero will have won important support which could provide a bridge for him to moderate opposition groups. (CONFIDENTIAL)

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Bangladesh

Political Prisoners Released. The government released 637 prisoners on March 26 to mark the seventh anniversary of national independence. While 336 of the prisoners were classified as "political," only two appeared to have some national stature. Embassy Dacca estimates that the number of political prisoners in Bangladesh is now less than 1,000. (CONFIDENTIAL, Dacca 1858, March 27)

Pakistan

Three Murderers Hanged In Public. Three convicted killers of a 12-year-old boy were hanged in Lahore on March 22--the second public execution in Pakistan in the last 30 years. A crowd estimated at over 100,000 observed the hangings at the invitation of the Punjab state government, which declared, "We want the world to know of our dedication to Islamic law," and described the execution as an effort to "educate" the people in "the ways of Islam." The three men had been convicted of abducting, sexually assaulting, and murdering the child. (UNCLASSIFIED, The Washington Post, March 23)

INR Comment: The men evidently were tried in camera by a military court and not allowed to appeal their sentences. The government probably ordered the public hanging in order to:

--demonstrate its resolve and strength in the wake of the Bhutto death sentence;

--deter a recent "wave of lawlessness" in which several children have been kidnapped, held for ransom, and murdered; and

--test the waters for Bhutto's possible execution. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Pakistan

Bhutto Appeal Alleges Court Bias. Former Prime Minister Bhutto filed a last-minute, 30-page appeal to the Pakistan Supreme Court on March 25. He alleged that the Lahore High Court judges who condemned him to death were prejudiced, and asserted that the conviction should be reversed on grounds of bias. Bhutto's lawyers indicate that they plan to file more appeals, and complain that, although the Constitution generally provides for 30 days to appeal, the Lahore Court gave Bhutto only seven days.

In a separate development, the government closed Musawaat, a Bhutto party newspaper, for an unspecified length of time for printing a letter from the former Prime Minister calling General Zia and the martial law administrators "pious and pompous" and saying they "stink to high heaven." (UNCLASSIFIED, New York Times, March 22; UNCLASSIFIED, Reuter, Mar 25

INR Comment: Bhutto may have decided to appeal his case only when it became apparent by Zia's recent actions and statements--such as the interview in which he said he would not commute a death sentence if the Supreme Court upheld the lower court decision--that the General would not bow to international pressures at this stage. Bhutto's recent transfer from comfortable jail quarters to a death row cell may have helped trigger his decision. His lawyers will try to string out the legal process as long as possible, and have noted to the press that such actions can last for as much as a year in Pakistan. The Supreme Court, however, has announced that it will take up the cases of Bhutto and his four co-defendants on April 1, indicating that the Court may postpone its other business in order to move this politically sensitive case along expeditiously.

Bhutto is probably heartened by international appeals for clemency, calculating that, over time, they will have an effect on Zia. We would agree that, the longer the legal process lasts, the less likely it is that Bhutto will be executed. The same cannot be said for his fellow defendants, however. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Egypt

Cairo Supports UN Rights Commission But Opposes High Commissioner. Embassy Cairo reports that Egypt assesses the 34th meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in positive terms and believes that the non-aligned countries will continue to take a strong interest in the subject, largely because of the leadership being provided by the US. A senior Ministry of Foreign Affairs official says that the government strongly endorses the human rights programs and machinery of the United Nations and is officially encouraging the formation of a national Human Rights Commission in Egypt.

Egypt opposes the creation of a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, however, because it considers that the proposal originated with non-governmental groups who have a particular interest in the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel. Egypt also shares the concern of the Arab and most non-aligned countries that the post could be manipulated in a way that would denigrate the power of the UNHRC. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Cairo 9410, March 27)

AFRICA

South Africa

Three Political Prisoners Released. Amconsul Johannesburg reports that three more of the 61 political prisoners incarcerated as a result of last October's corralling of critics of the South African Government were released on March 24. While a total of 12 have now been freed, 49 remain in detention. One of those released was Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten--a self-generated group of leaders from the black township outside of Johannesburg who had tried vainly to enter into a dialogue with the government on power-sharing prior to their imprisonment. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Johannesburg 788, March 24)

INR Comment: Motlana's release was neatly timed to come just before the filing date for the Community Council elections scheduled for April 15. The government, particularly Cornelius Mulder, the new Minister of Plural Relations and Development, hopes that at least some of the Committee of Ten

will become candidates. Participation by Motlana or his colleagues would legitimize the government's announced plans to devolve some authority for urban affairs to an elected black leadership. Motlana, on his release, seemed to keep his options open. He called for release of the other committee members before announcing his intentions about electoral participation. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Zaire

Executed Coup Plotters Denied Due Process. In a preliminary assessment, Embassy Kinshasa considers that the recent trial which resulted in the execution of 13 coup plotters did not conform to Zairian law in several important respects:

--The death sentence for those charged with military plots is applicable only in time of war or in certain circumstances clearly specified in the code of military justice (neither of which applied to this case).

--The President of the Court Martial Board did not respond, as required, to defense requests to follow-up on evidence having a clear bearing upon the guilt or innocence of the accused.

--The prosecution levied new charges and introduced new evidence during the trial in contravention of the code of military justice.

--The execution of the 13 men 14 hours after their sentencing deprived them of appeal procedures called for in the code of military justice. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Kinshasa 2829, March 24)

3/29/78

AISC
Argentine Information Service Center

AR022

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March 29,1978

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Secretary Vance:

In November of 1977, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy transmitted to you a list of 7,500 names of victims of persecution in Argentina. Representing United States concern for human rights in that country, you took the list, compiled by the Argentine Information Service Center, to Argentina that month.

The response of the Argentine government was cosmetic. It published lists totalling approximately 2,000 names, most of which belong to persons recognized as prisoners under the administration of former President Isabel Martinez de Peron.

In a previous superficial response to national and international pressure, the Junta restored an extremely limited version of the "right of option," which allows prisoners held under State of Siege regulations to opt to leave the country for exile rather than remain in prison. The Junta has reserved the right to decide in each option case whether or not the release of a given prisoner would "endanger national security" - the justification in most cases for having detained the person in the first place under State of Siege regulations.

According to Justice Carro and Attorney Herbert Semmel - who visited Argentina last January as part of an international fact finding mission - the violations of human rights in Argentina have not abated. Justice Carro reported that despite a superficial appearance of normalcy on the streets of Buenos Aires, each person he met had lost a friend, a colleague, a neighbor, or a loved one to abduction, detention, or death. Furthermore, the conditions in the prisons continue to deteriorate. The uprising at Villa Devoto Prison, last March 14, where upon 61 prisoners were killed and many more seriously injured, is evidence of the critical situation.

As the violations of human rights have mounted, the number of names on the list of victims has grown. AISC requires that there be a minimum of two

Lot 81D208
Box4963 (2/12)

independent sources for each name on its list. Even with that criterion the list has now grown to 10,000 names by the second anniversary of the coup. We submit this list to you and request that you convey it on behalf of the United States to representatives of the Government of Argentina as a sign of our awareness and continuing concern about the human rights situation in that country.

We feel that international pressure, particularly from the United States Government, can influence the extent to which the Argentine military feels compelled to fulfill its own commitments and to give substance to its widely-publicized moves to restore respect for human rights in that country. It is for these reasons that we urge you at this time to make public once again the Administration's concern on these matters and to encourage the Videla government to comply with the following requests:

1. That the Argentine government make public a complete list of all those it holds in detention, and that it provide a complete accounting of persons missing or disappeared since the present Junta came to power;

2. That the Argentine government allow those being held under State of Siege regulations to leave the country for exile as guaranteed by the Argentine Constitution, without restrictions;

3. That the Argentine government provide safe passage for those who have sought refuge in foreign embassies and allow them to leave for the country of their choice; of particular concern in the case of former President Dr. Hector Campora, who has been forced to remain inside the Mexican Embassy in Buenos Aires since the military coup of March 1976;

4. That the Argentine government begin the process of restoring democratic rule by lifting the ban on political parties and their activities, as a necessary prerequisite to holding free general elections in the near future.

We believe that the above are the basic criteria for judging any changes in the human rights situation in Argentina, and should be a precondition for improving U.S. - Argentine relations.

As long as the violations of human rights continue unabated in Argentina, we urge that the United States deny any financial assistance to the Junta, whether direct or indirect. The United States abstention - as opposed to a negative vote - on Argentina's recent request for $105 million in credits from the World Bank belies our country's original firm stance on such credits to countries which violate human rights.

We welcome the Attorney General's recommendation for a parole visa program for Argentine prisoners, and we urge that it be implemented without delay.

Hoping that you will consider and accept these recommendations intended

to contribute to the prompt restoration of democracy in Argentina, we remain

Very truly yours,

Herbert Gross

Madeline Eisner

AISC/ss
Enclosure: List of 10,000 names
cc Mr. Mark Schneider
Mr. Jim Bumpus

[redacted]

Date Printed: 04/17/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 78BUENOS02300 CHANNEL: n/a

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02300 291540Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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OMB-01 AID-05 PC-01 /070 W
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R 291502Z MAR 78
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE Date: 7/16/9
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2300

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS PINT, AR
SUBJECT JUNTA ANNOUNCEMENT ANTICIPATES SOME FEATURES
OF NEXT GOVERNMENT

1. TWO ESSENTIAL POINTS WERE CONTAINED IN THE MESSAGE WHICH WAS READ ALOUD MONDAY AT A CEREMONY COMMEMORATING THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH 24, 1976 MILITARY COUP, AS FOLLOWS:
A. THE "MESSAGE OF NEXT MARCH 24 WILL NOT BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MEN WHO TODAY MAKE UP THE MILITARY JUNTA, THE SUPREME BODY OF THE STATE;"
B. "IN THAT TASK (OF BUILDING A LASTING DEMOCRACY) THERE WILL BE ROOM FOR A PROGRESSIVE PARTICIPATION OF CIVILIANS IN GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS IN ORDER TO ASSURE A FIRM AND SUSTAINED MARCH IN SEARCH OF SOUGHT AFTER OBJECTIVES."

2. WHILE THESE TWO POINTS--THAT THE CURRENT JUNTA WILL BE REPLACED BY ANOTHER JUNTA BEFORE THE NEXT ANNIVERSARY DATE OF THE COUP AND THAT THERE WILL BE CIVILIAN PARTICIPATION AT SOME STAGE OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS--HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED IN PRESS REPORTS BEFORE, THIS

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02300 291540Z

ADDRESS IS BEING INTERPRETED AS CONSTITUTING OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION OF THESE POINTS BY ALL THREE MEMBERS OF THE CURRENT JUNTA.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. OTHER THEMES OF IMPORTANCE CONTAINED IN THE MESSAGE ARE THAT THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS WILL BE GRADUAL AND THAT THE END RESULT WILL NOT BE A POLITICAL MODEL OF THE LIBERAL 19TH CENTURY VARIETY. SUPPORT FOR THIS CONTENTION IS SEEN IN THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE OF THE MESSAGE: "IT IS OUR ULTIMATE PURPOSE TO ESTABLISH A REPRESENTATIVE, REPUBLICAN AND FEDERAL DEMOCRACY, IN TUNE WITH THE TIMES AND WITH THE NEED FOR PROGRESS OF THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE. IT IS FIRST NECESSARY TO REACH A LEVEL OF GENERAL WELFARE, ONLY POSSIBLE THROUGH AN ADEQUATE ECONOMIC GROWTH BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES

OF SOCIAL JUSTICE WHICH WILL ENSURE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND COMMUNAL SOLIDARITY."

4. ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS AND SUBSTANTIATED BY OTHER SOURCES, A DRAFT POLITICAL OUTLINE PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT VIDEAL AND ENDORSED BY THE TOP COMMAND OF THE ARMY HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE JUNTA FOR ITS CONSIDERATION. THE NAVY REPORTED HAS ALSO BEEN CIRCULATING PRELIMINARY DRAFTS FOR MONTHS, BUT NEITHER THE NAVY NOR THE AIR FORCE HAS YET FORWARDED OFFICIAL PROPOSALS TO THE JUNTA.

5. IT IS COMMONLY BELIEVED IN POLITICAL PARTY CIRCLES THAT THE CURRENT CABINET OFFICERS WILL OFFER THEIR RESIGNATIONS WHEN PRESIDENT VIDELA ASSUMES HIS FUNCTIONS AS "THE FOURTH MAN" (OR FIRST MAN) ON OR BEFORE MARCH 24, 1979, PERMITTING VIDELA TO APPOINT A NEW CABINET WHICH WOULD INCLUDE A GREATER NUMBER OF CIVILIANS THAN AT PRESENT. ACCORDING TO THIS SCENARIO, THE NEW CIVILIAN CABINET MINISTERS WOULD BE LEADERS

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02300 291540Z

OR REPRESENTATIVES OF WHAT IS BEING CALLED "THE MOVEMENT OF NATIONAL OPINION"-- A TERM WHICH IS INTERPRETED SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY IN THE ARMY THAN IN THE NAVY. GENERALLY THE NOTION IS OF ACIVIC MOVEMENT WHICH ENDORSES THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT THAT CAME TO POWER IN 1976 AND WHICH COULD SERVE AS A CATALYST OR EMBRYO FOR EITHER A SINGLE GOVERNMENT PARTY (SUCH AS IN MEXICO) OR SEVERAL POLITICAL PARTIES ENCOMPASSING THE CENTER, THE MODERATE LEFT AND THE MODERATE RIGHT, ALL OF WHICH WOULD HAVE THE SEAL OF APPROVAL OF THE ARMED FORCES.

6. PRESIDENT VIDELAS SPEECH SCHEDULED FOR TOMORROW NIGHT IS EXPECTED TO ELABORATE FURTHER ON THIS THEME, ALTHOUGH HE

UNCLASSIFIED

PROBABLY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ENTER INTO SUFFICIENTLY GREATER DETAIL SINCE THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS ARE STILL IN THEIR FORMATIVE STAGES.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

April 1978 ML 001A Letelier file

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL R 2.45 A

It has been suggested that we denounce the 1902 bilateral Extradition Treaty with Chile as a sign of our displeasure over the refusal of the Chilean Supreme Court to extradite or order the local trial of three ex-DINA officials. However, if that Treaty were terminated, the multilateral 1933 Montevideo Convention on Extradition would automatically become effective between our two countries. This Inter-American Convention applies between contracting states that do not have other extradition agreements. The Convention covers a broader range of offenses than any U.S. extradition treaty in force -- all crimes punishable under the laws of both the requested and requesting state with a minimum penalty of one year's imprisonment -- and is unsatisfactory in other respects. The U.S. probably should withdraw from it. However, it would not be prudent to denounce these treaties while the President's Constitutional authority to terminate treaties without the advice and consent of the Senate is under judicial examination in Goldwater v. Carter.

WC:

Yes. There are apparently a number of technical problems with the treaty, some of which raise constitutional issues. We have made a number of reservations to the treaty - and Mark says this is an additional point we should have reserved on but overlooked. (He will bring the treaty to the 6:00 mtg). JB

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL

for independent reason unrelated to Chile?

UNCLASSIFIED
Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

M026A

B-6

4/6/78

EXCISE

Dear Sir: San Diego

I have recently sent letters to President Jimmy Carter and to S.E. Fernandez, Minister of the Interior of Chile. The content of the letters reads approximately as follows:

"I support the actions of the relatives of the disappeared prison Chile who recently conducted a hunger strike. I suspect that the government knows more about the disappeared than they claim. I r of eighty "disappeared" people -- all have been seen recently in prisons. Why does our President, who speaks so eloquently about rights, welcome the new Chilean ambassador. Why did he remain si about the 2,500 political prisoners still unaccounted for?

"I am particularly concerned about Mr. Lenin Silva Diaz (ID# 53975 Zocopilla) who was arrested by the DINA on May 9, 1976. The arre was witnessed by relatives.

"I believe that the dictatorship's recent amnesty declaration apl to only a small number of prisoners. Miriam Avila Maldonado rema incarcerated at La Casa Correctional in Santiago, although her a cation for commutation of sentence was approved and she has a vi Switzerland.

"I will not believe the reports about the improved situation in until these prisoners and all political prisoners in Chile are a for and released."

Please urge these two authorities to reply to and act on my lett

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CAS Report Supplement I

December 1977

Additional information on the situation of Argentine scientists and university professors

Jorge Taiana, former professor of the Medicine School of Buenos Aires University, former Minister of Culture and Education in 1973-74, held in the La Plata jail without trial since March 1976.

Ernesto Villanueva, a sociologist, former Rector of Buenos Aires University, held in the La Plata jail without trial for the last three years, was arrested in October 1974.

Oscar Moretti, former professor of the Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, held without trial since 1974 in terrible conditions, had two pneumothorax operations in jail.

Emilio de Ipola, a sociologist of the Latinamerican School of Social Sciences (which moved this year from Buenos Aires to Mexico City) held in jail without trial together with his wife since 4.13.76.

Mauricio López, former Rector of the National University at San Luis, former professor of the Methodist Theological Seminary at the City of Mendoza, kidnapped on 1.1.77, his arrest was afterwards announced, held without trial.

Alfredo Bravo, leader of the Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la Repûblica Argentina (CTERA) a union of grade and high school teachers, kidnapped in August, his arrest was afterwards announced, held withouttrial.

Ignacio Ikonikof, a physicist who worked as a science journalist, former editor of the "Ciencia Nueva" magazine, former member of the leadership of the journalists union, kidnapped with his wife María Bedohian on 6.25.77.

Liliana Galletti, Bachelor in History, 30, former professor of Universidad Nacional de La Plata, former career researcher of the National Research Council, member of the leadership of Comisión Argentina de Derechos Humanos (a human rights group), kidnapped by military at the beginning of 1977.

María Isabel Giménez, age around 40, has a degree in Electrical Engineering, professor of Mathematics and Dean of the Tucumán branch of the National Technological University in 1973 and 1974, kept her job of Mathematics professor until she was kidnapped in June 1977.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mario Tempone, former Director of the School of Architecture of Buenos Aires University, kidnapped with his wife on 9.5.77.

Carlos Versavsky, has a Ph.D. in Physics from University of Colorado, former professor of Buenos Aires University and former Director of the National Radioastronomy Institute, Director of Research and Development of ALUAR (a metallurgical company), forced to emigrate under threats.

Angel Pisarello, former professor of the Law School at Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, acted as defence attorney for political prisoners, kidnapped and murdered around May. 1977. His body was found with signs of having been burned alive with a gas torch.

Luis Monteiro, doctor in Mathematics, age around 38, Full Professor of Mathematics at Universidad Nacional del Sur, fired in 1974, got a job at Universidad de La Pampa (a local state university), arrested and held without trial from November 1975 until April 1976, fired from his job, unable to get a teaching job now works in a gas company at the city of Bahía Blanca.

The legal situation of the dismissed university teachers:

The mass dismissals at the universities began in September 1974 and have included even some Emeritus Professors, as in the case of professor Antonio Monteiro, of the Universidad Nacional del Sur at Bahía Blanca (now in exile). Dr. Alberto Mario Mariscotti, Physics Professor at the Science School of Buenos Aires University, is to our knowledge the only one who attempted to be reinstated throught legal action, arguing that a university teacher could not be dismissed by a purely administrative procedure and that an academic trial was required. The Supreme Court appointed by the Junta rejected his case around August 1977.

The situation of scientific associations:

The Asociación Física Argentina (Argentine Physical Society) has ceased operations since mid 1976 after the departure of its President, Dr. Juan Mignacco, who left for Brazil. The number of physicists in Argentina has decreased considerably because of emigration caused by dismissals and low salaries.

The situation at universities and research institutes and the unions:

University unions, which included mostly the non teaching staff, have practically ceased to exist as a result of repression, since

the Junta took power. A law passed by the Junta almost immediately after seizing power outlaws all "agitation or proselytism" in the universities, including union "agitation" or proselytism. Strikes have been outlawed and strikers may get up to ten years in prison Unions also existed at some non-university research laboratories such as the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Agriculture and Cattle Breeding Institute. Although unions have not been banned in these institutions the dismissals and sometimes arrests of the union activists have liquidated all union activity.

The liquidation of union activities and the government policy of denying salary increases in the midst of a 150% yearly inflation has caused mass resignations of teaching and non teaching personnel of the universities, the state research institutes and of the technical personnel of state enterprises and state agencies.

According to information published in the Buenos Aires newspaper "La Opinión" around March Buenos Aires University had some five hundred jobs of non teaching personnel which had been left available by resignations and which could not be filled because of lack of candidates. Another information published in August reported that one fourth of the four hundred non teaching jobs at the School of Economics had been left available through resignations and that the library was operating with half its normal staff.

Salaries of the teaching and research personnel are also low both at universities and state research institutes. According to information published in the Mexican newspaper "El Día" the Atomic Energy Commission was offering a job for a biochemist or biologist at a salary of 40000 pesos (some eighty dollars) while ads published in the Buenos Aires newspapers were offering twice as much for a maidservant. In December Economics Minister José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz announced the budget for 1978, which intends further budget cuts for the Atomic Energy Commission, which may already have lost more than half of its professional staff.

Mass resignations of technical personnel have also been reported at the state oil enterprise (Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales), the state railways, the National Board of Statistics, etc.

Although the situation of Argentine university teachers, scientists and research workers has generally not been good over the last few years, we believe that it has never before reached the catastrophic depths in which it is now.

The situation in the social sciences:

Social scientists have been particularly hard hit, because of the dismissals; because of the massive suppression of university courses in areas such as sociology, political science, economics,

anthropology, psychology, etc., which were supposed to be a breeding ground for "subversive elements", and because the atmosphere of hostility created by the Junta against the social sciences has also affected the private institutions which supported research in this area. As a result of this hostile atmosphere, the Di Tella Foundation, which used to support of the order of some fifty researchers is now supporting five or six.

Most of the bibliography available in the social sciences has disappeared because of the closing down of the Siglo XXI publishing house, probably the largest publishing house in the social sciences in Spanish, and the destruction of 150000 copies of books that this publishing enterprise had in storage, including books by Chomsky, Bettelheim, Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Pablo González Casanova, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Vania Bambirra, and other well known Latinamerican social scientists.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE BAHIA BLANCA TRIAL

The accused are under the jurisdiction of Federal Judge (Juez Federal) Guillermo Federico Madueño. The Judge's office is located at the Palacio de Tribunales, Bahía Blanca, Argentina. The last information we have about the trial is the confirmation of preventive imprisonment for six of the accused by the Federal Court of Appeals (Cámara Federal) of the city of Bahía Blanca, on June 2nd, 1977.

As the preventive imprisonment has been decreed and confirmed, the trial will necessarily enter the "plenario" stage (trial itself, after preliminary inquest). This implies the following steps: 1) presentation of the state's attorney accusation; 2) presentation of the defence case; 3) presentation of proofs; 4) summing up; 5) passing of judge's sentence.

It should be clear that the defence is just a formal affair, because it is not possible to think that the accused will have a due legal trial, because the result of the trial will be what the Junta decides that it should be, because there is no independence of the judiciary, particularly in the Federal branch, which has jurisdiction in cases with political implications, and because regulations passed by the Junta drastically reduce the power of the judges increasing the power of the police and the Armed Forces: for instance a regulation passed by the Junta makes it compulsory for the judges to accept "confessions" from the accused obtained by the police and the Armed Forces during the preliminary inquest (instrucción del juicio), while before any such confessions or proofs had to be confirmed by the accused in front of the judge. "Confessions" are obtained by the police through torture. To this

Curriculum vitae of Mario Arnaldo Usabiaga

Born in Argentina 7.11.35, obtained Bachelor degree in Literature of Universidad Nacional del Sur in 1963 and the "Profesor" title (a kind of teaching certificate that requires one year of courses) of the same university in 1966.

Teaching activities: Assistant of the Humanities Department of the Universidad Nacional del Sur 1965-1970. Professor of Literature at Universidad Veracruzana at Jalapa, México, 1970-71. Director, Center for Literature Research, Universidad Veracruzana, 1972. Professor of Literature, Universidad Nacional del Sur, 1973-74. Director, Institute for Third World Studies, Universidad Nacional del Sur, 1974-75.

Publications: several articles on literary style analysis in "Cuadernos del Sur" and "La Palabra y el Hombre" (literary magazine of the Universidad Veracruzana). Critical essays on Rulfo, Puig, Borges, Carpentier, García Márquez, Rosa Bastos and other authors in "La Palabra y el Hombre", revista UNAM (magazine of the National University of Mexico), "Texto Crítico" (Jalapa, Mexico), Revista Universitaria"(San Juan, Puerto Rico) and Yearbook of the Universidad Veracruzana. Review of "The semantics of literature" by T. Eaton in "Cuadernos del Sur". Article on "Lectura de producción literaria y producción social" in "Siempre" (México).

Translations and introductory notes on writings of Umberto Eco in "Plural" and "La Palabra y el Hombre", and on writings on literary theory by P. Delbouille, E. Dupriez and M. Rifaterre.

List of signatures on the letter to the United Nations Human Rights Committee protesting the Bahía Blanca trial

MEXICO:

University Rectors: Manuel Rivera Terrazas, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla; Arquímides Morales, Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero; Eduardo Franco, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa.

Center for Research and Advance Studies of the National Polytechnic Institute: Samuel Gitler (National Science Prize). Enrique Ramírez de Arellano, Eduardo Llerenas, Lilia Albert and thirty more signatures.

National University: Manuel Peimbert, Manuel Pérez Rocha, Carlos Pereyra, Jaime Labastida, Rubén Barrera, Silvia Torres, Vania Bambirra, and some sixty more signatures.

Colegio de México: Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Lourdes Arizpe.

National Institute of Astrophysics, Electronics and Optics: Guillermo Haro (National Science Prize).

UNITED STATES:

Paul Samuelson, Economics Nobel Prize; George Wald and J.E. Luria, Medicine Nobel Prizes; Noam Chomsky, Daniel Bell, Victor Weisskopf, Philip Morrison, B. Magasanik, Robert Solow, Barbara Solow, Morris Halle and Raymond Siever (all from Harvard and MIT).

ON THE CASE OF PROFESSOR MARIO TEMPONE

Professor Mario Tempone was kidnapped in Buenos Aires at the beginning of September. Attempts to find him in police stations or Army barracks have been unsuccessful, and equally an habeas corpus writ presented on his behalf.

He was born in Buenos Aires on April 12, 1937. He was awarded a Prize for "Composición Arquitectónica" (Architectural Design) together with his Architecture degree from Buenos Aires University in 1957. He worked in research in new construction methods and in regional development plans at Buenos Aires University and other state agencies. He was Full Professor of Housing Construction and Director of the Center for Research on Housing Programs and of the Department of Construction Science, at Buenos Aires University and academic adviser of the Architecture School of the Universidad Nacional del Nordeste. He was fired from his academic jobs in 1975.

(This information is from a letter of Ms. Annemarie Fellmann, Limmattalstr. 110, 8049 Zürich, published in the Mexican ma,azine "Proceso of 11.28.77 p.64).

The case of Ignacio Ikonikof

Ignacio Ikonikof, who has a degree in Physics from Buenos Aires University, specialized in Oceanography, and carries an honoris causa degree from the University of Paris awarded in 1969, is one of the very few science journalists in Argentina. He was science editor of the newspaper "La Opinión" and editor of the science magazine "Ciencia Nueva", which is one of the two science magazines published in Spanish. He was active in the professional union of journalists (Asociación de Periodistas de Buenos Aires, of which many members have been kidnapped and assassinated). He was kidnapped on June 25 together with his wife María Bedohian, in their Buenos Aires home, leaving unprotected their three years old daughter.

As in the case of other kidnapped physicists, there might be an element of Antisemitism in his case. Repression by the paramilitary and parapolice gangs encouraged or tolerated by the Junta tends to be more vicious with Jews or Catholics married to Jews, which is the case of Ignacio and his wife, and was also the case of Federico Alvarez Rojas and Hilda Leikis and of Eduardo Pasquini and Liliana Misraijchi. We are asking all scientific organizations to show their solidarity against this new crime of the Argentine government and to ask General Videla that Ikonikof and his wife be immediately released.

This information is published by Comisión Argentina de Solidaridad, Apartado 19-052, México 19, D.F., MEXICO.

Help the Comisión Argentina de Solidaridad by sending your check to the above address.

? 1978

Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

P800078-2268 UNCLASSIFIED 8010555 MJ018B

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Given the continuing violations of human rights in Chile and given the refusal of the Chilean junta to extradite the three DINA agents responsible for the Letelier-Moffitt murders, I urge the U.S. government to take the strongest possible economic and political measures against the Junta and pressure the Chilean government on the following four points:

P B-C

- The restoration of democratic rights in Chile
- The right of all Chilean exiles to return to their country
- An accounting by the Junta of all the disappeared
- The immediate recognition and amnesty for all political prisoners in Chilean jails.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

[redacted] [redacted]

Our 65th Year

4/7/78

Cable Address: ANTIDEFAME

R

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016, TEL. 689-7400

AR038

B R C

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Program
THEODORE FREEDMAN

April 7, 1978

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mr. Mark L. Schneider
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Human Rights
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mark:

I have just received some information, which came to me from Mexico, pertaining to the oppression of university professors in Argentina. The enclosed statement, addressed to the Secretary of the Human Rights Committee of the U.N., further substantiates my belief that the Argentine government is engaged upon phase two of its war against subversion, i.e. a war against "ideological" subversion.

Thanks for sending me copies of your speeches, and especially for sacrificing your free time on Sunday to speak to our young leaders.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal

MMR:glh
cc: David Brody
Abe Foxman
enc.

P.S. I am also sending a copy of an article which appeared in World View this month, highlighting the plight Adolfo Perez Esquivel. Clear-cut cases such as this are so numerous that they boggle the mind.

Lot 81D208
Box4963(2/12)

4/7/78

P06

AR039

April 7, 1978

Ms. Michele M. Bova
Human Rights Officer
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
USA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Dear Ms. Bova:

I would like to thank you for your letter of January 26 -- which I think went by sea mail as I only just received it -- and for having forwarded a copy of my previous letter to your Embassy in Buenos Aires.

I am afraid to say that we do not presently have the additional pieces of information concerning Mr. Atencio Maurino that you would require in order to present his name to the Human Rights Working Group of the Argentine Foreign Ministry.

We are, however, very pleased that you have offered to do so and we are currently in the process of trying new ways of obtaining this information. As soon as we have any success in this pursuit, we will write you back.

Yours sincerely,

Manne Waengborg

Manne Waengborg

B6

Lot 81D208
Box4963(2/12)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____

To the Secretary of the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations.
(Copy to the UNESCO General Secretary)

Dear Sir:

On August 4, 1976, one of the most telling events of the current Argentine situation took place. In a press conference that was reported in most Argentine newspapers and reproduced in full in the next day's issue of the newspaper "la Nación", General Acdel Vilas, Chief of the Fifth Army, headquartered in the city of Bahía Blanca, where the National Southern University (Universidad Nacional del Sur), is also located, announced the uncovering of an "international conspiracy" for "ideological and socio-cultural infiltration" with the object of the ideological shaping of "subversive criminals" at that university. Vilas announced the arrest of fifteen former professors of the university, most of them from the Economics Department, a student and a member of the non-academic staff. Most of those who would be tried for this "crime" had been already arrested at the beginning of July. He also gave a list of fourteen more former professors and two members of the union of the non-academic staff who were under warrant and presumed to be fugitive. In October and November at least nine more former professors were arrested, some of whom were later released. The former Dean of the Bahía Blanca branch of the National Technological University (Facultad Regional) de la Universidad Tecnológica Nacional) was also arrested and a list was given of twenty seven more fugitives, although from the information that was given out and from other sources it seems that the number of those arrested and wanted is probably higher. Among those arrested there were some well known intellectuals, like the former Rector of the University, Víctor Benamo, and the economic historian Horacio Ciafardini, author of several books on Argentine economic history; other well known economists such as Carlos Adolfo Barrera and Dolio Sfascia were also arrested. Among those wanted were Dr.. Gustavo Malek, another former Rector and former Minister of Education (the order for his arrest seems to have been dropped afterwards); the former academic secretary of the University, Augusto M. Pérez Lindo; the former Chairman of the Economics Department, Enrique Rubén Melchior; the former academic secretary of the Humanities Department, Mario Merlino; the former Rector of Comahue National University, Roberto Domecq; the economist José Luis Coraggio, historian José Carlos Chiaramonte, literary critic Jaime Rest, and even a Catholic priest.

One June 2nd of 1977 it was announced that the Federal Court of Appeals in the city of Bahía Blanca confirmed the preventive detention ("prisión preventiva" in the Argentine legal system this means that the judge is supposed to have strong proof "semi-plena prueba") of six of the accused, including Ciafardini, former Economics professors Eduardo Villamil, Héctor Pistonessi Castelli, Carlos Adolfo Barrera, Alberto Barbeito and former Humanities professor Mario Usabiaga. It is also known that the accused are imprisoned in the towns of La

Plata and Trelew, some six hundred kilometers from their place of residence, that several of them have been mistreated forcing them to sleep naked on the floor in winter nights and that one attempted suicide. The accused are defended by court appointed lawyers. In many cases political prisoners do not find lawyers in Argentina now, because some fifty lawyers who used to defend political prisoners have been kidnapped by the paramilitary and parapolice gangs, and many of these have been found murdered, some with incredible brutality, and many others have been forced to flee the country.

The illicit conduct of the accused, according to the public accusation pronounced at the press conference of General Vilas, consisted, first, in holding ideas different from those implicit in the official philosophy, which is usually referred to as being within "the principles of Western Christian civilization"; second, in having studied Economics at Buenos Aires University, together with other students who had "Socialist tendencies" because "they were given the opportunity of studying Economics from a political historical point of view";third, in having studied in foreign universities such as the National University of Mexico (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), the University of Colorado, the University of Grenoble and other highly prestigious academic centers; fourth, of having used lies and deception to influence their best students, with whom they formed a group known as "the ideological elite of international Economics"; fifth, in having used their influence for getting jobs for their students or colleagues as professors in other universities or as advisers to Provincial governments; sixth, in having used academic freedom for ideological penetration, because "academic freedom allows the professor to choose the ideological thrust he likes, within an unobjectionable scheme"; seventh, of having used their influence to add to all academic majors a course of Political Economics; eighth, of having participated in committees that designed the curriculum for the Bachelors of Economics (licenciatura) giving it a clearcut Marxist ideological content; ninth, of having written analyses of the Argentine economic situation which contained "false and ominous judgements about the economic situation of Patagonia"; and finally of having allowed books from the publishing house Siglo XXI to be sold at university bookstores (this publishing house, one of the most important in Spanish, was closed down by the Junta after the coup).

The "proofs" shown by General Vilas at his press conference consisted of books seized at the houses of the accused, such as "The Open Veins of Latinamerica" by Eduardo Galeano, "Fundamental Concepts of Historical Materialism" by Marta Harnecker, the Education Law of the Socialist Republic of Romania, short stories by Julio Cortázar and a history of Chinese literature, according to information published in "La Nación" and pictures of the exhibit of "subversive" material published in the magazines "Gente" and "Siete Días".

To punish these "crimes" the government intends to apply retroactively the monstrous "security law" passed by the Junta, which bans "proselytism and indoctrination" at universities.

That such grotesque accusations could be seriously taken by most Argentine newspapers; that the Vilas' press conference could have been shown on television, and that no one dared give a public answer, shows the climate under which Argentina is living today. To be an idea of the climate in the Bahía Blanca area we could mention that the Departments of Economics and Humanities of the Universidad Nacional del Sur had already been closed down before the March 24 coup; that even before the coup forces of repression had assassinated students and members of the non-teaching staff union, one of these while he was in his hospital bed after having been injured in a previous attack; that after the coup the forces of repression assassinated Juan Carlos Prádanos and Manuel Tarchinsky, former professors of the Universidad Nacional del Sur and some twenty students of the local branch of the Technological University. The Argentine government has created a climate of unprecedented terrorism and ideological persecution, including book burnings and massive assassinations, all this tolerated, encouraged and executed by the commands of the Armed Forces, in such a way that it brings to mind the worst atrocities of German Nazism. The aberration, without precedent in Argentine legal history, in which the judges are even admitting these unworthy accusations and raving theories of conspiracy, can be explained not only by the general climate of intimidation created by the Junta but also by the total purge of the judiciary that took place after the coup, in which more than a thousand judges and judiciary officials were fired, in order to have a compliant judiciary that would be a tool of ferocious repression.

The purpose of these trials is to turn the teaching of a theory that displeases official ideologists into a crime. The Argentine government has mounted a monstrous show trial based on the crime of thought and opinion, because only if the existence of such "crimes" is admitted can such worthless accusations be considered as the one that the victims were handing down a Marxist ideological education to their students.

This ideological persecution is not an accident. It is part of Junta policy, as confirmed by concomitant events such as book burnings -shown on television-, purging of university libraries and even the seizure of books from private libraries -some ten thousand books were taken from the homes of teachers and students at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo-, and even the closing down of publishing houses and the kidnapping, murder and/or arrest of their publishers, managers or employees, as in the cases of the publishing houses Siglo XXI, De la Flor,

Cartago and others; and the banning of books of local and foreign authors, etc. That ideological persecution is government policy is confirmed by statements of high government officials, as shown by a press conference held by General Luciano A. Jáuregui, a member of the Army Chiefs of Staff. General Jáuregui reported in this conference ("La Opinión" of 4.21.77) on the "struggle against subversion", and fully endorsed General Vilas' line by speaking out openly against academic freedom at the universities, because, he said, it might be used to "ideologically win over teachers, students and the non-teaching staff" through "a malicious manipulation of bibliographies".

These facts should alarm all those interested in the future of education, of science and of culture, wherever they might be. A conspiracy has been fabricated to turn into crimes the teaching of a scientific theory, the free election of bibliography by a professor who is teaching a course and the power of professors of a Department to decide on a curriculum. The victims, who have been chosen as scapegoats, have been subjected to character assassination, imprisonment and mistreatment, and they do not have the slightest chance of giving a public reply to their accusers and much less of having a fair trial, because the climate of fear created by the Junta in general and exacerbated in this particular case, has destroyed any possibility of justice. Public opinion in the whole world, and particularly scientists and intellectuals, should act to put an end to this political and legal monstrosity.

We are, therefore, asking all organizations of scientists and intellectuals everywhere, and also internationsl organizations concerned with the cause of education, science and culture, such as UNESCO, that they raise their protest against this attack on culture, and demand the end of this trial and the liberty of the accused.

NAME SIGNATURE INSTITUTION

4/7/78

BM007

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

PBI

~~SECRET~~ UNCLASSIFIED EXCISE

~~FEDERAL GOVERNMENT~~

MEMORANDUM

April 7, 1978

TO : Mr. James Ingram
Assistant Director,
Criminal Investigations Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : Robert L. Flanegin, Director RLF
Office of Intelligence Liaison
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

SUBJECT : Additional Information Relating to the Death of Orlando Letellier

REFERENCE : [redacted]

In view of the information contained in the referenced [redacted] regarding the death of Orlando Letellier, we wanted to be certain that the FBI had received a copy of the attached telegram from our Embassy in Asuncion, Paraguay on the same subject.

EX-101

REC-79

11 APR 14 1978

Attachment:

Asuncion 3233 of 8/5/76

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (/) Extend as (5) Downgrade to ___
Date 1/25/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5252

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2661

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS ASEC, PINS, AR
SUBJECT EXPLOSION IN PRECINCT STATION -- RESURGENCE OF TERRORISM?

1. BUENOS AIRES NEWSPAPERS 4/7 GAVE PROMINENT COVERAGE TO AN EXPLOSION BETWEEN ONE AND 2 AM ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 6 IN THE 47TH PRECINCT OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL IN WHICH THE PRECINCT DEPUTY POLICE CHIEF AND ONE OTHER OFFICER WERE KILLED. TWO OTHER PERSONS WERE GRAVELY INJURED. ALTHOUGH FEDERAL POLICE CHIEF OJEDA ORIGINATED AN INVESTIGATION, ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS, SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATIONS WERE TURNED OVER TO MILITARY AUTHORITIES. NO OFFICAL REPORT WAS ISSUED. PRESS ACCOUNTS ATTRIBUTED THE EXPLOSION TO A HAND GRENADE ON THE PERSON OF A SUSPECT WHO HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO THE STATION FOR QUESTIONING.

2. POLICE SOURCES (PROTECT) INFORMED RSO THAT SUSPECT HAD BEEN PICKED UP IN A BAR IN THE 45TH PRECINCT. AT THAT TIME HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AN OFFICER OF THE FEDERAL POLICE. HE WAS BROUGH TO THE 47TH PRECINCT FOR QUESTIONING CONCERNING INFORMATION THAT ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS HE HAD POSSESSION OF EXPLOSIVES AND AUTOMATIC WEAPONS IN HIS VEHICLE. THE FEDERAL POLICE OFFICER WITH SUSPECT IDENTIFIED HIM AS A MEMBER OF THE MILITARY AND WARNED ARRESTING OFFICERS TO HANDLE HIM CAREFULLY. CONSEQUENTLY, ALTHOUGH HE WAS
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02661 101852Z

BROUGHT TO THE 47TH POLICE PRECINCT, HE WAS NOT SEARCHED. AT THE PRECINCT, HE IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS A CONTACT

EMPLOYEE OF SIDE (SERVICIO DE INFORMACIONES DEL ESTADO - INTELLIGENCE). HE WAS ESCORTED TO THE OFFICE OF THE SUBCOMISARIO OF THE PRECINCT. SHORTLY AFTER THAT AN EXPLOSION OCCURED, KILLING THE SUBCOMISARIO, ONE OTHER OFFICER AND SERIOUSLY INJURING THE SUSPECT AND ONE OTHER PERSON. POLICE SPECULATE THAT THE EXPLOSION OCCURED WHEN SUSPECT OR HIS BAG WAS BEING SEARCHED AND ATTRIBUTE IT MOSTLY LIKELY TO AN ACCIDENT.

3. POLICE IN OFFICIAL CIRCLES ARE PUSHING THE STORY THAT SUSPECT WAS A MEMBER OF THE ERP WHO WAS BROUGH IN FOR QUESTIONING. THIS MAY BE NECESSARY AS A COVER STORY AND ALSO TO ENSURE THAT THE DECEASED POLICE OFFICERS FAMILIES RECEIVE FULL INSURANCE FOR PENSION BENEFITS. HOWEVER, OUR SOURCES REASSURED US THIS WAS NOT TRUE AND THAT SUSPECT WAS IN FACT A CONTRACT EMPLOYEE OF SIDE.

4. RSO COMMENT: ALL ARGENTINE SECURITY SERVICES OFTEN UTILIZE CONTRACTUAL PEOPLE TO HANDLE SPECIAL OPERATIONS. THESE PERSONS SOMETIMES WORK WITH SECURITY IDENTIFICATION AND ARE RECRUITED FROM MANY DIFFERENT WALKS OF LIFE. THESE CONTRACT PERSONS NORMALLY WORK UNDER THE DIRECT SUPER VISION OF MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY SERVICES. HOWEVER, ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS THEY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN MOONLIGHTING INCIDENTS SUCH AS KIDNAPPINGS, EXTORTIONS AND MURDERS FOR PROFIT. ELIMINATING THE CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES OF THESE CONTRACTUAL PEOPLE HAS BEEN A CONCERN TO THE SECURITY FORCES.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

4/10/78

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[redacted]

L188

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02667 102112Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 H-01 /021 W
----------074315 110320Z /75

R 102030Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5256

[redacted]ENOS AIRES 2667

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
[redacted]: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DETENTION OF PEREZ ESQUIVEL

REF: (A) STATE 80551 (B) BUENOS AIRES 1712

1. ACCORDING TO MOVIMIENTO ECUMENICO POR LOS DERRECHOS HUMANOS, THE ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH SUBJECT CASE, THERE HAS BEEN NO MOVEMENT IN THIS CASE.

2. INFORMATION REPORTED IN REFTEL (B) IS STILL CORRECT. PEREZ ESQUIVEL IS BEING DETAINED IN LA PLATA PENITENTIARY UNDER THE PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL WITHOUT CHARGES.

3. APPRECIATE IF DEPARTMENT WOULD INFORM OFFICES OF SENATOR SCHWEIKER AND CONGRESSMAN MURTHA OF PENNSYLVANIA.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

4/10/78

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[redacted]

L 187

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02663 102052Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 SCS-06 SY-05 MCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 /091 W
----------073887 102055Z /64

P 101955Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5254

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2663

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PNUC, AR
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA ON NUNS' DEATH

REF: (A) STATE 89468, (B) BA 2635

1. UPON RECEIPT OF REFTEL LAST FRIDAY I MADE THE NECESSARY FORMAL REQUEST FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA. USCINCSO, LTG. MCAULIFFE HAD EARLIER OBTAINED AN APPOINTMENT WITH VIDELA IN HIS ROLE AS COMMANDER OF THE ARGENTINE ARMY FOR 10 TODAY AND THE GENERAL LET ME TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REACH PRESIDENT VIDELA BEFORE AN APPOINTMENT WOULD BE FORTHCOMING NORMALLY.

2. GEN. MCAULIFFE INFORMED THE PRESIDENT OF THE PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT (REPORTED SEPARATELY) AND HEAVILY STRESSED THAT IMPROVED RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN INDISPENSIBLE BASIS FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH NOT ONLY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO WITH THE U.S. ARMED FORCES. FOLLOWING HIS PRESENTATION THE PRESIDENT AGREED TO HEAR THE MESSAGE WHICH I HAD SOUGHT AN APPOINTMENT WITH HIM TO DELIVER. I REVIEWED WITH HIM THE DEPTH OF OUR CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN ARGENTINA AND THE SATISFACTION WITH WHICH WE HAD GREETED SEVERAL POSITIVE ACTIONS SUCH AS PUBLICATION OF LISTS OF EXECUTIVE DETAINEES AND THE RIGHT OF
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02663 102052Z

OPTION. WE HAD TRIED TO INDICATE OUR SUPPORT OF THESE MODEST STEPS BY ABSTENTIONS ON IFI LOANS AND THE SALES OF

SOME MILITARY EQUIPMENT. I SAID THE REPORTS OF THE DEATHS OF THE TWO NUNS HAD DEALT A SERIOUS BLOW TO USG VIEWS OF ARGENTINE PROGRESS ON OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IT WAS OUR VIEW THAT IT IS CRUCIAL FOR THE GOA TO ESTABLISH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEATHS OF NUNS AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE.

3. PRESIDENT VIDELA'S RESPONSE TO THE REPRESENTATION REGARDING THE NUNS WAS THAT HE WAS AWARE THAT THE DISAPPEARANCES HAD A SERIOUSLY ADVERSE EFFECT UPON THE WORLD'S VIEW OF ARGENTINA AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISAPPEARANCES MUST BE DISCOVERED AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE JUDGED. HE STRESSED THIS WAS VIEWED WITH UTMOST GRAVITY AND HAD BEEN THE SUBJECT OF INTENSE INVESTIGATION. HE SAID THAT WHILE THE INVESTIGATION HAD SO FAR PRODUCED NO SIGNIFICANT RESULTS IT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PRESSED. THEY HAD FOUND NOTHING TO CONFIRM THE REPORTS THAT THE BODIES OF THE DISAPPEARED HAD BEEN FOUND BUT WOULD CONTINUE INVESTIGATIONS WITH A VIEW TOWARD MINIMIZING THE SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE COUNTRY.

4. THE PRESIDENT REVERTED TO THE THEME WHICH HE HAD EXPRESSED TO GEN. MCAULIFFE: THE WAR IS OVER; IT IS TIME TO RETURN TO A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY GOVERNED BY THE FULE OF LAW. SOME STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN AND THESE WERE NOT ALWAYS EASY, AND FURTHER STEPS WILL FOLLOW, HOPEFULLY ON A MORE SYSTEMATIC BASIS. HE CLEARLY GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE NEEDED SOME RECOGNITION OF THE POSITIVE MEASURES.

5. PRESIDENT VIDELA ALSO CONFIRMED THAT JACOBO TIMERMAN WOULD BE "GOING HOME SOON", BUT WOULD NOT BE TOTALLY FREE UNTIL THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES REVIEWING THE LEGALITY OF HIS ACQUISITION OF HIS WEALTH HAVE BEEN COMPLETED.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02663 102052Z

THE CONVERSATION ENDED WITH THE PRESIDENT'S CONFIRMATION THAT THE GOA WILL RATIFY THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO BY MAY 24 (SEPTEL).

6. COMMENT: PRESIDENT CLEARLY GOT THE MESSAGE THAT USG IS OUTRAGED AND CANNOT MOVE TOWARD IMPROVED RELATIONS IN THE FACE OF DISAPPEARANCES. AT SAME TIME HE HAD NO ACCEPTABLE LINE TO TAKE OTHER THAN THE DENIAL OF FIRM INFORMATION ON THE DEATHS (THIS MAY BE CORRECT, AT LEAST IN A FORMAL SENSE, BUT IS NOT A MITIGATING FACTOR). THE GENERAL AND I WERE IMPRESSED WITH VIDELA'S APPARENTLY GENUINE DESIRE TO MAINTIN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE USG AND HIS APPARENT COMMITMENT TO

MOVE TOWARD NORMALIZATION. WHEN I RAISED A REPORT OF A NUMBER OF PEOPLE DISAPPEARING AT THE SAN JUSTO CHURCH, HE EXPRESSED DISMAY AND SIAD HE WOULD LOOK INTO IT PROMPTLY. OF INTEREST IS HIS USE OF THE PHRASE "THE WAR IS OVER". THIS IS THE FIRST TIME WE HAVE HEARD HIM, OR OTHER GOVERNMENT LEADERS, TAKE THIS POSITION WHICH WILL NOT BE POPULAR THROUGHOUT THE MILITARY, BUT IS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR RETURN TO RULE OF LAW. PRESIDENT WILL BE GETTING ANOTHER REPRESENTATION TODAY ON HUMAN RIGHTS FROM ARGENTINE CHURCH HIERARCHY WHICH IS BEGINNING TO STIFFEN ITS BACK A BIT IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, A HEARTENING DEVELOPMENT.

7. IN A DISCUSSION WITH FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON APRIL 7, HE TOLD ME THAT THE GOF HAD CONCLUDED THAT IT IS FRUITLESS TO PRESS THE GOA FURTHER ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE NUNS--BILATERAL RELATIONS HAD NOW BECOME SEVERELY STRAINED. THE GOF HAD DECIDED UPON A COURSE WHICH PARALLELS THAT OF THE ARGENTINE CHURCH; PRESSING FOR IMPROVED TREATMENT OF PRISONERS, TRIAL OR RELEASE OF EXECUTIVE DETAINEES, AND REGULARIZED ARREST PROCEDURES. WE WILL CONTINUE TO REPORT ANY PLAUSIBLE INFORMATION WE RECEIVE ABOUT THE NUNS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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BB034

The Bishop of San Justo confirmed the abduction of a number of persons - he and his assistants say the correct number is II (eleven) - as they were leaving his cathedral after the evening (I9.00 Mass) on Easter Sunday, 26 March. He says that the Mass , the intention of which was to pray for Mrs. Cirila Benitez, was organised by a group of persons of leftist ideology. It appeared to be a well planned act with the character of a 'demonstration' which perhaps would have been carried over into the public square afterwards had not "the authorities" intervened. Leaflets , for example, were distributed by the organisers.

The Bishop had no knowledge of further kidnappings having taken place in his diocese , subsequent to those of 26 March. All efforts made to trace the eleven persons abducted have proven fruitless.

Io.IV.78

KEVIN MULLEN

P.S. He thinks Dr. Petrouch is a Jew.

NARA 1/12

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

4/10/78

AR041

April 10, 1978

Catholic Theological Union
5401 South Cornell Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have received over 50 letters from individuals of your organization requesting action on behalf of Guillermo Martin Villalobos, who is currently imprisoned in Argentina.

I want you to know that the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires has expressed its concern about Mr. Villalobos to the Argentine Foreign Ministry's Working Group on Human Rights. However, I regret to inform you that there has been no movement in his case and that Mr. Villalobos is still in jail.

The U.S. Government will continue to monitor the case of Mr. Villalobos as well as those of all detainees, and our concern continues regarding the general question of human rights in Argentina.

Sincerely,

Patricia M. Derian
Assistant Secretary for
Human Rights and
Humanitarian Affairs

Drafted by: HA:EHeaphy:bdr
04/10/78:20314

Clearances: HA/HR:MBova
ARA/ECA:JBumpus (in substance)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Lot 81D208
Box 4963 (2/12)

~~SECRET~~/EXDIS/ENDIS/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT
UNCLASSIFIED

M. Schneider
4/66

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

le Project (#S199900006)
. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
emption(s) B1, B3

No. 53, April 19, 1978

SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (S) Downgrade to ___
Date 12/24/01 Declassify on ___ Reason 25X1

Soviet Union

Rights Update (INR Review and Analysis). Soviet authorities have reinstated Georgian as the official language in the Georgian draft constitution after demonstrations which took place on April 14 in Tbilisi. The demonstrators objected to the dropping of the final section of the republic's 1937 constitution, which explicitly accorded Georgian the status of the official language.

The number of reported demonstrators ranges from several hundred to 50,000. Two American lawyers in Tbilisi are said to have been told that a regiment of troops had been moved to the outskirts of the city as a contingency. Whatever their size, the demonstrations apparently were impressive enough to force concessions from the regime. According to Western press accounts, the Georgian newspaper Zarya Vostoka reported on April 16 that the new constitution will contain the previously deleted language provisions. Subsequently, official sensitivity to the language issue was revealed by a Moscow English language broadcast emphasizing constitutional guarantees on the use of native languages in State and cultural institutions.

In other developments, Balis Gayauskas, distributor of money from a fund set up by Alexander Solzhenitsyn to aid jailed dissidents and their families, reportedly has been convicted in Vilnyus of anti-Soviet agitation and given the maximum sentence of 10 years in a labor camp and five years of internal exile. In 1973, Gayauskas completed serving a 25-year sentence for Lithuanian nationalist activities.

Former Soviet general and leader in the dissident movement, Pyotr Grigorenko, requested political asylum in the United States on April 18. Stripped of Soviet citizenship earlier this year, Grigorenko said at an INS hearing that he still cherished the hope of returning to the USSR but would return only for a public trial. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

~~SECRET~~/EXDIS/ENDIS/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT
UNCLASSIFIED

East Berlin

East Berliner Refuses Military Induction. Nico Huebner, a resident of East Berlin and son of an East German Communist Party functionary, has been arrested for his refusal to be inducted into the East German Army. Huebner argues that Greater Berlin (East and West) remains demilitarized as a result of post-war four-power agreements and contends that the extension of military conscription to East Berlin in 1962 by the East German Government (GDR) is in violation of his rights as a resident of Berlin. Both the Mayor of West Berlin and the West Berlin Senate's three major parties have supported Huebner's arguments. The GDR media termed their support a "gross interference" in the country's internal affairs and an attempt to apply four-power status to East Berlin in violation of the GDR's sovereign rights. The Western allies are studying the case. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Berlin 2492, April 12; CONFIDENTIAL, US Mission Berlin 730, March 31; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, US Mission Berlin 788 and 800, April 6 and 7, respectively; UNCLASSIFIED, FBIS 111, April 7; UNCLASSIFIED, New York Times, April 16)

INR Comment: The case has attracted considerable attention in West Berlin and West Germany, where Huebner is viewed as a courageous individual upholding legal rights which, given political realities, the allies are relatively powerless to protect. Because his stand goes to the heart of East-West contention over the status of East Berlin, the GDR can be expected to take a very hard line toward Huebner and his arguments. It is unlikely, however, that the West Berlin or West German authorities would be willing to see the Huebner case turned into a cause celebre that would disrupt relations between the FRG and the GDR on the eve of Brezhnev's visit to Bonn. (CONFIDENTIAL)

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Indonesia

Three Leading Opposition Figures Arrested. According to a Jakarta newspaper, Indonesian security officials arrested three prominent Muslim opposition figures on April 10-12. No reason was given for their arrest. The three are Mahbub Junaidi, well-known newspaper columnist, chairman of the Indonesian Journalists Association, and the deputy secretary general of

the Muslim opposition party; Professor Ismail Suny, Rector of the Islamic Muhammadiyah University in Jakarta; and Sutomo, familiarly known as Bung Tomo, a respected nationalist and freedom fighter during the revolution against the Dutch. (UNCLASSIFIED, FBIS 91, April 12)

INR Comment: All three Muslims have been arrested before but released after questioning. We have no evidence that any of the three has engaged in subversive political activities. Their arrests may rekindle opposition protests, which had subsided during the past three weeks. Ismail Suny and Bung Tomo are particularly outspoken critics of the Suharto regime. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Philippines

Young Jesuit Worker Reportedly Tortured to Death. A leading Philippine human rights activist told Embassy Manila on April 19 about the alleged torture and death of a 17-year-old Jesuit worker, Teotimo Tantiado, at the hands of the Philippine security service. Tantiado, an associate of Father Romeo Integan, a doctor/priest arrested as one of the leaders of the April 9 election protest march, was picked up by the security service on April 10. On April 18, an anonymous caller told a Catholic Church official that Tantiado had died as a result of torture but that the military had altered the autopsy to indicate that Tantiado died of "acute pancreatis." According to the Embassy source, the military will release his body on April 19; he hopes that independent doctors will make another autopsy at that time. (CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS, Manila 6265, April 19)

INR Comment: The source has provided the Embassy with usually reliable and substantiated information on human rights violations in the past. In the wake of protests over the April 7 national elections, there have been unconfirmed reports that Marcos has ordered the security service to clamp down on the opposition and several opposition leaders have been arrested. This is the first allegation of torture of any of the detainees in the post-election period, however. (CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS)

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Pakistan

Supreme Court Agrees to Delay in Bhutto Hearing. On April 15 the Supreme Court postponed its hearing of former Prime Minister Bhutto's appeal of his murder conviction until May 20, two weeks later than scheduled. (Bhutto's lawyers had requested a two-month delay to prepare the appeal.) The court also announced that it would sit daily during the hearing; even so, most observers believe that the review will be a lengthy affair. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Islamabad 3783, April 17)

INR Comment: The Martial Law Administration (MLA) clamped down on political expression shortly before the High Court announced Bhutto's death sentence on March 18. Citing law and order problems, General Zia closed newspapers, increased arrests of Bhutto supporters, and banned all political activity. He has also rejected foreign appeals for clemency for Bhutto. The clampdown on political activity is unlikely to ease until Bhutto's case is resolved. In this atmosphere, the Supreme Court--notwithstanding its relative independence in the past--may find it difficult to render an impartial verdict. It could show its independence, however, by agreeing to further delays and lingering over the written judgment. While General Zia told newsmen he expects the appeal to take six weeks, it is more likely to take at least three months. Bhutto's appeal ultimately will probably be rejected, leaving a decision on clemency squarely with General Zia. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Iran

[redacted]

INR Comment: Although the Shah's idea of using the Rastakhiz Party as a vehicle to legitimize the establishment of "action committees" initially met with opposition from Senate leader Hushang Ansary, orders from the palace made Ansary quickly reverse himself. Few Iranians will fail to recognize that these "partisan forces" are simply SAVAK and police in disguise.

Libya

Potential for Increased Repression (INR Review and Analysis). Developments in Libya over the past several months foreshadow the possibility of increased interference by the government in the lives of its citizens. Embassy Tripoli and clandestine Libyan sources have recently reported several potentially repressive government actions.

--Abolishment of the Libyan Judiciary. A clandestine report based upon information provided by a senior Libyan official indicates that the government intends to replace the Libyan judiciary and court system with local and regional "people's committees."

--Creation of Revolutionary Committees. The Libyan media have proclaimed the establishment of "revolutionary committees" throughout Libya, apparently to enforce revolutionary orthodoxy and "smash the forces of apostasy." Although the functions and methods of the these organizations are unclear, some Libyans are concerned about the prospect of armed goon squads roaming the streets to weed out dissidents and enforce unpopular government policies.

--Stepped-Up Military Conscription. Aggressive press gang tactics have been used to enforce Libya's stringent conscription policies. One effective tactic was the cordoning off by military police of all exits to Tripoli's athletic stadium during a well-attended soccer match.

--Arrests of Officers With Non-Arab Wives. A number of officers were imprisoned (and later released) because

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they had married non-Arab women.

With the exception of the April 1977 execution of 20 or so military officers accused of having plotted a coup against Qadhafi, the Libyan revolution has been relatively bloodless. The aforementioned measures, however, could introduce a period of increased governmental intrusion into the daily lives of Libyan citizens.

Although Libyans enjoy few of the basic freedoms taken for granted in the West, the enforcement of Qadhafi's revolutionary orthodoxy has heretofore been unorganized and inconsistent at best. The human rights situation in Libya could deteriorate rapidly, however, if Qadhafi, perhaps out of fear that his efforts are failing, moves to hasten the pace of his revolution. (SECRET/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT)

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

Timerman Under House Arrest. Journalist Jacobo Timerman was transferred from prison to house arrest on April 17. Relatives told Embassy Buenos Aires that persons wishing to visit him must first obtain permission from the Ministry of the Interior. (UNCLASSIFIED, FBIS 62, April 17; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Buenos Aires 2867, April 17)

INR Comment: Timerman, the former editor and part owner of Argentina's best newspaper, became a cause celebre following his arrest in April 1977. While authorities were unable to link Timerman to subversive activities, he was severely mistreated and subjected to anti-Semitic abuse while in custody. Presumably he will remain under house arrest pending completion of an investigation into whether or not his assets were legally acquired. The US has repeatedly pressed the government about the Timerman case, and the Argentines will view his passage to house arrest as a major human rights concession. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Chile

Efforts to Improve Human Rights Image. Chile has been the subject of several condemnatory UNGA and UN Human Rights

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Commission (UNHRC) resolutions, and President Pinochet has responded to those resolutions by refusing to allow a visit by the UNHRC working group. The Chilean refusal has been a major stumbling block in Chile's effort to improve its international human rights image. Recently, however, the Chilean Government invited Ambassador Mezvinsky to Chile to discuss ways of breaking that impasse, and as a result of those discussions, Pinochet has agreed in principle to a visit.

Pinochet, who previously insisted that Chile would invite only two members of the working group, told Ambassador Mezvinsky that the full working group will be invited. However, the Chileans and the UNHRC apparently have agreed that one member of the working group, Chairman Allana, who is particularly disliked by the Chileans, will refuse the invitation. Specific conditions governing the working group's visit (i.e., publicity and scheduling) remain to be worked out in New York. (CONFIDENTIAL, Santiago 2702, April 12)

INR Comment: Pinochet clearly wants to resolve the impasse between Chile and the working group and is prepared to be flexible and make some concessions. Improving Chile's human rights image has been a major goal of the Foreign Ministry for several months, and recent developments such as the publicity surrounding the Letelier case and Air Force junta representative General Leigh's public remarks on the need to resolve human rights issues, probably have prompted Pinochet to speed up the process. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Nicaragua

Government Willing To Make Some Concessions. Tension continued in Nicaragua last week as secondary school students occupied schools and churches in most of Nicaragua's major cities demanding better prison conditions and an end to the government's practice of isolating Sandinista Liberation Front prisoners. According to press reports, Archbishop Obando Bravo played an important mediating role, securing a promise from military commanders that the students would not be subject to repression and, from President Somoza, that he would consider the possibility of declaring an amnesty for all political prisoners.

On April 13, the press reported that Somoza had informed the International Committee of the Red Corss (ICRC) that Nicaragua was ready to receive an ICRC visit, implying that the government is prepared to accept the ICRC's

demand to visit all detention centers and to talk in private with any prisoner.

With regard to an Inter-American Human Rights Commission visit, however, little progress has been made. President Somoza told Ambassador Solaun on April 15 that, although he is still considering an invitation to the Commission, he does not want to appear to be yielding to external pressures. Somoza added that statements in Caracas by Presidents Perez and Carter had only made it more difficult for him to act. (CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS, Managua 6328, April 16; STATE 096306 and 096307, April 16; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE, Managua 1733, April 13)

INR Comment: Somoza may yield to an IAHRC visit if he can do so gracefully. Venezuela's insistence on keeping up the pressure on Nicaragua in the OAS, however, is taking on the appearance of a blatant grudge-match with Perez determined to hasten Somoza's downfall. (CONFIDENTIAL)

UNCLASSIFIED

ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 /086 W
----------085919 201557Z /70

R 192020Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8936
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
__Release X Excise __Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) B1

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 2932

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, SREF, CI
SUBJECT: ICRC PLANS FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN CHILE PROGRAM

REFS: (A) GENEVA 4979 (B) SANTIAGO 2853 (C) 77 SANTIAGO 9223

1. SUMMARY: [redacted] THAT ORGANIZATION IS CONTINUING TO PHASE OUT ASSITANCE TO POLITICAL PRISONERS AND TO THE FAMILIES OF VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF POLITICAL VICTIMS. THE ICRC IS REVISING ITS LIST OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS AND WILL SOON PRESENT A WELL-DOCUMENTED COMPILATION OF ABOUT 600 NAMES TO THE GOC. IN GENERAL, AS PRISONER RELEASES CONTINUE AND CLAIMS OF ABUSE CECREASE, CHILE DECLINES IN WORLDSCALE IMPORTANCE FOR THE ICRC. LOCAL STAFF WILL BE DOWN TO ONE REP BY YEAR-END. END SUMMARY.

2. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) [redacted] VISITED EMBASSY APRIL 13. [redacted]

[redacted] ICRC SEES ITS SPECIAL PRGRAOMS HERE, WHICH HAVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEEN PHASING DOWN, AS COMING TO CONCLUSION IN NEAR FUTURE. SPECIFICALLY, ICRC WILL SOON STOP DISTRIBUTING FOOD, MEDICINES, AND OTHER SUPPLIES TO PERSONS IN JAIL AND BY OCTOBER EXPECTS TO END DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE TO FAMILIES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS, EXILES, AND PRISONERS. LAST NOVEMBER 2,000 FWMILIES RECEIVED ICRC SUPPORT. NOW APPROXIMATELY 250 FAMILIES IN SANTIAGO AND 660 IN THE PROVINCES ARE BENEFICIARIES OF SUCH ICRC ASSISTANCE. PRESENT STOCKS WILL BE RUN DOWN AND NO MORE MATERIALS WILL BE BROUGHT IN.

3. THE ICRC HAS HAD A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN SANTIAGO

UNCLASSIFIED
Dept. of State RPS/IPS Margaret P. Grafeld, Dec
Classify as C Extended as Downgrade to
Date 1/6/01 Declassify on Reason 25X1, 6

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FOR THE PAST TWO MONTHS REVIEWING THE LIST OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS PRESENTED TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN LATE 1976 (76 SANTIAGO 11773). OF 893 NAMES ON THAT LIST THE ICRC MAN HAS MANAGED TO REDUCE THAT NUMBER TO 530 CASES AFTER REVIEWING ALL AVAILABLE RECORDS IN SANTIAGO AND INTERVIEWING RELATIVES AND FRIENDS. OF THE 360 DROPPED, SOME HAVE SINCE TURNED UP HERE IN CHILE OR ABROAD, SOME NAMES PROVED TO BE DUPLICATIONS AND FOR OTHER THE ICRC HAS NO CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT PEOPLE EXISTED AND DISAPPEARED. BUT THE ICRC FOUND APPROXIMATELY 60 ADDITIONAL CASES. THE ICRC WILL SEND THE REVISED LIST OF ABOUT 600 TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET SOMETIME IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WITH THE REQUEST THAT THE GOC INFORM THE ICRC OF ANY INFORMATION IT MAY HAVE AVAILABLE ON THESE PERSONS.

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4. THE REDUCED ICRC TOTAL IS VERY CLOSE TO THAT USED BY THE VICARIATE.

NESSI AND THE LOCAL ICRC REP ROBADEY SAID THERE IS A LARGE AREA OF OVERLAP IN THE TWO LISTS; DIFFERENCES ARE ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE FACT THAT ICRC RECEIVES INPUT FROM SOURCES OUTSIDE OF CHILE AS WELL AS FROM WITHIN. [redacted] STILL HAS NO GOOD IDEA WHERE THE ICRC GOES AFTER IT HAS PRESENTED ITS NEW LISTING. PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO GET SOMEONE IN THE GOC TO AFFIRM UNOFFICIALLY THAT PERSONS ARE DEAD HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL. [redacted] DOUBTS THERE

[redacted]

[redacted]

IS ANY BETTER CHANCE NOW TO GET THAT KIND OF ASSISTANCE.

5. WITH THE ENDING OF THE ICRC SPECIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN CHILE BY OCTOBER THE LOCAL OFFICES WILL CONSIST ONLY OF A SINGLE REP. THE REGIONAL DOCTOR WHO HAS BEEN STATIONED HERE WILL DEPART SOMETIME LATER THIS YEAR.

5. COMMENT: THE ICRC'S DECISION TO CONTINUE ITS PHASEDOWN IN CHILE ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AREA WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE OVER THE PAST YEAR.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06409 192154Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EA-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-20 /091 W
----------086526 201643Z /72

R 192101Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9627
INFO ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

R

UNCLAS MEXICO 06409

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OTRA, MX, JA, CH
SUBJECT: MEXICAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO FAR EAST

1. MEXICAN FOREIGN SECRETARY SANTIAGO ROEL ANNOUNCED APRIL 17 THAT MEXICAN PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO (JLP) HAS ACCEPTED INVITATIONS TO VISIT THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND JAPAN. THE VISITS WOULD BE MADE SOMETIME IN OCTOBER WITH THE EXACT DATES TO BE ANNOUNCED AFTER CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE THREE GOVERNMENTS.

2. CHINESE AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO, LIU PU, ADDED THAT THE VISIT OF JLP TO CHINA WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE STRONG TIES BETWEEN MEXICO AND CHINA AND SERVE TO INCREASE THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC INTERCHANGE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO STATED THAT CHINA DESIRED TO BALANCE THE TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND MEXICO WHICH IS DECIDEDLY IN MEXICO'S FAVOR. CHINA BOUGHT OVER $50 MILLION WORTH OF MEXICAN GOODS LAST YEAR, MOSTLY COTTON, AND PU FEELS THAT THE MARKET FOR CHINESE GOODS IN MEXICO COULD BE GREATLY IMPROVED. LUCEY

UNCLASSIFIED

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR WL Date: 5/23/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART

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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

[redacted]

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AR061

Dear Michele and Jim --

I will try and proof this letter before putting it into the pouch. Here are a few tidbits from here.

Everything but everything is taking second place to the power struggle between the Army and the Navy. As usual the Army is appearing wooden and the Navy swift!... but the Army has the troops. Of interest, is the fact that the Navy has made Human Rights an issue in the public debate. I t clearly is a secondary issue to that of the economy which appears to have settled into a 10% a month inflation rate. All the politicos are getting very excited. Videla is making noises about a possibility of bowing out -- the kind of noises one makes when one wants to hear cries of don/t do that. The Arm y and the Navy are calling up the politicos seeking their advice on how to deal with the problems of the nation. The pols are loving it, but it is signalling to them that something is shakey with the Military. Harguindeguy went on TV last nite to blast all this political talk which will of course add more fuel to the fire.

Tell Judy Chavchavadze (did I get it right) that Brian and I are calling our right of option Embassies meeting next week to compare notes. We had another cordial meeting with San Roman (Asst Secy for internal security in the MININT)'; we are still holding our breath hoping that they will produce some real info on some of these cases. Right now the RoO program is still dead in the water. The Swedes have given out 20 or so certificates and no one has been approved. The Italians have given out more than 70;8 or 9 have been granted, 20 denied and the rest are pending within the GOA. They have 450 cases where the application has been filed but the families cannot prove conclusively that the male Italian antecedent came from such and such village. The Italians are planning to tighten up their citizenship law to make it parallel the new Spanish law. It would give citizenship only to persons whose FATHER came from the old country. At present there is no limit on generations but there are real problems on proof .

The Navy has accepted my pitch re the importance of the IAHRC coming. They called me in and said that they wished to invite the IAHRC to come and had communicated this officially to the FORMIN. We do not have any signals from the other two services.

We have been without a secretary for several weeks and my typing is getting somewhat better.

The Massera problem is very tricky. His espousal of the HR cause is greeted by many raised eyebrows here in the Embassy. Many of the same folks who see historical and situational justifica - tions for the government's repression, see sinister and evil motives in the Admiral's privately expressed concerns about the HR situation. The Assembly and other HR groups are aware of the Admirals ambitions (who isn/t) but are willing to carefully play [redacted] along, a step at a time. What is important in the long run, may not be whether Massera as a dark horse wins the big political race; but that in running the race he has introduced Human Rights as an issue. That is very important.

We got a fabulous letter today -- a detailed report of the detention and torture facilities at the Mechanical School. The sender claims to have seen the Nuns. The smart $$$$ here believes that it is an Army intelligence black operation but it underscores someone's concern that Massera is running on the HR issue. Or could it be real":.? I'll send you a copy.

(As you can see I have not figured out all the marks on this new ball that I installed for the letter.)

[redacted]

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Lot 81D208
Box 4963 (2/12)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to

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One of the jargon breakthroughs we have made recently concerns DAMs --Personas bajo disposicion autoridad militar. This is the argot for the [redacted] disappeared, alive non recognized prisoners. In a casual conversation last week with a military contact, I asked when such DAMs would be recognized and I was told that the PON (ie SOP) was that [redacted] DAM prisoners' names are secret. I am trying to work out a report listing all the possible places where DAMs could be housed. Most of the places that we know of [redacted] are small, with one exception - a recently built military prison outside of Junin, Prov. B.A. We have been told that the new facility has not been placed into service. [redacted] The attaches have filed an intelligence report about the place and estimate that it [redacted] would hold up to a 1000 persons with some crowding. I hope that I can get something out that will be meaningful. The problem is that very few people are released from the detention centers which are "outside of the law."

Videla seems to be losing face as a HR type among the HRO's and even with the nuncio here. His recent hardline speeches and the small delivery on his peace by Xmas package have turned people away from treating him specially among the junta members. Massera's HR private pitch have also aided this opinion shift. The most notable event is that of the the Nuncio. When Pat called on the Nuncio, in August, he gave her the full Videla pitch; [redacted] he has come around on the issue and now expresses PRIVATE disappointment re ~~in~~ Videla/s committment to HR issues. The Church fathers are huddled this week. The disappearance issue is high on their agenda. It is a very central Christian and humanitarian issue.

One other thought re my number estimates of the last missive. If my central number is correct or in the ball park[redacted], the Embassy has an 8% sample of the cases which is good enuf for much statistical work. (whether the folks who have registered with us are an accurate sample of the population is another question - we are not dealing with products coming off the production line) I am sending both of you a xerox copy of our card file. There are 999 disappeared and detained cards plus a scattering of others in the list. Does any one have a budget for doing some analysis on a contract basis. What can we learn from this sample?

They have started harassing the mothers group again on the Plaza de Mayo. Evidently, the number of mothers meeting there on Thursday has started to grow. It fell sharply after the leaders were disappeared in early December. REcently , according to the mothers,there have been about 200 mothers present. Last Thursday, the cops moved in and cleared off the entire square. There was no violence; the mothers are becoming experts at civil disobedience - - you only get arrested when you want to be arrested.

I will close with my best regards and a bon mot --
Argentina is the only country in the world where you are safe in the streets,but not in your home.

Cheers,

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4/26/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03211 262032Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 /073 W
----------061842 270457Z /70

R 262009Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5503

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): ____
[redacted]: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3211

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT DETENTION OF ARGENTINE JEHOVAHS WITNESSES

REF: BUENOS AIRES 1164

1. POLICE HARASSMENT AND ARRESTS OF JEHOVAHS WITNESSES HAVE INCREASED RECENTLY. ACCORDING TO CHARLES EISENHOWER, LONG TIME RESIDENT AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JEHOVAHS WITNESSES HERE, 98 WITNESSES HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN 12 SEPARATE OPERATIONS SINCE MARCH 18TH.

2. IN MOST CASES THE WITNESSES HAVE BEEN RELEASED WITHIN 24 HOURS. HOWEVER, TEN WITNESSES ARRESTED IN PUERTO RICO, MISIONES PROVINCE ON APRIL 10TH AND 7 WITNESSES ARRESTED IN MENDOZA LAST WEEK CONTINUED TO BE DETAINED. ACCORDING TO EISENHOWER SOME OF THE PRISONERS WERE BADLY TREATED AND DENIED OF FOOD AND BEDDING.

3. CAUSE OF THE ARRESTS WAS APPARENTLY THE WITNESSES TECHNICAL VIOLATION OF A GOVERNMET DECREEE OF AUGUST 31, 1976 FORBIDDING THEM TO ASSEMBLE, PUBLISH AND/OR PROSELYTIZE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03211 262032Z

4. WITH REGARD TO THEIR LEGAL STATUS, WITNESSES ARE PREPARING TO ASK FOR OFFICIAL RECOGNITION AS RECENT DECREE REQUIRING NON-CATHOLIC RELIGIONS TO REGISTER WITH THE

GOVERNMENT. DELAY BY THE GOVERNMENT IN DECIDING ON PROCEDURES FOR THIS REGISTRATION HAS HELD THE MATTER BACK.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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04/26/78 UNCLASSIFIED

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE

BLØØS

FROM: Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

1652:
TAGS: ASEC, OTRA, AR
BJECT: World Cup Security

CTION: ~~AM~~ SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3193

DEPT FOR A/SY/CC/TAGS; A/SY/FO

REF: State 106141

1. Embassy reports reflect a major decline in terrorist activities from Feb 77 until the present, with the exception of Oct 77 and Mar 78. During these two months there was an increase in terrorist activities over preceding months, probably associated with dates that are of particular significance to the terrorists: March 24, the anniversary of the military coup, and Oct 27, Peronist Loyalty Day. Current estimates of terrorist strength reflect approximately 450 to 500 Montonero combatants, of which 150 are outside of Argentina, and approximately 200-275 members of the ERP, of whom only 20 are considered combat cadre. Terrorists for the most part have been involved in small, disjointed operations against soft targets, most notably Argentine government

ED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
RSO:RJKelly:mek	4-26-78	313/314	DCM:MChaplin

RANCES:
ADMIN:CEEmmons
POL/R:DSmock
POL:WHallman
DAO:PCoughlin

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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guards
officials without /~~custodians~~ and business executives.

2. Security officials believe the Montoneros are planning a spectacular during the period of the World Cup. Their activities will be directed at attracting world-wide publicity, possibly by destroying the color TV broadcasting system, interfering with the satellite communication system, or any other tactic that will attract worldwide attention. They do not believe the terrorists will initiate any action that would be harmful to the Argentine soccer public or overtly interfere with the matches themselves.

3. During the early part of 1977, there were bomb attacks against public places such as the Sheraton Hotel, La Cabaña, a well-known restaurant, the polo grounds and occasionally a movie theatre. However, there have been no recent reports of such activities, with the exception of bombs planted on railroad tracks during March 1978. These latter incidents can be attributed to a threatened RR strike. Overall, we perceive no general security threat that would affect the average soccer ~~afficion~~ aficionado from the U.S., although there is always the possibility that one could be peripherally involved in a terrorist incident.

4. Over the past two years there has been no indication of terrorist targeting of USG personnel and we do not

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anticipate any immediate change in terrorist policy in this regard. However, as the terrorist cells are working within a concept of free targeting, with great independence and limited guidance, it is conceivable that a cell could attempt to target a prominent American whose presence might be highlighted by the Argentine media. To a great extent it would depend on the person, the amount of publicity and his accessibility. RSO [illegible].

5. This analysis is primarily based upon GOA's reading of the World Cup terrorist situation, and it takes into consideration several announcements made by Montonero leadership at press conferences in Madrid, Paris and Mexico City. Of greatest interest to us was the declaration made in Madrid April 8 by a Montonero group that included Bidegain, Gelman, Damaso Lopez and Vacanaroa. The group denied the intention even of disrupting the games but stated at the same time it could not be held responsible for "actions of (the Montoneros) military branch."

6. RSO will provide A/SY/CC/TAGS with additional information concerning World Cup security as it becomes available.

CASTRO

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5/2/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03312 021302Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 SSO-00 /042 W
----------129699 021305Z /45

O P 021243Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5551
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3312

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS OVIP, PINS, MX, AR (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT MONTONERO ATTEMPT TO MEET WITH SECRETARY

REF: MEXICO 6979

1. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME THE PERONIST MONTONERO MOVEMENT MAY ACQUIRE A MEASURE OF RESPECTABILITY AND ACCEPTANCE OUTSIDE OF ARGENTINA THAT IS TERRORIST PAST WILL PRECLUDE HERE FOR A MUCH LONGER PERIOD. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TROUBLESOME CONSIDERING THAT MEN LIKE OBREGON CANO AND ESCUDERO--WHO ARE THOROUGHLY DISCREDITED HERE, BUT WHO PERHAPS NEVER TOOK PART IN ACTUAL ACTS OF BLOODY TERRORISM--ADHERE TO THE MONTONERO MOVEMENT ABROAD AND IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES MAY CONVINCINGLY PRESENT THEMSELVES AS "GOOD DEMOCRATS" AND PATRIOTS SINCERELY CONCERNED ABOUT EXCESSES COMMITTED BY THE PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT. (THEY WILL OVERLOOK THE ROLE THEY PLAYED IN CREATING THE LAMENTABLE SITUATION IN WHICH THESE EXCESSES TOOK PLACE.)

2. WE CONTINUE TO RECOMMEND THAT WE SHUN
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03312 021302Z

ANY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PERONIST MONTONERO MOVEMENT. IN THE CASE OF THE SECRETARYS VISIT TO MEXICO WE

SPECIFICALLY RECOMMEND THAT NO MEMBER OF HIS PARTY
HAVE CONTACT.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03487 061213Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-03
PA-01 CA-01 VO-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00
/067 W
----------035433 070010Z /62

R 052115Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5618
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3487

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINS, SREF, AR
SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF HECTOR CAMPORA

1. EX-PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA TOGETHER WITH HIS SON HAS BEEN IN ASYLUM IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY SINCE APRIL 15, 1976. THE GOA HAS REFUSED TO GRANT A SAFE CONDUCT TO PERMIT THEM TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. CAMPORA IS ONE OF THE 36 PROMINENT PERONIST POLITICIANS WHO ARE INCLUDED IN THE JUNTA INSTITUTIONAL ACT WHICH STRIPPED THEM OF THEIR POLITICAL RIGHTS, THEIR ASSETS, AND PROVIDED FOR INDEFINITE DETENTION AT THE CONVENIENCE OF THE EXECUTIVE.

2. ON APRIL 27 CAMPORA'S NEPHEW MARIO ALBERTO CAMPORA CALLED AT THE EMBASSY TO MAKE INQUIRIES IF THE USG WOULD INTERCEDE IN BEHALF OF HIS UNCLE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF OBTAINING SAFE CONDUCT FOR HIM. MARIO DID NOT MENTION SAFE CONDUCT FOR THE DAMPORA'S SON OR ABEL MEDINA, ALSO ASYLEES IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY. MARIO CAMPORA HAD A CAREER IN THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN SERVICE OF 22 YEARS AND WAS POLITICAL COUNSELOR IN WASHINGTON PRIOR TO RESIGNING IN 1973 TO BECOME

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03487 061213Z

FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR FOR HIS UNCLE. HE STRESSED THAT THERE WERE NO CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CHARGES OUTSTANDING AGAINST HECTOR; THAT THE GOA IS, IN EFFECT, USING THE MEXICAN

EMBASSY AS A PRISON TO PUNISH HECTOR; THAT HECTOR IS IN NO WAY A COMMUNIST OR ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNISTS DESPITE OCCASIONAL CHARGES TO THE CONTRARY, AND THAT HIS CASE MERITS USG SUPPORT ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS. MARIO MENTIONED THAT HECTOR'S WIFE HAD MADE AN APPEAL DIRECTLY TO THE POPE THROUGH AN ARGENTINE CARDINAL IN ROME IN 1977. IT APPEARS THAT THE POPE DECLINED TO INTERCEDE ON HECTOR'S BEHALF. MARIO SAID THAT HE REALIZES THAT A DECISION ON A USG INTERCESSION WOULD REQUIRE SOME DELIBERATION AND IF IT WERE FAVORABLE MRS. CAMPORA WOULD COME TO THE EMBASSY TO MAKE A FORMAL REQUEST THAT THE USG MANIFEST ITS INTEREST IN DR. CAMPORA'S CASE.

3. EMBOFF STATED THAT USG HAD MANIFESTED ITS INTEREST IN RESOLUTION OF HUMANITARIAN CASES, MOST SPECIFICALLY IN INSTANCES OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS, AND THAT DR. CAMPORA'S VIRTUAL INCARCERATION FOR TWO YEARS WITHOUT CHARGES CERTAINLY RAISED HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORTH OF CONSIDERATION. AT THE SAME TIME INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF CAMPORA FOR EXECUTION OF TREATY OBLIGATIONS RELATING TO THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM WOULD PUT THE US IN A POSITION OF REQUESTING A RIGHT FOR CAMPORA WHICH THE USG DOES NOT RECOGNIZE. MARIO CAMPORA AGREED THAT THIS LEGALITY WOULD NOT REINFORCE USG STANDING IN THE MATTER. EMBOFF STATED THAT THE PETITION WOULD BE CONSIDERED AND MARIO CAMPORA WOULD BE INFORMED IF THE USG WERE TO FIND IT POSSIBLE TO INTERCEDE IF BEHALF OF HECTOR CAMPORA.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03487 061213Z

3. EMBASSY RECOMMENDATION: IT WOULD APPEAR THAT GOA IS IN VIOLATION OF ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS BY FAILING TO GRANT SAFE CONDUCT TO CAMPORA. AS MARIO CAMPORA STATED, THIS IS BASICALLY AN ISSUE BETWEENGOA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO. EMBASSY AGREES THAT THERE ARE HUMANITARIAN ISSUES INVOLVED IN CAMPORA'S CONTINUED RESTRICTION TO MEXICAN EMBASSY, BUT FEEL THESE PALE BESIDE THE MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WHICH STAND BETWEEN GOA AND IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH USG. SINCE CAMPORA IS A MAJOR SYMBOL OF THE CORRUPTION AND TOADYING TO TERRORIST ELEMENTS WHICH GENERATED WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR MILITARY TAKEOVER IN MARCH 1976, US INTERCESSION

ON HIS BEHALF WOULD HAVE A HOLLOW RING IN THE EARS OF MOST ARGENTINES, AND WOULD CONFIRM TO SOME THAT WE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN THE WELFARE OF THOSE WHO HAVE WORKED TO UNDERMINE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. THIS EMBASSY CANNOT IN GOOD CONSCIENCE RECOMMEND INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF EX-PRESIDENT CAMPORA, AND BELIEVES THAT WE MUST CONCENTRATE OUR ENERGIES ON THOSE INSTITUTIONAL AND PRACTICAL REFORMS, SUCH AS REGULARIZED ARREST PROCEDURES, WHICH WILL HAVE THE GREATEST POSITIVE IMPACT FOR THE RIGHTS OF ALL ARGENTINES. US INTERCESSION IN THE CASE OF JACOBO TIMERMAN--AS ONE EXAMPLE--HAD SYMBOLIC CONNOTATIONS BECAUSE OF TIMERMAN'S ASSOCIATION WITH FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND AGAINST AUTHORITARIANISM. THIS ARGUMENT DOES NOT APPLY IN THE CASE OF HECTOR CAMPORA, HOWEVER DESERVING HIS INDIVIDUAL CASE MAY BE. THE EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THE DEPARTMENT DECLINE TO INTERCEDE IN HIS BEHALF.

4. THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS ARE REQUESTED.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03489 061332Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 L-03 HA-05 SY-05 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 /054 W
----------035738 070102Z /70

R 052120Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5619

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3489

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, SHUM
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS ACCUSATIONS AGAINST ARGENTINE NAVY

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3244

1. WE HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THE LOCAL OFFICES OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, THE AGENCE FRANCE PRESS, UPI AND THE FRENCH EMBASSY HERE, HAVE EACH RECEIVED A HANDWRITTEN LETTER AND DIAGRAMS PURPORTING TO DESCRIBE THE DETENTION AND INTERROGATION FACILITY LOCATED IN THE NAVY MECHANICAL SCHOOL GROUNDS AND CONTACTS -- INCLUDING WITH THE ABDUCTED FRENCH NUNS -- THE WRITER CLAIMS TO HAVE HAD WITH PRISONERS THERE WHILE HIMSELF INTERNED. THESE LETTERS APPEAR ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THE LETTER RECEIVED BY THIS EMBASSY WHICH WAS REPORTED IN REFTEL.

2. THE NEWS AGENCIES HAVE DECIDED NOT TO RUN A STORY ON THE REPORT. AS A FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICIAL COMMENTED, "THE LETTERS ARE TOO GOOD".

3. THE PRESENT CONSENSUS IS THAT THE LETTERS ARE EITHER A PASTICHE OF FACTS AND SPECULATIONS PUT TOGETHER BY THE MONTONEROS OR A PROVOCATION WORKED UP BY AN ARMY OR SOME OTHER INTELLIGENCE UNIT.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03489 061332Z

IF THE STORY IS OF MONTONERO ORIGIN, IT WILL PROBABLY SURFACE IN EUROPE OR MEXICO SHORTLY,

5/9/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03548 01 OF 02 091559Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /087 W
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R 091500Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5642
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date 3548 Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3548

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA: PANAMA FOR RSS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF TERRORIST AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
MONTH OF APRIL 1978

1. DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN APRIL, NUMEROUS LABOR UNIONS IN THE CITY OF MAR DEL PLATA RECEIVED BULLETINS OF THE CGT-R (GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR - RESISTANCE, A MONTONERO GROUP).

2. APR 2 - IN CORDOBA, ERP INSIGNIAS WERE FOUND PAINTED ON A BRIDGE AND SOME BUILDINGS. THIS IS ATTRIBUTED TO THE ERP PRESS AND PROPAGANDA SECTION.

- ON THE SAME DAY, SOME COMMUNICATIONS CENTERS IN CORDOBA RECEIVED VIA MAIL FROM MEXICO BULLETIN NO. 5 OF THE SENIOR COUNCIL OF THE MONTONERO PERONIST MOVEMENT (MPM).
- PAMPHLETS WERE MAILED FROM BUENOS AIRES TO VARIOUS UNIONS IN THE CITY OF CORDOBA. TITLE OF THE PAMPHLET WAS: FIVE YEARS OF POPULAR TRIUMPH.
APR 4: THE BODIES OF TWO TERRORISTS WERE FOUND IN A

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03548 01 OF 02 091559Z

RESIDENCE IN THE RURAL AREA OF RIO TERCERO. THEY WERE IDENTIFIED AS IVAN BROLLO AND CESAR ARGANARAZ. BOTH

MEN HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE PRT-ERP ATTACK ON THE MILITARY FACTORY IN VILLA MARIA IN 1974.
APR 6 - IN LA PLATA, ITEMS OF TERRORIST MANUFACTURE WERE FOUND BELONGING TO THE PCML (MARXIST-LENINIST-COMMUNIST PARTY) OF THE LA PLATA REGION. MATERIALS INCLUDING EQUIPMENT TO MANUFACTURE SHOTGUN AND REVOLVER AMMUNITION.
APR 7 - PRESS AND PROPAGANDA SECTION OF THE FEDERATION JUVENILE COMMUNISTA (FJC) BEGAN TO ISSUE THEIR PUBLICATION CALLED "CONCIENCIA" AND "IMAGEN", BOTH BI-WEEKLY.
- ON THE SAME DATE IN RESISTENCIA, RETIRED MAJOR ISAAC MANN RECEIVED A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "MESSAGE TO OFFICERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, NO. 2" BY THE NATIONAL STAFF OF THE MONTONERO ARMY. THE PAMPHLET WAS DATED JANUARY 1978.
APR 8 - SUBVERSIVES IN A LIGHT BLUE TRUCK OPENED FIRE ON THE TIGRE COAST GUARD BUILDING. NO ONE WAS INJURED.
APR 10 - IN SAN LUIS, LOCAL UNION HQ OF UOCRA (CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION) REPORTED RECEIVING MONTONERO PAMPHLETS FROM BUENOS AIRES.
APR 11 - IN SAN ISIDRO, SUBURB OF BUENOS AIRES, TWO PERSONS DRIVING A WHITE FIAT 125 SHOT DR. MIGUEL TOBIAS PADILLA, UNDERSECRETARY OF ECONOMIC PROMOTION, MINISTRY OF ECONOMY. DR. PADILLA DIED ENROUTE TO THE HOSPITAL AFTER RECEIVING 4-5 BULLET WOUNDS. NOTE: SECURITY SERVICES DO NOT BELIEVE THIS WAS A TERRORIST OPERATION.
APR 12 - MONTONERO PAMPHLET WAS MAILED FROM THE FEDERAL CAPITAL TO THE CORDOBA CHIEF OF THE CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERS BATALLION. A SIMILAR PAMPHLET WAS RECEIVED ON APR 14 IN POSADAS, ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNOR OF MISIONES PROVINCE.
- APR 14: THE RESIDENCE OF MR. DONALD JOHNSON, U.S. EMPLOYEE OF ALUAR, DIVISION OF REYNOLDS ALUMINUM, WAS ATTACKED BY SUBVERSIVES USING A G-40 GRENADE, FIRE FROM A [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03548 01 OF 02 091559Z

GRENDADE LAUNCHER. THERE WERE NO INJURIES BUT CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE RESIDENCE (SEE B.A. 3106 FOR MORE DETAILS).
- PAMPHLET WAS RECEIVED BY THE ASSIST. CHIEF OF THE FIFTH ARMY CORPS ENTITLED, "MESSAGES OF THE ARMED FORCES, NO. 2."
- ON THE SAME DATE IN SANTA FE, THE ASSOCIATION OF GOVT EMPLOYEES RECEIVED FROM PARIS A BULLETIN OF THE MONTONERO PERONIST MOVEMENT COVERING LAST AUG AND SEPT.
- ON THE SAME DATE, SEVERAL PERSONS ATTACKED FEDERAL POLICE AGENT HUGO GALEANO AND STOLE HIS BROWNING 9 MM PISTOL AND AMMUNITION. THIS OCCURRED IN BS.AS. PROVINCE.

- APR 17: IN SANTA FE, UNKNOWN SUBVERSIVES SHOT AT THE HOME OF CP. TABORDA OF THE RADIO ELECTRIC COMMAND. NO ONE WAS INJURED.
- ON THE SAME DATE, THE ASSOCIATION OF SANTIARY WORKERS IN SALTA RECEIVED FROM FRANCE TWO ENVELOPES CONTAINING MPM PAMPHLETS.
APR 18: A PAMPHLET ENTITLED, "MOVEMENT NO. 5" PERTAINING TO THE MONTONEROS WAS RECEIVED BY THE ASSOCIATION FRIULANA IN CORDOBA. THE PAMPHLET HAD BEEN MAILED FROM HONDURAS.
- ON THE SAME DATE, IN LA PLATA, CHALK MARKS WERE FOUND IN THE STREETS STATING MONTONEROS WILL DEFEAT THE MILITARY.
- SEVERAL PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES ATTACKED AND REMOVED THREE REVOLVERS FROM CORDOBA POLICE SUBCOMISARIO OSCAR CARRIZO.
APR 19: IN LA PLATA, PRISON GUARD JOSE LUIS GUILLERMO OF THE OLMOS PENITENTIARY SECURITY GUARDS WAS SHOT IN BOTH LEGS BY PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES.
APR:21 IN QUILMES, BS.AS. PROVINCE, A POWERFUL BOMB WAS DISCOVERED IN FRONT OF A RESIDENCE BELONGING TO NAVY CHAPLAIN PEDRO FERNANDEZ.
- IN MENDOZA, PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES CUT

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03548 02 OF 02 091610Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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SS-15 ICA-11 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /087 W
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R 091500Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5643
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3548

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA: PANAMA FOR RSS

FOUR MASTER ELECTRIC LINES WITH INTERFACE TO THE 100-LINE SYSTEM INSTALLED FOR THE WORLD CUP.
APR 22: IT WAS REPORTED THAT CGT-R HAD SENT TO SEVERAL UNIONS IN TUCUMAN AND SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO COPIES OF

BULLETIN NO. 2 "RESISTANCE" OF THE CGT-R.
- ON THE SAME DATE, PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE SUBVERSIVES SHOT AT POST THREE OF THE LA PLATA MILITARY DISTRICT. NO ONE WAS INJURED AND THE ATTACKERS ESCAPED.
- IN BANFIELD, BS.AS. PROVINCE, AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE DETONATED AT THE HOME OF FORMER BUENOS AIRES GOVERNOR OSCAR ALENDE, CAUSING SERIOUS DAMAGES TO THE PREMISES AND A SHOP NEXT DOOR. THERE WERE NO INJURIES.
APR 24: IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL AT CABELLO 3679, A SMALL BOMB DETAONATED IN THE APT. BUILDING CAUSING MWTERIAL DAMAGE AND ONE INJURY.
APR 26: AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS DETONATED AT THE GENERAL SAN MARTIN PROVINCIAL SCHOOL IN CORDOBA. THE BOMB CAUSED SERIOUS MATERIAL DAMAGE.
- RAUL ANTONIO AYBAR TURNED HIMSELF IN TO COMANDO FOUR IN TUCUMAN. HE BELONGED TO THE PRT-ERP.
APR 27: SEVERAL UNIONS IN CORDOBA PROVINCE RECEIVED

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03548 02 OF 02 091610Z

FROM BS. AS. BULLETIN NO. 207, DATED APR 12, 1978, OF THE MARXIST-COMMUNIST-LENINIST PARTY.
APR 30: IN THE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING, UNIVERSITY OF ROSARIO, THE NEWSPAPZR "NUEVA HORA", A PCR PUBLICATION, WAS DISTRIBUTED. IT WAS DATED MARCH 25, 1978. THERE WERE ALSO BULLETINS DISTRIBUTED FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.
- ON THE SAME DATE IN MENDOZA, AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS

DETAONATED IN FRONT OF THE RESIDENCE OF CARLOS ALBERTO CURCHOD. THE BOMB WAS PLACED UNDER HIS CAR AND CAUSED CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE. CURCHOD WORKS IN THE CRIMINAL COURT BUILDING AND ALSO BELONGS TO THE CIVIL INTELLIGENCE GROUP "C" OF THE AIR-FORCE.

3. RSO COMMENT: DURING APRIL, RSO MET WITH MEMBERS OF THE ARGENTINE SECURITY SERVICES CHARGED WITH DEVELOPING INTELLIGENCE CONCERNING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. SOURCES STATED THE CURRENT TERRORIST STRENGTH IS 450-500 MONTONERO COMBATANTS, OF WHICH 150 ARE OUTSIDE OF ARGENTINA, AND 200-275 MEMBERS OF THE RP, OF WHOM ONLY 20 ARE CONSIDERED COMBATANTS, SUPPORTED BY A CADRE OF APPROXIMATELY 100-175 PERSONS IN ARGENTINA. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE ERP, ARE WEAK AND HAVE ONLY LIMITED COMBAT CAPABILITY. HOWEVER, THE MONTONEROS CONTINUE ATTACKS ON SOFT TARGETS, INCLUDING BUSINESS PERSONNEL AND MEMBERS OF THE GOA. CASE IN POINT

WAS THE ATTACK AGAINST THE HOME OF MR. DON JOHNONS, U.S. EMPLOYEE OF ALUAR, A DIVISION OF REYNOLDS ALUMINUM, ON 4-14-78. HIS RESIDENCE WAS APPARENTLY THE TARGET OF A G-40 GRENDADE FIRE FROM A GRENADE LAUNCHER.

4. SOURCES STATED THE MONTONEROS, IN SPITE OF LOGISTIC WEAKNESS, STILL HAVE A SUPPLY OF THE LG 22 MP GRENADE [redacted]

[redacted]

LAUNCHER WHICH IS A SOPHISTICATED BAZOOKA-LIKE ATTACK WEAPON AS WELL AS THE SFM G 70 A AND SFM G 40 GRENADES WHICH ARE FIRED FROM THE LAUNCHER. BOTH THESE GRENADES HAVE AN ACCURACY UP TO APPROXIMATELY 100 YARDS AND WILL PENETRATE ONE-HALF INCH OF STEEL. THEY ARE USED AGAINST POLICE PRECINCTS AND MILITARY AND POLICE VEHICLES AS WELL AS OCCASIONALLY IN ATTACKS ON RESIDENCES. THE G 40 IS THE NEWEST IN THEIR SERIES OF LAUNCHED GRENADES. THEY HAVE ALSO REFINED THEIR HAND GRENADE AND DEVELOPED THE SMF G 5 WHICH CONTAINS A VERY HIGH SHRAPNEL CONTENT. UNDER DEVELOPMENT, IS THE SFM TROMBA WHICH IS A LAUNCHER USED TO CONVERT A 12 GUAGE SHOTGUN TO FIRE GRENADES AND THE SFM LGE 22 WHICH IS A SMALL MORAR ONLY IN THE DESIGN STAGE. SOURCES STATED THAT EVEN THOUGH THE MONTONEROS HAVE IN SOME AREAS IMPROVED THEIR WEAPONS, THEY ARE IN VERY LIMITED SUPPLY.

5. THEY HAVE ALSO CTONINUED THEIR DEVELOPMENT OF EXPLOSIVES AND ARE CURRENTLY USING A PLASTIQUE WHICH THEY DESIGNATE AS C2. THE MOST CURRENT EXPLOSIVE DEVICE IS NORMALLY PACKED IN A PLASTIC CYLINDER, 17 CMS HIGH AND 9 CMS IN DIAMETER. IT IS MANUFACTURED TO PRODUCE AN EXPLOSION IN ONE DIRECTION, SIMILAR TO A SHAPED CHARGE. IT IS BELIEVED THAT IT WAS DEVELOPED FOR ATTACKS AGAINST HOMES AND SHOPS WITH THE IDEA OF PRODUCING MAXIMUM DESTRUCTION IN ONE DIRECTION AND DIMINISHING EXPLOSIVE EFFECTS IN OTHER DIRECTIONS. IT IS ACTIVATED BY A TIMER SIMILAR TO THE ONE USED IN WASHING MACHINES AND IS SET NORMALLY FOR A FIVE MINUTE DELAY. THE ACTIVATING SYSTEM IS ELECTRIC AND USED A 1.5 VOLT BATTERY AND A NUMBER 8 ELECTRICAL DETONATOR OF AUSTRIAN MANUFACTURE. THE EXPLOSIVE CHARGE CONTAINS 800 GMS OF AMYNITE ALUMINIZED POWDER. IT CAN BE MANUFACTURED WITH AMMONIUM NITRATE, POTASSIUM PERCLORATE, RUBBER POWDER AND ALUMINUM POWDER. THE EFFECTS ARE QUITE SIMILAR TO TNT. IT ALSO CONTAINS A TRIAL CIRCUIT CHECK SYSTEM WITH A PARALLEL CIRCUIT USING A 1.5 VOLT

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 03548 02 OF 02 091610Z

LAMP. THE EXPLOSIVE FORCE CAN PENETRATE 60 CM. OF A MASONRY WALL OR 10 CMS OF STEEL. ACCORDING TO SECURITY SERVICES, THIS EXPLOSIVE DEVICE IS THE NEWEST IN THE TERRORIST ARSENAL OF WEAPONS. HOWEVER, IN SPITE OF IMPROVEMENT IN EXPLOSIVES, COMISARIO MARTINI, CHIEF OF FEDERAL POLICE EXPLOSIVES BRIGADE, STATED THAT BOMB INCIDENTS ARE GREATLY RED# FROM THIS TIME LAST YEAR AND THAT SOME EXPERTS OF THE POLICE DEMOLITION UNITS HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO ROUTINE INSPECTION DUTIES. SOURCE STATED HE EXPECTS THIS DOWNWARD TREND TO CONTINUE WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF JUNE 1978, DURING THE WORLD CUP. ALL OTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO RSO SUPPORTS THIS VIEWPOINT.
CASTRO

NOTE BY OCT: # AS RECEIVED.

[redacted]

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5/12/78

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PAGE 01 STATE 121423
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 MCT-01
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DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JMA
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON
HA:R. COHEN
L: F. ARMSTRONG

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R 121530Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] STATE 121423

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, SREF, AR

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF HECTOR CAMPORA
REF: (A) BA 3847 (B) BUMPUS-CHAPLIN PHONE CONVERSATION MAY 11.

1. THE DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS EMBASSY CONCERN THAT REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF HECTOR CAMPORA COULD HAVE NEGATIVE EFFECT ON OTHER U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS INTERESTS IN ARGENTINA. IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT GOA VIEWS CAMPORA AS AT LEAST PARTIALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST AND PRESENT TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND WOULD BE SENSITIVE TO OUR INTERVENTION ON HIS BEHALF.

2. THE USG HAS HOWEVER MADE HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATIONS TO GOA ABOUT CAMPORA AND DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT FUTURE EMBASSY INQUIRIES AT APPROPRIATE LEVEL AND TIME SHOULD NOT
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 121423

UNNECESSARILY DISTRESS THE ARGENTINES.

3. EMBASSY MAY INFORM MARIO CAMPORA THAT USG IS SYMPATHETIC TO HIS FATHERS PLIGHT, THAT REPRESENTATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE PREVIOUSLY TO GOA ON HIS BEHALF AND THAT AT APPROPRIATE TIME EMBASSY WILL AGAIN BROACH THE SUBJECT WITH THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. VANCE

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UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] AK128

Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03864 142130Z 1774
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 HA-05 SR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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TRSE-00 MCE-00 /071 W
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O R 142109Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 663
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3864

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 (5/14/99 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: (U) LATER EVENTS IN THE AMAYA, BARREIROS AND JARA DE CABEZAS CASES

REYFC (A) BUENOS AIRES 3553 (B) BUENOS AIRES 3758 (C) BUENOS AIRES 3799

1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. LILIANA AMAYA HAS BEEN ARRESTED AND IS IN JAIL, SECURITY OFFICIALS TOLD EMBOFF TODAY (MAY 14). SHE IS REPORTED IN "GOOD CONDITION" AND WILL BE REMANDED TO A FEDERAL JUDGE NEXT WEEK -- WE DO NOT KNOW ON WHAT CHARGE. SECURITY FORCES ASKED THAT THE EMBASSY SAY NOTHING PUBLICLY ABOUT THE CASE BEFORE A JUDGE HAS ACTED FORMALLY UPON IT. SEE REF B.

3. THE MOTHER OF ROBERTO BARREIROS, MRS. ARTOLA, TOLD EMBOFF BY PHONE TODAY THAT SHE RECEIVED A LETTER FROM HER ON ON MAY 12, POSTMARKED FROM URUGUAY, SAYING THAT HE AND HIS WIFE MARIA ROSA WERE WELL AND IN URUGUAY -- BUT THAT THEY COULD NOT BE CONTACTED "FOR SECURITY REASONS". HE WROTE THAT HE AND HIS WIFE WOULD RETURN HOME IN ABOUT TWO MONTHS AND THAT HIS MOTHER SHOULD NOT WORRY. MRS. ARTOLA TOLD EMBOFF THAT SHE IS CONVINCED THE LETTER WAS WRITTEN BY HER SON. THE LETTER WAS THE FIRST COMMUNICATION SHE RECEIVED FROM THE PAIN SINCE A PHONE CALL FROM HER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW ON APRIL 28.

GKSEE REF C.) MRS. ARTOLA ASSURED EMBOFF THAT THE PHONE CONVERSATION WAS AUTHENTIC AND TWO-WAY AND COULD NOT HAVE BEEN A RECORDING. SHE EVIDENCED GREAT SATISFACTION WITH THE LETTER AND PROMISED TO CONTACT EMBASSY WHEN HER SON COMMUNICATES AGAIN OR ARRIVES HOME.

4. THE BARREIROS' LETTER SOUNDS SIMILAR TO THE ONE RECEIVED BY FRIENDS OF THELMA JARA DE CABEZAS, SAYING SHE WAS ALL RIGHT AND IN THE "EXTERIOR," AS REPORTED IN REFTEL B. WE HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL TO DATE IN GETTING HOLD OF JARA DE CABEZAS' ACQUAINTANCES TO VERIFY THE LETTER AND RECENT PHONE CALL, BUT HOPE TO ARRANGE CONTACT WITHIN THE NEXT DAY OR SO. WE ARE ALSO PURSUING THE MATTER WITH USUAL ARGENTINE OFFICIAL CONTACTS.

5. COMMENT: NOTWITHSTANDING OUR RELIEF AT THESE REPORTS, WE FIND THE SITUATION OF MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS AND THE BARREIROS PERPLEXING -- UNACCOUNTABLE EVEN.

6. FOR MONTEVIDEO: ANY LEADS ON THE BARREIROS' PRESENCE IN URUGUAY OR ARGENTINE-URUGUAYAN COOPERATION IN HOLDING OR DEPORTING ARGENTINE CITIZENS WOULD BE APPRECIATED.
CHAPLIN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason [redacted]

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P7E0126 DEPARTMENT OF STATE RELEASE EXCISE DENY DECLASSIFY DECLASSIFY IN PART EO Citations
94034116 TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
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BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE
AND RESEARCH

MEXICAN-USSR RELATIONS

Summary

President Lopez Portillo is expected to promote Mexico's usual aims of increasing trade and technological exchange with the Soviets during his current visit to the USSR, May 17-25. Other possible topics for discussion include the USSR's recent decision to sign Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and a proposed quadrangular oil swap involving Spain and Cuba.

According to Foreign Secretary Roel, Mexico's chief interests during the visit will be agriculture, energy, food, and bilateral trade. Lopez Portillo, however, will also want to demonstrate Mexico's independence of the US in international affairs and to counter charges from the Mexican left that his administration has "swung to the right."

The USSR, in keeping with its longstanding desire to increase its presence at the US' "back door," reportedly will press Mexico to conclude a consular treaty providing for the opening of five Soviet consulates general. The USSR also hopes to sell aircraft and possibly military equipment to the Mexicans and reportedly is interested in discussing prospects for assisting in development of Mexico's uranium and nuclear energy potential.

The scope and substance of any agreements the two countries may reach are likely to be limited, however, by Mexican wariness of an expanded Soviet presence and the USSR's disinclination to make trade offers on terms advantageous to Mexico.

UNCLASSIFIED * * * * *

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

Report No. 982
May 18, 1978

Prospects

For the US, Lopez Portillo's visit presents an opportunity to communicate US views on international issues through a friendly intermediary. In bilateral terms, however, Mexican-Soviet relations seem likely to continue at the relatively modest level that has always characterized them, with small increases in trade, technological, scientific, and cultural contacts. Neither side appears inclined to yield any significant benefits to the other. As a result, Lopez Portillo's visit will likely post some clear gains for Mexico's international image--and with the President's domestic constituency--but little of significance in terms of the bilateral relationship.

Cautious Cordiality

The Mexican Government's wariness of Soviet activities in Mexico is the product of experience. Soviet heavy-handedness, combined with Mexico's extreme prickliness about its internal affairs, has produced some rocky periods in the Mexican-Soviet relationship. Although Mexico, in 1924, was the first Western Hemisphere nation to recognize the USSR, relations were severed in the late 1920's with a Mexican denunciation of Soviet interference in its internal affairs. Leon Trotsky's sojourn in Mexico, from 1937 until his assassination in 1940, did little to improve matters. Nevertheless, in the atmosphere of World War II, and partly at US urging, relations were reestablished in 1942; they continued with little friction but little contact through the 1960's.

Relations again deteriorated in 1971, when Mexico expelled five Soviet diplomats as a result of Soviet involvement in the training of Mexican guerrillas in North Korea. Two years later, however, President Echeverria included a stop in Moscow during his six-nation tour to Canada, Great Britain, Belgium, France, and the People's Republic of China. The visit to Moscow was the first for a Mexican president (although a decade earlier President Lopez Mateos had traveled to Poland and Yugoslavia and had begun efforts to intensify trade with the USSR).

Echeverria's tour, undertaken largely to project his own and Mexico's image as a Third World leader, also allowed him to lobby in behalf of his "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States" (CERDS). He found the results of his stop in Moscow disappointing: although the Soviets voiced their support for CERDS, they flatly refused to sign the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Echeverria returned to Mexico with negative impressions of the USSR's ideological stance, commenting that the Soviet system "had no attraction" for Mexico.

In May 1976, only six months after Mexico and the USSR had signed a broad agreement for cooperation in science and technology, Echeverria privately threatened to break relations with the Soviet Union when he learned of an attempt by Soviet intelligence to penetrate the Office of the Presidency. The Soviets hastily withdrew the offending "diplomat." The incident was not made public, but Echeverria reportedly wrote a scathing letter to Brezhnev.

Although a "warming trend" in Mexican-Soviet relations was forecast with the arrival in mid-1976 of a new Soviet ambassador, the urgency of Mexico's economic problems when Lopez Portillo took office in December 1976 dictated that his administration concentrate on its highest priorities: restoration of confidence domestically, and improved relations with the US. Toward the end of 1977, however, contacts with the USSR and Eastern bloc countries increased slightly, with visits to Mexico by the Polish Foreign Minister, the Hungarian President, the Soviet Vice Minister of Culture, and a high-level delegation from the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA).

Lopez Portillo's only other state visits have been to the United States and to Spain. Later this year he will visit Japan, the People's Republic of China, and Iran. His trip to the Soviet Union at this time will serve to:

--reaffirm Mexico's independence of the US in international affairs;

--reassure the Mexican left that Lopez Portillo's administration has not "swung to the right" as is often charged; and

--increase, however slightly, Mexico's prospects for expanded trade and sources of technology.

UNCLASSIFIED

Treaty of Tlatelolco

Brezhnev's announcement last month that the USSR would sign Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco pleased Mexico, the treaty's chief proponent. The Soviets will be committed to respect the regional nuclear free zone, and their signature will move the treaty a significant step toward full implementation. Technically, states party to the treaty are not bound by its provisions until all eligible nations have ratified either the treaty itself or its relevant protocols. Most Latin American states have waived this requirement, but Argentina (about to ratify), Brazil, and Chile have not. Thus, Mexican diplomats have assiduously sought ratification by all eligible nations to complete the nuclear free zone. With adherence to Protocol I by Argentina and France and the impending ratification of Protocol I by the US, Cuba would be the lone holdout. The possible impact on Havana of the Soviet move will undoubtedly be explored by Lopez Portillo during his trip.

Consular Convention

At present, Soviet representation in Mexico consists of an embassy (one of Moscow's largest, with a staff of approximately 90 persons), Aeroflot and Intourist offices, and a resident trade mission.

Soviet initiatives to negotiate a consular convention with Mexico, begun in 1970, were shelved in 1971 after Mexico's expulsion of the five Soviet diplomats. The USSR floated a new proposal for a consular convention in 1975, but despite continued Soviet efforts, no negotiations have been concluded. [redacted] the Soviets plan to press Lopez Portillo on the consular convention during his visit, seeking an agreement to establish five Soviet consulates general in Mexico--in Veracruz, Monterrey, Guadalajara, and two other major cities. If this is in fact a Soviet goal, it is probably a long-term one, with Moscow seeking agreement in principle with implementation to be spread out over a period of time.

[redacted] Lopez Portillo plans to take the offensive on this issue, asking the Soviets to justify the continuance of their already large diplomatic presence in Mexico by "paying the commercial price" of expanded long-term trade agreements.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Military Purchases

Resistance to foreign military influence has been a persistent tenet of Mexican foreign policy. Mexico has made no purchases of Soviet arms or equipment--much less accepted Soviet military advisers--but tentative and cautious contacts have begun between the two countries' military establishments within the past two years. Accepting the USSR's longstanding offer for the first time, two Mexican Army officers visited the Soviet Union in August 1977, reportedly to look over Soviet artillery. A clandestine report of February 1978 indicates that, for the first time, Mexico has made informal inquiries to the USSR for price and availability of artillery weapons, including small-caliber howitzers, anti-aircraft equipment, and associated radar computers.

In mid-February, Soviet military attachés visited the Mexican Superior War School--something they had not done since at least 1970--to lecture and show a film. The film, touting Soviet military equipment, was a clear indication from the Soviets that they were eager to sell military hardware to Mexico.

Even more recently, the Soviets have entered the competition to sell combat aircraft to Mexico. [redacted] the Soviets, working through a Mexican businessman, approached a senior Mexican Army officer to present an offer on jet aircraft. Although no details of the proposal were revealed, the officer reportedly turned it down, insisting that the Mexican Army would only purchase US jets. According to the report, the businessman planned to raise the issue at a higher level--with the Mexican Secretary of Defense--as did a representative selling Soviet helicopters earlier this year.

Trade

Mexico, heavily dependent on the US as its major trading partner, has sought to expand and diversify its trade contacts with other nations in an effort to lessen its dependence on the US and to increase markets for its manufactured goods. While trade between Mexico and the USSR has grown considerably in the 1970's, the volume nevertheless remains economically insignificant. In 1976, for example, combined trade between the two countries reached a total of $24 million. The balance that year was favorable to Mexico but represented only a fraction of 1 percent of Mexico's

total exports. Moreover, although Mexico seeks to sell its manufactured products, the USSR's purchases have been chiefly of agricultural commodities.

[redacted] Lopez Portillo will seek a trade package involving several hundred million dollars over a period of 4-5 years, in the form of a long-term USSR agreement to buy Mexican coffee and other products in exchange for Mexico's purchase of Soviet tractors and machinery. Reportedly, Lopez Portillo expects the USSR to offer substantial credits for the purchase of Soviet manufactured goods, but he would accept them only if the USSR, in turn, agreed to buy enough Mexican goods to strike a rough balance of trade.

Despite the increase of trade with the USSR, and Mexico's 1975 Cooperation Agreement with CEMA, the Lopez Portillo administration sees little prospect for any real economic gains in Mexico's trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Petroleum

The Director General of PEMEX (the Mexican state oil company) was to accompany Lopez Portillo on his trip. In addition to visits to Baku and Novosibirsk to view Soviet petroleum and natural gas installations, the Mexican visitors will continue their talks with the USSR on a proposed petroleum swap involving Spain and Cuba. Under the proposed agreement, the USSR would supply Spain with the amount of oil (perhaps 20,000 barrels per day) that Spain has agreed to purchase from Mexico. Mexico, in turn, would deliver an equal amount of oil to Cuba--with tremendous savings in transportation as a result.

The idea is not a new one--the USSR has discussed a similar arrangement with Venezuela in recent years, and discussions with Mexico have been under way since at least 1976. Despite the obvious advantages and savings of the plan, problems have so far impeded agreement:

--the USSR's earlier proposal to reimburse Mexico in Soviet industrial goods for oil shipments to Cuba was not accepted by the Mexicans;

--disparities in the quality of Mexican and Soviet petroleum affect pricing and involve conversion of refinery facilities; and

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--disagreements over how to apportion the savings in transportation costs have not been resolved.

Prospects for the resolution of these difficulties will hinge largely on whether the USSR's bargaining becomes more flexible than it has been in the past.

Prepared by Diana E. Morris
x22557

Approved by Hunter L. Estep
x22229

EXEMPT FROM DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE E.O. 11652: 5B 1,2
(Classified by M. Packman)

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[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED E 4369

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04206 01 OF 02 051256Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05
AF-10 EA-10 NEA-11 HA-05 /147 W
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R 051150Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9415
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4206

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, ETRN, CI
SUBJECT: AFL-CIO SOLIDARITY VISIT

REF: SANTIAGO 3957

1. SUMMARY: AN AFL-CIO SOLIDARITY TEAM VISITED CHILE MAY 21-23 AT THE INVITATION OF THE "GROUP OF TEN". IN MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET, WITH THE "GROUP OF TEN" AND WITH OTHER LABOR LEADERS, AND IN AN END-OF-VISIT PRESS CONFERENCE, THE TEAM EMPHASIZED THE SUPPORT OF US LABOR FOR INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISM AND FOR A PROMPT RETURN TO FULL TRADE UNION FREEDOMS. THE TEAM BELIEVES IT OBTAINED A COMMITMENT FRO THE GOC TO PERMIT AIFLD TO HOLD SEMINARS WITHOUT REQUESTING PRIOR APPROVAL. ALTHOUGH THE TEAM WAS DISCOURAGED BY WHAT THEY SAW AND HEARD, DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION ELEMENTS WERE HEARTENED BY THE VISIT. WHETHER PINOCHET AND HIS ADVISERS CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE US LABOR ATTACHES TO TRADE UNIONS FREEDOMS, AND PARTICULARLY THE ABILITY TO HOLD ELECTIONS WITHIN SIX MONTHS, IS NOT CERTAIN. THE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04206 01 OF 02 051256Z

LEGACY OF A HIGHLY POLITICIZED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT MAY CONTINUE TO DOMINATE GOC PERCEPTIONS AND, TO SOME EXTEND, THE ACTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS. END SUMMARY.

2. WHAT HAPPENED. A POWERFUL AND ELOQUENT SOLIDARITY TEAM VISITED SANTIAGO "TO TRY TO BRING THE VARIOUS DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS TOGETHER". THE DELEGATION LEADER, THOMAS "TEDDY" GLEASON, PRESIDENT OF THE INTER-NATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN ASSOCIATION AND VICE PRESIDENT OF BOTH THE AFLO-CIO AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT FEDERATION TOLD GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET, PRESIDENT OF CHILE, THAT

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HE WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED WITH THE LACK OF RESPECT FOR TRADE UNION FREEDOMS AND WOULD LEAVE CHILE LESS FAVORABLY INCLINED THAN WHEN HE ARRIVED. AFL-CIO VICE PRESIDENT, SOL "CHICK" CHAIKIN, PRESIDENT OF THE ILGWU IN PARTICULAR TOLD PINOCHET THAT "TIME WAS NOT A FRIEND OF THIS GOVERNMENT" AND URGED THE RAPID RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION FREEDOMS IN CHILE ESPECIALLY THE RIGHT TO ELECT TRADE UNIONOFFICERS. CHAIKIN EXPLAINED THAT THE GOVERNMENT ACTIONS WERE POLARIZING CHILEAN SOCIETY DRIVING DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS EITHER TO THE EXTREMES OF THE RIGHT OR LEFT WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD AGAIN TO A CONFRONTATION AS OCCURRED IN 1973. HE EMPHASIZED AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT TRADE UNION ELECTIONS WITHIN A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME WERE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO AVOID THIS TYPE OF SITUATION. THE TEAM LEFT A MEMORANDUM THAT URGED THE GOC TO CONDUCT "FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS WITHIN SIX MONTHS". GLEASON ADDED THAT HE ALSO PASSED THIS MESSAGE ON TO THE GOC THROUGH WENCESLAO MORENO, CHILEAN LABOR ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON.

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3. SUPPORT FOR THE TEN. THE AFL-CIO VICE PRESIDENTS MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WERE IN CHILE AT THE INVITATION

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 04206 01 OF 02 051256Z

OF THE "GROUP OF TEN" AND THEY MET REPEATEDLY WITH ALL OR PART OF THE GROUP. HOWEVER THEY STATED CLEARLY THAT THEY DID NOT REGARD THIS GROUP AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE TRADE UNION GROUP IN CHILE AND OFFERED A HAND OF SUPPORT TO ALL DEMOCRATIC AND FREE TRADE UNIONISTS. IN AN EMOTIONAL MEETING TOWARDS THE END OF THE VISIT EDUARDO RIOS, ERNESTO VOGEL AND TUCAPEL JIMENEZ ATTEMPTED TO DESCRIBE THE PERSONAL HARDSHIP CAUSED BY GOC HARASSMENT. ALL SAID THAT THEY WERE ALIVE TODAY ONLY BECAUSE OF USG AND AFL-CIO SUPPORT IN THE PAST. GLEASON VISIBLY MOVED GAVE THEM A PERSONAL GUARANTEE OF PROTECTION.

4. BROADENING THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE. ALTHOUGH THE AFL-CIO TEAM WAS SPONSORED BY THE GROUP OF TEN" OR THE "DINAMICOS" IT MET WITH VARIOUS OTHER TRADE UNION LEADERS. THE PURPOSE OF ALL THESE MEETINGS WAS TO ENCOURAGE GREATER COOPERATION AMONG DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS. WITH "DINAMICO" LEADEER TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, PRESIDENT OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES, THE GROUP MET WITH HERNOL FLORES, SEC-GEN OF THE PRO-GOVERNMENT UNTRACH AND WITH CARLOS ORTEGA, PRESIDENT OF THE BANK WORKERS. GLEASON ALSO MET PRIVATELY WITH MORENO AND MARTIN BUSTOS, PRESIDENT OF STEVEDORES AND GOC APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF PARALLEL COMACH. THE ENTIRE TEAM ALSO MET WITH INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNINISTS, FEDERICO MUJICA, PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVATE EMPLOYEES CONFEDERATION, SALVADOR CASTRO, PRESIDENT OF METAL MECHANICS FEDERATION AND RICARDO GALLIANI, PRESIDENT OF THE EMPLOYEES IN STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES. ADDITIONALLY, THE TEAM SAW THE FOLLOWING OUSTED LABOR LEADERS: MILTON PUGA, CARLOS ARRELLANO

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AND GUILLERMO SANTANA OF THE COPPER WORKERS, ANDRES DEL CAMPO OF THE BANK WORKERS AND EDWIN KEIM OF THE AIRLINE WORKERS.

5. AIFLD SEMINARS. THE TEAM BELIEVED THAT A MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE VISIT WAS TO OBTAIN PINOCHET'S CONSENT TO CONDUCT AIFLD SEMINARS WITHOUT PRIOR GOC AUTHORIZATION. AS CHAIKIN POINTED OUT, NOTHING WAS WRITTEN DOWN, BUT [redacted]

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[redacted]

PAGE 04 SANTIA 04206 01 OF 02 051256Z

PINCOEHT DID TURN TO HIS LABOR AND INTERIOR MINISTERS AND MADE SURE THEY HAD TAKEN NOTE OF THE TEAM'S STATEMENT THAT SUCH AUTHORIZATION SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY. IR REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER LOCAL MILITARY COMMANDERS WILL RECIEVE APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS, BUT AIFLD HAS ALREADY TESTED THE WATERS, IN VALPARAISO, WITHOUT INCIDENT.

6. THE "INDEPENDENCE" IMPERATIVE. THE AFL-CIO TEAM STRESSED THE NEED FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM GOVERNMENT, CHURCH AND POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS. THEY WERE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT GOC ATTEMPTS TO "TRAIN" TRADE UNION LEADERS AND THE CONTINUED INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISTS IN THE CHILEAN LABOR MOVEMENT. THE TEAM EMPHASIZED TO THE GOC THAT IN THEIR CONSIDERED JUDGMENT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO BEGIN NOW THE PROCESS OF ELECTING TRADE UNION LEADERS, FOR IF THEY DELAYED MORE THAN THREE TO SIX MONTHS IT WOULD DRIVE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS TO EITHER THE RIGHT OR LEFT AS HAS HAPPENED IN THE PAST. WHEN PINOCHET POINTED TO A COMBINED COMMUNIST-DEMOCRATIC MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION AS EVIDENCE THAT THEIR HOSTS WERE BEING MANIPULATED IF NOT CONTROLLED BY COMMUNISTS, THE TEAM USED THIS EXAMPLE TO DRIVE HOME THEIR POINT THAT NORMALIZATION OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY WAS AN URGENT PRIORITY TO AVOID POLARIZING THE CHILEAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04206 02 OF 02 051306Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4206

PRIVATELY WITH THE "DINAMICO"LEADERS, THE TEAM WARNED OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT COOPERATION BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND COMMUNIST TRADE UNIONISTS COULD CAUSE FOR FUTURE AFL-CIO SUPPORT.

7. CHILEAN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE REACTION TO THE VISIT. THERE HAS BEEN NO PUBLIC OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE VISIT. THE LESS RESPONSIBLE PRESS IS CALLING IT ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF YANKEE INTERVENTION AND LINKING THE VISIT TO OTHER POLITICAL EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED DURING THE SAME WEEK (A HUNGER STRIKE BY RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS AND THE VISIT OF U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTIC OFFICIALS IN CONNECTION WITH THE LETELIER CASE). HOWEVER, SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS AND NEWS MAGAZINES ARE POINTING OUT THAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT HAS WAITED TOO LONG FOR RESTORATION OF ITS RIGHTS. MOREOVER, INTERNALLY THE GOC HAS BEGUN TO SET UP SCENARIOS IN WHICH IT CAN MEET AT LEAST SOME OF THE "SUGGESTIONS" OF THE AMERICAN LABOR GROUP (BUT PROBABLY [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04206 02 OF 02 051306Z

EXCLUDING TRADE UNION ELECTIONS). OTHER DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, SOME OF THOSE IN THE GOC-SPONSORED UNTRACH, ENCOURAGED BY THE STRONG SUPPORT SHOWN BY THE AFL-CIO TEAM TO DEMOCRATIC LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, STEPPED UP THE STRENGTH OF THEIR OWN DEMANDS FOR TRADE UNION FREEDOMS.

8. COMMENT: THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT AND US LABOR SHARE ANTI-COMMUNISM AND, IN THEORY AT LEAST, THE BELIEF THAT ORGANIZED LABOR SHOULD ACT INDEPENDENTLY FROM PARTY POLITICS. WHEREAS US LABOR CAME TO ITS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AS THE RESULT OF A HISTORY OF INDEPENDENT ACHIEVEMENT, THE PINOCHET REGIME IS ATTEMPTING TO IN-STITUTE TRADE UNION INDEPENDENCE BY GOVERNMENT INTER-VENTION. EVEN AFTER ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THIS IS A TRANSITORY MILITARY GOVERNMENT, THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL ELEMENT OF ILLOGIC IN SUCH AN EFFORT. SO FAR AS WE ARE ABLE TO JUDGE, PINOCHET AND HIS CLOSEST ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ADVISERS HAVE NOT ACCEPTED THE FACT THAT INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISM MUST START WITH THE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF BASIC LABOR RIGHTS.

9. HISTORICALLY THE CHILEAN LABOR MOVEMENT HAS BEEN

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HIGHLY POLITICIZED. IT IS UNREALISTIC TO THINK THAT EITHER AS A RESULT OF GOC "REFORMS" OR THE DEMONSTRATION EFFECT AND SUPP
ORT OF US LABOR THAT THAT SITUATION
IS GOING TO CHANGE RADICALLY IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AND WE DO NOT THINK THE SOLIDARITY TEAM MADE ANY SUCH LEAP OF FAITH. SHOULD THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND RADICAL PARTIES DECIDE IN THE FUTURE TO PURSUE VIGOROUSLY A BROAD ALLIANCE (FRENTE AMPLIO) WITH THE SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS AGAINST THE MILITARY REGIME, WE WOULD PREDICT WITH CONFIDENCE LABOR UNION COORDINATION INVOLVING AT LEAST SOME OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS.

[redacted]

10. THE VISIT OF THE SOLIDARITY TEAM SERVED THE IMMEDIATE AND MOST PRESSING PURPOSE OF STRENGTHENING THE US LABOR MOVEMENT'S UMBRELLA FOR THE "GROUP OF TEN". THAT IT DID THIS IN THE CONTEXT OF SUPPORT FOR ALL DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS IS, WE BELIEVE, IMPORTANT. THE AFL-CIO VICE-PRESIDENTS MADE CLEAR TO PINOCHET, AS WELL AS TO THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS THEMSELVES, THAT OUR SUPPORT IS NOT TIED TO ANY POLITICAL FACTIONS WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC SECTOR. THIS CLARIFICATION OFFERS THE HOPE OF BROADER AND STRONGER OPPOSITION TO CONTINUED GOC RESTRICTIONS OF LABOR FREEDOMS. THERE IS ALREADY AN APPARENT EFFORT BY SOME OF THE MORE TIMID DEMOCRATIC LEADERS TO SHOW THAT THEY TOO SUPPORT AN EARLY END TO SUCH RESTRICTIONS. IN PART THEY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE VISIT TO SPEAK OUT MORE CLEARLY. IN PART THEIR OWN POSITIONS AS LEADERS DEPEND ON NOT APPEARING TO LAG BEHIND ON THIS ISSUE.

11. LABOR ATTACHE COMMENT. THE HISTORICAL AND TRADITIONAL

BONDS TIEING CHILEAN WORKERS AND THEIR UNION LEADERS TO POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE DETERIORATED AS A RESULT OF THE GOC BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY. AS A RESULT OF THIS BAN, THE GOC HAS DESTROYED THE ABILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO CONTROL AND INFLUENCE AFFILIATED TRADE UNION LEADERS. IN THE PAST, POLITICAL PARTIES EFFECTIVELY CONTROLLED THEIR LABOR LEADERS BY MAINTAINING PARTY CONTROL OVER THE UNION SLATE OF CANDIDATES IN UNION ELECTIONS. FEW INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES COULD BE ELECTED AT THE LOCAL LEVEL AND HARDLY ANY WERE SUCCESSFUL AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. HOWEVER, SINCE ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN OUTLAWED, PLLITICAL PARTIES HAVE FOUND IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO INFLUENCE THEIR LABOR LEADER AFFILIATES. ALTHOUGH FEW MEN HAVE ABANDONED THEIR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND MOST ARE STILL PROUD OF THEIR PRE-COUP PARTY AFFILIATION, TRADE UNION LEADERS DO NOW

[redacted]

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SEPARATE THEIR UNION RESPONSIBILITIES FROM PARTY DEMANDS. DECISIONS RELATING TO THEIR UNIONS ARE MADE RELATIVELY FREE OF PARTY INFLUENCE. THE "GROUP OF TEN" STANDS AS A MAJOR EXAMPLE OF THIS NEW AND HEALTHY INDEPENDENCE FROM POLITICAL PARTY CONTROL IN THAT THREE ARE FORMER FREI WING PDC, TWO FORMER TOMIC WING PDC, TWO ARE MILITANT RADICALS AND ONE WITHOUT ANY PARTY AFFILIATION. ALL THESE MEN ARE ANTI-COMMUNIST AND HAVE COOPERATED TOGETHER ONLY BECAUSE THEY ARE FREE OF PARTY CONTROL. NONE OF THESE TRADE UNIONISTS OR OTHER TRULY DEMOCRATIC UNION LEADERS WOULD NOW ABANDON THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND TURN THEIR UNION OVER TO THE DICTATES OF A PARTY BOSS.
LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

6/7/78 Thanks for letter Arg

RC

AR164

México, 7 de junio de 1978.

P 86

Mrs. Patricia Derian

Coordinator of Human Rigth

SEEN BY ASST. SEC. DERIAN

Department of State

Washington,

Estimada señora:

Quiero informar a usted que mi hermano José Alberto Tur y su esposa, Amalia Ricotti, fueron liberados por las autoridades argentinas el viernes 2 del corriente, después de haber sido secuestrados en la ciudad de Santa Fe el 15 del mayo último.

Agradezco a usted muy sinceramente cuanto haya podido hacer para lograr este resultado y le felicito por la eficacia de su acción.

Quedo entonces a sus órdenes y aprovecho la oportunidad para saludarla muy atentamente.

Carlos Mariano Tur Donati

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

B6

Lot 81D208
Box4963(2/12)

Sin Bumpus - Please explain to me RC

RC

Curriculum vitae de Alberto Tur Donati

I.- Datos personales:

Lugar y fecha de nacimiento: Santa Fe, 4/XI/1943.

Domicilio: Rivadavia 1675, Santa Fe, Argentina.

Profesión: Profesor en Historia, egresado del Instituto del Profesorado, dependiente de la Universidad Nac. del Litoral.

II.- Trabajo docente:

Profesor de diversas asignaturas sociales e históricas en escuelas secundarias de la provincia de Santa Fe, desde 1968.

III.- Trabajo gremial:

Organizador y dirigente de la Federación Unica Santafesina de Trabajadores de la Educación (FUSTE).

Delegado por dicha Federación ante la Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la República Argentina (CTERA).

IV.- Publicaciones:

Como especialista en historia agraria y regional argentina ha realizado distintas publicaciones:

"Historia de la colonización de la pampa húmeda, 1856-1914", publicada en la revista "Agro Nuestro" de la Federación Agraria Argentina, organización gremial de los pequeños y medianos productores agrícolas de la mencionada región rioplatense.

"Historia de la provincia de Santa Fe, 1526-1850", Editorial Vigil, Rosario, Argentina, 1973.-

Denuncia del secuestro de Alberto Tur Donati y Amalia Ricotti de Tur, ocurrido el 15 del corriente mes en la ciudad de Santa Fe, Argentina.

En la noche de la mencionada fecha Tur Donati y su esposa salieron de su casa en auto para realizar una visita familiar. Nunca llegaron al lugar a que se dirigían, encontrándose al día siguiente el carro abandonado, cerca del domicilio al que tenían intención de llegar. Los familiares comenzaron al día siguiente con las averiguaciones de rutina, y, ayudados por otras personas, han denunciado el hecho por la prensa, radio y televisión y han presentado un recurso de amparo ante la justicia. Las respuestas de las autoridades policiales, militares y judiciales han sido unánimemente negativas.

Los motivos de este secuestro pueden tener relación con las detenciones que se están realizando por la realización del Mundial de Fútbol, o por razones gremiales --ver el curriculum anexo-- o por el hecho de que Tur Donati haya sacado su pasaporte en el último mes para viajar al Perú de vacaciones.

Al haber transcurrido 10 días sin haber obtenido un reconocimiento oficial de la detención y de su ubicación, solicito la mayor difusión posible de este nuevo atropello a los más elementales derechos humanos.

La finalidad de esta denuncia es presionar a las autoridades argentinas para que dejen en libertad a Tur Donati y a su esposa, o, al menos, declaren públicamente cuál es su lugar de detención.

Licenciado Carlos Tur Donati, hermano del secuestrado. Ciudad de México, 25 de mayo de 1978.-

B6

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

6/8/78

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RC

Silvia Birenbaum
[redacted]
B6

October 11, 1977

Mr. Cirus Vance
U.S. Secretary of State
U.S. State Department

Dear Sir:

I, the undersigned, wish to call your attention to the enclosed letter sent us by a relative from Argentina. Her son, Eduardo Sergio Korsunsky, was detained by the Argentine authorities and has been missing since August 4, 1976. The authorities deny knowledge of his whereabouts. The matter has been called to the attention of Mr. Tex Harris at the U.S. Consulate in Buenos Aires. Appropriate documentation is on file at said Consulate. As expressed in her letter, all possible sources have been exhausted in her attempt to locate her son.

I am deeply concerned about this matter and wish you to consider it and do everything in your power to urge the Argentine authorities to resolve the issue.

Sincerely yours,
Silvia Birenbaum
Silvia Birenbaum

Please can you do something in the name of humanity

June 8- 1978.

Silvia Birenbaum
[redacted]
B6

Lot 81D208
Box 4963 (2/12)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Den
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____

6/8/78 (F) AX016 (5) 51

Buenos Aires, junio 8 de 1978

Al Señor
Comandante del III Cuerpo de Ejército
General de División
D. Luciano Benjamín Menéndez
S / D

Estimado General Menéndez:

Me siento sumamente halagado por haber tenido la oportunidad de conocerlo y conversar con Vd. durante mi reciente visita a Córdoba y también le estoy muy agradecido por el tiempo que nos dedicara tanto a mí como a los miembros de mi comitiva a pesar del hecho de encontrarse involucrado en el desarrollo de ejercicios militares en ocasión de nuestra visita.

Abrigaba la esperanza de haber tenido más tiempo para conocerlo mejor y espero tener el gusto de encontrarme con Vd. nuevamente en alguna otra ocasión.

Un tema que esperaba poder tratar con Vd. durante mi reciente visita es el caso de la Srta. Liliana Deutsch quien se encuentra actualmente detenida en Córdoba a disposición del Poder Ejecutivo Nacional. Sé que Vd. conoce el enorme interés suscitado en los Estados Unidos con referencia al problema de la familia Deutsch, interés que ha llegado a las más altas esferas del gobierno norteamericano. Estaría realmente muy agradecido si Vd. pudiera -- dentro de su esfera de acción -- rever el caso de la joven Deutsch con el objeto de determinar las posibilidades existentes para que ella pudiera ser liberada del Poder Ejecutivo Nacional y se le permitiera viajar a los Estados Unidos con sus familiares.

//

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5/5

Le agradecería muchísimo todo tipo de ayuda que pudiera prestarnos en lo que concierne a este caso.

Disfrutamos inmensamente nuestra estadía en Córdoba. Me sentí muy contento al observar el sentimiento de alegría y entusiasmo prevaleciente entre la población que encontrábamos en las calles en vísperas del comienzo del Mundial.

Con afectuosos saludos y esperando poder reunirme nuevamente con Vd., me complazco en saludarle con mi mayor consideración y estima.

Atentamente,

Raúl H. Castro
Embajador

Drafted by: POL:AGFreeman:mp
Clearances (in draft)
POL:WHHallman
SY:RKelly
DAO:RBGoetze,Jr.

UNCLASSIFIED

ACTION COPY

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TO RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1193
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 9464
RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1681
RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 5231
BT
[redacted] SANTIAGO 4342

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TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB		✓	DAO		
DCM		✓	LEGATT		
			DEA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECOM		✓	AID		
POL/R		✓	MILGP		
CONS		✓	PER		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		✓	IB&F		
SCI			CRO		
SY			CHRON		✓
NCOIC			RF		✓

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM
SUBJ: HUNGER STRIKE/MISSING PERSON: ALEXEI VLADIMIR JACCARD

REFS: (A) GENEVA 2861S (B) USUN 02319

1. THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION HERE, AFFIRMED JUNE 6 THAT ALEXEI VLADIMIR JACCARD SIEGLER -- OF POSSIBLY BOTH CHILEAN AND SWISS NATIONALITIES -- IS MISSING, BUT IN ARGENTINA NOT CHILE. JACCARD WAS AT ONE TIME THOUGHT TO HAVE DISAPPEARED IN CHILE AND WAS LISTED BY THE VICARIATE. HE IS NO LONGER LISTED AND, ACCORDING TO THE VICARIATE, APPEARS INSTEAD ON AN ARGENTINE LIST OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS.

2. A VICARIATE MISSING PERSONS REPORT ON JACCARD PREPARED LAST YEAR GAVE THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT: MARRIED, RESIDING IN SWITZERLAND, 25 YEARS OF AGE. JACCARD DISAPPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES ON MAY 16, 1977. THE FOLLOWING DAY, ARGENTINE POLICE WENT TO THE HOTEL WGERE HE STAYED AND REMOVED ALL HIS PERSONAL BELONGINGS. THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA LATER INFORMED THE SWISS EMBASSY THAT JACCARD HAD TRAVELED TO SANTIAGO ON MAY 26 ON A VARIG AIRLINES FLIGHT. THAT AIRLINE LATER CONFIRMED IN SANTIAGO THAT JACCARD'S NAME FIGURED ON THE PASSENGERS LIST. JACCARD IS SHOWN AS TRAVELING WITH AN ARGENTINE PASSPORT, (COMMENT: INTERPOL HERE TELLS US IT WAS AN ARGENTINE CARNET) THOUGH HE DID NOT HAVE THAT NATIONALITY AND, AT THE TIME HE DISAPPEARED, HE POSSESSED A SWISS PASSPORT. THE CHILEAN POLICE REPORTED THAT APERSON NAMED JACCARD ENTERED THE COUNTRY, STAYING IN A SANTIAGO HOTEL. DURING HIS ALLEGED STAY, HE DID NOT VISIT HIS RELATIVES, ALTHOUGH THAT HAD BEEN A PURPOSE OF HIS TRIP. RELATIVES IN CHIL WHO LATER INSPECTED THE HOTEL'S REGISTER ASSERTED THAT THE SIGNATURE ON THE BOOK WAS NOT THAT OF JACCARD'S. THE PERSON REPORTED TO BE JACCARD LATER TRAVELED TO MONTEVIDEO, WHERE HIS ENTRY IS OFFICIALLY NOTED.

3. THE VICARIATE NOW SAYS IT LEARNED THAT THE MAN SAID TO BE JACCARD LATER TRAVELED TO ARGENTINA, WHERE HE DROPPED OUT OF SIGHT. FOR THAT REASON, THE VICARIATE HAS ERASED JACCARD'S NAME FROM ITS CHILEAN DISAPPEAREDS LIST.

4. GENEVA PLEASE TRANSMIT REF (A) TO BUENOS AIRES.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 4378

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SREF, SHUM, AF
SUBJECT: ICEM REJECTED BY GOA

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 4003 (B) BUENOS AIRES 3727 (C) GENEVA 8364 (D) STATE 136035 (E) SANTIAGO 4237

SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL FIRMLY REJECTED ICEM PARTICIPATION IN RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM. GOA IS SLOWLY COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE HEAVY BURDEN OF UNCHARGED PEN DETAINEES. THE AMBASSADOR HAS HIGH-LEVEL INDICATIONS THAT SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF PEN CASES WILL BE RESOLVED AT AN INCREASING PACE IN THE UPCOMING MONTHS. HOW MANY RELEASES WILL BE EFFECTED THROUGH THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROCEDURE REMAINS UNCLEAR. END SUMMARY.

1. ICEM OFFICIAL ROBERTO KOZAK WAS IN BUENOS AIRES JUNE 1-5 TO DISCUSS WITH ARGENTINE OFFICIALS THE POSSIBILITY OF ICEM PARTICIPATION IN RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM. KOZAK, AN ARGENTINE CITIZEN, DETERMINED HE WOULD FIRST PRESENT HIMSELF TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND SEE IF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WOULD ARRANGE SUBSEQUENT APPOINTMENTS WITH PERTINENT INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIALS. (AS REPORTED IN REFTEL A, THE US PLUS EIGHT OTHER WESTERN EMBASSIES MET WITH MIN INT OFFICIAL COL. SAN ROMAN TO REQUEST ICEM PARTICIPATION. SAN ROMAN SAID THAT GOA WAS IN PRINCIPLE OPPOSED TO ICEM, BUT AGREED TO SPEAK WITH AN ICEM REPRESENTATIVE).

2. AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY JUNE 2, KOZAK MET WITH THE STRONG-WILLED HEAD OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP MINISTER JUAN CARLOS ARLIA. ACCORDING TO KOZAK, ARLIA RECEIVED HIM GRACIOUSLY, BUT DECLARED THAT GOA WAS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ICEM PARTICIPATION IN THE OPTION PROGRAM. ARLIA SAID THAT HE KNEW THE USG AND US EMBASSY HAD PUT KOZAK UP TO PUSHING ICEM, BUT THAT GOA HAD ALREADY INFORMED THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR BY LETTER OF ITS DECISION AGAINST ICEM PARTICIPATION. (MININT HARGUINDEGUY'S MAY 3 LETTER TO AMBASSADOR CASTRO WAS VAGUE AND REFERRED ONLY TO THE UNHCR. ICEM WAS NOT MENTIONED IN THE LETTER. SEE REF B.) ARLIA SAID GOA'S DECISION HAD ALSO BEEN COMMUNICATED DIRECTLY TO LOCAL ICEM DIRECTOR ROMAGNOLI IN BUENOS AIRES BY A MININT DEPUTY MINISTER AND GAIN DIRECTLY TO ICEM HEADQUARTERS IN GENEVA BY ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR MARTINEZ, CURRENTLY PARTICIPATING IN TALKS AT THE ILO. GOA HAD MADE ITS NEGATIVE DECISION VERY CLEAR AND THERE SHOULD BE NO MORE REASON FOR KOZAK OR THE USG TO PUSH THE MATTER FURTHER. ARLIA THEN TOLD KOZAK HE WAS WELCOME TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE AT THE INTERIOR MINISTRY IF HE WISHED BUT THAT DECISION HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE AT THE TOP LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND WAS FIRM.

3. AT SUBSEQUENT DEBRIEFING WITH EMBASSY, KOZAK DECIDED TO TRY TO SEE COL. SAN ROMAN ON HIS OWN TO INTRODUCE HIMSELF AND EXPLAIN ICEM'S ROLE AS A SERVICE ORGANIZATION. HE HAD IN HAND AN ICEM CABLE INDICATING THAT THE FEDERAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAD REQUESTED ICEM ASSISTANCE IN THE RESETTLEMENT OF 144 QUALIFIED OPTION CASES IN THE FRG. (SEE REF C.) KOZAK SAID HE MIGHT RAISE THE GERMAN REQUEST WITH SAN ROMAN TO SHOW HOW EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WERE REQUESTING ICEM ASSISTANCE AND TO MAKE THE POINT THAT ICEM WISHED TO BE HELPFUL BUT WOULD ONLY ACT WITH GOA APPROVAL. KOZAK WAS UNABLE TO ARRANGE MEETING WITH SAN ROMAN AND DEPARTED BUENOS AIRES ON JUNE 3.

4. KOZAK TOLD EMBASSY HE BELIEVED GOA POSITION WAS SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR TO PRECLUDE FURTHER ICEM APPROACHES AT PRESENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE INTERESTED WESTERN EMBASSIES SHOULD PREPARE A JOINT WRITTEN APPEAL FOR ICEM PARTICIPATION TO BE PRESENTED AT HIGHEST LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO TRY TO GET GOA TO RECONSIDER ICEM. EMBASSY AGREED TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH OTHER INTERESTED EMBASSIES AND JOINTLY CONSIDER FUTURE STEPS.

5. COMMENT: FURTHER PRESSURE ON GOA REGARDING THE ICEM QUESTION WOULD APPEAR TO BE UNADVANTAGEOUS AT THIS POINT. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THE GERMAN REQUEST AND PERHAPS FUTURE EUROPEAN APPEALS FOR ICEM ASSISTANCE MIGHT PROVIDE A FUTURE OPENING TO REVIEW GOA'S DECISION CONCERNING ICEM. WE STRONGLY FEEL THAT OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD JOIN US AS EQUAL PARTNERS IN REOPENING THE ISSUE. EMBOFF WILL CONTINUE PERIODICALLY TO "TAKE THE TEMPERTURE" OF GOA SENTIMENT ON ICEM IN OUR INFORMAL TALKS WITH GOA OFFICIALS. WE WILL ALSO MAINTAIN

Judy - action is HA, are you doing this? RC

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Roberto: yes - we are doing this - I don't accept Arlia as final word - for GOA

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CONTACTS WITH OTHER INTERESTED EMBASSIES AND SEEK TO STREAMLINE AND COORDINATE OUR RIGHT OF OPTION INFORMATION.

6. FYI: TO DATE, RELEASES FROM PEN HAVE PROCEEDED STEADILY BUT SLOWLY. SINCE LAST CHRISTMAS 49 PERSONS HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN THE PRESS AS AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY UNDER THE REVISED RIGHT OF OPTION PROCEDURES. THE AMBASSADOR HAS RECEIVED HIGH-LEVEL INDICATIONS THAT THE PACE OF RELEASES OF DETAINEES FROM PEN STATUS WILL INCREASE IN THE UPCOMING MONTHS, PARTICULARLY ONCE THE WORLD CUP GAMES ARE OVER.

7. RELEASE FROM PEN CAN TAKE SEVERAL FORMS: THE DETAINEE CAN BE REMANDED TO THE COURTS FOR TRIAL, PLACED UNDER HOUSE ARREST OR IN PAROLE STATUS, GRANTED AN EXPULSION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY UNDER THE RIGHT OF OPTION, OR RELEASED OUTRIGHT. AS WE CANNOT PREDICT HOW UPCOMING PEN RELEASES WILL BE EFFECTED, WE CANNOT ESTIMATE HOW MANY PERSONS MIGHT EVENTUALLY BE AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE UNDER THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM. THE MECHANISMS FOR GRANTING THE OPTION ARE CUMBERSOME AND, AS HAS BEEN REPORTED EARLIER, APPROVAL MUST BE GRANTED BY A NUMBER OF AUTHORITIES, INCLUDING CORPS COMMANDERS, WHO MAY NOT OR WILL NOT APPRECIATE THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF RESOLVING PEN CASES.

8. HESITATION TO SYSTEMATIC RELEASES OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF PEN DETAINEES UNDER RIGHT OF OPTION DERIVE FROM A CERTAIN FEAR OF REPEATING WHAT OFFICIALS PERCEIVE AS THE ERRORS OF THE PAST, WHEN PEN DETAINEES IN 1977-1978 WERE AUTOMATICALLY GRANTED THE OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY AND MANY FILTERED BACK INTO THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT IN ARGENTINA. ANOTHER REASON IS GOA'S GREAT FEAR OF PERMITTING PERSONS WHO THEY BELIEVE WILL JOIN IN AN OVERSEAS SMEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARGENTINA. A THIRD IS A STRONG FEELING, MAINLY AMONG THOSE ENGAGED IN THE ANTI-SUBVERSIVE BATTLE, THAT THE DETAINEES WERE CAPTURED AT GREAT COST AND THEY SHOULD SIMPLY NOT BE ALLOWED TO GO FREE AS LONG AS TERRORISM EXISTS EITHER WITHIN OR OUTSIDE ARGENTINA. ONE THEORY IS THAT PEN CASES WOULD BE BEST RESOLVED WITH RELEASES OR TRANSFER OF LEGAL STATUS WITHIN ARGENTINA, SO AS NOT TO HAVE IRRESPONSIBLE AND/OR DANGEROUS RIGHT OF OPTION EXILES GROUPS BEYOND GOA CONTROL OR VIGILANCE.

9. THERE ARE PEOPLE WITHIN THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT WHO BELIEVE THAT MANY OF THOSE HELD UNDER PEN WITHOUT CHARGE WERE ONLY MARGINALLY INVOLVED IN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AND SHOULD BE FREED UNCONDITIONALLY. HOW SUCCESSFUL THESE ELEMENTS WILL BE IN PERSUADING THOSE WHO HAVE THE REAL POWER TO RELEASE OR IMPRISON PERSONS UNDER PEN--THE CORPS COMMANDERS, OTHER POWERFUL MILITARY AND POLICE OFFICIALS WHO HAVE A SAY IN THE PROCESS--TO SET GO WILL DETERMINE THE SPEED WITH WHICH THE PEN CASES WILL BE RESOLVED. IN THE UPCOMING MONTHS, WE WILL BE ABLE TO SEE WHETHER THE HIGH-LEVEL ASSURANCES GIVEN THE AMBASSADOR AND THE MID-LEVEL OFFICIALS' STATED DESIRE TO FIND WAYS TO REDUCE THE PEN POPULATION IN FACT TAKE HOLD.

10. IN THE MEANTIME, THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO PROCESS RIGHT OF OPTION CASES ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS AND ADD WHAT PERSUASIVE POWERS IT CAN TO STIMULATE GOA TO COME TO GRIPS WITH ITS HEAVY BURDEN OF UNRESOLVED PEN CASES.

11. EMBASSY PERCEIVES NO OBJECTION TO KOZAK VISIT TO WASHINGTON (REFS D AND E) BUT OBSERVES THAT GOA HAS LEFT LITTLE ROOM FOR MISUNDERSTANDING IN ITS PRESENT DECISION ON ICEM.
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E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: COMMITTEE OF ARGENTINE WOMEN VISIT AMBASSADOR YOUNG

1. AMBASSADOR YOUNG RECEIVED A COMMITTEE OF THREE ARGENTINE WOMEN, CURRENTLY RESIDING IN EXILE IN MEXICO CITY, ON JUNE 6. THEY PLAN TO GO TO WASHINGTON JUNE 7, AND RETURN TO NEW YORK CITY ABOUT JUNE 16 FOR A FEW DAYS, AND THEN RETURN TO MEXICO CITY. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S WASHINGTON OFFICE IS HANDLING THEIR APPOINTMENTS WHILE THERE. THEIR HOPE IS TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT OR MRS. CARTER. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO MEET TOGETHER WITH THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE CHILEAN WOMEN CURRENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES ON A SIMILAR MISSION IF SUCH A COORDINATED APPROACH WOULD BE HELPFUL. THE WOMEN EMPHASIZED REPEATEDLY THAT THEIRS WAS A NON-PARTISAN, HUMANITARIAN MISSION, AND THAT THEY CAME AS "WOMEN: MOTHERS AND WIVES," FREE FROM ANY POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

2. THE WOMEN ASKED AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO REQUEST THE EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES TO BE ESPECIALLY VIGILENT THE NEXT FEW THURSDAYS BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES MAY ARREST MORE OF THE WOMEN WHO GATHER EACH WEEK ON THAT DAY IN THE PLAZA DE MAYO IN BUENOS AIRES. ALSO, THEY ASKED THE AMBASSADOR TO REQUEST THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO RECEIVE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THIS GROUP, IN BUENOS AIRES, AND PROMISED TO FURNISH US WITH THE NAME OF SUCH A PERSON WHO COULD REPRESENT THE WOMEN IN ARGENTINA.

3. THE WOMEN ARE ALSO VERY CONCERNED ABOUT A RESURGENCE OF REPRESSION FOLLOWING THE WORLD SOCCER CUP MATCHES.

4. THE THREE WOMEN ALSO MET LATER JUNE 6 WITH ED MEZVINSKY, THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE UN. YOUNG
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS - AMBASSADOR MEETS WITH STOCK MARKET BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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1. Ambassador lunched yesterday (June 8) with Board of Directors of Buenos Aires Stock Market. As honored guest, Ambassador anticipated a friendly and informal discourse from such varying subjects as weather to the World Cup.

2. Before the Ambassador gulped his first dry cracker or tasted his semi-rancid tomato juice, Dr. Alberto Servente, President of the Board, exploded with the traditional diatribe of Argentina's efforts in the "dirty war" of years past and how misunderstood they were by USG. He continued his discordant rendition, followed by others, about how IFIs were becoming pawns of American political chicanery. As if it were his last breath, Servente stated that Argentina's image in the United States was being unfairly and negatively portrayed.

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3. Ambassador responded that he found himself between the devil and the deep blue sea, but nevertheless appreciated their invitation for him to listen to their frustrations (inquietudes). Ambassador explained to them that period of emotionalism should be a thing of the past. That they as businessmen apparently were deeply concerned about Argentina's image abroad. It was further explained that the burden was on Argentina to reverse that negative image.

4. Ambassador expressed deep concern in the U. S. over thousands of prisoners festering in Argentine prisons without charges. That unless some solution was found to this dilemma, the image problem would continue. It was made clear that unless Argentina returned to "rule of law", foreign investors would by-pass the area. Emphasis was made by Ambassador of the necessity to reinstitute a strong judicial system. There was no doubt that it was up to Argentina to pursue its own course.

5. After a complete rehashing of the subject, Ambassador was told of their admiration for the U. S. They then gave lip service to the concept of human rights. Their parting salvo was that Argentina's fate was totally dependent on the U.S. The hosts painfully admitted that the ball was now in their court and it was up to Argentina to follow through with positive acts in the field of human rights. It all ended in a spirit of friendship.

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FOR HA FROM LOWMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SREF XM
SUBJECT: ICEM INVOLVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICAN PAROLE

1. IN DISCUSSIONS AT ICEM HEADQUARTERS WITH LOWMAN, ROBERTO KOZAK, ICEM REP SANTIAGO, SAID GOA HAD MADE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT THEY DID NOT WISH ICEM TO INVOLVE ITSELF IN PROCESSING DETAINEE DEPARTURES UNDER RIGHT OF OPTION. KOZAK SAID ORIGINAL LETTER TO AMERICAN EMBASSY HAD REFERRED ONLY TO INVOLVEMENT OF UNHCR. THEREFORE, HE DECIDED TO ACT AS IF NO PROBLEM EXISTED AND PROCEEDED TO CALL AT MFA TO ANNOUNCE HIS PRESENCE. IN DESCRIBING HIS FUNCTIONS, HE TOOK CARE TO STRESS THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES FAVORED BY GOA. HOWEVER, WHEN HE MENTIONED PROCESSING OF DETAINEES, HE WAS TOLD GOA WANTED NO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED, THAT GOA THOUGHT THEY HADMADE THIS CLEAR AND TRUSTED THIS WOULD BE THE LAST CONVERSATION ON THE SUBJECT. KOZAK, AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL, DOES NOT PLAN TO RAISE IT AGAIN.

2. KOZAK, NOTING GOA IS VERY SENSITIVE TO THE PROGRAM, BELIEVES THEY DO NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND THE NEED OF A COORDINATING AGENT. HE BELIEVES EMBASSIES SHOULD SIMPLY PROCEED ON THEIR OWN AND, SOMETIME LATER, RETURN TO THE GOA WITH A RENEWED EXPLANATION OF THE PROBLEMS WITH WHICH ICEM COULD HELP.

3. IF INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMISSION REP, FRANK AZEVEDO WERE PLACED UNDER CONTRACT AS A JOINT VOLAG REP, KOZAK THOUGHT THIS (OR A SIMILAR ARRANGEMENT) COULD GIVE HIM A SUFFICIENTLY QUASI-OFFICIAL COLORATION THAT HIS ASSISTANCE WITH THE PROCESSSING OF DETAINEES MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. FOR AZEVEDO'S PROTECTION, HOWEVER, SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT SHOULD NO DOUBT FIRST BE CLEARED WITH THE GOA. VANDEN HEUVEL

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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4469

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: ARGENTINE MOTHERS' GROUPS

REF: (A) STATE 145584, (B) USUN 02328 NOTAL

1. EMBASSY HAS LITTLE MORE BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE THREE WOMEN THAN THAT REPORTED IN REFTEL A. FERNANDO VACA NARVAJA IS NORTORIOUS HERE AS A TOP MONTONERO MILITANT, RESPONSIBLE FOR BOMB ATTACKS ON POLICE, POLITICIANS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, BANKS AND CLUBS, MURDER, JAIL BREAKS, THEFT, AND OTHER CRIMES. IT WOULD BE POORLY VIEWED BY MUCH OF THE ARGENTINE POPULATION AND PROBABLY MISUNDERSTOOD HERE TO RECEIVE AT A HIGH LEVEL A GROUP INCLUDING THE MOTHER OF A PERSON LARGELY SEEN AS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONSIDERABLE SUFFERING AND CRIMINAL ACTS IN ARGENTINA. THE CARE OF WOLA AND AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO AVOID SPONSORING THE GROUP IS INDICATIVE OF SOME HESITATION TO BE CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH COSOFAM.

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2. EMBASSY IS AND HAS BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE MOTHERS' GROUP FROM THE PLAZA DE MAYO FOR

SOME TIME (REFTEL B). REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE GROUP HAVE MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR, SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE, UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM, ASSISTANT SECRETARIES TODMAN AND DERIAN AND VISITING CODELS AND ARE REGULARLY INTRODUCED TO OTHER INTERESTED VISITORS FROM THE US AND ABROAD. WE REGULARLY FOLLOW THE MOTHERS' THURSDAY GATHERINGS. YESTERDAY (JUNE 8) WELL OVER 100 PEOPLE, INCLUDING WOMEN, MEN AND CHILDREN, GATHERED AT THE PLAZA DE MAYO BEFORE A LARGE CONTINGENT OF PRESS PHOTOGRAPHERS AND JOURNALISTS FROM ABROAD HERE TO COVER THE WORLD CUP. (RECENTLY, THE MOTHERS HAVE NUMBERED AROUND 150 AT THE THURSDAY VIGIL.) AFTER SPEAKING WITH THE FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, THE GROUP MARCHED BY TWOS DOWN THE MAIN SHOPPING MALL ON FLORIDA STREET UNTIL ONE OF THE LEADERS REPORTEDLY HAD AN ALTERCATION WITH A POLICEWOMAN AND SOME MEN DRESSED IN PLAIN CLOTHES. A POLICEMAN IN UNIFORM APPEARED AND ORDERED THE WOMAN TO BE LEFT ALONE AND THE CROWD DISPERSED, REPORTEDLY WITHOUT ARRESTS OR FURTHER INCIDENTS, ACCORDING TO THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD.

3. COMMENT: THE MOTHERS HAVE TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE NUMBERS HAVE RECENTLY SWELLED BECAUSE THEY ARE SURE THE POLICE WILL NOT TAKE ACTION AGAINST THEM DURING THE WORLD CUP MATCHES.
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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: ABDUCTION OF FEDERICO JORGE TATTER

1. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED REQUEST FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING FOLLOWING CASE FROM SENATOR CHURCH:

NAME: FEDERICO JORGE TATTER
DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH - DECEMBER 8, 1922, PARAGUAY

ID NUMBER - CI 4304500

DESCRIPTION OF DISAPPEARANCE- ABDUCTED OCTOBER 15, 1976 FROM HIS HOME [redacted] BY PEOPLE CLAIMING TO BE MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES.

B-6

2. PLEASE PRESENT CASE TO FOWG. VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: LIMDIS
Document Number: 1978BUENOS04599

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

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[redacted]

6/14/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04599 142203Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSC-05
SP-02 L-01 HA-02 /040 W
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R 142105Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6133
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4599

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, AR VE
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF AMB. HECTOR MANUEL HIDALGO SOLA

REFTEL CARACAS 5451

1. MRS. HECTOR MANUEL HIDALGO SOLA, WIFE OF FORMER GOA AMBASSADOR TO VENEZUELA, CALLED ON AMBASSADOR CASTRO YESTERDAY (JUNE 13) ON A MOMENT OF DESPERATION. SHE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SON MARCEL AND A TEEN-AGE DAUGHTER.

2. MRS SOLA REPEATED WHAT SON, MARCEL, HAD TOLD AMEMBASSY CARACAS (REFTEL CARACAS 5451). SHE WAS VERY EMOTIONAL, AS WERE CHILDREN, DESCRIBING DISAPPEARANCE OF HUSBAND. MRS. SOLA STATED BY THIS TIME SHE CALLED ON PRESIDENT VIDELA SEVERAL TIMES. SUPPOSEDLY PRESIDENT WAS SYMPATHETIC BUT COULD NOT GIVE HER ANY ENCOURAGEMENT. SHE HAS ALSO CALLED ON MININT HARGUIN-DEGUY, GENERAL MENENDEZM, GENERAL SUAREZ MASON, THE PAPAL NUNCIO, AND ANYONE OF INFLUENCE IN GOA. HER OPINION WAS THAT ALL WERE EXTREMELY COURTEOUS, BUT ALL PROFESSED IGNORANCE ON FACTS OF HUSBAND'S DISAPPEARANCE.

3. MRS. SOLA DISAPPROVED OF TOTAL SILENCE THAT BLANKETED
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04599 142203Z

QUESTION OF DISAPPEARANCES. SHE SAID SHE COULDN'T ENDURE THIS SITUATION ANY LONGER. IT WAS HER INTENT TO SPEAK OUT

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LOUD AND CLEAR AGAINST GOA. AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED SHE MUST AT ALL TIMES REMEMBER NOT TO DO ANY ACT THAT WOULD TEND TO JEOPARDIZE HER SAFETY AND THOSE OF HER CHILDREN. THE ADAGE STILL HOLDS THAT "AN HONEST CONFESSION IS GOOD FOR THE SOUL". IT SEEMED THAT AFTER MRS. SOLA HAD RELAYED HER TROUBLES TO AMBASSADOR, SHE SETTLED DOWN TO A MORE RATIONAL APPROACH. WHEN SHE LEFT, MRS. SOLA WAS IN A MUCH HAPPIER FRAME OF MIND.

4. MRS. SOLA'S PARTING STATEMENT WAS THAT HER NEXT CONTACT WOULD BE OAS, THROUGH THE GOOD AUSPICES OF OAS GENSECT ORFILA, AN ARGENTINE.
CASTRO

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6/14/78

L 288

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04595 01 OF 04 142053Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 INR-10
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R 142002Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6126
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 4595

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA: PANAMA FOR RSS

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E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS ASEC, PINS, PINT, SHIM, AR
SUBJECT SUMMARY OF TERRORIST AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

BEGIN [redacted]

1. THIS REPORT GIVES A SUMMARY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO US THE BY SECURITY FORCES DURING THE MONTH OF MAY 1978.

2. MAY 3 - THE RESIDENCE OF DR PABLO AMARO DE LA VEGA LOCATED AT ANDRES PASOS 182 IN PARANA WAS ATTACKED BY TERRORISTS WILL SMALL ARMS FIRE. NO ONE WAS INJURED. DR. DE LA VEGA IS CURRENTLY ACTING AS SECRETARY TO THE FEDERAL COURT OF APPEALS IN PARANA.
- SECURITY FORCES HAVE OBTAINED A COPY OF A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "FOR NATIONAL UNITED IN THE DIRECTION OF A NEW RENOVATED DEMOCRACY." THIS PAMPHLET ANALYZES PRESIDENT VIDELA'S MESSAGE OF MAR 29, 1978 AND IS PRESENTLY BEING
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04595 01 OF 04 142053Z

UTILIZED BY PARTISAN ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.
MAY 5- A PAMPHLET BOMB WENT OFF IN THE RAILWAY POLYCLINIC.

IT CONTAINED MONTONERO LITERATURE. AT THE SAME TIME, AS EMPLOYEE OF THE CLINIC WAS INJURED WHEN HE PICKED UP AN ENVELOPE WHICH WAS BOOBY TRAPPED AND EXPLODED.
MAY 9- RAILWAY UNITS IN SAN JUAN PROVINCE RECEIVED A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "FUTURE CHAIN FOR THE MOBILIZATION OF THE RAILWAY GUERRILLAS AND OF THE PUBLIC AT LARGE." THE PAMPHLET WAS PREPARED BY MONTONERO UNITS IN BUENOS AIRES, SANTA FE, CORDOBA DND TUCUMAN. THE TEXT CRITICIZED THE ACTIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVT, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO ECONOMIC POLICIES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON SALARIED WORKERS. IT ENCOURAGED RAILWAY WORKERS TO JOIN THE MONTONERO MOVEMENT AND TO DISCREDIT GOVT AUTHORITIES DURING THE WORLD CUP.
MAY 9- MR. ENRIQUE BENARES, PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT, WAS ATTACKED IN FRONT OF HIS RESIDENCE BY MONTONERO ELEMENTS. HE WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED IN THE LEFT SHOULDER. MR. BENARES IS AN ACCOUNTANT FOR PEUGEOT, CITROEN AND LOSSIDOR. SEVERAL DAYS LATER, MONTONERO ELEMENTS CONTACTED HIM AND TOLD HIM THAT HE HAD BEEN LUCKY AND THEY WERE GOING TO KILL HIM IF HE DID NOT LEAVE ARGENTINA. UNDER THE RECOMMENDATION OF CHIEF OF FEDERAL POLICE COMISARIO GENERAL OJEDA, MR. BENARES CAME TO THE EMBASSY TO APPLY FOR A SHORT TERM VISA FOR THE US IN ORDER TO RECEIVE ADDITIONAL MEDICAL TREATMENT AND TO REMOVE HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY FROM ARGENTINA UNTIL THE END OF THE WORLD CUP.
- ON THE SAME DATE, PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED IN THE AREA OF CARRODILLA, MENDOZA PROVINCE. PAMPHLETS WERE ENTITLED "UNITY FOR THE FIT." PAMPHLETS WERE AUTHORED BY THE COMMUNIST-MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, FORMERLY VANGUARDIA COMUNISTA.
- ON THE SAME DATE, A BOMB WAS DETONATED AT THE TEATRO
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 04595 01 OF 04 142053Z

GENERAL SAN MARTIN IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. THE BOMB WAS IN A PEUGEOT 504 WHICH HAD BEEN STOLEN SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE AND PARKED IN THE UNDERGROUND GARAGE. THE FEDERAL POLICE EXPLOSIVE BRIGADE RESPONDED TO DEACTIVATE THE BOMB BUT IT DETONATED. TWO FEDERAL POLICE OFFICERS WERE KILLED. THE EXPLOSIVE CHARGE WAS 3-4 KILOS, DID CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE TO THE AREA AND ALSO SERIOUSLY WOUNDED ONE YOUNG CHILD. THIS ACT WAS ATTRIBUTED TO A PRT/ERP SUPPORT GROUP RECENTLY ACTIVATED.
MAY 10- AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS PLACED UNDERNEATH THE VEHICLE OF SUBCOMISARIO VALVERDE OF THE RAILWAY SUPERINTENDENCY. THE VEHICLE WAS PARKED IN FRONT OF HIS HOME

IN VILLA MADERO. THE EXPLOSION CASED MATERIAL DAMAGE.
MAY 11- UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS FIED SHOTS FROM A VEHICLE AT A GOVT UTILITIES BUILDING LOCATED IN SANTA FE. THERE WERE NO INJURIES AND THE ATTACKERS ESCAPED.
MAY 12- FEDERAL POLICE DISCOVERED MONTONERO LITERATURE IN A VEHICLE AT MITRE AND SAVALLOS. THE LITERATURE WAS ENTITLED "RESISTANCIA MONTONEROS."
- ON THE SAME DATE, THE FIRE DEPT. RESPONDED TO A BURNING TRUCK AT LEYVA AND AYACHUCHO STS. IN THE TRUCK WERE MONTONERO DOCUMENTS TAKING CREDIT FOR AN ATTACK ON A POLICE VEHICL ON 12-9-76.
- ON THE SAME DATE THERE WAS AN ATTACK ON THE TRUCK OF PARICCI CO. BY PERSONS USING MOLOTOV COCKTAILS. IT IS UNCERTAIN IF THIS WAS AN ACT BY TERRORIST OR LABOR ELEMENTS.
- ON THE SAME DATE, POLICE PERSONNEL DISCOVERED MONTONERO POSTERS ON THE DOOR OF THE MATERNITY SECTION IN A CENTRAL HOSPITAL. THE LITERATURE HAD THE SEAL OF THE "RESISTANCIA MONTONERO."
MAY 14- TERRORISTS IN A FORD PICKUP TRUCK ATTACKS FEDERAL POLICE AGENT CARLOS VANASI, USING MACHINE PISTOLS. THE POLICE AGENT WAS UNINJURED AND THE ATTACKERS ESCAPED.
MAY 16- MR. JOSE MAIZ, OWNER OF SUPERMARKET MAIZ IN MENDOZA REPORTED THAT WHEN HE OPENED HIS BUSINESS THAT MORNING HE DISCOVERED A WARNING NOTICE THAT THE MONTONEROS [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 04595 01 OF 04 142053Z

HAD PLANTED A BOMB IN THE PREMISES.
MAY 17- AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS DETONATED AT A SUB-STATION OF THE WATER AND ENERGY COMMISSION IN SANTA FE, CAUSING MATERIAL DAMAGE.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04595 02 OF 04 142124Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 INR-10
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R 142002Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6127
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 4595

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA: PANAMA FOR RSS

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

- ON THE SAME DATE, AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS PLACED ON THE WATER AND ENERGY BUILDING IN ROSARIO. BOTH ACTS ARE ATTRIBUTED TO MONTONEROS.
- ON THE SAME DATE, POLICE PERSONNEL DISCOVERED IN A TRANSPORT COMPANY, ZEUS SRL, A LARGE PACKAGE WHICH HAD BEEN THERE FOR ONE YEAR AND HAD NOT BEEN PICKED UP. PACKAGE CONTAINED ELEMENTS FOR MAKING EXPLOSIVES.
MAY 18- EXPLOSIVE BRIGADE OF ROSARIO REMOVED AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE FROM THE STELLA MARIS SCHOOL IN ROSARIO.
MAY 19- POLICE DISCOVERED PAMPHLETS IN THE SUPERMAKET AT MITRE AND GENERAL PAZ IN THE CAPITAL OF MENDOZA. THE PAMPHLETS HAD A PICTURE OF CHE GUEVARA AND THE SLOGANS "FOR AN AMERICAN FREE OF FASCIST BOOTS." FOR THE VICTORY ALWAYS." SIMILAR PAMPHLETS WERE FOUND IN THE PLAZA SAN MARTIN IN THE CAPITAL CITY.
MAY 22- A BOMB EXPLODED IN THE PREMISES OF FATE S.A., LOCATED AT SAN MARTIN AND ITUZAINGO STS. IN ROSARIO. THE EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS MADE OF 50 GRAMS OF EXOGENE.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 04595 02 OF 04 142124Z

- ON THE SAME DATE, THE DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES IN ENTRE RIOS RECEIVED PAMPHLETS ENTITLED "THE MOVEMENT." THE PAMPHLETS DISCREDITED THE PRESENT GOVT AND WERE AUTHORED BY THE MONTONERO-PERONIST-MOVEMENT.
MAY 24- A BOMB EXPLODED ON THE RAILWAY TRACKS OF THE MITRE LINE NEAR ROSARIO. ON THE SAME DATE, THE UNION TRANSVARIOUS AUTOMOTIVES OF TUCUMAN RECVIED FROM THE WORKERS BRANCH OF THE MPM, A COPY OF A LETTER WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY SENT TO THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY AND ARGENTINA STATING THE MONTONERO POSITION REGARDING THE ASSASSINATION OF ALDO MORO.
MAY 25- IN AN ART GALLERY LOCATED AT CONGRSSO IN THE

FEDERAL CAPITAL, ERP SYMBOLS WERE PAINTED ON THE WALL.
ON THE SAME DATE, IN THE PLAZA INDEPENDENCIA SIMILAR
FLAGS WERE FOUND SEVERAL MINUTES BEFORE AN OFFICIAL
CEREMONY.
MAY 26- SECURITY FORCES COLLECTES SUBVERSIVE MATERIAL
THAT HAD BEEN DISTRIBUTED IN THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICES
IN THE PARANA REGION.
- ONTHE SAME DATE, THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH RECEIVED
FROM SAN DIEGO, CA A PAMPHLET ENTITLED, "MPM BRANCH OF
PROFESSIONAL, INTELLECTUAL AND ARGENTINE ARTISTS
OF THE MPM." THE PAMPHLET MENTIONED THE DEVELOPMENT OF
A PROFESSIONAL AND INTELLECTUAL BRANCH OF THE MPM.
MAY 28- NEAR FLORIDA, A SUBURB OF BUENOS AIRES, MIMEO-
GRAPHED PAMPHLETS WERE FOUND ENTITLED "ALERTA TUCUMANOS."
ALERTA ARGENTINOS," AND "ALERTA MONTONEROS." OTHER
PAMPHLETS WERE FOUND IN THE NATIONAL UNIV. OF TUCUMAN.
MAY 29- IN LA PLATA, MONTONERO STICKERS WERE RECEIVED.
THEY WERE THE SAME AS THE 7 X 11 COM. UTILIZED TO ADVER-
TIZE THE WORLD CUP. THEY HAVE THE INSCRIPTION OF THE
WORLD CUP GAUCHO AS A BACKGROUND. THE GAUCHO HAS A
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 04595 02 OF 04 142124Z

LANCE IN HIS RIGHT HAND WITH THE FOLLOWING INSCRIPTION:
"STICK IT TO VIDELA, THIS GAME IS WON BY THE PEOPLE."
THE AUTHORS WERE THE MONTONEROS.
MAY 29- THERE WAS AN EXPLOSION ON THE BRIDGE OF ROUTE 9
IN TUCUMAN. THE EXPLOSIVE DEVICE CONSISTED OF 4-5 KILOS
OF PLASTIQUE. THERE WERE NO INJURIED. THERE WERE
MONTONERO SLOGANS PAINTED ON THE RAILING OF THE BRIDGE.
MAY 29-- SECURITY FORCES STATED THAT MONTONEROS WOULD BE
MAKING WIDE USE OF EXPLOSIVES DURING THE WORLD CUP. ONE
METHOD WOULD BE TO PLANT EXPLOSIVES INSIDE OF FIRE EX-
TINGUISHERS SIMILAR TO THE TYPE USED FOR AUTOS.
- ON THE SAME DATE, THEY ALSO REPORTED THAT A BOOK
ENTITLED "MOVEMENT 5", AN ORGAN OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL
OF THE MONTONEROS, WAS RECEIVED IN AN ENGINEERING AND
CHEMICAL SCHOOL IN ARGENTINA. THE BOOK WAS SENT FROM
NEW YORK AND PREPARED IN JANUARY 78. THERE WERE ALSO
PAMPHLETS FROM THE PROFESSIONAL, INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC
BRANCH OF THE MONTONERO MOVMENT.
MAY 30- A FARMHOUSE LOCATED AT KM 450 ON ROUTE 11 WAS TOTALLY
DESTROYED, AS THE RESULT OF AN EXPLOSION.
THE PROPERTY BELONGED TO SAMUEL GLUE, A BUSINESSMAN.
THE EXPLOSIVE DEVICE HAD BEEN PLACED ON THE SIDE OF THE
FARMHOUSE.

MAY 30- A DELEGATION UOCRA (CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA) IN SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO AND THE LIGHT AND POWER UNION OF THE SAME CITY RECEIVED BY MAIL A COPY OF THE LETTER SENT BY THE MONTONEROS TO THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY.
MAY 31- IN SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO, A PAMPHLET WAS RECEIVED BY MAIL FROM THE MONTONEROS OUTLINING THEIR POSITION CONCERNING THE WORLD SOCCER CUP.
- IN THE CITY OF PARANA LETTERS WERE RECEIVED BY LABOR OFFICIALS CONCERNING THE COMMUNICATION SENT BY THE MONTONEROS TO THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY.
MAY 31- MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED AT THE INTERSECTION OF RAMON FALCON AND ARAUJO STS. OF THE FEDERAL

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 04595 02 OF 04 142124Z

CAPITAL. THE PAMPHLETS CONTAINED INFORMATION FROM THE MONTONERO NEWS NUMBER 11 OF THE MONTHS OF MAY/JUNE. THERE WAS A SPECIAL EDITION BY TULIO VALENZUELA REGARDING PLOT BY THE ARGENTINE MILITARY GOVT TO ASSASSINATE MARIO FIRMENICH AND INCLUDING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE RIOT AT VILLA DEVOTO JAIL. END CONFIDENTIAL

3. BEGIN [redacted]

RSO COMMENT: RSO RECENTLY MET WITH MEMBERS OF THE ARGENTINE SECURITY SERVICE TO REVIEW REPORTS OF PRT/ERP

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04595 03 OF 04 152023Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 INR-10
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R 142002Z JUN 78
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6128
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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
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[redacted]SECTION 3 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 4595

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 7 LINE 4 GARBLED)

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA: PANAMA FOR RSS

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ACTIVITIES. SOURCE STATED THAT THE PRT/ERP STILL RETAIN A LIMITED ACTION CAPABILITY IN ARGENTINA. AT THE PRESENT TIME THEY ARE TRYING TO REBUILD POLITICAL ELEMENTS OF THEIR ORGANIZATION BUT THEY DONT HAVE SUFFICIENT SUPPORT CADRE TO CARRY OUT SERIOUS POLITICAL OPERATIONS. NORMALLY SUPPORT PERSONNEL WERE NOT DIRECT MEMBERS OF PRT AND ERP BUT SYMPATHIZERS DRAWN FROM THE GENERAL SYMPATHETIC MASSES. UNDER THE PRESENT CRISIS, THE ONLY SUPPORT PERSONNEL AVAILABLE MUST BE DRAWN FROM PRT/ERP RANKS.

4. SOURCE STATED THAT PRESENT PRT/ERP STRENGTH IN ARGENTINE IS APPROXIMATELY 150 WITH AN ADDITIONAL SMALL SUPPORT CADRE. THIS IS DOWN FROM THEIR PEAK STRENGTH OF 3500 IN THE MID 70S. OF THESE 3500, APPROXIMATELY 1300 WERE ERP COMBATANTS. THEY HAD A STRONG SUPPORT CADRE SYSTEM USED FOR LOGISTICS, PROPAGANDA AND RECRUITMENT. UNDER THE ORIGINAL PLAN, ARGENTINA HAD BEEN

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 04595 03 OF 04 152023Z

DIVIDED INTO OPERATIONAL REGIONS, INCLUDING BUENOS AIRES REGION, THE PARANA REGION WITH ITS INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES, THE CORDOBA REGION, ROSARIO REGION AND THE TUCUMAN REGION. THESE REGIONS WERE DIVIDED INTO ZONES AND SEVERAL ZONES INCLUDING SALTA DND NEUQUEN WERE SEPARATE FROM REGIONAL DIRECTION. THERE WAS ALSO A SPECIAL AREA AND COMPANY IN TUCUMAN,
THAT WAS UNDER THE DIRECT COMMAND OF BUENOS AIRES. EACH REGION HAD A MILITARY STRUCTURE WITH MILITARY COMPANIES. THE COMPANIES CONSISTED OF APPROXIMATELY 70-90 PERSONS. THEY WERE DIVIDED INTO SQUADS AND THE SQUADS DIVIDED INTO CELLS OF 3-6 MEN. AT PRESENT, THIS STRUCTURE NO LONGER EXISTS. INDIVIDUAL ERP AND PRT MEMBERS ARE WORKING IN SMALL UNITS. HOWEVER, THE OVERALL VERTICAL DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT REMAINS STRONG, BUT THE CELLS WORK WITH LITTLE INTERFACE.

5. SOURCE STATED THERE HAVE BEEN NO MEETINGS OF THE

PRT/ERP NATIONAL CONGRESS OR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SINCE ITS LAST MEETING IN SAO PAULO IN FEBRUARY 1977. THE LAST MAJOR MEETING IN ARGENTINA WAS IN MORENO IN FEB 76 AND THAT INCLUDED PRT/ERP, TUPAMAROS, BOLIVIAN TERRORISTS AND THE CHILEAN MIR. THAT MEETING WAS RAIDED BY SECURITY FORCES AND THE ERP LOST THE CHIEF OF THEIR INTELLIGENCE STRUCTURE. EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE ERP ATTEMPTED TO INFILTRATE TWO LEADERS BACK INTO THE COUNTRY BUT THEY WERE CAPTURED.

6. SOURCE STATED THAT SINCE ROBERTO SANTUCHOS DEATH ON 7-19-76 THE PRINCIPAL PRT/ERP LEADERSHIP HAS LEFT THE COUNTRY AND OPERATE FROM ABROAD. THEIR MAIN EFFORTS HAVE BEEN AIMED AT OBTAINING SOLIDARITY WITH MARXIST GROUPS IN EUROPE. THEY ARE STILL OPERATING [redacted]

[redacted]

WITH THE LEADERS THAT VACATED ARGENTINA IN 1976 AND EARLY 1977. NORMALLY THE PRT/ERP MEMBERSHIP FOR EACH AREA ELECTS A DEPUTY TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS ONCE EVERY THREE YEARS. THE NATIONAL CONGRESS DETERMINES THE GENERAL POSTURE OF THE PARTY AND CHOOSES THE 17-MEMBER CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPOINTS THE PERMANENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF APPROXIMATELY 11 MEMBERS WHO MEET EVERY THREE MONTHS. THIS EXEC. COMMITTEE APPOINTS MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY BUREAU. THIS PROCESS IS CALLED "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM." THE MOST IMPORTANT BUREAU AT PRESENT IS THE POLITICAL BUREAU. THE EXEC. COMMITTEE IS ALSO SUPPORTED BY FIVE INDEPENDENT UNITS; THE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, TWO POLITICAL SCHOOLS, A MILITARY SCHOOL IN ANGOLA AND THE LIAISION UNIT FOR OPERATIVE ACTIONS IN ARGENTINA. THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SCHOOLS ARE PREPARING CADRE FOR RETURN TO ARGENTINA AT A PROPITIOUS TIME.

7. SOURCE STATED THAT THE PRESENT LEADER OF THE PRT/ERP IS SECY GENERAL ARNOLDO JUAN KREMER, AKA "CAPTAIN LUIS", AKA "LUIS MATINI." BORN 22 FEB 1941, ARGENTINE DOCUMENT LE 4736362. KREMER IS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF MAXIMIZING THE POLITICAL EFFORTS OF THE PRT. HE DISFAVORS MILITARY ACTIONS THAT UNNECESSARILY WASTER CADRE AND BELIEVES THAT SANTUCHO'S CRITICAL ERROR WAS TO WASTE ERP MEMBERS IN USELESS AND FUTILE COMBATS WITH THE ARGENTINE MILITARY FORCES. HOWEVER, HE DOES NOT

DISAVOW MILITARY ACTION BY PRT/ERP AS THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ERP IS BASED ON THE "PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED." CONSEQUENTLY, SOME MILITARY ACTION MUST CONTINUE TO KEEP THE ERP IMAGE ALIVE IN ARGENTINA AND TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THEIR CADRE. HOWEVER, HIS MAIN ORIENTATION IS TOWARDS POLITICAL ACTIVITY WHEN AND IF THE CLIMATE IS RIPE FOR A MAXIMUM EFFORT IN ARGENTINA.
8. SOURCE STATED THE ERP, IN SPITE OF SERIOUS SETBACKS,

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 04595 03 OF 04 152023Z

RETAIN THEIR VERTICAL CHAIN OF COMMAND AND THE LEADERS IN EUROPE ARE STILL COMPLETELY IN CONTROL OF THE MOVEMENT IN ARGENTINA. SOURCE STATED ERP MAINTAIN CADRE ALSO IN ITALY, SPAIN, CENTRAL AMERICA AND BRAZIL. THE CADRE IN BRAZIL IS QUITE LARGE AND PROVIDES A COVERT SUPPORT ELEMENT WITH A STRONG LINK TO THE MONTONERO TERRORISTS. THEY HELP COORDINATE ORDERS FROM THE POLITICAL BUREAU TO THE ARGENTINE MEMBERS AND ALSO ARE HELPFUL IN REMOVING AND INFILTRATING PRT/ERP MEMBERS INTO AND OUT OF ARGENTINA. HOWEVER, THE BRAZIL GROUP DOES NOT MAINTAIN A COMBATANT GROUP AS SUCH NOR DOES IT OPERATE OVERTLY AS PRT/ERP. SOURCE STATED THE ELEMENTS IN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY ITALY AND SPAIN, AND ENGAGED IN SOLIDARITY WORK AND IN ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP POLITICAL SUPPORT WITH WORKERS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT IN THE ITALIAN AUTOMOBIEL WORKS OF FIAT AND FERRARI. SOURCE STATED POLITICALLY THE PRT HAS

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04595 04 OF 04 142214Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 INR-10
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R 142002Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6129
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA

USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 4 BUENOS AIRES 4595

FROM RSO TO SY AND ARA: PANAM FOR RSS

[redacted]

PURGED ITSELF OF ALL TROTSKYITE ELEMENTS AND IS A COMPLETELY MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY.

9. SOURCE STATED THAT PART/ERP CADRE IN ARGENTINA ARE UNDER-FINANCED. IN 1976 THEY OBTAINED A LOAN OF SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS FROM THE MONTONEROS BUT THAT WAS THE LAST MAJOR SOURCE OF CAPITALIZATION THE SECURITY SOURCES ARE AWARE OF. THEIR WEAPONS ARE OF POOR QUALITY AND MOST ARE REVOLVERS AND A FEW AUTOMATIC WEAPONS STOLEN FROM POLICE. THEY USE EXPLOSIVES WIDELY AND THEIR FAVORITE IS SIMILAR TO A CLAYMORE MINE WHICH IS OFTEN PLANTED UNDER CARS, ALONG SIDE OF BUILDINGS OR IN A CAR PARKED OUTSIDE OR INSIDE A BUILDING. THE MOST RECENT CASE WAS THE BOMBING ON MAY 11 IN THE SAN MARTIN THEATER IN BUENOS AIRES. AS A RESULT OF THIS OPERATIOIN, THE SECURITY FORCES ELIMINATED 27 MEMBERS OF THE PRT/ERP IN ADDITION TO THE USE OF EXPLOSIVES, ERP WHEN POSSIBLE UTILIZE AMBUSH OF TARGERS, USING 2-3 PEOPLE WITH AUTO-MATIC WEAPONS WORKING FROM A STOLEN VEHICLE. THIS GROUP [redacted]

[redacted]

IS GIVEN BACKUP SUPPORT BY SEVERAL PERSONS IN ANOTHER VEHICLE WHO MAY ALSO HAVE GRENADES. THIS ACTIVITY IS VERY LIMITED DUE TO THEIR LACK OF LOGISTICS AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL. AT PRESENT THE PRT/ERP CADRE ARE MADE UP OF YOUNG PEOPLE, WHO ARE NOT HIGHLY SKILLED AND NOT WELL INDOCTRINATED POLITICALLY. THEY HAVE MADE MANY SERIOUS MISTAKES IN OPERATIONS AND THEIR INTERNAL SECURITY IS POOR. ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF THEIR FORCES ARE MADE UP OF WOMEN. THEY HAVE ONLY LIMITED CAPABILITY FOR COMBATIVE ACTION AND IF THE GOVT MAINTAINS ITS PRESSURE ON THEM, EVENTUALLY THEY WILL BE ELIMINATED AS A POLITICAL TERRORIST ELEMENT IN ARGENTINA.

10. SOURCE PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING NAMES OF PRT/ERP AND J.G. (REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY/REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE GUEVARA YOUTH) PERSONNEL LIVING

ABROAD:
- ALL, CARLOS EMILIO, AKA "CAPT. ALEJANDRO," BORN IN SANTA FE, 21 NOV 1947, SONE OF CARLOS EMILIO AND AMALIA RODRIGUEZ. DOCUMENTS: LE 4797803 OR 4792803; CIPF 6917578; CI 2225447 OR 2215626 IN PROVINCIAL REGISTRY. WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOGISTICS AND INTELLIGENCE OF THE PRT/ERP.
- AUGIER, NELIDA ARGELIA, AKA "LT POLA" OR "KIKA;" HEAD OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OF PRT/ERP. NO OTHER DATA AVAIL.
- COPPO, ROBERTO EDUARDO, AKA "RAMON", "SANTIAGO", OR LT BARTOLO." BORN IN LOS QUIRQUINCHOS, SANTA FE PROVINCE, 25 MAY 1947, SONE OF EDUARDO SEGUNDO AND ANGELA MARIA MARISICH. DOCUMENTS: LE 6144100. MEMBER OF MILITARY SECTION PRT/ERP. PRESENTLY IN ANGOLA ATTENDING MILITARY SCHOOL.
- CONCETTI, RUBEN S., AKA "LEOPOLDO". MEMBER OF POLITICAL BUREAU, PRT/ERP. PRESENTLY IN ROME, ITALY.
[redacted]
[redacted]

- GAGGERO, MANUEL JUSTO, AKA "ENRIQUE." BORN IN PARANA, ENTRE RIOS PROVINCE, 13 OCT. 1940, SON OF LUIS YOLANDO AND SUSANA EMILIA PEREZ. DOCUMENT: LE 5939344. IS A MEMBER OF THE COMMON FRONT WITH THE MONTONEROS. NOW IN MEXICO CITY.
- GORRIARAN MERLO, ENRIQUE HAROLDO, AKA "RICARDO GUNGO," "EL PELADO," "CAPT. RICARDO" OR "MATEO." BORN IN SAN NICOLAS, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 19 OCT 1941, SON OF ASENCIO AND IRMA BEATRIZ MERLO. DOCUMENT: LE 4685510. MEMBER OF POLITICAL BUREAU, PRT/ERP.
- KREMER, ARNOLDO JUAN, AKA "CAPT. LUIS" OR "LUIS MATINI." BORN 22 FEB 1941, SON OF JUAN AND IRENE BALUDANO. DOCUMENT: LE 4736362. SECRETARY GENERAL OF PRT/ERP.
-LEDESMA, JUAN CARLOS, AKA "RAMON" OR "MARCELO." BORN 13 MARCH 1941 IN LA BANDA, PROVINCE OF SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO, SON OF VICTOR ADRIA AND MARIA FILOMENA MATILDO MARTINEZ. DOCUMENT: LE OR CI 5786075. WAS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION AND RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TUCUMAN REGION.
- OROPEL, JULIO ALFREDO, AKA "EL NEGRO," "JORGE" OR "JULIAN." BORN IN GUASA PAMPA, CORDOBA PROVINCE, 15 APR 1943. DOCUMENT: LE 6693587. MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, PRT/ERP.
- SANTUCHO, JULIO CESAR, AKA "ENRIQUE," BORN IN TUCUMAN 11 JULY 1945, SON OF FRANCISCO DEL ROSARIO AND MANUELA DEL CARMEN JUAREZ. DOCUMENTS: LE 7984867, AND CI 7069862. MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU. HE IS

PRESENTLY IN ROME, ITALY.
- IRURZUN, HUGO ALFREDO, AKA "CAPT SANTIAGO." SON OF RENE FEDERICO AND MARGARITA CORGHY. DOCUMENT: LE 8133394. MEMBER OF THE MILITARY SECTION, PRT/ERP.
- ORZOACOA, CARLOS NORMANDO, AKA "EL VASCO" OR "DANIEL." BORN IN SANTA ROSA, LA PAMPA PROVINCE, 11 FEB 1946. MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, PRT/ERP.
- MUNITIS DE MERBILHA, MARIA NORA, AKA "ALICIA" OR "LA VIDI". MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION.
- DIEZ, ROLANDO, AKA "PACO." RESPONSIBLE FOR INTELLIGENCE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 04595 04 OF 04 142214Z

THIS REPRESENTS THE MAJOR ERP LEADERSHIP ABROAD.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS04632

Channel: n/a

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[redacted]

6/15/78

L293

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04632 152206Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-05 TRSE-00 IO-13 /086 W
----------085610 170122Z /73

R 152023Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6149

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4632

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS (ARGENTINA JUDICIAL SYSTEM)

SUMMARY: THE ARGENTINE SUPREME COURT (FEDERAL) RULED RECENTLY THAT FEDERAL COURTS OF FIRST INSTANCE (DISTRICT COURTS) SPECIALIZING IN CRIMINAL MATTERS HAVE THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO CHECK INTO AND CONTROL HUMANE CONDITIONS IN PRISONS, AS WELL AS THE WELFARE OF PRISONERS, EVEN THOSE HELD UNDER THE PEN (PODER EJECUTIVE NACIONAL).

1. FOR THE MOMENT, IT APPEARS THAT MY DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF PROVINCIAL SUPREME COURTS AND THE ARGENTINE SUPREME COURT (FEDERAL) MAY BE BEARING SOME FRUIT. I HAVE HAD SESSIONS WITH AT LEAST EIGHT PROVINCIAL SUPREME COURT JUDGES AND AT LEAST THREE TALKS WITH FEDERAL SUPREME COURT JUDGES ON THE NEED TO GRANT SOME TYPE OF LEGAL REMEDY TO THOSE PRISONERS SERVING UNDER THE PEN (PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL). FOR THE MOST PART, JUDGES TOOK THE POSTURE THAT ALL COURTS LACKED JURISDICTION OR EVEN THE POWER TO REVIEW ANY CASE FALLING IN THE PEN CATEGORY.

2. MY POINTED QUESTION TO THE JUDGES HAS BEEN HOW IS IT POSSIBLE FOR PRISONERS TO REMAIN WITHOUT EFFECTIVE LEGAL REMEDY SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF BEING PEN PRISONERS. I

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 04632 152206Z

EXPLAIN THAT IN MY EXPERIENCE AS A FORMER SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE, DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND PRACTICING ATTORNEY, I JUST

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COULD NOT COMPREHEND THE LEGAL CONCEPT OF ENCARCERATION WITHOUT CHARGES OR WITHOUT ANY RESORT TO JUDICIAL PROCESS. I WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT SURELY ARGENTINA, A COUNTRY THAT HAS PRODUCED OUTSTANDING JURISTS, WOULD CERTAINLY BE EXPECTED, IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD, TO RESORT TO THE RULE OF LAW. THE DEPRIVATION OF LEGAL RECOURSE TO PRISONERS, UNDERMINES THE FRAMEWORK OF WHAT WAS ONCE AN EFFICIENT AND SOUND JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

3. THE JUDGES AVOIDED FACING REALITY BY ENGAGING IN PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSIONS ON HABEAS CORPUS, LEY DE AMPARO AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES. ALTHOUGH THE JUDGES WOULD HALF-WAY ADMIT THE INAPPLICABILITY OF THESE REMEDIES, THEY WOULD ALWAYS CONCLUDE BY SAYING THAT PEN WAS AN EXTRA-ORDINARY EXECUTIVE MEASURE AND WAS FULLY CONSTITUTIONAL. THE JUDGES STATED THEY WERE PRECLUDED FROM REVIEWING ANY EXECUTIVE ACT.

4. THE CHICKENS NOW COME HOME TO ROOST. RECENTLY, THE ARGENTINE FEDERAL SUPREME COURT RULED THAT WHEN A PETITION WAS FILED WITH A COURT, EVEN THOUGH IT MAY BE A PEN CASE, THE JUDGE HAD THE DUTY AND OBLIGATION TO INQUIRE INTO SANITARY CONDITIONS OF PRISONS, THE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF PRISONERS, AND CAUSES FOR ARREST. THE COURT WENT FURTHER, RULING THAT THE JUDGE HAD THE AUTHORITY TO SUMMON GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TO ANSWER INTERROGATORIES SUBMITTED BY JUDGES.

5. THIS ACTION CAME ABOUT AFTER A PETITION WAS FILED IN FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT NO. 5 IN BUENOS AIRES CONCERNING A PEN CASE. THE DISTRICT JUDGE DISMISSED THE PETITION ALLEGING LACK OF JURISDICTION OVER PEN MATTERS. HE ORDERED THE CASE SUBMITTED TO AN [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 04632 152206Z

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL. BUT ON APPEAL TO THE SUPREME COURT, THE LOWER COURT WAS OVERRULED. BASING ITS DICTA ON ARTICLE 629 OF THE ARGENTINE CRIMINAL PROCEDURAL CODE (TITLE VI, VOLUME V), THE SUPREME COURT HELD THAT THE COURTS DO HAVE INHERENT JUDICIAL POWERS TO INVESTIGATE THOSE MATTER OF AN URGENT AND JUDICIAL NATURE. ONCE THE INHERENT POWERS OF THE LOW COURT HAD BEEN UTILIZED, THE COURT COULD MAKE AN ASSIGNMENT TO ANOTHER TRIBUNAL. BY THIS PROCESS JUSTICE COULD BE SERVED.

6. THE COURT'S FULING COINCIDED WITH ARTICLE 18 OF THE

ARGENTINE CONSTITUTION, PROVIDING THAT "JAILS OF THE NATIONAL SHALL BE HUMANE AND CLEAN, FOR THE SAFETY OR PRISONERS AND NOT FOR THEIR PUNISHMENT. ALSO, THAT ANY MEASURE REQUIRED TO FULFILL THESE ENDS SHOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AN AUTHORIZING JUDGE.

7. THE COURT ALSO MENTIONED ARTICLE 683 OF FEDERAL PROCEDURAL CRIMINAL CODE WHICH MADE JUDGES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY, HEALTH AND WELFARE OF PRISONERS; THAT PRISONERS BE PROPERLY CARED FOR; THAT FOOD BE PLENTIFUL AND WHOLESOME; TREATMENT OF PRISONERS MUST BE IN ACCORDANCE OF EXISTING REGULATIONS; ALSO PRISONERS MUST NOT BE SUBJECTED TO UNUSUAL AND CRUEL METHODS OF PUNISHMENT. REMITTING JUDGES 'JUECES DE INSTRUCCION) ARE AUTHORIZED TO VISIT PRISONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF SATISFYING THEMSELVES OF PRISON CONDITIONS AND LISTEN TO COMPLAINTS FROM PRISONERS.

8. COMMENT: AS IN MOST CIVILIZED COUNTRIES, A FEDERAL SUPREME COURT DECISION IS TANTAMOUNT TO BEING "THE LAW OF THE LAND". IT IS THE COURT OF LAST RESORT. ARGENTINA IS NO DIFFERENT IN ITS JUDICIAL STRUCTURE.
WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THIS DECISION WILL BE TAKEN TO HEART BY LOWER COURTS. THE RULING CERTAINLY OPENS THE

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 04632 152206Z

DOOR FOR MORE HUMANE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AS WELL AS A POSSIBLE RETURN TO RULE OF LAW. IT IS TOO EARLY TO JUMP TO OPTIMISTIC CONCLUSIONS, BUT THE SUPREME COURT DECISION IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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6/15/78

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L 290

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04622 151837Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 VO-05 /008 W
----------080604 161447Z /47

R 151818Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6143

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4622

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
[redacted]y: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

H PASS: HONORABLE HENRY A. WAXMAN
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, UAR
SUBJECT US HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DETENTION OF LILIANA DEUTSCH (113/77/9)

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR CABLE REGARDING THE CONTINUED DETENTION OF LILIANA DEUTSCH. I SHARE YOUR DEEP CONCERN REGARDING THIS CASE. I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I AM DOING EVERYTHING I CAN TO OBTAIN LILIANA DEUTSCH'S RELEASE AND HER REUNIFICATION WITH HER FAMILY IN CALIFORNIA.

2. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.

3. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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6/15/78 Argentina R

June 15, 1978

AR114

MEMO TO MLS
FROM RC

ARGENTINA: CONTINUING VIOLATIONS OFHUMAN RIGHTS SINCE THE NEWSOM VISIT

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

Most of this information is based on our cable traffic, in particular a round-up report of the Embassy of June 9 covering the period until May 31 and cables thereafter.

1. Torture and other Police and Military Abuse

In May, our Embassy reported that "physical torture continues to be used regularly during the interrogation of suspected terrorists and so-called 'criminal subversives' who do not fully cooperate."

On June 9, the Embassy reported that "the Red Cross' major concerns at present are the physical abuses directed against political prisoners in La Plata Prison, the disappearance of the prisoners at the time of their release and guard brutality during inter-prison transfers." The Embassy also reported that a Time correspondent informed them that persons apprehended in connection with having placed a bomb in the San Martin Cultural Center parking basement "died under interrogation soon after their arrest."

With respect to Hargindeguy's May 3 speech about bringing the police (and military) under control, the Director of Internal Security in the Ministry of Interior, Col. (Ret.) San Roman told the Embassy that Government efforts in this respect would take "a long year." (Police and military are being detained and investigated for abuse of authority, in particular kidnapping, bribery, robbing and stealing; no mention of homicide is made.) Torture continues

2. Disappearances

77 disappearances have been reported to the Embassy since the beginning of 1978. It reported a rise in April and May (10 in April and 18 in May).

Newsom in a report to Congress on June 7 on the question of acoounting for the disappeared, stated that "a satisfactory mechanism to deal with this question has not been established yet," although the Minister of Interior declared that such an effort would be made.

According to the June 9 cable, the human rights organizations who placed the list of 2,592 disappeared in La Prensa May 7, report a "large influx of new disapperance reports." They plan to publish a follow-up

Lot 81D208
Box 4963 (2/12)

list after the World Cup ends.

There have also been reports that mothers of the Plaza staging marches in June on behalf of their disappeared relatives were broken up by the police and several detained.

3. New Arrests & Current Prisoners

The Embassy reported that from January-May 1978, 297 were added to PEN:

With regard to the 3,300 acknowledged PEN detainees, Newsom reported to Congress that while the Minister of Interior said steps would be taken to release or charge these prisoners, "neither President Videla nor the Minister of the Interior were willing to provide timetables or indicate when such releases actually might take place."

With regard to disappearances of released prisoners, the Embassy reported that the Minister of Interior instructed all penal facilities in early May not to release prisoners after 1800 hours and to notify families of releases and encourage them to meet the prisoners. However, the Embassy received a report from a human rights organization member in June that "a PEN prisoner refused to leave La Plata prison late at night in early May. Prison officials,..responded that his refusal would be taken out on the prisoner's wife, who has been missing for a number of months."

4. Right of Option

From January to May, 27 were allowed to leave under the right of option. The total for May was 2. The Embassy reported that the Presidential Right of Option Advisory Council is reportedly to speed this up; by mid-May over 300 petitions had been received.

The GOA has rejected ICEM participation in the right of option program, to be challenged by our and other Governments in Europe.

5. Special Interest Cases

a) Timerman, under house arrest, is undergoing "a long drawn out investigation" of his capital assets. (According to Tex, everyone knows that Timerman is clear financially.) There is increased concern regarding his safety. Over 50 policemen are guarding him. The Ministry of Interior has permitted only his immediate family, rabbi and the Israel Ambassador visitation rights; his lawyer has not been allowed to see him nor any doctor.

b) Liliana Deutsch remains detained and was transferred from Cordoba penitentiary to a nearby military camp to prevent her being interviewed by the ICRC.

c) Alfredo Bravo, leader of the Argentine Teacher's Union and Co-President of the Permanent Association for Human Rights remains detained (now 9 months).

d) Adolfo Perez Esquivel, recently nominated for the Nobel Prize, remains detained, reportedly without charge.

Persecution of Lawyers

The Embassy reported in June that on April 15, the Buenos Aires Bar Association issued a statement deploring the recent assassinations of 2 lawyers, one a prominent labor lawyer Juan Carlos Deghi.

Religious Freedom

To date, none of the following religious sects have been granted official registration as required under Decree Law 21475: the Jehovah's Witnesses, Krishna Consciousness Movement, Divine Light Mission, Center of Inner Religion.

Five members of the American Knights of Fire (CAHF) are detained for alleged dissemination of "disassociative ideas." Some members of the Center of Inner Religion may still be in detention. Jehovah's Witnesses are forbidden from holding public meetings, publishing materials or conducting house to house preaching. They and the other sects have been harassed and arrested; all the Witnesses to date are released from prison.

Unconfirmed reports from Israel were presented to our Embassy about anti-semitic acts, in particular special mistreatment of Jewish political prisoners and anti-Jewish slogans on Jewish stores.

Press Freedom

The Argentine Press Association on April 1 protested the continued detention of 14 journalists without charge; the intervention by military authorities against 3 Argentine newspapers, including La Opinion; the disappearances of 8 journalists; the suspension of the Buenos Aires evening paper La Razon. On April 25, the Association protested the 3-day shut down of La Opinion and Cronica. A June 13 Embassy cable reported the disappearance of editor Julian Jose Delgado (El Cronista Comercial and Mercado) although it is unclear

to the Embassy whether the disappearance was due to illness and nervous breakdown.

The GOA has repealed two Peronist decrees that had hampered the operationof foreign news agencies in Argentina(by barring the publication or braodcast in Argentina of stories about Argentina writtenby foreign news agencies.)

Trade Union Rights

In addition to trade union disappeared and detained, and prohibitions on trade union activities, The GOA in reply to the ILO, provided "no information concerning those individuals asked about for whom 'there exists no arrest order nor are (officially) detained.'" This was reported by our Embassy June 14.

This year, unlike last, the Argentine labor movement will be represented at the annual meeting of the ILO. However, according to the Latin America Political Report, this occurred after the GOA threatened to send a delegation from groups faithful to it. It represents no improvement in labor union rights.

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6/15/78

L 294

PAGE 01 STATE 152665
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-02 HA-05 /022 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JMA
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
----------094652 161228Z /53

R 152029Z JUN 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(L) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 152665

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR.

SUBJECT: DETENTION OF HORACIO RENE MATOSO

1. SENATOR KENNEDY'S OFFICE HAS REQUESTED THAT EMBASSY PRESENT FOLLOWING CASE TO FOWG:

NAME: HORACIO RENE MATOSO
PLACE OF IMPRISONMENT: UNIDAD 9, CARCEL DE LA PLATA
DATE OF IMPRISONMENT - OCTOBER 8, 1976.

2. THE SENATOR HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT MATOSO IS SEEKING RIGHT OF OPTION. CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

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6/15/78

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UNCLASSIFIED

L291

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04628 151938Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 /008 W
----------082054 161108Z /12

R 151901Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6146

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 4628

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF FEDERICO JORGE TATTER (352/78/5)

H PASS: HONORABLE JAMES ABOUREZK
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON DC

1. THANK YOU FOR YOU RECENT REQUEST REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF FERERICO JORGE TATTER. THE EMBASSY HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION ABOUT THIS DISAPPEARANCE PREVIOUSLY AND MADE A FORMAL INQUIRY TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE OF MAY 23, 1978.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS CASE HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

3. PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF THERE IS ANYTHING FURTHER I MAY DO. I SHALL, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR
CASTRO

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6/15/78

L 292

P 5b

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04552 151946Z
ACTION SCS-06

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 CA-01 HA-05 L-03 H-01 PPT-01
INR-10 CIAE-00 /038 W
----------082168 161202Z /46

R 151907Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9550
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1 B6
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 4552

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CASC, SHUM, CI (ROBERTSON, DAVID OR NICOLAS)
SUBJ: W/W : UNCONFIRMED REPORT OF DETENTION OF U.S. CITIZEN

REF: SANTIAGO 4525 (NOTAL), 77 SANTIAGO A-4, 77 SANTIAGO 2691

1. WE HAVE RECEIVED A REPORT THAT A UNITED STATES CITIZEN, DAVID ROBERTSON, IS BEING DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGES AT COLONIA DIGNIDAD, PARRAL, IN CHILE. THUS FAR WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM HIS DETENTION OR PRESENCE IN CHILE.

2. ON JUNE 13, A CHILEAN WHO WOULD NOT IDENTIFY HIMSELF VISITED THE DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS IN CHILE TO REPORT THAT HE HAD JUST BEEN RELEASED FROM DETENTION BY CHILEAN AUTHORITIES AT COLONIA DIGNIDAD AND THAT AN AMERICAN BY THE NAME OF DAVID ROBERTSON HAS BEEN UNDER DETENTION THERE, WITHOUT CHARGES, FOR ELEVEN DAYS AND HAS NOT BEEN MISTREATED. HE IDENTIFIED ROBERTSON AS 20 TO 30 YEARS OF AGE, ABOUT FIVE FEET ELEVEN INCHES, BLONDE, GREY EYES, BORN IN OR FROM CALIFORNIA, AND A FORMER ECONOMICS STUDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. HE ADDED THAT ROBERTSON HAD PREVIOUSLY VISITED CHILE ABOUT EIGHT YEARS AGO AS AN EXCHANGE VISITOR. THE CHILEAN BELIEVES THAT THE MAIDEN NAME OF ROBERTSON'S MOTHER IS O'SHEA. HE CLAIMS THAT

[redacted]

[redacted]

ROBERTSON IS A MEMBER OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

. THE INFORMANT REQUESTED MONEY FROM THE P/C DIRECTOR

TO CONTINUE HIS TRAVELS TO THE NORTH OF CHILE. THE RELIABILITY OF THE INFORMANT'S INFORMATION IS UNKNOWN.

4. COLONIA DIGNIDAD IS A CLOSED GERMAN COMMUNITY AND THERE HAVE BEEN PREVIOUS UNPROVEN REPORTS THAT IT HAS BEEN USED AS A SECURITY DETENTION FACILITY. GERMAN EMBASSY PERSONNEL HERE HAVE VISITED THE COLONIA ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS AND ARE SATISFIED THAT REPORTS OF ITS USE AS A DETENTION CENTER ARE FALSE.

5. WHILE UNKNOWN IF IT IS THE SAME PERSON, WE ARE HOLDING TWO PIECES OF PERSONAL MAIL ADDRESSED TO NICK (NICOLAS) ROBERTSON IN CARE OF THIS EMBASSY. A TELEGRAM IS DATED APRIL 14 FROM OJAI, CALIFORNIA, SIGNED "MOM" AND A LETTER RECEIVED APRIL 10 WITH THE RETURN ADDRESS: DREW ROBERTSON, [redacted] WHILE NOT ALARMING THE FAMILY, IT MIGHT PROVE HELPFUL IN KNOWING WHETHER "DAVID ROBERTSON" IS ACTUALLY "NICK OR NICOLAS ROBERTSON" AND WHETHER THE FAMILY HAS RECEIVED WORD FROM NICK ROBERTSON CONCERNING HIS MOST CURRENT WHEREABOUTS AND, IF STILL ABROAD, HIS TRAVEL PLANS WITH DATES. THE DEPARTMENT MAY MERELY MENTION TO THE FAMILY ROBERTSON'S UNDELIVERED CORRESPONDENCE AND REQUEST HIS FORWARDING ADDRESS TO DELIVER HIS MAIL. IF NICK ROBERTSON'S PERSONAL DESCRIPTION AND BACKGROUND CORRESPOND WITH THE INFORMTION PROVIDED IN PARAGRAPH TWO ABOVE, WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO HAVE HIS FULL NAME, MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME, DPOB, AND PASSPORT DATA. B-6

6. THE CHILEAN REPORTING ROBERTSON'S DETENTION STATES [redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 04552 151946Z

THAT HE, ROBERTSON, ENTERED CHILE BY LAND FROM SOUTHERN ARGENTINA. WE HAVE CHECKED GOC IMMIGRATION FILES OF FIVE SOUTHERN PORTS OF ENTRY FOR THE MONTH OF MAY WITH NEGATIVE RESULTS CONCERNING ROBERTSON'S ENTRY FROM ARGENTINA. THE CHILEAN POLICE (CARABINEROS) IN PARRAL DISCLAIMED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF ROBERTSON'S WHEREABOUTS AND THEY CHECKED ALL THE HOTELS IN PARRAL WITH NEGATIVE RESULTS. A TELEGROM HAS BEEN SENT TO AMEMBASSY, BUENOS AIRES, FOR ANY RECORD OF DAVID OR NICK ROBERTSON IN THEIR CONSULAR FILES.

7. BEFORE INITIATING A FORMAL REQUEST TO THE GOC FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF ROBERTSON'S WHEREABOUTS BASED ON AN UNCONFIRMED REPORT OF UNKNOWN RELIABILITY, WE WOULD APPRE-

CIATE KNOWING IF DAVID AND NICK OR NICOLAS ROBERTSON ARE THE SAME PERSON AND, IF SO, IS HIS WHEREABOUTS KNOWN OR UNKNOWN BY HIS FAMILY. PPT MAY ALSO POSSIBLY ASSIST IN IDENTIFYING ROBERTSON.

8. PLEASE ADVISE SOONEST.
LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

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[redacted]

6/16/78

L 295

PAGE 01 STATE 153457
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 AID-05 PC-01 IO-13 MCT-01 /093 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:DVTREECK:JMA
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
HA - RCOHEN (INFO)

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R 161513Z JUN 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] STATE 153457

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: INFORMATION PASSED BY WOLA

1. WOLA PASSED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO ARA/ECA ON JUNE 13:

A. PLAINCLOTHES POLICE "REMOVED" SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE MOTHERS' GROUP ON THURSDAY, JUNE 8. WOLA IMPLIED THAT THEY WERE "DISAPPEARED". (COULD THIS REFER TO REFTEL INFORMATION ABOUT REMOVAL OF "ONE HYSTERICAL WOMAN"?)

B. PLAZA DE MAYO MOTHERS STARTED A HUNGER STRIKE JUNE 12. NEWSOM

[redacted]

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS04656

Channel: n/a

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6/16/78

L 296

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04656 162118Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------108998 170115Z /45 S

O 161735Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6162

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4656

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT AMBASSADOR AND GEN. VIOLA DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

REF: BUENOS AIRES 4636

I SAW ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF ROBERTO VIOLA EVENING JUNE 15 AND RAISED THE FOLLOWING INTEREST CASES WITH HIM:
A. LILIANA DEUTSCH. I SPECULATED WHETHER GENERAL MENENDEZ, THIRD CORPS COMMANDER BASED IN CORDOBA, MIGHT BE THE STUMBLING BLOCK TO LILIANA'S RELEASE AND ASKED GENERAL VIOLA WHAT COULD BE DONE ABOUT THAT. HE REPLIED THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS CASE WITH MENENDEZ AND SAID THAT "MENENDEZ MAY BE SLOWLY COMING AROUND. I THINK MAYBE LILIANA DEUTSCH CAN AT SOME POINT BE RELASED." (COMMENT: I TRIED TO ADD SOME FUEL TO THIS FIRE WITH MENENDEZ AS A RESULT OF A TRIP I MADE RECENTLY TO CORDOBA.)
B. JACOBO TIMERMAN. VIOLA AND I TALKED PHILOSOHICALLY ABOUT "NATIONALIST ATTITUDES," AND I SUGGESTED THAT FIERCE NATIONALISM CAN GET IN THE WAY OF WHAT A COUNTRY ACTUALLY NEEDS TO DO FOR ITSELF. THE TIMERMAN CASE SEEMS TO BE ONE IN WHICH "NATIONALIST" SENTIMENT IS KEEPING THE GOVERNMENT FROM DOING OBVIOUSLY THE RIGHT THING: LETTING TIMERMAN GO. VIOLA CHIMED IN BY SAYING THAT THE TEST OF NATIONALISM MUST BE WHETHER AN ACT IS IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE NATION. HE WAS CRITICAL OF SOME OF HIS ARMY FRIENDS DUE TO THEIR FLAG-WAVING TACTICS, WHICH WERE NOT IN THE BEST INTEREST OF ARGENTINA. HE PLACED THE TIMERMAN CASE IN THAT CATEGORY.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04656 162118Z

(COMMENT: I RAISED THE TIMERMAN CASE ALSO AT A RECENT CALL ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT AND WAS GIVEN AN

"ENCOURAGING" REPLY, BUT THE FACT SEEMS TO BE THAT THE COMMISSION INVESTIGATING TIMERMAN'S WORLDLY HOLDINGS SEEMS TO BE GRINDING FINE AND SLOWLY.)
C. ALFREDEO BRAVO. VIOLA SEEMED SURPRISED BRAVO HAS NOT BEEN LET GO. (COMMENT: ALL THE NEWSPAPERS LAST WEEKEND SAID HE WOULD BE SENT OUT TO HOUSE ARREST AT ANY MOMENT.) I TOLD HIM WE WERE TOO.
D. PEREZ ESQUIVEL. I MENTIONED THIS CASE BUT GOT NO FIRM REPLY.
E. JULIAN JOSE DELGADO. VIOLA EXPRESSED COMPLETE MENT ABOUT THIS EDITOR OF "CRONISTA COMERCIAL" AND "MERCADO," WHOM THERE WAS NO "SECURITY" INTEREST, A REPUTABLE JOURNALIST AND A FRIEND OF THE CURRENT REGIME. VIOA SAID HE HAS NO REPEAT NO INFORMATION ON WHAT MAY HAVE HAPPENED TO DELGADO.

2. RIGHT OF OPTION. I RAISED THIS TOO, IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEW PAROLE QUOTA WE WERE INFORMED OF OFFICIALLY JUST YESTERDAY (JUNE 15). VIOLA ADMITTED THAT THE OPTION PROGRAM HAD BOGGED DOWN BUT CITED BUREAUCRATIC REASONS -- NOT ONES HAVING TO DO WITH PHILOSOPHY OR A TOUGH POLICY. TOO MANY PEOPLE WERE IN THE ACT, HE SAID, AND SYSTEM WAS AT THIS POINT LOADED SO THAT ONE MAN COULD BLOCK A RELEASE. WHAT WOULD HELP, VIOLA SAID, WOULD BE TO HAVE ONE STRONG MAN RUNNING THE WHOLE THING. (COMMENT: IT SEEMS TO US THOUGH THAT THE SYSTEM WAS DELIBERATELY SET UP TO SPREAD AROUND RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHAT COULD BE A HOT ISSUE -- FOR EXAMPLE, IF A KNOWN TERRORIST GOT THROUGH THE OPTION NETWORK AND WENT ABROAD TO RESUME ACTIVITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT IT WOULD GO HARD ON ANY ONE PERSON WHO MADE THE DECISION IN HIS FAVOR.
CASTRO

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 04656 162118Z

NOTE BY OC/T: NODIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. CASTRODALE S/S-O.

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Current Class: [redacted] Page: 1
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS04678 Channel: n/a

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6/16/78

L 297

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04678 170038Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 /018 W
----------112185 171503Z /46

R 162001Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6172

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4678

H PASS: HONORABLE LINDY BOGGS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
IMPRISONMENT OF ALBERTO M.SCHPREJER (63-77-4)

REF: STATE 145649

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT INQUIRY REGARDING THE IMPRISONMENT OF ALBERTO M. SCHPREJER. THE EMBASSY RAISED MR. SCHPREJERS CASE WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR. THAT OFFICE RECENTLY RESPONDED CONFIRMING THAT MR. SCHPREJER IS BEING DETAINED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE POWER BY DECREE NO 409, DATED FEBRUARY 2, 1976, ON THE BASIS OF ALLEGED SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AND VIOLATION OF LAW 20.840 (THE ARGENTINE GENERAL ANTI-SUBVERSIVE). MR. SCHPREJER HAS FILED A RIGHT OF OPTION PETITION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY FOR ISRAEL UNDER LAW 21.650 ON FEBUARY 28, 1978. HIS PETITION IS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT.

2. THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THIS CASE AND I WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04678 170038Z

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.

4. DECONTRO UPON RECEIPT.

Current Class: [redacted] Page: 1

UNCLASSIFIED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise (✓) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

CASTRO

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6/16/78

L 298

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04679 170039Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 /018 W
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R 162003Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6173

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4679

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

H PASS: HONORABLE H.JOHN HEINZ III
UNITED STATE SENATE
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DETENTION OF HORACIO OSCAR SARAGOVI (269-78-1)

1. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER REGARDING THE CASE OF HORACIO OSCAR SARAGOVI. AS YOU MAY KNOW, I MET WITH MR. AND MRS. SARAGOVI EARLY THIS YEAR AND CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THEIR SON'S CASE WITH INTEREST AND CONCERN.

2. AT THE PRESENT TIME, MR. SARAGOVI HAS APPEALED THE ARGENTINE MILITARY COURT'S DECISION TO THE SUPREME COURT, CLAIMING A NUMBER OF PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ERRORS IN HIS MILITAR
Y
TRIAL.RECENTLY, THE ARGENTINE SOLICITOR GENERAL PRESENTED THE GOVERNMENTS BRIEF TO THE COURT ADVOCATING THAT MR. SARAGOVI'S DECISION BE UPHELD. AS THIS MATTER IS NOW BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ANY FURTHER INTERVENTIN TO BE MADE AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, I HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO RAISE THIS CASE IN MY CONTACTS WITH MEMBERS OF THE ARGENTINE EXECUTIVE. IN THAT REGARD IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL FOR THE EMBASSY TO HAVE A COPY OF THE PETITION REQUESTING MR. SARAGOVI'S RELEASE, WHICH

[redacted]

[redacted]

WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN.

3. THANK YOU FOR WRITING. I APPRECIATE YOUR SENDING ME A COPY OF

YOUR LETTER TO AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL. I WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELPMENTS IN THIS CASE.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.

5. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04683 162120Z
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6177

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4683

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, ELAB, AR
SUBJECT: ALFREDO BRAVO TO BE PLACED IN CONDITIONAL LIBERTY

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3625

1. PROFESSOR BRAVO'S WIFE HAS BEEN INFORMED BY ARMY I CORPS THAT BRAVO WILL BE RETURNED TO HIS HOME EVENING JUNE 16 IN CONDITIONAL LIBERTY STATUS, WHICH MEANS THAT HE MUST REPORT TO HIS NEIGHBORHOOD POLICE PRECINCT THREE TIMES WEEKLY, CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN EITHER POLITICAL OR TRADE UNION AFFAIRS AND CANNOT LEAVE THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. HE MAY RETURN TO WORK UNDER THE TERMS OF THIS RELEASE.

2. PRESIDENTIAL AIDE RICARDO YOFRE, IN RESPONDING TO OUR QUERY WHETHER SUCH STATUS WOULD EFFECTIVELY RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE BRAVOS' TRAVELLING ABROAD, STATED THAT THE CONDITIONAL LIBERTY RELEASE WAS A STEP FORWARD WHICH HOPEFULLY COULD BE LIBERALIZED FURTHER AT A LATER DATE.

3. ARMY I CORPS TOLD MRS. BRAVO THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZER PEREZ ESQUIVEL AND ANOTHER PRISONER AT LA PLATA UNIDAD 9 NAMED "SECCO" (PHONETIC -- THIS

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04683 162120Z

MAY BE GARBLED) WILL ALSO BE PLACED IN CONDITIONAL LIBERTY ALONG WITH BRAVO.

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4. WE ARE CHECKING FURTHER AND WILL ADVISE WHEN WE HAVE CONFIRMATION OF BRAVO'S SAFE ARRIVAL AT HIS HOME, AS WELL AS THE PROSPECTS FOR ONWARD TRAVEL IF AND WHEN THEY SHOULD DEVELOP.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington D.C. 20520

June 16, 1978

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

B6

Mr. S. Harrison Dogole

Dear Mr. Dogole:

Thank you for your April 26 letter to Robert J. Lipshutz, who has provided a copy to Secretary Vance, concerning the situation of the Jewish community in Argentina. I have been asked to respond.

On numerous occasions the Department has expressed its concern to the Argentine Government about reports of anti-Semitism in that country. When Secretary Vance was in Argentina in November of last year, the question was discussed. Our Ambassador continues to stress to the Argentines our concern over these reports. Argentine government officials have responded to our concern by noting they strenuously oppose anti-Semitism, that it is not Argentine Government policy and that specific legislation has been passed which makes it a punishable offense to incite racial hatred or violence.

Although there are still anti-Semitic magazines published in Argentina, the incidences of open anti-Semitic activities -- swastikas painted on synagogues, threats to Jewish leaders -- which occurred in 1976 and early 1977 have greatly decreased. The present major concern of U.S. Jewry is the reports of discriminatory treatment meted out to some Jews who are imprisoned in Argentina. We have heard that certain jailers berate prisoners and treat them more harshly than gentile prisoners. Our concern over these reports has been conveyed to the Argentine authorities.

In the case of Jacobo Timerman, the United States has made repeated efforts on his behalf. President Carter raised his case with Argentine President Videla when the latter was in Washington for the Panama Canal Treaties signing Ceremony, and Secretary Vance reviewed his case in detail when he visited Argentina in late November. Since then, our Ambassador and Department officials have continued to press for an early resolution of Mr. Timerman's case. At present, he is under house arrest.

The Administration believes stongly that human rights must be a cornerstone of foreign policy. The inquiries and representations which we have made in Argentina on behalf of thousands of disappeared and detained individuals are an example of U.S. actions to strengthen human rights.

In addition, a number of actions have been taken by the United States to convey to the Argentines how strongly committed we are to human rights -- grant military training for Argentina has been withdrawn, arms sales have been held back, and we have linked our vote in the International Financial Insitutions to the Argentine record on human rights. The Argentines are fully aware that improvement in our relations is dependent on their observance of human rights. Indeed, the Congress has now legislated, as part of the Foreign Assistance Act, that there will be no new arms transfers to Argentina without major human rights improvements.

Sincerely,

Robert W. Zimmermann, Director
Office of East Coast Affairs
Burueau of Inter-American Affairs

Drafted:DVanTreeck:af Clearance:ARA
6/16/78:x-22179 S/S #7811508

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04685 170126Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 SCS-06 HA-05 ISO-00 ARA-10 CA-01 /025 W
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R 162142Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6179

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4685

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

H PASS: HONORABLE MARK O. HATFIELD
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHU, AR
SUBJECT DETENTION OF SILOISTS

1. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER OF MARCH 17, WHICH RECENTLY ARRIVED THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL MAIL. THE ARREST OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTER OF INNER RELIGION IN ARGENTINA HAS BEEN RAISED WITH THE EMBASSY BY THE MEMBERS RELATIVES AND THEIR US CORELIGIONISTS. THE EMBASSY HAS DISCUSSED THESE ARRESTS, AS WELL AS THE ARRESTS OF A NUMBER OF OTHER MEMBERS OF SMALL RELIGIONS ORGANIZATION WITH OFFICIALS OF THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THESE INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN PLACED UNDER PRESIDENTIAL DETENTION FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF "DISASSOCIATIVE IDEAS". WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE DETENTION OF THESE INDIVIDUALS IS UNDER REVIEW IN THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR.

2. I SHALL KEEP YOU INFORMED REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN THESE CASES.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04685 170126Z

4. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT.
CASTRO

7/5/78 P
B6

Alfonso Guerrina Soderini

B6 June 17th 1978

AR137A/ B6

JUL 5 1978

Solidarity House
8000 East Jefferson Avd.
Detroit Michigan 48214
USA

I am aware that your Organisation is carrying out the painful but noble task of relieving the suffering of parents of young people, victims of the ideological plague , which is oppressing us all, often causing their unfair emprisonment and of whom we do not even know whether they are still alive.

This is the case of my nephew DANIEL ALFARO VAZQUEZ, 30, Uruguayan, but residing in Buenos Aires (Argentina), who on August 11 1977, was abducted from his home, calle Rincón 211, Buenos Aires, by allegedly members of the Argentine Security Forces.

Since then, i.e. since nine months, his mother, his wife and his child know nothing about his fate and suffer hopelessly in that state of distress, brought about by tragic uncertainty and moral annihilation.

This young man Daniel Alfaro Vázquez is not a terrorist. At most he sympathyses with those who preach the immediate implementation of the utopies that people would actually like to see at work.

I would ask you to kindly do whatever is within the range of your possibilities to let me know whether my nephew is alive. You may undesstand how this would soothen his mother's and his wife's distress.

May God inspire you !

Yours faithfully

Alfonso Guerrina Soderini

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Lot 81D208
Box4963 (2/12)

UNCLASSIFIED

June 21, 1978

Ms. Patt Derian
Office for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs
Room 7802
US Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ms. Derrian;

This is the fourth letter I have written to your office requesting that you take action in the case of Professor Vincente Palomino Benitez of Chile, arrested by agents for DINA, the Chilean secret police, on December 16, 1974.

No word has been heard since from Professor Benitez. As the enclosed letter I received from his father states, the Chilean authorities have given the family no news of their son, and have harassed Sr. Benitez' 73 year old father from his apartment. Professor Benitez was seen three times since the date of arrest, always in the custody of the police. His family was not allowed to talk with him. That was three years ago. He has not been seen since.

I continue to request that you demand an explanation of this gross violation of human rights from the present Chilean authorities, and that you follow up and provide me with whatever information you obtain from them regarding Professor Benitez.

Sincerely.

UNCLASSIFIED

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) 3b

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

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MEMO TO THE FILE

June 28, 1978

SUBJECT: Conversation with Vicariate Lawyer Alejandro Gonzalez

I quizzed Gonzalez on the case of seven people -- including two ladies identified as Vicariate collaborators -- arrested June 22 in Peñaflor by GOC authorities for "political activity" and/on the matter of "sobreseimientos".

At 1000 hours, June 22 Gonzalez relayed the following on the Peñaflor case:/Carabineros arrested seven people in Peñaflor after receiving a complaint that the group was carrying out political activity. The group, which incl ed Paulina Leonides Silva Donoso and Marta Betsabé Vega Patri -- both collaborators of the Vicariate's Campesino Department -- were passing out questionaires soliciting tecnical information (yield of the soil, annual rainfall, etc) from the campesinos and owners of small plots. The information was solicited to enable the Vicariate to determine what technical assistance it could best afford these people. In the evening, CNI officials took custody of the group, handcuffed and blindfolded them and took them to an undisclosed location for interrogation . The seven were not physically abused during the time they were under arrest. They were released at ± 2200 hours June 23 -- 36 hours after they were picked up -- without any charges formulated against them . The Vicariate, which instituted a writ of habeas corpus June 23, still has judicial action pending, hoping that some action will be taken against responsible for ordering the arrest as well as deterring similar future GOC "harassment" against its people who work with campesinos. Meanwhile, the Vicariate's work in the rural areas will continue.

On "sobreseimientos" -- court closure of cases -- Gonzalez stated tha there are over 200 requests by the lower courts (juzgados) to the Courts of Appeal for sobreseimientos. The reasoning is that, as the Amnesty decreed April 18 pardons many crimes committed between Sept. 11, 1973 and March 10, 1978, on-going investigations in connection with these crimes no longer have any relevance and should [illegible]

UNCLASSIFIED

as a consequenc their judicial actions pr anted on behalf of disa peared relatives will be suspended or terminated and that, not onl will the fate of the disappeared not ever be known, but legal actio against those causing the disappearance -- GOC security service personnel-- will likewise never be taken. The relatives have thus argued that their relatives' disappearance constitutes "kidnapping (see Santiago _____) , which is a continuing crime, and therefore does not come under the amnesty. The Appeals Courts judges -- unlike the lower court judges -- accept this thesis by and large, said Gonzalez (Comment: Also told to me by ~~Confirmed/in a chat with~~ a leading Santia Court of Appeals judge) and are ruling against sobreseimientos . Gon zalez said that in nine recent Vicariate cases for "definitive sobre seimiento" (permanent closure), only one had been approved. The othe eight were rejected and investigations are continuing. He added that the judges may opt for temporary, as opposed to permanent, closure, with the vast majority of the 200+ cases pending calling for permanent closure. Gonzalez stated that, while most of the cases involved those of the disappeared, there were other cases (see the case of Osvaldo Figueroa of Villa Mexico fame) as well The Vicariate has not compiled stats on the sobreseimiento cases, I hope to do so in a couple of weeks. According to Gonzalez, other pressing requirements -- involving legal actions in on-going cases- have handicapped them in this regard.

POL: FCVargas
POL: REService

UNCLASSIFIED

TELEGRAM

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ACTION: POL
INFO: AMB
DCM
POL/R
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Classification

STATE 167964
7/3/78

P 020118Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY
INFO RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 6818
BT
[redacted] STATE 167964

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OAS, SHUM, XM,

SUBJECT: OASGA SUMMARY: JULY 1,1978

USDEL 27

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

SUMMARY: OASGA ACTION JULY 1 WAS IN CRITICAL HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD IN JURIDICAL-POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND IN PLENARY SESSIONS WHICH GAVE APPROVAL TO RESOLUTIONS DISCUSSED AND VOTED IN VARIOUS COMMITTEES. FIFTH PLENARY SESSION (LATE MORNING) WENT RAPIDLY. SIXTH PLENARY IN PROGRESS AND CLOSING SESSION WILL OCCUR LATE EVENING. END SUMMARY.

1. TO COMPLETE CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF COMMITTEE I ACTIVITIES, TERRORISM AGENDA ITEM WAS TREATED IN ILL-HUMORED DEBATE WHICH CONCLUDED COMMITTEE I'S ACTIVITIES JUNE 30. THIS ISSUE PITTED CARIBBEANS, LED BY JAMAICA (RATTRAY), AGAINST MOST OF LATINS. PRINCIPAL CARIBBEAN CONCERN WAS THAT RESOLUTION SHOULD NOT APPEAR TO CONDEMN WHAT THEY DESCRIBED AS JUST EFFORTS OF "PEOPLES STRUGGLING AGAINST INSTRUMENTALITIES

OF OPPRESSION", E.G., AS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. JAMAICA AND SURINAM OFFERED AMENDMENTS TO DRAFT RESOLUTION REPORTED BY WORKING GROUP, DESIGNED TO SOFTEN CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM CONTAINED IN "WHEREAS" CLAUSE. THESE WERE ABSTAINED TO DEATH 8-14 AND 9-14 [redacted] US IN FAVOR). COMMITTEE THEN PASSED TEXT OF [redacted]OLUTION WITH AMENDMENT BY GUATEMALA 23 TO 1 WITH ONE "NO PARTICIPATION VOTE FROM SURINAM'S KARAMAT, WHO PROCEEDED TO LEAVE MEETING IN HUFF. DEBATE ON

[redacted]
Classification

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I-101

OPTIONAL FORM 151
(Formerly FS-412
January 1975
Dept. of State

4. AFTER STATEMENTS, COMMITTEE I PROCEEDED TO VOTE ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS. RESOLUTION ON ANNUAL REPORT WAS APPROVED BY LOPSIDED MARGIN OF 21 YES ZERO ABSTENTIONS AND THREE NOS (ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, AND URUGUAY). RESOLUTION AS PASSED THANKS IAHRC FOR ITS REPORT; NOTES WITH SATISFACTION RECENT RATIFICATIONS OF PACT OF SAN JOSE AND INVITES MEMBER STATES WHICH HAVE NOT DONE SO TO RATIFY; RECOMMENDS ADOPTION OF MEASURES 'TO PRESERVE AND MAINTAIN THE FULL EFFECTIVENESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS'; CALLS UPON GOVERNMENT OF CHILE TO CONTINUE TO PUT INTO PRACTICE MEASURES TO PRESERVE HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, COOPERATE WITH THE IAHRC AND GRANT NECESSARY GUARANTEES TO INDIVIDUALS WHO COOPERATE WITH IAHRC; AND REQUESTS INTER-AMERICAN JURIDICAL COMMITTEE TO PREPARE DRAFT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION MAKING TORTURE AN INTERNATIONAL CRIME.

5. COMMITTEE NEXT VOTED TO APPROVE RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN URUGUAY, WHICH PASSED BY VOTE OF 16 YES 8 ABSTENTIONS (ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, BRAZIL, CHILE, EL SALVADOR, HAITI, NICARAGUA, PARAGUAY) AND URUGUAY OPPOSED. SUBSEQUENT VOTE ON SIMILAR RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN PARAGUAY LED TO SAME RESULT, EXCEPT THAT PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY SWITCHED FROM ABSTAIN TO NO VOTES, RESPECTIVELY. TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS WILL BE CABLED SEPTEL.

6. COMMITTE I THEN VOTED US-SPONSORED RESOLUTION ON "PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS" (SUBSTANTIALLY AS IT APPEARS IN USDEL 11) BY VOTE 21 YES, 3 ABSTENTIONS (BRAZIL, ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY) AND NONE AGAINST.

7. AS FINAL HUMAN RIGHTS ITEM, COMMITTEE TOOK UP COSTA RICAN RESOLUTIONS REGARDING SEAT OF INTER-AMERICAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH WILL COME INTO EXISTENCE UNDER PACT OF SAN JOSE, AND LEGAL

STATUS OF IAHRC UNDER TRANSITION TO PACT. GOCR REQUEST TO HAVE COURT LOCATED IN SAN JOSE PASSED BY ACCLAMATION BUT SEVERAL DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED DOUBTS OF LEGAL CHARACTER ABOUT DRAFT RESOLUTION ON TRANSITIONAL STATUS OF IAHRC. THIS RESOLUTION WAS REFERRED TO PERMANENT COUNCIL FOR STUDY. PRESIDENT (AGUILAR) AND SECRETARY GENERAL OF IAHRC PRIVATELY EXPRESSED TO USDEL THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THIS OUTCOME.

TELEGRAM

IM IN FINAL IMPORTANT ACTION OF LONG MORNING, STARVING DELEGATES APPROVED REPORT OF POLITICAL--JURIDICAL COMMITTEE ON NON-AUTONOMOUS TERRITORIES IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE OVER VIGOROUS OBJECTIONS OF CARIBBEANS THAT IT FALSIFIED HISTORY BY NOT REFERRING TO SITUATION OF BELIZE. GUATEMALAN DELEGATE (ARRIOLA) TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE STATEMENT THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GUATEMALA AND UK ON BELIZE WERE PROCEEDING SATISFACTORILY AND THAT HE HOPED THAT PROBLEM WOULD BE RESOLVED SOON. FINAL VOTE WAS 18 YES WITH VIRTUALLY ALL CARIBBEANS AND SURINAM ABSTAINING.

9. SIXTH PLENARY, CONSIDERING RESOLUTIONS DEBATED BY SECOND, FOURTH AND LASTLY FIRST COMMITTEE STILL IN PROGRESS. IT WILL BE FOLLOWED BY CLOSING FORMAL SESSION. AS SEPARATE ORDER OF BUSINESS, PERMANENT COUNCIL WILL MEET URGENTLY TO CONSIDER INVITATION TO OAS FROM BOLIVIA TO SEND OBSERVERS TO NATIONAL ELECTIONS ON JULY 9. VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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K-527

EXCISE

B-6

TO: POL:REService
POL:EEArcher

FROM: POL:FCVargas

SUBJECT: Walk-In: [redacted] July 11, 1978

[redacted] self
[redacted] years of age and a /identified ex-labor leader had asked to see someone in POL. To the point, he stated that he knew first hand that all the disappeared were dead. [redacted] claimed that his brother-in-law, said to be ex-DINA and CNI employed, had told him countless stories of torture and mistreatment of prisoners by the GOC security forces. According to the brother-in-law, most of the horror took place in a place known as Rinconada Lo Cerda, situated near Talagante, a town 39 kms from Santiago on the road to San Antonio. Here the security forces reportedly took people for interrogation -- and eventual death. Of the many stories told by [redacted] one stands out in my mind: Late November 1977, four youths -- three males and one female -- were taken for interrogation in Rinconada Lo Cerda. Afterward, they were told they were free to go, to make it back to the main road rapidly, on foot. When the four were about 100 meters away, GOC personnel manning machine guns opened fire, killing the three men. The girl, horrified, knelt, pleading for her life. A uniformed GOC official approached her and suddenly launched a grenade near her. She also died.

[redacted] claimed to have worked for a company (empresa conservera) thought to be sympathetic to Allende in 1971-72. After the coup, he was briefly detained and later released without charge. He stated that he was arrested by FACH people on December 9, 1977, physically roughed up, and released the next day. On March 14 of this year, an unidentified man approached him on the street, warned him to "behave" (read stay away from opposition groups) and then walked off. [redacted] has not been bothered since. He claims he knows about GOC harassment and physical abuse of labor union people and intimated he might be interested in talking to Ed. I told him I would pass it on.

COMMENT: [redacted] visit is not provocation, I am convinced. He sounded sincere and somewhat relieved to "get it off his

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

chest". [redacted] stated repeatedly that there were few places in Chile where one could speak openly. He credited his brother-in-law's DINA association for keeping him alive. I expressed the thought that groups such as the Allana Commission should certainly have the opportunity to hear, investigate charges such as his.

POL:FCVargas:ef 7/12/78 Approved:POL:REService

cc: ADCM/Ambassador
POL/R

[redacted]

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[redacted]

7/15/78

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05483 01 OF 05 181645Z
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USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5483

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FROM RSO TO SY AND ECA/ARA; PANAMA FOR RSS: CZ FOR SCJ2

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF TERRORIST AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

1. THIS REPORT GIVES A SUMMARY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO US BY THE SECURITY FORCES DURING THE MONTH OF JUNE 1978.

2. JUNE 1- FEDERAL POLICE RESPONDED TO A REPORT OF AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE AT 812 CORRIENTES ST. IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. THEY DEACTIVATED THE DEVICE. THERE WERE NO INJURIES.

- ON THE SAME DATE, IN ROSARIO, PAMPHLETS WERE LOCATED IN THE FACTORIES OF JOHN DEERE CO. THE PAMPHLETS WERE PREPARED BY THE ORGANICACION AND LUCH (ORGANIZATION AND FIGHT) WHICH IS AN ARM OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST-COMMUNIST PARTY (PCML).

- ON THE SAME DATE, MR. EDUARDO FEIGUERO, REPORTER FOR
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05483 01 OF 05 181645Z

LA PRENSA IN SALTA, RECEIVED AN ENVELOPE CONTAINING PAMPHLETS ENTITLED "THE MONTONERO PERONIST MOVEMENT" AND

UNCLASSIFIED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

THE WORLD CUP." SECURITY FORCES BELIEVED THESE PAMPHLETS WERE PART OF AN INTERNATIONAL SUBVERSION CAMPAIGN DEVELOPED OUTSIDE OF ARGENTINA.

JUNE 2 - A REPORTER FOR LA PRENSA IN FORMOSA RECEIVED AN ENVELOPE FROM MEXICO CONTAINING PAMPHLETS FROM A "SPECIAL COMMISSION OF THE WORLD CUP OF THE MPM."

- ON THE SAME DATE, IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY AND LETTERS OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF TUCUMAN, SUBVERSIVE INSCRIPTIONS WERE FOUND DENOUNCING PRESIDENT VIDELA. THEY WERE PREPARED BY THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (PRT).

- IN SALTA, THE EXPLOSIVE BRIGADE OF THE FEDERAL POLICE FOUND EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS UTILIZED BY TERRORISTS.

- IN A JOINT OPERATION IN SAN MARTIN DE LOS ANDES, NEUQUEN PROVINCE, SECURITY FORCES ARRESTED EDUARDO F. GRALDINI AND GRACIELA VICENTE FOR POSSESSION OF SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE DENOUNCING THE WORLD CUP. A FEMALE ACCOMPLICE OF GRALDINI WAS ALSO ARRESTED. ALL 3 ARE PRESUMED TO BE MEMBERS OF A SUBVERSIVE CELL.

JUNE 3 - A HAIR DRESSER IN SAN JUAN RECEIVED MONTONERO LITERATURE BY MAIL WHICH WAS ENTITLED "MOVEMENT NO. 6 OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MONTONERO PERONIST MOVEMENT (MPM). LITERATURE DEPICTED A LITTLE BOY DRESSED IN FOOTBALL UNIFORM AND PONCHO. AROUND HIS HEAD HE WORE A RIBBON WITH THE WORD "MONTONERO". IN HIS RIGHT HAND HE CARRIED A SPEAR AND THE LEFT HAND MADE A "V" SIGN.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05483 01 OF 05 181645Z

JUNE 5 - LUIS ALBERTO CAMPORA AND HIS WIFE ANGELA AND THEIR DAUGHTER WERE FOUND DEAD ON THE FREEWAY BETWEEN ROSARIO AND SANTE FE. CAMPORA WAS A LABOR LEADER OF THE UOM (METAL WORKERS UNION). THEY WERE GAGGED WITH HANDS TIED AND SHOT TO DEATH WITH 9 MM AND 22 CAL WEAPONOK SECURITY FORCES BELIEVE THEY WERE KILLED BY MONTONEROS.

- ON THE SAME DATE, SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WERE SEEN ON THE ROOFTOPS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE RESIDENCE OF GENERAL VIOLA IN OLIVOS, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE. THEY OPENED FIRE ON POLICE AND SECURITY FORCES IN THE AREA. NO FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS INCIDENT.

JUNE 6 - SECURITY FORCES DISCOVERED RADIO EQUIPMENT IN A HOTEL IN LA PLATA. EQUIPMENT WAS USED BY MONTONEROS TO INTERFERE WITH THE WORLD CUP SOCCER GAMES BETWEEN FRANCE AND ARGENTINA. THEY ALSO FOUND ANTENNAS, CONDENSORS, CASSETTES AND TRANSMITTERS.

- ON THE SAME DATE, AT 7:05 P.M., THERE WAS INTERFERENCE WITH CHANNEL 2 TV IN THE AREA OF SAN MIGUEL DEL MONDO. BETWEEN 7:15 - 7:30 THERE WAS ANOTHER INTERFERENCE ON CHANNEL 2 IN THE CITY OF LA PLATA. INTEREFERENCE CONSISTED OF TRANSMITTING PICTURE OF MARIO FIRMENICH WITH WITH BACKGROUND NOISES. IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES THERE WAS INTERFERENCE ON TV CHANNEL 13.

- ON THE SAME DATE, THERE WERE FIRES SET IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISTRACTING SECURITY FORCES, POSSIBLY FROM MONTONERO BROADCAST UNITS.

JUNE 7 - THE FACULTY OF CHEMICAL ENGINEERING OF THE UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE LITTORAL RECEIVED FROM NEW YORK A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "MOVEMENT 6, SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MONTONEROS", ISSUED APRIL 78. THE PAMPHLET WAS ENTITLED "TO RESIST IS TO WIN."

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05483 01 OF 05 181645Z

- ON THE SAME DATE IN SAN RAFAEL, MENDOZA, SEVERAL SCHOOLS RECEIVED MONTONERO PAMPHLETS MAILED FROM VENEZUELA.

JUNE 8 - POLICE REQUESTED ALL UNITS TO INTENSIFY THEIR PATROL BECAUSE THERE HAD BEEN A NUMBER OF SUSPICIOUS PACKAGES LEFT IN THE STREETS WHICH COULD CONTAIN EXPLOSIVES. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, A BOMB EXPLODED AT THE IKA-RENAULT CONCESSIONAIRE AT COSTA RICA AND GODOY CRUZ STS. THIS IS ELEVEN BLOCKS FROM THE EMBASSY. THE BOMB CAUSED MATERIAL DAMAGE.

- ON THE SAME DATE, THE HQ OF THE CGT (GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR) IN SALTA RECEIVED A MONTONERO PAMPHLET AND WORLD CUP STICKERS. OTHER INSTITUTIONS IN THE AREA RECEIVED SIMILAR MATERIAL.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05483 02 OF 05 181647Z
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5483

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- ON THE SAME DATE, THE HQ OF UTA SMATA TEXTILES RECEIVED PAMPHLETS FROM THE CGT-R (R RESISTANCE, A MONTONERO FRONT) DATED JANUARY 1978. THE PAMPHLETS CONTAINED TECHNIQUES FOR CARRYING OUT LABOR RESISTANCE.

JUNE 10 - AT 6:30 A.M. THERE WAS A GRENADE ATTACK AGAINST THE CASA ROSADA (GOV'T HOUSE) IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. THE ATTACK CAUSED MATERIAL DAMAGE ONLY.

- ON THE SAME DATE IN LA PLATA, MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE FOUND AT THE DOOR OF THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF LABOR RELATIONS. SIMILAR PAMPHLETS WERE ALSO FOUND IN THE PROXIMITY OF LOCAL FACTORIES.

- ON THE SAME DATE, IT WAS REPORTED THAT MONTONERO PAMPHLETS MAILED FROM COSTA RICA WERE RECEIVED IN A POLICE PRECINCT IN LONGCHAMPS.

- ON THE SAME DATE, A VEHICLE WAS STOLEN BELONG TO RADIO RIVADAVIA. THE CAR CONTAINED TRANSMISSION EQUIPMENT

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05483 02 OF 05 181647Z

WHICH SECURITY OFFICIALS THOUGHT WAS GOING TO BE USED BY SUBVERSIVE FOR BROADCASTING. HOWEVER, THE CAR WAS SUBSEQUENTLY FOUND.

JUNE 13 - THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE POLICE ISSUED AN ORDER TO ALERT ALL POLICE UNITS THAT THEY ANTICIPATED ATTACKS BY TERRORIST ELEMENTS AGAINST MILITARY AND POLICE TARGETS. THE TERRORISTS WOULD BE USING ROCKET LAUNCHERS WITH AN EFFECTIVE RANGE OF 400 METERS.

- ON THE SAME DATE IN LA PLATA, AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS DETONATED OUTSIDE THE HOME OF GENERAL BRIGONE. THERE WERE NO INJURIES.

- AT 10:30 P.M. THERE WAS A ROCKET ATTACK AGAINST THE SENIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOL. THERE WERE NO INJURIES.

- ON THE SAME DATE, PRECINCT 4 IN TUCUMAN RECEIVED MONTONERO PAMPHLETS. MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE ALSO SENT TO THE SCHOOL OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI IN SAN JUAN.

JUNE 16 - MONTONERO POSTERS WERE FOUND ON THE WALLS AND IN THE TOILETS OF A RAILROAD STATION IN LA PLATA.

- IN SALTA, THE CHIEF OF PROVINCIAL POLICE RECEIVED ENVELOPES FROM SPAIN CONTAINING PAMPHLETS OF THE PERONIST MONTONERO MOVEMENT.

- ON THE SAME DATE, FEDERAL POLICE IN BUENOS AIRES DETONATED A BOMB LOCATED AT 1850 CORRIENTES AVE. THEY ALSO REMOVED TWO SUSPICIOUS PACKAGES FROM THE HOTEL BAUEN 9TH FLOOR ON CALLAO AVE.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05483 02 OF 05 181647Z

- IN CORDOBA, MONTONERO PUBLICATIONS, MOVEMENT 4 AND 5, WERE RECEIVED VIA MAIL FROM LOS ANGELES. THERE WERE ALSO FRENCH AND SPANISH PUBLICATIONS CRITICIZING ARGENTINA AND THE WORLD CUP.

JUNE 18 - AT VIAMONTE AND RODRIQUEZ PENA, SUBVERSIVES FIRED A ROCKET AT THE BUILDING OF THE 601 INTELLIGENCE BN. THE ROCKET DID DAMAGE TO THE SIDE OF THE BUILDING BUT THERE WERE NO INJURIES.

- AT CORRIENTES AND PUEYRREDON IN BUENOS AIRES, MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE FOUND ON THE STREET.

JUNE 19 - A BOMB OF MODERATE POWER EXPLODED IN THE POWER

PLANT OF THE SARMIENTO RR STATION, 13 KM WEST OF BUENOS AIRES. EXPLOSION CAUSED PROPERTY DAMAGE. THE MONTONEROS TOOK CREDIT FOR THE EXPLOSION.

JUNE 21 - THE SYRIAN-LEBANESE SOCIETY IN TARTEGAL, SALTA PROVINCE, DISTRIBUTED PAMPHLETS WRITTEN IN ARABIC PRAISING CHE GUEVARA.

- ON THE SAME DATE, A BOMB EXPLODED AT THE RESIDENCE OF DR. JUAN ALEMANN, 1016 AMENABAR ST. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, IN THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY. MR. ALEMANN WAS NOT INJURED. HIS WIFE WAS SLIGHTLY INJURED AND HOSPITALIZED. THERE IS A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THIS WAS DONE BY SUBVERSIVES OR DISSIDENT ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY.

- ON THE SAME DATE MONTONERO LEAFLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL BY THREE MEN IN A PEUGEOT 504. ON THAT DATE, POLICE BROADCAST AN ALERT THAT VEHICLES SIMILAR TO PROVINCIAL POLICE CARS WERE BEING USED BY TERRORISTS. THE OCCUPANTS OF THE CAR WORE THE UNIFORM OF THE PROVINCIAL POLICE.

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05483 02 OF 05 181647Z

JUNE 23 - SUBVERSIVES ATTACKED TWO POSTS BELONGING TO THE COAST GUARD IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. THE ATTACKERS WERE REPELLED BUT ESCAPED, LEAVING LEAFLETS OF THE LABOR BLOCK OF THE MPM.

- ON THE SAME DATE, IN THE RR STATION OF VILLA BALQZER PCML PAMPHLETS WERE FOUND, ENTITLED "TO THE WORKERS AND THE PEOPLE." THEY WERE SIGNED, REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, PCML.

- POLICE REPORTED THAT A PEUGEOT 404, USING LICENSE PLATE BELONGING TO A FORD FALCON, HAD BEEN ATTACKING MILITARY OBJECTIVES IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, POLICE BROADCAST AN ALERT THAT TERRORIST ELEMENTS HAD ATTACKED THE REGIMENT AT PATRICIOS, LOCATED BETWEEN SANTA FE AND CERVINO STS IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. THE TERRORISTS FIRED SHOTGUNS AND GRENADES FROM A NEARBY RAILROAD EMBANKMENT.

JUNE 24 - IN LA PLATA, A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA. ON THE

SAME DATE, IN TIGRE, A LARGE NUMBER OF MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED.

JUNE 25 - TERRORISTS ATTACKED WITH ROCKETS THE POLICE SCHOOL ON JOSE MARIA MORENO AVEN, BETWEEN ROSARIO AND GUAYAQUIL STS., AND ESCAPED THE AREA. THE ROCKET STRUCK THE BUILDING AND DAMAGES THE 2ND, 3RD AND 4TH FLOORS.

- ON THE SAME DATE, AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE DETONATED IN THE HOME OF MRS. ANNA MARIA DE ROMERO IN CORDOBA. POLICE BELIEVE THIS ATTACK WAS A CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY.

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PAGE 05 BUENOS 05483 02 OF 05 181647Z

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05483 03 OF 05 182145Z
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[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5483

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ON THE SAME DATE, IN A SLUM AREA NEAR VILLA BALLESTER, MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED. THE PAMPHLETS DENOUNCED PRESIDENT VIDELA.

JUNE 27 - PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED IN LA PLATA BY MONTONEROS. THE TITLE OF THE PAMPHLET WAS "LET'S PUT A STOP TO EXPLOITATION AND KILLING - LIBERTY TO POLITICAL AND LABOR PRISONERS - THE PEOPLE ARE AT WAR.

JUNE 28 - THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF OPERATIONS OF THE FEDERAL POLICE BROADCAST A REPORT THAT TWO CARS, A DODGE 1500 AND A TORINO, SIMILAR TO THE ONES USED BY THE PROVINCIAL POLICE, HAD BEEN SEEN ON THE PANAMERICAN ROUTE. THEY WERE OCCUPIED BY PERSONS IN POLICE UNIFORMS BUT THEY WERE NOT POLICE. ALL POLICE UNITS WERE ALERTED TO INTERCEPT THESE VEHICLES AND PERSONS IF POSSIBLE.

ON THE SAME DATE, TERRORISTS IN A WHITE PEUGEOT ATTACKED THE 43RD POLICE PRECINCT IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL WITH A ROCKET. ONE POLICEMAN WAS INJURED. ALL POLICE

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STATIONS WERE REQUIRED TO PROVIDE EXTRA VEHICLE PATROL WITH REINFORCED CREWS TO ATTEMPT TO APPREHEND THE TERRORISTS INVOLVED IN THE ROCKET ATTACK.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A RE-CAP OF THE ROCKET ATTACKS LAUNCHED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND SECURITY FORCES DURING JUNE.

ON JUNE 10 THERE WAS A ROCKET ATTACK ON GOVT HOUSE. ON 6-13 THERE WAS A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE SUPERIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOL; 6/15, A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE NAVY MECHANIC SCHOOL; 6/18, A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE 601 INTELLIGENCE BN; 6/21, A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE OFFICE OF THE CMDR IN CHIEF OF THE 1ST ARMY CORPS. ADDITIONALLY, THERE WAS AN ATTACK ON THE COAST GUARD PREFECTURE ALBATROS, DATE UNKNOWN; 6/24, THERE WAS AN ATTACK ON THE FIRST REGIMENT IN PATRICIIOS; 6/25, THERE WAS A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE FEDERAL POLICE SUPERIOR OFFICERS SCHOOL; 6/28, THERE WAS A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE 43RD POLICE PRECINCT.

4. SECURITY FORCES BELIEVE THAT AN RPG-7 WAS USED IN ALL OF THE ATTACKS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE ATTACK ON THE FIRST REGIMENT AT PATRICIOS. IN THAT INSTANCE, THE PROJECTILE WAS A MONTONERO G-40 AND THREE PROJECTILES WERE FIRED. THE TERRORISTS USED A PEUGEOT 504 OR 503 IN ALMOST ALL OF THESE ATTACKS. THE ATTACKS WERE LAUNCHED FROM A RANGE OF 120 METERS MINIUMUM AND 300 METERS MAXIMUM. SECURITY FORCES BELIEVE THERE ARE AT LEAST 13 MORE ROCKET GRENADES IN THE COUNTRY AND ANTICIPATE FURTHER INSTANCES OF THIS KIND. ALTHOUGH AT PRESENT THE MONTONEROS HAVE BEEN GREATLY WEAKENED BY THE COUNTER-REPRESSION, THEY STILL RETAIN THE CAPABILITY

FOR ROCKET ATTACKS AND FOR ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05483 03 OF 05 182145Z

ONSOFT TARGETS AND WILL PROBABLY RETAIN THIS CAPABILITY UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF NEXT YEAR. SECURITY FORCES BELIEVE THAT THE MAIN MONTONERO EFFORTS ARE POLITICAL AND THAT THEIR OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES REPRESENT THEIR MOST IMPORTANT PROJECT.

5. FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF SENIOR MONTONERO OFFICIALS PRESENT OPERATING ABROAD:
BERGER, MARIA ANTONIA, AKA "ANITA" OR "SOLEDAD"; BORN 9 SEPT 42, BUENOS AIRES, DAUGHTER OF JUAN AND ANTONIA MATUSEVICAITE. DOCUMENT: L.E. 4.406.721, CAPITAN AND REPRESENTATIVE IN CUBA.

BIDEGAIN, CRISTINA: COMBATANT AND MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ACTIVE IN ROME.

BIDEGAIN, GLORIA MERCEDES: BORN IN 1950, DOCUMENT: L.E. 6.364.550. COMBATANT AND MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ACTIVE IN ROME.

BIDEGAIN, OSCAR: BORN 17 FEB 1926 IN YERUA, ENTRE RIOS PROVINCE; SON OF JUAN CARLOS. DOCUMENT: L.E. 5.770.585. MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL, MPM - POLITICAL BRANCH.

BONASSO, MIGUEL - MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL, MPM-PRESS SECRETARIAT.

CHAVES, GONZALO LEONIDAS - BORN: LA PLATA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 14 AUG 1939, SON OF HORACIO IRINEO AND MARIA ELIBERTA GOMEZ. DOCUMENT: LE.E. 5.179.929. MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MPM - POLITICAL BRANCH.

FIRMENICH, MARIO EDUARDO, AKA "PEPE". BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 24 JAN 1948, SON OF ENRIQUE AND ZARINA ELVIRA SAGRERAS. DOCUMENT: L.E. 7.794.388. COMMAND AND SECRETARY GENER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MPM. CHIEF OF THE MONTONERO ARMY.

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05483 03 OF 05 182145Z

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GALIMBERTI, RODOLFO GABRIEL - AKA "EL LOCO ALEJANDRO" OR "BENJA". BORN IN BUENOS AIRES 5 MAY 1947, SON OF ERNESTO ENRIQUE AND HERMINIA CASTELLUCCI. DOCUMENT: L.E. 7'003.694. CAPITAL AND MEMBER OF THE MPM - YOUTH BRANCH. ACTIVE IN MEXICO.

GELMAN, JUAN: BORN 3 MAY 1930, SON OF JOSE AND PAULINA BURISHSON. DOCUMENT: L.E. 4.063.852. PRESS SECRETARY OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MPM.

LESGART, SUSANA ADRIANA, AKA "LAURA". MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MPM - WOMEN'S BRANCH.

LOVEY, OSVALDO RAUL: BORN IN VILLA ANGELA, CHACO PROVINCE, 26 MAY 1947, SONO OF OLIBERTO AND CARMEN NICLIS. DOUCMENT: L.E. 7.929.029. MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MPM - AGRICULTURAL BRANCH.

MASSAFERRO DE BELLONI, LIDIA ANGELA: AKA "LILI" OR "PEPA". BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 23 NOV 1926, SON OF EDUARDO ENRIQUE AND MARIA LIDIA MARANISI. DOCUMENT L.E. 3.069.802. 2ND LT IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECRETARIAT AND MEMBER OF THE WOMEN'S BRANCH OF THE MPM.

ACTIVE IN ROME.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05483 04 OF 05 182307Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-05
NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 MCT-02 EB-08 OC-06 CCO-00
ICAE-00 HA-05 /074 W
----------080779 190036Z /14-62

R 181448Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6538
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5483

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MENDIZABAL, HORACIO ALBERTO - AKA "HERNAN" OR "EL VASCO." BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 30 OCT 1944, SON OF MARCIAL RAMON AND ROSA IRMA LAFUENTE. DOCUMENT: LE.E. 5.079.070. SECOND COMMANDER; NATIONAL MILITARY SECRETARY AND CHIEF OF THE LEADING GROUP OF THE MONTONERO ARMY.

OBREGON CANO, RICARDO ARMAND: BORN IN 1917, SON OF HERMINDO AND GENOVEVA CANO. DOCUMENT: L.E. 2.954.758. MEMBER OF THE MPM - POLITICAL BRANCH OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL; SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE OF THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE (COSPA) OF MEXICO.

PEDREIRA, MANUEL ENRIQUE: BORN 30 MAY 1951, SON OF CASTOR AND IRENE CARRATALA. DOCUMENT: L.E. 8.482.183. MEMBER OF THE MPM-YOUTH BANCH OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL.

PERDIA, ROBERTO CIRILO - AKA "CARLITOS", "PELADO" OR "PELADO CARLOS." BORN IN PERGAMINO, BUENOS AIRES, PROVINCE, 9 JULY 1941, SON OF PEDRO AND MARIA ELENA LINKOVICH. DOCUMENT: L.E. 4.379.488. SECOND COMMANDANT AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL LEADER-
[redacted]

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SHIP.

PUIGGROS, DELIA C. - COLLABORATOR AND SECRETARY OF THE SOCIAL ASSISTENCE COMMITTEE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE (COSPA) OF MEXICO.

PUIGGROS, RODOLFO JOSE: BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 19 NOV 1906, SON OF JOSE AND NATALIA NIEVES. DOCUMENT L.E. 2.142.292. MEMBER OF THE MPM -PROFESSIONAL AND INTELLECTUAL BRANCH OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL; MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE (COSPA) IN MEXICO.

VACA NARVAJA, FERNANDO HUGO: AKN "VASCO", "FACUNDO" OR ",NICOLAS." BORN IN CORDOBA, 7 JAN 1948, SON OF MIGUEL HUGO AND SUSANA YOFRE. DOCUMENT: L.E. 7.997.198. SECOND COMMANDER; MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MPM.

YAGER, RAUL CLEMENTE: AKA "ROQUE". BORN 20 JULY 1944. IN CORDOBA, SON OF CLEMENTE ROBERTO AND CECILIA MENEGIN. DOCUMENT: L.E. 6.257.069. SECOND COMMANDER AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

ALBERIONE, ELVIO: AKA "GRINGO." BORN 26 OCT 1937 IN RIO PRIMER, CORDOBA PROVINCE, SON OF JUAN BAUTISTA AND ELISA VALERIA EBERHARDT. DOCUMENT: L.E. 6.503.634. SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SOUTHERN COLUMN. PROBABLY IS IN BRAZIL.

AMARILLA, RUBEN DARIO: AKA "NEGRO". BORN IN RESISTENCIA, CHACO PROVINCE, 15 FEB 1955, SON OF DONATA CRECENCIO AND RAMONA CABRERA. DOCUMENT: D.N.I. 11.406.124. MEMBER OF COLUMN 15 IN ROSARIO. ACTIVE IN PARAGUAY.

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05483 04 OF 05 182307Z

BRAUN, OSCAR: BORN 11 AY 1940 IN ARGENTINA, SON OF JOSE BRAUN MENENDEZ AND MARTA SEEBER DEMARIA. DOCUMENT: L.E. 4.309.768. COLLABORATOR, IS IN SPAIN.

BARTH, JUAN ARTURO: AKA "RAFAEL", "UNCLE DONALD" OR "PATA." BORN IN MAIPU, MENDOZA PROVINCE, 28 MARCH 1947, SON OF JUAN AND SARA NILDO FERREYRA. IS IN BRAZIL.

BERCOTTINI, OSCAR SABINO: BORN 25 APRIL 1949 IN ASUNCION PARAGUAY, SON OF OSCAR SABINO AND CARMEN DIAZ. DOCUMENT: C.I. 159.517. COLLABORATOR. IS IN BRAZIL.

BONASSO, MIGUEL ANGEL: BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 17 MAY 1940. SON OF ERNESTO AND CARMEN VICARIA. DOCUMENT: L.E. 4.357.907. AND C.I. 3.516.109. SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PRESS OF THE MPM. ACTIVE IN MEXICO.

CANZONETTA, SERGIO ISMAEL: AKA "PERICO". BORN IN JUNIN, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 10 OCT 1951. DOCUMENT: L.E. 8.581.471. ACTIVE IN BRAZIL.
CROATO, DANIEL ARMANDO, AKA "PETETE". BORN IN AVELLANEDA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 10 OCT 1945, SON OF SEGUNDO AND ROSA IOP. DOCUMENT: C.I. 5.423.292. IN CHARGE OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL FOR THE MPM. ACTIVE IN MEXICO.

CAMPIGLIA, HORACIO DOMINGO, AKA "PETRUS". BORN IN ARGENTINA, 6 JUNE 1949, SON OF DOMINGO ARGENTINO AND DORA PEDEMONTI. DOCUMENT: C.I. 5.601.101. MILITARY SECRETARY OF THE MONTONEROS. ACTIVE IN BRASIL.

CHAVEZ, RENEE ETELVINA: BORN IN SAN LUIS, 29 MARCH 1947, SON OF RAMON ALIMANDO AND ETELVINA FITZGERALD. DOCUMENT L.E. 5.477.542 AND C.I. 8.396.070. MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MPM, WOMEN'S BRANCH, IS IN ROME.

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05483 04 OF 05 182307Z

CHIHEE, ALICIA MARIA: BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 29 JAN 1947. DAUGHTER OF ANTONIO AND IRIS MARIA DEVALIS. DOCUMENT: L.E. 5.445.671. ACTIVE IN FRANCE AND ROME.

BUGLIOLO DE BOERO, ALCIRA ANTONIA: AKA "JULIA" OR "CARLA". BORN IN SANTA FE, 30 OCT 1948, DAUGHTER OF LUCAS AGUSTIN AND ALCIRA ANTONIA SMITH. DOCUMENT: L.E. 5.811.677. IS IN BRAZIL.

FERNANDEZ LONG, PABLO: AKA "FERNANDO" OR "PACO". BORN IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 16 NOV 1945. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 4.538.880 AND C.I. 7.885.495. IS AN OFFICIAL OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SECRETARIAT. ACTIVE IN SPAIN.

FRAMINI, ANDRES: BORN IN ENSENADA, BUENOS AIRES, PROVINCE, 12 AUG 1914. SON OF RAMON AND SARA ROSSI. DOCUMENT: C.I. 2.365.278. MEMBER OF THE UNION BRANCH OF THE MPM SUPERIOR COUNCIL. ACTIVE IN SPAIN AND MEXICO.

GARZON MACEDA, LUCIO CLAUDIO: BORN IN CORDOBA, 12 NOV 1930. SON OF CEFERINO AND MARIA TERESA CAEIRO. DOCUMENT: L.E. 6.471.000. COLLABORATOR. IS IN THE USA.

GUANGIROLI, LIA MARIANA ERCILIA: AKA "MARCELA". BORN IN ARGENTINA 30 JAN 1958, DAUGHTER OF HUGO CESAR AND LIA EMMA NANCIA MARTINEZ, DOCUMENT: C.I. 8.403.234. ACTIVE IN FRANCE.

GONZALEZ, NOEMI: AKA "MARUCA". BORN IN BUENOS AIRES 23 NOV 1952. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 10.615.361 AND CI.I. 7.056.135. COMBATANT. ACTIVE IN BRAZIL.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05483 05 OF 05 182334Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-05
NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 MCT-02 EB-08 OC-06 CCO-00
ICAE-00 HA-05 /074 W
----------081242 190035Z /14-62

R 181448Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6539
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 5 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 5483

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HAIDAR, RICARDO ENE, AKA "MATEO" OR "MARCOS." BORN IN SANTO DOMINGO, SANTA FE PROVINCE, 15 JAN 1944, SON OF NATALIO AND MERCEDES MARIA CAMUSSI. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 6.298.691 AND C.I. 195.064. MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL AREA. ACTIVE IN BRAZIL.

HABEGGER, NORBERTO ARMANDO: AKA "ERNESTO" OR "CABEZON." BORN IN ARRECIFES, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 9 AUG 1941, SON OF ARMANDO AND MARIA GOMEZ. CAPT. AND CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SECRETARIAT, FEDERAL REA. ACTIVE IN BRAZIL, MEXICO AND ARGENTINA.

LEWINGER, JORGE OMAR: AKA "FRANCES", "JOSE" OR JOSESITO". BORN IN FEDERAL CAPITAL 7 DEC 1944, SON OF JORGE OMAR MARIO AND LEONOR WINRED. DOCUMENT: C.I. 5.152.111. IN CHARGE OF THE NATIONAL PROPAGANDA SECRETARIAT. ACTIVE IN BRAZIL.

LOPEZ, JOSE DALMASO: AKA "LA CHANCA" OR "CHANCHA LOPEZ." BORN IN CAPITAN BERMUDEZ, SANTA FE PROVINCE, 31 DEC 1942. SON OF CECILIO AND INEZ PEREYRA. DOCUMENT: C.I. 6.180171. COLLABORATOR. ACTIVE IN SPAIN.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05483 05 OF 05 182334Z

MASSOCHI DE LIVIERES, ANA MARIA: AKA "ADRIANA". BORN IN BUENOS AIRES 28 FEB 1951, DAUGHTER OF FRANCISCO CARLOS AND ELSA BERTOLOTTI. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 6.660.335 AND C.I. 246.723. OFFICIAL OF THE POLITICAL SECRETARIAT. ACTIVE IN MEXICO.

MASSA, RICARDO ABEL: AKA "NIPUR" OR "TINCHO" OR "FLACO", BORN IN RIO CUARTO, CORDOBA PROVINCE, 22 JAN 1948, SON OF CARLOS AND BLANCA LIDIA VICANOV. IS IN BRAZIL.

MARIN, LUIS ARGENTINO: AKA "HUGO" OR "JUANCA". BORN IN RIO CUARTO, CORDOBA PROVINCE, 27 JAN 1944, SON OF LUIS AND IDA MARIA DANIEL. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 6.651.903 OR C.I. 6.587.121.

IS IN BRAZIL.

ORGAMBIDE, PEDRO SANTIAGO OR ORGAMBIDE ODANSKY, PEDRO: BORN 8 JAN 1926, SON OF PEDRO AND VICTORIA DEL CIGNO. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 0.450.095 OR C.I. 332.035. COLLABORATOR OF THE MONTONEROS IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECRETARIAT IN MEXICO.

PEREYRA ROSSI, EDUARDO DANIEL: AKA "CARLON". BORN IN LA PLATA, BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, 19 JAN 1950, SON OF EDUARDO MIGUEL AND HAYDEE BISCAYART. DOCUMENT: L.E. 8.108.157. MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE MPM. IS IN BRAZIL.

SANZ DE LLORENTE, SUSANA: AKA "SONIA". BORN IN SAN RAFAEL, MENDOZA PROVINCE, 26 FEB 1935. DOCUMENT: L.E. 1.895.211. A PRINCIPLE OFFICIAL IN THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SECRETARIAT. IS IN SPAIN.

TOLCHINSKY, BERNARDO DANIEL: AKA "JULIOT". BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 14 AUG 1950, SONE OF GUILLERMO AND ESTHER BERGMAN.
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05483 05 OF 05 182334Z

DOCUMENTS: L.E. 8.447.961 OR C.I. 5.997.523. SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE LA PLATA ZONE. ACTIVE IN BRAZIL.

VERDINELLI, NESTOR RAUL: BORN IN POSADAS, MISIONES PROVINCE, 23 JUNE 1944, SON OF ARNOLDO AND MARIA ANGELICA CAPARA. DOCUMENT: L.E. 6.225.239. MEMBER OF THE JUP (PERONIST UNIVERSITY YOUTH). IS IN BRAZIL.

VALENZUELA, EDGARD TULIO: AKA "TUCHO". BORN IN SAN JUAN, 21 MARCH 1945, SON OF HECTOR AND ZAHARAY ORTEGA. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 4.527.841 OR C.I. 103.204. IN CHARGE OF THE POLITICAL SECRETARIAT OF THE ROSARIO COLUMN. IS IN MEXICO.

WIESSEN DE OLMEDO, ANA DORA: AKA "JENY" OR "MANUELA", BORN IN BUENOS AIRES, 15 JUNE 1949, DAUGHTER OF DAVID AND MINA MIKLOWSKI. DOCUMENTS: L.E. 6.063.772 AND C.I. 5.656.953. SECONDARY OFFICIAL OF THE MONTONEROS. IS IN ITALY.

YACUZZI, RAFAEL, BORN IN VILLA OCAMPO, SANTA FE PROVINCE, 5 MAY 1934, SON OF GUILLERMO AND REGINA ZUPEL. IS A MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL AND IS IN ROME.
CASTRO

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS05488

Page: 1

Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05488 182136Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-14 /036 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6541
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5488

H PASS HONORABLE JIM LEACH
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAP-
PEARANCE OF GRACIELA EUGENIA PERNAS (285/78/2)
AND JULIO POCE (284/78/2)

REF: STATE 030373

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 19, 1978, REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF GRACIELA EUGENIA PERNAS AND JULIO POCE. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINA GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF GRACIELA EUGENIA PERNAS AND JULIO POCE, NOR NAY INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THESE CASES WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05488 182136Z

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Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

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7/18/78

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TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Sec 14-2 E.O.
BH 116

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: REGIONALLY-FOCUSSED SPEECHES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5486

REE: STATE 176956

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CHRON

1. Except for its perennial border and sovereignty problems with Chile, Brazil and Great Britain, Argentina's major foreign policy problems revolve around human rights. The GOA response to US sanctions and growing European public criticism has shifted somewhat in recent months. Previously, GOA tried to argue away human rights abuses as an unfortunate result of a dirty war and an exaggeration exploited by an international leftist campaign to discredit the government. Lately, however, GOA may be shifting towards a new tack: re-emphasizing ties with the Third World and even Communist countries as a counter-weight to US "rejection" over human rights. The motives are not entirely clear and are probably varied. Concerned

DRAFTED BY: POL:YThayer/AGFreeman:jk | DRAFTING DATE: 7/17/78 | TEL. EXT.: 278 | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:
A/POLCOUNS:AGFreeman
USICA:JRHiggins

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5015-3-101

OPTIONAL FORM 1
(Formerly FS-4)
January 19
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(51/52)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

with growing US and European pressure, GOA is seeking to expand its options and sources of foreign goods and support. How much its current approximation to the Third World is designed as a warning to the West or an effort to regain Western respect by promoting Argentina as a bridge or moderator to the Third World is not altogether clear. It could be, however, a technique to relegate the human rights issue to a less prominent plane in its foreign affairs.

2. Argentine human rights groups have told us that the strong, open and vocal efforts of the US on behalf of human rights have served as a model for their own activities in the country. The US position, they say, has strengthened the hand of those in the Argentine human rights movement who are working for a more open public [redacted] consideration of the problem.

/3. However, it is difficult to measure public opinion on the human rights issue, given the fact that there is a de facto military regime, a state of seige and press censorship in effect on questions related to terrorism. What does predominate in the media is a huffy defense of the national sovereignty with alternating degrees of xenophobic [redacted]emotion and sophistication. We believe that the human rights constituency in Argentina, i.e. those concerned

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about personal rights, is still quite thin, [redacted] full scope [redacted]. It may grow as the/[redacted] of the human rights violations that clandestinely have taken place seeps into the public mind, but this may be a protracted development because (among other reasons):

(A) human rights violations for many years have been a way of life here (although never on the scale of that experienced since the mid-1970s);

(B) the great mass of the population -- workers and Peronists included -- do not identify with the sons and daughters of the middle class who, in organizing the ERP and Montoneros, attempted to fob themselves off as proletariat.

4. For many Argentines, both those for and against the current government, talk about "personal rights" is a codeword for a broader and more important question -- the issue of a return to democratic institutions, which is seen as being symbiotically connected with that of personal rights. Leaders of the old political parties tell us -- quietly -- that they support our human rights policies, because they view the policy as contributing to the cause of an eventual return to democracy. (Their public pronouncements on personal rights have been few and gingerly, /however.) For these leaders, personal rights cannot be guaranteed until there is full restoration of democratic

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government. We note too that the government, when it talks about moving toward a restoration of "the rule of law", usually places this in the context of beginning the process of political redemocratization. (See Buenos Aires 5298 in which we argued for a posture that would permit us to plausibly deny to GOA officials that we were explicitly pushing now for a return to democratic forms in order not to prejudice what prospects there are for enhancement of personal rights by the current government -- which we see as continuing in power for the foreseeable future.)

5. Embassy should also note our belief that the enthusiastic reception which Videla received during and just after the Mundial was largely a demonstration of hurt nationalistic pride (in part manipulated) in reaction to the propaganda being mounted against the government and the Armed Forces from abroad on the human rights issue.

6. Partly to enhance his image, politically ambitious Admiral Massera is making a political issue out of certain limited aspects of the human rights question. The most vivid example of this was the recent press exchange between the Navy and the Army spokesman

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on whether or not to publish the names of Argentines killed by security forces in the anti-terrorism campaign. This is a most interesting development. Massera -- whose hands certainly are not clean -- could prove to be a motor mechanism for accelerating the political process and -- in the process -- opening up these sensitive issues to public view.

CASTRO RJH

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS05490

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Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05490 182130Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-14 /036 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6543
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5490

H PASS HONORABLE TED WEISS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DETENTION OF MARIO ZARACEANSKY (328/78/4) AND SULVIA MONTSERRAT (329/78/4)

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2832

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR INQUIRY OF FEBRUARY 15, 1978 TO SECRETARY VANCE REGARDING THE DETENTION OF MARIO ZARACENASKY (328/78/4) AND SYLVIA MONTSERRAT (329/78/4), THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED BY THAT THEY ARE BOTH HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION DECREE 35 DATED 1-12-78, CHARGED AS BEING MEMBERS OF "FRENTE REVOLUCIONARIO 17 DE OCTUBRE." MR. ZARACEANSKY AND HIS WIFE SYLVIA MONTSERRAT ARE BEING HELD AT UNIDAD 1 IN THE CORDOBA JAIL.

2. THESE CASES WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

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3. SICERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978STATE181043

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Channel: n/a

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M034

PAGE 01 STATE 181043
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APPROVED BY ARA:GLISTER
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 181043

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS DISAPPEARANCES

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL WASHINGTON IS ASKING URGENTLY FOR INFORMATION ON FOLLOWING TWO CASES, BOTH ARGENTINES.

ANA MARIA PIFARETTI DISAPPEARED JUNE 28 AFTER LEAVING SANITARIO GERARDO GUENES, BUENOS AIRES, WHERE SHE WORKED AS DIETICIAN. SHE IS 32 YEARS OLD, WITH ONE CHILD. SHE IS A LEADER OF ARGENTINE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT. HER FAMILY HAS FILED HABEAS CORPUS BUT GOA REPORTEDLY ASSERTS IT HAS NO KNOWLEDGE.

ROBERTO OMAR RAMIREZ, 27 YEARS OLD, WAS ABDUCTED JUNE 27 ON CORNER OF SANTE FE AND CALLAO STREETS, BUENOS AIRES. HE TEACHES ARCHITECTURE AT LA PLATA UNIVERSITY. HIS HOUSE HAS SINCE BEEN RAIDED. HE IS FRIEND OF PIFARETTI. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN

FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
GEORGE MC GOVERN, S. DAK.
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.
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JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DEL.
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HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.

NORVILL JONES, CHIEF OF STAFF
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

for PD Directive

AR155A R

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 18, 1978

Mrs. Patricia Derian
Director
Human Rights Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Derian:

It has come to my attention that towards the end of 1976 mothers, wives and grandmothers of persons who have been detained for political reasons in Argentina began to organize themselves to bring pressure on the military leadership of Argentina to determine the status of the political detainees in that country. It is my understanding that these women met in small groups every week in the central square of Buenos Aires' Plaza de Mayo in front of the "Rose House" in order to intercede for their relatives. There have been reports that they have been harrassed, arrested, imprisoned, and probably killed. I would appreciate it if you could provide me with information on this matter. If the allegations are, in fact, correct, what steps is our government taking in light of the Administration's human rights policy?

Sincerely,

Frank Church

Frank Church

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

7/18/78

M035

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 181286
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 L-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 PA-02 ICA-20 SP-02 /057 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JMA
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
----------078172 182049Z /73

R 181910Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 181286

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF JOSE ARIEL KREPLAK

1. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY PRESENTATION OF FOLLOWING CASE TO FOWG:

NAME: JOSE ARIEL KREPLAK
DPOB: OCTOBER 19, 1960, BA
ID NO. CI 7349824
CIRCUMSTANCE OF DISAPPEARANCE: ON JULY 9, 1977 SIX ARMED INDIVIDUALS BROKE INTO KREPLAK'S HOUSE AT RONDEAU 1252, RAMOS MEJIA, BA AND TOOK KREPLAK, HIS FATHER AND BROTHER. LATTER TWO WERE RELEASED BUT JOSE ARIEL HAS NOT BEEN HEARD OF SINCE. CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

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7/18/78

M029

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 180896
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 H-02 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
/032 R

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
----------072392 181631Z /64

R 181409Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 180896

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONAL SAUL JAIME SZAJNBAUM

1. THE DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED A CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY FROM CONGRESSMAN BILL ARCHER OF TEXAS CONCERNING SAUL JAIME SZAJNBAUM, AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL.

2. PLEASE PRESENT THIS CASE TO THE FOWG.

3. AVAILABLE INFORMATION: EMBASSY CASE NUMBER 276/78/2
ID NUMBER: 7.160.578
PROFESSION - CHEMICAL TECHNICIAN
DISAPPEARED 11-21-77, FROM HIS FIANCE'S HOME. THE LETTER INDICATES HE WAS TAKEN BY POLICE, FAMILY AND FRIENDS CAN OBTAIN NO INFORMATION. CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

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7/18/78

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11032

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05489 182136Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-14 /036 W
----------079332 191910Z /44

R 181534Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6542
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5489

H PASS HONORABLE JACOB K. JAVITS
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF SAUL JAIME SZAJNBAUM (276/68/2)

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 5, 1977, ON BEHALF OF [redacted] REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SAUL JAIME SZAJNBAUM. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. SZAJNBAUM, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS, THEY NOTED THAT A POLICE ARREST ORDER HAS BEEN ISSUED FOR HIM.

B6

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS CASE HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

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BA-9
4-12-76

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

ACTION COPY

7/18/78 FAH

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ECOM		✓	GSO		
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CONS		✓	CRO		
ICA		✓	TCU		
LABOR			EGAT		
SCI			JEA		
DAO			FAS		
MILGP			FAA		
			CHRON		
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ZNY CCCCC ZZH
P 181637Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY 1358
BT

[redacted] STATE 181043

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS DISAPPEARANCES

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL WASHINGTON IS ASKING URGENTLY FOR INFORMATION ON FOLL WING TWO CASES, BOTH ARGENTINES.

4C-178/7

ANA MARIA PIFARETTI DISAPPEARED JUNE 23 AFTER LEAVING SANITARIO GERARDO GUENES, BUENOS AIRES, WHERE SHE WORKED AS DIETICIAN. SHE IS 32 YEARS OLD, WITH ONE CHILD. SHE IS A LEADER OF ARGENTINE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT. HER FAMILY HAS FILED HABEAS CORPUS BUT GOA REPORTEDLY ASSERTS IT HAS NO KNOLEDGE.

4C-3/7/7

ROBERTO OMAR RAMIREZ, 27 YEARS OLD, WAS ABDUCTED JUNE 27 ON CORNER OF SANTE FE AND CALLAO STREETS, BUENOS AIRES. HE TEACHES ARCHITECTURE AT LA PLATA UNIVERSITY. HIS HOUSE HAS SINCE BEEN RAIDED. HE IS FRIEND OF PIFARETTI. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#1043

[redacted]

NNNNVLEM

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS05542

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Channel: n/a

7/19/78

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UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05542 200222Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 /022 W
----------106432 201734Z /43

R 191640Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6565
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5542

H PASS HONORABLE ANDREW MAGUIRE
1314 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON DC 20515

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAP-
PEARANCE OF NESTOR SALVADOR MOADED (288/78/2)

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR LETTER OF MARCH 6, 1978, THE EMBASSY PRESENTED YOUR LETTER TO THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND AN INFORMATION REQUEST TO THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF NESTOR SALVADOR MOADED. THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE INFORMED US RECENTLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. MOADED, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS.

2. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL CONTACT YOU REGARDING ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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UNCLASSIFIED

7/19/78

M 042

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05561 201121Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6574
INFO USCINCSO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5561

H PASS: HONORABLE BILL ARCHER
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF SAUL JAIME SZAJNBAUM (276/78/2)

REF: STATE 180896

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST CONCERNING INFORMATION ON THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SAUL JAIME SZAJNBAUM. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. SZAJNBAUM, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS. THE FOREIGN OFFICE NOTE MENTIONED THAT A POLICE ARREST ORDER HAS BEEN ISSUED FOR MR. SZAJNBAUM.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS CASE HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THIS CASE WILL CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED REGARDING ANY FURHTER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05561 201121Z

CASTRO

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DE RUEHC #2299 2001626
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
P 191537Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 1364
RUFMPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4395
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 5670
RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 8938
RUFHBS/AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG 9486
RUFHDB/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 3551
RUDKPN0/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN 0145
RUFHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0621
RUDKGP0/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 4572
PUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7659
BT
[redacted] STATE 182299

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LABOR			TCU		
SCI			LEGAT		
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ACTION COPY

UNCLASSIFIED

IBB 104

USEEC FOR ACTION; USOECD FOR INFO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EFIN, SHUM, AR, FR, EEC

SUBJECT: FRENCH PRESSURES ON ARGENTINA TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS

1. DURING JUNE 28 CESSEIRE (OF FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY) CALL ON ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUSHNELL FOR GENERAL REVIEW OF LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES, BUSHNELL INDICATED U.S. CONCERN WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA, ESPECIALLY CONTINUING DISAPPEARANCES AND THE INSUFFICIENT EFFORTS TO ACCOUNT FOR DISAPPEARED. HE ASKED FOR FRENCH VIEWS AND WHAT COULD BE DONE.

2. CESSEIRE SAID THE FRENCH HAVE SIMILAR CONCERNS. FRENCH PUBLIC IS MORE CONCERNED WITH ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION THAN ANY OTHER IN LATIN AMERICA.

3. BUSHNELL NOTED THAT U.S. IS HOLDING UP MILITARY EXPORTS AND EX-IM FINANCING. HE SAID SUCH ACTION IS NOT VERY EFFECTIVE IF OTHER COUNTRIES DO NOT DO LIKEWISE.

4. CESSEIRE REPLIED THAT HE IS AWARE OF THE DISCUSSIONS ON FINANCING WITH U.S. ECONOMIC MINISTER IN PARIS. HOWEVER, HE SAID FRANCE COULD GET LITTLE OR NO COOPERATION WITHIN THE EEC ON ARGENTINA. HE SAID THE EEC IMMEDIATELY AGREED

WITH PRESSURE ON CHILE, WHICH WAS LESS IMPORTANT TO FRANCE; BUT EACH COUNTRY HAS SOME REASON, COMMERCIAL OR OTHERWISE, FOR GOING SLOW ON ARGENTINA.

5. BUSHNELL ASKED IF PARTIAL RESTRAINT ON FINANCING WHERE FEWER COUNTRIES MIGHT BE INVOLVED, FOR EXAMPLE ON JET AIRCRAFT, MIGHT BE FEASIBLE. CESSEIRE SHOWED INTEREST AND SAID THIS COULD BE DISCUSSED.

6. THIS DISCUSSION SUGGESTS THAT THE FRENCH HAVE RAISED THE POSSIBLE LIMITATION OF EXPORT CREDIT TO ARGENTINA WITHIN THE EEC WITHOUT RAISING IT WITH ARGENTIA. WOULD APPPECIATE ANY INDICATIONS ADDRESSEE POSTS HAVE OF SUCH DISCUSSION AND POSITIONS. ALSO WOULD APPRECIATE ANY VIEWS ADDRESSEES MAY HAVE ON THE FEASIBILITY OF A PAPTIAL EXPORT CREDIT RESTRAINT. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#2299

[redacted]

Note date!

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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(S2000.944)
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): b1
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

7/19/78

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SHUM. INR Weekly

INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 65, July 19, 1978

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UNCLASSIFIED

81D208
Box 4979

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

ICRC Makes Quiet Rights Progress. Embassy Buenos Aires considers that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is making a major humanitarian contribution in Argentina. The ICRC has reached an agreement with the Argentines that permits it full, private, and free access to political prisoners, along with the right to make repeat visits to prisons and aid prisoners' families. ICRC officials also believe that they have made a major breakthrough by gaining access to prisoners whose detention has not been acknowledged by the government. Embassy sources report that there are under 500 such prisoners in military camps. According to the Embassy, the ICRC's work will help to establish more accurately the number of "disappeareds." The ICRC plans to publish soon a list of 800 well-documented disappearance cases. [redacted] Buenos Aires 5384, July 13)

INR Comment. The ICRC's success in visiting 50 unregistered political prisoners in Cordoba is particularly noteworthy. The

[redacted]

army's Corps III, whose headquarters are in Cordoba, is commanded by General Luciano Menendez, a notorious hardliner on security questions. That the ICRC has been able to function in Menendez's bailiwick suggests a degree of internal government cooperation and coordination that often has been lacking in human rights/ security matters in the past. [redacted]

[redacted]

B6

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS05562

Page: 1

Channel: n/a

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7/19/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05562 201130Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
/032 W
----------114179 210442Z /64

R 192147Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6575
INFO USCINCSO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5562

H PASS: HONORABLE GUS YATRON
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF JORGE DEL CARPIO (175/77/11)

REF: 77 BUENOS AIRES 9077

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 19, 1977 ON BEHALF OF [ ] REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF 22 PERSONS IN CORDOBA, ARGENTINA, THE EMBASSY PRESENTED THE CASES RAISED BY [ ] TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. DEL CARPIO, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS.

B6
B6

2. WE ARE STILL AWAITING ADDITIONAL REPLIES TO OUR INQUIRY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THESE CASES AND WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05562 201130Z

CASTRO

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

Page: 1

7/19/78

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M036

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05534 200144Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 AID-05 TRSE-00 IO-13 SCS-06
CA-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /098 W
----------105942 201420Z /45

R 191559Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6560

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5534

E.O. 11652 XGDS 1
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL VIOLA

1. THE EVENING OF JULY 18 I HAD A MEETING WITH GENERAL VIOLA AT MY REQUEST TO DISCUSS THE RESULTS OF MY TRIP TO WASHINGTON. AS USUAL, HE RECEIVED ME ALONE AT HIS OFFICE AT ARMY HQ. HE APPEARED AT EASE AND PLEASED AT THE PROSPECT OF SEVEN DAYS VACATION WHICH HE WILL BEGIN TODAY.

2. I BEGAN BY CONGRATULATING THE GENERAL ON HIS PROMOTION TO COMMANDER OF THE ARMY AND HIS PLEASURE AT THIS EVENT WAS OBVIOUS. OBSERVING THAT I HAD RECEIVED REPEATED TELEPHONE CALLS FROM COMMANDER I CORPS GENERAL SUAREZ MASON TO INVITE ME AND MEMBERS OF MY STAFF TO LUNCHEON, I INQUIRED IF HE COULD PROVIDE ANY EXPLANATION FOR THE GENERAL'S SUDDEN INTENSE INTEREST IN THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR. VIOLA INDICATED CURIOSITY ABOUT SUAREZ MASON'S INTENTIONS AND SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT MIGHT BE BEHIND IT ALL. HE HAD A FEW NICE THINGS TO SAY ABOUT SUAREZ MASON BUT DID NOT VOLUNTEER ANY INFORMATION ABOUT THE LATTER'S RETIREMENT WHICH IS VIRTUALLY TAKEN FOR GRANTED IN BUENOS AIRES. WHEN I MENTIONED HAVING RECEIVED A GRACIOUS LETTER FROM GENERAL MENENDEZ, COMMANDER III CORP, WHICH STATED THAT LILIANA DEUTSCH SHOULD BE RELEASED
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05534 200144Z

SOON, VIOLA REACTED WITH SURPRISE AND SOME INDIGNATION SAYING, "SHE SHOULD HAVE BEEN TURNED LOOSE SOME TIME

AGO."

3. PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. I AGAIN REASSURED VIOLA THAT THE USG WAS NOT DEDICATED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE GOA, WE SIMPLY WANTED SOME SPECIFIC EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD WHICH WOULD PROVIDE US AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE OUR APPREACIATION OF THAT PROGRESS. I REITERATED THAT AN INVITATION TO THE IAHRC WAS STRICTLY A BILTERAL MATTER BETWEEN THE GOA AND THE COMMISSION AND WE COULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ARRANGEMENTS FOR A POSSIBLE VISIT. I ASKED VIOLA HOW HE SEES PROSPECTS FOR A VISIT BY THE IAHRC. VIOLA SAID THAT HE DID NOT SEE THAT A VISIT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE. THERE WERE TWO OR THREE OBJECTIONABLE ASPECTS OF THE COMMISSION'S CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE CLARIFIED OR WORKED OUT. HE THOUGHT THE GUARANTEE TO PROVIDE ANY AND ALL DOCUMENTATION REQUESTED WAS SIMPLY TO SWEEPING AND WOULD HAVE TO BE CLARIFIED. HE WAS CLEARLY OFFENDED THAT THE GOA WOULD BE ASKED TO MAKE A GUARANTEE OF NO REPRAISALS AGAINST THOSE INTERVIEWED BY THE COMMISSION. HE SAID THIS WOULD CERTAINLY BE OFFENSIVE TO ANY SELF-RESPECTING SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT BUT THEN ADDED THAT THE OBJECTIVE SOUGHT SHOULD NOT BE A DETERRENT TO THE VISIT. COMMENTING ON THE REQUEST TO VISIT MILITARY PRISONS, VIOLA SAID HE THOUGHT THIS WAS A FOLISH REQUEST SINCE IF ANY MILITARY UNIT HAD PRISONERS IT WISHED TO HIDE IT COULD DO SO WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST DIFFICULTY. REFERRING TO THE GENERAL TOPIC OF AN IAHRC VISIT HE SAID THAT AS AN OFFICIAL OF A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY HE COULD HARDLY WELCOME AN INVESTIGATION FOR A FOREIGN AGENCY, BUT THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRED PARTICULAR FLEXIBILITY AND HE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05534 200144Z

THOUGHT THE COMMISSION'S BASIC REQUIREMENTS COULD BE MET -- AT LEAST HE AND PRESIDENT VIDELA WERE GOING TO MAKE A CONCERTED EFFORT TO DO SO. HE SAID THAT THE SUBJECT WAS TOO URGENT TO AWAIT HIS RETURN AND THAT GENERAL BIGONE OF HIS STAFF WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH ME IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

4. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN OFFICE. I TOLD VIOLA I WOULD BE MEETING WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER ALLARA ON JULY 19 AND ASKED IF HE HAD ANY GUIDANCE ON HOS THAT CONVERSATION SHOULD BE HANDLED. HE SAID I SHOULD BE COMPLETELY FRANK WITH ALLARA BUT NOT TO EXPECT TO MAKE

ANY PROGRESS. HE ADDED THAT IF ALLARA PROCEEDS TO GIVE ME A HARDLINE LECTURE, I SHOULD SIMPLY IGNORE IT.

5. JUNTA MEMBERS VISIT TO US. I EXPLAINED TO VIOLA THAT ADMIRAL MASSERA WOULD BE VISITING WASHINGTON LATER THIS MONTH AND THAT GENERAL AGOSTI WAS SEEKING A VISIT WITH HIS US COUNTERPARTS AND THAT THESE VISITS BY JUNTA MEMBERS RAISED SOME QUESTIONS IN THE USG AS TO WHAT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TREATMENT. VIOLA SAID HE WOULD REFER THIS QUESTION TO PRESIDENT VIDELA AND GET BACK TO ME.

6. RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM. REFERRING TO OUR PREVIOUS CONVERSATION ABOUT THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM I SAID THAT IT WAS MOVING TO SLOWLY AND SOUGHT HIS HELP ON LOOSENING UP THE PROCESS. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE PROCESS WAS UNMANAGEABLELY COMPLICATED, REQUIRING ALMOST A DOZEN FORMAL APPROVALS FOR EACH CASE. HE SUGGESTED I SEE COLONEL SAN ROMAN OF THE MINISTRY OF GOVERNMENT.

7. PRISONER RELEASES. WHEN I RAISED THIS TOPIC HE SAID THE GOA WAS STUDYING THE STATUS OF 1500 PRISONERS WHO WERE PICKED UP BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. HE GAVE NO INDICATION OF HOW MANY OF THESE PRISONERS MIGHT BE [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASED. I OBSERVED THAT WE HAD YET TO SEE ANYTHING DEVELOP IN THE WAY OF RELEASED OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF PRISONERS. HE INDICATED THEY WERE WORKING ON IT.

8. COMMENT. VIOLA WAS UNEQUIVOCAL IN HIS POSITION THAT HE AND THE PRESIDENT WERE GOING TO CONTINUE TO TRY TO WORK OUT AND AGREED BASIS FOR THE IAHRC VISIT. HE INDICATED THAT FOREIGN OFFICE DISAPPROVAL COULD BE ASSUMED BUT WOULD NOT PREVAIL. IT WAS NOT CLEAR HOW ANY NEGOTIATION WITH THE COMMISSION IS BEING CARRIED OUT.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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7/19/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05553 201119Z
ACTION ARA-14

M041

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-02 HA-05 /022 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6571
INFO USCINCSO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5553

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DESAPPEARANCE OF FATHER MAURICE SILVA (319/78/4)

REF: STATE 179655

1. EMBASSY PRESENTED SUBJECT DISAPPEARANCE CASE TO FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON APRIL 4, 1978. TO DATE WE HAVE RECEIVED NO REPLY. FATHER SILVA WAS MEMBER OF FRENCH CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ORDER WHICH LIVES AMONG THE POOR AND PERFORMS MANUAL WORK. FATHER SILVA WAS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED BY POLICE WHILE WORKING AT HIS JOB AS A STREET CLEANER IN BUENOS AIRES.

2. CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST HAS BEEN SHOWN IN SUBJECT CASE BY BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL (BA-3223), DON EDWARDS (BA-2566) AND BY JOHN WYDLER (REFTEL). IN ADDITION, EMBASSY HAS REPLIED TO SEVERAL PRIVATE U.S. CITIZEN REQUESTS.

3. CASE IS WELL KNOWN AMONG CHURCHMEN HERE.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05535 200218Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 SS-15 /037 W
----------106285 201641Z /46

R 191639Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6561
INFO USCINCSO

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5535

H PASS: HONORABLE GERRY E. STUDDS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DETENTION OF OSVALDO GASPARINI (163/77/11)

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2282

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF NOVEMBER 7, 1977 TO SECRETARY VANCE REGARDING SEVEN ARGENTINE POLITICAL PRISONERS WHICH WE SUBMITTED TO THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS GIVEN US THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON OSVALDO GASPARINI:

2. MR. GASPARINI WAS PLACED UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION IN NOVEMBER, 1974 FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE MONTONERO ORGANIZATION. HE WAS SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS IN JAIL IN SEPTEMBER, 1975. HE WAS REMOVED FROM EXECUTIVE DETENTION STATUS IN NOVEMBER, 1977. HIS JAIL SENTENCE WAS COMPLETED IN NOVEMBER, 1977. HOWEVER, HIS DETENTION WAS CONTINUED BY EXECUTIVE ORDER BECUASE OF HIS BACKGROUND AND HIS DANGEROUSNESS. AT PRESENT HE IS IMPRISONED AT SIERRA CHICA PRISON. IN JANUARY 1978 HE PRESENTED A REQUEST TO LEAVE THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05535 200218Z

COUNTRY, WHICH WAS DENIED IN APRIL, 1978.

3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THIS CASE AND WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

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BA-17
4-12-78

for Morning Reading File 7/20/78

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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BI 118

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS; AMBASSADOR CHATS WITH CAPT. ALLARA

ACTION: SECSTATE WASH DC - IMMEDIATE

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5568

AMB
DCM
POL
CHRON

1. I had promised Foreign Minister Montes I would contact immediately on my return from a five-day consultation trip Dept. I ran into Montes at noon-day reception on Mon (July He suggested I talk to Deputy Foreign Minister Allara as he (Montes) was departing for Europe that afternoon.

2. I met with Allara and North American desk officer, Espec Gil, at Foreign Office yesterday (Wed, July 19) at 11:00 hr Salient points of conversation follow:

3. I stressed to Allara and Espeche Gil of USG interest in maintaining traditional friendly relations with GOA. I suggested to Allara it seemed it would be in best interest of GOA if IAHRC visited Argentina. He agreed but stated some of questions propounded by IAHRC were offensive and unreali He said in his opinion IAHRC completely ignored fact Argent was a sovereign and independent country.

4. It was apparent Allara was annoyed and was still smarti from his recent visit to State Dept. He stated his intervi with the Under Secretary was a dismal failure. I reminded that if IAHRC failed to visit Argentina, a strong, negative

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED
Ambassador Castro:mmp	7-20-78	200	Ambassador Castro

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): ____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
[redacted]

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BA-17

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report would probably ensue from that Commission. I suggested report might be less negative if IAHRC were permitted to see conditions for themselves on a first hand basis. Again, he concurred with this premise and said he would be discussing subject with President Videla. He indicated IAHRC probably would be visiting Argentina but timing was unknown. Again, I reminded him of time being of the essence.

5. The usual bouncy Navy Captain seemed tense and frustrated when he said "I don't understand how USG can implement Humphrey-Kennedy Bill and Harkins Bill before they become law. He looked at me and loudly proclaimed "you have been a Judge and Lawyer so please explain to me how USG can clothe itself with laws that are non-existent, use these laws to our detriment and then you keep telling us you are our friends".

6. Recognizing Allara's frustration, I returned to IAHRC's possible visit. Allara said his office would soon be making an effort to communicate with the chairman of IAHRC.

7. Allara reached over and handed me a copy of La Nacion. He pointed to a front page story of EXIM Bank rejecting GOA's loan application for a hydro-electric project and purchase of Commercial aircraft. He then repeated "what does building a dam and supplying aircraft to a commercial airline have to do with human rights?". He said he feared these untimely action by EXIM Bank would precipitate a nationwide anti-American sentiment.

8. Next topic discussed by Allara was the Defense agreement USG and Argentina. He said it appeared USG had breached the Defense agreement. The Foreign Office concern was what to do with US Milgrp on October 1. He felt the ultimate answer was to send Milgrp home. I reminded Allara his tunes sounded most pessimistic. I suggested positive strides could still be made

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in the field of human rights before September 30. He agreed and said the first priority was to get IAHRC to Argentina.

9. I then inquired about Massera's proposed US visit. I told him that I had heard Massera was entering Bethesda Naval Hospital on November 27. He denied any knowledge on the subject. He informed me he was having lunch with Massera and would get the details. He promised to keep me informed.

10. Comment: Since my chat with Allara, Admiral Luchetti, a Massera confidant, came to my office. He explained Massera's hospital appointment was a cover and was means being used to visit the US. Luchetti explained Massera was cancelling his US trip. (Septel follows.)

11. ~~Comment:~~ It seems Foreign Office continues to be out of contact with the Executive. It has been apparent to me that Foreign Office is very definitely flying the Massera colors. For that reason President Videla and General Viola do not make the Foreign Office privy to their contacts with US Embassy. ~~More detailed info on Massera gestures proposed US visit follows.~~

CASTRO

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7/20/78

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M048

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05590 202123Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 /022 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6590
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5590

H PASS HONORABLE HENRY A. WAXMAN
1721 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON D.C. 20515

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPEARANCE OF KORSUNSKY, EDUARDO SERGIO KORUS E.E.(72/77/6) AND DETENTION OF DEUTSCH, LILIANA INES (113/77/9)

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR THOUGHTFUL LETTER OF JUNE 9, 1978 CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF EDUARDO SERGIO KORSUNSKY. I MET WITH MRS. KORSUNSKY LAST DECEMBER.

2. THE EMBASSY PRESENTED IN INQUIRY TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN JUNE, 1977. WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED ANY REPLY FROM THE FOREIGN OFFICE. WE SHALL REPEAT OUR INQUIRY.

3. THANK YOU FOR YOUR KINDS WORDS. I AM MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO OBTAIN LILIANA DEUTSCH'S RELEASE.

4. I WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP YOU INFORMED REGARDING BOTH THESE CASES.

5. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05590 202123Z

CASTRO

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7/20/78

M049

PAGE 01 PANAMA 05215 210222Z
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTRA
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] PANAMA 05215

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, UR
SUBJECT: REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE OF JAIME DRI

REF: BUENOS AIRES 4845

1. WIFE OF JAIME DRI, OLIMPIA DIAZ, WAS NOTIFIED OF INFORMATION CONTAINED IN REFTEL AND SUBSEQUENTLY CAME INTO THE EMBASSY TO DISCUSS HER HUSBAND'S CASE. WHILE SHE APPRECIATES THE ACTION EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES HAS TAKEN IN THIS MATTER, SHE HAS REQUESTED YOUR "ANALYSIS" OF THE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLVING IT. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION YOU CAN SUPPLY ON THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP, ITS RESPONSIVENESS TO INQUIRIES OF THIS TYPE, AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ARGENTINA AS IT RELATES TO SUCH CASES, TO PASS ON TO DIAZ.
2. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, THE MOST RECENT NEWS SHE HAS OF HER HUSBAND IS THAT, AS OF JANUARY 13, 1978, HE WAS BEING HELD AT THE "ESCUELA DE MECANICA DE LA ARMADA DE ARGENTINA" IN BUENOS AIRES. SHE HAS ALSO MADE REPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING HER HUSBAND TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA WHICH, REPORTEDLY, IS LOOKING INTO THE CASE THROUGH ITS EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES. JORDEN

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7/20/78

PAGE 01 STATE 183431
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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
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R 201408Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 183431

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: IMPRISONMENT JUAN FRANCISCO ESQUERRA

1. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED A REQUEST FROM CONGRESSMAN DONALD FRASER ASKING FOR INFORMATION ON JUAN FRANCISCO ESQUERRA, THE FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE BANK WORKERS UNION OF ARGENTINA.

2. CONGRESSMAN FRASER SPECIFICALLY WISHED TO KNOW THE CHARGES AGAINST ESQUERRA, WHERE HE WAS HELD AND IF HE WOULD BE ELEGIBLE FOR THE HEMISPHERE PAROLE AUTHORIZATION PROGRAM.

3. THE CONGRESSMAN ASKED THAT ESQUERRA'S CASE BE PRESENTED TO FOWG. CHRISTOPHER

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TELEGRAM

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ACTION: POL
INFO: AMB
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[redacted] STATE 183349

Classification

7/20/78

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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General Reports

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TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS
BT
[redacted] STATE 183349

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OAS, ECIN, SHUM, MARR, PINT, PARM

SUBJECT: ARA WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS JULY 12-19

1. AMBASSADOR VAKY
AMBASSADOR VAKY WAS CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE ON JULY 14 AND WILL BE SWORN IN ON JULY 21 AT 4:30. LATIN AMERICAN AMBASSADORS, CONGRESSMEN AND MANY OTHERS HAVE BEEN INVITED TO THE SWEARING IN CEREMONY.

2. ELECTIONS
(A) BOLIVIA - ON JULY 13 THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN POSTED A PRESS RELEASE EXPRESSING OUR CONCERN OVER ALLEGED VOTING IRREGULARITIES IN THE RECENT BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A JULY 17 DEMARCHE FROM THE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR IN WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED ITS DEEP CONCERN OVER THE ATTITUDE OF THE USG TO THE ELECTIONS. AMBASSADOR BOEKER IS IN CONTACT WITH - THE LEADING POLITICAL GROUPS IN BOLIVIA AND WE ARE FOLLOWING EVENTS CLOSELY.
--
(B) ECUADOR -
THE JULY 16 ELECTIONS IN ECUADOR WERE HELD IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF RELATIVE CALM WITH NO REPORTS OF FRAUD. CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED ACKNOWLEDGING

SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE NEXT STAGE IN THE "RETORNO" PROCESS, BUT NO QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ASKED ABOUT THE ELECTION.

(C) DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
IN RESPONSE TO AN OFFICIAL INVITATION, PRESIDENT CARTER SENT A LETTER TO DOMINICAN PRESIDENT-ELECT ANTONIO GUZMAN REGRETTING THAT HE COULD NOT ATTEND GUZMAN'S [redacted] INAUGURATION,

Classification

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OPTIONAL FORM 151
(Formerly FS-412
January 1975
Dept. of State

BUT STATED THAT HE HAD ASKED SECRETARY VANCE AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO REPRESENT HIM AT THE CEREMONY.

3. HUMAN RIGHTS
THE INTER-AGENCY GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOREIGN ASSISTANCE (CHRISTOPHER COMMITTEE) MET JULY 12 AND DECIDED TO: POSTPONE A DECISION ON THE 2 IDB LOANS FOR ARGENTINA, VOTE "NO" ON THE GLOBAL AGRICULTURAL LOAN FOR CHILE, POSTPONE AND ATTEMPT TO RESTRUCTURE A PREINVESTMENT IDB LOAN FOR EL SALVADOR, POSTPONE DECISION ON A PENDING DOLLARS 19 MILLION IDB AGRICULTURE LOAN FOR NICARAGUA, PENDING FURTHER EXAMINATION OF WHETHER OR NOT IT MEETS BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, HOLD BACK APPROVAL OF TWO PARAGUAYAN AID LOANS AND AN IDB LOAN PENDING THE OUTCOME OF THE LAINO CASE. THE COMMITTEE APPROVED THREE ACTIONS FOR GUYANA: AN IDB LOAN FOR FOOD PRODUCTION AND MARKETING PROGRAMS, AND AN AID SEED FARM DEVELOPMENT AND A COMBINATION GRANT/LOAN FOR RICE STABILIZATION FOR GUYANA. ASSISTANCE FOR GUYANA WILL BE SPREAD OUT TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF LARGE AMOUNTS OF ASSISTANCE FOLLOWING RIGHT AFTER A QUESTIONABLE ELECTION PROCESS. CONSIDERING MILITARY ITEMS, THE COMMITTEE DECIDED TO APPROVE A REQUEST FOR HAITI FOR JEEPS AND TRUCK SPARE PARTS BUT TURNED DOWN A HAITIAN REQUEST FOR M-1 RIFLE SPARES.

4. AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS CAME INTO EFFECT FOR THE ELEVEN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE RATIFIED IT WHEN GRENADA DEPOSITED ITS INSTRUMENT OF RATIFICATION ON JULY 14. (THE ELEVEN COUNTRIES ARE: COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, VENEZUELA, ECUADOR, GUATEMALA, HAITI, HONDURAS, PANAMA AND GRENADA).

THE CONVENTION SETS OUT A SERIES OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM SLAVERY, FROM INHUMANE TREATMENT AND FROM EX-POST FACTO LAWS. IT PROVIDES FOR AN INTER-AMERICAN COURT ON HUMAN RIGHTS. IT ALSO PROVIDES FOR A NEW AND STRENGTHENED OAS INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. SPECIFIC PROVISIONS RELATING TO RIGHT TO LIFE AND COMPENSATION FOR VICTIMS OF INJUSTICE POSE PROBLEMS FOR THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE

OF OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM AND THE RESERVED POWERS OF THE STATES IN EDUCATION, MARRIAGE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

PRESIDENT CARTER SIGNED THE CONVENTION ON JUNE 1, 1977 AND WITH TEN SPECIFIC RESERVATIONS. IT WAS SENT TO THE SENATE FOR ACTION.

HOWEVER, WE DO NOT EXPECT
CONSIDERATION OF THE CONVENTION IN 1978.

5. NO WEEKLY ISSUE PAPER
ARA PREPARED NO WEEKLY ISSUE PAPER THIS WEEK. CHRISTOPHER

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7/20/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05585 210222Z
ACTION ARA-14

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R 201908Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6587
INFO TREASURY DEPARTMENT
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5585

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY FOR COLIN I. BRADFORD, JR.
DEPARTMENT FOR ARA/ECA

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DETENTION OF RUBEN BECERRA (345/78/5); LUIS ARAOZ (347/78/5) AND HORACIO SANTILLAN (346/78/5)

REF: W.E. ESCOUBE MEMO OF 4/13/78 TO R.C.GRAHAM

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST OF APRIL 13, 1978, ON BEHALF B6
OF [redacted] REGARDING THE DETENTION OF FIVE PERSONS IN ARGENTINA, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US REGARDING THE FOLLOWING CASES:

2. RUBEN BECERRA (345/78/5) IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 1810 OF 1974) IN RAWSON PRISON (CHUBUT PROVINCE) CHARGED WITH ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION AND POSSESSION OF ARMS. HE PRESENTED A REQUEST TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY UNDER THE RIGHT OFOPTION PROGRAM IN DECEMBER 1976,WHICH WAS DENIED IN MARCH 1977.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05585 210222Z

3. LUIS ARAOZ (347/78/5) IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 1810 OF 1974) IN RAWSON PRISON (CHUBUT PROVINCE) CHARGED

WITH ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION AND POSSESSION OF ARMS.

4. HORACIO SANTILLAN (346/78/5) IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 1477 OF 1974) IN RESISTENCIA PRISON (CHACO PROVINCE) CHARGED WITH ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION AND POSSESSION OF ARMS.

5. WE HAVE HAD NO REPLY REGARDING OSVALDO PAVIOLO AND ATENCIO TAURINO.

6. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THESE CASES AND WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05582 202118Z
ACTION ARA-14

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R 201904Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6584
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5582

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: US INTERESTED HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

REF: BUENOS AIRES 4997 AND PREVIOUS

1. EMBASSY PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING CASES TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) ON JULY 18, 1978:

CASE NO.	NAME	US INTEREST	STATUS
458/78/7	CORREA, VICTOR	AMNES.INT'L	DETAINED
459/78/7	BERRUTI, ALFREDO	CONG.BEDELL	DISAPPEARED
460/78/7	BUSTOS, CARLOS ARMANDO (PADRE BUSTOS)	CONG. SEIBERLING	DISAPPEARED
461/78/7	GAZZARI, PABLO (PADRE GAZZARI)	CONG.SEIBERLING	DISAPPEARED
462/78/7	NOSIGLIA, MARIA MAGDALENA	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
463/78/7	ARCHETTI, ARMANDO	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
464/78/7	GONZALEZ VELARDES, JUAN CARLOS	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
465/78/7	CARPINTERO LOBO, PABLO	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
466/78/7	BUDINI, EDUARDO DANIEL	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
467/78/7	COCCA ASTRADA, OSCAR	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05582 202118Z

468/78/7	VALVERDE, EDUARDO JORGE	DEPT. OF STATE	DETAINED

469/78/7	ACUNA, JUAN RODOLFO	DEPT. OF STATE	DETAINED
470/78/7	TUR DONATI, ALBERTO	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
471/78/7	GOMEZ DE ARGANARAZ, MARIA ELENA	CONG.ZEFERETTI	DISAPPEARED
472/78/7	LOIS, RICARDO OMAR	SEN.HAYAKAMA	DISAPPEARED
473/78/7	FUKS, JOSE ABEL	CONG.LEHMAN	DISAPPEARED
474/78/7	CORAZZA, SILVIA ANGELICA	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
475/78/7	CALLEJA, DANIEL EDUARDO	STATE DEPT.	DISAPPEARED
476/78/7	FELDMAN, LAURA J.	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
477/78/7	GARUTI, ALBERTO	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
478/78/7	ZOGAGLIA, HAYDEE	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
479/78/7	SARRACENO, HECTOR	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
480/78/7	FUENTES, RAUL	SEN.KENNEDY	DISAPPEARED
481/78/7	RISAU, JUAN	SEN.KENNEDY	DISAPPEARED

2. EMBASSY ALSO PRESENTED FOLLOW UP INFORMATION REQUEST ON THE FOLLOWING CASES:

381/78/5	DYSZEL, MARCELO HUGO	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
272/78/1	POLLANO, HUMBERTO	DEPT. OF STATE	DETAINED
263/78/1	BELAUSTEGUI HERRERA, MARTIN	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
210/78/11	LOPEZ GUERRA, MARIA CRISTINA	WOLA	DISAPPEARED
162/77/11	HAGELIN, DAGMAR	5 CONGRESSMEN	DISAPPEARED
158/77/10	DOPAZO, BLANCA HAYDEE ALTMAN DE	AMEM.MONTEVIDEO	DISAPPEARED
120/77/10	CARPINTERO LOBO, RICARDO	INTER.LEAG.HR	DISAPPEARED
50/77/3	NORIEGA, CARLOS	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05582 202118Z

43/77/1	LIDEDISKY, SUSANA BEATRIZ	SEN.KENNEDY	DISAPPEARED
22A/76/11	GARCIA ITURETAGOYENA DE GELMAN, MARIA CLAUDIA	DEPT. OF STATE	DISAPPEARED
22/76/11	GELMAN, MARCELO ARIEL	DEPT. OF STATE	DETAINED
8/76/11	BERMAN, CLAUDIO SANTIAGO	CONG.SCHROEDER CONG.O'NEILL	DETAINED

3. EMBOFF REQUESTED SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE CASES STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS RAISED WITH FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP HEAD ARLIA DURING OAS MEETING.
CASTRO

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

144.

PAGE 01 SANTIA 05420 202117Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-05 AID-05 /078 W
----------125541 211303Z /43

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9904

[redacted] SANTIAGO 5420

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: THE CIVILIAN JUDICIARY AND THE DISAPPEARED PROBLEM

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 3847 (B) SANTIAGO 5087

1. SUMMARY: SOME CHILEAN CIVILIANCOURTS HAVE USED THE GOC'S BROAD AMNESTY OF APRIL 18 TO CLOSE JUDICAIL INVESTIGATIONS, INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTING MISSING PERSONS. HOWEVER, ONLY 130 CASES OF THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY'S HARD LIST OF 615 ARE SO FAR INVOLVED, ALL OF THESE DECISIONS HAVE BEEN APPEALED AND, IN RECENT WEEKS, THE SANTIAGO COURT OF APPEALS HAS REVERSED THE LOWER COURTS' RULINGS AND HAS ORDERED THE INVESTIGATIONS RE-OPENED IN ALL BUT ONE CASE. WHILE TOO EARLY TO SAY FOR SURE, THE APPEALS COURTS APPEAR TO BE TELLING THE LOWER CURTS TO KEEP PRESSURE ON THE GOC FOR AN ACCOUNTING OF THE MISSING PERSONS. END SUMMARY.

2. AS REPORTED IN REFTEL (A), THESE INVESTIGATIONS GREW OUT OF WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS PETIONS PRESENTED OVER THE YEARS BY RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED ON BEHALF OF THOSE PRESUMED TO HAVE BEEN ABDUCTED BY THE SECURITY SERVICES. ACCORDING TO CHURCH FIGURES APPROXIMATELY 300 CASES OF DISAPPEARED HAVE BEEN CLOSED BY CIVILAIN COURTS UNDER THE APRIL 18 AMNESTY. A VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY LAWYER HASTENED TO POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT ONLY A PORTION --

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05420 202117Z

130 IN ALL -- OF THE VICARIATE'S HARD LIST OF 615 DISAPPEAREDS WER INVOLVED AND ALL HAVE BEEN APPEALED. IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE TIDE IS TURNING AGAINST CASE CLOSINGS (SOBRESEIMIENTOS).

3. THE VICARIATE LAWYER TOLD AN EMBOFF JULY 18 THAT IN 25 (OF THE 130) OF THE VICARIATE CASES APPELAED TO THE SANTIAGO COURT OF APPEALS WHICH HAVE BEEN HEARD TO DATE, THE COURT HAS REJECTED "SOBRESEIMIENTO" IN 24 -- ORDERING CONTINUATION OF INVESTIGATIONS -- AND APPROVED ONLY ONE. HE VOICED CONFIDENCE THAT THE TREND WOULD CONTINUE. A HIGH-RANKING JUDGE ON THE COURT OF APPEALS HAD EARLIER (JULY 14) GIVEN US SIMILAR DATA, SAYING THAT THE APPEALS

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COURT HAD REJECTED "SOBRESEIMIENTO" IN 23 CASES, APPROVED IT IN SEVEN AND WAS WITHHOLDING FINAL VERDICT IN TEN. HE DID NOT INDICATE WHAT NUMBER, IF ANY, WERE VICARIATE CASES. ACCORDING TO THE JUDGE (PROTECT), THE OVERWHELIMING SENTIMENT OF JUDGES ON THE APPEALS COURT WAS AGAINST "SOBRESEIMIENTOS". ESSENTIALLY THE JUDGES ARE SAYING THAT BEFORE A CASE CAN BE CLOSED IT MUST FIRST BE DETERMINED WHAT SORT OF CRIME, IF ANY, WAS COMMITTED AND WHO WAS GUILTY: THE COURTS CANNOT SIMPLY ASSUME THAT ANY CRIMES WOULD FALL UNDER THE APIRL 18 AMNESTY. A SECOND DIFFICULTY, INFLUENCING THE THINKING OF SOME JUDGES, IS THE CONCEPT OF KIDNAPPING AS A CONTINUING CRIME. UNTIL IT IS ESTABLISHED THAT THE MISSING PERSONS ARE NO LONGER ALIVE, THEN THERE IS A PRESUMPTION THEY ARE STILL ILLEGALLY DETAINED, AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE ARE GUILTY OF A CRIME COMMITTED (OR CONTINUINT) AFTER THE AMNESTY CUT-OFF DATE OF MARCH 11, 1978.

4. SOME OF THE CASES FOR WHICH "SOBRESEIMIENTO" HAS BEEN DECLARED BY THE LOWER COURTS INVOLVE OTHER TYPES OF ALLEGED CRIMINAL ACTS BY SECURIYT FORCES. OSVALDO FIGUEROA OF VILLA MEXICO FAME (SEE 77 SANTIAGO 4445) WAS PICKED UP BY THE DINA, BEATEN AND HELD ON TRUPMPED-UP KIDNAPPING CHARGES IN MAY 1977. HE WANMC THE CASE CLOSED. IN LATE MAY THE APPEALS COURT ORDERED IT REOPENED.

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05420 202117Z

4. COMMENT: IT IS TOO EARLY TO CONCLUDE THAT THE COURT SYSTEM IS GOING TO ACCEPT FULLY THE CONTINUING CRIME THEORY OF KIDNAPPING OR THAT IT WILL INDEFINITELY REFUSE TO CLOSE MOST OF THESE CASES. FOR THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, THE APPEALS COURTS ARE TELLING THE LOWER COURTS TO KEEP THEIR BOOKS OPEN AND, THUS, TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THE GOC FOR COOPERATION IN DETERMINING THE FATES OF THOSE WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED.
LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED IAHRC [redacted] 7/21/15 INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

AR151

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05645 01 OF 02 212206Z 5437

ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 HA-05 NSCE-00 SS-15 NEW-04
CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 INRE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6622

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 5645

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: POSSIBLE IAHRC VISIT TO ARGENTINA

1. GENERAL VIOLA, PRESIDENT VIDELA'S ALTER EGO, IS NORMALLY MY CONTACT WITH THE EXECUTIVE. BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE ON A WEEK'S VACATION, VIOLA STATED GENERAL REYNALDO BIGNONE, ARMY SECY GENERAL, WOULD BE CONTACTING ME TO UPDATE ME ON GOA PROGRESS TOWARD AN INVITATION TO IAHRC TO VISIT ARGENTINA.

2. GENERAL BIGNONE ASKED ME YESTERDAY (THURSDAY, JULY 20) TO CONFER WITH HIM AT HIS OFFICE LOCATED AT THE ARMY GENERAL COMMAND AT 1700 HOURS. WE MET ALONE. THIS BEING THE FIRST TIME WE HAD CONFERRED, BIGNONE APPEARED UNEASY, ANXIOUS BUT YET COURTEOUS. HE STARTED OUT BY SAYING THE THOUGHT OF HAVING AN OUTSIDE AGENCY FROM A FOREIGN AGENCY VISIT AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN COUNTRY FOR INVESTIGATION PURPOSES IS SOMEWHAT REPUGNANT TO HIM, REFERRING TO A POSSIBLE VISIT BY IAHRC. HE CONTINUED SAYING THAT NO PATRIOTIC ARGENTINE CAN ACCEPT FACT OF USG QUESTIONING GOA'S MOTIVES IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS. BIGNONE RAISED HIS VOICE WHEN HE STATED ARGENTINA AND US PURSUE SAME IDEALS AND HAVE IDENTICAL IDEOLOGICAL OBJECTIVES. IN A DRAMATIC FASHION, HE LOWERED HIS VOICE AND SAID "ALL OF ARGENTINA IS HURT AND CONFUSED BY LACK OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE PART OF USG."

3. GENERAL BIGNONE RECOGNIZED HE HAD GOTTEN EMOTIONAL AND APOLOGIZED. IN AN EFFORT TO SOOTHE HIM, I TOLD BIGNONE I APPRECIATED HIS FEELINGS BUT THE TRUE TEST SHOULD BE WHETHER AN IAHRC VISIT WOULD BE IN THE BEST INTEREST OF ARGENTINA. HE AGREED IT WAS TIME TO CAST BLIND NATIONALISM AND EMOTIONALISM ASIDE. HE STATED A VISIT FROM IAHRC WOULD BE POSITIVE.

4. IAHRC'S INTERROGATORY TO THE GOA'S INVITATION WAS THE NEXT SUBJECT. THERE WERE A TOTAL OF SEVEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY IAHRC TO GOA. THESE QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO THIS EMBASSY IN STATE 163504 WERE GIVEN TO GENERAL VIOLA FOR HIS PRESIDENT'S CONSIDERATION. BIGNONE SAID HE HAD REVIEWED THESE QUESTIONS WITH VIDELA. HE THEN GAVE ME TENTATIVE ANSWERS TO EACH QUESTION. WE REVIEWED THEM ONE BY ONE. HE THEN AGREED TO FURNISH ME WITH A COPY OF THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. FOR THE SAKE OF BREVITY, I SHALL NOT REPEAT THE QUESTIONS HERE BUT ONLY SUBMIT ANSWERS TO ISSUES RAISED IN STATE 163504. ANSERS FOLLOW: (A) YES; (B) IT IS SUGGESTED THIS QUESTION BE DELETED AS IT IS OFFENSIVE TO GOA; (C) YES; (D) CLARIFY WHAT IS MEANT BY: "OTHER DETENTION AND INTERROGATION SITES?" WITH REFERENCE TO "INTERVIEW PRIVATELY" IT IS CONSIDERED IT SHOULD BE IN THE PRESENCE OF WITNESSES. (E) CLARIFICATION IS NEEDED TO DETERMINE EXTENT OF QUESTION. (F) YES; (G) COMMENT: NEITHER BIGNONE NOR EMBASSY HAS COPY OF RESOLUTION CONTAINING LETTERS D? H AND I, THEREFORE, UNABLE TO GIVE ANSWER.

5. INFORMATION IN PARA FOUR IS OUR TRANSLATION OF GOA RESPONSES. SINCE THERE ARE NUANCES IN THE SPANISH VERSION IMPORTANT TO NEGOTIATING AN ACCEPTABLE INVITATION

BUENOS 05645 01 OF 02 212206Z

TO THE IAHRC, THE FOLLOWING IS THE GOA SPANISH TEXT OF THE IAHRC QUESTIONS, FOLLOWED BY THE PROPOSED GOA RESPONSE, IN SPANISH.

1. ?PODRIA LA COMISION ESPECIAL DESIGNADA PARA ATENDER ESTA INVITACION, O CUALQUIERA DE SUS MIEMBROS, ENTREVISTAR LIBRE Y PRIVADAMENTE A PERSONS, GRUPOS, ENTIDADES E INSTITUCIONES?

SI.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

IAHRC

[redacted]

Lot 81D208
Box 4963 (2/12)

UNCLASSIFIED

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Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

ACTION ARA-14

CASTRO

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 NSCE-00 SS-15 HEW-04 CIAE-00
DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 INRE-00 ICAE-00
SSO-00 /052 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6623

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 5645

UNCLASSIFIED

2. ?ESTARIA DISPUESTO EL GOBIERNO ARGENTINO A OTORGAR LAS GARANTIAS PERTINENTES A TODOS LOS QUE SUMINISTREN INFORMACION, TESTIMONIOS O PRUEBAS DE CUALQUIER CARACTER?

SE SUGIERE SUPRIMIR ESTA PREGUNTA POR SER LESIVA AL GOVIERNO ARGENTINO.

3. ?PODRIAN LOS MIEMBROS DE LA COMISION ESPECIAL VIAJAR LIBREMENTE POR TODO EL TERRITORIO DEL PAIS CONTANDO PARA ELLO CON LA DOCUMENTACION OFICIAL DEL GOBIERNO QUE LOS IDENTIFIQUE?

SI.

4. ?PODRIAN TENER LOS MIEMBROS DE LA COMISION ESPECIAL ACCESO A LAS CARCELES Y TODOS LOS OTROS SITIOS DE DETENCION E INTERROGATORIO Y PODRIAN ENTREVISTAR PRIVADAMENTE A LAS PERSONAS RECLUIDAS O DETENIDAS. ACLARAR QUE QUIEREN SIGNIFICAR POR: "OTROS SITIOS DE DETENCION E INTERROGACION."

EN CUANTO A "ENTREVISTAR PRIVADAMENTE" SE CONSIDERA QUE DEBE SER CON TESTIGOS.

5. ?ESTARIA DISPUESTO EL GOBIERNO A PROPORCIONAR A LA COMISION ESPECIAL CUALQUIER DOCUMENTO O INFORMACION RELACIONADA CON LA OBSERVANCIA DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS QUE ESTA CONSIDERE NECESARIA PARA LA PREPARACION DE SU INFORME?

SE SUGIERE ACLARAR EL ALCANCE DE ESTA PREGUNTA.

6. ?PODRIA LA COMISION ESPECIAL UTILIZAR CUALQUIER MEDIO APROPRIADO PARA RECOGER, GRABAR O REPRODUCIER LA INFORMACION QUE CONSIDERE OPORTUNA?

SI.

7. ?ESTARIA DISPUESTO EL GOBIERNO A DAR LAS GARANTIAS Y FACILIDADES A QUE SE REFIEREN LAS LETRAS D), H) E I) DE LA RESOLUCION SOBRE OBSERVACIONES "IN LOCO" ADOPTADA POR LA COMISION, CUYO TEXTO SE ENVIA ANEXO A LA PRESENTE COMUNICACION?

6. BIGNONE CONCUDED BY SAYING HE HOPED USG COULD EXERT SOME INFLUENCE ON IAHRC EMPHASIZING FLEXIBILITY AND LESS RIGIDITY IN THEIR DEMANDS. I REMINDED HIM POSSIBLE IAHRC VISIT WAS STRICTLY A BILATERAL ISSUE. HE SMILED SAYING USG HAD INFLUENCE EVERYWHERE.

7. I THEN ASKED BIGHONE ABOUT THE NEXT STEP. HE STATED TENTATIVE ANSWERS WOULD GO TO FONOFF FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION. FONOFF IN TURN WOULD CONTACT IAHRC. I AGAIN REMINDED BIGHONE OF FONOFF'S HARDLINE ATTITUDE AND NEGATIVE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM. I SUGGESTED INASMUCH AS TIME WAS OF THE ESSENCE IT WOULD REQUIRE SOME PUSH FROM PRESIDENT VIDELA TO GET FONOFF TO MOVE. HE PROMISED ME VIDELA WOULD DO SOME PUSHING.

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7/21/78

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05646 2121132
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 L-03 NSCE-00 PM-05
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6624

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5646

E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT TIMERMAN CASE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

1. TIMERMANS FAMILY NOTIFIED THE EMBASSY THIS AFTERNOON THAT ARGENTINE SUPREME COURT HAS DECIDED FAVORABLY ON TIMERMANS APPEAL CHALLENGING HIS DETENTION UNDER THE PODER EJECUTIVE NACIONAL. COURT DECIDED THREE TO ONE THAT THERE WAS NO REASONABLE BASIS FOR THE FORMER EDITOR OF LA OPINION TO BE DETAINED UNDER THE PEN.

2. AT PRESENT TIME TIMERMAN IS HELD UNDER BOTH THE ACTA INSTITUTIONAL AND A PEN DECREE. IF HE WERE REMOVED FROM PEN STATUS HIS DETENTION WOULD STILL CONTINUE UNDER THE TERMS OF THE ACTA INSTITUTIONAL DEVREE AGAINST HIM. SEE SEPTEL (HUMAN RIGHTS ROUND UP) ON STATUS OF TIMERMANS CASE BEFORE CONREPA.
CASTRO

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Enclosure 1

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Mrs. Lidia Ester CABRERA de Franco

Mr. Victor Bonilla-Sosa, Political Officer

DATE: July 21, 1978

PLACE: US Embassy-Asuncion

DECONTROL

SUBJECT: Released Political Prisoner Interview

DISTRIBUTION: AMB, DCM, POL, POL/R
ARA/ECA, ARA:GLister, D/HA, INR/RAR

Mrs. Cabrera de Franco requested to speak to the Political Officer in order to convey her gratitude for the assistance the Embassy had given i her release. She was released July 14, 1978 from Emboscada prison. She felt that without a doubt, pressure brought to bear upon the Paraguayan government through President Carter's human rights policy had benefited her and many others. Mrs. de Franco was accompanied by her two young daughters. The rest of the interview was devoted to details about her arrest and subsequent questioning and incarceration.

Mrs. Cabrera de Franco did not have a clear idea why she had been picked up by the police. She had been living with her husband in Puerto Yguazu, Misiones, Argentina for a number of years. Her mother is Paraguayan and her father Argentine. Her husband, she said, had been exiled from Paraguay since 1965 for alleged subversive activities, but she stated she had not know her husband until they met in Argentina. She denied categorically any political involvement, and much less any subversive political activities.

Mrs. de Franco said she was picked up with her husband and daughter on January 18, 1977 in their home in Argentina. The house was thoroughly searched. They were neither told the reason for their detention by arresting Argentine police officers, nor told where they were being taken. They were all bound, gagged and blindfolded and thrown into a clos truck. For the next four days they were kept in this condition, only with a few stops along the way. NO FOOD OR WATER WAS GIVEN TO THEM.

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LOT 81F93
(7/7) 52/52

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/TPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

She surmised that they were being taken across the river to the Paraguayan side. Once there, on the fifth day, their blindfolds were taken off along with their gags. Eventually they were taken to the Investigations Police headquarters in Asuncion. From the time they were first detained by the Argentine authorities until one year later, the Francos had no news about their daughter nor whether she was being taken care of by the authorities. When they arrived in Investigaciones, they were brutally beaten and kicked. Mrs. de Franco's husband was kept in a separate floor (above where the female prisoners are kept) but she could see him in the distance and realized he was being tortured. Mrs. de Franco said that one of the greatest hardships in the Investigaciones jail is the daily witnessing of brutality. She says that though prisoners undergoing torture are taken off to another private place in the building, because of the small size of the local, the cries and shouts of those being tortured can be heard over the radio noise and furniture moving that takes place when they are "working someone over." In addition, after a "session" the prisoner is thrown into the cell with other detainees. This is usually done accompanied by continual beatings and kicking of the tortured prisoner. Talking of any kind with any one other than the jailers is forbidden and brutally punished. Mrs. de Franco said she was severely beaten and kicked for no reason. She was told to confess to committing subversive activities and told to sign a confession which she refused. After many such fruitless attempts, she was left to herself (always sharing a cell with other prisoners). Mrs. de Franco states she saw Gladys Ramirez in Investigaciones on January 23, 1978. She also stated that both Mr. Cantero, the political chief, of Investigaciones (see Domingo Laino case) and the Chief of Investigaciones, Pastor Coronel take a personal part in the interrogations and the application of the tortures. She said that Cantero interrogated her and her husband and that he threatened continually to kill her if she didn't confess.

After approximately one year, she saw her mother who had been looking for her during that time. It was due to the kindness of one of the jailers, a Mr. Juan P., that the mother found out her daughter's whereabouts. When this was later discovered by Coronel, the officer was removed. When the Red Cross International made an inspection in December 1977, Mrs. de Franco was transferred to Emboscada without any explanations. She was allowed to have her daughter live with her at

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the Emboscada prison, but after a while sent her back to her mother because of the bad influence exerted on the child by the conditions of the prison. (Emboscada is the prison reserved for political detainees near Asuncion.) Mrs. de Franco said that the police keep two lists of prisoners, one they allow outsiders to see and another with the names of the other prisoners being held that the authorities disclaim any knowledge about. She said that her name and that of a Juan Rolon (OPM suspect) were on the latter list.

Mrs. de Franco claims that when President Videla made a visit to Paraguay in May of 1977, several prisoners were turned over to the Argentine authorities that came with the President's airplane. She gave the following names: Marta Landi and her husband Alejandro Landi, Jose Neel and two Uruguayans. She stated that she overheard the Argentine authorities talking about "now being able to get rid" of these people. She added that these persons were never heard from again.

Mrs. de Franco talking about other detainees, stated that a Juan Jose Penayo and a Mr. Vera Baez (did not remember first name) were brought in also from Misiones and treated like animals, uncared for after they became ill from the tortures. She herself said that her own teeth and arms hurt from lack of calcium in the diet. Dr. Bogado Gondra, himself a prisoner in Emboscada cared for her and told her she had vitamin deficiency and neuritis as a result of her imprisonment. She added that another prisoner, Otto Gunther was so brutally tortured that he almost died at the hands of Pastor Coronel's inhuman treatment. Before she was finally taken to Emboscada, Mrs. de Franco recalls one of the jailers telling her cynically, "You're lucky they are sending you to Emboscada," in reference to several prisoners that disappeared after police claimed that they had "escaped." She was forced to sign an indagatoria stating she was a communist.

Mrs. de Franco said her husband is still in jail and that she has no idea when if ever he will be released alive. The Inter-Faith Church Committee in Asuncion has been providing her and her children with some relief until she can find a job. Needless to say, her personal identity documents, a sine qua non for obtaining a job or travelling, have not been returned. In this regard, as in many other cases of released political prisoners, Mrs. de Franco shares a common lot of uncertainty and constant fear.

POL:VBonilla-Sosa:mkn 7/25/78

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7/21/78

M051

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05616 212120Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 VO-03 ISO-00 /006 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6606
INFO USCINCSO

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5616

H PASS: HONORABLE THOMAS P.O'NEILL, JR.
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHDC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DETENTION OF LARRY LUDIN (338/78/4)

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF FEB 2, 1978, ON BEHALF OF [redacted] REGARDING THE DETENTION OF LARRY LUDIN. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFOMED US THAT MR. LUDIN IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 2837 OF 1975) IN LA PLATA PRISON (BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE) CHARGED WITH MEMBERSHIP OF "MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO CHE" AND POSSESSION OF ARMS AND SUBVERSIVE PAMPHLETS. MR. LUDIN WAS SENTENCED IN OCT 77 TO 4 YEARS JAIL. HIS SENTENCE WILL END IN JAN 5, 1979.

B6

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THIS CASE AND WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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P B6

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UNCLASSIFIED

7/21/78

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05615 212134Z
ACTION H-02

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 HA-05 /022 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6605
INFO USCINCSO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5615

H PASS: HONORABLE CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR.
UNITED STATES SENATE WASHDC

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DETENTIONS OF MR. AND MRS. RODOLFO JUAN BEGNARDI
(322/78/4 AND 323/78/4)

REF: STATE 133548

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST OF MAR 7, 1978, ON BEHALF OF [redacted] REGARDING THE DETENTION OF RODOLFO JUAN BEGNARDI AND NORA JULIA BUCRE DE BEGNARDI, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT MRS. BUCRE DE BEGNARDI IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 3505 OF 1975) IN VILLA DEVOTO PRISON CHARGED WITH SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. SHE PRESENTED A RIGHT OF OPTION REQUEST TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY IN DECEMBER 1976 WHICH WAS DENIED IN FEB 1977. IN DECEMBER 1977 SHE AGAIN REQUESTED THE RIGHT OF OPTION WHICH WAS DENIED IN APRIL 1978. B6

2. MR. BEGNARDI IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 3505 OF 1975) IN RESISTENCIA PRISON (CHACO, PROVINCIE) CHARGED WITH
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05615 212134Z

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. IN SEPT 1977 HE PRESENTED RIGHT OF OPTION REQUEST WHICH WAS DENIED IN DEC 1977. A SECOND RIGHT

OF OPTION REQUESTED PRESENTED IN DEC 1977 WAS DENIED IN MARCH 1978.

3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THESE CASES AND WILL INFORM YOU OF ANY FUTURE DEVELOPMENT.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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7/21/78

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RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 6241
BT
[redacted] THE HAGUE 4035

TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB		✓	ADM		
DCM		✓	SY		
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POL	5		PER		
ECOM		✓	GSO		
POL/R		✓	B&F		
CONS		✓	CRO		
ICA		✓	TCU		
LABOR			LEGAT		
SCI			DEA		
DAO			FAS		
MILGP			FAA		
			CHRON		✓
			RF		✓

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EFIN, SHUM, AR, FR, EEC
SUBJECT: FRENCH PRESSURES ON ARGENTINA TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS

REF: STATE 182299

EMBASSY MENTIONED PROBLEM OF HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA TO MFA DIRECTOR FOR WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS DANIELS. HE WAS SOMEWHAT SURPRISED TO HEAR THAT FRENCH HAD IMPLIED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WAS UNWILLING TO ACT ON POSSIBLE LIMITATION OF EXPORT CREDIT TO ARGENTINA. TO BEST OF DUTCH KNOWLEDGE, ONLY OCCASION WHEN COMMUNITY HAD DISCUSSED SITUATION DANISH PRESIDENCY HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO MAKE DEMARCHE TO ARGENTINA ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EARLY APRIL. HOWEVER, VERY RECENTLY FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICER IN THE HAGUE HAD APPROACHED MFA IN EXPLORATORY MANNER TO INQURE EXTENT OF DUTCH FINANCIAL DEALINGS WITH ARGENTINA. MFA THOUGHT THIS COULD MEAN THAT FRENCH WERE CONSIDERING SOME INITIQTIVE IN THIS ARE. APPARENTLY FRENCH WERE UNDER SOME INTERNAL POLITICAL PRESSURE BECAUSE OF IMPRISONMENT OF FRENCH NATIONALS IN ARGENTINA. SO FAR AS DUTCH WERE CONCERNED, POSSIBILITY OF LIMITING CREDITS WAS ONE IN WHICH SEVERAL MINISTRIES WOULD BE INVOLVED AND SO FAR, QUITE UNLIKE CHILE, LITTLE DUTCH CONCERN HAD DEVELOPED THAT WOULD LEAD TO FURTHER ACTION OF SORT FRENCH APPARENTLY WERE CONSIDERING.

BROWN

BT
#4035

[redacted]

NNNNGQMV

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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LOT 81F93
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BA-9
4-12-76

[redacted]

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL U.S.A. 413 East Capitol Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003 202/544-0200

NATIONAL SECTION OFFICE
2112 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10023

AR153 file Argentina

July 22,1978

Dear Friend,

When the present military government took power in Argentina in the coup of March 1976, the junta promised to restore a respect for human rights. Left-wing terrorist activity has been almost completely suppressed, but the promise to restore human rights is a mockery. 15,000 persons have disappeared without a trace after being arrested by the police security forces or parapolice.

Amnesty International has well-documented evidence of the existence of secret camps where prisoners are tortured and unlawfully executed. Among the missing are women and children. One of them, Susana Lugones, was the 40th journalist in the country to disappear. 29 of her colleagues has been killed, 70 imprisoned and 400 have gone into exile.

Only a concerted effort by all of us expressing our deep concern about these gross violations of human rights may put a halt to this widespread suffering. We urge you to write to:

Exmo. General Jorge Rafael Videla
Presidente de la Republica Argentina
Casa Rosada
Buenos Aires, Argentina

General Albano Harguindeguy
Ministro del Interior
Ministerio del Interior
Casa de Gobierno
Balcarce 50
Buenos Aires,
Argentina

Sincerely yours,

Ginetta Sagan

Ginetta Sagan

Sally H. Lilienthal

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Lot 81D208
Box4963(2/12)

Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience, men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, color, ethnic origin, sex, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. Amnesty International opposes torture and the death penalty in all cases without reservation and advocates fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners. Amnesty International is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests and religious creeds. It has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees). Amnesty International was the recipient of the 1977 Nobel Prize for Peace.

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS
David Hinkley

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
David Hawk

DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE
Stephanie Grant

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: AMR 13/35/78
Distr: NS/CO

Amnesty International
International Secretariat
10 Southampton Street
London WC2E 7HF
England

Date: May 1978

ARGENTINA:

ACTION PAPER FOR DISAPPEARED OR DETAINED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Amnesty International would like to point out that women in Argentina are not repressed because they are women. However, they are more susceptible to physical abuse whilst in detention (rape, miscarriage under torture). Furthermore, the situation of abducted/detained women who give birth in prison is particularly alarming.

DISAPPEARANCES

> "A single death by firing squad can provoke a world-wide scandal: with the thousands of disappeared people there is always the convenience of uncertainty..... there are no crimes to report or explanations to be given."
>
> Eduardo Galeano, Index, March/April 1978

Since the military coup in Argentina of 24 March 1976, it is estimated that approximately 15,000 people have disappeared. Indeed, lawyers and human rights organizations within Argentina estimate that since the coup, between 20,000 and 30,000 habeas corpus writs have been filed at the Ministry of the Interior.

The Argentine authorities usually give three reasons for why these people have disappeared: the person has gone "underground"; the person has chosen to emigrate without telling relatives; the person has been killed in a clash with the security forces. However, there is much evidence to prove that persons who have disappeared were, in fact, illicitly arrested by official law-enforcing bodies.

Many families fear reprisals against themselves or the abducted person if they publicize the disappearance. There is very little that they can do in Argentina except file a writ of habeas corpus with the Ministry of the Interior. Recently, however, the families of disappeared persons have become very active and have been appealing to international organizations like Amnesty International for help. They have formed themselves into a committee called Comité de Familiares de Desaparecidos y Detenidos por Razones Políticos (the Committee of Relatives of People Disappeared or Detained for Political Reasons), but are known as "The Mad Women of the Plaza de Mayo", because every Thursday they demonstrate in the Plaza de Mayo outside the government buildings in order to pressurize the authorities into launching an inquiry into the whereabouts of missing persons. In May 1978, a group of 13 women who had been searching for more than a year for their missing children and grandchildren formed themselves into a group called "The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo": most of their daughters were pregnant when they disappeared.

It is worth noting that on 13 April 1978, the Buenos Aires newspaper La Nación published a list of 232 persons who had all been located by the "Search Division for Disappeared Persons" (La División Búsqueda de Personas Desaparecidas) - an office apparently set up under the auspices of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Federal Police. This admission on the part of the Argentine authorities would appear to be the fruits of over two years of international pressure.

The following are a few representative disappearance cases:

1. French Nuns Alicia Domón and Léonie Duquet + approximately 13 relatives of disappeared persons.

On Thursday 18 December 1977, a group of approximately 14 persons, relatives from the Comité de Familiares de Desaparecidos y Detenidos por Razones Políticos (see previous page) were all abducted by persons dressed in civilian clothing. They were all driven away in five Renault 12 cars; to date, there has been no official news of their whereabouts.

The relatives (almost all women) were leaving the Church of the Holy Cross in Buenos Aires where they had had a meeting to discuss placing an advertisement about disappearances in a Buenos Aires newspaper. In this group were a Paraguayan medical doctor, Dra Esther Ballestrino de Careaga who lived in Buenos Aires under the protection of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and a French nun, Alicia Domon. Alicia Domon assisted the Argentine Bishop of Quilmes in an ecumenical movement which tries to locate missing persons.

Another French nun, Léonie Duquet, was abducted from her home on 10 December 1977 by four unidentified men driving an unmarked car. She was not, apparently, engaged in the search for disappeared persons, but was an assistant to the Bishop of San Justo.

On 30 March 1978, the French newspaper Le Monde reported that the two French nuns had been killed and their bodies discovered two months previously on a beach between Bahia Blanca and Mar del Plata. The body of Dra Esther Ballestrino de Careaga was said to have been found in the River Plate at the same time. However, there has never been any official news of their whereabouts, despite personal inquiries from President Giscard d'Estaing, a letter from the French Ambassador to Argentina, M. François de la Gorce, reminding the Argentine government of its duty under the Vienna Convention to inform foreign embassies of the detention of foreign citizens, and the French Bishop of Annecy (who is also the President of the French Episcopal Committee on Relations with Latin America) flying out to Argentina to make inquiries.

The disappearance of this entire group of persons is thought to have been an attempt on the part of the Argentine authorities to prevent people demonstrating outside the government buildings.

2. Graciela RUTILO ARTES and her daughter Carla

Official connivance between the Argentine and Uruguayan security forces is well known. However, according to the French publication Cimade (February 1978), the Argentine Ambassador to Paris admitted, on 6 February 1978, that the same (un)official agreement exists between the Argentine authorities and the Bolivian government. According to the Cimade source, four Argentinians have been arrested in Bolivia by the Bolivian security forces over the last year. All four were handed over to the Argentine authorities and all four have disappeared without trace.

On 2 April 1976, the Bolivian police arrested 24 year old Graciela Rutilo Artes, an Argentine national and her daughter Carla, then aged 9 months (and a Peruvian national) in Oruro, Bolivia. They were both transferred to La Paz, where mother and daughter were separated; Graciela was kept in the Bolivian Ministry of the Interior, where it is alleged that she was tortured, and her daughter Carla was sent to an orphanage in La Paz where she was registered under a false name.

It is reported that on 26 August 1976, Carla was removed from the orphanage and that on 29 August, both mother and daughter were handed over to the Argentine authorities at the frontier. There had been no formal extradition order.

Although Graciela is of Argentine nationality, she had been living in Bolivia since the age of 9. Relatives state that she had no known political affiliation; the motive of her arrest would appear to be her participation, as a representative of a students' organization, in a tin miners' strike. To date, there has been no news of the whereabouts of either.

****

Amnesty International has received many testimonies concerning women who were pregnant at the time of abduction. The following are two representative cases: no official information has ever been received as to the fate of these women or their children.

1. Silvia Mónica QUINTELA DALASTA (Her photograph is available from AI)

Silvia Mónica Quintela Dalasta, a medical doctor aged 30, was detained in Buenos Aires on 17 January 1977 by five armed men who belonged to the Navy. At this time, she was three months' pregnant. She was taken away in a light blue Ford Falcon. Her husband, who now lives in exile in Europe, was an eye-witness to her abduction.

Her relatives took all possible legal measures, but there has never been an official recognition of her detention. Nevertheless, a released prisoner has informed AI that Silvia was detained for at least four months in the Navy Mechanics' School (La Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada) in the capital; this has frequently cited in testimonies as an unofficial detention centre. Furthermore, the released prisoner also stated that Silvia gave birth to a baby in the Navy Mechanics' School in July 1977. However, the baby was never handed over to relatives and there has been no news of either since this date.

2. Silvia Angélica Corazza de Sánchez

Silvia Angélica Corazza de Sánchez was abducted on 13 May 1977 in a bar called El Nuevo Clave in the town of Lanus, Buenos Aires province, by persons dressed in civilian clothing. At the time of her abduction, she was two months' pregnant.

In December 1977, Silvia's parents received a letter in her handwriting announcing that she was expecting to give birth to her baby around Christmas. On 3 January 1978, three men in plain clothes arrived at her parents' house, bringing with them Silvia herself and the baby daughter, who had been born on 29 December 1977. The men forced Silvia's mother to sign a document which, among other points which she cannot remember, stated that she would not hand over the baby to anybody else. The men then left the baby, called María de las Mercedes, with her grandparents. They took Silvia away with them again, and nothing has been heard of her since.

Since receiving the baby, Silvia's parents have attempted to obtain a birth certificate and identity document for her from the authorities. The Ministry of the Interior promised Silvia's father that the baby would be given a birth certificate.

Silvia's husband, 37 year old surgeon Alberto Sánchez, now lives in Europe. He believes that the Argentine Ministry of the Interior's promise to give his daughter a birth certificate indicates that the government is in a position to locate his wife.

There are still several children missing. The majority of these were abducted along with their mothers:

1. Case of Floreal Avellaneda

On 15 April 1976, uniformed and plainclothed men machine-gunned the door of the Avellaneda family's home at 2.00 am. The men were looking for Señor Floreal Avellaneda, a former trade union leader in the TENSA factory. Not finding him, they ransacked the house, stole money and other belongings, brutally beat his wife Iris de Avellaneda and his son, also called Floreal, aged 15.

Later the mother and son were taken to the police station of Villa Martelli and tortured. Señora Avellaneda was tied to a bed where, after being soaked with ice-cold water for half an hour, her trousers were pulled off and she was given electric shock treatment all over her body. Her son underwent similar treatment and she could hear him screaming. They were briefly reunited, then Señora Avellaneda was taken hooded to a place she believed to be the Brigada Güemes, a police barracks.

Here she was repeatedly questioned about her husband's whereabouts. She was given electric shock treatment and beaten with sticks and gun butts on her head, neck and face. She was carried out to open country where a simulated execution was staged. The torture continued for some days, then the treatment improved and finally she was transferred to Olmos prison and officially detained, 15 days after her arrest.

Writs of habeas corpus were filed for her son without any result. On 16 August 1976, the newspapers reported that several corpses had been found on the Uruguayan shores of the River Plate. A tattoo (a heart with the letters "F.A.") on one of the bodies fitted the description of 15 year old Floreal Avellaneda.

The Ministry of Defence acknowledged that Señora Avellaneda was detained at the disposal of the Executive Power, but for reasons of security could not give any information about the personnel responsible for the arrest of her and her son.

2. Simón Antonio RIQUELO (His photograph is available from AI)

Simón Antonio Riquelo was 20 days old at the time of his abduction. He is the son of Sara Rita Méndez Lamperio, a Uruguayan refugee living in Buenos Aires until she was abducted on 13 July 1976 along with Simón. In October 1976 she turned up in official detention in Montevideo, Uruguay. According to the Uruguayan armed forces she was arrested in Uruguay on 25 October 1976. However, nothing at all has been heard of Simón Antonio since his abduction.

TORTURE

Amnesty International continues to receive torture testimonies from released prisoners. It is a problem which is closely linked to disappearances, since torture is most likely to occur when the victim is secretly detained in military barracks, local police stations and disused buildings. Torture is, however, also common in official prisons.

The most usual methods of torture are: electric shock treatment; water torture; beatings with fists, truncheons, rifle butts and sticks (there have been cases of pregnant women so badly beaten that they have miscarried); cigarette burns; hooding; deprivation of food, drink and sleep; sexual abuse such as rape; Amnesty International has also received allegations of torture by removing teeth, fingernails and eyes, by burning with boiling water, oil and acid and even by castration.

1. Veronica Handl-Alvarez (Her photo is available from AI)

Veronica Handl-Alvarez, aged 24, of dual Argentine-Austrian nationality and pregnant, disappeared in Buenos Aires on 5 September 1976. At the time of her arrest she was studying at the Faculty of Arts, University of Buenos Aires and financing her studies by working part-time at the Mexican Embassy. Despite her family's efforts to trace her, there was no news of her whereabouts until nearly two months later. They were informed that she was being held in Villa Devoto prison.

During the course of Veronica's first two months in prison, she was interrogated and subjected to the following forms of torture - carried out exclusively by men:

a) Blows with the fists, kicking, blows with an iron rod: all over the body, especially on the head, chest and abdomen.

b) A door was slammed on her head, and thereafter, unconscious, she was thrown into her cell.

c) Electrical torture: tied naked to a metal chair with electical wires on her fingers and toes. Later placed on a wooden bed and subjected to electrical torture all over her body, especially on the genitalia. On this occasion she was also beaten with an iron rod on the abdomen: this caused vaginal bleeding. During the electrical torture, a doctor was present. He did auscultation of her heart several times, and established that it was alright to continue the torture. The torture by electricity left burns and long-lasting numbness of the hands, especially the right (several months), less of the feet (about three weeks). Moreover, swelling and numbness of the mouth caused by dysphagia lasting for about one week. Finally, it should be mentioned that she was shaking - especially her hands and jaws - for days after electrical torture.

d) Cold water was poured over her, especially after electrical torture. Occasionally she would suddenly - for example, in the middle of the night - be ordered to have a cold shower.

e) She was blindfolded with adhesive plaster and in total isolation for two months in a very small and very cold single cell without a toilet; she had to relieve herself in the cell.

f) She was deprived of sleep: she was roused every hour for several nights and ordered to have a cold shower, with or without her clothes on.

g) Sexual torture: sham intercourse, including masturbation by male warders.

h) Sham executions, inter alia, with a rope. At one time a "priest" was called, but he immediately startedkicking her. This was repeated for several days running.

On 11 April 1977, she gave birth to a son in prison. During labour, which lasted for about five hours, she was tied to a bed by her hands and feet and was completely unattended until the last few minutes. Her newborn baby had to sleep on the floor of a rat-infested cell.

Veronica was unexpectedly released in October 1977, after the Austrian government had granted her a visa. In November 1977, she was examined by AI's group of Danish doctors. They found the following sequelae to torture: impaired memory, difficulty in concentrating, nervousness, headaches, dizziness and vaginal discharge since delivery of the baby. Fortunately, her baby (then aged 7 months) showed normal mental and motor devlopment upon physical examination.

2. Isabel GAMBA de NEGROTTI

Isabel Gamba de Negrotti, a 27 year old nursery school teacher, was abducted from her home, together with her husband and taken to a police station in Villa Urquiza, Buenos Aires. Although she told the police that she was pregnant, she was punched and beaten, her hair was pulled and she was threatened with death. She was kept hooded and her coat was taken away. She was threatened and beaten by about eight men, who said they would go and get her younger sister and mother. Later that evening, she had cramp spasms and began to feel ill. She could hear her husband screaming

The next morning, she was taken to Coordinación Federal so that her political activities could be investigated. The worst treatment began:

> "They took me to another room where they kicked me and punched me in the head. Then they undressed me and beat me on the legs, buttocks and shoulders with something made of rubber. This lasted a long time: I fell down several times and they made me get up and stand by supporting myself on a table. They carried on beating me. While all this was going on they talked to me, insulted me and asked me about people I didn't know and things I didn't understand. I pleaded with them to leave me alone, or else I would lose my baby. I hadn't the strength to speak, the pain was so bad.
>
> "They started to give me electric shocks on my breasts, the side of my body and under my arms. They kept questioning me. They gave me electric shocks in the vagina and put a pillow over my mouth to stop me screaming. Some-one they called the "colonel" came and said they were going to increase the voltage until I talked. They kept throwing water over my body and applying electric shocks all over."

Two days later she miscarried. Her husband was subsequently released and currently lives in exile in Europe. She is still detained in Villa Devoto prison.

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A STUDY OF VILLA DEVOTO PRISON

Unidad 2, Cárcel de Villa Devoto, Bermudez 2651,
Buenos Aires, Capital Federal, Argentina

Villa Devoto in Buenos Aires is Argentina's largest prison. It contains the majority of Argentina's female political prisoners (approximately 1,200 according to the testimonies of released prisoners) although some 70 male political prisoners and a large number of male common prisoners are also detained here. It was built to house 2,500 prisoners, but currently holds some 4,000. It was these overcrowded conditions which led male common prisoners to protest and caused the "riot" of 14 March 1978 - an incident which received considerable publicity in the international press. Between 40 and 46 prisoners died and between 70 and 76 were severely injured. According to the official statement of the Argentine authorities, a group of prisoners - allegedly all on narcotics charges - took a prison guard hostage, killed him and then set fire to their mattresses and blankets; the fire quickly spread. The authorities were quick to point out that none of the dead or injured had bullet wounds. However, people outside the prison allege that five special para-military combat groups were sent to quell the riot, helicopters were called in and police cordoned off the prison. They further allege that the noise of gunfire inside the prison could be heard for about half an hour. One of the doctors - Dr Fortunato Benaguin - who attended the injured was subsequently quoted in the weekly magazine Somos as saying that some of the dead

and injured had bullet wounds. Furthermore, the American-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs issued a statement saying that at least some of the victims were classified by international agencies as being political prisoners.

For the past two years, prison conditions in Argentina have been of major concern to Amnesty International. The following is a précis of various testimonies - from the inmates of Villa Devoto themselves and from released prisoners. The passages in quotation marks are reproduced verbatim from these testimonies. Although we have inserted relevant quotations from the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and Related Recommendations (SMRTPRR), since December 1975, all prisons in Argentina have been under military jurisdiction. Political prisoners are all categorized under decree 2023 (issued in December 1974 and made more severe in May 1976) as extremely dangerous and are subject to a harsh regime which:

a) restricts visits and correspondence to blood relatives (this does not include common-law spouses or partners of a second marriage, as divorce is not recognized in Argentina;)

b) imposes strict censorship of mail and reading matter;

c) authorizes spot checks and whole body searches which may be carried out at random, even at meal times;

d) permits severe penalties for the smallest infraction of prison regulations.

Furthermore, decree 955 (Regimen de Máxima Peligrosidad) -the maximum security regulations also apply in Villa Devoto. According to the inmates of Villa Devoto, these decrees (2023 and 955) "were created with the aim of treating political prisoners in an inhuman and cruel way and 'legalizing' the violations of the most elementary human rights".

Finally, it is worth noting that Villa Devoto, along with La Plata prison (for males, situated in Buenos Aires province) is considered Argentina's "model" prison. The age range of the female political prisoners is from 17 to 50 years years old and babies are imprisoned along with their mothers.

General Conditions

" The wards (pabellones - large rooms with about 20 bunks) where the many political prisoners held in this prison must spend their days are long dark corridors with cells on each side. Each ward has 23 cells, and in each of them are four people who have to live in a space that would be the minimum for only one person. All have as sole furniture a water-closet, a wash basin, a cement shelf and four bunks fixed to the walls. There is a window, which, besides its iron bars is covered with a thin steel net. It is forbidden to climb up or get near the window. Ventilation is minimal and the sanitary system virtually non-existent.

Food

SMRTPRR (20 (1) and (2): "Every prisoner shall be provided by the administration at the usual hours with food of nutritional value adequate for health and strength, of wholesome quality and well prepared and served."

"Drinking water shall be available to every prisoner whenever s/he needs it."

****

"It (the food) is completely inadequate, based on flour and fat. The

spaghetti and stew, the daily meals, are an indescribable mass which is almost impossible to swallow. There is almost never meat and when it is given, it is of the worst quality, thus having no protein value at all. Several months ago, the delivery of milk ceased. All this leads to steady physical deterioration and the loss of basic resistence to disease.

"Every day, prisoners fall ill with serious stomach complaints or other illnesses which require a special diet, of better quality. Usually this is not ordered, and if it is ordered it may be interrupted at any time. The tea (boiled mate, a herb tea) has no taste at all, and is without sugar and is no better than the rest of the food. There is grease floating in it from the badly cleaned containers. This diet could be reasonably balanced if relatives might be allowed to send food to the prisoners, or if better food were sold at the prison. Both alternatives are expressly forbidden by decree 955. At the present time, only a few items allowed by the decree can be brought into the prison and even these are difficult to obtain, owing to the bad economic position of the prisoners."

Medical Attention

SMRTPRR (22 (1) and (2) and 25(1)): "At every institution, there shall be available the services of at least one qualified medical officer who should have some knowledge of psychiatry...."

"Sick prisoners who require specialist treatment shall be transferred to specialized institutions or to civil hospitals....."

"The medical officer shall have the care of the physical and mental health of the prisoners and should daily see all sick prisoners, all who complain of illness, and any prisoner to whom his attention is specially directed."

****

"This is exceedingly bad. When they go to see the doctor, some medecine may be prescribed without any examination. These medecines must be bought at the prison, and the prisoners do not always have the means to do so. Nothing, not even an aspirin, is provided, even in cases of extreme urgency. In order to obtain assistance from a specialist, it is necessary to book months in advance and, if you are lucky, the day may come. But the result makes little difference owing to the situation already described. In some cases X-rays are ordered, but the results are not known by the prisoners. The doctor's surgery has only a bed, and no other medical equipment, not even basic first aid equipment. While the consultation takes place the prison warders and other staff walk past. The nurses treat the political prisoners badly and, like the doctors, they are more police than health staff. Most of them are unqualified, and previously belonged to the Inspection Board (Internal Security Police) and the prisoners are really guinea pigs for them. Usually they lack professional knowledge."

Case 1: Alicia PAÍS de JUÁREZ

In October 1977, political prisoner Alicia País de Juárez died in Pavilion 41 of Villa Devoto prison as a result of lack of medical attention. During her year of imprisonment, Alicia had had frequent attacks of asthma. When fellow prisoners asked for an investigation into her death, they were locked up in punishment cells for 20 days.

Case 2: Mireya ROJO

Legal adviser to the Metalworkers' Union of Villa Constitución (Unión de los Obreros Metalúrgicos), she was arrested on 29 April 1975 after a widespread strike in the industrial town of Villa Constitución, but has never been brought to trial. Whilst in detention, she contracted tuberculosis and is currently reported to weigh only 37 kilos. In july 1977, a testimony received from the prisoners of prisoners of Villa Devoto reported that she had also got a stomach ulcer. Although she has been transferred to Villa Devoto hospital, her health gives cause for grave concern given the inadequate medical attention.

Other women seriously ill in Villa Devoto prison (reported to AI in July 1977: current state of health unknown):

1. Matilde PERALTA PINO - aged 42, a polio victim
2. Carolina SUAZO de SAVALA
3. Beatriz JACOB - hernia of the diaphragm
4. Margarita FERRE - hemorrhage as a result of torture
5. Eva DIAZ de ROMERO - aged 60; acute diabetes
6. Yolanda GATICA - psychologically disturbed.
7. Margarita BARRERA - Chagas' fever (otherwise known as African sleeping sickness) fever resulting in tremors, headaches, apathy, convulsions and a coma progressing to death.
8. Marta RAMOS - suffers from acute asthma attacks
9. Eva Magdalena ZAMORA de PHLENS
10. Norma E. PERALTA - constriction of aorta
11. Carmen CORMES de CASTIGLIONI - aged 66; lumbago and serious heart condition.
12. Blanca BECHER - aged 31
13. Rosa SANDOVAL - aged 53; serious physical deterioration.
14. Nancy AYALA - aged 19; megacolon: abnormal enlargement of colon resulting in malfunctioning of bowels.

Mothers and Babies

SMRTPRR (23 (1) and (2)): "In women's institutions there shall be special accommodation for all necessary pre-natal and post-natal care and treatment. Arrangements shall be made wherever practicable for children to be born in a hospital outside the institution. If a child is born in prison, this fact shall not be mentioned in the birth certificate."

"Where nursing infants are allowed to remain in the institution with their mothers, provision shall be made for a nursery staffed by qualified persons, where the infants shall be placed when they are not in the care of their mothers."

****

"The prisoners who are pregnant or have children younger than 6 months at the time of their arrest are kept in a separate ward, but without special treatment. What is more terrible is that, once the child is 6 months' old, decree 955 says that he must abandon his mother and be given to relatives. It is not even allowed for the child to be with his mother during his first year, which is a vital time fot hhe child's future development."

See also case of Veronica Handl-Alvarez, Page 5.

Discipline and Punishment/Visits/Recreation/Inspection

Conduct constituting a disciplinary offence, the type and duration of that punishment and the authority competent to impose such punishments are all at the discretion of the Argentine authorites. However,

> "Corporal punishment, punishment by placing in a dark cell, and all cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments shall be completely prohibited as punishments for disciplinary offences."
>
> SMRTPRR, 31

According to testimonies received from the prisoners of Villa Devoto, the inmates are constantly punished for "the most improbable and arbitrary reasons that can be imagined". For example, it is apparently forbidden to: talk loudly, sing, celebrate birthdays, have a meeting of more than six people, put on plays, do physical exercises, do any work with the hands or show any sign of joy.

Prisoners are often punished by being sent to what are known as the "pig-sties". These are small cells, measuring 2.30m x 1m. The cell window is small and high up; when the natural light fades the cell is in total darkness. There is no wash-basin or toilet. A mattress and blankets are devlivered at 10.00 pm and are taken away again at 6.00 am. The prisoner is only allowed to have the clothes she is wearing at the time. The period of punishment is, apparently, NEVER LESS THAN 20 days. Some prisoners are known to have spent 45 DAYS in total isolation in these cells.

Visits

The right to receive visitors may be withdrawn at any time as a punishment. Political prisoners in Villa Devoto may receive visitors for two hours a week: an hour for direct male relatives and an hour for direct female relatives. The visits take place in specially prepared rooms. The prisoner and her relatives are separated by a pane of glass which prevents all physical contact. Conversations are conducted through a microphone; furthermore, all conversations are recorded.

Recreation

Again, this privelege may also be withdrawn as a form of arbitrary punishment. The prisoners are allowed one hour's exercise per day in an enclosed concrete yard surrounded by armed guards. While the prisoners are taking their exercise, their cells are often searched by the guards. In the past, warders have stolen or broken a prisoner's few belongings.

Inspection

Decrees 2023 and 955 legalize the "requisa vejatoria" - humiliating body body searches:

"The inspection staff in Villa Devoto become day by day more specialized in ill treatment a aggression and harassment of the political prisoners. They have absolute impunity and the support of their superiors. Usually, the function of the inspection staff in a prison is to keep internal order and security: fundamentally a preventive function. At the present time, their work is fundamentally repressive and intimidatory.

"At the beginning, individual inspection was carried out by feeling the clothes of each prisoner. Then they were obliged to take their over-clothes

off, keeping only pants and bra. Now they have to be completely naked, allowing the woman in charge of the inspection to handle their bodies in a degrading and humiliating way. In some cases, certain prisoners were forced to go to to the prison infirmary, so that the gynaecologist could give them a vaginal inspection.

****

In July 1977, Amnesty International received the following testimony from the prisoners of Villa Devoto, concerning interrogation and threats of execution:

Interrogation:

"In recent months the prisoners have been daily interrogated in prison by members of the First Army Corps from Buenos Aires, and the Second Army Corps from Rosario. Even so, on 13 June (1977) three prisoners were taken away from the prison, presumably to be taken to Cordoba for interrogation by the Third Army Corps. (This section of the army have announced that people arrested within their jurisdiction are to be taken to Córdoba for their interrogation. Knowing the criminal mentality of the armed forces in Córdoba, we are very worried about them.)

"The day they were taken from their cells, they were told that they would attend proceedings leading to their release. From prison they were taken to the Military Airport of Morón, from where they should have taken a plane to Córdoba. Once there they realized that they had been deceived and that the purpose of their journey was to interrogate them. That day the journey had to be cancelled because of bad weather, and they were sent back to prison with the assurance that they would be transferred when the order arrived. This happened a week later.

"This time, in spite of the protests of the other prisoners, who fearing for their lives tried to postpone the transfer, the soldiers took them away by force, brutally dragging the women across the floor. Several other political prisoners were severely beaten, and physically assaulted, and then sent to the punishment cells to be held incommunicado for 20 days (without visits, letters, locked in all the time, with music blaring through the prison loud-speakers).

"The authorities of the Villa Devoto prison say that they received orders from the military to produce the people asked for alive or dead. They, as the people in charge of the prison, are only responsible for the lives of the prisoners transferred for interrogation until the moment they leave the prison Gates."

Threats of Execution

"Horacio Martín Galindez, Security Chief, supported by the Director of the Prison, Mr Ruiz, has during the last few days made serious warnings to the prisoners, threatening them if they do not co-operate and accept the repressive policy of the transfer for torture, he himself will take responsibility for executing the prisoners by shooting them. Also at any time, he would give the order to riddle the cells with bullets. It will not be surprising if we soon hear of shooting and murder at the Villa Devoto prison, which is the prison that The Argentinian military authorities exhibit, as a model of respect for human rights, while what it really is, is a model of repression, harassment and torture that destroys physically the women of Argentina and other Latin American countries who live day by day under a system of terror and oppression.

Case studies of two women political prisoners currently detained in Villa Devoto:

1. María José YOFRE

María José Yofre was arrested on 19 December 1975, whilst in her eighth month of pregnancy, together with her 2 year old son. It is reported that she spent the last month of her pregnancy in a small room in a barracks without light or ventilation, in a region of consistently high temperatures and humidity. Her baby daughter was with her for only 24 hours; her son was also then taken from the prison, and she herself was transferred to Villa Devoto in Buenos Aires.

María's parents now live in Cuba, having been forced to leave Argentina in order to escape the repression inflicted upon their family:

Miguel Hugo Vaca Narvaja .....: Their brother-in-law. Disappeared on 10 March 1976 in Córdoba. He was a lawyer active in the defence of political prisoners.

Miguel Hugo Vaca Narvaja ..... : Their nephew, and also a lawyer like his father. He and two other detainees were killed during a transfer from Córdoba Penitentiary.
(son of the above)

Carlos Felipe Altamira Yofre ..... : Their nephew; also a lawyer and a member of the administrative council of the Córdoba College of Lawyers. Abducted in Buenos Aires in May 1976, a few days after military and police personnel had set fire to his office in Córdoba.

Gabriela Yofre ..... : Their daughter. Abducted in Buenos Aires in October 1976. Mother of a 3 year old.

Husband of Gabriela .....: Killed in May 1977.

María's two children are now cared for by their paternal grandparents. By October 1977, she had only seen her children twice because of the economic difficulties occasioned by visits to the prison. The visits last for half an hour and prisoner and visitor are separated by a glass screen and have to talk through microphones. The conversations are recorded.

María José Yofre has now been held for 2½ years without any charges against her. Her case was taken up by Amnesty International in April 1978.

2. Liliana Graciela VOGLER

Liliana Graciela Vogler, a university student aged 17, was arrested on 23 June 1975 at her home in Río Cuarto, Córdoba province. It is reported that she was tortured during the first two days of her detention by the Provincial Police. She was blindfolded and hooded to prevent the later recognition of her torturers, and beaten all over her body. Under torture, she was forced to sign a declaration, which had been drawn up by the police, stating that she and two friends (Juan Alberto Muzzolón and Francisco Bermúdez, who had been arrested a few hours before her) were involved in political activities and in possession of subversive literature. Five days after her arrest, before being taken to the Federal Court, she was threatened that she and her family would be killed if

she did not confirm the declaration in court. She was not allowed to talk with her relatives or lawyer until the proceedings were over. She ratified the declaration drawn up by the police, but at the end of the preliminary hearings she stated how she had been beaten in the first days of her arrest and that after signing the declaration she had been treated well.

From 10 - 15 July (1975) she was transferred to Buen Pastor (a prison for women) in Córdoba city, and in August to Córdoba Penitentiary. At the same time, the arrests of young students were continuing in Río Cuarto. One of them, Clotilde Yercovich, was raped by a policeman called Geton Gomez. She had his baby during 1976, whilst detained in Río Cuarto prison.

As a result of the above arrests, the Federal Judge of Río Cuarto ordered that Liliana should be transferred to that city for a new investigation to be carried out. The transfer took place on 7 September 1975. During the journey she was tortured - psychologically at first: they pretended that they were going to shoot her. Twice en route she was made to get down from the vehicle transporting them and undergo a mock execution. All this time she was blindfolded and handcuffed. She was also pulled by the hair and threatened.

When Liliana was taken before the Federal Judge, she asked for protection and guarantees, because she wished to tell the truth, and having received solemn promises from the Judge, she denounced in detail the tortures to which she had been subjected at the time of her arrest and during the previous day's journey. She stated that she could not identify those who had ill-treated her in the first instance, but could say who had done so during the Transfer from Córdoba to Río Cuarto because she had been given a single blindfold and this had slipped a little, enabling her to recognize them. One of them was Geton Gomez, who was renowned amongst the political prisoners, and although she could not give the names of the other two, she could identify them. She then told the Judge that under threats and in fear of again being submitted to torture she had confirmed as correct the declarations which had been dragged from her by the police, when she had appeared before him. However, the truth was that she had never taken part in any politics, she was not connected with subversion and she was innocent of the charges made against her.

However, when she went to sign the declaration she found that her exact words had not been recorded and, more importantly, the name of her torturer and the information she had given concerning the other two helpers were ommitted. The secretary of the court informed her that he had not been present at certain points of the investigation and therefore he did not know what she had said, but she should not worry because if she wished to have it recorded she should request a supplementary investigation, as the Federal Judge had already retired and he himself could not add to his declaration anything that he had not heard personally. Apparently, this was correct, but a new investigation could never be obtained. In the face of Liliana's declarations, the judge in charge of the case (at that time Dr Jose M. Aliaga) ordered that Liliana should meet each of the five of her friends and fellow students who were in detention. Two of them (previously mentioned), Francisco Bermudez, son of a well-known Río Cuarto doctor, and Juan Alberto Muzzolon, had been removed from Río Cuarto prison and taken to the police station. They were tortured for five days: they were beaten with fists and sticks all over their bodies, but particularly on the head; they were kicked in the genitals and submitted to "water torture" - only urine was used instead of water. The third was Juan Carlos Gentile; he had purple, green and black marks all over his body - the result of torture. The remaining two were Patricia Giglione, aged 18 and a friend of Liliana's and Clotilde Yercovich, previously cited in this case history. She was aged 18 and a university friend of Liliana's. They had both been arrested 15 days before this and had been detained in the police station, where both had been tortured and threatened; Patricia

denied all this when she appeared before the Judge. Both girls were given the possibility of obtaining their freedom if they collaborated with the police. Muzzolón, Bermúdez, Gentile and Yerecvich had to sign another statement (allegedly under torture) in which they recognized as belonging to them certain explosives and subversive literature which had been found in the outskirts of the town. Liliana was implicated in this as well.

On 13 September 1975, just five days after Liliana had denounced her torture before the Federal Judge of Río Cuarto, part of the Vogler's family home was blown up. Liliana was threatened with death.

At the end of October 1975, the Córdoba newspaper La Voz del Interior, published an article put in by relatives of political prisoners, denouncing Liliana's torture. On 22 November (1975), the Voglers' home was again blown up. Liliana's father, Guillermo, was told that he would be killed if he did not leave the city within 72 hours. On 18 December, Guillermo Vogler was arrested and sent to Córdoba Penitentiary.

The Córdoba area of Argentina is controlled by the III Army Corps, who are notorious for their repressive measures. Immediately after the military coup of 24 March 1976, people in the prisons and concentration camps in this area were openly tortured, mutilated and killed. All the prisons in the Córdoba area were totally isolated from the outside world. The prisoners were not allowed to write, receive letters or visitors. They were allowed no reading material or radios. During the period April - August 1976, 29 political prisoners from Córdoba Penitentiary died: they either died as a result of torture or were removed from the prison and unofficially executed. Four women who were in prison along with Liliana died: the body of one of them, 23 year old Alicia Rosetti and the mother of a small child, showed severe knife wounds. She had spent 30 days in total isolation, without clothes (this was mid-winter) and insufficient food.

In September 1976, prisoners were removed from Córdoba Penitentiary and taken to Villa Devoto (women) and Sierra Chica (men) prisons. It was at this time that Liliana arrived at Villa Devoto.

Both Liliana and her father Guillermo were adopted by Amnesty International in July 1977. Guillermo Vogler was released in December 1977 and now lives in exile in the USA. Liliana was charged under Law 20.840 - the Law of National Security - and sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment in March 1978 for possession of explosives and subversive literature and affiliation to the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army - Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo) - a violent, left-wing organization. It is worth noting that of the group arrested on or around the same date as Liliana, she was the only one who denounced her torture and torturers to the judge. While the person most implicated was given a 6 year sentence, she received the severest sentence. Relatives state that she is completely innocent of the charges brought against her; her case if now under appeal before the Federal Court of Appeal in Córdoba. A state-defender has been appointed because no lawyer is willing to take on the case.

UNCLASSIFIED 7/27/78

Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5685

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SREF, SHUM, AR, UY
SUBJECT: LATIN AMERICA 500 PAROLE PROGRAM IN ARGENTINA: MONTHLY STATUS REPORT NO. 1

1. ARGENTINE DETAINEES
A. TOTAL APPLICATIONS INITIATED 241
B. TOTAL APPLICATIONS COMPLETED 122
C. TOTAL VISAS EAGLE MESSAGES 240
D. TOTAL INTERNAL CLEARANCES COMPLETED 163
E. TOTAL APPLICATIONS WITHDRAWN (OBTAINED VISAS TO OTHER COUNTRIES) 5
F. TOTAL CERTIFICATES OF ACCEPTABILITY ISSUED 5
G. TOTAL APPLICANTS RELEASED FROM DETENTION AND ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN ARGENTINA 9
H. PAROLEES' ARRIVAL IN USA: 1 CASE, 2 PERSONS 1
I. COMMENTS: TO DATE, MINISTRY OF INTERIOR HAS NOT GRANTED CONSULAR OFFICER PERMISSION TO VISIT DETAINEES FOR PURPOSE OF PRELIMINARY INTERVIEW. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR SMALL NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES OF ELIGIBILITY ISSUED IN RIGHT OF OPTION CASES. WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT PERMISSION WILL BE GRANTED SHORTLY.

2. UNHCR MANDATED REFUGEES
A. TOTAL REFERRED 2
B. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
A. PARAGUAY 1
B. PERU 1
C. TOTAL VISAS EAGLE MESSAGES 2
D. TOTAL INTERNAL CLEARANCES COMPLETED 1
E. TOTAL INELIGIBLE FOR PAROLE 1
F. TOTAL CERTIFICATES OF ACCEPTABILITY ISSUED 1
G COMMENTS: THIS CASE HAS BEEN APPROVED BY INS AND IS AWAITING TRAVEL.

3. THIS IS OUR INITIAL REPORT UNDER THE 500 PROGRAM. THE FORMAT OF THIS REPORT WILL CHANGE NECESSARILY AS THE STATUS OF THE CASES CHANGES.
CASTRO

Roberto -
FYI -
Judy C

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED

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7/25/78

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TELEGRAM

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☐ CHARGE TO
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FROM	CLASSIFICATION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES	UNCLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: [redacted] HUMAN RIGHTS DISAPPEARANCES

ACTION: SECSTATE WASH DC

INFO: USCINCSO

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UNCLASSIFIED BUENOS AIRES: 5723

REF: STATE 181043

IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL EMBASSY PRESENTED AN INQUIRY TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF ANA MARIA PIFARETTI AND ROBERTO OMAR RAMIREZ WITH REQUEST OF URGENT ACTION.

AS SOON AS WE HAVE A REPLY WE WILL INFORM YOU.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

CASTRO

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:FAHarris	7-24-78	276	POL:AGFreeman

CLEARANCES:
[redacted] DMC:MChaplin

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OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

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(51/52)

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7/25/78 M057

PAGE 01 STATE 187163
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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 187163

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONAL CARLOS M. MAYOR

1. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY FROM SENATOR JOHN H. HEINZ III, PENNSYLVANIA CONCERNING CARLOS M. MAYOR. MAYOR'S BROTHER IS A RESIDENT OF PENN.

2. PLEASE PRESENT THE FOLLOWING CASE TO THE FOWG:
NAME: CARLOS M. MAYOR
DOB: JUNE 30, 1941, BUENOS AIRES
ID. NO. 4 819 159
MILITARY NO. 4 377 845
DISAPPEARED AUGUST 15, 1977 ON HIS WAY TO A MEETING AT THE U. OF BA.
MOTHER'S ADDRESS (HIS LAST ADDRESS) ARCANGELA A. DE MAYOR, JUNCAL 2071 2-C, BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA. VANCE

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Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS05725

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Channel: n/a

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7/25/78

M060

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05725 252116Z
ACTION H-02

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INFO AMCONSUL CURACAO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5725

H PASS: HONORABLE DONALD M. FRASER
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARA LABOR ADVISOR O'GRADY PLEASE
PASS AFL-CIO, RCIA AND AIFLD

CURACAO PLS PASS ORI-FIET'S FOSTER

E.O. 11652: NN/A
TAGS: SHUM, ELAB, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
JUAN FRANCISCO ESQUERRA (87/77/9)

REF: STATE 183431

1. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED ON JULY 22, 1978, THAT MR. JUAN FRANCISCO ESQUERRA HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM EXECUTIVE DETENTION.

2. WE ARE MAKING AN INQUIRY TO FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO SEE IF MR. ESQUERRA WILL BE FREED OR WHETHER HE WILL CONTINUE BEING DETAINED UNDER A JUDICIAL ORDER.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05725 252116Z

3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THIS CASE AND WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED IF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

Page: 1

4. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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M055

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05691 251416Z
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6654
INFO USCINCSO

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5691

H PASS: HONORABLE MARK O. HATFIELD
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISSAPEARANCE OF CECILIA EGUIA DE SANCHEZ
VIAMONTE (331/78/4)

REFERENCE: BA-5467

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER JAN 18, 1978 ON BEHALF OF [ ] REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF CECILIA EGUIA DE SANCHEZ VIAMONTE. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MRS. SANCHEZ VIAMONTE, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HER WHEREABOUTS. B6

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS OUR INTEREST IN THIS CASE AND WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6666
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5724

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCES OF CATALINA SCHIUMA (273/78/2);
JUAN FELIPE MIYARES (304/78/2);
LIWSKI, NORBERTO IGNACIO (343/78/5)
AND HORACIO DATTORI (254/78/5)

REF: STATE 024687; STATE 048586: STATE 123485

1. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) REPLIES TO THE INQUIRIES PRESENTED IN CASES CITED ABOVE. FOWG STATES THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORDS OF THEIR DETENTION, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THESE CASES AND APPRISE DEPARTMENT OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. APPRECIATE IF DEPARTMENT WOULD NOTIFY JAMES MINES, FORD FOUNDATION DIRECTOR FOR LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBEAN PROJECT REGARDING CATALINA SCHIUMA REFTEL STATE 024687) AND AAAS (REFTEL STATE
123485) REGARDING ASTRONOMER HORACIO DATTORI.
CASTRO

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6655
INFO USCINCSO

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5692

H PASS: HONORABLE BARBARA ANN MIKULSKI
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DETENTIONS
OF MR. AND MRS. RODOLFO JUAN BEGNARDI (322/78/4 AND 323/78/4)

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST OF MAR 2, 1978, ON BEHALF OF THE BALTIMORE ADOPTION GROUP OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, REGARDING RODOLFO JUAN BEGNARDI AND NORA JULIA BUCRE DE BEGNARDI, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT:
MRS BUCRE DE BEGNARDI IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 3505 OF 1975) IN VILLA DEVOTO PRISON CHARGED WITH SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. SHE PRESENTED RIGHT OF OPTION REQUEST TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY IN DEC 1976 WHICH WAS DENIED IN FEB 1977. IN DEC 1977 SHE AGAIN REQUESTED THE RIGHT OF OPTION WHICH WAS DENIED IN APR 1978.

2. MR. BEGNARDI IS BEING HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION (DECREE 3505 OF 1975) IN RESISTENCIA PRISON (CHACO PROVINCE) CHARGED WITH SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, IN SEPTEMBER 1977 HE PRESENTED RIGHT OF
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05692 251427Z

OPTION REQUEST WHICH WAS DENIED IN DEC 1977. A SECOND RIGHT OF OPTION REQUEST PRESENTED IN DECEMBER 1977 WAS DENIED IN MARCH 1978.

4. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THESE CASES AND WILL INFORM YOU OF ANY FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.

5. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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TELEGRAM

5748
261450Z JUL 78

BH119

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

File S 25

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EFIN, SHUM, PEPR, AR, US, MILI
SUBJECT: CONTINUING ARGENTINE REACTION TO EXIM BANK LETTER TO ALLIS CHALMERS

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO: USCINCSO QUARRY HTS
[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5748

AMB
DCM
POL3
POLR
ECOM
ICA
RF
CHRON

REF: A) BUENOS AIRES 5298; B) BUENOS AIRES 5486 (para 4); C) BUENOS AIRES 5596; D) BUENOS AIRES 5603

1. The political news-of-the-week review this past weekend was dominated by negative commentary in the wake of the EXIM Bank announcement, but the Foreign Ministry's clarification concerning the genesis of the Ambassador's meeting with Under Secretary Allara (reftel D.) [redacted] set the stage for a significant reduction in the attacks against us in the media. (We suspect that President Videla personally intervened with Under Secretary Allara to bring about the latter's clarification regarding the meeting with the Ambassador.)

2. Various Emboffs report that the scope and degree of bitterness among their contacts continue considerably greater on this issue than that resulting from the decision to cut FMS last year. Most contacts continue

DRAFTED BY: POL:AGFreeman:gcr | DRAFTING DATE: 7/25/78 | TEL. EXT.: 277 | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:
ICA:JHiggins
ECOM:~~JAmoss~~ KREED, ok
DAO:Col. RBGoetze
MILGRP:Col. ALRussell

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[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

81F93
(51/52)

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

5D153-101

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
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to warn us of the accentuatedly [redacted] jingoistic Argentine impulse to herd together against foreign criticism whatever the merits of the issues--usually accompanied by forebodings that we are rushing headlong into another "Braden or Peron" quagmire.

3. We think the worst is over in terms of emotional outbursts or other precipitous public manifestations against the US keyed to the EXIM Bank issue, but the longer term implications and consequences are yet to be felt in terms of Argentine foreign policy redirection. We continue to receive hints about abrogating the Rio Defense Pact, cancelling the Milgrp and withdrawing from UNITAS.

4. Two official statements by government spokesmen, both issued July 21, are indicative of the continuing smouldering mood in the government:

a. Interior Minister Harguindeguy was quoted as saying "(with respect to political timetables) which foreigners wish to impose on us, there may be many here would like to join the ranks of those abroad, but in the history of all the peoples there always have been those who allied themselves with the foreign world and this will continue to be. They have their names and are defined in the Spanish language."

b. President Videla in a farewell speech (as Army Chief) before the troops stated, "As the Armed Force of the nation, we must, permanently, spiritually and materially remain on guard against any type of aggression

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jeopardizing our territorial integrity or the full exercise of our sovereignty which may be launched against us in order to divide us from within or from without."

5. As seen by local press commentators, General Videla and Harguindeguy left little doubt that they were referring to the EXIM Bank decision. CLARIN saw the two speeches as coinciding in the conclusion that the Carter Administration's posture vis-a-vis Argentina was political i.e., that it referred to the de facto nature of the current Argentine Government rather than the human rights issue per se. The CLARIN commentary also articulated what appears to be the mood among some officials of the Argentine Government of perceiving what they believe to be the imposition by the US Government of linkages between the personal rights and democratic restoration issues on the one hand and US support, or a lack thereof, for Argentina's position in bilateral territorial disputes with Chile and Great Britain on the other. It should be added that no high-ranking official of the GOA has explicitly articulated such a concern to the Ambassador. However, such imaginary linkages were drawn in the Argentine mind, at least implicitly, in connection with the GOA complaints a few weeks ago about the Alende reception in Washington and, in the same breath, the President's allegedly deliberate omission of mentioning the Malvinas Island dispute in

his opening address before the OASGA. With a fervid imagination, Argentine political observers read all kinds of sinister implications into what may be a mere coincidence of events. This problem led us to argue in reftels A. and B. for a policy which would permit us to explicitly de-link the personal rights issue from that of democratic restoration.

[redacted]

CASTRO

7/26/78 NG

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

AR155

July 26, 1978

Dear Senator Church:

The information you have regarding the Argentine "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" is correct. I had the honor of meeting with representatives of this very courageous group when I was in Argentina and again when a delegation visited the United States. The group, which started with a few brave women, has grown and its membership is now estimated at about three hundred. The women who make it up meet every week in the Plazo de Mayo by the Ministry of Interior and Presidential Palace to demonstrate their desire for information on the welfare and whereabouts of their loved ones who have disappeared, presumably at the hands of security forces, or are believed to be held without charge by the current Argentine Government.

In December 1977, two French nuns and five mothers who had been gathering regularly at the Plaza to protest the detention and disappearances of their loved ones, were themselves detained, apparently by security forces. The Government of Argentina denied knowledge of their whereabouts despite strong indications that security forces had abducted them. After several months without any word, their bodies were-reported by human rights groups to have been discovered washed ashore on the Argentine coast. Six other mothers were also abducted and are presumed to be dead.

As you may be aware, our current relations with Argentina are severely strained because of the continuing serious human rights problems in that country. In the

The Honorable
Frank Church,
United States Senate.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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almost innumerable representations we have made on the human rights situation, the demands of the "mothers" and the harassment and abuse members of their group have suffered has been emphasized. The experiences of this group reflect the core of the problem in Argentina, the failure of the Government to be accountable to its people and to govern by due process and constitutionally recognized by law. This is the case despite the fact that the Government of Argentina has recognized that the terrorism which led to the suspension of legal norms is now under control.

We have tried in many ways to convince the Argentine Government of the need for change. We have made it clear that improvement in our relations is dependent on change. We have sent many high level delegations to Argentina, including one headed by the Secretary of State and another by the Undersecretary for Political Affairs. I accompanied the Secretary and undertook two separate missions on my own. We have encouraged other governments to make their concerns known to the Government of Argentina. We have addressed Argentine human rights issues in international fora and urged the Argentine Government to accept a visit by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. We have stopped military aid and training and few new military transfers have been approved. We are opposing loans to Argentina in the multilateral development banks, and the Export-Import Bank, in accordance with the State Department's advice, has recently declined to participate in a major business transaction in Argentina.

We hope that our continued underscoring of the major importance of human rights to our foreign relations, will influence the Government of Argentina to bring about substantive improvements. I welcome your support in this effort and would be happy to consult with you in person if you would find it useful.

Sincerely yours,

Patricia M. Derian
Assistant Secretary for
Human Rights and
Humanitarian Affairs

DRAFTER:HA/HR:M. Bova:djr:07/25/78

CLEARANCE:ARA/ECA:J. Bumpus
HA/HR:C. Salmon

P B6

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7/26/78

M061

PAGE 01 STATE 188295
ORIGIN ARA-14

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 188295

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR.

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONAL ARIEL RICETTI

1. SENATOR CRANSTON HAS REQUESTED INFORMATION ON ARIEL RICETTI:

BORN: LA PLATA 1-6-55

ID NO. 11616409

HOME ADDRESS: [redacted]

MOTHER: EDNA RICETTI

2. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION MAY BE AVAILABLE FROM THE CONGRESSMAN'S CONSTITUENT, [redacted] B6

3. [redacted] INDICATED IN HIS LETTER THAT [redacted] HAD [redacted] B6

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PAGE 02 STATE 188295

VISITED THE U.S. CONSULATE IN BA.

4. PLEASE PRESENT THE ABOVE CASE TO THE FOWG. VANCE

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NNN

ORIGIN/ACTION

ARA

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE 7/26/78

AIRGRAM

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Original to be Filed in Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

A-47

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

TO : Department of State

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, PA

FROM : Amembassy ASUNCION

DATE: July 26, 1978

SUBJECT : Recent Release of Political Prisoner

REF :

DECONTROL

On July 14, 1978, Mrs. Lidia Ester Cabrera de Franco was released from Asuncion's Emboscada prison without any explanations given. In a lengthy interview at the Embassy, Mrs. Cabrera de Franco described her arrest, detention and treatment first at the hands of the Argentine police and later at the Investigations police in Asuncion. Despite the recent release of political prisoners, her story, if true, gives an idea of the treatment that is accorded political prisoners, regardless of sex or legalities concerning the protection of individual human rights.

Attached is the memorandum of conversation of the interview with Mrs. Cabrera de Franco on July 21, 1978.

WHITE HOUSE per NSC

Enclosure:
1. MemCon of 7/21/78

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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WH/[redacted] Note the LOU classification & recall our own super secretiveness to protect our source of somewhat similar report. We were right!

[redacted]

FORM DS-323

For Department Use Only
In Out

Drafted by:	Drafting Date:	Phone No.:	Contents and Classification Approved by:
POL:VBonilla-Sosa:mkn	7/26/78	239	DCM:JMDion

References: POL:ARKay

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7/27/78

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PAGE 01 STATE 189696
ORIGIN ARA-14

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DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:JNBUMPUS:JMA
APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
HA:EOJONES

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Exemption(s): B1
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Date 5/9/01 Declassify on 5/9/11 Reason 25X6

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS ROUNDUP

REF: BA 5656

1. DEPARTMENT APPRECIATES DETAILED REPORTING IN REFTEL ON ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

2. CABLE RAISED SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON WHICH CLARIFICATION WOULD BE HELPFUL:

A) MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS REPORTED: WITH REFERENCE TO THE "OTHER PERMANENT ASSEMBLY LEADER" WHO WAS TORTURED AT TIME OF INTERROGATION, DID THIS OCCUR IN 1977? OTHER EXAMPLES OF MISTREATMENT GIVE TIME WHEN SUCH BRUTALITY OCCURRED. TIME SETTING IS HELPFUL BECAUSE IT ALLOWS DEPARTMENT TO BETTER UNDERSTAND TRENDS IN ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

[redacted]

[redacted]

B) NEW DRUG REPORTED INTRODUCED: DEPARTMENT REALIZES THE DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING CORROBORATING INFORMATION

ON A QUESTION AS SENSITIVE AS USE OF "KETALAR", BUT WOULD LIKE TO HAVE ANY FURTHER SUBSTANTIATION OF THE DRUG'S USE WHICH EMBASSY COULD OBTAIN. WOULD PARTICULARLY APPRECIATE BEST INDICATION POSSIBLE OF

MAGNITUDE OF CURRENT ELIMINATION OF TERRORISTS AND SUBVERSIVES.

C) JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES PROBLEMS: HAVE THERE BEEN CONTINUING ARRESTS OF WITNESSES OR HAS GOA LIMITED ITS REACTION TO LESS DIRECT HARASSMENT.

D) [redacted] IS IT EMBASSY'S, [redacted] IMPRESSION THAT TORTURE OF PRISONERS OCCURS IN 9U PERCENT OF POLITICAL PRISONER ARRESTS, AND DOES IT APPEAR TO BE CONTINUING AT THIS RATE WITH REGARD TO NEW ARRESTS? B1 B1

E) ESTIMATED PRISON POPULATION: [redacted] FIGURES FOR PEN PRISONERS ADD UP TO 3452; IS THIS ROUGHLY THE SAME AS PRESENT EMBASSY ESTIMATE? B1

F) DAM PRISONERS: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS SAID THERE MAY BE AS MANY AS 8,000 UNACCOUNTED FOR PRISONERS IN ARGENTINA. SECURITY FORCE SOURCES STATED DAM TOTAL DOES NOT EXCEED 500, WHICH FIGURE IN EMBASSY OPINION IS CLOSER TO FACT, AI OR SECURITY FORCES?

G) THE TIMERMAN CASE: DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN TOLD BY HIS FRIENDS THAT TIMERMAN'S DENTIST DID MAKE A PROFESSIONAL [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 189696

CALL. IS THIS RIGHT? CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNN

ACTION COPY

7/27/78

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FAH BH120

E.O. 11652: N/A

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TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: POSSIBLE IAHRC VISIT TO ARGENTINA

REF: BA 5645

1. DEPARTMENT HAS OBTAINED RESOLUTION CONCERNING IAHRC ON SITE VISITS. SPANISH TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE:

RESOLUCION SOBRE OBSERVACIONES "IN LOCO"

LA COMISION INTERAMERICANA DE DERECHOS HUMANOS,

CONSIDERANDO:

QUE EL ARTICULO 11 DE SU ESTATUTO Y EL ARTICULO 52 DE SU REGLAMENTO FACULTAN A LA COMISION A TRASLADARSE AL TERRITORIO DE CUALQUIER ESTADO AMERICANO CON LA ANUENCIA O POR INVITACION DEL GOBIERNO RESPECTIVO CON EL OBJETO DE REALIZAR UNA OBSERVACION "IN LOCO".

RESUELVE:

ESTABLECER LAS SIGUIENTES REGLAS:

(1) LAS OBSERVACIONES "IN LOCO" QUE ACUERDE LA COMISION SE REALIZARAN DE CONFORMIDAD CON LAS SIGUIENTES NORMAS:

membership of Comm.

A) LA COMISION DETERMINARA LA COMPOSICION DE LA COMISION ESPECIAL ENCARGADA DE PRACTICAR LAS OBSERVACIONES "IN LOCO".

B) LA COMISION ESPECIAL O CUALQUIERA DE SUS MIEMBROS PODRAN ENTREVISTAR LIBRE Y PRIVADAMENTE A PERSONAS, GRUPOS, ENTIDADES O INSTITUCIONES, DEBIENDO EL GOBIERNO OTORGAR LAS GARANTIAS PERTINENTES A TODOS LOS QUE SUMINISTREN A LA COMISION INFORMACIONES, TESTIMONIOS O PRUEBAS DE CUALQUIER CARACTER;

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C) LOS MIEMBROS DE LA COMISION ESPECIAL PODRAN VIAJAR LIBREMENTE POR TODO EL TERRITORIO DEL PAIS, CONTANDO PARA ELLO CON LA DOCUMENTACION OFICIAL DEL GOBIERNO QUE LOS IDENTIFIQUE;

D) EL GOBIERNO DEBERA ASEGURAR LA DISPONIBILIDAD DE MEDIOS DE TRANSPORTE LOCALES;

E) LOS MIEMBROS DE LA COMISION ESPECIAL TENDRAN ACCESO A LAS CARCELES Y TODOS LOS OTROS SITIOS DE DETENCION E INTERROGACION Y PODRAN ENTREVISTAR PRIVADAMENTE A LOS PERSONAS RECLUIDAS O DETENIDAS;

F) EL GOBIERNO PROPORCIONARA A LA COMISION ESPECIAL CUALQUIER DOCUMENTO O INFORMACION RELACIONADA CON LA OBSERVANCIA DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS QUE ESTA CONSIDERE NECESARIA PARA LA PREPARACION DE SU INFORME;

G) LA COMISION ESPECIAL PODRA UTILIZAR CUALQUIER MEDIO APROPIADO PARA RECOGER, GRABAR O REPRODUCIR LA INFORMACION QUE CONSIDERE OPORTUNA;

H) EL GOBIERNO ADOPTARA LAS MEDIDAS DE SEGURIDAD ADECUADAS PARA PROTEGER A LA COMISION ESPECIAL;

I) EL GOBIERNO ASEGURARA LA DISPONIBILIDAD DE ALOJAMIENTO A LOS MIEMBROS DE LA COMISION.

(2) LAS GARANTIAS Y FACILIDADES SENALADAS EN EL PARRAFO ANTERIOR SE EXTENDERAN AL PERSONAL DE SECRETARIA QUE ACOMPANE LA COMISION.

(3) LOS GASTOS EN QUE INCURRA LA COMISION ESPECIAL, CADA UNO DE SUS INTEGRANTES Y EL PERSONAL DE SECRETARIA SERAN

SUFRAGADOS POR LA ORGANIZACION DE LOS ESTADOS AMERICANOS, CON SUJECION A LAS DISPOSICIONES REGLAMENTARIAS PERTINENTES. END QUOTE.

2. COMMENT: SECTIONS D, H AND I APPEAR TO BE SIMPLE LOGISTIC/SECURITY REQUESTS. OAS OFFICIAL HAS INFORMED DEPTOFF THAT IAHRC WILL PAY FOR SERVICES MENTIONED IN SECTIONS D AND I, BUT SIMPLY WANTS ASSURANCE THEY WILL BE AVAILABLE. CHRISTOPHER [redacted]
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7/27/78

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PAGE 01 STATE 189698
ORIGIN ARA-14

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA;RWZIMMERMANN

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[redacted] STATE 189698

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: RELEASE OF LILIANA DEUTSCH

1. HAS THERE BEEN ANY FURTHER WORD ON RELEASE OF LILIANA DEUTSCH? U.S. FAMILY IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT HER CONTINUED DETENTION. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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7/28/78

(5) 30 BH123

Buenos Aires, 28 Julio de 1978

A S.E. el Señor Ministro del Interior
Gral. de División D. Albano Harguindeguy
S / D

De nuestra mayor consideración:

Mediante comunicación dirigida al diario LA PRENSA y publicada el día 2 de Junio del corriente año, el Señor Ministro dió a conocer lo que a su juicio serían rectificaciones de datos erróneos respecto de 87 personas incluídas como desaparecidas en la nómina de 2511 publicadas en dicho matutino con fecha 17 de Mayo de este año por la Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos, el Movimiento Ecuménico por los Derechos Humanos y la Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre.

Entendemos que el plausible propósito de la comunicación dada a conocer por el señor Ministro no es otro que el de llegar con la mayor aproximación a la verdad en este trascendente y grave problema. Igual propósito anima a las entidades firmantes de la lista precitada. Y con tal actitud aportan ahora, para el mismo fin, los elementos de juicio que motivan la presente nota. En ella se tienen en cuenta muy particularmente algunas situaciones individuales que muestran la significación institucional y humana del problema.

1.- La comunicación del Ministerio del Interior menciona, bajo el subtítulo "Cesaron su detención y fueron puestas en libertad" entre otras personas, Vicente Víctor Ayala, Carlos Hugo Capitman, Laura Noemí Creatore, Manuel Tomás Vizcarra y Carlos Alberto Fernández.

Dichas personas figuran efectivamente en nuestras listas de desaparecidos del 17 de Mayo de 1978, y ratificamos que al día de la fecha continúan en la misma condición, sin saberse nada de ellas. Al respecto corresponde puntualizar:

a) En relación al ciudadano Vicente Víctor Ayala, obra en nuestro poder una nota suscripta por su familia con fecha 18 de Junio de 1978, en la cual se hace saber que el nombrado continúa desaparecido. Se añade en dicha nota que el Decreto invocado por el señor Ministro (número 870/78) por el cual se habría dispuesto su libertad, está erroneamente citado en la comunicación ministerial, pues se trata en realidad del decreto 870/75, por el cual se dispuso (luego de un arresto a disposición del Poder Ejecutivo en aquel entonces) su libertad con fecha 8 de Abril de 1975, la que se hizo efectiva de inmediato. Ello ha sido corroborado por el Recurso de Hábeas Corpus interpuesto por su familia ante el Juez Federal de Corrientes, luego de la comunicación de V.E. al diario LA PRENSA del 2 de Junio del corriente año, recurso en el cual los informes de las autoridades requeridos dejaron constancia inequívoca de que el Decreto No. 870 relativo a Vicente Víctor Ayala es del año 1975, y se refiere por lo tanto a la cesación de una detención muy anterior a su actual desaparición.

b) En relación al ciudadano Carlos Hugo Capitman ratificamos que continúa desaparecido, pese a existir el decreto de libertad que menciona V.E. en la comunicación del 2 de Junio. En el recurso de Hábeas Cor-

pus interpuesto por su familia ante la justicia de la Capital Federal, la Sala Penal de la Cámara Federal acaba de resolver recientemente el pase de las actuaciones pertinentes al Consejo Supremo de las Fuerzas Armadas, ante la posibilidad de que la libertad ordenada por el Decreto citado por V.E. haya sido frustrada o desacatada por vías de hecho por personal de fuerzas armadas o de seguridad, desde que los informes remitidos a la justicia federal por los comandos requeridos al efecto no han podido hacer saber donde, cuando y cómo se habría cumplido la orden de libertad emergente del Decreto 1907/76.

c) En igual situación de los antes nombrados, en cuanto a la frustración de hecho de su ordenada libertad, se encuentran los ciudadanos Laura Noemí Creatore, Manuel Tomás Vizcarra y Dardo Francisco Molina.

2.- Bajo el mismo subtítulo de "Cesaron su detención y fueron puestos en libertad", la referida comunicación de vuestra excelencia publicada el día 2 de Junio incluye el nombre de los ciudadanos Orlando Cancio y Miguel Angel Pincheira, que según dicha publicación habrían sido puestos en libertad por Decreto No. 2467/76

Dichas personas figuran en nuestras listas como desaparecidas, y lo siguen estando. Ratificamos, pués, su inclusión en la nómina de personas actualmente desaparecidas, y agregamos para subrayar la especial gravedad de éste caso, que los nombrados Cancio y Pincheira no son las únicas personas a las que se refiere el Decreto 2467/76, aunque son ellas las que menciona ese Ministerio. En efecto, el Decreto 2467/76 también dispone la libertad de otras personas que cesan su condición de arrestados a Disposición del Poder Ejecutivo, pero que jamás aparecieron son: Marcos Seminario de Neuquén y José Delineo Méndez de Cutral-Co.

3.- En el mismo subcapítulo "Cesaron su detención y fueron puestos en libertad", figuran en la nómina publicada por ese Ministerio los ciudadanos Zoilo Ayala, Carlos Alberto Carranza, Jorge Raúl Olave, Estela Beatriz Lombardo de Olave y Manuel Tomás Vizcarra.

Dichas personas que continúan desaparecidas fueron incluídas en nuestras listas en razón de que en los respectivos Hábeas Corpus interpuestos oportunamente a su favor las autoridades requeridas en cada caso por el Juez interviniente informaron que dichos ciudadanos no figuraban como detenidos.

Es evidente que tiene significación institucional la circunstancia de que, luego de tales informes negativos, hayanaparecido como detenidos a disposición del Poder Ejecutivo y puestos en libertad por decretos de aquél.

Lo mismo podría afirmarse sobre los casos RAMOS Batalla, STREMI Juan Carlos, que en la comunicación del señor Ministro figuran como detenidos "a disposición del Poder Ejecutivo Nacional" y que sin embargo, en oportunidad de su detención los recursos de Hábeas Corpus que en su favor presentaron los familiares respectivos obtuvieron respuesta negativa.

4.- Bajo el subtítulo de "De acuerdo con los antecedentes que obran en el Ministerio del Interior, se encuentran en sus domicilios", la comunicación del 2 de Junio menciona entre otros ciudadanos Carlos Alberto Carbajal.

La señora Mirta Carbajal de Ortiz informó a la Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos, el día 23 de Junio de 1978, que el nombrado no ha aparecido.

5.- En el subtítulo OTROS CASOS se menciona como procesado a FERNANDEZ, Carlos Alberto. En la publicación del 17 de Mayo, había dos personas con el mismo nombre y apellido. Informamos que la persona con L.E. 8.139.310 continúa desaparecida por cuanto los Hábeas Corpus obtuvieron resultado negativo.

6) Del conjunto de 87 nombres incluídos en la comunicación de ese Ministerio publicada el día 2 de Junio del corriente año, extraemos los de José Lutzky, Miguel Angel Laborde, Epifanio Méndez Fleitas, Hugo Ernesto Huberman, Fawel Huberman, Zulema Isabel Sosa de Alfaya, María L. Maneiro, Lidia Ester Cabrera, Eduardo Sotero y Francisco Venegas, al solo efecto de dejar constancia de que dichas personas no fueron incluídas en las listas publicadas por las entidades subscriptas el día 17 de Mayo de 1978, puesto que en relación a las mismas no se había recibido denuncia alguna.

7) En el subtítulo "ACTUALMENTE DETENIDAS A DISPOSICION DEL PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL" se informa que CAPELLA, Jorge Antonio se halla detenido en la U-9 de La Plata. Aclaramos que no se trata de la misma persona que aparece en la publicación del 17/5/78, que es CAPELLO, Jorge Antonio desaparecido el 15/5/77, y que continúa en igual situación, según ha confirmado su familia.

8) Con el mismo espíritu de aporte que hemos mencionado al comienzo de esta nota, hacemos llegar al señor Ministro una nómina de 500 nuevos casos de personas desaparecidas que deben sumarse por consiguiente a los dos mil quinientos once publicados el 17 de Mayo del corriente año.

Tal nómina adicional ha sido confeccionada sobre la base de testimonios presentados a las entidades firmantes de la presente luego del 17 de Mayo de 1978.

9) Dejamos constancia, respecto de los nombres incluídos en la comunicación de ese Ministerio del 2 de Junio del corriente año, que hemos recibido de las respectivas familias o de otra fuente similar la confirmación de la libertad de las siguientes personas: MIGLIARI, Antonio Atilio, BARRACOSA, de Migliari Haydee Marta, BARRIONUEVO, Nicolás Carlos, SAURIT de Daviña, Graciela, GARCIA, Gabriel Alberto.

Por todo lo expuesto, y dada la pública resonancia del problema que nos ocupa, solicitamos al señor Ministro conceda una audiencia a representantes de las entidades firmantes, a efectos de poner a su disposición cuanto elemento de juicio o de prueba pueda obrar en nuestro poder o ser de nuestro conocimiento, en la seguridad de que ello contribuirá en su medida a la preservación de la vida y al afianzamiento de la justicia.

Saludan con la consideración más distinguida a su Excelencia el Señor Ministro del Interior.

Por ASAMBLEA PERMANENTE POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS

EDUARDO A. PIMENTEL — Emilio T. Gallione

Por MOVIMIENTO ECUMENICO POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS

FEDERICO FIGUERA — JORGE NOVAK

Por LIGA ARGENTINA DE LOS DERECHOS DEL HOMBRE

Co-Presidente — Roberto CARICHE
T. XX F 224

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TELEGRAM

ACTION: POL
INFO: AMB
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] STATE 164875

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OAS, ECIN, SHUM, MARR, PINT, PARM

SUBJECT: ARA WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS JUNE 21-27

1. THE CENTRAL EVENT THIS WEEK IN WASHINGTON WAS THE MEETING OF THE VIII OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, DETAILS OF WHICH ARE BEING REPORTED IN SEPTELS.

2. CARIBBEAN GROUP MEETING. THE FIRST REGULAR MEETING OF THE CARIBBEAN GROUP FOR COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, HELD AT THE WORLD BANK 6/19-24, WAS A SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS FROM BOTH RECIPIENT AND DONOR VIEWPOINTS. THE RESULTS WERE A MAJOR ADVANCE FOR U.S. POLICY, WHICH HAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED A MULTILATERAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CARIBBEAN. SPECIFIC ACTIONS ARE BEING REPORTED IN SEPTEL.

3. CHRISTOPHER COMMITTEE. THE INTERAGENCY GROUP ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS WILL MEET JULY 7. THE GROUP WILL EVALUATE ITEMS OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR SEVEN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES--ARGENTINA, CHILE, EL SALVADOR, GUYANA, HAITI, NICARAGUA AND PARAGUAY.

4. BAHAMAS MILITARY FACILITIES NEGOTIATIONS. AFTER SEVERAL YEARS OF FRUITLESS DISCUSSIONS, THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD A NEW AGREEMENT ON U.S. USE OF FOUR MILITARY FACILITIES IN THE BAHAMAS DURING TALKS JUNE 22 AND JUNE 23. DIFFERENCES ON COMPENSATION AND RETROACTIVITY WERE REDUCED TO MANAGEABLE SIZE. A STUMBLING BLOCK TO AGREEMENT THIS YEAR MAY BE A LINGERING BAHAMIAN BELIEF THAT SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING IN ADDITION TO SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS ANNUAL CASH RENT FOR THE FACILITIES. NEGO-

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TIATIONS ARE EXPECTED TO RESUME JULY 20 AND 21.

5. PERUVIAN ELECTIONS. THE DEPARTMENT ISSUED A STATEMENT ON JUNE 21 STATING OUR ENCOURAGEMENT AT THE FACT THAT THE JUNE 18 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION TOOK PLACE AS SCHEDULED, AND MENTIONING PERU'S PRE-ELECTORAL RESTRAINTS AND ECONOMIC CRISIS. PERUVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DE LA PUENTE TOOK EXCEPTION TO THE STATEMENT, ASSERTING THAT THE U.S. STATEMENT CONSTITUTED INTERFERENCE IN PERUVIAN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

6. RECALL OF AMBASSADOR TO CHILE. AMBASSADOR GEORGE W. LANDAU WAS RECALLED FOR CONSULTATIONS FROM SANTIAGO ON JUNE 23. THE RECALL WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY TH: DEPARTMENT, SUPPORTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WHICH NOTED THAT THE GOC HAD NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING WITH PROMISED COOPERATION IN THE LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION INVESTIGATION. LANDAU IS CONSULTING WITH STATE AND JUSTICE; CONVERSATIONS CONTINUE WITH HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE GOC IN AN EFFORT TO GAIN COOPERATION.

7. CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON ARMS RESTRAINT AND TRANSFER. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY JOHN BUSHNELL TESTIFIED JUNE 27 BEFORE THE HOUSE INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE SUBJECT OF U.S. ARMS RESTRAINT AND TRANSFER POLICIES IN THE HEMISPHERE. HIS PREPARED STATEMENT POINTED OUT THE RELATIVELY LOW LEVEL OF ARMS PURCHASES IN LATIN AMERICA AND REVIEWED SALIENT FEATURES OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY: AVOIDING BEING THE FIRST TO SUPPLY WEAPONS SYSTEMS OF GREATER SOPHISTICATION, PLACI;G THE BURDEN OF PERSUASION ON THOSE OPPOSING IT, AND CONSIDERING CAREFULLY THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIO; IN PROPOSED RECIPIENT COUNTRIES. THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S QUESTIONS FOCUSED ON THE LACK OF SIMILAR FORMAL POLICIES ON THE PART OF OTHER SUPPLIERS AND WHETHER OUR POLICIES WERE THEREFORE INEFFECTIVE IN FORESTALLING BUILD-UPS. THE SUBCOMMITTEE ALSO INQUIRED INTO THE ECONOMIC LOSSES FOR AMERICAN INDUSTRY

BECAUSE OF OUR REFUSAL ON POLICY GROUNDS TO PERMIT CERTAIN SALES. DAS BUSHNELL RESPONDED BY MAINTAINING THAT OUR POLICIES HAVE IN FACT RESULTED IN MODERATION OF LATIN AMERICA'S ARMS DEMAND, WHICH IS IN ANY CASE RELATIVELY SMALL. HE ACKNOWLEDGED FINANCIAL LOSSES, ALTHOUGH NEGLIGIBLE IN THEIR IMPACT ON THE OVERALL

U.S. ECONOMY, BUT CHARACTERIZED THESE ECONOMIC COSTS AS A REASONABLE PRICE TO PAY IN ORDER TO HAVE A CLEAR POLICY OF ARMS RESTRAINT AND SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. HE SAID THESE COS;S ARE IN EFFECT AN INVESTMENT IN A MORE PEACEFUL, MORE HUMANE WORLD.

A. ARA'S JUNE 23 CONTRIBUTION TO 'WEEKLY ISSUES':

UNITAS: A USEFUL POLICY INSTRUMENT IN U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS.

THE ANNUAL UNITAS NAVAL EXERCISE IS THE LAST MAJOR ON-GOING U.S. MILITARY VENTURE WITH LATIN AMERICA. IT COMBINES MANEUVERS AT SEA WITH IN-PORT REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN A FOUR-MONTH, 24,000 MILE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF SOUTH AMERICA. EIGHT COUNTRIES PARTICIPATED IN UNITAS XVIII. UNITAS XIX IS SLATED TO BEGIN IN AUGUST.

THE TRADITIONAL OPERATIONAL JUSTIFICATION FOR UNITAS IS THAT IT ALLOWS U.S. TO EVALUATE SOUTH AMERICAN NAVIES AND GAIN FAMILIARITY WITH LOCAL BASES AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FACILITIES.

ALTHOUGH THE TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC KNOWLEDGE SO GAINED COULD BE US:FUL IN THE FUTURE, THE UNITAS MANEUVERS ACTUALLY SERVE TWO MORE IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES --DEFUSING REGIONAL TENSIONS AND MAINTAINING A COOPERATIVE U.S. PRESENCE.

IN LAST YEAR'S EXERCISE, CHILE AND PERU, TWO COUNTRIES WITH SERIOUS BORDER PROBLEMS, JOINED WITH THE U.S. IN AN UNPRECEDENTED TRILATERAL OPERATION WHICH MARKED THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1962 THAT THE TWO NATIONS HAD PARTICIPATED TOGETHER IN UNITAS. FOR THIS YEAR'S EXERCISE, ARGENTINA AND CHILE HAVE AGREED TO SET ASIDE THEIR BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE LONG ENOUGH TO PERMIT THE USE OF BOTH COUNTRIES' PORTS ON THE CHANNEL.

WHILE NAVIES ARE GENERALLY NOT THE DOMINANT MILITARY SERVICE IN LATIN AMERICA, THE UNITAS EXERCISE PROVIDES A VALUABLE PSYCHOLOGICAL UNDERPINNING TO COLLECTIVE

SECURITY AND THE RIO TREATY. THE MANY PORT CALLS ARE A UNIQUE MEANS OF "SHOWING THE FLAG--IN A COOPERATIVE RATHER THAN A UNILATERAL FASHION. THE NAVY SHOW BAND, [redacted]

PRESS CONFERENCES, AND OPERATION HANDCLASP (WHICH DISTRIBUTES MEDICAL SUPPLIES, RECREATIONAL EQUIPMENT, AND CLOTHING TO SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS AND ORPHANAGES) ARE ALL ECONOMICAL MEANS OF DEMONSTRATING GOODWILL.

UNITAS MAY BE SEEN AS A FORM OF REGIONAL INSURANCE AGAINST INCREASING STRAINS ON DETENTE AND CUBA'S MILITARY ADVENTURISM. BUT IN A WIDER SENSE, UNITAS IS A SMALL BUT IMPORTANT PART OF OUR CONTINUING EFFORT TO BUILD MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH OUR LATIN NEIGHBORS.

IN THE WAKE OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WEDNESDAY AT THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, UNITAS AND SIMILAR ACTIVITIES MAY ALSO BE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT POLICY INSTRUMENTS FOR BUILDING THE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE NEEDED FOR REGIONAL DISPUTE SETTLEMENT AND ARMS RESTRAINT. VANCE

7/30/78 (5) 35

NOMINA DE: NIETITOS DESAPARECIDOS Y ABUELAS QUE LOS BUSCAN (16)

con edades aproximadas al 30 de julio, 78

BH124

A) CRIATURAS DESAPARECIDAS DE SUS HOGARES O CON SUS PADRES:

-NIETA: CLARA ANAHI MARIANI-DNI n°25.476.305-Nacida el 12/8/76. Desaparecida el 24/11/76 de su hogar en la calle 30 n°1136 (entre 55 y 56) de La Plata, después de un enfrentamiento armado. Hija de Diana Esmeralda Teruggi de Mariani y de Daniel Enrique Mariani, fallecidos.
Edad actual: 1 año y 11 meses.
ABUELA: María Isabel Chorobik de Mariani-L.C. n°8.319.665 con domicilio real en [redacted] b6

-NIETO: GABRIEL MATIAS CEVASCO-Nacido el 14/10/76. Desapareció en brazos de su madre a las 14 del día 11/1/77, al salir del trabajo, en los establecimientos textiles San Andrés-Hijo de María Delia Leiva y de Gabriel Matías Cevasco.
Edad actual: 1 año y 9 meses.
ABUELA: María D. Sueyro de Leiva-L.C. n°1.337.396-Domiciliada en [redacted] b6

-NIETA: PAULA EVA LOGARES-DNI n°25.348.781-Nacida el 10/6/76-Desaparecida con sus padres el 18/5/78 en Montevideo (Uruguay). Hija de Mónica Sofía Girnspon de Logares y de Claudio Ernesto Logares, detenidos y desaparecidos el 18/5/78 en Montevideo (Uruguay)
Edad actual: 2 años y 1 mes.
ABUELA: Elsa Beatríz Pavón de Aguilar-L.C. n°3.387.071-Domiciliada en [redacted] b6

B) CRIATURAS NACIDAS DE SUS MADRES DETENIDAS Y DESAPARECIDAS:

-NIETO o NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en la segunda quincena de agosto de 1976. Hijo de Beatríz Haydée Neuhaus de Martinis y de Juan Francisco Martinis-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 16/3/76 en Ramos Mejía.
Edad actual: 1 año y 11 meses.
ABUELA: Beatríz H.C. Ricardi de Neuhaus-L.C. n°0.061.571-Domiciliada en [redacted] b6

-NIETO o NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en la primera quincena de setiembre de 1977. Sus nombres son Héctor Alberto si es varón ó Alicia Cristina si es mujer. Hijo de Liliana Graciela Castillo Barrios de Ovejero y de Héctor Ovejero-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 5/6/77 en la localidad de San Justo.
Edad actual: 10 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Eva H. Márquez de Castillo Barrios-L.C. n°0.033.603-Domiciliada en [redacted] b6

-NIETO o NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en junio de 1977. Hijo de Elena de la Cuadra-Detenida y desaparecida el 23/2/77.
Edad actual: 1 año y un mes aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Alicia Zubaznabar de de la Cuadra-L.C. n°0728070-Domiciliada en la [redacted] b6

-NIETO o NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto normal en la segunda quincena de diciembre de 1976-Hijo de Liliana Isabel Acuña de Gutiérrez y de Oscar Rómulo Gutiérrez-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 26/8/76 en la localidad de San Justo.
Edad actual: 1 año y 7 meses aproximadamente
ABUELA: Wilma Delinda Sosa rogo de Gutiérrez-C.I. n°6.126.782-Domiciliada en [redacted] b6

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (✓) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): b6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date ____ Declassify on ____ Reason ____
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- NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parte normal alrededor del 15 de enero de 1977-Hijo de Ana María Baravalle y de Julio César Galizzi-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 7/8/76.
Edad actual: 1 año y 6 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Mirta N. Acuña de Baravalle-DNI n°0302436-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parte normal a mediados de setiembre de 1977-Hijo de Mónica María Lemos de Lavallo y de Gustavo Antonio Lavallo-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 20/7/77 en el barrio de San Fernando de José C.Paz.
Edad actual: 10 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Haydée V.de Lemos-C.I.n°3290056-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

-NIETO O NIETA: Debió nacer en los primeros días de diciembre de 1976. De ser varón se llama Martín Ogando-Hijo de Stella Maris Montesano de Ogando y de Jorge Oscar Ogando-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 16/10/76 de su domicilio en La Plata.
Edad actual: 1 año y 7 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Delia Cecilia Giovanola de Califano-L.C.n°1012247-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parte normal entre el 15/1/77 y el 15/2/77. De ser varón se llama Pablo Ernesto Marizcurrena-Hijo de Liliana Beatríz Caimi de Marizcurrena y de Andrés Marizcurrena-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 13/10/76 en la localidad de Martínez.
Edad actual: 1 año y 6 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELAS: -Elida E.de Caimi-C.I.2534047 Dom: Italia 1769-Martínez-y/ó Raquel Radío de Marizcurrena-L.C.n°3250062-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parte normal alrededor del 2 2/11/77-Hijo de Mónica Susana Masri de Roggerone y de Carlos María Roggerone-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 12/4/77 en su domicilio: Arribeños 2153-Capital Federal.
Edad actual: 8 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Clara Jurado-DNI.n°0513754-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

-NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parte normal alrededor del 6/11/76-Hijo de María Claudia García Irureta Goyena de Gelman y de Marcelo Ariel Gelman-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 24/8/76 en Capital Federal.
Edad actual: 1 año y 8 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELA: María Eugenia Cassinelli de García Irureta Goyena-DNI.n°3231011-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parte normal a fines de julio de 1977-Hijo de María Hilda Pérez de Donda, detenida y desaparecida el 28/3/77 en Morón o Castelar.
Edad actual: 1 año aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Leontina Puebla de Pérez-DNI.n°0635451-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

NIETO O NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parte normal entre noviembre de 1976 y enero de 1977. Hijo de María Cristina Cournou de Grandi y de Claudio Nicolás Grandi-Detenidos y desaparecidos el 2 2/6/76 de su domicilio en Ciudadela 353-Paso del Rey-Partido de Moreno (Mercedes).
Edad actual: 1 año y 7 meses aproximadamente.
ABUELA: Julia Josefa Rebollo de Grandi-C.I.n°2127498-Domiciliada en [ ] 86

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NIETO o NIETA: Cuyo nacimiento debió producirse en parto nomal en Junio de 1978, de ser varon se llamaria Guido, hijo de Laura Estela Carlotto. - Detenida y desaparecida el 16/11/1977 - Edad actual : 2 meses.

1978

ABUELA: Enriqueta Estela Barnes de Carlotto - Doc. 3102995 - Domiciliada en [redacted]

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7/31/78

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B3NA
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5879

H PASS HONORABLE SILVIO CONTE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, ELAB, AR
SUBJECT: FIVE ARGENTINE LABOR LEADERS

REF: A) BUMPUS LETTER OF JUNE 22, 1978 TO LABATT FREEMAN
(B) LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN CONTE FROM DAVID J. COHEN, LOCAL NO.264, DATED MAY 31, 1978.

1. IN RESPONSE TO ABOVE MENTIONED CORRESPONDENCE, THE EMBASSY IS MAKING INQUIRIES WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS, REGARDING QUIROGA, RAUL ALBERTO (487/78/7), CORREGIDOR, RAMON ROSA (488/78/7) AND IGLESIAS, LUIS FRANCISCO (489/78/7.).

2. THE CASE OF MIGUEL JACOBO BRZOSTOWSKI (58/77/4) WAS PRESENTED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON APRIL 18, 1977. THE GOA REPLIED ON JUNE 8, 1977, THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAD NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. BRZOSTOWSKI, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS. WE ARE MAKING A FOLLOW UP INQUIRY ON THIS CASE.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05879 312034Z

3. [C] HAS PRESENTED A REQUEST TO THE EMBASSY TO BE PAROLED INTO THE UNITED STATES. HIS APPLICATION

B3NA

IS UNDER STUDY BY THE CONSULAR OFFICERS.

4. ALL THESE CASES WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE OUR INTEREST AND WE WILL REPORT ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

5. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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7/31/78

M066

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6753

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5885

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF ANDRES HUMBERTO DOMINGO BELLIZZI BELLIZZI

1. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) A REPLY TO THE INQUIRY PRESENTED IN THE CASE BELLIZZI BELLIZZI. FOWG STATES THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. BELLIZZI BELLIZZI, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS.

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THIS CASE AND WILL INFORM YOU OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) in Part ( ) in Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

8/1/78

(RE049)

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

FILE

PAGE 01 STATE 193373 7234 STATE 193373

ORIGIN INFO-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /009 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSSTEVEN:MG
APPROVED BY D:WCHRISTOPHER
JUST:CEEMPROPPER
L/EB:GLEHMER
ARA:FJMCNEIL
D:SOKMAN
INR/DDC:MCAFEE

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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO FLASH

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ROGER CHANGLL

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION CASE

1. INDICTMENTS OF FIVE CUBAN/AMERICANS AND THE THREE CHILEAN OFFICIALS ARE SCHEDULED TO BE MADE PUBLIC AT ABOUT 1430 HOURS AUGUST 1. TEXT OF FULL INDICTMENT WILL BE CABLED TO YOU UNCLASSIFIED AT TIME OF RELEASE HERE. ANY INQUIRIES FROM PRESS OR GOC BEFORE NOTIFICATION FROM ARA THAT INDICTMENTS ARE PUBLIC SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY "NO COMMENT." A COPY OF THE INDICTMENT WILL BE HANDED TO THE CHILEAN EMBASSY HERE AT THE SAME TIME AS RELEASED BY THE COURT. YOU MAY GIVE GOC COPIES OF OUR UNCLASSIFIED CABLED TEXT OF INDICTMENT.
2. YOU ARE REQUESTED TO PREPARE THE FOLLOWING FIRST-PERSON NOTE. YOU SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT DELIVER THE NOTE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER OR OTHER APPROPRIATE MINISTRY OFFICIAL UNTIL SO INSTRUCTED BY TELEPHONE FROM ARA. IF POSSIBLE, YOU SHOULD SHOW THE NOTE IN ADVANCE TO ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY FOR ANY COMMENT HE MAY HAVE.

3. QUOTE: EXCELLENCY: I HAVE THE HONOR TO INFORM YOU THAT ON AUGUST 1, 1978, A FEDERAL GRAND JURY IN WASHINGTON

* - INDICTED JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, PEDRO ESPINOZA BRAVO AND ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS ON THE FOLLOWING CHARGES:

1. CONSPIRACY TO MURDER A FOREIGN OFFICIAL (18 U.S.C. 1117)

2. MURDER OF A FOREIGN OFFICIAL (18 U.S.C. 1111 AND 1116)

3. FIRST DEGREE MURDER (2 COUNTS) (22 D.C. CODE 2401)

4. MURDER THROUGH THE USE OF EXPLOSIVES (18 U.S.C. 844 (I))

THESE CHARGES ARE BASED ON THE SEPTEMBER 21, 1976 BOMBING MURDERS OF ORLANDO LETELIER, A FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES FROM CHILE, AND RONNI MOFFITT, AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE INDICTMENT, A WARRANT OF ARREST HAS BEEN ISSUED WITH REGARD TO EACH DEFENDANT BY THE CHIEF JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. IT IS THE INTENTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT THAT THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PERSONS, ALONG WITH OTHERS PRESENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES, BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL ON THESE CHARGES IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNITED STATES LAWS.

IT IS KNOWN BY THE UNITED STATES COURT THAT THE ABOVE-MENTIONED INDICTED PERSONS ARE NOW IN CHILEAN TERRORITY AND, THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES WILL REQUEST FROM THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES THE EXTRADITION OF THOSE PERSONS, IN THE MANNER PROVIDED IN THE TREATY ON EXTRADITION OF 1902 IN FORCE BETWEEN CHILE AND THE UNITED STATES.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS IN ARTICLE IV OF SAID TREATY, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HEREBY FORMALLY REQUESTS THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT TO IMMEDIATELY ARREST AND DETAIN: JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, PEDRO ESPINOZA BRAVO AND ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS. ALL OF THEM ARE, OR WERE AT THE TIME THE OFFENSES WERE COMMITTED, OFFICERS IN THE CHILEAN ARMY.

AS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE A FORMAL REQUEST FOR THE

EXTRADITION OF SUCH PERSONS WITHIN THE PERIOD OF TWO MONTHS FROM THE DATE OF THE PROVISIONAL ARREST, WITH EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE EXTRADITION ACCOMPANYING THE FORMAL REQUEST. VANCE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 68704
JEK/BP
Spanish

Request for Extradition

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Minister of Foreign Relations of Chile and states the following:

By note No. 43 of August 1, 1978, this Embassy requested of Your Excellency the provisional arrest of Chilean citizens Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios, whose extradition was to be requested in due course in accordance with the provisions of Article IV of the Extradition Treaty in force between the Republic of Chile and the United States of America.

By note No. 45 of August 10, 1978, this Embassy sent Your Excellency complete copies of the formal indictment of the aforementioned persons, returned on August 1, 1978 by a Federal Grand Jury in the District of Columbia, together with the warrants of arrest issued for the same persons by the District Court for the District of Columbia on the same date.

The Government of the United States of America hereby formally requests of the Government of Chile the extradition of Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios. Said persons were sufficiently identified in our note No. 43 of August 1, 1978. At the time of the events that are the subject of the request

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for extradition, the aforesaid persons were officers in the Chilean Army assigned to the Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA). The first named was the Director of DINA and the others were officials of that organization. At the present time, as stated in Your Excellency's note of August 2, 1978, the aforementioned persons are under provisional arrest in Chile.

Said persons were indicted by the Grand Jury in the District of Columbia on August 1, 1978, and are to be tried according to the laws of the United States of America for the following crimes:

1. Conspiracy to murder a foreign official, Orlando Letelier, a crime punishable under United States Code, Title 18,Section 1117.

2. Murder of a foreign official, Orlando Letelier, on September 21, 1976, a crime punishable under United States Code, Title 18, Sections 1111 and 1116.

3. Murder in the first degree of Orlando Letelier on September 21, 1976, a crime punishable under the District of Columbia Code Title 22, Section 2401.

4. Murder in the first degree of Ronni Moffitt on September 21, 1976, a crime punishable under the District of Columbia Code, Title 22, Section 2401.

5. Destruction and damage by use of explosives of a 1975 Chevrolet Chevelle Malibu Classic automobile, used in interstate traffic, that was transporting Orlando Letelier, Ronni Moffitt, and Michael Moffitt from the State of Maryland to the District of Columbia on September 21, 1976,

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causing the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. The crime is punishable under United States Code, Title 18, Section 844 (i).

The death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt took place on September 21, 1976, in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, United States of America.

The three accused are alleged to be the authors of the crimes indicated.

The aforesaid offenses are extraditable pursuant to Article II of the Extradition Treaty in force between the Republic of Chile and the United States of America, and to other applicable rules and principles of international law.

In accordance with the provisions of the Extradition Treaty between Chile and the United States, this request is accompanied by the following documents:

1. An authenticated copy, translated into Spanish, of the indictment returned against the aforementioned persons by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia;

2. Authenticated copies, translated into Spanish, of the warrants of arrest issued for the aforementioned persons by the District Court of the District of Columbia on August 1, 1978;

3. Complete text, translated into Spanish, of the legal provisions cited in the indictment which define and punish the crimes listed therein, indicate the applicable penalties, and define the punishable forms of participation. Statutes which regulate the applicable statute

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of limitations on penal action for the aforesaid crimes are also included;

4. Complete text in English of the evidence on which the indictment was based and which constitutes such evidence of criminality with respect to the accused as, according to Chilean law, would justify the apprehension and commitment for trial of the accused if the crime had been committed in Chile. This includes: photostatic copies of the original documents including transcripts of the questions asked and the testimony given before the grand jury, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and attorneys of the United States Attorney's office; complete copies of the expert reports produced; and photographs, films, and other evidence including documents and records specified in the index, ~~in which they are contained~~. This evidence should be regarded as an integral part of this request for extradition.

A duly certified official translation is attached for all of the accompanying documents and material evidence.

All of the evidence indicated is certified as authentic by the competent officials, as required by ~~Chilean law~~ the Extradition Treaty.

The Ministry of Foreign Relations is requested to authenticate the signature of His Excellency George W. Landau, Ambassador of the United States to Chile, in the appropriate certifications.

The Embassy of the United States of America calls attention to the need to ensure the ~~persons~~ presence of the accused for purposes of their appearance at the extradition proceedings and their delivery to the requesting government once the extradition has been granted. It is therefore requested

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that the provisional arrest status under which the accused are currently being held be continued until the extradition process has been completed in the manner prescribed by law, pursuant to the Extradition Treaty and the domestic laws of Chile.

The Government of the United States of America offers the Government of the Republic of Chile full reciprocity in the event of any future requests for extradition that the Government of Chile might make to the Government of the United States, pursuant to the provisions of the Extradition Treaty in force and the laws of the United States of America.

The Government of the United States of America has named as its counsel and attorney for all procedures related to this extradition request Mr. Alfredo Etcheberry Orthusteguy, attorney at law, listed in Registry 2 of the Bar Association under entry No. 1747, Supreme Court license _____, domiciled at Santiago, Calle Bandera No. 162, 40 piso, oficina 41. Mr. Etcheberry's appointment is understood to extend to all procedures, petitions, and recourses related to the processing of the extradition request before the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Chile, the Supreme Court, and all the courts of justice of Chile. In the discharge of his responsibilities Mr. Etcheberry will be invested with all the powers conferred and recognized for legal attorneys and counsels by the laws of Chile and the United States and by the international treaties and customs in force.

The Embassy of the United States of America requests His Excellency to inform the Supreme Court of this appointment so that it may bear it in mind and accord Mr. Etcheberry all of the powers inherent in his

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appointment.

The Government of the United States of America would appreciate it if His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Relations would take the necessary steps in connection with this request for extradition so that the extradition may be granted.

We renew the assurances of our most distinguished consideration.

Santiago, _____, 1978.

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FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY; PLEASE PASS PROPPER

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION INVESTIGATION

1. TEN LAWYERS BROUGHT A CRIMINAL ACTION AGAINST MANUEL CONTRERAS JULY 31. THE LAWYERS APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANTLY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDCERS) AND THE GROUP INCLUDES WELL-KNOWN PDC IDEOLOGUE JAIME CASTILLO VELASCO. ALL GAVE THEIR ADDRESS AS THAT OF THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY. THE GROUP CHARGES CONTRERAS WITH THE KIDNAPPING OF 69 PERSONS (PRESUMABLY, TAKEN FROM THE VICARIATE'S LIST OF 615 MISSING PERSONS) AND THE DOCUMENTATION PRESENTED TO THE 10TH CRIMINAL COURT TOTALS 300 PAGES.

2. IN THE ABSENCE OF ETCHEBERRY, WHO IS OUT OF TOWN UNTIL THE EVENING OF AUGUST 2, WE TALKED WITH ONE OF HIS PARTNERS, CARLOS BALBONTIN. ACCORDING TO BALBONTIN, THE FACT THAT THIS SUIT HAS BEEN INITIATED WOULD NOT NECESSARILY INTERFERE WITH AN EXTRADITION REQUEST STEMMING FROM THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE. THIS LOCAL CASE HAS NOT YET REACHED A STAGE WHERE IT WOULD TAKE PRECEDENT. IF IT DOES REACH THAT STAGE (PRESUMABLY AFTER [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05742 012130Z

THE JUDGE'S PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION) PRIOR TO THE REQUEST AND DECISION ON EXTRADITION, THE, ACCORDING TO BALBONTIN, THE JUDGE WOULD STILL DECIDE THE ACTION OF EXTRADITION ON ITS MERITS, BUT A DECISION IN FAVOR OF EXTRADITION COULD NOT BE CARRIED OUT UNTIL THE LOCAL CASE WERE CONCLUDED.

3. COMMENT: WE CANNOT TOTALLY EXCLUDE THAT THIS SUIT AGAINST CONTRERAS MAY BE GOC-INSPIRED -- AN EFFORT TO RAISE FURTHER OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ANY POSSIBLE CONTRERAS EXTRADITION. GIVEN THE POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF AT LEAST SOME OF THE LAWYERS AND THE KNOWN INTENSITY OF FEELING OF THE RELATIVES OF THE

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DISAPPEARED, HOWEVER, THIS SEEMS UNLIKELY. RATHER, IN THE KNOWLEDGE OR EXPECTIATION THAT THE CONTRERAS (AND OTHER) INDICTMENTS WERE COMING, THE LOCAL DEFENDERS OF LEGALITY APPEAR TO HAVE DECIDED THAT CONTRERAS SHOULD NOT BE BROUGHT TO THE BAR SOLELY AS THE RESULT OF FOREIGN LEGAL ACTION -- THAT CHILEANS SHOULD ALSO BEE SEEN TO BE ACTIVE IN SEEKING JUSTICE. IF SO, THEY PROBABLY ASSUME THAT EXTRADITION OF CONTRERAS IS NOT A LIKELY PROSPECT.
LANDAU

[redacted]

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 193668
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DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSSTEVEN:MG
APPROVED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSSTEVEN
ARA:FJMCNEIL (SUBS)
JUSTICE:EMPROPPER

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UNCLAS STATE 193668

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, SHUN, CI

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION CASE

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF INDICTMENT FILED IN UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR DISTRICT OF COLOMBIA ON AUGUST 1, 1978. INDICTMENT IS PUBLIC, AND YOU MAY PROVIDE COPIES OF THIS TEXT TO GOC, PRESS OR PUBLIC AT YOUR DISCRETION.

2. QUOTE: UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, HOLDING A CRIMINAL TERM GRAND JURY SWORN IN ON FEBRUARY 7, 1977

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: CRIMINAL CASE NO.

V.

JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA: GRAND JURY ORIGINAL
ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS: GRAND JURY ORIGINAL
GUILLERMO NOVO SAMPOL: U.S. MAG. NO. 78-0425M-02(CR)
ALVIN ROSS DIAZ: U.S. MAG. NO. 78-0425M-01(CR)

VIRGILIO PAZ ROMERO: U.S. MAG. NO. 78-0425M-04(CR)
JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ ESQUIVEL: U.S. MAG. NO. 78-0425M-

03(CR)
IGNACIO NOVO SAMPOL: U.S. MAG. NO. 78-0425M-05(CR)

VIOLATIONS: 18 U.S. CODE S1117, S1111, S1116, S844 (I), S1623, S4, S2

(CONSPIRACY TO MURDER A FOREIGN OFFICIAL; MURDER OF A FOREIGN OFFICIAL; MURDER BY USE OF EXPLOSIVES; FALSE DECLARATIONS; MISPRISION OF A FELONY; AIDING AND ABETTING) 22 D.C. CODE S2401, S105, (FIRST DEGREE MURDER; AIDING AND ABETTING)

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

FIRST COUNT:

1. FROM ON OR ABOUT EARLY JULY, 1976, THE EXACT DATE BEING UNKNOWN TO THE GRAND JURY, AND CONTINUING TO ON OR ABOUT SEPTEMBER 24, 1976, WITHIN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, THE STATE OF NEW YORK, THE STATE OF MARYLAND, THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE AND ELSEWHERE, JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, HEREINAFTER KNOWN AS MANUEL CONTRERAS, UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 STATE 193668

PEDRO ESPINOZA BRAVO, HEREINAFTER KNOWN AS PEDRO ESPINOZA, ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS, HEREINAFTER KNOWN AS ARMANDO FERNANDEZ, GUILLERMO NOVO SAMPOL, HEREINAFTER KNOWN AS GUILLERMO NOVO, ALVIN ROSS DIAZ, HEREINAFTER KNOWN AS VIRGILIO PAZ, AND JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ ESQUIVEL, HEREINAFTER KNOWN AS JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ, DEFENDANTS AND CO-CONSPIRATORS HEREIN, AND MICHAEL TOWNLEY, NAMED HEREIN AS A CO-CONSPIRATOR BUT NOT A DEFENDANT, DID UNLAWFULLY, WILFULLY AND KNOWINGLY CONSPIRE AND AGREE TOGETHER TO KILL ORLANDO LETELIER, A FOREIGN OFFICIAL, IN VIOLATION OF 18 U.S. CODE S1116.

2(A) AT ALL TIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CONSPIRACY, THE NATIONAL DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE, HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS DINA, WAS THE INTELLIGENCE AND SECRET POLICE AGENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE.

(B) AT ALL TIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CONSPIRACY, MANUEL CONTRERAS, AN OFFICER IN THE CHILEAN ARMY, WAS THE DIRECTOR OF DINA AND RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS OPERATIONS AND ACTIVITIES.

(C) AT ALL TIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CONSPIRACY, PEDRO ESPINOZA WAS THE DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS FOR DINA AND AN OFFICER IN THE CHILEAN ARMY.

(D) AT ALL TIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CONSPIRACY, ARMANDO FERNANDEZ WAS AN OFFICER IN THE CHILEAN ARMY AND AN AGENT OF DINA.

(E) AT ALL TIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CONSPIRACY, MICHAEL TOWNLEY WAS AN AGENT OF DINA.

(F) AT ALL TIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CONSPIRACY, THE CUBAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, ALSO KNOWN AS CNM, CMN AND MNC, WAS A CUBAN EXILE GROUP BASED IN UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 STATE 193668

THE UNITED STATES.

(G) AT ALL TIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CONSPIRACY, GUILLERMO NOVO, ALVIN ROSS, VIRGILIO PAZ, JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ AND IGNACIO NOVO WERE LEADERS OF THE CUBAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND MEMBERS OF ITS GOVERNING COUNCIL.

(H) AT ALL TIMES MATERIAL HERETO, ORLANDO LETELIER WAS A FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES FROM THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE.

THE OBJECT OF THE CONSPIRACY

3. THE OBJECT OF THE CONSPIRACY WAS TO ASSASSINATE ORLANDO LETELIER.

THE MEANS USED BY THE DEFENDANTS TO FURTHER THE OBJECTS OF THE CONSPIRACY

4. IT WAS A PART OF SAID CONSPIRACY THAT MEMBERS OF THE CONSPIRACY WOULD AND DID PERFORM DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS AND OPERATE AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF RESPONSIBILITY. ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONSPIRACY WERE AWARE THAT THE CONSPIRACY WOULD ENCOMPASS AND DEPEND UPON THE COMBINED, COORDINATED EFFORTS OF MEMBERS OF TWO ORGANIZATIONS--DINA AND THE CUBAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

A. MANUEL CONTRERAS, THE DIRECTOR OF DINA, INITIATED THE ACTION WHICH BEGAN THE CONSPIRACY AND, EITHER ALONE OR WITH OTHERS UNKNOWN TO THE GRAND JURY, ORDERED THE ASSASSINATION OF ORLANDO LETELIER.

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PAGE 05 STATE 193668

B. PEDRO ESPINOZA, THE DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS FOR DINA, WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE DIRECTLY TO MANUEL CONTRERAS, CONVEYED THE ORDER TO ARMANDO FERNANDEZ AND MICHAEL TOWNLEY, BOTH AGENTS OF DINA, AND INSTRUCTED THEM ON THE OPERATIONAL DETAILS OF THE MISSION. MANUEL

CONTRERAS AND PEDRO ESPINOZA USED THE RESOURCES, CONTACTS, FINANCES AND INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS OF DINA TO ARRANGE INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL, FALSE TRAVEL DOCUMENTATION, MONETARY DISBURSEMENTS AND EXPENDITURES AND INTELLIGENCE CONTACTS.

C. ARMANDO FERNANDEZ'S FUNCTION IN THE CONSPIRACY WAS TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES TO FOLLOW ORLANDO LETELIER TO DETERMINE HIS HABITS AND SCHEDULE, THE LOCATION OF HIS HOME AND OFFICE, HIS ROUTE TO WORK AND TO GIVE THIS INFORMATION TO MICHAEL TOWNLEY.

D. MICHAEL TOWNLEY'S FUNCTION IN THE CONSPIRACY WAS TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES TO OBTAIN THE SURVEILLANCE INFORMATION ON ORLANDO LETELIER FROM ARMANDO FERNANDEZ AND TO ARRANGE, TOGETHER WITH CUBAN EXILES, TO ASSASSINATE ORLANDO LETELIER.

E. GUILLERMO NOVO, JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ, ALVIN ROSS AND VIRGILIO PAZ PERFORMED THE FUNCTIONS IN THE CONSPIRACY OF PROVIDING EXPLOSIVES, DETONATING DEVICES AND MANPOWER TO ASSIST DINA IN KILLING ORLANDO LETELIER.

5. IN PURSUANCE OF THE SAID CONSPIRACY AND TO EFFECT ITS OBJECT, TO KILL ORLANDO LETELIER, THE FOLLOWING OVERT ACTS, AMONG OTHERS, WERE COMMITTED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND ELSEWHERE:

1. ON OR ABOUT JULY 17, 1976, MANUEL CONTRERAS, THE DIRECTOR OF DINA, CONTACTED THE DIRECTOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF PARAGUAY'S MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, UNCLASSIFIED

TO REQUEST THAT HE AUTHORIZE THE ISSUANCE OF PARAGUAYAN PASSPORTS FOR TWO DINA AGENTS TO BE USED ON AN UNSPECIFIED SECRET DINA MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES.

2. ON OR ABOUT JULY, 1976, THE EXACT DATE BEING UNKNOWN TO THE GRAND JURY, WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE, MANUEL CONTRERAS ORDERED ARMANDO FERNANDEZ TO TRAVEL TO PARAGUAY ON AN OFFICIAL DINA MISSION TO CONTACT THE PARAGUAYAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. CONTRERAS ALSO TOLD FERNANDEZ THAT IT WAS A TWO MAN MISSION, THAT FERNANDEZ WOULD BE IN CHARGE AND THAT FERNANDEZ SHOULD CONTACT PEDRO ESPINOZA, THE DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS FOR DINA, FOR DETAILS OF THE MISSION.

3. ON OR ABOUT JULY, 1976, THE EXACT DATE BEING UNKNOWN TO THE GRAND JURY, WITHIN TH

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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Date: AUGUST 2, 1978

TO: (Name, office symbol, room number, building, Agency/Post)	Initials	Date
1. Amb. Landau/DCM Grover American Embassy Santiago		
2.		
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5.		

XX	Action		File		Note and Return
	Approval		For Clearance		Per Conversation
	As Requested		For Correction		Prepare Reply
	Circulate		For Your Information		See Me
	Comment		Investigate		Signature
	Coordination		Justify		

REMARKS

Embassy is requested to transmit attached arrest warrents and copy of Letelier indictments to Foreign Ministry, as supporting material to request for provisional arrest of Chilean defendants.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

DO NOT use this form as a RECORD of approvals, concurrences, disposals, clearances, and similar actions

FROM: (Name, org. symbol, Agency/Post)	Room No.—Bldg.
RSSteven, ARA/AND/CH	Phone No.

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OPTIONAL FORM 41 (Rev. 7-76)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.206

☆ U.S.GPO:1977-0-241-530/5228

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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EXTRADITION (INTER-AMERICAN)

Convention signed at Montevideo December 26, 1933
Senate advice and consent to ratification, with an understanding, June 15, 1934 [1]
Ratified by the President of the United States, with an understanding, June 29, 1934 [1]
Ratification of the United States deposited with the Pan American Union July 13, 1934
Entered into force January 25, 1935 [2]
Proclaimed by the President of the United States January 25, 1935

49 Stat. 3111; Treaty Series 882

Convention on Extradition

The Governments represented in the Seventh International Conference of American States:

Wishing to conclude a Convention on Extradition, have appointed the following Plenipotentiaries:

Honduras:
Miguel Paz Baraona
Augusto C. Coello
Luis Bográn

United States of America:
Cordell Hull
Alexander W. Weddell
J. Reuben Clark
J. Butler Wright
Spruille Braden
Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge

El Salvador:
Héctor David Castro
Arturo Ramón Avila
J. Cipriano Castro

Dominican Republic:
Tulio M. Cestero

Haiti:
Justin Barau
Francis Salgado
Antoine Pierre-Paul
Edmond Mangonés

[1] The U.S. understanding is that ". . . Article 2, paragraph *d* of Article 3, and Articles 12, 15, 16 and 18, are reserved from the convention as declared by the delegation of the United States of America at the said conference (see p. 159), and that such articles and paragraph shall not be binding upon the United States of America, unless and until subsequently ratified in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the United States of America."

[2] Thirty days after deposit of second instrument of ratification.

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Argentina:
CARLOS SAAVEDRA LAMAS
JUAN F. CAFFERATA
RAMÓN S. CASTILLO
CARLOS BREBBIA
ISIDORO RUIZ MORENO
LUIS A. PODESTÁ COSTA
RAÚL PREBISCH
DANIEL ANTOKOLETZ

Venezuela:
CÉSAR ZUMETA
LUIS CHURION
JOSÉ RAFAEL MONTILLA

Uruguay:
ALBERTO MAÑÉ
JUAN JOSÉ AMÉZAGA
JOSÉ G. ANTUÑA
JUAN CARLOS BLANCO
Señora SOFÍA A. V. DE DEMICHELI
MARTÍN R. ECHEGOYEN
LUIS ALBERTO DE HERRERA
PEDRO MANINI RÍOS
MATEO MARQUES CASTRO
RODOLFO MEZZERA
OCTAVIO MORATÓ
LUIS MORQUIO
TEÓFILO PIÑEYRO CHAIN
DARDO REGULES
JOSÉ SERRATO
JOSÉ PEDRO VARELA

Paraguay:
JUSTO PASTOR BENÍTEZ
GERÓNIMO RIART
HORACIO A. FERNÁNDEZ
Señorita MARÍA F. GONZÁLEZ

Mexico:
JOSÉ MANUEL PUIG CASAURANC
ALFONSO REYES
BASILIO VADILLO
GENARO V. VASQUEZ
ROMEO ORTEGA
MANUEL J. SIERRA
EDUARDO SUÁREZ

Panama:
J. D. AROSEMENA
EDUARDO E. HOLGUÍN
OSCAR R. MULLER
MACÍN PONS

Bolivia:
CASTO ROJAS
DAVID ALVÉSTEGUI
ARTURO PINTO ESCALIER

Guatemala:
ALFREDO SKINNER KLEE
JOSÉ GONZÁLEZ CAMPO
CARLOS SALAZAR
MANUEL ARROYO

Brazil:
AFRANIO DE MELLO FRANCO
LUCILLO A. DA CUNHA BUENO
FRANCISCO LUIS DA SILVA CAMPOS
GILBERTO AMADO
CARLOS CHAGAS
SAMUEL RIBEIRO

Ecuador:
AUGUSTO AGUIRRE APARICIO
HUMBERTO ALBORNOZ
ANTONIO PARRA
CARLOS PUIG VILASSAR
ARTURO SCARONE

Nicaragua:
LEONARDO ARGÜELLO
MANUEL CORDERO REYES

Colombia:
ALFONSO LÓPEZ
RAIMUNDO RIVAS
JOSÉ CAMACHO CARREÑO

Chile:
MIGUEL CRUCHAGA TOCORNAL
OCTAVIO SEÑORET SILVA
GUSTAVO RIVERA
JOSÉ RAMÓN GUTIÉRREZ
FÉLIX NIETO DEL RÍO
FRANCISCO FIGUERO SÁNCHEZ
BENJAMÍN COHEN

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Peru:
ALFREDO SOLF Y MURO
FELIPE BARREDA LAOS
LUIS FERNÁN CISNEROS

Cuba:
ANGEL ALBERTO GIRAUDY
HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ
ALFREDO NOGUEIRA

Who, after having exhibited their Full Powers, which were found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE 1

Each one of the signatory States in harmony with the stipulations of the present Convention assumes the obligation of surrendering to any one of the States which may make the requisition, the persons who may be in their territory and who are accused or under sentence. This right shall be claimed only under the following circumstances:

a) That the demanding State have the jurisdiction to try and to punish the delinquency which is attributed to the individual whom it desires to extradite.

b) That the act for which extradition is sought constitutes a crime and is punishable under the laws of the demanding and surrendering States with a minimum penalty of imprisonment for one year.

ARTICLE 2 [3]

When the person whose extradition is sought is a citizen of the country to which the requisition is addressed, his delivery may or may not be made, as the legislation or circumstances of the case may, in the judgment of the surrendering State, determine. If the accused is not surrendered, the latter State is obliged to bring action against him for the crime with which he is accused, if such crime meets the conditions established in sub-article (*b*) of the previous article. The sentence pronounced shall be communicated to the demanding State.

ARTICLE 3

Extradition will not be granted:

a) When, previous to the arrest of the accused person, the penal action or sentence has expired according to the laws of the demanding or the surrendering State.

b) When the accused has served his sentence in the country where the crime was committed or when he may have been pardoned or granted an amnesty.

c) When the accused has been or is being tried by the State to which the requisition was directed for the act with which he is charged and on which the petition of extradition is based.

[3] For text of U.S. understanding, see footnote 1, p. 152.

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d) When the accused must appear before any extraordinary tribunal or court of the demanding State (tribunal o juzgado de excepción del Estado requiriente). Military courts will not be considered as such tribunals.[3]

e) When the offense is of a political nature or of a character related thereto. An attempt against the life or person of the Chief of State or members of his family, shall not be deemed to be a political offense.

f) When the offense is purely military or directed against religion.

ARTICLE 4

The determination of whether or not the exceptions referred to in the previous article are applicable shall belong exclusively to the State to which the request for extradition is addressed.

ARTICLE 5

A request for extradition should be formulated by the respective diplomatic representative. When no such representative is available, consular agents may serve, or the governments may communicate directly with one another. The following documents in the language of the country to which the request for extradition is directed, shall accompany every such request:

a) An authentic copy of the sentence, when the accused has been tried and condemned by the courts of the demanding State.

b) When the person is only under accusation, an authentic copy of the order of detention issued by the competent judge, with a precise description of the imputed offense, a copy of the penal laws applicable thereto, and a copy of the laws referring to the prescription of the action or the penalty.

c) In the case of an individual under accusation as also of an individual already condemned, there shall be furnished all possible information of a personal character which may help to identify the individual whose extradition is sought.

ARTICLE 6

When a person whose extradition is sought shall be under trial or shall be already condemned in the State from which it is sought to extradite him, for an offense committed prior to the request for extradition, said extradition shall be granted at once, but the surrender of the accused to the demanding State shall be deferred until his trial ends or his sentence is served.

ARTICLE 7

When the extradition of a person is sought by several States for the same offense, preference will be given to the State in whose territory said offense was committed. If he is sought for several offenses, preference will be given to the State within whose bounds shall have been committed the offense which has the greatest penalty according to the law of the surrendering State.

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If the case is one of different acts which the State from which extradition is sought esteems of equal gravity, the preference will be determined by the priority of the request.

ARTICLE 8

The request for extradition shall be determined in accordance with the domestic legislation of the surrendering State and the individual whose extradition is sought shall have the right to use all the remedies and resources authorized by such legislation, either before the judiciary or the administrative authorities as may be provided for by the aforesaid legislation.

ARTICLE 9

Once a request for extradition in the form indicated in Article 5 has been received, the State from which the extradition is sought will exhaust all necessary measures for the capture of the person whose extradition is requested.

ARTICLE 10

The requesting State may ask, by any means of communication, the provisional or preventive detention of a person, if there is, at least, an order by some court for his detention and if the State at the same time offers to request extradition in due course. The State from which the extradition is sought will order the immediate arrest of the accused. If within a maximum period of two months after the requesting State has been notified of the arrest of the person, said State has not formally applied for extradition, the detained person will be set at liberty and his extradition may not again be requested except in the way established by Article 5.

The demanding State is exclusively liable for any damages which might arise from the provisional or preventive detention of a person.

ARTICLE 11

Extradition having been granted and the person requested put at the disposition of the diplomatic agent of the demanding State, then, if, within two months from the time when said agent is notified of same, the person has not been sent to his destination, he will be set at liberty, and he cannot again be detained for the same cause.

The period of two months will be reduced to forty days when the countries concerned are conterminous.

ARTICLE 12 [1]

Once extradition of a person has been refused, application may not again be made for the same alleged act.

[1] For text of U.S. understanding, see footnote 1, p. 152.

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ARTICLE 13

The State requesting the extradition may designate one or more guards for the purpose of taking charge of the person extradited, but said guards will be subject to the orders of the police or other authorities of the State granting the extradition or of the States in transit.

ARTICLE 14

The surrender of the person extradited to the requesting State will be done at the most appropriate point on the frontier or in the most accessible port, if the transfer is to be made by water.

ARTICLE 15

The objects found in the possession of the person extradited, obtained by the perpetration of the illegal act for which extradition is requested, or which might be useful as evidence of same, will be confiscated and handed over to the demanding country, notwithstanding it might not be possible to surrender the accused because of some unusual situation such as his escape or death.

ARTICLE 16

The costs of arrest, custody, maintenance, and transportation of the person, as well as of the objects referred to in the preceding article, will be borne by the State granting the extradition up to the moment of surrender and from thereon they will be borne by the demanding State.

ARTICLE 17

Once the extradition is granted, the demanding State undertakes:

a) Not to try nor to punish the person for a common offense which was committed previous to the request for extradition and which has not been included in said request, except only if the interested party expressly consents.

b) Not to try nor to punish the person for a political offense, or for an offense connected with a political offense, committed previous to the request for extradition.

c) To apply to the accused the punishment of next lesser degree than death if according to the legislation of the country of refuge the death penalty would not be applicable.

d) To furnish to the State granting the extradition an authentic copy of the sentence pronounced.

ARTICLE 18

The signatory States undertake to permit the transit through their respective territories of any person whose extradition has been granted by another State in favor of a third, requiring only the original or an authentic copy of the agreement by which the country of refuge granted the extradition.

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ARTICLE 19

No request for extradition may be based upon the stipulations of this Convention if the offense in question has been committed before the ratification of the Convention is deposited.

ARTICLE 20

The present Convention will be ratified by means of the legal forms in common use in each of the signatory States, and will come into force, for each of them, thirty days after the deposit of the respective ratification.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uruguay shall transmit authentic certified copies to the governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instrument of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan-American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21

The present Convention does not abrogate or modify the bilateral or collective treaties, which at the present date are in force between the signatory States. Nevertheless, if any of said treaties lapse, the present Convention will take effect and become applicable immediately among the respective States, if each of them has fulfilled the stipulations of the preceding article.

ARTICLE 22

The present Convention shall remain in force indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan-American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory governments. After the expiration of this period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 23

The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of the States which are not signatories. The corresponding instruments shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan-American Union, which shall communicate them to the other High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the following Plenipotentiaries have signed this convention in Spanish, English, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals in the city of Montevideo, Republic of Uruguay, this 26th day of December, 1933.

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RESERVATIONS

The Delegation of the United States of America, in signing the present Extradition Convention, reserves the following articles:

Article 2. (second sentence, English text);
Article 3, paragraph *d*;
Articles 12, 15, 16 and 18.

Reservation to the effect that El Salvador, although it accepts in general principle Article XVIII of the Inter-American Treaty of Extradition, concretely stipulates the exception that it cannot cooperate in the surrender of its own nationals, prohibited by its Political Constitution, by permitting the transit through its territory of said nationals when one foreign State surrenders them to another.

Mexico signs the Convention on Extradition with the declaration with respect to Article 3, paragraph *f*, that the internal legislation of Mexico does not recognize offenses against religion. It will not sign the optional clause of this Convention.

The Delegation from Ecuador, in dealing with the Nations with which Ecuador has signed Conventions on Extraditions, accepts the stipulations herein established in all respects which are not contrary to said Conventions.

Honduras:
M. Paz Baraona
Augusto C. Coello
Luis Bográn

United States of America:
Alexander W. Weddell
J. Butler Wright

El Salvador:
Héctor David Castro
Arturo R. Avila

Dominican Republic:
Tulio M. Cestero

Haiti:
J. Barau
F. Salgado
Edmund Mangonés
A. Prre. Paul

Argentina:
Carlos Saavedra Lamas
Juan F. Cafferata
Ramón S. Castillo
I. Ruiz Moreno
L. A. Podestá Costa
D. Antokoletz

Uruguay:
A. Mañé
José Pedro Varela
Mateo Marques Castro
Dardo Regules
Sofía Alvarez Vignoli de Demicheli
Teófilo Piñeyro Chain
Luis A. de Herrera
Martín R. Echegoyen
José G. Antuña
J. C. Blanco
Pedro Manini Ríos
Rodolfo Mezzera
Octavio Morató
Luis Morquio
José Serrato

Paraguay:
Justo Pastor Benítez
María F. González

Mexico:
B. Vadillo
M. J. Sierra
Eduardo Suárez

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Panama:
J. D. Arosemena
Magin Pons
Eduardo E. Holguín

Guatemala:
A. Skinner Klee
J. González Campo
Carlos Salazar
M. Arroyo

Brazil:
Lucillo A. Da Cunha Bueno
Gilberto Amado

Ecuador:
A. Aguirre Aparicio
H. Albornoz
Antonio Parra V.
C. Puig V.
Arturo Scarone

Nicaragua:
Leonardo Argüello
M. Cordero Reyes
Carlos Cuadra Pasos

Colombia:
Alfonso López
Raimundo Rivas

Chile:
Miguel Cruchaga
J. Ramón Gutiérrez
F. Figueroa.
F. Nieto del Río
B. Cohen

Peru:
Alfredo Solf y Muro

Cuba:
Alberto Girauly.
Herminio Portell Vilá
Ing. A. A. Nogueira

OPTIONAL CLAUSE

The States signing this clause, notwithstanding Article 2 of the preceding Convention on Extradition, agree among themselves that in no case will the nationality of the criminal be permitted to impede his extradition.

The present clause is open to those States signing said Treaty of Extradition, which desire to be ruled by it in the future, for which purpose it will be sufficient to communicate their adherence to the Pan American Union.

Argentina:
L. A. Podestá Costa
D. Antokoletz

Uruguay:
A. Mañé
José Pedro Varela
Mateo Marques Castro
Dardo Regules
Sofía Alvarez Vignoli de Demicheli
Teófilo Piñeyro Chain
Luis A. de Herrera
Martín R. Echegoyen
José G. Antuña
J. C. Blanco
Pedro Manini Ríos
Rodolfo Mezzera
Octavio Morató
Luis Morquio
José Serrato

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...le Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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K487

ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY
ABOGADO
BANDERA 162 - 4º PISO - TELEFONO 60171 - SANTIAGO - CHILE

ETCHEBERRY TO PROPPER.
ANSWERS TO SEVERAL QUESTIONS.

1. Testimonies before the Grand Jury. No signature by the witness is necessary. Only a complete text of the testimony, with a certification by a judge or a clerk of the court to the effect that this is in fact an accurate transcription of the testimony given before the Grand Jury.
2. Written depositions before the FBI. A complete transcription thereof is enough. No signatures are necessary. An authorized officer of the FBI or the Department of Justice should certify that this is a complete, accurate copy of the original written deposition made by such and such person.
3. Oral statements made to FBI agents. An authorized officer of the FBI or the Department of Justice must certify that such and such person told to the agents of the FBI such and such things. Further, that he is willing to testify to that and that he will be summoned to appear as a witness in court during the trial.

In all cases included above under (1), (2) and (3) it is necessary to specify the witness' name, occupation and adress; the date and place of the interview, deposition, or testimony, and, if possible, identify the FBI agents that were present.

4. Documentary evidence supporting Townley's testimony. It will be necessary to produce it here in order to give credit to Townley's testimony, which will certainly be strongly challenged in court. Photostatic copies thereof will be necessary. If they were in Townley's possession and were handed by him to the FBI, a certification is necessary, with regard to each document, by an authorized officer of the FBI, to the effect: (a) that they are genuine photostatic copies of the original documents, and (b) that they were delivered by Townley to the FBI. If they were obtained by the FBI following Townley's directions, the FBI officer must certify: (a) that they are genuine photostatic copies of the original documents, and (b) that they were obtained directly from the original sources by FBI agents such and such.

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ETCHEBERRY TO PROPPER.
ANSWERS TO SEVERAL QUESTIONS.

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UNCLASSIFIED 8-2-78 (K479)

Amplia y modifica su declaracion anterior.

S. F. M.

MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY WELCH, Tecnico electronico, ya individualizado en estos autos 192-78, a US. con todo respeto digo :

Que vengo en moficiar mi anterior declaracion en relacion con los siguientes puntos y hechos, y, en lo demas ratifico lo antes obrado :

Chile Project (#S19990030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ___ Excise ___ Deny
Declassify: In Part ___ In Full ___
Exemption(s)

MOTIVOS Y OBJETIVOS DE MI VIAJE A LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS EN EL AÑO 1976,.- El motivo y objetivo de mi viaje a los Estados Unidos en 1976, tenia como finalidad la eliminacion fisica del Sr. Orlando Letelier; dicha mision me fue ordenada por el Coronel don Pedro Espinoza Bravo, quien habia recibido - segun lo que el me informo,-la orden del Sr. Director Nacional de DINA el entonces Coronel don Manuel Contreras Sepulveda.

Las reuniones y los hechos que culminaron en el exito de esta mision son como sigue :

1.- fui citado a una reunion con el Coronel Pedro Espinoza, la que tuvo lugar - creo- en principios de Junio en el lugar conocido como : "" LA PIRAMIDE "", frente al colegio Saint George, donde tomamos un termo de cafe y charlamos por largo rato - quizas una hora o mas, - sobre diversos temas relacionados con el servicio, asi como otros temas familiares y cosas de amigos. Dentro de la conversacion me pregunto si estaria dispuesto a cumplir una mision especial en el exterior - sin darme referencia alguna-.

2.- Puede haber sido totalmente en el mes de Julio de 1976, que tuve una segunda reunion con el Coronel Espinoza, a la cual fui citado por el entonces Teniente Fernandez, para encontrarme con el Coronel Espinoza en un lugar - stio eriazo- ubicado en "" LO CURRO "" .- Durante esta segunda entrevista converse y me fue entregada mi mision en forma privada, por el Coronel Espinoza, la cual consistia en viajar al Paraguay para obtener documentacion Paraguaya y las visas requeridas para entrar a los Estados Unidos y eliminar al Sr. Orlando Letelier.

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Dentro de las instrucciones de detalle que se me impartieron, señalo las siguientes :

a) Proceder al Paraguay donde el Teniente Fernandez se ocuparia de obtener la documentacion necesaria, hecho en el cual no tendria participacion. Ratifico que la eleccion de nombres usados en esta documentacion fue hecha al azar y sin ninguna predisposicion, en el Paraguay.

b) El metodo que debia ser usado para la eliminacion de Orlando Letelier, quedaba a nuestro criterio, pero en lo posible que fuera aparentemente accidental. De todos modos el objetivo final era lo importante cualesquiera que fueran los metodos usados.

c) En esta oportunidad, la instruccion de contactar con Cubano era solamente en el caso de necesitar apoyo. En esta fase, la orden especifica es que la ejecucion - en lo posible- la hiciesemos nosotros mismos.

3)A partir de este momento, los hechos sucedieron tal como lo señale precedentemente en mi declaracion relativa al viaje a Paraguay, variando solamente el objetivo o motivo de esta mision como lo explico en el presente escrito.

Con posterioridad a mi regreso del Paraguay, en el mes de Agosto mi Sra. se opero.- Por lo tanto, preste muy poca atencion a mis deberes en el servicio y no supe de la partida del Teniente Fernandez ni menos del viaje de los Tenientes Riveros y Mosquaira. Eso si que escuche un rumor - o comentario-, de que algo se habia hecho para neutralizar el problema suscitado con los documentos obtenidos en el Paraguay.

4) En los ultimos dias de Agosto o primeros dias de Septiembre de 1976, tuve otra reunion con el Coronel Espinoza, en un lugar que no recuerdo si fue la oficina de dicho Oficial o en el cerro "" LO CURRO "",- En esta reunion estuvimos solos y me dieron las ordenes especificas para la mision que culmino en la eliminacion del SR. ORLANDO LETELIER. Estas ordenes fueron como sigue :

a) Trasladarme a los Estados Unidos de N.A. con un pasaporte Oficial Chileno, proporcionado por el Servicio con pasajes propor-

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cionado en igual forma y con fondos que ascendieron a US$ 980.- Como ya lo indique en mi declaracion, el referido pasaporte estaba a nombre de HANS PETERSEN SILVA. Asimismo en dicho pasaporte figuraba como empleado de CORFO.

b) Debia viajar en el momento que me seria indicado por PEDRO ESPINOZA, o algun otro subalterno, para cruzar con el Teniente Fernandez en el aereopuerto Kennedy de Nueva York.

c) Debia tomar contacto con el grupo cubano con quien habia trabajado y denominado " M.N.C. ",-yo se que PEDRO SARIA quien era ese grupo, pero no me lo dijo-, para solicitar la cooperacion de ellos y que fueran ellos quienes llevarian a cabo la operacion eliminatoria.

d) En lo posible yo debia estar fuera de los Estados Unidos, antes de que sucediera el hecho (lo cual hice documentalmente)

e) Que la muerte fuera en lo posible accidental - aparentemente-.

f) No obstante lo anterior estaba autorizado para usar mi discresion y llevar a cabo la mision de cualquier manera que resultara.

5) Creo que fueron uno o dos dias antes de mi partida el dia ocho de Septiembre, que recibi la documentacion mencionada en el punto cuarto sub letra "A", igual que los fondos, y, procedi a viajar a los Estados Unidos de Norteamerica.

6) Aclaro que mi encuentro con Fernandez en Nueva York y al que me referi en mi declaracion, no fue casual como alli se consigna, sino que estaba ordenado que el Teniente Fernandez hiciera el reconocimiento operacional previo , para actuar en contra de LETELIER.- Estos antecedentes me fueron entregados por Fernandez en forma verbal y escrita :

a) Verbalmente me describio el area en general, los automoviles de Letelier y todo lo que involucra un reconocimiento de inteligencia.

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b) Por escrito : Un croquis de la ubicacion de la residencia y las marcas, coleres y patentes de los vehiculos utilizados pOr la familia.

7) En este momeno procedi a tomar contacto con los cubanos del M.N.C. quienes se mostraron muy renuentres a aceptar la misi on como originalmente se habia ordenado.

8) Que despu s de varios dias de conversaciones y convencimiento a los referidos cubanos;accedieron a actuar en esta mision con las siguientes salvedades :

a) Que esto se llevara a cabo con un artefacto emplosivo de control remoto.

b) QUE YO PARTICIPARA DIRECTAMENTE EN LOS HECHOS, para involucrar a un miembro de DINA en esta operacion.

9) Previa consulta al que entonces se llamaba " LUCHO GUTIERREZ " sin emplear Codigo - hago presente que LUCHO GUTIERREZ, corresponda al cargo de Jefe del Servicio Exterior -, pero en forma altamente velada, procedi a acaptar las condiciones que me formulaba el MNC.- Lucho Gutierrez no contesto de inmediato y tampoco fue el quien me dio la autorizacion, materialmente sino que simplemente actuo como un vocero.

10) Hubo un alto de dos dias, mientras los cubanos preparaban su operacion independiente, cuyos detalles ignoro.

11) Aproximadamente el dia martes 14 de Septiembre, me traslade con un cubano "Virgilio Paz " en su automovil particular desde Nueva Jersey a Washington. Alli comprobamos la labor realizada - de reconocimiento- por el Teniente Fernandez, lo cual dentro de lo posible fue bastante completo. Acto seguido hicimos nuestro propio estudio de costumbres de LETELIER, y alojamos en un Motel ubicado en el centro de Washington, trasladandonos el dia sabado cuando llego otro cubano de nombre DIONISIO SUAREZ. El mismo sabado que llego DIONISIO SUAREZ a Washington fabrique con la ayuda de VIRGILIO PAZ un artefacto explosivo que coloque yo mismo al automovil de LETELIER, ese mismo

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sabado 18 en la noche. En la madrugada del domingo 19, parti en vuelo a Newark , Nueva Jersey.

12) A partir de este momento, los hechos sguen como lo relate en mi declaracion prestada ante US.

13) De acuerdo a la concepcion inicial de la mision, no estuve presente en Washington cuando se hizo funcionar el artefacto y por lo tanto no se quien lo hizo actuar, pero dejo constancia que no puede haber sido VIRGILIO PAZ porque converse telefonicamente con el dos horas antes de la explosion, encontrandose en su residencia en Nueva Jersey.- Tambien dejo constancia y esto es totalmente cierto, que me dijo que el primer intento de hacer funcionar el artefacto no habia resultado y que habian tenido que retornar al domicilio de LETELIER, remover el artefacto, revisarlo, corregirlo y recolocarlo.

14) A mi regreso a Santiago, me presente al Coronel Espinoza a dar cuenta del resultado y detalles de la mision - no recuerdo si me presente al C.G. o a su casa- . Me felicito,-sin embargo me dio a entender indirectamente que el lugar y metodo empleados, podrian haber sido diferentes y mejores-, con lo cual yo concordaba plenamente, pero que estaban fuera de mi control.

15) Deseo manifestar conclusiones que me han sido entregadas por funcionarios del F.B.I. con lo cual yo concuerdo :

a) Los cubanos hicieron este trabajo para demostrar su capacidad de hacerlo.

b) MANDARON PERSONEROS CUBANOS A LA MISION NAVAL DE CHILE EN WASHINGTON, POCOS DIAS ANTES DEL HECHO PARA COMPROMETER A CHILE EN EL HECHO POSTERIOR.

c) Que el lugar fue elegido a proposito por los cubanos, tambien para comprometer a Chile.

d) El motivo, por los puntos anteriores seria su desagrado por la espulsion de ROLANDO OTERO DE CHILE y la orden de detencion emitida en Chile contra el Doctor Orlando Bosch y, la poca accion de respaldo positivo recibida de Chile.

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ACTIVIDADES EN EL AÑO 1978- Recuerdo que a comienzos del mes de Marzo, encontrandome en el Sur, recibi un llamado por radio en el cual se me decia que viera el diario el Mercurio, donde aparecia informacion con respecto al exhorto.

Al dia siguiente volvi a Santiago con mi familia y al subsiguiente recibi una citacion telefonica a una reunion con el Comandante Valdivieso - siendo este mismo el que llame. Esta reunion no se llevo a cabo en primera instancia, sino dos horas despues, en la cual participaron : General MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA - aun en servicio activo -, MAY. Palacios, Comandante Valdiviese, en el NICO'S PIZZA como punto de reunion lugar donde subimos a un automovil donde iban los nombrados y que manejaba el May. Palacios.

EL GENERAL CONTRERAS, en el transcurso del recorrido, me dio ordenes de guardar silencio referente a los reales propositos de mi ida a EE. UU. en Septiembre de 1976 y se practico una historia ficticia a ese respecto. La version final de esta historia es mia, siempre siguiendo las instrucciones de mi General Contreras.

Volvimos al punto de partida - NICOS PIZZA-, donde subio el Capitan Fernandez, quien me informo de lo que ya habia declarado a la Direccion del C.N.I., para que pudieran concordar nuestros dos relatos.

Seguidamente comentamos los hechos realizados en USA. y vimos posibles acuerdos que se concretarian en el momento de " LOS QUIUBOS" . A partir de esa fecha me mantuve oculto de acuerdo a lo dispuesto. En el interin tanto me llamo Valdivieso para fundamentar una coartada para el mes de Septiembre de 1976. Rehuse seguir esa orden, mi Sra. contrato un abogado - Manuel Acuna Keirath - quien tambien fue contactado por el Cdte. Iturriaga.

Posteriormente - no recuerdo cuando -, pero si despues que el Capitan Fernandez ya habia declarado al Fiscal Militar, este oficial me dio a conocer su declaracion, para que concordara con la mia en cuanto a "nuestro encuentro en el Aeropuerto Kennedy ".

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Deseo hacer presente en todo caso que siempre me he considerado un agente de DINA y posteriormente del CNI, de gran y alto grado de responsabilidad, lo cual me fue dicho en varias oportunidades por personeros responsables de esta Institucion " DINA " y CNI cuando estuve bajo el mando del General Contreras.

Tambien quiero dejar constancia de que lo dicho arriba referente a mi persona, correspondia asimismo a otros funcionarios ajenos a la Institucion.

Todo lo anterior, baje promesa de decir verdad y juramento legal en los hechos que no me son propios.

Certifico que las copias que anteceden, lo son fieles de su original que se tiene a la vista.- Santiago veintitres de Enero de mil novecientos setenta y nueve.

Secretario.

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS IN 32 COUNTRIES/AREAS SINCE JANUARY 1, 1978

August 4, 1978

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BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

August 4, 1978

Human Rights Developments in 32 Countries/Areas Since January 1, 1978

Contents

"Human Rights Reporting From 29 Foreign Service Posts" i

Country Papers	Page
LATIN AMERICA	
Argentina	1
Chile	4
El Salvador	8
Haiti	10
Nicaragua	11
Paraguay	13
Uruguay	16
EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC	
Indonesia	19
Philippines	23
South Korea	27
Thailand	29
EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION	
Czechoslovakia	32
Poland	35
Romania	37
Soviet Union	40
NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA	
Afghanistan	43
Bangladesh	45
Egypt	46
Iran	47
Israeli-Occupied Territories	49
Pakistan	51
Tunisia	53

(Continued on following page)

UNCLASSIFIED

Country Papers

Page

AFRICA

Cameroon	56
Central African Empire	57
Comoros	59
Ethiopia	60
Equatorial Guinea	62
Ivory Coast	63
Lesotho	64
Madagascar	66
Malawi	67
Rwanda	68
Uganda	69

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CHILE

Since January 1, the Chilean Government has taken several major steps toward easing the repressive restrictions on personal and political freedom which have been in effect since the September 1973 coup. Some significant problems have yet to be addressed. The measures taken, however, reflect the government's confidence that the internal security situation is now under control. They also reflect Chile's desire to improve its international image and offset the adverse publicity generated by media reports of the Directorate of National Intelligence's (DINA) involvement in the assassination of Orlando Letelier.

Prospects for human rights advancement seemed dim following President Pinochet's January 4 plebiscite victory (75 percent of the voters indicated their support for him.) He quickly asserted that his government would no longer be responsive to international pressure regarding its human rights practices. Foreign and domestic observers speculated that he would interpret the plebiscite as a mandate to keep the political lid on indefinitely. Twelve Christian Democratic Party (PDC) leaders were amost immediately charged with violating the ban on engaging in political activity and banished, without trial, to isolated villages in the barren highlands of Chile's northernmost province. Subsequent events, however, have belied the ominous tone of Pinochet's January remarks and actions.

In late January, some three weeks after the PDC members' rustication, the Santiago Appeals Court ruled that although the government could legally banish dissidents to a given province, the dissidents could choose where they wished to reside within the province. The Court's check on the government's banishment powers under the State of Siege was unprecedented and indicated a new willingness to probe the limits of judicial authority. Although the government probably could have appealed the decision successfully, it acquiesced in the Court's ruling. Government hardliners may have concluded that since the act of rustication was sufficient to convey the government's message that it had limited tolerance for domestic political activity, the future disposition of the PDC members was not significant.

On March 11, the State of Siege, which had been in effect since September 1973, was lifted. Although the government retains a number of extraordinary powers, it can no longer:

--revoke a person's citizenship;

--indefinitely detain a person without charge;

--rusticate dissidents; or

--try dissenters in wartime military courts.

In April the government decreed a sweeping amnesty which freed from prison or internal exile persons convicted by military courts between the 1973 coup and April 19, 1978. It also eliminated the possibility for prosecution of persons who had committed specified crimes during the State of Siege (e.g., drunk driving, killing parents or children, tax evasion, and other economic crimes). The major human rights question raised by the amnesty involved its application to members of the security forces who committed such crimes as murder, torture, illegal arrests, etc.

President Pinochet has also accelerated his timetable for establishing a "protected democracy" and returning the military to the barracks. Under the new timetable, which has already slipped slightly, the drafting of a new constitution is to be completed this year. After being approved by the Junta, the draft will be submitted to a plebiscite.

In July, three members of the ad hoc working group of the UN Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) arrived in Chile, the first nation to permit such a visit. The group's investigation is currently in progress. Thus far, it has received excellent cooperation from the government. The members have been given complete freedom of movement and have been allowed to talk to whomever they desire.

The advances made since the first of the year appear to represent a substantive rather than a cosmetic effort by the Pinochet government. Nevertheless, problems, some more important than others, remain:

--the amnesty, which applies to persons convicted and externally exiled by the military courts, has not resulted in their quasi-automatic readmission;

--the government retains the right to expel persons who it considers are a threat to national security; that right, however, is currently being tested in court;

--several civil courts, noting that the amnesty eliminated criminal accountability on the part of security forces, have closed their investigations into "disappeared persons" cases;

--the Center for National Information (CNI), successor to the Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA), has generally demonstrated restraint, but reportedly 20 percent of its personnel are former DINA members, and it allegedly used brutal methods to destroy a cell of the extremist Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR);

--the CNI and other investigatory agencies continue to detain, albeit for short durations, people who are allegedly creating public disturbances or spreading anti-government propaganda (e.g., some 600 persons were picked up during an illegal May Day celebration);

--basic labor rights have not been restored; and

--political parties are still outlawed.

The question of Chile's "disappeareds" falls into two categories:

--those who have gone underground either here or abroad; and

--those who have been killed by security forces but who, because they were using aliases, were never properly identified.

The Pinochet government is liberalizing its hold on the nation, and this process seems likely to continue its forward momentum. Further world-wide adverse publicity on

the Letelier assissination case is likely, and the Pinochet government will probably move to counter it with additional human rights improvements. The pace of further liberalization may be slowed, however, because Pinochet does not wish to appear to be caving in to international pressure. It seems likely that he will move slowly, carefully assessing the impact of each improvement on internal security. Although each step toward liberalization diminishes the possibility of recidivism, no legal guarantees to prevent backsliding have yet been enacted.

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FOR ARA, D, P, AND L; PLEASE PASS TO PROPPER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION: MARIANA CALLEJAS

1. MICHAEL TOWLNEY'S WIFE, MARIANA CALLEJAS, CAME TO THE EMBASSY AUGUST 4 AND GAVE THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR THE FOLLOWING ITEMS FOR TRANSMITTAL TO HER HUSBAND: THREE LETTERS FOR MICHAEL TOWNLEY, ONE OF WHICH CONTAINS US$2,000.00 IN $100 BILLS AND A CHECK FOR US$500.00 MADE OUT TO AND ENDORSED BY CARLOS GUSTAVO CALLEJAS; SEPARATELY AN ADDITIONAL US$10,000.00 IN $100 BILLS; A FAMILY IDENTITY BOOK ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE FOR THE TOWNLEY FAMILY; AND, A NEWSPAPER CLIPPING FROM "EL MERCURIO." WE WILL TRANSMIT THESE ITEMS BY THE NEXT CLASSIFIED POUCH LEAVING SANTIAGO, THURADAY, AUGUST 10, ADDRESSED TO MR. ROBERT STEVEN, ARA/AND/CH.

2. POLITICAL COUNSELOR GAVE MARIANA CALLEJAS A GTR USING SAME APPROPRIATION NUMBERS PREVIOUSLY UDED ON GTRS ISSUED TO EUGENE PROPPER. SHE IS INITIATING APPLICATION TODAY FOR PASSPORTS FOR SONS, VERNON AND BRIAN AND EXPECTS TO
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05856 041914Z

HAVE THEM IN HAND AUGUST 7 OR 8. WE WILL THEN IMMEDIATELY ISSUE NON-IMMIGRATION VISAS FOR ALL THREE MEMBERS OF TOWNLEY FAMILY. WE BELIEVE THIS PREFERABLE TO ISSUANCE OF RESIDENT VISAS WHICH WOULD TAKE SLIGHTLY LONGER. IF NECESSARY, STATUS CAN BE CHANGED AFTER THEY HAVE ARRIVED IN THE US. IN CONVERSATION THIS MORNING, MARIANA SPOKE OF DEPARTING ON OR ABOUT AUGUST 20.
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RUFRSHK/USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES
RUDONBA/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON
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INFORM CONSULS - MILITARY ADDRESSES FOR POLADS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ACMM, PGOV

SUBJECT: WEEKLY LEGISLATIVE REPORT, JULY 31-AUG 4

1. SUMMARY: SECURITY ASSISTANCE CONFERENCE IS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY, AUGUST 10.

DESPITE THE ENORMOUS BATTLES OF THE LAST TWO WEEKS OVER THIS LEGISLATION, WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE TOO MUCH TROUBLE IN CONFERENCE. ON TURKEY (UNDERSCORED), WE WILL SEEK SOME ADJUSTMENTS WHICH SHOULD MAKE THE OUTCOME MORE ACCEPTABLE BOTH TO THE GREEKS AND TURKS. ON RHODESIA (UNDERSCORED), WE WILL TRY TO NUDGE THE CONFEREES IN THE DIRECTION OF THE JAVITS-CASE FORMULA FROM THE SENATE AND BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN BE DONE IN A WAY THAT THE HOUSE WILL FIND SATISFACTORY. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE SOME "CONSTRAINTS" IN THE SENATE BILL WHICH WE WILL TRY TO ELIMINATE. THE CONFEREES WILL BE GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO OUR POSITION ON MAJOR ISSUES, BOTH HOUSES HAVE HAD CATHARTIC FIGHTS ON THESE ISSUES, AND WILL NOT BE ANXIOUS TO GO OVER THE GROUND AGAIN, SO THE PROSPECTS ARE GOOD. [redacted]

Classification

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OPTIONAL FORM 151
(Formerly FS-412
January 1975
Dept. of State

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE APPROPRIATION (UNDERSCORED)

HAVING GOTTEN HALFWAY THROUGH THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE APPROPRIATION, THE HOUSE TODAY PUT IT ASIDE UNTIL AT LEAST THE WEEK OF AUGUST 14. THE MOST SERIOUS DAMAGE THUS FAR WAS ELIMINATION OF ALL ASSISTANCE TO SYRIA, AN ITEM WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE SENATE AND IN CONFERENCE. THE GOOD NEWS IS THAT WE SUCCEEDED IN BEATING REPRESENTATIVE YOUNG'S AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE BARRED INDIRECT AID THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL BANKS TO VIETNAM, LAOS, CAMBODIA AND UGANDA. WE WON ON THE YOUNG AMENDMENT 198-203, TURNING AROUND ROUGHLY 90 MEMBERS WHO VOTED THE OTHER WAY LAST YEAR. USING LISTS FROM THE EARLY VOTES, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO TARGET OUR EFFORTS FOR THE BIG ISSUES TO COME -- LONG'S AMENDMENT TO CUT $600 MILLION FROM THE BANKS AND FURTHER ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUTS. END SUMMARY.

2. RECAP OF HOUSE ACTION ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE BILL

--TURKEY

THE 3-1/2 YEAR-OLD TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO WAS LIFTED TUESDAY BY A CLIFF-HANGER VOTE OF 208 TO 205 ON AN AMENDMENT SPONSORED BY MAJORITY LEADER WRIGHT WHICH WAS SIMILAR TO THE MCGOVERN-BYRD AMENDMENT PASSED BY THE SENATE. THE HOUSE VERSION, HOWEVER, WOULD RAISE THE EMBARGO ONLY UPON A PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATION THAT IT IS IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE US AND NATO TO DO SO AND THAT TURKEY IS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH TO SETTLE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM TO INCLUDE:

--THE EARLY PEACEFUL RETURN OF THE REFUGEES;

--CONTINUED REMOVAL OF TURKISH TROOPS; AND

--EARLY RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

PROPONENTS OF THE EMBARGO, SENSING DEFEAT, OFFERED A COMPROMISE SPONSORED BY HIRC CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI WHICH WOULD HAVE RETAINED THE EMBARGO, BUT PROVIDEED FOR A SUSPENSION FOR ONE YEAR IF:

--THE TURKS WITHDREW FROM FAMAGUSTA;

--THE UN ASSUMED ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR

FAMAGUSTA; AND

--GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS ON CYPRUS COMMENCED.

ANALYSIS OF HOUSE TURKISH EMBARGO VOTE (UNDERSCORED)

THE TURKISH EMBARGO VOTE IN THE HOUSE WAS A VIRTUAL REPLAY OF THE JULY 1975 VOTE SAVE FOR THE HAPPY DIFFERENCE THAT THIS TIME THE ADMINISTRATION CAME OUT ON TOP. BOTH TIMES:

--A MAJORITY OF REPUBLICANS VOTED AGAINST IMPOSING THE EMBARGO, WHILE A MAJORITY OF DEMOCRATS VOTED TO RETAIN IT;

--THERE WAS A DISTINCTLY REGIONAL CHARACTER TO THE VOTE -- THE ADMINISTRATION DID VERY POORLY IN THE NORTHEAST, THE MID-ATLANTIC AND THE BIG CITIES. WE DID VERY WELL IN THE WEST AND SOUTH.
THE DIFFERENCE TUESDAY WAS THAT THE (PRIMARILY REPUBLICAN) SWITCHERS WHO VOTED TO RETAIN THE EMBARGO WERE OFFSET BY A LARGER NUMBER OF DEMOCRATS WHO SWITCHED TO SUPPORT THE ADMINISTRATION BY VOTING FOR THE WRIGHT AMENDMENT.

PARAQUAT (UNDERSCORED)

THE HOUSE ADOPTED BY VOICE VOTE A WOLFF AMENDMENT PROHIBITING THE EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS TO ERADICATE MARIJUANA THROUGH THE USE OF PARAQUAT UNLESS THE PARAQUAT IS USED WITH ANOTHER SUBSTANCE OR AGENT WHICH WILL SIGNAL USERS THAT PARAQUAT HAS BEEN USED ON IT.

AFGHANISTAN (UNDERSCORED)

AN ASHBROOK AMENDMENT TO STRIKE $600,000 IN IMET FOR AFGHANISTAN WAS REJECTED BY VOICE VOTE.

KOREA (UNDERSCORED)

STRATTON OFFERED AN AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE REDUCED THE AUTHORIZATION FOR THE KOREAN EQUIPMENT TRANSFER PACKAGE FROM $800 MILLION TO $90 MILLION FOR FY 79 ONLY AND WOULD HAVE LIMITED THE NUMBER OF TROOPS TO BE WITHDRAWN TO 6,000 IN THAT PERIOD. DERWINSKI OFFERED AN ADMINISTRATION-SUPPORTED SUBSTITUTE WHICH WAS IDENTICAL TO THE LANGUAGE ADOPTED BY THE SENATE AND SIMPLY CALLS FOR CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS BEFORE ADDITIONAL TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN. THE DERWINSKI PROPOSAL WAS SUBSTITUTED FOR STRATTON'S BY A

212-189 VOTE AND THE THE SUBSTITUTE LANGUAGE WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 279-117.

A JACOBS AMENDMENT TO SUSPEND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA UNTIL FORMER AMBASSADOR KIM DONG JO IS PERMITTED BY THE ROKG TO COME TO THE US TO COOPERATE IN

THE KOREAGATE INVESTIGATION WAS DEFEATED 257-147.

RHODESIA (UNDERSCORED)

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT VOTE ON WEDNESDAY WAS ON RHODESIA, WHERE, WITH STRONG SUPPORT FROM SPEAKER O'NEILL, WE WERE ABLE TO TURN BACK BY 229 TO 176 A FINDLEY AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE LIFTED SANCTIONS IMMEDIATELY. THE AMENDMENT PROVIDED THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD REIMPOSE THE SANCTIONS IF NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT BEING CONDUCTED IN GOOD FAITH OR IF ELECTIONS WERE NOT SCHEDULED. THE HOUSE THEN PASSED AN ICHORD AMENDMENT BY 229 TO 180 WHICH WOULD REQUIRE REMOVAL OF SANCTIONS BY DECEMBER 31, 1979, UNLESS THE PRESIDENT DETERMINES THAT FREE ELECTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN HELD IN WHICH ALL POLITICAL GROUPS ARE FREE TO PARTICIPATE.

CHILE (UNDERSCORED)

NEWS OF THE INDICTMENTS FOR THE LETELIER ASSASSINATION CAUGHT THE ATTENTION OF THE HOUSE. AN AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE SUSPENDED UNCONDITIONALLY ALL PIPELINE MILITARY ASSISTANCE SHIPMENTS TO CHILE WAS DEFEATED 146 TO 120. THEN, FOLLOWING AN ABORTIVE LEADERSHIP ATTEMPT TO END FURTHER DEBATE ON CHILE, THE HOUSE PASSED BY A VOICE VOTE A HARKIN AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD SUSPEND PIPELINE SHIPMENTS UNTIL THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT TURNED OVER TO THE US GOVERNMENT FOR TRIAL THE INDICTED ACCUSED SLAYERS OF FORMER CHILEAN AMBASSADOR ORLANDO LETELIER AND MRS. RONNI K. MOFFIT, A US CITIZEN. THIS AMENDMENT WAS LATER OVERTURNED BY A VOTE OF 243 TO 166 JUST PRIOR TO FINAL PASSAGE OF THE BILL. THE FINAL EFFECT IS TO LEAVE THE PIPELINE SHIPMENTS TO CHILE INTACT.

ISRAEL AND USSR (UNDERSCORED)

BY A VOICE VOTE THE HOUSE ADOPTED SENSE OF THE CONGRESS LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY WOLFF SUPPORTING ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT FOR ISRAEL AND CALLING ON THE PRESIDENT TO REVIEW FULLY US POLICY TOWARD THE USSR IN LIGHT OF SOVIET ACTIONS AROUND THE GLOBE. SIMILAR LANGUAGE HAD BEEN ADOPTED BY

THE SENATE REGARDING THE SOVIET UNION.

3. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE APPROPRIATIONS BILL

HOUSE FLOOR ACTION ON THE FOREIGN ASSITANCE APPROPRIATIONS BILL THURSDAY AND FRIDAY RESULTED IN THE FOLLOWING:

ADOPTED (UNDERSCORED)

--A 2 CUT IN TITLE I EXCEPTING ECONOMIC SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST BY A VOTE OF 293-52.

--DELETION OF ECONOMIC SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE FOR SYRIA (DERWINSKI) BE A VOTE OF 280 TO 133.

--$10 MILLION ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR CYPRUS REFUGEES (BUCHANAN/CONTE).

--FUNDS PERMITTING ANGOLAN AND UGANDAN STUDENTS NOW IN US EDUCATION PROGRAMS TO COMPLETE STUDIES (BINGHAM/HADLEY).

--THE DELETION OF A $73.9 MILLION DEFENSE REPRESENTATION FUND ON A POINT OF ORDER BECAUSE IT HAD NOT BEEN AUTHORIZED.

--AGREED TO A 2 FMS CUT BY A VOTE OF 300 TO 29 (HAWKINS). THE BILL PROVIDED FOR AN EARMARKING OF $1 BILLION OF FMS TO ISRAEL AND AN OBEY AMENDMENT TO HARKIN ADDED THE EARMARKING OF $2.5 MILLION TO LEBANON AND $8.5 MILLION FOR TURKEY.

--A YOUNG AMENDMENT PROHIBITING THE USE OF PEACE CORPS FUNDS FOR ABORTIONS BY A VOTE OF 60 TO 8.

REJECTED (UNDERSCORED)

--PROHIBITION ON INDIRECT AID TO VIETNAM, LAOS, CAMBODIA, AND UGANDA (YOUNG) - 198-203.

--PROHIBITION ON INDIRECT AID TO ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE (ASHBROOK) - VOICE.

--CUT $49 MILLION IN ECONOMIC AID TO INDIA (YOUNG) - 194-200.

--REDUCE UNDP TO $116 MILLION FROM $123 MILLION (YOUNG) - 189-202.

--REDUCE MAP TO PHILIPPINES BY $5 MILLION (RYAN) - 142-264.

--DELETE $600,000 FOR AFGHAN MILITARY TRAINING (ASHBROOK)- 152-236.

--REDUCE IMET BY $13.2 MILLION TO $12.45 MILLION (HARKIN)- VOICE.

--PERMIT DIRECT US HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES FOR WHICH DIRECT AID PROHIBITED (HARKIN AND SOLARZ) BY VOTES OF 12-23 AND 19 TO 24.

--STRIKING $96 MILLION FOR AID REPRESENTATION.

4. SECRETARY VANCE APPEARANCE BEFORE SFRC (UNDERSCORED)

SECRETARY VANCE MET WITH THE SFRC TUESDAY MORNING TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ON SALT. ON THE MIDDLE EAST HE EXPLAINED THE AREAS OF APPARENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND NOTED OUR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH SADAT'S SUNDAY STATEMENT.

5. SENATE VERSION OF WITTEVEEN FACILITY BILL

BY A LARGE MARGIN, THE SENATE PASSED THE WITTEVEEN FACILITY BILL, BUT ONLY AFTER ATTACHING SIX TROUELESOME AMENDMENTS. THESE ARE:

--A REQUIREMENT FOR FULL APPROPRIATION OF THE $1.7 BILLION US SHARE;

--A REQUIREMENT THAT THE US EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OPPOSE ANY LOANS FROM THE FACILITY TO CAMBODIA OR UGANDA;

--A REQUIREMENT THAT THE US EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OPPOSE LOANS FROM THE FACILITY TO NATIONS PROVIDING AID OR ASSISTANCE TO TERRORISTS;

--A REQUIREMENT THAT TREASURY/STATE SUBMIT AN ANNUAL REPORT ON THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (DEFINED AS IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT) IN EACH COUNTRY WHICH DRAWS FROM THE FACILITY;

--A TOTAL US TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST UGANDA; AND

--A MANDATE FOR A BALANCED US BUDGET BEGINNING IN FY 1981.

THE SENATE REJECTED SEVERAL OTHER AMENTMENTS INCLUDING THE ABOUREZK HUMAN RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THE

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(Formerly FS-412
January 1975
Dept. of State

HARKIN AMENDMENT OT THE HOUSE VERSION), ONE WHICH WOULD HAVE PREVENTED THE US CONTRIBUTION FROM TAKING PLACE UNTIL IMF SALARIES WERE WITHIN 5 OF US CIVIL SERVICE SALARIES, AND ONE WHICH WOULD HAVE LIMITED US PARTICIPATION TO FIVE YEARS. THE HOUSE/SENATE CONFERENCE ON THE BILL WILL MEET MONDAY.

THE HOUSE VERSION INCLUDES ONLY TWO MAJOR AMENDMENTS: (1)

THE HARKIN HUMAN RIGHTS AMENDMENT; AND (2) AN AMENDMENT CALLING FOR APPROPRIATION OF SOME OR ALL OF THE US CONTRIBUTION.

6. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS (UNDERSCORED)

THE HOUSE COMMITTEES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND AGRICULTURE HAVE ACTED ON VARIOUS LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS TO PROMOTE THE EXPORT OF US AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. THE BILLS WOULD AUTHORIZE THE PRESIDENT TO EXTEND INTERMEDIATE CREDITS OF THE CCC UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, LIBERALIZE CCC CREDITS TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, AND UPGRADE AGRICULTURE ATTACHES OVERSEAS. SIMILAR LEGISLATION IS SCHEDULTED TO BE MARKED UP IN THE SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE NEXT WEEK. WE ARE WORKING WITH THE USDA AND OTHERS TO LIMIT THE INTERMEDIATE CREDITS TO FINANCING OF BREEDING STOCK AND BUILDING OF WHEAT RESERVES BY LDC'S IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENTS. WE ARE FEARFUL THAT MORE EXPANSIVE PROPOSALS FAVORED IN THE CONGRESS WOULD TRIGGER A CREDIT WAR. ALSO, WE TAKE THE POSITION THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW AGRICULTURAL TRADE OFFICES OVERSEAS IS UNNECESSARY. AS TO THE REFORM OF JACKSON/VANIK, WE DO NOT SUPPORT CHANGES AT THIS TIME.

7. STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION LEGISLATION CONFERENCE

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY HOUSE/SENATE CONFEREES CONSIDERED THE FIRST 40 (OUT OF 75) ITEMS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION BILL. CONFEREES WILL MEET AGAIN TO COMPLETE ACTION ON THE FISCAL YEAR 1979 AUTHORIZATION BILL MONDAY, AUGUST 7. THE FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

--THIRD AGENCY RULE -- THE SENATE RECEDED FROM ITS AMENDMENT ABOLISHING THE SO-CALLED THIRD AGENCY RULE ALLOWING A COMPROMISE WITH THE DEPARTMENT WHICH WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE STATEMENT OF MANAGERS.

--PALESTINIAN RIGHTS UNIT -- THE SENATE RECEDED FORM ITS

AMENDMENT PROHIBITING FUNDING FO THIS UNIT FROM THE PORTION OF OUR U.S. ASSESSED CONTRIBUTION TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND ADOPTED THE MORE ACCEPTABLE HOUSE LANGUAGE.

--ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR NARCOTICS -- THE SENATE RECEDED TO THE HOUSE LANGUAGE ESTABLISHING AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR NARCOTICS.

--THE USE OF FOREIGN AIR CARRIERS -- THE HOUSE RECEDED TO THE SENATE AMENDMENT AUTHORIZING U.S. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES TO USE FOREIGN AIR CARRIERS FOR PASSENGER TRANSPORTATION

BETWEEN POINTS OUTSIDE THE U.S. THE HOUSE, HOWEVER, WILL BE DRAFTING AN AMENDMENT WHICH WILL SPELL OUT UNDER WHICH REASONABLE CIRCUMSTANCES THIS LANGUAGE CAN BE UTILIZED BY THE DEPARTMENT.

--ICA NAME CHANGE -- THE SENATE RECEDED ON ITS AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE CHANGED THE NAME OF ICA TO THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INFORMATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE (AFTER SIGNIFICANT DEBATE AND TURMOIL BETWEEN CONFEREES).

--SPECIAL COMPUTATION OF ANNUITIES -- THE SENATE RECEDED TO THE HOUSE AMENDMENT WHICH AUTHORIZES THE SO-CALLED QUOTE ONE YEAR HIGH UNQUOTE. CONGRESSMAN FASCELL INSISTED THAT THE QUOTE HIGH ONE UNQUOTE PROVISION REMAIN IN THE FY 1979 LEGISLATION.

--OVERTIME -- THE SENATE RECEDED TO THE HOUSE PROVISION WHICH PERMITS THE SECRETARY TO PAY COMPENSATION FOR EXTRA DUTY REQUIRED OF FSO'S. SENATOR PELL AGREED TO THIS AMENDMENT IN THE LAW EXCLUDING THE $250 PAY INCREASE. A STATEMENT OF MANAGERS WILL PROBABLY EXCLUDE FROM THIS SPECIAL ALLOWANCE THOSE OFFICERS WHO WORK FOR PRINCIPALS IN THE DEPARTMENT. THERE IS ALSO THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE STATEMENT OF MANAGERS WILL ALSO EXCLUDE FROM THIS SPECIAL ALLOWANCE PROVISION OFFICERS OF THE RANKS OF 01 THROUGH 03. CHRISTOPHER

8/14/78

AG036A

THE PUBLIC HEALTH RESEARCH INSTITUTE
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, INC.

455 FIRST AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
TEL. (212) 481-

New York, August 14, 1978.

Dear Mrs. Mondale:

I am writing to ask for your support and help in obtaining the fair trial or release from prison of Miguel Angel Estrella.

Miguel Angel Estrella is an Argentinian pianist who, in December 1977, was abducted by the police in Montevideo, Uruguay where he was living with his two children. He has been kept in prison ever since. Miguel Angel Estrella is an extraordinary pianist and an exceptional human being who, without criminal charges, is being unjustly kept in prison.

A very strong movement was organized in Europe to obtain his freedom and up to this day more than 11,000 signatures have been sent to the President of Uruguay on his behalf. I have been asked by the French committee to make this information available to people in the United States. Knowing your concern for the arts and artists, your support would be very valuable.

I am sending you some information on this pianist and a translation of an interview which took place in Mexico a few days before he was arrested in Uruguay.

I plead that you read this information since I feel that by doing this you will have a very accurate perception of his unusual personality. Please let me know if you need additional information.

I would greatly appreciate any consideration that you may give to this request,

Sincerely,

Cesar A. Chelala, M.D., Ph.D.
100 Bleecker Street, Apt. 2B
New York, N.Y. 10012

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
_____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

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BOX 4975

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5/16/78 M099

PAGE 01 BUENOS 06356 161553Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04
SIL-01 SY-05 MCT-02 IO-13 /097 W
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O R 161529Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7016
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 6356

USEEC

DEPT FOR ARA LABOR ADVISOR O'GRADY: PLEASE PASS
AFL-CIO AND AIFLD

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS ELAB, SHUM, PINS, ICFTU, AR
SUBJECT PROMINENT PERONIST LABOR LEADER REPORTEDLY ABDUCTED

1. ACCORDING TO A NEWS REPORT, ROBERTO GARCIA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE TAXI DRIVERS UNION, MEMBER OF THE "COMMITTEE OF 5" AND RECENTLY SELECTED ARGENTINE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE ICFTU EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WAS ABDUCTED BY A GROUP OF MEN IN CIVILIAN CLOTHING IN THE AFTERNOON OF AUGUST 15 AT A STREET CORNER NEAR HIS UNION HEADQUARTERS IN BUENOS AIRES.

2. GARCIA IS THE VISIBLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VERTICALIST PERONIST PARTY LABOR CAUCUS IN THE COMMITTEE OF 5 AND 25. FORMERLY KNOW AS THE "COMMITTEE OF 9," THE CAUCUS WHICH IS ALIGNED WITH JAILED EX LABOR
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 06356 161553Z

BOSS LORENZO MIGUEL RECENTLY WAS EXPANDED AND REORGANIZED INTO A POLITICO/LABOR PROTO-PARTY CALLED THE "PERONIST

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT." GARCIA HOLDS THE TITLE OF SECRETARY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THIS MOVEMENT. (THIS MOVEMENT HAS SUB ROSA TIES WITH ADMIRAL MASSERA'S POLITICAL ORGANIZATION MEN.)

3. TWO DAYS AGO, GARCIA TOLD AIFLD REPRESENTATIVE CAZARES AND LABATT THAT LABOR MINISTER LIENDO, DURING THE ILO CONFERENCE IN JUNE IN GENEVA, HAD THREATENED THE ARGENTINE LABOR DELEGATION THAT, UNLESS THEY MODIFIED THEIR PREPARED ADDRESS TO THE ILC, HE WOULD HAVE THEM ARRESTED WHEN THEY RETURNED TO BUENOS AIRES. THE DELEGATION REJECTED LIENDO'S REQUEST. GARCIA, WHO IS ONE OF THE MOST OUT-SPOKEN LABOR LEADERS ON THE SCENE TODAY IN HIS CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES, REPORTEDLY TOLD LIENDO HE WAS PREPARED FOR ARREST AS LONG AS IT WOULD NOT BE VIA ABDUCTION WITH A HOOD OVER HIS HEAD. THIS STORY HAS BEEN MAKING ITS ROUNDS IN UNION CIRCLES.

4. WE HAVE JUST HEARD THAT GARCIA REAPPEARED THIS MORNING (AUGUST 16) AND THAT HE HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT DENYING THAT HE HAD BEEN ABDUCTED. PRESS RESOURCES BELIEVE THAT HE WAS ARRESTED BY SECURITY AGENTS YESTERDAY AND RELEASED THIS MORNING. WE ARE CHECKING FURTHER.
CASTRO

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TELEGRAM

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INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

File (S) 36

FROM
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION
[redacted]

E.O. 11652:
TAGS:
SUBJECT:

GDS
ELAB, SHUM, PINS, ICFTU, AR
PROMINENT PERONIST LABOR LEADER REPORTEDLY ABDUCTED

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 6484
USEEC
REF: BUENOS AIRES 6356

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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POL 3
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ECOM
ICA
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CHRON

1. Garcia has been maintaining steadfastly to all inquirers that he was never abducted, that he spent the evening of August 15 at his home and that he has no idea how the story ever started. Members of the "Committee of 5" now say that the individual who called them by phone alleging the abduction and identifying himself as Garcia's brother was an impostor.

2. Some labor sources remain suspicious about Garcia's explanation, or lack thereof, but in view of the position he is taking, we see no point in pursuing this matter further--particularly as Garcia was back in his union hall the next day (August 16) showing no signs of any

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:AGFreeman:jk	8/21/78	278	DCM:MChapin

CLEARANCES:
POLCOUNS:WHHallman

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

50152-101

OPTIONAL FORM 152(H)
(Formerly FS-413(H))
January 1975
Dept. of State

81F93
(51/52)

personal injury.

3. FYI. According to press accounts, ICFTU sent a message to President Videla last week requesting energetic measures to bring about Garcia's immediate release from his captors (sic). END FYI.

CASTRO

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06486 282129Z
ACTION L-03

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
ICAE-00 SS-15 SP-02 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01
JUSE-00 CA-01 /043 W
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O 282055Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0310

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6486

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION CASE: MISCELLANEOUS

1. THE AMBASSADOR RETURNED TO SANTIAGO AUGUST 25, FOLLOWING A WEEK'S CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LOCAL MEDIA WERE OUT IN FORCE WITH THE PREDICTABLE QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: THE AMBASSADOR DID NOT BRING THE EXTRADITION REQUESTS; HE DOES NOT KNOW WHO LILIANA WALKER IS; THE LETELIER CASE IS A LEGAL MATTER; ETC.

2. AFTER FOUR DAYS IN THE MILITARY HOSPITAL FOR A REPORTED KIDNEY AILMENT, MANUEL CONTRERAS RETURNED HOME AT THE END OF LAST WEEK. CAPTAIN ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS HAS NAMED CARLOS OYANEDEL AS HIS LAWYER. WE HAVE NO BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON OVANEDEL. THE PRESS REPORTS HIM AS DENYING THAT THE FACT HE REPRESENTS ONE DEFENDANT WHILE SERGIO MIRANDA CARRINGTON REPRESENTS THE OTHER TWO (CONTRERRAS AND ESPINOZA) MEANS THERE IS ANY DIVERGENCE AMONG THE THREE REGARDING THEIR DEFENSE. FERNANDEZ AND ESPINOZA REMAIN IN THE SANTIAGO MILITARY HOSPITAL-- FOR REASONS OF CONVENIENCE NOT ILL HEALTH.
LANDAU

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 06486 282129Z

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CONGRESS, ETC...", GONZALEZ CHANGED THE TE TEXT TO READ: "I WOULD NOT AGREE, ETC..."; AT THE SAME MEETING, HE WROTE AND SIGNED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

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QUOTE (EMBASSY TRANSLATION):

WITH REFERENCE TO THE STATEMENTS MADE IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR TO MR CHARLES STOUT, CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, I WISH TO STATE THE FOLLOWING: BECAUSE THEY DEAL WITH MATTERS I CONSIDER CONFIDENTIAL ('RESERVADOS') I DO NOT WISH THAT SUCH STATEMENTS SHOULD COME INTO THE POSSESSION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR WHATEVER REASON.
SIGNED RAFAEL A. GONZALEZ

EXILE IN THE ITALIAN EMBASSY

END QUOTE
LANDAU

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06581 302204Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 (ISO) W

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 347

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6581

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___ Excise ___ Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

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FOR ARA, D, P, AND L ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION: SICK LIST

1. THE SANTIAGO PRESS REPORTS THAT MANUEL CONTRERAS RETURNED TO THE MILITARY HOSPITAL AUGUST 27 TO CONTINUE MEDICAL TESTS. HE HAD EARLIER BEEN IN THE HOSPITAL AUGUST 20/23. WHILE THE REPEATED PRESENCE OF CONTRERAS IN THE HOSPITAL WHERE ARMANDO FERNANDEZ AND PEDRO ESPINOZA ARE SERVING THEIR PROVISIONAL DETENTIONS RAISES SUSPICION, HE APPARENTLY DOES HAVE A KIDNEY PROBLEM.

2. SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT ISRAEL BORQUEZ IS ON A 20-DAY MEDICAL LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM HIS JOB. THE LEAVE BEGAN AUGUST 21 AND WILL RUN TO APPROXIMATELY SEPTEMBER 13. THE PRESS DESCRIBES HIS PROBLEM AS A SPINAL HERNIA. "EL MERCURIO" SAYS THAT IF BORQUEZ HAS NOT RETURNED TO HIS OFFICE BY THE TIME THE LETELIER CASE EXTRADITION REQUESTS ARRIVE THEY WILL INITIALLY BE HANDLED BY THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COURT, JOSE MARIE EYZAGUIRRE, BUT THAT BORQUEZ WOULD ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY UPON HIS RETURN.

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06581 302204Z

3. EYZAGUIRRE IS THE ACTING PRESIDENT BY VIRTUE OF BEING THE MOST SENIOR OF THE OTHER 12 JUDGES ON THE COURT. HE WAS, OF COURSE, SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT FROM MAY 1975 UNTIL MAY 1978. EYZAGUIRRE TOLD THE DCM AUGUST 25 THAT HE HOPED BORQUEZ WOULD GET WELL SOON.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06582 302351Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0348

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6582

REF: DOS/FBI R

STADIS//////////////////////

EXDIS

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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ✓ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION: MORE ON ACEVEDO

REF: SANTIAGO 6485

1. ISMAEL ALAN ACEVEDO PEREIRA, THE SELF-STYLED DEFECTOR FROM GOC SECURITY SERVICES, NOW SAYS HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GO TO BUENOS AIRES IN EARLY SEPTEMBER (REFTEL). HE CLAIMS HIS FATHER, A WAREHOUSE EMPLOYEE, HAS BEEN FIRED AS A RESULT OF CNI PRESSURE AND ACEVEDO NEEDS TO ATTEND TO FAMILY MATTERS. ACEVEDO ALSO STATED THAT HIS PROBLEMS WITH THE GOC SECURITY SERVICES ARE LEADING TO A BREAKUP IN HIS MARRIAGE AND ONCE THINGS STABILIZE AT HOME, HE MAY WELL APPROACH ICEM FOR ASSISTANCE IN GETTING OUT OF CHILE.

2. WE ARE INFORMING LEGATT CLEGG BY SEPTEL. THIS LATEST TWIST IN THE ACEVEDO STORY DOES NOT INCREASE OUR CONFIDENCE. PLEASE SEE THAT CLEGG RECEIVES INSTRUCTIONS ON WHETHER OR NOT HE SHUULD COME TO SANTIAGO TO INTERVIEW ACEVEDO.
LANDAU

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06608 01 OF 02 312117Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-05 TRSE-00 IO-13 AID-05 /091 W
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R 312031Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 355

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 6608

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
X Release ___Excise ___Deny X Declass
Exemption(s) _____

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM PINS PINT CI
SUBJECT: CHILEAN DISAPPEARANCE PROBLEM FESTERS

REF: A) SANTIAGO 5102, B) SANTIAGO 6275

1. SUMMARY: POLICE BRIEFLY DETAINED 50-60 RELATIVES OF MISSING CHILEANS WHO HAD ATTEMPTED TO HOLD A PUBLIC PROTEST IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO AUGUST 30. THE DEMONSTRATORS OBJECT TO A GOC DECREE, REPORTEDLY IN ITS LAST STAGES OF PREPARATION, WHICH WOULD FACILITATE A LEGAL FINDING OF PRESUMED DEATH FOR MOST OF THE DISAPPEARED. MEANWHILE CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONTINUE TO SUBMIT TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR LISTS OF THOSE WHO DISAPPEARED FROM THEIR DISTRICTS SINCE THE 1973 COUP. SO FAR SOME 269 OF THE TOTAL 615 CASES HAVE BEEN TRANSMITTED TO THE GOC AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT EVEN ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR RECEIPT, ALTHOUGH IT HAS TOLD 25 OF THE RELATIVES PRIVATELY THAT THE DETAINED ARE PROBABLY NO LONGER ALIVE. THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY IS URGING THE CHURCH TO ISSUE A STRONG PUBLIC STATEMENT OBJECTING TO THE GOC'S CAVALIER TREATMENT. IN THE COURTS, A CIVILIAN JUDGE HAS TURNED OVER TO MILITARY JUSTICE THE ACCUSATION FILED BY THE RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED THAT EX-DINA CHIEF MANUEL CONTRERAS WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ABDUCTION AND DEATH OF SOME 69 MISSING PERSONS BUT THE RELATIVES ARE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 06608 01 OF 02 312117Z

APPEALING THE JUDGE'S RULING. END SUMMARY.

2. DECREE LAW REGARDING PRESUMED DEATHS: IN RECENT DAYS THE PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS IN THE LAST STAGES OF PREPARING A DECREE LAW REGARDING A LEGAL DETERMINATION OF PRESUMED DEATH DURING THE STATE OF SIEGE, IN EXISTENCE BETWEEN THE 1973 COUP AND MARCH 10, 1978. THE PURPOSE OF THE LAW WOULD BE TO FACILITATE A JUDICIAL FINDING OF PRESUMED DEATH IN THE VAST MAJORITY OF CASES OF "DISAPPEARED" CHILEANS. WHILE IN SOME CASES RELATIVES HAVE EXPERIENCED REAL HARDSHIPS BECAUSE OF PROBLEMS IN-

UNCLASSIFIED

VOLVING THE ESTATE OF THE MISSING PERSON, A MAJOR AIM OF THE LEGISLATION IS OBVIOUSLY TO HELP RESOLVE THE DISAPPEARED PROBLEM. ONCE A RELATIVE HAS ACCEPTED A FINDING OF PRESUMED DEATH THE INCENTIVE OF A CRIMINAL COURT TO PURSUE THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS DISAPPEARANCE IS GREATLY REDUCED.

3. RELATIVES PROTEST: ON AUGUST 30 A GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY 100 RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED PARTICIPATED IN AN UNAUTHORIZED PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION OBJECTING TO THE PROPOSED DECREE. THE DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED PLACARDS AND GATHERED IN FRONT OF THE MONEDA IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO. CARABINEROS QUICKLY BROKE UP THE DEMONSTRATION AND CARTED OFF SOME 50 TO 60 PROTESTERS. THE RELATIVES' ORGANIZATION IMMEDIATELY COMPLAINED IN A PRESS RELEASE THAT THE POLICE ROUGHLY BROKE UP THE MEETING. BUT ALL THOSE DETAINED WERE SHORTLY RELEASED.

4. CHURCH LISTS OF MISSING TO MINISTRY OF INTERIOR: AS REPORTED REF (A), IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE JUNE HUNGER STRIKE THE GOVERNMENT OFFERED TO EXPLORE ANY SERIOUS LEADS WITH RESPECT TO MISSING PERSONS. THE CATHOLIC

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 06608 01 OF 02 312117Z

CHURCH, RELYING ON DOCUMENTS HELD BY THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY, BEGAN TO SUBMIT LISTS OF INDIVIDUAL CASES TO THE MINISTRY. VARIOUS BISHOPS HAVE GIVEN THE GOVERNMENT LISTS OF PERSONS WHO DISAPPEARED WHILE IN THEIR ARCHDIOCESE. SO FAR SOME 269 CASES HAVE BEEN HANDED TO THE GOVERNMENT TOGETHER WITH SUBSTANTIATING DOCUMENTATION. ACCORDING TO A VICARIATE STAFFER (PROTECT) THE VICARIATE PLANS TO CONTINUE THIS PROCESS UNTIL ALL 615 DOCUMENTED CASES HAVE BEEN TURNED OVER TO THE GOVERNMENT. FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE THEY HAVE PREPARED LISTS FROM ARCHDIOCESES OF THE MORE CONSERVATIVE BISHOPS WHO PRESUMABLY WILL BE SUBMITTING THEM TO THE GOVERNMENT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. SO FAR, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF THE CASES SUBMITTED TO DATE. INFORMALLY, HOWEVER, THE GOC HAS TOLD ABOUT

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06608 02 OF 02 312223Z
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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HA-05 TRSE-00 IO-13 AID-05 /091 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 356

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 6608

25 OF THE RELATIVES THAT THEY SHOULD AVAIL THEMSELVES OF THE NEW DECREE LAW ON PRESUMED DEATH. THE VICARIATE PROPOSES THAT ONCE THE NEXT BATCH OF NAMES GOES TO THE GOVERNMENT THE CHURCH SHOULD ISSUE A STIFF PUBLIC STATEMENT OBJECTING TO THE CAVALIER TREATMENT RECEIVED FROM THE HANDS OF THE GOC.

5. CONTRERAS CASE: AS REPORTED REF (B) AND PREVIOUS, A GROUP OF TEN HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS ACTING ON BEHALF OF THE RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED ORGANIZATION HAVE ACCUSED EX-DINA CHIEF CONTRERAS OF KIDNAPPING 69 INDIVIDUALS. A SEPARATE CASE SUBMITTED BY LAWYERS ON BEHALF OF CARLOS LORCA HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE MAJOR ACCUSATIONS. A CIVIL COURT JUDGE, AFTER A CURSORY REVIEW OF THE ACCUSATION, TRANSMITTED THE CASE TO THE MILITARY BECAUSE OF THE ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT OF AN EX-MILITARY OFFICER (CONTRERAS). GENERAL MOREL ACCEPTED JURISDICTION AND PRESUMABLY A MILITARY COURT CASE HAS BEEN INITIATED. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, LAWYERS FOR THE DISAPPEARED HAVE FILED AN APPEAL IN THE CIVILIAN COURTS ASSERTING THAT THE FIRST INSTANCE JUDGE DID NOT FOLLOW DUE PROCESS IN HER HANDLING OF THE ACCUSATION. CLEARLY THEY WOULD PREFER TO KEEP THE CASE BEFORE THE CIVIL COURTS. (COMMENT: BUT WE THINK CHANCES OF SUCCESS ARE SMALL).

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06608 02 OF 02 312223Z

6. COMMENT: THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY TOLD US AGAIN (AS THEY HAVE IN THE PAST ON FREQUENT OCCASIONS) THAT THE RELATIVES' ORGANIZATION OPERATES SEMI-AUTONOMOUSLY. IN THE CASE OF THE ACCUSATION AGAINST CONTRERAS THE VICARIATE ALLEGEDLY URGED THE RELATIVES NOT TO PURSUE THEIR CLAIM BECAUSE IT MIGHT IMPINGE ON THE LETELIER CASE. AT THIS TIME, HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO A VICARIATE STAFFER, THE VICARIATE BELIEVES THAT THE DECISION OF THE RELATIVES ONLY COMPLICATES THE GOC'S PROBLEMS REGARDING THEIR HANDLING OF GENERAL CONTRERAS AND ON BALANCE HAS NOT DAMAGED THE LETELIER PROCEEDING.

7. ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS THE ICRC HAS SUGGESTED TO US THAT ONE POSSIBLE REMEDIAL MEASURE THE GOC MIGHT TAKE TO CONSOLE THE RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED IS TO INFORM THEM PRIVATELY THAT INDIVIDUAL MISSING PERSONS MAY BE

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PRESUMED DEAD. IT APPEARS THAT THE GOC HAS DECIDED TO TEST THIS APPROACH WITH A LIMITED NUMBER OF CASES.
LANDAU

[redacted]

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06647 020501Z UNCLASSIFIED E2509
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
NSAE-00 SIL-01 AID-05 HA-05 PA-01 ICA-11 /060 W
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R 012016Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 372
INFO AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6647

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ETRD, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: TRADE UNION FREEDOM: REACTION TO MEANY LETTER

REF: SANTIAGO 6446

1. SUMMARY: PRESS REACTION TO THE PUBLICATION IN SANTIAGO OF AFL-CIO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY'S AUGUST 10 LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER THREATENING A BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN PRODUCTS WAS LIGHT BUT UNIVERSALLY CRITICAL. THE PRESS ESPECIALLY ATTACKED MEANY'S STATEMENT THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF A SATISFACTORY CHILEAN RESPONSE BY NOVEMBER 26, THE AFL-CIO WOULD COOPERATE FULLY WITH ORIT-AFFILIATED LATAM UNIONS IN MOUNTING "EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED REPRESSION OF ITS WORKERS". ALL MEDIA COMMENTED THAT THE CHILEAN WORKER WAS CAPABLE OF RESOLVING HIS OWN PROBLEMS WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. AUTHENTIC TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN PUBLICLY SILENT BUT PRIVATELY JUBILANT THAT, FINALLY, THE AFL-CIO HAS BACKED CHILEAN WORKERS SO CATEGORICALLY. END SUMMARY.

2. "EL MERCURIO'S"AUGUST 27 EDITORIAL WAS SHORT AND CALM. IT DESCRIBED THE AFL-CIO AS A "SUPER-GOVERNMENT" WHICH ATTEMPTS TO [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 06647 020501Z

INTERVENE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES BUT DOES NOT PLAY BY THE RULES GOVERNING THE ACTIONS OF STATES. "LA TERCERA'S"AUGUST 28 EDITORIAL WAS MORE CAUSTIC. IT ASSERTED THAT THE AFL-CIO USED A DOUBLE STANDARD SINCE IT HAD NOT VOCIFEROUSLY DEFENDED CHILEAN TRADE UNIONS DURING THE ALLENDE YEARS. "TERCERA"SUGGESTED THAT THE REAL REASON FOR THE LETTER WAS TO OVERTHROW THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT.

3. THE PRESS ALSO PUBLISHED A STATEMENT BY GUILLERMO MEDINA, THE GOC LABOR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE, CONDEMNING THE LETTER AS INTERFERENCE, AND REMARKS BY INTERIOR MINISTER

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SERGIO FERNANDEZ IN THE SAME VEIN. THE GOC-CONTROLLED LABOR FRONT OF CHILE STATED THAT AFL-CIO VICE PRESIDENTS, SOL CHAIKIN AND TEDDY GLEASON, WERE SERIOUSLY MISINFORMED DURING THEIR MAY 21-23 VISIT TO CHILE. THE STATEMENT CONDEMNED THE AFL-CIO ATTITUDE AS INTERFERENCE AND WARNED THAT CHILEANS WOULD DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY AGAINST FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

4. COMMENT: MEDINA'S STATEMEN WAS THE ONLY PUBLISHED REACTION BY AUTHENTIC LABOR LEADERS OR ORGANIZATIONS. PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, DEMOCRATIC CHILEAN TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLEASED WITH THE LETTER AS IT INDICATES THAT THE AFL-CIO IS FINALLY TAKING A STAND ON TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN CHILE. DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL ANNOUNCE A SERIES OF REFORMS AS A RESULT OF THE LETTER. THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT, THEY SAY, CANNOT AFFORT TO TAKE THE CHANCE THAT AFL-CIO PARTICIPATION INN A POSSIBLE BOYCOTT TO ACHIEVE LIMITED GOALS WILL SNOWBALL INTO A WORLDWIDE UNLIMITED BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN PRODUCTS AND TRANSPORTATION. LANDAU

[redacted]

NNNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (declassified)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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DRAFT MEMO TO ARA - P. YAKY 11/17/78

RADØ5

EVOLUTION OF US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN ARGENTINA

Serious strains in Argentine-US relations are the result of a fundamental clash between the Carter administration's human rights policy and the Videla government's perception of Argentine national security interests. Because neither country considers its basic policy objectives negotiable, seemingly intractable problems have arisen in bilateral relations.

The record of US-Argentine relations over the past six, twelve, or even thirty months has not been characterized by lost opportunities on one side or the other. Given the parameters set by US human rights policy and Argentine security policy, there has been no solution. There has been no way--short of a fundamental policy shift by one side or the other--to avoid the current nadir in bilateral relations. The extended diplomatic maneuvering since March 1976 has taken place at the expendable margins as perceived by policymakers on both side. Limited concessions in the interest of improved relations have been made by both sides, but Washington and Buenos Aires have been unwilling or unable to concede on crucial matters that would indicate a basic policy reorientation. At those points in the diplomatic process when this fact confronts one or both sides, the frustrations become apparent, tensions increase, and, in the Argentine case, nationalistic bravado intensifies.

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Argentina is a textbook example of why a human rights policy must be a long-term proposition. We are not able to force the Argentines into human rights compliance. Improvements, if and when they occur, will be the result of changed perceptions among Argentine leaders concerning their own national interests and security needs. Continued strong US human rights pressure will undoubtedly have some effect on Argentine decisionmaking, but the impact will be cumulative and impossible to quantify.

The Argentine Position. Human rights, terrorism, and national security are inextricably bound in the minds of Argentine leaders. Their perception is based on the nation's devastating experience with political violence over the past eight years. The facts need not be recounted here. Suffice it to say that part of the legacy of those years has been an armed forces' determination to annihilate leftist terrorism and prevent its future recrudescence. It is basic national security doctrine in the Argentine military. Counterterrorism is war. Tactics are dictated by expediency rather than respect for human rights or law. Every US representative who has dealt with the Argentines over the past thirty months in familiar with their litany concerning the demands of a "dirty war". For the most part, that litany is not rhetoric designed to legitimize the murder of government opponents. It reflects the Argentine perception of events.

Counterterrorism was accorded top priority by the armed forces from the day they assumed power in March 1976. There can be no question that government leaders knew, or soon became aware, that officially-sanctioned counterterrorist tactics would raise a serious problem in relations with the US. Top military officers were warned both before and after the March coup that a consistent pattern of gross human rights violations would force a negative US response.

It can be argued that until the advent of the Carter administration, the Argentines remained dubious about the sincerity of US human rights demarches. Many in the government may have believed that:

--US protests were largely perfunctory, a temporary outburst of moral fervor reflecting pressure from a few misguided human rights zealots in the Congress and non-governmental organizations; and

--Argentina would be protected for the duration of its "dirty war" by friends in the US executive and Congress and/or the Pentagon.

With Carter's inauguration, however, and the subsequent February 1977 announcement of an intended cut in US military aid, the Argentine leadership could no longer have harbored any illusions about the bilateral consequences of its human rights practices. At that point, if not earlier, the conscious decision was made to sacrifice temporarily close relations with the US if that was the price for continuing the counterterrorist

war and its attendant abuses.

The often analyzed hardline-moderate split within the Argentine military is of crucial human rights importance over the long term, but it is largely irrelevant in immediate terms. While the two vaguely-defined camps disagree on the treatment of a wide spectrum of non-violent government opponents and on questions vital to the eventual relationship between freedom and authority in post-military Argentina, there is nearly consensual agreement on the need to physically eliminate known and suspected terrorists. There is no evidence to suggest a hardline-moderate split when it comes to dealing with subversives "with blood on their hands." The few hundred believed still resident in Argentina will probably receive the same treatment that apparently has been standard since March 1976, i.e., clandestine seizure, torture during interrogation, and summary execution. Human rights improvements engineered by the Videla-Viola moderates, therefore, will continue to take place against a backdrop of consistent and gross violations suffered by at least one element in Argentine society.

While hard-core terrorists still reside in Argentina, therefore, the dilemma in terms of bilateral relations is clear.

--on the US side, policy and legislative constraints will make it difficult to respond to and encourage human rights improvements when consistent and gross violations apparently continue;

--on the Argentine side, it will be difficult for Videla and like-minded officers to encourage human rights compliance in the name of better relations when US rewards are bound to be minimal and the moderates will consequently be exposing themselves to charges of "vende patria."

The Argentine Approach. The Argentine strategy for relations with the US has been based on the following assumptions:

--good relations with the US are desirable;

--the current embitterment over human rights will be temporary, ending either with the disappearance of terrorists and a general halt to abuses in Argentina, or a change in US policy; and

--Argentina can survive US hostility because of access to alternate suppliers of military aid and economic and financial opportunities.

Tactically, the Argentine approach has involved:

--pleas for patience and understanding by the US that constitute a tacit admission that what is now occurring places Argentina beyond the US human rights pale;

--specific human rights concessions in areas not considered security sensitive, i.e., publication of prisoner lists, action in special interests cases; ICRC prision inspections.

--attempts to isolate human rights from other facets of bilateral relations in an effort to minimize damage and maintain a dialogue; continued talks on nuclear cooperation and the upcoming economic discussions are illustrative;

--active review and exploitation of alternative sources of military equipment and training, markets, and sources of financing; and

--restrained responses to US sanctions and perceived injustices. Sharp outbursts of nationalistic bravado aimed at the US have not been characteristic of the Videla government. They have usually occurred only in private diplomatic exchanges or in response to a public US comment or action that the Argentines felt compelled to answer. Such was the case in August with the flurry of Argentine comment occassioned by Assistant Secretary Derian's comments and the Export-Import Bank decision. Even then, however, government officials did not attempt to incite the kind of anti-US clamor of which Argentines are capable.

Difficulties in Formulating US Strategy

The Nuclear Angle. The US human rights approach to Argentina has always been tempered by Argentina's potential as a nuclear proliferator. The country does not present the kind of national security difficulties inherent in dealing with Iran or South Korea. Even within the Latin American area, US interests in Argentina are less significant than those in Brazil or perhaps Mexico. Nonetheless, Argentina's nuclear status and capabilities have forced the US to examine carefully the possibility that human rights initiatives might be detrimental to continued US influence in the nuclear area.

The Argentines undoubtedly appreciate the bargaining power of their nuclear chip. During the Carter-Videla meeting in September 1977 and Secretary Vance's visit to Buenos Aires two months later, nuclear affairs and Argentine ratification of the Treaty of Tlatelolco were major items on the agenda. To date, the Argentines have made no serious effort to orchestrate a human rights-nuclear trade. Rather, they have assumed a forthcoming posture on Tlatelolco because nuclear cooperation serves their own needs (heavy water technology), and, to a lesser degree, because of a desire to impart a generally cooperative tone during direct dealings with President Carter and Secretary Vance. The fact remains, however, that repeated Argentine promises to deposit their instrument of ratification remain unfulfilled. Action on Tlatelolco is still, therefore, a possible source of leverage that the Argentines may attempt to inject directly into human rights discussions.

Limited Leverage. US policymaking has been further complicated by the lack of economic or military clout in Argentina sufficient to force changes in Argentine policy priorities. Put simply, the US is trying almost single-handedly to encourage a basic policy reorientation on a sensitive matter in a country where its leverage is limited and competing policy objectives (nuclear) might be endangered.

Argentine military officers would prefer to purchase US training and equipment, but they are willing to buy elsewhere and have had offers sufficient to cover their needs. Economically, Argentina is relatively free of dependence upon sources of funding and investment susceptible to official US control. Negative IFI votes are a political embarrassment to Argentina, but such votes do not block access to critical financing. The Videla government's economic success in the external sector has ensured the availability of financial opportunities from a variety of foreign sources.

Argentina's access to non-US economic and military suppliers emphasizes our continuing inability to multilateralize our human rights efforts in Argentina in any significant way. The West Europeans, Israelis, and Soviets are all willing to fill military equipment orders, and Economy Minister Martinez de Hoz has encountered little difficulty in his foreign economic dealings. Even President Perez of Venezuela, the most outspoken Latin supporter of the Carter administration's human rights efforts has advised US representatives to be cautious about pressuring the Videla government. Perez treated Videla to a state visit while condemning the human rights records of the Chilean, Nicaraguan and Paraguayan governments.

Negotiations Generated Misunderstandings

Marginal Concessions. With neither the US nor Argentina willing to change the policies that have strained relations,

negotiations have tended to center on the exchange of minor concessions that leave the basic positions of both sides in tact. The US has tried to encourage human rights compliance through strong diplomatic approaches on the general theme, tacit support for Videla and the military moderates, suggestions as to specific, limited actions that the Argentines might implement to improve relations, and the use of IFI votes, Export-Import Bank financing and munitions export licenses as carrots in a calibrated effort to reward improvements. The Argentines have attempted to appear responsive through such actions as publishing lists of state-of-siege detainees, implementing the right-of-option program; and releasing or legally processing the cases of individual in which the US has expressed special interest.

From the US perspective, the extended human rights dialogue has:

--helped protect the rights of individual in a few specific cases, generally encouraged domestic human rights advocacy, and perhaps had a generally positive, although unmeasurable, impact on the Argentine government's overall human rights performance;

--maintained open lines of communication during a difficult period in bilateral relations; and

--helped buttress the military moderates who offer the best long-term prospects for Argentina.

On the negative side, the process of exchanging minor concessions has encouraged what has been termed a "flesh-for guns" mentality on the part of the Argentines. Self-interest and a dose of cynicism play a large part in the formulation of the Argentine perception. Nonetheless, US pressure in special interest cases and suggestions for specific and limited actions like the publication of prisoner lists and information on "the disappeareds" has bred the notion among some Argentine leaders that such measures are viewed by the US as ends in and of themselves rather than as steps designed to create momentum toward the goal of general human rights compliance. The US approach, therefore, may have tended to create the illusion that progress toward normal bilateral relations is possible without a fundamental shift in Argentina's human rights practices.

When it becomes apparent that the cause of noralization has not been significantly advanced by what are essentially comestic actions, Argentine frustrations mount and they protest that there is nothing they can do that will satisfy the US. A common Argentine complaint, in fact, has been that the US responds to improvements by simply demanding more, upping the ante each time. The logical conclusion of this trend of thought among Argentines is that there is nothing that Argentina can do because what the US really wants is the replacement of Argentina's military government by a civilian democracy.

At this point, the view that the US is using human rights as a ploy to bring down the Videla government is essentially a product of Argentine frustration. It smacks of the kind of defensive posturing into which they have been forced by the continuation of human rights abuses. Should it gain sufficient currency to become a basis for Argentine policy formulation, it would present a serious inhibition to the success of US human rights efforts. That point does not appear to have been reached, however.

The point to be emphasized here is that frustration, tensions, and suspicions about ultimate US intentions are the logical consequence of the current Argentine-US human rights negotiations. Brief interludes of cooperation and improvement in the overall atmosphere of relations will sooner or later give way to new tensions as it becomes apparent that only a basic reorientation of policy by one side or the other will permit a genuine normalization of relations.

Impact in the US. While the carrot and stick approach has yielded little in the form of tangible human rights gains in Argentina, it has exposed the State Department and the Carter administration to domestic criticism for doing both too much and too little.

--Some critics, mainly in business and conservative political circles, claim that economic and military sanctions have cost the US markets and jobs and alienated a traditional US ally while serving no apparent human rights purpose.

--Domestic human rights activists, on the other hand, insist that more US pressure should be applied. They tend to view carrots as attempts by the State Department to appease a client state on the basis of cosmetic or spurious human rights improvements.

An IAHRC Visit. The current US emphasis on the importance of an on-site inspection by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC) falls within the pattern of bilateral dealings established over the past thirty months. Ideally, from the US point of view, Argentine acceptance of an inspection visit would be the first step in a consistent if gradually implemented Argentine campaign to restore the rule of law and respect for human rights. It is more likely, however, that most Argentine policymakers view an IAHRC visit as another concession to the US made attractive by specific short-term benefits and the possibly beneficial impact that acceptance of an international inspection might have on the country's sagging international image.

The direct involvement of top level policymakers on both sides, and the fact that Argentina's willingness to cooperate with the IAHRC would represent a dramatic departure from its established attitude toward the Commission lend seemingly extraordinary importance to an on-site inspection. And over the mid-term, an IAHRC visit might prove to be something of a turning point if it means that:

--Videla and the moderates are sufficiently in control of the armed forces to make and enforce the tough decisions necessary to halt human rights abuses;

--pressure for improvements will be effectively multilaterlized by engaging the prestige and authority of the IAHRC; and

--the apparent Southern Cone (Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay) agreement to bar entry to the IAHRC is fatally undermined.

In immediate terms, however, an IAHRC visit is not likely to alter substantially the existing pattern in bilateral relations. The Argentines will have made what they will consider a major concession, but closer bilateral relations will still be inhibited by US policy and legislative constraints. It is conceivable that a commission visit could produce new bilateral tensions. An IAHRC report will almost certainly be highly negative, and its accuracy, if not the Commission itself, will then be challenged by the Argentines. If such a report is subsequently used by the US Congress or executive branch to justify new sanctions or public criticism, Videla will find it extremely difficult to respond to future US human rights suggestions.

Drafted: INR/RAR:JEBuchanan
9/11/78
Approved by Hunter L. Estep

9/11/78 P.B6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

AR 191

September 11, 1978

Dear Ms. Wolgelenter:

The Deputy Assistant Secretary, Mark Schneider, has asked me to respond to your letter of August 29 about the disappearance of your cousin Mauricio Alberto Poltarak in Argentina.

We have requested our Embassy in Buenos Aires to raise this case with the Foreign Office Working Group of the Government of Argentina and to forward to you any information it receives.

Thank you for writing to us and please be assured of our deep concern about the case of your cousin and all of the numerous other persons in Argentina who have been reported to our Government to have disappeared.

Yours sincerely,

Roberta Cohen

Roberta Cohen
Human Rights Officer

Ms. Lenore Wolgelenter,

[redacted] B6

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
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September 11, 1978

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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Ms. Patricia M. Derian
Coordinator for Human Rights
Dept. of State
Washington D.C. 20520

Dear Ms. Derian:

We are very happy to tell you that Lilliane Deutsch has been released from prison and has arrived in the United States with her father. The entire Deutsch family is now free. The family cannot thank you enough for your wonderful efforts on behalf of our relatives.

For over a year now an unbelievable effort has been maintained to free these innocent people. Our calls for help were heard and answered - leaders from all over the country of many religious and political beliefs vigorously protested their imprisonment. Congressmen and Senators, Jewish leaders, Catholic and Protestant leaders were heard from. The Secretary of State and the President of the United States asked for their release. Some, like Congressman Leach of Iowa and Congressman Waxman of California and Rabbi Rosenthal of the Anti-Defamation League were unstinting of their time.

We wish to thank all of the wonderful people who helped so well and successfully - and now they are free and we will never forget your efforts on our behalf.

Sincerely,

For the Deutsch Family

Robert J. Gans

Robert J. Gans

RJG:jmh

Lot 81D208
Box4963(2/12)

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 229823
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 AID-05 DOE-15 SOE-02 SP-02
ICA-11 EB-08 NSC-05 TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-07 OMB-01
CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 FRB-03 INR-10 NSAE-00
XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
L-03 PA-01 HA-05 /136 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/MEX:D.E.SIMCOX:MRG
APPROVED BY ARA:D.E.SIMCOX
ARA:F.MCNEIL
EA/J:MCNAUGHTON

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INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR WL Date: 5/23/97
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY EO Citations

[redacted] STATE 229823

E.O. 11652: N/A

FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

TAGS: PEPR, ECON, JA, MX

SUBJECT: US-JAPAN CONSULTATIONS ON MEXICO

REF: MEXICO 14060, STATE 229131

1. DURING BRIEF REVIEW OF MEXICAN SITUATION, JAPANESE REPRESENTATIVES COMMENTED THAT DURING LOPEZ PORTILLO VISIT TO JAPAN DURING LATTER PART OF OCTOBER THEY EXPECT TO DISCUSS: 1) INVESTMENT IN DEVELOPMENT OF PORT FACILITIES ON MEXICAN PACIFIC COAST; 2) MEXICAN INTEREST IN EXPANDED PETROLEUM EXPORTS TO JAPAN; 3) JAPANESE COMMERCIAL INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO CITY MASS TRANSIT PROJECT (WHICH THEY UNDERSTAND MAY BE DELAYED

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 229823

FOR BUDGETARY REASONS;) AND 4) JOINT VENTURES IN FISHING.

2. JAPANESE SAID QUESTION OF INCREASED PURCHASE OF MEXICAN OIL IS VERY DIFFICULT ONE FOR THEM BECAUSE OF SHIPPING COST DIFFERENTIAL. THEY WERE NON-COMMITTAL ON POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF APPRECIATION OF YEN ON FUTURE LEVEL OF MEXICAN-JAPANESE TRADE.

3. JAPANESE SHOWED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN OUR TOURIST AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO, NOTING THAT MEXICANS ARE SEEKING TOURIST AGREEMENT WITH THEM WHICH WOULD,

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INTER ALIA, PROMOTE JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN MEXICAN TOURIST DEVELOPMENT. THERE WERE NO DISCUSSIONS OF ILLICIT PAYMENTS OR JAPANESE HAG OF MEXICO'S FOREIGN INVESTMENT RESTRICTIONS.

CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

9/11/78 4X017

1721 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3976

District Office:
8425 West 3d Street
Suite 400
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-1040

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

HENRY A. WAXMAN
24th District, California

Committees:
Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Government Operations
Democratic Steering and Policy

William J. Bertera
Administrative Assistant

Bruce Wolpe
Legislative Assistant

9/28/78
cc: Tucson Daily Star
Tucson Citizen

September 11, 1978

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

The Hon. Raul H. Castro
United States Embassy
Saramiento 663
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

As you know, Lilliana Deutsch has arrived in Los Angeles and has been reunited with her brother, sisters and numerious anxious American relatives.

I want you to know that the various branches of the extensive Deutsch family share my tremendous appreciation for the efforts made by you and members of your staff on behalf of the Deutsch family during their year-long ordeal. The work of our Embassy, under your direction, has been in support of a concern for human rights of which every American should be proud.

Cordial personal regards,

Henry A. Waxman

HENRY A. WAXMAN
Member of Congress

HAW:hek

cc: President Jimmy Carter
Secretary of State Cyrus Vance

81F184
5/5

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P78-160-1309

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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

September 12, 1978

Dear Senator Williams:

Thank you for your request for information concerning Ms. Sylvia Streger, an Argentine citizen.

I have requested our Embassy in Buenos Aires to make inquiries at the Argentine Foreign Ministry Working Group on Human Rights concerning Ms. Streger.

As soon as we have word from them about Ms. Streger I will let your office know.

Sincerely,

CW

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Harrison A. Williams, Jr.,
United States Senate.

Drafted: ARA/ECA:JNBumpus:mb
9/7/78 x29166 #136-1149

Clearances:
ARA/ECA:CWRuse
ARA:GLister
H:CCutter
2/CW

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Declassify: ( ) In Part (A) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DECLASSIFIED
[redacted]

Dec. Sept. 12, 1978
CT034
10:30 R
Re mtg w/ Wm. Coleman
& Donald Bliss
& Allis-Chalmers

HUMAN RIGHTS: ARGENTINA

Political terrorism of the left and the right has wracked Argentina since the late sixties and was partially responsible for the economic and political breakdown precipitating the March 1976 coup. The Junta's efforts to eliminate leftist terrorism led to massive counter-terrorist campaign, undertaken by the security forces.

Although the Government has publicly stated that terrorism has largely been defeated, the anti-terrorist campaign of the last few years has continued and has resulted in severe violations of human rights.

At present, the Government of Argentina acknowledges approximately 3,400 state of siege prisoners detained under executive power (PEN). The state of siege powers, involed in 1974, have been used to hold a wide variety of persons forlong periods without formal charges. The USG reports an additional 500 prisoners in military camps. Arrests continue but have decreased considerably from the level of the past two years. From January to August 1978, 347 were added to PEN and 446 released.

Security personnel and prison officials use torture routinely during the interrogation process.

In addition, thousands (estimates range between 3,000 and 20,000) have been abducted by security forces. These cases, known as the disappeared, include a broad range of people, such as labor leaders, workers, clergymen, human rights advocates, scientists, doctors and political party leaders. A movement is growing, led by human rights organizations and the Mothers of the Church, to trace the missing people. The Government, however, has not accounted for the vast majority of the disappeared, many of whom are presumed to be dead. At present, our Embassy is receiving reports of disappearances at a rate of 16-45 per month.

The GOA in late 1977 reinstituted a limited "right of option" for political prisoners, held under executive detention, to request exile. However, from January to August, only about 60 were allowed to leave under this program.

The GOA for the first time in February 1978 published lists of those detained under the state of siege.

Once again permission has been granted for the ICRC to visit non-military prisons.

DECLASSIFIED

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13769

UNCLASSIFIED

Responsive action has been taken on a few cases in which the U.S. has expressed special interest. Newspaper editor and Jewish leader Jacobo Timerman was transferred from PEN detention to house arrest, Alfredo Bravo, Co-Chairman of the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, was paroled, Guillermo Vogler was released to the U.S. under the right of option, and the Deutsch family was released. Also placed on parole was Perez Esquivel, leader of Paz y Justicia and Nobel Peace Prize nominee.

Official harassment of selected religious groups continues. The Jehova's witnesses have borne much of the brunt. Reports of anti-semitic incidents targeted at members of the Jewish community and Jewish prisoners have decreased.

Severe restrictions remain on civil and political freedoms, among these trade union rights, fair judicial processes, and the activities of political parties. Press freedom continues to be curtailed although some restrictions were recently lifted. There appears to be little concerted or effective effort to date to check fundamental abuses or revitalize the legal and institutional barriers that would prevent human rights violations in the future.

We had hoped that the Argentine Government would have been able to accept a visit by the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IAHRC). However, the conditioned invitation issued by the GOA was not acceptable to the Commission. Negotiations are continuing.

ACTION TAKEN ON HUMAN RIGHTS

-- On October 27, 1977, the U.S. voted no on a gas pipeline loan in the IDB. We followed this up with "no" votes on a cellulose plant on December 1 and a petrochemical complex on December 8. On November 3 we did, however, support an IDB loan for portable water on the grounds that it meets basic human needs.

-- Early in 1978, we abstained on an industrial credit and a grain storage loan, both in the World Bank. We abstained rather than vote no to signal to the Argentine Government that we had noted limited improvements in some areas, and to encourage further positive developments. We followed this by an extension of a $60 million agricultural credit loan in April and abstained on three IFC loans.

UNCLASSIFIED

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-- Eximbank is currently holding back on over $600 million in transactions for Argentina because of human rights considerations.

-- Over 200 Arms transfer requests are being deferred. Argentina rejected FMS credits for FY-78. The Administration declined to sign for FY-77 FMS agreement and is not requesting FMS credits for Argentina for FY-79. All arms transfers (FMS sales and commercial sales of items on the munitions list) are being reviewed on a case-by-case basis; only very few [redacted] selected new items with no apparent relationship to human rights have been approved.

-- On various occasions, we have discussed our human rights concerns with the GOA at the highest levels, including trips by two Assistant Secretaries, an Under Secretary and the Secretary of State. When Under Secretary [redacted] Newsom visited Argentina in late May, he made clear to the Argentines that we want better relations with that country, but that there would have to be improvements in the human rights area. He specifically asked for movement on: an invitation to the IAHRC; establishment of a mechanism to inform the families of disappeared persons of their whereabouts; and trial, release or exile for the 3,400 PEN prisoners held without charge.

-- The Department has submitted over 1,000 names of individuals who are either detained or have disappeared to the Argentine Government and have requested that they furnish information on these individuals.

UNCLASSIFIED

9/12/78 R

AR193

Buenos Aires, Argentina

September 12, 1978

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Ms. Roberta Cohen
Human Rights Officer
HA/HR
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Cohen:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 18 regarding the disappearance of Enrique Walker. On the basis of Mrs. Walker's letter to Commissioner Mezvinsky, we have presented an inquiry to the Foreign Office Working Group on Human Rights regarding the disappearance.

We have also written his mother, Edith Gardey de Walker, informing her of our inquiry on behalf of her son (copy attached).

I very much appreciate your backstopping efforts for our human rights efforts here in Argentina.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Chaplin
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

Lot 81D208
Box4963(2/12)

9/12/78 RI

FRANKLIN DELANO LÓPEZ
GPO BOX 2556
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO 00936

AR194

7818322

September 12, 1978

We closed
have the Embassy
ask the COA also item -
Also pass a copy of the letter to
the IACHR and the UN
HR Committee
and ask him to
submit
appropriate
to that
body.

Mr. Robert Pastor
National Security Council
The White House
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear ~~Robert~~ Bob:

The purpose of this letter is to request your assistance in reference to the case of Mr. Américo Mohamet Sady Arce and Mrs. Delia Kennedy Sady, both of them Argentinian Citizens. Mr. Sady is the brother of Mrs. Esther Sady Berríos, who is married to Mr. Rafael Berríos Carrión, U.S. Citizen residing in Puerto Rico. On the 10th of May, 1976, at 9:00 P.M., Mr. and Mrs. Sady were arrested from their home located at Monroe Street, 5626, First Floor, Apartment #6, Villa Urquiza, Buenos Aires, Argentina and charged because of their political activities during the days of the Administration of Ms. Isabel Perón.

Our constituent Mr. Rafael Berríos Carrión and Mrs. Esther Sady Carrión are interested in receiving information on the whereabouts of Mrs. Sady and Mr. Sady. Since their arrest the Sady Family doesn't know the location or the prison where Mr. and Mrs. Sady might be, if they are alive. Mr. Rafael Berríos Carrión and Mrs. Esther Sady Berríos have been requesting information to the Argentinian Authorities on Mr. and Mrs. Sady without success.

Mr. Américo Mohamet Sady Arce identification number is 3.885.044. His father is Mr. Joaquín Sady and his mother is 4.855.373. Her father name is Mr. Mateo Kennedy and her mother's name is Mrs. María Avecilla de Kennedy.

I will appreciate all the assistance you may give to our request in helping our constituent Mr. Rafael Berríos Carrión and Mrs. Esther Sady de Berríos in finding Mrs. and Mr. Sady, their prison address or another information regarding their whereabouts.

We can also
Take up the
case at the next
OAS Permanent Council meeting?

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Lot 81D208
Box 4963 (2/12)

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin Delano López
President
New Democratic Party

R

<<<<.>>>>
[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07194 141251Z 9/13/78 M151
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 H-01 /051 W
----------015445 151548Z /41

R 131844Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7454
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7194

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, AR, SREF
SUBJECT: PEN DETAINEES

REF: CHAPLIN-BUMPUS TELECON

1. OUR TABULATION OF THE PERIODIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCEMENTS INDICATE THAT THERE ARE 3,323 PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED PRISONERS BEING HELD UNDER PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL (PEN) DECREES AS OF SEPTEMBER 12, 1978. A CHART OF PEN PRISONER POPULATION MOVEMENTS FROM DECEMBER, 1977 TO PRESETN IS BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT.

2. THERE IS NO STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN AVAILABLE REGARDING THE NUMBER OF PRISONERS DETAINED UNDER EXECUTIVE BRANCH PEN DECREES WHO ARE BEING OR HAVE BEEN PROCESSED BY ARGENTINE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES. A MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN OFFICER WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ESTIMATED THAT BETWEEN 30 AND 40 PERCENT OF THOSE PERSONS HELD UNDER PEN DECREES ARE EITHER BEING TRIED OR HAVE BEEN SENTENCED BY JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES OR HAVE COMPLETED THEIR JUDICALLY IMPOSED SENTENCES. FOWG SOURCE NOTED THAT THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE LATTER CATEGORY WAS
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07194 141251Z

SMALL. SOURCE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT OF THOSE PERSONS BEING TRIED BY THE JUDICIARY, A NUMBER WERE NOT ACTUALLY DETAINED

UNDER THE JUDICIAL POWER'S PREVENTIVE DETENTION AUTHORITY.

3. INFORMATION PRESENTED TO EMBASSY DURING NEWSOM VISIT DATED MAY 24, 1978 BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SHOWED THAT 1,679 PERSONS WERE BEING TRIED OR HAD BEEN SENTENCED BY JUDICIAL AND MILITARY COURTS. THE DATA DID NOT INDICATE HOW MANY OF THESE PERSONS WERE BEING HLED UNDER PEN DETENTION.

4. WE WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO DEVELOP FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE NUMBER OF PEN PRISONERS WHO ARE BEING OR HAVE BEEN PROCESSED BY THE JUDICIAL OR MILITARY COURT SYSTEMS.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date Declassify on Reason
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AUTHOR, LEAVE COUNTRY
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8/13/78
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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Buenos Aires, Argentina

September 13, 1978

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Ms. Roberta Cohen (HA/HR)
Mr. James Bumpus (ARA/ECA)
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Roberta and Jim:

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): NR
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted]

NR

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Detention Camps

The Department's request has opened up a rich vein of material here. We have a lot of information regarding interrogation and detention centers scattered throughout our files. I have been pulling it together, trying to develop a format to evaluate and present it sensibly. We are at over 50 facilities and still counting. This is a mucky area as our witnesses were blindfolded. The pattern is clear and the number much larger than I would have opined before I started mining files. I hope to have this out in the next week.

FOWG

The chill in our bilateral relations has produced a surge of cooperation from the FOWG. We are snowed under with several dozen replies to our information requests. As usual, there are no surprises. We are turning out the H pass cables like hotcakes on these sad cases. The Foreign Office probably wants to make sure that its responsiveness is not open to question by the Congress or Administration. The turn around is good, but the news is bad.

[redacted]

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Right of Option

Our Right of Option Program is still on dead center. As you can see from the attached graph the inputs and outputs of PEN cases swing erratically but the number of options granted stays at a low and steady level. Our Consulate's requests to meet several dozen Right of Option applicants have finally been turned down after months of being stalled. The MinInt cited a Foreign Office rule which allows Consular officials access only to their own nationals. I lunched with the Acting FOWG head yesterday. He promised to work out an exception to allow consular access in these option application cases. Meanwhile, we have learned that the Canadian, Danish, Swedish, Israeli, etc. have actually gotten in to see their option applicants. Please share this tidbit with Judy.

Embassy Card File

I trust you have by now received the copy of our Human Rights Card File. We will be folding in another 300 or so cases this weekend. It never ends or even slows down. Although operations are down, as time goes by, more of the "silent majority" cases come out in the open. Someone might try to work out a method by which the Embassy's Card File could be made available to the IACHR on a confidential basis. I believe that the file is the most comprehensive compilation on the Argentine Human Rights Record available.

EXIM Rejection and Derian Statement

The human rights organizations here are ecstatic over the EXIM decision and Patt's statement. They have all streamed into my office to express their pleasure and profound thanks. Unfortunately, I was out when the Embassy reaction cable was being drafted and the positive news did not get folded in.

The strong government and press reaction here is a complicated cocktail but its principal ingredients from the perspective of my desk are:

Dashed Expectations -- According to Thoreau, happiness is a matter of expectation. After the Argentines successfully staged and won the World Football Cup, the government, the press, the man in the street, all thought

that Argentina had crossed an international bridge to respectability. EXIM and Derian were the first indications that their unresolved problems were still around.

Government's Weakness -- Although it is the government's practice to characterize publicly all human rights charges as attacks against Argentina and not the government or as a lack of understanding, it did not deflect these events. There was impact. For some reason, the events were characterized internally as an attack on the Videla-Viola government which is feeling very weak at the moment. Why the government decided to take, rather than slip, the punch is not clear. But it certainly served some internal purpose.

Guilt -- This was the first time in my recollection that we have mentioned the words "torture" and "summary execution" in public. This indication of what we really think (and know) touched the usually well hidden guilt complex among a number of the Argentine military. I had several incredible discussions as a result. I am becoming a confessor to both sides. The problem is that for many military leaders knowledge equates with accountability. The Derian statement questioned the military's belief that the law of forgetfullness will in time absolve them of responsibility. Their domestic and international campaign of plausible denial was shaken by a few accurate words.

Political Power and Human Rights

The last few weeks has seen a new air of gloom over the town. Everyone is dining out on Videla's loss of power; the inability of the government to deal with the issues at hand; the fact that the issues are getting worse. On top of this there is now a steady stream of war talk. The economic policy is being roundly attacked. We expect Massera to blast Dr. Joe's machinations before stepping down to civilian life. The Montes foreign policy moving from the West to the Non-Aligned and the East is viewed as military amateurism. Health care is deteriorating, the education policy is in shambles, there is no movement on the labor front. There are more and more cracks in the wall and more openess in discussing them.

In this heady atmosphere of political weakness the human rights organizations are opting for a tougher line.

Videla's latest human rights statements in Rome are seen as a continuation of the government's refusal to deal with the issue. Videla even discovered another cause for disappearances -- people blowing themselves up with poorly made bombs.

From this desk, the issue posed is whether our strategy of trying to strengthen Videla-Viola, thereby giving them the political power to bring about reforms providing for the protection of the person should be re-examined in light of their growing weakness to govern. Although my futile dissent message encouraging the US Navy to massage Massera got no where, recent events have strengthened my view that we should start putting some of our money on the other horses in the race. Massera is everyone's (but this Embassy's) favorite dark horse.

EXIM Policy Reconsideration

There is some discussion here that EXIM might reconsider its lending policy towards Argentina, now that the Harkin Amendment is no longer hanging over its head. This would be a disaster for our human rights efforts here, unless it was coupled with some significant concrete action by the GOA. Softening of EXIM's policy would strengthen the hardliners, demonstrate that the Yankees are only really interested in making a buck, fortify the position of no concessions on human rights, and show we can be shouted down by the local Argentine press.

IACHR Visit

The word is out here in press circles of a Videla-Mondale deal to improve bilateral relations via some Argentine gestures on human rights. The deal is said to include extending an invitation to the IACHR to visit Argenina in exchange for US concessions. One press skeptic suggests that Videla is in an even worse power position now to deliver on his promises to Mondale than he was to deliver on his (still unfilled) promises to President Carter. We shall see. The IACHR visit is becoming here as it is in Asuncion and Montevideo the litmus test of our human rights policy.

Thank you both for your letters. I was pleased that Patt found the meeting with Ron Kelly useful. I

[redacted]

hopefully will be dug out of the backlog by the end of the month.

Best regards,

/ Cy-

F. Allen Harris
First Secretary

cc: Ambassador

<<<<.>>>>

[redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 03589 140653Z 9/13/78 M150
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 L-03 H-01 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 ICA-11 PA-01 VO-05 /065 W
----------003774 151039Z /20

R 131724Z SEP 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3374

[redacted] USUN NEW YORK 03589

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTRO
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS:SHUM

SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE CASE OF GUSTAVO EDISON INZAURRALDE MELGAR.
REF. MONTEVIDEO 3031

DECONTROL

1. AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAS RECEIVED A LETTER DATED 8/30 FROM BRITT-MARIE STENKVIST OF THE SWEDISH SECTION OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REQUESTING INFORMATION ON THE CASE OF GUSTAVO EDISON INZAURRALDE MELGAR. MISSION REQUESTS ANY INFORMATION EMBASSY MAY HAVE THAT WILL BE HELPFUL IN REPLY-TO INQUIRY. PARTIAL TEXT OF LETTER FOLLOWS.

2. "THE GROUP OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO WHICH I BELONG IS CURRENTLY WORKING ON THE CASE OF MR. GUSTAVO EDISON INZAURRALDE MELGAR, A URUGUAYAN CITIZEN. MR. INZAURRALDE GRADUATED AS A TEACHER IN 1969. WHILE A STUDENT HE BECAME A LEADER OF AEMM - A STUDENT'S ORGANIZATION - AND ALSO A MEMBER OF THE FEDERACION URUGUAYA DE MAESTROS - THE TEACHERS UNION.

3. MR. INZAURRALDE HAD BEEN LIVING IN EXILE IN ARGENTINA SINCE 1973. IN JANUARY 1977 HIS ARGENTINIAN WIFE MARIA

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 03589 140653Z

POSSE, WHO WAS PREGNANT, LEFT FOR SWEDEN WHERE THEIR DAUGHTER WAS BORN. MR. INZAURRALDE WENT TO PARAGUAY TO SEEK ASYLUM IN SWEDEN. ON 28TH OF MARCH 1977 HE WAS

ARRESTED IN ASUNCION AND TRANSFERRED TO MONTEVIDEO VIA BUENOS AIRES. NEITHER MARIA POSSE NOR AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL KNOWS THE REASON FOR HIS ARREST OR THE PLACE WHERE HE IS BEING DETAINED.
4. I WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD MAKE INVESTIGATIONS CONCERNING GUSTAVO INZAURRALDE. ABOVE ALL I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHERE HE IS IMPRISONED." YOUNG

[redacted]

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[redacted]

9/13/78

M 179

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07184 140530Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 /087 W
----------001921 150615Z /15

R 131554Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7450
AMEMBASSY BRAZILIA
INFO AMCONSUL SAO PAULO
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
USMISSION GENEVA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7184

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SREF SHUM BR AR
SUBJ: ARGENTINES ARRESTED AT SOCIALIST CONVERGENCE CONFERENCE

REF: RIO DE JANEIRO 3952

1. MEMBERS OF ARGENTINE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (PST) CALLED ON POLOFF ON SEPTEMBER 5 TO REQUEST U.S. INTERVENTION IN PREVENTING THE REFOULMENT OF HUGO MIGUEL BRESSANO TO ARGENTINA.

2. POLOFF SUGGESTED THAT MOST APPROPRIATE ORGANIZATION TO INTERCEDE ON BEHALF OF BRESSANO WOULD BE UNHCR. PST MEMBERS SAID THEY HAD INFORMED UNHCR OFFICE HERE REGARDING THEIR CONCERN AND WOULD MAKE FORMAL PRESENTATION TO UNHCR REGIONAL REP WHEN THEY RECEIVED DETAILED INFORMATION REGARDING BESSANO'S DETENTION FROM BRAZIL.

3. PST MEMBERS OPINED THAT, IF BRESSANO WERE RETURNED TO ARGENTINA, HE WOULD AT BEST BE HELD FOR MANY

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07184 140530Z

YEARS UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION. PST MEMBERS ACKNOWLEDGED BRESSANO AS SOCIALIST-TROTSKITE

LEADER, BUT LAUGHED OFF AS BRAZILIAN INTELLIGENCE "WITCH HUNTING" ANY TIES BETWEEN BRESSANO AND ARGENTINE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS.

4. COMMENT: ACCORDING TO INFORMATION AVAILABLE FROM USUALLY RELIABLE SOURCES AT THE EMBASSY, HUGO MIGUEL BRESSANO WAS, AS OF FEBRUARY 1967, REPORTEDLY THE LEADER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (PRT), ONE OF THE TWO TROTSKYIST GROUPS WHICH CLAIMED TO BE THE BONA FIDE ARGENTINE SECTION OF THE TROTSKYIST FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. INFORMATION RECEIVED IN DECEMBER OF 1969 REPORTED THAT BRESSANO HAD RECENTLY BEEN RELEASED BY PERUVIAN COURTS AND HAD GONE TO URUGUAY, WHERE HE RENEWED CONTACTS WITH LEFTISTS IN MONTEVIDEO. IN MAY OF 1970 BRESSANO WAS SOUGHT BY ARGENTINE POLICE AS A MEMBER OF A ROSARIO PRT TERRORIST GROUP. LAST REPORT AVAILABLE DATES FROM 1971, TO THE EFFECT THAT IN MAY OF THAT YEAR BRESSANO WAS HEAD OF THE LA VERDAD FACTION OF THE PRT AND WAS THE DELEGATE TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE SOUTHERN ZONE OF SOUTH AMERICA. SUBJECT ALSO KNOWN AS "HUGO MORENO" AND "NEHUEL MORENO," WAS BORN IN RIVADAVIA, ARGENTINA, APRIL 21, 1924.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

P B6

<<<<.>>>>
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07256 160558Z 9/14/78 M163
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 VO-03 ISO-00 /006 W
----------078954 170344Z /14

R 142107Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7492
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 7256

H PASS HONORABLE GUS YATRON
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, CVIS
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF ADRIANA RANELA (181/77/11)

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST OF OCTOBER 19, 1977, ON BEHALF OF [ ] B6 THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF ADRIANA RANELA, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HER WHEREABOUTS.

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS OUR INTEREST IN THIS MATTER AND WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
CHAPLIN

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

NATIONAL SECTION OFFICE
2112 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10023
212 787-8906

AIUSA

9/14/78
sent to Blood re Corsean for act

(3) 14

September 14, 1978

BI 147

Tex Harris
Brian Blood
U.S. Embassy, Argentina
Dept. of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Brian and Tex:

Enclosed please find an update to my letter of August 22, with additional names of AIUSA adoptees, including the disappeared people.

Could you please advise me of what you are doing about those people who have been recently released, especially into house arrest, ie. Alfredo Bravo, Juan Rodolfo Acuña, and Jorge Reynaldo Puebla Aguilera. Are they eligible for the parole program? Why have there been no applications sent over by the UNHCR, especially in the light of the demands that have reached us from the Chilean refugees in La Prida Hotel in Buenos Aires? Can a certificate be issued without the interview by an INS officer? If not, isn't there a sufficient caseload to warrant one being sent down immediately for the detainees?

Sorry to keep pestering you, but we do seem to have to clarify these matters.

All best,

Wendy Turnbull

WWT:nb
Enc.
cc: Tricia Feeney
Marketa Freund

All best to Max.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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...ternational is a worldwide human rights movement ... independent of any government, political ideology, economic interest or religious creed. ... was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977. ... BOARD OF DIRECTORS ... EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ... Amnesty International ... governments ... Organization of African Unity ... Organization of American States ... prisoners ... torture and the death penalty in all cases without reservation ... Commission on Human Rights ...

ADDITIONAL LIST OF AIUSA ADOPTEES

16. ALVAREZ ROJAS FEDERICO Eduardo + wife (disappeared) - USA 64 (Berkeley, CA)
17. BETTINI ANTONIO + son-in-law Jorge Alberto Daniel Devoto (disappeared) - USA 52 (La Jolla, CA)
18. BURIAN ROJAS Candida G. - USA 75 (Atlanta, GA)
19. CORTE Arturo - USA 27 (Brooklyn, NY)
20. GLEYZER, Raymundo (disappeared) - USA 99 (Storrs, CT)
21. LOPEZ de JAIT Elsa Raquel (disappeared) - USA 132 (St. Petersburg, FL)
22. LUDIN Lanny - USA 69 (Cambridge, MA)
23. MATOSO Horacio Rene - USA 116 (Wellfleet, MA)
24. MELO CUESTA Nebio Ariel (Uruguayan refugee - disappeared) - USA 121 (Colo. Springs)
25. TIMMERMAN, Jacobo - USA 89 (Rochester, NY)

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1978BUENOS07249

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Channel: n/a

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9/14/78 M 156

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07249 160705Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 VO-03 HA-05 ARA-15 /026 W
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R 142107Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7484
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 7249

H PASS HONORABLE DON EDWARDS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, CVIS
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF FATHER MAURICE SILVA (319/78/4)

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2566

1. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST OF FEBRUARY 22, 1978 REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF FATHER MAURICE SILVA, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF FATHER SILVA, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS. INQUIRIES ON BEHALF OF THE WORKING GROUP WERE MADE BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR WITH FEDERAL POLICE AUTHORITIES IN THE CAPITAL AND IN BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE, AND ALSO WITH THE ARGENTINE ARMY.

2. THE UNITED STATES CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST ON THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THIS CASE AND WILL INFORM YOU OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07249 160705Z

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRS.

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

Page: 1

CHAPLIN

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9/14/78

M154

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07247 161058Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 HA-05 ISO-00 ARA-15 /023 W
----------084391 170509Z /12

R 142107Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7482
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 7247

H PASS HONORABLE ROBERT F. DRINAN
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, CVIS, UR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: JORGE NOE FAINZAIG (306/78/3) AND ISAAC HECTOR MOCHON (305/78/3)

1. MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1978 THAT JORGE NOE FAINZAIG AND ISAAC HECTOR MOCHON HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM EXECUTIVE DETENTION.

2. THEY ARE STILL NOT FREE, BUT THEIR FAMILIES EXPECT THT THEY WILL BE RELEASED SHORTLY.

3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS OUR INTEREST IN THESE CASES AND WILL INFORM YOU OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, MAWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
CHAPLIN

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9/14/78 M153

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07244 151244Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 H-01 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7244

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: MISLEADING REPORTS OF LOCATING "MISSING PERSONS" **DECONTROL**

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7186

1. THE MISSING PERSONS BUREAU OF THE ARGENTINE FEDERAL POLICE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DIVISION ANNOUNCED ON SEPTEMBER 10, THAT 139 "MISSING PERSONS" HAD BEEN LOCATED IN THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS. (SEE REFTEL.) A CHECK OF THE 139 NAMES LISTED BY THE FEDERAL POLICE AGAINST THE EMBASSY'S FILES OF ABOUT 5,000 DISAPPEARANCE CASES PRODUCED NO MATCHES. WE CONCLUDE THAT THIS LATEST LIST, LIKE THE EARLIER FEDERAL POLICE LISTS OF LOCATED "MISSING PERSONS" OF AUGUST WITH 201 NAMES AND APRIL WITH 232 NAMES, ARE COMPOSED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF NORMAL "MISSING PERSON" CASES - RUNAWAYS, AMNESIA VICTIMS, SHIP JUMPERS, ETC.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HERE HAVE CHARACTERIZED THESE FEDERAL POLICE ANNOUNCEMENTS AS PUBLIC RELATIONS EXERCISES TO [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07244 151244Z

MISLEAD THE ARGENTINE PUBLIC INTO BELIEVING THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE IN LOCATING SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF "DISAPPEARED PERSONS". FAMILES OF "DESAPARECIDOS" HAVE REPORTED TO THE

EMBASSY THAT EFFORTS TO REGISTER THEIR CASES WITH THE FEDERAL POLICE'S MISSING PERSONS BUREAU HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL. FEDERAL POLICE OFFICIALS HAVE SENT THE FAMILIES TO REGISTER THEIR CASES TO THE SPECIAL OFFICE RUN BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. THIS OFFICE ANNOUNCED ON JUNE 2 THAT 87 OF THE 2,500 PERSONS LISTED AS DISAPPEARED IN THE MAY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS LA PRENSA AD HAD BEEN LOCATED. THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY LATER ANNOUNCED THAT 14 OF THE 87 LOCATED PERSONS WERE STILL DISAPPEARED.

3. EMBASSY COMMENT: THERE APPEARS TO BE THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFUSION IN THE GOA'S PRESENTATION OF INFORMATION REGARDING THE LOCATING OF "MISSING" AND "DISAPPEARED" PERSONS. WHETHER THIS CONFUSION IS INTENDED TO ENHANCE THE ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD IS NOT CLEAR. HOWEVER, AFTER CHECKING THE NAMES OF THE 572 PERSONS LOCATED BY THE FEDERAL POLICE MISSING PERSONS BUREAU, WE FIND ALMOST NO CORRELATION BETWEEN THOSE PERSONS NAMES AND THE DISAPPEARANCE REPORTS ATTRIBUTED TO GOVERNMENT SECURITY OPERATIONS. INFORMATION REGARDING THIS LATTER CLASS OF CASES APPEARS TO BE CONTROLLED BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION, NOT THE FEDERAL POLICE.

4. THE EMBASSY CONTINUES TO LEARN OF REAPPEARANCES OF PERSONS ABDUCTED BY SECURITY FORCES. TO DATE IN 1978, WE HAVE RECEIVED INFORMATION REGARDING 15 REAPPEARANCES. IN A FEW CASES, THE PERSONS WERE HELD INCOMMUNICADO FOR OVER A YEAR BEFORE BEING RELEASED. END COMMENT.
CHAPLIN

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07213 150337Z 9/14/78 M152
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 VO-05 H-01 IO-13 /040 W
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R 141300Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7467
INFO USCINCSO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7213

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM AR CVIS
SUBJ: US INTEREST HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
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REF: BUENOS AIRES 7080 AND PREVIOUS

DECONTROL

1. EMBASSY PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING CASES TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1978:

CASE NO.	NAME	US INTEREST	STATUS
542/78/9	WALKER, ENRIQUE	UNHCR	DIS
543/78/9	GRANDE, SARA ELBA	CONG.FRASER	DIS
544/78/9	GOMEZ, NORBERTO	CONG.FRASER SEN.CHILES	DIS
545/78/9	CENTURION, JAVIER HIPOLITO	AMCIT.RELATIVE	DIS
546/78/9	GRAM GONZALEZ, WASHINGTON	UNCHR	DIS
548/78/9	D'ELIA, YOLANDA CASCO DE	UNHCR	DIS
549/78/9	D'ELIA PALLARES, JULIO CESAR	UNHCR	DIS
550/78/9	DIAZ DE CARDENAS, FERNANDO	UNHCR	DIS
551/78/9	DUARTE LUJAN, LEON GUALBERTO	UNHCR	DIS
552/78/9	ERRANDONEA SALVIA, JUAN PABLO	UNHCR	DIS
553/78/9	GAMBARO, RAUL	UNHCR	DIS
554/78/9	GARCIA CALCAGNO, GERMAN NELSON	UNHCR	DIS
555/78/9	GOMENSORO HOFFMAN, HUGO E	UNHCR	DIS

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07213 150337Z

556/78/9	GOMEZ ROSANO, CELICA	UNHCR	DIS
557/78/9	GOYCOECHEA CAMACHO, GUSTAVO ALEJANDRO	UNHCR	DIS

558/78/9	GRISSONA DE JULIEN, VICTORIA	UNHCR	DIS
559/78/9	GUIMAREAS DE AROCENA, MARCOS BASILIO	UNHCR	DIS
560/78/9	GUTIERREZ, VICTOR FLORENTINO	UNHCR	DIS
561/67/9	INZURRALDE, MELGAR	UNHCR	DIS
562/78/9	ISALAS DE ZAFFARONI, EMILIA	UNHCR	DIS
563/78/9	JUAREZ, TALBA	UNHCR	DIS
364/78/9	JULIEN CACERES, MARIO ROGER	UNHCR	DIS
565/78/9	KLEINER LLEDO, JOSEFINA MODESTA	UNHCR	DIS
566/78/9	LEZAMA GONZELEZ, RAFAEL	UNHCR	DIS
567/78/9	LUPPI MAZZONE, MARY NORMA	UNHCR	DIS
568/78/9	MARTINEZ, MARIO	UNHCR	DIS
569/78/9	MARTINEZ SANTORO, LUIS FERNANDO	UNHCR	DIS
570/78/9	MAZZUCHI FRANTCHES, WINSTON	UNHCR	DIS

2. EMBASSY ALSO PRESENTED FOLLOW UP INFORMATION REQUESTS ON THE FOLLOWING CASES:

244/78/1	LOPEZ, GRISELDA SUSANA	CONG.MOORHEAD	DIS
237/66/12	ELBERT, HORACIO ANIBAL	DEPT OF STATE	DIS
284/78/2	POCE, JULIO GERARDO	CONG. LEACH	DIS
285/78/2	PERNAS DE POCE, GRACIELA EUGENIA	CONG. LEACH	DIS

CHAPLIN

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M 181

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07324 01 OF 03 161914Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 MCT-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 SP-02 CA-01 PM-05
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R 152014Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7529
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO, QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 7324

FROM RSO - DEPARTMENT FOR A/SY/FO/ARA, A/SY/TAGS/CC, AND ARA/ECA; PANAMA FOR RSS; CZ FOR SCJ2

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF TERRORIST AND RELATED ACTIVITES MONTH OF AUGUST 1978

1. THIS REPORT GIVES A SUMMARY REPORT OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO US BY THE SECURITY FORCES DURING THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1978.

2. AUGUST 1 - AT APPROXIMATELY 0135, A BOMB EXPLODED IN A BUILDING LOCATED AT PACHECO DE MELO 1957, FEDERAL CAPITAL. IN THE EXPLOSION THE DAUGHTER OF VICE ADMIRAL LAMBRUSCHINI AND TWO OTHERS WERE KILLED. THERE WERE 10 PERSONS INNURED AND THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL DAMAGE TO ADJACENT BUILDINGS.
- ON THE SAME DATE AT 0140, THE SENIOR OFFICERS' SCHOOL OF THE FEDERAL POLICE, LOCATED IN AVENIDA JOSE MARIA MORENO AND ROSARIO, FEDERAL CAPITAL, WAS ATTACKED WITH SMALL ARMS FIRE AND A G-40 GRENADE LAUNCHED FROM A PEUGEOT

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07324 01 OF 03 161914Z

404. THE G-40 GRENADE WAS MANUFACTURED BY THE MONTONEROS.
- ON THE SAME DATE, TWO VEHICLES FIRED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

SMALL ARMS AT
THE NAVY MECHANICS SCHOOL LOCATED AT AVENIDA LIBERTADOR, FEDERAL CAPITAL. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS OR MATERIAL DAMAGES.
- ON THE SAME DAY, FOUR INDIVIDUALS DIED IN AN EXPLOSION NEAR CHAPADMALAL, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, THEY WERE IDENTIFIED AS TERRORISTS WHO WERE PLACING AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE.
- ON THE SAME DATE AT 2055, REGIONAL UNIT 2 OF THE MENDOZA PROVINCE POLICE RECEIVED A REPORT FROM THE WATER AND ENERGY COMPANY THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN ATTACK AGAINST THE ANTENNAS OF SUBSTATION 253, SAN JOSE, AREA OF SAN RAFAEL. THE DAMAGES WERE ESTIMATED AT 20,500 PESOS.

AUGUST 2 - CORPORAL DARDO NAVARRETE OF THE CORDOBA PROVINCIAL POLICE REPORTED IN PRECINCT 14 THAT HE HAD STOPPED A SUSPICIOUS INDIVIDUAL. WHILE MAKING HIS ESCAPE, THE INDIVIDUAL LOST A CALIBER .45 PISTOL WHICH BELONGED TO THE FEDERAL POLICE AND HAD BEEN REPORTED LOST ON FEBRUARY 10, 1973.

AUGUST 3 - AT 0330, THE ROSARIO FEDERAL POLICE DELEGATION BUILDING WAS ATTACKED WITH SMALL ARMS FIRE DELIVERED FROM A VEHICLE. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS.

AUGUST 4 - AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS DETONATED AT CALLE MEXICO 852, HEADQUARTERS OF OLIVETTI ARGENTINA, S.A. AS A RESULT OF THE EXPLOSION THERE WERE DAMAGES TO THE GAS MAINS AS WELL AS TO BUILDINGS AND VEHICLES LOCATED IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY. A POLICEMAN, WHO WAS PATROLLING IN FRONT OF THE BUILDING AT THE TIME, WAS WOUNDED.

[redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 07324 01 OF 03 161914Z

- ON THE SAME DATE IN A HOUSE LOCATED IN BARRIO ARIEL DEL PLATA, NEAR NATIONAL HIGHWAY NO. 9, KILOMETER 74, FOUR YOUNG CHILDREN RANGING IN AGE FROM THREE TO TEN YEARS WERE SERIOUSLY WOUNDED WHEN A BOMB EXPLODED. EXPLOSIVE EXPOERTS REPORTED THAT THE DEVICE WAS HOMEMADE AND HAD BEEN FOUND BY THE CHILDREN APPROXIMATELY THREE MONTHS EARLIER. THE CHILDREN WERE USING THE CYLINDRICAL DEVICE AS A TOY.

- ON THE SAME DATE ON A STAIRCASE OF THE JUJUY STATION E-LINE OF THE SUBWAY, A PACKAGE WAS FOUND WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADING : "DANGER - EXPLOSIVE - ERP." THERE IS NO

FURTHER INFORMATION.

AUGUST 5 - AT APPROXIMATELY 1350, A BOMB WAS PLACED AT SALGUERO 2739, SITE OF LA AGRICOLA DE PALERMO, A DEUTZ TRACTORS AGENCY. THE EXPLOSION DAMAGED THE FRONT AND INTERIOR PART OF THE BUILDING AND BROKE WINDOWS IN THE FORD-PIERES AGENCY ACROSS THE STREET. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS.

- ON THE SAME DATE, UNKNOWN INDIVIDUALS BROKE INTO THE HOME RAMON MARTINEZ, A SUB-OFFICER OF THE NAVY COAST GUARD LOCATED AT TIERRA DEL FUEGO 3595, MAR DEL PLATA. HIS CALIBER .45 PISTOL WAS TAKEN.

AUGUST 6 - AT 0640, A BOMB WAS DETECTED UNDER A RAILROAD BRIDGE IN THE LANUS STATION, ROCA RAILROAD, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES. EXPLOSIVE EXPERTS BELEW THE DEVICE IN PLACE. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS OR DAMAGE.

- ON THE SAME DATE A BOMB WAS PLACED IN THE PEUGEOT AGENCY LOCATED AT CHARCAS AND BONPLAND, FEDERAL CAPITAL CAUSING MATERIAL DAMAGES.

AUGUST 8 - AT 2045, UNKNOWN INDIVIDUALS IN A WHITE FORD [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 07324 01 OF 03 161914Z

FALCOM THREW A BOMB AT THE BUILDING LOCATED AT THE INTER-SECTION OF AVENIDA FOREST AND LA PAMPA, CAUSING MATERIAL DAMAGES. THE HOUSE IS THE RESIDENCE OF MR. ANTONIO MICHELENA, PRESIDENT OF GENERAL MOTORS, ARGENTINA.

- ON THE SAME DATE IN THE RAILROAD STATION OF SAN FERNANDO, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, UNKNOWN INDIVIDUALS DISTRIBUTED MONTONERO PAMPHLETS.

- ON THE SAME DATE MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE FOUND IN THE VICTORIA STATION OF THE MITRE RAILROAD.

AUGUST 9 - ON CALLE ISABEL LA CATOLICA, FEDERAL CAPITAL [redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07324 02 OF 03 161917Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 MCT-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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NSC-05 SS-15 COME-00 ACDA-12 GSA-02 /083 W
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R 152014Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7530
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 7324

FROM RSO - DEPT FOR A/SY/FO/ARA, A/SY/TAGS/CC,
AND ARA/ECA; PANAMA FOR RSS; CZ FOR SCJ2

AN UNKNOWN INDIVIDUAL DETONATED A MEDIUM-SIZED EXPLOSIVE DEVICE. THE BOMB WAS PLACED IN AN AGENCY OF MERCEDES-BENZ FANGIO AUTOMOTORES. THERE WERE SOME MATERIAL DAMAGES AND A WOMAN WAS SLIGHTLY WOUNDED.

AUGUST 10 - EXPLOSIVES WERE FOUND NEAR A RAILROAD BRIDGE IN THE AREA OF RIO SALI. AFTER INSPECTION, EXPLOSIVE EXPERTS CONCLUDED THEY WERE CYLINDERS CONTAINING "AMONITRO."

- ON THE SAME DATE AT THE RESIDENCE OF VICE COMMODORE RETIRED, JOSE MARIA LAFAGRA, A PACKAGE WITH THE HEADING "EXPLOSIVES" WAS FOUND. EXPLOSIVE TECHNICIANS INSPECTED THE PACKAGE WITH NEGATIVE RESULTS.

- ON THE SAME DATE IN THE JURISDICTION OF PRECINCT 32 MONTONERO PAMPHLETS WERE THROWN WHICH CLAIMED THEY WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK AGAINST ADMIRAL LAMBRUSCHINI'S RESIDENCE.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07324 02 OF 03 161917Z

- ON THE SAME DATE IN A SECTION OF THE GENERAL MOTOR'S ENTERPRISE, AVENIDA SAN MARTIN 641, SAN MARTIN, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS FOUND IN A BAG. EXPLOSIVE TECHNICIANS BLEW THE DEVICE IN PLACE.
- ON THE SAME DATE A BOMB WAS PLACED IN THE VEHICLE OF

DR. JULIO H. RABUFFETTI, A LAWYER AND EXECUTIVE OF THE FIRM CATERII, S.A. NO FURTHER INFORMATION.

AUGUST 11 - IN LANUS, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, AN UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUAL WAS KILLED BY THE SECURITY FORCES AND A PISTOL, AMMUNITION AND A GRENDADE WITH THE INSCRIPTION "JOSE SABINO NAVARRO MILITARY FACTORY", WERE CONFISCATED.

AUGUST 13 - A BOMB EXPLODED IN THE BUILDING LOCATED AT JUNCAL 3419, FEDERAL CAPITAL. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS. THE SALES MANAGER OF GENERAL MOTORS ARGENTINA LIVES AT THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

AUGUST 14 - AT 1025, A SUSPICIOUS PACKAGE WITH THE HEADING "DANGER - EXPLOSIVES" WAS PLACED IN LEANDRO ALEM 651, 6TH FLOOR, FEDERAL CAPITAL. EXPLOSIVE TECHNICIANS DETERMINED THAT THE PACKAGE DID NOT CONTAIN A BOMB.

- ON THE SAME DATE AT 1750, A PACKAGE LATER FOUND TO CONTAIN A BRICK WAS FOUND IN THE BUILDING LOCATED AT MONROE 1216, 4TH FLOOR, FEDERAL CAPITAL. THE EXTERNAL COVER OF THE PACKAGE HAD THE HEADING "ERP".

- ON THE SAME DATE A MALE INDIVIDUAL OF APPROXIMATELY 25 TO 30 YEARS OF AGE VISITED THE HOME OF A NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF THE FEDERAL POLICE AND ASKED ABOUT A FAMILY [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07324 02 OF 03 161917Z

NAMED MARTINEZ AFTER SHOWING A DOCUMENT WHICH LOOKED LIKE A CREDENTIAL. THE POLICEMAN TRIED TO VERIFY IF THE INDIVIDUAL WAS ARMED AND WHILE DOING THIS THE INDIVIDUAL RAN DOWN THE STAIRS AND DISAPPEARED. THE INDIVIDUAL LEFT BEHIND A SMALL BAG WITH A PISTOL, A CHARGER AND SEVEN BULLETS AND PSEUDO CREDENTIAL IN GREEN PLASTIC WITH THE INSCRIPTION: JUDICIAL POWER, FEDERAL POLICE. THERE WAS ALSO A SMALL NOTEBOOK WHICH INCLUDED THE HOME ADDRESS OF THE POLICEMAN WITH NOTES ON THE ACTIVITES OF HIS FAMILY.

AUGUST 15 - THE MANAGEMENT OF THE MITRE RAILROAD RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE CALL STATING THAT A BOMB HAD BEEN PLACED IN THE RETIRO STATION. AN INSPECTION OF THE PREMISES PROVED NEGATIVE.

- ON THE SAME DATE THE OFFICE OF GAS DEL ESTADO, LOCATED AT AVENIDA MONTES DE OCA 1120, FEDERAL CAPITAL RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS PHONE CALL STATING THAT A BOMB HAD BEEN PLACED AT THAT LOCATION. INSPECTION OF THE PREMISES PROVED NEGATIVE.

- ON THE SAME DATE A BOMB EXPLODED AT A BUILDING LOCATED AT CALLE ESPANA 3969, VICENTE LOPEZ, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES. MATERIAL DAMAGES ONLY.

- ON THE SAME DATE A BOMB EXPLODED IN A BUILDING LOCATED AT URQUIZA 2604, VINCENTE LOPEZ, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES. THE BOMB PRODUCED SERIOUS MATERIAL DAMAGES.

- ON THE SAME DATE, UNKNOWN INDIVIDUALS PLACED AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE IN THE RESIDENCE LOCATED AT COSTA RICA 212, SAN ISIDRO, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES. THE EXPLOSION CAUSED MATERIAL DAMAGES ONLY.

- ON THE SAME DATE THE UNION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 07324 02 OF 03 161917Z

ENCOTEL EMPLOYEES RECEIVED BY MAIL PAMPHLETS FROM THE LABOR SECTION OF THE MONTONERO PERONIST MOVEMENT.

AUGUST 16 - AT 0830 A BOMB WAS PLACED ON CALLE RONCO 466, VILLA LYNCH, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, APPROXIMATELY 500 METERS FROM A GENERAL MOTORS ARGENTINA ESTABLISHMENT. IT WAS A PAMPHLET BOMB AND WAS DEACTIVATED BY THE AUTHORITIES. THE PAMPHLETS WERE ISSUED BY THE MONTONEROS.

- ON THE SAME DATE A SUSPICIOUS PACKAGE WAS FOUND AT LAVALLE 1268, FEDERAL CAPITAL. THE PACKAGE CONTAINED TROTYLE WEIGHING 100 GRAMS WITH AN ELECTRICAL TIMING DEVICE. THE BOMB WAS DEACTIVATED.

AUGUST 17 - AT 1800, A NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF THE BUENOS AIRES PROVINCIAL POLICE WAS ATTACKED BY SMALL ARMS FIRE FROM A PASSING VEHICLE. THE POLICE OFFICER WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED.

AUGUST 18 - AT 2350 HOURS IN AVELINO DIAZ AND PASAJE JUAN DE CASTRO THERE WAS A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN A NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF THE FEDERAL POLICE AND TWO TERRORISTS. THE POLICEMAN SURPRISED THE TERRORISTS WHILE THEY WERE

HANDLING A SUSPICIOUS PACKAGE AFTER DISTRIBUTING MONTONERO PAMPHLETS. WHEN THE POLICEMAN ORDERED THEM TO STOP, THEY FIRED AT HIM AND ESCAPED.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07324 03 OF 03 161918Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 MCT-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 SP-02 CA-01 PM-05
NSC-05 SS-15 COME-00 ACDA-12 GSA-02 /083 W
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R 152014Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7531
INFO DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 7324

FROM RSO - DEPT FOR A/SY/FO/ARA, A/SY/TAGS/CC, AND ARA/ECA; PANAMA FOR RSS; CZ FOR SCJ2

- ON THE SAME DATE IN CAMINO NEGRO, PARQUE LOMAS, NO FURTHER INFORMATION, A SUSPICIOUS PACKAGE WAS FOUND. EXPLOSIVE EXPERTS FOUND THAT IT CONSISTED OF SIX GRENADES WITH THE INSCRIPTION "F.M. JOSE S. NAVARRO."

AUGUST 19 - AT 0130 HOURS, IN CANALEJAS 3135, FEDERAL CAPITAL, A BOMB EXPLODED. THE EXPLOSION CAUSED MATERIAL DAMAGES.

AUGUST 20 - A SUSPICIOUS PACKAGE WAS PLACED AT THE OCEAN MOVIE HOUSE AT LAVALLE 739, FEDERAL CAPITAL. NEXT TO THE PACKAGE WERE SOME MONTONERO PAMPHLETS.

- ON THE SAME DATE A SUSPICIOUS PACKAGE WAS FOUND ON CALLE PILAR 4425, FEDERAL CAPITAL. THE PACKAGE HAD THE FOLLOWING INSCRIPTION ON ITS EXTERIOR: "DANGER - EXPLOSIVES." INSPECTION OF THE PACKAGE PROVED NEGATIVE.

- ON THE SAME DATE THERE WAS ATERRORIST ATTACK WITH

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07324 03 OF 03 161918Z

EXPLOSIVES ON THE RESIDENCE LOCATED AT SALVADOR MACIA 141, PARANA, ENTRE RIOS. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE MATERIAL DAMAGES BUT NO VICTIMS. IT IS THE RESIDENCE OF DR. FELIPE M. CELLI, OF THE ENTRE RIOS PROVINCIAL JUDICIAL POWER.

AUGUST 21 - THE PROVINCIAL POLICE OF BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE FOUND A PACKAGE CONTAINING PAMPHLETS AT THE INTERSECTION OF AVENIDAS GUIDO SPANO AND SAN MARTIN, SAN JUSTO. THE PAMPHLETS PURPORTED TO BE FROM A COMMITTEE FOR RESISTANCE TO GENERAL MOTORS AND WERE CRITICAL ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE FACTORY AND CRITICIZED LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

AUGUST 22 - UNKNOWN INDIVIDUALS DETONATED AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE AT THE HOME OF MR. MANUEL FERNANDEZ LOCATED AT MI ESPERANZA 4239, ISIDRO CASANOVA, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES.

AUGUST 23 - ON AVENIDA CALLAO 339, SECOND FLOOR, FEDERAL CAPITAL, EXPLOSIVE TECHNICIANS DEACTIVATED A PACKAGE MARKED "DANGER - EXPLOSIVE." THE TECHNICIANS FOUND AN IRON PIPE CONTAINING 200 GRAMS OF UNIDENTIFIED EXPLOSIVES WITH AN ELECTRONIC TIMING IGNITION SYSTEM. NO PAMPHLETS OR OTHER ELEMENTS WERE FOUND.

AUGUST 26 - AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE WAS DETONATED AT COCHABANDA 1435, ROSARIO IN A NIGHT SPOT CALLED "DANIEL'S." THE EXPLOSION CAUSED MATERIAL DAMAGES BUT NO VICTIMS.

AUGUST 28 - TERRORISTS SHOT AT POLICE PERSONNEL IN THE ADROGUE BRANCH OF THE BANCO DE LA PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES. THE POLICEMEN SHOT TWO TERRORISTS AND ARRESTED A THIRD WHO COMMITTED SUICIDE BY TAKING A CYANIDE PILL.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07324 03 OF 03 161918Z

- ON THE SAME DATE AT 1800 HOURS TWO FEDERAL POLICEMEN PATROLLING IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF AVENIDA CONSTITUYENTES AND NUNEZ, STOPPED AND INTERROGATED A MAN AND WOMAN TRAVELLING IN A FIAT 125, LICENSE PLATE NO. 1-222-542. THE POLICEMAN REQUESTED THAT THE INDIVIDUALS IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AT WHICH TIME THE MAN OPENED THE CAR DOOR

SUDDENLY, PUSHED THE POLICEMAN AWAY AND STARTED RUNNING TOWARD THE GENERAL SAN MARTIN NEIGHBORHOOD. THE WOMAN ALSO ESCAPED.

AUGUST 30 - 0130 HOURS, A SUSPECTED TERRORIST WAS KILLED AFTER A GUN BATTLE WITH MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL POLICE. THE INCIDENT OCCURRED AT CALLES SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO Y PAVON, FEDERAL CAPITAL.
CAHPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 234249 9/15/78
ORIGIN HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 H-01 VO-05 /023 R

DRAFTED BY HA:RCOHEN
APPROVED BY HA:CSALMON
ARA/ECA - J. BUMPUS
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DECONTROL

R 150134Z SEP 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 234249

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6 D
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM , AR

SUBJECT: CASES TO BE PRESENTED FOWG

1. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED REQUEST FROM CONGRESSMAN ANDREW MAGUIRE CONCERNING FOLLOWING CASE:
NAME: MARIA DEL CARMEN BARROS DE ZAFFORA
BORN: AZUL
VOTER REGISTRATION NUMBER: F 4567337
DISAPPEARED WITH HER HUSBAND ROBERTO OMAR ZAFFORA SEPT. 26, 1977 AT BUSINESS RESIDENCE, [redacted] BUENOS AIRES, WHERE THEY REPORTEDLY WERE TAKEN BY PLAIN-CLOTHESMEN. THEIR TWO CHILDREN REMAIN WITH GRANDPARENTS CAROLINA L. DE BARROS AND DANIEL G. BARROS, [redacted]

B6

RELATIVES IN US: BROTHER IN NEW JERSEY, ARGENTINE CITIZEN, RESIDENT OF US MARRIED TO US CITIZEN, CONSTITUENTS OF CONG. MAGUIRE.
2. PLEASE PRESENT CASE TO FOWG TOGETHER WITH CASE OF HUSBAND (PREVIOUSLY RAISED) AND PROVIDE INFORMATION TO CONG.
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 234249

MAGUIRE AT 277 FOREST AVENUE, ROOM 100, PARAMUS, NEW JERSEY 07652, ATTN: [redacted]
3. CONGRESSMAN ALSO REQUESTS FURTHER MONITORING OF CASE OF

NESTOR SALVADOR MOADED AND EXPRESSES APPRECIATION FOR PRIOR EMBASSY INQUIRY. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

(K480)

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED WITH
MANUEL CONTRERAS' BRIEF FOLLOWING CLOSE
OF SUMARIO 9/23/78

LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION 3

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise____ Deny____
Declassify: In Part____ In Full____
Exemption(s)____

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Ejto. (Agregado a Misiones), dejando de ser Cdte. del Grupo de Art. Mot. Nº 2 "Maturana" (Valdivia).

4.—El CRL. Hernán Podestá Gómez (RUN 3128274-8) pasará a continuar sus servicios al Cdo. en Jefe del Ejto. (Agregado a Misiones), dejando de ser Jefe del Estado Mayor del Cdo. de Tropas de Ejército (Santiago).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 491.— Santiago, 2. XII. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en Memorándum Nº 599, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El GDD Pedro Palacios Cameron (R. U. N. 1083290-K) pasará a continuar sus servicios a la Comandancia de Guarnición de Quillota, dejando de ser Director General de Reclutamiento y Estadística de las Fuerzas Armadas (Santiago).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 495.—Santiago, 2. XII.1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 602, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El CRL Aquiles G. Gallardo Schwarzenberg (RUN 2112384-6) pasará a continuar sus servicios al Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Agregado a Misiones), dejando de ser Jefe del Estado Mayor de la V División de Ejército (Punta Arenas).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 497.— Santiago, 2. XII. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en Memorándum Nº 453, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El CRL Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (RUN 2334882-9) pasará a continuar sus servicios de planta al Estado Mayor General del Ejército (Santiago), dejando de ser Director Interino de Instrucción del Ejército (la misma Guarnición).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

MINUTAS

Destinaciones

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2 Exento Nº 133 — Santiago, 11. XII. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 613, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El TCL Eduardo Antonio Díaz Dartigrandi (RUN en trámite y R/C. Nº 134.868) pasará a continuar sus servicios de planta a la Escuela de Paracaidistas y Fuerzas Especiales (Peldehue), dejando de pertenecer a la Escuela de Artillería (Linares).

Anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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UNCLASSIFIED

EJERCITO DE CHILE
INSPECTORIA GENERAL DEL EJERCITO

26 DIC. 1974

BOLETIN OFICIAL
DEL EJERCITO
(PARA USO EXCLUSIVO DE LA INSTITUCION)

AÑO LXII — SANTIAGO, CHILE — 31 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1974 — Nº 51

Saludo de Navidad y Año Nuevo a las Instituciones del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional

El Presidente de la República desea hacer llegar a los integrantes de todas las Instituciones dependientes del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, un saludo afectuoso con sus más sinceros deseos de paz en esta Navidad y que el Nuevo Año, próximo a iniciarse, signifique para todos sus hogares la materialización de los anhelos de alegría y felicidad.

Que esta unión fraternal, que ha caracterizado a las Instituciones durante mucho tiempo y que, durante este año ha constituido un ejemplo, se mantenga en estas festividades, no sólo por el espíritu que es tradicional en ellas, sino que se haga permanente, para progresar en la reconstrucción de nuestro país y luchar así —todos unidos— por un futuro venturoso para nuestra Patria. Ello no sólo es propio del sentimiento que anima nuestras almas por el significado de la Navidad, sino que es indispensable para traer paz a los espíritus y forjar a nuestros hijos en un Chile que también renace, libre de odios y rencores.

Unidos los brazos y las mentes y reconciliados los espíritus, no habrá obstáculo que pueda impedir el progreso de Chile. Nadie lo desea más que nosotros y así lo hemos ofrecido y demostrado.

Nuestro único enemigo es la pobreza y contra ella lucharemos, con todas nuestras fuerzas. Les agradezco por aceptar con comprensión el sacrificio y privaciones que ello ha significado para ustedes y sus familias.

Reiteramos nuestro llamado a la reconciliación y al esfuerzo mancomunado, probablemente con fundamentos más sólidos que nadie, porque representamos el poder y la fuerza. Sólo pedimos que este ofrecimiento sea utilizado con espíritu positivo.

El Presidente que hoy se dirige a ustedes quisiera que este mensaje que es, más que un saludo, la expresión de un profundo agradecimiento y un emocionado recuerdo, estreche a toda esta gran familia desde Arica a la Antártica, en una promesa de incorporar a ella a todos los chilenos, en la lucha por el trabajo y el esfuerzo que dignifica.

Santiago, 23 de diciembre de 1974.

AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE,
General de Ejército,
Presidente de la República.

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: DEL INTERIOR

UNCLASSIFIED

CREA LA DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL (DINA).

SANTIAGO, 14-6-1974

DECRETO LEY Nº 521

VISTO: lo dispuesto en los decretos leyes números 1 y 128, de 1973, y

CONSIDERANDO la necesidad de que el Supremo Gobierno tenga la colaboración inmediata y permanente de un organismo especializado que le proporcione en forma sistemática y debidamente procesada la información que requiera para adecuar sus resoluciones en el campo de la Seguridad y Desarrollo Nacional,

La Junta de Gobierno ha acordado dictar el siguiente

D E C R E T O L E Y :

Artículo 1º.- Créase la DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL, organismo Militar de carácter técnico profesional, dependiente directamente de la Junta de Gobierno y cuya misión será la de reunir toda la información a nivel nacional, proveniente de los diferentes campos de acción con el propósito de producir la inteligencia que se requiera para la formulación de políticas, planificación y para la adopción de medidas que procuren el resguardo de la Seguridad Nacional y el Desarrollo del país.

Artículo 2º.- La Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional estará dirigida por un Oficial General o Superior, en servicio activo, de las Fuerzas de la Defensa Nacional, designado por decreto supremo, el que con el título de Director de Inteligencia Nacional, tendrá la dirección superior, técnica y administrativa del Servicio. En el ejercicio de sus facultades, podrá dictar las resoluciones e impartir las instrucciones internas que sean necesarias para el funcionamiento de la Repartición.

Artículo 3º.- La organización, estructura institucional interna y deberes de la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional serán establecidas por un Reglamento Orgánico dictado a propuesta de su Director.

La planta estará constituida por personal proveniente de las Instituciones de la Defensa Nacional.

Cuando sea necesario contratar personal que no provenga de las Instituciones de la Defensa Nacional, deberá ser aprobado por Decreto Supremo, suscrito además, por el Ministro de Hacienda. El régimen jurídico y los niveles remunerativos respectivos serán los mismos por los que se rige el personal civil de las Fuerzas Armadas.

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Artículo 4°.- El Director de Inteligencia Nacional podrá requerir de cualquier servicio del Estado, municipalidades, perso nas jurídicas creadas por ley o de las empresas o sociedades en que el Estado o sus empresas tengan aportes de capital, representación o parti cipación, los informes o antecedentes que estime necesarios para el efi caz cumplimiento de sus cometidos.

Del incumplimiento de esta obligación podrá dar cuenta al Contralor General de la República a fin de que aplique al infrac tor, directamente, cualquiera de las sanciones administrativas contemp das en el respectivo estatuto que rija su desempeño.

Las normas que establecen el secreto o reserva sob determinadas materias no obstarán a que se proporcione a la Dirección Inteligencia Nacional la información o antecedentes solicitados, sin p juicio de que sobre su personal pese igual obligación de guardar reser o secreto.

Artículo 5°.- El Reglamento Orgánico a que se ref ro el Inciso 1° del Artículo 3°, establecerá que el régimen jurídico beneficios que regirán para el personal de las cuatro Instituciones d la Defensa Nacional y Servicio de Investigaciones, que sea destinado comisionado a la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional, será el mismo que ge para el personal que presta sus servicios en la Defensa Nacional.

Artículo 6°.- La Ley Anual de Presupuestos consul rá, en sumas globales, los recursos que sean necesarios para el financ miento de los gastos que demande la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional

El financiamiento correspondiente al año 1974 se h rá con cargo a las sumas globales que al efecto pondrá a disposición la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional el Ministerio de Hacienda.

Artículo 7°.- Libéranse de los derechos específic y ad-valorem establecidos en el Arancel Aduanero, y de los demás impues tos, tasas y contribuciones y, en general, de todo derecho que se perc ba por intermedio de las Aduanas, como asimismo de la Tasa de Despacho establecida por el artículo 190 de la ley N° 16.464 y sus modificacion y del impuesto del 10% previsto en el artículo 44 de la ley N° 17.56 todas las importaciones de equipos completos, accesorios y demás eleme tos, que efectúe la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional.

Artículo 8°.- Agrégase en la letra a) del artícul 19 de la ley N° 17.798, de Control de Armas, el siguiente inciso nuevo

"Asimismo, las diligencias a que se refieren los i ciscs precedentes, podrán ser cumplidas por la Dirección de Inteligen cia Nacional en la forma y condiciones señaladas en esos preceptos.".

Artículo 9°.- El Director de Inteligencia Nacional y los Jefes de Servicios de Inteligencia dependientes de las Instituci nes de la Defensa Nacional, podrán coordinar directamente sus activida des para el cumplimiento de sus misiones específicas. Sin perjuicio d lo anterior, y cuando lo reclamare la necesidad imperiosa de la defens del régimen Institucional del Estado, la Junta de Gobierno podrá dispo ner la participación o coordinación de todos los Organismos de Inteli gencia anteriormente mencionados, en funciones propias de la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional.

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Artículo 10.- Para el ejercicio de las facultades de traslado y arresto de personas, que se conceden por la declaración del Estado de Sitio u otras que puedan otorgarse en las circunstancias de excepción previstas en la Constitución Política, la Junta de Gobierno podrá disponer que las diligencias de allanamiento y aprehensión, si fueren necesarias, sean cumplidas además por la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional.

Artículo 11.- La Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional será la continuadora legal de la comisión denominada "DINA", organizada en el mes de Noviembre de 1973.

Artículo Unico Transitorio.- Los artículos 9°, 10 y 11 del presente decreto ley se publicarán en un anexo de circulación restringida del Diario Oficial.

Regístrese en la Contraloría General de la República, publíquese en el Diario Oficial, e insértese en la Recopilación Oficial de dicha Contraloría.

AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE,
General de Ejército
Comandante en Jefe del Ejército
Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno.

JOSE T. MERINO CASTRO,
Almirante
Comandante en Jefe de la Armada.

GUSTAVO LEIGH GUZMAN,
General del Aire
Comandante en Jefe de la Fuerza
Aérea de Chile.

CESAR MENDOZA DURAN,
General Director de Carabineros.

OSCAR BONILLA BRADANOVIC
General de División
Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo para su conocimiento.

EDUARDO AVELLO CONCHA
Subsecretario del Interior
SUBROGANTE

UNCLASSIFIED

BOLETIN OFICIAL
DEL EJERCITO
PARA USO EXCLUSIVO DE LA INSTITUCION

AÑO LXIII SANTIAGO DE CHILE, 4 DE FEBRERO DE 1974 Nº 5

DECRETOS

Ascensos

Dir. Pers. Depto. II Nº 26.— Santiago, 17. I. 1974.—Considerando:

a) Que existe vacante de Coronel en la Planta de Oficiales de Sanidad del Ejército, por inclusión en la Cuota Anual de Retiros del Coronel (OS.) Carlos Rogat Quintanilla, con fecha 1º de enero de 1974;

b) Lo establecido en los Arts. 35 y 46 del D.F.L. Nº 1 de 1968 y 141 del Reglamento Complementario del mismo Cuerpo Legal, y

c) Lo propuesto por el Jefe del Estado Mayor General del Ejército, en Memorándum Nº 45 que se acompaña,

Decreto:

Expídese título de Coronel de Sanidad del Ejército, con fecha 1º de enero de 1974, a favor del Teniente Coronel (OS.) Roberto Enrique Bonilla Bradanovic (R. U. N. Nº 1.562.589-3).

Cúmplase con la Ley Nº 16.272, por Tesorería.

Tómese razón, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

Por la Junta de Gobierno.—*Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno.—*Patricio Carvajal Prado*, Vicealmirante, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II. Nº 27.—Santiago, 17. I. 1974.—Considerando:

a) Que existe vacante de Coronel de Justicia en la Planta de Oficiales de Justicia del Ejército, en conformidad a lo establecido en el Decreto Ley Nº 157, de 1973, en su artículo 1º letra a) 1 y 2;

b) Lo establecido en el artículo 137 del Reglamento Complementario del D. F. L. Nº 1, de 1968 y artículos 2º y 3º transitorios del Decreto Ley Nº 157, de 1973, y

c) Lo propuesto por el Jefe del Estado Mayor General del Ejército en Memorándum Nº 46, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

Expídase título de Coronel de Justicia del Ejército, con fecha 1º de enero de 1973, a favor de los siguientes Tenientes Coroneles de Justicia:

1.—Gonzalo Urrejola Arrau (R. U. N. Nº 1.809.740-2).

2.—Mario Baros González (R. U. N. Nº 1.920.294-1).

Cúmplase con la Ley Nº 16.272, por Tesorería.

Tómese razón, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

Por la Junta de Gobierno.—*Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno.—*Patricio Carvajal Prado*, Vicealmirante, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Autoriza adquirir vehículo

(Copia rectificada)

S. S. G.—Nº 833.— Santiago, 5. XI. 1973.—Vistos:

a) El Decreto Ley Nº 1, de 11. IX. 1973;

b) Lo dispuesto en la Ley Nº 14.532 y en el Decreto Nº 416, de 6 de junio de 1961, del Ministerio del Trabajo y Previsión Social;

c) Lo solicitado por la Caja de Previsión de la Defensa Nacional en oficio

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ANEXO AL BOLETIN OFICIAL DEL EJERCITO Nº 5

4 DE FEBRERO DE 1974

DECRETOS

Destinaciones y Nombramientos

Dir. Pers. Depto. II. Nº 10.—Santiago, 1. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 8, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—El Coronel Aldo Santiago Clavero ca (RUN. Nº 1911475-9), pasará a ntinuar sus servicios al Comando de nieros del Ejército (Santiago), de- do de pertenecer al Comando de Ins- tructura del Ejército (la misma rnición).

2.—Nómbrase Director de la Escuela Ingenieros (Tejas Verdes), al Coronel nuel Remigio de la Fuente Borge. (Run. 2928731-9), dejando de pertenecer al mando en Jefe del Ejército (Santia-).

Tómese razón, regístrese, comuníquese publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del rcito.

Por la Junta de Gobierno. — *Augusto rdet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, sidente de la Junta de Gobierno. — *rcio Carmajal Prado*, Vicealmirante, nistro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II. Nº 27.—Santiago, 1. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia Jefe del Ejército en el Memorándum 01, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—Nómbrase Director de la Academia Guerra del Ejército (Santiago), al Co- nel Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (R. U. N. Nº 2303522-9), dejando de ser Director Interino de la Escuela de Ingenieros (Tejas Verdes).

2.—Nómbrase Comandante del Regto. de Inf. Mña. Ref. Nº 4 "La Concepción" (Lautaro), al Coronel Francisco Antonio Pérez Farías (R. U. N. Nº 2596637-6), dejando de pertenecer al Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Santiago).

3.—Nómbrase Comandante del Regto. de Cab. Nº 7 "Guías" (Concepción), al Coronel Charly Hellmuth J. Haensel Krause (R. U. N. Nº 1972199-K), dejando de pertenecer a la Academia de Guerra del Ejército (Santiago).

4.—El Coronel Patricio Alfredo Bravo Peralta (R. U. N. Nº 2305725-5), pasará a continuar sus servicios al Ctel. Gral. de la Div. de Cab. (Valdivia), dejando de ser Comandante de Btn. Telec Nº 4 "Membrillar" (la misma guarnición).

5.—Nómbrase Comandante del Regto. de Inf. Mot. Ref. Nº 15 "Calama" (Calama), al Coronel Julio César von Chrismar Escutti (R. U. N. Nº 2172162-0), dejando de pertenecer a la Academia de Guerra del Ejército (Santiago).

6.—Nómbrase Comandante del Btn. Telecomunicaciones Nº 4 "Membrillar" (Valdivia), al Teniente Coronel Maximiliano Humberto Lorca Cerda (R. U. N. Nº 2595440-8), dejando de pertenecer al Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Santiago).

7.—Nombrase Comandante del Btn. Telecomunicaciones Nº 1 (Antofagasta), al Teniente Coronel Sergio Osvaldo Badiola Broberg (R. U. N. Nº 2610054-2), dejando de pertenecer a la Dirección del Personal del Ejército (Santiago).

Tómese razón, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

Por la Junta de Gobierno.—*Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército. Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno.—*Patricio Carmajal Prado*, Vicealmirante, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

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AÑO LVIII — SANTIAGO DE CHILE, 12 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1974 — Nº 35

EJERCITO DE CHILE — DEPTO. INSPECTORIA GENERAL DEL EJERCITO — II CONTRALORIA

DECRETO LEY

Subsecretaría de Marina

Modifica D/L. Nº 551 de 1º de julio 1974

(Publicado en el Diario Oficial Nº 28.933 de 21. VIII. 1974)

Decreto Ley Nº 613.— Santiago, 12. VIII. 1974.

Vistos: los Decretos Leyes Nºs. 1, de 11 de septiembre, 128 de 16 de noviembre de 1973 y 551, de 1º de julio de 1974, la Honorable Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile ha acordado dictar el siguiente,

Decreto Ley:

Artículo único.— Modifícase el Decreto Ley Nº 551, de 1º de julio de 1974, en la forma que a continuación se indica:

—Agrégase en el inciso primero del artículo 1º, después del vocablo "Azul" suprimiendo la coma (,) que le sigue, la expresión "y Planta de Personal a Jornal,".

Regístrese en la Contraloría General de la República, comuníquese y publíquese en el Diario Oficial e insértese en los Boletines Oficiales del Ejército, Armada, Fuerza Aérea, Carabineros e Investigaciones y en la Recopilación Oficial de dicha Contraloría.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe Supremo de la Nación. — *José T. Merino Castro*, Almirante, Comandante en Jefe de la Armada.— *Gustavo Leigh Guzmán*, General del Aire, Comandante en Jefe de la Fuerza Aérea.— *César Mendoza Durán*, General de Carabineros, Comandante en Jefe de Carabineros.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.— *Jorge Cauas Lama*, Ministro de Hacienda.—*Nicanor Díaz Estrada*, General de Brigada Aérea, Ministro del Trabajo y Previsión Social.

Depto. II/3 Nº 7894.— Santiago, 26. VIII. 1974.—Publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

Anótese.— Por el Ministro.— *Oscar Coddou Vivanco*, Coronel, Subsecretario de Guerra.

DECRETOS

Ascensos

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2 Nº 290.—Santiago, 5. VIII. 1974.—Considerando:

a) Que existe vacante de Coronel, en la Planta de Oficiales de Armas del Ejército, por inclusión en la Cuota Anual de Retiros con fecha 31 de julio de 1974, del CRL. (A) Nicanor H. Benavente Crisosto.

b) Lo establecido en los Arts. 35 del D.F.L. Nº 1, de 1968 y 115, 116 y 117 del Reglamento Complementario del mismo Cuerpo Legal.

c) Lo propuesto por el Jefe del Estado Mayor General del Ejército, en Memorándum Nº 84 que se acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—Expídase título de Coronel de Ejército, en el Arma de Artillería, con fecha 31 de julio de 1974, a favor del TCL. (A) Gustavo Rodríguez Salfate (R.U.N. Nº 2472309-7).

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MAY Sr. Ulises Augusto Caro Guerra. Procedencia: CAP (R). RUN 3.005.720-1. Matrícula Militar de Paz Nº 2233-A-0092. Con residencia en la ciudad de Santiago.

Transporte

MAY Sr. Hugo Valenzuela Rojas. Procedencia: CAP. (R). RUN Nº 7.918.046-1. Matrícula Militar de Paz Nº 2717-A-0009. Con residencia en la ciudad de Pirque.

Anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

Por orden del Jefe Supremo de la Nación.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Amplía funciones del Director de la Academia de Guerra

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 299.—Santiago, 6 VIII. 1974.—Vistos:

a) Los Arts. 307, 315 y 318, del Reglto. Compl. del D.F.L. Nº 1, de 1968, y

b) Lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 340, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El CRL. Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (RUN. 2334882-9), pasará a desempeñarse en Comisión a la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) (Santiago), hasta nueva orden, para cumplir funciones como Director Ejecutivo de dicho organismo, sin perjuicio de sus actuales funciones como Director de la Academia de Guerra del Ejército.

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el *Boletín Oficial* del Ejército.

Por orden del Jefe Supremo de la Nación.—*Oscar A. Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Aclara D/M. Dir. Pers. Depto. II. Nº 41, de 4. XII. 1973

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº. 311.—Santiago, 12. VIII. 1974.—Vistos:

a) El D/M. Dir. Pers. Depto. II. Nº 41, de 4. XII. 1973 (B|O. Nº 50, Pág. 3390),

b) Los Artículos 307, 315 y 318 del Reglamento Complementario del D. F. L. Nº 1, de 1968, y

c) Lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 369, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

Aclárase el D/M. Dir. Pers. Depto. II. Nº 41, de 4. XII. 1973 (B/O. Nº 50, Pág. 3390), que pone término Comisión de Servicio en el Ministerio de Economía (Santiago), de un Empleado Civil y destina en Comisión de Servicio en el mismo Ministerio a un Oficial Superior, en el sentido que:

Donde dice:

2.—Destínase en Comisión de Servicio en el Ministerio de Economía para desempeñarse como Secretario Privado del Vicepresidente de la Corporación de Fomento de la Producción, al Coronel Luis Daniel Concha Martínez (R/C. 020.214 y RUN. 1537260-5), a partir de la fecha del presente decreto y hasta nueva orden.

Debe decir:

2.—Destínase en Comisión, para desempeñarse como Secretario Privado del Vicepresidente de la Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (CORFO) (Santiago), al Coronel Luis Daniel Concha Martínez (RUN. 1537260-5), de la Dirección de Inteligencia del Ejército (la *misma guarnición*), a partir de la fecha del presente Decreto y hasta nueva orden.

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

Por orden del Jefe Supremo de la Nación.—*Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa *Nacional*.

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(XIII) SANTIAGO DE CHILE, 21 DE OCTUBRE DE 1974 Nº 19

[illegible]

[illegible] Nº 351.—Se dispone:

[illegible] Arts. Nos. 1, 92, [illegible] 19 y 20 de la Ley [illegible] de 1953, y

[illegible] Ley Nº 20, de 21 de septiembre de 1974

Decreto:

Considerando: Que el Supremo Gobierno de la República Orientales, conforme a lo previsto en los Arts. 93 y 102 del D.F.L. Nº 1 de 1968;

a) Fecha de inclusión en Lista de Retiros: 15 de octubre de 1974 y fecha en que se hará efectivo el retiro: 15 de abril de 1975:

Del Escalafón de Armas:

CRL Leonel Konig Altermatt (Rol Contraloría 44.046 y RUN. 1.69.1.778-3).
CRL Germán Madrid Lillo (Rol Contraloría 45.479 y RUN. 1.944.626-K).
CRL Luis Sands Urrutia (Rol Contraloría 71.192 y RUN. 2.715.412-7).
TCL Nicolás González Ferreira (Rol Contraloría 85.821 y RUN. 1.931.117-5).
TCL Julio Díaz Donoso (Rol Contraloría 94.539 y RUN. 3.701.522-7).
CRL Orlando Bolton Alvarez (Rol Contraloría 41.402 y RUN. En trámite).
CRL Luciano Díaz Neira (Rol Contraloría 24.318 y RUN. 1.956.364-6).
CRL Carlos Tellery Martínez (Rol Contraloría 32.717 y RUN. 1.778.765-1).
CRL Joaquín Larraín Gana (Rol Contraloría 42.253 y RUN. 2.922.933-5).
CRL Oscar Lagos Portín (Rol Contraloría 4[illegible] y RUN. 1.560.531-7).
TCL Hugo Garcés Castillo (Rol Contraloría 109.651 y RUN. 2.[illegible]).
TCL Fernando Urrejola Hidalgo (Rol Contaduría 35.234 y RUN. 2.685.816-2).
TCL Héctor Leyton Colón (Rol Contraloría 46691 y RUN. [illegible]).
TCL Jaime Fuenzalida Bravo (Rol Contraloría 184.606 y RUN. [illegible]).
MAY. Marcos Paraguay Pérez. (Rol Contraloría 134.861 y RUN. 6.761.7[illegible]).
MAY Carlos Bernal Cabanerra (Rol Contraloría 136.570 y RUN. [illegible]).
MAY Rolando Zúñiga Carvelín (Rol Contraloría 160.443 y RUN. 3.091.673-4).
MAY Luis Lobos Barrios (Rol Contraloría 171.183 y RUN. 3.[illegible]).
MAY Sergio Fernández Carranza (Rol Contraloría 200.116 y RUN. 5.306.063-4).
MAY Arturo Vergara González (Rol Contraloría 211.605 y RUN. 4.015.976-2).
MAY Manuel Fernández Carranza (Rol Contraloría 211.636 y RUN. 5.010.559-7).
MAY Rolando Apablaza Mirabel (Rol Contraloría 221.602 y RUN. 4.004.359-1).
CAP. Carlos Vergara González (Rol Contraloría 255.386 y RUN. 4.796.496-2).
STE Patricio Lapostol Amo (Rol Contraloría 501.163 RUN. En trámite).
MAY Reinaldo Urrutia Chirino (Rol Contraloría 174.201 y RUN. 3.649.410-7).
TCL César González González (Rol Contraloría 109.369 y RUN. 3.041.615-5).

b) Fecha de inclusión en Lista de Retiros: 1º de enero de 1975 y fecha en que se hará efectivo el retiro: 1º de julio de 1975:

CRL Julio Fernández Michaud (Rol Contraloría 28.838 y RUN. 0.125.052-K).
CRL Guillermo Chacón Perusich (Rol Contraloría 23.139 y RUN. 1.775.752-6).
CRL Josip Domic Bezic (Rol Contraloría 25.334 y RUN. 2.302.575-1).

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TCL Mario Eduardo Marshall L'Huillier (RUN 2595552-8), dejando de pertenecer al Comando de Institutos Militares (Santiago).

13.—Nómbrase Comandante del Regto. de Ing. Nº 4 "Arauco" (Osorno) al TCL Bruno Guillermo Siebert Held (R. U. N. 3023561-4), dejando de pertenecer al Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Santiago) y de estar en Comisión en el CO.A.J.

14.—Nómbrase Comandante del Regto. Blind. Nº 2 (Santiago) al TCL Manuel Antonio Matas Sotomayor (R. U. N. Nº 3245671-4), dejando de pertenecer a la Escuela de Blindados (Antofagasta).

15.—Nómbrase Comandante del Btn. Ing. Nº 8 (Punta Arenas) al CRL Arnaldo Rubén Madrid Lillo (RUN 2516970-1), dejando de pertenecer al Ctel. Gral. de la V Div. Ejto. (la misma guarnición).

16.—Nómbrase Director de la Escuela de Servicio Auxiliar Femenino del Ejército (ESAFE) (Santiago) al TCL Iván De la Fuente Sáez (RUN 3194905-K), dejando de pertenecer a la Escuela de Infantería (San Bernardo).

17.—Nómbrase Director de Arsenales de Guerra (Santiago) al CRL (M. G.) Luis Orlando Rubio Pérez (R. U. N. Nº 1527181-7), dejando de pertenecer a la Dirección de Material de Guerra (la misma guarnición).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, General de Ejército, Jefe Supremo de la Nación.—*Oscar A. Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2 Nº 298.—Santiago, 16. X. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército en el Memorándum Nº 189, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—Nómbrase Director Interino de Instrucción del Ejército (Santiago) al CRL Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (RUN 2934882-9), dejando de ser Director de la Academia de Guerra del Ejército (la misma guarnición).

2.—Nómbrase Director de la Escuela de Inteligencia del Ejército (Santiago) al CRL Gilles Mario Gigogne Aguirre (R. U. N. 2126900-K), dejando de pertenecer a la Direc. de Intel. del Ejto. (la misma guarnición).

3.—Nómbrase Comandante del Regto. de Inf. Llan. Nº 2 "Maipo" (Valparaíso) al TCL Eduardo James Oyarzún Sepúlveda (R. U. N. 2790758-K), dejando de ser Aydte. del Sr. Ministro de Defensa Nacional (Santiago).

4.—Nómbrase Director Interino del Hospital Militar (Santiago) al TCL (San.) Guillermo Yupanqui (R. U. N. Nº 1944321-3), del mismo Hospital (la misma guarnición).

5.—Nómbrase Comandante Interino del Regto. Inf. Mot. Ref. Mña. Nº 14 "Aisén" (Coihaique) al TCL Gustavo Rivera Toro (RUN 3059153-4), de la misma Unidad (la misma guarnición).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe Supremo de la Nación.—*Oscar A. Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Bajas

S.S.G. Depto. II|3 Nº 875.—Santiago, 2. X. 1974.—Vistos:

a) El Oficio Har. Nac. (R) Nº 1630|9 de 3 de septiembre de 1974 del Cdte. del Haras Nacional,

b) El Artículo 168, letra b) del DFL. Nº 1, de 1968,

c) El Decreto Supremo S.S.G. Depto. II|3 Nº 608 de 23. VIII. 1973, (B|O. Nº 40, pág. 2490, año 1973),

d) Lo propuesto por el Comandante en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Dir. Pers. Depto. II|3 Nº 1720|271, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

Dése de Baja del Servicio Activo del Ejército, con fecha 31 de agosto de 1974 al SL1. (Rva.) Ariel Benito Quezada Rubilar, quien fue llamado al Servicio Activo por Decreto Supremo S.S.G. Depto. II|3. Nº 608 de 23. VIII. 1973, (B|O. Nº 40, pág. 2490, año 1973), y prorrogado por D|S. S.S.G. Depto. II|3 Nº 832 de 10. IX. 1974.

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EJERCITO DE CHILE
SUBSECRETARIA GENERAL DEL EJERCITO
20 DIC. 1974

BOLETIN OFICIAL
DEL EJERCITO
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AÑO LXXII — SANTIAGO, CHILE, 31 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1974. — Nº 51

Saludo de Navidad y Año Nuevo a las Instituciones del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional

El Presidente de la República desea hacer llegar a los integrantes de todas las Instituciones dependientes del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, un saludo afectuoso con sus más sinceros deseos de paz en esta Navidad y que el Nuevo Año, próximo a iniciarse, signifique para todos sus hogares la materialización de los anhelos de alegría y felicidad.

Que esta unión fraternal, que ha caracterizado a las Instituciones durante mucho tiempo y que, durante este año ha constituido un ejemplo, se mantenga en estas festividades, no sólo por el espíritu que es tradicional en ellas, sino que se haga permanente, para progresar en la reconstrucción de nuestro país y luchar así —todos unidos— por un futuro venturoso para nuestra Patria. Ello no sólo es propio del sentimiento que anima nuestras almas por el significado de la Navidad, sino que es indispensable para traer paz a los espíritus y forjar a nuestros hijos en un Chile que también renace, libre de odios y rencores.

Unidos los brazos y las mentes y reconciliados los espíritus, no habrá obstáculo que pueda impedir el progreso de Chile. Nadie lo desea más que nosotros y así lo hemos ofrecido y demostrado.

Nuestro único enemigo es la pobreza y contra ella lucharemos, con todas nuestras fuerzas. Les agradezco por aceptar con comprensión el sacrificio y privaciones que ello ha significado para ustedes y sus familias.

Reiteramos nuestro llamado a la reconciliación y al esfuerzo mancomunado, probablemente con fundamentos más sólidos que nadie, porque representamos el poder y la fuerza. Sólo pedimos que este ofrecimiento sea utilizado con espíritu positivo.

El Presidente que hoy se dirige a ustedes quisiera que este mensaje que es, más que un saludo, la expresión de un profundo agradecimiento y un emocionado recuerdo, estreche a toda esta gran familia desde Arica a la Antártica, en una promesa de incorporar a ella a todos los chilenos, en la lucha por el trabajo y el esfuerzo que dignifica.

Santiago, 23 de diciembre de 1974.

AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE,
General de Ejército,
Presidente de la República.

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Ejto. (Agregado a Misiones), dejando de ser Cdte. del Grupo de Art. Mot. Nº 2 "Maturana" (Valdivia).

4.—El CRL Hernán Podestá Gómez (RUN 3128274-8) pasará a continuar sus servicios al Cdo. en Jefe del Ejto. (Agregado a Misiones), dejando de ser Jefe del Estado Mayor del Cdo. de Tropas de Ejército (Santiago).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 491.— Santiago, 2. XII. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en Memorándum Nº 599, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El GDD. Pedro Palacios Cameron (R. U. N. 1083290-K) pasará a continuar sus servicios a la Comandancia de Guarnición de Quillota, dejando de ser Director General de Reclutamiento y Estadística de las Fuerzas Armadas (Santiago).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 495.—Santiago, 2. XII.1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 602, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El CRL Aquiles G. Gallardo Schwarzenberg (RUN 2112384-6) pasará a continuar sus servicios al Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Agregado a Misiones), dejando de ser Jefe del Estado Mayor de la V División de Ejército (Punta Arenas).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 497.— Santiago, 2. XII. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en Memorándum Nº 453, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El CRL Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (RUN 2334882-9) pasará a continuar sus servicios de planta al Estado Mayor General del Ejército (Santiago), dejando de ser Director Interino de Instrucción del Ejército (la misma Guarnición).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Jefe del Estado.— *Oscar Bonilla Bradanovic*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

MINUTAS

Destinaciones

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2 Exento Nº 133 — Santiago, 11. XII. 1974.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 613, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El TCL Eduardo Antonio Díaz Darrigrandi (RUN en trámite y R/C. Nº 134.868) pasará a continuar sus servicios de planta a la Escuela de Paracaidistas y Fuerzas Especiales (Peldehue), dejando de pertenecer a la Escuela de Artillería (Linares).

Anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.

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DEL EJERCITO
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AÑO LXVI SANTIAGO DE CHILE, 21 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1977 Nº 47

DECRETOS LEYES

Modifica Ley Nº 7.821, sobre Remisión Condicional de la Pena

(Publicado en el Diario Oficial Nº 29910, de 12 Nov. 1977).

Decreto Ley Nº 1969.—Santiago, 19. X. 1977.—Visto:

Lo dispuesto en los Decretos Leyes Nºs. 1 y 128, de 1973, 527, de 1974; y 991, de 1976; y

Considerando:

La necesidad de modificar las modalidades o condiciones de cumplimiento de la pena remitida condicionalmente, a fin de hacerlas más expeditas y adecuadas a las esencias y características de las instituciones de las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros, que demandan destinaciones, comisiones de servicios y otras actividades que significan desplazamiento de personas,

La Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile ha acordado dictar el siguiente

Decreto Ley:

Artículo Unico.—Modifícase la Ley Nº 7.821, en la forma que a continuación se expresa:

a) Agréganse, al final del artículo 2º, los siguientes incisos:

"Tratándose del personal de las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros, mientras esté en servicio, se entenderá que concurren, por ese solo hecho, los requisitos señalados en los números 1) y 3) del inciso primero y la vigilancia a que se refiere el número 2) del mismo inciso se ejercerá por los jueces institucionales respectivos; quienes podrán delegar tal facultad en la autoridad que estimen conveniente y que corresponda a la Institución a que pertenece el beneficiario, de acuerdo a las necesidades del Servicio".

"Producido el retiro del beneficiado durante el plazo de observación, el tiempo de sujeción a la vigilancia del respectivo juez institucional se computará como tiempo sometido a la vigilancia del Patronato de Reos. El que reste para completar el plazo de observación, se hará bajo la vigilancia de esta última institución".

b) Reemplázase el inciso primero del artículo 3º por el siguiente:

"Si el beneficiado quebrantare, dentro del período de observación, alguna de las condiciones señaladas en el artículo precedente, el Patronato de Reos o el juez institucional respectivo, según el caso, pedirá que se revoque la suspensión de la pena, lo que podrá decretar el tribunal."; y

c) Reemplázase el artículo 4º por el siguiente:

"*Artículo* 4º—La vigilancia de los beneficiados con la remisión condicional de la pena estará a cargo de los Patronatos de Reos o de los jueces institucionales respectivos".

Regístrese en la Contraloría General de la República, publíquese en el Diario Oficial e insértese en la recopilación oficial de dicha Contraloría.—*Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.—*José T. Merino Castro*, Almirante, Comandante en Jefe de la Armada.—*Gustavo Leigh Guzmán*, General del Aire, Comandante en Jefe de la Fuerza Aérea de Chile.—*Eduardo Gordon Cañas*, General Subdirector de Carabineros, General *Director* de Carabineros Subrogante.—*César Raúl Benavides Escobar*, General de División, Ministro del Interior.—*Herman Brady Roche*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

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DECRETOS

Destinación

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 1166.— Santiago, 14. XI. 1977.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 132, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El General de Brigada Manuel R. de la Fuente Borgel (RUN. Nº 2428731-9), pasará a continuar sus servicios de planta al Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Santiago), dejando de ser Comandante de Ingenieros de Ejército (la misma Guarnición).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial Reservado del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— *Herman Brady Roche*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Nombramientos

S.S.G. Depto. II/1. Nº 1163.— Santiago, 11. XI. 1977.— Vistos:

a) Lo propuesto por la Vice Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 1105, que se acompaña; y

b) Lo dispuesto en el artículo 305, del D.S. Nº 204, (G) de 28. V. 1969 "Reglamento Complementario del D.F.L. (G) Nº 1, de 1968";

c) Orden Comando en Jefe del Ejército (R) Nº 1 (6070/38), de 11. XI. 1977,

Decreto:

Nómbrase Jefe del Estado Mayor General del Ejército (Santiago), al General de División Washington Carrasco Fernández (RUN. Nº 1850021-3), dejando de ser Comandante de Fabricaciones Militares (la misma Guarnición).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial Reservado del Ejército.— *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— *Herman Brady Roche*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 1168.— Santiago, 14. XI. 1977.

Visto lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 125, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—Nómbrase Comandante General de la Guarnición de Ejército de Santiago, al General de Brigada Enrique Julio Morel Donoso (RUN Nº 1773535-7), sin perjuicio de sus funciones como Comandante en Jefe de la II División de Ejército (la misma Guarnición).

2.—Nómbrase Director General de Logística del Ejército (Santiago), al General de Brigada Humberto Alfredo Gordon Rubio (RUN Nº 2128839-K), sin perjuicio de sus funciones como Comandante de Apoyo Administrativo (la misma Guarnición).

3.—Nómbrase Comandante de Tropas de Ejército (Santiago), al General de Brigada Osvaldo Hernández Pedreros (RUN Nº 1872677-7), dejando de ser Jefe del Estado Mayor del Comando de Institutos Militares (la misma Guarnición).

4.—Nómbrase Comandante de Ingenieros del Ejército (Santiago), al General de Brigada Juan Manuel Guillermo Contreras Sepúlveda (RUN Nº 2334882-9), dejando de pertenecer al Estado Mayor General del Ejército (Santiago), y de desempeñarse en Comisión en la Central Nacional de Informaciones.

5.—Nómbrase Auditor General del Ejército (Santiago), al General de Brigada de Justicia Carlos Mackenney Vandorsee (RUN Nº 2165705-6), dejando de ser Auditor del Comando en Jefe del Ejército (la misma Guarnición).

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Ofi-

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CONSEJO DE DEFENSA DEL ESTADO

UNCLASSIFIED

DECRETO Nº 045223 /

EJEMPLAR Nº 1

HOJA Nº 1

MAT. Designación de los funcionarios que indica en la disuelta Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA)

SANTIAGO, [illegible] 1978

DE : PRESIDENTE DEL CONSEJO DE DEFENSA DEL ESTADO
A : COMANDANTE EN JEFE DEL EJERCITO

1.- Con motivo de la demanda interpuesta ante la Corte del Distrito de Columbia de los Estados Unidos de Norte América, por la señora Isabel Morel de Letelier y otros en contra de la Central Nacional de Informaciones y otros (Estado de Chile), se han contratado los servicios de un estudio profesional de ese país para que asuma la defensa del Estado de Chile y de la mencionada Central de Informaciones, sin perjuicio de la colaboración que corresponde prestar a este Consejo.-

2.- Para estudiar la defensa del Estado de Chile y de la Central de Informaciones en el referido juicio, viajarán a Santiago el día 5 de Noviembre el señor Embajador de Chile en Washington y dos abogados norteamericanos para sostener conversaciones con abogados de este Consejo.-

3.- Para los efectos antes indicados se han estado acumulando diversos antecedentes, y entre otros, se solicitó al Director Nacional de Informaciones, General (R) Odlanier Mena Salinas nos informara como se efectuaron las designaciones del señor General (R) don Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda en el cargo de Director de la disuelta Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional y del Coronel Pedro Espinoza Bravo y del Capitán don Armando Fernández Larios en otros cargos, y nos contestó que respecto del primero, su designación no se oficializó de ninguna forma, y con relación a los otros dos se encontraban en comisión de servicio en el Comando en Jefe del Ejército y destinados a aquella Dirección.-

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CONSEJO DE DEFENSA DEL ESTADO

Ejemplar Nº 1
Hoja Nº 2

UNCLASSIFIED

3.- A fin de contar con una información más precisa, le rogamos se sirva proporcionarnos los antecedentes que existen en esa Comandancia, y si hubiesen dictado algunas Resoluciones enviarnos la correspondiente copia.-

Saluda atentamente a US.,

CONSEJO DE DEFENSA DEL ESTADO — CHILE — DEFENSA

MAURICIO RAISFISCH ELBERG
PRESIDENTE
Consejo de Defensa del Estado

LIBERTADOR GENERAL BERNARDO O'HIGGINS FORJADOR DE LA PATRIA

SECRETO

EJERCITO DE CHILE
ESTADO MAYOR GENERAL
JEFATURA
Centro de mensajes Nº 159

ENTRADA	9	1051	273
CIFRADO	9 C 5 E		
SALIDA	9	1051	DTS

Saluda a US. Y FIRMA

Oficial Ubicado

LUIS [illegible] CABRERA
TENIENTE CORONEL
AYUDANTE GENERAL DEL EJERCITO

UNCLASSIFIED

DIARIO OFICIAL
DE LA REPUBLICA DE CHILE

Núm. 29.826 — Santiago, Sábado 13 de Agosto de 1977 — Ejemplar del día . . $ 5.— (IVA. incluido)
Año C — Nº 153.973 (M. R.) — Edición de 12 páginas — Atrasado . . . . . 10.— (IVA. incluido)

SUMARIO

JUNTA DE GOBIERNO DE LA REPUBLICA DE CHILE

DECRETOS LEYES

MINISTERIO DEL INTERIOR

Decreto ley número 1.876 — Deroga decreto ley Nº 521, de 1974, que creó la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional 2601
Decreto ley número 1.877 — Complementa normas de la ley Nº 12.927 y disposiciones legales que indica 2601
Decreto ley número 1.878 — Crea la Central Nacional de Informaciones 2601

DECRETOS SUPREMOS

MINISTERIO DEL INTERIOR

Decreto número 720 — Acepta renuncia no voluntaria al cargo de Alcalde de la Municipalidad de Constitución 2602
Decreto número 756.— Autoriza a las Municipalidades para prorrogar el plazo para el pago de patentes que señala 2602
Decreto número 793.— Cambia nombre de poblaciones de la comuna de Copiapó . . 2602

MINISTERIO DE ECONOMIA, FOMENTO Y RECONSTRUCCION

SUBSECRETARIA DE ECONOMIA, FOMENTO Y RECONSTRUCCION

Resolución número 159 — Declara Norma Oficial de la República de Chile la aprobada por el Instituto Nacional de Normalización 2603
Resolución número 160 — Declara Normas Oficiales de la República de Chile las aprobadas por el Instituto Nacional

Banco Central de Chile
Secretaría Comité Ejecutivo

Acuerdos adoptados por el Comité Ejecutivo del Banco Central en sesión Nº 1.163, celebrada el 10 de Agosto en curso 2603

MINISTERIO DE JUSTICIA

Decreto número 837.— Suprime Sección Cárcel de Freirina 2604

MINISTERIO DE DEFENSA NACIONAL

SUBSECRETARIA DE GUERRA

Decreto número 238.— Establece Reglamento para entrega de distintivos y diplomas honoríficos de la Dirección General de Deportes y Recreación 2604

MINISTERIO DE OBRAS PUBLICAS

Decreto número 784.— Determina dotaciones máximas de personal del Ministerio de Obras Públicas y del Ministerio de la Vivienda y Urbanismo 2604

Decreto número 798.— Aumenta dotación de personal en la Empresa de Agua Potable de Santiago en la forma que indica 2604

Decreto número 1.035.— Reconoce caudal de agua del río Loa para abastecimiento de agua potable para las ciudades de Tocopilla, Calama y Antofagasta 2603

MINISTERIO DE TRANSPORTES Y TELECOMUNICACIONES

MINISTERIO DE AGRICULTURA

Resolución número 17.— Prorroga el plazo para liquidar bienes de la Cooperativa Campesina "Rancagua Ltda.", de la provincia de O'Higgins, VI Región 2609

ESCRITURAS SOCIALES

"Sociedad Comercial de Movilización Colectiva-Rengo Limitada", "Pérez Lamelas y Portugues Limitada", "Sociedad Distribuidora Norte Chico Limitada", "Sociedad Comercial Automotriz Arévalo y Cía. Limitada", "Díez, Moreno y Compañía Limitada" y "Comercial Nevería Limitada" 2606

"Constructora Baquedano Limitada", "Cooper y Cía. Ltda.", "Brandi y Compañía Limitada", "Juan Vergara e Hijos Limitada", "Sociedad Administradora de Casinos Limitada" y "Comercialización, Producción y Asesoría Forestal Limitada" 2607

"Edificio Versalles Limitada", "Sasacia y Yudelevich Limitada", "Sociedad Constructora de Viviendas Económicas Empart Limitada Número 6", "Tagle Arduengo y Compañía Limitada", "Viviendas Económicas Antares Limitada" y "José Rivero y Compañía Limitada" 2608

"Sociedad Constructora de Viviendas Económicas Empart Limitada Número 1", "Turismo Pumahue Limitada", "Coordinadora de Servicios Profesionales Limitada", "Sociedad Comercial e Industrial Floramatic Limitada", "Sociedad Importadora Lull, Jerez, Urrutia y Compañía Limitada" e "Inmobiliaria Tubia Limitada" . . . .

Lo que transcribo para su conocimiento.— Víctor Barahona Bustos, Comandante de Escuadrilla (J), Secretario de Legislación de la Junta de Gobierno subrogante.

COMPLEMENTA NORMAS DE LA LEY Nº 12.927 Y DISPOSICIONES LEGALES QUE INDICA

Núm. 1.877.— Santiago, 12 de Agosto de 1977.— Visto: lo dispuesto en los decretos leyes Nos. 1 y 128, de 1973; 527 y 788, de 1974, y

Considerando:

1.— La conveniencia de adecuar las normas sobre Seguridad del Estado a la realidad que actualmente vive el país, sin perjuicio de perfeccionar los instrumentos jurídicos que permitan otorgar eficacia a las situaciones de emergencia,

La Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile ha acordado, en el ejercicio de la Potestad Constituyente, dictar el siguiente

Decreto ley:

Artículo primero.— Por lo

te de Escuadrilla J, Secretario de Legislación de la Junta de Gobierno subrogante.

CREA LA CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES

Núm. 1.878.— Santiago, 12 de Agosto de 1977.— Visto: lo dispuesto en los decretos leyes Nos. 1 y 128, de 1973; 527, de 1974, y 991, de 1976,

Considerando:

La necesidad de que el Supremo Gobierno cuente con la colaboración inmediata y permanente de un Organismo especializado que le reúna todas las informaciones a nivel nacional que requiera para la adopción de las medidas más convenientes, especialmente en resguardo de la Seguridad Nacional,

La Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile acuerda dictar el siguiente

Decreto ley:

Artículo 1º— "Créase la Central Nacional de Informaciones (C.N.I.), organismo militar especializado, de carácter técnico y profesional, que tendrá por misión

Resolución número 169.— Declara Normas Oficiales de la República de Chile las aprobadas por el Instituto Nacional de Normalización 2601

MINISTERIO DE HACIENDA

Superintendencia de Compañías de Seguros, Sociedades Anónimas y Bolsas de Comercio

Extracto de resolución número 207—C, de 1977, que aprueba reforma de estatutos de la sociedad anónima "Shell Chile Sociedad Anónima Distribuidora" 2602

Extracto de resolución número 221—C, de 1977, que aprueba reforma estatutos de la sociedad anónima "Shell Chile Sociedad Anónima Industrial Química" 2602

Superintendencia de Bancos e Instituciones Financieras

Extracto de resolución número 85, de 1977, que aprueba reforma de los estatutos de Financiera Condell S. A. .. 2603

TRANSPORTES Y TELECOMUNICACIONES

SUBSECRETARIA DE TRANSPORTES

Decreto número 218.— Declara prescrito derecho que indica 2603

MINISTERIO DE LA VIVIENDA Y URBANISMO

Decreto número 657.— Acepta renuncia no voluntaria que indica 2605

Decreto número 699.— Nombra en la Planta Nacional de Cargos del Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, sus Secretarías Ministeriales y los Servicios de Vivienda y Urbanización a don Andrés Comeniz Hulaud 2605

Decreto número 793.— Modifica Plan Regulador Comunal de Las Condes, Plano Seccional PS-12 "Estadio Italiano y modificación calle Esteban Dell'Orto", para los fines que señala 2605

Sociedad Chilena de Jerez, Urrutia y Compañía Limitada" e "Inmobiliaria Tupan Limitada" 2609

"Comercial Rapino Limitada", "Sociedad Agrícola Fundo La Obra Limitada", "Productos para Oficina Sociedad Limitada", "Multi Comercial Limitada" y "Hacienda Concón Baja Limitada" 2610

"Sociedad Comercial Bahue Limitada" (rectificación) 2611

Muertes presuntas de: Manuel Segundo Morís Daza y Rafael Angel Custodio Casanova.

Avisos del Ministerio de Obras Públicas (4), Empresa de Agua Potable de Santiago, Empresa Portuaria de Chile y Servicio de Vivienda y Urbanización.

Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile

DECRETOS LEYES

Ministerio del Interior

DEROGA DECRETO LEY Nº 521, DE 1974, QUE CREO LA DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL

Núm. 1.870.— Santiago, 12 de Agosto de 1977.— Visto: Lo dispuesto en los decretos leyes Nos. 1 y 128, de 1973; 527, de 1974, y 991, de 1976, y

Considerando:

La conveniencia de estructurar de acuerdo a las actuales circunstancias del acontecer nacional las atribuciones de un Organismo creado en situación de conflicto interno ya superada,

La Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile acuerda dictar el siguiente

Decreto ley:

Artículo único.— Derógase el decreto ley Nº 521, de 1974, que creó la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional.

Regístrese en la Contraloría General de la República, publíquese en el Diario Oficial e insértese en la Recopilación Oficial de dicha Contraloría.— AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— JOSE T. MERINO CASTRO, Almirante, Comandante en Jefe de la Armada.— GUSTAVO LEIGH GUZMAN, General del Aire, Comandante en Jefe de la Fuerza Aérea de Chile.— CESAR MENDOZA DURAN, General, General Director de Carabineros.— César R. Benavides Escobar, General de División, Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo para su conocimiento.— Víctor Barahona Bustos, Comandante

Artículo primero.— Por la declaración del Estado de Emergencia, que regula la ley de Seguridad del Estado, el Presidente de la República tendrá la facultad de arrestar a personas hasta por el plazo de cinco días en sus propias casas o en lugares que no sean cárceles.

Artículo segundo.— Las referencias al Estado de Sitio contenidas en los decretos leyes N.os 81 y 198, de 1973, y 1.009, artículo 1º, declárase que deben asimismo entenderse aplicables al Estado de Emergencia, regulado por la ley Nº 12.927, de 1958.

Regístrese en la Contraloría General de la República, publíquese en el Diario Oficial e insértese en la Recopilación Oficial de dicha Contraloría.— AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— JOSE T. MERINO CASTRO, Almirante, Comandante en Jefe de la Armada.— GUSTAVO LEIGH GUZMAN, General del Aire, Comandante en Jefe de la Fuerza Aérea de Chile.— CESAR MENDOZA DURAN, General, General Director de Carabineros.— César R. Benavides Escobar, General de División, Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo para su conocimiento.— Víctor Barahona Bustos, Comandante

mo militar especializado, de carácter técnico y profesional, que tendrá por misión reunir y procesar todas las informaciones a nivel nacional, provenientes de los diferentes campos de acción, que el Supremo Gobierno requiera para la formulación de políticas, planes, programas; la adopción de medidas necesarias de resguardo de la seguridad nacional, y el normal desenvolvimiento de las actividades nacionales y mantención de la institucionalidad establecida.

No obstante su calidad de organismo militar, integrante de la Defensa Nacional, la Central Nacional de Informaciones se vinculará con el Supremo Gobierno, en el cumplimiento de sus misiones específicas, a través del Ministerio del Interior.

Artículo 2º— La Central Nacional de Informaciones estará dirigida por un Oficial General o Superior en servicio activo, de las Fuerzas Armadas o de Orden, designado por decreto supremo, el que con el título de Director Nacional de Informaciones, tendrá la dirección superior, técnica y administrativa del Servicio. En el ejercicio de sus facultades, podrá dictar las resoluciones e impartir las instrucciones internas que sean necesarias para el funcionamiento de la Repartición.

Artículo 3º— La organización, estructura institucional interna y deberes de la Central Nacional de Informaciones serán establecidas por un Reglamento Orgánico dictado a propuesta de su Director.

La dotación estará integrada por personal en retirada y por aquel proveniente de las Instituciones de la Defensa Nacional.

Cuando sea necesario contratar personal, que no provenga de las Instituciones de la Defensa Nacional, deberá ser aprobado por decreto supremo, suscrito —además— por el Ministro de Hacienda. El régimen jurídico y los niveles remunerativos respectivos serán los mismos por los que se rige el personal civil de las Fuerzas Armadas y serán considerados como tales para todos los efectos jurisdiccionales y disciplinarios.

Artículo 4º— El Director Nacional de Informaciones, podrá requerir de cualquier servicio del Estado, municipalidades, personas jurídicas creadas por ley o de las empresas o sociedades en que el Estado o sus empresas tengan aportes de capital, representación o participación, los informes o antecedentes que estime necesarios para el eficaz cumplimiento de sus cometidos.

Del incumplimiento de esta obligación podrá dar cuenta al Contralor General de la República, a fin de que aplique al infractor, [illegible]

afectación fiscal, la Central Nacional de Informaciones será representada extrajudicialmente por su Director, quien podrá actuar en cualquier acto jurídico tendiente a conseguir sus fines propios.

Con el patrimonio de afectación podrá arrendar y adquirir bienes muebles, inmuebles, productos o servicios y disponer de ellos.

Artículo 7º— Libéranse de los derechos específicos y ad valorem establecidos en el Arancel Aduanero y de los demás impuestos, tasas y contribuciones y, en general, de todo derecho que se perciba por intermedio de las Aduanas, como —asimismo—, de la Tasa de Despacho, establecida por el artículo 190 de la ley Nº 16.464 y sus modificaciones, y del impuesto del 10% previsto en el artículo 44 de la ley Nº 17.564, todas las importaciones de equipos completos, accesorios y demás elementos que efectúe la Central Nacional de Informaciones.

Artículo 8º— Sustitúyese en el inciso final de la letra a) del artículo 19 de la ley Nº 17.798, de Control de Armas, agregado por el artículo 8º del decreto ley Nº 521, de 1974, las expresiones: "Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional", por "Central Nacional de Informaciones".

Artículo 9º— En trabajos conjuntos dispuestos por el Supremo Gobierno, la Central Nacional de Informaciones coordinará la acción

del Aire, Comandante en Jefe de la Fuerza Aérea de Chile.— CESAR MENDOZA DURAN, General, General Director de Carabineros. — César R. Benavides Escobar, General de División, Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo para su conocimiento.— Víctor Barahona Bustos, Comandante de Escuadrilla (J), Secretario de Legislación de la Junta de Gobierno subrogante.

DECRETOS SUPREMOS

Ministerio del Interior

ACEPTA RENUNCIA NO VOLUNTARIA AL CARGO DE ALCALDE DE LA MUNICIPALIDAD DE CONSTITUCION

Santiago, 14 de Julio de 1977.— El Presidente de la República decretó hoy lo que sigue:

Núm. 720.— Visto, lo dispuesto en el artículo 10º del decreto ley Nº 1.289, de 1975, y en el artículo 2339, del DFL. Nº 338, de 1960, Estatuto Administrativo,

Decreto:

Acéptase, a contar desde esta fecha, la renuncia no voluntaria presentada por don Sótero Astaburuaga Pumarino a su cargo de Alcalde de la Municipalidad de Constitución.

Tómese razón, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese.— AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— Raúl Benavides Escobar, General de División, Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo a Ud. para su conocimiento. — Saluda a Ud.— Enrique Montero Marx, Comandante de Grupo (J), Subsecretario del Interior.

CAMBIA NOMBRE DE POBLACIONES DE LA COMUNA DE COPIAPO

Santiago, 29 de Julio de 1977.— El Presidente de la República decretó hoy lo que sigue:

Núm. 791.— Vistos: Lo solicitado por el Sr. Alcalde de la I. Municipalidad de Copiapó por oficio ordinario [illegible]

tas Municipales, la patente es un impuesto o contribución,

Decreto:

Autorízase a los Alcaldes de las Municipalidades del país para que, si fuere estrictamente necesario, mediante decreto fundado puedan disponer una prórroga del plazo de pago del segundo semestre de las patentes profesionales, comerciales, industriales y de alcoholes, establecidos en los artículos 144º y 56º de las leyes Nºs 17.105 y 11.704, respectivamente, hasta el 16 de Agosto de 1977, inclusive

Tómese razón, comuníquese y publíquese. — AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— Raúl Benavides Escobar, General de División, Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo a Ud. para su conocimiento. — Saluda a Ud.— Enrique Montero Marx, Comandante de Grupo (J), Subsecretario del Interior.

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rendir un homenaje al Comandante en Jefe del Ejército de Chile en la Guerra del Pacífico,

Decreto:

Artículo 1º— La población "Villa Cuatro Alamos", de la comuna de Copiapó, se denominará en lo sucesivo "Villa Diego Portales".

Artículo 2º— La población "Barrionuevo", de la misma comuna indicada en el artículo anterior, se denominará en lo sucesivo "General Baquedano".

Anótese, tómese razón, publíquese en el Diario Oficial y transcríbase a la Intendencia de la III Región Atacama y a la I. Municipalidad de Copiapó. — AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— Raúl Benavides Escobar, General de División, Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo a Ud. para su conocimiento. — Saluda a Ud.— Enrique Montero Marx, Comandante de Grupo (J), Subsecretario del Interior.

Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Reconstrucción

SUBSECRETARIA DE ECONOMIA, FOMENTO Y RECONSTRUCCION

(Resoluciones)

DECLARA NORMA OFICIAL DE LA REPUBLICA DE CHILE LA APROBADA POR EL INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE NORMALIZACION

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cuenta de [illegible] de la República, a fin de que aplique al infractor, directamente, cualquiera de las sanciones administrativas contempladas en el respectivo estatuto que rija su desempeño.

Las normas que establecen el secreto o reserva sobre determinadas materias no obstarán a que se proporcione a la Central Nacional de Informaciones, la información o antecedentes solicitados, sin perjuicio de que sobre su personal pese igual obligación de guardar reserva o secreto.

Artículo 5º— La Central Nacional de Informaciones tendrá un patrimonio de afectación fiscal formado por los siguientes rubros:

1.— Fondos que se le asignen anualmente en la Ley de Presupuestos de la Nación, que se consultarán en la Partida correspondiente al Ministerio del Interior;

2.— Fondos que se le asignen en leyes especiales;

3.— Demás bienes y recursos que adquiera o perciba, a cualquier título, para sus propios fines.

Un Reglamento de carácter reservado, dictado dentro del plazo de 180 días, regulará lo establecido en el presente artículo.

Artículo 6º— En la administración, manejo y disposición de los bienes y fondos de su patrimonio de Supremo Gobierno Central Nacional de Informaciones coordinará la acción de los diferentes Servicios de Inteligencia de las fuerzas de Inteligencia de las Instituciones de la Defensa Nacional, cuando se trate de cumplir misiones que involucren su función específica.

Artículo 10º— Al Director Nacional de Informaciones le será aplicable lo dispuesto en los artículos 191 y 192 del Código de Procedimiento Penal.

Artículo 11º— La Central Nacional de Informaciones será la continuadora legal de la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional para todos los efectos patrimoniales.

Artículo transitorio.— El Reglamento Orgánico, de carácter Reservado, a que se refiere el artículo 3º del presente decreto ley, será dictado dentro del plazo de 150 días.

Registrese en la Contraloría General de la República, publíquese en el Diario Oficial e insértese en los boletines oficiales del Ejército, Armada, Fuerza Aérea y Carabineros y en la Recopilación Oficial de dicha Contraloría. — AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República. — JOSE T. MERINO CASTRO, Almirante, Comandante en Jefe de la Armada. - GUSTAVO LEIGH GUZMAN, General

AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— Raúl Benavides Escobar, General de División, Ministro del Interior.

Lo que transcribo a Ud. para su conocimiento.— Saluda a Ud.— Juan Ignacio García Rodríguez, Subsecretario del Interior suplente.

AUTORIZA A LAS MUNICIPALIDADES PARA PROROGAR EL PLAZO PARA EL PAGO DE PATENTES QUE SEÑALA

Santiago, 29 de Julio de 1977.— Hoy se decretó lo que sigue:

Núm. 736.— Vistos: La facultad conferida por el artículo 14º de la ley número 7.200, para fijar o modificar los plazos en que deben pagarse los diversos impuestos fiscales o municipales, y teniendo presente:

Que de acuerdo con lo dispuesto en el artículo 144º de la ley Nº 17.105, sobre Alcoholes y Bebidas Alcohólicas, y el artículo 26º de la ley Nº 11.704, sobre Rentas Municipales, las patentes se pagarán por semestres anticipados, en los meses de Enero y Julio de cada año;

Que en conformidad a lo establecido en los artículos 44º y 60º de la Ley de Ren-

de la I. Municipalidad de Copiapó por oficio ordinario [illegible] de [illegible] del presente año, [illegible] puesto en los decretos leyes Nºs 1 y 128, de 1973; 527, de 1974; 991 de 1975, y la facultad que me confiere el Nº 8 de la letra A) del artículo 3º del decreto ley Nº 1.289, de 1976, agregado por el artículo único del decreto ley Nº 1.571, de 4 de Noviembre de 1976, y

Considerando:

1.— Que en la comuna de Copiapó existen dos poblaciones actualmente denominadas "Villa Cuatro Alamos" y "Barrionuevo".

2.— Que los nombres de tales poblaciones no se encuentran enraizados en la tradición histórico-cultural de la comuna, y por el contrario, el primero de ellos se presta para ser usado malintencionadamente por su relación con el campo de detención de aquel nombre;

3.— Que con la nueva denominación de "Villa Diego Portales", se rinde un homenaje a quien instituyera la Institucionalidad en la República de Chile y cuyo nombre se encuentra fuertemente ligado a la Patria entera.

4.— Que el nombre propuesto para la otra de las indicadas poblaciones, "General Baquedano", permite

EL INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE NORMALIZACION

Santiago, 9 de Agosto de 1977.— Hoy se resolvió lo que sigue:

Núm. 159.— Vistos, el oficio Nº 1.343-460, de 1º de Agosto de 1977, del Instituto Nacional de Normalización; la resolución del Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Reconstrucción Nº 427, de 21 de Diciembre de 1976, y lo dispuesto en el DFL. Nº 88, de 1953,

Resuelvo:

Artículo 1º— Declárase Norma Oficial de la República de Chile, la siguiente:

N Ch 1251, Of. 76: Envases de papel kraft para azúcar.

Artículo 2º— Esta norma reemplaza la N Ch 1551. Of. 76, que fuera aprobada por resolución del Ministerio de Economía Nº 427, de 1976, publicada en el Diario Oficial del día 9 de Julio de 1977.

Artículo 3º— Corresponderá al expresado Instituto Nacional de Normalización publicar una minuta de la presente resolución en el Diario Oficial y el texto íntegro de estas normas en la Revista Chilena de Racionalización, órgano oficial del mencionado Instituto.

Artículo 4º— El Instituto Nacional de Normalización

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MODIFICA DECRETO LEY Nº 1.878, DE 1977

Núm. 1.533.— Santiago, 7 de Noviembre de 1977.— Visto: lo dispuesto en los decretos leyes N.os 1 y 128, de 1973; 527, de 1974, y 991, de 1976,

La Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile ha acordado dictar el siguiente

Decreto ley:

Artículo único.— Intercálase en el artículo 2º del decreto ley Nº 1.878, de 1977, entre las expresiones "Oficial General" y "o Superior en servicio activo", la siguiente frase: "en servicio activo o en retiro".

Regístrese en la Contraloría General de la República, publíquese en el Diario Oficial e insértese en la Recopilación Oficial de dicha Contraloría. — AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.— JOSE T. MERINO CASTRO, Almirante, Co-

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Santiago, Chile

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19 de Enero de 1976

Coronel Manuel Contreras
Director de Direccion Nacional
de Intelligencia

Adjunto sirvase encontrar copia de las conversaciones con el Sr. Juan Rene Munoz Alarcon referente a informacion sobre posible atentado contra el Embajador Norteamericano.

James J. Blystone
Jefe Regional de Seguridad

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Informe Numero: 1
(Traduccion)

16 de Enero de 1976

Asunto: Informacion sobre posible atentado contra el Embajador Norteamericano

1. El dia 15 de Enero se presento en esta embajada el Sr. Juan Rene Munoz Alarcon, Carnet 4.824.557-9 de Santiago, nacido el dia 2 de Abril de 1943 en Santiago, residente en Sargento Menadier 311, Poblacion Maipo, Puente Alto. El Sr. Munoz dijo tener informacion sobre un posible atentado contra el Embajador norteamericano. En esta primera oportunidad se le tomo la declaracion y se le solicito regresar de nuevo el dia 16 de enero, lo que cumplio. En la segunda entrevista del dia 16 de Enero, se le tomaron datos adicionales. Ademas, se le advertio que no se podria cumplir con el deseo que el habia expresado en sentido de que no se le informara a las authoridades Chilenas sobre las seclaraciones que habia hecho, ya que cualquiera investigacion de lo que decia el correspondia a las authoridades de Chile.

2. Segun el Sr. Munoz, desde hace unos nueve meses se esta discutiendo un posible atentado contra el Embajador Norteamericano en Chile. El atentado tiene sus origenes en Argentina, donde colaboran en la planificacion el grupo Montoneros y el als de Organizacion del Partido Comunista de Argentina, quienes se reunen en el sector de Parque Patricio en Buenos Aires. El organizador dentro de Chile es un Montonero Argentino, conocido como "el poeta" y tambien como "tuco". Este sujeto entro a Chile en los primeros dias de Diciembre. Entro por tierra desde Mendoza, y Munoz cree (especifico que se trataba de especulacion) que uso documentos Brazilenos. Este sujeto asistio a reuniones en el Club Hipico y en el Hipodromo Chile, pero Munoz no sabe si aun permanece en Chile. Para mayores antecedentes sobre este individuo, vease el Informe No. 2.

3. El primer conocimiento que tuvo el Sr. Munoz acerca del posible atentado lo obtuvo hace unos 35 dias (es decir, a mediados de Diciembre), cuando fue contactado por un sujeto que conoce solo como "Jose". Este sujeto esta asilado en la Embajado de Venezuela desde hace varios meses, pero tiene manera de entrar y salir cuando sea necesario, cosa que hace aproximadamente cada 30 dias. "Jose" le solicito al Sr. Munoz que participara en el atentado. Segun Munoz, se le solicito la participacion porque a pesar de que Munoz

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es conocido dentro de la izquierda como persona que fue Socialista pero luego renuncio del partido y actuo como informante sobre actividades de la izquierda para lost servicios de seguridad de Chile (ver Informe No. 3), tambien es conocido como persona que los servicios de seguridad creen estar tan "quemado" que ya no lo toman en serio. Por esto, segun Munoz, los organizadores del atentado creen que Munoz tendria una libertad de circulacion que les podria ser valioso a los que participaban en el complot, y a las vez cualquiera denuncia que hiciera no le seria creido. Aun mas, los organizadores creian que la mala situacion economica por la cual pasa Munoz lo haria participar en el atentado en esperas de asi poder salir del pais clandestinamente junto con los otros participantes, y asi buscar nuevas posibilidades economicas.

4. En esta oportunidad el Sr. Munoz dice haberse negado a participar en el atentado. No obstante, dice haber obtenido ciertos detalles sobre el atentado. Segun el, las armas que se usarian en el atentado son rifles de alta potencia con miras telescopicas, las cuales estan bajo el control del cura Fernando Salas. Se esperaba hacer el atentado hace unos dos meses, pero como Salas estaba detenido no estaban disponibles las armas y no se procedio. Se programaba hacer el atentado cuando el Embajador asistia a una ceremonia de entrega de alimentos para el programa de empleo minimo, y Munoz cree que todavia se espera hacer el atentado en una oportunidad parecida (se deja constancia que el Sr. Embajador no ha asistido ni tiene programado asistir a tal ceremonia, y que estuvo fuera de Chile durante la mayor parte del mes de Diciembre).

5. Desde entonces, la situacion economica de Munoz ha empeorado. Fue echado de las casa de unos hermanos donde vivia, y ahora vive donde la suegra (en la sireccion indicada). Tambien tiene proceso en su contra por girar cheque sin fondos. Esta situacion economica dio lugar al segundo encuentro que tuvo con personas conectadas al posible atentado. En un dia Miercoles hace unos 15 dias (seria el 31 de Diciembre de 1975), Munoz fue a visitar un conocido, Sergio Vasquez, tambien conocido como "Rudi", a quien generalmente ubica en el pasaje del teatro Gran Palace. Vasquez es una persona a quien Munoz habia ayudado durante el gobierno pasado, y ahora de vez en cuanto Vasquez le presta dinero a Munoz. Segun Munoz, Vasquez no tiene nada que ver con el posible atentado. No obstante, cuando Munoz ubico a Vasquez, este le presto cierta candidad de dinero, y le dijo que lo esperara en el restoran "Fuente Alemana", en Alameda cerca de Vicuna McKenna, para luego darle mas. Sin embargo, Vasquez no aparacio. El que si aparecio fue

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otro conocido de Munoz, Juan Moraga. Segun Munoz, Moraga es miembro del Partido Comunista de Chile, y trabajo con Munoz en el directorio nacional juvenil de la CUT durante el gobierno pasado. Moraga le hablo a Munuz de lo que habia propuesto "Jose", y le solicito una respuesta definitiva. Munoz de dijo que le diera mas tiempo para pensarlo. Al parecer en esta oportunidad Munoz no llego a sober mas detalles sobre el posible atentado.

6. La embajado toma en serio las declaraciones de Munoz, no tanto por creer los detalles que ofrece (que tienen muchas contadicciones) como por notar que Munoz tiene antecedentes de izquierda y que las personas que nombra parecen ser verdaderas, tambien a crear dudas sobre las declaraciones que ha dado, y algunas que tienden a dar credito a las declaraciones.

a. *Factores que tienden a crear dudas:*

(1) Munoz ha solicitado asilo en esta embajada anteriormente. La primera vez fue en Mayo de 1973, cuando lo hizo en persona, y la segunda vez fue por carta en 1974. En esta ocasion dijo tener interes en el programa para otorgar asilo a detenidos.

(2) Munoz dice estar pasando por una situacion economica bastante serio. Sin embargo, su ropa es de muy buena calidad.

(3) Parece poco probable lo declarado por Munoz sobre el tal "Jose" que entra y sale de la embajada de Venezuela, como asi lo parecen otros detalles tanto del posible atentado como de las otras declaraciones que hizo. Entre las otras declaraciones, el menos probable fue cuando jijo que el nuevo dirigente maximo del MIR es el Obispo Camus.

b. Factores que tiended a dar credito:

(1) Se le advertio a Munoz que se le entregaria lo dicho por el a las fuerzas de seguridad de Chile, pero esto no causo que variara lo dicho.

(2) Munoz se mantiene firme en lo dicho y habla con confianza y conciccion.

(3) Munoz tiena antecedentes que le darian como conocer personas de izquierda tales como los que nombra.

7. Se le solicito a Munoz que volviera a ponerse en contacto con Moraga para tratar de obtener mayores datos sobre el posible atentado. Se le recomendo a Munoz que le explicara a Morga que antes de participar de lleno en el complot, queria saber definitivamente que podria salir de Chile, y que queria que Moraga le explicara como se haria. Munoz acordo ponerse en contacto con la embajada *todos los dias para dejar saber en que andaba.*

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Santiago, Chile

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February 3, 1976

Coronel Manuel Contreras Sepulveda
Director, National Directorate of
Intelligence
Santiago, Chile

Dear Coronel Contreras:

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your letter number F3550/73/96 concerning the case of Juan Muñoz Alarcon, and to express to you the appreciation of this Embassy for the assurances you have given that the allegations of this person are not based on fact.

Your assurances that appropriate measures of security for Embassy personnel will be taken as needed are also appreciated, and you may be sure that the Embassy will establish contact immediately if the need arises again.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Stout
Political Counselor

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE : JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA

NACIONALIDAD : CHILENO

PROFESION: GENERAL DE BRIGADA

ESTADO CIVIL : CASADO

DOMICILIO PRINCIPE DE GALES No 7045

CARNET: No. 56693 DE SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2.354.882-4

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO , EXPONE : Que de acuerdo a las "DISPOSICIONES SOBRE CONFECCION Y USO DELA PLACA DE IDENTIFICACION DINA. (PID) Y TARJETA DE IDENTIFICACION DINA (TID)", documento de carácter "Reservado" de fecha 11 de Junio de 1975, emitido por el suscrito y particularmente a su párrafo III. No.1, letra c.-, Nos. 1) y 2) y letra d.- no modificadas al pasar DINA. a constituírse en CNI., la Tarjeta de Identificación (TID.) anunciada por doña MARIANA CALLEJAS, es necesariamente falsa y mal falsificada.

Que la presente declaración se emite en esta forma atendido el carácter de"Reservado" (para el interior de DINA . y CNI.) y "Secreto" para el exterior que tiene el documento individualizado por tratarse de un documento de Inteligencia. Deja constancia que formula la presente declaración en forma absolutamente voluntaria, ratificandola y firmándola

Manuel Contreras, General
Carnet 56693 San Antonio

Previa lectura juró y firmó ante mí don Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda. - Santiago, 19 de Octubre de 1978.

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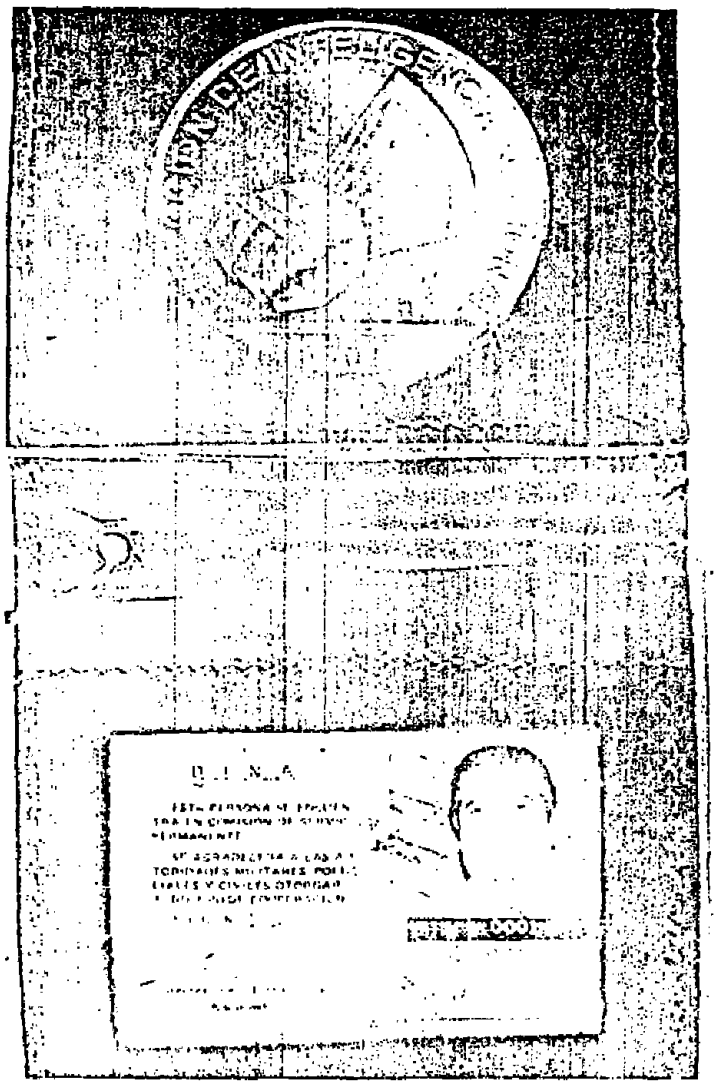

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 11, 1976

PERSONAL

Colonel Manuel Contreras Sepulveda
Director
Directorate of National Intelligence
Belgrano 11
Santiago, Chile

Dear Colonel Contreras:

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to thank you for your efforts in facilitating the apprehension of Rolando Otero Hernandez, a fugitive from American justice.

Your cooperation is most appreciated and you may be certain that I will welcome the opportunity to assist you in any matter of mutual interest.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

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MOVIMIENTO NACIONALISTA CUBANO • P. O. Box 684 • UNION CITY, NEW JERSEY 07087
(ZONA DOS)

5 de julio de 1976
En el Exilio

Sr. Sergio Crespo
Consul General de la Rep. de Chile
Nueva York, N.Y.

Mi apreciado Sergio:

Mucho agradezco su gentil invitación para la recepción a celebrarse el día 7 de julio con la tripulación del "Esmeralda", así como la correspondiente que tendra lugar el día 8 a bordo del Buque Escuela.

Siento inmensamente el sentirme honrosamente obligado a declinar a dichas invitaciones y quiero aquí explicarlo brevemente los motivos que me evitan estar con ustedes en estos dos dias.

El Movimiento Nacionalista Cubano hubo de romper lanzas en defensa de los mejores intereses de la Nación Chilena al respaldar en todas las formas (públicas y privadas, dignas del comentario y dignas del silencio) al gobierno que preside el Excelentísimo Señor Presidente, General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte.

Sergio, bien recordará nuestras muestras de afecto e identificación para con Chile y su justa lucha contra el marxismo. En estos momentos pasa por mi mente el acto del pasado 30 de noviembre de 1975 que bajo el lema de "Cuba y Chile Frente al Comunismo" hubimos de organizar, asi como nuestra constante labor en favor de la causa chilena, que consideramos la nuestra, a través de la prensa escrita, radial y televisada. En conclusión, creo que estamos en acuerdo de que el Movimiento

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Con... Por... Y Para La Patria.

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Nacionalista Cubano, en nombre del pueblo cubano del destierro, siempre ha defendido y respaldado al gobierno chileno contra la conjura internacional comunista, que continúa trabajando en su intento de destruir las instituciones y subvertir la paz en la Nación Chilena.

Amigo Crespo, así las cosas, el día 20 de mayo (irónicamente, fecha de la Independencia de Cuba) arriba al aeropuerto de Miami en el vuelo #870 de Braniff Airlines, procedente de Santiago, en calidad de detenido, esposado y escoltado por agentes del Buro Federal de Investigaciones de los Estados Unidos, el Sr. Rolando Otero, combatiente cubano anticomunista y veterano de "Bahía de Cochinos." El combatiente Otero se encontraba en Santiago, en aparente asilo político desde principios de febrero.

Crespo, no voy aquí a discutir la culpabilidad o responsabilidad de los hechos de los cuales el Sr. Otero es acusado por las autoridades norteamericanas, tampoco si los mismos fueron mas perjudiciales que beneficiosos para la causa cubana de liberación, sino que simplemente elevo a usted mi protesta, descontento y desconcierto ante este hecho. Hemos tratado de obtener respuesta satisfactoria al "Caso Otero" y hasta ahora no hemos tenido alguna.

Sí quiero que comprenda usted, Sergio, y de ser posible eleve nuestro sentir a Santiago, que para los elementos combatientes del destierro cubano este ha sido un duro golpe dado a nosotros por quien hasta ahora hemos considerado nuestro aliado ideológico en la lucha contra el enemigo común. Y así lo hacemos porque sabemos que quienes hoy gobiernan en la Nación Chilena lo hacen en defensa de los principios de nuestra civilización occidental y cristiana y en defensa de nuestra cultura y tradición.

Sepa usted que recientemente se efectuó una reunión de los dirigentes beligerantes de la causa cubana y por respeto y estimación para con el Movimiento Nacionalista Cubano y por nuestros planteamientos se decidió tomar un margen de espera antes de reaccionar por el hecho de entrega de Rolando Otero a la cárcel que le espera en este país.

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Ya la prensa se ha hecho eco del descontento del exílio cubano ante este hecho y muy a pesar nuestro han hecho comentarios de censura para con la Junta de Gobierno. Esto es algo que mucho nos duele y que por todos los medios hemos tratado de evitar pero hasta cierto punto estamos con los brazos cruzados ante el desconocimiento de el verdadero porque de las cosas.

Sabemos también que se han dictado ordenes de detención en Chile contra otro cubano de probada filiación anticomunista.

Amigo Sergio, nosotros pudimos haber logrado una movilización masiva para dar la bienvenida al "Esmeralda" así como distintos actos-homenajes a su tripulación, pero nos vimos obligados a abstenernos a hacerlo debido al hecho ya explicado. Las circunstancias nos obligaron a no hacer aquello que nuestro sentimiento y el afecto por el pueblo chileno dictaban, imponiéndose lo negativo de la circunstancias a nuestro verdadero deseo y voluntad.

Igualmente le informo que aunque mi deseo es de estar con ustedes en estos días las circunstancias - un cubano preso en Miami y nuestra sagrada causa de liberación - no son un impedimento moral.

Espero con vuestra respuesta poder aclarar este lamentable hecho y aunque las causas que hayan motivado la entrega de Rolando Otero por las autoridades chilenas a las norteamericanas no puedan ser del conocimiento público, una vez recibidas haremos todo lo posible por eliminar las tensiones en el exílio cubano, provocadas por el "Caso Otero"

Con un fuerte abrazo me despido de usted, y con un verdadero deseo de que este asunto se aclare satisfactoriamente lo antes posible. Queda de usted, atentamente,

Su amigo,

Guillermo Novo Sampol
2do Jefe Nacional

GNS/lr

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Copias a:

Excelentísimo Señor Presidente
de la República de Chile
General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte

Contraalmirante Ronald McIntyre
Attaché Naval

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1.- ORLANDO ROSCH AVILA.

a.- Ciudadano cubano exiliado perteneciente al grupo Anti Castrista "Acción cubana", de línea centro Nacionalista.

b.- Ingresó a Chile con el nombre y características que se indican:

(1) PEDRO ANTONIO PEÑA.
(2) Nacionalidad: Dominicano
(3) Pasaporte N° 85768 de Santo Domingo.
(4) Estado Civil: Soltero.
(5) Nacido en 1929.
(6) Profesión: Empleado.
(7) Ingreso a Chile: el 03.Diciembre.1974.
(8) Procedencia: Perú.
(9) Ingreso a través de Pudahuel en calidad de turista.

c.- Salida de Chile, el 27 de Agosto de 1975, por Pudahuel rumbo a Colombia.

d.- El citado cubano reingresó a Chile con Pasaporte de nacionalidad chilena, conforme a los antecedentes que se indican:

(1) Nombre: HECTOR DAVANZO CINTOLESI
(2) Nacionalidad: Chilena.
(3) Pasaporte N° 20583 de Chile.
(4) Carnet de Identidad N° 2.557.422 de Santiago.
(5) Estado civil: casado.
(6) Nacido en 1927.
(7) Profesión: Obrero.
(8) Entrada al país el 09.Diciembre de 1975 por Pudahuel, desde Argentina.
(9) Salida del país el 28. Diciembre de 1975 por Pudahuel hacia Panamá.

e.- De acuerdo con los antecedentes en nuestro poder, ROSCH tomó contacto en Chile entre otros, con el Capitán de Corbeta CARLOS ASCIITON, del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, con el periodista de "La Segunda" MANUEL FUENTES WEDING y con elementos de "Patria y Libertad".

f.- El Pasaporte chileno empleado es falsificado, pero todos los datos corresponden al hermano del Comandante del Buque Escuela Esmeralda.

g.- Durante su permanencia en Chile bajo el nombre de PEDRO ANTONIO PEÑA, vivió en el Departamento N° 24 de la Torre N° 7 de la Remodelación San Borja.

h.- Se investigan sus actividades durante su estadía en Chile ya que la Dirección de Inteligencia no posee antecedentes al respecto dado que por su calidad de turista dominicano, debe haber sido controlado por la Policía Internacional. Al mismo tiempo no se tuvo conocimiento de que hubiese desarrollado actividades contrarias al Gobierno chileno. Debido a las razones anteriores no figura en nuestro fichado ni se conoció su real nombre hasta que por Publicaciones de Prensa se informó haber sido detenido en Costa Rica.

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i.- Como otro antecedente, con fecha 04.Diciembre.1974 y por Memorándum (R) N° 287, el Sr. Capitán de Fragata don JAIME ROJAS BRUGES, Secretario ejecutivo de la Subsecretaría de Relaciones Exteriores informó a la Dirección de que el Presidente del Club cubano Elizabeth de Nueva Jersey (USA) Don LUCAS BORGES, solicitó al Gobierno chileno que ORLANDO BOSCH pudiera venir a residir en Chile.

j.- Se adjunta Circular emitida por ORLANDO BOSCH cuando fué detenido en Marzo de 1976 en Costa Rica.

2.- GUILLERMO NOVO SANPOL.

a.- Ciudadano cubano exilado de línea anti castrista, perteneciente al "Movimiento Nacionalista cubano".

b.- Ingresó al país junto con PEDRO ANTONIO PEÑA, conforme a las siguientes características:

(1) Nombre: GUILLERMO NOVO SANPOL.
(2) Nacionalidad: Norteamericano.
(3) Pasaporte N° 2.380.607 de Estados Unidos.
(4) Nacido en 1939.
(5) Estado Civil: Casado.
(6) Profesión: Empleado.
(7) Ingresó el 03.Diciembre.1974 por Pudahuel desde Venezuela, en calidad de turista Norteamericano.
(8) Salió de Chile por Pudahuel rumbo a Colombia el 19 de Diciembre de 1974.

c.- No se tiene conocimiento de antecedentes negativos de este ciudadano durante su permanencia en Chile y en su calidad de turista norteamericano, debe haber sido controlado por la Policía Internacional.

3.- JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ.

a.- Ciudadano cubano exilado perteneciente al "Movimiento Nacionalista cubano".

b.- Ingresó a Chile, el día 4 de Diciembre de 1974, conforme a lo siguiente:

(1) Nombre: JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ.
(2) Nacionalidad: Cubano.
(5) Pasaporte N° 1.289.386 de Venezuela.
(4) Ingresó el 4 de Diciembre de 1974 como turista cubano por Pudahuel, proveniente de Venezuela.
(5) Salió de Chile el 19 de Diciembre de 1974 por Pudahuel rumbo a Colombia, en calidad de turista norteamericano.

c.- No se tiene conocimiento de antecedentes negativos de este ciudadano durante su permanencia en Chile y en su calidad de turista cubano exilado, debe haber sido controlado por la Policía Internacional.

4.- ROLANDO OTERO HERNANDEZ.

a.- Ciudadano cubano exilado, nacionalizado Norteamericano, perteneciente al grupo cubano [illegible] actúan en contra de Israel y a favor de los palestinos, al igual que varias organizaciones castristas; por lo que su línea política es dudosa.

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b.- Ingresó a Chile el 3 de Febrero de 1976 por Pudahuel, desde Venezuela, conforme a lo siguiente:

(1) Nombre: ROLANDO OTERO HERNANDEZ.
(2) Nacionalidad: Cubano nacionalizado Norteamericano.
(3) Fecha de Nacimiento: 18.ABRIL.1943 La Habana, Cuba.
(4) Pasaporte N° 0-796836 Norteamericano.
(5) Profesión: Paracaidista Militar Deportivo.
(6) Domicilio particular en Chile:
- Inicialmente: Pieza 711 del Hotel Emperador, entre el 3 de Febrero y el 8 de Marzo de 1976.
- A continuación en: Carlos Antúnez 1967, Depto. 21 de Santiago.
- Finalmente en: Calle Viollier N° 60 de Santiago.

c.- Otero al llegar a Chile venía huyendo de la justicia norteamericana, razón por la cual fue encargado a la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional por el FBI.

d.- Antecedentes de Servicios de Inteligencia amigos, expresaron que Otero trabajaba en conjunto con RICARDO MORALES NAVARRETE, un doble Agente cubano comunista actualmente ocupando un alto puesto en el Servicio de Inteligencia Política de Venezuela. Otero vivió en casa de Morales en el año 1966.

e.- Ante los antecedentes expuestos, la Dirección logró capturar por sospechoso a un individuo cubano, el cual se quiso dar a conocer su identidad inicialmente, y posteriormente al serle ésta comprobada como ROLANDO OTERO HERNANDEZ, fue expulsado del país y entregado al FBI, el 20 de Mayo de 1976. Como constancia de lo anterior se adjunta fotocopia de carta del Sr. CLARENCE M. KELLEY, Director del FBI.

f.- La acción de la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional provocó airadas reacciones entre los cubanos exilados en Estados Unidos y numerosas publicaciones atacaron al Gobierno de Chile y a la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional por esta acción normal, en beneficio de la justicia y del resguardo de la seguridad interior, ya que hay serias sospechas de su doble condición de Agente comunista.

SANTIAGO, 05.Agosto.1977.-

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPUBLICA
D.I.N.A.

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A MIS COMPATRIOTAS

A las diez de la mañana del día 12 de Marzo iniciaré una huelga de hambre como protesta por los vejámenes, maltratos y abusos a que he sido sometido por parte de las autoridades Costarricenses, las cuales me han mantenido detenido, sin haber sido presentado ante tribunales competentes, como un vulgar delincuente cuando mi único delito es el de luchar con todas las fibras de mi ser por la libertad de mi Patria. Se me acusa de tener papeles falsos, es de todos conocido que mi anhelo es aportar a la lucha en contra de la tiranía castrista, me he obligado a utilizar identificación falsificada, pero es bueno que se sepa que el Gobierno de Costa Rica conocía de mi estancia en el país no poniendo objeción en un principio a la misma, y que además actualmente miles de Chilenos comunistas radican en el país carentes de documentación legal sin ser molestados en lo mas mínimo por las autoridades.

Yo reclamo del Gobierno Costarricense que me otorgue a mi, que lucho por reinstaurar en mi país las mismas libertades e instituciones que Costa Rica felizmente disfruta, la misma hospitalidad y cariño que ha brindado a los comunistas chilenos como el señor Pascal Allende quienes abogan y luchan por la destrucción del sistema democrático, y a quienes sin embargo se les trata a cuerpo de rey en doloroso contraste con la dureza asumida en contra de mi persona por parte del Gobierno Costarricense.

Rechazo como burdas y falsas las acusaciones de la radio castrista de la Habana, de la cual inexplicablemente las autoridades de Costa Rica se han hecho eco, que me sitúan como partícipe de un plan para asesinar al comunista chileno Pascal Allende. Todos mis esfuerzos y energías se dirigen única y exclusivamente en contra de la tiranía castrista. El Gobierno sabe perfectamente que esas acusaciones son falsas, pero se ha dejado chantajear por la campaña del régimen castrista en una violación de su soberanía.

Sepan mis compatriotas que no solo ha sido la presión comunista la que ha movido al Gobierno a perseguirme y detenerme. En una extraña e insólita coincidencia, el Gobierno Norteamericano por medio de su embajador en San José, ejerció enorme influencia para que yo fuera expulsado procediendo interrogarme miembros del Bureau Federal de Investigaciones de los E.U. en suelo Costarricense, en flagrante violación de la soberanía de este país.

Esta huelga de hambre que inicio es mi expresión de rebeldía y protesta ante la cobardía y la traición de los que supuestamente estaban hermanados con la causa de la libertad de Cuba y sin embargo hoy nos apedrean y nos persiguen con saña. En nuestra lucha por reconquistar las libertades conculcadas nos enfrentamos ante un enemigo poderoso y sin escrúpulos, ante la indiferencia, claudicación y hasta complicidad de quienes debían ser nuestros aliados.

Latinos todos, es esta una verdad como templo que no podemos ocultar. Para ello nos el ejemplo dignificante de nuestros mártires y de nuestros presos en la Isla Esclava, como aliciente y estímulo para proseguir la lucha. Ante mis compatriotas reafirmo mi fe inquebrantable en los valores eternos de mi Patria, en la certeza del precepto Martiano, que afirma que las tiranías fomentan las virtudes que las matan, que lo heroico vence, e imbuido de este espíritu proseguiré en mi actual actitud hasta tanto no se me haga justicia. Caiga sobre el Gobierno de Costa Rica la responsabilidad sobre mi suerte.

Por una Cuba Libre.

DR. OCTAVIO BOSCH

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

DECLASSIFIED

June 17, 1975

PERSONAL

Colonel Manuel Contreras Sepulveda
Director
Directorate of National Intelligence
Edificio Diego Portales
Santiago, Chile

Dear Colonel Contreras:

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to thank you for your efforts in facilitating the [illegible] Fernandez, a fugitive from American justice.

Your cooperation is most appreciated and I am hopeful that I will welcome the opportunity to assist you in any matter of mutual interest.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: HUGO ACEVEDO GODOY

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: OFICIAL DE EJERCITO

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: CARDENAL CARO 461 - SAN FERNANDO

CEDULA DE IDENTIDAD: 4.851.574-6 STGO. RUT. 4.851.574-6

QUIEN, BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE: a) Que desde el 15 de Abril de 1976 hasta el 30 de Enero de 1977 se desempeñó como Ayudante del Coronel Pedro Espinoza Bravo, en el cargo de éste como Jefe de Operaciones de Inteligencia de la ex DINA; b) Que éste Departamento, el de Operaciones de Inteligencia, tenía por misión exclusiva la recopilación y el análisis de datos e informaciones, y no planificaba ni ejecutaba otro tipo de operaciones; c) Que al Coronel Espinoza llegaba muy temprano a su oficina y se iba muy tarde de ella, almorzando incluso en su mismo escritorio. Fuera de la oficina lo acompañaba permanentemente su chofer y su guardaespaldas, de nombre AQUILES REINARES PESCE y MOLINA. En todo el tiempo que trabajé junto al Coronel Espinoza le ví utilizar un sólo y mismo auto: un Chevy Nova año 1975 de color café, siempre manejado por el citado REINARES; d) Que, por el mismo cargo del declarante, estima imposible que el Coronel Espinoza hubiese recibido a alguien en su oficina sin que él lo hubiese sabido e introducido a ella. Aún, las conversaciones telefónicas más privadas se hacían por su intermedio y el Coronel Espinoza tenía por costumbre indicarle que se quedase presente en muchas de sus reuniones, mejor dicho, en casi todas ellas, siendo ésa lo habitual; e) Que recuerda que en el mes de Julio de 1976, el mismo mes en que el Coronel hizo un viaje a Brasil, le hizo citar por teléfono a un Sr. Andrés Wilson y, cuando concurrió, en su presencia preguntó el Coronel a Wilson si podía

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viajar a Estados Unidos como intérprete del Teniente Fernández, previo paso por Paraguay, a lo que Wilson replicó de inmediato que no tenía inconveniente; f) Que, posteriormente, también estuvo presente cuando el Coronel Espinoza instruyó al Teniente Fernández para viajar a Estados Unidos como Agente de Apoyo de una mujer que debía realizar una investigación entre el personal de EXPO-CHILE en Nueva York. El Coronel Espinoza dió al Teniente Fernández el nombre de esa mujer y el lugar donde debían encontrarse, pero no recuerda ni uno ni otro. g) Que a fines de Agosto o principios de Septiembre de 1976 recibió en su oficina una llamada telefónica de Andrés Wilson solicitando hablar con el Coronel Espinoza. Preguntado acerca de la materia sobre la que quería hablar, manifestó que tenía que viajar en esos días a Estados Unidos y que llamaba para ofrecerle al Coronel comprar cualquiera cosa que pudiese necesitar, ofrecimiento que también hizo Wilson al declarante. Mas tarde, el Coronel Espinoza comentó al declarante esta amabilidad de Wilson, que le parecía más sorprendente todavía por no existir entre ellos amistad ni especiales vínculos. h) Que, yo era el que regulaba las actividades del Cabo REINARES conductor, y del Sargento Molina, Guardaespaldas del Coronel Espinoza, cuando durante el día el Coronel debía salir, cosa que sucedía rara vez.

Previa lectura lo ratificó y firmó conjuntamente con el notario que suscribe.

Firmo ante mi don Hugo Cesar Acevedo Godoy, Carnet N° 4.051.574-6 de Santiago.- Santiago, 28 de Febrero de 1979.-

ARTURO CARVAJAL ESCOBAR
NOTARIO PUBLICO

DUPLICADO

SERVICIO DE REGISTRO CIVIL
E IDENTIFICACION
CHILE

M 8

CERTIFICADO DE MATRIMONIO

CERTIFICO: QUE EN LA CIRCUNSCRIPCION DE .....

DEL DEPARTAMENTO DE ..... CON FECHA 22 .....

DE Julio DE 1961 Y Nº 96 - L - SE HALLA INSCRITO

EL MATRIMONIO DE:

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS DEL MARIDO
Michael Vernon Townley Welch -

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS DEL PADRE
Jay Vernon Townley -

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS DE LA MADRE
Margaret Welch -

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS DE LA MUJER
Luis Callejas Flores -

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS DEL PADRE
Javier Callejas Avila -

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS DE LA MADRE
María Isabel Flores -

FECHA DE LA CELEBRACION	DIA	MES	AÑO	HORA
	22	Julio	1961	11 40

OBSERVACIONES

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
IMPUESTO
- 10 -
PESOS

FECHA DEL CERTIFICADO	LOCALIDAD	DIA	MES	AÑO

(Oficina Registro Civil e Identificación)

FIRMA Y SELLO DEL FUNCIONARIO AUTORIZADO

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
IMPUESTO
- 10 -
PESOS

EJECUTOR

REVISOR

DUPLICADO

Isabel Letelier fue el único testigo en audiencia de ayer

- El *maletín* del ex Ministro fue objeto de debate
- "Dulces sonrisas" de la declarante a miembros del jurado.
- Señaló que en Chile había 80 mil presos políticos.

por EMILIO BAKIT
Enviado especial
a Washington

Si anteayer la sala 19 de la Corte de Justicia del Distrito Federal de Columbia, recibió *una lluvia de testigos, ayer se quedó con* uno solo: Isabel Letelier. Con voz calmada, tranquila, Isabel, como la llaman sus "compañeros" del Instituto de Estudios Políticos de Washington, relató los acontecimientos que vivió su esposo, Orlando Letelier, hasta que fue asesinado. En varias oportunidades fue interrumpida por las *objeciones de la defensa y por las amonestaciones* del juez que le pidió que no hiciera divagaciones políticas ni expresara sus sentimientos personales, cuando sólo se le pedía un sí o un no como respuesta.

Entre los comentarios que el juez pidió al jurado... que olvidara, estaba la cifra de "80 mil presos políticos en Chile", que ella mencionó. El proceso se realizó a puertas cerradas durante la mañana de ayer debido a que el juez Parker y los abogados debían decidir si se daba lugar a la moción de la defensa, en el sentido de que se le permitiera ver los originales de los documentos que tenía Orlando Letelier el día del atentado. Por eso es que en la tarde el Fiscal Propper sólo tuvo tiempo de interrogar a la viuda de Letelier, cuya testificación continuaba esta mañana.

EL MALETIN

Durante toda la mañana, público, periodistas y los tres cubanos acusados, Ignacio y Guillermo Novo y Alvin Ross, debieron permanecer en la sala —o fumando fuera de ella— a la espera de que comenzara la sesión de la corte. En ese lapso, los familiares de los detenidos anticastristas pudieron acercarse a ellos para saludarlos desde el cierre de madera que separa al público del sector donde se encuentran acusados, acusadores, juez y funcionarios judiciales. Entre los que saludaban el juez decidiera si [illegible] importa o no para [illegible] fallo. Su determinación se conoce en el curso del día de hoy. Cabe señalar que entre los documentos que se tradujeron está una carta de la hija de Salvador Allende, Tati, que envió a Letelier relacionada con actividades del MIR y de obtención de recursos en Europa.

TESTIGO

A todo esto el receso obligado de la mañana de ayer permitió que se conocieran algunas informaciones sobre el futuro del juicio. Hasta el momento los testigos interrogados son 10. Y en total su número llega a 80. Eso hace prever que los interrogatorios aunque sean rápidos el juicio se prolongue hasta mediados de febrero.

Se supo, también, que la defensa de los cubanos presentará nuevos testigos: la esposa de Huberto Matos, el intelectual cubano torturado y encarcelado por Fidel Castro, y a Humberto Medrano, líder de la resistencia cubana que organizó el canje de prisioneros entre ese país y Estados Unidos.

Por su parte, se sabe que el Fiscal Eugene Propper presentará como uno de

el juez, a raíz de las objeciones, Isabel Letelier se volvía hacia el jurado y le sonreía dulcemente.". Luego continuaba el relato.

Ante una pregunta de Propper, sobre lo que ocurrió después de ser nombrado Ministro de Defensa, Isabel Margarita Morel, respondió: "A Orlando le pasó lo que le pasó a miles y miles de chilenos, durante el golpe...".

No pudo continuar la frase debido a que los abogados defensores objetaron la respuesta, la cual fue aceptada por el juez. Propper debió hacer la pregunta nuevamente e Isabel debió responder sin hacer mayores comentarios: "Mi esposo fue arrestado en el Ministerio de Defensa por los militares".

Posteriormente identificó a su esposo en una fotografía. En otra foto Letelier aparecía en su despacho de trabajo, y en una tercera cuando lo llevaban arrestado. Al identificar esa foto Isabel Letelier dijo: "Aquí lo llevan como un criminal rodeado por soldados con ametralladoras...". No pudo continuar porque nuevamente sus comentarios fueron objetados por los abogados defensores.

SIGUE EL RELATO

Luego el interrogatorio siguió en esta forma, entre Propper e Isabel Letelier:

—¿Cuándo vio por última vez a su marido a raíz del golpe?

"Lo vi esa mañana del 11 por última vez y no volví a verlo hasta febrero de 1974, cuando me permitieron visitarlo en un hospital de Punta Arenas. Había estado en la isla Dawson. Estuve tres meses sin saber qué había ocurrido con Orlando".

[illegible] para [illegible] ción por el comentario, y el fiscal Propper hizo la pregunta de otra forma:

—Aparte de tomar un abogado, ¿usted recurrió o conversó con otras personas en sus intentos por lograr la libertad de su esposo?

—Conversé con gente de la prensa americana que estaba en Santiago, con antiguos amigos de Estados Unidos y recibí llamados telefónicos de todas partes del mundo de gente que quería ayudarnos.

—¿Usted logró algo en todas estas acciones?

—Sí; que las autoridades militares me pusieran bajo arresto domiciliario por actividades subversivas.

—¿Pidió también ayuda a organismos internacionales?

—Nosotros le pedimos ayuda a organismos tales como Amnesty International, la Cruz Roja, al Consejo Mundial de Iglesias, a la Asociación Internacional de Abogados y a muchos otros para que concurrieran a Dawson a constatar las horrendas condiciones de vida en que vivían los prisioneros (nueva objeción la defensa).

Posteriormente Propper continuó el interrogatorio:

—¿En qué condiciones vio en Punta Arenas a su esposo?

—Lo vi en el hospital de Punta Arenas; lo vi como un ser humano que había perdido 40 libras de peso y muy decaído anímicamente. [Estaba horrible! (nueva objeción de la defensa y recomendación del juez de no hacer comentarios).

—¿Su marido fue liberado, finalmente, gracias a la intervención de la justicia?

—No, no fue liberado, sino que fue expulsado del país.

—¿Cómo se logró esa expulsión?

—Con la ayuda de Dición en Chile. Siempre el objetivo era denunciar lo que estaba ocurriendo (nueva objeción de la defensa).

—Acerquémonos a los días de septiembre de 1976. ¿Qué hizo su marido el 11 de septiembre en Nueva York?

—Concurrió al Madison Square Garden, para hablar en un acto de conmemoración del golpe militar de 1973.

—¿Qué supo en esa oportunidad?

—Reporteros le informaron que la Junta le había quitado la nacionalidad.

—¿Qué ocurrió después? ¿Cómo supo oficialmente que se le quitaba la nacionalidad?

—No llegó a saberlo, dos días después de que fue asesinado recibimos la copia del Diario Oficial de Chile con el decreto que le quitaba la nacionalidad (aquí se produce una demora destinada a explicar al juez y al jurado qué es el Diario Oficial de Chile).

—¿Qué hizo Orlando Letelier el 20 de septiembre de 1976?

—Mi esposo me dejó ir a comer con los Moffitt, que desde que llegamos a Estados Unidos, habían dado todo su apoyo a Orlando.

—¿Se volvieron a ver al día siguiente?

—Los Moffitt llegaron a pasa a buscar a Orlando. Se fueron en su auto debido a que el de los Moffitt tenía problemas. Nosotros quedamos de vernos a la hora de almuerzo.

—¿Y lo volvió a ver?

—No lo volví a ver. Fue asesinado.

—¿Cómo lo supo?

—Recibí un llamado de la secretaria de Orlando. Me dijo que había ocurrido un accidente y que fuera al hospital de Washington. Al llegar vi mucha gente y me di cuenta por sus caras de que algo horrible había pasado (objeción de la defensa).

—¿Qué le dijeron?

—Después me dijeron que Orlando estaba muerto...

En esta parte del interrogatorio se suspendió la sesión de la Corte, para continuar tratando el caso del maletín de Letelier. Esta mañana continuaba el interrogatorio.

fumando fuera de ella— a la espera de que comenzara la sesión de la corte. En ese lapso, los familiares de los detenidos anticastristas pudieron acercarse a ellos para saludarlos desde el cierre de madera que separa al público del sector donde se encuentran acusados, acusadores, jueces y funcionarios judiciales. Entre los que saludaban estaban las hijas de Alvin Ross, Leyla, de 11, y Ana, de 24, casada. La menor se acercó lo más posible a su padre y le envió saludos *a través de la barrera*. Alvin Ross le envió un beso a la vez que le decía que le enviaría una carta.

Afuera en el pasillo los dibujantes *aprovechaban* de hacer el retrato de Isabel Letelier que esperaba su turno para testificar mientras sus seguidores —entre ellos varios exiliados chilenos—, miraban con malos ojos a los periodistas que habían llegado a Washington desde Santiago.

A todo esto, en el interior de la sala de la Corte, el juez Parker y los abogados Larry Dubin, Oscar González Suárez y Paul Goldberger —de la defensa— y Eugene Propper, Lawrence Barchella y Diane Kelly —los fiscales— *analizaban* el asunto del maletín de Letelier.

La defensa había señalado que el contenido de ese maletín —pese a ser conocido en parte— era fundamental para los alegatos en favor de los acusados. El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos se había negado terminantemente a entregar a la *defensa el* contenido del maletín. Sin embargo, en la mañana de ayer y posteriormente en la tarde, se determinó una traducción "neutral" de los *documentos que* estaban en español para que

presentará nuevos testigos: la esposa de Huberto *Los*, el intelectual cubano torturado y encarcelado por Fidel Castro, y a Humberto Medrano, *líder de la* resistencia cubana que organizó el canje de prisioneros entre ese país y Estados Unidos.

Por su parte, se sabe que el Fiscal Eugene Propper presentará como una de sus testigos *sorpresa* a Rolando Otero. Se trata de un cubano anticastrista que fue detenido en Chile y entregado al gobierno de los Estados Unidos, al que ahora se utiliza como testigo contra Chile para probar que el *Gobierno*, a través de la DINA, fue el que ordenó el asesinato de Orlando Letelier.

RELATO Y OBJECIONES

■ Respecto a la testificación de Isabel Letelier, estuvo *plagada de objeciones*, debido a sus comentarios contra el gobierno chileno. Esto fue lo que ella alcanzó a declarar *ayer* hasta que la Corte fue declarada en receso:

Isabel Letelier señaló que había *vivido* 20 *años* con su esposo, que tenía 4 hijos, que la primera vez que habían llegado a Estados *Unidos* fue en *1960*, para trabajar con el BID. Permanecieron 10 años hasta 1970 en Washington. En enero de 1971, Letelier fue nombrado por Allende Embajador de Chile en Estados Unidos, cargo en el que permaneció hasta mayo de *1973*. *Posteriormente*, Letelier fue nombrado Canciller, en seguida Ministro del Interior y, finalmente, a pocos días del golpe, Ministro de Defensa.

Cabe señalar que en cada pausa que le daban las *conversaciones entre los* abogados de la defensa y

[illegible] una vez a su marido a raíz del golpe?

"Lo vi esa mañana del 11 por *última vez y no volví* a verlo hasta febrero de 1974, cuando me permitieron visitarlo en un hospital de Punta Arenas. Había estado en la Isla Dawson. *Estuve* tres meses sin saber qué había ocurrido con Orlando".

—¿Qué hizo usted para conocer lo ocurrido a su esposo?

"Fui donde el general Pinochet, que había tomado *el mando de la Junta* y le pregunté dónde estaba Orlando. Mi familia sentía una gran ansiedad por la ausencia de Orlando".

En este momento interviene el juez Barrington *Parker*:

—Señora, cuando usted responda no exprese los sentimientos personales de *usted o de su familia*. Conteste exactamente lo que se le pregunta.

En seguida continuó en *interrogatorio* el Fiscal Propper:

—¿Qué ocurrió después con Orlando Letelier?

"De Dawson *fue trasladado* a la Academia de Guerra Aérea de Santiago y posteriormente al campo de concentración de Ritoque.

—¿Qué cargos le hicieron las autoridades militares *a Orlando Letelier* para mantenerlo detenido?

—Fue hecho prisionero sin cargo alguno.

—¿Usted inició alguna *acción judicial para lograr* su libertad?

—Tomamos un abogado que nunca pudo ver a mi esposo. También internacionalmente comenzó un movimiento para ayudarnos.

En este momento los *abogados defensores* presentaron una nueva objeción.

y muy cercano a [illegible]amente. ¡Estaba horrible! [nueva objeción de la defensa y recomendación del juez de no *hacer comentarios*].

—¿Su marido fue liberado, finalmente, gracias a la intervención de la justicia?

—No, no fue liberado, sino que fue expulsado del *país*.

—¿Cómo se logró esa expulsión?

—Con la ayuda de Diego *Arria*, *quien lo llevó* a Venezuela el 11 de septiembre de 1974. Después, en 1975, nos trasladamos a Estados Unidos; aquí trabajó contratado por el Instituto de Estudios Políticos de la Universidad de Washington.

—¿Sobre qué hablaba su *marido* en *las conferencias*?

—Comenzó a hablar sobre las violaciones de los derechos humanos y las pésimas condiciones de los pobres en Chile.

—¿Qué era lo que más criticaba *Orlando Letelier*?

—Criticó el bombardeo de La Moneda; el bombardeo de sectores populares; el hecho de que en Chile hubiera 80 mil prisioneros políticos; el cierre del Congreso y la prohibición de realizar elecciones presidenciales, parlamentarias, municipales, en sindicatos y de todo tipo. Criticó también que todos los cargos comenzarán a ser ocupados por militares.

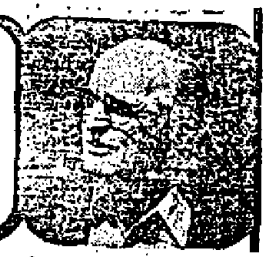
—¿Dónde decía todo esto su esposo?

—Era invitado a hablar en universidades sobre los derechos humanos en Chile. Le hablaba a amigos, a *periodistas*, a parlamentarios, a todo el que quisiera oirlo. Iba a donde lo invitaran.

—¿Tenía contactos con parlamentarios norteamericanos?

—Con quienes más tenía contacto era con Kennedy, Mc Govern, Humphrey, Church y otros. Siempre les hablaba sobre la situa-

por
Andrés Ribon:



Diversiones de verano

■ A) Problema de ingenio:

Dos hombres caminan de norte a sur por una calle que corre de oriente a poniente. En la mitad del trayecto, el mayor de los hombres, de apellido Zárate, le propone a su acompañante, a quien le dicen "el pelao", que hagan *cinco veces y media igual* recorrido, pero con un solo pie. "El pelao" acepta esa proposición, pero la condiciona a que después las vuelvan a hacer con el otro pie. Conforme, le replica Zárate. *Cuando llevan* cuatro vueltas con el primer pie, la señora de este último, Olivia Carmona de Zárate, lo llama a almorzar (los Zárate viven en esa calle, *mientras la familia del* "pelao" se domicilia en la siguiente hacia el poniente y que va de sur a norte). Los dos amigos detienen la prueba por 23 minutos, justo *lo que demoró el almuerzo*, y la reanudan, pero saltándose, por olvido, la quinta vuelta inicial. Cuando iban en la tercera de las vueltas que propuso "el pelao", éste se tropieza y gatea lo que le resta. Por esta circunstancia, ambos deciden repetir todas las vueltas, pero ahora con los dos pies juntos. PREGUNTAS: a) ¿Cómo se llama la señora del "pelao"; b) *¿Por qué no* se dice *nunca* el nombre de Zárate?; y c) ¿A qué hora se sirven las once los Zárate?

■ B) ANTONIMOS: (Escriba sobre los puntitos el correspondiente antónimo):

Pergueñado ..... Medio inbécil .....
Desconcertadísimo ..... Tos .....
Escalofrío ..... 10 Mandamientos .....
Cantimplora ..... "Cuerpo cortado" .....
Casi ..... Adentro .....

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
MINISTERIO DE DEFENSA NACIONAL
INVESTIGACIONES DE CHILE
DEPARTAMENTO DE EXTRANJERIA
Y POLICIA INTERNACIONAL
Oficina de Partes

M I N U T A

De acuerdo a lo ordenado, revisado el Kardex de Extranjeros de esta Oficina de Partes, se encuentra registrado:

MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY WELCH, estadounidense, nacido en Iowa (USA) el 09-12-42, casado con INES CALLEJAS HONORES de nacionalidad chilena, de profesión técnico en transmisiones, con domicilio en Cirujano Guzmán N° 161, Pasaporte estadounidense N° Z 490577, Cédula de Identidad chilena N° 4369118, quien ingresó al país el 07-04-57 como Residente Sujeto a Contrato, obteniendo Certificado de Permanencia Definitiva N° 90.664, otorgado por D/S 4835 de 31-08-61; posteriormente ingresó el 08-01-71 como Inmigrante, con visa válida hasta 08-01-73, no existiendo constancia de algún trámite posterior.

Sin embargo, con Oficio s/n de 30-12-1966 el 6° Juzgado del Crimen de Santiago dispone su Arraigo, no indicándose Causa ni delito; posteriormente con oficio s/n de 08-04-1971 el mismo Tribunal en Causa N° 72.540 por Infracción a la Ley N° 4702 deja sin efecto Arraigo.-

SANTIAGO, 6 de marzo de 1978.-

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REPUBLICA DE CH
MINISTERIO DE DEFENSA
INVESTIGACIONES DE
SECRETARIA GENERAL

S/375

SEC. : Nº 324 /

ANT. : EJEMP. 1 HOJA 1 CNI (S) Nº B-100618 DE 25-8-78.

MAT. : SALIDA Y ENTRADA AL PAIS DE JUAN WILLIAMS ROSE y OTROS.

SANTIAGO, - 4 SET. 1978

DE : DIRECTOR GENERAL INVESTIGACIONES DE CHILE.

A : SEÑOR DIRECTOR NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES.

1.- Refiérome a su Oficio (S) enunciado en el "ANT". por medio del cual solicitase informe a esa Central Nacional de Informaciones, sobre las salidas y entradas al país de JUAN WILLIAMS ROSE y otros.

2.- Sobre el particular comunico que, en los Archivos de la Sección Control Internacional de Fronteras, sólo registran anotaciones de viajes las personas que a continuación se indican:

JUAN WILLIAMS ROSE :

Chileno - Nacido en 1949 - Casado - Empleado particular.
Pasaporte Oficial Nº 529 de Chile.
SALIDA : 21-08-76 PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 02-09-76 U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL.

Un HANS PETERSEN :

Alemán - Nacido el año 1931 - Soltero - Contador.
Pasaporte NR 6287083 de Alemania.
ENTRADA : 12-08-72 SUIZA - PUDAHUEL.
SALIDA : NO CONSTA.

Un HANS PETERSEN :
Danés - Nacido el año 1946 - Soltero - Físico.
Pasaporte NR 2084033 de Dinamarca.
Entrada : 24-04-74 BOLIVIA - CHACALLUTA.
Salida : NO CONSTA.

Un HANS JURGE PETERSEN :

Alemán - Nacido el año 1928 - Casado - Físico.
Pasaporte NR 6669879 de Alemania.
ENTRADA : 10-03-71 U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL.
SALIDA : NO CONSTA.

Un HANS PETERSEN SILVA :

Chileno - Nacido el año 1942 - Casado - Empleado particular.
Pasaporte Oficial Nº NR 531 de Chile.
SALIDA : 08-09-76 PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : NO CONSTA.

Un JUAN ANDRES WILSON SILVA :

Chileno - Nacido el año 1942 - Casado - Técnico,
Civil NR 5.318.524 de Chile.

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SALIDA : 19-07-76 PUDAHUEL - ARGENTINA
ENTRADA : 28-07-76 ARGENTINA - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 11-08-76 PUDAHUEL - ARGENTINA
ENTRADA : 12-08-76 ARGENTINA - PUDAHUEL

Un KENNETHWIL ENYART :

Norteamericano - Nacido el año 1946 - Soltero - Técnico.
Pasaporte NR 2.287.732 de U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 30-08-74 : ARGENTINA - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 10-09-74 : PUDAHUEL - ARGENTINA
ENTRADA : 01-10-74 : URUGUAY - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 03-12-74 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 12-12-74 : MEXICO - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 06-02-75 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 17-05-75 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 01-06-75 : PUDAHUEL - ARGENTINA
ENTRADA : 14-06-75 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 19-07-75 : PUDAHUEL - BRASIL
ENTRADA : 16-10-75 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : NO CONSTA.
ENTRADA : 23-09-76 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 27-11-76 : PUDAHUEL - ARGENTINA
ENTRADA : 10-12-76 : ARGENTINA - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : NO CONSTA.

Una INES CALLEJAS HONORES :

Chilena - Nacida el año 1932 - Casada - Labores.
Pasaporte NR13.561. de Chile.
SALIDA : NO CONSTA.
ENTRADA : 22-10-70 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL

Una INES CALLEJAS HONORES :

Chilena - Nacida el año 1932 - Casada - Labores.
Pasaporte NR 8.092 de Chile
SALIDA : 13-05-71 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 09-08-71 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 06-06-73 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 21-09-73 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 06-02-75 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 19-04-75 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL

Una MARIANA INES CALLEJAS HONORES :

Chilena - Nacida el año 1942 - Casada - Empleada.
Civil NR 2.267.857 de Chile
Salida : 16-10-77 : PUDAHUEL - ARGENTINA
ENTRADA : 23-10-77 : ARGENTINA - PUDAHUEL

Una INES CALLEJAS HONORES :

Chilena - Nacida el año 1942 - Casada - Empleada.
Pasaporte NR 10.645 de Chile.
SALIDA : 11-04-78 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 22-04-78 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 30-05-78 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 09-06-78 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL
SALIDA : 16-08-78 : PUDAHUEL - U.S.A.
ENTRADA : NO CONSTA.

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MICHAEL V. TOWNLEY WELCH :

Norteamericano - Nacido el año 1942 - Profesional.
Pasaporte NR 490577, de U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 08-01-71 : U.S.A. - PUDAHUEL.
SALIDA . : NO CONSTA.

Un MICHAEL TOWNLEY WELCH :

Norteamericano - Nacido en el año 1942 - Profesional.
Pasaporte Nº NR 2.083.392 de U.S.A.
ENTRADA : 08-10-71 : PANAMA - PUDAHUEL.
SALIDA : NO CONSTA.

MICHAEL V. TOWNLEY WELCH :

Norteamerican - Nacido en 1942 - Técnico - Casado.
Número de documento no procesado.
ENTRADA : NO CONSTA.
SALIDA : 08-04-78. : PUDAHUEL - ECUADOR.

ANA LUISA PIZARRO AVILES :

Chilena - Nacida en 1944 ó 1950 - Casada - Labores de Cas
Civil NR 4.814.925 de Chile.
SALIDA : 16-03-77 : PUDAHUEL - ARGENTINA
ENTRADA : 19-03-77 : ARGENTINA - PUDAHUEL

3.- Se hace presente que, a contar del 1º de enero de 1978, solamente se revisaron las Avanzadas de Pudahuel y Los Libertadores, por encontrarse la información correspondiente a las otras fronteras, en Procesamiento de Datos.

Saluda a US.,

ERNESTO BAEZA MICHAELSEN
General de División
Director General Investigaciones de Chile

DISTRIBUCION :

- C.N.I.
- ARCHIVO.- /

EBM/GNV/emr.

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE : María Rosa Alejandra Damiani Serrano

NACIONALIDAD : Chilena

PROFESION : Empleada

ESTADO CIVIL : Soltera

DOMICILIO : Diagonal 96 d y 6 n. 5.

CARNET Nº 5.623.904-9 DE Santiago RUN 5.623.904-

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO, EXPONE: que en diversas oportunidades, y a exclusivo título de amiga personal de MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY y de MARIANA CALLEJAS visitó la casa en que éstos vivían, ubicada en Vía Naranjos Nº4925 en Lo Curro, Santiago, En algunas de ellas, incluso, como mero favor a muestra de amistad, sacó en limpio para TOWNLEY informaciones o noticias que éste tomaba de transmisiones de radioaficionados o de emisoras radiales. Que, a lo menos en dos ocasiones, recuerda perfectamente, mientras ella conversaba con MARIANA CALLEJAS, TOWNLEY, cerca de ellas, intervenía ocasionalmente en las conversaciones propias de mujeres mientras manipulaba con cédulas o carnets de identidad o de manejar, que parecía poseer en gran cantidad. Recuerda que en una de esas dos oportunidades pregunt a MICHAEL TOWNLEY "qué hacía", y que éste se limitó a decirle que "confeccionaba carnets por si acaso", a lo que la declarante no le dió mayor importancia, por creer que se trataba de una broma, pero lo vió colocandole timbres de goma de los mismos qu ella sabía que Townley hacía, pues tenía de diversos tipos. Dej constancia que formula la presente declaración en forma absolut mente voluntaria, ratificándola y firmándola. ----------

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Firmo ante mi doña Maria Rosa Alejandra Damiani Serrano, carnet Nº 5.623.904-9 de Santiago.- Santiago, 16 de Octubre de 1978.-

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE : [illegible]

NACIONALIDAD : [illegible]

PROFESION : Empleada

ESTADO CIVIL : Casada

DOMICILIO : [illegible]

CARNET Nº [illegible] DE [illegible] RUN : [illegible]

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE: que conoció al ciudadano norteamericano MICHAEL TOWNLEY y algunas veces visitó la casa en que este vivía, en Via Naranja, en Lo Curro , en razón de un principio de amistad basado en que ambos tenían aficiones comunes relacionadas con radio. Que en más de una oportunidad Townley le mostró gran cantidad de timbres de goma, jactándose que los fabricaba personalmente y que los tenía "como para vender". Recuerda que en una oportunidad le mostró un timbre de goma que dijo se lo enviaría de regalo al General Contreras con motivo de su ascenso y le llamó la atención de que fuera de mayor porte que los timbres normales. También se por comentarios en la casa, de que al parecer se hacian carnets no sé de que tipo. Dejo constancia que formulo la presente declaración en forma absolutamente voluntaria, ratificándola y firmándola.

[illegible] e. 6.225.966-1

Firmé y juré ante mí previa lectura. Santiago, 19 de Julio de 1978.

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Y TRANSPORTE PUBLICOS

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C E R T I F I C A D O

Nº 264

El Director del Departamento de Tránsito y Transporte Públicos de la I. Municipalidad de La Cisterna, que suscribe, certifica:

Que, revisados los antecedentes respectivos en la Sección Licencias de Conducir, no aparece otorgamiento de Licencia para Conducir Vehículos Motorizados Clase "B" Nº 0175 de fecha 3 de Febrero de 1975, a nombre del señor ANDRES WILSON.-

Lo que certifica para los fines legales que correspondan.-

JUAN M. CALDERON HERRERA
D I R E C T O R

LA CISTERNA, Octubre 17 de 1978.-

CANCELO LOS DERECHOS RESPECTIVOS EN ESTAMPILLAS MUNICIPALES
JMCH/Mid.-

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Fundado en Valpso. el 12 de Sept. 1827
Año CII — Nº 31.290 (M. C. R.)

EL MERCURIO

PRIMER CUERPO

Santiago de Chile, Domingo 9 de Abril de 1978

umplida Expulsión De Michael Townley

ciudadano norteamericano fue embarcado en avión de Ecuatoriana de Aviación en viaje ha Nueva York

urso de reclamación presentó en la Corte Suprema abogado de Townley

EMBARCADO EN PUDAHUEL.— *Un automóvil de la policía civil con custodia derecho se acerca al avión de "Ecuatoriana de Aviación". Hacia en su interior al ciudadano norteamericano Michael Vernon Townley, cuya expulsión fue cumplida ayer a las 11.05. Townley fue conducido esposado hasta las escalinatas de acceso a la aeronave, por funcionarios de la Policía Internacional del aeropuerto de Pudahuel.*

rumplida ayer la expul- el país del ciudadano eamericano Michael Ver nley, decretada por ñor del Interior pol mero el Decreto Ley re sobre ingreso, re alida de los ex

ley fue puesto en mas de la Cía. "Ecuato Aviación", que dos requerido de Pude las 11.05 horas con a Guayaquil, Quito y York, cumpliendo el de itinerario.

nsito fue cumplido por tores de la policía el ano que lo conduyeron s medios especiales has escalinatas del avión. ala de la aeronave fue ada para permitir que es subiera a bordo. El teno norteamericano fue lado hasta Pudahuel a 0.30 horas de ayer en tomóvil Chevy Nova co ate. El cortejo ingresó a a del aeropuerto y se on punto a las puertas ceso interior de la Pol ternacional de ese re erto. Minutos después Townley para abordar ano automóvil que lo ía por una pista rgelero hasta el avión. pantalones claros, ca amarillo y chaqueta café a. No llevaba corbata, acostumbra lo *durante* las cuarenta horas que *estuvo detenido en el* recinto aeroportuario.

Townley fue detenido el es atrás. Los mismos mi 3 Asesoría Secretaría Ge de Gobierno, *general de* ta Pesse Vidal Rasmuri, con a los directores de os Informativos del país el Gobierno había decre- la *expulsión del ciuda*norteamericano por ha infringido gravemente Decreto Ley 1.094 de 19 nio de 1975, que legisla la *entrada, residencia y* de los extranjeros

resolución de expulsión, ue declaró el Gobierno un comunicado oficial— *ha sido publicada* a hoy el mismo viernes.

Michael Vernon Townley, ó ingeniero comercial, ntaba residencia esta- ciudad en Chile desde hu- años. Sin embargo, su ilio no registra un aporte los libros oficiales de en- tranjeros residentes en el

SU ESPOSA

Townley era con- al avión, su esposa ana Inés Callejas Sacia ante la Corte Supre- para la presentación de curso de reclamación, cedente en que existió zo de 24 horas para se concretara la expul- del

abogado añadió: "Son s existentes para reiterar ción adoptada por el ior político hacia de- ciudadano norteamericano, no discriminar entre buenos y malos extranjeros, tratando de ser

Según Despacho Desde Guayaquil:

Dos Agentes del FBI Llevan a Townley

- *Fiscal Propper ha pedido, en EE. UU., que no se le conceda libertad bajo fianza*

GUAYAQUIL 8 (UPI).— El ciudadano norteamericano Michael Vernon Townley Welch, *presunto implicado en el asesinato* del ex Canciller chileno Orlando Letelier, pasó esta tarde por Guayaquil con rumbo a Estados Unidos.

Townley fue deportado de Chile, donde residía, escalando por la secretaria chilena Silvia Rivera Callejas Townley, a bordo de un avión de Ecuatoriana de Aviación, que desde de Santiago a las 11 de la mañana y llegó aquí a las 2.45 hora local, partiendo a las 3.30 P.M. con rumbo a Quito-Panamá-Nueva York.

Townley, de 35 años de edad, vestía blue jeans, camisa a cuadros y un buzo azul. Estaba custodiado por dos agentes de la Policía Federal de Investigaciones (FBI) de los Estados Unidos, que se mantenían apartados.

El deportado ingresó una de las últimas aviones del avión, inmediatamente pudo conversar con los periodistas.

Estrictas medidas de seguridad se tomaron aquí a la llegada del avión, que se posó en el punto más alejado del terminal, estando presentes dos miembros del Consulado norteamericano, aparte de agentes de seguridad nacionales y paraseidistas militares.

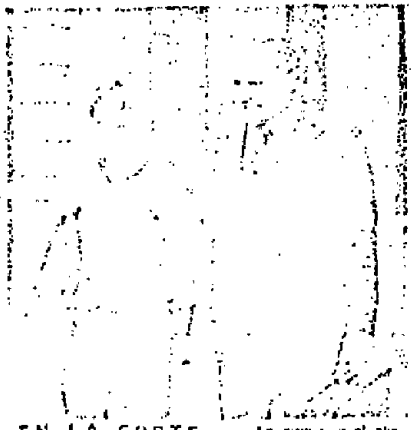
WASHINGTON, 8 (AP).— La decisión del Gobierno chileno de entregar a la justicia norteamericana a Michael W. Townley, *parecería destinada* a aplacar la reacción del asesinato del ex Canciller chileno, Orlando Letelier.

El *fiscal del caso*, Eugene Propper, así como la oficina Buro Federal de Investigaciones (FBI), declinaron formular comentarios sobre la decisión chilena, *pero fuentes* allegadas a la investigación dijeron que esta fué por completa sorpresa a Townley.

El especialista electrónico de la desaparecida dirección de policía de ese país (DINA), fue conducido hoy en un automóvil hasta el pie de un reactor de la línea Ecuatoriana de Aviación, que partió de Santiago para arribar esta noche con destino a Nueva York.

Las abogadas de Townley, que llegó de 34 años a Chile en 1972, trataron de detener la entrega de su cliente, to-

(Continúa en la página 32)



EN LA CORTE.— *La esposa y el abogado de Michael V. Townley, la señora Mariana Callejas y el profesional Manuel Alonso Ossa, llegan a la Corte Suprema de Justicia, en Santiago, a las 11.30, para interponer un recurso de reclamación por la expulsión.*

Canal de Panamá

Carter Teme Rechazo Para Segundo Tratado

- *"Pende de un hilo" en el Senado*

SE INCORPORARA AL C

Principio Fe" en

- Sin embargo, no debe
- "Importar debería se nacional". (Pág. 35)

AYER EN SANTA LAUR.

Audax Univ. C

- En el preliminar, L ció a Santiago Mor 3 a 1
- En Talcahuano, Nav ró a Linares por 2
- Hoy en el Estadio Colo Colo enfrent blense y Unión —por la Copa L res— a Palestino

Justicia Pobre, I

- No tiene remedio si *do lo correrá judicia* ces produce evident de la Corte Suprem
- "Reemplazantes" de los excesivos gomon do conocidos". (Pág

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AUTOMOVIL CLUB DE CHILE

INSTITUCION AL SERVICIO DE LOS AUTOMOVILISTAS

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CERTIFICADO

OFICINAS

ARICA
IQUIQUE
CHUQUICAMATA
ANTOFAGASTA
COPIAPO
LA SERENA
OVALLE
LOS ANDES
VALPARAISO
VIÑA DEL MAR
QUILLOTA
SANTIAGO
RANCAGUA
CURICO
TALCA
CHILLAN
CONCEPCION
LOS ANGELES
TEMUCO
VALDIVIA
OSORNO
PUERTO MONTT
COYHAIQUE
PUNTA ARENAS

J. GASTON CONTRERAS TRABUCCO, Gerente General del AUTOMOVIL CLUB DE CHILE

CERTIFICA:

Que el Permiso Internacional Para Conducir N°666 fué extendido el 23 de Enero de 1978 a nombre del Sr. Marcelo Alejandro Mario Energici Tavoletti, nacido en Buenos Aires el 21 de Enero de 1955, domiciliado en Calle Las Nieves N°3369 en Santiago, quién presentó el Carnet de Chofer N° 97950 de la Municipalidad de Las Condes, Clase B., con vencimiento al 16 de Marzo de 1981.

Que revisado el archivo correspondiente, el día 22 de Febrero de 1978 no figura permiso alguno extendido a nombre del señor Andrés Wilson.

Otorgado á petición del Abogado señor Jorge Balmaceda Morales en Santiago a 18 de Octubre de 1978.

AUTOMOVIL CLUB DE CHILE

J. Gastón Contreras Trabucco
Gerente General

AFILIADO A

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DE L'AUTOMOBILE F. I. A.

FEDERACION INTERAMERICANA DE TOURING Y AUTOMOVIL CLUBES F. I. T. A. C.

ALLIANCE INTERNATIONALE DE TOURISME A. I. T.

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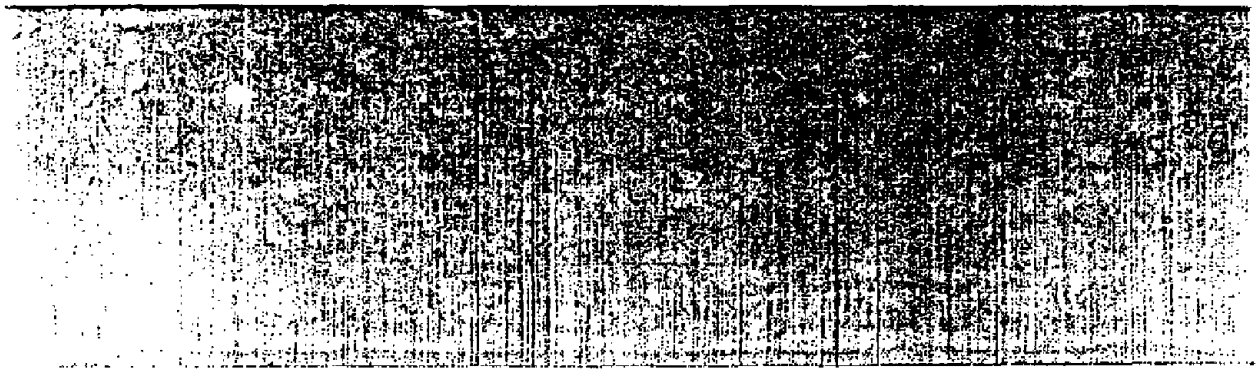

AUTOMOVIL CLUB DE CHILE

INSTITUCION AL SERVICIO DE LOS AUTOMOVILISTAS

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CERTIFICADO

OFICINAS

ARICA
IQUIQUE
CHUQUICAMATA
ANTOFAGASTA
COPIAPO
LA SERENA
OVALLE
LOS ANDES
VALPARAISO
VIÑA DEL MAR
QUILLOTA
SANTIAGO
RANCAGUA
CURICO
TALCA
CHILLAN
CONCEPCION
LOS ANGELES
TEMUCO
VALDIVIA
OSORNO
PUERTO MONTT
COYHAIQUE
PUNTA ARENAS

J. GASTON CONTRERAS TRABUCCO, Gerente General del AUTOMOVIL CLUB DE CHILE

CERTIFICA:

Que el Permiso Internacional Para Conducir N° 666 fue extendido el 27 de febrero de 1976 a nombre del Sr. Hubert Daubechies Rousseau, nacido en Etterbeek el 4 de diciembre de 1922, domiciliado en calle Almirante Barroso N° 24 en Santiago, quién presentó el Carnet de Chofer N° 10924 de la Municipalidad de Santiago, Clase A, con vencimiento al 29 de noviembre de 1977.

Que revisado el archivo correspondiente, el día 27 de febrero de 1976, no figura permiso alguno extendido a nombre del señor Andrés Wilson.

Otorgado a petición del abogado señor Jorge Balmaceda Morales en Santiago a 1° de febrero de 1979.

AUTOMOVIL CLUB DE CHILE

J. Gaston Contreras Trabucco
Gerente General

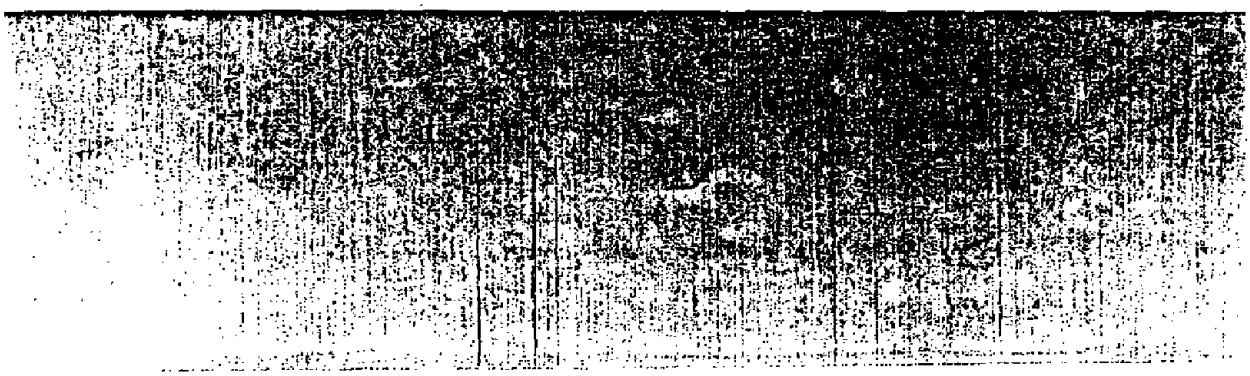
AFILIADO A

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DE L'AUTOMOBILE F.I.A.

FEDERACION INTERAMERICANA DE TOURING Y AUTOMOVIL CLUBES F.I.T.A.C.

ALLIANCE INTERNATIONALE DE TOURISME A.I.T.

UNCLASSIFIED



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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: GENERAL DE BRIGADA

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: PRINCIPE DE GALEZ N.° 7045

CARNET: No 56693 de SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2.354.882-8

QUIEN DECLARA BAJO JURAMENTO Y EXPONE QUE: los documentos que a continuación se indican, acompañados como prueba documental por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos en la petición de extradición del General Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, Coronel Pedro Espinoza Bravo y el Capitán Armando Fernández Larios son falsos, por cuanto contienen falsificaciones documentarias, que en cada caso se señalan :

1.- La prueba No. 47, consistente en un supuesto salvoconducto de Juan András Wilson Silva, que tiene las siguientes falsificaciones :

a.- Falta el timbre "Válido en todo el país D.I.N.A. "

b.- En profesión o actividad dice " Secretaría General de Gobierno" debiendo decir " Funcionario de DINA"

c.- En " con el objeto de " dice " cumplir misiones de servicios especiales ", debiendo decir " Comisión de Servicios".

d.- El timbre redondo dice " Ejército de Chile" debiendo decir "República de Chile" y en su parte inferior que no aparece porque fue intencionadamente no colocada (se colocó la mitad del timbre), debe decir " D.I.N.A."

e.- La firma es falsificada y no corresponde a la del suscrito.

f.- El timbre que aparece con el nombre "Manuel Contreras S., - Coronel Director de DINA", es desproporcionado y jamás fué empleado en DINA y corresponde a la fábrica de timbres que

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Townley mantenía en su casa.

g. El domicilio que aparece es " Borneo 3599, La Reina, Santiago" debiendo decir "Belgrado 11" como siempre se colocó en todos los salvoconductos de DINA para evitar que se conociera el domicilio de los funcionarios.

2.- La prueba No. 99, consistente en un supuesto salvoconducto de ANA LUISA PIZARRO AVILES, correspondiente al año 1976, el cual tiene las siguientes falsificaciones :

a.- El timbre redondo dice " Secretaría General de Gobierno", debnendo decir "República de Chile, DINA".

b.- La firma del suscrito es falsificada .

c.- Falta timbre "Válido en todo el país D.I.N.A. "

3.- La prueba No. 100, consistente en un supuesto salvoconducto de Ana Pizarro , para el año 1977:

a.- La firma del suscrito es falsificada.

b.- Todos los salvoconductos de 1977 de DINA fueron cambiados a partir de Agosto de 1977 debido que pasó a llamarse C.N.I.

4.- La prueba No. 105, consistente en una supuesta tarjeta de Identidad del C.N.I., contiene las siguientes falsificaciones :

a.- Ana Pizarro Avilés ó Mariana Callejas, nunca fué agente, Auxiliar civil o informante de DINA y nada prueba en ese sentido con esta tarjeta que es del C.N.I.

b.- La firma del suscrito es falsificada

c.- Los Auxiliares civiles de C.N.I. al igual que los de DINA, cuando esta existió, tenían su tarjeta de identificación con su nombre verdadero y no con nombre supuesto, luego esta tarjeta es absolutamente falsificada, ya que en última instancia debió decir "Mariana Callejas Honores" y no Ana Pizarro A.

Declara asimismo que la mejor prueba de que

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los salvoconductos de Juan Andrés Wilson y Ana Pizarro Avilés son falsificados está en el hecho de que los salvoconductos eran permanentemente cambiados varias veces al año y para poder obtener uno nuevo debía entregarse el antiguo previamente.

Previa lectura, se ratificó y firmó conjuntamente con el notario que autoriza.

Declaré bajo juramento y firmé ante mí don Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda
Santiago, 2 de Febrero de 1979.-

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EJERCITO DE CHILE
COMANDANCIA GENERAL
GUARNICION DE EJERCITO
Jefat. Zona Estado de Emergencia
SANTIAGO

ORIGINAL

VALIDO EL PAIS

D. I. N. A.

SALVOCONDUCTO Nº 10533

VALIDO: AÑO 1977.-/

Desde ..... Hasta .....

Autorizase: .....

Carnet Identidad: .....

Domicilio: Belgrado Nº. 11.-

Profesión o Actividad: FUNCIONARIO DI DINA..

para transitar en la vía pública durante el "TOQUE DE QUEDA"

con el objeto de: COMISION DE SERVICIO.....

.....

Además, se le autoriza para conducir el vehículo:

Marca ..... Modelo ..... Patente .....

De propiedad de: .....

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
D. I. N.

FIRMA Y TIMBRE
DE LA AUTORIDAD MILITAR

DIRECTOR DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL

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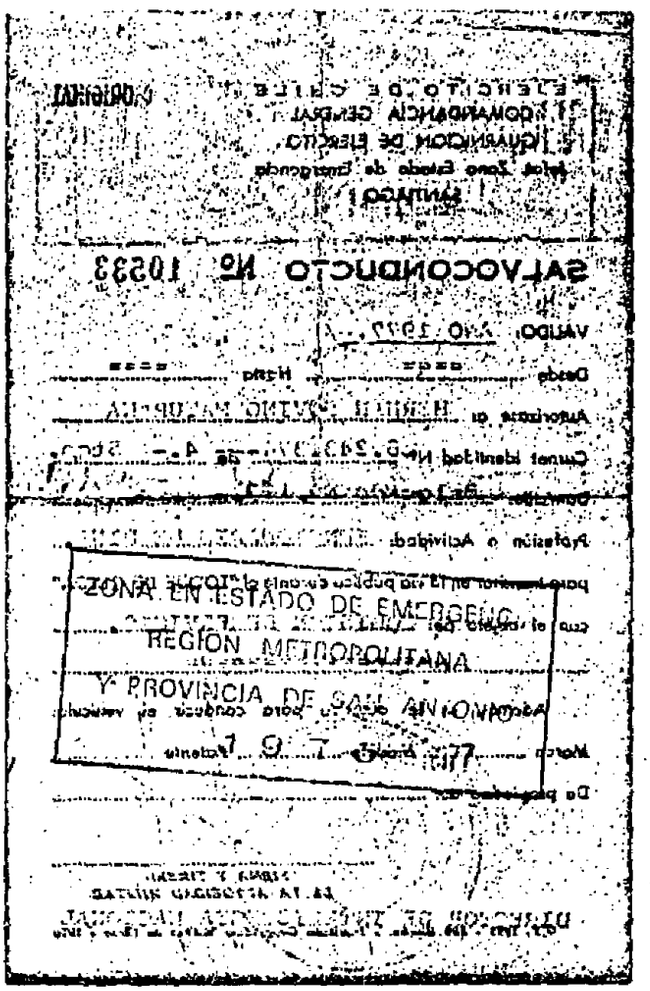

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MUNICIPALIDAD DE CONCHALI
DEPTO. DEL TRANSITO Y
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Certificado Nº 193.-

EL DIRECTOR DEL DEPARTAMENTO DEL TRANSITO Y TRANSPORTE PUBLICOS DE LA I. MUNICIPALIDAD DE CONCHALI, Certifica revisados los archivos de otorgación de licencias para conducir, aparecen registradas la licencia clase "E" Nº 850 de fecha 17 de Junio de 1976, a nombre de ANA LUISA PIZARRO AVILES, C. de Identidad Nº 4814925-5 de Santiago, domiciliada en calle Río Jachal Nº 1422 y la licencia clase "E" Nº 851, de fecha 17 de Junio de 1976 a nombre de HANS PETERSEN SILVA, C. de Identidad Nº 5313599-4 de Santiago, domiciliado en Av. Pedro Fontova Nº 5021.

No existen mayores antecedentes, ya que no son requeridos para este tipo de licencias que autoriza sólo para conducir "BICICLETAS", "TRICICLOS" y "CARROS DE MANO".

Se da el presente certificado a petición del interesado, señor JORGE BALMACEDA MORALES, Abogado, Registro Nº 4320 R-2.

CONCHALI, 18 de Octubre de 1976.-

Canceló Impuestos
Folio Nº 1722031

IVAN MOYA CONCHA
Director del Depto. Tránsito
y Transportes Publicos

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EPARTAMENTO DE INFORMACIONES
"Archivo Confidencial"

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N I N U T A

UNDURRAGA CRUZAT Rafaél

Nacido .: 2-JULIO-1942 en Santiago.
Civil .: 6620 de Ñuñoa
Hijo de.: Rafaél y Amelia
Prof. .: Ingeniero Electrónico
Casado .: Marta Raddatz Echavarría
Domic. .: Manquehue Sur Nº 1260 (1973)

La SEGUNDA 7-6-73.- Se encuentra detenido junto a otras dos personas, que no se identificaron, sindicándosele como los autores materiales del robo con homicidio en los Servicios Eléctricos y Gas de Concepción.

Puro Chile 12-6-73.- el Ministro de la Corte de Apelaciones de Concepción Eleodoro ORTIZ SEPULVEDA, después de interrogarlo, en relación a la participación en el robo con homicidio en los Servicios Eléctricos y Gas de Concepción, le levantó la incomunicación y lo dejó detenido en libre plática.

Parte Nº 16 de 7-6-73.- Fue remitido al 4º Juzgado del Crimen de Santiago en Proceso 41621. Exhorto del Primer Juzgado del Crimen de Concepción.

El Sur de CCC. 19-6-73.- La Corte de Apelaciones de Concepción, confirma su encargatoria de reo, como cómplice.

TOWNLEY WELCH Michael Vernon.
Norteamericano

Nacido en año 1942 en IOWA. Ingresó al país el 1º de Enero 1971 como inmigrante. Se casó en Chile con Inés CALLEJAS, y habría vivido en calle OXFORD Nº 1454 de Santiago.

12-6-73.- Se encuentra sindicado como uno de los sujetos que participó en el robo con homicidio ocurrido en los Servicios Eléctricos y Gas de Concepción. Se encuentra prófugo.

ASESORIA TECNICA : UNDURRAGA CRUZAT RAFAEL : Tarjeta Control con detenciones por Robo con Homicidio, Parte Nº.16, Depinf, al 4º Jdo. Crimen Mayor Ctía de Stgo. fecha 6-6-73.- con fecha 20-10-76, desde Subdirpol se recibe certificado de la Iltma. Corte de Apelaciones de Concepción, en que señala que esta persona no es reo en la Causa Nº.41.621 por Robo con Homicidio de Jorge Henríquez G., documento en Oficina de Partes archivador Nº.14/36.-

Registra domicilio en Manquehue Sur Nº.1260, hijo de Rafael y Amelia, nacido el 2 de Julio de 1942, Civil Nº.6.620 de Ñuñoa, mide 1,75 mts. peso 85 Kgs.

Registra Orden Aprehensión Pendiente por Quiebra, Causa Nº.10.773-9 de fecha 2 de Agosto de 1977, del 11º Juzgado del Crimen de Santiago, además: Arraigo del 11º Juzgado del Crimen Mayor Ctía. Stgo. Causa Nº.10.837-5, fecha 17 de Agosto de 1977

DETENIDO HOY 7-3-78.- Puesto disposicion 11º Jdo.

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TOWNLEY WELCH MICHAEL, registra Orden de Aprehensión Pendiente del 4º Jdo. del C. de Mayor Ctía. de Santiago, recaído en Exhorto del 1er. Jdo. del C. de Concepción, Causa Nº.41.621, por Robo con Homicidio, de fecha 8 de Junio de 1973.-

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Se Cierra el Caso Del Canal Cinco

Detenidos Recobran la Libertad

Undurraga y Etchepare Abandonan la Cárcel

La extensión a Concepción de un canal pluralista de TV, el montaje de equipos de interferencia, el robo de dichos equipos y la muerte de un pintor fueron los ingredientes de un caso que conmovió a Chile. La más despiadada campaña orquestada desató la UP para silenciar una voz libre, utilizando de los más canallescos medios, que incluyeron la calumnia y la injuria contra el padre Raúl Hasbún, y demás ejecutivos de televisión de la UC.

Después de largos meses de prisión, declarados reos como cómplices en el bullado proceso del llamado "Caso del Canal Cinco de Televisión", ayer recuperaron su libertad condicional, bajo fianza de diez mil escudos cada uno, Rafael Undurraga y Juan Carlos Etchepare, el primero detenido en Santiago por detectives penquistas. El otro se entregó voluntariamente a la justicia, luego de haberse mantenido oculto por muchos días en el entretecho de su domicilio, también en la capital.

LA HISTORIA

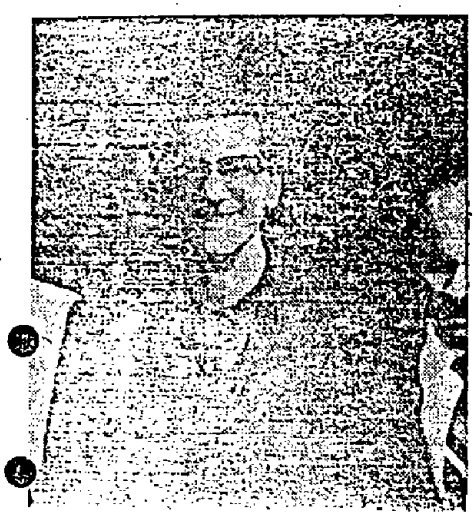
La historia se remonta al mes de febrero pasado, cuando Canal 5 de Televisión de la Corporación de la Universidad Católica, pese a todas las trabas que le pusieron los más connotados personajes del depuesto régimen de la Unidad Popular, inició sus transmisiones experimentales en Concepción. Fue entonces cuando comenzaron a producirse interferencias en la señal, que fueron denunciadas a la Delegación Zonal de la Dirección de Servicios Eléctricos, Gas y Telecomunicaciones, en calle Lincoyán Nº 595. Esto vino a confirmar que las interferencias se hacían por orden del depuesto régimen, por intervención directa de Daniel Vergara, hoy con [illegible] ferado de la Dalcahue.

La interferencia, en pleno período electoral, [illegible] paldada junto con sus mismos. La toca le había sido cubierta con [illegible] adhesiva, de siete centímetros de ancho, con lo que se le había embarrilado prácticamente la parte comprendida bajo las fosas nasales y la parte superior de la garganta. Esto le había provocado [illegible] muerte. La misma mañana de horas de la madrugada del lunes 19, distas del pasquín directamente de la Dirección General de Investigaciones.

El Pleno de la Corte de Apelaciones ante la gravedad de la situación y para dar mayores garantías de equidad y acelerar las investigaciones del sumario designó a su integrante Eleodoro Ortiz Sepúlveda, en visita extraordinaria en el Primer Juzgado del Crimen y para hacerse cargo del proceso.

DETENCIONES

El sábado 24 de la madrugada, antes de la designación del ministro Ortiz Sepúlveda, detectives de Investigaciones, cumpliendo órdenes dadas por el prefecto Enrique Robles, detuvo al director del Canal 5 de televisión de la Universidad Católica, Carlos de la Sotta Ibacache. También lo fue-



de Televisión de la Corporación de la Universidad Católica, pese a todas las trabas que le pusieron los más funestos personajes del depuesto régimen de la Unidad Popular, inició sus transmisiones experimentales en Concepción. Incluso en aquella oportunidad elementos extremistas trataron de apoderarse del gimnasio techado de Talcahuano, con el evidente propósito de destruir la antena levantada allí para las transmisiones del Canal Católico en esta zona. Como los estudiantes defendieron el local, impidiendo la acción de los vándalos, el entonces alcalde socialista porteño, Ramón Carrasco —uno de los turistas en la isla Quiriquina— ordenó retirar los tendidos eléctricos que suministraban la energía al gimnasio y a las instalaciones de la Sede de la U. Católica. Adujo que estas instalaciones se habían hecho provisionalmente y que debían sacarse, pues significaban un peligro.

Sólo la protesta pública retuvo a los personeros del depuesto régimen en otras intentonas y de esta forma el Canal Cinco volvió al aire y a las pantallas de televisión de la zona. Sin embargo, a poco de ocurrir esto, se observó que las emisiones que, aunque experimentales, llegaban casi normalmente a los televidentes, sufrían deterioro y ya no eran claras ni las imágenes ni el audio.

INTERFERENCIAS

Un informe técnico, ordenado por los ejecutivos del Canal, permitieron establecer que las emisiones estaban siendo interferidas. Luego se descubrió una extraña antena que emergía por sobre los techos, desde las dependencias interiores de las oficinas ocupadas por la De-

[illegible] vino a confirmar que las interferencias se hacían por orden del depuesto regimen, por intervención directa de Daniel Vergara, hombre [illegible] o forzado [illegible] la Dawson.

La interferencia, en pleno período electoral, el que debía culminar el domingo cuatro de marzo, se hizo con el evidente propósito de restar a la oposición un valioso medio de comunicación de masas, que no era adicto a la Unidad Popular. Sorpresivamente la interferencia desapareció de las pantallas la tarde del sábado 17 de marzo. El lunes el delegado zonal de los Servicios Eléctricos denunció a la Policía el robo de un delicado instrumental que se mantenía en una de las dependencias interiores de esas oficinas. Luego se precisó qué se trataba de dos delicados instrumentos, fabricados por técnicos de Canal 7 de Televisión y por orden expresa del Gobierno para ser traídos a Concepción y obstruir las emisiones del Canal Católico. Uno de ellos había sufrido un desperfecto y de allí que no hubiese podido ocupar el sábado 17

UN CRIMEN

El caso sufrió un vuelco espectacular cuando, el martes veinte, uno de sus hermanos, extrañado por no tener informaciones del pintor de brocha gorda Jorge Tomás Henríquez González, de 35 años de edad, llegó hasta la casa de dos plantas que éste ocupaba ilegalmente, en calle Freire Nº 364, casi en la esquina con Lincoyán, encontrándolo muerto.

El infortunado pintor fue encontrado en una dependencia del segundo piso, donde tenía su dormitorio. Estaba en ropas menores, tirado en el piso y con las piernas flectadas hacia arriba y [illegible] es-

[illegible] contusiones de ancho, con lo que se le había embarrilado prácticamente la parte comprendida bajo las fosas nasales y la parte superior de la garganta. Esto le había provocado la muerte. La misma databa de horas de la madrugada del lunes 19.

De inmediato el robo de los aparatos fue relacionado con la muerte del pintor. Esto porque a través de una ventana interior del primer piso de la casa de Freire 348, se tenía acceso inmediato a un pequeño patio donde estaba la sospechosa y extraña antena y a las dependencias donde se mantenían los instrumentos desaparecidos.

"CRIMEN POLITICO"

Al suceso se le dio carácter político y los diarios adictos al depuesto régimen, se lanzaron en una orquestada campaña para mezclar en el hecho a personas que, como ha quedado probado en las investigaciones del proceso, no tenían ninguna vinculación al crimen. Llamó la atención la actitud asumida aquí en Concepción por el entonces prefecto de Investigaciones, Enrique Robles Villalobos, que cerró las fuentes de información a los periodistas durante dos días, mientras que en Santiago, el comunista Daniel Vergara, que las oficinas de subsecretario del Interior, proclamara a los cuatro vientos el "crimen político" cometido por elementos de la oposición.

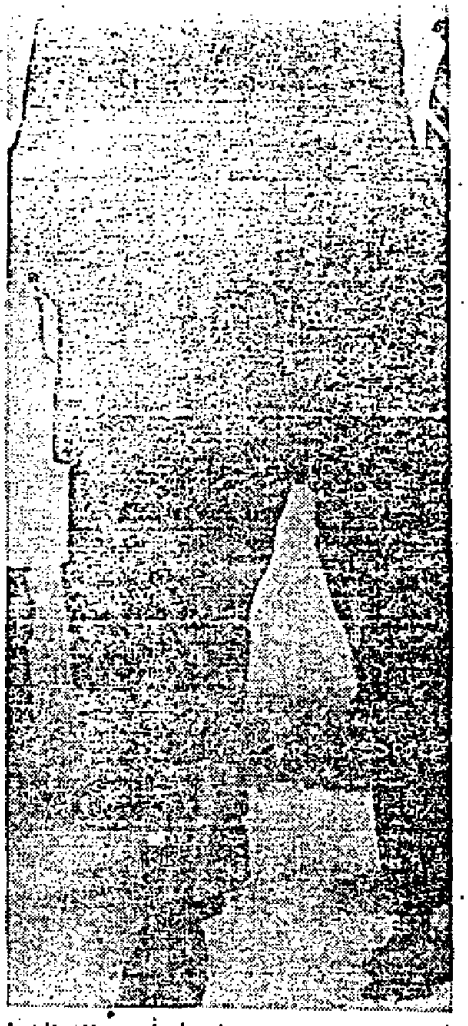
El diario "Puro Chile", financiado por capitales comunistas, también dedicó en esta campaña y con verdadera saña descargó su artillería contra el [illegible] Raúl Rasbún, acusándolo de ser el autor intelectual del crimen. La información la recibían los periodi-

designación del ministro Ortiz Sepúlveda, detectives de Investigaciones, cumpliendo órdenes dadas por el prefecto Enrique Robles, detuvo al director del Canal 5 de televisión de la Universidad Católica, Carlos de la Sotta Ibacache. También lo fueron otras personas. Sin observar disposiciones contenidas en el Código Penal, los detenidos no fueron puestos a disposición del tribunal competente en la primera audiencia, como debía haberse hecho el mismo día sábado por la mañana. Se les mantuvo estrictamente incomunicados hasta el lunes 26 por la mañana. Sólo entonces fueron llevados al Primer Juzgado. Entre ellos se contaba María Inés Fuller, hija de la propietaria de la casa ocupada por la Dirección de Servicios Eléctricos y de la de Freire 348, colindante con la anterior, y su esposo, un hombre prácticamente inválido. Se les acusaba de tener responsabilidades, de una u otra manera, en el robo de los instrumentos y del crimen del pintor de brocha gorda.

LIBERTAD

Luego de soportar días de incomunicación, finalmente la Primera Sala de la Corte de Apelaciones acogió la apelación de los abogados defensores y revocó el auto de reo dictado contra Carlos de la Sotta y María Inés Fuller, dejándolos en libertad incondicional.

Después de muchas semanas se logró comprobar que el robo había sido perpetrado por un comando extremista, que había actuado independientemente encabezado por un individuo norteamericano que huyó del país. Pero también había cómplices. Dos de ellos fueron detenidos y de-



clarados reos por el ministro Eleodoro Ortiz. Se trata de Rafael Undurraga y Juan Carlos Etchepare, que ayer recuperaron su libertad bajo fianza, que les fue concedida por la Primera Sala de la Corte de Apelaciones.

para los aparatos de seguridad. Equipos electrónicos solicitados para la protección del Presidente. El iba a Estados Unidos a hacer las compras de esos equipos y entendió que, según la Ley de Armamentos, de ese país, eso es lo cerrado como comprar armas y cazarlas. Eso cree que le puede costar una pena fuerte". "Puede también, agregó, que ese viaje para comprar equipos electrónicos coincidan con los que el FBI tenía consignados. Soy malo para las fechas, pero puede que coincidan; no estoy seguro".

"Los equipos electrónicos eran para protección. De seguimiento; como así. Mire no sé, porque no entiendo de electrónica", aclaró.

Respecto de la expulsión misma señaló: "Sólo me he enterado recién hace diez minutos, aquí, en el Cuartel de Investigaciones, que mi esposo fue expulsado del país".

"El se presentó voluntariamente ayer para ir a declarar a Concepción. Tenía un auto listo y había firmado el cambio. Yo iba a viajar a Concepción el fin de semana para llevarlo yo. Vine aquí sin ningún equipaje".

RECURSO DE RECLAMACION

Justo en los momentos en que Founley abandonaba el país, su abogado Manuel Acuña presentó un recurso de reclamación ante la Corte Suprema de Justicia, documento que especifica, según señaló, que no había expirado el plazo de 24 horas para la apelación de la medida adoptada por el

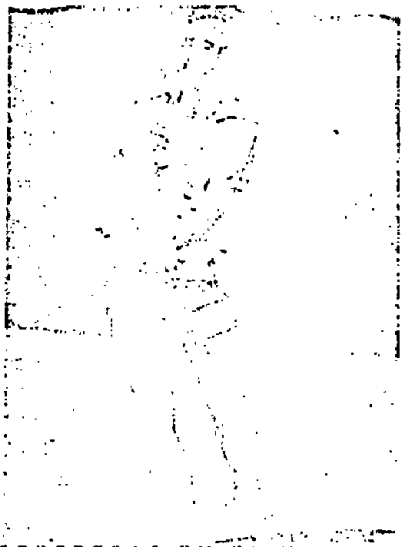
WASHINGTON, 8 (AP).— El Presidente Jimmy Carter reconoció que el rechazo de los dos tratados sobre el Canal de Panamá "puede ser un

...ilón" y podría ser rechazada por el Senado.

Carter formuló su apreciación cuando se le preguntó sobre las objeciones panameñas a una estipulación, que permite la futura intervención norteamericana para mantener abierta la vía acuática.

"Bien, pienso que cualquier

...ciones en la página



SORPRESAS EN EL TENIS.— Los ...s Jaime Fillol y Patricio Cornejo pa... ...ron sorpresas en el Torneo Internacional ...

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ANEXO N° 3

29.-

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Santiago, 6 de Abril de 1978

Señor Ministro:

El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América, por intermedio del suscrito, desea poner en conocimiento de V.E. los siguientes hechos acerca del ciudadano norteamericano MICHAEL TOWNOEY WELCH, actualmente en Chile.

1.- Según informaciones obtenidas por el Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.), en el mes de Marzo de 1973 un Tribunal de la ciudad de Concepción Chile, despachó una órden de detención contra el mencionado MICHAEL ERNON TOWNLEY.

2.- Con posterioridad al despacho de dicha órden, llego a conocimiento del F.B.I. que TOWNLEY había huído de Chile a los Estados Unidos, país done en forma ilegal solicitó pasaporte bajo el nombre fingido de KENNETH WILLIAM ENYART, con fecha 4 de Octubre de 1973. el 5 de Octubre de 1973 se le otorgó un pasaporte norteamericano ordinario N° 2287732 , bajo el referido nombre de KENNETH WILLIAM ENYART.

3.- El FBI. tuvo conocmiento de que posteriormente el referido TOWNLEY hizo uso del pasaporte obtenido en forma ilegitima a nombre de KENNETH WILLIAM ENYART, para ingresar ilegalmente a Chile. Una orden de detención sera expedida en breve contra el mencionado YOWNLEY, por el delito de haber obtenido ilegal yfraudulentamente un pasaport norteamericano bajo el falso nomnre de KENNETH WILLIAM ENYART.

4.- Sin perjuicio de lo anterior, con fecha 28 de marzo 1978 se despacho una orden de detención por el Tribunal Distrital de los Estados Unidos para el Distrito de Columbia, contra el mencionado MICHAEL TOWNLEY. Se acompaña a la presente una copia literal fidedigna de la orden de detencion pendiente.

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En mérito de los antecedentes expuestos, el Gobierno de los Estados Undios de América apreciaría y agradecería altamente las medidas que el Gobierno de C hile
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
pudiera tomar para expulsar del territorio de Chile al ya mencionado MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY, en el entendido que tales hechos son causal suficiente para justificar dicha medida en las leyes chilenas, y que esta petición se sujetará al procediemiento que para estos casos se establezca en ellas.

Sírvase aceptar, Señor Ministro, las seguridades de mi más elevada consideración.

ROBERT W. SCHERRER
Agregado Jurídico
Embajada de los Estados Unidos
de América en Chile

A S.E. EL SR. MINISTRO DEL INTERIOR
GENERAL D. CESAR RAUL BENAVIDES
SANTIAGO

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...claró Michael Townley:

"Gobierno de USA Presionará a Chile para Lograr mi Entrega"

- El ataque del Gobierno norteamericano no es en contra mía, sino que en contra del Gobierno de Chile".
- "Falsificarán pruebas si es necesario para lograr mi retorno a Estados Unidos".
- "Estoy tranquilo a pesar de que hay problemas por venir".

El ciudadano norteamericano Michael Townley, quien aparece en Estados Unidos vinculado con la investigación por el asesinato de Orlando Letelier y su secretaria, manifestó en la noche del jueves "su temor de que el Gobierno norteamericano presione a Chile para obtener su extradición".

Townley, en su casa de Lo Curro, manifestó "que el ataque a mi persona por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos no es personal, sino que un certero ataque al Gobierno de Chile". Al consultarle la posibilidad de que la justicia norteamericana pidiera su extradición contestó: "Por la vía jurídica no [illegible]

pruebas para conseguir la extradición. Sin embargo —añadió— pueden [a]sificarlas y no sería la primera vez que ocurriera. Estados Unidos utiliza sus cañones y dólares para amedrentar a los países. Por último —enfatizó— no correspondería una extradición contra mi persona, por tratarse de algo eminentemente político".

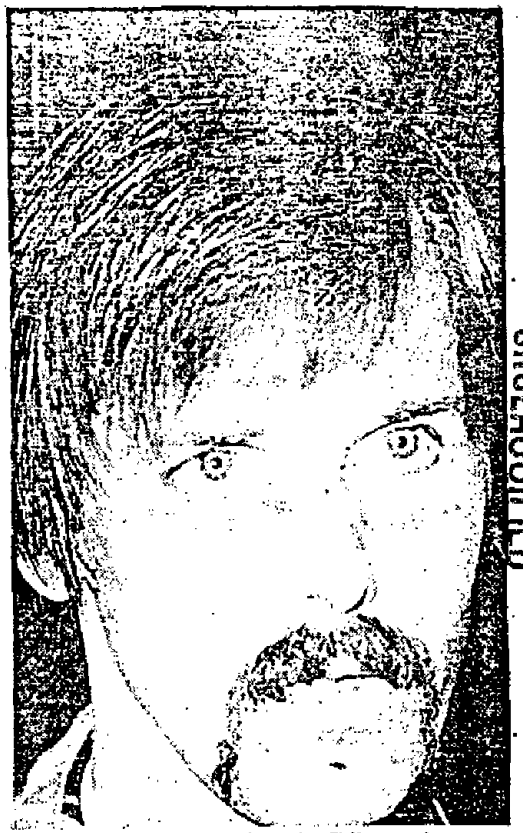
PRESIONES

Posteriormente, Michael Townley señaló: "Seguramente el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos va a presionar a Chile mediante amenazas para lograr una entrega directa de mi persona".

Sin embargo, sobre este mismo punto, Townley expresó que confiaba en el Gobierno chileno en el sentido de que no se dejaría presionar. "Actualmente —dijo— hay muchos rumores que esto ocurra. He recibido llamadas de personas en tal sentido y son totalmente confiables".

Más adelante, al consultarle a Michael Townley por la impresión que tenía sobre la justicia chilena, manifestó "que tiene una excelente opinión. La justicia chilena —acotó— tiene un bien ganado prestigio desde hace muchos años y confío plenamente en ella. La justicia chilena sabrá responder ante esta situación".

También enfatizó "que él respondería solamente ante los tribunales chilenos



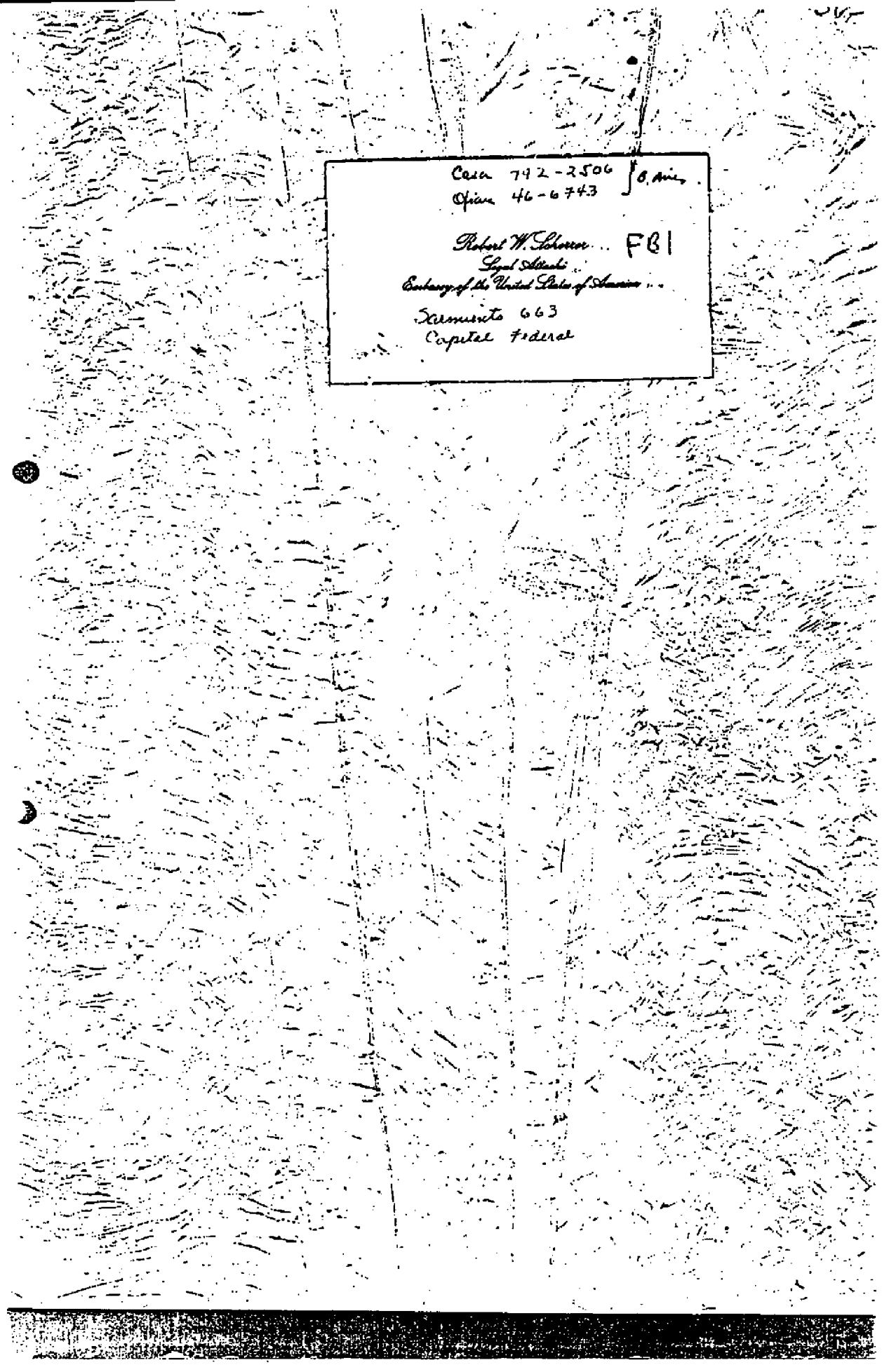
"El gobierno de USA presionará a Chile para lograr mi entrega", dijo Michael Townley.

préguntarle por su estado de ánimo, dijo: "Estoy tranquilo, a pesar de que hay problemas por venir, los voy a afrontar con esta misma tranquilidad".

Townley también anunció en la noche del jueves, que ayer ofrecería una conferencia de prensa con algunos medios de comunicación, previa

proceso que se sigue en la justicia militar y el exhorto de la justicia norteamericana. "Sólo se tocarán aspectos de mi vida particular", declaró.

Respecto a las declaraciones que aparecen en esta información, estaban contenidas en un comunicado que él había redactado con anterioridad al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Ofian 46-6743
Robert W. Schoner
Legal Attaché
Embassy of the United States of America
Sarmiento 663
Capital Federal
FBI

"Jamás Lograrán Extradición de Townley"

- **"Jurídicamente no tienen pruebas y sólo se basan en acusaciones políticas".**
- **"Mi misión como abogado de Townley en la tramitación del exhorto, concluyó".**
- **"Townley se presentará ante la justicia de Concepción por caso de Canal 5, cuando sea requerido".**

El abogado Manuel Acuña, quien tiene a su cargo la defensa de Michael Townley, que aparece vinculado al caso Letelier, en Estados Unidos, insistió en la mañana de ayer, que "Townley temía que el Gobierno norteamericano ejerciera presiones sobre Chile para que pudiera ser trasladado a USA, donde se ventila una investigación.

El abogado Manuel Acuña dijo que jamás Estados Unidos sobre bases jurídicas y legales obtendrá la extradición de Townley.

Esta misma aseveración la había formulado Michael Townley en la noche del jueves, en su casa de Lo Curro, durante el transcurso de una declaración, que hizo entrega a periodistas de algunos medios de información.

Manuel Acuña expresó ayer "que Townley está preocupado y acongojado por ser él el causante de que Estados Unidos pudiera ejercer presión sobre Chile para los efectos de que pudiera ser trasladado a Norteamérica, fuera de todas las reglas y normas jurídicas que rigen la extradición. Creo que la preocupación de Townley —añadió Acuña— es infundada, ya que todos sabemos que nuestro Gobierno actúa siempre sobre bases jurídicas y no se dejará presionar bajo ningún punto de vista".

Más adelante, el profesional declaró "que su misión como abogado de Michael Townley en la tramitación del exhorto norteamericano había concluido luego que se efectuara el diligenciamiento del mismo. Sin embargo —acotó—, sigo como abogado para los efectos del proceso que hay en la Fiscalía ad hoc, y es posible que en el futuro se contraten mis servicios ante la posibilidad que Estados Unidos pudiera solicitar la extradición de Townley".

Luego Acuña enfatizó, "que jamás por la vía de las disposiciones legales que rigen la extradición Townley podría ser llevado a los Estados Unidos, ya que todas las imputaciones que se pudieran hacer en su contra son de carácter político, y es claro que en las extradiciones no se pueden tomar estos antecedentes como base. No hay ninguna prueba que revista carácter de delito común para que Norteamérica logre su objetivo", acotó.

Finalmente, Manuel Acuña declaró que en lo que respecta al proceso por el caso de Canal 5, de Concepción, que fue ordenado reabrir por la Corte de Apelaciones de esa ciudad, y donde Townley se encuentra declarado reo en rebeldía y con una orden de aprehensión pendiente, "seguramente se contratarán los servicios de un abogado de Concepción, para que asuma la defensa si es necesario".

Sobre este mismo punto el abogado dijo "que Townley se presentaría ante los tribunales de Concepción en el momento que sea requerido por éstos. No tiene ningún problema en hacerlo", agregó.

Aclaran Muerte del Pintor

CONCEPCION.—"Sólo me he impuesto a través de la prensa de la decisión de la Corte de reabrir el fallo con la consiguiente orden de ubicación del señor Townley, y por mi parte sólo confío en que él se presentará a declarar".

Así señaló el abogado Wladi Troncoso, quien en 1972 actuó por la parte querellante en relación a la muerte del pintor de brocha gorda Jorge Tomás Henríquez González, quien pereció luego de que un grupo de personas ingresara a las dependencias de Servicios Eléctricos para sustraer un aparato que interfería las transmisiones del Canal 5 de TV, acusado de operar ilícitamente por el Gobierno de esa época.

"Por el momento no puedo hacer mayores declaraciones hasta que efectivamente se reabra el proceso", agregó el informante, quien asimismo señaló que una vez que la causa vuelva a ser reactivada por los tribunales pedirá el esclarecimiento de la muerte del obrero Manríquez.

"Pienso que Townley tuvo algún grado de responsabilidad en esa situación, aunque no puedo decir cual, ya que él hasta aquí nunca ha declarado", manifestó Troncoso.

Expresó por otro lado que él continuará actuando por mandato de una hija natural del pintor, Elizabeth Henríquez Fontana, quien, se sostiene, se habría entrevistado varias veces con el abogado después que se supiera la noticia de la aparición de Townley residiendo en Santiago, hace poco más de un mes, a raíz de la petición del exhorto de la Corte Distrital de Columbia, Estados Unidos, en relación al caso Letelier.

Opina presidente de los empresarios

Decretada Expulsión De Michael Townley

● Anuncio lo hizo anoche Ministro Secretario General de Gobierno, general René Vidal

El Ministro Secretario General de Gobierno, general René Vidal, dio a conocer anoche en su despacho, a los directores y representantes de medios de comunicación, que el Gobierno había decretado la expulsión del ciudadano norteamericano Michael Vernon Townley, por ingreso ilegal al país. El Secretario de Estado dio a conocer a los periodistas el texto del decreto expulsatorio: "Con esta fecha, el Ministerio del Interior dispuso mediante el Decreto N.o 290 la expulsión del país del ciudadano norteamericano Michael Vernon Townley, por haber infringido las disposiciones del Decreto Ley N.o 1094, de 15 de julio de 1975, que legisló sobre la entrada, residencia y salida de extranjeros. La resolución fue notificada al señor Townley por efectivos del Servicio de Investigaciones hoy 7 de abril de 1978".

"El procedimiento de expulsión se ha ceñido a las disposiciones legales vigentes sobre esta materia".

SITUACION ACTUAL DE TOWNLEY

Extraoficialmente se supo que Michael Townley se encontraría en estos momentos detenido, mientras se cumple el plazo para cumplir la disposición. No se sabe a qué país será expulsado, ya que, según la disposición, el inculpado deberá decidir su lugar de destino. Se sabe, además, que el plazo para aplicar la medida sería de 24 horas, ya que éste podría apelar de ella ante los Tribunales.

VERSIÓN DE ABOGADO

A las 19.30 horas de anoche el Prefecto de Investigaciones del Area Metropolitana, Juan Salinas, notificó al ciudadano norteamericano Michael Townley que el Ministerio del Interior, en virtud del Decreto 290, había determinado expulsarlo.

La noticia fue dada a conocer a "Las Ultimas Noticias" por el abogado de Townley, Manuel Acuña.

Este señaló que el decreto respectivo tenía sus bases en los artículos 71, 81, 84, 89 y 90 del decreto ley 1.094.

Estos artículos señalan en sus partes pertinentes que Townley es expulsado del país por no tener sus papeles y su documentación en regla, lo que significaba estar ilegalmente en Chile.

Michael Townley, según su abogado, permaneció hasta las últimas horas de anoche en el Cuartel de Investigaciones en calidad de retenido a la espera de que se diera cumplimiento a la orden de expulsión.

Manuel Acuña manifestó que Townley se había presentado voluntariamente al Cuartel de Investigaciones en la tarde de ayer y luego que confirmara que existía una orden de aprehensión en su contra emanada del Primer Juzgado del Crimen de Concepción, donde se sustancia un proceso por robo y homicidio a raíz de la destrucción de equipos de Servicios Eléctricos de esa ciudad.

Townley, dijo el abogado Acuña, llegó hasta investigaciones con el objeto de presentarse ante el Tribunal de Concepción y su intención era la de confesar su participación en los hechos. Sin embargo, en las últimas horas de la tarde de ayer se le notificó de este decreto de expulsión.

Al preguntarle al abogado si antes de ser expulsado Townley sería puesto a disposición del tribunal penquista: "Eso es lo que él espera ya que existe una orden de aprehensión pendiente en su contra, de un tribunal chileno. Sin embargo, no sabemos hasta el momento qué va a ocurrir".

Finalmente, al señalarle al abogado Acuña si en el caso que Townley fuese expulsado de inmediato, a dónde se dirigiría, declaró que presumiblemente sería puesto a disposición de la Corte Distrital de Columbia.

Michael Townley en los últimos días debió declarar en un exhorto procedente de ese tribunal norteamericano a raíz de su presunta vinculación con la investigación que se sigue en Estados Unidos por el asesinato de Orlando Letelier.

También debió declarar en un proceso que se sustancia en la Fiscalía Militar ad hoc por la falsificación de pasaportes oficiales.

DEJAN CADAVER EN VIA FERREA

● Investigan homicidio

El cadáver desnudo de un desconocido de aproximadamente 35 años de edad fue encontrado en la línea férrea ubicada en la intersección de las calles Balmaceda y Brasil.

El cuerpo del extinto presentaba lesiones en diferentes partes, presumiblemente de carácter homicida.

Se piensa que el hombre fue asesinado y posteriormente se le trasladó hasta allí para simular un atropellamiento de tren.

Deben Reinscribir Armas en Talcahuano

TALCAHUANO.— Un llamado para que todas aquellas personas que hicieron el registro de armas de fuego en 1972 y 1973, a fin de que las reinscriban antes del 28 de septiembre de 1978, efectuó la autoridad fiscalizadora de armas, explosivos y productos químicos para el departamento de Talcahuano, dependiente de la Segunda Zona Naval.

Noticias al Cierre Noticias al Cierre Noticias al Cierre

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DECLARACION JURADA

L.Carter Cornick, Jr. y Robert Scherrer, Agentes Especiales de la Oficina Federal de Investigaciones (FBI) por la presente declaran lo siguiente bajo juramento:

Estuvimos presentes en el Recinto de Detenciones de la Marina de los Estados Unidos en Quantico, Virginia, en la tarde del 14 de Abril de 1978, y hablamos con Michael Vernon Townley, quien estaba detenido en ese lugar. Townley nos informó que el, o alrededor del 12 de Abril de 1978 se comunicó telefónicamente con el General de Brigada Héctor Orozco Sepúlveda en el Ministerio de Defensa, Santiago, Chile. Townley nos dijo que el General Orozco le informó que viajaría a Washington, D.C. en un futuro cercano con el fin de conferenciar con Townley sobre el asesinato de Orlando Letelier.

Townley solicitó y obtuvo nuestro permiso para telefonear al General Orozco al Ministerio de Defensa en Santiago al número telefónico 64-472. El llamado al General Orozco fue realizado a través de la mesa conmutadora de la Jefatura del FBI a pedido del Agente Especial Scherrer. Estuvimos presentes mientras Townley hablaba por teléfono

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Dos Agentes del FBI

(De la primera página)

ro este fue expulsado oficialmente por haber infringido las leyes sobre tráfico.

Las fuentes dicen que Townley fue arrestado a las 21 horas de anoche en la capital chilena, sobre la base de un pedido de captura emitido el 25 de marzo pasado por el juez William B. Bryant a solicitud de Propper.

La decisión de entregar a Townley era esperada anteayer en su oportunidad pública. Las fuentes dijeron que su entrega debía ser secreta y que no se habían contemplado los anuncios hasta no concluir los trámites legales del cambio de jurisdicción del acusado.

Esos planes contemplaban que inmediatamente después de su detención Townley sería puesto bajo la custodia del FBI en un avión que debía haber partido anoche hacia Miami donde se iba a efectuar el primer trámite legal de su detención final.

Se dice que Propper había logrado esos acuerdos durante su viaje de la semana pasada a Santiago, con el agente del FBI Carter Cornick.

Propper dejó ayer a Cornick a cargo del caso, pero no hizo comentarios sobre el mismo.

Al mismo tiempo, un vocero del Departamento de Estado dijo que no había tenido conocimiento de ningún pedido de extradición de Townley.

Al parecer surgió anteanoche, Townley debe ser presentado ante un juez federal que deberá decidir si corresponde su detención, pero se sabe que Propper ha solicitado se le conceda la libertad bajo fianza.

Las fuentes dicen que ello puede facilitar su inmediata traslado al Distrito Judicial de Washington y que posiblemente el lunes será presentado a un tribunal local, para una segunda consideración del pedido de detención.

Luego de ello, Propper y el FBI quedarían en libertad de interrogar a Townley sobre su alegada participación en la conspiración que condujo al asesinato de Letelier en septiembre de 1976.

Cumplida Expulsión de

(De la primera página)

Gobierno Pinochet, añadió Acuña, la decisión se tomó de en el hecho de que el decreto de expulsión no puede violar la orden del Tribunal de Concepción que requería a Townley que la temporada del proceso No. 46-11, por homicidio". "La orden de detención tiene prioridad respecto de la expulsión decretada, en contra de mi defendido", añadió.

Por otra parte, Acuña dijo que una vez en Estados Unidos y en manos del FBI, será imposible que Townley regrese, y que por lo tanto, la justicia chilena perdió la oportunidad de saber qué fue la que realmente pasó en Concepción el año 1976.

Consultado acerca de las posibilidades de éxito que tenía la reclamación impuesta señaló: "Lo que resuelva la Corte Suprema no servirá de nada. Sólo presentamos el recurso de reclamación por cuestión de principios. Esto barro se humilló ayer. Creo, sin embargo, que Pinochet en el futuro podamos responder con la dignidad que merecemos a las presiones de un país más fuerte".

Sobre la presunta presencia de agentes del FBI en Puduhuel, señaló: "No sabemos cuántos había dentro del país en este momento. Sólo sabemos que no había tenido ningún tipo de información de inteligencia chilenos, que es inadmisible que estén en manos de otra país".

Finalmente, dijo: "El plazo para presentar la apelación vencía hoy (por ayer), a las 17 la horas. Debió tener ese plazo o ser notificados los recursos que se hubiesen presentado para hacer efectiva la expulsión.

El recurso que el abogado Acuña presentó ante la Corte Suprema consta de ocho fojas, a se adjuntan el acta de nacionalización del decreto de expulsión y la filiación de Townley Coleman, para acreditar el parentesco del norteamericano con esta última.

Según se informó, la Corte Suprema podrá inhibirse luego que informe al Ministerio del Interior para resolver sobre el recurso. El alto tribunal tiene un plazo de cinco días para pronunciarse sobre el procedimiento o el en lo local.

El ciudadano norteamericano, que fue vinculado por diversos medios informativos a la ex Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA), fue interrogado en varias oportunidades por un fiscal ad hoc, el general de brigada Héctor Orozco, en un proceso que sendan los tribunales militares por la utilización de los pasaportes oficiales falsificación de instrumentos públicos, y por la juez del Primer Juzgado del Crimen de Santiago, Juana González, que tramita el exhorto de la justicia de Estados Unidos. El fiscal norteamericano Eugene Propper viajó 2 veces a Santiago para el cumplimiento del exhorto.

SORPRESA

Un alto vocero del Gobierno dijo ayer a "El Mercurio", pasado el mediodía que fue una sorpresa para el Ministerio del Interior la salida del país de Michael Townley. Agregó que el temprano conocimiento de que el ciudadano norteamericano había sido entregado en el acto de Estados Unidos reunamos en las oficinas oficiales "para determinar exactamente la secuencia". Agregó que se podría entregar mañana una declaración oficial.

Townley estaba desde la tarde del viernes bajo custodia del servicio de Investigaciones.

Contactos Académicos Entre Japón y Chile

Con el propósito de lograr parte de las actividades académicas de docencia, investigación y extensión del Instituto de Ciencia Política de la Universidad Católica de Chile, visitó ya ocho el catedrático japonés Takao Fukuchi, profesor de la Universidad de Tsukuba y miembro de la Sociedad Japonesa para la Promoción de la Ciencia.

Fue recibido por el director del Instituto Gustavo Cuevas Farren y posteriormente por el cuerpo de profesores del ICP, con los cuales departió sobre los temas indicados.

El director Cuevas expresó en la reunión con el catedrático japonés el interés de la unidad académica a su cargo para incrementar contactos con centros universitarios extranjeros, puntualizando que ya había sido propuesto, al visitar el año pasado algunos países del Lejano Oriente.

PUBLICACIONES

Con posterioridad a la visita del profesor Fukuchi, el director del ICP se refirió a dos publicaciones recientemente editadas por el: "La experiencia chilena puede referendum y su valoración", de Alejandro Silva Bascuñán y "La Organización del Tratado del Atlántico Sur; una visión crítica", de Emilio Meneses. La primera de ellas dijo constituye un valioso análisis de los referendum constitucionales a lo largo de la historia de Chile. En cuanto a la segunda, abarca desde el ángulo geopolítico la posibilidad de una asociación defensiva en un ámbito estimado por la presión naval soviética.

En su conversación con los periodistas, el profesor Cuevas detalló luego algunos de los programas académicos en que actualmente está empeñado el ICP, integrante de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Católica de Chile.

Carter Teme Rechazo

(De la primera página)

do tratado sobre el Canal de Panamá en el Senado, porque pende de un hilo", dijo el Presidente ayer a un grupo de directores de diarios y ejecutivos de radio. Hoy la Casa Blanca difundió una transcripción de la entrevista.

"El apoyo que tenemos es muy tenue en algunas instancias", dijo Carter.

PROTESTAS

PANAMA, 8 (AFP).— Unos 200 jóvenes panameños protestaron ayer frente a los tratados del Canal y quemaron en efigie al Presidente Jimmy Carter, pese a advertencias hechas por senadores estadounidenses en el sentido que tales manifestaciones podrían dar lugar a que la oposición a los pactos reúna la cantidad suficiente de votos para derrocar su ratificación.

"Abajo los convenios que garantizan la intervención yanqui", rezaba un cartelón que portaba uno de los manifestantes en un parque céntrico. "Panameños, organizarse y pelear contra los tratados", decía otra pancarta.

Uno de los estudiantes gritaba: "Hay que decirle al general Torrijos que los tratados son inaceptables para el pueblo".

"Estamos contra el tratado que garantiza a los yanquis el derecho de intervención".

Las consignas de la protesta informaban a los manifestantes que los dos tratados deben ser rechazados por el pueblo panameño aunque el Senado estadounidense no les introduzca enmiendas adicionales.

Personal de la Guardia Nacional panameña observaba la manifestación sin intervenir.

La demostración fue patrocinada y organizada por dos grupos estudiantiles: la Liga Revolucionaria Socialista, de tendencia trotskista, y el Comité Cívico Torrijos.

Algunos panameños abjuran en particular el primero de los tratados, aprobado por el Senado el 16 de marzo. Dicho tratado garantiza la neutralidad del Canal de Panamá después de la entrega del mismo a Panamá en el año 2000, sobre con una salvedad que posibilitaría la intervención militar de Estados Unidos si Panamá se viera imposibilitada de mantener resguardar la vía interoceánica.

El segundo tratado, que detalla los pormenores de cómo se entregará el canal a Panamá a fines de 1999, se debatirá actualmente en el Senado norteamericano y será sobre el 18 de abril.

Panamá ha reiterado la posición estadounidense en cuanto al derecho de intervenir, tenemos en esta disputa a los Estados Unidos.

El Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores informó aquí ayer que el gobierno de Panamá no adoptará posturas agresivas sobre la validez de los tratados en el Congreso norteamericano, aprobados por el Senado hasta tanto no se sepa la actitud exacta final.

Puertos Para Nave Cedida A Bolivia

Serán Rosario, argentino, y El C en Perú

LA PAZ, 7 (AFP). — El boliviano "Libertador" tendrá dos puertos de operaciones, uno en la Argentina, Callao, en el Perú, informó hoy aquí.

La información fue proporcionada por el ... de Buenos Aires, ... aprobar la operación ... Bolivia a ... bardas que fue ... por el Gobierno de ...

El "Libertador" ... encuentra actualmente ... aguas del Atlántico, ... puerto fluvial de ... su primera travesía ... mente en Puerto ... navegación.

ACCESO AL ATLA...

BRASILIA, 8 (AFP). — ... refirió su oferta ... boliviano de ... franceses en ... bern. Pierre Veil ... revelaron hoy los ... Cancillería brasileña.

Según dichas ... oferta brasileña ... aceptó durante ... despedida que ... ridor Arrieta, ... Embajador boliviano ... García, quien ... país para asumir ... cargo.

Agregan las fuentes ... dieron las fuertes ... relaciones de Brasil ... tradicionen los lazos ... cordialidad continental ... fuerzas conjunta ... un programa de ... aduaneros, procedimientos ... mentado en una ... tendimiento cierto ... lianza recíproca".

LA PAZ, 8 (AFP). — ... forman es la zona ... las próximas ... vianas, se decidirán ... la división ... dos de longitud ... de la Palanca ... liviana (FSB) ... tente en el ... to Nacionalista ... rio (MNR).

Hernán Siles ... cionado mucho ... dato a la ... Repúblicas, ... ra del congreso ... su partido, el MNR ... día, en el ... la "revolución ... concreta el ... nacionalización ... reforma agraria.

La candidatura ... Zapata tendrá la ... ma en el seno ... partido a ... también en ... bunicada que ... cionada en ... "en aras de la ... fuerzas populares".

Por otra ... Socialista ... ha partido en ... por parte ... con la ... Héctor Gutiérrez ... sublevó. Este ... emergió con el ... do.

El motivo ... giste" fue el ... al candidato ... ral Juan Pereda ...

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EXPULSAN A M. TOWNLE

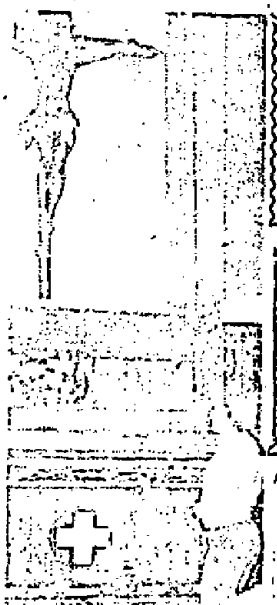
● Hasta hoy seguirá en Investigaciones ● 24 horas para apelar ● Puede elegir país para viajar. (Página 13)

ARANEDA PIDE PERDON

PRESIDENTE DE EMPRESARIOS:

"Más que Usur

"No Soy un Criminal"



NUEVA CONSTITUCION:

8 AÑOS DURARA EL PRESIDENTE

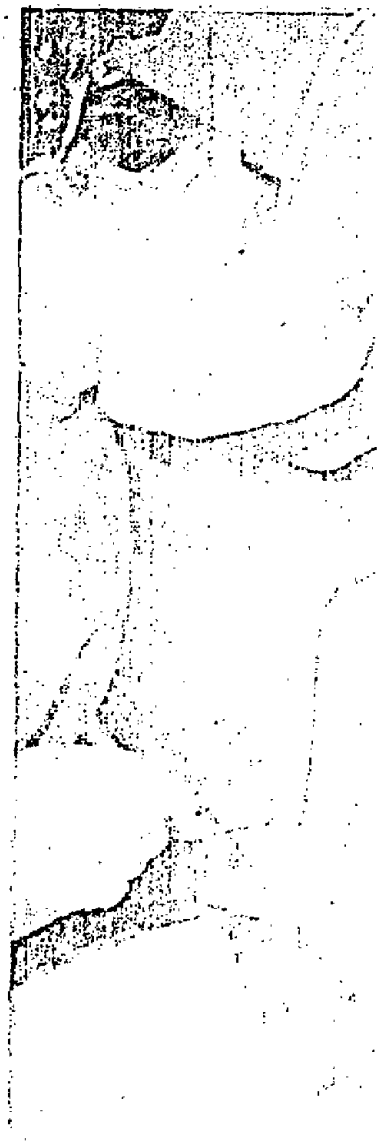
Operan la Demencia

- "Ultimas Noticias" estuvo presente en una espectacular operación para sanar los padecimientos de un sujeto con hidrocefalia.
- La operación duró dos horas. (Reportaje en páginas 18 y 19)

Expulsado por dos años del fútbol profesional, Luis Araneda —el ex jugador de Colo Colo— espera el indulto. Pidió perdón de rodillas en un altar de la Catedral. (Páginas 24 y 25)

Año LXXVI—N.o 24.239—Sábado 8 de Abril de 1978
P R E C I O : (IVA incluido) $ 6,00

HOY: Santa Constanza — MAÑANA: San Demetrio



3 POLONES

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con el General Orozco, y oímos a Townley pedir al General Orozco que acelerara su proyectada visita a los Estados Unidos. Townley informó al General Orozco que podría ser posible un acuerdo para cooperar con el FBI proporcionando información sobre el asesinato de Orlando Letelier, pero que primero debería reunirse personalmente con el General Orozco.

Después de terminar su conversación con el General Orozco, Townley nos dijo que, antes de revelar al FBI cualquiera información relativa al asesinato de Orlando Letelier, necesitaría la autorización formal de General Orozco, en nombre del Gobierno de Chile, puesto que él deseaba dejar constancia de que su revelación de los detalles del asesinato-conspiración de Letelier era el deseo del Gobierno de Chile. Además, Townley declaró que la autorización del General Orozco para cooperar con el FBI lo relevaría de su obligación como Agente de la DINA de no revelar información relacionada con su servicio (DINA). Townley nos dijo también que consideraba a Chile como su hogar y que deseaba tener seguridades del General Orozco de que se le permitiría regresar a Chile después de su período de encarcelamiento en los Estados Unidos como resultado de su rol en el asesinato de Letelier. Finalmente, Townley nos informó que quería obtener una garantía de seguridad para su esposa y familia en Chile.

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El General Orozco viajó a los Estados Unidos, llegando en el vuelo LAN Chile 148 el 16 de Abril de 1978 al Aeropuerto Internacional Kennedy en Nueva York. El General Orozco venía acompañado por el Coronel Gerónimo Pantoja Fernández, Sub Director del Centro Nacional de Informaciones (CNI) y el Mayor Jaime Vergara (J). El General Orozco y sus acompañantes viajaron desde Nueva York a Washington, D.C. por vía aérea y fueron recibidos en el Aeropuerto Nacional de Washington por el Encargado de Negocios Tomás Amenábar de la Embajada de Chile y nosotros. Posteriormente tuvimos una conferencia con el General Orozco, el Coronel Pantoja y el Mayor Vergara (J) en la residencia en Washington, D.C. del Embajador de Chile ante los Estados Unidos. Durante esta conferencia discutimos las condiciones de Townley para revelar detalles de su misión como oficial de la DINA en los Estados Unidos. El General Orozco estuvo de acuerdo en reunirse personalmente con Townley para discutir las condiciones. Además el General Orozco nos informó que deseaba tomar una declaración a Townley en caso de que se llegara a un acuerdo sobre su cooperación respecto de los hechos verdaderos del asesinato de Letelier y la participación de la DINA.

Posteriormente, acompañamos al General Orozco y sus

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acompañantes a Quantico. En Quantico, sostuvimos una reunión con Townley, su esposa, Mariana Callejas, sus abogados Seymour Glanzer y Barry Levine, y los Fiscales del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Eugene M. Propper y E. Lawrence Barcella. Townley entonces conversó largo rato en privado con el General Orozco. Después de esta conversación privada con el General Orozco, se sostuvo una larga conferencia entre Townley, su esposa, sus abogados, arriba mencionados, los Fiscales del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Propper y Barcella, el General Orozco, Coronel Pantoja, Mayor Vergara y los abajo firmantes. Durante esta conferencia, se trataron las condiciones de un proyectado acuerdo entre Townley y el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos relacionado con su cooperación en proporcionar información sobre el asesinato de Letelier en detalle. Se acordó que Townley formalizaría su acuerdo de cooperar con el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos proporcionando información sobre el asesinato de Letelier, sujeto a que el General Orozco obtuviera la aprobación de las autoridades en Santiago en acceder a las solicitudes de Townley. El General Orozco obtuvo autorización para acceder a las solicitudes de Townley y comunicó esta autorización a Townley el 17 de Abril de 1978. También se acordó que después de proporcionar todos los detalles de su participación como oficial de la DINA en el asesinato

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de Letelier al FBI, Townley daría esta información al General Orozco en forma de una declaración escrita.

El acuerdo formal entre Townley y el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos fue firmado por Townley y sus abogados en Quantico el 17 de Abril de 1978. Inmediatamente después de firmar este acuerdo, Townley empezó a dar detalles del asesinato de Letelier a nosotros. De conformidad con su acuerdo con el General Orozco, Townley proporcionó un informe detallado escrito al General Orozco en Quantico, antes la tarde de 18 de Abril de 1978.

[illegible] Gonnick, Jr.
Agente Especial
Oficina Federal de Investigaciones

Robert W. Scherrer
Agente Especial
Oficina Federal de Investigaciones

Suscrito y jurado ante me el 8 de Enero de 1979 en la oficina del Consul de los Estados Unidos, Embajada de los Estados Unidos, Santiago, Chile.

Arturo S. Macias
Consul de los Estados Unidos
de America

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Hello my beautiful,

I am still trying to digest all of the news clippings that you sent. Also the same thing about ex your letters. I think from the tone of them, the underlying tone as well as your tone during your last two fone calls , that you are a little anoyed or mad at me. I imagine for two reasons: one your resentment and anger at me for being responsible for as you said, at least "75%" of all of our problems; second, for not taking as firm a stence with chilean officialdom as you feel I should. I am sorry love. I can't argue about the first point, and I think that I have stated enough times already how I feel about the second point. One thing is to scream and obtain something, but I think that the only thing that is going to be obtained here with what I have read of the press clippings that you sent is that the people who can make things livable for you and the kids and have things arranged for us to be able to make a decent life with my return to Chile etc, are going to be so totally alienated that there good will and help are not going to go on much longer, and then what do we do, because this is first time, with what has started in the press, screaming about Argentina, Italy, etc. and what is going to come out at the trial about Mexico, The rest of the world is going to be screamin for you and me for many years to come. It won't make any differen that they also scream for Contreras and the chilean government, they will be screaming first of all for us to be able to nail the chileans with the rest. Or if they can't get at the rest of t then they are going to be after us for the rest just on general principal. At this moment I am torn about you coming here to testify. I won't lie, I would like very much to see you and be able to hold you and maybe even make love with you, but from all of the declarations that you have made to the press about why you were in the service and why you received salary have nothing to do with the truth, and if you come to testify it will be public knowledge that you had active knowledge of DINA ex activities, an then what will you say to the press and to your friends. Once if you don't testify and IX I manage to avoid letting your name in the testimony, the cubans can bring it out at anymoment, at any through cross examination of me, or by testimony of one of them. I spoke to Jim Neck the other day. What he said was basically, do say anything more to anybody. Let the thing die down. What keeps going are our statements and counter-statements and corrections of misquotes and bad reporting, etc.. He said stop feeding it. Let them say what they want and after the trial is over, or during the later part of the trial we can choose a friendly reporter and do it properly. At this moment I don't know what Orozco has said to to Bob and Propper about the letter for me or the reaction of the Government to their stating that I was instructed to cooperate. If they don't give it to me and back it sooner or later then we will go ahead and do it here now. But you let me do it with the attorney's and with the right form, they have a letter from Orozco (in english and spanish) and can also swear affidavits and make a court move for breach of promise, a law suit of some I do think that at this moment you should ax more or less what you falsifyed statement throgh the military said. I do want to know what the press is saying now and what kind of treatment you have g getting from the service etc., I would like to talk to you also

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also if Oronno is backing out on the letter I am sure that Gil, Carter, Propper and Marcella will be willing to either testify or swear out affidavits or leak the story to the press, the story of the meetings here in Wash. and that I hadn't yet agreed to any thing at all, and in fact that I was the one that called Orozco and asked him to come here to give me my instructions personally. As far as the rest of the stuff, the responsibility and who ordered what and whether I was or was not a soldier, and whether I was just following orders,is all going to come out at the trial and believe it that Propper is going to do his utmost to make me look like a good dumb soldier who did nothing more than obey. If he doesn't get Virgil and Dionisio to trial then I am going to be the biggest baddy there and he made the deal with me, and that could be very favorable to Guillermo and the others. They won't be able to carry the conspiracy back any further through me because I don't have it to give to them, and unless some of their own informants can nail it down I don't know what they will do with it. What they can and will nail down is the conspiracy in Chile. Even if they don't get a word of testimony from Chile, with what they get from me and all the corroboration of everything that I have said they will get the chileans by enuendo if not by truth and that for the chilean government, inuendo can be worse than the court for the government, not for a defendant before the law but for the public opinion of a country yes! At this moment even if we were to change our position, even if we were to publically back the government, it would not change in the least what is going to happen, what they are ultimately going to have to do. What I am trying to get across is that we have a luxury position at this moment: no matter what we do they are going to get hit with the shit anyway. I am not saying that we should back them, in fact with all the press that we have had, if you shut up at this moment it will be bad for the government because it will be believed that the government got to you some way, or got to the both of us. No matter what they are screwed equally!!!.

I told you in an other letter. I do want to go back to Chile. I know that I can make us a living there, where as here I don't think that I could, not at the level that we would want: I don't want to go back to manual labor. Also I've got the nightmare of you and the kids during the next years while I am put away. I am quite sure that I will be able to make it ok, even being locked away without being able to see you, I could make it as long as I knew that you and the kids would be ok. The next years are going to be harder on you and the kids than it will be on me. As you said in one of your letters, and as I've said in one of mine that I have't mailed to you; this is the first time that you have had to carry through a crisis without a mans shoulder to lean on, and there are going to be an appreciable number of years this way for you, and I also know that financial security is important for you. I mean the ability to buy shoes for the kids when they need it, to be able to pay Luis and Juanitas salary, to be able to pay the things that must be payed as well as a trip to the movies and an outing for the kids,etc.. If you have this kind of security then I am sure that it will be infinitely easier for you to get through the rest without me or anyone else there at your side to lean on. I must admit that this worries me also because by the time that I get out of here you just might have gotten so self sufficient that you won't be happy with me back either. Time will be the only one to tell. I love you and don't want to loose you, but I don't want you tearing your

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self apart doing your best to wait for me, and then not having anything for me when we do make it back together.

I am mailing off a Birthday card for Brian tomorrow, its got two dollars in it so that he can buy himself at least a couple of Pumperninks. I am also sending off a birthday card for your mother, the problem is that I don't remember whether her birthday is the first part of June or July, if it is July, then its going to be awfully early.

My mother already has the colapsable shopping cart for your mother's birthday. I didn't get to speak to Dad today but I think that he has already ordered the parts for Chris's bike, and I hope that he is looking for a motorbike. What I forgot to tell you is that with the new telephone here you can call Sta. to Sta. now, there is no need for person to person because the tel. is only about ten feet away from where I am right now, its almost beside my bed. Mom also said that she had the other things that you wanted, the hair coloring, shirts for the kids (only one for Brian) plus all of the other things that you wrote for.

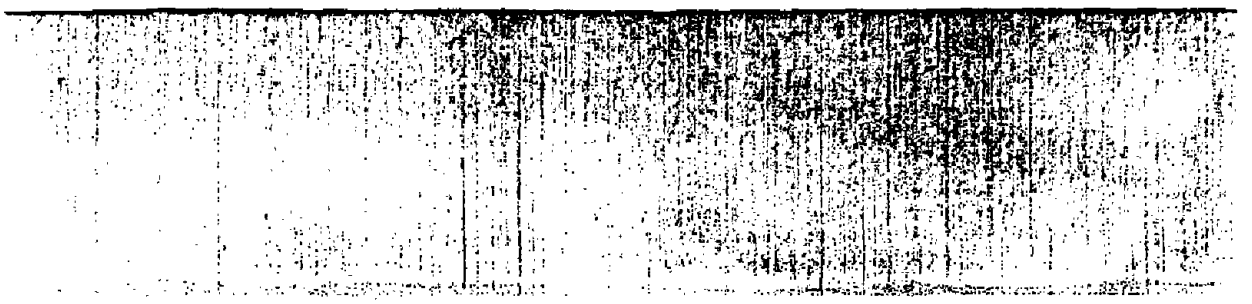
I do love you very much darling, and I am married to you for what I consider to have been overwhelmingly the better, and until death do us part, but to me it is more important that your desire for my love and our future is what gives you your resolve to stay by us during this mess, other than because you feel you owe it,or its what you should do because its the expected thing.

I realize that you probably couldn't answer that last paragraph with 100% certainity at this time, its just that I don't want this to become a sacrifice that will be or could be the final thing that splits us apart after I get out. I don't want these years to come to represent something that will magnify through the years to make you come to hate me or despise me for having been the major responsible both befor this problem and then during it.

Well darling its now 3:30 AM and I am going to leave this for one of the guards to mail tomorrow morning. I love you,beaful lady, you know that you are my booful lady! and please don't get too mad at me for wanting us to survive, for wanting you and the kids to get through this in the best way possible. Sleep tight my love, and if you can manage it sometime please have a nice dream with me.

Love always my love

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Perinetti so that you will know the contents before you talk to him. A.P.S. I have not received Easter Letter from Mother Queen - just you! Love, Jim



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Washington, Jueves, Mayo 28, 1976.-

Hola, mi linda:

Todavía estoy tratando de dirigir todas las noticias que enviastes. La misma cosa acerca de tus cartas. Pienso por el tono de ellas, el tono entre líneas tanto como el tono durante tus últimas dos llamadas, que estás un tanto disgustado o enojado conmigo. Imagino que por dos razones: uno, tu resentemiento y enojo conmigo por ser responsable por años como dijistes, al menos por el 75% de nuestros problemas; segundo, por no conversar tan firmemente con la oficialidad chilena como tu sentías debí hacerlo. Lo lamento amor. No tengo argumentos para el primer punto, y pienso que he establecido las suficientes veces ya como me siento respecto al segundo punto. Una cosa es exponer y obtener algo, pero pienso que lo único que se va a conseguir aquí con lo que ya he leído de los recortes de prensa que me enviastes es que la gente que puede hacer cosas valiosas para tí y los niños y tienen cosas arregladas para nosotros para poder hacer una vida decente a mi regreso a Chile, etc. van a estar tan totalmente alienados que su buena voluntad y ayuda no va a durar mucho, y entonces que hacemos nosotros, porque esta es la primera vez. Con que han empezado en la prensa, argumentando acerca de Argentina, Italia, etc. y que va a resultar en el juicio acerca de México. El resto del mundo estará argumentando acerca tuyo y mío por muchos años más (venideros) no hará ninguna diferencia sobre que ellos también argumentarán sobre Contreras y el gobierno chileno, ellos hablarán primero que todo de nosotros para poder clavar a los chilenos con el resto. O si ellos no pueden conseguir al resto, entonces andarán detrás de nosotros por el resto en general principalmente. En este momento me inclino por que tu vengas aquí a testificar. No mentiré, me gustaría mucho verte, sostenerte y quizás aún hacer el amor contigo, pero de todas las declaraciones que tu has hecho a la prensa acerca de porqué tu estabas en el servicio y porque tu recibistes un sueldo nada tienen que ver con la verdad, y si tu vienes a testificar será de conocimiento público que tu tenías activo conocimiento de las actividades de la DINA, y entonces que dirás a la prensa y tus abo-

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gos. Aún si no testificas y yo se los arreglo para evitar que tu nombre aparezca en el testimonio, los cubanos pueden sacarlo a luz en cualquier momento, aún a través de un contrainterrogatorio a mí, o por testimonio de alguno de ellos. Le hablé a Jim Beck el otro día. Lo que dijo es básico, no digas nada más a nadie. Deja que la cosa muera. Que los mantiene sobre nuestras declaraciones y contradeclaraciones o conecciones de notas y malos reportajes, etc. El dijo deja de alimentarlos. Déjalos decir lo que quieran y una vez finalizado el juicio, durante la última parte del juicio, podemos escoger un reportero amigo y hacerlo correctamente. En este momento, no sé que ha dicho Orozco a Cob y Propper acerca de la carta para mí o la reacción del gobierno sobre su aseveración de que yo fuí instruído para cooperar. Si no se la dan de vuelta, más tarde o más temprano, entonces nosotros iremos más lejos y lo hacemos aquí ahora. Pero déjame hacerlo con el notario y en la forma correcta, ellos tienen una carta de Orozco (en inglés y español) y pueden también proveer affidavits (carta de contención) y hacer un movimiento en la corte para conje de promesa, una clase de causa.

Yo realmente pienso que en este momento tu deberías hacer, más o menos, lo que tu falsa declaración dice sobre los militares. Yo deseo saber de verdad que dice la prensa ahora y que clase de tratamiento has estado recibiendo del servicio, etc. Yo también desearía hablarte si Orozco está acordo de regreso la carta. Estoy seguro que Cob, Carter, Propper y Sarcella estarán deseosos de testificar o juror affidavits o dejar filtrar la historia a la prensa, la historia de las reuniones aquí en Wash. y sobre lo que yo aún no he acordado nada, y en verdad que fuí yo el que llamó a Orozco y le pedí venir aquí a darme mis instrucciones personalmente. Acerca del resto del asunto, la responsabilidad y quien lo ordenó, qué y como yo era o no era un soldado, y como yo seguía órdenes, es todo lo que va salir en el juicio y creo que Propper va a ser lo más de sí para hacerme aparecer como un buen soldado que no hizo nada más que obedecer. Si el no consigue a Virgilio y Dionisio para enjuiciarlos, entonces yo seré el más malo allí y harán todo conmigo, y eso podría ser muy favorable para

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Guillermo y los otros. Ellos no serán capaces de llevar la conspiración más adelante a través mío porque no lo tengo para dárselos, y a menos que uno de sus mismos informantes puedan conseguirlo yo no sé que harán con ello. Que van ellos a conseguir si se conspiró en Chile. Aún si ellos no consiguen ni una palabra de testimonio de Chile, con lo que ellos consigan de mí y toda la colaboración de todo lo que he dicho ellos conseguirán a los chilenos por encuendo si no por verdad y eso para el gobierno chileno, encuendo puede ser peor que la corte para el gobierno, no para un defendido ante la ley pero para la opinión pública del país, sí! En este momento, aún si nosotros vamos a cambiar nuestra posición, aún si nosotros damos vuelta la espalda públicamente al gobierno, no cambiaría al último lo que va a suceder, lo que ellos tienen que hacer al último. Sobre lo que voy-es que nosotros estamos en una posición de lujo en este momento: no importa que hagamos ellos van a coger el golpe de todas maneras. Yo no digo que debamos darle vuelta la espalda, en verdad con toda la prensa o publicidad que hemos tenido, si tu te callas en este momento será malo para el gobierno porque se creerá que el gobierno te obtuvo a tí de alguna manera, o nos consiguió a ambos. No importa que hayan atornillado, igualmente!

Te dije en otra carta, yo deseo realmente volver a Chile. Sé que podemos hacernos una vida allá, sin embargo aquí yo no pienso que podría, no al nivel que nosotros desearíamos. No deseo volver a trabajos manuales. También yo he cogido pesadillas sobre tí y los niños durante los próximos años mientras quede libre. Estoy completamente seguro que podré hacerlo correctamente, aún estando encerrado, sin poder verte, lo podré hacer tanto como sepa que tú y los niños están bien. Los próximos años serán más duros para ti y los niños que para mí. Como tu dijistes en una de tus cartas, y como yo lo dije en una de las mías que te envié, esta es la primera vez que tu tienes que sobrellevar una crisis sin el hombro de un hombre donde inclinarte, y será un número apreciable de años en esta forma para tí, y también sé que una seguridad monetaria es importante para tí. Yo quiero decir, poder comprar zapatos a los niños cuando lo ne-

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cesiten, poder pagar los sueldos de Luis y Juanita, poder pagar las cosas que hay que pagar tanto como una ida al cine y una salida para los niños, etc. Si tu tienes esta clase de seguridad estoy seguro será infinitamente más fácil para tú pasar por el resto sin mí o sin otro a tu lado donde apoyarte.

Debo admitir que esto me preocupa porque al momento que yo salga de aquí, tu puedes haber obtenido tal seguridad en autoabastecerte que no serás tampoco feliz con mi regreso. El tiempo es el único que lo puede decir. Te amo y no deseo perderte, pero no te quiero llorosa sola haciendo lo mejor por esperarme y no tener nada para nosotros cuando lo hagamos de nuevo juntos.

Estoy enviando una tarjeta de cumpleaños a Orian mañana, envío 2 dólaresallí para que el pueda comprarse por sí mismo al menos un par de Pumpernicks. También estoy enviando una tarjeta de cumpleaños a tu madre. No pude hablarle a papá hoy pero pienso que el ya ordenó los partes para la bicicleta de Chris, y espero que el busque una motocicleta. Lo que olvidé decirte que con el nuevo teléfono aquí tu puedes llamar teléfono a teléfono, no es necesario persona a persona porque el teléfono está solamente a unos 10 pies de aquí donde estoy en este momento, casi al lado de mi cama. Mamá también dijo que tenía las otras cosas que tu deseabas, la tintura de pelo, camisas para los niños (solo una para Orian) más todas las otras cosas que tu escribistes.

De verdad te amo mucho querida, y me casé contigo porque yo consi- dero haber sido afortunado y hasta que la muerte nos separe, pero para mí es más importante que tu deseo de mi amor y nuestro futuro te haga resolver quedarte por nosotros esta vez, más que porque es lo que debes hacer porque es lo que se espera de tí.

Me doy cuenta que probablemente este último párrafo no lo puedas responder con un 100% de certeza en este momento, es solo que no deseo que este sacrificio llegue a ser o pudiera ser la última cosa que nos separe después de mi salida. No deseo que estos años que vienen representen algo que se agrande a través de los años que llegues a odiarme o despreciarme por haber tenido la mayor responsabilidad de ambos antes de este

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problema y durante él.

Bien querido, son las 3.30 de la madrugada y dejaré esto para que uno de los guardias te lo envíe mañana por correo. Te amo, bella dama, tu sabes que eres mi bella dama, y por favor no te enojes demasiado conmigo para que deseemos sobrevivir, porque deseo que tú y los niños pasen por esto de la mejor manera posible. Duerme bien querida, y si te las puedes arreglar alguna vez ten un buen sueño conmigo.

Te amaré siempre, mi amor

P.S. Te incluyo una copia de mi carta a Perinetto para que así sepas el contenido primero antes de que converses con él.

P.P.S. No he recibido la carta de Gustavo ni de Manuel Acuñas, solo tuyas.

Amor

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...ington, D.C. ...nueves 15 de Junio, 1978

Estimado Gustavo,

Acabo de terminar de hablar contigo. Voy a puntualizar algunas cosas, y lo que digo referente a Mariana y que ella y los ninos vendrian aqui no es para repetirlo a ella, lo voy a tener que convencer a mi manera! Bueno, primero, la defensa de los cubanos va a ser que esta es una maniobra de la CIA y el FBI para cagarlos con la gentil cooperacion de DINA de Chile. Si ellos mantienen a Virgilio y a Dionisio afuera de esto, o sea que no los pillan, entonces es mi solo palabra que los cubanos estuvieron directamente involucrados. En cuanto a la reunion de conspiracion lo unico que tienen que decir es que ellos negaron a cooperar ! de nuevo mi solo palabra contra la de ellos. Ahora viene la parte de Chile, si ellos fueran a usar la defensa que yo primeramente te dije, o sea que yo soy de la CIA, entonces se conjugan las dos defensas; los cubanos; esto es un complot de los gringos: y el lado nuestro; que este es un complot de los gringos porque Townley es de CIA y infiltro nuestro servicio y lo que el hizo lo hizo con la actuacion de la CIA en Washington para cagar al gobierno de Chile segun los deseos del gobierno del Sr Carter. Y para esto van a tener que tambien disacreditar a Mariana, y por eso es que yo creo que le estan pidiendo a ella una declaracion legalizada donde ella declara que no tiene ningun deseo que se enjuicie o castigue al Mamo y los otros. Aparte de esto la estan pidiendo un relato notarizado de su vida donde va a declarar que participo en el PC en su juventud, que fue miembro activo del Zionismo y que estuvo en un Kibutz en Israel, que participo en la politica de Eugene Mcarthy, conotado izquierdista (como Kennedy) en movimiento contra Vietnam, en fin con todo esto, izquierda, y despues Patria y Libertad y anti-Allende, podran decir que era un infiltrado y quizas le cuelgan tambien la etiqueta de Cia. Quien sabe.

La posicion de Propper y de los del FBI ha sido muy buena, no son politicamente motivados en esto. No me cabe la menor duda de que otros esferas que empujan a ellos si esta muy politicamente motivados. Propper ha expresado su pesar de que la eliminacion no se hizo de otra forma o en otro lugar porque el esta de acuerdo con ello, incluso lamento que no se incluyo a la Sra.. Ahora no es solamente Propper quien ha dicho esto, tambien Barcella, Cornick y el agente Schaerer es pro-junta abiertamente y se siente como el ajo estando en la posicion donde esta. (Schaerer, es lejos el mas inteligente, vivo y perspicaz de todo el equipo).

Ahora te voy a decir lo que yo creo de todo la situacion: (me gustaria que trataras de comprobar lo que puedes de esto 1.- Hubo un sector de Generales que presionaron mucho a Pinochet que me expulsara, y este grupo fue encabezado por Gen. Covarrubias, Gen. Vidal, y un Grupo de altos oficiales del Vach: (posiblemente con Leigh); es posible que Mena se opusiera pero no excesivamente. Brady se opuso y Benavides estaba a favor igual Schweitzer y Cmndte. Montero y Judo que Pozzo hubiera opinado (solamente actuado en lo que le puede haber sido util para cagar a Contreras). Bien una vez que estoy en USA, pido a Pozzo que venga para explicarme que mierda pasa y me instruye en que debo hacer. Antes de que el llega mis abogados ya tienen claro lo que pueden lograr para mi: 1; por los cargos aleno de pasaporte y equipos y ser un agente extranjero no registrado probablemente unos 20 anos de carcel ademas de la condena que podria caer por el asunto de fondo, botelier todo esto en el caso de no cooperar y, 2; en el caso de cooperar una condena de diez anos, que podria ser tan corto como 3½ anos y mas probablemente 6½

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anos de los diez que se van a dictar en la sentencia, bueno asi estaba cuando llego Orozco. Orozco llego dos dias despues de que habian atrapado a Guillermo y Alvin Foss y el FBI estaban presionandolos fuertemente para hacer un trato. Si ellos lo hubieran hecho antes, yo tendria seguro dos condenas consecutivas de cadena perpetua de todos modos no hice trato alguno hasta despues de hablar con Orozco, corriendo el riesgo de que el tiro me saliera por la culata. Orozco me prometio tres cosas, sujeto a confirmacion telefonica a Stgo.; uno, una carta donde el gobierno me emplazaba a cooperar, dos garantizarme un libre reingreso a Chile y tres una continuada apoyo a mi familia y a mi; el ultimo punto lo garantizo Pantoja en el acto frente a mis dos abogados, Mariana, mi, Orozco y May. Vergara.. Orozco me confirmo [illegible] cosas al dia siguiente, tambien los confirm al agente de FBI Schoerer y a Propper y mis abogados. Bueno ahora viene la segunda tanda, al dia siguiente Orozco volvio a venir aqui para tomar mi declaracion modificado de los hechos referente al asunto Letelier lo cual hice, tambien le hable de algunas cosas que habian hecho DINA sin nosotros que queria Orozco para poder presiona a Contreras a decir la verdad. Tambien me hablo de Andrea, y yo le dije que yo era el unico que podria reunir todo la pelicula para fabricarlo, el me dijo que estaba conciente de eso y que ellos iban a ver la manera de hacer un canje por personas buscados por drogas por los gringos en Chile por mi para tenerme de vuelto al ano o meno: Y en cuanto yo regresara a Chile se haria una amnestia para sacarme a mi de la carcel igual que Mamo y los demas. Pero lo que el mas me hizo hincapie era que Contreras y Espinoza y Fernandez estaban cocinados y iban a tener que ir a prision de todos modos (inclusive el huevon de Vergara pidio manuales de reglamentos de los carceles militares de USA para poder la legislacion necesario para establecerlos en Chile) y que Pinochet y el gobierno estaban totalmente aislados de lo que venia para Mamo y Cia. y que la unica manera que el gobierno veia que podria sobrevivir era entregar algunos cristianos a los leones de la opinion publica y salir ilesos como los justos entregando los malos (o sea decir que Chile tiene cancer y auto operarlo para remover las particulas cancerosos). Recapitulando un poco: cuando llegan a mi expulsion y que se hace con los grigos, un grupo de oficiales (DC o DC Pirana) presiona para que se coopere y que me entregan, luego Mamo empiesa a chillar y dice que ellos no van a ser el chivo expiratorio y que si el gobierno no cambia de actitud los van a cagar"todos juntitos"; acto seguido se vuelve a tomar la actitud de que los gringos son malos no hay cooperacion el gringo Townley y su Sra. son traidores, o quisas infiltrados de la CIA involucrados en un complot para cagar a Chile y que ni Chile ni chilenos tienen algo que ver con la muerte de Letelier y en esto inceiblemente concuerdan los generales y sectores que tanto gritaon para mi expulsion. Todo esto se vende internamente pensando que los gringos no van a poder llegar a una acusacion formal en contra de Chile, o hacer fratificar la accusacion a un pedido de extradicion. Resulta que si tienen suficiente! Propper ha estado recibiendo evidencias voluntarias de Chile, y segun lo que yo escuche, hasta hay gente de DINA (CNI) que han voluntariamente entregado informacion contra Mamo y otros. Ha llovido informacion, tienen toneladas de declaraciones. No se si lo que tienen es directamente al hucho de Letelier, pero hay suficiente de todo que si lo largan el olor de mierda va a quedar por mucho tiempo. Bueno cual es el resultado: 1.- el grupo de generales logra que me entregan y inician la caida tambien propongan la cooperacion 2.- Viene la contra ataque de Mamo y su gente y se neutraliza a los que propongan la cooperacion y

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y ahora lo que viene; con el gobierno en una posicion de solidaridad con el Mamo y con la no intervencion de USA en los asuntos de Chile, y con la implicancia que los gringos aparentamente tienen que Pinoch llamo a Stroessner en Paraguay para que Paraguay entregarah los pasaportes oficiales a Fernandez y yo largan las acusacionesformales en contra de Contreras, Espinoza, Fernandez y si quisieran nombran a Pinochet como co-conspirador sin acusacion formal (esto significa que hace suficiente evidencia para pensar que si pero no suficiente para hacer una acusacion formal). Y en este momento empiesan a largar evidencias, mas presiones internacionales, cortar relaciones de USA y otras paises europeas y a todo esto viene el mismo grupo de Generales que prometieron que me entregaran a mi y que fomentaron la linea de cooperacion y le muestra a Pinochet que su ultima actitud de respaldar significa que el va a tener que renunciar y que ver a tener que procesar a Mamo y los demas como anteriormente dijieron pero con la excepcion que ahora no se puede ya aislar al gobierno y a su excellencia del desastre y que ambos van a tener que renunciar y hay que establecer un gobierno de transicion con Gen Camarubias al mando, y con la DC dando el apoyo logistico politico de personas administrativas al gobierno.

Bueno esto es mi analisis de la situacion. Yo creo que todos los palitos que habian que pisar se han pisado, y ahora que, Frei? o quien sera, y cuanto tardara para que vuelve la Unidad Popular? ESTO, TODO ESTO, ES UNA MIERDA CON PATAS!!!!!

No tuvimos mas proyecto
en el correo la vez
Nuevamente mandaré otro
Luego

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Interviú

28 octubre

¡Por fin, Amparo Muñoz!

esar
Franco
OS MASONES
MOS GENTE
ONRADA»

ncestó en España
ECADOS
N FAMILIA

8 años
vivió del cuento
EL FALSO
PRIMO
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ALEMANIA
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«Mi marido cump

Por RUBEN ADRIAN VALENZUELA

El 2 de septiembre de 1976, en plena ciudad de Washington, un automóvil al que le habían colocado un artefacto explosivo vuela por los aires. En el atentado perdieron la vida Orlando Letelier, ex canciller chileno del Gobierno de Salvador Allende, y su secretaria particular. Una mujer, Mariana Callejas, estaba al tanto de todo. Es la esposa de Michael Townley, el agente de la DINA que instaló la bomba asesina con la colaboración de cubanos exiliados. Su extensa entrevista con el periodista chileno Rubén Adrián Valenzuela constituye un testimonio excepcional, no sólo para aportar un poco más de luz a un crimen político que todavía conmueve al mundo, sino para conocer desde dentro el clima psicológico y moral de los asesinos a sueldo de los servicios secretos.

Las circunstancias en que se produjo el hecho estaban muy claras para unos y muy oscuras para otros. En los Estados Unidos y en Chile se siguen ahora las investigaciones y los procesos para —al menos eso se dice— su total esclarecimiento.

El 21 de febrero de 1978, el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos requirió formalmente al de Chile la entrega de dos hombres para ser investigados: Juan Williams Rose y Alejandro Romeral Jara.

El Gobierno chileno negó la existencia de ambas personas. Pero como consecuencioa de fuertes presiones norteamericanas, una investigación, ordenada por el propio Presidente Augusto Pinochet, permitió poner en claro que Juan y Alejandro eran, en realidad, Michael Vernon Townley Welch, ciudadano norteamericano residente en Santigo y miembro de la Policía Secreta, DINA, y el capitán del Ejército chileno Armando Fernández Larios. Ambos habían pertenecido a la organización ultraderechista Patria y Libertad.

El 23 de marzo, sin embargo, el Gobierno de Pinochet negaría categóricamente que chileno alguno hubiera tomado parte en el asesinato de Letelier.

En abril, Chile expulsaba a Michael Townley hacia los Estados Unidos, donde fue arrestado, como pieza fundamental del "caso Letelier", por el FBI. Pinochet había encontrado su chivo expiatorio.

Actualmente se desarrolla en Chile un sumario secreto en torno a la posible extradición de tres militares supuestamente involucrados en el caso: el general Manuel Contreras, ex jefe de la todopoderosa DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional); el ex subjefe, coronel Pedro Espinosa, y el capitán Armando Fernández Larios. Los tres están arrestados con carácter preventivo y bajo vigilancia.

Pero en el caso Letelier hay una pieza clave que, por extrañas circunstancias, no ha sido movida: Mariana Callejas, esposa de Michael Townley, que estaba al corriente de toda la oscura trama que rodeó el atentado contra Letelier. Escuchémosla.

—Mariana, ¿cuál es tu situación emocional hoy día? En todo orden de cosas: en lo personal, respecto a tu situación como pareja, y en lo emocional, como una persona que creyó estar jugando un papel importante en el desarrollo político del país.

—Voy a contestarte primero lo último, como una persona que creyó estar haciendo algo por un Gobierno que, pensaba, era lo mejor para Chile. Me voy desilusionada, pero tengo esperanzas de que las cosas se arreglen, de que el panorama político en Chile mejore. Como persona común y corriente, mi situación familiar y

Orlando Letelier, ex canciller del Gobierno de la Unidad Popular, asesinado por los servicios secretos de Pinochet.

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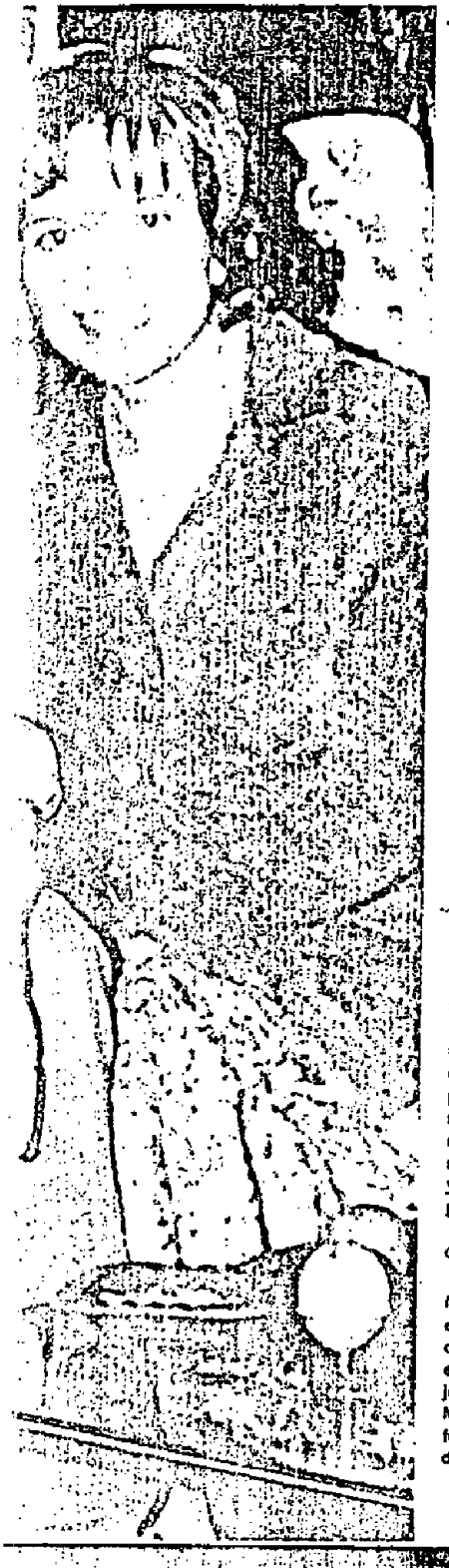
...es de Pinochet»



matrimonial está como siempre, tranquila, no tengo preocupaciones, porque por lo menos la unidad familiar se va a mantener. Mis hijos están acostumbrados a la situación y me las voy a arreglar para que mientras estén allá sigan igual.

—¿Piensas volver en marzo del próximo año?

—Sí.

—¿Dónde vas a estar todo este tiempo?

—En Washington.

—¿Haciendo qué?

—Me parece que viene el proceso, no sé cuando, pero yo supongo que voy a estar ocupada en el proceso durante agosto, septiembre y quizá octubre, y después no me convendría volver y tener que pasar las vacaciones. Queremos pasarlas con papá. Prefiero quedarme allí todo este tiempo y tratar de que los niños recuperen las clases yendo a la escuela allá.

—¿De qué manera han golpeado en tu forma de vivir y en la integridad familiar todas estas circunstancias?

—Yo me mantengo en forma. Yo soy una persona fuerte. Creo que me las he arreglado bastante bien y no

"Encuentro que mi marido actuó de buena fe. El obedeció órdenes de las Fuerzas Armadas".

me he derrumbado. No dejaré que esto me destruya. Estoy terminando una etapa. Cuando vuelva, en marzo, empezaré de nuevo.

—¿Este terminar una etapa incluye terminar con Michael Townley?

—No, en absoluto. Terminar con un ambiente que yo no quería. Lo que yo quería de esta casa es esta pieza donde me ves y que era realmente mi hogar. El resto de la casa donde trabajaba Michael, donde venían a verlo otras personas, donde yo sabía que se trabajaba en Inteligencia, era para mí desagradable.

—¿Qué pasó con el laboratorio electrónico de tu marido?

Michael Vernon Townley, el agente de la DINA que colocó la bomba en el coche de Letelier, junto a su esposa, Mariana Callejas. La foto fue tomada poco antes de ser entregado al FBI.

"Mi única participación en el asunto fue que comuniqué a la DINA que la bomba ya había sido colocada".

—Se lo llevaron.

—¿Quiénes?

—No sé.

—Alguna explicación te habrán dado...

—¿Quién me va a dar explicación?

—...

—Supe que había venido gente y que se habían llevado todo lo electrónico.

—Había en el equipo de tu marido, equipo que tú dominabas, elementos sofisticados. ¿También desaparecieron?

—Desapareció todo.

—¿Has intentado averiguar el paradero?

—¿Para qué? Cuando él vuelva, si había algo que le pertenecía a él personalmente y que no era del servicio, él tratará de averiguar.

—Mariana, tú eras una mujer con vida sentimental digamos variopinta. Yo me atrevería a preguntarte de buena fe si Michael Townley quebró tu modo de vivir, si no te hizo caso incluso. Que se disparó. Debe haber un modo honesto de ganarse la vida. Has dicho que reprobabas este modo de vivir, y el hecho de que tu casa esté desmantelada y tengas que dejar Chile es una consecuencia de este alocamiento de Michael Townley. ¿Le sigues queriendo?

—Sí. Esto no ha cambiado mi modo de pensar. Pienso que podría haber hecho las cosas de otro modo. Pienso que de todos modos debió obedecer órdenes, pero nunca debió obedecer todas las órdenes que se le daban, pero en todo caso tengo que ser leal porque Michael Townley es un norteamericano y yo soy chilena. A Michael Townley lo traicionó mi país. Yo, como chilena, tengo que respaldarlo.

—Creo que juegas con las palabras cuando dices que el país traicionó a Michael Townley. ¿Tú no sientes que lo has traicionado también?

—No, en absoluto. Yo he estado siempre con él.

—Tengo la sensación, como observador objetivo, como periodista, de que tú juegas mucho con la idea de que fue Michael Townley el que hizo todo. Tú estabas en los antecedentes de todo esto y, sin embargo, nunca

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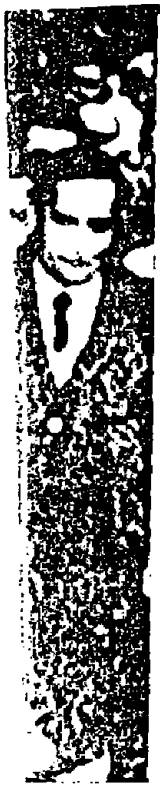

pueda negar. Tienen fotografías de él con Guillermo Novo, con Fernández Larios; él va a terminar por confesar, y ¿qué va a pasar? Que va a quedar muy mal Chile con todo esto. Todo eso lo decía en la carta al Presidente Pinochet. Se la dí al general Mena, y le dije: "Yo necesito hacerle llegar esto esta noche al Presidente Pinochet". El general Mena leyó la carta y me preguntó: "¿Usted tiene confianza en que yo se la entregue?". "Por supuesto", le contesté yo. Se la entregué. Según entiendo, esa carta no la recibió el Presidente esa noche. En realidad, no estoy segura si la recibió o no, en todo caso no hizo ninguna diferencia.

—En la primera entrevista que dio a la prensa tu marido, que fue a mí, después que se le sindicó como William Ross, me dijo algo que a la luz de los acontecimientos de hoy no parece una mentira, sino más bien una acusación. El decía: "La muerte de Letelier, ¿a quién le sirvió más, a Estados Unidos o a Chile?". Ahora bien, por todo lo que tú dices, Estados Unidos supo oportunamente, antes del asesinato de Letelier, que tu marido y los cubanos estaban planeando su muerte. Tienen fotos de él con Novo, sabían cuándo ingresó al

lena: otros se ensucian las manos.

ecir a Mi- Usted no es faltaba uían prue- le que él

país, etcétera. ¿Tú dirías que Estados Unidos dejó que se siguiera adelante con el plan de matar a Letelier para sacar provecho político?

—No. Yo creo que no, porque eso ante la justicia norteamericana lo haría cómplice.

—Entonces, tu marido mintió.

—¿Por qué?

—Cuando él decía a quién le sirve más la muerte de Letelier, a Chile o a Estados Unidos.

—¿Estaba preguntándolo él o lo decía? No lo entiendo.

—No, él hacía una pregunta, pero evidentemente era una pregunta para tema de reflexión.

—Claro. No he reflexionado nunca sobre el tema, pero entiendo que ha sido una catástrofe para todo el mundo. Es decir, que a nosotros los agentes del FBI nos hacían preguntas... "Qué calamidad, si este hombre a nosotros tampoco nos gustaba, pero no había por qué matarlo en Washington. Esto era un asunto cubano".

—¿Pero cómo se explica que los servicios de seguridad norteamericanos estuvieran fotografiando a tu marido desde antes del atentado?

—Me parece que ya había sospechas. Por las compras de equipos electrónicos. Y en todo caso, esto fue mucho como el asunto de los Anderson Tape. Las fotos de él con Guillermo Novo. Guillermo Novo era sospechoso. Y ellos estaban siguiendo sus movimientos y fotografiaban todo lo que hacía Guillermo Novo.

—Moraleja, dime con quién andas y te sacaré una foto.

—Claro. Así quedó estampada la fotografía de mi marido. Que dicen, porque a mí no me consta. Se dice que hay fotografía de Fernández Larios con Mike en el aeropuerto. Es obvio. Se supone que ellos le siguen el paso a toda persona que viaje con pasaporte oficial chileno.

—¿Es cierto que la bomba que puso tu marido debajo del auto de Letelier falló al primer intento?

—Tampoco lo sabremos nunca.

—¿Por qué?

—Porque para eso tendría que encontrarse a quien la hizo detonar. Y no se le ha encontrado.

—Hay un cubano que dicen que llamó a tu marido y le dijo: "Falló la bomba y yo la arreglé".

—Sí, pero no sé cuánto de verdad hay en eso.

—En todo caso, de ser así, favorecería un poco a tu marido.

—No. Yo encuentro que no tiene la menor importancia. La intención es la que vale, ¿no?

—Bueno, pero ahí te contradices, porque cuando tú dices que tu marido no es un asesino... él cumplió órdenes...

—Claro, él no es un asesino, cumplió órdenes de asesinar, eso sí.

—Pero poner una bomba, el resultado se supone que es la muerte...

—Lógico. No hay vuelta que darle.

—Ahora, tú ¿habrías puesto la bomba?

—(Duda tremenda) Yo habría sido un poco más cautelosa que mi marido. Fíjate que en el fondo yo me

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Así quedó el automóvil de Letelier tras la explosión de la bomba.

...nado participó en un asesinato. Si ...e no se hubiera sabido, hoy día tú estarías desmantelando tu casa, el ...estaría preso, no *habría* tres oficiales del Ejército chileno implicados, ...tera. Pero tú habías seguido durmiendo al lado de un hombre que ...a matado a otro hombre.

...Esa es una pregunta que me han hecho muchas veces. La mujer ...soldado que va a la guerra sabe ...a la guerra su marido mató una ...edad de personas. ¿Por eso se va ...rgue a seguir durmiendo con él?

...Pero la guerra tiene sus reglas, ...e sus leyes. Los enemigos se ven cara y se disparan frente a frente ...ay un riesgo para los dos. Esta ...se actuó impunemente.

—Mi marido tenía órdenes. Y eso lo que para mí es lo más importante. Que él no habría jamás matado a nadie si no se le hubiera dado orden de hacerlo.

—Tú también eres funcionaria de la DINA. ¿Si te diera la orden de matar a alguien lo harías?

—Yo no soy funcionaria de la DINA. Y *si se me* diera la orden de matar a alguien no lo haría.

—Tú no eres, pero fuiste.

—Ni siquiera eso. Es muy fácil comprobar eso. No ha salido nunca *dic, ni* de los prisioneros, de los ex prisioneros, de la gente que está fuera, absolutamente nadie que a mí me nociera como funcionaria de la DINA.

—Tampoco conocían a tú marido mo funcionario de la DINA.

—Sí, ha salido gente que lo ha ho... Yo no tuve ninguna *participación en nada, exceptuando que,* ces, lo acompañé en algún viaje, o en todo caso, acá, en Chile, yo tuve absolutamente nada que hacer con la DINA. Yo sé decir que

—Salvo para cobrar un sueldo...

—Es algo que... sí. Creo que eran s mil trescientos pesos de más que e daban a mi marido por incluir mi nombre en la lista de la DINA.

—¿Cuándo te decidiste a decir la verdad en los términos que hoy la dices?

—Fue cuando expulsaron a mi marido.

—Porque hasta entonces tú habías mentido mucho.

—Sí. Mentí para proteger a mi marido, al Gobierno, a la DINA, a los demás implicados. Mentí para *protegerlos a todos.*

—Incluso ocultaste a tu marido sabiendo que era un hombre buscado por la justicia.

—Sí, naturalmente.

—¿Eso no te hace cómplice?

—Supongo que sí. Pero me hace cómplice de una acción del Gobierno.

"Yo sigo pensando qu quien ideó el plan lo hiz por el bien de Chile".

—Una especie de complicidad tú reconoces pero que no ac sobre ti, porque se ha llegado a arreglo, de alguna manera tu mar ha pagado todas las habas, pero estás *limpia de polvo y paja,* co de Primera Comunión. Esto resu cómodo para ti, no te crea ning remordimiento, ninguna compuls en términos de tratar de que se hi justicia de otra manera distinta de que está resultando...

—Claro, me molesta muchísimo sea mi marido el gato que ha saca las castañas del fuego y que en r lidad los autores intelectuales es lavándose las manos y diciendo c tidad de cosas sobre él, que era ag te de la CIA, en fin... eso molest Mi participación en este asunto t de tan escasa importancia, adem *fue una situación forzada.* Yo m mal podría haber ido a Carabinc a avisar que se iba a cometer asesinato en Estados Unidos. ¿Cór habría quedado eso? O a Investig *ciones* o, *¿a quién habría ido?*

—A la Embajada de los Estad Unidos en Chile.

—Eso habría país. Acuérdate era el Presidente ha ordenado...

—Pero en los ha dado la sitt país hoy la cc cometió tu mari

—Yo no veo

—El prestigio das chilenas, e tela de juicio. Ejército chilen de un crimen p de delitos com mal pie a aq como una rese

—Lógicamen mi marido no ilegalmente en ron, esto no h

—Se habría de todas mane

—Pero eso bierno juzgarí ti ni a mí. señor Pinochet no, no es culp no es culpa r ras pertenecía época. Si él ¿por qué lo entiendo por

—Pero si tu nario de la la orden de tirarse de cab edificio, tú no habrías hech evitarlo...

—Supongo me lo habrí hay de Fern bién recibió parte del as hablas de él?

—Nadie ha

—No, nadi no hablan d su situación. titución.

—¿Tú lo mente?

—Claro q mente y lo tipo *formidá*

—¿Está d tregar?

—No, no ni a Espino *puedo creer* cosa así.

—Lo mis tu marido.

—Sí, pero *extranjero.* me duela, entregado. deeir, me se zada, si se *tres. Los ot* oficiales, no

—¿Qué pi vir en Estad

—Por el *ma, porque*

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—Eso habría sido traicionar a mi país. Acuérdate que yo pensaba que era el Presidente Pinochet quien estaba ordenando...

—Pero en los términos en que se ha dado la situación, la traición al país hoy la cometieron ustedes, la cometió tu marido...

—Yo no veo por qué.

—El prestigio de las Fuerzas Armadas chilenas, en general, hoy está en tela de juicio. Hay tres oficiales del Ejército chileno ni siquiera acusados de un crimen político, están acusados de delitos comunes. Eso deja en muy mal pie a aquellos que tú definías como una reserva moral.

—Lógicamente, lógicamente. Si a mi marido no lo hubieran expulsado ilegalmente en la forma que lo hicieron, esto no habría sucedido...

—Se habría tapado un asunto que de todas maneras era inmoral.

—Pero eso le corresponde al Gobierno juzgarlo, no a nosotros. Ni a ti ni a mí. Eso le corresponde al señor Pinochet. Si él es inmoral, bueno, no es culpa mía. Si él lo ordenó, no es culpa mía. El general Contreras pertenecía al Ejército en aquella época. Si él estaba en el Ejército, ¿por qué lo hizo? Yo todavía no entiendo por qué lo hizo.

—Pero si tu marido, que era funcionario de la DINA, hubiera recibido la orden de pegarse un tiro o de tirarse de cabeza desde la terraza del edificio, tú no lo habrías permitido y habrías hecho todo lo posible por evitarlo...

—Supongo que en un caso así no me lo habría dicho a mí. ¿Y qué hay de Fernández Larios, que también recibió la orden, y también es parte del asunto? ¿Por qué no me hablas de él?

—Nadie habla de él.

—No, nadie habla de él. ¿Por qué no hablan de él? Porque le protege su situación. A él le protege su institución.

—¿Tú lo conociste a él personalmente?

—Claro que lo conozco personalmente y lo aprecio mucho. Es un tipo formidable.

—¿Está detenido? ¿Lo van a entregar?

—No, no lo van a entregar ni a él ni a Espinosa ni a Contreras. Yo no puedo creer que puedan hacer una cosa así.

—Lo mismo decías con respecto a tu marido.

—Sí, pero mi marido era civil y era extranjero. Entonces, por mucho que me duela, comprendo que lo hayan entregado. Pero no comprendería, es decir, me sentiría muy, muy avergonzada, si se fueran a entregar a esos tres. Los otros tres son chilenos, son oficiales, no se puede.

—¿Qué piensas hacer para sobrevivir en Estados Unidos?

—Por el momento no tengo problema, porque mientras yo esté allá para declarante en el juicio el FBI paga mi estancia y la de los niños. Más adelante, para mí no es problema trabajar en Estados Unidos.

—¿Es efectivo que tienes ofrecimientos de compañías cinematográficas para derechos de este caso?

—No. Que yo sepa, no. ¡Ojalá!

"La mujer de un soldado que fue a la guerra sabe que su marido mató una cantidad de personas. ¿Por eso se va a negar a seguir durmiendo con él?".

Que yo sepa, no. No me interesa el caso.

—Lo más probable es que ahora en Estados Unidos tomen contacto contigo. Los cables han dicho que sí. Están interesados en la parte cinematográfica...

—Vamos a ver. Si no me las puedo arreglar de otra manera, me imagino que estaría pensándolo, pero si me las puedo arreglar en una forma honesta...

—¿Sería deshonesto que te lucraras con las Memorias de este caso?

—Sería deshonesto siempre que Michael no lo aprobara. Si Michael lo aprobara, entonces no sería deshonesto.

—¿Tú vas a escribir sobre el caso?

—Sí, yo creo que voy a terminar por escribir, pero todavía no. Sólo he escrito unos apuntillos, pero nada serio, porque no sé lo suficiente como para escribir. Yo sé mi parte, y mi parte no es gran cosa.

—Yo no concibo a la Mariana Callejas mujer sin un compañero a su lado. ¿Cómo te las vas a arreglar?

—Es muy extraño que no lo concibas, porque he estado mucho tiempo sin un compañero a mi lado...

—Pero has cambiado de compañero oficialmente también varias veces.

—Sí. Pero estos últimos años Michael ha sido muy poco compañero para mí. Ha estado trabajando prácticamente de la noche a la mañana y prácticamente no le veía y me las arreglé muy bien sola. No sé. Parezco no necesitar el compañero.

—¿Tú te definirías como una persona apasionada, fría, indiferente...?

—Apasionada cuando se trata de causas. Muy fría cuando se trata de enfrentar.

—¿Qué causa te mueve ahora?

—Ahora me mueve la causa de Chile. Todavía quiero lo mejor para Chile.

—A tu juicio, ¿no se está dando lo mejor para Chile?

—No. A mi juicio se ha seguido una estrategia absolutamente errónea, y se sigue con una estrategia errónea.

—¿Qué debiera ser lo correcto?

—Ya es demasiado tarde para ha-

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uda de Orlando Letelier y Mi-
Moffit, esposo de la secretaria
olítico chileno, tras colocar unas
ón *el lugar donde sus seres que-*
ridos perdieron la vida.

hora, ¿por qué los cubanos iban
er una cosa así gratis?
os cubanos son extremadamen-
alistas. Son gente que vive y
por la causa. Para ellos no
ada mejor que un comunista
o. Son *anticomunistas fanáti-*

ero, además, necesitaban ellos
¿no?
llos todo lo que le pedían a
era que si estaban en apuros
hile los recibiera, en fin, apoyo
más que nada. Un poco de
anda, quizá, que les mandaran
ículas de cómo está ahora el
e lindo, en fin, para mostrarlo
"hora cubana".
hora, ese millón de dólares en
NA, acá, ¿quién lo manejaba?
uién tendría que haberlo ma-
?
e imagino que el coronel.
sea, él se habría embolsicado,
tú dijiste antes, el millón de
s.
o no sabía eso del millón de

dólares, pero supongo que por ahí debe andar. Porque yo sé que los cubanos no lo tienen, ni nosotros tampoco. ¡Ojalá lo tuviéramos!

—Ahora, tú te vas de Chile, ¿nadie te ha puesto trabas para que te vayas?

—No, en absoluto.

—¿Seguro?

—Seguro.

—¿Qué instrucciones tienes?

—Instrucciones, ninguna; yo no me he comunicado con nadie en mucho tiempo. Todo lo contrario. Se me han hecho las cosas fáciles. Es decir, que es increíble lo buena que es la gente. Palabra, es increíble.

—Pero hasta varias semanas después que tu marido fue llevado a Estados Unidos, aquí había guardias *de seguridad en tu casa.*

—Todavía hay.

—¿De quién?

—Del CNI.

—Tú declarabas antes que el acto de tu marido te inspira admiración.

—No, el acto no; el valor.

—Ya.

—Digamos que es una fracción del *acto en sí. Como te digo, yo me* opuse rotundamente y le hablé de la vida humana y le hablé del respeto a la vida humana... Por último, le dije: "Hagamos una cosa, se retira usted de la DINA y nos fugamos a cualquier parte. Si lo que le preocupa, qué sé yo, es que le vayan a decir que es un cobarde, porque no se atreve, o porque le vayan *a dejar* sin empleo, usted se puede ganar la vida como mecánico, por último, en cualquier parte; nos arreglaremos, pero sálgase de esto". Se lo dije. Entonces... yo encuentro que eso fue el peor error de su vida, este asunto. Lógico. Pero la fracción esa de ser el que tomó la parte más peligrosa de la acción en el asunto, eso es lo que yo respeto.

—Ese respeto a esa fracción, ¿se lo transmites a tus hijos?

—No. Ellos no tienen por qué, pero creo que en el fondo ellos se sienten más o menos igual que yo. Porque cuando ellos supieron que era papá quien había puesto la bomba, yo estaba *fuera de Chile*. Y salió en los diarios acá. Yo me preocupé mucho, me amargó muchísimo. Entonces llamamos por teléfono a los niños y les preguntamos si había salido la noticia en los diarios y nos dijeron que sí. Y cuando yo llegué estuve tanteando el terreno con ellos. Porque son bien hombres los chicos. Entonces les dije yo: "Bueno, ustedes saben que papá tenía órdenes y él las cumplió". Entonces, el mayor me dijo: "Sí, sabemos que papá cumplió esas órdenes; no tenemos nada en contra de papá por haber cumplido órdenes". Y por último, me dijo el mayor: "En el fondo, es mejor que papá lo hiciera, porque así no expuso la vida de nadie más". Entendieron.

—Es el mismo planteamiento tuyo.

—Exactamente.

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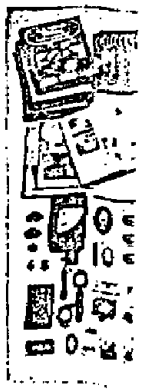

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alegro de que haya sido Michael quien haya puesto la bomba. Me inspira mucho respeto. La parte de poner la bomba es la más difícil, la más arriesgada, de todo un operativo de esta naturaleza, *según me han* explicado... No detonarla, porque se puede detonar desde lejos, pero ponerla. Puede estallar en cualquier momento mientras se está poniendo. Mike, para mí, no sacó las castañas con la mano del gato. Yo no entiendo por qué la puso *él tampoco, porque* no se suponía que la iba a poner él; se suponía que ésta iba a ser una acción cubana. Y los cubanos iban a hacerlo todo. Entonces, no sé por qué eso va a salir en el proceso, el por qué la puso él. Porque es de más sabido que este muchacho, Virgilio Paz, es expertísimo en el asunto bombas, así que no entiendo por qué *la puso Mike.* Pero en todo caso lo respeto por eso, porque tenía una misión que cumplir...

—Pero, ¿no es un poco el respeto que se tienen los hampones en la mafia? Con una escala de valores tan distinta de la escala de valores de *la gente normal.*

—Yo estoy hablando de guerra, aquí no estamos hablando de delincuencia común, yo estoy hablando de guerra. La guerra que ha tenido que darse, secretamente, por chilenos. De este tipo de guerra precisamente. Entonces, *el hecho de que haya sido él* quien puso la bomba y no haya sido un cubano es lo que me hace respetarlo, porque pasó el peligro él, la parte más peligrosa la vivió él. Yo no estoy de acuerdo con lo que hizo él, no estoy de acuerdo con el crimen. Soy la persona *más respetuosa de la* vida que te puedas imaginar. Yo no mato ni siquiera a las arañas. Miro para dónde van. Pero no, no las mato. Yo tengo mucho respeto a la vida. Pero si él tenía órdenes explícitas de no volver sin haber cometido el crimen, orden explícita de *matar* a Letelier, y de que el asunto tenía que tener éxito, el hecho de que él se *haya* asegurado de que la bomba iba a quedar bien puesta, que ninguno iba a morir por poner la bomba, sino solamente él, en último caso, que era el encargado del asunto, yo encuentro que está bien, que es cosa de hombres.

—Ahora, esta parte de poner la bomba y del operativo, de fabricarla, tú dijiste en una oportunidad que le había significado a Michael la suma de novecientos ochenta dólares...

—No, no dije eso. Yo dije que para el viaje se le dieron novecientos *ochenta* dólares.

—Pero, según entiendo, no fue más lo que se gastó...

—No, nada más.

—¿Por qué en Chile la DINA habría presentado un informe de gastos próximo al millón de dólares?

—Alguien se lo embolsicó. Y eso me lo han dicho a mí varias personas. Nada, los cubanos nada; Incluso le prestaron plata a Michael. Porque terminó así, terminó sin un peso, creo que *le prestaron una cosa de* ciento cincuenta dólares.

—¿Tú sabes en qué se gastó esa plata?

—Novecientos ochenta dólares se gastan muy fácilmente en los Estados Unidos. En arriendo de autos, en comida, en... qué sé yo. Artefactos electrónicos o lo que fuera. Supongo que tuvo que ser en todo eso.

—¿En los elementos para la misma bomba, no?

—No, porque entiendo que eso lo pusieron los cubanos.

—¿Pero tu marido *llevaba detonantes* de acá, no?

—Sí, llevaba detonantes del Ejército.

—¿Tú sabías que los llevaba?

—No, no tenía ni idea.

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uda de Orlando Letelier y Mi- Moffit, esposo de la secretaria olítico chileno, tras colocar unas *en el lugar donde sus seres que*ridos perdieron la vida.

"Para realizar el atentado, a Michael le dieron novecientos ochenta dólares. El millón de dólares de gastos que dicen pasó la DINA alguien se lo habrá embolsado".

hora, ¿por qué los cubanos iban r una cosa así gratis?

s cubanos son extremadamen- alistas. Son gente que vive y *por la causa. Para ellos no* ada mejor que un comunista to. Son anticomunistas fanáti-

Pero, además, necesitaban ellos algo, ¿no?

—Ellos todo lo que le pedían a Chile era *que si estaban en apuros* que Chile los recibiera, en fin, apoyo moral más que nada. Un poco de propaganda, quizá, que les mandaran las películas de cómo está ahora el país de lindo, en fin, para mostrarlo en su "hora cubana".

—*Ahora, ese millón de dólares en* la DINA, acá, ¿quién lo manejaba? O, ¿quién tendría que haberlo manejado?

—Me imagino que el coronel.

—O sea, él se habría embolsicado, como tú dijiste antes, el millón de *dólares.*

—Yo no sabía eso del millón de

dólares, pero debe andar. cubanos no lo poco. ¡Ojalá l

—Ahora, tú te ha puesto yas?

—No, en ab

—¿Seguro?

—Seguro.

—¿Qué inst

—Instruccio he comunicad tiempo. Todo han hecho las que es increí gente. Palabr

—Pero has pues que tu Estados Unid de seguridad

—Todavía

—¿De quié

—Del CNI

—Tú decla de tu marid

—No, el a

—Ya.

—Digamos acto en sí. opuse rotund vida humana la vida hu *dije:* "Hagar usted de la cualquier pa pa, qué sé decir que es se atreve, o sin empleo, *vida como* cualquier pa ro sálgase tonces... yo el peor erro Lógico. Per el que tom *de la acció* que yo resp

—Ese resp transmites a

—No. Ell ro creo que ten más o que *cuando* papá quien yo estaba l los diarios a cho, me am ces llamamo y les pregu *noticia en* que sí. Y tanteando c que son bi Entonces le saben que *cumplió". En jo:* "Sí, sab esas órdene contra de órdenes". Y mayor: "En papá lo hiri la vida de

—*Es el*

—Exacta

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DEL EJERCITO
(PARA USO EXCLUSIVO DE LA INSTITUCION)

AÑO LXV SANTIAGO DE CHILE, 27 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1976 Nº 52

DECRETOS

Ascensos

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 808.— Santiago, 15. XII. 1976.—Considerando:

a) Que existen vacantes de acuerdo al Decreto Ley Subguerra (R) Depto. II/2. Nº 1248 del 10 de noviembre de 1975, y que caduca el 31 de diciembre de 1976;

b) Lo dispuesto en el artículo 118 del Reglamento Complementario del D.F.L. Nº 1 de 1968 y artículo 35 del mismo cuerpo legal;

c) Lo propuesto por el Jefe del Estado Mayor General del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 061, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—Expídase el grado de General de Brigada de Ejército, con fecha 23 de noviembre de 1976, a favor de los siguientes Coroneles de Armas:

—Manuel Remigio Ruperto de la Fuente Borge (RUN 2428731-9).

—Gastón Zúñiga Paredes (R.U.N. Nº 1852729-4).

2.—Otórgasele la condecoración "Presidente de la República".

Tómese razón, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército.—*Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.—*Herman Brady Roche*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Autorización para Suscribir Convenio

S. S. G. Depto. III/2. Nº 766.—Santiago, 19. XI. 1976.—Vistos:

a) Lo dispuesto en los Decretos Leyes Nºs. 1 y 128, de 1973 y 527 de 1974;

b) Lo dispuesto en los artículos 307, 315 y 317 del Código del Trabajo; y

c) Lo solicitado por la Dirección General de Deportes y Recreación; y

Considerando:

Que la Dirección General de Deportes y Recreación no cuenta actualmente con sala cuna para la atención de los hijos de las funcionarias de ese Servicio, conforme lo señalan las disposiciones legales vigentes sobre la materia,

Decreto:

1.—Autorízase al Director General de Deportes y Recreación para suscribir convenio con Salas Cunas con el objeto de que se preste atención a los hijos de las funcionarias de esa Repartición que se encuentren en edad de gozar de ese beneficio.

2.—El gasto que demande el presente Decreto se cargará al Item 17 del Presupuesto de la Dirección General de Deportes y Recreación para 1976.

Anótese, tómese razón, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial del Ejército. — *Augusto Pinochet Ugarte*, General de Ejército, Presidente de la República.—*Herman Brady Roche*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Acepta renuncia al cargo

S. S. G. Depto. II/S. 2. Nº 774.—Santiago, 1º. XII. 1976.—Vistos:

a) La renuncia presentada por el Comandante del Cuerpo de Veteranos de Chile, General de Brigada (R) don Jorge Cañas Montalva, y

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continuará prestando sus servicios en el Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Santiago) —Comisión Extrainstitucional—, para desempeñarse en el Comité Asesor de la Junta de Gobierno, dejando de estar Agregado Misiones.

La Tesorería Provincial de Santiago anticipará por intermedio del Centro de Computación del Ejército, dos meses de sueldo, conforme lo dispuesto en el Art. 114. letra d) Nº 3 del D.F.L. Nº 1, de 1968, en conformidad a las instrucciones impartidas en el B/O. Nº 49, págs. 4854/56, del 9 de diciembre de 1975.

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial Reservado del Ejército.

Por orden del Presidente de la República.—*Herman... Brady Roche*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/2. Nº 770.—Santiago, 2. XII. 1976.—Vistos:

a) Los Arts. 307, 315 y 318 del Reglto. Complementario del D. F. L. Nº 1, de 1968; y

b) Lo propuesto por la Comandancia en Jefe del Ejército, en el Memorándum Nº 247, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

El Coronel (O.A) Jerónimo L. Pantoja Henríquez (RUN 2095044-7), continuará prestando sus servicios en el Comando en Jefe del Ejército (Santiago) (Comisión Extrainstitucional), dejando de estar Agregado a Misiones.

La Tesorería Provincial de Santiago anticipará por intermedio del Centro de Computación del Ejército, dos meses de sueldo, conforme lo dispuesto en el Art. 114, letra d), Nº 3 del D. F. L. Nº 1, de 1968, en conformidad a las instrucciones impartidas en el B/O. Nº 49, págs. 4854/56, de 9. XII. 1975.

Tómese razón, anótese, regístrese, comuníquese y publíquese en el Boletín Oficial Reservado del Ejército.

Por orden del Presidente de la República.—*Herman Brady Roche*, General de División, Ministro de Defensa Nacional.

Nombramiento de Empleados Civiles

Dir. Pers. Depto. II/1. Nº 673.—Santiago, 10. XI. 1976.—Vistos:

a) Lo establecido en el D.F.L. Nº 1 y 5, de 1968 y sus Reglamentos Complementarios;

b) La Resol. Dir. Pers. Depto. I. Nº 11010/826; de 29. X. 1974, que distribuye los cargos de Sanidad creados por el D. F. L. Nº 5, de 1968 y ampliados por la Ley Nº 17.914, de 8. III. 1973;

c) El Art. Nº 29 de la Ley Nº 17.914, publicada en el Diario Oficial Nº 28.497-A, de 8. III. 1973, que crea nuevos cargos horarios en la Planta de Profesionales Médicos asimilados al régimen de remuneraciones de la Ley Nº 15.076 (Estatuto Médico Funcionario);

d) Lo dispuesto en los Arts. Nºs. 4º y 5º de la Ley Nº 17.916, que modifica a la Ley Nº 15.076 (Estatuto Médico Funcionario);

e) La Resol. Dir. Pers. Depto. II/1. Nº 914, de 14. X. 1975 (B/O. Nº 8, pág. 774, año 1976), por medio de la cual se encuadra a personal de Médicos, Dentistas y Farmacéuticos;

f) El Oficio DGLE/1. (R) Nº 1325/88/27, de 7. X. 1976;

g) Lo propuesto por el Comandante en Jefe del Ejército en el Memorándum Dir. Pers. Depto. II/1. Nº 1110/146, que se acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—Nómbrase a contar de la fecha del presente Decreto, Empleada Civil de la Planta de Profesionales asimilados al régimen de remuneraciones de la Ley Nº 15.076 (Estatuto Médico Funcionario), en calidad de titular a la Dra. Gloria Gulsela Flor Angel Zenteno Valencia y destínasele a prestar sus servicios al Hospital Militar (Santiago).

RUN: 2.637.454-5
Fecha de nacimiento: 1º VII. 1932
Estado civil: casada
Sexo femenino:
Grupo sanguíneo: O. IV. Rh. positivo

Médico ayudante, Rol 933-M.

Nº horas diarias:

2 de lunes a viernes.
1 el día sábado (11 horas semanales).

Remuneraciones:

Sueldo base men
50% Resp. Imp.
TOTAL

Médico ayudante M

Nº horas diarias:

2 de lunes a vier
1 el día sábado

Remuneraciones:

Sueldo base mens
30% Resp. Imp.
20% Transit. No
TOTAL

Anótese, tómese
muníquese y publíqu
cial Reservado del I
Por orden del Pr
blica.—*Herman Brac*
División, Ministro de

Dir. Pers. Depto.
tiago, 10. XI. 1976.—
a) Lo dispuesto en
23 del D.F.L. Nº 1,
103 y 104 del Reglan
rio al citado Cuerpo
b) El Oficio I. G.
de 28. IX. 1976;
c) Lo propuesto por
Jefe del Ejército, en el
Pers. Depto. II/1. Nº
acompaña,

Decreto:

1.—Nómbrase a cont
presente Decreto, Em
Planta Permanente del
fín Administrativo (I.C
tivo Grado 14, a don C
ez Herrera y destínas
ervicios al Instituto G
(Santiago).

RUN: 5.028.115-9
Fecha de nacimiento:
Estado civil: casado

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL

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C E R T I F I C A D O

El Director de Inteligencia Nacional que suscribe, certifica que,

El Coronel JERONIMO PANTOJA HENRIQUEZ es el Director General de la DINA y ocupa en rango el puesto inmediatamente inferior al suscrito.

Dado en Santiago, a veinte días del mes de Julio de mil novecientos setenta y siete, para ser presentado a quien corresponda de acuerdo a lo solicitado por el Coronel Jerónimo Pantoja Henríquez.

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPUBLICA
D.I.N.A.

MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA
CORONEL
DIRECTOR DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL

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REPUBLICA DE CHILE
DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL

EJEMPLAR Nº 1 HOJA Nº 1

DESCLASIFICADO

C I R C U L A R

SANTIAGO, 27 de Julio de 1977

DE: LA DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL

A : (SEGUN DISTRIBUCION)

1.- En conformidad a la Planificación de la Dirección, el Director General Coronel Jerónimo Pantoja Henríquez, pasará revista a la totalidad de los Cuarteles de la Dirección ubicados en la Guarnición de Santiago y al mismo tiempo revistará y confrontará la relación del personal de Agentes de cada una de las Unidades, conforme a un calendario de visitas y revistas que propondrá al Director Nacional hasta el 3 de Agosto de 1977.

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPUBLICA
D. I. N. A.

MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA
CORONEL
DIRECTOR DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL

Distribución:

- Según Plan A.

DESCLASIFICADO

RESERVADO 2/2 1/1 41.

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES
AGENCIA CENTRAL

EJEM. Nº 2/2 HOJA Nº 1/1

C.N.I.(R) Nº B.I. 100635.-

GDO.: Remite informe.

REF.: Oficio (R) Nº 2781 de 24-VIII-1977 Depto. Conf.MIN. INT.-

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SANTIAGO, 26 de AGOSTO de 1977

DE : LA CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES

AL : SR. MINISTRO DEL INTERIOR
GDO. Dn. RAUL BENAVIDES ESCOBAR

PRESENTE.-

1.- En conformidad a lo expuesto por US. en el documento señalado en Referencia, sobre solicitud presentada por Doña SARA ALMARZA COSTA para que se autorice el reingreso al país de su cónyuge Sr.NIELSEN DE PAULA FIRES de nacionalidad brasilero, se informa a US. lo siguiente:

NIELSEN DE PAULA FIRES.-

Nacionalidad : Brasilero
De 30 años de edad.
Cédula de Identidad Nº 7418587-8 (Extranjería)
Año 1973 : Estudiante del Instituto Latino Americano, soltero, domiciliando en Remodelación San Borja Torre 9 Depto. 712 (Santiago)

Figura en relación de Salvoconductos otorgados a personas Asiladas, Refugiadas y en otras condiciones a partir del 11-IX-1973. Sede : MINRIN. Condición : Debe abandonar el país.

Por Decreto Extranjería Nº 1907 de 10-I-1974 se dispuso su Abandono Obligado del país.

2.- No es conveniente autorizar su reingreso al país por haber tenido participación en reuniones en su domicilio contrarias a la H. Junta de Gobierno.

3.- Conocimiento de US. y superior resolución.

Saluda a US.

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REPUBLICA DE CHILE
C. N. I.

CONTRERAS TAPIA HENRIQUEZ
CORONEL
DIRECTOR GENERAL
AGENCIA CENTRAL DE INFORMACIONES

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES
AGENCIA CENTRAL

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RESERVADO

EJEM. Nº 2/2 HOJA Nº 1/1

C.N.I. (R) Nº B.I. 100642.

ORJ.: Remite informe.

REF.: Oficio (R) Nº 2823 de 26-VIII-1977 Depto.Conf.MIN. INT.-

30 AGO. 1977

DE : CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES

A : SR. MINISTRO DEL INTERIOR
GDD. Dn. RAUL BENAVIDES ESCOBAR

PRESENTE.-

1.- En conformidad a lo expuesto por US. en el documento indicado en Referencia, se informa que el ciudadano chileno Sr. SERGIO DANIEL OVIEDO SARRIA no registra antecedentes en esta Central Nacional de Informaciones y no ha sido detenido por personal dependiente de este Organismo.

2.- Conocimiento de US. y fines consiguientes.

Saluda a US.

JERONIMO PANTOJA HENRIQUEZ
CORONEL
DIRECTOR GENERAL
AGENCIA CENTRAL DE INFORMACIONES

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hoy

FONDOS MUTUOS
Qué hay detrás

ESPAÑA
Consolidación democrática

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Exclusivo
desde Washington

LA ULTIMA VERSION DE MARIANA CALLEJAS

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Assassin's wife to go to Chile

Mrs. Townley: 'There's nothing left that I might fear'

Wash Star 2/22/79

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

Mariana Callejas Townley, lonely and homesick, has made up her mind to go back to Chile soon — even though she believes she may have signed her death sentence by speaking out against the former chief of the DINA secret police, Gen. Manuel Contreras.

The 48-year-old wife of the confessed assassin of former Ambassador Orlando Letelier, Michael V. Townley, has decided to reject the federal witness protection program and the opportunity to live in the United States.

Writing to this reporter from the undisclosed location about three hours from Washington where she and her two young boys live with U.S. deputy marshals to guard them, she said:

"Sure, I could start life all over again on the witness program. Another name. A remote place. A normal life. But one cannot discard the past as an old hat, especially a beautiful past. They (the boys) are homesick, yearning to go back to their school, their friends, our family. And I must find out how many friends I have left."

Her 36-year-old husband, as well as FBI agents and other U.S. government officials, have tried to persuade her to remain where she is until Townley completes the jail sentence to be meted out to him by federal Judge Barrington D. Parker late next month.

But she said, "I'm going back soon after the trial is over. By destroying my reputation, Contreras expects to keep me away because he knows the Supreme Court might want my testimony. And he knows I'll tell the truth no matter how painful the truth is to me.

"So you might understand why I'm just barely holding on to the little blue pills of valium and trying to keep sane until the end. You must think, 'What about the other women?' True, the other women. But they haven't had to fight a whole government, argue with generals, be threatened with lawsuits by the president (Augusto Pinochet).

"They have not been studied and slandered by the whole press of the country. And all of it from one day to the next, with no warning when everything promised happiness, when finally I had gotten Mike to forget CNI (the successor agency to DINA) and to go into the computer business and my book was going to be published.

"I know I deserve it, otherwise it wouldn't have happened to me. But to tell you truthfully, I'd very gladly trade places with Letelier or with Ronni Moffitt. But I have children, and I have a wonderful family, mother, sisters, brothers. I, although the youngest, have always been the tower of strength. I have to keep it up for them.

"You must think I'm very selfish, not thinking at all of Mike. I'll tell you why. Mike is one of those privileged, uncomplicated, kind, charming human beings whom hardly anybody can help liking. Wherever he's sent, he'll find the way to be useful.

"He'll miss us, of course, especially the children but he'll build himself a nice nest. He'll be away from problems, he'll read, he'll study. He has a fantastic mind. Whatever he studies, he'll become an expert in. I know him so well. I think that Judge Parker was wrong: you'd be very happy to sit beside him in church or anywhere. Don't laugh. You'd feel safe with him."

Mariana Townley is an attractive woman somewhat in the image of actress Jeanne Moreau, but she has the manner of a latter-day Ophelia, smiling wistfully in the face of darkest tragedy. Yet her recent letters reflect the impact of the shadowy life in which she and her husband moved at the beck and call of Gen. Contreras and the secret police.

"For the first time in my life," she said, "I know the meaning of the word 'depression.' I didn't know it could happen to me but a year has gone past since the beginning of this nightmare. A year of unbearable pressure must be a lot for anyone and perhaps I'm not as strong as I thought I was. I need someone to tell me that everything is going to be all right. I need someone to tell me that I'm not crazy. I need someone to tell me that I'm not a bad person. I need someone to tell me that I'm not a bad mother. I need someone to tell me that I'm not a bad wife. I need someone to tell me that I'm not a bad daughter. I need someone to tell me that I'm not a bad sister. I need someone to tell me that I'm not a bad friend. I need someone to tell me that I'm not a bad human being

Mariana Townley is all [illegible]
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"I live on a day-to-day basis. Today will be over in a few more hours. Tomorrow is another day. What will it bring? More sorrows, no doubt."

She reserves special loathing and animosity for Contreras, now under confinement with two other former DINA officers because of their indictment by a U.S. grand jury in the Letelier plot and the American request for their extradition. Her belief is that everyone in the Chilean government is afraid of Contreras.

"They allow him to do what he wants and I know why. His weapon is extortion. He knows too much (about) military secrets and scandal. Generals are no saints. We do have some puritans among the generals but many of them are not. Contreras knew it and had obtained proof, photographs, who knows what else?

"But, to me, he has done already so much damage in the moral sense that there's nothing left I might fear. So he cannot extort me but he does not want me back (in Chile) and he knows I'm going back."

About the murder of Letelier, Mariana said she is not certain whether her husband's deed was misguided patriotism or the belief that he was a soldier and must obey orders. "Whichever was his reason," she said, "Michael did not say 'No' when he should have, did everything the best he could, followed the instructions that were precise: (make it look like an) accident, the best way, but DO IT in *any* way possible.

"I have thought many times of the reason for the urgency of that command. I've arrived at the conclusion that Gen. Contreras was, is, a very sick man, and that he wanted to show the president and the rest of the generals that his power was unlimited. And the president trusted him so much Contreras was able to keep many facts from him."

Recalling the DINA attempt to cover up the Chilean role in the plot, Mariana said Contreras wanted to send her husband into hiding, but that she would not let him go. "I did not want to [illegible] so vulnerable if he went away. [illegible]

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sosiego veraniego. Es de presumir, pues, que pronto se produzcan otros anuncios más de fondo.

Encuesta y elecciones

Eso, por lo menos, es lo que espera el comentarista Pablo Rodríguez, el cual desde su columna en *La Tercera*, reclamaba, el lunes, una actitud más combativa de parte de las autoridades que, hasta ahora, "se han limitado a encarar sucesivamente una serie de problemas, la mayor parte de los cuales han sido promovidos o intensificados por una oposición partidista que, ausente de apoyo interno, busca en el extranjero la manera de crear presiones internacionales en contra del régimen militar".

También se refirió el ex dirigente de Patria y Libertad a las últimas encuestas, las que, en su opinión, "acusan un aumento en el apoyo cívico al gobierno militar. Estos índices pueden ser equívocos si no se tiene en cuenta que ellos resultan de dos factores: la carencia de una alternativa capaz de sustituir al gobierno militar (hecho que revela hasta qué extremo llegaron el repudio y agotamiento derivados de la actividad político-partidista) y a la excesiva ponderación que se sigue atribuyendo al orden, el respeto y la tranquilidad de que disfruta el país desde hace cinco años (45,3 por ciento de la población encuestada)".

La posición oficial respecto a la encuesta (HOY N.° 92) cuyos resultados se conocieron por la prensa, la dio a conocer el ministro del Interior.

Entre otros indicadores, sostuvo Fernández, la encuesta señala que el 60 por ciento de los chilenos no desea elecciones políticas. Y comentó que "el pueblo se da cuenta de que la vía del sufragio universal no es la solución para todos los problemas, que no se trata de una vara mágica ni de una panacea".

Hace cinco años, al entregar oficialmente su Declaración de Principios, el gobierno afirmó, en cambio, que "la Junta de Gobierno entregará oportunamente el poder político a quienes el pueblo elija a través del sufragio universal, libre, secreto e informado".

Tal vez debería aclarar el ministro Fernández si de sus palabras debe deducirse o no un cambio. A.S.

EXCLUSIVO DESDE WASHINGTON

La última versión de Mariana Callejas

• Por teléfono y por escrito, sin revelar el lugar donde las autoridades norteamericanas la tienen bajo su protección, esposa de Townley habla para HOY

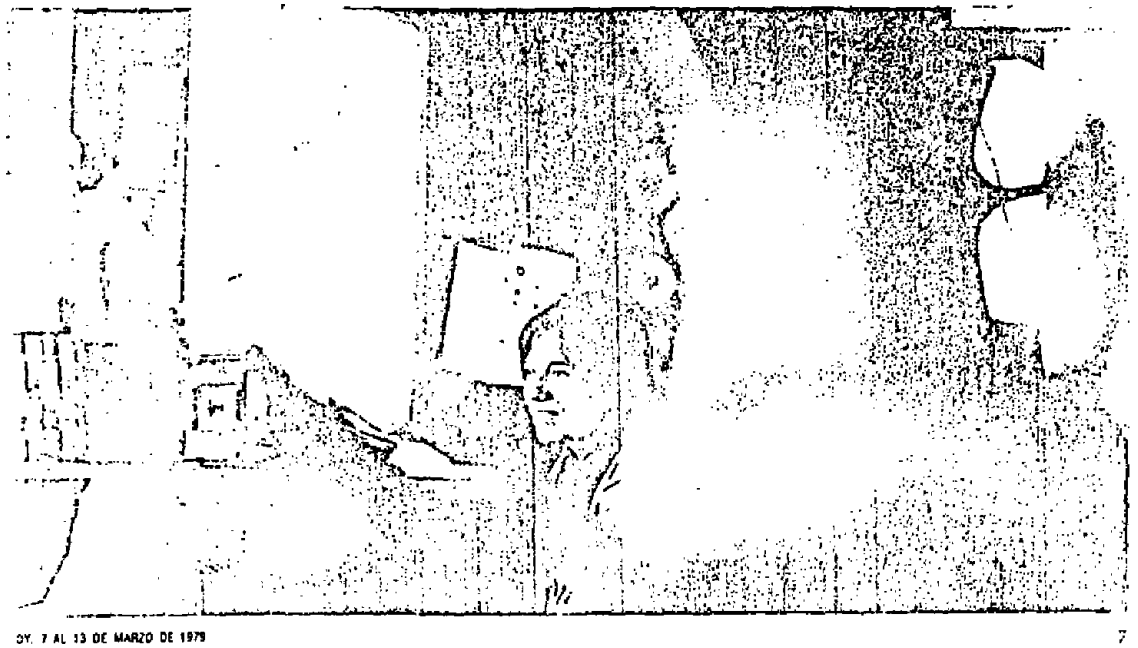
Washington, por Cecilia Domeyko

No niega que teme regresar a Chile. Está consciente de los peligros. Pero para Mariana Callejas de Townley, "Chile es mi patria y no sabría vivir en otro país". Por eso, pronto partirá de vuelta con sus dos hijos mientras su esposo, Michael Townley, permanece en EE.UU. cumpliendo una condena probable de diez años de cárcel. Bajo el acuerdo suscrito entre Townley y el gobierno norteamericano, Mariana aún puede acogerse al plan de protección de testigos. Hasta miembros de la mafia norteamericana, utilizados como soplones por el FBI, han desaparecido provistos por el gobierno de una nueva identidad después de ser reubicados en un lugar seguro.

La Dirección de HOY cree necesario puntualizar que, conforme a su propósito de servir de la mejor manera al lector, solicita constantemente entrevistas a los representantes de todos los sectores de la opinión pública. Ello no implica necesariamente que comparta los puntos de vista de quienes conceden dichas entrevistas, como es el caso de las siguientes declaraciones exclusivas que hizo Mariana Callejas de Townley a la periodista Cecilia Domeyko, en Washington.

Mientras permanezca en EE.UU. sigue sujeta a este plan. No pudo aparecer en ningún momento en las sesiones del juicio donde su esposo fue testigo principal. Está resguardada a cada instante por guardias federales. Se comunicó con HOY a través del teléfono y por escrito. Sólo se supo que residía a poca distancia de Washington con sus dos niños.

Confiesa que se ha mantenido sana men-



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DIARIO " WASHINGTON STAR" de fecha 22 de febrero de 1979.

LA ESPOSA DEL ASESINO VA A CHILE
SRA TOWNLEY " NO HAY NADA ALLA QUE PUEDA TEMER"

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por Jeramías O'Leavy

Mariana Callejas Townley, sola y enferma, se ha hecho a la idea de regresar a Chile pronto, aunque ella cree que ha firmado su sentencia de muerte por hablar contra el Jefe Oficial de la policía secreta DINA, Gen. Manuel Contreras.
La esposa de 48 años del confeso asesino del Embajador Orlando Letelier, Michael V. Townley, ha decidido abandonar el programa de protección de observación federal y la oportunidad de vivir en Estados Unidos.
Escribiendo a este reportero desde una lejana localidad alrededor de 3 horas de Washington, donde ella y sus dos jovenes hijos viven con alguaciles norteamericanos para resguardarlos, ella dijo:
" Seguro, yo puedo empezar una vida toda de nuevo en el prógrama de observación. Otro nombre. Un lugar remoto. Una vida normal. Pero uno no puede despreciar el pasado como a un sombrero viejo, sobre todo un hermoso pasado. Ellos (los niños) tienen nostalgia, añoran volver a su colegio, a sus amigos, a nuestra familia. Y yo de descubir cuantos muchos amigos dejé".
Su marido de 36 años, así como agentes del FBI y otros oficiales del gobierno == Norteamericano han tratado de persuadirla de que se quede donde está hasta que - Townley complete la sentencia de prisión que debe darle el juez federal Barrigton Parker a mas tardar el próximo mes.
Pero ella dijo " Yo regreso pronto después que el juicio termine. Destruyendo mi reputación , Contreras esperar mantenerme alejada porque el sabe que la Corte Suprema podría desear mi testimonio. Y él sabe que diré la verdad, no importa cuan dolorosa sea la verdad para mí".
"Así Ud. podrá entender porque yo me sostengo a penas con pequeñas píldoras azules de valium y tratando de ,mantenerme sana hasta el final. Ud. debe pensar. Hay otras mujeres. Verdad, las otras mujeres. Pero ellas no han tenido que pelear por un gobierno completo, discutir con generales, ser atemorizada o amenazada con == juicios por el presidente (Augusto Pinochet).
"Ellas no han sido estudiadas y manipuladas por toda la prensa del país. Y todo ello de un día para otro, sin ninguna advertencia cuando todo prometía felicidad, cuando finalmente había conseguido que Mike olvidará el CNI (la agencia sucesora de DINA) y entrara en el negocio de computación y mi libro iba a ser publicado.
"Yo se que me lo merecía", de otra manera no me habría sucedido a mi. Pero para decirle verdad, yo estaría muy contenda de negociar l gares con Letelier o Roni Moffit, Pero yo tengo niños, y tengo una maravillosa familia, madre, hermanas, - hermanos, y aún los menores he sido siempre la torre de fuerza. Debo mantenerme arriba por ellos."
"Ud. debe pensar que soy muy egoista, no pensando en nada en Mike. Le diré porque. Mike es uno de esos privilegiados, sin complicaciones, amable, ser humano encantador a quien difícilmente alguien podría parecersele. Dondequiera se le envíe, el encontrará la manera de ser útil.
"El nos extrañara por supuesto, especialmente a los niños, pero el se construirá para sí un magnifico nido. El estara alejado de problemas, leerá, estudiará. El tiene una magnifica mente. Cualquier cosa que estudie, llegará a ser un experto en ello. Le conozco tan bien. Creo que el Juez Parker estaba equivocado: el estaría muy contento de sentarse cerca de él en la iglesia o en cualquier lugar.No se ría. Ud. se siente a salvo con él."
Mariana Townley es una mujer atractiva de alguna manera en la imagen de la actris Jeanne Moreau , pero tiene la manera de una pasada Ofelia, sonriendo tontamente en la cara de una oscura tragedia. Aun sus ultimas cartas reflejan el impacto de la vida sombría en la cual ella y su marido se movieron en el pasado, con General Contreras y la policiía secreta.
"Por primera vez en mi vida, dijo, sé el significado de la palabra depresión. No sabía podría sucederme a mí. pero ya ha pasado un año del comienso de esta pesadi-

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[redacted] someone to tell me that everything is going "

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lla. Un año de insoportable presión debe ser mucho para cualquiera y tal vez yo no soy tan fuerte como pensé que era. Necesito de alguien que me diga que todo estará bien pero nadie puede decirmelo porque no sería verdad."

" Yo vivo en bases de día a día. Hoy se terminará pronto en pocas horas más. Mañana es otro día. Que traerá? Más penas, sin duda."

Ella reserva especial interes y animosidad para Contreras, ahora bajo confinamiento con otros dos oficiales de DINA por ser inculpados por un Gran Jurado Norteamericano en el asunto Letlier y los Americanos solicitaron sus extradiciones. Su creencia es que cada uno en el Gobierno Chileno tienen miedo de Contreras.

"Ellos le permiten hacer lo que él quiera y yo sé porque. Su arma es la extorsión. El sabe demasiado (acerca) secretos militares y escandalos. Los Generales no son — santos. Nosotros si tenemos algunos puritanos entre los generales pero muchos de — ellos no lo son. Contreras lo sabe y ha obtenido pruebas, fotografías, quien sabe que más?

" Pero, para mí, el ha hecho ya tanto daño en un sentido moral que no queda nada alla que yo pueda temer, así el no puede extorsionarme pero él no me desea de regreso(en Chile) y el sabe que yo regreso.".

Acerca del asesinato de Letelier, Mariana dijo que ella no estaba cierta si lo que hizo su marido fue patriotismo malentendido o la creencia que el era un soldado y debía obedecer ordenes. "Cualquiera haya sido su razón, dijo, Michael no dijo No cuando debió hacerlo, hizo todo lo mejor que pudo, siguio las instrucciones que eran precisas (hacerlo aparecer como) accidente, el mejor camino, pero hagalo de cualquier manera posible.

"Yo he pensado muchas veces en la razón de la urgencia de esa orden. He llegado a la conclusión que Gen. Contreras era, es, un hombre muy enfermo y que el deseaba demostrarle al presidente y al resto de los generales que su poder era ilimitado. Y el — presidente confiaba en él tanto que Contreras podía mantener muchos hechos lejos de él".

Volviendo a la intencion de DINA de cubrir el rol chileno en el asunto, Mariana dijo que Contreras deseaba enviar a su exposo escondido afuera pero que ella no lo había dejado ir. "Yo le dije a Mike que el era muy vulnerable si salía, dijo, le dije que si salía desaparecería y ellos dirían que era un Agente de la CIA. Le dije a Mike que el hizo lo mejor en el mundo, y le pregunté porque Contreras no envió uno de sus soldados ha hacer el trabajo. Porque si el te envía a tí y te pescan, Contreras dirá que eras agente de la CIA infiltrado en DINA.

"Mike dijo, No, él no haría una cosa así, el es un oficial y un caballero."

En el juicio de los 3 cubanos acusados, que terminó en su condena la semana pasada, Townley testificó que la DINA le ordenó ir a Mexico a matar a los exilados Volodia Teilteibom y Carlos Altamirano. El fué acompañado en ese viaje por tierra desde — Miami a Ciudad de México, por Mariana y otro Cubano inculpado Virgilio Paz. El testimonio fué que los Townleys y Paz tenían un rifle con mira telecopica pero llegaron a Ciudad de México un día atrasados para llevar a cabo el asesinato.

Contreras, dijo, no pareció muy molesto por el fracaso de la misión mexicana. Ella dijo que no dió razón para la misión.

"Contreras no es las fuerzas armadas, ni es el gobierno de Chile. Nosotros debemos mirarlo como la manzana podrida. Mariana dijo "Creo que de alguna manera he perdonado al Gobierno de Chile por entregar a Mike. Si ahora sé donde radica la falta y tal vés fue todo para mejor. Hubiera seguido esa monstruosa máquina todo el tiempo. Mike fué una pequeña parte de lla que se quebró y toda la máquina sufrió un colapso para mejor.

"No volverá haber nunca una DINA en Chile nuevamente. Y ello me hace sentir mucho - mejor, más limpia, porque el país mejora. Regreso a una vida diferente, mejor. Extrañaré a Mike, por supuesto, y los niños también lo extrañaran. Pero la vida será normal ahora y cuando Mike regrese el nunca será engañado nuevamente por el canto de las sirenas.

"Mike no tendrá una vida facil tampoco. Tal vez ninguno de nosotros tendrá una larga

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vida. Pero será una mejor que antes. Mike y yo nunca conversamos mucho, El gustaba de la televisión y yo la odiaba. Y este asunto minó nuestras relaciones aun más. No importaba en que empezaramos terminabamos hablando del asunto.
Marina cerró su última carta con estas palabras: " No puedo escribir más, Me caigo de sueño. Quisiera estar en casa, cerca de mis montañas."

llas de Valium y a "no pensar más que de un día a la vez". El año de espera previa al juicio la llevó prácticamente al borde de una depresión nerviosa. Su relación matrimonial ha sido afectada: las conversaciones difícilmente se apartan del tema del caso Letelier.

Pese a que en Chile se ha desatado una campaña para desprestigiarla, tiene fe en el futuro. "Por lo menos, al regresar sabré quiénes son y no son *mis amigos*", dice con la voz suave que la caracteriza.

Sobre los efectos de esta campaña dice: "Don Mamo (Contreras) sabe que no digo más que la verdad. Busca mi descrédito porque sabe que vuelvo a Chile y no quiere que lo haga. Cree que si me convierte en bígama, comunista, mentirosa, desleal, yo, deshecha en lágrimas, me quedaré a vivir en este país que detesto. Se equivoca. No ha conseguido el asunto Letelier arrancarme una sola lágrima y nadie conseguirá que no regrese".

Venganza cubana

–En la campaña, Contreras la acusa de ser comunista. ¿Lo fue alguna vez?

–Puedo declarar honestamente que soy anticomunista. Pero, para aclarar todo esto, resumiré mi trayectoria política: a los catorce años, en rebelión contra mi padre, que era anticomunista y antinazi, me dediqué a repartir panfletos del PC en las esquinas. Medio año después descubrí el socialismo y pensé por un tiempo que nada podía ser mejor para la sufriente Humanidad. Antes de los 20 me desilusioné y pasé a ser un ente apolítico.

"En 1968, en compañía de amigos de la Universidad de Miami, marché contra la guerra de Vietnam: apoyaba a Eugene McCarthy (el candidato presidencial). *Pronto, también me* desilusioné de McCarthy y de César Chávez (dirigente chicano). Descubrí que los políticos en su mayoría son falsos.

"Volvimos a Chile en 1970, porque pensamos que había que luchar desde adentro contra un gobierno marxista: no como los cubanos que lucharon desde afuera y perdieron su isla. Me di cuenta de que la única salida para *Chile y la liberación del marxismo* era un pronunciamiento militar. Todos nuestros esfuerzos se canalizaron hacia eso.

–Dicen que usted se casó bajo órdenes del PC.

–Esa es la última bajeza. Tal vez sólo me quede reírme. Quizás es cierto que hubo una posibilidad en un millón de que el hijo del gerente de la Ford en Chile conociera a la bohemia divorciada, amiga del grupo que flotaba alrededor de un conocido fotógrafo, pero esa posibilidad sucedió. Sé que esos ataques provienen de Contreras: es su *modus operandi*. Por eso todo el mundo le teme y lo dejan hacer lo que quiera. *Su arma es la extorsión:* sabe demasiado acerca de secretos militares y escándalos. Los generales no son santos. Existen puritanos entre ellos, pero son una minoría. Contreras lo sabe y tiene pruebas: ha dicho todo lo que ha podido. No me puede extorsionar. Y no puede evitar que regrese a decir lo que quiero.

–Sin la protección de EE.UU., ¿no teme la venganza de los cubanos?

–Francamente, no. Sé que algún día comprenderán cómo se supo la historia completa del asesinato. La declaración partió de un cubano: Orlando Bosch. Y éste lo supo por un miembro del Movimiento Nacionalista Cubano, quien salió de una reunión y se lo contó. Además, su movimiento estaba infiltrado. Entonces, ¿por qué culpar a Townley, que salió de Chile expulsado y en manos del FBI? Ellos ya habían hablado: Alvin Ross y Guillermo Novo también. Jamás lo habría esperado de Guillermo...

"*En cuanto a Paz y Suárez, si don Manuel* Contreras los tiene escondidos en Chile, que sean muy felices en tan bello país. ¿Y si me matan si nos encontramos? Seguramente.... a pesar de que Paz sabe que hicimos lo posible. En cuanto a Suárez, jamás me podré convencer de que no vengó a Otero haciendo estallar la bomba *contrariamente a lo convenido, en pleno* Sheridan Circle, a metros de la Embajada de Chile, y con otros pasajeros en el auto. Estoy segura de que implicaron a Michael para inmiscuir a la DINA. Pudieron haber elegido a alguien más representativo de la DINA y no al eterno chivo expiatorio.

–¿Por qué cree que dicen que Townley es agente de la CIA?

–Porque es norteamericano, alto y de ojos azules. Sólo se salvan de esta definición los que se mimetizan y no parecen serlo: los chicos, morenos y regordetes.

"Contreras es enfermo"

Según Mariana, cuando recién salió el exhorto de extradición, Townley tuvo la oportunidad de huir. Se la brindó el mayor Vianel Valdivieso, quien quería que Townley se fugara al sur. Ella, y no Michael, acudió a la cita en Bilbao con Los Leones

Michael Townley: cumplió órdenes porque le gustaba jugar a los soldaditos

"Don Mamo" Contreras: quería demostrar al Presidente y a los generales que tenía poderes ilimitados, según Mariana Callejas

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iría al sur según lo previsto.

–¿Qué pasó entonces?

–El mayor Valdivieso se enojó mucho conmigo y nos acusó de no tener confianza en él. Le contesté que tenía razón: no le tenía confianza. Hubiera sido muy fácil que Townley "desapareciera". ¿Acaso no desaparecía gente en Santiago? Después, hubieran culpado a la CIA: habrían dicho que ésta hizo desaparecer a uno de sus agentes.

"Cuando Valdivieso vio que Townley no se iría con ellos, me exhortó a que se escondiera por su cuenta. Que no se dejara tomar por la CNI ni que le contara al general Mena, director de la CNI, lo acontecido. Hay quienes todavía no comprenden por qué Michael, agente de la DINA-CNI, debía esconderse de esa organización. La razón es simple: Townley trabajó ahí a cargo de don Manuel Contreras. En el momento del destape, éste ya nada tenía que

Mariana Callejas: "Contreras ya no me puede extorsionar, no puede evitar que regrese a decir lo que quiero"

ver con la DINA o la CNI. El general Mena nunca supo nada de Andrés Wilson o del caso Letelier. Townley terminó escondiéndose en nuestra propia casa. Pensamos que era el lugar más seguro."

–¿Usted también mintió al comienzo bajo órdenes de Contreras?

–Sí. Decidí dejar de hacerlo cuando Townley fue entregado al FBI. No había razón para seguir mintiendo cuando Michael había sido traicionado. Sólo que, al principio, no pude decirlo todo, pues no sabía cuánto sabían el FBI y el señor Propper. No tenía objeto seguir amparando a aquéllos que habían dado las órdenes. Fuimos unos ilusos. Pensar que nosotros nos imaginamos que el general Contreras iba a decir, con la cabeza en alto, orgulloso: "Sí, yo ordené el asesinato, en beneficio de la patria. Dejen a los demás tranquilos". prensa, un pequeño hombrecito sonriente que decía: "¿Nosotros? ¡Inocentes! ¡Ese Townley armó todo con la CIA para desprestigiar al país!" Resulta que, más tarde, Contreras nos acusa de marxistas, mientras que su abogado sigue acusándonos de agentes de la CIA. ¡Ni siquiera se ponen de acuerdo para mentir!

–¿Quién convenció a Townley de que dijera la verdad?

–Yo le aconsejé decir la verdad. No es que mi consejo tuviera importancia... Lamenté tener que decirlo todo, más que nada por los cubanos, menos culpables que los autores intelectuales del asunto. Recuerdo con ira el llamado telefónico de Guillermo Novo y la poca importancia que le dio Contreras. Durante el juicio, Miranda Carrington intentó ayudar a los acusados con documentos. ¡Demasiado tarde! En enero de 1977, los cubanos pedían nada más que 25 mil dólares para huir. Son personas honorables y todavía era posible ayudarlos. Contreras no hizo nada.

–¿Por qué cree que Contreras mandó a Townley a cometer el asesinato?

–He llegado a la triste conclusión de que Manuel Contreras es un hombre enfermo. Quería demostrar al Presidente y a los demás. El Presidente confiaba tanto en él que Contreras pudo ocultarle muchos hechos.

–¿Por qué Townley aceptó esa misión?

–Porque a mi marido le gustaba jugar a los soldaditos. No supo decir que no cuando debió haberlo hecho.

–¿Qué siente con respecto al gobierno del Chile actual?

–¿El gobierno? No me gusta este gobierno, esta Junta, pero sigo partidaria del gobierno militar. Pero, hasta cierto punto, he perdonado al gobierno el haber entregado a Townley. Sé ahora quién es el culpable de todo esto. Quizás todo sea para mejor. Michael era sólo un tornillo dentro de una gigantesca maquinaria. Ahora falta el tornillo y toda la máquina se ha detenido: quizás nunca vuelva a existir una DINA en Chile. El país está bien así.

"Ninguno de los dos tendremos una vida fácil, seguramente no tendremos una larga vida, pero será una mejor. Los niños y yo echaremos de menos a Michael. Pero él estará bien. Estará alejado de todos los problemas y podrá leer y estudiar. Tiene una mente fabulosa y aprovechará bien su tiempo. Y para cuando regrese a Chile, ya no tendrá las mismas tentaciones".

JUSTICIA

El primer discurso

● Una sorpresa dio el presidente de la Corte Suprema, Israel Bórquez, al referirse a olvidado DL 1.775

Fue su primer discurso en la tradicional ceremonia de inauguración del Año Judicial que se realiza en el primer día hábil del mes de marzo. Porque el presidente de la Corte Suprema, Israel Bórquez (casado, sin hijos, 74 años y 43 en la carrera judicial), asumió el alto cargo en mayo de 1978.

Coincidió con su antecesor, José María Eyzaguirre, en destacar la difícil situación económica de los miembros del Poder Judicial. Eyzaguirre fue duro, en marzo del año pasado, para decir que veía "con profunda pena" que la Administración de Justicia tenía "un oscuro porvenir" si no se adoptaban con valentía y rapidez las medidas para rectificar la situación. El presidente Bórquez reconoció ahora como "buen augurio" el aumento especial de sueldos para el personal subalterno, que empezó a correr el pasado 1.º de enero. Pero fue enfático para aclarar que no bastaba, que la única solución era restablecer la "escala de sueldos del Poder Judicial". Y no se pide una excepción: ya otros sectores, como los funcionarios de la Superintendencia de Bancos, se marginaron de la escala única. Dijo Bórquez:

–El interés por ingresar a la carrera judicial –me refiero a jueces, secretarios o relatores– ha desaparecido. Por ahí resulta alguien con vocación, seguramente heredada, y se incorpora así al servicio un buen elemento humano...

Y agregó:

–Restableciéndose aquella jerarquía especial de remuneraciones y dotándose a este Poder del Estado de los dineros necesarios a través del presupuesto de la nación, sin restricciones mezquinas, producto de comparaciones interesadas y ajenas al superior beneficio social, haría posible mantener o recuperar para la justicia de Chile el prestigio y la independencia que sus funcionarios forjaron al administrarla durante toda la vida de la República.

El problema, sin duda, es grave. Como comentó un alto funcionario judicial al finalizar el acto, "muy pocos siquiera imaginan el desastre que sería la administración de Justicia en manos de mediocres: de muy poco vale la Constitución y las leyes si no hay jueces que las apliquen con valentía, honestidad e independencia".

Injusticia

En el recuento de lo positivo, Bórquez destacó el decreto-ley que crea juzgados en lo criminal y eleva de categoría a otros. Estas medidas, junto a la pronta instalación de la Corte de Apelaciones en el departamento Pedro Aguirre Cerda, redundarán "con absoluta certeza, en beneficio de la más expedita administración de justicia para los departamentos de más población

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SEMISERIO

HERNAN MILLAS

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Saboteadores

Un amigo, vinculado al equipo económico, me habla entusiasmado de los beneficios que traerá la renegociación del Estatuto Automotriz.

–Es increíble –señala– el daño que le estaba haciendo a la política económica el hecho de que un grupo de empresas gozara de una discriminación especial.

–Es cierto –comento– que para incentivarlas hubo que favorecerlas con un arancel especial.

–No son los aranceles lo más grave, sino el pésimo ejemplo que estaban dando. No era posible que ellas escaparan a los esquemas esenciales de la política económica.

–¿En qué sentido?

–Cuando se busca propender a las importaciones, cuando todos los esfuerzos se orientan en ese sentido, y ellas hacen todo al revés. No imagina el daño que estaban haciendo a la importación de vehículos. Habían incluso llegado a concientizar a la gente...

–¿Cómo?

–Sí, ya algunos repetían que eran mejores los autos armados en Chile porque existía la seguridad de los repuestos. ¡A ese extremo habíamos llegado!

Para explicar cómo las demás industrias han cooperado con la política económica.

–A la de la construcción ya no se le puede pedir más. ¡Y qué decir de los textiles! Hasta Iansa ha aportado su cuota...

–Se le olvida la electrónica –acoto.

–Cierto. Cuánto costó convencer que los chilenos no podían competir con Japón y Taiwán en equipos electrónicos. Pero no faltaban argumentos simplistas que decían que las fábricas de Arica alimentaban a 20 mil personas. Al final se convencieron de que ellas podían perfectamente colaborar en el desarrollo económico a través del empleo mínimo. ¿Y qué pasó recién en Arica? Automotriz Arica, con el 80 por ciento de las acciones de la Corfo, lo que es más grave, estaba anunciando que fabricaría incluso viviendas de aluminio. Lo importante era crear problemas.

–Pero... la verdad es que no entiendo.

Mi interlocutor es quien parece no comprender mi sorpresa por su alarma, y prosigue:

–En verdad que toda la industria automotriz estaba atornillando al revés. Todas querían saborear los planes económicos. Y se van a dar a conocer las pruebas al país. Ojalá que por cadena nacional.

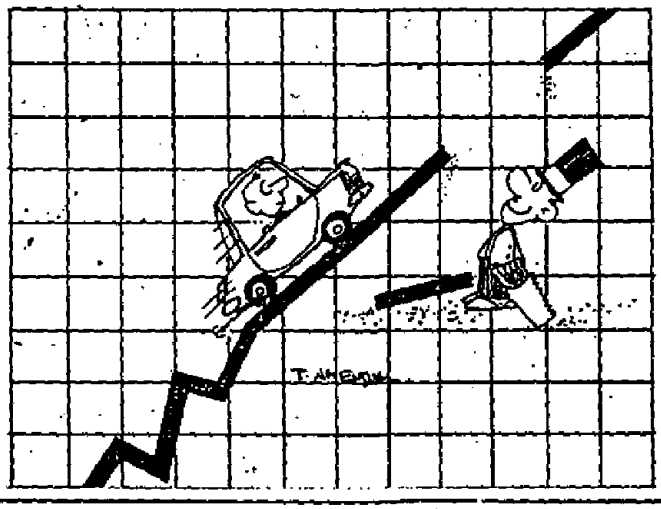
–¿Hasta ese extremo se llega?

–Sí –replica–. Llegó a nuestras manos un memorándum reservado que la Franco Chilena, que fabrica los Peugeot y Renault, le enviaba a su casa matriz en París.

–¿Y qué decía el memo?

–Se proponía subir la producción de 32 a 50 vehículos al día, y aumentar su dotación de personal. Y hay quienes afirman que la Fiat estaba en el mismo plan.

Tenebroso.



portancia de un reciente decreto-ley que creó el Servicio Nacional de Menores.

Por su especial personalidad, se esperaba con cierta expectación este primer discurso de Bórquez. Y no defraudó. Porque sacó del sombrero algo de real gravedad que olvidó su antecesor José María Eyzaguirre, quien debió denunciarlo. Se trata del decreto-ley 1.775, de mayo de 1977, que modificó los artículos 6 y 158 del Código de Procedimiento Penal.

–De esta Reforma Procesal –enfatizó Bórquez– nada supo esta Corte...

El Código establecía: "Para proceder al examen y registro de lugares religiosos, de edificios en que funciona alguna autoridad pública, de cuarteles o lugares sujetos a jefes militares, o de buques del Estado, el juez deberá pasar recado de atención a la autoridad o persona a cuyo cargo estuvieren, quien podrá asistir a la operación o nombrar a alguna persona que asista".

Israel Bórquez: "La Justicia merece la confianza de la ciudadanía"

La modificación introducida por la Junta Militar suprimió la frase "de cuarteles, lugares sujetos a jefes militares, o de buques del Estado" y agregó este inciso:

"Tratándose de recintos militares o policiales, las diligencias a que se refiere el inciso anterior deberán cumplirse por intermedio de los tribunales militares de la correspondiente jurisdicción".

Aclara también la modificación: "Se entiende por recinto militar o policial todo espacio debidamente delimitado, vehículos, naves o aeronaves, en los cuales ejerzan sus funciones específicas una autoridad militar o policial de Carabineros de Chile".

Esta reforma –denunciada ahora por Bórquez– impide a los jueces del Crimen ingresar a tales recintos.

–La modificación –dijo Bórquez– ocasionado y sigue ocasionando entorpecimientos en las investigaciones sumariales que debe llevar a cabo la Justicia O

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cer lo correcto, quizá. Pero primero que nada es un crimen que en todo caso no fue cometido por mi marido, por su propia voluntad, fue ordenado por un organismo gubernamental. Ese solo hecho debió bastar para que el Gobierno apoyara al servicio de inteligencia que lo había hecho y protegiera al coronel Contreras y a la DINA; aunque lo echara después no importaba, pero protegerlo de Estados Unidos. Enviando a Michael a Estados Unidos se dio el primer y más rotundo paso negativo que pueden haber dado. Los mismos abogados de Estados Unidos han dicho, la misma gente de la Embajada, no entienden cómo se puede hacer la estupidez de mandar a un agente de la inteligencia a otro país. Michael lo dijo. Si a mí me mandan va a ser terrible. Ese fue el primer error. Después, quizá si se hubiera hecho un juicio interno, habría dejado a Estados Unidos contento, pero mucho antes que ahora, antes de que el escándalo fuera tan grande. Cuando recién llegó allá y declaró, se debió hacer un juicio interno y haber declarado reos a los tres o quizá haya más; haberme envuelto a mí, por último, a todos que sabíamos, y haberlos condenado y hubieran dejado a Estados Unidos perfectamente satisfechos con esa actuación...

—¿Tú crees que Estados Unidos necesitaba lo que se dice un "show"?...

—No. En absoluto. Ellos perseguían un asunto policial.

—¿Pero tú crees que a Estados Unidos no le mueve la causa de la justicia fundamentalmente?

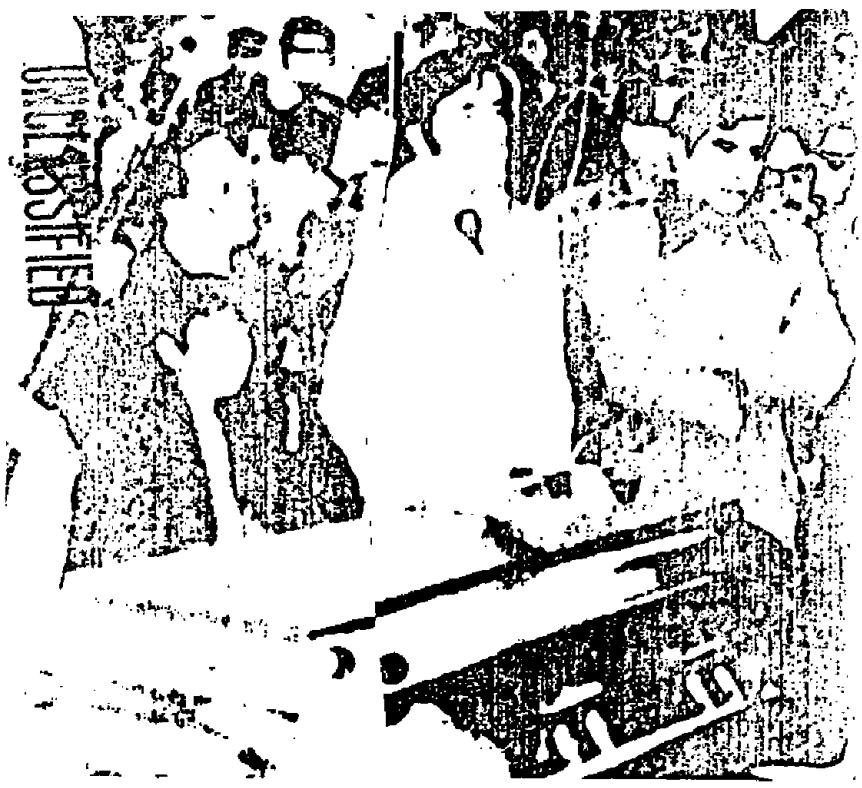
—Claro. Por eso la justicia habría quedado en paz, si aquí, en Chile, se le hubiera seguido un juicio a los culpables.

—Pero tú me decías hace un rato que tu marido viajó a Estados Unidos, fue entregado al FBI, pero viajó instrucciones del Gobierno chileno de hacer una declaración determinada.

—No, no, no fue así. No viajó a Estados Unidos con instrucciones. En absoluto. No se pudo comunicar con nadie. Es decir, se comunicó con un montón de gente, que lo engañaron. Mi marido fue a Investigaciones para irse a Concepción, porque le dijeron que lo llevaban allí y cuando llegó allá lo entregaron y lo expulsaron ilegalmente. Pero él no recibió las instrucciones hasta días después, cuando yo me encontraba allá y las recibió de autoridades chilenas que viajaron especialmente a eso. El les explicó la situación, les confió todo y ellos le ordenaron confesar.

—Pero la noche antes del día en que expulsaron a tu marido del país había estado aquí un jefe de la DINA, que le explicó la necesidad de que...

—No, no. No se lo explicó a él, se lo explicó a mí. El estuvo conmigo. Yo te voy a explicar. La última



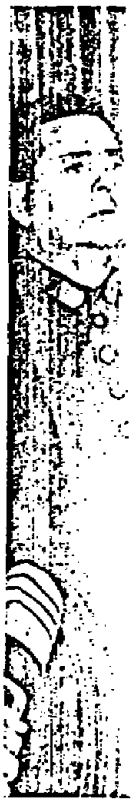
El capitán Armando Fernández Larios (señalado con la flecha) en una foto tomada durante el funeral de su padre, en 1977. Su extradición fue solicitada por la justicia norteamericana.

"Al principio mentí para proteger a mi marido, al Gobierno, a la DINA, a todos los demás implicados".

noche nosotros estábamos en la casa de un amigo en el centro y a esa casa llegó un oficial del CNI (Centro Nacional de Inteligencia) y el abogado Acuña. Ellos le dijeron a Mike que se dirigiera inmediatamente a Investigaciones, porque el general Baeza le iba a ayudar y lo iba a enviar en un auto de Investigaciones a Concepción para bloquear la extradición, la expulsión digamos, porque ya se sabía la expulsión. Mi marido y el comandante Mey y el abogado se fueron a Investigaciones y yo me quedé fuera, no entré, esperando que el auto saliera a Concepción. Y no salió jamás. Yo tenía que recoger a uno de mis niños y terminé por retirarme y fui a casa de mi mamá. A la casa de mi mamá me llamó el mozo Luis y me dijo que había unos señores del CNI que querían hablar conmigo. Yo, al principio, no los conocía, no los había visto nunca. Cuando yo llegué acá, la casa estaba totalmente llena de gente. Estaba acá el general Mena, el coronel Pantoja, me parece que el mayor Vergara, en fin, un lote de gente del CNI, del ejército, y el general Pantoja me explicó a mí por qué era necesario sacar a Mike a Estados Unidos. Me dio una larga conferencia, una larga explicación.

—¿Cuál era la importancia?

—La importancia era que internamente nosotros sufrimos ataques continuos y Estados Unidos podía cortar relaciones. Entonces yo le dije que yo no aceptaba su planteamiento, que era mucho peor mandar a Mike a los Estados Unidos. Yo lo sabía porque cuando vino el abogado Hueck habló con Propper y Propper le explicó que contra Mike tenían sólo esos ciento veinte años de que había el Presidente, esos ciento veinte años por la compra de artículos electrónicos y por viajar con pasaporte falso. Esos son los delitos de Mike. Esos delitos los tenían comprobados. Entonces, al mandar a Mike a los Estados Unidos, allí le iban a ofrecer esos ciento veinte años a que cooperara, y ¿quién quiere estar ciento veinte años en la cárcel por algo que no fue su intención hacer de todas maneras? Yo le expliqué todo eso al general Mena, pero me respondió que, a pesar de todo, nosotros vamos a tener que expulsarlo. Entonces, como último recurso, yo le había escrito una carta a su excelencia el Presidente Pinochet y se la mostré al general Mena. En la carta yo le explicaba al Presidente las tremendas repercusiones que iba a tener la expulsión de mi marido. Yo le decía que no hay manera que él, cuando se le enfrente a la evidencia —que sabemos que los gringos tienen, porque Hueck sabía que los gringos tenían suficientes evidencias



ke: "Usted es
está diciendo
star unos cal
bas—, no va

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te has sentido ni declarado culpable.

—¿Qué iba a hacer yo? Lo único que sabía era el plan. No iba a comunicárselo a Carabineros, naturalmente. Yo supe del plan y no estaba *de acuerdo y se lo dije, y le dije que* era una estupidez, y le recomendé que no lo hiciera y él lo hizo de todos modos.

—Por tu parte, en el tiempo de la resistencia contra el Gobierno de la Unidad Popular, después en círculos de amigos y ahora en esta situación actual, siempre dijiste creer que las Fuerzas Armadas chilenas eran la reserva moral del país.

—Sigo pensándolo.

—¿No crees que se le ha causado un grave daño a las reservas morales del país con la acción de tu marido?

—Yo creo que es al revés el asunto.

—No entiendo.

—Encuentro que mi marido actuó de buena fe. El obedeció órdenes de las Fuerzas Armadas.

—¿Cómo se actúa de buena fe cuando se va a matar a una persona?

—A él se lo ordenaron. Igual que a Fernández Larios. El estaba cumpliendo órdenes.

—De acuerdo con la ley, y la ley es a veces lógica y a veces ilógica, quien está en antecedentes de un crimen que se va a cometer debe comunicarlo a la autoridad para intentar evitarlo.

—*¿A qué autoridad iba a ir yo?*

—Se ha dicho, y el Presidente lo ha dicho varias veces, que la Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional actuó por impulso propio. ¿No estimaste en algún momento que era oportuno advertirle al Presidente que estaba pasando esto a sus espaldas?

—Yo traté varias veces inútilmente de comunicarme con el Presidente.

—¿Tú trataste de impedir que la acción se llevara a cabo o trataste de que tu marido participara?

—No, cuando la acción se llevó a *cabo yo estaba firmemente convencida* de que la orden provenía del Presidente. Entonces, yo no podía tratar de hablarle al Presidente cuando pensaba que la orden venía de él. Cuando nosotros trabajábamos, es decir, cuando Michael trabajaba para el coronel Manuel Contreras, todas las órdenes que provenían de Contreras, él siempre pensó que venían de Pinochet. Nunca pensó que Contreras jugara solo. El pensaba que las órdenes venían de más arriba que Contreras. Yo creo que él sigue pensándolo todavía.

—¿Tú crees al Presidente cuando dice que él no estaba en antecedentes?

—No. En absoluto. No lo puedo creer.

—¿Qué te hace pensar eso?

—Primero, que una acción tan delicada y tan tremendamente importante como ésta no la habría llevado a cabo un hombre como Contreras sin consultarlo antes con su superior directo. Es asunto de jerarquía militar. Yo pienso que el Presidente le ordenó a Contreras. Puede que no le haya ordenado que matara a Letelier, pero puede que le hayua ordenado que hiciera algo contra Letelier para que éste se callara. Eso es lo que yo *pienso. Ahora, que Contreras, eso es* un cuento muy largo, es como el cuento de los niños que se hablan al oído y después sale otra cosa distinta. Puede que ordenó que lo hiciera callar y Contreras ordenó matarlo y que Espinosa diera orden de matarlo. En fin...

—En la preparación de este plan, ¿cuál fue tu participación?

—Absolutamente nada.

—Una revista ha dicho que tú avisaste telefónicamente en Santiago a alguien de la DINA que tu marido había ya puesto el aparato que haría matar a Letelier.

—Esa fue mi única participación y lo *hice porque él estaba, me parece,* en un motel. Entonces él no quería llamar del motel al número de la DINA en Santiago, naturalmente. Entonces llamó al teléfono de la casa y me dijo: llama al número del CG, que es como se le dice al cuartel *general de la DINA, y pregunta por* tal persona.

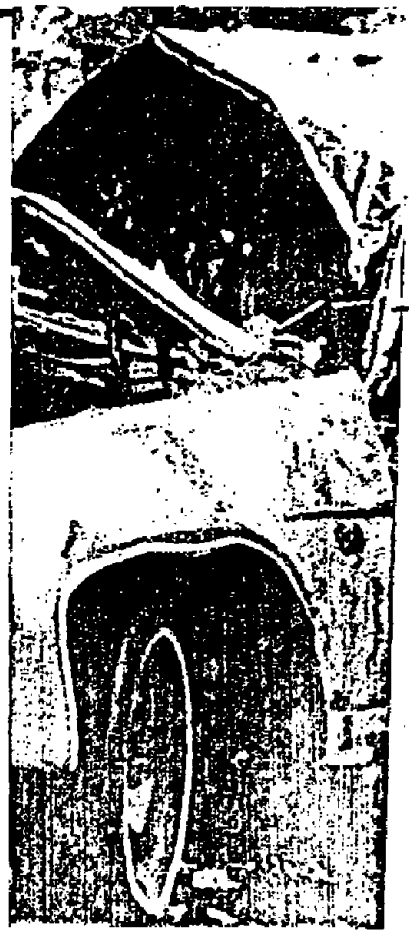
Michael Townley, fotografiado con la expresión típica de los acusados. El Gobierno chileno lo sacrificó para salvar a quienes le daban las órdenes.

—¿Por quién?

—Ah, eso no lo puedo decir porque es parte del proceso... por tal persona y dile que el artefacto ya está colocado. El artefacto, no la bomba, el artefacto ya está colocado y está andando. Que el plan marcha bien. Y nada más. Esa fue mi participación. Yo llamé a ese número, hablé con el señor y le dije: acabo de recibir una comunicación de Estados Unidois y me dicen que el artefacto está puesto y está andando. Esa fue mi parte.

—Esa parte... ¿no te remuerde la conciencia haberla tomado?

—No. Porque yo sigo pensando que el que ideó esto —ya haya sido el



Presidente Pinochet o el general Contreras, eso lo veremos algún día—, pienso que cualquiera de los dos, de *donde haya surgido la orden, lo hicie*ron por el bien de Chile.

—Pero eso a la vista de los resultados no te lo cree nadie...

—Sí, pero es que las cosas salieron mal, simplemente. Pero es muy posible que Letelier estuviera haciéndole un grave daño a Chile. Hay que pensar que estos años hemos estado en guerra, que ha sido una guerra bastante fea, que se ha llevado a cabo en secreto, que la llevó a cabo el general Contreras, coronel Contreras en aquella época, y en realidad la gente de la DINA se sacrificó muchísimo en esta guerra y nadie se dio cuenta. Entonces, lo curioso es que si hubo un propósito y la orden de asesinar a Letelier, es porque ellos pensaban que era lo mejor para el país. Ahora, yo no podía hacer valer mi propia opinión sobre la de ellos. Si ellos pensaban que era lo mejor para el país, yo no tenía nada que hacer. Primero que no era cosa mía, era cosa de mi marido. Yo tuve muy poco que ver con eso. Yo siempre estuve en desacuerdo con la orden, pero mi marido lo tomó justamente como eso, como una orden.

—Mariana, yo sé que tú estás en desacuerdo con lo que voy a decir, pero quitándole toda la interpretación intelectual, los resquicios legales, tu

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Entre el odio y la admiración: encuestas le daban enorme popularidad...

El 29 de mayo de 1963, John Kennedy cumplió sus 46 años. Sus amigos le prepararon una fiesta de sorpresa que naturalmente no lo sorprendió. Salinger se encargó de prepararle un discurso, pidiéndole que lo leyera. Era una parodia del famoso mensaje de Gettysburg, pronunciado por Lincoln y que todos los escolares norteamericanos se saben de memoria. Hubo regalos, bromas y, como fin de fiesta, un paseo a bordo del yate presidencial por el río Potomac.

Animo batallador

"Era el momento de la marea más alta para el régimen de Kennedy, pero los participantes en el jolgorio no lo sabían", escribió William Manchester.

Todo el mundo confiaba en que todavía pasarían otros cinco años antes de que fuese necesario abandonar la Casa Blanca. Eso era mucho tiempo. Y cuando alguien se ponía a pensar en lo que ocurriría después del segundo período presidencial de Kennedy, era sólo para hacer planes para el gran diario que pensaban editar en Washington.

Por ahora, dice Manchester, "su estilo era el de lo que se llamaba 'los jóvenes matrimonios'. Las tres esposas Kennedy –Jackie, Ethel y Joan– estaban embarazadas esa primavera. Coches cunas y corrales infantiles formaban parte habitual del mobiliario de la mayoría de los funcionarios gobiernos por personajes venerables, más allá de la cincuentena".

En esas circunstancias, el estado de ánimo del grupo gobernante en los Estados Unidos era firme, dispuesto a todas las batallas. Y no habían faltado los enfrentamientos, tanto internos como externos.

Kennedy, con su hermano como fiscal general –ministro de Justicia– se había abierto por lo menos dos frentes de batalla en su propio país: la Mafia y los intereses económicos, en especial los de la poderosa industria del acero.

Con la Mafia, la suya fue la continuación de una larga lucha liberada desde el Senado contra el crimen organizado. Su choque con los poderosos fabricantes de acero fue un alarde propio de las películas del Oeste, en que el impetuoso Bob no sacó las pistolas, sino que amenazó a la U.S. Steel con enviarle los inspectores de Impuestos Internos.

Otros resentimientos

En 1963, sin embargo, John Kennedy y su hermano tenían otros enemigos: su creciente compromiso con el movimiento negro se convirtió en una intensa cruzada después de la marcha pacífica sobre la capital, dirigida por Martin Luther King. Poco antes, Kennedy había enviado al Congreso el proyecto de ley que terminaba con la discriminación electoral. Pero eran tantas las barreras que todavía subsistían, que fue necesario que 200 mil personas –blancos y negros– hicieran su demostración de fuerza para superar todos los obstáculos.

Más importante que todo esto todavía eran los resentimientos que provocó la audaz política internacional de su gobierno.

El primer paso en falso se produjo cuando decidió seguir adelante con los planes heredados del gobierno de Eisenhower y apoyar la invasión a Cuba. Mal preparada, sin apoyo adecuado, la operación concluyó en un fracaso y en un doble resentimiento: el de los cubanos castristas, heridos porque la operación había sido planeada por la CIA, y el de los anticastristas, afectados por el poco entusiasmo oficial.

La misma situación se repetiría en octubre de 1962, después de la crisis de los cohetes. Entonces, el enfrentamiento entre Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética se resolvió directamente entre Kennedy y Khrushev, quedando Fidel Castro dolido porque no se le había tomado en cuenta, y los anticastristas y anticomunistas en general sentidos porque las "palomas" habían derrotado a los "halcones".

Pero esto era apenas un capítulo de un drama mayor, cuyo escenario era el mundo entero: el deseo de Kennedy de inaugurar una etapa de coexistencia pacífica, ya que estaba convencido de que la lucha entre las superpotencias sólo llevaría al holocausto a toda la humanidad.

Acuerdos discutidos

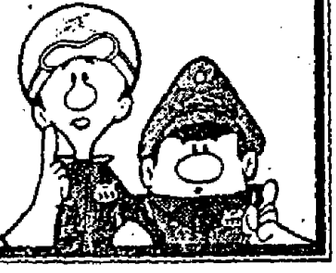
En 1963, aun contra la opinión de sus críticos menos exaltados, Kennedy empujó con firmeza la aprobación del tratado

Cuando conduzca, no beba.

Cuando beba, no conduzca.

El alcohol anula su capacidad para conducir

Se lo dice
Un amigo en su camino



de proscripción de las pruebas nucleares en la atmósfera. *Si en política interna* Kennedy creía que mientras más fuerte se golpeara al adversario, mejor sería, en las relaciones *internacionales* mostró una gran capacidad de conciliación.

El 20 de junio de 1963, en la Universidad Americana, *fue enfático*: "Nuestros problemas han sido causados por el hombre. Por lo tanto pueden ser resueltos por el hombre. Hay *quienes dicen* que es inútil hablar de paz... mientras los líderes soviéticos no adopten una actitud *más* positiva. Yo espero que cambien de actitud. Creo que podemos ayudarlos a cambiar de actitud. Pero creo también que debemos *reexaminar* nuestra propia actitud".

El 30 de agosto, el Departamento de Defensa dio la gran noticia: se había llegado a un acuerdo para establecer una línea directa –el teléfono rojo– entre Washington con Moscú. Ese mismo día empezó a funcionar. Inevitablemente debían crearse nuevos resentimientos.

Pero, al mismo tiempo, la curva de popularidad –conforme a las encuestas de opinión pública– reflejaba un sostenido apoyo del electorado a Kennedy. Después de la crisis de los cohetes, Gallup había determinado que el 83 por ciento de la población aprobaba lo que había hecho. La cifra descendió en los meses siguientes, *primero* al 61 por ciento y luego al 59 por ciento. Pero en septiembre, dos meses antes de su asesinato, cuando el Congreso aprobó el tratado de proscripción de pruebas nucleares, la curva empezó a subir de nuevo.

Y seguía subiendo el 22 de noviembre cuando, junto con Jacqueline, llegó al aeropuerto de Dallas.

ARABES

Esos inversionistas misteriosos...

● Presencia de petrodólares en Occidente: entre el mito y la realidad

Por Sergio Marras

¿Qué hacen los árabes de la OPEP con las superganancias del petróleo? ¿Es verdad –como dicen los más suspicaces– que se están adueñando disimuladamente del mundo?

Si se investiga un poco, se verifica que tienen terrenos y hoteles en las costas europeas mediterráneas; bienes inmobiliarios, acciones y todo tipo de *securities* en los principales centros comerciales del mundo desarrollado. Hacen donaciones a las universidades norteamericanas para que monten cátedras e institutos de estudios árabes. Poseen un organizado sistema de "ayuda externa" para el mundo subdesarrollado –especialmente para los países árabes no petroleros, Africa Negra y Asia Central–, participan de una manera más o menos velada en diferentes tipos de *multinacionales financieras que se dedican...* a todo: desde apoyar dictaduras militares en América Latina hasta financiar países fantasmas como es el caso del *bantustan* del Transkei en Sudáfrica, cuya principal fuente de crédito exterior es una multinacional con sede en Beirut: la Medi Dupis.

En líneas generales, éste parece ser el destino de la mayor parte de los petrodólares que los árabes destinan a "inversión exterior". Dólares que en los últimos años se han multiplicado, alarmando a empresarios, trabajadores y legisladores de los países supuestamente más afectados.

Campaña efectiva

La prensa de Estados Unidos, el país donde más inversiones han llegado, convirtió el asunto en un verdadero *media event* y fueron muchas las revistas que lo llevaron a sus portadas. Un botón de muestra puede ser la foto del *Real Estate Was* publicación especializada en ven muebles, en la que un árabe con oscuros pintados con signos dó gunta ingenuamente: "¿Está Wa la venta?".

El público norteamericano se h nado, poco a poco, con la est pesadilla que le presenta la pren llegado a creer que el *día* men sus jefes serán reemplazados pc señores de túnicas flotantes. Ir propio *Congreso norteamerica* representantes de zonas agríc gado a decir que "un millón *japoneses cargados de dinero* prando las mejores tierras de hasta California".

"Esos orientale

¿Qué hay de cierto en tod ¿Son los petrodólares una el comienzo de *un nuevo tip* lismo económico? ¿Habrá e ñas de prensa intereses cre inversionistas *extranjeros q* sar inadvertidos? ¿Tratará E de "inflar" el problema de res *extranjeros dentro* de s aparecer ante la opinión p como una nación a punto d *y atenuar así su imagen* de Universo? ¿Estarán ajen ciones judías norteamerica *paña antiárabe para no* per obtener el más mínimo po que *más* apoya su causa?

La *respuesta* es comp alarma tomó en 1974. En los países árabes petrole

Líderes árabes Fahed y Yamani: un problema de inversiones

años de utilidades podrían comprar la Bolsa de Nueva York completa.

Organizaciones judías como la B'Nai B'rith, el Comité de Asuntos Públicos de los Israelitas Americanos, la Organización Sionista Americana y el Congreso Judío comenzaron inmediatamente a llamar la atención sobre lo que bautizaron "la intromisión árabe en los asuntos norteamericanos", temiendo que éstos pudieran controlar alguna porción de la opinión pública del poder político.

Pronto las revistas comenzaron la campaña y los árabes, junto a los japoneses, pasaron a ser personajes misteriosos y siniestros para el ciudadano medio. Coincidió también que estos últimos se hicieron presentes en 1974 comprando la Motorola, que es la empresa que hoy día se llama Quasar, y el Banco de Tokio entró a controlar el First National Bank de California.

Un estudio de opinión pública concluyó que la inversión extranjera era percibida como amenaza sólo cuando era protagonizada por árabes o japoneses. Cuando se consultó a un periodista, autor de uno de los artículos antiárabes, explicó el problema de una manera muy simple: "Es distinto si una empresa es de un canadiense, un británico o un holandés. Es gente normal, como usted o yo... Pero todos esos son orientales".

sión extranjera en Estados Unidos ha llegado a una cota jamás antes alcanzada: 310 mil millones de dólares. Las inversiones totales de Estados Unidos en el exterior son de 381 mil millones de dólares. Pronto se habrá alcanzado el equilibrio. ¿Será ésa la razón de la alarma?

Hilos ocultos

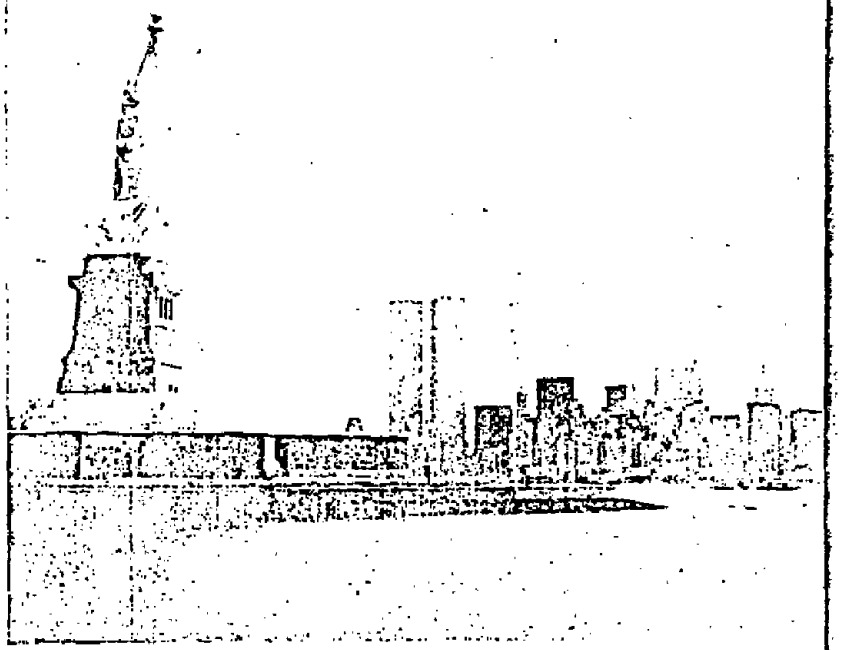
Pero si se analizan las cifras del Departamento de Comercio, se ve que la inversión de todos los países de la OPEP es de apenas el uno por ciento de esa cantidad al lado del 67 por ciento de Europa, el 18 por ciento de Canadá y el 15 por ciento de Japón.

Ante estas cifras parece desmedida la campaña de prensa. ¿Quién estará, entonces, manejando los hilos de la opinión pública?

La respuesta quizás la puedan dar los principales inversores extranjeros, entre los cuales no hay ningún príncipe árabe.

Están más bien los conocidos de siempre: Seagrams, Shell, Bayer, Basf, Unilever, Philips, Nestlé, Agnelli, Rotschild, etc... y el curioso Friedrich Karl Flick, cuya familia hizo fortuna a base del tráfico de armas con los nazis y que vive rodeado de docenas de perros pastores alemanes y guardaespaldas veteranos de Vietnam. Sospechosamente, todos están muy bien contactados con editoriales y periodicos.

¿Una sombra sobre Nueva York?: temores reales... y otros fabricados



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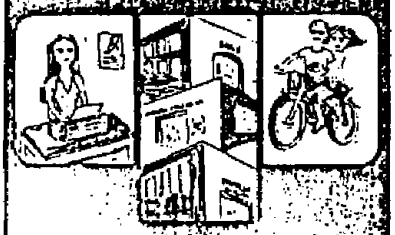
LOS JOVENES Y LAS EMPRESAS SABEMOS ELEGIR.



SECRETARIADO
Ejecutivo
Bilingüe
Comercial
Dactilografía
Taquigrafía
Redacción
Archivo

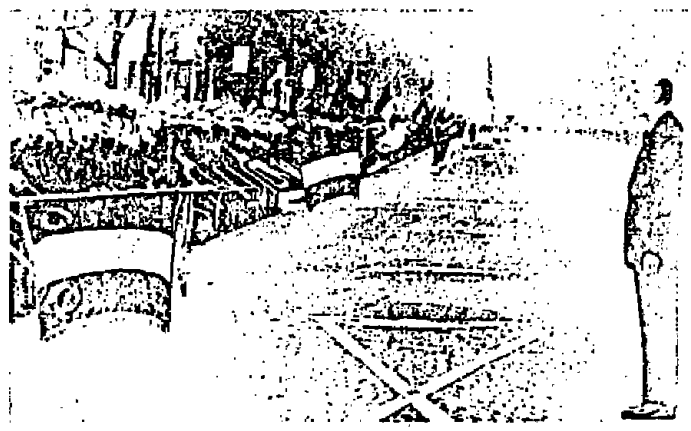
CAPACITACION LABORAL
Area Secretarial
Area Administrativa
Area Contable
Area Tributaria
Area Financiera

Reconocimiento SENCE
Nº 3391 / 70 / 147 / 1977

PREUNIVERSITARIO
Aptitud Académica
Matemática
Física
Química
Biología
Preparación preuniversitaria
Universitaria

ICCE
Instituto Central de Capacitación Educacional
Compañía 1447
(frente al Liceo Nº 1 de Niñas)
Diseño Andrés Bolt / 881630

Intercambio de experiencias. Catorce ex presidentes constitucionales d América Latina se reúnen en Venezuela, esta semana. Los ex mandatario –Eduardo Frei; Hernán Siles Suazo, de Bolivia; Alfonso López Michelson, d Colombia; Galo Plaza, de Ecuador, entre otros– asistirán a una conferencia sob "La democracia en América Latina: frustraciones y proyecciones". La idea de l Universidad Simón Bolívar, organizadora del encuentro, es escuchar el apor sereno y ponderado de las experiencias, en los diferentes campos de la democraci de aquellos *hombres que recibieron el respaldo electoral* de la ciudadanía en s respectivos países.



Honores a Giscard: el atractivo de México

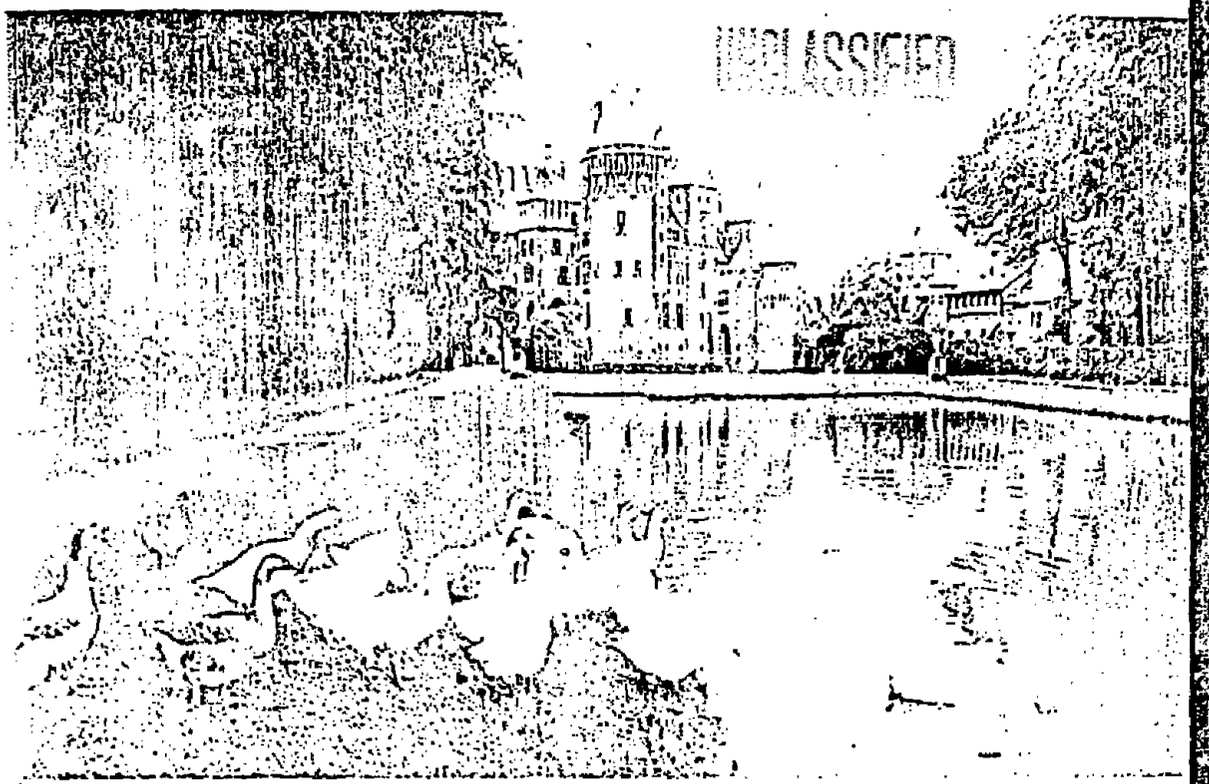
México codiciado. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Presidente de Francia, de vis oficial en México. Entre los días 28 de febrero y 3 de marzo, los mandatarios ambos países mantuvieron conversaciones tendientes a lograr un mejoramiento las relaciones comerciales. El interés fundamental de Francia es asegurarse abastecimiento continuo de petróleo, y México, a cambio de ello, recibiría la ayu tecnológica francesa. Giscard ofrece la construcción de una planta de ener nuclear, sistemas de telecomunicaciones y tecnología pesada. El Mandatario fr cés es el segundo Jefe de Estado que visita México en menos de dos semanas. *anterior fue Jimmy Carter.)* Causa obvia de este interés: sus reservas petroler potencialmente 200 millones de barriles, que convierten a México en un p sumamente atractivo para Europa y Estados Unidos.

Foco de tensión. El reanudamiento de las hostilidades entre Yemen del Nor Yemen del Sur está aumentando la tensión de la ya conflictiva zona del Me Oriente. A los recientes sucesos de Irán se suman los intensos combates e Yemen del Norte, pronorteamericano, y que se mantiene gracias al financiamie de Arabia Saudita, y Yemen del Sur, país que cuenta con el apoyo soviético. U otro se acusan de iniciar los bombardeos en ciudades fronterizas. Arabia Sau hizo un llamado a la Liga Arabe para que ponga fin a las hostilidades. Esta Unidos, por su parte, aceleró los despachos de armas a Yemen del Norte.

Invasión a Uganda. Fieros combates se desarrollaron la semana pasada e zona sudoeste de Uganda. Las tropas leales a Idi Amin están enfrentando el ava de los exiliados ugandeses –pertenecientes al Movimiento Salve Uganda– pesado bombardeo de la artillería de Tanzania. El presidente ugandés señaló qu país jamás se rendiría y exhortó a los creyentes a elevar plegarias a Dios para qu invasor fuera derrotado. Por su parte, el Presidente de Tanzania, Julius Nyer condicionó el cese de hostilidades a una condena de la Organización de Uni Africana (OUA) a Uganda por la invasión a territorio tanzanio en agosto pasa

Rechazo a autonomía. Una sorpresa –y un golpe para el gobierno labori fueron los resultados del referendum en Gales y Escocia para aprobar el proy oficial que establecía asambleas no legislativas con poderes limitados en Card Edimburgo. Los galeses rechazaron de plano la iniciativa y los escoceses la apr ron sin la mayoría necesaria para que entrara en vigor de inmediato.

Realidad. Un pequeño país. Así es. Pero con grandes sorpresas. Descúbralas con el Crédito KLM.



Ejemplo: Tan luego usted llega al Aeropuerto Internacional de Amsterdam, descubre a cada paso sorpresas agradables.

Holanda no es más grande que 34.000 Km². Se lo ha imaginado?

Sin embargo, su rica historia la hizo famosa.

Tan pronto usted se cruza con un puesto que le ofrece los arenques más deliciosos para gustarlos crudos, a la usanza holandesa, usted se halla frente a la casa de brillantes más famosa del mundo.

Desde que usted sube a uno de nuestros aviones, se encuentra con sorpresas agradables.

Un comisario de a bordo que, además de cumplir con su obligación en forma altamente profesional, fuera de servicio es un brillante músico y cantante. O una azafata que habla seis idiomas.

Y cuando llega a Amsterdam, pasando por su Aeropuerto Internacional, las agradables ocasiones de disfrutar cada instante, son innumerables.

Desde el mismo momento que llega a este famoso aeropuerto usted nota la diferencia. Si está muy cansado, puede arrendar una acogedora habitación para relajarse (por horas o medios días). Todo señalizado para que nadie se pierda.

La Aduana se pasa con increíble velocidad y sin problemas.

Y ya está usted en pleno Amsterdam. Con sus características casas de típico diseño. Tiendas con atractivas ofertas y tentadoras novedades.

No se pierda la ocasión de descubrir Holanda. Es el país que le abre las puertas a Europa. Y con KLM y su crédito es más fácil de lo que usted supone.

Visite a su agente de viajes o a KLM. Ellos le darán todos los detalles del crédito que usted esperaba.

KLM

La confiable línea aérea de Holanda.

Agustinas esq. San Antonio.

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE : JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA

NACIONALIDAD : CHILENO

PROFESION : GENERAL DE BRIGADA

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: PRINCIPE DE GALES No. 7045.

CARNET No. 56693 DE SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2354[illegible]-4

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, que con fecha 30 de Septiembre de 1977 emitió un documento relacionado con personas que habían realizado Cursos de Inteligencia en la Escuela Nacional de Inteligencia. Dicho documento estaba basado en otro de fecha 26 de Septiembre de 1977, firmado por el Sr. Director de la Escuela Nacional de Inteligencia.

Que en dichos documentos no se consigna el nombre del ciudadano cubano o VIRGILIO PAZ como habiendo realizado un Curso en la ENI., en 197 6, no obstante que atendida la naturaleza de los dos documentos individualizados, de haber sido ello real, debería necesariamen te haber figurado el nombre de VIRGILIO PAZ.

Que la presente declaración se emite en esta forma atendido el carácter de Secreto, por ser de Inteligencia, que tienen dichos documentos. Deja constancia que formu la la presente declaración en forma absolutamente voluntaria, ratificándola y firmándola.

Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda
Carnet 56693 San Antonio

Previa lectura juró y firmó ante mí Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda. Santiago, Mayo Veinte de 1978.

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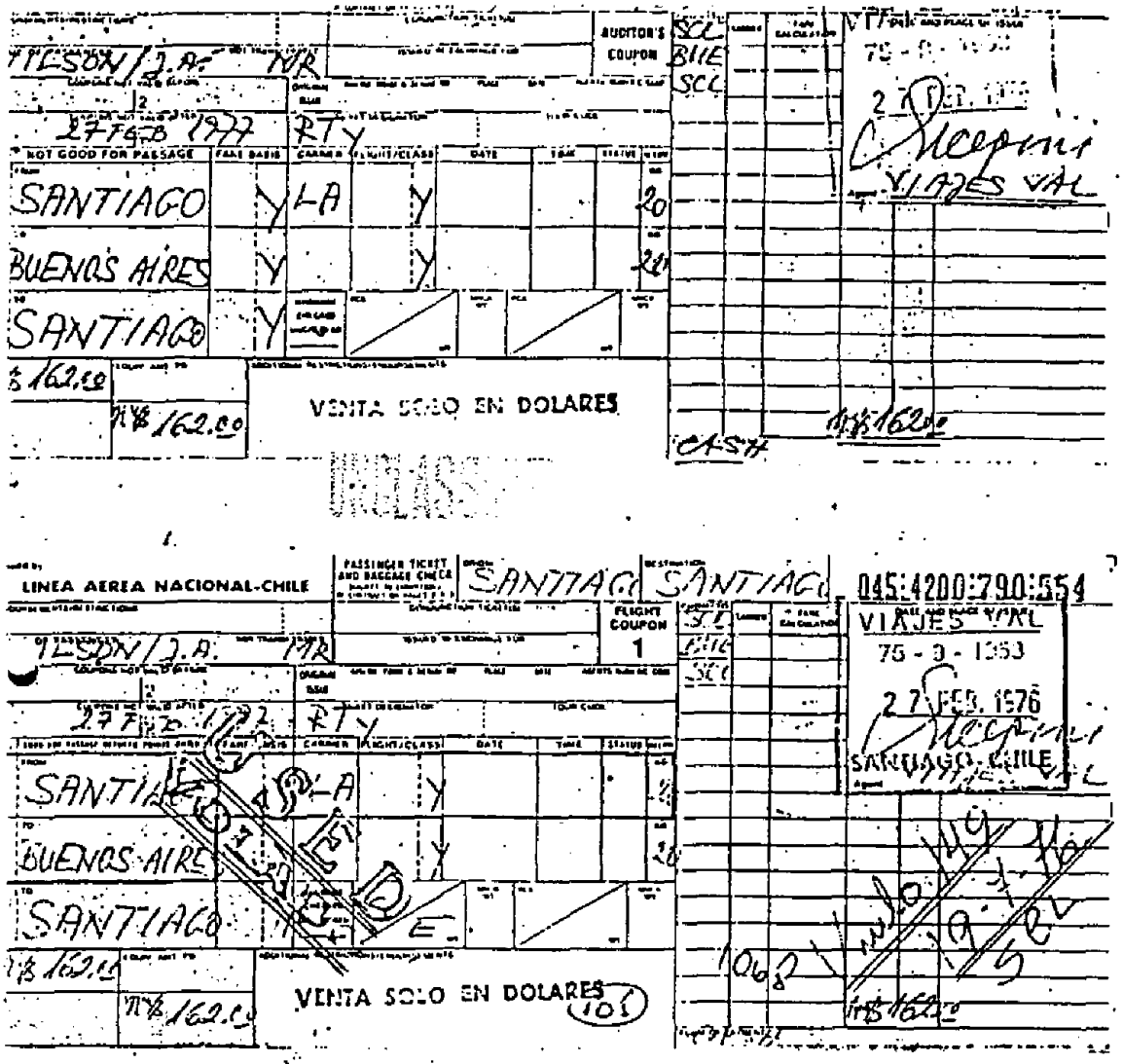

AUDITOR'S COUPON

SCL BIE SCL

VIAJES VAL

75 - 9 - 1353

27 FEB. 1976

SANTIAGO - CHILE

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

	FARE BASIS	CARRIER	FLIGHT/CLASS	DATE	TIME	STATUS
SANTIAGO	Y	LA	Y			20
BUENOS AIRES	Y		Y			21
SANTIAGO	Y					

27FEB 1977 RTY

$ 162.00

M$ 162.00

VENTA SOLO EN DOLARES

CASH M$ 162.00

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LINEA AEREA NACIONAL-CHILE

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK

SANTIAGO SANTIAGO

045:4200:790:554

FLIGHT COUPON 1

VIAJES VAL

75 - 9 - 1353

27 FEB. 1976

SANTIAGO - CHILE

	FARE BASIS	CARRIER	FLIGHT/CLASS	DATE	TIME	STATUS
SANTIAGO	Y	LA	Y			
BUENOS AIRES	Y		Y			20
SANTIAGO	Y					

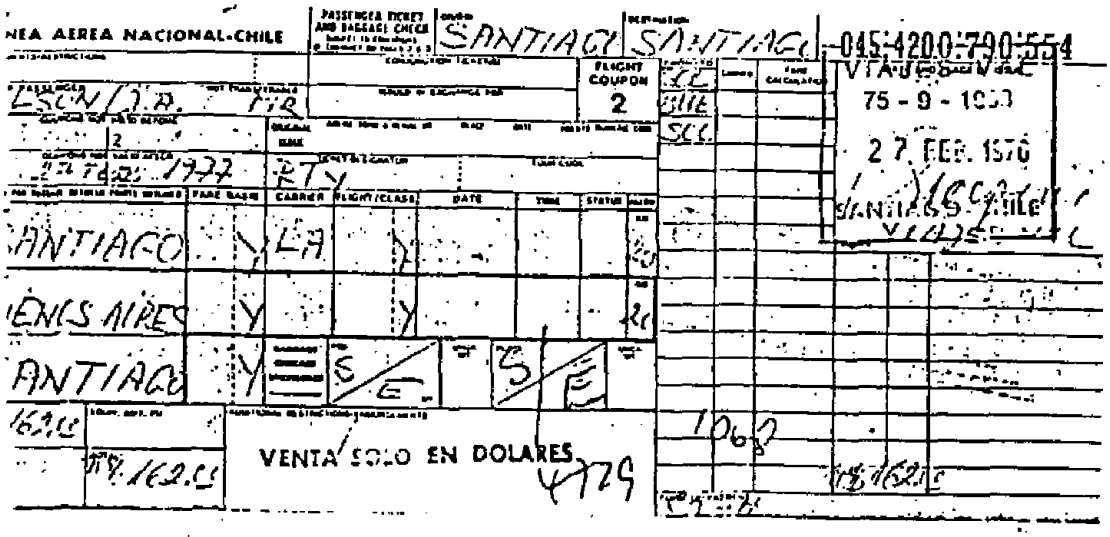
27FEB 1977 RTY

M$ 162.00

VENTA SOLO EN DOLARES (10)

1062

M$ 162.00



LINEA AEREA NACIONAL-CHILE

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK

SANTIAGO SANTIAGO

045:4200:790:554

FLIGHT COUPON 2

VIAJES VAL

75 - 9 - 1353

27 FEB. 1976

SANTIAGO - CHILE

	FARE BASIS	CARRIER	FLIGHT/CLASS	DATE	TIME	STATUS
SANTIAGO	Y	LA	Y			
BUENOS AIRES	Y		Y			20
SANTIAGO	Y					

27FEB 1977 RTY

M$ 162.00

VENTA SOLO EN DOLARES 4729

1062

M$ 162.00

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VENTA SOLO EN DOLARES

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SANTIAGO — NEW YORK — SANTIAGO

VENTA SOLO EN DOLARES

LAN-CHILE AIRLINES

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FORMATO PARA MENSAJES
(Telex y Cables)

CLASIFICACION	NUMERO	GRUPO HORARIO	MES	AÑO
CIFRADO	11	031630	Marzo	1975

DEL: EMBACHILE OTTAWA
AL : SECRESEG

T E X T O

Información confidencial ha transmitido que en Universidad de Montreal hay un pastor canadiense no católico nombre Robert Quebillen o Quevillon quien habría sido expulsado de Chile y mantiene activa campaña contra nuestra recolectando fondos y su envío a Chile. Uno de sus principales contactos sería Francisco Rojas, contador oficina Codelco Montreal. Señor Rojas está actualmente de vacaciones en Chile y sugiero DINA investigue su persona relacionado denuncia recibida. Dicho funcionario es de confianza de Codelco y está considerado que la oficina Codelco abrirá proximamente Nueva York. Esta Embajada informó en octubre 1973 que citado Rojas pidió asilo político en Canadá y es un antecedente que ahora recobra importancia ante hechos expuestos.-

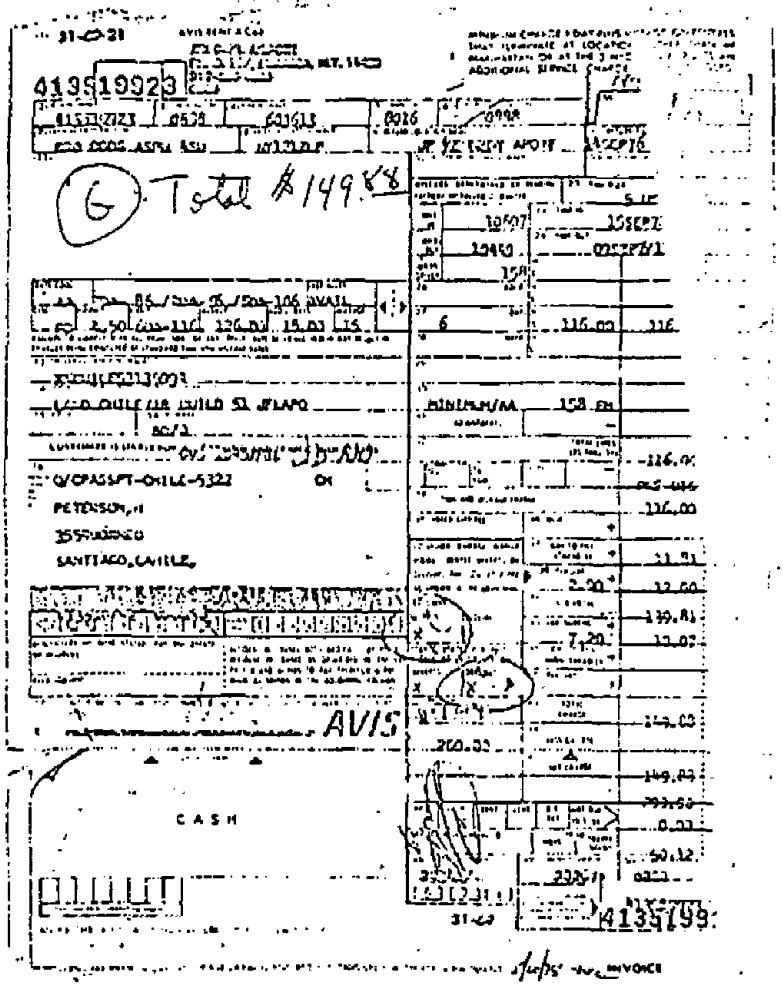
Arce.-

ESPACIO PARA INSTRUCCIONES E INFORMACIONES

V°B° AUTORIDAD DE ORIGEN

V°B° DEPTO. DE CLAVE

FORM. N° 25


Total $149.88
AVIS
CASH

(1) 31-69-21 AVIS RENT A CAR

Aeropuerto Internacional de JFK
Bldg. 207, Jamaica, N.Y. 11430
212-656-5266
413519923 0888

.El cargo mínimo es un día más el millaje. En alquileres que terminan en un lugar que no sea Manhattan o uno de los 3 aeropuertos de la zona de la Ciudad de Nueva York, se impondrá un cargo adicional de servicio.

---

(2) NUMERO R/A 413519923 (3) LUGAR DE SALIDA 0888 (4) NUMERO DEL AUTOMOVIL 603613

(5) LUGAR DE PROPIEDAD 8016 (6) LUGAR DE ENTREGA 0888

(7) DESCRIPCION DEL VEHICULO Dodge Marrón ASPEN 4SD (8) NUMERO DE CHAPA NY121ZEP

(9) NOMBRE DEL LUGAR DE DEVOLUCION Aeropuerto JFK Nueva York (10) FECHA Y HORA DE DEVOLUCION 14 de septiembre 1976

(11) G Total $149,88

(12) CLAVE DE TARIFA AA 3DA- 86./4DA- 96./5DA-106 MILLAS LIBRES Disponibles

DESCUENTO	POR HORA	POR DIA	POR SEMANA
PD	4.50	6 Ds-116.	126.00

TARIFAS

DIAS ADICIONALES	MILLAJE
18.00	.15

EL NO CUMPLIR CON TODAS LAS DISPOSICIONES DE CUALQUIER TARIFA ESPECIAL DESCRITA EN LOS PRESENTES PUEDE DAR POR RESULTADO QUE LOS CARGOS SE CALCULEN A LAS TARIFAS NORMALES DE TIEMPO Y MILLAJE.

(13) NUMERO DE LICENCIA DE MANEJAR XXCHILE53135994

(14) CONTACTO LOCAL/INFORMACION ADICIONAL LAND CHILE AIR BUILD 51 AEROPUERTO JFK

(15) Núm. AID (15A) OBSERVACIONES BD/O

EL CLIENTE ASUME LA RESPONSABILIDAD POR TODA INFRACCION DE ESTACIONAMIENTO O DE TRAFICO.
GVS .045/MIL

(16) EL ALQUILER LO PAGARA Q/C PASAPORTE-CHILE-5322 CH
PETERSON, H
3559 BORNEO
SANTIAGO, CHILE

E S T A E S S U F A C T U R A
Pagadera a su entrega

534

Gasolina al salir. X Lleno

---

parentesco

SEGURO CONTRA ACCIDENTES Y PROTECCION MEDICA - AL ACEPTAR, LA PERSONA QUE ALQUILA EL AUTOMOVIL COMPRA UN SEGURO CONTRA ACCIDENTES COMO SE DESCRIBE EN EL CERTIFICADO DE SEGURO EN LA PAGINA 8 Y, POR CONSIGUIENTE, ACUERDA EN PAGAR UNA PRIMA COMO SE INDICA EN LA COLUMNA AL LADO.

ACEPTO RECHAZO
(iniciales ilegibles)

(17) HE LEIDO LOS TERMINOS Y CONDICIONES EM AMBOS LADOS DE ESTE CONTRATO Y ESTOY DE ACUERDO CON LOS MISMOS.

X (firma ilegible) AVIS

(sepárese aquí)

EFECTIVO

Número Especial del documento

HAGA SU CHEQUE PAGADERO A AVIS (Box B, Hicksville, N.Y. 11802)

PARA GARANTIZAR EL PAGO HAGA EL FAVOR DE SEPARAR ESTE TALONARIO Y DEVOLVERLO CON SU PAGO

---

(19) PAGO POR ADELANTADO

Efectivo X Cheque Pagaré

$200

EL MILLAJE HA SIDO DETERMINADO
POR ODOMETRO INSTALADO EN LA FABRICA

(20) TIEMPO QUE SE USO --- 5 Días 22 Horas

(21) MILLAS AL DEVOLVERSE - 10607 (22) HORA DE DEVOLUCION Sept. 15, 1976 15:13 Hrs.

(23) MILLAS A LA SALIDA 10449 (24) HORA DE SALIDA Sept. 9, 1976 17:03 Hrs.

(25) MILLAS RECORRIDAS 158

(26) HORAS

(27) 6 DIAS $116,00 $116,00

(28) SEMANAS

(30) MINIMO/AA 158 FM

(31) AJUSTES

TOTAL (25 a 31) $116,00

(34) CARGOS POR TIEMPO Y MILLAJE $116,00

505

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(37) GASOLINA (impuesto)	11,81

RENUNCIA - DAÑOS POR CHOQUE
ACEPTA O RECHAZA SEGURO A
LA TARIFA QUE SE MUESTRA

ACEPTA (iniciales ilegibles) RECHAZA

(38) POR DIA $2,00	12,00
(39) SUBTOTAL	139,81
(40) IMPUESTO/SOBRECARGO 7,20%	10,07
(43) TOTAL CARGOS	149,88
(45) CARGOS NETOS	149,88
(46) Efectivo - Menos pago previo	200,00
(47) REMBOLSO EN EFECTIVO	50,12

(48) EMITIDO POR 29241F (49) RECIBIDO POR 28267F

(50) LUGAR DE ENTREGA - 0888

CONTRATO DE ALQUILER NUM. 413519923

Esta cifra de nueve números tiene que indicarse en toda la correspondencia y envíos.

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44 =

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Criminal Research Products, Inc.

206 18 EAST HECTOR STREET

CONSHOHOCKEN, PA. 19428

PHONE (215) 828 0697

Customer's Order No. _____ Phone No. _____ Date 2/4 19 75

Name Army Museum of Chile

Address Wash, D C

SOLD BY	CASH	C. O. D.	CHARGE	ON ACCT.	MDSE. RETD.	PAID OUT	
	✓						

Quan'ty	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	AMOUNT	
1	#2 Jack-jack set		38	00
2	#4 " " "	18 00	36	00
1	Cuff-link set		20	95
	Glad			
		TAX	—	
		TOTAL	94	95

All claims and returned goods MUST be accompanied by this bill.

Rec'd by C J Beall

FBI

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P 21

[illegible]

GASTOS EFECTUADOS PARA LA ADQUISICION DE ELEMENTOS PARA LA [illegible]

Adquisición elementos, Boleta #150	US. 94,95
Gastos de transporte, peaje	21,45
Alimentación	5,57
Dos llamadas telefónicas a Miami	8,00
TOTAL	129,97

SON: CIENTO VEINTE Y NUEVE DOLARES CON 97/100.-

WASHINGTON, 18 de Febrero de 1975.-

E. MACHA

[redacted]

—F.B.I.—
LABORATORY

[illegible]

Ex-109

823

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1975-79

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE : ENRIQUE OSVALDO MAGNA MIRANDA

NACIONALIDAD : CHILENO

PROFESION : SARGENTO 1. DE EJERCITO

ESTADO CIVIL : CASADO

DOMICILIO : RAWSON 447. SANTIAGO

CEDULA DE IDENTIDAD : N° 3078304-1 Santiago.

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE : PRIMERO : Que desde el 5 de Julio de 1974, hasta el 26 de Diciembre de 1975, se desempeñó dentro de la Misión Militar de Chile en Washington. Su calidad específica era la de Sargento Primero Chofer o Conductor del automóvil del General Enrique Morel Donoso, entonces Jefe de la Misión Militar y Agregado Militar;

SEGUNDO : Que jamás, ni entonces ni posteriormente ha conocido ni visto siquiera al individuo Michael Vernon Townley, ya sea que usara ese nombre o los de Juan Andrés Wilson Silva o Kenneth Enyart ;

TERCERO : Que no conoce el Estado de Pensilvania, en Estados Unidos, ni estuvo jamás en ningún lugar de ese Estado, ni, especificamente en la localidad o ciudad de Conshohocken, siendo hoy la vez primera que oye mencionar esa palabra ;

CUARTO : Que jamás, ni en Conshohocken ni en parte alguna ha adquirido los elementos que figuran en la boleta que se le exhibe incorporada como Prueba con el N° 108 en expediente de extradición pasiva solicitada por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos ; y

QUINTO : Que jamás ha hecho una relación de gastos como la que figura con calidad de Prue

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ba 109 que se le exhibe en el mencionado expediente de extradición ;

SEXTO : Que la que figura como firma suya al pie de la relación de gastos o " Prueba 109 ", es absolutamente falsa, una burda falsificación que se verifica con la sola comparación con su firma verdadera que figura al pie del presente escrito y que, por consiguiente, se reserva el derecho para deducir acciones criminales y civiles contra el o los responsables de haber falsificado su firma ;

SEPTIMO : Que la presente declaración se emite en forma voluntaria, para ser utilizada en cualquier momento y circunstancia por quien lo estimare conveniente, y que ratifica y firma.

c. 3.878.304-1 Santiago

Declaro bajo juramento y firmó ante mi don ENRIQUE OSVALDO MAGNA MIRANDA, carnet N° 3.878.304-1 de Santiago, Santiago, 26 de Enero de 1979 .-

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MUNICIPALIDAD DE

LICENCIA DE LA CLASE "A"

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 11, 1976

PERSONAL

Colonel Manuel Contreras Sepulveda
Director
Directorate of National Intelligence
Belgrano 11
Santiago, Chile

Dear Colonel Contreras:

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to thank you for your efforts in facilitating the apprehension of Rolando Otero Hernandez, a fugitive from American justice.

Your cooperation is most appreciated and you may be certain that I will welcome the opportunity to assist you in any matter of mutual interest.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Gracias!
25 de junio, 1976

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OBJETIVO DEL INFORME:

El objetivo de este informe es estudiar la posibilidad de que el sistema que a continuación se describe sea activado a nivel del receptor por la frecuencia de señales , combinaciones de señales o ruido ambiental, y por señales espurias.

DESCRIPCION DEL SISTEMA.

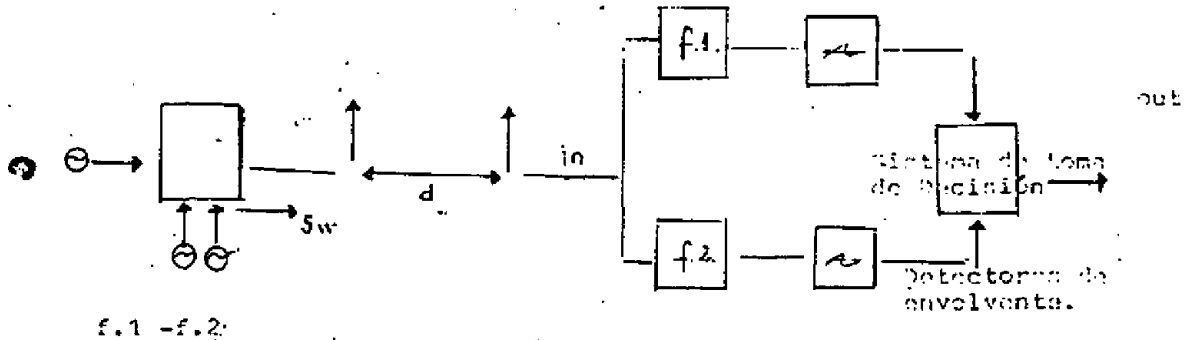
Se trata de un transmisor de HF de 5 watts de potencia operado con una frecuencia deportadora de 31.04 MH_z. El sistema de modulación es del tipo AM con un alfabeto binario de 2 frecuencia de audio de 727,5-772,5 H_z de modulación.

Para este análisis se ha considerado que el sistema de detección no coherente, ya que es el sistema usado frecuentemente en AM, para comandos de controles distantes.

En un primer análisis, las condiciones de propagación supuestas son de espacio libre y para el ruido se ha tenado como patrón el existente en una ciudad densamente poblada.

EL LOGICO

Si llamamos número de tonos , tenemos que los códigos son igual a N^2. Para el caso presente, si N=2, el total del sistema tendrá 4 códigos. Se mostrará en un diagrama en bloques el funcionamiento del sistema , en condición deportadora de 31.04 MH_z y modulacocon 2 frecuencias de audio de 727,5 y 772,5 H_z con una potencia de 5 watts.



f.1 -f.2

El receptor estará compuesto básicamente de una antena de 2 filtros (f.1 y F.2), de 2 detectores de envolvente y de un sistema de Toma de Decisión que activa un sistema ON-OFF.

Debe hacerse notar que la decisión de si fue transmitida o nó una información se toma en base a cuál salida del detector de envolvente tiene la mayor amplitud al tiempo de muestreo.

Esto es, el canal que tenga la mayor envolvente será aquel que probablemente contendrá la señal.

En el sistema descrito, la probabilidad de error se fundamenta en el hecho de que la cantidad de ruido presente en el canal OFF sea mayor que la señal más el ruido en el canal ON.

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Probabilidad de saturación del sistema por ruidos.

La probabilidad de que el ruido (N) esté entre N y n+dn está dada por la fórmula:

$$P(n)\,dn = N/\sigma^2 \cdot e^{-n^2/2\sigma^2}$$

Donde N=n= voltaje de ruido
=voltaje efectivo de ruido.

x Distrib.: "Distribución de Rey Leigh".

Las probabilidades que resultan de la operación son las siguientes:

Correctos:

R(1/1) = una información es mandada y es recibida.
R(0/0) = una información no es mandada y no es recibida.

Incorrectos.

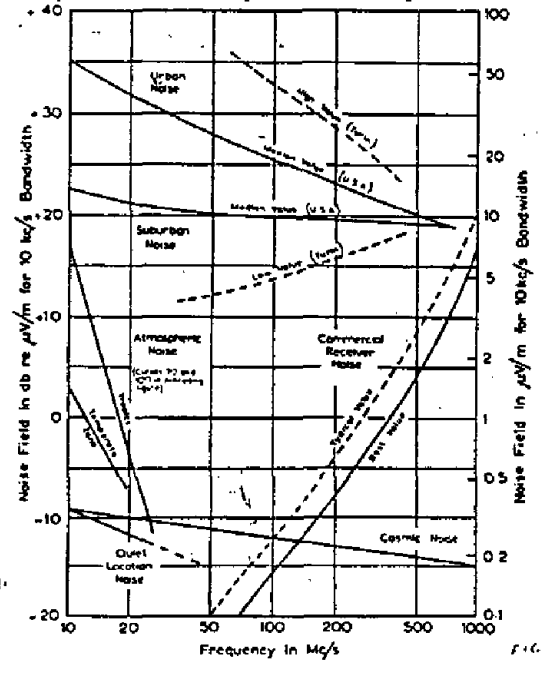
R(1/0) = una información no es mandada y es recibida.
R(0/1) = una información es mandada y no es recibida.

Este estudio centrará el cálculo entre posibilidades R 9(0/1) en el cual una información no ha sido enviada y es interpretada por el receptor como información de mando.

Ruido ambiente.

Análisis del parámetro ruido ambiente:

Se ha dicho que para el estudio de este parámetro se analizará el ruido ambiente existente en una ciudad de altas probabilidades de ruido y se ha despreciado valores PEAK del ruido ambiente que en la mayoría de los casos tiene una subida aproximada de 15 db.
(Gráfico Frecuency in MC/s adjunto) (fig.1.)



Del gráfico que [illegible] trabajar con una antena unipolo a [illegible] que el ruido urbano valor medio pa[illegible]

FIG. 5.11. THE EFFECTIVE NOISE FIELDS, AS RECEIVED ON A VERTICAL UNIPOLE, OF MAN-MADE NOISE AND OTHER SOURCES OF NOISE IN THE FREQUENCY RANGE 10 TO 1000 Mc/s

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Cálculo de la intensidad de campo a partir del valor medio del ruido (campo de ruido).

$$20 \log. \frac{E}{1 \frac{MV}{m}} = dB$$

$$E = 10^{\frac{dB}{20}} \quad MV/m$$

$$\text{sí } dB = +30 = 10^{\frac{30}{20}} = 10^{1,5} = 31,6 \text{ MV/m.}$$

En base a este valor si consideramos el caso alto, se tienen lo siguiente:

$$20 \log. \frac{E}{1 \text{ MV/m}} = dB$$

$$dB = 45$$

$$E = 177,9 \text{ MV/m}$$

Cálculo de intensidad de campo a partir de la potencia.

Para este caso se considera que el transmisor está encendido en forma permanente enviando la portadora.
Se supondrá para el cálculo una antena de varilla.

Con esto la ganancia óptima de la antena sería de 1,5.

En el caso de propagación en espacio libre, el campo eléctrico satisface la siguiente relación:

donde:

P_t (watts) =potencia transmitida por la antena.

g=ganancia de la antena.

R=distancia en metros que separa a la antena del receptor.

$$E_o = \sqrt{\frac{30 P_{tg}}{R}} \left(\frac{V}{m} \right)$$

$P_t = 5$

$g = 1,5$

$$E_o = 15/R \left(V/m\right) = \frac{15.10^6}{R} \left(MV/m\right)$$

Con esto la relación señal-ruido, ya dada, ya dada por los terminales de la antena receptora, queda:

$$\left(\frac{C}{N}\right) = \frac{E_o^2}{N^2} = \left(\frac{15.10^6}{R.100}\right)^2$$

$$\left(\frac{C}{N}\right) = \frac{6,94_o \cdot 10^9}{R^2}$$

$$(C/N) \text{ dB} = 10 \log. \frac{6,94 . 10^9}{R^2}$$

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BIBLIOGRAFIA.

1.- [illegible], vol 2 de H. Paul Williams. Ed. Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd.

2.- [illegible], de Henry Y [illegible], Philadelphia - Mc Graw Hill Book Company.

3.- POPULATION ,NOTES, [illegible] ,de Philip F.Panter- Ph.D.- Mac Graw-Hill B.

4.- T[illegible] - Allen H.Lytel.

5.- [illegible]

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si $R = 100$

$R^2 = 10^4$

$$\frac{C}{N}_{dB} = 10 \log. \frac{6,94 \cdot 10^9}{R^2}$$

$$= 10 \log. 6,94 \cdot 10^5$$

$$= 10 (\log. 6,94 + \log. 10^5)$$

$$= 10 (\log. 6,94 - 5)$$

$$= 50,41 \text{ dB}$$

R (m)	C/N (db)	P_e
100	50,4	10^{-10}
500	44,4	10^{-9}
5.000	30,4	10^{-8}
10.000	18,4	10^{-8}
15.000	15	10^{-7}
20.000	12,4	10^{-3}

Conclusión del cálculo.

El porcentaje de error expuestos en la relación de la columna de la derecha se fundamento en la curva entregada por National Bur, Standards que se adjunta.(Fig.2.)

TAL DATA MODULATION SYSTEMS

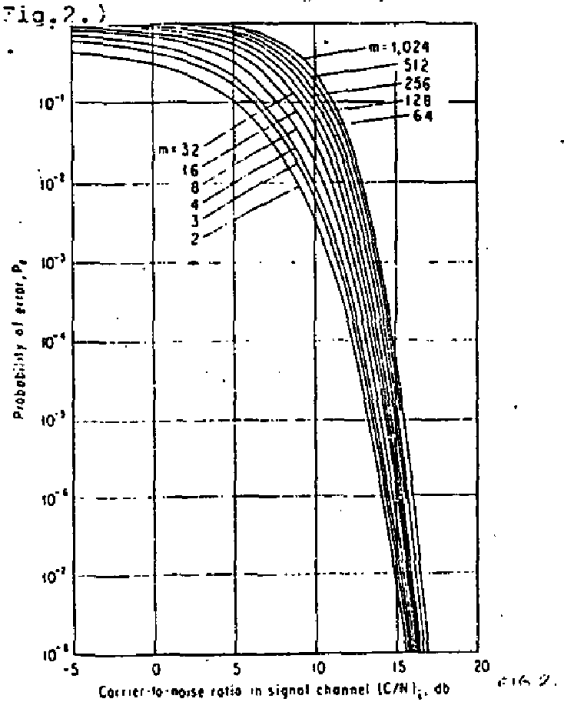

Fig. 23-7. Probability of error in multiple incoherent FSK system. (From Akima,[11] Natl. Bur. Standards.)

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En este gráfico se desprende que cuando cualquiera de propagación en espacio libre , el porcentaje de error para una corta distancia es,en la práctica casi imposible y que para más que significa dos señales de modulación , el porcentaje de error a una distancia de 100 metros será menor que 1 chico 10.000 millones de probabilidades.

Es necesario hacer notar que en este análisis se ha considerado que la portadora de 31.04 MHz se encuentra permanentemente en el aire.

De lo anterior y dado el cálculo de probabilidades, se concluye que el sistema en base a 4 códigos, difícilmente se dispare en forma espontánea.

Cálculo de condiciones reales de propagación en espacio libre considerando la presencia de la tierra.

En este segundo caso, se analizará las peores condiciones de propagación de la portadora del sistema, incluyendo una instalación deficiente del transmisor, considerando antenas cercanas al nivel del suelo, menores de 2 metros.

fórmula: $\left|\frac{E}{E_o}\right| \approx \frac{20}{R}$

Considerando la tierra, el valor del campo relativo al calor calculado en espacio libre queda dado aproximadamente por:

$$\left|\frac{E}{E_o}\right| = \frac{4\pi h_o^2}{R}$$

donde h_o es la altura mínima efectiva de una antena, la cual se puede obtener de la fig 33.3 que se acompaña.

Esto es para antenas cercanas a nivel del suelo.
Usando la figura indicada vemos en el caso de tierra pobre para polarización vertical y a 31 megaciclos, la altura efectiva es del orden de 1 metros.

Con esto llegamos a la siguente relación aproximada:

$$\left|\frac{E}{E_o}\right| \approx \frac{20}{R}$$

R= metros.

Para R=50 m. nos queda:

$$\left|\frac{E}{E_o}\right| \frac{2}{5} = 0,4.-$$

lo que representa una pérdida efectiva de 8 dB.

Pérdida : $20 \log. \left|\frac{E}{E_o}\right|$

$= 20 \log. 0,4$

$= 7,96 = 8$ dB

Por otro lado $E_o = \frac{15. 10^6}{50} \left(\frac{MV}{m}\right)$

$= 3. 10^5 \left(\frac{MV}{m}\right)$

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Con lo que : $\left(\frac{C}{N}\right) = \left(\frac{3.10^5}{180}\right)^2$

$\left(\frac{C}{N}\right)_{dB} = 10 \log \left(\frac{C}{N}\right)$

$= 64,4$ dB

Usando las fórmulas anteriores, tenemos que:

$$\frac{C}{N} = \left(\frac{E}{N}\right)^2 = \left(\frac{E_o \cdot \frac{E}{E_o}}{N}\right)^2$$

$$\frac{C}{N} = \left(\frac{\frac{15}{R} \cdot 10^6 \cdot \frac{20}{R}}{180}\right)^2 = \frac{2,78 \cdot 10^{12}}{R^4}$$

R	C/N	P_e
50	56,5	10^{-10}
100	44,1	10^{-9}
500	16,5	10^{-8}
1.000	4,4	0.12
1.500	-2,6	0.6

De la tabla se concluye que para cortas distancias esto es, hasta los 500 metros las probabilidades error y que el sistema actúe en forma espontánea por espurias, es bajo , ya que exige la posibilidad de una falla cada 100 millones de probabilidades.

En tanto que para 1.000 metros de distancia del transmisor respecto del receptor se tiene que las probabilidades de error son aproximadamente de un 12 %.

Considerando que:

- La portadora de 31.04 MH_2 se encuentre permanetemente en el aire.
- Que el transmisor se encuentre accionando el sistema a una distancia superior a 1.000 metros.
- Que las condiciones de propagación son las llamadas de tierra.
- Que la instalación del sistema de antenas está cercana al suelo.
- Que existe un alto índice de ruido ambiente ,por ignición , ruido hecho por el hombre, etc., tomada la cota máxima para una ciudad densamente poblada dada por el National Bur,Standards.:

La probabilidad que el sistema actúe en forma espontánea es también muy baja.

Finalmente se analizará el caso de que la portadora de 31.04, no se encuentre permanentemente en el aire y que el sistema actúe sólo por efecto del ruido ambiente,señales espurias o ruido general.

Para que el sistema actúe se hace necesario que se reciba un código binario de longitud N.

La probabilidad de que cada elemento o bit del código sea el recue-

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rido y que el si[illegible] de 1/2 [illegible]

$$P_{\varepsilon} = 1/2\, e^{-1/2(C/N)}$$

Si (C/N) es cero, ya que no hay portadora, se tiene que $e^{0} = 1$.

Entonces las probabilidades de error son 1/2 para cada bit.

Esto se interpreta en forma lógica diciendo que en ausencia de portadora, con alto nivel de ruido existe igual posibilidad que el bit sea no el correcto.

Suponiendo que el resultado de cada mensaje es independiente de los restantes mensajes, la probabilidad de que los N bit sean los necesarios para que el mecanismo actué será:

$$P_{n} = (1/2)^{N}$$

De la fórmula anterior resulta lo siguiente:

1.- Si el largo del código,(largo total) es de una palabra, que es el mínimo a considerar se tiene:

Largo del Código	Nº bit	Prob. de error
Una palabra	4	[illegible] $1,5 \cdot 10^{-5}$

2.- Si el largo total del código es de dos palabras, que es lo normal a considerar se tiene:

Largo del código	Nº bit	Prob. de error
Dos palabras	8	$2,3 \cdot 10^{-10}$

Conclusión:

Dadas estas condiciones extremas, se tiene que las probabilidades que el sistema haya entrado erróneamente con ruidos, ya que al primer caso existe una posibilidad cada 150.000 veces.
En el caso 2º se tiene que existe una posibilidad cada 22,000 millones de veces.

COLEGIO DE [illegible] INC. Nº7488
VICENTE VALDEVIESSO CERVANTES

[illegible] DE ING, INC Nº
ARTURO DE LA VEGA [illegible]

[illegible]

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: CAPITAN DE EJERCITO

ESTADO CIVIL: SOLTERO

DOMICILIO: JOSE DGO. CAÑAS 2937

CARNET Nº:5861970 DE SANTIAGO RUN: 5861970-1

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que no es efectivo lo asevera-do por Michael Vernon Townly en proceso que se sigue en los Estados Unidos, en relación con la muerte de Orlando Letelier en el sentido de que el declarante había participado en una reunión que habría tenido el mencionado Townly con el General Manuel Contreras y con el Coronel Pedro Espinoza en un establecimiento comercial denominado Nico's Pizza en Marzo de 1978, en la ciudad de Santiago. Tal reunión es falsa en esa fecha o en cualquiera otra, y declaro que la afirmación del mencionado Townley carece en absoluto de veracidad;

Que otorga la presente declaración bajo juramento y ante Notario con la expresa finalidad de ser presentada tanto en los Estados Unidos en los hechos investigados como en cualquier otro lugar que fuese necesario.

C: 5861970-1

Declaró bajo juramento y firma ante mí con Armando Fernandez

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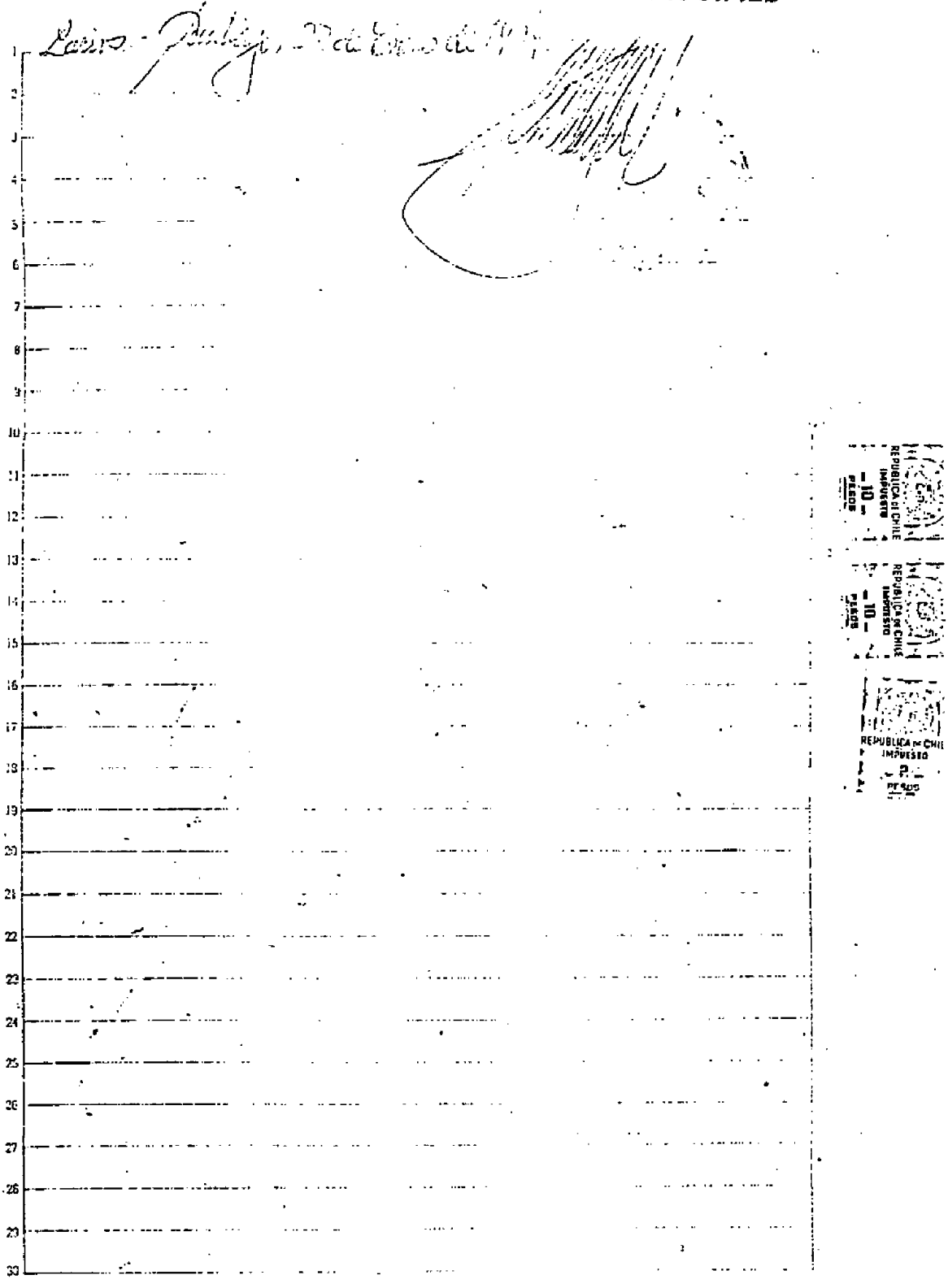

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A DE CHILE
$ 1.10
UN PESO A TODOS LOS CHILENOS
VALIDO PARA EL AÑO
1978 79
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NOMBRE: MANUEL A. PALACIOS BURGOS.

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO.

PROFESION: OFICIAL DE EJERCITO.

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO.

DOMICILIO: MIGUEL CLARO Nº 775.

CARNET : Nº 3062729-SANTIAGO. RUN. 3062729-6 SANTIAGO.-

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE: Que no es efectivo lo asevera-do por MICHAEL VERNAN TOWNLEY, en proceso que se sigue en los EE.UU. en relación con la muerte de ORLANDO LETELIER en el sentido de que el declarante habría participado en una reunión que habría tenido el mencionado Townley con el GE-NERAL MANUEL CONTRERAS, el Coronel PEDRO ESPINOZA, Capitán FERNANDEZ y el suscrito en establecimiento comercial denomi-nado NIECOS PIZZA en Marzo de 1978, en la ciudad de Santia-go.- Tal reunión es falsa en esa fecha o en cualquier día y declaro que la afirmación del mencionado TOWNLEY carece en absoluto de veracidad. Por el contrario declaro que el Gene-ral Contreras desde mediados de Febrero hasta el 14 de Marzo se encontraba en el Balneario de Santo Domingo en uso de feriado, y como ayudante concurrí a su hogar desde el 17 de Marzo adelante todos los días, especialmente después de su retiro, que ocurrió en esa fecha con la sola excepción de los fines de semana del Viernes 17 al 20 de Marzo y del Vier-nes 24 al Domingo 26 en que se encontraba fuera de Santiago en Santo Domingo. En todos los días que estuve en su casa acompañe permanentemente al General Contreras, quien jamás abandonó su casa, o salió de ella despues que yo llegaba , lo que siempre sucesido al mediodia. Que otorga la presente declaración bajo juramento con la especifica finalidad que

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sea utilizada en gestiones judiciales que se verifiquen en los EE.UU. o en CHILE si fuera necesario.-

LEIDO SE RATIFICA Y FIRMA.

MANUEL A. PALACIOS BURGOS.-

Declaro bajo juramento y Firmo ante mi don Manuel A. Palacios Burgos.- Santiago, 29 de Enero de 1979.-

República de Chile
MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES
EMBAJADA EN QUITO

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CONSULADO DE CHILE QUITO

DECLARACION JURADA

El Cónsul de Chile en Quito, Ecuador, que suscribe, certifica que ha comparecido don VIANEL VALDIVIESO CERVANTES, Teniente Coronel de Ejército, casado, nacido en Santiago de Chile el 3 de Octubre de 1936, Ingeniero Electrónico Militar, inscrito en el Colegio de Ingenieros de Chile con el Nº 7438, poseedor del Carnet de Identidad Nº 3.067.629 de Santiago, Pasaporte Oficial Nº 1594/78 de Santiago, domiciliado en Eloy Alfaro 2286 de esta ciudad, quien expone que:

1.- Es absolutamente inefectivo lo aseverado por Michael Vernon Townley, o las palabras atribuídas a él, en el sentido que el suscrito habría participado junto al General Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, Mayor Manuel Palacios y Capitán Armando Fernández, en una reunión con el mencionado individuo, la que se habría verificado en un establecimiento comercial denominado Nico's Pizza, en el mes de Marzo de 1978 en la ciudad de Santiago. La citada reunión es falsa en esa o cualquier otra época y declaro que lo afirmado o atribuído a Michael Vernon Townley en ese sentido es absolutamente falso, como también cualquiera otra expresión, especialmente aquella que pretende imputarme el haberlo llamado telefónicamente para que concurriera a la reunión y haberlo acompañado junto a los demás en un automóvil por las calles de Santiago, todo lo cual reitero carece absolutamente de veracidad.

2.- Además declaro que Michael Townley le mostró al suscrito, un diploma que acreditaba que había realizado satisfactoriamente un curso de Técnicas Electrónicas en la A. I.D. (Audio Intelligence Devices), en Florida U.S.A. Todo esto

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LIBERTADOR GENERAL BERNARDO O'HIGGINS FORJADOR DE LA PATRIA

ocurrió a mediados de 1975, para demostrarle al suscrito los conocimientos de electrónica que poseía. Además manifestó, en esa ocasión, que el curso lo había realizado gracias a la colaboración del Presidente de esa Compañía Sr. Jack Holcom.

Previa lectura, el declarante se ratifica y firma,----

Quito, 5 de Marzo de 1979.-

CONSULADO DE CHILE QUITO

Vianel Valdivieso Cervantes

Antonio Morage Fergadiotti
Cónsul de Chile

CONSULADO DE CHILE 1979

Nº DE ORDEN: 507.-
ARANCEL: 12/50
DERECHOS: US$ 2.-

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: GENERAL DE BRIGADA

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: PRINCIPE DE GALES Nº 7045

CARNET Nº: 56693 DE SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2354882-8

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE Que, no es efectivo lo aseverado por Michael Vernon Townley en proceso que se sigue en los Estados Unidos, en relación con la muerte de Orlando Letelier en el sentido de queel declarante habría participado en una reunión con el mencionado individuo en un establecimiento comercial denominado Nico's Pizza en marzo de 1978 en la ciudad de Santiago. Tal reunión es absolutamente falsa en esa fecha o cualquiera otra y declaro que la afirmación del mencionado Townley carece en absoluto de veracidad, como lo confirman numerosas declaraciones juradas que establecen las actividades del declarante durante el mes de marzo de 1978.

Lo indicado por Townley, que nunca fue agente de la ex-DINA, obedece a instrucciones recibidas para declarar en contra del declarante en este sentido.

Que se presta la presente declaración a objeto de ser acompañada en juicio en los Estados Unidos, o en Chile si fuese necesario. Leído, se ratifica y firma.

Declaró bajo juramento y firmó ante mí el Gral Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda — Santiago, 2 de Enero de 1979.

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UN PESO Y DIEZ CENTAVOS
VALIDO PARA EL EJERCITO
1978-79

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: GENERAL DE BRIGADA

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: PRINCIPE DE GALES No.7045

CARNET: No.5669? DE SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2354882-?.

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, que en cumplimiento a lo dispuesto en la Orden del Día No.16 del 15 de Febrero de 1978 del Comando de Ingenieros de Ejército. Unidad de la cual era su Comandante, cumplió su feriado legal entre el 15 de Febrero y el 15 de Marzo de 1978, habiéndo dado cuenta previamente de su sistema de feriados, al Sr. Vice Comandante en Jefe del Ejército, por Oficio Cdo. Ing. E. Ayd. Gral. (R) No.1055/1 de 9 de Enero de 1978 cuyo ión aprobó por Providencia No.1055/7 de 10 de Enero de 1978.

Deja constancia que formula la presente declaración en forma absolutamente voluntaria, ratificándola y firmándola, autorizando para que se haga uso de ella en la forma más amplia y por cuanto lo estime necesario y ratificando la firma

Declaró bajo juramento y firmó ante mí doña Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda. Santiago, 2 de Enero de 1979.

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VALIDO PARA EL AÑO
1978-79

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: GENERAL DE BRIGADA

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: PRINCIPE DE GALES Nº 7045

CARNET Nº: 56693 DE SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2354882-8

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que durante parte de su feriado legal y entre las fechas comprendidas entre la mañana del día 27 de febrero y la mañana del día 15 de marzo de 1978, ambos inclusive, lo pasó en casa de su amigo Enrique Manzur Marzuka ubicada en calle Litoral Nº 130 de la ciudad de Santo Domingo.

Que igualmente permaneció en casa de su amigo Manzur en Santo Domingo en los lapsos comprendidos entre el mediodía del Viernes 17 de marzo y amanecer del 20 de marzo de 1978, ambos días inclusive y finalmente el lapso comprendido entre el mediodía del Viernes 24 de marzo y amanecer del lunes 27 del mismo mes.

Que en todas estas oportunidades, sin excepción alguna, no abandonó jamás la localidad de Santo Domingo ni menos viajó a Santiago.

Que todos los días permanecieron juntos con su amigo Manzur y sin excepción salían en las tardes con otros amigos a pescar y a continuación en la noche a cazar conejos, lo que nunca dejaban de practicar, constituyendo la base de actividad diaria.

Deja presente que presta la presente declaración en forma absolutamente voluntaria, autorizando para que se haga uso de ella en la forma más amplia y por quien lo estime necesario y

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ratificando la firma.

Declaro bajo juramento lo hecho constar en el presente
Contrato Definitivo de Arriendo, Santiago, 2 de Enero de 1949.-

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
IMPUESTO
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PESOS

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
IMPUESTO
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PESOS

REPUBLICA DE CHILE
IMPUESTO

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UN PESO Y DIEZ CENTAVOS
VALIDO PARA EL BIENIO
1978-79

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: ENRIQUE MANZUR MARZUKA

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: FARMACEUTICO

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: Lit oral No.130

CARNET: 3.253.1-Sn Antonio RUN: 182.433-6

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, que posee casa propia en la localidad de Santo Domingo, balneario chileno situado en la costa del Pacifico.

Que en el lapso comprendido entre el día 27(mañana) de Febrero y la mañana del miercoles 15 de Marzo de 1978 ambos inclusive, el General (R) JUAN PABLO CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA hizo uso de su feriado legal y pasó sus vacaciones en la casa del declarante, en Santo Domingo;

Que, igualmente permaneció en su casa los lapsos comprendidos entre el mediodía del Viernes 17 de Marzo y amanecer del Lunes 20 de Marzo, ambos días inclusive; y finalmente, el lapso comprendido entre el mediodía del Viernes 24 y amanecer del Lunes 27, del mismo mes.

Que, en todas estas oportunidades sin excepción alguna, el General CONTRERAS no abandonó jamás la localidad de Santo Domingo ni menos viajó a Santiago.

Que puede acreditar lo anterior porque, en razón de la gran amistad que los une, el General CONTRERAS no solo alojaba en su casa sino que a los pocos momentos permanecían permanentemente juntos, todo el día;

Que, todos los días, sin excepción, salían en las tardes, con otros amigos, a pescar, y a continuación, en la noche a ca-

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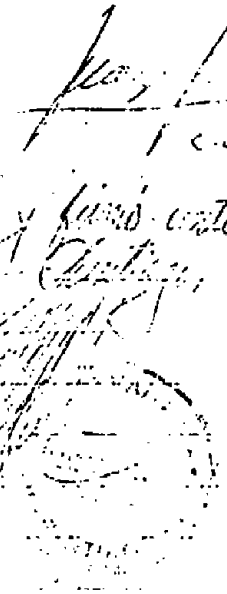
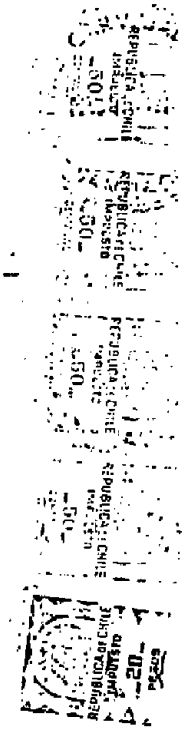
zar consejos, lo que nunca dejaron de practicar, constituyendo la base de su actividad diaria.

Deja constancia que forma la la presente declaración en forma absolutamente voluntaria, autorizando para que se haga uso de ella en la forma más amplia y por quien lo estime necesario, y ratificando la firma





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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: GERTRUDIS SILVA PINO

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENA

PROFESION: DUEÑA DE CASA

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADA

DOMICILIO: LITORAL Nº130 DE SANTO DOMINGO

CARNET Nº 593465 DE Stgo. RUN: 593465-6

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, que habita permanentemente con su marido, Don Enrique Manzur Marzuka en la ciudad de Santo Domingo, balneario situado aproximadamente a 130 kilómetros de Santiago, calle Litoral Nº130;

Que su marido es íntimo amigo del General (R) Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda;

Que en el año 1978, el General Contreras pasó sus vacaciones en casa de la declarante, así como dos week-end posteriores;

Que en razón de los arreglos que es necesario hacer por una dueña de casa para tener un huésped, puede certificar con absoluta precisión, que el General Contreras estuvo viviendo en su casa en los siguientes lapsos o períodos, días inclusives:

a) Entre la mañana del día Lunes 27 de Febrero y la mañana del Miércoles 15 de Marzo de 1978; b) Entre el mediodía del Viernes 17 de Marzo y el amanecer del Lunes 20 de Marzo; y c) Entre el mediodía del Viernes 24 y el amanecer del Lunes 27 de Marzo.

Que en todos esos lapsos o períodos, el General Contreras no abandonó la localidad de Santo Domingo ni

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salió de ella. Por consiguiente no estuvo en Santiago ni en ninguna otra ciudad que no fuese Santo Domingo;

Que el General Contreras permanecía todo el día con su marido, Enrique Manzur, en razón de la estrecha amistad que los une, y todas las tardes, sin excepción como actividad habitual, salían a pescar con otros amigos y luego, en la noche a cazar, no habiendo habido nunca excepción a lo anterior;

Que deja constancia que formula la presente declaración en forma absolutamente voluntaria, autorizando para que se haga uso de ella en la forma más amplia y por quién lo estime necesario y ratificando la firma.

Gertrudis P. de Contreras

C. I. 373.465-6 de Santiago

Declarado bajo juramento y firmó ante mí Adriana Goldsack Cisternas Secretaria Notario Público - Santiago, 27 de Enero de 1989.

REPUBLICA DE CHILE IMPUESTO 20 PESOS

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UN PESO Y DIEZ CENTAVOS
VALIDO PARA EL BIENIO
1978-79

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: ALFONSO MORA VICTORERO

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION : DENTISTA

ESTADO CIVIL CASADO

DOMICILIO : Litoral No.117 Rocas de Santo Domingo

CARNET: 1941321 Santo Domingo RUN: 1941321-7

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, que vive en la ciudad de Santo Domingo, calle Litoral No 117 es decir, justamente frente a su amigo ENRIQUE MANZUR MARZUKA.

Que, recuerda perfectamente que el año pasado, es decir en el verano de 1978, el General MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, quien también es su amigo , pasó sus vacaciones en casa de ENRIQUE MANZUR MARZUKA.

Que, el declarante es un hombre meticuloso, que deja anotado diariamente lo que hace, por lo que está en situación de asegurar con absoluta certeza y precisión que el General CONTRERAS alojado en casa de ENRIQUE MANZUR M, entre el 27 de Febrero y el 15 de MARZO de 1978 que volvió el week-end siguiente, esto es al mediodía del Viernes 17 de Marzo y se fué el Martes 20 de Marzo, y finalmente, el otro week-end siguiente, llegando a mediodía del Viernes 24 de Marzo y quién pernoctando el Lunes 27 del mismo mes.

Que en esos lapsos veía minuto a minuto al General CONTRERAS, quien por lo demás es una persona ampliamente conocida, por lo que está en situación de asegurar que en esos lapsos no salió de Santo Domingo, y menos, no pudo haber venido a Santiago.

Que dentro de esos lapsos, todos los días y sin excepción alguna, salieron a primera hora de la tarde a pescar primero y luego en la noche, a cazar conejos con sus amigos CONTRERAS y MANZUR, circunstancia ésta que, por lo demás, era de público conocimiento en San

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to Domingo, debiéndo haber numerosas personas que diariamente los obser
varon.

Que presta el presente testimonio en forma libre y espontánea, autorizando a quien lo estime procedente, para hacer el más amplio uso de él, leido se ratifica y firma

c. 1941.321-7 San Antonio

Dedujo [illegible] juramento y firmó ante mí don Alfonso Bunda-
dino Ortiz Victores. - Talca, 27 de Enero de 1949. -

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UN PESO Y DIEZ CENTAVOS
VALIDO PARA EL BIENIO
1978-79

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: BENITO TRICCIO RUBIO

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: COMERCIANTE

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: HOTEL "LA BAHIA" , CARTAGENA. PLAYA CHICA Nº190

CARNET Nº:2.632.032 DE SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2.632.032-1

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que es amigo personal del General (R) Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda y de los Señores Enrique Manzur y Alfonso Mora, ambos de Santo Domingo;

Que el declarante es aficionado a la pesca y a la caza, por lo que, en el verano de 1978, casi diariamente se trasladaba en las tardes desde Cartagena a Santo Domingo para salir primero a pescar y a continuación a cazar con sus amigos Contreras, Manzur, Mora y Leyton.

Que en las veces en que el declarante salió con ellos, nunca faltó el General Contreras.

Que le consta que el General Contreras pasó sus vacaciones, entre el 27 de Febrero y el 15 de Marzo, así como los dos week-end siguientes: Viernes 17 a Martes 20 de Marzo y Viernes 24 a Lunes 27 del mismo en casa del amigo común, Enrique Manzur, en Santo Domingo, calle Litoral Nº 130.

Que varias veces, además, oyó comentar a Enrique Manzur y a Alfonso Mora que en sus periodos el General no se había movido de Santo Domingo, por lo que estima imposible que haya podido viajar a Santiago.

Que presta la presente declaración voluntariamente, en forma libre y espontánea, autorizando a quien lo estime pertinente

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para hacer el más amplio uso de ella.

Leído se ratifica y firma.

c 2.632.032-1 de Sgo. Centro

Declaró bajo juramento y firmó ante mí don Benito Angel Ericio Pedro. - Santiago, 27 de Enero de 1974. -

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UN PESO Y DIEZ CENTAVOS
VALIDO PARA EL BIENIO
1978-79

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: MARIA ADRIANA ROA URRUTIA

NACIONALIDAD : CHILENA

PROFESION: SIN PROFESION

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADA

DOMICILIO:

CARNET Nº: DE RUN:

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que es casada con don Leonel Leyton O'ryan, amigo personal del General D. Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, de quien ella también es amiga;

Que en tal calidad le consta que el General Contreras pasó sus vacaciones del año 1978, así como los dos week-end siguientes en casa de Enrique Manzur Marzuka, ubicada en la localidad de Santo Domingo, calle Litoral Nº 130.

Que las vacaciones del General Contreras comprendieron el lapso 27 de Febrero a 15 de Marzo de 1978; y los week-end a que se refiere son los siguientes: 17 de Marzo a 20 de marzo y 24 a 27 de marzo.

Que le consta que diariamente, y a primeras horas de la tarde, su marido, el General Contreras, don Enrique Manzur, don Alfonso Mora y don Benito Triccio se juntaban para salir, primero a pescar y, luego a continuación, a cazar.

Que, por lo que sabe, esta práctica diaria no fue jamás interrumpida ni faltó al grupo el General Contreras, lo que se habría comentado de inmediato, puesto que el General Contreras es un hombre muy conocido.

Que presta el presente testimonio en forma libre y espontánea, autorizando a quien así lo desee para hacer libre uso de él.

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VALIDO PARA EL AÑO
1978-79

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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: LEONEL LEYTON O'RYAN

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: COMERCIANTE

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: Pedro Torres 754

CARNET Nº: [illegible] DE [illegible] RUN: [illegible]

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que es amigo personal del General Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, así como de Don Enrique Manzur Marzuka.

Que le consta que el General Contreras pasó sus vacaciones de 1978, así como los dos week-end siguientes, en casa de su amigo Enrique Manzur Marzuka, en la localidad de Santo Domingo, calle Litoral Nº 130.

Que esas vacaciones del General Contreras comprendieron el lapso 17 de Febrero a 15 de marzo; y los week-end a que se refiere son los lapsos 17 a 20 y 24 a 27 de marzo.

Que tanto en las vacaciones del General Contreras como en los dos week-end siguientes, salían diariamente, primero a pescar y después a cazar, en compañía de sus amigos Mora y Triccio.

Que nunca supo que dentro de esos lapsos el General Contreras hubiese viajado a Santiago, pareciéndole imposible que ello pudiese haber sucedido, ya que si bien Santo Domingo queda a 130 kilómetros de Santiago las une un camino que por su tránsito y características no permite, de manera alguna, ir y volver en menos de cuatro o cinco horas, más aún si se va al barrio alto de la ciudad de Santiago, lo que implica cruzar toda la ciudad.

C 3.158.716-K
Santiago

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Que presta la presente declaración en forma voluntaria, libre y espontánea, pudiendo ser utilizada por quien lo desee, en la forma que se crea pertinente. Leído, se ratifica y firma.

Declaró bajo juramento y firmó ante mí don Lionel Allen Leyton Ryan. Santiago, 27 de Enero de 1974.

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Leído, se ratifica y firma.

Ma. Adriana Rosa Leyton c:4.432.831-3 Adriana

Declaró bajo juramento y firmó ante mí doña María Adriana

Rosa Vendita.- Santiago, 27 de Enero de 1919.-

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UN PESO Y DIEZ CENTAVOS
VALIDO PARA EL EJERCICIO
1978 79

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: JUAN BASAGOITIA PERRY

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: EMPLEADO

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: LITORAL Nº263 ROCAS DE SANTO DOMINGO.

CARNET Nº3.820.359-DE SANTIAGO, RUN: 3.820.359-2

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que es aficionado a la pesca y ocacionalmente a la caza;

Que en el verano de 1978, con motivo de las Vacaciones del General Contreras, y haberlas pasado éste en casa del amigo común Enrique Manzur , en Santo Domingo, entre los días 27 de Febrero y 15 de Marzo, en numerosas ocasiones salieron a pescar en compañía de otros amigos. Lo mismo sucedió en los dos week-end siguientes y en los cuales el General CONTRERAS volvió a casa de don ENRIQUE MANZUR MARZUKA, siempre desde el mediodía de los Viernes, hasta el Lunes e incluso el Martes siguiente.

Que, según lo que él pudo contarle, el General CONTRERAS dentro de esos lapsos, no salió nunca de Santo Domingo.

Que, sus incursiones de pesca eran en las tardes, y en las noches , a continuación, el General casi siempre con los mismos amigos cazaba conejos.

Que presto la presente declaración en forma libre y espontánea, autorizando se haga de ella la utilización que se crea conveniente.

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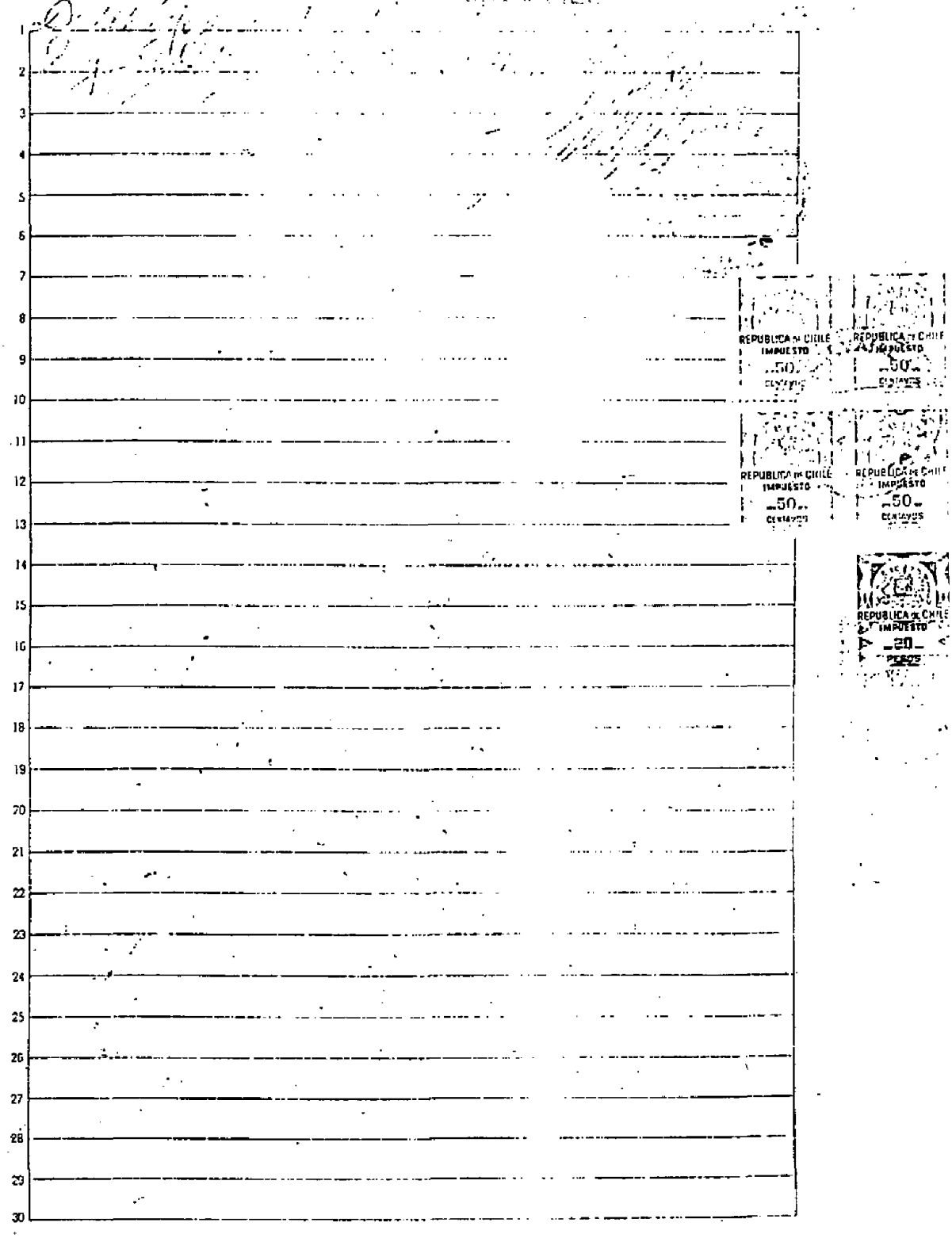

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CHILE
1978 70
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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: SERGIO MIRANDA CARRINGTON

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: ABOGADO

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: HUERFANOS 1147 OFICINA 338

CARNET Nº: 2282069 DE SANTIAGO RUN: 2282069-9

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE Que, el día 15 de marzo de 1978 se efectuó una fiesta en su casa particular, con el específico objeto de celebrar su cumpleaños, que corresponde al día 13 de marzo;

Que la fiesta fue postergada para el día 15, única y exclusivamente porque su amigo Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda estaba fuera de Santiago y el declarante tenía especial deseo que su amigo Contreras pudiese estar presente. A esta fiesta asistieron aproximadamente unas 30 personas;

Que el General Contreras fue precisamente el primero en llegar alrededor de las 4 de la tarde, porque ambos tenían asuntos personales que conversar, y se fue junto con otros invitados precisamente unos minutos tan sólo, antes del toque de queda, es decir unos minutos antes de las 2 de la madrugada.

Que en razón de la especial amistad que ha tenido y tiene con el General Contreras, tiene la absoluta seguridad que estuvo siempre en su presencia y a su vista, de manera que no pudo, de manera alguna, estar en otro lugar que no fuera su casa en el lapso señalado en el día 15 de marzo;

Que la presente declaración se emite con la específica finalidad de que sea utilizada en gestiones judiciales que se verifi-

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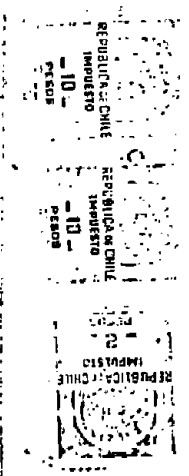
can en los Estados Unidos, o en Chile si fuera necesario.

Leído se ratifica y firma.

Sergio [illegible]

Dictado bajo juramento y firma ante mí en Arica Sergio Miranda Carrington. Arica, 2 de Enero de 1974.



DECLASSIFIED

CHILE
UN PESO Y DIEZ CENTAVOS
VALIDO PARA EL TIMBRE
1978-79

CLASIFICADO

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: GENERAL DE BRIGADA

ESTADO CIVIL: CASADO

DOMICILIO: PRINCIPE DE GALES Nº7045

CARNET Nº: 56693 DE SAN ANTONIO RUN: 2354882-8

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que en cumplimiento a lo dispuesto por el Sr. Vice Comandante en Jefe del Ejército, asistió junto a todo el Cuerpo de Generales del Ejército de Chile a la Ceremonia del Aniversario de la Escuela Militar en la tarde del día 16 de Marzo de 1978, estando presente en la entrega de Espadines a los nuevos Cadetes y despedida de los Generales de la Institución;

Que posteriormente e inmediatamente a continuación en cumplimiento también a una órden del Sr. Vice Comandante en Jefe del Ejército, concurrió acompañado de su esposa a la Recepción y Comida que ofreció el Sr. Comandante en Jefe del Ejército en honor de los Generales recientemente ascendidos, de aquellos que pasaban a retiro de la Institución, en el Club de Campo de Oficiales del Recinto Militar de Peñalolén, lugar del que se retiró alrededor de las 01,30 horas del 17 de Marzo de 1978;

Que a esta Ceremonia de la tarde del 16 de Marzo de 1978 y a la Recepción y Comida posterior, asistió escoltado por su Oficial de Ordenes, Teniente Hernán Valle Zapata;

Que presta la presente declaración para los efec-

CLASIFICADO

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tos de ser acompañada a Tribunales, tanto nacionales como extranjeros. Leída se ratifica y firma.

Declaró bajo juramento y firmó ante mí don Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda.- Santiago, 27 de Enero de 1979.-

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1978 79

DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: HERNAN VALLE ZAPATA

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENO

PROFESION: OFICIAL DE EJERCITO

ESTADO CIVIL: SOLTERO

DOMICILIO: SANTO DOMINGO 3317

CARNET Nº: 2354758 de Santiago RUN: 2354758-9

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE, Que el día 16 de Marzo de 1978, en su calidad de Oficial de Ordenes del Comando de Ingenieros, acompañó al General de Brigada Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda a la ceremonia de Aniversario de la Escuela Militar, donde se hizo entrega de espadines a los nuevos Cadetes y se despidió a los Generales que se retiraban del Ejército.

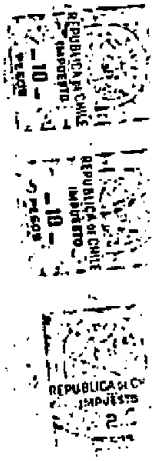
Que a esta Ceremonia asistió la totalidad del Cuerpo de Generales del Ejército en cumplimiento a una orden del Sr. Vice Cdte. en Jefe del Ejército.

Que posteriormente e inmediatamente a continuación, escoltó al Sr. General Contreras y su esposa a la recepción y comida que ofreció el Sr. Cdte. en Jefe del Ejército en el Club de Campo de Oficiales del Recinto Militar de Peñalolén, en honor de los Oficiales recientemente ascendidos y de aquellos que se retiraban de la Institución.

Presta la presente declaración en forma libre y espontánea, pudiendo ser utilizada por quien lo estime necesario en la forma que crea conveniente. Leída, se ratifica y firma.

C. 2.354.758-9
Stgo.

Declaró bajo juramento firmó este mí don Hernán Valle
Zapata. Santiago, 27 de Enero de 1979.-



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DECLARACION JURADA

NOMBRE: MARIA EUGENIA PEREZ VICENCIO

NACIONALIDAD: CHILENA

PROFESION: MATRONA

ESTADO CIVIL: SOLTERA

DOMICILIO: JUAN DE AUSTRIA Nº 1584

CARNET Nº: 6690409 DE SANTIAGO RUN: 6690409-1

QUIEN BAJO JURAMENTO EXPONE Que, atiende profesionalmente al General Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, en el sentido que desde hace mucho tiempo debe controlarle diariamente su presión;

Que, por tal razón, concurre diariamente a casa del General Contreras, ubicada en call-e Príncipe de Gales Nº 7045, alrededor de las 6.30 de la tarde;

Que, en esa función se ha hecho amiga de la familia y normalmente se queda en la casa del General a comer y hasta bastante tarde;

Que así sucedió, exacta y precisamente los días lunes 20, martes 21, miércoles 22 y jueves 23 de marzo de 1978, también los días lunes 27 y martes 28 después que el General volvió de su week-end.

Que, en consecuencia, está en situación de asegurar, con absoluta certeza, que el General Contreras, dentro de los lapsos señalados y en los días indicados, estuvo en su casa, sin salir ni siquiera ocasionalmente de ella.

Que otorga la presente declaración en forma libre y espontánea, pudiendo, quien se interese, hacer libre uso de ella.

Leído, se ratifica y firma.

c. 6.690.409-1

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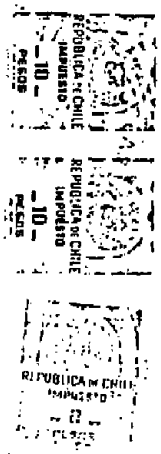
Deseo hacer presente mi voto por la señora María Eugenia Silva Vásquez-Lavín, para Diputada.



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UNITED STATES GOVERNMEN

memorandum

DATE: September 27, 1978

REPLY TO ATTN OF: ECON:GEP - G. Michael Bache

SUBJECT: Briefing for Assistant Secretary Derian on Human Rights in International Financial Institutions

TO: ECON:OECM - Charles T. York

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ✓Declass
Exemption(s) _____

Background:

On February 2-3, 1978 a State/Treasury team consisting of Messrs. Nachmanoff, Meissner, Schneider and Oxman conferred with FRG Foreign Office and Ministry of Economic Cooperation officials on the subject of human rights in International Financial Institutions (IFI's).

The U.S. position on this subject as stated then, was that we seek to direct IFI loans away from countries with poor human rights records and to try and limit IFI aid to such countries to loans which will be applied to meet "basic human needs" (e.g. loans for water supply systems). Furthermore, we seek to avoid unnecessary confrontations and have developed a "calibrated and sequential" program. This means that we will first approach countries seeking assistance with serious human rights problems on a private level in an attempt to persuade them. Only if such approaches fail might we ultimately vote "no" on the loan. We are hoping to be effective in improving human rights performance, but are not interested in "posturing".

German officials basically agree with the U.S. objectives but doubt that aid is the best tool. They base their argument not only on the difficulty in defining which countries are violating human rights, but also on the consideration that, if aid to a country is withdrawn, one is penalizing the population. German officials also noted that the provisions in the statutes of the IFI's state that political or non-economic factors should not influence decisions; the FRG is not concerned with the legal aspects of this, but do fear that bringing up human rights could open the doors to other extraneous considerations.

[redacted]

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
REV. 7-76
GSA FPMR 41 CFR 101-11
5010-112

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In sum, the meetings ended with the agreement that we would cooperate as closely as possible in a quiet fashion.

Since those meetings, we have notified the FRG of our intention to vote "no" at least five times (Paraguay, Chile, Vietnam, Laos and Equatorial Guinea) and "abstain" at least five times (Argentina, El Salvador, Philippines, Yemen and Uruguay).

In at least one instance, that of Equatorial Guinea, we are sure that the FRG has changed its vote and voted with the U.S. because of our objections.

Talking Points:

1. German support has been half-hearted on this issue.

2. Are there any new guidelines on this subject from Washington? What are the current attitudes? How hard does Washington want us to push with the Germans on this matter?

ECON:GEP:JKBerg:sep 9/27/78

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07427 282227Z
ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 690

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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FOR ARA, D, P, AND L ONLY FOR PROPPER FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CI, PGOV, SHUM
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION: LETTERS ROGATORY FOR LILIANA WALKER

REF: STATE 243907

WE HAVE DISCUSSED WITH ETCHEBERRY YOUR QUESTION WHETHER WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD NOW WITH THE LETTERS REGATORY FOR LILIANA WALKER. HE COUNSELS AGAINST SUCH ACTION AT THIS TIME. HIS REASONING IS AS FOLLOWS: TESTIMONY FROM LILIANA WALKER IS NOT IMPORTANT TO OUR CASE. WE ARE SATISFIED IF SHE NEVER APPEARS. THERE IS, HOWEVER, SOME DANGER THAT THE DEFENSE FOR CONTRERAS, ESPINOZA AND FERNANDEZ WILL CALL LILIANA (THE REAL PERSON OR SOMEONE ELSE) TO TESTIFY ON ITS BEHALF. UNLESS JUDGE BORQUEZ' SECRECY RULING IS REVERSED, ETCHEBERRY COULD NOT BE PRESENT TO CROSS-EXAMINE. EVEN SO, THE TESTIMONY WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ETCHEBERRY AFTER THE INVESTIGATIVE PHASE IS CONCLUDED. IF LILIANA HAS TESTIFIED AND IF THE TESTIMONY IS DAMAGING, WE CAN THEN PRESENT THE LETTERS ROGATORY. IF THE DEFENSE HAS BROUGHT FORTH A FRAUDULENT LILIANA AND WE CAN SO DEMONSTRATE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07427 282227Z

THROUGH THE LETTERS ROGATORY OUR CASE WILL BE STRENGTHENED. IN ANY EVENT, WE CAN TAKE DIRECT ISSUE WITH HER PREVIOUS TESTIMONY VIA THE LETTERS ROGATORY.
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)_____

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CI, PGOV, SHUM
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION: ROUND-UP

REF: SANTIAGO 7394

1. THE SECRECY RULING: THE SECOND CHAMBER OF THE SUPREME COURT WILL HEAR ETCHEBERRY'S APPEAL OF BORQUEZ' SECRECY RULING OCTOBER 2. A DECISION IS POSSIBLE THAT SAME DAY OR, AT THE LATEST, WITHIN 48 HOURS. BORQUEZ' DEFENSE OF HIS POSITION WAS PUBLISHED IN THE SANTIAGO PAPERS SEPTEMBER 28. IN THE BRIEF DOCUMENT, BORQUEZ CLAIMS THAT THERE IS AMPLE LEGAL BASIS FOR HIS DECISION (CITING VARIOUS ARTICLES OF LAW) AND THAT IN NO WAY WILL IT CAUSE "IRREPARABLE DAMAGE" TO THE INTEREST REPRESENTED BY ETCHEBERRY. HE NOTES THAT DURING THE SECRET INVESTIGATION, ETCHEBERRY CAN REQUEST TO BE INFORMED OF WHAT IS GOING ON.

2. BORQUEZ DENIES VALIDITY OF JUDICIAL LEAKS: "LA SEGUNDA" OF SEPTEMBER 28 CARRIES A BRIEF STATEMENT
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07480 300058Z

BY BORQUEZ SAYING THAT ALL MEDIA SPECULATION ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE EXTRADITION PROCEEDING ARE "ABSOLUTELY INACCURATE" AND THAT NONE OF THE INFORMATION HAS COME FROM HIM OR THE SECRETARY OF THE COURT.

3. THE WASHINGTON POST STORY. THE RADIO AND TELEVISION OF EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 28 AND THE PAPERS SEPTEMBER 29 REPORT THE WASHINGTON POST STORY, ASSERTING THAT THE USG HAD CONSIDERED WITHDRAWING THE EXTRADITION REQUEST. THEY ALSO REPORT THE STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO RECENT TELEPHONE CALLS

BETWEEN PROPPER AND ETCHEBERRY AND THAT THE USG HAS CONFIDENCE IN THE CHILEAN JUDICIARY WITH RESPECT TO THE HANDLING OF THE EXTRADITION PROCEEDING. THE STORY DID NOTT MAKE MAJOR HEADLINES. WE UNDERSTAND THE FOREIGN OFFICE WILL MAKE AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT TAKING SOME EXCEPTION TO THE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 28.
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*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 17475 202210Z
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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
USLO PEKING PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3386
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR WL Date: 5/23/97
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TS authority to
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

[redacted] MEXICO 17475

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX, CH, JA
SUBJECT: MEXICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND JAPAN

REF: A) MEXICO 16806 (NOTAL) B) STATE 255739 (NOTAL)
C) STATE 259078 (NOTAL)

1. PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO PLANS TO VISIT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (OCT. 24-OCT. 30) AND JAPAN (OCT. 30-NOV. 4). FOLLOWING EARLIER PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO U. S. AND USSR, PURPOSE OF TRIP, ACCORDING TO FONMIN ROEL, IS TO UNDERSCORE IMPORTANCE OF CHINA AND JAPAN IN MEXICO'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. DISCUSSIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS, WILL CENTER ON ECONOMIC MATTERS AS LOPEZ PORTILLO AND THE OFFICIAL PARTY REVIEW AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THESE COUNTRIES. IT IS EXPECTED THAT SEVERAL AGREEMENTS WILL BE SIGNED CONCERNING FISHING, TOURISM, AND PETROLEUM TECHNOLOGY.

2. MEXICAN PRESS REPORTS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY WILL INCLUDE HIS WIFE, MRS. CARMEN ROMANO DE LOPEZ PORTILLO, [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 17475 202210Z

HIS THREE CHILDREN, CARMEN BEATRIZ, PAULINA, AND JOSE RAMON, AND THE FOLLOWING GOM OFFICIALS:

- RODOLFO GONZALEZ GUEVARA - PRESIDENT; GRAND COMMISSION
- OF CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES;

- JOAQUIN GAMBOA PASCOE, PRESIDENT, GRAND COMMISSION OF
- SENATE;

- AGUSTIN TELLEZ CRUCES, PRESIDENT OF SUPREME COURT;

- SANTIAGO ROEL GARCIA, SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS;

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- DAVID IBARRA MUNOZ, SECRETARY OF TREASURY;

- JOSE ANDRES DE OTEYZA, SECRETARY OF PATRIMONY AND
- INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT;

- FRANCISCO MERINO RABAGO, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE AND
- WATER RESOURCES;

- GUILLERMO ROSSELL DE LA LAMA, SECRETARY OF TOURISM;

- FERNANDO RAFFUL MIGUEL, CHIEF, DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES;

- JORGE DIAZ SERRANO, DIRECTOR GENERAL, PETROLEOS
- MEXICANOS;

- ADRIAN LAJOUS, DIRECTOR GENERAL, MEXICAN FOREIGN TRADE
- INSTITUTE;

- EDMUNDO FLORES, DIRECTOR GENERAL, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
- SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY;

[redacted]

[redacted]

- ROBERTO DE LA MADRID ROMANDIA, GOVERNOR OF STATE OF
- NORTHERN BAJA CALIFORNIA;

- GENERAL MIGUEL ANGEL GODINEZ, CHIEF, PRESIDENTIAL
- ESTADO MAYOR.

IN JAPAN THE GROUP WILL BE JOINED BY GUSTAVO ROMERO KOLBECK, DIRECTOR, BANK OF MEXICO; HECTOR HERNANDEZ, UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN COMMERCE; GUILLERMO DE ZAMACONA, PRESIDENT OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; AND LUIZ GUZMAN DE ALBA, PRESIDENT OF CHAMBER OF INDUSTRY.

3. RECENT PRESS STORIES INDICATE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ITINERARY WILL BE THE FOLLOWING:

- OCTOBER 20 LV MEXICO CITY - ARRIVE TIJUANA
- OCTOBER 21 LV TIJUANA - ARRIVE HONOLULU
- OCTOBER 22 LV HONOLULU - ARRIVE MANILA
- OCTOBER 24 LV MANILA - ARRIVE PEKING
- OCTOBER 28 LV PEKING - ARRIVE SHANGAI
- OCTOBER 30 LV SHANGAI - ARRIVE TOKYO
- NOVEMBER 2 LV TOKYO - ARRIVE NAGOYA
- NOVEMBER 4 LV NAGOYA - ARRIVE MEXICO CITY

4. PRIOR TO THE TRIP MEXICAN FONMIN ROEL DISCUSSED ASIAN AFFAIRS WITH ASST. SECRETARY HOLBROOKE. AS BACKGROUND FOR FUTURE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ROEL AND HOLBROOKE, WOULD APPRECIATE AMEMBASSIES PEKING AND TOKYO REPORTING ON SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOME OF ILP VISITS. LUCEY

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CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
JAMES B. PEARSON, KANS.
CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.
HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

NORVILL JONES, CHIEF OF STAFF
ARNER E. HENDRICK, CHIEF CLERK

UNCLASSIFIED

October 4, 1978

ACTION
is assigned to
DAEN

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS
U.S. Department of State
___Release _X_Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) B6

Dear Cy:

I am writing to request your personal intervention in a matter relating to the case of Charles Horman, a New Yorker who was arrested by the Chilean Junta on September 17, 1973 in Santiago and killed three days later. My office has been involved in this matter from the outset at the request of Charles Horman's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edmund C. Horman of [redacted]. The death of Charles Horman is a very sad and sordid story indeed, and the handling of the matter at that time by the United States Embassy in Santiago and the State Department left much to be desired in my opinion.

My specific request to you at this time is for a very high level review of the denial by the State Department of access to some one hundred thirteen (113) documents sought under the Freedom of Information Act by the parents of Charles Horman. It is my understanding that these documents have all been identified as having a reference to or bearing upon the death of Charles Horman, and have been denied to the family for purported reasons of "national security" and "privacy".

Due largely to the unshakable tenacity of the Horman family in its determination to ascertain all the facts relating to their son's death, considerable evidence has come to light indicating that Charles' death may well have been, in fact, a political murder. Moreover, in a published interview with a former Chilean Intelligence Officer, one Rafael Gonzalez, he stated that he was present at the time the order was given by Chilean Intelligence for the execution of Charles Horman; and that there was also present on that occasion a person he believed to be an American.

In light of the revelations concerning United States activities in Chile during the Allende period, the revelations concerning the Letelier murder and, not least of all, the lurid circumstances of Charles Horman's own death, it is inevitable that the atmosphere should be highly charged with suspicion.

I believe that a decision by the State Department to release relevant documents denied to the Horman family under the Freedom of Information Act could help significantly in their determination to uncover the full story of their son's death and to dispel any suspicions that may exist.

19

JACOB K. JAVITS

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A memorandum I have received from Mr. Horman identifying the 113 documents that have been withheld is enclosed. I hope very much that you will personally satisfy yourself that the right thing is done in this case.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07716 062212Z

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ACTION L-01

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0804

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 7716

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM PINS CI SP CASC CVIS SREF APER PGOV
SUBJECT: RAFAEL GONZALEZ VERGUGO AND HORMAN V. KISSINGER

REF: STATE 254692

1. WITH REGARD TO POINT A OF PARAGRAPH 2 OF MADRID'S 11540: ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1977 EMBASSY OFFICERS MET WITH GONZALEZ AT THE ITALIAN EMBASSY AND WAITED WHILE HE READ THROUGH THE ENTIRE TRANSCRIPTS OF THE TWO CONVERSATIONS OF JANAURY, 1977 (77 SANTIAGO 7800). HE MADE SOME MINOR SPELLING AND GRAMMATICAL CORRECTIONS BUT GAVE NO INDICATION THAT THE TRANSCRIPTS WERE DISTORTED, FALSIFIED OR OTHERWISE INACCURATE. WITH REGARD TO POINT (B): WE HAVE NOT PREVIOUSLY HEARD OF ANY COMMITMENT BY GONZALEZ TO A CHILEAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE NOT TO DISCUSS THE HORMAN CASE ONCE HE WAS OUTSIDE CHILE. WE CANNOT RULE OUT SUCH A COMMITMENT-- GONZALEZ DID HAVE VISITORS AT THE ITALIAN EMBASSY AND HE WAS ABLE TO USE THE TELEPHONE -- BUT WE BELIEVE IT SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY. IT SOUNDS A GOOD BIT LIKE GONZALEZ' EARLIER CLAIM THAT THE GOC COMPLELLED HIM TO GO TO SPAIN RATHER THAN TO THE UNITED STATES WHEN HE DEPARTED CHILE, WHICH IS CONTRARY TO THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE HERE (SEE SANTIAGO 6060).

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 07716 062212Z

7. GONZALEZ' PARANOIA ABOUT THE CIA AND THE CHARGES INVOLVING HIS WIFE ARE NOTHING NEW. MOST OF IT IS IN THE JANUARY, 1977 CONVERSATIONS.

3. ON THE ISSUE OF MAINTAINING THE SECRECY OF THE TRANSCRIPTS OF THE CONVERSATION, GONZALEZ AT THE SEPTEMBER 21, 1977 MEETING WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS, REVERSED HIS PREVIOUS AGREEMENT THAT A TAPE OR COPY COULD BE GIVEN TO THE CONGRESS IF SO REQUESTED. WHEREAS THE TEXT OF PAGE 2 OF THE SECOND CONVERSATION READ: "I WOULD AGREE IF THE

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[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07928 141827Z
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

FOR ARA, D P AND L ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: LETELLIER/MOFFITT CASE: TALK WITH SCHERRER

REF: SANTIAGO 7776

1. DURING SECURE LINE TELEPHONE CONVERSATION OCTOBER 13 WITH FBI AGENT SCHERRER HE INFORMED ME OF CLARIFYING STATEMENT OBTAINED FROM GUANES IN ASUNCION. WILL YOU SEND US DULY PROCESSED AND TRANSLATED COPY OF THAT STATEMENT TO GIVE TO COURT HERE AS PART OF THE EXTRADITION REQUEST PACKAGE? ETCHEBERRY BELIEVES IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE IT IF IT STRENGTHENS OUR CASE OR CLARIFIES PREVIOUS DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN GUNANES' ORAL AND WRITTEN STATEMENTS.

2. IN CONTEXT OF SECOND ETCHEBERRY QUESTION CONTAINED REFTEL I ASKED SCHERRER IF HE KNEW SOURCE OF MONEY ($12,000) MARIANA CALLEJAS GAVE US IN AUGUST FOR TRANSMISSION TO WASHINGTON FOR TOWNLEY. HE PROMISED TO ASK MARIANA WHEN HE GETS BACK AND INFORM US.
LANDAU

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 07928 141827Z

[redacted]

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EXCISE K-564

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B6

DECLARACION JURADA

Comparece doña Claudia Lucía Donoso Crocco , chilena, soltera, estudiante, domiciliada en Los Tulipanes Nº 2961 de esta ciudad, cédula de identidad Nº [redacted] de Santiago, quien viene en formular la siguiente declaración jurada:

1º.- Fui detenida el miércoles 13 de septiembre del año en curso, alrededor de las 18.15 hrs., por tres individuos de civil armados, que al presentarse en mi domicilio dijeron ser agentes de la C.N.I. Uno de ellos, que dijo llamarse "Jiménez" exhibió rápidamente un carnet en el que no alcancé a leer la identificación sino que sólo una fotografía. Dijo que necesitaba conversar conmigo por lo que debía acompañarlo a la Fiscalía Militar.

En ese momento, se encontraba en mi hogar mi novio, Leonardo Rojas Bahamondes, quién insistió en acompañarme a la supuesta "Fiscalía" mencionada por los aprehensores; estos accedieron a su petición por lo que nos subieron a un automóvil marca Fiat 125, color naranja, sin patente, al que subieron además los tres agentes y el conductor. Delante de nuestro vehículo estaba otro, marca Datsun, color verde botella, también sin patente y donde viajaban tres personas, dos hombres y una mujer, todos de civil.

2º.- En el vehículo indicado y el otro de escolta nos llevaron a la 13º Comisaría de Carabineros, ubicada en calle Irarrázabal con Hamburgo, lugar en el que permanecimos hasta las 21,15 hrs., aproximadamente. A esta hora llegaron a este recinto policial otros tres civiles, elegantemente vestidos, quienes después de intercambiar opiniones con nuestros aprehen-

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sores se dirigieron a nosotros y nos hicieron firmar un libro - de registro de la Comisaría. Luego de firmar sacaron a mi novio Leonardo del lugar, sin que regresara. Al consultar por su suerte, uno de ellos me dijo que lo habían dejado en libertad y que yo debía declarar primero en la Fiscalía.

3º.- En el interior de la Comisaría me taparon los ojos con unos papeles y una tela adhesiva encima, - me subieron a un auto y me llevaron a un lugar desconocido. Recuerdo que antes de llegar a esa prisión clandestina el automóvil transitó por un camino bastante irregular, como si no hubiera pavimento. El vehículo se detuvo frente a una casa donde después de esperar un minuto estacionado ingresó a lo que debe haber sido el antejardín de la propiedad. Me bajaron a una especie de subterráneo donde pude escuchar fuerte música y risas de hombres y mujeres como si estuvieran en una fiesta. Al parecer bailaban. Me ingresaron a una dependencia contigua a donde se escuchaba la música, me registraron completamente, me quitaron la cartera, cinturón, reloj y otras especies menores y me dejaron sentada. Luego me sacaron las botas que en ese momento llevaba y me introdujeron a una pieza que servía de celda.

4º.- En esa pieza comenzaron a interrogarme acerca de donde había obtenido unos panfletos que tenía en mi casa; bastantes datos acerca de mi familia y sobre mi novio, que les indicare uno por uno a qué partido político pertenecían, si efectivamente militaban en algún grupo clandestino, a que se dedicaban aparte del trabajo o estudios que desarrollaban, en especial, pedían muchos datos por las actividades de un hermano y de mi novio. Luego me pedían datos míos, si era católica, si iba regularmente a alguna Iglesia, a qué iba y con quién conversaba, si conocía a un señor que le decían "Lolo Pizarro",

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si sabía quién tenía un mimeógrafo, si conocía gente de izquierda que aún estudiaba en la Universidad, que diera nombres y no me pasaría nada, etc., etc. Sobre el mimeógrafo, estudiantes de izquierda de la Universidad, el tal "Lolo Pizarro", actividades clandestinas de algún familiar y si pertenecían a algún partido político, dije no tener idea y desconocer cualquier antecedente al respecto.

Sólo me remití a explicar cómo habían llegado a mi poder unos panfletos que se relacionaban con hechos pasados como el 1º de Mayo, diciendo que los había encontrado en la vía pública y que cualquier persona podía recogerlos. Respecto a otros relacionados con problemas de la Universidad y los estudiantes, dije haberlos recibido por correo.

Ante mis respuestas recibí muchas amenazas, me decían que si no cooperaba "llamarían al Perro", que me iban a "tirar al agua" o simplemente que "me tratarían mal".

En una oportunidad me amenazaron colocándome el cañón de un revólver en la sien. De repente dispararon cerca mío y escuché que comentaban: "cuidado, se te pasó la mano, casi le pegas rozando", etc.

Otro día dijeron que iban a ponerme un detector de mentiras, me recostaron sobre una especie de somier y comenzaron a meter mucha bulla con unos fierros, de repente dejaban caer con toda fuerza unos fierros al suelo para asustarme, pero, me mantuve en mis declaraciones.

Estos interrogatorios se mantuvieron ininterrumpidamente durante los primeros cuatros días, los agentes se turneaban cada ciertas horas y continuaban preguntando lo mismo, eran todos bastante repetitivos. Cuando no me interrogaban me conversaban, pues, tenían orden de no dejarme dormir hasta que "confesara" lo que ellos querían.

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El día jueves 14, por la noche, o la - madrugada del viernes, me dieron comida por primera vez. Al tercer día, esto es, el viernes, al no poder dormir comencé a ver alucinaciones, lo mismo el sábado, donde creía que me iba a desmayar. Confieso que el Domingo, cuarto día sin dormir y contestando siempre lo que me preguntaban, no sé si estaba despierta o dormida, veía todo tipo de alucinaciones, realmente estaba en un mundo de fantasía, me sentía muy mal.

En los interrogatorios participaban hombres y mujeres indistintamente; debo decir que las mujeres eran bastante groseras y vulgares y rápidamente perdían la paciencia ante mis respuestas, que seún ellas, eran negativas.

El lugar donde permanecí los primero cuatro días fue siempre el mismo, una pieza pequeña ubicada en un subterráneo, donde siempre escuché mucha música a todo volúmen.

El baño quedaba ubicado en un patio, - donde para llegar a él debía subir una escala de 9 peldaños, luego una planicie y otra escala pequeña de dos peldaños.

En una oportunidad me sacaron de la pieza unos agentes mujeres y me interrogaron al aire libre durante varias horas, recuerdo que sentía mucho frío. El total de mujeres que me interrogaron fue de alrededor de ocho y los - agentes hombres que se encontraban en el recinto deben haber sido unos quince en total, esto lo deduzco por las voces.

5º.- El domingo en la noche me trasladaron a otro lugar, me cambiaron la venda de los ojos por una de género, color gris, que según uno de ellos era una manga de camisa. Me subieron a un auto que no pude ver y volvimos a transitar por el camino irregular. Al minuto de emprender la marcha escuché que se comunicaban por radio diciendo el conduc

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tor: "aquí Alfa 5 llamando a..."(daba unos números que en éste momento no recuerdo). La respuesta fue: "Alfa 5 adelante", luego nuestro coche replicó: "Alfa 5, estoy en tránsito a 10 minutos de ese lugar".... Anduvimos unos 15 minutos hasta que llegamos a destino. Me bajaron y dejaron en una casucha que estaba anexa a la casa principal. Pude verla porque varias veces me saqué la venda de los ojos.

Esa noche pude dormir por primera vez desde mi detención; me dejaron con dos vigilantes. Al otro día, esto es, el lunes 18, una de las agentes ingresó intespestivamente a mi pieza en momentos en que estaba con la vista sin vendas, pude verla perfectamente, era rubia, delgada, pelo ondulado largo, ojos verdosos con lentes ópticos, tez clara, y al igual que las demás, vestía de civil. Creo que era la misma mujer que participó en el allanamiento a mi domicilio efectuado unos cinco días antes de mi detención, valé decir, el día Viernes 8 de septiembre de 1978.

En otra oportunidad, el martes 19 de septiembre un agente que estaba medio borracho ingresó también a mi pieza, era delgado de regular estatura, pelo negro, crespo y largo, ojos oscuros, cejas juntas, nariz aguileña, de aspecto y lenguaje vulgar, del tipo lumpen. Se me acercó y levantándome la venda me pidió que lo mirara de cerca, trató de hacerse el enamorado, pero, cuando se acercaron otros agentes se fue para que no se dieran cuenta que estaba ebrio.

En los interrogatorios a que fuí sometida en este nuevo lugar solo recibí bofetadas en la cara, no se me aplicó corriente ni otros tormentos, sí se me amenazó con sufrirlos si no cooperaba.

El martes 19 me sentaron frente a una pequeña mesa y me hicieron redactar una especie de autobiografía, me

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decían que agregara el mayor número de detalles, incluso los de tipo sentimental. Luego me tomaron varias fotografías y las huellas digitales.

6º.- El día miércoles 20 de septiembre del año en curso, esto es, al cumplir ocho días de encierro e intensos interrogatorios en lugar desconocido, se me sacó de ese lugar y me trasladaron a la 1a. Fiscalía Militar de Santiago.

Me llevaron en un automóvil, con los ojos pegados con scotch, arriba de ellos unos lentes y en mis manos un diario para que durante el trayecto fingiera leer. Al llegar a la Fiscalía me sacaron el scotch y los lentes. El actuario me preguntó si conocía a alguna de las personas con las que aparecía en el diario, le dije que NO. Luego de otras preguntas relacionadas con los panfletos y un revólver inscrito por mi padre, decidió copiar la declaración enviada por la C.N.I. en la cual, negué todos los cargos que se me formulaban.

7º.- Debo agregar que el día viernes 15, mientras me interrogaban, por la tarde, uno de los agentes comentaba que habían interpuesto un recurso de amparo en mi favor y que estaban consultando por mi estado de salud. Desde ese momento se preocuparon bastante de mis reacciones, en especial, sobre lo que iba a declarar al recuperar mi libertad. Insistían en que dijera que no había sufrido malos tratos ni se me había torturado.

8º.- A las 18,00 hrs. del día 20 de septiembre fuí dejada en libertad incondicional por falta de méritos, por resolución de la 1a. Fiscalía Militar de Santiago.

Claudia Donoso C.

Firmó ante mí doña Claudia Lucía Donoso Crocco, de Santiago. Santiago, 16 de Octubre de 1978.

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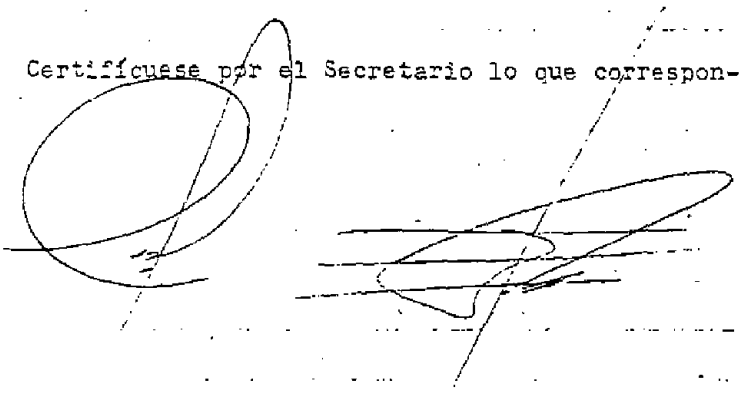
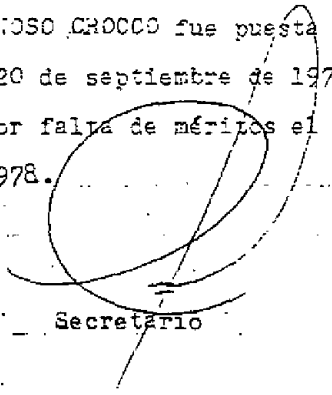
antiago, diecisiete de octubre de mil novecientos setenta y cho.

Certifíquese por el Secretario lo que corresponda.



RTIFICO: que doña CLAUDIA LUCIA DONOSO CROCCO fue puesta a isposición de esta Fiscalía el día 20 de septiembre de 1978, uedando en libertad incondicional por falta de méritos el mismo día. Santiago, 17 de octubre de 1978.



Secretario

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SOLICITA CERTIFICACION AL PIE DE LA PRESENTE QUE ME SERA DEVUELTA.=

Sr.Fiscal Militar

Jorge Sellán Chijani,Inscripción 1377 R-2,Patente 52,domiciliado en Plaza de Armas 444, a US digo:

Que en mi calidad de Abogado de doña Claudia Lucía Donoso Crocco,vengo en solicitar de US. ordene certificar la pié de la presente que me será devuelta,los siguientes hechos.=

1)Como es efectivo que CLAUDIA LUCIA DONOSO CROCCO,fué puesta a disposición de US.,indicando la fecha de este hecho: y

2)Como es efectivo,que la mencionada Claudia Lucía Donoso Crocco, fué puesta en libertad por falta de méritos,indicando,también la fecha de este hecho.=

La interesada necesita este certificado para ser presentado en la Universidad y así justificar sus inasistencias.=

RUEGO A US. asi disponerlo.=

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08000 171712Z
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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EXDIS

FOR ARA, D, P, AND L ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: CI, PGOV, SHUM
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: FOLLOW-UP ON ETCHEBERRY'S QUESTIONS

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 7776 (B) SANTIAGO 7928 (C) STATE 262450

1. OUR FORMULATION OF QUESTIONS REGARDING LETELIER'S ALLEGED PRESENCE IN EUROPE DURING PERIOD FERNANDEZ WAS IN U.S. WAS PERHAPS CONFUSING. THE LOCAL RUMOR IS THAT WHILE ON ONE DENIES FERNANDEZ' WAS IN THE UNITED STATES AT A CERTAIN TIME, HIS DEFENSE MAY TRY TO ESTABLISH THAT LETELIER WAS IN EUROPE DURING THAT PERIOD, AND THEREFORE FERNANDEZ COULD NOTT HAVE BEEN ON A SURVEILLANCE MISSION. HOPE YOU CAN CLARIFY FOREGOING CONCERN.

2. WITH REGARD TO OUR INTEREST IN WHETHER CNI IS STILL PAYING TOWNLEY, WE CAN UNDERSTAND TOWNLEY'S RELUCTANCE TO GO ON THE RECORD. DO YOU HAVE ANY OUTSIDE COLLATERAL WHICH WOULD SHED LIGHT ON THE QUESTION AND WHICH COULD BE USED SHOULD THE NEED ARISE? PER PARA TWO REF B, WHAT ACCOUNTING DO WE GET FOR MARIANA'S $12,000?

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08000 171712Z

3. WE ALSO RAISED WITH ETCHEBERRY THE ALLEGATION THAT HE HAD GIVEN THE PRESS A DETAILED BRIEFING ON OUR EXTRADITION EVIDENCE (LAST PARA REF C). HE DENIES DOING SO AND WE HAVE NO REASON TO DOUBT HIM. WE ARE NOTT AWARE OF ANY TV OR RADIO BROADCASTS MADE BY ETCHEBERRY. HE ALSO WELL UNDERSTANDS THE GROUND RULES ON THIS SCORE.
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PAGE 01 STATE 263023
ORIGIN ARA-15

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DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSSTEVEN
APPROVED BY ARA:VPVAKY
ARA:RGUZMAN
ARA:JABUSHNELL
S: BILL TWADDELL

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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, CI

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS' CALL ON SECRETARY VANCE

1. CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTER HERNAN CUBILLOS CALLED ON THE SECRETARY ON OCTOBER 10 AT 4:00 PM IN THE DEPARTMENT. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY CHILEAN AMBASSADOR BARROS. ASSISTANT SECRETARY VAKY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY GUZMAN AND DESK OFFICER STEVEN ATTENDED.

2. CUBILLOS EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH THE SECRETARY. HE COMPLIMENTED THE SECRETARY ON RECENT SUCCESSES IN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY RELATED TO THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, AND EXPRESSED HIS PLEASURE IN HAVING AMBASSADOR LANDAU IN SANTIAGO. THE SECRETARY

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PAGE 02 STATE 263023

IN TURN THANKED CUBILLOS FOR CHILEAN COOPERATION AND SUPPORT IN INTERNATIONAL POLICY MATTERS.

3. CUBILLOS THEN SETTLED IN TO WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE REASON FOR HIS REQUEST TO MEET WITH THE SECRETARY, AND 25 OF THE 35 MINUTES OF THE MEETING WERE SPENT ON A PRESENTATION ON THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE AND TENSIONS BETWEEN CHILE AND ARGENTINA. HE GAVE THE SECRETARY A COPY OF THE BEAGLE CHANNEL ARBITRATION AWARD, AND LAID OUT A MAP TO GUIDE THE DISCUSSION. HE REVIEWED THE BACKGROUND OF THE

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SUBMISSION OF THE DISPUTE TO ARBITRATION, DEMONSTRATED ON THE MAP THE AREAS AND LINES IN QUESTION, AND EXPRESSED CHILEAN SHOCK OVER ARGENTINE REJECTION OF THE AWARD. HE HAD ACCEPTED ARGENTINE PRESIDENT VIDELA'S INVITATION TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE CAVEAT THAT CHILE WOULD CONSIDER ONLY THE MARITIME BOUNDARY QUESTION, NOT THE AWARD ITSELF COVERING THE ACTUAL CHANNEL.

4. THE CHILEAN POSITION WAS DESCRIBED BY CUBILLOS AS A REASONABLE AND NORMAL PROPOSAL FOR A MARITIME DIVIDING LINE BASED UPON THE PRINCIPLE OF "EQUIDISTANCE" FROM THE LAND MASSES BORDERING THE MOUTH OF THE BEAGLE. HE CONCEDED THAT CHILE WAS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE THIS AND TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. ARGENTINA, HE ALLEGED, HAD "PLAYED" WITH VARIOUS PROPOSALS INVOLVING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND HAD DISCUSSED COMMON AREAS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, ETC., BUT THE ARGENTINE POSITION SHIFTED CONSTANTLY AND ARGENTINE CLAIMS WERE UNCLEAR. CUBILLOS MAINTAINED THAT ARGENTINA HAD GONE SO FAR AS TO ACTUALLY THREATEN WAR IF AGREEMENT WAS NOT REACHED BY NOVEMBER 2 OR IF CHILE TOOK

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PAGE 03 STATE 263023

THE DISPUTE TO THE ICJ, THIS LATTER DESPITE THE 1972 TREATY IN WHICH BOTH COUNTRIES AGREED TO TAKE DISPUTES TO THE ICJ. HE COULD NOT DISCOUNT THE USE OF FORCE IN THE MATTER, AND CHILE WOULD DEFEND ITSELF IF ATTACKED. HE FELT CHILE HAD THE MORAL RIGHT BASED UPON THE AWARD TO APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE.

5. THE SECRETARY ASKED FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE BRITISH POSITION AND CUBILLOS AND BARROS PRODUCED COPIES OF THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE UK AND THE PARTIES IN WHICH THE UK DECLARED ITS ROLE AS ARBITRATOR TERMINATED. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS CUBILLOS NOTED THAT THE TALKS WITH ARGENTINA CONTINUE, BUT HE COULD NOT PROVIDE A FULL EXPLANATION OF THE ARGENTINE POSITION AND ARGENTINE AIMS. BARROS SUGGESTED THAT THE PRINCIPLE ARGENTINE EFFORT IS TO "SAVE FACE" AFTER HAVING LOST THE ARBITRATION AWARD, AND PERHAPS TO PROTECT ANTARCTIC CLAIMS. CUBILLOS CONFIRMED THAT THE NOVEMBER 2 DEADLINE IS A SELF-IMPOSED LIMIT BY THE TWO PARTIES, WHICH IS NOT INFLEXIBLE. HE HAD CONSIDERED THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORATORIUM ON SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE, BUT HAD NOT DISCUSSED IT WITH THE ARGENTINES. HE FELT THAT NEGOTIATION OF A MORATORIUM WOULD BE MORE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT THAN NEGOTIATION OF A FINAL RESOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM ITSELF.

6. IN RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S QUESTION, CUBILLOS SAID THAT NEITHER GOVERNMENT HAD APPEALED TO THE

OAS FOR ASSISTANCE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. CHILE HAD BEEN "HURT", HOWEVER, BY THE LACK OF INTERNATIONAL INTEREST AND SUPPORT (ON QUESTION OF ARGENTINE REJECTION OF THE ARBITRATION AWARD). HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE WAS "BIAS" AGAINST CHILE WHICH HELD SOME GOVERNMENTS BACK, BUT THAT THE PROBLEM WAS CRITICAL. CHILE WOULD TRY TO SOLVE IT THROUGH

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NEGOTIATIONS, OR IN THE ICJ, AND WOULD NOT ATTACK ARGENTINA. IT WOULD BE A MATTER OF GREAT REGRET IF CONFLICT TOOK PLACE. CUBILLOS HOPED THE U.S. WOULD USE A LITTLE INFLUENCE, AND SAID THAT CONCERN ON THE PART OF THE U.S. WOULD HELP RESOLVE THE DISPUTE. HE JOKINGLY CALLED FOR "ANOTHER CAMP DAVID."

7. THE SECRETARY PROMISED TO LOOK INTO THE MATTER. HE SAID THAT THE LAST THING WE WANTED WAS CONFLICT IN THE HEMISPHERE, AND THAT HE WOULD DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY VAKY AND OTHER INTERESTED OFFICERS. CUBILLOS CONCEDED THAT THE NOVEMBER 2 DEADLINE WAS FLEXIBLE AND THAT ANOTHER 30 DAYS FOR NEGOTIATION COULD BE OBTAINED.

8. ASKED IF THE RETIREMENT OF ADMIRAL MASSERA IN ARGENTINA HAD REDUCED THE TENSION TO ANY DEGREE, CUBILLOS REPLIED THAT IT HAD NOT. MASSERA OUT OF OFFICE CONTINUED TO PRESS THE ISSUE, AND HIS INFLUENCE CONTINUED TO BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR ON THE ARGENTINE SIDE.

9. CUBILLOS NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR LANDAU HAD SUGGESTED TO HIM THAT HE EXPLAIN TO THE SECRETARY THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION PRESENTLY UNDERWAY IN CHILE, AND HE DEVOTED MOST OF THE REMAINING TIME IN THE MEETING TO A REVIEW OF THE PROCESS, INCLUDING THE DRAFTING OF A NEW CONSTITUTION, THE REFERENDUM PLANNED IN 1979, AND THE TRANSITION PERIOD OVER THE NEXT FIVE OR SIX YEARS. HE SAID THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION DREW HEAVILY FROM FRENCH AND GERMAN PRECEDENTS. AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS WAS NEEDED IN CHILE. HE

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SAID THAT IT WOULD BE TOO EASY TO PRESS FOR AN ELECTION NOW IN CHILE, IN WHICH PINOCHET COULD BE ELECTED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY IN THE FASHION OF A SOMOZA OR A STROESSNER. CHILEANS DID NOT WANT THIS, AND CIVILIANS LIKE CUBILLOS JOINED THE GOVERN-

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MENT PRECISELY TO HELP THE MILITARY MAKE THE

TRANSITION TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AGAIN. THE ALTERNATIVE TO THIS EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS WOULD BE REGRESSION TO TRUE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP "AS IN THE FIRST DAYS AFTER THE COUP," ACCORDING TO CUBILLOS. HE INSISTED THAT CIVILIAN RULE AT THIS POINT IN CHILE WAS IMPOSSIBLE. IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS THERE WILL BE PUBLIC DEBATE OVER THE NEW CONSTITUTION, LEADING TO A REFERENDUM NEXT YEAR. CUBILLOS NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR BARROS WOULD BE AT THE SECRETARY'S DISPOSAL AT ANY TIME TO HELP HIM TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN CHILE.

10. AS THE MEETING ENDED, THE SECRETARY RAISED THE LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION CASE WITH CUBILLOS. HE REMINDED CUBILLOS THAT THE CASE WAS OF "TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE" TO US, WITH CHILEAN GOVERNMENT COOPERATION ESSENTIAL TO OUR RELATIONSHIP. CUBILLOS ASSURED THE SECRETARY OF HIS OWN CONCERN OVER THE CASE, AND NOTED THAT HE DID NOT EVEN KNOW GENERAL CONTRERAS. HE BELIEVED THAT THE CASE MUST CONTINUE TO BE DEALT WITH IN JUDICIAL CHANNELS IN WHICH BOTH COUNTRIES MUST HAVE CONFIDENCE. HE NOTED WITH CONCERN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS SUCH AS THE RECENT COMMENT ON THE ACTION OF THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT IN CONDUCTING THE EXTRADITION HEARING IN SECRET, AND EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT SUCH STATEMENTS MISLED AND INFLAMED PUBLIC OPINION. HE CLAIMED FIRMLY THAT "THERE IS NO MONKEY BUSINESS" GOING ON IN THE COURT, AND SUCH IMPLICATIONS ONLY ENLARGE THE CREDIBILITY GAP. HE

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HAD TAKEN HIS JOB IN AN EFFORT TO REDUCE THAT GAP. UPON DEPARTURE HE AGAIN THANKED THE SECRETARY FOR THE MEETING.

11. BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE MEETING, CUBILLOS EMPHASIZED TO STEVEN BOTH HIS HIGH REGARD FOR AMBASSADOR LANDAU AND HIS ASSURANCE THAT A JUST RESOLUTION OF THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE WAS REGARDED AS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE BY THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08144 211517Z
ACTION ARA-15

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AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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UNCLAS SANTIAGO 8144

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: GOC DISSOLVES MARXIST TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND BANS UNREGISTERED TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS

1. SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 20, THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR PUBLISHED THREE NEW DECREE LAWS WHICH AFFECT THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN CHILE. THE FIRST, DECREE LAW 2345, GIVES THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR FINAL AUTHORITY TO REORGANIZE ALL GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT-OWNED INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING REMOVAL AND APPOINTMENT OF PERSONNEL WITHOUT REGARD TO THEIR RIGHTS AS TRADE UNION LEADERS. THE SECOND, DECREE LAW 2346, DISSOLVES SEVEN COMMUNIST-LED FEDERATIONS AND INCLUDES THE SIDDOLUTION OF ALL LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THEM. THIS ACTION INVOLVED APPROXIMATELY 500 LOCALS WITH 110,000 MEMBERS. THE THIRD, DECREE LAW 2347, BANS ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DO NOT HAVE FORMAL LEGAL IDENTITY. THIS DEFINITION DESCRIBES MANY TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH, AS WELL AS THOSE INDEPENDENT OF, THE GOVERNMENT, BUT WE ARE NOT YET SURE HOW THE DECREE WILL BE IMPLEMENTED. END SUMMARY.

2. INTERIOR MINISTER SERGIO FERNANDEZ ANNOUNCED OCTOBER 19 THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08144 211517Z

DISSOLUTION OF SEVEN MARIXIST-LED TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS. THE PERTINENT DECREE DISSOLVES:

A. THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF INDIANS AND FARM WORKERS - RANQUIL, 110 AFFILIATES.

B. THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FARM WORKERS (U.O.C), 61 AFFILIATES

C. THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF METAL WORKERS UNIONS (FENSIMET), 88 AFFILIATES

D. THE UNION OF CONSTRUCTION CRAFT WORKERS

E. THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEXTILE AND CLOTHING WORKERS (FENATEX), 120 AFFILIATES

F. INDUSTRIAL FEDERATION OF BUILDING WOOD AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS (FIEMC), 76 AFFILIATES

G. THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL FEDERATION OF MINE WORKERS (FINM), 74 AFFILIATES.

THE DECREE ALSO DISSOLVES LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THESE SEVEN FEDERATIONS AND INVOLVED ABOUT 110,000 WORKERS. ALL THE GOODS AND PROPERTIES OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR AFFILIATES ARE EXPROPRIATED BY THE STATE.

3. DECREE LAW 2345 GIVES THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AUTHORITY TO REORGAINZE THE GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT-OWNED INSTITUTIONS. THE DECREE EXPRESSLY EXCLUDES, HOWEVER, THE COURTS, THE MILITARY AND THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL. ARTICLE 4 GIVES THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AUTHORITY TO COMPEL OTHER MINISTERS TO COMPLETE POLICIES RELATED TO THE CONTEMPLATED REORGANIZATION AND "DEBUREAUCRATIZATION" OF THE GOVERNMENT. DECREES AFFECTINT THE APPOINTMENT AND FIRING OF PERSONNEL MUST HAVE BOTH THE SIGNATURE OF THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND THE MINISTER OF THE AFFECTED INSTITUTION. THE LAW SPECIFICALLY SUSPENDS RIGHT OF TRADE UNION LEADERS NOT TO BE FIRED OR MOVED WHILE THEY EXERCISE UNION OFFICE (ADMINISTRATIVE LAW (DFL) 388 OF 1960).

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4. DL 2347, BANS BOTH AD HOC AND ESTABLISHED TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION S
WHICH DO NOT HAVE FORMAL LEGAL IDENTITY (PERSONA JURIDICA). PERSONS EXERCISING LABOR FUNCTIONS CONTRARY TO THIS LAW ARE SUBJECT TO CRIMINAL PROSECUTION OF TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS IN JAIL IF CONVICTED. AD HOC ORGANIZATIONS COMMUNIST "COORDINADORA SINDICAL", CLAT AFFILIATED FUT, SUCH AS THE GOC "FRENTE LABORAL" AND THE INDEPENDENT "GROUP OF TEN" SEEM TO FIT THIS DEFINITION, SO WOULD ESTABLISHED TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS SUCH AS THE PETROLEUM WORKERS, MARITIME WORKERS, LEATHER AND SHOE WORKERS, REGIONAL BASED COPPER MINERS ORGANIZATION (ZONAL), THE NEWLY FORMED UNTRACH, CHEMICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL WORKERS, RETAIL CLERKS AND COMMERCE WORKERS AND STEEL WORKERS (CAP-HUACHIPATO) AND PAPER WORKERS. TRADE UNION LOCALS AT THE PLANT LEVEL IN ALL THE ABOVE AREAS, HOWEVER, ARE LEGALLY REGISTERED. THE REAL IMPACT OF THE DECREE HANGS ON GOC INTERPRETATION AND IMPLEMENTATION. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, THE GOC HAS NOT MOVED AGAINST ANY DEMOCRATIC LEADER.

5. THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR NOTED IN HIS SPEECH THAT WITHIN A FEW DAYS, THE GOC WOULD ANNOUNCE ITS CONCEPTS FOR NEW INSTITUTIONS FOR THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08217 241740Z
ACTION ARA-15

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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 8217

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION: CONTRERAS HEALTHY ENOUGH TO TESTIFY AT COURT

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 8196 (B) SANTIAGO 8041

1. RAMON PENA, STAFF AIDE TO SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT ISRAEL BORQUEZ, INFORMED NEWSMEN EVENING OF OCTOBER 23 THAT BORQUEZ HAD TURNED DOWN A REQUEST FROM SERGIO MIRANDA, LAWYER FOR MANUEL CONTRERAS, ASKING THAT HIS CLIENT BE INTERROGATED IN THE MILITARY HOSPITAL. MIRANDA HAD SUBMITTED MEDICAL REPORTS STATING THAT CONTRERAS SUFFERED FROM HYPERTENSION AND THAT HE SHOULD NOT BE REQUIRED TO LEAVE THE HOSPITAL TO APPEAR IN COURT. REPORTEDLY THE DOCTORS DESIGNATED BY BORQUEZ TO ASSESS CONTRERAS' HEALTH (REF A) DID NOT CHALLENGE THIS DIAGNOSIS, BUT THEY DID NOT AGREE THAT THE CONDITION SHOULD PREVENT CONTRERAS FROM LEAVING THE HOSPITAL.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08217 241740Z

2. ANTICIPATING THE RULING, MIRANDA STATED EARLIER IN THE AFTERNOON THAT THE INTERROGATION SITE REALLY DID NOT MATTER AT ALL. HAVING RAISED THE ISSUE OF HYPERTENSION, MIRANDA THEN HAD TO DENY THAT THE FORMER DINA CHIEF SUFFERED FROM A CASE OF BAD NERVES.

3. "LA TERCERA" OCTOBER 24 REPORTS A RUMOR THAT CONTRERAS WILL SHORTLY CALL A PRESS CONFERENCE TO PUBLICLY STATE HIS VIEWS ON THE LETELIER CASE. A WEEK AGO A SIMILAR RUMOR WAS ABOUT, BUT MIRANDA RATHER THAN CONTRERAS PITCHED THE PRESS WITH CONTRERAS' FINANCIAL PLIGHT.

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4. IRKED BY THE CURT ANSWERS BORQUEZ PROVIDED NEWSMEN AFTER THE FERNANDEZ INTERROGATION OCTOBER 17 (REF B), THE CHILEAN NATIONAL NEWSMEN ASSOCIATION (NNA) DECIDED TO FIRE BACK. IN A STATEMENT PUBLISHED IN TODAY'S PAPERS, THE NNA LABELS THE COURT PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE REGRETTABLE. THE NNA NOTES THAT ARTICLE ONE OF ITS BY-LAWS CALLS FOR IT TO DEFEND THE NEWSMEN'S PROFESSION.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08262 01 OF 02 252019Z
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INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 8262

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, PGOV, CI
SUBJ: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: UPDATE ON NEW DECREES

REF: SANTIGO 8144

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC SAYS THAT THE DECREE DISSOLVING SEVEN COMMUNIST-LED TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS WILL ALSO APPLY TO APPROXIMATELY 400 LOCAL UNIONS INVOLVING 12,795 UNION MEMBERS (ABOUT 10 PERCENT OF ORGANIZED LABOR). A CO-ORDINADORA LEADER SAYS THE GOC HAS BLOCKED HIS TEXTILE LOCAL'S BANK ACCOUNT. THE SANTIAGO CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS ANNOUNCED ITS OPINION THAT THE DECREES THREATEN WORKERS' RIGHTS. PRIVATELY AN INDEPENDENT, GENERALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT, LEADER EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE SWEEPING AUTHORITY THE DECREES CREATE, BUT OFFERED AN OPTIMISTIC APPRAISAL OF HOW THE GOC WILL IMPLEMENT THEM. MOST "GROUP OF TEN" LEADERS ARE OUT OF TOWN; ONE OF THEM TOLD US HE FEARED THE GOVERNMENT WOULD USE THE REORGANIZATION DECREE TO [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08262 01 OF 02 252019Z

PURGE GOC CRITICS. OTHER GENERALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT LABOR ORGANIZATIONS HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY ARE STUDYING THE NEW LABOR LEGISLATION. END SUMMARY..

2. LABOR MINISTER VASCO COSTA TOLD THE PRESS OCTOBER 23 THAT "VICIOUS REMORMONGERS" WERE EXAGGERATING THE EFFECTS OF THE NEW DECREE ABOLISHING MARXIST-LED LABOR FEDERATIONS AND THEIR AFFILIATES. COSTA SAID THAT APPROXIMATELY 400 LOCAL UNIONS WITH 112,795 WORKERS WOULD BE AFFECTED. THIS, HE ADDED, WAS ONLY 5.88 PERCENT OF THE 6,840 TRADE UNION LOCALS IN CHILE AND FEWER THAN 10

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PERCENT OF THE 1.2 MILLION ORGANIZED CHILEAN WORKERS. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET WOULD SCHEDULE A MEETING IN NOVEMBER WITH LOCAL LABOR LEADERS (RATHER THAN WITH LEADERS OF FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATION).

3. CHRISTIAN DECOCRAT ACTIVIST MANUAL BUSTOS, PRESIDENT OF SUMAR TEXTILES WORKERS UNION, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COORDINADORA SINDICAL AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE NOW DESSOLVED TEXTILE WORKERS FEDERATION (FENATEX), TOLD LABATT THAT OFFICIAL MINISTRY OF LABOR FIGURES SHOWED 529 UNIONS FALLING UNDER THE DISSOLUTION DECREE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE LABOR MINISTER PERHAPS THOUGHT TO CLOSE DOWN ONLY 400 OF THEM. BUSTOS, WHOM THE "GROUP OF TEN" OUSTED IN JUNE WHEN HE JOINED WITH THE LEFTIST COORDINADORA SAID THAT THE GOC HAS ALREADY BLOCKED HIS TEXTILE UNION'S BANK ACCOUNT OF SOME 43,000 PESOS ($13,000). HE VALUED UNION PROPERTY AT 8,000,000 PESOS ($280,000). HE NOTED THAT THE DISSOLUTION DECREE PERMITTED THE GOVERNMENT TO CONFISCATE ABOUT $50,000,000 WORTH OF CASH AND PROPERTY. BUSTOS SAID TEXTILE WORKERS AT SUMAR AND OTHER PLANTS [redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 08262 01 OF 02 252019Z

RECEIVE SOME OF THEIR SALARIES THROUGH THE UNION; AT SUMAR THE UNION PAYS EACH WORKER 1200 PESOS ($36) A MONTH IN WAGES AND BENEFITS. THE DISSOLUTION DECREE DID NOT ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM.

4. THE CHURCH-SPONSORED PASTORAL OBRERA TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE NEW DECREES "ARE OF SUCH MAGNITUDE THAT THEY JEOPARDIZE THE RIGHT OF LABOR TO ORGANIZE" AND "ARE UNACCEPTABLE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH". THE AUXILIARY BISHOP OF SANTIAGO, ENRIGQUE ALVEAR, ADDED THAT "THE ECONOMIC MODEL OF THIS GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO REQUIRE PROSCRIPTIONS AGAINST POLITICAL PARTIES, FREE TRADE UNIONS AND FREE EXPRESSION. THIS ECONOMIC MODEL DESTROYS FREEDOM. AS CHRISTIANS AND CITIZENS WE CANNOT AGREE WITH IT."

5. FEDERICO MUJICA, PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVATE EMPLOYEES UNION (CEPCH) TOLD LABATT THAT THE NEW MEASURES COULD BE APPLIED TO SPOKESMEN OF SOME OF CEPCH'S LARGE AFFILIATES -- INCLUDING THE FEDERATION OF COMMERCIAL WORKERS (RETAIL CLERKS) (FEBATRADECO) -- BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT LEGALLY INSCRIBED. MUJICA BELIEVD, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOC WOULD GO VERY SLOW IN USING THE NEW DECREES AGAINST DEMOCRATIC UNIONS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08262 02 OF 02 252039Z
ACTION ARA-15

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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 8262

FINDING A BRIGHTER SIDE, MUJICA OBSERVED THAT THE GOC COULD USE THE NEW MEASURES A A FIRST STEP IN REORGANIZING THE CHILEAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT ALONG DEMOCRATIC LINES COMPATIBLE WITH US TRADE UNION IDEALS. HE ADDED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THE GOC WOULD WIPE OUT LOCAL UNIONS BUT RATHER WOULD BREAK UP FEDERATIONS IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS WITH THE AIM OF REBUILDING A TRADE UNION MOVEMENT FROM THE BOTTOM UP AS HAS BEEN DONE IN BRAZIL. MUJICA SAID THAT HIS ORGANIZATION WOULD STUDY THE NEW LAWS BEFORE MAKING A PUBLIC DECLARATION. HEALTH WORKERS AND COPPER WORKERS ALSO MADE SIMILAR ANNOUNCEMENTS.

6. ERNESTO VOGEL, PRESIDENT OF THE RAILWAY WORKERS INDUSTRIAL FEDERATION AND ONE OF THE FEW "GROUP OF TEN" LEADERS CURRENTLY IN TOWN TOLD LABATT THAT HE WAS MOST CONCERNED ABOUT THE DECREE GIVING THE INTERIOR MINISTER SWEEPING POWERS TO RESTRUCTURE THE BUREAUCRACY. THIS, VOGEL SAID, COULD BE USED TO REMOVE MOST OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC SERVICE AND IN GOVERNMENT-OWNED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08262 02 OF 02 252039Z

INDUSTRIES. VOGEL NOTED THAT THE LAST DECREE MADE IT A NATIONAL SECURITY CRIME FOR HIM TO SPEAK AS A MEMBER OF THE "GROUP OF TEN".

7. TWO PRINCIPAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS (EDUARDO RIOS AND TUCAPEL JIMINEZ) ARE PARTICIPATING IN AIFLD-SPONSORED SEMINARS WITH AIFLD CONSULTANT DAN MONTENEGRO IN SOUTHERN

CHILE. THEY HAVE NOT COMMENTED PUBLICLY ON THE DECREES.

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8. COMMENT: AS AN HISTORICAL NOTE, DECREE LAW 12 OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1973 DISSOLVED THE CHILEAN LABOR CENTRAL (CUT) AND CONFISCATED ALL ITS PROPERTY. WE NOTE THAT THIS TIME THE JUNTA HAS TO DRAW SPECIFICALLY UPON ITS CONTITUTIONAL POWERS IN DISSOLVING THE SEVEN FEDERATIONS AND THEIR AFFLIATES, SINCE UNDER THE JUNTA'S OWN RULES, CONFISCATION IS NORMALLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL. DECREE LAWS 6 AND 22 OF SEPTEMBER 1973 AND DL 98 OF OCTOBER GAVE THE GOC POEERS SIMILAR TO HE NEW DL 2345. BUT DL 200 OF DECEMBER 1973 TERMINATED THAT BLANKET SPECIAL AUTHORITY TO REORGANIZE THE BUREAUCRACY.

9. THE KEY REMAINS IMPLEMENTATION. IF THE GOC WISHES TO FORESTALL AFL/CIO ENDORSEMENT OF A BOYCOTT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT IT WOULD MOVE AGAINST DECOMCRATIC LABOR LEADERSHIP AT THIS TIME. WE RESERVE JUDGMENT ON THE GOVERNMENT'S TRUE INTENTIONS.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 8322

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, PGOV, CI
SUBJ: TRADE UNIONRIGHTS: FURTHER REACTION TO GOC DECREES

REF: SANTIAGO 8262

1. SUMMARY: THE CHILEAN LABOR MINISTRY HAS SAID THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF CONFISCATING PROPERTY WHICH COLLECTIVELY BELONGS TO THE WORKERS WHEN IMPLEMENTING ITS DECREE DISSOLVING SEVEN LABOR FEDERATIONS AND AFFILIATES. THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO BLOCK CERTAIN UNION BANK ACCOUNTS AND HAS CARRIED AWAY SOME OF THE RECORDS AND FURNITURE OF THE SEVEN COMMUNIST-LED FEDERATIONS. SEVERAL UNIONS AFFECTED BY THE DECREE HAVE ISSUED STATEMENTS. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY MADE A POINT OF DROPPING ITS STATEMENT OFF AT THE EMBASSY. EDITORIAL COMMENTS IN "LA TERCERA" AND GENERALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT NEWSWEEKLY "QUE PASA" TAKE SOME DIGS AT GOC LABOR POLICIES. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08322 270216Z

2. OCTOBER 25 A MINISTRY OF LABOR SPOKESMAN TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT PLAN TO TAKE PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE MEMBERS OF THE DISSOLVED TRADE UNIONS. HE SAID THE MINISTRY HAD BLOCKED A NUMBER OF UNION BANK ACCOUNTS A TRANSISTORY AND PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE BUT WOULD SOON PRODUCE A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF PAYMENT OF CERTAIN SOCIAL BENEFITS FROM UNIONS' FUNDS. A PARTICULAR POINT OF CONCERN IS DEATH BENEFITS SINCE UNION MEMBERS NEED TO PAY FUNDRAL EXPENSES.

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3. GUILLERMO MEDINA WHO REPRESENTS LABOR ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COUNCIL OF STATE ECHOED THE LABOR MINISTER. MEDINA SAID THE SITUATION OF UNION AND FEDERATION PROPERTY WAS BEING STUDIED BY THE MINISTRY OF LANDS AND COLONIZATIONS (THE GOC AGENCY RESPONSIBLE FOR DISPOSING OF PUBLIC PROPERTY).

4. THE LABOR MINISTRY MADE AN EFFORT TO DOWNPLAY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT DECREES. HE TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE HIGHEST PRIORITY PROJECTS BEING STUDIED NOW AT THE MINISTRY INVOLVED REINITIATING PENSIONS AND REFORM OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY AND PENSION SYSTEM (COMMENT: LONG STANDING LABOR PROJECTS HAVE BEEN UNDER STUDY FOR YEARS).

5. IN A PRESS CONFERNCE OCTOBER 26 THE NOW NO LONGER LEGALLY EXTANT COORDINADORA SINDICAL HELD WHAT TECHNICALLY MUST HAVE BEEN ILLEGAL PRESS CONFERENCE. IT ISSUED A STATEMENT STRONGLY CRITICIZING THE GOC DECREES AS A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

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6. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY LOST LITTLE TIME IN MAKING ITS VIEWS KNOWN. PARTY VICE PRESIDENT TOMAS REYES (WHO REPRESENTS THE PARTY'S MAINSTREAM LEFT) REQUESTED AN INTERVIEW WITH THE AMBASSADOR OCTOBER 24. HE BROUGHT A PARTY DECLARATION SUPPORTING THE DISSOLVED TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS AND LAMBASTING THE GOVERNMENTS LABOR, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES.

7. EDITORIAL COMMENT: "LA TERCERA" OCTOBER 26 LEAD EDITORIAL NOTED THAT WORKING PEOPLE HAVE RIGHTS. IT REFERRED TO THE OFT REPEATED STATEMENTS FROM THE GOC DISAVOWING THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO HARM WORKERS' INTERESTS. THE EDITORIAL SUGGESTED THAT THE GOC TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE DAMAGES ITS NEW DECREES MAY CAUSE SHOULD THEY BE VIGOROUSLY ENFORCED. GENERALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT NEWSWEEKLY "QUE PASA" MORE GENTLY MADE A SIMILAR POINT.
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08537 01 OF 02 271541Z
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY "MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO"

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. IN THE PAST MONTH A NUMBER OF THE "MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO" HAVE UNDERTAKEN NEW INITIATIVES, INCLUDING TRAVEL ABROAD, TO UNDERSCORE THEIR DEMANDS THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF THE DISAPPEAREDS. FIVE ARGENTINE MOTHERS -- ANGELICA MIGNONE AND RENEE EPEBAUM, TRAVELING FROM OTTAWA, ARE BEING JOINED IN WASHINGTON BY ELIDA GALETTI, HEBE BONAFINI AND MARIA CERRUTI. IN WASHINGTON THE GROUP WILL SEEK TO MEET WITH GOVERNMENT, CONGRESSIONAL AND NGO LEADERS. THE GROUP EXPECTS TO BEGIN ITS WASHINGTON ACTIVITIES ON OCTOBER 26.

WE THOUGHT IT USEFUL TO SEND AT THIS TIME THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES BY "THE MOTHERS". GENERALLY SPEAKING WE SENSE A HIGH LEVEL OF FRUSTRATION

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08537 01 OF 02 271541Z

AS TIME PASSES AND THE LADIES RECEIVE NO INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR DISAPPEARED CHILDREN. END INTRODUCTION

AND SUMMARY.

1. THE PLAZA MOTHERS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A NUMBER OF NEW INITIATIVES IN THE LAST MONTH. MOST IMPORTANT IS A VISIT TO WASHINGTON, NEW YORK AND OTTAWA, WHERE A GROUP OF FIVE MOTHERS PLAN TO MEET WITH GOVERNMENT, CONGRESSIONAL, UN, OAS, AND NGO LEADERS TO SEEK GREATER US AND CANADIAN SUPPORT ON THE QUESTION OF THE DISAPPEAREDS. ANGELICA MIGNONE AND RENEE EPEBAUM ARE REPORTED TO BE IN OTTAWA THIS WEEK. THEIR CANADIAN VISIT IS BEING ARRANGED BY THE TORONTO BASED INTER-CHURCH COMMITTEE FOR LATIN AMERICA. THESE TWO MOTHERS AND THREE OTHERS COMING FROM ARGENTINA -- ELIDA GALETTI, HEBE BONAFINA AND MARIA CERRUTI -- PLANNED TO MEET IN WASHINGTON ON OCTOBER 25. WOLA REPRESENTATIVE, SISTER JO MARIE GRIESGRABER, IS EXPECTED TO BE THE PRINCIPAL WASHINGTON CONTACT FOR THE GROUP. WE SUGGESTED THAT THE GROUP CONTACT BUMPUS (ARA/ECA), LISTER (ARA), AND COHEN (HA/HR) TO ARRANGE MEETINGS WITH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS.

2. IN ANOTHER INITIATIVE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS BECOME A MAJOR FOCUS OF ATTENTION FOR THE MOTHERS. A GROUP OF THEM IS MAKING PLANS TO ATTEND THE LATIN AMERICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE IN PUEBLA, MEXICO (HOLD CLOSELY). A LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGN TO THE MAJOR LATIN AMERICAN BISHOPS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA HAS ALREADY BEGUN. IN A RELATED EFFORT, A LETTER WAS SENT ON OCTOBER 2 SIGNED BY 38 MOTHERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF BUENOS AIRES, CARDINAL ARAMBURU, STRONGLY DENOUNCING THE CARDINAL'S REFUSAL TO MENTION [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 08537 01 OF 02 271541Z

THE DISAPPEARANCE QUESTION DURING HIS SERMON TO THE 600,000 LUJAN PILGRIMS. THE LETTER WENT ON TO ASSERT THAT THE MOTHERS HAD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT ARGENTINE CHURCH LEADERS PREFERRED CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE TEMPORAL POWERS AND ITS ADVANTAGES, INSTEAD OF "TESTIFYING TO THE TRUTH" AND "SERVING THE PERSECUTED AND SUFFERING." THE MOTHERS ARE CIRCULATING THE LETTER, WHICH IS THE FIRST PUBLIC ATTACK ON THE ARGENTINE CHURCH'S POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

3. THE MOTHERS' GROUP APPEARS TO BE GROWING IN STRENGTH HERE. THE THURSDAY AFTERNOON GATHERINGS IN THE PLAXA

DE MAYO HAVE BEEN INCREASING IN NUMBERS. DEPENDING ON THE WEATHER, THERE ARE PRESENTLY BETWEEN 200 AND 300 WOMEN IN THE PLAZA EACH THURSDAY. A SPECIAL MOTHERS' DAY MASS ON OCTOBER 15 ANNOUNCED BY ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE LOCAL PRESS REPORTEDLY DREW 2,000 PERSONS TO A CHURCH IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES. AFTER THE MASS, A GROUP ESTIMATED AT OVER 1,000 WALKED IN PROCESSION TO THE PLAZA DE MAYO AND CIRCLED THE PLAZA SEVERAL TIMES BEFORE DISBANDING. EXCEPT FOR A POLICEMAN'S (UNSUCCESSFUL) REQUEST THAT ONE OF THE MOTHERS "ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY" FOR THE MASS AND THE MARCH, THERE WAS NO POLICE INTERFERENCE. THE MOTHERS TOLD EMBOFF THEY WERE VERY PLEASED WITH THE TURNOUT; HOWEVER OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVERS REGRETTED THAT THIS LARGE A DEMONSTRATION PAKSED VIRTUALLY UNNOTICED THROUGH THE DESERTED SUNDAY STREETS OF CENTRAL BUENOS AIRES.

4. ANOTHER POINT WORTH NOTING IS THE DECISION OF THE MOTHERS TO ADOPT NEW VERBAL FORMULATION IN THEIR QUEST FOR INFORMATION. THEY ARE NOW USING THE WORD "DETENIDO" (DETAINEE) TO REFER TO THE MISSING AND ARE SPECIFICALLY REJECTING THE WORD "DESAPARECIDO" (DISAPPEARED) AS A "FALSE" DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM. ONE MOTHER SUMMED UP THE NEW CONCEPT BY STATING THAT

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 08537 01 OF 02 271541Z

"ALL OUR MISSING CHILDREN ARE DETAINEES. 'DESAPARECIDOS' REFERS MERELY TO DRAMAS WITHOUT SOLUTIONS."

5. THE MOTHERS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY OPTIMISTIC REGARDING THE POSSIBILITY OF THE RETURN OF THE DISAPPEARED DUE TO A NUMBER OF REPORTS OF CLANDESTINE DETENTION FACILITIES CIRCULATING IN HUMAN RIGHTS CIRCLES HERE. MANY OF THESE REPORTS ARE ALLEGED TO

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08537 02 OF 02 271551Z
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8537

DETAINEES. (COMMENT: THE EMBASSY IS ASSESSING THESE REPORTS IN A SEPARATE CABLE ON "UNOFFICIAL" DETENTION CENTERS. ALTHOUGH WE KNOW AND GOA OFFICIALS PRIVATELY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SOME "DISAPPEAREDS" ARE HELD IN SUCH CENTERS ONE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE BIAS FAMILIES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS HAVE TOWARD MAINTAINING THIS BELIEF.) END COMMENT.

6. IN ANOTHER RECENT INITIATIVE, ON OCTOBER 10, LETTERS FROM 189 OF THE PLAZA MOTHERS WERE PRESENTED TO THE EMBASSY FOR TRANSMITTAL TO PRESIDENT CARTER. THE LETTERS (WHICH ARE BEING POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT) CONTAIN INFORMATION REGARDING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISAPPEARANCES OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND REQUEST THE PRESIDENT'S HELP.

7. EMBASSY WILL BE GRATEFUL FOR PLAYBACK ON ACTIVITIES OF THE MOTHERS' GROUP IN OTTAWA, NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 08537 02 OF 02 271551Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08355 01 OF 02 281910Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
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O R 281804Z OCT 78
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 8355/1

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: GOC ANNOUNCES GENERAL TRADE UNION ELECTIONS FOR OCT 31.

REF: SANTIAGO 8354

SUMMARY: LATE FRIDAY OCTOBER 27 THE GOC ANNOUNCED THAT ELECTIONS FOR UNION OFFICERS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR WOULD BE HELD THE FOLLOWING TUESDAY. IN FIRSMS WITH EXISTING UNIONS, WORKERS WILL BE ABLE TO VOTE FOR TWO PEOPLE AND THE THREE WINNING THE MOST VOTES WILL SERVE FOUR YEAR TERMS. NO ONE ACTIVE IN POLITICS DURING THE LAST DECADE IS ELIGIBLE FOR OFFICE; NO INCUMBANT MAY BE ELECTED.

ELECTIONS WILL NOT BE HELD FOR ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, STATE-OWNED FIRMS OR AMONG LONGSHOREMEN, THUS THE MEASURES APPARENTLY DO NOT IMMEDIATELY AFFECT THE POSITIONS OF SUCH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS AS TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, ERNESTO VOGEL, OR EDUARDO RIOS. THE MINISTER OF LABOR ALSO

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08355 01 OF 02 281910Z

PROMISED TO BRING OUT A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING DECREE DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1979 AND SAID NEW REGULATIONS FOR THE REST OF THE LABOR SECTOR WOULD BE ANNOUNCED BEFORE THEN. END SUMMARY.

2. THE CHILEAN LABOR MINISTER MINISTER ANNOUNCED FRIDAY NIGHT, OCTOBER 27, THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR WILL HOLD TRADE UNION ELECTIONS TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31. THE MINISTER TOLD THE MEDIA TO COOPERATE AND NOT ATTRIBUTE POLITICAL MOTIVES TO AN ESSENTIALLY TRADE UNION MATTER, OTHERWISE GOC WOULD FIND IT NECESSARY TO APPLY VIGOROUSLY THE POWERS AT ITS DISPOSAL.

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3. THE MINISTER SAID THAT GOVERNMENT WORKERS, WORKERS OF STATE-OWNED CORPORATIONS, AND MARITIME WORKERS WILL NOT PARTICIPATE. ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING THESE WORKERS WILL BE SUBJECT TO FUTURE REGULATIONS TO BE ISSUED PRIOR TO THE INITIATION OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. HE PROM ISED A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW BY THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1979.

4. DECREE LAW 2376 APPEARED IN THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE ON OCTOBER 28. IT ESTABLISHES REGULATIONS FOR ORGANIZATION TRADE UNION IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

-- ARTICLE 2: REMOVES THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN BLUE COLLAR AND WHITE COLLAR UNIONS REQUIRING THE MERGER OF EXISTING LOCAL UNIONS INTO A SINGLE PLANT-WIDE LOCAL. ONLY PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN WITH THE COMPANY FOR AT LEAST TWO YEARS ARE ELIGIBLE TO JOIN THE UNION.

-- ARTICLE 3: REDUCES THE NUMBER OF OFFICERS IN EACH UNION FROM FIVE TO THREE WITH THE EXCEP-

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TION OF STATE-OWNED CORPORATIONS. THESE LATTER WILL CONTINUE TO BE REGULATED BY SEPARATE STATUTES. THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE A UNION IS CONFERRED ONLY AFTER THE BUSINESS HAS BEEN IN EXISTENCE AT LEAST TWO YEARS. THE UNION MUST HAVE 30 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE AFFILIATED AND AT LEAST 25 WORKERS TO CONSTITUTE A UNION. ONCE CONSTITUTED, IF THE MEMBERSHIP DROPS BELOW THESE MINIMUMS, THE UNION IS DISSOLVED IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING LEGISLATION.
-- ARTICLE 4: RAISES THE MINIMUM AGE TO HOLD UNION OFFICE FROM 18 TO 21 YEARS OLD AND REQUIRES A MINIMUM OF FIVE YEARS IN THE COMPANY TO HOLD UNION OFFICE. THIS ARTICLE EXCLUDES ANYONE WHO DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS HAS ENGAGED IN PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BEEN A DUES-PAYING MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY OR RUN FOR PUBLIC OFFICE.

-- ARTICLE 5: PROVIDES FOR ENFORCEMENT OF ARTICLE 4, GIVING LABOR INSPECTORS POWER TO REMOVE FROM OFFICE ANYONE WHO DOES NOT MEET THE TESTS OF THE PREVIOUS ARTICLE. LEGAL REMEDIES OF APPEAL ARE SPELLED OUT.

-- ARTICLE 6: PRESCRIBES AN OATH FORESWEARING PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY WHILE HOLDING UNION OFFICE. PERSONS REFUSING TO TAKE THIS OATH ARE DISQUALIFIED AND THE UNION POSITION FILLED IN ACCORDANCE WITH DL 198. (DL 198

PROVIDES FOR GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT OF UNION OFFICIALS.)

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-- ARTICLE 7: PROVIDES FOR REMOVAL OF UNION OFFICIALS AND /OR DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION SHOULD IT RESUSE TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS IF REQUESTED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 08355 01 OF 02 281910Z

-- ARTICLE 8: PROHIBITS UNIONS FROM PAYING DUES TO FEDERATIONS NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO FIELD OF ENDEAVOR OF THE BASE UNION.

-- ARTICLE 9: PROHIBITS EMPLOYERS FROM MAKING DUES CHECKOFFS TO ORGANIZATION NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE COMPANY.

-- ARTICLE 10: PROHIBITS THOSE WORKING IN A NON-UNION SHOP FROM JOINING ANOTHER UNION.

ARTICLE 11: REQUIRES THAT WORKERS BE EMPLOYED TWO YEARS PRIOR TO JOINING A UNION.

-- ARTICLE 12: PROMISES A COMPREHENSIVE TRADE UNION LAW WITHIN ONE YEAR.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08355 02 OF 02 281914Z
ACTION ARA-15

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-- ARTICLE 13: PROHIBITS THE GOVERNMENT FROM MAKING DUES CHECKOFFS TO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE ASSOCIATION: AND
-- ARTICLE 14: REPEALS ALL LAWS CONTRARY TO THE PRESENT LAW EXCEPT IN COPPER MINING AND MARITIME SECTOR

5. ELEVEN TRANSITORY ARTICLES PROVIDE THE RULES FOR VOTING (EACH WORKER WILL VOTE FOR TWO PEOPLE, THE TOP THREE WIN FOUR YEAR TERMS). THEY MAKE INCUMBANTS INELIGIBLE FOR ELECTION. THEY ALSO REQUIRE ALL UNION OFFICERS IN ORGANIZATIONS NOT HOLDING ELECTIONS (I.E., THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND LONGSHOREMEN) TO SWEAR THEY ARE NOT NOW AND WILL NOT IN THE FUTURE ENGAGE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. ANOTHER ARTICLE PROVIDES STILL SANCTIONS FOR ANYONE WHO TRIES TO FRUSTRATE THE ELECTORAL PROCESS ("ATENTA CONTRA LA NORMALIDAD DEL ACTO Y OBSTACULICE LA MATERIALIZACION DEL MISMO").

6. A SUPREME DECREE OF THE LABOR MINISTRY APPEARING IN THE SAME DAY'S GAZZETTE INCORPORATES THE FOREGOING POINTS BUT, , "TO [redacted]

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ENSURE COMPLETE FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY THE WORKERS,"MAKES IT A CRIME TO DISTRIBUTE PLATFORMS, PUBLICITY OR TO OTHERWISE CAMPAIGN FOR UNION OFFICE.

7. COMMENT: OUR PRELIMINARY READING OF THE DECREE IS THAT DOES NOT IMMEDIATELY AND DIRECTLY JEOPARDIZE THE POSITIONS OF SUCH DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AS TUCAPEL JIMENEZ (GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES), ERNESTO OGEL (STATE-OWNED RAILROADS), EDUARDO RIOS (LONG-SHOREMEN); OR UNTRACH LEADER HERNOL FLORES (GOVERNMENT-OWNED POST AND TELEGRAPH).
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] STOCKHOLM 4337

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: SHUM, AR, SW
SUBJECT: GOA INFORMATION ON HAGELIN DISAPPEARANCE

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8402

IN CONVERSATION WITH MFA POLITICAL DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR KNUT THYBERG ON OCTOBER 27, POLCOUNS ASKED WHETHER ANY OFFICIAL WORD HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES RE HAGELIN CASE. THYBERG INDICATED MFA HAD RECEIVED A CABLE FROM BUENOS AIRES EARLIER IN THE DAY CONVEYING INFORMATION PROVIDED COVERTLY BY GOA MINISTRY OF INTERIOR CONTACT. INFORMATION, IN FACT, WAS DRAFT LETTER FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR TO GOA FONMIN WHICH IS TO BE BASIS OF REPLY TO GOS NEXT WEEK. THYBERG SAID GIST OF LETTER IS THAT, DESPITE ALL EFFORTS, GOA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO DETERMINE HAGELIN FATE. THYBERG, IN ANSWER TO QUESTION, SAID GOS ON HAGELIN CASE HAS BEEN DEALING WITH MFA AND NOT ARGENTINE NAVY OR ADMIRAL MASSERA.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08354 281729Z
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

[redacted] SANTIAGO 8354

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, PINS, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: CONTINUING REACTION TO INTERIOR MINISTER'S DECREES

REF: SANTIAGO 8322

1. SUMMARY: LARGELY ECLIPSED BY LABOR MINISTER'S OCTOBER 27 SPEECH (SEPTEL), THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TAKING STEPS TO CLOSE DOWN UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH SEVEN MARXIST-LED FEDERATIONS DISSOLVED BY DECREE OCTOBER 19. AMONG THEM IS THE WORKERS UNION AT EXXON-OWNED LA DISPUTADA COPPER MINE. PROHIBITED BY ANOTHER DECREE FROM SPEAKING AS THE GROUP OF TEN, SEVENTY-TWO DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS (INCLUDING THE TEN) ISSUED A PUBLIC STATEMENT OCTOBER 25. THE STATEMENT ASSERTS THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTRY DECREES VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN PRINCIPLES AND ARE CERTAINLY NO WAY TO ENGENDER NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. END SUMMARY

2. POLICE HAVE SEALED THE OFFICES OF THE WORKERS UNION [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08354 281729Z

AT LA DISPUTADA COPPER MINE UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF AN OCTOBER 19 DECREE DISSOLVING SEVEN MARXIST-LED LABOR CONFERERATIONS AND AFFILIATES. THE MINE, OWNED BY EXXON, IS IN THE MOUNTAINS NEAR SANTIAGO. ALSO CLOSED WERE THE MELON CEMENT COMPANY WORKERS UNION AND THE SCHATT TEXTILE MILL WORKERS UNION, BOTH IN THE CENTRAL VALLEY TOWN LA CALERA. THE GOVERNMENT ENTRUSTED THE UNIONS' PROPERTY TO THE COMPANIES FOR SAFEKEEPING. (COMMENT: HERETOFORE TRADITIONAL CHILEAN PRACTICE HAS BEEN TO HAVE SEPARATE UNIONS FOR BLUE AND WHITE COLLAR WORKERS IN THE SAME PLANT. THE CLOSURES REPORTED ABOVE AFFECT THE BLUE COL-

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LAR WORKERS: THE EMPLEADOS' UNIONS ARE UNAFFECTED.)

3. NO LONGER ABLE TO SPEAK AS THE "GROUP OF TEN" UNDER ANOTHER OCTOBER 19 DECREE DISSOLVING ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS NOT LEGALLY REGISTERED, DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS SUCH AS EDUARDO RIOS, ERNESTO VOGEL AND TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, JOINED SIXTY-NINE OTHERS IN SIGNING A PUBLIC STATEMENT STRONGLY CRITICAL OF THE INTERIOR MINISTRY'S DECREES. THE SEVEN POINT STATEMENT SAYS THAT:
-- THE DECREES VIOLATE THE JUNTA'S OWN PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT ENUNCIATED IN CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS;
-- THEY VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS, CHILEAN TRADITION, FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, AND OTHER RIGHTS SET FORTH IN INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONVENTIONS;
-- THE PROVISION TO REMOVE ANY PUBLIC WORKER PLACES A SWORD OF DAMOCLES OVER AN ALREADY BELEAGUERED SECTOR;
-- THE DISSOLUTION DECREE DEPRIVES THOUSANDS OF UNION REPRESENTATION BECAUSE OF THE BELIEFS OF A FEW UNION LEADERS AND CAN ONLY SERVE TO HELP ORGANIZERS USED TO WORKING UNDERGROUND;
-- THE SWEEPING DEFINITION PERMITTING SANCTIONS [redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 08354 281729Z

AGAINST ANYONE WHO "PRESUMES TO REPRESENT SECTORS OF WORKERS" INTIMIDATES THE WHOLE SOCIETY;
-- THE GOC DID NOT ADDRESS THE RESTRICTIONS PROHIBITING UNION ELECTIONS, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, ETC. (COMMENT: THESE POINTS WERE COVERED IN MINLAB SPEECH, SEE SEPTELS); AND
-- THE DECREES WIDEN SOCIETAL SCHISMS RATHER THAN IMPROVING PROSPECTS FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

4. FORU PRO-GOVERNMENT LABOR LEADERS WERE REPORTED BY THE PRESS AS CONDEMNING ANY BOYCOTT SPONSORED BY THE "LEFTIST AMERICAN TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, AFL-CIO".

5. AND HIGH GLOSS NEWSMAGAZINE "COSAS" REVIEWED THE BACKGROUND OF AFL-CIO'S LONGSTANDING CONCERN OVER THE CHILEAN LABOR SCENE. IT TOOK AS A BENCHMARK THE MARCH, 1976, SOLIDARITY VISIT AND THE OCTOBERN 1976, MESSAGE FROM MEANY TO PINOCHET. MEANY, REACTING TO THE REMOVAL OF A DEMOCRATIC HEAD OF THE COPPER CONFEDERATION, SUGGESTED A CHANGE IN AFL-CIO'S PREVIOUS OPPOSITION TO A CHILEAN BOYCOTT. THE ARTICLE, BACKGROUNDED BY BUT NOT ATTRIBUTED TO LABATT, COUNTERED THE ARGUMENT THAT THE AFL-CIO WAS ACTING NOW AS PART OF A CONCERTED ATTACK TO TOPPLE PINOCHET.
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __

UNCLAS STATE 276371

E.O.111652 N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: ARGENTINE NATIONALS:MR. AND MRS. DEPRATTI

1. PLEASE RAISE THE FOLLOWING HUSBAND AND WIFE CASE WITH THE FOWG;

OSVALDO NEREO DEPRATTI
AGE: 29
DOCUMENT NO.: L.E. 6.I52.836
PARENTS: RUBEN DEPRATTI AND MARIA LUISA DI PIERRO
HOME ADDRESS: [redacted] B6

MARIA NELIDA RAMIREZ ABELLA DE DEPRATTI
AGE: 24
DOCUMENT NO.: I0.995.241
PARENTS: CARLOS ALBERTO RAMIREZ ABELLA AND MARIA HYDEE PEREZ MARTIN, [redacted] B6

THEY WERE TAKEN FROM THEIR HOME BY FORCE 29 DECEMBER 77.

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PAGE 02 STATE 276371

2. SENATOR HOWARD H. BAKER OF TENNESSEE HAS EXPRESSED HIS INTEREST IN THIS CASE. VANCE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08391 01 OF 02 302122Z
ACTION ARA-15

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1055
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 8391

PASS SUBSTANCE AFL-CIO AND AIFLD

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS PROTEST RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE UNION ELECTIONS

REF: SANTIAGO 8355

1. SUMMARY: DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS ISSUED AN AS YET UNPUBLISHED STATEMENT PROTESTING LEGISLATION FOR PRIVATE SECTOR UNION ELECTIONS ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31. PROTEST STATES THAT LAW IS TECHNICALLY DEFECTIVE IN ONLY PERMITTING TWO WORKING DAYS TO PREPARE FOR AN ELECTION IN SEVERAL THOUSAND WORK PLACES THROUGHOUT CHILE AND BY AUTHORIZING SANCTIONS AGAINST ANYONE WHO CRITICIZES THE PROCESS OR EVEN, SUGGESTS CANDIDATES. THE STATEMENT ALSO PROTESTS THAT THE NEW LAW MAKES IT AN "EX POST FACTO CRIME" TO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY DURING THE LAST TEN

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08391 01 OF 02 302122Z

YEARS AND DISCRIMINATES AGAINST PERSONS WHO HELD UNNION OFFICE DURING THE CURRENT REGIME. THE TRADE UNIONISTS SPECIFICALLY ATTACKED THE LAW'S REQUIREMENT THAT WHITE AND BLUE COLLAR UNIONS PRESENTLY EXISTING BE REESTABLISHED AFTER THE ELECTION AS PLANT-WIDE EMPLOYEE ASSOCIATIONS WHICH INCLUDE PARTICIPATION OF MANAGEMENT AND LABOR WITHOUT DISTINCTION. DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS ALSO POINT OUT THAT RESTRICTIVE TRADE UNION LEGISLATION EXISTING SINCE 1973 HAS NOT BEEN REPEALED BUT REINFORCED BY THIS LAW. ACCORDING TO STATEMENT, THE GOC WILL CONTINUE TO DENY THE RIGHT TO MEET FREELY, BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY AND ELECT TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP, AND THAT OCTOBER 31 ELECTION IS A TEMPORARY ONE TIME SUSPENSION

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OF THIS RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION. THE "GROUP OF TEN" HOPES THE AFL-CIO WILL LABEL THE ELECTORAL PROCESS A HOX ("BURLA"). EX-MINISTER OF LABOR RETIRED AIR FORCE GENERAL NICANOR DIAZ MAKES SMILIAR POINTS OVER ONE TEMERARIOUS LOCAL RADIO STATION. MEANWHILE THE GOC IS MONOPOLIZING THE MEDIA AND REMINDING WORKERS THAT NO ONE ACTIVE IN POLITICS WILL BE PERMITTED TO TAKE OFFICE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE "GROUP OF TEN" ISSUED A DECLARATION OCTOBER 29 CONCERNING THE SCHEDULED OCTOBER 31 ELECTIONS FOR TRADE UNION OFFICE. THE DECLARATION MAKES THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- MINISTRY OF INTERIOR DECREE LAW 2347 OF OCTOBER 20 HAD ALREADY MADE IT A CRIME FOR TRADE UNION LEADERS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL TO REPRESENT MUNICIPAL, GOVERNMENT AND STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISE WORKERS ON BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES. (COMMENT: SUCH GROUPS AND JIMINEZ, ANEF, VOGEL'S RAILROAD WORKERS AND NORABUENA'S SUGAR WORKERS ARE, TECHNICALLY, MUTUAL ASSOCIATIONS REGISTERED WITH MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND NOT TRADE UNIONS WHICH ARE REGISTERED WITH MINISTRY OF LABOR).

-- THE NEW LAW REDEFINING PRIVATE SECTOR UNIONS MAKES IT A CRIME FOR ANYONE EXCEPT NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS TO ENGAGE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, AND DOES NOT CALL FOR ELECTIONS AT THE

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FEDERATION OR CONFEDERATION LEVEL.

-- THE NEW LAW INDUCES AN EX POST FACTO SANCTION AGAINST ANYONE WHO ENGAGED IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY OVER PAST TEN YEARS (WHEN, OF COURSE, POLITICAL ACTIVITY WAS A VALUED RIGHT).

-- THE DECREE DISCRIMINATES AGAINST CURRENT TRADE UNION LEADERS JUST BECAUSE THEY HELD OFFICE DURING THE CURRENT REGIME.

-- THE IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS OF THE TUESDAY ELECTIONS EVEN MAKE IT A CRIME TO POSTULATE CANDIDATES OR CAMPAIGN FOR TRADE UNION OFFICE. BUT THE GOC AND ITS SYCOPHANTS USE THE MEDIA MASSIVELY.

-- THE NEW LAW ALLOWS ONLY 48 HOURS (TWO WORK DAYS) TO PREPARE FOR THE VOTE.

-- COMBINED WITH DL 2347 (OP. CIT.) THE NEW LAW WILL LEAVE MANY WORKERS COMPLETELY WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

-- THE TWO LAWS ATOMIZE THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT PUTTING WORKERS AT THE DISPOSAL OF INEXPERIENCE LEADERS TO NEGOTIATE FUTURE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING CONTRACTS WHILE MANAGEMENT CAN NOT ONLY PARTICIPATE IN THE UNION, IT CAN ALSO DRAW ON PAST COLLECTIVE BARGAINING EXPERIENCE. STRIKES ARE NOT PERMITTED.

-- THE NEW LAWS MAINTAING DECREE LAW 198 IN FULL FORCE SUSPENDING IT ONLY FOR TUESDAY'S ELECTION. FUTURE TRADE UNNION OFFICERS WILL BE APPOINTED BY THE GOC JUST AS IN THE PAST.

3. FORMER MINISTER OF LABOR, RETIRED AIR FORCE GENERAL NICANOR DIAZ ESTRADA MADE A STRONG DECLARATION (CARRIED ON RADIO COOPERATIVE OCTOBER 30) PROTESTING THE NEW ELECTION LAW. HE SAID THE LAW WENT AGAINST ALL PRINCIPLES OF FREE TRADE UNION ELECTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS. DIAZ STATED THAT DENIAL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RIGHT OF PRESENT TRADE UNION LEADERS TO BE REELECTED WAS

A DENIAL OF TRADE UNION FREEDOM. HE THEN OUTLINED THE HISTORY OF THIS GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO USE TRADE UNION LEADERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM INCLUDING TO HELP PREVENT AN ITF BOYCOTT. NOW, HE ASSERTED, THE GOC IS SIMPLY THROWING THEM OUT -- BY LAW.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08391 02 OF 02 302132Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04
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O R 302020Z OCT 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1056
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 8391

PASS SUBSTANCE AFL-CIO AND AIFLD

4. GOC ANNOUNCEMENTS REGARDING THE ELECTIONS APPEAR EVERY FEW MINUTES ON RADIO AND T.V. THE PROPAGANDA BLITZ ALSO REMINDS WORKERS TO VOTE FOR APOLITICAL CHOICES SINCE ANYONE SUBSEQUENTLY IDENTIFIED AS HAVING BEEN POLITICALLY ACTIVE DURING THE LAST DECADE WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO TAKE OFFICE. THE GOVERNMENT SAYS THAT THE FOLLOWING SECTORS WOULD NOT PARTICIPATEIN THE TUESDAY'S ELECTIONS:

-- MARITIME SECTOR WORKERS
-- FARM WORKERS
-- ALL FEDERATIONS
-- ALL CONFEDERATIONS
-- TRADE UNIONS ORGANIZED OUTSIDE OFPARTICULAR COMPANY (E.G. TEAMSTERS...)
-- TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS WHICH REPRESENT MORE THAN ONE COMPANY (E.G. RETAIL CLERKS)
-- TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS BELONGING TO STATE-OWNED

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08391 02 OF 02 302132Z

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CORPORATIONS.

5. COMMENT: WHAT WITH THE THREE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR DECREES OF OCTOBER 19 AND THE MINISTER OF LABOR'S RESTRUCTURING DECREE AND REGULATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING PRIVATE SECTOR UNION ELECTIONS OF OCTOBER 27, THE SITUATION HAS BECOME COMPLEX. WHAT THE NEW RULES MEAN WILL BECOME CLEARER DURING THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AND MONTHS AS THE GOC IMPLEMENTS THEM AND ISSUES THE DECREES PROMISTED FOR THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

6. ELECTIONS OF ANY KIND ARE A RARITY IN THE JUNTA'S CHILE. AS WE SAID DURING THE JANUARY CONSULTA, THEY MAY HAVE UNFORESEEN POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES. FURTHERMORE, MUCH AS THE APRIL AMNESTY WAS A NECESSARY PRECONDITION TO MOVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL AREA, SOME RESTRUCTURING ("PURIFICATION") OF THE LABOR SECTOR WAS A PRECONDITION FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THE RESTORATION OF TRADEMUUNION RIGHTS.

7. THERE REMAINS, HOWEVER, A QUESTION OF MEANS AND ENDS. ONE APPARENT CONSEQUENCE OF THE WAY THE GOC PLANS TO PURIFY PRIVATE SECTOR LABOR IS TO ELIMINATE THE PREVIOUS STRUCTURE OF SEPARATE BLUE AND WHITE COLLAR UNIONS AND REPLACE THEM WITH A SINGLE NEGOTIATING ENTITY WITH FEWER OFFICERS. THERE IS A SUPPOSITION THAT UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS, THE WORKERS WILL INCLINE TOWARD A WHITE COLLAR REPRESENTATIVE WHO WILL BE MORE MALLEABLE TO MANAGEMENT. THE GROUND RULES ALSO COMPLICATE THE FORMATION OF FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE ELECTION DECREE ENSURES THAT VIRTUALLY NO PERSON WHO HAS HELD OFFICE, EVEN THOSE THE GOC APPOINTED IN THE PAST, WILL BE ABLE TO REPRESENT THE UNION. INEXPERIENCE MAY BE A MAJOR ASSET FOR MANAGEMENT ONCE COLLECTIVE BARGANING IS ALLOWED. ON THE OTHER HAND AT LEAST ONE LARGE PRIVATE FIRM HAS EXPRESSED STRONG CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBLY DISRUPTIVE EFFECT OF NEOPHYTE LABOR LEADERS MAKING UNREALISTIC

[redacted]

WAGE AND BENEFIT DEMANDS. THE ARGUMENT IS THAT MANAGEMENT PREFERS EXPERIENCE LABOR LEADERS WHO ARE MASTERS OF THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE. (VIZ. UNDERSTAND HOW TO READ A BALANCE SHEET.)

8. AN ADDITIONAL CONCERN STEMS FROM WHAT THIS ELECTORAL PROCESS DOES FOR THE FUTURE LEGITIMACY OF ELECTIONS. PERHAPS THROUGH LACK OF COMPREHENSION AS TO THE ROLE OF ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRACIES, THE DRAFTERS OF THE CURRENT RULES ARE -- BY PROHIBITING CAMPAIGING, LISTS OF CANDIDATES, TIME TO DISCUSS ISSUES -- CREATING A KIND OF POPULARITY CONTEST, PRESUMABLY BASED ON WORKERS' GENERAL KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR COLLEAGUES. THIS DENIGRATION OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS MAY H
AVE LONGER TERM CONSEQUENCES FOR THE POSSIBLE RESTORATIO
N
OF DEMOCRACY IN CHILE.

9. THE INDIVIDUAL CONCERNS OF SOME TOP MEMBERS OF THE "GROUP

OF TEN" ARE REPORTED IN A SEPTEL. THEY BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT SPATE OF NEW RULES CONTAINS AUTHORITY TO CRUSH THEM. SO FAR, HOWEVER, THEY ARE STILL NOT CERTAIN JUST WHAT THE GOC PLANS.
LANDAU

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08392 01 OF 02 302324Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 HA-05 COME-00
EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /085 W
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O R 302125Z OCT 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1057
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 8392

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ELAB SHUM CI
SUBJECT: POSITION OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS UNDER ELECTION LAW

REF: SANTIAGO 8391

1. SUMMARY: GROUP OF TEN UNION LEADERS, JIMENEZ, VOGEL AND RIOS TOLD AMBASSADOR OCT 30 THAT THE NEW LABOR LEGISLATION SERIOUSLY AFFECTED EIGHT OF THEIR MEMBERS, ESSENTIALLY LEAVING THEIR MEMBERSHIP WITHOUT ANY LABOR REPRESENTATION. THE GROUP ALSO SAID THAT ONLY THE COMMUNIST LABOR COULD PROFIT FROM THE OCT 31 ELECTIONS. THEY CONCLUDED THEY WOULD EXPLAIN THEIR POSITION TO THE AFL-CIO THROUGH THE AIFLD REPRESENTATIVE BRUCE JAY. END SUMMARY

2. EDUARDO RIOS, PRESIDENT OF THE MARITIME CONFEDERATION, ERNESTO VOGEL, PRESIDENT OF THE RAILWAY WORKERS AND TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES UNION MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR, THE POL AND ECON COUNSELORS AND CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

LABATT OCT 30.

3. THE TRADE UNIONISTS SAID THAT THE NEW LAW (DL2376) SHOULD BE LOOKED AT IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE THREE MINISTERIAL DECREES OF OCT 19 TO DETERMINE ITS EFFECT ON THEIR ORGANIZATIONS. DECREE LAW 2347 MADE IT A CRIME FOR TRADE UNIONS WITHOUT JURIDICAL PERSONALITY TO REPRESENT WORKERS. THIS LAW IMMEDIATELY DISSOLVED RIOS' MARITIME CONFEDERATION (COMACH) AS A TRADE UNION AS WELL GROUP OF TEN'S SUGAR WORKERS (IANSA) MINE AND SMELTER WORKERS (ENA) AND THE PETROLEUM WORKERS CONFEDERATION.
THE LAW THEY SAID, ALSO AFFECTED VOGEL'S RAILWAY WORKER'S

FEDERATION AND JIMENEZ'S PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION BECAUSE THEIR REGISTRATORS DOES NOT PERMIT THEM TO REPRESENT WORKERS, RATHER THEY ARE REORGANIZED BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE TO PERMIT THEM TO PROVIDE WELFARE AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THEIR MEMBERSHIP. THE THREE SAID THAT IT NOW ILLEGAL FOR ANY OF THESE SEVEN FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF WORKERS, AS IT IS FOR THE GOUP OF TEN AS A WHOLE.

5. ALSO AFFECTED ACCORDING TO THE TRIO, IS THE PLASTICS AND GLASS WORKERS CONFEDERATION. IT HAS JURIDICAL RECOGNITION TO REPRESENT WORKERS. PLASTIC WORKERS ARE SUBJECT TO THE NEW ELECTION LAW FOR OCT 31 AND MUST ELECT NEW LEADERS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. HOWEVER, THE FEDERATION'S CONSTITUTION REQUIRES THAT CONFEDERATION LEADERS BE ALSO LEADERS OF LOCAL UNION. BY THE LAW NONE OF THE PRESENT FEDERATION LEADERS ARE PERMITTED TO BE CANDIDATES FOR THE LOCAL OFFICE. IT WOULD SEEM, THEN, THAT THEY MUST GIVE UP NATIONAL OFFICE AND THE GOC WILL BE ABLE TO APPOINT NEW LEADERS FOR THE PLASTIC WORKER'S CONFEDERATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH DL 198. ONLY THE TWO CAMPESINO ORGANIZATIONS DO NOT SEEM TO BE AFFECTED BY THESE LAWS.

6. THE TEN NOTED THAT AT THE FEDERATION LEVEL THEY WERE NOW [redacted]

[redacted]

SUBJECT TO A FINANCIAL SQUEEZE. THE NEW ELECTION LAW (DL 2376) IN ARTICLE 13 SPECIFICALLY FORBIDS THE STATE TO DEDUCT DUES FROM PUBLIC EMPLOYEES FOR A LABOR ORGANIZATION. THIS ARTICLE ELIMINATED THE FINANCING FOR ALL LOCAL AS WELL AS NATIONAL PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS. VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS MAY BE MADE OR COLLECTED OUTSIDE OF THE CHECKOFF SYSTEM. THOSE UNIONS AFFECTED BY DL 2347 HAD ONLY RECEIVED VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM LOCAL AFFILIATES. THE LATEST DECREE'S ART 8 PROHIBITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO NON-LABOR GROUPS. THIS ARTICLE ALSO PROHIBITS ANY CONTRIBUTION TO LABOR CENTRALS OR LABOR GROUPS MIXING DIVERSE ECONOMIC SECTORS. ALL BT THE PLASTIC WORKERS AND THE TWO CAMPESINO GROUPS WOULD APPEAR TO BE AFFECTED BY THIS PROVISION.

7. RIOS POINTED TO ARTICLE 14 OF DL2376 WHICH APPEARS TO APPLY TO THE MARITIME AND COPPER WORKERS THE POLITICAL CRITERIA CONTAINED IN ARTICLE 4. THIS ARTICLE WOULD REQUIRE THAT LOCAL AND FEDERATION LEADERS IN THE MARITIME AND COPPER MINING SECTORS MUST, WITHIN IN 30 DAYS SWEAR THAT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY OR HELD PARTY OFFICE DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS. (OTHER PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08392 02 OF 02 302322Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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O R 302125Z OCT 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1058
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
USCINCSO

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 8392

UNION LEADERS ALSO EXCLUDED FROM THE VOTING ON OCT 31 ARE NOT SPECIFICALLY REQUIRED TO MAKE SUCH A DECLAREION). RIOS STATED THAT HE OF COURSE, DID NOT MEET THIS POLITICAL TEST. ONLY EDUARDO RIOS WOULD SEEM TO BE AFFECTED BY ARTICLE 14. IN THE GROUP OF TEN.

8. TURNING TO MORE GENERAL CRITICISM, THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS TATED THAT DECREE 2346 WHICH DISSOLVED SEVEN COMMUNIST-LED FEDRATIONS FELL MEAVILY ON THEIR AFFILIATED (AND NOT UNSIGIFICANT NUMBER OF) DEMOCRATIC LOCAL UNIONS. THE TRIO ASSERTED THAT THESE LOCALS HAD INVESTED THEIR MONEY IN PROVIDING WELFARE BENEFITS TO THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN THE FORM OF VACTION HOUSING, UNION HALLS, SPORTS STADIUMS AND MEDICAL CENTERS. THESE GOODS ARE ALL BEING CONFISCATED BY THE STATE. THE COMMUNIST UNIONS, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD NOT SPENT THEIR INVESTMENTS TO BENEFIT THEIR MEMBERSHIP AND HAD LITTLE FOR THE GOC TO CONFISCATE. THE THREE SAID THEY BELIEVED THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAD LEARNED OF THIS DECREE PRIOR TO ITS PROMULGATION AND REMOVED ALL INCRIMINATING DOCUMENTS FROM THEIR UNION HALLS. THEY ALSO REMOVED MOST THINGS OF VALUE.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08392 02 OF 02 302322Z

9. MOST DAMAGING TO THE NEW ELECTORAL PROCESS IS THE CONTINUED VITALITY OF DECREE LAW 198 OF DECEMBER 197. TRANSITION ARTICLES 6 AND 7 OF THE NEW LAW REVITALIZES DL198 AND REFERS TO PROVISIONS CONTAINED THEREIN FOR GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT OF TRADE UNION LEADERS AS THE PREFERED MANNER OF FILLING UNION VACANCIES AFTER THE OCT 31 ELECTIONS. DL 198 ALSO RESTRICTS THE RIGHT TO MEET FREELY.

10. THE GROUP SAID THAT THEY BELIEVED THAT ONE OF THEM SHOULD

TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES TO EXPLAIN THEIR SITUATION TO THE AFL-CIO. THE AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT THE FACTS SPOKE FOR THEMSELVES AND THE GOC WOULD PROBABLY ONLY USE THEIR TRIP AGAINST THEM AND THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT. THEO GROUP AGREED AND SAID THAT THEY WOULD COMMUNICATE THEIR OPINIONS TO THE AFL-CIO THROUGH BRUCE JAY ON HIS RETURN NOVEMBER 1.

11. COMMENT: THE MEETING WAS POSITIVE. THE THREE TRADE UNION LEADERS LEFT FEELING THAT THEIR VIEWPOINTS WOULD BE HEARD IN THE UNITED STATES BY BOTH THE AFL-CIO AND THE USG. THERE WILL BE NO PRESS ATTENTION TO THIS MEETING.

12. IN A JURIDICALLY CONFUSED SITUATION, THE STATUS OF PRIVATE SECTOR FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS IS PARTICULARLY MURKY. LOCAL UNIONS, AFTER THEY ARE RECONSTITUTED AS AN EMPLOYEES UNION RATHER THAN WHITE OR BLUE COLLAR UNIONS, APPARENTLY MUST DECIDE WITH WHICH FEDERATION, IF ANY, TO AFFILIATE. IN THE CASE WHERE THE LOCAL UNIONS ARE NOT VOTING OCT 31, FEDERATION OFFICERS NOT AFFECTED BY OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE LAW WOULD MAINTAIN THEIR POSITION UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THEY WISH TO ENGAGE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. THE LAW REQUIRES THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF UNIONS ENGAGING IN COLLECTIVE BARGAIN BE CHANGED BY ELECTIONS ON OCT 31 OR BY DL 198 AT SOME FUTURE DATE.

[redacted]

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FREDERICA MUJICA'S CONFEDERATION OF PRIVATE EMPLOYEES IS PARTICULARLY DAMAGED BY THE NEW LAWS WHICH PROHIBIT PAYING DUES TO LABOR CENTRALS GROUPING UNIONS FROM DIVERSE SECTORS.
LANDAU

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

American Association for the Advancement of Science

1515 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW, WASHINGTON, D. C., 20005

Phone: 467-4400 (Area Code 202) Cable Address: Advancesci, Washington, D. C.

(5) 13 R

BI 169

October 31, 1978

F. Allen Harris
American Embassy(political section)
Department of State
APO Miami, Florida 34034

Dear Tex:

I am sending this letter along to you in the hope that you may have some information on the former student of Professor Jones.

Regards,

Bruce Alan Kiernan
Human Rights Coordinator

Encl.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

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BH161A_N

Buenos Aires, noviembre de 1978.

Señor Embajador
de los EE.UU. de Norteamérica
Dr.Raul Castro
Presente.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

De nuestra mayor consideración:

Nos es particularmente grato dirigirnos a la máxima autoridad de su país en la Argentina.

Las abajo firmantes formamos parte de un sector de nuestra sociedad que está padeciendo la más dolorosa de las torturas.

Somos madres de desaparecidos,nuestros hijos secuestrados por Fuerzas de Seguridad son en su mayoría profesionales,universitarios,trabajadores y religiosos que se oponen a la opresión de su pueblo,sin que ello signifique que puedan ser sospechados de terroristas,pero la violenta represión ejercida avasalló sin discriminación a terroristas y disidentes.

Ante este doloroso proceso que perturba cada una de nuestras familias y habiendo agotado todo intento de solución con las Autoridades Argentinas por la insistente negativa que expresan,vemos con creciente angustia el futuro.

Sin embargo,el Señor Coronel San Román en representación del Ministerio del Interior,nos ha informado en la última entrevista,que los Desaparecidos son un grave problema a resolver por el Gobierno.

De acuerdo a estas expresiones y a nuestro desesperado reclamo,es que pensamos que los Gobiernos Amigos de la República Argentina podrían auspiciar medidas que ayudaran a mejorar este sombrío panorama. Una forma de hacerlo sería ofreciendo para una cantidad a estipular por su Gobierno,de visas o asilo como Refugiados a personas desaparecidas que eventualmente serían localizadas sin que ello signifique "intromisión en asuntos internos del país".

Esto que proponemos sería una cuestión de estudio por parte de los Gobiernos Amigos,los mismos procederían sin dañar la imagen del país,y sin crear fricciones en la relación entre los gobiernos que nos ayudaren y el Argentino.

Esta ayuda solidaria y humana marcará un hito en la Historia de la Humanidad.

Es por ello que solicitamos de su generosa disposición una breve entrevista personal que no dudamos será positiva.

Reciba nuestros respetos.

Madres de Plaza de Mayo.

Nora de Cortiñas
LC 00195088 624-5897

Julio de Vargaus
48-0550

BH1614B (S) 35 R

MOTHERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO LETTER TO AMBASSADOR CASTRO

(Summary)

These mothers ask for help in finding out the whereabouts of their detained and disappeared relatives.

They discuss the bad conditions in the jails, the fact that detainees are not able to offer a defence, that they are tortured and punished and held under PEN without any reason.

They write about the right of option to leave the country, noting that it is practically impossible to obtain the certificates from the foreign countries embassies.

They ask for help that their sons, husbands etc. be judged and that they be informed what they have done and where they are held.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

10/31/78

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BI 1694

October 31, 1978

Herbert Jones
Department of Botany
220 Biological Sciences Center
1445 Gortner Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55108

Dear Dr. Jones:

I am in response to your letter of 18 September concerning your former student, Mrs. Gladys Mazzei de Planas.

I was not able to locate her while in Buenos Aires, but I have referred the matter to the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires. Any information I receive will be communicated to you.

Sincerely,

Bruce Alan Kiernan
Human Rights Coordinator

cc: F. Allen Harris

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 11652:

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY

PLEASE CABLE ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON FOLLOWING CASE. ARGENTINE CITIZEN JORGE ALBERTO TORNAY NIGRO DISAPPEARED SEPTEMBER 1 AT 6 P.M., AFTER LEAVING HIS EMPLOYMENT AT DOSICENTA, S.A. ENTERPRISES, AVENIDA BELGRANO 748. TELEPHONE NUMBER 30-54-97 BUENOS AIRES. TORNAY LIVES AT [redacted] BORN 1947. CEDULA 8-568-812. HABEAS CORPUS FILED OCTOBER 4. VANCE

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10/31/78

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ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8112
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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8646

E.O8 11652 GDS
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE FROM VILLA DEVOTO PRISON OF MIREYE ESTER ROJO (361-78-4)

REF: STATE 263961

1. THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMED THE EMBASSY ON JUNE 27, 1978 THAT SUBJECT WAS BEING HELD IN VILLA DEVOTO PRISON IN BUENOS AIRES FOR SUSPECTED LINKS WITH THE "EJERCITO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO".

2. IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL, WE HAVE INITIATED A FOLLOW-UP INQUIRY ON ROJOS' PRESENT WHEREABOUTS WITH FOREIGN OFFICE.

CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): 1.5 X6
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
(X) Classify as C ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date 5/19/01 Declassify on 5/19/11 Reason 1.5 X6

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08447 011908Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
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INR-10 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AID-05 PM-05
H-01 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 SYE-00 PC-01
EUR-12 /109 W
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O R 011736Z NOV 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1078
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USCINCSO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓Release ___Excise ___Deny ___Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 8447

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: PRIVATE SECTOR UNION ELECTIONS PEACEFUL

REF: SANTIAGO 8355

1. SUMMARY: GOC HELD ELECTIONS IN APPROXIMATELY 2,400 PLACES OF BUSINESS THROUGHOUT CHILE. APPROXIMATELY 450,000 WORKERS WERE ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE. ALTHOUGH THE NEW RULES CALL FOR THE FORMATION OF A SINGLE PLANT -WIDE UNION (REFTEL), SEPARATE WHITE AND BLUE COLLAR ELECTIONS TOOK PLACE -- A DESIRABLE DECISION. ALTHOUGH ELECTIONEERING WAS A CRIME IN THIS ELECTION, THERE HAVE BEEN NO REPORTS OF ANY PERSON ARRESTED. A DEMONSTRATION BY THE DISBANDED COMMUNIST-DOMINATED NATIONAL COORDINATING BODY IN THE SAN FRANCISCO CHURCH PROTESTING THE ELCTIONS ENDED PEACEFULLY. HOWEVER SEVERAL STUDENT SYMPHATHIZERS WERE ARRESTED FOR DISTURBING PUBLIC ORDER. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08447 011908Z

2. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OVER FIVE YEARS, PRIVATE SECTOR TRADE UNION ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN CHILE. ACCORDING TO THE GOC, ABOUT 450,000 WORKERS WERE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE, AS MEMBERS OF A TRADE UNION ORGANIZED IN A SINGLE BUSINESS OR COMPANY AND NOT BY SKILL OR TRADE, IT IS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER THESE FIGURES INCLUDE THE 112,795 WORKERS WHO WERE DECLARED INELIGIBLE TO TAKE PART IN THIS VOTE BY DECREE LAW 2346 WHICH DISSOLVED LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH SEVEN COMMUNIST-LED FEDERATIONS, THE VICE MINISTER OF LABOR JUAN RAUL VENTURA-JUNCA IN ADDRESSING THIS QUESTION SAID THAT DISSOLVED LOCAL UNIONS COULD NOT BOTE NOW BUT WOULD SHORTLY BE

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PERMITTED TO REORGANIZE UNDER NORMS ESTABLISHED BY THIS DECREE. THE VICE-MINISTER ADDED THAT THE UNION ELECTIONS ARE IN-HOUSE AFFAIRS AND AS SUCH THE GOC WOULD NOT OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCE WINNERS OR RESULTS. HOWEVER THE MEDIA WERE FREE TO QUERY BUSINESSES AND TRADE UNIONS ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION. THE TRADE UNIONIST VOTED BY SECRET BALLOT AND WERE PERMITTED TO WATCH THE TALLY OF VOTES. (EACH ELIGIBLE VOTER WAS PERMITTED TWO VOTES AND THE THREE PERSONS HAVING THE HIGHEST MAJORITY WERE ELECTED). THE THREE CHOULD THEN ASSIGN THE POSITIONS OF TREASURER, SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT AMONG THEMSELVES.

3. THE VICE MINISTER OF LABOR ANNOUNCED THAT THE NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS WOULD BE SWORN IN BEGINNING MONDAY NOVEMBER 6. HE ADDED THAT LABOR FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS, IF THEIR CONSTITUTIONS PERMITTED, WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED. HOWEVER, SOME CONSTITUTIONS OR STATUES REQUIRE A FEDERATION LEADER TO BE ALSO AN OFFICER OF A LOCAL UNION. IN THESE CASES, THE GOC WOULD APPOINT NEW FEDERATION LEADERS UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF DECREE LAW 198 OF DECEMBER 1973. VENTURA-JUNCA SAID THAT NO ONE WOULD BE FORCED TO TAKE UNION OFFICE. THE PERSON RECEIVING THE NEXT LARGEST NUMBER OF VOTES WOULD VILL THE VACANCY. HOWEVER, AN ELECTED OFFICER LATER DISQUALIFIED FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR OTHER [redacted]

REASONS WOULD BE REPLACED UNDER THE PROVISION OF DL 198.

4. TRADE UNION SOURCES REPORTED THAT THE VOTE WENT WITHOUT INCIDENT, BUT COMPAINED THAT NO SPECIAL PROVISION HAD BEEN MADE FOR VOTING BY SECOND AND THIRD SHIFT WORKERS. THE "NO ELECTIONEERING" LAW WAS, NOT REPSECTED IN PRACTICE. MANY WORKERS CAME TO THE UNION LEADERS TO ASK FOR NAMES TO PLACE ON THE BALLOT. HOWEVER, OUR COURCE SAID THAT NO ONE WAS ARRESTED FOR CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY. A MAJOR CONCERN WAS THE LEVEL OF COMPANY INVOLVEMENT IN THE ELECTION PROCESS. ONE UNION MEMBER REPORTED THAT THERE WAS A COMAPNY REPRESENTATIVE AND A "CARABINERO" (NATIONAL POLICE) AT EACH POLLING PLACE. THE NEWSPAPERS ALSO REPORTED THE PRESENCE OF SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL AT THE POLLING PLACES. THE GOC OBTAINED UNION MEMBER-SHIP LISTS FROM THE COMPANYS RATHER THAN THE UNIONS WHICH RESULTED IN AT LEAST ONE CASE OF UNION OFFICERS BEING DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE. HOWEVER, TRADE UNION SOURCES ADDED THAT IN NO CASE TO THEIR KNOWLEDGE DID MANAGEMENT ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE VOTE. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT A SUPERVISOR AT ELECTROMET IN SANTIAGO HAD TOLD THE WORKERS THAT THEY WOULD BE FIRED IF THEY VOTED. THIS SITUATION WAS QUICKLY REVERSED BY THE GOC.

5. MEANWHILE ABOUT 50 PERSONS, MOSTLY MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED COORDINADORA SINICAL AND THE CHRISTIAN LABOR (CLAT) AFFLIATED SINGLE LABOR FEDERATION (FUT) HELD A 24-HOUR BIGIL PEACEFULLY LAST NIGHT (OCT. 31). MANUEL BUSTOS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT EX-PRESIDENT OF SUMAR TEXTILES, ALAMIRO GUZMAN, COMMUNIST EX-PRESIDEN T
OF THE MINING FEDERATION ADN CARLOS FREY, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT EX-PRESIDENT OF FUT AND BLUE COLLAR PORT WORKERS PARTICIPATED.

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A SMALL DEMONSTRATION BY STUDENTS IN SUPPORT OF THIS GROUP WAS BROKEN UP BY THE POLICE WHO ARRESTED BRIEFLY SEVERAL PERSONS INCLUDING RECENTLY RETURNED IVP GRANTEE GUILLERMO YUNGUE.

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6. GROUP OF TEN LEADERS ARE AWAITING THE ARRIVAL SOMETIME THIS WEEK OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AFL-CIO. THEY PLAN TO SAY THAT THE CALLING FOR ELECTIONS WAS A STEP IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION,

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BUT THAT THE RESTRICTIONS CONTAINED IN THE LAW AND THE REINFORCEMENT OF CRIPPLING DL 198 MADE OCT. 31 ONLY A ONE-DAY SUSPENSION OF TRADE UNION REPRESSION IN CHILE. THEY WILL SAY THAT THE POSITION OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONS IS WORSE NOW THAN BEFORE THE ANNOUNCED ELECTION LAW.

7. COMMENT: ARTICLE 2 OF DECREE LAW 2376 REVISES NORMS FOR ESTABLISHING UNIONS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND CALLS FOR THE MERGER OF EXISTING UNIONS INTO PLANT-WIDE STRUCTURES WHICH COULD INCLUDE BOTH MANAGEMENT AND LABOR. ELECTIONS WERE NOT HELD ON THIS BASIS. THIS IS A VERY POSITIVE CHANGE IN THE ELECTION LAW IN THAT IT AVOIDS THE COMPLICATIONS INVOLVED IN MERGING AS MANY AS SIX UNIONS NOW ESTABLISHED IN MANY LARGE PRIVATE INDUSTRIES.
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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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ACTION EA-12

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, MX, CH, JA
SUBJ: LOPEZ PORTILLO VISIT TO PRC

REF: MEXICO 17475

1. SUMMARY: MEXICAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S SIX-DAY VISIT TO CHINA PROCEEDED IN A FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE BUT APPARENTLY BROUGHT ABOUT LITTLE IN THE WAY OF CONCRETE RESULTS. LOPEZ REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITH PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG AND VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN, AND MEMBERS OF HIS DELEGATION SIGNED AGREEMENTS ON CULTURAL AND TOURISM COOPERATION. WE UNDERSTAND THE PRESIDENT WAS PLEASED WITH HIS VISIT, DESPITE SOME INEVITABLE DIFFERENCES OF PERCEPTION WITH HIS CHINESE HOSTS. END SUMMARY.

2. MEXICAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO LEFT SHANGHAI OCTOBER 30 AT THE END OF A SIX-DAY VISIT TO THE PRC. THE MEXICAN PARTY WAS MET ON ARRIVAL OCTOBER 24 BY PRC PARTY CHAIRMAN AND PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG, WHO HOSTED A WELCOMING BANQUET

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PAGE 02 PEKING 03563 031153Z

FOR HIM THE SAME NIGHT. THE FOUR-DAY PROGRAM IN PEKING INCLUDED A MEETING WITH HUA AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE, TWO ROUNDS OF TALKS WITH VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN, AND VISITS TO THE PEKING PETROCHEMICAL PLANT, AN AGRICULTURAL EXHIBIT AND VARIOUS TOURIST ATTRACTIONS. BEFORE LEAVING CHINA, LOPEZ PORTILLO PAID A TWO-DAY VISIT TO SOOCHOW AND SHANGHAI ACCOMPANIED BY LI HSIEN-NIEN (WHO, INCIDENTALLY, USUALLY LEAVES SUCH ESCORT ACTIVITIES TO LOWER-RANKING OFFICIALS).

3. TWO AGREEMENTS WEGNED DURING THE VISIT: A CULTURAL AGREEMENT AND AN AGREEMENT ON TOURISM COOPERATION. ACCORDING

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TO A MEXICAN EMBOFF, THE CULTURAL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN IN THE WOPKS FOR SOME TIME AND PROVIDES ONLY A FRAMEWORK FOR CULTURAL EXCHANGES. THE SUBSTANCE WILL HAVE TO BE ADDED LATER. IN THE TOURISM AGREEMENT, CHINA'S MAIN INTEREST LIES IN STUDYING MEXICAN TOURIST FACILITIES. THE PRC REPORTEDLY PLANS TO SEND SEVERAL DELEGATIONS TO STUDY HOW MEXICO HANDLES THE FLOOD OF "YANQUI" TOURISTS.

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4. SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES WERE ANOTHER TOPIC OF DISCUSSION IN PEKING, ALTHOUGH NO SPECIFIC AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. THE TWO SIDES WERE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THESE EXCHANGES SHOULD BE INCREASED, AND THAT OIL TECHNOLOGY WILL PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PART IN THIS PROGRAM. THE MEXICAN EMBOFF POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THE TRULY INTERESTING DISCUSSIONS ON OIL WOULD COME DURING LOPEZ PORTILLO'S VISIT TO JAPAN.

5. IN THE WELCOMING BANQUET, CHAIRMAN HUA REFERRED TO THE PRC'S DESIRE TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH MORE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. LOPEZ PORTILLO FOLLOWED THIS UP IN HIS OCTOBER 27 PRESS CONFERENCE, WHEN HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING HE WOULD

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HELP CHINA EXPAND ITS TIES IN LATIN AMERICA. ACCORDING TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO SPECIFIC REQUEST FROM THE PRC FOR MEXICO TO PLAY AN INTERMEDIARY ROLE.

6. A LARGE PORTION OF THE BILATERAL TALKS WAS SPENT REVIEWING THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, AND THE MEXICANS PREDICTABLY FOUND AREAS BOTH OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH THEIR CHINESE COUNTERPARTS. TWO ISSUES ON WHICH THEY DID NOT SEE EYE TO EYE WERE CHINA'S BENIGN POLICY TOWARD THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS HARSH DENUNCIATION OF CUBA AND ITS POLICIES. BOTH SIDES SIMPLY AGREED TO DISAGREE.

7. DESPITE THE RELATIVE LACK OF CONCRETE ACCOMPLISHMENTS, THE MEXICANS CLAIM TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE VISIT. THE PRESIDENT WAS PLEASED BY THE HIGH-LEVELPTION HE RECEIVED IN PEKING, AND APPARENTLY VIEWS HIS VISIT HERE AT LEAST PARTLY AS A NECESSARY BALANCE TO HIS EARLIER TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION. HE AND HIS PARTY ARE SAID TO RECOGNIZE THAT CHINA AND MEXICO ARE TOO FAR APART BOTH PHYSICALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY FOR THEIR RELATIONS TO BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN EITHER COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY. WOODCOCK

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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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UNCLAS SANTIAGO 8563

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, CI
SUBJ: LABOR NOTES: GOC BACKPEDALS ON DISSOLUTION DECREE

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 8262 (B) SANTIAGO 8144

1. SUMMARY: A LABOR MINISTRY SPOKESMAN HAS SAID THAT THOSE LOCAL TRADE UNIONS DISSOLVED BY DL 2346 COULD REMAIN IN OPERATION IN ABSENCE OF A SPECIFIC DECREE DISOLVING EACH INDIVIDUAL UNION. SIX CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT LABOR LEADERS HAVE NEVERTHELESS SENT A CABLE PROTESTING THIS AND OTHER RECENT LAWS AFFECTING THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT IN CHILE. END SUMMAY.

2. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF LABOR RAMON SUAREZ CLARIFIED GOC INTENTIONS IN ISSUING THE OCTOBER 19 DISSOLUTION DECREES. SUAREZ SAID THAT UNTIL THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SPECIFIES WHICH LOCAL TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS WERE DISOLVED BY DL 2346, ALL LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO FUNCTION NORMALLY WITH THEIR CURRENT LEADERSHIP
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08563 071707Z

AND FULL EXERCISE OF ALL THEIR RIGHTS AND DUTIES. (COMMENT: SUAREZ' STATEMENT ENDS THE ABILITY OF LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS TO CLOSE DOWN TRADE UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE SEVEN COMMUNIST-LED FEDERATIONS WITHOUT A MINISTERIAL DECREE AUTHORIZING THIS STEP. THIS MEANS THAT PREVIOUSLY CLOSED NON-COMMUNIST LOCAL UNIONS SUCH AS THE ONE AFFILIATED WITH THE EXXXON-OWNED LA DISPUTADA MINE WILL BE REOPENED. THE SEVEN FEDERATIONS, WHICH WERE SPECIFICALLY LISTED IN DL 2346 DO NOT GET THIS REPRIEVE.) SUAREZ ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE OUTGOING TRADE UNION LEADERS (INCLUDING THOSE REPLACED IN LAST WEEK'S ELECTION)

WILL ENJOY ALL THE PRIVILEGES CONTEMPLATED BY THE LAW INCLUDING THE RIGHT NOT TO BE FIRED FOR A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS AFTER THEY LEAVE OFFICE.

3. CABLE TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIATIONS: SIX CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS SENT A CABLE TO THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO) AND THE SECRETARY GENERALS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOR CONDEMNING THE GOC'S CONTINUED HARASSMENT OF CHILEAN LABOR. THE CABLE REQUESTS THE URGENT INTERVENTION OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS TO PREVENT THE "REPRESSION" OF THOUSANDS OF OUSTED TRADE UINION LEADERS AND TO HELP RESTORE TRADE UNION FREEDOMS TO CHILE. THE CABLE WAS SIGNED BY "GROUP OF TEN" MEMBERS ERNESTO VOGEL AND ENRIQUE MELLARDO, "COORDINADORA" LEADERS MANUEL BUSTOS AND JUAN MANUEL SEPULVEDA AND CLAT AFFILIATED LEADERS CARLOS FREZ AND JUAN PINCHEIRA.

5. COMMENT: SUAREZ'S REMARKS ARE DEFINTELY A POSITIVE STEP IN REDUCING THE ADVERSE AFFECTS THE RECENT LABOR DECREES HAD ON TRADE UNION INSTITUTIONS.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 08563 071707Z

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[redacted] SANTIAGO 8682

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, SHUM, CIQ
SUBJECT: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: ELECTION WRAP-UP

REF: SANTIAGO 8663

1. SUMMARY: OVER ONE-THIRD OF ORGANIZED CHILEAN LABOR PEACEFULLY PARTICIPATED IN THE LOCAL LEVEL UNION ELECTIONS HELD OCTOBER 31. THE GOC HAS BEGUN TO SWEAR-IN NEWLY ELECTED LOCAL UNION LEADERS. IT HAS DECLARED IT WILL NOT DISQUALIFY ANY OF THE NEW ELECTED FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR AREA ORIENTATION. ALSO, IT REINTERPRETED ONE OF THE MID-OCTOBER DECREES TO GIVE ITSELF DISCRETIONARY POWER TO ALLOW INDIVIDUAL LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE 7 DISSOLVED COMMUNIST-LED FEDERATIONS TO REMAIN IN EXISTANCE AND HOLD ELECTIONS. IT NOW SAYS THAT THE GOODS AND PROPERTY CONFISCATED FROM THE DISSOLVED FEDERATIONS WILL BE RETURNED TO THE WORKERS IN DUE COURSE. DESPITE THESE APPARENT MODERATING MOVES, CRITICS SEE EVENTS OF THE PAST THREE WEEKS [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08682 101701Z

AS STEPS BACKWARD ON THE PATH TO RESTORED LABOR FREEDOM. END AUMMARY.

2. THE GOC SAID PRIOR TO THE OCTOBER 31 UNION ELECTIONS THAT IT WOULD NOT COMPILE OVERALL STATISTICS. IT SUBSEQUENTLY ESTIMATED THAT 450,000 WORKERS PARTICIPATED. OUR GUESS, BOLSTERED BY REPORTS FROM BUSINESSMEN, THAT THE SWAMPED LABOR MINISTRY POSTPONED ELECTIONS A A NUMBER OF PLANTS, IS THAT ABOUT 350,000 MAY HAVE VOTED; IQ.E., CLOSER TO ONE-THIRD OF ORGANIZED LABOR THAN THE ONE-HALF CLAIMED BY THE GOC. IN ANY EVENT, ALL AGREE THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE HELD PEACEFULLY. THE MEDIA (RATHER

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SANCTIMONIOUSLY) PRAISED THE WORKERS' MATURITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

3. ON NOVEMBER 7, THE TOC PUBLICLY SWORE IN 81 LOCAL LEADERS FROM TRADE UNIONS IN THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN AREA. THE OATH SET OUT IN ARTICLE 6 OF THE DECREE LAW 2376 REQUIRES THE NEW UNION OFFICIALS TO FORESWEAR PARTICIPATION IN "ANY POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR MOVEMENT" WHILE IN OFFICE. FURTHER, HE MUST PLEDGE "NOT ATTEMPT TO POLITICIZE THE TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION BY PERVERTING ('DESNATURALIZANDO') ITS OBJECTIVES" OR BY LENDING HIMSELF "FOR SUCH ENDS". A GROUP OF SENIOR LABOR LEADERS MEETING WITH CARDINAL SILVA CALLED THE OATH HUMILIATING AND DISCRIMINATING AGAINST WORKERS AS A CLASS.

4. MANY CRITICS HAD PARTICULARLY CONDEMNED THE GOC FOR DISSOLVING LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH SEVEN COMMUNIST-LED FEDERATIONS AND CONFISCATING THE AFFILIATES' ASSETS. IN REACTION A LABOR MINISTRY SPOKESMAN FIRST "CLARIFIED" THE GOC INTENTIONS BY DECLARING THAT O LOCAL UNION WOULD BE CLOSED WITHOUT A SPECIFIC MINISTERIAL ORDER. THE MINISTER OF LABOR WENT FURTHER NOVEMBER 9 (SEPTEL) STATING THAT ALL GOODS CONFISCATED BY THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RETURNED TO THE WORKERS AND THAT ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD IN MOST, IF NOT ALL, OF THE LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE COMMUNIST-LED [redacted]

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FEDERATIONS. THEINTERIOR MINISTER ALSO "REITERPRETED" THE TROUBLE-SOME OCTOBER 19 DECREE IN A STATEMENT ISSUED NOVEMBER 7. NOW THESE LOCAL UNIONS WILL BE PERMITTED TO HOLD ELECTIONS FOR A NEW TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP IF THEY CAN PROVE SATISFACTORILY TO THE MINISTRY THAT THEY WERE NOT INVOLVED IN "THE POLICY FORMULATION" OS THE VARIOUS COMMUNIST-LED FEDERATIONS. GOC ASSERTS THAT UNDER THIS FORMULA MOST OF THE 529 LABOR UNIONS SUSPENDED BY THE LAW WILL BE ABLE TO ELECT THEIR NEW LEADERSHIP FAIRLY SOON.

5. CARDINAL RAUL SILVA, JUST RETURNED FROM ROME, MET WITH A GROUP OF TRADE UNION LEADERS WHOSE ROLE HAD BEEN CRIPPLED BY THE GOC DECREE FORBIDDING THEM TO SPEAK IN THE NAME OF UNREGISTERED LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. THEY TOLD THE CARDINAL THAT THE NET EFFECT OF RECENT DECREES WAS TO LEAVE THOUSANDS OF WORKERS WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

6. TRADE UNION CRITICS OF THE NEW BODY OF TRADE UNION LEGISLATION ALSO CONDEMN THE MEASURES ABOLISHING CHECKOFF TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS AND LIMITING THE FINANCING OF MOST FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS TO INDIVISUAL VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS BY UNION MEMBERS RATHER THAN BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS. THEY CONTEND THIS ATOMIZES THE TRADE UNION STRUCTURE AND SPELLS FINANCIAL DEATH FOR NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS IN CHILE.

7. TRADE UNION SOURCES BELIEVE THAT IT IS STILL TOO SOON, IF EVER, TO CLASSIFY THE NEW TRADE UNION LEADERS BY POLITICAL PARTY, ALTHOUGH THEY CLAIM THAT THE "NO CANDIDACY"RULE FAVORED EMEMBERS OF CLANDESTINE POLICAL MOVEMENTS. ALTHOUGH THE LAW

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PERMITS THE LABOR MINISTRY TO DISQUALIFY ELECTED LEADERS ON THE BASIS OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND ACTIVITY, THE LABOR MINISTER SAID THAT NO ELECTED LEADER WOULD BE DISQUALIFIED FROM TAKING THE NEW OATH OF OFFICE.

8. COMMENT: THE RECENT TRADE UNION ELECTIONS ARE A STEP FORWARD IN THE VERY LIMITED SENSE THAT WORKERS WERE ALLOWED TO CHOOSE [redacted]

FREELY FROM AMONG THOSE PERSONS NOT EXCLUDED AS CANDIDATES. GIVEN TIME AND GUIDANCE FROM EXPERIENCED EX-LEADERS AT LEAST SOME OF THE NEW MEN WILL BECOME EFFECTIVE EXPONENTS OF LABOR RIGHTS AND DEMANDS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE RIGHTS TO HOLD ELECTIONS HAS NOT BEEN REESTABLISHED, NOR DO WORKERS YET ENJOY THE RIGHT TO MEET FREELY, TO STRIKE OR TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY -- ALTHOUGH THE GOC HAS PROMISIED THE LATER EARLY IN 1979, ALBEIT WITH COMPULSORY ARTITRATION.

9. OVERALL, THE SERIES OF RECENT TRADE UNION LAWS, AS IMPLEMENTED THUS FAR, CONTAIN MORE MINUSES THAN GAINS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISM. IN ADDITION TO THE LOSS OF EXPERIENCED LEADERSHIP THE GOC HAS PLACED SEVERE RESTRICTIONS ON THE ABILITY OF LABOR FEDERATIONS AND OTHER UNBRELLA GROUPINGS TO REPRESENT WORKERS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. TO ITS CREDIT THE GOC HAS, IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, "CLARIFIED"SOME OF THE MOST OBJECTIONALBE CLAUSES TO MAKE THEM MORE ACCEPTABLE TO OPINION HERE AND ABROAD. BUT THEY DO NOT UNDO ALL OF THE DAMAGE.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 20077 131052Z
ACTION EA-12

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[redacted] TOKYO 20077

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS. OVIP, MX, CH, JA, EFIS, ENRG
SUBJECT: VISIT OF MEXICAN PRESIDENT TO JAPAN

REF: A. PEKING 3563: B. MEXICO 17475

1. SUMMARY: MEXICAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S SIX DAY VISIT TO JAPAN RESULTED IN SIGNING OF A NEARLY $1 BILLION LOAN PACKAGE AND GENERAL AGREEMENT ON JAPANESE PURCHASE OF MEXICAN OIL IN EXCHANGE FOR DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE. JAPANESE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN FISHING RIGHTS IN MEXICAN WATERS BUT NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED. MEXICANS SOUGHT INCREASED JAPANESE INVESTMENT, ESPECIALLY IN TOURIST INDUSTRY. ALTHOUGH JOINT COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO NUMBER OF POLITICAL ISSUES, THEY WERE HARDLY TOUCHED UPON IN DISCUSSIONS. END SUMMARY

2. IN GENERAL REVIEW OF LOPEZ PORTILLO OCTOBER 30 - NOVEMBER 4 OFFICIAL VISIT TO JAPAN, [redacted] B1 JAPANESE AND, APPARENTLY, MEXICANS WERE PLEASED WITH RESULTS OF VISIT.

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 20077 131052Z

LOPEZ PORTILLO, WHO SOME YEARS EARLIER HAD VISITED BOTH JAPAN AND CHINA, APPEARED DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES AND THEIR RESPECTIVE PACES OF DEVELOPMENT. AT SAME TIME, HE RECOGNIZED CERTAIN COMPLEMENTARITY AND AFFINITY BETWEEN TWO, AND IN THIS CONNECTION SAID THAT DESPITE SOVIET CRITICISM OF SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP PEACE TREATY, HE COULD UNDERSTAND GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL "NATURALNESS" OF PFT.

3. JOINT COMMUNIQUE (COPIES POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT AND MEXICO CITY) CONTAINED LENGTHY REFERENCES TO DISARMAMENT

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AND UN-RELATED ISSUES. [redacted] HOWEVER, THAT THESE RECEIVED LITTLE OR NO ATTENTION IN DISCUSSIONS, WHICH INSTEAD WERE DEVOTED, AS EXPECTED, TO ECONOMIC QUESTIONS. MEXICANS WANT JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN TOURIST INDUSTRY AND ORIGINALLY DESIRED INCLUSION OF THIS ITEM IN COMMUNIQUE. JAPANESE DECLINED TO SO FORMALIZE QUESTION, BUT AGREED TO STUDY REQUEST. ON FISHING, GOJ SIDE NOTED INTEREST OF JAPANESE TUNA FISHING INDUSTRY IN FISHING RIGHTS IN MEXICAN 200-MILE ECONOMIC ZONE. (FORMER AGRICULTURAL MINISTER SUZUKI HAD VISITED MEXICO EARLIER FOR TALKS ON FISHING RIGHTS.) MEXICAN SIDE APPEARED AMENABLE TO JOINT FISHING VENTURES IN THEIR ZONE AS LONG AS ALL WERE REGISTERED IN MEXICO. JAPANESE COULD NOT AGREE. FURTHER TALKS WILL BE HELD ON PRIVATE BASIS IN DECEMBER WHEN MEXICANS SEND REPRESENTATIVE TO TOKYO.

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4. NUMBER OF FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED, ALL OF THEM INVOLVING ONLY PRIVATE SECTOR. IN PARTICULAR, CONSORTIUM OF JAPANESE BANKS REPORTEDLY AGREED TO A PACKAGE OF LOANS EQUIVALENT TO MORE THAN $1 BILLION FOR MULTIPLE PURPOSES INCLUDING DEVELOPMENT OF NEW OIL AND GAS RE-

[redacted]

PAGE 03 TOKYO 20077 131052Z

SOURCES. WITH REGARD TO POSSIBLE EXPORTS OF MEXICAN OIL TO JAPAN, DISCUSSIONS WERE ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS, WITH DETAILS TO BE WORKED OUT ON COMMERCIAL BASIS BETWEEN JAPANESE IMPORTERS AND PEMEX. MEXICANS INDICATED THAT OIL WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR EXPORT TO JAPAN IN SIGNIFICANT QUANTITIES FOR ANOTHER TWO YEARS; AFTER THAT, THEY AFFIRMED, THERE WOULD BE PLENTY, STRETCHING INTO NEXT CENTURY. MEXICANS ALSO TOLD JAPANESE PRICE OF OIL TO JAPAN WOULD BE NO LOWER THAN THAT TO THE U.S. THERE WAS LITTLE SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF 300 KM PIPELINE TO SALINA CRUZ, MEXICANS NOTED THEY HOPED TO EXPAND SALINA BERTH CAPACITY FROM PRESENT 50,000 DWT TO 250,000 DWT, AND MADE CLEAR JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN PROJECT WOULD BE WELCOMED.

5. [redacted] MEXICANS MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF USING TANKERS WHICH CARRY INDONESIAN CRUDE TO CALIFORNIA FOR TRANSPORTING MEXICAN CRUDE TO JAPAN, BUT SAID GOJ WAS NOT PARTICULARLY IN FAVOR OF THIS IDEA. ONE ALTERNATIVE WHICH HAS SOME APPEAL WITHIN GOJ, SAID TANAKA, WAS A "SWAP" IN WHICH U.S. WOULD TAKE MORE MEXICAN OIL AND JAPAN MORE FROM INDONESIA. THIS ARRANGEMENT, IT WAS THOUGHT, WOULD MAKE FAR MORE SENSE IN TERMS OF REDUCED TRANSPORTATION COSTS. IN OTHER ASPECT OFOIL DISCUSSIONS, LOPEZ PORTILLO AFFIRMED THAT MEXICO WOULD NOT JOIN OPEC AND INSTEAD WOULD PURSUE ITS OWN OIL POLICIES.

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6. LOPEZ PORTILLO VISIT RECEIVED EXTENSIVE AND RATHER ENTHUSIASTIC PRESS COVERAGE. PRESIDENT'S PILGRIMAGE TO CHIBA PREFECTURE VILLAGE WHERE MEXICAN SHIP HAD GONE AGROUND IN 17TH CENTURY WAS PARTICULARLY APPEALING TO JAPANESE (PICTURE OF LOPEZ PORTILLO IN TRADITIONAL GARB

WAVING TO CROWDS FROM PALANQUIN WAS WIDELY CARRIED).
JAPANESE, OFFICIALLY AND UNOFFICIALLY, APPEARED TO HAVE
RECEIVED MEXICAN VISITORS WITH BOTH CURIOSITY AND
RESPECT--LATTER CLEARLY REFLECTING JAPANESE APPRECIATION
OF MEXICO'S NEW STATUS AS MAJOR PRODUCER OF COMMODITY

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JAPAN NEEDS MOST.
MANSFIELD

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

EL164D

PAGE 01 SANTIA 08808 170712Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1216

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[redacted] SANTIAGO 8808

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s)

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OR-M ELAB, PGOV CI
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER COMPLAINS ABOUT EMBASSY LABOR REPORTING

1. SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS COMPLAINED THAT EH EMBASSY REPORTS NEGATIVELY ON LABOR MATTERS AND REPEATED PREVIOUS GOC OFFERS OF INFORMATION ON THE TRUE SITUATION. IN DEFENDING THE OBJECTIVITY OF EMBASSY REPORTING I POINTED OUT THE SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS OF THE GOC'S CONSTRAINTS ON AND ANIMUS AGAINST DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS. THE GOC IS WORRIED ABOUT A POSSIBLE BOYCOTT AND WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT SUPPORT FOR SUCH ACTION IS BASED ON INACCURATE KNOWLEDGE. END SUMMARY.

2. I MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS AT HIS REQUEST NOVEMBER 10. CUBILLOS HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A LONG VISIT ABROAD AND STATED THAT THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF OUR CONVERSATION WAS TO REPORT TO ME ON HIS BILATERAL WITH SECRETARY VANCE AND HIS TRIP TO CHINA. AFTER FINISHING THESE TOPICS, HE SAID THAT HE HAD HEARD FROM SOURCES IN WASHINGTON THAT THE EMBASSY REPORTED NEGATIVELY ON LABOR DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILE. HE THEN SHOWED ME A PHOTOSTAT OF A LETTER WRITTEN JULY 1977 FROM AFL-CIO OFFICIAL MCLELLAN TO EMBASSY LABOR ATTACHE ARCHER WHICH WAS GENERALLY CRITICAL OF THE LABOR SITUATION AT THAT TIME AND WHICH WAS IN RESPONSE TO AN EARLIER LETTER FROM MR. ARCHER. I TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT OBVIOUSLY I HAD NO CONTROL OVER WHAT MR. MCLELLAN WROTE TO MR. ARCHER AND THAT IN MY VIEW HIS LETTER WAS NOT GERMANE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08808 170712Z

TO OUR CONVERSATION. I SAID THAT I PRIDED MYSELF IN ASSURING THAT THE DEPARTMENT GETS THE BEST POSSIBLE BALANCED REPORTING ON EVERY-THING, INCLUDING LABOR. CUBILLOS SAID HE WAS SURE THAT THIS WAS THE FACT, BUT THAT NONETHELESS IF I EVER WANTED TO TALK TO ANYONE ABOUT LABOR, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE HAPPY TO GIVE ME ALL THE NECESSARY INFORMATION. HE SAID HE KNEW THAT OUR RELATIONS WIHT THE MINISTER OF LABOR WERE NOT THE VERY BEST, BUT HE WOULD MAKE OTHER PEOPLE AVAILABLE TO KEEP US INFORMED.

3. I REPLIED THAT WE DID NOT HAVE ANY PROBLEMS REPORTING ACCURATELY SINCE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AND EXPLANATORY STATEMENTS ARE USUALLY

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08884 220339Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-15 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1255
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
√ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 8884

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: MORE TRADE UNION ELECTIONS

REF: SANTIAGO 8682

1. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF LABOR ANNOUNCED NOVEMBER 20 THAT TRADE UNION ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 22 8, 42 PLACES OF BUSINESS THAT DID NOT HOLD ELECTIONS FOR VARIOUS REASONS, ON OCTOBER 31. THE ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD IN CONFORMITY WITH DL 2376 AND MINISTERIAL RESOLUTION 159 WHICH GOVERNED THE OCTOBER 31 VOTING.

2. THE ANNOUNCED TRADE UNION ELECTIONS DO NOT AFFECT THE LOCAL AFFILIATES OF THE SEVEN COMMUNIST FEDERATIONS WHICH WILL CONTINUE FUNCTIONING UNDER THEIR FORMER DIRECTORATES. ALSO PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AND WORKERS AT STATE-OWNED INDUSTRIES ARE NOT TO BE AFFECTED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL'S ORDER.

3. COMMENT: MOST OF THE 42 BUSINESSES WHICH WILL HOLD
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08884 220339Z

TRADE UNION ELECTIONS ON WEDNESDAY WERE LEFT OUT OF THE VOTING ON OCTOBER 31 FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS, SUCH AS THE LACK OF COMPETENT OFFICIALS TO SUPERVISE THE VOTING.
LANDAU

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08903 220421Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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R 211407Z NOV 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1267
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 8903

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB SHUM CI
SUBJECT: LABOR NOTES: AFL-CIO ASKS GOC TO MEET WITH CHILEAN DEMOCRATIC LABOR, AND OTHER SUBJECTS

REF: STATE 290646

1. SUMMARY: THE AFL-CIO SENT A LETTER TO THE "GROUP OF TEN" STATING THAT THE AFL-CIO FOUND THE RECENT TRADE UNION LEGISLATION INCLUDING THE ELECTIONS TO BE "A STEP BACKWARD AND UNACCEPTABLE". THE LEE LETTER SAID THAT THE AFL-CIO SUGGESTED TO THE GOC THAT IT MEET WITH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS TO WORK OUT A PROGRAM TO RETURN TRADITIONAL TRADE UNION FREEDOMS TO CHILE. THE SANTIAGO COURT OF APPEALS MAY VOID THE GOC LABOR DECREE ABOLISHING LABOR UNIONS WITHOUT JUDICIAL PERSONALITY. THE GOC ANNOUNCED A FOUR DAY SEMINAR SPONSORED BY THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (ODEPLAN) FOR LEADERS OF LABOR, BUSINESS AND CIVIC GROUPS ON GOC

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SOCIAL ECONOMIC POLICY. PRESIDENT PINOCHET IS EXPECTED TO ADDRESS THE SEMINAR. END SUMMARY.

2. ERNIE LEE, DIRECTOR OF THE AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WROTE NOVEMBER 1 TO ERNESTO VOGEL, PRESIDENT OF THE RAILWAY WORKERS; TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES UNION AND EDUARDO RIOS, PRESIDENT OF THE MARITIME WORKERS. THE THREE FORM THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE "GROUP OF TEN". LEE SAID THAT THE MAY AFL-CIO SOLIDARITY TEAM DID NOT GO TO CHILE AS ENEMIES OF THAT COUNTRY, BUT DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS

SINCE ITS VISIT THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS TOWARDS A RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION FREEDOMS. LEE SAID THAT ON THE CONTRARY THE AFL-CIO, TOGETHER WITH A LARGE MAJORITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS IN CHILE FOUND THE RECENT DECREES AND ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE LABOR FIELD TO BE "A BACKWARD STEP AND UNACCEPTABLE". LEE WARNED THAT THIS SITUATION WOULD LEAD THE AFL-CIO INEXORABLY TOWARDS ACCEPTING INTERNATIONAL DEMANDS FOR A BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN PRODUCTS -- AN ISSUE TO BE RAISED IN LIMA ON NOVEMBER 26. LEE NOTED THAT THE AFL-CIO HAD SUGGESTED TO THE GOC THAT IT MEET DIRECTLY WITH THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT TO WORK OUT A PROCESS FOR A RAPID RETURN TO LABOR FREEDOMS IN CHILE.

3. IN AN IMPORTANT DECISION, THE SANTIAGO COURT OF APPEALS AGREED TO HEAR A UNION PETITION CHALLENGING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE STATE-OWNED SUGAR COMPANY'S REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE SUGAR WORKERS' CONFEDERATION (CONSIA). THE COMPANY HAD ARGUED THAT THE CONSIA DID NOT HAVE JUDICIAL PERSONALITY TO ACT AS A LABOR ORGANIZATION AND WAS THEREFORE DISSOLVED IN ACCORDANCE WITH A RECENT DECREE LAW (DL 2347). THE UNION'S ARGUMENT IS THAT AS [redacted]

THE SUGAR LOCAL UNIONS HAD JUDICIAL PERSONALITY, THEY WERE FREE TO CHOOSE WHOMSOEVER THEY PLEASED TO REPRESENT THEM BEFORE THE MANAGEMENT WHETHER IT BE A LAWYER OR THE SUGAR WORKERS' CONFEDERATION. THE STATE-OWNED SUGAR COMPANY IS EXPECTED TO ARGUE FORCEFULLY AS AN ADVERSE DECISION WILL VOID DL 2347 AND EFFECTIVELY REMOVE FEDERATIONS FROM THE SCRUTINY OF THE LABOR MINISTRY. (COMMENT: MIXED CONFEDERATIONS, WHATEVER THE OUTCOME, WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE AFFECTED. SUGAR WORKERS ARE MEMBERS OF THE "GROUP OF TEN").

4. THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (ODEPLAN) ANNOUNCED A FOUR DAY SEMINAR ON THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT FOR NEWLY ELECTED LABOR LEADERS AND OTHER LEADERS OF CIVIC AND MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATIONS. ODEPLAN MINISTER ROBERTO KELLY SAID THAT THE COURSE WOULD BE HELD AT DIEGO PORTALES NOVEMBER 21-24 AND WOULD INCLUDE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. KELLY EXPECTED ABOUT 1,500 PERSONS TO PARTICIPATE. THE MINISTER ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE SYSTEM OF AUTOMATIC PAY ADJUSTMENTS TO THE FULL VALUE OF THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX WOULD CONTINUE DURING 1979 FOR PUBLIC WORKERS. WAGES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, HOWEVER, WOULD BE GOVERNED BY "SUPPLY AND DEMAND" MECHANISM OF THE FUTURE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW. THIS LAW WILL INCLUDE MECHANISMS FOR MEDIATION AND COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

LANDAU

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 08930 212121Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 8930

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OR-P PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION: MORE ON MANUEL CONTRERAS

REF: A) SANTIAGO 8749, B) SANTIAGO 8703

1. FORMER DINA CHIEF MANUEL CONTRERAS UNDERWENT A GALL BLADDER OPERATION EVENING OF NOVEMBER 20 AT THE MILITARY HOSPITAL. HOSPITAL AUTHORITIES LATER TERMED THE OPERATION A SUCCESS AND REPORTED THAT CONTERAS' CONDITION WAS SATISFACTORY, THOUGH HE WILL REMAIN IN THE INTENSIVE CARE WARD FOR THE TIME BEING.

2. THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN CONTRERAS AND AFTERNOON DAILY "LA SEGUNDA" ACQUIRED A NEW DIMENSION NOVEMBER 17 WHEN DEFENSE LAWYER SERGIO MIRANDA LODGED A LIBEL SUIT. THE DAILY HAS RECENTLY REPORTED THAT CONTRERAS SHIPPED DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE LETELIER CASE OUT OF THE COUNTRY (REF B). MIRANDA FAILED IN AN EARLIER COURT ATTEMPT TO HAVE "SEGUNDA" DIRECTOR HERMOGENES PEREZ DE ARCE CALLED BEFORE SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT ISRAEL BORQUEZ.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 08930 212121Z

3. MIRANDA'S SUIT CHARGES THAT THE "SEGUNDA" STORIES "MADE GENERAL CONTRERAS APPEAR TO BE OBSTRUCTING JUSTICE BY ILLEGALLY WITHHOLDING EVIDENCE". TALKING TO NEWSMEN LATER, MIRANDA STATED HE WOULD PRESENT A SECOND SUIT AGAINST "SEGUNDA" FOR STATEMENTS PEREZ DE ARCE MADE TO ANOTHER MEDIA OUTLET. IN AN INTERVIEW CARRIED BY RADIO COOPERATIVA THE MORNING OF NOVEMBER 21, PEREZ DE ARCE SHRUGGED OFF THE MIRANDA SUITS, SAYING THAT HIS SOURCES WERE SOLID AND THAT HE PLANNED TO STICK BY THE "SEGUNDA" REPORTS.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09008 242158Z

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ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
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AMEMBASSY LIMA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 9008

LIMA PLEASE PASS TO AFL-CIO DEL TO ORIT CONFERENCE

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ORIT, CI
SUBJECT: LABOR MINISTER CALLS IN TWO DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS

1. AIFLD CPD JAY HAS INFORMED US OF THE FOLLOWING AND ASKED THAT IT BE PASSED TO AFL-CIO DEL TO ORIT CONFERENCE AT LIMA.

2. CHILEAN MINISTER OF LABOR VASCO COSTA CALLEDIN TUCAPEL JIMENEZ AND EDUARDO RIOS FOR SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS NOV 23 AND 24 RESPECTIVELY. HE WAS CORDIAL AND UPBEAT. WITH BOTH VISITORS, COSTA DEFENDED THE GOOD INTENTIONS BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT'S RECENT LABOR DECREES. THE MINISTER TOLD JIMENEZ THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET WOULD BE CONVERSING WITH UNSPECIFIED LABOR LEADERS IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS; HE TOLD RIOS THAT HE (COSTA) ALSO PLANNED TO MEET WITH SOME LABOR LEADERS AFTER RETURNING FROM THE I-A LABOR MINISTERS CONFERENCE AT LIMA.

3. COSTA PROMISED JIMENEZ THAT HE WOULD STUDY THEQ PROBLEM OF THE ASSOCIATIONS OF PUBLIC WORKERS WHO LOST THEIR DUES CHECKOFFS AND THE DAMAGE THAT THIS HAS DONE TO THEIR SOCIAL PROGRAMS.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09008 242158Z

BUT BOTH LEADERS STRESSED THAT NO UNDERSTANDINGS HAD BEEN REACHED. IN THEIR WORDS "NOTHING HAS CHANGED."

4. THE MINISTER EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE TO RIOS THAT THERE WOULD BE NO BOYCOTT, SAYING THAT HE WOULD TALK TO THE AFL-CIO AT LIMA (COSTA NEVER RAISED THE POSSIBLE BOYCOTT IN HIS TALK WITH JIMENEZ). COSTA SAID THAT THE AFL-CIO POSITION WAS VARY AMBIGUOUS, CINE "THE SERIES OF POINTS" THAT THE CHAIKIN/GLEASON TEAM HAD LEFT AFTER THE MAY MEETING WITH PINOCHET WAS UNSIGNED AND CERTAINLY NOT A "MEMORANDUM" AS STATED IN THE MEANY LETTER TO CARTER. COSTA SAID THAT PINOCHET HAD GIVEN IT LITTLE IMPORTANCE BACK

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IN MAY, TURNING IT OVER TO COSTA AT THE END OF THE MEETING.

5. RIOS AND JIMENEZ SEE COSTA'S INITIATIVE AS AN ATTEMPT TO FEEL THEM OUT PROBABLY PROVOKED BY A NEW GOC CONCERN ABOUT THE SERIOUSNESS AND LIKELIHOOD OF A BOYCOTT. THEY BELIEVE THAT THE MERE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN ORIT DECISION TO BOYCOTT CHILE WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO ENTER INTO PRODUCTIVE CONVERSATIONS.

6. COSTA STONGLY URGED RIOS NOT TO ISSUE AN ALREADY DRAFTED STATEMENT EXPLAINING THAT THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR SECTOR HAD EXHAUSTED ALL POSSIBILITIES OF DIALOGUE WITH THE GOC AND THUS COULD NOT LONGER OPPOSE A BOYCOTT EVEN IF IT DAMAGED THE CHILEAN ECONOMY. RIOS AND JIMENEZ TELL US THEY ACCEDED TO THE MINISTER'S REQUEST SO AS NOT TO FURTHER EXACERBATE TENSIONS AND IN HOPES THAT THIS DISPLAY OF GOOD FAITH ON THEIR PART WILL FACILITATE DISCUSSIONS WITH COSTA ONCE ORIT HAS DECIDED UPON A BOYCOTT (COMMENT: WE ALSO SPECULATE THAT THEY HAVE SOME DOUBTS ABOUT ORIT'S DECISION AND MAY NOT WANT TO COME OUT INTO THE OPEN UNTIL THE ORIT DECIDES ON THE BOYCOTT ISSUE).

7. FREDERICO MUJICA VISITED AIFLD REP ON NOV 24 TO PASS A RUMOR THAT THE JUNTA HAD DRAGGED COSTA ON THE CARPET EARLIER IN THE [redacted]

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WEEK REGARDING HIS HANDLING OF THE BOYCOTT QTHREAT. COSTA ALLEGEDLY REASSURED THE JUNTA BY TELLING THEM HE HAD THINGS WELL UNDER CONTROL. THIS LED MUJICA TO CONCLUDE THAT PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES WILL ONLY OCCUR IF COSTAJS ASSERTIONS ARE DISPROVEN BY EVENTS. (COMMENT: AS ALWAYS, WE TAKE MUJICA'S OBSERVATIONS WITH A GRAIN OF SALT. BUT IN THIS CASE HE COMES OUT AT THE SAME PLACE AS RIOS AND JIMENEZ.)
LANDAU

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09009 272334Z UNCLASSIFIED E4653
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 9009

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, CI
SUBJ: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: CHILEAN BISHOPS DEFEND UNION RIGHTS

1. SUMMARY: THE CONFERENCE OF CHILEAN BUSHOPS DREW UPON VATICAN II DOCTRINE TO PUBLICLY DEFEND WORKERS' RIGHTS TO ORGANIZE TRADE UNIONS, ELECT THEIR LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATE IN DECISIONS AFFECTING THEIR ECONOMIC WELFARE (I.E. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING). PRO-GOVERNMENT "EL MERCURIO" FOUND THE BISHOPS' STATEMENT BIASED AND INAPPROPRIATE AND BELIEVED THE GOC SHOULD CONTINUE ALONG THE PATH IT HAD CHOSEN. GOC LABOR REPRESENTATIVE GUILLERMO MEDINA ALSO CRITICIZED THE STATEMENT STATING THAT THE CHURCH SHOULD NOT INTERFERE IN LABOR AFFAIRS. ON ANOTHER LABOR FRONT, THE PRESIDENT OF THE COPPER WORKERS SAID THAT ALL PERSONS ARRESTED AT CHUQUICAMATA AND EL SALVADOR MINES HAD BEEN UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASED AND 20 PERSONS GIVEN BACK THEIR JOBS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE CHILEAN COUNCIL OF BISHOPS RELEASED NOVEMBER 19 A 16 POINT DECLARATION [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 09009 272334Z

DEFENDING WORKERS' RIGHTS. THE DOCUMENT RECALLED PRECEPTS FROM VATICAN II'S "CHURCH AND THE WORLD" IN STRESSING:
-- THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO BE ABLE TO ORGANIZE TRADE UNIONS AND PARTICIPATE FREELY IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS WITHOUT FEAR OF REPRISALS.

--THE INJUSTICE AND INHUMANITY OF ORGANIZING AND REGULATING LABOR ACTIVITY IN A MANNER PREJUDICIAL TO WORKERS WHICH TOO OFTEN RESULTS IN TURNING WORKERS INTO SLAVES TO THEIR OWN JOBS, A CONDITION WHICH CAN NEVER BY JUSTIFIED BY SO-CALLED ECONOMIC LAWS.

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--THE NEED TO TREAT FARM AND URBAN WORKERS EQUALLY.

--THE REQUIREMENT THAT WORKERS MUST BE PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE IN ECONOMIC DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT THEIR LIVES INCLUDING DISCUSSIONS DIRECTLY WITH MANAGEMENT BY THEIR FREELY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES.

--THE IMPOSITION OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS TO CONTROL WORKERS IS CONTRARY TO SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH, AS IS CONTROL OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT BY POLITICAL PARTIES.

3. "EL MERCURIO" IN A HARSHLY CRITICAL EDITIORIAL NOVEMBER 21 TOOK THE BISHOPS TO TASK FOR NOT MAKING SIMILAR STATEMENTS DURING THE THREE YEARS OF THE ALLENDE REGIME. "EL MERCURIO" SUGGESTED THAT THE NEWLY ELECTED TRADE UNIONISTS OUGHT TO ENERGETICALLY REACT TO THE BISHOPS IMPLIED ACCUSATION THAT THE GOC IS TRYING TO IMPOSE A CONTROLLED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT UPON THE WORKERS. "EL MERCURIO" ADVISED THE GOC TO CONTINUE ALONG THE ROAD IT HAS TAKEN AND NOT TO BE DETERRED IN THE WORK IT HAS SUCCESSFULLY BEGUN TO ESTABLISH FREEDOM IN DIVERSE SECTORS BY [redacted]

[redacted]

THE INJURED VESTED-INTERESTS OF SOME.

4. GUILLERMO MEDINA, LABOR REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, SAID THE BISHOPS' AND THE CHURCH HAD NO ROLE IN LABOR MATTERS. MEDINA STATED THAT WHILE HE PERSONALLY HAD PROBLEMS WITH THE RECENT LABOR LEGISLATION, HE BELIEVES THAT TRADE UNION LEADERS, NOT THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH, HAD TO RESOLVE THEM. MEDINA ANNOUNCED THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET WOULD MEET WITH WORKERS IN LATE NOVEMBER TO ANSWER PETITIONS PENDING SINCE HIS MEETING WITH THEM LAST MARCH.

5. ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, GOC- APPOINTED COPPER LABOR LEADER BERNARDINO CASTILLO SAID THAT NO ONE WAS BEING DETAINED EITHER IN CHUQUICAMATA OR IN EL SALVADOR. THE SIX ARRESTED IN THE EL SALVADOR MINE PROTEST WERE FIRED AND LEFT THE PROVIDENCE. OF THE 72 PERSONS ARRESTED IN CHUQUICAMATA, 52 WERE GIVEN CHOICE OF FACING CHARGES OR RESIGNING AND LEAVING PROVINCE WHILE 20 GOT THEIR JOBS BACK. CASTILLO SAID THAT THE 52 LEFT THE PROVINCE AND THERE ARE NO CHARGES PENDING AGAINST ANY OF THEM. THE STATE OF SEIGE, HOWEVER, CONTINUES IN THE MINING AREA.
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PAGE 01 MONTER 00951 251801Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
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OPIC-03 SP-02 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-07 OES-09
INT-05 AGR-01 IO-14 DLOS-09 DOE-15 SOE-02 /138 W
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR WL Date: 5/23/97
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FOIA Exemptions B6 ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec. TS authority to
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: EINV, PINT, MX, JA
SUBJ: GOM VISIT TO JAPAN

SUMMARY

1. [redacted] WAS INVITED B6
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO TO ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ-PORTILLO ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO JAPAN. WAS ONE OF THREE REGIOMONTANOS FROM MONTERREY INCLUDED IN THE GROUP OF 15 MEXICAN BUSINESSMEN. THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP WAS TO LOOK FOR JAPANESE BUSINESS PARTNERS FOR MEXICAN INDUSTRY AND TO ENCOURAGE BETTER TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE TRIP DID RESULT IN PLANS TO ESTABLISH TWO JAPANESE "MAQUILADORA" OPERATIONS IN BAJA CALIFORNIA, AND INCREASED JAPANESE INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN JOINT FISHING VENTURES WITH TWO LARGE MEXICAN COMPANIES. ALL WAS NOT SWEETNESS AND LIGHT, HOWEVER, AS INDICATED BY [redacted] B6
IMPRESSIONS BELOW.

2. THE MEXICAN DELEGATION WAS ATTEMPTING TO SELL OIL TO THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 MONTER 00951 251801Z

JAPANESE IN EXCHANGE FOR INCREASED JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN MEXICO. TO THIS END, THE PRESIDENT WAS ALREADY CONTEMPLATING POSSIBLE MEASURES AVAILABLE TO THE GOM TO FACILITATE THIS.
INFORMS US THAT THE JAPANESE PRESSED THE MEXICAN B6
DELEGATION HEAVILY IN AN EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE CHANGES IN MEXICO'S FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW. (NB: CURRENT MEXICAN REGULATIONS: "NO NEW FOREIGN CORPORATIONS CAN BE FORMED LOCALLY WITH MAJORITY OF FOREIGN INTEREST". EXCEPTIONS EXIST.) PRESIDENT LOPEZ-PORTILLO INDICATED TO THE JAPANESE THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS REQUESTS FOR RELIEF FROM CURRENT REGULATIONS; HE WAS NOT HOWEVER, TERRIBLY ENCOURAGING. [redacted] POINTED OUT THAT THE MEXICAN DELEGATION WAS B6

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VERY WELL AWARE OF JAPANESE RESTRICITIONS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT THERE, AND ON JAPAN'S NON-TARIFF TRADE BARRIERS. HE INDICATED THAT THE MEXICAN DELEGATION FELT THEY COULD NOT MODIFY THEIR RULS OF THE GAME UNLESS THE JAPANESE WERE ALSO WILLING TO BE MORE ACCOMODATING.

3. THE ATMOSPHERICS OF THE SITUATION WERE NOT FAVORABLE. PART OF THE REASON FOR THIS, HE SAID, WAS BECAUSE THE JAPANESE ALWAYS HAD PRESENT AT THE VARIOUS MEETINGS A FULLY STAFFED, HIGH LEVEL GROUP. ON THE MEXICAN SIDE, UNFORTUNATELY, MANY MAMEBERS OF THE GROUP WERE OFTEN SIGHTSEEING. THE JAPANESE SIDE LEANED HEAVILY ON THE MEXICAN DELEGATION IN AN ATTEMPT TO RECEIVE SOME CONCESSIONS IN CURRENT GOM INVESTMENT REGULATIONS. THE MEXICAN SIDE RESENTED THE JAPANESE ATTITUDE, AND WAS UNPREPARED FOR THE TOUGH NEGOTIATING STANCE ADOPTED BY THEIR HOSTS. [redacted] FELT THAT THE ENTIRE PROCEEDING WAS LESS SUCCESSFUL THAN THE PRESIDENT HAD HOPED FOR. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER BOTH WERE SOMEWHAT PREOCCUPIED BY THE LABOR UNREST THEN PRESENT IN MEXICO. (MAJOR AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS' STRIKE), AND THE VISIT TO CHINA. B6

[redacted]

PAGE 03 MONTER 00951 251801Z

4. WE UNDERSTAND FROM [redacted] THAT FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN ARE CONTEMPLATED. HE ALSO EXPECTS THAT SOME JOINT TECHNICAL COOPERATION IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY WILL EVENTUALLY RESULT FROM THE MEETING. B6

5. COMMENT: [redacted] IS A REMARKABLY WELL INFORMED SOURCE ON THIS SUBJECT AND IS A WELL KNOWN AND HIGHLY REGARDED CONTACT OF THIS POST. WHILE HE IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT, HE IS BETTER INFORMED ON LOCAL HAPPENINGS THAN MOST HIS MEXICAN COUNTERPARTS. HE WILL BE KEEPING US INFORMED ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS SECTOR IN THE FUTURE. MCLENDON B6

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09080 282108Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
✓ Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___ Declass
Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 9080

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OR-P ELAB, PROG, ETRD, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT OF CHILE: GOC STATEMENT

REF: LIMA 10344 (NOTAL)

1. INTERIOR MINISTER SERGIO FERNANDEZ MADE THE GOC'S FIRST OFFICIAL RESPONSE NOVEMBER 27, TO THE ORIT-VOTED BOYCOTT AGAINST CHILE, NICARAGUA AND CUBA. THE 8-POINT STATEMENT ATTRIBUTES THE DECISION TO BOYCOTT CHILE ON MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE LABOR SITUATION IN CHILE, BLAIMING "BAD CHILEANS," EX-POLITICAL LEADERS AND A SELFISH TRADE UNION OLIGARCHY FOR BETRAYING THE COUNTRY. WITHOUT NAMING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, HE ALSO POINTS AN ACCUSING FINGER IN THAT DIRECTION. THE STATEMENT CONTAINS (POINT 3) A THREAT OF A RATALIATORY ACTION AGAINST THE CHILEANS RESONSIBLE SHOULD THE BOYCOTT COME INTO EFFECT.

2. EMBASSY INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT FOLLOWS: QUOTE:

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 09080 282108Z

THE CHILEAN NATIONA AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE LEARNED TODAY OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED BY A GROUP OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AIMED AT IMPOSING A BOYCOTT ON CHILE AND SEEKING TO PREVENT THE UNLOADING OF MERCHANDISE FROM OUR COUNTRY ABROAD OR THE SHIPMENT OF PRODUCTS TO OUR TERRITORY. THIS IS AN ATTEMPT TO COMMERCIALLY ISOLATE OUR FATHERLAND.

CONFRONTED WITH THE SITUATION THE MINISTRY OF INERIOR STATES THE FOLLOWING:

1. SAID MEASURE RESULTS FUNDAMENTALLY FROM MISUNDERSTANDING BY THE ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED REGARDING THE TURE SCOPE OF THE MEASURES ADOPTED TO BRING ABOUT THE NEW LABOR

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INSTITUTIONALITY, AND THAT HAVE INCLUDED THE CARRYING OUT OF SECRET, DIRECT AND FREE TRADE UNION ELECTIONS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC.

2. SUCH MISUNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN PROMOTED BY "BAD CHILEANS," EX-LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND BY THE OLD TRADE UNION OLIGARCHY WHO, AFTER HAVING REPEATEDLY OVER THE LAST YEARS FOUND LACK OF SUPPORT AMONG OUR CITIZENS, NOW MAKE SERVILE RECOURSE TO FOREIGN MANEY AND INFLUENCE, SACRIFICING WITHOUT SCRUPLE THE NAME OF THE FATHERLAND AND THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR BROTHERS IN A VAIN EFFORT TO RECOVER THE POWER THAT THEY PREVIOUSLY ABUSED TO THEIR EXCLUSIVE BENEFIT. IT IS NOT NECESSARY ON THIS OCCASION TO LOWER OURSELVES TO NAME THE TRAITORS BECAUSE CHILEANS KNOW VERY WELL WHO THEY ARE WHO ARE UNABLE TO FORGET THE POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION PROVILEGES THAT THEY ENJOYED AT THE COST OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY.

3. IT MUST BE VERY CLEAR THAT IF THE BOYCOTT COMES INTO EFFECT THOSE "BAD CHILEANS," WHOSE DIRECT INSTIGATION AND DELIBERATELY

FALSE INFORMATION HAS LEAD TO THE PRESENT SITUATION, WILL FACE THEIR RESPONSIBILITY IN THE MANNER THAT THOSE WHOSE ACTIONS AND FAILURES BETRAY THE COUNTRY DESERVE.

4. IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IRRATIONAL EFFORT AND AGRESSION AGAINST CHILE, UNDERTAKEN MORE

[redacted]

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THAN FIVE YEARS AFTER THE NATIONAL LIBERATION, HAS FOR ITS ONLY EXPLANATION THE DESPARATE ATTITUDE OF OUR ADVERSARIES WHEN FACED WITH THE OBVIOUS SUCCESS OF OUR FATHERLAND IN ITS ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND IN THE PROGRESSIVE CREATION OF A NEW INSTITUTIONALITY.

5. THE NATION MUST BE CONFIDENT TTHAT NO FOREIGN AGGRESSION, MUCH LESS ONE THAT LACKS ALL MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL JUSTIFICATION, ATTEMPTING TO SUBMERGE US INTO THE SAME IDEOLOGIES THAT BROUGHT POLITICAL CHAOS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT, CAN POSSIBLY INFLUENCE A GOVERNMENT AND A PEOPLE WHO HAVE SURVIVED INTACT THE MOST DIFFICULT DANGERS IN OUR HISTORY.

6. CHILEANS CAN HAVE CERTAINTY AND TRANQUILITY THAT NEITHER THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS OF THE COUNTRY NOR THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY UNDERWAY WILL BE ALTERED, SINCE THEY ARE BASED ON THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF OUR FATHERLAND, AND THEY HAVE MAJORITY SUPPORT AND A COHERENCE AND SOLIDITY THAT NO INTERNATIONAL ACTION CAN EVER DESTROY.

NEVERTHELESS, IF THE REFERRED TO ACTION IS CARRIED OUT AND HAS SOME EFFECT ON THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED THANKS TO THE EFFORTS OF ALL, THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE THE MEASURES NECESSARY TO MINIMIZE THE DAMAGE THAT THE HATRED OF OUR ENEMIES WISHES TO PROVOKE, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE MORE HUMBLE SECTORS.

7. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOVERNMENT CALLS ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT IT HAS REPEATEDLY URGED CONCILIATION, PRUDENCE AND GOOD SENSE TO ALL SECTORS RECALLING, IN PARTICULAR, THE PRUDENCE THAT SHOULD BE SHOWN BY PERSONS INVESTED WITH RELIGIOUS OR MORAL AUTHORITY, WHO MUST NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN ACTIVITIES DETRIMENTAL TO CHILE'S WELFARE.

IT IS EXPECTED THAT NOW IN VIEW OF THE REGRETTABLE FRUITS TO WHICH THEY HAVE CONTRIBUTED, THESE PEOPLE WILL REACT WITH THE SAME

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HUMANISTIC ZEAL THEY INVOKED PREVIOUSLY, SINCE THEY CANNOT CLOSE THEIR CONSCIENCES TO THE FACT THAT A BOYCOTT IS GOING TO AFFECT, IN AN ESPECIALLY GRAVE AND IMMEDIATE MANNER, THE MOST HUMBLE SECTORS THEY ALLEGE THEY SERVE.

8. LASTLY, THE GOVERNMENT CALLS UPON ALL OUR COMPATRIOTS TO CLOSE RANKS AROUND THE FATHERLAND, CERTAIN THAT WE, IT CHILDREN, WILL KNOW HOW TO RESPOND TO THIS NEW CHALLENGE, WITH THE COURAGE

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AND VALOR WITH WHICH, THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY, WE HAVE OVERCOME THE ATTACKS ATTEMPTED AGAINST THE SOVEREIGNTY, DIGNITY AND GREATNESS OF CHILE.
END QUOTE.

3. COMMENT: THE UNREPENTANT AND NATIONALISTIC TONE OF THIS INITAL GOC STATEMENT IS NOT A SURPRISE BUT WE WOULD GUESS IT IS MORE IN THE NATURE OF A FIRST REFLEXIVE ACTION THAN A CLEAR INDICATION OF HOW THE GOC INTENDS TO PROCEED. THE STATEMENT IS HOPEFUL TO THE EXTENT IT RECOGNIZES THAT A BOYCOTT IS STILL NOT INEVITALBE.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09087 282228Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1358
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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[redacted] SANTIAGO 9087

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, SHUM, ETRD, CI
SUBJ: INITIAL REACTION TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOYCOTT

1. SUMMARY: BANNOER HEADLINES NOVEMBER 28 ANNOUNCED BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE GOC IN THE FACE OF AN ORIT-APPROVED BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN TRADE. NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS AND COMMENTS FROM CHILEANS AND VARIOUS WALKS OF LIFE DESCRIBED THE ACTION AS UNJUSTIFIED AND IMMORAL. THERE IS SOME RECOGNITION THAT THE POTENTIAL EFFECTS ARE SERIOUS BUT SOME OFFICIAL COMMENTATORS ARGUE THAT CHILE IS NOW BETTER ABLE TO COPE WITH THE BOYCOTT AS ITS TRADE HAS BEEN DIVERSIFIED. THERE IS LITTLE REFERENCE TO MARXIST INFLUENCE IN THE DECISION AND ONLY LIMITED EFFORT SO FAR TO IMPLICATE THE USG. THE GOC HAS ISSED A STRONG STATE-MENT CONDEMNING THE BOYCOTT AND THOSE CHILEANS WHO ENCOURAGE IT (SEPTEL). DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 09087 282228Z

ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL SOON TAKE THE STEPS NECESSARY TO AVOID IMPOSITION OF THE BOYCOTT. END SUMMARY.

2. NEWSPAPER HEADLINES AND COMMENTS: THE LEAD HEADLINE IN "EL MERCURIO" NOVEMBER 28 SAYS THAT THE ORIT BOYCOTT WILL BE COORDINATED IN WASHINGTON. "MERCURIO'S" EDITORIAL, WHILE HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE BOYCOTT DECISION, IS CAREFUL TO AVOID PANIC. "LA TERCERA" HEADLINES THAT CONDEMNATION OF THE BOYCOTT IS WIDESPREAD, WHILE "EL CRONISTA" SAYS " CHILE REPUDIATES AGGRESSION AGAINST ITS

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WORKERS". THE EDITORIAL IN BOTH NEWSPAPERS STRESSED THAT THE CHILEAN WORKERS AND OTHER POORER SECTORS WILL BE HURT WORST IF THE BOYCOTT COMES INTO FORCE. ALL NEWSPAPERS REPORT A NEW YORK TIMES STORY ON LABOR UNDER SECRETARY BROWN'S LUNCHEON SPEECH IN LIMA AS SHOWING USG SUPPORT FOG THE BOYCOTT.

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3. FINANCIAL/BUSINESS LEADERS: CENTRAL BANK PRESIDENT PABLO BARONA AND LEADING ECONOMIC CONSULTANT JOSE PINERA BOTH MAKE THE POINT THAT CHILE, BECAUSE OF THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF RECENT YEARS IS NOW IN A BETTER POSITION THAN PREVIOUSLY TO WITHSTAND A BOYCOTT. HOWEVER, THEY LEFT LITTLE DOUBT OF THEIR UNHAPPINESS AT THE ACTION. PINERA CALLS IN UNJUSTIFIED (BECAUSE CHILE IS NOW IN THE PROCESS OF MOVING TOWARDS A NEW INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM) DISCRIMINATORY, ILLEGITIMATE AND STERILE (BECAUSE CHILE CAN SURVIVE).

4. GOC LABOR LEADERS: MANY LABOR LEADERS ALIGNED WITH THE GOVERNMENT HAVE COME FORWARD WITH STATEMENTS CONDEMNING THE BOYCOTT. GUILLERMO MEDINA, LABOR'S REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE IS THE ONLY ONE WITH SOME

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 09087 282228Z

STANDING AMONG DEMOCRATIC LABOR ELEMENTS. HE ATTEMPTED TO LINK THE BOYCOTT TO THE MARXIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHILE. BERNARDINO CASTILLO, GOC APPOINTED HEAD OF THE COPPER WORKERS, SUGGESTED THAT US MULTILATERAL COPPER COMPANIES MAY BE BEHIND THE ORIT MOVE, SINCE IT WOULD FORCE UP THE WORLD PRICE OF COPPER. HOWEVER, CASTILLO ALSO SAID THAT THE GOC HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN HOLDING ELECTIONS FOR WHICH MANY PEOPLE WERE INELIGIBLE: THE WORKERS SHOULD CHOOSE WHO SHOULD BE THEIR LEADERS, NOT THE GOVERNMENT.

5. CHURCH LEADERS: BISHOP DE BORJA VALENZUELA, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF BISHOPS, IS REPORTED BY "EL MERCURIO" AS SAYING THAT NO CHILEAN CAN BE IN FAVOR OF THE BOYCOTT AND THAT IT WOULD HURT THE PPOREST SECTORS. BUSHOP FRESNO, ALSO A CHURCH MODERATE, REPORTEDLY DESCRIBED THE BOYCOTT AS IMMORAL. BISHOP TAGLE, A CONSERVATIVE, NOT SURPRISINGLY CAME OUT STRONGLY AGAINST THE MEASURE.

VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY HEAD CHRISTIAN PRECHT REFUSED TO MAKE A COMMENT.

6. THE EX-POLITICIANS: THE ONLY ONE SO FAR WHO HAS COME OUT WITH A STATEMENT IS EX-SOCIAL DECOMCRATIC (PIR) SENATOR ALBERTO BALTRA. HE CALLED THE MEASURE DISCRIMINATORY. DEMOCRATIC PARTY PREISIDENT ANDRES ZALDIVAR AND THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY, JULIO SUBERCASEUX, REFUSED TO MAKE ANY COMMENT.

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7. DISCUSSIONS WITH DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS: EDUARDO RIOS TELLE THAT HE BELIVESE THE GOC WILL HAVE TO MAKE SOME CONCRETE MOVES IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE BOYCOTT FROM GOING INTO EFFECT. THE PRINCIPAL STEP HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE IS REPEIL OF DECREE LAW 198 WHICH WOULD PERMIT TRADE UNIONIST TO MEET FREELY, ELECT LEADER-SHIP ON A REGULAR (UNRESTIRCTED) BASIS, AND RPEVENT THE [redacted]

PAGE 04 SANTIA 09087 282228Z

GOVERNMENT FROM REMOVING UNIO OFFICIALS. THESE WOULD BE PREREQUISITES FOR MEANINGFUL COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. RIOS SAYS THAT LABOR MINISTER VASCO COSTA PROMISED (WHEN THEY SAW HIM JUST PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR LIMA) TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS WITH "GROUP OF TEN" LEADERS WHEN HE RETURNS. TACAPEL JIMENEZ IS OPTIMISTIC THA THE HARD LINE ENUNCIATED NOVEMBER 27 BY INTERIOR MINISTR FERNANDEZ WOULD NOT PREVAIL WITHIN THE GOC, AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL TRY TO FIND A SOLUTION THAT REMOVES THRE THREAD OF A BOYCOTT.

8. COMMENT: THE INITIAL REACTION, SOME OF IT CONTRIVED, SHOWS A MIXTURE OF ANGER, OUTRAGE AND CONCERN. DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS HOPE THAT THE LATTER WILL GAIN PROMINENCE IN THE NEXT DAYS AND WEEKS, FORCING THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE STEPS TO ADDRESS LABOR GRIEVANCES.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09126 292231Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 HA-05 INT-05 STR-07 CIAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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Chile Project (#S199900006)
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 9126

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, ETRD, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: ORIT BOYCOTT: MORE LOCAL REACTION

REF: SANTIAGO 9087

1. SUMMARY: CHILEAN OFFICIALS STATE THEY ARE PLANNING WAYS TO MITIGATE THE EFFECT OF A POSSIBLE ORIT BOYCOTT. FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS DIFFERENTIATES BETWEEN THE AFL-CIO AND THE USG, THUS SOMEWHAT BLUNTING WIRESERVICE REPORTS FROM LIMA THAT USG OFFICIALS SEEM TO ENDORSE THE ORIT ACTION. CARDINAL SILVA PERSONALLY DUCKS A RESPONSE ON THE BOYCOTT BUT HIS SANTIAGO ARCHBISHOPHRIC PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT, IF PUT INTO EFFECT, IT WOULD HURT THOSE IT PURPORTS TO HELP. THE "GROUP OF TEN" HAS BEEN LYING LOW BUT PLANS TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 30. THE GOC PROJECTS THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS PREPARING FOR THE LONG HAUL. AT THE MOMENT, THE BOYCOTT IS THE OVERRINGING

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09126 292231Z

PUBLIC ISSUE, FORCING EVEN THE BEAGLE AND THE LETELIER CASE INTO THE BACKGROUND. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER A GOC STRATEGY SESSION, MINISTER OF ECONOMY PABLO BARAONA CALLED FOR A "BOYCOTT OF THE BOYCOTT" BY DIVERSIFYING EXPORTS PARTICULARLY TOWARD ASIA. HE ADDED THAT BY THE MERE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A POSSIBLE BOY-COTT "70 PERCENT OF THE DAMAGE HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE". FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS SAID THAT THE BOYCOTT STEMMED FROM MISINFORMATION ABOUT THE INTENT OF VARIOUS GOC DECREES, PARTICULARLY THAT DISSOLVING THE SEVEN MARXIST-LED

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FEDERATIONS.

3. CUBILLOS TOLD THE PRESS NOVEMBER 29 THAT THE AFL-CIO IS "INDEPENDENT OF THE USG; THEREFORE THERE IS NO REASON TO BLAME THE US GOVERNMENT". CUBILLOS' OBSERVATION WAS ESPECIALLY HELPFUL SINCE THE LOCAL PRESS CARRIED WIRE-SERVICE REPORTS FROM LIMA ALLEGING THAT THE USREP TO THE SIXTH LABOR MINISTERS CONFERENCE HAD WALKED OUT ON THE CHILEAN PRESENTATION AND HAD SUPPORTED AN ORIT BOYCOTT.

4. THE SANTIAGO ARCHBISHOPHIC ANNOUNCED THAT, ALTHOUGH ITS VIEWS ON THE LABOR SITUATION WERE WELL KNOWN, IT COULD ONLY REGRET THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF A BOYCOTT WHICH WOULD "CAUSE SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THOSE IT WAS TRYING TO HELP". CARDINAL SILVA COUNTERED REPORTERS ASKING HIM TO TAKE A STAND ON THE BOYCOTT BY REMINDING THEM THAT THE CHURCH'S POSITION ON THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS HAD JUST BEEN MADE PUBLIC DURING THE RECENT HUMAN RIGHTS SYMPOSIUM AND AT THE PUERTO MONTT BISHOPS CONFERENCE.

5. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS PUT OUT AN ANNOUNCEMENT ASSERTING THAT IT WAS FECKLESS TO BLAME THE BOYCOTT ON [redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 09126 292231Z

THE INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY WHEN EVIDENCE OF ABUSE OF WORKERS RIGHTS IN CHILE WAS WELL KNOWN AND MOST RECENTLY ILLUSTRATED BY THE WAY THE GOC HAD PUT DOWN LABOR PROBLEMS AT THE CHUQUICAMAT COPPER MINE.

6. RECENT IVP GRANTEE AND UNTRACH LABOR LEADER HERNOL FLORES SAID IT SERVED LITTLE PURPOSE TO LOOK FOR SCAPE-GOATS BUT IF ANYONE IS TO BE BLAMED IT SHOULD BE THOSE WHO REFUSED TO LISTEN TO THE WORKERS' LEGITIMATE CLAIMS. FEDERICO MUJICA URGED THE GOC TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE BOYCOTT SPREAD TO EUROPE.

7. THE "GROUP OF TEN" LEADERS MET NOVEMBER 28 TO FIRM UP THEIR PLAN OF ACTION. THEY DECIDED TO CALL A PRESS CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 30, TO INCLUDE ALLIES FROM THE UNTRACH, AT WHICH THEY ARE EXPECTED TO SAY THAT THE GOC STILL HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO HEAD OFF THE BOYCOTT BY ALLOWING CHILEANS THE RIGHTS LABOR GENERALLY ENJOYS THROUGH-OUT THE FREE WORLD.

8. COMMENT: THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN CONDEMNING THE BOYCOTT TENDS TO OBSCURE THE FACT THAT MANY BUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS HAVE NOT YET SPOKEN UP. WE MAY KNOW IN A FEW DAYS WHETHER A MORE MODERATE VIEW WITHIN THE POWER-ELITE IS GOING TO EMERGE. IN THE MEANTIME THE GOVERNMENT PROJECTS THE IMAGE OF AN ADMINISTRATION PREPARING TO WEATHER YET ANOTHER IN A LONG SERIES OF ADVERSITIES. FOR THE PRESENT, THE BOYCOTT DOMINATES THE MEDIA CAUSING EVEN THE BEAGLE

'AND 'THE LETELIER CASE TO OCCUPY A SECONDARY LEVEL OF
'ATTENTION.
LANDAU

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09160 302238Z
ACTION ARA-15

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1385
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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Exemption(s) _____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 9160

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OR-P ELAB ETRD SHUM CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: ROUNDUP NOVEMBER 30

REF: SANTIAGO 9126

1. SUMMARY: A SENIOR CHILEAN OFFICIAL HEWED TO THE LINE THAT THE GOC WOULD NEVER FOLD UNDER PRESSURE NOR SUBSTANTIALLY MODIFY ITS MAIN LINES OF POLICY. SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS MIGHT OCCUR, HE SAID, BUT ONLY AS THE RESULT OF INTERNAL GOC ANALYSIS. VARIOUS IDEAS TO AMELIORATE THE EFFECTS OF THE THREATENED ORIT BOYCOTT SURFACED, INCLUDING THAT OF TRANS-SHIPPING VIA THIRD COUNTRIES, TAKING LEGAL ACTION AGAINST LONGSHOREMEN IN THE U.S., AND HAVING THE GOC INSURE SHIPPERS FOR "POLITICAL RISKS" (THIS SHORT DOWN BY THE GOC). FOR THE FIRST TIME THE GOC POINTED THE FINGER AT THE LOCAL AIFLD INSTITUTE AND THE EMBASSY'S LABOR ATTACHES AS SOURCE OF "MISINFOR-MATION" ABOUT THE CHILEAN LABOR SITUATION. THE "GROUP OF

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09160 302238Z

TEN" REMAINED THE MAJOR VILLIANS IN THE MEDIA. IN A PRESS CONFERENCE A FEW HOURS AGO, DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS, LED BY RIOS, VOGEL AND JIMENEZ, SAID THAT THE GOC BORE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BOYCOTT AND CTIOD END THE THREAT BY RESTORING LABOR FREEDOMS. RADIO COVERAGE OF THE MEETING WAS SURPRISINGLY BALANCED. END SUMMARY

2. SECRETARY GENERAL OF GOVERNMENT, GENERAL VIDEL (GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN) EXPRESSED OFFICIAL SATISFACTION WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S COMMENTS ON THE

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ORIT BOYCOTT THREAT (SEE REFTEL) AND SAID THAT CHILEANS WOULD PULL EVEN CLOSER TOGETHER FACED WITH THIS NEW ADVERSITY. VIDAL SAID THAT THE MAJOR OUTLINES OF GOC POLICY ENJOYED FULL SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE AND WOULD NOT BE MODIFIED BY THREATS FROM ABROAD. "WE ONLY WILL CONSIDER SMALL VARIATIONS IN POLICY BASED UPON OUR ANALYSIS OF THE BACKGROUND, LOGICALLY PRESENTED."

3. VARIOUS BUSINESS GROUPS SUGGESTED WAYS OF MITIGATING OR CIRCUMVENTING THE BOYCOTT. ONE IDEA IS THE CREATION OF A MAJOR TRADING COMPANY WHICH WOULD BE ABLE TO ARRANGE TRANS-SHIPMENT VIA THIRD COUNTRIES. OTHERS SUGGESTED TAKING LEGAL ACTION IN THE U.S. FOR ANY LOSSES RESULTING FROM UNAUTHORIZED LABOR ACTIONS. YET OTHERS RECALLED EXPORTERS' EARLIER PROPOSAL FOR "POLITICAL RISK" INSURANCE. THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE DOES NOT AGREE TO A GOVERNMENT-FINANCED SCHEME. THE PRESS REPORTS THAT TWO ORDERS FOR CHILEAN FRUIT (ONE U.S., THE OTHER CANADIAN) HAVE ALREADY BEEN CANCELLED.

4. ALTHOUGH MANY CHILEANS SEEM TO ASSUME THAT THE USG ENDORSES THE BOYCOTT, GOC OFFICIALS AND THE MEDIA HAVE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 09160 302238Z

GENERALLY AVOIDED BLAMING THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION. AS REPORTED NOVEMBER 29 (REFTEL), FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS MADE A SPECIAL POINT OF DIFFERENTIATING THE AFL-CIO FROM THE USG. A FULLER ACCOUNT OF CUBILLOS' STATEMENTS SHOWED THAT HE HAD BLAMED MOST OF THE ALLEGED "MISINFORMATION" REACHING THE AFL-CIO ON UNPATRIOTIC CHILEANS. BUT, DISQUIETINGLY, THE FOREIGN MINISTER THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT US LABOR'S VIEW OF THE CHILEAN SCENE WAS ALSO SHAPED BY REPORTS FROM ITS REPRESENTATIVE IN CHILE AT THE FREE LABOR INSTITUTE AND "WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT SURELY THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, THROUGH ITS LABOR ATTACHES (SIC), HAVE BEEN REPORTING ON THE SITUATION". THE NEWSWEEKLY CUBILLOS USED TO MANAGE, "QUE PASA", WAS EVEN MORE SPECIFIC IN SINGLING OUT "PRIVATE INFORMATION FROM A LABOR ATTACHE IN CHILE WHO HAS A HIGHLY POLITICIZED OUTLOOK", AS A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE ORIT DECISION.

5. THE "GROUP OF TEN", DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS BLAMED BY THE GOC FOR PROVOKING THE BOYCOTT AND CHIDED BY THE PRESS FOR BEING "UNAVAILABLE", HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 30. LED BY RIOS, VOGEL AND JIMENEZ, THE GROUP CREDITED THE GOC'S RELUCTANCE TO GRANT TRADE UNIONS THEIR BASIC FREEDOMS AS THE CAUSE OF THE BOYCOTT. THEY SAID THEY WOULD BE FILING A SLANDER SUIT AGAINST RIGHTIST-SENSATIONALIST "LA SEGUNDA". SEVEN ROWDIES WHO SHOUTED "TRAITOR" AND OTHER UNKIND ADJECTIVES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE WERE BEARDED BY REPORTERS PRESENT AND SLUNK AWAY. RADIO STATIONS REPORTING ON THIS JUST-HELD MEETING WERE REMARKABLY BALANCED -- REPORTERS WERE

PARTICULARLY HARD ON THE TROUBLEMAKERS IN THE CROWD.

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6. COMMENT: THE GOC HAS FROM TIME TO TIME OBJECTED TO THE ACTIVITIES OR ALLEGED SUBJECTIVITY OF EMBASSY OFFICERS. BECAUSE OF THE LABOR OFFICER'S FREQUENT PUBLIC APPEARANCE TOGETHER WITH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS BOTH THE INCUMBENT AND HIS PREDECESSOR HAVE BEEN SPECIAL TARGETS OF GOC

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 09160 302238Z

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E.O. 12065: GDS 12/2/84 (SERVICE, ROBERT E) OR-P
TAGS: OR-L ELAB ETRD SHUM PGOV CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: MCLELLAND LETTER TO LABATT; GOC PLANS LABOR RALLY

REF: A) SANTIAGO 8808 (NOTAL), B) SANTIAGO 8846 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. "EL MERCURIO" CARRIES TEXT OF JULY 1977 LETTER FROM AFL-CIO'S ANDY MCLELLAN TO LABOR ATTACHE EDWARD ARCHER; INTENT IS TO DOCUMENT GROUP OF TEN'S CLOSE TIES TO AFL-CIO AND A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL. GOC HAS APPROVED "REQUEST" FOR A MASSIVE LABOR RALLY OF SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT DECEMBER 6. PRESS CAMPAIGN CONTINUES. END SUMMARY.

2. MCLELLAND LETTER. ON INSIDE PAGE (BUT WITH TOP-RIGHT FRONT PAGE LEAD) "EL MERCURIO" OF DECEMBER 2 REPRODUCES A LETTER OF JULY 5, 1977, FROM AFL-CIO INTER-AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE ANDREW MCLELLAN TO LABOR ATTACHE EDWARD ARCHER, AND PROVIDES ANNOTATED TRANSLATION. THERE IS ALSO A PHOTOGRAPH OF ARCHER. THE LETTER FROM MCLELLAN THANKED ARCHER FOR A DETAILED SITUATION REPORT (A LETTER

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09201 041925Z

FROM ARCHER OF MAY 20), AND REPORTED ON THE TRIP OF GROUP OF TEN LEADERS TUCAPEL JIMENEZ AND EDUARDO RIOS TO GENEVA DURING THE ILO MEETING. MCLELLAN ARGUES THAT THE TRIP WAS A SUCCESS AS THE EUROPEANS WERE NOW MORE CRITICAL OF SUPPORTING LUIS MENESES, THE COMMUNIST LEADER OF THE CUT IN EXILE. THE LETTER ASKED FOR MORE INFORMATION ON MENESES FOR THE AUGUST ITF MEETING IN DUBLIN, AND CONCLUDED WITH A COMMENT ABOUT THE LACK OF RECENT INFORMATION ON CHILE FROM OTHER SOURCES.

3. LABOR RALLY. THE GOC HAS APPROVED A MASSIVE LABOR RALLY IN

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SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR DECEMBER 6. ALL PAPERS DECEMBER 2 CARRY FULL PAGE ADS FEATURING THE CHILEAN EQUIVALENT OF A "HARD HAT" AND WITH THE SLOGANS: "NOR SUBJECTED TO FOREIGN DOMINATION"; "CHILEAN; REJECT FOREIGN INTERVENTION"; "CHILE COMES FIRST". THE AD IS SIGNED BY THE "COMANDO GREMIAL" WHICH THE PRESS DESCRIBES AS AN ORGANIZING GROUP COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM MANY UNIONS AND FEDERATIONS. THE RALLY IS TO BE HELD IN THE PLAZA BULNES IN FRONT OF LA MONEDA AT 6:00 PM. (COMMENT: THE LEADERS OF THE COORDINADORA SINDICAL -- VARIOUS POSITIONS ON THE LEFT -- HAVE NOTED THE INCONGRUITY OF THIS RALLY WITH THE GOC'S BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, AND PUT OUT A STATEMENT DECEMBER 1 ASKING FOR APPROVAL OF A SEPARATE RALLY.)

4. PRESS CAMPAIGN. GOC-OWNED "EL CRONISTA" CONTINUES TO GO FULL-BORE; THE OTHER PAPERS DEVOTE SOMEWHAT LESS ATTENTION DECEMBER 2. GENERAL VIDAL, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE GOVERNMENT, IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT THE "PRESENT GOVERNMENT CAN NEVER ACCEPT ANYTHING WHICH HARMS OUR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY.

5. COMMENT. THIS IS THE SAME LETTER WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS SHOWED TO THE AMBASSADOR NOVEMBER 10 IN COMPLAINING ABOUT [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 09201 041925Z

NEGATIVE REPORTING ON THE LABOR SITUATION IN CHILE (REFTELS). SOMEONE IN THE GOC (WE DOUBT CUBILLOS -- THERE ARE PROBABLY MANY COPIES ABOUT) HAS NOW DECIDED THAT THE LETTER IS USEFUL AMMUNITION IN WHIPPING UP NATIONALISTIC SUPPORT FOR THE REGIME AND AGAINST DEMOCRATIC LABOR CRITICS, PRINCIPALLY THE GROUP OF TEN. IN HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS TO DATE CUBILLOS HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO POINT OUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE AFL-CIO FROM THE USG. HOWEVER HE HAS ALSO MENTIONED PUBLICALLY EMBASSY LABOR ATTACHES AND THE AIFLD REP AS THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON WHICH THE AFL-CIO BASED ITS DECISION TO PROPOSE AND SUPPORT A BOYCOTT. THERE IS A FINE LINE; AND SOME DANGER (AS POINTED OUT REFTELS) THAT THE GOC WILL SEEK ARCHER'S REMOVAL.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09319 01 OF 02 072218Z
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INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9319

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/7/84 (SERVICE, ROBERT E.) OR-P
TAGS: OR-L, ELAB PGOV CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: GOC RALLY RESTRAINED

1. (U) SUMMARY: THE GOC ENCOURAGED RALLY IN ITS OWN SUPPORT AGAINST THE BOYCOTT WAS SURPRISINGLY RESTRAINED. NO MORE THAN 20,000 PEOPLE SHOWED UP AND THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF MASSIVE GOC MOBILIZATION. THE SPEECHES, INCLUDING PINOCHET'S, DID NOT INDICATE A WILLINGNESS TO SEEK ACCOMMODATION BUT THEY WERE LESS STRIDENT AND NATIONALISTIC THAN WE HAD EXPECTED. NATIONAL TELEVISION DID NOT COVER THE EVENT LIVE BUT RATHER REPLAYED IT LATER IN THE EVENING. IN A TELEVISION DISCUSSION PROGRAM THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 6, A LOCAL LABOR LEADER CALLED FOR THE EXPULSION OF LABOR ATTACHE ARCHER. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE DECEMBER 6 RALLY IN THE CENTER OF SANTIAGO AGAINST THE BOYCOTT TURNED OUT TO BE CONSIDERABLY LESS DRAMATIC THAN EXPECTED. THE EMBASSY ESTIMATES THAT ABOUT 15,000 PERSONS WERE PRESENT. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT ONE GOVERNMENT SOURCE PUT THE NUMBER AT 19,500. THE CROWD DRAWN LARGELY FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR, UNIVERSITY AND PRI-

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09319 01 OF 02 072218Z

VATE INDUSTRY WAS GENERALLY CALM AND DISPERSED QUIETLY FOLLOWING THE RALLY. THERE WAS RADIO COVERAGE BUT NO LIVE TELEVISION; INSTEAD, ALL TELEVISION STATIONS RAN A FILM OF THE RALLY AT 9:30 THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 6.

3. (U) THE SPEAKERS IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE WERE NELSON AGUILAR, REPRESENTING RECENTLY ELECTED LABOR LEADERS; MARTIN BUSTOS, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERATION OF STEVEDORES; AND, PRESIDENT PINOCHET. BUSTOS CONDEMNED STRONGLY FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN CHILEAN AFFAIRS AND THE ACTIVITIES OF "BAD CHILEANS" WHO SUPPORTED THE BOYCOTT. HE CALLED ON ALL

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WORKERS TO SUPPORT THEIR COUNTRY IN THE PERSON OF ITS PRESIDENT, GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET. HOWEVER, BUSTOS DEALT WITH THE ORIT AND THE AFL-CIO IN MILD TERMS. HE SAID THAT LEADERS OF BOTH THESE GROUPS WERE WELL INTENTIONED BUT BADLY MISINFORMED ABOUT THE LABOR SITUATION IN CHILE.

4. (U) PRESIDENT PINOCHET DESCRIBED THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRAMS OF THE GOVERNMENT WHICH FAVORED WORKING PEOPLE. HE FIRST SAID THAT CHILE WAS A FREE COUNTRY WHICH RESPECTED THE FREEDOM OF OTHERS BUT HAD ITS OWN FREEDOM CHALLENGED REPEATEDLY DURING THE FIVE YEARS OF MILITARY RULE. PINOCHET SAID THAT THIS CHALLENGE WAS BECAUSE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S SUCCESSES IN ELIMINATING TERRORISM, FREEING PEOPLE FROM THE YOKE OF BUREAUCRACY AND BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY IN WHICH PRIVATE PROPERTY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS ARE RESPECTED. PINOCHET ADDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD SUCCEEDED IN TERMINATING A TRADE UNION OLIGARCHY, AND FORTIFYING THE RANK AND FILE TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS. IT HAD OPENED ITS BORDERS TO FREE COMMERCE, TRAINED 150,000 WORKERS, INCREASED FAMILY ALLOWANCES AND RESPECTED THE RIGHTS AND LEGITIMATE CONQUESTS OF THE WORKERS. WITH REGARD TO TRADE UNION RIGHTS, PINOCHET STATED THAT HIS

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 09319 01 OF 02 072218Z

GOVERNMENT HAS APPOINTED TRIPARTITE COMMISSIONS TO SET WAGES, LEGISLATED MATERNITY ALLOWANCES, A TRANSPORTATION ALLOWANCE AND A MINIMUM INCOME FOR WORKERS. HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ALSO SET AN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WORKERS AND AUTOMATIC READJUSTMENTS OF WAGES AND SALARIES THREE TIMES A YEAR TO THE FULL AMOUNT OF THE RATE OF INFLATION.

5. (U) PINOCHET SAID THAT CHILEAN WORKERS ENJOYED MORE TRADE UNION FREEDOM NOW THAN AT ANY TIME IN THEIR HISTORY. HE SAID THAT LOCAL UNIONS WERE NO LONGER SUBSIDIARIES OF THEIR FEDERATIONS. WORKERS WERE FREE TO FORM AS MANY AS THREE TRADE UNIONS IN ANY PLANT AND WERE FREE TO FORM OR JOIN ANY FEDERATION THEY CHOOSE. INDIVIDUAL WORKERS WERE ALSO GIVEN THE FREEDOM TO PERSONALLY JOIN OR NOT JOIN A

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09319 02 OF 02 072221Z
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9319

UNION. PINOCHET SAID THAT THEY WERE ALSO FREE TO PAY OR NOT PAY THEIR DUES TO A LOCAL UNION AND FEDERATION ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS.

6. (U) PINOCHET CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE FIGHTING, WITH OR WITHOUT THREATS, FOR THE "DIGNITY AND FREEDOM OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE." HE CALLED FOR UNITY AND TRANQUILITY, BUT WARNED THAT TRANQUILITY AND TOLERANCE SHOULD NOT BE MISTAKEN FOR WEAKNESS.

7. TELEVISION DISCUSSION PROGRAM: JUST PRIOR TO THE TELEVISED REPLY OF THE RALLY, CHANNEL 13 CARRIED AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN JOURNALIST ROSARIO GUZMAN AND MANUEL ROCHA, PRESIDENT OF THE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES UNION OF THE EXXON-OWNED MINE, LA DISPUTADA. IN PROVOCATIVE TERMS, GUZMAN ASKED ABOUT THE JULY 5, 1977 LETTER FROM AFL-CIO MCLELLAN TO EMBASSY LABOR ATTACHE ARCHER (WHICH HAD BEEN PUBLISHED HERE DECEMBER 2). ROCHA ATTACKED THE LETTER, THE AFL-CIO AND THE "GROUP OF TEN" AND CALLED FOR THE EXPULSION OF ARCHER FROM CHILE. GUZMAN INFORMED THE AUDIENCE THAT SHE HAD INVITED ARCHER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRAM BUT THE US EMBASSY HAD A POLICY OF NOT MAKING

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09319 02 OF 02 072221Z

PUBLIC DECLARATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT.

9 (C) COMMENT: WE VIEW THE RELATIVELY MILD AND NON-SENATIONALIST NATURE OF THE RALLY AS AN INDICATION THAT THE GOC HAS NOT YET DECIDED HOW TO HANDLE THE BOYCOTT PROBLEM. THE AMBASSADOR AND OTHERS HAD URGED GOC OFFICIALS NOT TO FURTHER EXACERBATE THE SITUATION BY INTEMPERATE REMARKS OR DECLARATIONS OF FUTURE ACTION. A LITERAL READING OF PINOCHET'S SPEECH DOES NOT REVEAL WILLINGNESS TO SEEK ACCOMMODATION BUT NEITHER DID IT CATEGORICALLY CLOSE THAT DOOR.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09353 01 OF 02 121036Z
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E.O. 12065: GDS 12/11/84 (SERVICE, ROBERT E) OR-L
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, PGOV, CI
SUBJ: STATUS OF EFFORTS TO AVOID ORIT BOYCOTT

REF: SANTIAGO 9319

1. ENTIRE TEXT CONFIDENTIAL. SUMMARY: THE PRESIDENT OF AIFLD'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS WAS IN CHILE DECEMBER 9 AND MET WITH PINOCHET. WE HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN RECENT DAYS TALKING UP THE PROSPECTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE BOYCOTT THREAT. DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS HAVE DRAWN UP FOUR POINTS FOR NEGOTIATION AND HAVE MET INFORMALLY WITH THE LABOR MINISTER. WE HAVE HEARD THAT PINOCHET HIMSELF IS AGREEABLE TO DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, FROM OTHER SOURCES WE ARE TOLD THAT THE GOC WILL NOT NEGOTIATE UNTIL THE BOYCOTT THREAT HAS BEEN LIFTED AND, AGAIN DEPENDING ON WHOM YOU TALK TO, THERE ARE HINTS OF STRONG OPPOSITION FROM THE ECONOMIC TEAM. THE PICTURE IS MIXED, BUT MORE NEGATIVE THAN HOPEFUL AT THIS POINT. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09353 01 OF 02 121036Z

2. VISIT OF PETER GRACE. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT PETER GRACE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF AIFLD, ARRIVED AND DEPARTED CHILE IN HIS PRIVATE JET DECEMBER 9. HE APPARENTLY LUNCHED WITH PINOCHET, INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ AND LABOR MINISTER COSTA. GRACE DID NOTMEET WITH ANYONE FROM THE EMBASSY NOR WITH AIFLD CPD BRUCE JAY. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT HE TOLD THE GOC OR WHAT MESSAGE , IF ANY, HE TOOK BACK WITH HIM. WE DO KNOW HOWEVER THAT HE GAVE A RIDE TO CARDINAL SILVA, GOING TO THE US TO RECEIVE A HUMAN

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RIGHTS AWARD. (ACTION REQUEST: WE WOULD WELCOME ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT ON THE GRACE TRIP.)

3. ACTIVITIES OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LABOR MINISTER WILLIAM THAYER (NOW ONE OF THE GOC'S HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORS) MET WITH BRUCE JAY EARLY LAST WEEK AND EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO HELP BRING THE GOC AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS TOGETHER. ONE LINE OF ACTIVITY WAS TO DEFINE THE ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE GOC AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR. DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, WORKING WITH JAY, HAVE COME UP WITH FOUR FAIRLY GENERAL POINTS: BASIC LABOR FREEDOMS AND PROTECTIONS; MORE SPECIFIC RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING SOME SECTORS; REHABILITATION OF FIRED LEADERS AND DISBANDED UNIONS; A LARGER VOICE FOR ORGANIZED LABOR IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

4. THAYER ALSO SOUGHT TO ARRANGE A MEETING OF LABOR LEADERS WITH LABOR MINISTER VASCO COSTA. THE FIRST WORD BACK FROM LABOR MINISTER COSTA WAS THAT NO MEETING WAS POSSIBLE IN THE NEAR TERM. (THIS WAS BE-

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 09353 01 OF 02 121036Z

FORE THE DECEMBER 6 LABOR RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE GOC). ON DECEMBER 8 COSTA SENT WORD THAT HE WOULD MEET "INFORMALLY" THE NEXT DAY AT HIS HOUSE. THAT MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, ERNESTO VOGEL AND HERNOL FLORES AND LASTED THREE HOURS. COSTA WAS CORDIAL BUT TOUGH. HE SAID THERE CAN BE NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH DEMOCRATIC LABOR UNTIL THE AFL-CIO LIFTS THE BOYCOTT THREAT. HE DESCRIBED THE FOUR POINTS DRAWN UP BY DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS AS UNACCEPTABLE. (COMMENT: COSTA AND INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ HAD LUNCHED WITH PINOCHET AND PETER GRACE EARLIER DECEMBER 9. WE ASSUME THAT GRACE GOT THE SAME MESSAGE ON THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE GOC TO NEGOTIATE UNDER THE THREAT OF A BOYCOTT. IT IS NOTT CLEAR WHETHER COSTA CONSIDERS THE FOUR POINTS UNACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION OR MORE SIMPLY

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IS OBJECTING TO ANY WRITTEN STARTING POINT).

5. OTHER PERSONS INVOLVED. PROFESSOR HARBERGER OF UNIVERSITH OF CHICAGO HAS BEEN IN TOWN FOR THE PAST TWO WEEKS AND THE AMBASSADOR ASKED HIM TO SOUND OUT MEMBERS OF THE ECONOMIC TEAM (MANY OF WHOM ARE HIS FORMER STUDENTS) ON GOC FLEXIBILITY. HARBERGER FINDS DE CASTRO AND OTHERS CLAIMING THAT THERE IS LITTLE THEY CAN DO AT THIS TIME, IN ESSENCE ARGUING THAT IT IS MORE A POLITICAL THAN AN ECONOMIC MATTER -- THE GOC CANNOT GIVE IN TO ORIT PRES-SURE. HARBERGER HAS NOTT GIVEN UP AND IS CONISERING THE POSSIBILITY OF INVOLVING GEORGE SCHULTZ AT SOME POINT. HARRY GEYELIN, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS, WAS ALSO IN TOWN THIS PAST WEEK AND POKE AT LENGTH WITH DE CASTRO, FINANCE MINISTER BARAONA AND PINOCHET. HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE GOC WILL NEGOTIATE ONCE THE BOYCOTT IS LIFTED. HIS DEPUTY ON THE COUNCIL , ESTEBAN FERRER, WAS NOT QUITE AS OPTIMISTIC. FORMER MINISTER OF ECONOMY (UNDER PINOCHET) FERNANDO LENIZ, ACTING IN PART ON BEHALF OF CAPTAIN CLARK, PRESIDENT OF DELTA LINES, HAS BEEN PROMOTING THE IDEA OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE REPORTS THAT CASTRO WAS [redacted]

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ESS RECEPTIVE THAN GENERAL LUSI RAMIREZ (HEAD OF THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE), WHO ASSURED HIM THAT SOME WAY OUT WAS POSSIBLE.

6. BERNARDINO CASTEILLO. CASTILLO, THE HEAD OF THE COPPER WORKERS, MET WITH "GROUP OF TEN" LEADERS DECEMBER 11 AND REPORTED THAT PINOCHET IS AGREEABLE TO A MEETING TO INCLUDE ALL DEMOCRATIC LABOR ELEMENTS. HIS ONLY REQUIREMENT ACCORDING TO CASTILLO WAS THAT THIS BE DONE WITH DIGNITY.

7. COMMENT: WE ARE GETTING MIXED SIGNALS ON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE GOC TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WITH DEMOCRATIC LABOR THAT WOULD PREVENT A BOYCOTT. THERE CLEARLY IS INTEREST ON THE PART OF TOP OFFICIALS, INCLUDING PINOCHET, TO KNOW WHAT IT MIGHT TAKE IN THE WAY OF CONCESSIONS TO AVOID

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A BOYCOTT; BUT THE PERDOMINANT GOC LINE IS THE STANDARD ONE OF NOT BEING WILLING TO NEGOTIATE UNDER A THREAT. DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS REMAIN OPTIMISTIC THAT THE GOC WILL SEEK AN ACCOMMODATION BUT, SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL, THIS IS STILL MORE HOPE THAN REALITY. THERE IS DANGER IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS THAT THE BEAGLE WILL SIDETRACK GOC ATTENTION TO THE BOYCOTT. ONCE A BOYCOTT GETS STARTED THERE IS DANGER THAT THE GOC, FIGURING THAT AT LEAST HALF THE DAMAGE HAS ALREADY BEEN INCURRED, WILL DECIDE TO TRY TO RIDE IT OUT.
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ACTION ARA-15

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E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: OR-L, ELAB, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: UPDATE

REF: SANTIAGO 9353

1. SUMMARY: OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE CHILEANS CONTINUE TO BE VERY INTERESTED IN POSSIBLE WAYS TO AVOID THE BOYCOTT BUT GOC HAS NOT BACKED OFF CONDITION THAT BOYCOTT THREAT MUST FIRST BE LIFTED. THE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED ITS SECOND MAJOR RALLY DECEMBER 14; 50 LEFTISTS (NOT GROUP OF 10) LABOR LEADERS WERE DETAINED BRIEFLY FOR ATTEMPTING TO HOLD THEIR OWN DEMONSTRATION. LABOR MINISTER COSTA SAYS THAT WORK ON THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW AND OTHER LEGISLATION MAY BE SPEEDED UP. WE DO NOT RULE OUT THAT BETWEEN NOW AND THE AFL-CIO DEADLINE OF JANUARY 8 THE GOC WILL FIND A WAY TO BEGIN TO RESTORE TRADE UNION RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

2. AIFLD GOOD OFFICES: DURING THE PAST TEN DAYS AIFLD REPRESENTATIVE BRUCE JAY HAS MET WITH INFLUENTIAL CHILEANS, PRIVATE AS WELL AS OFFICIALS, IN AN EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE THE GOC TO ENTER [redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 09491 171905Z

INTO CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS. JAY HAS MET WITH FERNANDO LENIZ, EX-MINISTER OF FINANCE AND NOW MANAGER OF PRUDENTIAL GRACE; JORGE CAUAS, AN EX-MINISTER OF FINANCE AND CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO US AND NOW PRESIDENT OF THE BANK OF SANTIAGO; MINISTER OF LABOR VASCO COSTA, ARTURO FONTAINE, EDITOR OF EL MERCURIO, WILLIAM THAYER, ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTRY; COLONEL JAIME LAVIN, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND BERNARDINO CASTILLO, PRESIDENT OF THE COPPER WORKERS CONFEDERATION. JAY HAS EXPLAINED TO ALL, THAT THE AFL-CIO WANTS AS A MINIMUM, THAT "CONSTRUCTIVE CONVERSATIONS" BEGIN BETWEEN THE GOC AND CHILEAN TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP TO SEEK WAYS TO RESTORE TRADE UNION

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FREEDOMS TO CHILEAN LABOR. JAY POINTED OUT THAT ALTHOUGH THE GROUP OF TEN MUST BE REPRESENTED IN THE MEETINGS, THE TALKS DO NOT HAVE TO BE LIMITED TO THEM. JAY'S PRESENTATION CONVEYS A VERY POSITIVE AFL-CIO POSITION AND A NUMBER OF PERSONS HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY EXPRESSED TO EMBOFFS THEIR APPRECIATION FOR THE "BRIEFING." HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH VARIOUS SPOKESMEN, INCLUDING THE LABOR MINISTER, WILLIAM THAYER AND BERNARDINO CASTILLO CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THERE CANNOT BE NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL THE BOYCOTT THREAT IS LIFTED.

3. ANOTHER RALLY: THE GOC ORGANIZED ANOTHER MASSIVE RALLY IN VALPARAISO DECEMBER 14 TO REJECT THE ORIT DECLARED BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN PRODUCTS. THE PRESIENT OF CHILE DID NOT ATTEND. THE RALLY WAS BETTER ORGANIZED AND ATTENDED THAN LAST WEDNESDAY'S DEMONSTRATION IN SANTIAGO, WITH PERSONS ARRIVING BY BUS FROM SURROUNDING TOWNS. THE GOC HAD REFUSED PERMISSION TO COMMUNIST AND OPPOSITION GROUPS TO HOLD A RALLY IN SANTIAGO ON THE SAME DAY. THE RALLY, WAS CALLED BY THE COMMUNIST DOMINATED "COORDINADOR SINDICAL," THE CLAT AFFILIATE (FUT) AND THE CONFEDERATION OF PRIVATE EMPLOYEES (CEPCH) TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO END TRADE UNION SUPPRESSION. THE GROUP OF TEN WAS INVITED BUT REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE. THE GOC ARRESTED ABOUT 50 PERSONS WHO

[redacted]

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DEMONSTRATED DESPITE THE LACK OF APPROVAL. ALL WERE RELEASED WITHIN A FEW HOURS.

4. OTHER FRONTS: TWENTY-ONE TRADE UNIONIESTS, ELEVEN APPOINTED BY THE GOC, SENT A CABLE TO THE AFL-CIO DECEMBER 13 REQUESTING THE AFL-CIO NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ORIT BOYCOTT OF CHILE. BERNARDINO CASTILLO HEADED THIS EFFORT. GROUP OF TEN TRADE UNION LEADERS WERE ASKED TO SIGN BUT REFUSED ON THE GROUNDS THAT A BOYCOTT THREAT IS THE ONLY WAY TO FORCE THE GOC TO BEGIN TO CONCEDE RIGHTS TO WORKERS. THE MINISTER OF ECONOMY, PABLO BARAONA TOLD THE PRESS DECEMBER 14 THAT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A PENDING COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW THERE COULD EXIST FULL TRADE UNION ACTIVITY AND SUGGESTED THAT THE GOC'S ONLY CONCERN IN THIS AREA WAS TO PREVENT TRADE UNIONS FROM SECURING A MONOPOLY POSITION WITHIN THE ECONOMY. THE MINISTER OF LABOR SAID THAT THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW MAY NOW BE ISSUED PRIOR TO OCTOBER 31, 1979, THE DATE SET BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS COMING INTO EFFECT. HE EMPHASIZED THAT MOVING THE DATE AHEAD WAS NOT A REACTION TO INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE. (COMMENT: THIS IS THE FIRST TIME WE HAVE SEEN THE OCTOBER 31, 1979 DATE -- PREVIOUSLY THE MINISTRY CITED JANUARY 1, THE FIRST SEMESTER OF 1979 AND JUNE 1, 1979 AS DATES WHEN A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW WOULD BE ISSUED.) A GROUP OF FARM WORKERS FROM A NORTHERN FRUIT GROWING PROVINCE GAVE EMBOFF FOLDERS CONTAINING TEN THOUSAND SIGNATURES AND A COPY OF A CABLE TO THE AFL-CIO APPEALING THE BOYCOTT DECISION AND SAYING IT WOULD COST THEM THEIR JOBS. THE GROUP SAID THAT THE BOYCOTT WOULD MEAN LARGE SCALE UNEMPLOYMENT IN SAN FELIPE AND LOS ANDES PROVINCES, AFFECTING OVER 120,000 WORKERS.

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5. REACTION TO AFL-CIO STATEMENT: ALL NEWSPAPERS CARRIED STORY OF AFL-CIO POSTPONEMENT OF A DECISION TO BOYCOTT TO JANUARY 8. MOST NOTED THAT THIS DATE WAS ALSO THE BEGINNING OF THE LETELIER/MOFFITT MURDER TRIAL. "LA TERCERA" CARRIED DECEMBER 15 A SHORT INTERVIEW WITH AFL-CIO INTER-AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE ANDREW MCLELLAN STATING THE THE COINCIDENCE WAS UNINTENDED. MCLELLAN ALSO NOTED THAT THE AFL-CIO HAD ALREADY DECIDED TO COOPERATE WITH THE BOYCOTT [redacted]

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AND HAD DELAYED ITS DECISION TO PROVIDE THE GOC ADDITIONAL TIME TO MEET THE DEMANDS CONTAINED IN THE AFL-CIO MAY 22 MEMORANDUM CALLING FOR FULL TRADE UNION FREEDOM.

6. COMMENT: THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF A TRADE BOYCOTT STILL COMMANDS ATTENTION IN CHILE. HOWEVER, THE GOC SEEMS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT DEMONSTRATING THAT IT WILL NOT ACCEPT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN ITS NATIONAL AFFAIRS THAN IN SEEKING AN INTERNAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE BOYCOTT WILL CERTAINLY CAUSE. THE VARIOUS EFFORTS ON THE PART OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR TO BEGIN "CONSTRUCTIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE GOC" HAVE NOT YET BEEN FRUITFUL, BUT WE DO NOT RULE OUT THAT WITHIN THE UPCOMING CHRISTMAS PERIOD SOME MOVEMENT IN THIS ARE MAY OCCUR.
LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09590 01 OF 02 211240Z
ACTION ARA-15

E4702

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
SY-05 MCT-02 ACDA-12 COME-00 AID-05 /093 W
----------092789 211439Z /45

P 202102Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1656

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny
Exemption(s)

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9590

E. O. 12065: GDS 12/20/78 (CLARE, DANIEL H). OR-P
TAGS: OR-P PINS, PORS, PINT, CI
SUBJECT: SANTIAGO BOMBINGS NOT SOLVED IN SPITE OF HERALDED ARRESTS

REF: SANTIAGO 9318

1. (C) SUMMARY: CHILEAN SECURITY SERVICES GAVE THE MISLEADING IMPRESSION THAT THEY HAD SOLVED A SERIES OF BOMBINGS (REFTEL) WHEN THEY ANNOUNCED DECEMBER 13 BREAKING UP A LEFTIST TERRORIST CELL. HOWEVER POLICE HAVE ONLY BEEN ABLE TO MAKE A CASE AGAINST ONE PERSON WHO CONFESSED TO HAVING PLACED ONE BOMB -- WHICH DID NOT EXPLODE. MOST OF THE EIGHT OTHER DETAINEES HAVE BEEN SET FREE OR CHARGED ONLY WITH DISTRIBUTING SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA. THE IDENTIES OF THOSE PLACING THE VERY POWERFUL DEVICES AT THE HOUSE OF SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT BORQUEZ AND APPEALS JUDGE DUNLOP HAVE NOT BEEN DETERMINED. FORCEABLY RETIRED CARABINERO GENERAL CAMPOS OBVIOUSLY THINKS THAT THE SECURITY FORCES KNOW MORE THAN THEY ARE LETTING ON. WHILE NOT DISCARDING LEFTIST INVOLVEMENT, MANY LOCAL OBSERVERS SPECULATE THE RIGHTISTS, PERHAPS INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY SERVICES THEMSELVES, ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY OF THE BOMBINGS. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) ON DECEMBER 13 SECURITY FORCES ANNOUNCED THE DETENTION OF SEVEN PEOPLE ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN PLACING A BOMB AT A SHELL OIL GAS STATION DECEMBER 5/6 -- THE DEVICE FAILED TO EXPLODE.

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09590 01 OF 02 211240Z

WE UNDERSTAND POLICE SUBSEQUENTLY ARRESTED TWO OTHERS AND ARE STILL LOOKING FOR A THIRD PERSON -- THOUGHT TO BE A SOCIOLOGIST WORKING AT THE SANTIAGO BRANCH OF FLASCO, JORGE MUNOZ. (FLASCO IS A SOCIAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATION BASED IN ARGENTINA WHOSE STUDIES ARE GENERALLY CRITICAL OF GOC POLICIES).

3. (U) THE DECEMBER 14 PRESS REPORTED THAT MARIA ELIANA RIVERA HAD SLIPPED PAST POLICE GUARDING THE VENEZUELAN EMBASSY BY DRESSING AS A NUN AND USING A FALSE IDENTITY CARD. SHE REMAINS IN THE EMBASSY WHILE THE GOV SEEKS FURTHER INFORMATION ON HER CASE. IT IS ASSUMED THAT SHE WAS INVOLVED WITH THE GROUP.

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4. (C) INTERNAL NAME CHECKS SHOWED THAT ONE OF THE DETAINEES HAD SOUGHT ASYLUM IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY RIGHT AFTER THE 1973 COUP. BUT APPARENTLY SHE WAS THE FIRST TO BE CLEARED OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE SHELL BOMBING; SHE WAS UNDONDITIONALLY RELEASED ON DECEMBER 14. A VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY LAWYER TELLS US THAT ONLY THE MAN WHO CONFESSED TO PLACING THE SHELLBOMB IS STILL BEING HELD UNDER MILITARY JURISDICTION FOR ARMS CONTROL VIOLATION (I.E., POSSESSION OF EXPLOSIVES). THE REST WERE CHARGED WITH NATIONAL SECURITY LAW VIOLATIONS FOR DISSEMINATING SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE AND CIVILIAN JUDGES RELEASED ALL BUT THREE FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE.

5. (C) STILL UNSOLVED THEN ARE THE NINE OTHER BOMBINGS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN LATE NOVEMBER AND EARLY DECEMBER, INCLUDING VERY POWERFUL EXPLOSIONS AT THE HOUSE OF SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT BORQUEZ (WHO IS HANDLING THE LETELIER EXTRADITION CASE) AND RESPECTED APPEALS COURT JUSTICE DUNLOP (WHO WAS INVESTIGATING THE BORQUEZ EXPLOSION). AND ANOTHER BOMB, THIS ONE LOW-TO-MEDIUM IN STRENGTH, DETONATED AT THE HOUSE OF A LOCAL BUSINESSMAN THE DAWN OF DECEMBER 15/16.

6. (U) SECURITY FORCES HAVE TAKEN GREAT PAINS TO POINT OUT THAT [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 09590 01 OF 02 211240Z

THE DUD AT THE SHELL GAS STATION WAS COMPOSED OF DYNAMITE AUGMENTED BY READILY AVAILABLE CHEMICALS AND CNI SPOKESMEN HAVE DENIED EARLY ACCOUNTS THAT THE MUCH MORE POWERFUL EXPLOSIONS AT THE JUDGES' HOMES RESULTED FROM THE USE OF TROTYL -- A HIGHLY POTENT COMPONENT OF TNT. TROTYL IS SUPPOSED TO BE UNDER RIGOROUS MILITARY CONTROL AND CANNOT BE MANUFACTURED EASILY. CNI DISCLAIMERS NOTWITHSTANDING, THE DEVISES AT BORQUEZ' AND DUNLOP'S WERE OF A DIFFERENT ORDER OF MAGNITUDE.

7. (C) THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR (OF WHICH CNI IS A SEMI-AUTONOMOUS PART) HAS REQUESTED THE MILITARY COURTS TO BEGIN INVESTIGATING THE BOMBINGS OF THE JUDGES (THE CIVIL COURTS ARE CONDUCTING THEIR OWN INVESTIGATION) ASSERTEDLY BECAUSE OF AN IPSO FACTO ARMS CONTROL INFRACTION. (COMMENT: A LESS CHARITABLE INTERPRETATION IS THAT THE GOC WOULD PREFER TO HAVE THE MILITARY COURTS DIRECTING THESE POTENTIALLY DELICATE INVESTIGATIONS).

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09590 02 OF 02 211414Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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P 202102Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1657

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9590

8. (C) CLEARLY EX-SANTIAGO POLICE CHIEF GERMAN CAMPOS (WHO WAS OUSTED ON THE PRETEXT THAT HE HAD NOT PROVIDED PROTECTION FOR JUDGE BORQUEZ' HOUSE) IS NOT CONVINCED THAT MIR AMATEURS ARE RESPONSIBILE FOR ALL THE INCIDENTS. ON DECEMBER 9 (BEFORE THE ARRESTS) HE TOLD THE PRESS: "THE SIMPLE, ELOQUENT FACT IS THAT THIS GROUP HAS NOT BEEN APPREHENDED AFTER OPERATING FOR TWO YEARS. THEY ARE HIGHLY TRAINED, WITH VAST TECHNICAL EXPERIENCE IN PLACING AND DETONATING EXPLOSIVIES, HAVE ACCESS TO TROTYL, HAVE EXCELLENT LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND MANY VEHICLES, AND APPARENTLY ARE NOT TRYING TO KILL. THEY HAVE EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD INTELLIGENE AND SURVEILLANCE CAPABILITY... THEY HAVE BEEN OPERATING SINCE MAY, 1977." (COMMENT: THE MAY 1977 BOMBINGS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN IN LARGE MEASURE DINA WORK). "EL MERCURIO" DECEMBER 10 ALSO KEPT AN OPEN MIND ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE BOMBINGS, WHICH WERE THEN STILL "UNSOLVED". IT POINTED OUT THAT BOTH THE EXTREME LEFT AND EXTREME RIGHT SEEK TO ERODE THE IMAGE OF DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY.

9. (C) COMMENT: WHILE WE KNOW THAT MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) SPLITER GROUPS EXIST AND HAVE THE APABILITYOF MAKING AND SETTLING OFF BOMBS, THIS PARTICULAR SERIES OF ARRESTS DOES NOT SOLVE THE RECENT WAVE OF BOMBINGS. THERE WAS A SURPRISINGLY SHARP PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE GOC'S INABILITY TO PREVENT THESE BOMBINGS, AND SECURITY FORCES WERE UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO FIND SOME LEFTIST TERRORISTS. THAT THEY DID PRODUCE SOME ARRESTS (AND PERHAPS DULLED PUBLIC AWARENESS THAT MOST OF THE CASES REMAINED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09590 02 OF 02 211414Z

OPEN) HAS NOT PREVENTED OTHERS FROM SPECULATING.

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LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: S200000044

[redacted]

D046

PAGE 01 SANTIA 09590 01 OF 02 211240Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
SY-05 MCT-02 ACDA-12 COME-00 AID-05 /093 W
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

P 202102Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1656

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9590

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 09590 01 OF 02 211240Z

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[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 09590 01 OF 02 211240Z

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Case Number: S200000044

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 09590 02 OF 02 211414Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
ACDA-12 COME-00 SY-05 MCT-02 AID-05 /093 W
----------094097 211439Z /45

P 202102Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1657

[redacted]SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 9590

8. [redacted] CLEARLY EX-SANTIAGO POLICE CHIEF GERMAN CAMPOS (WHO WAS OUSTED ON THE PRETEXT THAT HE HAD NOT PROVIDED PROTECTION FOR JUDGE BORQUEZ' HOUSE) IS NOT CONVINCED THAT MIR AMATEURS ARE RESPONSIBILE FOR ALL THE INCIDENTS. ON DECEMBER 9 (BEFORE THE ARRESTS) HE TOLD THE PRESS: "THE SIMPLE, ELOQUENT FACT IS THAT THIS GROUP HAS NOT BEEN APPREHENDED AFTER OPERATING FOR TWO YEARS. THEY ARE HIGHLY TRAINED, WITH VAST TECHNICAL EXPERIENCE IN PLACING AND DETONATING EXPLOSIVIES, HAVE ACCESS TO TROTYL, HAVE EXCELLENT LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND MANY VEHICLES, AND APPARENTLY ARE NOT TRYING TO KILL. THEY HAVE EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD INTELLIGENE AND SURVEILLANCE CAPABILITY... THEY HAVE BEEN OPERATING SINCE MAY, 1977." (COMMENT: THE MAY 1977 BOMBINGS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN IN LARGE MEASURE DINA WORK). "EL MERCURIO" DECEMBER 10 ALSO KEPT AN OPEN MIND ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE BOMBINGS, WHICH WERE THEN STILL "UNSOLVED". IT POINTED OUT THAT BOTH THE EXTREME LEFT AND EXTREME RIGHT SEEK TO ERODE THE IMAGE OF DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY.

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Case Number: S200000044

SOLVE THE RECENT WAVE OF BOMBINGS. THERE WAS A SURPRISINGLY SHARP PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE GOC'S INABILITY TO PREVENT THESE BOMBINGS, AND SECURITY FORCES WERE UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO FIND SOME LEFTIST TERRORISTS. THAT THEY DID PRODUCE SOME ARRESTS (AND PERHAPS DULLED PUBLIC AWARENESS THAT MOST OF THE CASES REMAINED [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 09590 02 OF 02 211414Z

OPEN) HAS NOT PREVENTED OTHERS FROM SPECULATING.

10. [redacted] EX-POLICE CHIEF CAMPOS UNDOUBTEDLY HAS AN AXE TO GRIND. NONETHELESS HE MUST HAVE HAD ACCESS TO INFORMATION SUPPORTING THE ALL BUT EXPLICIT IMPUTATION THE SECURITY SERVICES KNOW MORE THAN THEY ARE LETTING ON. THREE HYPOTHESES SPRING TO MIND: 1) THUGS STILL LOYAL TO MANUEL CONTRERAS WANTED TO INTIMIDATE THE COURTS AND OTHER GOC OFFICIALS LEST THEY THINK ABOUT PROSECUTING OR EXTRADITING THE EX-DINA CHIEF; 2) ROGUE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCESNEED TO KEEP THE TERRORIST THREAT ALIVE TO SAVE THEIR JOBS; OR 3) A VIGILANTE RIGHT -- PERHAPS INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY SERVICES -- WANTS TO SCARE THE GOVERNMENT INTO MAINTAINING OR STRENGTHENING THE CURRENT EMERGENCY MEASURES. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE GOC ITSELF IS DIRECTLY CONNIVING WITH THE BOMBERS: IT HAS PLACED TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY TO TARNISH THAT IMAGE.

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LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

Julia — Please note added folder # on lockout: "L/S -- FCO FOWG denied knowledge of arrest."

12/21/78

12/20/78 DGS

CX026

SOC 14

Disappearances in R. Arg

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

TELEGRAM

21 DEC 78

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] Classification

ACTION COPY
Action taken: Noted
Date: 12/21/78
Initials: [illegible]

R 201924Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8773
ACTION: INFO RUESDO/AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO 5636
POL-3 RULPALJ/USCINCSO
RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 885

INFO: BT
AMB [redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9939
DCM
ECON
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DECONTROL

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: URUGUAYAN DISAPPEARANCES IN ARGENTINA

1. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) HAS RECENTLY INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF THE FOLLOWING URUGUAYANS, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHEREABOUTS:

CASE NO.	NAME
521/78/9	ARCE VIEIRA, GUSTAVO RAUL
522/78/9	ARNONE HERNANDEZ, BERNARDO
523/78/9	ATALIVO GASTRILLO
525/78/9	BASUALDO, GRACIELA NOEMI
526/78/9	BENTANCOUR, WALNER ADEMIR
527/78/9	BORELLI CATTANEO, RAUL EDGARDO
528/78/9	BOSCO MUNOZ, ALFREDO FERNANDO
530/78/9	CABRERA, ARY
531/78/9	CAMPOS, NAIR BEATRIZ
532/78/9	CAMPOS DE BLANCO, IVONNE
533/78/9	CARDOZO, JUAN
534/78/9	CARNEIRO DE FONTOURA, JUBELINHO
535/78/9	CARRETERO CARDENAS, CASIMIRA MARIA DEL ROSARIO
536/78/9	CARVALHO, LUIS
538/78/9	CHIZZOLA, EDUARDO
539/78/9	CORCHS, ALBERTO
588/78/9	RECAGNO IBARBURU, JUAN PABLO
592/78/9	SCOPISE, NORMA MARI
593/78/9	SERRA SILVERA, HELIOS HERMOGENES
595/78/9	SOBRINO BERNARDI, GUILLERMO
596/78/9	SOSA VALDEZ, LUJAN ALCIDES

2. WE HAVE INFORMED THE LOCAL UNHCR OFFICE REGARDING THE FOWG'S REPLIES.
CASTRO
BI
#9939

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] Classification

83F86
24/55

NNNN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Decontrol
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

OPTIONAL FORM 151(H)
(Formerly FS-412(H))
January 1975
Dept. of State

80151-502

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

OGC-75-5328
28 Dec 78

W180

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

EXCISE

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
___Release _X_Excise ___Deny _X_Declass
Exemption(s) B1 B3

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM

TO: L/M - Mr. Malmborg

FROM: ARA - Frank J. [redacted]Sonell

SUBJECT: Horman Case

At this time we still have one difference between L and ARA on how much to release on the Horman FOI case. The difference is with respect to Document No. 343, the Fimbres/Driscoll/Robinson memo to Hew Ryan and Harry Shlaudeman. I gather from Mrs. Ennis that we cannot go to the Classification Review process for an advance judgement, because this would preempt the appeal rights of FOI requesters.

Following the standard I established with the rest of the documents, I have deleted under (B)(1) (national security considerations) material that could prove compromising to Gonzales in order to protect him from possible Chilean retaliation. For similar reasons I have deleted material referring to Sandoval (really Sandoval's brother since Sandoval himself is now a matter of public record in the Hauser book). Finally, under the same subsection, I have deleted material [redacted] (b3) as well as the fact of a [redacted] intelligence (b1) agency report on Teruggi.

Under privacy considerations (b-6) I have deleted the reference to Mrs. Horman. I assume you still agree with the above deletions.

The point at issue is whether to delete on (b)(5) grounds (inter-agency or intra-agency memoranda) speculation referring to the possibility that either CIA or US military officials played a role in leading

[redacted]

GDS

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dec.
(✓) Classify as (C) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date 1/2/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

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unknown Chilean authorities to conclude that it was all right to kill Horman and Teruggi. I recognize L has held that this provision permits withholding material concerning conclusions, opinions or recommendations of Department officers as privileged documentation in the policy formulation process. And, in fact, in respect of this memo and the Smith memo (Document No. 355) I have withheld the identity of authors and recipients on these same (B)(5) grounds since disclosure could have a chilling effect on the deliberative process.

I understand your arguments and do not dismiss them lightly, particularly the fairness argument that there is no proof that any U.S. official had even an inadvertent role in the decision by unknown Chilean elements to kill Horman and Teruggi. Nor do I question your interpretation that we may withhold this speculation.

Nonetheless, the (B)(5) provision is permissive rather than mandatory. In my judgement, the appeals process, whether in the Department or in Court will eventually result in a judgement that the public interest outweighs the reasons for withholding and that this material will eventually become public. This is particularly so because of the strictures that classification should not be used to prevent embarrassment of government agencies or officials, which would be the principal reason for withholding when one gets down to the bone.

Moreover, we have never posed an objection to having the court review all documents in the case in camera. There is at least some likelihood that, except where the protection of individuals or of intelligence methods is at issue, discovery will bring these to the public light. My judgement remains that the Department of State is better off releasing everything it possibly can now, rather than be forced to release later and so appear to "covering up." Lastly, the material in question is natural speculation that has occurred to almost everyone who has contact with the case. It is not the gospel, and is not so stated in these memos as proof but is rather laid out tentatively as a possibility. It may indeed anger some in the CIA and the military, but the speculation exists and is very much in public

print. (Moreover, keeping the CIA and DOD happy is not grounds for FOI refusals.)

Accordingly, I am willing to sign a denial letter on Document 343 if it is limited to the portion that I have marked in green. If L feels that other portions must be deleted then L should take the FOI responsibility for the memo and the denial of the material it wishes deleted.

Attachment:

Document #343 (deletions bracketed in green)

cc:
PA/FOI:BEnnis
H:CCCutter
D:Mr. Trattner
ARA/P:WDieterich
ARA/AND/CH:RSSteven
ARA:NBouton

Concur with release of #343 with only those deletions marked in green.

KHM

UNCLASSIFIED

TELEGRAM

1/3/79 CN 0060
031935Z JAN

R

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

AZ046C

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

12065
E.O. [redacted]
TAGS:
SUBJECT:

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

GDS 1-3-85 (CASTRO, Raul H.) OR-M
CARR (Panero, Maria Susana)
W/W ARREST: Maria Susana Panero

S 9

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0060

REF: Buenos Aires 10080 (1978)

1. Ambassador discussed Susana Panero case today (January 3) with General Viola, Junta member.

2. Viola was reminded of GOA's past promises to release Panero prior to Christmas holidays. Viola stated he knew of high Congressional interest on this case.

3. Viola said Susana Panero would be released soon as it was only a matter of completing paper work. He said he was bringing case to General Menendez' immediate attention.

CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
AMB:RHCastro:jm	1-3-79	200	AMB:RHCastro

REFERENCES:

DCM:MChaplin

UNCLASSIFIED

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 SANTIA 00065 01 OF 02 032154Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08
LAB-04 SIL-01 HA-05 TRSE-00 AID-05 /102 W
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O R 032026Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1803
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION GENEVA
USCINCSO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 65

E. O. 12065 N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, ETRD, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: GOC ANNOUNCES PLAN FOR RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION FREEDOMS IN CHILE

1. (LOU) SUMMARY: AFTER FOUR WORKING DAYS ON THE JOB LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA ANNOUNCED JANUARY 2 A NEW LABOR PLAN TO BE COMPLETED WITHIN SIX MONTHS WHICH WOULD NORMALIZE TRADE UNION ACTIVITY AND PROVIDE LABOR WITH A SCHEDULE FOR THE RETURN OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND TRADE UNION ELECTIONS. AS A MEASURE OF GOOD FAITH, PINERA SAID THAT LEGALLY RECOGNIZED TRADE UNIONS ARE IMMEDIATELY PERMITTED TO MEET FREELY OUTSIDE WORKING HOURS AND IN THEIR UNION HALLS WITOUT PRIOR AUTHORIZATION. PRIVATELY AFTER THE MEETING
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00065 01 OF 02 032154Z

ANNOUNCING THE LABOR PLAN, PINERA SAID THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER THE RAPID RESTORATION OF DUES CHECKOFFS TO TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS AND PROMISED THAT THE NEW LABOR LEGLSLATION WOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH BUSNESS AND LABOR LEADERS. MEMERS OF THE "GROUP OF TEN" ATTENDED THE JANUARY 2 MEETING. NO COMMUNIST LABOR LEADERS WERE INVITED. THE PROGRAM ANNOUNCED BY THE LABOR MINISTER IS A POSITIVE, AND PERHAPS A MAJOR,

STEP TOWARDS RESTORATION OF A DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT. ALTHOUGH MUCH STILL DEPENDS ON THE IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION TO GO INTO EFFECT BETWEEN NOW AND THE JUNE 30 DEADLINE THE GOC SET FOR ITSELF, LABOR MINISTER PINERA, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE ECONOMIC TEAM, APPEARS TO BE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA TOLD A GROUP OF 54 LABOR LEADERS AND 9 BUSINESSMEN THAT THE GOC WILL FORMULATE A PROGRAM FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREE, DEMOCRATIC, INDEPENDENT AND FINANCIALLY STRONG TRADE UNION MOVEMENT BY JUNE 30, 1979. BY FREE, THE GOC RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT TO MEET FREELY, TO JOIN OR NOT JOIN A UNION, TO PETITION AND TO STRIKE. BY DEMOCRATIC, THE GOC UNDERSTANDS THE RIGHTS TO ELECT UNION LEADERSHIP FREELY AND VOTE BY SECRET BALLOT IN UNION ASSEMBLIES. BY INDEPENDENT, THE GOC RECOGNIZED THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO HAVE A UNION ORGANIZATION WHICH EFFECTIVELY, REPRESENTS THEM, WITHOUT PARTISAN POLITICAL MOTIVES. BY FINANCIALLY STRONG, THE GOC RECOGNIZED THE NEED TO OBLIGATE MEMBERSHIP TO PAY DUES IN AN AMOUNT THAT THEY FREELY CHOOSE.

3. (U) PINERA SAID THAT TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS THE GOC WOULD IMMEDIATELY PERMIT LEGALLY RECOGNIZED UNIONS AND FEDERATIONS TO MEET IN THEIR UNION HALLS OUTSIDE OF WORKING HOURS WITHOUT PRIOR GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION. THE AUTHORIZING MINISTRY OF INTERIOR NOTIFICATION HAD ALREADY BEEN SENT TO REGIONAL INTENDENTS AND GOVERNORS. PINERA ADDED THAT THE GOC WQULD PUBLISH A LAW REGULARIZING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 SANTIA 00065 01 OF 02 032154Z

ALL TRADE UNION ACTIVITY BEFORE JUNE 30, 1979.

4. (U) NO LATER THAN JUNE 30 A NEW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW WILL

ALSO GO INTO EFFECT. AS A RULE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WILL BE BY COMPANY, NOT INDUSTRY-WIDE. THE RIGHT TO STRIKE WILL BE RECOGNIZED EXCEPT IN INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS RELATING TO PUBLIC UTILITIES OR WHEN A WORK STOPPAGE COULD CAUSE GRAVE DANGER TO HEALTH, FOOD SUPPLY, TO THE ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY OR NATIONAL SECURITY POTENTIALLY VERY LARGE EXCEPTIONS). IN THESE CASES OF EXCEPTION THERE WILL BE COMPULSORY ARBITRATION. WHERE THE STRIKE IS PERMITTED IT WILL BE BALANCED BY THE RIGHT OF AN EMPLOYER'S LOCK-OUT.

5. (U) AFTER JUNE 30 ALL TRADE UNION ELECTIONS WILL BE CONDUCTED UNDER PERMANENT LEGISLATION. IN THOSE UNIONS WHICH HELD ELECTIONS THIS PAST OCTOBER 31, A MAJORITY CAN DECIDE TO NULLIFY THOSE

ELECTIONS AND ELECT NEW LEADERS. (IN TODAY'S PRESS CONFERENCE PINERA SAID THAT THERE PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE ANY ELECTIONS UNTIL SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, 1979.)

6. (U) THE LABOR MINISTER ADDED THAT AS LABOR MINISTER HE WISHED TO INTENSIFY HIS CONTACTS WITH ALL LABOR AND BUSINESS LEADERS, TO IMPROVE LABOR LAW AND STANDARDS ENFORCEMENT WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO SECTORS OF LESSER SOCIAL INFLUENCE, AND TO DEVELOP THE LABOR AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING INSTITUTIONS.

7 (U) AT A PRESS CONFERENCE JANUARY 3 PINERA SAID THAT THE NEW LABOR PLAN WAS NOT MADE IN RESPONSE TO THE THREAT OF THE BOYCOTT. HOWEVER, IF THE BOYCOTT BY ORIT IS A PRODUCT OF MISINFORMATION HE EXPECTS IT WILL BE LIFTED OR SUSPENDED NOW. THE MINISTER ADDED THAT THE GOC PROGRAM FOR FUTURE TRADE UNION ELECTIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING HAS NOT CHANGE "ONE MILLIMATER" FROM WHAT IT HAD PLANNED TO DO: THESE MEASURES WERE ADOPTED TO FAVOR CHILAN WORKERS, NOT TO RESPOND TO PRESSURE FROM A BOYCOTT. PINERA CONCLUDED THAT HE HOPED THE PLAN WOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 00065 01 OF 02 032154Z

OF BOTH CHILEANS WORKERS AND BUSINESSMEN.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00065 02 OF 02 032154Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08
LAB-04 SIL-01 HA-05 TRSE-00 AID-05 /102 W
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O R 032026Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
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USINT HAVANA
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AMEMBASY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION GENEVA
USCINCSO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 65

B. (LOU) COMMENT: THE NEW LABOR PLAN IS A DEFINITE STEP FORWARD FOR THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT: IT RECOGNIZES MORE CLEARLY THAN PREVIOUSLY THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS. FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY IS INSTITUTED IMMEDIATELY. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING MAY COME SOON. MOST OTHER CHANGES, REQUIRING IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION,

ARE NOT LIKELY TO BECOME LAW UNTIL JUNE 30. THE FULL IMPORT OF THE GOC'S NEW LABOR PLANS WILL NOT BE CLEAR UNTIL THEY ARE IMPLEMENTED. IN THE MEANTIME, THE MATTER OF DUES CHECKOFF ASSUMES PARTICULAR URGENCY: UNLESS THIS IS RESTORED SOONER, MANY FEDERATIONS MAY BE OUT OF BUSINESS OR HAVE HEAVY ACCUMMULATED DEBTS BY THAT DATE. PRIVATELY THE MINISTER PROMISED TO CONSIDER EARLY ACTION ON THIS SCORE.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00065 02 OF 02 032154Z

LANDAU

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EXCISE

UNCLASSIFIED

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

The Honorable S.I. Hayakawa
The United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hayakawa:

You, no doubt, don't remember me, but I was a student in your Introduction to General Semantics class in the spring of 1966. I must admit that as I write this I can picture you, red pencil in hand, ready to write "Cite examples!" and "The word is not the object!" all over this paper. However, I'll just have shake off the memories of the past and press ahead with what I want to say here.

I am writing to you on behalf of Cesar Domingo Cerda Cuevas, a Chilean peasant leader who was detained by the police in his country on 5/10/76 and has now "disappeared" without being formally charged with a crime and without word to his family. Mr. Cerda Cuevas is one of over 2,000 Chileans who have simply "disappeared" since the Chilean Junta decide to improve its worldwide image by declaring there are no political prisoners in Chilean jails.

I will be writing to government officals both here and in Chile in an attempt to locate and secure the release of this prisoner and would appreciate your help and any suggestions you might be able to give me.

All the information I have about Mr. Cerda Cuevas at the time is the following: he is 53 years old and his national identification card number, issued in Santiago, is 1415352. I am attempting to contact his family and will let you know when I have more information about him. Also, I understand that it is possible to file a writ as amicus curiae in support of a writ of habeus corpus filed in Chile. I wil pass on to you any information I learn about this process.

As one Californian to another, may I wish you and your family a Merry Christmas and express the hope that the New Year will bring an increase in the recognition of human rights by governments throughout the world.

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Respectfully yours,

1-3-79

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify In Part In Part
Exemption(s)

The Department of State refers to the Embassy's notes No. 177 of August 2, 1978, and 258 of November 30, 1978, from the Embassy of Chile.

No formal answer was provided to the Embassy's note No. 177 because it had been the Department's understanding that the request had been discussed with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Santiago by the United States Embassy there and that a written reply was not considered necessary. The Embassy's note No. 258 indicates an apparent misunderstanding.

In the Silbert-Montero Agreement of April 7, 1978, the United States agreed (Section A.1.) "that information obtained through the Letelier investigation with respect to actions by Chilean nationals in the United States may be used to investigate and prosecute violations of law in the United States"; and (Section A.2.) "that there will be no other use of this information by the United States and it will be conveyed only to the Government of Chile to be used by its investigators for possible prosecutions."

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The Departments of State and Justice consider that the submission of the very extensive evidence developed in the Letelier/Moffitt assassination case to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 20, 1978, in the form of requests for the extradition of three Chilean nationals fulfilled its commitment to provide information to the Government of Chile in this matter.

The Department of State notes that the Prado-Montero Agreement provided, on the Chilean side, (Section B.1.), "that any information relative to actions by Chileans or other persons of any other nationality which relate in any manner to the murder of Orlando Letelier, will be conveyed to the government of the United States." The Departments of State and Justice would be pleased to receive such information, particularly that concerning the progress of the investigation undertaken in Chile into the alleged falsification of official passports used by certain of the defendants to travel to the United States in 1976.

Department of State,

Washington, January 3, 1979

Drafted:ARA/AND/CH:RSSteven:pga
12/28/78 x22575

Clearances:Justice:EMPropper
L/EB:FJWillis
ARA/AND:WKnepper
ARA:RGuzman
S/S-S:MEDenham

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S/S-S(illegible)
DEC 28 1978

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00066 032117Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-05 IO-14 TRSE-00 /088 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8919

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0066

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/2/85 (HARRIS, F. ALLEN) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: ALFREDO BRAVO REMOVED FROM PEN STATUS (117/77/9)

REF: BUENOS AIRES 10058 DTD 12/27/78

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ALFREDO BRAVO'S SON, GUSTAVO, CALLED AT THE EMBASSY ON DECEMBER 27, 1978 TO NOTIFY US PERSONALLY THAT HIS FATHER HAD BEEN REMOVED FROM PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL DETENTION. GUSTAVO SAID THAT HIS FATHER WANTED TO SEND THE MESSAGE PERSONALLY AND NOT HAVE THE EMBASSY LEARN ABOUT IT ONLY FROM THE NEWSPAPERS.

3. ACCORDING TO HIS SON, BRAVO HAS NOT DECIDED WHAT HIS FUTURE PLANS ARE. WITH THE REMOVAL OF THE PEN DECREE, BRAVO COULD RETURN TO HIS UNION ACTIVITIES BUT IS FEARFUL THAT IF HE DID SO HE WOULD BE KIDNAPPED AGAIN.

4. BRAVO EXPECTS THE CERTIFICATE FORMALLY REMOVING HIS PEN "CONTROLLED LIBERTY" STATUS TO BE DELIVERED SHORTLY. HIS SON NOTED THAT THIS WILL MEAN THAT THE ROUND-THE-CLOCK GUARDS AT THE BRAVO HOME WILL BE REMOVED.
CASTRO

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 00066 032117Z

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

Chile Project (#S199900030)
Declassified/Released US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
Release ... Exemption(s) B6
P790004-1605

SEN. HAYAKAWA
San Francisco Office
1390 Market Street
Fox Plaza, Suite 820
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 556-8686

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 5, 1979

P/66

UNCLASSIFIED

EXCISE

ACTION

To:
Mr. Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Enclosure from:

Re: [redacted]

[redacted] wrote requesting help in locating and securing the release of Mr. Cesar Domingo Cerda Cuevas, a Chilean peasant leader, who was detained by Chilean police on 5/10/76. His whereabouts are unknown at this time, and he was never formally charged with a crime. His national identification card number, issued in Santiago, is 1.415352. Any information or assistance you might be able to provide concerning this matter will be greatly appreciated. I am enclosing a copy of her correspondence for your reference. Thank you.

Please review the attached matter and provide me with a complete report, in duplicate and with the return of the enclosures, to the attention of Ms. Florence Becker, Staff Assistant, of my San Francisco office (820 Fox Plaza, 1390 Market St., 94102). If you need more information, or if you have any questions, please contact her at (415) 556-8686.

I would appreciate either a written interim or a final reply within/the as soon as possibl
. Thanks very much for your help.

Sincerely,

S.I. Hayakawa

S.I. Hayakawa
United States Senator

SIH:at

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1979 JAN 10 PM 4 07
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Department of State 1/4/77

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 00083 0419357 0828

ACTION ARA-15

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INFO OCT-01 ISC-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-05
NSC-05 SP-01 SS-15 /058 W
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R 0419087 JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8931
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0083

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/4/85 (HARRIS, F. ALLEN) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR PBOR CI
SUBJECT: VATICAN CONCERNS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1. JESUIT PRIEST FIORELLO CAVALLI, MEMBER OF THE PAPAL BEAGLE DELEGATION, CONTACTED PERMANENT ASSEMBLY VICE PRESIDENT EMILIO MIGNONE DECEMBER 28, 1978 TO REAFFIRM VATICAN'S INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA.

2. ACCORDING TO MIGNONE, CAVALLI'S PHONE CALL TO HIS RESIDENCE EARLY ON THE MORNING OF HIS DEPARTURE TO CHILE WAS A SURPRISE RESPONSE TO THE INFORMATION MIGNONE HAD EARLIER LEFT AT THE NUNCIATURA ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. (NOTE: MIGNONE MET CAVALLI IN ROME IN LATE 1978.)

3. MIGNONE REPORTED THAT CAVALLI STATED THAT THE PAPAL EMISSARIES WERE WELL AWARE OF THE SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN ARGENTINA AND CHILE AND PLANNED TO USE THEIR GOOD OFFICES ON THESE CENTRAL HUMANITARIAN ISSUES, IN ADDITION TO TRYING TO BRING THE NATIONS TOGETHER ON THE BEAGLE PROBLEMS.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00084 042017Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 HA-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 ISO-00 /113 W
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R 041910Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8932
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0084

USEEC

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/3/85 (FREEMAN, ANTHONY F.) OR-L
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: ARGENTINE LABOR LEADER RETURNED TO HOUSE ARREST STATUS

REF: A) 78 BUENOS AIRES 6768; B) 78 BS. AIRES 8357

1. LORENZO MIGUEL, FORMER HEAD OF THE ARGENTINE METAL-WORKERS UNION AND OF THE 62 PERONIST LABOR UNION MOVEMENT, WHOSE DETENTION STATUS (SINCE THE ADVENT OF THE CURRENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN MARCH 1976) WAS LIBERALIZED LAST SEPTEMBER TO PERMIT HIM TO RETURN TO HIS FAMILY RESIDENCE IN HOUSE ARREST STATUS, WAS REARRESTED DECEMBER 29 BY POLICE OFFICERS AND TAKEN TO FEDERAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS. HE REMAINED THERE UNITL JANUARY 2 WHEN HE WAS ESCORTED BACK TO HIS HOME.

2. POLICE HAVE NO OFFICIAL EXPLANATION FOR MIGUEL'S 72-HOUR REARREST, BUT HAVE INTIMATED THAT IT STEMS FROM MIGUEL'S HAVING VIOLATED HOUSE ARREST REGULATIONS WHEN HE HELD A TALK IN HIS HOME WITH JORGE DANIEL

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 00084 042017Z

PALADINO, A FORMER PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LATE JUAN DOMINGO PERON. PALADINO WAS ALSO BRIEFLY

HELD BY POLICE BEFORE BEING RELEASED.

3. PERONIST PARTY LEADERS AND LEADERS OF THE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE OF 25 SENT TELEGRAMS TO PRESIDENT VIDELA, PROTESTIGN MIGUEL'S ARREST. THE "25" ALSO ASKED THE BRUSSELS-BASED ICFTU UNION ORGANIZATION TO INTERVENE WITH GOA AUTHORITIES ON MIGUEL'S BEHALF.

4. WITH THE CONNIVANCE OF A FRIENDLY POLICE INSPECTOR (PROTECT)--UNDOUBTEDLY A CHUM FOR THE DAYS WHEN MIGUEL WIELDED MUCH POWER IN THE SHADOWY WORLD IN WHICH THE INTEREST OF RIGHT-WING BOSSES AND POLICE AND MILITARY CHIEFS (AND POSSIBLY ALSO THE INFAMOUS TRIPLE A COUNTER-TERRORIST ORGANIZATION) CONVERGED SEMI-CLANDESTINELY DURING THE LAST PERON GOVERNMENT--MIGUEL HAS BEEN HOLDING COURT AT HIS HOME SINCE LEAVING PRISON LAST SEPTEMBER RECEIVING A LARGE NUMBER OF LABOR AND POLITICAL FIGURES, IN INCREASINGLY MORE BLATANT VIOLATION OF HIS HOUSE ARREST STATUS.

5. HIS BRIEF ARREST MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH REPORTS IN LABOR CIRCLES THAT THE COMMITTEE OF 25 IS PLANNING A NEW UNIFICATION DRIVE FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT (WHICH WOULD EXCLUDE THE RIVAL "CNT" FACTION) WHICH WOULD ENVISAGE THE CALLING OF A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF ECONOMY MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ. ACCORDING TO THE RUMORS, UNDISCLOSED MILITARY CHIEFS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGING THE TRADE UNIONISTS TO PROCEED WITH PLANS FOR SUCH A STRIKE, AND SOME SOURCES PRESUME THAT MIGUEL IS

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 00084 042017Z

INVOLVED, AND MAY EVEN BE A CENTRAL FIGURE, IN THE PLOTTING. (COMMENT: WE TEND TO DOUBT THE FEASIBILITY OF SUCH A STRIKE PLAN. AT ANY RATE, WE DO NOT SEE SUCH A MOVE AS IMMINENT.)
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00128 051951Z
ACTION SS-25

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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FOR ARA, D, P, AND L ONLY

E. O. 12065: GDS 1/5/85 (GROVER, CHARLES W) OR-P
TAGS: OR-P, PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: SUPREME COURT DENIES BAIL FOR CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA

REFS: (A) 78 SANTIAGO 9665 (B) SANTIAGO 57

1. (U) A SUPREME COURT REVIEW PANEL UPHELD JANUARY 5, JUDGE BORQUEZ' EARLIER DENIAL OF BAIL FOR CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA. THE DECISION WAS UNANIMOUS.

2. (C) FOLLOWING EARLIER RUMORS AND PRESS SPECULATION, VICE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY, GENERAL CARLOS FORESTIER, HAS SENT A REQUEST TO BORQUEZ FOR ESPINOZA TO BE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO PUNTA ARENAS TO TURN OVER COMMAND OF HIS REGIMENT TO A SUCCESSOR. ETCHEBERRY BELIEVES THIS WAS THE PURPOSE OF OROZCO'S VISIT (REFTEL B) TO BORQUEZ JANUARY 21 AND THAT BORQUEZ WILL GRANT THE REQUEST. HE DOES NOT THINK WE SHOULD RAISE OBJECTIONS SINCE THE CHILEAN ARMY WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ESPINOZA'S SAFETY AND RETURN. IF BORQUEZ DOES GIVE HIS APPROVAL, ESPINOZA IS LIKELY TO BE ABSENT FROM SANTIAGO FOR ABOUT FIVE DAYS.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00128 051951Z

3. (C) SCHERRER AND CORNICK HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH ETCHEBERRY TODAY. THEIR PRESENCE IN SANTIAGO HAS NOT YET ATTRACTED MEDIA ATTENTION. TO AVOID ANY IMPLICATION OF SECRECY, THE EMBASSY IS PUTTING OUT A BRIEF STATEMENT THIS AFTERNOON.
LANDAU

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EXCISE

1979

January 5, 1979

Mr. Thomas V. Evans
1113 Longworth Office Bldg.
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Sir:

At times our great nation becomes involved in a most despicable type of warfare against weaker nations: economic boycotts-- to try and rationalize these under any set of circumstances is immoral and inhuman to the same degree that an open military attack would be. It is worse, because we lack the guts to declare open war; but the intent remains the same: economic domination of a country. Somehow, I cannot invision this with President Carter's Human Rights Policy.

I recently visited Chile and saw a real disgust, at all social levels, because of the proposed AFL-CIO boycott to that country. They are disgusted at anything representing the United States because of our lack of knowledge of the real situation there. They felt that if a European communist country had effectively liberated itself of communist oppression, we would have applauded. However, we only talk about lack of human rights in Chile, and do not recognize that there is far more freedom there today than during the communist regime. We turn our backs on them, and try to open negotiations with Castro's regime in Cuba. This is sad. We in the United States have no idea of what people have suffered under communist regimes or under guerrilla warfare conditions such as in neighboring Argentina and Uruguay and, hence, should not criticize their human rights' policies.

One may say that the AFL-CIO boycott is not initiated or sponsored by the United States government, and like Pontious Pilot, wash our hands. No sir, I don't agree the government can stay out of it. I think/they/you should openly condemn the AFL-CIO action. After all, Chile is a country where labor unions can freely organize; but at the same time, no one is compelled to join unions. That, in my opinion, is freedom of choice. Of course, I support "right to work" laws in the United States also.

Sincerely,

THS:cac

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5 JAN '79 Department of State TELEGRAM

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O FOR SCHERRER

065: GDS 1/5/85 (WHITE, ROBERT E.) OR-M
GOV, CI
: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: TRAVEL OF FBI AGENT SCHERRER

ATE 000547

- ENTIRE TEXT)

SSY HAS ARRANGED APPOINTMENT FOR FBI AGENT ROBERT
R TO INTERVIEW GENERAL (FORMERLY COLONEL) BENITO GUANES
0 A.A. ON 11 JANUARY. AMBASSADOR WOULD PERFER THAT
IVE AT LEAST ONE DAY AHEAD OF TIME IN ORDER TO DISCUSS
HANDLING OF THIS MATTER.

MADE HOTEL RESERVATIONS FOR SCHERRER AT GRAN HOTEL
Y FROM JAN 8 TO JAN 12. WE WILL ARRANGE FOR VEHICLE TO
EN ARRIVAL TIME ASUNCION IS KNOWN.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00119 01 OF 02 051629Z
ACTION ARA-15

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O R 051529Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1831
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION GENEVA
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ UNCLASSIFIED SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0119

E.O. 12065: GDS 04/01/85 (SERVICE, ROBERT E) OR-P
TAGS: OR-L ELAB ETRD SHUM CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: LABOR REACTION TO GOC LABOR PLAN

REF: SANTIAGO 0065

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE LABOR PLAN ANNOUNCED BY LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA JANUARY 2 PLEDGES MODIFICATION OF THE MORE OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES OF GOC LABOR POLICY AND SETS A FIRM DATE, JUNE 30, FOR LEGISLATION THAT COULD FURTHER RESTORE INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISM. DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING POSITIVE ELEMENTS, ARE VERY UNHAPPY WITH THE PACKAGE. THEY VIEW THE GOVERNMENT'S PLAN AS A MINIMAL AND HALF-HEARTED COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES

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OF FREE TRADE UNIONISM, MOTIVATED PRIMARILY BY THE NEED TO AVOID THE IMPENDING ORIT BOYCOTT. THEY WANT TO KEEP THE THREAT OF AN IMMINENT BOYCOTT ALIVE WHILE THEY TRY TO GET HELPFUL CLARIFICATIONS ON PROMPT CONCRETE ACTION FROM THE GOC. IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW THE LABOR PLAN REPRESENTS A PRELIMINARY, POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE

GOC APPROACH TO LABOR MATTERS. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD WAIT UNTIL THE DETAILS ARE FILLED IN BEFORE MAKING ANY COMMENTS. END SUMMARY

2. (U) ALTHOUGH ALMOST UNIVERSALLY BUSINESS, PRESS, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL LEADERS PRAISED THE GOC ANNOUNCED "LABOR PLAN" WHICH SETS A DEADLINE OF JUNE 30 FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL LABOR LEGISLATION NORMALIZING TRADE UNION AND OTHER LABOR ACTIVITY, ALMOST ALL DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS HAVE BEEN CAUTIOUS AND SUSPICIOUS IN THEIR COMMENTS ON THE PLAN. A TYPICAL EXAMPLE OCCURRED AT A TELEVISED LUNCHEON JANUARY 4 WHEN GUILLERMO MEDINA, LABOR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND GENERALLY CONSIDERED STRONGLY PRO-GOVERNMENT, CITED A LONG SERIES OF UNFULFILLED PROMISES BY THE GOC, INCLUDING PRESIDENT PINOCHET, SINCE 1975. IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS WE SET FORTH THE MOST SIGNIFICANT POINTS OF THE LABOR PLAN, THE QUESTIONS AND CRITICISMS OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS AND, TO THE EXTENT WE NOW HAVE THEM, THE CLARIFICATIONS OF LABOR MINISTER PINERA.

3. (U) FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLE: THE NEW LABOR PLAN AS ANNOUNCED BY LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA STATED THAT LEGALLY RECOGNIZED TRADE UNIONS WOULD BE PERMITTED TO MEET FREELY IN THEIR UNION HALLS OUTSIDE WORKING HOURS WITHOUT PRIOR GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION. A TELEX FROM THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR WAS SENT TO ALL REGIONAL GOVERNORS AND [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00119 01 OF 02 051629Z

INTENDANTS ANNOUNCING THIS POLICY. TRADE UNION LEADERS ARE CONCERNED THAT:

-- TRANSITORY ARTICLE 4 OF DECREE LAW 198 REMAINS IN EFFECT. LABOR LEADERS ARE CONCERNED THAT SOME GOC OFFICIALS MAY CONTINUE TO ENFORCE THE REQUIREMENTS OF THAT ARTICLE THAT UNION ASSEMBLIES BE INFORMATIVE RATHER THAN DELIBERATIVE AND THAT UNION LEADERS INFORM LOCAL POLICE TWO DAYS IN ADVANCE OF A MEETING, WITH A COPY OF THE AGENDA.
-- MANY UNIONS DO NOT HAVE UNION HALLS. IT IS NOT CLEAR FROM PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS WHETHER THEY WILL BE FREE TO MEET IN OTHER LOCALES OF THEIR CHOOSING.
-- SOME LONG-ESTABLISHED FEDERATIONS HAVE NEVER ACQUIRED FORMAL LEGAL RECOGNITION. ARE THEY INCLUDED IN GOC AUTHORIZATION TO HOLD MEETINGS?

LABOR MINISTER PINERA HAS SAID PRIVATELY THAT THE NEW RULE GRANTS UNRESTRICTED FREEDOM OF TRADE UNIONS TO MEET WITHOUT

PRIOR NOTIFICATION OR PERMISSION ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WAS A PROBLEM CONCERNING UNIONS NOT HAVING UNION HALLS. PINERA NOTED THAT THIS PROBLEM COULD BE WORKED OUT. LABOR MINISTER PINERA HASSACKNOWLEDGE PUBLICLY THAT DECREE LAW 198 CONTINUES IN FORCE BUT TOLD GROUP OF TEN LEADER EDUARDO RIOS JANUARY 3 THAT HE WOULD TRY TO GET ARTICLE 4 REPEALED OR MODIFIED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HOWEVER HE DOES NOT SEE IT RESTRICTING THE ABILITY OF UNIONS TO MEET FREELY.

4. (U) TRADE UNION ELECTIONS: THE LABOR PLAN FOR THE FIRST TIME SETS A DEADLINE FOR PERMANENT LEGISLATION GOVERNING TRADE UNION ELECTIONS -- JUNE 30. THE PLAN WILL ALSO PERMIT UNIONS ON A ONE-TIME BASIS TO RECALL LEADERS ELECTED UNDER THE OCTOBER 31, 1978 ELECTION. PINERA PROMISED THAT THE NEW ELECTION LAW WILL NOT HOLD PREVIOUS POLITICAL ACTIVITY AS DISQUALIFYING BUT WILL MAKE HOLDING OF UNION OFFICE INCOMPATIBLE WITH POLITICAL POSITIONS. TRADE UNIONISTS ARE CONCERNED THAT:

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 00119 01 OF 02 051629Z

-- FORMER TRADE UNION LEADERS REPLACED IN THE OCTOBER 31 ELECTIONS MAY BE FIRED BY THEIR EMPLOYERS SO THAT THEY CANNOT BE CANDIDATES FOR FUTURE TRADE UNION OFFICE -- SINCE THEIR SIX-MONTH GUARANTEED TENURE ("FUERO") WILL HAVE RUN OUT IN MAY.
-- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SEEMS LIKELY TO BEGIN BEFORE FREE ELECTIONS ARE RESTORED. MOST LEADERS BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT UNIONS GO INTO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WITH FREELY, AND RECENTLY, ELECTED LEADERSHIP.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00119 02 OF 02 051656Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 ACDA-12 SP-02
SS-15 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 AID-05 NSCE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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-- THE LABOR PLAN SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT EXISTING UNION CONSTITUTIONS AND BY-LAWS MAY NOT BE RESPECTED IN SO FAR AS TRADE UNIONS WILL BE PERMITTED ONLY ONE RECALL ELECTION WITHIN A PRESCRIBED FOUR-YEAR TERM OF OFFICE.
-- PINERA HAS TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE RECALL ELECTIONS FOR LEADERS ELECTED THIS PAST OCTOBER 31 MAY NOT BE HELD UNTIL SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER OF THIS YEAR, TO GIVE THE NEW LEADERS TIME TO PROVE THEMSELVES. THIS POSSIBLE DELAY BEYOND THE JUNE 30 DATE, AS WELL AS THE OTHER POINTS ABOVE, INCREASES SOME LEADERS' SUSPICIONS OF GOC INTENTIONS.

TO EMBASSY OFFICERS AND AIFLD REP PINERA HAS SAID THAT THE SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER SUGGESTION FOR RECALL ELECTIONS WAS NOT GOVERNMENT POLICY AND THAT ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD IMMEDIATELY

AFTER JUNE 30 IF UNIONS SO DESIRE.

5. (U) STRIKES: THE NEW LABOR PLAN RECOGNIZES THAT STRIKES MAY BE NECESSARY TO RESOLVE LABOR DISPUTES WHEN OTHER MECHANISMS FAIL. HOWEVER, THE LABOR MINISTER SAID THAT LOCK OUTS OR STRIKES ARE A FACT BUT NOT NECESSARILY A RIGHT. IN ANY CASE THEY ARE UNACCEPTABLE WHEN INJURIOUS TO PUBLIC HEALTH, THE ECONOMY, FOOD SUPPLIES OR NATIONAL SECURITY. WORKERS AT STATE-OWNED CORPORATIONS WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO STRIKE, ALTHOUGH SOME FORM OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WILL BE CONCEDED WHICH WILL INCLUDE COMPULSORY ARBITRATION. CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO STRIKE OR BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY. UNION LEADERS SAY THAT THEIR ABILITY TO STRIKE FOR ECONOMIC REASONS WILL BE SO LIMITED AS TO MAKE IT ALMOST MEANINGLESS. SOME LEADERS NOTE THAT THE FINAL ARBITER IN DECIDING WHETHER A STRIKE DAMAGES THE ECONOMY OR NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE NATION WILL BE THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF.

6. (U) COLLECTIVE BARGAINING: THE NEW LABOR PLAN CALLS FOR A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW PRIOR TO THE JUNE 30 DEADLINE SET FOR OTHER LABOR LEGISLATION. THE NEW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW WILL CONTAIN AMPLE PROVISIONS FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT INCLUDING CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION FOR MOST CONTRACTS. THE TRADE UNIONISTS

STATE THAT UNIONS PREDOMINANTLY COMPOSED OF SMALL SHOPS, IN SUCH INDUSTRIES AS RETAIL SALES, SMALL AGRICULTURAL FARMS AND TRANSPORTATION WILL BE EXCLUDED FROM COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. FEDERATION LEADERS ARE CONCERNED THAT NO CLEAR ROLE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR THEM IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. PINERA HAS SAID THAT, WHERE NEEDED, SECTOR BARGAINING WILL BE CONSIDERED.

7. (U) DUES CHECKOFFS: MOST LOCAL UNIONS HAVE VERY LIMITED RESOURCES. UNION LEADERS SAY THAT UNLESS DUES CHECKOFFS FOR FEDERATIONS IS PROMPTLY RESTORED MOST FEDERATIONS WILL NOT SURVIVE UNTIL THE LABOR PLAN IS PUBLISHED AROUND JUNE 30. WITHOUT

THE ECONOMIC POWER OF THE TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS MOST LOCAL UNIONS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN THE ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND TECHNICAL ADVICE THEY BELIEVE NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH BUSINESS IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS. PINERA HAS SAID HE WILL CONSIDER THIS PROBLEM ON AN URGENT BASIS, SUGGESTING MOVEMENT TO RESTORE DUES CHECKOFFS BY LATE JANUARY OR FEBRUARY AS THE RESULT OF REFERENDA IN THE UNIONS AFFECTED.

8. (U) TRADE UNION TENURE (FUERO SINDICAL): PINERA SAID THAT FUTURE LEGISLATION WILL RESPECT THIS TRADITIONAL PROTECTION FOR TRADE UNION LEADERS. THE DECREES OF OCTOBER HAD LEFT THE ISSUE IN DOUBT. THERE HAS BEEN NO LABOR LEADER CRITICISM.

9. (C) COMMENT: AFTER YEARS OF FALSE HOPES AND WHAT THEY VIEW AS BROKEN PROMISES, THERE IS LITTLE DISPOSITION ON THE PART OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS TO TRUST IN THE GOOD INTENTIONS OF PINERA AND THOSE ABOVE HIM. AT A MINIMUM, THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO REPEAL ARTICLE 4 OF DECREE LAW 198 AND TO REESTABLISH AUTOMATIC DUES CHECK-OFFS FOR FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS. THEY WOULD LIKE TO KEEP THE BOYCOTT THREAT IMMINENT IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE SUCH ACTION. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THEY ARE IN A COMPLEX AND DELICATE BARGAINING SITUATION. THEY KNOW THAT HARDLINERS IN THE GOC WILL JUMP ON AN OVERLY NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE LABOR PLAN AS PROOF THAT DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS ARE IRRECONCILABLE AND CAN ONLY BE CONTAINED BY REVERTING TO AN OPENLY ANTAGONISTIC POSTURE. THEY APPRECIATE THE CONFLICTING POLITICAL PRESSURES IMPINGING UPON THE AFL-CIO AND ORIT IN ANY DECISION WHETHER TO MAINTAIN THE BOYCOTT THREAT.

10. (C) IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW THE LABOR PLAN REPRESENTS A PRELIMINARY BUT POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE GOC'S APPROACH TO LABOR MATTERS. PINERA AND THE REST OF THE ECONOMIC TEAM HAVE COMMITTED THEIR PRESTIGE TO CARRYING IT OUT. IT COULD MARK THE START OF A REORIENTATION OF GOC THINKING AWAY FROM PREOCCUPATION WITH THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY TOWARD

THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS -- THE BENEFIT OF DEMOCRATIC TRADE LEADERS.
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 00119 02 OF 02 051656Z

11. (C) PINERA HAS ALREADY MET WITH GROUP OF TEN LEADER EDUARDO RIOS; WITH FEDERICO MUJICA AND OTHER PRIVATE EMPLOYEES CONFEDERATION (CEPCH) LEADERS; AND WITH TUCAPEL JIMENEZ AND HERNOL FLORES OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES (ANEF). A MEETING WITH GROUP OF TEN LEADERS IS SCHEDULED FOR NEXT WEEK. THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS FOLLOWING THESE MEETINGS HAVE NOT BEEN VERY ENCOURAGING, IN KEEPING WITH A TYPICAL TRADE UNION BARGAINING POSTURE, BUT THE VERY FACT THAT PINERA, UNLIKE PREVIOUS LABOR MINISTERS, IS MEETING WITH THEM IS, IN OUR VIEW, IMPORTANT.

12. (C) THE USG HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED TAKING A POSITION ON THE ORIT BOYCOTT SO FAR AND WE THINK WE SHOULD MAINTAIN THAT POSTURE. IT IS BASICALLY AN ISSUE FOR THE AFL-CIO AND ORIT TO DECIDE. WHILE WE ARE HOPEFUL OF THE GOOD INTENTIONS OF PINERA AND OTHERS, THERE ARE STILL ENOUGH UNCERTAINTIES TO MAKE ANY FORMAL STATEMENT A RISKY PROPOSITION AT THIS TIME.
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ACTION ARA-15

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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
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Exemption(s)

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BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGATT

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: OR-P, PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: FBI AGENTS VISIT CHILE; SUPREME COURT REJECTS BAIL FOR CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA

1. CORNICK/SCHERRER VISIT: LOCAL MEDIA SOON LEARNED THAT FBI SPECIAL AGENTS CORNICK AND SCHERRER HAD ARRIVED IN SANTIAGO JANUARY 4. WEEKEND PRESS GAVE PROMINENT PLACEMENT TO THEIR VISIT, DESCRIBED BY "LA TERCERA" AS A "SECRET MISSION" DESPITE AN EMBASSY PRESS RELEASE. "EL MERCURIO"CLAIMED THE PARI BROUGHT "TWO SUITCASES OF NEW EVIDENCE", WHILE "LA SEGUNDA" QUOTED THEM AS STATING THAT "THE EVIDENCE ACCUMULATED IS MORE THAN SUFFICIENT (FOR EXTRADITION)". THE OFFICIAL EMBASSY RESPONSE TO PRESS INQUIRIES WAS THAT THEY WERE IN SANTIAGO TO CONSULT WITH USG LAWYER ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY.

2. AN INDUSTRIOUS, AND NOT ALWYS PRECISE, "MERCURIO" CHAIN REPORTER WHO BOTTON-HOLED THE TWO SPECIAL AGENTS QUOTED THEM AS STATING THAT REPORTS THE AMBASSADOR WOULD BE WITHDRAWN SHOULD EXTRADITION NOT BE GRANTED WERE ONLY SPECULATION. "MERCUIRIO" SAID THE AGENTS REITERATED THAT THE EVIDENCE SUPPORTING THE EXTRADITION REQUEST "IS VAST AND MORE THAN SUFFICIENT FOR U.S. COURTS" BUT

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00177 082110Z

SHOULD THE CHILEAN JUDICIARY DENY EXTRADITION THAT " WOULD BE RESPECTED AS WITHIN ITS RIGHTS".

3. SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS DECISION NOT TO SET BAIL: LAWYER MIRANDA CARRINGTON LEARNED JANUARY 5 THAT HIS APPEAL TO A THREE JUDGE CIRCUIT OF THE SUPREME COURT TO SET BAIL FOR HIS CLIENTS, CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA, HAD BEEN UNANIMOUSLY DENIED. MIRANDA HAD DIRECTED

HIS ORIGINAL REQUEST TO ISRAEL BORQUEZ, PRESIDING JUDGE IN THE EXTRADITION CASE. IN A VERY STIFF DECISION HANDED DOWN DECEMBER 26, BORQUEZ RULED, INTER ALIA, THAT SHOULD EITHER FLEE WHILE ON BAIL THEY WOULD CONSTITUTE "A DANGER TO SOCIETY". (A JUNTA-INTRODUCED CONSTITUTIONAL ACT HAD MADE BAIL THE RIGHT OF ANYONE HELD IN "PREVENTIVE DETENTION" SUBJECT ONLY THE "THE NEEDS OF THE INVESTIGATION" AND THE DETERMINATION THAT HIS RELEASE FROM DETENTION MIGHT ENDANGER SOCIETY).

4. MIRANDA FOUND SOLACE IN THE FACT THAT THE APPEAL DECISION RELIED PRINCIPALLY ON THE ANOMALLY OF CHILEAN LAW DESCRIBING SOMEONE PENDING EXTRADITION AS "HELD UNDER ARREST" RATHER THAN "DETAINED", THUS AVOIDING REFERENCE TO BORQUEZ' IMPUTATION THAT THE PARI MIGHT JUMP BAIL AND HIS ASSERTION THAT SHOULD THEY DO SO THEY WOULD REPRESENT A "THREAT TO SOCIETY".

5. CONTRERAS ATTENDS DAUGHTER'S WEDDING; ESPINOZA MAY VISIT PUNTA ARENAS: ALTHOUGH BORQUEZ AND THE SUPREME COURT DENIED CONTRERAS BAIL, BORQUEZ ALLOWED HIM TO LEAVE THE MILITARY HOSPITAL IN ORDER TO ATTEND THE WEDDING OF HIS DAUGHTER TO A MILITARY OFFICER. A RULING IS PENDING ON A REQUEST THAT ESPINOZA BE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO PUNTA ARENAS, TO ATTEND THE CHANGE OF COMMAND CEREMONY IN WHICH HE IS BEING REPLACED AS THE COMMANDER OF THE PUDETO REGIMENT.

6. COVERAGE OF U.S. TRIAL: SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS SENT TO
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

PAGE 03 SANTIA 00177 082110Z

WASHINGTON TO COVER THE TRIAL AGAINST THE THREE LETELIER/ MOFFITT SUSPECTS NOW IN U.S. CUSTODY HAVE RECEIVED FRONT PAGE PLACEMENT OF THEIR FIRST FILINGS. JANUARY 8 STORIES DISCUSSED ASPECTS OF U.S. JUDICIAL PROCESS.
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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January 8, 1979

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of December 7 in which you urged that we support the continuance of the United Nation's Ad Hoc Working Group on the Situation on Human Rights in Chile.

The debate on the question of human rights in Chile was recently concluded in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly. The Committee approved by a vote of 87 to 8, with 34 abstentions, a draft resolution sponsored by Sweden. The United States, as well as all other Western delegations, voted in favor of the resolution. The resolution emphasized the conclusions of the Ad Hoc Working Group that violations, often of a grave nature, continue to take place in Chile and called upon the Chilean authorities to take a number of specific measures. I enclose a copy of the resolution.

The resolution also invites the Commission on Human Rights, in consultation with the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group, to appoint from among the Group's members a "Special Rapporteur" on the human rights situation in Chile. The Special Rapporteur is to serve as a substitute for the Ad Hoc Working Group. The resolution provides further that the Commission on Human Rights should formulate the Special Rapporteur's mandate on the basis of the 1975 resolution which established the mandate of the Ad Hoc Working Group itself.

MICROFILMED
BY S/S-I

The Honorable
John L. Burton,
U.S. House of Representatives.

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The substitution of the Special Rapporteur was specifically recommended by the Ad Hoc Working Group. The Group reasoned that in view of its successful visit to Chile earlier this year, its original mandate had been substantially fulfilled. In the Group's view, which we shared, a less complicated mechanism to assure continued UN monitoring of the situation seemed timely and appropriate.

The Ad Hoc Working Group will make its final report to the next session of the Commission on Human Rights, which is scheduled to meet in February-March 1979. We expect the Commission to choose the Special Rapporteur at that time. The United States, as a member of the Commission, will support this course.

I can assure you that the United States Government strongly supports continued United Nations attention to the human rights situation in Chile. We are confident that a Special Rapporteur can be an effective successor to the Ad Hoc Working Group and that vigorous efforts through the United Nations in behalf of the full restoration of human rights in Chile will continue.

Sincerely,

Warren

Warren Christopher

Enclosure

John -

Sorry this was delayed by my year end travels.

Regards.

W.C.

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Hughes Hubbard & Reed
One Wall Street
New York 10005

January 8, 1979

The Honorable Cyrus Vance
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Cy:

Thank you for your letter of January 4 concerning Daniel Palma. It does indeed answer my letter of July 26, another copy of which is enclosed for your information.

I had not been aware that the problem was quite so widespread but I must agree that I do not see what else could be done. In any event, I appreciate hearing from you.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

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BY S/S-I

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 12065: GDS: 1/9/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: OR-P PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ROUNDUP

REF: SANTIAGO 0128

(ENTIRE TEXT)

1. FOLLOWING THREE DAYS OF WORK WITH FBI AGENTS SCHERRER AND CORNICK, ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY TURNED OVER TO THE SUPREME COURT JANUARY 9, ELEVEN ADDITIONAL AFFIDAVITS SUPPORTING THE REQUEST FOR EXTRADITION OF CONTRERAS, ESPINOZA AND FERNANDEZ. ETCHEBERRY HAD PREVIOUSLY TURNED OVER COPIES OF THE THREE CIA AFFADIVITS REQUESTED BY JUDGE PARKER, TWO AFFIDAVITS ON THE NON-EXISTENCE OF A US OFFICIAL NAMED LEE, IN ASUNCION, AND THE AFFIDAVITS ON GENERAL WALTERS AND AMBASSADOR LANDAU.

2. JUDGE BORQUEZ JANUARY 8 GAVE PERMISSION TO THE LAWYERS FOR THE DEFENSE TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE RECORD TO DATE. THIS

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WILL INCLUDE THE AFFIDAVITS SUBMITTED TODAY BY ETCHEBERRY, AS SOON AS BORQUEZ HIMSELF HAS HAD A CHANCE TO READ THEM.

3. BORQUEZ HAS GRANTED PERMISSION FOR ESPINOZA TO TRAVEL TO PUNTA ARENAS TO TURN OVER COMMAND OF HIS REGIMENT. THE TIME PERIOD REQUESTED WAS JANUARY 7 TO 13. WE DO NOT KNOW IF ESPINOZA HAS YET DEPARTED SANTIAGO.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/10/85 (HARRIS, F. Allen) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR

FROM : Amembassy Buenos Aires DATE: January 10, 1979

SUBJECT : Maggio Letter on Argentine Navy Mechanics School Detention Facility

REF : (A) Buenos Aires 3244 dtd 4/27/78;
(B) Buenos Aires 3489 dtd 5/5/78

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: New evidence that Horacio Maggio was a trusty at the Navy Mechanics School has led us to review the allegations he made in letters (see attachments) sent last April that Ambassador Hidalgo Sola, the French nuns, Dagmar Hagelin and other notable prisoners had been held and tortured there. If this could be established then at least a few of Argentina's disappearance mysteries could be resolved. But we cannot rule out the possibility that Maggio used his knowledge of the school and its activities to concoct a dramatic tale about his former captors. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

In April 1978, this Embassy, a number of other foreign missions and international news agencies received handwritten letters and detailed drawings from a Horacio Maggio reporting that the Officer's Club at the Argentine Navy's Mechanics School was being used as a clandestine detention and interrogation facility. We believe letters were also sent to Church authorities. (See reftel A.) Maggio met with a foreign correspondent in late April and personally provided more details of the Mechanics School's interrogation facility, in an attempt to substantiate his assertions.

Summaries of the Maggio report were published in Paris in "Le Monde" and in late 1978 in the Spanish news magazine, "Cambio-16."

Three explanations were put forward regarding the Maggio letter: first, that it was an Army "black propaganda"

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Drafted by: POL:FAHarris:sz
Contents and Classification Approved by: POLCOUNS:WHHallman
Clearances: DCM:MChaplin

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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effort (this was the Navy explanation); second, that it was a Montonero invention to discredit the Navy; and third, that the document was in fact genuine.

We treated the document at arm's length because of Maggio's weak story of how he escaped from the Navy. (He said he jumped out of the back of a truck while being moved.) We recently learned however that Mr. Maggio was in fact a trusty who had limited visiting rights with his family, and escaped during a visit at his family's home. We also heard from a source at another embassy that Mr. Maggio had been recaptured and killed by Navy Intelligence. We received in October a letter from Mrs. Maggio requesting our help in locating her husband who had disappeared for a second time--which supports the report of Maggio's demise.

Embassy Comment: The Maggio drawings and description of the operations within the Mechanics School Officer's Club appear to reflect inside knowledge. Many of the procedural details regarding the operations in his report are corroborated by other sources. We have not however been able to confirm that the individuals named by Maggio were in fact prisoners at the Mechanics School. We are seeking to do so, since this would clear up at least a few of Argentina's extant mysteries. At the same time we cannot rule out Maggio's having used his intimate knowledge of the Navy's interrogation facility as a frame upon which to build a lurid case against his former captors.

CASTRO

Attachments:
1. Copy Maggio Letter
2. Informal English translation

[redacted]

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNCLASSIFIED 1/10/79

January 10, 1979

MEMORANDUM

BW0002

TO: Chief, A/SY/OPS/FO

FROM: RSO - J.J. Blystone - Buenos Aires

SUBJECT: Monthly Status Report for December, 1978

1. Threat Assessment

A. At the end of 1978, RSO met with members of the Security Service to discuss past events of the year and to theorize as to what events could be expected in 1979 regarding terrorist activities.

The following points were brought out during the conversation:

Argentina is divided into military zones. Zones are under the control of the Army Corps within that zone. All operations against subversives which are carried out by members of the various security and military services within a zone must be approved by the commander of the Army Corps within the Zone where the operation is to take place. In spite of this, many operations are conducted without permission; further, there is very poor coordination and exchange of information among the security and military services regarding operations being planned or conducted.

The five military zones are described as follows:

Zone One - Under the control of the First Army Corps. Zone One surrounds the Province of Buenos Aires, except the suburbs of Buenos Aires, the Federal Capital, and the Province of La Pampa, up to the Rio Colorado river. (Note: a "Province" is similar to our state, as in "State of Illinois").

[redacted]

(RDS-1 (Chaplin, Maxwell) OR/A)

WARNING: NOT RELEASEABLE TO FOREIGN SOURCES

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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Zone Two - Under the control of the Second Army Corps. Zone Two includes the Provinces of Santa Fe, Entre Rios, Corrientes, Misiones, Chaco, and Formosa.

Zone Three - Under the control of the Third Army Corps. Zone Three includes the Provinces of Jujuy, Salta, Santiago de Estero, Tucuman, Catamaica, La Rioja, Cordoba, San Juan, San Luis and Mendoza.

Zone Four - Under the control of the Military Institute. Campo de Mayo area, located outside of Buenos Aires. Zone Four also controls the suburbs of Buenos Aires, which are Vicente Lopez, San Isidro, San Fernando, Tigre, Exaltacion de la Cruz, Escobar, Zarate, Campana, San Martin, 3 de Febrero, General Sarmiento, and Del Viso y Pilar.

Zone Five - Under the control of the Fifth Army Corps. Zone Five incluues the provinces of Rio Negro, Neuquen, Chubute, and Santa Cruz.

Sources provided the following manpower resources of terrorist organizations remaining in the country and of those now in exile. The figures provided are approximate, with each figure being off anywhere from 3 to 7 points. The security sources did not wish to provide exact totals as the information is considered highly classified by the GOA.

OCPA - Terrorist organization, Communist Labor Power Organization (rough translation). Security forces estimate that 20 leaders now reside in exile. In-country members are located in the following zones: Zone 1 - 17 members; Zone 2 - 4 members; Zones 3, 4, and 5 - 0 members. Total: 21 members in-country. Security forces consider OCPA to be of no danger, as the organization exists in name only. Members are unable to communicate with each other, have no weapons, no explosives, no safe house, and no money, and no leadership.

[redacted]

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Security force members believe that in the future, the OCPA could possibly produce pamphlets for propoganda purposes; however, the likelihood is remote for reasons outlined above.

PRT/ERP - This terrorist organization is estimated by security forces to have a maximum of 90 members residing in exile. This number represents the leadership of the organization with members located in Italy and France.

Sources indicated that approximately 138 PRT/ERP members remain in Argentina and are situated in the following zones: Zone 1 - 86; Zone 2 - 24; Zone 3 - 8; Zone 4 - 18, and Zone 5 - 2. Sources advised that the last PRT/ERP terrorist act was committed in May, 1978, when a vehicle with explosives exploded in the garage of the San Martin theater.

The PRT/ERP members in exile have joined the 4th International Organization (an organization which supposedly follows the Trotsky line) in France and have changed their organizational policy from violent revolution to one of achieving power through the use of political means. Sources advised the change is a result of losses in membership and equipment in fighting GOA military and security forces. The new Secretary General and leader of the PRT/ERP, Arnoldo Khremer has decided to use political means to gain support and aid for the PRT/ERP movement, i.e. support for the local unions, by distributing pamphlets, supporting wage increases, etc. PRT/ERP hopes that by using political means they will be able to recoup the support of the populace. Our source advised that PRT/ERP has not forsaken the idea of violence to obtain power, that the PRT/ERP still has in Argentina limited quantities of small arms, i.e. pistols, revolvers, and shotguns, and a small

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amount of explosives. However, sources stated that the movement has limited funds which are being utilized by the leadership in Europe to produce propoganda and are unable to provide financial backing to the remaining elements in Argentina.

Sources added that they have broken the movement's lines of communication and that the movement no longer has any safe houses remaining in the country.

Security sources advised that due to their efforts to eliminate PRT/ERP members, the remaining members in country are in hiding or trying to leave. Further, the movement lacks leadership for any future terrorist activity. Sources admitted that there exists a possibility in the coming year that a member or members of the movement could plan some type of terrorist act, but that it would most likely be a bombing of a GOA installation. However, the general concurrence of the security forces is that the movement would distribute pamphlets.

Montoneros - This terrorist movement is estimated by security forces to have a maximum of 200 members residing in exile. This number represents members of the Montonero leadership located in Italy, France and Mexico City. Sources advised that approximately 245 members of the Montonero movement remain in Argentina and are located in the following zones: Zone 1 - maximum 90 members; Zone 2 - maximum 25 members; Zone 3 - maximum 50 members; Zone 4 - maximum 8 members, and Zone 5 - maximum 0 members.

Sources stated that the Secretariat for International Relations of the movement has changed the movement's political structure and renamed the movement "The Peronist/Montonero Movement." The Montoneros believe that by changing the name to include the Peronists, the movement will gain the support of the Peronists and be identified with the Peronist movement in Argentina.

[redacted]

(RDS-1 (Chaplin, Maxwell) OR/A)

Security forces advised that the Montoneros in-country no longer have any safe houses, are unable to recruit new members, are not receiving money from the leadership in exile, lack leadership, have no line of communication, and have limited quantities of weapons (small arms, pistols, revolvers, and shotguns).

Sources advise that terrorist acts resulting from bombings are still possible; however, they found and destroyed three months ago the last Montonero explosive factory manufacturing "Exogeno", which sources advise is a plastic explosive. (Note: Argentina military and security forces have PRT/ERP and Montonero terrorists in their service providing information. Further, the services are using terrorists to point out individuals they have seen but do not know by name as members of the movement or movement sympathizers. This is being accomplished by having the PRT/ERP and Montoneros accompany security members in unmarked vehicles which traverse the city and areas which members or sympathizers are suspected to be located. Sources advised that both systems used have been highly effective, and will continue until the terrorists have been eliminated.)

The RSO was able very briefly to view statistical graphs compiled by GOA security services indicating the numbers of violent acts committed in the years 1977 and 1978 by terrorist and GOA forces while a security member read to the RSO from these graphs. Source provided the following statistical data to RSO:

Violent Acts Committed in 1977

Montoneros - 700
PRT/ERP - 130

One figure which sources did not provide which the RSO was able to see was that GOA forces committed 1,576 violent acts in 1977.

[redacted]

(RDS-1 (Chaplin, Maxwell) OR/A)

Violent Acts Committed in 1978

Montoneros	-	343
PRT/ERP	-	45
Others	-	3

Again, the RSO was able to see that GOA forces committed 696 violent acts during 1978.

Another statistical graph compiled by GOA security forces showed by month the number of bombing acts committed by Montonero and PRT/ERP groups, which are indicated below:

1978 Acts of Bombings

	Montenero	PRT/ERP
Jan	2	-
Feb	4	5
Mar	1	-
Apr	-	-
May	-	1
Jun	1	-
Jul	-	-
Aug	1	-
Sep	1	-

The graph also indicated a high number of bombings had been carried out by GOA forces. The RSO is unable to provide figures as the graph was held by source, who read above figures to RSO.

[redacted]

(RDS-1 (Chaplin, Maxwell) OR/A)

Other graphs which the RSO viewed very briefly indicate the following:

During 1978, PRT/ERP did not conduct any armed attacks; however, the Monteneros conducted 15.

The graph indicated attacks by GOA forces were much higher than the terrorists.

Propoganda action: The PRT/ERP conducted 27 acts involving the use of propoganda in 1978. The Montoneros conducted 207 actions involving the use of propoganda. The graph indicated that the GOA forces used a great deal of propoganda, as the graph showed GOA use to be greater than that of the terrorist groups.

Actions involving stealing of weapons or vehicles in 1978. PRT/ERP conducted one action in January, 1978. The Montoneros conducted 10 actions between the period of January and May, 1978, only. They conducted no actions during the period May to December, 1978.

Kidnappings. PRT/ERP conducted no kidnappings in 1978. The Monteneros conducted two, in January only. The graph indicated that the GOA was more active.

Acts of Intimidation. PRT/ERP conducted 10 acts of intimidation. The Montoneros conducted 20. Acts of intimidation were committed between May and June, and October and November. The graph indicates that GOA forces' acts of intimidation were greater in number than those of the terrorists.

Montevideo

No change from the October report.

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: OR-P, PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ROUNDUP

REF: SANTIAGO 177

1. SUMMARY: SUBMISSION OF ADDITIONAL USG EVIDENCE STRENGTHENING EXTRADITION REQUEST DRAWS PRESS INTEREST. COVERAGE OF U.S. TRIAL ABUNDANT IN ALL BUT GOC-OWNED PRESS. A BITTER CONTRERAS ATTENDS DAUGHTER'S MARRIAGE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE LOCAL PRESS KEPT ON THE HEELS OF FBI AGENTS CORNICK AND SCHERRER DURING THEIR JANUARY 4-9 TRIP TO SANTIGO TO WORK WITH ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY ON PREPARING A SUBMISSION TO THE JUDGE HANDLING OUR EXTRADITION REQUESTS FOR THREE CHILEAN OFFICERS. ETCHEBERRY TOLD THE PRSS THAT THE SUBMISSION FILED JANUARY 9 REFUTES THE STATEMENTS THAT THE THREE OFFICERS HAD MADE BEFORE JUDGE BORQUEZ.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00229 101945Z

3. LOW CIRCULATION DAILY "ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" DEDICATED TWO FULL PAGES TO AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SPECIAL AGENTS IN WHICH THE PAIR STRESSED THAT THE EVIDENCE JUSTIFYING EXTRADITION IS OVERWHELMING, AS WOULD BE SHOWN THE CHILEAN PEOPLE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD AS THE U.S. TRIAL UNFOLDS. SCHERRER AND CORNICK DESCRIBED THE ASSASSINATION AS A CLEAR CASE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM WHICH

CAN BE TRACED DIRECTLY TO THE DINA, AND POINTED OUT THAT SUCH ATTACKS CANNOT GO UNPUNISHED. THEY SAID TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY AS "95 PERCENT VERIFIED FROM OUTSIDE SOURCES" AND THAT CUBAN NATIONALISTS WERE FEEQUENT TRAVELERS TO CHILE WHERE THEY ATTENDED DINA COURSES.

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE AND IDENTITY OF THE MYSTERIOUS "LILIANA WALKER" (WHO ACCOMPANIED FERNANDEZ LARIOS TO THE U.S.) HAS ALSO ATTRACTED RENEWED PRESS ATTENTION. THE TWO FBI AGENTS REPORTEDLY FOUND IT "INCREDIBLE, TO SAY THE LEAST" THAT SHE HAD NOT YET BEEN FOUND, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT WAS BELIEVED SHE WAS IN CHILE. ETCHEBERRY TOLD CORRESPONDENTS THAT HER ROLE APPEARED TO BE SECONDARY BUT HE FOUND IT HARD TO ACCEPT THE TESTIMONY FROM THE THREE DINA OFFICIALS WHO DENIED KNOWING HER TRUE IDENTITY.

5. EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF THE WASHINGTON TRIAL HAS APPEARED IN ALL LOCAL MEDIA WITH THE EXCEPTION OF GOC-OWNED "EL CRONISTA". THE STORIES, FILED BY CHILEAN CORRESPONDENTS SPECIALLY SENT TO COVER THE CASE, HAVE STRAINED TO FIND NEWSWORTHY MATERIAL DURING THE PRELIMINARIES. CO-DEFENDANT IGNACIO NOVO IS QUOTED AS PROCLAIMING HIS INNOCENCE BUT PREDICTING ONLY A FIFTY-FIFTY CHANCE OF ACQUITTAL. HE SAID THAT TOWNLEY "WAS A CIA AGENT IN-FILTRATED INTO DINA TO CAUSE TROUBLE FOR THE GOC." BROTHER-IN-LAW OF FUGITIVE VIRGILIO PAZ, GUIDO GUIRDO,
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00229 101945Z

SAID THAT THE CUBAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT (MNC) WOULD CAUSE TROUBLE IF THEIR COMPATRIOTS WERE FOUND GUILTY. "WE'VE BEEN BETRAYED BY THE CIA, BY THE USG AND BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE", GUIRDO WAS QUOTED AS SAYING. "EL CRONISTA" GAVE THE TRIAL TWO INTERIOR COLUMNS HEADLINED: "JUDGE CENSURES PROPPER FOR TRICKS".

6. ACCORDING TO "LA SEGUNDA", CONTRERAS WAS EMBITTERED AT THE WAY "THOSE WHO USED TO SUPPORT ME HAVE TAKEN AWAY MY FREEDOM". INTERVIEWED AS HIS CONVOY WENT IN THE BACK ENTRANCE OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY FOR HIS DAUGHTER'S WEDDING JANUARY 6, CONTRERAS NOTED THAT A WHILE AGO HE HAD BEEN APPLAUDED FOR EXTIRPATING THE VIOLENCE -PRONE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR), AND THAT "THIS IS AN IMMENSE PRICE TO PAY FOR CARRYING FORWARD THE IDEALS OF SAVING THE FATHERLAND FROM THE BLIND FORCES OF INTER-NATIONAL TOTALITARIAN MARXISM."

7. HUNDREDS REPORTEDLY JAMMED THE CHAPEL FOR THE WEDDING AND THE ENSUING RECEPTION. THE PRESS NOTED EMBRACES

FOR CONTRERAS FROM GENERAL HERMAN BRADY AND GENERAL (R) PEDRO WEING. OTHERS IN ATTENDANCE INCLUDED MILITARY ATTACHE TO WASHINGTON NOMINEE GENERAL HECTOR OROZCO, CHARGE WITH INVESTIGATING THE ABUSE OF OFFICIAL CHILEAN PASSPORTS BY DINA, AND EX-MINISTER OF MINES ENRIQUE VALENZUELA.
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We know that Mr. Reed's daughter's name is Patricia. In Temoso lived as "Unmarried" and, as previously we have no concrete information to offer to substantiate Mr. Williams' sentiments with regard to learning more about the circumstances surrounding this disappearance.

We are deeply concerned about disappearances of [redacted] and other evidence of human rights violations. We will continue our efforts to improve the Chilean government's human rights policies. [redacted] and promote and to Chile. We will continue to express our concern at every opportunity to the Chilean authorities, and we will do all we can to obtain a more thorough accounting of such cases.

Sincerely,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

Correspondence Returned.

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L/C:ARA-5/78
-Jeff

The Honorable
Donald Reigle,
United States Senate.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE TRANSMITTAL SLIP	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED R
	DATE January 10, 1979

TO: ARA/AND/CH — For the Attention of: Mr. Robert Steven

FROM: Amembassy Santiago POL

TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE	TO THE DEPARTMENT
☐ For Transmittal to Addressee at the Discretion of Post	☐ Dept. Information Only
☐ Post Information Only	☐ CERP Publications
☐ Transmit to Foreign Office	☐ Enclosure to Previous Airgram
☐ Submit Report	☐ Reply to Department Request
☐ Reply to the Individual	

☐ Transmit to: ____ (U.S. Agency)
☐ Inform:

REFERENCE

ITEMS/REMARKS:

Bob:

Attached are the documents that Etcheberry presented to the Court regarding Lee.

Bob Service

IN REPLY REFER TO FILE NUMBER AND DRAFTING OFFICE

FILE NO.	SIGNATURE
CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED	OFFICE: Political Counselor

FORM 12-64 DS-4

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EXCISE
Chile Project (#S19990030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ☐ Excise ☐ Deny ☐
Declassify in Part ☐ In Full ☐
Exemption(s) 1.5 (b) (d)

1/10/79 January 10, 1979 K0410

Dear Senator Cranston:

Thank you for your inquiry of December 27 on behalf of [redacted] who is concerned about the welfare of Cesar Domingo Cerda Cuevas in Chile.

We know that Mr. Cerda Cuevas is [redacted] not listed as "disappeared", but, unfortunately, we have no concrete information to add. We appreciate your sentiments and efforts to learn more about the circumstances surrounding this disappearance.

We are deeply concerned about disappearances, detainees, and other human rights cases in Chile. Part of our effort to influence the GOC on human rights policies has been the termination of military and economic aid to Chile. We will continue to express our concern at every opportunity to the Chilean authorities, and we will do all we can to elicit a more thorough accounting of such cases.

Sincerely,

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Enclosure:

Correspondence Returned

LPC:ARA-5/H-Neff:kim
1/9/79

H - 187-1675

LPC:ARA-5/
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSSTEVEN
APPROVED BY ARA:RGUZMAN
ARA/AND:MRBARNEBEY
HA:MSCHNEIDER

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C ~~O N F I D E N T I A~~ L STATE 008676

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/10/85 STEVEN, ROBERT

TAGS: SHUM, CI

SUBJECT: CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION OF RETURN OF EXILES

REF: 78 SANTIAGO 9550

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. REFTEL OUTLINES DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY ONE CHILEAN EXILE (MARIA ELENA CARRERA) IN OBTAINING GOC PERMISSION TO RETURN TO CHILE TEMPORARILY TO VISIT SERIOUSLY ILL PARENT. EMBASSY NOTES THAT UNHCR HAS URGED HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATION OF REQUEST BY GOC.

3. WE ARE AWARE THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF EXILE REQUESTS FOR PERMISSION TO VISIT CHILE WHICH APPEAR TO BE SIMILAR TO THE CARRERA CASE. GOC POLICY IN AUTHORIZING VISITS OF

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PAGE 02 STATE 008676

EXILES HAS APPEARANCEOF INCONSISTENCY AND ARBITRARINESS. IT HAS, FOR EXAMPLE, PERMITTED ISABEL LETELIER, ONE OF THE MOST PUBLICLY ACTIVE AND VEHEMENT ENEMIES OF THE REGIME, TO VISIT, BUT HAS REPORTEDLY REFUSED SIMILAR PERMISSION TO ANGELABACHELET, WIDOW OF AIR FORCE GENERAL BACHELET, AND JOSE ZALEQUETT, AN EXILED ATTORNEY RESIDING IN WASHINGTON.

4. THEREFORE, UNLESS HE PERCEIVES REASON FOR OBJECTION, AMBASSADOR SHOULD TAKE APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE MATTER WITH FOREIGN MINISTER AND URGE THAT GOC MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO TREAT REQUESTS FOR RETURN OF EXILES, ESPECIALLY FOR EMERGENCY VISITS, WITH GREATER GENEROSITY.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

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BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGATT

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: OR-P PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: HEAVY MEDIA COVERAGE CONTINUES

REF: SANTIAGO 229

1. SUMMARY: CHILEAN CORRESPONDENTS IN WASHINGTON ARE PROVIDING BLANKET COVERAGE TO THE LETELIER/MOFFITT TRIAL. IN CHILE, THE OPPOSING SIDES RESPECTIVELY DESCRIBE THE EVIDENCE GATHERED SO FAR IN THE EXTRADITION CASE AS "WORTHLESS" OR "OVERWHELMING". SPECULATION OVER THE ROLE AND IDENTITY OF LILIANA WALKER CONTINUES, AND THE PRESS IS PRESSING TO LEARN IF AMBASSADOR LANDAU WILL TESTIFY IN WASHINGTON. COLONEL ESPINOZA RECEIVED PERMISSION TO ATTEND THE PUNTA ARENAS CHANGE OF COMMAND CEREMONY. END SUMMARY.

2. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF GOC-OWNED "CRONISTA", LOCAL PAPERS FEATURE LENGTHY ARTICLES FROM SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS ATTENDING THE WASHINGTON TRIAL. PERFORCE THEY HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00292 121918Z

EXHAUSTIVELY RECOUNTED THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS, REPORTED JUDGE BARRINGTON PARKER'S BAN ON PRESS INTERVIEWS. SOME ITEMS NOTE THAT A FRUSTRATED IGNACIO NOVO IS GETTING HIS SIDE OF THE STORY TO THE PRESS THROUGH HIS WIFE. ALSO BEING FEATURED ARE COURTROOM SKETCHES. REPORTERS HAVE REMARKED ON THE MINIMAL COVERAGE OF THE TRIAL IN THE U.S. PRESS AND THE SEEMING LACK OF INTEREST

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IN THE CASE BY THE MAN-ON-THE-STREET.

3. LAWYERS FOR THE THREE CHILEAN OFFICERS WHOSE EXTRADITION WE SEEK REACTED TO THE STATEMENTS OF TWO FBI SPECIAL AGENTS IN TOWN LAST WEEKEND. WHILE SCHERRER, CORNICK AND OUR LAWYER ETCHEBERRY FOUND THE USG EVIDENCE OVERWHELMING, THE DEFENSE CHARACTERIZED IT AS "SCANTY", "POOR QUALITY" AND, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TOWNLEY'S DECLARATION, "MUSH". THEY HAD ALREADY WRITTEN OFF TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY AS FROM A MAN DESPERATE TO SAVE HIS SKIN.

4. A SIDESHOW HAD DEVELOPED REGARDING THE UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN WHO ACCOMPANIED FERNANDEZ TO THE U.S. IN AUGUST/SEPTEMBER '76. AS REPORTED, WHEN PRESSED, THE SPECIAL AGENTS HAD REMARKED THEIR SURPRISE THAT "LILIANA WALKER" HAD NOT YET APPEARED. THEY SUGGESTED THAT SHW MIGHT HAVE IMPORTANT INFORMATION. ETCHEBERRY, MEANWHILE, HAS BEEN TELLING THE MEDIA THAT WALKER IS A SECONDARY FIGURE WHO MAY NOT BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE CASE. HE CAREFULLY REFUSED TO SPECULATE ABOUT A POSSIBLE REQUEST FOR EXTRADITION SHOULD SHE STEP FORWARD. IN RESPONSE TO A PRESS QUERY, THE CHIEF OF THE PLAINCLOTHED FORCE SAID THATHE HAD RECEIVED NO REQUEST TO LOOK FOR WALKER AND WOULD ONLY DO SO IF FORMALLY ASKED BY APPROPRIATE AUTHORITY.

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00292 121918Z

5. A WIRESERVICE REPORT FROM WASHINGTON STATING THAT AMBASSADOR LANDAU MIGHT BE CALLED TO TESTIFY AT THE TRIAL HAS PROVOKED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN THE PRESS. WE HAVE MADE NO COMMENT REGARDING THE POSSIBILITY.

6. AS ANTICIPATED (SANTIAGO 177), SUPREME COURT JUDGE BORQUEZ APPROVED A REQUEST FOR ESPINOZA TO BE ALLOWED TO TURN OVER HIS COMMAND AT PUNTA ARENAS IN PERSON. ESPINOZA'S TRAVEL PLANS ARE BEING KEPT SECRET. BORQUEZ ALSO HAS NOW GRANTED ALL THE DEFENSE ATTORNEYS ACCESS TO THE FILE.
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 306

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: OR-P, PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: NEWSWEEKLY ALLEGEDLY SUMMARIZES STATEMENTS BY CHILEAN OFFICERS

1. SUMMARY: A GENERALLY INDEPENDENT BUT MOST PRO-GOC NEWSWEEKLY HAS PUBLISHED WHAT PURPORTS TO BE SUMMARIES OF THE TESTIMONY PROVIDED BY TOWNLEY IN THE U.S. AND CHILEAN OFFICERS CONTRERAS, ESPINOZA AND FERNANDEZ IN CHILE. USG-RETAINED LAWYER ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY HAS TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE ACCOUNTS APPEAR GENERALLY ACCURATE AND INTIMATED THAT THEY MAY HAVE BEEN LEAKED BY TOWNLEY'S TALKATIVE WIFE, MARIANA. THE SAME ISSUE OF "QUE PASA" ALSO CONTAINED WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS THE FIRST INSTALLMENT OF AN ACCOUNT OF TOWNLEY'S WORK FOR DINA, WRITTEN BY MRS. TOWNLY. END SUMMARY.

2. ISSUE 404 OF "QUE PASA", A NEWSWEEKLY MANAGED BY HERNAN CUBILLOS UNTIL HE ACCEPTED APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN MINISTER IN APRIL 1978, HAS PRINTED THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNT OF THE ALLEGED STORIES TOLD BY FOUR PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN THE LETELIER/ MOFFITT CASE. MUCH OF THE INFORMATION IT ATTRIBUTES TO TOWNLEY HAD ALREADY BEEN REPORTED IN GENERAL TERMS. THE ALLEGED ACCOUNTS

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00306 122010Z

OF THE CHILEAN OFFICERS HAD NOT APPEARED PREVIOUSLY.

3. WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT THE FOUR ACCOUNTS, USG LAWYER ETCHEBERRY TOLD THE PRESS THAT THEY CONTAINED MINOR ERRORS BUT GENERALLY SEEMED ACCURATE. ETCHEBERRY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD SENT COPIES OF THE EXTRADITION CASE STATEMENTS TAKEN BY BORQUEZ TO EUGENE PROPPER, THE USG PROSECUTOR. HE SPECULATED THAT POPPER

HAD SOUGHT TO CHECK THE CHILEAN OFFICERS' STATEMENTS WITH TOWNLEY AND THAT TOWNLEY HAD TOLD HIS WIFE WHO IN TURN HAD TOLD REPORTERS.

4. IN THE SAME ISSUE OF "QUE PASA" APPEARS THE FIRST INSTALLMENT F A MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN BY MARIANA CALLEJAS DE TOWNLEY. TRANSLATED IN SPANISH FROM THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH, THIS FIRST CHAPTER RECOUNTS HOW TOWNLEY BEGAN DRAWING AWAY FROM HER AS HE BECAME MORE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN PROJECTS THAT TOOK HIM OUT OF THE COUNTRY. SHE AND TOWNLEY HAD FIRST MET THE CUBANS THROUGH A "YUGOSLAVIAN COLONEL" (MARIANA SAYS SHE IS USING ALIASES) WHO LINED THEM UP WITH A GROUP IN NEW JERSEY. SHE DESCRIBES A STORMY FIRST SESSION WHERE THE CUBANS WERE HARD TO CONVINCE THAT THE PAIR DID NOT WORK FOR THE CIA. ("QUE PASA"SAYS THIS MEETING OCCURRED IN 1975 WHEN TOWNLEY SOUGHT THEIR HELP IN AN ATTEMPT AGAINST UP FIGURES IN MEXICO. THE TARGETS HAD LEFT MEXICO BEFORE TOWNLEY GOT THERE).

5. MRS. TOWNLEY SAYS THAT HER HUSBAND ALWAYS WANTED A COMMISSION IN THE CHILEAN MILITARY BUT THAT SHE REALIZED HOW UNTRUSTWORTHY THAT INSTITUTION COULD BE. SHE WRITES THAT SHE WARNED TOWNLEY NOT TO DO ANYTHING IN THE U.S. SINCE THE FBI WOULD RUN HIM DOWN. SHE PROTRAYS HERSELF AS A VIRULENT ANTI-COMMUNIST BUT ONE WHO DETESTED SOME OF THE CUBANS FOR THEIR ANTI-SEMITIC AND FASCIST IDEAS. ON THE OTHER HAND SHE SAYS MOST OF THE CUBAN NATIONALISTS ARE FINE PEOPLE WHOSE RESORT TO VIOLENCE CAN BE JUSTIFIED BY THEIR FRUSTRATIONS AND REPEATED BETRAYALS.

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00306 122010Z

6. COMMENT: "QUE PASA" HAS PRODUCED SOME OF THE BEST REPORTING ON THE LETELIER CASE. FROM THE DETAILED INFORMATION IN THE ARTICLE ONE MUST ASSUME THAT THE MAGAZINE HAS HAD ACCESS TO LARGE PARTS, IF NOT ALL, OF THE RECORD. IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT IN A CONTROVERSIAL RULING, JUDGE BORQUEZ DECIDED THAT THE EXTRADITION REQUEST AND RELATED DOCUMENTS WOULD REMAIN SECRET UNTIL HE HAD FINISHED THE INVESTIGATIVE PHASE. ON THE OTHER HAND, LAWYERS FOR THE DEFENSE AND FOR THE USG HAVE BEEN GIVEN ACCESS AND IT IS WIDELY RUMORED THAT THE JUDGE WILL CLOSE THE SECRET, INVESTIGATIVE PART OF THE PROCEEDING SOON. NONETHELESS, "QUE PASA" APPEARS TO HAVE A SCOOP.
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ACTION ARA-15

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Exemption(s)

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, ETRD, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: ORIT BOYCOTT: REACTION TO ORIT DECISION

REF: STATE 012130 (NOTAL)

1. (U) SUMMARY: CHILEAN NEWSPAPERS HEADLINED ORIT DECISION TO STUDY FURTHER THE QUESTION OF HOW TO RESPOND EFFECTIVELY TO THE NOVEMBER 26 ORIT BOYCOTT RESOLUTION AS A DECISION TO "SUSPEND INDEFINITELY" THE LABOR BOYCOTT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENTS OF CHILE, NICARAGUA AND CUBA. GOC LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA SAID THAT THE DECISION WAS BASED ON BETTER INFORMATION ABOUT THE LABOR SITUATION IN CHILE. HE RECOGNIZED THE POSITIVE INFLUENCE OF DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS IN PROVIDING ACCURATE INFORMATION TO ORIT. PINERA PLEDGED TO CONTINUE ACCELERATING THE LABOR PLAN THROUGH DIALOGUE WITH LABOR AND BUSINESS LEADERS. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) CHILEAN LABOR MINISTER PINERA MADE A FORMAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00405 172101Z

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS JANUARY 16 THAT IF THE ORIT COMMUNIQUE MEANT AN INDEFINITE SUSPENSION OF THE BOYCOTT THEN HE WAS VERY HAPPY. PINERA CONTINUED THAT THE ORIT MOVE WAS BASED ON BETTER INFORMATION RECEIVED BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT AND UPON THE SUPPORT FOR THE LABOR PLAN FROM ALL SECTORS OF CHILEAN SOCIETY. PINERA PROMISED TO ACCELERATE COMPLETION OF THE PLAN IN CONFORMITY

WITH THE ECONOMIC PLAN AND A 1974 GOC DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. HE PROMISED ALSO CONTINUED DIALOGUE WITH BUSINESS AND LABOR LEADERS CONCERNING DETAILS OF THE PLAN.

3. (U) GROUPS OF BUSINESS AND LABOR LEADERS PRAISED THE ORIT DECISION AS A "TRIUMPH OF REASON" AND AS INDICATING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE PROMISES MADE IN THE LABOR PLAN. SOME NOTED THAT THE ORIT ANNOUNCEMENT ONLY POSTPONED A DECISION ON THE BOYCOTT AND URGED THE GOC TO COMPLETE THE LABOR PLAN AS ANNOUNCED BY THE LABOR MINISTER. GROUP OF TEN LEADERS WERE NOT INTERVIEWED.

4. (U) PINERA TOLD THE ECON COUNSELOR THAT HE WAS VERY SATISFIED WITH THE ROLE OF THE CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS INVITED TO THE ORIT MEETING. HE SAID THAT THEY ARGUED FOR POST-PONEMENT AND, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE AFL-CIO, CARRIED THE DAY. HE HOPED THAT DIALOGUE WITH THESE LEADERS WOULD CONTINUE. PINERA ALSO NOTED TO THE PRESS, THAT HE WOULD MAINTAIN DIALOGUE WITH ALL LABOR AND BUSINESS GROUPS TO REFINE THE LABOR PLAN AND MAKE IT A SUCCESS. INTERIOR MINISZER SERGIO FERNANDEZ TOLD THE PRESS JANUARY 17 THAT HE TOO WAS SATISFIED WITH THE ORIT DECISION TO POSTPONE THE BOYCOTT. HE EXPLAINED THAT HIS STATEMENT THAT THE LABOR PLAN WOULD BE CARRIED OUT "INFLEXIBLY" WAS WIDELY MISUNDERSTOOD AND SAID THAT DECREE LAW 198 WHICH LIMITED TRADE UNIONS FREEDOMS "COULD BE MODIFIED".
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00405 172101Z

5. (U) UNDER THE LABOR PLAN THE LABOR MINISTRY PUBLISHED A MINISTERIAL DECREE JANUARY 17 WHICH MAINTAINS IN OFFICE ALL PRIVATE SECTOR TRADE UNION OFFICERS WHOSE UNIONS DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE OCTOBER 31 OR NOVEMBER 28 ELECTIONS, FOR WHATEVER REASON, ON THE CONDTION THAT WITHIN 15 DAYS THEY SWEAR AN OATH NOT TO ENGAGE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AS REQUIRED BY THE OCTOBER DECREES. THOSE PERSONS WHO DO NOT COMPLETE THIS REQUIREMENT WILL BE REPLACED ACCORDING TO THE NORMS ESTABLISHED IN DL 198, WHICH PERMIT THE LABOR MINISTRY TO APPOINT TRADE UNION LEADERS EITHER THROUGH A SYSTEM OF SENIORITY OR IN SPECIAL CASES AS DECIDED BY THE LABOR MINISTER. MARITIME AND COMMERDCIAL SECTOR WORKERS WILL BE MOST EFFECTED BY THIS DECREE.

6. (LOU) COMMENT: THE ORIT DECISION TO STUDY FURTHER THE PROBLEM CAUSED CONSIDERABLE RELIEF AMONG LARGE SECTORS OF CHILEAN PUBLIC OPINION. MANY RECOGNIZE THAT NOW, PROPERLY, THE FOCUS OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC CONCERN WILL BE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF TRADE UNION FREEDOMS THROUGH THE LABOR PLAN. THE INITIAL STATE-

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MENTS BY INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ AND LABOR MINISTER PINERA IN THIS REGARD ARE ENCOURAGING. LESS "INFLEXIBILITY" AND MORE "DIALOGUE" WILL BE IMPORTANT BETWEEN NOW AND JUNE 30.
GROVER

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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 018320

E.O. 12065

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF NESTOR MARCELO ELIAS

1. ARA/ECA HAS RECEIVED AN INQUIRY FROM SENATOR J. JAMES EXON CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NESTOR MARCELO ELIAS, AGE 24, ARGENTINIAN, I.D. NUMBER 10-120-737. HE IS REPORTED TO HAVE DISAPPEARED JUNE 3 OR 13, 1976 IN BUENOS AIRES.

2. PLEASE INQUIRE AT F.O.W.G., AND RESPOND DIRECTLY TO SENATOR EXON. VANCE

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 0621

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - (TEXT, PARAGRAPH 2)

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/22/85 (HARRIS, F. ALLEN) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO

REF: BUENOS AIRES 350 (NOTAL)

1. ENTIRE TEXT [redacted].

2. MOTHERS WITHDRAW FROM PLAZA----------
THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO, AFTER THREE THURSDAYS OF POLICE HARASSMENT AND BRIEF DETENTIONS (REFTEL), HAVE DECIDED TO ABANDON TEMPORARILY THEIR DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE PLAZA DE MAYO. SEVERAL MOTHERS CALLED AT THE EMBASSY ON JANUARY 17TH AND 19TH TO EXPLAIN THAT THEY HAD DECIDED TO MEET ON THURSDAY AFTERNOONS DURING JANUARY AT SELECTED CHURCHES INSTEAD OF DEMONSTRATING IN THE PLAZA. THEY STATED FRANKLY THEIR FEAR OF BEING ARRESTED, NOTING THEIR ONGOING RESPONSIBILITIES TO THEIR FAMILIES. THE MOTHERS STATED THAT THEY PLAN TO HOLD A DEMONSTRATION ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1ST IN THE PLAZA DE FLORES IN
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 00621 250204Z

CENTRAL BUENOS AIRES.

3. MOTHERS' GROUP MEMBERS TRAVELING TO PUEBLA CONFERENCE - FOUR OF THE MOTHERS' GROUP--MARIA GARD DE ANTOKOLETZ, CARMEN LAPACO, MARTA OCAMPO DE VAZQUEZ AND NORA MORALEZ DE CORTINAS--LEFT ARGENTINA ON JANUARY 20 FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE IN PUEBLA. THE MOTHERS PLAN TO MEET WITH AS MANY CHURCH OFFICIALS AS POSSIBLE DURING THE PUEBLA MEETING TO URGE THE BISHOPS TO RECOGNIZE THE "DESAPARECIDO PROBLEM" IN ARGENTINA. THE MOTHERS WILL BE CARRYING WITH THEM THE LIST OF 4,381 DISAPPEARANCE CASES RECENTLY ISSUED BY THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. SOME OF THE MOTHERS SAY THEY PLAN TO CONTINUE TO WASHINGTON AFTER THE PUEBLA CONFERENCE TO MEET WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS WHO WERE NOT IN TOWN WHEN SEVERAL MOTHERS VISITED WASHINGTON IN DECEMBER. THE MOTHERS MAY NOTIFY AMEMBASSY MEXICO OF THEIR WASHINGTON TRAVEL PLANS.

4. EMBASSY COMMENT: AS WE EXPECTED, THE POLICE ACTION IN CLOSING THE PLAZA DE MAYO AND ARRESTING AND THREATENING THE MOTHERS WITH IMPRISONMENT HAS FORCED THE LOOSELY STRUCTURED GROUP TO SEEK NEW WAYS TO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERNS.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00595 01 OF 02 260858Z
ACTION ARA-15

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: OR-L ELAB, CI, SHUM
SUBJ (L) LABOR NOTES

1. (L) SUMMARY: CHILEAN TRADE UNIONISTS REACTED CALMLY TO THE AMBIGUOUS JANUARY 16 ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE ORIT THAT ITS BOYCOTT NEEDED ADDITIONAL STUDY TO MAKE IT EFFECTIVE. THE "GROUP OF TEN", NO LONGER BEING REVILED AS "TRAITORS", HAVE FORMED THE COUNCIL OF DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS, WHICH INCLUDES MANY OF THE FIFTY ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE SUPPORTED THEIR DEMANDS FOR GREATER UNION FREEDOM. THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS BELIEVE THAT THE ORIT DECISION WAS POSITIVE AND ARE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE. THEY HOPE THAT INCREASED DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE GOVERNMENT WILL OVERCOME THEIR CONTINUING DOUBTS ABOUT GOC WILLINGNESS TO RESTORE LABOR RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE THREE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES UNION, ERNESTO VOGEL, PRESIDENT OF THE RAILWAY WORKERS AND HERNOL FLORES, PRESIDENT OF THE POST AND TELEGRAPH WORKERS RETURNED TO CHILE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00595 01 OF 02 260858Z

JANUARY 17, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE JANUARY 16 DECISION BY THE INTERAMERICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS (ORIT) TO STUDY FURTHER THE BOYCOTT RESOLUTION AGAINST CHILE, CUBA AND NICARAGUA. THE AMBIGUOUS STATEMENT CONFUSED MANY TRADE UNIONISTS AND ANGERED SOME: THE COMMUNIST DOMINATED COORDINADORA SINDICAL CONDEMNED THE ROLE OF THE THREE IN DELAYING AND PERHAPS AVOIDING

THE BOYCOTT. LABOR MINISTER PINERA, TO THE CONTRARY, SAID PUBLICLY THAT HE CONSIDERED THE TRIOS' INTERVENTION TO HAVE BEEN VERY POSITIVE. THEY MET FOR SEVERAL HOURS JANUARY 17-18 WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ALMOST FIFTY TRADE UNIONS. AFTERWARDS DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS ISSUED A STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS, WHILE NOTING THAT THE ORIT DECISION WILL NOT MAKE DEMOCRATIC LABOR LESS FORTHRIGHT AND OUTSPOKEN IN DEFENDING LABOR RIGHTS -- I.E. TAKING ISSUE WITH THE PINERA PLAN AS DEEMED NECESSARY.

3. (U) THE "GROUP OF TEN" ISSUED A DECLARATION JANUARY 14 ANNOUNCING THE FORMATION OF A NEW COUNCIL OF DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE "GROUP OF TEN" AND THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS WHICH HAVE SUPPORTED THEIR REQUEST FOR GREATER TRADE UNION FREEDOM. THE EXECUTIVE BOARD WILL BE COMPOSED OF EDUARDO RIOS (MARITIME), ANTONIO MIMIZA (PETROLEUM), HERNOL FLORES (POST AND TELEGRAPH), LUIS ALEGRIA (PLASTICS), TUCAPEL JIMENEZ (GOVERNMENT), ENRIQUE MELLARDO (CAMPESINO), CARLOS SANTA MARIA (SOCIAL SECURITY), AND ERNESTO VOGEL (RAILROAD).

4. (U) THE PRO-GOVERNMENT UNION OF CHILEAN WORKERS (UNTRACH) HELD A MEETING TO DISCUSS THE ORIT BOYCOTT DECISION. THE GROUP, HEADED BY GOVERNMENT-APPOINTED COPPER WORKER BERNARDINO CASTILLO, RATIFIED THE UNTRACH'S

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00595 01 OF 02 260858Z

COMMITMENT TO TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND AGAIN ASKED FOR THE RESTORATION OF UNION DUES, AND THE REPEAL OF RESTRICTIVE TRADE UNION LEGISLATION. WITHOUT DEBATE, THE GROUP REORGANIZED ITS BOARD OF DIRECTORS OUSTING FLORES AND GERMAN FREIRE, TWO LEADERS WHO LET THE UNTRACH TO ALIGN WITH THE "GROUP OF TEN". TECHNICALLY THE TWO MEN AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS REMAIN PART OF THE UNTRACH BUT ARE NO LONGER ON ITS EXECUTIVE BOARD. CARLOS ORTEGA, PRESIDENT OF THE BANK WORKERS WAS APPOINTED THE NEW SECRETARY-GENERAL OF UNTRACH.

5. (L) IN A SHORT CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR, THE THREE LEADERS WHO WENT TO THE ORIT MEETING STATED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00595 02 OF 02 261716Z
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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THAT THEY BELIEVED THE RESULTS WERE VERY POSITIVE AND WERE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF LABOR RELATIONS IN CHILE. THE THREE NOTED THAT THE STRONG PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST AGAINST THEM BOTH IN CHILE AND THE UNITED STATES HAD DIMINISHED CONSIDERABLY. THEIR MAJOR CONCERN WAS WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT WOULD FULFILL THE PROMISES IT MADE TO PETER GRACE AND THE AFL-CIO AND CARRY OUT IN GOOD FAITH THE LABOR PLAN. THEY ADDED THAT THEY COULD BE INSTRUMENTAL IN ASSISTING THE GOVERNMENT IN SOLVING WORKERS' PROBLEMS BUT PREFERRED TO DO IT DIRECTLY AND NOT THROUGH U.S. CITIZEN INTERMEDIARIES. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THE PLAN LABORAL AND THE PROMISES MADE TO GRACE BOTH CONTAINED VERIFIABLE DATES, JUNE 30 AND FEBRUARY 15 RESPECTIVELY. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS UP TO THE "GROUP OF TEN" TO ESTABLISH PROMPTLY DIRECT COMMUNICATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT. FLORES SUMMED UP THEIR THOUGHTS SAYING THAT BRIDGES HAD BEEN BUILT BUT COMMUNICATION AND CONFIDENCE REMAINED TO BE RESTORED.

6. (L) COMMENT: THE LABOR SITUATION IS CALM AND HAS BEEN REPLACED ON THE FRONT PAGES BY PROBLEMS WITH PERU
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00595 02 OF 02 261716Z

AND THE LETELIER CASE. HOWEVER, LABOR HAS NOTT BEEN INACTIVE. MANY UNIONS ARE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE ABILITY TO MEET FREELY AND SEVERAL LABOR MEEGINGS HAVE ALREADY OCCURRED WITHOUT INCIDENT. GOC COMPLIANCE WITH ITS PROMISES TO PETER GRACE TO RESTORE DUES CHECKOFFS AND ABROGATE TRANSITORY ARTICLE 4 OF DECREE LAW 198 BY FEBRUARY 15 WILL BE THE NEXT IMPORTANT STEPS. THESE TWO ACTS OF GOOD FAITH WILL MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO FUTURE DIALOGUE AND LABOR LEADER CONFIDENCE IN THE

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E.O. 12065: GDS 1/25/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W) OR-M
TAGS: OR-M PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: (C) LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ETCHEBERRY'S TRAVEL PLANS

REF: SANTIAGO 0562

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. USG LAWYER ETCHEBERRY INFORMS US THAT HIS REVIEW OF THE EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS IS TAKING LONGER THAN HE EXPECTED AND HE WILL BE UNABLE TO COMPLETE THE DRAFT OF HIS RESPONSE TO JUDGE BORQUEZ BEFORE THE WEEKEND AND PERHAPS MONDAY. ACCORDINGLY, HE IS NOT ABLE TO TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON JANUARY 26 (REFTEL. WE ARE MAKING ALTERNATE RESERVATIONS TO LEAVE SANTIAGO EITHER SUNDAY, JANUARY 28 OR MONDAY, JANUARY 29, TO ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON THE FOLLOWING DAYS. WE WILL INFORM WHEN ETECHEBERRY'S TRAVEL PLANS ARE DEFINITE.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00653 01 OF 02 280142Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0653

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/26/85 (CLARE, DANIEL H) OR-P
TAGS: OR-P SHUM CI
SUBJECT: (C) HUMAN RIGHTS: W/W CHILEANS: MJNOZ AND ELGUETA

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: A NEARLY BLIND OLD LADY, ARMED ONLY WITH A TELEPHONE, HAS MOBILIZED AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO SAVE A DAUGHTER WHO HAS GONE UNDERGROUND IN CHILE. AMONG OTHER THINGS HER WELL-INTENTIONED EFFORTS MAY COST SEVERAL COSTA RICAN DIPLOMATS THEIR JOBS. END SUMMARY

3. MRS PINTO DE ELGUETA IS A HIGHLY EXCITABLE, NEARLY BLIND, ELDERLY WOMAN. HER HUSBAND, BELEMUNDO ELGUETA, IS AN EX-SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN NOW IN EXILE IN MEXICO WHERE HE WORKS AS A SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AND RESETTLEMENT. RAIMUNDO, A SON, IS EXILED IN LONDON GETTING GOOD GRADES AT A UNIVERSITY THERE. MARTIN, ANOTHER SON, IS AMONG THE DISAPPEARED. CHILEAN SECURITY SERVICES ARE INTENSIVELY SEARCHING FOR GLORIA, A DAUGHTER, AND HER BOYFRIEND GASTON MUNOZ BRIONES.

4. IN LATE NOVEMBER AND EARLY DECEMBER A SERIES OF BOMBINGS TOOK PLACE IN SANTIAGO, INCLUDING VERY
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00653 01 OF 02 280142Z

POWERFUL EXPLOSIONS FIRST AT THE HOUSE OF SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT BORQUEZ (WHO IS HANDLING THE LETELIER CASE EXTRADITION REQUEST) AND THEN AT THE HOUSE OF THE JUDGE NAMED TO INVESTIGATE THE BORQUEZ BOMBING. OTHER BOMBS, MUCH LESS POWERFUL, EXPLORED DURING THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. SECURITY SERVICES BEGAN TO LOOK SILLY, PARTICULARLY

AFTER THE SENIOR CARABINERO GENERAL FOR SANTIAGO, SACKED FOR NOT PROVIDING BORQUEZ ADEQUATE PROTECTION, IMPLIED THAT THE BOMBERS MUST HAVE CONNECTIONS IN THE SECURITY SERVICES THEMSELVES. (SEE SANTIAGO 9590).

5. CNI, THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE WHICH REPLACED DINA, HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE DECEMBER 13 TO ANNOUNCE IT HAD CAPTURED A GROUP OF SEVEN PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR PLACING A BOMB AT A SHELL GAS STATION THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 5/6. THE BOMB, A RATHER CRUDE LOOKING DEVICE, FAILED TO EXPLODE. THE PUBLIC PRESENTATION BY THE CNI WAS ALREADY A POSITIVE STEP, SHOWING A PUBLIC RELATIONS AWARENESS AND AN IMPRESSION OF OPENNESS FAR REMOVED FROM DINA'S DARK DOINGS.

6. ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF ADVANCE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD OCCURRED WHEN THE MILITARY JUDGE, REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE, QUICKLY FREED SEVERAL OF THOSE DETAINED, KEPT ONLY ONE FOR ILLEGAL POSSESSION OF EXPLOSIVES, AND TURNED THE REST OVER TO CIVIL COURTS FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. THE CIVILIAN JUDGE, IN TURN, RELEASED AT LEAST ONE OTHER PERSON AND DECIDED TO HOLD ONLY THREE PEOPLE.

7. THE CONFESSED BOMB-PLACER SAID GASTON MUNOZ HAD GIVEN HIM THE DEVICE. MUNOZ HAD BEEN DETAINED UNDER STATE OF SIEGE RULES (I.E. WITHOUT FORMAL CHARGE) AT THE TOUGH PUCHUNCAVI DETENTION CAMP UNTIL RELEASED IN LATE 1976. HE TOOK UP WITH GLORIA AND, SAYS MRS ELQUETA,

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CLAIMED HE WAS A SOCIOLOGIST WORKING AT FLACSO, AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE IN SANTIAGO.

8. ACCORDING TO MRS ELQUETA, THREE MEN DEMANDED ENTRANCE TO HER APARTMENT THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 13. WHEN SHE INSISTED UPON A SEARCH WARRANT, TWO MEN FORCED THEIR WAY INSIDE AND KEPT HER SEATED. THE THIRD MAN REAPPEARED SHORTLY WITH A DULY SIGNED WARRANT--A NICE TOUCH OF LEGALITY VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN IN THE PAST. THE THREE, FINDING SOME INCRIMINATING PAPERS BUT NO TRACE OF GLORIA, DESCRIBED GRAPHICALLY TO MRS ELQUETA HOW SHE WOULD BE TREATED ONCE LOCATED.

9. THE FRANTIC LADY RUSHED TO THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY AND THEN TO EX-SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT EZYAGUIRRE (WHOM SHE HAD GOTTEN TO KNOW DURING HER EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF SON MARTIN). EZYAGUIRRE TOOK HER PROMPTLQ TO SEE BORQUEZ. HE CORDIALLY PROMISED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE IF THE GIRL WAS ACTUALLY IN GOC HANDS AS MRS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00653 02 OF 02 280212Z
ACTION ARA-15

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ELQUETA SUSPECTED. ARRANGEMENTS WERE ALSO MADE TO GET MRS ELQUETA A LONG-REQUESTED TELEPHONE IN CASE THE DAUGHTER TRIED TO GET IN TOUCH. THE PRESS CARRIED ACCOUNTS OF MRS ELQUETA'S CONCERNS. SUCH SOLICITOUS TREATMENT BY THE COURT AND THE PRESS IS ANOTHER HOPEFUL SIGN IN TODAY'S CHILE.

10. ON JANUARY 12, SEVERAL PEOPLE SOUGHT ASYLUM AT THE COSTA RICAN EMBASSY. TWO OF THEM WERE IDENTIFIED IN THE PRESS AS GLORIA AND GASTON. THE COSTA RICANS REFUSED ASYLUM AFTER EXTENDED TALKS. THE SENIOR COSTA RICAN SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD AN EMBOFF THAT HE COULD NOT BE CERTAIN OF THE IDENTITY OF THE PAIR BUT THAT HIS CHILEAN STAFF WAS POSITIVE.

11. ON JANUARY 15 CNI RELEASED PHOTOS OF GLORIA AND GASTON ALONG WITH THE REPORT THAT GASTON WAS ONE OF THE LAST MEMBERS OF THE MIR CELL RUN BY PASCAL ALLENDE AND MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ. MRS ELQUETA THEREUPON WENT TO CNI HEADQUARTERS WHERE, SHE SAYS, OFFICIALS COURTEOUSLY HEARD HER OUT BEFORE POLITELY EXPLAINING WHY THEY WANTED MUNOZ.

12. ON JANUARY 24 MRS ELQUETA CALLED AN EMBOFF SAYING THAT SEVERAL COSTA RICAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS HAD COME BY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00653 02 OF 02 280212Z

TO ASSURE HER THAT THE PEOPLE THEY HAD TURNED AWAY WERE COMMON CRIMINALS, NOT GASTON AND GLORIA. MRS

ELQUETA SAID THE OFFICIALS WERE FRANTIC BECAUSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY BEING MOUNTED ON BEHALF OF HER DAUGHTER AND THE REBUKE THE DIPLOMATS RECEIVED FROM SAN JOSE. THEY NOW CLAIM THE VISITORS WERE JUST VISA APPLICANTS, WHO HAVE CONTINUED TO COMZ TO THE EMBASSY SINCE JANUARY 12.

13. DURING A CONVERSATION WITH A SENIOR VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL JANUARY 25, EMBOFF LEARNED THAT MRS ELQUETA, ARMED WITH HER NEW TELEPHONE (AND GREATLY AIDED BY HER HUSBAND) HAD INDEED SET IN TRAIN A MAJOR CAMPAIGN. THE VICARIATE HAD BEEN DELUGED BY CABLES AND CALLS FROM AROUND THE GLOBE, MOSTLY FROM PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS (INCLUDING AMNESTY) WHO BELIEVED THE PAIR WERE UNDER DETENTION, AND INQUIRIES FROM A NUMBER OF EMBASSIES INSTRUCTED TO EXPRESS CONCERN.

14. ACCORDING TO VICARIATE AND DIPLOMATIC SOURCES, GLORIA AND HER BOYFRIEND ARE UNDER GROUND. AT LEAST ONE SOURCE, WHO ALLEGES TO HAVE CONTACT WITH THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT, (MIR, SAYS THAT THE PAIR DO NOT WANT TO LEAVE CHILE AND THAT THEY DID NOT, FACT, SEEK ASYLUM AT THE COSTA RICANS'.

15. COMMENT: SO FAR IN THIS UNFOLDING DRAMA WE FIND SEVERAL ENCOURAGING ASPECTS: THE COURTS AND PRESS ARE INCREASINGLY WILLING TO REPORT AND EXPLORE ACCUSATIONS OF DETENTIONS. THE TIGHTLY KNIT HUMAN RIGHTS "GRAPEVINE" CAN TRIGGER A RAPID, MASSIVE OUTPOURING OF CONCERN WHICH SHOULD GIVE PAUSE TO ANY GOVERNMENT TRYING TO HOLD A PERSON SECRETLY AND/OR ILLEGALLY. ALTHOUGH CNI
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00653 02 OF 02 280212Z

BEHAVIOR IN THIS CASE HAS BEEN MIXED (E.G. THOSE WHO SEARCHZD MRS ELQUETA'S WERE ON THIN LEGAL ICE, BUT AT LEAST THEY FINALLY PRODUCED A WARRANT), BUT, OVERALL, MORE OPEN THAN IN THE PAST.

16. THE HOME MADE BOMB MUNOZ GAVE OUT TO BE PLACED AT THE SHELL GAS STATION FAILED TO EXPLODE AND WAS DESIGNED AS A NOISE MAKER RATHER THAN TO INJURE (UNLIKE THE DEVICES AT THE JUDGES' HOUSES). BUT IT WAS A BOMB, AND MUNOZ DEFINITELY BELIEVES IN VIOLENCE. HE AND HIS GIRFRIEND ARE UNDENIABLY MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR). THEIR ACTIONS WOULD VIOLATE THE LAW IN ANY WESTERN COUNTRY.
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PAGE 01 STATE 024355
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E.O.112065 ADS - 1/28/80 (MARKS, LEE R.)

TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT: (C) LETELIER/MOFFIT CASE

REF: SANTIAGO 596

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. AMBASSADOR REQUESTED TO PASS FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO USG LAWYER ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY FOR USE IN EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS IN CHILE.

2. WHERE THE APPLICABLE TREATY SO PERMITS, THE U.S. DOES GRANT EXTRADITION OF ITS OWN CITIZENS. FOR EXAMPLE, SEE CHARLTON V. KELLY, 229 U.S. 447 (1912) IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT UPHELD THE EXTRADITION OF A U.S.
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PAGE 02 STATE 024355

CITIZEN TO ITALY. THE COURT WROTE,

"THE CONCLUSION WE REACH IS, THAT THERE IS NO PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW BY WHICH CITIZENS ARE EXCEPTED OUT OF AN AGREEMENT TO SURRENDER 'PERSONS,' WHERE NO SUCH EXCEPTION IS MADE IN THE TREATY ITSELF. UPON THE CONTRARY, THE WORD

'PERSONS' INCLUDES ALL PERSONS WHEN NOT QUALIFIED AS IT IS IN SOME OF THE TREATIES BETWEEN THIS AND OTHER NATIONS.

THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS MADE SUCH AN EXCEPTION IN SOME OF ITS CONVENTIONS AND NOT IN OTHERS, DEMONSTRATES THAT THE CONTRACTING PARTIES WERE FULLY AWARE OF THE CONSEQUENCES UNLESS THERE WAS A CLAUSE QUALIFYING THE WORD 'PERSONS.' THIS INTERPRETATION HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY UPHELD BY THE UNITED STATES, AND ENFORCED UNDER THE SEVERAL TREATIES WHICH DO NOT EXEMPT CITIZENS..."

IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT CANADIAN COURTS HAVE TAKEN THE SAME VIEW. SEE RE BURLEY, 1 CANADIAN LAW JOURNAL 34 (1865).

3. CONCERNING EXTRADITION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE APPLICABLE U.S./U.K. TREATY DOES NOT PERMIT THE REQUESTED STATE TO REFUSE A REQUEST FOR EXTRADITION ON THE BASIS OF CITIZENSHIP.

4. NOTE ALSO THE TEXT(QUOTED IN 6 WHITEMAN DIGEST OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 880-882) OF DIPLOMATIC NOTE NO. 202 FROM U.S. AMBASSADOR HILL TO MEXICAN ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER GOROSTIZA OF AUG. 22, 1960, WHICH READS IN PART:

"IN THIS CONNECTION I WISH TO CALL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY'S ATTENTION THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
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PAGE 03 STATE 024355

IN HIS NOTE TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON UNDER DATE OF JANUARY 22, 1958 TRANSMITTING HIS WARRANT FOR THE EXTRADITION TO MEXICO OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS ROBERT W. HART, GERALD BELLIS, AND LEROY DOWNING WHO WERE CHARGED WITH AN ARMED ROBBERY COMMITTED AT TIJUANA, BAJA CALIFORNIA ON JULY 19, 1957. CONSISTENT WITH THE LONG-STANDING POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE UNITED STATES HAS, IN ADDITION TO THE THREE UNITED STATES CITIZENS PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED, GRANTED THE EXTRADITION OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS OVER A PERIOD OF MANY YEARS. FOR INSTANCE, IN THE CASE OF REQUESTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES FOR THE EXTRADITION OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS CHARGED IN MEXICO WITH THE CRIME OF MURDER, THE RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE CLEARLY SHOW THAT AT LEAST THE FOLLOWING UNITED STATES CITIZENS WERE EXTRADITED TO MEXICO:
"BLAS AGUIRRE, CHARGED WITH MURDER, EXTRADITION GRANTED MARCH 26, 1900.
"GEORGE P. MONROE, CHARGED WITH MURDER, EXTRADITION

GRANTED JANUARY 8, 1912.
"JUAN DELGADO ORTIZ, CHARGED WITH MURDER AND ROBBERY, EXTRADITION GRANTED DECEMBER 12, 1939.
"SANTOS RAMOS, CHARGED WITH MURDER, EXTRADITION GRANTED MAY 8, 1942.

"PHILIP GALLO BRUNO, CHARGED WITH MURDER, EXTRADITION GRANTED APRIL 23, 1953.
"AS YOUR EXCELLENCY WILL OBSERVE THE CASES HEREIN REFERRED TO, IN WHICH CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES WERE EXTRADITED TO MEXICO, INVOLVED MURDER OR ROBBERY OR BOTH, CRIMES OF AN ESPECIALLY GRAVE NATURE FOR WHICH, IT IS UNDERSTOOD, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES IS, UNDER MEXICAN EXTRADITION LAW, AUTHORIZED TO SURRENDER ITS OWN NATIONALS.

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PAGE 04 STATE 024355

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PAGE 01 STATE 024363
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APPROVED BY ARA:RGUZMAN
JUSTICE/FBI:LCCORNICK
L/EB:GLEHNER (PHONE)
ARA/AND:MRBARNEBEY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 024363

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/29/85 STEVEN ROBERT

TAGS: PGOV, CI, VE

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: WHEREABOUTS OF CHILEAN DINA AGENT LILIANA WALKER

REF: SANTIAGO 0652 NOTAL

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. A WOMAN USING NAME LILIANA WALKER WAS PART OF CHILEAN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (DINA) TEAM WHICH CAME TO U.S. IN 1976 IN CONNECTION WITH LETELIER ASSASSINATION PREPARATIONS. LILIANA WALKER HAS NEVER BEEN IDENTIFIED AND CHILEAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS NO KNOWLEDGE OF HER IDENTITY OR PRESENT LOCATION.

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PAGE 02 STATE 024363

3. FOLLOWING MESSAGE HAS JUST BEEN RECEIVED FROM EMBASSY SANTIAGO:

QUOTE:

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC SOURCES HERE HAVE PASSED TO US THE

FOLLOWING INFORMATION WHICH THEY SAY COMES FROM A RELIABLE PERSON IN CARACAS, VENEZUELA: A CHILEAN WOMAN USING THE NAME CARMEN ERICA ARIAS YANEZ ARRIVED IN

CARACAS IN NOVEMBER 1978 AND WAS OR IS STAYING AT THE CARMELITE CONVENT IN THE BARRIO OF LOS RUICES, NEAR IFADEC. SHE TOLD THE MOTHER SUPERIOR THAT SHE IS LILIANA WALKER. THE SOURCE SAID SHE MAY HAVE LEFT CARACAS BY NOW TO GO TO PUERTO ORDAZ, VENEZUELA.

OUR LOCAL SOURCE IS UNABLE TO VOUCH FOR THE ACCURACY OF THIS IDENTIFICATION, OTHER THAN TO SAY THE SOURCE IS RELIABLE. ASSISTANT US ATTORNEY PROPPER MAY WISH TO INSTRUCT THE LEGAL ATTACHE IN CARACAS TO MAKE INQUIRIES.

END QUOTE.

4. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAS ASKED US TO PASS THROUGH YOU TO LEGATT CARACAS REQUEST THAT LEGATT IMMEDIATELY INITIATE INQUIRIES WITH APPROPRIATE GOV AUTHORITIES IN EFFORT TO CONFIRM THIS INFORMATION REGARDING PERSON IDENTIFIED IN SANTIAGO MESSAGE AS LILIANA WALKER. FBI CABLE THROUGH ITS CHANNELS TO LEGATT CONFIRMING REQUEST IS IN PREPARATION. VANCE

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

(S) 60 2/2/79 R

AZ031

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

DATE: February 2, 1979

SUBJECT : Human Rights

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Emilio Mignone, Vice President, Permanent Assembly for Human Rights
Mr. F. Allen Harris, Political Officer, American Embassy, Buenos Aires

COPIES TO :

ARA/ECA	- Mr. Brayshaw	AMB	DAO
HA/HR	- Mr. Flood	DCM	CONS
INR/RAR	- Mr. Buchanan	POL	SY
ARA	- Mr. Lister	POL/R	
INR/OIL/ORPA	- Mr. Gresham	USICA	
Amembassy Mexico	- POL	ECOM	

Supreme Court Decision in Smith III

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Mignone reported that Father Herrera Gallo, the Catholic Church's "youth pastor" and a close friend of Cardinal Aramburu, informed him last week of Cardinal Aramburu's intervention with First Corps Commander Suarez Mason to obtain the release of 64 abducted former members of a Christian socialist youth organization called the "Casa de la Juventud." This Church-run recreation-social center, was organized and run by an activist priest in the early 70's. It was closed in 1974. In mid-December, 1978, a large-scale anti-subversive operation was run against the Casa de la Juventud's former members by the First Army Corps. Operatives called at the old addresses listed for the Casa's membership and in many cases pressured the parents and neighbors for the current address of the former Casa's members. Seventy persons were rounded up, including many couples who had met at the Casa and later married. In several cases, the apartment doors of those taken were closed with First Army Corps' seals.

POL:FAHarris:sz
Drafting Office and Officer

[redacted]

RDS-4 2/2/99 (CHAPLIN, Maxwell) OR-M

UNCLASSIFIED

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42/48

Father Herrera Gallo had photo enlargements made of these seals. The priest then convinced Cardinal Aramburu to call on First Corps Commander Suarez Mason to present the photographs of the seals, and seek the release of the individuals. Suarez Mason admitted that the individuals had been picked up in a First Corps operation and promised to expedite their release.

Gallo told Mignone that as of the end of January 64 of the 70 individuals abducted had been freed. Cardinal Aramburu has ordered church members to maintain strict silence about the Army operation against the Casa de la Juventud and his intervention. The father said that the Casa members were tortured immediately after their "arrests" and were held blindfolded at a military facility which they believe was on the Campo de Mayo.

Father Gallo assured Mignone that the Casa de la Juventud had no connection with any subversive activities and expressed concern that the Army was now persecuting Church-related groups which they believe represented dangerous ideologies. The priest said that an Army contact had told him that the Church's intervention saved the group's members "from going to the farms (granjas) from where it is very hard to leave." Life on the granjas was described as "very difficult, as the farms are self-sufficient."

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Mignone, whose own daughter disappeared in May, 1976, was understandably interested in the report regarding the "work farms." Mignone noted that several long term reappearance cases reported that they had been held on work farms in the campo.

(COMMENT: The Nunciatura has received only a partial report of the disappearances of the former members of the Casa de la Juventud. We are checking further on Father Herrera Gallo's report. There have been several reports to human rights groups from long term "reaprecidos" that they were held on work farms in the interior of the country. END COMMENT)

Human Rights at Puebla

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Mignone noted however, that the appointment of General Sasiain as the head of the Federal Police was a serious threat, especially if anti-subversive activities were transferred to the Federal Police. Mignone noted that General Sasiain was of Lebanese extraction. His sister and brother-in-law, General Caceres Monié, a former Army general and chief of the Federal Police in the Lanusse Administration, were both killed on their retirement chicken farm by Montoneros in Entre Rios Province in 1976. Mignone described Sasiain as an extremely bitter man whose Tenth Army Regiment in La Plata had run one of the severest anti-subversive campaigns in the country. The campaign was directed primarily against the leftist students and faculty of the formerly mammoth (200,000 students) University of La Plata.

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CLEARANCES:
DCM:MChaplin
POLCOUNS:WHHallman

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U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED 1/2/99 [redacted]

Argentina

AS035

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POL:FAHarris:sz
Drafting Office and Officer

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RDS-4 2/2/99 (CHAPLIN, Maxwell) OR-M

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CLEARANCES:
DCM:MChaplin
POLCOUNS:WHHallman

[redacted]

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IA129
N/R

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01700 092034Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 MCT-02
SY-05 FBIE-00 JUSE-00 HA-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 /079 W
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O R 091948Z MAR 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2594
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE; DEPT PLEASE PASS JUSTICE FOR PROPPER

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: LILIANA WALKER BACK IN THE NEWS

REF: SANTIAGO 1611

1. SUMMARY: WIRESERVICE ITEMS FROM WASHINGTON ASSERTING THAT THE MYSTERIOUS "LILIANA WALKER" WAS THE WIFE OF A CHILEAN DOCTOR HAVE LED ONE PAPER TO SPECULATE THAT SHE IS REALLY INGRID SCHWARTZMAN DE BARGAS. ANOTHER WASHINGTON ITEM RAISING THE POSSIBILITY THAT TOWNLEY MIGHT BE TRIED FOR HIS PART IN THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT IN MEXICO IN 1975 ALSO RENEWED SPECULATION ON DINA INVOLVEMENT IN OTHER OVERSEAS ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS. MRS TOWNLEY'S DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WITNESS PROTECTION PROGRAM AND HER DESIRE TO RETURN TO CHILE APPEARED IN THE LOCAL PRESS. AND ONE REPORT FROM WASHINGTON SUGGESTS THAT ITT MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE LETELIER CASE. END SUMMARY

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01700 092034Z

2. AN EFE ITEM PUBLISHED HERE MARCH 8 SAID THAT U.S. INVESTIGATORS FOUND NEW LINKS BETWEEN DINA AND CUBAN EXILES BASED UPON A REPORT IN TABLOID "SEGUNDA" THAT THE STILL-UNIDENTIFIED "LILIANA WALKER" WAS REALLY ANA MARIA VARGAS, WIFE OF DR ROBERTO VARGAS WHO ALLEGEDLY WORKED FOR DINA (SEE SANTIAGO 1386 FOR "SEGUNDA" STORY). ACCORDING TO EFE, "WALKER" ALSO HAD TRAVELED TO CARACAS

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IN 1974 USING THE NAME "ELOINE ALLENDE" IN COMPANY WITH VIRGILIO PAZ. THE EFE ITEM ADDED THAT CUBANS JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ, GUILLERMO NOVO AND ORLANDO BOSCH HAD MET WITH DR VARGAS.

3. SEVENTY-FOUR YEAR OLD UROLOGIST, ROBERTO VARGAS ZALAZAR, QUICKLY SENT A CLARIFICATION TO THE PRESS. HE DENIED CATEGORICALLY THAT EITHER HE OR HIS WIFE (INES DELANNOY DE VARGAS) HAD EVER WORKED FOR DINA. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED NOVO, SUAREZ AND BOSCH AT HIS OFFICE ONE AFTERNOON. THEY BROUGHT GREETINGS FROM DR JOSE IGLESIAS, A CUBAN UROLOGIST TEACHING AT A NEW JERSEY UNIVERSITY. DURING A 1974 CONVENTION IN SANTIAGO, IGLESIAS HAD TOLD VARGAS THAT THE THREE MIGHT BE COMING TO CHILE AND ASKED IF HE MIGHT GIVE VARGAS' NAME TO THEM IN CASE THEY NEEDED TREATMENT. VARGAS SAID THAT OTHER FRIENDS OF IGLESIAS HAD ALSO STOPPED BY WITH GREETINGS FROM TIME TO TIME BUT THAT HE HAD ONLY SEEN SUAREZ, NOVO AND BOSCH THAT SINGLE AFTERNOON.

4. "TERCERA", HOWEVER, PURSUED THE LEAD AND REPORTED THAT VARGAS SENIOR HAS A SON NAMED ROBERTO WHO IS ALSO A DOCTOR. ROBERTO JUNIOR IS MARRIED TO THE COMELY INGRID SCHWARTZMAN A SOMETIME TV SOAP OPERA ACTRESS WHO APPEARED IN "MI PAPA Y MI MAMA" ON LOCAL SCREENS. REPORTERS GOING TO ROBERTO VARGAS DELAUNOY'S HOUSE LEARNED THAT THE PAIR WERE OUT OF THE COUNTRY. (COMMENT: INES
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01700 092034Z

VARGAS DELAUNOY, ANOTHER DAUGHTER, WAS ACTIVE IN THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT AND NOW PRACTICES LAW IN SANTIAGO).

5. IN OTHER LETELIER-RELATED NEWS, SEVERAL PAPERS MARCH 9 CARRIED AN AP DISPATCH DATELINED WASHINGTON WHICH PICKED UP THE NYT'S ARTICLE STRESSING THAT UNDER TERMS OF THE DEAL STRUCK BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WITH THE GOC, TOWNLEY MIGHT STILL BE PROSECUTABLE FOR HIS ROLE IN THE UNSUCCESSFUL 1975 ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE CHILEAN EXILES IN MEXICO. THAT STORY ALSO MENTIONS THE LIKELIHOOD THAT TOWNLEY AND DINA WERE INVOLVED IN OTHER ASSASSINATION PLOTS WHEN TOWNLEY USED THE "ENYART" PASSPORT. ALSO CARRIED HERE WAS AN EFE STORY CITING MRS TOWNLEY'S DISSATISFACTION WITH THE RESTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE WITNESS PROTECTION PROGRAM AND HER INTENTION TO RETURN TO CHILE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. USG PROSECUTOR BARCELLA IS QUOTED AS STATING THAT SHE IS FREE TO TRAVEL AT ANY TIME.

6. "TERCERA" MANAGED ANOTHER OF ITS NOW-TRADITIONAL MISLEADING HEADLINES WHEN IT RAN YET ANOTHER EFE

DISPATCH UNDER THE BANNER: "USG LOSES CREDIBILITY IN LETELIER CASE BY DROPPING CHARGES AGAINST ITT". (THE STORY QUOTED INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES' SAUL LANDAU AS SAYING THAT DROPPING THE ITT CASE WOULD COST THE USG THE CREDIBILITY IT HAD GAINED BY ITS LETELIER INVESTIGATION). THE EFE STORY ALSO ASSERTED THAT ITT WAS NOT OUT OF THE WOODS SINCE "NEW INVESTIGATIONS IN WASHINGTON, STILL IN THE INITIAL STAGE, HAD FOUND CERTAIN TIES BETWEEN THE MULTINATIONAL AND THE ASSASSINATION OF LETELIER".
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01759 130353Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 AID-05 HA-05 /092 W
----------130770 140337Z /65

R 122136Z MAR 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2616
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLASSIFIED C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 1759

E. O. 12065: GDS 3/12/79 (ARCHER, EDWARD E) OR-L
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: STRANGE BEDFELLOWS OPPOSE GOC LABOR PLAN

REF: SANTIAGO 1389

1. (L) SUMMARY: VARIOUS LABOR LEADERS ARE SCURRYING TO FIND SOME COMMON DENOMINATORS FOR UNIFIED OPPOSITION TO GOC LABOR DECREES. PHILOSOPHICALLY DISPARATE LABOR GROUPINGS HAVE PICKED UP ON POINTS MADE BY THE "GROUP OF TEN" (AND BY THE AFL-CIO NEARLY A YEAR AGO) WHEN THEY CALLED FOR OUTRIGHT REPEAL OF RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION AND A STOP TO THE HARASSMENT OF TRADE UNIONS AND THEIR LEADERSHIP. THE "TEN" HAVE RETAINED THEIR INDEPENDENT STANCE BY ISSUING THEIR OWN, PARALLEL DECLARATION. END SUMMARY

2. (U) DIVERSE TRADE UNION GROUPS--THE PRO-GOVERNMENT NATIONAL UNION OF CHILEAN WORKERS (UNTRACH), THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED COORDINADORA DINDICAL (CNS), THE CHRISTIAN-LEFT FRENTE UNICA DE TRABAJADORES (FUT), AND PRIVATE EMPLOYEES CONFEDERATION (CEPCH)-- ISSUED A JOINT DECLATION MARCH 6. THESE STRANGE BEDFELLOWS DEMANDED THE REPEAL OF A NUMBER OF GOC DECREES THE EFFECT OF WHICH WOULD BE TO REMOVE MILITARY IMPOSED RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE UNIONS. THIS INCLUDES REPEAL OF "BETE NOIRE" DECREE 198 AND ITS MODIFICATIONS
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01759 130353Z

A DECREE PERMITTING (BUT TIGHTENING UP ON) DUES CHECKOFF, A RECENT MODIFICATION OF THE PENSION LAW EXTENDING THE MINIMUM AGE FOR ELIGIBILITY IN MANY CASES, AND DECREE LAW 2200 WHICH REVISED THE FIRST PART OF THE OLD LABOR CODE.

3. (L) THE "GROUP OF TEN" ISSUED A SEPARATE DECLARATION THE NEXT DAY. SOMEWHAT MILDER IN TONE (IT CALLS FOR REVISION RATHER THAN REPEAL OF THE LABOR CODE, FOR EXAMPLE), IT MIRRORS AN AFL-CIO MEMORANDUM OF MAY, 1978. THE "TEN" INVITE OTHER GROUPS TO JOIN THEM-- BUT THEY INSIST ADHERENTS FORESWEAR PARTICIPATION ON THE GOC'S ILO DELEGATION AND ATTENDANCE AT GOC-ORGANIZED MAY DAY EVENTS. OTHERWISE THE TWO DOCUMENTS ARE REMARKABLY SIMILAR. BOTH THE LEFT-RIGHT DECLARATION AND THAT OF THE "GROUP OF TEN" STRESS THE NEED TO END HARASSMENT OF LABOR LEADERS, A CAUSE GIVEN A BOOST BY GEORGE MEANY'S CABLE TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET AND TO TWO CABINET MINISTERS URGING THE REINSTATEMENT OF FOUR COPPER WORKERS.

4. (L) COMMENT: WHAT MOTIVATES THE UNUSUAL LEFT-RIGHT JOINT STATEMENT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR. PRO-GOC TRADE UNIONISTS SAY THEY ARE PARTICULARLY ANNOYED AT MINISTER OF LABOR PINERA'S RELUCTANCE (THEY SAY REFUSAL) TO INCORPORATE THEIR VIEWS IN GOC LEGISLATION. FURTHERMORE THEY ARE UNHAPPY WITH A SERIES OF TV "PUBLIC INTEREST" SPOTS WHICH ARE INTERPRETED AS ERODING SUPPORT FOR TRADE UNIONISM.

5. (C) "GROUP OF TEN" LEADERS ARE SUSPICIOUS OF THIS SHOW OF UNITY. EDUARDO RIOS, FOR EXAMPLE, TELLS US THAT HE DOUBTS THE STAYING POWER OF THE CNS AND CEPCH--AS WELL AS THE PRO-GOVERNMENT UNTRACH-- IF THE GOC TURNS UP THE HEAT. RIOS DISMISSES THE FUT AS A PAPER ORGANIZATION, WITHOUT RANK AND FILE SUPPORT. HE IS UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE GOC'S MUSCLE TO MAKE THE LABOR PLAN STICK IN ANY SORT OF A SHOWDOWN WITH ITS DOMESTIC OPPOSITION.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01759 130353Z

6. (C) RECENT GOC ACTIONS HAVE NOT REFLECTED WELL ON PRO-GOVERNMENT TRADE UNIONISTS' ABILITY TO INLUENCE EVENTS; INDEED THEY HAVE LOOKED PARTICULARLY IMPOTENT. SINCE THEIR PRINCIPAL APPEAL IS THEIR PURPORTED ABILITY TO GET MORE FROM THE GOC BECAUSE THEY SUPPORT THE REGIME, THE UNTRACH STANDS TO LOSE THE MOST WHEN THE GOC PASSES LAWS EITHER INGORING LABOR DEMANDS OR MEETING THEN ONLY PART WAY. THUS THEY MAY BE MAKING COMMON CAUSE WITH THE LEFT AND THE COMMUNISTS IN ORDER TO RETAIN SOME SHRED OF CREDIBILITY WITH THEIR OWN RANK AND FILE. BUT WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THE UNTRACH NOW IS PERSUADED THAT NO TRADE UNION ELEMENT WILL BE ABLE TO HAVE A SIGNIFICANT VOICE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LABOR DECREES. FINALLY, THE POSSIBILITY REMAINS THAT SOME MACHIAVELLIAN SCHEME IS AFOOT IN WHICH UNTRACH -- CREATED TWO YEARS AGO BY THE GOC--HAS BEEN ACTING AT THE BEHEST OF THE REGIME.
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EDWARD J. PATTEN
10TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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March 12, 1979

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DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Mr. Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Bennet:

Attached please find a copy of the letter which I have received from one of my constitutents on the Charles Horman incident.

I would be most appreciative if your office could provide me with a complete report on the matter.

Thanking you in advance for your attention to this request, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Edward J. Patten

Eric

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Attachment

Charles Horman American executed in Chile. Ltr re

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Chile Project (#S19990[illegible])
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March 1 C, 1979

Dear Senator Tower:

Thank you for your inquiry of February 26 on behalf of the Lucy Gonzalez Parsons Branch of the Young Workers Liberation League concerning human rights in Chile and the detention of Juan Segundo Cortez Cortez in particular.

We know that the name of Juan Segundo Cortez Cortez is among the persons listed as "disappeared", but, unfortunately, we have no concrete information to add. We appreciate your constituents' sentiments and efforts to learn more about the circumstances surrounding this disapprearance.

We are deeply concerned about disappearances, detainees, and other evidence of human rights abuses in Chile. Part of our effort to influence the Chilean Government's human rights policies has been the termination of military and economic aid to Chile. We will continue to express our concern at every opportunity to the Chilean authorities, and we will do all we can to elicit a more thorough accounting of such cases.

Sincerely,

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H: ETaylor

Douglas J. Pennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 04816 01 OF 02 142319Z
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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 04816 01 OF 02 142319Z

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ICFTU, SHUM, CI, NU, VE, XM
SUBJ: ICFTU CAMPAIGN AGAINST REPRESSION IN CHILE
AND NICARAGUA

REF: (A) OTTAWA 1233 (NOTAL) (B) LIMA 1672 (NOTAL
(C) CARACAS 1282 (NOTAL) (D) BRUSSELS 1007

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(E) 78 BRUSSELS 23366

1. SUMMARY: THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) IS PREPARING WHAT ONE OF ITS PRESS RELEASES CALLS A "STEPPED-UP FIGHT AGAINST CHILE AND NICARAGUA." PRECISELY WHAT THIS MEANS, HOWEVER, REMAINS TO BE SEEN, AND WILL DEPEND PARTLY ON WHETHER LEADING LATIN AMERICAN AFFILIATES OF THE ICFTU AND THE INTER-AMERICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WORKERS (ORIT) WANT TO BACK UP MILITANT RHETORIC WITH PRACTICAL ACTION. END SUMMARY.

2. IN A MEETING HELD IN TORONTO IN EARLY FEBRUARY, THE ICFTU'S NEW COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA (REF D) ADOPTED A RESOLUTION INVITING "ICFTU AFFILIATES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO IMMEDIATELY EXERT ALL EFFECTIVE PRESSURES, INCLUDING BOYCOTTS, TO HELP ACHIEVE THE DOWNFALL OF THE DICTATORSHIP REGIMES OF CHILE AND NICARAGUA."

3. THE ICFTU HEADQUARTERS HAS MAILED A COPY OF THAT RESOLUTION TO ALL ITS AFFILIATES UNDER COVER OF A CIRCULAR LETTER FROM GENERAL SECRETARY OTTO KERSTEN, DATED FEBRUARY 20. USEC LABOR ATTACHE HAS RECEIVED A COPY OF THE KERSTEN LETTER FROM A SECRETARIAT MEMBER.

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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 04816 01 OF 02 142319Z

4. THE LETTER OPENS BY RECALLING THAT THE NOVEMBER 29-DECEMBER 1 ICFTU EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS ON CHILE AND NICARAGUA CALLING ON AFFILIATES: (A) TO GIVE ALL POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE TO DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN THOSE COUNTRIES IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO SECURE OBSERVANCE OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS, AND (B) "TO CONSIDER THE ADVISABILITY OF TAKING SOLIDARITY INITIATIVES WHICH ARE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVE, INCLUDING BOYCOTT ACTIONS" (REF E).

5. THE KERSTEN LETTER QUOTES THE MILITANT LANGUAGE OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE TORONTO MEETING (PARA 2 ABOVE) AND THEN ADDS: "THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH A RESOLUTION IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE, AND WE INTEND TO DO OUR BEST TO MAKE THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT MORE EFFECTIVE IN THIS RESPECT."

6. THE FINAL TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE KERSTEN LETTER ARE AS FOLLOWS:

"TOGETHER WITH OUR REGIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE AMERICAS, ORIT, AND IN CLOSE COLLABORATION WITH OUR NICARAGUAN AFFILIATE, THE CUS (CONFEDERACION DE UNIFICACION SINDICAL), AS WELL AS WITH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS IN CHILE, WE ARE GATHERING ALL RELEVANT INFORMATION CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL TRADE AS WELL AS TRANSPORT MOVEMENTS TO AND FROM THESE COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO ELABORATE A COMMON STRATEGY AND TO DETERMINE THOSE COUNTRIES MORE DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH SUCH BOYCOTT ACTIONS.

"WE THEREFORE INVITE ALL ICFTU AFFILIATES TO LOOK CAREFULLY INTO THIS MATTER AND TO KEEP US INFORMED OF ALL STEPS THEY MAY CONSIDER TAKING ACCORDING TO THE ENCLOSED (TORONTO) RESOLUTION."

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 04816 02 OF 02 142321Z
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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 04816 02 OF 02 142321Z

7. IN A CONVERSATION MARCH 12, ICFTU ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY VANDERVEKEN SAID THAT THE KIND OF ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN TOWARD CHILE AND NICARAGUA WILL DEPEND PARTLY ON THE REPORT OF A VENEZUELAN MISSION VISITING LATIN AMERICAN CAPITALS (REF B AND C), AND PARTLY ON POLICIES TO BE ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTWORKERS FEDERATION AT ITS NEXT MEETING IN LONDON MARCH 20-21.

8. ENZO FRISO, SENIOR ICFTU STAFFER FOR THE AMERICAS, IS ALSO WORKING ON A REPORT TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE NEXT ICFTU BOARD MEETING MAY 9-11 IN BRUSSELS.

9. USEC LABOR ATTACHE HAPPENED TO BE IN VANDERVEKEN'S OFFICE WHEN CLC INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR HARKER CALLED FROM CANADA MARCH 12, AND JUDGING FROM BRUSSELS END OF THE CONVERSATION, THERE SEEMED TO BE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT ANY ICFTU-COORDINATED CAMPAIGN ON CHILE AND NICARAGUA REQUIRED FURTHER STUDY.

10.COMMENT: ALTHOUGH,AS REF A POINTS OUT, AN ICFTU PRESS RELEASE ON THE TORONTO MEETING SOUNDED MORE MILITANT THAN THE REALITY, IT WAS BASED LARGELY ON THE STRONG RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN TORONTO, AND DID NOT INCLUDE A LINE FROM THE CLC'S OWN PRESS RELEASE QUOTING CLC PRESIDENT MCDERMOTT ON CHILE AND NICARAGUA: "IN THE NAME OF THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY WE, AS WORKING CANADIANS, HOLD SO DEAR, I SAY WE CANNOT STAND IDLY BY ANY LONGER." HINTON

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ACTION ARA-15

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, PGOV, CI
SUBJ: TRADE UNION RIGHTS

REF: SANTIAGO 1759

1. SUMMARY: THE PRO-GOVERNMENT UNION OF CHILEAN WORKERS (UNTRACH) ANNOUNCES IT WILL RESTUDY ITS POSITION OF MAKING A COMMON FRONT WITH LEFT WING LABOR ORGANIZATIONS TO OPPOSE THE LABOR PLAN. MEANWHILE IT HAS SUSPENDED ALL FUTURE MEETINGS WITH THEM. LABOR MINISTER ATTRIBUTES CRITICISM OF LABOR PLAN TO FEAR OF TRADITIONAL LABOR LEADERS THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ADAPT. SMALL WORKER-BUSINESSMEN FORM NEW ASSOCIATION TO OPPOSE LABOR PLAN. END SUMMARY.

2. WITHIN A FEW DAYS AFTER ANNOUNCING A COMMON FRONT WITH THE COMMUNIST DOMINATED COORDINADORA NACIONAL SINDICAL (CNS) THE CHRISTIAN FRENTE UNITARIO DE TRABAJADORES (FUT) AND THE CONFEDERACION DE EMPLEADOS PAFTICULARES (CEPCH)-- SEE REFTEL -- UNTRACH PRESIDENT BERNARDINO CASTILLO SUSPENDED ALL FUTURE MEEGINGS WITH THE CNS AND FUT UNTIL THE MATTER IS RESTUDIED MARCH 20. CASTILLO EXPLAINED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01812 170216Z

THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE CNS, MANUEL BUSTOS, AND THE FUT, CARLOS FREZ, VIOLOATED THEIR AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS ONLY POINTS CONTAINED IN THEIR JOINT DECLARATION OF ARCH 6. (COMMENT: WE UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS THE STRONG OBJECTION BY STEVEDORE PRESIDENT MARTIN BUSTOS TO THE IDEA OF A COMMON FRONT WHICH INCLUDED COMMUNIST LABOR WHICH LED CASTILLO TO BACK OFF.)

3. BEFORE TRAVELLING TO BUENOS AIRES TO ATTEND A SOCIAL SECURITY CONFERENCE, LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA ATTRIBUTED CRITICISM FROM CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT "SOME OF THE TRADITIONAL LABOR LEADERS FEAR THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ADAPT RAPIDLY TO THE NEW LABOR PLAN." THE MINISTER SAID THAT "SOME LEADERS SENT A LETTER TO ME STATING THEIR DISAGREEMENT WITH SOME ASPECTS OF THE LABOR LAWS BUT THEY DID NOT CRITICIZE THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE LABOR PLAN." PINERA ALSO SAID THAT LABOR NORMALIZATION WILL BE ACHIEVED IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR AFTER THE ISSUANCE OF TWO IMPORTANT LAWS WHICH WILL REGULATE UNION ACTIVITY AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. HE SAID THESE LAWS WILL BE ISSUED BEFORE JULY 1.

4. LEON VILLARIN, PRESIDENT OF THE TRUCK OWNERS CONFEDERATION, ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A NEW CONFEDERATION OF WORKER-BUSINESSMEN TO OPPOSE THE LABOR PLAN. VILLARIN STATED THAT HIS FEDERATION BELIEVED THAT WORKERS SHOULD BE OBLIGED BOTH TO JOIN A UNION AND PAY THE CORRESPONDING DUES. VILLARIN WAS JOINED BY JUAN JARA, PRESIDENT OF THE TAXI OWNERS CONFEDERATION, ROBERTO PARAGUEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATION OF SMALL INDUSTRIAL BUSINESSMEN, RAFAEL CUMSILLE, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATION OF SMALL BUSINESSMEN, AND DOMINGO DURAN, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE
AND RESEARCH

MEXICO AT THE UNCSTD: A PRE-CONFERENCE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE

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(C) Summary

Mexico is engaged in a race between development and population growth. With the estimate of its oil reserves rising rapidly, Mexico increasingly will depend on oil revenues to deal with its underlying economic and social problems.

Although Mexico is not a member of the non-aligned movement (NAM), having attended NAM meetings only as an observer, it is one of the original members of the Group of 77. It has a strong interest in North-South issues and a continuing dedication to the principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS).

Mexico may therefore be expected to participate actively in the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development--to be held in Vienna in August 1979--and in preparatory meetings preceding the Conference. Its stance on most UNCSTD issues will likely be moderate and pragmatic.

* * * * * *

(C) Foreign Policy

Mexico's traditional foreign policy, somewhat legalistic and defensive in nature, reflects Mexico's 19th-century experiences with the US and the European powers. It is firmly grounded on the principles of non-intervention, respect for the sovereign equality of states, and peaceful resolution of conflicts. In his inaugural address, President Lopez Portillo emphasized the continuity of Mexico's foreign policy, pledging his support

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Report No. 1144 (Rev.)
March 16, 1979

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for the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS), international solidarity, and Mexico's determination to press for the prohibition of weapons that threaten humanity's existence.

While Mexico has been an active member in a number of international forums, its activity--and style--took on a strong Third World cast in the mid-1970s under former President Echeverria. Seeking a role for Mexico as a Third World leader, Echeverria lobbied hard for the adoption of CERDS and pushed Mexico into an active role on a number of North-South issues.

When Lopez Portillo took office, in late 1976, the urgency of Mexico's economic problems dictated that his administration concentrate on 1) restoration of confidence domestically and 2) improved relations with the US. Nevertheless, although the government's style has changed from rhetoric and confrontation to a more moderate pragmatism, Mexico's underlying interests and objectives have remained constant.

Mexico's relations with the US are its most important foreign policy concern. Given the US' overwhelming weight in the bilateral relationship, Mexico seeks continually to lessen its dependence on the US by diversifying its political and economic contacts in the international setting--primarily by expanding trade, financial, and technical ties with the European Community, Japan, Latin America, and the Soviet bloc. Although these efforts have met with some success, the state of Mexican-US relations continues to be the dominant concern in Mexico's foreign policy.

(C) Relations With the US

A host of intertwined relationships joins the US and Mexico: a mutual border, substantial bilateral trade, billions of dollars of US investment in Mexico, and a welter of jointly undertaken projects ranging from eradication of agricultural pests to narcotics control. Because of these interrelationships, the domestic problems of one country often have considerable impact on the other. For example, Mexican unemployment becomes illegal immigration to the US, and US recessionary cycles depress Mexico's export and tourism industries, adversely affecting Mexico's balance of payments with the US.

Mexican-US relations are, for the most part, friendly and cooperative. Officials on many levels from both sides

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work closely together and confer on mutual problems. Committees of the Bilateral Consultative Mechanism, established in 1976 by Presidents Carter and Lopez Portillo, meet regularly to seek solutions to economic and social issues of mutual concern.

When President Carter visited Mexico in February, he and President Lopez Portillo agreed to: negotiations as soon as possible for the sale of Mexican natural gas to the US; strong efforts to conclude bilateral trade negotiations under the multilateral trade negotiations (MTN); periodic close consultations on border problems; continuous sharing of immigration data; and recommendations for strengthening the Bilateral Consultative Mechanism, to be drawn up within four months.

They also agreed to meet again this summer, at which time they will determine what progress has been made on the issues and the attempts to strengthen the Consultative Mechanism.

(C) Mexico's Role in the International Arena

One of the original members of the Group of 77 in 1964, Mexico played only a moderately active part for the next six years. During the last years of the Echeverria administration (1970-76), however, Mexico expanded its G-77 role greatly as Echeverria sought to make Mexico an LDC spokesman on economic matters. To most LDCs, however, Mexico's credentials were suspect because of the overwhelming reality of US influence on the Mexican economy. Under Lopez Portillo, Mexico has moderated its rhetoric and positions, along with the degree of its Third World involvement.

Mexico is not a member of the non-aligned movement, but it has attended NAM meetings as an observer. The Mexican delegation to the 1976 non-aligned summit meeting in Colombo was led by Foreign Secretary Garcia Robles and was very active. This active participation, however, was more a reflection of then-President Echeverria's campaign for nomination to the post of UN Secretary-General than of Mexico's long-term interest in the NAM. Lopez Portillo's administration has noted that Echeverria's Third World activism was of little tangible benefit and, indeed, on occasion embroiled Mexico in quarrels not its own.

Nevertheless, Mexico has genuine interests in North-South issues, which it will continue to pursue vigorously, albeit less confrontationally than under Echeverria. Mexico

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was active in obtaining the adoption of the UN resolution on the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and in originating and promoting CERDS. Both the political aspects 1/ and the economic goals 2/ of these documents accurately reflect Mexico's longstanding concern for its political and economic independence.

Economic Development

(S/NF) Problems. Mexico is faced with basic economic and social problems:

--soaring population;

--growing inequity in income distribution;

--widening regional disparities;

--massive migration from rural to urban areas;

--stagnating agricultural production; and

--increasing unemployment and underemployment.

Mexican population, currently at 67 million, has doubled since 1950 and could almost double again by the turn of the century. Nearly half of the population is under the age of 14. The growth rate, however, has slowed somewhat (from 3.5 percent to 3.0-3.3 percent per year).

Despite omnipresent domestic rhetoric about Mexico being a "revolutionary" state, its social and economic system is highly conservative, and the distribution of income is one of the most unequal in the world. In 1969 the top 20 percent of households received 64 percent of family income. In Mexico, moreover, in contrast to much of the rest of the world, the share of the richest fifth has been rising, while that of the poorest fifth has been falling.

1/ Sovereign equality of states, condemnation of any form of colonialism, rejection of intervention in internal affairs.

2/ Access to developed-country markets, facilitation of transfer of technology, support for commodity values and producer cartels, more effective financial assistance to LDCs.

Traditionally, a handful of states in north and central Mexico has received the bulk of public and private investment, while the rest of the country has largely stagnated. The major population centers in this handful of states have been magnets for massive rural migration. Mexico City, already barely viable at a population of 14 million, is growing by nearly 750,000 persons a year. If the present trend should continue, Mexico City's population would reach 30 million by the year 2000.

Nearly 40 percent of Mexico's population is employed in agriculture. Less than 20 percent of Mexican land is suitable for agriculture. Agricultural efficiency has been hampered by the system of land tenure established by land reform after the 1910 revolution, with much of the arable land divided into tiny, inefficient plots. The existence of some 4 million landless peasants has resulted in large numbers of illegal occupations of private land. Growth in agricultural production has been slow (only 18 percent over the decade 1967-1977), far below the growth in population.

During the 1970s, the Mexican labor force has grown by more than 4 percent per year. Unemployment and underemployment are now running higher than 40 percent of the labor force. The government recently claimed that hardcore unemployment is only 8 percent (theretofore it had admitted to a 9 to 15-percent rate).

High unemployment/underemployment (especially rural), large wage differentials, and population growth have spurred illegal migration to the US. About 60 percent of the estimated 3-5 million illegal aliens in the US are Mexican. In the past, most illegal Mexican migrants came from rural areas, and about two-thirds of them were essentially temporary seasonal labor. Now, they are coming increasingly from urban areas and possess greater skills; a growing proportion, probably about one-half, settle for an indefinite time. Illegal Mexican migration, while a contentious issue in the US, has been something of a safety valve contributing to social and political stability within Mexico.

(S/NF) Growth. From the end of World War II until the mid-1970s, Mexico gave emphasis to industrial (particularly capital-intensive) growth while benefiting also from the "Green Revolution." As a result, it enjoyed one of the highest sustained growth rates in gross national product in the world (6.2 percent annually during the 1950-75 period). At the same time, however, problems resulting from unemployment and inequities of income distribution increased.

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The Echeverria administration (1970-76) poured great sums of money into ambitious, long-term, capital-intensive projects (dams, steel mills, increased oil exploration) and into social projects (schools, hospitals, roads). During this period, government spending and borrowing from abroad reached an all-time high. At the same time, the international economic crisis led to a sharp drop in Mexico's tourism and export earnings and to a steep rise in the cost of imports. A sudden float of the peso in 1976 (whereupon its value dropped precipitously) spurred massive capital flight and shook the Mexican economy. Incoming President Lopez Portillo was forced to impose a sweeping austerity program in order to obtain the support of the International Monetary Fund. GDP (gross domestic product) growth averaged only 2.7 percent in 1976-77, before rebounding to an estimated 6.6 percent in 1978. Inflation, which averaged 29.1 percent in 1977, declined to an average of about 17.4 percent in 1978.

The current administration is trying to work out a new development plan that will correct past deficiencies. Chief priorities are: reduction in population growth; industrial decentralization; self-sufficiency in agricultural production; job creation; and development and full utilization of domestic energy resources. Programs already under way include:

--a National Family Planning Program, which aims at a 2.5-percent annual population growth rate by 1982, and 1.0 percent by 2000;

--a new National Employment Plan, which seeks to reduce hardcore unemployment to 6 percent and create 3.87 million new jobs by 1982 (774,000 per year) to offset 2.8 million new entrants (560,000 per year) to the labor force;

--a National Urban Plan, which sets priorities for urbanization away from traditional centers to coastal areas; and

--a National Agricultural Plan to develop more farmland, encourage rural industry, and make available more credits to farmers.

The employment plan will not be finished, however, until at least mid-1980. During the period 1981-85, the number of new entrants to the labor force should reach 800,000 a year. Even with GNP growth of 10 percent, new

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jobs are unlikely to reach 700,000 per annum. For example, although such capital- (and energy-) intensive industries as steel, capital goods, and petrochemicals are slated to grow by 10, 20, and 30 percent a year, respectively, they will create fewer than 50,000 new jobs annually. The job gap could be even greater if the existing low labor participation rate (47 perbent) should rise.

Failure to take the politically hazardous move toward modification of the system of land tenure will virtually assure that the country will have to import increasing quantities of corn and wheat (which, with beans, form the diet of most Mexicans). Imports of basic grains are expected to exceed $900 million in 1979. Future higher standards of living would also mean increasing diversion of agricultural exports to domestic consumption.

Mexico has built a fairly balanced industrial structure. The government undertakes about 90 percent of all scientific and technical research and controls all petroleum and basic petrochemicals industries, nuclear energy, electricity, railroads, and most communications. It has encouraged private-sector development of other basic industries. It is now especially fostering public and private development of energy-intensive export industries, particularly petrochemicals, fertilizers, and steel. The national petroleum monopoly, PEMEX, plans to invest at least $16.5 billion in plant and equipment during the current 1977-82 period. These capital-intensive industries will, however, provide relatively few jobs.

A system of high tariffs, restrictive and arbitrary import licensing, official valuations of imports, and embargoes of certain imports has protected inefficient industry. The government has taken very limited and tentative steps toward liberalization of licensing, while at the same time it has raised tariffs.

Continued oil exploration has increased proven reserves of oil and natural gas from 6 billion barrels in December 1976 to the 40.2 billion barrels announced in December 1978, with probable reserves of 44.6 billion and potential reserves of 200 billion. (Much of Mexico's reserves will be difficult to recover, however.) Average liftings rose from 1.1 million barrels/day in 1977 to 1.6 million barrels/day in 1978 (plus natural gas production of 2.2 billion cubic feet/day); exports rose from 200,000 b/d (worth $1 billion) in 1977 to nearly 500,000 b/d (over $2 billion) in 1978. Although not a member

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of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, Mexico has followed OPEC oil pricing policies and has attempted to copy Algerian export pricing for natural gas.

Future production and exports will depend on a number of factors. By 1982, production is scheduled to pass 2.7 million b/d (plus 5 billion cf/d of gas). The government plans also by that time to double refining capacity to 1.9 million b/d (although the program is running behind schedule) and to treble basic petrochemical capacity to 18 million tons/year. Production could increase to about 5 million b/d by 1985, but Mexico likely will slow production growth if it does not obtain an export market for associated natural gas.

A key determinant of future oil policy--which in the Mexican tradition will probably be left for the next administration to resolve--will be Mexico's ability to absorb oil revenues. Potential annual export earnings could reach $20-35 billion by 1985. However, as Lopez Portillo has acknowledged, full absorption--through accumulation of foreign exchange reserves or through increased imports--might well be economically and politically destabilizing.

Mexico was the first country (in 1938) to expropriate foreign oil operations. PEMEX has been an important symbol of the country's nationalistic pride. It suffered for many years, however, from inefficiency, featherbedding, and corruption. As late as 1976, production per worker was only one-eighth of that in Venezuela. Under new management, production has nearly doubled, with little increase in employees.

PEMEX has, or can buy, whatever petroleum technology it requires. Mexico also is anxious to develop its potential in solar, nuclear, and geothermal energy, however, and will be seeking scientific and technological expertise in developing such rich resources as phosphates, uranium, and copper.

In order to increase food production, Mexico will:

--seek intermediate technology to make cooperatives more productive;

--promote local packaging and processing industries;

--continue the expansion of its fishing industry; and

--open new agricultural areas in the tropical south.

[redacted]

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In recent years, direct foreign investment--which is tightly controlled--has contributed little capital to Mexican economic development (although foreign technology has been important). In the early 1960s it contributed about 40 percent of net long-term capital inflows, but by 1974-76 the contribution had dropped to 8 percent. In the latter period it accounted for only around 3.5 percent of total gross fixed investment. US direct investment in Mexico amounts to some $3.5 billion--about $3.4 billion being equity capital. These inflows, however, have also slowed markedly in the past five years.

(C) Balance of Payments and Trade. Mexico has traditionally run trade and current account deficits, covered by capital inflows. During the mid-1970s, the trade and current account gaps increased, and the country borrowed heavily from abroad. The trade deficit rose from $1 billion in 1972 to $3.7 billion in 1975, while export coverage (of imports) fell from 62 percent in 1972-73 to 44 percent in 1975. The current account deficit rose from $916 million in 1972 to a peak of $4.0 billion in 1975.

Since then, because of economic stabilization measures and rising oil exports, the trade gap has narrowed--to $880 million in 1977 and an estimated $2.2 billion in 1978--and export coverage has surged to around 80 percent. Owing largely to increased debt service, however, the current account deficit has remained at around $2-3.5 billion during 1976-78 (an estimated $2.5 billion in 1978 alone). A $960 million International Monetary Fund standby credit and foreign borrowing have enabled Mexico to maintain sufficient foreign reserves--$2.3 billion at the end of 1978. The trade gap is likely to drop below $1 billion in 1979, but higher debt interest payments will keep the current account deficit near the 1978 level. Rising oil exports should lead to trade and current account surpluses beginning in the early 1980s.

The US is overwhelmingly Mexico's principal trading partner, while Mexico is fifth in importance for the US. In recent years, the US has supplied more than three-fifths of Mexican imports (largely grains and capital goods) and taken about the same proportion of its exports (principally electronic items, cattle, shrimp, tomatoes, coffee, petroleum, and metals). The US trade share and favorable balance have been dropping rapidly, however. The value of Mexico's imports from the US dropped from a peak of $4 billion in 1975 to $3.5 billion in 1977, while Mexican exports to the US rose from $1.7 billion to $2.4 billion. In the first

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half of 1978, Mexico's imports from the US ($1.7 billion) dropped slightly below its exports to the US. The US share of Mexican imports dropped from 64 percent in 1977 to 54 percent in the first half of 1978, while its share of Mexico's exports rose from 66 to 70 percent. Mexico is a substantial beneficiary of the US Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Its GSP exports to the US reached $368 million in 1977--nearly 10 percent of all GSP exports to the US--and may have reached $500 million in 1978.

Mexico is one of the few major trading countries that 1) has not adhered to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and 2) has benefited from most-favored-nation treatment without having to make its own concessions. It is the sixth largest developing-country exporter of manufactured goods. Exports of manufactures probably reached $2 billion in 1978 and should continue to grow strongly through the early 1980s. One-third of manufactured exports consisted of electronic items and apparel from border industries exporting to the US. In 1977, the US took three-fourths of Mexican manufactured exports.

The US views Mexico's future oil production as an important addition to world supply which will directly or indirectly benefit the US. The geographical proximity of the supplies would make the US the natural market for the country's energy exports. The US refused to approve, however, a recent Mexican contract with six US companies for 2 billion cf/d of natural gas. The price was set higher than that for Canadian gas imports and was directly linked to OPEC oil pricing. If Mexico continues its traditional protectionism, moreover, the probable increasing US deficit in bilateral trade likely will prove a source of friction.

(LOU) Foreign Debt and Aid. Mexico is carrying a heavy external public debt burden and will require additional borrowing through at least 1982. The structure of the debt has been improved, however, and the prospect of growing oil revenues makes the country a good credit risk.

In 1974-76, Mexico borrowed heavily to finance the current account deficit. Between the end of 1976 and the end of 1978, the debt rose from $20 billion to $26 billion; during that period, interest payments alone rose from 20 to 23 percent of Mexico's exports of goods and services. At the end of 1976, almost three-fourths of the debt was owed to foreign commercial banks (about $13 billion to US-owned banks). The proportion of short-term debt, however, was

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reduced from 19 percent to about 7 percent. The country's net new indebtedness was $2.6 billion in 1978, and it probably will borrow similar amounts annually for the next two to four years.

Although Mexico's development has relied heavily on foreign private loans, in recent years the country has been receiving about $500 million annually in commitments from official and multilateral lenders. The World Bank (IBRD) has been the largest source, followed by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Export-Import Bank. The IBRD and IDB programs concentrate on infrastructure expansion and modernization. In 1978, Mexico received about $800 million in such commitments. It can expect multilateral aid to remain at about the same level over the next few years. About $3 billion in aid remains in the pipeline. Mexico has refused major bilateral aid; US aid has been running only about $20 million a year.

(C) Science and Technology

Bilateral Scientific and Technological Cooperation. US-Mexican cooperation in science and technology is based on the bilateral agreement of 1972, which provides for a Mixed Commission to formulate and review programs. It is the purpose of the US to invigorate the Mixed Commission and expand its role in order that it may better serve as the focal point in scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries.

The designated priority areas of the 1978 Mexican National Plan for Science and Technology are precisely those where cooperation with the US would be of benefit. Common problems whose solution is dependent on science and technology include resource exploration and utilization, environmental problems (trans-boundary air and water pollution, desertification, etc.), migration, arid lands management, irrigation, non-nuclear energy technology, and desalinization.

Increased cooperation with Mexico could serve as an example at the UNCSTD of US interest in assisting middle-tier LDCs in scientific and technological development. During President Carter's visit in February, Secretary Vance and Foreign Minister Roel initialed new agreements on arid land management and housing/urban development as well as a recently concluded memorandum of understanding on science and technology.

Likely Attitudes at the UNCSTD. According to the Mexican National Council on Science and Technology (CONACYT),

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Mexico will participate actively in the UNCSTD and in the preparatory meetings preceding the Conference. In general, Mexico's approach should be moderate and practical but will not depart from firmly held convictions regarding national sovereignty over resources and the principles embodied in CERDS. As CONACYT notes, the main objectives of the Conference should lead to the formulation of a greater goal: "the elimination of inequalities through a new and more equitable scheme of international development."

Food and Agriculture: Regaining Mexico's self-sufficiency in food production and the development of its fisheries resources are high-priority items for the Mexican Government. Mexico may be expected to show considerable interest in proposals for the application of science and technology in these areas.

Natural Resources: Mexico welcomes foreign investment in general, but under its own ground rules. It is fiercely nationalistic regarding foreign participation in developing its natural resources--setting stringent limits in some areas and completely barring it in others (petroleum, for example). The development of energy sources (nuclear, solar, geothermal) ranks very high on Mexico's list of priorities, however. Conference delegates are likely to be particularly interested in obtaining information on scientific and technological developments in these areas.

Transfers of Technology: CONAYCT maintains that the technology of the future in developing countries should be oriented toward rural development and the necessities of the great majority--"provided that the solution of these problems is not made only in the form of 'packaged technology' commercialized by multinational corporations." Mexico feels that the developing countries need to acquire a domestic capacity to allow them to decide and judge for themselves the type of technology they want and need to import, or the type that needs to be developed locally.

Mexico's 1973 Law on Transfer and Technology illustrates this position; it was adopted to regulate the acquisition of foreign technology, stimulate the use of domestic technology, and develop national research in order to reduce dependence on foreign interests. The 1976 Law on Patents and Trademarks provides for linkage of foreign with Mexican trademarks and limits the length and availability of patents, providing only certificates of invention in certain fields.

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Health and Quality of Life: Mexico hopes to use part of its future oil revenues for expanded social programs, with particular emphasis on improving the lot of the rural and urban poor. UNCSTD delegates may be expected to take particular interest in matters dealing with housing and urban development.

Environment and World Resources: A major coastal state with strong navigational and resource development concerns, Mexico in 1976 declared a 200-mile economic zone. Highly promising estimates of mineral wealth (especially petroleum) beneath Mexico's continental shelf and its intention to fully develop its fisheries resources were important factors in this decision.

In Law of the Sea issues, Mexico has generally been a moderating influence, attempting to find points of common ground between the developed countries and the more radical LDCs.

Prepared by D. E. Morris; H. L. Graham;
E. W. Fleisher, x29707

Approved by P. H. Stoddard
x22402

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 1873

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: COMPLICATIONS FROM A SNAP DECISION

1. SUMMARY: THE REGIONAL INTENDANT OF VALPARAISO, VICE ADMIRAL ARTURO TRONCOSO, ORDERED A CUSTOMS INSPECTOR TO RESIGN FROM HIS UNION OFFICE BECAUSE HE BELIEVES THE EMPLOYEE (WHO IS ALSO A PART-TIME RADIO CORRESPONDENT AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT ACTIVIST) INSULTED HIS GUEST, THE MINISTER OF LABOR. IN A SEPARATE BUT CLEARLY RELATED ACTION THE INTENDANT ALSO ORDERED CUSTOMS OFFICIALS TO INITIATE THE PROCESS TO FIRE THE EMPLOYEE FROM HIS JOB FOR WORK PERFORMANCE CAUSE. THE TRADE UNIONS OF DIVERSE POLITICAL STRIPES HAVE EXPRESSED SUPPORT OF THE EMPLOYEE; BUT A NEW DECREE LAW REORGAINZING THE CUSTOMS SERVICE HAS DAMPENED THE ENTHUSIASM OF HIS FELLOW WORKERS FOR GETTING OUT IN THE FRONT ON THIS ISSUE. SOME TRADE UNIONS ARE TRYING TO PLAY THE WHOLE EPISODE AS A LIMITATION ON FREE DISCUSSION OF THE LABOR PLAN. WE SEE THE ISSUE AS SIMPLY PUNISHEMENT FOR LESE MAJESTE. END SUMMARY.

2. VICE ADMIRAL ARTURO TRONCOSO, THE REGIONAL INTENDANT OF VALPARAISO AND THE THEN ACTION COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CHILEAN NAVY PERSONALLY ORDERED THE RESIGNATION OF DANIEL LILLO, NATIONAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01873 01 OF 02 190120Z

PRESIDENT OF THE CUSTOMS WORKERS ASSOCIATION, ON MARCH 5. TRONCOSO TOOK UMBRAGE AT LILLO'S SCANTILY DOCUMENTED ASSERTION ON JANUARY 12 THAT THE MINISTER OF LABOR, JOSE PINERA, HAD TWO LABOR PLANS: ONE FOR WORKERS AND ONE FOR BUSINESSMEN. THE IMPLICATION BEING THAT PINERA WAS DOUBLE DEALING. TRONCOSO HAD INVITED PINERA TO ADDRESS A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT THE BUSINESS SCHOOL OF VALPARAISO AND APPARENTLY FELT PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE

FOR INSURING THAT HIS GUEST BE TREATED WITH RSPECT.

3. LILLO, A 130 DOLLAR A MONTH CUSTOMS INSPECTOR, REFUSED TO RESIGN WHEN FIRST TOLD TO DO SO ON JANUARY 15, SAYING HE WAS AN ELECTED TRADE UNION LEADER. MOST NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS INCLUDING THE "GROUP OF TEN" SENT TELEGRAMS SUPPORTING HIS STAND. THE ISSUE REMAINED RELATIVELY QUIET UNTIL MARCH 5, WHEN TRONCOSO AGAIN REDERED LILLO TO RESIGN HIS UNION POSITION, THIS TIME INVOKING DECREE LAW 349 WHICH PERMITS A REGIONAL INTENDANT TO FIRE A UNION LEADER FOR ACTIVITY DISRUPTIVE TO THE NORMAL FUNCTIONING OF A PUBLIC INSTITUTION. UNDER THE LAW THE UNION LEADER MUST RESIGN OR GO TO JAIL. LILLO CHOSE RESIGNATION, BUT FOR THE TIME BEING HE IS ON ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE (WITH PAY) FROM HIS JOB WHILE CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES MAKE A DETERMINATION ON HIS DISCHARGE FOR CAUSE.

4. IN AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO USE THE LILLO CASE FOR BROADER, TACTICAL AND POLITICAL ADVANTAGE, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES IS ATTEMPTING TO PUMP THE ISSUE UP AS A CAUSE CELEBRE. IN A TWO PRONGED ATTACK, ANEF PRESIDENT, TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, HAS CHALLENGED THE AUTHORITY OF THE INTENDANT TO OUST A TRADE UNIONIST AND CALLED INTO QUESTION THE VALIDITY OF THE LABOR PLAN AS NOT PERMITTING FREE DESCUSSION SINCE LILLO WAS COMMENTING ON THE LABOR PLAN WHEN HE MADE HIS UNFORTUNATE REMARK.

5. LABOR MINISTER PINERA TOLD LABATT PRIVATELY THAT THE LABOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01873 01 OF 02 190120Z

PLAN HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH LILLO'S GETTING FIRED. PINERA COMMENTED THAT TRONCOSO HAD INSISTED HE MAKE A SPEECH IN VALPARAISO AND SO THE ADMIRAL APPARENTLY FELT PERSONALLY INVOLVED. THE MEDIA WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE MEETING WHICH OTHERWISE REPRESENTED A CROSS-SECTION OF PORTENO SOCIETY. PINERA SAYS THAT HE WAS NOT INVOLVED IN THE DECISION TO DISCIPLINE LILLO AND WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO HAVE IGNORED HIS STATEMENTS.

6. COMPLICATING THE PICTURE IS A NEW DECREE LAW (DL 2554) PUBLISHED MARCH 10 WHICH GIVES THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC SPECIAL AUTHORITY TO REORGANIZE THE CUSTOMS SERVICE AND SPECIFICALLY CONTAINS PROVISIONS FOR REDUCTION OF PERSONNEL. THE PURPOSE OF THIS INITIATIVE AND COMPANION PIECES FOR OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IS TO ELIMINATE RED TAPE. PART OF THE SWEEPING AUTHORITY CONTAINED IN THIS LAW PERMITS THE HEAD OF CUSTOMS TO INTERPRET AND ADMINISTER THE CIVIL SERVICE CODE WITHOUT PRIOR COMPTROLLER GENERAL OVERSIGHT AND REVIEW OF DECISIONS TO HIRE OR FIRE EMPLOYEES. OWEVER, AFTER THE FACT, EMPLOYEES MAY SEEK JUDICIAL REMEDIES. THIS NEW LAW WAS DISCUSSED AT A MARCH 12 MEETING -- ORIGINALLY CALLED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF A BROAD SEGMENT OF CHILEAN LABOR

GROUPS TO DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY WITH LILLO. HOWEVER, THE PROSPECT OF A RIF PUT A DAMPER ON THE MEETING WHICH BROKE UP WITHOUT ANY DECISION BEING TAKEN ON WHAT TO DO ABOUT LILLO.

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7. COMMENT: MOST MAJOR LABOR INSTITUTIONS HAVE EXPRESSED SERIOUS MISGIVINGS ABOUT ALL OR PART OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED LABOR POLICY. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP, SOME LABOR LEADERS ARE TRYING TO LINK MINISTER PINERA TO THE LILLO CASE. THEY CLAIM THAT PINERA HAS TWOCE SIDESTEPPED MEETINGS WITH UNIONLEADERS WHO WANT HIM TO INTERCEED ON BEHALF OF LILLO. THEY SAY THIS PROVES THAT PINERA FULLY SUPPORTS TRONCOSO'S ACTIONS. WE HAVE IT OTHERWISE FROM PINERA WHO SAYS HE WAS, AND IS, NOT INVOLVED. THAT HE HAS NOT INTERVENED FOR LILLO WE ATTRIBUTE TO HIS UNWILLINGNESS TO TAKE ON THE ADMIRAL FOR TACTICAL AND POLITICAL REASONS. PINERA EARLIER TOLD EMBASSY OFFICERS THAT HE ALREADY HAS ENOUGH PROBLEMS WITH MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS BALKING AT EVAN A LIMITED LIBERALIZATION OF LABOR POLICY. ALSO, TRONCOSO IS THE SECOND RANKING OFFICER IN THE CHILEAN NAVY AND A CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED ADMIRAL MERINO AS JUNTA MEMBER WHENEVER THE LATTER RETIRES.

8. FENCING OVER THE LILLO CASE IS UNLIKELY TO DIRECTLY AFFECT GOC RELATIONS WITH LABOR OVER THE LONG HAUL, BUT ATMOSPHERICS ARE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT NOW. IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT TE ADMIRAL'S IRRITATION WITH LILLO'S LESE MAJESTE HAS BECOME ANOTHER IRRITANT IN WHAT IS ALREADY A STRAINED RELATIONSHIP, AS GOVERNMENT
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AND LABOR CONTINUE TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF A NEW LABOR PLAN.
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EXCISE

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March 20, 1979

Dear Senator Bradley:

Thank you for your letter of March 6, with which you transmitted a letter from [redacted] concerning the death in Chile of the American citizen Charles Horman.

Horman was killed in Santiago shortly after the military coup which took place in Chile on September 11, 1973. The circumstances of his death have not been established, despite intensive efforts by the State Department, our Embassy in Santiago, and Horman's own family. Charges have been made that he was killed by forces of the military government which took power just before his death. The Chilean Government has denied these charges, and to date the matter remains unresolved.

Some sinister allegations concerning the U.S. Government's role in the Horman case have been advanced since his death. Some of them are based upon simple misunderstandings of facts, some are distorted, and some appear to be inventions. Careful and exhaustive investigation by this Department has not substantiated allegations of negligence or wrongdoing by United States Government employees. The Department of State remains determined to pursue any information which may lead to a resolution of the case.

Sincerely,

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
U.S. correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Bill Bradley,
United States Senate.

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REF: SANTIAGO 1810

E.O. 1-065: GDS 3/20/85 (GROVER, CHARLES W.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: (U) LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: BORQUEZ TURNS DOWN REQUESTS FOR NEW EVIDENCE

1. (U) ON MARCH 19 SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT BORQUEZ TURNED DOWN ALL OF THE REQUESTS FOR ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE MADE BY THE LAWYERS FOR CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA. THE ENTIRE FILE IS TO BE GIVEN TO SUPREME COURT FISCAL CHAMORRO TODAY AND THE PRESS SPECULATES THAT HE WILL TAKE ABOUT TWENTY DAYS TO PREPARE HIS REPORT.

2.(C) WHILE BORQUEZ HAS TURNED DOWN THE REQUEST FOR ANSWERS FROM AMBASSADOR LANDAU TO TEN QUESTIONS, ETCHEBERRY BELIEVES IT STILL MAY BE DESIRABLE TO PRESENT A COPY OF LANDAU'S TESTIMONY IN THE TRIAL OF THE NOVO BROTHERS AND ROSS. FOR THAT PURPOSE WE WILL NEED THE APPROPRIATE C~~ONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGES FROM THE TRANSCRIPT (ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION, PAGES 4780 TO 4800) UNDER COVER OF A NOTE FROM THE CLERK OF THE COURT OR OTHER APPROPRIATE OFFICIAL CERTIFYING THAT THEY ARE OFFICIAL. BOTH THE COVERING NOTE AND TRANSCRIPT MUST BE TRANSLATED. PLEASE TRANSMIT TO THIS EMBASSY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ETCHEBERRY'S

PRESENT THINKING IS THAT HE WOULD HOLD THIS SUBMISSION UNTIL AFTER BORQUEZ HAS RULED (I.E., FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE JUDGES REVIEWING THE DECISION) AND HE MAY DECIDE TO SUBMIT THE DOCUMENTS EARLIER IF THEY ARRIVE IN TIME. MEANWHILE ETCHEBERRY WILL INFORM THE SECRETARY OF THE COURT INFORMALLY THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO SUBMIT SUCH A DOCUMENT AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME.

3. (C) IN RESPONSE TO THE OTHER REQUEST DIRECTED TO THE EMBASYY BY THE DEFENSE LAWYERS -- THAT FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES OF FIVE PASSPORTS -- WE ARE PREPARING A STATEMENT FOR POSSIBLE USE BY ETCHEBERRY WHICH POINTS OUT THAT CONSULAR OFFICIALS DO NOT NORMALLY PHOTOGRAPH ANY FOREIGN PASSPORTS BUT THEY MAY DO SO IF THERE IS REASONS TO SUSPECT SOME IRREGULARITY.
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March 20, 1979

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EXCISE

Dear Senator Hatfield:

Thank you for your letter of February 6 to former Assistant Secretary Todman on behalf of [ ] concerning the disappearance of Moises Eduardo Mujica Maturana in Chile.

We know that Mr. Mujica is among the persons listed as "disappeared", but, unfortunately, we have no concrete information to add. We appreciate [ ] sentiments and efforts to learn more about the circumstances surrounding this disappearance.

We are deeply concerned about disappearances, detainees, and other evidence of human rights abuses in Chile. Part of our effort to influence the Chilean Government's human rights policies has been the termination of military and economic aid to Chile. We will continue to express our concern at every opportunity to the Chilean authorities, and we will do all we can to elicit a more thorough accounting of such cases.

Sincerely,

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H: ETaylor

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

Correspondence Checklist.

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ASEC, PINS
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR LANDAU, ASSASSINATION THREAT

1. AT A COCKTAIL PARTY 3/16/79 HOSTED BY AN EMBASSY OFFICER ONE OF THE INVITED GUESTS WAS MR. LUIS ROSENBLITT, A CHILEAN CITIZEN. SHORTLY AFTER HE ARRIVED, WHILE SITTING NEXT TO ANOTHER EMBASSY OFFICER, ROSENBLITT SAID THAT THERE WAS GOING TO BE AN ATTEMPT ON THE AMBASSADOR'S LIFE. WHEN THE OFFICER ASKED WHICH AMBASSADOR, ROSENBLITT REPLIED AMBASSADOR LANDAU. THE OFFICER THEN ASKED WHO WAS PLANNING THE ASSASSINATION AND HOW IT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED AS THE AMBASSADOR IS NOT IN CHILE AT THE PRESENT TIME. ROSENBLITT REPLIED THAT HE WAS AWARE THAT AMBASSADOR LANDAU WAS IN THE UNITED STATES ON VACATION AND THAT THE ATTEMPT WAS GOING TO BE MADE IN THE UNITED STATES. ROSENBLITT SAID THAT DINA WAS BEHIND THE ASSASSINATION PLAN AND TI WAS TO BE CARRIED OUT BECAUSE AMBASSADOR LANDAU HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE PARAGUAYAN PASSPORT AFFAIR (LETELIER/ MOFFITT ASSASSINATION CASE). THE OFFICER REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT DINA WAS NO LONGER IN EXISTENCE AND ROSENBLITT SAID THAT CNI AND DINA WERE THE SAME ORGANIZATION AND THAT HIS SOURCE WAS "A CLOSE FRIEND". ROSENBLITT REFUSED TO REVEAL ANY MORE DETAILS ABOUT ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

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HIS SOURCE; HOWEVER, HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE ATTEMPT WAS GOING TO BE MADE.

2. THE EMBASSY OFFICER WHO WAS HOSTING THE COCKTAIL PARTY ALSO REPORTED THAT ROSENBLITT HAD TOLD HIM THAT AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT WOULD BE MADE AGAINST THE AMBASSADOR. HOWEVER, ROSENBLITT DID NOTT PROVIDE THE

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DETAILED INFORMATION TO HIM.

3. THIS INFORMATION IS UNEVALUATED AND HAS NOTT BEEN INVESTIGATED AT THIS TIME. AN APPOINTMENT HAS BEEN MADE WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF INVESTIGATIONS ERNESTO BAEZA FOR 3/20/79 TO PROVIDE HIM WITH THIS INFORMATION AND REQUEST THAT HE CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION.

4. AMBASSADOR LANDAU IS ON LEAVE IN THE UNITED STATES AT THIS TIME. HIS LEAVE ADDRESS IS:

HONORABLE GEORGE W. LANDAU

[redacted] B6

5. PERSONAL INFORMATION ON ROSENBLITT FOLLOWS:

NAME: ROSENBLITT PICONE, LUIS

[redacted] B6 B3

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01949 202204Z

ROSENBLITT IS REPORTED TO BE A FORMER CHILEAN AIR FORCE OFFICER.

6. PLEASE BRING THIS MESSAGE TO ATTENTION OF CHILE DESK OFFICER ROBERT STEVEN (ARA/AND/CH) FOR GUIDANCE, AS APPROPRIATE, ON LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE.
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 44
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
(X) Classify as C ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date 4/11/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 2.5 X

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 2501

E.O. 12065 RDS-4 3-27-99 (CASTRO, RAUL H) OR-M
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT (U) HUMAN RIGHTS ROUNDUP - FEBRUARY-MARCH 1979

REF: BUENOS AIRES 1189

1. [redacted] ABDUCTIONS BEING HALTED--
A. REPORTS OF ABDUCTIONS RECEIVED BY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND THIS EMBASSY SHOW A SHARP DROP IN 1979. OUR FILES LIST NINE DISAPPEARANCES IN JANUARY, NONE IN FEBRUARY (SEE BA 2490 PARA 4) AND A POSSIBLE THREE IN MARCH (SEE AMBASSADOR'S REPORT OF HIS MARCH 28 TALK WITH GENERAL VIOLA REGARDING THESE THREE DISAPPEARANCES WHICH VIOLA IS INVESTIGATING (SEE ALSO FINAL PARA.)
THIS TREND OF THE DATA ON DISAPPEARANCES TENDS TO CONFIRM NUMEROUS REPORTS REACHING ALL ELEMENTS OF THE EMBASSY TO THE AFFECT THAT THE GOA HAS ORDERED A HALT TO EXTRA-LEGAL ABDUCTION OF SUSPECTED SUBVERSIVES AND HAS
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02501 01 OF 05 301528Z

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DISBANDED MANY COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE SQUADS.
SENIOR MILITARY AND PRESIDENCIA SOURCES STATE THAT OPERATIONS AGAINST SUBVERSIVES HENCEFORTH WILL BE CARRIED OUT THROUGH NORMAL POLICE PROCEDURES. JUNTA MEMBER GENERAL VIOLA HAS STRESSED THIS POINT SEVERAL TIMES IN RECENT MEETINGS WITH AMBASSADOR CASTRO. BRIG. GENERAL LEPORI, AN ARMY COMMANDER IN MENDOZA, RECENTLY CONFIRMED TO THE DAO HE HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS THAT ALL DETENTIONS WERE TO BE MADE LEGALLY AND THAT HE WAS STRICTLY FOLLOWING THESE ORDERS. AN ARMY MAJOR IN THE PRESIDENCIA TOLD THE ASSISTANT ARMY ATTACHE THAT BOTH THE PRESIDENCIA AND ARMY HEADQUARTERS HAD ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL SECURITY FORCE COMMANDERS TO INSURE THAT NOFURTHER ILLEGAL OPERATIONS TOOK PLACE WITHIN THEIR ZONES OF RESPONSIBILITY.

B. GOA PREPARATIONS FOR IAHCR VISIT--
A GOVERNMENTAL TASK FORCE HEADED BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR IS REPORTED TO BE ACTIVELY PREPARING FOR THE MAY 28-JUNE 9 VISIT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (IACHR). IN ADDITION TO PRODUCING A THICK BRIEFING BOOK ON THE VISIT, GOVERNMENTAL AND OTHER SOURCES INDICATETHAT THE DECLINE IN DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER ACTIVITIES REPORTED BELOW ARE RELATED IN SOME DEGREE TO THE IMMINENCE OF THE COMMISSION'S VISIT.

C. PRISON CONDUCT STANDARDS--
SENIOR MINISTRY OF INTERIOR (MININT) OFFICIAL HAS TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ESTABLISHING UNIFORM RULES OF CONDUCT AND TREATMENT FOR ALL ARGENTINE PRISONERS IS BEING TYPED IN FINAL AND IS EXPECTED TO BE ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN THE FIRST WEEK OF APRIL. THIS DECREE REPORTEDLY WILL ESTABLISH FOR THE FIRST TIME WRITTEN RULES OF CONDUCT AND NORMS [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02501 01 OF 05 301528Z

FOR THE TREATMENT OF ALL ARGENTINE PRISONERS -- BOTH CRIMINAL AND POLITICAL.

D. REMOVALS FROM PEN STATUS--
THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR'S EFFORT TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF PERSONS BEING HELD BY THE PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL (PEN) PRESIDENTIAL DECREES IS CONTINUING. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF 1979 THROUGH MARCH 25, ACCORDING TO THE

Case Number: S200000044

PRESS, 208 PERSONS HAVE HAD THEIR PEN STATUS REMOVED
AND ONLY 24 NEW CASES HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THE PEN ROLLS.
BY EMBASSY COUNT THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS PRESENTLY PUBLICLY
RECORDED UNDER PEN IS 2,689. MININT INTERNAL SECURITY DIRECTOR
SAN ROMAN TOLD THE EMBASSY THIS WEEK THAT HE HOPED
THAT BY THE END OF MAY THE PEN PRISONER POPULATION
WOULD BE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF 1,800 PERSONS. SAN
ROMAN SAID HIS EARLIER GOAL OF LESS THAN 1,000 PEN
PRISONERS PRIOR TO IACHR VISIT HOES NOT NOW SEEM
POSSIBLE DUE TO "PROBLEMS WITH THE ARMED FORCES."
ACCORDING TO SAN ROMAN, MININT OFFICIALS ARE
CONSULTING THE JUDICIARY REGARDING EACH INDICTED
PEN PRISONER TO VERIFY THAT THE SUPERVISING JUDGE
WILL NOT RELEASE THE "DANGEROUS PRISONER" IF HIS
OR HER PEN STATUS IS REMOVED. AS SOON AS THE MINISTRY
RECEIVES ASSURANCES, THE PEN DECREE IS REMOVED,
AND THE PRISONER REMAINS DETAINED DURING SUBSEQUENT
JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.
MINIT AND FOWG SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT SPECIAL
ATTENTION IS BEING FOCUSED ON THOSE PERSONS HELD HUNDER THE

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02501 02 OF 05 301550Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
ICAE-00 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0045
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 2501

PEN SINCE 1974 OR 1975. MANY OF THESE PERSONS HAVE COMPLETED

Case Number: S200000044

THEIR CRIMINAL SENTENCES AND CONTINUE TO BE HELD ONLY UNDER THE PEN. ACCORDING TO SAN ROMAN, THE MININT WISHES TO RELEASE TOSE CASES WHICH THEY CONSIDERED TO BE "SMALLFRY" (PEREJIL). (COMMENT: PRESUMABLY THOSE WHO ARE CONSIDERED IN THE "MORE DANGEROUS" CATEGORY WILL CIMPLY REMAIN UNDER PEN.)
THIS MAY NOW BE EASIER AS THE PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY PANEL, CREATED BY THE RIGHT OF OPTION LAW, HAS ADOPTED ACCORDING TO MININT SOURCE NEW WORKING PROCEDURES ELIMINATING THE VETO POWER OF
THE ARRESTING AGENCY OVER THE RELEASE OR OPTION OF PEN PRISONERS. PRIOR TO 1979, THE APPROVAL OF THE ORIGINAL ARRESTING AGENCY WAS NEEDED FOR ANY REMOVAL OF PEN STATUS. THE RATIONALE OF THE ARRESTING AGENCY FOR CONTINUING THE PEN DETENTION WAS NEVER QUESTIONED OR REVIEWED. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO THE MININT UNDER THE NEW 1979 GUIDELINES, THE PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY COMMISSION MAY NOW OVERRULE THE ARRESTING AGENCY'S
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02501 02 OF 05 301550Z

DECISION NOT TO RELEASE A PRISONER IF IT FINDS THE ARRESTING AGENCY'S JUSTIFICATION INSUFFICIENT.
ANOTHER STEP TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF PEN DETAINEES, ACCORDING TO SAN ROMAN, IS TO PLACE NEW SUBVERSIVE CASES FOR PROCESSING DIRECTLY UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE MILI TARY OR CIVIL CRIMINAL COURT SYSTEM, INSTEAD OF PLACING THEM AUTOMATICALLY UNDER THE PEN.

3. REPORTED CLOSURES OF DETENTION FACILITIES--
HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELEASED DETAINEE SOURCES HAVE INDICATED THAT A NUMBER OF WELL KNOWN DETENTION FACILITIES HAVE BEEN CLOSED. IN SOME CASES, THIS HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY GOVERNMENT SOURCES. AMONG THOSE FACILITIES REPORTED CLOSED ARE THE NAVY MECHANICS SCHOOL, THE CAMPO DE MAYO, THE BRIDGE NO 12 FACILITY IN THE TABLADA ARMY GARRISON, LA PERLA ESTANCIA OUTSIDE OF CORDOBA, LA ARANA ESTANCIA OUTSIDE OF LA PLATA MIXED REPORTS), THE VACILITY AT THE FAMAILLA ARMY BASE IN TUCUMAN. THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN TOLD BY A GOWG SOURCE THAT ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE FOR ACHR COMMISSIONERS TO VISIT ANY PLACE IN ARGENTINA DURING THEIR VISIT AND THEY WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO VISIT THE NAVY MECHANICS SCHOOL AND THE ARMY'S CAMPO

DE MAYO.

F. PRISON REORGANIZATION--
ON APRIL 20 THE GOA EXPECTS TO INAUGURATE THE NEW CASEROS MODEL PRION IN BUENOS AIRES. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR PLANS TO TRANSFER 490 PEN PRISONERS FROM SIERRA CHICA, 220 PEN PRISONERS FROM RESISTENCIA, AND OVER 300 PEN PRISONERS FROM CORONDA TO THE NEW BUENOS AIRES FACILITY BY MID-MAY. THESE MOVES WILL COMPLETE THOSE PRISON CHANGES POSSIBLE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02501 02 OF 05 301550Z

THE COMMISSION IN THE GOVERNMENT'S PLANNED PRISON REORGANIZATION. SEVERAL HUNDRED PEN PRISONERS HAVE ALREADY BEEN MOVED TO LA PLATA FROM PRISONS IN THE III CORPS AREA AND FROM SMALL PROVINCIAL JAILS. PEN PRISONERS WILL BE CONCENTRATED IN THE VILLA DEVOTO (WOMEN -- SLATED FOR CLOSING AS PEN HOLDING FACILITY). RAWSON ("VERY DANGEROUS MEN"), LA PLATA AND CASEROS PRISONS. THREE PRISONS -- CORONDA, SIERRA CHICA AND RESISTENCIA -- WHICH ARE REGARDED BY THE IRC AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AS THE WORST OF THE ARGENTINE PRISONS -- WILL NO LONGER BE USED FOR PEN PRISONERS.

2. [redacted] HRO PREPRATIONS FOR IACHR VISIT--
ARGENTINE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VICE PRESIDENT EMILIO MIGNONE SPENT A WEEK IN LATE FEBRUARY IN WASHINGTON WORKING WITH THE IACHR STAFF PREPARING FOR THE COMMISSION'S SITE VISIT. MIGNONE INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT DR. EDGARDO PAZ BARNICA, A HUNDURAN STAFF LAWYER, HAS BEEN APPOINTED TO PREPARE THE COMMISSION'S REPORT. MIGNONE SAID THAT HE SPENT SIX FULL DAYS WORKING WITH DR PAZ BARNICA PROVIDING THE COMMISSION DETAILED INFORMATION REGARDING THE ARGENTINE LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE OPERATIONS OF THE GOA'S ANTI-SUBVERSIVE FORCES. ACCORDING TO MIGNONE, THE COMMISSION HAS A DETAILED OUTLINE OF ITS REPORT IN HAND AND IS NOW FOCUSING ON THOSE AREAS WHICH THE SITE VISIT CAN BE USED TO SUPPLY INFORMATION FOR THE REPORT.
THE IACHR IS RECEIVING NUMEROUS DOCUMENTS REGARDING DISAPPEARANCES SENT BY FAMILIES AND GROUPS

WHO WANT TO INSURE THAT THEIR COMPLAINTS -- DATING FROM EARLY IN THIS MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO THE PRESENT -- ARE ALSO REGISTERED IN THAT FORUM. MIGNONE SAID THAT THE COMMISSION HAD OVER 1,500 CASES REGISTERED WHEN HE WAS IN WASHINGTON IN LATE

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 02501 02 OF 05 301550Z

FEBRUARY AND WAS RECEIVING 50 TO 60 LETTERS DAILY.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02501 03 OF 05 301810Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0046
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 2501

A LATER REPORT FROM A BUENOS AIRES HERALD WASHINGTON STRINGER REPORTED THAT THE COMMISSION HAD OVER 2,500 CASES AND WAS NO RECEIVING 80 LETTERS A DAY. ACCORDING TO PERMANENT ASSEMBLY SOURCES, THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IS ESPECAILLY INTERESTED IN HELP FROM ARGENTINE HRO'S IN IDENTIFYING DIS-APPEARANCE CASES IN WHICH THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES. THE ASSEMBLY HAS CREATED A SMALL TASK GROUP HEADED BY

DR. CONTE-MACDONALD TO IDENTIFY AND DOCUMENT THESE HARD EVIDENCE CASES FOR THE COMMISSION.

3. (U) JUDICIAL ACTIVITY--
SUPREME COURT INITIATIVES--
A NUMBER OF DECISION HAVE BEEN HANDED DOWN BY THE SUPREME COURT AND THE FEDERAL CRIMINAL APPEALS COURT RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS SINCE DECEMBER, 1978. THE SUPREME COURT'S MARCH 20 DECISION FORCING THE ARMY FIRST CORPS TO RETURN

[redacted]

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JUDICIAL CUSTODY ARMY NCO BERRUETA WHO WAS UNDER CIVIL PREVENTIVE DETENTION FOR BRANDISHING A PISTOL DURING A TRAFFIC DISPUTE AND BERREUTA'S SUVSEQUENT RETURN BY THE ARMY TO CIVILIAN JUDICIAL AUTHORITY CAPTURED WIDE ATTENTION IN THE PRESS. (SEE BUENOS AIRES 2244 AND PRVIOUS)
ALSO RECEIVING WIDE PRESS ATTENTIONWAS THE FEBRUARY 27 ORDER OF THE SUPREME COURT FOR A THOROUGH JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ALFREDO ANTONI GIORGI (EMBASSY CASE NO 681/78/12). IN THIS CASE THE HIGH COURT CRITICIZED A FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE'S FAILURE TO PROCESS THE ORIGINAL GIORGI HABEAS CORPUS PETITION FOR THE INSUFFICIENT REASON THAT HIS XEROX MACHINE WAS NOT WORKING. THE COURT ORDERED THAT JUDGE BE SLECTED BY LOT TO CONDUCT A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE DISAPPEARANCE. THESE TWO CASES HAVE BEEN WIDELY POINTED TO IN THE PRESS AND BY GOA OFFICIALS AS DEMONSTRATING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY.
REASONABLENESS OF PEN DETENTIONS--
THE SUPREME COURT ISSUED A SERIES OF DECISIONS ON JANUARY 12, 1979 IN THE YANEZ, ET AL. HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS WHICH ACCORDING TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND BAR ASSOCIATION SOURCES CALLS INTO QUESTION THE "ZAMARANO DOCTRINE" WHICH WAS THE BASIS OF THE FEDERAL COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEALS DECISION IN LATE 1978 ORDERING OVER 160 PEN PRISONERS FREED BECAUSE OF THE VAGUE AND UNSUPPORTED NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S JUSTIFICATIONS FOR DETAINING THEM UNDER THE PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL (PEN). THE ZAMARANO DOCTRINE, FIRST ENUNCIATED BY CRIMINAL APPEALS COURT IN 1977, HOLDS THAT THE EXECUTIVE POWER MAY ONLY

Case Number: S200000044

DETAIN PERSONS UNDER ITS CONSTITUTIONAL STATE OF SIEGE
AUTHORITY FOR SPECIFIC CHARGES RELATED TO THE IMPOSITION
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02501 03 OF 05 301810Z

OF THE STATE OF SIEGE. THE DOCTRINE FURTHER HOLDS
THAT PEN DETENTIONS ARE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY THE
JUDICIARY TO ENSURE THAT EACH DETENTION IS A REASONABLE
EXERCISE OF THE STATE OF SIEGE POWER. HOWEVER, IN THE
YANEZ, ET AL DECISIONS THE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED
THE FEDERAL CRIMINAL APPEALS COURTS PREVIOUS ORDERS
FREEING OVER 100 PEN PRISONERS. THE SUPREME COURT
IN A SIMILAR TWO SENTENCE DECISION IN EACH CASE FOUND
NO CIRCUMSTANCES "TO DISQUALIFY THE EXERCISE
OF THE RIGHT OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER TO CONTINUE TO
DETAIN THESE INDIVIDUALS." MOST OF THE PERSONS WHOSE
CASES WERE BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT WERE BEING HELD.
UNDER PEN FOR REASONS SUCH AS SUSPICION OF ASSOCIATION
WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS, ETC. THE SUPREME COURTS
DECISION IS SEEN BY HRO'S AS A SERIOUS WEAKENING OF THE
"ZAMARANO DOCTRINE," AND LOWERING THE "REASONABLENESS"
STANDARD SO THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS ONLY TO ASSERT
THAT THE DETENTION IS RELATED TO "SUBVERSION" AND NOT
TO A SPECIFIC CRIME. THE BUENOS AIREA BAR ASSOCIATION
IN A MARCH 16, 1979 STATEMENT PRAISING THE UPREME
COURTS HANDLING OF THE GIORGI CASE CHIDED THE COURT
FOR ACCEPTING "UNREASONABLE ANSWERS" TO HABEAS CORPUS
WRITS FILED ON PEN PRISONERS.
FOLLOWING THE "YANEZ, ET AL." SUPREME COURT DECISIONS,
TWO NEW PEN PRISONER HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS HAVE BEEN
DECIDED BY THE COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEALS. THE PRESS
REPORTED ON MARCH 20, 1979, THAT THE CRIMINAL APPEALS
COURT HAD HELD IN A PSLIT DECISION IN THE CASE OF SARA
ADAMCHUCK THAT THE REASON GIVEN BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR
FOR THE PEN IMPRISONMENT OF MS. ADAMCHUCK WAS "INSUFFI-
CIENT." THE MININT TOLD THE COURT THAT MS. ADAMCUCH
WAS BEING HELD UNDER PEN DETENTION" "FOR HER CONNECTIONS
WITH SUBVERSION." THE COURTS MAJORITY SAID THAT
"IT IS NECESSARY TO DEMAND THE EVIDENCE TO DETERMINE
WHETHER THE BEHAVIOR OF THE DETAINED IS PUNISHABLE
BY LAW." THE DISSENTER SAID THAT "GIVEN THE HISTORIC
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 02501 03 OF 05 301810Z

MOMENT THE COUNTRY IS GOING THROUGH" THE ADAMCHUCK

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02501 04 OF 05 301756Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0047
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 2501

DETENTION IS NOT REVIEWABLE BY THE JUDICIAL BRANCH.
THE CASE WAS, AS USUAL, APPEALED TO THE SUPREME COURT.
IN THE CASES OF GARCIA, ET AL. REPORTED IN THE
PRESS ON FEBRUARY 22, 1976, A DIFFERENT PANEL OF THE
CRIMINAL APPEALS COURT FOUND THAT THE GENERIC EXPLANA-
TIONS THAT MS. GRACIA, ET AL WERE BEING HELD "FOR
LINKS WITH SUBVERSION THAT AFFECTS THE COUNTRY" WERE
SUFFICIENT TO MAINTAIN THE PETITIONERS UNDER PEN
DETENTION.
COMMENT: PERSONNEL CHANGES ON THE RECENTLY
REORGANIZED 2 PANE - 6 JUDGE COURT OF CRIMINAL
APPEALS APPEAR TO BE THE EXPLANATION FOR THESE DIVIDED
AND CONTRARY DECISIONS.
SMITH III REPERCUSSIONS--
THE SUPREME COURT'S DECEMBER 21, 1978 DECISION
IN THE SMITH III CASE IN WHICH THE HIGH COURT ADMITTED
THE INABILITY OF THE HABEAS CORPUS PROCEDURES TO DEAL
WITH THE LARGE NUMBER OF REPORTED DISAPPEARNCE CASES

INDICATED A DEFINITE PRIVATION OF JUSTICE HAS LED TO
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02501 04 OF 05 301756Z

A NUMBER OF REPERCUSSIONS. THE COURT'S CALL TO PRESIDENT VIDELA FOR THE EXECUTIVE TO TAKE STEPS TO REMEDY THIS SITATUION TRIGGERED A PRESIDENTIAL REPLY IN AN OPEN LETTER. THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT HE AGREED WITHTHE COURT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A SERIOUS DEPRIVATION OF JUSTICE IN ARGENTINA IN RECENT YEARS BUT NOTED THE DIFFICULT PERIOD WHICH THE COUNTRY HAD GONE THROUGH AND STATED THAT ONE OF THE PRIORITIES OF THE MILITARY'S NATIONAL REORGANIZATION PLAN WAS TO REESTABLISH A STRENGTHENED JUDICIAL SYSTEM. THE VIDELA LETTER OCCASIONED FULSOME POSITIVE COMMENTS FROM THE PRESS AND LEGAL COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, EMILIO MIGNONE, ONE OF THE PETITIONER'S LAWYERS IN THE SMITH III CASE PRESENTED THE SUPREME COURT WITH A LEGAL MEMORANDUO ON FEBRUARY 21, 1979 STATING THAT IF THE JUDICIARY COULD NOT PROPERLY FUNCTION AS THE COURT HAD STATED IN THE SMITH III CASE,
THE SUPREME COURT MEMBERS HAD AN OBLIGATION TO RESIGN.

4. MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS REPORTED--
THE DISAPPEARANCE OF A PRISONER NAMED JUAN CARLOS JULLO FROM LA PLATA PRISON IN FEBRUARY 1979 WAS REPORTED BY OTHER PRISONERS TO [redacted] WHO RELAYED THE STORY TO THE EMBASSY. NEITHER [redacted] NOR, APPARENTLY, THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR HAS BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR FOR WHAT PURPOSE HE WAS TRANSFERRED. LA PLATA PRISON OFFICIALS SAY NOW THAT JULLO IS NOT BEING HELD THERE, AND [redacted] IS CONTINUING ITS INVESTIGATION. [redacted] HAS RECENTLY RECEIVED AN ASSURANCE FROM MININT HARGUINDEGUY THAT PEN PRISONERW OULD NOT BE RELASED FROM JAIL TO ANTI-SUBVERSIVE UNITS FOR INTERROGATION. THIS PROMISE WAS PROMPTED BY [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02501 04 OF 05 301756Z

[redacted] COMPLAINT THAT HORACIO ALEJANDRO MICUCCI, A

FORMER LA PLATA UNIVERSITY SCIENCE PROFESSOR, WAS
TRANSFERRED FROM LA PLATA PRISON ON AUGUAST 4, 1978 AND
RETURNED FIVE DAYS LATER AFTER HAVING BEEN INTERROGATED
AND TORTURED WITH AN ELECTRIC PICANA.
STORIES FROM INMATES AT LA PLATA PRISON OF SEVERE BEATING
OF A PRISONER CALLED
ORTIZ DURING FEBRUARY ALSO CAME TO [redacted]
AND IN ADDITION TO THAT AGENCY'S INTEREST THE
NUNCIATURA HERE IS LOOKING INTO ALLEGATIONS THAT ORTIZ
WAS NOT GIVEN ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE AFTER HIS MISTREAT-
MENT CAUSED INTERNAL INJURIES. A BEATING THAT
RESULTED IN A PRISONER'S DEATH WAS ALSO REPORTED BY PRISONERS
TO [redacted]
AS HAVING OCCURRED AT LA PLATA PRISON
DURING FEBRUARY. ALBERTO PINTO, THE VICTIM, WAS AN
ELDERLY JEWISH DOCTOR FROM CORDOBA HELD AT PEN DIS-
POSITION FOR "SEVERAL YEARS." PINTO, AN EPILEPTIC,
WAS BADLY TREATED IN CORDOBA BY GUARDS WHO THOUGHT
HIS CONDITION WAS FEIGNED AND AN ACT OF "INSUBORDINATION."
TRANSFERRED BY MILITARY PLANE TO LA PLATA IN OCTOBER
ALONG WITH SOME 100 OTHER CORDOBA PRISONERS, INTO
WAS "WORKED OVER" BY THE GUARDS UPON HIS ARRIVAL AT LA PLATA ALONG
WITH THE OTHER NEW PRISONERS AND DIED SUBSEQUENTLY
OF A PERFORATED INTESTINE. TREATED FOR HIS INJURIES
FIRST AT THE PRISON HOSPITAL, PINTO WAS LATER PUT
INTO AN OUTSIDE HOSPITAL FOR TREATMENT, WHERE HE DIED IN
LATE FEBRUARY.

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5. (U) ROCKEFELLER SUPPORTS US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY--
ACCORDING TO ROCKEFELLER ASSOCIATES HERE,
IN HIS MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA AND MINISTER
OF ECONOMY MARTINEZ DE HOZ, DAVID ROCKEFELLER, WHO
VISITED BUENOS AIRES MARCH 8-9 STATED DURING PRIVATE CONVER
SATIONS HIS SUPPORT FOR
THE ADMINISTRATION'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES -- THOUGH
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 02501 04 OF 05 301756Z

HE EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT WAYS IN WHICH THESE
POLICIES WERE BEING CARRIED OUT. HIS RESERVATIONS
CONCERNED OVERLAPS INTO BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS. ALSO
PRESENT FOR THESE DISCUSSION WAS ROCKEFELLER'S LEGAL
ADVISOR, WHO OFFERED LEGAL ARGUMENT AND QUESTIONS ABOUT
THE STATUS OF THE DETAINED AND DISAPPEARED. VIDELA

Case Number: S200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02501 05 OF 05 302122Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
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O R 301422Z MAR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0048
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
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AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 5 OF 5 BUENOS AIRES 2501

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

AND HIS ADVISORS REPLIED THAT LEGAL MATTERS WOULD BE RESTORED, BUT THAT IN CASES WHERE THERE WAS STRONG SUSPICION OF TERRORIST ASSOCIATIONS BUT NO PROOF THE SUSPECT'S RELEASE WOULD BE DIFFICULT. MARTINEZ DE HOZ ADDED HIS BELIEF THAT PROOF OF TERRORIST ASSOCIATIONS WOULD BE HARD TO PRESENT BECAUSE OFTEN IT DERIVED FROM SECURITY FORCE PENETRATION OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT COULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC.

6. (U) OPERATIONS AGAINST HRO FAMILIARES DE DESAPARACIDOS Y DETENIDOS--
SPOT REPORTS RECEIVED OVER SEVERAL WEEKS BY THE EMBASSY FROM FAMILY AND FDD SOURCES NOW CAN BE READ TO INDICATE A PATTERN OF OPERATIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTIDO COMUNISTA ARGENTINA LINKED HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION -- FAMILIARES DE DESAPARECIDOS Y DETENIDOS POR RAZONES POLITICAS (FDD).

[redacted]

[redacted]

SINCE LATE SEPTEMBER 1978, TWENTY-ONE FDD LEADERS AND ASSOCIATES HAVE BEEN ABDUCTED --FOURTEEN WERE SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED, SIX REMAINED DETAINED UNDER PEN, AND ONE, A CHILEAN, WAS KILLED. ON OCTOBER 14, 1978, A BUSLOAD OF SANTA FE FDD MEMBERS WAS PREVENTED BY SECURITY FORCES FROM ATTENDING A MEMORIAL MASS FOR THE DISAPPEARED IN ROSARIO. THEM MASS ITSELF WAS BROKEN UP WHE SEVERAL UNIDENTIFIED MEN ENTERED THE CHURCH AND DETONATED TEARGAS GRENADES.
THE BOMBING ON FEBRUARY 28, 1979 OF THE HOUSE OF DANIEL ZAPP, THE FDD'S ROSARIO LEADER (HIS CAR WAS BOMBED EARLIER ON OCTOBER 17, 1978) AND THE FIRE BOMBING OF THE AUTOMOBILE OF MR. AND MRS.LUCAS ORFANO, THE FDD'S BUENOS AIRES SECRETARY AND TEASURER RESPECTIVELY FURTHER INDICATE THE NATURE OF THE ANTI-FDD CAMPAIGN. MR. AND MRS. ORFANO HAD RECENTLY RETURNED TO BUENOS AIRES FROM PUEBLA, MEXICO WHERE THEY HEADED THE FDD'S LOBBYING EFFORTS DURING THE LATIN AMERICAN BISHOP'S CONFERENCE. THE COUPLE ALSO REPORTEDLY HAS TWO DISAPPEARANCE CASE INVESTIGATIONS UNDERWAY WITHIN THE IACHR.
THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY, FDD AND THE LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN HAVE ISSUED PROTESTS AGAINST THESE ACTONS AND HAVE CALLED ON THE PRESIDENCY AND THE ARMY CORPS COMMANDERS FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THIS CONTINUING INTIMIDATION.

7. [redacted] OPEATIONS AGAINST THE PARTIDO SOCIALISTA DE TRABAJADORES (PST)--
REPORTS FROM RELATIVES AND PST PARTY MEMBERS WHO HAVE REPORTED RELIABLE IN THE PAST, INDICATE THAT ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES HAVE TARGETED THE PST LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERS IN SEVERAL AREAS. THE RECENT ACTIONS AGAINST THE PST BEGAN IN LATE
[redacted]
[redacted]

OCTOBER AND EARLY NOVEMBER, 1978 WHEN 13 PST MEMBERS WERE LEGALLY ARRESTED BY PROVINCIAL POLICE IN THE PROVINCE OF SANTA FE. ACCORDING TO PST SOURCES, 12 OF THE ARRESTED MEMBERS WERE BEATEN BUT NOT FURTHER MISTREATED. HOWEVER, THE PST PROVINCIAL EADER, EDUARDO OSCAR LOPEZ, WAS REMOVED FROM ROSARIO CENTRAL POLICE

STATION FOR THREE DAYS AND HOSTIELY INTERROGATED. PST PARTY MEMBERS HEREIN BUENOS AIRES HAVE TOLD US THAT HE WAS BADLY BEATEAN AND SCALDED WITH WATER DURING HIS INTERROGATION. AFTER HIS RETURN TO THE PROVINCIAL POLICE, HE WAS HELD INCOMMUNICADO FOR TWO WEEKS WHILE HE RECOVERED. ALL 13 OF THE SANTA FE PST MEMBERS HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH ILLEGAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND POSSESSION OF SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE--ON IS FREED ON BAIL, FIVE ARE HELD UNDER THE PEN, AND THE OTHER SEVEN ARE UNDER A JUDICIAL DETENTION ORDER.
TWO PST MEMBERS WERE ABDUCTED IN LA PLATA ON JANUARY 19, 1979. ACCORDING TO A REPORT BY A FAMILY MEMBER OF ONE OF THE ABDUCTEES, BOTH WERE INTERROGATED WITH US OF AN ELECTRIC PICANA BEFORE GEING TURNED OVER TO THE CIVIL CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. BOTH HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH ILLEGAL POLITICAL ACTIVITES AND HAVE BEEN FREED ON BAIL.
EIGHT PST MEMBERS WERE ABDUCTED IN MAR DEL PLATA IN EARLY JANUARY1, 979. ACCORDING TO PST PARTY LEADER SOURCES, THOSE ABDUCTED WERE PARTY ACTIVITS AND STUDENT LEADERS IN THREE MAR DEL PLATA HIGH SCHOOLS PRIOR TO THE 1976 COUP. LATE ON MARCH 24, 1979, ACCORDING TO A PST SOURCE, THREE PST MEMBERS WERE ABDUCTED IN TIGRE (A NORTHER SUBURB OF BUENOS AIRES). THERE HAS BEEN NO INFORMATION REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS.
AMBASSADOR CASTRO RAISED THESE THREE CASES - THE FIRST SINCE JANUARY -- WITH GENERAL VIOLA ON MARCY 28, PROVIDING THE NAMES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ABDUCTION AS REPORTED TO US. GENERAL VIOLA SAID HE COULD
[redacted]
[redacted]

NOT BELIEVE THE REPORT, WOULD INVESTIGATE AND INFORM THE AMBASSADOR OF THE RESULTS.

8. AFATER THIS CABLE PREPARED BY 3/30 GENERAL VIOLAS OFFICE TELEPHONED ASSURING US THAT THREE "MARCH DISAPPEARANCES" ARE PERSONS IN FACT HELD AT TIGRE POLICE STATION AND THEIR CASES HAVE BEENSUBMITTED TO JUDGE FOR ACTION.
CASTRO

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02513 301537Z 3/30/79
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 EB-08 TRSE-00
AID-05 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 L-03 SSO-00
INRE-00 PM-05 DODE-00 H-01 IO-14 /080 W
----------007281 301543Z /41

O 301519Z MAR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 50

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2513

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/30/85 (RAUL H. CASTRO) OR-M
TAGS: AR SHUM
SUBJ: [redacted] GENERAL VIOLA REPORTS ON MISSING PERSONS AND VISIT TO TIMERMAN

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2490

1. [redacted] ALL TEXT.

2. IN KEEPING WITH HIS PROMISE TO REPORT TO ME ON THREE POSSIBLE MISSING PERSONS, GENERAL VIOLA TOLD ME THIS MORNING (MARCH 30) THAT EDDIE JUAN BARRIONUEVO, JOSE SOSA AND JORGE ALBERTO STRESSER, REPORTED MISSING SINCE MARCH 24, WERE NOT ACTUALLY MISSING BUT WERE IN CUSTODY IN THE EL TIGRE PRECINCT UNDER THE COURT'S JURISDICTION. THE NATURE OF THE CHARGES AGAINST THESE PERSONS WAS NOT REVEALED. (SEE REFTEL).

3. IN THE SAME CONVERSATION VIOLA TOLD ME THAT AUTHORIZATION HAD BEEN GRANTED FOR RABBIS FRIEDMAN (FATHER AND SON) TO VISIT JACOBO TIMERMAN. THESE VISITING RABBIS ARE FROM NEW JERSEY. THEY WILL BE VISITING TIMERMAN SOMETIOE TODAY. I HAD PREVIOUSLY MADE THE REQUEST FROM MIN INTERIOR, BUT IN VIEW OF NOT HAVING HAD A REPLY IN TWO DAYS I LATER CONTACTED GENERAL VIOLA, WHO APPARENTLY GAINED THE AUTHORIZATION.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02513 301537Z

4. COMMENT: I'M EXTREMELY PLEASED VIOLA CONTINUES TO BE ACCOMMODATING TO OUR REQUESTS. IN MY LAST INTERVIEW HE WAS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

NOT IN A HAPPY FRAME OF MIND TOWARDS USG ATTITUDE, BUT I BELIEVE HE WILL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH OUR HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRIES.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

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[redacted]

3/31/79

N 203

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PAGE 01 STATE 081010
ORIGIN HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ISO-00 H-01 /018 R

DRAFTED BY HA/HR:CEMIG
APPROVED BY HA/HR:CBSALMON, JR.
HA/HR: PJFLOOD
ARA/ECA:JANDRE (SUBSTANCE)

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R 311933Z MAR 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 081010

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Decontrol
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065 N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE CASE

1. DEPARTMENT HAS HAD AN INQUIRY FROM SENATOR LEVIN ABOUT ELBERT HORACIO ANIBAL, CI 8.037.395, ALLEGEDLY ARRESTED 8 DECEMBER 1977.

2. REQUEST EMBASSY MAKE APPROPRIATE INQUIRIES AND REPORT RESULTS. CHRISTOPHER

[redacted]

NNN

#1 [illegible] recibo 7/24/79

#2 asked S/C itself to intervene - Flood PR 4/79

Argentina

AK073

#3 PIDE JUSTICIA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): 1.6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

Señores Jueces de la Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación

OSVALDO CESAR GIORGI-Argentino-L.E.3.684.077 con domicilio en [redacted] por mi y constituyendo domicilio ante V.S. me presento y digo con mi mayor respeto, refiriéndome a l secuestro de mi hijo ALFREDO ANTONIO GIORGI L.E. 4.518.950.-----

Que en mi pertinaz búsqueda de Justicia, he dedicado las dos últimas semanas a tratar de informarme sobre los trámites judiciales por el secuestro de mi hijo, en la ciudad de SAN MARTIN, provincia de Buenos Aires, en los Juzgados Federales.-

Acompañado s iempre por mi esposa legítima y madre legítima de mi hijo ALFREDO ANTONIO GIORGI, nos informaron en el Juzgado Federal Nº3 a cargo del Juez Dr.Manuel Agustín García Tuñón que habían recibido un expediente y que por haberse declarado el juzgado incompetente se elevaría al Juzgado Nº1 a cargo del señor Juez Federal Dr. GITAR.-

Luego de varios días, pasó este expediente de mi hijo, al juzgado Nº1 Federal, donde por la fecha del hecho,el lugar del sucedido, en la Repartición Nacional I.N.T.I. etc. correspondería la competencia y tramitación del mismo.-

Con particular deferencia, el señor Secretario del Juzgado Federal Nº1, el Doctor VIRASORO nos informó la entrada al Juzgado del expediente de mi hijo, con fecha 20 y nos dió audiencia para el día 23 a las 10.30 horas.- En ese día y hora fuemos atendidos por el señor Juez Dr.GITAR con igual amabilidad y deferencia, convenciéndonos que hay magistrados que honran el fuero de mi patria.----------

Pero entonces nos enteramos, que las actuaciones llegadas y obrantes en el juzgado, eran las correspondientes a las del juzgado de la Provincia, del Doctor Juez RODRIGUEZ VARELA y que no estaban agregadas las iniciadas por la Suprema Corte de Justicia en la Capital Federa l.-

¿Donde estaban las actuaciones ordenadas por la Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación, a un mes practicamente de su maravilloso dictamen del 27 de Febrero y a CUATRO MESES de la desaparición de mi hijo ALFREDO ANTONIO GIORGI

82 D 103
Box 17404

Por sugerencia del señor Juez Doctor CITAR volvimos al Juzgado Federal Nº3 y luego al Nº 2 y por sugerencia de un amable empleado funcionario de éste Juzgado, fuimos siempre con mi esposa y yo a la Delegación en SAN MARTIN de la Policía Federal que nos informaron se ocupan de los traslados y entregas a los Juzgados de los expedientes.-Y de vuelta al Juzgado Nacional Nº 1.- En todas partes fué buscado y en ninguna hallado.- ¿ Donde está el expediente iniciado y ordenado por la Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación, que el día 6 de Marzo el señor Juez Federal, doctor LEDESMA informó no ser de su competencia y que pasaría a l Juzgado Federal de turno de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, en la ciudad de SAN MARTIN ?

Sigo teniendo absoluta fé en la Justicia de mi patria ya que de otro modo, callaría para siempre.-Y quizás en mi lirismo patriotico supongo que al cambiar los tiempos y antiguos conceptos creidos fundamentales son modificados por nuevas verdades o realidades-"Hoy es comprensible en el mundo que ni las mayorías legitimizan un gobierno si ellas ó él no respetan las leyes del país y de la humanidad" "En el respeto de sus derechos y la justicia a UN HOMBRE respetamos a la humanidad" - también la Suprema Corte de Justicia de mi patria podría considerar declararse competente, o nombrar de su seno una comisión que se abocara al estudio y resolviera con justicia los casos de "desaparecidos" entre otras figuras que comprenden la supresión de los derechos humanos.- Cuando el mundo los repudia y nos pregunta por su cumplimiento y esta pregunta nos abochorna y ofende porque empaña nuestra historia de paz, de libertad y justicia y la tradicional hidalguia argentina.----------

De resultar factible, el CASO UNICO Y ESPECIAL de mi hijo ALFREDO ANTONIO GIORGI, permitiría citar testigos del más alto rango y llegar a la verdad y rápida justicia final, quizá a inaccesible en otros estrados.- Y cuando la Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación, con todo su poder y valentía vigorosamente demostrada en este glorioso mes de Marzo, demostrara rápida y eficazmente cual es la verdadera justicia argentina, cualesquiera fueran los resultados fi-

// nales y los afectados; se habría obtenido la máxima prenda de paz y seguridad de que ya nunca se repetirán los casos de "desaparecidos"a manos de poderosos desconocidos.---

Porque pienso que aún en el peor de los casos, que ya nunca pudiera recuperar a mi hijo vivo, habrá sido en su honor y memoria todo mi esfuerzo y mi único legado a mis nietos-los hijos de mi hijo desaparecido- el haberme brindado a la justicia hasta mis últimas fuerzas; con la fé y esperanza de que otros inocentes no pasen iguales penurias ni sus familias lo que ha sufrido la mía.----------

Se cumplen tres años de este Gobierno, con el estado de sitio que suspende los derechos constitucionales.-La guerrilla interna ha sido vencida y los culpables deben ser juzgados y severamente condenados, como todos lo deseamos.- Y todos esperamos la apertura a los inalienables derechos ciudadanos, porque jamás la humanidad su supresión podrá aceptarlos.- Las figuras de "a disposición del P.E.N." sin término y en algunos casos por años, que luego son liberados sin haber sido juzgados y sin condena; o la"desapprición" son las más monstruosas aberraciones contra el ser humano, imagen de Dios y centro del Universo, y con esto no puede compadecerse la noble soberanía argentina.----------

Si el Poder Legislativo nos mostró historicamente a alguna de sus Cámaras constituidas en Comisión, o nombró de su seno una Comisión Investigadora de un determinado hecho; si el P.E.N. en todas las épocas intervino las Provincias, Instituciones o personas jurídicas cuando lo creyó conveniente; p uedo tener la esperzan - y que hermosa esperanza - de que la majestuosa Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación tome por sí o nombre de su seno o fuera de él, una Comisión Investigadora que se aboque al estudio y resuelva con justicia la desaparición de mi hijo ALFREDO ANTONIO GIONNI como ejemplo y estímulo de fé a la ciudadanía.------

Esto pido, respetuosamente, señores Honorables Jueces de la Suprema Corte de Justicia de mi patria, excusándome por mis reiteraciones o defectos de forma que ruego disculparme, convencido de que SERA JUSTICIA.-

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[redacted]

4/2/79

N 204 R

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02592 022126Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SSO-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 /031 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 78
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2592

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/2/85 (HARRIS, F. ALLEN) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) DELIVERY OF DISAPPEARANCE LISTS

REF: (A) STATE 6617 (B) STATE 62967

1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS CASE LISTS PREPARED BY AISC, ARGENTINE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE WERE PRESENTED TO HEAD OF FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) ON MARCH 30TH. EMBASSY POLOFF MADE POINTS SUGGESTED IN REFTEL A TO FOWG HEAD ARLIA. (EMBOFF LATER, IN A "CORRIDOR CONVERSATION" WITH MFA NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR ESPECHE GIL, WENT OVER SAME GROUND).

3. MINISTER ARLIA DUTIFULLY RECEIVED THE LISTS AND AFTER RESPONDING WITH A PRO FORMA STATEMENT REGARDING "INTERFERENCE IN ARGENTINE INTERNAL AFFAIRS," MADE THREE COMMENTS:
- - (A) NEITHER THE FOREIGN OFFICE NOR THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR HAVE THE MANPOWER NECESSARY TO REVIEW THIS AMOUNT OF INFORMATION. REQUESTS FROM THE FOREIGN OFFICE TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO REVIEW ALL OF
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02592 022126Z

THIS MATERIAL WOULD BE FLATLY TURNED DOWN. THE GOA'S INFORMATION IS NOT ON COMPUTERS; EACH CASE MUST BE

SEARCHED MANUALLY.
- - (B) THE AISC LIST IS AN INACCURATE COMPENDIUM OF INFORMATION. THE AISC LIST CONTAINS INFORMATION NOT ONLY REGARDING DISAPPEARED PERSONS, BUT ABOUT PERSONS WHO WERE ARRESTED OR DETAINED LEGALLY, AND ABOUT PERSONS WHO WERE RELEASED. MANY OF THE SOURCES CITED IN THE AISC DOCUMENT ARE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY LINKED WITH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. SPECIFICALLY INFORMATION FROM "EL AUTHENTICO", A MONTONERO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE MID-70'S, IS SUSPECT AND UNACCEPTABLE.
- - (C) THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY'S LIST APPEARS HOWEVER TO BE A "SERIOUS DOCUMENT," AND THE FOREIGN MINISTERY WILL UNDERTAKE TO HAVE THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR REVIEW THAT SINGLE DOCUMENT.

4. COMMENT: IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR HAS PREVIOUSLY REVIEWED THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY'S LIST OF 4,497 DISAPPEARANCE CASES WHICH APPEARED IN LATE 1978. THE MININT REVIEWED THE ASSEMBLY'S EARLIER MAY 17, 1978 LIST OF SOME 2,500 CASES AND PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT 67 OF THOSE CASES HAD, ACCORDING TO MINISTRY'S RECORDS, BEEN RELEASED.
END COMMENT.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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4/2/79

N 205
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02585 022032Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
L-03 H-01 IO-14 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00
EB-08 AID-05 TRSE-00 (ADS) W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 75

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2585

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/2/85 (HALLMAN, WILLIAM H.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: [redacted] RABBIS VISIT TIMERMAN

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2513

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT).

2. RABBI THEODORE FRIEDMAN OF SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY (PRESENTLY RESIDING IN JERUSALEM) AND HIS SON RABBI HILLEL FRIEDMAN OF SPRING VALLEY, NEW YORK, VISITED JACOBO TIMERMAN ON THE AFTERNOON OF MARCH 30. THEY FOUND HIM IN REASONABLY GOOD SPIRITS BUT DETERMINED TO BEGIN A HUMGER CAMPAIGN ON APRIL 16 IF HE IS NOT RELEASED. THE VISITORS AND RABBI MARSHALL MEYER, WHO WAS WITH THEM, TRIED TO DISSUADE HIM. (EMBASSY COMMENT: THEY GENERALLY SHARE EMBASSY VIEW THAT IF INDEED THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT TO FREE TIMERMAN ACTION TO FORCE THIS QUICKLY MIGHT LEAD TO A NEGATIVE DECISION -- RATHER THAN GOA'S APPEARING TO BOW UNDER PRESSURE.)

3. THEODORE FRIEDMAN SAID HE PLANNED TO TELEPHONE PAT DERIAN ON HIS RETURN TO NEW JERSEY (HE LEFT 4/1) TO DISCUSS HIS VISIT AND THE TIMERMAN CASE FURTHER. TIMERMAN COMMENTED DURING VISIT HE WOULD ALSO LIKE
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02585 022032Z

TO SEE AMBASSADOR CASTRO.
CASTRO

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N 206

PAGE 01 STATE 082983 4/3/79
ORIGIN ARA-15

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 H-02 HA-05 IO-15 /038 R

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:CWRUSER
----------052882 031915Z /44

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
[X] Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 082983

E.O. 12065 N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: FOWG INQUIRIES

1. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED INQUIRY FROM CONGRESSMAN JOHN L. BURTON REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OFTHREE PRIESTS. PLEASE INQUIRE AGAIN AT FOWG AND INFORM CONGRESSMAN BURTON'S OFFICE WITH ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE.

2. AVAILABLE DATA IS AS FOLLOWS:

-- KLEBER SILVA IRIBARNEGARAY, URUGUAYAN PRIEST, D.P.O.B. SEPTEMBER 20, 1925 IN MONTEVIDEO, ARGENTINE I.D. NUMBER 8.730.550. ARRESTED AT WORK JUNE 14, 1977.

-- CARLOS ARMANDO BUSTOS, D.P.O.B. MARCH-1942INLA CUMBRE, CORDOBA, L.E. NUMBER 5.195.305. DETAINED APRIL9, 1977 WHILE ENTERING NUEVA POMPEYA BASILICA, BUENOS AIRES.

-- PABLO GAZZARI, D.P.O.B. SEPTEMBER 23, 1944 IN BUENOS AIRES, L.E. NUMBER 4.443.652, I.D. NUMBER S.090.803. ARRESTED NEAR PARENTS HOME IN BUENOS AIRES, NOVEMBER 27,
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STATE 082983

1976. CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02343 01 OF 02 081436Z
ACTION ARA-15

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 COM-04 LABE-00 CIAE-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 AID-05 IO-15 OMB-01
TRSE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 L-03 NSC-05 PA-02
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-20 HA-05 SR-05 /140 W
----------117893 081458Z /46

R 052157Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2887
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2343

EO 12065: NA
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI, XM
SUBJ: ORIT BOYCOTT: CHILEAN LABOR LEADER REPORTS ON U.S. TRIP

REF: STATE 75056

1. SUMMARY. RETURNING FROM A BRIEF TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES, GROUP OF TEN LABOR LEADER EDUARDO RIOS HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE. HE WARNED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT DISTRUSTED THE GOC'S PLAN BUT WOULD WAIT UNTIL AFTER IT IS FULLY LAID OUT ON JUNE 30 BEFORE MAKING A FINAL DECISION ON A TRADE BOYCOTT. TO SUBSTANTIATE AFL-CIO CONCERN, RIOS RELEASED COPIES OF THE ERNIE LEE LETTER TO LABOR MINISTER PINERA (REFTEL). DRAWING UPON AN EARLY MARCH GROUP OF TEN POSITION PAPER REGARDING RELATIONS WITH OTHER UNION GROUPS, RIOS RECONFIRMED THAT GROUP WOULD CONCENTRATE ON MEETINGS WITH BASE UNIONS RATHER THAN CO-SIGN PETITIONS TO THE GOC WICH WERE UNREQUITED. SENSATIONALIST "LA SEGUNDA" AND GOC-OWNED "CRONISTA" DESCRIBED THIS AS A "THREAT" TO MOUNT "SEDITIOUS" DEMONSTRATIONS. END SUMMARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 SANTIA 02343 01 OF 02 081436Z

2. DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS EDUARDO RIOS, PRESIDENT OF THE MARTITIME WORKERS, AND TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION, RETURNED MARCH 30 FROM A FOUR DAY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES TO DISCUSS THE CHILEAN LABOR SITUATION AT THE INVITATION OF THE AFL-CIO. RIOS AND JIMENEZ REPORTED ON THEIR

TRIP PRIVATELY TO THE GROUP OF TEN APRIL 3 AND HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE APRIL 4.

3. RIOS TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE AFL-CIO WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE LABOR SITUATION IN CHILE. HE REPORTED THAT ON MARCH 8, THE AFL-CIO DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ERNIE LEE EXPRESSED THESE CONCERNS IN A LETTER TO THE LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA. RIOS GAVE COPIES OF THE LETTER OT THE PRESS BUT ADDED THAT PRIOR TO TAKING ACTION ON THE BOYCOTT RESOLUTION THE AFL-CIO WAS DISPOSED TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER JUNE 30 WHEN THE LABOR PLAN AS ANNOUNCED ON JANUARY 2 WOULD BE FULLY DEVELOPED. THE GROUP OF TEN, FOR ITS PART, WOULD NOW BEGIN ORGANIZING ACTION TO INFLUENCE POSITIVELY THE LABOR PLAN LEGISLATION.

4. SPEAKING FOR THE GROUP OF TEN, RIOS ARGUED THAT THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS IN CHILE AND IN THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTOOD WHAT CONSTITUTED TRADE UNION FREEDEOM; ALL WERE AGREED THAT TRADE UNION LIBERTY MEANT MORE THAN THE RIGHT TO JOIN OR NOT JOIN A UNION; IT ALSO MEANT THE RIGHT TO FORM ORGANIZATIONS OF ONE'S CHOICE AS SET FORTH IN ILO CONVENTIONS 87 AND 98.

5. RIOS EXPLAINED THAT THE GOC IS NOT RESPECTING THE RIGHT TO MEET FREELY. HE CITED EXAMPLES OF OFFICIAL DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO MEET AND HARASSMENT OF A LABOR
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02343 01 OF 02 081436Z

MEETING. TRADE UNIONS IN CHILE, HE SAID, CANNOT DEPEND ON THE GOOD FAITH OF THE GOVERNMENT TO GRANT THEM THEIR RIGHTS. THE TIME HAS COME TO MOBILIZE UNIONS THROUGHOUT CHILE. HE ANNOUNCED THAT TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS WOULD ORGANIZE THEIR OWN MAY DAY CELEBRATION THIS YEAR AND CALLED ON TRADE UNIONIST NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT-DIRECTED MAY DAY EVENTS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02343 02 OF 02 081438Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 COM-04 LABE-00 CIAE-00 EB-08
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2343

6. MOST OF RIOS' STATEMENTS ON GROUP OF TEN POLICY WERE DRAWN FROM A MARCH 6 POSITION PAPER ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH INVITATIONS FROM PRO-GOVERNMENT AND LEFTIST UNIONS TO JOIN IN A COMMON FRONT AGAINST THE GOC LABOR PLAN (SEE SANTIAGO 1759). AT THAT TIME, THE GROUP HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO JOIN WITH ALLIES WHO ACCEPTED THEIR POSITIONS AND WOULD REFUSE TO ATTEND THE BRIEFING SESSIONS PINOCHET HAS CONDUCTED FOR LABOR AND REFRAIN FROM PARTICIPATING ON THE GOC DELEGATION TO THE ILO. THE POSITION PAPER ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT PLAINTIVE PETITIONS TO THE GOC WERE NOT PRODUCING RESULTS AND THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO CONCENTRATE ON BUILDING A PUBLIC CONSENSUS AMONG RANK AND FILE TO WHICH THE GOC WOULD BE MORE INCLINED TO LISTEN.

7. NONETHELESS, GOC-OWNED "CRONISTA" CHARACTERIZED RIOS' CALL FOR MEETINGS AND ASSEMBLIES TO PROTEST THE LABOR PLAN AS "SEDITIOUS", WHILE SENSATIONALIST "LA SEGUNDA" BANNERED "INTERVENTION OF THE AFL-CIO" AND SAID THAT RIOS WAS THREATENING" THE GOC. OTHER PAPERS GAVE THE PRESS CONFERENCE RESTRAINED UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02343 02 OF 02 081438Z

COVERAGE; IT DID NOT APPEAR ON TELEVISION.

8. COMMENT: RIOS TOLD LABATT THAT HE WAS AUTHORIZED IN WASHINGTON TO RELEASE THE LEE LETTER TO THE PRESS. AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE HE USED THE LETTER TO DEMONSTRATE CONTINUED FOREIGN INTEREST IN CILEAN LABOR AFFAIRS AND AS A PLATFORM TO ANNOUNCE A STRONG ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN. THE FIRST OBJECTIVE WILL BE A SEPARATE MAY DAY CLELBRATION. ACCORIDING TO ONE SOURCE, A REQUEST SIGNED BY VARIOUS GROUPS OF TRADE UNIONIST FOR A SEPARATE MAY DAY CELEBRATION IN THE PLAZA BULNES HAS ALREADY BEEN SENT TO THE INTERIOR MINISTRY. THE GOC IS PLANNING ITS OWN LABOR CELEBRATIONS FOR MAY 1,

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INCLUDING A MASSIVE MEETING IN DIEGO PORTALES WITH PINOCHET, AND IS UNLIKELY TO GRANT THE REQUEST.
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02737 01 OF 03 061649Z
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 2737

E.O. 12065 GDS 4-4-85 (HARRIS, F. ALLEN) OR-P
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT (U) WEEKLY HUMAN RIGHTS ROUNDUP (APRIL 5, 1979)

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2501

PART I - NEW EVENT AND INDICATORS

1. (U) NEW YORK CITY BAR ASSOCIATION VISIT -----
FIVE ATTORNEYS REPRESENTING THE BAR ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK AND THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION BEGAN A WEEK LONG INQUIRY INTO THE ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION ON APRIL 1. THE DELEGATION, WHOSE VISIT IS FINANCED BY THE ROCKEFELLER AND FORD FOUNDATIONS THROUGH GRANTS TO THE LAWYERS'S COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS, IS HEADED BY THE FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BAR ASSOCIATION, ORVILLE SCHELL. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION ARE: HAROLD
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02737 01 OF 03 061649Z

HEALY, PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF LAWYERS (IUA), JUDGE MARVIN FRANKEL, SCOTT GREATHEAD, AND STEPHEN KASS.

ALTHOUGH THE GROUP HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES IN WASHINGTON FROM ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL THAT THE GOA WOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEM TO MEET WITH SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, NO APPOINTMENTS WERE MADE ON THEIR BEHALF. AMBASSADOR CASTRO MADE APPOINTMENTS FOR THE AMERICAN MEMBERS WITH GENERAL VIOLA, MINISTER OF JUSTICE RODRIGUEZ VARELA, SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT GABRIELLI, AND PRESIDENTIAL LEGAL ADVISOR COLONEL CERDA. OTHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VISIT WERE MADE BY THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY AND THE COLEGIO DE ABOGADOS (FACA). A COMPLICATING FACTOR WAS THE SIMULTANEOUS VISIT OF IUS PRESIDENT ZERFLUG, WHO WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOA ON GROUNDS OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND CONTACTS WITH THELIGA PARA LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS, AND ORGANIZATION LINKE TO THE ARGENTINE COMMUNIST PARTY. ZERFLUG'S VISITS WERE INDEPENDENTLY ARRANGED.
THE NEW YORK GROUP HAS ALSO HELD MEETINGS WITH AMBASSADOR CASTRO, THE DIRECTORS OF FACA, THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY, BUENOS AIRES HERALD EDITOR ROBERT COX, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW EXPER AND TIMERMAN'S ATTORNEY GENARO CARRIO, THE COLLEGE OF LAWYERS OF THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES, A GROUP OF DEFENSE LAWYERS PLUS INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS WITH PROFESSIONAL LEGAL CONTACTS. THE GROUP IS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH JEWISH COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP (DAIA), AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO.
AN APPOINTMENTS HAS BEEN REQUESTED WITH INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIALS, BUT HAS NOT AS YET BEEN ACCEPTED. ALTHOUGH THE LAWYERS HAVE MET WITH SOME FAMILY MEMBERS REGARDING INDIVIDUAL CASES (EG SARAGOVI), THE MAJOR FOCUS OF THEIR VISIT HAS BEEN DIRECTED TOWARDS THE LEGAL PROFESSION AND THE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 02737 01 OF 03 061649Z

THRUST OF THEIR PRESENTATIONS HAS BEEN ON PROVIDING TRIALS UNDER ARGENTINE LAW OR RELEASING THE MANY EXECUTIVE DETAINEES PRESENTLY HELD BY THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. AS OF WEDNESDAY (4/4), THE GROUP APPEARED PLEASED WITH THE RECEPTION GIVEN TO THEM BY THE GOA, THEIR LEGAL COLLEAGUES AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS.

2. (U) RECENT DISAPPEARANCES-----
MRS. MARCELINA ARTOLA DE BARREIRO INFORMED THE EMBASSY ON APRIL 5 THAT HER SON, ROBERTO MARCELO BARREIRO WAS ABDUCTED AT CAMARONES AND TERRADA STREETS IN BUENOS AIRES ON MARCH 12, 1979 AND THAT MR. BARREIRO'S WIFE,

MARIA ROSA PAREDES DE BARREIRO, WAS ALSO KIDNAPPED ON THAT SAME DAY ON CANDARCO AND CERVANTES STREETS AFTER LEAVING THE POLICE STATION WHERE SHE FILED A REPORT REGARDING HER HUSBAND'S ABDUCTION. MRS. BARREIRO HAS NO INFORMATION REGARDING THE WHERABOUTS OF THE COUPLE. THE AMBASSADOR CALLED GENERAL VIOLA IMMEDIATELY UPON HEARING THIS REPORT, SEEKING OFFICIAL EXPLANATION.

3. ([redacted] RUMORS OF POSTPONEMENT OF IACHR VISIT-----
THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED NO ADDITIONAL REPORTS REGARDING THE POSSIBLE POSTPONEMENT OF THE IACHR VISIT TO ARGENTINA (SEE BUENOS AIRES 2593). THE REBUTTAL BY AN IACHR SPOKESPERSON WHICH WAS CARRIED ON THE AP WIRE QUENCHED THE RUMORS TRIGGERED BY LAST SUNDAY'S "LA NACION WEEKLY POLITICAL COLUMN THAT THE IACHR WAS CONSIDERING A POSTPONEMENT. MINISTER OF JUSTICE RODRIGUEZ VARELA IN HIS MEETING WITH THE NEW YORK CITY BAR DELEGATION TALKED ABOUT THE IACHR VISIT AS AN EVENT FIRMLY INSCRIBED ON THE ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CALENDAR. WE CONTINUE WITH OUR FINGERS CROSSED, BUT OUR EARS TO THE GROUND.

4. [redacted] ABRALES REPORTED DEAD-----
THE WIFE OF FORMER PERONIST WRITER AND SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS-
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 02737 01 OF 03 061649Z

MAN, HECTOR FNU ABRALES (804-79-1) HAS INFORMED

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS THAT HER HUSBAND HAS BEEN KILLED. MRS. ABRALES REPORTEDLY RECEIVED THIS INFORMATION FROM A RETIRED COLONEL WHO HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO INFORM THE FAMILY BY FIRST CORPOS AUTHORITIES. THE SOURCE SAID THAT IF ASKED, THE FIRST CORPS WOULD DENY THE REPORT. MR. ABRALES WAS ABDUCTED ON JANUARY 22, 1979 IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES AND HAS NO BEEN HEARD FROM SINCE.

5. [redacted] RIGHT OF OPTION DEVELOPMENTS-----
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02737 02 OF 03 061723Z
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 2737

THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR IN AN UNUSUAL PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT REPORTED THAT THE PEN PRISONER SITUATION WAS THE TOPIC OF A SPECIAL MARCH 29 MEETING OF THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND THE MEMBERS OF A SPECIAL COMMISSION WHICH REVIEWS THE REQUESTS FOR THE OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.
IN REPONSE TO SEVERAL OF THE THIS EMBASSY'S INITIATIVES, THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR HAS BEGUN TO DISTINGUISH IN ITS PERIODIC PEN PRISONER PRESS ANNOUNCEMENTS BETWEEN THOSE PERSONS WHOSE PEN STATUS HAS BEEN REMOVED AND WHO REMAIN IN PRISON UNDER JUDICIAL DETENTION AND THOSE WHO WILL BE FREED. MINISTRY OF INTERIOR DIRECTOR OF INTERNAL SECURITY SAN ROMAN HAD SUGGESTED TO EMBOFF RECENTLY THAT THE MINISTRY WOULD TAKE THIS STEP IN THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, SAN ROMAN CONTINUES TO BE NON-COMMITTAL REGARDING PROVIDING THIS INFORMATION TO THE EMBASSY FOR PAST PEN REMOVAL CASES.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02737 02 OF 03 061723Z

6. (U) SENTENCES ANNOUNCED-----
A NUMBER OF SENTENCES HAVE BEEN HANDED DOWN BY JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES IN 1979 AGAINST PERSONS ACCUSED OF TERRORIST OR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. SEVENTEEN SUCH DECISIONS AND ON ACQUITTAL HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED BY COURT IN THE CITY

AND PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES. THERE HAVE BEEN FIVE CASES IN ROSARIO AND THREE IN SANTA FE. IN ALL THE CASES IN WHICH THERE IS DETAILED INFORMATION, THE PERSONS WERE ARRESTED AND INDICTED PRIOR TO THE MILITARY TAKEOVER IN MARCH 1976.

7. [redacted] CONAREPA INFORMATION REQUEST-----
ON MARCH 24, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE COMMISSION OF PATRIMONIAL RESPONSIBILITY PUBLISHED AN OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT REQUESTING THOSE PERSONS WHO HAD RECEIVED POSSESSIONS FROMA LIST OF PERSONS BEING INVESTIGATED UNDER THE ACTA INSITUCIONAL TO CONTACT THE COMMISSION WITHIN 30 DAYS. INCLUDED ON THE LIST WERE JACOBO TIMERMAN, MEMBERS OF THE GELBARD AND GRAIVER FAMILIES, FORMER PRESIDENT CAMPORA AND MANY FORMER PERONIST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. THIS IS THE FIRST INDICATION THISYEAR THAT THE CONAREPA IS ACTIVELY WORKING ON THESE CASES.

8. [redacted] HRO ACTIVITIES: FURTHER RESUME OF RECENT ACTIVITIES-----
[redacted] MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO-----
THE FOUR MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO WHO RECENTLY TRAVELED TO THE LATIN AMERICAN BISHOPS CONFERENCE IN PUEBLA, MEXICO AND THE ON TO WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK, MET WITH AMBASSADOR CASTRO ON MARCH 30 TO REPORT ON THEIR TRIP. THE MOSTERS RECOUNTED THEIR EXTENSIVE MEETINGS IN THE US WITH ADMINISTRATION, CONSGRESSIONAL,
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02737 02 OF 03 061723Z

UNITED NATIONS, CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIALS. THE MOTHERS CHARACTERIZED THEI RECEPTION IN THE UNITED STATES AS ONE OF GREAT WARMTH AND CONCERN.
THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PROHIBIT USE OF THE

PLAZA DE MAYO ON THURSDAY AFTERNOONS TO THE MOTHERS. THE MOTHERS HAVE ADOPTED THE PRACTICE OF MEETING IN A DIFFERENT CHURCH AT 5:00 PM EACH THURSDAY TO SAY A ROSARY TOGETHER FOR THE REAPPEARANCE OF THEIR CHILDREN. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR PRAYERS, THE MOTHERS HOLD A SHORT INFORMAL INFORMATION SESSION, DECIDE ON THE SITE OF THE NEXT WEEK'S MEETING AND THEN FILE OUT OF THE CHURCH TOGETHER, GENERALLY TO A NEARBY PLAZA WHICH THEY CIRCLE ONCE OR TWICE IN A SILENT DEMONSTRATION FOR THEIR DISAPPEARED CHILDREN.
[redacted] PERMANENT ASSEMBLY ACTIVITIES-----

THE ARGENTINE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY IS CONTINUING ITS EFFORTS TO DOCUMENT DISAPPEARNACE AND DETENTION CASES FOR PRESENTATION TO THE IACHR. ASSEMBLY MEMBERS HAVE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION TO THE EMBASSY OVER THE WIDE PUBLICITY AND LACK OF GOA DISAVOWAL OF ITS RECENTLY PUBLISHED LIST OF 4,497 DISAPPEARNACE CASES (SEE BUENOS AIRES 2592 RE ACCEPTANCE OF LIST BY MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFATG XQOUAYCIAL ARLIA).

(U) JOURNALISTS HRO FORMED----TH/BVOS--CALLED THE "SUBCOMISION DE FAMILIARES DE PERIDISTAS DESAPARECIDOS Y DETENIDOS." WAS ANNOUNCED IN THE PRESS DURIN TWJ-4$8,& 61 ARGENTINE JOURNALISTS WHO HAVE DISAPPEAREDOR BEEN DETAINED OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS.

[redacted] FDD ACTIVITIES-----

THE FDD IS UNDERTAKING AN INTIATIVE TO PETITION THE IACHR MEMBERS UPON THEIR ARRIVAL IN ARGENTINA IN LATE MAY. THE PETITION WILL REQUEST REESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL POLICE AND JUDICIAL PRACTICES (GUARANTEES), TRIAL OR FREEDOM FOR THE PEN PRISONERS, IMPROVED PRISON

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 02737 02 OF 03 061723Z

CONDITIONS, AND CLARAFICATION OF THE STATUS OF THE DISAPPEARED.

THE FDD SENT A FIVE PERSON DELEGATION TO THE RE-RENT PUEBLA CONFERENCE. THE FDD MEMBERS REPORTEDLY MET WITH 43 OF THE BISHOPS ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE AND MADE MUNEROUS PRESS CONTACTS.

[redacted] REGIONALS HRO'S-----

IN MARCH A HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION WAS ORGANIZED IN LA PLATA, THE CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES AND ONE OF THE MAJOR AREAS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-SUBVERSION PROGRAM. AN ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE IS AT WORK ANOISYQJS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ORGANIZATION'S LEADER-SHIP ESTIMATE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN A TOTAL OF ABOUT 1,500 DISAPPEARANCE REPORTS FROM THE CITY OF LA PLATA. ANOTHER NUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN OPERAT-IN MAR DEL PLATA. TWO MASSES HAVE BEEN HELD IN

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02737 03 OF 03 061919Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 SR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 2737

1979 COMMEMORATING THE DISAPPEARED. A GROUP OF 15 TO 25 MOTHERS HAVE BEEN MEETING IN THE PLAZA SAN MARTIN EACH THURSDAY AFTERNOON SINCE NOVEMBER, 1978. IN ADDITIONA, 60 TO 70 FAMILY MEMBERS OF DESAPARECIDOS MEET ON SUNDAYS AT THE CAPILLA SANTA ANA. ANOTHER HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP CALLED FAMILIARES DE DESAPARECIDOS DELANUS RAN A PAID ADVERTISEMENT IN "LA PRENSA" ON MARCH 10. LANUS IS A SOUTHERN SUBURB OF BUENOS AIRES.

9. [redacted] REACTION TO UNHCR MEETING-----
HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAVE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT TO THE EMBASSY THAT THE MARCH MEETING OFUNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN GENEVA FAILED-TO PASS A RESOLUTION REGARDING ARGENTINA. THOSE CONTACTS NOTED THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA WAS CONSIDERABLY WORSE THAN OTHER COUNTRIS WHICH HAD
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[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02737 03 OF 03 061919Z

BEEN THE FOCUS OFUNCHR'S ATTENTION. AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY DCM ALSO EXPRESSED DISAPPOINMTNET AT FAILURE OF THE USG TO SUPPORT THE AUSTRALIAN-CANADIAN INITIATIVE.

10. [redacted] UPDATE ON IMPORTANT CASES-----
HORACIO SARAGOVI DETENTION (269-78-1)-----
MRS. SARAGOVI CALLED AT THE EMBASSY ON MARCH 23 TO SEEK EMBASSY ASSISTANCE REGARDING THE COMMUTATION OF THE MILITARY SENTENCE ISSUED AGAINST HER SON IN NOVEMBER, 1976. MRS. SARAGIVI REPORTED THAT THE SUPREME COURT ON DECEMBER 9, 1978 REFUSED TO ACCEPT JURISDICTION ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS OF HER APPEAL ALLEGING A NUMBER OF IRREGULARITIES IN THE MILITARY TRIAL OF HER SON. MRS. SARAGIVI FILED A FORMAL COMMUTATION PETITION ON MARCH 9, 1979 AND HAS BEEN MEETING WITH OFFICIALS IN THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR ITS ACCEPTANCE.
-- DISAPPEARNACE OF ANTONIO EDUARDO CZAINIK (225-77-11) --
MR. DAVID CZAINIK, SUBJECTS FATHER, MET WITH AMBASSADOR CASTRO ON FEBRUARY 20 TO DISCUSS HIS SON'S DISAPPEARANCE AND TO INFORM THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT HIS SON IS BEING DETAINED SECRETELY BY THE SIDE. AMBASSADOR CASTRO UNDERTOOK TO RAISE CZAINIK'S CASE WITH GOA OFFICIALS.
-- THE LOKMAN CASE (90-78-11)-----
THE DECISION ON MARCH 29 BY THE FEDERAL COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEALS IN CORDOBA DENYING ALL FOUR COMPLAINTS CONTAINED IN THE HABEAS CORPUS PETITION FILED ON BEHALF OF MAIME LOKMAN RECEIVED WIDE PRESS COVERAGE BOTH IN THE CORDOBA PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPERS AND IN THE NATIONAL PRESS. (SEE H PASS SEPTELS FOR DETAILES DISCUSSION OF ECISION.) THE CORDOBA COURTS' DECISION IS THE FIRT UNANIUMOUS COURT OF APPEALS DECISION IN A HABEAS CORPUS CASE SINCE THE
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 02737 03 OF 03 061919Z

SUPREME COURT ISSUED ITS SERIES OF DECISIONS IN THE YANEZ ET AL CASES. (SEE BUENOS AIRES 2501, PARA 3). THE CORDOBA APPEALS COURT OFFERED NARROW INTERPRETATION OF THE ZAMARANO SUPREME COURT DECISION, STATING THAT ASSERTIVE AND UNEQUIVOCAL AFFIRMATIONS FROM THE EXECUTIVE THAT A PERSON IS LINKE WITH SUBVERSION, OBLIGATES THE JUDICIAL POWER TO RESPECT THE RESEVED SPHERE OF THE POLITICAL POWER AND NOT SUBJECT SUCH DECISIONS TO JUDICIAL REVIEW DURING PERIOS OF STATE OF SIGE. IN ADDITION TO THIS CLEAR STATEMENT OF THE SEPARATION OF POWER DOCTRINE, THE COURT ADDED THAT LINKS WITH SUBVERSION COUL NOT ALWAYS BE PROVEN IN THE CONVINCING FORM THAT THE JUDICIAL PROCESS REQUIRED AND IN SUCH CASES THE EXECUTIVE WAS ENTITLED TO CONTINUE THE DETENTION OF DANGEROUS PERSONS BY VIRTUE

OF ITS CONSITUTIONAL STATE OF SIEGE POWERS.
BUENOS AIRES EDITOR ROBERT COX REPORTED TO THE
EMBASSY THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A PHONE CALL FROM THE
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ASKING THAT THE HERALD CEASE ITS CAMPAIN
ON BEHALF OF JAIME LOKMAN'S RELEASE.

11. (U) VILLA DEVOTO PRISON RIOT INVESTIGATION
CONTINUES-----
IN MID-FEBRUARY THE SUPREME COURT RULED THAT
FEDERAL JUDGE VALERGA MUST CONINTUE PROBING INTO THE MARCH 14,
1978 VILLA DEVOTO PRISON RIOT IN WHICH 70 INMATES
DIES AND ANOTHER 70 WERE INJURED*?$HUDGE VALERGA AND
JUDGE RIVAROLA. JUDGE RIVAROLA MADE A PERLIMINARY
INVESTIGATION EARLY IN 1978 AND ANNOUNCED THAT NONE
OF THE VICTIMS HAD DIED FROM GUNSHOT FIRED BY THE
GUARDS. IN MAKING THAT DECISION, JUDGE RIVAROLA DECIDED
THAT FURTHER INVESTIGATION DID NOT COME WITHIN HIS
JURISDICTION AS A FEDERAL JUDGE AND HE PASSED THE
DOSSIER TO HIS COLLEAGUE, JUDGE VALERGA,
WHO DECLINED TO CONTINUE THE PROBE. THE SUPREME COURT
HAS NOW PUT AN END TO A CONTROVERSY, THE BASIS OF WHICH
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 02737 03 OF 03 061919Z

HAS NOT BEEN MADE CLEAR.

12. (U) PRISON RELASE HOUR CHANGED-----
IN LATE JANUARY THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE FORMALIZED A
CHANGE IN THE ARGENTINE PENAL CODE REGARDING THE HOUR
FOR RELEASING FEDERAL PRICONERS AT THE CONCLUSION OF
THEIR SENTENCE. PREVIOUSLY, PRISONERS WERE RELASED
AT MIDNIGHT THE DAY THEIR SENTENCE EXPIRED. IN
FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1978, FOUR PRISONERS WHO WERE
JUDICIALLY FREED FROM LA PLATA PRISON DISAPPEARED
IMMEDIATELY AFTER THEIR MIDNIGHT RELEASE. THIS LED TO
A MOVEMENT BY THE "FREED PRISONERS' LEAGUE" TO CHANGE
THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURAL CODE TO ALLOW PRISONERS TO
BE RELEASED AT MIDDAY INSTEAD OF MIDNIGHT. THIS MEASURE
HAS NOW BEEN ADOPTED BY BOTH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
AND BY THE PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM IN BUENOS AIRES.
CASTRO

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 2761

COUNTRY LAWS ON TERRORISM: UPDATE

REF: STATE 69183

1. POST DOES NOT HAVE COPY OF REPONSE TO DEPARTMENT AIRGRAM CITED REFTEL. NONETHELESS, MANY LAWS ON TERRORISM HAVE BEEN AMENDED SINCE 1974, A A RESULT OF THE HIGH LEVEL OF TERRIROSM IN ARGENTINA THROUGH 1977 ARGENTINA IS NOT A PARTY TO THE NEW YORK OR OAS CONVENTIONS. WHILE LAWS 19,793 AND 20,411 RATIFY THE HAGUE AND MONTREAL CONVENTIONS RESPECTIVELY, THERE HAVE BEEN NO IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS TO THESE LAWS.

2. THE BASIC LAW ON TERRORISM IS LAW 20,840 ENACTED ON SEP 28, 1974 WHICH WAS AMENDED BY LAW 21,459 OF NOVEMBER 18, 1976. ARTICLE 1 OF THE CURRENT LAW MANDATES A PRISON SENTENCE OF BETWEEN THREE AND EIGHT YEARS FOR THOSE WHO USE NON-CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS TO DISTURB THE ARGENTINE INTERNAL ORDER FOR IDEOLOGICAL REASONS, UNLESS THE OFFENSE COMES UNDER ANOTHER PROVISION OF EXISTING LAWS WITH STIFFER PENALTIES. ARTICLE 2 DECREES PRISON TERMS FROM TWO TO SIX YEARS FOR THOSE WHO TEACH OR SUPPORT OTHERS WHO CARRY OUT SUBVERSIVE ACTS. ACCORDING TO ARTICLE 3, THOSE WHO USE SYMOBLS OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS OR RADIO OR NEWSPAPERS AUTHORITIES WHO PUBLICIZE THEIR STATEMENTS ARE SUBJECT TO TWO TO FIVE YEARS IMPRISONMENT. IF ANY OF THESE OFFENSES ARE COMMITTES BY NATURALIZED ARGENTINES, AFTER SERVICING THEIR SENTENCE, THEIR CITIZENSHIP IS REVOKED AND THEY ARE EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY. FOREIGNERS COMMITING THESE CRIMES ARE EXPELLED FROM ARGENTINA FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR SENTENCE. UNDER LAW 21,458, ALSO ENACTED ON NOV 18, 1976, THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES AS WELL AS THE POLICE ARE GIVEN RESPONSIBILITY TO PROSECUTE TERRORISTS.

3. IN ADDITIONA TO THESE LAWS DEALING WITH IDEOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED TERRORIST ACTS, ARTICLE 210 OF THE ARGENTINE PENAL CODE STIPULATES A SENTENCE OF FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEARS FOR THOSE BELONGING TO AN ORGANIZED GROUP WHICH COMMITS VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST A PERSON OR INSTITUTION. UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE SAME ARTICLE, LEADERS OF SUCH ARMED GROUPS ARE SUBJECT TO IMPRISONMENT OF BETWEEN EIGHT AND TWENTY FIVE YEARS. IF THEIR ACT LEADS TO LOSS OF LIFE OR GRAVE WOUNDS SUSTAINED BY THEIR VICTIMS, THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THE PUNISHMENT SHALL BE DEATH OR LIFE IMPRISONMENT RESPECTIVELY. THE SENTENCE OF THOSE WHO VOLUNTARILY GIVE THEMSELVES UP IS REDUCED TO FIFTEEN TO TWENTY FIVE YEARS, TEN TO TWENTY YEARS, OR BY A THIRD FOR SENTENCES OF DEATH, LIFE IMPRISONMENT, OR A REDUCED PRISON TERM RESPECTIVELY.

4. ARTICLE 170 OF THE PENAL CODE MANDATES A FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEAR PRISON TERM FOR PERPETRATORS OF KIDNAPPING ATTEMPTS MADE FOR RANSOM AND AN EIGHT TO FIFTEEN YEAR TERM IF THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL. UNDER ARTICLE142, KIDNAPPERS ARE ALSO SUBJECT TO AN EIGHT TO TWENTY FIVE YEAR PRISON TERM IF THE VICTIM IS WOUNDED IN THE ACT OR IF FORCED TO GIVE AID TO A SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION. IN CASE THE VICTIM DIES IN CAPTIVITY, THE OFFENDER IS SUBJECT TO THE DEATH SENTENCE. ARTICLE 225 DECREES A TWO TO SIX YEAR PRISON SENTENCES FOR THOSE WHO PAY RANSOM TO KIDNAPPERS OR ECONOMICALLY AID TERRORISTS.
CASTRO

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LEGAL ADVISER
APR 9 1979
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02383 070018Z
ACTION SS-25

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

JUSTICE FOR PROPPER

E.O. 12065: XGDS 4/6/85 (GROVER, CHARLES W.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: DRAFT LETTER FROM FERNANDEZ LARIOS

REF: SANTIAGO 2289

1. SECRET/SENSITIVE ENTIRE TEXT. AS WITH REFTEL, THIS MESSAGE SHOULD BE GIVEN CLOSEST POSSIBLE HANDLING IN ORDER TO AVOID SERIOUS ADVERSE REACTIONS HERE SHOULD IT BECOME PUBLIC.

2. ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY HAS GIVEN US A DRAFT LETTER FROM ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS DATED APRIL 6. THE LETTER, ADDRESSED TO ETCHEBERRY, WAS PROMISED HIM AT THE LUNCHEON ON APRIL 2 (SEE PARA 3 OF REFTEL). EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF TEXT FOLLOWS.

BEGIN QUOTE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 02383 070018Z

DEAR SIR:

I AM ADDRESSING YOU BE MEANS OF THIS LETTER, IN A MANNER PERSONAL AND DIRECT, BECAUSE THIS IS THE ONLY WAY I CAN EXPLAIN TO YOU MY SITUATION.

I WRITE YOU TRUSTING IN YOUR QUALITIES AS A GENTLEMAN WHO WILL BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE FEELINGS OF ANOTHER MAN, WHO AT THE AGE OF 29 FINDS HIMSELF UNJUSTLY PROSECUTED AND WHO HAS ALREADY BEEN DEPRIVED OF HIS LIBERTY FOR NINE MONTHS.

I BELIEVE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO APPRECIATE THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR AN HONORABLE PERSON TO BE IN THIS SITUATION, EVEN MORE IN A PERIOD CLOSE TO THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER WHEN FAMILY OBLIGATIONS HAVE INCREASED.

IN SENDING YOU THIS LETTER I WISH TO TELL YOU, MR. ETCHEBERRY, THAT I UNDERSTAND YOUR PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDE. NEVERTHELESS I DO NOTT SEE HOW THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CAN PERSECUTE AN OFFICER OF THE CHILEAN ARMY WHO ALWAYS FOLLOWED ORDERS AND WHO DURING THE (EXTRADITION,) PROCEEDING HAS MAINTAINED THE LOYALTY THAT AT ALL TIMES HE OWES TO HIS SUPERIORS.

HONOR, LOYALTY AND DISCIPLINE ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MY BELOVED INSTITUTION AND I THEREFORE TRUST THAT YOU WILL KNOW HOW TO APPRECIATE THE MORAL INTEGRITY WITH WHICH I MAKE THIS STATEMENT.

SINCERELY,

ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02383 070018Z

END QUOTE.

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PA
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: ARBITRARY DETENTIONS

1. THE INTER-FAITH CHURCH COMMITTEE (STRICTLY PROTECT SOURCE) HAS PROVIDED EMBASSY WITH DOCUMENT WHICH CLAIMS INVESTIGATIONS POLICE WERE HOLDING 29 POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THEIR HEADQUARTER'S CELLS AS OF THE LAST WEEK IN MARCH. IN ADDITION, THE REPORT ALLEGES THAT THE INVESTIGATIONS POLICE KILLED TWO PERSONS BY TORTURE, ONE ON FEBRUARY 15 AND ONE ON MARCH 1. THE EMBASSY HAS NO INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION OF THIS INFORMATION ALTHOUGH A RECENT FORMER DETAINEE REPORTED 16 PRISONERS WERE THERE AS OF MARCH 15. IT IS NOT UNUSUAL FOR A CERTAIN NUMBER OF PRISONERS, USUALLY BETWEEN TEN AND THIRTY, TO SPEND A FEW DAYS TO A FEW WEEKS IN INVESTIGATIONS FOR CRIMINAL PROCESSING AS WELL AS THOSE HELD FOR POLITICAL OR EXTORTION REASONS.

2. THE EMBASSY'S SOURCES BELIEVE SOME OF THE FOURTEEN PRISONERS LISTED BELOW MAY HAVE BEEN DETAINED IN ARGENTINA AND WERE LATER TURNED OVER TO THE PARAGUAYAN POLICE FOR UNKNOWN REASONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY UNDERSTAND ARGENTINE POLICE DETAINED ELIDA VEGA DE LUGO (NO 14) ON MARCH 10 IN BUENOS AIRES. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN LEARNING WHETHER EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES HAS INFORMATI ON ANY OF THE PRISONERS. LIST FOLLOWS WITH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IN PARENTHESES:
(1) REMIGIO GIMENEZ (TORTURED)
(2) ANASTASIO ALMEIDA (BROUGHT FROM FOZ DE YGUAZU, BRAZIL)
(3) HECTOR LUIZ GALZARZA
(4) FNU MARTINEZ(BROTHERS BROUGHT FROM PUERTO PRESIDENTE STROESS-NER)
(5) FNU MARTINEZ (BROTHERS BROUGHT FROM PUERTO PRESIDENTE STROESS-NER)
(6) FRANCISCO RAMOS BRITEZ (BADLY TORTURED)
(7) PABLO ANTONIO CABRAL (FROM PIRIBEBUY, HAS BEEN A PRISONER FOR THREE MONTHS)
(8) ROGELIO TALAVERA [redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __

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(9) FRANCISCO SAPIENCIA (ARGENTINE NATIONAL, BADLY TORTURED)
(10) SINDULFO VILLANUEVA (SEVERELY TORTURED)
(11) JOSE TOMAS SALINAS (17-YEAR OLD ARGENTINE NATIONAL, BADLY TORTURED)
(12) ALIPIO SALINAS (TORTURED)
(13) LUIS LUGO LOPEZ
(14) ELIDA VEGA DE LUGO (WIFE OF NO 13 ABOVE)

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INR WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS

No. 100, April 6, 1979

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

China

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Argentina
Rights Update for 1979

Abductions. There has been a sharp drop in the number of abductions reported to our Embassy and to human rights groups. Nine have been reported for January and none for either February or March. These figures, according to the Embassy, tend to confirm numerous reports that the government has ordered a halt to abductions and disbanded several counterterrorist units.

BUT See next page

Prisoner Treatment. According to a senior Ministry of Interior source, the government will soon issue a uniform code of conduct and treatment covering all criminal and political prisoners. (INR Note: [redacted] sources have consistently pointed to the absence of such a code as one of the sources of prisoner mistreatment.)

B1

Reducing PEN Roles. An Interior Ministry official stated to an Embassy officer his intent to reduce the number of executive (PEN) prisoners to 1,800 by the time the visit of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC), scheduled for May 28-June 9, takes place. Published figures show a net release of 184 individuals from PEN status between January 1 and March 25 (208 removed; 24 added), leaving the Embassy's count of acknowledged executive detainees at 2,689.

Juridical Activity. Two important 1979 Supreme Court actions have encouraged human rights advocates. In one case, the Court ordered the Army to return to judicial custody an Army NCO who had been under civilian detention for threatening a civilian with his pistol; the Army complied. In the other case, the Court for the first time ordered a lower court to investigate a disappearance case that was the subject of a habeas corpus writ.

Prisoner Mistreatment. February produced three cases of alleged prisoner mistreatment. According to reports from other prisoners, one person disappeared from prison and has not been relocated; another was taken from his cell and tortured while being interrogated; and a third died as a result of beatings by guards.

Groups Targeted by Security Agents. Reports reaching the Embassy reveal that two groups have been the object of consistent security force attention since late 1978. They are the Relatives of Persons Detained and Disappeared for Political Reasons (linked to the Argentine Communist Party) and the Socialist Workers' Party (PST). Thus far, however, members of the two groups who have been abducted by security forces can be accounted for, i.e., none is listed as "disappeared." (CONFIDENTIAL, Buenos Aires 2501, March 30)

INR Comment. Insofar as there have been positive signs in human rights developments they can be partially attributed to the Videla government's desire to soften what it knows will be highly negative IAHRC findings. [redacted]

Chile

Supreme Court Orders Special Investigation Into Missing Persons. The Chilean Supreme Court ordered five regional judges on March 21 to name special investigating judges to look into cases of missing persons and instructed six other circuits to concentrate attention on specific disappearances. The ruling, couched in careful terms, responded to a November 1978 petition by Catholic Church officials regarding 618 individual cases.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02385 081857Z
ACTION ARA-15

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS: LONQUEN JUDGE SENDS CASE TO MILITARY; SPECIAL JUDGES NAMED FOR DISAPPEARED CASES

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 1830 (B) SANTIAGO 2186

1. LONQUEN: THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE DISCOVERY OF FIFTEEN SKELETONS FOUND LAST NOVEMBER IN AN ABANDONED LIME KILN AT LONQUEN PASSED INTO THE JURISDICTION OF MILITARY COURTS ON APRIL 5. SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVING THE SUPREME COURT'S REMINDER NOT TO DISCUSS THE CASE WITH THE PRESS (REF A) , JUDGE ADOLFO BANADOS HAD NO COMMENT. COURT SOURCES, HOWEVER, WERE CITED IN STORIES ASSERTING THAT BANADOS HAD PREPARED A LENGTHY CRITIQUE OF THE OFFICIAL MORGUE REPORT WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED LAST WEEK. HE ALLEGEDLY FOUND IT INCOMPLETE, CONFUSING AND NOT MUCH HELP. THE SAME SOURCES ALSO SAID THAT BANADOS RELINQUISHED JURISDICTION "BECAUSE IT APPEARED THAT MILITARY PERSONNEL WERE INVOLVED".

2. COMMENT: IT HAS LONG BEEN A FOREGONE CONCLUSION THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02385 081857Z

BANADOS WOULD TURN THE CASE OVER TO THE MILITARY ONCE HE HAD DOCUMENTED THE PROBABLE CULPABILITY OF THE CARABINERO UNIT STATIONED AT ISLA DE MAIPO IN OCTOBER 1973. BANADOS' REPORTED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE MORGUE REPORT WILL REAROUSE CALLS FROM THE RELATIVES OFDISAPPEARED GROUPS FOR FOREIGN SPECIALISTS TO BE BROUGHT IN. END COMMENT.

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3. SPECIAL INVESTIGATION JUDGES: REGIONAL COURTS OF APPEAL HAVE NOW COMPLETED THE DESIGNATION OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATING JUDGES TO LOOK INTO DISAPPEARED CASES IN FIVE REGIONS, INCLUDING SANTIAGO. THE SUPREME COURT HAD ORDERED THE DESIGNATIONS ON MARCH 21 (REF B).

4. COMMENT: A HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER TELLS US THAT JUDGE JORDAN, WHO IS TO HANDLE THE SANTIAGO CASES, DOES NOT HAVE PRIOR EXPERIENCE AS A CRIMINAL JUDGE. THUS, ALTHOUGH HE IS THOUGHT TO BE A SERIOUS PROFESSIONAL, HE WILL NOT HAVE THE HEAD START WHICH EQUIPPEDBANADOS TO SUCCESSFULLY DIG INTO THE LONQUEN CASE. BANADOS HAND-PICKED HIS OWN SQUAD OF TRUSTED INVESTIGATORS FROM THE DETECTIVE FORCE AND KNEW HOW TO RUN A CRIMINAL INVESTIKGATION. THERE IS ANOTHER, EVEN MORE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE: BANADOS BEGAN WITH THE CORPUS DELICTI AND WORKED HIS WAY BACK; JORDAN MUST START WITH EVIDENCE OF DETENTION AND TRY TO LEARN WHAT HAPPENED TO THE BODIES.
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AZ 54A

On Tuesday, the 8th of April 1979, I arrived at the Villa Devoto prison. My secretary had been told by the chaplain of all prisons that there was no need to announce my arrival as things were considerably more relaxed. He said that in spite of all that, he would call anyway to announce my visit. The chaplain added that with the official document that I had in my possession, there would be no difficulty whatsoever.

When I arrived at 14:30, a priest was entering directly in front of me. He entered the prison directly. I was shown into a small waiting room where I had to wait until 15:00 for the necessary papers to be admitted to the prison. When I received them, I asked the police-woman attending me if there was any way I could avoid losing more time. She told me that she would contact the officers inside and that there would be no wait.

I arrived at 15:00 in the Patio before the large prison door and was told that I must wait. I waited for 50 minutes (until 15:50) and was told several times that the visitors could pass but that I was to continue waiting. I was finally admitted into the building at 15:55 and was told that I would have to be searched, something that was a usual procedure. I removed everything from my pockets and my watch and deposited all of it with the officer in charge. I was then submitted to a body search which was more thorough than usual and was told to take my pants off.

I was then taken down a flight of stairs and put into a special cubical where I waited for another 15 minutes alone until the first prisoner appeared. We were separated by glass and thus forced to converse by means of an iron tube. The first girl I saw, was 18 years old in July. She has a growth on her eyebrow and a cyst down her eyelid. For months she has requested to be seen by an eye specialist. She was finally taken to a doctor at the end of April, but she explained that she was never even examined. She had hopes that the Red Cross would be able to arrange a decent examination. She is terribly frightened about the growth on her eye. She has been in prison now for 22 months, without any accusation. She has never appeared before a judge and the only questions that were put to her, were with regard to her 17 year old brother, who was shot and killed in the bed next to her the night she was taken away. The girl's

mother died a few years ago of cancer. She told me that she was sexually raped by the police when taken prisoner and was abused. She was insulted as a Jewess during the process. The only questions that she was ever asked, dealt with her brother. She stated that there was no subversive propaganda in the house; no weapons whatsoever and that to this day she had no idea why she is in prison. She has been denied her right of option to go to Israel in the past and is very anxiously awaiting for the month of June when the next right of option will receive a reply. She stated that she still has not received a book which I sent to her last December with her grandmother, entitled " The Essence of Judaism", by Leo Baeck. She also stated that none of the bibles that were sent to the Jewish prisoners by another rabbi, were ever received. She asked me if there is any truth to the rumours that there will be allowed more recreation or some opportunity to work. She stated that she must be by herself 19 hours a day. She has no right to listen to the radio, read newspapers or do any manual labour. She is desperately hoping to be allowed to go to Israel.

Case number 2: This deals with a woman of 30 years of age who has been a prisoner since November 1975. She stated that she has 3 children who are living with her husband from whom she was separated before her arrest. She had rented two rooms of her home to help her balance her budget. The police claimed that those 2 rooms had been rented by terrorists. She claims that she knew nothing of the people and that furthermore she saw nothing suspicious. She declared this before judge Adamo in La Plata in Juzgado (Court) number 3, in the middle of 1978. She has received absolutely no information of her case. Before she arrived at the Devoto prison, she was raped by three different policemen; she was tortured brutally, has 3 rips broken and was given electric shock. She was also told that she was receiving all this in a double measure, as a terrorist and as a Jew. She has applied for her right of option to go to Israel, on the 19th of April, and is desperately anxious to receive an affirmative reply. She has been told that she is on the 4th floor, because this is the floor of prisoners who are difficult and who present problems of conduct. She claims that she simply does not understand this at all and that she has never presented

a problem during her imprisonment. She stated that she was never involved in terrorist affairs and that as a result of her torture and imprisonment, she was operated last year for intestinal disorders. She stated that the Red Cross on the same day, Tuesday, April 8, 1979 told her that she must have a very restrictive diet. She said that she informed the Red Cross that it is impossible to receive her diet and that consequently she is always ill. The Red Cross said that she should speak to the prison doctor. She explained to him that she had done this rapidly, but that nothing has changed. She begged me to inquire if there is any truth behind the rumours that prisoners on the 4th floor have no chance of being released. She also begged me to inquire into the state of her cause in Court number 3 in La Plata, under judge Adamo. She also begged me to intercede before the Israeli Embassy, so that someone from the Embassy visit her and help her to emigrate with her three children to Israel. With regard to the apparently new privileges in the prison, she was told by the Red Cross not to expect any changes.

I left the Devoto prison at 17:30.

4/8/79

AZ054

RABINO MARSHALL T. MEYER
RECTOR

11 DE SEPTIEMBRE 1669
783-2009/6175
1425 BUENOS AIRES

SEMINARIO RABINICO
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02425 092157Z
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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UNCLAS SANTIAGO 2425

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI, XM
SUBJ: ORIT BOYCOTT: LABOR MINISTER'S LETTER TO AFL-CIO AND RESPONSE TO GROUP OF TEN

REF: SANTIAGO 2343

1. SUMMARY: RESPONDING TO A GROUP OF TEN PRESS CONFERENCE, LABOR MINISTER PINERA RELEAED PARTS OF HIS REPLY TO THE ERNIE LEE LETTER OF MARCH 8. HE ASSERTED THATLEE HAD NOTT CRITICIZED THE LABOR PLAN BUT RATHER ASKED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND LABOR LEADERS. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT MUST LISTEN TO ALL GROUPS BUT CANNOT SHARE ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR FIAL DECISIONS. HE HAD SOME ACERBIC WORDS FOR EDUARDO RIOS. MAJOR MORNING PAPERS APRIL 6 CARRY EDITORIALS ON THE LEE LETTER AND GROUP OF TEN PRESS CONFERENCE. "CRONISTA" PREDICTABLY STRIDENT AND CONDEMNATORY, "EL MERDCURIO" AND "LA TERCERA" MORE MODERATE. END SUMMARY.

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2. PINERA RESPONDED TO THE GROUP OF TEN'S APRIL 5 PRESS CONFERENCE MAKING PUBLIC EXCERPTS FROM HIS MARCH 26 LETTER TO AFL-CIO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR ERNIE LEE. RESPONDING TO LEE'S CHARGE THAT TRADE UNIONS WERE NOT FREE IN CHILE, PINERA WROTE BACK THAT THE PROBLEM WAS COMPLEX ANDPROPERLY A FUNCTION OF THE GOC TO RESOLVE.

PINERA CONTINUED THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT ABDICATE THIS RESPONSIBILITY TO THOSE WHO MEANT BY PARTICIPATION A SYSTEM OF DUAL OR CO-GOVERNMENT ("CO-GOBIERNO"). FOR THIS REASON, THE GOVERNMENT HAD THE OBLIGATION TO HEAR AND SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE PETITIONS OF DISTINCT GROUPS BUT NOT NECESSARILY "SUBMIT ITSELF TO THE POSITION OF PARTICULAR GROUPS."

3. PINERA ALSO QUOTED PART OF HIS LETTER WHICH REFERRRED TO THE DISMISSAL OF FOUR TRADE UNION LEADERS IN CHUQUICAMATA. PINERA TOLD LEE THAT THE PROBLEM WAS A LEGAL ONE WHICH WOULD BE DECIDED BY THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AS IT DID NOT FALL UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF EITHER THE MINISTER OF LABOR OR THE GOVERNMENT TO INTERVENE IN CONFLICTS BETWEEN A CORPORATION AND ITS EMPLOYEES.

4. PINERA CONCLUDED THAT THE AFL-CIO LETTER DID NOT CRITICIZE THE LABOR PLAN PER SE; IT ONLY DEALT WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PLAN AND PARTICIPATION OF WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSED THIS CONCERN IN HIS REPLY. THE MINISTER NOTED THAT EVERY TIME EDUARDO RIOS, PRESIDENT OF THE MARITIME WORKERS UNION "RETURNED TO CHILE EMPTY HANDED HE TRIED TO PROVOKE THE GOVERNMENT WITH LOUDLY VOICED FALSEHOODS." PINERA SAID THAT "RIOS MUST BELIEVE THAT HE IS STILL A CANDIDATE FOR THE CHAMBER OF DEUPUTIES."

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02425 092157Z

5. EDITORIAL COMMENT IN "MERCURIO," "TERCERA" AND GOVERNMENT OWNED "CRONISTA" CCHOED THEMINISTER. "EL MERCURIO" AND "TERCERA" AGREED THAT THE LEE LETTER CARRIED NO THREAT OR CRITICISM OF THE LABORPLAN BUT ALL BELIEVED THAT LEE'S KIND OF PARTICIPATION WOULD MEAN CO-GOVERNMENT (DUAL GOVERNMENT) WHICH WOULD NOTT BE IN CHILE'S BEST INTEREST. "CRONISTA" CALLED TRADE UNION CRITICS POLITICIANS, WHO WOULD BRING RENEWED CHAOS TO CHILE. THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED NEWSPAPER DREW A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE LEE LETTER AND PAST US INTERVENTION IN CHILEAN AFFAIRS. THE EDITORIAL ARGUED THAT SECTORS IN THE UNITED STATES WISHED TO REGAIN THEIR FORMER INFLUENCE AND POWER IN CHILE THROUGH THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WHICH THE LABOR PLAN WOULD SURELY PREVENT. THE PAPER ASSERTED THAT THE GOC WOULD REMAIN FLEXIBLE IN DEVELOPING LABOR POLICIES BUT INFLEXIBLY MAINTAIN PUBLIC ORDER.
GROVER

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02773 091747Z 4/9/79

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ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 SR-05 VOE-00 CIAE-00 FBIE-00
NSAE-00 /026 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0170
INS/CO WASHDC

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 2773

FOR HA, INS/CORAP (MR. RESAMEN)

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SREF,SHUM,AR,UY
SUBJECT: REFUGEE/DETAINEE PAROLE PROGRAM IN ARGENTINA:
STATUS REPORT NO. 102

REFERENCE: BA-1815

I. CHILEAN REFUGEE "200 PAROLE PROGRAM

A. 344 TOTAL CASES SUBMITTED TO EMBASSY BY UNHCR
323 CHILEANS, 20 URUGUAYANS, 1 BOLIVIAN

B. 8 ACTIVE CASES: 8 CHILEANS
1. NEW CASES TO BE INTERVIEWED: 0
2. INTERVIEWED & AWAITING CLEARANCES OR POLICE RECORDS: 2 CHILEANS 2
3. INTERVIEWD & AWAITING INS REVIEW: 1 CHILEAN 1
4. AWAITING DEHT & INS/CO ACTION: 3 CHILEANS 3
5. DEPT & INS/CO RECOMMENEED APPROVAL BUT TRAVEL NOT YET COMPLETED: 2 CHILEANS 2

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 02773 091747Z

C. 336 CASES CLOSED:
1. BY PAROLEES ARRIVAL IN USA: 137

134 CHILEANS (422 PERSONS), 3 URUGUAYANS (7 PERSONS)
2. BY WITHDRAWAL (ACCEPTED BY OTHER COUNTRIES) 106
95 CHILEANS, 11 URUGUAYANS
3. BY REFUSAL ON GROUNDS OF INELIGIBILITY: 95
86 CHILEAS, 6 URUGUAYANS, 1 BOLIVIAN

II. HEMISPHERIC "500" PAROLE PROGRAM/UNHCR MANDATED REFUGEES

A. 79 CASES SUBMITTED TO EMBASSY:
70 CHILEANS, 3 PARAGUAYANS, 1 PERUVIAN, 2 URUGUAYANS

B. 45 ACTIVE CASES: 42 CHILEANS, 1 PARAGUAYAN
1 URUGUAYAN
1. NEW CASES TO BE INTERVIEWED: 31
30 CHILEANS, 1 URUGUAYAN
2. INTERVIEWED AND AWAITING CLEARANCES: 6
6 CHILEANS
3. INTERVIEWED & AWAITING INS REVIEW: 2
2 CHILEANS
4. CONSULAR OFFICER & INS OFFICER RECOMMENDED APPROVAL BUT TRAVEL NOT PERFORMED: 6
5 CHILEANS, 1 PARAGUAYAN

C. 34 CASES CLOSED: 30 CHILEANS, 2 PARAGUAYANS
1 PERUVIAN, 1 URUGUAYAN
1. BY PAROLEES' ARRIVAL IN USA: 1
1 PARAGUAYAN (1 PERSON)
2. BY WITHDRAWAL (ACCEPTED BY OTHER COUNTRIES): 17
15 CHILEANS, 1 URUGUGYAN, 1 PERUVIAN

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3. BY REFUSAL ON GROUNDS OF INELIGIBILITY: 16
1 PERUVIAN, 15 CHILEANS

III. HEMISPHERIC "500" PAROLE PROGRAM/ARGENTINE DETAINEES

A. 407 TOTAL APPLICATIONS RECEIVED

B. 335 ACTIVE CASES
1. NEW CASES; CLEARANCES NOT COMPLETED: 10
2. CEARANCES COMPLETED; PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW REQUESTED 3/22/79; AWAITING REPLY: 60
3. PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW DENIED BY GOA FOR

FOLLOWING REASONS: (STATUS BEING REQUESTED FROM FAMILIES) 173

A. CASE BEING "PROCESSED": 79
B. UNDER "SENTENCE": 29
C. RIGHT OF OPTION REQUESTED DENIED RECENTLY: 20
D. RIGHT OF OPTION REQUESTED INITIATED: (CERTIFICATE FROM ANOTHER EMBASSY) 22
E. PEN STATUS REMOVED: 23

4. INTERVIEWS COMPLETED: 94

A. AWAITING COURT OR POLICE RECORDS: 10
B. UNDER REVIEW BY CONSULAR OFF. 9
C. RIGHT OF OPTION REQUEST PENDING: (CERTIFICATE FROM ANOTHER EMBASSY) 1
D. PEN STATUS REMOVED, RELEASE NOT CONFIRMED: 1
E. CERTIFICATES ISSUED: 73
(1) RIGHT OF OPTION DECISION

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 02773 091747Z

BY GOA PENDING: 68
(2) RIGHT OF OPTION REQUEST DENIED BY GOA: 5

C. 70 CASES CLOSED
1. APPLICANTS' ARRIVAL IN USA: 4
A. PAROLED: 1 CASE 1
B. IMMIGRANT VISAS: 3 CASES 3

2. APPLICATIONS WITHDRAWN 66
A. RELEASED FROM DETENTION AND ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN ARGENTINA: 34
B. EXPELLED TO BOLIVIA 1
C. OBTAINED VISAS TSJOTHER COUNTRIES: 27
D. BY REFUSAL ON GROUNDS OF INELIGIBILITY: 4

CASTRO

PAGE 01 891910Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 INR-10 HA-05 /031 W
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FM USICA/BUENOS AIRES
TO USINFO WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC
VOA/MIAMI
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2

USICA FOR PGM/RC,AR
SECSTATE FOR ARA/PAF,ARA/ECA,HA
USCINCSO FOR SJ2C-AD

1.- AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST. FOUR MONDAY NEWSPAPERS LEAD WITH UGANDA SITUATION. CLARIN BANNERS "U.S. STARTS MILITARY AID TO EGPYT." NACION HEADLINES "FIGHTING STILL CONTINUING IN UGANDA'S CAPITAL." PRENS, "TANZANIAN SIEGE OF KAMPALA CONTINUES." OPINION, "IDI AMIN IS SURROUNDED IN KAMPALA." HERALD, "KAMPALA SUBUBS SHELLED BY REBELS." NACION COENT INSIDE SAYS "THE LAST ACT OF A TRAGIC FARCE" IS BEING PLAYED AND PREDICTS "AMIN WILL BE DEFEATED NEAR THE CLOSE OF THE WEEK."
NACION SUNDAY EDITORIAL SAID FOLLOWING THE EGYPT-ISRAEL TREATY PROGRESS TOWARDS A FULLY ENFORCED PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT. "DIRECT DEALING PROVED TO BE AN EXCELLENT METHOD," IS SAID, AND AS A RESULT "A THIN RAY OF LIGHT SHINES ON A FUTURE WHICH STILL REMAINS IN THE DARK."

2.- SALT 2. PRENSA AND OPINION CARRY WIRE SERVICE REPORTS OF BRZEZINSKI STATEMENT TO U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. PRENSA HAS UPI STORY HEADED "THE INCONVENIENCE OF USING FORCE." OPINION HAS AFP REPORT WHICH STRESSES "U.S. WILL NOT HESITATE TO USE FORCE," HEADED "WASHINGTON WILL PROTECT ITS INTERESTS WITH FORCE."

3.- NUCLEAR ENERGY. PRENSA EDITORIAL SUNDAY INDICATED CONCURRENCE WITH ARGENTINA'S NUCLEAR POLICY AS OUTLINED BY GOA OFFICIALS. SAYS "NEVERTHELESS, IN THE LIGHT OF THE SERIOUS ACCIDENT IN PENNSYLVANIA, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO USE EXTREME CAUTION IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAM. THE DRAMATIC EXPERIENCE UNDERGONE BY THE SCIENTIFICALLY AND TECHNOLOGICALLY MOST ADVANCED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD REVEALS THE RISKS AND DANGERS INVOLVED IN HANDLING NUCLEAR MATERIAL." HERALD EDITORIAL SATURDAY COMMENTED THAT AEC CHAIRMAN CASTRO MADERO "HAS REPORTEDLY STATED THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THREE MILE ISLAND PLANT ACCIDENT WAS BLOWN OUT OF ALL PROPORTION BY THE ANTI-NUCLEAR LOBBYSTS.... HE MAY, OF COURSE, BE RIGHT.... NEVERTHELESS, HIS REMARKS.... ARE UNLIKELY TO HELP THE ARGENTINE NUCLEAR CAUSE WHICH HAS PROGRESSED SO IMPRESSIVELY UNDER THIS LEADERSHIP. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF BLOCKING THE TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, FROM ADVANCED NATIONS TO OTHERS IS THE FEAR, GENUINE OR SIMULATED, THAT OFFICIALS IN TECHNOLOGICALLY LAGGING NATIONS WILL BE FAR TOO CASUAL IN THEIR APPROACH TO SAFETY."
NACION SUNDAY REPORTED "ARGENTINA MAY REJECT IAEO AID" ON BASIS OF NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS STORY WITH STATEMENT BY EAC CHAIRMAN CASTRO MADERO. HE SAID, ACCORDING TO STORY, THAT "ARGENTINA MAY DECIDE TO GIVE UP TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IT RECEIVES FROM INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY ORGANIZATION, ALTHOUGH WILL NOT WITHDRAW FROM IT. OTHER PAPERS HAD SIMILAR STORIES.

4. - U.S. - ARGENTINE RELATIONS. NACION SUNDAY POLITICAL COLUMN NOTES THAT "GOA STILL DOES NOT HAVE AN IDEAL CANDIDATE TO REPLACE AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL." ADDS THAT "THE MILITARY PREFERS TO WATCH THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS DURING APRIL, MAY AND JUNE, BEFORE MAKING A FINAL DECISION ON WHO WILL BE THE NEXT ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO U.S."
THE COLUMN ALSO INDICATES THAT U.S. WOULD LIKE TO SEE ARGENTINE MOVE COLSER TOWARDS PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC FIELDS, BUT ARGENTINA DOES NOT WANT TO STRAIN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SOVIET-ARGENTINE TRADE AND "THE DISCREET WAY IN WHICH THE SOVIETS VOTED AT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON MATTERS WHICH WERE EMBARRASSING FOR ARGENTINA."

5.- HUMAN RIGHTS. PRENSA EDITORIAL MONDAY SAID "EVIDENTLY" THE ATTEMPT BY A FEDERAL POLICEMAN TO INTIMIDATE EL LITORAL OF CORRIENTES (SEE FRIDAY MESSAGE) WAS EQUIVALENT TO CURBING FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. PRENSA DEPLORES THE INCIDENT "BECAUSE IT IS IN A CLASS WITH THOSE WHICH ARE USED OVERSEAS TO PROMOTE THE ANTI-ARGENTINE CAMPAIGN THAT IS STILL UNDER WAY," AND CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION BY THE INTERIOR MINISTRY.

EOT

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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Department of State

INCOMING
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ACTION ARA-15

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TO USINFO WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC
VOA/MIAMI
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2

PRENSA REPORTS AN UNNAMED TERRORIST WHO SURRENDERED OF HIS OWN WILL WAS SENTENCED TO A YEAR AND EIGHT MONTHS IN JAIL BY A FEDERAL COURT IN ROSARIO. HE WAS A MEMBER OF A TROTZKYST GROUP CALLING ITSELF "ORGANIZACION COMUNISTA PODER OBRERO."
HERALD SUNDAY COVERED PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY MEMBERS OF NEW YORK BAR ASSOCIATION NOTING THEY WERE "PARTICUARLY CONCERNED WITH THE CASES OF 99 ARGENTINE LAWYERS DETAINAD WITHOUT CHARGES AND A FURTHER 92 WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED WITHOUT TRACE DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS." ADDED THAT THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE RODRIGUEZ VARELA HAD RECEIVED A LIST FROM THE GROUP AND "PROMISED TO LOOK INTO IT." THE HERALD CONTINUED: "ONE MEMBER OF THE GROUP, JUDGE MARVIN FRANKEL, HAD HOPED TO GET INTERIOR MINISTRY APPROVAL TO INTERVIEW JACOBO TIMERMAN, THE PUBLISHER WHO IS STILL UNDER HOUSE ARREST... THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, GRAL. A. HARGUINDEGUY, WAS NOT AVAILABLE, HOWEVER, TO PERMIT FRANKEL TO SEE TIMERMAN BEFORE THE GROUP'S RETURN TO THE U.S."
HERALD MONDAY CARRIES USICA WF STORY "DERIAN: U.S. STRIKES RESPONSIVE CHORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS," ON EDITORIAL PAGE UNDER TITLE "HUMAN RIGHTS 'NOT PERFECT' IN U.S." WEEKEND PAPERS INDICATED 14 PERSONS HAD THEIR PEN DECREE REMOVED AND TWO OTHERS WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

6. - IDB STATEMENT. PRENSA SATURDAY CARRIED UPI COVERAGE OF LETTER FROM INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK PRESIDENT ANTONIO ORTIZ MENA TO SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL, "WARNING THE U.S. THAT HIS BANK WILL NOT ADMIT INTERFERENCE FROM ANY COUNTRY, NO MATTER HOW POWERFUL."
CROSS

EOT

Charges

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4/9/79

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AT 096

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

[redacted]

April 9, 1979

Memorandum of Telephone Conversation With
Rabbi Theodore Friedman of Jerusalem

Subject: Jacobo Timerman of Buenos Aires

Rabbi Friedman is the father-in-law of the American rabbi in Buenos Aires, Rabbi Marshall Meyer. He has just returned from a visit in Argentina during which he was able to see Mr. Timerman in his home. He reports that Mr. Timerman is in strong spirits and determined to undertake his hunger strike on April 16th.

Ambassador Castro has told Rabbis Meyer and Friedman that both Viola and Videla have assured him that, by the end of April, the Timerman "case will be resolved." Ambassador Castro believes, according to Rabbi Friedman, that the hunger strike would make it impossible for Videla and Viola to complete their plan. Rabbi Meyer has said that he will go to see Mr. Timerman and explain the situation again.

Rabbi Friedman was in the country ten days ago. He reports that things are "quiet now, but it is the quiet before the storm." He believes that economic difficulties are so severe for middle and low income people that they will not tolerate existing conditions much longer. He gave as an example the fact that a popsickle for his grandchild cost $1.25. The "upper classes are doing fantastically well and thriving and this difference in standard of living is not lost on those less fortunate."

Patricia M. Derian

Patricia M. Derian
Assistant Secretary for
Human Rights and
Humanitarian Affairs

cc: HA - Ms. Bova
ARA/ECA

HA:PD/cc

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

FOR ARA, L, D AND P ONLY.

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/9/79 (SERVICE, ROBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, CI
SUBJ: (U) LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: MIRANDA BRIEF AND HOLCOMB INTERVIEW

REF: STATE 80265

1. (C) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE APPRECIATE CLARIFICATION REFTEL BUT DO NOT BELIEVE FURTHER AFFIDAVIT FROM CORNICK IS NECESSARY. WE HAVE DISCUSSED WITH ETCHEBERRY.
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INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 4077
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[redacted] ASUNCION 1562

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR, PA
SUBJECT: POLITICAL PRISONER: AMILCAR SANTUCHO

REF: 78 ASUNCION 2502

1. THE PARENTS OF AMILCAR SANTUCHO VISITED ASUNCION IN LATE MARCH-EARLY APRIL. THEY WERE SEEKING THE RELEASE OF THEIR SON AMILCAR WHO PARAGUAYAN AUTHORITIES HAVE KEPT IN DETENTION SINCE MAY 1975. FOR MORE THAN ONE YEAR THE GOP HAS RECOGNIZED HIS UN-CONFERRED REFUGEE STATUS BUT HAS REFUSED TO RELEASE HIM FOR TRAVEL TO SWEDEN, THE COUNTRY WHICH HAS AGREED TO RECEIVE HIM. THIS GOP RELUCTANCE MAY BE BASED ON SANTUCHO'S ALLEGED CONNECTIONS WITH THE ARGENTINE ERP TERRORIST ORGANIZATION.

2. SANTUCHO'S PARENTS MET WITH INTERIOR MINISTER MONTANARO, WHO GAVE THEM A COLD RECEPTION, PARAGUAYAN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, THE UN DYRESREP, AND WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SEVERAL DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, INCLUDING AMBASSADOR WHITE. THE AMBASSADOR AGREED TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF SANTUCHO'S DEPARTURE WITH GOP OFFICIALS INFORMALLY AT AN OPPORTUNE MOMENT.

WHITE

BT
#1562

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date ____ Declassify on ____ Reason ____
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 02813 110215Z 4/10/79
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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HA-05 /074 W
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R 101346Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 188
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2813

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: ANNOUNCEMENT OF PEN RELEASES AND STATUS CHANGES

1. ACCORDING TO AN APRIL 7 ANNOUNCEMENT, BETWEEN MARCH 23 AND THAT DATE THE INTERIOR MINISTRY RELEASED THREE PERSONS DETAINED UNDER PEN (PODER EJECUTIVE NACIONAL) DECREE, AUTHORIZED TWO PERSONS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, CONVERTED THE PEN STAUS OF 14 OTHERS TO CONDITIONAL LIBERTY (LIBERTAD VIGILADA) AND ADDED ONE PERSON TO THE PEN LIST.

2. THE FOLLOWING US INTEREST CASES APPEARED AMONG THE 14 RELEASED ON CONDITIONAL LIBERTY:
GHIGLIANI, ALEJANDRO MARCO EDUARDO (70/77/5)
FERREYRA, OSCAR ALFREDO (888/79/4)

3. THE FOLLOWING US INTEREST CASES WERE GIVEN PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY:
KAUFMAN, FELIX (832/9/3)

4. EMBASSY COMMENT: THE EMBASSY NOTES THAT THE MINISTRY ANNOUNCEMENT DOES NOT STATE--AS WE
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02813 110215Z

WERE
PREVIOUSLY TOLD WOULD BE THE CASE--WHETHER THE THREE PERSONS RELEASED FROM PEN STATUS WERE PHYSICALLY

Current Class: [redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Decontrol
( ) Classify as _ ( ) Extend as _ ( ) Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

RELEASED FROM INCARCERATION OR ARE STILL BEING DETAINED AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE JUDICIAL OR MILITARY. END COMMENT.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Mrs. Timerman:

I want to thank you for your very kind and thoughtful letter to me concerning your husband, Jacobo Timerman.

I have been deeply concerned about his case, as have many people in this country. I sincerely hope that he will soon be released from custody and that it will be possible for him to be reunited with you and your children. I have instructed Ambassador Castro to remain in close contact with the Government of Argentina on your husband's case and make every effort he can toward securing his release. Be assured that we continue to hope that justice for your husband will triumph.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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Exemption(s): _____
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 10, 1979

COPIES TO:
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MEMORANDUM FOR DR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to the President from Mrs. Rische M. Timerman

Mrs. Rische M. Timerman, the wife of a prominent Argentine publisher who has been the victim of human rights abuse by the GOA, has written to President Carter to express her deep appreciation for the President's efforts on behalf of her husband. The letter, which was delivered to our Embassy in Israel where she resides, also expresses appreciation for Ambassador Castro's work on this case and Mrs. Timerman's hope that these efforts will lead to her husband's release.

The GOA has recently reconsidered Timerman's case and the Junta has discussed whether he might now be released. While this review was underway the Argentine Foreign Ministry asked our Embassy in Buenos Aires what our quid pro quo might be for Timerman's release. The Embassy offered no specific suggestions and reiterated our position that Timerman should be released on the merits of his case. In his most recent discussion of the Timerman case with Army Commander Viola, Ambassador Castro again urged that Timerman be released. General Viola told him that this is not likely to take place in the immediate future.

We recommend that the President sign the attached reply to Mrs. Timerman.

Clearances:ARA/ECA:CWRuser C.W.R/jma
HA/HR:PFlood PF/jma
NEA/IAI:DKorn DK/jma
ARA:VPV BLR
ARA:RCGuzman RCG

Jack Perry for
Peter Tarnoff
Executive Secretary

Attachments:
1. Suggested reply
2. Letter from Mrs. Rische M. Timerman to President Carter

Drafted:ARA/ECA:CHBrayshaw:jma CHB/jma
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GDS -4/6/

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/TPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): ____ In Part (X) In Full
Declassify: ( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ____ Declassify on ____ Reason ____

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ARGENTINA

In seeking to achieve established goals and objectives, the Ambassador and the Country Team will:

-- Continue to press, both through official actions, USICA programs and unofficial contacts, for improved observance of human rights, respect for the rule of law, and determination of the fate of the "disappeared".

-- Monitor individual human rights cases of interest to the U.S.

-- Maintain close contact with legitimate human rights organizations and with representatives of a broad range of political groupings and interests.

-- Process "right of option" candidates for U.S. parole program rapidly.

-- Urge the Argentine Government to cooperate fully with the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC) during its May, 1979, visit.

-- Urge the Argentine Government to sign and ratify the American Convention on Human Rights.

-- Urge the Argentine Government to permit regular visits by the IAHRC and the International Red Cross to detainees in military prisons.

-- Encourage the Argentine labor movement to join ORIT (Organizacion Regional Inter Americana de Trabajadores).

-- Support continued AIFLD (American Institute of Free Labor Development) presence.

-- Negotiate a new or amended nuclear cooperation agreement in accordance with U.S. legislation.

-- Urge ratification of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Urge the conclusion of an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for full scope safeguards.

-- Discourage the acquisition of an independent reprocessing capability.

[redacted]

(XDS-3 4/10/89)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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-- Encourage Argentina to participate in the International Nuclear Fuel Evaluation Program.

-- Promote U.S. participation in upcoming multimillion dollar infrastructural and other developmental projects.

-- Use the Country Commercial Plan to promote exports.

-- Use Export Import Bank financing to enhance competitiveness of U.S. suppliers in Argentine markets, when apropriate.

-- Conclude a tax treaty.

-- Encourage Argentine participation in hemispheric security efforts, including UNITAS.

-- Utilize Embassy contacts and informational and cultural programs to increase official and public awareness of the constructive nature of U.S. arms control and disarmament policies, especially in the areas of nuclear non-proliferation, the SALT negotiations, and regional arms control, as exemplified in the Ayacucho and Mexican arms limitation initiatives.

-- Complete a bilateral science and technology agreement in agricultural sciences.

-- Encourage a peaceful solution to the Beagle Channel dispute.

-- Reinforce a constructive Argentine role in liberalization of agricultural trade in international fora.

-- Enlarge existing agreements in the area of science and technology, such as alternate energy sources, space and rockets and bio-medical technologies.

-- Encourage a constructive Argentine role, supportive of U.S. positions, in international fora.

-- Negotiate a consular convention when authorized by the Department of State.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

UNITED STATES PERMANENT MISSION TO THE
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

Date: April 11, 1979

Participants: Dr. Arnoldo Listre, Minister Counselor
Argentine Mission to the OAS
Irving G. Tragen, Deputy US Permanent
Representative

Subject: Possible Early Election of the New IAHRC

Distribution: ARA - Ambassador Vaky
Dr. Guzman
ARA/ECA - Mr. Ruser
NSC - Mr. Pastor
HA - Mr. Schneider
Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

Dr. Listre phoned to ascertain the position which the US would take on the proposal to move up the election of the members of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC) from the IX OAS General Assembly scheduled for early November 1979 to the Special OAS General Assembly planned for next May.

Listre reported that the GOA favored the proposal and would not use the election as a pretext for delaying the IAHRC inspection visit to his country scheduled for May 26-June 9. Listre explained that the GOA position had evolved in a series of conversations with IAHRC member Tom Farer. Listre was concerned about internal conflicts in the present Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Carlos Alberto Dunshee de Abranches of Brazil. Listre commented that, even though an inspection conducted by Aguilar and Farer might uncover serious problems in Argentina, it would carry much more weight with the GOA and world public opinion than one conducted by Abranches. "An Abranches report of favorable developments in Argentina would be considered biased, while negative findings would tend to be discounted as only half truths;" this would not be the case with an Aguilar-Farer team.

Listre then pointed out that the IAHRC will be visiting Argentina next month and that the GOA would prefer a new Commission rather than the one which mishandled the Nicaraguan Report. Moreover, the current Commission is a lame duck body and its influence would be limited. He then stressed that the

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GOA was "at this very moment meeting to weigh the implications to Argentina of a decision by the General Committee not to elect a new Commission at an early date."

I reminded Listre of the Gentleman's Agreement last November in which Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela and the United States agreed to postpone the election of the new IAHRC in order to facilitate arrangements between the GOA and the IAHRC on the visit to Argentina. He assured me that Argentina no longer felt that we need be bound to this Gentleman's Agreement. I then told him that the US had no problem with the early election, but that we hope that a consensus would develop to avoid a division within the OAS on this issue.

Listre then asked me about the concerns of several countries about the elections, especially those expressed by the Jamaicans and Venezuelans. I urged him to contact these two delegations immediately and to try to explain to them the advantages of an early election.

COMMENT: The manifest concern of the Argentine Mission about the early election of a new IAHRC and the assurances of GOA determination to move ahead with the IAHRC inspection underline a linkage which had not been previously noted -- either here or in messages from Amembassy BUENOS AIRES. The Argentine and the Brazilian clashed sharply in the debate in the General Committee on April 11, and no consensus was reached. However, the Committee did vote favorably to recommend the early election of the new IAHRC by a vote of 17 for, 5 abstentions, and 3 non-participating; the abstentions, beside Brazil, were by pro-human rights countries (Venezuela, Jamaica, Grenada and Barbados -- Mexico refused to take part) who firmly believe the election is a ploy by Argentina to delay the IAHRC inspection visit.

/mab

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02538 142310Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
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R 122151Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2979
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 2538

EO 12065: NA
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LABOR NOTES: CHILE PREPARES FOR MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS

1. SUMMARY: CHILEAN PRESIDENT PINOCHET WILL AGAIN ADDRESS A MAY DAY CELEBRATION FOR WORKERS AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE. THE PRO-GOVERNMENT UNTRACH, AFTER A TWO HOUR DEBATE APRIL 10, DECIDED TO ATTEND. COMMUNIST, CHRISTIAN AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR GROUPS PUBLICLY HELD TO THEIR DECISION NOT TO ATTEND THE OFFICIAL CEREMONIES. THESE LATTER GROUPS JOINED IN ASKING FOR AUTHORIZATION TO HOLD A PUBLIC OUTDOOR RALLY ON MAY FIRST. OTHER LABOR EVENTS: DISCHARGED COPPER WORKERS HAVE INITIATED LEGAL PROCEEDINGS TO WIN THEIR JOBS BACK; NATIONAL POLICE REVERSE THEMSELVES AND PERMIT A LABOR MEETING; AND, MOST LABOR CONFEDERATIONS RECEIVING CHECKOFF DUES, BUT GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES STILL AWAITING COMPTROLLER DECISION. END SUMMARY.

2. MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS: THE GOC ANNOUNCED APRIL 8 THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET WILL AGAIN HOST THE OFFICIAL MAY DAY CELBRATIONS AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE (DIEGO PORTALES). OFFICIAL SOURCES ESTIMATE THAT OVER 2500 WORKERS, TRADE UNION LEADERS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND DIPLOMATS WILL ATTEND. THE GOVERNMENT UNION OF CHILEAN WORKERS (UNTRACH) ANNOUNCED THAT THEIR ORGANIZATION WOULD ATTEND
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02538 142310Z

THE OFFICIAL CEREMONIES. ALTHOUGH FULLY-EXPECTED, THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS NECESSARY TO QUELL RUMORS THAT THE UNTRACH WAS PLANNING TO PARTICIPATE IN A WORKERS RALLY ON MAY DAY. THE UNTRACH EXPLAINED THAT THEIR PARTICIPATION AT THE OFFICIAL CEREMONIES WAS CONDITIONED ON THE PROMISE BY THE PRESIDENT THAT HE WOULD RESPOND TO THEIR PETITIONS

CONCERNING DUES CHECKOFFS, TRADE UNION ELECTIONS, THE NEW LABOR CODE (DL 2200) AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. AFTER A MEETING WITH THE LABOR MINISTER APRIL 12, UNTRACH PRESIDENT BERNARDINO CASTILLO REPEATED THIS EXPECTATION AND ADDED THAT THE UNTRACH WOULD NO LONGER SIGN DOCUMENTS WITH THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED CNS OR WITH THE GROUP OF TEN.

3. THE DEMOCRATIC GROUP OF TEN JOINED WITH THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED NATIONAL TRADE UNION COORDINATING BODY (CNS), THE CHRISTIAN UNITARY WORKERS FRONT (FUT) AND THE PRIVATE EMPLOYEE CONFEDERATION (CEPECH) TO REQUEST GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION TO HOLD THEIR OWN MAY DAY RALLY. LAST MONTH, THERE WAS SOME EXPECTATION THAT THE UNTRACT WOULD PARTICIPATE TO MAKE THE EVENT NON-PARTISAN. CHILEAN NEWSPAPERS ARE EMPHASIZING THAT THE DEMOCRATIC GROUP OF TEN IS JOINING WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

4. CHUQUI FOUR: THE FOUR TRADE UNION LEADERS FIRED FEBRUARY 10 FOR HOLDING AN ILLEGAL MEETING PRESENTED ARGUMENTS TO THE LOCAL LABOR COURT AT CALAMA NEAR THE COPPER MINING COMPLEX. A DECISION IS POSSIBLE BEFORE MAY FIRST.

5. RIGHT TO MEET: THE POSTAL AND TELGRAPH WORKERS (APTCH) EXPERIENCED SOME DIFFICULTY IN HOLDING A REGULARLY-SCHEDULED MEETING OF PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS APRIL 5-6. ALTHOUGH HELD IN THE APTCH UNION HALL, THE MEETING
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02538 142310Z

WAS AT FIRST CANCELLED BY WRITTEN ORDER OF THE CARABINEROS (NATIONAL POLICE). THE MINISTRY OF LABOR MANAGED TO REVERSE THE ORDER WITHIN A FEW HOURS BUT ABOUT 15 POLICEMEN REMAINED OUTSIDE THE UNION HALL DURING THE ENTIRE TWO DAY SESSION. THE APTCH IS PART OF THE GROUP OF TEN.

6. DUES. TRADE UNION DUES ARE NOW BEING COLLECTED AT THE FEDERATION LEVEL BYP PETROLEUM, RAILROAD, MARITIME, COPPER AND TRANSPORTATION WORKERS. THE ONLY MAJOR UNIONS NOT NOW RECEIVING DUES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW ARE THE PUBLIC WORKERS ASSOCIATION (ANEF). TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, PRESIDENT OF ANEF, SENT OFFICIAL REQUESTS TO BOTH THE MINISTERS OF LABOR AND FINANCE. THE FINANCE MINISTER BUCKED THE ISSUE TO THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL. ANEF HOPES TO HAVE ITS DUES RESTORED PRIOR TO APRIL 19.
EMBOFF HAS BEEN TOLD BY LABOR MINISTER PINERA THAT DUES CHECK-OFF FOR ANEF HAS BEEN APPROVED, BUT, APPARENTLY ANEF HAS NOT YET RECEIVED

FORMAL NOTIFICATION.
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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 STATE 096933 3888 STATE 096933 AK090

ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 NMO-01 SP-02 SSO-00 ICAE-00
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APPROVED BY ARA:VPVAKY
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 096933

E.O. 12065 GDS - 4/17/85 (RUSER, CLAUS W.)

TAGS: AR, OGEN

SUBJECT: IMPLEMENTATION PLANS

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)
2. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE POST'S IMPLEMENTATION PLAN AS APPROVED BY THE ARA INTER-AGENCY GROUP:

QUOTE: IN SEEKING TO ACHIEVE ESTABLISHED GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, THE AMBASSADOR AND THE COUNTRY TEAM WILL:

-- CONTINUE TO PRESS, BOTH THROUGH OFFICIAL ACTIONS, USICA PROGRAMS AND UNOFFICIAL CONTACTS, FOR IMPROVED OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW, AND DETERMINATION OF THE "DISAPPEARED".
-- MONITOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS CASES OF INTEREST TO THE U.S.

-- MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH LEGITIMATE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF A BROAD RANGE OF POLITICAL GROUPINGS AND INTERESTS'

-- PROCESS "RIGHT OF OPTION" CANDIDATES FOR U.S. PAROLE PROGRAM RAPIDLY.

-- URGE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (IAHRC) DURING ITS MAY, 1979, VISIT.

-- URGE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT TO SIGN AND RATIFY THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- URGE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT TO PERMIT REGULAR VISITS BY THE IAHRC AND THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TO DETAINEES IN MILITARY PRISONS.

-- ENCOURAGE THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT TO JOIN ORIT (ORGANIZACION REGIONAL INTER AMERICANA DE TRABAJADORES).

-- SUPPORT CONTINUED AIFLD (AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT) PRESENCE.

-- NEGOTIATE A NEW OR AMENDED NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH U.S. LEGISLATION.

-- URGE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO. URGE THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA) FOR FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS.

-- DISCOURAGE THE ACQUISITION OF AN INDEPENDENT REPROCESSING CAPABILITY.

-- ENCOURAGE ARGENTINA TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL EVALUTATION PROGRAM.

-- PROMOTE U.S. PARTICIPATION IN UPCOMING MULTIMILLION DOLLAR INFRASTRUCTURAL AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS.

-- USE THE COUNTRY COMMERCIAL PLAN TO PROMOTE EXPORTS.

-- USE EXPORT IMPORT BANK FINANCING TO ENHANCE COMPETITIVENESS OF U.S. SUPPLIERS IN ARGENTINE MARKETS, WHEN APPROPRIATE.

-- CONCLUDE A TAX TREATY.

-- ENCOURAGE ARGENTINE PARTICIPATION IN HEMISPHERIC SECURITY EFFORTS, INCLUDING UNITAS.

--UTILIZE EMBASSY CONTACTS AND INFORMATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS TO INCREASE OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE OF U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND

DISARMAMENT POLICIES, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREAS OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, AND REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE AYACUCHO AND MEXICAN ARMS LIMITATION INITIATIVES.

-- COMPLETE A BILATERAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT IN AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES.

-- ENCOURAGE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE.
-- REINFORCE A CONSTRUCTIVE ARGENTINE ROLE IN LIBERALIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

-- ENLARGE EXISTING AGREEMENTS IN THE AREA OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, SUCH AS ALTERNATE ENERGY SOURCES, SPACE AND ROCKETS AND BIO-MEDICAL TECHNOLOGIES.

-- ENCOURAGE A CONSTRUCTIVE ARGENTINE ROLE, SUPPORTIVE OF U.S. POSITIONS, IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

-- NEGOTIATE A CONSULAR CONVENTION WHEN AUTHORIZED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. END QUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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EXCISE

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April 2, 1979

Senator Jacob Javits
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 2 0 5 1 0

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Dear Senator Javits,

I urge you to give your full support to any and all attempts to extradite Manuel Contreras Sepulveda and other co-conspirators in the assasination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit. The Pinochet regime of Chile, by harboring these international terrorists, makes itself subject to all the legal sanctions and Presidential pledges against international terrorist regimes. These measures would include severe reprisals, including economic reprisals, according to President Carter's statements last year.

In the event that the Chilean government should refuse the extradition of the terrorists responsible for the brutal killing of Letelier and Moffit, I sincerely hope that your name will figure among the list of Congresspersons supporting the resolution of Tom Harkin, Congressman of Iowa, expressing official outrage of the U.S. Congress over such a refusal.

In the meantime, I urge you to contact the office of Congressman George Miller and give your support to the letter to Secretary Vance and Attorney General Griffin Bell which asks the full application of official pressure to achieve the extradiction.

This case is extremely important to the United States, for it will be a testimonial to the dictatorship of Pinochet that the people of the United States will not tolerate terrorism.

Thank you for your time and attention.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

Chile Project (#S19990090)
U.S. Department of State
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02646 182227Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 SYE-00 MCT-02
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 2646

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI, VE, UY
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS NOTES

1. SUMMARY: GOC ARRESTS 40 DEMONSTRATORS AND 20 SUPPORTERS AT JUSTICE MINISTRY PROTEST STAGED BY RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS. NEW DIRECTOR OF VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY PETITIONS SUPREME COURT TO ENFORCE LIMITATIONS UPON POLICE ARREST AND DETENTION POWERS. STEEL COMPANY EXECUTIVE SAYS THAT EQUIPMENT PLANS CAUGHT ON PERSON OF VENEZUELAN-BOUND COMMUNIST COURIER (SANTIAGO 2585 - NOTAL) WOULD HAVE BEEN PROVIDED TO VENEZUELANS UPON REQUEST. MORE EXILES DENIED RIGHT TO RETURN TO CHILE. TWO MORE NOISE BOMBS. END SUMMARY.

2. DETENTIONS: FORTY MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED DETAINEES AND TWENTY SUPPORTERS WERE ARRESTED APRIL 18 DURING A DEMONSTRATION AT THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. POLICE BRUSQUELY BROKE UP THE DEMONSTRATION, WHICH BEGAN WITH THE CAINING OF THE FORTY ACTIVISTS TO JUSTICE MINISTRY GATES, FORTY MINUTES
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02646 182227Z

LATER. LEAFLETS DISTRIBUTED BY THE GROUP DEMANDED THE REPEAL OF THE APRIL 1978 AMNESTY FOR CRIMES DURING THE POST-COUP PERIOD, WHICH THE GROUP CONTENDS IS DESIGNED TO COVER UP CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST THEIR RELATIVES. THE COMMITTEE ALSO RAILED AT THE GOC TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DETENTIONS OF ALL OF THE DISAPPEARED AND AT THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE CNI TO RELEASE ALL INFORMATION REGARDING THE FATE OF THE DETAINEES. (COMMENT:

IF PAST PRECEDENT IS FOLLOWED, THE 60 DETAINEES WILL BE RELEASED FAIRLY QUICKLY, AFTER POLICE RECORD CHECKS AND STERN WARNINGS. END COMMENT.)

3. VICARIATE KEEPS PRESSING: RECENTLY DESIGNATED VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY DIRECTOR JUAN DE CASTRO REYES PETITIONED THE SUPREME COURT APRIL 17 TO INSTRUCT COURTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY TO REQUIRE POLICE AND INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS TO COMPLY FULLY WITH LEGAL PROCEDURES GOVERNING ARRESTS. DE CASTRO URGED THE COURT TO STREAMLINE HABEAS CORPUS PROCEDURES BY REINSTATING THE PROVISIONS OF A 1932 LAW. DE CASTRO ALSO SUGGESTED THAT LOWER COURTS BE DIRECTED TO DESIGNATE ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS TO BE IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE FOR ON-THE-SPOT INVESTIGATIONS OF ILLEGAL ARRESTS. THE VICARIATE REQUESTED THAT THE COURT AFFIRM THE "INALIENABLE HUMAN RIGHT NOT BE EXPELLED FROM ONE'S COUNTRY OR TO BE PREVENTED FROM RETURNING." (COMMENT: THE DE CASTRO REQUEST IS DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HE WILL CONTINUE THE ACTIVE ROLE OF HIS PREDECESSOR. FULL COMPLIANCE WITH LEGAL NORMS GOVERNING ARRESTS WOULD, IN FACT, IMPOSE A SIGNIFICANT CONTROL OVER CAPRICIOUS DETENTIONS. END COMMENT.)

4. OLD BLAST FURNANCE: THE ARREST OF NIMIA ELENA JAQUE DE VENAVENTES, A COMMUNIST PARTY COURIER PICKED UP AT PUDAHUEL AIRPORT APRIL 14 (SEE SANTIAGO 2585), PROVOKED AN UNEXPECTEDLY VOCAL REACTION FROM VARIOUS VENEZUELAN SECTORS, ACCORDING TO WIRE SERVICE REPORTS. (COMMENT: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02646 182227Z

THIS MAY TIE IN WITH WHAT THE CHILEAN STEEL COMPANY PRESIDENT TOLD US. HE SAID THAT A VENEZUELAN STEEL OFFICIAL RECENTLY VISITED THE PLANT AND EXPRESSED INTEREST IN AN UNUSED BLAST FURNACE. AN INVESTIGATION ISN UNDERWAY TO DETERMINE OF THE VENEZUELAN BRIBED A CAP EMPLOYEE TO OBTAIN THE PLANS. IT IS ALSO SUSPECTED THAT THE VENEZUELANS MAY HAVE PAID JAQUE'S WAY TO CHILE. THE EXECUTIVE NOTED, IRONICALLY, THAT THE FURNACE IS ABANDONED AND THE PLANS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN PROVIDED UPON REQUEST. END COMMENT.)

5. MORE EXILES REFUSED: INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ DECLARED APRIL 17 THAT THE THREE CHILEAN MEMBERS OF THE VENEZUELAN-BASED ARTISTIC GROUP "COMPANIA DE LOS CUATRO" HAVE BEEN REFUSED PERMISSION TO RETURN TO CHILE DUE TO A "SERIES OF PRESENTATIONS AGAINST CHILE CARRIED OUT BY THOSE PERSONS." COMMUNIST PARTY EX-DEPUTY OSCAR DELFIN MOYA MUNOZ WAS REFUSED ENTRY AT PUDAHUEL AIRPORT APRIL 15 AS A POLITICAL ACTIVIST ON THE PROSCRIBED LIST. MOYA'S WIFE WAS ALLOWED BACK BUT HE WAS FORCED TO CONTINUE ON TO MONTEVIDEO. THE SANTIAGO OFFICE OF THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES HAS CONFIRMED THAT MOYA HAS BEEN TAKEN UNDER

THE WING OF THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN MONTEVIDEO. (COMMENT: MOYA, OF COURSE, KNEW HE WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO RETURN AT THIS JUNCTURE. HIS EFFORT TO DO SO FALLS IN THE CATEGORY OF PUBLICIZING THE GOC'S EXCLUSION POLICY. END COMMENT.)

6. MORE NOISE BOMBINGS: CNI DIRECTOR MENA ASSERTED APRIL 18 THAT TWO NOISE BOMBS THAT EXPLODED IN THE SANTIAGO AREA EARLY THAT MORNING WERE THE WORK OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT MOVEMENT (MIR) EXTREMISTS. ONE OF THEM CAUSED MINOR DAMAGE TO THE EXTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF THE MAYOR OF AN OUTLYING SUBURB. NO INJURIES WERE REPORTED.
GROVER

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Chile Project (F8900226-0223)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
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Exemption(s)

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

DECAPTIONED S/S

18 APR 1979

M049

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/EXDIS (Entire Text)

TO: The Deputy Secretary

FROM: ARA - Viron P. Vaky

Letelier/Moffitt Case: The Chamorro Recommendation

The Prosecutor (Fiscal) of the Chilean Supreme Court, Dr. Chamorro, recommended to the Court that it reject extradition and also trial in Chile for the three Chilean military officers indicted in the United States for the assassinations of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt. (Santiago 2609 is attached.)

-- Chamorro is in effect the Court's advocate and legal advisor. He works directly and exclusively for the Court, reviewing all pleadings in cases and making recommendations to the President of the Court, who works concurrently and independently on his own decisions on cases.

-- We have no information about Chamorro's independence of mind. The office of Fiscal, the highest legal position for a Supreme Court lawyer, is a prestigious post which is energetically sought after, and Chamorro is new to the job. We assume that Chamorro may have a myopic point of view on cases, probably cleaving to what he believes are the Government's views. We do not know to whom, if anyone, he is directly answerable for his recommendations.

Chamorro's recommendation in this extradition case is merely advisory and is not binding on the Court. The Court's President must now complete and announce his decision, which could come as early as next week. The

EXDIS REVIEW
Cat. A - Caption removed; transferred to O/FADRC
Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C - Caption and custody retained by S/S
Elijah Kalb

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GDS 4/18/85

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President often concurs with the recommendation of the Fiscal, but there is ample precedent for his not doing so and announcing a contrary decision. Our Chilean lawyer, acknowledging that the President's decision is made somewhat more difficult now, is confident that the Court President will disregard Chamorro's recommendation.

While not binding, Chamorro's recommendation is bound to carry at least some weight. However, we cannot at this time gauge the effect it will have on the Court's decision. The Court could well deny extradition but still order trial in Chile.

We have consistently avoided placing ourselves in a position where we might be charged with interfering in or trying to influence the Chilean judicial system. So far we have limited our response to this latest development to noting that the Chamorro recommendation is advisory and not binding, that we expect the three will be brought to trial before a court of law, and that we are awaiting the Chilean Supreme Court's decision before commenting on the outcome.

Attachment:
Santiago 2609

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PAGE 01 STATE 098683
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS STATE 098683

E.O. 12065 N/A

TAGS: SOPN, CI

SUBJECT: STATEMENTS TO PRESS ON CHAMORRO RECOMMENDATION

1. FOLLOWING IS VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF PORTION OF DEPARTMENT'S APRIL 18 PRESS BRIEFING PERTAINING TO LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE:

QUOTE. MR. CARTER: GOOD AFTERNOON. NO ANNOUNCEMENTS. YES, JERRY.

Q THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR OF THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT SAID YESTERDAY THAT CHILE WOULD NOT EXTRADITE THE THREE DINA OFFICERS TO THE UNITED STATES AS REQUESTED BY OUR COUNTRY UNDER LETTERS ROGATORY, AND, SECONDLY, HE SAID HIS RECOMMENDATION TO THE SUPREME COURT WOULD BE THAT THERE BE NO TRIAL AT ALL.

WHAT IS THE REACTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO THIS?

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PAGE 02 STATE 098683

A. IN THE ABSENCE OF A RULING BY THE JUDGE, I THINK IT WOULD BE PREMATURE FOR ME TO COMMENT ON RECOMMENDATIONS, BUT LET ME SAY THAT WE CLEARLY EXPECT THAT THE PERSONS

INVOLVED IN THIS CASE WILL IN FACT APPEAR BEFORE A COURT OF JUSTICE. WE, I MIGHT ADD, ARE SEEKING EXTRADITION.

BEYOND THAT, THOUGH, I DON'T HAVE ANY COMMENT.

Q WELL, YOU SAY "EXPECT., IS IT AN EXPECTATION BASED ON A SENSE OF WHAT YOU THINK IS RIGHT?

A WE EXPECT IN THE SENSE OF WHAT WE THINK OUGHT TO BE DONE.

Q NOT THAT YOU HAVE BEEN INFORMED PRIVATELY.

A NO. I MEAN, TO BE MORE PRECISE, WE BELIEVE THAT THEY SHOULD. AND THAT IS AMONG THE REASONS WHY WE SOUGHT EXTRADITION.

Q SINCE YOU CAN'T DO ANYTHING LEGALLY IF THEY DON'T, WHAT WOULD YOU DO DIPLOMATICALLY?

A THAT IS WHY IT IS PREMATURE FOR ME TO COMMENT ON ANY-THING BEYOND THAT GENERAL STATEMENT, BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN NO DECISION TAKEN YET.

Q THIS IS THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT THAT HAS TO RULE ON THIS ONE.

A IT IS THE CHIEF JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Q HE WILL DO IT MONDAY.
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PAGE 03 STATE 098683

A THAT IS THE EXPECTATION. END QUOTE.

2. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DID NOT MAKE A FORMAL STATEMENT. APRIL 18 WASHINGTON POST CARRIED FOLLOWING REPORT BASED ON LARRY BARCELLA'S RESPONSE TO A REPORTER'S PHONE CALL. ACCORDING TO BARCELLA, POST REPORT IS ESSENTIALLY CORRECT, EXCEPT THAT WORDS "DISTURBING AND DISTRESSING" WERE SUB-STITUTED FOR "DISAPPOINTING'THE WORD HE USED.

QUOTE. ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY E. LAWRENCE BARCELLA JR., A PROSECUTOR IN THE LETELIER CASE, SAID IT ,MIGHT BE PRECIPITOUS TO SAY ANYTHING" ABOUT THE RECOMMENDATION BEFORE THE COURT RESPONDS TO IT, BUT ADDED, "OBVIOUSLY IT WOULD BE DISTURBING AND DISTRESSING IF THAT RECOMMENDATION WERE FOLLOWED." END QUOTE. VANCE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02744 231431Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
NSAE-00 SIL-01 LABE-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
DODE-00 PA-02 ICA-15 /083 W
----------048411 240541Z /12

R 211511Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3075
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 2744

EO 12065: NA
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: GOC DENIES AUTHORIZATION FOR WORKERS' RALLY

REF: SANTIAGO 2538 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: AFTER CONSIDERING A REQUEST BY COMMUNIST AND DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION TO HOLD AN "ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL" OPEN AIR RALLY ON MAY DAY, THE GOC DENIED AUTHORIZATION APRIL 20. MINISTER OF INTERIOR SERGIO FERNANDEZ IN A SHORT STATEMENT ADDED THAT LABOR UNIONS WERE FREE TO MEET ON LABOR DAY IN THEIR UNION HALLS IF THEY WISHED. END SUMMARY.

2. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED APRIL 20 THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT AUTHORIZE A MAY DAY RALLY REQUESTED BY A GROUP OF "TRADE UNION AND EX-TRADE UNION LEADERS." THE STATEMENT SAID THAT THIS DECISION WAS BEING ANNOUNCED EARLY "TO AVOID INCONVENIENCES TO FOREIGN INVITED GUESTS" AND WAS "IRREVERSIBLE." THE STATEMENT CONTINUED THAT "AMONG THE SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC" TRADE UNION LEADERS REQUESTING THE MAY DAY RALLY WERE SOME WELL KNOWN MARXISTS AND THE RALLY WAS OBVIOUSLY POLITICAL. MINISTER OF INTERIOR
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02744 231431Z

SERGIO FERNANDEZ TOLD THE PRESS THAT DL 2544 ALREADY PROVIDED SUFFICIENT FREEDOM FOR TRADE UNIONS TO CELEBRATE REGULAR AND EXTRAORDINARY MEETINGS IN THEIR UNION HALLS ON MAY FIRST.

3. DEMOCRATIC AND COMUNIST TRADE UNION GROUPS HAD

JOINTLY DECIDED TO GO AHEAD WITH THEIR REQUEST FOR AUTHORIZATION OF A MAY DAY RALLY AFTER THE PRO-GOVERNMENT UNION OF CHILEAN WORKERS (UNTRACH) BACKED OUT. THE REQUESTS WERE ORIGINALLY ADDRESSED TO GENERAL ROLANDO GARAY, THE SANTIAGO INTENDENTE WHO NORMALLY HAS AUTHORITY TO PERMIT PUBLIC RALLIES. MINISTER OF LABOR JOSE PINERA NOTED THE REQUEST APRIL 16 BUT SAID HIS MINISTRY WAS NOT INVOLVED. HE ADDED THAT WORKERS ALREADY HAD THE RIGHT TO MEET WITHOUT PERMISSION ON MAY DAY IN THEIR RESPECTIVE UNION HALLS.

4. GENERAL MOREL (ACTING IN GARAY'S ABSENCE) DUSTED OFF A 1975 MILITARY ORDER (BANDO 82) REQUIRING THAT GROUPS SEEKING A "NATIONAL MEETING" HAVE THE PERMISSION OF THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS THEN SENT THE FORMAL REQUEST TO FERNANDEZ WHICH HE DENIED TODAY.

5. COMMENT: FEDERICO MUJICA, PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVATE EMPLOYEES CONFEDERATION (CEPCH) HAD MADE IT CLEAR IN THE PAST THAT HE COULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN AN AUTHORIZED MAY DAY RALLY. MUJICA SAID THAT CEPCH WAS THE ONLY ONE OF FOUR ORGANIZERS WITH LEGAL STATUS WHICH THE GOC COULD REVOKE (AND CONFISCATE ITS PROPERTY) IF CEPCH PARTICIPATED IN AN ILLEGAL RALLY. "GROUP OF TEN" LEADERS ALSO HAD SAID PREVIOUSLY THAT THEY WOULD PROBABLY NOT ASK THEIR PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN A RALLY WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION. BOTH UNITARY WORKERS FRONT (FUT) AND THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02744 231431Z

COORDINATING BODY (CNS) HAVE SAID THAT THEY WOULD HOLD THE RALLY WITH OR WITHOUT GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION. PINOCHET, OF COURSE, WILL ADDRESS A GOC-ORGANIZED RALLY INDOORS AT DIEGO PORTALES (GOVERNMENT HOUSE).
GROVER

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4/24/79

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03214 241928Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 LABE-00 SSO-00
INRE-00 AID-05 TRSE-00 ANAE-00 HA-05 DODE-00
PM-05 H-02 L-03 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
ICAE-00 /105 W
----------064196 241931Z /44

O R 241858Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0357
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3214

DEPT FOR ARA LABOR ADVISOR; ALSO PASS AMBASSADOR CASTRO, AIFLD AND AFL-CIO

E.O. 12065 N/A
TAGS ELAB, PINT, AR
SUBJECT COMMITTEE OF 25 LEADERS DETAINED BY POLICE

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3171

1. TWENTY LABOR LEADERS OF THE "COMMITTEE OF 25" WERE DETAINED BY FEDERAL POLICE LAST NIGHT (APRIL 23) AFTER BEING SUMMONED TO THE LABOR MINISTRY'S DEPARTMENT OF LABOR RELATIONS FOR DISCUSSIONS. ACCORDING TO NEWS ACCOUNTS, THE LABOR LEADERS, WHOSE CALL FOR A 24 HOURS
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03214 241928Z

PROTEST STRIKE ON APRIL 27 WAS WIDELY DISCUSSED BY THE PRESS OVER LAST WEEKEND, WERE CALLED TO THE

MINISTRY TO SIGN A QUESTIONNAIRE ESTABLISHING THEIR RESPONSIBILITY IN CALLING THE ILLEGAL STRIKE. REFUSING TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONNAIRE, THE LEADERS REQUESTED 48 HOURS TO RESPOND AND LATER ASKED FOR GUARANTEES THEY WOULD NOT BE DETAINED UPON LEAVING THE BUILDING. AUTHORITIES DEMURRED. SHORTLY AFTERWARDS, THE 18 LABOR LEADERS PRESENT AT THE MEETING -- PLUS TWO MORE WAITING OUTSIDE IN A CORNER BAR -- WERE TAKEN AWAY BY PLAIN CLOTHES POLICE IN UNMARKED CARS TO AN UNDISCLOSED LOCATION.

2. AT THE SAME TIME, THE LABOR MINISTRY RELEASED A COMMUNIQUE CLASSIFYING THE STRIKE CALL AS "IRRESSPONSIBLE AND A CLEAR VIOLATION" OF JUNTA DECREE NO 9/76 BANNING LABOR ACTIVITIES. THE DECREE, REGULATED BY LAWS 21.356 AND 21.400, COULD INVOLVE SENTENCES OF UP TO SIX YEARS FOR ILLEGAL INSTIGATION OF STRIKES OR OTHER PROSCRIBED LABOR ACTIVITIES. THE MINISTRY'S COMMUNIQUE ALSO DELCARED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT "DISPOSED TO TOLERATE BEHAVIOR CONTRARY TO THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL REORGANIZATION PROCESS" AND WOULD ENERGETICALLY APPLY THE LAW AS DEEMED NECESSARY.

3. THE TWENTY LABOR LEADERS DETAINED ARE: ROBERTO GARCIA (TAXI DRIVERS), JORGE LUJAN (GLASS WORKERS), RAUL RAVITTI (RAILWAY WORKERS), FERNANDO DONAIRES (PAPER WORKERS), ROBERTO DIGAN (TOBACCO WORKERS), GERONIMO IZZETA (BA PROVINCE MUNICPLA WORKERS), NATIVIDAD SANTIAGO SERPA (SANITARY WORKERS), DEMETRIO LORENZO (FOOD WORKERS), DELIMIDIO MORET
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 03214 241928Z

(LIGHT AND POWER), CARLOS CABRERA (MINE WORKERS), SAUL UBALDINI (BEER WORKERS), VICTOR MARCHESSE (SHOE MAKERS), ENRIQUE MICO (DRESSMAKERS), BENJAMIN GAETANI (OIL WORKERS), JOSE RODRIGUEZ (MECHANICS), ALBERTO CAMPOS (METAL WORKERS), RAUL CRESPI (STATE PETROLEUM WORKERS), RODOLFO SOBERANO (MILLERS), FRANCISCO RACISKY (TRUCKERS), AND FELIP MASCALI (OIL WORKERS).

4. THE RIVAL NATIONAL LABOR COMMISSION ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY IT WOULD HOLD A PLENARY MEETING OF ITS 33 MEMBERS TODAY (APRIL 24) TO CONSIDER THE FRIDAY

STRIKE CALL. THE ANNOUNCEMENT CAME BEFORE NEWS OF THE "COMMITTEE OF 25" DETENTIONS.

5. THE PRESS ALSO QUOTED INTERIOR MINISTRY HARGUINDEGUY AS SAYING ARGENTINA WOULD SEND A DELEGATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZTION'S MEETING IN GENEVA IN JUNE, WITH OR WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF ARGENTINE UNIONS. "WE ARGENTINES," HE SAIEFN ZSHOULD CONCERN OURSELVES MORE WITH WHAT WE THINK THAN WITH WHAT THOSE OUTSIDE THINK." CHAPLIN

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UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] 4/24/79 INCOMING TELEGRAM

DECONTROL Department of State

AK104

PAGE 01 MONTEV 01397 242027Z 7680

ACTION SIL-01

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 EUR-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 HA-05 /052 W
064831 242029Z /53

O R 242009Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8674
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] MONTEVIDEO 1397

MEXICO AND BRUSSLES FOR LABATT.

DEPT FOR S/IL - DALE GOOD

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, AR
SUBJ: REQUEST FOR FRATERNAL SUPPORT FROM ARGENTINE TRADE UNIONS.

1. FOLLOWING MESSAGE HAS BEEN RECEIVED THROUGH AIRLD OFFICE HERE (JULIO ETCHEVERRY) FROM SPOKESMAN OF ARGENTINE TRADE UNION CENTRAL "GROUP OF 25" WITH REQUEST THAT IT BE PASSED: FOR ACTION, TO OTTO KERSTEN, SECRETARY GENERAL ICFTU/BRUSSLES AND JUAN JOSE DEL PINO, SECRETARY GENERAL ORIT/MEXICO CITY; FOR INFORMATION, TO BILL DOHERTY, AIFLD AND ANDY MCLELLAN, AFL-CIO.

2. TEXT: "YESTERDAY, MONDAY THE 23RD, THE 5 MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE "25" WERE ARRESTED BECAUSE OF DECISION THEY TOOK TO CARRY OUT NEXT FRIDAY THE 27TH A 24-HOUR NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST (STRIKE). THE 5-25 AND AFFILIATED UNIONS REQUEST IMMEDIATE ACTION BY ICFTU AND ORIT, BEFORE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AND ILO, WITH A VIEW TO OBTAINING RELEASE OF DETAINED LEADERS AND RESPECT FOR TRADE UNION FREEDOM."

3. IF DEPARTMENT HAS NO OBJECTION, WOULD APPRECIATE ITS AUTHORIZING INFO POSTS NIACT IMMEDIATE TO TAKE REQUESTED ACTION.

DECLASSIFY ON RECEIPT.
PEZZULLO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise .( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Box 174 ad

4/25/79

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AK107

Press Guidance

SUBJECT: Argentine Labor Leaders Arrested

Q. Do you have any comment on the Argentine Government's arrest of 20 union leaders the night before last?

A. The detention of trade union leaders for, according to an Argentine Labor Ministry communique, announcing plans to call a strike is an infringement of internationally-recognized union rights and is therefore a matter of ~~serious~~ concern to us. We will continue to follow this situation closely and hope that the Argentine Government will release the detained leaders promptly. We will be raising the matter with the Argentine Government.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DRAFTER:HA/HR:P. Flood

CLEARANCE:ARA/ECA:C. Brayshaw (substance)
ARA:V. Vaky
HA/HR:Mark L. Schneider

S/S L. - H Pollak

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Box 17404

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03269 01 OF 02 252246Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08
LAB-04 SIL-01 LABE-00 HA-05 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01
/106 W
----------079693 252302Z /65

O R 252026Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0377
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3269

DEPT. FOR ARA LABOR ADVISOR; ALSO PASS AMB. CASTRO,
AIFLD AND AFL-CIO

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB PINT AR
SUBJECT: EIGHT UNION LEADERS RELEASED; STRIKE OF THE "25"
REMAINS ON

REFERENCE: BUENOS AIRES 3214

1. SUMMARY: EIGHT OF THE 20 PLUS LABOR LEADERS ARRESTED
APR 23 AND 24 HAVE BEEN RELEASED, UNION SOURCES TOLD EMBOFF
TODAY (APR 25). ALL ARRESTED HAVE BEEN WELL TREATED.
A PROVISIONAL "EMERGENCY" COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03269 01 OF 02 252246Z

"COMMITTEE OF 25" RATIFIED THAT GROUP'S STRIKE CALL FOR
APR 27, WHILE THE RIVAL NATIONAL LABOR COMMISSION

MAINTAINED ITS OPPOSITION TO THE STRIKE. BOTH GROUPS JOINED LABOR AND POLITICAL GROUPINGS IN CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF THE LABOR LEADERS DETAINED MONDAY NIGHT. THOSE STILL DETAINED, INCLUDING SEVERAL LABOR LEADERS ARRESTED YESTERDAY (APR 24), ARE BELIEVED TO BE HELD UNDER PEN IN THE LOCAL FEDERAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS. HABEAS CORPUS WRITS HAVE BEEN FILED. THE MORNING PRESS SPECULATED THAT THE LABOR LEADERS MAY BE RELEASED WITHIN 15 DAYS WITH A "WARNING" OR MAY BE TURNED OVER TO THE FEDERAL COURTS FOR PROCESSING UNDER LAW 21,400 WHICH ESTABLISHES PENALTIES FOR ILLEGAL LABOR ACTIVITY. THE GOVERNMENT, MEANWHILE, ANNOUNCED A 19 PERCENT WAGE INCREASE FOR MAY, 15 PERCENT MORE THAN THAT ORIGINALLZ LRESCRIBED. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EMBASSY LEARNED FROM UNION SOURCES THAT EIGHT OF THE LABOR UNION LEADERS ARRESTED APR 23 AND 24 WERE RELEASED LAST NIGHT (APR 24). FOUR OF THE EIGHT ARE JORGE LUJAN (GLASS WORKERS), FRANCISCO RACISKY (TRUCKERS), HUGO BARRIONUEVO (NODDLE WORKERS) AND JOSE MONTANI (PETROLEUM WORKERS). LUJAN AND RACISKY WERE PICKED UP APR 23; BARRIONUEVO AND MONTANI, ON APR 24. ACCORDING TO THE SOURCES, THE UNION LEADERS WERE ALL BEING TREATED WELL AND WERE STILL DETERMINED TO CARRY THROUGH THE STRIKE ON APR 27.

3. A PROVISIONAL "EMERGENCY" COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE UNIONS OF THE "COMMITTEE OF 25" WHOSE LEADERS WERE ARRESTED APR 23 RATIFIED THE "NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST" FOR APR 27. THE RIVAL NATIONAL LABOR COMMISSION (CNT) ANNOUNCED IT WOULD CONTINUE NOT TO
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 03269 01 OF 02 252246Z

SUPPORT THE STRIKE CALL AS THE MEASURE HAD BEEN PROPOSED "UNILATERALLY AND IN A HURRY, WITHOUT ACHIEVING THE UNITY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT." THE CNT ALSO EXPLAINED ITS DECISION WAS TAKEN "BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE LEGITIMATE COMPLAINTS OF THE WORKERS COULD BE RISKED IN A CONFRONTATION OF FORCES THAT DO NOT REPRESENT THE UNITY OF POPULAR SENTIMENT." THE CNT COMMUNIQUE ALSO EXPRESSED FEAR THAT THE STRIKE CALL COULD PRECIPITOUSLY RISK THE FUTURE OF THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT.

4. AT THE SAME TIME THE CNT APPEALED FOR THE RELEASE

OF THE DETAINED LABOR LEADERS IN TELEGRAMS SENT YESTERDARY TO PRESIDENT VIDELA, LABOR MINISTER RESTON, INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY AND ECONOMI MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ. IT ALSO ASKED BUENOS AIRES ARCHBISHOP ARAMBURU TO INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF THE UNION LEADERS AND REQUESTED APPOINTMENTS WITH RESTON AND THE MILITARY COMMITTEE TO ARGUE FOR MODIFICATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY.

5. JOINING THE PROVISIONAL "25" COMMITTEE AND THE CNT IN CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF THE ARRESTED UNION LEADERS AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS' ECONOMIC PLIGHT WAS PERONIST PARTY LEADER DEOLINDO BITTEL, RADICAL LEADER RICARDO BALBIN, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT FEDERATION, THE NATIONAL JUSTICIALISTA COUNCIL, THE UNIFIED SOCIALIST PARTY, THE POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY, THE INSTRANSIGENTE PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE POPULAR LEFTIST FRONT AND SEVERAL OTHER POLITICAL PARTY GROUPINGS. THE PRESS FEATURED REPORTS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE LABOR UNIONS AND THE WORLD LABOR CONFEDERATION HAD ALSO CALLED UPON VIDELA TO RELEASE THE UNION LEADERS.

6. THE 20 LEADERS ARRESTED APR 23 -- PLUS ANOTHER
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PAGE 04 BUENOS 03269 01 OF 02 252246Z

FOUR FROM THE "COMMITTEE OF 25" WHO WERE ARRESTED YESTERDAY -- WERE REPORTED TO BE HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION IN THE "UNION SECTION" OF FEDERAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS IN BUENOS AIRES. HABEAS CORPUS WRITS ON THEIR BEHALF WERE FILED. THE MORNING PRESS SPECUALTED THAT THE UNION LEADERS COULD REMAIN HELD FOR "PROCESSING" FOR UP TO 15 DAYS AND THEN RELEASED FOR TRIAL UNDER THE TERMS OF LAW 21.400 WHICH ESTABLISHES PRISON SENTENCES FOR UP TO TEN YEARS (THE HEAVY SENTENCE FOR PUBLIC INCITEMENT TO STRIKE) FOR INCITING ILLEGAL LABOR ACTIVITY.

7. THE LABOR LEADERS ARRESTED APR 24 INCLUDE HUGO BARRIONUEVO (NOODLE WORKERS), FRANCISCO LOIACONO (TOBACCO WORKERS), JUAN RACCHINI (CARBONATED BOTTLING PLANT WORKERS), AND RAMON VALLE (INSURANCE WORKERS).

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03269 02 OF 02 252250Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08
LAB-04 SIL-01 LABE-00 HA-05 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01
/106 W
----------079717 252302Z /65

O R 252026Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0378
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3269

VALLE APPARENTLY PRESENTED HIMSELF VOLUNTARILY TO AUTHORITIES APR 24 AFTER HAVING AVOIDED ARREST DURING THE DETENTION OF THE OTHER LEADERS ON APR 23. THE PRESS ALSO REPORTED THAT NESTOR DORRA (MILLERS) AND JOSE MONTAINI (PETROLEUM WORKERS) WERE DETAINED ALONG WITH THE 20 LEADERS ON APR 23 AND THAT ALFONSO MILLAN (GLASS WORKERS) WAS ARRESTED WHILE PRESIDING OVER A GLASS WORKERS CONGRESS IN MAR DEL PLATA ON APR 24.

8. ALSO ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, THE AUTOMOTIVE UNITY MOVEMENT "GREEN LIST", REPRESENTING MOST OF THE COUNTRY'S AUTO AND TRUCK MANUFACTURING COMPANIES, ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY IT WOULD ADHERE TO THE STRIKE.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03269 02 OF 02 252250Z

IN CORDOBA, THE UNIONS' COORDINATING COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY

SAID MOST OF THAT PROVINCE'S UNIONS WILL ADHERE, WHILE IN ROSARIO, SPOKESMEN SAID MOST WILL NOT. THE TUCUMAN UNIONS ARE REPORTEDLY NOT EXPECTED TO ADHERE, AND MENDOZA REMAINS UNDECIDED.

9. IN THE MEANTIME, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY THAT WAGES WOULD BE HIKED 19 PERCENT IN MAY, TEN PERCENT IN JUNE AND TEN PERCENT IN JULY. THE MONTHLY INCREASES WOULD THEN BE 15, SIX AND SIX PERCENT RESPECTIVELY ABOVE THE FOUR PERCENT PER MONTH INCREASE PRESCRIBED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN JAN. THE JOINT ECONOMY AND LABOR MINISTRY COMMUNIQUE SAID THAT THE "GOVERNMENT'S CENTRAL ROLE IS MAINTAINING WAGES OF LOWER INCOME GROUPS" WHILE IT IS HOPED THAT BEYOND THE MINIMUM WAGE, WAGES CAN BE FREELY SET BY EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS ONCE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS PERMIT.
CHAPLIN

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UNCLASSIFIED 4/26/79

Department of State TELEGRAM

AK 110

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-05
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 LAEE-00 AID-05
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 L-03 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-02 INRE-00 HA-05 AGRE-00
TRSE-00 OMB-01 /106 W
----------091258 270354Z /65

O R 262056Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0398
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3313

DEPT FOR ARA LABOR ADVISOR; ALSO PASS AMBASSADOR CASTRO, AIFLD AND AFL-CIO

E.O. 12065 N/A
TAGS ELAB, PINT, AR
SUBJECT STRIKE STATUS REPORT

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3214 AND 3269

1. SUMMARY. NINE LESSER UNION LEADERS HAVE BY NOW BEEN RELEASED, LEAVING 21 PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE THE COMMITTEE OF 25 UNDER ARREST AT THE DISPOSITON OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH (PEN). NEW ARREST ORDERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED FOR FOUR MORE LEADERS, INCLUDING ONE CURRENTLY IN THE US AND ANOTHER IN GERMANY. THE GOA REPORTEDLY IS ALSO CONSIDERING OTHER ACTIONS, INCLUDING THE INTERVENTION OF UNIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE STRIKE CALL. MORE STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR THE JAILED UNION LEADERS FROM ARGENTINE POLITICAL PARTY FIGURES HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO THE PRESS. IN ADDITION TO THE PRESS COMMUNIQUES OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) AND WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (WCL) EXPRESSING INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SOLIDARITY, THE PRESS REPORTED THAT THE PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA HAD SENT A TELEGRAM TO ARGENTINE PRESIDENT VIDELA ON BEHALF OF THE JAILED UNION LEADERS. WCL-CLAT REPRESENTATIVES ARE NOW IN THE COUNTRY TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS TO GOA AUTHORITIES. THE PRESS ALSO REPORTS THAT AFL-CIO VICE PRESIDENT CHAIKEN IS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE SHORTLY, ABOUT WHICH THE EMBASSY HAS NO INFORMATION. END SUMMARY.

2. A TOTAL OF NINE "COMMITTEE OF 25" ASSOCIATES WHO WERE ARRESTED ALONG WITH THE COMMITTEE'S TOP LEADERS HAVE NOW BEEN RELEASED, REPORTEDLY AFTER SECURITY FORCES DETERMINED THAT THEY HAD NOT BEEN DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE CALL. THOSE FREED ON THUESDAY, ACCORDING TO TODAY'S PRESS, WERE HORACIO ALONSO (LAW COURT EMPLOYEES), HUGO BARRIONUEVO (PASTA WORKERS), ALFREDO MALDONADO (PASTRY WORKERS), NESTOR ABRAHAM DORRA (MILLERS), FRANCISCO RACICKY (TRUCK DRIVERS), JORGE BARILACHE (BREWERS), JUAN RACHINI (SODA WORKERS), AND FELIPE MASCALLI (VEGETABLE OIL WORKERS). ANOTHER LEADER, FRANCISCO LOIACONO (TOBACCO WORKERS), WAS RELEASED WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

3. TWENTY-ONE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25 REMAIN IMPRISONED, HAVING BEEN TRANSFERRED FROM THEIR ORIGINAL PLACE OF DETENTION TO THE CASEROS JAIL IN BUENOS AIRES AFTER AFFIRMING IN A FORMAL POLICE INTERROGATORY PROCEDURE THAT THEY HAD CONVOKED A WORK STOPPAGE FOR APRIL 27. THE LEADERS REPORTEDLY ARE BEING HELD UNDER THE PEN, ALTHOUGH THE TERMS OF THE PEN DECREE HAVE NOT YET BEEN MADE PUBLIC. LABOR SOURCES SPECULATE THAT AFTER THE STRIKE DATE (POSSIBLE NEXT WEEK) THE JAILED LEADERS WILL BE TURNED OVER TO THE NORMAL JUDICIAL PROCESS, WHICH WOULD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR BEING LET OUT ON BAIL WHILE AWAITING ADJUDICATION OF THE CASE. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED ARREST ORDERS FOR THE HEAD OF THE TRUCKER UNION, RICARDO PEREZ, WHO IS ATTENDING A UNION SEMINAR IN EUROPE, "OSCAR" OTERO OF THE RACE TRACK EMPLOYEES (PRESUMABLY JESUS MARIA OTERO WHO IS ATTENDING AN AIFLD COURSE IN THE US), TRAVLING SALESMEN LEADER ANGEL ESTEVEZ AND NAVAL SHIPYARD WORKER LEADER JOSE CASTILLO, WHO ARE SOMEWHERE IN ARGENTINA.

4. THE PRESS REPORTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING FURTHER MEASURE IN RESPONSE TO THE STRIKE THREAT, SUCH AS INTERVENING SOME OR ALL OF THE UNIONS WHOSE LEADERS HAVE BEEN JAILED AND/OR TERMINATING THE UNION MANDATES OF ALL LEADERS INVOLVED IN THE STRIKE CALL (INCLUDING THOSE WHO ARE SUBSTITUTING FOR THE TOP LEADERS IN THE ALTERNATE OR "EMERGENCY" COMMITTEE OF 25).

5. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT TRADE UNION LEADERS IN CORDOBA HAVE COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE WORK STOPPAGE, ALTHOUGH THE CORDOBA PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED A STRONG STATEMENT WARNING WORKERS NOT TO STRIKE. POLITICAL PARTY SOURCES IN CORDOBA APRIL 25 TOLD LABATT, HOWEVER, THERE WOULD NOT BE WIDESPREAD ADHERENCE TO THE STRIKE CALL IN THAT PROVINCE. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, THE MENDOZA UNIONS ARE UNDECIDED, BUT LOCAL OBSERVERS DOUBT THERE WILL BE A STRIKE THERE. PRESS REPORTS FROM ROSAIOR AND TUCUMAN ALSO REFLECT SKEPTICISM CONCERNING ADHERENCE TO THE STRIKE IN THOSE CITIES.

6. THE RIVAL CNT IS SCHEDULED TO MEET TODAY TO ASSESS THE CURRENT LABOR SITUATION, INCLUDING THE RECENT WAGE INCREASES DECLARED BY THE GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, TEXTILE AND METAL UNION "SECCION" (IE LOCAL) LEADERS MET YESTERDAY AND DECIDED, DESPITE THE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03313 02 OF 02 270311Z 6993
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 LABE-00 AID-05
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 L-03 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
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O R 262058Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 399
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3313

FACT THAT THEIR TOP LEADERS OPERATE PRINCIPALLY IN THE CNT RATHER THAN THE 25-COMMITTEE, TO ADHERE TO THE STRIKE CALL.

7. FURTHER STATEMENTS APPEARED IN THE PRESS FROM NATIONAL POLITICAL FIGURES COMMENTING ON THE STRIKE CALL AND ARRESTS, INCLUDING EX-PRESIDENT FRONDIZI, VARIOUS PERONIST FACTIONS AND THE UNIFIED SOCIALIST PARTY -- ALL ASKING FOR THE RELEASE OF THE JAILED UNION LEADERS. ON THE OTHER SIDE A RIGHT-WING GROUP CALLED THE "FALANGE DE FE" ISSUED A STATEMENT EQUATING THE STRIKE CALL WITH SUBVERSION.

8. WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (WCL) AND CLAT REPRESENTATIVES ERNESTO MOLANO AND RAMON DARIO GODOY ARRIVED IN ARGENTINA APRIL 25 TO SEEK APPOINTMENTS WITH GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES IN ORDER TO REQUEST THE RELEASE OF THE JAILED UNION LEADERS. BOTH EXPRESSED THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT UPON ARRIVAL IN THE COUNTRY. THE TWO CHRISTIAN LABOR ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES INFORMED THE PRESS THAT, AT THE REQUEST OF THE VENEZUELAN TRADE UNION CENTRAL (CTV), LUIS HERRERA CAMPINS OF VENEZUELA HAD SENT A TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT VIDELA ON BEHALF OF THE JAILED ARGENTINE UNION LEADERS. THE THREE TRADE UNION CENTRALS OF ITALY ALSO INFORMED THE PRESS THAT THEY HAD ASKED THEIR FOREIGN MINISTRY TO MAKE A REPRESENTATION TO THE GOA AND TO "THE MOST OPPORTUNE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS" IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE ARGENTINE LEADERS, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. ARGENTINE UNION SOURCES ALSO TOLD THE PRESS THAT AFL-CIO VICE PRESIDENT SOL CHAIKIN AND INTERNATIONAL METAL WORKERS FEDERATION (IMF) REPRESENTATIVE FERNANDO MELGOSA WERE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN ARGENTINA APRIL 26 OR 27 ON SIMILAR MISSIONS.
CHAPLIN

April 26, 1979

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Senator John Melcher
1123 Dirksen
Senate Office Bldg
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Meltcher:

Having recently returned from a visit to Chili, South America, including major cities such as Santiago, Valparaiso, Vina Del Mar, Concepcion, and other smaller communities within this vicinity, I was pleasently surprised. The country of Chili, while not necessarily rich in material goods, was very rich in spirit. As I had the privilege to visit many schools (including public and private), hospitals, prisons, military installations, governmental authorities, as well as the general business and community life of the country, I discovered a happy, warm and enthusiastic Chilian people. Yes, the governmental structure is currently a dictatorship, but one clearly anti-communist, and one genuinely concerned with the proper welfare of the people. When I see and feel such earnest efforts, as I saw within Chili, to clearly maintain freedom for all people; freedom of worship, property ownership, business ownership, etc.; the high value as placed upon individual human respect and responsibility; and a clear effort to maintain proper liberty, justice, and pursuit of happiness for all; I am reminded of my country, the United States of America.

I believe the country of Chili possesses one of the highest potentials for developing and maintaining a vital and strong part of the free world. Therefore, as a citizen of the United States of America I hereby kindly request that my country reassess their position towards the country of Chili and seriously consider our moral obligation towards befriending a nation whose principals concerning life and liberty are very near our own. As you serve in a vital part of our governing process, I trust you will make every effort possible towards this end.

I also would be pleased to hear from you regarding this matter and will pray that God may grant you special wisdom, sound judgement, proper discernment, and the necessary courage to serve Him and our country in a full and responsible manner. Please consider a full and open support of Chili.

Very Truly Yours,

April 26, 1979

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Representative Pat Williams
Longworth Office Bldg
Washington D.C. 20515

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dear Mr. Williams:

Having recently returned from a visit to Chili, South America, including major cities such as Santiago, Valparaiso, Vina Del Mar, Concepcion, and other smaller communities within this vicinity, I was pleasently surprised. The country of Chili, while not necessarily rich in material goods, was very rich in spirit. As I had the privilege to visit many schools (including public and private), hospitals, prisons, military installations, governmental authorities, as well as the general business and community life of the country, I discovered a happy, warm and enthusiastic Chilian people. Yes, the governmental structure is currently a dictatorship, but one clearly anti-communist, and one genuinely concerned with the proper welfare of the people. When I see and feel such earnest efforts as I saw within Chili, to clearly maintain freedom for all people; freedom of worship, property ownership, business ownership, etc.; the high value as placed upon individual human respect and responsibility; and a clear effor to maintain proper liberty, justice, and pursuit of happiness for all, I am reminded of my country, the United States of America.

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part of the free world. Therefore, as a citizen of the United States of America, I hereby kindly request that my country's re-assess their position towards the country of Chili and properly fulfill our moral obligation towards a nation whose principals, concerning life and liberty are very close to our own. I serve in a vital part of our government process, I trust you will make every effort possible towards this end.

I also would be pleased to hear from you regarding this matter and I pray that God may grant you special wisdom, insight, judgement, hope, discernment and strength necessary to serve Him and our country in a full and responsible manner. Please consider active and open support of Chili.

Very Truly Yours,

[redacted]

Chile Project (#S19990030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemptions: B6

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 STATE 104958 4202
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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SR-05 SP-02 CIAE-00 INR-10
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 104958

E.O. 12065 GDS, 4/23/85 (TRAGEN, I.G)

TAGS: SHUM, AR, OAS

SUBJECT: VISIT OF IAHRC TO ARGENTINA

REF: BA 3129

1. [redacted] - FULL TEXT)

2. INDICATIONS DEPT HAS CONTINUED TO SUGGEST THAT IAHRC WILL VISIT ARGENTINA AS PLANNED, ALTHOUGH INSTALLATION AND INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF NEW IAHRC MAY REQUIRE SEVERAL WEEKS. OTHER ISSUES RAISED BY ARLIA (PARAGRAPH 6, REFTEL) ARE MET BY PERM COUNCIL RES. 253 OF SEPT. 20, 1978 TITLED "TRANSITION FROM THE PRESENT IAHRC TO COMMISSION PROVIDED FOR IN THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS".

3. WHILE POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE RULED OUT, WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT ROLE OF ORFILA IN SEEKING DELAY OF VISIT. OUR INFORMATION IS THAT STAFF MEMBERS OF IAHRC BEGAN LOBBYING COSTA RICA AND HONDURAS DELEGATIONS SEVERAL MONTHS AGO TO PUSH FOR EARLY ELECTION OF BOTH COURT AND NEW COMMISSION. THERE WAS SUSPICION ON PART OF JAMAICA AND OTHERS ABOUT ARGENTINE MOTIVES IN JOINING FORCES WITH COSTA RICA AND HONDURAS, AND AMBASSADOR CARASALES WENT TO CONSIDERABLE LENGTHS ON MORNING OF APRIL 18 TO ASSURE

DOUBTERS THAT GOA WOULD NOT (RPT. NOT) USE PRETEXT OF NEW COMMISSION TO SEEK DELAY. WITHOUT SUCH ASSURANCES, IT IS HIGHLY LIKELY THAT IAHRC ELECTION WOULD HAVE BEEN DEFERRED TO REGULAR GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN NOVEMBER.

4. EMBASSY MAY WISH TO MAKE FOREGOING POINTS IN ANY FOLLOW ON DISCUSSIONS WITH ARLIA. VANCE

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U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Department of State INCOMING TELEGRAM

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ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 EB-08 INR-10
LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 COM-04 L&BE-00 INRE-00
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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3348

DEPT. FOR ARA LABOR ADVISOR; ALSO PASS AMBASSADOR CASTRO, AIFLD AND AFL-CIO

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, AR
SUBJECT: GENERAL STRIKE PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE; FURTHER TRADE UNION ARRESTS AND RELEASES ANNOUNCED

REF: A) BA-3313; B) STATE 105843

1. SUMMARY: TODAY'S STRIKE IS PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE IN THE BUENOS AIRES FACTORY DISTRICTS AND TRANSPORTATION SECTOR, WITH ONLY SCATTERED REPORTS OF MINOR STRIKE TROUBLE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT NINE MORE TRADE UNION LEADERS WERE RELEASED LATE APR 26, INCLUDING THREE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF 5, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT HAVE CONFIRMATION. HOWEVER, NEW ARRESTS HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED. SOME PAPERS TOTAL THE NO. OF LEADERS RELEASED AT [illegible], WITH AROUND 10 OF THOSE ORIGINALLY DETAINED REPORTEDLY STILL UNDER ARREST, BUT ACCOUNTS VARY IN THE MEDIA AND REQUIRE FURTHER INVESTIGATION. STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR THE JAILED ARGENTINE LABOR LEADERS FROM INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO BE RECEIVED BY THE GOA, BUT THE AFL-CIO CABLE HAS NOT BEEN PUBLICIZED. END SUMMARY.

2. AS OF 1100 AM APRL 27, THE [illegible]-HOURS NATIONAL STRIKE CALLED BY "THE COMMITTEE OF 25" APPEARS TO BE PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE IN BUENOS AIRES. AT LEAST 2 OF THE 5 INTERURBAN COMMUTER RAILWAY LINES IN THE BUENOS AIRES AREA WERE NOT FUNCTIONING EARLY THIS MORNING, ALTHOUGH ACCORDING TO A LATE REPORT ONE OF THESE LINES IS NOW BEGINNING TO NORMALIZE. IN THE INDUSTRIAL BELT AROUND THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES MOST AUTO PLANTS ARE VIRTUALLY SHUT DOWN -- MERCEDES BENZ, PEUGEOT, CITROEN AND CHRYSLER; FIAT REPORTS 80 PERCENT ABSENTEEISM, BUT FORD IS WORKING NORMALLY. SEVERAL METAL AND FIRE FACTORIES ARE NOT WORKING OR HAVE ONLY PARTIAL ATTENDANCE AND WE ASSUME THIS IS TRUE FOR OTHER INDUSTRIAS AS WELL. ACCORDING TO AN AUTO INDUSTRY SOURCE, THE CORDOBA AUTO PLANTS ARE WORKING NORMALLY OR NEAR NORMALLY. THERE WERE EARLIER REPORTS OF SLOWDOWNS IN THE BUENOS AIRES SUBWAYS

BUT PRESS SOURCES TELL US THAT THEY ARE NOW RETURNING TO NORMAL OPERATION. AIRLINE TRAFFIC APPEARS TO BE NORMAL. BUS, TAXI AND PASSENGER VEHICLE TRAFFIC WAS NORMAL AND THE OFFICE AND BUSINESS DISTRICTS IN THE CENTER OF BUENOS AIRES ARE OPERATING NORMALLY, INCLUDING THE STOCK EXCHANGE WHERE THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF PANIC. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMED REPORTS OF STRIKE ADHESION IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, BUT THERE MAY BE SOME WORKER NON-ATTENDENCE IN THE CORDOBA INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT AND SLOWDOWNS IN THE RAILWAY LINES IN MENDOZA.

3. AN INFORMED INDUSTRY SOURCE REPORTED THAT THE STRIKE IS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN INDUSTRIAL LEADERS HAD ANTICIPATED.

4. THE INTERIOR MINISTRY ISSUED A COMUNIQUE APRIL 26 DECLARING THE NATIONAL STRIKE TO BE ILLEGAL AND PROMISING TOGUARANTEE PUBLIC ORDER AND THE RIGHT TO WORK "WITH ALL MEANS AT HAND AND WITH THE STRENGHT GIVEN BY REASON AND LAW." THE MINISTRY ALSO STATED THAT " SMALL GROUP OF PERSONS HAVE INSTIGATED THE WORKERS TO HOLD AND ILLEGAL STRIKE ON FRIDAY, 27 APRIL, AND HAVE THUS PROMPTED THE GOVERNMENTS'S (ARREST) ACTION IN KEEPING WITH ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE THE COMMONGOOD AND TO ENFORCE THE LAW. THIS MINORITY GROUP CHOSE AN ILLEGAL WAY TO DISRUPT THE MARCH OF THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL REORGANIZATION WHICH HAS BEEN SEEKING, WITH UNDERSTANDABLE DIFFICULTIES, TO PULL THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE SITUATION IT IS NOW EXPERIENCING. THEY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO HAVE THE WORKERS ADOPT ILLEGAL, USELESS ATTITUDES. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THESE ACTIONS HAVE HAPPENED IN THIS COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE ARE CERTAINLY AWARE OF THIS. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BRANCH, WITH PRUDENCE, OBJECTIVITY AND A DECISIVENESS WHICH DOES NOT AND WILL NOT INDULGE IN HESITATION, HAS PROCEEDED TO ENFORCE THE LAW."

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03348 02 OF 02 272130Z 0413 BUENOS 03348 02 OF 02 272130Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 EB-08 INR-10
LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 COM-04 LABE-00 INRE-00
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O R 272019Z APR 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3348

5. THE MINISTRY'S COMUNIQUE INDICATED THAT THE INTERROGATION OF THE DETAINED TRADE UNION LEADERS RESULTED IN THE CONCLUSION THAT THE FOLLOWING WERE NOT INVOLVED IN THE STRIKE CALL AND THAT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, THEREFORE, HAD ORDERED THEIR RELEASE: ALBERTO CAMPOS (METAL WORKERS); FERNANDO DONAIRES (PAPER WORKERS LEADER AND A MEMBER OF THE "25'S" EXECUTIVE COMMITTE OF 5); BENJAMIN GAETANI (VEGETABLE OIL WORKERS); JORGE LUJAN (GLASS WORKERS); RODOLFO SOBERANO (MILLERS); CARLOS CABRERA (MINE WORKER AND MEMBER OF THE 25'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF 5); DELMIDIO MORET (LIGHT AND POWER WORKERS); SANTIAGO SERPA (SANITATION WORKERS LEADER), AND RAMON VALLE (INSURANCE WORKER LEADER AND MEMBER OF THE 25'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF 5).

6. WE DO NOT YET HAVE CONFIRMATION THAT THESE LEADERS HAVE INDEED BEEN RELEASED AND WE ARE SEEKING TO CONFIRM PRESS REPORTS THAT GLASS EMPLOYEE LEADER ALFONSO MILLAN WAS RELEASED LAST NIGHT. THE PRESS REPORTS THAT THERE ARE STILL 10 NATIONAL LEADERS UNDER ARREST, BUT ACCOUNTS DIFFER IN THE MEDIA AS TO THE TOTAL NO. BOAT MECHANIC LEADER JOSE LUIS CASTILLO REPORTEDLY RESPONDED TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS ARREST ORDER BY TURNING HIMSELF IN TO AUTHORITIES. THE PRESS ALSO REPORTED THAT AT LEAST 5 LOCAL TRADE UNION LEADERS IN CORDOBA HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, AS FOLLOWS: COMMERCIAL WORKER LEADER MANIR FATALA; TELEGRAPH WORKER LEADER MANUEL RODRIGUEZ; RESTAURANT EMPLOYEE LEADER JUAN REYES; STATE PETROLEUM WORKER LEADER JUAN DE BIASIS; AND METAL WORKER LEADER JULIO CESAR ROMERO.

7. THE PRESS ALSO REPORTED THAT PROTESTS AGAINST THE ARRESTS AND DEMANDS FOR THE RELEASE OF THE UNIONISTS CONTINUED TO CONVERGE ON THE GOVERNMENT IN THE FORM OF TELEGRAMS AND STATEMENTS FROM NATIONAL AND FOREIGN POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS. THE STATE DEPT., STATEMENT WAS REPORTED, AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT THE UNITED AUTO WORKERS (UAW) HAD CABLED PRESIDENT VIDELA DEMANDING THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE ARGENTINE TRADE UNIONISTS. AN INTERNATIONAL METAL WORKERS FEDERATION (IMF) STATEMENT WAS ALSO REPORTED. THERE HAS BEEN NO MENTION IN THE LOCAL PRESS OF THE AFL-CIO CABLE TO PRESIDENT VIDELA AND LOCAL TRADE UION LEADERS ARE UNAWARE OF ITS EXISTENCE.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02933 280327Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-15 ADS-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
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Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 2933

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: MAY DAY PLANS AND RELATED MATTERS

1. SUMMARY: THE MAY DAY SITUATION EMAINS UNCERTAIN AND THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL RISK OF CONFONTATION BETWEEN LEFTISTS AND SECURITY FORCES. DEMOCRATIC LEADERS SAY THAT THEY WILL STAY INSIDE. PINOCHET HAS REPEATED THE GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO PREVENT ANY STREET CELEBRATIONS BUT SAID THAT TRADE UNIONS MAY MEET IN UNION HALLS AND THAT BEGINNING MAY 1 NO PRIOR NOTIFICATION WILL BE REQUIRED FOR ANY SUCH MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT PINOCHET TOLD A BREAKFAST GATHERING OF JOURNALISTS APRIL 25 THAT TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS MAY CELEBRATE MAY DAY IN ANY UNION HALL WITHOUT PRIOR NOTIFICATION OR PERMISSION BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES. PREVIOUSLY, ONLY UNIONS WITH THEIR OWN HALLS HAVE HAD THIS UNFETTERED RIGHT. FROM MAY DAY ON, ANY UNION MAY BORROW ANOTHER UNION'S HALL WITHOUT GIVING PRIOR NOTICE TO THE CARABINEROS. THE PRESIDENT ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS WILL NOT BE PERMITTED. IN VALPARAISO, THE REGIONAL INTENDANT VICE ADMIRAL TRONCOSO MADE A SIMILAR ANNOUNCEMENT SPECIFYING PRECISELY THAT THEATERS, SPORTS STADIUMS AND AUDITORIUMS
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NOT PART OF A UNION HALL ARE NOT CONSIDERED AS PLACE FOR MEETINGS UNDER THE NEW CHANGE IN REGULATIONS.

3. THE DEMOCRATIC GROUP OF TEN, THE CHRISTIAN UNITARY WORKERS FRONT (FUT), THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED NATIONAL WORKERS COORDINATING BODY (CNS) AND THE PRIVATE EMPLOYEES CONFEDERATION DIRECTED A

STRONGLY WORDED REQUEST APRIL 23 TO PINOCHET ASKING THAT HE PERMIT A PUBLIC WORKERS CELEBRATION. WHILE AWAITING THE ASSURED DENIAL, THE GROUP OF TEN MET AND DECIDED TO CELEBRATE MAY DAY AT A MASS IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BASILICA. AFTER MASS, THE GROUP OF TEN WILL READ A WHITE PAPER ON TRADE UNION FREEDOM TO THE CONGREGATION. IT IS LIKELY THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER LABOR GROUPSINGS WILL ALSO ATTEND THE MASS. THE CEPCH DECIDED THAT, WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION, IT WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY ACTIVITY ON MAY DAY, INCLUDING THE GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED MAY DAY CELEBRATION AT DIEGO PORTALES (GOVERNMENT HOUSE). REPORTEDLY, THE CNS AND FUT HAVE DECIDED TO DEFY THE GOC DENIAL AND ARE TRYING TO ORGANIZE A MASS PUBLIC RALLY FOR MAY DAY. THE TWO SUGGESTED SITES FOR THE RALLY ARE THE PASEO AHUMADA AND THE PLAZA BULNES -- BOTH IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO. ONE REPORT HAS GROUPS FORMING IN THE OUTSKIRTS AND ATTEMPTING TO MARCH TO THE CENTRAL RALLYING POINT. THE CNS HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR GROUPS JOIN THEM AFTER THE MASS AT THE BASILICA. THIS HAS BEEN REJECTED BY THE GROUP OF TEN.

4. PDC UNIVERSITY AND WOMEN'S GROUPS SAY THEY ALSO PLAN TO DEMONSTRATE ON MAY DAY. FINDING THE GROUP OF TEN'S PLANS TOO TAME, THE PDC YOUTH SAY THEY WILL JOIN WITH THE CNS AND FUT FOR THE PUBLIC MARCH.

5. THE GOC HAS ORGANIZED A VARIETY OF OFFICIAL ACTIVITIES FOR THE PERIOD AROUND LABOR DAY, INVOLVING LABOR, BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS. THESE INCLUDE VISITS BY PINOCHET TO UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02933 280327Z

FACTORIES, A SEMINAR ON THE GOC LABOR POLICY FOR OVER 300 WORKERS, THE ELECTION OF A LABOR QUEEN, SPORTS EVENTS AND THE OFFICIAL CELEBRATION AT DIEGO PORTALES. THE LATTER WILL BRING TOGETHER 2,500 LABOR LEADERS, WORKERS, AND DIPLOMATS WHO WILL HEAR SPEECHES BY THE MINISTER OF LABOR, JOSE PINERA, THE LABOR REPRESENTATIVE TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE GUILLERMO MEDINA AND THE PRESIDENT. THE NATIONAL UNION OF CHILEAN WORKERS (UNTRACH) WILL ATTEND.

6. COMMENT: UNLESS THERE IS A LAST MINUTE CHANGE OF MIND ON THE PART OF LEFTIST LABOR LEADERS WE CAN EXPECT A REPEAT OF THE ATTEMPTED RALLY AND POLICE BUST OF LAST YEAR -- WHEN SOME 780 WERE ARRESTED AND HELD BRIEFLY. LIKE LAST YEAR SOME FOREIGN GUESTS HAVE BEEN INVITED -- WE HAVE HEARD DEFINITELY ABOUT DUTCH AND SPANIARDS. THERE IS SOME DANGER THAT THE GOC WILL REACT MORE HARSHLY THAN THE LAST TIME AROUND (DESPITE THE COURT'S REJECTION OF ITS RECENT ATTEMPT TO PIN INTERNAL SECURITY LAW VIOLATIONS ON DEMONSTRATING RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS). IN ANY EVENT THE WOULD-BE MARCHERS WILL GAIN HEADLINES AND

INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S)19990030
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

FADRC

M052

Dear Senator Zorinsky:

The Secretary has asked me to answer your letter of April 27, in which you ask for comments on these proposed amendments to this year's security assistance legislation.

The Administration did not propose the amendments to Section 406 of the International Security Assistance, 1976, Section 620 (b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, or Section 38 of the Arms Export Control Act.

We are extremely concerned about the human rights situation in Argentina and Chile. The Administration does not contemplate military aid to either country at this time. We would not want any action by the U.S. government to be interpreted as a lessening of our concern for human rights.

We would, however, like to take this opportunity to point out that we have consistently opposed legislative prohibitions such as those in Section 406 and Section 620 (b) applicable to specific countries. We have taken this position because we believe the President needs this flexibility to respond to changing circumstances.

While we believe that singling out Argentina and Chile at this time would send the wrong signals, we would be prepared to support your proposal if it were broadened to remove the entire restriction as well as to cover all other country specific prohibitions.

Sincerely,

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Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

The Honorable
Edward Zorinsky,
United States Senate.

5/2 Text received from NSC, typed in H in PM and hand carried to Hill 5/3/79.

057-1189

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EXCISE

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1979 MAY 3 PM 3 03
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Enclosed is a copy of a [redacted] letter we received from Montana concerning American relations with Chile. I would appreciate a suggested response that would address [redacted] concerns.

Thanks for your help!

re: U.S. support to Chile

From: [redacted]

5/2/79

Chile Project (#)3999900030
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) b6

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Chile Project (#S19990003)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

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MAY 7 1979
TIGAR & BUFFONE

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

R

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, MICHAEL MOFFITT, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

THE CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES (formerly DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL, a/k/a DINA), THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE, PEDRO ESPINOZA BRAVO, JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS, MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY, ALVIN ROSS DIAZ, VIRGILIO PAZ ROMERO, JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ ESQUIVEL, GUILLERMO NOVO SAMPOL, IGNACIO NOVO SAMPOL, JOHN DOES ONE through TEN,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 78-1477

FILED
MAY - 3 1979
JAMES F. DAVEY, Clerk

ORDER

Upon consideration of plaintiffs' motion for an entry of default of against the Republic of Chile pursuant to Rule 55(a), Fed.R.Civ.P., it is, this 2nd day of May, 1979, hereby

ORDERED that the plaintiffs' motion be, and hereby is granted and

FURTHER ORDERED that default be entered against defendant the Republic of Chile.

John H. Pratt

Judge John H. Pratt
United States District Court for the District of Columbia

EXHIBIT B

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 SANTIA 02982 01 OF 02 022248Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
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O R 022159Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3193
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRS
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MADRIDO
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)_____

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2982

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB SHUM PINT CI
SUBJ: MAY DAY: TENSE BUT NO MAJOR CONFRONTATION

REF: SANTIAGO 2933

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC'S MAY DAT RALLY WAS MRAKED BY LEGTHY EXPOSITION OF GOVERNMENT THINIING ON LABOR MATERS, SOME CRITICISM OF THE AFL-CIO, AND THE FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT ALL UNIONS CAN NOW MEET IN UNION HALLS WITHOUT PRIOR PERMISSION. DESPITE SOME OBJECTION FROM THE CHURCH, MOST OF THE COMMUNIST AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR GROUPS REQUESTING A SEPARATE WORKERS RALLY, AND THEIR FEW FOREIGN GUESTS WHO MADE IT TO CHILE THIS YEAR, MET LI[redacted]L USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02982 01 OF 02 022248Z

FIRST IN THE SANTIAGO BASILICA, THEN HAD LUNCH, AND CONCLUDED WITH AMEETING AT A UNION HALL. ROVING GROUPS OF STUDENTS, PROBABLY INCLUDING SOME YOUNG WORKERS, TRIED TO HOLD PUBLC MEETINGS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF SANTIAGO AND SCUFFLED WITH CARABINEROS. PERSONS ARRESTED AND STILL BEING DETAINED TOTAL 365, OF WHICH 17 ARE TO BE CHARGED BEFORE AMILITARY COURT FOR FIGHTING WITH SECURITY FORCES.

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IN OTHER ACTIONS, FIVE MEN ATTEMPTED TO HAVE A MAY DAY MESSAGE BROADCAST OVER A LOCAL RADIO STATION APRIL 30. THAT EVENING LABOR LEADERS, EDUARDO RIOS AND MANUEL BUSTOS, ERE ARRESTED AND DETAINED BRIEFLY FOR HOLDING AN UNAUTHORIZED MEETING IN AN AUDITORIUM. CARDINAL SILVA'S MAY DAY MESSAGE SAID WORKERS SHOULD BE ABLE TO RECOGNIZE THEIR RIGHTS. OVERALL, WITHOUT PROVOKING AS MANY ARRESTS AS LAST YEAR, LEFT AND CENTER LABOR GROUPS WERE FAIRLY SUCCESSFUL IN CARRYING OUT AN INDEPENDENT MAY DAY PROGRAM. END SUMMARY.

2. THE OFFICIAL MAY DAY RALLY: AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS, APPROXIMATELY 2,500 OFFICIALS, WORKERS, BUSINESSMENT AND DIPLOMATES MET AT DIEGO PORTALES TO HEAR SPOKESMEN FOR ORGANIZED LABOR, THE LABOR MINISTER AND PRESIDENT PINOCHET. AS IN THE PAST, ALL SPEAKERS CONDEMNED POLITICAL INVOVLVE-MENT IN THE CHILEAN TRADE MOVEMENT. COPPER WORKERS LEADER (AND MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE) GUILLERMO MEDINA READ FROM A RECENT BULLETIN OF THE AFL-CIO WHICH SAID THAT THE GOC HAD GIVEN WAY UNDER THE THREAT OF A BOYCOTT AND AGREED TO RESTORE TRADE UNION RIGHTS. HE SAID THAT CHILEAN WORKERS REJECT THIS IMPUTATION, CLAIMING THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S LABOR PLAN IS INTERNAL NOT IMPOSED. LABOR MINISTE PINERA REVIEWED AT LEGNTH THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE LABOR PLAN AND PROMISED THAT IT WOULD ALL BE IN PLACE ON SCHEDULE , I.,E., BY JUNE 30. HE ALSO MADE THE FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HENCEFORTH, UNIONS WITHOUT THEIR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02982 01 OF 02 022248Z

OWN HALLS MAY MAKE USE OF HALLS BELONGING TO OTHER UNIONS FOR TRADE UNION MEETINGS WITHOUT PREVIOUSLY INFORMING THE CARABINEROS. (COMMENT: THIS NEW LAW REVISES DL 2544 OF FEBRUARY 9, 1979 WHICH IN TURN HAD AMENDED DL 198. AS SO OFTEN HAPPENS WITH GOC LEGISLATION, TH REVISION OF ONE ELEMENT LEAVES ANOTHER POINT UNCLEAR. UNDER DL 2544 UNIONS WITHOUT THEIR OWN HALL COULD MEET IN ANY PRIVATE PLACE SO LONG AS THE CARABINEROS WERE ADVISED 24 HOURS IN ADVANCE. THE LATEST REVISION, IN DL2620, APPEARS TO CLOSE THE "PRIVATE PLACE OPTION". A STRICT INTERPRETATION MAY MEAN THAT UNIONS WITHOUT THEIR OWN HALL CAN ONLY MEET IN SOME OTHER UNION'S HALL.) PINOCHET'S BRIEF ADDRESS CON-TAINED NO NEW IDEAS. LATER IN THE DAY HE VISITED HOSPITALIZED WORKERS.

3. PREACFUL PROTEST: THE LEADERS OF THE GROUP OF TEN, THE CONFEDERATION OF PRIVATE EMPLOYEES (CEPCH), THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION COORDINATING BOARD (CNS) AND THE UNITARY WORKERS FRON (FUT) HELD A SERIES OF JOINT MEETINGS AND CERE-MONIES DURING THE DAY. APPROXIMATELY 2,000 PERSONS WERE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02982 02 OF 02 022307Z
ACTION ARA-15

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O R 022159Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3194
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY ROME
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2982

PRESENT AT SANTIAGO'S EL SALVADOR BASILICA. (COMMENT: THE CHURCH FIRST AGREED AND THEN DENIED PERMISSION TO USE THE BASILICA. A COMPROMISE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK. THE BASILICA WAS TO BE OPEN FOR MASS REGARDLESS. IT JUST HAPPENED THAT 2,000 SUPPRTERS OF THE FOUR LABOR GROUPS TURNED UP. A PRIEST SPOKE ON CHILE'S SOCIAL DOCTRINE, DRAWING HEAVILY ON CELAM I AND II, AND BISHOP ALVEAR ALSO ADDRESSED THOSE IN ATTENDANCE.) SOME SCUFFLING BROKE OUT BETWEEN CARABINEROS AND DEMONSTRATORS OUTSIDE THE BASILICA WHERE CHRISTIAN-SOCIALIST LABOR LEADER CLOTARIO BLEST ATTEMPTED TO ADDRESS THE CROWD. THE INTERNAL PORTICO OF THE BASILICA COLLAPSED AS PEOPLE TRIED TO GET OUT OF THE WAY. ABOUT A DOZEN PEOPLE WERE INJURED, NONE SERIOUSLY. SOME ARRESTS WERE MADE OUTSIDE THE BASILICA. SUBSEQUENTLY, ABOUT 100 OF THE LEADERS OF THE FOUR GROUPS ATE LUNCH AT
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02982 02 OF 02 022307Z

THE FUT'S SOCIAL HALL. THEY THEN WENT TO THE UNION HALL OF SUMAR TEXTILES WHERE FEDERICO MUJICA SPOKE FOR THE CEPCH, MANUEL BUSTOS FOR THE CNS, CARLOS FREZ FOR THE FUT

AND EDUARDO RIOS FOR THE GOUP OF TEN. THERE WERE NO REPORTED INCIDENTS AT EITHER OF THESE TWO EVENTS.

4. FOREIGN GUESTS: SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL ONLY FIVE FOREIGN TRADE UNION LEADERS MADE IT TO CHILE THIS YEAR FOR MAY DAY. THESE INCLUDE THREE DUTCHMEN (WIM SPIT, V.D. SLUYS AND BRUNO CALLE); ONE COLOMBIAN (ERSNEST MOLANO, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF WORKERS); AND, ONE ITALIAN (FRANCO PATELLI). THE GOC DENIED ENTRY TO SPANISH SOCIALIST, ANGEL OTERO AND VENEZUELAN LABOR LEADER EDUARDO GARCIA, CLAIMING THATTHEY THAD BEEN ACTIVE IN ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE.

5. STREET DEMONSTRATIONS: MOST OF THE 365 PERSONS ARRESTED AND STILL BEING DETAINED WERE PICKED UP AT VARIOUS ATTEMPTED STREET DEMONSTRATIONS AROUND SANTIAGO. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS, MANY APPEAR TO BE STUDENTS; WE ASSUME SOME WORKERS WERE ALSO INVOLVED. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME REPORTS OF FIST FIGHTS WITH CARABINEROS AND IN SOME CASES THE DEMONSTRATORS ATTEMPTED TO HAND OUT LEAFLETS. THEY SHOUTED SLOGANS DEMANDING LIBERTY. OF THOSE ARRESTED, REPORTEDLY 17 ARE TO BE CHARGED IN THE MILITIARY JUDICIAL SYSTEM FOR ASSAULTS ON SECURITY OFFICIALS. THE REMAINING 348 WILL BE CHARGED FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY CODE AND ARRAIGNED BEFORE CIVILIAN JDDGES. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, NO TRADE UNION LEADERS ARE AMONG THE DETAINEES.

6. OTHER EVENTS: THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 30, FIVE MASKED MEN TOOK OVER THE RELAY STATION FOR RADIO MINERIA AND RE-
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02982 02 OF 02 022307Z

PORTEDLY DEMANDED THAT A TAPED ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING MAY DAY BE PLAYED. THEY WERE UNSUCCESSFUL AND DEPARTED IN ABOUT HALF AN HOUR. THE EVENING OF APRIL 30, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS HELD A GATHERING AT A SANTIAGO AUDITORIUM. THE CARABINERSOS, AFTER DETERMINING THAT NO PERMISSION HAD BEEN GRANTED, ASKED THE LEADERS TO STOP THE MEETING. WHEN THEY REFUSED, THE CARABINEROS TOOK EDUARDO RIOS OF THE GROUP OF TEN AND MANUEL BUSTOS OF THE CNS INTO CUSTODY, ALONG WITH THREE OTHER PERSONS. THEY RECEIVED COURTEOUS TREATMENT AND WERE RELASED A FEW HOURS LATER, REPORTEDLY, ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM A HIGH OFFICIAL. ANTIAGO CARDINAL RAUL SILVA NOW TRAVELLING ABORAD, USSUDED A MAY DAY MESSAGE WHICH SAID AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT NATIONAL SECURITY WOULD BE BETTER PROTECTED IF WORKERS COULD EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS. THE MESSAGE ALSO REFERRED TO ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF CHILEAN WORKERS.

7. COMMENT: FOR THE FIRST TIME IN FIVE YEARS, OPPOSITION LABOR GROUPS SUCCEEDED IN CARRYING OUT AN INDEPENDENT MAY DAY PROGRAM. COMPARED WITH LAST YEAR, ONLY HALF AS MANY PEPOLE WERE ARRESTED AND DETAINED; NO LABORLEADERS, CLERGYMEN OR FOREIGNERS WERE INCLUDED; AND THERE WAS NO PROPERTY DAMAGE FROM EXPLOSIONS AS OCCURRED LAST YEAR AT THE FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK. DEMOCRATIC AND COMMUNIST GROUPS WHO ADHERED TO THE REGULATIONS WERE, IN EFFECT, PERMITTED TO MEET PEACEFULLY INDOORS, ALBEIT UNDER SOME SURVEILLANCE AND TENSIONS.
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03495 032206Z 5/3/79

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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E.O. 12065: RDS-4 5/3/99 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: (U) REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES

[redacted] SUMMARY. TWO DISAPPEARANCES WERE REPORTED TO THE EMBASSY YESTERDAY, ONE DATING FROM APRIL 11 AND THE OTHER FROM APRIL 30. THE APRIL 11 CASE, THAT OF JULIO CESAR ABRUZZESE, AT PRESENT APPEARS A CASE OF ORDINARY "POLICE CRIME" WITH UNCLEAR MOTIVES. THE MORE RECENT CASE, THAT OF THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS, A PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE, APPEARS TO BE TYPICALLY A POLITICAL ABDUCTION. BOTH CASES HAVE BEEN PRESENTED ON AN URGENT BASIS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, TO THE OFFICE OF THE ARMY COMMANDER, AND TO ELEMENTS OF ARMY AND AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE AND TO NAVY CONTACTS. NO RESPONSE HAS BEEN RECEIVED AS YET FROM MEMBER OF GOA. END SUMMARY.

1. DISAPPEARANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS LEADER - THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS --

1. (U) MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION - FAMILIARES DE DESAPARACIDOS Y DETENIDOS (FDD) INFORMED EMBOFF ON MAY 2 OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS (CASE NO. 1035/79/5). ACCORDING TO THE FDD SOURCES, MRS. CABEZAS WAS LAST SEEN THE EVENING OF APRIL 30TH VISITING HER HUSBAND,
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03495 032206Z

A LUNG CANCER PATIENT, AT THE SPANISH HOSPITAL IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES. MRS. CABEZAS LEFT THE HOSPITAL AT 8 PM TO RETURN

TO THE HOME OF FRIENDS NEAR THE HOSPITAL WITH WHOM SHE WAS STAYING. SHE HAS NOT BEEN SEEN SINCE.

2. (U) THE FOLLOWING DAY, MAY 1, TWO MEN DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES WHO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS FEDERAL POLICEMEN CALLED AT THE APARTMENT WHERE MRS. CABEZAS WAS STAYING TEMPORARILY AND INQUIRED IF SHE HAD BEEN LIVING THERE. HER FRIENDS, GREATLY FRIGHTENED, REPORTEDLY DENIED TO THE POLICE OFFICERS THAT MRS. CABEZAS HAD RESIDED IN THEIR APARTMENT. ONE OF THE POLICE OFFICERS STATED THAT THEY WERE SEARCHING FOR HER AS SHE WAS A "MONTONERA".

3. (U) MRS. CABEZAS IS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION OF THE FDD. IN THIS CAPACITY SHE REPRESENTED THE FDD AT THE RECENT LATIN AMERICAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCE IN PUEBLA, MEXICO. MRS. CABEZAS WAS ALSO THE FDD'S CHAPTER COORDINATOR RESPONSIBLE FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARENT ORGANIZATION AND THE FDD GROUPS ORGANIZED IN A NUMBER OF CITIES IN THE INTERIOR.

4. [redacted] THE FDD SOURCE STATED THAT MRS. CABEZAS' ABDUCTION, FOLLOWING RECENT BOMBINGS AGAINST THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS OF THE BUENOS AIRES AND ROSARIO FDD CHAPTERS, HAS RAISED FEARS WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION. FDD MEMBERS ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED BECAUSE MRS. CABEZAS HAD INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE NOT ONLY OF THE OPERATION OF THE FDD NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS BUT OF ALL THE REGIONAL CHAPTERS.

5. [redacted] THE FRENCH EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONTACTED EMBOFF ON MAY 2 TO ASCERTAIN IF THIS EMBASSY HAD INFORMATION REGARDING THE CABEZAS ABDUCTION. THE FRENCH POLOFF STATED THAT MRS. CABEZAS [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03495 032206Z

HAD MET WITH MRS. GISCARD D'ESTAIN DURING THE FRENCH PRESIDENT'S RECENT VISIT TO MEXICO. DURING THIS MEETING MRS. CABEZAS HAD EXPRESSED FEARS FOR HER PERSONAL SAFETY AND THAT OF OTHERS WORKING IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN ARGENTINA. FRENCH POLOFF STATED THAT THE FRENCH EMBASSY HAD PREVIOUSLY MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO THE GOA REGARDING MRS. CABEZAS'S SAFETY THROUGH THE PAPAL NUNCIO AND RECEIVED ASSURANCES THAT SHE WAS IN NO DANGER.

II. DISAPPEARANCE OF JULIO CESAR ABRUZZESE (CASE NO. 1017/79/5) --

[redacted] ABRUZZESE'S FAMILY BELIEVES THAT THE SITUATION WAS RELATED TO ABRUZZESE'S APPARENT UNWILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH A POLICE OFFICIAL WHO WAS SEARACHING FOR ABRUZZESE'S BROTHER-IN-LAW -- - FORMER BURGLAR WHOSE CAPTURE THE POLICE OFFICER, FIRST SERGEANT JORGE ALBERTO DIAZ, BELIEVED WOULD WIN HIM A PROMOTION. ABRUZZEE WAS ABDUCTED WITH THE PORTERO OF HIS BUILDING EARLY IN THE MORNING OF APRIL 11 AND SUBSEQUENTLY TORTURED WITH PICANA. THE PORTERO WAS LATER RELEASED. (MEMCON FOLLOWS.)

6. [redacted] THE WIFE AND SISTER OF JULIO CESAR ABRUZZESE REPORTED TO EMBOFF MAY 2 THAT THEIR RELATIVE WAS ABDUCTED ON APRIL 11 AT 3:30 AM BY FOUR ARMED MEN WHO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS POLICE OFFICERS. THERE HAS BEEN NO INFORMATION REGARDING MR. ABRUZZESE'S WHEREABOUTS SINCE HIS INTERROGATION. HABEAS CORPURS PETITIONS FILED WITH AUTHORITIES IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL AND IN THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES HAVE BEEN NEGATIVE.

7. CHARGE REQUESTED INFORMATION ON REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES FROM FONOFF ON EVENING OF MAY 2 AND FROM GENERAL VIOLA'S OFFICE MAY 3. EMBOFFS HAVE MADE PARALLEL INQUIRIES TO ARMY INTELLIGENCE, AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE, NAVY CONTACTS AND TO FEDERAL SECURITY SERVICE. NO RESPONSES HAVE BEEN RECEIVED YET.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 03495 032206Z

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

UNCLASSIFIED 5/3/79

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Argentina
AK120 R

May 3, 1979

[redacted]

TO: USOAS - Mr. Michael Yohn

FROM: HA/HR - Patrick J. Flood

SUBJECT: The OAS Office in Buenos Aires

Human rights leaders in Argentina told me the local OAS office is of no help in processing human rights complaints. Reason: the office is run by a retired Argentine Colonel (Col. Monti), who is hardly likely to stir up the people who pay his pension and control other aspects of his life. Result: The thousands of people who want to file human rights complaints on their own behalf or on behalf of their relatives have to submit them to Washington, and the OAS's Buenos Aires office just stays out of it. (An IAHRC source confirmed the foregoing statements.)

But: under OAS rules, no field office can be run by a national of the country in which it is located. Col. Monti is technically legal, because he is only the "acting director". As there has been no real director for years, the situation clearly involves a flagrant subterfuge.

Suggested solution: a few member states should approach the Secretary General to express their deep concern about this anomaly and request that the post of permanent director be filled without further delay.

Why? An independent OAS office can be a source of moral support and encouragement to Argentine human rights victims during the period before and during the IAHRC visit and can play a useful follow-through role on the Commission's recommendations afterward.

cc: HA - Ms. Derian
HA - Mr. Schneider
HA - Mr. Salmon [redacted]

GDS 05/02/85 (FLOOD, Patrick J.)

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Box 17404

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ACTION ARA-15

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H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 COME-00 EB-08 LABE-00 SIL-01 HA-05
SR-05 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /132 W
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P R 032122Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 481
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3496

USEEC

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/3/85 (FREEMAN, ANTHONY G.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB PINS AR
SUBJECT: (U) ALL "COMMITTEE OF 25" DETAINEES REMOVED FROM PEN. BUT SIX INDICTED; OTHER STRIKE-RELATED DEVELOPMENTS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3397 (NOTAL)

[redacted] SUMMARY: TWELVE OF TWENTY-ONE MEMBERS OF THE 25-GROUP ORIGINALLY DETAINED UNDER THE STATE-OF-SEIGE POWERS OF THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03496 01 OF 02 041202Z

GOA BY VIRTURE OF DECREEES 901, 905 AND 906 HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM PEN, BUT SIX HAVE BEEN CRIMINALLY INDICTED. THE OTHER

SIX, EXCEPT FOR ONE SICK MAN, HAVE NOT YET BEEN RELEASED, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE. THERE ARE RUMORS OF NEW FACTORY LEVEL ARRESTS, BUT WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION. THE GOA DECISION TO REMOVE THE 25-GROUP LEADERS FROM THE PEN STRENGTHENS ITS CASE THAT IT IS ACTING STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARGENTINE LAW AND JUDICIAL PROCEDURE AND MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN THE FACE OF THE UPCOMING ICFTU AND ILO MEETINGS AND THE EXPRESSION OF A STATEMENT OF CONCERN ON THE PART OF THE US GOVERNMENT (WHICH THE GOA FORMALLY PROTESTED AS AN UNDUE INTERFERENCE IN ARGENTINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS). LABOR MINISTER FAILED TO MENTION IN HIS MAY DAY ADDRESS WHEN A NEW TRADE UNION LAW MAY BE EXPECTED TO BE PROMULGATED. END SUMMARY.

1. (U) ON APRIL 30 FEDERAL INVESTIGATION UDGE GILETTA ORDERED THE PREVENTIVE CUSTODY OF SIX UNION LEADERS OF THE "COMMITTEE OF 25" AFTER MAKING A PRIMA FACIE DETERMINATION THAT THEY HAD VIOLATED LAW NO. 21,400 (WHICH SUSPENDED THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE), WHEN THEY CALLED FOR A "DAY OF PROTEST" APRIL 27, AND HE ALSO ORDERED LIENS AGAINST THEIR ASSETS OF 300,000 PESOS (ABOUT $250 EACH. THE JUDGE'S ACTION IS TANTAMOUNT TO A CRIMINAL INDICTMENT. THE SIX UNION LEADERS ENCOMPASSED UNDER THIS ACTION AND WHO, UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION ANNOUNCED TODAY (SEE PARA 3 BELOW), WERE HELD UNDER BOTH "PEN" (I.E. THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S STATE-OF-SIEGE AUTHORITY) AND CRIMINAL CHARGES, ARE THE SAME LISTED IN PARA 9, REFTEL, I.E. ROBERTO GARCIA (TAXI UNION) ROBERTO DIGON (TOBACCO EMPLOYEES), RAUL RAVITTE (EX-RAILWAY UNION SECRETARY), ENRIQUE MICO (GARMENT UNION) DEMETRIO [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03496 01 OF 02 041202Z

LORENZO (FOOD WORKERS), AND JOSE LUIS CASTILLO (BOAT MECHANICS)). (NOTE: "EX"-LEADER IS A REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT THE UNION IN QUESTION IS UNDER GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION AND THE MANDATE OF THE UNION LEADER IN QUESTION HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY TERMINATED BY THE GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH THE INDIVIDUAL CONTINUES TO BE ACTIVE DE FACTOR).

2. THE FIRST THREE, GARCIA, DIGON AND RAVITTI ARE CHARGED UNDER THE PENAL CODE (ARTICLE 6 OF LAW NO. 21,400) FOR "PUBLICLY INSTIGATING SERIOUS MEASURES OF DIRECT ACTION" (AGAINST THE STATE), WHICH IS A MORE SERIOUS CHARGE THAN THAT LODGED AGAINST THE OTHER THREE, MICO, LORENZO AND CASTILLO,

TECHNICALLY LEAVING THE WAY OPEN FOR THE LATTER'S POSSIBLE RELEASE ON BAIL, BUT SO FAR AS WE KNOW THE JUDGE HAS DECLINED TO AUTHORIZE BAIL AND THEY REMAIN IN JAIL. BAIL IS NOT AVAILAO THE FIRST THREE UNDER THE PENAL CODE.

3. (U) THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN ANNOUNCED MAY 3 THAT THE ABOVE NAMED SIX TRADE UNION LEADERS PLUS ANOTHER SIX LEADERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25 UNDER DETENTION WERE REMOVED FROM "PEN" ON THE EVENING OF MAY 2. THE SECOND SIX ARE SAUL UBALDINI (BEER WORKERS), JOSE MONTANI (PRIVATE PETROLEUM WORKERS), JUAN CARLOS CRESPI (A STATE PETROLEUM DE FACTOR REPRESENTATIVE IN THE 25-GROUP), GERONIMO IZZETTA (PROVINCIAL MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES), ANTONIO MARCHESE (SHOE WORKERS), AND JOSE RODRIGUEZ ("EX"-SMATA AUTO WORKERS HEAD). THESE SIX LEADERS REMAIN UNDER JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION, PENDING A DETERMINATION WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE INDICTABLE. ALL OF THEM, WE BELIEVE, REMAIN IN JAIL WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MUNICIPAL UNION LEADER IZZETTA, WHO IS IN ILL HEALTH AND WAS ORDERED TRANSFERRED TO A PRIVATE CLINIC, WHERE HE CONTINUES UNDER POLICE GUARD AND AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE INVESTIGATING JUDGE, BUT PRESUMABLY HAVING BEEN REMOVED FROM PEN, THE WAY IS OPEN FOR THEM TO TETURN TO THEIR HOMES, PENDING THE JUDGE'S DETERMINATION.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03496 02 OF 02 041136Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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P R 032122Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 482
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3496

USEEC

4. (U) THE ATTORNEY FOR THE SIX UNION LEADERS LISTED IN PARA 1 HAS APPEALED ON THEIR BEHALF TO AN APPELLATE COURT TO OVERTURN THE PREVENTIVE DETENTION ORDER.

5. (U) ON MAY 2 EX-TRUCKING UNION LEADER AND 25-GROUP MEMBER RICARDO PEREZ, WHO WAS IN GERMANY DURING THE ONE-DAY STRIKE, RESPONDED TO A JUDICIAL CITATION AND APPEARED BEFORE JUDGE GILETTA.
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03496 02 OF 02 041136Z

6. [redacted] THERE ARE NO FURTHER REPORTS IN THE PRESS CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE ARRESTED SMATA AUTO UNION ACTIVISTS REPORTED REFTEL. THE JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION IN CORDOBA, WHERE ANOTHER ARREST WAS REPORTED YESTERDAY, IS CONTINUING. THERE ARE RUMORS THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF LEGAL ARRESTS HAVE BEEN MADE OF PLANT LEVEL ACTIVISTS PRESUMABLY INVOLVED IN LAST WEEK'S STRIKE, BUT WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM THIS.

7. (U) THE PRESS ALSO REPORTS THAT THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN CHARGE OF THE INTERVENED NATIONAL LABOR CENTRAL (CGT HAVE SENT QUESTIONNAIRES TO A NUMBER OF UNIONS INQUIRING ABOUT THE NORMAL EXPIRY DATE OF UNION LEADERS' TERMS OF OFFICE ANDIR POSSIBLE DEGREE O F RESPONSIBILITY IN THE APRIL 27 STRIKE,
WHICH IS PROMPTING SPECULATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARING TO INTERVENE MORE NATIONAL UNIONS OR PERHAPS TO DENY RENEWAL OF TRADE UNION MANDATES (WHEN THEIR DATES FALL DUE) OF 25-GROUP LEADERS INVOLVED IN THE STRIKE CALL.

8. (U) IN A BRIEF, INNOCUOUS MAY DAY ADDRESS, THE LABOR MINISTER, GENERAL RESTON, STATED THAT A PROCESS OF GRADUAL NORMALIZATION OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES ALREADY UNDERWAY WOULD CONTINUE AND THAT THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, "STRENGTHENED (BUT) ADJUSTED TO SPECIFIC (LEGITIMATE) ENDS, WOULD NOT BE REMOVED FROM THE NATIONAL SCENE." HE MADE NO REFERENCE WHATSOEVER TO THE PROPOSED TRADE UNION REFORM BILL, OR WHEN IT WOULD

BE PROMULGATED.

9. [redacted] IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE THREE LEADERS BEING HELD UNDER ARTICLE 6 OF LAW NO. 21,4000, GARCIA, DIGON AND RAVITTI, ORIGINALLY CAME FROM THE PERONIST/CATHOLIC LEFT SECTOR OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH THE MAVERICK RAYMUNDO ONGARO WING OF THE "CGT" AND ALL RE NOW IN THE SO-CALLED [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03496 02 OF 02 041136Z

"MOVIMIENTO SINDICAL PERONISTA" (MSP), WHICH GROUPS TOGETHER SO-CALLED "VERTICALIST" AND "COMBATIVE" PERONIST UNION FACTIONS. GARCIA IS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE ICFTU. DIGON, AS MOST OF THE "COMBATIVES", IS CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH CLAT.

10. [redacted] COMMENT: THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION REMOVING THE DETAINEES FROM PEN PRESUMABLY IS A MOVE TO REINFORCE THE IDEA THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS ON UNIMPEACHABLE LEGAL GROUNDS, PROCEEDING AGAINST THE STRIKE ORGANIZERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARGENTINE LAW AND JUDICIAL PRACTICE. THIS ACTION TAKES PLACE SHORTLY AFTER THE GOA PROTESTED A STATE DEPARTMENT EXPRESSION OF CONCERN OVER THE PEN DETENTIONS, WHICH THE GOA FORMALLY PROTESTED AS AN UNDUE INTROMISSION IN INTERNAL ARGENTINE AFFAIRS (SEPTEL); AND ON THE EVE OF THE ICFTU EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING WHICH REPORTEDLY WILL CONSIDER THE TINE LABOR SITUATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE UPCOMING ILO AGENDA. END COMMENT.
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03515 041813Z 5/4/79 nr 246 R
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 LAB-04 CIAE-00 COME-00
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PM-05 H-02 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-15 AID-05
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P R 041545Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0487
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3515

USEEC

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB PINS AR
SUBJECT: LABOR SITREP: SIX TRADE UNION DETAINEES RELEASED,
GOVERNMENT TERMINATES UNION MANDATES

REFERENCE: BUENOS AIRES 3496

SUMMARY: SIX OF THE 12 LEADERS OF THE 25-GROUP REMOVED
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03515 041813Z

FROM STATE-OF-SIEGE PEN AUTHORITY HAVE BEEN RELEASED
FROM JAIL. THE JUDGEREJECTED A REQUEST FOR BAIL FROM

THREE OTHERS. THERE IS NO CONFIRMATION OF LARGE-SCALE ARRESTS OF AUTOWORKERS (BEYOND THE NINE REPORTED BA-3397). IN A SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT THE LABOR MINISTRY HAS TERMINATED THE TRADE UNION MANDATES OF SIX LABOR LEADERS INCLUDING THE ARGENTINE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE ICFTU BOARD AND ANOTHER EXECUTIVE MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF 5/25. ACTION REQUESTED: REQUEST LABATT NIXON IN MEXICO INFORM INTERNATIONAL METALWORKER FEDERATION (IMF) REPRESENTATIVE MELGOSA CONCERNING AUTOWORKER LEADER RODRIGUEZ'S RELEASE AND THE LACK OF CONFIRMATION OF LARGE-SCALE AUTOWORTKER ARRESTS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF MAY 3 THE FOLL TRADE UNION LEADERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25 WERE RELEASED FROM PRISON ON THE ORDERS OF FEDERAL JUDGE GILETTA: JUAN CARLOS CRESPI (STATE PETROLEUM WORKERS), JOSE MONTAINI (PRIVATE PETROLEUM WORKERS), SAUL UBALDINI (BEER WORKERS), JOSE RODRIGUEZ (SMATA AUTOWORKERS), AND NATONIO MARCHESE (SHOE WORKERS). THE JUDGE'S RELEASE ORDER ALSO INCLUDES GERONIMA IZZETA (MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES), WHO WAS TRANSFERRED TO A PRIVATE CLINIC EARLIER. LABATT SPOKE BY PHONE WITH RODRIGUEZ, WHO CONFIRMED HIS RELEASE AND THAT OF THE OTHERS.

2. JUDGE GILETTA REFUSED TO ALLOW THE FOLLOWING LEADERS OUT OF JAIL ON BAIL: DEMETRIO LOREZNO (FOOD WORKERS), ENRIQUE MICO (GARMENT WORKERS), AND JOSE LUIS CASTILLO (BOAT MECHANICS).

3. THE PRESS ALSO REPORTED THAT JUDGE ADOLFO ZAMOBONI LEDESMA IN CORDOBA ORDERED THE PREVENTIVE
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 03515 041813Z

DETENTION F THE FOLL LOCAL TRADE UNION LEADERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE 25-GROUP: JUAN GENERO DE BLASI (STATE PETROLEUM WORKERS), DOMINGO CARLOS FLAMINI (MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES), JUAN ROBERTO LUPPI (SHOE WORKERS), MANUEL ALBERTO RODRIGUEZ (TELEPHONERS), JUAN CARLOS DE ROMERO (METALWORKERS), AMERICO SALUSTIANO MOGIANO (MOSAIC WORKERS), JUAN CARLOS ROSSI (ELECTRIC TRAINMEN), MANIR FATALA (COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES), MANUAL ROBERTO REYES (PHARMACEUTICAL EMPLOYEES), SALVADOR DOMINGO GUZMAN (FOOD WORKERS), CARLOS ALBERTO ORTIZ, GERONIMO SUAREZ (WOOD WORKERS), BERNABE SANTIAGO BARCENA, JOSE OVIEDO, AND FRANCISCO ALBERTO SOLANO.

REPORTEDLY HE ORDERED THE RELEASE OF FOUR OTHER LEADERS: BENTITO AMARANTO (LEATHER WORKERS), FRANCISCO PINO (SODA WORKERS), HUGO BOIDI AND JUAN CARLOS LOPEZ.

4. WE HAVE NO CINFORMATION CONCERNING RUMORS OF WIDESPREAD ARRESTS OF PLANT LEVEL AUTO MECHANIC ACTIVITIESAND ARE INCLINED TO DISCOUNT THAT REPORT.

5. THE MINISTRY OF LABOR ON MAY 3 ISSUED RESOLUTIONS OFFICIALLY TERMINATING THE TRADE UNION MANDATES OF THE FOLLOWING FIVE LABOR LEADERS: ROBERTO GARCIA (TAXIS), HIS BROTHER JUAN GARCIA (TREASURER OF THE TAXI UNION), DEMETRIO LORENZO (FOOD WORKERS), JOSE LUIS CASTILLO (BOAT MECHANICS), AND ENRIQUE MICO (GARMENT WORKERS). ROBERTO GARCIA AND MICO ARE MEMBERS OF THE FIVE-MAN EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMITTEE OF 25 AND GARCIA IS ALSO VICE PRESIDENT ON THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE ICFTU, REPRESENTING ARGENTINA.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 07318 042330Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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P 042328Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 7410

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
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FOR LABOR ATTACHE ARCHER

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, CI
SUBJECT: ORIT PROTEST OF CHILEAN ARRESTS

REF: SANTIAGO 2982

ORIT INFORMED US MAY 4 THAT THEY HAD RECEIVED A CABLE FROM EDUARDO RIOS, BUSTOS AND OTHERS ASKING FOR PROTEST OF THE GOC LABOR DAY ARREST OF STUDENTS AND "LABOR LEADERS." THEY HAVE DISPATCHED A STRONG CABLE PROTEST OF THIS ACTION TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET, AND HAVE RELEASED KNOWLEDGE OF THE ACTION TO THE MEXICAN PRESS. (DRAFTED BY ARTHUR NIXON.)
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03087 01 OF 02 051807Z
ACTION ARA-15

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 AID-05 SIL-01
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P 051715Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3236
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3087

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/5/84 (CLARE, DANIEL) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM ELAB PINS CI
SUBJ: CHILEAN COURTS STILL HOLDING MOST MAY DAT DETAINEES

REFS: A) SANTIAGO 2982 B) MEXICO 7318

1. (C) SUMMARY: A CHILEAN JUDGE CONTINUES TO HOLD UNDER DETENTION 258 PEOPLE ARRESTED MAY 1 WHILE HE STUDIES THE CHARGES AGAINST THEM. 19 OTHERS HAVE
BEEN PLACED BEFORE MILITARY COURTS FOR SCUFFLING WITH POLICE. AFTER CURSORY INVESTIAGTION THE JUDGE RELEASED 22 NIGHT OF MAY 4; THE GOC HAD LET ANOTHER 66 GO FREE EARLIER. DEFENSE LAWYERS HAVE FILED SEVERAL HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS AND ARE STILL HOPEFUL THAT THE JUDGE WILL FREE MORE OF THE 258 OVER THE WEEKEND. MEANWHILE SEVERAL LEFIST AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS CIRCULARIZED THE WORLD
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03087 01 OF 02 051807Z

WITH A JOINT CABLE ASKING LABOR AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS TO URGE THE GOC TO DESIST. FOR ITS PART, THE GOC HAS ANNOUNCED THAT FEW OF THOS DETAINED ARE WORKERS, MOST ARE STUDENTS, THUS MAY DAY DEMONSTRATIONS WERE PART OF A POLITICAL CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOC OBVIOUSLY WANTS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT WILL BROOK NO PUBLIC DISORDER. IT LOST A ROUND LAST MONTH

WHEN CIVILIAN JDUGES THREW OUT GOC CHARGES AGAINST A GROUP OF RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED, BUT IT HAS STEPPED UP THE PRESSURE WITH A NEW ANTI-TERRORIST LAW, AND ALMOST DAILY REPORTS OF BOMBINGS AND ARRESTS OF EXTREMISTS SEEMED DESIGNED TO SHOW THE PEOPLE THAT CHAOS MUST BE HELD AT BAY. END SUMMARY

U) OF THE 365 PEOPLE POLICE ARRESTED A T VARIOUS POINTS IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO DURING ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIO S MAY 1, 19 HAVE BEEN FORMALLY CHARGED WITH ASSAULTING POLICE OFFICERS. 258 OTHERS REMAIN IN JAIL WHILE A CIVILIAN JUDGE DECIDES ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS THE MERITS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S CHARGE THAT THEY ENDANGERED NATIONAL SECURITY BY "PROVOKING DISORDERS OR OTHER VIOLENT ACTS DESIGNED TO ALTER PUBLIC TRANQUILITY" AND FOR BY "DISPARAGING PUBLICLY THE FLAG, CREST OR NAME OF THE FATHERLAND, DEFAMING OR SLANDERING THE PRESIDENT, MINISTERS OF STATE, SENATORS, CONGRESSMEN OR JUDGES." (ART. 6, PARTS A) AND B) OF THE 1958 INTERNAL SECURITY LAW).

3. L) AFTER A PRELIMINARY SCREENING MAY 4, THE JUDGE RELEASED 13 WOMEN AND 9 MEN. THE GOC HAD PREVIOUSLY DROPPED CHARGES AGAINST ϕ6 OTHERS, MOST OF WHOM WERE YOUNDER THAN 18. ACCORDING TO HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS DEFENDING THE 258, AS OF SATURDAY MORNING THE JUDGE WAS: RECALLING SOME OF THE DETAINEES FOR FURTHER QUESTIONING, INTERROGATING THE ARRESTING OFFICERS, AND STUDYING VARIOUS PAMPHLETS AND FLYERS PASSED OUT BY THE DEMONSTRATORS. DEFENSE ATTORNEYS HOPE THAT MORE OF THE 258 WILL BE RELEASED SOON FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE OR ON PERSONAL RECOGNIZANCE FOR MISDEMEANORS.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 03087 01 OF 02 051807Z

4. U) LABOR LEADERS OF THE GROUP OF TEN (DEMOCRATIC), CNS (CHRISTIAN AND MARXIST) AND FUT (CHRISTIAN) SENT A CIRCULAR MESSAGE TO SOME 36 INTERNATIONAL LABOR AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS REQUESTING SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO HAVE THE GOC DROP CHARGES AGAINST THOSE DETAINED ON MAY DAY. PRO-GOC LEADERS (UNTRACH'S MEDINA, FOR EXAMPLE) HAVE TOLD THE PRESS THAT AN APPEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT ONLY ADDS TO THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHILE. MIDDLE OF THE ROAD CEPCH'S FREDERICO MUJICA ALSO REFUSED TO SIGN THE CIRCULAR

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03087 02 OF 02 051815Z
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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 /120 W
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P 051715Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3237
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3087

5. C) THE INTERIOR MINISTRY ISSUED A STATEMENT BREAKING DOWN THE DETAINEES BY OCCUPATION AND FOUND THAT OF THE TOTAL 365, SOME 163 WERE STUDENTS, 89 WERE PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL PEOPLE, AND ONLY 49 WERE STRAIGHT WAGE-EARNING WORKERS. THE STATEMENT ADDED THAT THE FOREGOING FIGURES CLEARLY SHOWED THE POLITICAL NATURE OF THE DEMONSTRATION. (COMMENT: HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS EXPLAIN THE ABSENCE OF LABOR LEADERS AND WORKERS BY NOTING THAT THE SMART MONEY TOOK PAINS NOT TO BE DETAINED AND THAT THE OLDER, MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE WORKERS KNEW HOW FAR THEY COULD GO BEFORE PROVOKING THE POLICE. OTHERS SAY THAT THE POLICE TOOK CARE NOT TO ARREST WORKERS AND CONCENCENTRATED ONLIKELY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS JUST TO MAKE THE POINT THE GOC IS NOW STRESSING. THE FACT IS , HOWEVER, THAT NO SIGNFICANT LABOR FIGURE WAS MONG THE 365.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03087 02 OF 02 051815Z

DETAINED. END COMMENT).

6. L) ON THE FORMAL, LEGAL SIDE, THE GOC TOOK PAINS THIS TIME TO FOLLOW ITS OWN LAWS. UNDER CURRENT STATE OF EMBERGENCY RULES, THE POLICE MAY DETAIN WITHOUT PRIOR WARRANT ONLY PERSONS CAUGHT IN THE ACT. HOSE DETAINED MUST EITHER BE BROUGHT BEFORE A JUDGE PROMPTLY (AND IT NO CASE MORE THAN 24 HOURS LATER) OR HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE WARRANT SIGNED BY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND THE PRESIDENT. IN THIS CASE, HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS TELL US THAT THE PRESIDENT SIGNED OFF ON THE WARRANTS BY MAY 2, THUS PERMITTED DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE FOR UP TO FIVE DAYS. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR THEN PREPARED THE FORMAL CHARGE AND PRESENTED IT TO THE CIVILIAN COURTS ON MAY 3 OR 4. THE JUDGE BEGAN EARLY

MAY 4 TO SCREEN THE DETAINEES PRIOR TO LEGAL ARRAIGNMENT. CONVICTION WOULD RESULT IN JAIL SENTENCES OF FROM 541 DAYS TO FIVE YEARS. THE 19 NOW FORMALLY ACCUSED OF ASSAULTING POLICE OFFICERS ARE BEFORE MILITARY COURTS.

7. C) COMMENT: WHEN 62 WOMEN WERE ARRESTED LAST MONTH IN A TOTALLY PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING GOC HANDLING OF THE DISAPPEARANCE ISSUE, THE GOC GOT EGG ON ITS FACE WHEN THE CIVILIAN COURTS THREW OUT UNCEREMONIOUSLY ITS CHARGE THEY WERE TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE REGIME. THIS TIME THE GOC AUTHORITIES SEEM TO BE ON FIRMER LEGAL TURF EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE "THROWING THE BOOK" AT PARTICIPANTS IN WHAT WAS A DISRUPTIVE, BUT HARDLY VIOLENT, SERIES OF "LIGHTNING" PROTESTS. NO QUESTION, HOWEVER, THAT SOME OF THE DEMONSTRATORS BAITED POLICE AND SOUGHT TO PROVOKE A REACTION.

8. C) IN PART, THE GOC IS USING THIS CASE TO DETER FUTURE DEMONSTRATIONS. FEW MODERATE CRITICS OF THE REGIME ARE EAGER TO SPEND DAYS UNDER DETENTION AND UNDERGO THE UNKNOWN RISKS OF HAVING A POLICE RECORD--LET ALONE THE RISK OF SPENDING YEARS C[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SANTIA 03087 02 OF 02 051815Z

IN JAIL. BUT WHETHER THEIS PROCEDURE WILL DISCOURAGE OR EMBITTER MORE ACTIVE CRITICS REMAINS TO BE SEEN. IN PRESS PHOTOS OF THE PRISONERS AND THE HUNDREDS OF RELATIVES WAITING NEAR COURTS AND POLICE STATIONS, THE PARTICIPANTS APPEAR ANYTHING BUT COWED.

9. C) PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE GOC IS NOW CLEARLY LAUNCHED ON A CAMPAIGN TO SHOW THE PEOPLE THAT THE SPECTOR OF THE ALLENDE PERIOD STILL HAUNTS THE COJNTRY. THIS CONCLUSION ALSO EMERGES FROM THE WAY THE GOVERNMENT IS PLAYING VARIOUS BOMBINGS AND BUSTS OF "EXTREMISTS", THE GREAT FANFARE WITH WHICH IT PROMULGATED ITS NEW ANTI-TERRORIST LAW, AND A STEPPED UP CADENCE ON THE FAMILIAR REFRAIN OF BLAMING THE POLITICANS FOR CHILE'S RUIN. AS USAALLY THE CASE WHEN A REPRESSIVE REGIME TIGHENS THE SCREWS, THE MODERATE CENTER LOSES MORE THAN THE OPPOSITE EXTREME; POLARIZATION INCREASES. FOR A GOVERNMENT NOTT EAGER TO STEP DOWN, THAT RESULT IS PROBABLY A NOT UNUSEFUL BIPRODUCT. LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

FECHA.....

Telegrama Recibido

ZCZC ECA288 VIA ITT Q18393 4-037885E125
CCSX CO UIAX 109
TDMT WASHINGTON DC 109/105 05 0235P EST

AMBASSADOR GEORGE LANDAU
CODINA BUILDING 1343 AUGUSTINUS
SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

MR AMBASSADOR I AM DEEPLY DISTURBED BY YOUR REMARKS TO SEVERAL LARGE AMERICAN BANKS TWO WEEKS AGO YOUR REMARKS HAVE BEEN WIDELY INTERPRETED HERE AS INDICATING THAT NO MATTER WHAT DECISION TAKEN BY THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT REGARDING THE EXTRADICTION OF THREE DINA AGENTS WANTED FOR THE MURDERS OF MY WIFE RONNI AND AMBASSADOR LETELIER THE PINOCHET REGIME RETAINS ACCESS THE EUROCURRENCY LOANS NEEDED TO SALVAGE HIS REGIME THIS ALLOWS THE PINOCHET REGIME TO MOCK THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF JUSTICE PLEASE CLARIFY THE INTENT OF YOUR REMARKS RESPECTFULLY
MICHAEL MOFFITT 1901 Q ST NORTHWEST WASHINGTON DC 20009

COL 1343 1901 20009

SOLICITE MENSAJERO A NUESTRAS OFICINAS

ITT Comunicaciones Mundiales S.A.

Form. Nº 417 - Exelmor - 48

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P790092-1014

6 May 1979

7909519

Warren Christopher
Under Secretary of State
State Dept.
Washington, D.C. 20520

EXCISE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise_X_ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

Dear Sir:

I can't urge you more strongly to continue gathering intelligence in Chile about the hendreds of missing people. The group of researchers and fact finding ad hoc working groups should not be disbanded. The number of people alone killed these last few years is well worth the trouble of this group to find more information and continue their efforts of tracing; yet there are many more persecuted, as I understand it, every day.

World morality was shocked at Hitlers extermination camps, but what about the third-world and South American countries/?? As each year goes by now, another country commits similar horrors in the name of politics and because it has been tolerated, the many governments of the world and Carter too, leave them gain their world economic power holds just because there are some nationalistic consessions and other interests there that over look this real humanistic degradation in this age, worst than Himmler or Hitler ever imagined.

I demand that the group working on Chile for the U.N. be continued until all reported missing persons are accounted for. Thankyou.

Isincerly appreciate what you have done to help the persecuted people around the world and the great hope you have inspired in people who have met and suffered under these rip-off goverments who point and controll with pistols. Again thankyou. I remain yours,

Very sincerly,

[redacted]

U.S. Ambassador
US Mission to the U.N.
799 U.N. PLAZA, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

5/17/79

KO072

PLUM / [illegible]

United States Senate

ACTION
[illegible]
9:54

May 7, 1979

EXCISE

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Enclosed is a letter from [redacted] of [redacted] has just recently returned from a visit to Chile. He was impressed by what he saw of the country and the people during his trip, and hopes that we can get back to our traditional good relations with the people of Chile.

I would appreciate it if you could get back to [redacted] directly and let him know the current state of our relations with Chile.

Thank you and best regards.

Sincerely,

John Melcher

Enclosure

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1979 MAY 16 PM 4 34
FAORC
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

UNCLASSIFIED
(2)

1123 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-2644

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03092 071559Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 L-03 PA-02 CCO-00 PASO-00 SSO-00
AS-01 /022 W
----------082499 071613Z /50

O 071527Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3242

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 3092

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

OC PLEASE PASS TO: MR. MICHAEL MOFFITT
1901 Q STREET. N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE

MR. MOFFITT: I, TOO, AM DISTURBED BY REMARKS ATTRIBUTED TO ME. WHAT I SAID WAS THAT I SAW A LIKELIHOOD FOR A SLOW NORMALIZATION OF COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHILE AFTER, AND ONLY AFTER, THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE HAD BEEN SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED. I STRESSED THAT THIS CASE WAS THE MAJOR PREOCCUPATION IN OUR RELATIONS; THAT WE HAD PRESENTED AMPLE EVIDENCE AND WE EXPECTED FULLY THAT JUSTICE WOULD BE DONE. THERE WERE NO REPORTERS PRESENT AT MY MEETINGS IN NEW YORK AND, THEREFORE, MY REMARKS WERE PASSED ON SECOND HAND AND OBVIOUSLY DISTORTED.

YOU CAN REST ASSURED THAT I HAVE EXPRESSED THIS VIEW PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY BOTH PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE AND AFTER MY RETURN TO CHILE AND THERE IS NO POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING OF MY POSITION HERE ONTHIS MATTER.
LANDAU

NOTE BY OC/T: PASSED TO THE ABOVE ADDRESSEE.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03092 071559Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03093 071608Z
ACTION ARA-15

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 L-03 PA-02 SSO-00 SS-15 /036 W
----------082596 071619Z /50

O 071527Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3243

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 3093

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE

1. ON MAY 5 I RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM MR. MICHAEL MOFFITT:

"MR. AMBASSADOR: I AM DEEPLY DISTURBED BY YOUR REMARKS TO SEVERAL LARGE AMERICAN BANKS TWO WEEKS AGO. YOUR REMARKS HAVE BEEN WIDELY INTERPRETED HERE AS INDICATING THAT NO MATTER WHAT DECISION TAKEN BY THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT REGARDING THE EXTRADITION OF THREE DINA AGENTS WANTED FOR THE MURDERS OF MY WIFE RONNI AND AMBASSADOR LETELIER, THE PINOCHET REGIME RETAINS ACCESS THE EUROCURRENCY LOANS NEEDED TO SALVAGE HIS REGIME. THIS ALLOWS THE PINOCHET REGIME TO MOCK THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF JUSTICE. PLEASE CLARIFY THE INTENT OF YOUR REMARKS."

2. I HAVE TODAY REPLIED TO HIM AS FOLLOWS:

"I, TOO, AM DISTURBED BY REMARKS ATTRIBUTED TO ME. WHAT I SAID WAS THAT I SAW A LIKELIHOOD FOR A SLOW NORMALIZATION OF COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHILE AFTER, AND ONLY AFTER, THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE HAD BEEN SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED. I STRESSED THAT THIS CASE WAS THE MAJOR PREOCCUPATION IN OUR RELATIONS; THAT WE HAD PRESENTED AMPLE EVIDENCE AND WE EXPECTED FULLY THAT JUSTICE WOULD BE DONE. THERE WERE NO REPORTERS PRESENT AT MY MEETINGS IN NEW YORK AND, THEREFORE, MY REMARKS WERE PASSED ON SECOND HAND AND OBVIOUSLY DISTORTED.
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03093 071608Z

"YOU CAN REST ASSURED THAT I HAVE EXPRESSED THIS VIEW PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY BOTH PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE AND AFTER MY RETURN TO CHILE AND THERE IS NO POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING OF MY POSITION HERE ON THIS MATTER.
LANDAU

UNCLASSIFIED

5/8/79

K0479

P 100 0 6 9 2 1 4 6 #

ACTION
As assigned to:

United States Senate

EXCISE

Respectfully referred to:

MAY 8 1979

Congressional Liaison
Department of State
Rm. Attn: Room 1239, New State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Because of the desire of this office to be responsive to all inquiries and communications, your consideration of the attached is requested. Your findings and views, in duplicate form, along with return of the enclosure, will be appreciated by

Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

U.S.S.

MARION CAMPBELL
(202) 224-6542

Form #2

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1979 MAY 15 PM 5 15
FARC
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Del
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full
Exemption(s) B1

Re: Extradition of Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, accused of assassinating Orlando Letelier, from Chile.

From: [redacted]

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(2)

UNCLASSIFIED IA234

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03167 082215Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 COM-02 EB-08
LABE-00 SIL-01 HA-05 /095 W
----------102809 082219Z /15

O P 082123Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3275
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 3167

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM ELAB PINS CI
SUBJECT: FORTY MAY DAY DEMONSTRATORS ARRAIGNED FOR INTERNAL SECURITY OFFENSES

REF: SANTIAGO 3087

1. ACCORDING TO RADIO REPORTS, A CHILEAN JUDGE HAS DECIDED TO CHARGE SOME FORTY DEMONSTRATORS DETAINED MAY 1 WITH INTERNAL SECURITY OFFENSES, CARRYING SENTENCES OF BETWEEN 541 DAYS AND 5 YEARS IF CONVICTED. AFTER HEARING TESTIMONY FROM ARRESTING POLICE OFFICERS AND INTERVIEWING THE DETAINEES, THE JUDGE RELEASED WITHOUT CHARGE ANOTHER TWO HUNDRED TWENTY PEOPLE. ANOTHER DOZEN ARE BEING HELD BEFORE MILITARY COURTS FOR THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03167 082215Z

MORE SERIOUS OFFENSE OF MISTREATING POLICE OFFICERS; THE MILITARY JUDGE DROPPED CHARGES AGAINST FIVE OTHERS.

2. THE JUDGE MADE HIS DECISION LATE MAY 8; WE STILL DO NOT HAVE THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO WERE ARRAIGNED, BUT THEY INCLUDE BOTH MEN AND WOMEN. IT IS LIKELY THAT MOST WILL POST BOND AND BE LET OUT OF JAIL.

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3. MEANWHILE A GROUP OF RELATIVES OF THE DETAINEES WERE JOINED BY A PRIEST IN A HUNGER STRIKE AT A PARISH CHURCH ON MAY 6. AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE, THEIR FAST CONTINUES.

4. COMMENT: WE HAD SPECULATED WHEN THE STATE OF SIEGE ENDED IN MARCH, 1978, THAT THE MAXIMUM LEGAL PERIOD OF *DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGEWOULD BE TEN DAYS UNDER THE CONTINUING STATE OF EMERGENCY.* THE MAY DAY DETENTIONS GIVE US THE FIRST SOLID EVIDENCE THAT SUCH IS THE CASE. PEOPLE DETAINED ON MAY 1 WERE HELD UNDER EXECUTIVE DETENTION FOR THREE OF THE ALLOWED FIVE DAYS BEFORE BEING PUT BEFORE THE JUDGE. HE TOOK HIS MAXIMUM FIVE DAY PERIOD TO ARRAIGN OR RELEASE THE BULK OF THE PRISONERS (HE HAD RELEASED SMALL BATCHES SATURDAY (REFTEL), SUNDAY, YESTERDAY, AND THIS MORNING).

5. A GENERAL RULE OF THUMB HAS BEEN THAT PERSONS PERMITTED TO POST BOND RARELY END UP SERVING SENTENCES, THUS IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ANY OF THE FORTY WHO ARE GRANTED BAIL WILL END UP IN JAIL. OF COURSE THEY WILL LIVE UNDER A CLOUD UNTIL THEIR CASES ARE FINALLY RESOLVED.
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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03199 092051Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------115643 092100Z /64

O 092000Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3283

[redacted] SANTIAGO 3199

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full Y
Exemption(s) ____

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

DECAPTIONED

FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

E. O. 12065: XGDS-1: 5/9/99 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: CI, PGOV SHUM

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: CUBILLOS SAYS DECISION NEXT WEEK

FOLLOWING-UP OUR PREVIOUS TALKS ON THIS SUBJECT (SANTIAGO 3025 AND 2883), I CALLED FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS THIS MORNING. HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO TEMUCO. AFTER AN ALLUSION TO USG CONCERNS, I ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYTHING NEW ON THE BORQUEZ DECISION. CUBILLOS SAID THE WORD HE IS GETTING IS THAT IT WILL NOT BE MADE PUBLIC UNTIL NEXT WEEK; CUBILLOS ADDED THAT HE HAS A COUPLE OF THINGS HE WANTS TO TELL ME WHEN WE SEE EACH OTHER AT HIS DINNER FOR THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR MAY 11.
LANDAU

[redacted] CONFIDENTIAL

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[redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03757 102246Z 5/10/79
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 ACDA-12 AID-05 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00
HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 MCT-02
MCE-00 SY-05 /107 W
----------129341 102325Z /70

P 102052Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 622

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3757

E.O. 12065: XDS-1 5/9/09 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: (U) EFFORTS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE DISAPPEARED

1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. WE HAVE RECENT EVIDENCE THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT MAY BE, AFTER ALL, ATTEMPTING TO LIST AND TABULATE THE DISAPPEARED.

3. [redacted] IT IS REPORTED THAT BOTH A MEMBER OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE AND ANY ARMY SOURCE STATED THEIR SERVICE IS ASSEMBLING LISTS OF THE CONFINED, DEAD AND MISSING. PROBLEMS ORIGINATE, BOTH OFFICERS REPORTED, FROM THE NEED TO FLOAT INFORMATION UPWARD FROM UNITS WHICH OPERATED WITH CONSIDERABLE DELEGATED AUTHORITY DURING THE MOST INTENSE PERIOD OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY.

4. AN INTELLIGENCE SOURCE TOLD THE REGIONAL SECURITY OFFICER THAT "GOA MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICES" WERE INVESTIGATING DISAPPEARANCE CASES. HE SAID THAT THE GOA HAS LISTS OF MONTONEROS AND ERP MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN KILLED, BUT THAT GOA COULD NOT ACCOUNT FOR A LONG LIST OF DISAPPEARANCE

[redacted]

[redacted]

CASES. IN ORDER TO BE BETTER PREPARED ON THIS COUNT SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE SERVICES ARE CONTACTING THE FAMILIES OF THE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ (X) Extend as C ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date 4/18/00 Declassify on ___ Reason 25X1

B1

DISAPPEARED TO OBTAIN INFORMATION AS TO WHEN THE PERSON DISAPPEARED AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS WILL ENABLE INVESTIGATORS TO LEARN THE ZONE OF OPERATION OF A DISAPPEARANCE AND THEN CHECK WITH ZONE COMMANDERS. IN LOCATIONS WHERE INVESTIGATORS WERE ABLE TO DISCOVER RECORDS OF INTERROGATIONS DETAILED QUESTIONS ARE BEING ASKED OF THE INTERROGATORS.

5. ACCORDING TO THE SAME ARMY INTELLIGENCE SOURCE THESE INVESTIGATIONS HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR ABOUT THREE TO FOUR WEEKS, BUT WITH LIMITED SUCCESS SINCE IT APPEARS THAT SECURITY FORCES HAVE DESTROYED RECORDS WHICH SERVED AS EVIDENCE THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONTACT BETWEEN A DISAPPEARED PERSON AND THAT PARTICULAR BRANCH OR UNIT.

6. IN CONNECTION WITH AVAILABILITY OF LISTS, RECORD KEEPING ETC. FORMER FIRST CORPS (BUENOS AIRES AND SURROUNDING AREA) COMMANDER SUAREZ MASON RECENTLY TOLD A FOREIGN AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD SIGNED "FIFTY TO A HUNDRED DEATH WARRANTS PER DAY" OVER A LONG PERIOD. (ASKED WHETHER THIS WAS NOT AN OVERHELMING RESPONSIBILITY SUAREZ MASON REPLIED THAT NO, IT WAS NOT, SINCE IN ALL CASES PERSONS HAD CONFESSED TO SOME ASSOCIATION WITH TERRORISM.) WHAT INTERESTS US ESPECIALLY THAT THIS POINT IS THE IMPLICATION THAT EXTENSIVE RECORDS EXIST (OR HAVE EXISTED) ACCOUNTING FOR PERHAPS SEVERAL THOUSAND DEATHS.

7. COMMENT: IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT THE OUTCOME OF THE GOA'S EFFORTS, GIVEN THE POSSIBILITIES FOR AND INSTITUTIONAL REASONS FOR COVER-UP AT EVERY LEVEL OF OPERATION. ALTHOUGH WE CAN ACCEPT THAT MANY TERRORISTS DIED IN ARMED [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03757 102246Z

CONFRONTATIONS DURING 1976 AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, DURING 1977-- AND THAT, AS ONE ARMED FORCES ARGUMENT GOES [redacted] B1 TERRORISTS KILLED HAD COLLECTIONS OF FALSE IDENTITY DOCUMENTS -- OUR VIEW IS THAT FAR LARGER NUMBERS WERE SYSTEMATICALLY LIQUIDATED DURING OR AFTER LENGTHY, ROUTINE INTERROGATIONS. RECORDS OF THESE CASES WERE PROBABLY KEPT IN SOME INSTANCES, BUT WE DOUBT THEY WILL EVER SEE THE LIGHT OF DAY.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03758 102244Z 5/10/79
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SR-05 SSO-00 SS-15 NSCE-00
DODE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00 PA-01
MCT-02 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 MC-02 L-03 H-01
SP-02 /068 W
----------129305 102301Z /70

O 102040Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 623
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3758

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 5/10/99 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (U) REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3495

1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT).

2. THE SECRETARY OF THE ARGENTINE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (PST) TODAY (MAY 10) REPORTED TO EMBASSY THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LILIANA AMAYA, AGE 33, ON MAY 3. AMAYA, A PST MEMBER, WAS ALLEGEDLY TAKEN AWAY IN A CAR BY TWO OR MORE MEN AT 1700 HOURS LAST THURSDAY OUTSIDE THE BANCO ITALIANO WHERE SHE WORKS AS A BANK CLERK. AMAYA'S COWORKERS, WHO VIEWED THE INCIDENT, INFORMED HER FAMILY WHO REPORTED IT TO THE LEAGUE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

3. ACCORDING TO THE PST SECRETARY, AMAYA WORKED AT THE LEAGUE FOR ABOUT A YEAR, SINCE THE PEN DETENTION OF HER BOYFRIEND HECTOR PAEZ IN LA PLATA. SHE STOPPED WORKING AT THE LEAGUE FOUR MONTHS AGO AFTER BELIEVING SHE WAS BEING FOLLOWED. AMAYA IS SAID TO BE ACQUAINTED WITH THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS, WHO WAS REPORTEDLY
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03758 102244Z

ABDUCTED APRIL 30. (SEE BUENOS AIRES 3495).

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

UNCLASSIFIED

4. THE PST SECRETARY ADDED THAT FRIENDS OF MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS RECENTLY RECEIVED A NOTE ALLEGEDLY WRITTEN BY MRS. JARA HERSELF, SAYING THAT SHE WAS ALL RIGHT AND WAS OUTSIDE ARGENTINA. THE FRIENDS, ACCORDING TO THE GIRL, DO NOT BELIEVE THE NOTE WAS AUTHENTIC.

5. THE EMBASSY IS MAKING INQUIRIES WITH USUAL ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES ON THE AMAYA DISAPPEARANCE. CHAPLIN

[redacted]

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1979BUENOS03756

Channel: n/a

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[redacted]

5/10/79

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03756 01 OF 02 102240Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 SR-05 IO-14 PA-01
ICAE-00 NSCE-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 INRE-00 H-01 ACDA-12 PM-05 /096 W
----------129148 102316Z /66

O R 102045Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 620
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 951
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY LONDON

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3756

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/10/85 (THAYER, YVONNE) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - MAY 10, 1979

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3553 (NOTAL)

[redacted] SUMMARY: THE WEEK'S EVENTS INCLUDE DIVERSE TIDBITS THAT DEMONSTRATE A CONTINUING OF EARLIER TRENDS IN THE AGREAS OF GRADUAL PRISON IMPROVEMENTS AND CONSOLIDATION OF PEN PRISONERS, CHURCH ATTENTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, AND TRIALS OF ABUSIVE SECURITY ELEMENTS. ONE DISAPPEARANCE ON MAY 3 IS REPORTED SEPARATELY. LESS WILLINGNESS TO TOLERATE PROSCRIBED

POLITICAL ACTIVITY. TWENTY-SIX POLITICIANS WERE BRIEFLY ARRESTED OVER THE WEEKEND. CAMPORA WILL NOT BE RELEASED SOON. GENERAL MENENDEZ WARNED AGAIN OF IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION. FAMILIES REPORT THAT SOME 60 PRISONERS IN RESISTENCIA MAY

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03756 01 OF 02 102240Z

REMAIN THERE FOR TRIAL BY MILITARY COURTS AND TWO DIAPPEARED YOUTHS ARE SAID TO BE ALIVE "SOMEWHERE IN THE SOUTH." THE

SARAGOVI FAMILY IS MOUNTING AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR COMMUTATION OF SON HORACIO'S SENTENCE AND LILIANA VOGLER'S CASE IS REPORTEDLY BEING RAISED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER THIS WEEK. ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR ENRIQUE ROS AT THE UN, PRESIDENT VIDELA AND THE PRESS CONTINUE TO REJECT INDIGNANTLY FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND JUDGMENTS REGARDING ARGENTINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE LOCAL PRESS REPORTED THE FAILURE OF A SENATE MOTION TO REPEAL THE ARMS BAN AGAINST ARGENTINA AND CHILE. AN APPEALS COURT CLEARED FORMER PRESIDENT ALEJANDRO LANUSSE OF WRONGDOING IN THE ALUAR AFFAIR. END SUMMARY.

1. [redacted] PRISON CONDITIONS IMPROVING AT VILLA DEVOTE, RAWSON --

FAMILY MEMBERS TOLD EMBOFF THAT PRISON CONDITIONS APPEAR TO BE IMPROVING, AT LEAST SUPERFICIALLY, WHICH THEY CREDIT TO THE COMING OF IACHR LATER THIS YEAR. PRISONERS IN VILLA DEVOTO HAVE BEEN MOVED FROM PAVILIONS WITH 27 GIRLS TO CELLS SHARED BETWEEN FIVE PERSONS. VILLA DEVOTO IS BEING REPAINTED AND REPAIRED. THOSE DETAINEES IN CLASS NO. 2 HAVE TELEVISION AND READING PRIVILEGES AND FIVE HOURS OF RECREATION A DAY. INMATES TAKE GYMNASTICS AND ARE BEING PROVIDED WITH NEW GYM CLOTHES. A RECENT VISITOR TO RAWSON PRISON SAID THAT ALL PEN DETAINEES FROM SIERRA CHICA HAVE BEEN TRANSFERRED TO RAWSON AND THAT THE FORMERLY VERY HARSH CONDITIONS THERE HAVE SHOWN CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT. THE RAWSON INMATES ARE NOW ALLOWED COMMUNAL EATING PRIVILEGES AND SILVERWARE. THEY CAN PRACTICE SPORTS AND HAVE A TWO HOUR REST PERIOD PER DAY DURING WHICH THEY ARE ALLOWED READING MATERIALS.

2. (U) CHURCH APPEALS TO GOA ON LABOR LEADERS, DETAINEES, DISAPPEARED PERSONS --

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[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03756 01 OF 02 102240Z

THE ARGENTINE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY EXPRESSED ITS CONCERNS ON BEHALF OF RECENTLY JAILED LABOR LEADERS, PEN DETAINEES HELD WITHOUT CHARGE, DISAPPEARED PERSONS, AND LOWER INCOME GROUPS ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT ECONOMIC POLICY DURING A MEETING BETWEEN CARDINAL PRIMATESTA AND PRESIDENT VIDELA ON MAY 4. PRIMATESTA ALSO REPORTEDLY GAVE VIDELA A LIST OF NAMES OF MISSING PERSONS. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE AFTER THE 39TH ANNUAL EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE HELD IN SAN MIGUEL MAY 2-4. THE BISHOPS CONFERENCE, AT WHICH PRIMATESTA WAS REELECTED PRESIDENT, PRODUCED THREE DOCUMENTS REAFFIRMING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PUEBLA DECLARATION, AND THE CHURCH'S RIGHT TO EDUCATE, REPRESENT THE POOR AND DEFEND A MORE

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

3. (U) FOWG TO COORDINATE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM --

AN OFFICIAL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT ALL CONTACTS BETWEEN FOREIGN EMBASSIES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA REGARDING THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM SHOULD IN THE FUTURE BE DIRECTED TO HIS OFFICE. HE SAID THAT A CIRCULAR NOTE ANNOUNCING TO THIS EFFECT WOULD SOON BE DISTRIBUTED TO ALL DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS.

4. [redacted] AMNESTY DISAPPEARANCE LIST --

A BRITISH VOLUNTARY AGENCY REPRESENTATIVE TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS PREPARED A COMPUTERIZED LIST OF MORE THAN 10,000 ARGENTINE DISAPPEARANCE CASES WHICH IT WILL PROBABLY MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING CONFIRMATION OR LIST FROM DEPARTMENT OR EMBASSY LONDON, IF POSSIBLE.

5. (U) FIVE POLICE SENTENCED--

THE PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT FIVE OF THE SEVEN POLICEMEN TRIED
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 03756 01 OF 02 102240Z

FOR ILLEGAL ARREST AND MISTREATMENT OF EIGHT YOUTHS IN MENDOZA IN 1977 HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO TWO TO THREE YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. TWO WERE CLEARED OF CHARGES. THE COURT ALSO OREDERED TWO CONVICTED POLICEMEN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF MENDOZA TO PAY DAMAGES OF TWO MILLION PESOS (ABOUT $1,170) TO THE VICTIMS. THE POLICEMEN HAVE APPEALED THE SENTENCE.

6. (U) POLITICIANS BRIEFLY ARRESTED--
POLICE BRIEFLY ARRESTED ON MAY 5 26 POLITICIANS--NINE LEADERS OF THE POPULAR LEFTIST FRONT MEETING IN BUENOS AIRES AND 17 LEADERS OF THE INTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT MEETING IN RESISTENCIA. THE POLITICAL LEADERS, WHOSE PARTIES IMMEDIATELY CABLES PROTESTS TO VIDELA AND THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, WERE RELEASED SHORTLY THEREAFTER. THE PRESS SPECULATED THAT THE ARRESTS SIGNALLED A TIGHTENING OF THE GOVERNMENT'S BAN AGAINST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE WAKE OF THE FAILED APRIL 27 NATIONAL STRIKE.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03756 02 OF 02 102241Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 SR-05 IO-14 PA-01
ICAE-00 NSCE-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 INRE-00 H-01 ACDA-12 PM-05 /096 W
------------------129178 102317Z /66
O R 102045Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 621
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 952
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY LONDON

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3756

7. (U) NO AMNESTY FOR CAMPORA --

THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IS NOT NOW CONSIDERING AMNESTY OR SAFE CONDUCT FOR FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA WHO IS STILL ANY ASYLEE IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY, SAID PRESIDENT VIDELA ON MAY 4. VIDELA SAID HE CONSIDERS CAMPORA "AN IDEOLOGICAL CRIMINAL" RESPONSIBLE FOR THE 1973 AMNESTY AND MOST OF THE "BLOOD THAT HAS BEEN SHED IN ARGENTINA FOR THE PAST THREE OR FOUR YEARS."

8. (U) GENERAL MENENDEZ WARNS OF IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION -- ARMED SUBVERSION HAS BEEN TOTALLY ERADICATED, BUT THE SAME CANNOT BE SAID FOR IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION WHICH MAY STILL BE LURKING IN THE UNIVERSITIES, CLUBS, NEIGHBORHOODS, AND LABOR CIRCLES, WARNED THIRD CORPS COMMANDER MENENDEZ IN REMARKS TO THE PRESS MAY 4. MENENDEZ ADVISED ARGENTINE CITIZENS TO BE VIGILANT OF IDEOLOGUES WHO "REMAIN HIDDEN AND COULD REVIVE SUBVERSIVE DELINQUENCY IF PERMITTED TO RECRUIT NEW

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03756 02 OF 02 102241Z

ADHERENTS TO THEIR ANTI-PATRIOTIC CAUSE."

9. [redacted] PEN PRISONERS IN RESISTENCIA --
DESPITE OFFICIALS' STATED PLANS TO TRANSFER ALL PEN PRISONERS FROM RESISTENCIA PRISON TO LA PLATA, THE FATHER OF ONE DETAINEE TOLD EMBOFF THAT 60 PEN PRISONERS REMAIN IN RESISTENCIA AND HAVE BEEN TURNED OVER TO MILITARY TRIBUNALS FOR TRIAL. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THE PEN STATUS OF THE 60 WAS REMOVED PRIOR TO THEIR BEING REMANDED TO MILITARY COURTS. THE FATHER, WHOSE SON IS AMONG THAT GROUP, BELIEVES THAT THE PRISONERS WILL BE TRIED BY MILITARY COURTS BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT LACKS ADMISSIBLE EVIDENCE TO CONVICT THEM IN CIVILIAN COURTS.

10. [redacted] DISAPPEARED YOUTHS ALLEGEDLY HELD --
THE MOTHER OF US INTEREST CASE JUAN MIGUEL THANHAUSER (969/78/4) INFORMED EMBASSY THAT A DETAINEE RECENTLY RELEASED FROM LA PLATA CONFIDED TO HER BY PHONE THAT HER SON WAS ALIVE AND BEING HELD "SOMEWHERE IN THE SOUTH," TOGETHER WITH ANOTHER US INTEREST CASE MARTINE VAZQUEZ (740/79/1). THE MOTHER WAS TOLD SHE WOULD HAVE MORE NEWS SHORTLY.

11. (U) SARAGOVI COMMUTATION CAMPAIGN --
THE MOTHER OF HORACIO SARAGOVI, A HIGH US INTEREST CASE WHO RECENTLY LOST AN APPEAL OF HIS SIX YEARS' SENTENCE, PLANS TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES IN MAY TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR HER SON'S CASE. THE SARAGOVIS ARE SEEKING PRESIDENTIAL COMMUTATION OF THE SENTENCE TO TIME SERVED (ALMOST THREE YEARS). SENATORS HEINZ, CONGRESSMAN GILMAN AND A CATHOLIC HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP FROM SAN FRANCISCO HAVE WRITTEN PRESIDENT VIDELA ASKING HIM TO COMMUTE THE SENTENCE.

12. [redacted] LILIANA VOGLER UPDATE--
THE AUNT OF LILIANA VOGLER (67/77/5) ADVISED MAY 9 THAT A US
[redacted]
[redacted]

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LAW PROFESSOR FRIEND OF THE FAMILY HAD BEEN GRANTED AN APPOINTMENT WITH PRESIDENT CARTER THIS WEEK TO DISCUSS THE GIRL'S CASE. MRS. HINOJOSA SAID SHE RECENTLY PICKED UP A COPY OF LILIANA'S SENTENCE DECREE WHICH SHE SAID INCLUDED MANY INACCURACIES, INCLUDING THE ACCUSATION THAT SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE WAS FOUND IN LILIANA'S ROOM. SHE SAID THE REPORT ALSO NOTES THAT A MR. GOMEZ, THE PROVINCIAL POLICE OFFICER WHO INTERROGATED (TORTURED, ACCORDING TO THE AUNT) LILIANA IN RIO CUARTO WAS IN DETENTION, ACCUSED OF "COMMON CRIMES," NOT OFFENSES CONNECTED WITH LILIANA'S TREATMENT.

13. (U) GOA ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT UN --

ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UN ENRIQUE ROS TOOK A SWIPE AT THE US IN RECENT REMARKS AT THE UN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL IN NEW YORK MAY 5. ROS FIRMLY DEFENDED ARGENTINA'S TRADITIONAL POLICY IN FAVOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND BLAMED COLONIALIST EXPLOITATION LEADING TO RACISM AND APARTHEID AND FOOTDRAGGING ON IMPROVING AN UNFAIR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AS REAL SOURCES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. ROS DEFENDED ARGENTINA'S NEED TO "IMPLEMENT EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO OVERCOME A LEGAL CRISIS AND REINSTATE ORDER" AND CRITICIZED THOSE "WHO PRETEND TO JUDGE OTHER COUNTRIES' AFFAIRS WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SOURCE OF GENERALIZED VIOLENCE."

14. (U) MOTION TO REPEAL US ARMS BAN DEFEATED IN SENATE COMMITTEE--
THE LOCAL PRESS REPORTED MAY 9 THAT AN INITIATIVE OF SENATOR HAYAKAWA OF CALIFORNIA TO REPEAL THE CURRENT LEGISLATION BANNING FMS AND COMMERCIAL MILITARY SALES TO ARGENTINA AND CHILE FAILED TO WIN APPROVAL IN THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. THE PRESS QUOTED HAYAKAWA AS ARGUING THAT THE STATUTORY RESTRICTIONS ARE "INFLEXIBLE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE." THE REPORTS ALSO QUOTED A CARTER SPOKESMAN THAT NEITHER CHILE NOR ARGENTINA HAD REGISTERED SATISFACTORY IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS TO JUSTIFY REPEAL OF THE LESISLATION AND SENATOR SARBANES' ARGUMENT THAT REPEAL WOULD "SIGNAL TO THE VIOLATORS THAT IF [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 03756 02 OF 02 102241Z

THEY STAND FIRM LONG ENOUGH THE US WILL END UP ACCEPTING THE SITUATION."

15. (U) COURT CLEARS FORMER PRESIDENT LANUSSE--
A FEDERAL APPEALS COURT HAS CLEARED OF ALL CHARGES AND RESTORED THE "GOOD NAME AND HONOR" OF FOUR FORMER HIGH-RANKING GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ACCUSED OF WRONG-DOING IN CONNECTION WITH THE ALUAR ALUMINUM COMPANY SCANDAL. THE DECISION UPHOLDS THE VERDICT REACHED LAST YEAR BY A CRIMINAL COURT EXONERATING FORMER PRESIDENT ALEJANDRO LANUSSE, FORMER NAVY CINC PEDRO GNAVI, FORMER AIR FORCE CINC CARLOS REY, AND FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER RAFAEL CACERES MONIE.

16. (U) ENRIQUE ARDISSONE IN LA NACION OF 5/10/79 HAS A WELL-WRITTEN, BALANCED STORY COVERING THE DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS DURING THE ARGENTINE-US SEMINAR SPONSORED BY GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY. ARDISSONE GIVES EACH INTERLOCUTOR HIS DUE.

17. (U) AN ANALYSIS BY THE EMBASSY OF APPARENT RECENT

EFFORTS BY ELEMENTS OF THE GOA TO PRODUCE FOR ANALYSIS RECORDS CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARED IS CONTAINED IN A SEPARATE CABLE.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

NNN

Case Number: 200000044

B048

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
Exemption(s): _____
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03824 131349Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 HA-05 /023 W
----------022648 132046Z /43

R 112059Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0648

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3824

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
WHEREABOUTS OF THREE PRIESTS MISSING IN ARGENTINA

H PASS: HONORABLE ABRAHAM RIBICOFF
U.S. SENATE WASHDC

1. DEAR SENATOR RIBICOFF:
THE LETTER YOU RECEIVED FROM THE DEPT. OF STATE
DATED APR 26 REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THREE
PRIESTS MISSING IN ARGENTINA INCORRECTLY STATES THAT
THERE WAS NO INFORMATION ABOUT REV. MAURICIO LKEBER
SILVA IRIBARNEGARAY. THE MISUNDERSTANDING WAS
PROBABLY DUE TO A VARIATION IN THE PRESENTATION OF
REV. SILVA'S NAME.

2. AS WE WROTE YOU IN SEP 1978, THE FOREIGN
OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTED THAT
THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD OF THE
WHEREABOUTS OF REV. SILVA. SUBSEQUENTLY, ON MAY
8, 1979, WE SUBMITTED ANOTHER INQUIRY FOR INFORMATION
OF REV. SILVA. WE WILL ADVISE YOU IF WE RECEIVE ANY
NEW INFORMATION ON THIS CASE.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
CHAPLIN
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03824 131349Z

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1979BUENOS03799

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Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03799 111949Z 5/11/79
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 HA-05 SR-05 SS-15 NSCE-00
DODE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00 PA-01
MCT-02 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 MC-02 L-03 H-01
SP-02 /068 W
----------007342 111953Z /75

O R 111924Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 635
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3799

E.O. 12065: RDS 4 5/11/99 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) JARA DE CABEZAS CONTACTS FRIENDS BY PHONE

REF: A) BUENOS AIRES 3758, B) BUENOS AIRES 3495

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. EMBASSY WAS INFORMED BY A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY TODAY (MAY 11) THAT THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS SPOKE BY PHONE TO A COLLEAGUE FROM THE COMMISSION OF FAMILIES OF DISAPPEARED AND DETAINED PERSONS (FDD) ON MAY 8, SAYING SHE WAS ALL RIGHT. THE FRIEND CONFIRMED IT WAS MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS' VOICE. THE CALL CAME SHORTLY AFTER FDD ACQUAINTANCES RECEIVED A LETTER SIGNED BY MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS SAYING THAT SHE WAS ALIVE AND WELL, ALTHOUGH AT THE TIME THE FDD BELIEVED THE LETTER TO BE A FAKE. (SEE BUENOS AIRES 3758.) THE PHONE MESSAGE REPEATS THE PATTERN OF THE BARRERIROS COUPLE WHO WERE ABDUCTED IN MARCH AND LATER PHONED A RELATIVE TO REPORT THEY WERE ALL RIGHT. SINCE LEARNING OF THE APRIL 28 PHONE CALL, THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED NO MORE NEWS OF THE BARREIROS.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03799 111949Z

CHAPLIN

Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED 5/1/79

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Department of State TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03801 1313322 8359 BUENOS 03801 1313322
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
AID-05 HA-05 SIL-01 LAB-04 EB-08 COM-02 TRSE-00
IO-14 ACDA-12 NAC-01 OES-09 SOE-02 DOE-15 OES-01
SAS-02 /151 W

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R 1119332 MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 637
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3801

ARA PLS PASS SUBSTANCE TO AMB CASTRO

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/8/85 (THAYER, YVONNE) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, MNUC, AR
SUBJECT: (U) ARGENTINA AIRS COMPLAINTS OF US INTERFERENCE

REF: A) BUENOS AIRES 3451, B) BUENOS AIRES 2225

[redacted] SUMMARY: FROM ITS FORMER RELATIVELY PASSIVE PUBLIC REACTIONS TO USG INITIATIVES, THE REGIME HERE HAS OF LATE BEGUN TO ANSWER BACK, WITH CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT OF THE PRESS, EVEN THOSE PAPERS USUALLY PRO-US AND DEMOCRATICALLY-INCLINED. AMONG THE LIST OF GRIEVANCES WHICH HAVE ELICITED FIRM PUBLIC ARGENTINE RESPONSES AND REBUTTALS ARE: US STATEMENTS DEPLORING THE DETENTION OF ARGENTINE TRADE UNION LEADERS, US CRITICISM OF THE DELAYS IN THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM, AND US STATEMENTS REGARDING ARGENTINA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM. PRIVATELY HEARD ARE COMPLAINT OF AMBASSADOR CASTRO'S ALLEGED PREDICTION OF LABOR TROUBLES IN HIS SPEECH IN NEW YORK LAST MONTH. THESE MAY BE ONLY SQUALLS, BUT THE CHANGE IN THE WEATHER IS WORTH NOTING. END SUMMARY.

1. (U) OFFICIAL PUBLIC ARGENTINE RESPONSE TO US POLICY INITIATIVES, PARTICULARLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, HAS ON THE WHOLE BEEN MUTED AND RESIGNED. OF LATE HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS INCREASINGLY REFUSED TO TURN THE OTHER CHEEK. ON MAY 2, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PROTESTED TO THE CHARGE US STATEMENTS DEPLORING THE RECENT ARREST OF ARGENTINE STRIKE LEADERS AND THEN WIDELY PUBLICIZED THE PROTEST. EVEN PRIOR TO THE OFFICIAL PROTEST, THE PRESS BITTERLY DENOUNCED "UNINFORMED US ARROGANCE" AND "SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS" IN DEFENDING THE JAILED UNION LEADERS. THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD ON MAY 3 SOUNDLY REPUDIATED THE AFL-CIO'S "BLATANT THREATS" OF A BOYCOTT AS WRONGLY DEFENDING "PATENTLY UNDEMOCRATIC AND FASCIST UNION LEADERS" AND THE POWER AND PRIVILEGE OF A HUGE AND REACTIONARY VESTED INTEREST". ON MAY 6 THE HERALD RETURNED TO THE THEME CLAIMING THAT "BY MAKING SUCH STATEMENTS THE US UNDERMINES ITS OWN CAMPAIGN ON BEHALF OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ARGENTINES, BECAUSE, IF ANYTHING, IT IS THE RIGHT OF GOVERNMENTS TO ARREST THOSE SEEKING TO DISRUPT PUBLIC ORDER THAT IS RECOGNIZED, AND NOT THE REVERSE.... BY COMING OUT SO QUICKLY AND SO INDISCRIMINATELY ON THE SIDE OF A NAKEDLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN A CONFLICT WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT, FOR ITS FAULTS, HAS DEMOCRACY AS ALONG-TERM OBJECTIVE, THE US REDUCED ITS MORAL AUTHORITY IN PRESSING FOR THE RELEASE OF THE MANY PEOPLE BEING HELD IN PRISON OR UNDER HOUSE ARREST WITHOUT ANY CONVINCING CAUSE." CONVICCION ALSO DEPLORED THE US STATEMENT AS "ANOTHER SIGN OF ARROGANCE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE," ARGUING THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAD NOTED WITH THE LAW IS EXPECTING THE LIFE OF LEADERS. LA NACION BRANDED THE US ACTION IMPERTINENT, MISTAKEN AND SPITEFUL, LEADING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT "WASHINGTON HAS MOVED FAR AWAY FROM HARMONIOUS BILATERAL RELATIONS."

2. (U) THE PRESS WIDELY NOTED THAT ON MAY 1 THE ARGENTINE EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON PUBLICLY REBUTTED THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S APRIL 24 CHARGE THAT THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM WAS NOT WORKING. THE EMBASSY PLACED THE BLAME FOR DELAYS IN PROCESSING RIGHT OF OPTION CASES ON BUREAUCRATIC SNAGS RESULTING FROM US LEGISLATION. THE STATEMENT DECLARED THAT OF 141 PRISONERS PERMITTED VISITS FROM US CONSULAR OFFICIALS, 40 HAVE BEGUN MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEIR TRAVEL IN ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES AND TWO HAVE ALREADY TRAVELED; WHILE 213 PEN DETAINEES HAD ALREADY TRAVELED ELSEWHERE ABROAD UP TO DECEMBER 1978.

3. (U) IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND ARGENTINE POSITIONS ARE MORE FREQUENTLY AIRED. ARGENTINE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION PRESIDENT CASTRO MADERO RARELY LETS A WEEK GO BY NOW WITHOUT REITERATING HIS COUNTRY'S INTENTION TO OBTAIN AN INDEPENDENT FUEL CYCLE CAPABILITY, AS WELL AS ITS OPPOSITION TO THE NPT AS DISCRIMINATORY. IN MARCH, CASTRO MADERO AND THE PRESS EXPRESSED CHAGRIN AND OUTRAGE AT US STATEMENTS AND PERCEIVED EFFORTS TO HINDER ARGENTINA'S ACQUISITION OF ADVANCED REACTOR AND HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY FROM THIRD COUNTRIES. MORE RECENTLY ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL IN WASHINGTON ECHOED THE COMPLAINT, WHICH WAS CITED HERE BY THE PRESS. (COMMENT: SUBSEQUENTLY CASTRO MADERO HAS MODERATED SOMEWHAT HIS OWN REFERENCES TO THE US, ADMITTING THAT US POLICY DOES NOT OPPOSE THE SALE OF NUCLEAR REACTORS TO ARGENTINA AS LONG AS THEY ARE UNDER ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS.)

4. [redacted] AMONG ANGRY RUMBLINGS AGAINST US INTERFERENCE IN ARGENTINE INTERNAL AFFAIRS IS HEARD CRITICISM OF AMBASSADOR CASTRO'S REMARKS IN NEW YORK IN LATE APRIL ANTICIPATING LABOR TROUBLE IN ARGENTINA. ALTHOUGH THE PRESS QUOTED AJA ESPIL'S CONGRATULATORY REPLY TO CASTRO ON HIS CLEAR EXPOSITION OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, THERE ARE INDICATIONS GOA AND GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS WERE UPSET WITH THE LABOR TROUBLE COMMENTS IN HIS TALK.

5. [redacted] COMMENT: GOA'S OFFICIAL REBUKES ONLY BRING TO THE SURFACE LONG FELT RESENTMENT AT US PUBLIC CRITICISM OF ARGENTINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SUPPORT OF GOA BY LIBERAL PRESS ALSO POINTS UP LOCAL SENSITIVITIES TOWARD US "MEDDLING" EVEN AMONG THOSE WHO STRONGLY SUPPORT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS STANCE. WE CANNOT SPEAK OF A "CHANGE OF CLIMATE" HERE BUT WE SHOULD NOTE THE STORM WARNINGS. END COMMENT.
CHAPLIN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full 82 D 103
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason E.O. 12065 1.5 17404

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03789 130834Z 5/11/79 N257 R
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-02 ICA-15 /075 W
----------021176 131912Z /43

R 111444Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0632
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3789

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: REPLIES TO US INTEREST CASES PRESENTED TO THE FOWG

1. THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS (FOWG) HAS JUST INFORMED THE EMBASSY ON TWO CASES PRESENTED ON MARCH 30, 1979:

CASE NO.	NAME	US INTEREST
640/78/11	HWANG, HILER - DETAINED IN (U20) EZEIZA (BUENOS AIRES PROVICE)	US CHURCH GROUP
832/79/3	KAUFMAN, FELIX ARREST DECREE 3226 OF 10-31-75. CHARGES: LAW 20840 CLANDESTINE PRINTING OF TROTSKYIST BOOKS. RIGHT OF OPTION BY DECREE 690 OF 3-23-79. VISA-VISA FOR ISRAEL	ADL

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Chile Project (#S199900030)
Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

5/13/79 NARA

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UNREVIEWED DRAFT TRANSLATION

Letter R

DOS

Santiago, May thirteenth, nineteen hundred seventy-nine

WHEREAS :

The Government of the United States has formally petitioned the Government of Chile for the extradition of Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo and Armando Fernández Larios in Memorandum No. 60 dated September 20, 1978 from the United States Embassy, signed by U.S. Ambassador Mr. George W. Landau and brought to the attention of the Supreme Court in the form of a restricted official letter from the Legal Department of the Foreign Affairs Ministry bearing Number 22 and dated September 21, 1978.

According to the petition, the aforementioned individuals have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury of the District of Columbia as perpetrators of the following crimes:

"1. Conspiracy to assassinate a foreign official, namely Orlando Letelier, punishable under Title 18, Section 1117 of the United States Code;

2. Murder of the foreign official, Orlando Letelier, on September 21, 1976, punishable under Title 18, Sections 1111 and 1116 of the United States Code;

3. First degree murder against the person of Orlando Letelier on September 21, 1976, punishable under Title 22, Section 2401 of the District of Columbia Code;

4. First degree murder against the person of Ronni Moffit on September 21, 1976, punishable under Title 22, Section 2401 of the District of Columbia Code;

5. Damages and injuries caused by explosives in a 1975 Chevrolet Malibu Classic used in interstate traffic and carrying Orlando Letelier, Ronni Moffit and Michael Moffit from the State of Maryland to the District of Columbia on September 21, 1976, causing the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit, punishable under Title 18, Section 844(i) of the United States Code."

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The petitioning Government requests that its petition be duly processed and that extradition be eventually granted, as requested, basing its plea on the provisions of the 1902 Extradition Treaty between the United States and Chile and ~~still precepts~~ currently in effect.

The aforementioned petition is accompanied by supporting facts presented in English and duly translated, as well as by various exhibits, a copy of all pertinent laws, miscellaneous statements, photographs, documents and copies of the warrants of arrest issued by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

According to the information presented, the defendants "unlawfully and deliberately conspired to assassinate Orlando Letelier, a foreign official, in full knowledge of the facts, in violation of Title 18, Section 1116 of the United States Code."

The purpose of the conspiracy was allegedly that of the assassination of Orlando Letelier.

According to the requisition, the facts were allegedly as follows: One of the defendants, former Colonel Manuel Contreras, acting in his capacity as Director of the National Intelligence Agency (DINA) ordered the assassination of Orlando Letelier, proceeding to issue pertinent instructions to his subordinate Major Pedro Espinoza Bravo, DINA Operations Director, who, in turn, passed these same orders on to Army Lieutenant Armando Fernández Larios and Michael Vernon Townley. The mission was allegedly carried out using DINA resources and funds, forging passports and arranging the various details in collaboration with other intelligence agencies.

Lieutenant Fernández allegedly traveled to the United States in pursuance of his mission in order to study all of Orlando Letelier's movements, habits and routines to subsequently turn this information over to Michael Townley.

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Once in possession of the information, Townley then allegedly collaborated with a group of Cuban exiles in planning the assassination.

On or around September 19, 1976, Townley allegedly personally planted a bomb in Letelier's automobile, a fact he communicated to his wife, Mariana Callejas who was to pass the information on to DINA by phone.

The bomb was detonated two days later, resulting in the aforementioned consequences.

The explosion occured somewhere around the 2300 block of Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. more or less half-way around Sheridan Circle in the city of Washington. The vehicle was carrying Orlando Letelier, Ronni Moffit and her husband Michael Moffit, whose statement appears on page 51 of the Translation File.

According to the Spanish version of his statement appearing on page 123 of the respective translation file, Michael Vernon Townley Welch declares, in brief, that sometime either late in June or early in July of that year Lieutenant Fernández Larios had requested his presence at a meeting with Colonel or at that time Major Pedro Espinoza which was to be strictly confidential. During the course of such meeting the latter asked him whether he would accept a special assignment outside of Chile -- an assignment which he accepted on certain conditions.

In the course of a second meeting held a few days later the Major informed him that "the DINA mission in which I was to take part was the assassination of Orlando Letelier." They were to use falsified Paraguayan passports and the death was to appear accidental. However, the mission was to be accomplished at all costs, even, if necessary, through the use of a bomb.

Colonel Espinoza also informed him that the mission to assassinate Letelier was to be a joint endeavor to be carried out by himself and Lieutenant Fernández.

As part of the mission, he accompanied Fernández to Paraguay where they

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were to obtain the forged passports which were to be used in the assignment. He adopted the alias of Juan Williams Rose and Lieutenant Fernández went under the alias of Alejandro Romeral Jara.

A little while later, Colonel Espinoza informed him that Fernández was conducting "pre-operative" intelligence operations in the United States, that the Letelier mission was still on and that he was to follow him to the States to "make contact" with a group of Cuban exiles who were to eliminate Letelier.

He traveled to the United States under the alias of Hans Petersen Silva where he was met at Kennedy International Airport by Fernández who was waiting for him accompanied by a woman and by his sister Rosemarie. The former had accompanied him as his "cover" on his assignment for the DINA to gather information on the movements and lifestyle of Letelier.

Upon his arrival in Washington, he proceeded to work with the Cuban Virgilio Paz in verifying the information supplied by Fernández and to purchase the materials required to prepare the bomb and plant it in Letelier's automobile. When the bomb was ready, Townley personally planted it on the outer crosspiece of the automobile chassis under the driver's seat, securing it with adhesive tape purchased at an earlier date. All this took place on September 19, 1976.

On the twenty-first, we were informed by Ignacio Novo that "something had happened in Washington."

He returned to Santiago on September 23rd and reported to Colonel or, at that time, Major Pedro Espinoza Bravo, describing what he had done.

In his statement appearing on page 52 of the translation file, Michael Moffit, who was a passenger in Orlando Letelier's automobile at the time of the explosion, says that while the vehicle driven by Letelier was traveling along Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., just as it entered Sheridan Circle, out of the corner of his right eye he suddenly saw a flash of light which seemed to

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come from directly behind Ronni, who was seated to his right. I also heard a buzzing sound which lasted less than a second. It was loud enough for me to hear it and sounded like water falling on a burning hot wire." "It seemed barely a fraction of a second after the flash when the car broke out in flames."

The statement, in Spanish, appearing on page 174 of the same file was made by FBI special agent Stuart E. Case who offered a detailled description of the components and method used in preparing the bomb, in planting it and in activating it for detonation.

Page 187 contains the Spanish translation of the statement made by María Inés Callejas de Townley who, briefly, states that she is Michael Townley's wife, she knows of the agreement entered into between her husband and the United States Government and from which she was read pertinent excerpts, that her husband himself told her that he had accepted the assignment of assassinating Orlando Letelier and that these orders were given to him by Colonel Espinoza and that, furthermore, her husband called her six or seven times from the United States to give her messages to be passed on to DINA which she did by telephoning someone named Cristoph Willike.

Page 87 contains the translation of the autopsy report on Orlando Letelier which gives the cause of death as loss of blood, traumatic amputation of the lower extremities, injuries caused by an explosion, circumstances: homicide.

The translated version of the autopsy report on Ronni Moffit, female, 25 years of age, appearing on page 105, gives the cause of death as "inhalation of blood, laceration of the larynx and right carotid artery, injuries suffered as the result of an explosion."

The file of documents is accompanied by several photographs of the scene of the crime, of the damaged automobile, the bodies of the deceased and of various documents allegedly used in pursuing the mission, as well as by a file showing several sequences on an explosion in a car similar to that

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being driven by the victim in the case at hand.

Volume One, page 8, verso, of the records of the proceedings instituted in Chile contains an order to proceed with the investigation referred to in Articles 647 and 649 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the indictment drawn up and the order to hold the defendants under arrest.

Pages 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57 and 58 contain the minutes written up in the different locations at which the Court convened to conduct the various proceedings and to examine the evidence.

Volume I, pages 59 and 68 contains the testimony offered by ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS, born in Washington, D.C., 29 years of age, single, Captain in the Army, assigned to the Infantry, residing at José Domingo Cañas 2937 in his appearance before the Court who, upon being duly sworn in, states that he is aware of the reason for his arrest; that he denies all charges preferred against him and derived from the statement made by Michael Townley and denies having been instructed either by Colonel Contreras or by Commander Espinoza to assassinate Orlando Letelier; admits that he accompanied Townley to Paraguay and obtained two forged passports to be used to travel to Washington under orders from Colonel Contreras and Commander Espinoza who supplied the details on the assignment which consisted of contacting United States Army General Vernon Walters, head of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to obtain information on certain high-ranking American politicians who were willing to support Chile and wanted to know exactly what the country's situation was; explains that he never actually made the trip and that sometime in August of 1976 he was sent to the United States "in reward for his services" simply as "back-up" for a woman who was to perform an assignment in that country. The name of the woman, as it appeared in the passport, was Liliana Walker Martínez. During his stay in the United States, he stayed mostly with his sister, both in Virginia and in New York. He ends his testimony by stating that his

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father's serious illness forced him to return to Chile and reaffirming that his stay in Washington and in the United States from late August to September 9, 1976 was for no other purpose than those mentioned in his statement and that he attributes Michael Townley's attitude whereby he accuses him of having taken part in the crime to a measure of convenience in an attempt to lighten the penalty or penalties which could allegedly be inflicted on him for the commission of crimes which he has personally confessed to.

Page 72 verso contains the testimony presented before the Court by PEDRO OCTAVIO ESPINOZA BRAVO, born in Santiago, 46 years of age, married, literate, Colonel in the Army attached to the Infantry, residing at O'Higgins 559 in Punta Arenas, in which he states that he knows the reason for his being arrested and after being advised by the Court of the charges preferred against him declares that the accusations are all untrue and denies any guilt whatsoever in connection with the criminal acts culminating in the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit.

He explains that the fact is that sometime late in June 1976 Colonel Contreras who was, at that time, head of DINA, informed him that he was to send two officers on an assignment to the United States where they were to contact General Vernon Walters. He thought of Townley, who he knew only as Andrés Wilson, because of his good command of English and suggested that he accompany Lieutenant Fernández on the mission. Actually, they only got as far as Paraguay where they obtained falsified passports as circumstances prevented them from making contact with Walters.

He also recalls that sometime in mid-August, acting under orders from Colonel Contreras, he sent Lieutenant Fernández to New York as "back-up" for another agent who was to investigate the actions of certain employees of Corfo-Codelco who were causing operational problems at the company's New York office. Lieutenant Fernández was chosen for this assignment as a type of reward

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for his services to DINA. He adds that he had no say in the selection of Liliana Walker for such mission. Therefore, all the statements made by Michael Townley and his wife Mariana Callejas with respect to Mr. Fernández's alleged mission in the United States are "lies."

Page 80 contains the testimony offered by JUAN MANUEL GUILLERMO CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, born in Santiago, 49 years of age, married, literate, Retired Army General attached to the Corps of Engineers, residing at Príncipe de Gales 7045 in his appearance before the Court who, after being duly sworn in, states that he knows the reason for his being held under arrest at the Military Hospital. He states that the allegation to the effect that the Agency under his command -- DINA -- was involved in the planning, design or any other aspect of the assassination or death of Mr. Letelier was totally untrue.

He, likewise, denies any and all direct and indirect accusations against him personally made by Townley in his statemements to the authorities.

He says that he knew that one of DINA's outside agents or "collaborators" was a person who went by the name of Andrés Wilson and who supplied electronic equipment for intelligence operations and who was recently identified as Townley.

As to Fernández and Townley's trip to Paraguay from where they were to continue on to the United States, he states that their purpose was to make contact with General Vernon Walters, head of the CIA, who was to provide them with information on certain American politicians who wanted or who might be willing to help Chile -- a mission which was subsequently cancelled.

He maintains that both Colonel Guanes and the United States Ambassador to Paraguay knew the real identities of Fernández and Townley when they arrived in the country and applied for the passports.

As to Captain or, rather, former Lieutenant Fernández's trip to the United States late in August of 1976, it was decided to use him merely as "back-up" for a mission to be performed by another female agent in the New York offices

of Corfo-Codelco as a type of reward for his many years of efficient service to DINA. He, moreover, denies that Captain Fernández Larios was given any assignment other than that mentioned above while on this trip.

Page 95 contains the testimony offered by Army Captain Cristoph Georg Paul Willeke Floel who, after being duly sworn in, stated that he never received nor was he aware of any telephone call from Mariana Callejas on any matter or mission whatsoever contrary to the remarks made in her statement. As for Townley, he knew him only as a mechanic by the name of "Mike" who was working in an automotive repair shop. Some time later he saw him at DINA headquarters where he was known as Andrés Wilson. He has no ideas as to the work or services he performed in DINA.

Page 105 contains the act of constitution of the Court convening in the Central Identification Office where it examined the civil files and other records on "Ana Luisa Pizarro Avilés."

Page 104 contains the testimony offered by Army Captain René Miguel Riveros Valderrama who had been working for DINA since 1974 and who, after being duly sworn in, stated that sometime in mid-August 1976 Colonel Contreras entrusted him with a mission in the United States where he was to make contact with Colonel Vernon Walters of the CIA who was to supply them with information favorable to Chile. The mission was to be carried out in conjunction with Lieutenant Rolando Mosqueira. Both went to Washington but were unable to make the contact and returned.

Page 106 sets forth the testimony offered by Army Captain Manuel Rolando Mosqueira Jarpa who, after being duly sworn in, informs the Court that he worked for DINA and was entrusted with a mission in which he was to travel to Washington to obtain information on certain high-ranking United States politicians who were sympathetic to Chile. His orders came from Colonel Contreras while the detailled instructions, as well as the passports and money were supplied by

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Commander Espinoza. My partner was Captain Riveros. He knew nothing whatsoever about a Lieutenant Fernández at that time.

The appearance of Rolf Gonzalo Wenderoth Pozo, Lieutenant Colonel in the Army, is annotated on page 108. Upon being questioned in conformance with the law as to the identity of Liliana Walker Martínez, the witness, who was working for DINA, replied that he did not know the woman and had been supplied only with her name and references as a "scout" or "informant" for the Agency.

Page 116 contains the testimony presented to the Court by Rosemarie Catherine Guest, sister of Armando Fernández Larios, resident of Arlington, Virginia, United States who stated that her brother arrived at National Airport on August 26, 1976 accompanied by a woman whom she did not know. The next day she took him home with her to Virginia where he remained until September 6th when they left together for New York, remaining there until September 9th when he was forced to return to Chile after receiving an urgent message to the effect that their father had been taken seriously ill.

As far as she recalls, her brother devoted himself to rest and relaxation and played tennis every day at the place where she worked. She asserts that he never hid his true identity during his stay in the United States at this time.

She adds that Attorney Propper prevented her from making this same statement before the Grand Jury despite her having been subpoenaed.

The testimony offered by Lawrence Arthur Guest, Armando Fernández Larios' brother-in-law, in response to a questionnaire submitted by the latter's defense counsel appears on page 119.

Page 136 contains the act of constitution of the Court convening at the Military Hospital in this city recording the fact that the Court examined the clinical records on hospital patients for the month of August 1976. The files corresponding to this month showed no record whatsoever of Ana Luisa Pizarro Avilés' being treated as a patient.

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Page 141 contains a deposition by Surgeon Jerónimo Pantoja Henríquez in response to a questionnaire submitted by the defense counsel for Manuel Contreras.

Page 227 reproduces the written report submitted by General Héctor Orozco Sepúlveda regarding his alleged interview with Michael Townley in the United States in April of 1978.

Page 230 contains a similar statement by Major Jaime Vergara Lonnberg (Retired.)

Page 231 verso contains the decision declaring the investigation closed and ordering that the attorney representing the petitioning Government be notified of the evidence assembled.

On page 238, the attorney representing the United States of America with respect to its petition for extradition explains the grounds for such petition in the form of a detailled brief in which, after a few general remarks and an analysis of the requirements of the bilateral treaty between the two countries with respect to form and content, launches into a full-scale study of the corpus delicti and of the role played by each of the defendants in the commission of such crime, concluding his brief with a reference to the option of extraditing nationals, pleading that the extradition of the defendants be granted inasmuch as the present case fulfills all the extradition requirements and inasmuch as the cumulative evidence constitutes sufficient proof that a crime has been committed and represents well-founded, admissible presumptions of guilt on the part of the defendants.

On page 311 verso the Court orders that the defendant Armando Fernández Larios be informed of the facts of the case. Attached to page 312 we find the brief prepared by Fernández's defense counsel where the attorneys present their own comments, analyse the charges preferred against their client, present grounds for their being challenged as to their validity, subsequently launch into an analysis of the evidence presented in the extradition file and conclude by

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pleading that the petition for the extradition of Army Captain Armando Fernández Larios be denied. The brief is accompanied by numerous exhibits.

On page 344 verso the Court acknowledges the comments made by Fernández Larios and the exhibits presented and orders that Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda and Pedro Octavio Espinoza Bravo be informed of the facts within a period of twenty days.

The defense counsel for Pedro Espinoza Bravo presents its comments in a brief appearing on page 413, challenging the evidence presented and presenting various exhibits as well as a report having the force of law. The brief analyses the charges serving as basis for the bill of indictment drawn up by the Grand Jury, the evidence presented, as well as the investigation conducted by the Chief Justice, makes reference to statute law and to legal doctine on extradition and to their application to the case at hand, finally arriving at the conclusion that extradition is inappropriate and must be denied.

Page 502 contains the detailled brief prepared by the defense counsel for Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda in which the attorneys present their comments, challenge the evidence, introduce exhibits and petition for various proceedings.

The defense counsel begins with an analysis of the proceedings and charges brought by the Grand Jury, goes into a lengthy and detailled exposition on the evidence presented, ending this portion of the brief with an analysis of the extradition process from the legal point of view in a series of closing statements. It then proceeds to challenge the admissibility of the petition, launches into an analysis of the alleged role played by its client, the jurisdiction of the Chilean courts and of the concept of political offense and ends pleading that the petition for extradition be denied.

Page 693 verso contains the decision ordering that the facts be made known to the Public Prosecutor's Office.

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Following a detailled examination of the trial and of the various Court proceedings, the District Attorney arrives at a conclusion to the effect "that the petition for the extradition of Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, Pedro Octavio Espinoza Bravo and Armando Fernández Larios presented by the United States Government should be denied."

On page 714 verso the Court gives notice that it is ready to announce judgement.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE AND CONSIDERING:

WITH RESPECT TO THE PETITION FOR EXTRADITION AND THE GROUNDS FOR SUCH PETITION:

1. THAT the Government of the United States has formally petitioned the Government of Chile for the extradition of Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, Pedro Octavio Espinoza Bravo and Armando Fernández Larios in Memorandum No. 60 dated September 20, 1978 from the United States Embassy, signed by U.S. Ambassador George W. Landau and brought to the attention of this Supreme Court in the form of a restricted official letter from the Legal Department of the Foreign Affairs Ministry bearing Number 22 and dated September 21, 1978 and that, according to the petition, these individuals were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury in the District of Columbia, United States (or the petitioning Government) on August 1, 1978 to be tried under United States law as perpetrators of the following crimes: "1.- Conspiracy to assassinate a foreign official, namely Orlando Letelier, punishable under the U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 1,117; 2.- Murder of a foreign official, namely Orlando Letelier, on September 21, 1976, punishable under U.S. Code, Title 18, Sections 1,111 and 1,116; 3.- First degree murder committed against the person of Orlando Letelier on September 21, 1976, punishable under the District of Columbia Code, Title 22, Section 2,401; 4.- First degree murder committed against the person of Ronni Moffit on September 21, 1976, punishable under the District of Columbia Code,

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Title 22, Section 2,401; and 5.- Damages and injuries caused by explosives in a 1975 Chevrolet Chevelle Malibu Classic used in interstate traffic and carrying Orlando Letelier, Ronni Moffit and Michael Moffit from the State of Maryland to the District of Columbia on September 21, 1976, causing the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit, punishable under the U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 844(1.)"

As stated in the introductory portion of the present ruling, the petitioner requests that its petition be duly processed and that extradition be ultimately granted, as requested, basing its plea on the provisions of the 1902 Extradition Treaty between the United States and Chile, currently in effect. In pursuit of this goal, the petition is supported by various exhibits in English, accompanied by their respective Spanish translations, as well as by statements, affidavits, photographs and copies of pertinent legislation and of the arrest warrants issued by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

All the information presented in support of the petition for extradition and serving as grounds for such petition, including copies of pertinent legislation and warrants of arrest, photostats of original documents such as transcripts of statements made by witnesses under interrogation and testimony presented before the Federal Grand Jury in the District of Columbia, testimony given to FBI agents and to attorneys attached to the United States District Attorney's Office, as well as the various photographs and other types of material evidence described in the index beginning on page 15 of the original English file, whose Spanish translations have been checked by experts Gloria Jiménez Matus and Marta Anders de Vargas appointed by the present Chilean District Court (page 23) and appear in the corresponding translation file, appear to have been duly certified as to their authenticity by competent officials of the petitioning government in the manner prescribed by Article III, Paragraph 2 of the 1902 Extradition Treaty signed by the United States and Chile and legalized in conformance with

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the law in the presence of United States as well as Chilean authorities pursuant to the provisions set forth in Paragraph 1 and in Paragraph 2, Number 3, Article 345 of the Chilean Code of Civil Procedure and in accordance with the provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4, Article 186 of the Chilean Code of Criminal Procedure, as set forth in the corresponding proceedings appearing on pages 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the aforementioned original English volume or file. The proceedings appearing on page 11 refer to the authentication of the signatures of Mr. George W. Landau, United States Ambassador to Chile and Mr. Edwin L. Beffel, U.S. Consul. The former has presented the petition for extradition of the aforementioned individuals in accordance with Article III, Paragraph 1 of the 1902 Extradition Treaty.

WITH RESPECT TO THE PROCEDURAL ADMISSIBILITY OR VALIDITY "IN LIMINE" OF THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED:

2. THAT to ensure a logical line of reasoning and due to its particular importance from the legal standpoint to the extradition process under consideration and to the very concept of extradition, it is advisable to, first of all, refer to the statement made by the defense counsels for defendants Fernández, Espinoza and Contreras on pages 340 verso, 425 and 512 verso, respectively, which corresponds to the assertion made by Mr. Manuel Urrutia Salas, attorney and professor or procedural law in his report appearing on page 401 and which is attributed the force the law, as well as with the statement made by the Prosecuting Attorney for the Supreme Court in his opinion reproduced on page 694 of the present file -- a statement representing a general attack on all the supporting evidence presented with the petition for extradition and explained in detail in the first supplementary petition to each of the briefs presented by defendants Espinoza and Contreras -- an attack which essentially maintains that our procedural law determines which means of proof are admissible in courts of law (Article 457 of the Code of Criminal Procedural) and that admissibl

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evidence is, thereby, limited to documents, witnesses, to a confession by one of the parties to the legal action, to a personal examination by the Court itself, to expert testimony and to presumptions or circumstantial evidence and that all other means of proof which are not included in this list of "catalogue" are, therefore, inadmissible; that, in view of the foregoing, all the photographs and other enclosures comprising the file of exhibits presented with the petition for extradition "as it has been called by the court" must be declared inadmissible and of no value whatsoever as evidence inasmuch as they do not represent means of proof of the type required by Chilean law; that Chilean procedural law "requires that all means of proof must be compatible with the probative process previously defined by the law with respect to the method, timeliness and circumstances under which each means of proof must be presented"; that, in view of the above, we must infer - conclude that, in brief, the statement to the effect "that petitioner in the present action has failed to present any evidence against the defendants both in its petition as well as in any and all subsequent proceedings inasmuch as the photographs are inadmissible and the unofficial documents are challengeable on the grounds that they have not been duly authenticated, have not been duly acknowledged by their alleged authors in the presence of this Court, have not been duly checked and compared, have not been certified by the corresponding clerk with respect to their authenticity and have not been duly legalized, depite the fact that the petitioner has attempted to endow them with quite another status altogether.

Furthermore, the aforementioned opinion expressed by the Prosecuting Attorney before the Supreme Court with respect to the statement made by Michael Vernon Townley who allegedly subsequently made a deal with the United States Government under which he would not be tried for the murder of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit and obtained other promises, both for himself and for his wife María Inés Callejas, indicates that when making his statement Townley "was obviously

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intent on saying what he believed was best for himself with regard to the aforesaid agreement" and concludes that "Article 323 of our Code of Criminal Procedure prohibits the use of promises, coercive acts or threats in attempting to extract the truth from a defendant. Pursuant to Article 10 of the Civil Code all acts prohibited under the law are null and void. Yet another paragraph of the same opinion states that: "Consequently, Townley's statement in which he supplied information to the District Attorney and subsequently repeated before the District of Columbia Grand Jury is invalid under Chilean law inasmuch, as mentioned above, it violates Article 323 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The same holds true for all the accusations derived from Townley's statement to the District of Columbia Grand Jury. At the end of his report Prosecutor Chamorro states, and I quote: "The other presumptions of guilt mentioned by attorney Etcheberry derived from sources other than Townley's statement which, as mentioned above, is worthless, do not fulfill the requirements set forth in Article 488 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and, therefore, do not constitute full proof."

3. THAT as maintained in the defense briefs for defendants Espinoza and Contreras in support of their arguments and as similarly maintained by Fernández Larios, by the report by Professor Urrutia attributed the force of law and by the opinion issued by Prosecutor Chamorro, the decisions handed down by the Chilean Supreme Court "have been unanimous in the sense that they regard extradition as an act of sovereignty and, therefore, subject to the country's procedural legislation, particularly as regards the procedure for evaluating the evidence."

4. THAT the foregoing is effective only insofar as our Supreme Court has consistently ruled that extradition is an act of sovereignty, as demonstrated by the official quotations included in the defense brief prepared by the counsel for Espinoza appearing on pages 450 and 450 verso. The following quotation applies to the extradition proceeding brought against José Sarmiento or José Doblado in 1954 "In effect, the judicial authority responsible for determining the identity of

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the criminal, whether the crime in question is a common-law crime or a political offense or whether, for any reason, it falls outside the sphere of offenses subject to extradition, etc. performs an inherent act of sovereignty in deciding whether or not to extradite the party concerned." "All this justifies the examination of the evidence by the Court inasmuch as the omission of such procedure would mean the inadequate protection of the rights of the suspect who could easily find himself extradited on the basis of ad-hoc evidence." However, it is particularly important to point out that this is not only an expression of the desired verdict but, ~~in referring to the grounds for verdict~~ in the same clause, the brief adds: "Thus, this doctrine is consistent with Article 647 of our Code of Criminal Procedure which authorizes a brief investigation into the identity of the criminal, the ~~existence~~ perpetration of the crime and the role played by the defendant. And yet he can be held (Article 646 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.) The person responsible for conducting the extradition proceeding may introduce evidence (Article 649, Paragraph 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure) and is heard under identical conditions to those granted to the defendant (Articles 652-654 of the Code of Criminal Procedure), all of which indicates that there is no obvious conflict between Governments who are party to such proceedings with respect to their sovereignty. Lucchini (Revista Penale, I, 348) rightfully declared that: "A government which opts for or grants a petition for extradition and subsequentl effectively extradites a person who has committed a crime in a foreign country neither disavows nor gives up its own jurisdiction over the matter inasmuch as it has already conducted proceedings derived from such jurisdiction such as a summary proceedings and the temporary or permanent arrest of the guilty party." We must add that these summary proceedings, arising out of a nation's sovereignty are essential to the legal process of extradition. And it is more than logical that before extraditing any person, the government must be certain that it is performing an act of justice. Furthermore, as to these proceedings which form

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represent an inherent part of the passive extradition process, please bear in mind that the government answering the petition for extradition is not up against a case of "ius puniendi" inasmuch, as mentioned above, the petition is not founde on the right to exact punishment but, rather, on international assistance which demands that the legal system be preserved -- a need common to all nations of the civilized world."

One of the whereas clauses introducing the Chilean Supreme Court decision handed down in the extradition proceeding brought against Héctor Cámpora and others by the Government of Argentina in September 1957 and quoted in the defense brief prepared by the attorneys representing defendant Espinoza reads as follows: "Supplementing the rule of law established by Paragraph 2, Article 647 as mentioned above in connection with another line of reasoning, Paragraph 3 of the same rule of law requires that the native court substantiate the petition for extradition under examination specifically by determining whether or not the persons named as defendants actually committed the crimes of which they have been accused. Thus, a petition for extradition based on facts which the petitioning judge or authority deems sufficient to warrant that the petition be approved shall not be automatically granted. The courts trying the case must arrive at their own decision. Inasmuch as the extradition process falls under national jurisdiction it is the national courts who have jurisdiction over the matter and who must, therefore, judge the case independently from the opinions of the foreign tribunal." However, this does not mean that our Supreme Court has declared in this particular ruling or, as maintained by the petition, has consisten declared "that extradition is an act of sovereignty and, THEREFORE, MUST COMPLY WITH THE COUNTRY'S PROCEDURAL LEGISLATION, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO THE PROCEDU FOLLOWED IN EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED." The latter conclusion or doctrine does not appear to have been ratified, nor expressed in any explicit or implicit declaration made in any Supreme Court decision handed down in a similar case of

UNCLASSIFIED

passive extradition or in any other case with legal characteristics similar to the case at hand.

5. THAT it is unacceptable that, in view of the principle of international law upholding the sovereignty of nations -- an undisputable principle -- for any country to be prevented from applying its internal legislation which, through its constitutional or executive channels it considers appropriate, adequate or necessa Each State, in an act of sovereignty, lays down rules of public law which must be complied with within its national borders, the most important of which are the rules of procedure for civil or criminal actions or all other matters brought before its respective courts of justice which safeguard the nation's exercise of its soverignty, which serve as the very foundation of a country's independence and as the philosophical basis for yet another indisputable principle -- that of a given country's nonintervention in the internal politics of another country, without prejudice to any eventual pertinent agreements entered into by the two countries.

6. THAT the Governments of the United States and Chile are bound by the provisions of the 1902 bilateral extradition treaty, presently in effect, with respect to legal proceedings. Under the terms and conditions of Article One of such treaty, both governments "agree to turn over to the other government all persons accused or convicted of any of the crimes or offenses set forth in the following article committed within the jurisdiction of either contracting party who seek asylum or who are found within their borders provided that such action is ~~based on~~ taken as evidence of guilt which the laws of the country to which the fugitive or suspect has fled consider sufficient grounds for his aprehension and prosecution assuming that the crime or offense had been committed within its territory.

7. THAT the appropriate Chilean laws applied in determining whether or not the evidence of guilt presented in support of the present petition for extradition offer sufficient grounds for the apprehension and prosecution of the defendants

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Fernández, Espinoza and Contreras, as agreed under the treaty, are none other than those found in Paragraph 3, Title IV, Part One, Book II of the Code of Criminal Procedure and, more specifically, the provision of Article 274 of such Code which stipulates, and I quote: "Article 274. A judge will question a suspect, find him guilty and bring action against him in all cases where the facts:

1. Prove that the crime in question has in fact been committed; and

2. Show that there are at least well-founded presumptions of the guilt of the defendant either as perpetrator, accomplice or accessory to the crime in question.

8. THAT the court must analyse, weigh and evaluate the facts and evidence presented by the government petitioning for extradition solely on the basis of this rule of procedure and may resort to no other rule of Chilean procedural law, particularly with regard to its method of evaluating the evidence, as presented in these proceedings.

Furthermore, in attempting to demonstrate the illogical nature of the argument under consideration, as well as its lack of legal context within the framework of the good faith in which contracts must be entered into and executed if the contracting parties are to achieve what they had in mind when formalizing the agreement it suffices to point out that adherence to the aforementioned doctrine would make the extradition process completely inoperative inasmuch as this would mean requiring that the country petitioning for the extradition -- in this case the United States -- adapt its summary investigative proceedings and legal prosecutions to the principles of the Chilean Code of Criminal Procedure to ensure their value as evidence in such country, which, in turn, means requiring its judicial authorities and courts of justice to investigate crimes committed within its borders and subsequently file suit with its courts based on Chilean procedural law which is obviously different from its own legislation. Moreover,

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if, in presenting a petition for extradition, Chile was required to do likewise, this would be considered a "dead letter" by our own legislation inasmuch as all summary investigations and court proceedings must comply with Chilean law.

Finally, the mere enunciation of this theory which signifies an "in limine" rejection of the evidence presented by the United States Government in support of its petition for extradition, resulting in the court's declaring such facts inadmissible under formal rules of procedure which are irrelevant to the case at hand means disclaiming that country's sovereignty to resort to the procedural legislation which it considers appropriate in conformance with the legal precepts referred to in ~~argument~~ ground number 5 of the present ruling -- a theory which, in practice, can be upheld only in the case of two countries with identical penal codes.

EXTRADITION PER SE AND THE GROUNDS FOR EXTRADITION:

9. THAT, according to grounds number 6, the Governments of the United States and Chile are bound by the provisions of the 1902 Extradition Treaty with respect to legal proceedings and pleadings and the last paragraph of Article II of this agreement stipulates that: "Under the provisions of this Treaty, the extradition of fugitives from justice in the Republic of Chile and the United States shall be carried out in conformance with the respective extradition laws in effect in the country to which the petition for extradition is directed."

Paragraph 2, Title VI, Book III of the Chilean Code of Criminal Procedure governs the process of passive extradition in which the first trial is handled by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, stipulating the rules of procedure which must be followed. Article 647 provides as follows: "The investigation will be essentially limited to the following points: 1.- to determine the identity of the criminal; 2.- to determine whether the crime attributed to the defendant is among those subject to extradition under the provisions of current treaties and, in the absence of any such treaties, in accordance with

DECLASSIFIED

the principles of international law; and 3.- to prove whether or not the defenda has in fact committed the crime with which he has been charged."

10. THAT the identity of the defendants whose extradition has been requested by the United States Government appears to have been legitimately established in legal proceedings and by the evidence presented in support of the petition, as well as by the summary investigation conducted by the present court of original jurisdiction. They have, thus, been identified as Armando Fernández Larios, Pedro Octavio Espinoza Bravo and Juan Manuel Guillermo Contreras Sepúlveda, who are individually treated on pages 59, 72 verso and 80, respectivel of the case file, with the two first defendants respectively identified as an Army Captain and Colonel on active duty and the latter identified as a retired Army General.

11. THAT Article II of the current treaty limits the crimes and offenses for which the contracting parties agree to grant a petition for extradition, with the number one such crime listed as "homicide, including murder, parricide, infanticide and poisoning; attempted homicide; felonious murder in the second degree."

12. THAT the common denominator in the five crimes with which the petition for extradition charges the defendants Fernández, Espinoza and Contreras as perpetrators and circumstantially referred to in Argument No. 1 of the present ruling is that of homicide. However, as rightfully expressed by the Prosecuting Attorney to the Supreme Court on page 703, the crimes of "conspiracy", "damages" and "destruction" mentioned

on the list included in the petition for extradition and with respect to the other two referred to in Number 5 of the aforesaid petition are not among those set forth in Article II of the Extradition Treaty of 1902 and in its Supplemental Protocol as subject to extradition. Therefore, it is useless to make any further references to such crimes in the present decision inasmuch as

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the petition for extradition of the defendants, which is founded on such facts, is to be rejected without further explanation.

13. THAT, regardless of whether or not the existence of the crimes of murder committed against the persons of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit has been duly determined in accordance with Chilean criminal law, the existence of such crimes appears to have been legitimately established by legal proceedings recorded in the exhibits accompanying the petition for extradition presented by the United States Government which, as mentioned in the last paragraph of Argument No. 1 of the present decision, "appear to have been duly certified as to their authenticity by competent officials of the petitioning government in the manner prescribed by Article II, Paragraph 2 of the Extradition Treaty of 1902 entered into between the United States and Chile and legalized in conformance with the law in the presence of United States as well as Chilean authorities pursuant to the provisions set forth in Paragraph 1 and in Number 3, Article 345 of the Code of Civil Procedure and in accordance with the provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4, Article 186 of the Chilean Code of Criminal Procedure, as set forth in the proceedings appearing on pages 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Engli original English file or volume "whose translations into Spanish appear in which have been checked, in part, by experts appointed by the present court of original jurisdiction, in the form of the following pieces of evidence: a) exhibits 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, namely statements by Michael Moffit, occupying one of the back seats in the automobile driven by Letelier, also carrying Ronni Moffit; by Doctor Danna Petersen who says that she gave Ronni Moffit first aid and witnessed the explosion of the automobile in which she was riding; by police officers Walter Johnson and Charles Kucmovich who were among the first to arrive at the scene of the crime and who indicate that they treated the victims, and by FBI special agent Carter Cornick who indicates that he arrived at the scene of the crime minutes after the crime took place or, in other words, at nine o'clock A.M.

on the morning of September 21, 1976, as indicated by the deponents; b) exhibits 32 and 36 representing the autopsy reports on Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit prepared by Drs. James M. Luke and Leroy Riddick, respectively, which conclude that the cause of death for the former victim was "loss of blood, traumatic amputation of the lower extremities, injuries suffered as a result of an explosion; circumstances of death: homicide and for the latter victim "inhalation of blood, laceration of the larynx and right carotid artery; injuries suffered as a result of an explosion; circumstances of the death: homicide."; c) exhibits 14 to 31 consisting of photographs of the scene of the crime taken by FBI agents after the fact showing the condition of the car driven by Letelier after the explosion; d) exhibits 34, 35, 38, 39 and 40, all photographs of the bodies of Letelier and Mrs. Moffit accompanying the aforesaid autopsy reports; and e) exhibits 76 and 95 consisting of reports by explosives experts Stuart W. Case and William H. Koopman.

14. THAT as to the involvement of defendants Fernández, Espinoza and Contreras in the facts alluded to in the petition for extradition and, more specifically, their alleged involvement in the crimes of murder committed against the persons of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit, the existence of which has been established by the court sitting in the petitioning country and in the present extradition proceedings through the means of proof referred to in paragraph 13 above, in order to identify the line of reasoning leading directly to a determination of whether or not there has been criminal involvement in the facts on the part of the defendants in accordance with Article I of the Treaty of 1902, it might be desirable to begin with the introduction to an analysis of this point by the attorney for the United States Government appearing on page 257 as part of his brief beginning on page 238 and used as grounds for the petition for extradition in which he says: "There are multiple, serious, precise, direct and interrelated presumptions of the defendants' involvement in these facts which have

been presented in the course of the proceeding in the manner outlined in the indictment, all of which are based on real, proven facts and not on other legal or artificial presumptions. There is also abundant testimony and documentary evidence on different aspects of their involvement sufficient not only to force the defendants to undergo trial under Chilean law, but to actually convict them as well."

15. THAT no such multiple presumptions of the criminal involvement of defendants Fernández, Espinoza and Contreras in the crimes with which they have been charged in the indictment handed down by the Federal Grand Jury for the District of Columbia in the United States -- or the petitioner -- have been presented in the course of this proceeding. Nor can it be said that the presumptions characterized as "admissible" by the aforesaid petition are in fact admissil presumptions or can, in fact, be qualified as such under Chilean law (Article 274 of the Code of Criminal Procedure) or under the provisions of the Extradition Treaty of 1902 which has the force of law for both parties thereto, Article I of which stipulates that the Governments of the United States and Chile agree to turn over to the other government any person accused or any of the crimes or offenses specified in Article II who seek asylum or who are discovered within their own borders "provided that such action is taken based solely on evidence of their guilt which the laws of the country to which the fugitive or suspect has fled (Chile) consider grounds for their apprehension and prosecution in the event the crime or offense had been committed within its own territory."

16. THAT, in fact, a thorough examination of each of the facts presented in the proceeding and which are used to infer presumptions of guilt against the defendants immediately shows that all such facts, as indicated by the Prosecuting Attorney for the Supreme Court in his legal opinion, are essentially either directly or indirectly derived from the accusations against them made by Michael Vernon Townley in his statement in response to questioning by Assistant U.S.

District Attorney for the District of Columbia, Eugene M. Propper appearing on pages 123 to 164 in the translation file and on pages 97 to 143 in the original English extradition file.

In this version of his statement in which he confesses to have been involved as a principal in the crimes of murder committed against the persons of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit, Townley asserts, in brief, that in or around the end of June or the beginning of July 1976, Army Lieutenant Armando Fernández Larios requested his presence at a meeting with Colonel, formerly Major, Pedro Espinoza which was to be strictly confidential. In the course of the meeting the latter asked him whether he would accept a special assignment outside of Chile -- an assignment which he did accept after laying down certain conditions. In a second meeting held a few days later, Espinoza informed him that "the DINA mission in which he was to take part was for the assassination of Orlando Letelier", that they were to use falsified Paraguayan passports and that the death was to appear accidental but that the assassination was to be accomplished in any event, even through the use of a bomb, if necessary. He said that Colonel Espinoza had informe him that the Letelier assassination was to be a joint endeavor between himself and Lieutenant Fernández. As part of the assignment, he accompanied Fernández to Paraguay to obtain false passports. He used the alias Juan Williams Rose, while Fernández went by the alias of Alejandro Romeral Jara. However, they did not continue on to the United States at that time but returned to Santiago under orders received by Fernández. Sometime later Colonel Espinoza informed him that Fernández was conducting "pre-operative" intelligence in the United States, that the Letelie mission was still on and that he (Townley) was also to travel to the United States and "make contact" with a group of Cuban exiles who were to do away with Letelier. He traveled to the U.S. under the alias Hans Petersen Silva and was met at Kennedy International Airport in New York by Fernández who was accompanied by a woman and by his sister Rosemarie. The former was traveling with Fernández

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to provide him with "cover" for the DINA mission in connection with which he was to collect information on Letelier's movements and lifestyle. He also stated that Fernández handed him a sheet of paper containing a sketch of Letelier's residence and office, as well as written details on Letelier's and his wife's automobiles. Once in Washington, he worked with the Cuban Virgilio Paz in confirming the information supplied by Fernández and purchased the materials needed to prepare the bomb and to plant it in Letelier's automobile. When the bomb was ready he personally planted it on the outer crosspiece of the automobile chassis under the driver's seat, fastening it with adhesive tape which he had purchased earlier for this very purpose. All these events took place on September 19, 1976. On the 21st he was advised by Ignacio Novo Sampol that "something had happened in Washington." He returned to Santiago on September 23rd, reporting directly to Colonel, or at that time Major, Pedro Espinoza Bravo.

As to Colonel Contreras who was director of DINA at the time of Letelier's assassination, the same version of Townley's statement reads more or less as follows: In March of 1978 as a result of some letters rogatory sent by the United States government (requesting that he be surrendered to police officers) but before his photograph and the name Juan Williams Rose had been published in the Santiago press, "I met with General Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda concerning the future strategy to be followed in answering any questions which might be raised with respect to my trip to Paraguay with Captain Fernández and our leter trip to the United States to assassinate Letelier." He then adds that they met in an automobile and drove around Santiago while Contreras suggested that he immediately flee Chile to avoid being questioned and that when he refused to leave he thought up a plan whereby he was to answer any questions as follows: "I went to Paraguay on an official DINA mission. I was given no details and was told it was a matter of national security. I returned to Santiago from Paraguay after completing my assignment for DINA. If they interrogated me further

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I was to admit that Captain Fernández and I had planned to travel to the United States on assignment for DINA whereby we were to obtain a list of U.S. politicians who were sympathetic to the Chilean cause. However, the mission was never accomplished." Townley also stated that this meeting was followed by yet another interview with Contreras and Armando Fernández to go over what they were going to say about the trip to Paraguay, adding that Espinoza was not present and took no part whatsoever in any of these meetings. Yet another part of his statement reads as follows and I quote: "As to what I know about how DINA operated being, as I was, with the agency almost from the beginning, I know that noone in DINA,with the sole exception of Manuel Contreras, was authorized to order the accomplishment of a mission outside of Chile, particularly something like an assassination. Furthermore, only General Contreras was empowered to authorize the issue of false identification papers such as passports and only he could authorize the disbursement of any funds."

Following the investigation conducted by the U.S. District Attorney's Office through Assistant Attorneys for the District of Columbia Messrs. E. Lawrence Barcella and Eugene M. Propper and, in general, through the intermediary of special agents attached to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), as well as the investigation by the Grand Jury attached to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, it is easy to see that all the statements presented by the witnesses, the depositions made by FBI agents, all the exhibits, photographs, copies of bills of sale for electronic and other types of components, the list of passengers and fares traveling by air from Chile to the United States and viceversa, the identification papers and the other documents presented, most of which were unofficial instruments, were simply a means of corroborating the statements made by Michael Townley for the obvious purpose of ~~providing grounds for~~ proving the truth of the accusations against defendants Fernández, Espinoza and Contreras made by Townley in his aforementioned statement, as dramatically demonstrated by a

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simple examination of the analysis or "arguments" presented by U.S. government attorney Mr. Etcheberry appearing on page 257 verso through page 299 verso and included in his brief beginning on page 238 used as grounds for the extradition petition.

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17. THAT, however, none of these previous investigation proceedings carried out by the Office of the U.S. Attorney or the judicial actions conducted by the Grand Jury of the District Court of the United States make it possible to deduce "well-~~grounded~~ founded presumptions" of guilt to the effect that Townley received, through Pedro Espinoza, the order or mission of murdering Orlando Letelier and, consequently, Ronni Moffitt, which order would have been issued by Juan Manuel Contreras when, as a colonel in the Chilean Army, he was Director of National Intelligence (DINA),and that Captain Armando Fernandez Larios participated directly in such a plot by order of Contreras and under the leadership of Espinoza as Chief of Intelligence Operations of DINA when the latter was assigned there with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Army during the months of August and September 1976, when the events that gave rise to the extradition occurred, and, in view of the fact that the murders of Letelier and Ronni Moffitt, as has been established in this trial, were ~~murdered~~ perpetrated at Washington, U.S.A., on September 21, 1976.[sic]

18. THAT Michael Townley's statement, despite Townley's unquestionable status as perpetrator of the aforementioned murders, must be considered the statement of a witness under the definition of that word in the Dictionary of the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language: " a person who witnesses or gains direct and true knowledge of something"; however, because the statement in question is that of a special type of witness, in order that it may be considered conclusive, and so that the weight of evidence may be attached to it with the scope of "a ~~grounded~~ well founded presumption," it is necessary to take into account, together with it, not only such other background as may serve to verify it, but, very specially, the impartiality of the witness, whether he has been consistent, and the circumstances in which were made the statements that are being used to support the charges against the accused.

19. THAT, with respect to Townley's impartiality and the circumstances

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in which were made the statements charging Fernandez, Espinoza, and Contreras, it should be pointed out that, as recognized by United States attorney Etcheberry in folio 270, verso, of the document beginning in folio 238, on which he bases the request for extradition, before Michael Townley made his statement to Deputy Attorney Eugene M. Propper, he concluded an agreement with the Government of the United States on April 17, 1978, through the District of Columbia Attorney, the text of which agreement appears in the statement ~~he~~ made to the District of Columbia Grand Jury by Maria Ines Callejas, Townley's spouse, which appears in Folio 188 of the Translations Book, and paragraph 6 of which reads literally as follows: "The United States agrees not to bring legal action against Michael Vernon Townley for any other crimes that it may discover which occurred before the date of this agreement. That date is April 17. It is understood that the United States does not have knowledge on the date of this agreement that any crime of violence has been committed in the United States involving Michael Vernon Townley, except for the case of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. The United States also agrees not to bring legal action against the wife of Michael Vernon Townley--Mariana Callejas H. Townley--for any crime that it may discover. This agreement not to bring legal action does not apply to crimes of violence, as that term is defined in Title 23, D.C. Code, Section 1331(4). It is understood that the United States does not have knowledge on the date of this agreement of any crime committed by Mariana Ines Callejas H. Townley." [Translator's note: The foregoing quotation has been translated without reference to its original text.]

20. THAT, in those conditions, it is obvious that Townley's statement confessing to his participation in the murders in question and implicating as accomplices Fernandez, Espinoza, and Contreras, is a "compensated accusation,"

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since in return for it he is "exempted" from direct criminal liability for the murders of Letelier and Ronni Moffitt, with the Government of the United States agreeing "not to bring legal action against Michael Vernon Townley" and promising, in addition, "not to bring legal action against the wife of Michael Vernon Townley--Mariana Ines Callejas H. Townley--for any crime that it may discover

21. THAT, consequently, it must be concluded, in view of such promises, which denature the criminal procedure and ~~wax~~ impair the credibility of the persons they favor, that ~~the~~ Townley's incriminating statement lacks impartiality; it was undoubtedly made under the influence of the aforementioned "agreement" and, therefore, it cannot be considered evidence with the scope of a "~~grounded~~ well founded presumption" of guilt against the accused.

22. THAT, moreover, the lack of consistency of the various statements made by Townley regarding his participation in the crimes under consideration, in which he denies direct and culpable participation in some of the acts ~~in some~~ and acknowledges it in others, as has been established in this record (statement mentioned in ground No. 16 and statement made to Military Judge Hector Orozco in the proceeding for "false documents et al"), strengthens what has just been expressed in the preceding paragraph and undermines the credibility of his statements.

23. THAT, with respect to the statement of Mariana Ines Callejas to the Grand Jury of the United States District Court ~~for~~ in the District of Columbia, which appears in folios 187 et seq. of the Spanish Translations Book, after she was advised by Deputy Attorney Barcella of the existence of the "agreement" between the Government of her country and her husband, Michael Townley, which agreement is transcribed in Whereas clause No. 19 of this decision, in which statement she says that she knew about the order to get rid of Orlando Letelier,

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which order, according to what her husband told her, had been given him by Pedro Espinoza, it should be pointed out that, in the Court's opinion, the testimony of Mrs. Townley lacks impartiality and cannot be given the weight of a "well-founded presumption" of guilt for the same reasons adduced in ground No. 21 of this decision in considering the incriminating statements made by Michael ~~Ewm~~ Townley.

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24. THAT, as a logical corollary to that set forth in whereases 6 to 23, the judge pronouncing the decision considers that, up to this point in the case, there has not been attached nor produced such evidence of ~~guilt~~ criminality against Fernandez, Espinoza, and Contreras, the accused, as, according to Article I of the 1902 Treaty and Chilean law-especially that established in Article 274(2) of the Code of Criminal Procedure-~~as to give merit "to"~~ warrants " their apprehension and ~~prosecution~~ committment for Trial "in the event that the crimes of murder of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt had been committed in Chile. Consequently, the extradition request presented by the Ambassador of the United States of America in the name of his government should be rejected.

25. THAT, it therefore seems even more advisable to the court to refer to that agreed to in Article V of the 1902 treaty, by the Governments of the United States and Chile, both because this material is dealt with extensively in folio 238 of the brief submitted by Attorney Etcheberry, representing the Government of the United States, in the chapter titled "The Option of ~~Delivering~~ Surrendering ~~Up~~ Nationals", which begins on folio 300, and because other reasons for a rejection of the extradition request can be derived from the examination and application of that treaty by the courts of the United States.

26. THAT in Article I of the aforementioned 1902 Extradition Treaty it is agreed that: "The Government of the United States and the Government of Chile mutually agree to deliver up persons

UNCLASSIFIED

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who, having been charged with or convicted of any of the crimes and offenses specified in the following article, committed within the jurisdiction of one of the contracting parties, shall seek an asylum or be found within the territories of the other..." etc., and it is further agreed in Article V that: "Neither of the contracting parties shall be bound to deliver up its own citizens or subjects under the stipulations of this Treaty."

The opinion handed down by United States Court 299, October 1936 term, states that:[*] "The persons named in the extradition request filed habeas corpus to prevent their extradition to France under the 1909 Treaty. 37 Statute 1526. They are citizens born in the United States and are accused of committing crimes in France that appear among the extraditable offenses specified in the treaty. Having escaped to the United States they were arrested in New York City upon the request of the French authorities by virtue of a preliminary order issued by a United States Commissioner and were arrested as a part of extradition proceedings. The writ of habeas corpus contested the basis of the Commissioner's jurisdiction inasmuch as the treaty exempted United States citizens and the President had no constitutional authority to deliver up to the French authorities the persons named in the extradition request.

The governing provisions of the treaty are the following: Article I. The Government of the United States and the Government of Chile mutually agree to deliver up persons who, having been charged with or convicted of any of the crimes and offenses specified in the

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[*Translated without reference to the original.]

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following article, committed within the jurisdiction of one of the contracting parties, shall seek an asylum or be found within the territories of the other: Provided, that this shall only be done upon such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his or her apprehension and committment for trial if the crime or offense had been there committed.' Article V. 'Neither of the contracting parties shall be bound to deliver up its own citizens or subjects under the stipulations of this convention.'

The Court of Appeals of this Circuit, vacating the orders of the District Judge, upheld the allegation of the accused and ordered the stay. 81 F (2d)32. This Court granted certiorari."

The District Court of Appeals for the Second District of the City of New York upheld this decision on, among others, the following grounds: "[*] It is a customary rule that treaty obligations should be liberally interpreted in order to be consistent with the clear intent of the parties. Tucker v. Alexandroff 183 U.S.A. 424, 437; Jordan v. Tashiro, 278 U.S.A. 123, 127; Factor v. Laubenheimer, 290 U.S.A. 276, 293, 294. However, in this instance, there is no doubt concerning the interpretation of the obligations set forth in the treaty. The treaty explicitly denies any obligation to deliver up citizens in a state of asylum - 'Neither of the contracting parties shall be bound to deliver up its own citizens.' Inasmuch as Article

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[*Translated without reference to the original]

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V stipulates that neither of the two parties shall be bound to deliver up its own citizens, such citizens are necessarily excepted from the agreement set forth in Article I and from the 'persons' described therein. The fact that the exception is contained in a separate article does not alter its effect.

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This effect is precisely the same one that led to the provision in Article I that both Governments "shall agree ~~to~~ mutually to surrender persons other than their own citizens or individuals."

Of much greater significance is the fact that one common clause, used in many of our treaties and authorizing the exception of nationals by expressly granting discretionary authority to surrender them, was omitted in the treaty with France.

The 1886 treaty with Japan ~~provides in Article VII~~ stipulates in Article VII: "Neither Contracting Party shall be ~~obligated~~ (bound) to surrender its own citizens or individuals ~~by virtue of these stipulations~~ (under this Treaty) hereof, but they may do so if at their discretion they deem that appropriate." A similar stipulation is included in the extradition treaties of 1896 with ~~Argentina and with the Orange~~ (of) Argentina and of 1896 with the Orange Free State. The treaties with Mexico (1899), Guatemala (1903), Nicaragua (1905), and Uruguay (1905) expressly place the discretional authority in the "executive authority." We thus find the following article (Article IV) in the 1899 treaty with Mexico: "Neither ~~of~~ Contracting Party shall be obligated to surrender its own citizens under the stipulations of this agreement, but the executive power of each will have the authority to surrender them if, at its discretion, it deems it appropriate to do so..."

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Applying, as we must, our own laws in determining the powers of the President, we are obliged to maintain that his power, in the absence of any statute vesting an independent power in him, must be based on the terms of the treaty, and that, since the treaty with France does not grant the necessary authority, the President does not possess the power to surrender the persons sought. Regrettable as such lack of authority may be, any ~~remedial action can be taken only by the Congress or the Authorities treaty-making authorities and not by the courst.~~ measure to remedial action is a matter for the Congress or the treaty-making authorities provided that the Parties ~~consent to provide for~~ agree to action the surrender of their nationals, and not for the courts.

27. THAT, ~~xxxx~~ nothing being known to indicate otherwise, this is apparently the uniform jurisprudence of United States courts in all cases in which extradition treaties with other countries provide for the exception established in Article V with the Treaty with the Republic of Chile, viz. "Neither of the contracting parties shall be bound to deliver up its own citizens or subjects under the stipulations of this Treaty." If it ~~is~~ be known in advance how the United States courts will apply this clause in cases in which Chile as the requesting State might seek extradition of a U.S. citizen, ~~xxxxxxx a~~ no moral obligation ~~can be discerned~~ to accede to the extradition request in question ~~could not even~~ would be discernible

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even if the evidence presented against the defendants ~~which is invoked~~ met the requirements established by the 1902 treaty and Chilean law.

28. THAT on folio 305 verso of the observations on which the ~~UNITED x ST~~ United States Government Attorney bases his argument for extradition we find the following statement: "Nevertheless, as it has been mistakenly said that the United States would never have granted ~~x~~ a foreign country ~~x x~~ extradition of a U.S. citizen, we shall cite what are merely a few representative examples: extradition of Blas Aguirre (homicide, granted March 26, 1900); extradition of George P. Monroe (homicide, granted January 8, 1912); extradition of Juan Delgado Ortiz (robbery with homicide, granted December 12, 1939); extradition of Santos Ramos (homicide, granted May 8, 1942); extradition of Philip Gallo Bruno (homicide, granted April 23, 1953); extradition of Robert W. Hart, Gerald Bellis, and Leroy Downing (armed robbery, granted July 19, 1957)."

However, the enumeration of those cases of extraditions said to have been granted by United States courts is not accompanied by any indication as to the requesting State and the terms of the respective treaties: it is not said whether or not the treaties contained the exception clause included in Article V of the Treaty of 1902 with the State of Chile, and the assertion just

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question
quoted is therefore irrelevant to the ~~matter~~ under examination.

The foregoing is confirmed precisely by the reference with
next
which Mr. Etcheberry proceeds to "Charlton v. Kelly, 229 U.S.
U.S.
447 (1912), in which the Supreme Court ~~affirmed~~ confirmed the extradition of a U.S. citizen sought by Italy. The decision says: We come to the conclusion that there is no principle of international law that would except citizens of this country from an agreement stipulating the surrender of persons, if the treaty itself does not make an explicit exception ~~in~~ to that effect. On the contrary, the word persons includes all persons when no explicit exception is made, as occurs in some treaties between this country and others." "The fact that this country has provided for this exception in some of its treaties and not in others demonstrates that the Contracting parties were fully aware of the consequences of not including a restrictive clause in respect of the term persons. This interpretation has continually been maintained by the United States ~~and~~ executed and ~~abided~~ observed with respect to those treaties that do not expressly exempt nationals."

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Any other commentary would be useless in viewof the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court which removes any doubt about the matter in question.

29. THAT, in order to justify the decision that will duly be made and in compliance with Article 83(2) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, some of the contradictions and absurd or contradictory responses to certain facts established in the proceeding during the investigation conducted by this Court should be made a matter of record.

A. The accused Armando Fernández Larios says in his statement (folio 63) that in his trip to the United States at the end of August 1976 he was the "support agent" of a woman named Liliana Walker who was to carry out a mission in that country. They traveled in a Braniff plane from Pudahuel to Miami and then proceeded in an Eastern Air Lines plane to Washington (this last fact verified by the Court's inspection of folio 51 verso) where they took one room in a hotel as if they were a married couple. However, the accused Pedro Espinoza and Manuel Contreras in their statements, folios 72 verso and 80, respectively, say that this mission of Liliana Walker was to be carried out in the offices of Corfo-Codelco in New York.

Fernández Larios traveled with Liliana Walker, and slept with her in a room in a hotel in Washington as if they were married, on a trip that lasted 15 days, and he states that he does not know who she is, why she went to the United States, and he cannot identify her.

B. On folio 82 verso of his statement, the accused Manuel Contreras says: "I never knew this Mrs. Callejas as an informant or 'ear' of the DINA, but I do not believe that she worked in any way for the service."

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However, this Mrs. Callejas, whose name is Mariana Inés Callejas Honores, appears on the identification card issued by the Central Nacional de Informaciones /National Intelligence Agency/ as "A. Pizarro" and, according to the statement of Army Captain Cristoph Georg Willike Floel (folio 95) who worked in the DINA and in its successor, the aforementioned C. N. I., from 1973 to July 1978, this identification card is signed by the former Director of the Service, Colonel Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda. Moreover, it was determined in the court's inspection of folio 103 that the identification card with the name "A. Luisa Pizarro Aviles" and the existing photograph in the identification files that corresponds to "Ines Callejas Honores" are of the same person, namely, "Ines Callejas Honores."

In the personal investigation of folio 136 at the Military Hospital of this capital, the patient's record of release fromthat establishment--a photocopy of which appears with No. 102 of the file of documents accompanying the extradition request with the name of Ana Luisa Pizarro Aviles--was shown to Maria Angelica Munoz Mendoza, the gynecology assistant, and the signature of the physician stamped on that card was recognized by Munoz and by Dr. Juan Lombardi Borgoglio, a colonel in the medical service and thedirector of the Military Hospital, as being that of Dr. Oscar Novoa Allende. Dr. Novoa, in his statement on folio 141, acknowledges that all the writing on that release record is in his own handwriting. The patient entered the hospital on August 7, 1976 and was released on August 14, 1976, as stated on the release record.

For those reasons and pursuant to the provisions of Article 653 of the Code of Criminal Procedure,

IT IS ORDERED:

1. In view of what is set forth in grounds 1-8, it is contrary to law to rule on the objections stated in the first subsection of the pleading

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of folio 502;

2. The request for extradition brought by the Ambassador of the United States, in the name and as representative of his government, against the accused Armando Fernández Larios, Pedro Octavio Espinoza Bravo, and Juan Manuel Guillermo Contreras Sepúlveda, is denied, and they are to be released when this decision becomes final; and

3. A certified copy of this decision shall be duly transmitted to the Second Military Court in Santiago for the purposes of preparation of the appropriate proceeding, if one is not already in progress, to investigate what responsibility may be charged to Fernandez, Espinoza, and Contreras in the homicides of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on September 21, 1976, in conformity with the provisions of Article 3(2)(2) of the Code of Military Justice.

TO BE REVIEWED IF NOT APPEALED.

This decision is to be recorded.

/Signature/

Handed down by Israel Borquez Montero, President of the Supreme Court of Justice of Chile

/Signature/

UNREVIEWED DRAFT TRANSLATION

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5/14/79

N 262 P

B3NA

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03869 142135Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-05
NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 SR-05 /063 W
----------035103 152206Z /75

R 142106Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0668
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3869

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: MINISTRY OF INTERIOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT: MORE PEN RELEASES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B3NA
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

1. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED IN THE LOCAL NEWSPAPERS ON 5-12-79 THAT 13 PERSONS HAD BEEN REMOVED FROM PEN (PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL; 2 PERSONS HAVE BEEN PUT UNDER PEN; 2 PERSONS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED, AND 7 PERSONS HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY ACCORDING TO LAW 21.650'S TERMS.

2. THE ONLY US INTEREST CASE AMONG THE LISTED PERSONS IS:

CASE NO.: 778/89/1
NAME: COTTANI, MARIA BEATRIZ

B3NA

3. THE FOLLOWING PERSONS FIGURE IN OUR HUMAN RIGHTS FILES.
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03869 142135Z

PERSONS REMOVED FROM PEN:

-- CARBALLADA, ROBERTO
-- CORREA, NESTOR HORACIO
-- SALISN, ELIAS

PERSONS AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY:

-- BONET, JESUS MARIA
-- FIGOLI, SERGIO HUGO
-- MAFFUCHI, NOEMI SUSANA

4. NOTE: THE PRESIOUV "PEN LISTS" WAS ISSUED ON APR 28, 1979.
CHAPLIN

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03865 142124Z 5/14/79 N260 R
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 HA-05 /023 W
----------034974 152205Z /75

R 142101Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 664

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3865

H PASS: HONORABLE THEODORE S. WEISS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DETENTION OF SYLVIA MONTSERRAT DE ZARECEANSKY (329/78/4) AND MARIO ZARECEANSKY (328/78/4)

1. DEA CONGRESSMAN WEISS:

TODAY MRS. SYLVIA MONTSERRAT DE ZARECEANSKY VISITED THE EMBASSY. SHE INFORMED US THAT SHE WAS FREED DURINF OCTOBER OF 1978. IT WAS THE FIRST NEWS WE HAD ABOUT THIS. HER HUSBAND CONTINUES TO BE DETAINED AND AT PRESENT IS HELD IN UNIT "U-9" AT LA PLATA PRISON.

2. MRS ZARECEANSKY REPORTED ALSO THAT APPARENTLY A RIGHT OF OPTION TO LEAVE ARGENTINA FOR HER HUSBAND ZARECEANSKY FOR ISRAEL HAS BEEN DENIED.

3. IF ANY ADDITIONAL NEWS ARISES WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRS.
CHAPLIN

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5/14/79 N 261 R

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03866 142122Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 HA-05 (ADS) W
----------051368 152359Z /75

R 142102Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 665

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3866

H PASS: HONORABLE JOSEPH G. MINISH
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF SYLVIA STREGER

1. DEAR CONGRESSMAN MINISH:

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST OF SEPTEMBER 1978 REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SYLVIA STREGER, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF SYLVIA STREGER NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HER WHEREABOUTS. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR MADE INQUIRIES IN THIS CASE WITH FEDERAL POLICE AUTHORITIES IN THE CAPITAL AND ALSO WITH THE ARGENTINE ARMY.

2. THE UNITED STATES CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS CASE HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THIS MATTER AND WILL INFORM YOU OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03866 142122Z

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.

CHAPLIN

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5/14/79

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Buenos Aires
May 14, 1979

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mr. Claus W. Ruser, Director
ARA/ECA, East Coast Affairs
Room 4908
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Claus:

Bill Hallman and I have been puzzling how we would try to explain to a naturally skeptical audience in Washington about the phone calls and notes to their families from reportedly disappeared persons. My reaction right here is that somebody is playing games with somebody. And, it can't all be taken at face value. It would be natural for you to feel at least as dubious.

Some of our best efforts at speculation might inspire audible sneers if we put them in the cable traffic. When I pressed him for an explanation this morning Bill opined (seriously, I believe) that Sra. de Cabezas might have bean abducted and sent to Uruguay by the white hatted security guys because they had learened that the black hats were planning to zap her to embarrass the government. Such formulas require a heroic suspension of disbelief. Her family believes she is alive and well, just as the Barreirros' family believe they are safe. We are trying to get in touch with the missing junkman's family to see if they have heard anything. That seems clearly to be a case of police extortion of criminals, so we don't quite know how the military will choose to deal with it. (They would probably prefer to ignore it, since relations with the police are sensitive at best.) Whatever the facts behind these odd disappearances and subsequent phone calls,it is indisputable that there has been a dramatic decline, if not total halt, to abductions, torture and murders. This is something I had grave doubts could be achieved.

If the Ambassador returns as currently shheduled, I plan to join my wife in California for several weeks' leave, departing here May 24. We will be staying for about 8 days with [redacted]

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Would

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you ask Chuck to give me a call there on the 29th or 30th so I can pass on my plans for the rest of the vacation?

The distinguished Ambassador Meyer Landrut of the German F.O. was in town for a day or so last week and we are puzzled why there was no mention of it in the press. Last Friday there was a large stag dinner party for him given by the German Minister - with the Ambassador attending but not hosting - and from the feverish rushing around it was clear he had a busy schedule. I did not get a chance to do more than exchange greetings with him, and the host said only that he had been visiting Chile and was going to Caracas or Panama or some place for a Chiefs of Mission meeting. They could hardly have expected that his visit would be a secret after inviting thirity or forty talkative Argentines and diplomats to dine with him, but the lack of publicity still puzzles me.

Local attention remains focussed on foreign reaction to the jailing of labor leaders, the imminent publication of the labor law, the ILO meeting, and the visit of the international labor leaders. The IACHR visit was also on some reporter's list, for he raised it with the Foreign Minister in an interview last week, but it has not been headline material. The EC and other diplomats seem to be taking considerable pleasure from gigging me about the protest I was given with much publicity about Reston's statement on the jailings. I have found it effective to respond with a question on how soon they expect their Foreign Ministries to issue similar statements, and how they plan to field the resulting protests.

At the time John Finan is having his seminar on Argentina, the local Council on Foreign Relations will be having its third and fourth lectures on Human Rights in international relations. Col. Cerda will speak May 24 on International Human Rights Law. See the enclosed brochure.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Maxwell Chaplin
Chargé d'affaires

Encl.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03903 162220Z 5/15/79
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 HA-05 ADS-00 /008 W
----------062361 170623Z /14

R 151839Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0685

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3903

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF PATRICIA JULIA ROISINBLIT DE PEREZ (641/78/11)

H PASS: HONORABLE DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.
U.S. SENATE WASHDC

1. DEAR SENATOR RIEGLE:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR RECENT INQUIRY ON BEHALF OF [redacted] REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MRS. PATRICIA JULIA ROISINBLIT DE PREZ, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MRS. ROISINBLIT DE PRES, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HER WHEREABOUTS.

86

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE CASE AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURHTER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
CHAPLIN

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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5/15/79

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

DECONTROL

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Request for Funds from Permanent Assembly

DATE: May 15, 1979

PARTICIPANTS: Rabbi Roberto Graetz, Permanent Assembly of Human Rights
Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith
Jontahan Silverstone, AID
Patrick Flood, HA/HR
Roberta Cohen, HA/HR

ARGENTINA (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

Description of Permanent Assembly

Rabbi Graetz reported that the Assembly is a broad based movement composed of the families of disappeared and detained people, representatives of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious groups (in official and unofficial capacity), unions (with more joining), and concerned citizens.

Its functions are as follows:

-- The Assembly is the focal point for information about disappearances. Families report disappearances to the Assembly and receive information, legal advice and counseling. The Assembly has a committee which focuses and reports on women who disappear while pregnant, as well as the children of those who disappear,1 and soldiers who disappear. The Assembly places ads about disappearances in local newspapers. (One with 2,500 names was placed in La Prensa.)

-- The Assembly engages in direct representations to the leadership of the Argentine military government regarding human rights.

1/ Rabbi Graetz reported that the children of those who disappear are sometimes illegally adopted or in other instances given to officers, sent to orphan homes or given to relatives. Pregnant women in jail now can keep their babies for 6 months at which time the children are given to relatives for safe keeping.

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Box 17404

-- The Assembly has a Lawyers Committee which has put forward several significant class action law suits dealing with the legal status of both disappeared and detainees (PEN prisoners). The suits have succeeded in getting the Supreme Court to request the Executive Branch for information about disappeared cases.

-- The Assembly maintains contact on an informal basis with the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, and other international organizations.

-- The Assembly assists visitors from abroad looking into the human rights situation.

Organizationally, the Assembly has an office and a growing staff. There is one Executive Secretary and four assistants.

Request for Funds

The Assembly's funds come from the World Council of Churches, the Catholic Churches in Europe and from individuals in Argentina. Its budget is $400,000.

Funds are needed for future programs. The Assembly will concentrate on cases of disappearances, prison conditions, persons detained without trials, migrants, health and education given the growing problem of illiteracy and public school drop-outs, as well as additional law suits and reports.

Funds also will be needed to pay for printing and distribution costs and to place costly ads in newspapers on disappeared cases. Since the Assembly receives no news coverage in Argentina, it must place paid ads in newspapers. The Assembly further had to buy its own printing press because others would not print its materials.

The Assembly also seeks to open regional offices in order to enlarge the collection of information on human rights cases in the interior.

Jonathan Silverstone suggested that AID 116e funds might be channeled to the Permanent Assembly through the Center for Law and Social Policy. The funds could be used for legal defense, counseling, assistance to families, publications and other ways to promote civil and political

liberties. Pat Flood said he would contact Leonard Meeker to discuss the possibility and then inform Tex at the Embassy who would in turn contact Rabbi Graetz and others at the Assembly. In the event that Mr. Pimenthal of the Assembly visited Washington at the end of May, Pat would set up a meeting for him with Leonard Meeker to discuss this proposal.

HA/HR:RCohen 5/29/79

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03902 162236Z 5/15/79 A267 R
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 /008 W
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R 151839Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0684

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3902

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF GERARDO RAMON GALLARDO (825/79/3)

REF: STATE 05919-U

H PASS: HONORABLE JOHN F. SEIBERLING
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC

1. DEAR CONGRESSMAN SEIBERLING:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR RECENT INQUIRY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE IN ARGENTINA OF GERARDO RAMON GALLARDO, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. GALLARDO, NOR ANY INFO REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS.

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THIS CASE AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
CHAPLIN

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
[X] Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03901 162235Z 5/15/79
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 ANAE-00 /008 W
----------062492 170928Z /17

R 151839Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0683

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3901

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DISAPPEARANCE OF ALICIA NOEMI ZIMMAN (664/78/12)

H PASS: HONORABLE RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER
U.S. SENATE WASHDC

1. DEAR SENATOR SCHWEIKER:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR RECENT INQUIRY REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ALICIA NOEMI ZIMMAN, THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MS. ZIMMAN, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HER WHEREABOUTS.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MINITOR THE CASE AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES
CHAPLIN

UNCLASSIFIED

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1979STATE123460

Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 STATE 123460
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CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /032 R

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APPROVED BY HA/HR:CSALMON, JR.
ARA/ECA:CBRAYSHAW

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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 123460

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Decontrol
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE: MARIO MARRERO

1. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL INFORMED DEPARTMENT OF REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE OF MARIO MARRERO, L.E. 8.317.844.AI REPORT SAYS MARRERO WAS SEIZED ON A BUENOS AIRES STREET ON APRIL 20 BY SEVERAL MEN WEARING CIVILIAN CLOTHES AND TAKEN AWAY "FOR QUESTIONING." HIS WHEREABOUTS SINCE THEN ARE UNKNOWN.

2. REQUEST EMBASSY MAKE APPROPRIATE INQUIRES IN EFFORT TO ASCERTAIN FACTS OF CASE AND ESTABLISH WHEREABOUTS OF MR. MARRERO. VANCE

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03900 162237Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 HA-05 ADS-00 /008 W
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R 151838Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0682

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3900

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCES OF ALICIA NOEMI ZIMMAN (664/78/12); PATRICIA JULIA ROISINBLIT DE PEREZ (641/78/11); GREGORIO NACHMAN (275/78/2) AND HORACIO ANIBAL ELBERT (237/77/12)

H PASS: HONORABLE DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.
U.S. SENATE WASHDC

1. DEAR SENATOR RIEGLE:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR LETTER OF MARCH 8 ON BEHALF OF YOUR CONSTITUENTS [redacted] CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUT OF THE FOLL PERSONS: PATRICIA JULIA ROISINBLIT DE PEREZ, GREGORIO NACHMAN, ALICIA NOEMI ZIMMAN AND HORACIO ANIBAL ELBERT, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THEIR DETENTION, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

B6

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03900 162237Z

EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THESE CASES AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
CHAPLIN

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03884 162123Z 5/15/79 N 213
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 HA-05 /023 W
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R 151421Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0674

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 3884

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
DETENTION OF EDUARDO JOSE PORCEL (SENIOR) (362/78/5)

H PASS: HONORABLE STEWART B. MCKINNEY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC

1. DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCKINNEY:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR RECENT INQUIRY REGARDING THE WHEREABOUTS OF EDUARDO JOSE PORCEL, THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS JUST GIVEN US THE INFORMATION THAT HE IS BEING HELD UNDER "EXECUTIVE POWER" BY DECREE 1659 OF 12-1-74. HE IS CHARGED WITH BEING A MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S ARMY ("ERP") AND HE IS HELD AT THE U-9 PAVILION OF LA PLATA PRISON. HE REQUESTED "RIGHT OF OPTION" TO LEAVE ARGENTINA ON 11-28-75 BUT SUBSEQUENTLY DROPPED HIS REQUESTED ON 2-17-75.

2. THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THIS CASE AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03884 162123Z

CHAPLIN

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Page: 1

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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PAGE 01 STATE 124874
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 L-03 JUSE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
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DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RDEBOLD
APPROVED BY ARA/AND/CH - MR. DEBOLD
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O 162243Z MAY 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release N Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

UNCLAS STATE 124874

E.O. 12065 N/A

TAGS: PGOV, CI

SUBJECT: ATTORNEY GENERAL'S STATEMENT ON BORQUEZ DECISION

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE STATEMENT:

2. QUOTE THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ARE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED BY THE DECISION ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT NOT TO EXTRADITE TO THE UNITED STATES THE THREE DEFENDANTS CHARGED WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF ORLANDO LETELIER AND RONNI MOFFITT. IN SIGNING THE PETITION, OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR EXTRADITION, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL PERSONALLY REVIEWED THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE BELIEVE THE EVIDENCE WAS MORE THAN SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY EXTRADITION. IN FACT, SOME OF THAT EVIDENCE WAS USED BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE TRIAL IN WASHINGTON, D.C., EARLIER THIS YEAR WHICH RESULTED IN THE CONVICTIONS OF THREE CO-DEFEND-
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PAGE 02 STATE 124874

ANTS IN THE CASE. IN ADDITION TO THE FACT THAT THIS CASE INVOLVED A HEINOUS CRIME, THIS CASE IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE BECAUSE MR. LETELIER

WAS A FOREIGN OFFICIAL MURDERED IN THE UNITED STATES. THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS COMMITTED TO ENSURING THAT

THIS CASE SET NO PRECEDENT FOR THIS TYPE OF TERRORIST ACT. THE DEPARTMENT WILL CONSULT WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON A RESPONSE TO THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE COURT'S DECISION AND THE FACT THAT APPEAL OF THIS DECISION IS POSSIBLE TO A PANEL OF THE ENTIRE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT. UNQUOTE. VANCE

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Buenos Aires
May 16, 1979

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Exemption(s): _____
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mr. Claus W. Ruser, Director
ARA/ECA, East Coast Affairs,
Room 4908
Department of State,
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Claus:

[redacted] This is in hasty reply to your letter of May 11. When is a disappearance not a disappearance? At the moment all we have which are not qualified are strange phone calls and notes saying they are well are the junk man and the A.I. case of Morero. Yvonne has been checking with all the human rights groups and can find no trace of the latter. If she can't come up with some traces by weekend we will be responding with a request for more information, such as where and when, and a local address for the missing person.

[redacted] The thesis that so long as the repressive apparatus remains in place illegal operations will continue as the virtues of many catch-phrases: there may be some truth to it. However it can also be misleading. To the extent that the security apparatus is part of a disciplined, if deliberately decentralized system, it is susceptible to some command and control. The dramatic reduction in disappearances is evidence of that. It also has the potential for and a lot of practice at illegal operations, so if the spirit moves some group they can go off and commit all sorts of atrocities. The converse is not true, however. Removing the security forces does not remove the capability or disposition to engage in criminal activities. The police have been legendary for this for years. We hear that Admiral Massera has his own group of thugs, and that General Suarez Mason has a tight little group of hard guys willing to do his bidding. This is in the fine old Argentine tradition of resorting to force when you can't get your way otherwise. In this kind of context the threat of an adverse MDB vote continues to be surreal.

[redacted] Thanks for the COHA flier on the Georgetown seminar. We can have some fun around here with that, but not with Bunge (who lacks even a shred of a sense of humor). We had a pretty good idea something of the sort would happen, and tried to hint

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to Bunge, but he's not used to being criticized. Bill Barnes of Fletcher who has been down here at Aja Espil's invitation to look at the Beagle problem thought the seminar was pretty good. It has gotten a very limited, but good press down here so far.

(U) Since the opportunity arises so seldom, I am going to engage in the luxury of 'I told you so.' There is enclosed a copy of my letter of last August to Jim Bumpus on the outlook for the AU seminar. It is one of the few instances in which my crystall ball was completely clear.

[redacted] Col. San Roman told Ken Sackett just a couple of hours ago that we would be getting 4 or 5 right of option cases on this week's list. He also said that the PEN prisoners were down to 2100, but Ken was unable to go into detail with him on how that came about, as our figures would be several hundred higher. Ken says he believes San Roman on this since his figures have always squared with the figures on the bulletin boards in the prisons which show prisoner totals by category. We will presumably be getting an explanation of how the total was lowered, thoughit may not be from San Roman. We have now been told by the Foreign Office that we are to deal with them on right of option, not the Ministry of Interior. San Roman, who has been helpful and a candid source, says the reason is that the FO wants to be the channel of information to the Foreign embassies for otherwise it rarely knows what's going on. San Roman also told Ken that there were a total of 133 prisoners who have received theRight of Option under the current and previous programs.

[redacted] Tony will be delighted to get your bouquets on his fine reporting. He will probably be able to tell you more than you really wanted to hear about the military's relations with various elements of the labor movement and the range of opinion within the military on how the movement should be organized. He suspects that perhaps the current government is capable of some reforms which could have a fundamental effect on the political power of organized labor and could change the rules by which modern Argentine politics have been played for the past 35 years. I reaain my skepticism. The local assumption is that any military leader who wants to retain a CGT-type organization does so with

a view towards receiving its support in a presidential election -- the Peron pattern. We know that there has been a lot of division within the armed forces over the trade union law, and it will be interesting to see what it looks like after these extended birth pangs.

[redacted] Rumors of Aja Espil's replacement are periodic. We have not heard any for several weeks, so we had not given the matter much attention. It is true that he has been a lightning rod for the criticism of the US responding to US criticism of Argentina. I would not be surprised to see him go any day, but have no reason to expect that at the moment. There was virtually no play of the Zorinsky letter in the Argentine press.

[redacted] Your marginal note on the Beagle dispute appears to read that you have seen disclaimers of hostile Videla statementss Some press source told a mission member that Videla had to say something stiff since he was rumored to have said earlier when asked about the possibility of unsatisfactory mediation, "better to lose to the Pope than to Chile." We will check closely to confirm any reports of untimely Argentine military maneuvers. I do not recall seeing any such reports, but we will put the Attaches to work.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Chaplin
Chargé d'affaires

MC:mmp
Encl.

Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03402 01 OF 02 162237Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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O R 162202Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3365
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3402

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES, FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: PRESS REACTION MAY 16

1. SUMMARY: BORQUEZ DECISION, U.S. REACTION, AND CHILEAN RESPONSE DOMINATED MEDIA EVENING MAY 15 AND MAY 16. MAJOR STORY IN THREE OF FIVE PAPERS IS: "U.S. RECALLING AMBASSADOR FOR CONSULTATIONS." GOC-OWNED "CRONISTA" CONTINUES TO DOWN-PLAY STORY. LOW CIRCULATION "ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" PLAYS UP JUNTA MEMBER MERINO'S STATEMENT THAT NO ONE HAS RIGHT TO PRESSURE CHILEAN JUDICIARY. SURPRISINGLY TERSE FOREIGN MINISTERY STATEMENT THAT CHILE WILL NOT ACCEPT THREATS AND REITERATING GOC LINE THAT USG HAS PLACED FULL CONFIDENCE IN CHILEAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM PROMINENTLY REPORTED. SOME LOCAL OBSERVERS BELIEVE STATEMENT IS TOO HARSHLY WORDED AND PRE-MATURE. HARD-LINE INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ MADE UNCHARACTERISTICALLY LOW-KEY STATEMENT BUT TOOK A MODEST SWIPE AT SENATOR KENNEDY. "LA SEGUNDA" CARRIED EXCLUSIVE TELEPHONE INTERVIEW WITH SAUL LANDAU OF INSTITUTE POLICY STUDIES WHO MADE VERIETY OF ASSERTIONS. PRESS CARRIED VARIOUS WASHINGTON DATELINE STORIES AND OFFICIAL STATEMENTS
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03402 01 OF 02 162237Z

BY DEPARTMENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL BELL. AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE FULLY REPORTED. EDITORIAL IN "TERCERA" SAYS THAT USG HAS REVERTED TO USE OF BIG STICK TO BATTER INDEPENDENT CHILEAN JUDICIARY. CAREFULLY DRAWN "MERCURIO" EDITORIAL QUOTES ADMIRAL MERINO'S STATEMENTS REGARDING ARGENTINE PRESSURES RE BEAGLE CHANNEL TO REACH CONSLUSION THAT CHILE SHOULD NOTT BOW TO PRESSURES FROM BIGGER COUNTRIES -- A CLEAR

REFERENCE TO LETELIR. "SEGUNDA" SAYS USG VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS SAFEGUARDS BY PRESSURES AIMED AT FORCING GOC TO RIDE ROUGHSHOD OVER JUDICIARY. END SUMMARY.

2. "EL MERCURIO" AND "LA TERCERA" HEADLINED RECALL OF AMBASSADOR LANDAU FOR CONSULTATIONS. AFTERNOON TABLOID "LA SEGUNDA" BANNERED AP STORY THAT PRESIDENT PERSONALLY ORDERED LANDAU HOME. "EL MERCURIO" LED OFF WITH AN UNOFFICIAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF HOODING CARTER'S MAY 15 STATEMENT ON SUPREME COURT CHIEF JUSTICE BORQUEZ' DENIAL OF EXTRADITION AND FOLLOWED UP WITH WIRE SERVICE-PROVIDED REACTION FROM FEDERAL PROSECUTOR PROPPER AND SECRETARY OF JUSTICE BELL. PROPPER WAS CITED AS DECRYING BORQUEZ' FAILURE TO MAKE PUBLIC EVIDENCE PRESENTED IN THE CASE AND CONCLUDING THAT IF THE FINAL DECISION IS THE SAME, THE SUREME COURT WILL HAVE GIVEN ITS APPROVAL TO AN ACT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. "TERCERA" COVERAGE WAS EXTENSIVE AND GAVE HEAVY PLAY TO KENNEDY, CHURCH CALLS FOR SANCTIONS, A "COMPLETE REVIEW" OF U.S.- CHILE TIES, AND AMBASSADOR LANDAU'S "INDEFINITE" RETURN TO WASHINGTON. "LA SEGUNDA" CARRIED CONFLICTING REPORTS MAY 15 AS TO THE SUPPOSEDLY IMMINENT DEPARTURE OF THE AMBASSAOR AND BANNERED AN INTERVIEW WITH AN UNNAMED INTERNATIONAL LAW EXPERT WHO ASSERTED THAT THE THREE ACCUSED EX-DINA OFFICIALS SOUTHT BY THE U.S. WOULD NOTT BE EXEMPT FROM TRIAL IN CHILE BY VIRTUE OF THE AMNESTY DECREE PROCLAIMED IN 1978 BECAUSE
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 03402 01 OF 02 162237Z

THE CRIME WAS NOT COMMITTED IN CHILE.

3. GOC-OWNED DAILY TABLOID "EL CRONISTA" DOWNPLAYED LANDAU'S DEPARTURE, LIMITING COVERAGE OF U.S. REACTION TO THE AMBASSADOR'S PRE-FLIGHT PRESS CONFERENCE THE EVENING OF THE 15TH AND TO A QUICK SUMMARY OF THE DEPARTMENT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY HODDING CARTER. BY CONTRAST, CHILEAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS MI NISTRY RESPONSE AND JUNTA MEMBER ADMIRAL MERINO'S OMMENTS REJECTING FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL CHILEAN AFFAIRS RECEIVED PRIDE OF PLACE.

4. TABLOID "ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" HEADLINED MERINO'S ASSERTION THAT "NOBODY WILL SHOW US HOW TO DISPENSE JUSTICE" AND DEVOTED TWO PAGES AND SEVEN ASSOCIATED STORIES TO THE U.S. REACTION, LANDAU'S RETURN TO WASHINGTON, AND THE DECLARATION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. MERINO STRUCK A DEFIANT NOTE BY REJECTING WHAT HE TERMED "A CHALLENGE ("DESAFIO") TODAY TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THIS NATION" FROM "A COUNTRY WHICH CONSIDERS ITSELF GREAT," AT A MILITARY CLUB CEREMONY MAY 15 HONORING CHILEAN NAVAL VICTORIES 100 YEARS AGO. THE NAVY

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF RETURNED TO THE THEME AFTER DEFENDING THE CHILEAN JUDICIARY, REMARKING "WE THEREFORE REFUSE TO ALLOW OTHER COUNTRIES -- NO MATTER HOW POWERFUL OR LARGE -- TO SHOW HOW TO DISPENSE JUSTICE, BECAUSE WE ARE SOVEREIGN AND WILL DISPENSE IT IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR LAWS."

5. INTERIOR MINISTER SERGIO FERNANDEZ, IN A SURPRISINGLY LOW-KEY REACTION, EXPRESSED HIS HOPE MAY 15 THAT U.S.-CHILEAN RELATIONS DO NOTT EXPERIENCE DETERIORATION AS A RESULT OF THE SUPREME COURT JUSTICE'S RULING. FERNANDEZ REFUSED TO COMMENT ON THE DECISION, INDICATING THAT "FROM

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03402 02 OF 02 162248Z
ACTION ARA-15

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O R 162202Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3366
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3402

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

THE START EVERYTHING HAVING TO DO WITH THE LETELIER CASE WAS TURNED OVER TO THE COURTS FOR THEIR DISPOSITION." THE INTERIOR MINISTER, HOWEVER, UNLEASHED A VERBAL BLAST AT SENATOR KENNEDY FOR HAVING INTRODUCED, ACCORDING TO WIRE REPORTS, A RESOLUTION PROPOSING THE COMPLETE SUSPENSION OF DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, AND FINANCIAL TIES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. FERNANDEZ STATED "HIS (KENNEDY'S) ACTIONS MUST BE CONSIDEREDIN LIGHT OF FROM WHOM THEY COME," A MORE OFFENSIVE IN SPANISH THAN IN ENGLISH MANNER OF EXPRESSING DISDAIN.

6. ALL MORNIGN DAILIES CARRIED THE FOREING MINISTRY DECLARATION (SEE SANTIAGO 3372 FOR UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION) IN ITS ENTIRETY, WITH "EL MERCURIO" FRONT-PAGING THE TEXT. "EL MERCURIO" ALSO FRONT-PAGED KENNEDY'S CALL FRO THE AFL-CIO TO CONSIDER THE VERDICT WHEN DECIDING WHETHER TO IMPOSE A BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN SHIPPING POSTPONED EARLIER THIS YEAR AND RAN AN UNCOMPLIMENTARY PHOTO SHOWING KENNEDY BEING GROOMED FOR A TELEVISION APPEARANCE.

7. "LA SEGUNDA," IN ITS MAY 15 EDITION, CARRIED AN INTERVIEW WITH SAUL LANDAU, OF THE INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES (IPS), WHERE HE SUCCEEDED ORLANDO LETELIER. SAUL LANDAU'S DENUNCIATIONS LIMITED [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03402 02 OF 02 162248Z

OF THE CHILEAN VERDICT WERE ACCOMPANIED BY DISAPPOINTMENT IN SILBERT'S FAILURE TO NEGOTIATE MORE STRENUOUSLY WITH TOWNLEY TO FOLLOW UP ON HIS ACTIVITIES IN ITALY, ARGENTINA, AND MEXICO. THE IPS OFFICIAL ADDED A NEW TWIST TO THE DISCUSSION BY PROCLAIMING HIS BELIEF THAT CHILE HAS A RIGHT TO REQUEST THE EXTRADITION OF FORMER CIA DIRECTOR RICHARD HELMS FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF CHILEAN GENERAL RENE SCHNEIDER, IN ORDER TO "PUT AN END TO, ONCE AND FOR ALL, POLITICAL MURDERS." HE ALSO ASSERTED THAT THE USG HAS OBTAINED MATERIAL WHICH CONTRERAS ALLEGEDLY TRIED TO SHIP INTO HIDING ABROAD.

8. THE AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE FROM PUDAHUEL AIRPORT THE EVENING OF MAY 15 AND HIS IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE FACILITY RECEIVED FULL COVERAGE IN ALL DAILIES MAY 16. MEMBERS OF THE APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED ONLOOKERS WERE REPORTED TO HAVE BOTH APPLAUDED THE AMBASSADOR AND SHOUTED DEROGATORY REMARKS.. (COMMENT: WE HEARD THE APPLAUSE, BUT NO BOOS.) LANDAU'S QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION WITH THE PRESS WAS REPLAYED ON AT LEAST TWO TELEVISION NEWS SHOWS WITHIN THE HOUR. LANDAU WAS QUOTED IN THE PRESS MAY 16 AS REFUSING TO SPECULATE WHETHER HE WILL BE PERMANENTLY WITHDRAWN FROM HIS EMBASSY, BUT POINTING OUT THE THE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT SPECIFICALLY REFERS ONLY TO CONSULTATIONS. LANDAU DID NOT DESIGN TO RESPOND TO CONTRERAS' ALLEGATION THAT THE LETELIER CASE WAS A "SHOW" STAGED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. LANDAU ALSO DECLINED TO ANSWER A JOURNALIST'S QUERY ABOUT HIS OPINION OF THE BRIEF PREPARED LAST MONTH BY FISCAL CHAMORRO, REFERRING THE QUESTION TO USG CHILEAN LAWYER ETCHEBERRY. THE AMBASSADOR INDICATED THAT U.S.- CHILE RELATIONS WOULD BE SUBJECTED TO AN OVERALL REVIEW BACK IN WASHINGTON, AND THAT HE WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO CONVEY THE RESULTS OF THE PROCEDURE UPON HIS RETURN. "EL MERCURIO" SUBHEADLINED LANDAU'S ANSWER TO THE QUESTION: WOULD HE RETURN? "POR SUPUESTO" (OF COURSE).

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 03402 02 OF 02 162248Z

9. EDITORIAL COMMENT ON AMERICAN MEASURES IN "LA TERCERA" DECRIED WHAT IT TERMED A "NEW VERSION" (RE-EDICION) OF "BIG STICK" DIPLOMACY. "TERCERA" CHARACTERIZED AMERICAN AUTHORITIES AS "PERHAPS BADLY INFORMED -- BELIEVEING THAT A TOUGH ATTITUDE

WILL CAUSE HIGH COURT JUSTICES TO CHANGE ISRAEL BORQUEZ' DECISION." "EL MERCURIO" WEIGHED IN WITH AN EDITORIAL BASED ON HISTORICAL ANALOGIES BY ADMIRAL MERINO, DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT "CHILEANS WILL NEVER BE SLAVES OF ANYBODY" AND INVOKING THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC AND THE BORDER CONFLICT WITH ARGENTINA OVER BEAGLE CHANNEL ISLANDS AS FOSTERING THIS SENTIMENT. MERINO'S RHETORIC MAY 15 (ABOVE) WAS TONED DOWN TO REACH THE CONCLUSION THAT CHILE SHOULD CONFRONT INTERNATIONAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES IN A "SERNE AND LOFTY MANNER." "SEGUNDA" MAY 16 SAID USG PRESSURES APPARENTLY AIMED AT FORCING GOC TO ABSORB JUDICIAL AS WELL AS LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWERS -- THUS VIOLATING DUE PROCESS AND ENCOURAGING THE CREATION OF "A TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENT."

10. WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINES "HOY" AND "ERCILLA" FOR THE WEEK MAY 16-22 WENT TO PRESS AFTER THE BORQUEZ DECISION BECAME KNOWN BUT BEFORE WASHINGTON REACTION. "HOY" FEATURED A BRIEF RUNDONW ON THE DELIVERY OF THE VERDICT, THE DEFENDANTS' REACTIONS, AND BORQUEZ' PRESS CONFERENCE AT WHICH HE DISPLAYED THE ORIGINAL OF HIS OPINION (PRESUMABLY TO LAY TO REST UNKIND RUMORS THAT HIS ONLY TASK WAS TO WAIT FOR THE DECISION AS WRITTEN IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH BUILDING DIEGO PORTALES). "ERCILLA" SPECULATED THAT THE OPENING OF AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LETELIER CASE BY A MILITARY COURT, AS CALLED FOR IN THE OPINION, WOULD DEFUSE WASHINGTON CONCERN AND AVERT A ""*8 743" IN CHILEAN RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.

11. COMMENT: PREDICTABLY, GOC SO FAR IS PLAYING UP TWO BASIC LINES: A) BY GOING THE EXTRADITION ROUTE, THE USG PLACED (AND BY APPEALING STILL PLACES) ITS FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE CHILEAN JUDICIARY AS AN INDEPENDENT, SERIOUS INSTITUTION; THUS IT CANNOT CRY FOUL BECAUSE IT DOESN'T LIKE THE BORQUEZ DECISION; AND B) ANY AND ALL OUTSIDE PRESSURES MUST BE RESISTED IN THE NAME OF
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 03402 02 OF 02 162248Z

CHILEAN HONOR. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PLAYED ON THE CHAUVINIST CHORD MANY TIMES IN THE PAST WITH GENERALLY SATISFACTORY RESULTS. SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN RELATIVELY LITTLE ATTENTION PAID TO THE JUDGE'S ORDER FOR A MILITARY TRIAL. THE RATHER STIFF TONE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT HAS BEEN NOTED. AT LEAST ONE KNOWLEDGEABLE LOCAL OBSERVER SYMPATHETIC TO THE GOC MILDLY CRITICIZED IT AS PREMATURE.
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5/17/79

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03993 01 OF 02 260924Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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R 172032Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 721
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 953
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINSO QUARRY HTS CZ
AMEMBASSY LONDON

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3993

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 5/17/09 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - MAY 17, 1979

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3756

([redacted]) SUMMARY: MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS EVENTS OF THE WEEK WERE UNCONFIRMED LATE REPORTS OF "DISAPPEAREDS" BROUGHT TO BUENOS AIRES AND THE REPORTED REAPPEARANCE IN JAIL OF SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBER LILIANA AMAYA AFTER TEN DAYS DETENTION INCOMMUNICADO. THE RECENT PHONE AND LETTER COMMUNICATIONS FROM MISSING PERSONS ROBERT AND MARIA BARREIRO AND THELMA JARA DE CABEZAS WERE REPORTED IN SEPTELS. ALSO, DURING THE WEEK FOREIGN MINISTER PASTRO SPOKE OF THE IACHR VISIT, ARGENTINA'S ELECTION TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE WAS WIDELY REPORTED IN THE PRESS. A FEDERAL COURT RULED THAT FORMER PRESIDENT CAMPORA CAN SUE FOR
[redacted]
[redacted]

HIS PENSION AND PLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE UNIVERSITIES ARE LIKELY TO BE BANNED BY A NEW UNIVERSITIES LAW.

MRS. TIMERMAN REPORTED ON HER HUSBAND'S CONDITION. GOA IS PREPARING A "WHITE PAPER" OR POSSIBLY A SERIES OF STATEMENTS ON ITS VERSION OF THE REPRESSION OF SUBVERSIVES. WE HAVE REPORTS OF A POSSIBLE VISIT BY US JEWISH AUTHOR ELLIE WIESEL. END SUMMARY.

1. (U) FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR ON THE IACHR VISIT ----
IN A MAY 13 PRESS INTERVIEW, ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR DECLARED THAT THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS VISIT WOULD NOT CHANGE IN ANY WAY THE TERMS OF THE ORIGINAL ARGENTINE INVITATION. THE POSTPONEMENT WAS WHOLLY DUE TO INTERNAL OAS PROBLEMS, HE SAID. PASTOR SAID THAT GOA "KNOWS THE COMMISSION WILL HEAR VOICES CRITICAL OF OUR GOVERNMENT, BUT IT WILL ALSO HEAR OURS. WE ARE SSURED OF OUR POSITION--THAT WE DID NOT INITIATE THE NOW-DEFEATED SUB-VERSIVE WAR AND THAT OUR OBJECTIVE IS SINGULAR AND CLEAR, THE FULL RESTORATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES." PASTOR ADDED THAT THE WORLD SHOULD KNOW THAT ARGENTINES ARE THE FIRST INTERESTED IN ENDING HUMAN RIGHTS PROB-LEMS AND THAT AN HONES APPRAISAL WILL CONFIRM THAT GREAT STRIDES HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE.

2. (U) ARGENTINA ELECTED TO UN HUMAN RIGHTS BODY--
THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ANNOUNCED MAY 12 THAT ARGENTINA WAS UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED A MEMBER OF THE NEWLY EXPANDED HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE OF THE UN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL. THE COMMUNIQUE ADDED THAT ARGENTINE MARIO AMADEO "HAS JOINED" THE SUBCOMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF RAICAL DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES. THE RELEASE STATED THAT "ARGENTINA'S PRESENCE IN THESE
[redacted]
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 03993 01 OF 02 260924Z

INTERNATIONAL FORUMS IMPLIES A SERIES OF RESPONSIBILITIES AND ARE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COUNTRY'S INTEREST IN THIS FIELD."

3. (U) COURT PERMITS CAMPORA TO SUE---
A FEDERAL COURT HAS OPENED THE WAY FOR FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA TO CLAIM HIS PRESIDENTIAL PENSION. CAMPORA'S PENSION HAD BEEN BLOCKED BY THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL WELFARE BECAUSE OF HIS INCLUSION UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT. THE COURT RULED THAT CAMPORA COULD SUE FOR HIS PENSION, REJECTING THE MINISTRY'S ARGUMENTS THAT CAMPORA'S ASSETS WERE FROZEN UNDER THE ACT AND

THAT CAMPORA COULD NOT SUE BECAUSE HE DID NOT RESIDE IN ARGENTINA, BUT IN THE EXTRATERRITORIAL CONFINES OF THE MEXICAN EMBASSY. THE MINISTRY WILL APPEAL THE DECISION TO THE SUPREME COURT.

4. (U) ABEL MEDINA'S ASSETS CONFISCATED BY STATE--PERONIST LEADER ABEL MEDINA, WHO HAS SHARED ASYLUM WITH HECTOR CAMPORA IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY SINCE 1976, WAS STRIPPED OF ALL HIS ASSETS BY DECISION OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PATRIMONIAL RESPONSIBILITY. THE COMMISSION SAID MEDINA HAD NOT SHOWN PROOF OF MEDINA'S LEGAL ACQUISITION OF HIS GOOD, WHICH WERE EMBARGOED WHEN HE WAS PLACED UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT IN 1976.

5. (U) POLITICS WILL BE BANNED AT UNIVERSITIES---ARGENTINE EDUCATION MINISTER LLERENA AMADEO SAID MAY 10 THAT THE NEW UNIVERSITY LAW WILL BAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY FROM NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES AND WILL PROHIBIT UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS FROM HOLDING POSTS WITH POLITICAL PARTIES. THE MINISTER EXPLAINED THAT THE POLITICAL BAN WAS ESSENTIAL SINCE UNIVERSITIES ARE SOUNDING BOARDS AND IF THEY BECOME POLITICAL ONES, IT CREATES A STRUGGLE WHICH HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THEIR FUNCTION."

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 03993 01 OF 02 260924Z

NOTE BY OC/T: MESSAGE DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03993 02 OF 02 232214Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3993

6. [redacted] JACOBO TIMERMAN UPDATE----
MRS. JACOBO TIMERMAN TOLD EMBOFF MAY 16 THAT SHE HAS RETUNED TO BUENOS AIRES FROM ISRAEL TO BE WITH HER HUSBAND, THEIR HOPES HAVING FADED THAT HE WOULD SHORTLY BE RELEASED TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL. SHE SAID THEIR LAWYER HAD APPEALED TO A CIVIL COURT THE RECENT DECISION OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PATRIMONIAL RECOVERY *CONFISCATING TIMERMAN'S SHARES IN LA OPINION*, A PRINTING PLANT AND A SMALL APARTMENT. TIMERMAN, SHE SAID, IS WELL BUT REMAINS DEPRESSED. HE RECEIVES HIS RABBI, BROTHER AND A RELATIVE PHYSICIAN REGULARLY, CAN HAVE ANY LOCAL READING MATERIAL AND RECEIVES ALL HIS MAIL UNTOUCHED EXCEPT THAT WHICH COMES IN ENGLISH, ACCORDING TO MRS. TIMERMAN. HE CAN SPEAK TO HIS CHILDREN AND RELATIVES BY PHONE. TIMERMAN WAS ESCORTED TO AN EYE CLINIC WHERE HIS EYE CONDITION WAS SUCCESSFULLY TREATED AND HE IS NOT DENIED ACCESS TO DENTISTS OR OTHER
[redacted]
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 03993 02 OF 02 232214Z

SPECIALISTS. MRS. TIMERMAN DENIED RUMORS THAT HER HUSBAND WAS GOING ON A HUNGER STRIKE TO PROTEST HIS SITUATION. SHE SAID HE DISTRACTS HIMSELF BY WORKING INTERMITTENTLY ON A DETECTIVE STORY. MRS. TIMERMAN SAID NEITHER SHE NOR HER HUSBAND ENTERTAIN FALSE HOPES ABOUT AN EARLY RELEASE. SHE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR AMBASSADOR CASTRO'S VISIT TO HER HUSBAND AND THE CONTINUING INTEREST SHOWN BY CONGRESSMEN CONTE AND GILMAN.

7. *(U) MINOR SENTENCED FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES*---
A MINOR WHOSE NAME WAS WITH HELD BECAUSE OF HIS AGE WAS SENTENCED TO FOUR YEARS OF PRISON IN SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO PROVINCE FOR RECRUITING SECONDARY STUDENTS INTO THE ERP AND OTHER SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

8. GOA MAY REVEAL DETAILS OF ANTI-SUBVERSIVE FIGHT----

ROBERTO GARCIA OF LA OPINION PREDICTED IN THE MAY 16 EDITION THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY SOON BEGIN TO DISSEMINATE DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS REVEALING GREATER DETAILS OF THE ANTI-SUBVERSION FIGHT. THESE WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED REPORTS WOULD PUT THE GOVERNMENT ON THE OFFENSIVE IN EXPLAINING THE SUBVERSIVE PROBLEM INSTEAD OF PASSIVELY DEFENDING ITSELD FROM ACCUSATIONS ORGINATING ABROAD. GARCIA SPECULATED THAT THE PROJECT HAD THE APPORVAL AND COLLABORATION OF THE THREE ARMED FORCES AS WELL AS THE PRESIDENCY AND SEVERAL MINISTRIES AND WOULD HELP DEMONSTRATE BOTH THE COST AND RESULT OF THE DEFEAT OF SUBVERSION IN THE COUNTRY.

9. (U) HERALD CRITICIZES US RESPONSE TO CHILE---
THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD SOUNDLY CIRITCIZED THE USG RESPONSE TO CHILE'S REFUSAL TO EXTRADITE THREE OFFICIALS ACCUSED IN THE LETELIER MURDER CASE. CLAIMING THAT THE [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 03993 02 OF 02 232214Z

CIA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR FAR WORSE CRIMES IN THE PURSUIT OF US OBJECTIVES, THE HERALD EDITORIAL DEPLORED THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S " PERSISTENCE IN TREATING SOVEREIGN STATES TO THE SOUTH AS JUVENILE DELIQUENTS WHO MUST BE BULLIED FOR THEIR OWN GOOD." ALTHOUGH QUESTIONABLE, THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT DECISION WAS LEGITIMATE AND PROBABLY APPROPRIATE-- (WOULD THE US EXTRADITE A CIA DIRECTOR TO STAND TRIAL IN MOSCOW FOR SOME MURDER COMMITTED BY ONE OF HIS SUBORDINATES?, ASKS THE HERALD.) BY TREATING THAT DECISION WITH CONTEMPT, THE US "MERELY GIVES EXTRA STRENGTH TO THE FORCES IT IS SEEKING TO DEBILITATE."

10. [redacted]XDS-4) THE EMBASSY RECEIVED A LATE REPORT FROM A SOMETIMES RELIABLE SOURCE, WHO QUOTED AN ARGENTINE PRISON OFFICIAL, THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF "DISAPPEAREDS"-- THE NUMBER GIVEN WAS A DIFFICULT-TO-CREDIT 3,000-- HAD RECENTLY BEEN TRANSFERRED TO BUENOS AIRES AND ARE HELD IN EXTREMELY CROWDED CONDITIONS BY THE ARMY AT CAMPO DE MAYO AND BY THE NAVY AT THE "PUERTO NUEVO" AREA OF THE BUENOS AIRES WATERFRONT. THE PRISON SOURCE PROFESSED FEAR FOR THE SAFETY OF THESE PRISONERS, SINCE THEIR EXPERIENCES CONSTITUTE AND INDICTMENT OF THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT. WE REGARD THIS INFORMATION AS A LEAD TO BE FOLLOWED UP BY OTHER MEANS, RATHER THAN AS A PIECE OF HARD INFORMATION. THE PRISON

SOURCE ALSO STATED THAT AT VILLA DEVOTO 300 WOMEN HAD ALREADY BEEN CLEARED OF CHARGES BUT COULD NOT BE RELEASED BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION BY PRISON DIRECTOR RUIZ, BACKED BY HARDLINE ELEMENTS IN THE MILITARY.

11. [redacted] AN IMPORTANT JEWISH CONTACT OF THE EMBASSY HAS INFORMED US THAT AMERICAN JEWISH AUTHOR AND LECTURER ELLIE WIESEL MAY BE PLANNING A TRIP TO ARGENTINA TO LOOK INTO THE GENERAL SITUATION HERE AND TO PLEAD THE CASE OF JACOBO TIMERMAN. WIESEL IS REPORTED

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 03993 02 OF 02 232214Z

INTERESTED IN MAKING THE TRIP ON CONDITION HE BE ALLOWED TO SEE TIMERMAN AND THAT AN APPOINTMENT WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA BE ARRANGED.
CHAPLIN

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 STATE 125487 2713 STATE 125487
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 L-03 H-01 PA-01 SR-05 ICA-11
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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 125487

E.O. 12065 GDS - 5/16/1985 (GUZMAN, RALPH C.)

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DAS GUZMAN MEETING WITH MINISTER DALTON OF ARGENTINE EMBASSY

REF: STATE 123460

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY RALPH GUZMAN MET WITH ROBERT DALTON, MINISTER OF ARGENTINE EMBASSY, MAY 16 TO PRESENT HIM WITH REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE CASE OF MARIO MARRERO (SEE REFTEL) AND REQUEST THAT GOA CONDUCT INVESTIGATION OF THIS REPORT AND SEEK TO ESTABLISH WHEREABOUTS OF MARRERO. GUZMAN THEN INFORMED DALTON THAT WE ARE PLEASED WITH DRAMATIC DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF DISAPPEARANCES THAT HAS OCCURRED SINCE EARLY FEBRUARY AND WITH THE GOA'S EXPEDITIOUS REPLIES TO OUR REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION. HE NOTED THAT WE STILL RECEIVED SOME REPORTS OF DISAPPEARANCES THAT REMAIN A MATTER OF CONCERN TO US, AND REITERATED OUR HOPE - BASED ON THE ASSURANCES OF AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL - THAT ALL DISAPPEARANCES WOULD CEASE, THAT THOROUGH INVESTIGATIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED OF ALL REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES, AND THAT ACTION WOULD BE

TAKEN AGAINST RESPONSIBLE ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. GUZMAN MENTIONED RECENT PUZZLING CASES IN WHICH GOA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON WHEREABOUTS OF MISSING PERSONS WHO HAVE RECENTLY COMMUNICATED WITH FRIENDS OR RELATIVES AND SAID WE HOPE THAT THESE WILL SOON BE RESOLVED.

3. GUZMAN THEN ADDRESSED ISSUES OF RIGHT OF OPTION CASES AND EXPRESSED OUR HOPE THAT THE GOA WOULD ACCELERATE THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES FOR CONSIDERING APPLICATIONS. HE NOTED REMARKS BY GENERAL VIOLA IN APRIL TO AMBASSADOR CASTRO THAT WE COULD SOON ANTICIPATE MOVEMENT IN APPROVING APPLICATIONS AND ASKED THAT THE GOA DO ALL IN ITS POWER TO EXPEDITE ACTION SO THAT WE CAN AVOID SITUATIONS IN WHICH WE AIR OUR DIFFERENCES PUBLICLY ON THE PROGRAM. GUZMAN ASKED THAT WE BE QUICKLY INFORMED OF ANY ACTIONS THE GOA BELIEVES WE MIGHT UNDERTAKE TO AID IN EXPEDITING MOVEMENT ON RIGHT OF OPTION CASES.

4. DALTON ACCEPTED REPORT OF MARRERO DISAPPEARANCE AND PROMISED THAT HE WOULD FORWARD IT IMMEDIATELY TO GOA FOR INVESTIGATION. HE ASSURED GUZMAN THAT ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IS FULLY COMMITTED TO END DISAPPEARANCES DEFINITIVELY. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT SOME DISAPPEARANCES HAVE TAKEN PLACE, HE SAID THAT GOA IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH ALL THE FACTS IN EACH CASE. IN REGARD TO REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE OF THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS, WHOSE DISAPPEARANCE WE HAD REPORTED EARLIER TO ARGENTINE EMBASSY, DALTON SAID THAT THEY HAD NOT YET RECEIVED A REPORT ON HER CASE FROM BUENOS AIRES BUT THEY WERE PRESSING FOR INFORMATION. ON RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM, DALTON SAID THAT OUR DIFFERENCES IN STATISTICS WERE PROBABLY DUE TO DIFFERENCES IN DEFINITIONS SINCE U.S. COUNTS AS ISSUED ALL CERTIFICATES OF ELIGIBILITY DELIVERED TO AN APPLICANT. THE GOA DOES NOT COUNT A CERTIFICATE AS DELIVERED UNTIL THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR RECEIVES IT FROM THE APPLICANTS. DALTON AGREED THAT WE SHOULD MINIMIZE OUR DISAGREEMENTS ON THE RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRAM. HE SAID HE ANTICIPATES THAT WE WILL SEE GREATER MOVEMENT SOON ON APPLICATIONS. VANCE

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04053 201044Z 5/18/79 N270
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/18/85 (THAYER, YVONNE) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCE OF MARIO MARRERO

REF: STATE 123460

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. EMBASSY HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCE OF MARIO MARRERO ON APRIL 20 THROUGH INQUIRIES TO LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. ALL DISAPPEARANCE CASES REPORTED TO THE EMBASSY ARE IMMEDIATELY CABLED TO DEPARTMENT. CAN YOU GIVE US MORE DETAILS ON MARRERO CASE? CHAPLIN

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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SCI			DEA		
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MILGP			FAA		
			CHRON		✓
			RF		✓

[redacted] ASUNCION 2237

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PA
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: ARBITARY DETENTIONS

REFS: (A) BUENOS AIRES 3923; (B) ASUNCION 1553

OFFICIAL SOURCE HAS INFORMED EMBASSY THAT FRANCISCO SAPIENCIA, NUMBER NINE IN LIST PROVIDED PARAGRAPHY 2, REFTEL B, HAS BEEN EXPELLED TO ARGENTINA. SOURCE PROVIDED NO DATE FOR EXPULSION OR OTHER DETAILS.

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HA-05 EB-08 IO-14 ACDA-12 OES-09 SOE-02 DOE-15
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R 191928Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7791
INFO USINT HAVANA
ALL USCONS MEXICO (POUCH)

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E.O. 12065: GDS 5/19/85 (PRYCE, WILLIAM T.) OR-P
TAGS: PFPR, CU, MX
SUBJECT: STATE VISIT BY FIDEL CASTRO TO MEXICO

REF: MEXICO 08279

1. (SUMMARY) CUBAN PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO WOUND UP HIS TWO DAY STATE VISIT TO MEXICO ON MAY 18. SPEAKING TO REPORTERS, HE ASSERTED THAT CUBAN TROOPS WERE NOT INTERVENING BUT MERELY ASSISTING IN ANGOLA AT THAT COUNTRY'S REQUEST, DENIED THAT CUBA HAD INTENTIONS TO SEND TROOPS TO OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, DENIED THAT CUBA HAD POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DEMANDED A NEW CULTURAL ORDER SO THAT CULTURAL TREASURES STOLEN FROM THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WOULD BE RETURNED TO THEM. THE CUBAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO STATED THAT CUBA WOULD DEFINITELY NOT SIGN THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO IN ORDER TO PROTECT ITS OPTIONS OF SELF-DEFENSE. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE FROM BOTH PRESIDENTS OUTLINED SEVERAL BILATERAL AGREEMENTS; EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER, OBLIQUELY CHIDED THE U.S. FOR ITS ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF CUBA, AND FOR REMAINING IN GUANTANAMO; FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

EFFORTS BY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO OBTAIN WORLD PEACE AND FOR SALT II AND DISARMAMENT; STATED THAT THE ENERGY CRISIS IS A COMMON PROBLEM OF ALL MANKIND; AND BOTH COUNTRIES AGREED THAT THE USE OF FORCE OR COERCION IN WORLD ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS SHOULD NOT BE TOLERATED. (END SUMMARY)

2. THE COMMUNIQUE MADE NO MENTION OF POSSIBLE MEXICAN OIL SALES TO CUBA. WE WILL BE ASSESSING THE VISIT AFTER TALKING WITH MEXICAN PRINCIPALS EARLY NEXT WEEK. VIEWED FROM AFAR IT WOULD APPEAR THAT MEXICANS ACHIEVED GENERAL GOAL

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OF STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH CUBA, AND GAINING A FEW POINTS WITH MEXICO'S LEFT, BUT THAT THEY MADE NO PROGRESS AT ALL IN ONE OF THEIR MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES - CUBAN ACCESSION TO TREATY OF TLATELOLCO. THE CUBANS ARE PROBABLY VERY SATISFIED WITH THE VISIT.

3. CUBAN PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO SPENT VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE SECOND DAY OF HIS TWO DAY STATE VISIT TO MEXICO IN SCUBA DIVING AND VISITING LOCAL TOURIST ATTRACTIONS. HOWEVER, AT SEVERAL POINTS DURING THE DAY, HE EXPRESSED HIS VIEWS ON A WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS.

4. CASTRO, RESPONDING TO QUERIES FROM THE PRESS, DENIED THAT CUBAN TROOPS WERE INTERVENING IN ANGOLA. CASTRO DEFINED INTERVENTION AS "GOING WHERE YOU DON'T WANT TO GO." IF CUBAN TROOPS ARE IN ANY CORNER OF THE WORLD, IT IS BECAUSE "THEIR COLLABORATION AND SUPPORT WAS SOLICITED." HE DENIED THAT CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA WERE MERCENARIES. CASTRO ASSERTED THAT THEY WERE ALL THERE VOLUNTARILY, AS A RESULT OF THE "CONSCIENCE OF THE (CUBAN) PEOPLE, IT IS THE ARMY OF THE PEOPLE THAT HAS GONE, THEY ARE WORKERS AND PEASANTS." HE STATED THAT THEY DON'T WANT TO BE

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THERE THE REST OF THEIR LIVES, NOR LESS TIME THAN THAT. HOWEVER, THIS DEPENDS "NOT ON US, BUT ON THE INTERESTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA."

5. CASTRO DENIED THAT THERE WERE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CUBA. THERE WERE, HOWEVER, "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS, MANY OF WHOM WE ARE LIBERATING; BUT THERE ARE SOME WHO ARE ALIGNED WITH TERRORISTS WHICH WE CANNOT LET LOOSE ON THE STREET." WHEN ASKED HOW MANY FELL INTO THIS CATEGORY HE SAID THERE WERE VERY FEW.

6. VISITING LOCAL MAYAN INDIAN RUINS, CASTRO PROFESSED TO BE IMPRESSED BY THE LOSS OF IMPORTANT ARTIFACTS TO MUSEUMS IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS. HE CALLED FOR A NEW WORLD CULTURAL ORDER, SIMILAR TO THE NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER, IN WHICH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WOULD UNIT IN ORDER TO DEMAND THE RETURN OF THESE ARTIFACTS.

7. CUBAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO ERNESTO MADERO VAZQUEZ DECLARED THAT THE POSITION OF CUBA ON THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO IS FIRM AND IRREVERSIBLE. EVEN THOUGH THE GREAT POWERS OF THE WORLD HAVE AFFIRMED THE TREATY, CUBA CANNOT RENOUNCE THE POSSIBILITIES OF "STRENGTHENING ITS INTERNAL DEFENSES." FOR THIS REASON, HE SAID, THE TREATY WAS NOT ONE OF THE MAJOR THEMES OF THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS.

8. ON THE QUESTION OF MEXICO SELLING PETROLEUM TO CUBA INSTEAD OF SPAIN WHILE THE SOVIET UNION SUPPLIES SPAIN INSTEAD OF CUBA, THE CUBAN AMBASSADOR STATED THAT THE

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IDEA IS WORTH STUDYING. HOWEVER, THE SOVIET UNION SELLS PETROLEUM TO CUBA FOR AN EXTREMELY LOW PRICE. THIS IS THE PLAN'S PRIMARY OBSTACLE.

9. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED, OUTLINING SEVERAL POINTS

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ACTION ARA-15

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IO-14 HA-05 EB-08 AF-10 DOE-15 SOE-02 ACDA-12
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R 191928Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7792
INFO USINT HAVANA
ALL USCONS MEXICO (POUCH)

OF AGREEMENT IN WORLD POLITICS AND NOTING ADVANCES ON SEVERAL BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, AND CHIDING THE U.S. ON SEVERAL POINTS. THE MEXICAN PRESS HEADLINED MEXICAN SUPPORT FOR THE END OF THE U.S. BLOCKADE AGAINST CUBA. HOWEVER, THE COMMUNIQUE WAS NOT SO SPECIFIC. IT RECALLED 1972 U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IN PANAMA WHICH CONDEMNED ALL TYPES OF ECONOMIC COERCION AGAINST LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND DEMANDED THAT SUCH ACTS OF ECONOMIC AGGRESSION BE STOPPED AS THEY WORK AGAINST WORLD PEACE AND THE OBJECTIVES CONTAINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND ADDED THAT "IN THIS SENSE THEY (THE PRESIDENTS) EXPRESSED THE NEED TO END THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE IMPOSED ON THE PEOPLE OF CUBA."

10. IN ANOTHER ONLY SLIGHTLY OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO THE U.S., BOTH PRESIDENTS REITERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES MAINTAINED AGAINST THE WILL OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE BASE IS LOCATED.

11. BOTH COUNTRIES AGREED ON THE NEED FOR A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER. THE COMMUNIQUE POINTED OUT THE IMPORTANCE

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OF RAW MATERIALS FOR THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES AND THE URGENCY WITH WHICH THEY SHOULD TAKE MEANS TO CORRECT THE ENORMOUS FLUCTUATIONS IN PRICES THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED WORLD RAW MATERIAL MARKETS. ALSO, THE COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO THE PROTECTIONIST POLICIES OF THE HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS AND THE NECESSITY OF OBTAINING EASY ACCESS TO THESE MARKETS FOR THE EXPORTS OF PRODUCTS FROM THE THIRD WORLD.

12. THE COMMUNIQUE CITED CASTRO'S SUPPORT FOR LOPEZ PORTILLO'S POSITION THAT THE ENERGY CRISIS IS "A COMMON RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL MANKIND." THE TWO COUNTRIES AGREED ON THE NEED TO ASSURE ACCESS BY ALL COUNTRIES TO THE FINANCING AND TECHNOLOGY NEEDED TO DEVELOP ALTERNATE SOURCES OF ENERGY. ALL ENERGY RESOURCES SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD THE FORMATION OF THE NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER.

13. THE COMMUNIQUE CITED BOTH LEADERS FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT TO OBTAIN "FULL SOVEREIGNTY OVER THEIR CANAL."

14. BOTH COUNTRIES PLEDGED TO SUPPORT SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA AND ANY OTHER COLONY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

15. SUPPORT WAS ALSO GIVEN TO SALT II, DISARMAMENT AS EXPRESSED BY THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THE EFFORTS OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO FIND WORLD PEACE.

16. BOTH GOVERNMENTS EXPRESSED THEIR PLEASURE AT THE WORK DONE BY THE MIXED INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FORMED IN JANUARY, 1978. THEY REVIEWED PROGRESS DONE BY OTHER AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE BASIC AGREEMENT ON SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION HAS

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PROGRESSED ON A WIDE VARIETY OF INTERCHANGES. 47 PROJECTS WITH 250 CUBAN TECHNICIANS ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF MEXICO, WITH AN EQUAL NUMBER OF MEXICAN TECHNICIANS WORKING IN CUBA. CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, TOURISTIC AND SOCIAL SECURITY INTERCHANGE ARE PROCEEDING AT AN ACCEPTABLE PACE.

17. THE GOVERNMENTS PLEDGED THEMSELVES TO INVESTIGATE FURTHER BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT. KEY AMONG THESE IS A PROPOSITION TO SUPPLY CUBAN CHROME AND NICKEL TO THE MEXICAN METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY. ALSO, A WIDE-RANGING AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY OF THE TWO COUNTRIES WAS SIGNED.

18. THE COMMUNIQUE CITED STANDARD LANGUAGE ON NON-INTERVENTION, STATED THE SATISFACTION OF BOTH PRESIDENTS AT THE

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CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MEXICO AND CUBA, "COINCIDING WITH THE PROPOSITION TO PERSEVERE IN THEIR STRENGTHENING AND DIVERSIFICATION."

19. LEADERS OF THE THREE OFFICIALLY RECOGNZIED LEFT WING MEXICAN OPPOSITION PARTIES, THE PARTIDO COMUNISTA MEXICANA, THE PARTIDO SOCIALISTA DE LOS TRABAJADORES AND THE PARTIDO POPULAR SOCIALISTA, EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE VISIT AND ITS OUTCOME. THEY WERE PRESENT IN COZUMEL DURING THE VISIT.

20. COMMENT: WE WILL BE ASSESSING VISIT AFTER TALKING WITH MEXICAN PARTICIPANTS NEXT WEEK (NEW FOREIGN MINISTER AND HIS ASSISTANTS ARE NOW DEEPLY INVOLVED IN PREPARATION FOR VISIT OF COSTA RICAN PRESIDENT CARAZO TOMORROW). VIEWED FROM AFAR AT THIS MOMENT, IT APPEARS TO US THAT MEXICANS ACHIEVED THEIR GENERAL GOAL OF STRENGTHENING TIES WITH CUBA, AND GAINING A FEW POINTS WITH MEXICAN LEFT,

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 08295 03 OF 03 210608Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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HA-05 IO-14 ACDA-12 AF-10 EB-08 DOE-15 SOE-02
OES-09 /144 W
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R 191928Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7793
INFO USINT HAVANA
ALL USCONS MEXICO (POUCH)

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BUT THAT THEY MADE NO PROGRESS AT ALL ON ONE OF THEIR MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES - CUBAN ACCESSION TO THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO . THE CUBANS ARE PROBABLY VERY SATISFIED WITH THE VISIT BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN PLAYED FAVORABLY IN THE PRESS HERE, AND BECAUSE THEY WERE ABLE TO GET SEVERAL SNIPES AT THE U.S. INCLUDED IN THE COMMUNIQUE IN ONLY SLIGHTLY VEILED FORM. (DRAFTED BY ROBERT FRETZ.)
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 08279 01 OF 02 201321Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-05 EB-08 COM-02
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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 OES-09 DOE-15 SOE-02 NEA-06 EA-10 ACDA-12
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R 190119Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7789
INFO USINT HAVANA
AMCONSUL BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
ALL USCONS MEXICO (BY POUCH)

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E.O. 12065: GDS 5/18/85 (PRYCE, WILLIAM T.) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, CU, MX
SUBJECT: STATE VISIT BY FIDEL CASTRO TO MEXICO

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: CUBAN PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO IS MAKING HIS FIRST STATE VISIT TO MEXICO, THE ONLY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY TO NEVER BREAK RELATIONS WITH HIS TWENTY YEAR OLD REGIME. IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS THUS FAR CASTRO HAS STATED THAT HE HAS NO INTEREST IN OBTAINING MEXICAN PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, DENIED THAT CUBA EXPORTED REVOLUTIONS, CHARACTERIZED CUBAN-U.S. RELATIONS AS "PERFECTLY BAD," SUPPORTED CIVIL RIGHTS FOR UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN WORKERS IN

THE U.S., AND DENIED THAT CUBA WAS INVOLVED IN NICARAGUA. JOINT COMMUNIQUE TO BE ISSUED LATER TODAY. EMBASSY WILL REPORT ON COMMUNIQUE AND OTHER LATER DEVELOPMENTS ASAP. END SUMMARY.

3. FIDEL CASTRO ARRIVED IN THE ISLAND TOURIST RESORT OF COZUMEL, LOCATED ABOUT 800 MILES EAST OF MEXICO CITY ON THE CARIBBEAN, ON MAY 17, TO BEGIN A TWO DAY STATE VISIT TO MEXICO. THIS IS CASTRO'S FIRST VISIT TO MEXICO SINCE HE DEPARTED HERE ON NOVEMBER 25, 1956, TO LAUNCH HIS GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN THE SIERRA MADRE OF CUBA.

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IM/PS/CRVR Date: 5/22/91
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ACCOMPANYING CASTRO ARE RAMIRO VALDEZ AND CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ, VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. (CONSEJO DEL ESTADO); ISIDORO MALMIERCA, MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS; HECTOR RODRIGUEZ MOMPART, MINISTER OF COLLABORATION; OSMANI CIENFUEGOS, SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. JOSE NARANJO, MINISTER OF FOOD INDUSTRY; JOSE ABRANTES FERNANDEZ, VICE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND JOSE MILLAR, CASTRO'S PRIVATE SECRETARY.

4. CASTRO WAS RECEIVED BY MEXICAN PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY JOAQUIN GAMBOA PASCOE, PRESIDENT OF THE GRAND COMMISSION OF THE MEXICAN SENATE; RODOLFO GONZALEZ GUEVARA, PRESIDENT OF THE GRAND COMMISSION OF THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES; AGUSTIN TELLEZ CRUCES, PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT; JORGE CASTANEDA, THE NEW SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS; JOSE ANDRES OTEYZA, SECRETARY OF PATRIMONY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT; FERNANDO RAFFUL MIGUEL, CHIEF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES; AND JORGE DIAZ SERRANO, DIRECTOR OF PEMEX.

5. THE WELCOMING PARTY ALSO INCLUDED THE LEADERS OF THE THREE OFFICIAL REGISTERED LEFTIST PARTIESS JORGE

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CRUICKSHANK OF THE PARTIDO POPULAR SOCIALISTA; ARNOLDO VERDUGO AND GERARDO UNZUETA OF THE PARTIDO COMUNISTA MEXICANA; AND RAFAEL AGUILAR TALAMANTES AND HUMBERTO ESPERON OF THE PARTIDO SOCIALISTA DE LOS TRABAJADORES. TWO OF THE RIGHT-WING PARTIES, THE PARTIDO DEL ACCION NACIONAL AND THE PARTIDO DEMOCRATICA MEXICANA, REPORTEDLY EXCUSED THEMSELVES FROM SENDING REPRESENTATIVES.

6. IN LIGHT OF THE NUMEROUS COMMENTS CAUSED BY LOPEZ PORTILLO'S FAILURE TO GIVE PRESIDENT CARTER AN "ABRAZO" (BEAR HUG) UPON ARRIVAL IN MEXICO, WE MENTION THAT THE NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THAT ALTHOUGH LOPEZ PORTILLO AND CASTRO EXCHANGED "ABRAZOS". NUMEROUS NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPHS AND TELEVISION COVERAGE SHOW THEM JUST CLASPING EACH OTHER'S ARMS AT A POLITE DISTANCE.

7. DURING THE DAY, THE TWO PRESIDENTS MET PRIVATELY FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR IN THE MORNING AND TWO HOURS IN THE AFTERNOON. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE WILL BE ISSUED ON THE AFTERNOON OF MAY 18.

8. CUBAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO FERNANDO LOPEZ MUINO TOLD THE PRESS ON MAY 16 THAT THE TWO LEADERS WOULD NOT DISCUSS SALES OF PETROLEUM TO CUBA AND CASTRO ON HIS ARRIVAL STATED "WE ARE NOT COMING TO SOLICIT MEXICAN PETROLEUM OR GAS". PEMEX DIRECTOR, JORGE DIAZ SERRANO, WAS ASKED ABOUT A PLAN TO SELL MEXICAN PETROLEUM TO CUBA INSTEAD OF ITS CURRENT CUSTOMER SPAIN, PARTIALLY REPLACING CUBA'S SUPPLIER, THE SOVIET UNION; SPAIN IN TURN WOULD BE

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SUPPLIED BY THE SOVIET UNION INSTEAD OF FROM MEXICO. DIAZ SERRANO SAID THAT HE KNEW OF "NO PRESSURE FROM THIRD COUNTRIES TO AVOID ARRIVING AT THIS TRIANGULAR AGREEMENT."

9. CASTRO, IN HIS PUBLIC DECLARATIONS, SUPPORTED MEXICO'S

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 08279 02 OF 02 201329Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-05 EB-08 COM-02
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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 OES-09 DOE-15 SOE-02 NEA-06 EA-10 ACDA-12
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R 190119Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7790
INFO USINT HAVANA
AMCONSUL BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
ALL USCONS MEXICO (BY POUCH)

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DECISION TO DECLARE WORLD PETROLEUM RESERVES AS THE PATRIMONY OF ALL MANKIND, WHILE AT SAME TIME CHARACTERIZING STATEMENT AS "CONTRADICTORY OF (LOPEZ PORTILLO'S) DECISION TO USE (THE PETROLEUM) FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF HIS OWN COUNTRY". CASTRO CONGRATULATED LOPEZ PORTILLO ON HIS DECISION NOT TO "CONTEMPLATE THE PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO AS A FUNCTION OF AMERICAN PETROLEUM NECESSITIES", AND DECLARED THAT MEXICO IS APPARENTLY BEING VERY INTELLIGENT IN THE USE OF ITS PETROLEUM RICHES, USING IT AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR DEVELOPMENT, INSTEAD OF FORMING A HUGE ARMY, AS IN IRAN.

10. IN A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD LATE ON THE NIGHT OF MAY 17, CASTRO SURVEYED WORLD ISSUES THAT AFFECT BOTH ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

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MEXICO AND CUBA. HE CHARACTERIZED CUBAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE "PERFECTLY BAD". HE STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS "BRUISED" FROM ITS EXPERIENCE IN VIETNAM AND WILL NOT WANT ANOTHER VIETNAM IN CENTRAL AMERICA. HE SUPPORTED CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES AS THE "LEGITIMATE RECLAMATION OF THE MEXICAN EMIGRANTS, (WHO ARE THE) BITTER AND INEVITABLE FRUIT OF THE MUTILATION OF NATIONAL TERRITORY AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT IMPOSED BY THE FORCE, SOVEREIGNITY AND DOMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES".

11. CASTRO STATED THAT HIS STATE VISIT TO SPAIN, TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR JULY, MAY BE DELAYED DUE TO HEAVY WORKLOAD PREPARING FOR THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS, DUE TO TAKE PLACE IN HAVANA IN SEPTEMBER.

12. CASTRO STATED THAT THE REVOLUTION IN GRENADA WAS A "GREAT REVOLUTION IN A SMALL COUNTRY". HE SAID IT WAS A SPONTANEOUS MOVEMENT IN WHICH CUBA WAS NOT INVOLVED, EVEN THOUGH CUBA IS RECEIVING THE BLAME.

13. CASTRO CHARACTERIZED BELIZE AS A UNIQUE CASE, AS BRITAIN WANTS TO GIVE BELIZE ITS INDEPENDENCE, BUT GUATEMALA IS THREATENING BELIZE WITH INVASION. CASTRO STATED THAT BELIZE'S ASPIRATIONS TO INDEPENDENCE WERE "LEGITIMATE, AS IT HAS NOTHING GUATEMALAN IN IT, AND HAS EVERY RIGHT (TO INDEPENDENCE)".

14. CASTRO SAID CUBA IS WILLING TO RESTORE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL, WHEN THAT NATION CEASES TO BE "THE MILITARY POLICE FOR UNITED STATES IMPERIALIST INTERESTS IN SOUTH AMERICA". CASTRO WOULD WELCOME ADVANCES FROM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BRAZIL PRIOR TO THAT TIME, HOWEVER.

15. CASTRO DENIED THAT CUBA WAS AN EXPORTER OF REVOL-UTIONS. REVOLUTIONS COME FROM THE PEOPLE WHEN THEY GET TIRED AND FED UP WITH THEIR SITUATION, NOT FROM INDIVIDUAL MEN. CASTRO CITED THE FACT THAT THE CUBAN AND MEXICAN REVOLUTIONS WERE NEITHER IMPORTED NOR EXPORTED.

16. CASTRO DENIED THAT CUBA WAS INTERVENING IN NICARAGUA, DESPITE NICARAGUA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION. CUBA EAGERLY AWAITED THE DAY WHEN SOMOZA "IS DEPOSITED IN THE TRASHCAN OF HISTORY."
17. FURTHER CABLE FOLLOWS AS DEVELOPMENTS OF SECOND DAY OF VISIT ARE KNOWN AND JOINT COMMUNIQUE IS ISSUED.
(DRAFTED BY ROBERT F. FRETZ.) FERCH

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03457 211515Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10
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R 211450Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3389
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
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Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 3457

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB SHUM CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: GOC REPEALS IMPEDIMENTS TO TRADE UNION MEETINGS

1. GENERAL ENRIQUE MOREL, COMMANDER OF THE SANTIAGO EMERGENCY ZONE, ISSUED EDICT NO. 123 ON MAY 10, REPEALING SECTIONS OF EDICT (BANDO) NOS. 82 (1975) AND 108 (1977) WHICH REFER TO TRADE UNION MEETINGS. THE TWO EDICTS REQUIRE THAT CULTURAL, COMMUNITY, UNIVERSITY, AND LABOR ORIGANIZATIONS OBTAIN PRIOR PERMISSION OF LOCAL MILITARY OR CIVIL AUTHORITIES TO HOLD NATIONAL AND LOCAL MEETINGS. THE EFFECT OF EDICT 123 IS TO REMOVE LABOR UNIONS FRROM THIS EQUIREMENT.

2. THE NEW EDICT CITES THE MAY 2 DECREE LAW 2620 PERMITTING TRADE UNIONS TO MEET FREELY WITHOUT PRIOR GOVERMENT AUTHORIZATION WITHIN ANY TRADE UNION HALL. DECREE LAW (DL2544) REQUIRING THAT TRADE UNIONS MEET ONLY OUTSIDE WORKING HOURS AND DISCUSS ONLY TRADE UNION ISSUES REMAINS IN EFFECT. TRADE UNION MEETINGS NOT HELD IN A UNION HALL (DEFINED AS A USUAL MEETING PLACE FOR THE UNION) WILL REQUIRE PRIOR GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION AS PROVIDED UNDER THE BASIC INTERNAL SECURITY CODE FOR ANY MEETING IN A PUBLIC PLACE.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03457 211515Z

3. COMMENT: SINCE THE GOC ANNOUNCED ON JANUARY 2 THAT IT WOULD PERMIT TRADE UNIONS TO MEET FREELY THROUGHOUT CHILE, THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL INSTANCES OF OFFICIAL UNWILLINGNESS TO PERMIT LABOR MEETINGS. EDICTS 82 AND 108 WERE OFTEN CITED BY RECALCITRANT OFFICIALS TO SUPPORT A POSITION REQUIRING PRIOR GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION. THESE PARTICULAR

IMPEDIMENTS TO TRADE UNION MEETINGS ARE NOW REMOVED.
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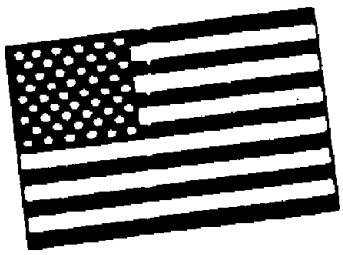
COLLOQUIUM ON CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINA



May 23 & 24, 1979
School of International Service
The American University

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

May 23, 1979

9:00 - 9:30
Registration and Reception

9:30 - 10:00
Welcome by Dean A. Lee Fritschler, College of Public Affairs, The American University.

Introductory remarks by Ralph Guzman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

10:00 - 12:30
THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINA
Marcos Kaplan, National Autonomous University of Mexico
Comments: David Jordan, University of Virginia
Robert Potash, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

12:30- 2:00
Buffet Lunch in the University Club, Mary Graydon Center

2:00 - 5:00
THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINA
Juan Carlos Puig, Simón Bolívar University, Caracas
Comments: Carlos Astiz, State University of New York, Albany
Wolf Grabendorff, Foundation for Science and Politics, Munich, Germany
Carlos Moneta, United Nations Institute for Research and Training

May 24, 1979

9:30 - 12:00
THE ECONOMY OF CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINA: FOUR PERSPECTIVES
Laura Randall, Hunter College of the City University of New York
Guillermo A. Gleizer, Long Island University
Hugh Schwartz, Inter-American Development Bank
Peter Wogart, World Bank

12:00 - 2:00
Buffet Lunch in University Club, Mary Graydon Center

2:00 - 4:30
THE IMPACT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE ON CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINA
Open discussion by Colloquium participants.
Chair: Harold E. Davis, The American University

4:30- 5:00
Summary and Closing of Colloquium

Academic Coordinator: John J. Finan
Rapporteur: John Child
Assistants: Mabelle Calderon
Eduardo Hoffmann Alarcon

The Colloquium is supported by a grant from the Department of State

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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ϕ Argentina

BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

I enclose for your use copies of the papers presented at the "Conference on Contemporary Argentina" held at American University on May 23 and May 24, 1979. I am also enclosing a summary of the conference prepared by Dr. Jack Child. This conference was supported by the Department of State, but the views and conclusions in these papers are solely those of the authors. I hope you will find these materials useful.

Kenneth E. Roberts

Kenneth E. Roberts
Program Officer for
Latin America
Office of External Research

Enclosures:
As stated

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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OLLOWING REPEAT RIO DE JANEIRO 2160 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO AO PAULO 18 MAY 79, QTE:

[redacted] RIO DE JANEIRO 2160

.O. 12065: GDS 5/18/85 (DEXTER, JOHN B.) OR-M
AGS: SHUM, BR
UBJECT: (U) HABEGGER CASE

1. (U) JORNAL DO BRASIL (JB) OF MAY 8 REPORTED RIO ARDINAL EUGENIO SALES' COMPLAINT REGARDING PUBLICATION Y THE MAGAZINE ISTO E OF THE CONTENTS OF FIRST OF HREE LETTERS HE HAD SENT TO THE WIFE OF ARGENTINE OURNALIST NORBERTO HABBEGER, WHO DISAPPEARED IN RIO N EARLY AUGUST 1978.

2. (U) MRS. HABBEGER CONTACTED CARDINAL SALES AT ECET LATIN AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE IN UEBLA, FOLLOWING WHICH HE WROTE TO HER ASKING THAT SHE DVISE HIM OF ANY PLANS SHE MIGHT HAVE TO VISITING RAZIL SO THAT HE COULD HAVE A CLERIC MEET HER AT THE IRPORT AND ESCORT HER TO A LOCAL CONVENT. HIS CONCERN OR HER SAFETY WAS BECAUSE OF "ARGENTINE POLICE" OCATED IN RIO. THE LETTER WAS FIRST DIVULGED IN MEXICO.

3. (U) ACCORING TO JB ARTICLE (APPARENTLY QUOTING ISTO E) HABBEGER ARRIVED RIO JULY 31, 1978, FROM EXICO USING ALIAS HECTOR ESTEBAN CUELLO. IMMEDIATELY FTER ARRIVAL HE PHONED HIS WIFE: LAST TIME SHE HEARD ROM HIM WAS ON AUGUST 3. SHE BELIEVES HE WAS KIDNAPPED Y ARGENTINE POLICE, "POSSIBLY WITH TH HELP OF RAZILIAN POLICE." BRAZILIAN JUSTICE MINISTRY, IN ESPONSE TO HER INQUIRY, HAS VERIFIED THAT HE ENTERED RAZIL JULY 3, BUT HAS NO RECORD OF HIS DEPARTURE, N EITHER NAME. MRS. HABBEGER ACKNOWLEDGED HER HUSBAND S SECRETARY OF THE POLITICAL BRANCH OF THE PERONIST ONTONERO MOVEMENT.

4. ➨ UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE SAYS HE HAS NO INFORMATION N THIS CASE, HABBEGER NOT BEING A MANDATED EFUGEE AND NEITHER HE NOR MRS. HABBEGER HAVING EVER PPROACHED THE UNHCR IN RIO.

5. ➨ COMMENT: THOUGH IT HAS NOT YET GENERATED MUCH UBLICITY, THIS CASE COULD CONCEIVABLY DEVELOP INTO ANOTHER AUSE CELEBRN LIKE THE LILIAN CELIBERTI/UNIVERSINDO IAZ KIDNAPPING CASE IN PORTO ALEGRE. THE CARDINAL AS LONG BEEN ACTIVE IN ASSISTANCE TO ARGENTINE REFUGEES, SUBJECT THAT HE HAS MENTIONED IN SEVERAL CONERSATIONS ITH ME. IN AT LEAST ONE CONVERSATION, ON JANUARY 25, 978, HE BROUGHT THE SUBJECT UP AND EXPRESSED CONCERN VER OPERATIONS AGAINST REFUGEES IN RIO BY ARGENTINE OLICE ACTING, HE SURMISED, OUT OF THE ARGENTINE ONSULATE.

6. EMBASSY CONCURS.

DEXTER

WQTE CHRISTOPHER
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Exemption(s): _____
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04233 01 OF 02 261904Z
ACTION ARA-15

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R 242130Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 815
INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
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E.O. 12065: XDS-2 5/24/09 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM PINS AR
SUBJ: [redacted] ALLEGED LETTER FROM DISAPPEARED ARGENTINE JARA DE CABEZAS

1. [redacted] SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: EMBASSY RECEIVED ON MAY 18 A HAND WRITTEN LETTER ADDRESSED TO AMBASSADOR CASTRO PURPORTEDLY FROM THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS POSTMARKED FROM SAO PAULO BRAZIL ON MAY 5. SRA. JARA DE CABEZAS, SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION OF FAMILIES OF DETAINED AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS (FDD), WAS REPORTED DISAPPEARED ON APRIL 30 AFTER VISITING HER HUSBAND IN A CANCER CLICC. SHE HAS NOT BEEN SEEN SINCE; HOWEVER, FDD ACQUAINTANCES REPORTEDLY HAVE RECEIVED LETTERS FROM HER POSTMARKED FROM URUGUAY AND BRAZIL AND AT LEAST ONE PHONE CALL FROM HER ATTESTING TO HER GOOD HEALTH. AT FIRST DUBIOUS ABOUT THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE LETTER SHE RECEIVED, MRS. CABEZAS' MOTHER REPORTEDLY CONCLUDED THE HAANDWRITING WAS HER DAUGHTER'S--WHICH DOES NOT, OF COURSE, FULLY ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS PREPARATION, OR THE

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04233 01 OF 02 261904Z

LETTER RECEIVED AT THE EMBASSY. IT APPEARS TO US THE

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LETTER RAISES SEVERAL QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

2. [redacted] IN THE LETTER, MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS FIRST COPIED A LETTER SHE CLAIMS TO HAVE SENT TO PRESIDENT VIDELA, BUENOS AIRES ARCHBISHOP MONSGR. ARAMBURU, AND THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THEREIN SHE CONTENDS THAT IN HER GRIEF AS MOTHER OF A DISAPPEARED SON, GUSTAVO ALEJANDRO, SHE WAS DUPED INTO WORKING WITH SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WHICH SHE HAS FINALLY DECIDED TO EXPOSE AND REJECT. SHE DESCRIBES HER SOJOURN TO MEXICO ON JANUARY 2, AT THE BEHEST OF HER EXILED SON DANIEL, A MEMBER OF THE MONTONERO PERONIST MOVEMENT (MPM), WHO PERSUADED HER TO COLLABORATE WITH HIS MONTONERO COMRADES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH HER ACTIVITIES WITH THE FDD. IN MEXICO SHE WAS INTERVIEWED BY MPM ACTIVISTS IN A HOUSE ON CALLE EXTREMADURA( ) LATER, THE LETTER GOES ON, MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS MET WITH "CAPITAN" MARIA ANTONIA BERGER, WHO BROUGHT HER TO EUROPE ON MAY 10 TO MEET WITH MONTONERO COLLEAGUES. FIRST IN MADRID, SHE AND BERGER WERE REBUFFED IN ATTEMPTS TO MEET WITH A SPANISH CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP AND UNSUCCESSFUL IN LOCATING METHODIST PASTOR LUIS POVEDA. LATER IN ROME THE POPE REFUSED TO RECEIVE MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS. HOWEVER, WHILE THERE SHE ATTENDED A WEEKLONG MEETING OF THE MONTONERO LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING MARIO EDUARDO FIRMENICH, OSCAR BIDEGAIN, JAIME DRI, (SHE NAMES 20 PERSONS IN ALL). AT THE MEETING THE MONTONEROS PLANNED THEIR "COUNTERATTACK" STRATEGY AGAINST THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. SOME OF THE MONTONEROS, JAIME DRI AND RAFAEL LACUZZI, AGREED TO RETURN CLANDESTINELY TO ARGENTINA.

B6

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 04233 01 OF 02 261904Z

3. [redacted] AFTER THE ROME MEETING, MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS RETURNED TO MEXICO CITY TO MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOTHERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO WHO HAD ARRANGED APPOINTMENTS WITH BISHOPS ATTENDING THE LATIN AMERICAN BISHOPS CONFERENCE IN PUEBLA. LATER, ACCORDING TO THE LETTER, BERGER GAVE HER INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTACT THE LIGA (LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN, A COMMUNIST-FRONT HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION IN BUENOS AIRES) ON HER RETURN TO BUENOS AIRES.

4. [redacted] AT THIS POINT, MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS WRITES THAT SHE REALIZED HER CONTACTS WITH THE MONTONEROS WERE WRONG AND DESTRUCTIVE. SHE EMPHASIZES TO PRESIDENT VIDELA THAT SHE KNOWS HER LIFE IS AT STAKE AS THE MONTONEROS WILL NOT FORGIVE HER BETRAYAL AND SHE DOUBTS THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT WILL UNDERSTAND HER. SHE ASKS VIDELA TO WARN OTHER MOTHERS FROM BEING DUPED BY SUBVERSIVES AND RECOMMENDS HE END THEIR DISTRESS BY EXPLAINING HOW AND WHY THEIR SONS DIED. THE MOTHERS, SHE SAYS, WILL UNDERSTAND AND FORGIVE. SHE ALSO ASKS VIDELA TO HELP THE MOTHERS FROM BEING MANIPULATED BY POLITICAL PARTIES SUCH AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY, (SOCIALIST) WORKERS PARTY AND MONTONEROS.

5. [redacted] AT THIS POINT THE LETTER IS DIRECTED TO AMBASSADOR CASTRO. MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS POINTS OUT THAT THE US GOVERNMENT IS ALSO MAKING POLITICAL USE OF MOTHERS' GRIEF WHICH COULD LEAD ARGENTINA TO ANOTHER BLOODBATH. SHE ASKS THE AMBASSADOR TO DO WHATEVER POSSIBLE SO THAT GOA WILL UNDERSTAND, IF IT CANNOT JUSTIFY, HER ATTITUDE AND CONDUCT.

6. [redacted] THE RETURN ADDRESS ON THE ENVELOPE IS RTE. PROF.
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 04233 01 OF 02 261904Z

ABRAAO DE MORAIS [redacted] SAO PAULO, BRAZIL. B6

7. [redacted] COMMENT: A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY CONFIRMED MAY 24 THE ORGANIZATION ALSO RECEIVED PLETTER FROM MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS. WE ARE SEEKING TO VERIFY ITS RECEIPT AT THE PRESIDENCY, AS WELL AS TRACE THE SAO PAULO RETURN ADDRESS. THE LETTER COULD BE GENUINE, BUT WE CONSIDER IT POSSIBLE THAT

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Case Number: S200000044

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04233 02 OF 02 261907Z
ACTION ARA-15

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 816
INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
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AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 4233

THE ~~LEGGER~~ IS A FORGERY OR MORE LIKELY, THAT MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS WAS COERCED INTO WRITING IT IN SOME ELABORATE PLOT TO THROW THE BLAME FOR HER DISAPPEARANCE OR DEATH ONTO THE MONTONEROS. OUR SUSPICIONS ARE SUPPORTED BY RECENT REMARKS REPORTED TO US MADE BY INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY TO THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET AMBASSADORS THAT, DESPITE EARLIER INDICATIONS OF HER BEING OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY, HE IS FOLLOWING LEADS INDICATING SHE WAS PICKED UP BYSELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY.

8. [redacted] INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ARE MIXED, SOME SUPPORTING THE THEORY THAT SHE LEFT OR WAS EXPELLED FROM ARGENTINA; OTHERS DISCOUNTING THAT SHE COULD HAVE LEFT OR BEEN FORCED OUT WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE BEEN ORDERED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL TO LOCATE THE WOMAN. IT APPEARS IMPROBABLE THAT HER ALLEGED COMMUNICATIONS TO FRIENDS BY PHONE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 04233 02 OF 02 261907Z

AND POST HAVE NOT BEEN CHECKED OUT BY INTELLIGENCE EXPERTS.

Case Number: S200000044

9. [redacted] ACTION REQUEST. MEXICO CITY: WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION OF THE ADDRESS AND PRESENCE OF DANIEL JARA DE CABEZAS AND MARIA ANTONIO BERGER IN MEXICO CITY. ROME: WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON ALLEGED MONTONERO MEETING AND PLANS AND POPE'S REFUSAL TO SEE MRS. JARA DE CABEZAS. SAO PAULO: BELIEVE REQUEST HAS COME TO YOU ALREADY THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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5-24-79

Draft
5/24/79

NAd03

DRAFT CABLE TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~/NODIS **DECAPTIONED**

SUBJECT: Instructions Re U.S. Reaction to Outcome of Letelier Case

1. We have now carefully reviewed and analyzed the decision by Judge Borquez denying our request that Contreras, Espinoza and Fernandez be extradited to the United States to stand trial for the crimes for which they were indicted by the U.S. Grand Jury in Washington, D. C. We have also carefully considered the implications of that decision for our relations with Chile. While you were in Washington, you made an invaluable contribution to our deliberations. We also benefitted greatly from the advice and counsel of Alfredo Etcheberry.

2. Our deliberations have strengthened our view that the Borquez decision is inconsistent with international norms of justice. We can neither understand nor accept his conclusion that the evidence we adduced in support of our extradition request was

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Exemption(s) ____

insufficient to warrant extradition. Under our extradition treaties with all countries, including Chile, evidence adduced in support of an extradition request need not establish guilt. Rather, it must simply be adequate to support a finding of probable cause to believe that the defendants in question committed the crimes charged. We have no doubt that the evidence we presented was adequate to meet that burden. Indeed, it was on the basis of precisely the same evidence that the U.S. Grand Jury in Washington, D. C. indicted the three defendants in question -- and the standard for indictment is essentially the same as the standard for extradition, namely, probable cause. Moreover, our evidence was strong enough to convince a jury to convict the two other defendants who were tried in Washington, D. C.

3. Because we find the Borquez decision so completely unacceptable, we believe that our immediate objective must be to seek a reversal or modification of the decision on appeal. We authorize and encourage Alfredo Etcheberry to pursue our appeal with all the vigor and determination at his command. We of course remain primarily interested

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in the extradition of the defendants, and we hope the appellate panel will order extradition. Failing that, our goal is a ruling on appeal that will permit a good faith prosecution of the defendants in Chile. In particular, we seek a reversal of Borquez' holding that our evidence is not credible or convincing and hence is insufficient to establish probable cause. Unless that holding is reversed, we do not see how a trial of the defendants in Chile could be genuine and thorough-going. This is so because the military tribunal conducting any such proceeding would be able to ignore the overwhelming evidence we have presented, on the grounds that the Chilean Supreme Court had already ruled that that evidence was not convincing and credible. Since we believe our evidence must form the core of any good-faith prosecution of these defendants for the murder of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt, it would seem clear that a trial in which our evidence was ignored would be a sham.

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4. If the appellate panel should simply affirm the Borquez decision, we will have arrived at an extremely grave moment in our relations with Chile. Known terrorists will be walking the streets in Chile with the full condonance of the Chilean judiciary and the Chilean executive. Neither we, nor the Congress, nor the American people will be able to understand or accept such a state of affairs. At that time we would be forced to take concrete steps of protest against the Government of Chile.

What is basis for transition from court to executive? (f) exp. &?

5. You should immediately seek an appointment with the Foreign Minister [Pinochet?] and make the following points to him:

(a) I have been instructed on the highest authority to reiterate to you our profound and grave disappointment at the ruling Judge Borquez issued on May 14 and at the lack of seriousness with which the Chilean Government has conducted its own investigation of the responsibility of Contreras, Espinoza, and Ferendez for the murders of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt on the streets of Washington, D. C.

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(b) While I was in Washington, I participated in a full review of the Borquez decision and of our relations with Chile. Our review of the decision strengthened our conviction that it is grossly inconsistent with international norms of justice. ~~Not only did~~ Borquez erroneously characterized U.S. practice with respect to the extradition of its own nationals, because . . . More important, he held that the evidence we had adduced in support of our extradition request is insufficient. That holding is a sham. Under our extradition treaties with all countries, including Chile, it is not necessary that evidence presented as part of an extradition request establish the guilt of the defendants. Rather, it is only necessary that the evidence be sufficient to support a finding that there is probable cause to believe that the defendants in question committed the crimes charged. Our evidence was overwhelmingly sufficient to meet that standard. Indeed, it is on the basis of that same evidence that a U.S. Grand Jury in Washington, D. C. indicted these defendants -- and the standard for indictment is essentially the same as the standard for extradition, namely probable

why?

Is probable cause the standard in Chile? Neither treaty nor Chilean extra statute say so

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cause. Moreover, our evidence was strong enough to convince a jury to convict the two other defendants in this case who were tried in Washington, D. C.

(c) Thus, we cannot understand and could never accept a finding that the evidence we adduced is insufficient. We can only conclude that such a finding, and the rest of the Borquez decision, reflect the judge's determination to ensure that these defendants will not be brought to justice either in the United States or in Chile. Unless overturned on appeal His unacceptable and inexplicable ruling on the weight of our evidence makes it impossible to believe that any proceeding conducted here in Chile could be genuine and thorough-going. The military tribunal conducting any such proceeding would be able to ignore the evidence we have presented, on the grounds that the Chilean Supreme Court had already ruled that that evidence was not convincing and credible. Since that evidence must be the core of any good-faith prosecution of these defendants for the crimes charged, it is clear that a trial at which our evidence was ignored would also be a sham.

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(d) It is indicative of the degree to which Borquez gave our evidence the back of his hand that he simply ignored most of our evidence in his opinion. He chose to focus almost exclusively on one statement by Michael Townley. He did not even treat the other full statement by Townley which we had presented and which Townley had made before any plea-bargain arrangement had been entered into.

(e) Needless to say, we will be appealing the Borquez decision with vigor and determination. The future course of our relations with Chile will depend very heavily on the outcome of that appeal. If we are faced with a situation at the end of the appellate process in which no extradition has been granted, or in which Borquez' ruling on the sufficiency of our evidence has not been reversed, so that any proceeding before a military tribunal would be hobbled from the outset, then I can tell you that the reaction of my government, the Congress, and the American people will be severe -- more severe than anything we have yet seen in our relations.

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(f) Nor is it only the Borquez decision that we find unacceptable. We are equally distressed and offended by the utter lack of seriousness with which the Chilean Government has conducted the investigation of Contreras, Espinoza and Fernandez that has theoretically been under way in the military court for over a year, the so-called passport fraud investigation. So far as we can tell, this investigation has thus far led to precisely nothing. Given the magnitude and implications of the crimes involved, we cannot understand or accept the lethargy that has characterized the military tribunal's so-called investigation. In his decision, Judge Borquez asks this same tribunal to expand its investigation specifically to include the potential responsibility of Contreras, Espinoza and Fernandez in the murders of Letelier and Moffitt. But the record of this tribunal in the passport-fraud investigation makes it clear that unless the Chilean Government takes a conscious decision to energize the tribunal, its proceedings will be without substance.

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In addition, of course, Borquez' ruling on the sufficiency of our evidence must be reversed if the military tribunal's proceedings are to be more than a formal exercise.

(g) I want to leave you in no doubt that in my government's view, relations between Chile and the United States are approaching a crossroads. Whether we are able to traverse that crossroads in a manner that will lead to the improvement in relations between our two countries, instead of a severe deterioration, depends on you, not on us.

(h) During the pending appeal, we will take no concrete steps of protest because we believe the judicial process must be allowed to run its course. However, I am instructed to tell you that should the Borquez ruling simply be affirmed on appeal -- which would mean that the matter would be referred to the military tribunal with our evidence completely and unjustifiably tainted -- then we would be forced to take concrete steps to register our outrage. Those steps will include the following:

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-- A Presidential Determination that the Ex-Im Bank should deny applications for the extension of credit to Chilean interests on the grounds that Chile is harboring international terrorists and that such denial would advance US policy with respect to international terrorism;

-- a suspension /cancellation?/ of the military assistance "pipeline";

-- the immediate withdrawal of the US Military Assistance Group (MAG)in Chile.

/Add any, some or all of the following?:

-- Withdraw our military attachés (7 Americans);
-- Refuse Chilean participation in UNITAS;
-- Deny CCC Credits and all other USG credits and guarantees;
-- Oppose projects and aid for Chile in multilateral institutions;
-- Deny Chilean applications for Commerce Department export licenses;

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-- Cancel the remaining balances on AID loans [about $4 million]:

-- Withdraw the AID mission;

-- Support efforts to curtail lending by US banks to the Chilean public and private sectors;

-- Cut back on the number of Embassy personnel;

-- Withdraw the Peace Corps;

-- Withdraw Ambassador./

I cannot at this time get into the details of other steps that would be taken, but I would only reiterate that the US reaction would necessarily be severe. In this connection, I wish to call your attention to the letter Secretary Vance received last week from the Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, Mr. Henry Reuss, in which Mr. Reuss addresses the question of private US bank lending to Chile. In addition, I am instructed to advise you that the unsatisfactory outcome which I have described would make it more difficult for the United States to be helpful with respect to any external problems Chile may have.

(i) In conclusion, I would underscore that the impasse we are approaching is not of our creation. The undeniable fact is that there is more than ample evidence to require Contreras, Espinoza and Fernandez to stand trial for the murders of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt. They should either stand trial in the United States or in Chile. That trial must be full and fair. If it is, we have confidence that these men will be brought to justice. If, by contrast, no trial is held, or the trial that is held is a sham, and if these men therefore walk the streets, I assure you that the reaction of my government, of the US Congress, and of the American people will be severe.

Drafted:D:SAOxman
May 24, 1979

(X14-085 Telex
5/26/79

DICTA LEY ORGANICA DEL CONSEJO DE DEFENSA DEL ESTADO[1]

(Publicado en el Diario Oficial N.° 30.372, de 26 de mayo de 1979)

Núm. 2.573.– Santiago, 5 de abril de 1979.– Visto: lo dispuesto en los decretos leyes Nos. 1 y 128, de 1973; 527, de 1974, y 991, de 1976,

La Junta de Gobierno de la República de Chile ha acordado dictar el siguiente

DECRETO LEY:

LEY ORGANICA DEL CONSEJO DE DEFENSA DEL ESTADO

Título I

DE LAS FUNCIONES

Artículo 1.° El Consejo de Defensa del Estado es un Servicio dependiente del Ministerio de Justicia, que tiene por objeto, principalmente, la defensa judicial de los intereses del Estado y cuyas funciones son:

[1] El Reglamento Orgánico del Consejo de Defensa del Estado es el D.S. N.° 1.385, publicado en el D.O. de 29 de abril de 1980.

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cos en el desempeño de sus cargos, cuando respecto de estos crímenes y simples delitos esté comprometido el interés del Estado, de las Municipalidades, los organismos de la Administración descentralizada del Estado o las entidades privadas en que el Estado tenga aporte o participación mayoritarios;

b) Atentados y desacatos contra la autoridad;

c) Rotura de sellos;

d) Crímenes y simples delitos contra la salud pública, sin perjuicio de las atribuciones que correspondan a los organismos o a las autoridades de la salud;

e) Delitos contemplados en el N.° 3 del artículo 476 del Código Penal y en la Ley de Bosques, siempre que para ello fuere requerido por el Ministerio de Agricultura;

f) Delitos relativos a la elaboración o tráfico de estupefacientes, cuando a juicio del Consejo se trate de hechos que puedan causar grave daño social, y

g) Delitos derivados de los ultrajes públicos a las buenas costumbres, siempre que el Ministro de Justicia lo disponga o así lo acuerde el Consejo con el voto de los dos tercios de sus miembros en ejercicio.

Asimismo, corresponderá al Consejo, el ejercicio de la acción civil que pueda nacer de los delitos a que se refieren los números precedentes.

6. El examen legal de los títulos de las propiedades fiscales, sin perjuicio de las atribuciones que corresponden al Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización.

7. La expedición de los dictámenes que el Presidente de la República, o los Ministros de Estado, por intermedio del Ministerio de Justicia, soliciten sobre materias jurídicas determinadas.

8. La refrendación previa de los contratos que proyecte celebrar el Fisco, siempre que sea necesaria a juicio del Ministro del ramo, atendido su monto y naturaleza.

9. La supervigilancia de la conducción de la defensa de determinados procesos civiles y penales a cargo de las Fiscalías, Divisiones, Departamentos y demás oficinas que presten servicios de carácter jurídico, adscritas a reparticiones de la Administración Pública, o entidades autónomas del Estado, servicios de la administración descentralizada del Estado o entidades privadas en que el Estado tenga aporte o participación mayoritarios, en aquellos casos en que así se disponga por resolución del Ministro de Justicia o por acuerdo del Consejo.

expropiaciones en que sea parte el Fisco. En el acta de la sesión en que se adopte el acuerdo de transigir deberá dejarse constancia de los fundamentos que se tuvieron para ello.

Podrá también, con el voto de la mayoría de los miembros en ejercicio, aceptar el pago en cuotas de las deudas que le corresponda cobrar, aun en los casos que éstas consten en sentencias ejecutoriadas. El Consejo fijará el número de cuotas en que se dividirá la deuda y las épocas de pago y determinará, en el mismo acto, el reajuste y el interés con que aquella deberá solucionarse, pudiendo eximir de intereses al obligado si sus facultades económicas lo justificaren.

Los acuerdos a que se refieren los incisos anteriores, deberán ser aprobados por resolución del Ministerio de Hacienda cuando se trate de sumas superiores a 5.000 (cinco mil) unidades de fomento.

Art. 4.° Sólo ante los Tribunales Superiores de Justicia corresponderá al Consejo la atención y defensa de las reclamaciones tributarias.

Título II

DE LA ORGANIZACION

Art. 5.° Los órganos del Consejo de Defensa del Estado serán el Consejo, el Presidente y los departamentos de Defensa Estatal y de Defensa de la Ley de Alcoholes.

1) *Del Consejo*

Art. 6.° El Consejo se compondrá de doce abogados, uno de los cuales, designado por el Presidente de la República, será su Presidente durante tres años, pudiendo renovarse su nombramiento.

Para ser abogado integrante del Consejo se requiere haber ejercido la profesión por diez años a lo menos.

deba perseguirse de oficio. Si el delito es de aquellos que, para ser perseguido, necesita denuncia o requisición previa de la persona ofendida, la acción pública debe ponerse en ejercicio tan pronto como se presente la denuncia o requisición.[1]

Art. 24. (44) Siempre que se trate de delitos que deban perseguirse de oficio, los tribunales competentes estarán obligados a proceder, aun cuando el Ministerio Público no crea procedente la acción.

En general, tienen los tribunales perfecta libertad para aceptar o rechazar las peticiones del Ministerio Público.

Art. 25. La intervención del querellante que ha ejercitado la acción pública no obsta a la del Ministerio Público, ni la de éste a la de aquél.

Sin embargo el querellante o las otras partes del juicio no podrán oponerse a las diligencias probatorias que solicite el Ministerio Público.[2-3]

Art. 26. (46) El oficial del Ministerio Público de un tribunal superior encargado de rever el fallo del tribunal inferior, puede continuar el ejercicio de la acción pública ante el tribunal cerca del cual funciona, no obstante que el oficial del tribunal inferior haya aceptado expresa o tácitamente aquel fallo.

Art. 26 bis. Los fiscales de las Cortes de Apelaciones podrán intervenir en la primera instancia en todos los juicios criminales de acción pública, cuando juzguen conveniente su actuación.

El Fiscal de la Corte Suprema podrá ordenar a los Fiscales de las Cortes de Apelaciones que actúen en la primera instancia para efectos determinados o durante toda la tramitación de uno o más juicios, y en este último caso tendrán las mismas facultades y obligaciones que este Código señala al Ministerio Público en dicha instancia.

Siempre que un Ministro, en carácter de juez de primera instancia, deba conocer de uno o más delitos, se entenderá designado

[1-3] Véase la nota al Art. 4.° de este Código.
[2] Artículo sustituido, por el que aparece en el texto, por el N.° 15 del artículo primero de la Ley N.° 18.857, de 6 de diciembre de 1989.

para actuar en todas las instancias del proceso el Fiscal de la Corte correspondiente.[1]

Art. 27. (47) Es prohibido a los oficiales del Ministerio Público renunciar de antemano, expresa o tácitamente, al ejercicio de la acción pública, en los casos en que ella es procedente.[2]

Art. 28. (48) La acción penal pública no se extingue por la renuncia de la persona ofendida.

Pero se extinguen por esa renuncia la acción penal privada y la civil derivada de cualquiera clase de delitos.

Si el delito no puede ser perseguido sin previa denuncia o requisición, cualquiera que no sea el Ministerio Público puede renunciar al derecho de hacer la denuncia o la requisición; y en tal caso queda también extinguida la acción pública.

Art. 29. (49) La renuncia de una acción civil o penal renunciable sólo afectará al renunciante y a sus sucesores, y no a otras personas a quienes también correspondieren una u otra acción.

Art. 30. (50) El querellante podrá desistirse de la acción penal, sea ésta pública o privada.

Si la acción fuere pública, el juicio seguirá adelante, constituyéndose el Ministerio Público en parte principal, a falta de otro acusador particular.[3]

Si la acción fuere privada, podrá, además, ponerse término al juicio mediante una transacción. Pero el desistimiento o la transacción no producirá en ningún caso el efecto de que se devuelva la multa que hubiere sido satisfecha por vía de pena.

Art. 31. (51) El querellante que se desistiere del ejercicio de la acción pública no quedará por eso exento de la obligación de comparecer al tribunal cuando el juez lo creyere necesario para la instrucción del proceso.

Art. 32. (52) El desistimiento de la acción privada producirá el sobreseimiento definitivo de la causa, cualquiera que sea el estado

[1] Artículo agregado por el N.° 17 del artículo primero de la Ley N.° 18.857, de 6 de diciembre de 1989.
[2-3] Véase la nota al Art. 4.° de este Código.

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E.O. 12065: GDS 5/29/85 (CLARE, DANIEL H.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS SHUM CI
SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY NOTES: SUCCESSES AGAINST ALLEGED MIRISTAS BUT BOMBINGS CONTINUE

1. (C) SUMMARY: TWO DAYS AFTER THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED A MANHUNT FOR THREE LEADERS OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR), ONE OF THEM WALKED INTO A POLICE STATION ACCOMPANIED BY A HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER. AN ALLEGED MIR FLYER TAKES CREDIT FOR THE KILLING OF A "TRAITOROUS MEMBER," FOUND SHOT MAY 18, BUT ANOTHER FLYER BLAMES SECURITY SERVICES. SECURITY FORCES IN CONCEPCION ARRESTED FOUR CHARGED WITH CONCEALING A WEAPONS CACHE; THE COURTS PROMPTLY RELEASED THREE ON BAIL. MEANWHILE THE SPATE OF BOMBINGS CONTINUES AND BOMB THREATS ABOUND. THE REGIME'S CRITICS ASSERT THAT THE MIR IS BEING FRAMED, BUT THEY CANNOT COME UP WITH PROOF. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) CHILEAN SECURITY SERVICES WENT PUBLIC WITH PHOTOS OF THREE PEOPLE DESCRIBED AS MIR LEADERS HEADING THE MOST WANTED LIST. WE HAVE REPORTED PREVIOUSLY ON TWO OF THEM: GASTON MUNOZ BRIONES AND GLORIA ELGUETA PINTO. MS ELGUETA IS THE DAUGHTER OF AN EXILED CHILEAN CONGRESSMAN, RESIDENT IN MEXICO, AND A FEISTY, INFIRM MOTHER WHOSE RUN-INS WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN HER SEARCH FOR A SON MISSING SINCE 1975 HAVE BEEN THE

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SUBJECT OF PREVIOUS REPORTING. FROM HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCES WE HAVE LEARNED THAT MUNOZ AND ELGUETA REFUSED ASSISTANCE IN LEAVING CHILE CLANDESTINELY IN ORDER TO CONTINUE "ARMED RESISTANCE" OPERATIONS IN THE COUNTRY.

3. (L) THE THIRD PERSON IS ABELARDO BRIONES MARDONES.

BRIONES HAS BEEN ACTIVELY SOUGHT SINCE POLICE IDENTIFIED HIM DURING A RAID ON TWO HOUSES CONTAINING ARMS (AND A BILL FOR MEDICINE PAID BY THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY) ON APRIL 30. ON MAY 24 BRIONES PRESENTED HIMSELF TO THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR IN RANCAGUA. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A LAWYER ACQUAINTANCE WHO ALSO WORKS PART TIME WITH THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY.

4. (C) A MAN PEERING FROM HIS WINDOW LATE THE NIGHT MAY 17/18 SAW SEVERAL MEN GET OUT OF A CAR AND WALK INTO A FIELD; HE HEARD TWO SHOTS. IN THE FIELD HE FOUND THE BODY OF A YOUNG MAN. THE HOMICIDE SQUAD FINALLY IDENTIFIED THE VICTIM AS RICARDO NUNEZ MUNOZ, TWENTY-FIVE, CARDED IN POLICE FILES AS A LEFTIST. THEY WERE HELPED IN THE IDENTIFICATION BY A FLYER, ALLEGEDLY FROM THE MIR, STATING THAT A MEMBER HAD BEEN EXECUTED FOR NOT FOLLOWING THE MIR LINE. THE MORNING OF MAY 24 -- PRIOR TO PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION OF THE VICTIM -- VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY LAWYERS PREPARED A HABEAS CORPUS PETITION FOR NUNEZ ON BEHALF OF A FRIEND WHO ALLEGED THAT NUNEZ HAD BEEN OPENLY SURVEILLED FOR FIVE DAYS PRIOR TO HIS DISAPPEARANCE BY A GROUP OF MEN WHO REFUSED TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WHEN NUNEZ AND THE PETITIONER BEARDED THEM. ON MAY 27 A MIR FLYER DENIED INVOLVEMENT IN THE KILLING, WHICH IT BLAMED ON THE GOC. MIR SAID IT WOULD TAKE ACTION AGAINST MEDIA PRINTING "FALSE INFORMATION" ABOUT IT. (COMMENT: AS IS CLEAR FROM THE FOREGOING, THIS CASE SMELLS VERY STRANGE INDEED. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, THERE HAS BEEN NO CASE OF MIR EXECUTING ITS OWN, AT LEAST

PAGE 03 SANTIA 03660 292330Z

DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS. WHILE WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL OF THE HABEAS CORPUS PETITION -- WHY, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD THE SECURITY SERVICES BE SO OBVIOUS IF THEY PLANNED TO KILL NUNEZ -- IT IS ALSO VERY DICEY BUSINESS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL WHO FILED THE PETITION ON HIS BEHALF. WE WILL BE WATCHING THE UNFOLDING OF THIS CASE CLOSELY. END COMMENT)

5. (U) SECURITY SERVICES ARE UNDOUBTEDLY KEEPING PRESSURE ON LEFTIST EXTREMISTS. ON MAY 18 THE THIRD ARMY DIVISION IN CONCEPCION ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAD PLACED BEFORE A MILITARY PROSECUTOR TWO MEN AND TWO WOMEN DETAINED EARLIER (NO DATE GIVEN) IN CONNECTION WITH THE DISCOVERY OF AN ARMS CACHE SAID TO CONTAIN THREE RUSSIAN SUBMACHINE GUNS, SEVERAL OTHER ARMS, AMMUNITION, AND COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. AS OF MAY 22 THE PROSECUTOR HAD RELEASED THREE OF THE QUARTET ON BAIL AND WAS CONSIDERING A REQUEST TO POST BOND FOR THE FOURTH. LEGAL AID WAS BEING PROVIDED BY THE CONCEPCION CHAPTER OF THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY.

6. (U) BUT BOMBINGS IN THE SANTIAGO AREA HAVE CONTINUED. ON MAY 19 A BOMB WAS DISARMED BEFORE EXPLODING, ON MAY 24 A DEVICE WENT OFF NEAR A BRANCH OF THE STATE BANK AND ANOTHER IN A BUILDING A BLOCK OR SO FROM DIEGO PORTALES (GOVERNMENT HOUSE). THE BUILDING HOUSED OFFICES OF THE GOC'S YOUTH MOVEMENT AS WELL AS THE MANAGING EDITOR OF "QUE PASA" NEWS WEEKLY. MIDDAY MAY 28 ANOTHER DEVICE WAS DISCOVERED AND DISARMED IN THE SAME VICINITY. MAY 27 SECURITY FORCES SAFELY DETONATED A LOW-POWER BOMB FOUND IN A DOWNTOWN CHURCH. ANONYMOUS BOMB THREATS ARE ALSO COMMON. THE PRESS REPORTED AT LEAST EIGHT ON MAY 19; AN INTERNAL FLIGHT MADE AN UNSCHEDULED LANDING TO CHECK FOR BOMBS ON MAY 25.

7. (L) ON A DIFFERENT LEVEL OF VIOLENCE, INDEPENDENT BUT STRONG FREI SUPPORTER ALEJANDRO HALES COMPLAINED TO POLICE THAT FOR THE FIFTH TIME IN THE PAST YEAR A GROUP OF RUFFIANS HAD VANDALIZED THE OUTSIDE OF HIS HOUSE AND THROWN
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 03660 292330Z

ROCKS WHILE CURSING THE PDC. HALES' SON, A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT ACTIVE IN HUMAN RIGHTS CAUSES, IS THE PROBABLE TARGET OF THESE BROWNSHIRT-TYPE ATTACKS.

8. (C) OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME HAVE REACHED THE ALL-TOO-FACILE CONCLUSION THAT VIRTUALLY ALL RECENT ATTENTION GIVEN THE MIR BY THE MEDIA AND THE GOC IS PART OF A CAMPAIGN TO KEEP ALIVE AMONG THE POPULACE THE FEAR OF THE ALLENDE YEARS' CHAOS. SINCE ALL KNOWLEDGEABLE OBSERVERS KNOW FOR A FACT THAT THE EX-DINA WAS INDEED RESPONSIBLE FOR CERTAIN BOMBINGS AND ROBBERIES CREDITED PUBLICLY TO THE MIR SEVERAL YEARS AGO, THE GOC HAS A PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TASK IN PERSUADING THEM OF ITS INNOCENCE NOW.

9. (C) COMMENT: OUR OWN SOURCES OF INFORMATION TEND TO JIBE WITH THAT OF THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS CLOSEST TO EVENTS: THERE REMAIN IN CHILE A SMALL NUMBER OF LEFTIST EXTERMISTS WHO ESPOUSE VIOLENCE AND HAVE THE MEANS AND WILL TO CONDUCT WHAT THEY EUPHEMISTICALLY DESCRIBE AS "ARMED PROPAGANDA" EXERCISES. THUS, AT LEAST SOME OF THE BOMBINGS ARE THEIR WORK. THERE IS A REAL QUESTION, HOWEVER, IF THESE SPLINTER ELEMENTS ARE PREPARED TO EXECUTE THEIR OWN MEMBERS IN COLD BLOOD.
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E.O. 12065: GDS: 5/31/85 (GROVER, CHARLES W.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: WILLOUGHBY TRIES AGAIN

1. ~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. MAY 28 FEDERICO WILLOUGHBY INVITED ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY FOR DRINKS WITH CARLOS CRUZ COKE AND MARIO ZENTENO, LAWYERS FOR CAPTAIN FERANDEZ LARIOS. DURING THE FEW MINUTES BEFORE THE DEFENSE ATTORNEYS ARRIVED, WILLOUGHBY TOLD ETCHEBERRY--ALMOST AS IF HE WERE A SPOKESMAN FOR THE GOC -- THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET "WAS WORRIED AT THE PROSPECT OF HAVING MANUEL CONTRERAS AT LARGE" IF THE APPEALS COURT DENIED EXTRADITION. WILLOUGHBY DID NOT DETAIL WHAT SPECIFICALLY CAUSED CONCERN.

3. WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE TWO DEFENSE LAWYERS, WILLOUGHBY AGAIN WENT OVER THE SAME OFFER PREFIOUSLY REJECTED HERE AND IN WASHINGTON: A) THE USG TO DROP THE EXTRADITION REQUEST FOR FERNANDEZ BASED ON OUR BELIEF THAT HE WAS

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03718 311632Z

JUST FOLLOWING ORDERS; B) FERNANDEZ TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE LOCAL COURT THAT CONTRERAS HAD ORDERED HIM TO SURVEIL LETELIER BUT DID NOT TELL HIM THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE; AND C) THE GOC TO "DO ITS BEST" TO LET THE COURT KNOW THAT "THE NATIONAL INTEREST WOULD BE BEST SERVED" BY EXTRADITING CONTRERAS. ETCHEBERRY MERELY SAID THAT HE WOULD PASS

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THEIR CONTINUING INTEREST ALONG TO HIS CLIENTS.

4. COMMENT: THE WILLOUGHBY OVERTURES ARE EVEN LESS EXPLICABLE NOW THAN BEFORE THE BORQUEZ DECISION. AS MATTERS STAND, NONE OF THE THREE OFFICERS ARE LIKELY TO BE EXTRADITED AND A FULL-SCALE TRIAL HERE ON MURDER CHARGES IS, AT BEST, A LONG WAY OFF. FURTHERMORE, CONVENTIONAL WISDOM HAS IT THAT PINOCHET DOES NOTT WANT TO, OR BELIEVES HE CANNOT, PERMIT CONTRERAS TO BE EXTRADITED. BUT THE BELIEF THAT CONTRERAS HAS A POWERFUL CONSTITUENCY WITHIN THE ARMY CORPS CUTS BOTH WAYS. CONCEIVABLY PINOCHET FEARS CONTRERAS' MISCHIEFMAKING POTENTIAL MORE IF HE REMAINS AT LARGE IN CHILE WHILE MILITARY JUSTICE CONSIDERS HIS CASE, THAN THE SHARP -- BUT PERHAPS BRIEF -- SHOCKWAVES HIS EXTRADITION WOULD SEND THROUGH THE SENIOR MILITARY COMMAND. EVEN IF CONTRERAS DECIDED TO BLOW THE WHISTLE ON PINOCHET ONCE IN THE US, THE PRESIDENT MIGHT BE ABLE TO DISMISS HIS ALLEGATIONS AS THAT OF ANOTHER PLEA-BARGAINER. AS TO WILLOUGHBY'S PERSISTENCE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HE BELIEVES WE WILL ACCEPT LESS IN THE FACE OF THE BORQUEZ DEDISION.

5. IF INDEED PINOCHET IS AWARE OF THE WILLOUGHBY EFFORTS -- SOMETHING WE DO NOT KNOW FOR SURE -- IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS IS A CALCULATED EXERCISE IN SENDING US CONFUSING SIGNALS, WITH THE FRINGE BENEFIT OF PERSUADING US THAT THE GOC, TOO, IS UNHAPPY WITH THE OUTCOME THUS FAR. OR, CONCEIVABLY, IT MIGHT EVEN BE SOME DEVIOUS ATTEMPT TO ENTRAP

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 03718 311632Z

US IN WAYS WE DO NOT NOW VISUALIZE -- ALTHOUGH WE HAVE TRIED HARD.

6. OF COURSE, EVEN THE FERNANDEZ' STATEMENT AS NOW PROPOSED, WOULD DESTROY THE DEFENSE'S BASIS, BUT THERE, TOO, QUESTIONS REMAIN: FERNANDEZ' REVISED STATEMENT WOULD RESULT FROM ANOTHER PLEA BARGAIN ARRANGEMENT. WOULD IT CARRY ANY WEIGHT? WOULD FERNANDEZ BECOME THE DEFENDANT IN A PERJURY TRIAL AND HIS EVIDENCE AGAIN BE DISCREDITED?

7. WORTH KEEPING IN MIND, HOWEVER, IS ETCHEBERRY'S LINGERING FEELING THAT THE WILLOUGHBY EFFORTS SHOULD NOT BE WRITTEN OFF OUT OF HAND.
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Caso Letelier:

Washington

1º Artículo de Columnista Latelier envía a gran número de relaciones

2º Grupos Confraternidad de Universitarios - El trabajo denunciado a

CNN PARA

3º Saul Landau dice tener nota "Coon Letter de Contreras" y anticipa su contenido

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El Director de la Oficina de Asuntos Políticos de Washington, Saul Landau, que ocupa el cargo del ex-doctor Orlando Letelier, dijo que "el Subsecretario de Estado, Warren Christopher, considera que el chileno [illegible] y quiere el único gran logro [illegible] relaciones normales entre Chile y Estados Unidos lo constituye el hecho de que el Presidente Pinochet continúa al frente del Gobierno como cabeza de la Junta". En una conversación con periodistas, Saul Landau expresó que "el secretario del señor Christopher [illegible] la semana pasada y de otros cinco altos funcionarios del Departamento de ~~Justicia~~ Estado y del Ministerio de Justicia". Agregó que,"en honor a la verdad, nunca le [illegible] a la reforma [illegible] pruebas en las audiencias de preasignación en esas que se celebran en la Corte Suprema de Chile en [illegible] declaraciones de tres oficiales chilenos para su juzgamiento en el Distrito de Columbia".

Dijo también que "el fiscal chileno-Wolfit se determinar quiénes son los otros involucrados aparte de [illegible] Contreras, Pedro Espinoza y Armando Fernández Larios, los cubanos anticastristas, [illegible] Townley y Michael Townley".

Saul Landau —quien viajó a California para asistir a la ceremonia de graduación de dos de sus hijos y aprovechó los estudios de la Unión durante conferencia— reiteró que "Michael Wolfit fue interrogado por el abogado George Walter Landau que recomendó el restablecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas con Chile si el fallo de los tribunales de ese país no satisface completamente a los chilenos Unidos". Testigos de las palabras de George Walter ~~Landau~~ habrían sido Marcos Roskin, que trabaja para el Instituto de Estudios Políticos, y Mchael Tigar, abogado en representación de las familias Letelier y Moffit en la querella civil que entablaron contra el gobierno chileno por daños y perjuicios materiales y morales. (El próximo día 25, el Juez Oliver Puatto decidirá si "el Gobierno de Chile debe hacerse representar ante la Corte Civil por la demanda admitida, o si, por el

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contrario, el juicio no procede".

Los "documentos" de Saul Contreras

En cuanto al origen de [illegible] Saul Landau, [illegible], indicó: "Él no dio por cierto efectivo. Los documentos permanecen en Alemania Federal, en Frankfurt. Cree que trabajaba para el ex hombre fuerte de la policía secreta chilena y que lo abandonó por creer varios de esos documentos confidenciales". Agregó: "Constituyen, creo, una especie de seguro de vida y herramienta de presión para el ex Director de la Dina".

Ante una pregunta de qué contienen los referidos documentos y en número exacto, recalcó que "tenemos seis en nuestro poder, aunque la otra parte se tenía en Europa".

-¿Podría precisar su número total?

"No lo sé. Y no revelaré los fundamentos porque ello afectaría [illegible]".

-¿Qué contienen los seis que obran en poder del Instituto de Estudios Políticos?

"Informaciones relativas a los asesinatos del ex Comandante en Jefe del Ejército de Chile, Carlos Prats, y de su esposa; de Orlando Letelier y Ronni Moffitt; del atentado en contra de Bernardo Leighton y Ana Fresno..." "Existen documentos que mencionan a Mamo y a otro individuo, El Negro, y notas firmadas de felicitaciones a Contreras. También se cita a Michael Townley. Y un escándalo de una financiera, denunciado por el ex Director de la Dina, pidiendo acción contra determinadas personas, lo que nunca llegó a cursarse".

-¿Cuándo será revelado el contenido total de la documentación a que Ud. alude?

"Tan pronto llegue el momento. El compromiso tiene una fecha de vencimiento. Cabe destacar -afirmó Saul Landau-, que los fiscales Eugene Propper y Lawrence Barcella y los agentes del Fbi Carter Cornick y Robert Scherrer dieron pruebas

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evidentes errores de los Generales, la [illegible] Prensa y sobre enunciamiento lo que significaron".

Respecto a otro punto, Orfila señaló que "los errores y otros aspectos contradictorios encontrados en el proceso contra los Generales Chilenos hasta el final del cuadro". Afirmó que "Orfila creyó prudente abstenerse de opinar sobre el caso y de la periodista Carmen Paulsen, que sirvió de enlace entre la Embajada de Chile y los abogados de los cubanos encontrados culpables, denuncia que fue hecha a través de los medios norteamericanos de comunicación de Estado por altos funcionarios".

"En el Congreso -dijo Landau- hay la intención de hacer la revisión final de la justicia chilena por la solidaridad de parlamentarios. De no ser ésta concretada, se intentará involucrar a Chile en la lista de países que violentan los derechos humanos y, por lo tanto, no recibir ayuda de instituciones privadas o públicas de los Estados Unidos".

Como resultado del encuentro de periodistas chilenos, que se dio el Director del Instituto de Estudios Políticos [illegible] también se opinó a una decisión [illegible] de la justicia chilena, "que podría significar que no puedan canalizarse créditos hacia Chile porque no serán aprobados por congresistas de negros sin cuyo concurso no puede operarse".

Explicó Saul Landau que "oficiales del Departamento de Estado se reunieron con ejecutivos del Riggs Bank de Washington (lo que fue [illegible] por este reportero), de la Wells Fargo de California y de la manufacturas Hanover de Nueva York, a fin de persuadirlos que no otorguen créditos a Chile".

El otro Punto

En declaraciones exclusivas a este periodista, el agente del Fbi Carter Cornick, que desde Río de Janeiro vino por un día a Washington y prosiguió a Nueva

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Yonk dentro de [illegible], dijo: "Por cierto prendido con el abogado, [illegible] en Río [illegible] nos [illegible] a la justicia chilena. Ello, por cuanto vimos que [illegible] en Uruguay y [illegible] dijo que no". Luego Contín que "Letelier llegó al punto de apelar; pero [illegible] la ley, ignorando el mandato de la ley. Cualquiera que [illegible] [illegible] por las circunstancias, la cosa [illegible] políticos".

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–¿Qué puede decir del futuro de las relaciones chileno-norteamericanas, de no concretarse las extradiciones?

"Yo creo. Hay quienes sostienen que [illegible] de relaciones. Creemos, que el caso Letelier-Moffitt [illegible] que a una determinación de esa naturaleza. Yo soy parte del FBI con misiones políticas. No soy político".

–¿Qué opinan ustedes, en su [illegible] sobre [illegible]?

"Que arguyen, pues a eso, los procedimientos de la justicia chilena. Más allá de eso, no existe nada que [illegible]".

–¿A qué se debe la permanencia de Robert Scherrer en Buenos Aires?

"A materias relacionadas con investigaciones con [illegible]".

–¿Caso Prats, por ejemplo?

"Yo diría que sí. En otras palabras, no la negaría. Las investigaciones de Scherrer no necesariamente excluyen el asesinato de Carlos Prats y su esposa. (Se debe recordar que el mismo agente del FBI, Robert Scherrer, dijo en persona a este reportero que él no viaje en el caso Letelier desde junio de 1978 y sus viajes a Chile y otras partes posteriores a esa fecha obedecieron sólo a asuntos administrativos). El debe quedarse una semana o diez días más en Argentina y en ese plazo tal vez surja una noticia concreta con respecto a Prats. No sé qué haría, en la eventualidad, el gobierno de Argentina. No es nada que me incumba a mí. Es u-

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na cosa muy fuerte de decir".

Paz y Suárez: "Los encontré raros"

-Pasando a otro punto, ¿podría entrevistar a Michael Townley?

"No. Bajo ninguna circunstancia. Lo siento".

-Su viaje a Nueva York, ¿a qué se debe?

"A diversas materias, a varios asuntos. Permanecí allí hasta fines de semana".

-¿Avances en la búsqueda de los cubanos, Virgilio Paz y José Dionisio Suárez?

"Voy muy poco. Puedo señalar que avanzamos. Día tras día vamos a dar con el paradero de ambos. Eso es lo que cuenta".

-¿Indicios de que se encuentren en los Estados Unidos?

"Creo que no. Esa es mi impresión. No nos vamos. Siempre surgen nuevos antecedentes".

Y volviendo al tema del comienzo: Catherine Marshall, encargada de prensa de la División de Asuntos Interamericanos del Departamento de Estado, dijo a LUN PASA que "las relaciones con Chile son totalmente correctas, pero frías. Estamos siguiendo con suma atención lo relacionado con el veredicto en Santiago, por el caso Letelier. Consideramos que los tres oficiales deben ser entrevistados. Es, sin duda, un factor demasiado importante. Sólo el tiempo indicará qué vendrá después. No quiero especular en torno a lo que podría ocurrir".

En cuanto a lo afirmado por Saul Landau, en el sentido de que el Subsecretario de Estado, Cristopher, dijo con respecto al Presidente Pinochet, la funcionaria Catherine Marshall expresó: "Puede habérselo dicho al señor Saul Landau en una conversación privada".

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El Embajador de Estados Unidos en Chile, [illegible] Walker Landau, no conoce personalmente a su "tocayo" Saul, hermano de Orlando Letelier en el Instituto de Estudios Políticos de Washington. Pero, [illegible] las afirmaciones contenidas en la crónica de Eduardo Labarca, QUE PASA pidió un comentario a la embajada norteamericana, y fue el propio Embajador quien lo dió en su nombre al apunto telefoneando dos veces ⟹ al Departamento de Estado y hablando una de ellas con Warren Christopher en persona. La preocupación del diplomático se justifica pues, a pocos días del fallo de segunda instancia de la Corte Suprema, cualquier malentendido arriesga envenenar una situación de por sí delicada, sobre todo cuando abundan los intereses en que el veredicto produzca alivio.

Luego de sus averiguaciones, el Embajador Landau determinó terminantemente ante QUE PASA que hubiera habido cualquier tipo de reunión entre el Subsecretario de Estado Warren Christopher y Saul Landau, ni en conversación privada ni ante cinco testigos. Por tanto, aquél no ha emitido ni oficialmente ni en "conversación privada" (hipótesis a que alude Catherine Purcell) el juicio que se le atribuye sobre el Presidente Pinochet.

En cuanto a su propia supuesta declaración a Michael Moffit, el Embajador nos dio detalles: "Cuando llegué a Washington en mi último viaje, recibí llamados de la señora Isabel Letelier y de Michael Moffit para que los recibiera, lo que ocurrió el penúltimo día de mi permanencia allí. Les manifesté que estábamos estudiando lo que haríamos en cuanto a nuestras relaciones con Chile y fue Moffit quien preguntó si íbamos a romper relaciones diplomáticas, y le contesté que yo no podía decirles cuál sería nuestra resolución en el tema, pero, al salir de la entrevista, Michael Moffit manifestó en una improvisada conferencia de prensa lo mismo que ahora dice, esto es, que yo le había anunciado la ruptura para el caso de un fallo adverso de los tribunales chilenos." Un consejero de prensa de nuestro servicio diplomático que se hallaba presente precisó de inmediato que eso sólo lo ha-

"Lo dijo Moffit y no yo"

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bía dicho Letelier y no yo".

"En vista de lo ocurrido —prosiguió su relato— pedí a Moffitt todo lo que sabía, lo que efectivamente hizo en una reunión celebrada en su vecino con dos periodistas, uno de ellos un reportero de Scripps-Howard, O'Leary, del Washington Star. Allí quedó enterado de todo y de la participación de Estados Unidos por Chile en el asesinato".

También se habían conocido los "Documentos de Santiago" y las actividades de los agentes del FBI. Acerca de lo primero, y cuya lectura es enfática: "Cuando se informó de la existencia de documentos en poder del FBI de documentos enviados desde Chile por el Gobierno (X) Contreras, preguntó si ello era efectivo y se le informó que sólo había un texto, y que, por cierto, los agentes no tienen en su poder tales antecedentes". ¿Y la visita de un Robert Scherrer? "Sherrer a breve distancia visitó Buenos Aires. Allí en su recorrido hacía uso de sus vacaciones y, la verdad, no estuvo por esa época en Argentina, lo que sólo pudo hacer bajo la cobertura que daba su calidad de agente del FBI. Del diario La Segunda [illegible] que estuvieron, con ese motivo, en mi viaje estaba relacionado con la investigación por la muerte del General Prats y negó tener nada que ver con este asunto".

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BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

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June 7, 1979

Chile Project (=S199900030)
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TO: The Secretary
THROUGH: The Deputy Secretary
FROM: HA - Patricia M. Derian

Recent Human Rights Violations in Chile

Serious violations of the integrity of the person, including arbitrary detentions and torture, have continued to take place in Chile in recent months, as reported by our Embassy and non-governmental organizations. Also, in late April, the Military Junta decreed a sweeping new "anti-terrorism law" which clearly established the principles of guilt by association and presumption of guilt, outlaws a wide range of nonviolent activities, and penalizes people who do not report on their fellow citizens. Finally, Chilean exiles continue to encounter stiff resistance in attempting to return home.

In an April 5 human rights round-up cable, Embassy Santiago noted the following:

TORTURE

"It is virtually certain that some in the security services...mete out heavy-handed treatment in political-related cases. The duration of torture now being alleged is shorter (than before). Beatings and electric shock are most commonly charged, with sessions conducted at several secret locations. The Vicariate of Solidarity received 20 complaints of physical mistreatment in December, 1978; 14 in January; 4 in February; and 7-8 in March."

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POLITICAL PRISONERS

"The breakdown as of March, 1979 of people charged with nonviolent political activity: 7 paized serving sentences or under trial, 30 free on bail or parole --123." (Note: Subsequent Embassy reports that an additional 52 May Day demonstrators are now free on bail. Over 300 other May Day demonstrators were arrested but freed within hours or a few days. Several other cases of brief detention have been reported during the past two months.)

RETURN OF EXILES

"Although GOC officials give the definite impression following publication of the April, 1978 amnesty that they would greatly relax the criteria for readmission, in subsequent actions and statements it became clear that this was not to be the case...In confidence, a Foreign Ministry official told a visiting UNHRC representative in January that in 1978 some 1,300 requests had been received, 600 were still pending, and only 25 had been approved."

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

An article in the spring issue of the Rome-based publication, Chile-America describes a "new escalation of repression" in Chile during the first four months of 1979, citing numerous specific cases of detention and physical mistreatment. The article notes that a great many of the 1979 detentions are connected with investigation into the series of bomb explosions which has occurred in recent months, but states that "many innocent people have suffered along with individuals who, it appears, may have been involved in the bombings." The article also denounces the Government's refusal to permit the return of exiles and cites some cases of expulsion of persons who have attempted to return.

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In an April 5 report, the Chilean Committee for the Defense of Human Rights* said:

"During March, 1979 the number of arbitrary detentions increased extraordinarily over the preceding month. There are numerous cases of brutal torture with electricity and beatings which have produced fractured ribs and other broken bones. When the report went to press, there were two cases of detainees whose detention had been denied by the security services for more than 10 days. There is also a report that the CNI (National Intelligence Center --i.e., security police) has opened at least one new torture center in Santiago. The arbitrary actions of the security services have reached the extreme of numerous agents having invaded and occupied a home for an entire week, beating and threatening the lady who owns the house."

(The report then lists 32 individual cases of arbitrary detention during March, including several arrested on March 8 for peaceful celebration of International Women's Day.)

NEW ANTI-TERRORISM DECREE

The Embassy describes the new "anti-terrorism" decree-law, promulgated in late April, as "appearing to open the way for legal harassment of virtually every social/political group in Chile." (Santiago 3024, attached.) The Embassy notes that: "the law...makes all members of an organization presumed conspirators in the action of each for a wide range of activities, only some of which are normally considered 'terrorist', increases pressure on all the citizenry to report on

*The Committee was founded in July, 1979. Clotario Blest Riffo, former president of the Central Unicade Trabajadores, has been its only president. In its Declaration of Principles, the Committee describes itself as a "lay, humanist pluralist organization dedicated to struggling for respect of human rights in accordance with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

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suspicious activities...(and) increases penalties for people charged or convicted of 'terrorist' acts." The accompanying Chilean Government statement says that all members of an illegal group, any member of which has carried out an illegal act, "will be taken before the courts...innocent or not... It will not have to be the judge who proves guilt, but the defendant who must prove his innocence."

Attachment:

Santiago 3024.

Drafted by: HA/HR:PJFlood:bdr
06/07/79:21585

Clearances: HA:MLSchneider (draft)
HA/HR:CBSalmon, Jr. (draft)

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APPROVED BY ARA:RGUZMAN
JUSTICE:EPROPPER (DRAFT)
L:GLEHNER (PHONE)
S/S-O:RCASTRODALE
ARA/AND:MRBARNEBEY

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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

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S E C R E T STATE 146863

STADIS//
EXDIS DECAPTION

E.O. 12065 GDS 6/7/85 (DEBOLD, R.)

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, CI

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: THE WILLOUGHBY GAMBIT

REF: A) SANTIAGO 3890 B) SANTIAGO 3891

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WE HAVE GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO PURSUING POSSIBLE OPENING PRESENTED BY WILLOUGHBY GAMBIT AND TO ALTERNATIVES SUGGESTED PARAS 9 AND 10 OF REF B. WHILE WE ARE OF COURSE INTERESTED IN STRENGTHENING OUR CASE IN CHILEAN SUPREME COURT REVIEW, THERE IS SERIOUS DOUBT THAT FERNANDEZ' CONFESSION WOULD GO SUFFICIENTLY BEYOND WHAT HE HAS ALREADY TOLD US THROUGH WILLOUGHBY. IF IT DID NOT, THEN

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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WE WOULD BE LEFT WITH SITUATION WHERE FERNANDEZ WOULD BE OFF THE HOOK AND CONVICTIONS OF CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA HIGHLY PROBLEMATICAL IN EITHER US OR CHILEAN TRIALS. THERE IS ALSO QUESTION OF WILLOUGHBY'S BONA FIDES AS A GOC REPRESENTATIVE AND WHETHER HE COULD IN THE END DELIVER. IN TALKING WITH CUBILLOS, WILLOUGHBY WAS CERTAINLY LESS THAN

TRUTHFUL IN CLAIMING TO HAVE MET WHILE IN WASHINGTON WITH CHRISTOPHER, SILBERT, OR, AS FAR AS WE KNOW, SENATOR CHURCH.

2. DESPITE DOUBTS, WE DO NOT WANT TO CLOSE OUT ANY OPPORTUNITY, HOWEVER SLIGHT, THAT MIGHT EVENTUALLY BRING CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA TO JUSTICE. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT WANT TO DEAL FURTHER WITH WILLOUGHBY UNLESS WE CAN DETERMINE THAT FERNANDEZ IS WILLING TO GO SIGNIFICANTLY BEYOND WHAT HE HAS SAID BEFORE. AS WE TOLD WILLOUGHBY IN WASHINGTON, THE ONLY BASIS FOR AN AGREEMENT ON FERNANDEZ IS THE TRUTH. THEREFORE, WE WOULD LIKE ETCHEBERRY TO TELL WILLOUGHBY THAT PROPPER AND BARCELLA WOULD BE WILLING TO MEET WITH HIM IN BUENOS AIRES JUNE 15, WITH ETCHEBERRY PRESENT, IF WILLOUGHBY CAN INDICATE THAT FERNANDEZ IS WILLING TO BE TRUTHFUL AND CANDID IN HIS CONFESSION.

3. PROPPER TO LANDAU: WE DISAGREE WITH ETCHEBERRY CONCERNING THE TIMING OF OUR VISIT WITH HIM AND FEEL THAT HE MISPERCEIVES THE PURPOSE OF OUR TRIP. WE HAVE ALL REVIEWED BORQUEZ' DECISION AND HAVE GONE OVER MANY OTHER MATTERS AND WE WISH TO DISCUSS THEM WITH ETCHEBERRY AND GIVE HIM OUR IDEAS FOR HIS BRIEF. WE DO NOT WISH TO REVIEW HIS BRIEF. THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR US TO DO BECAUSE OF THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM. HOWEVER, OUR MAIN REASON IS THAT WE WISH TO HAVE INPUT INTO HIS DRAFTING OF THE BRIEF. WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN ETCHEBERRY'S ABILITY TO WRITE THE BRIEF; WE JUST WANT HIM TO HAVE OUR THOUGHTS ON IT BEFORE HE

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PAGE 03 STATE 146863

WRITES IT. HE CAN ALWAYS SEND IT UP HERE AFTER COMPLETION FOR QUICK TRANSLATION AND REVIEW, IF HE WISHES.

4. THERE ARE OTHER REASONS TO COME DOWN AT THIS TIME (LEAVING JUNE 11). WE INTEND TO RESPOND TO THE REQUESTS BY GENERAL MENA PERSONALLY, IF POSSIBLE, WITH A B.A. CNI REPRESENTATIVE, OR AT LEAST GET MATERIAL TO YOU, THROUGH ETCHEBERRY, AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. THIS WILL PRECLUDE THEIR ALLEGING LACK OF COOPERATION IF WE HAVE TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS BECAUSE WE ARE DISSATISFIED AFTER THE APPEAL. THREE OF US HAVE OTHER COMMITMENTS HERE AT THE TIME ETCHEBERRY WOULD LIKE TO SEE US. ADDITIONALLY, HE SUSPECTS BUT DOES NOT KNOW FOR SURE, THAT THE ARGUMENT WILL BE CONTINUED ALL THE WAY INTO JULY AND WE DO NOT WANT TO BE CAUGHT SHORT. FINALLY, WE HAVE DECIDED, AS THE CABLE INDICATES, TO INVITE WILLOUGHBY TO MEET WITH US AND ETCHEBERRY ON FRIDAY, JUNE 15. WE CERTAINLY WANT TO RESOLVE THIS AVENUE, ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE. VANCE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
JULY 1973 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNCLASSIFIED 6/8/79

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ARA/ECA - Mr. John André

DATE: June 8, 1979

FROM : POL - William B. Wood

SUBJECT: Embassy Commentary on "Desaparecidos" List

Attached are Embassy Montevideo's comments on the list of Uruguayan "desaparecidos" compiled by the Secretariat International de Juristes Pour L'Amnestie en Uruguay. I hope it fills the bill. Without a clearer idea of what use the Department and/or the NGO will make of our response, it was somewhat difficult to know how to reply to your inquiry.

Some explanation of our system of notation may be in order. (1) In cases where we have responded "no information", we have no data at all and, in fact, cannot even confirm that the subject has really disappeared. (2) The cases marked "Argentina" involve known disappearances which took place in Argentina and which are being handled, for the most part, by Embassy Buenos Aires. At the behest of interested parties in the Congress, NGOs, or the Department, Embassy Montevideo has made overtures to the GOU on a number of these cases, always without result. Predictably, the GOU will not respond to claims of human rights violations not occurring on Uruguayan soil. (3) The 15 remaining cases, involving Uruguayans missing and believed captured in Uruguay, have been commented on in somewhat more detail. Every one of these cases has been raised with the Foreign Ministry, most several times. For this reason, we will not make a special approach to the GOU on these cases now, but will continue to raise them as the opportunity arises.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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POL:WBWood:cp
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Attachment:
As stated.

[redacted]
(E.O. 12065: N/A)

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 04672 01 OF 02 082150Z 4231
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 4672

E.O. 12065: XDS 6-8-09 (CASTRO, RAUL H.) OR-M
TAGS: AR, SHUM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR MEETS WITH FONMIN PASTOR

1. [redacted]-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AT MY REQUEST, I MET WITH FONMIN CARLOS PASTOR YESTERDAY NOON (JUNE 7) TO DISCUSS SEVERAL FACETS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. FONMIN, AFFECTIONATELY KNOWN AS "STONE FACE" BY DIPCORPS MEMBERS, WAS IN TRUE FORM. GARBED IN HIS UNDERTAKER SUIT, HE MET ME WITH A STERN LOOK, CERTAINLY NOT AS A MANIFESTATION OF FRIENSHIP. THE MINUS TWO DEGREES (CELSIUS) BELOW ZERO IN THE TOMB-LOOKING OFFICE MIGHT HAVE ADDED TO THE DISTORTED APPEARANCE. KEY POINTS DISCUSSED FOLLOW:

3. FONMIN INITIATED THE CONVERSATION BY REMINDING ME MY AUDIENCE WAS COMING AT A MOST UNFORTUNATE TIME. HE STATED HE, PRESIDENT VIDELA, AND OTHER KEY MEMBERS OF GOA WERE BRISTLING OVER THE LATEST BARRAGE OF SLANDEROUS (HIS WORDS) MATERIAL APPEARING IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS. HE STATED ALL THIS HAD THE APPEARANCE OF A CONCERTED EFFORT TO INFLUENCE THE VISIT OF IAHRC. HE DIDN'T QUITE SAY SO, BUT INFERRED MANY MILITARY MEMBERS FELT SOME OF THIS MIGHT BE USG INPUT. HE SPECIFICALLY WAS REFERRING TO ARTICLES APPEARING IN NEW YORK TIMES, PLUS AN EDITORIAL, AND THE LATEST IN THE WASHINGTON POST. HIS VOICE WENT UP ONE OCTAVE AND SAID "CAN YOU IMAGINE COMPARING GENERAL VIDELA TO IDI AMIN" AND CALLING HIM BLOOD-THIRSTY. COMMENT: HE REFERRED TO THE IDI AMIN COMPARISON SEVERAL TIMES, SO IT SEEMED THIS POINT WAS THE ONE THAT HURT THE MOST. FONMIN PASTOR AND PRESIDENT VIDELA ARE RELATED BY MARRIAGE. THEY ARE BOTH MARRIED TO SISTERS. END COMMENT

4. PASTOR HESITATED FOR A MOMENT. THIS PERMITTED ME TO BREAK THE MONOLOGUE AND EXPLAIN TO THE FONMIN OF INDEPENDENCE OF US NEWS MEDIA AND MOST CERTAINLY USG HAD NO INPUT INTO ARTICLES REFERRED TO BY PASTOR. FONMIN GAVE A SIGH OF RELIEF AND THANKED ME FOR EXPLANATION AS HE WAS MEETING PRESIDENT VIDELA LATER. HE ASSURED ME VIDELA WOULD BE HAPPY AND VERY MUCH RELIEVED TO LEARN OF USG NON-INVOLVEMENT. I FURTHER EXPLAINED EMBASSY SATISFIED SERIES OF ARTICLES ON ARGENTINA WERE NOT RESULT OF CONCERTED EFFORT ON ANYBODY'S PART TO EMBARRASS GOA. THIS HELPED PUT PASTOR AT EASE.

5. TIMERMAN CASE: I THEN INQUIRED ABOUT THE STATUS OF JACOBO TIMERMAN CASE. FONMIN REPLIED MATTER AT AN IMPASSE. HE ASURED ME HE AND VIDELA WERE TWO GOA OFFICIALS CARRYING BURDEN IN ATTEMPT TO FREE JACOBO TIMERMAN. FONMIN EXPLAINED AF AND NAVY HAVE BEEN CONVINCED. HE STATED THERE WERE STILL SEVERAL HARD-LINERS IN ARMY WITH NEGATIVE ATTITUDES. PASTOR TOLD ME IF TIMERMAN WOULD SIGN AN AGREEMENT, IN GOOD FAITH, AGREEING THAT ON HIS RELEASE HE WOULD NOT WRITE, CRITICIZE, STIR-UP PROBLEMS FOR GOA CHANCES OF TIMERMAN BEING RELEASED BECAME REAL. PASTOR SAID HE FELT HE COULD PERSUADE HARDLINERS TO GO ALONG WITH RELEASE. HE EXPLAINED HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH RAM NIRGAD, ISRAELI AMBASSADOR, BUT HAD NOT RECEIVED AN ANSWER. NIRGAD DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH ME ON MAY 31 (SEE BUENOS AIRES 4429). NIRGAD MADE IT CLEAR GOA WANTED A PERSONAL GUARANTEE FROM HIM AS AMBASSADOR, AND ALSO FROM ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, SPECIFYING TIMERMAN WOULD NOT WRITE, CRITICISE OR CREATE PROBLEMS FOR ARGENTINA ONCE HE LEFT COUNTRY. ISRAELI AMBASSADOR STATED TIMERMAN HAS FAR EXCEEDED HIS AGE OF MAJORITY THUS HE (NIRGAD) NOT IN POSITION TO VOUCH FOR TIMERMAN'S BEHAVIOR AFTER RELEASE. I PROMISED FONMIN I WOULD CONVEY HIS SUGGESTION TO TIMERMAN'S RABBI. I REMINDED FONMIN IT WAS APERSONAL DECISION ONLY JACOBO TIMERMAN COULD MAKE.

6. IAHRC [redacted] ON MY INQUIRY ABOUT STATUS OF IAHRC

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 4672

VISIT, FONMIN REPLIED DATE HAD NOT BEEN SET. HE SAID IT COULD BE AUGUST. HE EMPHASIZED GOA HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH POSTPONEMENT OF VISIT. HE REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES GOA WAS PREPARED TO RECEIVE IAHRC AT END OF MAY AND IS STILL READY TO RECEIVE IAHRC AT ANY TIME. HE CLARIFIED HE WOULD BE LESS THAT HONEST IF HE DIDN'T TELL ME THE LONGER IT TAKES IAHRC TO VISIT ARGENTINA THE MORE OPPORTUNITY GOA HAS TO IMPROVE ITS CONDITIONS. PASTOR STATED PLAN WAS TO CLEAR PRISON OF PEN DETAINEES BY END OF YEAR. HE EXPLAINED PRISONER STATUS IN ALL CATEGORIES ARE BEING REVIEWED BY PROPER AUTHORITIES. PASTOR SAID HE DIDN'T HAVE ANY SOLUTIONS FOR "DESAPARECIDOS" NOR HAD ANY CONCRETE INFORMATION BEEN GIVEN HIM ON THE MATTER.

7. NICARAGUA: FONMIN VOLUNTEERED INFORMATION ON CENTRAL AMERICAN CONDITIONS. HE MADE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO NICARAGUA. EVEN THOUGH THIS EMBASSY WAS INFO TO STATE 146191, I TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO, IN GENERAL TERMS, REVIEW USG'S POSTURE REFERENCE NICARAGUAN ISSUE. I STAYED CLOSE TO AMBASSADOR'S MCGEE'S COMMENTS AS PASTOR INDICATED HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS GIVEN TO OAS. HE APPEARED TO AGREE WITH USG'S POSITION AND ALSO ANDEAN FORMULA. HE STATED MEXICO HAD BEEN PRECIPITIOUS IN THEIR ACTION AND HAD ONLY ADDED FUEL TO THE FIRE. IN A DEFENSIVE MANNER HE STATED ARGENTINA, AT THIS MOMENT, WAS TAKING A SOMEWHAT NEUTRAL ROLE. HE DENIED GOA WAS IN NICARAGUA'S CAMP. HIS SUGGESTION WAS OAS SHOULD SEND A COMMITTEE TO NICARAGUA COMPRISED OF THOSE COUNTRIES NOT EMOTIONALLY INVOLVED. HE STATED PANAMA, VENEZUELA, COSTA RICA, MEXICO, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, EL SALVADOR WERE ALL EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INVOLVED. PASTOR STATED HE WOULD DISCUSS NICARAGUAN AND OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN PROBLEMS WITH VIDELA.

8. DISAPPEARANCES: INASMUCH AS FONMIN SUMMARILY DISMISSED "DESAPARECIDOS" PROBLEMS BY STATING HE HAD NO SOLUTION TO PROBLEM, I AGAIN RAISED ISSUE. I ASKED IF HE KNEW WHAT GOA'S APPROACH WOULD BE WITH IAHRC. HE REPLIED VIDELA AND STAFF MEMBERS ARE SERIOUSLY STUDYING PROBLEM HOPING TO COME UP WITH AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULA. HE DID SAY UP TO NOW THERE WERE NO BRILLIANT REVELATIONS ON THE TOPIC. I STATED TALK OF THE DAY WAS DISAPPEARANCES OF SIX STUDENTS. HIS ANSWER WAS IT WAS A TREMENDOUS SET-BACK TO PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN MADE. PASTRO ASSURED ME GOA IS EXERTING EVERY EFFORT TO FIND WHEREABOUTS OF THESE YOUNGSTERS. AT THIS POINT HE MADE A PLEA FOR PATIENCE AS IN HIS OPINION PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE, EVEN THOUGH AT A SLOWER PACE THAN SUITED THEM.

9. FONMIN REMINDED ME OF OUR DISCUSSION ON JEHOVA'S WITNESSES A FEW MONTHS AGO. HE TOLD ME A FULL STUDY IS BEING MADE ON HOW TO HANDLE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES WHO ARE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, CHILDREN NOT SALUTING THE FLAG, AND NOT SIGNING NATIONAL ANTHEM. PASTOR SAID THEY WANT TO FASHION THEIR "MODUS OPERANDI" IN THE AMERICAN STYLE. HE ASKED ME IF I COULD FURNISH HIM WITH LEGISLATION, LITERATURE OR WHATEVER IS AVAILABLE IN THE MANNER JEHOVAH PROBLEMS ARE HANDLED. I PROMISED HIM I WOULD MAKE THE INQUIRY FROM DEPARTMENT. THEREFORE, SUGGEST DEPARTMENT SEND THIS EMBASSY WHATEVER LITERATURE MAY BE AVAILABLE ON SUBJECT.

10. COMMENT: DIPCORPS LOOKS UPON PASTOR AS A PLEASANT BUT INNOUCOUS PERSON. HE IS CATEGORIZED AS COOPERATIVE BUT NOT KNOWLEDGEABLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HIS CLAIM TO FAME IS HIS RELATIONSHIP TO VIDELA BY MARRIAGE. UP TO NOW THERE HAS NEVER BEEN ANY INDICATION OF HOSTILITY TOWARDS USG. HE ALWAYS GIVES THE APPEARANCE OF BEING TIRED AND OF BEING A POTENTIAL MEMBER OF THE "GERITOL" SET. END COMMENT.
CASTRO

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04014 090654Z
ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 4014

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EXDIS DECAPTION

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FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY; DEPARTMENT PASS JUSTICE FOR PROPPER

E.O. 12065: GDS: 6/8/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINS
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ETCHEBERRY'S TRAVEL;
THE WILLOUGHBY GAMBIT; AND OTHER ITEMS

REF: STATE 146863

1. ENTIRE TEXT CONFIDENTIAL.

2. WE HAVE GONE OVER REFTEL WITH ETCHEBERRY. HE IS PREPARED TO MEET WITH PROPPER AND BARCELLA ON JUNE 15. HOWEVER, HE RAISES A POINT WHICH I BELIEVES RULES OUT BUENOS AIRES AS THE POSSIBLE VENUE. THE MEETING COULD BE HELD IN LIMA, RIO DE JANEIRO OR MONTEVIDEO.

3. ETCHEBERRY HAS INFORMATION FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE (AN ARGENTINE LAWYER - PROTECT) THAT THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRATS ASSASSINATION HAS BEEN REOPENED AND THAT THE ARGENTINE INVESTIGATING JUDGE HAS SENT TWO LETTERS ROGATORY TO THE UNITED STATES REQUESTING STATEMENTS FROMTOWNLEY. NO REPLY HAS YET BEEN RECEIVED. CONFIDENTIAL

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04014 090654Z

WE MUST ASSUME THAT BOTH THE PROPPER/BARCELLA VISIT TO BUENOS AIRES AND THE FACT OF THESE LETTERS ROGATORY COULD BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. GIVEN THE PRESENT PRECARIOUS STATE OF CHILE/ARGENTINE RELATIONS (THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE AND THE NEAR WAR OF LAST DECEMBER), THE ASSUMPTION HERE WOULD BE THAT WE ARE ENCOURAGING AND ASSISTING THE

PRATS INQUIRY IN ORDER TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE GOC WITH RESPECT TO OUR EXTRADITION REQUEST. THIS WOULD HAVE A DEFINITE DELETERIOUS EFFECT ON THE CHANCES FOR REVIEW PANEL REVERSAL OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION: THE PROBLEM IS NOTT WITH THE PRATS INQUIRY OR THE REPORTED LETTERS ROGATORY. IN FACT IT MBE USEFUL IF THAT NEWS DID BECOME PUBLIC HERE IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. WHAT WE NEED TO AVOID IS A CHANCE FOR THE LOCAL MEDIA AND INTERESTED PARTIES TO LINK THE PROPPER/BARCELLA TRIP TO WHATEVER THE ARGENTINE COURT IS DOING. THEREFORE A MID-JUNE MEETING SHOULD BE HELD ELSEWHERE. PLEASE ADVISE SOONEST SO WE CAN OAKE ALTERNATIVE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS FOR ETCHEBERRY.

4. ETCHEBERRY IS IN AGREEMENT WITH THE PROPOSAL FOR HANDLING WILLOUGHBY AND WILL TALK TO HIM EARLY NEXT WEEK, LEAVING OPEN FOR NOW WHERE A MEETING MIGHT TAKE PLACE.

5. REGARDING THE PAPERS FOR MENA, I DO NOTT THINK THAT THEY SHOULD BE TRANSMITTED THROUGH A CNI AGENT IN BUENOS AIRES OR ELSEWHERE. RATHER I WANT TO STRENGTHEN OUR LINK HERE WITH MENA AND, THEREFORE, ETCHEBERRY SHOULD BRING THEM BACK WITH HIM FROM THE PROPPER/BARCELLA MEETING.

6. ETCHEBERRY HAS GIVEN US A COPY OF A 10-PAGE DOCUMENT THAT HE HAS FILED AT THE SUPREME COURT SETTING FORTH CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04014 090654Z

BRIEF OBSERVATIONS ON THE DECISION OF JUDGE BORQUEZ. WE WILL SEND A SUMMARY OF THE DOCUMENT BY SEPTEL AND ARE POUCHING A COPY TO THE CHILEAN DESK FOR PROPPER/BARCELLA. ACCORDING TO ETCHEBERRY, THIS IS A LARGELY PRO FORMA STEP IN THE APPEALS PROCESS AND IS THE ONLY WRITTEN DOCUMENT THAT WILL APPEAR IN THE FILE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE REVIEW PANEL JUDGES. HIS ORAL ARGUMENT BEFORE THE PANEL WILL BY TAPED BUT NOTT TRANSCRIBED.

7. THE PRESS THIS MORNING REPORTS THAT CURZ COKE, LAWYER FOR FERNANDEZ, FILED A SIMILAR DOCUMENT WITH THE COURT JUNE 7; MIRANDA HAS YET TO DO SO. ACCORDING TO ETCHEBERRY THESE DO NOTT CONSTITUTE APPEALS OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION; THE INTENT IS TO ENSURE THAT THE DEFENSE LAWYERS HAVE THE OPPRTUNITY TO SPEAK AT THE REVIEW PANEL HEARING.
LANDAU

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04015 091833Z
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY; PASS JUSTICE FOR PROPPER

E. O. 12065: ADS 6/11/79 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: SUMMARY OF DOCUMENT FILED BY ETCHEDERRY

REF: SANTIAGO 4014

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS A RESUME OF BRIEF USG LOCAL LAWYER ETCHEBERRY FILED BZFORE THE CHILEAN COURTSHON JUNE 7 WHICH OUTLINES OUR OBJECTIONS TO THE BORQUEZ DECISION. THE MAJOR POINT, OF COURSE, IS OUR CONTENTION THAT THE EVIDENCE IS MORE THAN SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY EXTRADITION. SUBSIDIARY POINTS OBJECT TO BORQUEZ' EXCLUSION OF OUR SEPARATE CHARGES OF CONSPIRACY; MALICIOUS DAMAGE AND DESTRUCTION; BORQUEZ INTERPRETATION OF U.S. AND CHILEAN EXTRADITION PRACTICE; AND THE JUDGE'S CONVOLUTED REASONING IN FINDING THE DEFENSE ARGUMENTS SO FILLED WITH FLAWS THAT HE WANTS THE MILITARY TO OPEN A LEGAL PROCESS HERE BUT DOES NOT FIND OUR EVIDENCE AND HIS OWN INVESTIGATIONS GOOD ENOUGH TO MEET THE TEST OF REASONABLE CAUSE. END SUMMARY.

2. ETCHEBERRY'S WRITTEN SUBMISSION TO THE APPEALS COURT OUTLINES

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04015 091833Z

WHAT PART OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION THE USG AGREES WITH AND THE POINTS WE WISH TO APPEAL. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE BORQUEZ DECISION HAS TWENTY-NINE NUMBERED POINTS, EACH DEALING WITH AN ASPECT OF THE CASE. ETCHEBERRY SAYS THAT WE AGREE WITH BORQUEZ' FIRST EIGHT POINTS, IN WHICHTHE JUDGE REJECTS THE OPINION OF FISCAL CHAMORRO THAT THE USG EVIDENCE SUFFERED FROM EITHER

TECHNICAL DEFECTS IN PRESENTATION OR SUBSTANTIVE DEFECTS IN THE WAY IT WAS OBTAINED AND WAS THEREFORE INADMISSIBLE.

3. ETCHEBERRY THENAGREES WITH BORQUEZ' FINDINGS 9-24 WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BORQUEZ' RULING THAT SINCE "CONSPIRACY", "MALICIOUS DAMAGE" AND "DESTRUCTION" ARE NOT SPECIFIED IN THE TREATY THEY CANNOT BE A LEGAL GROUNDS FOR EXTRADITION. ETCHEBERRY CONTENDS THAT THIS IS SPLITTING HAIRS SINCE ALL THESE CRIMES COUNT SEPARATELY IN U.S. LAW BUT ARE INCLUDED IN THE BASIC CHILEAN CONCEPT OF HOMICIDE.

4. ETCHEBERRY THEN SUMMARIZES BORQUEZ' LOGIC IN CONCLUDING THAT OUR EVIDENCE IS INSUFFFICENT, STARTING FROM THE JUDGE'S ASSERTION THAT ALL OUR EVIDENCE IS ESSENTIALLY DERIVED FROM TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY (POINTH16) BUT TOWNLEY SHOULD NOT BE BELIEVED BECAUSE HE IS A PAID INFORMANT (POINT 18) WHOSE PLEA BARGAIN PERVERTS THE LEGAL PROCESS (POINT21) AND BECAUSE IT CONFLICTS WITH WHAT HE HAD TOLD GENERAL OROZCO IN CHILE (POINT 22) AND THAT HIS WIFE'S TESTIMONY IS SIMILARLY SUSPECT(POINT 23). AND THAT, SAYS ETCHEBERRY, IS ALL.

5. ETCHEBERY THEN RECAPS HIS SUPPORTING BRIEF SUBMITTED AFTER BORQUEZ CLOSED HE "SUMARIO" TO SHOW THAT OUR CASE DOES NOT JUST RELY ON TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY. TOWNLEY KILLED LETELIER AND MOFFITT (WHICH EVEN BORQUEZ ACKNOWLEDGES); HE WAS A

TRUSTED, LONGTIME AND IMPORTANT MEMBER OF DINA AS SHOWN BY

INDEPENDENT PROFF; HE WAS SENT TO WASHINGTON KILL LETELIER ON DINA'S ORDERS WHICH IS ALSO ESTABLISHED BY INDEPENDENT

PROFF. FURTHERMORE, STILL REFERRING TO HIS EARLIER SUBMISSION, ETCHEBERRY POINS OUT THAT HE HAD DEMONSTRATED 12 REASONS TO BELIEVE FERNANDEZ LARIOS' GUILT (NONE OF WHICH HINGE ON TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY) AND 12 OTHERS FOR CONTRERAS, ONLY TWO OF WHICH COME FROM TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY, PLUS 8 MORE AGAINST ESPIMOZA, ONLY ONE OF WHICH IS IN TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY. ETCHEBERRY NOTES THAT BORQUEZ DID NOT ADDRESS THESE POINTS AND RECOMMENDS THAT THE APPEALS COURT JUDGES REFER TO THE FILE.

6. ADDRESSING THE WEIGHT TO BE ATTACHED TO TESTIMONY RESULTING FROM A PLEA BARGAIN, ETCHEBERRY CONTENDS THAT THE JUDGE'S FIRST RESPONSIBILITY WAS SIMPLY TO VERIFY IF THE OTHER EVIDENCE CORROBERATED ORRDISPROVED HIS STATEMENTS. OUR LAWYER STRESSES THAT ALL THE EVIDENCE RECONFIRMS AND REINFORCES TOWNLEY'S STATEMENTS WHEREAS, AS BORQUEZ HIMSELF ADMITTED, WHEN HE STUDIED THE DEFENSE HE FOUND CONTRADICTIONS, ABSURDITIES AND LIES.

ETCHEBERRY DEVOTES A SPECIAL SECTION TO BORQUEZ' RATHER SELECTIVE CHOICE OF THE OROZCO CONFESSION TO SHOW TOWNLEY'S CONFLICTING VERSIONS BUT HIS FAILURE TO ADDRESS THE FT. BELVOIR DECLARATION TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FERNANDEZ' STATEMENT TO PROPPER -- INCLUDED IN THE EXTRADITION PACKAGE -- IN WHICH FERNANDEZ ACKNOWLEDGES THAT CONTRERAS HAD TOLD THE PAIR TO LIE ABOUT GOING TO PARAGUAY AND THE U.S.

7. TURNING TO BORQUEZ' ANALYSIS OF U.S EXTRADITION PRACTICE AND THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF RECIPROCITY ON CHILEAN LAW, ETCHEBERRY FIRST NOTES THAT HE HAD SUBMITTED U.S./MEXICO PRECEDENTS SHOWING THAT THE USG HAD EXTRADITED OUR NATIONALS EVEN WHEN WE HAD THE OPTION NOT TO (THESE PRECEDENTS OCCURRED EARLY IN THE CENTURY). BUT ETCHEBERRY CONCENTRATES ON THE CHILEAN SIDE OF THE EQUATION NOTING THAT CHILEAN PRACTICE HAS FAVORED EXTRADTION OF NATIONALS. HE ALSO MAKES A LEGALISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE NEIDECKER DECISION AIMING TO SHOW THAT THE BASIC ISSUE IN THAT

CASE INVOLVED PREVENTIVE DETENTION.

8. REACHING THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION, IN WHICH BORQUEZ REFERS TO INCONSISTANCIES IN THE DEFENSE AND ASKS A MILITARY COURT TO START, UNLESS AN APPROPRIATE CASE IS ALREADY

IN PROCESS, AN EXAMINATION INTO THE TRIOS' POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT IN THE HOMICIDES OF LETELIER AND MOFFITT. ETCHEBERRY SAYS THAT IT IS PARADOXICAL AND HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE JUDGE WOULD FIND THERE IS NOT ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO JUSTIFY EXTRADITION IF THE MATERIAL IN OUR SUBMIYSION, PLUS THE JUDGE'S OWN FINDINGS, LED HIM TO ORDER A LOCAL TRIAL TO BE BEGUM. AND BORQUEZ MUST KNOW ABOUT THE AMNESTY LAW OF 1978 WHICH WOQLD HAVE EXONERATED THEM UNLESS THEY FELL WITHIN THE EXCEPTION MADE FOR OROZCOS PASSPORT INVESTIGATION. ETCHEBERRY SAYS THZ JUDGE REALLY SHOULD HAVE BEEN MORE SPECIFIC. FINALLY ETCHEBERRY RETURNS TO THE POINT OF WHY BORQUEZ THOUGHT THERE WAS ENOUGH INFORMATION TO JUSTIFY OPENING A MILITARY "SUMARIO" IN CHILE FOR A CRIME WHICH OCCURRED IN THE U.S. BUT NOT ENOUGH FOR EXTRADITION. TO BE CONSISTANT,

SAYS ETCHEBERRY, BORQUEZ SHOULD HAVE ARGUED THAT CHILE HAD INITIAL JURISDICTION BECAUSE THE INVOLVEMENT OF CHILEAN MILITARY OFFICERS. BUT, HE SAYS, THAT CANNOT BE EITHER, FOR THE U.S. HAS ALREADY CONVICTED TWO MEMBERS OF THE CONSPIRACY AND JURISDICTION CANNOT BE PARCELLED OUT. LLANDAU

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3. PRODUCTIVITY BARGAINING: CENTRAL TO THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW IS PRODUCTIVITY BARGAINING. PINERA CLAIMS THAT , AS IN THE UNITED STATES, A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW REAUIRES THE GOVERNMENT TO ENSURE THAT EMPLOYERS ENJOYING SEMI-MONOPOLISTIC POSITIONS DO NOTT COOPERATE WITH TRADE UNIONS TO PASS THROUGH "UNECONOMIC" WAGE INCREASES TO THE CONSUMER. THE GOC ENDORSES THE VIEW THAT CONSIDERS IT A PROPER FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT THE CONSUMER FROM SUCH "ABUSES." PINERA ALSO ARGUES THAT LACK OF WAGE COMPETITION FOR UNIONIZED WORKERS IN MINING AND INDUSTRY ENCOURAGE THE SUBSTITUTION OF CAPITAL FOR LABOR, THUS MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT TO REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT. THE GOVERNMENT, HE CONTENDS, MUST ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK TO PROTECT BOTH THE UNEMPLOYEDS' ACCESS TO JOBS AND THE EMPLOYEDS' WORKING CONDITIONS. THE WAY THIS SEEMS LIKELY TO WORK IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BEGIN BY SETTING, PRIOR TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING NEGOTIATIONS, A RANGE WITHIN WHICH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING COULD PROCEED. THIS SYSTEM WOULD ACT AS A FORMAL PERMANENT VERSION OF WAGE AND PRICE GUIDELINES. THE RANGE WOULD COVER TOTAL REMUNERATION -- WAGES, SALARIES, AND BENEFITS -- AND BE BASED UPON PRODUCTIVITY STATISTICS PROVIDED BY THE COMPANIES. TRADE UNIONS WOULD BE FREE TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY WITHIN THESE LIMITS AND TO HALLENGE THE PRODUCTIVITY MEASUREMENT. TRADE UNIONS, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT BE PRMITTED TO INSIST ON WAGES AND BENEFITS WHICH EXCEED PRODUCTIVITY CRITERIA.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04023 01 OF 02 111629Z

ENFORCEMENT WOULD BE THROUGH THE THOROUGH REVIEW OF AN AGREEMENT BY A GOC LABOR INSPECTOR BEFORE IT BECAME EFFECTIVE.

4. INCOME SUBSIDIES: THE GOC BELIEVES THAT THE CONCEPT OF AMINIMUM INCOME (NEGATIVE INCOME TAX) SHOULD REPLACE THE PRACTICE OF AMINIMUM WAGE. THE GOC CLAIMS THAT, AS IN THE U.S., THE MINIMUM WAGE REAISES THE COST OF LABOR AND THUS RESULTS IN INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT. PINERA ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE MARGINAL REVENUE PRODUCT (SKILLS AND OUTPUT) OF SOME WORKERS MAY BE SUCH THAT MARKET FORCES WILL NOT ALLOW THEM A LIVING WAGE. ALTHOUGH WAGES AND BENEFITS WOULD BE BASED ON PRODUCTIVITY, A MINUMUM INCOME (NEGATIVE INCOME TAX) WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND INDEPENDENT OF MARKET FORCES. PINERA STRESSES THAT IN THOSE AREAS WHERE "MARKET REMUNERATION", BASED ON THE MARGINAL UTILITY OF THE EMPLOYEE TO THE COMPANY IS BELOW NORMAL LIVING STANDARDS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO AUGMENT THE WORKER'S WAGE THROUGH TRANSFER PAYMENTS TO PROVIDE A FAIR STANDARD OF LIVING. THE GOC INSISTS THAT WAGES, HOWEVER, MUST BE SET BY MARKET FORCES AND REFLECT PRODUCTIVITY GUIDELINES PROVIDED BY THE COMPANY AND THE

GOVERNMENT. AS ONE WAY OF INCREASING EMPLOYMENT, LABOR LAWS WERE AMENDED LAST YEAR TO PERMIT HIRING YOUTH AT WAGES BELOW THOSE FOR OLDER WROKERS - THE SO-CALLED YOUTH WAGE.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04023 02 OF 02 121049Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 LAB-04 COM-02 CIAE-00 EB-08
INR-10 NSAE-00 SIL-01 TRSY-02 ICA-11 /068 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3630
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL~~ USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4023

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

THE GOC BELIEVES THAT THE MINIMUM WAGE SHOULD BE DIFFERENTIATED TO REFLECT THE COMPOSITION OF THE LABOR FORCE AND THE UNEMPLOYED. OF THE 14.8 PERCENT UNEMPLOYED (MARCH1978) ONLY 5 PERCENT ARE UNEMPLOYED MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD. THE REMAINDER INCLUDE YOUTHS AND WOMEN. GOC MINIMUM WAGE-INCOME POLICY IS DIRECTED AT DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN THESE VARIOUS SECTORS OF THE LABOR FORCE. THE GOC BELIEVES THAT THERE IS NOT A SINGLE MONOLITHIC UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, LABOR POLICY AIMS AT THIS REALITY.

5. RIGHT TO WORK: THE FUTURE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW WILL BUILD ON RECENT LEGISLATION, ESPECIALLY THOSE PROVISIONS FOUND IN THE REFORMULATION OF THE LABOR CODE OF JUNE, 1978, (DL-2200) AND THE OCTOBER, 1878 DECREE SETTING NORMS FOR TRADE UNION ACTIVITY (DL-2376). UNDER THIS LEGISLATION, WORKERS IN A BARGAINING UNIT MAY FORM AS MANY AS THREE TRADE UNIONS REPRESENTING THE SAME KINDS OF WORKERS. PERSONS WHO DO NOTT WISH TO JOIN A UNION MAY ELECT A SINGLE EMPLOYEE DELEGATE WHO CAN BARGAIN FOR ONON-UNIONIZED EMPLOYEES. HOWEVER, THE GOC HAS SAID PUBLICLY THAT BENEFITS OF THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS WILL BE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04023 02 OF 02 121049Z

EXTNEDED ONLY TO UNION MEMBERS -- A SITUATION THEORETICALLY PERMITTING UNION AND NON-UNION WORKERS IN THE SAME FACTORY TO BE PAID RADICALLY DIFFERENT WAGES AND BENEFITS FOR DOING THE SAME JOB -- AND THUS ENCOURAGING UNION MEMBERSHIP. HOWEVER, AN ALTERNATIVE IS THAT EMPLOYERS WILL OFFER NON-UNIONIZED WORKERS SUFFICIENTLY ATTRACTIVE WAGES AND BENEFITS TO PREVENT UNIONIZATION. THESE TWO DECREES CONSTITUTE A NATIONAL "RIGHT TO WORK" LAW PROHIBITING COMPULSORY UNIONISM. OTHER RECENT LEGISLATION SETS REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AFFILIATION OF LOCAL UNION WITH TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS AND FOR THE FINANCING OF FEDERATIONS.
6. OTHER PROVISIONS: THE NEW LAW IS EXPECTED TO CONTAIN PROVISIONS WHICH WILL LIMIT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING TO LOCAL UNIONS AT THE PLANT LEVEL AND PERMIT INDUSTRY-WIDE BARGAINING ONLY IN SPECIAL CASES. MOST LIKELY, INDUSTRY-WIDE BARGAINING WILL BE PERMITTED IN COPPER, MARITIME, AND CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES AS BOTH WORKER AND EMPLOYER GROUPS HAVE REQUESTED IT. PROVISIONS FOR MEDIATION WILL BE PART OF THE BARGAINING LAW, WITH COMPULSORY ARBITRATION FOR GOVERNMENT WORKERS IN STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES, AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR IF THE GOC DETERMINES THAT A STRIEK WOULD NOT BE PREJUDICIAL TO PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE, TRANSPORTATION, OR NATIONAL SECURITY. WHERE STRIKES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR ARE NOTT PERMITTED, THE GOC WILL ALSO REQUIRE COMPULSORY ARBITRATION BY GOC-LICENSED ARGITRATORS. THE GOVERNMENT WILL BALANCE WORKERS RIGHT TO STRIKE WITH MANAGEMENT RIGHT TO LOCK OUT EMPLOYEES.

7. COMMENT: BEHIND THE VARIOUS PROVISIONS OF THE NEW LABOR CODE IS A POLITICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION AIMED AT DEPOLITICIZING CHILEAN LABOR UNIONS. THE OBJECTIVE IS TO CONVERT A LABOR SYSTEM WHERE POLITICAL PARTIES AND UNIONS HAVE DIRECT ASSOCIATION TO A SYSTEM WHERE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04023 02 OF 02 121049Z

APOLITICAL LABOR UNIONS HAVE INDICRECT POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. THIS CONCEPTUALIZATION IS GIVEN CONCRETE EXPRESSION IN THE FORM OF MULTIPLE-PLANT BASED UNIONS. PINERA HAS STATED THAT THE IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE OF LABOR POLICY SHOULD BE TO DISCOURAGE WORKER-MANAGEMENT CLASHES WHICH WOULD SUPPORT A MARXIST VIEW OF CLASS STRUGGLE. THIS SUPPORT HE BELIEVES WOULD MANIFEST ITSELF IN RENEWED STRENGTH FOR THE CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY. FOR THIS REASON PINERA BELIEVES THAT, FOR THE TIME BEING, CHILE SHOULD BEGIN GENERALLY WITH BARGAINING WITHIN A FIRM AND NOT ACROSS AN INDUSTRY. THE HOPE OF PINERA AND OTHERS IS TO SUBSTITUTE "TECHNICAL" CRITERIA FOR THE INTERPLAY OF POLITICAL FORCES THAT FREQUENTLY DETERMINED LABOR SETTLE-

MENTS IN THE PAST. THE SAME HOPE HAS INSPIRED THE DRAFTERS OF CHILE'S NEW CONSTITUTION TO INCLUDE A PROHIBITION AGAINST LABOR LEADERS RUNNING FOR GOVERNMENT ELECTIVE POSITION.

8. THE ENSHIREMENT OF PRODUCTIVITY BARGAINING IN LAW LAST RECEIVED SERIOUS CONSIDERATION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JORGE ALESSANDRI (1958-64). UNLIKE THE LAST TIME AROUND, THE CURRENT GOC DOES NOTT HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH VARIOUS INTEREST GROUPS AS REPRESENTED IN A POPULARLY ELECTED LEGISLATURE. END COMMENT.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04042 01 OF 02 112207Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 L-03 NSCE-00 INR-10 INRE-00
CIAE-00 SSO-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 /044 W
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O R 112134Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3638
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI PGOV PINS
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: MORE FALLOUT OVER CONTRERAS' CHARGES; MARIANA CALLEJAS BACK IN TOWN; ANOTHER ETCHEBERRY INTERVIEW

REF: SANTIAGO 3960 KNOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: CONTRERAS' CHARGES AGAINST THREE MINISTERS CONTINUE TO DRAW COMMENTARY. MRS. TOWNLEY IS BACK IN SANTIAGO; EMBASSY DENIES RUMORS FBI AGENTS ACCOMPANIED HER. BRIEF ITEM ON U.S. COURT DECISION IN CHILE-AMERICAN COUNCIL CASE APPEARS. "SEGUNDA" ITEM DRAWS FROM CONTRERAS' DEFENSE VARIOUS ACCUSATIONS AGAINST FBI AGENT SCHERRER. ETCHEBERRY, INTERVIEWED IN "MERCURIO," ONCE AGAIN EXPLAINED OUR SIDE OF THE EXTRADITION CASE. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL RENE ESCAURIAZA, CHIEF OF THE PRESIDENTIAL STAFF AND A STAUNCH PINOCHET LOYALIST, GAVE THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS COMMEMORATING INFANTRY DAY. ALL MEDIA EMPHASIZED THE PARAGRAPH IN WHICH HE TOLD "THOSE WHO SEEK TO UNDERMINE THE LOYALTY OF THE ARMY" NOT TO CONFUSE "SERENITY

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04042 01 OF 02 112207Z

WITH FEAR, NOR SILENCE WITH DISAFFECTION." THIS WAS WIDELY INTERPRETED AS A SLAP AGAINST CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA FOR LODGING WITH THE JUNTA A REQUEST FOR IMPEACHMENT OF THREE CIVILIAN MINISTERS. "MERCURIO'S" POLITICAL WEEK COLUMN JUNE 10 MADE THE POINT SPECIFICALLY. THE COLUMN SAID THAT PARTICULARLY AT THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD FOR CHILE, ALL -- BUT ESPECIALLY THE MILITARY -- HAD TO

STAND UNIFIED BEHIND THE PRESIDENT AND COULD NOTT ACCEPT ANY "INDISCIPLINE, EFFORTS TO DIVIDE, OR CORRUPTION." THE EDITORIAL MADE THE POINT THAT ESCAURIAZA WAS VERY CLOSE TO PINOCHET, IMPLYING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING FOR THE PRESIDENT. THE COLUMN WENT ON TO SAY THAT CHILE STILL LIKED AND NEEDED THE UNITED STATES AND THAT THE LETELIER/MOFFITT KILLINGS "CONTRIBUTED TO MAKING BILATERAL RELATIONS MORE DIFFICULT," THE POINT BEING THAT CONTRERAS WAS QUITE A LIABILITY AND IN NO POSITION TO MAKE WAVES.

3. FEDERICO WILLOUGHBY'S WEEKEND COLUMN IN "TERCERA" ALSO QUOTED ESCAURIAZA. IGNORING THE CASE OF FERNANDEZ LARIOS, THE JUNIOR OFFICER INVOLVED, WILLOUGHBY CONCENTRATED ON CONTRERAS AND ESPINOSA. HE SAID THEIR ATTACK ON THE THREE MINISTERS AND THE PRESIDENT HAD COST THEM PUBLIC SYMPATHY AND SHOWED THAT THEIR INTERESTS AND THOSE OF CHILE WERE NOT IDENTICAL. WILLOUGHBY SAID THAT THE GOC IN EFFECT WAS TELLING THE COURT THAT IT WAS COMPLETELY FREE TO DECIDE AS IT SAW FIT. HE ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR "BLACKMAIL OR FOR FOSTERING SCHISMS," WHICH WAS "NOT TO DENIGRATE THE PATRIOTISM OF THOSE WHO IN THE PAST HAD WORKED TO ENSURE PUBLIC ORDER."

4. MRS. MICHAEL TOWNLEY RETURNED TO CHILE LATE LAST WEEK AND REPORTEDLY MOVED BACK INTO THE HOUSE IN LO SURRO THE TOWNLEYS HAD OCCUPIED BEFORE THIS EXPULSION TO THE US MORE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04042 01 OF 02 112207Z

THAN A YEAR AGO. THE INITIAL "EL MERCURIO" STORY ASSERTED THAT FBI AGENTS HAD ACCOMPANIED HER TO ENSURE HER SECURITY. THE EMBASSY JUNE 9 PUT OUT A DENIAL THAT THE FBI WAS IN TOWN AND IT WAS REPORTED IN ALL THE JUNE 10 PRESS. MRS. TOWNLEY HAS REFUSED INTERVIEWS WITH THE PRESS SINCE HER RETURN.

5. AN EFE WIRESERVICE ITEM DATELINED WASHINGTON APPEARED IN THE JUNE 9 "TERCERA." THE STORY REPORTS JUDGE PRATT'S DECISION THAT THE CHILE-AMERICAN COUNCIL AND LIEBMAN, INC., BE ENJOINED FROM OPERATING UNTIL THE CASE AGAINST THEM IS HEARD. THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CHARGES THAT THE ORGANIZATIONS SOUGHT TO HIDE THEIR OPERATION AS AGENTS OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT.

6. "SEGUNDA" JUNE 9 DRAWS UPON ACCUSATIONS MADE AGAINST FBI AGENT SCHERRER IN THE BRIEF PREPARED BY MIRANDA CARRINGTON ON BEHALF OF CONTRERAS, SUBMITTED EARLIER THIS YEAR. "SEGUNDA" GOT HOLD OF ONE DEPOSITION, SUBMITTED BY AN

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04042 02 OF 02 112157Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 L-03 NSCE-00 INR-10 INRE-00
CIAE-00 SSO-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 /044 W
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O R 112134Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3639
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

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EX-DINA OFFICIAL, ALLEGEDLY DESCRIBING SCHERRER'S AND TOWNLEY'S ROLES IN THE EXPULSION OF ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN RAUL OTERO IN MID-1976. SCHERRER IS QUOTED BY THE GOC OFFICIAL AS SUGGESTING THEH CHILEANS KILL OTERO "BECAUSE IT WILL SAVE THE USG A BUNDLE IN PROSECUTING HIM."

7. USG LOCAL LAWYER, ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY, TOOK ADVANTAGE OF "MERCURIO'S" OFFER TO PRINT HIS ANSWERS TO PREPARED QUESTIONS JUNE 10. ETCHEBERRY COMMENTED ON JUDGE BORQUEZ' DECISION TO HOLD THE CASE CLOSELY, A POINT HE RIGHTFULLY CARPS UPON SINCE BORQUEZ EFFECTIVELY MADE OUR EVIDENCE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PRESS TO OBTAIN AND STUDY. WITH REGARD TO THE WEIGHT ASSIGNED TO EVIDENCE RESULTING FROM PLEA BARGAINING, ETCHEBERRY SAYS THE MAIN ISSUE IS TO SEE IF THE TESTIMONY IS TRUE -- NOT HOW IT WAS OBTAINED. HE POINTS OUT THAT IN SOME WAYS -- GIVEN THE US PENALTY FOR LYING UNDER OATH AND THE LENGTHY CROSS-EXAMINATION PERMITTED IN THE US SYSTEM -- THE WITNESS HAS EXTRA INCENTIVES TO TELL THE TRUTH SINCE IF CAUGHT LYING THE DEAL IS OFF. ETCHEBERRY THEN DISCUSSES NUMEROUS PROVISIONS OF CHILEAN LAW WHICH PROVIDE FOR CLEMENCY, REDUCED SENTENCES OR NONE AT ALL FOR THOSE COOPERATING WITH THE INVESTIGATION INTO VARIOUS TYPES OF CRIMES. ETCHEBERRY SAYS THAT THIS PROCESS IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS PLEA BARGAINING.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04042 02 OF 02 112157Z

8. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE KEY ROLE OF TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY AS PART OF THE SUG EVIDENCE JUSTIFYING EXTRADITION, ETCHEBERRY POINTS OUT THAT THE MAJOR POINTS IN DISPUTE

ARE ALL SUBSTANTIATED BY OUTSIDE EVIDENCE: TOWNLEY KILLED LETELIER AND MOFFITT; HE WAS A LONGTIME, IMPORTANT MEMBER OF DINA; AND DINA SENT HIM TO THE US TO KILL LETELIER. HE ALSO POINTS TO EVIDENCE AGAINST EACH OF THE THREE CHILEAN CONSPIRATORS, LITTLE OF WHICH -- HE SAYS -- IS BASED EXCLUSIVELY ON TOWNLEY'S STATEMENTS. RESPONDING TO CHARGES THAT THE USG IS TRYING TO PRESSURE THE COURT, ETCHEBERRY SAYS HE DOUBTS THAT CHILEAN COURTS ARE SUBJECT TO OUTSIDE INFLUENCE. HE SAYS HE IS SURE BORQUEZ WAS NOT SUBJECT TO PRESSURES, BUT LAMENTS THAT BORQUEZ' "UNFORTUNATE" REMARKS ABOUT THE US LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE NOTORIOUSLY OPEN FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN CONTRERAS AND GENERAL OROZCO, WHICH LED OROZCO TO ILLEGALLY BOOTLEG A COPY OF TOWNLEY'S FIRST CONFESSION TO CONTRERAS, HAD CLOUDED THE ISSUE OF JUDICIAL IMPARTIALITY.
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Case Number: s199900030

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04023 01 OF 02 111629Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 LAB-04 COM-02 CIAE-00 EB-08
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R 111507Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3629
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, CI
SUBJ: TRADE UNION RIGHTS: LIKELY SHAPE OF CHILE'S NEW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW

1. SUMMARY: OVER SEVERAL MONTHS, THE NEW CHILEAN MINISTER OF LABOR HAS PBLICLY OUTLINED THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW TO BE PUT INTO EDFECT PRIOR TO JUNE 30. AS PORTRAYED IN SPEECHES AND THE PRESS BY THE MINISTER, THE LAW WILL CONTAIN PROVISIONS FOR PRODUCTIVITY BARGAINING, MEDIATION, COMPULSORY ARBITRATION, AND STRIKES. THE NEW LAW WILL BE COMPATIBLE WITH OTHER RECENT LABOR LEGISLATION WHICH PROVIDES FOR RIGHT TO WORK, MULTIPLE PLANT-BASED UNIONS, AND A SYSTEM OF DIFFERENTIATED MINIMUM WAGES SUPPLEMENTED BY A GOVERNMENT GUARANTEED MIMINUM INCOME PROGRAM. END SUMMARY.

2. CHILEAN LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA HAS DESCRIBED THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW TO BE PLACED INTO EFFECT PRIOR TO JUNE 30. THE LAW IS TO BE CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HE DEFINES AS SELF-FINANCED, AUTONOMOUS, DEMOCRATIC, AND INDEPTNDENT TRADE UNIONS. OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE TO THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT IS THAT THE NEW LABOR LEGISLATION ENCOURAGE NON-POLITICAL TRADE UNIONS WHICH WILL PERDORM

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04023 01 OF 02 111629Z

ECONONICALLY AND TECHNICALLY SOUND WAGE BARGAINING. LABOR MINISTER PINERA STATES THAT THE BASIC IDEAS OF THE NEW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW ARE THAT THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE KEPT TO A MINIMUM; COMPETITION AMONG FIRMS SHOULD PREVENT THE DIRECT PASSING ON OF WAGE INCREASES TO CONSUMERS: AND AN AOPEN AND FLEXIBLE LABOR MARKET SHOULD PROVIDE WAGE COMPETITION AND EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVES.

UNCLASSIFIED

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17 JUN 79

Traducción no oficial

N4068

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Buenos Aires, Argentina

R DOS

12 de junio de 1979

General de Brigada (R) Odlanier Mena Salinas
Director National de Informaciones
Santiago de Chile

Estimado General Mena:

En ausencia del Sr. Clegg, quien se encuentra de vacaciones en los Estados Unidos, contesto su carta del 22 de marzo de 1979 solicitando que el FBI y otros organismos de investigación proporcionen cierta información para posibles fines evidenciales en el Caso #192-78 de la "Fiscalía Militar Ad Hoc" contra el General Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda y otros por falsedad y otros cargos, incluyendo conspiración para asesinar y asesinato de un funcionario extranjero. Para asistirlo, le adjunto copias certificadas de varios documentos.

Adjunto a la presente envío copia de un memorandum, fechado 5 de junio de 1978 al General Héctor Orozco Sepúlveda, Fiscal Militar Ad Hoc chileno, de los Procuradores Adjuntos de los Estados Unidos Eugene M. Propper y E. Lawrence Barcella, Jr. La información contenida en el memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978 contesta un considerable número de las preguntas y solicitudes expresadas en su carta del 22 de marzo de 1979. Para su información, el memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978 incluye varios documentos que proporcionan información y documentación solicitada por el General Orozco. Los inclusos del memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978, tomados conjuntamente con la información contenida en dicho memorandum, deberían proporcionar respuesta a la mayoría de las preguntas formuladas en su carta del 22 de marzo de 1979. Entre los documentos proporcionados al General Orozco figuran el informe de la

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autopsia y las declaraciones hechas al FBI por testigos en la escena del crimen. Para su conveniencia, adjunto de nuevo como inclusos a este memorandum, copias del informe de la autopsia y las entrevistas del FBI con testigos de la escena. Incluyo también la declaración de Michael Vernon Townley Welch, contenido en la solicitud de extradición presentada por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos contra oficiales del Ejército de Chile involucrados en el caso Letelier-Moffitt. La declaración de Townley proporciona información detallada sobre la planificación y la conspiración que llevaron al asesinato de Orlando Letelier y Ronni Moffitt.

En su memorandum del 22 de marzo de 1979 Ud. solicitó cierta información referente a Rosemarie Fernández de Guest. Como Ud. podrá ver, el memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978 al General Orozco proporciona gran parte de esta información al General Orozco. También deseo señalar que Rosemarie Fernández de Guest atestiguó en Santiago, Chile, durante 1978 y que su testimonio se incluyó en la defensa del Capitán Armando Fernández Larios en respuesta al pedido de extradición del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos que se encuentra archivado en la Corte Suprema de Chile.

Ud. ha preguntado si Lawrence Guest, el esposo separado de Rosemarie Fernández de Guest, era empleado del FBI cuando Armando Fernández Larios visitó los Estados Unidos en agosto-septiembre de 1976. El Sr. Guest no era empleado del FBI en esa época. Anteriormente, estuvo empleado en el FBI durante un breve período en 1969-1970 como empleado de archivos. En la época de la conspiración-asesinato de Letelier en septiembre de 1976, el Sr. Guest era empleado de la Marriott Corporation, cuya sede se encuentra en River Road en Bethesda, Maryland. Se notará que la sede de la Marriott Corporation está ubicada al otro lado de la calle directamente frente a un Restaurant Roy Rogers, local desde donde se efectuó la vigilancia de Orlando Letelier,

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antes de su asesinato. Como sin duda es de su conocimiento, el Capitán Fernández estuvo significativamente involucrado en la vigilancia pre-operacional de Orlando Letelier y proporcionó esta información a Townley en el Aeropuerto Internacional Kennedy el 9 de septiembre de 1976. El Sr. Guest manifestó que se encontró con el Capitán Fernández en el Aeropuerto National de Washington a fines de agosto de 1976, después que el Capitán Fernández llamó y avisó que estaba en Washington, D.C. El Sr. Guest recogió en el aeropuerto al Capitán Fernández y a su compañera de viaje de la DINA, Liliana Walker, en su automóvil y los llevó a Washington, D.C., donde se registraron en un hotel local. El Sr. Guest señaló que durante la estadía de ellos en Washington, acompañó al Capitán Fernández y a Liliana Walker en una gira turística en Washington D.C. de varios lugares no mencionados. Además, el Sr. Guest manifestó que no estuvo a toda hora con el Capitán Fernández o Walker Martínez durante la estadía de ellos en el área de Washington D.C.

Según indicado en el memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978, Rosemarie Fernández de Guest fue citada a comparecer en Washington D.C.; sin embargo, ella tenía libertad para prestar o rehusar prestar declaración ante investigadores del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos. Fue citada para asegurar su comparecencia en Washington D.C., y para permitir que sus gastos de viaje fueran pagados por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos. Los agentes del FBI nunca le dijeron que su hermano debería salir de Chile porque podría sufrir daños o ser asesinado.

Su carta del 22 de marzo de 1979 también solicita cierta información sobre Jack Holcum, Presidente de Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc. Llamo nuevamente su atención hacia el memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978 en el que se contestan varias de las preguntas formuladas sobre el Sr. Holcomb.

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Como lo indican claramente los documentos adjuntos de Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc., el General Washington Carrasco fue utilizado como punto de referencia por Kenneth Enyart/Andrés Wilson/Michael Townley en 1975 para establecer su bonafides. Hubo una comunicación telefónica con el General Carrasco en alguna ocasión entre el 7 de febrero de 1975, fecha del pedido, y el 15 de febrero de 1975, fecha de entrega de los materiales descritos en la factura adjunta de Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc.

Cada una de sus preguntas relativas a Hans Sylten, Vice Presidente de Audio Intelligence Devices, han sido contestadas en el memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978. Cada una de sus preguntas sobre Kenneth Enyart han sido también contestadas en el memorandum del 5 de junio de 1978.

El "Coronel Vlado" mencionado en su carta del 22 de marzo de 1979, fue identificado por el FBI como el Coronel Vladimir Secen, un nacionalista croata residente en el área de Miami, Florida. El Coronel Secen fue entrevistado por el FBI y manifestó que aproximadamente a principios del otoño de 1975, conoció a un individuo que usaba el apellido "Saavedra". Identificó fotografías de Michael Vernon Townley como el individuo que él conocía como "Saavedra". Se debe notar que un tal O. Robinson Saavedra trabajó para Michael Vernon Townley durante el período en que Townley estuvo empleado como agente de la DINA. El Coronel Secen manifestó que Townley le fue presentado por medio de cartas de presentación de chilenos que viven en Argentina, quienes habían tenido previamente contactos con Secen.

Michael Vernon Townley, usando la identidad de Hans Petersen Silva, llegó al Aeropuerto Internacional Kennedy el 9 de septiembre de 1976. Hizo los trámites de rutina en Inmigración y Aduanas de una manera normal.

Como le he manifestado anteriormente, el FBI está siempre dispuesto a proporcionar cualquiera asistencia e

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información que Ud. considere de ayuda en esta investigación. También deseo reiterar que cada uno de los individuos sobre quienes Ud. ha solicitado información están con toda probabilidad totalmente a disposición de su Servicio para su propia entrevista, con el fin de que Ud. pueda formular cualesquiera preguntas que Ud. considere apropiadas para sus investigaciones. El FBI también tratará de facilitar, de cualquier modo apropiado, una entrevista suya con estos individuos en los Estados Unidos.

Atentamente,

Robert M. Scherrer
Agregado Legal Subrogante

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FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY; RIO FOR PROPPER AND SCHERRER

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/12/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: DINA DOCUMENTS

REF: SANTIAGO 4042 (LOU)

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1. ENTIRE TEXT [redacted]

2. THE SANTIAGO PRESS JUNE 12 CARRIES AN EFE STORY FROM WASHINGTON FOLLOWING UP CHARGES BY THE CONTRERAS DEFENSE THAT FBI AGENT ROBERT SCHERRER HAD URGED THE GOC TO RETURN ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN ROLANDO OTERO DEAD RATHER THAN ALIVE (REFTEL). ROBERT SCHERRER IS QUOTED IN THE EFE STORY AS SAYING THAT HE SAVED THE LIFE OF OTERO -- THAT DINA WAS RELUCTANT TO LET HIM LEAVE CHILE ALIVE BECAUSE OF WHAT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO TELL ABOUT DINA OPERATIONS.

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3. THE LAST PART OF THE EFE STORY, AS CARRIED BY "LA TERCERA", CITES "WELL-INFORMED SOURCES" AS SAYING THE FBI HAS IN ITS POSSESSION ONE OF THREE PACKAGES OF DOCUMENTS CONTRERAS SENT [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04061 122032Z

TO EUROPE. THE PACKAGES WERE SENT ON BRANIFF BUT ONE NEVER REACHED ITS DESTINATION AND, ACCORDING TO THE UNIDENTIFIED SOURCE, IS NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE FBI.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: WHILE NOT EXPLICIT, THE "TERCERA" ARTICLE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE READ BY MANY AS THE FBI CLAIMING

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TO HAVE INTERCEPTED DOCUMENTS CONTRERAS SENT ABROAD. OUR UNDERSTANDING, IN THE WAKE OF PREVIOUS RUMORS, HAS BEEN THAT THIS IS NOTT TRUE. PLEASE ADVISE.
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E.O. 12065: XDS-1, 6/13/89 (LANDAU, GEORGE M.) OR-M
TAGS: CI PGOV PINS
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: EARLY NAMING OF BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO CHILE UNHELPFUL TO U.S.

REF: A. STATE 14558, B. SANTIAGO 3890

1. ENTIRE TEXT SECRET.

2. BRITISH CHARGE (PROTECT) TOLD ME LAST NIGHT THAT HE HAD RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM LONDON ASKING HIM TO DEFER HIS LONG SCHEDULED HOME LEAVE. HE INTERPRETED THIS AS A SIGNAL THAT AN AMBASSADOR MIGHT BE NAMED SOON AND THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WANTED HIM TO REMAIN IN SANTIAGO PENDING THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEW AMBASSADOR.

3. IN CARRYING OUT MY INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED IN REFTEL A, I MADE IT CLEAR TO FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS WHAT ACTION USG PLANNED TO TAKE IF AN APPEAL DECISION ON THE EXTRADITION REQUEST WOULD NOT, AS A MINIMUM, CALL FOR LOCAL TRIAL BASED ON OUR EVIDENCE. THE UK ANNOUNCEMENT THAT A NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR WOULD BE APPOINTED TO CHILE WOULD BE MOST UNHELPFUL DURING THE APPEAL PERIOD.

4. I RECOMMEND THAT WE APPROACH HMG AT A HIGH LEVEL

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AND INFORM IT OF STEPS WE PLAN TO TAKE IF OUR APPEAL OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION IS NOTT SUCCESSFUL. IN MAKING THEIR DECISION THE BRITISH SHOULD BE AWARE OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION DENYING EXIM CREDITS ON GROUNDS OF CHILE'S HARBORING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS. IF IN FACT HMG IS PLANNING TO RAISE BRITISH REPRESENTATION IN CHILE AGAIN TO THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL, WE SHOULD URGE THEM TO HOLD OFF SUCH ACTION UNTIL THE APPEALS PROCESS HAS BEEN COMPLETED -- WE ESTIMATE BY MID-AUGUST.

5. I HOPE THE APPROACH CAN BE MADE SOONEST.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04112 01 OF 02 132142Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3670
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI PGOV PINS
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: NEWSWEEKLIES DEPICT CONTRERAS/ PINOCHET TENSIONS; USG SAID TO HAVE OBTAINED SOME OF CONTRERAS' BLACKMAIL MATERIAL

REF: SANTIAGO 4042

1. SUMMARY: "ERCILLA" MAGAZINE PICKS UP GOC-LINE UNDER FRONT-PAGE HEADLINE "CONTRERAS' GRENADES." CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT "HOY" HAS A FIELD DAY, INCLUDING A BITING PSEUDONYMOUS COLUMN BY EDUARDO FREI. THE ARMY, MEANWHILE, PUBLICLY CLARIFIED THAT CONTRERAS' BODYGUARD FACTOTUM, WHO USES THE TITLE MAJOR, IS REALLY RETIRED. TABLOID "SEGUNDA" PLAYS BACK A WASHINGTON DATELINE WIRESERVICE STORY TO "CONFIRM" THE ACCURACY OF ITS EARLIER REPORTS THAT THE USG INTERCEPTED SOME OF THE MATERIAL THAT CONTRERAS' LAWYER WAS SENDING ABORAD FOR SAFEKEEPING. END SUMMARY

2. "ERCILLA," AFTER TAKING CREDIT FOR AN EARLY TIP IN LAST ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL~~ USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04112 01 OF 02 132142Z

WEEK'S ISSUE ABOUT THE CONTRERAS/ESPINOZA IMPEACHMENT REQUEST AGAINST THREE CIVILIAN CABINET MEMBERS, CALLS THE DEFENDANTS' ACTIONS: "CONTRERAS' GRENADES." "ERCILLA" SAYS THAT WHEN THE STORY FIRST BROKE IT WAS BELIEVED THAT THE ISSUE HAD BEEN CONTRIVED AS A PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION TO SHOW THAT THE GOC'S AND CONTRERAS' INTERESTS WERE NOT IDENTICAL AND AS A CHECK AGAINST USG PRESSURE ON THE GOC. BUT, SAYS

"ERCILLA," CONTRERAS' "DARTS" DIRECTED AT PINOCHET CAUSED A REASSESSMENT. PICKING UP THE GOC-LINE, "ERCILLA" SPECULATED THAT CONTRERAS WAS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF A HARD-LINE FACTION WHICH OPPSES THE PRESIDENT'S TRANSITION POLICIES. "ERCILLA" CONCLUDES THAT CONTRERAS FORCED THE ARMY TO PULL ITSELF TOGETHER BEHIND PINOCHET; THUS THE TRANSITION WILL GO FORWARD.

3. CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRAT "HOY" MAGAZINE REPORTED THE STORY UNDER THE HEAD: "THE LAST SALLY." AFTER REVIEWING THE CHARGES BROUGHT BY CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA, IT NOTED THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME AN ACTIVE DUTY COLONEL HAD GONE OUTSIDE MILITARY CHANNELS TO ACCUSE A CABINET MEMBER. CITIING THE APPLICABLE LAW, "HOY" SUGGESTED THAT ESPINOZA HAD VIOLATED THE MILITARY CODE. "HOY" SAID THAT SOURCES AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE (DIEGO PORTALES) WERE COMPARING CONTRERAS' CHARGES AND SUBSEQUENT BARELY VEILED THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT AS EQUIVALENT TO THE ABORTIVE JUNE, 1973, "TANQUETAZO" WHICH ALSO FEATURED A RETIRED GENERAL AND AN ACTIVE DUTY COLONEL ATTEMPTING TO SOW DISCORD WITHIN THE ARMY'S RANKS. "HOY," SPECULATING ON CONTRERAS' MOTIVES, SUGGESTS THAT SOMETHIN IMPORTANT MUST HAVE PROMPTED HIM TO DISREGARD ADVICE TO REST EASY ON THE BASIS OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION: PERHAPS HE GOT WIND OF A DEAL BETWEEN THE USG AND THE GOC IN WHICH ONLY FERNANDEZ LARIOS WOULD BE EXTRADITED BUT CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA WOULD BE TRIED IN CHILE. IN ANY EVENT, SAYS "HOY"N THE
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04112 01 OF 02 132142Z

GENERALS DID NOTT FOLLOW WHEN CONTRERAS CALLED.

4. EDUARDO FREI, WRITING IN "HOY" HUNDER HIS PSEUDONYM "ERASMO", DESCRIBED A "CASE OF INSANITY." FREI SAYS THAT IF MOLIERE WERE ALIVE TODAY HE COULD KEEP THE WORLD LAUGHING FOR CENTUREIS JUST BY RECOUNTING THE ACTUAL EVENTS "IN A FAR-OFF COUNTRY WHERE REASON HAS ENDED IN ABSURDITY TOUCHING UPON INSANITY." IN THIS UNNAMED COUNTRY THE EX-CHIEF OF A SECRET POLICE KNOWN FOR ITS ABRITRARY AND ILLEGAL ACTIONS REMAINS IN THE LUXURY OF A HOSPITAL, ALTHOUGH IN GOOD HEALTH, WHILE CHARGES THAT HE MURDERED TWO PEOPLE OVERSEAS ARE BEING CONSIDERED. HAVING PARTICIPATED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY'S CONSTITUTION AND ITS POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, HE HAS THE AUDACITY TO BRING A "CONSTITUTIONAL ACCUSATION".AGAINST THREE MINISTERS. BUT, SAYS FREI, THE TROUBLE IS

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04112 02 OF 02 132146Z
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO IMMEDIATE

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THAT IN A MADHOUSE THE INMATES DO NOTT UNDERSTAND THE ABSURDITY AND CONTINUE THE JOKE: THE THREE MEMBERS OF THE "LEGISLATURE" MEET AND WITH GREAT INDEPENDENCE AND SOLEMNITY DECIDE TO REJECT THE CHARGES; THE CHIEF OF STATE SUPPORTS HIS MINISTERS WHO PROSTRATE THEMSELVES IN GRATITUDE.

5. NOW, SAYS FREI, THE COMEDY, LIKE ALL INSANITY, BECOMES SAD. THE ACCUSERS LASH OUT AT THE CHIEF OF STATE, WITH ONLY A PASSING REFERENCE TO HIS LACKEYS. INSANE, BUT NOT STUPID, THE INMATES UNDERSTAND THE REAL TARGET AND THERE IS COMMOTION IN THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. SOME INMATES GO THROUGH THE WARDS WONDERING: IF STUDENTS ARE EXPELLED FOR SINGING, AND LABOR LEADERS AND WOMEN ARRESTED JUST FOR MEETING, WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? BUT A FEW INMATES SAY: "HOW POWERFUL THIS ACCUSER MUST BE, HOW CONFIDENT HE MUST BE." AND, CONCLUDES FREI, THEY ARE RIGHT SINCE THE ONLY REACTION COMES FROM A MINISTER WHO CALLS THE INCIDENT "LAMENTABLE," A DESCRIPTION HORE APT THAN THE MINISTER INTENDED.

6. WHEN "MERCURIO" WANTED CONFIRMATION OF THE CONTRERAS STATEMENT LAST WEEK, IT REPORTED GETTING IT FROM "MAJOR" MARIO JARA SEQUEL, DESCRIBED AS CONTRERAS' MILITARY AIDE. OTHER PUBLICATIONSPICKED UP JARA'S TITLE, LEADING THE ARMY
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04112 02 OF 02 132146Z

TO ISSUE AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT DENYING THAT ANY AIDE HAD BEEN ASSIGNED THE DEFENDANTS IN THE MILITARY HOSPITAL. JARA, SAID THE ANNOUNCEMENT, RETIRED AS A MAJOR IN THE ARMY RESERVES IN JANUARY, 1978. (COMMENT: JARA WAS ONE OF THE TWO EX-DINA THUGS ACCOMPANYING MIRANDA CARRINGTON TO WASHINGTON A FEW MONTHS AGO. END COMMENT)

7. TWICE LAST YEAR -- IN AUGUST AND IN NOVEMBER -- SENSATIONALIST "SEGUNDA" ALLEGED THAT CONTRERAS HAD BOOTLEGGED DINA FILES OUT OF CHILE IN APRIL-MAY, 1978, FOR SAFEKEEPING ABROAD. AN EFE WIRE DATELINED WASHINGTON APPEARED IN YESTERDAY'S (JUNE 12) "TERCERA." THE STORY BASICALLY REPORTED FBI AGENT SCHERRER'S REBUTTAL TO A RECENT "SEGUNDA" STORY. IN THAT STORY CONTRERAS' DEFENSE LEAKED PARTS OF ITS BRIEF, ASSERTING THAT SCHERRER FORGED SOME OF THE EXTRADITION CASE EVIDENCE AND THAT HE SUGGESTED TO DINA THAT IT MURDER ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN ROLANDO OTERO RATHER THAN EXPEL HIM IN MID-1976.

8. SCHERRER TOLD EFE THAT IN FACT HE HAD KEPT DINA FROM KILLING OTERO TO KEEP HIM FROM SPILLING THE BEANS ABOUT HIS WORK FOR THE CHILEAN SECRET POLICE. THE EFE ITEM, CITING UNNAMED "WELL-INFORMED SOURCES," SAYS THAT CONTRERAS' DEFENSE ATTORNEY IS DESPERATE BECAUSE HE LOST ONE OF THE PACKETS OF DOCUMENTS HE TRIED TO GET OUT OF CHILE FOR CONTRERAS LAST MAY AND IT FELL INTO USG HANDS. THE JUNE 12 "SEGUNDA" PLAYS BACK THE EFE STORY AS CONFIRMING "SEGUNDA'S" EARLIER REPORTS.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04152 01 OF 02 142152Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4152
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RIO FOR PROPPER/BARCELLA

E.O. 12065: GDS: 6/14/85 (CLARE, DANIEL H.) OR-P
TAGS: CI PINS PGOV
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: CUBILLOS STRIKES AGAIN

REF: A) SANTIAGO 4112, B) SANTIAGO 4013 (NOTAL)

1. (C) SUMMARY: "QUE PASA" THIS WEEK COMES DOWN MORE FORECEFULLY AND POINTEDLY AGAINST MANUEL CONTRERAS THAN THE OTHER TWO NEWS MAGAZINES. IT THUS JOINS "EL MERCURIO" IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE EFFORT TO DISCREDIT CONTRERAS ONCE AND FOR ALL AND TO ADVANCE THE THESIS THAT THE MODERATES UNDER PINOCHET'S LEADERSHIP ARE FIRMLY IN CONTROL OF CONTRERAS' FUTURE. FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS IS INFLUENTIAL IN BOTH PUBLICATIONS. WE SPECULATE THAT, ALTHOUGH CUBILLOS HAS PINOCHET'S APPROVAL FOR THE GENERAL THRUST, FOR HIS OWN REASONS HE MAY BE GOING FURTHER THAN PINOCHET MIGHT WISH. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) "QUE PASA'S" COVER STORY THIS WEEK IS ENTITLED "THE FAILURE OF CONTRERAS". THERE IS ALSO A STORY ON THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN WASHINGTON SURROUNDING THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE AND AN EDITORIAL, "END OF MYTH," WHICH AIMS AT DISCREDITING THE RECALCITRANT RIGHT

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04152 01 OF 02 142152Z

THROUGH THEIR SYMBOL (CONTRERAS). THE COVER STORY CONTAINS A FEW EXTRA FILLIPS NOT FOUND IN THE OTHER PRESS STORIES. IT REPORTS THAT CONTRERAS' LAWYER, MIRANDA CARRINGTON, RECENTLY RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF BRINGING A "CONSTITUTIONAL ACCUSATION" WITH JUNTA IDEOLOGUE JAIME GUZMAN (GUZMAN REPORTEDLY SAYING THAT WITHOUT A CONGRESS

YOU COULD NOT IMPEACH); AND THAT CONTRERAS HAD MADE SEVERAL UNAVAILING TELEPHONE CALLS TO MILITARY OFFICERS BEFORE SENDING HIS COMPLAINT TO THE JUNTA. THE ARTICLE SPECULATES ON WHAT MIGHT HAVE MOTIVATED CONTRERAS: HOT-HEADED CONTRERAS WENT AFTER CUBILLOS VENDETTA FASHION, BECAUSE CUBILLOS HAD ENDORSED THE LEGAL COURSE OF EXTRADITION RATHER THAN A BLANKET REJECTION OF THE USG CHARGES; MORE LIKELY, CONTRERAS MAY HAVE BEEN ACTING ON BEHALF OF A DISGRUNTLED HARDLINE RIGHT-WING WHICH OPPOSES PINOCHET'S POLICIES ACROSS THE BOARD.

3. (U) THE WASHINGTON DATELINED STORY CONTAINS SOME LOCAL COLOR ON MAJOR US ISSUES AND SOME SHORT INTERVIEWS WITH FBI AGENTS SCHERRER AND CORNICK AND STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN RESTON. IT INDICATES LITTLE SUPPORT FOR THE GOC POSITION AMONG KEY US SECTORS, ALTHOUGH IT STRESSES THAT THE US HAS MANY OTHER FISH TO FRY.

4. (U) THE "QUE PASA" EDITORIAL PICKS UP ON THE THEME THAT CONTRERAS IS THE HERO OF THE HARDLINE RIGHT. IT HARKS BACK EIGHT MONTHS TO A SPEECH IN WHICH INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ DEPICTED THE GOC AS A CENTRIST REGIME STRUGGLING BETWEEN THE LEFT AND "SOME WHO IDENTIFY STRONG AUTHORITY WITH ARBITRARY VIOLENCE," "QUE PASA" SAYS THAT EVEN THOUGH FEW WOULD LIKE TO THINK OF THEMSELVES IN THESE TERMS, THE POLICIES THEY SUPPORT GO IN THAT DIRECTION AND WITH OR WITHOUT CONTRERAS' APPROVAL, MOST OF

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THE PEOPLE IN THIS GROUP DESCRIBE THEMSELVES AS ADMIRERS OF THE EX-DINA CHIEF. THUS THE FIRM REJECTION BY THE MILITARY OF CONTRERAS' EFFORTS TO ATTACK THE PRESIDENT AND UNDERMINE INSTITUTIONAL LOYALTY WAS PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICAANT: IT PUT TO REST THE MYTH THAT THIS SECTOR CAN SUBVERT POLICIES THAT ACCORD WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF MOST CHILEANS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4152

5. (C) COMMENT: FIRST "MERCURIO" (REF A) AND NOW NEWSWEEKLY "QUE PASA" HAVE ASCRIBED THE WORST POSSIBLE MOTIVES TO MANUEL CONTRERAS' AND PEDRO ESPINOZA'S REQUEST THAT THREE CABINET MINISTERS BE IMPEACHED, AND TO CONTRERAS' SUBSEQUENT THREAT DIRECTED TOWARD PINOCHET. ALTHOUGH CONTRERAS' HAS SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF ALL THE MEDIA (SEE REF A), THE EXCEPTIONALLY ADVERSE TREATMENT IN THESE TWO PUBLICATIONS UNDOUBTEDLY DERIVES FROM FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS' LONG-TIME CLOSE TIES WITH THEM.

6. (C) CUBILLOS TOLD THE AMBASSADOR CONFIDENTIALLY -- AFTER CONTRERAS' IMPEACHMENT REQUEST WAS REJECTED -- THAT HE WOULD "GET" THE EX-DINA CHIEF "IN SPITE OF " USG MANEUVERS OVER LETELIER/MOFFITT (WHICH, HE SAID, HAD THE EFFECT OF PLACING PUBLIC OPINION BEHIND CONTRERAS). OVER AND ABOVE ANY PERSONAL REVENGE INVOLVED, CUBILLOS RECOGNIZES CONTRERAS AS AN IMMENSE ALBATROSS COMPLICATING THE GOC'S FUTURE. AS A PRAGMATIC BUSINESSMAN, CUBILLOS LIKES THE GENERAL THRUST OF GOC POLICIES BUT WOULD LIKE TO SEE A SMOOTH -- EVEN IF LENGTHY -- TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN RULE. HE BELIEVES THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO EASE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. CUBILLOS MAY ALSO HARBOR HOPES OF PLAYING AN INFLUENTIAL ROLE IN CHILE'S POLITICAL FUTURE.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04152 02 OF 02 142156Z

7. (C) CUBILLOS COULD HAVE DEMONSTRATED HOW MUCH MUSCLE HE HAD WITH OPINION-LEADING MEDIA WITHOUT PLACING SUCH STRESS ON CONTRERAS AS THE HERO OF THE HARDLINE RIGHT. THE GENERAL THEME THAT PORTRAYS CONTRERAS AS ACTING IN CAHOOTS WITH THE ULTRA-RIGHT APPARENTLY HAS SOME GOC ENDORSEMENT: IT HAS BEEN A COMMON THREAD IN STORIES FROM BOTH THE OPPOSITION AND GOC-SUPPORTING MEDIA, WITH SOME REPORTS CITING GOVERNMENT SOURCES (SEE REFTELS). BUT WE READ INTO THE CUBILLOS-INFLUENCED PUBLICATIONS COMMENTARY, AND PARTICULARLY THE "QUE PASA" REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO ADVOCATE "ARBITRARY VIOLENCE," AN ADDITIONAL TWIST OF THE KNIFE.

8. ALTHOUGH CUBILLOS AND OTHER SO-CALLED MODERATES WITHIN THE REGIME ARE NOW RIDING HIGH, IT IS PROBABLY PREMATURE TO COUNT OUT THE HARD LINE AS REPRESENTED BY CONTRERAS. AS HE HAS OFTEN SEEMED TO DO IN THE PAST, PINOCHET MAY BE TELLING BOTH SIDES A LITTLE OF WHAT EACH WANTS TO HEAR.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04143 142344Z
ACTION SS-25

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FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

RIO FOR PROPPER/BARCELLA

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/14/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PGOV CI
SUBJECT: (C) LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: WILLOUGHBY AND OTHER ITEMS

REF: A) SANTIAGO 3891 (NOTAL, B) STATE 146863 (NOTAL)

1. (S) SUMMARY: IN A SERIES OF MEETINGS JUNE 13 ETCHEBERRY WAS TOLD BY MIRANDA THAT HE DOES NOT PLAN TO ASK FOR A POSTPONEMENT; BY THE RAPPORTEUR FOR THE EXTRADION CASE THAT THE HEARING, BARRING POSTPONEMENTS, WILL BE ON THE DOCKET FOR JUNE 20, AND, BY WILLOUGHBY THAT HE DOES NOT PLAN TO GO TO RIO BUT WILL CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS HERE TO AVOID EXTRADITION FOR FERNANDEZ LARIOS. ETCHEBERRY DEPARTS TODAY FOR RIO DE JANEIRO TO MEET WITH JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS THE APPEAL AND OBTAIN GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) ETCHEBERRY'S MEETING WITH MIRANDA WAS

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Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04143 142344Z

ACCIDENTAL. MAINTAINING THE LINE HE WAS TAKEN PUBLICLY, MIRANDA DISCLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONTRERAS/ ESPINOZA IMPEACHMENT MOTION AGAINST MINISTERS CUBILLOS, FERNANDEZ AND VIAL. AS HAS ALSO BEEN REPORTED IN "QUE PASA" THIS WEEK, MIRANDA DID SAY THAT CONTRERAS HAD ASKED HIM ABOUT THE CURRENT LEGALITY OF IMPEACHMENT

MOTIONS AND THAT HE, MIRANDA, HAD QUERIED JAIME GUZMAN ON THE SUBJECT. THE ANSWER WAS NEGATIVE. MIRANDA THEN TOLD ETCHEBERRY THAT CONTRERAS HAS INSTRUCTED HIM NOT REPEAT NOT TO REQUEST A POSTPONEMENT OF THE APPEAL BUT INDICATED THAT THE LAWYERS FOR FERNANDEZ LARIOS AND ESPINOZA, MAY BE PLANNING TO ASK FOR THE ONE WEEK EACH TO WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED. IN ETCHEBERRY'S VIEW THIS MAY BE NO MORE THAN A CLEVER PUBLICITY MOVE ON THE PART OF CONTRERAS DESIGNED TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS CONFIDENT OF THE OUTCOME REGARDLESS WHICH PANEL HEARS THE APPEAL. IF BOTH FERNANDEZ LARIOS AND ESPINOZA REQUEST POSTPONEMENTS, THE TWO WEEKS DELAY WILL ENSURE THAT THE APPEAL IS HEARD BY THE FIRST PANEL.

3. (C) ETCHEBERRY THEN MET WITH JOSE BENQUIS, THE RAPPORTEUR ASSIGNED TO THE CASE. BENQUIS SAID THE ORAL HEARING ON THE APPEAL IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE PUT ON THE DOCKET FOR NEXT WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20 AND THAT HIS OWN PRESENTATION TO THE PANEL OF JUDGES WILL TAKE ABOUT FIVE DAYS. SINCE THE COURT DOES NOT MEET ON FRIDAYS, THE BENQUIS PRESENTATION WOULD RUN THROUGH JUNE 27. ETCHEBERRY WOULD THEN BEGIN HIS ARGUMENT ON THURSDAY, JUNE 28. THIS OF COURSE, ASSUMES THAT NONE OF THE PARTIES REQUEST POSTPONEMENTS WHICH CAN BE DONE ANY TIME UP TO THE ACTUAL STARTING OF THE HEARING ON THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 20. IT ALSO ASSUMES THAT THERE IS NO LAST MINUTE CHANGE IN THE COURT DOCKET -- I.E., PUTTING

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04143 142344Z

SOME OTHER CASE AHEAD OF THE APPEAL.

4. (C) WHILE AT THE COURT ETCHEBERRY SPOKE WITH THE CLERK AND CONFIRMED THAT AN EMBASSY OBSERVER CAN BE PRESENT AT THE ORAL ARGUMENTS. THE CLERK PROMISED TO RESERVE A GOOD SEAT. ETCHEBERRY ALSO HAD A LOOK AT THE FILE ON THE CASE AND NOTED A RECENT REQUEST FROM ARMY VICE CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL FORESTIER FOR COURT CONCURRENCE IN THE DEPARTURE OF ESPINOZA AND FERNANDEZ LARIOS FROM THE MILITARY HOSPITAL, SINCE THEY ARE NO LONGER UNDER MEDICAL TREATMENT. THE COURT ASKED WHERE THEY WOULD BE HELD IN LIEU OF THE HOSPITAL. IN HIS REPLY, FORESTIER SAID THAT FERNANDEZ LARIOS WOULD REMAIN IN THE HOSPITAL (NO EXPLANATION GIVEN) BUT THAT ESPINOZA WOULD BE KEPT UNDER HOUSE ARREST AT THE LO AGUIRRE NUCLEAR REACTOR SITE -- A MILITARY INSTALLATION ON THE ROAD TO VALPARAISO. THE COURT HAS AGREED, BUT ETCHEBERRY WAS UNABLE TO LEARN WHETHER ESPINOZA HAS, IN FACT, LEFT THE HOSPITAL.

5. (S) TECHEBERRY MET ALONE WITH WILLOUGHBY THE EVENING OF JUNE 13 AND GAVE HIM THE MESSAGE CONTAINED REFTEL B -- THAT THE JUSTICE TEAM WOULD BE INTERESTED IN TALKING TO WILLOUGHBY IN RIO BUT ONLY IF FERNANDEZ LARIOS IS WILLING TO BE TRUTHFUL AND CANDID IN HIS CONFESSION. WILLOUGHBY DID NOT RULE OUT FURTHER MOVEMENT IN THIS DIRECTION BY FERNANDEZ (AND PROMISED TO TALK TO HIM THIS MORNING) BUT SAID THAT CRUZ COKE, THE LAWYER FOR FERNANDEZ LARIOS, IS NOW STRONGLY AGAINST THIS SORT OF LAST MINUTE MANEUVER. ON BALANCE, WILLOUGHBY THOUGHT IT BEST TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS HERE TO CONVINCE THE SUPREME COURT JUSTICES THAT THE GOC WOULD NOT OBJECT TO THE EXTRADITION OF CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA WHILE, IN THAT CASE, THE USG WOULD NOT MAKE AN ISSUE OF THE FACT THAT FERNANDEZ LARIOS WAS NOT INCLUDED. WILLOUGHBY CLAIMED TO HAVE TALKED TO PINOCHET ON HIS RETURN FROM THE UNITED STATES AND THAT IT WAS PINOCHET WHO SUGGESTED HE GO SEE FOREIGN MINISTER

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 04143 142344Z

CUBILLOS AND INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ (SEE PARAGRAPH 3 OF REFTEL A). WILLOUGHBY ALSO CLAIMED THAT HE HAD BEEN TALKING TO MILITARY OFFICERS AND HE REFERRED TO HIS RECENT NEWSPAPER COLUMNS, WHICH HAVE TRIED TO DRAW A LEGAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN COFTRERAS AND ESPINOZA ON THE ONE HAND AND FERNANDEZ LARIOS ON THE OTHER.

6. (S) ETCHEBERRY GOES TO RIO THIS AFTERNOON TO MEET WITH THE JUSTICE TEAM. IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSING ETCHEBERRY'S ORAL ARGUMENT BEFORE THE APPEAL PANEL ETCHEBERRY WILL SEEK GUIDANCE FROM PROPPER/BARCELLA ON TWO POINTS RELATED TO THE WILLOUGHBY GAMBIT: (1) WHEN HE RETURNS CAN HE ASSURE WILLOUGHBY THAT IF THE APPEAL PANEL DECIDES IN FAVOR OF EXTRADITION FOR CONTRERAS AND ESPINOZA BUT NOT FERNANDEZ LARIOS, THE USG WILL NOT MAKE AN ISSUE OF THE LATTER'S EXCLUSION. WE SEE NO RISK IN SUCH ASSURANCES AND THERE IS STILL AN OUTSIDE CHANCE THAT WILLOUGHBY CAN PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE. (2) ETCHEBERRY WILL DISCUSS FURTHER THE IDEA OF ASKING WILLOUGHBY TO USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH CRUZ COKE AND FERNANDEZ LARIOS TO THE END THAT THEY DO NOT REQUEST A POSTPONEMENT. IF SUCCESSFUL AND IF MIRANDA STICKS TO HIS DECLARED INTENTION OF NOT ASKING FOR A POSTPONEMENT, IT WOULD STILL BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE THE APPEAL HEARD IN JUNE BY THE SECOND PANEL -- THE ONE WE BELIEVE MOST LIKELY TO DECIDE ON THE MERITS OF THE CASE.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04153 142201Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3694
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI PGOV PINS
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO RETURN ON CONSULTATIONS; WIRE SERVICE SAYS ARGENTINES HAVE SENT QUESTIONS TO TOWNLEY

REF: SANTIAGO 4112

1. CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTRY RELEASED FOLLOWING STATEMENT MORNING OF JUNE 14. QUOTE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES THAT CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO U.S., JOSE MIGUEL BARROS, HAS BEEN CALLED TO SANTIAGO TO PARTICIPATE IN SEVERAL WORKING SESSIONS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL TOPICS. ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT WILL BE MEETINGS TO ANALYZE THE CURRENT STATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IN ADDITION, IT WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLARIFY CERTAIN DECLARATIONS BY U.S. SPOKESMEN THAT APPEAR CONFUSED, AMBIGUOUS, AND IN SOME CASES INEXACT. THE MINISTRY BELIEVES THAT SUCH DIRECT EXCHANGES WITH CHIEFS OF MISSION ARE USEFUL IN GETTING FIRSTHAND REPORTS AND, UPON THEIR RETURN TO THE FIELD, FACILITATE MORE EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS. END QUOTE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04153 142201Z

2. PRESIDENT PINOCHET MENTIONED THAT BARROS WAS COMING BACK ON CONSULTATIONS EARLIER JUNE 14. WE NOTE THAT THE MINISTRY STATEMENT MAKES CLEAR THAT BARROS WILL BE RETURNING TO WASHINGTON.

3. ACCORDING TO A LOCAL DIPLOMATIC SOURCE, ANSA NEWS AGENCY HAS REPORTED THAT THE ARGENTINES HAVE SENT MICHAEL TOWNLEY A

SERIES OF QUESTIONS REGARDING HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL PRATS IN BUENOS AIRES IN 1974. THE STORY REPORTEDLY ADDS THAT THE ITALIANS HAVE ALREADY SENT QUERIES TO TOWNLEY ABOUT THE ATTEMPT ON THE LEIGHTONS IN ROME IN 1975. ANSA SPECULATES THAT THESE INITIATIVES MAY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE USG TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE CHILEANS.
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
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Exemption(s)

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BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI PGOV PINS
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ESPINOZA'S TRANSFER; FERNANDEZ' DISASSOCIATION; REACTION TO BARROS RETURN

REF: SANTIAGO 4153

1. SEVERAL DAILIES JUNE 15 REPORT THAT COLONEL ESPINOZA HAS BEEN TRANSFERRED FROM THE MILITARY HOSPITAL. "MERCURIO" SAYS ON JUNE 12 THE SECOND PANEL OF THE SUPREME COURT APPROVED A REQUEST FROM VICE ARMY COMMANDER, GENERAL FORESTIER, TO TRANSFER ESPINOZA TT THE LO AGUIRRE MILITARY CAMP WHERE HE WILL CONTINUE UNDER DETENTION. LO AGUIRRE IS THE SITE OF A NUCLEAR RESEARCH REACTOR A FEW MILES WEST OF SANTIAGO. CONTRERAS AND FERNANDEZ LARIOS WILL CONTINUE THEIR CONFINEMENT AT THE MILITARY HOSPITAL IN SANTIAGO.

2. ACCORDING TO "MERCURIO," FERNANDEZ LARIOS HAS SENT PRESIDENT PINOCHET A LETTER IN WHICH HE EXPRESSES HIS TOTAL SUPPORT OF, AND LOYALTY TO, BOTH PINOCHET AND THE ARMY, "DISASSOCIATING HIMSELF COMPLETELY FROM THE CHARGES AGAINST THE CABINET MEMBERS." FERNANDEZ, ACCORDING TO A MILITARY SOURCE IN GOVERNMENT

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04176 152109Z

HOUSE, REFERS TO HIS LONG CAREER IN THE MILITARY AND HIS FAMILY TRADITION OF MILITARY SERVICE. THE GOC SOURCE SAID PINOCHET HAD EXPRESSED HIS APPROVAL OF FERNANDEZ' LETTER. (COMMENT: WE SEE IN FERNANDEZ' ACTION AN ATTEMPT TO DEPICT HIMSELF AS A DEDICATED ARMY OFFICER WHO ONLY AND ALWAYS FOLLOWS ORDERS. END COMMENT)

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3. PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S INSTRUCTION THAT CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S., JOSE MIGUEL BARROS, RETURN FOR CONSULTATIONS RECEIVED PROMINENT COVERAGE. THE OFFICIAL FOREIGN MINISTRY ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS RECALL MADE CLEAR THAT HE WOULD SOON BE RETURNING TO THE U.S. (REFTEL). BUT, WITH A TOUCH OF NATIONALIST BRAVADO, WHEN PINOOCHET FIRST MENTIONED BARROS' RETURN TO THE PRESS, FOLLOWING A MEETING WITH PRO-GOC WOMEN'S GROUPS, HE ALLUDED TO THE USG RECALL STATEMENT FOR AMBASSADOR LANDAU: "WE'RE GOING TO REVIEW THE CURRENT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. IT'S VERY SIMPLE: NOW CHILE AND ITS PRESIDENT ARE INTERESTED IN LEARNING ABOUT AND ANALYZING THESE RELATIONSHIPS."
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LETELIER-MOFFITT MEMORIAL FUND
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
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6/15/79 Ed Archer (NARA69)

June 15, 1979

Mr. Vincent Burke, Chairman
The Riggs National Bank
Washington, D.C.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Dear Sir:

Since 1960 I have been a customer of your bank, and for 16 years, my husband, Orlando Letelier, banked with Riggs. It has been very painful and disturbing to me to learn of loans extended by your bank to the current military dictatorship in Chile, and the apartheid government of South Africa.

As you must be aware, my husband served as Chilean ambassador to the United States. At the time of the 1973 military coup, he was arrested and tortured and then finally expelled from the country, as were thousands of others. On Sept. 21, 1976, Orlando was assassinated in a car-bombing which also took the life of a young woman, an American citizen, Ronni Moffitt. After much investigation, the U.S. government has found irrefutable evidence against high officials of the Chilean government, sufficient to warrant the U.S. government's demand for their extradition to this country to stand trial for conspiracy to murder.

The regime of General Augusto Pinochet, Chile's military dictator, has so flagrantly and brutally destroyed human lives--not to mention human rights and democratic principles --that in 1976 the U.S. Congress voted to cut off all aid to the Chilean dictatorship. Last year Michael Moffitt and I worked on a study of U.S. private banks' lending practices which proved that private bank loans to dictatorships in Chile and other countries totally undermine and nullify the effects of U.S. government aid cut-offs based on its human rights policies. These bank loans serve as the last resort for brutal, internationally isolated regimes such as those of Chile and South Africa. The human suffering such loans support cannot be measured in rates of return, or credit-worthiness. I believe the social costs of an economic policy such as has been currently imposed in Chile should be a factor in Riggs' considerations on whether to loan to a certain country. The harsh effects of these policies foment social instability and underdevelopment, and, consequently, a system imposed through force, that cannot be maintained indefinitely. I am sure that Riggs' money could be lent instead to underdeveloped neighborhoods here in this city, as an investment in a positive and productive future.

The murder of my husband and his colleague--a U.S. citizen--was an act of international terrorism that occurred within three blocks of the international branch of your bank. Yet the loans by Riggs Bank to Chile and South Africa help perpetuate the inhumane policies in both these countries. That is the reason I wish to herewith close both my checking and savings accounts at your bank, upon payment of all outstanding checks. I have also made the necessary arrangements to continue the monthly payments on the mortgage on my home.

Sincerely,

Isabel Letelier

cc: Hon. Henry Reuss, Chairman, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04177 171830Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3712
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB SHUM CI
SUBJECT: ORIT BOYCOTT: GOC EASES DEADLINE AND REQUIREMENTS ON UNION DUES AND AFFILIATIONS

REF: SANTIAGO 4023, SANTIAGO 3457

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC HAS INFORMALLY EASED THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS AND INDEFINITELY EXTENDED THE JUNE 1 DEADLINE REQUIRED BY DECREE LAW 2545 FOR AFFILIATING WITH TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS AND FOR AUTHORIZING DUES CHECKOFFS. WE ARE RELIABLY INFORMED THAT PRACTICALLY ALL TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO COMPLETE THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS HAVE DONE SO SUCCESSFULLY. COPPER AND MARITIME SECTORS WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE LAW. END SUMMARY

2. THE GOC PUBLISHED DECREE LAW 2545 ON FEBRUARY 9, RESTORING TO TRADE UNIONS THE RIGHT TO AFFILIATE WITH A FEDERATION OF THEIR CHOICE AND TO CONTRIBUTE THROUGH THE DUES CHECKOFF SYSTEM. THESE RIGHTS HAD BEEN TAKEN AWAY BY DECREE LAW 2376 ON OCTOBER 20, 1978. THE FEBRUARY LAW, HOWEVER, CONTAINED WHAT WAS WIDELY INTERPRETED AS A SUDDEN DEATH DEADLINE OF JUNE 1 TO COMPLETE A COMPLICATED SERIES OF LEGAL REQUIREMENTS.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04177 171830Z

3. UNDER THE STRICT TERMS OF THE LAW, A TRADE UNION HAD TO CALL TWO SEPARATE MEETINGS. EACH OF THESE MMETINGS HAD TO HAVE A SINGLE ITEM ON THE AGENDA, EITHER DUES CHECKOFFS OR AFFILIATION WITH A FEDERATION. FIFTY PERCENT OF HE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION CONSTITUTED A QUORUM AND THE VOTE BY SECRET BALLOT HAD TO BE WON BY AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERSH THE TRADE UNION. A LABOR INSPECTOR OR

NOTARY PUBLIC HAD TO BE PRESENT AND ATTEST TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THESE REQUIREMENTS. THESE PROCEDURES WERE TO BE REPEATED EVERY TWO YEARS.

4. UNDER THE NEW EASEMENTS, LOCAL UNIONS ARE NOW PERMITTED TO AFFILIATE WITH A FEDERATION SIMPLY BY CALLING FOR AN ELECTION BY A SECRET BALLOT UNDER THE WATCHFUL EYES OF A NOTARY PUBLIC. FURTHERMORE, THE LABOR MINISTRY IS PERMITTING TRADE UNIONS WITH SEVERAL BRANCHES OR SEVERAL SHIFTS, OR WITH EMPLOYEES IN MORE THAN ONE COMPANY, TO HOLD SEVERAL SEPARATE MEETINGS. THE SECRET BALLOT VOTES, SUPERVISED BY A LABOR INSPECTOR OR NOTARY, ARE SUBSEQUENTLY AGGREGATED TO MEET THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS FOR AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY. FINALLY, THE NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW DOES AWAY WITH THE JUNE 1 CUTOFF DATE FOR AFFILIATION. UNIONS MAY NOW AFFILIATE WITH A FEDERATION AT ANY TIME. HOWEVER, EMPLOYERS ARE STILL REQUIRED BY LAW TO CUT OFF DUES CHECKOFFS FOR THOSE TRADE UNIONS WHICH HAVE NOT MET AFFILIATION REQUIREMENTS DURING THE FIRST COMPLETE PAY CYCLE AFTER JUNEE 1.

5. COMMENT: LABATT HAS SPOKEN TO A WIDE VARIETY OF TRADE UNION LEADERS WHO EXPRESS SATISFACTION THAT WORKERS HAVE OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTED THE CONTINUATION OF THEIR TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS BY AUTHORIZING BOTH DUES CHECKOFFS AND MEMBERSHIP IN EXISTING FEDERATIONS. SOME DEMOCRATIC TRADE
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04177 171830Z

UNIONISTS HAVE USED THE MORE COMPLICATED PROCEDURES IN PARAGRAPH THREE AND STATE THAT THEY HAVE ACTUALLY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF AFFILIATES. SO FAR, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, PRACTICALLY ALL TRADE UNIONS WHICH ATTEMPTED TO COMPLETE THE PROCEDURES REQUIRED BY THE LAW HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL, EXCEPT HUACHIPATO STEELWORKERS (CAP) AND PRO-GOVERNMENT CONSTRUCTION WORKERS. COPPER AND MARITIME SECTORS ARE NOT REQUIIRED TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THIS LAW.
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

E.O. 12065 GDS 6/15/85 (DEBOLD, ROY)

TAGS: PINS, PGOV, BR, CI

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASES: WILLOUGHBY GAMBIT

REF: SANTIAGO 4143

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. WE AGREE THAT IT IS WORTH PURSUING TWO POINTS CONTAINED PARA 6 OF REFTEL. AS DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON, HOWEVER, WE UNDERSTAND THAT ANY US ASSURANCE WOULD ONLY BE IN EXCHANGE FOR TRUTHFUL TESTIMONY AT A TRIAL. WE DEFER TO JUSTICE LAWYERS FOR ANSWER TO REFTEL. CHRISTOPHER

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APPROVED BY ARA:VPVAKY
ARA/ANDI:MRBARNESCY
ARA:JABUSHNELL
S/S-O:RCASTRODALE

NODIS REVIEW
Cat. A - Caption removed:
Cat. B
Cat. C
Approved by:
Date 1981

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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE
INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 2219

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E.O. 12065 XDS-1 6/14/89 (VAKY, VIRON P.)

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, UK, CI

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: EARLY NAMING OF BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO CHILE UNHELPFUL TO U.S.

REF: SANTIAGO 4068

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. AFTER CONSIDERING YOUR SUGGESTION THAT WE MAKE A DEMARCHE TO THE UKG REGARDING THEIR SENDING AN AMBASSADOR TO SANTIAGO AT THIS TIME, WE HAVE DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE. THE PRINCIPAL REASON IS THAT EVEN THOUGH THE BRITISH ASSIGNMENT OF AN AMBASSADOR MIGHT NOT BE HELPFUL FOR THE REASONS YOU DESCRIBED IN REFTEL,

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

SECRET

IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT TO ASK THEM NOT TO SEND AN AMBASSADOR WHEN WE OURSELVES ARE SO REPRESENTED. CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04180 161720Z

DECONTROL

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 L-03 JUSE-00 PA-01 ICAE-00 FBIE-00
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 SS-15 NSCE-00 INRE-00 HA-05
SSO-00 /050 W

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O R 161654Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3714
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE ONLY

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS SHUM CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: APPEAL TENTATIVELY SET FOR JUNE 20

1. "TERCERA" JUNE 16 REPORTS THAT RAPPORTEUR BENQUIS COMPLETED HIS REVIEW OF EXTRADITION FILE AND HAD IT PLACED ON DOCKET OF SECOND PANEL OF SUPREME COURT AS SECOND CASE TO BE HEARD STARTING JUNE 20. STORY NOTES THAT UP TO THREE ONE-WEEK POSTPONEMENTS CAN BE REQUESTED BY PARTIES.

2. SATURATION COVERAGE ACCORDED MURDER OF CHILD BY TEENAGER DOMINATED WEEK'S PRESS AND REACHED CRESCENDO JUNE 15-16. NONE-THELESS, TABLOID "DEQUNDA" DEDICATED CENTER PAGES OF JUNE 15 ISSUE TO PHOTOS COPIED FROM EXTRADITION REQUEST, INCLUDING RATHER GORY SHOTS OF LETELIER'S BODY. IN RUMOR COLUMN "TOP SECRET", PAPER SPECULATED THAT CONTRERAS AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (PDC) HAD AGREED THAT CONTRERAS WOULD GOVE POLITICIANS DIRT ABOUT GOC FIGURES IN EXCHANGE FOR UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY SHOULD PDC ASSUME POWER. ALLEGED CONFIRMATION IS THAT ONLY PRO-PDC "HOY" MAGAZINE HAS TEXT OF CONTRERAS/ESPINOZA IMPEACHMENT REQUEST. "SEQUNDA" ASSERTS THIS REVEALS "VENEMOUS HOSTILITY" CONTRERAS HOLDS TOWARDS
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04180 161720Z

"HIGHEST AUTHORITIES." (COMMENT: STROY IS NONSENSE BUT HURTS CONTRERAS. "SEQUNDA" HAS BEEN TRADITIONALLY HELPFUL TO HIS CAUSE. HOWEVER, "MERCURIO" CHAIN OWNS "SEQUNDA" AND "MERCURIO" HAS BACKED FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS AGAINST CONTERERAS SINCE LATTER'S IMPEACHMENT REQUEST. END COMMENT).

3. "TERCERA" WAS ONLY DAILY TO CARRY EFE WIRE DATELINED WASHINGTON

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REPORTING THAT JUSTICE DEPARTMENT PROSECUTORS AND FBI AGENTS WERE CONSULTING WITH USG LOCAL LAWYER ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY IN RIO DE JANIERO."TERCERA" ADDS THAT ACCORDING TO ITS SOURCES, ETCHEBERRY HAS NOT LEFT CHILE. (COMMENT: THE EFE STORY IS ACCURATE. END COMMENT). SAME EFE ITEM ALSO REPORTS THAT A CHILEAN LIMBER ASSOCIATION TRADE MISSION IS DRAWING FIRE FROM OREGON POLITICIANS AND PRESS DURING ITS CURRENT PURCHASING TRIP TO NORTHWEST. (COMMENT: THIS IS FIRST REPORT INDICATING THAT MISSION INVOLVED IN CONTROVERSY. END COMMENT.)

5. "TERCERA" ALSO RAN JUNE 15 AP WIRE IN WHICH UNNAMED "INFORMED SOURCES" SAY THAT US/CHILE RELATIONS DELICATE AND CRISIS MIGHT RESULT SHOULD THE APPEALS COURT UPHOLD JUDGE BORQUEZ' "DOUBLE NEGATIVE", I.E., DENYING BOTH EXTRADITION AND MEANINGFUL TRIAL IN CHILE. AP'S SOURCES AFFIRM THAT "INDEPENDENCE OF CHILEAN COURTS IN INTERNAL SECURITY CASES IS A JURIDICAL FICTION." "SOURCES" SUGGEST THAT U.S. PRIVATE LENDING INSTITUTIONS HAVE BECOME SKITTISH ABOUT LENDING TO CHILE BECAUSE BANKS FEAR SUCH LOANS MAY TRIGGER ADDITION CONGRESSIONAL DISCLOSURE REGULATIONS.

6. MEANWHILE, CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTRY IS DOWNPLAYING THE BILATERAL REVIEW INVOLVED IN THE RECALL OF AMBASSADOR BARROS BY STRESSING HIS EXPERTISE AS ADVISOR IN PREPARING CHILEAN POSITION FOR VATICAN MEDIATION OVER BEAGLE CHANNEL.
LANDAU

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LETELIER-MOFFITT MEMORIAL FUND
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
1901 Q Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 234-9382

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NA071 6/18/79

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

June 18, 1979

R

Dear Friends,

We are writing to encourage you and your organizations to join in the actions initiated by the D.C. Bank Campaign and withdraw any accounts you may have with the Riggs National Bank. The significance of your action would certainly outweigh any small inconveniences it may cause you.

Last Friday, June 15th, the Institute for Policy Studies participated in the launching of the D.C. Bank Campaign for withdrawal by closing its account with the Riggs National Bank to protest its loans to repressive governments, most notably, those currently ruling Chile and South Africa.

Private U.S. Bank loans have become the mainstay for these governments and in effect subsidize their policies of state terrorism. The Riggs boycott is one of many that have been undertaken across the country to protest the lending policies of some of America's largest banks: Wells Fargo and the Bank of America, San Francisco; First Chicago, Chicago; and Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, and Manufacturers Hanover Trust, New York. These same banks are among those whose redlining policies are hastening the deterioration of our major cities while they loan and/or invest in morally bankrupt regimes whose economic policies warrant force to impose them on the majority of the population.

Enclosed are sample letters to the officers of the Riggs National Bank that can serve as models for your letters. It is important that the bank be informed as to why the accounts are being withdrawn. Copies of letters should be sent to Rep. Henry Reuss, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs. Also enclosed is a newspaper clipping that outlines some of the research done by the D.C. Bank Campaign on the lending practices of the Riggs Bank here and abroad. If you, personally, or your organizations do not have savings or checking accounts with Riggs, please pass this on to those who do and ask them to join the withdrawal campaign.

You know from your own experiences the positive impact that broad public pressure can bring to bear on policy formulation; here's a chance to make our money speak--without spending any!

Sincerely,

Michael Moffitt

Nena Terrell

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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EXCISE

M069

June 18, 1979

Dear Senator Cranston:

Thank you for your correspondence of June 5 concerning Mr. Guillermo Galvez Rivadeneira of Chile.

The Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs wrote to [redacted] for Guillermo Galvez Rivadeneira on June 4. We notified him that we had requested our Embassy in Santiago to make an inquiry to the Chilean Government on Mr. Galvez Rivadeneira's behalf and to supply us with the names of appropriate Chilean officials to whom the Committee can write directly. We expect a response from the Embassy shortly and will notify [redacted] at that time.

We appreciate your interest in this case. As you know, our government has made repeated efforts to obtain information about disappeared persons in Chile. Part of our efforts to influence the Chilean Governments' policies on disappeared persons and other human rights problems has been the termination of military and economic aid to Chile. We will continue to express our concern at every opportunity to the Chilean authorities, and we will do all we can to elicit a more thorough accounting of such cases.

Sincerely,

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

The Honorable
Alan Cranston,
United States Senate.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04210 182110Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 JUSE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 FBI-01 HA-05 SR-04 EB-08
TRSE-00 COME-00 OMB-01 /072 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3721
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINS
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: PROPPER/BARCELLA RIO TRIP NOTED; MORE "MERCURIO" OPINION

REF: SANTIAGO 4180

1. SUMMARY: BRIEF WIRE SERVICE ITEM CONFIRMS USG PROSECUTORS' TRIP TO RIO. EX-MINISTER OF ECONOMY SAYS THE CHILEANS ARE OVERLY CONCERNED ABOUT UNITED STATES. EX-AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON WRITES ABOUT U.S. EXTRADITION POLICY. "MERCURIO" SAYS CHILE NEED NOT FEAR HOSTILE USG, SHOULD DEVELOP MORE INDEPENDENT POLICY, AND MODERNIZE ITS ARMED FORCES. END SUMMARY.

2. EFE FOLLOWED UP ON ITS WASHINGTON STORY SAYING THAT USG PROSECUTORS PROPPER AND BARCELLA, TOGETHER WITH FBI AGENTS SCHERRER AND CORNICK, WERE MEETING WITH USG LOCAL LAWYER ETCHEBERRY IN RIO DE JANEIRO (SEE REFTEL. LOCAL PRESS CARRIES SHORT EFE/RIO ITEM QUOTING PROPPER AS STATING USG HAS PROOF THAT CONTRERAS AND HIS TWO CHILEAN MILITARY COLLEAGUES KILLED LETELIER AND MOFFITT

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04210 182110Z

AND THAT HE HAD BROUGHT ADDITIONAL MATERIAL BEARING ON THE CASE.

3. THE SUNDAY JUNE 17 "MERCURIO" CONTAINED A LENGTHY INTERIVIEW WITH EX-MINISTER OF ECONOMY PABLO BAROANA, APARENTLY ONE OF A SERIES DESIGNED TO SHOW THE ROLE OF CIVILIANS IN THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT. IN RESPONSE TO A LEADING QUESTION AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE INTERVIEW, BARAONA AGREED WITH THE PROPOSAL THAT

"CHILEANS ALWAYS OVERESTIMATE THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES." BARAONA SAID THAT U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS "ABSOLUTELY MARGINAL" AND THAT CHILEANS HAVE "LIVED WITH A TREMENDOUS INTELLECTUAL COMPLEX REGARDING THE U.S. . . . . IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE GOVERNEMT TO ERASE THIS MINSET." BARAONA ADDED THAT WHILE IT IS USEFUL TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE IT CERTAINLY IS "NO MATTER OF LIFE OR DEATH, OR EVEN THE KEY TO ECONOMIC PROGRESSM
"

4. "MERCURIO" ALSO PROMINENTLY PUBLISHED IN ITS SUNDAY EDITION A CONTRIBUTION FROM SERGIO GUTIERREZ OLIVOS, ALESSANDRI'S AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON AND CURRENTLY A LAW PROFESSOR. GUTIERREZ STARTS OF WITH A SECTION CONDEMNING SENATOR KENNEDY AND OTHER "U.S. POLITICIANS" FOR ATTEMPTING TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE CHILEAN COURTS WHILE THEY ARE CONSIDERING THE EXTRADITION CASE ON APPEAL. HE THEN DEDICATES THE REST OF THE COLUMN TO HIS OWN FORM OF PRESSURE THROUGH HIS DESCRIPTION OF U.S. EXTRADITION POLICY. HE CONTENDS (AS DID JUDGE BORQUEZ IN HIS FIRST INSTANCE OPINION) THAT CHILE HAS NO MORAL OBLIGATION TO EXTRADITE ITS NATIONALS TO THE U.S. SINCE IN A RECIPROCAL SITUATION THE USG WOULD NOT EXTRADITE TO CHILE. (COMMENT: OUR LOCAL LAWYER SAYS THAT THE ARTICLE CONTAINS SEVERAL FACTUAL ERRORS WHICH HE PLANS TO CORRECT WITH A LETTER TO THE PAPER.)

5. "MERCURIO'S" WEEKLY POLITICAL EDITORIAL, NORMALLY WRITTEN BY ARTURO FONTAINE, PICKS UP SOME RECURRENT THEMES BUT ENDS

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ON A NEW NOTE. FONTAINE FINDS STATEMENTS AND THREATS BY U.S. LEGISLATORS UNFORTUNATE BUT DESCRIBES AS EVEN MORE SERIOUS AMBASSADOR LANDAU'S STATEMENT (ON HIS RECENT RETURN FROM WASHINGTON) THAT U.S. SOVEREIGNTY HAD BEEN VIOLATED BY THE WASHINGTON ASSASSINATIONS. THIS IMPLIES, ACCORDING TO FONTAINE, THAT CHILEAN OFFICIALS WERE SOMEHOW INVOLVED. FONTAINE THEN GOES ON TO SAY THAT CHILEANS WORRY TOO MUCH ABOUT THE USG'S POLICIES; THE STRENGTH OF THE GOC DERIVES FROM ITS STRONG ECNOMIC PROGRAM WHICH ALLOWS FOR TRUE INDEPENDENCE. "MERCURIO" -- WITH UNINTENDED IRONY -- FINDS THAT CHILEANS OVERESTIMATE THE VALUE OF USG SUPPORT WHICH NORMALLY HAS BEEN WANTING WHEN THE CHIPS ARE DOWN. SPECIFICALLY,

THE COLUMNIST FINDS THAT THE USG DID NOT TAKE THE GOC'S SIDE AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST COMSPRIACY IN RECENT YEARS. ACCORDING TO "MERCURIO" THE BEST WAY TO DEFEND NATIONAL SECURITY IS THROUGH A HARMONIOUS CIVIL/MILITARY TRANSITION PERIOD RATHER THAN THE HARD-NOSED " NATIONAL SECURITY" DOCTRINE SOME HAVE ASCRIBED TO MILITARY GOVERNMENTS. HOWEVER, "MERCURIO" THINKS THAT NOW THAT THE ECONOMY HAS RECOVERED AND FOREIGN RESERVES ARE PLENTIFUL THE MILITARY, ALSO, SHOULD BE ALLOWED "TO INTROUCE MODERN,

RATIONAL TECHNOLOGIES IN EQUIPMENT AND ORGANIZATION."
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04223 182224Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W R
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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[redacted] DECAPTION

DECAPTIONED

FOR ARA, D, P, AND L ONLY

E. O. 12065: GDS 6/18/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: (C) LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: FERNANDEZ LARIOS' LAWYER TO REQUEST POSTPONEMENT; NO NEW WORD FROM MIRANDAQ

REF: SANTIAGO 4143

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY, THE ORAL ARGUMENTS IN THE APPEAL OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION ARE ON THE DOCKET FOR THIS WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20. USG LAWYER ETCHEBERRY TALKED WITH CARLOS CRUZ-COKE, THE LAWYER FOR FERNANDEZ LARIOS, TODAY AND WAS TOLD THAT HE WILL FILE A REQUEST FOR A ONE-WEEK POSTPONEMENT.

3. THE LAST WORD WE HAD FROM MIRANDA (PARA 2 OF REFTEL) WAS THAT HE DID NOT PLAN TO ASK FOR A POSTPONEMENT FOR CONTRERAS BUT COULD NOT RULE OUT A REQUEST ON BEHALF OF ESPINOZA (WHOM HE ALSO REPRESENTS ALONG WITH BALMACEDA). A REQUEST FOR POSTPONEMENT FROM THAT SOURCE WOULD NOT HAVE TO BE MADE UNTIL THE REQUEST FROM CRUZ-COKE IS ABOUT TO EXPIRE, I.E. JUNE 26 OR 27.
[redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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MEMORANDUM

TO: The Files June 19, 1979

SUBJECT: Talk with Etcheberry, June 17, 1979

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/19/85 (SERVICE, ROBERT E.) OR-M

Etcheberry had returned from his Rio meeting with Propper and the others late the preceding day. The Ambassador asked him to come to the Residence at 6:00 p.m. to report on the trip. Dan Clare, Wiley Gilstrap and Bob Service were also present. We talked for about an hour and a half.

The Willoughby Gambit

Etcheberry raised with Propper the idea of giving Willoughby an assurance that if the Supreme Court granted extradition for Contreras and Espinoza, but not Fernandez Larios, the USG would not make an issue of the exclusion of the latter; and whether we should ask Willoughby as a token of good faith to use his influence to prevent Fernandez Larios and his lawyers from requesting a postponement of the Review Panel oral arguments. On the first point, Propper was in agreement only on condition we got a written statement from Fernandez Larios saying he would be willing to come to the United States to testify in a trial of Contreras and Espinoza. Etcheberry had the distinct impression that Propper does not feel confident of our case against Contreras, before a U.S. jury, in the absence of direct testimony from Fernandez Larios. The letters-rogatory technique would not be adequate.

Given the importance attached by Propper to getting Fernandez to the US, Etcheberry argued that we should not seek any further for an agreement with Willoughby, pressing instead for the extradition of all three men. On the second point, in the absence of any concrete offer on our part, Etcheberry said it would not be appropriate to request Willoughby's good offices in avoiding a postponement on the part of Fernandez Larios or his lawyers. Etcheberry says that Propper and company accepted his position.

Etcheberry's Line of Argument Before the Review Panel

Etcheberry set forth to Propper, and reiterated to us, the line of argument he intends to take in his oral

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presentation to the Review Panel. Ostensibly, it's the all or nothing approach: the USG has requested the extradition of the three men and has provided adequate documentation to justify such a decision by the Court; if the Court does not grant extradition, it must do so in the full awareness that the men will escape all punishment for the acts committed; the nature of the crime and pertinent Chilean laws are such that there is no apparent way in which the three could be tried and prosecuted in Chile for the assassinations of Letelier and Moffitt; therefore, justice requires their extradition.

We pointed out to Etcheberry that this line of argument seemed to contradict the instructions the Ambassador received following his most recent trip to Washington and which have been communicated to the GOC. We have said that we will accept a serious trial in Chile based upon our evidence. Implicit in this line of reasoning is the possibility that the Review Panel could find the men extraditable but refuse extradition on grounds of nationality, thus giving full weight to our evidence for purposes of local trial. In replying, Etcheberry claimed, a point he has never made quite so forcefully in our discussions, that there is no obligation on the Chileans to try the three officers even if extradition is refused solely on grounds of nationality. It is not required by the Bilateral Extradition Treaty and the US reservation on this part of the Montevideo Convention nullifies its applicability to Chile in the present instance.

Nevertheless, Etcheberry believes that if the Supreme Court Review Panel is given only the options of extraditing or allowing the three to go unpunished in Chile, and confronted by a resolute USG position demanding extradition for all three, it will find some middle course that will permit a serious trial in Chile based upon our evidence. He is not sure of the precise shape of that solution much less whether it would be strictly legal, but he is confident that the Court will find a way: "That's their problem, not ours." Etcheberry said that this proposal and analysis evoked considerable discussion with Propper and the others in Rio but that in the end they agreed.

Comment

When Etcheberry makes his oral argument, Cubillos and others in the GOC who are aware of our position with

respect to US-Chile relations more generally may wonder whether the USG is playing straight. Some judicious guidance may be necessary: Extradition has been and remains our priority interest. Etcheberry, as a highly skilled lawyer, is making the strongest case possible to achieve that objective. While he is unable to see any good alternative that would ensure justice being done in regard to the assassinations of Letelier and Moffitt, we cannot, of course, rule out that the Supreme Court Panel may find such a solution. The position of the USG has not changed from that conveyed by Ambassador Landau to Foreign Minister Cubillos on June 5.

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Buenos Aires, Argentina
June 19, 1979

DOJ

General de Brigada (R) Odlanier Mena Salinas
Director Nacional de Informaciones
Santiago de Chile

Dear General Mena:

In the absence of Mr. Clegg, who is in the United States on vacation, I am responding to your letter of March 22, 1979, requesting that the FBI and other pertinent investigative bodies provide certain information for possible evidentiary purposes in Case 3192-78 of the "Fiscalia Militar Ad Hoc" against General Manuel Contreras Sepulveda and others for misrepresentation and other charges, including conspiracy to murder and murder of a foreign official. I am attaching certified copies of various documents for your assistance.

Attached hereto is a copy of a memorandum, dated June 5, 1979, to General Hector Orozco Sepulveda, Ad Hoc Chilean Military Prosecutor, from Assistant U.S. Attorneys Eugene H. Propper and E. Lawrence Barcella, Jr. Information contained in the June 5, 1979, memorandum answers a significant number of the questions and requests made in your March 22, 1979, letter. For your information, the June 5, 1979, memorandum was accompanied by various documents which provided information and documentation requested by General Orozco. The attachments to the June 5, 1979, memorandum, taken in conjunction with information contained in the memorandum should answer the majority of questions set forth in your March 22, 1979, letter. Among documents provided to General Orozco were autopsy reports and statements provided to the FBI by witnesses at the crime scene. For your convenience, I am again submitting as an attachment to this memorandum, copies of the autopsy reports and FBI interviews of witnesses at the scene. Also, I am attaching the statement of Michael Vernon Townley Welch, which was contained in the United States Government's request for the extradition of the Chilean Army Officers involved in the Letelier-Moffitt case. Townley's statement provides detailed information concerning the planning and the conspiracy, which led to the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt.

In your March 22, 1979, memorandum, you requested certain information regarding Rosemarie Fernandez de Guest. As you will note, in the June 5, 1979, memorandum to General Orozco, a substantial amount of this information was provided to General Orozco. I would also point out that Rosemarie Fernandez

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de Guest was deposed in Santiago, Chile, during 1978, and her deposition was included in the defense response of Captain Armando Fernandez Larios to the United States Government's extradition request which is filed with the Supreme Court of Chile.

You have asked whether Lawrence Guest, the estranged husband of Rosemarie Fernandez de Guest, was an employee of the FBI at the time Armando Fernandez Larios visited the United States in August-September 1976. Mr. Guest was not an employee of the FBI at that time. Previously, he had been employed by the FBI for a brief period in 1969-1970 as a file clerk. At the time of the Letelier conspiracy-murder in September 1976, Mr. Guest was employed by the Marriott Corporation, headquarters for which are located on River Road in Bethesda, Maryland. It is noted that Marriott Corporation headquarters are located directly across the street from a Roy Rogers Restaurant, the location where surveillances of Orlando Letelier took place, prior to his murder. As you are no doubt aware, Captain Fernandez was significantly involved in the pre-operation surveillance of Orlando Letelier and provided this data to Townley at Kennedy International Airport on September 9, 1976. Mr. Guest indicated that he met Captain Fernandez at Washington National Airport in late August of 1976, after Captain Fernandez called and advised that he was in Washington, D. C. Mr. Guest picked up Captain Fernandez and his DINA traveling companion, Liliana Walker, in his car at the airport and took them to Washington, D. C., where they checked into a local hotel. Mr. Guest indicated that during their stay in Washington, he accompanied Captain Fernandez and Liliana Walker on a sightseeing tour of various unnamed locations in Washington, D. C. Additionally, Mr. Guest indicated that he was not with Captain Fernandez or Walker Martinez at all times during their stay in Washington, D. C., area.

As indicated in the June 5, 1979, memorandum, Rosemarie Fernandez de Guest was subpoenaed to appear in Washington, D. C.; however, she was free to give or decline to give a statement to U. S. Government investigators. She was subpoenaed to insure her appearance in Washington, D. C., and to allow for her travel expenses to be paid by the U. S. Government. She was never told by FBI Agents that her brother should leave Chile since he might be harmed or killed.

Your March 22, 1979, letter also requests certain information regarding Jack Holcum, President of Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc. I again invite your attention to the June 5, 1979, memorandum in which a number of the questions asked regarding

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Mr. Holcomb were answered.

As the attached documents from Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc., clearly indicate, General Washington Carrasco was utilized as a point of reference by Kenneth Enyart/Andres Wilson/Michael Townley in 1975 to establish his bonafides. General Carrasco was telephonically contacted sometime between the February 7, 1975 order date and February 15, 1975 delivery date of the materials described in the attached Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc., invoice.

Each of your questions regarding Hans Sylten, Vice President of Audio Intelligence Devices, is answered in the June 5, 1978, memorandum. Also, each of your questions regarding Kenneth Enyart has been answered in the previous June 5, 1978, memorandum.

"Colonel Vlado" referred to in your letter of March 22, 1979, was identified by the FBI as Colonel Vladimir Secen, a Croatian nationalist living in the Miami, Florida, area. Colonel Secen was interviewed by the FBI and advised that approximately in the early fall of 1975, he met an individual who used the surname of "Saavedra." He identified photographs of Michael Vernon Townley as the individual he knew as "Saavedra." It should be noted that one O. Robinson Saavedra worked for Michael Vernon Townley during the period of time that Townley was employed as a DINA Agent. Colonel Secen indicated that he was introduced to Townley through letters of introduction from Chileans living in Argentina, who had previous contact with Secen.

Michael Vernon Townley, using the identity of Hans Petersen Silva, arrived at Kennedy International Airport on September 9, 1976. He was processed through Immigration and Customs in a routine normal manner.

As I have previously indicated to you, the FBI is always willing to provide whatever assistance and information you deem helpful in this investigation. I will also reiterate that each of the individuals about whom you have requested information are in all likelihood totally available to your Service for your own interview, in order that you may ask whatever questions you may deem appropriate to your investigation. The FBI will also attempt, in any appropriate way, to facilitate your interviewing these individuals in the United States.

Very truly yours,

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Robert W. Scherrer
Acting Legal Attache

Attachments

Department of State
Argentina Project (S200000044)

Attachment to 1979 Airgram No. 46 from American Embassy Buenos Aires to the Department of State

Part 3 of 7

AI	Amnesty International
ADL	Anti Defamation League
D	Disappeared
D & REAPP.	Disappeared and Reappeared
DAIA	Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
IACHR	Inter American Com. on Human Rights
K	Killed
N.R.A.D.	No registra antecedentes de detención
PAHR	Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos
R	Released
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
⊤	Detained

EALK, Peter

D

DIS 7/76

AISC (Cospa -Mx)

EBRAHIM,

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

ECCIO BOCCI, Alfredo

D

DIS 11/76

GPHR(L)
ML

D

ECHARREZ, Angel

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

ECHEGARAY, Nélida Cristina
DI: 8.738.687

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D 48

ECHEGOYEN DE PACHECO, Stella Maris
AJC 25

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)
WOLA 11-78
FJD

ECHEPANE, Ramón Luis
Swift

Detained since April 76 Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ECHEVERRIA, Omar
Age: 26

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

ECHEVERRIA, Raquel
Córdoba

Detained since 1976 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

254/78/1

TARNOPOLSKY, Blanca Edelberg de
Age 49
Peña 2600 - Planta Baja A
Buenos Aires
St-Perpetuity.

Abducted on 7-15-76.

ML
Amb Lég. League
Cong. Fenwick 12-16-77
Rep. Israel Sidel Comm.
Cabinet Amb Leag. 4/78

691/78/12

EDELMAN, Celia Hilda

Disappeared 1-25-76. Her home attacked by machine guns.

ADLeague

EDUARTES, Arturo

DIS

PAAR(L)
ML

EGEA CRESPO, Carlos

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

EGEA RYBCHYNSKY, Daniel Alberto

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

PARR (L)
ADLeague
Socialist Worker Party member (?)
Mother → Human (special)

D

EGGERS, Marcelo Adolfo
Apr 22
L! 11.899.614

Disappeared 5-7-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

EGLOFF, Victor Felipe
Age: 23
Doc. 11.762.017

DIS 5-12-77 Tucumán

Tucumán

PAHR(L)

D

EGRAS, Lucas

DIS 4-19-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

331/78/4 * D

EGUIA DE SANCHEZ VIAMONTE, Cecilia
CI. 10.995.011
DOB: January 2, 1954
Corrientes 2732 - Mar del Plata

Arrested by Security Forces on 10-24-77, together with husband Santiago Alejandro Sanchez Viamonte. Since then disappeared.

Comptroller AE-1491

Sanchez Viamonte, Herenia Martinez Camara de (Mother)
56, 704-La Plata 29186
Vieyra, Delia Martinez Camara de (Aunt)
Libertad y Posadas 44-2095

EGUREN DE COOKE, Alicia Graciela
Widow former National Deputy.

Reported to have been seen in Mech. School.
Maggio letter 4-10-78

ABJ 1-24-77; imprisoned.

PARA (4)
ML
listed 10-28-77 PEN report

EHDAD, Jesus Gabriel

DIS 4-29-76 Córdoba

PARA (4)
ML

602/78/9

EHRLICH, José
CI: 2.597.257
DOF: 8-30-1929
Address: General Martínez 1564-Ituzaingo, Bs'As.

Arrested
~~XXXXXXXXX~~ in Buenos Aires in Aug' 1976. At present detained in Caseros prison, having been transferred there from Villa Devoto.

Cong. Rinaldo Pistl district

Anti-Def. League-Rosenthal 9-13-78

EIDELSTEIN, Rafael Carlos
Age: 21
Hidalgo 487 - 2°Fl.
Student at School of Economic Sciences.

Disappeared 7-22-77- Presently at Unidad 9 La Plata
10-17-78 - LA NACION - Option to leave country.

ADLeague

Eier, Aldo Anselmo
LE: 6.262.363

Disappeared 10-14-76

Amb. Del League
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

EIER, Graciela Maria
Age 21
DNI: 11.668.447

Disappeared 5-19-77 Santa Fe

Amb. Del League
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

EIGUETA DIAZ, Luis Enrique
Age: 23

DIS 7-27-76

PAHR (L)

(F)

R EISENBERG, Stella Maris
LC 5773050 Age 24
EISENBERG, Ines Clotilde
LC 6.717.961 Age 26
E. Echeverria 289-Wilde-(Bs.As.)

Arrested on 5-26-77 by 7 armed men. Since then disappeared.

Eisenberg, Emma Filomena Bernau de (Mother)
LC 2.110.792
E. Echeverria 289-Wilde (Bs.As.)
PAHR(L)
Testimony to Representatives.

R/FDD.

(F)

S EISENSCHLAS, Enrique
CI 6.732.879
Rivadavia 5427-4"H"-Capital
Age 18

Arrested on 7-12-76 at his work (Continental S.A.-Alsina 3257-Capital). The same day at 5:30 pm. my home was searched, specially Enrique's room. They took some boxes with them, but I do not know their contents. Since then Enrique has disappeared.

Eisenschlas, Mauricio (Father)
Rivadavia 5427-4"H"-Capital
90-9924
ML
Letter to Senators.
3818 PAHR PAHR(L)

D

EIZA, Américo
LE. 9.525.515
Age 57

DIS 12-3-77

Maria Angelica EIZA. LC. 4.709.458. Father Resident

PAHR (4)

FDD 11-6-78

237/22/12 D *

ELBERT, Horacio Anibal
DNI. 8.037.395
Pasaje Nueva Granada 1688
CAPITAL 58-1229

Gov reply 12-19-78: N.R.A.D.

Arrested in front of Iglesia Santa Cruz on 12-8-77.
Since then disappeared.

DAIA
Letter to Comandante Raul Luis from Montevideo 1-9-78
[redacted] // ADL 8/78
Elbert, Maria Lydia Argentina (Wife)
Arias Cevallos de
Alsina 292 - 5°A
Phone: (Father) 33-0402 (Mother) 40-9005

D

ELCANO, Liliana Beatriz
C.I. 6.594.024
Age 23
Belgrano 748. Avellaneda

Disappeared 7-20-77 from work.

Lic Aug. Der. Nombre
FDD. 11-6-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 Mother Amelia De Elcano
LC: 0.771.738
Avellaneda
748

D

ELENZVAIG, Luis Natalio
Lawyer
Age 40. LE: 4.283.188

5-19-78
Abducted in 11-18-77 in Buenos Aires.

Amnesty Int. Rep. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78 (1)
DAIA
PAHR (1)

D

ELEONARDI, Héctor

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

D

ELGUETA DIAZ, Luis Enrique - (Chilean)
Chilean 2861, B. As.
Age 23

Disappeared 7-27-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ELIA, Eduardo Enrique

Disappeared 9-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

ELIA, Oscar Andres
Age: 20
DNI: 7.786.134

DIS

FDD
PAHR (L)

ELIAS, Alberto

DIS

PAHR (L)
ADLeague
ML

692/78/12

ELIAS, Néstor Marcelo
LE:10.120.733
Age 24
Plumbers Quebec 1512

Disappeared 6-3-76

San Juan Econ - Mid 01/12/76
NL
Arch of League
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ELIAS, Dr. Raul Nicolas
Emergency Hospital, Córdoba

Disappeared 4-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR (1)
NL
ADLeague

ELIAS, Rodolfo Daniel DNI - 10.074.952
41 Nº 420 - La Plata
Age 26

693/78/12

Disappeared 6-20-76 in Lanus

Reg Arg Der Humbs
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Archivo League

ELIAS, Victor Hugo

FARR

ADLeague
ML

D

ELIÇABE URRIOL, Oscar Alberto
DNI: 10.433.533
Calle 22 Nro. 394 - La Plata

Traced in La Plata - date known 5-7-78

On 6-6-78 his home was ransacked, and he was abducted from hospital, after a six day operation. Since then disappeared.

Pachal de Eliçabe Urriol, Maria Graciela de (Wife)
Calle 134 No. 477-La Plata
Phone 39133
Personal call to Embassy 7/11/78

ELICABIDE DE MOISA, Susana

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

ELIS, Raúl Nicolás (Dr.) D

DIS in Córdoba 4-15-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

C-11878/1

ELIZAGA, Hugo Raúl P Option

PEN; Unidad 9 LA PLATA
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Elizaga, Maria C. de (Mother)
Chacabuco 269 - Zarate
Phone 31-99

2 1
ELOY, Emma Nilda D

[illegible] refused visit 4/78 as no longer under PEN.

Fellow Doctor
repeated Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

ENERADO, Jorge Omar D
Campos Hnos.

Disappeared 9-30-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

694/78/12

ENGEL, Guillermo Augusto
C.I. 4.612.308 L.E. 4.476.222
Independencia 2294-Capital
Mtg 34

Gen reply 2-23-78 - Mex. reply

Disappeared on 5-10-76. Con sobrin.

hl
ADLeague
PARA - Buenos 5-17-78 (L)

ENGEL, Oscar Guillermo (h)
L.E. 8.432.018

Arrested from 9-29-76 until 10-9-76.- After two months on 12-9-76 disappeared without any news to the present.

ENGEL, Oscar Guillermo (p) (Father)
C.I. 2.436.393
Balbastro 780 - Ituzaingo T.E.:53-3831

8-10-77. Letter to Derian.

Gabriel Fuque
Ley Social Solidaridad

D

ENRIQUE, Daniel

Disappeared 6-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
ML

D

ENRIQUE, José Luis

DIS

PAHR(2)
ML

ENRIQUEZ, Hernan Jorge D

DIS Mendoza

AISC (SCAP)

ENRIQUE, Josefa Marta

8

Repetida Dia: Oct.78-La Nacion

D

ENRIQUEZ, Ramón
Age 28
DE: 8.403.306

Disappeared 10-26-77 San Miguel

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

ENRIQUEZ ESPINOZA, Edgardo

Disappeared 4-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

C-8747/6

Opcion

ENTRAIGAS, Carlos Rodolfo
L.E. 8.217.419 - C.I. 8.619.744
Alem 242 - Viedma (Rio Negro)

Arrested 3-27-76. At present Unidad 9 - La Plata (Bs.As.)
Pabellón 6, celda 244, under PEN. 89/76.
Has asked for option to leave the country.

Entraigas, María Lopez de (Personal visit La Plata) 11-21-77
Alem 242 - Viedma (Rio Negro) (Mother)

EPELBAUM, Luis Marcelo
EPELBAUM, Claudio
EPELBAUM, Lila

On August 10, 1976 Luis Marcelo disappeared. Claudio and Lila were kidnapped in Uruguay and it is supposed that they have been brought back to Argentina. Since then all three disappeared.

Epelbaum, Renée S. de (Mother)
Larrea 1058 - 8°P - "B"-Capital
Tel. 83-5893; 826-2204

Letter to Senator A. Ribicoff.

EPSTEIN, Alberto

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé

DALEague

EPSTEIN, Mauricio
Entre Rios

Removed from PEN - 12-22-78 -

Detained since 10-1975 in Gualeguaychú

Contact Amn Cong 9/78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ERB, Patricia Ana
Age: 19
Sociology Student-Menonists

Abd 9-13-76 from home

ML

P

ERCEGOVICH, Marcos

Removed from PEN - La Main 9-16-78.
Under PEN - Coronda Santa Fé

DALEague

D

ERCOLANO, Guillermo Angel

DIS 12-6-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List -- 11-21-78

PANR(L)

D

ERCOLE, Margarita Elsa
Lomas de Zamora
Engineering student Age 20
DNI: 12.739.224

Disappeared 7/77 La Plata - Bs. As.

ML

ADLeague

PANR(L)

ERCOLI, José

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

ERCOLI, María Cristina

DIS

~~La Plata List~~
PAHR (L)

9

ERDI, Luis Rodolfo

ARR Formosa PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

FREED

D

EREÑU DE LIWSKI, Hilda Norma
Profesion; Doctor

Released 4-15-78

Arrested on 4-5-78 at 9;00 am. in Rivadavia and Pasco Streets, Buenos Aires, while visiting a patient. Since then disappeared.

As in Herald clipping 4-16-78

Ereñu, Magdalena B. de (Mother)
Muñiz 980, Capital Federal

ERICKSE, Marianne (French) D

DIS 9/76 San Juan

ML

D

ERIZE, Nané Anne

Disappeared in 1976

Trans. Em Kassy
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

635/78/11 77

ERLICH, José
Age: 49

Lascros Prison
PEN prisoner

Gen Reply: 2-23-79. Have no antecedents.

ADLeague
Joyce Wells, Cambridge MA 02139

124/77/10 D *

EHLICH, Margarita
CI. 5.834.170
Date of Birth: 7-7-1950.
Pueyrredón 2453 (10A) Buenos Aires

Kidnapped April 6, 1976 from a movie theatre by five armed men. Since then disappeared.

FDJ
Cong.Cormen,James. 68-9167

L

D

ERNANDONERA, Salvia Juan P

DIS 11-9-77

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D78

EROLES, Rita
Las Heras, Prov. Bs.Aires)

ABD 5-21-78 togetherwith brother Roberto

D78

EROLES, Roberto
LAS HERAS Prov. Bs.As.

ABD 5-21-78 together with sister Rita

D

ERRAMOSPE, Graciela Esther

Disappeared 6-25-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

-562/78/9 D

ERRANDONEA SALVIA, Juan Pablo (Uruguayan)
DPOB: 12-29-1955-Montevideo
Age 22

Subject was in Argentina from August 1973 until the time of his disappearance, around 9-23-1976, in Buenos Aires.
Disappeared 9.23.76

Carrier Cont Cong. 9/78
UNHCR-9-6-78

Errandone, Maria Mafdalina Salvia de (MOther)
Battle y Ordoñez 579, Las Piedras
PAHR(L)

D

ERRECALDE, Ruben

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

5/24/11 *

ERRO, Enrique (Uruguay)

Deported. FOR.OFF,INQ.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76
Expulsion Decree 2766.(11-3-76)

Expelled to France

Amnist. Int.

D

ESAIN, Marta Virginia
C.I. 7.120.477
Montevideo 1838 - 1. Madero Fa. Ar.
Bfe 22

Disappeared 5-28-76

Rep. Arg. Den. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ESCADING,

ABD W/Florencio Arias

ASIC (ARG.KOMM.SWEDEN)

ESCALANO, Marco Emilio

DIS 4-6-76 Buenos Aires
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ML

ESCALANTE, Josefa Graciela

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

ESCALANTE, Maria Andrea

DIS 11/76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

T ESCAMEZ, Francisco Alfredo (P)
Det- 16.936.311
Age 24

Arrested in San Juan on the 27 october 1976, by a group of Security Force. Since then disappeared.

ESCAMEZ, Ernestina I. B. de (Mother)
Saenz Peña 1922 - Las Heras 5539 - Mendoza

Comm. Cont. Cong. 9/78 PAHR(L)
8-9-77 - Letter to T.Todman.
Mendoza Commission Visit 8/78
Arg. Emig. Del Comité
ML
IN "WOLA-11-78"

D

ESCARAY, Ana Maria
Calle 61 4/24 y 30 - La Plata

Disappeared 9-14-76 with Antonio Petrica La Plata. Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

ESCOBAR, Carlos A
Empleado público-Córdoba

Disappeared 4-5-76 -20- Córdoba

~~PRAA~~(1)
ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ESCOBAR, Héctor Alfredo
DNI: 11.113.110

Removed from PEN - La Nación 9-1-78

Under PEN in Coronda, Santa Fé

PAHR (1)
Escobar, Amelia Baez de (Wife)
Av. Lavalle 300-Posadas 3300
Letter to Amb. 8-10-78

D

ESCOBAR, Héctor Ricardo

DIS

ML

ESCOBAR DE LEAL, Estela M.
Empl. Renault-Córdoba
Apr 24

Detained since 10-22-76 in Villa Devoto.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)

ESCOLANO, Marco Emilio

D

DIS 4-6-76

PAHR (L)

D

ESCOTO, Nelson Santana (Uruguayan)
San Martín 2620 - Pra.
Apr 28

Disappeared 3/77

AL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

R (F) D

ESCUDERO, Ana Cristina
CI 5083875 Age: 42
ESCUDERO, Fernando Raúl
CI. 4906501 Age: 46
Sarmiento 454- 1640 Martinez

Arrested on 9-28-76. Since then disappeared.

Escudero, Valeria de (Mother)
Sarmiento 454-1640 Martinez

PMHR(L) Testimony to Representatives.
AL
Letter to Amnesty Int. 1-24-77

D

ESCUDERO, Cristiana

ABD 10/76 Acassuso, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

ESCUDERO, Juan Carlos
CI: 7.242.924

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

ESCUDERO, Hernan Gregorio
Age 29
CI: 5.741.890

Disappeared 7-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

ESCUDERO PICCALUGA, Ana G.
Age: 42
CI: 5.083.875

DIS 9-28-76

PAHR (L)

D

ESCUDERO PICCALUGA, F.R.
Age: 46
CI: 4-806.501

DIS 9-28-76

PAHR (L)

D

ESEC, Hugo R.

DIS 3-24-76 Tigre, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

ESPANOL, Laura (nee Koremblitt)

Detained

ADLeague

ESNEDA, Tomas

ABD 7/77 Mar del Plata, with pregnant wife

AISC

ESPADA, Tomas
Lawyer

Abducted in July 1977.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Causa Auth Cong. 9/78

ESPADAVECCHIA, Maria Isabel

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

ESPAÑA, Nestor Julio
CI. 5.565.187
Lawyer Rfe29

Abducted from his home on 11-27-1976.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Auth Congr. Causa 9/78
HL
FRHR(L)

ESPAÑOL, Antonia

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

ESPEC, Julia

Disappeared 3/77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D-77

ESPECHE, Ernesto Francisco

LE: 8.089.293
Address: Monteagudo no. 1193, BA

DIS: 5-28-77 Monteagudo No. 1193, BA Tucumán

PAHR (1)

Mother visit emb. 11-27-78
TEL: [illegible] 21372

D

ESPECHE, Mercedes Salvadora

DIS Mendoza

FDD (4)

D

ESPEJO, Ana María

DIS 4-20-76

CORDOBA List 12-1-78

D

ESPEJO, Julia

Doc. Direc.Nac.Adulto-DINEA

Disappeared 5/76

FDD (4)

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ESPEJO, Maria
Doc. secundaria-Córdoba

MR

Disappeared 8/76

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ESPER, Daniel

MR

ADLeague
ML

ESPER, Gabriel Horacio

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

D

ESPIEYN, Mauricio
Lawyer

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

ESPINDOIA, Carlos

DIS 12/76

PAHR(1)
ML

D

ESPINDOIA, Fernando Rafael
C:I:8.003.462 D.N.I. 11.436.072
Age 44

Disappeared 6-14-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ESPINDOLA, Gerardo
LE: 7.985.080
DOB: 9-12-45

Arrested on 12-5-77 with wife in Rio de los Sauces(Córdoba).
Disappeared since then.

PAHR (L)

Susana Dillon de Ales (Mother-in-law)
Moreno 75- PB Dpto.A-Cuarto RIO

Letter to Emb. 8-15-78

ESPINDOLA, Norma
Age: 34

DIS

PAHR (L)

ESPINOLA, Hortencia

Arrested on May 1975. At present in Villa Devoto prison.

Wash. Off. on Latin America 7-27-77.

ESPINOSA, José Guillermo
Arg 78

Disappeared 1-18-78 La Plata

Ing. Arq. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ESPINOSA, Libre Eduardo

DIS 3-29-76 from La Tablada-Bs.As.Prov.

PAHR (L)
ML

ESPINOSA, Trinidad Libertad

DIS 5-7-76

PAHR (L)

D

ESPINOZA, Victor Orlando –

DIS

FAHR(4)
ML

ESPIRO, Dr. Nicolas
Psychiatrist

9

Arrested on March 1976, first in Villa Devoto later in La Plata.

Comm Amb Cong. 9/78
ADLeague

R ESPLUGAS Enrique Lorenzo (F) D
DNI 7700908
Arg 19

On 10-29-76 left his house with his car and since then disappeared.

Esplugas, Maria Silvia Ferrandini de (Mother)
9 de Julio 16 - Ruta 8-San Martin
LC 4362736

(Letter to Almirante Emilio Massera) Sent to Representatives

FAHR (1)

D

ESPONDA, Carlos Alberto

DIS June 1977 La Plata

LA Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

AFL/CIO

87/77/9

ESQUERRA, Juan Francisco
L.E. 5.129.888

Arrested on 4-19-76. At present in Unidad 9 - Pabellón 4 in La Plata Prison. At disposition of PEN and JUSTICE DEPARTMENT (Poder Judicial). (PEN + Crim Charges)
Esquerra temporarily removed to Hospital Italiano following severe heart attack. Get ready for cable from Sen.Humphrry's Office requesting our intervention to get him back home under house arrest situation on humanitarian grounds.
(Information from Mr.. Freeman 10-25-77).
Removed from PEN - Clarin 7-22-78
Info. given to Mr. Harris 9-16-77.

Clarin 6-4-78

Cong. Fraser 48-1325 RE-9722

PAHR- Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

ESQUIVEL, Antero Daniel (Paraguayan)
Age 33
CI: 9.124.481

Disappeared 2-2-77

HL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

ESQUIVEL, Daniel

DIS 2-1-77

Mexico 79

ESQUIVEL, Messiez Ruben F.
Publicidad

Detained 8-22-77 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ESTEBAN, Alonso Ruben

DIS 11-24-76 Lanus Este, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

ESTEBAN, Carlos Alonso

AED 2/77 Lanus - Bs.As.

ML

Reappeared D/1978

ESTEBAN, Enrique
Periodist of Clarin

Abd.7-16-78 with wife, near Neuquen. Wife was released later. He is disappeared.
Reappeared 9-30-78 Bs.As. Herald

Newspaper clipping-Bs.As.Herald 7-27-78.
M

D

ESTEBAN, Rubén Alonso
Age 18
Member: Ted. Jur. Com.

Disappeared 11-24-76 Lanús

Leg. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
Comm. Party

ESTEBAN DE SOSA, Ana Maria
DNI: 10.985.416

ARR 11-9-77 Córdoba - PEN - Held in San Martin Prison, Córdoba

AISC

ESTEVAO, Ana Maria
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

---

c.198|78|5

ESTEVAO, José
"La Voz de Solano"

Under PEN
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78

ESTEVEZ, Alonso Nelson
Age: 28

DIS 6-17-76

PAHR (L)

ESTEVEZ, José Maria
Age: 27
LE: 7.826.470

DIS 5-2-77 Haedo - Bs.As.

FDD

ESTEVEZ, Alvaro

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

ESTEVEZ, Manuel Salvador

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

ESTRADA, Amelia Felisa
Lt: 6.269.194

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ESTRADA, Daniel

DIS 4-4-76 from Don Torcuato, Prov.Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

ESTRELLA, Edgardo
Obrero Renault

Detained in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ESTRELLA, Miguel Angel
Age: 40
Pianist

Arrested in Montevideo on December 16, charged with belonging to an Argentina Montonero guerrilla cell.

Bs.As.Herald clipping, 12-28-77.

ETCHART, Z. Uruguayan

Right of option Granted Dec.(Christmas list) Left April 1978.

UK

P

PONCE, Elida Josefa (nee Etchemberger)

Under PEN Decree 2088/76 Unidad 2 Villa Devoto
CRIM APP CT-ordered released from PEN. 11/78
tiene 11-13-78

ADLeague

ETINGER, Bernardo

DAIA

EUGER, Elizabeth Killed

Killed on 4-21-77

La Plata List

D

EUSEBI, Lidia Edith
Suarez 1540, Bs.As.
Ap. 24
CA: 7.013.481

ABD 9-16-76 by Security Forces

PAHR (L)
ML

D

EVANGELISTA, Blas Roberto
Ap. 24

Disappeared 11-15-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

Diego
EVEOUZ / Manuel Hugo
Lawyer

ABD November 1976

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

EZPELETA, Oscar

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

I

FABIA ALBAR, Alejandro
DNI: 13 411.444
Prof. Ing. y Filberto. Vecino Bs. As.
Age 18

Disappeared 4-21-77 from home

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FABIANI D

ABD 5-10-76 with Haroldo Conti

ML

FABRE, Luis Alberto D Killed
Age 28

DIS 4-21-77

PAHR(1)
CORDOBA List 12-1-78

D

FABRI DE FARME, Mónica

DIS 7-18-77

ML

FARRICANT, Jorge Ariel
Age 21

Disappeared January 1976 - Secret. - PEN

ML
Amb Lui. Pasqua
See State 067772/ 1978. BA-1869
+ 4540 883

D

FACHINA, Luis Mario
Age 36

Disappeared 3-25-76 Zárate

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

FACHINI, Everardo
Secretario Académico de la Univ. Nac.del Sur

Disappeared

ML
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

FACHINI, Merilla de

DIS

ML

FACHINO, Luis Mario

DIS

ML

9

FAGALE, Wanda

ARR 3-13-76 Buenos Aires-PEN Villa Devoto

AISC

D

FAGES,

ABD 3/76 in his office, Calles 7 abd 91, La Plata

ML

D

FAGUES, Carlos Luis
LE: 3.396.512

DIS 12-18-76 La Plata

PAHR (2)
AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D

FAGET, Aldo
Empleado Público-San Juan

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FAGETTI, Aldo
LE: 8.511.240

Disappeared Mendoza

Mendoza Family list 8/78
PAHRO Prensa 5-17-78(L)
WOLA-11-78

T

FAILLET, Liliana

ARR 12-2-76 Santa Fé PEN Villa Devoto

AISO(CADHU)

FAIMBERG, Margarita Maria (nee Palazo)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

505/78/8

FAINSTAIN BURSTIN, Mauricio (Uruguayan)

Released from PEN. 76 / 12, 26. 76 -
Released Decree 3-340/76 La Prensa 6-2-78
La Opinión 6-16-78
Still detained in La Plata, Unidad 9.-

Luisa Fainstain de Stakin
Juan Benito Blanco 1174-Apartam 101 - Montevideo. (Sister)
DAIA
Emb. Montevideo-Wood Personal call 10/4/78 - Mit M. Blood)
FAHR (L)

FREED 12-6-78
306/78/3

FAINZAIG, Jorge Noe
[redacted]
LE: 4.534.848
CI. 5.246.497
Julian Alvarez 640 - 4°"A"
Buenos Aires 55-0102
Removed from PEN - Ra Macon 9-1-78
together with Isaac Mochon
Arrested in July 1977 by the 10th Brigada de Infanteria for alleged economic crimes and were ordered to be set conditionally free in September 1977. Neither was released from prison.

(See over)

UNDER PEN-Delito Económico Decreto 2127 dated 7-21-77.
for Jamaica, came again 1-6-78 asking to adopt him because she was expecting good news in a very near future, before 1-27-78. Talked to Jimmer
Fainzaig, Zulema Waisburg (Wife)
Julian Alvarez 640-4th Fl. "A"
Buenos Aires 55-0102 - 3/ now in Unit 16 in Caseros Prison,
Cong. Drinan (State 309631) 1st Brigade can be contacted regarding
Cong. Fascell 1A-7345 to connect it to La Brigada Gral. Viamonte

D

FAJARDO, José

DIS

ML

D

FALABEL DE ESCALANO, Mirta I.

DIS 4-6-76

PAHR (L)

D

FALABELLA, Marta Irene

DIS 4-6-76

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

PAHR(L)
ML

RELEASED)

FALCHI, Elisa

Arrested when she met her husband after he was released from prison. She was released some hours after, he was shot.

WOLA

FALCO, Dolia Liliana
Age 19
C/: 7.948.977

4-19-76 Disappeared

PANR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

c-64/28/11

FALCO, Mario Roger
Neurocirujano - Medico

¶ Option

Min Int. reformed visit of 28 as granted R00.

PEN - Option to leave country. V.9-La Plata

GRANTED Right of Option - ~~Visa~~ PRESENTLY Swedish given Him Visa 10-7-78

Received directly in Consulate. 11-14-77.

88-8878
84-8908 (H.F.)
Cancer Amb-Congress 9/78

438/79/1 D 44

FALCO DE HORANE, Norma
Lawyer

DIS July 1978

AI

AFL/CIO

FALCON, Carlos Agustin

D

Carlos Agustin Falcon: D.N.I. 4.641.595. metallurgic worker. Delegate in the factor where he worked. He was abducted from his home in Gerral Oeste (pcia. Buenos Aires) March 26th 1976 at 2 p.m. byCivilians.

FDD
RGHR(L)
Leg Arg Int Hombre

D

FALCONE, Jorge
Calle 8 Nro. 1334 - La Plata

ABD 1/78 from home with wife Nelba

ML

T FALCONE, Maria Claudia (F) D
R CI 3.016.723
Calle 8 No. 1334-La Plata

Arrested on 9-16-76 at the home of a relative Calle 56, No. 586, 6°Piso, Dto.1, La Plata. Since then disappeared.

Falcone
FALCONE, Nelva Alicia Mendez de (father) (Mother) Also arrested Freed shortly thereafter
LE 3.092.455
Calle 8 No. 1334-La Plata

Statement. Sent to T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

FAHR(4)

610/78/9 D1978

FALCONE, Norma Raquel
Lawyer

GOA reply: 1-18-79: Negative reply.

DIS Aug. 1978

B.A.C/clipping 8-20-78
Council on Hemispheric Affairs-Sept.13-78
WOLA 11-78
Cancer Amn. Occ. 9/78
Asociación de Abogados de Buenos Aires
La Nación clipping 8-18-78

D

FALCONETTI DE CALVO, Adriana
Age:27
CI. 6.259.063

DIS 9-11-77

ML

PALECHI, Carlos A.
Dálmine Siderca

D

Disappeared 6-27-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FALIK DE VERGARA, Herminia

D

ABD 12-30-76 Córdoba

AISC

Cmt

FALICOFF, Alberto Samuel (F) 4/3/78/6 D
Age 36
LE: 5.7o2.851

Was kidnapped together with his wife Estela Falicoff on November 25, 1976 at their home in the city of Cordoba. She was released after a month. He is still on the hands of the kidnappers.

FALICOFF, Estela Corvalés de (Wife)

8-8-77. Letter to Tex Harris. POL.
SAHR (4)
Am. Emb. BA. 6654
Amn Brief Ltrd Comm
concern Anti-Comm. 4/76

D

FALICOS, Luis Samuel

DIS 11/76

ML

D

FALIK DE VERGARA, Herminia

DIS 12-30-76 Córdoba

ML

D

FALIVENE, Roberto Nando
LE: 11.316.780
Urquiza 237-LOBERIA(Prov.Bs.As.)

Arrested on 1-29-77. Since then disappeared. La Plata

PAHR(4)
ML
Rodriguez de Falivene, Susana Liliana (Wife)
LC. 11.483.905
Uquiza 237
LOBERIA, Prov. Bs.As.

FALK, Peter
DOB: 1936
Profession: Privatepilot

Detained in Escobar on 4-2-76; released on 4-3-76. Since then disappeared. On 4-3-76 his house was destroyed by fire.

German Embassy - Von Schlick

FALU, Luis Eduardo
Age: 27
LE: 10.012.341

DIS 9-14-76 Tucumán

FDD

FALVIVENTO, José Abelardo

DIS

ML

D

FALVIVENTO, José Eduardo

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

D

FAMALLOSA, Alberto Raúl
LE: 6429.20

Disappeared 6-16-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FANAVELLA, Mirta Irene

DIS 4-6-76

AISC (Costa-Madrid)

D

FANCHI, Raúl Edgardo
Doc. [illegible]
Ph 13

Disappeared 8/76 in Cordoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FANJUL, ~~Mabel~~ Amalia
Lived in La Plata, Bs.Aires

ABD 9/77 Leaving Sanatorio Quilmes, Bs.As.

PAHR (1)
ML

D

FANTIN, Carlos Alberto

DIS 4-7-76 Santa Cruz

PAHR (1)
ML

C-10/7/78 800/79/1 option P

FANTINI AYBAR, Nestor Manuel (Fantini)

Juan M. Ahmad visit 11/78 as under judicial system.

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata. Option to leave country.

Bank, personal visit released as under chgs —
A1-45 - Austin Tex -
A1 Australia - Adoption
Aybar, Dora 821-3849 (Mother)
born 1-20-98
Cauxa Postal 04-0338 (Letter to Mr. Dalvin Clay,
Brasilia D.F.-Brasil Agregado Asuntos Legales)
70000
Mrs Susan Turnbull, N. Fla. California (over)

D

FANTINO, Raúl Bernardo
Age 25
LE: 10.584.526

Disappeared 2-28-77 from Buenos Aires

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FAPIANO, Daniel Eduardo
CI: 6.731.760

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

FARALDO, José Luis
C.I. 922.557
Sold. de la Independencia 1027. Pte. Ro.
Rgc 77

Disappeared 10-6-77

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Rug Arg. Ser. Humble

D

FARAMIÑAN, Pedro
Psicology graduate

Disappeared 2-22-77

Cancer Cuti-Lomp. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Rug Arg Ser. Humble

D

FARAONE, Patricia Silvia
CI: 7,686,122

DIS 7-20-76

PAHR (L)

FARAT, Sire Salim

ARR Ex-Member Supreme Court-Salta-Rel.
No Trial.

AISC

FARAYI DEL RIO, Carlos
Age 24
DNI: M. 1514 219

DIS 5-18-77

PAHR(L)

FARDI, Ricardo
DNI. M. 299.466
Gaspedes 2454 - Bs As.
Age 30

Disappeared 11-22-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

D

FARIAS, Alberto Eduardo
Age 23 DNI: 11.895.772

DIS 5.24.77

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR (L)

D

FARIAS, Cecilia

DIS 5-20-77

ML

FARIAS, Horacio

Detained since 5-20-76 Unidad 9 La Plata
Released PEN - La Nación 1/20/79

FARIAS, Lorenzo
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 3-20-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FARIAS, Miguel
Met Com

Detained 4-22-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FARIAS, Neri

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

FARIAS, Ricardo Francisco

ARR 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

de Fermes
FARINA, Beatriz
Rec 24
DNI: 10.492.457

ABD 6-14-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)
ML
Hij. Arg. Des. Hombre

FARINA, Mario (Paraguayan) 673/78/12

ABD 9-20-78 in Barrio San Alberto, Bs.As.Prov.

AMN. INT.

PARMIÑAN, Pedro
Virrey Loreto 2283, Buenos Aires

ABD 2-25-77

ML

FARRANDO, Maria Elena

DIS MENDOZA

PAHR (L)

FARRONE, Patricia Silvia
ci: 7.696.121

Disappeared 7-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FARSA, Jorge
Libanes - Passport No. 10866
Married

Arrested by Security Forces on 12-29-77. Since then disappeared. .

Narzira Farsa
CI. 9.239.484
Pergamino 963-Lanus Este Neighbour- 241-4902)

D

FARYEL, Roberto Horacio

DIS

FARR (L)
ML

D

FASARDO, José

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

FASSI, Roberto
LAWYER

Abducted in November 1976.

Human Rights Org. 4/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
ML

D

FASSINO, Roberto
AGE: 37

ABD 12/76 by 3 civilians. Owner of a jewelry store in Moron, Bs.As.

ML

D78

FATALO, Victor Anibal

DIS 11-6-78

PAHR (L)

D

FATECHE, Carlos José
DNI 11.236.961
Age: 22

-6-24-76-
DIS ~~10-27-76~~ from Escobar Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

PP

FATTORINI, Oscar (Dr.)
Medico cirujano

DIS Detained 6-3-76 Ramos Prison

MEDICAL PRISONERS IN LATIN AMERICA-NYTimes.
~~XXXX

FAVIER, Estela

ARR 3-31-75 Villa Devoto-Sentenced to 5 yrs.

AISC (CADHU)

FAVILA, Saturnino
Lawyer and Judge at Paso de los Libros, Corrientes

Detained with other lawyers.

Liga Arg. Der:Hombre 4-19-78

FAVIO

DIS 4-16-76, worked for the Instituto de Investigaciones

ML
(RHR (L)

FAZIO, Ruben Antonio

DIS 12-10-76

Mar del Plata List

FEBESIN, Emilio Osvaldo

DIS 2-10-77

PAHR

FEBRERO, Armando
Metallurgical worker

ABD 12/76

ML

D

FEDERICO, Norma Eva

DIS 6-1-76

PARR (L)
ML

D

FEIJOO, Raúl

DIS 6-17-76

PARR (L)
ML

P

FEIRBAND, Oscar

Detained June 1976

ADLeague

D

FELDMAN, Elena

Disappeared 4-28-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

650/78/12 D

FELDMAN, Isidoro David
CI 6.549.363

ABD 6-3-76 by police Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

649/78/12 D

FELDMAN, José Eduardo
LC: 7.106.384
Age 23
Juan Pco Lagos 3748

GAA reply 1-23-79 - Neg. reply

Disappeared 8-6-77 - CAP. FEDERAL
HABELA V.A. DE PAPIC - C.I. 1466.878. BURZACO ci suegra 5674 Avle papic
(Grandmother)

PAHR(L)
DAIA
Amb. Jul. Lagos
FDL 11-6-78

446/78/7 D

FELDMAN, Laura Isabel
CI 7.015.790
Age 28
GOA reply 9-5-78 : N.R.A.D.

2-2-78
Arrested in March 1978

PAHR(L)
State Department-Univ.of California

446/78/6 D 78

FELIPE DE MONACO, Ester Silvia del Rosario
Psychologist
Age 28
LC: 6.267.184

GOA reply 1/30/79 - Req. reply.

Kidnapped on 1-11-78 in Villa Maria (Córdoba) with husband.

Dept. of State 044939
Amnesty-Mexico
WOLA
PAHR(L)

D

FELIZ, Mario Rubén

Disappeared

650/75/12 D

FELMAN, Isidro David
Age: 52 - Ex Cuba
Cert reply 2-23-79. Neg. reply.

Disappeared 6-3-76

AL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Amnesty League

D

FELMAN, Laura Isabel
Age 18
C.I.: 7.016.990

Disappeared 2-21-78 (age 22-26)

Amnesty League
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
DATA

F

FELMAN, Raul

Detained 4-7-76.

PAHR(L)
AL
ADLeague

D

FENGERUT, Pablo

Disappeared May 1977

ADLeague

FENINZ, Ana Maria D

ABD 5/76 Moreno - Home ransacked

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

FERENAZ ZELADA,
Age: 45

DIS 9-10-76 Moron - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

FERESIN, EmilioOsvaldo
Age: 29
L. 4.981.684

DIS 2-10-77 Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Alfredo Oscar
Age 18

Disappeared 7-30-76 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

FERNANDEZ, Altuna (uruguyan Nat'l) D

Info - 4/78 from UNHCR

DIS:

Reportly arrested in B.A. and returned to Punta Readez Prison in Uruguay.-Info. dated 11-78

UNHCR —

FERNANDEZ, Amadeo

D

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

D

FERNANDEZ, Antonio
Age 70

Disappeared

PARR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Carlos Alberto
C.I: 2.106.714

Disappeared 5-15-76, Berisso. 68.
Disposition of Juzgado de Sentencia, Ley V Sec. 28, por delito de robo"
Opinión 6-14-78

PARR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rep. Arg. Ser. Humilde

D

FERNANDEZ, Carlos Alberto
LE: 8.139.310
Age: 26

DIS 8-27-76

ML
PAHR (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Carlos Alfredo
Age: 21
Independencia 3000-Buenos Aires
DN: 14.208.638

ABD 2-23-77

PAHR(L)
Letter from Bernin 10-17-78
ML

FERNANDEZ, Carlos Amador
Age 30
LE: 4.608.147

D-78

DIS 7-1-78 PAHR - Cap. Federal
FBI List 9-16-78

PAHR (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Cecilia Maria del Carmen
LC: 16.201.615 C1: 6.743.047
Age 25

Disappeared 7-27-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

FERNANDEZ, Clara Haydée
LC: 6.453.093
Age 24

Disappeared 7-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

FERNANDEZ, Cristina

D

ABD 5-20-77

AISC

D

FERNANDEZ, Daniel Hernan
Age: 23
CI: 7.438.522

DIS 6-26-76

FDD

Killed D

FERNANDEZ, Diego Zaido
Age 34

DIsappeared

Lic. Hug. Sa. Hombru
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

FERNANDEZ, Dolores

DIS

PAHR(4)
ML

K

FERNANDEZ, Emilio Raúl

ABD 1-21-76 from Cattle Market-Liniers, Buenos Aires Prov.

ML

D = RAfg. 78

FERNANDEZ, Enrique Martin
Secretario de Prensa y Propaganda de la Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (UOM)

Abducted 7-27-78. Released 8-17-78.

Clarin clipping 8-17-78

D

FERNANDEZ, Enrique Raúl
DU: 12.149.529
Lamadrid 1037
SAN MIGUEL DE TUCUMAN
Student of Medicine
Age 20

-Tucumán-

Abducted at the corner of his home on 5-30-76. Since then disappeared (Extraofficially he was taken by the CIDE-Security Forces).

PRNR(L)
Fernandez, Guillermina Adela (4-21-78) (Aunt)
Directorio 2067-Capital
Phone 232-8613 (Pensionado de Hermanas Franciscanas).

D

FERNANDEZ, Galan

Detained in La Plata.

Harris data 8-14-78

D

FERNANDEZ, Godoberto Luis
Age: 29
LE: 7.618.065

DIS 1-11-77

FDD

D

FERNANDEZ, Gregorio Carlos

ABD 9-12-76 w/ Anibal Carlos Benitez

ML

D

FERNANDEZ, Gustavo Javier
Age: 23
DNI: 10.880.179

DIS 8-27-76

PAHR (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Héctor Hugo

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

FERNANDEZ, Hernán ~~David~~ Daniel
Age 22
DN: 7.439.522

Disappeared 6-26-76

FBD
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Hugo Orlando

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

T

FERNANDEZ, Isabel de
Lanuza

Detained in January 1976, in Mendoza.

Causa Amn Crim. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

FERNANDEZ, Isabel Noemí Valencia
LC: 3.709.728

ABD 10-12-76 from her bookstore in Bs. Aires.

PAHR (L)
ML

FERNANDEZ, Jesus Alberto (Cortez, Pedro - auto cinco)
Age 31
Mercedes
LE: 4.374.968

Abducted 8/26/76 by Army

Amn.Int'l Vienna 61363 SM-6122
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML
Arg. Org. Jud. Members

D

FERNANDEZ, Jesus Carlos

DIS 11/76

ML

D

FERNANDEZ, Jorge Luis
C.I. 8.917.632
J. Palbin 1235, Castelar
Age 16

Disappeared 9-19-77 with brother Juan
Letter to Embassy NOV 9-78
PERSON INTERESTED- DAVID ERIC NEWSOM
CANCELED

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FERNANDEZ, José

ABD 2/77 Secretary of Diego Muñiz Barreto

ML

D

FERNANDEZ, José Alberto

DIS 8-28-76

PAHR (L)

FERNANDEZ, José Maria
Callegaris

Detained 5-20-77 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FERNANDEZ, Juan Alejandro
e.i. 8.414.034
J. Bailon 1235 - Capital
Age 13

Disappeared 9-19-77 with brother Jorge
Letter to Embassy - NOV. 9-78 (answered)
Person interested - (David Eric Newsam)

NL
PAHR- Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Juan Carlos
Bo. Tucuchi, J.C. Paz
Age 37

Disappeared 10-26-77 with Alicia Gonzalez

Liq. Org. Del. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

D

FERNANDEZ, Juan Domingo
Age: 30
Doc. 7.690.190

DIS-1-21-76

Tucumán

D

FERNANDEZ, Juan José

Disappeared 2-18-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FERNANDEZ, Juan Ramón
e.l. 8122773
Florencio Varela 424. Bernal Pcia Bs. As.
Age 20

Disappeared 8-4-77 in Bernal

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

C-9177/c

P 8pam

FERNANDEZ, Julio Horacio
LE. 7,849.597

Birth date: 7-6-1950.
Student (Economics) - married (Wife in Mexico). In 1969 was for 20 days in USA (Fundación Harriet).

Lomas de Zamora

Arrested under PEN. Asked for option to leave country. Father filled out the VISA for Inmigrant. 10-27-77.

VS Emb. visa granted 4/78

Fernandez Miranda, Luis Antonio (Father)
LE. 2.091.098.
Rivadavia 548-Rivadavia(Prov.Bs.As.)
Phone: Rivadavia 3 (Horario de oficina)

BA-1166(A)
AA-8883

FERNANDEZ, Leda
Direc. esc. prim.-Coronda, Santa Fé

Detained U.2-V.Devoto

Removed from PEN - La Razón 12-22-78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FERNANDEZ, Lorenzo Antonio

DIS 7-20-76

PAHR (L)
ml

D

FERNANDEZ, Luis Horacio
Age 41

Disappeared 9-14-77 Temperley

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FERNANDEZ, Mabel Irene

ARR 10-4-76 PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

FERNANDEZ, Manuel Alberto

Disappeared Mendoza 3-23-76

Mendoza Family list 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
"WOLA-11-78"

FERNANDEZ, Margarita

ARR 1-24-75 Bs.As. PEN-Villa Devoto

AISC(CADHU)

D

FERNANDEZ, Maria C.
DI. 5.979.664
Diag. 76 N° 612 - La Plata - Bs. As.

Disappeared 10-1-76 from Catholic Univ. La Plata - Bs. As.

ML
PARR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FERNANDEZ, María del C.

Disappeared 6-27-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FERNANDEZ, Maria E

DIS

ML

FERNANDEZ, Maria Elena
Age: 17

454/79/1 D

Detained with parent in Avellaneda in May 1977.

VEJA, 5-31-78

French Embassy
Dep. Cons. of Bonn.

FERNANDEZ, Maria Josefa
C.I: 7.081.226

10-1978

Age: 24

Dis: 2-6-78, Cap. Federal

FDD List -9-16-78

D

FERNANDEZ, Mario Alberto
LE: 4356 95
Age 37

Disappeared 7-18-77 CASTELAR

Sister Rosita H de Lopez - es 4777.147 - Salguero 524
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
EAA 11-6-78

FERNANDEZ, MARTA ALICIA

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

FERNANDEZ, Martin

D

DIS

(AHK)
ML

FERNANDEZ, Miguel Alberto

D

DIS

ML

P

FERNANDEZ, Miguel Angel (editor)

Arrested 7/1/76; imprisoned Chaco.
Circ PEN - (La Nación 4-22-78)

Le Monde 6-16-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
ML
PAHR(L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Mónica Liliana

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERNANDEZ, Nelly

DIS 5/76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERNANDEZ, Noemí

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERNANDEZ, Oscar Alejandro
DNI: 6.125.777
Student Leader
Age 22

Disappeared 3-3-77 Air Force officers circle, Calle 7 #5, Fr. A.

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D. 1978

FERNANDEZ, Oscar Alfredo
DNI: 10.176.788
Age: 25

Dis: 6-7-78, Ranelagh

FDD List- 9-16-78

D

FERNANDEZ, Pedro César Oscar

DIS 12/76

PaHR(L)
ML

R/FDD

FERNANDEZ, Pedro Julio (F) D
R IE 8.251.928
S Paraguay 5372- 1°"B"-Capital
Age: 32

On 4-25-76 he was arrested at his home together with Maria del Valle Gonda (DNI 11.836.019). 12 hours later Maria del Valle Gonda was freed. Since then Pedro Julio Fernandez disappeared.
Parents visit-Nov.16,78.

Fernandez, Julio -Office No.86-8874-9am-12:30-14-1800hrs.
LE 3.233.110 Sisters Tel:613-6011
Galicia 653- 1°4'Buenos Aires

Testimony to Representatives.
Letter to Senators.

PaHR(L)

10-1978

FERNANDEZ, Porfirio

Age:30

Dis:9-9-78,Cap.Federal

FDD List-9-16-78

D

FERNANDEZ, Primero Hector

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

FERNANDEZ, Ramón Eufrasio
Age 24

D-78

DIS 4-20-78 V. Diamante (E. Rio)

PAHR (L)

D

FERNANDEZ, Raymundo
Age 36

Disappeared 2-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

FERNANDEZ, Rodolfo Edgardo

Disappeared 1-8-78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FERNANDEZ, Rosarino Aristides
CI: 6.934.773

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

FERNANDEZ, Ruben E

DIS

MHR(4)
ML

FERNANDEZ, Soledad

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

FERNANDEZ ALVAREZ, José N.
Age: 29
CI: 8.429.164

DIS 11-9-76 Wilde Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

9

FERNANDEZ BANUS, Alberto R.

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D L

FERNANDEZ BLANCO, A.
lawyer

Abducted in April 1976

Liga Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Lawyer Quit. Dmg. 9/78

D
1978

FERNANDEZ BLANCO, Isabel Mercedes
Zapiola 6321-Barrio Martin Güemes, Munro Bs.As.
Age 23
DNI: 11.987.015

Arrested 7-28-78 with husband and small baby of two months.
Munro

Letter to Emb. 8/7/78:
Ghezan, Juan Carlos (Father-in-law)
Sarmiento 574 5'-Tandil
FAMR(L)
FDD List. 9-16-78 MUNRO

FERNANDEZ BLANCO, Isidro C.

9

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

FERNANDEZ DE CALLABA, Grisel
Age 20

Disappeared 11-24-76 R. Calzada - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FERNANDEZ CASTILLA, Gabriel
Age 28

Disappeared 1-21-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FERNANDEZ de COLOMER, Cristina Margarita
DNI: 5.831.057

Arrested during a police operative in Mar del plata together with husband and brother-in-law on 5-20-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (L)
Letter to Amb. 5-8-78
Fernandez, Amalia M. L. de (Mother)
CI. 1.180.219
Sucre 2050-Dpto.3° "A"-Capital

FERNANDEZ GALAN, Gustavo Javier D

DIS 10-9-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PBHR (L)

FERNANDEZ GARCIA, Francisco (Dr.) D78

DIS in 1978 3/28
Under PEN

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

FERNANDEZ GINES, Norberto

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

9

FERNANDEZ GOMEZ, Ricardo

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

FERNANDEZ GONZALEZ, Alfredo

P

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

FERNANDEZ DE GONZALEZ, Maria Eugenia
Nurse

D

DIS

CrimApp-Ct. ordered Released From PEN - 11-78
Clinica 11-17-78

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

FERNANDEZ DE GUTIERREZ, Maria Eva
Age 24

Disappeared 4-9-77 Mendoza

Mendoza Family List 6/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FERNANDEZ LAHERA DE MERCADER, Anahí Silvia
DI: 1.189.516
Age 21

Detained in Tolosa on 2-10-77

Rio Negro Dep. Homicidios
La Plata List 10/78
PAHR(L)
RL

125/77/10. D *

FERNANDEZ MEIGIDE, Pablo Enrique
C.I. 8.604.650
Age 41
Militante Pcia. 2432 - 3/7 - 18 - Capital

GIA night 11-11-77 Maj.

Arrested on 10-22-1976 at early sunrise. Since then disappeared.

The Intern. League for H.R.-Fernando Rondon-8-15-77

PAHR(L)
RL
Fernandez Meigide, Francisco C. de
C.I. 9.201.346
Prof. Ind. of Boston

L

FERNANDEZ MIRANDA, Julio H.

D

DIS

[redacted]

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERNANDEZ ORIS, Hernan Daniel
CI 7.438,522
DOB: 7-18-54
Marco Sastre 488 - Villa Centenario - Banfield

Detained on 6-26-76 in Capital Federal.

Fernandez, Hernan (Father)
Marco Sastre 488-Villa Centenario-Banfield
Has brother Resident in America, nephews AmCit.
1-31-78

D

FERNANDEZ DE PANKOMIN, María C
age 23
CI: 5.949.604

Disappeared 10-1-76 la Plata

la Plata list 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FERNANDEZ PONDAL, Rodolfo (editor)
(Argentina "Latinamerica")

Abducted 8/5/77; whereabouts unknown.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
El Dia-La Opinion 4-1-78

D

FERNANDEZ QUINTANA, C

DIS 5-14-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERNANDEZ RAMIREZ, Pedro M

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERNANDEZ SANCHEZ, Luis

DIS

FARR(4)
ML

FERNANDEZ SUPERA, Gustavo G.

P

ARR Pen

AISC

D 78

FERNANDEZ VALOR, Claudio Mauricio
Age: 24
CI: 7.893.723

DIS 8-3-78 San Martin

FDD

258/78/1 D *

FERNANDEZ VIDAL, Ernesto
CI. 5.709.159
[redacted]-Capital
Rodriguez Peña No. 145 - 8°"B"

Arrested on 9-23-76 - since then disappeared.

Letter to Amnesty Int'l Paris from Montreal 1-7-78

Fernandez, Carmen Vidal de (Mother)
Catamarca 668-1°"E"-Capital
Phone 93-5436
PAHR(L) FAD
Cong. Moorhead-personal interview during his stay in BA. DURING JANUARY 1978.

D

FERNANDEZ ZAMADIO. Alcides

DIS

PAHR (L)

FERNANDINO, Norberto

D

dis 3-1-76 Chascomus

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

FERRACHINI, Enrique Daniel

Birthdated: April 30, 1956, Resistencia, Chaco, Arg.
ID#: 12.172.101
Address: Saavedra 388, Resistencia 3500-3934

PEN: Resistencia
Requested "ROO" MinInt informed no person registered
11-78

FERRADA, Rafael Antonio
Age 44
C#: 4.889.343

Disappeared 8-3-76 San Martin.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FERRADAS, Carmen
C.I. 7.661.104
Aires

RBJ
7-12-77 Av Buenos Aires

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Mag. Dig. Der. Normal

D

FERRARI, Alejandro Daniel
LE: 8.364.401

Disappeared 7-22-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

FERRARI, Berlinda Bernda Daler

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

C-66/22/11.

FERRARI, Claudio Alberto

Optum *

Removed from PEN - La Nacion 9-16-78
PEN - Coronda - Option to leave country.
Authorized leave country. 7-29-78 Clarin

Cong. Fraser

Ferrari, Dora Comelli de (Madre)
Belgrano 157
8400 San Carlos de Bariloche
(Rio Negro) Tel.22813
Blood will inform Wash. 7/21/78

Killed

FERRARI, María Angélica

Killed on 4-21-77

La Plata List

FERRARI, Mariel Silvia
Teacher - Córdoba
Age 22
DNI: 11.443.498

Disappeared 1-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

C-11/22/11

FERRARI, Sergio Gustavo

* Option

Min Jt. w/paid visit 4/28 on Res rejected w/in 6 months.

PEN - Coronda - Option leave country.

Cong. Fraser

Ferrari, Dora Comelli de (Madre)
Belgrano 157
8400 San Carlos de Bariloche
(Río Negro) Tel. 22813

FERRARI, Silvia
Doc. Priv. - Córdoba

DIS

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (1)

FERRARI DE NOGUEIRA, Adriana (Uruguayan)

Disappeared 12-11-75 in Buenos Aires. At present in Punta Rieles Prison, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

FERRARI DE ROLDAN, Carmen
Subdelegada Caja de Ahorro

Disappeared 6-2-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FERRARI DE SUAREZ, Dina
Age 26
DNI: 6.195.499

DIS 1-8-76 Cordoba

PAHR (L)

FERRARIS, Claudio
Age: 21

ABD 7/77 Bs.Aires

AISC

R/FDD

FERRARO, Armando Jorge
DNI 4.546.795
Cavanagh 4745 - Dpto. 1 - Capital
Mother: Carmen Arrieta
Age 39

On 1-3-77 all my family was arrested by a group of armed mend. They asked for the address of my son Armando Jorge. After this we were kept until 1-5-77 and then freed one by one with the menance not to say anything about what had happened. When we returned home I got the news that my son had been arrested by a similar group of men. Since then he disappeared.

(Int. 1.037.316)
Ferraro, M.Zulema Videla de (Mother)
Strangford 2755 - Villa Lugano
Capital Federal

Lig Dep Ser Nombre PAHR (L)
Carcer. Cluth. Cong. 9/78 Letter to Senators.
Lig Dep Ser Nombre
Carmen Arrieta

FDD. 11-6-78

FERRARO DE BETANIN, Elsa

ARR 1-2-77 Rosario-PEN Villa Devoto

AISC

FERREIRA, Agustin Enrique
Bdo. de Irigoyen - Tampelay Bolán.
A/c 34

Detained September 19, 1976. Wife and 3 children are now in Israel.

Nt
ADLeague
PAHR-Prisons. 5-17-78(2)

287/78/2

FERREIRA, Enrique Abelardo
LE: 5.956.608
DOB: 10-30-46 - Paraná (Entre Ríos)
Urquiza 1715, Parana 3100(Entre Ríos)

GOR reply 3-15-78: PEN: Dto. 1271 - 5-5-77
Cargo: Colaborig Montoneros. Facilitó domicilio para imprenta.
Procesado por ley 21.460.
Alojado: Coronda.

Arrested on 4-8-77. At present in Coronada Jail (Santa Fé).

Removed from PEN - 12-22-78

Cesar A. Ferreira-San José 340-9°E°-Buenos Aires 1076 (Father)
Phone: 37-2355
Office: 37-1983;38-8289

Ferreira, Arturo J.
(Brother)

D

FERREIRA, Hugo

DIS 3-28-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERREIRA, Juan Esteban

DIS 4/76

PAHR (L)

D

FERREIRA COELHO, Rodolfo A
LE: 4.578.777
Age: 36

ABD 4-16-76 with father and brother in law, who later where rel.

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FERREIRA DE OCAMPO, Gilda
Age: 60
4.331.197

DIS

FDD

FERREIROS, Hector
Journalist

K

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

FERRER, Silvia Cristina
Age 24
LE: 6.678.457

DIS 6-20-77 Córdoba

Córdoba hist 12-1-78
PAHR(1)

D

FERRERA, Luis

DIS 3-28-76

PAHR (L)

FERRERA, Maria Prosperina
Age: 29

D

DIS

AISC(Cospa-Madrid)

FERRERO, Edgardo

R

ARR PEN

AISC

FERRERO, José Daniel

D

DIS 10-18-75

AISC (A.D.P.H.)

FERRERO, José Miguel

D

Disappeared 10-18-75 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

FERRETI, Mario

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

FERRETTI, Leonardo José

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

FERREYRA, Adrian José

Disappeared 3-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

FERREYRA, Agustin E.

DIS 9-19-76

FDD

FERREYRA, Alfredo Juan

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC

FERREYRA, Antonio

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

FERREYRA, Eduardo Francisco
Age: 28
L. 5.565.427

DIS 3-17-77 Corrientes - Freed

PAHR (L)

D

FERREYRA, Horacio Ramón Atilio
Age: 29
Doc. 5.096.093

DIS 4-28-77

Tucumán

FERREYRA, Hugo H.

D

DIS 3-28-76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

FERREYRA, Jorge

DIS

PAAR (L)
ML

FERREYRA, José Carlos

DIS 3-24-76 Córdoba

(HR(L)
ML

FERREYRA, Juan Alfredo
Lawyer
Corrientes

Head

Arrested and put under PEN. Released on 4-12-78.

Newspaper clippings: Clarin 3-13-78
La Nación 4-12-78

FERREYRA, Juan Esteban
Deleg. Terrabussi-Capital

Disappeared 10-26-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PHHR- Prensa 5-17-78

D

FERREYRA, Luis

Disappeared 3-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FERREYRA, Miguel Victor

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

FERREYRA, Moises Antonio
Age: 19
Doc. 13.097'814

DIS 5-26-76

Tucumán

PAHR(L)

FERREYRA, Oscar Alfredo

Sin datos

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

FERREYRA, Rodolfo Santiago
Bk 24
L. 4.662.699

Disappeared 2-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FERREYRA ADULNETE, Wilson

DIS 5-30-76

PAHR (L)

FERREYRA BELTRAN, Alenadro

ARR 74 Rawson Prison

AISC (ARG KOMM SWEDEN)

FERREYRA CODELBO, Rodolfo A
Age 36
LE: 4.578.797

Disappeared 4-15-76 Olivos

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FERREYRA CORDOBA, Horacio Atilio
Age 29
LE: 5.096.093

Disappeared 4-28-77 Tucuman

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Rep. Arg. Ser. Nombre

FERREYRA VRISNANS, Edmundo

DIS

PAHR (L)

AFL/CIO

FERREYRO, Elena

DIS 11-2-76. Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

[redacted] employee at the Argentine Automobile Association. She was detained together with Stati and Martinez on November 2nd 1976.

PAHR (L)
Socialist.
Reg. Reg. Am. Hum. Rts.

FERRES, Argéntino

Since 10 months he was arrested by armed men, while enlisted in the armed forces. Since then disappeared.

FERRES, José (Father)

8-3-77 Letter to derian

FERRI, Edith Alicia
Age: 24
LE: 10.545.124

Disappeared 6-7-77 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FERRI, Roberto Eduardo

DIS 5-23-77

PAHR (L)

FERRONI, Angela Rosario

arr - PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

FEXINS, Alicia Gladys Noemí

DIS 4-29-76 San Nicolás, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

FIANDER, Roberto

ABD 2-14-76

FAHR(L)
ML

D

FICALE, Carlos Enrique

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

F ICARRA, Juan José
AR 22
CL 7-158.267

DIS 4-1-77

PAHR (4)

D

FICIANI, Jose Antonio

DIS

PAHR (4)
ML

~~6/15/77~~ 504/78/8 D

FIDALGO, Alcira Graciela
Age: 29
Employer: Halliburton, Viamonte 1133, Buenos Aires
LC: 6.171.303
Calle Roosevelt 1992 - Buenos Aires

Arrested on 12-4-77.
Detained for four days, her personal documents were not returned. Letter to Sen, Church indicates an unnamed Argentine Diplomat intervened at time of detention for her release. Several weeks after release, she disappeared.

GOA reply 1-18-79 - No records
GOA reply 2-23-79 - Req. reply
PAHR(4)
AI January
State: 207276
Sen. Church
Sen. Javits
Sen. Kennedy

9

FIDALGO, Andres (writer)

Imprisoned. Info

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Lige Arg p Lan del Honduras.

F

FIDALGO, Andres Francisco

Detained in 10/77. Letter to Sen.Church indicates he emigrated to Venezuela 11/77.

State 207276.
Sen. Church

D

FIDOLE, Carlos Enrique

DIS

ML

P

FIERRO, José Enrique
L.E. 2.768.981
Age: 63

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata. Was Ministro de Economía y Hacienda durante Gobernación de Obregon Cano, May 1973-Feb. 1974). Was incommunicated during one year in Third Army of Cordoba. Has presented twice option to leave country with negative results.
Has entrance to Sweden where he has children.

Fierro, Irma F. de (Wife)
Famatina 163
5000 Córdoba phone: 21387

Personal visit 1-3-78

D

FIGGER, Pedro

ABD

ML

C-5/7/11

P Option

FIGOLI, Sergio Hugo

Mon 4 Jul. personal visit 8/78 on Rec rejected w/o 6 months.

Under PEN:Resistencia (Chaco)-Option to leave country.Given forms.

(Sister)

Maldonado Edith
Hidalgo 1320 - 6°11
Buenos Aires 54-3952

6A-8879

D

FIGUEIRA, Ernesto Mario
Age: 17
DNI: 13.482.020

DIS 3-21-77

PAHR (L)

D

FIGUEREDO, Gastos Zina
Age: 21
ALVEAR, Corrientes Prov.

ABD 9-30-77 from home

ML

D

FIGUEREDO, Raúl Arturo
LE: 704.444
Age 24

Disappeared 9-30-77 from home Alvear, Corrientes

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

FIGUEROA, Carlos

Disappeared 3-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

FIGUEROA, Eduardo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

FIGUEROA, Filiberto
el. 7.271.300
Bonpland 374 - 1. Block
Apt. 31

Disappeared 8-19-77 in front of his work place.

FDD
Eng. Arq. Dn. Nombre
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FIGUEROA, Gloria Susana
DNI: 11.654.856
Apt 22

DIS 6-26-76 Tucumán

PAHR(L)
FDD

FIGUEROA, Juan Carlos

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

FIGUEROA, Miguel Angel

DIS 6-13-75 José C. Paz, Buenos Aires

PAHR (L)

D

FIGUEROA, Miguel Angel
DNI: 10.019.999
Age 24

DIS 6-22-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)
FDD

D

FIGUEROA, Oscar Rolando

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

FIGUEROA Rosa Haydée
Age 17
CI: 9.064.387

DISAPPEARED 9-14-76 Lamus 0

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FILGUEIRA, Ernesto Mario
Age 47
DNI 13.461.080

Disappeared 3-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FILGUEIRA, Maria de las M
Age 35
LC: 4.431.415

Disappeared 3-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FILGUEIRA, Nélida Estela
Age 22
DNI: 11.618.545

Disappeared 3-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

FILIPON, Miguel Angel

Abducted according to Ltr. of Jud. 6-16-78 Opinion
Disappeared

PANR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

FILIPUZZI, Juan D

DIS 76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

FINGER, Pedro

ABD 1-28-76

ML

FINGUERUT GARBUS, Eusebio 303/78/2 4 *

At present a prisoner in Unidad 9 in La Plata. At PEN's (PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL) disposition. Has asked to leave the country.

Named on release list 5-20-77.

Group of friends of Mr. Finguerut.

7-8-77. Letter to Embassy BA.

Senator Brooke BA-2324
Senator Kennedy (Mrs. [illegible]) BA-2324

Amnesty League
DAIA
Ag. Israel Solid Comm.

(Over)

D

FINK, Claudio Marcelo
Rfe 25
L.: 10.499.464

Disappeared 8-12-76 Paraná - E.Ríos

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

4

FINKELS, Olga Zulema (nee Perez)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

FINSTERWALB, Orlando
DNI: 11.872.892
Age: 22
Ocupation: Student of Ingeneering
Salta 1214
2000 Rosario

Disappeared in Santa Fé on 2-17-76.

Finsterwald, Orlando Héctor (Father)
Salta 1214
2000 Rosario (Phone 33630-off.; 64881 home)
PAHR
Padre Martín Alvelaguirre - Mendoza 444 - Rosario (45242)
Personal call

D

FIOCCHI, Angel Eduardo
Doc. 10-892.338 or 10.962.336 ?
Age: 24

8/26/78
Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fé.

PAHR (1)
Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

D

FIOLO

DIS 7-11-76

ML

FIORDA, María Cristina
Age: 23
Worker

Detained in 1975 in San Nicolas, Prov. Bs. Aires'
At present in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti-Congress 9/78

(Italian)

FIORE, Euro/Vicente
CI (Prov.) 2.445.298
Worker-Peugeot

Disappeared 9-23-77. Six workers disappeared. In January 1978 two appeared, one was released and three remain disappeared, among them Vicente Fiore. (Quilmes)

PAHR (L)
Urgent
Personal call Embassy 8-10-78:
Mauro, and Josefa FIORE (Parent)
San Luis 1087-Quilmes Oeste 253-8664
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Leg. Aig. Int. Hombre (Carta pidiendo libertad) Personal call 3/2/79

FIORENTINO, Raúl

Arrested.

Univ. of Calif., Davis.

FIORITO
FIOROTO, Antonio (journalist) of "Mundo Argentino (Buenos Aires)

Arrested 9/21/76; imprisoned.

La Opinion 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

FIORITO, Carlos Alberto

DIS

ML

FIRBANK, César Ernesto

- National Executive Power - DTO.734 of 6/4/76
Located U2 Sierra Chica - Charges: belonging to ERP.

Authorized by country - 4-1-78 Clarin clipping

Arg. Seal Mid Comm

RDL

D

FIRMENICH, Jorge Oscar
Age: 39
LE: 8.274.384

DIS 4-24-76

FDD

FIRPO, Cirilo

D

DIS

ML

FISCHER, Omar José

9

Detained December 11, 1976.

ML
ADLeague

D

FISCHETTI, Pascual

DIS

ML

D

FITE MILLER, Claudia Julia
Nieves Hnos. de Co.
Age 24
Intl: AO.823.261

Disappeared 8-9-76 with Walter Tracy

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

FITTIPALDI, Rafael

DIS

ML

D

FIACCOVENTO, Jorge

ABD from his home

ML

FLEISCHMAN, Horacio Silvio

7/9/79/1 9

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata
Held for "Marxist affiliation" as he provided a prospriptfor antibarricades for a wounded montonero.
US EMB. visit Granted 11/78

Sen. Cranston - Utah 042567
(Rubin)-7-16-78

ADLeague
HIAS

FLASKAMP, Claudio Carlos

9

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

FLEISING, Alberto
CI: 2.048.298

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

D

FLEITAS DE ARGUELLO, M. de las Mercedes
Bfe 24
DI: 6.706.212

Disappeared 9-23-76 Rosario or Avellaneda, Pcia. Sta. Fe.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FLEMING DE ARAYA, Catalina
6.288.792

6-1-77

Rosario List

D

FLEURY, Walter Kenneth N. (English)
client 1600 - Pn Qa.
Age 23

Disappeared 8-9-76 with Claudia Fleury

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

FLEXER, Jorge Daniel

DAIA

FLEXER, Claudio Fabian

Under PEN

ADLeague

FLEXER, Marcos

Detained since 2/21/74 - La Prensa 6-2-76
Opinion 6-16-76

Centro de Reagru
DATA
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FLOREANI DE ROLDAN, Carmen

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FLORENTINO, Julio
Alparagatas

Detained since April 75 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FLORES,
Peronist Youth Leader

DIS 7/77 San Luis

ML

FLORES, Chola
Age: 40

J

AVD 6-14-77 Calle 163, between 62 and 63-La Plata

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

FLORES, Eduardo Guillermo

P

ARR. Resistencia

Mexico 79

D

FLORES, Horacio
Psicólogo

DIS 10/76 San Juan

Cancer Aut-Inmig. 9/78
ML

D

FLORES, Jorge Antonio
Arte 10
C/: 5.959.160

Disappeared 9-7-77 Florida

Lic Ofic Int Bombu
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FLORES, José Antonio

D

DIS

AISC (A.D.P.H.)

D

FLORES, José Domingo

DIS

ML

D

FLORES, José Francisco
Ag 24
C.I. 6.910.476

Disappeared 9-9-76 Florida

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FLORES, Juan Carlos
C.I. 6.904.170
Primo y Cedro Barrio Belgrano Pcia. Bs. As.
Ag 28

Disappeared 9-30-77 from home

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FLORES, Maria Victoria

ARR Villa Devoto PEN

AISC

D

FLORES, Norma A.
Age: 21
CI. 7.446.782

DIS 5-12-76 Lanus Bs.As.

FDD

D

FLORES, Oscar Alejandro
Age: 24

DIS 11-16-77 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

PRHR - Causa 517-78

FLORES, Pedro Francisco

DIS 7-30-76 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

FLORES, Pedro Ventura
A/e 30
L/. 8.653.246

DIS 3-9-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

FLORES, Rafael
A/e 27

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FLORES, Rafael
Dirig.Sindicar-Córdoba

Detained since 3-24-76 in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FLORES DE BORNICO, Norma Alicia
CI: 3.446.782

Disappeared 5-12-77 Feli

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FLORES GUERRA, Carlos Alberto
Age 19
DNI: 13.441.114

Disappeared 3-31-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FLORES RIQUELME, Marie Eugnénie Chilean

Right of
Option for France.

France

D

FLORES UGARTE, Nelson (Chilean)

Disappeared 2-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

FLOREZ, Rafael
Age: 27

DIS

FDD

FLORRANI DE ROLDAN, Carmen

D

ABD 6-2-76 at her work place (Caja de Ahorro)

ML

FOJO, Ruben Horacio
R Giraldes, 3140 - Fco. Ca.
Technical chemist
Age 22

D

Disappeared 12-10-76

ml
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

FOLINI DE VILLERES, Graciela N.
Age: 24
DNI: 11.237.290

D

DIS 9-16-77 Olavarria

FDD

D

FOLLONIER, Adrian Omar
Age: 25
Metal worker (born Villa Mercedes-San Luis)

ABD 3-29-77 From S.Pedro Bs.As.

AISC

FOLLONIER, Juan Carlos
Age: 29
Metal worker
LE: 8.010.381

D

ABD 10-21-76 from Mitre 12100 Avellaneda

AISC

231/77/12 *

FONDABILA, José Julio

D

Arrested in front of the Saint Corss Church on 12-8-77
presumably by the Argentine Security Forces.

Conf. James A. Burke

D

FONDOVILA, Carlos Alberto
C.I. 7.204.643

Disappeared

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

FONDOVILLA, Carlos Daniel
DNI. 11.344.714
Edad 33?, Buenos Aires
Age 20

Disappeared 8-25-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

FONSECA, Gloria
Age 35

Disappeared 4-6-77 with brothers of Jorge A. Perez - Mendoza

Mendoza Family list 8/78
AL FDJ
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

FONTANA, Liliana Clelia
CI: 8.236.184
LE: 13.139.092
Kelsey 2034 CASEROS (Prov.Bs.As.)
Age 20

Arrested together with her boyfriend on July 1st, 1977.
Since then disappeared. She was pregnant of three months.

Candi Amb. Comp 9/78
Fontana, Clelia Deharbe de (Mother)
LC: 2.806.471
Kelsey 2034, Caseros (Prov.Bs.As.)
750-4981 (Neighbour)
PAHR(1)

L

FONTANAROSSA, Carlos
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

FONTANARROSA
~~FONTANAROSA~~, Daniel Enrique
Age 30
Doc. 8.101.364

Disappeared 5-30-77 Tucuman

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D 76

FONTANELLA, Adolfo Nestor

DIS 11-23-78 Moreno Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

FONTELA, Alberto
Age: 28
CI. 5.272.355

DIS 6-4-77

PAHR (L)

D

FONTENLA, Faustino
CI. 6.907.441 DNI: 13.446.057
Tacuari 928 - 3°"C"-Capital
Age: 20

Was arrested on 12-7-77 in front of work place Paraná and Corrientes streets. Since then disappeared.

Fontenàa, Carmen R. (Mother)
Tacuarí 928-3°"C"-Capital 26-8978
FDD
Personal call Embassy 6-29-78

D

FONTENLA, Hugo Alberto
c1.5.232.355

Disappeared 6-4-77

Lic. Aug. Luis Hamilton
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Comm. Party

D

FONTENLA, Josefina E. T. de
DNI 5.633.635

ABD 6-4-77 Bs.As.Prov.

ML

D 1979

FONTEVECCHIA, Jorge

Derector of magazine "La Semana"

DIS 1-5-79 after leaving his workplace.

Newspaper clippings 1-9-79.

FONTOURA, Andres

UN-HRC-9-5-74

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield-on behalf of

FORASTIER, Leopoldo
Laywer

ARR 76 Misiones

AISC

FORCO, Juan
Maritime Union

DIS 10-6-77

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

AFL/CIO

CI: 3 278.899 282/78/2 D *
XFORD, Alejandro Ehrman 284/78/2 D *
FORD, Monica de [illegible]
Intl.Sec.237

Alejandro Ford: Employee at YPF. He was abducted together with Catanoros and his wife on May 11th 1/77 in the city of La Plata.

Mónica de Ford: Alejandro Ford's wife. She was abducted together with Catanoros and her husband on May 11th 1978

FORES(L)
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
La Plata Prot 10/78

FORESTI, Norberto

Sin datos.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

FORESTI, Osvaldo
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 2-15-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FORMICA, Alejandro Luis
DNI: 13.270.418
Padilla 13, Mza.

Disappeared 5-4-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FORMIGA, Nora Livia
LC: 6.499.661
Calle 54 Nro. 1271-La Plata

D

Arrested on 11-22-77. On door of apartment was put the following inscripcion: Ejercito Argentino Regimiento 7 de Infanteria Grupo Operacional 133".

Formiga, Sofía S. de (Mother)
Rosales 34, Bahia Blanca, Arg.
LC: 0.716.606

Letter to Y. Thayer-9-1-78

F

FORMOSA, Pablo

DIS 5-5-76 Córdoba

PBHR (L)
ML

FORNES, Cristina P. de
Santiago del Estero

Detained since 1975 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FORNIES, Beatriz Fariñas de
CI: 6.820.430
Av. San Juan (casi esq. Sarandi)
Buenos Aires

Disappeared since 6-14-75. Was arrested together with husband at the public street.

Herald Family List 8/78
Letter to Patricia Derian - 1-16-78
Letter to Amnesty International -1-16-78

Fornies, Clelia Elsa Dzaniano de (Mother in law)
Estrada 215 - 5501 Godoy Cruz (Mendoza)
Phone Mendoza 225418

ML
CHHR-Prisa 5-17-78

L

D

FORNIES, Hugo Enrique
CI: 6.599.495
Av. San Juan casi esq. Sarandi
Buenos Aires

Disappeared since 6-14-75. Was arrested together with wife at the public street.

CHHR-Prisa 5-17-78
Herald Family List 8/78
Letter to Patricia Derian 1-16-78
Letter to Amnesty International 1-16-78
ML
Fornies, Clelia Elsa Dzaniano de (Mother)
Estrada 215 - 5501 Godoy Cruz(Mendoza)
Phone Mendoza 225418

L

FORTI, Nelida Azucena Sosa de — 71/77/5 D *

CI: 9.728.046
DNI. 1.730.247
AGE: 43

Embassy has been requested to obtain information.
Arrested on 2-18-77 at Ezeiza Airport. Since then disappeared.

For.Off.Inq.: 5-27-77 . GOA reply: NO. Dinat'cated 10-31-77 11-10-77: Neg.

GOA reply 1-30-78: Neg. reply.

FORTI, Alfredo (Husband)
Edificio Cuartel Octavo, Piso Apartamento 83
Cuartel Viejo Esquina Baralt-Caracas, Venezuela

CAHR(L)
Cancer Watch Comp. 9/78

Cable 8-12-77 - Addressed Mr. W. Hallman
8-11-77 - Caracas 7921

Tucuman
Amnesty Int.

FORTUNA, Guillermo Lucas D

DISAPPEARED

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FOSATTI, Luis Ernesto D
Age 30
Journalist of La Semana & Panorama

Disappeared 11-26-76

Killed 11-28-77 Pen Wpost.
Re Buenos 6-10-78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FOSSATTI, Ines Ortega de

Wife of Ruben Fossatti, was detained in Avellaneda, she was pregnant.

Harris data 8-14-78

D

FOSSATTI, Ruben
Student of La Plata Univ.
Age 22

DIS 2-5-77 QUILMES, Bs.Aires. Because of security he leaft La Plata and lived in Avellaneda. Here he was detained. La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR(4)
La Plata list
ML
Harris data-8-14-78

D

FOTE, Fortunato Leandro
LE: 7.045.695

Disappeared 12-11-76 in Tucuman

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

FOULKES, Jorge Horacio
B/C 13
CN: 2.951.971

Disappeared 3-17-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FOUSALL

JD

ARR PEN Resistencia

Mexico 79

D

FRACARDHI, Humberto Luis
DNI: 8.592.581

ABD 2-23-77 Home ransacked

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

FRACZEK KANT, José Mariano
Estrada 615. Pilar de Escobar Pcia Bs. As.
Ofic 42

Disappeared 4-1-76 Escobar

Archivo Prov. Neuquén
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

T FRACCAROLLI, Humberto Luis (F) 815/79/2 D
R DNI 8.592.581
Lavalle 437. Gualeguaychú (Entre Ríos)

On. 2-23-77 while being at the home of a dentist, the house was searched by people of the joint forces, was arrested together with other people. This happened in La Plata City, Calle 33 entre 24 and 25; since then disappeared.

Fraccarollo, Aurora Molina de (Mother)
IC 1.176.488
Lavalle 437 - 2820 Gualeguaychú (Entre Rios)

WOLA Letter. Mr. T.Todman.
Letter to Representatives.
La Plata Prist 10/78
Estudio Pcia Cautiva 9-25-78 PAHR (L)
ML

L

D

FRAGA,

AED 11/76 w/wife who witnessed torture of husband and was later rel.

ML

FRAGA, Osvaldo Enrique
Enfermero del sector de Mng. del Policlinico Posadas de Bs As.
Age 26
DNI: 10.880.964

DIS 12-1-76 Ramos Mejia

Cancer Anth-Cong. 9/78
PAHR (L)

FRAGALA, Wanda (Italian)
Age 21
Liturgia

3-13-76
Arrested at Chacarita. Since thendisappeared. Hc Leb. PEN 1345/74

Cancer Anth. Cng. 9/24/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

ML

FRAGANILLO, Luis E

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FRAIRE, Gustavo Ernesto
Ficha
U: 8.603.475

Disappeared 12-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FRAMININI, Estela Rosa D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

FRANANO, Carlos Hugo (Dr.)

DIS October 1976

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

FRANCHELLI DE DOBELLI, Amelia Rosa
C.I. 5.761.670
Alc 28

Disappeared 3-20-76 w/ husband Raul Aurelio from Lima-Romos Mejia-

Ing Arg. Soc. Mendoza
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FRANCISCO, Manuel Francisco
Alc 23
C.I.: 6936.874

Disappeared 11-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FRANCISCO, Pedro

D

DIS Villa Maria, Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

FRANCK, Raymond (French)

Arr. 5-19-76. Freed 5-25-76.

French Embassy

D 78

FRANK, Ricardo

DIS 11-9-78

PAHR (L)

D

FRANCO, Eduardo Luis (Paraguayan)
Rpt 3R

Disappeared 1-11-77 Misiones

GL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

FRANCO, Elizabeth Liliana
Age: 29

DIS 7-22-77

AISC

FRANCO, Jorge

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

FRANCO, Juan

ARR 74 Rawson

Mexico 79

D

FRANCO, Nora Sofia

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FRANCO, Pablo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FRANCONETTI, Adriana Maria C.
Age: 27
CI: 6.259.063

DIS 2-17-77 Sarandi - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

FRANCONETTI, Eduardo Alvaro ci.6.010.384 Rfc 49
FRANCONETTI, Ana María Cristina ci.3.760.267 mfc 20
Directorio 1344 - Capital

D

*

Disappeared on 2-17-77.

FAHR(4)
ML
Tom Harkin.

L

FRANCOVICH, Marcelo

P

Under PEN in Coronda, Santa Fé

ADLeague

FRANONI, Ricardo Alfredo

D

DIS 8-13-76 Córdoba

AISC

D

FRANZOSI, Dora Esther

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FRANZOSI BETBEDE, Elvio Fernando D
Hijo 21
L.E. 11.429.105

DIS

PAHR (L)

FRANOL, Olga Marta D-78
Age 27
L.E. 6.522.181

DIS 5-22-78

PAHR (L)

D

FRATORINI, Hugo

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

FRATTASI, Genoveva
CI: 8.799.338

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

FREERS, Alfredo Kapliquer
(La Plata Ruf-periodico alemán)

Abd. 12-14-76

Newspaper assoc.

572/78/9 D

FREIER, Verónica
Age: 22
CI: 7.122.281

GOA reply 2-14-79: Nard.

ARR

Dept.of State [ ] friend of M.Bova)

AdLeague.

ML

FREIRE, Eduardo de

Newspaper assoc.

D

FREIRINA, Norberto Gerardo

DIS

(ARR(L)
ML

D

FRESCARI, Roberto

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

FRESNEDA, Tomás
lawyer
Afc 38

DIS 7-8-77 in San del Plata with wife.

Cancer Detr Cong. 9/78
PAHR (L)

D

de Hidalgo
FRESNO, Elba
Afc 29

DIS Montevideo - 4-19-77

PAHR (L)
Mendoza Family Visit 8/78
ML

"WOLA-11-78"

D

FRESNO, Ernesto A

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FRIAS, Carmen

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

FRIAS, Pedro

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

FRIAS, Teresa

DIS

ML

D

FRIGERIO, Roberto José
LE. 10.591.980
AGC 25
República del Líbano 1354 - Mar del Plata.

12-1-76
DIS ~~2-1-77~~ Mar del Plata

Ref Manuel 12-14-78
Frigerio, Roberto José -
PAHR (L)
FDD. 11-6-78

89086
ó 80 9086

K

FRIGERIO, Rosa Ana

ABD 8-25-76 Olavarria 4521 Mar del Plata with espinal cast after operations.
HC 3-1-77 recognized, killed 3-8-77, according to Naval authorities in confront.

AISC

D

FRIGOLI, Alejandro José

AHD 9-2-76 from home with Leonardo Mari and Alberto Frigoli

ML

D

FRIGOLI, Carlos Alberto
Union Delegate Santini-Villa Martelli

AHD with Leonardo Mari and Alejandro Frigoli from home on 9-2-76

ML

D

FRIGOLI GONZALEZ, Hernan C
Age 25
LE: 10.353.604

Disappeared 3-10-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

FRISZMAN, Nora Débora
CI: 6.902.514
Age: 20

DIS 12-2-76

Aust. Def. Luque
DAIA
PAHR (2)

FRITZLER, Mabel

D

DIS 7-28-76

ML

D

FRIVOLI, Carlos Alberto
Deleg. Santini

Disappeared 9-2-76

I

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FRUNCINOS, Aida
Age: 30
LC: ~~5.146.471~~ 5,634.357

DIS 8-26-76

PAHR (L)

D

FRUTO, Luis Miguel
Age: 24
LE: 11.172.136

DIS 7-1-77 S.F.Solano

FDD

FUAD, Ramón

Sin datos.

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

FUCHS, Abel
Student
Age: 25
Address: 41 - 3 y 4

DIS

La Plata List

D

FUD, Juan Carlos

DIS 12-76

ML

AFL/CIO

P

FUNES, Susana Isabel (mother of Torres)
LC 4.707.999
CORDOBA

Kidnapped on 2-4-77 from her home. At present at dispisition of PEN in Unidad Carcelaria 1 de Córdoba. Passed to P Decree

Funes, Beatriz de (Mother)
LC. 0929.805
Murcia 658-Córdoba

9-7-77 Letter to AFL/CIO.
SIL

hug. by Da Kimba
PAHR(L) Sr. Cortes called to discuss [illegible] the case of Susana Funes & expressed a desire [illegible]

FUENS, Gregorio Donato
Age: 27
LE: 8.236.670

DIS 12-16-76 Moron

FDD

FUENSALIDA, Lauro Antonio
Age: 32
Doc. 8.094.198

DIS 11-6-77

Tucumán

FUENTES, Amilcar

DIS 6-7-76 Necochea, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

FUENTES, Antonio

DIS

IAHR(L)
ML

D

FUENTES, Arnoldo

DIS 7-18-76

Mexico 79

FUENTES, Edgardo

D

DIS 12-14-76 La Plata Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

FUENTES, Héctor Nicolas

El Independiente-La Rioja

UNDER PEN

ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78

D

FUENTES, Hilda
Maestra Guardería
Inf. E. Echeverria
Apt 31

RRR 3/25/76

Disappeared 5/76

D

FUENTES, Luis Alberto
Apt 21
DNI: 11.748.998
CI: 6670.642

Disappeared 2-22-77 Lanús

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

480/78/7 D

FUENTES, Raúl Haroldo
Prof. Medica Psiquiatra
Age -41
CI: 7.214.231

GOArriply 9-15-76. M.R.A.D.

Disappeared 6-18-76 M.Cr.

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
Cancer Amb.-Berg. 9/78

D

FUENTES, Ruiz A.
Crédito Argentina-Lanus

Disappeared 2-22-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FUERTES, Raúl

DIS 6-13-76

FDD

FUEYO, Roberto René
A/e 23
C/I: U.04.332

DIS 10-20-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata list 10/78
PAHR (L)

FUGANTE, Elena Josefina

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

FUHR, Alicia Gladys Noemí
Wife of union leader Zenon Sanchez

Detained 4-29-76. At present in Villa Constitución.

PAHR (L)
ADLeague

473/76/7 D

T FUKS, José Abel
R DIC 10502314
Rep: 11

GOA Reply 9-5-78 - N.R.A.D.

Disappeared at La Plata on 9-2-76. The following day his home was searched.

PAHR(L)
La Plata Exist 10/78
FUKS, Cecilia Cuschnik de (Mother)
LC 3140619
Calle 41 No. 437-La Plata
Statement. Sent T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.
Letter to Amb. 11-6-78

L

FUMAROLA, Julio César
Journalist

K

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

FUNCINOS, Aída

D

DIS 8-26-76

PAHR

D

FUND, Juan Carlos

Disappeared 10-26-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FUND FERNANDEZ, Juan C
Age 21

Disappeared 10-26-76 Quilmes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

FUNES, Francisco Tripiana
LE: 8.023.818

Disappeared 3-23-76 Mendoza

WOLA-11-78
Mendoza Family List 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FUNES, Gregorio Donato
Afe 27
CI: 8.236.660

Disappeared 12-16-76 Moron - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

C-1378

FUNES, Martin

P
Option

Amn Amb. refused visit 11/78 on murder judicial system.

PEN - Mendoza Univ. of La Plata

Consulate.

Lng Arg Div. Amnesty

D

FUNES, Pedro Segundo
Afe 26
DNI: 10.084.530

Disappeared 12-16-76 José C. Paz

Lng. Arg. Div. Amnesty
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

FUNES, Tripiana

Disappeared 3-23-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

FUNQUEIRO, Manuel
CI: 15.653.592

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

Re-D

FURMAN, Oscar César
Age: 28
Doctor

Disappeared after leaving his home in Paternal in the city of Buenos Aires on December 26, 1976.
Reappeared in Platense 7/6/78 (Homicide 8-14-78)

PAHR(L)
Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Furman (Parent)
Bs.As.Herald clipping 7-6-78
DAIA

T

FURNO, Eduardo Carlos

Arrested on 5-28-76 while distributing pamphlets on the street. Has been processed and sentenced to 10 years.

FURNO, Aida Luca de
L.c. 3.400.260.

D

FURR, Alicia Gladys

Disappeared 4-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

FURTH, Federico Adolfo
Tucumán
Age 24
Ltr. n. 548.510

5-4-76
Disappeared since April 1976

Tucumán
PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FUSCHETO, Donato

D

DIS

POHR(L)
ML

P

FUSSE, Maria Elena

Age: 31 -- Worker

Detained in March 1975 in Villa Constitución, Bs.As.Prov., at present in Villa Devoto.

Cancer Anti-Congress 9/78

GABARCUM, Silvia Ines

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

GABARRO, Mario Roque

DIS

PAHR (L)

GABARRO, Moise

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

GABARSANINI, Carlos H.

ARR. Santa Fé

Mexico 79

368/75/5 9

GARIOUX, Rene
President of the Santa Fé branch of the Arg. League for the Rights of Man.

GOA reply 9-5-78 : liberated per Dto. 2078 del 2/5/75.

Arrested on 11-8-74. Coronda Jail.

New Jersey State Bar Association-Mr.Donald Zarin-4-12-78

D

GADDEO, Ruben Oscar

AED 5-27-76 while he was taken to the Avellaneda Police Precint.

ML

D

GADONO, Carlos A.

DIS-8-17-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D

GAETAN, Juan Nicolas
Age 33

Disappeared 6-16-76 José C. Paz

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

GAGLIANO, Juan Carlos
CI: 7.512.213
DNI: 12.746.296
San Justo
Age 23 - 24

Disappeared 6-7-76 - SAN JUSTO
Mother - Nelida De GAGLIANI - C.I. 2.260.968 - Inm. 3531 - S. J.

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
FDD-11-6-78

GAGNETEN DE RELNARES, Berta I.

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

GAIDO, Enrique Delfor (writer)

Arrested in 4/76; imprisoned

La Nación 6-11-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

GAITAN, Daniel Osvaldo

DIS

AFL/CIO

GAITAN, Patricia

[redacted] student. She was detained while she was walking along the street in the city of Mar del Plata, on October 1st. 1976.

FAHR (4)

GAINZA, Juan
Córdoba

Detained Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GAJNAJ, León
CI: 6.786.504
DNU: 11.121.861
Salguero 814-6°Piso-Buenos Aires
Phone: 86-8398

He was arrested on public street on 10-19-77. On 10-20-77 his parent's home was searched, and they were told that her son had been taken.

DAIA
Phone: Panama 1-8737 (4) (Parent
Gajnaj, Salomon and Lisa L. de Gajnaj (same address as below)
Personal call 6-23-78 (Rabbi Meyer)

D

GAJNAJ, Salomon
CI: 6.031.390
Salguero 814-Buenos Aires

ABD from home with wife on 10-21-77

PAAR(2)
ML

D

GALAN, Alberto

ARR. in 1976

Mexico 79

D

GALAN, Antonio

ARR 3-10-76 Córdoba

Mexico 79

GALAN, Hector
Psicologist

Detained 1976.. At presente La Plata Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

GALANCINI, Laura Graciela

ARR Córdoba 2-5-76 PEN-Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

GALANENA HERNANDEZ, Crescencio
Member of Cuban Embassy

DIS 8-9-76

ML

GALANSKY, Estella Sofia

D

Sister of Fernando Carlos who is in La Plata.
Taken with husband, Alcides Garcia.

Anti Def. League

GALANSKY, Fernando Carlos

ADLeague

D*

GALARCEP, Pablo Mexico
CI. 5.632.329
b 14 Jun 1947 - Buenos Aires
Member Ted Jour. Com

Arrested on 10-26-77. Since then disappeared.

FAAR(4)
Lawyer Cmte. Corr. 9/78
Comm. Party
Galarcep, Elba Fernandez de (Mother)
CI. 2.198.980
O'Higgins 2807-Dto.1-PB-1429Buenos Aires
Mex. dtg Del Norte
Letter to Mrs. Carter, 11-3-77.
FIL

D

GALBARRO, Mario Roque

DIS

ML

D

GALBARSANINI, Sixto

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

GALBARSANINI, Susana Elena Fun

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

GALBIATI PAREJA, José Alfredo
Lawyer
Age 27

Disappeared on 3-12-77 from his home in San Lorenzo 2540, Olavarria, Bs.As.

Comm Amb. Org. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
FAHR - Gumm 5-17-78 (L)

GALDAME DE GARCIA, Celia

DIS

FAHR (L)
ML

GALDAMEZ, Maria Teresa

DIS 11/76

FAHR (L)
ML

D

GALEAN, Paulino Prudencio
LE: 8.144.922
Member Comm. Party
Av. Mercomi 338 Km 8 La Viña, San Salvador de Jujuy

Disappeared 10-19-76

Camara Diputados 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Comm. Party

D 1978

GALEANO, Celina Amalia
Moreno (Buenos Aires Prov.)

DIS 8-11-78

PAHR 9-28-78

GALEANO, Julio Eduardo
DNI: 8.446.557
S. Pina 1154 - Zarate
Pcia. 24

D

Disappeared 8-12-77 Romulo Moya street 3000. Zárate

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GALEANO, Maria Teresa

Sen. Alan Cranston-behalf of [ ] 1-6-78

B6

D

GALEANO, Paulino
Deleg. Emp. Público
Jujuy

Disappeared August 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GALEAZZI, Carlos Alberto
RK 24
CI:2.844.183

Disappeared 2-20-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

GALICCHIO DE VICARIO, Estella M.
DNI: 10.187.518

DIS 2-5-77 Rosario

FDD

GALINDEZ, Edmundo Elpidio

DIS 5-16-76 Bahia Blanca-Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

GALINDEZ, Gabriel D[illegible] A
Metalworker
[illegible]

DIS 5/77 Buenos Aires

ML

GALINDEZ DE ROSSI, Cristina

DIS 7-1-76

PAHR(L)
ML

GALITTI, Ana Blanca

ABD 5-29-76

PAHR(L)
ML

GALIZZI, Julio Cesar (F)
GALIZZI, Ana María Baravalle de
Ramón Falcón 380-San Martin (Bs.As.)

On 8-27-76 arrested by a group of armed men. She was awaiting a baby. Probably it has been already born. Since then disappeared.

Baravelle, Mirta Nicasia Acuña de (Mother)
DNI. 0.302.436
Ramón Falcón 380-San Martin (Bs.As.)
FDJ
PAHR-Prima 5-11-77(L) Testimany to Representatives.
ML

B

GALIZZI, Baby

Baravalle, Mirta Micaela Acuña de (Grandmother)
Ramón Falcón 380 - San Martin (Prov.Bs.As.)

D

GALL, Albino

DIS

NUEVA Hora, 11/78

D

GALLARDO, Mrs.

DIS 5-13-76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

GALIARDO, Ana Maria
AGE: 17

ABD from her house 7-8-76 Entre Rios

PAHR(L)
ML

2 1
GALLARDO, Maria Carlos

Gerald PEN
Reported Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

GALLARDO, Gerardo

ABD 9/77 Salta

Mexico 79

825/79/3 D

GALLARDO, Gerardo Ramon
CI: 3.579.304
Age: 49

Abducted August 5, 1976 - DIS since then.

Cong. John F. Seiberling
State 05919

GALLARDO, Gustavo
Industrial worker

DIS after 3-24-76

PAHR(4)
ML

AAAS
NAS
Cornell

GALLARDO, Juan Carlos
Morcillo 2253, Bo. Maipú-5000 Córdoba

Arrested on 4.4.76. At present in Sierra Chica Penitentiary (Pdo. de Olavarria). On 2-2-1977 asked for permission to leave the country, his petition was denied. He is PH.D. from Yeshiva Univ. of N.Y.

Gallardo, Mercedes B. de (Wife)
Morcillo 2253, Bo.Miapú - 5000 Córdoba

Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS
8-9-77. Letter addressed to I.F.Thayer, Third Sec. of Emb. to be presented to Derian and Todman.
7-29-77. Letter to Derian from AAAS.
Letter to Derian from NAS.
Senators Cranston Hayakawa
ARA/ECA informed that Subject freed 9/77. PAHR(4)

GALLARDO, Magdalena
Age: 17

DIS 7-8-76

PAHR (L)

D

GALLARDO, Paulino P.

DIS 10-19-76 Jujuy

PAHR (L)

228/74/12 D

GALLARDO, Ramon Gerardo
Age: 47
CI. 3.579.304
LE. 1.789.609
Prof. Architect
Address: Los Eucaliptos 650-Monoblock "B"
1°Piso, Dto. 3 Ciudad de Salta

Arrested on 8-5-76. Since then disappeared. Salta

PAHR (L)
Gallardo, Doly Mabel Perini de (Wife)
Dean Funes 683, Salta (USIS Interest)

GALLARDO, Raul Humberto D
CI: 8.360.067

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

GALLARDO, Rodolfo Gustavo
Age 35
ID:7.970.819

Disappeared 5-12-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GALLEGO, Angel A. (writer)

8

Arrested 4/16/76; imprisoned.

Re Herald 6-16-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT.

GALLEGO, Mario Oscar

D

DIS April 1977 La Plata - Pcia. Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

138/78/2 © 144/77/10

GALLETTI, Liliana Elida
L.C. 5.119.077
Doblas 1083 - Capital

Ver: (Logiturato) Haroldo (esposo)
Logiurato,

Arrested on 6-12-77 by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

COR Rqst. 11-14-77 Answered 12-30-77 Hq.
Ind. FDNB: COG copy Rcv. 3-10-78

GALLETTI, Alfredo N.
GALLETTI, Elida Enriqueta Busi de (Parent)
Rivadavia 4011, Piso 4. Dpto.24-Capital (1205)
Tel.: 811-8147
ML (PAHR(L)
Cong.Donald M. Fraser 84-2334

8-3-77 Letter to Derian
8-10-77 Letter to T.Todman

Wash.Off.on Latin America/ 8-25-77
Real Embajada de Dinamarca

GALLETTI, Roberto
Orquesta Juvenil del Canal 9

Disappeared 7-1-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GALLI, Horacio

DIS

PAHR (L)

GALLI, Juan Carlos

DIS 3-2-76

ML

GALLI, Pedro Raúl
C.I.8.424.421
Apc 25

Disappeared 9-20-76 Luzuriaga

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GALLICHIO DE VICARIO, Stella Maris
DNI: 10.187.518

DIS 2-5-77 Rosario_Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

D

GALLINA, Daniel
Student

Detained

ADL

360/78/5 D

GALLINI, Eugenio Daniel

Gen reply 6-27-78 MRA. Ya sigue suscitando

Disappeared with wife on February 24, 1978.

Amnesty International-1978
Cancel Amt Cong. 9/78

358/78/5 D

GALLINI, Eugenio Félix
Age 65 - Lh.

Gen reply 6-27-78 M.R.A. Ya sigue suscitando (Junio 1978)

Disappeared on February 24, 1977 together with his son Mario, age 21.

Amnesty International-1978
Cancel Amt Cong. 9/78

359/78/5 D

GALLINI, Mario
Age: 21
Ind. estudiante

GOA reply 6-27-78 N.G.A.D y se sigue investigando (Junio 78)

Disappeared together with his father Eugenio Félix Gallini, on 24 February 1977.

Amnesty International-1978
Cancer Gutiérrez 9/78

357/78/5 D

GALLINI, Silvia
Age: 29

GOA reply 6-27-78 N.G.A.D y se sigue investigando (Junio 1978)

noviembre 1976
Abducted from her department, together with her friend Alice Neimark. Since then disappeared.

Amnesty International-1978

GALLINO DE VICARIO, Juan Carlos D

DIS 2-5-77

PAHR (L)

GALLO, Francisco José
Age 22
CI: 7.701.312

D

DIS 9-17-77 San Isidro

PAHR(L)

D

GALLO, Jorge Horacio
Age 32
CI: 6.057.924

Disappeared 6-24-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

GALLO, María de Lourdes Poletti de. (F) D
T DNI 10.314.546
R Santa Rosa 1462-2-Vicente López Pcia Bs As

Was arrested on 8-27-76 at his mother's home. Since then disappeared.

Poletti, María Rodriguez de (Mother)
CI 8.081.224
Santa Rosa 1462, Dpto.2 - Vicente Lopez (Bs.As.)

Statement. To T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

ML

L

C.F.

GALLOSO JAUREGUI, Cecilia Irene (Uruguayan)
Age: 21
Sargento Cabral 881-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-8-76. In conditional freedom, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

D

GALMADES, Maria Teresa

DIS

ML

GALOCIOPULOS, Ramón D.
Dálmine Siderca

D

Disappeared 9-13-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GALSTOY, Eduardo

DIS

PAHR (L)

796/79/1 D

GALUZ, Victor Roberto
LC. 11.569146
M. Field 1248 - Lanus (Bs. As.)
Age 21

Disappeared 6.27.1979. Abducted from home with parents - Lanus -

PAHR (L)
Amb. de Lasgo
DAIA

GALVAN, Enrique de Jesus
Age 25
CI: 9.571.950

Disappeared 11-18-76 from home Florito - Bs. As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rep. Arg. por Derecho

D

GALVAN, Horacio

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

64/77/4 D*

GALVAN, Juan Carlos
IE. 10.545.196

For.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77 GOA reply: 6-8-77. No record
11-10-77 Ltr reply

Whitman, one of La Sallette.
Cooks son of the rel.group.

4/2/64 VS. Department

GALVAN, Mario

Lig. Ag. Der. Hombre

DH

GALVAN, Miguel
Age 41

Disappeared on 6-16-78, with brother-in-law Juan Argentino Narvaez.

Hermano de Galvan, Germán - Calle 43 y 214 Ethelvina
Newspaper clipping.

D

GALVAN, Orlando Victor
Age 34
CI: 6.061.645
1.436.218

Disappeared 10-19-77 Caseros

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

GALVAN, Pedro T.
Sindicato Mosaístas-Rosario

Detained since 11-13-76 in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GALVEZ DE BIYI, Elda I

DIS 11/76

PAHR (L)

D

GAMBANDE, Carlos Alberto
M. Paz, Pdo. 33, Matanza
DNI. 11.545.072
Chemist
Bjc 22

Disappeared 3-23-77 from home - La Matanza -

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GAMBARINO

DIS Lanus Grande - Bs As.

PAHR(L)
ML

553/78/9

GAMBARO, Raúl (Uruguayan)

DIS Dec. 1977 with Arce Vieira.

VM HRC. 9-5-78
"AI - 10/78"

C-U7777/11

720/79/1

GAMBARTE, Ramona Rosa

GOA reply 2-23-79: Under PEN - Decree N° 279 - 1-23-76 - Libertad a Villa Devoto
Charge: belong to ERP.

PEN - Carcel de Villa Devoto
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Erut
[redacted], Helvecia del Valle de (Hermana)
Charcas 3348 -- Moron
(Phone- 629-0258;2038 - Fábrica Grimoldi)

GAMBERO, Maria Elena Ianotti de

Disappeared 9-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

GAMBOA NORA, Luis Arturo

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

D

GANDARA, Horacio
Worker from ELMA

ABD 11-19-76

ML

D

GANDINI ORTIZ, Roberto

DIS Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

D

GANET, Juana Franca
Age: 30
DNI: 11.712.539

DIS 11-17-76 Beccar Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

GANFIELD, Andres

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GANGEME, Ricardo
Journalist

F

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

GANINI, Ricardo Omar

DIS

ML

D

GANTINO, Omar Miguel

DIS

PAHR(4)
ML

D

GAONA, Gustavo Enrique
CI. 5.894.600
Federico Lacroze 2363-Capital

Arrested or abducted 3-21-1977. Since then disappeared.

Novillo Quiroga, Ismael Cesar (Father-in-law)
F. Lacroze 1964 - Capital 771-3562
PAHR(4)

GARABELLO, Daniel Horacio (F)
DNI 10124907

While going to the Villa Bosch station, on a Sunday, without his documents, he was arrested by a military group on 8-29-76. Since then without news.

GARABELLO, Ricardo S.
GARABELLO, Pascuala B de (Parent)
Guido Spano 338 - Villa Bosch (1682) F.C.G.U.
T.E.: 751-3698

8-10-77 Letter to Derian.
PAHR(1)

GARABUZO, Delia Elena
Age 21
DNI: 11.486.502

Disappeared 9-18-76 Mar del Plata w/ Tristan O. Roldan.

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GARANA MORALES, Blanca Nieve

DIS 6-8-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

GARASA, Mario Alfredo (h)

DIS 2-16-77

FDD

GARASA DE GONZALEZ, Maria Elena
Age: 17

DIS 2-16-77

FDD

GARASIÑO DE CAIRO, María
Enf. Polic.Posadas

Disappeared 11-27-76 from Caseros (Bs. As.)

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GARAY, Abelino Enrique

DIS 9-14-76

PAHR

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c-58/77/(1)

GARAY, Isaac

II option

Under PEN; Unidad 9 La Plata. Option to leave country.
Given forms.

Sara Ecilda Montenegro de Garay (Mother)
Calle 63 No. 325 - Córdoba
(Doc. 7346876)
Tel. 37-7321 (Friend)

D

GARAY, Jorge Alberto
Age 24
LE: 6.189.783

Disappeared 2-16-77- W.C. Morris -

PHAR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

GARAY, Juan

ARR PEN

AISC

GARAZA GAVIIAN, Guillermina

DIS

PARR(2)
ML

GARBANO, Moises

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

GARBARINO, Antonio
Hogar Obrero
Member Fed. Int. Com.

Disappeared 2-19-77

PAHR(1)
Comm Party
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GARREROGLIO, Ricardo (Miguel Manuel)
DNI 4.477.495 CI: 4.536.384
Barfield soldier
Tupiciles (420 - 12 Lujan (6 to Bs)
Ejército

Disappeared 10-11-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
ML

D

GARBIERO, Roberto Juan

DIS 3-19-76

La Prensa clipping-8-3-78

GARBIGLIA, Alberto Armando
Apz 24
M. 1.056.076

DIS 1977 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

GARCIA, Alberto Horacio (F)
CI. 6.779.598
Loyola 1542- Capital
Apez4

Was arrested on 7-29-1976, by joint forces. Since then disappeared.

Garcia, Vicenta Lopez de (Mother)
CI. 3.226.185
Necochea 125, José Leon Suarez (Bs.As.)

Statement. To Representatives.

PAHR(L)
ML FD

GARCIA, Alberto R.
Perez Roldán-Capital

Disappeared 1-29-76

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

GARCIA, Alejandro

D

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D 1978

GARCIA, Alfredo Mario
CI. 6.994.848
Rivadavia 14340 - Ramos Mejia

Disappeared 7-5-78. Ramos Mejia - Bs. As.

FBD Amt 9/14/78
PAHR (L)
Garcia, Alfredo M. (Father)
Avellaneda 135-Ramos Mejía
658-2244
Personal call Embassy 7-20-78

755/79/1 D

GARCIA, Amaral
Age: 3

ABD together with parent on 11-8-74. Bodies of parent were found later in Uruguay. Child disappeared.

Arg. Arch. of Horror
VEIJA, 5-31-78
French Embassy

GARCIA, Antonio
Sec.gremial SOEVA
Maipú-Mendoza

Killed 10-21-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

X GARCIA, Antonio Domingo C.I. 6.776.132 D killed
GARCIA, Beatriz Recchia de C.I. 6.293.301 D

Independencia 1940-Villa Adelina (Bs.As.)

On 1-12-77 was left in our home our grandchild Juliana Ines Garcia, 3 years old. We were informed that at her parent home ther had been a shooting and that the police took a corpe away and that Beatriz Rechia de Garcia had been arrested. Since then we have had no news anymore.

Garcia, Adalgina Demarin de (Mother)
CI. 3003799

Testimony to Senators.

ML
Lig Arg Der Hombre

D

GARCIA, Carlos Roque
Age 34
C.I. 6.251.370

Disappeared 6-22-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

Killed

GARCIA, Cristina

Killed in Buenos Aires

Mexico 79

D

GARCIA, Delia Esther

DIS 8-2-76 La Plata-Bs.As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR (1)

D

GARCIA, Diana Iris
CI 622.560

Disappeared 10-15-76

1

mL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GARCIA, Domingo Hermelindo

Disappeared 8-24-76 San Martin

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

GARCIA, Eduardo
Age: 15
CI. 291.297 Technical Student

ABD 7-9-76 from home with his father by Federal Coord.Forces

ML

D

GARCIA, Eduardo Horacio
Age 19

DIS 6-24-76

PAHR(L)

GARCIA, Enrique Ladislao J.

ARR PEN Córdoba

AISC

GARCIA, Estanislao

Infraction to National Law 21.323 (Prohibition of political activities) Opinion 6-16-76 -

Disappeared 9-30-77 Chaco

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

GARCIA, Ester Beatriz

DIS

ML

GARCIA, Fernando Luis Garcia de
CI 6.660.748
Agrelo 3632

Kidnapped on 4-13-77 (?)

Informed T.Harris.

GARCIA, Francisco

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

GARCIA, Gabriel Alberto

Release according to Min. of Int. Operation 6-16-78

Disappeared 3-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

R GARCIA, Gladis Noemi (F) D
DI 10.262.504
Bfe 25

Arrested on 6-19-76 by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared. Mar del Plata

Garcia, Blanca Ofelia Niemann de (Mother)
LC. 1.706.383
J.J.Paso 3598-Mar del Plata (Bs.As.)

Testimony to Representatives.

BAHR(L)
ED

P

GARCIA, Gonzalo Isidro

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

D

Gustavo
GARCIA, Hugo
Bfe 24
LE: 10.447.355

Disappeared 3-25-77

BAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

C-33/77/11

GARCIA, Horacio

779/79/1 9 Uptin

Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN Luca Abril 78.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ex-Partido Socialista
Reg. Arg. Ber. Bonaire

D

GARCIA, Hugo Alberto
Reg 24
7.646.922

Disappeared 5-18-76 Ondina

bl
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

K

GARCIA, Jorge Roberto

A detainee of La Plata with sentence, almost fulfilled. The Judge Mareguard ordered his freedom. He was taken to Villa Devoto where he let know he was alive, but affer 3 days, no news are known from him. He is supposed killed in April.

Phone 80-4558

D

GARCIA, José Alberto
LE: 10.441.161

Disappeared 5-11-76 in Córdoba

Córdoba Prist
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

D

GARCIA, José Federico
Age 56
LE: 8.401.815

Disappeared 12-6-77 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GARCIA, Juan Carlos
DNI: 11.176.902
AGE:23

ARD 6-22-77 by Mil Police, Bs.As.
Mother - CARMEN C. De GARCIA - C.I. 2.942.297 - Alma Fuerte 678 6A.

PAHR (L)
ML
FDD. 11-6-78

GARCIA, Juan Carlos
Cuevas (Pr. Ar.)
Age 38

D

Disappeared 7-9-76 with son Eduardo from home.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

GARCIA, Juan Jesus
CI: 8.636.844

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GARCIA, Julia Beatriz

P

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

GARCIA, Julio A.
Sindicato Mosaístas-Rosario

Detained in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GARCIA, Julio Argentino

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GARCIA, Luis Daniel
Soldado conscripto Colegio Militar
Age 20 DNI: 11.586.774
Member Fed. Tur. Com.
Rio de Janeiro Bus-Capital Fed.

Disappeared 8-12-76 (La Nación clipping 2-12-78)

La Nación clipping 4-12-78

ML
Comm. Party
Causa Cath Arg. 9/77

9

GARCIA, Maria Cristina

ARR 11/75 Santa Fé - Held Villa Devoto .PEN

AISC (CADHU)

7

GARCIA, María Cristina Ramona
Age 24
LE 5.999.196

Disappeared 9-2-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

GARCIA, Maria de las Mercedes

Disappeared Mendoza

WOLA 11-78
Mendoza Family List 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

GARCIA, Nestor Enrique
Lawyer
L.E. 5.319.368
Age 38

Disappeared 7-13-77 in La Plata.
Marcia C. Mantica Vda. de Garcia - L.C. 3.645.563 - Rivadavia 7552

Cancr Cath Cong. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FPD 11-6-78

D

GARCIA, Norberto R.

DIS

RISC
PAHR(L)
ML

D

GARCIA, Omar
Age 27

ABD 3-27-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

GARCIA, Oscar Antonio

Infraction Nat. Resr 21.322 (Prohibition Political Activities) Opinion 6-14-78

Disappeared 9-30-77 Chaco

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

GARCIA, Oscar Jorge
Age 21
DE: 11.625.567

DIS 5-30-76 Libertad

PAHR (L)

D

GARCIA, Pablo Alberto
Age 20
CI: 3.367.717

DIS 4-6-77 V. Ballester

PAHR (L)

D

GARCIA, Raul Fabian

DIS 5-22-77 Berazategui - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

GARCIA, Ricardo Bermudez
e/ 6.11.76.772.
Age.: 28

Disappeared 11-9-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GARCIA, Ricardo Juan

DIS 5-22-77 Berazategui - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D - RA
1978

GARCIA, Roberto
Head of Taxi Union

DIS.8-15-78
APP.8-16-78

Am. Consulate
78 BA 6356

D

GARCIA, Roberto Adolfo
AGe: 22
CI. 7.015.867

DIS 5-29-76 Vicente Lopez Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

456/79/1 D

GARCIA, Rodney
Age: 13

Detained with parent in Cáseros, Bs. As. Prov. in July 1976.

Am. Consul of Berlin
VIENNA, 5-31-78
French Embassy

D (E)

GARCIA, Rodolfo
L.E. 8.325.300
San Geronimo 2232, Bo. San Vicente - Córdoba
Age 24

D

Arrested by a group of 6 armed men on 4-26-76. It has impossible to get any news on him. - Córdoba -

GARCia, Celia Galdame de (Mother)
Eugenio Bustos - San Carlos, Mendoza

RL

8-8-77 Letter to Derian.
8-8-77 Letter to T.Todman.
8-9-77 Letter to Representatives.

TH Amnesty Int. 8/76 PAHR(1)
Cordoba Int 12-1-76 "WOLA-11-78"

GARCIA, Rolando
Taxist

Reappeared D78

ABD August 1978 (5

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

AI

P

GARCIA, Rudyar Eduardo
Age 16
Student in Technical School
CI: 291.287

Disappeared 7-9-76 with father Juan C. Garcia. - Caseros

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GARCIA, Silvano José

DIS

FAAR(4)
ML

GARCIA, Soledad
Doc.Prim. UEPC-Córdoba

Detained 3/76 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GARCIA, Victor Hugo
CF: 125.545
LE: 8.455.177
Gral. Pueyrredón 620 Sur - San Juan (Prov.San Juan)

ABD 10-1-76 in Jachal (San Juan)

Personal call Embassy 8-8-78:
Garcia, Autora T. de (Mother)
Gral. Pueyrredón 620 Sur -San Juan
Phone 28981

C-139|75|2

Garcia, Washington Alejandro

T
Option

PEN; San Juan
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Consulate.

D

GARCIA ANIZ, Enrique
Industrial worker

DIS after 3-24-76

PAHR(2)
ML

D

GARCIA DE CABRERA, Ercilia A.
Age: 26

DIS 2-10-77 La Matanza

FDD

554/78/9 D

GARCIA CALCAGNO, German Nelson (Uruguayan)
Age: 24

Disappeared 5-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
UNHRC-4-1-78

D

GARCIA CALDERON, Gustavo Hugo
Age 24
LE: 10.947.355

Disappeared 3-25-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GARCIA CAPPANNINI, Gustavo Delfor
Age 25
LE: 8.603.424

DIS 10-14-76 La Plata-Bs As

La Plata list 10/78
PAHR (1)

D

GARCIA DE CASSINO, Clarisa Adriana
Age 20
DNI: 12.434.936

DIS 1-3-77 La Plata Bs As

Pahr(L)
Cuba, Anti Comp 9/78

D

GARCIA CASTAÑEDA, Pedro A.
Age 56

DIS 12-28-77 Ramos Mejia

PAHR(L)

D

GARCIA CASTELU, Horacio Oscar
Agara 1557 - Banfield (Bs. As)
Lieutenant soldier
Age 21
DNI: 4.230.856

Disappeared 8-7-76 - Banfield -

PL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

GARCIA DE CUELLO, Maria Teresa
CI 3664.573
Age 44

Disappeared 11-26-76 - Ml Palomar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

GARCIA DEGELMAN, Claudia

ABD 8/76. Pregnant 5 months.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D *

GARCIA DELORENZI, Adriana

Disappeared 1-3-77.

Fraser.
Garcia M, Nilda (aunt)
Sudermann 304-Apt.601
Colonia Polanco, Mexico 5.D.F.Mexico

342/78/5 D

Dr. Garcia Fernandez, Francisco Manuel

GOA reply 6-27-78 N.R.A.D. y/o sigue arrestado

Arrested by men claiming to be members of Security Forces on April 5, 1978.

Under PEN. Ley Hecam 7-11-78

PAHR/Q
Buenos Aires Herald Clipping 4-13-78
Santuario
Fernandez de Garcia Fernandez, Gladys Juliana (Esposa)
Fco. Bilbao 1808 - Capital
Cancer-Guth Omz. 9/78

435/78/6 D

GARCIA GALLO DE CAMPERO, Haydée
Age: 47
LC. 1.860.484
Ombu 2788, Lomas de Zamora

GOA reply 1-30-79 : Neg. reply.

Disappeared 1-6-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
WOLA

GARCIA DE GHIGLIANO, Maria C. D
Age: 29
LC. 5.888.186

ABD 9-2-76 with husband Santiago

ML

GARCIA HAMILTON, José (journalist)

Arreste and imprisoned.

le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

GARCIA HERNANDO, Leonor
Lawyer

DIS 4-7-76 in Buenos Aires

CoHR(L)
ML

---

de Gelman
GARCIA IRURETA GOYENA, Claudia
Ref 24
Cl: 7.808.922

Disappeared 8-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

GARCIA LANDA, Gustavo D

ABD 10/76 with wife Margarita

ML

GARCIA LUGO, Mario Salvador FREED (Paraguayenne)

Freed 8-31-77 ??

D

GARCIA MARTINEZ, Roberto Adolfo
Age: 25
Employee

ABD 5-30-76 in Villa Adelina, Bs.As.Prov.

Cancer Anti Congress 1978/Sept.

GARCIA PAGLIARO, Adrian Horacio
DNI. 11.455.193 - CI. 7.220.439

Arrested on 3-28-77. Since then disappeared.

Garcia Pagliaro, Isabel R. de (Mother)
LC. 0472867
Chile 1465- 4°P.- Capital (18-22 hrs.) 207 - 8057
83 - 0168
Oficina 826.0903

8-24-77 Letter to Mr. T. Harris.
PAHR (2)

GARCIA PEREYRA, Raúl H

DIS

ML

516/78/8
GARCIA RAMOS, Elena de Dosetti Silvana Para Maria (Uruguayan)
CI. 1.278.884 (Uruguay)
DNI: 92.193.740
Lavalle 1494 - 12 "A"-Buenos Aires

GOA reply: Mrad. 10-16-78

DIS (Wife of E.S.Dosetti Techeira) 12-21-77

Olga Ramos Lagar de Garcia (Mother)
Humaitá 2761-Dpto.1 - Montevideo Phone: 407688
(Bs.As.Address: Mariano Acha 2582-4°"21"-Belgrano)
Personal call Embassy(Harris) 8-30-78.

GARCIA RIQUELME, Segundo *Chilean D

DIS 10-22-77 in Buenos Aires

ML

D

GARCIA ROBLES, Salvador
Age: 30
Blanco Encalada 2424-Bs.Aires

ABD 12-24-75 from home

PAHR(4)
ML

GARCIA DE RODRIGUEZ, Hebe D

DIS 6-7-77 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

GARCIA RUIZ, Enrique

Arrested on 10-7-76 on the public street by three men, after showing his documents. Since then in prison.

Cleared PEN - La Opinion 10-23-76

GARCIA RUIZ, Maria Eugenia de (Wife)

7-28-77. Letter explaining case.

GARCIA VILDA, Sr. (Spaniard)

DIS 10-7-76

FDD

PAHR (L)

GARCIA VILDA, Sra. (Spaniard)

DIS 10-7-76

FDD

PAHR (L)

GARCIA VILLAFANE, Uruguay Arapei
CI. 10-461.387

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GARD, Claudio
Worker from Frigoríficos Carindu-Quilmes Bs.As.

ABD 4-23-76

GARR(1)
ML

GARDEO, Ruben Oscar

DIS

GARL(1)
ML

D 76

GARDEZ DE REPETTO, Nélida

San Martin (Prov. Bs. As.)

DIS APRIL OR MAY 1978

Arrested on 8-3-78 with two small children. Husband arrested a month before.

Ruben Ramos 11-23-78

CONAR 9-28-76

D

GARDIA, Hugo

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

GAREGNANI, Juan Carlos
Age 34
CI: 4.843.309

Disappeared 10-29-76 Ramos

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

GARELIK, Hugo Ricardo
Psicologist

11-29-77
ABD in Mar del Plata in 1977

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PAHR(L)

D

GARGARO, Alejandro Daniel
Age 18
LE: 11.934.950

Disappeared 7-7-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

GARGARO, Alfredo
Age 20
LE: 11.934.356

Disappeared 7-7-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GARGIULO, Héctor Hugo
[illegible]
Ag 27

Disappeared 3-5-76 from home with wife Tucuman

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GARIBALDI, Armando Eugenio

DIS 7-15-76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

GARIBALDO, Mario Alejandro
Ag 24

Disappeared 5-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5=17-78
ML

D

GARIBALDI, Osvaldo José Gregorio

Disappeared 5-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

P

GARIBOTTO, Cristina Estela

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

D

GARIN, Arturo Martin
6/c M
L: 5.503.517

Disappeared 12-9-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

GARIN, Nestor

ABD

ML

D

GARIN DE ANGELIS, Maria Adelia (Sr.)
Arg 29
JWI: S. 464. 313

Disappeared 1-13-77- Quilmes-

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Causa Defs Congr. 9/78
Arg Arg. Sec. Permit
ML

D

GARMENDIA, Coky

DIS 2/77 San Miguel de Tucumán

AISC

742/79/1 D

GARMENDIA, Angel Mario
LE: 8.084.214
Age: 34
Profession: Chemist
Address: Av. Roca 713-San Miguel de Tucuman(Tucuman)

Disappeared on 6-21-77 after being taken by four men from his home.

R
Letter to Embassy-Amb.4-17-78.
Garmendia, Carmen Noemí Perilli de (Wife)

GAROFALO, Alba Placci Noemi (Daughter of Methodist Minister) 34/77/1 * D
L.C. 6.137.606
Born: Jan.23,1954

She is now married to Eduardo Daniel Placcí also missing.Don't know nothing since Dec.8,1976.She left a son with grandfather at the time,2yrs old.
Oct.23-78
Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 1-6-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77

Congr.Edgar
World Coun.of Churches.
PAHR(L)

D

GARONI, José Luis Anibal (F)
R CIN. 7.993.368
Barcelona 1060-Haedo
Age 23

On 5.24.77 was arrested. It is supposed that he is kept by the Army. -Haedo-Bsas.

Garoni, Maria Mercedes de (Mother)
DNI 2.159.129
Barcelona 1060-Haedo

Testimony to Representatives.

PAHR(L)
FD

L

D

GARRA, Daniel Osvaldo
DNI. 10.359.159

Disappeared on 12-26-76 in Punta Alta.

Carra, Héctor C.-LC 5.429.237 (Father)
Carra, Mercedes L.P. de LC:4.058.005 (Mother)

D

GARRA, Jorge Miguel

Was detained with wife at parent's home Deheza 581, Sarandí on 12-30-77. Since then disappeared.

Garra, Pilar Rodriguez de (Mother)
Gral. Mosconi 750 - 1879 Quilmes
Letter to Amb.Castro- 1-7-78.

D

GARRA, Nora Félix de

Detained with husband at parent's home Deheza 581,SARANDI, on 12-30-77. Since then disappeared.

Garra, Pilar Rodriguez de (Mother in law)
Gral. Mosconi 750- 1879 Quilmes
Letter to Amb.Castro-1-7-78.

GARRAI, Horacio Anibal
Lawyer

Detained in November 1975

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

F

GARRAL, Horacio Anibal

Detained November 1975. At presente under PEN in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Liga Arg.-Der.Hombre 4-19-78

509/78/8 D

GARRAMONE, Daniel Fausto
DI: 8.483.329
DOB: 1-31-51 - Necochea
Married

GOA reply Mad 16-16-78

DIS 5-30-77 on his way to meet a friend. The following night men claiming to be members of a security force entered his home demanding a photo of Garramone from his wife.

PAHR (2)
State 211538
Aguirre de Garramone, María Elena (Wife)
Av. San Martín 1443 - Necochea (Bs As)
Ltr Smith to VAW. State 211538

D 78

GARRAT, Esteban
Age: 26

ABD late 1977 or beginning 1978

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

A36/78/6 D

GARRICA, Irma L. de
Age: 53
Nurse

GOP reply 1/30/70 - Neg. reply.

Arrested on 4-18-77.

WOLA

D

GARRIDO, Omar Miguel

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

GARRITANO, Alberto Carmelo
Caja de Ahotto
Age 34

Put under PEN — La Nacion 6-11-78
Removed PEN - La Nacion 1/20/78

Disappeared 1-17-78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GARTIG, Julio Armando
Age 2A
DNI: 4.623.483

Disappeared 3-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

444/78/7 D

GARUTI, Alberto
CI: 7.751.054

GOA reply 9-5-78 N.R.A.D.

Arrested in March 1978

State Department-Univ.California

D

GARUTI, Antonio Angel
Calle 140 #1154. Mar del Plata
Rfe 12
LE: M.4144.102

Disappeared 8-26-76 Mar del Plata

Fil
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

GARUTI, Eduardo Alberto
Rfe 20

Disappeared 2-21-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

GAS, Sergio

DIS 9-14-76 Buenos Aires

ML

GASASUS, Maria Alejandra
CI: 6.669.935

9

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

163/77/11 T*

GASPARINI, Osvaldo

Tong reply 3-10-78: PEN Dte. 325 7-2-78
Cargo: Integrante Montoneros - tenencia de armas y material subversivo.
Alojado: U-2 Sierra Chica.
Observaciones: 14-12-77 se le otorgó libertad condicional. 11-1-78 emitió Hábeas Data 21.658.

GDH reply 8-29-78: Montoneros (Ex Soldier)
Detained in Sierra Chica Prison. Jail sentence due to end on November 10, 1977.

911

Cong. Buenos Aires 88-2116 88 1211 88-6040
Cong. Mendoza 68 1118 88 - 3282 88 6735
State 266342
Cong. Capital 88-7161

D 1978

GASSMAN, Alcides Norberto Roberto
Capital Federal

DNI: 10.245.941
Rdz 26

DIS 8-6-78 Rosario

PAHR 9-28/78 (L)

D

GASTALDI, Daniel Alejandro

Disappeared 3-25-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

GASTIAZOLO DE BRONTES, Ramona E.
Age 51
L. 5.028.652

DIS 3-9-77 Ciudadela Bs. As.

PAHR(L)

P

GATICA, Marta Esther

Detaine PEN - Villa Devoto judged.

ADLeague

GATTI, Adriana (Uruguay) 77/77/7 D *
Bgl 67
C#: 1.641.464
For.Off.Inq.: 7-11-77 GOA reply: NO. Requested 10-31-77 Sent 11-16-77 Inq.

Ministerio de Rel. Ext. y Cultos replied that there are no antecedents on her detention. - 8-1-77.

The Intern. League for H.R. (Mr. Rondon) 8-15-77.

Cancer Cuth Cong. 9/78
Amnesty Int.
Consular Section.
Wola. - Congress
Cong. Fraser - Cong. Koch - Senator Kennedy
10-7-77 - Letter to Amb. Castro from Mrs. Marta Gatti. 68-9169
HL

77/77

29/76/11 D *

GATTI ATUÑA, Gerardo (Uruguay)
Uruguayan (prominent Uruguayan labor leader of Uruguay's National Labor Confederation)
Bgl 45
C#: 606.306

Not registered. For Off.Inq.: 11-13-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76
Your dem... 11-16-77 Inq.

The Intern. League for H.R. (Fernando Rondon) - 8-15-77.

Fernando Amnesty Int.
10-7-77 Letter to Amb. Castro from Mrs. Marta Gatti.
UNHCR 4-5-78
HL
PEN REPORT 10-28-77

76:0

D 1

GATTO, Carlos Oscar
Lawyer

Abducted on 4-29-76

Cancer Cuth Cong. 9/78
HL
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
PAHR(L)

159/24/10 9 *

GAUD, ANGELA BEAUFAY de
DOB: 3-18-1945
Colonia Carmanza-Dto.Alvear
Profession: Actress

Detained on 2-19-77. At presente she is supposed to be al Comando Cuerpo de Ejercido de Mendoza.

For reply Ref. 5571 - Not PEN regarding.

[ ] 86

Cong. Thomas J. Downey 84-0033

160/24/10 D *

GAUD, Carlos Alberto
CI. 1694068
DOB: 3-18-1938
Place: San Miguel (Prov.Bs.As.)
Güemes al 3800 - Buenos Aires
Profession: Actor

Detained by Security Forces on 2-20-77. Since then disappeared.

For reply Ref. 571 - Not PEN regarding

[ ] 86

Cong. Thomas J. Downey 84-0033

GAUNA, Alberto Adan D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

GAVALDA, Maria Irene
Age: 27
DOB: 8-30-1950.
Villa Gran Parque Km. 6 1/2 Ruta 9-Camino a Jesus Maria(Córd.)

Arrested on 12-5-77 with husband Juan Mogilner. Disappeared since then.

PAHR
Personal call Embassy 8-29-78 (Father)
(Marshall Mayer) Phone 40-2651 (15-17 horas)
Gavalda, José M.-Calle 7 esq.10-Banelagh(Prov.Bs.As.)

GAVALLI de MESTRES, R.

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

GAVELLI DE BERTOLINI, Susana

DOS 3-9-76 DEL VISO - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

GAYA, Gustavo Adolfo
Age 26 y.
LE: 8.464.384

Disappeared 9-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GAYA, Ricardo Alberto
Age 24
LE: 8.479.604

Disappeared 7-30-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

461/78/7 D

GAZZARI, Pablo (Father Gazzari)
DOB: 9-23-44 DI: 5.670.803
Wenceslao Villafañe 439-Buenos Aires
Superior: Cardinal Juan Carlos Aramburu, Archbishop pf Buenos Aires, Suipacha 1034- 1008 Buenos Aires

Gen Affy 9-12-78 N.R.O.D

Arrested on 11-27-76 in Buenos Aires. Taken to the Campo de Mayo Army Camp, where he may have been tortured. He has since been reported as being both released and tortured to death, although neither report has been confirmed.

Congr. Seiberling -State 216197

GEA CRESPO, Carlos H

DIS 11/76

ML

GEDULA, Teresa Verónica

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GEFORNER, Nestor

DIS 3-24-76

PAHR (L)

GEIST,

Arrested on 8-7-77. Brother of Alejandro Geist, a priest who fled Argentina.

X GELMAN, Marcelo Ariel (CI 6.827.025) 22/76/11 D *
T A GELMAN, Maria Claudia Garcia Iruretagoyena de (CI.7.808.422)
R Gorriti 3868-Capital 22/76/11

GOA reply 9-15-78 : N.R A.D

Arrested on 8-24-76 at their home. Since then disappeared. She was awaiting a baby, his birth must have been from 10/20 to 11/6/76.

(L) Not registered. For Off. Inq.: 11-13-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76

PAHR(L)
Garcia Iruretagoyena, M.E. Cassinelli de (Mother)
DNI 3.213.011.
Medrano 1015, Piso 2°, Dto.D. Capital
Re Hindi 6-10-78

Testimony. Sent T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

GELMAN Argentines

Son, daughter and daughter-in-law of poet Juan Gelman abducted by unidentified armed men on Aug 25, 1976. 8/27/76 telegram from Dept inquiring about three persons.

Marcelo Ariel Gelman
wife Maria Claudia Garcia

Nora Gelman

GELMAN, Baby

B

Garcia, Maria Eugenia Cassinelli de (Grandmother)
Santa Fé 2534, Piso 11 "D" - Capital

23/26/11

D *

GELMAN, Nora

Under review. For.Off.Inq. 11-13-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76
11-16-77 Ltr.

76/23

9

GELMAN, Jorge Daniel

National Executive Power - DTO 1219 of 5/7/75
U7 Resistencia - Subversive activities instigation of armed fight and support in the Villa Constitución conflicts.

Authorized bank country - Clarin clipping 6-1-78

Carlos J. Lingel
Reg. Gral. Jrdcl Comm

RJL

C-227/78/L

GELSTEIN, Emilea Baretic de

Fono reply: 3-10-78

Cons PEN - Dto. 3340 21-12-76
Abogada: Devoto V-2
Hum. Int. requested visit 4/78 as no longer under PEN

Detained in Villa Devoto Prison.

Senator Riegle, State 279349, 11-22-77. BA-2319
Cong. Dingell, 11-25-77. BA-9552 BA 2319

L

C-237/78/L

GELSTEIN, Isidor

Hum. Int. requested visit 4/78 as under judicial system.

FONO: reply 3-10-78:

PEN: Dto 2835 - 9-10-75
Cargo: Ley 20.840 - Asociación ilícita - Robo - Tenencia armas de guerra - Pertenencia al ERP. Interviene Juz Federal 2 UNE de San Martín
Abogado - V-9 La Plata

Detained in La Plata Prison.

Amb Ref. Bogotá
Emb Arg. Ber. Denmark

Senator Riegle, State 279349, 11-22-77. BA-2319
Cong. Dingell-11-25-77 - BA-9552 BA - 2319

L

GENDRA, Horacio

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

D

GENEVALS DE COPELLO, M.R.

DIS

PAHR (L)

GENEVOI, Maria F

ARR 4-16-75 Chaco - PEN 9/75 Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D 78

GENOUD, Alberto Raúl

DIS

WOLA 11-78

GENOVESE, Silvia Isabel
Age: 18

ABD 11/29/66 from home Edificio 133 BA. G. Salvio, Buenos Aires.

ML

GENTILE,

Detained since two months in Avellaneda. (June 1978?)

Harris data-8-14-78

GEONINATTI, Angel Joel

Detained Nov. 1974 - Rawson

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GEORGIEFF, Darío 7 years
GEORGIEFF, Natalia 6 "
GEORGIEFF, Nicolás 3 "

Children of Jorge Goergieff and Maria Teresa Galeano arrested on 11-2-77.

Leter ANRAA-11/77.

GEORGIEFF, Jorge

Sen. Allan Cranston-behalf of [ ] 1-6-78

GEPONER, Nestor S.

DIS 3-24-76

ML

D

GERARDO, Amadeo

DIS 7-22-76

PANR(L)
ML

678/78/12 10.77

GERBILSKY, Claudio Martín
CI: 8.023.461 LE:9.695.461
AGE: 19
Address: Tucuman 151-Lanus Este

DIS:8-9-77

Mother: Elena de Gerbilsky
CI:3.605.485-25 de Mayo 64-Lanus Este 247-9920 9422 U548 Tucuman 6 to 20°
PB-C

ML
Anti-Def-League
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
FDD-11-8-78
DAIA

Cousin of mother at states

E

J

Cmgr. Leiberling

B6

Mother visit Emb. 11-24-78
Mother visit Emb. 11-30-78
" " " 2-5-79

(over)

F

GERCHUNOFF, Salomon
Lawyer-Empresa Automotores Renault de Córdoba

Detained in may 1977. At present in Córdoba jail

1

Anti Def. League
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cancer Aud. Cong. 9/78

GERCOFF PETZUROFF, Alfredo

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLeague

GERENSCHTEIN, Rubén Enrique
Age 17
Student

Disappeared May 1977.

Anti Def. League
DAIA
PAHR (L)

D

GEREZ, Feliciano Dermidio
Age 38

Disappeared 7-21-76 Boulogne

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GEREZ, Luis Román
~~Age: 43~~
Doc. 6.994.312

DIS

Tucumán

D 98

GERINSPAN de LOGARES, Mónica S.

DIS 5-18-78 MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay with daughter Paula Eva, 2 yrs.old.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

GERMAN, Graciela Susana

DIS 1-10-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

GERMAIN, Jorge Alberto
Age 24

D

DIS 6-2-76 Córdoba

PAHR (4)

GERMAN, Mrs. (Italian) D

DIS 3/76 Tucumán

AISC (Arg.Komm Sweden)

D

GERMAN, Carlos
Leader of Concord Workers Union

DIS 2/77

ML

GERONIMO, José María

DIS 12-76

FANR (4)
ML

GERRERO DE DIAZ SARAVIA, Teresa Mercedes
Age: 27
Doc. 6.392.060

DIS 9-4-76

Tucumán

GERSAY, José

Detained since 11-8-1974 in Resistencia.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GERSBERGG DE DIAZ SALAZAR, Esther (Montevideo) D-1978

Age: 23

Dis: 21-7-78, SAN JUSTO

FDD list- 9-16-78 (4)

GERTEL, Angel Salomon
Paisaciyo

Disappeared 12-8-75

ML
ADLeague
Comm. Anti-Comp. 9/78

GERTEL, Fernando

Disappeared July 25, 1976

ML
ADLeague

D

GERVAN, Luis Oscar
~~Age: 45~~
Doc. 6.944.494

DIS 11-4-76

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

GERVASI, Maria Elena
Age 36
LE: 3.940.459

Disappeared 5-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GERVASONI, Lito Julio
LAWYER
Age 34

Detained. Comisaría (La Plata 8-22-75) PEN - Coronda (Sta Fé)

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Amer. Ant. Cong. 9/78

D

GERZEL, Lorenzo Gerardo
LE: 7.723.041
Age 35

Disappeared 11-16-76

Amnesty Inter.
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

GESSO, Juan Domingo
Age: 33
Lawyer

ARD 3-25-75

ML

D
1978

GHEZAN, Enrique Carlos
Zapiola 6321-Barrio Martin Ghemes, Munro, Prov.Bs.As.
Age 22
DNI: 11.401.138
C/I 8.122.220

Arrested 7-28-78 with wife and small child of two months. Later on the same day after 24;00 pm, baby was left at grandparent's home.
FDD List - 9-16-78 - Munro

PAHR(4)
Letter to Emb. 8/7/78
Ghezan, Juan Carlos (Father)
Sarmiento574 5' B-Tandil

GHIGLIA, Jerónimo Gabriel
C.I: 10.135.456
Age 24

Disappeared 4-30-76 San Isidro - Bs As

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Hay Arg Sec Hombre

70/77/5 P *

GHIGLIANI, Alejandro Marco Eduardo
LE. 4.287.113
Birth date: 1-15-39.

Detained. For.Off.Inq.: 5-27-77 GOA reply: NO.
PEN since 12/75.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Ghigliani, Alejandro Eligio
Chigliani, Maria Emilia Caru de (Parent)

The Intern.League for H.R.-Fernando Rondon-8-15-77.

GHIGLIANO, Santiago
Age: 30
LE: 4.557.147

DIS 9-2-76

PAHR(1)
FDD

GHIGLIONE, Patricia Clara

F

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

GHIGO, José Luis
LE: 1.775.995
Fleming 2373-Dpto.6-Munro
Metalurgic worker

Arrested in March 76- released 4-24-76. Arrested again on 8-21-76 and since then disappeared. Munro - Pcia.

Ghigo,.Dalinda Correa de (Mother)
Fleming 2373-Dpto.6-Munro

Personal call at Embassy 5-4-78 (Phone: 762-4686)
Neighbour.

PAHR(L)

D

GHILLEN, Enrique

ABD 9/76 Córdoba Prov.

ML

D

GHOINO, Ricardo

DIS 5/76

PAHR (L)

Killed.

GIACCIO.
(Son of Profesora del Colegio Nacional)

Killed

La Plata List

444/78/6

D-78

GIACHETTI, Maria Ernestina
CI. 5.809.945
Age 28

GOA reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply

DIS 5-6-78 - P.O. Herald 8-13-78

Letter Sec. Carter 10-15-78
Maria Antonia Gonzalez - C1360.409 - San José 124
NOLA
PAHR(L)
FBI 11-1-78

R. a. option

GIACOBBE, Maria Isabel

Personal visit by her father to request right of option to leave the country. 10-10-78

Born 2-12-1949
Arrested in the city of Córdoba on 3-8-78 at pension where she was living at that time, Jose Garibaldi 751, Cordoba
Student of Filosofia y Letras, at the National University of Cordoba. Leftist leaning, Third World movement as stated by her father.
Concubine:
Fernando Aguero, disappeared 2/3 days after she was arrested. He was an employee at the city of Córdoba Municipalidad.

María Isabel had a baby while in prison, who is now about 6 months old. Her in-laws have the baby at their care. She is in prison in Córdoba. Given papers to

AFL/CIO

* GIAMPa, Juan José [illegible]
GIAMPA, Ana Rosa Geneáliz de [illegible]

[illegible]: L.E. 4.625.372. worker. he was abducted together with his wife fr his home in La Plata on August 30th 1976.

[illegible]: L.C. 6.134.905. She disappeared together with her husbar on August 30the 1976.

La Plata Asistencia
Eug. Arg. Dir. Armaba
NL PAHR (4)

GIANFRANCISCO, Manuel Antonio

DIS 5-19-76

PAHR

GIANGUAS, Ricardo
Buenos Aires

~~XXXXXX~~ Disappeared 4-9-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GIANI, Leandro
Age: 25

Detained since 4 months. (April 1978?)

Harris data 8-14-78

GIARDELLO, Horacio Gerardo
Age 30
CI: 9.647.895

Disappeared 9-29-77 Neuquen

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

GIAZ, Benjamin Ernesto

Disappeared 1-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

GIBIO, Aldo Oscar

DIS 6-3-76

PAHR(L)
ML

GIGANTI, Julia

ARR 5-12-75 Mar del Plata - PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (Cadhu)

D

GIGENA, Alberto
Age: 28
Thames 2566 - San Justo
LE: 7.640.573
Emp. Terminal M. Belgr.

Arrested on 8-13-77. Since then disappeared. - Ramos Izquierdo -

Mrs. Gigena (Wife)
Thames 2566 - San Justo
CAIHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GIGLI, Juan Carlos
San Nicolás

Detained Oct. 1975 - San Nicolas

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GIGLI, Rafael

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

GIGLIANI, Alejandro
President of the Appeals Court of La Pampa

Arrested in October 1975. Now Detained at Unidad 9 La Plata.

Lawyers Cmte. 9/78
Colding, Henning. Skovvaenget 2, DK 7800 skive
Denmark - Amn.Int'l 3-31-78.

GIGLIO, Carlos Alberto

5-19-76
DIS 3-29-76 Buenos Aires

La Plata Prisl 10/78
PAHR(4)
ML

GIL, Carlos Alberto
I.E. 8.403.736
Bfe 26

Disappeared 4-14-76 Remedios de Escalada

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-19-78(4)

GIL, Ricardo
Univ. Prof. of Economics

Disappeared 4-14-76

Mechanic Cond.
GIL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GIL DE GONZALEZ, Chela R.

DIS 11/17/77 Bs. As.

PAHR (L)
Socialist

K

GILBERT, Roberto
Age: 24

Killed San Juan - Mine worker

AISC (Arg.Komm Sweden)

GILIBERTO, Cesar Dante

DIS 6-11-76 Neuquen

PAHR(L)
ML

GILLIE, Deric
Age: 37
4.309.655

DIS 9-30-77

FDD

GIMENEZ, Alberto

DIS 12-23-77

Mar del Plata List
PAHR(L)

D

GIMENEZ, Alejandro

ABD from home in Pergamino by Police

ML

D

GIMENEZ, Carlos Oscar
Hte 34
LE: 4.618.038

DIS 4/23/77 Tucumán

PAHR (L)
FDD

GIMENEZ, Eufrasio
Met Com

Detained 3-24-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GIMENEZ, Jorge Eduardo
LE: 8 436.356
Gimenez 24-Bernal

Disappeared 5-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

GIMENEZ, Juan Angel
~~Age: 67~~
Doc. 3.538.490

DIS 2-13-77

TUCUMAN

D 78

GIMENEZ, Juan Carlos
6061.012

DIS 6/76 Mendoza

WOLA 11-78
PAHR(L)
ML
Mendoza Family List 6/78

D

GIMENEZ, Juan José
Age: 19
DNI: 13.855.933

DIS 12-7-76 Avellaneda

FD$_D$
PAHR (L)

D

GIMENEZ, Luis Fructuoso

Disappeared 5-14-77 Zárate

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Aug. Sec. Hondo

D

GIMENEZ, Maria Isabel
Age: 40
Prof. of Math. in Tucuman-Nat.Techn.Univ.

ABD 6/77

ML

D

GIMENEZ, Ricardo Armando
Age: 23
Doc. 11.638.335

DIS 6-11-76 Tucuman

Tucumán
PAHR (4)

D

GIMENEZ, Roberto Claudio

DIS 12-13-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D

GIMENEZ DE GUIDO, Silvia Noemí
CI. 2.852.158
Age 23

Disappeared on 6-19-76 in Mar del Plata.

AL
Gimenez, LE:3.016.118 (Father)
Gimenez, Aurora G. de, LE: 1.196.869 (Mother)
Zelarrayan 1196-B.Blanca
PAHR(4)

GIMENEZ SILA DE FAROLINI, Ana Avelina

Age: 33
Worker

Detained in Buenos Aires in 1975-at present
Unidad 2 Carcel Villa Devoto

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

GINES, Emiliano

DIS 10-12-77 Quilmes

PAHR (L)

GINESE, Juan Domingo

DIS 12-11-76 Córdoba
Reward PEN - La Nación 1/30/79

PAHR (L)

GINNESSE,
Córdoba

Detained since 1976 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GINSBURG, Mario
Age: 24

DIS 5-11-77

FDD

GIOGGIOLINI DE PEREYRA, M.E.C.
Age: 29
CI: 5.896.069
Delgado 836,Buenos Aires

ABD 7-16-77 by armed men. Early on same day husband was abducted.

FAMR (L)
ML

GIOJA MANINI, César
(MANINI, Cesar Gioja)

P *

3/76 PEN. Peronist.

Sin.
Hayakawa interest.-

Calif. cousin.

P

GIOLITO, Ruben (publisher)

Arrested and imprisoned in 1/77

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
La Nación 6-10-76

D

GIOLO
Priest of Villa Rodonda-Bs.As.Prov.

DIS 7-11-76

ML
PeHR(L)

D

GIOMBINI, Gustavo Rodolfo
Age: 25
LE: 5.412.356

ABD 1976 from home 8/11/76 · Hecho

PAHR(L)
ML

Giordano Cortezzo, Héctor Orlando 5/41/78/9 D
CORTAZZO, Hector Giordano (Uruguayan)

DOB: 5-13-1939
Virrey Loreto 629-Buenos Aires

DIS JUNE 9/1978 in Buenos Aires. House owner dennounced arrest to the Police.
GOA reply negative
UNHCR report that subj. wounded in head & being held in Palomar, A.F. Base.
CORTAZZO, Victor (Uncle)
Uruguay

Montevideo 2679 - Personal call Embassy 8-16-78. 6A-9099 AA9720 AA-9814
UNHRC - 9-5-78

D

GIORDANO, Juan Carlos
LE. 4.878.647
Bernal 2443 - Lanus Este (Bs.As.)

Disappeared. Ficha 3-24-77

PAHR(L)
Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza
ML

681/78/2 D 76

GIORGI, Alfredo Antonio
LE: 4.118.950
Age: 33
Anchorena 1472-Capital

Arrested on 11-27-78 in INTI (Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Industrial) Av. Gral. Paz y Constituyentes.

Amcitrel.- Guillermo Herrero

Giorgi, Osvaldo C. (Father)
Anchorena 1472-Capital 83-6862
Pro. Ho. Herald 1-22-79

D

GIORGI or GEORGI, Raúl
APt 26

DIS 12-23-75

PAHR (L)
ML

9

GIORNO, Hugo Mario
LE. 7.695.511

Detained 3-24-76 - C.Modelo La Plata

Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza

GIORNO, Nestor Alberto
LE' 5.508.758

Detained 3-24-76 - C.Modelo La Plata

Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza

GIOSSO, Domingo
LE: 6.099.786
Cafferata 2802 - Rosario(Santa Fé)

Arrested 8-24-77 with son, who was released 24 hours later. Rosario

PAHR (L)
Personal call Embassy 8-14-78
Giosso,Francisca Lo Giudice de
Cafferata 2802-Rosario (Wife)
(Phone 380187-Gomez)

GIOURGAS, Stella Maris
DNI.: 11.209.758
Calle 12 entre 59 y 60-La Plata
Ale 24

Detained at her home in La Plata on 6-22-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (L)
La Plata List 10/78

Perez, Ural (Adoptive father)
Calle 12 entre 59 y 60-La Plata
(Personal call Ricardo Cobeñas) 11-30-77 347-10 La Plata

GIOVANNI, Ana Lia di
Student of Humanities at Mar del Plata Univ.

Detained 2-11-76 - Villa Devoto Prison.

AIAUSTRALIA - Adoption

C-98/78/1

GIOVANNINI, Hortensia Poggi de

Mrs Gal refused visit 11/28 a. Rec'd practical.

VILLA DEVOTO - PEN

Poggi, Maria Teresa Vottero de (Mother)
Mitre 127-Rafaela (Santa Fé)

Mario Ormachea-Juncal 2845-4°"B"-Bs.As. (85-3905)

GIOVANNONI, Roxana Verónica
DNI: 11.028.528
Age 23

Disappeared 2-28-77 -CAp. Federal
Jorge Alberto GIOVANNONI L.E. 4.021.727 - P. SANTOS 5801

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
FDO-6-11-78

GIOVINAZZO, José Armando
CI: 7.342.635

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GIRAD, Carlos David
O.Públicas. E.Rios

Detained since Feb.75 in Coronda
Reported from PEN - La Nación 8-19-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GIRARDELLO, Horacio C
Age: 30
LE: 7.925.106
Geologist

ABD 9-29-77 from home Casa 260, Campamento 1, P.Huincul, Neuquen.

ML

D

GIRIBALDI, Mario Alejandro
AGE; 23
DNI: 11.143.310

DIS 5-8-76 Santiago del Estero

FDD
PAHR(L)

D

GIRIBALDI, Osvaldo José G.
Age: 28
Worker in Ingenio Ledesma
El Talar, Jujuy
LE: 7.654.122

ABD 6/76 from work

PAHR(L)
ML

D

GIROTTI, Luis Héctor

DIS 1-11-77 La Plata - Bs As

La Plata List -- 11-21-78

PAHR(L)

D

GIUSSI, Eduardo

DIS

PAHR (L)

GIUSTI, Alberto Horacio
AR 33
CI: 5.561.254

D

DIS 6-16-77

PAHR (L)

GIUSTI, José
Acindar

Detained - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GJURINOVIVCH, Hugo Estanislao
Age: 19
CI: 8.275.073

Disappeared 8-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

GLAS, Esther (nee Wejeman)
5.671.142

Disappeared 1-10-77.

ADLeague

GLASMAN, Jorge Luis
Age: 22

Disappeared 7-19-76

ML

ADLeague

D

GIASMAN, José
Worker from Safrar-Peugot

Disappeared 7-19-76

AL
ADLeague

D

GLAZ, Benjamin Ernesto
Age: 42
L. 411.379

DIS 1-26-77

PAHR (L)

GIEYZER, Raimundo 13/76/11 D *
Gabriela Isaacson 1937 - Psic II - Capital
Dpto 34
C.I. 846.468 or. 4.888.493
GOA reply 1-18-77: Negative reply.
Emitted 5-21-76.
Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply:11-12-76
Reported as dead in PEN report.

AI
PAHR(L) FDD 005
Le Monde 6-10-78
PIL
Amb. Del Carril
Lem. Lowenfeld - 1-20-76 BA-1324
Emb. Israel Lilid Lemm
Emb. Trent Hoff BA-1330
Lem. Fleischer, Sr. BA-1334 BA-1322
Lem. Abramczyk BA-1348
Lem. Kennedy BA-1334
Emb. Hoff BA-1329
Emb. Hallet
Emb. Hunter BA-1315
Emb. Sprite BA-1326
Lem. Williams BA-1321
Lem. Cox BA-13-27
Lem. Franklin BA-1304
Lem. Hawkins BA-1317
Emb. Hall BA-1317
Emb. Hartman BA-1318
Lem. Stevenson BA-1323

L

GLIKES, Estela Julia
Age: 21

Disappeared PEN Items

ADLeague

GLIVIERA, Miguel Angel

ABD San Juan

AISC (Arg. Komm Sweden)

GLOBOSKY,
Student
Mendoza

Detained 1975

ADLeague

c-167/78/3

9

GLOGOWSKY SIGAL, Leon Eduardo

Min Int. informed visit 11/78 on under judicial system.

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADleague

D

GOC, Ignacio Jorge
fr: 26
C.I: 6.435.345

Disappeared 6-2-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D78

GODAN, Miriam K. de
Age: 46
L. 2.717.954

DIS 1-10-78

PAHR (L)

GODANO DE ROLDAN, Mirta

DIS

Para (L)
ML

GODOY ROSALES, Miguel

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

GODOY, Cristella Beatriz

ARR 6-16-76 Paraná - Held in Villa Devoto PEN

AISC

D

GODOY, Guillermo Fernando
Age 25
DNI : 10.190.458

Disappeared 9-19-77 Avellaneda

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GODOY, Isabelino Julian
CI: 3.598'187

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

GODOY, Laura Adelma
Age 20
DNI : 13.463.329

Disappeared 11-28-77 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GODOY, Marcos
Arc 41
CI: 6.663.302

Disappeared 5-2-76 Lanús

41
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GODOY, Mario Alberto
Arc 30
LE: 7.999.306

Disappeared 3-8-77 Quilmes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GODOY, Rodolfo Juan
Dálmine Siderca

DisappearedNovember 1975.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D - (RA)

GOEN, Pedro
Hacendado de la Prov. de Buenos Aires
Director de la Federación de Coop. Agrarias
Ex-Ministro de Asuntos Agrarios-Gobern.Calabró

Desaparecido más ó menos Septiembre 1977 (?).
Reaparecido en estos momentos 9-25-78.

Information Harris 9-25-78.-

GOERING, Fabio D

DIS

AISC

D

GOESCHLICH, Francisco E
CI: 7.327.353

DIS 7-5-75 Bs.As.

ML

GOEYTES DE CARRANZA, Marcela Cristina
Professor
CI: 6.999.475

ABD with husband 8-19-76. Pregnant 4 months.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PHR (L)

GOGGI, Alejandro Lucas
Lawyer

Detained June 1977.
In Unidad 9 La Plata.

Cancer Anti Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

GOGENOLA, Gustavo

DIS

AISC

D

GOI, Luciano Alberto

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

---

*TRG 54/77/3 *

T GOIBURU, Agustin (Paraguayan) D
CI. 7.364.264
Rivadavia 429-PARANA(Entre Rios)

Kidnapped on 2-9-77 in Parana, Entre Rios. Since then disappeared. (Disappeared)

For.Off.Inq.: 3-30-77 GOA reply: NO. Disappeared 10.31.77 Buenos 11-10-77 Arg.

TAHR(L)
Goiburu, Elba Elisa Benitez de (Wife)
CI. 185.169(Misiones)
Rivadavia 429-Parana (Entre Rios)
Cancer Cuth Ong 9.78
8-15-77. Letter to T. Todman.
ML
7-27-77 Denis Payot's Inquire. 88-5434, 88-9352
Tyson at meeting in Geneve.
Sec Asuncion 9376

D

GOICOEACHEA, Daniel Horacio
CI: 7.016.234
Arg

Disappeared 6-6-76 from home Bs Aires

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

GOICOCHEA,Gustavo & Wife

Reported disappear in Dec.77-Uruguayan

"AI-10/78"

D

GOIDA PARODI, Alfredo

Disappeared 7-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-18-78

D 78

GOIN, Pedro
Ing. Agrónomo
Ex-Ministro de agricultura de la Prov.Bs.As.

Detained since 9 months in Pigué, Prov.Bs.As. (February)

La Plata list

GOISCHNICH, Francisco Eduardo

D

DIS 7-5-75

Anti Def. League

D

GOITES DE CARRANZA, Marcelo C.

DIS 8-19-76

FDD

D

GOITIA, Julio A.
Corralón Limpieza

Disappeared 11-20-76

PRHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GOITIA, Julio Armando Alfredo
DI. 4.623.437
Helguera 945 - Bs. Aires
Apr 24

Disappeared 5-6-77 from home.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D 78

GOIZUETA, Franklin Lucio
Age: 35
LE: 6.252.528

DIS 7-8-78

FDD

D

GOJZALEZ, Dardo Aldibar
Age: 40
CI: 7.162.940

DIS 3-14-77

PAHR (L)

GOLA

Killed

KILLED

La Plata List

GOLDAR, Raul Atilio

ADLeague

GOLDAR PARODI, Alejandro

DIS

AISC

D

GOLDAR PARODI, Eduardo Alfredo
Ref: AR
DH: 11.463.434

Disappeared 7-29-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

P

GOLDBERG, Daniel Alberto (Dr.)

ARR. 4-29-77 under PEN

ADL

K

GOLDBERG, Mario
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

372/78/5 D

GOLDBERG, Marta
Age: 18
Capital Federal

Disappeared 5-9-78
N.R.B.J - GOA - 9-5-78

PAHR 5-30-78

D

GOLDBERG, Mónica Liliana

DIS 1-13-77

PAHR

GOLDBERG, Nina Judith
Age 18

Disappeared 1-25-77

PAHR(2)
AL
DAIA

GOLDBERG, Salomon
Judge

695/78/12 P

GOA reply 2-23-79: Have no antecedents.

Detained 5-2-76 - At present Chaco Jail. House ransacked while he and wife were kept handcuffed.

Cancer Aut. Cmg. 9/78
NL
ADLeague

GOLDEMBERG, Jorge

ADLeague

44/77/2 *

GOLDFARB, Hafen
Flora

~~Expelled~~
Deported ForOff.Inq. 2-2-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77
Dec.PEN 1120 (6.29.76) V.Devoto Subversive Activities.
Authorized to leave 8-5-77. Decree 1268/77.

77/44 Franc. Cousin
Ag. Inter Hebd Comm

GOLDIN, Rodolfo

Disappeared 4/77 V. Pallester

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

GOLDMAN, Rubén Manuel
Age 24
Member: Fed. Juv. Comm.
Obispo Trejo 82 B° San Martin (Córdoba)

Disappeared 9-20-76 from Córdoba

Cancer Guat Cong. 9/78
Comm. Party
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

GOLDRYING, Fabio Bernardo
1.144.523
LE 4.854.263
Theater Director
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 3-22-77 with wife Alicia Palomo de Goldring from Haiti

Lug Arg Des. Urgente
DOIA
La Nacion clipping 4-12-78
Cancer Amn Usha. 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Comm. Party
FSD 11-6-78

GOLDSMAN, Hugo
Journalist

K

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

GOLDSTEIN, Emilia (nee Beretic) (Yugoslavian) ♀
Age: 50
Sociologist

Detained November 1975

ADLeague

7/15/1/79

D

GOLDSTEIN, Mónica Liliana
5.824.32
Age 28
Professor of Sociology
Av.Corrientes 4779-Piso 5° "A" - Bs.As.

GOA reply 1-23-79: Neg. reply.

Disappeared 10-6-76

Adela y Manuel Goldstein-Hagalil 6/5-Holon-Israel
Rabbi Meyer 1-4-79

Panel(4)
ML
ADLeague

D

GOLVAN, Héctor

Arrested. Since then disappeared

ADLeague

D

GOMAZ, Teodoro

DIS 76 Bs.As.

ML

555/78/9 D

HOFFMAN
GOMENSORO JOSMAN, Hugo E (Uruguayan)
Arg 24
CI: A.341.330

Disappeared 4-30-76

Amnc.Dom.1.s.H
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

GOMEZ,
Acindar

Detained 3-24-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Nombre

D

GOMEZ, Alberto Evaristo
Age: 30

DIS 7-20-76 Lanus Bs.As.

FDD

816/89/2 D

GOMEZ, Carmen
Dob: 11-27-1954
LC: 12.607.410
Miguel Lillo 35
4000 San Miguel de Tucumán

DIS 3-5-1976

Letter to Pres.Carter. 10-20-78

Gomez Leiza, Eduardo (Father)
CI: 165.818
Ceridono de Gomez, Marta (Mother)
CI: 157.599

over

D

GOMEZ, (Celica) Cecilia (Uruguayan)
Age 24
CI: 92.303.258

Disappeared 1-3-78 in Bs. As.

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Org. Arg. Der. Humana

D

GOMEZ, Conrado Iginio
LE: 6.710.180
Age 40
Lawyer
Santa Fe 1713 - Bs. As.

Disappeared 1-10-77 from home.

Lawyer Amb. Org. 9/78
Murder Family Hist 8/78
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Org. Arg. Der. Humana

D78

GOMEZ, Daniel Osvaldo
Age: 22
DNI: 11.815.501

DIS 5-7-78.

Almeida de Gomez, Nélida
LC: 0.503.624
Neuquen 555 - Dto. 12 - Capital
Letter P.Derian 1978.

GOMEZ, Hugo

DIS

ML

GOMEZ, Hugo
Doc. educ. práctica - Córdoba

Detained 76 - U.1 Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GOMEZ, Isidro Ricardo
Age: 35
Electricist

ABD 5-20-77 in Capital Federal

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

718/79/1

GOMEZ, José Antonio
DPOB: 2-17-58 - San Miguel de Tucumán

GOA reply 2-23-79: Have no antecedents.

Arrested on 12-4-74 in Tucumán when he was only 16 years old. He was to complete a sentence on December 4 for illicit association, but instead was transferred from Unidad 9 to Unidad 2 (Death Pavilion) in La Plata Prison. Mother wishes to bring Gomez to the U.S. under right-of option.

~~Dept. of State 002129 - 1-4-79~~

GOMEZ, José Manuel

P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

C-129/78/2

GOMEZ, José Williams

P
Option

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Gomez, Norma Dominga Castro de (Wife)
Moreno 550 - Glew
Phone: Cousin 89-4022

Personal call 2-10-78

GOMEZ, Juan Carlos Evaristo
LE: 4.446.205
Age: 33

DIS 7-15-77

FDD
FAHR(4)

GOMEZ, Juan Carlos
Age 34
LE: 4.598.150

seized PEN - La Opinion 10-28-78
Disappeared (7-14-77) San Fernando
8-12-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
FAHR - Prensa 1-17-78

GOMEZ, Juan Guillermo

DIS 11/76

FAHR(4)
ML

GOMEZ, Lucía M. de
La Rioja

Detained since 1975-U.L.-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GOMEZ, Luis Eduardo
DU. 12.335.496
CI. 7.593.558
Achaval 4003-Lanus Este

Arrested on September 2, 1977. Since then disappeared.
Letter to Embassy of Argentina, N.Y. 9-78 B6
person of interest,

PAHR (L)
Gomez Caceres, Antonio (Parent)
CL. 4.306.911
Gomez, Manuela Saravia de
CI. 4.216.137
Achaval 4005, Lanus Este

D

GOMEZ, Manuel
Age 54
CI: 5.151.632

DIS 5-14-77 Morón

PAHR (L)

D

GOMEZ, Mario Ramón
Age 32

Disappeared 3-10-77 La Plata

La Plata Hist - 10-78
NL
Arch Sol. Repres
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

GOMEZ, Maria Rosa

R

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

GOMEZ, Miguel Angel
Age: 38

DIS 11-4-75 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

GOMEZ, Nabor

Disappeared in 1976

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GOMEZ, Nicolás

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

544/78/9

GOMEZ, Norberto ~~Espinoza~~
Profession: Medico
~~DNI: 10.125.619~~ CI: C. 2.772.476
~~Age: 27~~ LE: 7.672.303

~~Gob reply PEN Since 1/27 - 12-3-74~~
~~Changes Col Torrisi a violation hasn't been~~
~~Removed from PEN Since 1/27 - 12-3-74~~

DIS. 11-13-76.

Gob reply 2-23-79 - Have no additional

Cong. Fraser State 225646 BA-0009
~~San Carlos Stat: 2191st BA 0010~~
Dr. Lic. James Fuente - Amer. Fed. Arms call 12-13-78. Will call again on 1.16.79
Salvador M.E. Gomez - Pa. Aires 1215 - Castelar (Father)
629-8682 over

D

GOMEZ, Oscar Jorge

DIS 12-13-75

MinInt lifted arrest between 30-29 and 10-6-78.
Announcements were made on Saturday, Oct. 7, 1978

PAHR(L)
ML

D 78

GOMEZ, Raúl Oscar
Age: 26
DU: 10.230.299

DIS 5-17-78

FDD

D

GOMEZ, Ricardo Alberto
LE: 11.446.949
Marine- Military Service

Arrested 3-4-76 from his mother's home. Rosario - Santa Fé

PAHR(L)
Personal call Embassy 8-14-78

Gomez, Maria Ubelhart de (Mother)
Amenabar 3751-Rosario
Phone 380187

R/FDD

5

GOMEZ, Ricardo Isidro
CI. 5.001.621
Age: 27
Member Comm. Party

Arrested on 5-20-76 on the public street with another group of people, some of which already have been freed. Since then disappeared.

Gomez, Ricardo Isidro (Father)
CI. 1.502.162
Gomez, Carmen Feans de (Mother)
CI. 1.321.625
Av. Corrientes 1785- 5°J°-Capital

PAHR(L) Testimony to Senators.
ML
Comm. Party FDD. 11-6-78

GOMEZ, Roberto Claudio

Disappeared 12-13-76 San Fernando

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GOMEZ, Teodoro
DNI: 11.241.221
José Bonifacio 967. Pb. A.
Age 22

Disappeared 12-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GOMEZ, Vicente
Age: 35
Doc. 8.100.513

DIS 8-15-75

Tucumán

PRNR (L)

GOMEZ DE AGUERO, Eva de Jesús D
Age: 36
Mitre y Solis, Adrogue (Bs.As.)

ABD 8-31-77 from home with husband - Adrogue

ML
PRNR - Cruiza 5-17-78 (L)
Arq. Arq. Jes. Morales

D 1978

GOMEZ ALMEIDA, Daniel Osvaldo
Neuquen 555 - Buenos Aires
DNI: 11.815.501

Disappeared 5-17-78.

FDD
PRNR (L)
ALMEIDA DE GOMEZ, Nélida M. (Mother)
LC. 0.503.624
Neuquen 555? "12" -Capital 99-1135

471/78/7 D

GOMEZ DE ARGAÑARAZ, María Elena
LC: 4.184.000

GCA s/f/g 9-15-71 M.R.A.D.

Disappeared 6-1-76 in Córdoba

Cong. Reports BA-6681 BA-7604
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Cong. Rec. Reports (Ltr. 1/30/79)

D

GOMEZ DE CARGIULO, Carmen
DNI 4.209.410
Age 21
Married, Tucumán

Disappeared 3-5-76 with husband Victor - Tucumán

Tucumán
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GOMEZ CASTRO, Ramón

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D78

GOMEZ DE COBACHO, Maria Elena
CI: 6.359.451

DIS 12-1-78 Moron Bs.As.

Teresa Anacarsis Barbich de Gomez (Mother)
Monoblock 6, Manzana 6, Sección 4°
Circumscripción la.-Ciudad Martin de Güemes
Prov.Bs.As. Partido de la Matanza
PAHR (L)
Workplace 38-8183
12:30 to 19:30

D

GOMEZ ISAURRALDE, Elba
AGE; 34

DIS 12-13-75

PAHR (L)
ML

D

GOMEZ MAZZOLA, Raul Oscar
DNI: 10.230.299

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

Rapp. - D 1978

GOMEZ QUESADA, Ruben Mario
Secretary of Newspaper "El Intransigente"
Salta

Detained on 12-29-78.
Reappeared - La Nacion clipping 1/12/79
1-11-79

Uncias Briefs: Argentina 1-2-79

La Nacion / La Opinion clippings 1-7-79

SS6 178/9

GOMEZ ROSANO, Celica (Uruguayan) D

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

UNHCR-Refugee not registered.
3-9-78
Causes Amb Cong. 9/78

GOMILA, Mrs. D

DIS 5-17-77

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

GOMILA, Juan Pablo
Maritime union

DIS 5-17-77 Moron, Buenos Aires

AISC

D

GONCALVEZ LOPEZ, Graciela M. de
LC: 6.278.387

A.del Valle 976, Zarate,Bs.As.

ABD 12-13-75 from home

ML

GONZA, Juan
Jujuy

Detained Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Mr. and Mrs. Gonzalez

D

Abd. 6-15-78.(Belgica str. between Camino Belgrano and Belgica - City Bell).

Newspaper assoc.

GONZALEZ,
Tafi Viejo

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GONZALEZ, Adalberto
Obrero TRANSAX-Córdoba

Detained in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GONZALEZ, Adalberto Luján
Arc 24
CSI: 8.416.392

Disappeared 11-16-76 - Rosario -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GONZALEZ, Alberto

DIS

ML

D

GONZALEZ, Alcides Walter

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

GONZALEZ, Alfredo

Abd 4/76 Member of Christian Revolucionary Party

PAHR (L)
ML

D

GONZALEZ, Alfredo
Posadas (Misiones)

Disappeared.

La Nación clipping, 5-22-78

P

GONZALEZ, Alfredo Ramón
La Idea

Under PEN

ADEPA-4-1-78 La Opinión

C-88/78/1

GONZALEZ, Americo (Quique)
Salesman

Min. Gob. refused visit 11/77 as Roo rejected w/in 6 months.

Option

PEN. La Plata (With wife)

Presented directly at Consulate.

D

GONZALEZ, Delicia

Disappeared 11-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GONZALEZ, Carlos Alberto

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GONZALEZ, Cesar
Age: 25

DIS 6-19-77 La Plata - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

GONZALEZ, Eduardo

165/77/11 P *

FDHC
3-10-78 Asked for more data.

Detained at Sierra Chica Prison. Jail sentence due to end on November 10, 1977.

Emb. Rolfe [illegible]
Emb. Buenos [illegible]
Emb. Ltda. [illegible]
State 266342 - [illegible]

GONZALEZ, Emilio Guillermo
Age: 23

DIS 2-16-77

FDD

D

GONZALEZ, Eusebio

AED 9-22-76

PEHR(L)
ML

D

GONZALEZ, Francisco

DIS Mendoza

PEHR(L)
ML
"WOLA-11-78

D

GONZALEZ, Gaston Roberto

DIS 6/26-Bn A.

RISC
PAHR (L)

GONZALEZ, Graciela Marta

Disappeared 12-13-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GONZALEZ, Héctor
Lawyer

Detained in may 1977. At present in Córdoba jail.

Cancer Anti Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

GONZALEZ, Héctor Alberto
Age 33
LE : 6.053.603

Disappeared 8-4-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GONZALEZ, Hernan

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

GONZALEZ, Hernán Eugenio
Age 22
Medicine student
Doc. 11.463.598

Disappeared 9-17-76 in Hospital Padilla - Tucuman

Tucumán
Cause Antiterr. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GONZALEZ, Horacio Mario D

DIS 4-21-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D

GONZALEZ, Hugo Federico
L.E.: 4.448.305
Age: 32

Disappeared 8-16-76 from Confitería El Colonial Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
ML
Gonzalez, Yolanda C. de (Mother)
LC. 2.800.961
Letter without date and address.
Ing. Aug. Jos. Ramos

L

D

GONZALEZ, Hugo Héctor
From Fiat Materfer-Córdoba

ABD 1-3-76

ML

D

GONZALEZ, Jesus Angel
Age: 37
Doc. 7.008.174

DIS 1-21-75

Tucumán

D

GONZALEZ, Jorge Alberto
DNI: 11.488.359 o 11.488.359
Guatemala 8423 - Tres de febrero, Bs As.

Disappeared 11-25-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
leg Leg. Div. Kennedy

D

GONZALEZ, José Alberto
Apt 21
LE: 11.230.347

Disappeared 6-14-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GONZALEZ, Juan de la Cruz?
Apt 32

166/77/11
8

FCWG 3-10-78 Asked for more data.

Detained at Sierra Chica Prison. Jail sentence due to end of November 10, 1977.
Freed.

Cruz [illegible] 88-0143 88-2333
Cruz Carlos 88-0144 88-2283 88-2330
Cruz Eduardo 88-0142 88-2282 88-2330
State 266342 - 88-2330
AI
Christmas AI's Announcement

D

GONZALEZ, Julio Jorge
LE: 10.115.543
Age 25

Disappeared 5-9-76 - Don Torcuato

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GONZALEZ, Luis M.
Sec. de Transporte-Paraná

Detained since May 76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GONZALEZ, Manuel Elías
CI: 5.621.788

DIS 8-5-77

PAHR (1)

GONZALEZ, Marcelo
Age 10
CH: 2.616.418

DIS 11-1-76

PAHR (1)

GONZALEZ, Maria Celestina
Age 25
10.321.584

DIS 11-23-76 Tucumán

PAHR

GONZALEZ, Maria Laura
DNI: 11.791.437

DIS 8-4-76 Rosario - Santa Fé

Rosario List
PAHR (1)

D

GONZALEZ, Mario
Age: 25
DNI: 10.321.584

DIS 11-23-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

GONZALEZ, Mirta
Ba. Vucetich, J.C. Paz, Pcia.
Hoja 23

Disappeared 10-26-77 with J.C. Fernández - José C. Paz - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Hoja Ber. Wornat

D

GONZALEZ, Nora Cristina
Hoja 24

4-13-78
DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

GONZALEZ, Oscar Alberto
DNI: 8.243.004
Age 24

Disappeared 8-10-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Arg. Ber. Wonder

445/78/6 D

GONZALEZ, Oscar Alfredo
LE: 8.269.853
Student and office worker
Age 26
Gen reply 1-30-78 - Key reply.

Disappeared 11-2-77 in the Center of Buenos Aires

La Plata hist 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
WOLA

T

GONZALEZ, Oscar Amilcar
Secretaire International Relations Federation Travellers Press.

Arrested in March 76, at present in La Plata Prison.

Authorized Kane country - Chemidipsum 2/-78.

Le Vendi 6-10-78 J. 9:30
Belgium Embassy Interest-Arsene Van der Driessche-1-25-78
23-0066/69 (Emb. Brussels 3/7/78)

GONZALEZ, Ovidio (writer)

Arrested in 4/76; imprisoned

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

C-89/78/1

GONZALEZ, Pablo Daniel (Danny)
University student

PEN.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Presented directly at Consulate.

GONZALEZ, Pedro Antonio
Age 18
13.374.469

D-78

DIS 6-10-78 in Córdoba.

PAHR(L)
ML

D

GONZALEZ, Pedro Ramón

DIS .

PAHR(L)
ML

D

GONZALEZ, Raúl

DIS 6-11-76 Neuquen

PAHR(L)
ML

D

GONZALEZ, Ricardo

Friend of Ernesto Maria Saravia Acuña, both disappeared.
N. data.

Saravia Castro, Ana Elena Acuña de (Mother of friend)
Aguilar 2316 - 2° "B" - Capital
RL

L

D75

GONZALEZ, Ricardo Eugenio

DIS 8-29-78

PAHR (L)

AFL/CIO

D

GONZALEZ, Rodolfo
Rancia Plata

[redacted] messanger of Correos y Telecomunicaciones. He was walking with Patricia Hattan when they were both detained, on October 1st. 1976.

PAHR (L)
Inga Big Bear Newby

D

GONZALEZ, Roque Agustin

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)
ML

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

D

GONZALEZ, Sergio Americo
Hijo 24
DNI: M.563.125

Disappeared 5-21-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GONZALEZ, Sergio
V. Alsina

Disappeared 1-31-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GONZALEZ, Silvia Nanda AMANDA
DNI: 12.148.052
Calle 15-893 de Plata Bs. As.

Disappeared 12-1-76 la Plata (Bs. As.)

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GONZALEZ, Socorro Irene
Age: 26
Doc. 10.341.926

DIS 10-20-75

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

D

GONZALEZ, Sonia Beatriz
DNI: 13.580.973

Disappeared 7-14-76 Rosario - Santa Fé

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

P

GONZALEZ, Sonia Ines

ARR 1-18-75 Held in V.Devoto PEN, .sentenced to 5 1/2 yrs.

AISC

D

GONZALEZ, Stella Maris de

AED 12-6-77 Bs.Aires with Depinos

ML

D

GONZALEZ, Susana Raquel

DIS 2-10-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

D

GONZALEZ, Ubaldo
R 13

Disappeared 8-26-76 from Córdoba a Mo. Blanco with wife Raquel Hasan

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GONZALEZ, Victor Hugo

D

DIS 3-28-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D

GONZALEZ, Victor Hugo
Age: 26
Doc.. 10.427.482

DIS 8-19-75

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

GONZALEZ ACUÑA, Eduardo

Right of Option Certificate for France.

France

D

GONZALEZ BALDOVIN, Sergio
Age: 22

DIS 5-21-76 (On military service in Córdoba)

PAHR (L)
ML

GONZALEZ DE BARILI, Ana Inés

P

Detained in Villa Devoto

Mexico 79

D

GONZALEZ DE BENITEZ, Irma
Age 38

Disappeared 7-21-76 with husband - Boulogne -

Leg. Dip. Der. Honduras
ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GONZALEZ DE BURNET, Maria

ARR 9-11-75 Rosario-Now in V. Devoto PEN
Judge: Tschopp

AISC

GONZALEZ CARDOSO, Jorge (Uruguayan)
Barrio Once, Buenos Aires

DISAPPEARED 6-15-76 in Buenos Aires, at present in Libertad Prison in Montevideo, accused of subversive association.

PAHR(L)
REFOULEMENT

GONZALEZ CERULO, Oscar H.

Disappeared 6-19-77 - La Plata -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GONZALEZ DE DUARTE, Graciela M.
Age 25
DNI: 10.171.051

DIS 2-28-77-Ezpeleta-

PAHR (L)

GONZALEZ EUSEBI, Lidia Edith
C.I.: 3.013.481
Age 16

Disappeared 9-16-76

FDD
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

126/77/10

GONZALEZ FERNANDEZ, Nelson Wilfredo (Uruguayan)
Cedula 1.152.738
Date and place of birth: 11-6-47, Montevideo, Uruguay
Bogota 2055, Apt.9, Buenos Aires

Disappeared in Buenos Aires. 4, det.

CCA reply 4-14-77 Hrg.

Roberto A. Aguilar (Friend)
Bogotá 2055 - Apt.9, Buenos Aires

Cong.Fisher, Joseph L. - 6A-3801; 6A-9324

GONZALEZ FRIGOLI, Hernán Claudio
Age 25
L.E. 10.353.604

Disappeared 3-10-77 Villa Martelli - Bs. As.

La Plata Post 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GONZALEZ GALLARDO, Pablo Guillermo

Disappeared Mendoza

WOLA 11-78
Mendoza Family Post 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GONZALEZ GALLO, María Celestina
Age: 26
Doc. 10.321.584

DIS 11-23-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

2/9/22/12 D *

GONZALEZ GENTILE, Juan Carlos
DOB: 8-20-1946
I.D. 8.347.993
Last home address: San Martin 4378, Santa Fé
Place, hour and date of disappearance: Belgrano Street, Santa Fé at 9:00 am, 12 February 1977.
Security forces which were involved: Regiment of the City of Santa Fé belonging to the Second Army Corps of the Argentine Army.

Mrs. Carter received letter from parents.

Roberto P. Gonzalez (Father)
Pereboomstraat 19 A, 3000 Louvain, Bélgica

D

GONZALEZ DE JUNQUERA, María Eugenia
DNI. 11.314.280

Disappeared on 11-9-76 in Bahia Blanca.

PAHR(L)
Junquera, Armando (Father-in-law)
LE 3.033.386
Donado 97 - 1°-B.Blanca

D

GONZALEZ LOPEZ, Graciela Silvia
Age: 24

DIS 1-13-76

ML

828/79/3 P

GONZALEZ LONGO, Marta

Detained in Villa Devoto. Husband Horacio Sormani is being held at PEN disposal in Resistencia Chaco.

GONZALEZ LOPEZ, José M.
Délmine Siderca

Detained 4-14-74 - Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GONZALEZ DE MANDUCA, Dora M.
CF: 4.397.754
Age 37

D

Disappeared 7-16-77

Mother; Dora Fernandez de L. LE: 1348366
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1) PARAGUAY 5385
FAD. 11-6-78

GONZALEZ SORIA, Liliana Ines

P

ARR 76 Villa Devoto

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

GONZALEZ DE TABORDA, Alicia

DIS

ML

GONZALEZ TOLEDO, Victor Hugo
Age: 25
Doc. 10-792.129

DIS 5-25-77

Tucumán

GONZALEZ VALDOVIN, Sergio
Age 22

DIS 5-25-76

FDL

D

WEISZ, Susana Gonzalez de
LC. 10-823.096
CI. 6.625.431

Arrested on 2-16-78 by Joint Forces together with her husband Marcelo Weisz. Since then disappeared.

Weisz, Ernesto (Father)
Weisz, Ruth de (Mother-in-law)
Warnes 1075-Florida (Phone 760-0387)
Office: Lavalle 1548 - 46-4781'0188
Personal call embassy 2-21-78

DAIA
ML

D

GONZELEZ, Roque Agustín

DIS

ML

D

GONZALVEZ, Gastón Roberto

DIS

ML

(D)

GOÑI MARTINEZ, Darío Gilberto (Uruguayan)

Detained 8-14-1970 in Paraguay

(D)

GOÑI DE ROSSI, Silvia Beatriz
Age 32
C/: 5.003.944

Disappeared 5-1-76- Claypole -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
AL
AISC (A.D.F.H.)

(D)

GORBOROGLIO, Ricardo

DIS 10-11-77

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D

GORCIO, Oscar

DIS 5-30-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D

GORCIO, Pablo

DIS 4-6-77

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D

GORDILLO, Rodolfo César
Age: 23
Antiguamente 2933 Bº los Paraisos - Córdoba
Maoista: Fed. Juv. Comunista

ABD 9/76 Córdoba Prov.

PRRR(4)
ML
Comm. Party

D

GORDILLO, Rubén Jesus

At home according to Min of Interior - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GORDILLO, Silvia
lawyer

Detained in Prov.Bs.As. after 3-24-76.

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cancer Quito Ecuq. 9/78

4077/78/6 D

GORFINKIEL, Jorge, Israel
CI. 5.894.427
LE. 7.377.472 Nro. 1141
Av. Libertador Gral. San Martin-San Fernando
GOA reply 9-8-78: N.R.A.D

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Disappeared on 11-25-77 on his way to his work Paraguay 2518-Capital.

Gorfinkiel, Maria Teresa Bodio de (Wife)
Gorfinkiel, Felisa (Sister)
Av. Lib.Gral. San Martin 1141-San Fernando
(Phone: 744-1383) (Ofifina: 35-8216)
DAIA PAHR(L)
Personal call of sister.

GOROSITO, Daniel

DNI: 11.125.644

DIS Oct. 76 -- Detained in Coronda

Rosario List

PAHR(L)

GOROSITO, Ernesto

DIS

PAHR (L)

D-1978

GOROSITO, Juan Carlos

Age:22

8/5/78

Dis: (28-7-78) Munro

FDD List-9-16-78

R/FDD
5

GOTSHCLICH, Francisco Eduardo (Chilean)
CI. 7.327.353

Disappeared since 7-5-75. He was born in Chile.

Cordero, Aurora (Mother)
CI. 7.561.753
Avellaneda 2114

Statement to Senators.

FDD
PAHR (1)

D

GOTZO, Pedro Jorge

ABD 3-20-76 Beriso, Bs.As.

PAHR (1)
ML

D

GOULECEZIAN, Maria Esther
C.I. 5.240.546
Arabia 1470. Fl. 2°
Age 24

Disappeared 7-28-77

Ing. Ag. Ana. Hombre
ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GOYCOECHEA, Daniel Horacio

Disappeared 6-6-76 with sister & brother in law - in Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

557/78/9

GOYCOECHEA CAMACHO, Gustavo Alejandro (Uruguayan) D

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

UNHCR-REfugee not registered.
3-9-78

D

GOYENA, Maria Claudia

ABD 8-24-76

ML

D

GOYENECHE, Hugo Alberto
LE. 8.576.242
Hernanderias 1295 - R. de Escalada
A½ 4

Disappeared 4-12-76.

ML
Goyeneche, Teresa Lucia Lugieri de (Mother)
Hernanderias 1295 - R. de Escalada
Phone 242-4995 Personal call 2-2-78 (Plaza Mayo Mother)

D

GOYENECHE, Isaias
Farm Worker

DIS

FRHR (L)
ML

D 78

GOYENECHE DE SOBKO, Elida Olga
Age: 26
DNI: 10.035.351

DIS 1-12-78 Goya (Corrientes)

FDD

D

GOYENETCHE, Hugo Alberto
Age: 26
L.8.576.242

DIS 4-12-76 TURDERA ~~XXXXXXX~~ Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

GOYENETE, Carlos Enrique
Age: 27
1

DIS 1-17-78

AISC (A.P.D.H.)
PAHR (L)

D

GOYES, Arturo M.

Disappeared 5-10-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GOYOCHEA, José Luis
Age 30
L.E. 8.015.700

Disappeared 8-15-77 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

GRABLE, Javier Polish refugee D

Disappeared 5-20-76

ML
ADLeague

D

GRABOTTI, Oscar H.

Disappeared 7-15-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GRAF, Rodolfo
Deleg. Met. Com

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GRAFEVILLE, Estela

ARR 8-23-75 Córdoba - PEN VILLA DEVOTO-Judge Massue

AISC

GRAGASI, Gustavo
8.557.308
Pereyra Lucena 2555-2°"A"-Capital

Detained on 9-23-77.

ADLeague

D

GRAIEF, Mario

DIS 3-29-76 Córdoba

ML

D

GRAILLER, Mario Roberto
Córdoba

Disappeared 3-29-76

PRAP (L)
ML

ADLeague

GRAIÑO, Juan Carlos
Acindar

Detained August 1976 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

GRAJALES, Isidro M

DIS 7-15-76

PAHR (L)
ML

GRAMANNO, Juan Amadeo

ARR PEN

AISC

D78

GRAMONDI DE NADAL, Elida Esther

DIS 9-22-78 Escobar Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

GRANDON, Alfredo Roberto

D

DIS 7-15-76

PAHR (L)
ML

GRANETTO, Valentin

D

DIS

ML

D

GRANIC, Hector Pablo
LE: 11.187.033

Disappeared 5-14-76 Mendoza

Mendoza Family list 2/78
ML
Quito Lij Lucyu
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
" WOLA 4/78 "

GRANO, Domingo
Age 45
L.f 4.521.588

D-78

DIS 1-23-78 Zarate - Bs As.

PAHR (L)

D

GRANO BASTERRA, Juan Cesareo
LE: 4.225.849
Age:50

AED 5-20-77

ML

D

GRANOWSKY,
~~GRANOVSKY~~, Félix
Address 74-Lap.

Disappeared 11-19-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

GRAS, Martin
Lawyer

DIS 76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

GRASSI, Gustavo Enrique
LE. 8.557.308
Age 24

Disappeared on 9-23-77.

PAHR(L)
Grassi, Maria Elena L. de (Mother)
Pereyra Lucena 2555-2°P."B"-Capital
Tel.: 84-4282

9-29-77. Letter to American Ambassador.

GRAZIUSO, José Maria
Age: 20
DNI: 11.956.269

DIS 11-18-76 San Fernando

FDD

88/77/9

GREBEL, Javier Gustavo
CI. 7.978.330
Av. Mosconi 3612 - 1°B - 1419 Buenos Aires

D *

Arrested on 5-20-76. Since then disappeared.

GCA reply 11-16-78 Ltr reply.

Grebel, Isaac (CI.2.732.204) (Parent)
Grebel, Sonia Lea Livovich de (CI.2.972.437)
Av. Mosconi 3612, 1B, Capital (1419)
PAHR(L)
Sylvia Sanders.
Javits.
Amb. Def. Hague
4-23-79 (1-31-80)

GREGO, Dora Cristina
R/L 31
L. 5.631.375

D-78

DIS 2/78 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

T GREGORI, Carlos Fernando (F) D
LE 11.374.405

Disappeared on the 12 of september 1976 in Buenos Aires.
He was arrested. Mendoza

PAHR(L)
Gregory, Mafalda Sanchez de (Mother)
Av. Bra. de los Andes 930
San José Guaymallen, Mendoza

8-9-77. Letter to T. Todman.
Mendoza Tommy List 8/78
FIL
"WOLA-11-78"

L

GREGORIADI, Norma Adela

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

GREGORINI, Humberto Nestor

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

350/78/5

GRECOSSO, Carlos
Ex-Official of Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto

Disappeared 5-16-78
H.R.A.D - Gen - 9-1-78

PAHR - 5-30-78

GRIBIO, Caldo César

D

DIS 7-3-76 Bahia Blanca Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

GRIEGO, Daniel Rodolfo
FPL 23
JWH: 11.768.943

DIS 9-23-77

PAHR (L)

GRIJAITES, Simon

ADLeague

D

GRILL, Néstor Rubén
DNI. 10.521. 441
Age 25

Disappeared on 11-4-76 in Bahia Blanca

PAHR (L)
Grill-LE.1.563.958 (Father)
Grill, Juana M de DE. 9.863.560 (Mother)
Darragueira 441-B.Blanca

D

GRILLA, Roberto Enrique

DIS 4-19-76 San Isidro - Pr. Bs.

PAHR (L)
ML

GRILLI, Alicia Maria (nee Vasiloff)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

GRIMBERG, Gabriel Elvio

AAR

ADLeague

ML

GRIMBERG, Carlos Marcelo

Cause: Member of the Montoneros
Decree: 482/76

ML
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
7-26-77.
Amb. Def League
Asoc. Israelita Latinoamericana
AAHR (L)

C - 2.291/78/8

GRIMBERG KIVAL, Mabel Adriana

In Villa Devoto under PEN Decree 3994/76

Causa Amb Leag 8/77
ADLeague

696/78/12 D

GRINSBURG, Rodolfo Ignacio
Calejón 3111

GOA reply 2-23-79: Have no antecedent.

Disappeared 3-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Amb Def Uruguay
NL

GRINSBURG, Victor Nicolás
Calejón 3111 - Ref.
Apt 23

694/78/12 D

GOA reply: Have no antecedent.
Disappeared 3-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Amb Def Uruguay
NL

GRINSPON DE LOGARES, Mónica Sofía

D 78

DIS 5-18-78 in Montevideo.

Clamor-Mexico
PAHR (1)

76/7/6

GINZBERG, Mario
GINZBERG, Irene Mónica Bruschtein de

Disappeared. For.Off.Inq.: 6-30-77. GOA reply: NO.

M.R.A.D - GOA - 9-5-78
" " 12-19-78
Ministerio de Rel. Ext. y Cultos replied that there are no antecedents on their detention. 8-1-77.

Consular Section.

GRIOTA VONDET, Aníbal (Uruguayan)
DOB: 3-28-43
Bank employee

Detained in 1973 in Buenos Aires, at present in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

GRIPALDE, Juan Pablo

DIS

ML

GRIPPALDI, Juan Carlos

D

DIS 3-24-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

GRISCHPUN, Susana

ADLeague

GRISKAN, Carlos Enrique

9

National Executive Power - DTO. 3443 of 11/19/75
U9 La Plata - Law 20840 and pending clauses.
Denied exit procedure for Dto. 390 of 2/14/77.

Authorized to leave country. La Prensa clipping 12-3-77.-

Amb. Bd. League.

ADL

GRISSONA
GRISONAS, Anatole Boris
Age 4

(Uruguayan) D
757/79/1

Disappeared 9/76

Arg Cons of Boston
hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
VIETA - 5-31-78

GRISSONA
GRISONAS, Victoria
Age: 1

758/79/1 (Uruguayan) D

Disappeared 9/76

Arg Cons of Boston
hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
VIETA - 5-31-78

GRISSONA de JULIEN, Victoria
GRISONAS, Victoria Eva
Quartier de San Martin
Age 30

558/78/9
(Uruguayan) D

Disappeared 9/76

VIETA - 5-31-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

T
R

QUEROL, Nora Celia Grittini de
Carlos Calvo 231, Ramos Mejía (Bs.As.)
DNI: 10.087.840
Age 25

Arrested by a group of armed men on 11-3-76. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
GRITTINI, Blanca Haydée Gonzalez Vda. de (Mother)
C.I. 2.640.242
Carlos Calvo 231, Ramos Mejía (Bs.Bs.) 658-5275
Personal call Embassy 8/3/77

Statement. Sent to T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

GROBA, Gustavo Alberto
Age: 27
C/I: 6.729.388

Disappeared 6-3-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

GROISMAN, Fernando
Ford Workers Union

Detained after March 24, 1976

ADLeague

9

GROISMAN, Omar Eduardo

National Executive Power - DTO. 10 of 3/29/76
U9 of La Plata - Montonero member, carrying war weapons and explosive devices.

Auch Dpl Lingel
Ing Leg. Für Vermögen
auf Inval. Abid Comm
Oberlca. 11-5-95 Ausschreibung. Lear country

ADL

GRONDONA, Mariano

D

ABD 8-8-76 with wife from Olivos, Bs.As.

ML

GROPPER, Daniel José
B'e 15
DNI: 1.246.046

DIS 8-11-77

DAIA
BBHR (4)

D

GROSSI, Charles del Carmen
DNI: 4.094.644
Age 45

Disappeared 8-5-77 from work Pedernera 1051 - V. Madero

Rig Arg Der. Hombre
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

GROSSO, Carlos
CI. 7.974.945
Coronel Diaz ,Capital

Journalist, active peronist, formerly held job in peronist government. Currently active in some economic research projects. Taken from his home evening May 17th, early morning 18th. Some items stolen from his home.

Dennounced by Alberto Campos, UOM leader.

Freeman: I believe this man may be connected with ORECSUR-CLAT as Ramos mentioned this last week.

5-24-78

D

GRUJIC DE CORONEL, Maria Teresa
DNI: 10.412.786
Age 24

Disappeared 1-27-77 La Plata

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
FJD 11-6-78

GRUMBERG, Claudia Ines (F) J
R (Lamed).
CI. 7.293.725

On 10-11-76 at Barrancas de Belgrano she disappeared.

Grumberg, Dora Ber de (Mother)
Dorrego 169, 1°"H" Capital :

Note to Representatives.

PAHR(L)
DAIA
Arch. Def. Incapa

J

GRUNBAUM, Roberto
LE: 7.866.744
Paraguay 2499 - 6° "A" - Capital
Phone: 80-5112

Arrested on 6-16-77. Ministry of Interior replied to parent that they know nothing on this case, 7-24-78.

PAHR (L)
Blumenthal, (Brother-in-law)
GÜemes 1140-Vicente Lopez
Office: Alsina 633-1° 33-9577
DAIA

GRUPITZ, Andrés
Trib.Zona Norte
Buenos Aires

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Arch. Def. Incapa
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GRUSSMAN, Jacobo Isaac

ADLeague

164/77/11

GRUTSKY, Eduardo
Age 20 - Civil School pupil
First reply: PEN 240.325 - 7-12-77
3-10-78
Alojado: Unidad 2 Sierra Chica.
Observaciones: 13-12-77 Sujeto trámite Ley 21.650
19-12-77 se le otorga Libertad condicional.

Arrested in November 1974 in Azul.
Detained in Sierra Chica Prison. Jail sentence due to end on November 10, 1977.
Al Australian Adoption
NL
Aust Def League
Arg Jewish Filed Comm
State 266342
Cong Lindsay 60-415 BR 2212
Cong Rosenthal 63-414 RH 2267
Cong Koch 60-4163
Jewish Community

AFL/CIO

GRZEY, José Carlos
LE. 6.511.981
CORDOBA

Arrested on 11-8-74. At present in Unidad Carcelaria 7, Resistencia (Chaco).

Grzey, Teresa de (Wife)
LC. 4851506

9-6-77. Letter to AFL/CIO.

D

GUACARDO, Rebeca

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

guagnini, Diego Julio
CI: 6.560.478
Carpenter
Age 24

Disappeared 5-30-77 near Puente Alsina, with little son.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

286/78/2 D *

GUAGNINI, Luis Emilio
(Journalist) CI: 4.393.210
"Gente" Age: 33
L. 10.896.347

GOA reply N.Y. PEN
6-24-78 N.Y.A.D ya no sigue investigando.

Kidnapped on December 21, 1977.

Habeas Corpus
Se Olvidó 6-10-78
Luis Arz. Sin Nombre
Goff, James E. (Noticias Aliadas-Latinamerica Press)
Amcit.
Apartado 5594, Lima 1, PERU (Letter 1-15-78)
Cav. Son Edmundo (Hijo) 44-9449 88-5946 2/26 visit Dora del C. Salas Romero (wife)
" (Teresa 88-5946)
ML PAHR(L)

D1978

GUALDI, Roberto Luis
San Justo, Partido de La Matanza

DIS 8-18-78

PAHR 9-28-78

D

GUALDONI Mozon, Juan Carlos
DOB: 11-17-1948 in Buenos Aires
Age 28

Detained on 6-26-76 on Cerrito Street 372 in Buenos Aires.
Since then disappeared.

PAHR (2)
ML
Maria Teresa Gualdoni, San Bernardino 12, Madrid 8 Spain.

GUALTERI, Jorge Fernando

Detained 6-18-75. At present in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Removed from PEN - 1/13/84 Ka Hearn

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

GUAMINI, Rodolfo Luis
Interpress
Capital

Disappeared 12-21-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GUANINI, Diego D.

Disappeared 5-30-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GUANZIROLI, Julio Cesar
DNI: 11.293.138

ABD 7-28-76 in Buenos Aires

ML

GUARDIA, Hugo

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

GUASTA, Eugenio
Age 36
L/ 4.734.985

D

DIS 11-22-76 Zárate

PAHR (L)

D

GUSTAVINO, Manuel Ernesto
Age 30

Disappeared 10-15-76 at his aunt's home

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GUASTAVINO, Juan Pedro

DIS

AISC(Clarin)

---

c-44/77/n

GUASTAVINO, Pedro Guillermo Angel

PEN 2216 - 9-27-76. Carcel de Coronda. Pedido Option to leave country.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

GUASTAVINO, Noemi Matilde Diaz de (Mother)
Villaguay 327 - Gualeguaychú (E.R.)
1428 Gualeguaychú - Phone

SA-9cor

GUASTONI, Guillermo
CI: 7.561.441

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D L

GUBITOSI, Mario Daniel
Lawyer

Abducted on 2-24-78 from his home San Martin 2478 Olavarria (Prov. Bs.As.) Previously in February 1976 he had been arrested and freed in February 1977.

Amb. Cong. Landa 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

D

GUDANO, Carlos Alberto (F)
LE 5.283.230 - CI 5.143.274
T
Emp. [illegible] DNI: 43.030.424

Kidnapped on 8-16-77 at Ayacucho 2160, Olivos. Since then disappeared.

GUDANO, Susana Angela de Santo de (Mother)
LC 0443078-CI 1676241
Olaguer Feliu 554 (Martinez)
Tel.: 792-5560
[illegible]
8-16-77 Letter to T.Todman.
FAAR(i) Statement to Embassy.
ML Letter to Amb. Castro, withouf date.

L

D

GUDINO, Hugo

DIS

ML

GUDINO, Julio Jorge
DNI: 13.295.875
Age: 19

ABD 9-14-76 by Pol. Buenos Aires

ML

GUEDE, Dante
LE: 4.794.039
Age 48
Landes 1443 - Bernal Pcia. Bs. As.

Disappeared 10-7-76. Brother Héctor Ricardo disap. the same day.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

GUEDE, Héctor Ricardo
DNI: 8.051.642
Age 20

Disappeared 10-7-76 Brother Dante disap. at the same day.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

GUELHO, Antonio Clemente
CI: 7.559.262

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

GUILLEN, Julio

Arrested since two years. 1977

Netherland Embassy

393/78/5 D

GUEMES, Elisa
Age: 25

Arrested 3-26-78

San Justo

D

GUERCI, Eduardo
CI: 6.741.752

Disappeared 7-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

9

GUERGOFF, Marta Edelweis (nee Gallegos)

Under PEN in Villa Devoto, judged.

ADLeague

D

GUERRA, Jorge Luis

DIS 1976 Buenos Aires

ML

C-21/74/12

Optim
9

GUERRA, Juan Hector

PEN; Unidad 9 La Plata. Forms were given directly in Consulate.
Board PEN - La Plata 7-21-76

Guerra, Modesta Ledesma de Martin (Mother)
Bombero Ariño 728 - Dpto.1 Villa Galicia
1834 - Temperley, (Prov. Bs.As.

D

GUERRA, Manuel Alberto
CI. 9.392.619
Age 24
Village 611-6 8. Cap.

Disappeared on November 1st, 1977, en Buenos Aires.
supposed going to Moron. He was member of Comisión Juvenil del SMATA- Córdoba in 1974, Lista Marron headed by Renee Rufino Salamanca, also disappeared.
NL PAHR(L)
Letter to P.Derian, 11-19-77.
Guerra, Teresita Castrilleja de (Wife)
Rosetti 2180 - Capital
-Telephone information to Mr. F.A.Harris, 11-7-77. L

D

GUERRA, Maria
Age: 24

DIS 7-26-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

GUERRA, Maria Cristina

Disappeared 1-25-78 Castelar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

GUERRA, Ruben
Worker from TENSA

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

GUERRA, Victor Albino

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

GUERRERO, Angélica Marta

Disappeared 6-3-76 Mendoza

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
" WOLA-11-78

D

GUERRERO, Antonio Isaac
Printer

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

Griselda
GUERRERO, Diana (writer and journalist) D

-27-
Abducted with Conrado Ceretti from his homw in 7/76; *whereabouts unknown.*

L. Amnesty 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
ML
PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GUERRERO, Guillermo Eduardo (Dr.)

Detained in Resistencia, Unidad 7.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

GUERRERO, J.
Jujuy Seguros

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D 1978

GUERRERO, Hilda
ENTEL Worker

DIS May 1978

Harris data-8-14-78

GUERRERO, Maria Teresa

D

DIS 10-76 with José Diaz Saravia-Tucumán

AISC

D

GUERRERO, Miguel Guillermo
CI. 6.944.673
Age 24
Miranda 5092 - Bs Aires

Ailima according to Ltr. of Ltd. 6-16-78 - Opinion
Disappeared 9-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

GUERRERO, Ricardo Victor
Age 23
LE: 10.896.371

Disappeared 11-17-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

GUERRERO DE DIAZ SARAVIA, T.M.
Age: 27
DI: 6.392.060

DIS 9-4-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

GUERRERO MACHADO, Julia Brocca

DIS 3-28-76

AISC (A.D.P.H.)

GUERRIEN, Oscar

Detained since Feb. 77 - Mar del Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GUEUVERIAN, Ana María
Arenales 2249 - B. Aires
Apt 21

Disappeared 3-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Arg. Bul. Germ.

GUEVARA, Sra. de

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GUEVARA, Alfredo R.
Lawyer

ARR Mendoza

AISC

GUEVARA, Juan Carlos
Correo-Córdoba

Detained since February 1977 in Córdoba.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GUEVARA, Ruben Ernesto

DIS 4-21-77 Mar del Plata, Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

GUEVARA, Victor Albino

DIS

ML

D

GUGLIARA, Julio Jorge
Age: 35
DNI: 5.194.382

Disappeared 9-16-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
NL
Ing Agr San Nicolás

D

GUIDET, Carlos Francisco
Age 32
LE: 5.941.970

Disappeared 8-5-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

GUIDI, Guido

ARR. 5-11-76 Córdoba

Mexico 79

GUIDI, Jorge
LE: 4.482.300
Age 28
Cadena 371, Hilda (Bs. As.)

Disappeared 9-23-77

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

GUIDINO, Julio Jorge
DNI: 13.295.875

ABD 9-14-76 from Bs.Aires by Sec. Forces

ML

GUIDO, Emiliano

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

GUIDO, Raúl Alfredo
DNI. 8.569.117
Age 41
L.E. 8.569.117

Disappeared on 6-19-76 in Mar del Plata.

PAHR (L)
Guido, Valentin LE: 1.470.916 (Father)
Guido, Rosati de LC:4.022.911 (Mother)
Huanguelen, Prov.Bs.As.

GUIDONE, Oscar Martin (Medical Student)

Detained 6-1-77 - U.9 La Plata
Ceased PEN - Clarin 8-12-78

Al Australia - Adelaide Town
MEDICAL PRISONERS IN LATIN AMERICA-NYTimes
Cancer Audi Amn. 9/78

GUIDOT, Oscar Roger Mario
DNI. Resp. San Roque - Cordoba
Age 34
LE: 7.972.188

Disappeared 4-6-77

Cancer Audi-Amnesty 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-27-78(L)

GUILBARD, Michel (French)

Arr. 3-21-76. Freed 4-22-77.

French Embassy

4-22/77/1 9

GUILIO, Roque Manuel
DI: 10.035.523

GOA reply: 1-23-76: held in PEN: Decree 1238 6-6-75, in Villa Devoto.
Charge: linked with montoneros.

Detained in January 1975 in Chaco Province. Now under Jusrisdiction of Federal Judge in Chaco.

Senator Lawton Chiles State 004590 } com reply GA-0491
Sen Hayes

9

GUILLAN, José
Secretaire Transway RIT in Buenos Aires

Arrested in april 1976, at present in Rawson prison.

Leg. Cong. Der Hamben
Belgium Embassy Interest-Arsene Van der Driescche-1-25-78.

GUILLERMOT LAVIER, Gerardo Claudio

Expelled La Nación 9-3-76 Circ/Freedom Deal.

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

Freedom Embassy
ADLeague

D

GUILLEN, Enrique
Member: Ped. Jud. Com.
Lagrange 3460, V. Belgrano, Córdoba
Dril. P. 563 451

Kidnapped with his wife on 9-21-76 in Córdoba (Lagrande 3460).

PAHR(1)
Lawyer Amn Cong 9/78
Protti, Enrique Egidio (Father in law)
Lagrange Street No. 3460
5000 Cordoba
Protti, Nora (Sister in law)
San Bernardo Street No. 107-Apart. 9.05
Madrid 15-España

D

GUILLEN, Monica Protti de
Member: Ped. Jud. Com.
Lagrange 3460 - V. Belgrano - Córdoba

Kidnapped with her husband on 9-21-76 in Córdoba (Lagrande 3469)

Protti, Enrique Egidio (Father)
Lagrange Street No. 3460
5000 Cordoba
NL
Protti, Nora
San Bernanrdo Street No. 107-Apart, 9.05
Madrid 15 - España
Comm. Party

GUIMENEZ DE GUIDO, Silvia Noemí

D

DIS 6-19-76

La Prensa clipping 8-3-78

D 78

GUIÑAZU, Brenda Alicia

DIS 10-12-78 Mar del Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

GULACIO, Luis Ricardo

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GULLO DE AIETA, Angela M. de

DIS 7-15-76

PAHR (L)

R/FDD

GURREA, JORGE LUIS
L.E. 4.420.110
24 de Noviembre 2240 - Dpto.4 - Capital Federal
Bs As

On 6-17-76 about 11 pm. his home was visited by a group of 8-10 armed men. As nobody was there they robbed some things. On 7-15-76 J.L.Gurrea left his home to meet some friends. Since then he is disappeared.

AL PAHR(L)

GURREA, Silvia del Carmen · (Sister)
C.I. 5.123.232
24 de Noviembre 2240 - Dpto.2 - Capital Federal 40-8067
(in Lucas)
Arg Brig Gen Almuba
8-11-77 Letter to Derian.
11-17-76 Letter to T.Todman.
11--17-76 Letter to Representatives.
11-17-76 Letter to Senators.

* Pair received by interlocutors during their stay in BA - January 1978. (Lond. Grp)

GUSTAVINO, Dian

ABD 6-18-75 Bs.As.- PEN Villa Devoto.
Judge: Sarmiento .

AISC (CADHU)

D

GUTIERREZ, Arnaldo Sebastian

Doc. 8.067.713

DIS 5.-23-75 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

GUTIERREZ, Baby

B

Gutierrez, Vilma Dalinda Sesarego de (Grandmother)
Crevera 3246 - Tablada (Bs.As.)

D

GUTIERREZ, Carlos Ramón
C.I: 804.836

Disappeared 1-5-77 Rosario - Santa Fé

Arg. Com. for Human
Rights

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

GUTIERREZ, Carlos Ramon
Age 11

Disappeared 10-22-77 San Nicolás

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

GUTIERREZ, Claudia Edith
CI: 10.381.605

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GUTIERREZ, Francisco

D

DIS 10/76 Tucumán

AISC

C-16/77/11

GUTIERREZ, Francisco Virgilio
Age 25

512/78/B Option

D

Arrested on 8-9-1975. Labor representative of Union Obrera Metalúrgica until his arrest. Asked twice for the right of leaving the country. has twice repeatedly denied the right of option.

GUTIERREZ, Ruth G. Dansey de (Wife)

Mom last refused visit 11/78 on under judicial system.

8-9-77 Letter to Derian

PRHR (L)
Cong Silvio Conte BA-5879 BA-9737 BA-9734

D

GUTIERREZ, Juan Antonio
Age: 24
DU: 10.942.178

DIS 9-29-76 Perito Moreno

FDD

GUTIERREZ, Luis Alberto
Age: 21
DNI: 12.805.011

D78

DIS 3-25-78

FDD

D

GUTIERREZ, Manuel Alberto
Age: 24
CI: 10.521.441

Disappeared 4-9-77 Mendoza

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
"WOLA 11-78"

D

GUTIERREZ, Maria Eva E. de
Age: 24
Moreno 2262, Las Heras, Mendoza

DIS 4-9-77 (Wife of Manuel Alberto Gutierrez)

ML "WOLA-11-78"

R/FDD

GUTIERREZ, Oscar Romulo
L.E.N. 8.595.574
GUTIERREZ, Liliana Isabel Acuña de
DNI. 10.395.124
Address: Rincon 2450-San Justo-Pdto. de La Matanza, (Bs.As.)

Disappesred 8-26-76.

GUTIERREZ, Vilma Delinda Sesarego de (Mother)
Crovara 3246 - 1766 Tablada (Bs.As.) T.E.: 652-8654

8-11-77 Letter to Derian.
PAHR(L) Testimony to Representatives.
Testimony to Senators.
Camara Sub. Com. 9/78
ML

GUTIERREZ, Rodolfo

ARR-La Plata Unidad 9

AISC

GUTIERREZ, Sergio Eduardo

Lebanon VI - Rio II - Endata 6-16-78 Opinion
Disappeared 11/77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

560/78/9

GUTIERREZ, Victor Florentino (Uruguayan)
B.Mitre 3312-Buenos Aires

DIS 9-15-76

UHRL-9-5-R

97/77/9 9 *

GUTIERREZ GARCIA, Francisco
(Juan)

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
(GEN 3/78)
Reported.

9-21-77 Christmas 1977 Announcement

T MOYANO, ANGELES GUTIERREZ Vda. de D
LC 1.924.089

On 4-20-77 she was arrested by a group ofmen. Since then disappeared.

Moyano, Miguel Angel (Son)
DNI 10.564.047
Avenida España 808, Mendoza

PEHR(U)
8-9-77 Letter to T.Todman.
Kidnap rpt 4/26
T ML
" WOLA-11-78

GUTIERREZ DE PIETRO, Ana M D

ABD 5-7-76

ML

K

GUTIERREZ RUIZ, Héctor
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D 78

GUTIERREZ ZARAU, Juan Antonio
DNI: 10.942.178

DIS Mendoza

Mendoza Family hist 8/78
WOLA 11-78
PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

GUTMAN, Alberto Juan
Cuenca 466
Apt 19

Draft prepared 4-28-76

PAHR (L)
NL
DAIA
Arch Def Lengua

GUZETTI, Ana
Journalist

ABD 4-29-75

ML

GUZMAN, Benito

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

GUZMAN, Elias José

Under PEN Resistencia, Chaco

ADLeague

D

GUZMAN, German José

DIS 9-22-76 Rosario - Santa Fe

Rosario List

PAHR(L)

C-54/77/11

GUZMAN, Hector Alberto

P

Option

Removed from PEN-12-22-78

Controlled freedom

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata. Given forms.

Guzman, Gladys E. (Sister)
Camacuá 1380 - Don Torcuato
(Tel: 748-0616 Vecina)
Christmas 1979 Disappeared

GUZMAN, Juan Carlos

608/79/12

D1

31.4.357.487
Age 36
Lincoln 1541 - 6th Qu.

Disappeared 3-8-76

GOB reply 2-23-79 - have no antecedents.

NL
Arch Lef. Liaison
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

Laureano ==
GUZMAN, [redacted] Lorenzo

Under PEN Resistencia Chaco
MinInt lifted arrest between 30-29 and 10-6-78.
Announcements were made on Saturday, Oct. 7, 1978

ADLeague

GUZMAN, Miguel Angel
CI. 10.469.258

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

GUZMAN, Miguel Angel
El Independiente - La Rioja

Detained 10/77 Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GUZMAN, Roberto

AAA

ADLeague

ML

GUZMAN, Virginia Lidia

P

Under PEN in Villa Devoto, judged.

ADLeague

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

DF001 PB

790091-0308

FOR RA USE ONLY

		AF
ARA	EUR	FE
NEA	CU	INR ✓
E	P	IO
L	FBO	AID
HA ✓		
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
OSD	USIA	NSA

A-5
NO.

[redacted]

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS : SHUM AR

DECONTROL

FROM : Amembassy BUENOS AIRES DATE: June 19, 1979

SUBJECT : Human Rights Case Reports

REF :

This airgram transmits for the Department's permanent records and use a copy of this Embassy's Human Rights Case file. This file was reproduced on May 1, 1979 and contains approximately 9,500 human rights cases.

Copies of the enclosure to this airgram have previously been submitted to ARA/ECA and HA/HR for their use in answering individual case inquiries.

AMB
ADCM
POL 3
CHRON

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Decontrol
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

CASTRO

Bulky Enclosure
to Bulky Files

[redacted]

FORM DS-323
4-82

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY
☐ In ☐ Out

Drafted by: POL:FAHarris

Contents and Classification Approved: APOL:AGFreeman

Clearances:
ADCM:JAmott

UNCLASSIFIED

96D497, Box 314 32/39

Department of State
Argentina Project (S200000044)

Attachment to 1979 Airgram No. 46 from American Embassy Buenos Aires to the Department of State

Part 1 of 7

Buenos Aires A-46

EMBASSY HUMAN RIGHTS FILES

Buenos Aires-Argentina

March 1979.-

AI	Ammesty International
ADL	Anti Defamation League
D	Disappeared
D & REAPP.	Disappeared and Reappeared
DAIA	Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
IACHR	Inter American Com. on Human Rights
K	Killed
N.R.A.D.	No registra antecedentes de detención
PAHR	Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos
R	Released
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
╤	Detained

D

ABAD, Ana Catalina
Age 26
LE: 10.048.122

Disappeared 8-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

772/79/1 D

ABAD, Roberto Rodolfo Tomas
CI. 6.583.034
Caseros 1404
Florida F.C.N.G.B.M.

Arrested on 8-9-76 by 3 armed men. Since then disappeared.

[Harris, William L.] Amnesty International

Abad, Ana María Zabala de (Mother)
CI. 1.736.748
Caseros 1404-Florida
Letter to Derian. 12-13-77

ABADE, Carlos
Sedalana

Detained since 10-27-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

577/78/9 D

ABADI, Carlos Alberto
CI: 6.667.186
DU: 10.201.943
Corrientes 2362 - 2°D - Capital
Student Psycology University-Filosofía y Letras.

GoA reply: 2-14-79 h.r.a.d.

Arrested on 5-6-77 near University.

Abadi, Emilia S. de (Mother)
Corrientes 2362-2°D-Capital
Phone: 45-7514 (Father's work)
Personal call Embassy 7-25-78
PAHR
DAIA

418/78/6 D

ABADIA CRESPO, Dominga
LC. 7.046.818 (Spanish)
Age?

Disappeared. Lozadur. Del Viso-Bs.As.

PAHR-

412/78/6 D

ABADIA CRESPO, Felicidad
LC. 10.443.072
Age 26

Disappeared. Lozadur. Del Viso - Bs.As.

PAHR

ABARZUE, Oscar Rubén
Bde 32
LE: 4.630.554

Disappeared 12-14-76

PAHR-PRENSA 5-17-78

ABAT, Ana

DIS 8-15-76 Córdoba

ML

ABDO ARUANI, Moises William

Under PEN - Sierra Chica

ADLeague

ABDOLATIF, Silvia Liliana

9

Detained in Santa Fé

ADLeague

ABDON, Arsenio

D

DIS

AISC

ABDON DE MAGGI, Mirta Noemí

Arrested by Argentine Authorities on 6-17-75. Placed under PEN in November 1975. Died 6-20-77 and was buried with aid of family members. Was reported under PEN detention by Ministry of Interior on July 6, 1976 and announc ordered to be released in a list published by Argentine ed Ministry of Interior in April 1, 1978.

Harris data 6-26-78

ABDREUCCHI, Agustin

D

DIS

AISC

ABELARDO, Angel

P

ARR PEN

AISC

D

ABELAZCONA, Carlos

DIS

ML

D

ABELEDO, Horacio Adolfo
Pág. 23
CI 6901933

Disappeared 7-21-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

628/78/11 D78

ABELLA RAMIREZ DE DEPRATTI, María Nélida
DNI: 10.995.241
Age: 24

GOA ltr 1-18-79: Negative reply
GAA ltr 9-23-79: Neg. reply.

Arrested together with husband and child at her home in San Martin (Bs.As.) on 12-29-78. Child was later return to the grandparent. (2-27-78).

Ramirez Abella, Carlos and wife (Parent)
Maria H.Perez Martin, 33-636 1/2,1900 La Plata
Sen.Baker - State 276371 GA-835
La Plata List 10/78
Congr. mail GA 634

D

ABELLEIRA, Jorge Alberto
CI. 7.787.939
ADROGUE, Bs.As.

DIS

ML

ABEL RIVERO, Victor

DIS

ML

ABIERNA TRAGAN, Silvia de

DIS

OAHR

C-ASU 7781

ABOLLO, Osvaldo Luis
25 years

PEN; 3-23-1977- Unidad 9 La Plata
US EMB. visit granted 11/78

Abollo, Lydia Elba Bertozzi de (Mother)
Joaquin V. Gonzalez 1480-Burzaco

ABOT, Daniel Alberto

Integrant of "Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo" ERP

Crónica clipping 6-14-78

D

ABRAHAM, Angel Luis
Age 21
Doc: 12.875.219

Disappeared 5-22-76 Ciudad

PAHR-Prensa 5-17=78
Amb-Buf Hague

D

ABRAHAMSON, Enrique

Disappeared

ADLeague

804/79/1 D79

ABRALES, Héctor Antonio
Age: 42
CI: 4.799.763

Kidnapped on 1-22-79 when he was returning to his home Santa Fé 2698.

Pagano de Abrales, Maria Susana (Wife)
Santa Fé 2698-2°'5'-Capital 821-0228

Buenos Aires Herald clipping 2-27-79

PAAR(L)

D

ABRAMOVICH, Edgardo

Disappeared 1975

ADLEague

D

ABREGU, Bruno Justiniano

DIS

AISC

ABREGU, Guillermo Augusto
C.I. 8.543.347
S. Martín 151 - Tucumán
Age 27

Disappeared 9-19-75

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ABREGU, Luis

Right of option to enter France-granted 12-8-77.

France

ABREGU, Marcelo
Deleg. FIAT - Córdoba
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 9-12-76 in Córdoba.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Comm. Party

ABRERA, Lorenzo Miguel

DIS

ML

ABRIATA, Hernán

ABD

ML

ABRIGO, Americo Oscar

DIS

AISC

ABRILE, Héctor Alberto (French)
DOB: 4-20-1951

Arrested on 3-4-76 as member of the Montoneros. Detained in Coronda jail.

Expelled La Nación 9-3-78 Arg/French Deal

French Embassy

D

ABUERTO, Hector

DIS

ML

D

ABUTTI, Maria Guillermina
Age 25

Disappeared 4-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ACCHA, Teresa Alejandra
CI. 10.432.507

D

DIS

AISC

ACCHURREA URIBARRI, Luis C

D

DIS

AISC

ACERES, Margarita

D

DIS

ML

ACEVAL, Hermenegildo
Com. Directiva del Sindicato Mosaístas
Rosario

Detained since 11-13-76 in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ACEVEDO, Patricia Elizabeth

DIS

ML

D

ACEVEDO, Ramón Socorro.

BIS

AISC

ACEVEDO DE FERNANDEZ, Maria H.

ARR PEN 3/78 (Rio Negro newspaper)

AISC

D

ACHO, Graciela

Disappeared 8-5-76 Buenos Aires

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

ACHOZZOLI, Azucena

DIS

ML

ACKELMAN, Leticia Mabel

D

DIS

ML

ACOSTA, Carlos Alberto
Health worker

D

DIS 7-24-76

AISC

D

ACOSTA, Carlos Osvaldo
Age: 22

Disappeared 7-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ACOSTA, Dora María del Luján
Ref 26
dt: 6.???.63?

Disappeared 3-1-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

P

ACOSTA, Eugenio

ARR Sentenced to 8 yers.by Judge F, Mantras

AISC

D

ACOSTA, Félix Oscar

DIS

AISC

ACOSTA, Héctor Albino
Fac 23
DNI: 11.493.298

Disappeared 6-16-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

C-32/77/11

766/79/1 P Ofic

ACOSTA, Humberto Honorio
Accion Fac

Removed from PEN. by Nación 2-10-79

Cond. 1976
Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN

AI
ex-Partido Socialista

ACOSTA, Julio B
San Juan

Detained Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ACOSTA, Jose Leonardo
Kearny

Detained in Paraná, Entre Rios.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Comun Gualeguay 9/77

D

ACOSTA, Juan

DIS

AISC

y

ACOSTA, N.
Master in Economy

DIS

AISC

ACOSTA, Nestor Alberto

DIS 6-16-76

CORDOBA LIST - 12-1-78

ACOSTA, Oscar Arturo D

DIS

AISC

ACOSTA, Osvaldo D 76
Lawyer

ABD 5-29-78 in La Reja (Bs.As.Prov.)

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

ACOSTA, Nora del Carmen
Age: 22

DIS Córdoba

PAHR

ACOSTA, Rodolfo Daniel
CI. 6.403.067
Moreno 1748--Capital

Estudante del último año de Bellas Artes-Fotógrafo. Arrestado el 20 de Octubre de 1977. Desde esa fecha desaparecido. Acusado de tener algo que ver con drogas. Está operado recientemente de la pierna.

Erotida de Acosta (Mother)
Moreno 1748-Capital
Phone: 45-5630

L

D

ACOSTA, Victor Hugo
Age 28
LE: 6.561.179

Disappeared 9-16-77

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ACOSTA MENA, Juan de Dios Paraguayan
Lawyer
ONU Refugee

Detained on 4-15-76 in Formosa. Carcel de Resistencia

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cuarto Cuat. Cong. 9/78

D

ACOSTA MOYANO, Luis Marcelo

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

P

ACOSTA SUAREZ, Nora

Detained 8-15-75-Villa Devoto prison.

AIAustralia - Adption

ACOSTA VELASCO, María Elena (deleted) D
Age 36

Disappeared 9-28-76 in City Bell

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

---

2 1 A

ACQUAVIVA, Eduardo Raul

DNI: 11.091.235
Address: Luzuriage 426-Mendoza 5500
DPOB: March 1, 1954 Captial, Mendoza, Argentina

Requested "ROO", MinInt informed no person register. 11-78

Dis: May 14, 1976 at his house.

PEN: La Plata, pabellon 1

Memo from Blood, 11-22-78

ACTIS, Gustavo F

ARR PEN

AISC

ACTIS, Juan
Acindar

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ACUÑA, Ebe Elsa
Rfc 26
c/: 6.244.724

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ACUÑA, Jorge Luis
Age: 16

DIS

ML

D

ACUÑA, Jorge Oscar
Arc 16
DNI: 13.515.411

Disappeared 4-15-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

469/78/7

ACUÑA, Juan R
Prosect. UOM. Villa Constitución

Charged with possession of firearms, tried and acquitted on year
Detained 3-20-75 - Rawson
Wife died during his imprisonment, leaving 2 children in care of brother.

Jon. Dick Clark 84-1439
State 167736
Congr. Tom Harkin
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R (F) D

ACUÑA, Ruben Héctor
DU 11.842.765 11.842.765
Arg 24

Disappeared on 3-8-77 leaving his work. Since then there were no news from him.

Acuña, Berta Cortes de (Mother)
CI. 3.466.647 612-2737
Pergamino 390-2° 4L Capital
Statement to Representatives.

FBI
Jon. Clark 84-4766
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

L

D

ACUÑA, Sirena
Age 24

Disappeared 5-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D 78

ACUÑA, Victorio (DR.)

DIS in Córdoba on 6-6-78

Cancer Anti Congress 1978/Sept.

D

ACUÑA DE GUTIERREZ, Liliana Isabel
CI. 6.576.157
DNI: 10.395.124

Disappeared 8-26-76 with husband Oscar Jerom R. Mejia. 5mos. pregnant.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

83/77/9 *
D

ADAMOLI, Oscar Angel
NI. 10.650.080-CI. 6.167.570
Salguero2060 - 6°P."D"-Buenos Aires
DoB: 12-14-1972

604 apply 11-16-77 Neg.

Arrested on 6-13-77 at San Pedro Telmo Market by persons who claimed they were police.

Adamoli, Paula (Wife) 86-3692
Corrientes 2339 -5"D"-Bs.Aires 1046 84-8595
Adamoli's Aunt Amoit.
C 88-7664 C C
Congressmen: Ted Weiss, Koch and Senator Javits.
88-3654 6446 84-9240
Senator Kennedy. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan.
88-9211 88-9815
9-23-77 PADRÍN
25/83

682/78/12 D

ADAMOW, Fernando Eustagnio
H. Yrigoyen 2817. Wendel Park
21.8 287.148

Ot home according to lib of Jud. Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 4-14-77 from Parent's restaurant.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Initiat. league

ADAN, Silvia Catalina D

DIS

AISC

ADAT, Vilma

P

ARR 8-5-77. Held in Villa Devoto. Tried by Military Court.

AISC

D

ADAUF, Lilian Mabel

DIS from Mirasan de Sierra Grande

ML

P

ADELMAN, Blanca Nelly Leonor (nee Buda Hofman)

Removed from PEN 11-22-78

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

ADICHIK, Sara

Anti-Def.League

ADJIMAN, Jacobo

Anti-Def. League

D

ADREANI, Omar

DIS

ML

ADRIANA,

D

DIS 6/76 from work Florida St., Buenos Aires

AISC

D

ADRIATA, Hernan

DIS 10-27-76

PAHR

D

ADRIS, Ismael
Age 28
DNI: 8.540.052

DIS 11-16-77

PAHR
Tucuman list

D

ADUR, José Alberto
[illegible]
[illegible]

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ADUNCHUCK, Sara Juana

Under PEN Decrees 1882 and 3875, Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

R/FDD

(F)

D

ADUR, Claudio César
C.I. 6.461.044
ADUR, Bibiana Martini de
C.I. 6.078.581
Ciudad de la Paz 1014, 2°Piso Dto.10, Capital

Disappeared on 11.11.76. Arrested by a group of 11 persons.

Martini, Mercedes Suares (LC 32967 (Mother)

Williman, Alicia Martini de (Sister - Sister in Law)
L.C. 3.744.974.
Honduras 5881, P.B.- Capital

ADUR, Nélida Debenedetti de (Teodoro Garcia 3217-Cap.(Mother)
Testimony to Derian.
8-3-77 Letter to T.Todman.
Testimony. Sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.
Testimony to Senators.

L

D

AGALLA, Juan Gregorio

DIS Córdoba

ml

D

AGGIO, Carmen de

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AGGIO, Jorge
Bordo 278, Bs. As.
Apt 30
TE: 7-545.310

Disappeared 7-31-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AGLELLO, Juan Domingo

DIS

PAHR

D

AGNOLI, Nilio
Age 29
C.I. 2.267.804

DIS 9-13-76 Campana

PAHR

R/FDD

6

(F)

D

AGOSTI, Hugo José
DNI 10.969.078 - CI 7.141.159
Habana 1897-Martinez (Bs.As.)
Age 23

Disappeared on 11-7-76. On that day was arrested with another friend Ricardo Omar Lois at Barrancas de Belgrano.

Agosti, Ebe Piera Vesco de (Mother)
LC 4.317.355
Habana 1897-Martinez (Bs.As.)

8-11-77 Letter to Embassy BA.
8-19-77 Letter to Senators.

L

AGOSTINELLI DE MULTRAZZI, Silvia Mirta
Age 24
DNI: 10.392.417

DIS 11-20-77 Zárate

FDD

AGRASAR, Osvaldo
LE: 4.366.209
Bus Driver

DIS 2-23-77

ML

AGRET DE LEON, Beatriz

DIS

Socialist

234/77/12 *

D

AGUADA, Angela

Arrested by the Argentine Security Forces in front of the Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77.

~~Doctor - of Natural Sciences~~

~~DoB - 4/11/43~~

Cong. Jason A. Burke

D

AGUAVIVA, Raúl Eduardo

DIS

ML

D

AGUAYSOL

DIS Córdoba 4-5-76

ML

D

AGUELLO, Juan Domingo
From Bank Workers Union

DIS

ML

D

AGUERO, Alfredo Narciso
Ag. 17
CII: 9.174.578

Disappeared 8-28-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AGUERO, Fernando Felix
Ag. 31

9-4-77
DIS 8-20-77 Carlos Paz - Córdoba

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

D

AGUERO, Ginés Américo
Comp.Guatemala-V. Alsina
Entre Ríos, Concepción del Uruguay
Fijo 81

Disappeared 8-31-77 with (husband) from home

PAHR
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
AL

D

AGUERO, Jorge de la Cruz
Age: 20
46454

DIS 1-13-76 Tucumán

Tucumán

D

AGUERO, José Luis

DIS 5-18-76 Córdoba

PAHR

AGUERO, Olga Teresa
Minist. Hacienda
San Juan 836 - Bs. As.
LC: 10.108.394
Age 25

Disappeared 4/29/77 from home

PRR
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
ML

AGUERO, Tomás Rodolfo
CORDOBA - Architect Student
Garzelli 534 - Alejandro Alem
DNI: 10.544.266

Disappeared 2-18-76 while travel. from Córdoba to Bs. As.

PRR
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
ML.

AGUERO CISNERO, Lilian G.

DIS

AISC

D-1978

AGUERO, de Fraga Carmen Lidia
LC: 3.370.474
Age: 39

Dis: 15-6-78, Cordoba

FDD List - 9-16-78

AGUILA, Roberto Oscar D

DIS

AISC

AGUILAR, José Luis D

DIS. 5-18-76 Córdoba

ML

D

AGUILAR, Nestor Rafael

Arrested on 10-22-76. Since then disappeared.
together with wife Cristina de Marchi.

c

Aguilar, Albino Alberto
Lamadrid 1409
5000 CORDOBA

Letter to Amb. Castro 4-2-78
Letter to Amb. Castro 8-13-78

D

AGUILAR, Rafael Nestor
~~Rafael~~

DIS 10-22-76

Córdoba Lista 12-1-78

D M

AGUILERA, Daniel Teófilo
Pk 21
DI: 274-920

DIS 5-28-78

PAHR

AGUILERA, Jorge
Adj. Pr.
Assistant of Nat. Sciences

D 1978

DIS: 2-25-78 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 10/78 (1)

AGUINAGALDE
~~AGUINALDO~~, Jesus Maria

576/78/9

T

Gob reply:
PEN. Dto 743 - 2-24-76
Detained: SIERRA CHICA
Charges: Terrorist activities - issuance of arms.
Denied Option 21449 - Decree 427 - 2-17-77
Processed.

Arrested for more than two years.

Ulan, Dorothy and Martin

AGUIRRE,

D

DIS 3-24-76 Reconquista

Mexico 79

D

AGUIRRE. Adrian Oscar
Age 24
0

Disappeared Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AGUIRRE, Ana Maria
L. de Zamora
Member Comm. Party
Age 27
CH: 6.502.285

ABD. 2-23-27 from home. Quilmes Bs As

ML
Comm. Party

P

AGUIRRE, David (writer)

Arrested 2/8/77; imprisoned.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed in October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT.

(F)

AGUIRRE, José Luis
DIN 40.548.738
Constitución 1920 - 1°"B"-Capital
Age 24

On 8-17-76 our home was searched. They were looking for our son. We informed them he was at his grandmother's home Boedo 846. There he was arrested and since then we had no news from him anymore.

Aguirre, Lucia Beatriz Céspedes de (Mother)
0.512.159
Constitución 1920 = 1°"B" - Capital

Statement to Representatives.

FJD

Pág. Arg. Der. Hombre

AGUIRRE, Juan Carlos
San Salvador 5673-Mar del Plata
Age: 32
LE: 8.301.865

Arrested on 6-2-77 from his home. Since then disappeared.

La Prensa clipping 6-2-78.
ML
FJD 11-6-78
PAHR

AGUIRRE, Raúl Esteban

DIS 7-7-76 Lujón Fr. Ch.

PAHR

AGUIRRE DE OLIVA, Sergia

D

30 years
Worker

Detained late 1975 en Buenos Aires Prov. At present in Villa Devoto prison.

Anti Cancer Congress 9/78

AGULLA, Horacio

K

Date Of Birth: October 10, 1929 en Cordoba.
Profession: Director de la revista Confirmado and ex-legislador.
Date of asesinaron: August 29-78, accoring to the La Nacion newspaper.

In 1952, graduated from University Nacional de Cordoba as a Lawyer. 1958-60 was deputy of the Convencion Constituyente in Cordoba. Oct. 62-July-63 in charge of the interventor federal en pro. Santa Cruz.
See file for more information (if needed).

AGULER, Pedro Horacio

D

DIS

AISC

AGURRE, Claudio Martin

D

DIS

AISC

AGURRE, Raúl Esteban

D

DIS

AISC

AHUERNA, Marcelo (Journalist)

D

DIS.

ML

AHUMADA, Eduardo

DIS

AISC

AHUMADA, Miguel
Obrero Renault - Córdoba

Detained in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AHUMADA, Norberto
Age: 29

ABD 9-26-76 from Belgrano, Bs.As.

AISC

AHUMADA, Roberto
Santa Fé
Dirigente Nacional de la Juventud Peronista

Reported to have been seen in Mech. School.
Maggio-Letter-4-10-78

Harris Info. 12-14-78

D

AIBAR, Alejandro Fabian
CI. 8.266.406 DNI 13.441.944
Age: 18
Prof. Paz y Filiberto Merlo.

Arrested by Security Forces on 9-20-77. Since then disappeared.

Aibar, Sergia Ultima Paolini de (Mother)
CI. 3.904.181
General Paz y Filiberto-MERLO(BA)
ML D

L

AIF/CIO

326/78/4 D*

AIELLO, Maria Isabel
CI. 6.167.993

She is from the Sanitation Union. Works in Administration Section in a Clinic. Taken from her home two weeks ago, around March 22, 1978.

Freeman's information 4-10-78.

AIER, Aldo Anselmo

D

DIS 10-14-76

AISC

AIER, Graciela Maria

D

DIS 5-18-77

AISC

D

AIETA DE GULLO, Angela Maria
Age 56

Disappeared 8-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AIMETA, Liliana Esther
Age 22
CI: 694.412

DIS 11-28-76

Anti-Def.League

D

AINIE ROJAS, Cherif Omar
Age: 21
CI: 6.917.429

DIS 9-11-77

PAHR(L)
FDD

292/78/2 D *

AISENBERG, Ariel
CI.6.823.117
Age: 18
Student

GCA ubly: NO PEN
6-27-78 N.S.A) y ac zitgue unmbigando (Hays 1978)

Arrested on 3-20-77. Since then disappeared.

Ong. Archivo 68-1855 68-5969
DAIA
Aisenberg, Isidoro (Father)
Phone: 781-4038
Ruth of League
Personal visit 1/12/78.
ML Ref also with Norma Arrita

291/78/2 D *

AISENBERG, Luis Daniel
CI: 6.823.119
Age: 22
Student

6-1978 No PEN
M.R.A.D. sigue activo investigando (Mayo 1978)

Arrested on 3-20-77. Since then disappeared.

Aisenberg, Isidoro (Father)
Phone: 781-4038
Personal visit 1/12/78

ML

AISMENDI, Roberta D

DIS

ML

AITOS D

DIS

ML

D

AIUB, Carlos
Age: 28

ABD 6-12-77 from La Plata with wife and brother.

AISC

D

AIUB, Ricardo
Age: 21

ABD 6-12-77 from La Plata, Carlos's brother.

AISC

AKEL, Juan Carlos

Anti-Def. League

ML

D

AKSELMAN, Liticia Mabel
Age: 18

DIS 6-12-76 Lanus Bs.As.

FDD

408/78/6 D

AKSELRAD, Berta de

Arrested by Security Forces (no date), since then disappeared.

Information given personally to the Ambassador during Binational Center party.

149/77/10 D

AKSELRAD, José Oscar
Rechtsanwalt
Bfe 22
CI: 8.955.719

Disappeared in Argentina. Arrested on May 20, 1976 in Córdoba.

Reply GCA - Missing 11-14-77 12-30-77 Insuf.

Amb Lef Vargas
Dpto
William V.Roth, Jr. 66-1165
[redacted]? Senator
Insufficient information.

ML

No Diff. 12/28/78

D

AKSERMAN, Leticia Mabel
Age 19

Disappeared 6-11-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Arch. of Lieyra

D

ALAC, Ercilia Diana
born 1877 - Bs Aires
Age 38

Disappeared 11-8-76 in Buenos Aires

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALAIS, Raúl Hugo
Lawyer
Mar del Plata

DIS 7-6-77 Mar del Plata, Prov. Bs. As.

Cancer Arch Congr. 9/78
PAHR

ALAJARIN, Oscar Francisco
Railroad worker
CI: 5.734.869

Disappeared 5-6-77 in Lanus

Cancer Detn Comp. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALANIZ, Maria Angélica D

DIS

ML

ALANIZ, Marta Susana D

DIS 3-10-77

LA PLATA List 11-21-78

PAHR(1)

D

ALANIZ, Pedro Sergio

DIS

ML

D

ALARCON, Juan Carlos

DIS

ML

D

- ALARCON, Justo Agustín
Age: 27
Doc.--8.477.227

DIS 7-15-76

Tucumán

D

ALARCON, Pedro Antonio
Law Student
Age 24
Doc. 0.402.342

DIS 4-16-77

ML
Truman

D

ALARCON, Ricardo Ramón
Age 23

DIS 3-3-77

PAHR

D

ALARCON ROMELAGUIS, Raquel

DIS

AISC

D

ALASARIN, Oscar Francisco

DIS 5-7-77

ML

T
R

(F) 4/10/78/2 D

ALAYE, Carlos Esteban
DNI 11.895.530
Age 21

GOA reply: 3-23-79 : Neg. reply

On 5-5-77 was arrested on the street Bossinga between Colombia and Cestino by people without uniforms. Since then disappeared. Ensenada - Pr. Bs. As.

ALAYÁ, Ethel Dematti Vda. de
L.C. 2.643.328
11 No. 1469, Dpto.14 - La Plata
letter to Amb. Schneider 11-10-78

WOLA Testimony sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

ML L y Aug. Ley. Hombre L

D

ALBA, José Angel
DNI : 12.381.973

Disappeared 8-5-76 Rosario Sta Fé

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALBA, José Daniel
DNI: 12.381.973

DIS 8-5-76 Rosario -Santa Fé

PAHR

ALBAMONTE, Ricardo Manuel

DIS

AISC

ALBARENQUE, Domingo

DIS 4-4-76 Buenos Aires

AISC

R/FDD

5 ALBARRACIN, Pablo Eduardo

He was enlisted in the Army. Thru his fiancée's father I was informed of the detention of her. Mr. Lopez asked me about my son, therefore I went to Escuela de Combate Lemos in Campo de Mayo and I was told that he had asked permission to leave because of my illness. Since then disappeared.

Bolañez, Lucia Clementina (Mother)
Las Rosas 167 Villa Loma Hermosa
Ruta 8 Km.20,200 SAN MARTIN

5-10-77 Copy of Letter to Gral. Roberto Viola to Senators.

ALBARRACIN, Ramón Adolfo
CI: 5.687.477

DIS

AISC

ALBA VALLEJO, Graciela
Secretary of Fed. of Resident Doctors in Buenos Aires

AED 9-8-77

ML

D

ALBAYAYN, Luis Alex

DIS

AISC

D

ALBERTI, Oscar Pablo

DIS

AISC

D

ALBORES, Silvia Beatriz
DNI n.5'76.735
Age: 22
Av. del Tejar 3434 - Bs. Aires

Disappeared 6-19-77 from home

Area Arg. Del Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

ALBORNOZ, Alicia Lucia

DIS

AISC

D

ALBORNOZ, Carlos
Shipyard worker

DIS

AISC

D

ALBORNOZ, Cecilio
Mestrina

Disappeared 6-26-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ALBORNOZ, Daniel
Worker from Tensa

ABD 9-26-77 with his brother Raul

ML

D

ALBORNOZ, Leonardo

ARR 3-24-76 Rosario

Mexico 79

D

ALBORNOZ, Raúl

ABD from his home with his brother Daniel

ML

D

ALBORNOZ DE CANDELA, Maria A
Ag 53
LC: 2.176.c73

Disappeared 3-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALBUIN, Alfredo Angel
Lawyer

Detained 8-13-77- in La Plata prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

ALBURQUERQUE, Rosa

DIS 11/76

ML

AP

ALCALDE, Juan Bautista
Age: 29
Contador Público Nacional

Detained together with wife on 7-22-78. Also disappeared until he reappearce on 7-31-78 in Córdoba Jail. He is kept incommunicated.

Letter to Amb. 8-7-78
Crivelli, Lía Esther Duboué de (Mother-in-law)
Duarte Quiros 555-Córdoba

ALCARAZ, Mr. D

DIS with wife Adriana-Mendoza

AISC

K

ALCARAZ, Francisco
Age: 33

Killed San Juan

AISC

D 78

ALCARAZ, José

DIS

WOLA 11-78

ALCOBA, Daniel Raúl
Peruvian

Removed from PER - 12-22-78

Right of option certificate under review.

Le Monde 6-10-78 Le Journal Hebdomadaire 12/26/78
France

ALCOBER, Edgardo Ruben

D

DIS

ML

ALCONADO ARAMBURU, Domingo R.
(Son of Dr. Francisco Alconada, Lawyer)
Apt 25
DNI: 10.215.747

DIS 12-22-76 La Plata

La Plata List

D

ALCONADA MOREIRA, Domingo Roque
DNI: 10.215.747
CI.(Prov.) 2.640.059
Married: Wife Maria Tapia

Detained on 12-22-76. Since then disappeared.

Alconado Aramburu, Domingo Roque (Father)
Alconada Aramburu, Marta Moreira de (Mother)
Calle 59-528-La Plata
Phone 3-6692
La Plata List 10/78
MoPM.
ML

D

ALDAY, Jorge Eduardo
Coronel Dorrego 1124 - V. Alsina Bs. As.
Age 22

Disappeared 9-22-77 V. Alsina - Bs. Aires.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

ALDERETE, Fernando Horacio D

DIS

AISC

ALDERETE, Nicasio D

DIS

AISC

ALDERETE, Segundo Sixto D
Age: 23
- Doc. 11.638.461

DIS 11-18-75

Tucumán

ALDERETE PAEZ, Federico (Dr.)

Under PEN 4/9/76 - Exp.

MEDICAL PRISONERS IN LATIN AMERICA-NYTimes

ML

AFL/CIO

ALE, José Joaquin

At present in Unidad 9-La Plata. What are the charges?

By Decree 3401 - 11-9-77, PEN has given freedom to José Joaquin Ale. Letter from Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, No. 377 - Letra COORPOLEX.

Gen Rights Int'n - Released

Freeman

ALEAZZI, Carlos Alberto
CI. 8.847.283 (Prov.Bs.As.)

Disappeared in Córdoba on 12.6.76. His girl friend has also been detained at the same place, she is at PEN's disposition. From him there are no news.

GALEAZZI, Leonor Elvira Roberts de (Mother)
LC. 0547.630
Castelli 2245, Mar del Plata
8-16-77 Letter to President Carter.

ALEGRIA, Marcos

Detained 11-29-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

ALEGRINI DE SABATINI, Nelida

DIS

ML

ALEKSOSKI, José David
DNI, 11.814.557
Bahia Blanca
Age 21

Disappeared 10-22-76 while under military service in Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALEORNOZ

DIS

PAHR

D

ALES DE ESPINDOLA, Rita
LC: 4.598.344
DOB: 3-10-46

Arrested on 12-5-1977 in Rio de los Sauces (Córdoba). She was preganant at moment of arrest. On 3-5-1978 a baby of only five days was brought to my house, telling that it was Rita's daughter.

Susana Dillon de Ales (Mother)
Moreno 75-PB Dpto.A-Rio Cuarto(Córdoba)
Letter to Emb. 8-15-78.-

ALESSI, Alcira

ARR 12-14-75 La Plata-Held in Villa Devoto under PEN = Judge Adamo

AISC

D

ALEURQUERQUE, Rosa

DIS 12/76

PAHR

D

ALEVATO, Juan

DIS

PAHR

502/78/8

D

(Uruguayan)

ALFARO VAZQUEZ, Daniel Pedro
Junin 240. P. Ar.
C1: 9.396.243

GOA reply: Mrad. 10-16-78

Disappeared 8-11-77 from a friends home, who also was abd.

Caracas Amn Cong. 9/78
Amnesty Int. Info
Trunk Accords unfortunately in case.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

ALFAYA, Roque Enrique
LE: 4.263.944
Apt 39

Returned according to Lit. Dictum - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 9-7-77 from home with wife Ramos Mejia Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ML

ALFIB, Jacobo

Disappeared 7/11/76

Anti-Def. League

ML

ALFIERI, Guillermo
El Independiente-La Rioja

Detained 3-24-76 Sierra Chica

Le Monde 6-10-78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
listed in Bol. 22, 1977 PEN report

401/78/6 D

CABANDIE, Alicia Elena Alfonsin de
Age: 17
CI. 8.863.490
DOB: 1-5-61
Solis 688 - 7?- 30 - Capital
GOA reply 9-5-78
NRAB.

Arrested on 11-23-77 (Awaiting a baby for February 1978)
Since then disappeared.
From husband Cabaudie, Damian Abel, family has had no news.
They suppose he was also arrested. He is an ENTEL employee.

Pide - Prensa 5-5-78
Alfonsin, Dionisia Grandi de (Mother)
Zapiola 830-Capital 774-4803

Congr. Andrew Jacobs-State 139976 10-7-78

ALFONSO, Angélica D

DIS

AISC

ALFONSO, Jorge Maria D
Age 36
LE: 5.192.011

DIS 10-24-76 Beirasso

ML

D

ALFONSO, Maria

DIS 76

ML

D

ALFOSO

DIS

PAHR

ALI, Ismael
Age: 43

D

ABD 9-22-77 from V.Lugano, Bs.Aires by police

AISC

D

ALIA, Oscar Andrés

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALIADA

DIS

PaHR

ALIANA, Wilfredo (French)

Arr. 3-20-76. Freed 4-6-77.

French Embassy

ALLEMPRESE, Guillermo
C1: 5.4 2c. 607

Disappeared 10-19-76 Quitmes Pa. Ln

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALLENDE, Maria Virginia A.
Rel 38
C1: 1.455.444

Disappeared 6-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALLGEIER, Ursula FREED

Detained on judicial orders on October 29, 1974, released the following November 6 and left home to Germany two days after.

German Embassy, Letter June 7, 1978.

D

ALLURA, Arsenio

DIS

ML

9f

ALMADA, Ana Maria

ARR 1-21-74 Bs.As.-Held in V.Devoto PEN-charged

AISC

D

ALMADA, Carlos Cayetano
DNI: 2.214.254

Disappeared 4-18-77 Justicialista

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALMADA, Juan Carlos
Ci. 5 346 723

Disappeared 6-13-76 b. de Zamora - Sto. Sto.

=DD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

ALMADA VILLALBA, Carlos Alberto (P. Paraq. 1423) D
Rivadavia 1353 Apt. B - Córdoba

Disappeared 8-14-76 in Córdoba.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALMARAZ, Guillermo D

DIS

MT

D

ALMARAZ, Victor Eduardo
C.I. 4.035.805
Rda 23
1

Disappeared 9-6-76 Va. Martelli - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ML

P

ALMARZA, Luis

ARR PEN

DDAlto Valle 11/78

D

ALMEIDA, Alejandro

DIS

AISC

ALMEIDA, Mario Armando
LE: 4.513.389
CI. 5.405.677
Age 33
Obispo San Alberto 3435 Capital

Arrested on 2-22-78 by agroup of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Almeida, [redacted] Juan Manuel (Father)
Obispo San Alberto 3435-Capital
571-6301

Mr. and Mrs. Almeida Curtos
(Estela Pereyra Casaco)

Abducted 6-16-78.

Newspaper assoc.

ALMEIDA DE MARQUEZ, Manuel
Age 23

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALMENDARIZ LEACHE, Andres M.
Age: 29
CI. 7.288.640
Monoblock C52, Lugano Bs.As.

DIS 3-26-77

ML

D L

ALMENDRES, Carlos Alberto
CI. 5.549.945
J.B. Alberdi 4695- Bs. Aires
Pcia 33

Abducted from his home on 10-4-76.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Comm. Investig. 9/78
ML

D

ALMETA, Liliana Esther

Disappeared 11-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALMIRON, Alberto Rogelio
LE: 7.926.953

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

P

ALMIRON, Maria

ARR 8-18-76 Santa Fé - PEN 8/76

AISC

C - 144/78/2c
161 3

P

ALMIRON, Ramón Eduardo

Mom. Tel. refused visit 11/78 to under judicial system.

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata

Almirón, Nilda Ley de
Ventanita Florida y Ruta 9 - Gral. Pachero
Personal call - 2-14-78

D

ALMIRON, Roque Miguel
Age 23
CI: 7.455.767

DIS 1-31-77

PAHR

D

ALMIRON DE LAURONI, Mónica Judith
Age 24
CI: 7.558.269

Disappeared 8-8-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

9
9

- DR. and MRS. JUAN ALONSO

Arrested in Córdoba in April 1977. Apparently held in prison in San Luis.

Cong. Maguire - State 308653 N-011
Cong. McHugh

ALONSO, Esteban Ruben

DIS 11-24-76

Lanus List 3-10-79

D

ALONSO, Mrs.

ABD with husband and children 6-1-76

ML

D

ALONSO, Guillermo
Member UCR

ABD 6-1-76 with wife and children by parapolice death Squads

ML

D

ALONSO, Cristina

DIS

ML

ALONSO, Irene J.

DIS 6-1-76 Adrogué Bs.As.

AISC

ALONSO, José Luis

DIS

ML

625/78/10

ALONSO, Juan Manuel Dr.

GoA reply I.R.R.: No records.

Detained in Olavarria, Sierra Chica prison.
Removed from PEN: 12-22-78

Cong.McHugh 10-12-78

D

ALONSO, Maria del Carmen

DIS

AISC

D

ALONSO, Marta Cecilia
CI. 2. 940.868
Dean Funes 456-Ezeiza

Disappeared 8-20-76.

Alonso, Julia Tortajada de (Mother)
Dean Funes 456-Ezeiza
Phone: 925-1299
FHHR
Personal call 2-2-78 (Plaza Mayo Mother)

D

ALONSO, Mirta Mónica
Member Communist Party

DIS 5-20-77

ML

D

ALONSO, Osvaldo Manuel
DNI. 12.975.272
Age

AED 10-4-77 from home in Bs.As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Rel Org. Ser. Nacional

D

ALONSO, Paloma

DIS 6-30-77

PAHR (L)

D

ALONSO, Rubén Esteban
La Finca 4 Manzana 5 Cd. Lanus, Bs.As.
Age 18

Disappeared 11-24-76 Lanus - Bs.As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

ALONSO DE FERNANDEZ. María del C. Killed

Killed 4/77 Salta

Mexico 79

ALONSO LOPEZ, Cecilia D

DIS

AISC

D

ALONSO DE PIETRO, Maria del C.

ABD 9-14-76

ML

ALONSO ROVIROSA, Ricardo

ARR. PEN

AISC

ALONSO DE SANCHEZ, Maria

DIS 9.77

Mar del Plata List

ALONSO DE SLUTZKY, Esther Donata

DIS

DAIA
PAHR (L)
AISC (A.P.D.H.)

454/78/6

ALONZO DE THUERAVILO, Mirta Mónica
(6 mos. pregnant)
CI. 6.608.425
Age 23
GOA Reply 1-30-79: Neg reply.

Disappeared on 5-19-77. hAGallegA 1556

melida O. Blanco - CI: 2.202.414 - PARAGUAY 5202
FCO. 11-6-78
WOLA

D

ALPAYA, Roque Enrique

Disappeared 9-7-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Killed

ALSOGARAY, Lalo

Killed 76 Buenos Aires

Mexico 79

Killed

ALTABE, Rita
Student

Killed

La Plata List

D L

ALTAMIRA, Carlos Felipe
Lawyer

5/12/76
Abducted in may 1976 inBuenos Aires.

Cancer Aut. Omega 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre- 4-19-78
NL
PRWR

R/FDD (F) D

5 ALTAMIRANDA, Rubén Omar
C.I. 5.856.427
Juan B. Justo 1320-Florida
Acta 13
Pidió Comunicado
On 1-13-77 he went to the city, since then he has disappeared. On 1-14-77 our home was registered by a group of 10-12 persons, all armed. They took some of his study papers.

ALTAMIRANDA, Crelia G. de (Mother)
C.I. 4.577.848

8-11-77. Letter to Derian.

Statement to Senators.

Reg. Arg. Der. Hombre
NL

ALTAMIRANO, Ernesto D

DIS

AISC

Altmann 1507/22/10

DOPAZO, Blanca Haydee de (Uruguayan) D
Uruguayan papers:
CI. 1.049.495
Passp. 169510
Tunucall 261-Pm 2a.

Arrested on 7-19-77 at the Bar Colon, Carlos Pellegrini 719, in Buenos Aires. Since then disappeared.

GOA ltfy 9-5-78: N.R.AD.

Altmann, Ilse Levy de (Mother)
Altmann, Claudio (Brother)
Boul.Artigas 302-Apt.502-Montevideo
70-2735 Montevideo
Anti-Defamation League-Rabbi M. Rosenthal
Cancer Anti Cong. 9/78
Cable from Montevideo 5010, 10-26-77.

Saptalan- 49-1753;49-5490 (Office in Buenos Aires which can be contacted.)
Amnest. Inter. L

ALTMARK, Daniel
Lawyer

DETAINED AND IN Buenos Aires Prison.

ALTOBELLI, Antonio
Terrabussi S.A.

Detained since March 1976 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ALTUNA, Raúl (Uruguayan)
Age: 26
Domingo French 443
Apto.4, Villa Martelli

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. At present in Libertad Prison, Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT.

ALTUNA FERNANDEZ, Elsa Zulma (Uruguayan)
Lond. Prisa Uruguay

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977. Reappeared at Penal de Punta Rieles Uruguay on 1-27-78

UNHCR-Refugee registered
3-9-78
Lig Arg Der Hombre
REFOULEMENT

D

ALTUÑA DE MICHELINI, Margarita

DIS 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires city with husband and son 2 years old.

ML

D

ALURRALDE, Ricardo Orlando
Ajc37

Disappeared 7-21-76 Boulogne - Bs. As.

Lic. Orig. Dr. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALVADE, Carlos Juan

ABD 6-13-76

ML

D

ALVAREZ, José Ramón
Member of Inner Religion Group

ABD 2-16-78 Resistencia, Chaco

Dept.of State-State 064407
ML

ALVARENGUE, Juan Domingo

D

DIS 4-14-76

ML

ALVAREZ, Alberto
Arg. DOB: March 1949.

He was active with the PRT-ERP. Was arrested on July 31, 1975. Released on April 7,1977. He came to Uruguay on May 25, 1977. His case has been presented to the French Embassy.

Cable.

ALVAREZ, Alejandro
(Labor leader)

Was arrested on 12-12-77 at 21:30 in a bar, together with Ricardo Sanchez.

Clarin clipping 12-13-77.

ALVAREZ, Burman

DIS 8-4-77

PAHR

ALVAREZ, Carlos (journalist)

Imprisoned.

Listed in October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT.

C-254/78/7

D

ALVAREZ, Carlos Alberto

Imm. Ind. released visit 11/78 as under judicial system.

Arrested on 5-9-75.

Buenos Aires Herald clipping 5-20-78.

D

ALVAREZ, Cesar Godi
Age: 44
Worker Smata labor leader - Córdoba

ABD 4-26-76 in Capital Federal

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

Ruben R. Alvarez (Brothers)
Juan Carlos Alvarez
Paso 325 - Bolivar Tel. 747

D 78

ALVAREZ, Clara Nilda

DIS

WOLA 11-78

ALVAREZ, Elía (Uruguayan)

D

Disappeared 3-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ML

ALVAREZ, Hugo Alberto

D

DIS

AISC

D

ALVAREZ, Gerardo Julio
Age: 25 LE. 694.461
Address: Elpidio Gonzalez 3112-Capital

Arrested by a group of armed men on 12-21-1977 at a bar Avenida Honorio Pueyrredón and Diaz Velez, Buenos Aires. Since then disappeared.

FJD
Newspaper clippin - Crónica 1-13-78.

D

ALVAREZ, Gerardo Julio
Age; 21
DNI 10.659.889

DIS 12-6-77 La Plata (Bs.As.)

PAHR

D

ALVAREZ, Graciela Mónica

Disappeared 10-15-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ALVAREZ, Horacio José Dr.
Htal. Rawson - Córdoba
LE 8367.479
DI: 7.902.947

Disappeared 4-13-76 Córdoba

Cancer Amb.-Amg. 9/78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
ML

C

ALVAREZ, Joaquin (writer and journalist)

Arrested and imprisoned; although it was reported he may have been release; no definite confirmation has been received.

Listed in October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT.

Le Monde 6-10-78

ALVAREZ, Jorge M.

D

DIS

ML

"WOLA-11-78"

D

ALVAREZ, José Carlos
LE. 7.887.468
Solis 945, Pcia. Bs. As.
Age 28

Disappeared 10-15-77 with wife Graciela

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Migueg. Del Hombre
ML

D

ALVAREZ, José Horacio

Disappeared 4-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D 1978

ALVAREZ, Julio Alberto

Dis: 6-28-78

PAHR(L)
La Plata List 10/78

D

ALVAREZ, Julio Gerardo
DNI. 10.691.461

ABD 12-21-77 in Buenos Aires

ML

D

ALVAREZ, Justo
Age 26

Returned according to letter of Gabriel Gimenez - 6-16-78

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALVAREZ, Lucienda

DIS

FDD

D

ALVAREZ, Lucina (writer; wife of Oscar Barros)
Cédula 5.450.039
Address: Same as husbands.

Oct. 23,1978

Disappeared on 5/7/76; whereabouts unknown.

Listed in October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT.

Released 6-10-78
AL

ALVAREZ, Luis Walter
CI: 6.278.519

D

DIS

AISC

D

ALVAREZ, Manuel Antonio
Textile Union

ABD. 1.27.76 in Tucumán

ML

D

ALVAREZ, Marc@lino

DIS

ML

D

ALVAREZ, Maria Paula

DIS 6-25-77

La Plata list

PAHR (1)

D

ALVAREZ, Maria Teresa
Age 21
CI: 4.591.345

Disappeared 11-17-76 San Fernando Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALVAREZ, Osvaldo Angel
Age 23
CI: 7.290.036

Disappeared 10-23-76 La Matanza Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ALVAREZ, Pedro E.

Disappeared 9/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ML

D

ALVAREZ, Roque
CI: 6.495.114

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D78

ALVAREZ, Segundo

DIS

WOLA 11/78

T ALVAREZ, Stella Maris
R CI.6.759.079
Age 19

Arrested on the public street on 7-28-76. Since then disappeared.

ALVAREZ, Maria de la Consolación Aida Blanco de (Mother)
CI. 6.871.454

8-4-76 Letter to T. Todman.
Statement to Representatives.
Statement to Libro s. Comis. Congr. - 8-16-78

ML

ALVAREZ, T.

Right of option. Left April 1978.

UK

ALVAREZ, Vicente Ernesto

ARR. PEN suspended

SAIC

ALVAREZ DE BARROS, Lucinda
DI 5.412.634
Age 24

D

Disappeared 5-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Irg. alej. Der. Hombre

ALVAREZ BAURMAN, Oscar Alberto
Age 29
CA: 4.418.007

D

DIS 8-4-77

PAHR

82/77/9
82/77/10

* D

ALVAREZ CUBILLAS, Maria Teresa
Ayacucho 1164, San Fernando BA.

Miss Alvarez was taken from her parent's home by five individuals from the "Coordinación Federal" on 11-17-76. Since then disappeared.

GIA reply 11-11-77 Reg.

Alvarez, Francisco (Parent)
Alvarez, Carolina Cubillas de
Ayacucho 1164, San Fernando BA.
Tel. 744-7828
Senator Torres - BA-7683; 64-4107
9-29-77 Congressman Archer, Texas. - BA-7684; 64-4106
55/22 Wash.Off.on Latin America-7-29-77.

D

ALVAREZ GARCIA, Julio Rolando

DIS 8-20-76

PAHR

D 78

ALVAREZ DE MARCOS, Clara Angela

Age 39
LC: 3.770.991

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D 78

ALVAREZ DE MARCO, Clara

DIS 5-2-78

PAHR

47/77/1 * D. C

ALVAREZ ROJAS, Federico Eduardo
CI. 6.015.717
ALVAREZ ROJAS, Hilda Graciela Leikis de
CI. 4.754.885
Av. Las Heras 3660 - 13-B- Capital

Met Amb. Castro-
12-7-77

Arrested on 10-1-76. Since then disappeared. (Disappeared)

Qué reply 12-19-78 : N.R.D.

Alvarez Rojas, Noemí P.de (Mother)
CI. 966236
Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS
8-11-77 Letter to T.Todman
8-17-77 Letter to Senator Robert Byrd
Letter to Mr. G.Yatron
Sra. Alvarez Rojas-Av.Las Heras 3660-13"B"-1425Bs.As.
Friend (Phone: 783-4348 (Before 9 in the morning and after 18 hours)
M.Burgos([illegible] (9-14 & 15-18)
10/3/77 Informed that President of AAAS Mr. Emilio Daddario will come in a few months and will call her.

ALVAREZ DE SADOR, Lidia
LC: 12.448.690
Mar del Plata (Bs. As.)

D

Disappeared 9-29-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALVARO, Manuel

D

ABD 75 La Plata

Mexico 1979

ALVARO DE CLERC, Maria Cristina
Age 24

Disappeared 6-15-76 Mirlo Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ALVIRA, Maria Cristina
Age 24

DIS 5-5-77 San Nicolas Bs. As.

PAHR

ALVIRA, Raquel Rosa
Age 2

DIS 5-5-77 San Nicolas Bs. As.

PAHR

D

ALZOGARAY, Conrado

DIS

AISC

D

AMADEO, José Alberto

DIS

ML

D

AMADEMO, Armando

DIS

AISC

AMADIO, Armando Oscar
San Isidro
Apt 25

Disappeared 8-5-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AMADIO, Armando César
Apt 25

Disappeared 8-6-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

-Amadio, Maria Elena
(Barulete organo de prensa)
Reporter from magazine "La Discusion"

Abd. 3-30-76

La Nación 6-10-78
Newspaper assoc.
MIL

D

AMADO, Gloria

Disappeared 7-21-76 from home Avenida Blanca with Daniel Cajas.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

AMADO DE OTIN, Inés Sara
Age 29
LC: S.749.449

Disappeared 5-18-77 Ramos Mejía Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AMADO RAAGUIP, Horacio

DIS

ML

D

AMARILLA, Carlos
CI: 7.730.171

DIS

AISC

D

AMARILLA, José Ramón
Age 25

Disappeared 10-6-77 Campana - Pr. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Arg. Arg. Sec. Wendy

D78

AMATO, Domingo Osvaldo
Age 24
DNI: M.170.088

Disappeared 3-28-78 Avellaneda - Pr. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AMATO, José Antonio
Age 24
LE: 11.349.363

DIS 5-8-76 Córdoba

PAHR

D

AMATO DE RISO, Nelly A

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D 78

- AMAYA, Alicia Cristina
Age: 21
DNI: 13.312.260

DIS 6-3-78 Caseros

FDD

AMAYA, Ernesto Sebastian D

DIS

AISC

FREED

AMAYA, Humberto César
Baldomero Fernandez Moreno 2710-Capital

Arrested 11-8-77 together with fiancee. Both were interrogated about address of Manuel Alberto Guerra. Released two days later.

Info taken from HC of Manuel Alberto Guerra

AMAYA, Juana A D

DIS

ML

D-195

AMAYA, Maria Cristina

Age: 23

Dis: 3-6-78, Caseros

FDD List - 9-16-78

D

AMAYA, Mario Abel

DIS 8-17-76

PAHR

AMAYA, Puro Elio

ARR PEN suspended

AISC

D

AMAYA, Ramón Américo
Reg 25
Dct. 10.817.437

Disappeared 10-15-76 Aguilares - Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Tucumán

289/78/2 9 *

AMBORT de CORNEJO, Gladys
CORNEJO, Gladys Ambort de
DNI: 12.509.881
FOB: 3-18-1958

GOA reply 3-15-78: Opción Ley 21.650. Dto. 3992 - 23-12-77
Petición sobre si a Francia
Salió el 9-1-78 a las 18.10 Air France con rumbo a París.

Arrested in city of Córdoba on 5-27-75. At present in Villa Devoto jail- 2°Fl.-Pabellon 34, Planta 6, Buenos Aires.

Barbara Probst Salomon - Letter 1-6-78.

[ ]

D

AMCARAZ MUÑOZ, José Alfredo

DIS

ML

AMERICE

Reported extraofficially that he is in:Comisaria cita en 7 y 74, Comisaria Nro. 8.

La Plata List

37/77/1

AMERICO, Mohmet Sady (CI. 3.885.044)
AMERICO, Delia [redacted] Kennedy de Sady (CI: 4.855.373)
Monroe 5626 - 1°"G" - Capital (1431)

Disappeared. For.Off.Inq. 1-6-77 GOA reply: NN.

Amcit sister.
Congr.Frazer.
Sen. Percy
[redacted]
Kennedy, Maria Elvira Avecilla de (Mother)
Tinogasta 5317-Capital Tel.: 51-5784

AMICO, Salvador Leonardo
C.I. 6.426.783

On 5-22-76 at Margariño Cervantes street he was arrested together with Laura Murlender. Laura Murlender after 15 days was set at liberty. S.L.Amico has disappeared since.

AMICO, Carmen Esumato de (Mother)
C.I. 5.226.787.
Concepción Arenal 2612 - Capital Federal
771-4050

August 1977. Letter to Derian

AMICONE, Vicente
Callegari-Zárate

Detained since April 1975 in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

AMIEL, Marcel (French)
DOB: 10-14-41

Arrested in Mendoza on 2-9-77. Disappeared.

French Embassy

D

AMIGO, Lidia Inés
C.I. 6.997.087
Age 22
n. Bujayau 1931 - Bo. Ay

Disappeared 12-21-76 in La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
HL

AMILIS, Alberto Gustavo
Mendoza

D

Disappeared 12-6-77

ADLeague

AMIROTZZI, Marcelo
Age: 28

D

DIS

AISC

AMISI, Marcel

D

Disappeared 2-9-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

AMMANN, Susana

ARR 11-9-77 Córdoba - PEN San Martin Prison

AISC

AMODIO, Armando José

DIS 8-10-76

AISC

AMODIO, Armando Oscar

DIS 8-10-76

AISC

AMOR, Ricardo

Detained in Sta.Cruz on 11-12-74. At present in Santa Cruz jail.

4-19-78 Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

AMORE DE SCHWINDT, Silvia Sus
Age: 29
LC 6.057.033

DIS 7-15-77 Castelar

FDD

AMPUERO AYARAY, Renaldo (chilean)

Disappeared 3-9-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

AMUSCHASTEGUI, Gladys Mabel
Age 21
JWI : 11.895.579

DIS 8-20-76

PAHR

D

ANAGUA, Walter

DIS

AISC

D

ANALIS, Floreal

DIS

ML

ANAMPRESE, Guillermo

D

DIS 10-19-76

AISC

ANANAIA, Luis Alberto

D

DIS 8-2-76

PAHR (L)

ANCAIÆ, Muñoz

D

DIS 11/76

ML

D 1978

ANCHEPE, Alberto Anibal
CI: 7.386.253
DNI: 12.361.709
DoB: 6-23-1956
Saraza 511-Capital

DIS 5-18-78 after leaving his job.

Anchepe, Delia L. Martori de (Mother)
Saraza 511-Capital Phone: 92-7238

Personal call Embassy 9-5-78

D

ANCHERRI, Maria Rosa Francisca

DIS

ML

D

ANCHORDOSKY, Jorge

DIS

ML

D

ANCHORDOSKY, Miguel Angel

Disappeared 6-24-76

ANTI-Def. League

D

ANDALUZ, Maria Graciela

DIS 11/76

ML

9

ANDENMATEN, David

ARR - PEN

AISC

P

ANDINA LIZARRAGA, Manuel Ernesto

ANDINA LIZARRAGA, Héctor Hugo 337/76/4 P

Manuel Ernesto detained in Penal de Sierra Chica-Pab.11 Celda 753. In bad conditions. He is ill. (La Nación ceased to be under PEN. 11-26-77).

Héctor Hugo detained in Chaco Jail. - Repú ecu - 6-27-78 sol jucio. MONTENEGRO

Andina Lizarraga, Ricardo E. (Brother)
Defensa 461-Capital Federal

ML Tucuman

D 78

ANDRADA, José Ramón
Age: 21

DIS 3-8-78

Tucumán

D 78

ANDRADA, Juan Carlos
Age: 38

DIS 4-8-78 Cruz Alta - Tucumán

Tucumán

D78

ANDRADA, Ramón José
Age: 81

DIS 3-8-78 CRUZ ALTA-Tucumán

PAHR

D

ANDRADE, Humberto Luis

DIS

PAHR

ANDRADE, Juan C

Detained 5-19-75 Unidad 9 - La Plata
RDO application being processed. 11/78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ANDRADE, Marta Zelmira
DI. 3.624.954
Age 34

Disappeared 9-21-76 La Plata

La Plata Hist 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

D

ANDREAN, Jorge L.
Bco. Provincia-La Plata

Disappeared 7-5-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ANDREANI, Jorge Luis
Calle 46 n°35 - La Plata
Med. Estudiant
Age 26
LE: 8.278.685

Disappeared 7-5-77 in La Plata

La Plata Hist 10/78
Cancer Amb. Prog. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

ANDREOCCI, Agustin

AED 3-23-76 in Tigre Bs.As.

ML

R D

ANDREOTTI, Juan Carlos (F) (Iturgu!)
CI 6.756.423
Peña 2085-Capital

On 10-25-76 after visiting his father-in- law at Canning 700 Capital, he left to make the estimation of a house, he worked as a appraiser; he disappeared since then.

Andreotti, Aurora Alonso (Mother)
CI. 6.761.973
Rivadavia 5447 - 1°Piso, "C"-Capital

Testimony to Representatives.

(D) Comar Cath Cong. 9/78
Insp Arg Sta. Rosalia
ML

K

ANDRES,

Killed Córdoba-Member J.U.P.

AISC

D

ANDRES, Liliana Maria

-10-

Disappeared in November 1976.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

D

ANDREU, Edgardo Miguel Angel
Age 23
LEN: 1.344.838

Disappeared 10-5-76 La Plata (Bs.As.)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ANDREUCCHI, Agustín

DIS Ensenada Prov.Bs.As.

PAHR

D

ANEIROS, Sergio Horacio
Age 19
CI: 8.101.370

Disappeared 2-16-77

FSD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

720/74/1 P

ANGELACCIO, Ruben
Dob: 10-13-1943

Arrested at his home in Moron, Buenos Aires Prov. on Nov. 15,1975. Under PEN at Unidad 7, Resistencia Chaco.

AI

D

ANGELINI, Luis Alberto
LE: 4.646.735
Entre Rios 234 - Banfield (Bs As)
Age 31

Disappeared 3-17-77 Banfield - Bs. As.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
RL

D

ANGELIS, Ruben Mario (Dr.)

DIS 11-13-77

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

ANGELIS DE GARIN
Age: 29
DNI: 5.464.313

DIS 11-13-77 La Plata (Bs.As.)

PAHR

D

ANGEROSA, Daniel Martin
Age 25
LE: 8.376.596

Disappeared 2-17-76 Santa Fe - Prov. Santa Fe

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ANGHILERI, Maria Regina

DIS 9-16-76

ML

ANGHILERO, Maria Teresa

DIS 9-16-76

PAHR

ANGLET DE RIVERO, Beatriz A.

DIS

Socialist

D

AÑGUAS, Ricardo
Pharmacy Worker

ABD

ML

ANGULO, Félix Enrique José

P

PEN 3/78

AISC

D74

ANGUT DE LEON DE SEVERO, Beatriz (Uruguayan)

ABD 4-23-78 Buenos Aires

PAHR(1)
AISC

D

ANKAVESKY, Isaac

Disappeared 1975

ADLeague

ANNONE, Humberto Orlando
Rfe 33
L.E. 7.922.965

D

AED 1/8/76 Córdoba

PHHR
ML

D

ANONO, Saúl Eduardo

DIS Mendoza

AISC

D

ANTEBI, César Alberto
P de 24
Cf: 6.403.123

Disappeared 7-23-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

9

ANTELO, Patricia Beatriz

ARR 6-27-76 Rosario - Held in V.Devoto-Condemned by Military Court.

AISC

D

ANTENECHEA, Aldo S..

Disappeared 12-21-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ANTEVI, Cesar Alberto

ABD 6-23-76 w/wife Nora E.

ML

D

ANTINO, Silva

ABD 4/76 in Buenos Aires

ml

78/77/7 *

D

ANTOKOLETZ, Daniel Víctor

Lawyer

C.I. 6.213.901

Age 40

Ministerio de Rel. Ext. y Cultos replied that there are no antecedents on his detention. 8-1-77

Disappeared after 4-24-76 ML: Disappeared 11/15/76

For.Off.Inq.: 7-11-77 GOA reply: NO.

11-15-77 - Rep.

Reported alive around 9/78 by unnamed released prisoner

Cancer Arch. Cong. 9/78

Consular Section.

84-9166 84-9211 84-9124

Congressmen Burke, Fascell and Yatron interested in this case.

Congress.

Arch. Int. Legis.

Org. Amer. States Comm.

Personal Visit Ms. Watson 12/5/78

77-22 ML

D

ANTOKOLETZ, Liliana Andres

Disappeared 11-10-76

ADLeague

D

ANTOLIN, Osvaldo
DNI: 13.305.904

At home according to Ministry of Interior - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

146/77/10 *

ANTONANZAS, Nestor Ruben
CI. S 735.196.
Age 25

D

Disappeared on 4-22-77 in Mar del Plata?
CDA Reply 11-24-77 Hearing 12-30-77 Neg.

Antonanzas, Elene (Rioja 3382-Mar del Plata) (Mother)
Antonanzas, Norma [ ] (Sister)

Belgrano 2998 - 6to - Mar del Plata

7-31-77 Letter to Mrs. Rosalind Carter.

ML

L

ANTONLIN, Osvaldo
DNI 13.305.901
Ruta 143, Gral. Alvear, Mendoza

DIS 4-28-77

ML

ANTUNA, Raúl

DIS 7-22-76

ML

ANTUNES, Luis

Bolivian Permanent Assembly for H.R. 4-27-78

ANZALONE CANTONE, Laura
Age 21
Location 783-2° Piso Dpto.

(Uruguayan) D

DIS 8-8-76 Fecha 12.13-76 en Uruguay

REFOULEMENT
ML

D

ANZALONI CANTONE, Rita de

DIS 8-8-76 in Buenos Aires

ML

118/77/10 D *

ANZORENA, Emilio

GIA Reply 11-10-77 Hag.

Student, disappeared in Buenos Aires in April 1977.

AOSTRI, Amado Vicente
Age: 29
LE: 8,686,550

DIS 9-16-76 Córdoba

PAHR

AFL/CIO

APAZA, Arturo.

On 5-12-76 Apaza and other members of The Coordinadoras-special committees of workers of factories in conflict-were abducted by a group of civilians. The factory was surrounded by the Army while this took place. Nobody has seen them since.

9-7-77. Letter to AFL/CIO.
ex-Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores.

APAZA, Carlos Ramón
Age: 28
Doc. 8.285.741

DIS-5-7-77

Tucuman

2 1

AFHALES, Alfredo Alcides

R

Recard PEN
Dis: Oct. 78 -La Nacion

D

APICELLA, Rodolfo

DIS

AISC

D

APONTES PALOMO, José Antonio
Mr 24
Jm: 12.433.491

DIS 5-8-76 Córdoba

PAHR

281/22/2 D *

APPEL DE LA CRUZ, José Luis (Chilean)
Chilean Identif.card: 11861 of Puerto Montt
PoB: Puerto Aguirre, Aysen Prov. (Chile)
DoB: 7-16-52
Medical student (4th year-Univ.of Valdivia until 9-1973.

GOA reply 6-14-77: #: PEN
#AAD Vne reitera el pedido de información (Diciembre 1978)

GOA reply 2-13-79 - Neg. reply

Persecuted and expelled from the Univ. for political reasons. Certificates of studies refused by the univ. authorities.
Legal resident in Argentina since November 1973.
Kidnapped in Cipolletti(Neuquen Province) on 1-10-77.
Since then disappeared.

Cong. Fraser-Letter 7-12-77 HR-5464

ML

AQUAVIVA, Raul Eduardo D

DIS

PAHR

AQUILINO, Angel D

DIS

AISC

AQUINO, Jesus Antonio

DIS 11/76

ML

ARABENA, Roberto Horacio

DIS

AISC

ARABOLAZA, Graciela Esther

PEN - San Luis Prov.

AISC

D

ARACEIRA, Mercedes

DIS

ML

D

ARADAS, Luisa

DIS

ML

D

ARAGON,

ABD 12/76

ML

ARAGON, Alvaro

ARD 8/77 f/home Cnel.Diaz y Santa Fé, Buenos Aires
Around 14-Aug.-77 took him to police station in Valentine Alsina-3rd-and 10-5-77 taken to La Plata. 2-9-77-decree no.-258377 past to the PEN. He ask for "ROO" but was denied,-4-25-78 denied -8-11-78 also denied. He is detained in Unidad 9-La Plata. Once a week, his wife and mother visit him and he is in good health.

ML
Wife & Mother visit Emb. 11-24-78

ARAGON, Guillermo César

DIS

ML

ARAGON, Lidoro Oscar
LE: 8.230.039
Dob: 9-15-46 - Formosa
Antanor Alvarez y Pasaje Huaínco Hondo
Santiago del Estero

ABD on 11-10-78 from his home

Ruben Romero 11-23-78

ARAGON, Mario
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 3-20-75 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ARAGON, Reinaldo

Disappeared 2/77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ARAMBURU ALCONADA, Domingo Roque

Disappeared 12-22-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ARAN, Enrique Angel

DIS

ML

T
R

Marcel (f)
ARANA, Miguel Angel Butti
DNI 10929694

D

In the midnight of 3-16-77 to 3-17-77 he was arrested at his bride's house Marcelo T. de Alvear 934 togather with Alejandra Lapacó and Carmen A. de Lapaco (bride and future mother in law). Carmen A. de Lapacó was put free 28 hours later. Miguel and Alejandra since then disappeared.

Arana, Alicia Juana (Mother)
LC 1881436

Testimony sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

ML

ARANA BONTEMPO, Elba Noemí
Municip. Bs.As.

Detained 11-23-76 - Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ML

C-132/78/2 774/79/1 T

ARANDA, Carlos Raúl

Optum

PEN - Resistencia, Chaco
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Consulate.

D

ARANDA, Samuel Alberto
Age: 23

DIS 9-9-77 Los Polvorines

FDD

D

ARANGO, BEATRIZ
Age: 43
CI. 3.198.692
Paraguay 4023-Buenos Aires

ABD 11-24-77 from home.

PaHR-Prensa 1-17-78

ML

D'78

ARANGUREN, Carlos Alfredo

Age 30

LE: 4.254.438

DIS 10-20-78 San Isidro Bs. As.

DFT
North Zone Bs.As.Prov.

ARANGUREN, Víctor Ruben (Uruguayan)
Cristaluz - Union leader
Age: 39

Detained since March 1976 - Unidad 9 La Plata
Kidnapped in Bs. As. in 1/1975 - DIS during 3 months. arrest officially confirmed in April 1975. Now detained under PEN at Pabellon 4, Prision Regional del Norte, (Chaco Prov.)

Cause Amb. Cong. 9/78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Zamith Cantaro

D

ARANO BASTERRA, Juan Cesareo
CI: 2.916.941 LE: 4.225.849
Member Comun. Party
Age: 49.

ABD 5-20-77 in Capital Federal

ML
Comm. Party
Cong. Buenos 9/78

ARANOVICH, Eduardo

RRR.

ADLeague
ML

ARANO, Juan Cesáreo

Disappeared 5-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ARANOVICH, Edgardo Martin

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

347/78/5 F

ARAOZ, Luis

Arrested on 10-9-74 at present in Unidad Carcelaria 6 Rawson - Chubut.
Under PEN, Rawson, Chubut. Decree 1810 - 12-9-74 (de visu) Corresp 6-27-78

Leg. Reg. Doc. Number
Dpt. of Treasury-on behalf of [ ] 3-15-78

Araoz, Lidia de
9-7-77 letter to AFL/CIO

386/78/5 D

ARAUJO, Aureliano
Presidente de la Junta Vecinal

N.C.A.D-GOA - 9-5-78

Abducted 4-8-78
Expelled - Clarin 7-24-78

San Justo

386/78/5 D

ARAUJO, Estanislao
Age: 18

Arrested 3-26-78

N.C.A.D - GOA - 9-5-78

San Justo

352/78/5

D

ARAUJO, Olga
Age: 16

Arrested 3-26-78

N.R.A.J) - GOA - 9-5-78

San Justo

D

ARAUJO, Rubén Benjamín
LC: 4.368.343
Age 34

Disappeared 12-22-76

Leg. Asc. Sec. Hombre
Cancer Unit Cong. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ARAUJO DE BOJANIC, Susana Marta
Age 30
LC: 5.888.845

Disappeared 10-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
FDJ

ARAUJO DE NARVAEZ, Orfilia (Parag) D76

DIS 2-2-78 LANUS Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

ARAYA, Fernando Félix Manuel
Age: 70

Detained on 7-25-78. In Prison in Córdoba. On 8-3-78 we were informed that he was ill, he was taken to an Hospital were he was operated.

Letter to Amb. 8-7-78:
Crivelli, Lía Esther Duboué de
Duarte Quiros 555-Córdoba

ARAYA, José María
6.043.362

DIS 6-1-77

Rosario List

Optn

ARAYA MEDINA, Ricardo
Chilean Doc. 7.172.683-5
Bulnes 1247-Bs.As.
Phone at work place: 35-2238

Requests entrance into de US.

ARAZA, Arturo

D

DIS

ML

ARBALLADA, Roberto

D

DIS

ML

ARBIET, Rodolfo Miguel

ADLeague

ARCE, Abelardo
Ex-Justicialista Legislator and Union Leader

AHD 5/77

ML

ARCE, Elena
Arg.26
DNI: 10.388.556

Disappeared 11-22-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ARCE, Floreal Manuel
Arg 81
Venezuela 3344. Fn Am.

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

ARCE, Graciela

Arrested with her daughter Carla Graciela and handed over to Argentine Security Forces.

Bolivian Permanent Assembly for H.R. 4-27-78

ARCE, Ofelia
Córdoba

Detained since 1976 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

521/78/4 D

ARCE VIEIRA, Gustavo Raúl (Uruguayan)
Ale 30
DI: 41.298.166

-27-

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

UNHCR-Refugee registered
3-9-78
"AI - 10-78"

D ARCHETTI, Armando (F) 163/78/7 D
L.E. 8.121.403 - CI. 6.171.164
Manzana 1264-Capital Proff.Philosophy (Univ.Buenos Aires and Catholic
DOB: 10-23-43 Santiago del Estero University)
Page: 73

Raped six and a half months ago in Santiago del Estero.
Since then disappeared. 1-24-77
Disappeared 1-24-77 in Santiago del Estero at Tennis Club where he and wife visit her parents.

Gehörhilfy. M.R.A.D - 9-15-78

ARCHETTI, Maria Rosa Hourheigt de (Wife)
C.I. 5.988.509
Tel.: 31-6954

State 167736

8-9-77 Letter to Derian.

Lig. Arg. Dr. Bonubri
ML

L

D

ARCHETTI, Eugenia

DIS

ML

9

ARCHETTI, Héctor

Arrested 11-13-74. At present Unidad 9- La Plata.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

ARCHETTI, Maria Rosa

DIS

ML

D 1978

ARCHITECT FEMALE and Husband

Disappeared at the same time as Alejandro Enrique Gutierrez and Ramirez, as they saw the abduction.

Info given by Ruth Penette de Gutierrez. 8-15-78

D

ARCUSCHIN, Luis
Employee of Entel

DIS 12/76 Buenos Aires

ML

T
R

x ARCUSCHIN, Miguel Sergio (F) D
DNI 12.046.733
X ARCUSCHIN, Noemí Josefina Jasenson de D
CI 8.011.651
Colombres 31, 6°Piso, Dpto.23 - Capital

Arrested at their home on 9-13-76 by armed forces. Since then disappeared.

ARCUSCHIN, Raquel (Mother)
Sarmiento 3058 - 2°P. "D"
TE: 84-3481

Note to TTodman.
Note to Representatives.

x 3 mos
PAHR (L) Personal call Lamb 8-29-78

D

ARDITO, Nélida Beatriz
Age: 37
CI: 3.386.744

DIS 10-13-76

PAHR (L)

491/78/7 D

ARDITO, Roberto
(Nuclear engineer)
Junior 340, Fac. 1, D', Cap

Gov reply 1-30-79. Hdq. reply:

Abducted. 10.12.76 together with wife.

ML
Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS 1

D

AREAS, Florencio
Ex-Sect.of Graphic Workers

ABD 11/76

ML

D

ARECHAGA, Luis A
CI: 5.224.605

Disappeared Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

AREDEZ, Rosario Laureano
Age 33
LE: 4.428.012

DIS 5-30-77

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR

ARELLANO, Juan

D

DIS BuenosAires

Mexico 79

D

ARELLANO, Juan Gualberto
F. Rivera 1731 - Pcia Bs. As.
LE: 1.921.149
Member Comm. Party
Age 62

Disappeared 10-11-77 in La Boca (Bs. As.)

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Comm. Party

Arenas, Francisco Alberto
Mercedes Buenos Aires
Fija 238
LE: 7.681.409

Disappeared 7-19-77 Gonz Catan. Bs. As.

Hugo Arg. Del. Mendoza
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ARENCIO, Faustino

D

DIS

ML

D

ARES DE ESPINDOLA, Rita
Age: 32
LC: 4.598.344

DIS 12-9-77 R.de los Sauces, Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

ARESTIN, Salvador Manuel

Abducted in July 1977 together with other 6 lawyers from Mar del Plata; some appeared.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

D 1978

ARETA, Joaquin Emilio
Age: 23
Medrano 837-1°"B"-Buenos Aires

LA PLATA LIST - 29/6/78

Detained on 6-29-78 in Fed.Capital. His brother was killed last year by Joint Forces.

CONAR(L)
La Plata List 10/78
Ricardo E. Sagarzazu (Uncle)
San Luis 821, 3° 1
2000 Rosario Phone : 60185
Harris data-8-14-78

D

ARGADOÑA, Edgardo Alberto
Age: 27
Albarinos 1980, Hurlingham Bs.As.
LE: 8.435.654

ABD 10-1-76

ML

D

ARGANDOÑA, Eduardo Alberto
Age 24
LE: 8.425.651

Disappeared 11-1-76 Hemlingham - Bs. As.

PAHR-La Prensa 5-17-78

D

ARGARAÑAZ, Rosario
Age: 52
Doc. 3.511.745

DIS 1-8-77 Tucumán

Tucumán

D

ARGARAÑAZ DE FRESNEDA, Ma. de las Mercedes
Age 34
C/I: 6.271.364

DIS 7-8-77 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR

ARGENTO FONTAINE, Abel Eduardo
Rdc31:
L.I 6.259.957

D

DIS Septiembre 1977 Rosario - Santa Fé

PAHR

D

ARGENTO FONTAINE DE COURRAULT, C. R.
Rdc30
L.I: 5.598.606

DIS Septiembre 1977 - Rosario - Santa Fé

PAHR

ARGEO ROJO, Juan
Lawyer-El Independiente-La Rioja

Detained 5-13-76 Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ARGERICH MAYOL, Julio Ricardo Alberto

Arg. (6-23-1929) claims to be Public Accountant and have Doctorate in Political Science (latter claim believed false by UN) with wife Ofelia Lidia Bornia (birthdate and nationality unknown) and child Maria Dolores Juliana Argerich born 10-7-75. Present application for resettlement in a third country. Has been presented and rejected by British, Swedisch, Anecdutch Governments. Is awaiting decision by the French and Swiss Governments.

Cable.

ARGIBAY, Carmen Maria
Ex-Secretaria de Juzgado de la Capital Federal

Cable. 3/24/76

Cause Amb. Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
ML

171/77/11 D *

ARGUELLO, Marta
Age: 35
Profession: Lawyer

FoNG Reply 3-10-78
a (La Ex Martha Ada)
PEN Dtc 252 / 2-2-78
Charges: Militante Célula del PCR
Detained: U-1 Córdoba

Disappeared 9-2-77 in Córdoba. Carcel Penitenciaria Cordoba.

Cause Amb-Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg Der. Hombre
Cong Fraser 22-3518 RR-2373 RR-1328
Cong. Gus Yatron
Amnesty International

P

ARGUELLO, Ramón Oscar

DIS 5-2-76 in Córdoba

ML

D

ARIAS, Angel
CI. 6.762.461
DNI. 10.354.240
De la Peña 1775-Lanus Este

Detained on 5-17-77. Since then disappeared.

Arias, Maria Consuelo Alvarez de (Mother)
De la Peña 1775 - Lanus Este
CI. 4.370.547

MoPM

L

D

ARIAS, Antonio Fernando
Age 24
CI: 6.332.286

Disappeared 2-15-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ARIAS, Armando

DIS

PAHR

ARIAS, Bonifacio
Tafí Viejo
Age 41
DNI: 7.065.596

DIS 2-14-76 Tafí Viejo - Tucumán

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ARIAS, Carlos Eduardo
age 27
CI: 6.671.742

Disappeared 6-11-77 Vte. Lopez Bs. As.

PAHR-La Prensa 5-17-78

ARIAS, Carlos Enrique
Age 30
DNI: 5.039.018

DIS 12-30-77

PAHR

ARIAS, Carlos Raul
Age 24
DNI: 11.154.030

DIS 3-24-78

PAHR

ARIAS, Daniel
Worker from "Lugo Fuego"

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ARIAS, Héctor Ricardo
Age: 17

DIS 5-2-76

ML

D

ARIAS, Florencio
Ex-Sec'Gral. Graphics Union

ABD San Juan

AISC

D 78

ARIAS, Marcelo
LE: 7.789.484
Uriarte 13 - Remedios de Escalada
C.I. 9.136.575
Age 30

Arrested on 3-6-78 leaving his work at Deutz(Moron). Since then disappeared.

Cancer Earth Cong. 9/78
Arias, Roberto (Father)
Arias, Irma Amiot de - LC 2.174.705 (Mother)
Rivera 621 - PB - "B"-Lomas de Zamora
Personal call 3-13-78.
FDD 11-78-6

D

ARIAS, Mario
LE: 7.789.489

Disappeared 3-13-78 b. de Zamora - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

R (F) D

ARIAS, Miguel Angel Ernesto
DU. 13.154.698
Pasaje Gral. Diaz 68 - Barrio Mariano Balcarce-Córdoba
Age 19

Was arrested at our home on 6-29-76. Since then disappeared.

Arias, Maria L. Cuello de (Mother)
LC 7.799.805
Pasaje Gral. Diaz 68 - Barrio Mariano Balcarce-Córdoba

Testimony to Representatives.

Ing. Arg. Ser Homia
NL

L

D

ARIAS, Noemí Figueroa

DIS

ML

ARIAS, Ruben Orlando

DIS Tucumán

PAHR

ARIAS, Segundo Bonifacio
Age: 41
Doc 7.065.596

Dis 2-14-76

Tucumán

ARIAS DE BECERRA, Rosa

DIS

PAHR (L)

ARIAS CEJAS, Jesus
Member of Cuban Embassy

J

ABD Córdoba

ML

ARIAS SARTI, Angel
Age 26
cd: 6.761.46(

D

DIS 5-17-77 Ramos-Pabon

ML

P

ARICO, Francisco (editor)

Arrested and imprisoned 3/29/76

Listed in October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT

ARIEL, Marciel
(Married to a Chilean)

D

ABD 2-9-77

ML

ARIEN MELO CUESTA, Nebio
Age: 32

D

DIS

ML

ARIGO, Roberto
Employee

662/71/12 D 78

ABD Agust 1978 in Buenos Aires

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

HI

ARIGONE, Juan

ARR - PEN

AISC

ARIGONI, Teresa del Carmen
Medicine Student

ABD

ML

ARIN DELACOURT, Julio César
DNI,10.457.327
ARIN DELACOURT, Leonor CUADRELLI de
DNI,11.235.913
Av. Cabildo 4315,√Dtp."B"-Capital

Disappeared on 6-16-76.

Cancer Arch Cong. 9/78

Arin, Teresa Z. D. de (Mother)
DNI 6.826.992
José María Verduga 424-Boulogne (Bs.As.) 766-5292

Statement to Representatives.

ML

Personal mail 1-3-78
Personal call 10-2-78

D

ARIÑO PAZ, Joaquin
Age:27
DOB: 8-22-1951 -Capital Federal
CI: 361.592; LE: 10.341.975
Blas Parera 254-Dpto.2-Tucuman
Law student - Employee Fac. Derecho de Tucumán

ABD 6-3-1977.
Tucumán
Personal call Embassy 8-8-78:
Nieves P.Paz de Ariño (Mother)
Piedras 530-4°"0"_Tucuman Phone 29039

(over) Toribia Paz, Godoy Cruz 2985-3°"27"-Bs.As. 773-3403 (aunt)

D

ARIOSTI, Tomás Osvaldo

Cleared PEN - La Nacion 10-21-78
Reported Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

F

ARIOVA, Silvia

ARR 1-16-76 Santa Fé - Held in V.Devoto PEN
Judge: Mantara

AISC

D

ARIS, Serafin (or Kazaris)
CI. 7.747.943

DIS

AISC

D

ARIZURRIETA, Cristobal

DIS

ML

637/76/11 D

ARMELIN, Maria Juana

Age: 29

GoA reply: 2-23-79: have no antecedent.

Dis: 23-2-78, 2634 Navarro st., BA

Action of the Federal Police of Argentina with later on the collaboration of the army. During this, my his sister handed voluntarily over to the Security Force The prison of the detained person is still unknown up to now, 8-5-78

Brother
Roberto Armelin, Via Necchi, 9-20123-Milano, Italia
Letter dated 5-8-78 to gov. of the US .

D

ARMENDARIZ LEACHE, Andrés Maria
Age 28
CI: 7.918.640 or 7.288.640

Disappeared 3-26-77

PAHR-La Prensa 5-17-78

C-115/78/1

P
Option

ARMESTO ROSAS, Luis Maria

PEN - Unidad 2 Sierra Chica, Olavarria.

Armesto, Griselda Flora Rosas de (Mother)
Delepiane 768 - Campana
Phone: 82012 Campana

D

ARNADIO, Armando Oscar
Age 25

Disappeared 8-6-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

321/78/9

ARNONE HERNANDEZ, Bernardo (Uruguayan)
Melian 2102

DIS October 1, 1976

VNHRC - 9-1-76

~~Guimaraes~~ 559/78/9
AROCENA, Marcos Basilio (Uruguayan)
CI. 3.989.313
DOB: 12-10-1940

GOA reply 12-19-76 : N.R.A.).

Kidnapped on 7-9-76 from Santa Fé 2206-4°"F"-Capital. Extraofficially Arocena was being held in Third Corps Infranty in La Tablada (confirmed by Mr. Loren M.Lewedag). At Ministry of Interior he figures as "disappeared).

VNHRC. 9.1.76

Arocena, Elena G. de (Mother)
Pedro Goyena 2506-Martinez
792-7886

OVER

ARONE, Rosa Mabel
Age 21
DNI: 12.128.048

Disappeared 7-11-77 Villa Lynch - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
AL

AROUSCHIN, Adriana

DIS

AISC

AROUSCHIN, Horacio

DIS

AISC

AROMATARIS, Mirta Victoria

ARR-PEN

AISC

10/7/77/9 D

AROZARENA, Jon Pirmin
Ppt. Z510275 issued Buenos Aires January 25, 1966
Address: Arias 1640-Buenos Aires
DPOB: June 20, 1951, Caracas, Venezuela
GOA reply 10-79: Hqs. reply
GOA reply 11-2-78 Hqs. / GOA reply 9-5-78 No PEN

Subject abducted from home at 10am April 30, 1977 by four unidentified armed men in plain clothes. Family believes that they were security forces. Armed men stayed at the Arozarena's residence for four days; they were allowed to go shoping but not to tell anybody what was happening at home. Present whereabouts unknown.

Raised w/ForOFF WGHR by Sherman Harris on 9/28/77.

P L

ARPEO ROJO, Juan
Ex Intendente.

Detained in La Rioja on may 1976. At Sierra Chica jail.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

Arquitecto y Sra.

Arrested in frontof Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77 presumably by the Argentine Secu-rity Forces.

ARRILAZAGA, Abel
(Arribalaza)

DIS

ML

ARROA, Laura S. de

Disappeared 9-30-77

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

ARROSA, Juan Carlos

DIS

AISC

ARROSAGARAY, Mario Ruben
DOB: 2-19-47-
Wilde, Prov.Bs.As.

D

REFUGEE

Ref.: La Paz 7096 Sept. 1977 CONF. (Arg. cit.)

La Paz 6144

ARROYO, Jorge (Dr.)

D

ABD in Comodoro Rivadavia on 6-13-76.

CANCER Anti Congress 9/78

791/79/1 D

ARROYO, Juan Carlos
Age: 31
DOB: 8.1943 Arg.

Disappeared 4-29-76 Córdoba

AI
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ARROYO, Olinda Isidora

DIS

AISC

Arrenio
ARROYO VILLAREAL, Abdon A.?
Age: 27

Disappeared 4-24-76 Córdoba

Removed from PEN - 12-22-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

-ARROYOS, Cristina
Lawyer

Arrested in Jujuy. 3-24-76

Carter Anti Congress 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre-4-19-78

D

ARROYOS DOLINDA DE HEDERNERA
L. 3.790.454
Age: 37

DIS 9-17-76 Morón Bs.As.

PAHR

D

ARROZOLA, Juan Carlos
Age: 23
DNI: 10.942.940

DIS 1-20-77 La Plata - Bs.As.

PAHR

ARRUE, Guillermo

D

DIS

ML

ARRUE, Horacio Antonio

D

DIS

ML

ARRUZZONI, Pedro Francisco

D

DIS

ML

ARTACHO, Juan Carlos

D

DIS

AISC

ARTAZA, Sebastian Angel
CI: 7.787.275

DIS

AISC

---

de Cassataro

ARTETA, Elba Zulema
LC. 6.268.526
DOB: 2.27.50 - La Plata
Address: Calle 12 N° 300 - 1°"C" - LA PLATA

Arrested on 2-22-77 together with husband Eduardo Juan Cassataro. Since then disappeared.

La Plata list

Cassataro, Juan (Father-in-law)
Belgrano 2748
7400 Olavarria-Prov.Bs.As.
PAHR

ARTHABE, Rita

DIS 3-77 in La Plata

ML

D

ARTIGAS DE MOYANO, Maria Asunción (Uruguayan)
CI. 1281383
Age 25

Disappeared 12-30-77 with Husband Gral. Belgrano-Pcia.

Enriqueta Salvador. LC. 04816683. Lujan Str. 139
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
FDD. 11-6-78

ARTUNDUAGA, Gladys

Detained U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ARVIA, Francisco
CI. 4.371.547

DIS

AISC

ARY, Severo

DIS

Socialist

ARZA, Ines

D

DIS

ML

ARZAMENDIA, Celia (Paraguâyenne)

D

DIS July 1976 in Buenos Aires

D

ARZANI, Juan del Valle

AED 11/76 in Castelar, Bs.As.

ML

D

ARZURRIETA, Cristóbal

DIS

PAHR

SP

ASATO, Juan Carlos

ARR-Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

c/26/781

475/79/1

ASBERT, Enrique Mario
Laywer

RDO application in person 4/76

PEN- Unidad 2 Sierra Chica since 8-7-1975. Requests entrance in the USA.

Asbert, Maria del Rosario Martinez de (Wife)
9 de Julio 400 - Piso 3°Of.2
5000 CORDOBA (Capital)

ASHERG, Jorge
Lawyer

Detained August 1975. At present Sierra Chica.
No data.

Cancer Anti Congr. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

ASHERG, José
Lawyer

D

ASBERT, ~~Enrique~~ Jorge

Disappeared

ADLeague

D

ASCONE, Juan José
La Opinión - Primera Plana - Capital

Disappeared 12-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ASEF, Roberto Elías
Age 30
L.P.: 4.997.318

DIS 8-3-77 Córdoba

PAHR

ASEGUIN, Juan

D

ABD 1-20-76

ML

ASFUR, Rodolfo (Adolfo?)
Córdoba University

ADLeague

ASIS

Detained 3-27-76 - U.2.-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ASENJO, Jorge

DIS 6-12-76

Lanus List 3-10-79

ASIS, Roque J

Detained 3-24-76 Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ASKELBRAD, José

DIS 3-26-76 in Córdoba

ML

ASPITA, Miguel

DIS

ML

ASSADURIAN, Amanda Lidia D

DIS 3-24-76 in Córdoba

ML

295/76/2 P

ASSADOURIAN, Hector J.

Gob Mfg 31:5 198

PEN: Dto. 169 - 23-1-75
Causa: Asociación ilícita tenencia de armas de guerra. Integrante grupo que copó fábrica Militar de Villa María. Robo calificado.
Intervino Juez Federal Bell Ville. Procesado situación que sigue al 14-2-78.
Alojado U-2 Sierra Chica.

Held at Sierra Chica prison.

Reorganizing Ad Amb.: 2-22-78 Ad present in Sierra Chica

BA-1314 - 2-22-78
Amn Watkins London - Mail 040477

ASSALES, Carlos Miguel D

DIS 1-11-77

ML

D

ASSALES, Emilio Carlos
Age 30

Disappeared 1-11-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ASSALES DE REMEDO, Maria Ines de
DUI: 10.902.546
Age 25

Disappeared on 8-22-1976 in Buenos Aires.

Mr.
Capellán de Assales, Benilde Maria ... (Mother)
Fig. Alcorta 384 - 3°"B"-Córdoba Phone 35422

Personal call Embassy 5-9-78.

Killed

ASTARITA
Son of Proffesor of Fac.de Ciencias Exactas)

Killed

La Plata List

D

ASTARITA, Rolando

AED 8-3-76 from home with Edy Barrionuevo

ML

D

ASTEAGA, Vicente Angel

DIS

PAHR

D

ASTELARA, Santiago Pedro

AED 11-23-76 with Norma Mary Scopise

ML

D

ASTIS, Juan

DIS

ML

D

ASTORGA, Juan Mario

Doc.- 11.094.547 - o - 7.065.596

Rfe 24

DIS 3-9-76 Tafi Viejo Tucumán

Tucumán

D

ASTORGA, Julio Fernando

Age:

Doc.- 12.978.683

DIS 3-19-77

Tucumán

ASTUDILLO, Juan Carlos
Ast. Rio Santiago

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ASTUDILLO GALICIA, Jorge Omar
Age 24
CI: 7.681.014

DIS 7-2-76 Ensenada - Bs. As.

La Plata Hist 10/78
PAHR

ASTUDILLO ROJAS, José

DIS

AISC

D

ASUAD, Ariel
Lawyer

Detained on 3-24-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

ATAIA, Jorge

DIS

ML

ATALIVA CASTRILLO

523/78/9

(Uruguayan)

D

DIS 12/77

UNHRC 9-5-78

D

ATENCIO, Cristina

DIS

AISC

R ATENCIO, Raul, Alberto (F) D
LE 5.538.682
Saavedra 114 Piso 3° Dto.12-Gral. San Martin

Arrested on 10-18-76. Since then disappeared. San Martin-Bbs

Atencio, Adelina Ritoli de (Mother)
LC 1.079.282
Dr. Aleu 842. San Andres

Testimony to Representatives.

ML

AFL/CIO

ATENCIO, Taurino Rufino
L.E. 6.770.046
CORDOBA

Authorized to leave the country 12-22-78.

Arrested on 10-9-74. At present in Unidad Carcelaria 7 Resistencia (Chaco).

Atencio, Elma de (Wife)
LC. 4.855.615

Statement to AFL/CIO.

ML

ATTADEMO, Abigail Armando

DIS

PAHR

ATTIAS, Ermesto Manuel

Under PEN in U.4 de penitenciaría provincial Rio Cuarto.

Attias, Salomón
H.Irigoyen 478 - Rio Cuarto 5800 (Father)

AUAD, Angela

DIS

ML

D

AUDAT, Abdala

DIS

AISC

AUDICIO, Blanca

F

ARR 11-12-75 Córdoba-Held in Villa Devoto
PEN

AISC

AUDISIO, de Quiroga, Ana María B.

Criminal appeals court, held PEN. detention invalid.

10/14/78

AUDON, Fabian
CI: 8.502.420

D

DIS

AISC

D

AUERVACH, Ana Ortiz

Disappeared - Cordoba prison

ADLeague

ML

D

AUERVACH, Susana

Disappeared - Cordoba prison

ADLeague
ML

AUNONE, Humberto
Córdoba

Disappeared 1-8-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

AURTENECHEA, Aldo Luis
El Tamarindo 1892, San Antonio de Padua (Bs.As.)
DNI 11.121.831

Disappeared on 12-21-76. Marin Bs As

Aurteneçhea, Nilda C. Cianfrini de (Mother)
LC. 0297108
El Tamarindo 1892, San Antonio de Padua (Bs.As.)

8-19-77. Letter to Senators.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

AVALO, Nélida Graciela
CI. 8.871.730
Gallo 1387, Bs.As.
Age: 18

ABD 9-10-76

ML

AVALOS, Daniel Orlando

ARR 4-7-76 Sierra Chica

Mexico 79

AVALOS, Lorenzo

Denied PEN.
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper.

AVALOS, Pantaleón
Dirig. Centro Capitanes de Ultramar

Disappeared 8-6-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

P

AVALOS, Pedro Irineo

Yurielido

In Prison. Was granted option to leave the country but same was not put in effect. At present he is still in jail..

Relleno Rosalyn Costa 9-21-78

Varela de Avalos, Laura Florencia
Calle Alberti 135-Buenos Aires 47-9305

Personal call written 1/10/79 Posadas 3745

D

AVALOS, Ramona Agustina
M. Bravo 166 - Avellaneda
Age 55

Disappeared 11-21-77. Son also disappeared

Lic Ar. Ser. Humbs
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

AVALOS, Raúl Marciel

DIS

PAHR

D

AVALOS, RAUL PASCUAL
Truck Driver

DIS

ML

D

AVALOS DE GOMEZ, Jorgelina Aquilina
LC: 11.478.917
Calle 136 No. 952-La Plata

Disappeared on 6-9-77 together with husband. La Plata Pcia. Bs. As.

ML
PAHR - Prensa 1-17-78

Rossetto, Avalos Lorenza de (Sister)
Calle 67 No. 2635-La Plata
Maturano, Avalos Trifina de (Sister)
Calle 525 entre 21 y 22-La Plata
Phones: La Plata 51-3100 Fanjul-friend
31-8509 Butron, brother-in-law
Personal call on 5-5-78

D

AVELINO, Agustín Alejo

DIS 1-21-77

PAHR

D

AVELLANEDA, Floreal Eduardo
Age 16
CI: 8.631.634 ?
Sargento Cabral 2385 - Munro (Bs. As. Prov.)
Member: Fed. Juv. Comm.

Disappeared 5-15-76 Killed 5/16/76
together with mother Iris Rosa de Avellaneda. He appeared under PEN 8-31-76

Cancer Amb. Comp. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML
Comm. Party

D

AVELLANEDA, Lucrecia Mercedes
Age 26
CI: 6602-071

Disappeared 4-13-77 in Lanus y 2N de Noviembre Mendoza, Pcia. Bs. As.
mother - Amelia G. de Avellaneda - Caballos 1159, Bs. As.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

FDD-11-6-78

D

AVELLANO, Juan

Disappeared 6-29-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AVENI, Antonio José

D

DIS

AISC

AVIBALAZA, Abel Osvaldo

F

ARR Sierra Chica

AISC

AVILA, Francisco Miguel

D

DIS 9-17-77

PAHR

D

AVILA, Juan José
Age: 25
Doc. 10.910.606

DIS 9-17-77

Tucumán

AVILA, Roberto D

DIS 8-10-76

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

AVILES DE ELIZALDE LEAL D

DIS 1-27-77 and home ransacked

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

AXAT, Carlos Alberto
Age: 25
Son of Lawyer from La Plata)

DIS

La Plata list

AXAT, Rodolfo Jorge
RH 4
JNI: 2.345.945

Disappeared 4-12-77 La Plata Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

AYALA
Metalworker

DIS

ML

D

AYALA
Shipyard worker

DIS

ML

D

AYALA, Andrés
Age 39
LE: 4.560.585

DIS 7-21-77

hij. Aug. Ben. Hamb
PAHR

D

AYALA, Genaro

DIS

AISC

AYALA, Osiris
Luz y Fuerza-Formosa

Detained Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AYALA, Sara Fulvia
Age 23

Disappeared 5-13-77 Clay pole - Po. Ch.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

FREED

AYALA, Vicente Victor
Kaunya
Age 24
Mil: 8.4/J.273

Freed Decree 870/78 Opinion 6-14-78

Disappeared on 2-16-76 in Catamarca

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Cancer Anti-Cong 9/78

D

AYALA, Zoilo
Mestrina
DNI: 5.453.455

Released Decree 1.566/76 Prima 6-2-78
Primm 6-16-78

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

AYALA DE MOREL, Sara F.
Age: 22
DNI: 12.770.402
Yatay 344, Claypole, Bs.As.

ABD 5-13-77 with husband

ML

D

AYASTUY, Jorge
Age 31
CI: 4.849.766

DIS 12-6-77

L. Plata Prot 16/78

PAHR

AYASTUY, Marta Bugnone
Age: 27

D

ABD 12-6-77 Bs.As.

AISC

AYAT, Rodolfo Jorge

D

DIS 4-12-77

AISC

AYCROA, Aberval

D

DIS 11/76

PAHR

AYERDI, Laura Cecila
Age: 18
Student of mthropl

DIS: Sept. 77
Involved 2 years ago-colegro Nst'l

Nestor Ayerdi

AYMAR, Alberto José

DIS

AISC

C-K/78/11

Saadi
AZAR, NESTOR CARLOS

option.

Minister refused visit 11/78 as R00 rejected ex/ 6 months.

UNDER PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata. Presented autorization option to leave country. Given forms and told it is necessary to have a sponsor.

Azar, Sara Saadi de (Mother)
Av. Chenaut 1925 8°C
771-5249 (Zona Hospital Militar)
Personal call 11-7-66.

AZCARATE, Luis Alberto

DIS

AISC

AZCONA, Ana María del Carmen
Age: 26
LC: 10.013.732

DIS 9-15-76

FDD

AZPAZA, Felipe

DIS

AISC

AZURMENDI, Eduardo Emilio

DIS 12-5-77

PAHR

327/78/4 D

BAAMONDE, Miguel Angel
DI: 6.483.026
DOB: 12-11-1949 - Adrogue

Disappeared about December 1976. He has been actively involved with the opposition of the present Argentinian government.

George E. Singer's inquiry. 1-17-77.
Sen. Cranston
Cmq. Ramaport

D

BAHUYA, Horacio Alberto
Merconi cfr. Urmeo del Talar-Pacheco - Bs. As.
Rgc 24
LE: 8.402.329

Disappeared 5-21-76 Pachecs - Bs. As.

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Riga Arg. Sur. Hombre
n/

BACCHINI, Hector Federico (ex priest) D
L: 5.619.803

DIS 11-25-76 La Plata

La Plata list
PAHR (L)

BAEH , Ricardo

DIS

PAHR (L)

BACHACANO, Richardo (editor, director of Prensa Libre)

Abducted at his office on 12/22/76;whereabouts unknown.

Listed on October 28,,1977 PEN REPORT

ML

BACHETTI, Daniel

DIS 4-12-77 w/wife and son Bs.As.

AISC

9

de Ramos
BACOVICHK, Ana Maria

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

BACQUE, Le R.P. André (French)

Arr. 11-29-76. Freed 12-14-76.

French Embassy

D

BAD, Oscar Alfredo

DIS 7-21-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

BADARACCO-UMPIEREZ, Juan Carlos (Uruguayan) *
dpob 7-7-52 in Montevideo

Entered US on 11-2-76 without inspection. Fears return to Uruguay and Argentina based on his political opinion and membership of a particular group. - URUGUAYAN ASYLUM SEEKER.

State Department. Cable State 243805 - 10-11-77.

(F)

BADILLO, Jorge Luis
C.I. 6.369.602
L.E. 8.474.039
Juramento 3362 - 1°Piso-Capital

Arrested on 7-8-77 by a group of men, they said to be "Military Force". Since then disappeared.

(Connected with Daniel Lazaro Rus)

BADILLO, Silvia del Cerro (Wife)
C.I. 6.841.447
Juramento 3362 1°m 2° - Capital

PARAG

8-9-77 Letter to Derian

BADRIC, Carlos José

DIS 6-4-76 in Córdoba

ML

BAES, Carlos Julio
Age: 23
DNI: 13.388.835

D

DIS 12-8-76 Zárate Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

BAEZ, Federico Guillermo
Age: 52

ABD with wife and daughter.

AISC

D

BAEZ, Hugo

DIS

ML

D

BAEZ, Ilda Noemí

DIS 11-12-77

PAHR (L)

BAEZ, Isabel (nee Eckerl)
Azul, Prov. Bs.As.

Disappeared 7-29-76
At present Villa Devoto Unidad 2

ADLeague

ML

D

BAEZ, Mrs.
Age 47

ABD w/husband Federico and daughter.

AISC

D

BAEZ, Nestor Carmelo
Construction Worker - Coraick

Disappeared 5-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

BAEZ, Romero

DIS

ML

D

BAEZ, Vicente
Age 34

Disappeared Bernal O. 10-11-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L).

D

BAHBOUTH, Ricardo

DIS

AISC

D

BAGGER, Mario Eduardo
8 M 23
LI: 10.643.694

Disappeared 1-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

BAGULLA, Alfredo

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

BAHL, Ruben

Disappeared 1975

ADLeague

D 78

BAI, Mirta Adriana
Age 28

DIS 5-12-78 w/husband Mr. Orellana, at Uspallata 2576 - Bs. As. City

RAHR(L)

D

BAI, Nicolas Ignacio
Age: 2

ABD 5-12-78 w/parents

AISC

BAIBIENE, ARTURO

K

Killed 4-26-77 in front of his home, Callao 2669, Berisso, Bs.As.Prov. Husband of Elba L. Ramirez

AISC

BAIBIENE, Elba L. Ramirez Abella de

D

DIS 4-26-77 from home, Callao 2669-Berisso Bs.As.Prov.

La Plata list 10/78
Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

BAIDAL, Claudio Adrian

DIS

AISC

BAISMAN, Hugo
Student

648/78/7 D

GOR reply 2-23-79 :: Have no current data.

DIS October 1976 in Buenos Aires

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

P

BAKONI, Ana Maria

ARR 4-4-75 Mendoza - Held in V.Devoto

AISC

K

BALARINO, Carlos Alberto

Killed 11/75 Tucumán

AISC

D

BALASANI DE VEGA, M. Alicia

Disappeared 12-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BALBUENA, Sra. de

Disappeared with husband who was later released

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

BALCHETTI, Alicia T. de

Detained in Gualeguay

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D 1977

BALDASSARE, Maria Martina
LC: 6.980.299
Lavalle 1587- 6°"B"-Capital
Age 37

Disappeared 3-15-78. She was arrested at her aunt's home in Mar del Plata.

Adami, Mercedes and Adami, Ana (Aunts)
San Martin 554-Vedia(Prov.Bs.As.) Phone 211 (relative)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Personal call 8-9-78

D 76

BALDERRAMO, Mario

Lawyer

ABD in Córdoba in july 1978

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

BALDEZ, Tomas Nelson

DIS 10-6-76

Mexico 79

D

BALDUEZA DE VILLANUEVA, Graciela
Caja Autónomos-Capital

Disappeared 3-25-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

P

BALEANO, Luis Alberto
Pág 43

Disappeared 5-13-76 from work Rivadavia 2219, Bs. Aires

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
NL

D

BALENBERG, Jorge

DIS Bahia Blanca

AISC

BALESTRI NEBBIA DE ABENDON, Elba Nidia

Student of Philosophy at Córdoba Univ.

Detained 2-1975, Villa Devoto prison.

AI Australia - Adoption

PALIGNO, María M.
Empleada Moto Zanella

Disappeared since 7-1-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BALLARINI, Carlos Oscar

PEN 3/78

AISC

D

BALLEJOS, Luis

DIS

AISC

D

BALLESTER DE COLLAR, Nora Alicia
Age 21 or 35?
CI: 11.934.449

5-27-?
Disappeared 3-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

232/77/12

BALLESTRINO DE CAREAGA, Esther (Paraguayan)
CI: 4.241.455
Age: 60

Arrested in front of the Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77 presubably by Argentine Security Forces. Mother of Plaza Mayo.

Raimundo Careaga
Paraná 539-2º16

Phone: see card attached

Sen. Cranston
Cong. Burke

D

BALLETO, Adolfo Arturo

ABD 11/76

AISC

D

BALLIANO, Luis A.

Disappeared 5-13-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

P

BALLUGA DOMINGUEZ, Osvaldo D.

Arr 8/78 in Uruguay by armed forces.

AISC

D

BALLUSTRO, Ibarra de

DIS - La Pampa

ML

D 1978

BALMACEDA, Vicente Oscar
DN: 10.223.084
Azul 191-Wilde
Age 26

Arrested on 6-30-78. On 7-1-78 he was brought to his home for only a few minutes and since then he is disappeared. His wife is leaving for San Juan where her family is living.
FDD List 9-16-78. CAP. Federal

Bustos de Balmaceda, Mercedes (Wife)
Ituzaingó 320-Rivadavia (San Juan)

Personal call Embassy 9-1-78.

D

BALOSIO, Carlos José

ABD 6-4-76 Córdoba

AISC

D

BALUSTRA, Pablo Alberto

Luduena (La Plata) - Killed Coralela prison after torture.
Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
MA

D

BALUT

Detained in La Plata city, where father has an important tailor'sshop (Streets 8 and 50-La Plata) with wife Montequin.

La Plata list 10/78
Harris data-8-14-78

D

BALVERDE, Eduardo Jorge

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

D

BALVIANO, Irma B. de

DIS 11/76

ML
PAHR (L)

P

BAMBOVE, Francisco

PEN 3/78

AISC

C-1032/78/1

MOREIRA

Option
P

BAMPINI, Miguel Angel
(Mecánico textil)

Habeas Corpus refused 6/79 on Rec rejected w/in 6 months.

PEN; Unidad 9 La Plata

Bampini, Marcelina M. de (Mother)
Primero de Agosto 5012-Villa Ballester

Phone: (sister in law) 752-0820

BANDARET, Luc (Smiss journalist)

Arrested 4/19/76; imprisoned.

Listed on October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT

BANDEIRO, Roberto A

DIS

AISC

BANEGAS, Marcos

DIS

FDD
PRR (L)

D

BANETA RAMIREZ, Luis
CI. 2.481.958

DIS

AISC

D

BANFIGLIO, Mabel Beatriz
CI. 7.166.371

ABD 8-26-76

ML

D

BANSA, Alejandro Ramón

DIS

AISC

BAO, Oscar Alfredo
LE: 8.349.229

Arrested
(Disappeared) 2-22-77 San Fernando - Pcia. de Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

BAQUERO, Daniel Agustin
DOB: 9-29-1951
DNI: 10.200.294
CI: 5.404.026 P"F"
Gral. Urquiza179- 1215 Buenos Aires

Disappeared on 4-8-77. Since then parent babe not been able to contact him. Suffers from diabetis.

Baquero, Aurelio (CI.1.413.178)
Baquero, M. E. Parpal de (LC.0.045.615) (Parent)
Gral. Urquiza 179 - 1215 Buenos Aires

BAQUERO, Ricardo Jorge
Age: 19

Detained in 1975- At present in Unidad Resistencia Prison

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BAR, Dora Esther

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

BARAGAT, Daniel A.

DIS

AISC

D79

BARALDI,Luis Alberto
DNI: 11.557.380
Calle 43 y 11, 4°Piso Dpto.2-La Plata

Family informed he reappeared in La Plata jail-Unidad 9.- 2/1/79.-

Arrested on 1-19-79 together with friend Juan Guillermo Perea, who lived at the same apartment. The other friend Gonzalez was not taken as he is on vacation.

Baraldi, Luis (Dr.) (Father)
MOLLER DE BARALDI, Isolda (Mother)
Scipion Cifone 580-Guamini(Prov.Bs.As.)
Phone: 57
Visit to Embassy-1-25-79.
Sonia Marval's phone 31-4281 (Aunt)
PPHR(L)

BARANDINO, Rolando
Journalist

D

DIS

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

BARASSI, Luis Antonio
LE. 7.747.505 - CI: 6.644.363
Age 33

Detained by Police Force in Avda.Honorio Pueyrredón and Diaz Velez,Capital Federal on 12-21-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR-Prensa 1-A-78 (L)
Sister: NORA BARASSI - CI: 4.576.650
Barassi, Maria V.G.de (Mother)
Rivadavia 14752-Ramos Mejia
Telegram to Mr. Moorhead, 12-21-77.
Ruiz Guiñazú, La Nación 10-28-78
FAD. 11-6-78

D

BARATTI, Héctor Carlos

DIS 2-23-77

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR(L)

D

BARAVALLE, Ana María
Age 28
LC: 5.761.111

Disappeared 8-27-76 San Martín

FDD
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

BARBA, Soruro
(El Tribuno)

Newspaper assoc.

BARBARO, Alfredo Guillermo
Age 32
CDI: 11.072.915

Disappeared 3-16-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

BARBEITO, Cristina
Age: 22

Killed 10-17-77 Llavallol-Wife of J. Carlos Barbeito; Child 3 months old. disappeared.

AISC

D

BARBER, Raúl Domingo
LE: 3.727.055
Age 23

Disappeared 5-5-76 from his work place Rivadavia 322, Valentín Alsina Bob

Amb Cef-Lagos
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

388/78/I D

BARBERAN, Rodolfo Atilio
Age 30
Dirigente Vecinal

3-27-76

NRAD - GoA - 9-5-78

San Justo

D

BARRERIS, Elena

Disappeared 9-11-76 with husband from home. In Amer. Detained Campo de Mayo

La Plata List 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

P

BARBERIS, Nilda

CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Orden 11-13-78

BARBERO

Joven detenida en su domicilio en la ciudad de La Plata-Calle 28 Nro. 1030. (January 1978?)

Harris data 8-14-78

433/78/6 D

BARBERO, Marta Maria
LC..6.666.401
GOA reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply.

Disappeared. 11-4-77

WOLA
PAHR(L)

9

BARBIERI, Daniel
CI. 8.304.280
Drafted Soldier

DIS 9-22-76 in La Plata

ML
PAHR(L)

D

BARBIERI, Elba Esther

DIS 8-15-77

La Plata List 21-11-78
PAHR(L)

BARBIERI, Rodolfo

DIS

AISC

BARBONE, Luis
Cl. 8.3at.2Dc
Drafted soldier

Disappeared 9-27-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Ml

BARBOZA DE PERALTA, Beatriz (Uruguayan)
Age: 26
Calle Zapiola 851-Chacarita, Buenos Aires

Disappeared 9-30-76; Buenos Aires. At present in Punta Rieles Prison in Uruguay accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

D

BARBOZA, Juan Manuel s/c DNI: 4.995.234
BARBOZA, Silvia Ibañez de
Ortiz de Zarate 6227
MAR DEL PLATA F.C.N.G.R.

D

Were arrested on 9-7-77 by a group of armed men. Later with Barboza's own car they took all the furniture, tools and clothings. Since then disappeared. La Plata - Pcia. Bs. As.

PPNA(L)
Barboza, Juan Manuel (Father)
Cne.Gral. Belgrano c/509 y 510
GONNET.
Dom.Postal: Estafeta La Josefa (La Plata)
T.E.: 84-1982 Letter to Amb.without date. 10/77

BARBUCEA, Jorge
Obrero TRANSAX-Córdoba

Detained in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

P

BARBUYA, Horacio Alberto

ARR 4-20-76 Police Precint El Tigre, Bs.As.
Released 5-21-76. ABD 5-21-76 after being released.

AISC

D

BARCCIOCO, Alberto Orlando
Age 44

Disappeared 5-22-76 Palomar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ML

D

BARCCIOCO, Andrés Luis

Disappeared 5-22-76 Palomar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ML

D

BARCCIOCO, Daniel Alberto

Disappeared 5-22-76 Palomar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ML

2cc/27/11

SURGHI, Susana Leda Barco de
Delegate from the Sindicato de Educadores Privados

Fmrs w/pty: 3-10-78
PEN 94 - 35 - 12-1-78
Cargo: Vinculada a PRT. ERP.
Alojada - Unidad 1 Córdoba

Abducted on the 18th of October 1977 in Villa Maria area of Córdoba.

PEN disposal. Clipping de locación 1-21-78

Amnesty International
Brief 81-23a

9

BARDACH, Roberto

Under PEN Unidad 6 Rawson

ML

ADLeague

D

BARDEIO, Carlos José

DIS 6-4-76 Córdoba

PARR(L)
ML

BARDI, Mario Anibal (Dr.) D

ABD in Temperley (Bs.As.Prov.) in 1977

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BARDOMAR FUNES, Oscar D

DIS

AISC

BARDOS, Bruno

Amn.Int'l Vienna 03383 04-7222

BARDOS, Victor

Amn.Int'l Vienna 83333 69 rmm

BAREMBILT, Valentin
ÅÅRENBLITT

Disappeared
Disap. from Lanus Hospital. 1976.
Arrested 4/21/77. Released.?

ML

BARETICK DE GELSTEIN, Elena
Age: 18

AI

BARGEROT, Adolfo Victor

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

AFL/CIO

BARIN, Juan Carlos

Dis 1/77 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

JUAN CARLOS BARIN the was abducted in the ci[illegible]

PAHR(L)

BARLETT, Hector Manuel (Dr.)

Detained in Resistencia (Chaco) in 1975.
At presente Unidad 7 Resistencia Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78.

BARAONA, Luis
Age: 18
CI: 8.304.280

D

DIS 9-29-77

PAHR (1)

D

BARO, Armando Oscar

DIS

AISC

D

BAROBIO, Carlos José

DIS 6-4-76 Córdoba

AISC

BARON, Mauricio Enrique

Under PEN

ADLeague

BARONIO, Maria Rosa

Disappeared 5-4-77 San Nicolás

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BARQUIN, Carlos Raúl
Age: 22
DNI: 11.478.331

DIS 8-2-77

PAHR (L)

T
R

(F)

D

BARR, Rodolfo Antonio
L.E. 4.378.238
Age 34

Disappeared on 10-24-75.

BARR, Lucia del Campo de (Mother)
Rivadavia 450, PB. "10"-Capital

Letter to T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.
Statement to Librio Conti Cong. 4-14-78

PAHR(L)
Both Lif. Regni

D

BARRA, Horacio Jaime
LE: 7.304.195

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

9

le Migliari

BARRACOSA, Haydee Marta

AGE: 34.

Of Buenos accoding to Min of Interior - Opinion 6-16-78

Detained on November 4, with husband Antonio Atilio Migliari.

Buenos Aires Herald clippin - 11-10-77.

Liubicion, Azucena Argentina Barracosa de (Sister)

D

BARRAL, Raúl

DIS

(AMNG(2))
ML

D

BARRASSI, Luis Antonio

DIS 10-18-77

AISC

P

BARRAZA, Adela Maria

Cleared PEN- La Nación 10-21-77

CRIM-App-Ct-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Crónica 11-13-78

D

BARRAZA, Natividad del Carmen
CI: 8.756.285

DIS

AISC

K

BARRAZA, Pedro Leopoldo
Journalist

KILLED

Le Monde - 6-10-78

519/78/9 D'78

B

BARREDA, Diego
LE: 4.634.647
509 y 12 - Ringuelet (La Plata)
Member of Partido Comunista Revolucionario
age: 34

GOA reply 2-23-79: Have no antecedents.

Arrested on 7-14-78 near to his home. Since then disappeared.
In the past he had been an active sindicalist.
Wife informed during her visit that she was followed and was afraid to be also abducted. She has two children.
Friend taken also = Vasen.

FDD
La Plata Encyp. Hyller 9-20-78 FDD 9-16-78

Negronida, Diana H. (Wife)
509 y 12 - Ringuelet (La Plata)
(Aunt Phone: 2 4167 La Plata). Pedir (1)
Personal call Embassy 7-20-78.
7/19 + 7/21 articles in EL DIA + BA Herald - Prensa 7/21

BARREIRA, Juan Carlos
Correo Central-Capital

Disappeared 4-7-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BARREIRO DE PENA
CI. 9.793.497

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

BARREIRO ULLA, Fernando F

DIS

Gtmk (1)
ML

D

BARRENCE, Alcides

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

Varnese
BARRENESE, [Octavio Alcides]
Ark 27
DWI: 5.221.249

DIS 8-12-77 Magdalena-Bs.As.

Fuente La Plata 10/78 (2)
PAHR (2)

D

BARRERA, Juan Carlos
Age: 35
CI: 5.135.466 or CI: 8.926.438

DIS 4-7-76

FDD
PAHR (1)

D

BARRERA, Margarita

DIS

PAHR(L)

D

BARRERA, Raúl Alberto

DIS

AISC

D

BARRERA, Roque

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

BARRERA DE MACIAL, Andrea
L.C. 3.570.444

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

BARRERA ORO, Jaime
LE: 7.804.195
Profession: Doctor

Arrested by military forces on 10-12-76 in Buenos Aires. Since then disappeared.

Barrera Oro, Joe (Father)
Misiones 2937, Mendoza.

BARRERO, Gerardo (French)
DOB: 10-14-45

Arrested on 11-7-75 in Córdoba. Detained in Sierra Chica, sentenced to three years in prison.

French Embassy

D

BARRERO, Rosario

DIS Bs.As.

AISC

729/19/1 D 78

BARRET, Alberto (Paraguayan)
Age: 40
Artist/painter

DIS 9-18-78 in Buenos Aires.

AI

P

BARRETICK DE CORSTEIN, Emilia

Detained in Villa Devoto.

Mexico 79

D

BARRETO, Olimpico Ramón

DIS

AISC

D78

BARRETO, Salvador Tomás

DIS 11-8-78 Gral. Sarmiento Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

BARRETO DAVALOS, Ridardo
Age 47

Paraguayan D

Disappeared 10/15/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

524/36/9

(Uruguay-Om)

BARRIENTOS, Carolina
(Dau. w/o J. Carneiro de Fontoura
Parliamentarian

DIS 12/77

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield-on behalf of [ ]

Cannes Film Comp 9/77
WHRC. 9-5-78

D

BARRIENTOS, José
Age 52

Detained Libra Clinic. V-3. La Prensa 6-16-77
Disappeared 9/77
Reported PEN. La Prensa 1/20/79

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

BARRIERI, Rodolfo

DIS

AISC

BARRIONUEVO, Daniel D

AED 3-23-76 Córdoba - Union went to strike because if

PAHR(L)
ML

BARRIONUEVO, Eduardo Rómulo Killed
Age: 30
DNI: 7.613.193

Killed 4-5-78

FDD

D

BARRIONUEVO, Edy
Age 26

Arrested
(Disappeared) 3-28-76 with Rolando Astarita by armed men

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BARRIONUEVO, Humberto H.
Tarf Viejo

Lig Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BARRIONUEVO, Juan Carlos
DNI. 5.539.831
Ituzaingo 533
San Martin - Bs.As.

Arrested on 9-5-77 at his home. Since then disappeared.

Lig. Arg. D. Hombre - 15/3/78 : Detained since 11-25-76 Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig Arg Der. Hombre
mil 9118 (1)
Barrionuevo, Maria Ester (Sister)
LC. 6519.990
Ituzaingo 533-San Martin-Bs.As.
1-31-78.

D

BARRIONUEVO, Nemesio Humberto
Age: 36
Doc. 7.077.283

DIS 3-17-76

Tucumán

C-134/88/2

BARRIONUEVO, Nicolas Adan

N
Option

PEN - La Plata

Consulate.

D

BARRIONUEVO, Nicolas Carlos

Fred - Secc 3806/77 - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

BARRIONUEVO, Raúl
CI: 9.226.065

DIS

AISC

D

BARRIONUEVO, Verónica Elena
C.I. 9.233.463
Matrimonio I° 1742 - Pcia. Bs. As.
Age 19

Disappeared 2-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

BARRIOS, Agustin

DIS 6-13-75 José C. Paz, Buenos Aires

PAHR (L)

D

BARRIOS, Eduardo Tomlan
DNI. 11.938.876
Subteniente Ingeniero Ejer. - Beccar Pcia Bs As

Disappeared 4-14-1976. Beccar - Pcia. Bs. As.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)
ML

BARRIOS, Mario
Centenera

Detained 3-27-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BARROCA, Graciela Mabel

(See also Gerardo Strejilevich)
Disappeared but family has info that they are illegally detained at Escuela Mecánica de la Armada.

(Connected with Daniel Lázaro Rus)

Keeps with

BARRON VILLA, Roberto Miguel

DIS

AISC

D

BARROS, Celina

DIS 11/76

Ref(1)
ML

D

BARROS, Fernando

DIS

Ref(1)
ML

D

BARROS, Maria del Carmen
DNI: 4.567.337
DOB: 2-3-43 Azul)
Pueyrredón 112 - San Martin

Arrested on 9-26-77 by Army forces. Since then disappeared.

Barros, Carolina Maria de (Mother)
Pueyrredón 112-San Martin
Phone: 752-2906 Vecinos)

Personal call 5/22/78

BARROS, Oscar
CI: 3722183

ABD 5-7-76

PAHR(2)
ML

BARROS, *Oscar Osvaldo*
LE: 413.349
Cédula 3.722.183 - Enrolamiento-4.175.349
Address: Beruti 3429-piso-17-A,BA.

OCT. 23-78 answered letter with no news of both persons. Together with this letter was wifes results, if we had any at all.

Disappeared 5-7-76 together with wife
Author of the other side of the homeda.

Le Monde 6-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ML

BARROS, Ruben Antonio

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC

D

BARROS FERNANDEZ, G.

DIS

AISC

BARROS VERA, Roberto Miguel

D

ABD 4-23-77 by Army Group.
MRS Quintana visit #00-6-78, Ab. About this person.

Para(1)
ML

606/78/9 D

BARROS DE ZAFORA, Maria del Carmen
LC: 4.567.337

POB: Azul, Bs.As.Prov.

GDA reply: Nihil

Disappeared 9-26-77 at business residence San Martin 112, San Martin(Bs.As.Prov.)together with husband Roberto Omar Zaffora.

Para(2)
RA 5154

Cong. Maguire att. 277 Forest Ave., Room 100, PARAMUS New Jersey 07652, Att. Adrianne Fellman
PARA-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BARROSO, Alfredo Hipólito

DIS 9-16-76

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR(L)

BARROSO, José Edgardo

D-78

5-14-78 DIS

PAHR(L)

BARROZO, Angel

D

DIS 4-10-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ml

D

BARVEDI, Timoteo

DIS 7-21-76 Bs.As.

AISC

D

BARRY, Enrique R.
Tinogasta 1674, Burzaco, Bs.As.
Age 28
L.E. 7.793.394

DIS 11-30-76 - FLORENCIO VARELA
mother - ANGELA VA. DE PAPIC. C.I. 1.966.878. BURZACO, Gregorio de Laferrere 1670 A. de Papic

PAHR (2)
ML
FADD - 11-6-78

D

BARTUCCI, Francisco
D.I. 7.999.561?
Florencio Varela (Bs. As.)
Age 28

Disappeared 7-20-76
Worker at SEGBA

Lic. Luis Alberto Hornos
FDJ
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

BARUSS, Santiago

D

DIS

AISC

BASANTA, Venancio D.

D

DIS

AISC

BASCONI, Norma Esther

P

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC

D

BASILE, Alfredo

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

BASILE, Celia

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D 78

BASILE, Enrique Luis

DIS 11-10-78

PAHR (L)

D

BASOALDO, Jorge Oscar
Ref: 21
DNI: 11.896.042

Disappeared 8-23-77 Wildi - Basso

Orig Req Rec. Number
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

499/78/8 D

BASSO, Jorge Alberto

GOA reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply

Arrested on 4-15-1976 together with wife and baby child in Buenos Aires

ConGen Sao Paulo-Brazil

D

BASSO, Jorge Alfredo
Age: 27

ABD 4-15-76

AISC

P

BASSO, Carlos Hugo

ARR Córdoba

AISC

D

BASALDO, Eduardo

Disappeared 11-27-76

AL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

525/13/9 D

BASALDO, Graciela Noemí (Uruguayan)

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

UNHCR-Refugee not registered
3-9-78

UNHCR -9-5-78

Metalúrgico

BASUALDO, Víctor Manuel
Tamet
Bajo 24
M. y Puentes - Córdoba

Disappeared 5-4-76

Detained 5/4/76 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
ML

D

BATALLAN, Mario

{Arrested / Disappeared} 1/27/76 in Avellaneda, Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
ML

D

BATALLON, Jorge

DIS

AISC

D

BATISTA, Susana

Disappeared 9.24.76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

821/79/3 D

BATSCHE, Norma Leticia (Born in Guatemala)
Age 20

Disappeared 12-15-76 in Avellaneda

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

P

BATTAGLIA, Alfredo

Lawyer

Detained in Mar del Plata on 2-24-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BATTANIN, Cristina
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

BATTELLI, Susana Mirta
Psic-Chemist
Castelli 2512 - Mar del Plata
Age 34

Disappeared 12-12-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

RAUDET, Robert Marcel
Age: 27

D

DIS 11/76

ML

D

BAUTISTA, Armando José
Lé: 7.774.841
Calle 887 - La Plata

Disappeared 6-1-76 La Plata

La Plata List 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML
Amga Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BAUZON, Marcos Eduardo
C.I.S.322479
Age 35

Arrested
(Disappeared) 5-27-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML

P

BAYER, Alex Andres
Age: 23
P. Pueyrredón 1440 - Martinez

ABD 6-23-76 by Navy Intelligence men

AISC

D

BAYER, Mario Eduardo
Age: 23
LE: 10.643.094

DIS 5-13-76

FDD

D

BAYETO, Adolfo Arturo

DIS 11/76

PHR(L)
ML

D

BAYON, Carlos Alberto

DIS 12-23-76

La Prensa clipping 8-3-78

D

BAYON, Carlos Enrique
LE: 8.569.345

Disappeared on 12-23-76 in Gran Buenos Aires.

301/78/2 D

BAZAN, Elsa Narvaez de

GOA reply 3-15-78

PEN: Dlg. 3936 15-12-77
Cargos: Ley 20.840 - Asociación ilícita
Procesado por Art. 213 Bis del Código Penal
El 3-8-78 condenada a 6 años reclusión y el 6-12-77 Juzgado Fed. Córdoba informó que la causa se encuentra en estado de sentencia.
Alojada en Comando Cuerpo III Córdoba.

La Nación clipping 2/2/78: Ceased from PEN.

Formerly Villa Devoto, transferred February 3, 1978 to Córdoba and still held being there "for judicial reasons".

Margaret Digney to Amb.: 2/16/78, Formerly Devoto transferred February 3, 1978 to Cordoba and still being held there "for judicial reasons".

BA-1314, 2-22-78
Amb Castro London - State cables

D

BAZAN, Herminio Jesus

DIS

AISC

298/78/2

BAZAN, Federico Victor

GoA reply 3-15-78: PEN-Lib. 3492- 18-12-75
Cargo: Ley 20.840 - Asociación ilícita calificada
Prisión preventiva por juzgado Federal Córdoba. El 25-8-77 Cámara confirma
Alojado en Córdoba.

Formerly in Sierra Chica, transferred to Córdoba prison February 2, 1978 "for judicial reasons".

Reorganizing to Amb. 3-16-78 - Formerly in Sierra Chica, transferred to Córdoba prison February 2, 1978 "for judicial reasons".

BA-1314 2-22-78
Amn. Interior London - Hietala cover 2)

D-1978

BAZTARRICA, Celestino Omar

Age: 27
LE: 8.641.447

Dis: 1-6-78, Cap.Federal

FDD List - 9-16-78

D

BAZZANA, Dominga

DOb: 9-21-1909

DIS 5-22-77 together with Hanna Hietala.

Finnish Emb.

F
R

BAZZE, Hugo Said
DNI 10995006

Arrested on the public street (Paraguay and Bustamante) while walking with his mother by Security Forces. Since then disappeared. 13-12-76.

BAZZE, Dorama Pozo de (Mother)
DNI 19960784
Bulnes 1785, 1°"A" - Capital 826-0556

PAHR(1)
NL

Testimony send to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

BEAK, Francisco

DIS

AISC

BEAIN, Omar Adalberto

DIS 11-4-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(1)

D78

BECERRA, Elsa del Carmen
DNI: 11.091.368

DIS 5-3-78

FDD

---

34 Prov TX

BECERRA, Ruben Raul
Neuq y Fuerza

Arch. Learn country Pcia Opinion 10-28-78

Under PEN - Rawson, Chubut Since 10-9-74 Gob reply 6-27-78
Decree 1810 - 13-9-74 (See folder)

Resp. Mag Der. Nombre
Dpto. of Treasury-on behalf of
ML

3-15-78 BA-6785

Bb

D

BECERRA, ROMERO, Luis Alberto
Age 39
ci: 6.595.285

Disappeared 12-6-76 Lomas del Mirador

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BECHER, Jorge

Detained in La Plata prison.

Mexico 79

BECKER, Carlos Eduardo

DIS 5-23-76

AISC

BECKER, Gustavo Adolfe Norberto

DIS 3-27-76 Escolar

PAHR (L)

BECOVIC, Marcos Antonio

D

DIS 11/76

ML

BEDEREGAL, Luis Armando

D

DIS

Penal (4)
ML

D

BEDIA, Alberto Luis
Ref. 35
LE: 4.333.883

Disappeared 9-22-76 Campana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

633/78/11 D

BEDNE, Dario Oscar
DOB: 10-28-55
Tucumán 2213 - Tel. 48-3737

GoA reply 2-23-79: Have no antecedents.

DIS 7-20-76. He was serving in the army Regimiento Patricios, Palermo.

[Anti Def. League - Oct. 1978]

D

BEDOIAN, Mario

DIS 6-12-77

PAHR (L)

614/78/9 D

BEDOYAN, María

See: Ikonicoff, Ignacio (husband)

Editor of Trade Union magazine for "Luz & Fuerza" and of the magazine "De Fuente". 6-12-77

GoA reply: 1-18-79 Negative reply.

Real Embajada de Dinamarca.

Cong. Stockman Stats 324104 6A-1261
Re Amnesty 6-16-78
Brig. Asst. Sec. Hemisphere
Amnesty Int'l League

C-220/78/C

322/78/4 T

BEGNARDI, Nora Julia Bucre de

Arrested in November 1975. She is being held in the Villa Devoto Jail, Buenos Aires. (Decree 3505/75) charged with subversive activities. P.o.C. Dec. 76 - denied Dec. 77; 2nd Dec. 77 denied April 78. (Gov't-4-18/78)

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Cong. Mikulski AA-5693

Cong. Heidnell AA-5615

Cong. Barbara A. Mikulski, on behalf of the Baltimore Adoption Group of Amnesty International.

AI

Consulate reply BA-0430

C-219/78/6

323/78/4 T

BEGNARDI, Rodolfo Juan

Arrested on November 1975. He is being held in the Resistencia Jail, Chaco (Decree 3505/75) charged with subversive activities P.o.C. presented Sept. 77, denied Dec. 77; 2nd presented Dec. 77 denied March 78. (Gov't-4-18/78)

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Cong. Mikulski AA-5693

Cong. Heidnell AA-5615

Cong. Barbara A. Mikulski, on behalf of the Baltimore Adoption Group of Amnesty International.

AI

Oct. 78-Cong. Barbara A. Mikulski and Senator Sarbanes for Embassy.

Consulate reply BA-0430

T

BEGRE (Dr.)

MEDICAL PRISONERS IN LATIN AMERICA-NYTimes

D

BEGUAN, Mr.

ABD 5-27-77 with wife

AISC

D

BEGUAN, MRS.

ABD 5-27-77 with husband

AISC

D

BEGUAN, Viviana Teresita

Age: 28
Univ. student

Detained on 2-28-75. At presente in Unidad 2
Villa Devoto

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

Expelled

BEHSAYAG, Miguel (French)

ARR 1976 Expelled 9-3-78 to France

AISC

D

BEJAS, Maria Cristina
Age: 33
Doc. 5.148.783

DIS 5-13-77

Tucumán

PAHR(4)

D

BEKER, Carlos Eduardo
CI: 7.627.128

5-23-76
Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

BEL, Elbio Angel
Secretary of Communist Party
LE: 5.306.932
Attorney of Comm. Party

Disappeared 11-5-76 Taken together with babyson & mother. Baby was delivered later to Grandmother

Causes Both Cong. 9/78
Comm. Party
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
NL

BEKER BOTHUK, Honorio Alberto

Removed from PEN - La Nacion 9-10-79

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ADLeague

D

BELARDINELLI, Juan Carlos

DIS

PAHR(4)
ml

262/76/1 D *

BELAUSTEGUI HERRERA, Martin
Age: 20
C.I. 6.309.664

Go reply 9-5-78: N.R.A.)

Disappeared on July 26, 1976.

Lawyer Quebleng 9/78
Frank Lehmann
ML
BA-3769
Cong. Fish
WOLA - 11-1-79

262/76/1 D *

BELAUSTEGUI HERRERA, Rafael José
Age: 23

Disappeared on May 30th, 1977.

Lawyer Quebleng 9/78
ML
BA-3769
Cong. Fish
WOLA - 11-1-79

266/76/1 D *

BELAUSTEGUI HERRERA, Valeria hija hombre
Age: 24

Disappeared on May 13th, 1977.

Lawyer Quebleng 9/78
ML
Quebleng Def. hijos
BA-3769
Cong. Fish
WOLA - 11-1-79
CBHR(2)

D 1978

BELCOFF, Mario
Age: 22
Metallurgical worker

Abd. on 8-31-78

Crónica clipping 9-8-78.

Elvio
BELL, Angel
Prof. Trelew - Chubut
Pte 39
L.E 5.806.832

DIS 11-5-78 Trelew-Chubut

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PRHR (L)

D

BELLAGAMBA, Enrique

DIS

AISC

HELIAGAMBA, Hugo Francisco (F) 20/26/11 D *
R Córdoba 1181-Capital
C.I. 1 849 489 LE: 5.091.059
PSY - Arg 41

Was kidnapped at his home were he works as a Doctor, on 5-19-76. Since then disappeared.

Under review. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76
11-12-76 HRJ

Bellagamba, Maria Angela T de (Mother)
CIN 615170
Córdoba 1181-Capital

18-965 Statement to Representatives.
Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
18-
Comm Aud Amgun 9/76 FDD
76/20 PAHR (L) L

D

BELLANTUONO, Jorge
Economic student
Age 24
CI: 6.604.158

Disappeared 7-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

BELLI, Mariana Carlota
Age; 21
CI: 7.908.807

ABD 5-26-78

AISC

9

BELLIZIA, Carlos Alberto
DNI - 4.454.242
Age 35

Disappeared 3-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

253 179/5 D

BELLIZZI, Andres Humberto Domingo (Uruguayan)
DNI: 92.208.369
CI Uruguay - 1.250.772
Bmé. Mitre 1419 - 1°"B"-Buenos Aires

Gob info 6-27-79 N.R.A.D. le sigue buscando

Came from Uruguay in 1974. On 4-19-77 disappeared in Buenos Aires.

Bellizzi, Andres (Father)
Enrique Aguiar 5014-Montevideo
PHone: Flia Sedec 209112)
annul. Uruguay - 86-782

BELLO, Alicia

Detained 9-7-74 U.2-Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BELLOCHIO, Irene Ines
Rpt 25
DNI: 6.018.764

Disappeared 8-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BELLOMI, Viviana Inés
Age: 22

DIS 8-22-77

PAHR (L)

D

BELLUZ, Juan Pedro

DIS 12-18-75

AISC

BELMONTE, Guillermina

D

DIS

PRHR (L)
ML

D

BELMONTE, Hector Alberto
Age 36
CI: 9.600.890

Arrested on 8-13-1977. Worker of Mercedes Benz. Since then disappeared. San Justo

PRHR (L)
Belmonte, Anunciata Spaltro de (Wife)
Lib. Gral. San Martin 3139
San Justo 1754

Leg Aug. Dir. Gonzalez

BELOSO OJEDA, Liliana

P

Detained in Villa Devoto.

AI

BELSITO, Reynaldo
Chemist worker

D

ABD 3-20-76 in Lavallol

Panama (L)
ML

767/84/11 F

BELSKI, Moises José

Under PEN Resistencia Chaco

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ADLeague

C-68/77/11

BELSUZARI, Mario Raúl

9
Option

Mom Wife informed visit 11/78 on under judicial system.

PEN - Option to leave country.

Belsuzari, Maria J. Haro de (Mother)
Rosario 826 - Capital (2°"F")

Alvarado 1005 - Salta Tel. 15321

BELTRAMINI DE CHAMORRO, M.Cristina

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

BELVEDERE, Osvaldo S.

DIS

AISC

BENHSAYAC
BEMASAVAQ, Michel
French medical student

Disappeared March 1975

French Embassy
ML
ADLeague

POSSIBLE /

BENASSO, Alda Aurora

Address: Barrio Gral Savio, Edificio 34 1°C-1439 Cap.F.
XXXXXXXXXXXX.

Birthdate: Aug.9-1940, Capital Fed. Bs As, Argentina.

PEN- Villa Devoto

Requested "ROO", MinInt. informed no person registered.
11-78

REJOBITSKI, Ernesto Benado (cintan) 2/76/11 Trans.

He departed Argentina 8-1-77 on Caledonian Airlines flight 664 en route to London.

Inq. raised by Mr. Gilman.

Ind. League H.R.

ML

BENAMO, Victor
Ex-Rector Universidad del Sur

Arrested in Bahia Blanca. Under Pen since 5-20/76. At present in Rawson, Pabellon 5.

Cancer Anth Cmg 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

Swedish Emb. Interest-11/78

BENAVIDES, Dardo Marcelo Cristino Killed D
Age 23
DOI: 11.23.983

DIS 4-18-76 (January 25) La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata list 10-76
PAHR

P

BENAVIDEZ, Hilda Celina V.

ARR Pen 3/78

AISC

BENAVIDES, N. Uruguayan

Granted right of option (Christmas List) Left April 1978

UK

D

BENAVIDEZ, Daniel Albino
Age: 30

DIS 1/77

FDD

D

BENAVIDEZ DIAZ, Sonia

DIS

AISC

D

BENBENUTO, Carlos Alberto

DIS 8-7-76

AISC

BENCHOAN, Esther Debora

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

BENCILLA, Carlos A.

DIS

AISC

603/78/9 D 1978

BENDERSKY, Daniel Eduardo
DNI: 10.803.987
Dob: 11.11.51
Age 26

Arrested on 9-16-78 from his home Nazca 3370.Villa Devoto

Fany de Bendersky (Mother) 50-8639
Bs.As.Herald 9-17-78 72-5884
AAAS Newsletter Dec 1978 Brener 48-4421
PAHR(A) 47-1282Horario comerc.
ADL American physical society Herald clipping 10-10-78

BENDERSKY, Zulema

ADLeague

ML

BENEDETTI, Miriam

DIS

AISC

BENEDETTI DE BERENT, Susana Haydee 2 1 P

CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-78/11
Crónica 11-13-78

BENEDIT, Francisco

D

DIS 6-9-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

BENEGAS, Marcos
Worker - Safrar Peugeot

Disappeared 3-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

D

BENEGAS LLANES, Raquel E.

DIS

AISC

BENGELSDORF, Pablo Carlos 676/79/12 D

Under PEN Pro Ch. H. 6-9-78
Cleared PEN.
Date: Oct. 78-La Nacion newspaper

Sen. Hagmann

D

BENGUELLI, Osvaldo Alfredo

ABD

AISC

D

BENIGNO VIVAS, Carlos M.
CI: 7.471.186

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

BENINCASA, Silvana
Age: 27
CI: 1.965.527

DIS

PAHR(4)
FDD

BENITES, Victoria
CORRIENTES

Detained 3-24-76 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AFL/CEO

D

BENITEZ, Anibal Carlos
CI. 9.235.399
Emilio Lamarca 1015-Capital
Age 20

Arrested together with his friend Carlos Fernando Gregori (DNI.11.374.405), on 9-13-76. Since then disappeared.

Anibal Carlos Benitez: D.N.I. 9.235.399. Const[illegible] he was walking along the street a few blocks f[illegible] to the Comisaría 5C, on september 12th 1976. [illegible] that Comisaría, but when she went next day the [illegible] never showed her the book where he had to sign

Benitez, Elsa Renée (DNI. 3.062.446) (Mother)
H.Irigoyen 3179-Dto.3-Capital
Lella Oliveira 9.11.78
ML FDD
PAHR(4)

L

BENITEZ, Armando o Amado

D

ABD 2/76

PAHR(L)
ML

BENITEZ, Carlos Alberto
Industrial worker from Tucumán

D

DIS after 3-24-76

PAHR (L)
ML

BENITEZ, Cosme Choque

D

Disappeared 9-14-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre -

BENITEZ, Florencio
Age 45

(Paraguayan) D

Disappeared 7-21-76 Boulogne

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BENITEZ, Julian Fabian D

DIS 4-2-77 La Plata (Bs. As.)

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR (L)

BENITEZ, Julio D
Metal worker

ABD 1977 Buenos Aires

AISC

BENITEZ, Maria

ARR 4-22-74 Córdoba - PEN 11/76 Villa Devoto

AISC

BENITEZ, Maria del Carmen

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC

BENITEZ, Norma Angélica
Age: 18
CI: 8.654.504

DIS 4-21-78

FDD

BENITEZ, Osvaldo Pablo
Age: 26

DIS

AISC

BENITEZ, Raul Juan

DIS

PHAR(1)
ML

BENJAMIN, Ricardo Esteban
Hgt 2A
CH: 4-703.143

DIS 8-9-77

PHAR (1)

D

BENITEZ, Victor Hugo

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

P

BENJUMEA, Alicia Beatriz (nee Wieland)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

BENSADON, Graciela
DI. 5.952.055
Worker & law student
Age 28

Disappeared 8-8-76

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

215/77/12 *

77

BENSHOAM, Debora Gallil
Age: 16

Approximatly in August 1977 in Buenos Aires a group of Security Agents entered apartment, killed her brother and kidnapped her. Now held prisoner in Villa Devoto prison.

Comp. Rinaldo Walsh 567
Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
Rabbi Morton Rosenthel

- 524/78/9 D

BENTANCOUR, Walner Ademir (Uruguayan)

DIS 9-3-76

WHRC - 9-5-78

BENUZZI IPARRAGUIRRE, R. de T D
Age:27

DIS 10-14-76 San Lorenzo - Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

D

BENUZZI DE TORRENS, Rosa Angel

Disappeared 10-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BENVENISTE, Raúl Luis
Age 24
CI: 7.014.339

DIS 5-14-77

PAHR (L)

D

BENVENUTO, Carlos Alberto
LE: 7.824.038
Age 24

Disappeared 8-7-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BENVENUTO, Jorge Omar (Italian)
Punta Lara - Bs As.
Bfc 24

Disappeared 7-23-76

La Plata List 10/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BENVENUTTI, Carlos Alberto
Correo Central-Capital

Disappeared 8-7-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BENVENUTTO, Rosa E. V. de

ABD 7-23-76

ML

T
R

BEOVIC, Marcos Antonio (F) D
DUI 11.955.655-CI 7.490.811

On. 12.3.76 our apartment house was entered by a group of armed men. They were looking for a men called Diego. At my home they interrogated my son Marcos Antonio and arrested him. Since then disappeared.

BEOVIC, Angela M. C. de (Mother)
LC 2.065.796

Testimony sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

PRAR(4)
ML
Org. Israel Solid Comm

BEPRE, Jorge (Dr.) P

Detained in October 1976. In Sierra Chica Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

BERANDI, Estela Maris
Worker from immigration Dept.

DIS 4-16-76

PRAR (4)
ML

D

BERARDI, Maria Teresa

ABD 18/77

ML

R/FDD

BERARDO, Amado (F) 240/78/1 D *
T CI. 4.574.004
R Age: 31
S

Disappeared on 7-17-76 after the second house search by the army. Since then disappeared.

Berardo, Remo C. (Brother)
Berardo, Lucia (LC 1080623) (Sister)
Mil Amb. 12-11-77

815.77 Telegram to T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.
Statement to Senators.
11-21-77 Telegrama to Mr. Sec.Vance.

PAHR(L)
Mag Mag. Luis Morales
ML FDD-11-6-78 L

240/77/12 D *

BERARDO, Remo Oscar
Magallanes 889-Capital
CI. 4.386.771
Age: 42

Prosecutor FONC: Reply Neg. 3-10-78

Disappeared since 8/12/77.

Juncal 2636 - 1°"D" - Capital
PAHR(L)
ML
Berardo, Lucia - Mil Amb. 12-11-77 - LC.1080623 (Sister)
Phone: 83-6078 (Sr. Rodriguez)
Orug Tamm & Fonks FDD-11-6-79 L

BERARDUCCI, Luisa Liliana

ARR PEN

AISC

BERASSI, Luis Antonio
CI. 6.694.363

Detained by Federal Police from Comisaria 11 and 13 on 12-21-77, in Buenos Aires.

Telegram to Newsom, 5-24-78

BERASTEGUI, Juan Carlos
L. 6.264.308

Disappeared 7-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BERATZ, Rubén Abel
LE: 5.769.998
Calle 62 N° 2197 - La Plata

Disappeared 8-18-76 with 2 other students. La Plata - Bs As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Req. Amn. Int. Norway

T

BERBERIAN, Armando Carlos

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC

D

BERCELLI, Osvaldo Alfredo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

647/78/12 D

BERCOVICH, Martín Elías
CI: 7.128.282
Medical student

GDA reply 2-23-79: Neg. reply

DIS 5-13-1976 from Libertad 378, Local 166

Bercovich, Gregorio (Father)
Rep. Asoc. Ex Detenidos
DAIA
Anti Def. League
PRRR (L)

D

BERDASCO, Maria Susana

DIS La Pampa

PRRR-(L)
ML

672/78/12 D

BERDICHEVSJY, Francisco (Dr.)

Detained on 6-7-78.
Ceased PEN - La Nación 10-24-78

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

R

BERDINI, Carlos José Guillermo (F) D
LE 8.536.540
Age 27

On 10-29-76 he was arrested by the Marine. He returned on 11-3-76. On 11.5.76 he was ~~ten~~ arrested by Security Forces. Since then disappeared. MAR DEL PLATA

Berdini, Soledad Pereda (Mother)
LC 3.516.673
Mar del Plata
TUCUMAN 2844

Statement to Representatives.

FDP-II-6-78

BERDINI, Guillermo

DIS

Socialist

F

BERDINI, Esther Nicolina

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

BERECIARTE, Luis Alberto
Age; 22
LE: 3.067.860

DIS 9-24-76

FDD

BERENGUER, Ibero
(Lawyer)

Arrested.
Freed.

Asociación de Abogados de Buenos Aires. (La Nación clipping 12-6-77).
Christmas 1977 Announcement.

D

BERESTEIN, Miguel
LE: 5.829.912
Cangallo 818-Ramos Mejía
Profession: Lawyer

Disappeared on 5-18-78 leaving his office San Martin 1086-2°0f.5-Moron, to take the bus 242 to his home.

Contact Amnesty Intl. 9/78
Berestein, Marcos (Uncle)
Av. Pte. Quintana 363-PB-Capital
Phone: 42-8046 (Rabbi Meyer)

D

BERETTA, Enrique Mario
Age 34
LE: 9.408.641

Disappeared 11-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

BERETTA, Graciela Alicia
CI. 6.162.337
Lawyer
Mónaco 4444 - Villa del Parque - Capital

Abducted on 12-28-76. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (4).
Beretta, Maria Magdalena de (Mother)
Mónaco 4444 - Villa del Parque - Capital

D

BERETTA, Maria Magdalena
CI. 7.161.194
Student - Age 21
Mónaco 4444 - Villa del Parque - Capital

Abducted on 12-28-76. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (4)
Beretta, Maria Magdalena de (Mother)
Mónaco 4444 - Villa del Parque - Capital

BERGALLI, Roberto

Arrested on 4-20-76. Has not been charged with any crime. Is jailed under harsh conditions.

Fraser, 1-4-77.

Bonn's inquiry. 6-28-76.

BERGERO, Oscar Francisco
Hft 2/3
DNI: 11.506.400

Disappeared 11-22-77 Mar del Plata - Pa An.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
F.D

BERGEROT, Adolfo ~~Victor~~
(BERGEROT, Adolfo Vicente)

Causa: Pertenecer a Montoneros
Cause: Belong to the Montoneros

Decrees: 1769/76 (Law 21449-Decree 1523/77)

Left country. Prensa 6-2-78
Ejercito 6-16-78 Decr. 1723/77

PAHR (L)
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
7-18-77.
Arch Bf League
Any Intl Bds Comm

BERICIARTE, Luis Alberto
LE: 5.057,050
Arc 24

Disappeared 9-24-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

BERIGLIO DE RODRIGUEZ, Maria Magdalena

DIS
CRIM APP CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Cronica 11-13-78

ML
PAHR (1)

BERLETTI, José

DIS

AISC

BERLINGIERI, Clelia Albina (nee Stirneman)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

BERLOTA DE BERASTEGUI, Susana B.
Age: 31
DI: 5432.432

DIS 7-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

8/76/11 -2-

BERMANN, Claudio Santiago
CORDOBA

Mr. Bermann's son is U.S. citizen.

Detained. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76
Dec.Pen 1310 (7-15-76) Communist activities, in Córdoba.

Congresswomen: Patricia Schroeder

AAAS

BERMAN, Sylvia

Psychiatrist, former President of the Federación Argentina de Psiquiatras. Disappeared in November 1976.

7-29-77. Letter to Derian from AAAS.

BERMAN PINHEIRO, Víctor

DIS

ML

BERMANN, Irene

DIS 11-13-76

Pinhr(4)
ANTI DEF. LEAGUE
ML

BERMEJO DE RINOLETTO, R.A.

D

DIS 11-2-76

AISC (APDH)

D

BERMEJO DE RONDOLETO, Azucena
Age: 25
S. Lorenzo 1238
Tucuman
Doc: 10.982.237

ABD 11-3-76 from home with husband and others Tucumán

PHR-Prepa 5-17-78 (L)
Liz Arg Del Rosario
ML
Tucuman

C-11/11/4

BERMUDEZ, Oscar Amilcar

Gpo 8

Removed from PEN - 12.22.78
R.O.O Application in process. 11/76

PEN - Carcel Rawson.
Agrónomo. Conoce idioma inglés.
Entregado formularios. (Casado)

Bermudez, José D. (Father)
o'Higgins 1230-Bahia Blanca
Tel.: 35-073)

D

HERNAEE PAZOS, Alfredo
C/: 2.321.264

Disapeared 7-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

HERNACHEA, Benicio Ernato
Prosec. actas UOM

Detained 3-20-75 - Unidad 9 La Plata
Removed from PEN- La Plata 8-19-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

HERNAL, Adriana M.

Disappeared 9-15-76

ADLeague

D

BERNAL, Alberto

Disappeared 11-13-76 Mendoza

WOLA 11-78
Mendoza Family List 8/78
AL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BERNAL, Irene

Disappeared 11-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BERNAL, Juan Vicente

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

D L

BERNARA, Juan Pablo

Abducted on 5-5-1976.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

D L

BERNARD, José Pablo
Alt 24
L/ 7646.225

Abducted on 3-6 4-4-1976. Córdoba (Political Prisoner Lawyer)

Cancer Quién Arg. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
ADL

R

BERNARD, Oscar

PEN 3/78

AISC

BERNARDO, José Pablo
Fdc 29
LE: 7.646.225

3/7/76?
DIS 3/77

ML

BERNARDO, Samuel

DIS

AISC

BERNARDT, Julio F.

Killed

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BERNARDEZ FERNANDEZ, Francisco R 78

PEN - 24-3-76
La Nacion paper 8-30-78 - Released and is under servileness in province de La Rioja.

BERNASA, Ricardo RO/M/4 D

N.R.A.D - GOA - 9-5-78

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.

Amnesty International

BERNASCONI, Maria Teresa D

Lawyer

DIS

Cancer Anti-Congress 9/78

D

BERNAT, Julio Francisco
Age: 24
CI: 6.739.811

DIS 5-16-77

PAHR (L)

D

BERNAT DE CRISTOFARO, M. D.
CI: 10.835.021

DIS 5-16-77

PAHR (L)

T BERNER, Ernesto Eduardo (T) D
Rj 22

Arrested on 1.11.77 by the army. Since then disappeared.

BENFIELD, Rebeca Celina (Mother)
Eduardo Acevedo 48-3er.Piso "B"-Capital

8-15-77. Letter to T.Todman.
PAHR (L)
ML
Auth Leftist

BERNSTEIN,
Student at Univ. Nacional del Sud
Bahia Blanca

Disappeared 1975

ADLeague

BERNUZZI, Rosa Maria

ABD 9-5-76 Santa Fé

AISC

BERON, Luis Angel
LE: 4.552.382
Photographer
Calabria 1866. Apto 4a
Age 31

Disappeared 12-6-77 with wife Graciela I. Vitale de Beron

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

BERON, Omar Rafael

Doc. 5.984.804

Disappeared 10-9-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BERON, Oscar Rafael
Age 28
Doc. 9.39.879

DIS 6-11-77

PAHR
Tucumán

BERON LLANO, José Guillermo
DNI: 12.468.511

DIS Mendoza

PAHR(L)

D

BERRA, Aldo Felipe
Age 48
L.E. 4.714.596

DIS 5-11-77 Zárate - Bs As.

PAHR (1)

D

BERRA, Hector Daniel
Age 25

Disappeared 3-2-78 Haedo

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

BERRETTA, Graciela Alicia
Lawyer
C.I. 6.169.337

ABD 12-28-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

Misc

BERTELA, Carlos
Dirigente Vecinal

Was murdered some days later

San Justo

D

BERTHOLET, Horacio Félix? José?
Canal 2 LE: 5.999.650
La Plata
Calle 114 e/ 32 y 34 - Berisso (Pcia. Bs. As.

Disappeared 10-1-76 from home with wife Susana

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
NL

D

BERTI, Cap. Guillermo
DNI. 8.689.475
Age 22
San Lorenzo 1155 - Río Cuarto

Disappeared 7/77 in Bs. Aires.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
NL

#50/79/1 D 78

BERTIN, Felix (Uruguayan)

ABD 8-13-78

AI

D

BERTOLA, Graciela
Age 20

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BERTOLA, Susana Beatriz

5.432.432

Disappeared 7-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BERTOLA DE CAMARGO, Marta Alicia
Age 34
DI: 4.278.432

Disappeared 7-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BERTOLET, Horacio Félix
Age 29
LE: 7.397.030

Disappeared 10-1-76 Berisso

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BERTOLINO LOZA, Silvia Raquel
LC: 11.193.215
Caseros 2584 - Córdoba
Student-Law

Arrested on 10-30-76 from Metro Hotel-Libertad 851-Capital, together with Sra. Maria José Rodriguez Perier. Disappeared since then.

PAHR (L)
ML

Berlotino, Emma A. Loza de (Mother)
Caseros 2584-Córdoba Phone: 82248
Personal call Embassy 5-9-78.

D

BERTON, Manuel

DIS

AISC

BERTON, Samuel Mario D

DIS La Pampa

PAHR(L)
ML

D

BERTONA, Héctor Carlos
Doc. 11.453.767
Age: 23

Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fé

PAHR(L)
Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

D

BERTONE, Daniel [illegible] Jorge
Age: 32
LE; 6.184.671
Veterinary Doctor
Santa Rosaria 2407, S. Peña, Buenos Aires

DIS 9-2-77

FAHR (L)
ML

D

BERTUCCI, Francisco

DIS

AISC

D

BERZOLA, Miguel Angel

DIS

AISC

BESLER, Gabriel

DIS 1975

ML

BETALDI,
Doctor

DIS 4-16-76 with wife

Card (L)
ML

BETALDI, Sra. de

DIS 4-16-76 with husband Dr. Betaldi

Card (L)
ML

390/48/5 D

BETRUCH, Manuel
Age: 26
Doctor

Arrested 3-26-78

San Justo

BETTANIN, Cristina
Photographer

K

Killed 2-1-77

AISC

K

BETTANIN, Guillermo
Journalist

Killed 5/76

Le Monde 6-10-78

BETTANIN, Leopoldo
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

77/77/10 Killed. D *

BETTINI, Antonio Bautista
Edad: 60
Lawyer.

Disappeared since 3-8-77 in La Plata.
Gtt reply 11-4-77 - missing 11-30-77 Arg.

Bettini, Marta del Carmen Francese (Wife)
Andrés Bello 9, Madrid 28, Spain
FAMG(L)
8-5-77 Letter to D.Cyrus Vance.
Contact Amn. Cong. 4/78
La Plata Unif
AI

D

BEZAYAN, Miguel

Disappeared 1975

AI
ADLeague

D

BIANCHI, Angel
DNI: M.955.273

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D 1978
R-A

BIANCHI, Lepanto
Doctor
Age: 56

Abd. from Hospital Italiano on 9-21-78
Reappeared 9-23-78 - BsAs. 9-23 78.

Clarin clipping-9-22-78
Both Centro 4-12-11

D

BIANCHI, Ramón Oscar
Age: 24
LC: 11.238.161
Address: San Miguel, Tucuman, Viamonte 405

DIS 4-15-76
Acanamics student. Taken from his home in Tucuman.

Mother: Clara Medina de Bianchi, same address-
DC: 25.26.997. Mothers visited embassy-Nov. 20-78
Sister-in-law-Tel: 32973 in Tucuman. Tel: 32973

PAHR (1)

Personal visit with Mr. Harris.-11-22-78

D

BIANCHI DE ADNGJELINIK, Susana
CI: 10.508.657

DIS

AISC

R/FDD

T
R
S

BIANCO, Alicia Hilda (F) D
DNI 10.776.427
Age-23

Kidnapped at her parent's home Coronel Pagoda 225, Lomas del Mirador, La Matanza, (Bs.As.) by a group of civil armed men. Since then disappeared. 4-5-77

BIANCO, Maria Eugenia Ponce de (Mother)
L.C. 0288009
Coronel Pagoda 225-Lomas del Mirador-La Matanza, (Bs.As.)

1977. Letter to T.Todman.
Letter to Representatives.
AHR(2) Letter to Senators.
ML

L

D

BIANCO, Francisco

DIS

AISC

D

BIANCO, Ivonne

DIS

AISC

230/22/12 D*

BIANCO, Maria Ponce de
Age 53
[illegible]

Arrested in front of the Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77 presumably by the Argentine Security Forces.

ML
Cong James A. Scheuer

D

BIANCO, Miguel Angel

DIS

AISC

BIASUTTI, Enrique Luis
Ficha 24
DNI: 6.588.020

12-30-
DIS 1976 in Buenos Aires

PAHR(L)
ML

BIBANCO, José

DIS 3-25-76 Tigre, Bs.As.

AISC

BIBIANO, Tomás Pedro
Ficha 32
DNI: 4.558.451

DIS 4-8-76

PAHR(L)

R BIDIGORRY, Salvador Juan (P) D
CI.1.794.480
BIDIGORRY, Susana Beatriz Ramos de D
CI. 6.405.369
Burela y Aizpurua, Paso del Rey (Bs.As.)

Arrested on 3-11-77 by Military Police, Since then disappeared. She is epileptic. Paso del Rey

Ramos, Maria Rosa Lera de (Mother)
LC. 500.867
Bolivar 1671 - Capital
Tel.: 27-3798

Letter to Representatives.

PAHR (4)

BIDIMOFF, D

DIS

AISC

Bidon-Chanel, Daniel D78

ABD 5-21-79

BIDINOST PALLER, Osvaldo

ARR. La Plata

Mexico 79

BIEDMA, Patricio
Professor of Catholic U.in Chile

ABD 9/76 in Bs.As.

AISC

BIEGKLER, Ricardo Miguel
Alberdi 671-San Nicolas
Ritz 6
L: 10.244.004

Arrested on 5-8-77 by the Army in San Nicolas. Since then disappeared.

Letter to Amb. 1-22-78
Peano, Dominga Teresa (Grandmother)
Rivadavia 5566-Santa Fé
PAHR

D 79

BIEN DE KOHAN, Susana
CI: 4.405.481

Released 2-19-79- Harrison data.-

Arrested 1-4-79. Taken to Central Depart.of Police. Works at Banco Central. Was arrested in order to declare against other people from the Bank. Info receive from brother in the States. Her other brother in Buenos Aires, informed she was transferred to Ezeiza.

George Bien Phones: [redacted] B6

Roberto Bien
Tucumán 2527-Capital Phones: [redacted]
Personal visit Harrison 2/13/79.

(over)

D

BIENACHI, Ramón Oscar
Age: 24
DNI. 11.238.161

DIS 4-15-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

BIENINCASA, Silvana

Disappeared 6-2-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BIENPOSTO, Maria Cristina
Age: 21
CI.7.636.681
Pereyra Lucena 2537
Lomas de Zamora (Barrio Laprida)

Disappeared on 8-24-77 on her way to the office (Ricardo Gutierrez 858-Avellaneda).

PAHR(L)
ML

Bienposto, Carlos y Edith (Father)
DI. 0.944.390
Pereyra Lucena 2537
Lomas de Zamora (Barrio Laprida) Lanus Oeste o Lomas de Alfredo L
Visita padre 1-31-78 ✓ VISITA PADRE 10-23-78 244-8585

BIESCHANK, Claudio Mampido

PAHR.

ADLeague
ML

D

BIESUTTI, Luis Enrique

Disappeared 12-30-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

BIETTI, Liliana Mabel
CI. 10760551
Age 24

Kidnapped at Mr. Osvaldo Mantello's home (Primera Junta 5767, Billinghurst, Partido de San Martin Bs.As.) on 6-16-77. Since then disappeared.

Bietti, Irma Bedetti de (Mother)
Virrey Aviles 3829 - 4°Piso-Capital
LC 2577228

Statement to Representatives.

PAHR (4)

BIGNA, Matilde Maria

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC

BIGNASCO, Claudio Daniel
Age 20
DNI: 11.788.663

Disappeared 4-8-76 Martinez

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

BIGUERET, Adriana Maria
Hfc 21
Juzg: M.944.669

Disappeared 7/77 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

448/79/11 D 7K

BILBAO, Daniel Horacio
Age: 29
Taxi driver

DIS 11-18-78 in Córdoba. Brother in law from Ana Maria Piffaretti who reportedly disappeared after arrest on June 28 in Buenos Aires.

AI

BILBAO, Santiago Alberto D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

9

BILLICICH, Lilia Leonor

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto - Judged. - released

ADLeague

BILSKY, Edgardo Javier — Medical (Student)

Authorized to leave country.

MEDICAL PRISONERS IN LATIN AMERICA-NYTimes

Amn Ref League
Rep. Israel Fabel Comm.
Christmas 1977 Disappearance — Release again

T
R

BINSTOCK, Guillermo Daniel (9) 683/78/12 D
CI. 7.474.139
Det. 11.Aug.76
Age 20

On 8-20-76 a group of armed men without uniform, they said they belong to the police, entered my home and arrested my son Guillermo Daniel. Since then he is disappeared.

Binstock, Julio (Father)
Parral 61, Piso 6°, Dto.13 - Capital

PBHR(4)
Amn Ref League Testimony sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.
Rep. Israel Fabel Comm
Amn Com. for Democracy

L

BIOSCA AGUERO, Norberto

D

DIS

AISC

BIRGHER, Daniel Orlando

Removed from PEN - La Nacion 8-19-78

ADLeague

C-78/24/12

BIRT SILVESTER, Guillermo Alberto

P

Option

PEN - Sierra Chica - Olavarria - Given forms.

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Birt, Percy G. (Father)
Gudiño, Felisa Emma Birt de (Sister)
Cuba 568 - Barrio Parque San Vicente
Córdoba - Phone 59785 Córdoba

BIRTRIZKY, Ernesto
Maestro prov.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BISAMELI, Rosario

DIS

AISC

BISBAL, Graciela Sara
LC. 5.170.282
11 de septiembre 577 - Derqui Pcia. Bs. As.

ABJ 12.04.76 Pilar. Pcia. Bs. As.

DAIA
Part(L)
ML

BISCHOFF, Carlos Enrique

ARR. V.G. Ramson

ADLeague

ML

BISCHOFF, Adolfo

ARA.

ADLeague

ML

BISCHOFF, Jorge

ARR.

ADLeague

ML

D

BISIANO, Tomás Pedro

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

BISUTTI DE CASTELLO, Delia
Murguondo 241 Bs. As.

DIS 8-18-77 (Wife of Marcelo Castello)

ML

P

BITERSKI PEREYRA, José

Under PEN - Sierra Chica

ADLeague

D

BIVI, Elda Isabel Galvez de
LC: 5.866.160.
Castelli 25 - 2°Piso-Dpto. 12-Capital TE: 48-2623

Arrested 10-2-76 by Joint Forces. Since then disappeared.

Galvez, Elda B. de (Mother)
Rivadavia 4060= 5°"B"-Capital
811-2574

Personal call Embassy 2-22-78.

D

BIVI, Hugo Antonio
LE: 6.074.632
Gazcón 619 - 6°I-Capital Federal

Arrested on 9-18-76. Since then disappeared.

Bivi, Horacio (Brother)
Julio Roca 506-Jesus Maria (Córdoba)
Personal call Embassy- 2-22-78.

D 78

BIZANI, Raquel Susana

DIS 9-22-78 Escobar Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

BIZZANELLI, Esther Rosario
DN - 1.11.694.755
Age 21
CI: 7.539.700

Disappeared 9-22-76 - Cap. Fed.
Mother - MARIA H. BeBizzanelli - L.C. 0.225-183 - Gacilegas 1571

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
FDO-11-6-78

D

BIZZOLO, Miguel Angel

DIS

AISC

684/78/12

D

BJELIS, Sergio Jorge Pablo
Jornada 28/9 - Ilos Lagares
L.E. 5199.112
Age 33

Disappeared 8-31-76 Santa Lugares - Bs. As

Lug Arg. Dos. Hombres
ML
Archivo Lugo
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

508/78/8 D

BLADORNE, Luis Maria
DNI: M. 941 397
Las Heras 570, V del Carril, San Juan

Gov reply Mrad. 10.16.78

Disappeared 10-1-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BLAHOURCADE, Ernesto B.
C.I. 3.370.034
Nacido (Pcia Bs As)
Age 45

Disappeared 10-22-76 from home Nacido (Pcia. Bs As)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
ML

BLANC, Roberto Luis
Prof.V.Tuerto-Santa Fé

Released Decree 3.006/77 - La Prensa 6-2-78
Opinion 6-16-78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BLANC, Roberto

Disappeared 2-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

BLANCA, Carlos A.

DIS 11/76

PAHR(L)
ML

BLANCA, Maria Celina

DIS 11/76

PAHR(L)
ML

BLANCHE, Roque

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

BLANCO, Alejandro A
Age: 29
Custodian at PC Central Com.

D

DIS 6-1-77

ML

BLANCO, Carlos Hugo
DNI: 13.786.068

D

Disappeared 5-24-77 Berazategui

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BLANCO, David Agustín
Mendoza

Detained since 6-2-76 Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BLANCO, Guillermo Withelao

DIS

AISC

BLANCO, Hugo (Peruvian)

Exiled in Sweden.

Sen. Wendell R. Anderson

BLANCO, Leonardo

276/79/1

PEN - Right of option

Consulate

D

BLANCO, Marcelino Andres
CI: 3.597.463

DIS

AISC

D

BLANCO, Marcelo Miguel

DIS

ML

777/79/1

BLANCO, Nestor Eduardo

Detenido bajo PEN - Right of option.

Consulate

D

BLANCO, Ricardo
Age 24
L.E. 8.629.458

Disappeared 7-7-77 Buenos Aires.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BLANCO, Roberto

Disappeared 5-15-76
Cruel Diario 356/77 - Opinion 6-6-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BLANCO, Roque

DIS

PAHR (L)

508/78/8 D

BIARDONE, Luis Maria
Las Heras 556
V.del Carril, San Juan
DNI: 11.481.397

ABD 10-1-76 in San Juan

State 211538
Rec Sunlow, Swedish Int. Affairs Dept. USW.
ML
PAHR-(L)

R/FDD D

BLASCO, Alejandro Antonio (F)
LE. 5.000.497
Lesta, Roberto
LE. 7.767.968
Member Comm. Party

Worked as cleaners at the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party, (Entre Rios 1039-Capital). Since then disappeared. 6-1-77

Blasco, Hilda Lobito (Wife)
Hernandarias 3047-Lanus Oeste

Testimony to Senators.

Cancun Amb. Lang. 9/78
ML FDD
Comp. Party
PAHR(L)

K

BLASCO, Eduardo
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

BLASETTI, Juan Carlos

DIS 10-10-76 La Plata Pcia.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

D

BLATON, Francisco Juan
Age 19
DI: 6.937.679

Disappeared 5-28-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Amt. Lit League

D

BLAZINA, Boris Luciano

DIS 7-3-77

Mar del Plata List

D

BLENSWAICH , Luis Natalio
Laywer
Viamonte 2464-Buenos Aires

DIS 5/77 from home

ML

453/79/1

BLESA, Elena
Age: 2

Arrested together with mother Sonia Alicia Blesa.
5-15-77.

Arg.Coal.of Boston-ACB

753/79/1 D

BLESA, Sonia Alicia
Rfe 34

Disappeared 5-15-77 with mother J. Oliva and their baby (2 years) RED by Armed Forces. In Managua - Bo. Ch.

VETTA - 1-31-79
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML
Ag Cod. of Boston

D

BLOSETTI, Carlos Alberto
Rfe 49

DIS 7-23-76 Rosario Santa Fé Prov.

PAHR (L)
ML

D

BLOTTA, Oscar
Co-Editor Magazine El Raton de Occidente

DIS 3-1-77

ML

D

BLUMENTHAL, Rodolfo E.

DIS

AISC

D

BLUNSTEIN, Alejandro José

DIS

AISC

BLUSCHTEIN, Angel Jorge

DIS

CAIG(L)
DAIA

D

BOCH, Enrique Ramón

DIS

AISC

P

BOCLES, Alberto Adrian

ARR. 75 Sierra Chica

Mexico 79

D

BODO, René Raimundo

DIS 4-11-76

PAHR (L)

D

BOERI, Luis José
Arq 45
CI: 3.221.313.

Disappeared 3-22-77 Olivos

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
FJD

BOGARIN, Tomasa

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

BOGLIANO, Adrian C.
Caja Autónomos APOX
Arq 24
LE: 7.618.435

Disappeared 12-8-77

PAHR-(L)
La Plata Prist 10/78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

9

BOHACZENKO, Carlos Alberto

Detained in Misiones.

MinInt lifted arrest between 30-29 and 10-6-78.
Announcements were made on Saturday, Oct. 7, 1978

ADLeague

8

BOHOSLAVKY, Victorio Pablo

LE: 8.569.449

Is in prison at the Institution de Leguindad NO:6 de la ciudad de Rawson(pico de chubut) since two years ago. Was arrested in Oct. 1976.
Letter being anwered, Oct.23,1978.

805/79/2 D

BOICHENKO, Victor Pablo
LE: 6.697.771
Braille y Chazarreta-COSQUIN(Córdoba)
(Relaciones Públicas)

Arrested by military peope on 4.4-1976. Since then disappeared.

Dpto. of State : Stdc 023819
Boichenko, Pablo(Misionero Evang.)(Father)
Braille and Chazarreta-Cosquin (Córdoba)
Personal call Embassy 6-13-78.

BOISSELEAU, Atilio

Detained 3-30-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BOITANO, Adriana C.

Disappeared 7-24-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

D
T
R
S

BOITANO, Adriana Silvia (F)
C.I. 5.896.063
Age: 24

Disappeared on 4-24-77. On this same date her home Fco. Beiro 3622 1°B- was searched by military force.

BOITANO, Angela Paolin de (MOther)
C.I. 2.904.684
Mansilla 2702 1°"5" - 1425 Capital Federal

ML

8-9-77 Letter to Derian.
8-3-77 Letter to T.Todman.
8-18-77 Letter to Representatives.
8-18-77 Letter to Senators.

PRHR (4)

L

R/FDD

D
T
R
S

BOITANO, Miguel Angel
C.I. 7.832.314
Rif 2

Disappeared since 5-29-76. During by absence on june 2, 1976 my home was searched by the police.

BOITANO, Angela Paolin de (Mother)

8-9-77 - Letter to Derian.
8-3-77 - Letter to T.Todman
8-18-77 - Letter to Representatives.
8-18-77 - Letter to Senators.

ML
PAHR (4)

BOITMAN, Jorge Mario
Rif 32

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

BOITO, Fernando Diego

Disappeared 3-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BOJANIC, Mariano Emilio
Age 32
CI: 4.988.959

Disappeared 10-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
F3D

D

BOJANICH DE KNOUZMAN, L. B.

Disappeared 6-9-76 in Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

BOLATTI de IRURZUN, Maria Cristina
Biochemist

Detained 8-24-75.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BOLLIATI, Cristina

ARR 8-24-77 Bs.As. Held in V.Devoto PEN

AISC

BOLLINO, Angela de

Disappeared August 1977 in Córdoba.

Cong. Gus Yatron

BOLMERG, A
Psychiatrist
Mendoza

Disappeared May 1976

ADLeague

C-38|77|11

P Option

BOLONTINI, Jorge Luis
Address: c/o Lawyer, Broquen, Matheu 1193, Cap.Fed.
Date of Birth: March 23, 1946-Cap.Fed., BA-Argentina

Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN Lima June '76
PEN: La Plata--
Requested "ROO" MinInt informed no person is register
11-78

ex-Partido Socialista
Leg Arg Sh. Hombre

D

BOLZAN, Bernardo Pablo
Age 39

Disappeared 1-21-78 Caseros

PAHR-Prensa 5=17-78 (L)
Leg Arg Sh. Hombre

BOMANO

D.

DIS

ML

D

BOMPADRE, Jorge Héctor
Age: 27

DIS 11-8-76

FDD

BON,

D

DIS

AISC

D

BONA DE FORESTI, Esther

DIS

FBHR(L)
ML

R/FDD

S

BONACINA, Diego Carlos (F)
Juncal 2029 - Capital

Arrested on 4-28-76 by a group of 20 policemen. They were searching for Chilean people. Since then disappeared.
Controlled freedom
Removed from PEN - 12-22-78

Millan Jara, Magaly (Wife)
DNI 92299751
Juncal 2029 - Capital

8-19-77 Letter to Senators.

Christmas 1977 Announcement.

D

BONAFEN, Alfredo

DIS 12-6-77

LA Plata List - 11-21-78

D

BONAFINA DORREGO, Andrés

DIS 9-11-76

PHR-(L)
ML

BONAFINI, JORGE OMAR (F) D
T L.E. 8.383.673
R Calle 56 y 24 - La Plata
Age 24

Arrested on 2.8.77 at his home. Since then disappeared.
This happened in La Plata city.

Bonafini, Hebe P. de (Mother)
L.C. 3111352
Papini and Gral. Belgrano, Gonet.
Ltr Org. Der. Humana
Pamph(1) Note sent to T.Todman.
FDD Note to Representatives.
CAS (Antonio Balbuena) Mexico 2545 - 1223 Capital L
La Plata Ltr - 10/78

D

BONAFINI, Raul Alfredo
DNI. 10.659.889
DOB: 7-3-1953

Arrested on 12-6-77 at streets Cabadonga and 2 de Mayo,
Villa España, Berazategui. Since then disappeared.

Pamph(1)
FDD
La Plata Ltr 10/78

Bonafini, Hebe P. de (Mother)
LC. 3.111.352
Papini and Gral. Belgrano, Gonet.

BONAITU Y GARCIA DE AZURMENDI, Ana María D

DIS 12-5-77

PAHR

D

BONALDI DE CARRERA, A.I.
Age: 23
DNI: 10.636.896

DIS 12.1.76

FDD
PAHR(L)

D

BONANO, A.
Shipyard Worker's Union

AED 10/6/77

PAHR (L)
ML

D

BONANO, Luis Raúl
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 10-11-77

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Comm. Party

BONANO, Osvaldo (Dr.) D

9-M-76?
DIS 5-1-76?

PAHR-(L)
Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BONANO, Osvaldo
Revista "Libros"

UNDER PEN

adepa-La Opinión 4-1-78

ML

BONARDO, Renzo Oscar

Disappeared 12-8-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BONARDELL, Jorge
Mendoza

Disappeared 10/75

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BONASORTE,ARTURO OSCAR
DNI. 10.825.283
Junta 1941 - Capital

Arrested by Police Forces. 12-6-77 La Plata, Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
Pezzani, Adalberto Juan (Father-in-law)
L.E. 5.117.461
2 Nro. 261 La Plata

Telegrama colacionado.
La Plata List 10/78

BONASORTE, Maria Sedeni

DIS-12-8-77 La Plata-Pcia. Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR(L)

BONATO, José Luis (Dr.)

Detained in 1977. At presente in Sierra Chica Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BONATTO Y GARCIA DE AZURMENDI, Ana María

DIS 12-5-77

PAHR

BONAVITTA, Nelson Orlando

DIS, was in Army doing Military service. JUNE 1978
ARR 6/5/78 Under Military Trial (AISC Tufo)

Harris data - 8-14-78

D

BONAVITTA, Nelson Orlando
DNI:

DIS 12-8-77

PAHR (L)

D

BONCIGLIO, Mario (Uruguayan)
Age: 21
CI. 1.397.620

DIS 8-26-76

FDD
PAHR(L)

R/FDD

D

T
R
S

BONCIO, Carlos Ignacio (F)
L.E. 8.242.274 Age 32
Volta 98 - Gral Pacheco

On 3-25-76 he was arrested by the army tog-ether with other men at his work. He had been labor delegate. He was freed by Decree 1615/76 dated 8-4-76. Nevertheless never returned home. Disappeared since then.

Boncio, Ana S.Mancebo de (Mother)
L.C. 1968.024
Volta 98-General Pacheco-1617 (Bs.As.)
Reg Insc. Gen Vouchers

Statement to T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.
Statement to Senators.

PAHR(L)
ML

L

BONDAREVSKI, Aurora Nelida (nee Vilas)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

BONDIEN, Rodolfo Néstor
Acassuso

Disappeared 8-18-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BONDONE, Luis
Lawyer

Detained in March 1976 . Was incommunicated during 5 months.

PAHR(L)
Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BONELLI, Eduardo
Córdoba

Detained [redacted] in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BONET, Jesús María
Est. Ser. YPF-Junín

Detained since 3-30-76 in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BONET, Marcelo

DIS 4/77 Buenos Aires

ML

D

BONETTI, Carlos Alberto

DIS 7-23-76 ROSARIO, Santa Fé

AISC

D

BONETTO, José Roberto
LE: 4.627.741
Calle 64 Nº 1670 - La Plata

Disappeared 2-1-77 with wife Ana M.

La Plata Hist 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
ML

D

BONFANTE, Luis
Delegate in Planta Pilar

DIS 8/15/76 in Córdoba

ML

D

BONFIGLIO, Mario Jorge Cruz (Uruguayan natur.)

Disappeared 8-26-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BONFIGLIO, Teodoro Alfredo
Arg 25
LE: 8.569.410

Disappeared 3-12-77 Bahia Blanca

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

Edgardo
BONIN, (Eduardo) Roberto
DNI. 6.198.221
Arg 28

Disappeared 2-23-77 La Plata

La Plata list 10/78
AL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

BONINI, Miguel

DIS

PAER (L)

BONNARDEL, Jorge Edgardo (journalist)

Right of option certificate granted 4-18-77.

Arrested 11/23/75, imprisoned.

Listed on October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT
Re Mundo 6-10-78
France

D 78

BONOLDI DE CARRERA, Adriana Irene
DNI: 10.636.896

DIS 11/78

WOLA 11-78
Reg Aug Asn. Armbrust

D

BONOLON, RUBEN

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

C-48/23/11 Rotlo

BONZANO, Maria Teresa
Age 24

P Optim

disappeared 2/26/77

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Carcel de Córdoba - PEN

AI Quadalia. Adoptim
ex-Partido Socialista
ML
PAHR(L)

D

BORAGGI, Luis Antonio
Age 33
CU: 6.694.363

Disappeared 12-21-77

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BORCHERO, Patricia F.S.de

DIS 5-18-76

AISC

D

BORDA, Carlos Alberto

DIS

ML

D

BORDA, Gustavo Adolfo

DIS

PARA (4)
ML

D

BORDA, Nelly Yolanda
Age 30
LE: 6.054.663

DIS 1-21-77 Catamarca

PAHR (1)

D

BORDISSO, Oscar Alejandro

Disappeared 1-27-77 Campana

Mig. Org. Montonero
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

H

BORDOLINI, Beatriz Esther

At present in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BORDISO, Alicia Raquel
Age: 26
lo.220.193

DIS 6.21.77, Tucumán

FDD

BORDON FERNANDEZ, Roberto
Goya (Corrientes)

Detained 5-20-77 in Corrientes.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BORELLA LOPEZ, Liliana
Lawyer

Detained in August 1975.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

527/78/9

BORELLI CATTANEO, Raúl Edgardo Uruguayan
CI. 1.308.033 de Montevideo
DI. 92.303.220 Argentino
Coronel Sayos 3976-Valentin Alsina, Partido de Lanus
Mental Student

Expediente 215609

Abducted on 12-22-77 from his home by police forces.
Since then disappeared.

WARC - 9-5-78 PAHR (L)
Uruguayan Embassy AI-18/78
ML
Comp. Walsh

Borélli Luciardi, Luis Osvaldo - (Father)
Cattaneo de Borelli, Julia Isabel (Mother) Formal call's-2-78
Montevideo, Uruguay Phone: 247-5860 (Cousin)

BORELLO DE FERNANDEZ, E.R.

DIS

PAHR (L)

BORGOGNO, Daniel Argentino
LE: 8.295.293

Cam. 3-27-76 Córdoba
Disappeared 3-27-76 Córdoba. Relatives

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

BORIA, Santos
M/M 25
cli: 8.444.967

9-23-77 MBJ Claypoli (B.A.)

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

9

BORINSKY, Daniel

Detained in 1975

ADLeague

---

c-261-78-7

9

BORINSKY FRANKEL, José Daniel

Mom Unl. refused visit 11/78 on courts judicial system.

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

D

BOROBIA, Oscar
Age: 25

DIS 1976 Bahia Blanca

FDD

D

BORRONI, Rodolfo Mariano
Bl 25

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

BORSATO, Héctor Raúl

Detained 1-29-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BORYSIUK, Pedro

Under PEN

ADLeague

D

BORZI, Oscar Isidro
Age 35
Cii: 6.239.657

Disappeared 4-30-77 Lanus Este

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

528/78/9 D

BOSCO MUÑOZ, Alfredo Fernando (Uruguayan)
DOB: 9-29-1953
Former student of Economics
Member of the GAU
Barrio 1494-Pas. 12-Pa. Ca.

Dis. late November 1977 in Buenos Aires

Beatriz Martinez de Bosco Muñoz (wife)
Ruben Martinez Sans (father-in-law)
Islas Canarias 4282-Montevideo
Amembassy Montevideo 7-11-78

UNHRC. 9-5-78
"AI - 10/78"

D

BOSKOVIC, Jorge Alberto

Disappeared 3-9-78 Fred Article La Nacion 5/2/78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

BOSSE DE ROMANUK, Mirta D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

BOSSIO, Alberto Oscar
DNI - 5.145.374
Calle 37 Nº 305 - La Plata
Apt 25

Disappeared 11-18-76, "Ltr mailed by his brother-in-law. La Plata Bs As.

La Plata Hist 10/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Hugo Arg Div. Homicide

BOTELLA DE LOSANA, Elisa
Lawyer

Detained on 12-10-75

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

BOTTINI, Liliana

DIS 12/75 in Mendoza

PRAR(L)
ML

BOTTO, Fernando Diego
Age: 28
LE: 7.672.960

DIS 3-21-77

FDD
PRAR(L)

BOTTOLI, Miguel Angel

D

Released from prison 12-23-76. Visited Embassy Consoff 1.28.77 asking for immigrant visa to the US.

Sen.Humphrey's request 1-19-77.

BOUDET, Robert Marcel (French)

D

Disappeared 10-24-76 Pr. Ob.

Career Asst. Insp. 4/78
French Embassy
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

BOUDINI, Eduardo Daniel
Age: 20
DNI: 13.371.819

D

DIS 7-6-76 Córdoba

FDD

D

BOUGLIANO, Adrian

Disappeared 8-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BOULESMAN, Miguel Angel

AED 5-27-76

ML

D

BOULOCQ KORN DE CONCETTI, Susana Mercedes
Art 38
LI: 4.479.890

DIS 5-22-77 La Plata Bs As.

PAHR(4)

19/20/11

BOURG, Juan Raul
LE: 5.196.867 CI: 9.654.336
Quinta Saenz
Continuación Av. Independencia KM. 18-Mar del Plata

D

Disappeared on September 5th, 1977.

Hipatia A. de Bourg (Mother)
Larrea 1474 - 3°"B"-Capital
826-4006
Personal call: 2-15-78
Amnesty International
FAHR (L)

D

BOURGHIGNE, Carlos Norberto
Age: 26
Osaran y Los Olivos, Moron

ABD 10-7-76 Moron - Bs. As.

FAHR (L)
ML

D

BOURNICHON,

K

Disappeared 3-25-76

ML
DALEague

BOURNICHON, Alberto

D

Disappeared 3-24-76 with wife and 2 children.

AL
ADLeague

BOURRIET, Rodolfo Néstor
Age 32
CI: 4.952.645

D

Disappeared 8-20-77 Acassuso

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

BOUTRON, Miguel Angel
Age 30
CI: 7.612.374

D

Disappeared 6-18-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

BOUVIER, Edmundo

Disappeared 5-12-76

Judge Family List 8/78
ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L) "WOLA 11/78"

BOUVIER, Luis Ernesto D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

BOUVIER, Oscar Alfredo
DNI: M.842.836

Disappeared 9-9-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BOYATTI, Hector Raúl

ARR Sentenced to 6 yrs.by Judge F. Mantras

AISC

PANTANJO

BOYE, Eduardo Humb
Córdoba

Detained Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BRACAMONTE, Horacio Alberto

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC

D

BRACATTINI, Eduardo Julio

DIS

ML

D

BRACCONE,
FCGBM-Rosario

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BRACCONE, Osvaldo José

Returned from PEN - 12-22-78

Detained in Villa Devoto under PEN.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BRACOVIC, Ana

ADLeague

C-142/78/2

9

BRAICOVICH MOYANO, Eduardo Mario
Age 28
DOB: 1-1-Alo

Arrested 10-30-1975.
Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata Pabellon 1 - "The Death Block".
His brother Alberto was killed under attempted escape in March 1977.

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ADLEague
Danish Embassy

FREED

D

BRAMARDO, Nilda Clara
DNI. 6.277.109
CI. 6.485.821
Chaco 929 - Bernal (Prov. Bs.As.)

Arrested on 3-8-78 by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.
Til March 1976 she worked at TELAM(Noticioso). Nos she was working privatly as a photographer.

Letter from family informing her return - 5-22-78

Bramardo, Clara Delfino de (Mother)
De Maya, Anamaria Bramardo de . (Sister)
Chaco 929 - Bernal *Prov.Bs.As.) Phone 252-0995
Personal call Embassy 4-20-78 on behalf of Mrs.Taiana

BRANDARIZ FEIJOO, Luis

ARR. Neuquen Prov. PEN

AISC

BRANDI, Estela Maris

ABD 7-16-76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

BRANDT, Arturo (Dr.)

Arrested 4-17-76 in Posada prison.

Disappeared 3/76

ADLeague

BRANOT, Arturo

DIS 12-6-77

PAHT (L)

BRAOVO, José

DIS 9-8-77 Bs.As.- Now in jail

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

BRAUSTEIN, Gabriel
LE: 2.450.356
Age: 54
Member Comm. Party
Velez Sarsfield 251-Rio Cuarto, Córdoba

ABD 6-10-76 from his home. Rio Cuarto, Córdoba

PAHR(L)
SISTER: FANY BRAUSTEIN. GI-4511816, Florida Librería 1605
COMM PARTY
RDL
DAIA
FLCO-11-6-78

T
R

BRAVERMAN, Alfredo Oscar (F) D
DNI 11359337
Calle 8 No. 1528- LA PLATA
Political Sciences Student

Arrested on 8-18-76 by a group of armed men at his work.
Since then disappeared.

BRAVERMAN, Bertha Z. de (Mother)
L.C. 3151634
Calle 8 No. 1528-La Plata

La Plata Post 10/78

DAIA
CAHR(L) Letter to T.Todman.
Letter to Representatives.

Cig Intel Solid Comm

L

D
T
R

BRAVERMAN, Claudio Norberto (F) 685/78/12 D
C.I. 7651.196

Arrested on 10-29-76. Disappeared since then.

BRAVERMAN, Martha Maltz de (Mother)
C.I. 3.552.478
S. de Bustamante 1742 - 8°"31"-Capital 83-6789 (8-9; 12:30- 4:30 p.m. 20-22)
Jew. Israel-Tania - Phil # 238/18 AR-Mad

8-1-77 - Letter to Derian
7-27-77 - Letter to T.Todman
CAHR(L) Letter to Representatives.
HL
DAIA
Archbishop of Canterbury Personal call Lamb. 8-29-78

CONTE
BRAVO, Alfredo Pedro 117/77/8 P

Abducted from his classroom.
Appeared. At present at PEN disposition.
Since: Friday evening 6-17-77 at home. Information from his Sons by phone.
Since June 10 in Conditional Liberty.
Removed from PEN - 12-29-78

45-0795 (Son)

Bravo, Marta Isabel Becerini de (Wife)
SOLA
La Opinion clipping 9-24-77
FLJ/CIO
Arg. Mission Bombu
FBI

D

BRAVO, Graciela

Disappeared

hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D *

BRAVO, Juan Humberto Ruben (F)
LE. 8.072.155
Ex-Secretary of Actors Assoc.

He is Secretario General de Asociación Argentina de Actores Regional Mendoza. Arrested on 10-21-76 by a group of armed civil men. Since then disappeared.

BRAVO, Maria R. C.
Barrio Minetti B 10 - Godoy Cruz (5501) (Mendoza)

FDD
PAHR(L)
8-10-77 Letter to T.Todman.
x Sen.Anderson
TN Humphry

"WOLA" 11/78

BRAVO, Reuben Juan H. Ruben
(Former Seggen of Actor's Union)
LE: 8.072.155

Disappeared 10/21/76 Mendoza

Amn.Int'l Vienna 03383 8A5122
Mendoza Family List 8/78

BRAVO, Ruben

ARR. Unidad 7 - Resistencia. Chaco

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D *

D BREA, Martha María (F)
CI 2.851.124
LC 3.623.014
Medica psiquiatra

Date of disappearance: March 31, 1977.

Dr. Mario M. Brea (Father)

8-4-77 Letter and file of case to Derian
Personal visit to Derian.

Caracas Cult. Emb. 9/78
ML

BREGSTEIN, Gregorio (Uruguayan)
Student

ARR

ADLeague
ML

9

BREIT, José

Detained in Misiones

ADLeague

D

BRERO, Juan José
LE: 11.727.984
Afe 21

Disappeared 3-18-77 from work plce Tucuman 1977 - Buenos Aire
by SIDE Agents

NL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rig Arg Del Hombre

9

BRESANO, Hugo Miguel
(Partido Socialista)

Arrested 8-23-78 in Sao Paulo or near this city, Brasil.

Juana Virginia Marconi, Personal call

BRESLER, Gabriel

RRR

ADLeague

ML

D

Mrs. Bretal de Deschamps Maria Louisa
La Merced 354 - Cuscuatla

Abd. 6-10-78. Was pregnant.

Newspaper assoc. Hoy 8-14-78

BRI, Ricardo D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

BRIA, Ricardo

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

BRIGILERI, Norberto D

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

BRIL, Guillermo Alberto R

ARR PEN Authorized to leave country

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

D

BRINGAS, Alberto
LE: 11.589.310

Disappeared 7-21-77.

NL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

BRINGAS, Osvaldo Domingo
Brother of Alberto Bringas
LE: 4.754.577
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 12-21-77 from Francisco Solano - Bs. As.

Cong. Amb Lawyer 9/78
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Comm. Party

D.

BRINOLI, Jorge Antonio
Ferroportuario

Disappeared 1-30-78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

2 1
BRIONES, Isabel Lucia

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

Released from PEN - 12-22-78

BRITOS, Domingo 1

DIS 6/76 Mendoza

ML

BRITOS, Estela 7

DIS:

PARA (4)
ml

D

BRITOS, Rubén Alberto
CI-4.720.898
Gral. Hornos 1310 - Lomas de Zamora Bs. As.
AGC 25

Disappeared 4-12-77

Anacleto Britos (Father) C.I. 2.612.698 - Calle 25 de mayo 3676
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDD - 11-6-78

D

BRITOS, Roberto
DEL CARLO

Disappeared 4-12-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

5

BRITOS, Ruben Alberto (F)
CI. 6720898
Gral. Hornos 1310-Lomas de Zamora(Bs.As.)
Age 26
Suspect

D

On 4-13-77 his home was shoot with grape-shot and then searched by Joint Forces. Witnesses stated that Ruben Alberto was in one of the policecars. Since then disappeared.

Britos,Anacleto (Father)
CI.2612698
25 de Mayo 3676-V.Alsina (Bs.As.)

Statement to Senators.

Liq. Arg. Der. Hombre

L

BRIZUELA,
Tafí Viejo

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BRIZUELA, Bruno

DIS 3-24-76 Córdoba

FAHR(L)
ML

BRIZUELA, Héctor
Sec.General SOEVA
Maipú-Mendoza

Killed 10-21-76

FAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Derl. Hombre

D

BRIZUELA, José Nicolás
D.I. 6.456.925
Tegucigalpa 1966 - Periodista
Afe al
Member Comun. Party

Disappeared 10-25-77 from home.

Lawyer Amb Cong. 9/78
Comm. Party
ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Hug Dag Del. Amnesty

BRIZUELA, Lazaro

ARR PEN

AISC

D

BRIZUELA, Nicolas Héctor
Afe 50
LE: 6.456.925

AHD 10-25-77

ML

BRIZUELA, Ricardo (editor)

Arrested 7/1/76; imprisoned.

Listed October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT
Re listed 6-10-78

BRIZUELA, Ramón Francisco
Age: 24
CI. 10.941.068

DIS

PAHR (L)

BRIZUELA, Roque Marcelino
Age: 35
DNI: 1.307.074

DIS 10-19-76 Tucumán

FDD

BROCCA, Maria Rusana

DIS

ML

BROCCA DE GUERRERO MACHADO, Julia A

Disappeared 3-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

BROCHERO, Patricia G. de
O'Brien 1098, Gran Bourg, Bs.As.

AHD 5-18-76

ML

624/78/10 CP

BROCHI, Marcos (Dr.)

Cardiologist, Sierra Chica

Detained in La Plata in 1976 Unidad 9.
GoA reply 1-18-79: Arrested by Decree 2389 - 10-4-76.
Charge: 5th connection with subversive activities.
Asylum: 8-11-78. Denied Decree 1939.

Caracas - Anti-Congress 9/78 Prof Kaplan

D

BROCHSTEIN, Sergio

DIS 5-10-76

PAHR (L)

CP

BRODSKY, Enrique

ARR PEN

AISC

D 1978

BRODSKY, Graciela
Capital Federal

DIS 9-2-78 - Freed three days later. Out of the country.

PAHR 9-28-78

D

BROIN, Mario

DIS

PEN(L)
ML

9

BROLLO, Héctor
Lawyer from Paraná (E.Rios)

Det. 3-24-76

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cancon Anti Cong. 9/78

D

BRONERMAN, Alfredo Oscar
Seyco

Disappeared 8-18-76.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BRONZEL, Jacobo

Disappeared Nov. 1976

PAHR(1)
ADLeague
AL

R

D

✓BRONZEL, José Daniel 574/78/9
L.E.5.170-826
✓BRONZEL, Susana Elena Pedrini de 575/78/9
L.C.5.236.349
Address: Grecia 4474, Piso 7°"C"-Capital
✓BRONZEL, Cecilia Podolsky Vda. de 573/78/9
Address: Chile 862, Piso 2°"A"-Capital

D

A group of 12 armed men arrested Mrs. Bronzel and later her son and daughter in law on 7-27-77. Since then there are no news.

PAHR(4) GOA reply 2-14-79 - N.R.a.d.

MOREA, Aurora (Mother)
Monroe 3619 - 1°"H"-Capital
782-1466
AL Statement to Representatives.
(OVER)

D

BRONZELLI, Daniel

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

BRONZETTI, Carlos Alberto
Age; 19

D

DIS 6-9-77

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

C-56/78/1

BROSCHI, Marcos Roberto
ianduelero - Medico

P
Option

Mon 4th w/pard visit 2/78 a. Req rejected w/s 6 months.

PEN Linea Clinica

Amb Lic Hearne
Cancer Amb Cong. 9/78

BROWER DE KONIG, José
Ex Juez de Primera Instancia en la Pcia. de La Pampa

Detained on 3-26-76.

Comm. Aut. Cong. 9/78
Liga Der. Hombre 4-19-78

BRUCE, Alejandro

D

DIS Bahia Blanca

AISC (Cospa-MX)

D

BRUCHSTEIN, Sergio

Disappeared 5-10-76 (Father of Aida Leonara, killed at Monte Chingolo)

1

ML
ADLeague

BRUKIN, Luis

ARR

ADLeague
ML

BRUNASCKI, Adriana

ARR

ADLeague
ML

D

BRUNI, Carlos Alberto
ARR 21
JWI: 12.310.747

2-24-77 Mar del Plata

PAHR (1)

BRUSCHI, Marcos

DIS 7-10-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

BRUSCHTEIN, Irene Monica

See Jungfwg. Irene Monica Bruschtein de.

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

BRUSCO, Carlos Cesar

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

BRUZZONE, Gustavo Ramón
DNI : 11.269.545

DIS 5-19-77 - Rosario Sta Fe

Rosario List

D

BRUZZONE, Hilda Teresa
C.I. 6 632.000
Andresena 339 - Bs. Aires

Disappeared 8-3-77 from home

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

BRUZZONI, Pedro
Acindar

Detained 3-2-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

58/77/4 *

D

BRZOSTOWSKI, Miguel Jacobo
CI. 5.051.833
Boedo 1837, 5th Fl.-Apt.A-Buenos Aires

Disappeared on 10-25-76.

Disappeared. For.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77. GOA reply: 6-8-77 No record

Brzostowski, German and Dora (Parent)
Boulogne Sur Mer 662-4th fl.-Apt.B-Bs.As.
Tel.: 88-5066
Rep.Dan.Rostentowski
Fraser
Javits
Jaim
Cong Israel Relief Comm
AL PRHR(L)

L

D

BUCCELINI, Oscar
Caseros Bs.As.
Member Comm. Party

ABD 6-30-77

Comm. Party
ML

P

BUCCO, Irene

ARR. 8-20-76 Córdoba-Held in V.Devoto PEN
Juge Zamboni Ledesma

AISC

D

BUCHELINI, Héctor Roberto
Quintana 1834, V. Bosch
Age 24

Disappeared 4-19-77 on his way to work. Villa Bosch

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

BUCHELINI, Miguel Angel
DNI. 14.438.162
Quintana 1834 - V. Bosch
Age 18

Disappeared 6-30-77 from home Villa Bosch

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

BUCHELINI, Oscar Daniel
DNI. 11.498.413
Quintana 1834 - V. Bosch
Age 22

Disappeared 6-30-77 from home Villa Bosch

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

BUCHINI, Jorge

DIS

franc(4)
ML

BUCONIC, Susana
Lawyer

ABD 12/75

ML

BUCZZALINO, Alfredo

DIS

ML

:66/28/7 D

BUDINI, Eduardo Daniel
DU: 13.371.819
Rivadeo 1305-Córdoba
Age: 19
Student-Univ.Nac. de Córdoba

GOA Wpty: 9-15-78 N.R.A.D

Arrested at his parent's home on 7-6-76.

State 167736

Budini, Miguel Angel (Parent)
Budini, Maria Emma Zeppa de
Rivadeo 1305-Córdoba
Letter Juan 4-19-78
PAHR(4) FD)

D

BUENANUEVA, Blanca Cristina
DNI. 11.454.733
Age 21

Disappeared. Arrested from work by police 9.8.76 L. de Zamora

Cancer Cent. Cong. 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

BUENA ROMERO, Luis A.
Martin Amato

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BUENO, David

DIS

Pase(4)
ML

BUENO, Nestor
Lawyer.

Sin datos. Arrested in Bahia Blanca on 11-16-76 (Ministry of the Judiciary)

ML
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

BUGALLO, Hugo

Trade Union Leader.

Visit to Derian.

D

BUGATTI OSSVALD, Roberto Horacio
Arte 34
LE: 9.701.505

Disappeared 10-22-76 Lgo. del Estero (o Catamarca)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ED

BUGIANI, Teofilo
CI: 1.391.646

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin 8-8-78)

D

BUGNONE DE AYUSTUY, Marta Elsa
Arte 29
CI: 6.135.613

DIS 12-6-77

La Plata Prist 10/78
PAHR (4)

D

BUGNONE DE BONAFINI, Maria Elena
Age: 24
DNI: 10.667.577
Sociologist-French teacher-Med.Student

ABD 5-25-78 Moron, Bs.As.

PAHR (L)
FDD
Newspaper assoc.
La Plata list 5-25-78

BUIGIERO CHICHET, Antonio José D

DIS

AISC (Cospa México)

D

BUITRAGO, Sergio (Bolivian)

Student. Arrested together with Werlach Kramer. Both have disappeared.

Bolivian Permanent Assembly for H.R. - 4-27-78

D

BUJINI, Eduardo Daniel
Age: 19
DNI: 13.371.819

. DIS 7-6-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

BULACHI, Adrian

DIS

PAHR(L).
ML

D

BULAC, Juan Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)

BULACIO, Eduardo Oscar
Ar 27
LJ 9.799.324

D

DIS 4-20-76 Huaman

PAHR (1)

BULESMAN, Miguel Angel
Olivos

D

Disappeared May 27 or June 4, 1976

ADIeague

235/22/12

BULIT, Raquel Hilda

D *

Arrested in front of the Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77
presumably by the Argentine Security Forces.

Cong. Tom A. Burke

BULSTEIMAN,
Age: 42

D

DIS 7/76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

BURAC, Juan Carlos

Disappeared

AL
ADLeague

D

BURCHSTEIN, Irene Mónica
Age: 23

DIS 5-11-77

PAHR (L)

D

BURDISIO, Alicia Raquel
Tucumán
LC: 10.220.193
Peruvian Commun. Party
Age 25

Disappeared 6-21-77 Tucumán

Cancer Anti Conf. 9/78
ML
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
Commun. Party
PAHR (2)

D

BURGA DE PEREZ, Alfonsina
Age: 28
5.797.213

DIS 6-1-76 San Fernando

Montoneros Pro. Ch. Ger.
FDD

D

BURGART, Jorge Alberto
F. Cardenal Rodriguez 3850 (Villa Ballester)
LE 7.611.316
Age 22

Disappeared 9-30-76 Villa Ballester - Pro. Ch.

Liga Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML

D

BURGIONE, Carlos Norberto
Age 24

Disappeared 10-7-76 Morón

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BURGOS, Baldomero
DNI 3.733.412
Obrero ferroviario. San Fernando Bs. Aires.
Age 26

Disappeared 5-28-76 San Fernando

Lic. Arq. Adr. Arnedo
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

BURGOS, Daniel Leonardo
Age 24
LE: 8.090.701

Disappeared 8-24-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BURGOS, Felipe
President Confederation of Agriculture workers
Salta

Disappeared in February 76 in Salta.

Belgium Embassy Interest-Arsene Van der Driessche-1-25-78.

D

BURGOS, Roberto Antonio
Age: 25
Cherlin & Alvear, San Fernando

ABD 6-17-76 (Brother of Baldomero Burgos) San Fernando

ML
PAHR (1)
Hyp. Arg. Asc. Humbs

BURGUEÑO PEREIRA, Ada M. (Uruguayan) D
DNI: 9.229647 ?
San Pedro 5344 - F. Ballester - Bs. Aires.
(Fiancee of O. Vaccino)

Disappeared 8-20-77 from home.

Hyp Arg Ass Humbs
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

799/74/1

BURIAN ROJAS, Cándida Graciela (Paraguayan) Option P

Under PEN; right of option certificate issued by Swedish Embassy. Information received from Mr. M. Westerlind.

Letter from:
Prof. Nancy Leslie
Amnesty International, AIUSA 75
2096 N. Ponce de Leon Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30307
4-10-78.

BURLE, Roque Ruben D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

K

BURNICHON, Alberto
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

206/22/81 D

T BURSZTEJN, Angel Jorge (F)
R DNI 10.129.847
(BURSZTEJN, Daniel
DNI 12.013.556) Ver ficha adjunta

N.R.A.D. - GOA-9-5-78

By uniformed Army troops. Apt about them was knowledge of young terrorist. Suspect killed.

On 8-11-76 were arrested at their mother's home. Since then disappeared.

called on FOH 10/26 - asked re sons & also re AD daughters going to states.

Amb. Int. Legion
Congr. Fascell
Comm. Sandberg] (Comm)

BURSZTEJN, Rosa
L.C. 0284049
Av. Honorio Pueyrredón 1176, 4°Piso, Capital
T.E.: 59-4856
Amb. Intl. Solid. Comm.
8-4-77 Statement to T.Todman
JAHA ML PARK(L) Statement to Representatives.

L

202/22/81 D

BURSZTEJN, Daniel
DNI. 12,013.556
Age 19

N.R.A.D. - GOA-5-5-78

On 8-11-76 were arrested at the mother's home, since then disappeared.

See also BURSZTEJN, Angel Jorge

Amb. Int. Legion
Comm. Sandberg] (Comm)
Cong. Fascell
Amb. Intl. Solid. Comm.
JAHA ML PARK(L)

L

FR

BURUCUA, Martin
Age: 21

DIS 7-14-76 Bs.As. ARR Unidad 9 La Plata

AISC

D

BUSANICHE, Graciela Maria

DIS

PAHR

BUSANICHE, Susana Maria

HRR 9/14

ADLeague
ML
PAHR

D

BUSCOVICH, Susana
Lawyer

AAR

ML
ADLeague

BUSELMAN, Miguel Angel

D

DIS 5-21-76 Olivos Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

BUSETTO, Osvaldo

D

ABD 7-16-76 from S.Fé and Rodriguez Peña-Bs.As.

AISC

D

BUSETTO, Osvaldo Enrique
Calle 9 N° 2121 - La Plata
C.I. 8.345.561
Apr 31

Disappeared 9-9-76

La Plata Hist 10/78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

AL

BUSIN, Joaquin
CI: 4.012.315

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin 8-8-78)

D

BUSQUET, Héctor Ruben
Age; 31
CI. 7.872.343

DIS 4-21-77 Gran Bourg

PAHR(L)
FDD

D

BUSTAMANTE, Héctor Ramón de Reyes
Age: 40
Doc. 7.069.434

DIS 5-25-77 Tucumán

Tucumán

PAHR Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BUSTAMANTE, Juan Carlos
FTN student in Tucuman
DNI: 10.645.060
Member: Fed. Juv. Com.
Bulnes 245 - San Miguel de Tucuman
Age 25

Disappeared 3-76 11-1-75. Tucuman

Laura Guth Long 9/78
Communist Party
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

BUSTAMANTE, Juan Oscar

DIS 10/75

ML

D

BUSTAMANTE, Maria Cristina

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

T

BUSTAMANTE, OSCAR Armando LE: 5 [illegible]
BUSTAMANTE, Luis Ernesto
BUSTAMANTE, Raúl Ricardo DNI 12.393.765

Oscar Armando arrested on 10-20-75. Luis Ernesto on 5-24-77. Raúl Ricardo on 5-27-77. the three brothers in prison.

Bustamante J.E. (Father)
Bustamante, Angela D de (Mother)
Bustamante, Dora Aguirre de (Wife)
[redacted]

8-6and 8-1977 Letters to T.Todman.

PAHR(L)
Mendoza Family Right of/to
Hoja Urg. Del. Romba
NL FDD

TN "WOLA-11-78" L

D

BUSTAMANTE, Purísimo Rizo

DIS 9-13-76

PAHR

D

ARGARAÑAS, Graciela del Valle Bustamante de
LC. 61352894
Age: 27

Disappeared on 4-9-1977 in Tucuman. together with husband

Bustamante, Maria E. M. de (Mother)
Eugenio Mendez 416
4000 San Miguel de Tucuman
Hoja Urg. Del Romba
Letter to Amb. Castro - 3-9-78.
NL

D

BUSTAMANTE DE ARGAÑARAZ, Graciela del Valle
Age 24
DOC 6.342.894

Disappeared 4-29-77 in Tucuman

Causa Cong. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

38/77/1 *

BUSTELO, Angel

Detained. For.Off.Inq.: 1-6-77 GOA reply: 1-19-77
Failing health in La Plata, Unidad 9, under PEN.

Causa Cong. 9/78
Cong.Harrison, Dante, Fasell, Schlaudeman.

77/38

D

BUSTELLO, Antonio Bartolo

DIS

PAHR (L)

BUSTICCHI, Mirta Zulma
Doc.esc. Llambí Campbell

Detained 4-14-76 - U.2-Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BUSTILLO, Ramiro Sergio
LE: 8378201
Comm. Party
Rfc 24

Disappeared 10-18-77 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Comm. Party

BUSTILLO, Ramón Sixto
OBrero FIAT-Córdoba
Comm. Party

Disappeared 10-20-77, in Córdoba with Oscar Reyes

Comm. Party Cong. 9/78
NL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BUSTOS, Armalinda Gladys

DIS

AISC (COSPA MADRID)

460/78/7 D

BUSTOS, Carlos Armando
DOB: March 1942 - La Cumbre-Córdoba
Santa María de los Angeles, Romulo S. Naon 3250-Capital
Superior: R.P. Jerónimo Bormida, Curia Provincial OFM (CP), Canelones 1660-Montevideo.

GOA Nifty 9-15-77 N.R.A.D.

Arrested on 4-9-77 in Buenos Aires, while in route to the Nueva Pompeya Basilica.

Cong. Seiberling-State 166197

PAHR (4)

D

BUSTO, Aldo Melitón

Disappeared 2-2-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

BUSTOS, A

DIS

ML

D

BUSTOS, Aldo Meliton

Abducted on 2-1-78 from his home. Salta

PAHR (1)
Crónica clipping 2-7-78

D

BUSTOS, Edelmiro Cruz

DIS 4-23-76

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

D

BUSTOS, GUILLERMO
Reg. 26

Disappeared 7-4-77 Caseros

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Reg. Arg. Dir. Knubel

D

BUSTOS, Jorge Dante

DIS 9-10-76

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

D

BUSTOS, Leopoldo Carlos

1-27-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

P

BUSTOS, Mario
Student

Detained in 1974. In Resistencia Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

BUSTOS, Miguel Angel (Journalist, poet and literary critic)

Abducted 5/31/76; whereabouts unknown.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed October 28, 1977 PEN REPORT

AL
6mHR(L)

7

BUSTOS, Miguel A. Ramón

DIS 11/76

Penc
ML

BUSTOS, Mónica D

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

BUSTOS, Nestor Antonio

ARR. Sentenced by Judge F. Mantras

AISC

BUSTOS, Raúl Luis D

DIS

ML

BUSTOS ABRAMOFF, Cristina de

D

ABD 9/76 with husband and brother-La Plata alledgedly burned alive.

AISC (COSPA-MADRID)

BUSTOS ABRAMOFF, Pablo

D

ABD 9/76 with wife and brother-in-law - La Plata. Alledgedly burned alive.

AISC

D

BUSTOS DE CORONEL, Maria C.
Lawyer

A ED 3/77 Buenos Aires

ML

BUTONE, Miguel Angel

D

DIS 6/76 Buenos Aires

ML

BUTRON, Irene Claudia (nee Krichman) 686/78/12 D
Age:22
6.698.968
Belgrano area

Disappeared on 6-18-76 (Daughter of Miguel Butron)

ADLeague
PBAR(L)
ML

BUTRON, Miguel Angel 687/78/12 D
7.612.374
[illegible] 3»

Taken with wife Irene Claudia Krichman in B. Belgrano.
Disappeared 6-18-76

ADLeague
PBAR(L)

D

BUTTI ARANA, Marcelo
Age: 23
DNI: 10 .929.694

DIS 3-17-77

PAHR(L)

BUTTINI, Lilian B.
Mendoza

Detained U.2.-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

BUZZALINO, Alfredo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

6-19-79
N4074

UNCLASSIFIED

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
SANTIAGO, CHILE

OFFICE OF THE AMBASSADOR

DECAPTIONED

EYES ONLY

June 19, 1979

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Honorable
Viron P. Vaky
Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Pete:

I attach a memorandum of a recent conversation with Alfredo Etcheberry, our Chilean lawyer for the Letelier/Moffitt case. You may want to show it to Frank Willis in L. I am not sending a copy to Gene Propper, Larry Barcella or anyone else.

The conversation with Etcheberry left me somewhat uneasy. For one thing, Etcheberry returned from his most recent meeting with Propper and Barcella with the feeling that Justice officials are not as confident about the strength of our case (particularly against Contreras and Espinoza) as we had previously been led to believe. It may well be strong enough for extradition, although this is the point that Borquez and others here contest, but could we get conviction in the United States thereafter?

Second, as explained more fully in the memorandum, there is an apparent contradiction between my instructions conveyed to Cubillos and the line of argument that Etcheberry will press in the oral arguments at the appeal. Etcheberry will argue that failure to extradite will mean impunity for the three Chileans; there is no obligation and perhaps not even good legal grounds to try them in Chile. I of course have told Cubillos that the USG can accept a serious trial here based on our evidence. However, the contradiction is,

CONFIDENTIAL

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLASSIFIED

I believe, only apparent and Etcheberry has convinced me, as he did Propper and Barcella, that his is the best approach. Nevertheless, I wanted you to be aware ahead of time.

We have been told that the lawyer for Fernandez Larios will request a one-week postponement. Other lawyers for the defense may also make use of that option. As of now, the earliest the appeal could begin is June 27.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

George W. Landau

Attachment

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/19/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M

Department of State
Argentina Project (S200000044)

Attachment to 1979 Airgram No. 46 from American Embassy Buenos Aires to the Department of State

Part 4 of 7

AI	Amnesty International
ADL	Anti Defamation League
D	Disappeared
D & REAPP.	Disappeared and Reappeared
DAIA	Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
IACHR	Inter American Com. on Human Rights
K	Killed
N.R.A.D.	No registra antecedentes de detención
PAHR	Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos
R	Released
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
⊕	Detained

C-62/79/11 638/78/11 Option P

HABER, Ruben Fernando

GOA reply 2-23-79 = Under Pen. Decree 3217, 12/15/76
Detained in Unidad 9 La Plata.-
Charge: Actions to the detriment
Petition denied 4-3-79
Habeas Corpus denied 12-15-78. Case 31.650.

Resp. to the OAS denied letter 2-9-79 - File

PEN - No. 3217/76 - Unidad 9 La Plata - Option to leave country.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Ver Buenos Aires 81-9694 Congr. Peticiones

HABER, Luis (Father)
(Mr. Scherrer-Legal Attache)

HABEGGER, Norberto 735/79/11 Dis in Brazil

Profession: Journalist and Novelist

ALSO.

According to the Herald Newspaper, 8-25-78, in Rio they reported him missing and presumed by the BPI that he may have been arrested and handed over to the Argentine authorities. Habegger was deputy editor and later editor of the newspaper Noticias, which was the official mouthpiece of the Peronist leftwing and often spoke for the Montoneros terrorists. ArgentineEmbassador to Brazil, Oscar Camilion, said on August 19th was the last time he had knowledge of Habegger. Date of des: August 3-78 while passing through Rio on his way to Madrid.

WDLA 11-78

(over)

C-67/79/11 Kairuz

HADDAD, José

P
Option

PEN- Unidad 9 La Plata.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Amb. Del. Buenos Aires (Father)
Direct to Consulate. 11-2-77.

PA-9043

16/77/11 ARG-SWED. D

HAGELIN, Dagmar
(Arg.-Swedish dual national)
Arg 17
C.I: 6.309.618

10-11-21-77 Neg.

Disappeared in Buenos Aires. h. dau. of Palomar.

PAHR(L)
NL
Letter to Mr. Vance from: (11-8-77)
Count Wilhelm Wachtmeister, Rowal Swedish Embassy, Wash.
Comp. primera - Libert. de la Argentina
US.interest. AA-8442
SWED. Liberal
Arg. Cons. of Boston
Com. Tourrock
Patricia Edmunds

HAIR, Guillermo D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

HAIRABEDIAN, Carlos
Ex Juez de Foro de la Pcia. de Córdoba

Detained in 1974. At present in Córdoba jail.

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cancer Amb. Cong. 9/78

D

HAIT, Miguel Angel
AGE; 22
DNIS 11.752.276

DIS

PAHR(L)
FDD

HAKIMFAKS, Moisés Omar
Age 24
CI: 7.449.754

699/78/12

D

Disappeared 5-9-77

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
DAIA
Ubach Le. Miguel
PAHR (L)

D

HALIS

DIS 6-11-76

PAHR(L)
ML

HALL DE DA COSTA, Patricia
Age 26
CI: 6.164.459

DIS 10-14-76

PAHR (L)

R/FDD

R
1

HALLGARTEN, FERNANDO
CI. 6163705 - .D.U.(Duplicado) 12991245
Age 20
LC: 11.994.244

Disappeared since 8-26-76 after a telephone call to his mother.

ML
Hallgarten, Paz Cionfrini de (Mother)
LC 1326860
Bolivar 3259 - Piso 3°"A"-Mar del Plata
Tel. 2-5687
CAHR (L)
Testimony to Representatives.
Statement to Senators.
FDD 11-8-78

HANF, Walter (German radio correspondent)

Arrested and imprisoned in 10/74; present status unknown.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

HANONO, Celia Estela
Capital
Cl 6.3.44.00 x 6.4.44.00

Disappeared 9-22-76 Corrientes 1300 - Bs As

PAHR (L)
ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Buenos Aires
DAIA

HANONO, Laura Judith

Detained in Santa Fé

ADLeague

HANONO, Rene Julieta

Detained in Santa Fé

ADLeague

HANONO, Saúl Eduardo

Arrested on 3-7-77. At present in unidad 9 de La Plata.

PAHR/4
Elena Hanono de Ponce (XXXXXXX Sister)
25 de Mayo 19. Bo. Bombal-Mendoza

8-2-77 Leter to T. Todman.
Amb Def. League

HARASSENCHUK PASTERNIK, Paulo

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

HARDL-ALVAREZ, Verónica

Harris data 2-26-79

HARDOY, Ruben Guillermo
LE: 7.790.329
CI: 8.671.337

AED 4-29-76 Ramos Mejía - Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
ML

HARGOUAS, Maria Elena
DNI: 12.291.724

DIS 11-26-76 La Plata (Bs. As.)

La Plata Pris 10/78
PAHR (L)

HARNICKA, María Margarita

Disappeared 11-14-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HARRIEGUE, Nélson Bautista
Cometarsa
Age 34
LE: 4.737.828

Disappeared 8-22-77 Campana

PRHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HATTEMER, Reinaldo Alberto
Age 26
LE: 10.436.045

DIS 2/77 Rafaela, Santa Fé in church during Brother's wedding.

RISC
ML

312/78/3

HAUPT, Nestor
Member of Inner Religion Group

ABD 2-16-78 Resistencia, Chaco

DEPT.Of State-State 064407
ML

D

HAURIE, Angel Jorge
LE: 5.323.273
Age: 36

ARR 10-17-76 Mar del Plata .

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
BED 11-6-78

D

HEBE, Susana Araceli

DIS

ML

D

HEBEGGER, Norberto
Writer-and-periodist

DIS

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

HECK DE MARCIOCCI, Laura Ana

Disappeared 5-22-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

F

HEINER, Mario

Under PEN

ADLeague

K

HEINRICH, Enrique
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

HEINZ, Ana Maria

Disappeared 5-7-76 together with 7 and 8 years children.

ML
ADLeague
PAHR(L)

D

HEINZE, Carlos Otto

DIS 7-15-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

HEINZE, Fernando Ricardo
DNI: 10.423.316
Quesada 3234 - Bs. As.
Age 22

Disappeared 8-3-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SDNARR
HELAL, Simon

ARR - U.S. - La Plata

ADLeague
ML

D

HELLER, Ramona Maglier de

Disappeared 9-26-76

ADLeague
ML

D L

HENRIQUEZ, Hernan Jorge
Lanus Age 45
CI: 4.809.039

Abducted on 5-4-77.

Cancer Quit. Comp. 9/78
ML
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78 (L)

"WOLA - 11-78"

HERAFFER, Eduardo Ezequiel

Disappeared 6-13-76

PAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

HEREDIA, Francisco M.
Age 24
CI: 6.310.854

DIS 11-9-76

PAHR (L)

HEREDIA, Julio
J. Ingenieros 5154, R. de Escalada

ARD 1-4-77 from homw with wife and O. Plaul

ML

D

HEREDIA, Luis Jorge

DIS 5-27-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

HEREDIA, Mrs.

D

ABD 1-4-77 from home with husband and O.Plaul

ML

D

HEREDIA, Pedro A

DIS

PAHR(L)

D

HEREDIA DE FERNANDEZ, Gilda

DIS

PRHR(L)
ML

D

HERMAN, Juan Marcos

Disappeared July 1977

ML
ADLeague

293/22/12 D *

HERMANA ALICIA (Monja)
(Alicia Domon) Age 40
CI: 8.095.241

Reported to have been seen in Mech. School. Maggio Letter 4-10-78.
Arrested by the Argentine Security Forces in front of the Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77.

PRHR(L)

Cong. Hernán GA-6673
Jud. Temib GA-6676
Friends Exchange

ML
Cong. Hebrew GA-6676
Cong. Union & Benefit
Jud. E. Hill Habitat GA-6677

Cong. Nuevo GA-7773
Jud. Bloom GA-7779
Cong. Unit GA-7774
Cong. Kehillat Israel GA-7776
Jud. Sucursal GA-7777
Jud. Nueva GA-7782
Jud. Migdal Tikvah GA-7780
Cong. Tucuman GA-7781
Jud. Ramos GA 7751

242/22/12 D*

HERMANA LEONIE (French nun)
(Leonie Duquet)
Ref 60
CII: 6.365.893

Reported to have been seen Mech. School. Maggio
Letter 4-10-78

Arrested by the Argentine Security Forces in front of the Santa Cruz Church on 12-8-77. Ramon Mejia - BA. Aires 12-10-77

PRHR (4)

HERNANDEZ, Dardo D

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

HERNANDEZ, Hugo D

DIS Córdoba

ml

D

HERNANDEZ, Juan Carlos

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)

D

HERNANDEZ, Luis H.
Peugeot

Disappeared 9-14-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

HERNANDEZ, Mario (lawyer, historian, journalist and editor)

(2-24-78)
Abducted in 4/76; allegedly tortured, present status and whereabouts unknown.

Penn(L)
Le Monde 6-10-78
WL
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Lisa Arg. Der. Hombre
Colinas Cent. Emig. 9/78

HERNANDEZ R.
Met Com

Detained 4-22-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HERNANDEZ, Victor
Met Com

Detained 4-22-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HERNANDEZ RODRIGUEZ, Jorge
DNI: 9.266.220
Apt 22

Disappeared 8-23-77

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D L

HERNANDO GARCIA, Leonor
Leonor

Desaparecida el 4-9-76

Cancer Amb Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

HERNANDEZ HEREDIA, Concepción D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

HERNANDEZ RODRIGUEZ, Jorge (Uruguayan)
Arc 12
DNI: 92.166.026

Disappeared 8-23-77

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HERRERA, Abel

K

Killed 10-75 Tucumán

AISC

HERRERA, Antonio

D8

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)
WOLA 11-78

D

HERRERA, Claudio Daniel

Disappeared 5/76

1

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

HERRERA, Daniel

P

ARR Sierra Chica

AISC (AI)

HERRERA, Gregoria M. de

D

DIS 7-23-76 Boulogne Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

HERRERA, Josefina

ABD 3/76 from home in Buenos Aires

ML

2 1

8 HERRERA, Antonio Juan

Reported PEN
Reporter Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

D

HERRERA, Leon Alvaro
Age: 23

DIS 5-13-77

PAHR (L)

C-81/82/12

HERRERA, Manfredo Osvaldo

P
Optica

PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Presentado directamente Consulado.

D

HERRERA, Mario (Journalist)
Age 20

-14-

Abducted in 3/76; present status and whereabouts unknown.
killed

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
NL
PAHR (1)

D

HERRERA, Miguel Jerónimo
~~Age: 36~~
Doc. 7.089.268

DIS 5-3-76

Tucumán
PAHR (1)

D

HERRERA, Nestor Ubaldo
Age 29
Doc. 8.068.279

Disappeared 1-28-76 Tucumán

Tucuman
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

HERRERA, Ricardo Raúl
Age 31
DI: 5.738.617

Disappeared 7-21-76 San Isidro

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
hrg. arg. Del. Simla

D

HERRERA, Roberto Justo
Age: 23
Doc. 11.762.449

DIS 8-1-76

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

HERRERA, Rodolfo H

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

HERRERA, Rosa Dalia
Age: 29
CI: 5.636.765
Guemes 4265-Buenos Aires

ABD 5-13-77 from home with A. Herrera

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-19-78 (L)

D

HERRERA, Victor Eduardo
Age 24
Dic. 10.219.683

Disappeared 10-16-75 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

HERRERA DE BERNAL, Raquel

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

D

HERRERA LEON, Alvaro (Colombian)
Age: 23

ABD with R.D. Herrera at her home

ML

D

HERRERA DE MANJINI, Leonor Ines

Disappeared 3/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

HERRERO, José Luis

DIS 3/76 Mendoza

ML

HERRERO, José Luis

ABD 3-23-76 San Juan

AISC (Arg.Komm Sweden)

HERRERO, Juan Carlos

DIS 4/76 Bahia Blanca, Bs.Aires

ML

C-21/22/11

HERRERO, Juan Carlos
Hum. student
Apt 24

Arrested 1975 in B. Blanca
Carcel de Rawson - PEN.

ex-Partido Socialista
Herrero, Martin (Brother)
Av.9 de julio 571 Phone: 38968 (Friend Delama)
Carlos Tejedor 6455 Zelarrayan 655-Torre 2 1er P°
Bahia Blanca F.C.C.F.R.

HERRERO, Julia B. de
Córdoba

Disappeared 3-28-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HERRERO, Máximo Fernando

DIS 6-19-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

HERRERO, Ricardo R.

DIS 7-27-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

HERRON FERNANDEZ, Jairo de Jesus (Colombian) D
DNI. 92.055.404
Ruta 3 Km. 35 - G. Catan

Arrested on 3-24-77 by Sec. Forces. Without news from him since then.

Herron, Irma C. de (Wife)
LC. 5120156
Ruta 3 Km. 35 - G. Catan

PAHR(L)

HERSEY, Carlos D
C.D.Smata (Córdoba) - Córdoba

Disappeared since 11-8-74

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HERZEN, Lorenzo Gerardo D
Le Petit

Disappeared 11-16-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

394/78/5 D

HEUMAN, Jorge Eduardo Dr.
DNI: 7.882.089
DoB: 8-31-49

Gov reply 9-15-78: PEN Exp. 1613 - 2/18/79
Charges: PCR miembro
Place: Prov Police Bs Aires

Abducted 3-29-78.
Abd. at Camino de Cintura y Crovara in La Matanza. April 1978

ALL.
PAHR(L)
Bp Ca. H. Clipping 4-13-78
San Justo
Cancr. Quito Emb. 4/78

T HIDALGO, Juan LE 8.159.932. (P)
HIDALGO, Elba Ines Fresno de LC 5.739.353 D
Cerritos 2915- Munro(Prov.Bs.As.) A

Arrested on 4-12-77 by unknown men. On 4-19-77 they arrested also his wife. Since then disappeared.

Fresno, Jacinta Margarita de (Mother in law and mother)
LC 8.584.540
José Ingenieros 549-Gral. Alvear(Mendoza)
AL PAHR(L)

8-15-77 Letter to T.Todman.
Ricardo Campbell Amb. 8/15
Embajada Real Argentina, Avenida 3942-Cap (Austin)
Arsenal call 67-1805

"WOLA-11-78"

D

HIDALGO SOLA, Hector (Dr.)
Diplomat

Reported to have been seen in Mech. School.Maggio letter 4-10-78.

DIS 1977.

Harris data 8-14-78

HIEL, Manuel
Córdoba

Disappeared 3-26-76 Córdoba

PAHR
ML
ADLeague

HIETALA, Estela Susana
(Wife of Guillermo Hietala)

DIS 5-20-77 in Vicente Lopez (Prov.Bs.As.) with husband.

Finnish Emb.

HIETAIA, Guillermo
Age: 35
Zárate, Buenos Aires
DoB: 4-11-1944

652/76/12

GOA reply: 2-23-77: have no antecedents.
-jc-
ABD 5/77 with wife in Vicente Lopez.

ML
Finnish Emb.

HIETALA, Hanna de (Eila Hannuksela) 651/78/12

Age: 68
Zárate, Buenos Aires
DoB: 9-10-1911 Finnland.

GOA reply 2-23-79: Neg. reply.

AED 5/77 in S.A.de Giles, Buenos Aires.

Finnish Emb.
ML

HIGA, Juan Carlos
Diario japones Akoku Nippo

Disappeared

CAHR(L)
Le Monde 6-10-78
ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-26

HIGA, Katsuya (Japanese)
Age 21
Student from C.C.E.

Disappeared 8-21-76 Montevideo a Corrientes about Bs.As.

CAHR(L)
ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HINOMOTO,
Student

DIS

Parent owne a "Tintorería" 44 Str. corner 8-La Plata.

La Plata List

HINRICHSEN, Ricardo Alberto (Civil) 16/76/11 *

Arrested: March '76

For.
Deported. Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76

'76 3

C-241/78/2 242/78/11 *

HISI, Carlos Alberto
28 años

PEN with charge Coronda (Santa Fé)
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Maria L. Paez de Hisi (Mother)
Diaz Colodrero 2367-Dpto.1ºSanta Fé

NASSAR. Raul (Amcit).

66

e-140/78/2 246/78/1 *

HISI, José Luis

Min Int. refused visit to Rep. Rejected w/o Comments

PEN- s/cargo- Coronda (Santa Fé.) Tiene visa para entrar por 90 días a Rep. Senegal, fechada 1-10-78.

Maria L. Paez de Hisi (Madre)
Diaz Colodrero 2367-Dpto.1-Santa Fé

Raul Nasser(Amcit)

HIAVNICKA, Pablo Guillermo
DNI 10704724
HIAVNICKA, Maria Margarita
DNI 12079022
Arrested on 11-24-76. Maria Margarita disappeared on 4-20-77.

Hlavnicka, Sara A. Trico de (Mother)
LC 0013288
José Marmol 435 - Capital

Testimy to Representatives.

PAHR (L)
ML

HOBBS, Alicia María
DNI: 11.746.944

DIS 9-18-77

PAHR (L)

HOBSON, Margarita Julia

ARR Villa Devoto Prison

AISC

665/78/9 D1978

HOCHMAN, Abraham
LE: 4.311.323
CI: 4.749.317
DOB: 2-19-1940 in SAN JUAN,Arg.
Profesion: Lawyer
Member of Vanguardia Comunista
GCA reply: Inad.

Advertisement in Nacion 1/24/79

Arrested on 8-17-78 from his home.
PAHR(L) Congr. Graimo Mail 042782
Ulda E. Viana de.Hochman (Wife)
Sucre 2683- 1°"D"-Capital Cousin Sra.Garcia
Personal call Embassy 9-28-78 Phone: 743-0197
Carter Wars Cong. 4/79
Anti Def. League-Rosenthal 9-14-78
Australian Emb.

D

HOCHMAN DE ANTEVI, Nora E.

ABD 6-23-76

ML

HODL, Carlos Enrique
Age: 26 C.I. 6.409.087 LE: 8.539.934
Lafinur 2491, Quilmes, Bs.As.

AED 2-2-77

Aline E. Moreno de Hödl (Mother)
Caseros 438 - Bernal 1876 252-2652
PAHR (2)
ML

HODOLA, Oscar Luis
Age 23

Disappeared 5-17-77 from Neuquen.

RISC
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

HOFFMAN, Hugo C

Disappeared

PAHR (2)
ML
ADLeague

HOGAS, Angel

DIS 11/76 Buenos Aires

ML

R/FDD

TRANSFF
HOJMAN, Alberto
CI.6.874.438
Age: 19

S

Disappeared on 4-28-76.

Hojman, Ana (Mother)
CI 2.439.737

ML PEHR(1)
8-19-77. Statement to Senators.
JOIN FDD

HOKLOFER, Maria Ninga

Detained, In Villa Devoto PEN Decree 1393/75

ADLeague

D

HOLGARTEN, Fernando

DIS 9/76 Mar del Plata, Bs.Aires

ML

P

HOLGER, Dora Cecilia

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

Killed D 78

HOLMBERG, Elena
Worker of Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto

DIS 12-20-78.
Reappeared 1/12/79 - death

La Nación clipping 12-22-78

D

HOLMQUIST, Luis Adolfo
Age 22
Dx. 12.149.627

Disappeared 5-29-76 Tucumán

Tucuman
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

HOLT, Adrian

Casad PEN.
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper

307/78/3

HOLZER, Dora Cecilia

GOA rpt'd 3-11-78:

PEN: Sto. 2112 7-10-77
Cargo. Ideologías disociadoras desarrolladas en Unión Educativa Argentina Gral. San Martín, Colegio Leo Bovasio.
Alojada: Asilo Buen Pastor (Córdoba)

Detenida en Córdoba.

D

HONSON, Margarita

Disappeared 6-15-76 with husband

ADLeague

K

HOPEN, Daniel Saul
Journalist

Killed

PAHR (L)
Le Monde 6-10-78
ML
DAIA

236/22/12 *
D

HORANE, Eduardo Gabriel
farmer
Age 24
L! A. 48/.135

Arrested by the Argentine Security Forces in front of Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77.

WOLA 11-79
Cancer Amb. Cong. 9/78
PAHR (L)

HOREN, Berta

Under PEN in Villa Devoto, judged.

ADLeague

HOREN, Mauricio Saul

Ceased PEN - Ra Nacion 16-21-78

Under PEN, Resistencia Chaco

ADLeague

C - 227/78/6

HORNE, Silvia Rene

Hum Dept. refused visit 11/78 as under judicial system.

Under PEN in Villa Devoto Decree 192/75, judged.

ADLeague

HORRAC, Maria Beatriz
Si. adulta.

Detained since 4-5-76. At present under PEN No. 427, in Unidad Penitenciaria 2 de Villa Devoto, Planta 5, Celular 4, Celda 103.

A.I. Australian - Adoptive
Horrac, Beatriz Rozadilla de (Mother)
DI. 3.154.894
Calle 48 No. 1336-La Plata
Cancer Aust. Amgs. 9/78

HORTILLANO, Ariel

Disappeared 5-21-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HORTO, Miguel -
La Tratern. FCGSM-Capital

Disappeared since 6-30-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

HORTON, Miguel Angel
DNI: 10.609.049
Age 24
Member Comm. Party
Marcelino Bellini 29349 - Caseros Norte (Bs. As. Prov.)

Disappeared 6-30-77 - Peia B.A.
Nsemi Ester Jolde. DNF. 6.421.349 - Casares m Baldini 1934

Concer Amst. Comm. 9/78
Comm. Party
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

FDD. 11-6-78

HOSSON, Juana Margarita D

Disappeared

PAHR (L)
ADLeague
ML

D

HOST VENTURI, Francisco Salvador (Italian)
CI. 4.512.291
Imove 1377 - Fr. Ac.
Age 35

Disappeared 2-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

493/78/7 D

HUARQUE, Julia Nat. (Arg)
(Physicist)
Age 2o
Ritleyum 672 Cosmic
LC: 16.451.364

GoA reply 1-30-79 - Hay reply

Abducted. 6/8/76. Rosario

PAHR (1)
Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS
Lig Arg Der Hombre

L

422/78/6 D

HOURQUEBIE DE FRANCESE, Maria Mercedes

Arrested on 11-3-77 by people who said to be from the Police. Since then disappeared.

Francese de Bettini, Marta del Carmen
Andres Bello 9, Madrid 28, España

D

HUARTE, Susana Noemí

Age 23 DNI: M.995.759

[illegible]

DIS 5-6-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

PAHR (1)

HUBERMAN, Fajwel

at time: La Prensa 6-2-78

DAIA

HUBERMAN, Javier

At time La Prensa 6-2-78

Amia Delegacion
DAIA

D

HUBSCH, Franz

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

HUDER DE PRADO, Norma S.

DIS 10-1-76 Mar del Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

R/FDD

HUERAVILO SAAVEDRA, Oscar Lautaro (A) (chilean) D
C.I. 7.765.891
D Fitz Roy 2294 - Buenos Aires
S Member Comm. Party
Age 24
Arrested on 5-19-77. Disappeared since then.

HUERAVILO, Eliana Saavedra de. (Sister)
C.I. 7.333.353.
Beruti 3053, Capital

Letter to Derian.
Statement to Senators.
Cancer Anti Conv. 9/78.
NL PAHR(L)
Hug Org Gen Fiorini
Comm Party
FDD. 11-6-78

R/FDD

HUERAVILO, Mirta Mónica Alonso de (A) D
C.I. 6.608.425
D Fitz Roy 2294 - Buenos Aires
S Member Comm. Party

Arrested at her grandfather's funeral (Lavalleja 1556) on 5-19-77. She was pregnant of 6 months on 8-18-77.

HUERAVILO, Eliana Saavedra de (Sister in law)
C.I. 7.333.353
Beruti 3053 - Capital

Letter to Derian.
Statement to Senators.

Cancer Anti Conv. 9/78
NL
Comm. Party

537/78/9 D

CASTRO HUERGA MARTINEZ, Maria Antonia (Uruguayan)
ficha Enero 67 Fr. Ar

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

ML
UNHCR-Refugee registered
3-9-78
Cong Núñez

UNHRC - 9-5-78

BA 9:24

D

HUERGO, Gladys

ABD 11-25-76 from Policlínico Posadas

ML

D

HUERTA, Susana
Medicine Student
Af: 11

DIS March 1976 Córdoba

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
Panr (1)

D

HUGHES, Juan Angel
Age: 15

ABD upon leaving school by Intelligence Services of the Army on August 11, 1976 in the city of Juan Bautista Alberdi, Prov. Tucuman.

Note to Prof. Derian & letter to Pete Peters 9-1-78

Hughes, Victorino Raúl
La Paz, Bolivia

Am. Cit. 1/28/77/9

D HUNT, Billy Lee
C.I.de Extranjería No. 358.617
Pasport: 288.400 (Washington-3-9-1954)
DPOB: May 6, 1948, Lebanon, Tennessee

Disappeared on 4-8-77. Thru extraofficial information it is believed that he is in prison en the Prison located in street Boulogne Sur Mer. (Detained PEN)

GOA reply - 1-18-79 - Req. reply. D O S

HUNT, Evie Lou (Brother)
C.I. Ext. No. 351.473 - Passport No. 288.400
Mendoza
Mendoza Family Visit 8/78
8-12-77 - letter to Derian.
ML PAHR(1) FDD
Apparently he is being detained by the 8th Army Brigade in Mendoza Penitenciary. Foreign Ministy recently informed Embassy that GOA has no record of Mr. Hunt being arrested and his whereabouts are unknown to them.
TH Raised with FOWGHR by Sherman Harris on 9/28/77.
WOLA-11-78

D

HUNZIKER, Claudia Elizabeth
CI: 6.429.196

Disappeared 7-28-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
hq Arg. Ser. Number

D

HUNZIKER, Diego Raúl
Age: 19
Clf: 6129.145

Disappeared 9-4-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

HUNZIKER, Héctor Ernesto
Age 24
DNI : 10.791.103

Disappeared 12-19-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

HURST
Astilleros

DIS

La Plata List

HWANG, Hiler

64 4/78/11 FF

GOA reply 2-23-79: Have no antecedents.

Detained in Unidad 20, Penitenciario Federal Barracas 375, Capital. Without Charge.

U.S. American Citizen. interested via U.S. church group. (11/78)

D 77

IANNOTTI DE GAMBERO, Maria E[illegible]
LC: 3721.568
Age 41
Member Comm. Party

Habeas Corpus filed-Oct.6-77.San Martin.No response.

Disappeared 9-14-1977
Taken by a group of armed men in civilian clothes, who claimed to be security forces from a carpenters shop in Merlo.Her husband,Jorge Osvaldo Gambero, owner of an electrical repair shop for 22 years in Merlo, has compiled a large file documenting his exhaustive and futile attempts to find his wife.
La Nación clipping 4-12-78
Comm. Party PAHR(L)
BA HERALD - NOV. 4-78 - HUSBAND SEEKS MISSING WIFE STILL "

IANNOVER, Rafael

R -78

PEN: 24-3-76
La Nacion paper-8-30-78- released and is under servileness in province de La Rioja.

D

IBALO, Antonio Alberto
LE: 10.119.749
Encina, Laferrere, Bs.As.

ABD 2-10-77 from home with wife Ana M.

PAHR(L)
ML

IBAÑEZ, Alberto Anibal

DIS 1-21-77 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

IBAÑEZ, Cristina

ARR 12-4-74 Catamarca- Held in V.Devoto PEN - Sentenced to 4 1/2 yrs.

AISC (CADHU)

IBAÑEZ, Guillermo

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

IBAÑEZ, Luisa Ana
~~Age: 29~~
Doc. 5.991.492

DIS 5-27-77

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

IBAÑEZ, Mario
Mendoza

Detained since Febr-uary in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

IBAÑEZ, Roberto Anibal
DNI. 10617123 Age: 24 Med. student.
IBAÑEZ, Silvia Beatriz Albares de
DNI. 11576135
Ciudadana de Necochea

He was arrested on 1-25-77 in La Plata city. On 6-19-77 Silvia Beatriz was arrested at her parent's home. Since then disappeared.

Ibañez, Olga Lopez O. de (Mother)
LC 0552883
Rivadavia 114 - Juan N. Fernandez (1170)
Tel. 8 Pertenece al Pto.de Necochea)

Personal visit to Mr. F,Allen Harris, 9-11-77.
PAHR (L)
Cancer Aid Comm. 9/78
ML

de Bastoza
IBAÑEZ, Silvia Elvira
Age: 27
LC: 6.374.618

D

DIS 9-7-77 Mar del Plata

FDD
CAHA

D

IBAÑEZ DE FREITMAN, Beatriz

DIS

AJL
ML

D

IBARGUREN, Julio César (hijo)
Age 20
LE: 12.235.463

Disappeared 9-24-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

IBARLUCEA, Luis Cesar

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

IBARLUCEA ESCOBAR, Marcelo G.

ARR Sierra Chica

AISC

IBARRA, Carlos Antonio
~~Age: 21~~
Doc. 11.649.938

DIS 12-3-76

Tucumán

PAHR (1)

IBARRA DE BALLUSTRO

DIS LA PAMPA

PAHR (L)

IBARRA DE HALEY, Isabel 9 78

Paraguaya.

1978 La Nacion, ordered to leave the country. Oct.17-78

ICARDI, Jorge Orlando

DIS 1-31-77 La Plata - Bs.As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

ICARDI, Mario Virginio

D

DIS 9-12-77 La Plata - Bolo

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

ICHNER, Enrique

ADLeague

IDELMAN, Mario Hugo
Journalist and writer

DIS 9-28-76

PAHR(L)
ADLeague
Le Lundi 6-10-79
ML

IGAZ, Claudia Inés

DIS.

DAIA
PAHR(1)

D

IGGER, Mauricio

Disappeared 7/75

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

IGLESIAS, Alicia Galzetta de

Arrested on 9-12-76. After a disappearance of four months, she was seen in the prison of Neuquen.

Wim Alting (Friend)
't Zuden 175 - Leek - Holland

D

IGLESIAS, Enrique Norberto
CI. 5.670.623
Arcos 1325 - Pro Ds.
Age 30

Disappeared 9-5-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

667/78/12 D78

IGLESIAS, Estrella
Worker at Laboratorios Squib

DIS August 1978.

AI
Comar Arch Congreso 9/78

D

IGLESIAS, Hugo Alfredo
Age 23
DNI: M. 459.610

DIS 2-15-77 La Plata-Bs As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(2)

IGLESIAS, Juan Miguel

DIS 1-31-77 La Plata - Bs As

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

489/78/7

IGLESIAS, Luis Francisco
37 years old

Goes to jail 1-30-79. Under PEN - Decree 3003 - 10-17-75
Exception 11-24-77 denied by Decree 340 - 3/14/77.

Arrested on 10-10-1975, charged with "violation of Law 20840 of Security of the State". At the end of October 1976 was declared innocent of all charges by Judge Lafuente.
At presente in La Plata prison.
His wife Alicia Caiguetta disappeared - now in Neurquen prison -

Wim Alting
't Zuden 175- Leek - Holland (Friend)
Coing. Silvia Cent. Ph-5879 AR-4668

IGLESIAS, Raúl Alberto

78

DIS 2-2-78 Lanus Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

IGLESIAS DE SANTI, Maria E.
Age: 55

DIS 5-27-77

FDD
PAHR(L)

IGNACE, Bernardo Raimundo
DC: 7.441.803
Address: 20 de Sept. 1141 Mar de Plata
Age: 23

Disappeared 3/77
Mothers visit to embassy on Oct.78.
Office Tel: 31798-hrs.-12-8pm,Mar de Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

IKONICOFF, Ignacio
C.I. 4.367.44 Pcia 35
See: Bedoyán, Maria (wife))
Pedriel 1740- Bs Aires

Age 34, physician at Univ. of Bs.As., member of Arg. Commission for Development of Exact Sciences and international representative, editor of "Ciencia Nueva, journalist (free-lance) "LA Opinión","Noticias","El Mundo", member of the board of Journalists Association in Buenos Aires.
Disappeared.
Emb. Dinamarca - 46 6 034939
Lic Mundi 6-10-78
mc PAHR(L)
Real Embajada de Dinamarca

ILARDO, Yolanda
CI: 8.572.317

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

780/77/1

ILDE, Ricardo Fortunato

Detained under PEN ; Right of Option

Consulate

D

NICOLETTI ?
ILLIA MIVOLETTI, José Santiago
Voz del Sur - Mendoza

6-5-76?
Disappeared 3-9-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
"WOLA 11/78"

D

ILLA, Santiago José
LE: 10.206.968

Disappeared 6/76

Mendoza Family Hist 8/76
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

ILSTEIN, Ruben Wladimiro

DIS 3-26-77 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

ILZARBE, Jorge
Age: 35
CI: 6.338.396
LE: 4.595.205

ABD 5-11-78 leaving work - Olivos Bs.As.

AISC

IMAZ, Armando Alberto
DNI: 10.548 219
Age 26

Disappeared 5-10-77

Mig Arg Der Hombre
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

INAINA, Daniel

AHR 11-2-77

Sen. Alan Cranston-behalf of Allan Daily 1-6-78
ML

INESTAL, Esteban

DIS La RIOJA

AISC

D

INFANTE, Julio Antonio

AED 5-16-76

PAHR(L)
ML

INFANTE ALLENDE, Adolfo Vicente 619/78/10 D
Allende, Adolfo Infante
CI: 4156016
Sucre 2212-Buenos Aires
(1633)
GOA reply 1-18-79: Negative reply.

Arrested on 6-13-77 together with wife Gloria Kehoe Wilson,
ML
PAHR(L)
Amcit uncle: Dr. Mario A.Dolan

Ernesto E. Kehoe Wilson (Father-in-law)
Posadas 1575-6°"D"-Bs.As. 771-1929;0017(Office)

Personal call 3-1-79

86

D 78

INFANTINO, Jorge Rosario

DIS 11-22-78

PAHR (L)

D

INFANTINO, Rosario Jorge
DNI: 11.702.120
Pcia. 1033. Bs. As.
Age 24

Disappeared 11-22-77

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D 78

INFESTA, Maria Esther
Age: 28
LC: 6.077.085

DIS 2-24/25-78

PAHR (L)

D

INGENIERO, Enrique Roberto
Age 24

Disappeared 5-5-77 Campana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

INGENIERO, Irma M.

DIS 5-5-77

AISC (A.D.P.H.)

INGOLD, Raul Horacio

Under PEN resistencia chaco

ADLeague

INGOLD, Victor Carlos

Removed from PEN. La Rioja 12-22-78
Under PEN Resistencia Chaco.

ADLeague

D

INIGUEZ, Luis Alberto

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

INIGUEZ ZARRETA, Piero R. (Uruguayan) D

DIS 7-13-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

INSUA, Lidio
Acindar

Detained - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D78

INTELISANO (Sra.)
Lawyer

DIS 11-22-78

PAHR (L)

INTZON, Ruben Anibal

ADLeague

INVERNOS, Ana Maria D

ABD

AISC

D

INVERNOZ, Marta Josefa

London PEN. Centre on Writers in Prison - 12-22-78

DIS

ML

561/78/5 D

INZAURRALDE, Melgar (Uruguayan)

DIS 4/77 in Paraguay

UNHRC. 9-1-78

D

INEGUEZ DE BRIZUELA, G.de
CI. 8.011.651

DIS

PAHR (L)

IOSELLI, Ana

ARR 3-14-77 Córdoba PEN - Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

IPARRAGUIRRE W., Beatriz

DIS 3-8-78 from an hospital en Bs.As. Prominent Hematologyst

AISC

IPOLA, Emilio
IPOLA, Carmen de - Chile sent Arg

Detained. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76 . GOA reply: 11-30-76
Detained PEN 88/76.

Linked 10-28-77 PEN Report
Senator Percy
ML
Cornell 11-5-77 Continued to leave country.

D

IPUCHE, Ricardo
Lawyer

Detained in October 1975 in Neuquen

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

IRAMAIN DE VITALE, Maria Trinidad
Age: 35
Doc. 8.036.991

DIS 7-24-76

Tucumán

PGHR(L)

D

D

IRASTORZA, Héctor Manuel
LE: 10.270.538
Medico Veterinario

Disappeared 2-10-77 in Comodoro Rivadavia.

Irastorza, Manuel
63 No. 1640-La Plata
Letter to Amb.Castro 6-16-78.
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

IRIARTE, Jorge José

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

IRIARTE, Jorge Luís D.
Hospital Ramón Carrillo-Ciudadela
Apt 24
LE: 9.498.041

Disappeared 8-25-77 Marín

FDD
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

IRIARTE, Juan

DIS 7-25-76 La Plata - Bs.As.Prov.

PEHR(L)
ML

KOWEL, Estanislao
Age 32
Cdl: 4.004.767

Disappeared 5-20-76 Bernal

FDD
ML
FDL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

KOZACH, Abraham
Lawyer

Disappeared

ADLeague

KOZAMMI, Alicia Raquel
KOZAMEH

Under PEN. Controlled Liberty 12/22/78
Under PEN-Villa Devoto

ADLeague

KRAMER, Rober (Dr.)
DOB: 8-25-1942

According to Comisaria 21 de Capital Federal he was abducted on 1212.1975 by two civilians.

German Embassy-Von Schlick

KRAMER, Werlach (Bolivian)

Student. Arrested together with Sergio Buitagro. Both have disappeared.

Bolivian Permanent Assembly for H.R. - 4-27-78

KRASUK, Nora Martha (Nee Mattion)

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

KRASUK, Raul Miguel

Under PEN - Resistencia (Chaco)
Removed from PEN - ha Haim 8-19-76

ADLeague

KRAUS, Alberto
CI: 6.862.764

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

KRAWSCZYK, Rebeca (nee Grischener)

Disappeared May 16 or June 11, 1976

ADLeague

KREIKER, ~~Maureen~~ Dory Rosa Maureen D

Apt 32
LC: 5.016.357

DIS 4-27-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

FAHR (L)

KREIMER, Adriana

Released from Villa Devoto prison on 10-12-77 with other 20 women. She had been arrested in April 1975 and released because they found her innocent of all charges. Previously she was arrested in 1974 and was in jail for some 6-8 months. She again was released. This time when she was released they did not return her Cedula and other documents, they told her her father Roberto had to come to get them. Family is concerned for the safety of Adriana thinking that it might be dangerous for her to remain in Buenos Aires.

ML

Ehrenschaft, Sylvia (cousin)
(212-548-2309)
Anti-Defamation League (M.Rosenthal)

KREINES, Jorge Alberto D

DIS

FAHR (L)
ML

D

KREMER, Rodolfo Abel

Disappeared 4-23-76

PAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

KREMER, Samuel

ARR 11/9/77 Córdoba - PEN 4-15-78 Libertad Prison. Córdoba
DIS

PAHR(L)
Amb. Def. Reagan
DAIA

184/78/7 D

KREPLAK, José Ariel
CI: 7.349.824
DOB: 10-19-60 Buenos Aires

GOA reply 1-30-79: Neg. reply.

Disappeared on 7-9-77, together with father and brother.
Father and brother were released later. He is disappeared.

Amb. Def. Reagan
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Dept.of State: STATE 181286

KREYKER, Alberto Mario

ADLeague

130/77/10 D *

KREYNES, Jorge Alberto

GAA reply 11-4-77: Neg.

Student disappeared in Buenos Aires in April 1977.

Senator Hayakawa GA-7974; AA-9146; DA-2203
~~XXXXXXX~~
Cig. Jorge Julio Cohen
Arth Sq. League

(R) D 1978

KRIADO, Celia
Licenciada en Ciencias de la Educación

DIS 8-9-78

11/16/78 -- reported in BA Her. as having been reappeared under PEN in De Voto.

PAHR 9-28-78

CoHA
AABS
NBS

D

KRICHMAN
KRICHNER DE OUTRON, Irene Claudia
Age 22
CII: 6.698.968

DIS 6-19-76

Amnesty League
ML
PAHR-Cross 5-17-78(L)

D

KRIGER, Clara Beatriz

Disappeared

PAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

D78

KRISCANTZKY, Ruben Bernardo

DIS 8-15-78

PAHR (L)

KRISTENCIC, Roberto Nicolino
KRISTASSIC, Roberto
Militant, water and energy.

Held under PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata -
Authorized to leave country. in Interm Pen. 10-14-75

ADLeague

KRIZYZANOSKY, Oscar E.

DIS Mendoza
Under PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata

RDL
FDD
PAHR (L)

KRONEMBERG, Daniel

ADLeague

KRUG, Alberto Raqui

DIS

ML
ADLeague

D

KRUTAN
KRUTAY, Dora

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

P

KRUTOY, Ernesto Andres

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé

ADLeague

KHUTOY, Juan José

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé

ADLeague

KUHN, Luis Fernando
DNI: 10.893.188

D-78

DIS 1-2-78

PAHR (L)

KUNKEL, Carlos Miguel
Ex diputado de la Juventud Peronista de la Prov. de Bs.As.

Detained on 9-7-75. At present in Resistencia, Chaco.

Cannon Amb. Cmte. 4/12/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-18-78

D

KUNT DE SCIANCA, Maria T
Age 22
DN. M. 180 140

Disappeared 5-21-76

Amn Inf. League
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ARNALDO?
KUPERMAN DE AMADIO, Silvia (Shelby, Silvia) Actress name D
Age 35

ABD 8-6-76

PAHR(1)
AI - Vienna 03383
Amn Inf League
ML
DAIA

D-

KUZMINSKI, Simeon Sergio

KUSMINSKY, Sergio Simeon

Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper
Gerard PELL - La Nacion 10-21-78

D

LA BANDIE DE ALFONSIN, E. de
Age: 17
CI: 8.863.490

DIS 11-23-77

PAHR (L)

D

LABAYRU, César Eduardo
Age: 25
DNI: 10.259.968

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

LABBATE, Pedro Hugo
CI. 4.595.570
Virrey Liniers 844-Capital
Age 34

Arrested on 7-12-76. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (L)
Labbate, Juan Carlos (Brother)
Neuquen 1835 - 7°Piso-Capital
Phone; 59-8862
ML

L

D

LABOLITA, Carlos Alberto
Age 24
DNI: 10.621.733

Disappeared 4-25-76 Las Flores

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

LABORDE, Domingo

DIS

ML

D

LABORDE, Miguel Angel
Age: 29
Chemistry Prof. Univ. La Plata

DIS 2-4-77

PAHR (L)
ML

LABRADOR, Miguel Angel
Art 26
CI: 8.506.916

Disappeared 9-15-76 Paraná

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

LABSNIKA, Pablo
Bco. Italia y Rio de la Plata

Disappeared 11-24-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LACAY, Lina

ARR 6-3-76 Santa Cruz - PEN Villa Devoto

AISC

D

LA CIOPPA, Jorge José
Age 49
LE: 12.954.739

Disappeared 5-16-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
NL

LACONI, Oscar Hugo

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

LAFARQUE, Juan Carlos
CI: 5.644.162

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

D

LAGO, Alejandro Oscar
Age: 27
LE: 7.887.614

DIS 10-21-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

9

LACREU, Aldo
Lawyer

Detained in April 1976 in Córdoba city.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

LACROIX DE PONCE, Maria Esther
LC: 3.554.616

Disappeared 7-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

LACROIX, M. Luis

DIS

ML

LAFLEUR, Gustavo Horacio
CI 6.622.674 - LE 4.445.954
Merlo 470-Castelar Pdo. de Moron (Bs.As.)

On 11-10-76 after searching our home a gropp of armed men; kidnapped my husband. Since then he is disappeared.

LAFLEUR, Helena Alepin de (Wife)
CI 4.641.315
DNI 4.568.386
Merlo 470-Castelar, Pdo. de Moron (Bs.As.)

5.11.77 Statement. Sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

LAGO, Alberto Carlos
LE. 7.775.870
Av. Rivadavia 2280-Dpto.L.-Piso 10-Capital

On 29 of December 1975, he left his home to take the bus to Cordoba. Since then disappeared.

Lago, Carmela Prizzi de (Mother)
LC 0.388.761

Testimony to Representatives.

D

LAGORIO, Carlos (writer)
Agtg

Abducted 1/22/77 - whereabouts unknown.

RL Mundi 6-10-78
ML
Listed 10-27-77 PEN REPORT

LAGOS, Alberto Carlos D

DIS 12-30-75

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D

LAGOS, Juan Fernando

DIS

ML

LAGOSIAN, Liliana

A.R.A.D - GOA - 9-5-78

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.

Amnesty International

LAGROTELLA, Salvador Antonio

Disappeared 11-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

LAGROTTERIA, Salvador A
DNI: 11.618.593
Age 28

DIS 11-9-76 with fiancee Alejadra I. Sierra

PAHR(L)
ML

LA HERA DE MERCADER, Anahi F.

ABD 2-13-77 La Plata

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

LAHORCADE, Ernesto Bonifacio

DIS 12/76

ML

170/77/11 *

LAJMANOVICH, Teresa
CI. 5.970.335
DIU' 10.356.162
Arenales 3800 - Piso 17"B" - Capital
Tel.: 72-1488

GOA reply 6-27-77 fr. PEN
N.R.A.D you are being investigated

GOA reply 9-5-78: N.R.A.D

Arrested by a group of armed men on 3-22-77. Since then disappeared.

State 279351, 11-22-77

Simon Lajmanovich (Quimico) (Father)
Belisario Roldan 57
Acassuso (792-5686)
USInterest-M.Bova -Mrs.Ana Gergely (Amcit.)(Sister)

LAIATA, Carlos Dario

DIS

ML

LAMA, Favio Guillermo

ABD 4-15-76

ML

LAMADRID, Luis Arturo

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

LAMAISON, Angela Rita
Resi
CI: 1.455.028

DIS 3-18-77

PAHR (L)

LAMARTE DE LOMBARDO, Rosa

Disappeared 4-28-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

LAMAS CUENCIO, José
CI: 6.532.415

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

LAMELZA, Heraldo Carlos

-25-
ABD 9/76 La Plata with wife

PAHR(L)
ML

LAMELZA, Mrs. Cristina

ABD 9/76 La Plata with husband Heraldo Lamelza

ML

LAMONEGA, Omar Miguel
Rfe 42

Disappeared 12-23-76 from home, Berisso Bs. As.

ML
La Plata Prot 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

LAMORCA, Ernesto Bonifacio

DIS

ML

R LAMORTE, Rosa (Sra. Ramos de Lamorte)
DNI 10.122.378
CI: 6.680.543

D

Arrested on 4-28-77 by uniformed army men. Since then disappeared.

Lamorte, Eugenio Costa de (Mother)
LC 1.347.318

Statement to Representatives.

PAHR (L)
ML

L

LAMOTA, Miguel
Member Communist Party

D

DIS 5-20-77

ML

LAMPUGNANI, Haydée Alicia
Age: 32
DOB: 12-14-1946

Kidnapped 10-5-76 in La Plata(Bs.As.Prov.). Disappea red until 4-12-77. During this time she was exposed to serious torture. Detained in several prisons and was not allowed to receive visitors nor correspon- dancy for a long time. At present in Unidad 2 Villa Devoto.
Her husband is missing since February 1975.

Danish Embassy

LAMY CZURY, Eduth
Arts

Disappeared 5-25-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

LANCILOTTA, Ana Maria

ABD 7-19-76 Villa Martelli - Bs.As. (8 months pregnant)

ML

LANCILLOTTA, Carlos
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

LANCIOPPA, Jorge José

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

LANDABURU DE CATNICH, Leonor R.
A/c 26
DNI: 10.043.698

Disappeared 8-31-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

LANDI, Dora Marta
DUN: 11.413.741
DOB: 3-18-1955 in Maria Ignacio Vela ,Partido de Tandil

Dis in Paraguay

Disappeared since May 1977.
In Jan.1978 parent were informed that she is under PEN, but they were not told where??

Amb Def. Asuncion
NL PAHR(1)

Landi, Herminio I. (Parents)
LE. 1.380.697 Sarmiento 852
Landi, Agustina Gil de 7000 TANDIL
LC. 0.710.835
Nidia Edith Landi(LE.6.416.273) (Sister) L

LANDIN, Horacio Ramón 655/78/12 D
DNI: 342.225
Age 25
Born 20-San Martin

Disappeared 9-9-77

NL
Amb Def. Asuncion
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Reg. Arg. Ser. Exterior

LANDIN, Martin Roman 656/78/12 D
DNI: 442.312
Age 21
Born 20-San Martin

Disappeared 1-19-77

Cmte Tandil Dept Mil 034938
Cmte Lindenmeier Mil 32410
Temple Pinai Sholom 11-14-78
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Amb Def. Asuncion

LANDRES, Elpidio E.
Mendoza

Detained since 2/1976 Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LANGLOIS (Dr.)
Age: Over 60

Detained in 1967. Unidad 9 La Plata.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

LANNE FERNANDEZ, Ubal (Uruguayan)

Detained at clandestin non identified place-May-June.
Left for Sweden 7-19-78.

REFOULEMENT

LANNO, Oscar Alberto
Propulsora Siderur.

Ceased PEN - La Nueva Arg. 10-14-78

Detained since april 1976 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LANZA, Francisco Antonio

DIS 1/76

FBHR(L)
ML

D

LANZAFAME, Miguel Angel
Hyo 21

Disappeared 3-4-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Arg. Un. Women

LANZILLOTTI, Osvaldo Gabriel D

ABD 1-24-77 w/wife Adela E. Candela by Security Forces

AISC

LANZILLOTO, Cristina de S. D
Age: 30
L. 5.597.735

DIS 11-17-76

PAHR (L)

822/79/3 T

LANZILOTTA, Carlos Alberto
La Prensa-Buenos Aires

Arrested in 3/76; imprisoned
UNDER PEN

FBI
Listed 10-28-77 Pen Report
ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78

D

LANZILOTTI DE SANTILLAN, M.C.
Age: 30
LC: 5.597.735

AED 11-17-76 w/husband Carlos B and 2 daughters, who were later found in Rosario

ML

P
T
R

(F)

LAPACO, Alejandra
DNI 12949112
Age 20

D

On 3-16-77 to 3-17-77 Carmen Elina Aguiar de Lapaco DNI 0946297 was arrested with her daughter Alejandra and Marcelo Miguel Angel Butti Arana. She was freed 28 hours after. Since then the two young people have disappeared.

Lapaco, Carmen Elina Aguiar de (Mother)
DNI 0946297
Marcelo T. de Alvear 934-Capital
31-1532

DAIA
PAHR(4) Statement. To T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.
Personal visit to Derian.

L

D

LAPATA, Carlos Darío
Age 25

Disappeared 10/76 Hurlingham.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
ML

E 37/78/11 D

LAPERA, Daniel Ricardo
DNI. 10.418.311 Ci: 3 418.311
Age: 24
Single
Calle 40 No. 70 entre 118 y 119 - La Plata

GOA reply 2-23-79: Neg. reply.

Disappeared since 6-15-77. La Plata

Letter Received fr Embassy - MAY 78
PAHR (L)
Lapera, Severo (Father)
Lapera, Irma Alcira Marco de (Mother)
M. Antonena 265
7000 TANDIL (Prov.Bs.As.)

T

LAPLASA
Inspector Universidad de Bahia Blanca

Detained in Bahia Blanca after 3-24-76. At present Unidad 9 La Plata, Pabellón 16.

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

LAPORTE, Alicia Raquel de

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

LAPORTE, Luis Eduardo
Age: 46
L. 8.539.937

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

LARA, Esmoris

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

LARA, Guillermo

DIS 5-8-76

POHR (L)
ML

261/78/1 D *

LAREU, Electra Irene
Age: 23

Disappeared on May 30th, 1977.

Cancer Asoc Prog 9/78
NL
GA-3769
Orig Filed
9/GLA 4-1-79

LAREU, Julio Eduardo 507/78/8 D
DI: 2.384.492
DOB: 7-1-27 - Buenos Aires
Deheza 2775- Buenos Aires

GOA reply: Unrad. 10-10-78

DIS 5-29-78

Reappeared 12/78 - Harris date 2/1/79.-

State 211538
Letter Berisso 5-14-78

ter

LA ROSA, Carlos Cayetano D. 1978
CI: 3.800.120
Age: 45

Dis: 3-8-78, Villa Zagala

FDD List-9-16-78

D

LARPIN, Luis Eduardo

DIS

ML

9

LARPIN, Luis Francisco

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé

ADLeague

D

LARREA, Juan Antonio

DIS

ML

D

LARRETA, Enrique

DIS 7-1-76

FARR (L)
ML

LARRETAPE, Fernando

Detained since Dic.75 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LARROQUETTE, Pedro
Acindar

Detained 3-2-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LARROSA, José Luis
CI: 5.012.749

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

LARROSA, Roberto Juan

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)
ML

LA SALETTE SEMINARIANS (4)

Released. Went to USA.

LASAROSKY, Alberto

DIS

ML

LASO, Juan José
(Lazo, Claudio Jorge)
L.E.: 11.003.801
Baigorri Oeste 365-Alta Córdoba, Córdoba

Was arrested by a group of 7 armed men on 12-23-75. Since then disappeared. Student of Economics. 21 years old. Was of the Juventud Peronista. (listed with wrong name in the Master List). Father died since 8 months.

Laso, Angelica Martinez de (Mother)
J.M.Estrada 743
5520 JESUS MARIA (Córdoba)

Manuela Antonia Martinez de Alonso, (Aunt) Bs.Aires Remedios 4368

LASORBA, Vicente

DIS 12-18-76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

de Lina

LA SPINA, Nora Susana
LC: 5.807.074

D

Disappeared 11-20-76 La Plata

La Plata Hist 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
fil Hug Arg. Ser. Hombre

LASSACA, Mrs.

D

DIS

ML

D

LATCOVICH, Liliana Carlota
Age: 26
CI: 6.656.213

DIS 6-12-76 Avellaneda

FDD

D

LATINO DE CURTOLO, M. Teresa de
Age: 25
DNI: 10.865.735

DIS 7-3-76 Rosario-Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

LATORRE, Liliana
LATORRE,

P

Cronica PEN - La Nacion 10-21-78

repeated Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion
CRIM APP CT ORDERED RELEASED FROM PEN. 11/78
Crónica 11-13-78

LATRONICO, Vicente Enrique
Age 22
DNI: 12.348.322

D-78

DIS 5-24-78

PAHR (L)

LAURA, Salvador (Chilean)

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

LAURONI, Enzo (Italian)
Age 28
DI: 9-766.695

Disappeared on August 8, 1977 in Cipolletti town, prov. of Rio Negro.

Buenos Aires Herald clipping 1-6-78
PAHR (L)

LAURONI DE ALMIRON, Mónica

DIS 8-8-77

PAHR (L)

D

LAUS, Eduardo Pelipe

DIS 10-12-76 Rosario, Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

P

LAVA, Horacio
Lawyer

Detained in Neuquen in 1976, at presente in Rawson Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

LAVAGGETTO, Juan

Disappeared 11-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
#1

D

LAVAGNANTE VERON, Alicia
LC. 4.025.455

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

LAVAGNE, Roberto Carlos
LE: 5.332.011
Age 33

Disappearance 6-30-77 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LAVALL DE MORINI, E.C.

DIS

ML

D

LAVALLE, Antonio Gustavo
Age: 26
DNI: 11.489.799

DIS 6-20-77 José C. Paz Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

B

LAVALLE, Baby

Lemos, Haydée Vallino de (Grandmother)
Rivadavia 5951, Piso 12 "C"-Capital

D

LAVALLE, Gustavo Antonio M
DNI: 11.489.799

Disappeared 7-20-77 with wife.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

K

LAVALLE, Hugo

Killed 76 Tucumán

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

LAVALLE, Hugo Anibal
Age 26
DNI: 10.211.685

DIS 9-13-75 La Plata

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

D

LAVALLE, Oscar Agustín

Disappeared 3-20-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

84/77/9

LA VALLE, Osvaldo Ynacio F.
Gral. Sarmiento
DN: 4.732.477
Age 31

Kidnapped 7-15-77. Mmember of Socialist Party about 10 years ago.

Gen cty: 11-4-77 Neg.

Mary La Valle, [redacted] (Sister-in-law)
Senator Riegle (D.-Mich. [illegible])

Neg Orig Ser. Hombres.

7-23-77
155 79

LAVALLE, Roberto Francisco
Profession: Lawyer
Address: Los Cocos Km.14-Barrio Villa Rivera Indarte

Arrested by a group of young men, on (no date) from his home. Since then disappeared.
Under PEN - 3-22-78

La Voz del Interior clipping, no date.

LAVATELLI, Daniel
Age: 23
Engineer student

ABD 4/76 from home, Barrio Jardin-Córdoba

AISC

D

LAVIGNE, Enrique

DIS 12/76 LA Plata

PARR (L)
ML

D

LAVINO, Alberto

DIS 2-21-77

North zone Bs.As. Prov.

LAZARO CARRASCO, Carlos Alberto

R

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

LAZAROSKY, Alberto

Disappeared

ML
ADLeague
PAHR(L)

D

LAZARTE, Jorge Manuel

Disappeared 7-17-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

LAZARTE, Jorge Omar
Age: 23
Metal Worker of Aceros Gurmendi
LE: 11.403.412

ABD 7-17-77 w/fiancee Ema Donofrio Avellaneda

PAHR (L)
ML
FDD

LAZCANO, Jorge

DIS 3-34-76 Tigre-Bs.As.

AISC

LAZILLOTA, Carlos A
La Rioja

Detained 3-23-76-Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LAZILLOTO DE SANTILLAN, Cristina

Disappeared 11-17-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

LAZO, Claudio ~~y~~ Jorge

ABD 1-8-76 from Banco de Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

LAZZARA, Roberto Orlando
DNI: 10.424.298

D48

DIS 1010-78
Arrested from Remedios 2806-Capital together with girl friend and baby of 2 1/2 months old. Dis. since then.

Emilia D. Della Piane de Lazzara (Mother)
Alem 373, Bernal
252-1370

Personal call Embassy 1/9/79.

D

LAZZONI, Anibal Orlando

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

LEAL, Cristina
Prof.sec.esc.tec. - Santa Fé

Detained 3-24-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LEAL, Sebastian
AR 28
LI. 7.645.247

Detained 10-21-76 - Unidad 1 - Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR(L)

43/77/1 *

LEBEDINSKY, Susana Beatriz
DNI. 12.647.310 - CI. 8.379.853
Constitución 480 - San FernandoBs.As.
AR 28
GOA reply 9-15-78 N.C.A.D.

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 1-19-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77
6-30-77 8-1-77
NO

Detained on 5-18-76.

Stirbo father?

Sen. Kennedy. AR 765: normal visit of parent 4/6/78.
DEAD PAHR(L)
Arg. Amer. Rel. Comm
Inf. Arg. Der. Hombre
77/43 Amn. Lib. League

LEBENSON, Mrs.
Age: 64

D

DIS 2/77 Mother of Bernardo Lebenson

AISC

D

LECHESI, Raúl Mauricio
Age: 45
Doc. 7.035.781

DIS 6-17-77

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

LEDA, Graciela del Carmen

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

157/77/10 D *

LEDER, Marcus (lawyer)
Age: 69
CI. 2.254.466
Puyrredon 457 - 3°"11"
Buenos Aires
Comm. Party member

Arrested by Secret Police, on 5-17-77. Since then disappeared.
EDA reply 11-14-77, Missing. 11-30-77 Mag
Cancelled Buch Comm 9/78
ML PAHR(4)
Auch Bol Comm
David Geller, US Director European & Latin American Affairs.
George Lister Secr 269695 - AR-9460
Arg Secr Bilat Comm
Leder, Julieta Bajkowski de
Boulogne Sur Mer 509 - 4°"23"
Phone: Home 89-6602; Office:87-0369
DAIA Comm. Party

156/77/10 D *

LEDER, Mauricio
Age: 40
-LE. 4.291.719
Boulogne Sur Mer 509-4°"23"
Buenos Aires
Comm. Party member

Arrested by Secret Police, on 5-17-77. Since then disappeared. Secr 269695 - AR-9460
EDA reply 11-14-77 Missing 11-30-77 - Mag.
Cancelled Buch Comm 9/78
ML PAHR(4)
David Geller, US Director European & Latin American Affairs.
George Lister.
Arg Secr Bilat Comm
Leder, Julieta Bajkowski de (Wife)
Boulogne Sur Mer 509 - 4°"23"-Capital
Phone; Home 89-6602; Office: 87-0369
DAIA
Comm Bol Comm Party Comm Party

D

LEDESMA, Juan Carlos
Age 18
CI: 8.364.656

Disappeared according to Ex-Pat Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 4-19-77- Avellaneda - Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

LEDESMA, Juan Eliseo
From Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo

ABD 4-10-76

ML

D78

LEDESMA, Luis Ramón
Age: 19
DNI: 13,738,491

DIS 4-7-78 Lomas de Zamora Bs.As.

FDD

D

LEDESMA, Néstor José
Age 23
DNI: 11.493.282

Disappeared 4-23-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

Cesad PEL
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper

LEDESMA MEDINA, Oscar E. (Paraguayan)
DNI: 13.004.138
Jurame 414 - San Martin Bs As.

Disappeared 8-5-76 San Martin - Bs As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

LEDO, Alberto Agapito
Age 21
DNI: 11.496.577

Disappeared Tucumán 6-18-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

LEFOUR DE CARRARA, Beatriz
Ap. 11

Disappeared 6-12-76 Lanus

D
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

LEGIZAMON, Carlos Alberto

Disappeared 5-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

LEGIZAMON, Eduardo Raúl

Disappeared 2-5-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

412/78/6 D

LEGUIA, Enrique Guillermo
Ameghino 634-Avellaneda
Conscripto Aeronautico-Clase 1958
Rpt #4
CM: 8.360.667

Disappeared 8/19/77. Avellaneda - Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
AFL/CIO
6-8-78

D

LEGUISAMON, Gustavo

DIS

ML

D

LEGUIZAMON, Adolfo C.

Disappeared 6-4-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LEGUIZAMON, Carlos Alberto
Age: 31
LE: 8.252.110

DIS 5-12-77 San Fernando

FDD
PAHR (1)

D

LEGUIZAMON, Eduardo Raúl
Age: 27
CI. 6.416.893

DIS 2-5-77 Banús Oeste

FDD
PAHR (1)

D

LEGUIZAMON, Gustavo Adolfo
LE: 10.867.350
CI: 6.353.396
Age 24

Disappeared 6-5-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

LEGUIZAMO, Jacinto

DIS (Wife Ducascu Clarive also Detained)

ML
PAHR(L)

D

LEGUIZAMON CHIAPPE, María E.
Age 46
DI: 14.222.718

Disappeared 2-12-78 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

131/77/10 D *

LEIKIS, Hilda Fracida de A.R.
Arch. Interamericana
CI: 4.757.885

Graffy: 11-6-77 Mex.

Disappeared in Buenos Aires. 6-6-77

AI
ML

Stanford Univ.-W.E.Meyerhof
Asst. del Prague
Senator Cranston 66-9351
Asst. del Hse Comm
PAHR(L)

D

LEINBÖCH, Carlos Alberto
LC. 7.801.670
DOB: 7-31-49.

Arrested on 4-12-77 at his home. Since then disappeared.

Leinböch, Delia Pumares (LC.3.260.174) (Mother)
Viamonte 5014-Munro
V
2-6-78

D

LEINBOCK, Carlos Alberto
Age: 29
CI: 6.946.525

DIS 4-11-77 Vicente Lopez - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

LEIVA, Antonio

DIS

ML

C-256/78/7

LEIVA, Antonio Oreste

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ADLeague

LEIVA, Benjamín
Obrero Transax-Córdoba

Detained in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LEIVA, Egidio Molina

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLeague

LEIVA, Leudoro

ARR PEN

AISC

D

LEIVA, Luis
Railroad worker

ABD Buenos Aires

PAHR(L)
ML

D

LEIVA, Maria Delia
LC: 5.399.366
Age: 29

Disappeared 1-11-77 after leaving work w/son Gabriel M. Arrosco

Leg Chief Dist. Homicides
Asst. Dist. Liaison
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML FDJ

D

LEIVA, Norma Beatriz (Sr.)

DIS 6/77 - Worked in Hospital Fernandez, Buenos Aires

Cancer Cath. Cong. 9/78
ML

D

LEIVA, Susana

DIS 8-12-77 La Plata - Bs As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(A)

D

LEIVA, Vicente Lidoro

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata
Removed PEN - La Unión 1/20/79

P

LEIVA BARROS, Carlos Alberto

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLeague

D

LEIVA DE CEVASCO, Maria D
Age: 29

ABD 1-11-77 San Martin Bs.As. Had 3 month old son with her.

ML

D

LEIVA DE DOGLIANO, Maria Susana
Ref 33
Cfl: 4.730.599

Disappeared 8-12-77 Villa Elisa

Amnesty Int. Europe
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
Reg. Arg Gen. Nombre

D

LEIVA DE GARRACINO, Maria

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

LEIVA MONTIEL, Ramon (Paraguayan writer and journalist)

Arrested in 4/76- imprisoned.

Le Monde 6-16-76
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

LEIVA OCAMPO, Mario Antonio

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLEAGUE

D

LELLIN, Néstor Gilberto
Delegate of FIDH.
LE: 13.698.719
Member: Fed. Jour. Com.

Disappeared 9-6-76 at his workplace. Córdoba

Cancer Cent. Comp. 9/78
Comm Party
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Rep Arg. Del Pueblo

LEME Favio Guillermo

D

DIS 4-4-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

LEMEL, Velia

D

DIS Buenos Aires (Jaime Barrera Oros fiancee)

ML

LEMOS, Mario Alberto
C.I. 3.939.096
Age 22

Disappeared 8-5-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

632-9990

LEMOS DE LAVALLE, Mónica María
C.I. 6.854.560
Age 24

Disappeared 7-20-77 with husband. (2 mth pregnant)

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Cause Quiet Cong. 9/78

LENCINAS, Pedro

arr 11-16-77 Córdoba PEN 3/78 San Martin Prison-Córdoba

AISC

LENGO,

ARR. La Rioja

Mexico 79

LENNIE, María Cristina

DIS 4/77 Bs.As.

aisc (Cospa-Mx)

LENSCAK, Juan Eduardo

Under PEN Resistencia Chaco

ADLeague

D78

LENVI, Jorge Claudio

DIS 10/78

PAHR (L)

D

LENZI, *Augusto María*
DNI. 12.033.657
Concsripto clase 1955
Wenceslao de Tata 5527-Caseros (Prov.Bs.As.)

Arrested on 11-23-76, since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
Lenzi, Gino (Father)
CI. 9.489.417 Phone: 751-4463
Wenceslao de Tata 5527-Caseros (Neighbour)
Personal call: 3-2-78 (Italian Embassy)

D

LEON, Alba Irma

DIS 7-15-77

ML

Rene

LEON, Emilio (writer)

Arrested 6/17/76; imprisoned.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

LEON, Jorge Raúl
Gral. Secretary Ceramic Workers Union

DIS 4-2-76

EAHR (4)
ML

LEON, José Luis
Ap 137

Disappeared 11-5-76

Inq. Arg. Am. Hombre
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-V-78 (4)

LEON DE LOVEY, Adelina de

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

LEONARD, Nora Beatriz

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

LEONARDI, Maria Cristina

DIS

PAHR (L)

LEONES, Raquel

ARR 3-16-76 Paraná - Held in V. Devoto - Condemened to 15 yrs.by Military Court.

AISC

LEONETTI, Rodolfo A.

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

LEOPOLD, Gustavo
Age: 55 Journalist

Right of option expired April 22, 1976
Removed from PEN - 12-22-78

ADLeague

LEPORE, José Claudio Antonio
Age 21

D-78

DIS 5-26-78 F. Varela

PAHR

D

LERA, Francisco Domingo
Age 26
LE: 10.945.876

Disappeared 1-13-77 Santa Fe'

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LERAUX, Alfredo Armando

DIS 12/76 Mendoza

PAHR(L)
ML

D

LERENA, Elena Paulina
Age: 45
DNI: &.035.781

DIS 6-17-76 Tafí Viejo

FDD

D

LEREÑO. Elena

DIS 2-21-77

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

9

LERNER, Hector

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

PAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

D

LERNER, Jacobo
Pte 68
Cf: 7 628.258

AED 3-3-76 Cosquin, Córdoba

PAHR(L)
DAIA
ML
Anti Def. League

P

LERNER, Lazaro Henry

Under PEN. Authorized to leave the country as of February 4, 1978.

ADLeague

D

LERNER, Nulcitenko

Disappeared

ADLeague

D

LERNER, Rodolfo Hugo

DIS 76 Tucumán (Was seen in Faimalla, badly tortured)

Aud. Def. Rioja
ML

D

LERNER, Sofia

Disappeared

FAHR(L)
ML
ADLEague

D

LERNER, Yulchenkó

Disappeared

FAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

D

LEROUC, Marta Elida de Lourdes Saroff
DOB: 2-11-1950, San Martin (Mendoza)

Arrested in San Juan during a "operativo". Her husband was killed. Since then disappeared. Nov. 1976

Hilarza Family Visit 8/78

Saroff, Ana J de (Mother)
Calle 13 No. 456 Barrio Los Andes
5570 San Martin (Mendoza)-

LEROUX,

K

Killed 11/76 San Juan

AISC (Arg. Comm. Sweden)

D

LERTORA, Fernando Roberto (Hijo)
Maza 414, Bs As.
CI - 6639931
Bpl 25

Disappeared 4-27-77

Roberto Fernando Lertora - CI-2617894- NEAN 3485
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

FDD. 11-6-78

D.

LERTORA, Marta Noemí Santos de
Marza 414 - Bs.As.
Age 25

Disappeared 4-27-77

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

LESCANO, Angel Antonio
Age 24
DNI: 8.426.159

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

LESCANO, Jorge Elvio

DIS 9/76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

LESCANO, Jorge Omar

AED 3-24-76 from work Astilleros Mestrina

ML

D L

LESCANO, Luis Alejandro
Age 65
Lawyer

Detained by armed civil men on 3-13-76 in Santiago del Estero

Cámara Cont. Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78
PAHR(4)

D

LESCANO, Roberto Gustavo Luis
D.N.I.: 13.158 554
Parcel 3366 San Justo Pr. Bs. As.
Age 17

Disappeared 2-9-77 San Justo

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

LESCARO, Jorge Elbio
Age: 30
LE: 8.268.395

DIS 10-23-76

FDD

LESGARD, Maria Amelia
Córdoba

P

Detained on April 25, 1976 when she denounced the detention of her brother, Roberto. Brother Mario also kidnapped.

ADLeague

P

LESGARD, Dr. Roberto Anibal
Posadas Hospital

Detained April 25, 1976. Maria and Mario (sister and brother) also kidnapped.

ADLeague

LESGARD, [Mario] Rogelio Anibal
Córdoba 5A.

Detained April 25, 1976. Roberto and Maria (sister and brother) also kidnapped.

Cancer Cent. Cong. 9/78
ADLeague

LESOVIZ, Juan Carlos

DIS 9-27-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

LESTA, Roberto
LE: 7.769.973
Age: 32
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 6-1-77 after leaving work at Comité Central of Comm. Party.

Cancer Cent. Cong. 9/78
NYL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Comm. Party

LETELLIER SOTOMAYOR, Sergio (Chile)

Expelled. Now in England.

D

LETELLIER SAIAS, Carlos B.R.

DIS

FAHR(1)
ML

---

c-96/78/1

P
Optee

LEUCHENCO, Nestor Adolfo
(Periodista)

PEN: Unidad 2 Sierra Chica
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Leuchenco, Gertrudis Beatriz Aquino Solis de (Wife)
Dr. de Dominicis 969-Campana (82-258 Campana)

IRIARTE, Rodolfo José (F)
LE-8.261.995-CI 5.732.823
Avda. Mitre 132-Vicente Lopez (Bs.As.)
Apt 41

Arrested on 3-24-76 he was arrested at his work (Astilleros Astarsa S.A.-Tigre) by a Military Group headed by Major Ricardi, as I was informed by his workcompanions. He was taken to the Comisaria de Tigre. Since then disappeared.

Iriarti, Elsa Rafaela Rienzi de (Wife)
Av. Mitre 132-Vicente Lopez (Bs.As.)

Copy of Habeas Corpus presented. Sent to Senators.

PAHR(L)
ML

IRIGY, Ramón Alberto

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

IRIONDO, Marta Susana
Apt 23

Disappeared 4-29-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

IRURETA GOYENA GARCIA, Claudia

ARR
Disappeared 8-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ML

ISAURRALDE, Pedro Roberto
Age: 31
LE: 8.228.599

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

ISAURRALDE, Ricardo Raúl
Age: 26

DIS

PAHR (L)

ISAURRALDE, Ruben Hilario
Age: 24
DNI: 11.295.838

D

DIS 10-8-77 F. Varela Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

ISHIKAWA, Carlos Eduardo

DIS 2-14-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

D

ISLA, José Luis
Moron
DNI: 10.224.382
Age: 26

Disappeared 12-17-76

ML

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ISIA CASARES, Juan
Seminarist

DIS 7/76 Buenos Aires

AISC (Cospa-Mex)
ML

ISLAS DE ZAFFARONI, Emilia
Age 23

562/78/9 D
(Uruguayan)

Disappeared 9-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
VNHRC-9-1-78

ISOLA, Ana Maria
Age: 27

D

ABD 8/77 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

ISOLA, Mario Marcelo
Sociologist

DIS 7/77

PAHR (L)

C-46/77/11

P Upturn

ISRAEL, Otilia Raquel

Cleared PEN La Nacion 7-21-78
Carcel de Bahia Blanca - PEN

ex-Partido Socialista
Both Pol. Lawyer

ISRAEL, Teresa Alicia
Lawyer - Member Comm. Party
C.I. 6.720.457
Age 25
Campichuelo 1172 - Capital

4/10/78/12

D

Detained 3-8-77.
Abducted almost a year ago. Info from German Emboff.

Calle Rio de Janeiro 5262
Lawyer Both Emp. 9/78
AL
Both Pol. Lawyer
Class de Brasil - CI. 1.668.169
Buenos Aires Province
Comm. Party

PAHR (L)

(Kothia)

FBO 11-6-75

L

D

ISTUETA DE BARDI, Claudia
Age: 25
CI: 6.513.372

Disappeared 11-16-77 P. de Zamora, Fco. Ca.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

ISUARRALDE, Ricardo Raúl
Age: 26

D

DIS

FDD

ITUGAY, Daniel

D

Disappeared Mendoza

Mendoza Family Visit 8/78

PAHR-Presna 5-17-78 (L)
WOLA 4/79

ITURRIAGA CASAIL, Luis (Amé) 10/26/11 *

Released. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76

ITZDOFF, Aldo Ruben

Under PEN

Released adL.

ADLeague

ITZIGSUHN DE GARCIA, Matilde CAPPARONI 6/3/78/12 D

Disappeared 3-16-77

AL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

ITZIGSOHN DE GARCIA LANDA, Margarita

Disappeared 10-1976. Husband Gustavo also abducted.

ADLeague
ML

ITZKOFF, Marcelo Saul

Released Anti Def. League

Anti Def. League

IUNGMAN, Marius (French)

Arr. 3-20-76. Freed 6-4-77.

French Embassy

D

IURNO, Eduardo Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

---

9 L

IZAGUIRRE, Estela
Lawyer

At present in Villa Devoto jail.

Amnesty Int. Urg. Appeal 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

IZMENDI, Roberto
CI: 8.841.975

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

IZMENDI, Rosaria
CI: 8.844.370

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

J.de G., Alicia A. de
DNI: 11.383.224

ABD 11-19-76

AISC

J.HERRON, Jairo de
CI: 10.024.844

ABD 3-24-77

AISC

JAA, Graciela Ines

ARR 10-5-76 Bs.As. PEN-Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

JACCARD SIEGLER, Alexei Vladimir (Imm. Clinic) 459/78/6 D
Chileno-suizo
DOB: 3-30-1952 in Chile
Passport swiss: 319'8172
Student

GOR reply 1-30-78: Hq. reply.

AED from hotel Bristol on 5-15/16-77. The following day his personal belongings were removed from the hotal by Argentine police. Disappeared since.

78 Santiago 4342
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
Swiss Embassy

JACHEVASKY, Lucy
Psychoanalyst

ADLeague

JACKIELEWITZ, Carlos A.

DIS

ML
ADLeague
PAHR(1)

JACKIELEWYCZ, Jorge Alberto

DISAPPEARED

ADLeague

ML

JACKIELEWITZ, Juan Vicente
Union delegate from De Carlo

ARR

ADLeague
ML

JACOB, Beatriz Liliana (French)
Nurse

Returned from PEN - 12-22-78

Detained 12.24.78

Held under article 2 inclusive of the Inst. Act of September 1, 1977 - Law 21650.

Sentenced to 4 yrs. jail. Arranged active member of the ERP subv. organization Po. Ch. Herald 2/23/79.-

French Embassy

ADLeague
Cannot Date Orig. 9/78 - Ltr. Confirmation 12/26/78

JACOB RILLA, Maria Regina (Brazilian)
Age:29

Detained at Olmos Prison.

ADLeague

JACUE, Susana Rosa
Age: 27
LC: 6.400.562

DIS 6-30-77

FDD

JAEGER, Maurice (French)

DIS 6/75

AISC

JAEGGI, Angel Gustavo
DNI: 8.598.125
Calle 5 Nro. 44 - Barrio San Rafael "B" Córdoba
DOB: 4-4-1951
Ocupation: Bank employee- Bco.Prov.Córdoba-Suc.Santa Isabel

Detained on 4-23-76. Since then disappeared.

Jaeggi, Arnaldo H. (Father)
Av. Don Bosco 3363-Alto Alberdi
5000 Córdoba
Letter to Amb.Castro-1-10-78.

JAIME, Luciano
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

JAIMILIS, Alberto Gustavo

DIS

PAHR(L)

654/78/12 D

JAIMOVICH, Alejandra
CI. 6.820.924
A: 17
DNI: 12.671.826

Desaparecida el 6-14-76. Córdoba

AntiDef. League.
Arg. Youth Solid Comm
ML
DAIA

JAIMOVIC, Alejandro
Age: 18
DNI: 12.671.826

D

DIS 6-1-76 Córdoba

FDD

JAIT DE SZACHNIUK, Ana

DIS

Anti Def. League
DAIA
PAHR(L)

D

JAKOWCZYK, Carlos

Disappeared 1977 Mendoza

Mendoza Family List 8/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Amb. del Uruguay
UCLA 11/78

D

JALGGI, Angel Gustavo
Age 27
DN: 8.598.125

Disappeared 4-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

JALIL, Sergio Aldo
Age 21
DNI: 12.110.944

Disappeared 10-15-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

JALLINSKY, Aarón Daniel Jell

DIS

DAIA
PANR(L)

410/78/6 D

JALOIDOVSKY DE VIDAL, Maria de las Mercedes Victoria
CI. 7.496.105

Disappeared 2-22-78.

AFL/CIO 6-8-78

D

JAMES, Guillermo

DIS

ML
PANR(L)

JAMES, Ruth (nee Rosenthal)

DIS

ADLeague

HL

JAMILIS, Alberto Gustavo

DAIA

D

JANSENSON DE ARCUCHIN, Noemí J.
Hre 19
CI: 8.011.651

Disappeared 9-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

-76/77/12

JANSON, Ruben Anibal
(Sudent of 4th year Ing.Forestal)

P Option

PEN- Unidad 9 La Plata. Given forms.
Roo application being processed 11/78

Maria de los Angeles Gastaminza de Janson (Wife)
Belgrano 137-Posadas (Misiones)
Phone 2970

Personal call 12-14-77

D

JAQUE, Susana Rosa
Bft 26
L. 6.400.562

Disappeared 6-30-77 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

JARA

DIS 12-5-75 Moron Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

JARA, Enrique (editor)

Reported to have been seen in Mech. School.
Maggio Letter. 4-10-78

Arrested 4/15/77; imprisoned

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

JARA, Guillermo

DIS 5-6-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

JARA DE CASO, Amalia

Wife of Rodolfo Eduardo Caso. Was pregnant when she was arrested and gave birth in jail. Her child is now at her parents' home. Being held at PEN's disposal in Villa Devoto Prison, Buenos Aires.

Danish Embassy

624/78/2

JARA TORRES, Anuncio (Paraguayan)

Age 38
DNI: 9.2140412

La Matanza - Bs.As.

ABD 9-20-78 in Barrio San Alberto, Bs.As.Prov.

AMN.INT.
PAHR (L)

52/77/3 D *

JARACH, Franca
Montañes 1910-Buenos Aires
DNI: 6.324.447
a/: 28

Idai

Disappeared. For.Off.Inq.: 3-14-77. GOA reply: NO
6-26-76.

ML
Mr. Furio Colombo.
Mr. Arrigo Levi.

Amb.Young
DAIA
Dra Dora Isla Comm
PAHR (L)

JARACH, Franck
Age: 18
DNI: 43.954.496

Detained 6-25-77

ML
ADLeague

JARAMA, Emilio Mario

Detained in Tucumán in 4-16-75. Under PEN.

Cámara Auth Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

JARAMILLO, Luis Adolfo (Chilean)
Age 42
C/I: 2.644.033

Disappeared 11-29-76 Quilmes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
Liga Arg Der. Hombre
NL

JARANA, Emilio Mario
Lawyer

ARR. Tucumán-Tried and discharged but still in jail.

AISC

AFL/CIO

Jarma , Alfredo SMATA
LE. 6.511.206
Córdoba

Arrested on 11-6-74. At present in Unidad Carcelaria 7, Resistencia (Chaco).

Jarma, Rosario Ruiz de (Wife)
LC.5.681.205

9-6-77 Letter to AFL/CIO.

Lic. Ing. Zen. Amable

JARMA, Juan Gerardo
Age 23
DNI: 11.601.143

DIS 7-17-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

JAROSLAVSKY, Ana

Arr. 4-29-76. Freed 5-7-76.

French Embassy

JAROSLAVSKY, Cesar (Journalist)

Imprisoned.

Re Herald 6-16-78
Auth Dir Inst
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

JAROSLAVSKY, Maria Cristina (nee Correa)

Detained 4-22-76- held under decree 995/77

ML
ADLeague

341/78/5

JAROSLAVSKY, Máximo Eduardo (Médico)
LE: 7.522.044 Age 34
CI: 6.604.933
Diag.8 No. 1023-Barrio Padilla
San Miguel de Tucuman
GOA reply: 4/18/79 - Negative reply
GOA reply 2-23-79 - Neg. reply
adopted AI.
Auth Congr. Cancer 9/78
Abducted on the street on 11-19-1975 in Tucuman.
Gerchunoff, Blanca (Mother)
Paraguay 946-4° "D" -Capital
Phone 31-4364
Personal call Mr. F.A.Harris-Embassy-4-20-78 10/16/78

JASCALEVICH, German Jorge

Under PEN Journal List / Letter Queen

ADLeague

JASMANI, Eduardo

DIS 1/76 Buenos Aires

ML

JASOVICK, Hugo Norberto

National Executive Power - DTO. 972 of 3/12/76
U9 La Plata - Law 20840 (State Security)

Cancer Anti Cong. 9/78
Comm. 11-5-77 released from PEN.

AJL

JATIB, Graciela Perla
CI. 5.762.304
Age 21
Prof.: Teacher of history

Disappeared on 6-28-76 on the public street.
taking with Novio (Jose Quiroga)
seen around Jan 77 in Sgt Cabral sub offic. School

PAHR(1)
Jatib, Ana Renee Villar de (Mother)
LC 2.192.918
9 de Julio 391, Avellaneda (Bs.As.) phone 201-5384

Testimony to Representatives.
Anti Def. League
Lillian Roman (Freeman).

(over)

JATUBEY, Margarita

ARR 2-7-76 Santiago del Estero - PEN V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

JAUDSON, Anibal Ruben
Student

Held under PEN since January 1975

ADLeague

JAUREGUI, Martiniano M.
Age: 60

ARR 10/76 PEN

Cause Anti Corrupcion 9/76
AISC

JAUREGUI, Tomás
Age 62

Disappeared 8-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

JAURET, Clara Z. de

Detained in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

JAVIER, Estela

ARR Villa Devoto

AISC

JECKEL, Rolando Hugo
DNI 6.802.882
Age 24
W.R.B.D-60A-9-5-77

On 3-19-77 he phoned his mother telling her he had been arrested by army forces. Days later he again phoned her but was not allowed to tell here were he was arrested. Since then disappeared.

Jeckel, Holga Nayar de (Mother)
LC 9.746.555
Rawson 888 - Mar del Plata

Statement to Representatives.

Wash.Office on Latin America, 7-15-77.
Stevenson 11/77

JEGER, Mauricio (French)
DOB: 11-14-38

Disappeared in Córdoba de night from 7-9 to 7-10-75.

French Embassy

JENSEN, Carlos

ARR.PEN 76 Resistencia

Mexico 79

JENSEN, Eduardo

DIS 1/76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

JEREZ, Alejandro Ernesto Jesus
Psicologist

DIS 5-6-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

JEREZ, Enrique Alberto

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

JERMA, Juan Gerardo
Age: 22
DNI: 11.601.143

DIS 7-17-76 Tucumán

FDD

ROJAS, Maria Irene JESUS de
Age: 25
Calle 68 entre 144 y 145
LA PLATA

Arrested in May 1977. Since then disappeared.

Rojas, Liverta (Mother-in-law)
Calle 68 entre 144 y 145
LA PLATA

JIJENA, Raúl Lazaro

DIS 2-16-76

PAHR (L)

JIMENEZ, Angelina

ARR 11-10-75 Bs.As.-Held V.Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

JIMENEZ, Juan Carlos

DIS Mendoza

AISC (SCAP)

JIMENEZ, Nora

ARR 4-29-76 Villa Devoto - PEN

AISC (CADHU)

JIMENEZ, Ramón Antonio
Age: 27

DIS 10-19-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
RAHR(L)

JIMENEZ, Ruben

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

443/78/6 D

JIMENEZ DE SOLDATI, Maria Isabel
I.C. 1.449.305
Age 40
GOR reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply.

Disappeared 5-28-77 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
WOLA

D

GOROLOVSKY
JONCE DE JOROJVSKY, Alicia Delina
Age 23
DNI: 11.383.224

Disappeared 11-19-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

JORDAN, Juan Carlos (Bolivian) D 78

ABD 1-17-78 La Plata

AISC

D

JOSAMI, Beatriz

DIS 11/75 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

JOUVE, Clara (nee Zetnet)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

Jovic, Juan Angel

Disappeared 12-20-76 Avellaneda - Bs. As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

JOVIE, Juan

DIS 12-20-76 Avellaneda Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

JOYA, Carlos Enrique

DIS Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

128/77/10 *

D

JOZAMI, Lila Pastoriza de
(JOZAMI, Eduardo) < lawyer. Peronist

GCA ltr/fg: 11-10-77 Mex.

He is in prison. She disappeared on 6-16-77 in Buenos Aires.
During August 1978 was beaten terribly.

Amensty Intern.
Congressmen Fisher, Senators Scott and Byrd.

Causa Aut Congres 9/78
a Emb. Arg. y Sec. del Interior

JUAN,
From YPF

DIS 5/13/77 Buenos Aires

ML

JUAN, Federico
Córdoba

Detained since Dec. 1975 in Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

JUAN, Julio César

DIS 3-12-77

PAHR_

JUANEDA, Ana Alicia

D

DIS

ML

JUAREZ, Mrs.

D

ABD 5/77 from Tucumán with son Sebastian 3 yers. old.

AISC

JUAREZ
Worker Smata-Córdoba

D

DIS

ML

JUAREZ, Arturo B
Tafí Viejo

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AFL/CIO

JUAREZ, Hugo
LE. 7.973.505
CORDOBA
Unión Ferroviaria

Arrested 11-22-74. At present in Unidad Cacelaria de Sierra Chica.

Probably expelled - Clarín 6-12-78

Juarez, Noemí de (Wife)
LC. 4111850

9-7-77. Letter to AFL/CIO.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

JUAREZ, Jorge L.

Banco Provincia-Capital

Disappeared 3-3-77

D

JUAREZ, Máximo José
DNI: 11.747.457
Bp 22

Disappeared 9-14-76 while being under mil. arrest.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

JUAREZ, Osvaldo Hugo

D

DIS Córdoba

FAHR(4)
ML

D

JUAREZ, Pedro

AED 10-26-77 Sgo. del Estero

ML

D

JUAREZ, Pedro Antonio
Age 37
ID: 8.615.976

Disappeared 6-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDD

563/75/5 D

JUAREZ, Telba (Uruguayan)

DIS 4-17-76

UNHRC - 9-5-78

JUAREZ DE ROMANO, Del Cármen Hortencia 2 1

Supreme Court ordered release - Bs. As. Herald clipping 2-9-79

Heard PEN.

Did: Oct. 78-La Nacion

Jubelino Carneiro DA FONTAURA, Carolina (Uruguayan)

Reported disappeared in Dec. 77.

AI-10/78

JUCA MOLINA, Antonio

DIS

PAHR(L)

JUFRE, *Jorge*
Jujuy Seguros

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

JULIEN ANATOLE, Boris D

DIS 9/76

PAHR(L)
FDD

564/78/9 D

JULIEN CACERES, Mario Roger
Age: 34

DIS 9/76 with wife V. Grisonas and children Anatole and Victoria

PAHR(L)
ML
UNHRC - 5-17-78
Interamerican Embassy

D

JUNA MOLINA, Antonio

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

JUNCO, Felipe Santiago

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

JUNCOS, Hugo Alberto
Age 41
L.E.: 5.469.732

DIS 8/76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

JUNG, Mirta

DIS 6-1-76 Adrogué-Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

JUNQUERA, Néstor Oscar

Disappeared on 11-9-76 in Bahia Blanca.

Junquera, Armando
LE: 3.033.386
Donado 97- 1°- E.F.-Bahia Blanca

(Father)

CAHR(L)

JURADO, Ricardo
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

JURMUSSI, Luis Pablo

DIS 5-28-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

5731/78/9 D

KACS, Sergio Leon
Age: 24
CI: 6.191.109

GOA reply 2-14-79 : N.h.a.d.

DIS in Buenos Aires

Dept.of State([ ] friend of M. Bova)

P

KADER, Omar

ARR. 4/76 Sierra Chica

Mexico 79

KAFKA, Cristina Elvira

P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

KALTES, Oscar

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

KALADJIAN, Elena

DIS

PAHR(L)
FDD

KALEJMAN, Julio (2h.)
Clínica Modelo-Campana

Disappeared 8-11-77 Campana

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

KALLIR, Irene

ADLeague

KALTENBACH, Cristina Lidia

DIS 9-25-76 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

KAMINSKY, Ricardo Daniel

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé, authorized to leave the country.

ADLeague

742/79/1 D

KANJE, Nieves
Age: 20
Teacher

ABD 7-18-78 in Buenos Aires

Cancer-Anti Congress 9/78
WOLA-11/79
AI

D

KAPELUZNIK, Mónica Liliana

ABD 9-21-76

ML

P

KAPLAN, Julio

Detained after march 24, 1976.

ADLeague

KAPLAN, Julio Noe
Corrientes
Veterinary student

Detained November 12, 1974

Marcha Nueva (Org Partd. Comunista Rev.) 12-5-78
ADLeague

AFL/CIO

KARLEN, Orlando
LE. 6.279.560
CORDOBA

Arrested on 11-8-74. At present in Unidad Carcelaria 7, Resistencia (Chaco).

Karlen, Leticia de
LC 1911939 (Wife)

9-6-77 Letter to AFL/CIO.

Authorized to leave country 6/11/78

KARLES, Héctor

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

KARPUK, Natalia

DIS 7-8-76 Buenos Aires

PAHR(L)
ML
RDL

FRG

KASEMANN, Elizabeth (German) *

Shot in Monte Grande, on 5-23-77, after three months of her detention by security forces.

Amnesty International USA.

Pat Scheid-German citizen record.
Von Schlick-German Amb.
Buenos, Consp.

P

KASMAJOR, Ricardo

Detained Villa Devoto

ADLeague

KAZGUDENIAN, Rosa Graciela D

ABD 1-5-77 Moron Bs.As.

AISC

KEEPLAK, José Ariel

DAIA

KEGLER DE KRUG, Marlene (Paraguayan) D
DOB: 4-13-1953
Student
Age 23

Abducted by armed men on 9-24-1976 in front of La Plata University.

German Embassy-Von Schlick

PAHR(1)

D

KEHEYAN, Valentina Norma
Consulate (654-6)
CI 1.297.068
Pg 21

Disappeared 6-12-76

ML
Amb Lf. Lagos
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

636/78/11 D

KEIN, Josefina (DR.) (Paraguayan)
Date of Birth: 1-12-41-Asuncion.

Profession: Dr. employed at the Rawson Hospital in BA.

Dis:Sept.28,1976.,Buenos Aires. GOA reply 2-23-79: Have no information

She was arrested at her apt.,8th fl.,at Romulo Naon-2746-39-1430. (Paraguayan)

Mrs. Ligia Prieto de Centurion(protect),an opposition member of the Paraguayan Chamber of deputies,asked dept. officers during a Nov. 16th meeting.

Parents:Juan Inocente Kein Romero&Ana Maria Liedo Fanelli.

STATE-293564-Nov.18-78
AI.

D

KEK DE BARCIOCI, Luisa Ana

DIS

ML

KELEDJIAN, Miguel
Age: 25

DIS

PAHR(L)
FDD

KELLER, Marlen

DIS 11/76 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

KENNEDY, Delia

DIS 11/76

PAHR(L)
ML

601/78/9 D

KEHOE WILSON. Gloria
CI: 7.489.772
Sucre 2212-Capital
DOB: 9-25-54

GOA info 10-2-78
NRHD.

Disappeared 6-13-77 Arrested together with husband Adolfo Infante Allende at their home. All goods robbed. reported seen in Campo de Mayo in 8/77; After reported to have been seen in camp near Ezeiza.

Amcit uncle: Dr. Mario A. Dolan

E

B

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

Amcit Uncle-Guard:
Ernesto E. Kehoe Wilson (Father) PERSONAL
Posadas 1575-6°"D"-Bs.As. 771-1929:0017 (office) CALL 9-15-78 3-1-79 mil

P

KERZ, Jorge Alberto

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé

ADLeague

P

KHUN, M. Teresa
Employee of Banco de la Nación

Detained May 31, 1976

ML
ADLeague

D

KIERSZENOWICZ, Clara
DNI: 10.120.541
CI. 6.661.475
Fonrouge 851 - Capital
Arts

Disappeared on 10-28-76 being in compeny of Guillermo Piazza Segura.

PAMR (1)
Aud. Def. Lezgo
Kierszenowicz, Ana Barimboin de (Mother)
DNI. 0.203.454
Fonrouge 851 - Capital
ML
Letter to Amb. Castro, no date.

1

D

KIGAN DE SANTILLAN, Mirna

ABD 1-19-77

ML

KIPER, Luis Saúl
Arts 41
CI: 3.981.220

Dis: 4-30-76 Boulogne - Bs As

Aud. Def. Lezgo
DAIA
PAMR (1)

KIROLOSKY, Eduardo

DIS

hL
ADLeague

KITAY, Esther Raquel

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

KITT, José Zacarías

D

DIS 12/75 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

KITTLER
(KISSLER) Mabel (journalist)
IC Nº3 545.566
Art 38

4/23/76
Disappeared in 5/76; whereabouts unknown.

PAHR (2)
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Cambio Kittler Cl. 574.493
Cambio Dif. Exepa
Ang. Israel Arbid. Comm.

KLARIC, Francisco

ARR. Preventive imprisonment

AISC

C-13/47/11

KLAVER, Alicia Maria

Authorized leave country - Invoke 1/Jan/79 Ley Nacion

DETAINED UNDER PEN No. 2602/76. Has asked to leave country -Option Law 21.650.- Given forms to be filled out.
Rec application en forum 11/78

Liberado x Ley Nacional - Ley Nacion 2-4-79
Compañero Cancer - 9/78
Cambio Dif. Exepa
Klaver, Daniel (Brother)
Gazcon 2888-2°"D"-Mar del Plata
CC. 1038 Correo Central-Mar del Plata
Phone: 43643

KLEGER KING, Marlene Katherine (Paraguayenne)

DIS 9-24-76 in La Plata

565/7519

KLEINER LLEDO, Josefina Modesta (Paraguayenne)
(Uruguayenne)

DIS 9-26-76

UNHCR-9-I-76

KLEINER DE VENICA, Irmina

DIS Noviembre 1976

PAHR

KLEMIER, Griselda

DIS

ML

34/76/12 D *

KLENK, Julia

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 12-30-76 GOA reply: 1-6-77

KLIMASSEWSKY, Vladimiro
Swift

Detained since April 1976 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

KLIMAVICHIS, José

Imprisoned union organizer, Held under PEN, Unidad 9-La Plata

Removed from PEN. La Nacion 9-1-79

ADLeague

KLIMBERG, Salomon
CI: 10.498.228

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

KLIMOSKY, Nora (nee Trumper)

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto.

ADLeague

KLIMOSKY, Pablo

Under PEN Unidad 6 Rawson

ADLEague

KLIMKOVSKY, Gregorio
Professor

Detained July 1976

ADLeague

634/78/11

KLOCOWSKI, Leon Eduardo
Mendoza

GOA reply 2-23-79: Under PEN-Decree 486 - 2/4/76 in Unidad 9 La Plata.
Charge: Belong to the Montoneros.
8-14-78: Sentenced to 4 years (Juzgado Fed. Mendoza Dr. Juzzo)

At present in Unidad 9-La Plata Pav. 14. Detained 8-29-75.
Severely tortured, parents kidnapped and killed.

ADLeague

KLOSTER, Anselmo

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé
Released ADL

ADLeague

KLOTZMAN, Liliana Beatriz Bojanich
DNI: 10.394.194
Elortondo (Santa Fé)

Disappeared on 6-8-76 while walking Ecuador and San Luis Strs.in Buenos Aires, with her small daughter Ana Lina Klotzman, who was later given to her father Francisco Raimundo Bojanich, grandfather of the child.

Bojanich, Nora Susana (Sister)
DNI. 11.196.824
Belgrano 647-Elortondo(Santa Fé)

KLUMKOVSKY, Gregorio
Math. Prof. at Bs.As.Univ.

DIS 7/76 (well known logician)

PAHR(L)
ML

KNOBEL, Alejandro Vladimino J.
Arg 32
LE: 7.363.466

DIS 11-12-76

Aust. Ref. Riesgo
DAIA
PAHR (4)
FDD

KNOBEL, Carlos Abel
Lawyer
Arg 34
LE: 7.358.536

Disappeared 11-11-1976

Cancer Aust. Ang. 9/78
NL
DAIA
Aust. Ref. Riesgo
PAHR (4)
FDD

KNOTZMAN, Liliana B. de

D

DIS 6-8-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

KOATZ, Adriana Adelma

Under PEN Decree 2848/76 in Villa Devoto

ADLeague

KOBAL, Estanislao

Disappeared

ML
ADLeague
PAHR(1)

KOELLIKER FRERS, Alfredo Arturo (editor)

Abducted 12/15/76; whereabouts unknown.

La Nación 6-10-78
ML
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Arch. del Pueblo
PAHR(1)

KOFMAN, Jorge Oscar
Tucumán
Age 22
DNI: 10.421.049

8-18-76
Disappeared 6-8-75

Cordoba list 12.1.78
PAHR(L)
NL
ADLeague

KOGAN, Hugo Alberto
DNI: 12.334.404
Age-21
Member Fed. Jur. Com.
Thaguiero 1550. Cordoba

Disappeared 9-22-76 in Cordoba

Cordoba list 12-1-78
Concar Cauth Comm 9/1/78
NL FDJ
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Comm. Party
Leg. Arg. Int. Human

KOHAN, Ricardo Mario (Chilean)

Disappeared since 8-12-76 in Buenos Aires.

PAHR(L)
Stanford Medical Center-Robert L. Blum 9-27-76.
Arch Def. League
Arg. Amn. Int'l Comm.
NL

KOHANOE, Roberto
Member of Inner Religion Group

D

ABD 2-16-78 Resistencia Chaco

Dept.of State-State 064407

ML

KOHEN, Hector Rodolfo

P

Under PEN in Córdoba

ADLeague

308/78/3 P *

KOKOTOFF, David Enrique

GOA reply 3-15-78

PEN: Let. 3112 - 3-10-77
Cargo: Ideologías disconformes desarrolladas en Unión Educativa Israelita Saul Martín, Colegio Leo Bovinio.
Alojado. Cárcel de Encausados de Córdoba.

Detained in Córdoba.

KOKS, Carlos Antonio

D

Disappeared

PRRR(L)
ML
ADLeague

KOLASKI, Alberto

D

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

KOLDORF, Ana Esther

P

National Executive Power - DTO. 1120 of 6/29/76
U2 Villa Devoto - Confiscation of ERP Propaganda material-
Marxist Literature, etc.

ADL Anti Def League

737/77/1 D

KOLLOCH, Victor
Worker

ABD 7-25-78 in Buenos Aires

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

81

D

KOLTES, Oscar E.
Empleado Público-Mendoza

Disappeared since Oct.1975

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

KON, Claudia Ines

P

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

P

KONCURAT ZUBOVICH, Juan

Under PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata
Cesan PEN - Liberacion 7-22-76

ADLeague

KONDRATZKY, José Ernesto

Asks for Right of option certificate. Cesan PEN

Thayer memo to T. Harris - 2-20-78
Amb. de Uruguay

KONIG, Emma Raquel
Age: 22
University student
Córdoba

701/78/12

D

Disappeared June 1976

CAHR(L)
HL
ADLeague

KONIK, Daniel

ARR 75

AISC

KOOISTRA, Ercilia Angela
Age 31

Disappeared 11-21-77 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

KORAWSZYK

DIS 6-11-76

PAHR(L)
ML

45/77/2 D*

KORIN, Eduardo Mario
CI. 6.275.755 - LE. 4.430.847
Profesión Psicólogo
Prof.Address: Sanchez de Bustamante 2369 PB "E"-Bs.As.
Age 33

For.Off.Inq.: 2-2-77 GOA reply: NO 11-16-77 Neg.

Arrested on 12-20-76. Since then disappeared.

Amb Cong Casar 9/78
BA-9834
Sen.Kennedy; US doctor T.Milstein.
ML ADL
Amb Inf Negro
DAIA
Asc Mesa Solid Comm
PAHR (L)

E-9478/1

KORNFELD, Thomas Juan (Bolivia) 68/77/5 D*
CI. 6.358.043
Esmeralda 853, Piso 11 "14B"-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 2-14-77.
CIA reply 11-16-77 Neg.
Given his BOLIVIAN citizenship, can UNHCR be of Assistance?

For.Off.Inq.: 5-17-77 GOA reply: NO.
Kornfeld, Walter (father) Amecit. living in the US.
Kornfeld, Eva Hochstimm de (Mother)
Eagleton. BA-9611 Home 50-6429
Bo-3255 Oficina

R/FDD

72/77/6 D*

KORSUNSKY, Eduardo Sergio Korus E.E.
DNI 8623149 Age 25

Disappeared in San Nicolas (Bs.As.) on 8-4-76.
Ministerio de Rel. Ext. y Cultos replied that there are no antecedents on his detention. 8-1-77.
For.Off.Inq.: 6-30-77 GOA reply: NO. 11-16-77 Neg.
KORSUNSKY, Celia de [illegible] (Mother) 12-19-77 NEAD.
Consular Section.
Juan Ley Lucero
Emb Arg Ley Lucero
Emb Mesa Solid Comm
Telegram to Derian.
Aug.1977 Letter. Sent to T.Todman.
ML Statement to Representatives.
DAIA Statement to Senators.
Bolton mit Amb. 12-21-77. Ann Cranston BA-6761 BA-8007
Please call in mailbox 12-19-77
Amb Hartman Ag Fcho BA-8007 PAHR(L)

KOSACHKOF, Pedro 272/77/12
KOSACHKOF, Gregorio 273/77/12

3

Brothers, merchants in Buenos Aires suburb had been kidnapped for ransom in 1975. The ransom was paid and family pursued investigation after their release. It is possible that their subsequent disappearances was due to the investigation of their kidnapping in 1975.

DAIA
Anti-defamation League.
Rabbi M.Rosenthal

814/79/2

KOSETTI, Benjamin
Age: 27
LE: 8.508.107
CI: 8.429.333

Arrested on 9-1-78 - taken away by several people in the night, apartment in disorder, all from eye-witnesses.

WOLA

D

KOSLOWSKI, Ricardo
Psycology student

DIS Palermo, Bs.As.

ML

D 49

KOUDELA, Oscar Adolfo
LE: 6.250.208
Age: 33
Address: Autopista Riccheri y Donavan, Torre 13,
Depto. 7 "B" - Tapiales (Bs.As.)

Abducted on 4-11-78 from his home. Caserio

PAHR (L)
Koudela, Adolfo (4-21-78) (Father)
Autopista Ricberi y Donavan
Torre 13, 7 "B" _TAPIALES (Bs.As.)

129/77/0 *

KOUTZII, Flavio (Brasil)
Born in Porto Alegre 3-30-43

Arrested in Buenos Aires on 5-11-75. Since May 26,75 at the Carcel Modelo de La Plata Unidad 9, Prov.Bs.As. A decree of expulsion exists since May 1975.

Fue suplg 11-6-77
Decr. 1309-11-5-75 Ley 20.840 - Art. 17-21
Sentence: 6 1/2 years prison - expulsion extinction. La Prensa 5-19-78

Wash Off. on Latin America. 8-1-77.
Cesó El Juego

KOVILCHIK, Maribel

LUCERO DE MALDONADO, Laura Rosa

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

LUCERO MARINELLO, M. Chilean

Right of option - No decision

UK

LUCHETTA, Teresa R. de
Entre Rios 1286-Bs.Aires

ABD 9-23-76

ML

LUCI or LUCY, Graciela
Superí esq. M. Pedraza, Buenos Aires

ABD 12/76

ML

LUCO, Elden Gerardo

DIS

PAHR (L)

LUDENA, Abel

DIS 3-25-76 Tigre Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

494 728/7 D

LUDDEN, Federico Ricardo
(Physicist) Age: 34
LE: 4.628.044

BOR reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply

Abducted. 11-30-76 City Bell

PAHR (L)
German Emb - Von Pelchrzim informed 2/6/79.
Juridico Pza Quintana Schoenfeld, Av. Forest 934 - 6-D - Capital
Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS

D

LUDIN, Leonardo

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

338/728/4 R

LUDIN, Danny ??

PEN; Unidad 9 La Plata - since 2837/1975) charged with membership of 'Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo' (ERP) Possession of arms and subversive material. Sentenced in October 78 to 4 years jail, ending January 5, 1979. (BOR - 3/18/78)

A.I. Australia - Adopted
Harvard University.
Senator Edward Kennedy
Cong. Thomas P. O'Neill - 2-2-78 54-5618

Letter 12-7-77.

D

LUEL, Graciela

ABD 12/76 from home in Barrio. Saavedra, Bs.Aires

ML

LUFFI, Ismael Aurelio

P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

LUFO, Jorge Héctor

ABD 4-5-76 Buenos Aires

Mexico 79

D

LUGO, Elden Gerardo

DIS

ML

D

LUGONES, Carlos Eduardo
Age 22
DNI: 11.652.444

Disappeared 12-3-76 La Plata

La Plata list 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

D

LUGONES, Cesar Amadeo
LE: 7.837.740 CI: 6.293.334
Veterinary doctor
Age 26

Disappeared 5-14-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

LUGONES, Susana Pina
Journalist

6 OA-reiby 6-27-78 M.R.A.D n se sigue entrechaurio (Junio 1978)

Abducted on December 24, 1977. Since then disappeared.

ML
Amnesty International - 1978.
Rehmde 6-10-78
Comer Amn Cong. 9/78

LUIS, Alejandro D.
Financiera Tucuman-Tucuman

Disappeared 9-22-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LUIS, Enrique

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

LUIS y PRADO, Claudio
DNI. 11.266.651
LUIS y PRADO, Sandra Zonca de
DNI. 12.802.097

11-10-77 Neg

Arrested on 3-20-77. Since then disappeared.
GOA reply 6-10-77 No record.

Luis y Prado, Leonor L. de (Mother)

PAHR (L) Testimony to Representatives.
ML

LUJAN, Rody
Age: 21

DIS 12-13-75

PAHR (L)
ML

LUJAN, Sara Rosenda

DIS 3-24-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

LUJIMAN, Diana Rita

Disappearance 4-9-77

Amb. Def. Lecaros
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

744/79/11 D

LUMELLO, José Brio
Worker.
Suicato di Acqui Gazzetta

ABD 8-25-78 in Córdoba city.
Under PEN- La Opinion 10-28-78

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
AI
Netherland Embassy

LUNA, Beatriz

ARR PEN

DDAlto Valle- 11/78

LUNA, Julio A
Prof. esc. téc.
S.Justo-Santa Fé

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

D 178/77/11

LUNA, Geraldo Benjamín
Labor leader
CORDOBA

PEN Rpta 31/1/78:
PEN Qtc. 3560 - 23/8/77
Cargos: Integrante del Comité Regional del PCR.
Abogado: F. Córdoba.

Disappeared since 9-2-77, in Córdoba
Under PEN, Ra Kacion 8-25-77

Amnesty International
Log. Mc Hugh AR-4173 AR-2333 AR-2334
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

D 78

LUNA, Gustavo
Age: 27

ABD 1/78 Córdoba City - worked at Univ. of Cordoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

LUNA, Horacio Roberto
lawyer

Abducted on 4-19-76.

Amnesty Int Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

LUNA, Hugo Julian

Age 35
LE: 8.193.084

DIS 6-17-78 Guillermo-Pedro
=DD List 9/4/78 - Expelled

PAHE

LUNA, Hugo Rene
lawyer

Disappeared 4-19-76

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LUNA, Jorge

ARR PEN

AISC

D

LUNA, José

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

LUNA, Mario Bernardino

LUNA, Mercado
Lawyer-El Independiente-La Rioja

Detained 7/76 Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LUNA, Nestor Horacio
Age 19
LE: 11.683.310

DIS 5-10-77 San Martin

PAHR(L)

LUNA, Osvaldo David

Since 9-30-76 in Sierra Chica Peni-tentiary. (Preso No. 531 - Pabellón 7-Celda 00).

Vera, Gladys (Wife)
Pampa 366 - Córdoba (5000)

8-8-77 Letter to Derian

D

LUNA, Roberto Mauricio
Age: 20

DIS 6-3-76 Tucumán

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

LUNA, Sonia Rosa
San Rafael-Mendoza
LE: 6.556.762
CI: M.943.791
Age 26

Disappeared ~~4-27~~ 5-26-76 Mendoza

Viola - 11/78
Mendoza Family Visit 9/78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
ML
PAHR (L)

D

LUPO, Jorge Héctor
Age: 34
Gerardo L., Buenos Aires

Disappeared 4-5-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

567/78/9

LUPPI MAZZONE, Mary Norma (Uruguayan)

DIS 6/10/77

VYHAB. 9-5-78

LUQUE, Marcos
Age: 30

ABD 5-21-77 from home, Belgrano R.Bs.As.

AISC

LUQUE, Oscar

DIS

ML

D

LUQUE BRACHI, Emilio A

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

LUSI, Graciela Beatriz
C1: 6.692.831
Lujan 3293 - Fp Ss.

Disappeared 10-1-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

LUTERAL, Olga, Nilda Luy Braga de
C1. 6.929.822 ?
LC: 7.177.566 ?
San Martin 57 - Bernal

Disappeared 2-4-77 Bernal - Fp. Ss.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Esp. Arg. Ser. Hombre
ML

C-1737c

Opción.

LUTZKY, José Daniel
CI. 7.035.675
23 años de edad

Estudiante de Historia; un año de psicología; pintor. Concurria a la Univ. de Filosofía y Letras. Actualmente bajo PEN en unidad 9 de La Plata. Pidió Opción para salir del pais.

PEN Decree 2441 10/14/76. (Related to Guevarits Youth confiscation of pamphlets of Student Front Communiest Vanguard.

Captured in Court County 3.895/24 Opinum 6-14-78
and La Lidya

Lutzky, Raquel L. de (Mother)
Dr. Pedro Ignacio Rivera 3944
BUENOS AIRES (over)
ADL TEL.: 52-6184; Amnesty 1977 Amnesty Int. La Nación 2-4-81 argen

LUTZKY DE VAZQUEZ, Cecilia

D

ABD 7-18-78 Bank employee - husband exiled in France

AISC (CADHU)

D

LUZZI, Asunción Graciela
Age 21

Disappeared 10-26-77 San Martin

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ML
PAHR-Prensa J-17-78 (1)

MACAROFF, Mario Pascual

National Executive Power - DTO 89 of 4/12/76
Activities Subversion in Catamarca University.
Detenido en Cba.

RDL

MACCINI, Héctor Federico

Disappeared 11-25-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MACCIO, Ana Maria
Lawyer

Detained in Córdoba 9-2-77 and at present in Cordoba prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

739/99/1

MAC DONALD, Isabel Emilia
Dob: 11-22-1944

Detained in Villa Devoto.

Sen. Cranston State 012803

MACEDA, Heriberto

Detained since 12-23-76 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MACEDO, Susana

DIS

Grant (1)
ML

MACEIRO PEREZ, Asilú Sonia (Uruguayan)
Age: 46
Calle Juana Azurduy 3163-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-13-76, At present detained in Punta Rieles Prison in Uruguay. Accused of subversive association.

REFOUEMENT

MACEK, Rodolfo Victor
DNI: [illegible]
Age 23

Disappeared 7-21-77 Temperley

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
RL

MACHADO, Adrián
C.D.Smata (Córdoba)-Córdoba

Disappeared 11-8-74 Córdoba

PAHR (4)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
RL

MACHADO, Gerardo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MACHADO, Modesto (Uruguayan)

DIS 3-24-76 Barrio Rincon de Tigre, Bs.Aires

ML

MACHADO, Patricia

ARR 7-28-76 Córdoba PEN - Now in V.Devoto
Judge Zamboni Ledesma

AISC (CADHU)

D

MACHADO, Ricardo José
LE: 6.143.029

DIS 8-4-76

Rosario List

PAHR (L)

D

MACHADO DE PAROLI, Ana M.

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

MACHADO DE REBORI, Clara Sara
LE: 5.[illegible]

Disappeared 2-1-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

ML

MACHIN, Carlos Oscar

DIS

FBHR (L)
ML

MACHUC, Gustavo

BRR

ADLeague
ML

MACHUCA DE FILLIPPO, Aurora

DIS

FBHR (L)
ML

MACIAL, Ramón
CI. 8.534.924

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MACIEL, Justa Haydée

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

MACIULIS, Norma

Authorized to leave country

Announcement made on Oct. 7, 1978

D

MACKSULLAMA, Luis Alberto
Techint

Disappeared 4-11-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MACOLLI, Julio C.
Lawyer

DIS

FARC (1)
ML

D

MACTAS, Mario
Co-Editor Magazine El Raton de Occidente

DIS 3-1-77

ML

MADARIAGA, Armando
CI: 7.240.334

DIS 6-7-76

PAHR (1)

MADARIAGA, Estanislao

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MADDALENA, Vda. de Romero, Patricia
Pipa
CI: 7.998.349

Disappeared 8-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
FDD

MADERA BAUBETA, Sonia Liliana

ABD 7-16-76

ML

MADO DE OTIN, Ines Sara
Age:29
LC:5.749.449

ABD 5-18-77 with husband Eduardo from home

ML

FREED

MADRID, Isabel
CI: 7.042.419
DUI: 11.292.407
Age: 23
Gallardo 551 - Buenos Aires
Working Place: Banco de Galicia, Casa Central (Sarmiento entre San Martin y Reconquista)

Disappeared on 11-19-77.

Father called on 12-9-77 to inform that his daugther returned safely home.

Madrid, Ricardo Ernan (Father)
Gallardo 551-Capital
Phone 641-7825

D

MADRID, José Alfredo
Age 28
CI: 5.784.963

Disappeared 12-3-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
FDD

D

MADRID DE VISCARRA, Maria Santos
LC: 0.806.939

Disappeared 10-25-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

MAEDA, Jorge Ricardo
Farm Worker

DIS

PAHR (4)
ML

D-1978

MAERO, Mabel Verónica
LC: 14.563.388
Age: 23

Dis: 10-7-78, Cap. Federal

FDD List- 9-16-78

D

MAESTRI, Alberto Eduardo
CI: 4.645.367

Disappeared 9-15-76 La Plata

La Prensa list 1/6
PAIH-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MAFFEI, Carlos Angel
LE: 5.365.953
Dob: 1-7-47
Address: Calle 50 entre 139 y 140 - Los Hornos
(La Plata)

Arrested on 11-30-76 by a group of armed persons
(COTE - Comando Terrorista)

NADAL, Ricardo (Uncle)
Calle 17 Nro. 1023-La Plata
Phones: 515655 and 516512
Personal visit Embassy 2-15-79

MAFFEI, Ruben Juan
L.E. 8.336.710
Dob: 5-22-51
Calle 65 esq.15 - La Plata

Arrested on 12-1-76 together with wife who was release after 23 days.

NADAL, Ricardo (Uncle)
Calle 17 Nro.1023 -La Plata
Phones: 515655 and 516512
Personal visit Embassy 2-15-79

MAFFUCHI, Noemí Susana

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

MAGALDI, Alfredo Juan Baustista

Detained in Córdoba.

D

MAGARINOS, ERNESTO (trade union leader of Bs.As. printer's Federation; employee of Kodex publishing company)

Abducted on 1"24"77; whereabouts unknown.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

ML

FAH 8 (1)

D 1978

MAGGIO, Horacio Domingo

DNI: 6.308.359

Militante del Movimiento Peronista Montonero.

Letter to Associated Press - Buenos Aires, 4-10-78

DIS on 10-4-78.

Harris Info. 12-14-78

Norma Beatriz V. de Maggio (Wife)
Ayacucho 1397-San Martin (Bs.As.)

Letter to Amb. Castro 10-12-78

D

MAGGIO, Rubén Raúl

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

MAGLIANO, Amalia

(was tortured)
Detained on 5-19-76, was at Ezeiza about 15 days,/taken to Comisaria 34 about 15 days, taken then to Comisaria 8 of DIS Mar del Plata, were she was killed and her body given to her family.

PAHR(L)

ML
Harris data-8-14-78

MAGLIARI, Antonio Atilio

D

DIS 11-4-77

AISC(A.P.D.H.)

D

MAGLIER DE HELLER, Ramona

DIS 9-29-76

PAHR (L)

MAGNANI, Jorge

Detained in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MAGNARELLI, Miguel Angel
Age: 23

DIS 9-1-76 Escobar

FDD

MAGNET FERRERO DE TAMBURINI

DIS 7-16-76

FDD
FARR (1)

MAGRAN, León Alberto

DIS 6-14-77 - PAHR Córdoba
DIS 6-14-78
FDO 21ST - 9/12/78

PAHR (1)

MAGUETICH, Marcelo

ABD 8-19-76

ML

MAGUI, Daniel

Detained since 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MAGUID, Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

MAGUIN, Gloria Isabel

DIS 6-7-76

PAHR (L)

MAIDA, Sergio Armando
Lawyer

DIS 11-7-76

ML

MAIDANA, Antonio Enrique

Denied PEN.
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

MAIDANA, Guillermo

DIS Córdoba

Grafmor (1)
ML

MAIDANA, Miguel
Grafmor
Tucumán

Detained since February 76 - Rawson PEN

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MAIDANA, Oscar Gerónimo
Ri: 32
LE: 5.763.095

Disappeared 4-19-77 Ing. Bridge

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Leg Ctr, Dir. Humbolt

MAIDANA, Pedro

ARR PEN

DDAlto Valle 11/78

MAIDANA, Ricardo Manuel

DIS 3-29-76

(PAHR(L)
ML

MAIGON, Jorge Cayetano

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

MAILLET, Bernard (French)

Arrested 10-2-76. Freed 10-8-76.

French Embassy

MAIMONE, Roberto .
Age 45

Disappeared 4-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

MAINER, Juan Cristobal

Detained 10-1-76 - La Plata Prison.

AIAUSTRALIA-Adopted

MAINER, Magdalena (Dr.)

Detained on 10-1-76. At. presente in La Plata prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

MAINER, Pablo

Detinaed 10-1-76- Regimiento No. 7-La Plata

AIAustralia-Adoption

MAIOLI, Hugo Attilio

DIS 6/76

ML

MAISANO, Benedicto Victor
CI: 0.004.118

Disappeared 8-5-76 Campana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MAISANO, Juan Carlos
CI: [illegible]
Peronista; Student
[illegible]

Disappeared 2-28-77

Causa Cat. Congr. 4/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

de LOYOLA

MAISANO, Dominga Antonia
LC: 7.267.237
Julio Lucero 657 - 3 de Febrero, Pcia. Bs.

Disappeared 12-21-76 3 de Febrero - Pcia. Bs. As.

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

MAIZTEGUI, Mercedes Ysabel
PPR 25
CI: 7.330.772

DIS 1-13-78

El Dia --11-21-78(
PAHR(L)

MALAMUD, Carlos Eduardo

ADLeague

D

MALAMUD, Marina
Ex-president of confederation of Resident Doctors in Argentina

DIS 4/1976 B.As.

AISC
FDL
ML

P

MALAMUD, Mauricio
Psychiatry professor
Age: 60

Detained since 11-26-76 - Villa Devoto

ADLeague

T

MALAMUD DE AGUIRRE, Lidia Marina
Age 24

DIS 10-14-76 - Patty, Paris -

PAHR

MALAMUD
~~MALAUD~~, Pedro Juan
Ag: 23

D

Disappeared 4-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MALBERTI, Jorge Eduardo

D

DIS 3-27-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D

MALBRAN, Carlos Ramon

DIS

ML

MALDONADO, Carlos Telesforo

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MALDONADO, David

D

DIS

COHR(L)
ML

MALDONADO, Julio Cesar

D

DIS 12/76

COHR(L)
ML

MALDONADO, Mabel

ARR 75 Buenos Aires - PEN V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

MALDONADO, Pedro L

DIS 12/76

FARR (L)
ML

MALDONATO PETTINARI, Miguel
Member of Christian Revolutionary Party

AED 1-24-77

FARR (L)
ML

D

MALECINI, Miguel

DIS 4-22-76 Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

MALGRAN, Carlos Ramón D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D 78

MALHARRO DE MUÑOZ, Irma María

DIS 11-22-78

PAHR (L)

MALINILLO, Guillermo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MALLA, Alicia

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MALLAINES, Betsabal Amalia
Age: 24

DIS 1/77

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MALLEA, Alejo
Age: 21

DIS 4-7-76 from Bs.As.

ml

MALLEA, Alicia
Page 11

Disappeared 43-76 - SAME DAY AS ESTELA QUINTANA
According to QUINTANA mothers visit - Nov. 6-78

ml
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MALRE SIXTO, Oscar

DIS

PAHR (L)

MALTENI, Liliana Edith
DNI. 10-536.403

DIS 6/76 La Pampa Prov.

ML

C-97/78/1

MALVACINO, Lorenzo Ramón
(Operario)

Option

Remitido Com. PEN - La Plata 1-13-79

PEN - Unidad 2 Sierra Chica

Malvinino, Luis Rodolfo (Brother)
Francia 212 (Ariel del Plata)
Campana Amistad: (82-258 Campana)

332/78/4 D 9

Opción
MALY, Alberto Felipe
LE: 5.144.602
CI:1228.517 (Prov.Bs.As.)
Age: 45 (5-19-33 Avellaneda)
Address: Calles 744 y 707 - Plátanos F.C.N.G.R.

Pub. media PEN - La Plata 9-16-78

Disappeared on 9.19.1977, taken by military forces.

Maly, Oscar Rodolfo (Father)
Ana Olvitz de Maly (AmCit) (Mother)
Calle 744 y 707 - Plátanos F.C.N.G.R.
Phone 256-1601
Personal call Emb. 4-21-78.

D

MAMANI,

DIS

FAHR (L)
ML

D

MAMANI, , Olga Yolanda

DIS

PAHR (L)

MAMANI, Susana del Carmen

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MAMANI, Teresa Ramona

D

DIS 9-23-76

PAHR (L)

D

MAMANI DE LUCHETTA, T. R.

Disappeared 9-23-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

P

MAMONTE, Carlos Hugo (writer)

imprisoned.

Amnesty PEN Publication 9-22-78

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Ki Amnesty 6-10-78

MAMUT, José

ARR. La Pampa Prov. PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MANARI de PIASTRO, Graciela C.

Disappeared 11-25-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MANASI, Héctor

Disappeared 7-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MANASI, Juan Carlos
Medicine student

D

DIS on 6-15-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

MANAZI, Hector Oscar
DNI: 12.596.470
Stud. in UNLP
AGE: 19
Viaduct Fed. Jur. Com.

ABD 6-15-77 with 2 others in calle 41 No. 769, La Plata

La Plata Hospital
Cancer Congress
PAHR(4)
ML
Comm. Party

249/38/5 D

MANCEBO, Beatriz Ofelia
Age: 27
Physcologist
Univ. of La Plata

Disappeared on 11-1-77.

PAHR(4)
Mancebo, Oscar (Brother)
Uruguay 485 - 4°Dpto "A"-Capital Phone45-9419

D

MANCHE, Ernesto R.

DIS 3-28-76 Córdoba

PAH R(L)
ML

D

MANCHINI, Florencia

DIS 3-29-76 Moreno Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MANCHINI, Juan

DIS 6-6-76

PAHR (L)

MANCHIOLA DE OTAÑO, Mirta Graciela D

DIS 11-5-76 La Plata - Bs As

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

MANCIRO, María L (Uruguayan) D
Hotel Reconquista-Capital
Age 23

Disappeared 6-8-77

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MARIN GONZALEZ, Silvia D.
DNI: 13.445.052

Disappeared 12-1-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MANERA JOHNSON, Gabriel

PEN - United St. La Plata. Obtained 1977
Right of option certificate for France.

Consul Gral Emb. 9/76
France

D

MANFREDI, Angel Vicente
Tafí Viejo
Reg. 36
LE: 7.056.296

Disappeared since 8-8-76 Tucumán

FAHR(L)
Consul Gral Emb. 9/76
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MANGHINI, Florencia

DIS 3-29-76 Moreno-Bs.As. together with parents Leonor and Juan Manghini.

ML

D

MANGIANO, Maria Cristina
Age 24

Disappeared 6-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

MANGONE, José Hector
LE. 4.581.266 o 4.561.266
CI. 1.646.997
Atacama 973-Ituzaingo (Prov.Bs.As.)
(Empleado bancario)

Arrested on 7-30-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(1)
See also Córdoba

Mangone, Electra Romeo de (Mother)
José Ingeniero 864-Moron
Phone: 629-2397

D

MANGONE, Maria José Mapela de
CI. 5.362.483
LC. 4.892.778
Bibliotecaria-Univ. de Moron

Arrested on 7-30-77. Since then disappeared.

(Suegra)

Mangone, Electra Romeo de
José Ingeniero 864-Moron 629-2397

MANJOVSKY, Mirta Emilee

Under PEN Unidad 2.Villa Devoto

ADLeague

MANNA, Mario

DIS 5-27-76 Tigre Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

MANNES, Hugo

DIS 9/76 Buenos Aires

ML

D

MANRIQUE, Raúl Eduardo
Bq 27
LE: 4.791.035

Disappeared 12-8-76 Monte Grande

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

F R E E D

MANSILLA, (Dr.)

Abducted 3-30-78

San Justo

D

MANSILLA, Héctor

DIS 5-16-76 B.Blanca, Bs.Aires

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

MANSILLA, Miguel Angel
DNI: 11.254.405
Age 22

Disappeared 9-10-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MANSIRO, María I.

Disappeared 6-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MANSO, Maria L

Detained since 6-8-77 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MANSUR, Julio

Detained in Mercedes, Prov.of San Luis, on 8-22-76.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

MANTELLO, Osvaldo Victor
CI 7.707.531
MANTELLO, Maria Susana Reyes de
DNI 6.931.665

Arrested at their parent's home (Primera Junta 5767-Villa Bilinghurst-Partido de San Martin) on the 6-16-77. Since then disappeared.

Reyes, Pilar Gimenez de (Mother)
CI. 1.723.865

Statement to Representatives.

MANTINIAN, Osvaldo
Student of Psychology at Belgrano Univ.

Detained 5-20-75

AIAustralia-Adoption

MANUELLE, Ricardo (graphic worker)

Abducted on 6/6/76; whereabouts unknown.

PAHR (L)
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

MANZA, Julio Martire
Socialist Worker's Party (PST)

1-8-79
Arrested between January 6-8, 1979 in Mar del Plata.

PAHR (A)
Buenos Aires, Herald clipping 1-27-79

MANZANO, Dante Metalúrgico
Sec. Adj. UOM

Removed from PEN - La Nación 8-19-78
Detained 3-20-75 - Rawson

PAHC (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MANZOTTI, Daniel Aldo (DNI. 10.927.654)
MANZOTTI, Maria del Carmen Percivati Franco de (DNI. 12.226.049)
Carrasco 845-Piso 11, "C" - Bs.Aires

Arrested by a group of armed men, on 8-24-77. Since then disappeared.

Percivati Franco, Maria del Carmen Rugieri de (Mother)
CI. 3.215.826
LC. 1.935.998
Carrasco 845, Piso 11 "C"-Bs.Aires
PAHR(L)

MANZUCK, Flora (nee Bermudez)

AdLeague

MANZUR, Oscar Ruben
CI: 762.823

Disappeared 8-10-77 Rosario

PAIH-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MAQUIN, Gloria Isabel

DIS 6-7-76

ML

D

MAQUIN, Norma Leonor

DIS 6-7-76

ML

11/7/78/8 D

MAQUIRE, Santiago
Ex-Priest

CoR reply 4-30-79 - No records

Arrested 4-18-78

Cong. Thomas J. Downey-Letter 7-13-78
Karen S. Fliegler

MARADEI, Atilio Luis
Bfr 44

Released according to Ley de Patriation - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 3-22-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
NL

MARAGA, Lucila

ARR 4-15-75 PEN-Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

MARANDET, Adriana Claudia
C.I. S.44.398
Bfr 49

Disappeared 2-17-77

FED
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
L.

L-91|75|4 212/77/11 9

MARANDINO, Jorge Augusto
L.E. 4.223.754

Con reply: PEN. Dto. 3112 del 7-10-77
3-10-78 Cargo: Interpretante Lector Catedra Química. Met Amb.Castro-12-7-77
Inst. de Trab. Aplic. Escuelas Secundarias
Alojado: Canal V-2 Córdoba

Under PEN (Decree 31102)- At present in Carcel de Encausados en Córdoba. Was detained on 9-28-77.

FILE-Consult 3-13-78

Fariña, Maria Josefina Marandino de (Sister)
Amres. since 1961.
Fariña. Angel (Doctor) Amcit.

[redacted]
(Phone BA-86-7464)
Sec.Treas. Blumenthal
Senator Riegle

MARANO, ENRIQUE
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

MARATEA, Enrique Atilio
LE. 5090961
Ricchieri 237 - 8°P.-Dto.5-Ramos Mejía, Pto.de Matanza

Arrested on 4-29-77. Since then disappeared.

Maratea, Haydée S. de (Mother)
LC 2587190

(AMC(L)) Testimony to Representatives.

MARAZZATO, Stella Maris

DIS 8-25-77

Mar del Plata List

MARCA, Jorge Mario Bergoglio
lawyer

Detained before 3-24-76 in Catamarca. (11-11-74)

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cancer Victim Comp 9-77

MARCA DE MINOTTI, Jorge Mario

ARR U.9 La Plata-PEN Sierra Chica

AISC

D

MARCARIDE, Arturo
Student - Fac. Psicología-Univ. Nac. Buenos Aires

Disappeared in May 1977.

Centro de Estudiantes de Psicología-UNBA, May 1978.

Letter Campaign

C-31-77-11

768/77/1

MARCHELLI, Eduardo Raúl
Aceros MIC

Removed from PEN - La Nacion 2-16-77

Detained March 1976 - Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN
US EMB. visit grande 11/78

PII

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
EX-PARTIDO SOCIALISTA

MARCHESINI, Victor Carlos
Lawyer
Age 34

D

Detained in march 1976. Unidad 7 Resistencia - Chaco

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PISC

MARCHETTI, Américo Jorge
Age 33
CH: 3.712.454

Disappeared 8-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MARCHETTI, Eduardo Oscar

ARR Neuquen Prov. PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MARCHI, Ernesto N.

DIS 3-28-76 Córdoba

(L)
ML

MARCHI DE DURANTE, Alcira

D

ARR.

Mexico 79

D

MARCHINI DE NICOTERA, Alicia Isabel
DI:1984.012
Rpt 26

Disappeared 7-21-76

FIL
Mfg. Ltr. Unit
PAHR-Prense 5-17-78(L)

D

MARCHISSIO, Galia
Psicologist - Periodist

ABD together with husband, Director of "Barrilete" Magazine.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

MARCIANI, Gladys Noemí

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

MARCIANO, Jesús

DIS 5-23-78 Buzzaco

PAHR (L)

MARCINAO, Raúl Alberto

DIS

PAHR (L)

D-78

MARCO, Adriana Nieves
Age 22

DIS 5-27-78

PAHR (4)

MARCO, Marta Silvia (nee Vaimberg)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

MARCO, Raúl Daniel
Age 24
DNI: 10.137.600

D-78

DIS 5-27-78

PAHR (4)

MARCOLLI, Julio

Sin datos

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

MarCONDES PINTO, Maria Regina (Brasil 10/24/41 *
Age: 30

Detained 4/10/76.

Detained. For. Off. Inq.: 11-11-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76
Detained PEN dec.

FAHR (L)
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
4/

MARCONETO, Luis Alberto
Age 24
DNI: 10.336.438

Disappeared 8-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LEUNDA, Carlos Guido
Lawyer

ARR Chaco

AISC

LEUNDA, Mónica Cristina
DNI: 11.557.699

ARR 11-9-77 Córdoba PEN-San Martin Prison-Córdoba

AISC

LEVATO, Asdrubal

ARR 7-1-78 From Clínica S.Nicolas

AISC

D

LEVENSTEIN, Lisa
Age:51
Salgueto 814-Buenos Aires

AED 10-21-77 w/husband Salomon Gejnaj

ML

P

LEVI, Alberto
10.585.423

Detained 1-28-77 - Under PEN
Presented R.S.A. Victoria - May 1978 comm to Prosts. - Denied.
6-9-78 - Visited by Red Cross!

Levi, Julián - Río Cuarto (Alberdi 1118) (Father) 22679
ADLeague
Personal call Father.

P

LEVIN, Gregorio (publisher)

Arrested and imprisoned 1/77

Reclaimed 6-16-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Amn Ref. League

D

LEVIN, Mariano

Disappeared

PAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

D

LEVIN, Raul Osvaldo
LE: 8.313.844 or(8.613.844)
Copiapó 1045-Barrio Junior-Ciudad de Córdoba
Economic Science Student - Univ. Nac. Córdoba

Arrested on 9.1.76 while visiting a girlfriend Mirta Nieri and Liliana Callizo, at Mirta's home Viedma 700 Barrio Atlantida, Camino a Alta Gracia, ciudad de Córdoba.

11/16/78 Visited Emb. with info that subj. had been transferred from Cordoba to BA. were told that Levin "el rubio" had been moved. Unable to find him tho.

PAHR(L)
Levin, José
Beceda de Levin, Corona Constancia de (Parent)
Copiapó 1045-Barrio Junior-Ciudad de Córdoba
Phone: 516250
Personal call Embassy-6-28-78
Lazaro Levin-24 de Nov. 1088-Villa Turdera (Uncle)

D

LEVITAN, Claudio Augusto
Age 23
DNI: 10.769.448

Disappeared 10-27-76 Arellaneda

ML
Amb. Del Prado
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LEVY, Daniel Horacio
Age 18

Disappeared 10-8-76

Amn Int. League
WL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

F

LEVY, Jorge

Under PEN-Sierra Chica

ADLeague

679/78/12 D 76

LEWI, Jorge Claudio
Age: 23
CI: 7.110.067
DNI 1.981.182

Arrested 10-6/10-78, together with wife Ana Maria Sonder de Lewi. Since then disappeared.

Pen. Jouis State 031935
Amcit Rel. Hab. a: 3446

Lewi, Paulina G. de (Mother)
Amenabar 2242-4°"A" (Sister: 58-6041)
Marshall Meyer Night: 826-2420

LEZAMA, Ernesto Reinaldo

ARR Sierra Chica

AISC

LEZAMA, Rafael

DUS 10/76

PAHR (L)

566/78/9

LEZAMA GONZALEZ, Rafael L. (Uruguayan)
Age: 23
DNI: 92.091.336

DIS 10-1-76

PAHA (L)
UNHRC - 9-5-78

D

LEZANA, Graciela Miriam
AGE; 22
DNI: 11.078.148

DIS 12-9-76 [redacted] La Plata

FDD

LEZCANO, Hugo Oscar

D

DIS 11/76

PDHR(L)
ML

LEZCANO, Leonardo

Detained in Corondo

Leg. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LEZCANO, Jorge ElWio
Age 30
L.E. 8.246.345

4-13-76
DIS 9/76 Buenos Aires

PAHR (1)
ML

D

LEZCANO, Luis Alejandro
Lawyer

ARD 3-13-76 Santiago del Estero

ML

D

LEZCANO, Sebastian
Age 18

DIS 11/76

PAHR (1)
ML

LHANDE, Miguel (French)
DOB: 8-30-1955

Arrested in 1976. Detained in Magdalena prison.
Sentenced to 10 years prison.

French Embassy

LIBACK, Hugo Ricardo

Under PEN in Córdoba

ADLeague

LIBERAL, Nieves Victor

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

D

LIBERAL, Ruben Domingo
CI. 4.402.488

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

LIBERATORIO, Salvador Fernando
DNI: 4.540.930

Disappeared 4-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

R 78

LIBERMAN, Alberto

PEN- 24-3-76
La Nacion paper 8-30-78, Released and is under servileness in province de La Rioja.

344/78/5 D

LIBERMAN DE TARQUINI, Nora

GOA reply 9-15-78: N.R.A.D. - Family informed that they are (she is instead) living in Europe for 4 months

Abducted 4-5-78

San Justo

D

LIBEROFF, Dr. Manuel

Disappeared 6-2-76

PAHR(4)
ML
ADLeague

P

LIBEROFF, Miguel
Union Leader

Detained 5-21-76

ADLeague

D

LIBIANSKI,

DIS

ML

D

LIBIANSKI, Marta de

DIS

ML

J

LIBRALATO, Juan José
Rje 24

DIS 10-10-77

PAHR (2)

LICOWSKY, Sergio G.

D

Disappeared

PAHR(L)
HL
ADLeague

LIEBICH, Erico Roberto

F
F

Cause: Economic delinquency.
Decree: 655/76
Liberated: Decree 2790/76

Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
7-26-77
HL PAHR(L)

>

LIEBY MOCHETTI, Juan Carlos
CI. 6.052.913
Rosario

Arrested on 8-16-76. Since then disappeared.

Padre Martin Altolaguirre
Colegio La Salle
Mendoza 444 - 2000 Rosario
Phone 48242
2-4-78

LIGGERA, Susana

Arrested on May 1975. At present in Villa Devoto prison.

Wash.Off.on Latin America 7-27-77
Canvas Amb. Emp. 9/44

LIJTMAN DE UZIN, Diana Rita

Amb. Def. Empr
DAIA
PAHR(L)

LILLIE, Maria Cristina

Disappeared 6-4-76

PAHR-Presna 5-17-78 (L)
"WOLA 11/78"

LILLO, Blanca Graciela D

DIS Mendoza

AISC (SCAP)

D

LILLO, Mirta

DIS 8/76 Mendoza

PAHR (L)
ML

LIMSKI, Ignacio Norberto P

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

(- 2[illegible]/78/5

LINDER, Jorge Adolfo
Córdoba
Student

Minister refused visit to 713 as under judicial system.

ARR Córdoba

RL
ADLeague

713/78/12 D

LINDER, Pablo
Laboratory technician
CI: 3.385.384
Monroe 4913 - Cap.

GOA reply 1-23-79: Neg. reply.

-20-
DIS 9/77

RAHR (L)
Cmdte. Miguel, Monroe 4913. Cap.
Lawyer Cath Org. 9/78
Amb Del Riego
ML
DAIA

51-0935

LINDER GALANZINI, Graciela L. R

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

LINTRIDIS, Moises
La Plata

ADLeague

LINEIRA, Oscar Andres
Rh 22
DNI: 11.978.960

DIS 7-8-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)

LIPNIZKY, Alfredo Jorge
CI. 6.172.302 - LE 8.076.597

Arrested on 2-2-77 by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
Lipnisky, Rebecca M. de (Mother)
DNI 0311.196
José Hernandez 2518, Piso 1°, Dept.1 - Capital

8-5-77 Letter to T.Todman.
8-5-77 Letter to Representatives.

(over)

7

LIPSKI, Máximo

Under PEN.
El DIA Newspaper, Oct. 28-78 - dejaron de ESTAR A disposicion de PEN.

ADLeague

9

SAID, Esther (nee Lipski)

Under PEN
El DIA Newspaper - Oct. 28-78 - dejo de ESTAR A disposicion de PEN:

ADLeague

LISAZO, Amelia de

D

DIS Bs.As. (Mother of Jorge Lisazo)

AISC

D

LISAZO DE DELGADO, Irma Leticia

RBJ
Disappeared 4-24-76 by Mil Navy.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

LISCOPIDIO DE COMBI, Lina Marina

DIS 11-11-77 Ramos Mejía Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

444/26/6 D

LISSO, Alicia
DNI.: 11.245.956
Age: 23

~~GOA reply~~ : Nav. reply
1-30-79

Disappeared 10-28-77.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
WDA

LISTA, Rosa M.

[redacted] Detained since 6-5-76 in Villa Devoto.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LITJAM DE UZIN, Diana Rita

DIS

ML

D

LITO, Walter

DIS

CAHR (L)
ML

D 78

LITTA, Luis Eduardo

DIS

WOLA 11-78

LIUZZI, Silvio Melanio 98/77/9 P *

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
6th reply 6-16-77: DF. 424 - PEN 23-5-76 - Fernandez al 78(?) Pedro Quatrocco.

Right of Option Certificate for France.
Authorized departure 4-24-78 Clarin

France

D

LIVA, Luis
Railroad Engineer

DIS 5-9-76 Bahia Blanca, Bs.As.Prov.

PAHR (L)
ML

LIVOLTI, José Luis

DIS

PAHR (L)

LIVOSKY, Oscar

DIS 5-9-76

PARR (L)

340/78/4 ♀ *

LIWACKI, Oscar Ventura
Secretario General Centro Empleados de Comercio
San Francisco (Córdoba)
Director Instituto Asegurador Mercantil
LE: 6.429.132

Arrested in may 1976. San Francisco - Córdoba

PAHR (L)
RL
Freeman-Echeverry 4-28-78

343/78/5 D.

LIWSKI, Norberto Ignacio
DOB: 3-21-1946
Muñiz 980-Capital

Gen mgby 6-27-78 KRAD Just refuse unidentified

United PEN Int'l Nacion 1978/22 July

Disappeared together with two other doctors on 4-6-1978.

Liwski, Maria Luisa Bendersky de (Mother)
Muñiz 980-Capital Tomo 90 - 1768
Lawyer Juan Carr 9/78
Brief of Hall

D

LIZARDO, Milagros
DNI 8.251.930
Tucumán I 1431 - Pcia. de.
Age 25

Disappeared 6-20-76

CAHR - Tucuma I.17.38 (L)
ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LIZARRAGA, Humberto Adolfo
Age: 28
Doc. 7.884.515

DIS 7-24-76

Tucumán

CAHR (L)

LIZARRAGA, Martha Teresita

DIS 5-28-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

LIZASO, Miguel

DIS 9-14-76 Buenos Aires

ML

LIZAZO, Miguel
(La Causa Peronista)

Abd. 5/76.

La Nueva 6-16-78
Newspaper assoc.

D

LIZONDO, Roberto Daniel
Drafted soldier
CI: 7.512.858
Age: 20

DIS 8-6-76 from Base where he was stationed

ML

Killed

LIZZONDO, Roberto D.
Age: 20
CI. 7.512.858

Killed 8-6-76

FDD

D

LLANES, Jorge E.

Disappeared 12-10-76/77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

C-15 FF/II

LLANOS, Juan

Docente de la Univ. del Salvador de Jujuy.

Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN.

Ex-Partido Socialista

LLANOS, Olga Susana

ARR 4-24-76 San Pedro Bs.As. PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

LLANOS, Orlando

DIS

NUEVA HORA 11/78

D

LLERAS DE BENITEZ, Mabel Lilia

DIS 9-4-77 La Plata - Pablo

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR(4)

LLORENS, Bernardo

D

DIS

PAHR(4)

ML

LLORENS, Pablo Maria

K

Killed 10/75 Tucumán

AISC (Arg.Komm-Sveden

Llorens, Sebastían Maria
Age 30
DNI: 7.999.789

Disappeared 12-9-75

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

LLOSÁ, Eduardo Federico

Detained w/ Romero Hi-M La Opinion

DIS

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

LLURBA SANCHEZ, Ramón

ARR CORDOBA PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

LOBARDICH, Antonio

DIS

PAHR (L)

LOBATO, Carlos Martin
Age 34
L: 8.487.421

DIS 5-27-76 San Fernando - Bs. As.

ML
PAHR-Buenos 5-14-78 (L)

LOBASANO, Mirta
Age: 18

Presumely seen at Escuela Sargento Cabral, Puente 12 in 1978.

Harris data-8-14-78

LOBO, Alfredo
Lawyer

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

LOBO, Mrs.
Lawyer

DIS 4-9-76 La Tablada-Bs.As.

PAHR (L)
ML

LOBO, Roberto

DIS 4-9-76

PAHR (L)

LOBOS, Hugo Alberto
Age 24
DNI: 10.461.617
Los Polvorines

DIS 4-29-77

PAHR (L)

LOBOSCO GALVAN, Susana
Age: 24
Professor

Above Ind. requested visit 11/77 on under judicial system

Detained 5-9-75 - at present in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

LOCASCIO, Pablo

Right of option Certificate for France.

France

LOCATTO, Carlos

ARR. PEN Resistencia

Mexico 79

LOCIOPPO. Jorge

DIS 5-14-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

LOCKART, Maria

ARR. Buenos Aires

Mexico 79

D L

LOBO, (Dra.)
lawyer

Disappeared 4-9-76

Cancer Anti. Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

LOGARES, Claudio Ernesto
Ages

D-78

DIS 5-18-78 in Montevideo.

PAHE (L)
Clamor Mexico

D 1978

LOGARES, Paula Eva
DNI: 25.348.781

DIS on 5-18-78 with her parent in Montevideo. Hija de Mónica Sofía Grispon de Logares y de Claudio Ernesto Logares, detained and disappeared on 5-18-78 in Montevideo (Uruguay).

PAHR (L)
Elsa Beatríz Pavón de Aguilar (Grandmother)
LC: 3.387.071
Tucumán 264-Barrio Belquez-Banfield

259/78/1 D *

LOGIURATO, Fabian Haroldo
Student-16 yrs.
DNI: 43 813 865

Fabian is the son of Labor Leader Haroldo Logiurato and stepson of Liliana Elida Galetti, both disappeared. He disappeared together with his parent, on 6-13-77.

ML
WOLA - 9-26-77.
PAHR (L)

LOGIURATO, Haroldo SANTOS 148/77/10 (Document) D
(LOGITURATO, Haroldo)
DNI: 5.143.938
(See: Galletti, Liliana (wife))

Age 44, trade-union veteran in La Plata and Berisso for CGT, National secretary for Assoc. of State employees(ATE)

Political activities, jailed several times since 1956, freed 25th May, 1973.

Disappeared, on 6-13-77.

PAHR(L)
ML
Real Embajada de Dinamarca
Wash.Off.on Latin America. 8-25-77.
Cong. Donald M. Fraser

LOGIURATO, Luis Maria 260/78/1 D *
37 yrs.
DNI:5.183.165

Disappeared at the same time as his brother Labor Leader Haroldo Logiurato and his family.

ML
WOLA - 9-26-77.
PAHR(L)

D

LOGOLUSO, Alejandro José
Age 24
DNI: 11.991.351

Disappeared 3-29-77 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LO GUERCIO, Francisco Alberto
Age, 22
DNI: 10.983.681
Piedras 1778-Buenos Aires

ABD 8-20-76 from home

PAHR (L)
ML

D

LOHLE,

Disappeared

ADLeague

D

LOIACONO, Jorge Cayetano
DNI: 11.182.376
Age 23

Disappeared 10-18-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

LOIS, Alejandro Oscar
CI: 8.007.530
Age 19

Disappeared 9-22-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

R/FDb

LOIS, Ricardo Omar
D DNI 10-465.482 CI: 8.007.530
T Age 24
R
S

Con reply: 9-1-78: N.R.A.D.

D

Arrested on 11-7-76 by a group of armed men together with a friend Hugo José Agosti. Since then without any news.

LOIS, Luisa Graciela Palacios de (Wife)
CI 5.632.567
Helguera 763-Capital
8-11-77 - Letter to Derian.
8-3-77 - Letter to T.Todman.
8-3-77 - Letter to Representatives.
8-19-77- Letter to Senators.
ML Congr. Hum. Cong. 9/78 PAHR(1)
Rep Rep Ben Rosenthal
Sen. Hatfield (Ltr 1/30/78) BA-4653 BA-7607

L

D

LOISEAU, Carlos
(Caricaturista)

Abd. 6/76.

Newspaper assoc.

LOKER VILTE, Carmen

D

ABD 5-14-76 Jujuy by armed men.

AISC

LOKER, Hugo
Age: 35

D

ABD 5-24-76 Jujuy by armed men.

AISC

90/77/9
90/78/11

LOKMAN, Jaime
DOB: June 10, 1923
Occupation: Businessman

Arrested on 3-24-76. At present in Cárcel Penitenciería de San Martin, Prov. of Córdoba, at disposal of PEN.

Rejection to habeas corpus presented by Jaime Lukman. 11-24-77 (in Spanish)

[redacted]

Rec application in person 11/78 Ft present Pabellon 9 N°534 - Lima Clinica 1/11/79
R.A. Option denied 1/19/79
A1

Wife visit - 11-30-78
Brought paper.

Cong. Iriarte 0733
W. Fowler, Jr. BA-0434
Jaime B. Lukin
Wm. Jarvis BA-0432
Cristina Lucas
Jose Luis Cabezas BA-0431
Ing. Lowell Pinkerton, Jr. (ex address 0571) (BA-0436)
Lombardi BA-0401

LOMBARDI, Edgardo Humberto
C.I. 6.966.719
Age 37

Disappeared 9-10-76 Washington

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

LOMBARDI, Margarinta R.M. de

DIS 1976 Buenos Aires

ML

D

LOMBARDI, Miguel Angel
Age: 27
LE: 7.702.905

DIS 6-27-77 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

LOMBARDICH, Antonio

Disappeared

HL
ADLeague

D

LOMBARDO DE OLAVE, Estela Beatriz
DNI: 11.177.622

ABD 4-28-77 in Mar del Plata by Fed. Police
Fed Decree 740/77 - Opinion 6-16-78

AISC
PAHR (L)

LOMONACO, Victor Hugo
Age 20
LE: A3 148.490

Disappeared 10-8-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

LONARDI, Maria Cristina

Disappeared 12-8-75

HL
PAHR-Presna 5-17-78

LONDA DE LENVI, Ana María

DIS 10/78

PAHR (L)

LONGHI, Beatriz

ARR

Sen.Cranston-behalf of [ ] 1-6-78
hl

LONGOBARDI, Elisa Clelia

P

ARR PEN - Authorized leave country.

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

819/49/2 D

LOPERENA DE RIVADA, Ma. Beatriz
Apt 25

DIS 2-3-77 Tres Arroyos - Bs. As.

Dpto. of State - Hallman
PAHR (L)

FSL/CIO

LOPEZ, Adrian Sergio
DNI - 10.532.634
Age 26

D

Adrian Lopez: he was abducted from his home on November 6th 1976 a who were wearing uniforms. This took place in Mar del Plata.

Elida L. Belo pez - LC. 2-376288 - LAZCON 5709
PAHR (L)
FDD-11-6-78

D

LOPEZ, Alfredo
Member of U.O.M.-Salta

DIS 4-22-76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

LOPEZ, Alfredo Horacio
LE: 13.374.017

Disappeared 11-12-77 Carlos Paz - Córdoba

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LOPEZ, Antonio Angel
LE: 6.065.887

DIS 9-27-76 Rosario

FDD
PAHR (L)

D

LOPEZ, Antonio Miguel

DIS

ML

LOPEZ, Argentina
La Rioja

Detained since 2/75 U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LOPEZ, Augusto

DIS 6-19-76

PAHR(L)
ML

107A/77/9 P *

LOPEZ, Braulio
(LOPEZ-AMORIN, Jesus Braulio)

Arrested in Córdoba on 15 or 16 of December 1976.

Since then disappeared.

Under PEN 209/1-28-77 in Unidad 1 Córdoba. THarris from GOA. 9-28-77.

Congressman Anthony C. Beilenson. (Letter 8-8-77).

PAHR(L)
ML

107 77 9

LOPEZ, Carlos
Obrero Renauld-Córdoba

Detained since 1976 in Coronda.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

LOPEZ, Carlos A

Disappeared 3-4-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LOPEZ, Carlos Raúl
Doc.aux.Fac.Ing.Forest.-S.del Estero

Detained since 1/75.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LOPEZ, Daniel Alberto

D

DIS

PPHS (4)
ML

LOPEZ, Del Valle Elvie

Cleared PEN

Dia: Oct.-78, La Nacion newspaper

LOPEZ, Edgardo Néstor
LE: 4.444.792

Disappeared 10-12-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

LOPEZ, Eduardo A

ARR. La Plata

Mexico 79

T LOPEZ, EDuardo Nestor
R LE. 4.444.592
CI: 5.120.332

Arrested on 10-12-76. Some days before 10-1-76 his home was searched by 4 armed men. Since then disappeared.

LOPEZ, Blanca G. de Lopez (Mother)
LC 2.301.195
Fonseca 619 - Capital (1407)
Tel.: 67-5954

Statement. Sent to T. Todman.
ML Statement to Representatives.

LOPEZ, Félix Daniel
DNI: 13.496.414

Disappeared 2-7-76 Lgc. del Estero

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LOPEZ, Félix Manuel

ARR PEN

AISC(Rio Negro nespaper)

D

LOPEZ, Fermin Edmundo

Disappeared 4/30/76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

LOPEZ, Francisco

DIS

ML

D

LOPEZ, Graciela Susana
Age: 22
DNI. 11.473.581

DIS 5-12-77 in Buenos Aires

PAHR(1)
Hng Arg Am. Watch
ML
FDD

LOPEZ, Griselda Susana
CI. 6.703.396 Rj: 14
DN. 10.268.272
Av. Lincoln 4576-Capital

Gen reply 12-14-78: N.G.A.D.

Arrested by Joint Forces on 11-9-77. Since then disappeared.

Letter by Consulate Read Case from Maryland 1-7-78
PAHR (L)
Lopez, Nestor (Father)
Av. Lincoln 4576-Capital
Phone: 53-2103
Personal interview with David Weil at Sheraton Hotel 1/5/78.

LOPEZ, Haide

DIS

ML
PAHR (L)

LOPEZ, Haydée Susana

ARR 3-24-76 Córdoba- PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

LOPEZ, Héctor Enrique
DNI. 13.415.604
Libertad 160 - Tercero Bs. As.
29618

Disappeared 6-7-76

GRANADEROS - AURORA Ribeyro de GARCIA - LC: 4.351151
Libertad 1605

HL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Fdo. 11-6-78

D

LOPEZ, Héctor F.

Disappeared 12-21-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

*

LOPEZ, Horacio Guillermo

Released April 1, 1977.

D79

LOPEZ, Hugo Julian
Age: 35

DIS 6-17-78 La Plata

PAHR (L)

D

LOPEZ, Irma

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

LOPEZ, Jorge

DIS 7/76 Santiago del Estero

ML

D

LOPEZ, Jorge Gustavo
Alt 22
DNI: 8.784.047

Disappeared 5-17-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

LOPEZ, José Manuel
CI: 6.006.998
25 de Mayo 2250 - S. Fernando
- Alt 20

Disappeared 11-7-74

Mun. Concejal Mansilla de Lopez CIL 4.215.574 - 25 Mayo 2250

Ex Dip. Alt. 21-6-78 Nombre
ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

LOPEZ, Juan Alberto

DIS 6-19-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

LOPEZ, Juan Augusto

DIS 6-19-76 Córdoba

ML

LOPEZ, Juan Isidro

DIS

ML

LOPEZ, Julio Miguel
Aft.: 27
Dic. 8.618.531

DIS 8-28-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (4)

LOPEZ, Lelio Reinaldo

D

DIS 11/76

ML
PAHR (1)

D

LOPEZ, Leopoldo Omar
CI. 8.102.330 Dni: 12.102.708
Ambrosetti 4549-San Justo (Bs.As.)
Rfc 24

Arrested on 3-30-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(1)
Moreno, Mercedes (Mother)
LC. 3.078.752
Ambrosetti 4549-San Justo (Bs.As.)
ML
FDD

LOPEZ, Luis A.
Córdoba

Detained since 1976 Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LOPEZ, Luis Alberto
Age: 31
From Fiat Materfer-Córdoba

ARD 1-8-76

ML
PHR - Prensa 5-A-78 (1)
Hrg. Org. Int. Rembles

LOPEZ, Marcelo José

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

LOPEZ, Mauricio Amilcar
MENDOZA
Alejandro Quadrado 345

Kidnapped on 1.1.77, in Mendoza by 5 masked men.
Hrg. Kg.

Mrs. Schroeder. 7-13-77.
The Intern.League for H.R.-Fernando Rondon-8-15-77.
Dutch Amb. Congr.Schroeder.
Cancer Amnesty 9/78
Finding Family first 8/78

ML WCLA-11-78

Swedish Emb.Interest-11-78

D

LOPEZ, Mirta Gladys
LC: 11.434.414
NWNS

Disappeared 4-14-77

Cancn Aut; Cmq. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
NL

D 78

LOPEZ, Mirta Graciela
Age: 31
CI: 8.413.723

DIS 6-21/23-78 La Tablada Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

LOPEZ, Nestor

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

LOPEZ, Nestor Enrique
Arg 20
DNI: 13.415.864

Disappeared 6-7-76 Florida - Bs.As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LOPEZ, P. Verónica (nee Gestner or Gesper)

Detained in Unidad 2 Villa Devoto, condemned to 5 years, in serious condition because of advanced tuberculosis. Married to Odilio Lopez, held at disposal of Exec.Power.

ADLeague

LOPEZ, Palmira

ARR 10-27-74 Chaco - PEN V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

LOPEZ, Pilar

AED 1-18-76

ML
PAHR(L)

D

LOPEZ, Ricardo Ernesto
Age: 22
DNI: 10.708.018

DIS 2-27-76 Tucuman

PAHR (L)

LOPEZ, Roberto

Killed

Killed on 9-9-77

La Plata List

LOPEZ, Roberto Raul
CI. 6.430.329
Age 25

R (F) D

Arrested on 6-30-76. Since then disappeared.

Lopez, Alicia Zanetti de (Mother)
Tel. 701-8084

Note to Representatives.

PAHR(L)
ML

C-22/77/11

F Upstairs

LOPEZ, ROSENDO Francisco

Removed from PEN - ha Varsa 1/22/79

Unidad 7-Resistencia. PEN.

Isabel Teresita López (Sister)
Alfredo Bonino 2305
1417 Capital
ex-Partido Socialista
Hig Aug. Jer Hombres

D

LOPEZ, Santiago Adolfo

DIS 6-1-76

PAHR(L)
ML

LOPEZ, Simón

Sin datos.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

LOPEZ, Susana
Maestra primaria-Córdoba

~~30/6/76~~ ABJ 9/14/76 vr/ Norberto Sant'Angelo

AISC (Arq. Ramon Bordeu)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LOPEZ, Urbano
Age: 30
CI: 6.347.933

DIS 12-17-76 Ituzaingo

FDD

LOPEZ AILLON, Alfredo H.

Age 18
DNI: 13.374.091

DIS 11-22-77 Córdoba

Córdoba-List 12-1-78

LOPEZ AILLON, Jorge Gustavo

Age 22
8.784.045

DIS 5-17-77 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

LOPEZ ASORNIA, Juan
Peugeot

Detained since 3-22-75 in Villa Gorriti

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

LOPEZ BAYLON, Francisco

D

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)
ML

LOPEZ, Burgos, Sergio Ruben
Catamarca 683. Buenos Aires.
Age: 28

(Uruguayan)

Disappeared on 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires, where he was a political exile. From July to October 19, 1976 they had no news of him, but then they learned he was in LIBERTAD PRISON. He has been offered asylum in Austria.

Burgos de Trias, Maria Elena (Mother)
Saldias, Renée de Luz Villanueva de (Sister-in-law)
Gobernador Vigodet 2827, Apt.2
Montevideo

Memorandum of Conversation, 10-4-77, Donald A. Guerriero
Pol. Off.

REFOULEMENT

LOPEZ CALVO, María Eugenia
Age 19

DIS 9-13-76

PAHR (L)

D

LOPEZ FERRARETO, Ricardo H
LE: 6.037.439

Disappeared 2-10-77 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L).

L

LOPEZ FORASTIER, Leopoldo
Fiscal de Estado de la Pcia. de Misiones

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

LOPEZ FORNARI, Daniel V

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

210/2:/11 D *

LOPEZ GUERRA, Maria Cristina
Identity No. 7.490.828
Age: 21

N.R.A.D - GOA - 9-5-78

Maria Cristina was taken from her home at calle Nicaragua 10345, Kilometer 22.6 Ruta 8 del Partido de 3 de Febrero BA. on July 26, 1976. She was arrested together with her husband Martin Belaustegui Herrera, and was 3 months pregnant at the time of Arrest. Since then disappeared.
Parents presented Hábeas Corpus. Mr. and Mrs. Lopez Guerra.
Ene Cristina Conzaro de Lopez Guerra (Amcit mother)

B6

PAHR(4)

793/79/1 D

LOPEZ DE JAIT, Elsa Raquel
Age: 28
LC 6.054.611
Laprida 1132-San Miguel de Tucumán

Arrested on 9-18-76. Since then disappeared. Tucuman

AI
Tucumán
Jait, Pablo (Husband)
Ingenio San Juan - 4109 Banda del Rio Salí - Tucuman
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

LOPEZ MARTIN, Angela (Spanish) D
LC: 6.268.611

Disappeared 9-25-76 La Plata

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

LOPEZ MATEOS, Elsa Noemí
Bfl 33
CI: 1.874.912

Disappeared 10-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

99/77/9

LOPEZ MOLINA, Luis

P *

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
PEN ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ THarris from GOA 9-28-77.
3558-11/25/75
GOA reply 11-6-77: Req 2444 - Dec. 1233 - 11/15/77 - Left for Italy 11/16/77

D

LOPEZ DE MOYANO, Susana Leonor
DNI: 11.123.116
Bfl 13

Disappeared 6-20-76 with husband José A.

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

LOPEZ MUNTANER, Francisco Batolomé

DIS 9-16-76 La Plata, Bs As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

LOPEZ MUNTANER, Luis César

DIS 4-8-77 La Plata - Bs As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

LOPEZ ORTEGA, Antonio Miguel

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

LOPEZ OSORNIO, Juan Carlos
Age: approx. 12 years old.

Arrested in March 1976 after abuse in Escuela. Detained Penitenciaria 1/22/76 de Jujuy until end of 1976. Ad present in
Unidad 9 LA PLATA - Expediente por presunta violación

a la ley 20.840. Art. 5°

Spanish Embassy
ML PAHR(L)
Leg Arg Escuela
Ex-Partido Socialista

LOPEZ FUMAREDA, Carlos Antonio
Age 24
LE: 10.414.767

Disappeared 3-4-77 with a 11 mo old child who was later rel.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LOPEZ QUIROGA, Manuel

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

K

LOPEZ DE RODRIGUEZ, Alicia Adela
Laprida 450 - Roque Saenz Peña (Chaco)

Arrested in Santa Fé (Gdor.Candioti 1367) in October 1976. Extraofficially the family was informed that she has been killed.

Personal call: 4-27-78 (thru Ing.Ramos - Freeman)

Lopez, Allan Jorge Rodolfo (Brother-in-law)
Santa Fé (Gdor.Candioti 1367) Phone: 34582

c-72/22/12

SOSA
LOPEZ, Pedro José

R Upton

PEN:Unidad 2 Sierra Chica. Forms given directly by Consulate.

Lopez, Manuel Pedro (Hermano)

D 79

LORDKIPANIDES, Carlos Gregorio

DIS 11-18-78

BA Unclas. 9574

D

LORENZO, Cesar

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

LORENZO, Hebe

DIS 9-22-76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

LORENZO, Nora
age 22

Disappeared 4-25-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

Killed

LORENZO, Roberto Adolfo
AGE 26

KILLED

FDD

D

LORIANTE, Ana Maria
Age 21
C.I.: 7.138.274

Disappeared 5-31-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LORUSO LAMMIE, Maria Esther (Paraguayan)
C.I.: 7.353.470
Age 23

Disappeared 5-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LOSA DE ALFAYA, Zulema I.
DN: 3.478.413
36 years old.

D

Disappeared 9-7-77 from home with husband Roque - Ramos Mejía

Hig. Org. Pol. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

LOSOVIZ, Juan Carlos
Age 20
DN: 43.960.204

Disappeared 9-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LOS SANTOS, Carlos Ernesto
Age 22
DN: 4.666.174

Disappeared 5-13-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LOTO, Daniel Roberto

Disappeared 9-25-76 Salta

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

LOTO, José Teorodo

Disappeared 2/75 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

LOVAZZANO, Mirta Beatriz
CI: 7.984.952
Argerich 4141-43-Capital
Student

Disappeared together with Dunajevich on 5-29-76, Santa Fé and Uruguay streets.

PAHR (1)
Lovazzano, Luis (Father)
Argerich 4141-43-Capital
Alicia Tomasich (aunt) - Phone (Grandmother 50-3196)
Personal call Embassy 7-31-78

LOY, Gladys

ARR 2-2-75 Santiago del Estero - PEN V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

LOYOLA, Mario Roberto
CI: 7.239.56c
Julio Herrera 658, Mes de Febrero Pcia.
Apt 22

Disappeared 12-21-76

Arg. Gen. Amnesty
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LOYOLA, Miguel Angel
Journalist

K

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

LOYOLA MAISANO, Dominga A.
CI: 7.255.277

DIS 12-21-76

PAHR(L)

LOZA, Elisa Dionisia
Age 41
LC 3.403.910

Disappeared; Reference 2-11-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LOZANO, Jaime Emilio
LE: 7.504.849
Age 34

Disappeared 7-24-76

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

LOZANO, José Heriberto

DIS

ML

LOZANO, José Maria
Drafted Soldier in Rio Santiago

DIS 2/77 La Plata

ML

LOZANO, Julia Elena

ABD 11-19-76 in downtown Buenos Aires w/Alvaro M. Colombo

ML

PELAEZ
LUBIAN, Vittorio
Age: 25

DIS 7/76. In Sweden since August 1978

REFUGLEMENT
ML

LUCANTIS, Carlos Alberto
C.I.: 8 310.420
Sgo. del Estero 1550 - Bs. Aires

Disappeared 5-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

LUCAS, Jorge Osvaldo

DIS 3-31-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

LUCAS, Orlando Guillermo

DIS 12-76

PAHR(L)
ML

LUCENA, Rene Ramon

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

R/FDD

LUCENTE, Antonio Gerardo
LE. 4.360.941
J.G. Castillo 37 - Ramos Mejia
Age 34

Disappeared on 5-23-76.

Lucente, L. A. Leiva de (Wife)
LC 4.705.871
José Gonzalez Castillo 37-Ramos Mejía

Statement to Senators.

ML
Hosp Arg. de la Fraternidad
Madrid casi Entre Rios
Visita padre 1.31.78

PAHR (L)
Antonia Nieves Lucente (Mother)
Lenzetti 425 - Cap. 67-6750

D

LUCERO, Carmen Inés

Disappeared 2-22-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

P

LUCERO, Edith Noemí Arito

Removed from PEN- La Nación 2-17-75

Under PEN unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

LUCERO, Eduardo

DIS

ML

?

LUCERO, Esteban Amado

Disappeared 3-31-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

LUCERO, José Luis

ABD 3-20-76 Beriso-Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

D

LUCERO, Lucio Edgardo
Ap 18
DNI: 12.639.715

Disappeared 9-21-76 Pilar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

LUCERO, Luis Alberto
Ap. 22
C.I. 2.434.088

Disappeared 11-4-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

LUCERO, Oscar Romero

DIS

PAHR (L)

LUCERO, Pedro

6/76/11 P *

Released. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76
Dec. Pen 1120 (6.29.76) Mendoza subversive activities.

Husband of J. Goldman? held in Mendoza.

D

MARCONI, Guillermo Dario
CI. 7.550.287

DIS 5-5-77

ML

D 78

MARCOS, Adriana

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

MARCOS, Liliana Beatriz
Age: 23
DNI.11.483.922

DIS 6-23-77 La Plata

FDD

D1978

MARCUS, Adriana Ruth
Capital Federal

DIS 8-26-78

PAHR 9-28-78

D

MARDIKIAN, Juan Carlos
Age 20

Disappeared 4-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MARDIKIAN DE CABELLO, Nora Beatriz
Age 23

Disappeared 4-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MARDIQUIAN, Nelson Valentin

DIS 4-14-76

FAHR (L)
ML

MARE, Jorge Alberto

DIS 7-20-76

ML

MARECO DUARTE, Virginia

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

MARENDINI, Cristina
Emp. Agen. Renault

Disappeared 9-18-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MAREQUEZ, Sebastian Enrique
Age: 39
DNI: 4.280.765

DIS 62-77

FDD
PAHA (2)

D

MARGA, Mario Raúl
LE: 5.170.283
Veterinarian

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

MARGARI, Alfredo Julio
Age: 21 Martin J. Haedo 2034
Florida (Prov. Bs.As.)

Arrested on 11-16-77. Since then disappeared.

Margari, Marcelo Alfredo (Father)
Margari, Lucrecia Elena Etchaleco de (Mother)

Newspaper clippin, La Prensa, 11-19-77.

D

MARGARIDO GOYOS, Arturo José
C.I. 6.595.04
Ed. Arquitectura, Obras, Grado
Becas

Disappeared 5-10-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MARGHETICH, Héctor Marcelo
CI. 6.671.928

Arrested on 8-19-76. Since then disappeared.

Marghetich, Yolanda N. Broussain de (Mother)
LC 3.125.102
Crámer 281, Bernal (1876) Bs.As.)

Statement to Representatives.

PAHR (L)

L

MARGOSIAN, Beatriz Liliana

Acad PEN.

Reporter Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper

MARQUEZ, Irma Beatriz
Age 37
Cl: 4.515.243

DIS 5-12-77 from home with husband Jorge A. Capello
Arrellanada.

ML

MARQUEZ, Luis

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

D

MARI, Leonardo

DIS 9-2-76

PAHR (L)
ML

MARIANI
(Son of Director de Orquesta Sinfónica) Killed

Killed

La Plata List

D

MARIANI, Mrs.

DIS

ML

D

MARIANI, Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

MARIANI, Clara Anahí (baby 16 months old)
DNI: 25.476.305
DoB: 8-12-76

Disappeared during an "operativo" on 11-24-76, her parents were killed during this "operativo". Her grandmother is looking for her.

PAHR(L)
Mariani, Maria Isabel Chorobik de (grandmother)
LC. 8.319.665
C.C.516,- 1900 La Plata
La Plata, mayo 1978
11-9-78 - Letter to EAAFA

D

MARIANI, Gustavo

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

MARIANI, Mario Humberto
Dni. [illegible]
[illegible] - Zarate Bs As
Age 45

Disappeared 12-14-76

hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MARIANIDIS, Juan
Age 40

Disappeared 4-1-78 Ciudadela

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

C-[illegible]

P Captain

MARIN, Carlos Ernesto Eduardo
L.E. 5.068.113

Guat. Mex. country. To Venezuela La Nacion 2/3/79

PEN: Unidad 1 - Coronda. Sent forms with letter.

Marin, Elvira S.M. de Nardo de (Wife)
Cándido Pujato 2432
3000 Santa Fé

MARIN, Eduardo
La Nación

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MARIN, Francisco Eduardo
Journalist
Age 32
DE: 8.248.603

ARA
Disappeared 5-14-77
Killed

La Opinión 6-16-78
EL
PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

MARIN, Juan Carlos
Age 42
CI: 8.229.408

Disappeared 7-7-76

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MARIN, Pablo
Former Secret.Banks Union-Mendoza

ABD 1-5-76

ML

MARIN ALMAZAN, Maria del Carmen

DIS 7-28-77

PAHR

MARIN CAMPS, Carlos Armando

DIS 7-28-77

PAHR

D

MARINA, Ma. Celeste
Hit 25
DNI: 10.277.998

Disappeared 1-25-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D1978

MARINELLI, Milton Isaac Gabriel

Expelled Clarin - 8-12-78

Student from Venezuela disappeared in Tucuman on 5-5-78.
Information appeared in newspaper La Nación 6-27-78.

LA NACION, Bs.As. 6-27-78

MARINELLI, Natalio Andres
CI: 2.280.955

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MARINEZ, José Alfonso

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

MARINEZ, Raúl

Killed San Juan

AISC (Arg.Komm.Sveden)

MARINI, Gabriel Martin

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

MARINI, Mario Osvaldo
Age: 25

DIS 12-9-76 Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

D

MARINI, Gustavo

DIS

ML

D

MARINIS, Lidia Beatriz de
5.445.195

Disappeared 6-5-76

Madres Plaza Mayo Ref. #78
BL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MARINO, Adriana

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

D

MARINO, Horacio Alberto

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

7/12/15/12

MARINO AGOSTI, Eduardo Hanibal
Dob: 8-11-41 -- Buenos Aires
Profesion: System analyst

GOA info 2-2378: Heart no cardiocdato

DIS 11-5-77

CIOLLARO DE MARINO, Noemí (Wife)
392-3193
393-5590;5567;8923

Mr. Hallman's info. 12-22-78

MARINONI, Rodolfo Luis
Age 33
LE: 4.434.980

Disappeared 9-20-77 Neuquen

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MARISMA, Maria Celeste
Age: 32

DIS 12-23-77

FDD

MARIZCURRENA, Andres
DNI 10.356.434
MARIZCURRENA, Liliana Beatriz Caimi de
CI 6.298.811
Italia 1769, Martinez (Bs.As.)

On. 10-11-76 a group of men, they said to be from the Police, searched their home and arrested them. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
CAIMI, Elida Esther de (Mother)
CI. 2.581.404
Italia 1769, Martinez (Bs.As.)

NL Statement. Sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

B

MARIZCURRENA, Baby

Elida Marizcurrena (Grandmother)
Italia 1769-Martinez

D

MARLATS, Cristina Gabriela
CI: 6.402.128

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

MAROCCHI, Omar Alejandro
DU. 12.401.254
Calle 88 No. 954-Mar del Plata
DOB: 4.10.56

Arrested on 9-18-76. Since then disappeared.

Marocchi, Nelida de (Mother)
Avellaneda 78 (Tandil)
Phone 2804
FBHR
Personall call Embassy 2-21-78 - 3-13-78 - 3-13-79

MAROCHI, Horacio Omar
Age: 22

DIS from Tandil

AISC

MARONI, Juan Patricio (F)
DNI 11.624.591
Salas 579 - Capital

(See also RINCON, Carlos Alberto)

On 4-5-77 was arrested together with his wife Maria Rosa Graciela Giganti de Maroni. She was freed after 12 hours. He is disappeared since then.

Maroni, Juan José (Parent)
Maroni, Enriqueta A.R. de
Salas 579(1424-Capital

Statement to Representatives.

FAHR-Cases J.A.-M.(2)

MARONI DE RINCON, Maria B.
Age: 23
DNI: 11.154.555

DIS 4-5-77

FDD
FAHR(2)

MAROQUI, Omar Alejandro
Age: 21
DNI: 12.401.254

DIS 9-18-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR (L)

MAROSO, Santiago Máximo

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

MAROTTA, Arturo Gustavo
Rivadavia 4350-Bs.As.
CI: 6.646.853
Age: 22

ABD 5-14-76 from parents home J.M.Moreno 1859, Bs.As. with wife Liliana

PAHR - Frankel C. (1725) (L)
ML

--11/77/11

MAROTTA, Gabriel Oscar

Disappeared 4-24-77
PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata

Contact Author's Copy 9/77
Marotta, Esther de
Calle 14 Nro. 476 - Dpto. 3-La Plata (Mother)
Tel.: 26688 C.Correo No. 301

ML
PAHR(L)

MAROTTA, Guillermo

Disappeared 4-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MAROTTA, Héctor Raúl

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MARQUES DOS SANTOS, Sidney (Brazilian)
Age 30

Disappeared 2-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
NL

MARQUES DE GALVAN, Maria Estela
Age 40
Worker
LC: 10.326.097

Detained Villa Devoto Prison.
CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Cronica 11-13-78

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PAHR (L)

MARQUESINI, R.

Sin datos.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D78

MARQUET, Ana Cristina

DIS 11-10-78

PAHR (L)

D

MARQUEZ, Alberto Federico
Dálmine Siderca
Arg 34

Disappeared 12-13-76

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
ML

D

MARQUEZ, Mirta Olga

DIS 3/77 Buenos Aires

ML

760/77/1 D

MARQUEZ, Pablo
Age: 13

Detained with mother Graciela in May 1977, en Avellaneda, Buenos Aires.

~~Buenos Aires~~
VEIJA, 5-31-78
French Embassy

D

MARQUEZ, Pedro Ismael
Age 3#
D.N.I. 3?7.995

DIS 6-1-77 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR (i)

761/77/1 D

MARQUEZ, Sebastian
Edad: 4 años

Arrestado junto con su madre en Mayo 1977.

Arg. Coalition of Boston-ACB

MARQUEZ DE ALMEIDA, Manuel A.

Disappeared 8-28-77 with wife Viviana

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MARQUEZ DE ALMEIDA, Viviana de
Age: 22

ABD 8-22-77 with husband Manuel and 9 month old baby, who was later released

ML

MARQUEZ DE VALDEZ, Mirta Olga

Disappeared 6-13-76 Temporling

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

MARRE, Jorge Alberto

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

MARROCO, Cristina Lucia

Disappeared 4-18-77

La Plata list 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MARROCO, Susana Maria

Disappeared 4-15-77

La Plata list 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FREED 396/78/5

de HEURAN

MARRON, Maria Amalia
Age: 20
Teacher
DNI: 12.305.492

GOA ruling 5-15-78 : PEN Decree 1613 - 7/13/78
Charge: Member of FCR & JCR.
Pleads: Commission & her Rights since 7-31-78

Arrested 3-26-78

San Justo

MARRONE, Laura Enda
Profession: teacher.

Arrested 3-27-1976.

Carcel de Villa Devoto - PEN
CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Crimea 11-13-78

ex-Partido Socialista

MARRONE, Pedro

Disappeared

FAHR(1)
NL
ADLeague

D

MARRUCCO, Heraldo Juan

DIS 5-3-77

ML

D

MARSANO, Juan Carlos
CI. 7.022.540
Caseros 612 - 2°"A"-Capital
Medicine student

Arrested on Santa Fé Str. 1900 by a group of armed men, on 2-28-77. Since then disappeared.

FAHR(L)
Marsano, Teresa de (Mother)
Caseros 612-2°"A"-Capital
Phone 27-7706
Personal call 5-24-78.

D

MARSERO. Juan Carlos

Disappeared 2-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

MARTA, Jorge

DIS

FAHR (L)
ML

MARTACOLELLA, Lidia

D

Reported Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper

D

MARTELLI, Marina C. B.

DIS

ML

D

MARTENS DE GRANOUVSKY, Elba
Medrano 574, Bs.As.

ABD 11-19-76

PRHR (L)
ML

D

MARTI DE RAMOS, Ana M
Age: 32
Zuviria 2211-Bs.Aires

DIS 3-19-77; 2 children aged 7 & 5 were left at the home of sister

ML
PRHR - [illegible] 5-19-77 (L)

D

MARTIN, Alicia Silvia
Age 25
CI: 6.604.344

DIS 3-9-77 Buenos Aires

ML

MARTIN, Analía Matilde
Santa Fe

Detained since 6-20-75 in Villa Devoto
Concedida por PEN. Ley Nación 6-19-78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MARTIN, Angela Lopez
LC: 6.268.611
Geography Professor

D

ABD. 11-25-76 La Plata

AISC

D

MARTIN, Carlos

DIS

PAHR (4)
ML

D

MARTIN, Ilda Esther
LC: 5.623.364

ABD 4-29-76 from 24 de Noviembre 1506-Bs.Aires

PDD
ML

D 76

MARTIN, Jorge

DIS 11-9-78

PAHR (L)

MARTIN, Jorge Victor
Santa Fé

Detained since 6-20-76 - Prefectura Rosario

Removed from PEN - 12-22-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MARTIN, Julio Antonio Martin
Age: 29
Doc. 323.662

DIS 12-27-75 Tucumán

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

MARTIN, Luis

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

AFL/CIO

D

MARTIN, Melita

DIS 1-3-77

[illegible]: She was abducted from her place of work in the city of Tucumán 1/77.

PAHR(L)

MARTIN, Orlando Alonso

D

DIS 12-75 Córdoba

AISC Cospa-Mx

MARTIN, Pedro D.

D

DIS

AISC

D

MARTIN DE MORON, Ilda Ester

ABD 4-29-76

ML

D

MARTINA, Hugo
5 Estudiantes 59 65 - Mar del Plata (Fm Bs)
Age 24

Disappeared 10-16-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-79 (L)
HL

D

MARTINEZ,

DIS 7-7-76 Catamarca

ML

D-78

MARTINEZ, Adolfo Olle

USEMB MVD Inquiry 7/10/78

D

MARTINEZ, Alberto Eugenio
Age: 19
LE: 12.325,459

DIS 7-21-76 Tucumán

PAHR(L)
FDD

D

MARTINEZ, Alejandro C.
Age: 19

DIS 12/76

FDD
PAHR(L)

310/76/3 D

MARTINEZ, Ana Elsa
Member of Inner Religion Group

ABD 2-16-78 Resistencia Chaco

Dept.of State State 064407

D

MARTINEZ, Anibal

DIS

DDAlto Valle 11-78

D

MARTINEZ, Angela
Age: 75

ABD 7/76 Lomas de Zamora, Bs.As.

FAHR(L)
ML

D

MARTINEZ, Antonia N.
Hospital Italiano-Capital

Disappeared 12-23-77

Comm Arch Arg 9/82
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MARTINEZ, Atilio César
Ar: 18
L: 10.726.283

Disappeared 6-21-77 La Plata Pcia. de.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

MARTINEZ, Carlos A.

Disappeared 1-18-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MARTINEZ, Carlos Alberto
Pcia: 33
LE: 6 6/3 0+9

Disappeared 8-25-77 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

Killed

MARTINEZ, Carlos Enrique

Killed 3-15-76 Córdoba

Mexico 79

MARTINEZ, Coyo
Corrientes

Detained since March 1976 in Resistencia

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

MARTINEZ, Daniel
[illegible]

Disappeared 6-1-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Arg. Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MARTINEZ, Enrique Gabriel

DIS 3-28-76 Córdoba

FAHR(L)
ML

9

MARTINEZ, Gardino

Under Pen in Gualeguaychú jail, Entre Rios.(At the same jail there is also a brother of him).

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

MARTINEZ, Graciela Herminia

DIS 4-6-76 Bs.As.

FAHR (L)
ML

MARTINEZ, Guillermo Francisco

D

DIS PEN 3/8

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

MARTINEZ, Héctor Luis
Age 26

DIS 3-8-78 Escobar - Bs. As.

FAHR (L)
ML

D

MARTINEZ, Hilda Esther
LC. F.623 3v8

Disappeared 4-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MARTINEZ, Horacio
Agronomy student

ARR 76 PARANA

AISC (Arg.Komm.Sveden)

MARTINEZ, Horacio Alberto

ARR Sentenced to 5 yers. by Judge Mantras

AISC (Clarin)

MARTINEZ, Horacio Arístides
Ajr 27
L.E 5.623364

DIS 5-5-77

PAHR(L)

D

MARTINEZ, Inocencio Ramón

DIS

FAHR (L)
ML

11/9/77/12 *
D

MARTINEZ, Irene Leonor
Sarsfield 751, Villa Carera 5009
Sucursal 9, Córdoba (Argentina)

Fourth year medical student at Univ. of Córdoba-23 years old. Disappeared on 7-18-77. Amn. PEN - 2-14-78

Special circumstances: Martinez spent 7 months during 1972 as an exchange student in IOWA. She was a close friend of the US family with whom she stayed.

Congressional interes: Senator Humphrey.

Cong. Donald M. Fraser

Spanish Committee
for Refugees - Feb 6 1978
Albuquerque

D

MARTINEZ, Jorge Alberto
Age: 29
LE: 7.757.939

DIS 6-14-77 Adrogué Bs.As.

FDD

Killed

MARTINEZ, Jorge Elio

Killed on 53-77

La Plata List

D

MARTINEZ, José
Córdoba

Disappeared March 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AFL/CIO

D

MARTINEZ, José Alberto

DIS- 11-2-76 Mar del Plata - B.A.

[illegible] he was executed while he was walking along the street of [illegible] on the city of Mar del Plata on November 2nd 1976.

TAHR(L)

D

MARTINEZ, Jose Alfonso

DIS

PAHL(L)
ML

*

MARTINEZ, Josefa

ABD
Freed 12-10-76.
DIS after seeing Drimen 11/12 in Córdoba.

PAHR(L)
AL

D

MARTINEZ, Juan Bautista

DIS 5-28-77 La Plata Pro Ch.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

D

MARTINEZ, Juan E.
Délmine Siderca

Disappeared 9-22-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MARTINEZ, Juan Francisco

DIS 7-17-76

ML

D

MARTINEZ, Manuel Ignacio
[illegible]
Campana (Bs As)

Disappeared 9-22-76 Campana

PAHR-Presna 5-17-78(1)

ML

MARTINEZ, Maria Luisa

DIS 4-7-77

AISC
ML
PAHR (L)

MARTINEZ, Maria Luz

ABD 9-13-76 Bs.As.

AISC

MARTINEZ, Maria Rosa

DIS
CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Causa 11-13-78
Supreme Court ordered release - Bs. A. Herald clipping 2-9-79

PAHR (L)
ML

D

MARTINEZ, Mariano Alejandro R.
LE: 6.068.973

Disappeared 1-27-77 Rosario - Santa Fé

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

568/78/9 D

MARTINEZ, Mario (Uruguayan)
= 'Imaguayi' Journalist
Age 32

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

UNHCR-Refugee registered
3-9-78
"AI - 10/78"
PAHR (L)

D

MARTINEZ, Marta Antonia (Bolivian)
Age:

Disappearance 5-14-77 Uruzamgo

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MARTINEZ, Miguel Angel

DIS Tafí Viejo - Tucumán

FAHR(L)
ML

MARTINEZ, Natividad

ARR 4-10-76 Santa Fé - PEN Juge Alegria Caceres-
Now in Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

MARTINEZ, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Norma Beatriz
Age 24

On 8-12-77 she was arrested by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Martinez, Marcos Oscar
Rio de Janeiro 2667-LANUS
Tel. 247-9495 (Father)

8-17-77 Letter to Representatives.

D

MARTINEZ, Oscar

DIS

PAHR (L)

MARTINEZ, Roberto
Tafí Viejo

DIS Tafí Viejo - Tucumán

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)

D

MARTINEZ, Rocio Angela

Disappeared 6-14-76

hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D78

MARTINEZ, Ruben Alfredo
Age: 23
CI: 7.019.942

DIS 5-31-78

FDD

D

MARTINEZ, Ruben Antonio

DIS 2-27-77 La Plata-Bs.As.

La Plata List -11-21-78

PAHR(4)

D

MARTINEZ, Ruben Vicente
DOB: 11-13-1953

Arrested on 11-29-76 and charged with asociación subversiva.

AMEMBASSY Montevideo

D

MARTINEZ, Segundo Luis
Age 22:
DNI. 11.992.370

DIS 9-12-75 Tucumán

FDD

MARTINEZ, Silvia Mónica (Dr.)

Detained 1976 - At presente in Villa Devoto Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

132/77/10 D *

MARTINEZ, Susana Margarita
Gallo 763, Buenos Aires
Age 24

Young teacher with a small child of less than a year, disappeared in Buenos Aires on 5-16-77, and has been unheard of since.

Daughter of Perla Wasserman (58 years old) in prison in Villa Devoto for two years.

The Intern. League for H.R.(Fernando Rondon) 8-15-77.
Wash.Off.in Latin America. 7-15-77.

261/781 D *

MARTINEZ ABELLEIRA, Jorge Alberto
DI: 7.787.939
25 de Mayo 355, "C" Adrogué

Disappeared on 6-14-77. Adrogué

Martinez, Maria Pilar Abelleira de (Mother)
Letter 1-16-78 without address.

Letter to Amnesty Int'l Cana from Lionhead. 1-2-78
PAHR-Femoc. 5-17-78 (L)

L

D

MARTINEZ AGUERO, José Agustin

DIS 1-28-76

Córdoba 12-1-78

D

MARTINEZ BORBOLLA, Rocío A

DIS 6-16-76

PAHR (L)

MARTINEZ DELFINO, Eduardo Manuel

D

DIS-11-21-76

Mar del Plata List

D

MARTINEZ.GARCIA, Angela

ABD 9-10-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MARTINEZ DE GONZALEZ, M. L.
LC 1.005.433

DIS Quilmes

FDD
PAHR(L)

D 78

MARTINEZ HORMONIGUEZ, Jorge Hugo

DIS april 1978 - Claypole

D

MARTINEZ LAGRAVA, Atilio C.

DIS 6-21-77 La Plata Pcia.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

D

MARTINEZ DE MARTINI, Marta
Age: 28
L. 5.617.410

DIS 1-8-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

MARTINEZ DE MORAN, Ilda Ester
Age 27
LE: 5.623.364

ABD 4-29-76 with husband who was later rel.

ML.

MARTINEZ Y PEREZ, Adriana

DIS 6-12-77

Mar del Plata List

MARTINEZ RIUS, Enrique Gabriel Jesus
LE. 10.542.919
Alonso de Ubeda 224
CORDOBA 5008

Arrested by the Army on 3-28-76. Since then disappeared.

Martinez Vázquez, Graciela Rius de (Mother)
Alonso de Ubeda 224
Barrio Marqués de Sobremonte
CORDOBA - 5008
ML
10-3-77 Letter to Amb. Castro
FAHR (L)

569/79/9

MARTINEZ SANTORO, Luis Fernando (Uruguayan)

DIS 8/77

WHRC - 9-5-78

Martinez de Viveros, Natividad Roque
Age: 33
Paraguayan

Arrested in Rosario, Argentina. She has been tortured during her detainment. An expulsion decree is signed since 6-13-77, but has not taken place. In her case to be sent back to Paraguay she will in all probability be imprisoned.

Danish Embassy

MARTINIS, Juan Francisco
LE 7.677.869
MARTINIS, Beatriz Haydée Neuhaus
CI 10.392.778
Pasco 739 - Ramos Mejía.

Arrested on 3-16-76 in Ramos Mejía. Since then disappeared.

Neuhaus, Beatriz H.C. Aicardi de (MOTHER)
LC 0061571 638-9645
Pasco 739-Ramos Mejía.
PRHR(L)
8-1-77 Statement. Sent T.Todman.
HL Statement to Representatives.

MARTINIS, Baby

B

Neuhaus, Beatriz H. C. Aicardi de (Grandmother)
Pasco 730 - Ramos Mejía (Prov.Bs.As.)

D

MARTINU, Martin

DIS 7-7-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D 1978

MARTIRE, Juan Carlos
CI: 8.533.784
Venezuela 3542-Capital
Student-Carlos Pellegrini School

Arrested on 4-18-78 at his home.

PRHR(4)
Maria Nacarado de Martire (Mother)
Venezuela 3542-Capital Phone 93-1314
Personal call Embassy 8-31-78

D

MARTIRE OLIVERA, M.Antonia
Age 34

Disappeared 10-8-76 with husband & 2 sons, husband & 1 son released 7 days later. Son Daniel still missing.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MARTUL, Federico

ABD 6-26-76

PHHR(L)
ML

D

MARUCCO, Heraldo Juan
CI: 5.370.058

Disappeared 5-3-77 Avellaneda

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MARWVES, Alberto F'
Age: 31

DIS 12-13-75

PAHR (L)

220/22/12 D *

MARX, ~~XXXXX~~ Leonor Gertrudis
Age 24 6.07.51
DOB: 1948
Profession: Meteorologist

21,
Arrested together with three friends in August 1976 in Buenos Aires. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
Anti-defamation League.
Rabbi M. Rosenthal
German Embassy - Von Schlick
ML

D

MASCHIA, Rodolfo Luis

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MASCHIO, Raúl Ramón
Dob: 8-31-1955
Calle 502 entre 9 y 10 - Gonnet
DI. 11.840.625

Detained on 12-6-1977. La Plata; Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR(4)
La Plata list

D 179/77/11

MASCIO, Ana Maria

Profession: Labor Lawyer

Disappeared 9-2-77 in Córdoba.

Cong. de Hum. Rights
Cong.Gus Yatron
Amnesty International
Hum. Rts. Cong. Reps.

MASCIULIS, Paulina

Detained 3-20-75 - Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MASEIRO, Asilu
Age: 45

D

DIS

ML

D

MASERA PINCOLINI, Omar Raúl
LE: 6.864.412

Disappeared 1-12-77 Mendoza

Mendoza Family List 8/78
Gil
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
"MEMZA - 11-78

MASOLA, Alberto Carlos D

DIS 5-16-76 Bahia Blanca

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

MASRIERA, Alejandro Daniel
Arg. 8.Oct.45?
Age 26

Disappeared 7-10-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Org. Sec. Wrmbl

D

MASSER DE GONZALEZ, Raquel
Age 34

Disappeared 8-26-76 with husband Libertad

ML
Catt. Lib. Lanus
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

MASSERA, Raúl Omar
Professor

D

DIS 1-12-77 Mendoza, Univ. Nac. de Cuyo

AISC

MASSERA PINCOLINI, Omar Raúl D

DIS 1-12-77

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

MASSIEL, Haydée P

ARR 8-13-76 Chaco, now held in V.Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

MASSINI, Humberto P

ARR La Pampa - PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

MASSOLO, Maria E. de
Age: 23
Diagonal 115 y 43, La Plata

AED 12-1-76 while leaving home. RAN 12-2-76 home stealing everything

ML

MASSUCO, Hugo

D

Detained in La Plata.

Harris data-8-14-78

D 4/78

MASSUCCO, Mario Heriberto
LE: 7.711.422
Pringles 1112 - 5°"B"-Capital
Age 27

Arrested 7-12-78. Disappeared.

Acebedo de Massucco, Alicia (wife) 89-5748
Pringles 1112 - 5°"B"-Capital
Massucco, Jorge (father)
Personal call Embassy 7-31-78
PAHR(i) 2nd Postal
LLL List 9/16/78

(Italian) D

MASTINA, Martin
Comerda e Ogilvy y Otes, del TALLER
Fijo 33
CI: 6.659.462

Disappeared 7-7-77

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Arg. Sec. formbi

D

MASTISU, Martin
CI: 6.659.462

DIS 77-76 San Isidro Bs.As.

FDD
PAHR (L)
AISC

D

MASTRANGELO, Margarita M.
Fijo 36

Disappeared 6-5-77 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

MASTRANGELO, Marta Margarita

Disappeared 11-24-76

PAHR-PRENSA 5-17-78
hij hij. Ber. Arnstein

MASTRANGELO, Rosa Estrella
Age: 24
DNI: 11.405.263

DIS 10-26-76

PAHR (L)

MASTROGIACOMO, Maria
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D K

MASTROGIACOMO, Marta Zelmira
Age 32
LC: 5.300.063
Journalist of "El Descamisado" & "Noticias"

Disappeared 10-20-76 La Plata (killed w PARF)

AISC
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MASTROGIACOMO, Martín

?D

Arrested in front of Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77
presumably by the Argentine Forces, Security.

AFL/CIO

MATAMOROS, Julio Alberto 282/78/2 D *

[illegible] employee at the bank. He was abducted together with a couple who li
in the same house in the city of La Plata on the 11th 1/79 by a group of civilians
police for him until he was freed soon.

La Plata List 10/78 PAHR(L)
AFL
Aug 1978 Los Angeles
Christ Church

MATARAZZO, Carlos

Disappeared 12/76

FAHR (L)
ML
ADLeague

MATAS, Ana Maria

ABD 10-29-76 from home

ML

MATEDRICH, Delia

DIS 1-12-77

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

MATEOS, Juan

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

MATESDOLFO, Norberto

DIS

ML

MATEU, Abel Héctor
CI. 7.550.695 ex 6.450.555
Fco.Bilbao 3374 - Dpto.2 - Capital
Operario textil-SELSA
Age 24

Left his home on 7-1-78 at 18:00. Since then disappeared.
EAAD Lista 9-16-78 . PAHR- Cap. Federal
EDD 11-6-78

PAHR(1)
Mateu, Nelida Isabel Perez de DNI 12.666063 (Esposa)
Fco. Bilbao 3374-Dpto.2-Capital
Phone (Aunt 642-3125)
Personal call 7-18-78

MATHEU, Guillermo
Age: 33

D/78

DIS 6-27-78 from Callao and Santa Fé, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

MATHEWS, Alberto

DIS

ML

100/77/9

MATHOT, Hugo Orlando

? *

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As:
PEN 52 - 1/9/76. THarris from GOA 9-28-77.

Under PEN. Declassified Effective 12-22-78

Cancel Amb Cog. 9/81

D

MATIAS, Marcela

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

7/6/79/1 D78

MATINEZ, Elsa Delia
CI: 6.966.463
Age: 40
Prof.: Teacher of the School of Information Science (Journalist)
Address: 927 11th Street, between 522/523 Str. La Plata

Arrested on 5-31-78 in La Plata with husband Hernan Maria Ramirez

GCA reply 2-23-79. Neg. reply.

WOLA

MATION, HUGO
Physic
Age: 28

Presumely was seen at place of detention (Escuela Sargento Cabral-Puente 12.) in 1978.

Harris data 8-14-78

D

MATICK, Luis

DIS

FAAR(L)
ML

D

MATOSKY, Osvaldo

DIS 9-6-76 Rosario, Santa Fé

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

C-13/77/h

MATOSO, Horacio René
CI. 6.454.819 LE. 3.828.508
Calle 1 No. 561 - La Plata (1900)
Family requested visit 11/78 on Rec'd petition of 6 months.

~~Left~~ Opted 77
~~Left~~
421/78/6

Detained on 10-8-76. Under PEN No. 779/77 since 3-24-77.
Requests option to leave country Expediente No. 205893,
presented before Ministry of Interior on 9-14-77.

Goldblat de Matoso
LC. 6.418.063 CI. 6.670.237
Calle 1 No. 561 - 1900 La Plata
Letter to Embassy 10-13-77.
Sen. Kennedy State 152665

Seized citizen July 6, 1977
Missing, believed detained by state security
Spanish liberal secretary architects
Filed letter to O'Neill & Kennedy 9-1-78

D

MATSUYAMA, Luis Esteban
Comm. (Pcia. Bs. As.)
Ficha 27
DNI: 11.224.540

Disappeared 4-11-77 w/ Patricia Chiner

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

MATTA, Beatriz

ARR 7-19-76 Held in Villa Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

MATTALIGIA, Miss

ARR 7-16-76 Held in Villa Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

D

MATTAROLLO, Raúl Alberto
Age 23
LE: 11.129.031

Disappeared 7-21-77 Quilmes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MATAROLLO, Ruben H.
Age: 23
LE: 11.129.031
Corrientes 196, Quilmes, Bs.As.

ABD 7-21-77 near home Quilmes - Bs. As.

FDD
ML

MATTERSON, Antonio José

ARR Sentenced to 5 yers. by Judge F. Matras

AISC (Clarin)

MATTHEWS, Oscar Victor

Terrorist sentenced to 17 years in jail. 2/22/79 - Buenos Aires Herald.

ARR Held Unidad 9 La Plata, Bs.As.

AISC

D

MATTHEWS, Roberto Jorge
Age 24

Disappeared 9-29-76 from Ranchos al secc, 1. Lanus (Bs As)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MATTIOLI DE TROTTERAU, Maria Cristina
IDN: 13 959.695
Age: 21
1er Hosp: 5180. Santa Fe

Disappeared 2-27-76

(Fadlan)
24655

Eugenio R. Mattioli - 1°de Hosp: 5180 - Santa Fe
NL Personal call 9215-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Retd to Amb. 5-22-78

MATURANO, Orlando Enrique
B. Jan. 4/15, Bs As
LE: 8.341.771
Pfc 29

Disappeared 5-15-77

Reg. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

MAULIN DE NIEVES, Alcira

ARR V. Devoto prison.

AISC

MAUPE, Sixto Oscar

DIS

ML

669/78/12

MAURINO, Atencio

Address for contact: Annesty International-Swdish section-group 75
Is in prison here in Argentina.

A letter written by Marika Fahlén, group 75, %Nylin Radmansgatan 75, Stockholm, to Ms Michele N. Bova Human Rights Officer, Dept. of state, Wash. DC 20520. Steps taken so far are as follows: Letters written to Raul Fransisco Primatesta, Cardenal Arzobispo de Cordoba-avda Irigoyen 98-5000 Cordoba and Oficina ad hoc, min. del Interior, casa de gobierno, Balcarce 50-BA and Jusgado Federal de Cordoba, no. 1, Cordoba. So far no answer as yet.
Oct. 26-78
Jan. Nagakawa, Stockholm } Stadi 042567

D

MAURO, Susana
Stud.leader in Phylosophy

ABD 6/76 in Córdoba

ML

D

MAYER, Bernardo Alberto

Disappeared

FAHG (L)
AL
ADLeague

MAYER, Roberto

ADLeague

D

MAYMARK Alicia Irene
CI: 5.237.948

DIS 11-10-96

FAHR(L)
ML

MAYOR,
Entre Rios

Detained Penal de Gualeguaychú

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

490/78/7 D

MAYOR, Carlos M.
LE: 4.377.845
CI: 4.819.159
DOB: 6-30-1941

GOA reply 1-30-79: No records.
GIA reply 2-23-79 - Have no antecedents.

Disappeared August 15, 1977 on his way to a meeting at the U.of Buenos Aires.

Mayor, Arcangela A. de (Mother)
Juncal 2071-2 "C"-Bs.As.
Sen.John H. Heinz III-State 187163 [illegible]

MAYOR DE BLANCHE, Liliana D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MAYORGA, Mario Raúl
LE: 5.173.253
[illegible]
Age 55

Disappeared 12-4-76 Pilar

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

MAZACOTI PARRA, Rosalina Manuela
CI. 7.590.408

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MAZAIRA, Alba Liliana

DIS

(GANG(L))
ML

MAZAL, David Ricardo

Arrested on 5-4-76. Freed on 6-7-76. Arrested second time on 11-4-76 and sentenced on 12-13-76 to 10 years prison. Asks for help to immigrate to the States.

Victoria Mazal de Mazal (Mother)
Vedia 2733(Saavedra)Cap.Fed.. 1429

Letter to Amb.Castro 8-18-78

MAZARRA, Manuel
CI: 3.863.369

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MAZAS DE GESTAL, Clotilde
CI: 4.825.848

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MAZER, Raquel

D

ABD 8-26-76

ML

D

MAZO, Juan Enrique
Pl 21

Disappeared 7-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MAZUELOS, Carlos Gustavo
CI: 6.562.926

D

DIS 7-1-77 Avellaneda Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MAZZATTI, Maria Luis

F

IN Santa Fé.
ARR 4-4-75 - Held in V.Devoto PEN - Sentenced

AISC

D

MAZZEI de PLANAS, Gladys

DIS

Univ. of Minnesota- 11-3-78

MAZZOLILLO, Hugo
TENSA

Detained since May 1976 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MAZZOLENI, Mario Hector

Denied PEN

Reported Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

MAZZUCCO, Alberto Esteban

D

DIS 3-25-77 Buenos Aires

ML

D

MAZZUCCO, Guillermo

DIS 3-20-77 Buenos Aires

ML

570/78/9 D

(Uruguayan)

MAZZUCHI FRANTCHES, Winston

DIS 2-8-76

MAZZUCO, Eiro José

DIS

PARR(L)
ML

MCDonald, Mario Luis

Detained.

AI

MEADE, Alfredo Humberto

DIS

PARR(L)
ML

D

MEANI, Alberto Daniel
Age: 21
Bank employee & student

ABD Vicente Lopez Bs.As.

ML

MEBAJVER, Eduardo Ezequiel

DAIA

578/78/9 D

MECHOSO MENDEZ, Alberto Cecilio (Uruguayan)
DOB: 11-1-1936-Flores
Age: 35

Gen. reply 2-14-79: M.A.d.

Disappeared on 9-26-77 in Buenos Aires.

Mechoso, Beatriz I. A. C. de Chara de (Wife)
Emilio Romero 72 - Montevideo
VHRC. 9-5-79

MECKING or MECKIN, Cesar

D

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

D

MEDINA, Angel Adolfo
LE: 8.[illegible].213
Tucuman 53 - Monteros (Tucuman)
Member. Comm. Party

Disappeared 9-27-76 Tucumán

Atty. Diego Luis Hamilton
Calle Catamarca 937
Comm. Party.
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

MEDINA, Daniel Reinaldo

D

Arrested on 10-18-76 in Tandil. He is a lawyer.
Since then disappeared.

Medina, Reinaldo Adolfo (Father)
L.E. 1.371.671
H.Irigoyen 165 - ORENSE)Pdo.Tres Arroyos)
TEL.: 63 Orense.

Personal visit to Mr. F.A.Harris, 9-19-77.

D

MEDINA, Carlos Rafael
Age 23
Doc. # 708.823

Disappeared 4-15-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Netherland Embassy

D 78

MEDINA, Héctor Horacio
Leader of the orthodox branch of the Juventud Peronista - Paternal
Age 25

Arrested on 12-6-78 at corner of Alvarez Jonte and Sanchez Streets in Paternal.

Buenos Aires Herald clipping 12-29-78
PAHR (L)

D

MEDINA, Jorge (telecommunication worker)

Abducted on 7/13/76; whereabouts unknown.

L
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
PAHR (L)

MEDINA, José Felix (Paraguayan) D
CI: 6.545.133
6 y 4

Disappeared 11-10-77 Hemperley

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

MEDINA, León Pablo
Dálmine Siderca

Disappeared 12-18-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Right of Option.

MEDINA, Mario Edgardo
CI: 114.283 (Prob.Rio Negro)
LE: 5.491.333

Under PEN - Rawson. Iniciated R.of Option.

Margarita Hernandez de Medina (Mother)
Personal call Embassy 3-13-79.

D

MEDINA, Oscar E. (Paraguayan)

Disappeared 8-5-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MEDINA, Roberto Luis

DIS 11-26-76 La Plata - Pcia. Bs.

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

D

MEDINA, Rubén Raúl
Sanatorio Charcas- Capital

Disappeared 3-2-77

PAHR (L)
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

MEDINA, Walter
National Commeettee Agriculture Workers

Arrested in 1975, at present in Resistencia Prison.

Belgium Embassy Interest-Arsene Van der Driessche-1-25-78

MEDINA DE BETHOLET, C.B.
H. S.154. 146
Exile 124 c/23 y 24 - Barrio - B.A.
Age 32

Disappeared 10-1-75 from home with husband Hernan Felix

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

MEDINA CEA, Héctor Hernán
Age: 25

DIS 2-21-77

ML

MEDINA DE PORTILLO, Hermones

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)

SANDOVAL, Rosa (nee Medina)

Under PEN Unidad 2 .Villa Devoto
CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Liberada 11-13-78

ADLeague

MEDRANO, Hugo José
Age 30
LE: 8.353.816

Disappeared 11-24-76 La Plata

La Plata list 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Reg. Dip. Des. Desap.

MEICHTER, Maria Rosa (nee Quintas)

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

MEICHTRI, Javier Oreste

Under PEN - Coronda Santa Fé

ADLeague

MEIKLES RIVAS, Hilda Elena

DIS

ML

MEILAN, Julio Reinaldo
Hfc 24
C4: 2.926.360

DIS Marzo 1977

PAHR (1)

D

MEILLINGER DE SANEMAN, Gladys L (Paraguayenne)

DIS July 1977 in Buenos Aires

MEHLUL, Natalio
Sociology student

302/78/12 F

Detained November 1975 Unidad 9 La Plata.
Applied for h. adoption - C. Barnish 2-15-79.

A.I. Australia - Adoption
ADLeague

D

MELANI, Horacio

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MELANI, Norma Hilda
Nathan. Prof.
Age 28
LE: 5.801.372

Disappeared 4-10-76 Córdoba

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Hug. Luis Del. Arnoldo

MELCHIORRE, Ruben

ARR PEN

AISC

MELCHOSO, Alberto Cecilio (Uruguayan) D
Age: 41

DIS 9-26-76

FDD

PAHR(L)

D

de Diaz
MELENDEZ, Graciela Aida
LC: 6.237.247
Lope de Vega 521 - Córdoba
Age: 8

Disappeared 8-16-76 with his father Angel Diaz Córdoba

La Plata Post 10/78
Aida D. de Melendez - LC. 1.421.265 - SANTA FE U/V/
M. DE OMEA
RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Reg Orig Del. Nombre
FDD 11-6-78

380/79/2 D *

MELERO, Roberto Cristi (Chilean)
PoB: Rancagua, O'Higgins Province
DoB: 9-16-1950
3rd year student in Economics at Univ.Concepción (Chile) until September 1973.

GOA reply 6-28-78 H.S.FER GOA reply 2-23-79: Reg. reply.
N.R.A.D. Nos remitimos el pedido de información (Enero 1978)

Persecuted and expelled from the Universiti for political reasons. Certificates of studies regused by the univ. ahthorities. Legal resident in Argentina since January, 1974. With Argentine identification documentation. Kidnapped at his home (Castelli 1270-Ramos Mejía) together with his wife Gloria Ximena Delard Cabezas. His two children Roberto Andres and Paula Alejandra, two years and ten months and one year seven months of age, respectively were transferred to the Moreno Orphanage (Buenos Aires Prov.) 1-17-77.
Cong.Fraser-Letter 7-12-77. 94-5464
RL

MELIAN, Carlos

Detained 4-9-76 - U.9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MELINCHU, Víctor
SMATA-Córdoba

Detained since 6-18-76 in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MELLIBOUSKY, Graciela
CI. 5.796.406
Age: 30
DOB: 1947
Profession: Argentine Master in Economy.

Disappeared 25 Sept. 1976.

FAAR(4)
FL
DAR
Fecha 11-30-76
RDL

MELLINO, Elbio Alcides
D.N.I.: 4.524.614
Detained Buenos Aires in Puerto Belgrano, Bs. As.
Apr '22

Disappeared 3-24-77 Pto. Belgrano

Pa. Platte. Print 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

579 | 78 | 9

MELO CUESTA, Nebio (Uruguayan)

GOA reply 2-14-79 : N.A.A.d.

DIS 2-8-76

UNHRC-9-5-79

MELONI, Jorge
Obrero FIAT-Córdoba

Detained in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MELONI, Mónica Graciela

ARR 4-30-76 Bs.As. Held in Villa Devoto - PEN

AISC

D78

MELONI, Osvaldo

DIS

WOLA 11-78

PGUR(1)

D

MEMLANDEZ, Graciela M.

Disappeared 8-16-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MENA, Ana Maria
CI. 8.888.205

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

MENA, Domingo

DIS 7-19-76 Villa Martelli Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MENA, Graciela de

DIS 3-24-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

MENA, Hugo
Nuclear Engineer at National Comm.of Atomic Energy

ABD

ML

D

MENA, Reinaldo M.

Disappeared 3-30-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MENAJOSKY, Julio

FP

UNDER PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

MENAJOSKY, Adrian Eduardo

Under PEN Unidad 6 Rawson

ADLeague

MENAJOSKY, Mirta
Age: 29

Detained in Villa Devoto, riht of option September 1975 expired.

ADLeague

MENARD, Alberto Ramón

ARR Córdoba PEN

(Rio Negro newspaper)

AISC

D

MENDEZ, Angel Adolfo
Age 27
CI: 6.076.618

Disappearance 6-22-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MENDEZ, Federico E.

DIS

ML

MENDEZ, Horacio
Obrero TRANSAX-Córdoba

Detained in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

580178|9

MENDEZ, Hugo (Argentina) (~~Uruguayan~~) D

GOA reply PEN Dto 947 del 16/6/76
alojado (U-11)
Consta: Vinculación con BDT. Montevideo
Cable PEN - Dto. 3347 22/12/76

Arrested 6-26-76

UNHRC-9-5-78 Ind. Chapter UNHCR.
AMEMBASSY Montevideo

MENDEZ, Hugo José D

DIS 6-15-76

PAHR (L)

MENDEZ, José Delirio D
RG 21.
LE: 11.472.693

Disappeared 6-14-76 Neuquen

PRENSA 5-17-78 - PAHR (L)

FRED 1/26/11 *

MENDEZ, Juan.

Left country, For.Off.Inq.: 11-7-76 GOA reply: 11-10-76
2-27-77.
(La Plata subversive activities). Dec. PEN 2300 (8-29-75).

Amnesty
Amy Rudstein

MENDEZ, Juan A

Detained since 11-21-74 in Gualeguay

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MENDEZ, Juan Antonio

DIS

BRHC (L)
ML

MENDEZ, Nora

D

ABD 4-14-76

PAHR (1)
ML

D

MENDEZ, Orlando René
LE: 3.418.024

Disappeared 10-21-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MENDEZ, Pedro Alberto ? Ernesto ?
Age 24
CI: 5.718.476

Disappeared 12-17-75 Pachici - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MENDEZ, Ramón Antonio

DIS 8-13-76

PAHR (L)

MENDEZ DA COSTA, Juan Carlos

DIS

ML

MENDEZ DA COSTA, Maria Elvira

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

MENDEZ de FALCONE, Nelba
Calle 8 No. 1334-La Plata

ABD 1/78 from home with husband Jorge Falcone

ML

Uruguay. Released by GOU on 11/13/77 150/77/10 FREED *

MENDEZ FLEITAS, EPIFANIO (Paraguayan)
60 years old.

Paraguayan exile leader of a dissident fraction of the Colorado Party. Arrested on 10-7-77 supposed to be in the Seccional Secundaria in Buenos Aires. Accused to be an ERP member.

FAITH, Teresa Mendez, [ ] Daughter)
Amcit.
Prof. Stanford.
US Congressional Interest. Sen. Cranston
Prof.& Stud.Stanford Univ. Cong.Paul N.McCloskey Jr.
USUN Women's Int.League for Peace & Freedom.

Uru. Released by GOU on 11/13/77 151/77/10 FREED *

MENDEZ FLEITAS, Epifanio Jr. (Paraguayan)
23 years old.

Arrested on 10-7-77. Supposed to be in the Seccional Secundaria in Buenos Aires.

Faith, Teresa Mendez (Sister)
Amcit.

US Congressional interest. Sen.Cranston
Prof.& Stud.Stanford Univ. Cong.Paul N.McCloskey,Jr.
USUN Women's League for Peace and Freedom.

Department of State
Argentina Project (S200000044)

Attachment to 1979 Airgram No. 46 from American Embassy Buenos Aires to the Department of State

Part 6 of 7

AI	Amnesty International
ADL	Anti Defamation League
D	Disappeared
D & REAPP.	Disappeared and Reappeared
DAIA	Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
IACHR	Inter American Com. on Human Rights
K	Killed
N.R.A.D.	No registra antecedentes de detención
PAHR	Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos
R	Released
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
⊕	Detained

QUADROS HERRERA DE STFADCH, Ana Inés (Uruguayan) F1
Age: 31
Calle Díaz Velez Nro.?,Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. At present in Punta Rieles Prison, Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

PAHR(A)
REFOULEMENT

QUESADA, José D

Disappeared 12-23-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

QUESADA DE BEDEREGAL, Gladys D

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

QUEVEDO, Aldo Hugo
Age: 36
LE: 6.893.989

DIS 10/77

FDD

D 76

QUEVEDO, Ramón Gabriel
Age 20
DNI: 13.362.456

Disappeared 1-24-78 San F. Solano

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

QUIERMAN DE MORENO, Carmen

DIS

PAHR (L)

QUIETO, Carlos Alberto
CI: 5.245.696
Habeas Plenandi 655 - Bs.As.

Disappeared 8-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
AL

QUINTANA, Esteban S. Ajea
Age: 18

ABD 4-7-76 in Bs. As. by armed civilians

ML

QUINTANA, Pedro Raúl
Age ?

Disappeared 8-30-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Lic Arg. Ex. Comisión

QUINTANA OJEA, Esteban Maria
Age: 23
DNI. 11. 774.223
Lawyer

ABD 4-23-76 from Mallea's home Pacheco de Melo 2967, Bs.Aires
is in prison now in Unidad 6 - Rawson, mother can go visit twice a year - poor condition in Rawson. Children can see their father thru glass door only. Kids aged 9 - 3 yrs old.

Mothers visit, NOV. 6-78
PHHR - Prensa 5-17-76
ML

QUINTANA DE OJEA, Imaz Graciela

Age: 31

Address: Same as husbands.
Profession: Social Worker.

Det: 4-23-76- Together with husband, and is now at Villa Devoto #2, according to mother-in-law since Feb.-75. Children won't see mother and the conditions there are the same as Rawsons where her husband is. Mother-in-law can visit her also.

Visited embassy on Nov.6-78.

QUINTEIA, Sylvia Mónica
Age: 28
Member Peronist Youth Org.
CI: 5.800.420

ABD 1-17-77 being several months pregnant. - Clivos -

Pag Ofic. Sec. Romby
PHHR - Prensa 5-17-76 (4)
Cancer Com Urug. 4/78
ML FDD

D75

QUINTEROS, Jorge Alberto

DIS 8-3-78 Prov.Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D76

QUINTEROS, Juan Carlos

DIS 8-3-78 Prov.Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

QUINTEROS, Mónica

ABD 5-14-76 Benzaleoni

PAHR(L)
ML

D

QUINTEROS, José Agustin

ABD

ML

D

QUINTEROS, José Alberto
Ref 28
Ch: 6.225.324

Disappeared 1/28/76 Caseros

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

QUINTEROS, José Alberto

DIS 9-18-76

PAHR (L)

QUINTEROS, M. de los Angeles

D

DIS

ML

QUINTEROS, Rosa

D

DIS 6/76 Tucuman

FAHR(L)
ML

QUINTEROS, Tomas Ramón

D

Disappeared 8-28-76 - Vicente López

Cancer Anthology 9/78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

QUINTEROS DE PEDROZA, Reina

ARR PEN

AISC

QUIO, Maria Cristina
4.634.745
Hfe 24

Disappeared 4-4-76 8-28-76 Vtc. Lopez - Bs. As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

QUIROGA, Carlos

DIS

ML

D

QUIROGA, Claudio

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

QUIROGA, Héctor

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

QUIROGA, Jorge Alberto

Disappeared Gonzalez
US=Emb. visit granted 11-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

QUIROGA, Juan Facundo

At present in Sierra Chica Jail.

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

QUIROGA, Dario Manuel

Reported Dia: Oct.78-La Nacion

QUIROGA, Raul Alberto
Leader of suger-complex of"Ingenio San Pablo"-Tucumán

BOR reply 1-30-79: Under PEN - Decree 1238 5/8/75
Right to option Law 21 949 - Denied Decree 2843 - 9/19/77

Detained at present in LA PLATA without charges. Very poor family.

Cont'd Barrio Cangon informed 2-15-79. He applied for Re Option to the State.-

Cong.Silvio Conte

QUIROGA, José Valeriano
CI. 8.787.012
H. Yrigoyen 3207-San Fernando (Bs.As.)

On 6-28-76 around 8:30 pm. he disappeared on the public street, coming from Avellaneda to San Fernando. Since then it has been impossible to get any news on him.

Quiroga, Martiniana Miranda (Mother)
LC 8.575.126
Hipólito Yrigoyen 3207-San Fernando (Bs.As.) 201-5384
201-4666

Testimony to Representatvies.
Statement to Amb. Castro, without dated.

PAHR(1)
Personal call meeting 5/24/78 9/20/79

D

QUIROGA DE GIMENEZ, Iris
Age: 32

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

QUIROGA DE MURUA, Maria J.
Age: 20
DNI: 13.006.691

D

DIS 4-26-77 Tucumán

FDD

QUIROGA DE OCHOA, Estela M.
DNI: 11.265.515
Casada c/ 2 hijos, Mercedes (Bs. As.)
Age: 24

Disappeared 5-14-77 with husband Candido

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

QUIROS, Arsenio
FATE(Sec. Electrónica)

Abducted

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

QUISBER, Hugo
Age: 24
DNI: 10.963.016

DIS 6-15-77 V. Constitución (Santa Fé)

FDD

350/78/5 D

RAAB, Enrique (journalist)
[illegible]
C.I.: 2.174.452
Tucumán 332 - Capital 5° "45"

GOA reply 9-5-78: N.K.A.D.

Abducted from his home on 4/16/77; whereabouts unknown.
Journalist of La Opinion = taken day after Timerman
Abducted by AAA before
Gente de Buenos
Subsecretaria Legal de Rosenfeldt } Municipio 762 Calle (Trabajo) 348-2360 (Libertad)
PAHR
Ley Dep. de Libertad — Se Libertad 6-10-78 Killed
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT PAHR(L)
San Juan (Prov. 15363) on behalf of Colegio Secundario, victim GA-3791-GA-7775
6/5 personal visit

PP

BABANAL, Daniel
Student leader
Mendoza

Detained March 1976

ADLeague

D 78

RABINO, Abel Tomás

DIS 9-19-78 La Plata (Bs.As.)

PAHR (L)

SANDOVAL, Alicia Ines Rabinovich de
Santa Ana y Bustamante - HURLINGHAM
CI. 5.087.675
Pfa 3c

Was arrested on 9-10-76 in front of her two small children.
Since then disappeared. Hurlingham

Rabinovich, Delinda Rosa Raponi Giustozzi de (Mother)
CI. 1354374
Lucy No. 20 - Hurlingham (Bs.As.)
PAHR(L)
KL
Testimony to Representatives.

L

R-1978

RACETTI, Ariel 2-1-7[illegible]

Dis: 2-1-78 La Plata - Bs.As.

La Plata List 10/78
PAHR(L)

RAFFO
Worked at Institute of Investigations Bs.As.

DIS 4-16-76

PAHR(L)
ML

RAFFO,Luis Orlando

Age: 26

Address: 833 Pellegrini-capital-1st fl,apt.3

Dis: March 3,1977

People dressed as policemen came up to his room and took him by force, right after that the building came up in flames and burned down, making believe that the men started the fire right after taking Raffo.

Brothers Visit to embassy,Oct.31-78.
Address" En Gualequayehv Entre Rios.
By a friend at BA, the brother found out about his brother.
Tel: 4463 (home)

RAGATTI
RAGATTI, Horacio Amado

DIS 12/76

PAHS (1)
ML

RAGGIOTTI, Norma Leticia

Arrested on 5-21-76 to 8-13-77. On 11-24-76 voluntarily she presented herself on a judicial notice, since then again in prison incommunicado.

RAGGIOTTI, Leticia Carolina de. (Mother)
Calle Granaderos 943, 5220-JESUS MARIA (Cba), Arg.

8-10-77 - Letter to P.Derian.
8-10-77 - Letter to Pres.Carter's sister.

D

RAGNI, Alfredo Oscar
Ragnide Fi, Neuquen
kfc 2
CI: 70.326

Disappeared 12-2-76 Neuquen

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

829/79/3 D78

RAGO, Graciela Noemí
CI.8.288.717
LC± 5.011.515
DOB and Place: 9-19-45; Tres Isletas (Chaco)
Psicologist

On 1-31-78 was arrested by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Rago, Mario (Father)
Ayacucho 181-4°Piso-Capital
Phone 49-0516
Personal call Embassy 3-15-78

D

RAGUCCI, Rodolfo Armando
L. 5.546.644

ABD 5/7/76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

RAJNWAJN, Luis Silvio

Disappeared

Austria Def. Hungría
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
DWIA

D

RALLIS, Sofía
Age 37
CI: #.412.635

Disappeared 5-15-77 V. Alsina - B. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

P

RAMA MOLLA, María Elba (Uruguayan)
Age: 22

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. At present in Punta Rieles prison, accused of subversive association, in Uruguay.

REFOULEMENT

RAMACIOTTI, José A (Editor)

Arrested 4/12/76; imprisoned

Re Lunes 1-11-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
PAHR (L)

RAMALLO, Jaime Abraham
Age 28
Cdl: 7.037.468

DIS 7-22-77

PAHR (L)

RAMELLA, Miguel
LE: 4.[illegible].706
Cmd. Granaderos 435, Haedo
Age 40

Disappeared 11-10-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Sec. Homb.

D-777

RAMIREZ, FNU

Friend of Alejandro Enrique Gutierrez, disappeared on the same date 7-24-78.
Member of GMT leftist organization.

Info given by Ruth Penette de Gutierrez. 8-15-78

D.

RAMIREZ, Barbara
CI. 6.735.069
DOB: 2-20-1953
Student - Architecture UNBA

Detained on 10-23-74. Since then disappeared.

Ramirez, Maria Amelia Plante de (Mother)
Avda. Pueyrredón 1959-10°"B"-Capital
Phone: 80-9413

2-1-78

D

RAMIREZ, Carlos Alberto
CI: 6.344.147
Cármen 31, Berazategui Bs As
Age 24
Member Comm Party

Disappeared 1-18-77 Berazategui (Bs. As.
Student - 5 years - architecture - Comm. Party 6-17-78

Comm Party 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
Comm. Party
RL
FAHR. Prensa F-17-78 (L)

RAMIREZ, Dagoberto (Chilean) Released Freed
Protestaned Minister

Arrested in Trelew. Released after one week.
December 1978.

Mris info - 1-9-79

RAMIREZ, Elsa D
Age: 50

ABD 8-5-76 Rosario

ML

D

RAMIREZ, Enrique Rafaél
LE: 7 215 447
Carnet 4335 Bs As.
Age 35

Disappeared 6-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
ML

D

RAMIREZ, Hector:
Age: 25

DIS 4-17-75

PAHR(L)
ML

4/17/79/1 D78

RAMIREZ, Hernan Maria

GA reply 2-23-79: Neg. reply

Arrested on 5-31-78 in La Plata with wife Elsa Delia Matinez.

WOLA

D

RAMIREZ, Jorge Luis

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

RAMIREZ, José Antolin
Bº. Jorge Flores
Bella Vista 4168-Tucuman

Disappeared on 1-14-77.

Ramirez, Rosa H. Soria de (Wife)
Bº. Jorge Flores
Bella Vista 4168-Tucuman

Letter to Amb. Castro - 1-31-78.

RAMIREZ, José Luis

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

RAMIREZ, Julio C.
Córdoba

Disappeared 8-6-75

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RAMIREZ, Maria Angélica

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D 79

RAMIREZ, Mario (Paraguayan)
(Partidiario de MODEPA)

Arrested 2-9-79 in Villa Caseros, Caseros, Bs.As. Prov.

Comite por la Liberación de Mario Ramirez
Lausanne 24.9.79

D

RAMIREZ, Miguel Angel

DIS 5-28-76

PAHR
ML

RAMIREZ, Norberto Julio (Sn.) D-78
Pág 35
LE: 7.729.086

DIS 3-16-78 Temperley

Carmen Raquel Cinco de Ramirez (Wife)
PAHR (L)
Re Franciscliffpu 216-77

RAMIREZ, Olegario
Córdoba

Detained since 1975 in Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RAMIREZ, Ramón de la Cruz
Oficina V. Lopez
LE: 5 [illegible]
Pedro 3540, Fm. Ch

Detained since 5-10-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

BL
PAHR - Prima 5-17-78 (L)

483/75/7 = D 78

RAMIREZ, Roberto Omar
Age: 47
LE: 5.136.826
Prof. Arquitectura in Univ. La Plata

DIS 6-27-78 en carrera Avda 7 a Calle 48 Centro La Plata.

PAHR (L)
Dept. of State 18/1043 7-19-78
Cable Buenos Aires 9-78
RH
FDD Fact 9-16
Federal Ombudsman

D

RAMIREZ ABELLA, Alicia Beatriz
LC. 5.768.467
DOB: 6-20-48 - La Plata (Prov. Bs.As.)
Calle 632 No. 5477 (ex-Puan 1366)
Villa Matew-Partido 3 de Febrero

Arrested on 12-6-77 together with husband Hector Daniel Cassataro. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (L)
Cassataro, Juan (Father in law)
Belgrano 2748
7400 OLAVARRIA (Prov.Bs.As.)

D

RAMIREZ ABELLA DE BAIBIENE, E. L.

DIS 4-26-77 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D48

RAMIREZ ACHINELLI, Hernán
Ingeniero

Detained in early june 1978.

La Plata list

D

RAMIREZ BARRERIO, Victoriano

DIS

ML

334/834 D

RAMIREZ DE CUSTODIO, Stella Maris
Profesora de Economía-Univ.del Sur-Bahia Blanca

604 ajdg Recad de la Cámara Fed Dicree 1560 - 5-27-77 (See folder)
6-27-78

Arrested in Bahia Blanca in July 1976. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)

Senator Robert P. Griffin- 1-11-78-on behalf of Kristin Hilbert (Amnesty International)

RAMIREZ A.PRATTI, Maria N.

D

DIS 12-29-77

AISC(A.P.D.H.)

D

RAMON, Horacio
CGT-Moron

DIS after 3-24-76 Moron - Bs. As.

RAMR(1)
ML

RAMON DE LEALE, M. Teresa
CI. 7.522.096

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

RAMOS, Alejandro

DIS

CAHR(L)
ML

c - 2/5/78/5

RAMOS, Alfredo Rafael
LE: 6.154.238
Lomas del Mirador - Pcia. Bs. As.

Disappeared 12-6-76
RCO application in process. 11/78
Authorized leave country - Mexico Ha Visa 1/27/79

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

RAMOS, Eduardo F.
Peugeot

D

Disappeared 4-17-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

RAMOS, José Eduardo
Age: 23
DNI: 11.475.729

DIS 11-1-76 Tucumán

PAHR(L)
FDD

D

RAMOS, Juan Carlos
L. de Zamora
Age: 25
DNI: 4.774.451

Leaved PEN. for Nicaragua 3-3-77
Disappeared 9-23-77

FDD
PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Killed

RAMOS, Juan José
Calle 526, 12 y 13
Tolosa

Killed on 12-29-76 with wife Mónica Amalia Tallarico

La Plata List

RAMOS, Julio Oscar

Disappeared Mendoza

Lindsay Family Trust 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
WOLA 11-78

RAMOS, Susana Beatriz
Age 27
DI: G.505.369

Disappeared 3-11-77 - Paso del Rey

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

RAMOS, Pedro Pablo

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

RAMOS, Ruben

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

RAMOS DE GONZALEZ, Diana C.

D

DIS 9-22-76

FDD
PAHR(L)

RANDOLETTO, Maria

D

Disappeared 11-2-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D 154/77/11

RANELA, Adriana
(Ranella, Adriana María)

H.R.A.D - 664-9-5-78

Disappeared in August 1977, in Córdoba.

Gong.Gus Yatron

RANDRUP

DIS

La Plata List

RANO, Beatriz Isolina
Medicine student

Detained in Córdoba on 4-9-75.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

RAPADOF, Horacio Luis

ADLeague

Killed

RAPPAPORT, Horacio Luis

Killed 77 La Plata

Mexico 79

D

RAPELL, Maria José
Age 35
LE: 4.843.778

DIS 7-30-77 Marta Ba. Ca.

AISC (A.P.D.H.)
FBER(c)

R/FDD

RAPETTI, Elina Sanchez de
LC. 6.807.387
Boedo 278-Capital

Was arrested on 7-31-76 by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Sanchez, Aida Maria Silva de (Mother)
LC. 3.346.138
Doblas 1210-Capital

NL Letter to Senators.

Personal call Embassy. Lic Ms Harris 7-27-78

RASALES, Osvaldo

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

RASERO, Daniel
AGE; 18
ci: 9.216.559

DIS 9-16-76 La Plata

PAHR (L)
FDD

RASIGNANI, Enrique

Detained 8-8-1976.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

RASKOVSKY, Marcelo Torcuato

Held under artible 2 inclusive, Institut.Act. of September 1, 1977 - Law 21650

ADLeague

RASKOVSKY, Rolando Marcelo

Held under article 2 inclusive, Institut. Act of September 1, 1977 - Law 21650.

ADLeague

RATRIAGAS, Carlos

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

RATTI, Eduardo
Córdoba

RATTI MARTINEZ, Eduardo Hugo - reported tp have been sentenced to 3 years in jail. Due to the time that he is detained they considere he has ended his sentence. Clarin Clippin 12-14-78.

Detained since 75 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RATTI, Rodolfo
Lawyer

DIS 1-1-77 Buenos Aires

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

RATTO, Héctor Aníbal
A[illegible]

Detained. 8/12/77 - G. Catán

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FREED 12/12/77/10 F

RAVAL, Flora Dybner de
Valentin Gomez 2680, Zona 11, Buenos Aires
Birthdate: 12-21-33.

[illegible]

Taken from her home in March 1977, now being held at Villa Devoto. At PEN disposition. Freed

Relation with Graiver Affair. See Cronica clipping 10-15-77.

Foreign Ministry Working Group.

Dept of State 08-239
Amnesty Int'l Documentation

RAVASSU, Osvaldo Oscar D

DIS 12/75 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)
Córdoba list 12-1-78

RAVELO DE VEGA, Maria Esther
LC: 10.863.296

DIS 9-17-77 together with husband Emilio Etelvire Vega. Both are blind.

PAHR
Mrs. Vega and Ravelo
Rio de Janiero 1297-Santa Fé 3000

D

RAVIGNANI, Enrique

DIS 8-8-76

PAHR (L)

P

RAVIGNANI, Maria Elena

Disappeared 8-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

RAVIGNANI, Pablo

Disappeared 8-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RL

D

RAVINOVICH, Alicia

DIS 10-76 Master in economy

AISC

T

RAVINOVICH DE SANDOVAL, Ines
Age 30
LE: 5.084.675

DIS 10-10-76 Huntington

Anti Def. League

RAWA-JASINSKI, Julio Ricardo
CI. 5.174.408
Mfr 25

Disappeared since 8-12-77.

PAHR (1)
Rawa-Jasinski, Alexander Pol. Fed. Cap. Dist. (Father)
CC. 5524
1000 Capital

RAYNALDS, Horacio
Age: 23

ABD 7-5-77 Hurlingham-Bs.As.

ML

REAL, Viviana Beatriz

DIS 5-26-76

PAHR

RAWA-JASINSKI, Julio Ricardo
CI. 5.174.408
Mfc 25

Disappeared since 8-12-77.

PAHR (1)
Rawa-Jasinski, Alexander (Father)
CC. 5524
1000 Capital

RAYNALDS, Horacio
Age: 23

ABD 7-5-77 Hurlingham-Bs.As.

ML

REAL, Viviana Beatriz

DIS 5-26-76

D

REALE, Eduardo Luis

Disappeared 5/77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

REALE, Luis Eduardo
DNI: 10.858.870

DIS 4/76 San Nicolas, Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

REALES, Domingo Faustino
Age 20

Disappeared 7-10-75 Tucumán

REALI, Anibal Amilcar

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

REARTE, Alberto

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

REARTE, Ana Lucia
Large.

Detained 7-12-76. Under PEN - Córdoba
Received Amnesty Letter in Villa Bernio Jail. Bs. As. Herald clipping 3-16-79.

Comar Com. Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

REARTE, Noemí del Rosario (nee Pedernera)

Under PEN

ADLeague

C-9 2/78/1

REARTE PEDROZA, Carlos Alberto
Chauffer

Juan Luis Mejuto visit Lifti on Rio rejected on 6 months

Juan Carlos.
PEN. (With wife)

Presented directly at Consulate.

REARTES, Amelia Maria
CI. 8.024.766

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

REATTI, Eugenio Luis

ARR CORDOBA PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

REBAGLIATTI, Alicia de

DIS (Wife of Rebaglatti Plot,; were reported to have been seen in a concentration camp near Ezeiza early December 1977).

La Plata List

REBAGLIATTI PLOT

DIS (Reported to have been seen together with wife Alicia in a concentration camp near Ezeiza early December 1977).

La Plata List

C - 246/77/7

WEISZ, Dora Maria Rebechi de
LC.

Remitted upon dismissal 1/78 to civilian judicial system.
Authorized leave courtesy 3-3-78 to Israel

National Executive Power - DTO. 1438 of 11/13/74
U2 - Villa Devoto - Subversive Activities.-

Abog. Abog Eduardo Kimelman
Florencio Varela, Partido 8 de Capital 641-9977
P.D. Reapa
RDL Personal Call 4-21-78

REBELLO, Maria Cristina
Age: 24
Worker

Detained in Sept. 1974-at present in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

REBOLEDO, Mario Horacio

DIS 5-18-77

La Plata List -11-21-78

REBOREDO, Alfredo Mauricio
Age: 20
DNI: 12.530.080

DIS 11-29-77 La Plata (Bs.As.Prov.)

AISC
PAHR (L)

REBOLLO, Carlos Alberto

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

REBORI, Humberto Antonio
Attorney Emplmt

Disappeared 2-2-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

REBORI, Jorge Lucio - Labor Party (E) LE: 4.136.462
REBORI, Celia Sara Machado de
Av. del Libertador 2690-10°A-Olivos (Bs.As.)
Pg. 49
Members Comm Party

(4-24-78)
Arrested on 2-1-1977. Since then disappeared.

Machado, José Rogelio (Father)
Peña 2484 - 2°B - (1125)Buenos Aires

4-25-77 Letter to President Carter
Carter Amb Cong 9/78
Mem. Rep. Du. Unida
ML CBHR(L)
Comm Party

REBOS, Jorge

DIS 2-1-77

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

RECABARREN, Carlos Washington

DIS

PBHR(L)
ML

RECABARREN, Cristina Raquel

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

588/78/9

RECAGNO IBARBURU, Juan Pablo (Uruguayan)
DOB: 29 January 1951.
Age: 26
DI: 1.071.305

Disappeared in Argentina in October 1976.

Recagno, Luz Maria Ibarburu Elizalde de (Mother)
Uruguay 843, Piso 7, Apt. 10 - Montevideo
Tel.: 91-14-39
(Cedula No. 430 197)
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Memorandum of Conversation, 10-6-77 -Alfred Neal,Jr.Pol.Off.
WHRC-9-5-78

466/79/1

RECCHIA DE GARCIA, Beatriz
DNI: 12.530.080

Disappeared 1-12-77 with 3 year old daughter Villa Adelina - Bs As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RECECK, Hugo

D

ABD 3-24-76 from work Astilleros Mestrina, Tigre, Bs.As.

ML

D

REDONDO, Hugo Luis
Age: 34
LE: 4.638.428
Railroad worker

Detained in May 1977.

La Plata Fisl 10/77
Harris data - 8-14-78

D

REDONDO, Victor Hugo
Age: 19
Doc. 12.607.873

DIS 10-15-75 La Plata-Bs.As.

Tucumán
PRHR (L)

REGALADO, Gladis Carmen

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

REGALADO, Hugo Roberto

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

C-214/72/5

REGALES, Guillermo T.

Since 7/2/75 in Resistencia, Chaco.
US Emb. Visit granted 11/78

Ing. Rea-Personal call at Embassy 5-2-78.
Father will come to give more information.

D

REGALIA, Norma Beatriz

Disappeared 6-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

REGANTI, Stella Maris
CI: 14.431.636

D

ABD 5-15-76

ML

REGMER, Daniel Carlos

ADLeague

REICHARDT, Eduardo Arturo

Disappeared

PAHR
AL
ADLeague

REIMANN, Ana Mirta Marcia

ARR Unidad 2 Villa Devoto PEN

AISC

REIMER, Esteban Alfredo
LE: 5.526.739
Mozotegui 837-Cañuelas (Bs.As.)

Arrested on 1-5-77. Wife recognized later one of the persons who made the arrest, he was from the police. He worked at Mercedes Benz, was "delegado laborista".
PAHR(4)

Reimer, Maria Lujan Ramos de (Wife)
Mozotegi 837 - Cañuelas (Bs.As.)
Personal call Embassy 2-22-78.

D

REINALDO, José P.

Disappeared 5-16-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

REINAUD, Héctor Sergio

Disappeared 10-24-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D 1978
Reappeared

REINAUDI, Luis
Lawyer-Periodist

Abd. 9-22-78 in Córdoba.

La Nación clipping 9-22-78

REINER, Reinado

D

DIS 5-16-76 Bahia Blanca, Bs.As.

AISC

D

REINIERI SEGURA, Oscar
Obrero Renault

Disappeared on 7-20-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

REINO , Raquel del Carmen

DIS

PAHR (L)

R -78

REINOSO, Benjamin Orlando

PEN- 24-3-76
La Nacion paper-8-30-78-released and is under servileness, in pro. de La Rioja.

D

REINOSO, Maria Isabel
Age 25
CI: 7.222.201

DIS 12-12-77 Hamperley

FDD
PAHR (4)

D

REISMAN, Alberto Luis
Beiró 3351
Age 24
CI: 6.384.358

Disappeared 7-23-76

PAHR (4)
NL
ADLeague
DAIA

REISMANN, Ana Mirta Marcia

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

REISON, Daniel

DIS

PAHR (L)

REJOVICH, Erico Roberto

Disappeared

ADLeague

REJUVITZK, Ernesto Benano

DIS

PAHR (L)

RIVES, Oscar Oma
Age: 46
CI. 4.811.782
Pje Toledo 989, C.Bustos, Córdoba

DIS 10-18-77

ML

RENDANI, Luis Alberto
Age 21

DIS 3-8-77

PAHR (L)

RENDICH, Delia Estela
CI. 10.439.197

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

RENDICH, Néstor Miguel
Roca 448 - Campana

Disappeared 10-16-76 Campana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

RENEDO, Eduardo

DIS 1975 Buenos Aires

ML

D

RENEDO, Eduardo Lucio
LE. 8.390.784
Address: Andres Lamas 763-Buenos Aires

Detained by Army Forces on 3-19-76. Since then disappeared.
Córdoba.

PAHR - Prensa 5-17-77 (L)

Renedo, Lucio F. (Father)
LE. 2.786.468
Peuyrredon 226-Tablada Park-Córdoba

D

RENEDO DE ASSALES, Maria I

DIS 8-23-76

PAHR (L)

RENEVOT, R.P. Jacques (French)

Arr. 11-19-75. Freed 6-18-76.

French Embassy

RENNELLA, Adriana Maria

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

C-16/74 204/78/1

RENELLA, Carlos Rafael
LE: 6.498.924
Lugar and DOB: Córdoba, 11-24-1936
Profession: Carpenter
Address: Los Nogales, Sta. Rosa de Calamuchita - Córdoba

Arrested - Under PEN - (La Opinión 10-22-77)
Personal visit of Mrs. Amongero (amcit sister) to Mr.Harris 1-27-78.

Mrs. Amongero (Amcit sister)

TLE Cornelius 3-13-78

RENOIR, Mari Elena

DIS

AISC (Ar. Komm-Sveden)

RENON, Alejandra Magdalena
Prof. de inglés

Disappeared 5/77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

S

RENOU, Alejandra Magdalena
CI. 6.342.912

Disappeared in the first days of May, 1977. Previously she had been arrested at the disposal of PEN (Poder Ejecutivo Nacional) in 1973 and was freed on 3-24-73, a day before the new government power.

Renau, Alejandro Oscar (Father)
DNI. 0271295
Juan Bautista de Lasalle 3781-Villa Martelli (Bs.As.
Tel.: 760-5557

8-19-77. Letter to Senators.

NL PAHR(L)

RENOULD, Alejandro

ABD 5/77 Bs.As.

AISC

RENTANI, Luis Alberto

DIS - husband of Diana Diez

ML

RENTANI DE DIEZ, Diana C.
Age: 18
DNI: 12.991.370

DIS 3-8-77 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

RENZI, Lidia Elena

DIS 9-17-76

Mar del Plata List

REPETTO
Lawyer from Corrientes

At present in Resistencia (Chaco)

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D78

REPETTO, Eva Nelly
Age: 12

DIS APRIL OR MAY 1978

Ruben Ramos 11-23-78

D78

REPETTO, Mariadel Carmen
Age: 16

DIS APRIL OR MAY 1978

Ruben Ramos 11-23-78

REPETTO, Nestor Omar

D

DIS 4-9-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D 78

REPETTO, Raúl Alberto
Age: 48
LE: 5.568.614

DIS (April or May 1978) in Boulogne 6-11-78

Ruben Ramos 11-23-78
PARR(L)
FDD 9-16-78

AIF-CIO

325/78/4 D *

REPETTO, Roberto
Age: 27
DOB: 10-31-1950
CI. 5.977.330
LE. 8.462.378

6-21-78 // A.P.D.H. [illegible]
Roberto Repetto peronist labor activist, was taken from his home on 3-22-78 along with his girlfriend, Ines Peña. She was released later near to Moron, but he is still missing. She refuses to tell anything about her experience: He is leader of a legal Civil Service Union.(UPCN).

PARR (L)
Freeman's information on 4-10-78.

Netherland Embassy

REPETTO, Santiago Julio (Dr.) 4/6/77/1 F

Detained in Resistencia, Unidad 7, Chaco
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

REQUERA, Pablo Norberto
Age: 21
CI: 7.160.580
LE: 11.400.915

DIS 1-13-77

PAHR(L)
FDD

D

REPETUR, Jorge Orlando
LE. 7.620.489
Profession: DOCTOR
AGE: 28

Disappeared in La Plata late October 1976.

(Father)

Repetur, Samuel
Alberdi 73
LOBERIA (Bs.As.) TE. 2185
Cancer Anti Congr. 9/78
PAHR (L)

REPIDA, Ramón

Detained since March 1975 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

REQUENA, Eduardo Raúl
Bfe 38
LE 6.592.114

Disappeared 7-23-76 Córdoba

Córdoba Rist 19-1-78
fil
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
lig. arg. der. hombre

D

RESCIGNO, Carlos Alberto Atilio
DI: 11.489.240
Quintana No. 1882-Villa Bosch,Partido Tres de Febrero(Bs.As.)

Arrested together with his wife Francisca Angela Ricci de Rescigno, on 6-29-1977. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
Ricci, Miguel (Father)
Panama 1520-Martin Coronado(Bs.As.)

RESCIGNO, Francisca Angela Ricci de
CI.13.193.312
DOB: 4-7-1957

Arrestedtogether with her husband Carlos Alberto Atilio Rescigno, on 6-29-77. Since then disappeared.

Ricci, Miguel (Father)
Panama 1520-Martin Coronado(Bs.As.)

RESEK, Nelly

Disappeared 3-16-76 (worker from shipyards Maestria, wife of delegate of same corp).

PAHR(L)
ADLeague

RESERO, Daniel

Disappeared 9-16-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

RESKI, Pedro

Disappeared

ADLeague

12-1978

RESNICOFF, Silvia Graciela

Age: 21
DNI: 12.952.711

Dis: 30-6-78, Moron

FDD List- 9-16-78

RESNICOFF, Marta

ADLeague

RESSNICOF, Marta Noemí
Student

Detained in March 1975, at present in Villa Floresta, Bahia Blanca, Buenos Aires Prov.

Canc er Anti Congress 9/78

RESTA, Fabian Eduardo

Disappeared 4-15-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RESTREPO DE MEJIA, Bertha Lucia (Colombian)

DIS 7/76

PAHR(L)
ML

RETA, Raul Walter
DUI 10.755.320
Independencia 347-Gral. Alvear Mendoza

Arrested on 5-31-77. Since then disappeared.

Reta, Isabel C. de (Mother)
CI. 445.658
Independencia 347-Gral. Alvear-Mendoza

8-15-77. Letter to Todman.

RETAMAR, Carlos

RETAMAR, Pedro Hector

DIS

ML

RETAMOZA, Carlos

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

RETEGUI, Liliana Beatriz
LC. 10.967.838

Disappeared in September 1976 on the public street. Since then we have had not news. This happened in Mar del Plata.

Retegui, Sebastían Raúl (Parent)
Retegui, A. M. de
Gaboto 9257, Mar del Plata (Bs.As.)

Statement to Representatives.

REVELLO, Maria Cristina

ARR 9-34-74 Bs.As.-Held in V.Devoto PEN - Sentenced to 4 yrs.

AISC (CADHU)

D

REVELLO, Maria Esther

DIS 9-17-77 Rosario, Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

D

REVOLEDO, Mario Horacio
Fife 27
LE. 8.317.809

DIS 5-18-77 Berazategui (Bs. As.)

PAHR (L)

D

REY, Eduardo Raymundo
CI: 5.312.367
Fig. 48

Disappeared 4-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Fig. Arg. Sec. Derecho

REY, Norberto (Dr.)

Detained in 1975. At. presente in La Plata prison'

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

REY DE NAVARRO, Ma. Anabella

Disappeared 10-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

746/79/1

REYES, Alfredo
Sindicalist

ABD 8-25-78 in Córdoba city.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

REYES, Eduardo Daniel
Perso
LE 4.714.987

D-78

DIS 4-8-78 Zárate - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

REYES, MANTELLO (CI 7.707.531) (E)
REYES, Maria Susana de (DNI 6.931.665).

On 6-16-77 they were arrested at theis parent's home Primera Junta-Villa Billinghurst-Partido de San Martin. Since then disappeared.

Reyes, Pilar Gimenez de . (Mother)
CI. 1.723.865

Testimony to Representatives.

REYES, Manuel Zoilo
Perso 33
DNI. 8.042.162

DIS 4-2-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

D

REYES, Ma. del Carmen
Hija 21
CI: 4.523.132

Disappeared 3-17-77

FIL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

REYES, Oscar Omar
LE: 4.311.752
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 10-18-77 Córdoba

Cousin Oscar Omar Reyes
Hermano Desaparecido
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Comm Party

C-43/78/1

783/78/1

REYES, Pascual Angel
Plumber

F
Optim

PEN.

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Presented directly at Consulate.

D

REYES DE MANTELLO, M.S.
Age: 20

DIS 6-18-77

PARA (L)
FDD

D 78

REYMONDES, Estela Haydée
Av. Mitre 1877-Avellaneda
Age: 28
Political science student

Abducted in June 1978.

Bourimborde de Reymondes, Haydée (Mother)
Av. Mitre 1877-Avellaneda
Newspaper clipping.

F

REYNA, Alberto

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

REYNA, Francisco Irineo

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

REYNA, Roberto (journalist)

Imprisoned in Cordoba

Released 6-16-78
Listed 10-28-77. PEN REPORT
Rio Dpt. San Roque

REYNA LLOBERAS DE MARTINEZ, María Adela

DIS 10-16-76

Córdoba List 12-1- 78

REYNALDO, José Pedro

Disappeared 5-16-77 with Juan P. Horvath

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

REYNALS, Horacio
DNI. 11.373.054

Arrested on 7-5-77 by Security Forces. Since then disappeared. Palomar - Bs As.

PAHR(L)

Reynals, Agustin O.
LE. 3.255.568 (Parent)
Reynals, Dora Amdna Ariaudo de
LC. 0.133.835
Santa Cruz (Ex-calle 7(No. 280
El Palomar - Pcia Bs.As. Tel.: 751/2053

REYNAUD, Héctor Sergio
Orquesta Sinfónica dela Pol Federal

Disappeared 10-24-77

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

K

REYNAUDO, Domingo Daniel

Arrested on February 10, 1978. Killed.

Cronica clipping 2-10-78.

REYNAUDO, Rodolfo

Arrested on February 10, 1978. Found later having being shot.

Crónica clipping- 2-10-78

RIAM, Santiago
Age: 54

D

DIS

PEDR(L)
ML

RIANO, Héctor Jorge

AGJ 11-23-77

ML
DAIA
FAHR(L)

RICANTI, Stella Maris

DIS 5-31-76

ML

RICE, Patrick

3/76/11 *

Deported. For.Off.Inq.: 11-7-76 GOA reply: 11-10-76
Expulsion decree pending
in La Plata, PEN.

405.576 D

RICCI, Eduardo Luis
Cedula: 9.326.742 DNI: 11.825.413
Student
Age 20
Dom: Calle 1 Nº 1518 - La Plata

GCA 4 July 9-5-78 - M.R.A.D

Disappeared in La Plata since 3-30-77.

PARR(L)
Ricci, Ismael E.(LE. 495.923) [illegible] (Parent)
Ricci, Ana C.Etcheverry de(DC.4.000.852)
Villarino 166-8000 Bahia Blanca
Ricchi, Verena Giacometti (Phone 773-9359)

C-1141/78/1

T
Options

RICCI, Juan Eugenio

PEN - Resistencia Unidad No. 7
[illegible]
US Emb. visit granted 11/78
Removed from PEN - 12-22-78

Ricci, Maria Angelica (Sister)
Lavalle 865 - José C. Paz
(Phone- 655-3278 brother)

D

RICCIARDINO, Luis Anselmo
Age 20
DNI: 11.535.440

DIS 4-21-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D

RICERO, Daniel Alberto

DIS 9-16-76

La Plata List - 11-21-78

496/78/7 D

RICETTI, Ariel
DU. 11.616.409
Calle 6 Nro. 1163 - Dpto. A-PB- LA PLATA

Disappeared on the street near his home on 2-1-78.

PAHR(L)
Ricetti, Edna Copparoni de (Mother)
Calle 6 Nro. 1163 - Dpto. A-PB LA PLATA
Phone: 42318
Personal call Embassy 4-24-78.
" " " 7-7-78

(over)

D

RICNY, Guillermo Eduardo
Age 27
LE: 8.068.770

Disappeared 7-21-77 - Temperley

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D78

RICOTTI, Amelia
Age: 31

Disappeared together with husband Alberto Tur in Santa Fé on 5-15-78.

La Razón clipping 5-51-78

*

RIEZNIK, Pablo Héctor

Released.

D

RIGANTI, Daniel Eduardo
[illegible]
LE: 5.513.219

Disappeared 3-22-76 Bahia Blanca

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

T

RIGANTI BAZAN DE DIAZ LOPEZ, Stella Maria
Age 38
CI: 10.431.636

DIS 5-15-76 San Fernando (Bs. As.

PAHR (L)
ML

D

RIGGI, Esteban Justo A
Ex-Minister of the Interior

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

RIGGIARDO, Juan Enrique
Age: 24
DNI: 10.641.616

DIS 2-9-77 Lanus

Lomas hist 3-10 77
FDD
PAHR(L)

D

RIGONI, Roberto Daniel
Age 23

Disappeared 4-16-77 Ramos Mejia

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

763/74/1

RIGUELO, Simon Antonio
Age: 20 days

ABD with mother Stella Maris. She reappeared later in an Uruguayan prison. She said the child has been taken from her after the detention. Disappeared since then.

Arg. Coa.of Boston - A.C.B.

D

RIGUELO, Stella Maris

ABD 7-13-76 with son Simon Antonio

ML

RIGUEZA, Juan José
Age: 24
Student in La Plata - Member FJC

ABD 6-9-77 w/3 others by 40 armed men

ML

RIMACA, Héctor Ariel
[illegible]
Age 25

Disappeared 12-3-76 Rosario

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

RIMS,
FCGSM

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RINALDI, Mario
D.N.I.: 7.641.344
Arte 23
Frente Comun Revol. Buenos Aires-Capital Norte (Bs. As. Prov.)

Disappeared 6-30-77

Comun. Revol. Prog. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
Comun. Revol.
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RINALDI DE POLLETTI, Elena
Arte 26
L.C.: 6.628.393

Disappeared 2-2-77 Quilmes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

RINALDO, Ulises
Empleado Público-Mendoza

Disappeared since October 1975

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RINCON, carlos alberto
ci. 7247386
Junta 4732-Capital Federal
RINCON, Maria Beatriz Maroni de
DNI 11.154.555

Arrested on 4-5-77. Since then disappeared.

(See also MARONI, Juan Patricio)

Maroni, Juan José (Parent)
Maroni, Enriqueta A.R.de
Salas 579 (1424-Capital

Statement to Representatives.

RRHR(L)

RINGA, Francisco
Disappeared 10-29-76

Hig Arg. Der. Humbs
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RIORO, Ricardo Emilio
San Benito 973-Turdera (Partidp de Lomas de Zamora)
CI: 6.583.418
DNI: 10.163.905

Abducted from his home on 5-23-78 at 12:30.

AFL/CIO

6/8/78

RIOS, Alcira

D 75

ABD 70-8-78

AISC (El Litoral-Santa Fé)

D

RIOS, Carlos Ruben
Age: 46
Bogotá 3747 1 1°B - Capital
LE: 4.508.034

Idd 10-24-77

Arrested at his home by two civil men; since then disappeared

CAMR(L)

Rios, Maria A. F. de (Mother)
Rios, Helga Nielsen de (Wife)
Av. Vergara 3896-Dpto.7 Hurlingham

RIOS, Facundo 6 years

Child of Oscar Dionisio Rios and Beatriz Longhi, arrested on 11-2-77.

Letter ANRAA-11/77.

C-15/76/1

RIOS, Hector Raúl

P

Under PEN- Controlled Liberty - 12-22-78

PER; Sierra Chica

Martha G itan de Rios-MI. 5588151 (Wife)
Celestino Vodal 3015 - Barrio Patricios (Córdoba) 5012
Phone 71-9974

D

RIOS , Humberto Cecilio

DIS 1-20-76 Córdoba

pahr (1)

RIOS, Jorge C.

Detained since October 1976 in Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

RIOS, Juan

Disappeared 4-7-76 Boulogne - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

C-43/77/11

P Optn

RIOS, Liliana Maria
(Wife of Pedro Gmo. Angel Guastavino)

PEN- Villa Devoto. Request for Option to leave country.

GUASTAVINO, Noemí Matilde Diaz de (Mother-in-law)
Villagaay 327-Gualeguaychú (E.R.)
Phone: 1428 Gualeguaychú

RIOS, Mario

D

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

RIOS, Nestor Raul

ARR Applied Parole visa USA

AISC

RIOS, Oscar Dionisio

Senator Alan Cranston- behalf of [ ] B6

RIOS, Osvaldo

DIS

ML

RIOC, Osvaldo M.
Min. B. Social-Córdoba
[illegible]

Disappeared 11/77.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

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589 |79| 9

RIOS CASAS, Miguel Angel (Uruguayan)

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 24/1977.
[illegible]

UNHCR-Refugee registered
3-9-78
[illegible]
11-16-78
PRHR(L)
UNHCR - 9-6-78

430/84/11 D 1978

RIOS de CORDOBA, Alicia
Age: 27
Lawyer
Journalist from El Litoral, Santa Fé

DIS 7-27-78 Santa Fé

MI
WOLA 6-79
Harris data - 8-14-78

RIPODAS, ~~Carlos~~ Oribaute
~~Jorge~~ Eugenio studied.

Detained 11-12-76 en Rawson.
Sin datos.

Causa Ant. Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

D15

RIPODAS, Ricardo

LE: 4.692.468
Age 33
Lawyer

~~DIS~~ Detained since 1974 under PEN. in Libertad Unica
Federal de Tucuman. Applies for R.o Option 2-8-77.

(lista)
Silvia Raquel Ripodas Gurruchaga 2279 - Capital
WOLA 11-78 1º 6º (Patable) 83-5023

R/FDD

S RIQUELME, Clara Haydée (E) D
RIQUELME, Cecilia Maria del Carmen Fernandez D

Were arrested at mother's home Chiclana 2861 - PB - Dpto.1 Capital, by people from the Army. Since then disappeared.
9-27-76

Riquelme, Haydée vda. de (Mother)
Chiclana 2861-PB-1º-Capital

Copy of HABEAS CORPUS to Senators.

RIQUELO, Estela Maris (Uruguayan) D

DIS 3-17-76

PAHR (L)
FDD

RIQUELO, Simon Antonio (Uruguayan) D
20 days old

ABD with mother which was located later in Uruguayan prison. Mother told that her child was taken from her on 7-13-76. She never saw him again.

PAHR (L)
VIEJA, 5-31-78
French Embassy

D

RIQUEZA, Juan José
Age 24 student - Univ. La Plata
Geology
Member - Ted. Sur. Com.
calle 35 - entre 121 y 122 - La Plata

DIS 6-9-77

La Plata list 11/78
Comm. Conf. Chron. 9/78
PAHR (L)
Comm. Party

RISCHER, Juan Carlos

PAR

ADLeague

RISCHER, Marta Graciela (nee Ortiz)

ADLeague

D

RISSAU, Juan Carlos

Disappeared July 1977.

PAHR(L)
Stanford Univ., 511 Gerona Road
California 94305

D

RISSO, Daniel Jorge
Mza 24
CI: 7.944.028

Disappeared 9-12-77 Morón

PAHR-Prensa 5=17-78 (1)

RISSO, Elena
Prof. V. Tuerto - Santa Fé

Detained 2-15-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

RISSO, Fernando

Disappeared 3-24-76

PAHR(4)
AL
ADLEague

D

RISSO, Jorge Daniel

Disappeared 9-12-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

RISSO, Jorge Eduardo M.
Age 25
LE: 10.222.850

Disappeared 3-27-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

22/24/12 D *

RITTER, ~~XXXXXXX~~ Guillermo Daniel
Age: 19
DOB: 12-5-1954

Was serving in Navy as conscript. Left his home to go Navy base and disappeared enroute to work. This occurred in October 1976. (German Emb. informed 11-1-76.)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Dein
Anti-defamation League
Rabbi M. Rosenthal
German Embassy-Von Schlick

D

RITTER, Marcelo
Age: 19

DIS 10-76

AISC

D

RIVAROLA, Jorge

DIS 2-28-77

PAHR (L)

8/3/77/2

D

RIVADA, Carlos Alberto
Bft 28
Hdq. Engineer

DIS 2-3-77 Tres Arroyos - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)
Dept. of State - Hallman

RIVAS, Arnaldo Hugo

DIS

PAHR(4)
ML

RIVAS, Guillermo

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

RIVAS, Juan Carlos

A ED 9-21-76 from home

PAHR(4)
ML

D

RIVAS, Hugo
Age 30
8.248.840

Disappeared 6-12-76 San Fernando

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Arg. Dig. Ser. Rom.

RIVELLI, Roberto Abel
LE 10.151.613
RIVELLI, Elba Beatriz Pirola de
LC 10.104.921
Diag.74 No. 3151 - La Plata

Were arrested at their friend's home Calle 39 between 6 y 7, on 10-9-76, by armed men. Since then disappeared.

Rivelli, Laureana Armendariz de (Mother)
LC 10.09.705
Diag. 74 No. 3151 - La Plata

PAHR (L) Statement to Representatives.
La Plata 10/78

RIVERA, Carlos Roberto
LE: 5.507.911
Age 31

Disappeared on 26-1-76 in Bahia Blanca

PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rivera, Simon T.-CI:3.580.848 (Father)
Rivera, Maria B. de-LC;4.044.331 (Mother)
Villanueva 540. Punta Alta
BL

299/78/2

RIVERA, Fermin

Sec. Hig. Seg. 20-4-78
3-11-78 Lugar habitual: Internado Provincial. Sitio: Tenencia de armas - Hg. 2.050
Interviene Juez Federal de Bell Ville.
Alojado: Carcel

Transferred from Sierra Chica to Córdoba 2-2-78.

Transferred from Sierra Chica to Córdoba 2-2-78.

BA-1314, 2-22-78

RIVERA, Héctor José
Age: 41
CI: 3.706.906

DIS 9-24-76 Monte Peloria fr. Jatayaste. 300 Bs. As.

RISC
FDD

RIVERA, Juana Josefa
L. 2.340.824

DIS 4-24-76 Baradero - Bs. As.

PAHR(2)

RIVERO, Esperanza E.

ARR 10-18-75 Chaco - PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

RIVERO, Juan R. Alberto
Age: 38
Pasaje Román 3800-Rosario
Metal Worker

ABD

AISC

RIVERO, Ricardo Daniel

ARR - Sentenced to 6 yrs. by Judge F. Mantras

AISC (Clarin)

D

RIVERO, Roberto
Age 26

Disappeared 4-25-78 - San Justo

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

RIVERO, Vicente Manuel

DIS 12-16-75 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

RIVERO, Victor Abel

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

RIVERO CRANWELL, Julio

DIS 7-15-76

PAHR(L)
ML

RIVEROS, Liliana Gladys
Age: 26

D

DIS 12-7-76 San Juan _ Husband, Federico G. Suarez, was killed.

AISC

D

RIVERRA, Carlos Roberto

DIS 10-19-76

La Prensa clipping 8-3-78

RIZZAU, Jorge

DIS 1/77

PAHR (L)

RIZZO, Carlos Alberto
Bl. 32
L. 5.507.911

Disappeared 12-13-77 10-1-76 Bahia Blanca - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

RIZZO, José

Detained 11-17-76

Harris data 8-7-78

RIZZO, Juan Carlos

D

DIS 7-24-76

ML

RIZZO, Oscar Alberto
Ofic 21
DNI: 12.906.372

D

DIS 3-18-77 Mar del Plata

PAHR(L)

64/75/12

D

RIZZO MOLINA, Carlos Alberto
DOB: 1-30-1918 Age: 60
CI: 2.029.024
LE: 0.402.318
Estomba 1361- 3°- Capital

Arrested on 12-13-1977. Disappeared since then.

Gilda Molina Van Sand (Cousin)

C]

(over)

Personal visit 12-6-78

86

RIZZOLO, Miguel Angel
Age: 22
Agronomy student
CI: 7.245.945

DIS 7-14-76 from home Tucuman 3590-Buenos Aires

PCHR(L)
ML

RIZZOTO, Miguel Angel

Disappeared 7-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ROA, Luciano

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

ROBELLO, Miguel Angel
CI. 6.253.268 or 269

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

ROBEO, Roberto José

D

DIS

FAEP(2)
ML

ROBERTO,

D

ABD 11-26-76 from Policlínico Posadas

ML

ROBERTO, Luis María
Age 3[illegible]
CI: 3.782.950

DIS 4-23-76

PAHR (L)

D

ROBERTS DE ANDREU, Norma
Age 26
LC: 6.429.659

Disappeared 10-16-76 - Barlué

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D 78

ROBINO, Abel Tomas
Calle 6 No. 778 - 1° - La Plata

Detained on 10-10-78. La Plata - Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR (L)
Robino, Beatriz Irma (Sister)
Newspaper clipping 12-3-78

ROBLED, Jorge Omar

DIS 2-14-78

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

ROBLEDO, Eduardo Gilberto

DIS

PHHR(L)
ML

ROBLEDO, Estela Julia

ARR 76 Córdoba-Held V.Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

ROBLEDO, Francisco
Mendoza

Detained since 4-20-76 in Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D 1478

ROBLEDO, Jorge Omar
Age: 28
DOB: APRIL 1950
Ministro Brin 2555-Lanus Oeste
Metallurgical worker

Arrested on 10-15 of march 1978 by joint forces in Lomas de Zamora.

PRHR (2)

Robledo, Jacinto (Father)
Melo 2520-Lanus Oeste
241-7841 Personal call Embassy 7-25-78

D

ROBLEDO, Ramon Roque

DIS

PRHR (2)
ML

ROBLES, Enrique José

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

D

ROBLES, Gastón

Disappeared

HL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

ROBLES, Laura
Calle 1 y 1 Bis, Grand Bourg Pcia Bs As
Kent student
Age 22

Disappeared 8-13-77 - from Bourg

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

ROBLES, Maria del Carmen

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

ROBLES ,Nestor

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

ROBLES, Olga Aulina
Pº 24
LE: 5.926.877

DIS Octubre 1976 la Plata

PAHR (1)

D

ROBLES, Olga Inés
LC: 5.498.323
Fig. 23
Thomas 3391. Boulogne, Bs. As.

Disappeared 3-20-76 - Boulogne-Bs.As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Eng. Eng. Bol. Bombs

ROBLES DE MAXZA, Teresa

=

ARR PEN

AISC

D

ROBUSTELLI, Oscar José
Fig 23
DNI: 10.995.204

Disappeared 12-15-76 - La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

ROCA, Carlos

Right of option certificate under review.

FRANCE

ROCAMORA
Student

Killed

Killed

La Plata List

D

ROCAMORA, Arturo J.

Disappeared 6/77. Family in Israel.

NL
ADLeague

ROCATAGLIATA, Ruben

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

ROCHA, Jorge
Member of Inner Religion Group

3H/Feb D

ABD 2-16-78 Resistencia, Chaco

Dept.of State - State 064407
ML

R

ROCHA, Ramón Buenaventura

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

214/77 9P

ROCHA, Rosa Ramona
Born: 16 June 1947
CORDOBA (Morrison)

Picke up during a Police Operative in Villa Maria on 11-30-77. Supposed to be at Unidad 8 Jefatura de Policía Area 314 under military authority.
(Sister-in-law of Labor Sindicalist).

AIFLD/Freeman
12-6-77

9P

ROCHE, J.
Acindar

Detained August 1976 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

432/77/11 D 1978

ROCHE, Luis Alberto
Student
Age: 24
Chemical student at La Plata Univ.

DIS 9-26-78.

Bs.As.Herald clipping 10-1-78
MI

ROCHEFF, Natalia

Detained since 3-25-76 - Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROCHIA DE GARCIA, Beatriz
Buenos Aires

Disappeared 1-12-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROCHISTEIN, Jorge
DOB: 10-25-1952
Hurlingham

Disappeared around May 1977. Extraofficialy he is detained at Aeronautica. (Husband of Maria Graciela Tauro).

PAHR (L)

Rochistein, Guillerma Dubriff (Mother)
Sarmiento 165-6°"A"-Bahia Blanca
DAIA

RODIA, Maria Esther

DIS

ML

RODRIEGUEZ, Gustavo

Disappeared 5-16-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RODRIGUEZ,

DIS 6-24-76

FAHR(L)
ML

RODRIGUEZ, Alberto
Corrientes

Detained since 5-20-77 in Goya

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

RODRIGUEZ, Alberto Angel
Age 25
CI: 6.012.776

Disappeared 8-4-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

RODRIGUEZ, Alcira Patricia Cam
Age: 20

D

ABD 2-24-77 with husband & son. Husband killed.

PAHR(L)
ML

RODRIGUEZ, Américo
Age: 28
LE: 8.593.432

DIS 12-1-76 Campana

PAHR (L)

RODRIGUEZ, Ana Rosa

DIS 8-30-76

La Plata 11-21-78

RODRIGUEZ, Carlos
Age: 20

Presumely was seen at Escuela Sargento Cabral, Puente 12.

Harris data - 8-14-78

RODRIGUEZ, Carlos Alberto
Age: 44

DIS 3-31-76 La Plata

PAHR (L)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Carlos Alfredo

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

RODRIGUEZ, Carlos Esteban
[illegible]23

Disappeared 2-26-77 - Quilmes -

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RODRIGUEZ, Carmen
(Carmen Rodriguez de Rasetti)
LC. 3.086.825
Born: 4-20-31

Arrested on 12.22.1977, since then disappeared.

Rodriguez, Sofía Gonzalez de (Mother)

Rasetti, Juan P. (Son)
Sarandi 921 - Dpto. A - Capital 942-3445
WOLA

PAHR(L)

RODRIGUEZ, Daniel

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
HL

RODRIGUEZ, Eduardo José

Disappeared 8-4-76

313/96/5

RODRIGUEZ, Ernesto
Member of Inner Religion Group

ABD 2-16-78 Resistencia, Chaco

Dept.of State-State 054407
NL

RODRIGUEZ, Esteban
Acindar

Detained August 1976 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

C-14/7/96

RODRIGUEZ, Fausto Esteban
Escribano - 42 years
DOB: 9-6-1936

Outh. leave country Clarin 12-2-78

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata - Given forms for Option to leave Country.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Angeletti, Laura B. de (Sister)
Enfermera Clermont 578 - Córdoba
Tel. 84717

RODRIGUEZ, Florencia

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Gustavo Adrian
Age: 22
LE: 11.922.067

ABD 5-16-77 from hospital were he had been operated.
Husband of Olga L. Rodriguez

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Haydée Mabel
B [illegible]
Age 30

Disappeared 8-4-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

RODRIGUEZ, Humberto
Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RODRIGUEZ, Jorge Fernandez — Uruguayan
DNI: 9.216.6026

ABD 8-23-77 from home Buenos Aires.

ML

RODRIGUEZ, Jorge Oscar or Omar

ABD 12-18-75

PRHR(L)
ML

443/79/1 DS

RODRIGUEZ, José
Sindicalist

ABD 8-25-78 in Córdoba city

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PI

Netherland Embassy

AFL/CIO C-24[illegible]

RODRIGUEZ, José Edmundo
LE. 6.516.868
CORDOBA

Arrested on 11-8-74. At present in Unidad Carcelaria 6, Rawson (Chubut).

Rodriguez, Isabel Portela de (Wife)
LC. 3.968.160

9-6-77. Letter to AFL/CIO.

Reg Reg Ser. Hemisf

D 79

RODRIGUEZ, Juan ~~Horacio~~ (Chilean)
Socialist Worker's Party (PST)

1-8-79

Arrested between January 6-8, 1979 in Mar del Plata.

Bs.As.Herald clipping 1-27-79
PENR(L)

RODRIGUEZ, Juan Alfredo
ENTEL worker

DIS May 1978

Harris data - 8-14-78

D-78

RODRIGUEZ, Juan Carlos
[illegible]
L.E. 8.647.366
C.I. 5.193 018

DIS 3-7-78

PAHR (L)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Juan Carlos

Disappeared 10/77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Juan Carlos
Student
Age: 23
Diag.74 entre 28 y 29-La Plata

Detained in December 1977.

Harris data - 8-14-78

RODRIGUEZ, Juan Domingo
CI: 6.350.722.

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Juan Faustino

DIS 2-16-77

ML
PEHG - Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RODRIGUEZ, Julio Cesar
1.439.013

D

DIS 5m Gr. Cr.

PEHR(L)
ML

RODRIGUEZ, Laura Gladys

F

ARR 11-7-75 Mendoza - Held in V.Devoto PEN

AISC(CADHU)

RODRIGUEZ, Liberto Antonio
DNI: 92.121.713

P

DIS 10-14-76 Gran Bourg, Bs.As.

AISC

RODRIGUEZ, Lucero Marcial

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

RODRIGUEZ, Luis

DIS Córdoba

ML

RODRIGUEZ, Luis Alberto

DIS Bahia Blanca, Bs.Aires

ML

RODRIGUEZ, Luis Celestino
Construction Worker-Mendoza

ABD 3-21-76 Mendoza

PEHR (L)
ML

C-151/78/5

RODRIGUEZ, Luis Juan
Asesor de la Liga Campesina del Chaco
LE: 6.250.519
Abogado
Roque Saenz Peña - Chaco (Capital 450)
Invol. reported missing 9/78 to under judicial system.

Detained 1975.- Remains detained.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

Entregada formularios para ofician 4-27-78

RODRIGUEZ, Mabel Haydée
Hospital Piñeyro

Disappeared 12-9-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RODRIGUEZ, Manuel Alberto
TEMSA

Detained since May 1976 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

RODRIGUEZ, Marcelo Daniel
DNI 10.102.278
Av. Revolución de Mayo 646-Dpto.6 (Barrio Colón)
Ciudad de CORDOBA

Disappeared in Córdoba en the first days of Dicember 1976.

Rodriguez, José Marcelo - LE.1.540.145 (Father)
Pje.Lavalle 3340,Dp.1-Villa Libertad-San Martin Bs.As.

Testimony to Senators.

RODRIGUEZ, Marcelo Mario
DNI: 10.232.931

Disappeared 10-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RODRIGUEZ, Mario Ernesto.

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

RODRIGUEZ, Mario Eulogio

Detained, at presente in Unidad 9-La Plata. Relatives disappeared, father, two brothers and his two sisters-in law.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

RODRIGUEZ, Mario Gonzalo

DIS

ML

RODRIGUEZ, Marta

ARR 10-25-75 Santa Fé = Hold in V.Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

RODRIGUEZ, Miguel Angel

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

RODRIGUEZ, Oscar Jorge

DIS

ML

RODRIGUEZ, Pacífico

DIS 76 La Plata

Mexico 79

RODRIGUEZ, Pablo Tomás
= Ave. del Trabajo [illegible]
Apt 35

Disappeared 3-31-76 with wife Edith

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

RODRIGUEZ, Pedro

ARR PEN

DDAlto Valle 11/78

RODRIGUEZ, Pedro

D

ABD 7/76

AISC

L-23777/12

RODRIGUEZ, Pedro Justo

P
Captain

Authorized to leave country - ha Nación 2-17-77

Reapplication in prison 11/78

PEN: Rawson (Chubut). Given forms. Personal call on 12-12-77.

Rodriguez, Delia Esther Arrazola de (Wife)
Chacabuco 55 - Cinco Saltos (Rio Negro)
Tel: 8309 Cinco Saltos)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Pedro Pablo
Age: 24
Doc. 11.509.365

DIS 9-27-76

Tucumán
PRHG(2)

RODRIGUEZ, Pedro Ricardo
DNI: 11.930.727
Monteros - Tucuman

Disappeared

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

RODRIGUEZ, Ramon Esteban D

DIS 2-26-77 Quilmes, Bs.As.

ML

RODRIGUEZ, Ramona Marta D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

RODRIGUEZ, Raúl Eduardo
Obrero Ford-Buenos Aires

Disappeared on 7-1-77

PRHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

RODRIGUEZ, Raul Ricardo
Empleado FIAT-Palomar
LE: S. 334.064
Buenos 133, Burlingham, Bs.As.

Disappeared on 12-29-1976. Burlingham

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PRHR - Prensa 5-17-77 (L)

D

RODRIGUEZ, Ricardo

DIS 12-29-76

ML

RODRIGUEZ, Ruben Washington (Uruguayan)

Detained during 4 to 5 weeks at clandestine place. Left for Sweden 7-13-78.

REFOULEMENT

RODRIGUEZ, Silvia Susana
Medical student

ARR 5-25-76 Tucumán

AISC (Arg.Komm-Sveden)

RODRIGUEZ, Susana

DIS

PPHR(L)
ML

RODRIGUEZ, Venancio
Obrero Reanult

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RODRIGUEZ ALVAREZ, Anibal
LE: 8.351.682

Disappeared 6-4-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(A)

RODRIGUEZ ANIDO, Ricardo Manuel
LE: 10.528.042

ARR 11-17-77 Córdoba PEN Snn Martin Prison, Córdoba

AISC

BOURG, Alicia Rodriguez de
Wife of Juan Raul Bourg
LC. 5.401.546 Ci: 9.654.385
Quinta Saenz
Continuación Av. Independencia Km. 18-Mar del Plata

Disappeared on September 7th, 1977.

PAAR(L)
Personal call:2-15-78

Hipatia A. de Bourg (Mother-in-law)
Larrea 1474-3°"B"-Capital
826-4006
Amnesty International

RODRIGUEZ BRUSETTI, Gerardo

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

RODRIGUEZ CARDOSO, Irene Marta

Crim-app-ct-ordered released from PEN.-11/78

RODRIGUEZ DE CARPINETTI, Alicia

DIS 12-3-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

LA Plata List - 11 -21-78
PAHR(2)

D

RODRIGUEZ CORA, Gladys Y.

Disappeared 8-25-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
RL

D

RODRIGUEZ DE GIAMBA, Ana R
Age 28

Disappeared 8-30-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

RODRIGUEZ GONZALEZ, Carmen
Age: 46
CI: 3.086.825
Baldomero Fernandez 3605-3°"C"-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 12-22-77. Reportedly taken by armed civilians driving Ford Falcon with License number 501.877.

WOLA Unclas State 031753 - 2-7-78

RODRIGUEZ JURADO, Nora

DIS

AISC

RODRIGUEZ LARRETA, Horacio
President Racing Soccer Club

DIS 4-1-77

ML

RODRIGUEZ LARRETA, Raquel Nogue D

DIS 7-13-76

ML (PAHR(L)

RODRIGUEZ LARRETA PIERA, Enrique (Uruguayan) D
Age 26

Disappeared 6-30-76 ~~7-13-76~~

Eng Arq Del Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

RODRIGUEZ LARRETA PIERA, Enrique (Uruguayan) F
Age: 55
Periodist (Film)

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. Freed on 12-22-76 in Montevideo, Uruguay.

PAHR(L)
L Lindt 6-16-78
REFOULEMENT

RODRIGUEZ LIBERTO, Félix A.
IDN: 82.150.743
Age 23

Disappeared 10-14-76 G. Bourg

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rig. Aug. 26: Kenney

RODRIGUEZ MARTINEZ, Enrique Carlos (Uruguayan)
Age: 27
Calle Víctor Martinez 1285-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 6-30-76 in Buenos Aires. At present in Libertad Prison in Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

540/78/9 D

RODRIGUEZ MERCADER, Carlos A. (Uruguayan)
Age 26

Disappeared 10-1-76

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
WHRC-9-1-78

RODRIGUEZ MIRANDA, Juan Rodolfo
DNI: 12.010.255

Disappeared 3-6-78 Lanús

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

303/5/5

RODRIGUEZ DE PORCEL, Hortensia

GCA Mtg 9-5-78: PEN Sto 1756 del 25/11/74
Opción. Ley 21449 por Sto 1192 del 2/7/76

Wife of Eduardo José Porcel, former Director of Salta Prisons. Detained in Villa Devoto.

PAHR(4)
K
Amensty International USA
2112 Broadway-New York City

K

RODRIGUEZ DE RANDHEL, Silvia

Killed 75 Rawson

AISC

RODRIGUEZ DE ROLDAN, Aida C.

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

R/FDD

RODRIGUEZ RODRIGUEZ, Julio César (Uruguayan)
CI. 1.435.037

Arrested on 6-15-76 on the public street by a group of men. Since then disappeared. - Previgliano -

Rodriguez, Gladys R. de (Mother)
CI. 1.000.081.

Statement to Senators.

PEN R(L)
PL

RODRIGUEZ SAA, Ricardo DNI: 6.201.408
Age: about 30 LE: 8.344.962
Engineering student, 4th. year.

Arrested in Sept 1975 in Bs As. At present under PEN in La Plata's Prison. Died January 1977.
PEN. Presented visa form.

Sentenced to 2 years + 6 months. La Plata Prison 11/5/77

Until ref. referred without further judicial register.

Rodriguez Saa, Maria Esther Madrona Rosell de (Mother)
PL
Consul. Embassy
Recd. directly Consulate. 11/25/77.

RODRIGUEZ SMITH, James

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

RODRIGUEZ DE SOLDAN, Aida C. de

DIS

PAHR (L)

RODRIGUEZ TAPIA, Enrique Ramon

DIS February 1978

RODRIGUEZ TAPATTA, Anahí

DIS

PAHR (L)

RODRIGUEZ VACARINI, Olga L.
Age: 25
DNI: 11.523.142

DIS 5-15-77 Rosario Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

RODUETA,

DIS

ML

RODY, Lujan

DIS 1-13-76

PAHR (L)
ML

ROELES, Gastón

DIS

PAHR (L)

ROEPJA, Nélida

DIS

PAHR (L)

RODY, Lujan

DIS 1-13-76

PAHR (L)
ML

ROELES, Gastón

DIS

PAHR (L)

ROEPJA, Nélida

DIS

PAHR (L)

R/FDD

ROGGERONE, Carlos Maria
CI-5.276.331
ROGGERONE, Mónica Susana Masri de
DNI 11.677.744
Arribeños 2153 - 13°P."A"-Capital

On 4-12-77 they were arrested by a Comando of joint forces. Since then disappeared;

Jurado, Clara (Mother)
DNI 0513754
Brasil 646- 2°P."B"-Capital
8-4-77 Testimony. Sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.
Testimony to Senators.

ROGGERONE, Baby

Clara Jurado (Grandmother)
Brasil 646, 2°"B" - Capital

ROEMERO, Raul Eduardo

DIS 12-76

ML

ROGUERO, Luis

D

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

641/79/11

ROISINBLIT DE PEREZ, Patricia Julia
CI. 6.330.006
Gurruchaga 2259 - 20-3°- Capital
DOB: 8-12-52

6th Ripley 2-23-79: Neg. Ripley.

DIS 10-8-78 - Buenos Aires, with husband José Manuel Perez Rojo a 15 month old child that was later returned to parents. She was 8 months pregnant at time of abd.

Fam. Reunif. Hoja 042508 AA-1474
Comm. Int. Cruz Roja Ginebra 323475

Mother visit Emb. 11-22-78 and 11.24-78.

ROITMAN, Jorge Mario (JR)
Captura 1010-Lujan - Ramos Mejia
Age 32

Freed 12-2-78 Ramos Mejia

FAHR(L)
Cancel Conf Orig 9/82
DAIA
Conf St. Luisa

ROITMAN, Dr. José

Disappeared 11-25-76

ML
ADLeague

ROJA, Nestor Alberto

DIS

Final(4)
ML

ROJAS,
SMATA-Córdoba

Detained since 1/1976 in Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROJAS ~~ABREE~~, Francisca Ovalle

CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Convicted 11-13-76

ROJAS, Gloria (sociologist; wife of Emilio de Ipola)

Allehadlyabducted by a group of civilians; later officially pronounced arrested by the government; imprisoned

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

ROJAS, Hernan (Chilean)
Age: 33

ABF 6-7-76 from his home

Leg Arg Asst. Embs
Perm-Files r. 1758(4)
ML

ROJAS, Juan Edgardo
CI: 10.515.113

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

ROJAS, Luis Joaquin
Age: 33
Calle 68 entre 144 y 145
LA PLATA

Arrested in May 1977. Since then disappeared.

Rojas, Liverta (Mother)
Calle 68 entre 144 y 145
LA PLATA

ROJAS, Miguel Sergio
AISC 47
CI: 7.147.535

Disappeared 5-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

ROJAS, Sergio Fernando

DIS 5-17-77

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D75

ROJAS DE ALVAREZ, Adela Mercedes

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

ROJAS CABALLERO, Máximo (Bolivian)

Disappeared 6-6-76 - Jujuy

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

ROJAS FAJARDO, Hernan
Member Comm. Party

-7-
ABD 6/77 Mar del Plata

ML
Comm. Party

ROJAS DE SCARBOSSA, Nora

ABD 12-29-75 Bs.As.city with husband

ML
Peron. Party 5-47-77(2)

ROJO, Juan Arpeo
Lawyer
Ex-Intendente

Detained in La Rioja, at present in Sierra Chica prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

ROJO, Julio Cesar

Under PEN, Sierra Chica, Olavarria. Option to leave country. Given forms.

ROJO, Silvia Luque de (Mother)
Rosario de Santa Fé 1370
CORDOBA 51-6045

ROJO, Mireya
Abogada de obreros metalúrgicos de Villa Constitución
Age: 31
ERP (See folder)

Detained on 4-24-1975. At present in Villa Devoto.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
WOLA
PA1-1988

ROLANDO, Ricardo

Disappeared 11-27-76

ROJO, Julio Cesar

Under PEN, Sierra Chica, Olavarria. Option to leave country.
Given forms.

ROJO, Silvia Luque de (Mother)
Rosario de Santa Fé 1370
CORDOBA 51-6045

ROJO, Mireya
Abogada de obreros metalúrgicos de Villa Constitución
Age: 31
ERP (Sec Militar)

Detained on 4-24-1975. At present in Villa Devoto.

Detained Villa Devoto
Denied Option 2000 - Decree 172 2-28-78
Gen Wpfy 1-30-79: Under PEN. Decree of Controlled Freedom 3054 - 12/22/78 for Rosario (Prov. of Santa Fe)

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
WOLA
Amnistia Gral. Informed by Stat - 2-1-79

ROLANDO, Ricardo

Disappeared 11-27-76

ROLDAN, Jorge Omar
Printer

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

ROLDAN, Maria Angela

ARR 12-15-74 Bahia Blanca - Held in V.Devoto PEN

AISC (Cadhu)

ROLDAN, Nestor Miguel
age 28

DIS 5-26-77 Miramar

PAHR(L)

ROLDAN, Tello

DIS 5-13-76

ML

ROLDAN, Tristan Omar
DNI: 13.551.358
Marcelo T. de Alvear 1424-Puerto Mar del Plata

DIS 9-18=76 together with Delia Elena Garaguzo from home.

Roldan, Leonidas Floreal (Frigeiro phone
Entre Rios 4446-Mar del Plata 89086 6 809086)

PAHR (L)
Met Harris 13-14-78

ROLDAN FLOREANI, Carmen de

DIS 6-2-76

PAHR (L)

ROLDAN DE RIGGIARNO, A
Age 54
DNI: 3.694.617

Disappeared 2-8-77. F. Varela

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ROLDAN RODRIGUEZ, Aida C.

DIS

PAHR (L)

ROLLAN, Norberto Miguel
16 años. 4.295.[illegible] DNI
Age 26

D-78

DIS 2-16-78

Edad de Rollan - 135.406 - Emilio Mitre 732. 3 c.
PAHR(L)
FDC 11-6-78

D

ROLON, Carlos Armando
Pde 19
CI: 272.970

Disappeared 1-11-77 b. de Zamora

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

ROMA DE ARDITTO, Atlántida
Capital

D

Disappeared 10-20-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROMAMUR.MORENO, Maria del Carmen

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

ROMAN,

PEN- Option to leave country for Spain. Suspended for the present.

5-5-78

ROMAN, Angel Daniel
DNI: M.048.465
Edad aprox 28 a - Nivel del Plata

Disappeared 6-19-76

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

ROMAN, Carmen Candelaria
Estudiante Comunidad Costa
Apt 36
CI: 4.784.310

Disappeared 5-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Carmen Candelaria Roman
Comm. Party

D-K

ROMAN, Claudio
Age: 16

ABD 7-27-77 Córdoba, killed later.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

ROMAN, Juan Ricardo

[illegible]
Disappeared 6-23-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
HL

D

ROMAN, Leonardo

Disappeared 12-14-76

ADLeague

ROMAN, Nicolas Miguel Angel
Julian 1946
Age: 29
CI: 6.214.046

Disappeared 5-7-76

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Hq. Reg. Bs. Aires

ROMAN, Ruben

Detained since 3/76 in La Plata.

ADLeague

ROMAN, Vera Julian
Age: 46

DIS 5-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-18-78 (L)

ROMAN DE GUERRERO, Nora E.
LC. 6445 [illegible] Rompa - Mar del Plata
Rfc 25

Disappeared 6-19-76 Mar del Plata - fm la

ML
PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
FDD

ROMANO

ABD 11/76 Jaqueline Romano's husband

ML

ROMANO, Dardo Hugo
Age: 28
Doc. 8.036.291

DIS 9-17-76

Tucumán
PAHR(L)

ROMANO, Eduardo Raúl

DIS 7-3-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(1)

ROMANO, Gustavo Daniel
Age 28
DI: 7.353.624

Trad-Decree 64/75 - Opinion 6-15-78
Disappeared 10-3-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

ROMANO, Horacio Edmundo

Doc. 8.096.426

DIS 4-14-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR(1)

ROMANO, Eduardo Raúl

DIS 7-3-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR (L)

ROMANO, Gustavo Daniel
PAHR
DNI: 7.354.928

Tucumán 6/4/76 - Chaco 6-16-76
Disappeared 10-3-77

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

ROMANO, Horacio Edmundo

Doc. 8.096.426

DIS 4-14-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

ROMANO, Humberto
Age:
Doc. 8.004.452

DIS 4-14-76 Tucumán

Tucumán

CAPR(L)

ROMANO, Jaqueline
Cardiologist from Policlínico Posadas

ABD 11-26-76 from Policlínico Ezeiza

ML

ROMANO, Ruben A.
Santa Fé

Detained since 3-21-74 Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROMANUK, Mirta (nee Posse)

DIS

ADLeague

ROMANUK, Rubén Oscar

Cause: OCPO in Peugeot. (OCPO; Organización Comunista Poder Obrero)

Decree: 998/76.

Anti Defamation League on B'nai B'rith
7-26-77

ROMANUTTI, Daniel Oscar (Age 25)
LE; 11.334.360
Vicente Agüero 653 - JESUS MARIA(Córdoba)

Disappeared on the first week of November 1977.

Oscar Romanutti (Father)
Vicente Agüero 653-Jesus María(Córdoba)

Barron, Jorge g.-Jesus Maria 2028

ROMAY, Alfredo
Age: 23
DNI: 11.203.692

DIS 7-30-76 Haedo Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

ROMEO, Horacio E.

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

ROMERO,
Córdoba

Detained since 1976-Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROMERO, Abel

D

DIS

(FAR(y)
ML

L-3/31/76

ROMERO, Adolfo

Carcel de Azul - PEN

ex-Partido Socialista

ROMERO, Angel

Detained 3-23-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROMERO, Angélica Beatriz
LE: 6.160.910

DIS 2-29-77

PAHR (L)

ROMERO, Carlos

Detained after 3-24-76 in Trelew. At present in Rawson jail.

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

ROMERO, Daniel
LE: 6.888.758

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

ROMERO, Faustino

Gen Info 1-30-78 : No records

Worker in Cattaneo (Boulogne). During labor strife he was arrested at his work place on 10-27-77.

Lozadur people. Personal call.

ROMERO, Gustavo Daniel

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

ROMERO, Jerónimo
Tafí Viejo

DIS Tafí Viejo - Tucumán

PAHR(1)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROMERO, Jorge Ernesto
LE. 10.377.594
BARRIO PARQUE REPUBLICA (Córdoba)

Disappeared in Córdoba since 8-19-76.

PAHR(L)
Sra. Ricco de Romero (Mother)
Fragueiro 166 - 3°P."B"-Córdoba
Tel. 31942 Córdoba

ROMERO, Jorge Luis
Age: 24
Doc. 408.155

DIS 4-15-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR(L)

ROMERO, José Martin
Age 25
LE: 8.069.427

Disappeared 6-30-77 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

ROMERO, Juan Antonio

Disappeared 9-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ROMERO, Juan Carlos

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

ROMERO, Juan Manuel
Beccar, (Partido de San Isidro) Bs.As.Province

DIS 8-24-78

PAHR- 9-28-78

ROMERO, Juan Pedro

D

DIS

ML

ROMERO, Luis

D

DIS

ML

ROMERO, Maria Eva

DP

DIS 5-31-76
CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Granted 11-13-78

ML PCHR(L)

ROMERO, Mario Osvaldo

DIS August 1978

ROMERO, Norma
Córdoba

Disappeared 6-29-76
BAC Córdoba - Ret. San Martín Río Cuarto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PRT

ROMERO, Orlando Diego
Age: 30
Doc. 8.067.585

DIS 2-16-76

Tucumán
PRT R(L)

ROMERO, Pantaleon
Fijo 45

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

ROMERO, Patricia Susana Magdalena de
Fijo 44

Disappeared 8-28-76 Wilmington - Bs. As.

GL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

ROMERO, Pedro P

Detained 3-1-77

GL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROMERO, Raúl Eduardo

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)

ROMERO, Raúl René
Age: 23
Doc. 10.941.177

DIS 7-20-77

Tucumán

ROMERO, Ramón Eduardo

DIS

ML

D

ROMERO, Reyes Alcari
Age: 34
Doc. 8.085.157

DIS 7-20-77

Tucumán

69/79/5 D *

ROMERO, Ricardo Luis
CI. 7.092.793

Disappeared. For.Off.Inq.: 5-27-77 . GOA reply: NO.

Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

D

ROMERO, Roberto Julio
Age: 25

DIS 4-15-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAPP(L)

ROMERO, Rodolfo Cristobal

Disappeared 6-6-77 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ROMERO, Roque

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

AFL/CIO 223/77/12

Romero, Roque Arnaldo S.J. ca. SAETC
CORDOBA
Printer of AE-metal union of mechanics-Cordoba prov.

Arrested on 10-9-74. At present in Unidad Carcelaria.7, Resistencia (Chaco).

Under Controlled Freedom - ha Mexico 2-17-78

Romero, Rosa Vda. de (Mother)

9-6-77. Letter to AFL/CIO.

ROMERO, Sofia de

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (L)

ROMERO, Yolanda de

Detained 3-5-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROMERO DE GONZALEZ, Sara L.

DIS 3-4-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D

ROMERO DE MARTINEZ, Amelia

DIS 2-26-77 La Plata, Bs.As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

D

ROMERO DE METZ, Graciela Alicia
DNI. 10.228.570

Disappeared on 12-16-76 in Cutral-Có, Neuquén with husband.

PAHR(L)
ML

D 79

ROMOLI, Ana Maria
Socialist Worker's Party (PST)

1-6-79
Arrested between January 6-8, 1979 in Mar del Plata.

PAHR(L)
Bs.As.Herald clipping 1-27-79

RONCEDA, Carlos René
AGRONOMY STUDENT

DIS Tucumán

ML

RONCELLI DE SAIEG, Olga Inés
LC: 5 Rd. 494
Age 56

Disappeared 9-13-77 Mendoza

FDD
WCLA 11-15
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

RONCORONI, Silvia Susana

DIS 2-26-78 La Plata - B.As.
La plata 1-157 11/15

PAHR(1)

RONDOLETTO, Jorge O.
S. [illegible]
Age 26
Doc. 10.251.494

Disappeared 11-2-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
1L
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RONDOLETTO, María
Age: 52
LC: 967.313

11-2-76 Tucumán

FDD
PAHR(L)

RONDOLETTO, Pedro
Age 54
Doc. 3 620.581

Disappeared 11-2-76 Tucuman

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

RONDOLETTO, Silvia Mabel
Age: 27
Dt. 6 505.113

Disappeared 11-2-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

RONSELLO DE SALEG, Olga Inés

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ROQUE COSME, Benito
Age: 32
LE: 10.720.308
Gonzalez Chaves 258-Buenos Aires

ABD 9-14-76

ML

D

ROQUETA,

DIS

ML

ROSACE, Juan Carlos
CI. 8.332.483 - DNI' 12.501.181
DOB: 6-27-1958

Arrested at mother's home Wenceslao de Tata 3830, Santos Lugares, on 11-5-76. Since then disappeared.

FEHR(1)
Rosace, Fortunata Labate de (Mother)
Wenceslao De Tata 3830, Santos Lugares(Partido 3 de Febrero)
-57/6693

D

ROSALES, Francisco

ABD 3-31-76 Córdoba

FAHS(1)
ML

D78

ROSALES, Hector Ramón
Age: 28
LE: 8.463.863

DIS 2-24-78

PAHR (L)

D

ROSALES, Osvaldo

Disappeared Mendoza

Ludwig Family Print 2/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
"World-11-78

ROSALES, Jorge
Acindar

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROSARIO, Mister Ross

DIS 12-3-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

ROSAS, Camilo

DIS 12/76

MAR(L)
ML

ROSECK,

DIS

ML

ROSEF, Esteban
Union Leader

Detained after March 24, 1976

NL
ADLeague

ROSELL, Juan Carlos
A 3248
311: 7.816.256

DIS 12-5-75

PAHR (1)

ROSELLO, Enrique Andres

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

ROSENBERG, Lucrecia Rosario Taboada de
DNI. 10.306.790

Arrested with her husband at friend's home (Patricia Mosno) Rodriguez Peña 34-4°"D"-Capital on 7-11-76. Since then disappeared.

Rosember, Moises and Lidia (Parent in law)

Gonzalez, Maria (Mother)
José Bonifacio 4160-Monoblock 11 - 1°Piso Dpto. 6
Phone 69-3381

ROSENBERG, Ruben Edgardo
DNI. 10.129.806
Pringles 1247-Capital

Arrested with his wife at friend's home on 7-11-76. Since then disappeared.

Rosemberg, Moises and Lidia (Parent)
Pringles 12[illegible]3-Capital Ofice phone:
Neighbour
Gonzalez, Maria (Mother in law)

ROSENBLUM, José

DIS 9-10-79

DAIA

ROSENFELD, Mrs.

DIS 7-12-76 Wife of Ruben Rosenfeld

AISC

ROSENFELD, Ruben
Age: 24
Architecture student

Disappeared 7-12-76. Wife also missing.

ADLeague

ROSENFELD, Walter Claudio
CI. 7.481.955
Age: 21
Economic Science Student

Dis. 10-16-77 in Mar del Plata, Bs. As.

AIDA KANCEPOLSKY (Mother)
Charcas 3853-8°"B"-Bs.As. (Personal call Embassy 7-18-78)
ML 71-7502

DAIA

ROSENTHAL DE JANES, Ruth

DIS

PAHR (L)

D 76

ROSETTI, Benjamin
Age: 27
CI. 8.429.333

DIS 9-1-78

PAHR 9-28-78
FDD List
Ella de Rosetti (Mother)
San Lorenzo 3514-Santa Fé (Phone 29003)
Personal call Embassy 11-13-78
Letter 11-13-78

D

ROSI, José Darío
Age: 29
LE: 8.397.214

DIS 12-1-76 Viedma

FDD

ROSI, Roberto

DIS 6-15-75

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

ROSSETTI
ROSS, Liliana Irma
LC. 11.922.171
Calle 76 bis No. 71
IA PLATA

Detained by Security Forces on 12-10-76 . She was expecting a baby. After five months of detention, without knowing where she was, I was informed extraofficially that she had had twins. Since then she is disappeared. I have not been able to know where the babies are.

Ross, Reynaldo J. (Father)
LE. 4.937.320 (Catamarca 84-Chacabuco)
11-11-77 Letter to Amb. Castro.

ROSSI, Dario
Age: 29
L. 8.397.214

DIS 12-1-76 Viedma, Rio Negro

PAHR (L)

D

ROSSI, Héctor Félix
M 33

Disappeared 5-1-76 Claypole

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

ROSSI, José Antonio

Disappeared 5-27-76 Mendoza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

P

ROSSI, Raul (editor)

Arrested 9/21/76; imprisoned

Released 6-16-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

ROSSI, Roberto
Minist.Justicia
Apc 23
DNI: 11.093.104

Disappeared 6-15-76 José Marmol

APDHR(1)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROSSI, Ruben Norberto ? Roberto ?
Apc 23
DNI: 4.710.630

Disappeared 12-9-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

ROSSI DE GODOY, Mora Alicia

ARR Córdoba
PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

ROSSO, Héctor Emilio
[illegible]
C[illegible] 026.309

Disappeared 3-16-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

ROSSOMANO, Daniel Enrique

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

ROSSON, Osvaldo Oscar
[illegible]

Disappeared 5-22-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

ROTELLA, Francisco

DIS

ML

D

ROTH, Carlos Guillermo
Metal worker in Córdoba

Disappeared 1-10-76.

ROTH(L).
ML
ADLeague

D

ROUQUETTE, Alicia Raquel
Pg. 23
VC; AI 444 417

4-23-77 - Zárate

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

ROUSEUX, Miguel Angel
Deleg. Gillete

Disappeared since April 1976.

PAHR(L)
CL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ROVARETTI, Leopoldo Alberto
Architect

Visa not requested until 1/78 as RCO expected within 6 months.

Visa Unica.
PER. (With wife)
Recibe PER - Confirmed Ezeiza - 12-22-78

Presented directly at Consulate.

ROVELLA, Daniel Marcos
Age 23
CI: 6.601.650

Disappeared 11-16-77 - Ramos Mejía

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

RUA, Sergio Angel
Age 23

DIS Febrero 1977 - Rosario

PAHR (1)

RUANI, Angel Florindo

ARR PEN

AISC(La Opinión)

RUARTE, Oscar
[illegible]
Age 23
DE: [illegible]

11-15-76?
Disappeared 8-17-76?

AL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
P30

RUBAJA, Kelida

DIS

ML

RUBEL, Ana

ABD 1/77 with husband

AISC (Arg.Komm-Sveden)

RUBEN, Ana Maria
CI: 7.531.598

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

RUBEN, Elvio

ARR PEN

AISC

RUBENS, Ana

DIS 1/76 Buenos Aires

ML

RUBENSTEIN,
Mendoza

Detained November 1976

ADLeague

RUBIN, Efrain
Age 48
CI: 2.517.163

PRHR(A)
DAIA

RUBIN AMMON, Robero Luis

Detained 7-22-76

ADLeague

RUBINO, Raquel del Carmen
Age 22
DNI: 11.765.560

Disappeared 6-23-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

RUBINOS, Raquel
Age: 21
Olivos

Disappeared 6-19-76

ADLeague

RUBINSTEIN, Jorge
Lawyer

P-K

ARR Died while in Jail.

AISC

D

RUBIO, Marcelo Gabriel
57, No. 528 1/2 -, Dpto.1-La Plata 31240

Detained on 6-15-77 in La Plata. Since then disappeared.

MIL

Rubio, Luis (Father)
57, No. 528 1/2 - Dpto.1 - La Plata 31240

RUBIO DE ESPINOSA, Elizabeth
Age: 21

DIS

ML

RUDELL, Susana Beatriz
DNI: 10.913.157

DIS 9-24-76 with husband M. Rivera

AISC

RUDINSKY, Eduardo

ADLeague

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

RUDNIK, Isaac

National Executive Power: DPO 2552 of 9/17/75
Located in Córdoba. Subversive activities. Member of ERP and PRT. Intent to cope Headquarters Command.

RUDY, Miguel
Lawyer
Age: 30

DIS 10-76 Santiago del Estero - Provincial legislator

AISC

RUFFA, Ricardo Amado

Disappeared 4-2-76 along with Ricardo Córdoba

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

RUFFA, Ricardo Armando
Age: 23
Students Union Leader Economics Faculty

ABD 4-2-76 along with his father

ML

RUFFO DE MORALES, Vilma E.

DIS 6-6-76 Mendoza

ML

RUFINO TORRES, Mario

DIS 5-3-76 Villa Martelli Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D 95

RUGILO, Juan Mario
Age: 25
CI: 6.792.987

DIS 8-21-78

FDD

RUGINEN, Mario
Entre Rios

Detained 8-11-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

RUGUERA, Pablo Norberto
Age: 22
CI: 7.160.580
Address: (24 de Nov. & Caseros, Bs.As.-Place of ABD)
Colonia 167, Buenos Aires

ABD

ML

RUIS DE GARIBA, Norma Teresa
(Ruis de Gariba y de Musolini, Norma Teresa)

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

R/FDD

RUIVAL, Adriana Claudia Marandet de
CI. 8.192.378
Pergamino 397, Capital.

On 2-17-77 during searching of the house by a gropu of armed men, there was a shooting. They arrested my daugther Adriana and took also her husband Eduardo Edelmiro Ruival who had been wounded. On 4-21-77 the corpe of Eduardo Edelmiro was returned to the family to be buried. This was done by Army with quarters at Palermo. Nevertheless our daughter has disappeared since.

Marandet, Oscar Ramón - CI. 4.906.956 (Parent)
Marandet, Beatriz Bones de - CI 4.958.992
Pergamino 397-Capital

Testimony to Senators.

ML

RUIVAL, Eduardo
Age: 20

ABD 2-17-77 with wife Adriana

ML

FREED

RUIZ, Ernesto Carlos

At PEN Disposition since 2-17-76. Asked permission to leave the country, but it has been denied.
Fred.

Ruiz, Petrona Paula Miguens de (Mother)
Pillado 881-Capital Federal (1406)

RUIZ, Juan Pedro
Age: 25
Doc. 10.941.054

D 78

DIS 4-9-78

Tucumán
PAIR (2)

RUIZ, Héctor Luis
Age: 23
Doc: 11.690.405

D

Disappeared 11-23-76 Hartingham

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

RUIZ, Oscar Celso
Age 44

Disappeared 11-15-76

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
ML

RUIZ, Raul Ricardo
Railroad Worker - Tucuman
Age 27
Doc. 8.477.071

ADD 11-11-76 Tucumán

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Tucumán
ML

RUIZ, Ricardo Raúl
Tafí Viejo

Disappeared 7-20-75

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RUIZ, Ubaldo Fidel
Ast. Rio Santiago
Dpto 27
LSE : S.535.173

AED 4-15-76 Corrientes 3456-Bs.Aires

Comité Dptal Amnistía
EL
PRMR - Fascic. 5-17 28 (1)

RUIZ DIAZ, Dagoberto
Ast. Rio Santiago

Detained since April 1976-Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RUIZ DIAZ, Gloria (Paraguayan)

DIS 9-29-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

RUIZ DIAZ, Leoncio

Disappeared 11-1-76- Ciudadela -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

RUIZ MORANDINI, Néstor

Disappeared 9-18-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RUIZ TABOADA DE CORVALAN, Maria Eugencia

Detained in Santiago del Estero after 3-24-1976.
Sentenced to 5 years.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78 (lawyers)

RUIZ VARGAS DE PEDEMONTE, Josefina de
Posadas

Disappeared 8-10-76

PEN(L)
III
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RULE, Fernando
Mendoza

Detained since 9/1975 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RULLI, Jorge Eduardo

7/78 reported to have been transferred to III Corps, but family not informed where or when.
Under PEN since 3-15-77.

RUMBO, Kelly Luisa
(Wife of Carlos Alberto Axat)

DIS La Plata-Bs As.

La Plata list
PPHR(L)

RUS, Daniel Lazaro (CI. 5.817.397)
Av. Segurola 2574
1417 Buenos Aires

Arrested on 7-15 or 16-1977. Since then disappeared.

Senator Moynihan
Cong. Benjamin Rosenthal
Downey, Thomas J.
Congress of the US.
Cong. Caputo
Letter 8-2-77 from Mr. Downey to Embassy B.A.
Cong. Udall 11-23-77
10-4-77 Letter to Amb. Castro from Cong. Benjamin Rosenthal.
Sen. Javits
(566-2925)

RUS, Dionisio
Ast. Rio Santiago

Detained 6-16-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RUSCONI, Lucía M. de
Santa Fé

Detained since 3-20-75 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RUSCONI, Lucía M.

Detained 3-20-77 - Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RUSEAUX, Miguel A
Delegate of Gillette

D

ABD 4/76 Buenos Aires

ML

RUSENT, Esteban

Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

RUSO, Antonio Alberto
Age: 34

DIS 3-27-78 G. Catán

FDD

RUSOS, Mario

DIS

ML

RUSSEAUX, Miguel Angel
Member of Comm. Party

ABD from his home on April 1976.

Coom. Party

RUSSIN, Horacio
DNI. 10.102.551
hpe 26

D

Disappeared on 10-2-76 in Bahia Blanca

PAHR(L)
Russin,A.A.B. de (Mother)
LC: 4.062.971
Berutti 978-Bahia Blanca
hc

D

RUSSO, Cristobal Constantino
Hpe 31
dni: 5.755.675
Stud of. Ecology

Disappeared 3-5-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

RUSSO, Cristobal Constantino
Age: 30

ABD 4-4-78 Bs.As. with a young woman

AISC (AI & A.P.D.H.)

D 1978

RUSSO, Domingo
58 and 14 Streets, Berazategui (Prov. Bs.As.)

DIS in early August 1978.

Newspaper clipping-Harris data.

D1978

RUSSO, Horacio
Fac. de Ingeniería de la Univ. Bs.As.
DGS 35
CI: 6.853.300
GCA reply 4-16-79: We is detained at disposal of Military Authorities.

Arrested on 7-28-78 during an assembly called to seek the release of Norma Falcon, a lawyer and member of the Partido Popular Cristiano.

BI
WOLA 0178
Coordinating 9/78 - ABAS -
Council on Hemispheric Affairs - 9-13-78

RBD List 9-16-78 exp. Federal

RUSSO, Jerónimo

DIS 5-15-77

La Prensa clipping 8-3-78

RUSSO, Norma Beatriz
DNI 20
4 6.093 850

Disappeared 3-29-77 San Martin - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

RUTILO ARTES, Carla Graciela
9 months old.

ARR - Oruro, Bolivia with mother-transfer later to Argentina.

AISC

RUTILO ARTES, Graciela Antonia
Student

Arrested on 4-2-76 in Oruro City (Bolivia) and passed to argentine authorities on 8-29-76 in Villazón, La Quiaca.

Allegedly seen in Rawson prison but believed dis.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
AI Australia-Adoption

A

Ryan, Margarita E.
L.C. 1.559.393
Maria Olguin 966
RIO CUARTO, Córdoba
TE.: 26733

Asked for appointment with Senator W. Cannon. Was a former member of his staff in Washington.

8-6-77. Letter.

D

RYAN, Santiago

Disappeared 4-7=76 Jean perley:

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

RYBKA, Daniel

Under PEN
Released FROM PEN, Oct. 25-78. El Dia Newspaper

ADLeague

RYBKA, Lazaro

Under PEN

ADLeague

R/TDD

RYSAK, Antonio Esteban LE-8318520 9/6/79/12 D
RYSAK, Hilda Adriana DNI-11696517 10/7/12 D
Centenario Uruguayo 932-Lanus (Este)

On 5-30-77 our home was searched by armed men, and they arrested our son and our daughter. On the following day 4 armed men came and searched also a small workshop our son has at the house. Since then disappeared.

Rysak, Estefano Antonio (Father)
CI. 3630190
Rysak, Angela Carone de (Mother)
LC. 1.696.186
Centenario Uruguayo 932-Lanus (Este)

8-18-77 Letter to Senators.

FAHR (L)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SAAD, Gerardo

DIS

SAADE, Antonio Naiej
Age: 40
Doc. 7.071.799

DIS 1-16-77

Tucumán

SAAVEDRA, Manuel Ramón

DIS 7-14-77

PAHR (1)

SAAVEDRA INOSTROSA, Guido A (Chilean) D-78
Hj: 23

DIS 1-10-78 Gmbres

PAHR (L)

D

SABAT, Hermenegildo (political cartoonist)

Arrested in 10/76; whereabouts unknown. PEN

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

SABATINI DE ALEGRINI, Nélida

DIS

PAHR (L)

SABINO, Maria del Carmen
CI. 4.760.309 - LC. 4.716.125
Santa Fé 3269 - 7°"A"-Bs.As.

Under review. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76

Disappeared on 8-29-77.

Ford Foundation.
US Congress.
BL
GPHR(L)

SABLES, Carlos Angel
Age 25
DNI: 8.248.577

Disappeared 8-28-76 Córdoba

PAER- Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SABLOV or SABLOFF, Guillermo

Killed 1/76 La Plata

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SABRIT DE DAVIÑA, Graciela E.
Dir.ens.media - Santa Fé

Detained 3-24-76 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SACCO, Enzo Domingo

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

SACHMANN, Alejandro

DIS 8/76 Buenos Aires

ML

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SACZUPAKIEWIECZ, Samuel A.
Age: 24
CI: 6.514.046

DIS 4-7-77

FDD

SADAT, Adalberto Ismael
LE: 11.845.627
20 de Setiembre 1436-Mar del Plata, Bs.As.
Age 21

ABD 9-29-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR(1)
ML

SADED, Adalberto Ismael
Age 21
LE: 11.845.627

Disappeared 9-29-76 Mar del Plata, Bs.As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
FDD

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SADEPADEALBERTO, Ismael

Disappeared 9-29-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SADOWSKY DE SANCHEZ, María
Age: 70

DIS 6-17-77

FDD

622/78/10

SADY, Américo

LC: 3.885.044
Calle Monroe Street, 5626 first floor, Apt. #6, Villa Urquiza, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

ABD 5-10-76 with wife Delia

Father: Mr. Joaquín Sady
Mother: Mrs. Gregoria Arce

ML

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SADY, Delia de Kennedy

LC: 4.855.373
Calle Monroe St. 5626, first floor, apt. #6, villa Urquiza, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

GOA reply 1-15-77: Negative reply.

ABD 5-10-76 with husband Américo

Father: Mr. Mateo Kennedy
Mother: Mrs. María Avecilla de Kennedy

PAHR(L)
ML

Mr. Franklin D. López - chief of mission

R/FDD

SAEZ, Hugo Alberto - DNI. 11.443.964
SAEZ, Elba Eva Acuña de - CI. 6.556.154
Triunvirato2857 - Villa Luzuriaga-Pdo. La Matanza, Bs.As.

On 8-26-76 arrested by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Acuña, Rosa Gonzalez de (Mother)
LC. 4.396.765
America 3397-Villa Luzuriaga, Pdo. La Matanza, Bs.As.

Statement to Senators.

ML
PAHR(L)

SAEZ VUISTAZ, Silvia
24 de Setiembre 758
Embarcación Salta

Disappeared since 9-2-76.

Under review. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76
11-10-77. Negative

PAHR(L)

C. Mazmuder (Stepfather)

B6

ML

SAENZ, Alejandro Alberto

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SAENZ, Nidia

DIS 11-2-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SAENZ, Ricardo Pedro

DIS 12-6-78

PAHR (L)

SAGADIN, Marta

DIS

PRHR(1)
ML

SAGREDO, Juan Carlos

DIS

PRHR(1)
ML

PERDICHE?
SAGUES DE PERDIGHUAN; Graciela Beatriz
La Plata
DNI: 10.545.870 LC: 6.272.493

12-Dec-77?
Disappeared 1-22-77?

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PRHR. Found 5-17-78 (1)

SAIBENE, Ricardo Enrique

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIS 12-6-75

PAHR

629/78/11 D

SAID, Alberto Ezequiel
AGE 27 LE: 8.659.118
PAHR 2449 2554, 2555

GOA reply 2-23-78 - Liga reply

Disappeared 11-15-76
Alberto was kidnapped at his textile factory in the Caballito zone of BA. Civilian police entered his business establishment firing automatic weapons killing two persons. Alberto and employee Raul Ocampo were escorted out and never been seen since. Letter-9-78-to Sen. Hart from Mr. Bennet-ASCR.
Ha Rep CA-4525 11-1977
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

SAID, Elias Eduardo
Kenya

Obd. in Arg. 1976
Sin datos

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Causes Det. Comm. 1976

SAID, Isaac

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Under PEN

ADLeague

SAID, Jaime Eduardo
Age: 28 LE: 6.402.297
Date of birth: Nov. 21-48
Address: Same as brothers
Profession: Attorney

KIdnapped during the day on Azcuenaga St. near Sariento-BA. It occured just a few days after his brother. Jaime had questioned the police about his Disappeared 11-24-76 brother and had submitted a habeu corpus petition on behalf of his brother.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SAID, Manuel

PAHR(L)
ADLeague

SAID BASSE, Hugo
Age: 22

ABD 10-20-76

ML

SAID, Salomon

Under PEN
Released From PEN - Oct. 28-78 - El Dia Newspaper

ADLeague

SAIDON, Adrian

DIS

AISC

Edmundo
SAJON, Edgardo (editor)

Abducted 7/1/77; whereabouts unknown.

PAHR (4)
La Nación 6-10-78
HL

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
PAHR - Ha Opinion 4-1-78

SALA, Eduardo Pablo (Dr.) (Chemist)

Disappeared 1-13-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
HL

SALA, Mirta Clara de
Psicologist

Detained in 1975. At presente in Villa Devoto.

SALA, NESTOR

Killed

Killed 9/75 Tucumán

Mexico 79

D

SALA ROMERO, Dora del Carmen

DIS 12-21-77

ML

D

SALADINO, Silvia
Age: 20
Teacher
Condarco y Bacacay (Matanza)

Arrested 7-17-78.

Harris data 8-7-78

SALAMANCA, Renée Rufino
Leonardo Da Vinci 979-Barrio Sarmiento - Córdoba

Was General Secretary of Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor (SMATA), Seccional Córdoba.
Arrested on 3-24-76. Since then disappeared.
Disappeared after seeing Driman.

SALAMANCA, Olga Cortes de (Wife)
Leonardo Da Vinci 979-Barrio Sarmiento - Córdoba

Statement of facts, without date.

SALAS

Detained in La Plata

Harris data - 8-14-78

SALAS, Diego Arturo

DIS 10-26-76 La Plata - Fa. Q.

La Plata List 11-21-78

SALAS, Nicasio Bernardo

DIS

ML

SALAS, Ricardo

ABD 12-14-74 Córdoba City?

ML

SALAS CORREA, Edgardo Carlos
CI. 7.348.393

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

SALAS ORONO, Nicasio Bernardo

DIS 11/76

CHAR(A)
ML

SALAVINO, Silvia
Teacher

DIS August 1978

AI

SALAZAR, Antonio Ernesto
Age: 31
Doc.

DIS 5-27-76

Tucumán

SALAZAR, Lidia Flora
Age: 29

DIS 3-5-75 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR(1)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SALAZAR, Rubén Omar
Agronomy student

Disappeared 12-6-77 from Juncal 1771 - 6°Piso, Dept. 15 - Capital together with three other persons.

Salazar, Eliseo R.
Pirovano 2366 - 1754 San Justo Bs.As. (Father)
Office phone: 86-2811
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SALAZAR, Sixto Francisco

Disappeared 5-26-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SALSIDE, Eduardo J.

Disappeared 3-10-77

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

SALDARRIAGA DE BORCHERO, Patricia G.

Disappeared 5-18-76 - Gran Bourg

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SALDINI, Luis

Disappeared 3-4-77 from Front Fr Ch

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SALERNO, Mario Enrique
D.N.I. 10.101.885
Birth date: 2-22-1952
Adress: Calle 4 No, 337
LA PLATA

Arrested on 10-5-76. Disappeared since.

PAHR (L)
Letter to Rosalyn Carter - 10-15-77.
Horacio Luis Salerno (Sweden) (Brother)
Hernandez, Alicia - [illegible] (Mother)
El Cano 5926-7600 Mar del Plata

SALERNO, Nicolas Oscar
Hijo 24
D.N.I. 8.497.944

Disappeared 8-17-76 Córdoba

PAHR-PRENSA 5-17-78 (L)

SALERNO, Oscar

DIS 8-15-76 in Córdoba

ML

SALGUERO, Cecilio Manuel

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SALIM, Carlos

DIS 9/75 Tucumán

Mexico 79
PAHR(1)

SALIM, Juan Carlos
Architecture student in Tucumán
Age 22
Dic. 10.2.9.075

DIS 10-2-75 from his home - Tucumán -

PAHR(2)
ML
Tucumán

SALINA, Juan Manuel
Age:
Doc.: 7.055.995

DIS 3-20-76

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

SALINAS, Eduardo Oscar
Age 26

D-78

DIS 5-11-78

PAHr (L)

D

SALINAS, Jorge Luis
LE: [illegible]

Disappeared 1-4-77

L
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SALINAS, Juan M.

DIS Chascomus

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SALINAS, María de
Mendoza

Detained since 1975 in Villa Devoto

Lic. Arq. Dor. Hombre

SALINAS MONTI, Mauricio A.

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SALINAS POBLETE, Walter Desiderio
LE 6.860.116

Arrested since 8-05-74. At present in Unidad Carcelaria No.9 in La Plata.

Salinas, Estefanía del Rosario Poblete (Mother)
CI. 742.190
Mármol 2441 - 1602 Florida (Bs.As.)

Letter 8-10-77. To Embassy B.A.

Sent File to Cornblatt.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SALIS, Irma D
Córdoba

Detained since Oct.75 in Villa Devoto

Lic. Arg. Der. Hombre

SALISN, Elias

D

DIS Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio negro newspaper)

SALISCHIKER JASPER, Jorge Gustavo

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

SALITE, Jorge Alberto
LC: 5.3[illegible]
Cdla. 4 y 33, La Plata (Pcia Bs As)

Disappeared 6-3-76 la Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SALLENADE, Marcelo

DIS

PAHR (L)

SALLES, Carlos Angel
DNI: 8.213.577
Pasaje Argensolo 465-Alta Córdoba-Córdoba
Student: 5th year Arquitecture.

Arrested on 8-31-76. Since then disappeared.
Expte. 193133/77 Ministry of Interior. Cordoba.

Salles, Rosa Flores de (Mother)
520 San Antonio de la Paz(Catamarca)
Personal call Embassy 5-3-78.
AL

SALLORETI DE MASSOLO, M.E.
Age: 23
CI: 2.809.785

DIS 12-1-76 La Plata

FDD

SALLUSTRAT

DIS

PAHR (L)

SALOMON, Juan Ramon (editor, director of the newspaper La Provincia de Mendoza)

Arrested 4/1/77; imprisoned.

Le Monde 6-16-77
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

SALOMON, Julio Cesar
DI: 23
LE: 11 833 745

DIS 3-24-76 Lgs. del Estero

PAHR (4)

SALOMONE, Cecilia Noemí
DI.: 13.436.225
DOB: 9-18-57 - 20 years
Student

Arrested at her home on 4-15-77. Since then disappeared.

Salomone, Ruben A. (Father)
LE.: 5.122.273
38 Nro. 565 LA PLATA
Phone 27892
PHAR(4)

SALOMONE MENTASA, Susana
Córdoba

Disappeared 11/76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SALVATIERRA, Heraldo Milciades
[illegible]

Disappeared 8-31-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
[illegible]

SALVATORRADI, Mariel
Ramos Mejía

Disappeared 1-14-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SALVESKY, Victor Gustavo

Disappeared 1-10-77

RL
PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78

SALVIDE, Eduardo Julio

Disappeared 3-10-77

RL
PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SALVIDO DE RINGELHEIR. Estela Gloria Cristina

ABD in May 1978 5-17-78 B.A.

BISC

SALVO, Ada E. de
Santa Fé
Lawyer

Detained since 3-20-75 in Villa Devoto

ABD 4/75 Villa Constitución-Held in Coronda
Santa Fé Prison.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
AISC (AI)

SALVO, Laura (Uruguayan)
Children's nurse Pirovano Hospital, Bs.As.

DIS 7-14-76

ML

SALVO, Oscar Lawyer
Massey Ferguson

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

(Uruguayan)

SALVO DE ESTIGA, Ana Ma.

Disappeared 7-14-76. Record of incidents of detainees under institutional [illegible]

(REPUBLICAN
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

SAMAN, Ernesto Reynaldo

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SAMANIEGO VILLAMAYOR, Ignacio (Uruguayan) ?
Age: 35 (Paraguayan) ?

DIS 9-18-78

FDD

SAMBIDO, Elba

DIS 9-16-76 La Plata - Pcia.

Pcia(L)

La Plata List - 11-21-78

SAMBRANO, Jorge

Detained Sierra Chica

ADLeague

SAMBRON, José Carlos

DIS La Pampa Prov.

Cdba(L)

ML

SAMOJEDNI, Carlos

ADLeague

SAMPINI, Héctor Ruben
Ltr: Ap. 104.379

DIS 7-22-76 Bahia Blanca - B.A.

La Prensa clipping 8-3-78 (PAHR(L)

SANJUDIO, Manuel

Disappeared 4-11-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SAHARRIA, Alicia Mabel Partnoy de
(Student- Licenciada en Letras)

PEN- Villa Devoto Prison.
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Partnoy, Salomon (Father)
Uruguay 85-Bahia Blanca
Phone: 32646

SAHABRIA, Carlos Samuel
(Student- Ing. Civil)

PEN - Rawson (Chubut)
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Partnoy, Salomon (Father-in-law)
Uruguay 85-Bahia Blanca
Phone: 32646

SAHABRIA, José Eliseo
LE: 11.176.940
Laberden 901-Capital
Técnico Industrail
Ex-Student leader

Arrested on 4-17-73. (In 1974 he had also been arrested but released on the following day).

Personal call to Embassy 6-27-78:
Sanabria, Teotimo (Parent)
Sanabria, Natividad Naranjo de
Laberden 901-Capital 91-1497

SANCHEZ, Fernando
CI. 4.761.849
LE. 4.416.359
Pumacahua 197-Capital

Disappeared since 9-23-77.

Sanchez, Haydée C. Briano de (Wife)
Gavilán 551 - 2°D 1er.Piso-Buenos Aires

SANCHEZ,
Worker in IKA-Renault

DIS Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SANCHEZ, Adolfo
Obrero Ford-Buenos Aires

Detained unidad 9 La Plata.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SANCHEZ, Bernardo

Disappeared 9-23-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SANCHEZ, Domingo

Disappeared 3-20-77

PAHR-France 5-17-78 (4)

SANCHEZ, Eduardo Ernesto
LE: 10.949.058
CI: 2.646.468
DOB: 5-31-1953 - Age: 24
Address: Calle 75, No. 834-La Plata

Arrested on 8-1-77 by the police. Disappeared since then.

PAHR (4)

Sanchez, Juan Carlos

(Cousin)

Remedios de escalada de San Martin 4501-Capital

Personal call Embassy 9-1-78.

SANCHEZ, Enrique Alberto
[illegible] 25
[illegible]: 40.835.794

DIS 9-14-76

PAHR (L)

SANCHEZ, Enrique Angel
CI. 7.561.099
LC. 11.528.378
Edad: 22 años
DOB: 2-2-1955

Detained on 1-21-1975. Since then disappeared.

Esther L. Sanchez (Mother)
Letter to Mr. Moorhead-2-2-78.

SANCHEZ, Fernando
Age: 34
LC: 4761849
Gavilan 551, Bs.As.

DIS 9-23-77 during lunch hour

FDS
PAHR(L)
ML

SANCHEZ, Florencio

DIS 7-21-76 with wife from Barrio V. Maria-Boulogne

ML

SANCHEZ, Gloria (Spaniard)

ABD 6-29-77 Mar del Plata-Belong "Mothers of disappeared League". Mother of Maria Matilde Sanchez

AISC

SANCHEZ, Hugo Oscar

DIS February 1978.

SANCHEZ, Hugo Ramón

Disappeared 4-24-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SANCHEZ, Jorge Elvio

DIS 4-12-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

SANCHEZ, Juan

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

SANCHEZ, Juan Carlos
[illegible]
C.I. 4.540.484

Disappeared 9-24-76 - Liebre

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SANCHEZ, Luis
Age: 18

DIS from home Catamarca 343-V.Balleste,Bs.As.

ML

SANCHEZ, Manuel A.
[illegible]

DIS 12-13-76 Expolicia

PAIR (1)

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SANCHEZ, Maria (nee Sadowsky)

Disappeared 6-7-77

ADLLague

SANCHEZ, Maria Ester

Disappeared 11-1-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SANCHEZ, Ma. Matilde

Disappeared 7-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SANCHEZ, María Teresa
[illegible]

Disappeared 11-2-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
[illegible]

SANCHEZ, Martín Osvaldo

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

SANCHEZ, Máximo
Obrero Renault

Disappeared 3-28-76

PAHR (1)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SANCHEZ, Miguel

D

ABD from home with Graciela Cardoso

AISC

SANCHEZ, Miguel Benancio

D-75

DIS 1-8-78

PAHR

D

SANCHEZ, Roberto Bibiano
[illegible] DE: 7.036.500
[illegible] 0% 45

Disappeared 3-29-76 Huerman

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SANCHEZ, Oscar Felipe
[illegible]

Disappeared 6-16-76 Misiones Pcia

Lig. Liz. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SANCHEZ, Ramón
Acindar

Detained 3-20-75 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SANCHEZ, Ricardo

DIS 5-15-77

PAHR(1)

SANCHEZ, Ricardo Tomas
Ref 35
Ref: 3 AR.035

Disappeared 3-5-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SANCHEZ, Rito José
Ref 40

Disappeared 5-26-77 Uruguay

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SANCHEZ, Roberto (French)

ARR 76. Exp.to France 9-3-78

AISC

SANCHEZ, Rodolfo

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DIS 3-30-76

FDD
PAHR (L)

SANCHEZ, Rodolfo Alberto

DIS 5-23-77

CAHR (L)

SANCHEZ, Ruben

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)

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SANCHEZ, Rubén Alberto
Age 23
Dist: M.Bsc.Sgo.

Disappeared 9-24-76 Mendoza

AI
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SANCHEZ, Tomas
Age: 50

ABD 1-75 Worker of TENSA, Munro Bs.As.

AISC

SANCHEZ, Zenon

Right of option certificate from Norway.
Embajada Universitaria Noruega 1-30-79

Hijo Luis de Kimelis
Noruega

SANCHEZ DE AYALA, Norma
Pfc 40

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

SANCHEZ DE CALVO, Clide Ercilia
Pfc 39

Disappeared 6-4-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SANCHEZ DE D'ANGELIS, Silvia B

Disappeared 9-11-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SANCHEZ DE GAETAN, Aida C.

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SANCHEZ ORTEGA, Maria Inés

DIS

ML

SANCHEZ DE PEIRETTI, Elina

AED 7-31-76 from Boedo 278 Buenos Aires

SANCHEZ VIAMONTE, Santiago Alejandro
Calle 56 No. 734
LA PLATA
LE: 10-353.575
DOB: July 20, 1950

Detained by Security Forces on 10-24-77.
Disappeared together with his wife. no more data.

Sanchez Viamonte, Herenia Martinez Camara de (Mother)
Calle 56 Nro. 704-La Plata Phone 29186

Senator Mark O. Hatfield - 1-18-78.

Vieyra, Delia Martinez Camara de (Aunt)
Libertad y Posadas Phone 44-2095

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SANCHEZ, Hugo Oscar
L. E. 4 323 380

D-78

DIS 2-14-78 Buenos Aires

PAHR (4)

D

SANCHO, Anibal Eduardo

DIS

(PAHR)
ML

SAIDE, José

Right of option certificate for France...

France

SAIDE, Andres

Right of option certificate for France.

France

SAIDLER, Ricardo Alberto

Released.

Jack Anderson.

SANDON, Leonardo Adrian

ARD 3-30-76 Bs.As.

AISC

SANDOVAL, Gerardo Orfelio

Disappeared 1-4-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SANDOVAL, Haydée

ARR 75 Bs.As.-held in Villa Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

SANDOVAL, Juan Carlos

Disappeared 7-1-77

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PAIHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SANDOVAL, Juana Haydee

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

SANDOVAL, Pedro Fabian

Disappeared 7-1-77 - Cassrels -

PAIHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SANDOVAL, Walter B

DIS

FEHR (1)
ML

SANDRIGO, Eden
Reconquista-Santa Fé

Detained since 11-20-76 in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SAN EMETERIO, Cesar

DIS 8-22-77 La Plata

PAHR (1)

SAINZ, Federico R. G.

DIS

(CONF(4)
ML

-SANGIORGIO, Carlos Andres
CI. 7.318.149
Rivadavia 4977 - 3°"A"-Capital

Was taken from his father's home. 8-24-76.

(CONF(4) FD)

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Clara E. L. de Sangiorgio (Mother)
Rivadavia 4977-3°"A"-Capitel
Phone 90-1470
Personal call Embassy 7-5-78

SANSIAS, Ricardo Antonio

Disappeared 6-15-77 La Plata.

Amnesty Int'l
FASIC-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SAN JOSE, Daniel Enrique
DNI : 10.091.369

Disappeared 6-3-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SAN JUAN, Maria Aurora

DIS

(PRS(1)
ML

SANJURJO, Eduardo

Abducted in Mar del Plata in May 1976.

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
PRS(1)

SAILLOUEN DE MIGUEL, Ma. Eugenia
(24: 17
(1: 2 864-495

Disappeared 12-1-76 La Plata. Bs As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SAN MARTIN, Carlos José

Disappeared 5-27-77 Berazategui

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SAN MARTIN, Daniel [illegible]

DIS 3-29-76 Córdoba

ML

SAN MARTIN, Rafael (h)

Detained on 6-28-74 in La Plata.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

SANMARTINO, Julio Nestor

ADD 5/77 f/Roma Caona & Paysandú, Buenos Aires

ML

D

SANMARTINO, Nestor Julio

DIS 5-5-77

PAHR (L)

SANEMANN, Dr. Gladys Maillinger (Paraguayan)

Detained 8/76 in Candelaria(Misiones). (Worked in Argentina for 10 years, sent to Paraguayan police).

ADLeague

SANEMANN, Gladys Maillinger Montania de

See Asuncion 4376 and Soc. 14-15

SANSONE, Daniel Alberto
C.I.-5.936.077
Address: Same as wifes

DIS 3-26-77-Cangallo 1547-3am.
Sister-in-law visit me 11-24-78.Same info. as wifes

PAHR(D) [redacted] Sister-in-law- [redacted] Peter L. Zara
Graciela Zara

B6

SANDOVER, Luis

ABD 5/76 s/work Veterinaria Paúl, Buenos Aires

IL

SANT JIRONS, Maria Eugenia

ARR 2-11-77 Paraná-Sentenced to 16 years by Military Court

AISC (CADHU)

SANTA, Carlos Eduardo

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SANTA CRUZ, Sergio

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DIS

Nueva Hora, 11/78

SANTAMARIA, Graciela B[illegible]

Disappeared 5-14-76

[illegible]
PAIS-Prensa 5-17-73(-)
[illegible]

SANTA [illegible], Guillermina Dina Carlota

Disappeared 7-8-76

PAIS-Prensa 5-17-73(A)

SANTAMARIA, Manuel Alberto
LE: 12.605.725
Age 28

Disappeared on 4-10-77 in Buenos Aires

Santamaria, Manuel E.-LE: 5.441.387 (Father)
Estomba 340-Bahia Blanca

SANTAMARINA, José Horacio
Age: 25

ABD 12-15-76 from Alen and C. Caceres, Castelar Bs. As.

AISC (Arg. Komm-Sveden)

SANTANA SCOTTO, Nelson Rodolfo (Uruguayan)

-2-
3/77 in Paraguay

SANTANGELO, Norberto Daniel
[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Disappeared 9-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SANTARAN, Atilio

DIS

(1)
ML

SANTELLA, Hug

DIS
[illegible]

(1)
ML

SANTERVAL, Nelida del Valle
DNI: 13.460.157
Fl: 49

DIS 4-14-76 Remedios de Escalada, Bs.As.

ML

SANTI, Fernando

DIS

ML

SANTI, Maria Esther Iglesias de

Disappeared on 5-27-77 in Buenos Aires.

Santi, Salva [illegible] (Daughter)
UN Staff member

Cong.Fraser [illegible]

SANTI, Roberto Gustavo
Age: 25
Physics student
DOB: December 21, 1951

Disappeared on May 27, 1977 in front of mother's home Arauz 2976, Buenos Aires, together with a friend person unknown to the family.

Santi, Selva E. (Sister)

Cong.Fraser

SANTILLAN, Benigno Martin
CI: 6.943.638
Belgrano 540, Don Torcuato, Buenos Aires
Age 36

ABD 10-14-76 Don Torcuato

PPHR - Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

SANTILLAN, Carlos
Age: 2

Detained in Pergamino, Bs.As.Prov. in November 1976 with parent.

VdeA, 5-31-78
French Embassy

SANTILLAN, Carlos Alfredo
Age: 31
Doc. 8.100.037

DIS 6-11-76

Tucumán
(REF.(L)

SANTILLAN, Carlos Benjamín
[illegible]

Disappeared 11-17-76

L;L
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SANTILLAN, Gustavo Raúl
Age: 24

DIS 4-22-77 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

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SANTIBAN, Horacio

Under PEN, Resistencia, Chaco

Dpt. of Treasury-on behalf of

3-15-78

BL

SANTILLAN, Jorge

K

DIS 8-10-77 - later found assassinated

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SANTILLAN, Maria Lucila

D

SANTILLAN, Norma Luis

Age: 23
Doc. 11.261.435

DIS 1-5-77

Tucumán

CABA (L)

SANTILLAN, Ramón Cesar

DIS

ML

SANTILLAN, Raúl Cesar
Age: 28
DI. 8.394.173

DIS 5-4-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

SAINTILLAN, Ruben Oscar

Authorized to leave country

Announcement made on Oct. 7, 1978

Has right of option to travel to Sweden/Switzerland

D

SAINTILLAN DE SAN JOSE, Susana Isabel
C.I. 6.993.405

Disappeared 6-3-76 Wilde

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

SAINTILLY, Luis Alberto

Disappeared 8-10-77

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

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SANTINI, Mario Luis
[illegible] o $ 3.122.543
Age 44

Disappeared [illegible]

FBI
[illegible] (4)
Ltr.
PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78
[illegible]

SANTORO, Luis Angel
CI 2.737.940
Achaval 2765 - Remedios Escalada (Bs.As.)
Age:

Disappeared, [illegible]

Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza

FBI
([illegible])

SANTORO, Roberto Jorge
LE. 4.251.300 - CI. 4.343.030
Date of Birth: 4-17-1939

6-1-77 disappeared in Buenos Aires.

(Habeas)
Santoro, Dolores Méndez de (Wife)
LC. 4.603.351
6-15-77 Letter to Mr. Chaplin.
[illegible]

SANTOS, Héctor I
Ruta Cooperativa

Disappeared 10-18-77 - Lanus

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SANTOS, Jesus
Ex Juez Federal y Ex Jefe de la Policía Provincial

Detained in Tucumán on the 3-23-1976. At Sierra Chica under PEN.

Liga Ar. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

SANTOS, Luis Alberto

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SANTOS, Marta Noemí

DIS 4-27-77 Bs.As.

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AISC (Cospa-Mx)

- SANTOS DE LERTORA, Marta N
M: 25

Disappeared 4-27-77

PAIS-Lenses 5-17-78 (4)

FLIA. SANTUCHO

SANTUCHO, Adolfo. Detained since 1975 in Paraguay.
SANTUCHO, Francisco Rene. Arrested in Tucumán April 1975. Disp.
SANTUCHO, Jesus Rafael. Killed 10-8-75.
SANTUCHO, Carlos. Arrested on 7-13-76. His corpes was found in a locality of Quilmes, Bs.As.
SANTUCHO, Manuela Elvira. In prison.
SANTUCHO, Cristina Silvia Navajas de. In prison.
SANTUCHO, Mario Roberto. Fell during the encounter with Armed Forces 7-19-75.
DELGADO, Liliana, Mario Roberto's girl friend. In prison.
SANTUCHO, Graciela Rosa. In prison.
SANTUCHO, Maria del Valle. Died in prison.
SANTUCHO, Maria Ofelia, Maria Soledad, Maria Silvia and Maria Emilia, Ana Cristina, Marcela Eva, Gabriela Ines and Marito. Following strong public pressure, international and national, they were released after 7 days of disappearance and Jail in the military barracks.

Cong.Fraser

SANTUCHO, Estela

Killed 75 with Esteban Peralta

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AISC (Arg. Komm-Sveden)

SANTUCHO, Graciela Noemi
Age: 18
(Student)

In Prison in Villa Devoto. Was visited by the International Red Cross in La Plata Prison in April 1977.

Koda 10-29-77.

SANTUCHO, Cristina Silvia Navajas de
LC. 6.187.079 - CI. 5.903.513
Warnes 739 - 2°P - Capital Federal

Arrested on 7-13-76. Since then disappeared.

Navajas, Nélida C. Comes Vda. de (Mother)
CI. 2.093.401
Jospe E. Uriburu 1126-8°P "A"-Capital
8-24-77. Letter to Mr. T.Harris.

SANTUCHO, Manuel Eladio

Under review. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76
GOA reply: 11-30-76

PAHR (L) FDD

Repres.Rosenthal
Cong.Fraser

SANTUCHO, Maria H. de C.R.
Age: 35
CI. 6.179.904

DIS 7-13-76

PAHR (L)

SANTUCHO, Maria del Valle
Age: 26
CI: 6.070.164

DIS 12-19-75 L.de Zamora

PAHR (L)
FDD

D

SANTUCHO, Mercedes Elmira
Age: 2
(Student)

Disappeared in Córdoba City on 5-5-77.

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WOLA - 10-20-77

SANTUCHO, Maria Mercedes
Age: 25
Daughter of Amilcar Santucho

D

DIS 5/77

MB

SANTUCHO, Cecilia Ruiz de

Argentina

2/12/76 letter from Jack L. Paralise, Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh.

SANUDO, Roberto

DIS 5-16-76 Bahia Blanca Bs.As.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AISC (Cospe-Mx)

SAN VICENTE, Jorge

Disappeared 4-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

SAN VICENTE, Maria de las Mercedes

DIS 8-28-76

Mar del plata List

SAINZ, Mr.
Age: 26

DIS 12-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cbpab)

SAINZ, Raquel de
Age: 25

DIS 12-76 Bs.As.

AISC

SAIAO, Ricardo

DIS 6/77 Common-Law husband of Norma Cerrotta

KL

SAPAG, Simon
L. 10.[illegible].[illegible]

DIS 10-2-75 [illegible]

PAHR (1.)

SAPAG, Simón Angel
LE[illegible]

DIS 5-4-76 [illegible]

Córdoba List 12-1-78

SAPOCHN., Ruben Victor

Under PRN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLongue

SARLI, Jorge (lawyer and legal assessor for the press union of Cordoba)

Arrested in 1974; released; re-arrested in 4/76; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

SARACCHI LASMAR, Adela Marta

CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78

SARACENO, Héctor Dr.

DIS 7-16-76

PAHR (L)

SARACHO, Miguel Angel

DIS

PPAF(4)
IL

SARACHO, Carlos Alberto
Age: 33

Disappeared 9-16-77 Orellana

PAIM-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

SARACHO, Orlando Abel
Age: 22
DNI: 12.076.644

DIS 5-21-78

FDD

SARAGOVI

ARR 75

AISC

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SARAGOVI, Horacio Oscar
DNI 12.016.435
Posadas 1301. 15°- Capital

Met Amb.Castro-12-7-77

Gone on trail. See attached file.
Under six years sentence for subversive activities in Sierra Chica Prison. Parents claim military trial was a total fraud; that their Jewish son was an innocent bystander but that he was falsely found guilty and given excessive sentence because he is Jew and as sacrificial example to others. (See on the back)
SARAGOVI, Yaco
SARAGOVI, Susana E. Rincky de (Parent) 85-9402
Posadas 1302, P.15 - (1011) Capital

La Razón 9-13-77 - 6 Años de Reclusión para un Terrorista.-
La Nación and La Opinión.
8-7-77 Audience with Derian.
Anti-Def.Leagues.Robert Rosenthal
Relatives Arrest

Military appeals court rules that trial was improper but the military review court upheld original sentence. Military and civilian lawyers hired by family are now trying to get case into Supreme Court as a case of obstruction of justice. Parents want U.S. Support and intercession to free son.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SARASENI, Dante Orlando (Dr.)

Detained in Resistencia in 1976.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

GRAVI, Dr. arto Tomas Maria

PEN; Unidad 9 La Plata

Saravi, Eleotherina (Sister)
Juncal 2??? 5° "I" -Capital Phone: 821-0313
Saravi, Maria (Daughter)

Personal call 2-10-78.

SARAVI, María Zaira
Psicologist
CI: 477.002

Detained 10-12-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

SARAVI, Tomas Mario Ernesto (Dr.)

Detained in La Plata in 1976.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

SARAVI, Isabel

DIS

ML

SARAVIA ACUÑA, Ernesto María
CI. 6.916.042

Disappeared.

Saravia Castro, Ana Elena Acuña de (Mother)
Aguilar 2516, 2°"L"-Capital

SARAVIA ACUÑA, Jorge
LE. 7.591.489

Disappeared.

PERU (A)
Saravia Castro, Ana Elena Acuña de (Mother)
Aguilar 2516, 2°"B"-Capital

SANTOS, Ricardo
Ex-Member

DIS 6-16-76

PERU (A)
EL

SANTINI, Teodoro
[illegible]
D.I. 3 459 735

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Disappeared 9-7-77 Lanús

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

R/FDD

SANTUCHO, Estela del Rosario
C.I. 2.788.576
Superí 2956- Capital

Disappeared since 9-10-76. She worked as a metallurgist worker. After her arrest her home was robbed by everything.

SANTUCHO, Julio Estela (Niece)
C.I. 7.6[illegible].112
Blok 49 - Piso 1º Dto."C"-Lugano I y II-Capital

July, 1977 Letter to Derian.
Testimony to Representatives.
(PHR-9) Letter to Senators.

SANTINI, Rodolfo
[illegible]

Disappeared 11-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SARMIENTO DIAZ, Maria Yolanda

DIS

(1)
ML

SAROFF DE LERDUC, Marta Elida
LC: 5.744.37c

Disappeared 11/76

(1)
PAHA-Prensa 5-17-78

SARMIENTO, Héctor

9-1-78

Arrested on 7-16-76.

State Department-Univ.California

SARRAILH, Oscar Augusto

Disappeared 10-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SARRAILHE, Pablo

Disappeared 12-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SARRAMEA, Monica

Detained since 75-U.2-V.Dévoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SARMIENTO, Oscar Augusto
Age: 25
LE: 5.094.119
Zuviría 1777-Temperley, Buenos Aires

AED 10-20-76

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ML

SARRICA, Teresa
[illegible]43

Disappeared 5-13-77 - JUSTO

PAHR-Prensa, 5-27-77 (4)
[illegible]

SARROCA, Claudio Alberto
LE. 7.[illegible]

[illegible]

Arrested ca. 6-20-75 in Mendoza. At present in Unidad Carcelaria No. 9 in La Plata.

Sarroca, Elsa Nota Elisa Kunz de (Mother)
LC. 8.[illegible]
M. de Nota 313[illegible] - 5500 Mendoza

5-8-77 Letter to Embassy D.A.

SARE, Cristina B.

Disappeared 5-11-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombro

SARTAL, Graciela Isabel
Age 25
CIN: 6.620.845

DIS 7-29-76 V. Domingo

PAIR (1)

SARTAL, Héctor
LE: 8.607.955
Age 53

DIS 7-29-76 V. Dominico

PAIR (2)

SARTI, Beatriz Cristina
DNI 11.331.[illegible] CI 7.[illegible].695
La Peña 1775-Lanus Este

Arrested on 5-17-77, probably injured. Since then disappeared.

Sarti, Aida Rogo de (Mother)
CI. 3.268.974 LC 0006921
Cayasté 3373 - Capital

CONADEP(L) Testimony to Representatives.

SARTI DE ARIAS, Cristina
21 years old
De la Peña 1775, Lanus, Bs.As.

ADD 5-17-77 with husband Angel

HL

SARTOR, Héctor José
DNI [illegible]
CI. [illegible]

Disappeared 3-7-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Disappeared

(REPR(L)
IL
ADLeegrs

SARNO, Héctor

DIS

(illegible)
IL

SAGATTELLI, Antonio Alberto (Dr.)

Detained in May 1976. At presente in Sierra Chica'

Cancer Arti Congress 9/78

SASSATELLI, Carlos

ARR. in May 1976

Mexico 79

SASSO, Mario
Socialist Workers's Party (PST)

4-1-71
Arrested between January 6-8, 1979 in Mar del Plata.

Buenos Aires Herald clipping 1-27-79

SASTRE, Susana

ABD Córdoba 5/76 Social Worker St.

AISC

SATIAGO, Juan Miguel
Dob: 10-21-44
LE: 5.038.878
Periodist

DIS 2-26-78 in Mar de Ajo (Prov.B.Aires) together with Silvia Rosario Siscar de Salazar.

Salazarm Eliseo R.
Pirovano 2366- 1754 San Justo Bs.As.
Phone 651-2486 Office 86-2811

SATTINSON, Hugo Reinaldo
Journalist

Disappeared from Universidad Nacional del Sur (Bahia Blanca.

ADLeague

SAUBIN, Rodolfo

Detained in La Candelaria, Misiones

ADLeague

SAUR DE CALUPPO, Maria Graciela

DIS 9-21-76 Santa Fe

PAHR

SAURANSKY DE HUBERMAN

DIS

Anti Def. League

SAUREZ DE RAVIÑA, G.E.E.

Disappeared 3-24-76

PAHR-Proj.cs 5-17-73 (1)

SAVALL, Cristina

ARR 4-19-75 Held in V.Devoto PEN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AISC(CADHU)

SAVELSKY, Victor Gustavo
CI: 5.375.519

DIS 1-10-77

FDD

SAVIGNONI DE IZZARRUE, Norma

ABD 9-11-76 with husband

IL

SAVOY, Adela Cristina

Disappeared 12-17-76

PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SAVRANSKY, Alberto

DAIA

ADLengua

SANTARSKY DE HUERMAN,

DAIA

SAYAGO, Pedro
Córdoba

Detained since 76 - U.P-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SAYAN, Nicolas

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SAYAN DE TOXON, Dora. Inés

DIS 11-5-77

PAHR

SCALDII,
Worked in S.Juan Univ.

ABD 11/76 in San Juan

IL

SCATIDE, Juan Carlos
Propulsora Siderurgica-La Plata,Bs.As.

ABD 2/76

IL

SCAIL, Irene Felina
[illegible]

Disappeared 11-24-76 La Plata

PAIL-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

[illegible], Libertad José Ricardo

BAS Ciudad. PEN

Repetido 21: Oct.78-La Nación apoderado

RISC (Con hijo monotributo)

SCALETTI, Horacio Rodolfo
Urquiza 2227-Florida, Bs.As.

AED 6-6-78

ML

SCANAVINO DE PUPO ROJO, Edith

DIS 7-7-77 [illegible]

La Plata List - 11-21-78
(Ciudad)

SCARROSSI, Atilio Edmundo
[illegible]

AED 12-29-75 Bs.As.City

[illegible](4)
ML

SCARCELLESI, Osvaldo
La Rioja

Detained 3-24-76 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SCARNICCIA, Jorge Oscar
[illegible]

Disappeared 6-18-76

[illegible]-Prensa 5-17-7[illegible] (4)
[illegible]

SCAMPATO, Salvador Miguel

Disappeared 11-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(A)

SCARPATO, Julio I

DIS 11/76

(A)
ML

SCERBO, Jorge

DIS

PAHR (L)

SCERECASAS, Osvaldo

DIS.

PAHR (L)

SCHACHER, Laura

Disappeared

ADLeague

SCHAFFER, Roberto Manuel

Under PCH Sierra Chica

ADLeague

SCHABER, Federico Simon

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Disappeared 9-10-76. Brother of Juan Pablo

FAMR(4)
ADLeague

SCHABER, Juan Pablo

Abducted along with his nursemaid, brother of Federico Simon.

ADLeague

SCHABER, Federic

Disappeared

FAMR(4)
ADLeague

SCHAJER, Juan

Under PEN in Córdoba

ADLeague

SCHALLER, Plutarco (journalist)

Arrested in 4/76; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

SCHAPINA, Daniel Marcelo

DIS

DAIA

SCHAPIRO, Eduardo
Farmacia Sarmiento y Talcahuano

Disappeared 10-15-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SCHASFFER, Roberto

Disappeared

ADLague

SCHATER, Laura

DIS

PAHR (L)

SCHEIB, Francisco
Railroad worker

DIS

PHR2(L)
ADLeague
IL

SCHEIB, Ruben Antonio

P

Detained in Sierra Chica

ADLeague

SCHEMAN, Virginia Rita de

P

Detained 7/76

ADLeague

SCHERMAN DE CORVALAN, Carlos Alberto
[illegible]
LE: 5.468.931

Disappeared 6-4-76 Resigned

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SCHEEGR, Juan Pablo

DIS

PAHR (L)

SCHNEIDER, Aleides Antonio

[illegible] 6-11-76
Under PEN Colonia Santa Fé

ADLeague

SCHEINER, Jaime

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Detained 8-10-76

ADLeague

SCHELEBY, Silvia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SCHELL, Ruben F[illegible]
Pub. Boterías Autor

Disappeared since 11-12-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SCHENEIDER, Perla Elizabeth
Age: 23
DI: 11.481.431
Rio Negro No. 120-Córdoba

DIS 12-6-77 Córdoba

ADL.
PRHR - Pasos 1-11-78

Scheneider, Abrahan (Father)
Ituzaingo 5028 Oeste
Barrio Gendarmeria Phone: 23361 San Juan
Rivadavia, (San Juan)

SCHENSCHIN,

DIS 76

AISC

SCHEVEZ, Claudio Daniel

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

SCHIAVON, Alicia Esther

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

SCHIAVONNI, Eduardo J.

PEN: 22 2888 15-2-77

Integrante EGP actividades subversivas, tenencia de explosivos
Condenado por P.E.N. a cinco años por la Cámara
Juez Zamboni sentencia el 9-3-77 le dicta libertad vigilada
Apelada cumplida 2/3 partes pena impuesta por tenencia ilícita de explosivos

At present in Sierra Chica Prison.

BA-1314 2-22-78

SCHIBIE, Francisco

DIS

ML

SCHIEL SAIACH, Eduardo Julio

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ADLeague

SCHIFRIN, Bernardo Floro
Age: 45
DNI: 4.250.399

DIS 6-2-77

PAHR (L)

SCHILLER, José Francisco
LE [illegible] C.I. 6.650.426
[illegible]

Disappeared 6-14-76 Laranedi

[illegible]

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
[illegible]

SCHILLIZZI, Victorio Manuel
Soler 130 - Dpto. 3 - Bahia Blanca

Detained since 7-14-76 in Unidad 9 La Plata, under PEN, without charge and process. Came to see if there is anything the Embassy can do for her husband. Told her it is quite impossible because it is an Argentine case.
Tried.

Schillizzi, Susana Scheverin de (Wife)
Soler 130-Dpto.3-Bahia Blanca
Phone 23-5826 (Sister's in law)

Personal visit to Embassy 10-12-77.

Christine Ltr Communicant

D74

SCHIPANNI DE SASSO, Norma
Socialist Worker's Party (PST)

1-4-79

Arrested between January 6-8, 1979 in Mar del Plata.

Bs.As.Herald-clipping 1-27-79

(AHR(L)

276/1/3 D

SCHIUMA, Catalina
CI. 4.574.249
Colpayo 98 - 4°"A"-Capital

Colegio [illegible]
PST
ARDO (pro unidad universitaria (Enero 1977)

Was arrested on 12-28-77 together with boy friend Omar Patiño. Since then disappeared. It seems that first wife of Omar Patiño belong to the subversives. The arrest was made by Security Forces.

James Himes, Ford Foundation.
Dr. Miguel Petty, B.A. 784:3466

Unclas State 024687-Jan.78

SCHAER, Juan

Sentenced to 11 years in prison - Claims 12-14-78

Transferred from Sierra Chica to Córdoba 2-2-78.

RA-1314 2-22-78

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

D

SCHLATTER, Miguel Angel
Age 26
DE: 8.332.705

Disappeared 1-17-77 Corrientes

PAIH-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SCHLESINGER, Ernesto Felipe

Under PEN

SCHERMIN, Carlos Horacio

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

A

SCHMIDT, Johann
c/o Rev. Thomas Mylaparampil
Obispado
C.C. 55
9400 Rio Gallegos-Santa Cruz

Asked for appointment with Representative Guy Yatron.

8-24-77. Letter.

SCHMUCKLER, Pablo
[illegible]
L.E. 13.538.522

Disappeared 1-29-77 in Buenos Aires.

Rabbi Rosenthal.

SCHMUNIS, Claudia Beatriz

DAIA

SCHMUTS, Máximo
Worker

Detained 4-13-76. Tortured. Released.

ADLeague

SCHOJET, Bernardo

Aunt Address-Sra.Berta
only Tel: 87-3437

Disappeared 9-7-77
They took away, group of armed men at 2:30am and were looking all over the apt. for whatever and then took him. The men said they would return him in 48hrs, but didn't. His father said his son was out of military career because of eye problems.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre Mother: Rebeca Socolovisky Viuda de Schojet

SCHOLL,
Union leader for oil workers union

Detained after March 24, 1976.

ADLeader

SCHPIRE, Debora

Disappeared

CPHR(L)
HL
ADLeague

63/77/4

SCHPREJER, Alberto Máximo
DNI 11.574.993

In gaol under the Executive Power Control since 1-30-76
without having been ever charged with any criminal action.
Requested for three times his right to leave the country
last time on 6-3-77. They are studying the case.
For.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77 GOA reply: 6-8-77
SCHPREJER, Josefa K. de (Mother)
L.C. 2.956.389
Córdoba 2684, Piso 12"A"-Cap.Fed.
Tel.: 89-3468
8-3-77 Letter to Mr. Harris
Personal visit to Derian.
Koch. ADL
Mother personal visit Emb. 4-14-77. 9/27/77

FILE Communist 3-13-78

(over)

D

SCHRAIER, Dr.
Worked at Posadas Hospital, Mendoza

Disappeared

ADLeague

25/76/11 D *

SCHRAIER, Mario

Under review. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76
GOA reply: 11-30-76
11-10-77 Ltr

214/76/3 D *

SCHREIBER, Isadore
Address: Calle Medrano 852
Office: Salon de Fiesta Embajador Dp Angel-Gallardo 551

Information requested by Cong. J. Herbert Burke on behalf of Julius Furman, cousin of Schreiber "who has been an Argentine citizen for over 50 years". Furman has not heard from Schreiber for two years.

State 066722, March 1978
Cong. J. Herbert Burke

D

SCHROEDER, Gabriela

Disappeared on 5-17-76 along with Maria Victoria and Maximo F. who was 4 months old.

PRHR(L)
NL
ADLeague

D

SCHROEDER, Maria Victoria
Age: 18

Disappeared 5-17-76 along with sister, parents and 2 other siblings. Parents found dead May 20..

PRHR(L)
NL
ADLeague

SCHTU, Norma

ADLeague

SCHUTMAN,

Disappeared 5-1-75

ADLeague

SCHUDEL, Juan Alberto
DNI. 12.530.087
Calle 62 esq. 139 - Los Hornos, Partido de La Plata

Disappeared on 8-18-76. Since then disappeared.

Schudel, Elva Marcela C. de (Mother)
LC 6.008.146
Calle 42 No. 627 - La Plata

PAHR(L) Testimony to Representatives.

SCHULTIS, Juan Alberto

Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN (Libertad 10/30/77).

PAHR(L)
ex-Partido Socialista

D

SCHULTZ, Mirabella

Disappeared 6-13-76

L
ADLeague

D

SCHULTZ DE ALMADA, Mabella Roque
LC. 5-453 237

Disappeared 3-16-76 Woman di Zanuso - Sa. Fe

Buenos Aires 3-16-77
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
[illegible]
L

SCHUNK, José Maria D

DIS 9-21-76

La Plata List 11-21-78

SCHUSTER, Félix Gustavo

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

SCHUTMAN, Graciela

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

SCHVETZ, Claudio Miguel

Held unter article 2 inclusive, Institut.Act of September 1, 1977 - Law 21650

ADLeague

35a/75/5 D

SCHWALB de DYSZEL, Mirta Nélida
CI. 7.129.390
Alvarez Jonte 2250- 1° "A"-Buenos Aires
Age: 20

[illegible] - GOA - 9-5-78
[illegible]: 2-23-79 - [illegible]
Arrested on 5-18-78. Disappeared.

[illegible]
Dyszel, Beatriz Lewin de (Mother in law)
Mendoza 2517 - 2° "B"-Capital 782-8195
PAHR(L)
Rabbi Meyer
FBI
[illegible] Personal call - met Harris 2-23-79

SCHWARTZ, Jorge D

Disappeared 1-19-77

ADLeague

SCHWARTZ, Miguel D
[illegible]

[illegible] Newsletter 2-14-79
Answered Letter Oct 23-78

PAHR(L)
I/L
DAIA
[illegible]
Rosa Gun Viuda de Schwartz, 4 de Febrero 952, V. Lopez, Pcia. Bs. As.

SCHWINDT, Carlos Omar
LE: [illegible]
Bfe 25

Disappeared 5-15-77 Castelar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SCIANCA DE KHUN, Teresita Ma.
Bfe 22
DNI: 11.180.140

Disappeared 5-31-76 - Vinayes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SCIARRETTA, Raquel Alicia
Bfe 28
LC: 5.814.127

Disappeared 11-19-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SCIDONES, Carmelo

DIS 11/76

GAHR(A)
ML

SCILLER, José E.
FERRUM

Disappeared 7-14-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SCITIAVONE, Alicia (Dr.)

Detained in Córdoba on 10-14-75.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D 79

SCIUCA DE RUIZ, ~~Adriana~~ Palmira
Socialist Worker's Party (PST)

1-8-79

Arrested between January 6-8, 1979 in Mar del Plata.

PAHR (L)

Bs.As.Herald clipping 1-27-79

D

SCIUTTO DE DUCLOS, Alicia Noemí
Pp: 24
LC: 10.771.266

Disappeared 2-26-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

SCLANO, Nora

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

SCLARI, Irigoyen Hipólito

DIS 8-17-76

PAHR (L)

D

SCOCCO, Eduardo Luis
Age 20
SNI: 12.219.262

DIS 12/75 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

5-9-2-17-8-79

D

SCOPISE, Norma (Uruguayan)

DIS October 1976.

PL
WWPRC-5-5-78

D

SCORCELLI, Jorge Omar
DNI: 11.176.131
San Andres, Pcia Bs As
Aft: 21

Disappeared 8-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Mig Cug Der. Humano

D

SCORELLI, Jorge Julio

DIS 7/76 Buenos Aires

BISC
ML

SCOTTA DE BONAVITTA, Graciela

D a Rep

4-4-77
DIS and later returned. (She is cousin of Arg. World Cup team member) JUNE 1978
La Plata - Pcia Bs As

PAHR (L)
Harris data - 8-14-78

SCOTTO, Juan Antonio

DIS 10-12-77 Quilmes Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

SCOTTO DE GINES, Marta

DIS 10-12-77 Quilmes Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

SCUTARI, Hugo Alberto
Age 28
CI: 6.054.630

Disappeared 8-5-77

La Nación clipping 4-12-78
PAHR (L)

D

SCZUCZ, Armando Cesar

Disappeared

ADLeague
hL

D

SEBALLOS, Juan Eduardo
CI. 5.789.157

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

P

SEBOLLER, Plutarco (journalist)

Imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

SECAFIEN, Enrique Eugenio
LE: [illegible]
Nacido [illegible]
Pág 84

Disappeared 3-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Ing. Eng. Dr. Hombre

SECHEZZO, Eduardo Oscar
CI: 6.667.608

DIS 9-10-76

ML

SECHIL, Ruben Fernando

Disappeared 11-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SEGURGEZ, Raúl

Disappeared 4-29-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SEGAGLIA, Roberto
Political Prisoner's Lawyer

DIS 7-5-76

MT
PRMR(L)

SEGAL, Oscar Eduardo
Age: 31
C.I.: 5.258.022

DIS 5-16-77

PRMC(L)
Comité Pro. Paz
DAIA

D 78
K

SEGALLI, Guillermo Oscar

Was under PEN without cause for 17 months. Released early Friday 2-3-78. Never came home. Disappeared again. Was released ten minutes after Gonzalez Abel Carranza, who also disappeared in the same way.

Segalli, Leopolda B. de (Mother)
Olaya 1383- Dpto.2-PB-Capital

Personal call 2-9-78.

AISC

D 1978

SEGARRA, Alicia Gabriela
Age: 22
DNI-11.991.882
Profession: Biológicas

Detained between 6/20 and 7/10-1978.-in Capital Federal
Persons interested in this case:Antonia Acuna Segarra argentina,C.I.PF.3.754.019,calle Rodríguez Peña 2607,Mar de Plata and Dr. Rafael F. Marino-Av. Cordoba 1432,Piso 5°"A". Mothers visit-11-16-78

FEHR(L)
Harris data-8-14-78

D1978

SEGARRA, Jorge Alejandro
Age: 20
DNI:12.200.612
Student: secundario

Detained between 6-20 and 7/10-78.
Same as sisters. Mothers visit-11-16-78

FEHR(L)
Harris data 8-14-78

D 1978

SEGARRA, Laura
Age: 17

Detained between 6/20 and 7/10-1978.
La Plata List. Died - ~~6-~~ 6-23-78

HARRIS Data-8-14-78

SEGARRA, Nicolas Augusto Juan

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

SEGEL, Arlene

Disappeared 6-12-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SEGGIARO, Osvaldo Angel
Ingeniero Civil
LE. 6.061.817
Entre Rios 3000 - Canta Fé

Detained in Santa Fé city, since then disappeared.

PAHR
Padre Martin Altolaguirre
Colegio La Salle
Mendoza 444 - 2000 Rosario
Phone 48242
2-4-78

SEGHEZZO, Eduardo Oscar
Age 28
CI: 6.067.606

Disappeared 9-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SEGOVIA, Angel
Sec. Organiz.UNOM

Detained August 1975 - Coronda

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

SEGOVIA, Bernardo Lucas

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

SEGOVIA, Mario Andres

DIS

ML

SEGUEL, Arlene
Age: 21
LC: 11.472.714

DIS 6-12-76 Neuquen

FDD
GAHR(L)

D

SEGUI, Andres
Metalurgic worker

AED 2-12-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

SEGURA, Héctor Antonio
Age 26

DIS 1-5-76 b. de Zamora

PAHR

F

SEGURA, Luis
Medical student and student leader at Univ of Tucuman)

Detained 11-14-74 - Villa Devoto prison.

AIAustralia-Adoption

AFL/CIO

SEGURA, Reineri Oscar
LE. 6.945.962
CORDOBA

Kidnapped on 7-20-76, in Córdoba City.

Segura, Juana Yurcotta de (Personal visit to Mr. Harris)
LC 1674739 (Wife)
Juan Montalvo 4673
B. Parque Liceo-Córdoba

Copy of Answer to Habeas Corpus to AFL/CIO.

PAHR(L)

SEGURA PINTOS, Guillermo

Disappeared 10-28-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SEGURO, Héctor
Age: 26

DIS 1-5-76

PAHR (L)

D78

SEHALLO, Mirta Nélida

DIS May 1978

D

SEIB, Victor Eduardo

Disappeared 7-30-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(b)

SEIFER, Jorge

ADLeague

D

SEIJO,
Luz y Fuerza Union

DIS after 3-24-76

PAHR(L)
ML

SEILER, Julio Rodolfo D

DIS 4-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D 1978

SEILLANT, Horacio Amilcar
DU: 11.839.628
Cruz Varela 309 - Quilmes
Fje 22

Arrested on 7-25-78. La Plata
La plata List- 75
FDD list 9-16-78

PAHR(L) Seillant, Horacio Juan (Father)
Calle 64-1411 - 23 y 24-La Plata 517527
Personal call 9-15-78.

D

SELMENSOL, N.
Age: 17

DIS 77 Bs.As.

aisc

D

SEIMER, Jaime
Military conscript from Moron

Disappeared 8-10-76

ADLeague

SELGER, Marcelo

ADLeague

SELIGRA, Maria Christina

An Argentine national married to an Uruguayan, has already been accepted as refugee in Sweden.

Cable.

SELLZER, Pedro
Apc 2A
CII: 6.301.665

Disappeared

Amb. Ad. League
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SELMAN YOFRA, Abraham

Under PEN Resistencia Chaco

ADLeague

D

SELMENSON
Age: 17
3 de Febrero, 1248-B2017, B.A.

Disappeared summer 1977.

ADLeague

6/8/78/12 D78

SEMAN, Elias
Lawyer
Writer and Historian

6th reply 2-23-71 - Neg. reply

ABD in Buenos Aires in August 1978

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

WOLA 1/78
Member/Committee/Sept 1st 78

4/8/78/12 D

SEMBER, Gregorio Marcelo
DNI. 10.163.937
Profesion: Profesor de Educación Fisica
Age: 23
Av. Forest 1108 - Piso 1°Dpto.3
Buenos Aires

5/30/76
Arrested by a group of six men. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(A)
Lic
Author's Copy
Sember, Juana K. de
Av. Forest 1108-Piso 1°Dpto.3
Buenos Aires Phone 55-8722
Dr. Saul Edelstein
Rabino Marshal Meyer
Copy to Member

L

SEMINARO, Marcos D

DIS

DDAlto Valle 11/78

SEMPEL, Silvia Maria C. D
CI: 6.128.784

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

SENA, Cristina D

DIS

PAHR(L)

ML

SENA, Fermin (Spaniard)
CI. 5.795.105
Brasil 34 - Beccar
Apt 11

Arrested on 10-26-76 from his workshop Calle Isabel La Católica No. 2443, Beccar. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)

Sena, Norma Fernandez de (Wife)
Brasil 34, Beccar
747-1083 or 743-0960

SENA, Lidia Esther
DNI: 5.388.983

Disappeared 5-14-77 Campana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SENAR, Alberto
CI. 5.994.641
[illegible]

Arrested on 9-15-76. Since then disappeared.

Senar, Ada Maria Feigelmüller de (Mother)
CI 1.149.209
Pozos 735-Capital

PAHR(L) Testimany to Representatives.
[illegible]
NL

D 78

SENRA, Marcelo
Age: 38
Trade Union delegate

Missing since 4-29-78

Freeman-Ruben 8-7-78

C - 85/78/1

SEOANE, Raul Santiago

Gästen Dokument PEN

PEN; Instituto de Detención de la Capital (Villa Devoto)
Option to leave country.

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Comisario Mayor Seoane, Raul (Father)
Santander 1588 - Capital
Tel: 923-0030

315/76/1 D*

SEOANE TOIMIL, Maria
DNI: 10.979.470
DOB: 14 December 1952
Argentina naturalizada (española de origen)

A.A.A.D-664-9-5-78

Arrested on 5-12-77. Since then disappeared.
PEAR (1)
FC

Seoane, Victoria Toimil de (Mother)
11 No. 3548 - Berisso (Prov.Bs.As.)

D

SEPULVEDA, Gladys

ARR PEN

DDAlto Valle 11/78

736/77/1 D75

SERENELLI, Algo
AGE: 30

ABD 7-25-78 in Buenos Aires

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

RI

D

SERLIER, Pedro
Age: 29
CI: 6.391.665

DIS

PAHR (L)

Serra, Gustavo Enrique

1155/12/41

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.

N.R.A.D - 9-5-78 GCA

Amnesty International

SERRA, Luis Hector
Age: 24
Lawyer

D

DIS Detained April 1976. At present in La Plata prison.

Comm Cent Perm 9/78
ML

SERRA, Maria Teresita
Age: 25

D

ABD 8-10-76 from home: Paraguay 1573, Dpto. 2, Piso 2, Rosario, Santa Fé

AISC

D

SERRA DE ELIAS, Susana Beatriz
D: 9.Dec.Soc C1: 6.295.492
Age 26

Disappeared 6-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

593|78/9 D 1978

SERRA SILVERA, Helios Hermógenes (Uruguayan)
Colombres 486-Capital

DIS 6-27-78
Comer Amb Campero 9/76
French Embassy
Le Monde
PAHR(1)
WRHC 4-5-78

Serra Marino, Helios (Father)
Colombres 486-Capital
Letter to Amb. 8-2-78

D

SERRANI, Luis

Disappeared 5-19-76 Avellaneda

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Arg Arg Lit Kombi

D

SERRANO, Eduardo Anibal
DNI. 10.910.051
Córdoba 605-3°"C"-San Miguel de Tucuman.

Arrested on 10-26-76 in Federal Capital. Since then disappeared.

Letter given to Amb. (ASIJANA) in Tucumán.

PERE(L)

Serrano Perez, Liliana (Sister)
(Same address as above)

FP

SERRANO, Graciela del Valle. (nee Winich)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

SERRANO, Luis

DIS

ML

R/FDD

SERRANO, Maria del Carmen (F) D
T LC ~~2.761.570~~ 2.C 71.576
R Rivadavia 2970-Piso 7°Dto.D-Capital
S

Arrested by a group of armed men on 6-21-77; since then disappeared.

Serrano, Felisa P. de (Mother)
LC 0873.324
Lascano 2575-1°Piso-Dto.F.Capital
~~Aug Aug Sch. Hospital~~
~~FAHR-Final~~ Statement. To T.Todman.
~~FAD-11-6-77~~ Statement to Representativs.
8-19-77 - Letter to Senators.
HL L

SERRANO, Natividad Julia D
CI: 10.506.922

DIS

AISC ((CLARIN)

SERRANO, Salvador Nicolas D

DIS

ML

D

SERRANO COSTAGLIOLA, Leonardo (Chilean)
Ex-Prof.Philosophy-Chile

DIS

PPHR(L)
ML

SERRAT, Luis

Detained in April 1976. At present in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

FREE

SERRAT, Oscar J.
Age: 45
(Assotiated Press since 1963)

Disappeared 11-10-77. Freed on 11.11.77.

Clippings Bs.As.Herald, Crónica, Clarin.

D78

SERRUDO, Juan José
Age: 25

DIS 3-30-78 L.de Zamora

FDD

D

SERSON, Gerardo

Disappeared 9-15-76 along with sister

ADLeague

D

SERVA (niño)
3 months old.

Disappeared 1-11-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SERVA, Maria de
Hpe 25

Disappeared 1-11-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SERVE,

DIS La Pampa

PAHR(1)
ML

SERVIN, A.

DIS Concordia, Entre Rios

AISC

SERVIN, Santiago (Paraguayan) D
age 54
Cl°: 7.428.654

Disappeared. 9-16-76 Quilmes

PAHR(L)
ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78
ML

SESATELLI, Alberto D

DIS 1976 after the coup

PAHR(L)
ML

SESTA, Roberto D
Custodian at Comite Central PC, Bs.As.

DIS 6-1-77 from work

ML

D

SESTRICH, José
Ref. ST
C.I.: 1.530.460

Disappeared 3-27-76 V. Dominico

Catholic Ref. Prensa
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SEURA, Marcelo Gualterio D 78

DIS 4-26-78

PAHR (L)

SEVERO, Aryi (Uruguauay) D 78

ABD 4-23-78 Bs.As.

AISC

c-24/2/42 2/3/77/11

SEVILLA, Elena
(Physicist)

- CCA reflag 3-10-78 PEN Dto. 532 del 6-2-76
Grupo: Vinculada a Montevideo
Afectada: 1-2 Decreto
Derogatoria de la ley Opción 21.449 por Dto. 542 del 25-2-77
Related from jail 7-19-78 — (accredo) 2-8-79

Detained in Villa Devoto.

Authorized to leave country - Inmigración dipbury 6-17-79
left country.-

National Academy of Sciences (Robert W. Kates) BA-9940
Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS
Cong. Hastings BA-3672

FILE Comunidad 5-13-78

SEYDELL, Pascual Adolfo

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC

SFACIA, Henelio

DIS

PAHR (L)

F

SFASCIA, Delio Heralio
DOF: 7-31-33 in Bahia Blanca
— Profesor of Universidad Sur

Controlled freedom - La Nacion 1/13/79

Detained

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

SFORZA, Juan Pedro
Lawyer

ABD 95.#7

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

SGARBOSSA, Atilio Edmundo

Disappeared 12-29-75

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SGARBOSSA, Nora Rojas de

Disappeared 12-29-75

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

SGLERRO, Guillermo

DIS

PAHR (L)

SGROI, Inés de

ABD 4-18-77 in Castelar with two children:Manuel(3) and Celia (6 months). Husband Mario killed

ML

631/76/11 A

SGROI, Juan Basilio
Mendoza

GOR night 2-23-77: Under PEN. Decree 214 - 11/19/76 in U2 Santa Rosa.
Removed from PEN 16-5-78
Cause: disturbances
2-6-77 sentenced to 5 yrs. (prosecuted Fed Nat'l Dep. Inj.)
confirmed 3-28-78

Detained Unidad 9-la Plata
Released from PEN. GR Herald 10-17-78

interest from Caritas (Blood)

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SGROY, Mario Augusto
Age: 28

ABD 4/17/77
Detained in Monte Grande on 5-24-77
Killed 5/25/77 Monte Grande Gr. Ch.

Harris info. 12-29-78

RISC

SHAPIRO, Nicolas

ARR 3/76

aisc

D

SHELL, Ruben Fernando
Age: 23
DU: 11.513.686

DIS 11-12-77 Temperley

FDD

7 VI/79/1

SHIEL, Eduardo Julio

Detained. Right of option program.
Consulate informed that P.O.E. was denied by Decree 3579. Barrish is coordinating to transfer. 3-9-79.

ADL

D

SHREIBER, Jorge Alberto
Age: 20
CI: 8.734.740

DIS 5-9-77

PAHR (L)

SHULTIS, Juan Alberto

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

D 78

SIBANTOS, Norma Delia
Age: 38
Doc. 4.557.318

DIS 6-19-78 Tucumán

PARR(L)
Tucumán

SIBILA, Norma (journalist)

Imprisoned.

Re Mendi 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

SICA, Vicente

D

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

FREED

SICHEL, Gerardo Federico

Cause: Fraud. Law 19359. Economic delinquency.
Decree: 802/76
Liberated: Decree 2790/76

PAHR(4)
Anti Defamation League on B'nai B'rith
7-26-77.

D

SIDDI, Miguel Angel

DIS 10-77

Mar del Plata List

SIDUENA, Victor
Worker from Córdoba

ABD 3-7-76

PAHR(L)
ML

SIENBERVICH, Enrique

Disappeared

PAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

SIENKIEWICH, Enrique Nicolas

Under PEN Unidad 6 Rawson

ADLeague

SIERES, Arquimedes

DIS Comodoro Rivadavia (Chubut)

ML

SIERRA, Alejandro Ines
DNI: 14.182.647
Age 16

Disappeared 11-9-76 with his fiancee Silvana A. Negro Neria

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SIERRA, Ana Maria

DIS (Reported to have been seen in concentration camp near Ezeiza).

La Plata List

SIERRA, Enrique

Killed

La Plata List

DH

SIERRA, Helio (Uruguayan)

DIS 6-27-78 Bs.As.

AISC

SIERRA, Juan Luis

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

SIERRA, Susana Beatriz

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

SIERRA DE PRIVIDERA, Maria
CI: 3'918.445
Dob: 7-7-1940

DIS 3-30-1976 from Apartment Galan 90-Capital.

Sierra, Alberto	(Father)
Ferrero de Sierra, Josefina	(Mother)

PEHR. Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SIFREDI, Juan Antonio
CI: 3.740.144

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

SIFUENTES CERDA, Elida Noemí

Under Pen Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

SIGRA, Pedro

ABD 3-22-76 Tucumán

PAHR(1)
ML

SIGRO, Cosme Francisco

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

SIINA, Omar Santiago
Ap: 20
DNI: 11.731.549

DIS 7-5-76

PAHR (2)

SILANOVICH, Miguel

Right of option April 16, 1976 - expired

ADLeague

SILBERSTEIN, Patricia Silvia

DIS /76.

DAIA

SILBERTON, Daniel

ADLeague

SILVA, Antonio
LE:3.6/1.92
Cl:3c
Member Comm Party

Disappeared 6-16-76

Comm. Party
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SILVA, Cleopatra Valeria

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

D

SILVA, Eduardo
Veterinary Student

BIS 9-8-76 La Plata

ML

P

SILVA, Juan

ARR PEN

AISC

319/78/4 D *

SILVA, Mauricio (Uruguay)
Age: 50/52 years old.
Priest: Brother of The Gospell.
Passport 241307
D 8730.550

Arrested on 6-14-77 in Buenos Aires while working at the Municipio de Buenos Aires as a street cleaner. He lived in a convent.

PHHR(4)

Wash.Off.on Latin America. 7-10-77

SILVA, Miguel Angel
~~DNI: 11.185.429~~

ABD 5-18-77 O'Brien 1099, Grand Bourg, Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

SILVA, Pedro
DNI: 11.185.429

ABD 3-22-76 Tucumán

PAHR(L)
ML

SILVA, Pedro Benicio
M/p 21
DNI: 11.483.329

11-17-76 DIS Tucumán

PAHR

SILVA, Raúl

DIS

ML

SILVA, Rita Marta Rosa

Disappeared 1-28-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

SILVA, Rubén Alberto

Disappeared 3-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

D

Silva de Gonzalez Lopez, G.M.
Age 24
LC: 6.278.387

Disappeared 12-13-75 Zárate

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D 76

SILVEIRA GRAMONT, Maria Rosa (Uruguayan) 751/76/11

ABD 8-13-78

AI

P

SILVEIRA KIEGERS, Mirta Dolis

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

SILVERO, Héctor
CI: 5.188.711
Residencia 3036 - Florida 60 Of.
Arte 29

Disappeared 8-29-76 - Florida -

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SILVERA SERRA, Helios

D-1978

Age: 23

Dis: 23-6-78, Cap.Federal

FDD List - 9-16-78

SILVERSTEIN, Patricia Lima

D

Disappeared 1976

PAHR(1)
ADLeague

SILVESTRE Esteban Andreani

DIS 4-11-77 Buenos Aires

MISC (Compa. Mex)
ML

SILVESTRE DE CABRERA, Amelia

DIS

FDD

SILVESTRI, Nora Liliana

DIS 6-22-77

La Plata List 11-21-78

D

SILVESTRI DE GAGNI, E.M.
Age 24

Disappeared 6-22-77 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SILVESTRONE ALVARELLOS, Daniel H

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

5/17/78 D

de Herrera
SIMERMAN, Georgina Sergia
Age: 29
DOB: 12-9-1949 (Salta)

Widow mother of two, Raul Oscar 4 years, Esteban Lisandro 2 years. Arrested on 5-12-77 in Lujan (Prov.Bs.As.). Her husband kidnapped and killed 9/15/75.

GoA reply 10-16-78
N.R.A.D

PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Anti-Def. League, 7-28-78.

744/79/1 D 78

SIMO, Alejo
Sindicalist

DIS 8-25-78 in Córdoba City.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

FBI

Netherland Embassy

SIMON, Beatriz P. R. de
Corrientes

Detained 5-20-77 House arrest

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Encl

XSIMON, Carlos Francisco (Universitario Científico) 61/77/a D *
XSIMON, Patricia Buchanan de [illegible] D

N.R.A.D.-GOA-9-6-78

Disappeared in La Plata late 1976.

Missing. For.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77 GOA reply: 6-8-77
6-10-77 No record

PAHE (2)
Mr. and Mrs. Basilio Simon (Parent)
Corrientes 2641, Aparto.8A
Mar del Plata F.C.N.G.R.

Note to Tex Harris. Personal visit to Emb. 4-21-77.
Rosenthal.
DAIB

D

SIMON, Rodolfo
DoB: 12-3-1952
Age 24
CI: 10.758.107

Arrested 1/26-27/77. Since then disappeared. Bernal

PAHR(4)
Barbara Del Mazo

Sra. de Simon (Mother)
Phone: 203-2460

D

SIMONAZO, Luis Alberto

DIS 6-1-76 Córdoba

ML

D

SIMONAZZI, Alberto L del Valle
Age 24

Disappeared 6-1-76 - Córdoba

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

R/FDD

~~SIMONETTI, Fernando Carlos~~ (Paraguayan)

SIMONETTI, Maria Pabla Cáceres de
CI: 6.515.125
Age 17

Arrested on 2-16-77 by a group of about 12 armed men. Three days later my son in law was freed at the crossing of Pedro de Mendoza y Almirante Brown streets. Since then my daughter has disappeared.

Cáceres, Irmiera L. de (Mother)

Statement to Senators.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

SIMONOVICH, Miguel
Acindar-Villa Constitución

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SINIGAGLIA, Roberto Juan Carmelo
Age 43
LE: 6.220.906
CI: 5.945.321

Abducted from his office, Viamonte 1355, Capital on the 5-11-76. Disappeared since.

FAAR(L)
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

FDD

D

SINOPOLIS, Ricardo

DIS 12-10-75 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

SINSKEVICH, Antonio Alfredo

Released Anti Def. League

Anti Def. League

D-78

SINTORA, Daniel Antonio
FH 24
DNI: 10.949.799

DIS 2-1-78 Cruz del Sur - Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

SIROTRA, Alberto Mario

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

SIROTTI DE DIAZ, Elvira Carmen
= Bfe 24

Disappeared 3-19-77 Ramos Mejía

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

SIRRI, Ernesto

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

785/79/1 D 78

de Salazar

SISCAR, Silvia Rosario
DNI: 10.354.412
Age-26

Disappeared 2-26-78 Mar de Ajo together with brother in law Juan Miguel Satragno.

Mother: MARIA S. Barreiro de SISCAR
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4) LC.04773.461
FDD-11-6-78. Hoc 0202 micro

D

SISTO, Enrique Ruben
Age 26
CI: 6.813.863

Disappeared 7-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

SIUNSKIEVICH, Antonio Alfredo

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SIVILA, Juan T
Dirig. Asoc. Educ.-Jujuy

Detained 4/76 U.9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

SLAMON, Patricio Enrique
DNI: 9.206.456
Age: 22
Architect student- 3er.year
Giribone 1325 - 9° '6' - Buenos Aires

Disappeared 4-21-77 together with David Cordero, owner of the apartment.

Ana M. Delle Piane de Slamon (Mother) 252-2414
Alem 360 - Bernal
Aut. Def. Liegue
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
Personal call Amt. 1/9/79

D

SLAVIN, José Ruben
Age: 27
CI: 6.365.122

DIS 11-19-76

FDD

SLAVKYN, José Rubén
LE: 8.400.805
Age 27

Disappeared 9-10-77

Auth. Def. Luque
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
ML

SLEMENSON, Claudio Alberto

ABD #735 Tucuman

PAHR (4)
DAIA
ML
Auth. Def. Luque

SLEPOY, Carlos Alberto

National Executive Power - DTO.984 of 3/15/76
U9 LA Plata - Confiscation of ERP material.

Department of State
Argentina Project (S200000044)

Attachment to 1979 Airgram No. 46 from American Embassy Buenos Aires to the Department of State

Part 2 of 7

AI	Amnesty International
ADL	Anti Defamation League
D	Disappeared
D & REAPP.	Disappeared and Reappeared
DAIA	Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
IACHR	Inter American Com. on Human Rights
K	Killed
N.R.A.D.	No registra antecedentes de detención
PAHR	Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos
R	Released
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
⊕	Detained

D

CAAMAÑO, José
Carpintero y Marinero - Tigre (Pcia Bs)
Age 30

Disappeared 12-23-76 Tigre

Liga Arg Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
ML

D + ReAp-78

CAAMAÑO, Leopoldo Nicolás
AGE: 34
Address: Arturo Marasso 365-Bs.As.

DIS: 9-8-78- Reappear-10-10-78

La Opinion-10-10-78

WOLA 4-79

D

CAAMAÑO, Mercedes Clotilde
Maestra - Capital
Age 25
DNI: 10.403.425

Disappeared 12-8-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (4)

CABALLE, Laura Esther

Under PEN Decree 2779/76 Unidad 2 Villa Devoto
11-78 - Released From PEN prior to King of SPAIN visit.
Herald paper-30-78

El Dia Newspaper-Oct.28-78 - Right to leave BA.

ATLeague

CABALLERO, Ana María
Age 24
LE: 6.133 561

Disappeared 7-26-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CABALLERO, Hernán Leopoldo
Age 33
CI: 5.475.503

Disappeared 5-10-77 Marin

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

9

CABALLERO Luis M.

Age 66

Arrested April 13, 1976

Mrs. Caballero (Wife), Personal call-Met by Mr. Harris. 10-6-78

9

CABALLERO, Maria del Carmen
DNI: 11.506.938 e.i.: 2648.527
Age: 23
Bogotá 3700-Bs.As.

DIS 1-11-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

9

CABALLERO, Modesto Oreste
Age 36
LE: 5.703.198

DIS 1-21-77 Lanús Oeste

PAHR (1)

D

CABANAS, José Luis
Apt 16
Cl: 8682.067

Disappeared 2-16-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CABELLO, Mrs.

ABD with husband Nelson & Brother (name unknown)

ML

D

CABELLO, Nelson Valentin (Chilean)
Cl. 4557.573
Apt 19

Disappeared 4-9-76 R. Argentina 1860 - V. Alsina B.A.
with m/s brother.

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Regalia Dir. Derecho

D

CABELLO, Ricardo Hernán
C.I. 9.058.713
Brecho 1860- Bernal Oeste - Quilmes

Secuestrado Casa 1a de San Justo 6-16-77 Ejercito
Disappeared 8-25-77

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre (L)
PAHR - Prensa 5-A-78

D

CABELLO PEREZ,

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

CABEZAS, Francisca Paz Dora (Bolivian)
Age 41
C.I. 538.612

Disappeared 5-14-77 a 41 year old seen was left with neighbors.
Secuestro

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

(F) 268/75/1 ✳

T
R

CABEZAS, Gustavo Alejandro
CNI. 13.256.796 Age. 11
Manuel García 6180, Carapachay, Partido de Vte. Lopez

On 5-10-76 during a "Operación Militar de Control" at Martinez he was arrested.' Since than disappeared.

Letter to Commdr. Raul Cano from Montevideo 1-7-78

JARA, Thelma D. (Mother)
Manuel García 6180-Carapachay, Partido de Vte. Lopez
L.C. 4.312.117

PAHR(L)

Statement
Testimony to Representatives.

L

Ang Arg. Sin Nombre

FDD-11-4-78

Cap

CABEZUDO, Carlos Federico (Uruguayan) 529/75/1
Mathematic teacher
Age 24

Warrant issued for arrest (July 7, 73)
DIS 12-30-77

Cancer Amb. Cong. 9/78
Sen. Mark O. Hatfield on behalf of [ ] BA-9816 BG

WHRC - 9-5-78

Cmdt.

CABIB, Eugenio Rafael
Independencia 2942-Capital
Age 31
LE: 4.519.566

D

Disappeared on 11-11-76. Independencia 2941 - Bs As

Cabib, Sofía López de (Mother)
DNI 3.365.925
Alsina 2028-7°J-Capital

8-12-77 Second letter to Embassy BA.

PAHR (L)

L

CABEDES, Pablo (writer)

Arrested 2/8/77; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Le Monde 6-10-78

CABO, Dardo

Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

CABRAL,
Ex delegate in Pilar

DIS 8-15-76 in Córdoba

ML

CABRAL, Raúl Roque
Ag. 21
C.I.: 7.251.472

Disappeared 6-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CABRAL, Gustavo Alberto

ABD

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

283/78/2

CABRAL, Ruben E.R.
Aguarabay 940 - Ituzaingo (Prov.Bs.As.)

GDA reply 6-29-78

No PEN
N.E.A.D. Le envie pedido de informacion (Mayo 1978)

Arrested early November 1977. Son had been detained previously released and when preparing to leave Argentina for Perú was rearrested.

Lima 1041.-

Cabral Andrada, Ruben D.
(Le: 3.467.810) - Lima

530/78/9 D

CABRERA, Ary (Uruguayan)

Disappeared 4-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
UNHRC-9-C-78

T CABRERA, Carlos Frannisco (F) D
R DU 10.088.226

Was kidnapped on 3-16-76 by a group of armed men in uniforms. Since then disappeared. Ramos Mejia

CABRERA, Rosa R. (Mother)
LC 3.178.934
Luis José Pereyra 578-Ramos Mejia 658-2249

Statement to T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

Personal call Embassy 8/3/77

ML
PAHR (L) L

D

CABRERA, Esteban

Arrested according to Lt. of Interior - Quintana 6-16-76

Disappeared 1-18-77 Misiones

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CABRERA,. José Manuel
Age 24
LE: 10.742.116

DIS 7-17-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

CABRERA, Luis Enrique
Age: 27

DIS 2-10-77 La Matanza

FDD

D 78

CABRERA, Manuel Beltran
Age: 29
LE: 5.396.658

DIS 4-4-78

FDD

CABRERA, Marcelo

DIS 12-1-76 with wife

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

CABRERA, Ricardo
Hernán 2413, Temperley, Lo Lo

Disappeared 12-12-76 Temperley

Hugo Arg. Del. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CABRERA DE FRANCO, Liliana

Disappeared 1-18-77 Lanús

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CARRERA MAIZ, Esteban (Paraguayenne) D&RR FREED

DIS 1-22-77 Puerto Iguazú - Reappeared in La Emboscada, freed 8-1-78.

CACABELOS, Roberto Oscar
Age 27
LE: 8585.132

Disappeared 3-22-77 Ramon Mejia

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

Caceres, (Ms.)

Abd. 6-10-78, freed 30 dias after.

Newspaper assoc.

D 70

CACERES, Amado Nelson
Age: 17
CI: 9.054.054

DIS 2-23-78 Claypole

FDD

D 71

CACERES, Arnaldo Dario
Age: 17
CI: 9.054.055

DIS 2-23-78 Claypole

FDD

CACERES, Domingo Inocencio
Age: 23
DNI: 10.979.001

DIS 9-4-76 Berisso

FDD

CACERES, Jorge Eliseo
R/E 24
LE: 11.494.466

DIS 5/76 Córdoba

PANR (L)
ML

CACERES, Juan Isla

DIS

PANR (L)
ML

CACERES, Liliana Leonor

ARR 3-14-76 Entre Rios-Held V.Devoto. Condemned by Military Court.

AISC (CADHU)

D 78

CACERES, Lorenzo Federico
Age; 25
LE: 10.814.600

DIS 3-26-78 Ing. Budge

FDD

CACERES, Mario Roger J. (Uruguayan) D
Age 31

Disappeared 9/76 with wife & 2 children
Villa Alsina - Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

CACERES, Oscar
Lawyer

Detained before 3-24-76.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Comm Arch Cong 9/78

CACERES, Victor Omar

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CACERES DE SIMONETTI, Maria Paula
Pht 47
C[illegible]: 6.9[illegible].125

Disappeared 2-15-77

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

CACHI, Alejandro

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CACONIER, Luis A.
Peugeot

Disappeared 4-14-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CACOPARDO, Alberto José

ARR PEN 031/78

AISC (Cospa Madrid)

CADDEO, Rub'en Oscar
Age 28

Disappeared 5-27-76 Avellaneda

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
NL

CADENAS RAVELA, Alicia (Uruguayan) CF
Age: 26
Humberto I Nro. 1308-7°"C"-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-13-76, in Buenos Aires. In conditional freedom in Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

D

CAFANI, Humberto Miguel
Optical store owner
Age 25
10.772.163

Disappeared 2-26-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
AL

D

CAFANI, Mirta Susana R. de
Age 24
10.902.641

Disappeared 2-26-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CAFARO, Daniel
CI: 5.963.654

AED 6-20-76 in Bahia Blanca with Gloria Amado

ML
PAHR (L)

CAFARO, Luis Carlos
Age: 27

D

DIS 1-20-77

PAHR (L)

D

CAFAROTTI, Alberto

AED 1-19-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CAFELLI, Mónica Marta María

DIS

ML

D

CAFERATTI, Juan Carlos

ABD

ML

D

CAFFARATTI, Alberto Killed

ABD 2-15-76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CAFFARO, Luis Carlos
LE: 8.329.118
CI. 9.961.792
Cuyo 950-Zarate (Bs.As.)
Age 28

Disappeared on 1-20-77 while going from his work to his home. His MOTO was found in front of his home. He suffers from athma. (Electricista Coop. Martin Fierro)

NL
(CONAR (L)
Aug 1984 Del Arroyo

Caffaro, Elida Lucia Trevisol de
Cuyo 950 - Zarate
1-9-78.

L

D

CAFFERETTI, Juan Carlos

DIS Córdoba

PAHR (L)

R

CAFH

D

CAFIDE, Alfredo José
Age:29
CI: 5.896.761

AED 9-22-76 by police La Plata

ML

D

CAGGIANO, Virgilio

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

CAGNI, Julio César
Age 23

DIS 6-22-77 Quilmes

La Plata List - 11-21-78 (4)

D

CAGNOLA, Eduardo Alberto
DNI: 11.253.294
Arg 23
(See also Pereyra, Liliana Carmen)

Detained by a group of Army, on 10-4-77. Since then disappeared. Mar del Plata

HHR(L)
Pereyra, Osvaldo Jorge (Future Father in law)
Calle 51, No. 743, Piso 2° Dpto.5-La Plata
Phone: 2-1543

D

CAGNONI, Ricardo Luis
CI. 7.251.317
Arg 23

Disappeared 4-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDJ
HL

9

CAFURE, Jorge
La Hidrofila

Detained since April 76 Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CAIRE, Raul Marie
Age: 28
LC: 1.480.623

DIS 11-2-76 Resistencia, Chaco

FDD

R/FDD

CAIRO, Ricardo
CI. 7.446.831
Tucumán 3349-Capital
Age 11
Elementary student

Disappeared on 3-28-77.

Cairo, Santina Stombo de (Mother)
CE. 3.952.905
Tucumán 3349-Capital

PAHR(L)
Letter Mailed

Note to Senators.

CAIRO DE CARASSINO, María Angela
Age 34

Disappeared 11-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D 78

CAJAL, Antonio Ruben
Age: 23
Doc. 12.297.478

DIS 3-8-78

Tucumán

D 78

CAJAL, Ramón René
Age: 23
Doc. 11.811.515

DIS 3-9-78

Tucumán

D 78

CAJAL, Rodolfo Reyes
Age: 21
Doc. 12.461.800

DIS 3-9-78

Tucumán

R/FDD

CAJIDE, Alfredo José
CI. 5.896.761
Liniers 3895 - Ciudadela (Bs.As.)

On 9-22-76 was arrested in front of the Bar in 54 street between 12 and 13, La Plata by a group of civil men, apparently policemen. Since then disappeared.

Cajide, Heralda Garcia de (Mother)
LC 1.277.013
Liniers 3895 - Ciudadela (Bs.As.)

Statement to Representatives.
Statement to Senators.

PAHR(L)
Leg. Arg. Des. Norwalk

CALABRESE, Antonio (Uruguayan)

DIS

FDD
PAHR(L)

CALABRO, Elba

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

CALAMARI

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

CALAMERI, Julio César

DIS 12/76

ML

CALANERI

DIS

PAHR (L)

CALBACINI, Daniel Alberto

D

DIS 11/76

CHAC(L)
ML

CALCAGNO, Claudia Alejandra
DNI: 13.909.267

D

ABD 4-15-77 from home calles 42 y 26, La Plata

La Plata Dist 10/78
PAHR (L)
ML

9

CALDAROLA, Eduardo

Under PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata. Has right of option for Italy.
All the petitions have been cancelled for the present.
Wife tried to get help from Embassy, talked to Mr.Freeman.

Beatriz Scipioni de Caldarola - Calle 39 1°875½ Dpto 3 - La Plata
Personal call 5-5-78. (V.F.)
Freeman.

D

CALDERON, Raúl Luis
L.E: 6.626.409
Member: Comm. Party
Alvear 5628 Billinghurst San Martin (Bs.As.Prov.)
Age 45

-23-
AED 4/76 San Martin

PAHR(L)
WIFE - MARGARITA D. de CALDERON - LC: 3 046 597
Alvear 5628 San Martin
Comm. Party
ML FDD. 11-6-78

D

CALDERON, Miguel Angel
Age 27
LE: 8.332.405

Disappeared 1-17-77 Corrientes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CALDERON, Tomas AWelino

Disappeared 11-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CALDERON DE LA BARCA, Alicia (Dr.)

Detained 11-13-76. At present Villa Devoto Prison'

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

CALDISCO, Graciela
Age: 23 Student

Detained in Bahia Blanca Jail. 1976

ADLeague
ML

CALDO, David del

DIS

ML

C-23/77/11

P Optim

CALDU, Osvaldo Jaime

Authorized to leave country 12-22-78

Carcel de Coronda - PEN

ex-Partido Socialista
Mvg Arg Der. Hombre

D

CALEFA, Víctor
FIAT CONCORD
Arg

Disappeared 4-15-76 from home in the city. -Freed-
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
NL

P

CALELL, Angela Dolores

ARR PEN Córdoba

AISC (rio Negro newspaper)

CALI, Fillippida
(Wife of Italo Emperico Cali)
(Mother-in-law of Gmo. Hietala)

DIS 5-20-77

CALI, Italo Américo
(Father-in-law of Gmo. Hietala)

DIS 5-20-77

Finnish Emb.

CALI DE HIETALA, Estela
Zarate, Buenos Aires

ABD 5/77 with husband Guillermo

ML

D

CALIGNANI, Juan Carlos
Age: 37
Metal worker

DIS 9-19-76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D YS

CALLADO, Jorge Daniel

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

CALLE, Claudio ó Carlos

ARR. 4/76

Mexico 79

425/28/7 D

CALLEJA, Daniel Eduardo
CI. 6.261.412
LE: 8.481.317
Rosales 1145-Adrogue

GOA reply: 9-5-78 N.R.A.D

Abdunted on 3-23-1977.

Freeman-Ruben

D

CALLUTO, José Luis

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CALOGEROPULOS, Ramón D.
Adel Plata 824 - Campana Pcia Bsas
Age 21

Disappeared 9-3-76 Campana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

ML

D

CALOU, Alberto Luis
Age 39
LE: 4.248.561

Disappeared 7-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CALTARELL, Eduardo

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

CALVANI, Idelmar

DIS

ML

CALVI, Alicia Graciela
CI: 8.088.838

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CALVO, Alba

DIS Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CALVO, Andrea Guillermina
Age 20
CI: 13.244.411

DIS 4-8-77

La Plata Dist. 10/78
PAHR (6)

D

CALVO, Carmen Amalia
Calle 53c 1: 116 - La Plata (Pcia Bs)

Disappeared 10-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
La Plata hunt 10-78
ML

D

CALVO, Jorge Donato
C.I. 6.382.047
Rgt 7

Dr.

Disappeared 9-11-77

Carmen Amalia Calvo 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CALVO, Miguel Angel

DIS 1/77 La Plata

ML

D

CALVO DE LABORDE, Adriana Celia
Age 25

Disappeared 2-4-77 (Being in municipal prison) La Plata - Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CALVO DE DI NELLA, Carmen Amelia
Age 23
DNI: 10.995.332

DIS 10-20-76

PAHR(1)

D

CALZETTA, Alicia

ABD with husband Luis Francisco Iglesias

AISC (Clarin)

CAMARA, Ricardo

DIS

FAMR(4)
ML

CAMACHO, Alberto Almendras

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CAMACHO, Daniel

AED

ML

CAMACHO, Raúl Alberto
CAMACHO, Raquel Zuzana

R

Since 19 months in prison, in La Plata and Mendoza.

Released Dec 5/7/78 La Prisma 6-2-78 again 6-16-78

Camacho, Irma Saccardo di Castilli de (Mother)
LC 8563944
Eugenio Bustos, Mendoza

8-7-77 Letter to Representatives.

ML

D

CAMACHO DE CASTILLO, R.S. again
Mendoza (de Castillo, Raquel Zuzana Camacho de)

Disappeared

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CAMANO, Ildo Jesus

DIS 3-M-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

CAMAÑO, Mercedes Clotilde
DNI 10.403.926
Age 24

Disappeared 12-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

ML

CAMARGO, Armando Arnulfo

Doc: 6.912.797

Disappeared 7-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CAMARGO, Carmen Juana

DIS 4-12-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

CAMAROTTA, Guillermo Néstor
Age 20

Disappeared 4-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
ML

D 78

CAMAROTTI, Osvaldo Daniel
Age: 20/23 years old
DNI: 11.613.932

Detained at Unidad 9, La Plata. Was freed around August 1978. Father sent him to Mar del Plata because he thought it was safer. There he disappeared. Temperley 5-18-78.

PAHR (4)
Information given during personal call Schprejer to F.Harris 9-14-78.
FDD

CAMBA DE MAROTTA, Liliana I

D

ARD 5-14-76 Rivadavia 4350 Buenos Aires with husband

ML

CAMBELIA, Antonio Juan

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

CAMBICES DE PIÑERUA, Silvina Carmen

DIS 11-11-77 Ramos Mejía Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

CAMBRANDE, Carlos Alberto
Anilinas Argentinas

Disappeared 3-23-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CAMEJO, Miguel Oscar

ABD Mar del Plata

AISC(APDH)

CAMELLA, Luisa Elena
Age 51

Disappeared 9-14-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

CAMGENI, Carlos Eduardo
Mendoza

Detained Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

810/79/2 D48

CAMIN, Gustavo Neloy
LE: 3.396.801
Profession: Engineer
Age: 59

DIS 5-22-78 from Patricias Mendocinas 743, Mendoza after 10:00 pm. Worked at Refugio Jackal, San Juan.

Gordon de Camin, Dora L. (Wife)
Martinez de Rosas 2628(Mendoza) Phone 255536
Bs.As. Family Rodriguez 53-6271
Camin, Armando Molinera Tejeda 1530 (Son)
Las Heras(Mendoza) Phone 230798
Pahr(1) - WOLA 11-78 - Mr. Acevedo

811/79/2 D48

CAMIN, Mario Guillermo
LE: 8.324.185
Age: 28
Martinez de Rosas No. 2688 (Mendoza)
Engineering student- Univ.Tecnológica Argentina

Disappeared on 5-22-78 after leaving his bride, taking his mother's car to the University.

Gordon de Camin, Dora L. (Mother)
Martinez de Rosas 2688-Mendoza
Phone: 255536 - Bs.As. Rodriguez 53-6271
Camin, Armando (Brother)
Molinera Tejeda 1530-Las Heras(Mza)
Phone 230798
PAHR (L) - WOLA 11-78 - Mr. Acevedo

D

CAMIO, Manuel Antonio

Dia. 5-10-76

PAHR(L)
ML

CAMIOLO, Juan
Ref 26
CF: 2662.098

DIS 3-23-77

PAHR (L)

CAMIU, Maria Mercedes (Uruguayan)
Age: 45

DIS 5-5-77 Buenos Aires

AISC (Cospa-MX)

CAMMATEO, Luis O

Disappeared 5-15-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CAMOTO, Aldo
(Respuesta Popular)

Abd. 1-1-77

Newspaper assoc.

CAMPAGNO, Orlando

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

CAMPAGANOLO, Adan Noe

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

FREED 209/78/6 P F

CAPITMAN, Carlos Hugo
C.I: 6.713.478
DNI: 12.874.362

Cause: Linked with extremist elements.
Decree: 39/76
Libarated: Decree 1907/76 Opinion 6-16-78

ADL
Anti Defamation League of Bnai B'rith
7-26-77.
DNA
Am Jewish Hist Comm
PBHR(L)

C-80/24/12

CAPORALE, Andres Pedro

Opinion

Minister refused visit upon Rio granted.

EXPELLED Por Nacion 7-22-78

PEN- Sierra Chica.

Presentado directamente Consulado.

D

CAPPELA, Carlos

ABD 11/76 in Ramos Mejía, Bs.As.with Silvio Olmedo

ML

F

CAPPI OLIVERA, Ivonne (Uruguayan)
Age 33

(Quilmes)

Detained 4 to 5 weeks in clandestin place. Left for Sweden on 6-22-78..

REFOULEMENT

D L

CAPRIOLI, Carlos Alberto
Rosario
Age 24

Disappeared in November 1976

Concar Cath Cong 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
PAHR(L)
ML

D

CAPRIOLI, Roberto Orlando
Age: 23

DIS 12-23-75 (Worker from Dalmine)

PAHR(L)
ML

CAPUANO MARTINEZ, Teresa

D

AED

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CAPUCCIO, Salvador
Propulsora Siderur.
LE: 5.175.201
Arc 38

Disappeared 2-9-76 La Plata

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)

D

CABAJAL, Carlos Alberto
Arc 20
CI: 7.523.112

Al Diario according to Lit. of Interior - Clarin 6-16-78
Disappeared 5-1-77 Vicente Lopez

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CARABAJAL, Juan Carlos
Estados Unidos del Brasil 17
SAN PEDRO-Jujuy

Arrested in April 76 in Moron (Prov.Bs.Aires) together with brother Ricardo Edmundo Carabajal and his girl friend Ramona Gladis Fuenzaslida. Juan Carlos and Ramona were taken to Jujuy, she was released in Sept. 1976. Since then Juan Carlos disappeared. Ricardo Edmundo at present in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Carabajal, Francisca Cortez de (Mother)
Estados Unidos del Brasil 17-San Pedro-Jujuy
Ramona Gladys Fuenzsalida-Caseros 2718-Olivos (795-8255)
Personal call - 3-1-78. Work:(92-6623)

D

CARABAJAL, Héctor Ruben
LE: 8.137.679

Disappeared 12-24-76 Santiago del Estero

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

AAAS
NAS

CARAHELLI, Gabriella (F) 492/78/7 D

Physicist, IMAF. Abducted in April 1976.
BOR reply 1-30-79: Reg. reply.

7-29-77. Letter to Derian from AAAS.
Letter to Derian from NAS.
Senators Cranston
Hayakawa
Cornell Union Group / NAS, AAAS.
PAHR(1)

CARABALLO, Gustavo*
Lafinur 3057 - Capital
Tel. 71-3864

Kidnapped on April 8, 1977 from his home.

Relative of employee of U.S. State Dept. in D.C.

CARABELLO, Oscar Jorge

Arrested late August 1977 and indicted for attacking the morals and reputation on the Army. He was recently released on bail and in currently at liberty.

Cong. Cleveland 8-31-78

CARACOCHE, Martin Enrique (Dr.)

DIS 2-26-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

CARAGNANI, Juan Carlos
Age; 38

ABD 9-19-76 Villa Jardin Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

CARAVAJAL, Héctor R.
Empleado Público-Santiago del Estero

Disappeared 12-24-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CARAVELLI. Gabriela

Disappeared 1/4/76 Cordoba with her 3 year old daughter

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

CARAVELOS, Jorge D-78

DIS 5-18-78

La Plata hist 10/78
PAHR (L)

CARAZO, Alfredo Jorge D

DIS

AISC (Cospa Madrid)

CARBAJALES, Héctor D
Age: 30

DIS 4/77 from work: Custom office.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CARBALLADA, Roberto
Met Com

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CARBALLO, Carlos A.

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

CARBONE, Edith Carmen

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

CARBONELL DE PEREZ WEIS, Beatriz C.
Age 23
C.I. 6.661.004

Disappeared 5-14-76

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CARBONI, Julio César
Age 24
LE: 4.826.313

Disappeared 5-22-76 Boulogne

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CARCEDO, Gerardo Víctor
LE: 5.497.126
Age 34

Disappeared on 10-18-76 in Bahia Blanca.

S.S. de Carcedo (Mother)
LE: 1.025.756
Fitz Roy 722-Bahia Blanca
PAHR (1)

CARCEDO, Guillermo Mario
Bf: 41
CI: 9.695.383

D-78

DIS 3-23-78

PAHR (L)

CARDAJAL, Asencio

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

CARDALICH, Víctor
MENDOZA

Detained since 1/1975 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CARDELLI, Justo José

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

CARDENAS, Alvaro Héctor
DNI: 10.795.832
DOB: 4-3-53
Lugones 3465-Capital

Disappeared 11-9-76, (Delgado peronista del grupo estudiantil

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Alicia Rivarola de Cardenas (Mother) (over)

CARDINAL, Carlos Martín
DNI 11.593.531
Age 22

Disappeared 7-21-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
ML

CARDOZO, Carlos Jorge

D

DIS 1/77

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CARDOZO, Graciela

D

ABD at home with husband

AISC

D-1978

CARDOZO, Hilda Yolanda

Age:26

Dis: 6-78,Moron

FDD List- 9-16-78

CARDOZO, Jorge

DIS 6-10-76

PAHR (L)

J33/78/9 D

CARDOZO, Juan (Uruguayan)

DIS 12/77

VNHRC-9-5-77

CARDOZO, María (Uruguayan) F

ARR 4-2-75 Villa Devoto PEN

AISCA.P.D.H.

CARDOZO, Raúl Osvaldo D

DIS 11-8-77

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

CARDOZO, Ricardo Alberto D
LE: 7 623.250

DIS 2-14-77
In prison.

PAHR (L)
Cardozo, Rafaela Lucía de (Mother)
LC. 6.573.181
Visited Representatives

CARDOZO, Sofía Tomasa 4/9/78/6 D
CI. 9.012.990
Zarate 859-Don Torcuato

11-3-77
Disappeared. Lozadur.

D

CAREAGA, Claudia Mabel

ABD 9-14-76 Bs.As.Prov.

PAHR(L)
ML

1169/77/10 D *

CAREAGAS BALLESTRINO, Ana Maria (Paraguay)
Recently married-pregnant (3 months)

FOA reply 11-10-77. Req.
2 d Petition: FOA reply Req. 3-10-78
Arrested by the police on 6-3-77. Since then disappeared.

Reappeared and is present living in Suecia.
Father visited Oct. 10, 1978

Wash.Off.on Latin America. 7-11-77.

D

CAREGNANO, Juan Carlos

Disappeared 9-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

CAREGUANE, Juan Carlos
Techint

Disappeared Oct. 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CARENE, Edith Carmen

DIS

ML

D

CARETTI, Christian

DIS 9-14-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

CARIE, Raúl María
Rpe 24

Disappeared 11-2-76 Resistencia

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CARIGNANO, Daniel Hugo

ABD 3-28-77 from home Bs.Aires 789,Córdoba

AISC

D

CARIMBOLO, Jorge O
Massalin y Celasco

Disappeared 6-18-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CARLAS SALA, Eduardo
Bfe 3a
C11: 5.9.51.049

Disappeared 1-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CARLEN, ORLANDO
C.D.Smata-Córdoba

Detained since 2-8-74 in Resistencia.

Lig. Arg. Der.Hombre

CARLINO, Luis Valentin

DIS La Pampa

PAHR (L)

D-78

CARLISANO, Francisco
Age 42

DIS 3-1-78

PAHR (L)

D

CARLOSO, Esteban Alberto

Disappeared Marzo 1977

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

D-44

CARLOTTO, Laura
22 years
Student

DIS ~~November~~ December 1977

La Plata List

CARLOTTO, Baby

D

Mother Laura Estela Carlotto detained and disappeared on 11-16-77.

Enriqueta Estela Barnes de Carlotto (Grandmother)
DOC. 3.102.995
Calle 59 Nro. 384-Piso 2°-Dto.8-La Plata

CARLOVIGH, Adrian

Killed

Killed on 9-9-1977

La Plata List

D

CARMACHY, Carmen Maria

DIS 5-8-76

ML

D

CARMACHY, Hydes Rosa

DIS Villa Martelli Bs.As.

ML

D

CARMAGNOLA, Daniel Constantino
CI: 10.471.226

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

CARMAN, Oesterheld Héctor
Tucumán

Disappeared 6/77

D

CARMELLA, Luis Elena

DIS 9-4-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D

CARMIN, Mario
LE: 8.324.801

ABD 5-22-78

AISC

D

CARMONA, Ernesto (Chilean journalist)

Arrested on 10/74 and imprisoned; present status unknown.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
ML

CARNACHY, Carmen María

DIS 5-8-76

PAHR (L)

CARNACHY, Hydes Rosa

DIS Villa Martelli Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

CARNAGHI, Tota

ABD 4/76 in Bs.As.

ML

534/78/5 D

CARNEIRO DE FONTOURA, Jubelinho. (Uruguayan)

DIS 12-30-77 s/Carlos Cabezudo from Antonio Diaz 1744. BA.

AISC
UNHRC-9-5-78

D

CARNENAS, Alvaro Héctor

DIS 11-9-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D

CARO, Marta Susana
DNI. 10.156.021
Bahia Blanca 462 - Florencio Varela - Bs. Aires
Age: 24

Disappeared 5-1-76 F. Varela

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Arg Des. Hombre

CARON, Ignacio Fernando
T Castelli 364-Luzuriaga-Maipú-Mendoza

Arrested on 12.2.1975. After 20months in prison still at the disposition of PEN (Poder Ejecutivo Nacional).

Caron, Nomeí Placida Maravilla de (Wife)
Castelli 364-Luzuriaga-Maipú-Mendoza

8-7-77 Letter to T.Todman.

D 78

CARPARIN, Juan Carlos

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

CARPINETTI, Jorge

DIS 11-29-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata-List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

CARPINETTI, Roberto D

DIS 12-3-76 La Plata - Pcia. Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

1080 461/78/4 D

CARPINTERO, Pablo
CI. 8.104.436
Age: 20
DOB: 7-14-57, born in Spain.

GOA-Reply 9-15-78 H.R.A.)

Disappeared on 12-9-77 in Villa Ballester, Ayacucho 366.
This same day that house was attacked by security forces.

PAHR(L)
State 167736
Carpintero, Amalia L. (Mother)
CI. 5.316.778
Lacroze 176 - 2° 1
Villa Ballester
ML
Letter to Mrs. Carter-12-23-77.

1080 12c/77/10 D *

CARPINTERO, Ricardo
CI. 5.316.778
DOB: 11-28-58
Pasco 136-Capital
GOA reply 9-15-78 H.R.A.)
GOA reply 11-21-78 - Reg. Reply

Ministerio de Rel.Ext. y Cultos replied that there are no antecedents on his detention.
Father of Ricardo Carpintero's expecting child. Disappeared in Bs.As. on 3-25-77.

The Intern. League for H.R.(Fernando Rondon) - 8-15-77.
Consular Data Corrg 9/78
ML PAHR(L)
Consular Section.
Letter toMrs. R. Carter, (no date)
Carpintero, Amalia L. (Mother)
CI. 5.316.778
Lacroze 176 - 2° 1
Villa Ballester
State 167736

D

CARABAJAL, Asencio

DIS

ML

D

CARBALLO, Carlos A.

DIS

ML

D

CARBONE, Edith Carmen

DIS

ML

D

CARDENAS

DIS 6/76

ML

D

CARDOZO, Jorge

DIS 6-10-76 Bs.As.City

ML

K

CARLOTTO, Laura Estela

Arrested on 11-20-77 in La Plata. On 8-25-78 parent were informed that her daughter had been killed fighting against security forces.

El Dia-Funeral notes.

LA PLATA List - 5-25-98

D

CARRA, Daniel Osvaldo
LE: 10.579.154
Arquitecto 3ro. Villa Regina
Rpt 28

Disappeared 12-20-76 from Alberdi 30, P.B. - Bs. Aires

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CARRACEDO, Edgardo

Detained since March 76 - Villa Floresta

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CARRANZA, Adriana M.

DIS 5-5-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

CARRANZA, Carlos Alberto
Arc 27.
LI: 7.9.91.943

Trid - Decree 3337/76 Opinion 6-16-76
Disappeared 8-18-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CARRANZA, Cecilia M.

Dis 5-5-76 Córdoba

PAHR (1)
ML

D

CARRANZA, Gonzalo Abel

Arc 26
LI: 10.260.540

DIS 10-8-74 La Plata - Bs As

PAHR (1)

D

CARRANZA, Mario Alrico

DIS 3-16-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

CARRANZA, Nélida Mabel
J. L. Suarez (B. Rivadavia Pcia)
Age 21
DI: 3.195.664

Disappeared 3-30-77 J. León Suarez - Pcia Bs As.

AL
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)
PDD

D

CARRANZA, Ruben Horacio
Age: 26

DIS 9-7-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

CARRANZA, Walter Luis
Age:18
LE: 11.989.801
Talladr - Bs As

DIS 6-20-76 Monte Grande

ML
PAHR (L)

D

CARRARA, Beatriz LeFur de (LeFour)
Age: 22
Detained
Domicilio Honduras 338, Lanus

Disappeared June, 1976.

ML
LE FUR, Enrique (Father)
CI. 5.453.750
Arg. Der. Hombre

L

D

CARRARA, Marta T. de
Santa Fe

Detained 3-24-76 - U.2 - V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CARRARA, Nora

ARR 3-24-76 Córdoba-PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

CARRASCO, Daniel David
Córdoba

Detained since 3-18-76 in Córdoba. PEN
Assid PEN.

AISC
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CARRAZAN, José Antonio
Apr 26

Disappeared 12-10-76 Ramis

CARRAZANA, Ruben Horacio
Rfe 24
DNI: 10.375.934

DIS 7-9-76 Tucumán

PAHR

CARREGA, Marcelo C
YPF - Mendoza

Disappeared 11-23-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CARREIRA, Mónica

DIS 8/76 Buenos Aires

ML

D

CARREIRA DE TEZANOS PINTO, E. Emilia
RR.38
C/11.3.187.019

Disappeared 8-17-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

CARRENO, Leonidas Octavio

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

Killed

CARRENO, Eduardo
Age: 21

Killed 12.21.74 V.Madero

FDD

D

CARREÑO, Enrique Oscar
Cordoba
Ing Civil Electricista
Age 26
LE: 8.487.944

Disappeared 5-28-76 Córdoba

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-18-78 (L)

CARRENO, Vicente

D 1978

Dis: 9-18-78 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List 10/78
PAHR (L)

CARRERA, Carlos Francisco

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D. 1978

CARRERA, Daniel Benjamin
M/c 27
CI: 8.383.652

Dis: 1-14-78

La Plata List - 10/78
PAHR (L)

D

CARRERA, Eduardo
Human R. Abstract

Disappeared 4-7-77. La Plata

AISC
La Plata List 10/78
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Ingr. Org. En Vivo

CARRERA, Guillermo Mariano
CI: 4.406.047

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

CARRERA, Ines

DIS 5-28-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

T CARRERA, Marcelo Guillermo
DNI 10.509.483
CARRERA, Adriana Irene Bonoldi de
DNI 10.636.896

Arrested on 11.24.1976. After him on 12.1.1976 also his wife. Since then disappeared. Mendoza

BRAVO, Maria R. C. de (Sister and sister in law)
Barrio Minotti B 10-Godoy Cruz, (5501) Mendoza

FBNR (L)
8-10-77 Letter to T.Todman
Sen. Anderson
Humphry
MT
TN Mendoza Family Visit 5/78 "WOLA 11-78"

CARRERAS

DIS 10-76 Mendoza

ML

D

CARRERAS, Juan Francisco
AGE: 26
Doc. 7.854.523

DIS 9-16-76

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

D

CARRERIA, Evangelina
Age: 34
Publisher

DIS 5/76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

R K

CARRETE, Gonzalo

ARR La Plata Unidad 9. Killed in prison

AISC

D

CARRETERO, Ana del Rosario

Disappeared 10-1-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

525/78/9 D

CARRETERO CARDENAS, Casimira Maria del Rosario (Uruguayan)
A/c 2b

DIS 10-1-76

UNHRC - 9-5-78

D

CARRETI, Christian

DIS 9-14-76 Buenos Aires

ML

436/26/6

CARRICA, Irma L. de
Age: 53

Disappeared 4-18-77 by Army & Police Forces

RISC
Cancer Anti Cong 9/78
WOLA

CARRICONDO, Manuel Daniel

DIS 12-6-77 La Plata Pcia Bs As

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

CARRILLO, Antonio (Dr.)

Detained 10-10-75, now in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

CARRILLO RODRIGUEZ, Fausto Augusto (Paraguayenne)

DIS 8-16-76 in Formosa (Tercer Regimiento 29)

BISC

CARRIOLLI, Carlos Alberto D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

CARRIQUIRIBORDE, D

DIS 10-1-76 La Plata w/wife Graciela

ML

CARRIQUIRIBORDE, Alicia Helena

Disappeared 5-19-76 in La Plata. Freed 8-10-78.
At present under house arrest.
Ceased arrest Clarin 11-1-78

French Embassy-7-25-78

REPETUR, Gabriela Carriquiriborde de
DU: 12.750.425
Age: 20
Address: Calle 40 Nro. 184 - La Plata

Disappeared in La Plata on 9-30-76, together with her husband Jorge Orlando Repetur.

Publ. Prens. 5-13-78 (L)
La Plata List 10/78

Eduardo Carriquiriborde - LE:1.130.970 (Father)
Edith Bergez de Carriquiriborde- LC:1.412.129 (Mother)
Letter to I.Thayer 2-28-78.
French Embassy
NL

CARRIQUIRIBORDER, Graciela
Psicology student

DIS on 9-30-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

CARRIQUIRIBORDE, Maria de las Mercedes
CI 10.101.829
LC. 6.400.670

Detained on 12-6-77. Disappeared since then.
This happened in Córdoba city.

PAHR(L)
La Plata Hist 10/78

French Embassy-7-25-78
Carriquiriborde, Ana Maria
Carriquiriborde, Alicia (Sister)
Tacuarí 866-7°"F"-Capital
Phone: 26-0520 (393-6740)

D

CARRIZO, Alberto Rogelio
Viz 30
L: 8.701.899

DIS 11-14-77 Mar del Plata-Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

CARRIZO, Andrea Astina

D

ABD 2-25-76 Clypole, Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

CARRIZO, Blanca

P

ARR. 11-15-74 La Rioja - PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

CARRIZO, Carlos H.
La Rioja

Detained since 8-20-76 Unidad 9La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CARRIZO, Elba Liliana
DNI: 4c 160 748
Anchorena 334-Bs As.
Rfx 25

RBD
[Disappeared] 8-3-77 from home with another unidentified person

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Leg Arg Der Hombre

D

CARRIZO, Eugenio Miguel
Alt 23
CI: 7.045.511

Disappeared 7-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

CARRIZO, Francisco Manuel

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CARRIZO, Horacio Manuel
Alt 27
LE 8.114.939

D

DIS 11-14-77 Mar del Plata - Bs As.

PAHR

D

CARRIZO, Jorge Anselmo

Disappeared 6-16-76 José C. Paz

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

CARRIZO, Juan Carlos
Age 25
L.E. 10.262.025

DIS 11-14-77 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR (1)

D

CARRIZO, Luis Ramón
Age 36
L.E. 7.088.691

DIS 5-18-77 Tucumán

PAHR (1)

D

CARRIZO, Luis Raúl
~~Age: 36~~
Doc. 7.088.691

DIS 7-18-77

Tucumán

D

CARRIZO, Miguel Angel
Age: 13
C.I.: 4.044.777

Disappeared 7-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

CARRIZO, Manuel

D

DIS

ML

D

CARRIZO, Susana de

DÍS 3-13-76

PAHR (L)

D

CARRIZO, Walter Hector
DNI 13.730.099 CI: 8.659.082
Age: 18
Member Ted Jur. Comm.
Juan Bautista Alberdi 5481. Caseros

ABD 7-19-77 Caseros

Cancer Anti Conf. 9/78
Comm. Party
ML
PAHR (L)

D

CARRONE, Salvador Armando

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CARROZZINO, Carlos D

DIS 8-6-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

CARTIZ, Carlos Jorge D

DIS

ML

CARTROGIOVANI, Cayetano A. D

DIS 8-24-77

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

CARULLO, Carlos Arturo

Right of option certificate under review.

France

CARVAJAL, Carlos Alberto D

DIS 5-1-77

AISC(A.P.D.H.)

CARVALHO, Luis 536/78/9 D
(Uruguayan)

DIS April 1978

VNHRC-9-5-78

D

CARVAJAL, Hector R.

Disappeared since 12-24-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

22/24/12 *

CARVALLO, Gustavo
Lawyer

Reportedly has been released by Argentine Autorities after seven months imprisonment.

State 29238612-23-77.

D

CARZOLIO, Hugo Daniel
Rg. 24

Disappeared from 20 to 26 of December 1977.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Arg. Ley. Gen. Humble

CASADO, Gaspar Onofre
Arg. 22

D

DIS 12-7-77

PAHR (4)

CASADO, José María

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CASADO, Josefina

R

ARR 11-24-75 San Juan-Held Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

CASAGRANDE,

Couple detained at their home in La Plata (69 between 29 and 30) in November 1976.

Harris data - 8-14-78

CASAL, Miguel Andres D

DIS 11-28-77

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

D 1978

CASALI URRUTIA, *Jorge Cesar* (Chilean)
CI. 4.580.810
San Guillermo 2325 - Martin Coronado, Pdo.3 de Febrero
(Prov. Bs.As.)
Married, 2 daughters.
Parks and gardens constructor

Arrested on 6-10-78 by a Command of Military Institutes.
Since then disappeared.

Subolovsky de Casali Urrutia, Lidia (Wife)
Echeverria 1764-Florida
760-8254 Personal call Embassy 7-25-78

CASALIS, Beatriz M.del Rosario

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

CASANO, Ofelia A.
Htal. Italiano-Capital

Disappeared 3-23-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CASARES, Edith (Dr.)

DIS

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

CASARES, Rodolfo
DNI: 10.219.441

Disappeared 9-30-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CASARETTO, Antonio A

DIS 2-17-77

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D

CASARIEGO, Ernesto Raúl
ci: 6.983.962
Cangallo 2540 - Pta. Sra.
Pcia. 22

Disappeared 12-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Hig. Arg. Sch. Kimball

CASARIEGO, Maria Rosa

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

R/FDD

CASARIEGO DEL BEL, Juan Carlos (F) D

5 INI: 1.524.643 Ramona
Arauz 2914 - Cap.
Fe 54

Kidnapped on 6-15-77. On the following day a received a telephone call informing me that my husband has been kidnapped. They ask for 50.000 dollars as ransom. I make the denounce at the police and when I am called again by the kidnappers I offer them 15.000 dollars, amount which I have been able to get. They promise to call back, but since then I have had no news from them.

Casariego, Alicia Gainza de
CI. 1.657.422 (Wife)

FDD
PAHR(L) Testimony to Senators.
Comm. Amb. Cong. 9/78
Inga. Arg. Lic. Urruty

L

D

CASAS, Carlos Anibal

Disappeared 8-19-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CASAS, Hugo Francisco

Disappeared 8-19-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CASATONNE CRACOGNA, M.Elena

DIS

PAHR-(1)
ML

P

CASELLI, Ana Patricia

ARR PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

D

CASELLO, Maria Susana
Age 24
CI: 6.525.012

DIS 11-20-76

PAHR (L)

D

CASERES, Edith
Surgeon f/ Hospital Italiano

DIS 1977 Buenos Aires

ML

D

CASEZ CAMARERO, Pedro
Semanario PRT - Capital

Disappeared 1977

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CASHA, Juan María

DIS 8-19-76 Temperley Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

CASIC DE SZPIRO, Ebe A

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

CASIS, Rafael

DIS 1/76

AISC(Cospa-Madrid)

CASO, Eduardo

ARR PEN

DDALTO VALLE-11/78

CASO, Rodolfo Eduardo
Age: 24

R.E.Caso and his wife are conscientious prisoners. He was arrested on 12-23, 1975. At present detained under PEN. Bishop of Neuquen fully supports this case. At. present in Rawson Prison, Province of Chubut.

Sentenced to 6 years in prison, La Nacion 12-8-78

Danish Embassy 32-6435/6401
(Mrs Rasmussen) Inf. 12-13-78

CASOI, Jorge Hugo

DIS

PAHR (L)

CASOL, Raúl Antonio D

DIS 3-29-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

CASOY, Claudio D

Disappeared

ADLeague

CASOY, Eva Ulman de D

Disappeared

ADLeague

D

CASSANO GIOCIA, Ofelia A.
Age: 28
LC: 6.069.211
Pinedo 1919-Bernal, Bs.As.

ARD 3-23-77 by Sec. Forces in Prov. Bs.As. Banfield

PAHR (1)
Camara Cont. Congreso 9/78
ML

336/78/4 D

CASSARETO, Antonio
Ex-Secretario General Union Obrera Municipales de Cap.Fed.
CI: 4.141.327

G.C.A. July 6-27-78 N.R.A.D y se la solicitado investigacion (Junio 1978)

Arrested at his home in Tapiales on 2-12-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (1)
Freeman - 4-20-78

D

CASSATARO, Eduardo Juan
DNI: 10.076.350
DOB: 4-14-52 Cnel. Pringles(Prov.Bs.As.)
Address: Calle 12 No. 300 - 1°"C"-La Plata

Arrested on 2-22-77 together with wife Elba Zulema Arteta.
Since then disappeared. La Plata - Bs As

La Plata Cont 10/78
PAHR (1)
Cassataro, Juan (Father)
Belgrano 2748
7400 Olavarria-Prov.Bs.As.

Cassataro, Hector Daniel
L.E.: 7.640.180
DOB: 9.7.49 - Cnel.Pringles (Prov.Bs.As.)
Calle 632 No. 5477 (ex-Puan 1366)
Villa Matew - Partido 3 de Febrero

Arrested on 12-6-77 together with wife Alicia Beatriz Ramirez Abella. Since then disappeared.

La Plata Unit 12/78

Cassataro, Juan (Father)
Belgrano 2748
7400 OLAVARRIA (Prov.Bs.As.)
FAMR(L)

252/78/1 J *

CASSINO, Clarisa Adriana Garcia de
CI.: 12.434.936
DOB: 12-9-1956
Student at Medical School-Univ. La Plata
Address: Calle 521 No. 726, Tolosa, La Plata

Arrested on 1-3-77 with her husband José Alberto Cassino; since then disappeared.

Garcia, Clarisa Mabel Delorenzini de (Mother)
Calle Echeverria 370-Pergamino-Bs.Aires
Ibram Garcia de Cass., calle 78 n° 787 - La Plata, BA. Phone 41454

[ ] letter B4

251/78/1 J *

CASSINO, José Alberto
CI.: 11.253.109
DOB: 4-27-1954
Student at School of Exact Sciences-Univ.La Plata
Address: Calle 521 No. 726, Tolosa, La Plata
Age 23

Arrested on 1-3-77 with his wife Clarisa Adriana Garcia de Cassino; since then disappeared. Age 20 Tolosa - Pcia Bs As

Cassino, Palermo (Father)
Calle 521 No. 726, La Plata
Ibram Garcia de Cass., calle 78 n° 787, La Plata Phone 41454

[ ] letter B4

NL

CASSOLE, Raúl A

D

DIS 3-29-76

BOHR(L)
ML

CASTAGUET, Roberto Daniel
LC 10.915.578 Apt 22
CASTAGUET, Julia Esther Pozzo de
LC 11.616.547

(F)

D

D

On 7-29-76 were arrested together with sister Patricia Liliana Pozzo. The last in prison. Husband and wife since then disappeared.

La Plata Insp 10/78

Esther
Pozzo, Fonrouge de (Mother)
LC. 3.141.877
Calle 9 - 484 1/2 - La Plata

8-14-77 Letter to T.Todman.

ML
PAHR - Prima 5-9-78 (L)

L

CASTAÑEDA, Angel
Córdoba

Detained since Oct.74 in Rawson

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D78

CASTAÑEDA RUSSO, Alberto

Disappeared 3-27-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CASTELLANO, Raúl Alberto
Age 21
DNI: 43.874.268

DIS 10-19-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

CASTELLETTI, Luis
Age 40
LE 4.234.407

Disappeared 10-11-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CASTELLI, Claudio Walter

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

CASTELLINI, Maria Eloisa ~~[illegible]~~
DNI: 11.626.205
Azcuénaga 1811 - Bs. Aires
Silhouet-Argentina.
Age 22

Disappeared 11-11-76 in Bermejo s/N. Libertad (Bs. As.)

Blanca Z Carlinni de Castellini (Mother)
ML Azcuénaga 1813 - 7°A - Cap. 85-3691
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Arf. Villamajor 187 - Las Heras (Prov. Bs As) 110 Personal call 9-6-78

D

CASTELLINI, Maria Eloisa
Age: 22
DNI: 11.626.205

DIS 11-11-76 Libertad Bs.As.

PAHR (L)
DD

D

CASTELLITO

DIS 7/76

PAHR (4)
ML

D

CASTELLO, Marcelo Anibal
Ci. 6.533.025
Tellier 334 - Bs. Aires
Afa 26

Disappeared 2-4-77 Comisaría 4 Florida - Bs. Aires

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

CASTELNUEVO, Elias (writer; president of Argentine Writers' Union)

Disappeared, whereabouts unknown. No data

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
PAHR (4)
ML

CASTILLA, Fernando
Age: 26

D

DIS 1-27-76 Taft Viejo - Tucumán

PAHT (L)

CASTILLA, Gabriel
Railroad worker

D

AED 1-21-76

PAHR (L)
ML

CASTILLA DE SAFFARONI, S.de
Age: 24

D

DIS 9-29-76

PAHR (L)

D

CASTILLO, Ataliva (Uruguayan)

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

UNHCR-Refugee not registered.
3-9-78
"AI-10-78"

D

CASTILLO, Blanca

DIS after March 1976

Mexico 79

B

CASTILLO, Ernesto Carlos (2) (1)

Cecil PEN - La Nacion 10-21-78
Reported Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

D

CASTILLO, Jorge

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

CASTILLO, Mauricia Zulema
Age 41
CI: 1.780.654

Disappeared 5-4-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CASTILLO, Norberto José
Age: 22
CI: 6.301.225

DIS 7-13-77

PAHR (L)

500/78/8 D

CASTILLO, Oscar Silverio
DNI: 7.937.298

GOB reply: No records.
1-30-79

Abducted in San Juan city las April 7 while on his way home after being releasedfrom jail. He is disappeared since then. He was active in the Peronist party "during the time of elections".

Letter to Amn. Center 12-12-78.

Tello de Castillo, Diana Beatriz (Wife)
San Juan 5400
Adan Quiroga 169-Sur-Desemparados-Barrio Tulúm

CASTILLO, Raquel S.C. de
San Luis

Detained 12-10-75 - Penit. Mendoza

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D CASTILLO, Raúl Alberto X released 12/23/77
T CASTILLO, Raquel Luzana Camacho de x

Arrested since 19 months in La Plata and Mendoza respectively. Asks for help since there is a small child which needs the mother.

CASTILLO, Irma Saccardo de (Mother and mother in Law)
L.C. 8563.944
Bernardo Quiroga 85-Eugenio Bustos (5569) Mendoza

AL
8-7-77 Letter to Derian.
8-7-77 Letter to T.Todman

PAHR-(L)
Christmas 1977 Announcement.

T CASTILLO BARRIOS, Alicia Ramona (F) D
CI. 7.528.336 -DNI 12.556.581
Age 20

Disappeared at the locality of Moreno from 8 to 13 of March, 1977.

CASTILLO BARRIOS, Eva H. Marquez de (Mother)
LC 0033603
Rivadavia 2880 - 2°P. "E"-Capital 84-8367

Statement. T.Todman.

PAHR (L)

D

CASTILLO BARRIOS DE OVEJERO L,
Age: 22
CI. 7.528.336

DIS 5-5-77 San Justo

FDD

PAHR (L)

CASTILLO CASTILLO, Encinda D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CASTILLO LIMA, Ataliva (Uruguayan)

Uruguayan extremist residing in BS.As.

Montevideo Embassy

CASTRO, Alberto Luis
DNI 4608536
CASTRO, Carlos Enrique Balbino
DNI 10728842

Juan Alberto Castro (LE 1015564) father of the two above mentioned, was arrested on 6-25-76. Later was his son Alberto Luis with his wife Antonia Moreira (DNI 11941489) and finally Carlos Enrique Balbino. The father and Antonia Moreira recovered freedom, but the two brothers are disappeared.

CASTRO, Juan Alberto
LE 1015564
Arenales 2464 - 4°"B" - Capital
Tel.: 83-6077

8-7-77 Letter to Derian
8-14-77 Letterto T.Todman
PAHR (L)

CASTRO, Alfredo Oscar

Disappeared 4-10-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

2 1

CASTRO, Miguel Angel

D

Repeated Cleared PEN.
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

D

CASTRO, Carlos Enrique
Age: 25
DNI: 10.728.842

DIS 6-25-76

PAHR (L)

D

CASTRO, Gladys Cristina
DNI: 10.938.484

Disappeared

Murder, Family Riot 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Reg Arg Dir. Bonn

D

CASTRO, Hector
CI. 6.815.337
Age 19

Arrested at hiw work Cia. Argentina de Seguros (Tucumán 637-Capital-1°Piso) on 5-27-76. Since then disappeared.

ML

Castro, Digna Somoza de (Mother)
White 5197-Munro Bs.As.
766-0123 after 16:00.
PAHR(4)
2-3-78

D

CASTRO, Hugo Alberto

DIS 1/77 Buenos Aires

ML

D

CASTRO, Juan Manuel

Disappeared 8-19-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

CASTRO, Maria Luis

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

CASTRO,Mario

D

ABD 3-22-76 La Plata

PAHR (L)
ML

CASTRO, Miguel
Age: 25

DIS

La Plata List

C-65/77/2

CASTRO, Ruben Daniel

Mrs Sol. refused visit 11/78 as R30 rejected w/i 6 months.

PEN; Unidad 2 Sierra Chica. Given forms.

Castro, Maria Cristina B. de (Wife)
Pasaje J. Hernandez 2855
San Vicente-Córdoba (Phone 59072)

CASTRO DE HELLONE, Luisa M.
Age 41

D

ABD 8-3-76

ML
PAHR (1)

CASTRO CUBA MUNIZ, Helmer Fredy (Per.
Age 32

D-78

DIS 4-12-78 L.F. Solano

PAHR (1)

CASTRO DE DOMINGUEZ, Gladys
Age: 24
DNI. 10.938.484

D

DIS 12-9-77 Godoy Cruz Mendoza

PAHR (L)

CASTRO GAVELO, Iris Jacqueline

D

AED 3-2-77

ML
PAHR(L)

CASTRO DE MARTINEZ, Antonia (Uruguayan)

537/78/9 D

Age 30

Gov reply: Mad.

-12-

Reported disappeared in Dec.77-Uruguayan

"AI - 10/78"

PAHR (L)
Cong Walsh BA-9174

D

CASTRO PEREZ, Julio
Periodist
Age: 68

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in September 1977.

La Nacion (newspaper clipping-10-3-77).

D78

CASTRO SILVANO, Marcelo

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

(F)

T
R

CASTRO SOTELO, Miguel Angel
DNI 10.793.258

Arrested at street 117 and diagonal 73 on 12-22-1976 by army force in civil cloths, at La Plata city. Since then disappeared.

CASTRO, Maria Luna Sotelo de (Mother)
DNI 3.109.111
Calle 13 No. 17- City Bell (Bs.As.)
La Plata Prot 10/78
PRHR (4) Statement. T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

R/FDD

S

VILLAREAL, Beatriz Ramona Castro de

Was arrested on 5-4-76 and since then at the disposal of the PEN. .On 6-25-77 the mother received a letter from the prison,in which Beatriz asks for help because of the very bad conditions she is in.

Castro, Maria Josefina Garcete de (Mother)
CI. 3.899.779
Soto Calvo 299-José Leon Suarez, Bs.As.

6-27-77. Letter to Senators.

D

CASTROGIOVANI, Cayetano Alberto
DNI : 13.890.913

Disappeared 8-24-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CASU, Mario

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

CATALA, Alfredo Eduardo

D

DIS 5-8-77

La Plata Cinel 10/76
PAHR

D

CATANEO, Atilio Jorge

Disappeared 1-4-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

CATIVIELA, Raúl Alberto
Bkt 34
DNI: 8.265.647

Disappeared 1-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CATIVIELA, Raul Héctor
LE: 8.265.697
Age: 29

Disappeared on 1-12-77.

Cativiela, Lilia M. de (Mother)
Avellaneda 2650-San Fernando (Bs.As.)

D

CATIZZANO, Jorge Raúl

DIS

PAHR-(L)
ML

D

CATNICH, Juan Carlos
Ab 29
C.I: 4.382.644

Disappeared 8-31-77 J.B. Juarez

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CATOVSKY (Dr.) D

Brother of Dr. Catovsky, at present in England.

ABD in Buenos Aires on 6.6.77.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

688/77/SR D

CATOVSKY, Hector
C.I. 6.032.896
Arg. 29 years, married
Av. de los Incas 4195-3°"C"-Capital

Detained on 6-3-77 at Av. Triunvirato 3099,Capital, by a group or armed men Joint Forces. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (L)

ML

Catovsky, Ana (Mother)
Av. de los Incas 3902-4°"A"
Phone (Taller) 55-3654

D

CATTANEO, Atilio Jorge
Age: 37
LE:- 5.322.436
Charcas 4091 - 6° "E" - Capital

Arrested on 1-4-1977.

PAHR (L)

Cattaneo de Gonzalez, Isabel Sonia (Sister)
Florencio Sanchez 1119
7600 Mar del Plata
ML FD

CATTINI, Adriana

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

374/78/5

D

CATZ, Laura
CI. 6.137.061
Azcuénaga 1031 - Piso 3°"A"-Bs.Aires
Student

N.R.A.D - 9-5-77

Arrested at her home on 5-11-78.

Azcuénaga 1031-Piso 3°"A"_Capital Phone 83-7800

Raúl Alegre Catz, Alejandro Zunia (Father)

D

CAUDET, Gladys Hebe
CI. 7.336.317
Age 21

Disappeared 6-3-76 Olivos

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

R

CAUSO, Juan Carlos
DU 10259360
Calle 61 No. 1572-La Plata

Disappeared on 1-25-77, in La Plata city.

Causo, Elena Y. de (Mother)
LC 9713489
Calles 159 y 45 - La Plata

Statement to Representatives.

CAUTARELL, Eduardo

DIS

ML

CAVALDA, Maria Irene
Age: 28

DIS 12-5-77 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

CAVALLERO, Ana Maria
LC: 6.133.561
DOB: 10-24-1949
Teacher-University student

Disappeared in Buenos Aires on 7-27-76 (Pueyrredón 659-13"B") together with fiancee Alberto Calou.

Cavallero, Ernesto F. (Father)
España 185-Salta
Letter to Amb. 7-24-78

D

CAVALLO, Alberto Carlos
DU 12.151.147
DOB: 9-30-1955
La Rioja 279 - Quilmes

Arrested at his home in the presence of his parents by Army forces, on 1-21-1977. Since then disappeared.

Personal call Mr. Harris 3-6-78.

Cavallo, Remolo (Father)
La Rioja 279-Quilmes
Phone: 252-6029

D78

CAVALLO, Héctor Hugo
Age: 29
CI: 6.160.757

DIS 8-4-78

FDD

CAVALOTTI, Teresita Lucy

Detained in Villa Devoto.
Sentenced to 4 años. in habilitada - Comma clipping 6-1-78

Cavalotti, Sira de (Mother)
Alpatacal 3652
1676 Santos Lugares .

CAYELLI DE BERTOLLINI, Susana de
Del Viso, Buenos Aires

DIS 3-29-76 with daughter 9 years who appeared later
Del Viso - Bs. As.

PAHR(4)
ML

CAZACHKOFF, Gregorio

DIS 11-25-76 San Fernando - Bs. As.

Mar del Plata List
PAHR(1)

D

CAZACHKOFF, Pedro

DIS 11-25-76 San Fernando - Bs As

Mar del Plata List

PAHR-(L)

D

CAZALAS DE GIGLIO, Virginia Isabel
Bpl 33
L! 4654 586

Disappeared 12-6-76

La Prensa Hist 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CAZAMBI, Eduardo

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

CAZENAVE, Elizabeth (Elicete) (German)

ABD 3-8/9-79 .

Diana Austin
German Embassy

D *

CAZENAVE, Jorge Omar
CI. 6.440.328
Cochabamba 1369
Hfc 24

No data.
ABD 4-11-79 at work, Ph Am.

Cazenave, Elsa (Mother)

Brother visit to Alfredo Bravo 5-3-77.

PAHR (L)

9

CAZES CAMARERO, Pedro (journalist; director of the newspaper El Combatiente)

Terrorist sentenced to 20-years in jail. Ph Am Herald 2-20-79

Arrested in 1973, imprisoned. Printed in La Plata

La Mondi 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT.
Career Anth Cmg. 9/78

D

CAZON, Santiago Alberto
Age 25
Doc. 11.085.219

Disappeared 9-25-75

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CAZZULO, Luis Alberto
Age 23
DNI: 10.881.408

DIS 11-22-76 San Martín - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

CEAGLIA, Hugo
C.D.Smata (Córdoba)-Córdoba

Disappeared 11-8-74

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

153/77/11
D

CEBALLOS, Maria Eulalia

s (di es CEBALLOS, Maria Emilia)

PEN: Sta. Fé - 2-2-79
Cargo: Integrante del Frente de Libertades del PCR
Alejada: U-1 Córdoba

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.

Amnesty International
Mayo 80 - 2320

CEBALLOS, Raúl ~~Gregorio~~ Carlos D

Rfe 25
DN: 10.682.314

DIS 8-26-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

PAHR (L)

D

CEBALLOS, Raúl Carlos
Rfe 25
10.682.314

Disappeared 1-25-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

CEBALLOS, Raúl Oscar D

DIS 8-26-76

Córdoba list

D

CECCONI, Tulio Eduardo

Disappeared 7-21-77 Quilmes

PAHR--Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

CEDOLA DE MONTEAGUDO, Laura Susana de

DIS 6-22-77 La Plata-Bs As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

CEDOYA, Víctor -
Tribunales-San Isidro

Detained since 3-25-76 Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CEJAS, Alejandro D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CEJAS, Héctor Nicolas
Age 21
DNI: 12.421.208

Disappeared 9-18-76 b. de Zamora

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

CEJAS, Jesus
Clerk of the Cuban Embassy

DIS 8-9-76

ML

C-112/78/1

B
Option

CEJAS, Omar Roberto

Hom. Ind. refused visit 4/78 as Rev rejected w/in 6 months.

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata

Cuello, Graciela Maria Teresa (Wife)

Rivadavia 128 - Las Rosas (Santa Fé)
Phone: 385

F 1

CELADA, Rolando
Lawyer in Prov. Santiago del Estero

Detained after 3-24-76

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cancer Aust.Cmg 9/78

D

CENA, Fermín

Disappeared 10-26-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

C-3|75|10

Opcion 9

HECTOR
CENA, Nestor Manuel

fin Jud. refused visit 11/77 in under judicial system.

At present in Instituto Correccional Modelo - Coronda, under PEN 1207, 5-7-76. Was arrested on 6-12-76.

Wish to present option to leave the country. Has relatives in Miami and Los Angeles.

Cena, Sr. & Sra.
Marcial Cangiotti 3414-Santa Fé 3000
Phone: 25818.

AR-2884

3

CENA, Jorge Néstor
LE: 8 464.524

Disappeared 11-20-76 casa de Uruets, La Plata

La Plata first 16/78
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CENADOR DE RONDOLETTO, Maria
Age: 58
Doc. 967.313

DIS 11-2-76

Tucumán

D

Cenar, Alberto
Dirección de Rentas
CI. 5.994.641

Disappeared 9-15-76 Bs. As. City from home.

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)

CENDOYA MORALES, Angel (CHILE)

Lives as a refugee in Argentina. Asks for help to leave the country and go to USA.

D

CENDRERO, Martin O.

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D78

CENENEGUI, Aldo

DIS

WOLA 11-78

CENTENO, Nora
Student

DIS

PAHR(L)
La Plata List

R

CENTER OF INNER RELIGION/SILOISM

Senator Mark O. Hatfield

CENTURION, César (Paraguayan) Expelled D
Age 24
Shop Steward Work at Bs. As. Port

left for Lorraine 10/28/77

Disappeared 10-19-77 from Barrio Saymar, Fr. Lozano Quilmes, Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

CENTURION, Fermín

Disappeared 5-20-76 RRR. Avellaneda

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

545/78/9 D

CENTURION, Javier Hipólito
LE: 7.067.130
Santa Fé 2207 - Tucumán
Age 41

BOA-reply: M.R.A.D.

Detained on 8-19-76 at Mendoza street 400 in Tucumán.

PAHR (L)
Stuart Lee Borden (AmCitFriend) 31-4075
=Marcelo T de Alvear 950-7A-Capital
Centurión, Francisco Javier (Father)
Santa Fé 2207-Tucumán
Tucumán
7-7-78 Personal call.

CENZANO, (Blas) Elías Arnaldo D

DIS La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)
ML

CEPERNIC, Jorge D
Former Governor Sta.Cruz Prov.

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

CERBIONE, Felipe

Detained since 5-17-76 Liceo Mil. Mendoza

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CERDO, Liliana Teresa
Age: 17
DNI: 8.604.742

DIS 5-13-76 Munro Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

P

CERECETTO DE FRANGANILLO, Estela Lidia
Medicine student

Detained 12-15-75' At presente Villa Devoto Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

CERELJO, Nancy Graciela
Age 23

Disappeared 2-3-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

CERENELLI, Aldo
Age: 30

ABD 7/78 Bs.As.

AISC

CERETTI, Carlos

Detained 11-8-74 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CERETTI, Conrado Guillermo (writer & journalist)
Age 34
LE: 4431 801

Disappeared 7-27-76

FDEPA-La Opinion 4-1-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Madrid 10-29-77 Pearlspirit

CEREZO, Enrique Abdon Pastor
Age: 49

DIS 2-1-77 Tucumán

FDD

CERGUEIRA JR, Tenorio (Brasilian)

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 1977.

UNHCR-Refugee not registered
3-9-78

CERONE, Estela

FP

ARR 7-15-75 Mar del Plata - Held V.Devoto PEN
75 Judge: Cesar Tarantino-Sentenced 7 years

AISC (CADHU)

CERRADAS, Armando Tomas

D

DIS

PENR(L)
ML

D

CERREA, Inés

Disappeared 5-28-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CERRETI, Conrado
Journalist

D

DIS 7-30-76 from home

Released 6-10-78
ML

CERRONE, Salvador Armando

D

DIS

PAAR (L)
ML

D

CERROTA, Norma Inés

DIS 2/77 Avellaneda, Bs.Aires

ML

de RAMOS
CERROTTA, Alicia Dora
Age: 29
LC: 5.942.208

DIS 11-1-76 Tucumán

FDD
PAHR (L)

CERRUDO, Carlos Florentino
CI. 8.910.962
LE. 5.097.066
Sarmiento 2877 - 1°"A"-Capital

Arrested by a group of armed men on 11-9-76. Since then disappeared. (Member of Juventud Peronista)

Cerrudo, Florentino	(Father)
Teresa Cerrudo	(Mother)
Delia Raquel Cerrudo	(Sister)

2-1-78

CERRUTI, Fernando Ruben
CI 6099078 Leg. 23 DNI. 10.620.222
Estanislao del Campo 1982-Florida (Bs.As.)

Arrested on 5-10-76 by Security Forces. Since then disappeared.

Cerruti, Maria del Rosario	(Mother)
CI 2383614	
Estanislao del Campo 1982-Florida (Bs.As.)	

PAHR (L) Statement to Representatives.

D

CERRUTI, Victorio

Disappeared Mendoza

Mendoza Family Print 8/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
" WCLA-4-78

D

CERTO, Liliana Teresa
CI. 8.604.742

DIS 5-12-76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CERUTTI, Horacio V.

ABD 4-11-76 Bs.As.

AISC

CERVANTES, Miguel
BOB: April 25, 1958
Vicente Lopez 2043-Hurlingham (1686)
TEL.: 655-4143
Age 19

D

Disappeared since 9-20-77. Hurlingham

PAHR-(L)
Cervantes, Miguel Pedro (Fahter)
LE. 5.572.605
Vicente Lopez 2043-Hurlingham (1686)
T.E. 655.4143
Personal call 12-2-77

CERVERO NOVO, Luis Justo Agustín
Worker- ~~Human Comm. Party~~
CI: 5.745.476 or 5.619.144
Age 29

D

ABD 5-20-77 in Capital Federal

Comm. Party FDD-4-6-78
ML - PAHR-Prensa 5-A-78 (L)
Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
Wife: Angela P. de Cervero LC: 5.347.996 Carlucci

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c-24/22/4

CERVINE, Felipe Andres

P Upton

Unidad 9 LA PLATA - PEN

ex-Partido Socialista

CERVINO, Maria Luis

D

ABD 4/77 in Villa Urquiza, Bs.As.

ML

CERVINO, Maria Teresa

D

ABD 4/76 in Buenos Aires

ML

FREED

X

CES, Anibal Ruben
DN. 10.672.425
CES, Ana Maria Espósito de
CI. 7.808.495
DN. 12.644.344
Ayacucho 2478
LANUS ESTE

Disappeared on 12-9-77.

Esposito, Francisco
Pergamino 683
LANUS ESTE

Personal call. 12-19-77

(Father) [illegible] both were freed on the 12-27-77.

D

CESAR DE MARZOA, Elsa E.
I Identi 1223 Gral Lamadrid. Bs As
Age 24

Disappeared 4-24-77 Gral. Sarmiento - Bs As

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CESPEDES, E. Angel
DNI 11.651.074 Age 21
Medicine student
R.Kelm 193 - Mar del Plata

ABD in La Plata 12-19-76 (Street 43 between 10 & 9)

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

749/79/1 D78

CETRANGOLO, Sergio (Uruguayan?)

ABD 10-2-78 in Buenos Aires

AI

- CEUNINK, Marta Patricia

Under PEN condemned - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

CEVALLOS DE ROSSI, Mirta Nélida

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CEVASCO, Gabriel Matías
DN: 17777314 - 3 months old
DoB: 10-IV-76

Disappeared 11-1-77 with mother María D. Rivas

FBD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
RL
María D. Lugo de Leiva - Rivadavia 475. Dpto 3. Cap. (grandmother)

CHABROL, Herminio Eduardo
Córdoba City

ABD 3-18-76 from home Córdoba City.

PAHR (L)
ML

CHABROL, Juan J.
Street Peddler

Disappeared 10-18-76 in the streets of Córdoba.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

CHABROL, Oscar D
Street Peddler

Disappeared 10-18-76 in the streets of Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

CHABROL, Pablo José
Volta 5119 - Córdoba
Age 66

Disappeared 10-20-76 (Father of Hermine, Juan y Oscar Chabrol - all disappeared).

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

T CHAB TARAB, Daniel Eduardo
R DNI 5.942.091
Cabildo 2911, 2°P. Dto.A-Capital
DF:11 Student

Arrested on 6-10-76 by men from the Military Hospital.
Since then disappeared.

Chab Tarab, Raquel B. de (Mother)
DIN. 12.890.399
Cabildo 2911, 2°P. Dto.A-Capital

Note. T.Todman.

Note. To T.Todman
NL Note to Representatives.

CHAB-TARRAL, David Eduardo
Age 22

DIS 6-14-76

PAHR (L)
Anti Def. League

AFL-CIO
CHAHER, HUGO
Cl. S. 441.418

85/77/9 D *

Arrested on 8-11-77 by a group of 10 men ; they said to be fro m the police. Since then disappeared.

GOA reply 11-10-77 Neg.

Family: 812-4710; 755.7766.

D

CHAIT, Patricia
Age 23

DIS 6/76 from home where she lived

FDD
HQ Pouch 5-17-78 (L)

D

CHALI

ARR 5-13-76

Mexico 79

CHAMORRO, Guillermo

DIS

PAHR (L)

CHAMORRO, Luis Carlos

ARR. 3/78 PEN_

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

CHAMORRO, Rafael Adolfo

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

D

CHAMORRO, Raul

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D78

CHAMORRO DE CORRO, Adriana

DIS 2-23-78

FDD

CHAMORRO VERA, Edilberto (Paraguayan) D
R/c 34
C.I: 7.337.574

DIS 2-1-77 (La Matanza - Bs. As.)

PAHR (L)

D 78

CHANGAZO, Oscar Rodolfo
Age: 26

DIS 1-26-78 Ramos Mejía

CHANGAZZO, Francisco José
Age 54

D-78

DIS 1-26-78 Ramos Mejía

PAHR (L)

CHANGAZZO, Héctor
Age 24

D-78

DIS 1-26-78

PAHR (L)

D

CHAPARRO, Guillermo (Uruguayan writer)

Disappeared, whereabouts unknown. No date

ML
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
PAHR(L)

D

Lario
CHAPETA, Ana Maria Lamana

abd Córdoba 2-27-76

PAHR(L)
ML

CHAPERO DE AYALA, Viviana M.T.

ARR Corrientes Province PEN

AISC

CHARF, Elias

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

CHARPARIN, Juan Carlos

Disappeared 6-5-76

mL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

CHARRAS, Roberto
Ast. Rio Santiago

Detained Dec.77 (Libertad vigilada)

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CHARRO, Angel

Disappeared 5-29-76 Escalada

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CHATRUC, Ernesto

Disappeared

MHR (L)
AL
ADLeague

437/78/6

CHAVARINO, Adolfo Gustavo
Vialidad Nacional
Directorio Nacional - Av. Cabildo
Cl. C.S.C. 418
Apt. 30

GOA reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply

Disappeared 11-18-77 Hacarna y Directorio estruct.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-(L)
NCLA
FDJ

D

CHAVES, Carlos
Age: 26
LE: 7.688.483

DIS 6-14-76 Neuquen - Cubalo

FDD
PAHR (L)

T L

CHAVEZ,

Detained Nov. 1975. At present under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata.

Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

CHAVEZ, Mrs.

DIS 5/76 Carlos Alberto Chavez mother.

AISC (Cospa Mx.)

D

CHAVEZ, Carlos Alberto
Barrio Rincon, Tigre, Buenos Aires

DIS 5/76 with mother & fiance.

AIEC (Cmte. Mex)
ML

D

CHAVEZ, Damian
Page 21
Caracas 3042, Tigre (Pcia Bs. As.)

Disappeared 6/21/76 with mother Hermenia, from home Caracas 3042, Tigre, Pcia Bs. As.
Fiancee of M.A. CELLIER.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CHAVEZ, Filomeno

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

CHAVEZ, Héctor
Lawyer

Detained in November 1975

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

383/78/5 D

CHAVEZ, Jorge
Villa Ballester (Prov. Bs.As.)

Disappeared 5-18-78

M.A.D. - Gob - 9-5-78

PAHR - 5-30-78

CHEDIAK, Maria Isabel

Detained in Mendoza

ADLeague

D

CHERINO, Carlos

AED 8-4-77 City Bell - Bs.As.

ML

P

CHERNAJOVSKY, Liliana

Since 1975 in Villa Devoto Jail.

ADLeague

D

CHERONI, Ana Maria (orCHEROI)

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CHERRI, Omar Jacinto
LE 8351749
San Martin 1650-Berisso (Bs.As.)

Arrested on 11-4-76. Since then disappeared.

Charri, Elena Barberis de (LC KO10388) (Mother)
Ostende 846-Berisso (Bs.As.)

PAHR (L)
La Plata first 10/78 Letter to Representatives.

CHERRY, Nestor Hugo
Doc. 11.382.458
Age: 22

8-19-1977
Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fe.

PAHR (L)
Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

R/FDD

CHERSANAZ, Juan Carlos
Boedo 1634 - Villa Adelina(Bs.As.)
TEMSA. Rel 14 LE: 7.787.541

Arrested on 5-11-76. Since then disappeared.

Chersanaz, Amelia Salvadora Reyes de (Wife)
DNI 5322731
Boedo 1634 - Villa Adelina (Bs.As.)

Testimony to Senators.

FDD
PAHR (L)
RL
Leg Amg. Sen. Hombre

D

CHEULA, Osvaldo Ruben

DIS 12-11-76

PAHR (L)
ML

CHESTER, Jacobo

PAJ 11-25-76 from Policlinico Posadas

DAIA
ML

D

CHEVES DE ALMARAZ, Alicia Susana
LC 13.264.044
A/c 20

Disappeared 9-6-77 Villa Martelli - Pcia. Bs. As.

Rep Arg. Asi. Humana
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

CHIAPE, Maria Adela
RH 46
DI : A.415.433

Disappeared 2-12-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CHIAPETTA, Ana Maria

DIS Córdoba

ML

CHIAPPERO, Carlos Alberto
Tes. SEPPAC - Córdoba

Detained 1-13-76 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CHIARA, Ricardo Daniel
CI: 5.798.754

Disappeared 1-13-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CHIARANTE, Javier
Age 21
DNI: 11.849.029

Disappeared 6-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CHIARELLA, Mauricio C. (or Chiacella)
CI: 7.200.835

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CHIAVARINO, Julio
Córdoba

Detained since 7/76 Penitec.Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CHICA, Ruben
Dálmine Siderca

Detained 3-30-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CHIDICHIMO, Ricardo Dario
L.E. 6.149.700
Garay 319, Ramos Mejia

T
R

On 11-20-76 he was arrested by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Chidichimo, Nélida C.F.de (Mother)
Caupolicán 546, Ramos Mejía
Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS
Amb.Young interest.
Rondon. Letter. T.Todman.
Letter to Representatives.
Personal call Lentsman 8-3-78
ML
FAUR(L)

658: 4948

L

P

CHIEZA, Alcides Antonio

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

D

CHIGLIANO, Santiago
CI. S.S47.321
Soroatraga 2354 - Capital
Age 30

Disappeared 9-2-76 from home with wife Christina

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

C-3c/11/11

P Upton

CHILA, Ruben

Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN

ex-Partido Socialista

D

CHINETTI, E.
Prof. Educ. Física-Capital

Disappeared 9/76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

J

CHINETTI, Jorge Luis
LE: 7.628.410 CI: 1.241.187
Age 29

Disappeared 8-16-76 from work B. Blanca 2335, Bs. Aires

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

C -113/78/1

CHIRONI, Eduardo Mario
Lic. En Adm.de Empresas

P
Optar

PEN; Unidad 6 Rawson
Ceased PEN - La Nación 3-4-78

Chironi, Luis Edgardo (Brother)
Nueva York 3491 - Capital
Phone: 50-1530

CHISU, Giovanni
Age 27

Dis 7/76

ML

538/78/9

CHIZZOLA, Eduardo (Uruguayan)

DIS 4-17-76

UNHRC - 9-5-76

CHOCOLAR, Susana

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CHOINSKI, Carlos Alberto

Detained - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CHOJER, Margarita A.
KENIA

Disappeared 6-21-76

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

T

CHOKLER, Daniel Mario

Held under article 2 inclusive, of the Institutional Ac t of September 1, 1977 (Law 21650).
Removed from PEN - Ms Kucun 8-19-78

ADLeague

CHOQUE COSME, Benito
Hospital Posadas
Age 32
LE: 10.720.909

Disappeared 9-14-76.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

604/78/9 D 1978

CHORNI, Adolfo Ernesto
Lawyer CI: 2.895.496
Camargo 936-Buenos Aires
(Estudio: Uruguay 772-Piso 3º, Capital)
Ref. Tel:-Madrid 12692 (1978)

GOA reply Wash. 10.1.78 GOA reply 2-23-79- Hag. reply
Tel. Cranston-Hab 031938
DIS 6-27-78 in Buenos Aires
Amnist. Catalog
Buenos Aires Herald 9-2078
Anti Def. League-Rosenthal 9-14-78
Manuel Chorni (Father)
Camargo 936-Buenos Aires 55-1467

Mario Cababie (Friend)
Ecuador 710-1°"D"-Capital (61-6749 Father)
Asociación de Abogados de Buenos Aires 46-1741 (Oficina)
La Nación clipping 8-18-78 Marshall Mayer
Comm. Amn. Cong. 9/78

CHORZAZAN

D.

DIS 5-31-76

PAHR (L)
ML

CHRISTENSEN, Carlos Santiago

DIS

ADLeague
ML
PAHR(L)

D

CHRISTIANI, Alfredo Ricardo
CI. 6.[illegible] LE: 10.113.309
J. Lorenz 1410 - Villa Ballester
Age 24

Disappeared 10-14-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

506/78/8 - D

CHUA, Antonio Jorge
LE: 5.103.956
Calle 3 No. 2133- La Plata
Lawyer

GOA reply: Mard. 10-16-78

DIS 10-6-77.

PAHR(L)
Amnesty Int. Oct. 9/11
State 211538
ML
Dr. Alejandro Hs. Jano - 1010 Nicholson Dr. Nº 2001 - Baton Rouge LA - 70802

D 78

CHUEQUE, Marcos Daniel
Age: 25
DNI: 10.591.130

DIS 6-27-78 Mar del Plata

PAHR (L)
FDD

CHUNGARA, Elvira Matilde

D

DIS

ML

CHUSTER,
Policlinico Posadas'Worker

D

DIS 11/76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

CHZINSKY, Carlos Alberto

Detained Unidad 7 Resistencia Chaco

ADLeague

CIAFARDINI, Horacio
DNI 6.049.822

Arrested since 7-21-76. Ramon

CIAFARDINI, Maria Ines Olivella (Wife)
Rincón 731 - Cap. Federal

8-9-77 Letter to Derian.

CIANCIA, Noelio H.

DIS 4-10-76 Córdoba

PRR(L)
ML

CIANCIO, Eduardo

D

DIS

AISC(Cospa-Madrid)

D

CIANCIO, Luis Alberto
DNI: 8.286.690 8.386.690
Engineer student
Exhibit 25

Disappeared 12-7-76 with wife Patricia.

Lic. Ana Lia Uranga
La Plata Sept 10/78
Ciancio, Luis Alberto
Calle 8 N° 3471 Berisso
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML
Personal call 7/6/78

(Father)
61-2647

K

CIANI, Alvaro
Age: 22
Student

Son of Dra. Maristany de Ciani, Judge from La Plata. Killed in December 1976, body was given to the family under the conditions that they told$ he had been killed by an accident.

Harris data - 8-14-78

D

CIARLETTI, Silvano Egidio

DIS 11/76

PAHR (L)
ML

9

CIAVARINO, Noberto (lawyer and legal assessor for the press union of Córdoba)

Arrested in 3/76; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

CICARELLI, Guadalupe

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CICCO DE MOUKARSEL, Alicia de

D

DIS 1212-75

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

CID DE LA PAZ, Horacio Guillermo

D

Art. 20
JNI: 12.991.538

On 11-15-77 was arrested at his home, together with his wife,; since then disappeared. Mother presented HABEAS CORPUS without result. Doww Junio

PAHD-(1)

Cid de la Paz, Ruth Ines Diaz de (Mother)

Newspaper clippin La Nación 11-27-77.

D

Cid de la Paz, Laura Susana de Carli de

On 11-15-77 was arrested at her home, toghther with her husband; since then disappeared. Mother in law presented HABEAS CORPUS without result.

Cid de la Paz, Ruth Ines Diaz de (Mother in law)
Newspaper clipping La Nación -11-27-77

CIDIO, Marcos

D

DIS

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

CIFUENTES, Elida

9

ARR PEN

DDAlto Valle - 11/78

CIGLIUTI, Eduardo Omar
c.i. 6.033.951
San Luis 3912 - Rosario
Agt 37

D

Disappeared 5-29-77

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
DD

D

CILIBERTO, Miguel Angel
Rfe 24

Disappeared 5-5-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

CIMERMAN DE MANI, Ana M.
Maestra Villa Boscosa-Santa Fé

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CIMINO, Mónica Liliana
CI: 9.077.052

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CINESE, A
SMATA-Córdoba

Detained since 1976 in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D78

CINGARETTI, Zulma

LC. 6.051.012

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

CIOGIOLINI DE PEREIRA, María C
Maestra - Capital

Disappeared 7-16-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CIORDIA, Alejandro Mariano

P

ARR La Pampa PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

CIORDIA, Carlos Alberto

P

ARR LA Pampa PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

CIPNIZKY, Alfredo Jorge

Disappeared 2-2-77

AL
ADLeague

CIPRIANO MOLINAS, Alfonso

DIS 12-23-75

PAHR

R/FDD

CIRIGLIANO, Luis German (E)
[redacted]
DNI. 10469499-CI.6889228
Pje. Facundo 347-Capital
Aje 25
On 8-20-76 was arrested by a group of armed men; since then disappeared.

Cirigliano, Lina Blanca Suárez Vda.de (Wife)
LC 0208004
Bynnon 6767-Capital

Statement to Senators.

FDD

CIRIO, Marcos
Refrigerator worker

ABD 11/76 Buenos Aires

PAHR (L)
ML

CIRONI, Norberto
DNI 7.740.774
Arg 31

Disappeared 11-22-76 Marin

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

227/78/12 *

CIROS, Marcos
D.I. 7.077.567
Address: Ricardo Gutierrez 975, Acassuso (Bs.Aires)

Disappeared. N. data

Sen. Sarbanes - State 303506

CISNEROS, Amalia Rosa
CI. 6.468.796 or 6.448.796

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

CISNEROS, Ignacio Manuel
Hit 30
DNI: 6.659.721

2/81
DIS 1977 Córdoba

La Plata Insb 10/78
PAHR (L)

CISTERNA, Bernardo

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CISTERNA, Julio Cesar?
La Hidrófila
Cl. 7.910.814

D

Disappeared since 10-20-76 Secuestrado

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)

CISTERNA, Nicanor

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CITANI, Beatriz

D

DIS 5-5-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

CITTADINI, Ricardo Alberto
Ref 22
LE: 11.328.949

Disappeared 8-17-76

PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

CIVETTA, Claudio

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CIABRESE, Antonio

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

CIAR, Mario César Cl. 1.964.1 (F) LE: 4.443.757 812/79/2 D

Tod. CIAR, Sergio Andrés I.C.I. n. 928.041 - Defensa 979-6?3-Cap Age 22-
Member Comm. Party 813/79/2

Arrested on 5-17-77. Since then disappeared.

Ciar, Elida Sonia Lusardi de (Wife and mother)
Campana 1193 - Capital

7-20-77. Letter to Mrs. Rosalyn Carter.

FDD
PAHR(L)
Cancer Amb. Comm. 9/78
Member Comm. Party
ML

CLARA, Mirta

ABD 75 Chaco

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CLARK, Mauricio

ABD 5-17-77 Bs.As.

ML

CLARK, Sergio

AED 5-17-77

ML

D

CLARKE, Julio Enrique
LE: 10.934.716
Medio Libertades 2379 Pb Cuerpo
Age 28

Disappeared 3-17-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

CLARO, Fernandez

D

DIS 1-5-76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

ROMERO
CLAROS / Roxana
Student in La Plata Univ.

DIS 4/77 in Buenos Aires La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
ML

CLARULLI, Dario Miguel

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

CLAUDET, Jean Yves (French)

D

Disappeared9-1-75

French Embassy
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

CLAVANI, Idelmar

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

CLAVER, Alicia

Detained since 1976 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CLAVERIA, Noel Hugo
Age: 34

D

ABD 9-11-77 from Luna 540, Moron, B.As.

AISC

CLAVERIE DE RODRIGUEZ, Marta Mo.
Age 23
Id.: 10.995.504

D

DIS 1-19-77 Moron

PAHR (1)

D

CIAVLJO,
Mechanic from YPF

DIS 12-2-76 La Plata

ML

D

CLEMENTE, Maria del Carmen
~~Age 30~~
Doc.

DIS 8-17-76 Tucumán

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

A

CLEMENTE DE CANCERE, Maria Rosa
D.B: 4-19-45
Member: Comm. Party
Age: 31

Disappeared 8-3-76 after leaving work at Cuban Embassy.

Cancer Anti Cancer 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Comm. Party
ML

D

CLERC, Jorge Carlos
Age: 30

DIS 6-15-76 Merlo

FDD

D

CLOCOBAR, Juan B.

DIS

ML

CLOTILDE

Arrested in front of Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77
presumably by the Argentine Security Forces.

D78

CLUIGT, Juan Bernardo
Age: 26
DNI: 10.101.197

DIS 9-19-78 La Plata

FDD

D

CLUJ, Daniel

Disappeared 9-5-77 with wife.

ADLeague

D

COBAC

DIS

ML

D78

COBACHO, Oscar Manuel
LE: 8.330.566

DIS 12-1-78 Moron Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

COBALLO, Alberto Carlos

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

COBAS CRESPI, Osvaldo Pedro

DIS 12-1-78 La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)
La Plata list 10/78
ML

D

COBO, Inés Adriana
Pallotty Prensa
Pge 29

Disappeared 9-1-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Sig Arg Sen. Kennedy

COBOS RODRIGUEZ, Enrique Roberto
DOB: 8-23-53
Salta, Argentina

D

REFUGEE

LA PAZ 6144

462/78/7 D

COCCA ASTRADA, Oscar Ernesto
DU: 11.191.675
DOB: 8-1-54. Córdoba
Student of Univ. Nac. de Córdoba

GOA reply 9-15-78 N.R.A.D

Disappeared May 1977.

State: 167736
E.A.Heinrich Astrada, residing in Spain. (Mother)
Carlos María Coca Astrada, Buenos Aires (Brother)
Dr. Aldo Armando Cocca, Buenos Aires (Uncle)

D

COCONIER, Luis Alberto
Apt 44

Disappeared 4-14-76

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML

COCORNO, Dario
From Graphic Federation Bs.As.

D

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

COCOZ, Javier

SR

ARR 5/77

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CODA DE FERNANDEZ, Cecilia Hebe

DIS 10-9-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78.

PAHR (L)

R/FDD

5 CODAN, Elena
Artilleros s/n - Aldo Bonzi, Prov.Bs.As.
5784.934

On 7-17-77 she left her home with her little daughter and took the Pluma bus to Brasil. During the travel she was arrested by a group of men. On the 19th of that month military people returned Paula, the daughter, leaving her at the neighbors' house. Since then Elena Codan disappeared.

Codan, Alicia Cossiani de (Mother)
CI. 4.997.329

Testimony to Senators.

PAHR (L)

CODINA DE GOLDAR PARODI, N.I.
Age 23
CI: 5.313.340

Disappeared 9-9-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

COEAC

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

COEYTES DE CARRANZA, M C.
CI: 6.999.475

DIS 8-19-76

PAHR (L)

D

COHELO, ~~Rodolfo~~ Roberto ?
Member Comm. Party

ABD 4-16-76 Zona Norte-Buenos Aires

PAHR (L)
ML
Comm. Party.

D

COHEN, Gustavo

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

COHEN, Hector

19/12/11
J

N.R.A.B - GOA - 9-5-78

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.

Amnesty International

COHEN, José

ADLeague

AL

COHEN, Manuel
Córdoba

ADLeague
AL

COHEN, Miriam

Right of option expired December 1975.

ADLeague

COHENJ, Bentolila

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(*Rio Negro newspaper*)

D

COLANERI, Julio César
Age 21
C.I.: 5.904.788

Disappeared 7-21-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (A)

C-123-78-2

COLACNE, Hugo Santiago

P
Optar

PEN- Unidad 9 La Plata

Colacne, Nelida María Martin de (Mother)
Islas Malvinas 509 - Quilmes
Phone: Afternoon 253-8348

2-3-78

COLASKI, Alberto ©

173/77/11

9

D

Detained
~~Raped~~ at a friend's home by security forces on 6-29-77. Since then disappeared. He sufferes a "disritmia cerebral" and needs medical treatment.
Lucia PEN de Nación 11-25-77
FOR reply 3-10-78 : Unidad 4 - Córdoba - PEN 24.3760 | 23/77 - Changes: Subteniente del PCR en el frente de la Unidad de la Policía

ATALA, Silvia Beatriz (Fiancée)
(Noaddress)

8-3-77 Letter to Derian.

Cong. Gus Yatron
Mc Hugh 68-9730 68-7333 68-2320
Ri Quotrala -

COLASO DE PAEZ, Susana Maria
~~35 years old~~
Worker

Detained in Febraury 1976 in Córdoba, at present in Villa Cevoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

COLAUTI, Hugo

ABD

ml

COLAUTI, Renato

ARR Sierra Chica - Held in Jujuy

AISC (La Prensa)

COLAYAGO DE BATISTIOLLI, J. M.
Age: 26
DNI: 10.112.925

DIS 8-30/31-77 San Isidro Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

COLAZO, Azucena

ARR 1-27-76 Córdoba - Held in Villa Devoto PEN
Sentenced to 2 years

AISC

COLEI, Robles Manuel
Age 41

Disappeared 10-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

186/22/41
D

Form reply 3-10-78

COLELLA, Angela Dolores LC. 2.243.044
PEN: Lib. 252 - 2-2-78
Cargo: militante PCR
Alfada: 4-1 Córdoba

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.

Amnesty International
Amnesty 60-2320

D

COLELLA, Eduardo Alberto
Age 22
CI: 7.793.524

Disappeared 11-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-27-78 (L)

186/44/41
J

Form reply 3-10-78

COLELLA, Elida
(COLELLA, Lidia Marta - LC. 6.492.383)
PEN: Lib. 252 - 2-2-78
Cargo: militante del PCR.
Alfada: 4-1 Córdoba.

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.
Ceased PEN - La Plata 18-11-78

Amnesty International
Amnesty 60 2320

COLEN, Alicia

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

COLEY ROBLES, Manuel
Age: 42

D

DIS 10-27-76

PAHR (L)

COLLADO, Jorge Daniel
DNI 11571709
Arg 24

T
R

D

Arrested on 9-23-76 at his work (Banco de la Prov. de Mendoza-Suc.Capital Federal). Since then disappeared.

Collado, Ammeris Dolly Alterio de (Mother)
Colon 541, Rosario, Santa Fe.

PEHR(L) 3380
ML

Statement. T.Todman.
Statment to Representatives.

T Mendoza Family Info 8/76

COLLARINI, Carlos A.
Rpt 34

Disappeared 9-1-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

COLLAZO,
Rigolleau

Detained since Dec.75 - Rawson

LIg. Arg. Der. Hombre

COLLAZO, Nelson

S&.449
Sen. Ernest F. Hollings - Letter 1-26-78 to President Videla.

COLLI, Luis Alfredo
COLLI, Magdalena Maria Luisa

Arrested on 7.2.76. Since then disappeared. La Plata-Bs.As.

Colli, Maria Magdalena Ré de (Mother)
LC 1.123.352
Calle 121 entre 84 Y 85
Dom. Postal Estafeta No. 8 - La Plata

8-15-77 Letter to Embassy BA.
La Plata List 10/78
PAHR(L)

COLLOVA, Antonio
C.I: 6.251.224
L. Viale 1117. Buenos Aires
Age 21

Disappeared 8-20-76 (His wife is in Olmos Prison)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

COLLURA, Ernesto

DIS Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

D

COLMAN, David
Member: Comm. Party

Disappeared 9-29-76 Cordoba Prov.

Regr. Cba. La Hornilla
Cadena Anti Comp. 9/76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Comm. Party

D

COLMAN, Marina
Age 18
Member: Fed. Uni. Com.

Disappeared 9-21-76 Cordoba Province together with parent.

Comm. Party
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

COLOMBETTI, Liliana Teresa
Age 24
DI 1.204.904

DIS 4-9-76 Yerba Buena-Tucumán

PAHR (1)

D

COLOMBO, Alejandro Manuel
CI. 6.777.340
DOB: 9-14-56

◊Brother of Colombo, Alvaro Martin 248/78/1)

Disappeared around 9-10-77. This happenad in Buenos Aires or surroundings..

Colombo, Graciela (Mother)
Arenales 2098-1er.Piso-Capital
Phone 84-6893

Personal call Embassy 2-10-78 6/8/78

D

COLOMBO, Alvaro
Age: 17

ABD Bs.As. (Nephew Colonel Garutti)

AISC

248/78/1 *

D

COLOMBO, Alvaro Martin
CI.5.304.454
Place and date of birth: Buenos Aires, 11,11,1954
Labor leader "Union de Empleados de la Justicia de la Nación)
(Brother is refugee in Puteaux, France.)

GOA reply 1-30-44: Neg. reply.

Abducted in Buenos Aires on 11-19-76. with Yulia b. Lozano.

PtnR (L)
RL
Dept. of State - State 009074
Colombo, Graciela (Mother)
Arenales 2098-1er.Piso-Capital
(Phone: 84-6893)
Answer Both Corr. 9/77
Personal visit 6/8/78

COLOMBO, Daniel J.
Ref 21

DIS 11-7-76

PAHR (L)

C-135/78/2

COLOMBO, Hernan Miguel

PEN -
Ceased PEN - La Nacion 5-6-78.

Consulate.

COLOMBO, Hernan

DIS

PAHR (L)

K

COLOMBO, Juan Carlos
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78
RISC (V.P.B.R.F.)

D

COLOMBO, Juan Villa
Metallurg. worker-Bs.As.

ABD 3-26-76

ml

D

COLOMBO, Julio

DIS

I

PAHR (L)
ml

D

COLOMBO, Sergio Vicente
Ag. 20
CI: 6.960.201

Disappeared 8-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

COLOMER, Enrique
CI: 6.063.621
DNI: 4.705.560

Arrested during an police operative in Mar del Plata, together with his brother and sister-in-law on 5-20-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (1)
Letter to Amb. 5-8-78
Fernandez, Amalia M. L. de-Sucre 2050-3°"A"(Mother)

D

COLOMER, Roberto
LE: 4.449.252
CI:5.122.449

5-20-77
Arrested during an police operative in Mar del Plata, together with his wife and brother. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (1)
Letter to Amb. 5-8-78.
Fernandez, Amalia M. L. de (Mother)
C.I. 1.180.219
Sucre 2050-Dpto.3°"A"-Capital

D

COLON, Daniel

DIS

ML

D

COLONARI, Julio César
DNI: 13.480.463
CI 5.809.788
Iriarte 1885 - Buenos Aires

AED 7-21-76

ML

D

COLONNA, Juan Carlos

DIS

Cospa-Madrid

-COLONNA, Mario Ernesto D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

COLTZAU,Gerardo (F) D
R LE 11.837.382
CI 7.135.821
4/c 11

Kidnapped on 4-26-77 at Caseros, calle Kelsey No.5. Since then disappeared.

Coltzau, Maria Fernandez de (Mother)
CI 2.536.187

Statement to Representatives.

PAHR (L)
ML
German Ref. - Von Eckardt

COLZANI, María Cristina

Expelled after requesting right of option.

Norway.-

COMA DE ARDITO, Atlántida (Yamard)
[illegible] from Uruguay - Estud
Yamard 240 - 2°1°D Bs As
Age 39

Disappeared 10-12-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

COMA SIBERIA, Liliana
Age: 23

DIS 4-26-76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

COMANDA, Cristina
CI: 3.148.661
Philosophy student
Age 23

Disappeared 9-17-76 Moreno 1256 - Bs As.

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

COMAS, Jorge Oscar

Called Tedisco on release rumor.

Fraser.

COMBA

DIS 1/76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa -Mx)

COMBA, Ledesma de

DIS 1/76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

COMBA CIREIRA DE MAROTTA, Liliana I.
Lit 21
Cl: 6.456.384

Disappeared 4-26-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

COMBI, Liliana Graciela

DIS 11-11-77 Ramos Mejía Bs. Aires

PAHR (L)

D

COMI, Gonzalo E.

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

COMINGUEZ, Juan Carlos

DIS 5-20-77

PHAR(4)
ML

D

COMINI, Diana

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

COMINI, Pedro Ruben

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

COMMATEO, Luis
Bje M
Estud. Maria de los Rios Lavaca, Mo Aires
CI: 3.275.781

Disappeared 5-15-76 Caseros

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
AL

D 78

COMMENT, Alberto Augusto

DIS 10-24-78

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

D

COMOTTO, Aldo (Writer)

Disappeared in 1/77; whereabouts unknown.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

AL

D

COMUNELLO, José Domingo

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

CONCEPCION, Noemí

Disappeared 9-22-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
NL

D

CONCETTI, Abel Rodolfo
lawyer

DIS 5-22-77 La Plata

AISC
PAHR

CONCETTI, Mabel
Age: 45
DN: 1.450.650

D

DIS 11-1-76

PAHR (L)

CONDARCO, Edgardo

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

CONDE, Diana Noemí
Age: 34
Mother of one girl.
La Plata
Guichapot

D 1978

Detained in Mar del Plata on 3-15-1978.

Causes Aud. Corp. 9/78
Harris data - 8-14-78

D

CONDERE

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

CONDIA, Luis

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

CONDORI, Mario
Works from jujuy (Kolasma)

PAR - End of MX - Unidad 9 - La Plata - Historia with known user.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ML
PAHR(L)

CONGETT, Jorge Luis
LE 4.076.262
Sarandi 1135, Villa Luzuriaga (San Justo-Partido de La Matanza)

On 11-20-76 arrested by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Congett, Ester Muiños de (Wife)
Sarandi 1135, Villa Luzuriaga (San Justo-Partido de La Matanza)

8-15-77 Letter and Testimony to T.Todman
8-18-77 Letter and testimony to Representatives.
6-6-77 Letter to Embassy BA.

CONNOCCHIARI, Juan Carlos

DIS

ML

CONSENTINO, Alba Luz
Member of the C.C. OF PCA

ABD 9-23-76 Tucumán

ML

D

CONSTANTINI, Maria Cristina
DU. 5.168.576 expedido en La Plata
Manuel B. Gonnet - La Plata (Bs.As.)
Profession: Medica
DOB: 11-18-46

Arrested on 1-25-77 at Clínica Dr. Gregorio Marañon-La Plata. Since then disàppeared.

PAHR(L)
Constantini, Maria Susana Garbarini de (Mother)
LC. 2.027.444
Laprida y Alberti - 8138 RIO COLORADO(Rio Negro)
(Phone: 2108 (Workplace of son Javier Constantini)
Personal call-2-15-78.

CONTARDI, Ruben

DIS Florencio Varela

La Plata list

D

CONTE, Fernando
Obrero Mercedes Benz

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D78

CONTE, Luis Alberto

DIS 4-29-78

PAHR (L)

D

CONTE MAC DONELL, Augusto M.
Age: 20
CI: 6.287.879

DIS 7-13-76

PAHR (L)
FDD

CONTELLO, Roberto.
Obrero Ford-Buenos Aires

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CONTER, Alberto

DIS

ML

D

CONTI, Antonio Luis
Age: 31
LE: 4.703.436

DIS 6-19-76 Mar del Plata

PRHR(L)
FDD

F

CONTI, Arnaldo

Was released from detention place.

Harris data - 8-14-78

806/75/2 D

CONTI, Haroldo Pedro (novelist and journalist)
(Film Diccionario)

Beaten and abducted by six masked individuals on 5/5/76; whereabouts unknown.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Lig Arg. Der. Hombre
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
ML PAHR-(L)
Letter Duran 2/14/78

Telesforo Fuentes Suarez
Julian Romero Briones, 13
Las Palmas de Gran Canaria
Teléfono: 31 0819

CONTI, Jorge D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

CONTI, Juan Carlos
Obrero Ford - Buenos Aires

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D78

CONTI, Luis Alberto

DIS April 1978 in Córdoba.

La Prensa 12.1.78 clipping.

CONTI, Marcelo Enrique

9

PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata.
Right of Option Certificate for Italy. Decree 572 3-8-78.
Suspended until near future.

Conti, Nilda Eva Marmo de (Mother)
Pedro Moran 2300 - Capital (Phone 571-0136)

Personal call Embassy 5-5-78.

CONTISIANI, Luis Roberto
OLIVETTI

Detained 12-6-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CONTRERAS, Graciela Noemí

ARR Applied Parola Visa USA

AISC

CONTRERAS, Miguel
SMATA-Deleg. Concesionarias

Detained since 8-13-76 in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D1978

CONTRERAS, Raúl Eduardo
Capital Federal
C.I. 4.880.323
Age-36

DIS 8-18-78

PAHR 9-28-78(L)
8-18-78

FDD List 9-16-78

CONTRICIANI, Alicia
History Professor

D

ABD 6/77 Bs.As.by Security Forces

AISC

D

CONTRISCIANI, Luis Roberto
Age 24
DNI: 10.076.657

DIS 12-6-76 La Plata

La Plata first 11/78
PAHR (L)

D

CONY, Gonzalo E.

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

COPELLO, Raúl Luis

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

COPEN, Daniel

D

ABD

PAHR (L)
ML

D

COPEN, José

DIS

PAHR (L)

COPEN, Manuel

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

COPPOLA, Cristian
Student

D

Detained in July 1977. La Plata B.A.

Harris data 8-7-78
PAHR (L)

COQUET, Héctor Ricardo

D

Disappeared 3-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
RL

D

CORA, Eduardo Alberto

Disappeared 8-25-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

CORAZZA, Alberto D

DIS

ML

---

d. laundry 474/78/7 D

CORAZZA, Silvia Angélica
CI. 6.071.076
LC. 6.389.095

GOA reply: 9-5-78: N.R.O.D

Kidnapped on 5-19-77 in "El Nuevo Clavel" (Piñeyro and Pavon, Lanus, Bs.As.). She was pregnant. No news until a christmas card arrived in Dec.77 announcing the birth of a baby. On Jan3'78 she was brought to her parent's home with the baby 5 days old. Then they took the young mother again to prison and no word since.

WOLA
PAHR (L)

CORBALAN, Juan Carlos D

ABD 76 Misiones

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CORBALAN, Marta Susana P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

CORBALAN, Rosa P

ARR 8-23-73 Villa Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

D-Reaf

CORBALEA, Estrella Mary

ABD 11-25-77 from home; appeared after a month.
Alberto Falicoff's wife

AISC

P

CORBAT, Rubén Edgardo

National Executive Power - DTO. 463 of 5/1/76
U9 La Plata - Possession of ERP Propaganda material
and Guevarista Youth material.

ADL

CORBO, Donato Antonio
Age 24
CI: 1.790.682

D-78

DIS 5-20--78 Lanús Oeste

PAHR (L)

539/78/9 D

LAMINA

CORCHS, Alberto (Uruguayan)
La Lucila
Age 32
CI: 1.040.580

Arrested on 12-21-77. Since then disappeared. Olivos

PAHR(1)
UNHCR-Refugee not registered.
3-8-78
AI - 10/78

540/78/9 D

CORCHS, Elena Lerena de (Uruguayan)
La Lucila

Arrested on 12-21-77. Since then disappeared.

UNHCR-Refugee not registered.
3-9-78
AI - 10/78.

CORDA DE DERMAN, Alicia Sebastiana
LC: 5.156.057
Calle Córdoba y Acevedo-Capital Federal

Arrested on 12-10-77. Disappeared since then.

PAHR(1)
Corda, Juan J. (Brother)
3 Nro. 1516-La Plata 1900
Letter to Amb. 6-10-78.

CORDERO,
Sgo. del Estero

Detained Nov. 1974 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CORDERO, David Ariel
22 years old - CI 2.962.941
CI. 2.962.941
Giribone 1325 - Piso 9ºDto.6-Capital

Disappeared from 21 to 24 of April 1977. Student of Architecture, was Student delegate in 1974.

Cordero, Mercedes Voz de (Mother)
Calle 29 No. 1658-VERONICA FCGR. (1917)
Personal visit 10-3-77.

L

D

CORDERO, David Raúl

Disappeared 4-21-77 together with Patricio Enrique Slamon.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

CORDERO, Fernando
Student
22 years old

Detained by Security Forces in La Plata.

La Plata List
PAHR(L)

CORDERO, Hugo Alberto
Age 1

Disappeared 2-8-76 with his mother Reforma Lucero & brother Pedro Ceferino

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

CORDERO, Humberto
Calle 55e - 12 y 13
Age 34
Member Comm. Party
C.I: 6.501.420

Disappeared 9-24-76 from his home

Comm. Party 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML
Comm. Party
Hugo Arg. Ber. Member

CORDERO, Juan Carlos
Palmine Siderca

Disappeared 12-13-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CORDERO, Julio Ignacio D 174/77/11 *

CEWG reply - 3-10-78
PEN; Ltr. 152 - 2-2-78
Causa: Militancia del PCR
Abogado V-1 Córdoba

Mechanic disappeared on 8-27-77 in Córdoba together with his brother. Workers at the Grnades Motores Diesel Co.

Cleared PEN - Ref. Mexico 12-21-78

Cong. Gus Yatron 84-9902
PAHR (L) NC Mayfl 84-9911 84-1333 84-2120 84-9855
ML

D

CORDERO, Pedro Antonio
Age 46

Disappeared 8-2-76 with his mother Petrona Lucas y brother Hugo Alberto

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

CORDERO, Ricardo
Worker from Dalmine

DIS 12-13-75

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CORDOBA, Germán Tomas

Disappeared 7-27-76

AISC
PAHR-Prensa 5--17-78 (L)

CORDOBA, Leandro

D

DIS 7-10-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

73/99/1 D 1978

CORDOBA, Luis Pablo
Age: 41 Lawyer
Journalist from El Litoral, Santa Fé

DIS 7-27-78 Santa Fé (San Nicolas) with wife

RM
WOLA 11-78
Harris data - 8-14-78

CORDOBA, Juan Killed

Killed 9-9-77

La Plata list

D

CORDOBA, Leandro

Disappeared 7-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

430/78/c D

CORDOBA, Pablo Marcelo
LE: 8.480.116
Callao 671 - 9° "B"-Capital

Abducted in front of workplace - La Germinadora, D. Roosevelt 5454, Capital - on 6-8-1977. Since then disappeared.

Cmg. Morelli (Lt. Smurf 6-13-78) AA-454

Córdoba, María Angelica Lamas de (Mother)
Saavedra 2298 - Muñiz (Prov.Bs.As.)
Phone:(Daughter-in-law) 667-0665

CORDOBA, Ramón
Acindar

Detained - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CORDOBA, Teresa Lucrecia R

ARR 6-9-75 Salta - Held in Villa Devoto-PEN

AISC (CADHU)

CORELLI, Ricardo Anibal
Ap. 31
Lp. 4.693.342

D

DIS 9-5-76 Gral. Urquiza - Bs.As

PAHR (L)

CORIA, Eduardo

D

DIS 8/76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

CORIA, Raúl José

R

ARR Córdoba - PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

CORIA TROXLER, Norberto Julio
y Sra.

DIS 2-19-77

PAHR

CORN

ABD 10/76 with sister on her way from airport after returning from abroad

ML

CORN

ABD 10/76 with sister on her way from airport

ML

DIS - Reapp.

CORNALES DE FALICOFF, Estela de

Was kidnapped with husband on Nov. 25, 1976 in Córdoba. She was released after one month. He is still disappeared. She is at present living in Garnon Cottage, Bower Hill, Epping Essex, England.

ANTI DEF. LEAGUE - May 11, 1978.

CORNEA, Leonardo E.

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

CORNOU DE GRANDI, Maria A.
Buenos Aires
C.I: 4.139.283
Ciudadela 353, Paso del Rey Pcia. Bs. As.
Age 28

Disappeared 6-22-76 Paso del Rey

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

COROLEV, Marcelo

DIS w/ Ricardo Gonzalez in Buenos Aires

ML

D

COROMISCO, Juan Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CORONEL, Alfredo Antonio
Age 23
Ind. 11.544.038

DIS 6-21-76

PAHR (L)
Tucuman

CORONEL, Cristina

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CORONEL, José Domingo

R

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

CORONEL, Miguel Angel

DIS 11-18-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

CORPACCI, Juan Carlos

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

CORRAL, Ana María Cristina
Age 18
CI: 478.086

Disappeared 6-8-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Tucumán

CORRAL, Manuel Javier
Age: 34
CI:6.618.002

DIS2-21-78 Misiones

FDD

CORREA, Fues Daba de

Wife of AI adopted prisoner Nestor Correa, who is held in Rawson Prison. Disappeared in September 1977.

N.R.A.D - GOA - 9-1-78

Amnesty International

CORREA, Gustavo Adolfo

Disappeared 5-24-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

AFL/CIO

CORREA, Juan Carlos

Juan Carlos Correa: C.I. 5.770.305 -
He was abducted from his home on June

PAHR (1)

D

CORREA, Laura de

AED 9-27-77 from her home.

ML

D

CORREA, Leonardo E

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

CORREA, Maria Mercedes
A#: 21
DN: 11.843.647

D-78

DIS 2-25-78

PAHR (L)

L-136/78/2

CORREA, Nestor Horacio

T. Gotkine

Min Def. suspend visitor granted 800 w placed in Cond. Liberty

PEN - Caracas.

Consulate.

L

D-78

CORREA, Oscar Miguel
Apc 30
LE: 5.094.439

5-20-78 DIS V. Adelina

PAHR (L)

D

CORREA, Perico o Federico

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

CORREA, Raúl

ARR Held in Unit 9-La Plata

AISC

CORREA, Ruben Oscar
Ferroportuario
DI: 50

1-11-77
Disappeared in October 1977

PRHR
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

CORREA, Victor Florencio
DI: 7.970.303

458/78/4

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata PEN 3970 - 17-12-76
left 10-11-77 Reception Francia - Air France N° 098 17:30 pm.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

GARJOLAVSKY

CORREA DE JAROLAVSKY
(CORREA María Cristina)

JK4/12/76

Cause: Member of the Montoneros
Decree: 995/77

Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
7-26-77.
PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

CORREA, María Ines

Disappeared 5-5-76

Mendoza Family List 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML WOLA 11/78

CORREA UNDURRUGA, Pedro

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

4C8/75/7 9

CORREGIDOR, Ramón Ricca
Obrero Peugeot-Buenos Aires
37 years old - leader of the car workers trade union.

Arrested in 1975.
Detained Unidad 9 La Plata. He has been repeatedly denied petitions to exercise his constitutional right of option. In 1968 was delegate to the national congress of CGT.

GOAreply 1-30-79: Under PEN-Decree 1064 4/23/75.
Right of option Law 21.449 - Denied Decree 776 3/7/77.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Cong. Silvio Conte. HR-5378 96-1st
Danish Embassy Informs Romanian 2/6/78

D

CORRES, Hugo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D78

CORRO, Eduardo Atilio
Age: 40

DIS 2-23-78

FDD

D

CORROTO, Pedro Guillermo
LE: 8.050.265

DIS 1-19-77 Tucumán

PAHR;

CORSALETTI, Adriana
Age: 21

D

ABD 9-5-77 from Carlos Paz-Córdoba with mother and cousin.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CORSALETTI, Adriana Beatriz

9

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

CORSI, María Elina
Bfc 22
C]: 7.280.798

Disappeared 11-22-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

CORSIGLIA, Hugo Arnaldo

DIS 8-10-77

Mar del Plata List

CORSINO, Ana Beatriz

ABD 11/77

AISC (CADHU)

D 4.

CORTADE, Enrique Gaston

Abducted on the same day as his partner Oshiro - 4-21-77.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

364/78/5 T

CORTE, Arturo

GOA reply 9-5-78: PEN 2to: 282 del 6/2/78

Cargos: Act. Subv.,
Violacion ley 20840
Tenencia explosivos d Material propaganda ERP.
Libertad Vigilada por 2do. 010 del 8/5/78 con ámbito
de desplazamiento "Bahia Blanca."

Jailed under the Argentine Security Law (20.840) three years and is still in jail without trail.

Removed from PEN. La Nacion 1/3/79

[ ]

66

CORTEGOZO, Basilio Orlando

Released PEN.

Dis: Oct. 78-La Nacion newspaper

D

CORTES, Carlos Augusto
Age 40
CI: 4.482.492

Disappeared 6-1-76

Francisco N. de Carlos -- CE 5461609. Boutique San Mine 478
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ADD-11-6-78

D

CORTES, Maria Irene
Age 28
LC: 5.114.345

Disappeared 11-29-76 - ARR Caseros

ADD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

D

CORTES DE SALAMANCA, Olga
Wife of Rene Salamanca

ABD 12-8-76 after meeting with A.I.

PAHR-(1)

CORTES, Juan Carlos
Arg 23
Jan 1 : 11. 286. 276

D

DIS 3-23-77

FDJ
PAHR (L)

D

CORTEZ, Néstor Alfredo
Arg 23

DIS 4-21-77

La Plata Host 10/78
PAHR (L)

CORTI DE LOBO, Ethel

R

ARR PEN-Authorized to leave country.

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

R

CORTIÑAS, Carlos Gustavo
CI 5952023
Alvarez Jonte 855-Castelar (Bs.As.)

D

Disappeared on 4-15-77 while going to his work. Castelar

Cortiñas, Mora Morales de (Mother)
LC 0019538
Alvarez Jonte 855 - Castelar (Bs.As.)

PAHR(L) Testimony to Representatives.

D

CORTIZ, Carlos Jorge

DIS 12-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

CORVAIAN, Angelica de

DIS

ML

D

CORVALAN, Eduardo

DIS

PAHR (L)

CORVALAN, Félix Viterno
Tafí Viejo

DIS Tucumán

PAHR (L)
Lig, Arg. Der. Hombre

D

COSENTINI, Vicente
LE: 7.267.124
Nemb: Comm. Party

Disappeared 12-15-76 AAR

Carcer Cath Cong. 4/78.
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Comm Party

D 78

CORVO, Donato Antonio

DIS 5-19-78

LANUS List 3-10-79

D

COSENTINO, Alba Luz
Age 37
Member Comm. Party
Dur. 3 yrs. 4 mos

Disappeared 9-23-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
Constituent Cong. 9/78
Comm. Party
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

COSENTINO, Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)

AFL/CIO

COSME, Benito Choque

J

BENITO CHOQUE COSME: L. 8. 10.720.703. He was abducted together with his girlfriend at her home in Capital Federal, on September 14th 1976 at 8p.m.

D

COSME CHOQUE, Roberto

DIS

ML

COSTA, Mrs. D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

COSTA, Alberto Oscar D
Periodista

Disappeared 7/16/76 Bahia Blanca (Bs As).

Le Monde 6-10-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

COSTA, Carlos Alberto

D

DIS

AISC

D

COSTA, Emiliano (journalist)

Although imprisoned in 1974, he was later released; re-arrested 4/17/76 with Darbo Cabo, an editor who was executed on 1/6/77; present status unknown.

La Nación 6-10-78

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

ML

D

COSTA, Juan Alberto (Writer)

Abducted on 5/5/76 with Haroldo Conti; whereabouts unknown.

La Nación 6-10-78

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

ML

D

COSTA, Juan E

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

C-82/22/12

D
Option

COSTA, Mario Luis

Was 2nd replacement in Resolution 82/6 amended.

PEN-Unidad 1 - Coronda (Santa Fé)

Costa, Maria del Carmen Filipatti de (Wife)
Roca 581, Venado Tuerto (Santa Fé)

D

COSTA, Nestor

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

COSTAS, Samuel Francisco

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

---

c-4/11/10 c/pacon.

CASTRO, Raúl Ruben
Guanzzetti (entre Sarmiento y San José)
GONNET - La Plata

At PEN disposition since 4-13-76.

Will ask for option to leave the country.
(Entrevista formularios 10-14-77)

Maria Celia Carrion (Personal visit) (Wife)
Guanzzetti (entre Sarmiento y San José)
Phone: 41543 La Plata-Calle 5 Nro. 682-La Plata (Grandmother)

D

COSTA, Tomas

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

COSTERA, Nelson Raúl

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

COSTILLA, Fernando
Tafí Viejo

Disappeared 1-17-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

COSTILLA, Gabriel Fernando
Age 24

Disappeared 1-21-76 Tucuman

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

COSTO, Nestor

Disappeared 8-18-76.

ML
ADLeague

D

COSTO, Patricia Posarek

Disappeared 8-18-76.

ML
ADLeague

D

COTANI, Maria Beatriz

DIS 5-5-76 Córdoba
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ML

D

COTES DE AVILA, Rosa M

DIS

PAHR (L)

778/79/1

COTTANI, Maria Beatriz

Detained under PEN.

Consulate

8

COTTU, Jesus

ARR PEN

AISC

K

COULIN NOVILLO, Hugo
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

COULTER, Tomas

DIS

ML

D

COURNOU DE GRANDI, Maria Cristina
File 28
CH: 2.139.283

Disappeared 6-22-76 Paso del Rey - Pr. Bs.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

COURTADE, Enrique Gastón
CI: 5.372.743
Lanus

Disappeared 4-21-77 from his s/fia Av. Mitre 351, Avellaneda with parents
O. Olabarrio

Cancer Cent Cong 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

D

COUSO, Juan Carlos
DNI 40.240.340 or 40.249.340
Age 26

NRR
(Disappeared) 1-25-77 La Plata

La Plata Hist 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

C-109/78/1

COUTONE, Ricardo Horacio
CI. 3.127.157 de la Prov.Bs.As.

P
Optim

Removed from PEN - 9-1-78 La Macarena

PEN; Unidad 17 Candelaria - Misiones

Personal call at Embassy 1-19-78:

Coutone, Marcial O. (Father)
Balbin Obrañas 310-Posadas (Phone 8060-Posadas)

Juzgado Penal No. 4-Rioja 489-Posadas(Phone 2952-Posadas)

D

COVALLO, Alberto Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
FDD

D

COVAS CRESPI, Osvaldo Pedro

DIS 11/76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

COY, Carlos Alberto
Arg 5/7
LE: 8.498.043

Disappeared 6-30-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

COYTE ó GODITES DE CARRANZA, Marcela
DNI. 10.650.088

ARD 8-18-76 in Bs.As. (Pregnant)

FAHR (L)
ML

COZAMI, Eduardo (former general secretary of the Argentine Federation of Newspaper Workers)

Arrested in 1974, imprisoned; allegedly tortured.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

C-13/78/2

COZZOLINO, Osvaldo Mario

P. Uptern

Arrested on 4-30-76. Charged for illegal association.
Under PEN since 12-18-77.
Presented right of option to Consulate.

PEN; Unidad 9 La Plata
Cancel PEN La Nacion 7-22-78

Cozzolino, Nelly Gavelli de . (Wife)
Calle 1 No. 713-5 "C"-La Plata
Phone: (Parents) 31312
2-13-78.

(OVER)

546/78/9 D

CRAM GONZALEZ, Washington (Uruguayan)
Apt 26
Shreveport - Bs As.

Disappeared 9-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
VANCE - 9-5-78
ML

D

CRANWEL, Julio Ernesto Ribeiro

Tried June 1978 - Opinion 6-16-78

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

R E J

CRAVELLO, Ricardo Alfredo
LE 4291517
C.I: 3.380.347
Apt 38

On 12-8-75 was arrested with his wife by the Army. Since then disappeared. Olivos

Cravello, Rosa Mutti de (Mother)
LC 0944385

Note to Representatives.

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CRAVOTTI, Oscar Horacio
CI: 7.604.945
04120

Disappeared 7-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

46/77/2 P *

CREA, Horacio Hector

Detained. For.Off.Inq.: 2-2-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77
3-1-77 PEN;128-75 judicial review

Father, N. Jerseyander

D

CREATORE, Celso Pedro
CI:6.861.817

DIS 3-28-76

PAHR (L)

D

CREATORE, Laura Noemí
C1: 6.511.817

Disappeared 3-28-76

Grad Stars 1903/76 Opinion 6-16-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

CRESPO, Carlos Gea

DIS

ML

D

CRESPO, Laura
Age: 25
Medical student

ABD 12-6-77 Bs.As.

AISC

CRESPO, Mariana Julia
Social Assistant

Detained 8-23-75.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

CRESPO, Nelda Alba
CI 8.823.919

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CRESTE o CRETE, Alicia Beatriz

DIS 1-10-77

PRHR (L)
ML

D

CRESTE o CRETE, Arturo Raúl

DIS 1-10-77

PAHR(L)
ML

D

CRESTE, Raul Enrique
Worked at the Ministry of Finance

AED

ML

D

CRESTER, Jacobo

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

di Smith 5747/78/B D.78

CRIADO, Silvia
Psicologist

ABD August 1978.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
WOLA 11/78

CRISTANCIO, Roberto
Ast. Rio Santiago

Detained 3-27-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CRISTIANI, Alberto Ricardo

Disappeared 10-14-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

CRISTIANI, Alfredo
Ap. 25
CI: 6.385.517

Disappeared 10-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

CRISTINA, Eleonora
Adm. employee

DIS

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

646/78/12 D78

CRISTINA, Roberto Luis
CI: 4.732.967
Sociologist
Member of Vanguardia Comunista

GOA reply 2-23-79 : Neg. reply.

ABD 8-17-78 in Buenos Aires

Advertisement in newspaper La Prensa 1/24/79
La Nacion 1/25/79

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
WOLA 11/78

Juan Horta (Communist Newspaper) 1/27/78

CRISTODOUPLOS, Panagiotis
CI: 8.562.574

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CRISTOFARO, Eugenio O
Peñaflor

D

Disappeared 9-14-76

AL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L)

CRISTOFARO, Maria Cristina de

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa Madrid)

CRIVELLI, Guido
Age: 58
Lawyer

Detained in Departamento de Inteligencia de la Policía
Prov. Córdoba.

Letter to Amb.
Crivelli, Lía Esther Duboué de
Duarte Quiros 555-Córdoba

CRIVELLI DUBOUE DE ALCALDE, Lia Ester Diana
Age: 28
Lawyer

Detained 7-22-78. Disappeared until 7-31-78 in Departamento de Policía, Córdoba. Since 8-1-78 in Prison "Buen Pastor" INCOMMUNICATED. 7 month pregnant.

Letter to Amb. 8.7.78 (Mother)
Crivelli, Lia Esther Duboué de
Duarte Quiros 555-Córdoba

CROCCO, Roberto

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

CROLIA, Julia Graciela

DIS 11/76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

CRUCES, Celso Pedro
Age 21
CI: 7.477.143

Disappeared 10-27-76 Avellaneda

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

CRUCES, Miguel

D

ABD 10/76 south of Buenos Aires.

AISC (CRPAB)
ML

CRUZ, Elena
Age: 38

D

ABD 7-17-76 from home

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

CRUZ, José Alberto

D

DIS 5-16-75 Bahia Blanca.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

CRUZ, Osvaldo

D

DIS

ML

CRUZ, Patricia Mónica
CI: 8.407.368

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

CRUZ, Salvador

D

DIS 7-20-76

PAHR

(uruguayan) 547/76/9

CRUZ BONFIGLIO, Mario Jorge
Corrientes 2929, Bs.As.

D

AED 8-26-76

[illegible]
ML

CUADRELLI de A, Mercedes L.
DNI: 11.233.913

D

ABD

AISC

D

CUADRELLI DE LACOURT, A
Age: 22
DNI: 11.235.913

DIS 6-16-76

PAHR (L)

CUASI, Haydée
Maestra y prof.-Venado Tuerto-Santa Fé

Detained 2-14-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

P

CUATROCHI, Diana Alcira
Age: 24
Worker

Detaine in May 1975 in Arroyo Seco, Santa Fé Prov.
at present in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

CUBA DE PEREZ, Maria Giorgina Esther

Disappeared 5-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5=17=78 (L)

CUBAS, Lisandro Raúl

D

DIS

See S19

Harris info 12-15-78

9

CUCCO, Juan Emilio

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

CUCHIETTI, Abel Omar

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

CUELLO

DIS 3-24-76 Reconquista

Mexico 79

CUELLO, Eduardo Félix

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

CUELLO, Juan José 227/78/2
Age: 24
Address: Home - Estado de Israel 4589-Buenos Aires
Address: Work - Nahuel Huapi 5801

6-29-78: No PEN
W.G.A) que va a retirar el pedido de información (Mayo 1978)

Arrested on 9-15-77. Probably place of detention: First Corps Headquarters, Palermo.

Senator Cranston - 1-3-78. 80-5460

CUELLO, Victor Vicente

DIS 11-4-76

PAHR

D

CUELLO DE GARCIA, María T.
CI: 3.664.557

DIS 11-26-76

PAHR (L)

D

CUELLOS, Juan Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

CUESTA, José María

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

DABAS DE CORREA, Laura I
Age: 29
L. 5.910.038

DIS 9-30-77

PAHR (L)

DA COSTA, Américo Gerónimo
Age 24
CI: 5.240.203

D

DIS 10-14-76

PAHR (L)

D

DADIN, Héctor Jorge
DNI 11.969.449
Age 23

Disappeared 10-28-76 - Florida B.A.
mother - Irene de Dadin - DNI 3.350.713 - Olivos - Esmeralda 1125

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDD-11-6-78

D

DAFED, Graciela Beatriz

Disappeared 10-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

DA FONTOURA, Andrés (Uruguayan) D
Psicologist student

ABD in Buenos Aires on 1-30-77

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

DAGALIA, Dora D

DIS

PAHA(L)
ML

D

D'AGOSTINO, Alberto Hugo
Age 21
DNI: 11.644.767

Disappeared 7-24-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

D'AGOSTINO, Miguel Angel
CI: 4.849.241
Age 18

Disappeared 7-2-77 Castelar

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

D

DAKUYACU, Ricardo
Age 24
DNI: 10.911.911

DIS 12-6-77 La Plata Bs.As.

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

DAL DOSSO, Maria
Lawyer

Detained on 3-20-75 in Villa Constitución (Santa Fé). At presente in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

DALDOVO, Mirian Luz

ARR FORMOSA PEN

AISC (Río Negro newspaper)

DAIED, Graciela Beatriz
LC. 5.867.414
Age: 29
Moreno & Acoyte, Bs.As.

AED 10-18-77

PAHR (L)
ML

D

D'ALESIO, Bebé

DIS 7/77

AISC (CRPAB)

D

D'ALESSIO, Alberto

DIS 12/76

ML

D

D'ALESSIO YUSSEN, José Luis
Age: 23
LE: 5.140.184

Disappeared 1-26-77 (AB) from Caracas Int. Pt. Os)

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

DALIA, María Angélica
Pag 30
DI: 5.260.174

Disappeared 2-21-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

DALIAN, Emilia
DI: 3.795.124

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

DALLEO, Graciela B.

Disappeared 10-18-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DAL ROSSO, Maria

Detained on 3-20-75 during the Villa Constitución events.
At present in Villa Devoto.

Liag Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

DAMBORENA, Dardo

Disappeared 2-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

AFL/CIO
DAMBORIANA, Dardo Juan

Jornada Rosario

DAMBORIANA: D.N.I. 11.739.430. Bank clerck. He was abduc in the c Buenos Aires after he was traced all the way from Mar del Plata. took place February 12th 1977.

PAHR (E)
AL
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

D

D'AMBRA, Alicia Raquel
Afc 61

DIS 7-12-76

PAHR (L)

D

D'AMBRA, Carlos Alberto
Afc 24

DIS 11-20-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

D'AMBROSSE, Norma Noemí

At disposition of War Court. Sentenced to 2 years + 8 month jail.
Opinion 6-16-78

Disappeared 10-26-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (F)

D

DAMERI, Marcelo

DIS 4/76 Buenos Aires

ML

9

DAMES, Luis
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

D'AMICO, David Guillermo
Victor Manuel III nº 3389-Garin (Pro. Bs. As.)
Age 17
DNI: 12.466.116

Disappeared 8-10-76 Garin

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

D'AMICO, Luis Rodolfo
Victor Manuel III N° 2089 - Garin (Pcia Bs)
Age 24
LE: 8.412.215

Disappeared 8-10-76 Garin

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

D'AMICO, Maria Cristina
Age 22
CI. 569.834

Disappeared 2-26-78 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D'AMICO, Roberto D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

C-130|78|2

D'AMICO FORNES, Ricardo

Min Int. refused visit 4/78 as under judicial system.

Right of option certificate under review.

France

D

DAMORA, Yolanda Mabel ~~Madl~~
LC: 11.972.406

Disappeared 5-11-76 Cordoba

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

DAMUS, Ricardo Alberto

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

D'ANGELIS, José Alberto
DNI 11.053.941
Age 23.

Disappeared 9-11-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

D'ANGELIS, Viviana

Disappeared 10-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D'ANGELO, Mrs.

D

ABD 9/76 with husband

ML

D

D'ANGELO, Alfredo Gustavo
CI 10.452.052
Age 22

Disappeared 3-26-76 in Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

D'ANGELO, Julio Raul
A. Quirno 435 - Avellaneda (Bs. As.)
Age 20

ARR Military Garrison - Campo de Mayo
Disappeared 7-4-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

C-104/78/1

D'ANNUNZIO, Mariano José
(Student - Doctor)

P
Optic

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

D'Annunzio, Aurora Perez Molaro de (Mother)
Brown 271 - Punta Alta (Prov.Bs.As.)

Sra. de Canese Phone (81793)

D

DANQUEN, Daniel Alberto
Clarin
Capital

Disappeared 7-15-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DANTE, Roberto Oscar
DNI 10.859.645
Age 23

Disappeared 10-18-76 leaving working place Rivadavia a Talcahuano street Haidé (Ap. Ar.)

FDD
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DANUN, Juan Angel
Age: 50
LE: 6.971.707

DIS 11-13-76 Monteros

FDD

DANUN, Raul Roque
Age: 52
DNI: 3.510.663

DIS 11-13-76 Monteros

FDD

DARAÑA, Graciela R.M.S.de
Santa Pé

Disappeared 3-24-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D'ARCANGELO, Luis Tomás
DU. 10.353.362
Calle 131 No. 1487 y 1/2
Departamento 2
LA PLATA

La Plata Pro A.

Arrested on 2-8-77. Disappeared since then.

PRAR(L)
La Plata Fiscal 10/78

Personal call 9-20-78:
Dr. Antonio Tomas D'Arcangelo (Father)
Chcabuco 1322-San Luis 5700

DARDO, Juan Damboriana D

DIS 2-12-77

PAHR (L)

DARE, María Cristina D
Age 38
LE: 6.248.618

DIS 10-22-77

PAHR (L)

DAROKY, Jorge D

Disappeared 5-15-77

Lig Arg. Der. Hombre

DAROQUI, Daniel Alberto
DNI 11.163.816
Calle 115 Nº 1516 - La Plata

Disappeared 7-15-77 with brother Jorge

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

DAROQUI, Jorge Arturo
DNI 10.677.018
Haga 40 - Bs Aires
Apt 26

Disappeared 7-15-77 with brother at Policia Hq. Bs As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

DAROQUI, Juan Carlos
DNI 4.976.813
Apt 30

Disappeared 9-19-77 in V. Soldati at the home of Mr. Esposare, who was killed.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

DARTONE DE NUÑEZ, Maria

DIS 4-26-76

PAHR (L)
ML

373/78/5 D

DASCAL, Guillermo Horacio
Age: 19
Federal Capital

Disappeared 5-11-78
M.R.A.J. - Gon - 4-5-78

PAHR - 5-30-78

D

DA SILVA, Alberto

Disappeared 7/76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DA SILVA, Bartolomé
DNI 5.310.503
Age 31.

Disappeared 7-3-76 Asunto

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

DA SILVA, Ernesto
TENSA

Disappeared 6-17-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DASSO, Alicia

F

ARR 3-24-76 Entre Rios-Held in V.Devoto PEN
Condemned by Military Court

AISC (CADHU)

DASSO, Juan Antonio
Lawyer

Detained in Entre Rios after 3-24-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D'ATRI, Raul Celso (editor)
Bank Rep. newspaperman (Ba Pampa)

Arrested in 12/75; imprisoned.
Detained since 11-19-75, still without process.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Le Monde 6-18-78
Newspaper clipping, Ba Nacion 11-23-78

355/76/5

DOTTORI, (Sra.)
Profesión Astronomo

OAS reply 6-27-78: I.C.A.) y se sigue investigando (Junio 1978)

Presented FOWG asking if Mrs. Dottori has been released.

AAAS-Dpt.of State Unclas. State 123485

354/78/5

DOTTORI, Horacio
Profession: Astronomer

Ref. 27.75 H.R.A.) Se exige investigación (Junio 1976)

Presented FWOG asking if Mr. Dottori has been released.

AAAS-Dpto.of State - Unclas.State 123485 8A-4314
CAHR(L)
AL

D

DAUTHIER, Clarisse

Disappeared in October 77.

French Embassy

D

DAUTHIER, Francisca Maria (French)
DOB: 10-1-46

Disappeared on 10-21-77 in Espeleta.

French Embassy

D

DAUTHIER, Nathalie

Disappeared in October 77.

French Embassy.

D

DAUTHIER GRAGOIS,

Disappeared 10-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

DAVALOS, Ricardo Barreto (Paraguayan)
Ap 44

Disappeared 10-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

DAVID, Eugenio Rafael

Disappeared December 1976

PAHR (L)
PL
ADLeague

DAVID, Guillermo

D

DIS 8-10-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

DAVID, Patricia Beatriz

Detained at Olmos

ADLeague

DAVILA, Claudio D-78

DIS 6-5-78

PAHR (L)

DAVILA, Felipe
La Rioja

Detained since 3-24-76 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DAVILA, Joaquin Emilio P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

DAVILA, Luis Casiano

arr Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

Freed

DAVIS,

Daughter of a captain of the War Navy. Was detained many months but could not be found by her father. Finally appeared in liberty in La Plata and it was said that she had been left free because she colaborated with the Security Forces.

Harris data - 8-15-78

723/79/1 D

DE ACHA, Claudio
Age 19
DNI: 12.530.683

GOA reply 2-23-79 - Have no antecedents.

Disappeared 9-15-76 La Plata

DEAN HERMUDEZ, Nelson Eduardo (Uruguayan) C F.
Age: 29
Arenales 1560, Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. In conditional freedom in Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

DEANE, Juan

F

ARR PEN

AISC

D

DE ANGELI, Oscar Alberto

Disappeared 11-28-77

D

DE ANGELIS, Ruben Mario
Calle 118 - N° 1151 - La Plata Pcia. Bs. As.
DNI: 2.326.842

Disappeared 1-13-77 Worked at San Martin Hospital - La Plata

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rep Arg. Der. Hombre

K

DEBENEDETTI, Osvaldo Sigfrido

Killed in Tucumán on 7-21-78. Body had two shots, one in the chest, one in the neck.

WOLA 11/78
Debenedetti, Osvaldo (Parent)
Debenedetti, Elida Echavarria de

D

DEBUON, Felix

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

DE CALDO, David

DIS

ML

D

DE CAMINO, Renée Angel
Age 22

Disappeared 3-17-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

DE CARLI DE CID DE LA PAZ
Age: 20
DNI: 12.991.534

DIS 11-15-77 San Justo

FDD

DE CICCO DE MOUKARSEL, Alicia Ester D
Age: 26
Doc: No. 348.565

DIS 12-12-75 Obrdata

PAHR (L)

DECIMA, Julio Vicente D
Age: 28
Doc. 350.276

DIS 3-5-75

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

DECIMA, Martin Rosa D
Age: 42
Doc. 7.059.472

DIS 9-14-76

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

De CRISTOFARO, Eugenio Osvaldo (F) D
DNI 11.320.570
T Hijo de Eugenio Luis Cristofaro
R Charlone 381 - Capital

On 9-14-76 my sister in law came with men from Federal Security Forces, before they had been at my mother in law's house. They arrested my husband Eugenio Osvaldo Cristófaro and since then he is disappeared.

Cristófaro, Liliana Calvello de De (Wife)
DNI 13.566.547
Charlone 381, Piso 4°Dto.4-Capital
Amer-Prensa 5-17-77 (L)

Letter.(No date) to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives. L

T De CRISTOFARO, Luis Eduardo (F) K
R CI. 8.827.403
Miralla 1310- Capital

Killed - notified formally December 1977

Arrested on 5-16-77 by a group of armed men. They also kidnapped his wife María Cristina Bernart de De Cristófaro and brother in law Julian Bernart. On June 2, thru the newspapers it was said that he had been shot as a member of ERP. Also his wife shot at Monte Grande. No news from the brother. It was impossible for me to obtain the corps of them. Are they really dead?

De Cristófaro, Dora C. de (Mother)
Andonaegui 1444, Capital

Testimony to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.
ML

D García P
Yatron DECURGEZ, Héctor Hugo
Missing reported missing 10-10-75 on PEN rejected info 6 months

In prison since 10-10-75 at disposal of PEN (Poder Ejecutivo Nacional).

DECURGEZ, Gervasio Teófilo (Father)
Chile 433 - Capital.

8-3-77 Letter to Derian
8-18-77 Letter to G. Yatron

ML

D

DECURGUES, Raúl Hugo
LE. 4.436.579
Simón 836 - Bs. As.

Disappeared 4-29-77 from home with o.T. Aguero

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

DEDIEU, Hugo
Journalist

Detained

MinInt lifted arrest betweeen 30-29 and 10-6-78.
Announcements were made on Saturday, Oct. 7, 1978

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

DE DIEGO, Tomás
Venado Tuerto

Abducted. Perhaps criminal abduction.
Freed after a 50 million peso ransom was found in his captors.

LA RAZON 7-28-78

D

DE ELIA, Rodolfo
M. Economía La Plata

Disappeared 6-12-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DE ELIZALDE, Diego

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

D

DE ESPECHE, Draa Marcedes Salvadora

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

DEFELIPPE, Mirta Susana
Age 11
CB: 3.963.810

Disappeared 9-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DEFIERI, Eduardo
Free Lance Journalist

DIS

Le Monde 6-10-78
ML

D

DE FRANCESCO, Carlos
(Chemist) La Intransigencia - Villa La Plata

Abducted. No date 12/76

PAHR (L)
Cancer Data Comp. 9/78
ML
Cornell Union Group, NAS, aaas.

D

DE FUNES, Gregorio
Bco. Hurlingham

Disappeared 12-16-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D48

DE GARRAT, Verónica
Age: 25
Employee

ABD-late 1977 or beginning 1978

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

DEGET, Raul Arturo
Age 24
Supervisor of Antarsa
LE: 8.261.500

Disappeared 5-22-76 Buenos

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DEGHI, Juan Carlos

K

Arrested some days after 3-24-76. Under PEN at Unidad 9 La Plata. On 3-23-78 he was freed at 23:00. His wife was expecting him. While they went away they were again arrested, she was freed some time after but he was found the following day killed in Zarate.

MALA
Memo presented to the Embassy. 3-31-78.

7

DEGIAMPIETRO, Jorge Ruben
Age: 29
LE: 8.383.738

DIS 9-23-76 Merlo Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

DEGOUVERA DE MICHELENA, Graciela

Disappeared

1

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

DE GRANDIS, Roberto
Age: 20

DIS 5/76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

2457/76/1 D *

DEGREGORI, Eduardo José
L.E. 8.393.316
Martin J. Haedo 2251 - Florida Bs.As.

Abducted 10-8-76 from his home. Disappeared since then.

Degregori, Noemi (Amcit)
Arcos 1786-3°"D"-Capital 784-8835 (Aunt)
Passport Z. 2985085
PBHR(L)

(Over)

DE GREGORIO, Oscar Ruben

Arrested in Uruguay and returned to Argentina, information received in Unc. State 039734.

Amnesty International - Refs.: Montevideo 0022; BA-0131 Montevideo 0586.

BA-1st

DEHESA, Elida

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

DE HUECE, Nestor

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

DE IRIARTE, Jorge Luis
DNI 8.455 091
Cuchia Cuchia 1282 - Moron (Pcia Bs As)
Age: 27

Disappeared 8-25-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DE LA CRUZ, Juan Angel
Age: 26
Doc. 8.477.082

DIS 5-4-76

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

DE LA CRUZ RAMIREZ, Ramón
LE: 8.249.353

Disappeared 5-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

Cant DE LA CUADRA, Roberto José (LE. 10.353.346) (F) D
DE LA CUADRA, Elena (LC. 11.209.811) D

José de la Cuadra arrested on 9-2-76 and Elena de la Cuadra on 2-23-77. Since then disappeared.

De la Cuadra, Roberto Luis (Father)
65 Nro. 833 - 4°P "C"-La Plata (Bs.As.)

8-9-77 Letter to Embassy BA.

11-9-78 - Letter to Emb. BA
La Plata Post 10/78

B

DE LA CUADRA, Baby

De La Cuadra, Alicia Zubasnabar de (Grandmother)
Calle 65 No. 834, 4°"C"-La Plata

DE LA FUENTE,
La Rioja

Detained U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DE LA FUENTE, Carlos E.

DIS

ML

DE LA FUENTE, Jorge Luis
Age: 25
DNI: 10.963.036

DIS 10-27-77 Campana

FDD

DE LA FUENTE, Juan Carlos
Age: 30
LE: 4.751.405

DIS 8-31-77 Campana

FDD

DE LA MERCED,

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

DE LA MORCA, Ernesto B.

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

DE LA PORTE, Alicia Raquel
Age 21

Disappeared 7-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

DELARD, Victoria de la Cruz

Disappeared 7/1/77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML

279/75/2 D *

DELARD CABEZAS, Carmen Angélica (Chilean)
Chilean Ident. card: 5789900 from Santiago
PoB: Santiago
DoB: 1-24-1953
Medical student (4th year-Univ. of Valdivia until 9-1973.

GCA reply: No PEN
6-27-78 N.R.G.) y se reitera el pedido de información (hoy 4-78) GCA reply 2-23-79 - Hey reply

Persecuted and expelled from the Univ. for political reasons. Certificates of studies refused by the univ. authorities.
Legal resident in Argentina since November 1973.
Disappeared while filling the charge that her husband had been kidnapped in Cipolletti (Neuquen). 1-10-77.

NL
Cong. Fraser-Letter 7-12-77 BA 5464
PAHR(L)

278/75/2 D *

Delard Cabezas, Gloria Ximena (Chilean)
PoB: Ovalle (Chile)
DoB: 6-30-1954
Student of Economics at Univ. Concepción until September 1973.

GCA reply: No PEN
6-27-78 N.G.A.) y se reitera el pedido de información (hoy 4-78) GCA reply 2-23-79 - Hey reply.

Persecuted and expelled from the Univ. for political reasons.
Certificates of studies refused by the Univ. authorities.
Legal resident in Argentina since January 1974. With Argentine identification documentation.
Kidnapped with her husband Roberto Cristi Melero from her home, leaving the two children, on 1-17-77.

Cong. Fraser-Letter 7-12-77. BA 5464

Causa Amb Empren 9/78
NL
PAHR(L)

DE LA ROSA, Elena
Age 38
LI 4.942.288 D

9-18-76 DIS Banfield-Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

DE LA ROSA, Gerardo Oscar
Age 30

Disappeared 7-27-76 Pablo Nogués - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D78

DE LA ROSA, Lautaro Jesús
Age: 34
LE: 8.080.572

DIS 4-15-78

FDD

D78

DE LA RUBIA, Maria de

ABD 9/78 LA PLATA-Wife of president of the Center of Retired Military

AISC

DELATORRE, Graciela

Detained 4-19-76 - U.2-V.Devoto

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DE LA TORRE, Marcelo Mario

ARR PEN

AISC

DE LA VEGA, Luis Carmelo
Age: 28 -
Student Geology, Córdoba Univ.

ABD 8/77 Córdoba

ML

DEL BO, Félix
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 3-20-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DEL CALDO, David

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

DEL CAMPO, Hugo Osvaldo

D

DIS

ML

DEL CARMEN, Hugo Osvaldo

DIS

PAHR (L)

216/77/12 D *

DEL CARPIO, María José de

Disappeared. No date.

Cong. McHugh 68-5712

D 175/78/11 D *

DEL CARPIO, Jorge

Student of Engineering

GOA info. 6-29-78 No PEN N.Y.B.D. La unica fuente de investigacion es Mayo 1978.

Disappeared July-August 1977 in Córdoba.

Cong. Gus Yatron 68-5712
* Mc Hugh 68-5712 as [illegible]

D

DEL CASTELLI, Osvaldo
Posadas(Misiones)

Disappeared

La Nación clipping 5-22-78

D

DEL CONTTE, Fernando Omar
LE: 8.262.305
Worker at Mercedes Benz

Arrested on 8-12-77. Since then disappeared. San Miguel

PHHR(FL)
Del Contte, Amelia S.de (Wife)
DNI. 10.648.530
Charlone 4635 Barrio Mitre, San Miguel

391/78/5 D SP

DE LEON, Abel
Marinos del Fournier 138 - Palomar

GOA reply 9-15-78 - M.R.A.D.

Under PEN - La Nación 9-16-78

Abducted ~~XXXXXXX~~ 4-8-78

San Justo

392/78/5 D

DE LEON, Lina A. de
Marinos del Fournier 138 - Palomar

Abducted 4-8-78

San Justo

DE LEONARDI, Rogelio
Sec. Gen. Asoc. Doc. Prov.-La Rioja

Detained 3-24-76 Sierra Chica

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

DELFINO, Eduardo Alberto
Age: 27
LE: 8.334.851

D

DIS 12-23-75 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR(L)

D

DELFIND, Liliana Maria
Psicóloga

Disappeared 7-19-76 in Villa Marbelli (Bs As Prov.)

Lawyer - Nat. Cong. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

DELFOR, Guido E.

Detained since 5-19-75 Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DELGADILLO, María Ilda

D

DIS 8-22-77 La Plata

PAHR (L)

DELGADO, Adriana G.

DIS 11/76

PAHR (L)

DELGADO, Irma Susana

Disappeared in 1976

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

C-100/78/1

DELGADO, Jorge Omar

Option

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Delgado, Maria Cristina (Sister)
Calle 16 Nro. 679-La Plata
Phone: (Neighbour) La Plata 30959

D 1978

DELGADO, Julian José
Periodist

Disappeared on 6-4-78 after visiting his doctor.

Newspaper clippins 6-13-78.

D

DELGADO, Maria del Carmen del

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

DELGADO, Nora Mabel
Hjl 24
Ol: 7.206.040

DIS 7-27-77 Sarandi - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

DELGADO, Pedro

AED 4-24-76 by the Navy

PAHR (F)
ML

D

DELGADO BONOSTA, Adriana G.
Hjo 21
DNI: 11.435.379

Disappeared 12-1-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

DELGADO DE IBALO, Ana M.
LC: 11.304.619
Encina, Laferere, Bs.As.
Hjo 23

AED 2-10-77 with husband Antonio

PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML

D

DEL GESSO, Juan Domingo
Age: 35
Doc: 8.089.880

Lived in Tucumán. Was abducted in Buenos Aires on 3-26-75, from a house in Mataderos, Prov. Bs.As.

Comar Cmte Cmg. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78
FAHR(L)
ML
Tucuman

548/78/9 D

D'ELIA, Yolanda Casco de (Uruguayan)
DOPB: 12-28-45-Salto

She was living in Argentina since 1974;disappeared with husband on 12-22-77 in San Fernando, Bs.As.

UNHCR-Refugee registered
3-9-78
D'Elía Correa, Julio Cesar (Father-in-law)
Luis Peira 1807
Montevideo (Phone 49-58-54)
Cmg. Kalil FAHR(L)
AI - 10/78

549/78/9 D

D'ELIA PALLARES, Julio César (Uruguayan)
DPOB: 9-21-1946-Montevideo

Subject has been living in Argentina since 1974; disappeared with wife on 12-22,1977 in San Fernando, Bs.As.

UNHRC-Refugee registered
3-9-78
Cmg. Kalil

D'Elía Correa, Julio César (Father)
Luis Peira 1807
Montevideo (Phone 49-58-54)
FAHR(L)
AI - 10/78

DELIO, Alejandro

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

DELIA CROCE DE AXAT, Ana Inés
Fig: 23
Ref: Ag. 077-001

Disappeared 4-12-77 La Plata - Bs As

La Plata Prot 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

DELIA FLORA, José María
Fig: 22
Ref: Mucy. 991

Disappeared 4-12-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

DELLATORE, Graciela

ABD 5-19-76 in La Plata, Bs.As. with Ana Lisa Magliano
arr. in Villa Devoto

ML

DELLEPIANE DE ALTUNA, Margarita Michelini (Uruguayan) P
Age: 26
Domingo French 443,Apto.4,Villa Martelli

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. Detained at present in Punta Rieles Prison in Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT.

D

DELLI, Héctor Jorge
Del. Mo. R.de la Plata (Bunge Born)

Disappeared 10-28-76

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

DELL'ORTO DE DEMARCO, F.G.
Ajc.22
JWI: 11.607.269

Disappeared 11-5-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

DEL MASSE, Carlos
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 4-23-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DEL MASSE, Néstor
Acindar -Villa Constitución

Detained 3-20-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DEL MISSLER, Norma B[illegible]
c/. 1849.723 LC. 13.3[illegible].320
Apt 19

Disappeared 9-22-76

Cancer Asth Amyon 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DE LORENZO, Carlos Alberto
DNI; 8,366.617
Dob: 9-7-1950

DIS 7-28-77 from his work Laboratorio Rhodia
lra.Junta y Mitre - Quilmes.

Unberto De Lorenzo (Father)
José Enrique Rodó 1265-Wilde
PAHR(L)
(Di Carlo 207-3009)
Brother-in-law
Personal call Embassy 1-9-79.

DE LOS SANTOS, Guillermo L. D

DIS 12/75

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

DELPECH, Luis Maria.
CI. 6.601.922
LE. 8.607.401

Disappeared 12-11-1976 - Zone San Martin-Villa Ballester (Partido San Martin). Was active Montonero.

Delpech, Julieta
Delpech, Cecilia (Sisters)
Concepción Arenal 1710-Planta Baja 1
Capital Tel: 772-0713

D

DEL REGUERO DE QUESADA, Maria G.

Disappeared 12-28-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

DEL RIO, Claudio
CI: 1.010.883

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

DEL RIO, Delmira Rosaura
CI. 9.841.885

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

1978

DEL RIO, José Luis
Age: 21
CI: 7.804.500

DIS 5-9-78

FDD

DEL RIO, Mónica Gladys
Age 19
8.031.877

D

DIS 7-29-76 Arellaneda

PAHR(L)

DELTO, Felix

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

DE LUCA, Bibiana Allerbon
Age: 26
DNI: 10.611.031

8

ARR 11-9-77 Córdoba-PEN San Martin Prison-Córdoba

AISC

DE LUCA, Ricardo

D

Of Buenos according to Ltr. of Interest - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 9/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

DE LUCA OSELLAME, Victor J.

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

DEL VALLE ARZANI, Juan

DIS 11/76 Castelar Bs.As.

AISC

DEMAESTRI, Daniel Luis
LE: 8.366.098
Med. Student
Age: 27
Contretas 272, F. Varela, Bs.As.

ABD 2-9-77 from home

PCHR (L)
Cuest. Arch Congr. 9/78
ML

D

DE MARCHI, Cristina

Arrested together with husband Rafael Nestor Aguilar on 10-22-76 in Córdoba.

Albino Alberto Aguilar (Father-in-law)
Lamadrid 1409
5000 Córdoba
Letter to Amb. Castro 8-13-78.

D

DEMARCHI, Hector Ernesto (journalist)
'Buenos Aires Herald'
Age 29

Abducted on 8/5/76; whereabouts unknown.

FAHR(L)
La Nación 6-10-78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Fernando Vaistia Felipe, Juan Pablo [illegible] (Father)
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

L

D

DE MARCO, Ambrosio Francisco
DNI: 11.694.103
Camino G. Belgrano, Km. 12600, City Bell, (Bs As)
Age 23

Disappeared 11-5-77 from home with wife PAT - La Plata - Bs As.

FAHR(L)
La Plata Post 10/78
ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DE MARCO, Ernesto José

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

DE MARCO, Patricia Graciela dell Orto de
Age: 22
DNI: 11.607.269

AED 11-5-76 from home with husband Ambrosio

La Plata Prison 10/78
ML

D

DE MARINI
From Córdoba University

DIS

ML

D

DE MARINIS, Lidia Beatriz
CI: 5.491.995

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
1 WOLA 1/78 4

DE MARTIN, Pedro

D

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

DEMATTIA, Luis Vicente
LE. 10.255.667
CI. 1.647.120
DOB: 11-6-52 - Age 25
Calle 35 No. 161 1/2 - La Plata

Detained on 6-10-77. Since then disappeared.
(Mmember for 5 years of the Communist Party.)

Demattia, Vicente Remigio (Father)
Alsina 252-San Antonio de Areco (Bs.As.) Phone: 2514

2-1-78

DEMICHELIS, Juan Antonio

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

DEMIRYI, M. de los Milagros

ARR 10-23-74 Chaco PEN - Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

DENARDO, Jorge Oscar
DI 7 549. 167
Contador
Age 22
y/o Junto N°98 - Olivos (Pr. Bsas.)

Disappeared 8-5-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

R DENIS, Carlos Maria (F) D
CI 5.264.761
Zelada 4626-Capital
Tel. 69-0010
Age 34

Disappeared after he deanounced that his home had been robbed.
7-27-77

Denis, Amanda A. L. de (Mother)
Zelada 4626-Capital
Tel. 69-0010
ML
Rep. Amer. Lat. Humanos
Phone (L) Statement to Representatives.

L

D

DENTESANO, Elvira Alba

DIS 7-27-77

FDD

270/78/C D

DE NUCCIO, Andres Marcelo
CI. 8.625.005
Av. Rosales 828 - Rem. de Escalada

Embassy was informed by phone that he is detained in Unidad 9 - La Plata. Has 18 days disappeared. 6-30-78. - (Warrindate 9/14/78)
N.R.A.D - GOA - 9-5-78
Arrested on 5-11-78 by a group of men. Since then disappeared. From 1973 to 76 he concurred to Carlos Pellegrini School. Friend of Zaidman boy.

De Nuccio, Marta Basarat de (Mother)
Av. Rosales 828-Rem. de Escalada
Phone: 242-9947 Sra. Nancy

Rabbi Meyer

Personal call 5-24-78.

D

DE OLASO, Mónica Edith

DIS 5-11-77 La Plata-Bs.As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(1)

H39/78/6 D

DEPAOLI, Raúl Alberto

IN. 13.310.907

BOA reply 9-30-79. Nav. reply

Disappeared 5-5-77, La Plata.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Causa Aut. Cong. 9/78
WOLA

D

DE PEDRO, Eduardo
Ferroportuario
CI: 6.170.660
Age 29

Disappeared 6-29-77 Mar del Plata

D

DE PETRIS, Maria Rosa Teresa

DIS October 1976

PAHR

440/78/Ø D

DEPINO, Mario Alberto
LE:8.481.072
Ing. Hidraulico
Zuviria 438 - 5°Piso-Capital
Pág 24

Arrested on 12-6-77. Since then disappeared.

Maria Corina Geobatista de Depino (Mother)
LC. 3.090.499
Calle 10-516 (La Plata)Phone:39645

ML
MOLA
CAHR(L)

D

DE PORTILLO MEDINA, Hermones

DIS

ML

DE POZO, Alberto

D

DIS 10-5-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

627/78/11 D 78

DEPRATTI, Osvaldo Nereo
LE: 6.152.836
Age: 29

DIS 12-29-78 together with wife and child from his home in Villa Libertad, San Martin, Bs.As. (Street 3A No.5573).

GOA reply 1-18-79 Negative reply.
GIA reply 2-23-79 Neg. reply

Depratti, Ruben (Parent)
Di Pierro, Maria Luis
Calle 3A No. 5573, Villa Libertad, San Martin
Senator Baker -68-835
Cong. Holt-28-934
La Plata list 10/78
PAHR (L)

D

DERDOY, María Cristina
Nac. del Plata
Age 26

Disappeared 3 or 4 of november 1977 from her common home.

Hig Atty. Gen. Honduras
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

DERIZIK ZOLOTZNYTZKY, Carlos

Under PEN Sierra Chica - Released
Released ADL

ADLeague

D'Enrico
DE RICO, Pascualino (Italian)
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 3-20-75 - Rawson

Expelled La Nación 2/2/79

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DE SALVO, Ana R.

Detained 3-20-77 - Villa Devoto

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

c-12-78/2

DESENA, Cayetano

G
Optrn

PEN
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Desena, Teresa de
Anibal Ponce 1761-Banfield
(Thru Dr. Silvia Gonzalez)

DESICO, Alicia Esther

D

DIS 12-12-75

Córdoba List - 12-1-78

P

DESIMONE, Carlos (journalist)

Arrested 9/12/76; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

R DE SIO, Alejandro Enrique (F) D
1 qc: 23
Cédula 16 1º 1951 - La Plata (Pcia. Bs. As.)

Arrested 4.1.77
Habeas Corpus presented on 2-2-77. Disappeared

Sent to Representatives.

La Plata List 10/78
ML
Rcja Arg. De Derecho

L

D

DESIO, Carlos Omar

DIS

PAHR (4)
ML

D

DE SOUZA PINTO, Olga Norma
L. 5.411.418

DIS 6-17-77 M. Paz - Bs. As.

PAHR (4)

DE STEFANO, Alicia Carmen
Age: 25
LC 10.353.648

DIS 11-11-76 La Plata

FDD

C-41/79/11

DESTEFANO, Ricardo Cesar
(Marinero)

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata. Entregado formularios. 11-14-77.

Florentina Merkel de Destéfano (Madre)
Sanchez de Bustamante 250-Capital

Rio Negro(Colonia 783-Ing.Jacobacci)

DETOFINO, Tomás del Carmen

DIS11-28-76

PAHR (L)

D

DETOMASI, Walter Dario
Cl. 7 496 477
Age 19

Disappeared 10-12-76 from school, Paraguay & Reconquista - Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

DE URANGA BOLO Sara

D

Rep 4 Dis: Oct,78-La Nacion newspaper

C-52/22/11 FREED 111/77/9 P *

DEUTSCH
~~BERGER~~, Alejandro

GCH Mtg: 11-10-77 Arg.

Arrested in Córdoba on 9-6-77." At present in Penitencieria de Córdoba. Writ PEN

Crimea dispatch 1-11-78. Wrote PEN
Cleared w/writ PEN: La Nacion 3-11-78

Arg Intel Mtg Comm
Sen. Abour
Sent incoming
Newspaper inform. La Nación 9-7-77.
Long Beach
Sent Cranston
Cong. Rep Leigh 5-8-1233

Sen Clergy Tel. - Mr. Martin

Complaint

FREED

115/77/9

DEUTSCH DEUTSCH
ROSENZWEIG, Elena Rosenzweig de

Arrested in Córdoba on 9-6-77. At present in Penitenciería of Córdoba.

Naciones Unidas 175
Parque Velez Sarsfield
5000 CORDOBA F.C.N.G.B.M.

H - 051 - 62048
c - 051 - 20875

Newspaper inform. La Nación, 9-7-77.
Sen. Church, Cong. Leach } BA-3782
Cong. Tom Harkin BA-8102
Sen. Kennedy BA-4732 Archbishop Lacoste

PAHR (L)

BA-8907

FREED

114/77/9

DEUTSCH
DEUTSCH, Elsa Elisabeth

Arrested in Córdoba on 9-6-77. At present in Penitenciería of Córdoba.

PAHR(L)
Newspaper inform. La Nación 9-7-77.
Cong. Leach
Sen. Church
Cong. Richmond BA-4732
Sen. Humphrey
Sen. Stone

113/77/9 *

DEUTSCH
DEUTSCH, Liliana Ineś

left country - Released from jail 9-7-77 (Acclaim 2-8-79
Authorized to leave country - Clarin 5-12-78

Answer: 11-10-77 Rez.

Arrested in Córdoba on 9-6-77. At present in Penitenciería of Córdoba.

Carta dirigida 6-13-78 - Vendrell PEN
CIA reply 5-19-78
PEN: 2/6 7752 del 19-12-77
Cargos: PCR - Colaboración de alumnos para la JCR.
Dirigida: U-1-"C" recta
a disposición Juzgado Fed. 2. Córdoba

Archbishop Lacoste
Newspaper inform. La Nación 9-7-77.
Cong. Leach
Sen. Church [ ] 11-29-77 } BA-6399
Cong. Richmond BA-4732
Sen. Humphrey
Sen. Stone

PAHR(L)

BA-8907

26

DEUTSCH FREED 114/77/9 8
[redacted], Susana Silvia

Arrested in Córdoba on 9-6-77. At present in Penitenciería of Córdoba. released 10-7-77.

PAHR (L)
Newspaper inform. La Nación 9-7-77.
Cong. Leach
Sen. Crannston
Cong. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

D

DEVALIS DE PAULIN, Graciela J.
Age: 22
Antofagasta y Curupayti, Merlo

AED 7-12-76 w/husband Osvaldo H.

PAHR-Prensa 5-A-78
ml

D

T DE VICENTI, Nestor
R DNI. 10088952
MANGIN, Raquel Jorgelina
CI. 6895116

On 11-30-76 at Aguero 4586 Avellaneda, work place of the girl, both were kidnapped by a group of armed men who said to be SECURITY FORCE.
Since then disappeared.

De Vicenti, Azucena Villaflor de (Mother)
Crámer 117 - Sarandí, Avell. Tel.: 204-5644.

Aug.1977. Testimony sent to Mr. T.Todman.
Testimany to Representatives.

PAHR (L)

D

DE VICENZO, Roberto Enrique Dario
LE: 10.184.539

Disappeared 9-27-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

ARS/77/10 D *

DEVOTO, Jorge Alberto Daniel
Lieuttenant
30 years old.

Disappeared after denouncing his father-in-law disappearance, on 3-21-77.

Bettini, Marta del Carmen Francese (Mother-in-law)
Andrés Bello 9, Madrid 28, Spain.

8-5-77 Letter to D. Cyrus Vance.

AI

D

D'FABIO, Mario Alberto

dis 11-2-76

Mar del Plata List

D

D'FAVIO FERNANDEZ, Colman, Hern
CI. s. 7[illegible].6[illegible]
Martin Rodriguez 315 - 1-6 - Mar del Plata

Disappeared 11-2-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

DIAGO, Ana Teresa
DNI: 11.607.402
Member of Fed. Juv. Comunista
Univ. student

ABD 9-30-76. La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-(L)
Comm.Party

DIANDA, Juan Manuel
Acindar

Detained 5-11-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DI ANGELO, J.

Disappeared 7-4-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DIAZ
Wife of Mario Diaz

ABD with husband on 9-14-76. Pregnant!

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

DIAZ, Alberto (editor)

Arrested and imprisoned in 4/76; although it was reported that he may have been released, no definite confirmation has been received.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

DA

DIAZ, Alcides
Arc 54

Disappeared 1-26-78 Olavarria

PAHR-Prensa 5-27-78 (1)

DIAZ, Angel
Entre Rios

Detained since 5-7-75 in Gualeguaychú

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Analia ?
D

DIAZ, Anselmo Heriberto
LE: P.381.890

Disappeared 11-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

DIAZ, Benito
Ac ro
DNI: 7.093.430

DIS 8-31-77 San Justo - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

377/78/5

DIAZ, Carlos Alberto
Ex-officials of Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto

Disappeared 5-16-78
N.R.A.D - 60A - 9-5-78

PAHR - 5-3078

DIAZ, Carlos Guillermo

DIS 3-10-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

DH

DIAZ, Carlos Roberto

ABD 5/16/78 Ex-official of Adul Educ. Dept.Ministry of Culture and Educ.

AISC

D

DIAZ, Celia Mónica
DW:43.691.029

Disappeared 1-4-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Arg. Arg. Mil. Murder
Fil

D

DIAZ, Domingo César
Age: 30
DW:8.937.247

Disappeared 10-9-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

DIAZ, Emiliana Liliana

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.
10-14-78

D 78

DIAZ, Enrique Gonzalo
Age: 37
Doc. 7.193.796

DIS 10-9-78

Tucumán

PONR (L)

D

DIAZ, Enrique Hugo

DIS

PONR (L)
ML

D78

DIAZ, Enrique Rene
Age: 24
Doc.10.941.064

DIS 3-8-78

Tucumán

D

DIAZ, Francisco Eduardo

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

DIAZ, Francisco Genaro

Disappeared 4-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
ML

D-78

DIAZ, Francisco Rafael
Age 21
Dic. 12.449.475

DIS 5-25-78 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR

D

DIAZ, Guillermo Enrique

DIS 11/76

ML

DIAZ, Hugo Manuel
Tafí Viejo
Age 29
Dic. 5.398.263

DIS 8-13-76

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Tucumán

D

DIAZ, Jorge

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

D

DIAZ, Jorge Alberto

Disappeared 1-24-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

65/77/4 *

D

DIAZ, Jorge Roberto
CI. 6.851.192
Age: 25
Informe 2411. A Gmo.

Disappeared since 1-24-77.
For.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77 GOA reply: 6-8-77. No record
M-AA-77 Mag.

Mother's letter to Amb. Hill.
PAHR(1)
ML
Leg Arg. Gen Hornos

D

DIAZ, José ~~o Jorge~~
Drafted soldier

DIS 6-26-76

PAHR (1)
ML

D

DIAZ, Juan
Age: 19
Waiter from YCMA-Bs.As.

8-30-76
ABD 7-23-76

PAHR (1)
ML
Rep. Arg. Asa. Nombre

D

DIAZ, Juan
Member of Comun. Party

11-29-76?
Disappeared 8-30-76
Employee of the Cuban Embassy

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Comun. Party

D

DIAZ, Liliana

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

DIAZ, Lisandro Isauro

Disappeared 10-9-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

R/Fdh

D

S DIAZ, Luis Enrique Elguete (Chilean)
Ap. M

Arrested on 7-27-76, he had arrived from Chile on 7-2-76.

Diaz Vargas, Ruth (Mother)
DNI 92131277
Estados Unidos 1626-Dpto.22-Capital

Testimony to Senators.

ML

D

DIAZ, Mario Alberto
Age: 30
LE: 4.559.716 DI-5.630.376
Olazabal 5296,Bs.Aires

ABD 4-6-77 from work G. Cruz 1540-Bs.As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Lig Arg Der Hombre

D

DIAZ, Mario Hugo

Disappeared 9-17-76

PAHR-Prensa ~~5XXXXXX~~ 5-17-78 (1)

DIAZ, Manuel
Tafí Viejo

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DIAZ, Maria Beatriz
CI. 6.649.230
Social Worker
Age 24

Disappeared 3-5-76 Lanús

FDD
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Reg. Arg. Des. Hombre

D

DIAZ, Miguel Angel
LE: 10.690.249
Age 25

Disappeared 8-16-76 along with Graciela Meleudez from Lopez de Vega 521-
Cándida

Aida D. de Melendez. LC. 1.021.269. Santa Fe 4149
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Reg. Arg. Des. Hombre
FDD-11-6-78

DIAZ, Pacífico

D

DIS 76 La Plata

AISC

DIAZ, Ricardo
Age: 24
12 Nº 1306 - La Plata

AED 2-8-77 in La Plata

ML

Diaz, Ricardo Antonio
DNI 10.690.026
T Calle 72 No.1306-La Plata
R

On 2-6-77 after a feast, while sleeping at a friend's home, he was arrested by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared. La Plata

Typed.

Diaz, Lidia Esther Anselmi de (Mother)
LC 0540895
Calle 72 No. 1306-La Plata

Statement sent to T.Todman.
FD) Statement to Representatives.
Christmas 1977 Announcement

DIAZ, Ricardo Luis
Asst.Rio Santiago
LE: 10.593.961
Calle 4 Nº 1124 - La Plata Pcia Bs As
Age 24

Disappeared 12-24-76 La Plata

La Plata List 10/78
ML

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre (L)
PAHR - Prima 5.13.76

D

DIAZ, Silvia Mónica

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

DIAZ, Susana Noemí
Age: 30
LC: 5.944.348

DIS 10-14-76

FDD

D

DIAZ ANSELMI, Ricardo Antonio
Age 24
DNI: 10.690.026

DIS 2-7-77 La Plata - Bs As.

PAHR (L)
La Plata List - 11-21-78

DIAZ BAYARDES, José Félix (Uruguayan) F.
Age: 31

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. Freed 12-23-76 in Uruguay.

REFOULEMENT

D

DIAZ BENAVIDEZ, Sonia

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

550/78/9 D1978

DIAZ DE CARDENAS, Fernando (Uruguayan)

DIS June 5/1978 Imprenta Mellapress, B.A.

D & Recf. Killed

DIAZ LESTREM, Guillermo R.
Lawyer

Disappeared some weeks ago. Was found dead on 11-30-78 on a small square (Dorrego-Infanta Isabel and Coronel Marcelino Ugarte - Palermo)!

Clarin clipping 12-5-78.

Luj Arg. Ex. Herald 1-19-78

D

DIAZ LOPEZ, Antonio Adolfo
Bpc 26
C.I: 6.929.651

DIS 5-15-76 San Fernando. Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

DIAZ MACIAS, Eduardo

ABD 11/76 from streets-Tucumán

aisc

D

DIAZ MOSCARDO, Mario Alberto
Apt 31
L 4570.716

Disappeared 4-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

P

DIAZ RAMOS, Mario Roberto

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

DIAZ RIOS, Adriana Maria

Apt 22

DIS 8-15-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

DIAZ DE LOS RIOS, Susana G.

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

DIAZ ROMERO, Adán Roberto
Age: 27
LE. 10.539.138

DIS 7-15-76 La Rioja

FDD

DIAZ ROSELL, Guillermo Raul
LE: 7.924.232
Avenida 249 - Lanus

Disappeared 3-19-77 from home with wife Gloria Moran -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DIAZ RUIZ, Casdelario Emilio

Dis: Oct. 78-La Nacion newspaper

DIAZ SALAZAR, Luis Alberto

Age: 25

Dis: 21-7-78, San Justo

FDD List- ~~Xxx~~ 9-16-78

PANR(L)

76

DIAZ SARAVIA, José Horacio ~~Age 24~~ Doc. 7.338.940

J DIAZ SARAVIA, Teresa Mercedes Guerrero de D

Arrested by Security Force on 9-4-76. Without news since then. Tucumán

DIAZ, Miguel Angel (Father and Father in Law)
Av. Roca 3.300 - S.M.de Tucumán (4000)

PANR(L)

8-9-77 - Letter to Derian.

13-11-78 - Letter to Father (Answered)

5-22-78 - Letter from Mr. Newsom

Tucumán

D

DIAZ SINGENARO, F

DIS

RHR(4)
ML

D

DIAZ VALENZANO, Edgardo (journalist)

Arrested 9/12/76 and imprisoned; unconfirmed reports state that he was released from prison on 9/25/76; present status unknown.

La Lucha 6-10-76
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

DIAZ VIZCAY, Miguel Angel

DIS 8-16-76

La Plata list

DIAZA, Raul

D

DIS 5-31-76

ML

DI BASTIANO
Architecte

Detained on Nov. 1977 in La Plata.

La Plata List

D48

DI BASTRANO
Calle 59 - 10 y 11
La Plata

DIS November La Plata

La Plata List

9

DI BENEDETTO, Antonio (writer and editor)

Arrested 3/24/76; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

375/78/5 D

DI BERNARDO, Juan
Age: 46
Federal Capital
CI: 6.614.968

M.R.A.D - GBA-9-5-78

Disappeared 5-12-78

PAHR-5-30-78 (L)

D

DICHIARA, Daniel Enrique
Age: 25
LE: 11.327. 601

DIS 8-9-76 Santiago del Estero

PAHR (L)

D

DI CONZA, Rocco
Age: 32

DIS 6/76

ML

DI DE ROJAS,

P

ARR 1-24-76 Rosario-Held V.Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

DI DIO, Oscar Antonio

D

ABD 2-28-77 in Av. Corrientes, Ba.As.

ML

D *

DIEGO, Ana Teresa
DNI. 11.607.402
LA PLATA

Disappeared since 9-30-76 in Bahía Blanca (Bs.As.) She is a member of Federación Juvenil Comunista.
Mother's visit 4-27-77.

Letter dated 12-22-77 stated that she was taken in front of Universidad Nacional de La Plata on 9-30-76. Since then disappeared.

La Plata Hist 10/78 PAHR (L)
Cancer Cent. Cons. 9/78.

Diego, Zaida Franz Vda. de (Mother)
LC. 8.973.764
Calle Cruz del Sur 212
8000 Bahia Blanca

L

D

DIEGUEZ, José Manuel
Maestro primario - Capital
Age 21
LE: 4.228.586

Disappeared 3-28-77

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DIEGUEZ, Susana Isabel
DNI 5.966.654
Age 28

Disappeared 4-19-77 from home
Released

#532-1629

kl
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DIEGUEZ TROITIÑO, José Manuel

Disappeared 3-28-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

DIESSLER, Alberto O.
8.383.652

689/78/12 D

Disappeared 4-19-77

ADLeague

D

DIEZ, Cristina
Age: 24
DUI: 11.133.005
DOB: 6-26-1953

Disappeared between 14-24 December 1976 in La Plata. Her husband Federico Celesia had been killed one month before. A small daughter (about 6 years) is now with grandmother.

Diez, Olga Mabel Herrera de (Mother)
Entre Rios 2796-Mar del Plata
Phone: 32384

DIEZ, Diana

D

ABD 11/76 Bs.As.

AISC

D

DIEZ, José Alberto

Disappeared 3-2-77

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

DIEZ, Mirta
Ale. 19
Cé: 7.858.561

D-78

DIS 5-11-78

PAHR (4)

DIEZ, Raúl
Met Com

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DIEZ DE RENTANI, Diana Carmen

DIS 3-8-77

PAHR

P

DIF, Jorge

DIS

ML

DI FALCO

7/78 reported to have been transferred to III Corps, but family not informed where or when.

under PEN

DIFEMBERG, Jacob
Lawyer

Arrested

ADLeague

DI GIANCINTI,
Calle 68 Nro. 972 - La Plata

KILLED

Husband of Mrs. Maiztegui, both killed early year 1978 by Joint Forces.

La Plata List

DI GIOVANI, Amalia

ARR 76,Bs.As. Held in V.Devoto

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

DIGON, Jorge

ABD 10-1-77 with brother Roberto and wife

ML

DIGON, Mrs.

ABD 10-1-77 with husband and brother in law

ML

D

DIGON, Roberto
Leader Federation Tobacco Workers

AED 10-1-77 with wife and brother

ML

384/78/5 D 78

DIJOZEL, José Marcelo
Federal Capital

Disappeared 5-18-78
N.R.A.D - GOA - 9-5-78

PAHR - 5-30-78

D

DIKON, Paricia Liliana

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

DILEO, Beatriz Esther

Disappeared 2-23-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

DILLET, Graciela

Detained 3-20-75 - Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DILLON, Jorge Patricio (~~Enrique~~)
DNI. 10.413.041
~~Soldado 143. Liceo Mil. Gral. Paz~~
RA 23

Disappeared 1-20-77

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DILLON DE CIANCIO, Patricia
DNI: 10662.553
Age 23

Disappeared 12-7-76 with husband and son 8 months old

PAHR(L)
Reg. Liga Derechos Hombre
La Plata Sept 10/78
Ciancio, Luis Alberto
Calle 8 Nº 3474 Burzaco
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML
Personal call 7/6/78

(Fallecer-en-Lar)
61-2647

D

DILLON TABOADA, M. A. de

DIS Moreno - Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

DI LORENZO, Juan Carlos
Age. 31
Doc. 8.099.523

DIS 11-6-76

Tucumán

PAHR(L)

DI MARTINO, Graciela

Detained since 1975 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DI MARTINO, María Teresa D

DIS 3-24-76

PAHR

D 76

DIMAS NUNEZ, Leonardo

DIS 5-9-78

PAHR (L)

D

DIMATAZ, Eduardo

ABD 9/77 from home with wife

AISC Arg.Komm.Sweden

D

DIMATTIA, Luis Vicente
Medical Student in La Plata
Member PJCom.
APR 25
1st Asst. 667

ABD 6-9-77 w/ 3 others La Plata - Bs. As.

Concar Youth-Congr. 9/78
Comm. Party
PRHR
ML

D

DI MONTE, Piero
Age: 27

1

DIS 6/76

D

DIMOVICH DE LEGUIZAMON, Nélida

lc: 3 A2a 331

DIS 1-20-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(1)

D

DINELLA, Daniel Alberto
Univ. student

-6-
DIS 4/77

La Plata hist 10/8
PAHR
ML

DINELLI, Omar

D

DIS (He is from Azul)

AISC

D

DI NUBILE, Daniel Julio
Age: 21
CI: 7.733.743

DIS 8-30-77

FDD

D

DIONOFRIO, Rosana Victoria
Age: 21

DIS 10-20-76

PAHR (L)

D

DI ORO, Eduardo

Disappeared 10-24-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DIP, Jorge

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

DIPALOSTRO, Mario
Age 21

Disappeared 2-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDD

D

DI PAOLO, Juan Carlos
Secret. Comercio
301.4.833.334
Estaca Mar. Villa Ford Sn Fe.
Age 24

Disappeared since Nov. 1977 V. Ramallo

-24-

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
NL

D

DI PASCUA, Miguel Angel
25 years old
DNI: 10.078.008

DIS 4-22-76 Baradero - Bs. As.

PAHR (1)

40/77/2 *

DI PASCUALE, Jorge Fernando D

Arrested on 12-29-76 in Buenos Aires. Since then disappeared.

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 2-15-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77

Netherland Embassy
PAHR (1)
The Intern. League for H.R.-Fernando Rondon-8-15-77.

~~T.Freeman.~~
Belgium Embassy Interest. - 1-25-78
Inquiry Am. Interest
ML

D

DI PIAZZA, Graciela Beatriz
DU. 13.130.757 CI: 3.017.063
Breezzone 935-Ezpeleta-Bs.As.

Arrested together with his boy friend on 8-4-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (1)
Munne, Isolina Corna de (Future mother-in-law)
DU. 3.381.248
Entre Rios 827 - Quilmes

DI PIETRO, Carlos

DIS 6/76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D'IMOLITO, Humberto Oscar
Camionero M.Río de la Plata

Disappeared 10-6-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DIRELLI, José
Obrero Monte Buey

Disappeared.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DIROGNIANI, Diego

Disappeared 9-30-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DI ROSA, Claudio (Italian)
CI. 7552171
Formosa 983-Capital

Disappeared since 3-22-77.

Di Rosa, Concepción Muscará de (Mother)
CI. 5.776.119
Formosa 983-Capital

Letter to Representatives.

DI ROSA, Juan Félix
Nolazco Flores y Don Quijote
MERLO

Detained on 6-8-77. Since then disappeared.

Di Rosa, Maria Luisa Ferrari de (Mother)
2.139.724
(No date no address)

D

DI SALVO, Pedro Alfredo

Student
35 N° 714. La Plata

DIS 7-1-77 La Plata Pcia. Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

P

DI SANTO, Adrian Adolfo

ARR PEN La Pampa

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

R

DE SPALATRO, Mario Alberto (P) D
Age 21
DNI: M 7[illegible]047

Disappeared on 2-14-77 in Berazategui (Bs.As.)

DE SPALATRO, Adelina B. de (Mother)
D. 2.976.204

PAHR(L) Note to Representatives.
FDD

DISPLORATO,

Disappeared 2-14-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DISZ SIROTTI, Elvira Carmen
Age: 29

DIS 3-19-77 Ramos Mejía

PAHR (L)

DI TELLA, Salvador
Buenos Aires

Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AFL/CIO

DI TOFFINO, Tomás Carmen
LE. 6.509.153 L. P.441.640?
CORDOBA
Lawyer Leader

Kidnapped in Córdoba city on 11-30-76 while leaving his work.

Di Toffino, Dalinda Olmos de (Personal visit to Mr. Harris)
Obispo Lascano 1462-Altos de V.Cabrera, Córdoba
Tel. 35011 (E P E C) (Wife)

Testimony to AFL/CIO.

FMR(4)
NL
Ing Ag. Dn. Wendt

DITTLER, José

Dis.

ADLeague
NL

FREED 86/77/9

DAVINSKY, Daniel J.
DAVINSKY, Ana Miller (KUKI) de

Arrested on 2-16-77. At present Daniel in Caseros Jail in BA and Ana Women.s Jail of BA. (Released)

Recibió el Telex confirmando del "Release" 10-X-77

Cong.
Mrs. Elizabeth Holtzman } BA-0030
Sen. Hagenlan

Anti Def League
(i.e. Irma 40-3745) Telex given of release - well heard all the time.

9-23-77

143/77/10 D *

Di Vita, Alberto

Echeyde 4-11-77 Mg.
Student, disappeared in Buenos Aires in April 1977.

Senator Hayakawa [illegible]

D

DIVITA, Roberto Antonio

At home according to Mrs. of Gabrini - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 4/77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

DIVITO, Gabriel (Italian)

Disappeared 11-29-74

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

DIVITO DE PRIETO, Marta B.
Age 28

Disappeared 7-17-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DIXON, Patricia Liliana
Age 24

AED 9/77 in Florida, Bs.Aires. Injured during abd.

AISC
ML

D

D'NARDO, Jorge Omar
Age: 22
CI: 7.569.167

DIS 8-5-76 Olivos Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

DO, Aldo
Soldier

DIS

PRHR(L)
ML

Raúl

D

DOBELLI, (Romeo) Aurelio
LE: 6.280.575 -
Ramos Mejía, Buenos Aires

DIS 3-20-76 Ramos Mejía - Bs. As

PRHR(L)
ML

D

DOBELLI, Raul Aurelio
LE: 8.442.640 - Salesman
Fray Cayetano 1533-Ramos Mejía Bs. As.

ARD 3-20-76 with wife from home

ML

DORELLI, Raul Aurelio
Age 26
CI: 6.280.575

Disappeared 3-20-76 Ramon Mejia

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

DOCAL VDA. DE TORINO, Perla Nelly
Age 49
LE: 1.744.841

Disappeared 1-14-77 (Capital)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Reg. Arg. Am. Hum Rts

DOCE, Javier Martin 96/77/9

GCA reply 4-10-78 Neg.

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
Unable also expelled.

9-23-78 Sptm. letter 192.166 AA-6312
La Razon clipping 8/2/78

D

DODELLI, Raúl O.

Disappeared 3-20-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

620/78/10 D78

DOLZ DE CASTORINO, Margarita Rosa

LC: 5.330.346
DOB: FEBRUARY 2, 1948
Profession: Grammar School Teacher
Calle Remolcador Fournier 2347 San Jose,
Guaymallen 5519, Mendoza,

Abducted from her home, May 17, 1978.

Department of State, State 252985

GOA reply: 1-12-79: No records

WHLA 11-78

PAHR(4)

D

DOMARCO, Ambrosio

Disappeared 11-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

DOMENEZ,

Arrested PEN Rawson

Mexico 79

6/76/11 D *

DOMERQUE, Ivo Maria French
(DOMERGUE, YVES MARIE ALAIN)
Age 21 [illegible] 499)
No data

Not registered. For.Off.Inq. 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76

Disappeared in Rosario 1-25-77. Possibly arrested at Batallón Arsenal 121 Rosario, (Info rcd.from French Embassy) Rosario - Santa Fe

PARR(2)
French Embassy-3-28-77.
NL

D 1978

DOMINGUEZ, Alicia Josefina
ENTEL worker

DIS May 1978

DOMINGUEZ, Avelino Juan

Arrested since 1975. At present in Unidad 9 of La Plata. Father asks for help to obtain his freedom which has been promised to him.

DOMINGUEZ, Mateo (Father)
Mendoza (No address)

6-6-77. Letter sent to T.Todman.

DOMINGUEZ, Eduardo
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

DOMINGUEZ, Gladys Cristina Castro de
DNI: 10.938.484
Luzuriaga 84-Villa Marini, Godoy Cruz-Mendoza

Arrested with husband Walter Hernan Dominguez on 12-9-77. Since then disappeared.

Dominguez, Maria A. de (Mother-in-law)
Pedernera 1185-San José, Guaymallen, Mza.
Phone: 258773
Personal call 2-15-78

DOMINGUEZ, Horacio Martin

Detained in Resistencia prison, Chaco
Reported PEN: Am Nacion 1/20/79

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

DOMINGUEZ, Jorge
DI: 4.477.868
Corrientes Pcia-Neuquen
Age 34

Disappeared 1-31-77 Neuquen

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

DOMINGUEZ, Jorge Luis
Age 24
L. 11.410.466

DIS 8-7-76

PAHR (L)

D

DOMINGUEZ, Jorge Pablo
Age: 26
L: 8.638.051

DIS 7-22-77

PAHR (L)

DOMINGUEZ, José M.

Detained since Nov. 1976 in Gualeguay

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DOMINGUEZ, Juan Carlos
Ex-Legislator for *Communist Party*

DIS 5-20-77

ML

DOMINGUEZ, Luis Celestino
Age 38

Disappeared 4-7-76 Mendoza

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

DOMINGUEZ, Mabel K.de (writer)

Disappeared in 1/77, whereabouts unknown.

Reclassified 6-10-78
ML
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

DOMINGUEZ, Miguel Alejandro D-78
Age 29
L.E. 5.401.770

DIS 2-3-78 La Plata - Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

DOMINGUEZ, Osiris Rodolfo
DNI: 10.673.372

Arrestado el 12-10-77 en su lugar de trabajo. Since then disappeared. Mendoza

WOLA 11/78 PAHR(L)
Mendoza Family Print 8/78
Luz Ana Sa Ismidt
Dominguez, Maria A. de (Mother)
Pedernera 1185-San José, Guaymallen, Mza.
Phone: 258773
Personal call 2-15-78

L

DOMINGUEZ, Roberto Lorenzo (editor)

Arrested 9/21/76; imprisoned.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

DOMINGUEZ, Walter Hernan
DNI: 11.629.630
Luzuriaga 84-Villa Marini, Godoy Cruz-Mendoza

Arrested with wife Gladys Cristina Castro on 12-9-77.
Since then disappeared. Godoy Cruz - Mendoza

WOLA 11-78
Mendoza Family Print 8/78 PAHR (L)
Luz Ana Sa Ismidt
Dominguez, Maria A. de (Mother)
Pedernera 1185-San José, Guaymallen, Mza.
Phone: 258773
Personal call 2-15-78

L

D

DOMINGUEZ DE GUDIÑO, Gloria E
DNI: 13.080.321

ARD 9-14-76 Buenos Aires by Sec. Forces

ML

DOMINGUEZ DE ISLLER, Mabel D

DIS 1/77 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

DOMINICI, Oscar José
Arte 10
LE: 6.447.658

Disappeared 7-1-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

DOMIZ,

K

Killed 2-2-78

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D78

DONADIO, Alberto Eliseo
Age: 22
DNI: 12.317.501

DIS 9-2-78

FDD

P

DONALISTO, Ana María
Nurse

Detained on 3-19-76.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

DONATO, Miguel

D

DIS 3-7-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

DUNDA, Diego
(Dunda, Diego Antonio)

D 176/77/1

Disappeared August 1977 in Córdoba.

Cong. Gus Yatron
& Mc Donald Ad-Hoc

DONDA DE PEREZ, Maria Ilda

DIS 3-28-77 from Morón or Castelar. At that time pregnant of 5 months.

ML

DONEMBERG, Hugo Eduardo
Age 23
DNI: 4.488.643

Cordoba
Disappeared 4-29-76. Wife and son in Israel.

NL
ADLeague
Paris-Prensa 5-A-76 (4)

DONGO, Pablo
(Canal 9)

Newspaper assoc.

DONINA, Roberto Carlos
CI: 7.489.202

DIS

AISC(Clarin)

DONNET, Hugo René
Apt 24
LE: 6.306.379

Disappeared 1-31-77 Santa Fé

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Leg Arg Soc. Nombre

D'ONOFRIO, Ema
Apt 24
LE: 10.167.387

Disappeared 7-17-77 w/ fiancee Jorge Lizarte - Avellaneda -

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
FDD

D'ONOFRIO, Rosana Victoria
Larrea 436 - Florencio Varela - Pcia Bs.
Apt 24
LE: 11.821.819

Disappeared 10-20-76 F. Varela

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

DONZA DE CORIA, Maria Esther
Arg. 26
LE: 10.077.353

Disappeared 2-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

DO POZO, Alberto
Arg. 30
LE: 7.591.310

Disappeared 10-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

DORELLI, Raul A

D

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

486/78/7 D

DORFMAN, Laura Irene
Age: 25
DOB: 6-25-53
CI: 6.811.913

GOA reply 1-30-79 - Negative.
GOA reply 2-23-79. Neg. reply

Kidnapped by a group of men approx. May 30, 1978

Inv. born Chile 023942 BA-1147 BA-1135

PAHR (L)
Anti-Def.League
M. Rosenthal

R DORIGO, Pablo Hermes
CI. 6.278.052
Age: 26 years old.
Occupation: Accountant with Channel 9 Television at Gelly, Buenos Aires.

On 8-20-76 was arrested by a group of armed men.
Since then disappeared.

Corresp. 11-11-77 Neg.

Dorigo, Ana Matilde Pérez de (Wife)
CI. 6.278.647
The Intern. League for H.R.(Fernando Rondon) 8-15-77.
Letter to Representatives.

PAHR (L)
NL
Le Monde 6-10-78

D

DORRONSORO, Dardo Sebastian (writer)
Age 63 LE: 447.934

Lujan.
Abducted 6/26/76; whereabouts unknown.

PAHR (L)
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

DO SANTO, Angela Hilda

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

DOS SANTOS, Catalina C.

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

D

DOS SANTOS, Sidney Marquez (Brazilian journalist)

Abducted by soldiers on 2/15/76; whereabouts unknown.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

NL

515/78/8 D

DOSSETTI TECHEIRA, Edmundo Sabino (Uruguayan)
DNI 92.187.124
Lavalle 1494 - 12°A"

GOA reply: Mad. 10-16-78

Disappeared in Buenos Aires in December 21/1977.

UNHCR-Refugee registered
3-9-78
Mother-in-law personal call Embassy(Harris)8-30-78

DOTTI DE DEMICHELLIS, M.E. del V
Age: 30
LC: 5.7k8.714

ARR 11-24-77 Córdoba PEN 5-4-78 Decreto 975
Visa Italy

AISC

DOUBEDES, Omar

ARR-La Plata Unit 9.

AISC

D

DOVELLI, Rene Aurelio

DIS

ML

D

DRAGA, Raúl

DIS 5/76

ML

D.P

DRAGUISEVICH, Graciela

Disappeared 1975-At present Villa Devoto

ADLeague

DRAGUNSKY, Silvio

Detained in Sierra Chica

ADLeague

DRAZIUK, Eugenio
General Secretary of Public Health Workers

ABD

ML

DREIZIK, Carlos

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

DREYFUS ACKERMANN, Julio Cesar

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata - released
Grupillo 201

ADLeague

DREYSYC, Domingo
C.D.Luz y Fuerza-Córdoba

Detained 8/76 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

423/24/6 D.

DRI, Jaime
DOB: 1-24-1942
Profession: Nat. Public Accountant

Disappearedon 12-10-77 in Montevideo, Uruguay.

Reported to have been seen in Mech. School.
Maggio Letter 4-10-78
Amembassy Panama-Ruth E. Hansen 2nd.Secretary

Diaz, Olimpia (Wife)
Apartado Postal 6-16-32
El Dorado
Panama 6, R.of P.

DRI, Roberto Abel

P

Under PEN-Controlled Liberty - 12-22-78

Detained Resistencia prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

DRIKAS, Isaac
Age: 22

DIS 11/76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

DRINGAS
DRIGAS, Benjámin Isaac

DIS

AISC
Arch. Del Exilio

D

DROZ, Georgina Graciela
Edad: 34
Prof. Ciencias de la Educación (Univ. Salta)
Salta (Prov.Salta)

Detained in Tucuman, brought to Salta,; arrested in 1974 until 1976. Desappeared since then. Report from Police is that while being translated to Salta she escaped and since then fugitive.

Miguel Cabuchi (Brother-in-law)
Domenico Zipoli 151
Jesus Maria (Córdoba)
Phone: Office 2419 (8-12 & 13-19)
Personal call 2-24-78

D

DRUCKER, Marcelo Fernando 690/78/12
L.E: 9.252.450
Age: 4?
Ruiz de Guzman 436

Disappeared 10-15-76 from Rivadavia 5400 - Bs. As.

Ley Arg. de Amnistía
Daniel Schiaffino
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
ML

D

DRUETA, Roberto
Law student

DIS 8-15-76 Córdoba

ML

D

DRUETTA, Pedro Héctor
LE: 4607.025
Mitre 586 - V. Martelli

Disappeared 4-21-76

Lig Arg Der Hombre
NL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

DUARTE, Ernesto Ramón
FCDFS

Removed from PEN La Plata 2-10-79

Detained since 10-14-77 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DUARTE, Juan Omar
Age: 27
DNI: 8.224.309

DIS 8-26-77

PAHR (L)

D

DUARTE, Ramona Elba LC.2.983.442 - Dentist
Rio Bamba 453 - Bs As

Disappeared 4-1-77 from home

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Comm Anti Empleo 8-78

77 78

DUARTE, Ramón

Age: 26

Maded card-Nov.21-78--
Ramon Duarte is at the hospital,Zonal General de Agudos San Roque,de Gonnet since May,78 and not knowing nothing except his name. El Dia-Oct.18-78.

D

DUARTE, Silvio Ramón

DIS

ML

DUARTE GARCIA, Ernesto R.
FCGSM

Detained Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

DUARTE, Leon Gualberto (Uruguayan) 551/78/9 D
Age: 48

Disappeared ~~4-21-76~~ 7-13-76

VNARE-9-5-76
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

DUARTES Oscar
Age 28
LE: 7.646.913

Disappeared 8-17-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

DUARTE DE ARANDA, Maria Eva

DIS 9-9-77 Los Polvorines

FDD

DUHLANSKY, Julia Rosa
1.511.069.967
Hermandades 1295 - R de Escalada Pcia Bs As.

Killed

Disappeared 4-12-76

ML
ADLeague

DUBKOVSKY, Pablo Andrés
Age 11
Student
CI: 6.316.399

Disappeared 4-7-76

PRHR(L)
ML
DAIA
Amnesty League

D

DUCCA, Maria Rosa
Pre 24
LE: 6.122.801

Disappeared 4-4-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

DUCE, Daniel
Acoplados Montenegro

Detained 3-25-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

---

c-24/77/11

P Optus

DUCK, Hector Ramón

Unidad 9 la Plata - PEN
Detained 3-27-76 - Villa Floresta

ex-Partido Socialista
Mg. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

DUCLOS, Eduardo Agustin
Age 28
LE: 8.409.467

Disappeared 2-26-76 Cordoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D L

DUFALDE, Eduardo Luis

Disappeared on 6-20-76

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

DULABER, Haydar

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

D

DULIC, Gustavo Gerardo

Disappeared 12-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

249/76/1 D *

DUNAJEVICH, Gabriel Eduardo
CI. 5.863.858
Rodriguez Peña 1687 - Piso 10
Tel.: 41-2981

Reorganizo el desaparecido, pasaba la escuela Virgen del Cabral, Pcia

Disappeared on 5.29.76 in Buenos Aires (Av.Santa Fé and Uruguay streets) during an operative of Joint Forces.

Dunajevich, Mariana (Father)
Dunajevich, Julia Braun de 41-2981 (Mother)
Dunajevich, Bernardo Andres (Brother Amercit).
Personal call 12-2-77.
(Rabi Nissenbom)
Senator Javits U.S.Uncle

ML

Over

DUNDA, Ruben Héctor

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

D

DUPACLI, Guillermo

DIS

ML

D

DUPUIS DE VALLADARES, Nevy
Age 42
CDI: 9.877.447

Disappeared 4-22-77 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

DURANTE

DIS

La Plata List

DURANTE, Alcira Macchi

Detained 1976. Relatives in Israel

ADLeague

DURANTE, Juan Omar
AR 2)
JWI: 8.#14.3#9

Disappeared 2-26-76 Mendoza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

DURANTE, Rodolfo

Killed

Killed 5-22-76

Mexico 79

DURAUX, Celina del Carmen

ARR 11-10-76 Bs.As.-Held in V.Devoto & condemned to 2 1/2 yrs.by Military Court.

AISC

DURELLI,

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

DURETTO, Jorge Luis

Disappeared 8-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

DURINGEN, Alberto Luis
Arg 64
Cit: 3 711.34J

Disappeared 1-13-77 Olivos

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

DURMAN, Esther Susana

ADLeague

DUSSEL, G.

ADLeague

123/77/10 D *

DUSTCHAZSKY, Eduardo

GAA reply: 11-14-77 Reg.

Student, disappeared in Buenos Aires in April 1977.

Archdf Regnr
Reg Immi Intld Comm
Senator Hayakawa GA-3734; GA-9346; GA-8760

DUTTO, Carlos Hugo

ARR CORDOBA PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

D'UVA, Alberto
Apt 26
LE: 9-516.299

Disappeared 9-17-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

DWAITZ, Carlos

DIS Mar del Plata - Bs. As. 3-77

Socialist (PRHR(L)

381/79/5 D

DYSZEL, Jorge Marcelo
CI. 6.832.774
LE. 11.960.061
Alvarez Jonte 2250 - 1° "A"-Buenos Aires
Age: 21

N.R.A.D - GCA - 9-5-78
Gdt reply 2-23-79. Neg reply.
Arrested on 5-18-78. Disappeared.

Cong. Ronalle Utah 09/767
Dyszel, Beatriz Lewin de (Mother) 782-8195
Mendoza 2517 - 2°"B"-Capital
PRHR(L)
Lang Hebrew
Rabbi Meyer
JDD
Pers. call 5/22/79 Personal call and Memo 2-23-79

Department of State
Argentina Project (S200000044)

Attachment to 1979 Airgram No. 46 from American Embassy Buenos Aires to the Department of State

Part 7 of 7

AI	Amnesty International
ADL	Anti Defamation League
D	Disappeared
D & REAPP.	Disappeared and Reappeared
DAIA	Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
IACHR	Inter American Com. on Human Rights
K	Killed
N.R.A.D.	No registra antecedentes de detención
PAHR	Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos
R	Released
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
⊕	Detained

SLEROY, Carlos
Lawyer

Detained in 1976.

Cannon Auth Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-18-78

SLUTZKY, Daniel
Age 41

DIS 6-20-77 La Plata

Auth Def. Legal
DAIA
CAHR(L)

SLUTZKY, Samuel Leonardo
Age: 41

DIS 6-20-77

FDD

D

SMILES, Susana Rosa
Age 33
LC: 4.947.214

Disappeared 12-7-77 04 - 3/27/76

Auth. Def. Recpu
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

514/78/6 (R) D 1978

SMITH, Alfredo
BA Assoc. of Psych.

Silvia Oriado

DIS with wife after 8/8/78
11/16/78 reported in BA Herald as having reappeared in DeVoto under PEN.

Am Psych. Assoc.
AAAS
NAS
CAHA
Harris data 8-14-78
WOLA
81

Celia Oriado
SMITH, Alfredo (Mrs.)

D-78

Disappeared with her husband on August 9,1978.
Her husband is a Psychologist.Mr. Harris received a letter from Charles A. Kiesler,PHD.,Executive Off. With a copy from a letter written to President of Argentina,Videla, on Sept.27,78.Letter written to ~~Mxxx~~ President Videla from Mr.Kiesler, no respond on that to him.
Oct.26-78.

American Psychological Association-1200 17th st.N.W.
Washington D.C. 20036

PP

SMITH, Julio Federico (writer; pen name: Frederico Moreyra)

Imprisoned.

Re Mundo 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

SMITH, Oscar
Ec. fin, Finanz
CI: 6815.186

Labor leader disappeared since 8 months in Buenos Aires. 2.10.77
Mundo - Bs. As.

ML
10-28-77.
PAHR(L)
Belgium Embassy Interest - Arsene Van der Driessche 1-25-78
Liga Arg. Der Hombre

SOASA, Vicente José
Age: 22
DNI: 11.008.316
Medicine Student
Neuquen 2424-Beccar Bs.As.

D

ABD 5-23-76

ML

594/78/9

SOBA, Adalberto (Uruguayan)

DIS late September 1976

VNHRC-9-5-78

SOBEL, Hector Natalio
Labor Lawyer
Age 34
LE: 5.622.605

Disappeared before 3-24-76.

PAHR(L)
Causa Amb. Arg. 9/78
ML
Amb. de Liaison
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

SOBRAL, Guillermo

DIS 76 La Plata

Mexico 79

SOBKO, Rodolfo Amado (Dr.)

Detained and at presente in Resistencia Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

SOBRADO, JORGE

Disappeared 5/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

595/78/9

SOBRINO BERARDI, Guillermo (Uruguayan)
DOB: 12-14-1944.

Arrested between 2-23/December 1977 by Joint Forces. Since then disappeared. Was taken from his workshop Falucho 26-Pompeya.

Sobrino Luce, Guillermo (Father)
Sobrino, Maria de (Mother)
Canelones 946 - 4°"7" - esq. Rio Brnaco-
Montevideo - (Phone sister 79-7441)

Personal call Emb. 2-21-78.

D

SOCABIDE, Juan Carlos

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

SOCIAS, Elenterio Pablo D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SOIBELMAN, Guillermo D48

Age: 24
La Plata

DIS late November 1978.

F.Allen Harris data. 12-28-78
Bs. Pcia

SOKOL, Luis

Under PEN
Rlwrd. AJL

ADLeague

SOLAGA, Julio Alberto
L.E. 8.580.423
DOB: July 16, 1951
Damian P. Garat 864
Concordia (Entre Rios)

Detained on 11-22-76 in front of his home by group of men who said to be from Federal Police. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
Solaga, Florentina W de (Mother)
Damian P. Garat No. 864
CONCORDIA (Entre Rios)

SOLAN BETHMALE, Le frére Henri de (French)

Arr. September 1976. Freed 6-8-77. Arr. again 6-24-77
Freed 3-7-78.

French Embassy

SOLANO, Nora

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

SOLARI, Roberto Oscar
CI: 6.874.958

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

SOLARI IRIGOYEN, Hipólito

14/12/11 *

Expelled
~~Deported~~. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76

D

SOLDAN, Aida Cecilia Rodrigue

DIS

ML

D

SOLDATI, Maria Isabel Jimenez de (Ing.)
LC. 1.449.305
Italia 557
San Miguel de Tucuman
Ag-40

Was arrested by a group of armed men (Fuerzas de Seguridad del Ejército) on 5-28-77. Since then disappeared.

Soldati, Enrique José (Personal call) (Husband)
LE. 8.082.113
Italia 557-Tucuman Tel: 20742-20313
Jimenez, Joaquín a. (Brother)
LE. 8.085.562
Same Address.
ML

L

D

SOLDATTI, Berta María
Aog 29
D.I.: 6.218.447

DIS 7-6-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
ML
PAHR (L)

SOLDATTI, Luis Alberto
Age 20
DNI. 12.165.078

D-78

DIS 3-18-78 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (1)

D

SOLER, Juan Marcelo
Age 42
DNI: 5.365.011

Disappeared 4-29-77 Lo. de Zamora

La Plata Print 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

SOLER, Pedro
CI:6.391.665
Age 21

Disappeared 2-14-77 Ymzaingo - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SOLETO, Juan Carlos
FCGSM

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

SOLIÑO, María Mónica
Age: 24
Estudiante Cabrial 881 - Bs Aires

Disappeared 7/76 Accused of assistance to subversives, under "conditional freedom" in Uruguay

REFUGIEE
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

SOLIS, Fernando
Mbro. C.D. Smata Córd.

Detained since 11-8-74 in Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

SOLIS, Pablo
L.E: 0.618.645
R
S
Age 36

Was arrested on 8-26-76 by a group of armed men who was searching for his daughter Maria Cristina. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(1)
Solis, Rosa Gonzalez de (Wife)
DNI 0.491.781
Pinto 4550-Capital

401-9157
ML

Testimony to Representatives.
Testimony to Senators.
Testimony to Amb. Castro, without date.

SOLIS PATIÑO, Luciana
Age 36

DIS 6-20-76
FDD List - 9-16-78 - I. CASANOVA

PAHR(1)

SOLKKIES, Alberto Pablo

Disappeared 6-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

SOLTER, Julio
Córdoba teacher

Disappeared july 1976

NL
ADLeague

SOMAINI, Ricardo Daniel
Age 23
Dkt. 11708.316

D

DIS 4-22-77 Tucumán

Tucumán
FAHR (L)

SONATTO YG AZURMENDI, Ana M.

D

DIS 12-5-77

AISC

D 78

SONCINI, Maria Esther

DIS 4-25-78 Boulogne Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

680/76/12 D 78

SONDER DE LEWI, Ana Maria
DUI: 6.285.545
Age: 29

Arrested 10-6/10-78 together with husband Jorge Claudio Lewi.

Amcit Rel.

Lewi, Paulina G. de (Mother-in-law)
Amenabar 2242-4° "A"

Marshall Meyer

D

SONINI, Alejandro Renato
LE: 6.084.604
San Jorge 237. S. Fernando Bs. As.

Disappeared 5-21-76 San Fernando

Lic Ay. Leg. Hemke
ne

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SO NORA,

ARR 9-17-75 PEN

AISC (CADHU)

SOPECASAS, Osvaldo

DIS

PAHR (L)

SORAI, Raymundo

DIS

ML

D

SORAIRE, Armando R.
Age: 33
DI: 8.086.621

DIS 5-17-77 TUCUMAN

PAHR (L)

D

SORBIRE, Armando Roberto
Age: 33
Doc. 8.086.621

DIS 5-17-77

Tucumán

P

SOREAU, Mario

ARR PEN

AISC

SOREL, Hector Natalicio
Lawyer

DIS 4-22-76

ML

SORIA, Claudia
La Rioja

Detained 3/76 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SORIA, Daniel

DIS Cosquin, Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

C-2/77/10

SORIA, Hector Ramon
DNU. 10.012.695
TUCUMAN

Arrested in
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Unidad 9-La Plata. under PEN without charge since 28 months. Student of Univ. of Agronomy. Was detained two months after his "Servicio Militar". In December 1976 presented OPTION to leave the country. It was denied. Now they are going to present againt. They wish to have US VISA.
ROO application in process. 11/78
Soria, Lidia de [illegible] (Mother)
Suipacha 360-San Miguel de Tucuman
Tel. 37489
(Bs.As.572-3926)

D

SORIA, Jorge Eduardo
DNI - 10.373.363
Age 24

DIS 6-15-76 - SA DE PADUA
Mother - Noelia B.P. de SORIA LC. 0430-244 - Wil de Bolivar 6321

FDD-11-6-78
PAHR (L)

SORIA, José Arturo
Lawyer

Detained in San Juan city.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

SORIA, José Salvador

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

SORIA, Miguel
Age: 46

DIS 12-12-75 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

SORIA, Miguel Angel

Disappeared 10-11-76 La Plata

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SORIA, Raymundo

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

SORIANO, Roque
Pasteur 3141 . S.Justo
Bs/t 29

Disappeared 3-17-76 - San Justo

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Brig Aug. Ber. Bombal

SORIANO, Silvia Virginia
CI: 8.968.460

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

824/49/3 8

SORMANI, Horacio Armando

Since January 1977 at PEN disposal in Resistencia (Chaco)

D

SORO DE GONZALEZ, Susana

Disappeared 7-11-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

SORTAVIA, Mario
Psicologist
DOC: 4.877.102

ABD 10-12-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

SORUCO BARBA, Luis
Reporter for the Daily :El Triunfo:, Salta

DIS

La Linda 6-10-79
ML

D

SOSA, Alfonso
FCGBM

Disappeared 12-2-1977

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

SOSA, Ana

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

SOSA, Angel
Age: 47
Lawyer
Ex-Political Prisoner freed in 73

ABD 6-17-77 from mother's home in Banfield, Prov.Bs.As.

ML

SOSA, Antonio
Age 47 - lawyer

Ex-political prisoner freed in 1973
Disappeared 6-17-77 Banfield

Causa Qui Cong. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Reg Arg Ser Nombre

SOSA, Carlos Nicolas

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

SOSA, Cristina Hilda

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SOSA, Ernesto

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

SOSA, Guillermo Alberto

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SOSA, Juan A

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

C/244/78/7

R option

SOSA, Juan Carlos

Detained 3-26-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
Pr Partido Socialista

SOSA, Juan Carlos

Detained 5-24-77 - Penit. Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SOSA, Lidia Mabel
CI: 9.152.905

DIS

AISC(Clarin)

SOSA, Luis Alberto
Age 34
DN: 8.482.238

Disappeared 6-21-77 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(A)

SOSA, Lujan A.
Age: 19
DNI: 90.605.305 y 92.605.305

DIS 4-23-77

PAHR (L)

SOSA, Martin Guillermo
Age 26
CI: 6.817.466

DIS 9-22-77

PAHR (1)

SOSA, Miguel Angel
Age 31
CI: 5.135.932

Disappeared 5-25-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SOSA, Raúl Diego

DIS 5-31-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

SOSA, Ricardo Roberto
Bank employee

D

Detained on Dec 74. Since 15 months his sentence is due. Must DIS under PEN.

PAHR(L)
Consul Amb. Cruz. 9/78
ML

D

SOSA, Vicente José
DNI: 4.608.316
Age 22

Disappeared 5-23-76 Beccar

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

SOSA DE RESTA, María Dolores
Age 30

Disappeared 4-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

SOSA DE REYNAGA, Ana Maria
Age 38
DNI. 9.873.894

DIS 8-8-76 Tucuman

Tucumán
PAHR (1)

T

SOSA TUSMAN, Eduardo Samuel

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLeague

596/48/9 D

SOSA VALDEZ, Luján Alcides (Uruguayan)
Age 19
DNI: 92.605.305

DIS 9-9-77

Lic Leg Soc. Humbl
PAHR - Mesa 5-19-78
NL
MDHR
UNHRC - 4-5-78

SOSAB, Mario Roberto

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SOTELO DE GUZMAN, Hilda
LC. 2.383.682

DIS 9-22-76 Rosario - Santa Fé

Rosario List
PAHR(L)

SOTERO FRANCO, Eduardo (Paraguayenne)

DIS 1-22-77 Puerto Iguazú - Reappeared in La Emboscada.

SOTO, Daniel Ruben
Age: 24
LE: 504.401

DIS 3-28-78 Villa Bosch, Bs.As.

FDD

SOUTO LESTON, Manuel Ramón
Age: 30
CI: 5.769.751

DIS 6-13-77 Lomas de Zamora Bs.As.

FDD

SOTO, DELFOR SANTOS
LE 4.848.537
Mármol 2133-San Justo (Bs.As.)

On 8-21-76 was kidnapped by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared. Ramos Mejia

Soto, Julian (Father)
LE. 1.078.060
Mármol 2133-San Justo (Bs.As.)

Statement. To T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

SOTO, Edilberto (Paraguayan) D

Disappeared 8-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

SOTO, Juana R. D

Disappeared 7-23-77

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

SOTO, Luis D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

~~SOTO, Susana Rosa C.I. [illegible] Age 22~~

T SOTO, Marcela Carolina C.I. 8.625.484 Age 19

Kidnapped on the public street on 3-25-77. No news from them since then.

Soto, Susana Augusta Somonte de (Mother)

Statement to Representatives.

PRHR(L)
ML

SOTO, Susana Rosa
CI: 7.843.004
Age 22

DIS 3-22-77

PRHR(L)
ML

SOTO, Lilia del Carmen
DOB: 6-15-1956
Calle 2 entre 42 y 43 No. 519 (Pension)
La Plata
Agriculture student

ABD from Pension 12-9-1976.

SOTO, Luis A. (Father)
Barrio Don Bosco-Kmo. 8 - Com. Rivadavia (Chubut)

Personal visit to Emb. 12-14-78

425/49/1 #3 *

SOTO BUENO, Damián Alfredo
Age: 24

GOA reply 2-23-79: Neg. reply.

M-13-76
Disappeared. (Related with Claudio Santiago Bermann case)

Husband to be of Silvia Bermán

State 263988 11/77

ML
PAHR(L)
Dpto. of State

L

C.F.

SOTO LOUREIRO, Ariel Rogelio (Uruguayan)
Age: 25
Calle Humberto I No. 1308-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires. Under conditional freedom accused of sobversive association.

REFOULEMENT

SOTTI, Mónica

Detained since 75 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Det. Hombre

SOTUYO, Luis Alberto
SOTUYO, Dora Rita Mercero de
San Lorenzo 740, Bahia Blanca F.C.N.G.R.

Arrested on 8-14-76. Since then disappeared. Bahia Blanca (BsAs)

MERCERO, Dora Zubiri Vda. de (Mothers)
SOTUYO, Mercedes P. de
63-2045 - Necochea

8-8-77 Letter to Derian
8-11-77 Letter to M. Chaplin, signed by Dora Zubirí de Mercero

ML
PAHR(L)

SOULLIER, Juan Carlos
Age 24

Disappeared 8-16-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SOULLIER, Julio
Teacher, Córdoba

DIS 7/76

PAHR(L)
ML

SOULLIER, Luis Roberto
Age 24

Disappeared 8-16-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

SOURIAV, Mario Alejandro

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

SOUS, Enrique Lubaro
Age 32
DNI: 10.208.481

6-17-77?
DIS 10-16-77 La Paz

PAHR (1)

SOUTHEWILL, Ruben Humberto D

DIS 12-7-76 La Plata-Bs As

La Plata List --11-21-78
PAHR(L)

SOUTO, Carlos Daniel D
Age 18

Disappeared 8-10-76 - Garin

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

SOUTO, Carlos Osvaldo D
Age 30

Disappeared 3-30-76 Garin

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

SOUTO, Manuel Ramón

ABD 6-13-76

PAHR(2)
ML

SOZA DE RESTA, Marina
Age: 30

ABD 4-15-76 Buenos Aires City from home

ML

SPACCAVENTO, Adriana Claudia
DW: M. 24.649.949
Age: 25

Disappeared 11-4-77 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

SPACIA, Henelio

D

DIS

ML

D

SPAGNOLI DE VERA, Marta Alicia
DNI: 10.934.934
Embajada de Italia.
Age 22

Disappeared 8-3-76 with husband Juan Carlos

Mother - Lucrecia C. de Spagnoli - CI. 2.508.701
5.304.456
HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
DD: 11-6-78

D

SPALATRO
SPATARO, Mario Alberto
Age 22
DNI: 11.237.047

Disappeared F. Varela

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

SPARVIERI, Maria Cristina
HAe 32
L. 5.471.464

D-78

DIS 1-27-78 Zárate - Bs As.

PAHR (1)

---

e1/77/7 *

SPATARO, Carlos Osvaldo
HAe 29 4.801.076
e1: 6.285.735

D

For.Off.Inq.: 7-29-77 GOA reply: NO.
11-10-77 leg.

Disappeared 6-20-77.
DIS: 6.21.77 San Isidro - Bs As.
Ministerio de Rel. Ext. y Cultos replied that there are no antecedents on his detention. 8-1-77.

Spataro, Carlos Antonio
Spataro, Ana Auf dem-Brinke de (Parent)
PAHR(1)
Consular Section.
Amcit aunt to G. Whitman.
Personal call aunt 5-3-78.

D

SPATELLA, Osvaldo Humberto

Disappeared 12-7-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

SPATOLA, Humberto Mario
LE: 4 373 335
Age

Disappeared 12-7-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

SPECHE,

AED 6/76 in Córdoba w/Susana Mauro

ML

D

SPERATTI, Horacio Rodolfo
Age: 42
Periodist
Las Heras 1740-Florida
LE: 4.168.872

Arrested on 6-6-76. Since then disappeared. - Florida -

PAHR(1)
G/L
Speratti, Maria Rosa B. de (Mother)
Amenabar 3285-Capital
8-8-77 letter to Jerán
8-15-77 letter to T. Todman

L

616/79/9 D 1978

SPINELLA, Miguel Angel Serafin
Italian student
Mfe 25
CDI: 7.115.970

ABD by three unknown persons on 9-14-78.

GOA reply: 1-19-79: Negative reply.

Clarin clipping 9-24-78.
NOLA 11/78
Aurora (Comm newspaper) Oct 78
Daniel Spinella 44-0050, 0056, 0059
41-2970, 9309

C-25/27/41

P Option

SPROVIERI, Ana Lia de Giovanni

Carcel de Villa Devoto - PEN

ex-Partido Socialista

C-49/23/4

SPUCHES, Vicente Enrique Claudio (Italian) Option P

Civil law country ha Hacia 1/13/79

PEN - No. 1876/75 - Unidad 9 La Plata - Option to leave country

Spuches, Carmelina de (Mother)
Carlos Pellegrini 631-ORAN(Salta)

TAGLIAFERRO, Fernando Enrique
DNI. 12.976.203

SQUERRO, Guillermo

D

DIS -

ML

D

STAGNARO, Héctor Rodolfo
Age 26
DNI: 10.116.938

Disappeared 8-30-75 Bella Vista

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
FDD

16/5/77/11 9 *

FRIAS, Edith Stahelli de

7-NO-Rep. 3-10-78

PEN Dto. 1584 - 22-11-74
Cargos: Actividades subversivas. Tenencia de armas de guerra y material subversivo.
Alojada: Unidad 2 de Villa Devoto
Observaciones: Sujeto a ley 21.449 por Dto. 1091 del 20-8-77

Unidad 2 - Villa Devoto la Nacion 24-11.

Detained in Villa Devoto Prison. Jail sentence due to end on November 10, 1977.

Authorized to leave country: la Nacion 2-17-78

Cong. Buffalo 66 1167
Cong. Clinton CC 1st 66-1283 66-1312
Cong. Hudson 21st NY 66-1282
State 266342

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STAMPONI, Luis Faustino
STAMPONI, Mafalda (Mother)

Abd. 11-19-76 with mother.
Bolivia ERP/ELN record.

PAHR(1)
Fraser.
WL

D

STAREFF, Alejandro

Disappeared 6-8-76

PAHR(1)
ADLeague

AFL/CIO

D

STATI, Gustavo E.
DNI: 12.880.923

Bolivia Disinformant. He was detained in the city of Mar del Plata November 2nd. 197

PAHR(1)
FDD

D48

STAWOWIAK, Rolf Nassim
DOB: 6-15-57
Profession: Técnico químico

Disappeared on 2-22-1978 presumable in Capital Federal.
The same day were inspected the houses of his parent and
of the family with which he lived in Sarandí (Avellaneda)

German Embassy - Von Schlick
PAHR(1)

335/78/4 D

STEFANELLI, Liliana Teresa
Moreno 4325 - Lanus
Age 22 CI: 6.427.062

GoA reply 6-27-78 M.R.A.) se sigue averiguando (Junio 1978)

Arrested on 2-7-78. Her father is a peronist syndicallist.
Since then disappeared. Ramis

PAHR(2)
Freeman-4-20-78

D

STEIMBERG, Ana Patricia
Age: 21
DNI: 12.159.310
Member FJCom
Calle 54 N° 467 - La Plata

AED 6-15-77 by 8 men

La Plata list 10/78
Cause Asoc. Empleos 9/78
Comm. Party
PAHR(1)

ML

STEIMBERG, Luis Alberto
Drafted soldier

D

DIS

ML

663/78/12 D *

STEINBERG, Luis Pablo
DNI.11.321.097-CI.7.093.195
Member: Ted. Jur. Com.
Brown 162 - Moron (Pr. Gr. Prov.)

Military College. Abducted August 10/1976.

Caract. Just. Cons. 9/78
Ult PAHR(1)
Steinberg, Saara de (Mother)
Brown 267 - Moron
Tel. 627-6158
Comm. Party
Mother's visit to Emb. 4-19-77.
Analyst: Miguel
C.g. Jews and Comm

D78

STEIN, Osvaldo
Age: 40
LE: 4.268.086

DIS 8-16-78 San Justo

FDD

D

STEINER, Jaime

DIS 8-10-76 Morón Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

TESTE, Mónica S. de
Lawyer

DIS 11/76 together with husband and Carlos Knobel

Leg Arg Za. Hondle 4-14-78
PAHR (2)
AISC
BDL
Cancer Amn Cong. 9/78
ML
Australian Sec

P

STELLACCIDE, Carmen

ARR 4-30-76 Bs.As. Held in Villa Devoto
under Military Court.

AISC (CADHU)

D

STEMBERG, Gregorio
Age: 30
Professor of physical education

Disappeared 5-30-76

NL
ADLeague

A

Stewart, Frances B.

[ ]

66

Asked for appointment with Mr. T.Todman.

8-4-11-Letter.

STIEGER, Eduardo Miguel
Córdoba

D

Disappeared between May 14th and 19th, 1977

NL
ADLeague

D

STIEGER, Silvia
C.I.6.953.582
Age:24 DOB:9-21-53
Juan B. Justo 951-Curdene

Disappeared 9-21-77

ADLeague
ML

P

STIRNEMANN, Orlando Luis
Ex-Legislator
DoB: 5-7-36

Under PEN Unidad 6 Rawson

ADL
Cancer Anti Congr.9/78
AISC (Cospa-Mx)

STIRREMAUM, Orlando

D

DIS 5-16-76 Bahia Blanca

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

STIVAL, Angel (journalist)

Abducted in 8/76; whereabouts unknown: Córdoba.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
FAHR(L)
ML

£90/1812 D *

STOCKDALE, Ricardo Daniel
CI. 6.551.370
DOB: 3-9-1952
Combate de los Pozos 825
2°Piso 6. TE: 942-0246

GOA reply 6-27-78 No PEN
N.R.A.D. ya retira pedido de investigación (Mayo 1978)

Disappeared on 9-3-77.

Letter to Vance 11-9-77.
Stockdale, Emir Ruben (Fahter)
Stockdale, Rosa Azucena Cardillo de (Mother)
Combate de los Pozos 825-2°"6"- Tel.942-0246
FAHR
Stockdale, Ricardo Daniel (Brother)
Pasaje Napoleon 2 Bis,Bajos 2°
Barcelona 6 , España

OVER

D

STOCKDALE, Ruben Alberto

Alt 24
DNI: 10460 761

DIS 12-9-77 Merlo - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

STOLA, Samuel Angel
LE: 5.032.501
Pfe 44

Disappeared 11-19-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

STOLZING, Guillermo E. D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

STOLZING, Luis D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

Uan.

STOULMAN, Jacobo
STOULMAN, Matilde

75/7/7 D *
(Stoulman Bortnik, Jacobo)
D

Government has no information, no registry of detention.

For.Off.Inq. 7-11-77. GOA reply: NO. (Abducted at Ezeiza)
11-16-77 Mty

Inq. raised by Mr. Gilman.

STOVANOV, Osvaldo P.

P

Detained 6-13-76

ADLeague

D

STRADA, Daniel Alberto

Disappeared 4-14-76

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

STRAJMAN, Enrique
Dept.of Biophysics Univ. Bs.As.

DIS 1976 after returning from Berkeley, Ca.

ML

STRAJMAN, Mrs.

DIS 1976 with husband Enrique, after returning to Bs.As.

ML

STRASBERG DE MERA, Rita Lucia
(Partido Socialista)

Arrested 8-23-78 in Sao Paulo or near this city. Brasil.

Juana Virginia Marconi, Personal call.

D

STRAUCH DE QUADROS, Ana Ines
Age: 31

DIS 7-13-76 Buenos Aires

ML

STRAUSS, Alicia Rawuel (nee Tapparo)

P

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

STRAUSZ DE VARGAS, Susana

DAIA

D78

STRAZZERI, Angel
Plumerillo 1760-Virreyes (Prov.Bs.As.)
CI. 6.074.951

DIS 12-22-78. He was arrested coming from his work. At the same day his wife was also detained, she saw him, and some hours later she was freed. She said that he had had labor union activities in 1973/74 in a small metallurgical factory.

Elsa Conde de Strazzeri, (Wife)
Juarez 973-San Martin Bs.As.

PAHR (L)
Phone: 752-0884 (Brother), must call at late hours.

STREGER, Liliana Beatriz (nee Teplitzky)

Under PEN unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

518/76/8 D

STREGER, Silvia
DNI:10.814.755
CI: 6.953.382
Juan B. Justo 951, Turdera(Prov.Bs.As.)

Boa reply: Mn.a.d.

Arrested with her boyfriend in Turdera, Partido de Lomas de Zamora. Since then disappeared.
on 9-5-77.

ADL - PAHR(L)

Streger, Jaime
Loria 166-Piso 4 (Father)
1832 Lomas de Zamora
Anti-Def.League, 7-28-78.

641/78/12

STREJILEVICH, Abel Omar
Age: 21 Dob: 6-24-57
CI: 6.300.236

Arrested on February 1977 at father's Institute of Radiology on Corriente's street, by armed men from joint command, together with brother Hugo. Hugo tried to escape and was killed...

AMN. Int.
RDL

STREJILEVICH, Daniel

Aud. Def. Cuerpo
DAIA

640/78/12 D

STREJILEVICH, Gerardo
CI: 5.275.812
Age: 28
Corrientes 2583 - 3°/8 - Buenos Aires

Modelo

(See also Barroca, Graciela)
1-15-77
Disappeared but family has info that they are illegably detained at Escuela Mecánica de la Armada.

(Connected with Daniel Lazaro Rus)

PAHR)L)
DAIA RDL
Aud. Def. Cuerpo
Amn. Int.

Killed

STREJILEVICH, Hugo Daniel
CI: 6.035.614
Age: 28
Dob: 12-22-50

Abd. at his father's Institute of Radiology on Corrientes Street by armed men from a joint command. Hugo tried to escape and was shot.

ADL

D

STREMI, Juan Carlos
Age 18
=

Detained V-4-La Plata - Opinion 6-4-76
Disappeared 3-30-76 La Plata - Bs As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
NL

K

STREJILEVICH, Hugo Daniel (Dr.)
Age 28 Dob.: 12-22-50
CI: 6.035.614

During arrest in Feb. 1977 was killed as he tryed to escape.

Ft Nan Hill Herald 11-13-78
DAIA
ADL

D

STRITZLER, Susana
DNI: 12.855.172

DIS 12-12-76 Boulogne - Bs. As.

PAHR(L)

D

STRIZIANI, Olga N.

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

379/78/5

STRIZZI, FNU. Mrs.
Federal Capital

7 months pregnant - Disappeared 5-16-78
M.R.A.J.-GOA-9-5-78

PAHR - 5-20-78

370/78/5 D

STRIZZI, Francisco
Ex-Official of Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto

Disappeared 5-16-78
NSA D-60A-9-5-78

PAHR - 5-30-78

D

STROMAN, Adolfo Isabelino
CI. 5.711.918
White 5023 - Munro (Bs.As.)
LE: 11.178.734

Disappeared on 6-14-76. Santa Fe.

PAHR(1)
Stroman, Elsa C. de (Mother)
CI. 4.959.656
White 5023-Munro (Bs.As.)
Stroman, Adolfo (Father)
Phone: office 7-13 : 46-6358
2-2-78 49-0938

STROTTI DE DIAZ, Elvira C
Age: 29

D

ABD from home w/husband Guillermo Diaz Rossell

ML

T

STRZELECKI, Ricardo Enrique

Under PEN in Córdoba

ADLeague

P

STURMAN, Graciela

Detained in Villa Devoto

PHR(4)
ADLeague

D

SUAREZ, Beatriz

DIS 5/76 Mendoza

PHR(4)
ML

D

SUAREZ, Daniel
Córdoba

Disappeared 1-8-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R SUAREZ, Dora Fidelia (F) D

Arrested on 2-4-77. Since then disappeared.

Suarez, Maria Juarez de (Mother)
CI. 7.236.998

Copy of letter addressed to Buenos Aires Herald
sent to Representatives.

D

SUAREZ, Edmundo

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

643/78/11 D36

SUAREZ,Eduardo(journalist;girlfriend ,Patricia Villa)
Age: 31
Born: 27-April-45-San Isidro 1568
LE: 8.250.314
CI: 5.673.485
GoA reply 2-23-79 · Nay. reply.
Abducted in 8/76;whereabouts unknown
Mother learned of son disappearance thru the radio and newspapers. Mother visit Emb.11-13-78

ML
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT [

D 86

PAHR(L)
Mother:Matia Rosa Rizzolo
Rio Bampa 984,Beccar [ ]
Fa
Father: [ ]

SUAREZ, Fausto Aurelio

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

SUAREZ, Federico

D

DIS 10-76

PAHR(L)
ML

SUAREZ, Graciela
Psicology student

Detained in Santa Fé in August 1976.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78.

D

SUAREZ, Guillermo José
Peugeot

Disappeared since 9-21-77 Bs. As.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
RISC

D

SUAREZ, Hugo Héctor
Age: 22
DNI: 11.998.955

ABD 9-2-77 by Sec. Forces Jurdera - Bs. As.

RAHR (L)
ML

D

SUAREZ, Ida Luz

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

SUAREZ, José Guillermo
R/t-25
DNI: 10.812.127

Disappeared 9-24-77 Berazategui - Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-18-78 (1)

D

SUAREZ, José Luis
LE: 10.405.973
Calle 35 Nro. 181 esq. 122-La Plata
Mother: Ida Luz Com.

Arrested on 6-9-1977. Since then disappeared. La Plata - Bs As

PAHR(1)
Cenac Anti Congreso 6/78
Suarez, Angélica E. D. B. de (Mother)
Rivadavia 373-San Cayetano 7521
La Plata Prov 10/78
Letter to Amb. Castro-3-1-78.
Comm. Lasting

SUAREZ, Juan Carlos
CI: 5.635.725
LE: 7.601.843
DOB: 6-7-1947
Juncal 2827-Capital
Architecture student

Disappeared 11-19-77. Arrested in front of home.
Father 81 year old, very ill.

Oberti de Suarez, Teresa (Mother)
Carrasco 845-Piso 16 "F"-Capital
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(c)
Phone: (Sister-921-1024 Sra.Cañas)
Personal call 9-15-78

364/78/5 P

SUAREZ, Julio Everto

Ex legal adviser to the Minister of the Interior of the Province and a former Secretary of the San Luis Peronist Congress.

GOA reply 7-5-78: Opción Art. 23 Constitución Nac.
DESTINO Perú - salió el 20/6/75

Arrested in November 1974 - Penitenciaria de San Luis

New Jersey State Bar Association-Mr.Donald Zarin-4-12-78
hig Org. Des. Hombre 4-19-78

SUAREZ, Laura Beatriz
CI: 10.503.633

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

SUAREZ, Nélida

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

SUAREZ, Nora Beatriz
CI: 6.749.549

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

SUAREZ, Nora Fidelia
CI: 6.924.834
Calle 249 Nº 2120 - Gral Bosco Bs As.

Disappeared 2-4-77

Causa Ant Cong. 9/86
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
ML

SUAREZ, Norberto Daniel
11.278.774

DIS 8-1-77

Rosario List

SUAREZ, Osvaldo Ramón

1-8-76 Córdoba

BISC
PAHR (A)

SUAREZ, Pedro Antonio

DIS 1-8-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D

SUAREZ, Raúl Ernesto
Age 20
DE: 2.917.962

DIS 5-25-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)
PAHR(L)

743/79/1 P

SUAREZ, Roberto
Leader of the Woodworkers'Union
(Sindicato de la Madera)

Detained in Córdoba 8-25-78. Held incommunicado

AISC (Pro Da. Herald)
AI
Netherland Embassy

D

SUAREZ, Roberto Daniel
Doc. 11.278.774
Age: 19

8-19-78
Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fé'

Letter to Amb. 5-22-78
PAHR - Prensa 1-17-78(L)

T SUAREZ, Virginia Adela
Doc. 10.509.185

Arrested on 5-13-76 by a group of armed men. Mendoza She was seen at the Central Police of Mendoza on September 1976. In June in the Villa Devoto Penitenciery of Buenos Aires.

PAHR(L)
ML

Suarez, Haydée Moreno de (Mother)
Julian Barraquero 762
GODOY CRUZ (5501) Mendoza

8-8-77 Letter to T.Todman.

D

SUAREZ DE CORDERO, Petrona del C.
DI. 1 [illegible]
Osvaldo Cruz 2089 - Buenos Aires
Alt 47

Disappeared 2-8-77 with her two children Nrs: Alberto & Pedro Antonio

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

SUAREZ JUAREZ, N[illegible]

D

DIS Sister of Dalmiro Ismael

AISC

D

SUAREZ JUAREZ,

DIS Brother of Dalmiro Ismael Suarez Juarez.

AISC

D

SUAREZ JUAREZ,

DIS - another brother of Dalmiro Ismael Suarez Juarez.

AISC

9

SUAREZ JUAREZ, Dalmiro Ismael

Detained in 1974. At presente in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

SUAREZ DE MARTINEZ, Silvia Graciela
Age 26

1-8-76
DIS Enero de 1976 Córdoba

ML
PAHR(1)
Rig Arg Gen. Harmless

597/78/9 D

SUAREZ MENDES, Jesus Silverio (Uruguayan)
Age 37

-9-
DIS 9/77

UNHRC-9-5-78

D

SUAREZ VALLADEROS, Erasmo
Age 34
CI: 7.554.724

Former Bolivian mineworkers leader. Informed by sister "he was pulled out of his house on April 21, 1977 by a group of armed civilians who claimed to be members of the Argentine Security Force. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(1)
Rig Arg Gen. Harmless
ML

FBIS Cable from Asunción, 9-16-77. AFP Story

D

SUAREZ DE VARGAS, Susana

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

SUARTZMAN, Jorge Pablo
Rfe 22
cdl: 7.249.535

Disappeared 1-14-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Amb def. Buenos

9

SUBOVSKY JARUPKIN, Lidia
Student of Architecture at Univ.La Plata

Detained -Villa Devoto prison.

AI Australia-Adoption

ADL

7

SUCATZKY, Marcelo

Under PEN Unidad 6 Rawson

ADLeague

SUGUI, Ismael

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

SUIDE, Salvador Daniel

DIS

PAHR (L)
DAIA

75/77/6
75/78/11 D *

SUJOLOVSKY, Viviana Noemí
CI. 9.176.262 - Hg 2c

For.Off.Inq.: 6-30-77. GOA reply: NO.
GOA reply 2-23-79: Very mildly. 11-20-79: Neg.
Disappeared Old [redacted] 10/24/76

Ministerio de Rel. Ext. y Cultos replied that there are no antecedents on her detention. 81-77..

Visit called at Emb on 10/25/77
visit 12/78 at Embassy -

HL PAHR(L)
Consular Section.
Sujolovsky, Juan Carlos (LE. 4.025.199)
Sujolovsky, Ester (LC.0.372.624 (Parent)
España 1335-4°"E"-Mar del Plata-7600
[redacted]
[redacted].

Mint Int # 189,275 10/29/76
L

DNIA
Radio Def Inteligence FBI

D

SULKIES, Alberto Pablo
Maestro-soldado - Buenos Aires
DNI: 11.924.062
Gral. Rodriguez 2200 - Cap
Hge 21

Disappeared 6-15-76 La Pampa

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Radio Def Intelligence
DNIA
FBI

DH

SURRACO, Basilio Pedro
Hge 33
L.E. 7.751.858

Disappeared 3-14-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

SURRACO, Carlos Adolfo
Alt 36
LE: 7.730.400

D-78

DIS 4-4-78 Ing. Tacubaccí (Río Negro)

PAHR (L)

D

SURRACO, Eduardo Oscar
Alt 29
LI 8.376.703

Disappeared 9-30-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

Es
SUSBIELLO, Victoriano Aníbal
B. Blanca

Disappeared 7-5-75

Removed from PEN - 12-22-78

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

SUSEVICH, Silvia Liliana

ADLeague

D 78

SUTINA, Antonio Mateo

DIS 3-23-78

Mar del Plata List

425/78/6 D

SVACANINO DE PEREZ ROIG, Edith

Disappeared on 7-7-1977 in La Plata.

Amemb.Tegucigalpa-Tegucigalpa 2361
Magda Roig Estape de Puerto Cortes, Honduras

de CARAVELOS
SWICA, Lucia Mirta D-78

DIS 5-18-78

La Prensa list 10/78
PAHR (1)

243/78/1 D *

SZAFIRSTEIN, Rosana Judith
Age 20 C.I. 4.810.296
DU.-13.276.506
Rivadavia 3937 - 10 "A"
Buenos Aires

Fam6 persecuted.
2nd Presentation GOA 1st hdg 3-10-78
Letter to Comandante Raul Alvarez from Moorhead 1-3-78

Arrested on 10-11-77 by a group of civil persons . Extraofficially mother was informed that she is being held with another 150 young people in a place near Ezeiza.

JAIN
ML.
PAHR(4)
Luisa S. de Szafirstein (Mother)
Rivadavia 3937 - 10"A"
Buenos Aires 88-3819
Interview with Cong.Weill-5-78 at Sheraton.

L

246/78/2 D *

SZAJNBAUM, Saul Jaime
DNI: 11.735.440
CI: 7.160.578
Gral. Artigas 1801 - 3°"14"
Buenos Aires

GOA-Hdg 6-24-78
N's PEN
N.R.A.D. ya se presentó anteriormente pero la Policía Federal informa que no existe pedido de captura del mismo.

Disappeared on 11-21-77.

PAHR(1)
JAIN

Szajnbaum, Moises (Father)
Gral. Artigas 1801 - 3°"14"
Buenos Aires 53-4722(Relatives)

L

T
R

x SZAPIRO, Edmundo Daniel
CI 5954058-LE 11.179.097
x SZAPIRO, Hebe Araceli Susana Moscia de
CI 7.732.433 - DNI 12.222.920
Murguiondo 3041-Capital

On 9-15-76 at their respective works they were arrested by armed men. Since then disappeared.

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 1-6-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77

x
x
Mascia, Hebe Maria Pavero de (Mother)
LC 0514270
Murguiondo 3041-Capital
Sen.Kennedy. US residents interest.
Testimony. To T. Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

SZAPIRO, Rebeca S. (nee Gasic)
7.732.433
Galicia 1231-Capital

.Disappeared along with Edmundo Szapiro on 10-15-76

ADLeague

SZAPIRO, Susana

Detained 9-15-76.

ADLeague

SZCZUPAKIEWICZ, Samuel Alberto
CI: 6.514.046
Age 24
Mercedes 2214 - Capital

DIS 4-7-76

PAHR (L)
ADL

D

TABARES, César Raul
Age: 38
Lawyer

ABD 1-7-78 Rosario Santa Fé

AISC (CADHU)

TABOADA, Marcelo Oscar

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

TABOADA DE DILLOn, Marta Angélica
Lawyer

Abducted from her home Solis 143, Moreno, Prov.Bs.As. No date

Cancer Cont. Omg. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78(
HL
PAHR(L)

D

TABOADA DE ROSEMBERG, Lucrecia Laurio
10.369.390 DNI.
Age 24

Disappeared 7-11-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Amb. Def. League

D

TABOADA DE ROSEMBERG, Ruben Edgardo
10-129-806
3rd year architecture student.

Disappeared on 7-11-76.

ADLeague

TAGARELLI, Víctor A
Mendoza

Detained since 11-23-76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

TAGENTI, Hugo Enzo

DIS

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

130/77/10

TAIANA, Jorge Alberto
Age: 65 years old.
Profession: Surgeon.
GOA reply 9-5-78 - Confirmed info.
In prison without any official charges being brought against him.
At present in Armed Force Prison in Magdalena-Bs.Aires. Confirmed PEN N°: 205 9/5/78 by Presidency of Junta Militar by [illegible]

TAIANA, Matilde 42-504 (Wife)

Wash.Off.on Latin America. 7-27-77.

7-25-77 Letter from Washington, not addressed to anybody.
Matilde Taiana to see Mr. Bova.

Jan. Cranston 9-21-78
Cong. Burton 9-24-78

Swedish Emb. Interest-11/78

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c-251/78/7

137/77/10 *

TAIANA, Jorge Enrique
Age: 27 years old.
Profession: Sociologist.
LE: 8.362.673. GOA reply 9-5-78: Confirmed previous info.
CI: 6.203.122 GOA reply 9-23-78: Under PEN-Decree 3443, 11/9/75 Detained as Montonero. Violator of Law 20.840.
Requested "ROO"-MinInt claimed no person register, Tortured by the Police 1975. Imprisoned since then 11-78 presently in U9 Prison of La Plata, Bs.As. The torture resulted in complete loss of hearing in his right ear.
Confirmed by GOA - 10-31-78 Remains PEN N°: 3443 11-9-75 (Montonero)
Article will warrant 7 expulsion. 7-20-78.
Released from custody but detained because under PEN. Newspaper clipping 11-30-78
Council Natl. Cong. 9/78
Wash.Off. on Latin America. 7-27-77.

Jan. Cranston 9-21-78 Min Govt. refused visit 11/78 on under PEN.
Cong. Burton 9-24-78

Request :ROO"-MinInt informed no person is reg.11-78

TAIBO, Carlos

ARR PEN

AISC

D

TAJAN, Manuel Asencio
Age 25
Doc. 10.858.769

Disappeared 3-24-76

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

TAKARA, Juan
Age 33
LE: 4.914.099

Disappeared 6-18-77 Marcos Paz

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

TALBOT-WRIGHT, Hector Eugenio (Dr.)

ABD 10-16-76 in Buenos Aires

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

TALEO, Jorge
Entre Rios

Detained since 6-21-75 in Gualeguaychú

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

TALICE, Maria Ester

DIS 11/76

PAHR(L)
ML

Killed

TALLARICO, Mónica Amalia
Age: 21
Calle 526, 12 y 13 - Tolosa

Killed with husband Juan José Ramos.

La Plata List.

333/75/4 D *

TALLONE, Renato Carlos Luis
CI. 6.118.332
Onorio Pueyrredón 1064 - 9°"A"
Capital [illegible]
D28: 10-2-55
GOA upd: 6-27-78 N.R.A.D. ya se sigue averiguando (Junio 1978)

Abducted on 3-17-77 from his home to his work. Since then disappeared. Ciudadela-Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
Cruz Edmundo en relación al home Tallone (Vicente Lopez) (uncle) 64-5463

Tallone, Guido (Father)
Onorio Pueyrredón 1064-9°"A"-Capital 812-0863

T TALQUENEA, Julio Felix DNI: 10.318.942
TALQUENEA, Hugo Alfredo DNI: 11.689.344
Julio A. Roca 443-G.Gutierrez-Mendoza

D
D

On 5-14-76 were arrested. Since then disappeared.

Talquenea, Hugo E. (Father)
Julio A. Roca 443-G.Gutierrez-Mendoza

PAHR(L)
8-8-77. Letter to T.Todman.
Mendoza hasta [illegible] 8/78
ML FDD
TN "WOLA 11/78"

C-142/75/2

P
Options

TAMARIT, José
DoB. 5-11-35
CI: 4.403.268

Min. Sub. informed visit 11/78 on Rec rejected info b committee

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata Area 1975

Cancer Death Org. 9/78
Consulate:
PAHR(L)

TAMAYO, Antonio Rafael
Age 36
CI: 5.672.661

D-78

DIS 3-1-78 San Martin

PAHR(L)

TAMAYO MARTINEZ, M. Manuel Jesus (Chilean)
Mendoza
Age 22

D

Disappeared 3-24-76 Mendoza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

TAMBURIN, Guillermo

ABD 7-16-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

TAMBURINI, Maria C de

ABD 7-16-76

ML

D

TAMBURRINI, Claudio Marcelo
Age: 23

DIS

PAHR (L)

T
R

TANCO, Jorge Oscar
CI. 4726999
B. Matienzo 2571-Capital

Was arrested together with Graciela Pinal, on 9-17-76 at his work. Graciela Pinal was freed few hours after, but he is disappeared since.

Tanco, Catalina R.L.de (Mother)
Oro 2677-Capital
LC 0033618

FAHR(L) Testimony. To T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

D 78

TANCO, Jorge Omar

DIS September 1978

TANGENTO, Hugo Emo D 183/77/4

Student of Philosophy.

N.R.A.D-GdA-9-5-78

Detenido en UC.1, Córdoba - Prensa 6-2-78
Liberado 6-11-78
Disappeared June-July 1977, in Córdoba.

FAHR(L)
Cong.Gus Yatron

D

TANIOLLI, Silvia Francisco
Age: 34

ABD 8-25-76

ML

TAPIA, Enrique D

ABD

AISC

826/79/3 D

TAPIA, Roberto Manuel
LE: 7.533.864
Contador Público Nacional

Detained in Rosario city on 10-1-76. Since then disappeared.

Garcia del Villar de Tapia, Maria de la Concepción (Wife)
Alvaro de Bazan No. 16, p.10-Valencia 10 (España)
Amembassy Madrid - 2-27-79.

D78

TAPIA, Raul Francisco

DIS 4-23-78

PAHR (L)

D

TAPIA RODRIGUEZ, Enrique Ramón S.
Apt 25
CI: 4.964.674
DNI: 10.550.085

DIS 5-30-76

PHSC
PAHR (L)

TAPPARO, de Straus Raquel Alicia

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

Returned PEN - Ha. Nacion 1/20/78

D

TAPPATA, Héctor Nazareno
Univ. Prof., Master in Economy

Under PEN. House arrest. 12-22-76

DIS

ML

D

Tarchitsky, Manuel
(Physicist)

Abducted. No date

Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS

D

TARDIVO, Irma Noemí
Age 24
DNI: 6.712.066

Disappeared 6-8-76 Moreno

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

2a1/23/11

TARELLA, Maria Angela

N.R.A.D-GOA-9-5-78

Disappeared in late September 1977 in Córdoba.

Amnesty International

213/78/1 D

TARNOPOLSKY, Betina
Age 15 - Student
Peña 2600 - Planta Baja "A"-Capital
CI - 6 791 339

Abducted on 7-15-76.
PAHR(L) Req. Grad of Boston
VIEIR 1-21-78
FIL
Arch Pol League
DRIA
Cong. Fenwick - 12-16-77
Req. Joint Intel Comm.
FDD-11-6-78 - Grandmother-Rosa D de Edelberg - CI: 133-084

257/78/1 D

TARNOPOLSKY, Hugo A.
(Chemical engineer)
Peña 2600 - PB "A" - Buenos Aires
CI: 1 783 248
Age 51

Abducted, 7-15-76.
PAHR(L)
FIL
Arch Pol League
DRIA
Req. Joint Intel Comm
Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS
Cong. Fenwick 12-16-77
FDD. 11-6-78 Mother Rosa D. de Edelberg - CI: 7.330 76

257/78/1 D

TARNOPOLSKY, Laura Del Duca de C.I. 4.269.563
Peña 2600-PB "A"-Capital
Age 21

Abducted on 7-15-76.

FDD 11-6-78

NL
Amb Def. League
Org. Intal Solid Comm
Cong. Fenwick 12-16-77
Del Duca Raquel A. Hernandez de
Pas Humidas 1376 - Cap. Grandmother - CI: 733086 - Mechanic 3475

256/78/1 D

TARNOPOLSKY, Sergio
Age: 21
Peña 2600 - PB "A" - Capital
CI: 67.913.40

Disappeared doing his military service. 7-15-76

FDD - 11-6-78
NL
Amb Def. League
Cong. Fenwick 12-16-77
FAHR(L)
Org. Intal Solid Comm.
Grandmother (same)

TARQUINI, Luis and wife 39/78/5
596/78/5

2 Hermanos de Tarquini Nora
GOA reply 9-5-78 NRAD
Pol/Ref.: Have approx. 4 meses estan viviendo en Europa.

Abducted 4-5-78

San Justo

TARRAGA, Héctor Humberto
Age 49

Disappeared 2-16-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

TARTALO, Manuel Antonio
Age: 23
Doc. 11.900.926

DIS 5-13-76 Tucuman

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

TARTHER, Juan Hipólito

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

TASCONE, Rene (journalist)

Imprisoned, whereabouts unknown. No data

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

TASSARA, Jorge

Authorized to leave the country . Plans to leave for Italy. Christmas list 1978.-

Harris info. 1-2-79

TASSIOLI, Jorge
MAINIERI-Córdoba

Detained in Villa Maria-Córdoba.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

TATO, Delia Virginia
CI: 5.690.538

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

352/78/5

T
R

TATTER, Federico Jorge
CI. 4.304.500
Gral. Urquiza 133-Capital

Arrested on 10-15-76. Since then disappeared.

Tatter, Idalina Radice de (Wife)
CI 4.329282
Garcia Lorca 249 - Lomas de Zamora(Bs.As.)
Testimony. To T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

L

D 74

TAULOVICH, Martin

DIS

348/18/5 9 *

TAURINO, Atencio
. ó Maurino, Atencio
Luz y Fuerza

Under PEN Resistencia, Chaco Lista 10-9-78

Dpto.of Treasury-on behalf of [ ] - 3-15-78 B6

D

TAURO, Maria Graciela
DNI: 10.631.048
DOB: 2-9-1953

Detained by Joint Forces, since then disappeared.
See details in letter from mother to Amb.Raul Castro.
Disappeared around April 1977. (Wife of Rochistein, Jorge). Burlingham - Bn Un.

PAHR(1)
Tauro, Nelly W. de (Mother)
Almafuerte 1270- 8000 Bahia Blanca

Letter to Amb. Castro, 1-10-78.

TAVELLA, Olga Rosa
DOB;9-21-1947
Elementary Schoolteacher
accompanied by husband Francisco Oscar Andres Aramburu, Arg. (1-31-51) photographer and free lance journalist, and child Juan Aramburu, Arg. (1-25-1975).
Mrs. Tavella claims to be unable to return to Argentina for political reasons. Her husband was imprisoned in Montevideo and was released on July 1, 1977. Family requests for resettlement in a third country- Sweden or France.

Cable.

D

TEALDI, Luis Alberto

DIS 9-28-77 Campana Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

TEASTA, Jorge

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

TEDESCO, Juan Carlos
Arg. DOB: 6-29-51.

Separed from lawful wife, accompanied by common-law wife Nkrta Ana Sepich, Arg.(10-31-50) and child Laura Soledad Tedesco Arg.(11-19-76). He travelled to Uruguay on August 18, requests refugee status from UN in Montevideo. He reported to Uruguayan Police beginning September for local police check. Immediately arrested, he was not released until a few days ago. His case for resettlemen in a third country has been presented to Sweden. UQD official considers his case serious, worthwhile.

Cable.

TEJADA DE SUTER, Ana María
Reconquista 644, 10 f. Dpto. Tucumán
Apt 25
Doc: 10.461.274

Disappeared 7-15-76

Tucumán
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
BIL

TEJELDIN, Oscar Alberto
Age: 19
CI: 8.320.928

DIS 2-5-77

FDD
PAHR (L)

598/78/9

TEJERA, Raúl (Uruguayan)
Age: 24
Venezuela 3328

DIS 9-26-76

WHRC-9-5-78

TEJERINA, Antonia Julia

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

TEJERINA, Juan Domingo
Age 24
LE: 8.345.210

DIS 3-29-77 Moreno

PAHR (1)

D

TEJERINA, Ruben Juan
LE. 11.732.372
Edad 22 años
Address: 65 Street No. 1194-LA PLATA

Arrested by Security Forces on 6-28/29-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR (2)
Tejerina, Juan - (Father)
Pcias. Unidas No. 17
Berazategui (Bs.As.) Phone 256-1623

TEJERO, José C
Age 24
Eucalipto 3111, I. Pablo Lugones

Disappeared 3-15-77

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

TELL, Máximo
Secret. FOETRA-Jujuy

Disappeared since 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

TELLERIA, Rivero Rosa

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

D

TELLO, Marcelo Rodolfo
AGe: 26
DE: 936.241

Disappeared 3-9-76 Córdoba

~~[illegible]~~
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

TELLO, Pablo D

DIS 1/76 La Plata

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D 1976

TELLO, Pablo Daniel
AGe: 27

Disappeared 6-20-78.

PAHR (1)
Cancer Quito Comp. 6/78
Le Monde
French Embassy 7-25-78

TELLO, Rafael Arnaldo
Age: 25
DNI: 10.353.613

D 1975

Disappeared 6-20-78. La Plata - Bs. As.

Caracer Quit. Corr. 9/78
Le Monde

French Embassy 7-25-78
PAHR(L)

2cs/12/11
J

TEMPONE, Mario
Decano de la Escuela de Arquitectura
(Dean of the School of Architecture)
Date and place of birth: April 12, 1937 Buenos Aires
IN: 3.975.658
LE: 4.206.324

Disappeared with ~~wife~~ fiancée -4- in September 1977.

N.R.A.D - GdA - 9-5-78

PAHR(L)
Amnisty International
Cong Tower
Latin American Studies Association-December 1977.

D

TEMPONE, Virginia Beatriz
L. 11.351.286

DIS 1-26-77 (Mar del Plata - Bs. As.)

Mar del Plata List

TENNEYRO, Juan Eduardo
Age: 66
Doc. 3.605.334

DIS 3-24-76 Tucuman

Tucumán
PAHR (1)

TENUTA, Carlos Raul
Doc. 11. 720.445
Age: 22

Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fé.

Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

TEPLITZKY STREGER, Liliana

ARR Held in Villa Devoto PEN

AISC

D

TERDJELDIN, Oscar Alberto
Age: 19
CI: 8.320.938
G.Urquiza 59 - Buenos Aires

DIS 2-5-77

PAHR(A)
ML

D

TEREX, Nestor

DIS 4-5-76 Buenos Aires

PAHR(A)
ML

D

TERRANO, Graciela
Secondary student

Disappeared 9/77 while at school.

ADLeague
hh

D

TERRADAS, Maria Susana
Age 29
L.E. 6.241.532

Disappeared Avellaneda - Santa Fe 9-2-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

TERREDAS, Maria Susana

DIS

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

D

TERRUSSI, Eduardo

Disappeared since 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Killed

TERUGGI, Diana
(Wife of Mariani)

Killed

La Plata List

D

TERZANO, Mónica
Age: 17
Seconduary Student at Lomas de Zamora

Disappeared 7/77.

ADLeague
ML

T

TESSELHOFF, Carlos Eduardo

Under PEN

ADLeague

TESTA, Ana María D

DIS 12-12-76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

TESTA, Anibal Carlos

Disappeared 9-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

TESTA, B D

DIS from Saenz Peña, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

TESTA, John Franco

103/77/9

At present in Penal nidad 9, in La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
PEN 845 - 12-12-74 and crim charges. THarris from GOA 9-28-77.

GOA sighting: Decree 1191 - 12-12-74 ERP

Amnesty Int: PEN - La Plata 3-11-78

Am. Kennedy - BA 1876 AR-3133

4-23-78

TESTA, Jorge

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

TESTE, Jorge Ernesto
Lanus
Apt 36
CA: 4-973.2346

11-12-76
Abducted in Buenos Aires in 1976. His mother
together with wife

Carcel Penit. Coop. 9/78
FAHR(L)
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
ML Disturbing testimony

TESZKIEWICH, Mónica Beatriz
Age: 21

DIS 7-10-76

PAHR (L)
DAÍA

TEVES, Sixto Pastor
Age 37
DNI: 4.888.617

DIS 6-29-77 Lanús Este

PAHR

TEYELDIN, Oscar Alberto
8.326.938 Cl.
Age 19

Disappeared 2-5-77

Asst. Def. Pcia.
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

TEZANOS PINTO CARENO, E.O'
Age: 26
L. 8,487,844

DIS 8-3-77 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

THANE, Miguel (French)

ARR Sentenced to 10 years.

AISC

THANHAUSER, Juan Miguel
Age: 22
CI: 5.779.641

DIS 7-18-78

PAHR (L)

K

THERISON, Hugo

Killed 8-20-75 Córdoba

AISC (Arg.Komm-Sveden)

R/FDD

C

THOMAS, Alfredo Mario
LE.10.798.595
Age 22 y

Our home was searched on 6-5-76 by the Army. Later came the Police and asked for our son. They told me he had to come before 3:00 in the morning. He went to Gada 601, Mar del Plata and was arrested. He phoned several times always saying that he would be freed soon. On 7-1-76 I went to see him and was told that he had already been freed on 6-30-76. Since then disappeared. A2 L1

Thomas, Dedid M. de (Mother)
25 de Mayo 8261-Mar del Plata
LC. 3.660.640.

AL Statement to Senators.
PAHR(L)
FDD. 11-6-78

L

de FONTENLA
THOMPSON, Josefina Elvira
Age 31
CI: 5.633.655

Disappeared 6-4-77 Saenz Peña - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

455/78/6

THIERAVILO, Oscar Lautaro

GOB reply 1-30-79 : No reply

Disappeared on 5-19-77.

WOLA

D

TIEFENBERG, Jacob

Disappeared

PARE(2)
ADLeague

TIERNO
Lawyer's son from La Plata)

Killed

Killed

La Plata

D

TIESKIVICH, Mónica
Age: 16

Disappeared March 1976

ADLeague

D

TILGER DE TROITERO, Marta Elvira
Age: 35

DIS 10-12-78

FDD

D

TILLET, Carlos Maria
Age 23
DNI: 10.824.950

Disappeared 12-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

Cam. File

TIMERMAN, Jacobo. 116/77/9

→ Sec Sec 14-50

Held since 4-22-77 under "PEN" (Natl. Excecutive Power) under decree 1093 for "subversive economic crimes".
(PEN) House arrest.

Acta ov 11/10/77

Inq. raised by Mr. Gilman.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Gent. Int. League
Cong. Chris D. Cont
Rep. Gerald Solid. Comm
Amnesty Quaker Comm. met Chanl. 12-21-77
Sen. Harkin - Request 12-29-77
" Church - " 1-5-78

TINEO BRACCO, Francisco César
"El Independiente"-La Rioja

Detained since 3-6-76 in Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig Arg. Der. Hombre

D

TINTA, José Antonio

DIS 6-22-77 San Fernando - Bs. As.

PAHR (1)

D

TIRAO, Juan Carlos

DIS 12-6-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR (L)

TIREO, César
El Independiente - La Rioja

Detained 6/76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D 78

TIRINANZI, Maria Felisa
Age: 38
CI. 4.824.270

DIS 4-26-78

PAHR (L)

D'78

TISCORNIA, Rodolfo Julio
Age: 23
Calle 130 Nro. 1560 - La Plata
DNI: M.680.972
Arch. student & worker & PCR member (Anti Somoza & Anti Videla)

Detained on 7-14-78. La Plata (Pro. Ds.)
Freed on 8/29/78. Tortured in center near La Plata informed that held with Diego Barreda, Tortured from 7/14 to 7/21 w/o food or water.

Newspaper El Dia, 7-26-78
PAHR(L)
LA PLATA List-78

D

TISEIRA, Francisco

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

TISERA, Ruben Adrian

Disappeared

Amb. Def. Riesgo
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

TISSERA, Sergio Luis
Age 34
LE: 7.974.659

Disappeared 4-21-76 Córdoba

FD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
FD

TIZZONES, Julia L. C.

Detained 12/76 Cárcel de Mujeres de Paraná

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

TOBAR, Carlos Enrique

ADLeague

D

TOCCO, José Daniel
C.I: 5.453.380
Age: 20

Disappeared 6-12-77

Ing Dep Des Humanos
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

TOER, Rafael Mauricio
Age: 32
=/

Ing Clark - Req application in process. 11/28
Right of option rejected March 1978.

Amb Sofía Vargas
UK

D78

TOFE, Diego Mauricio
Age: 22

DIS 5/78

FDD

(1)

TOFELBERG, Hugo

DIS

PRHE(4)
ML

TOGNELLI, Liliana Ines
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

D78

TOLCACHIR DE SUTINA, Laura L.
DNI: 10.590.389

DIS 3-23-78 Mar del Plata with husband

Mar del Plata List

R/FDD

5

TOLEDO, Jorge Carlos Augusto (F) D

DU. 110.48029
Aragon y Ruta 2, Barrio La Florida-Mar del Plata.

Arrested on 12-10-76 after being shot. Since then disappeared.
~~US Emb. visit granted 11/78~~ Mar del Plata - Bs As.

Toledo, Maria Teresa T de (Mother)
CI. 2.983.953

Testimony to Senators.

PAHR (2)
HL
Ana Ana Ser Hombre
FDD

C-55/77/11

TOLEDO, José Luis F Expten

Ministerio del Interior visit 11/78 a Rca especial en la cárcel

Unidad PEN - Confidad Libertad 12-22-78

PEN; Carcel de Coronda. Given forms.

Toledo, Nelso José (Father)
Av. Gral. Paz 6078-Santa Fé
Tef.: 60330 Santa Fe

TOLEDO, Lucas Alberto D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

TOLEDO, Maria del Pilar Carmen
Age: 29
Doc.- 6.039.622

DIS 11-6-76 Yucuman

Tucumán
PRNR(L)

TOLEDO, Martin

DIS 10-76 from Tigre, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

TOLOSA

Killed

Killed

La Plata List

TOLOSA, Daniel

Detained since 3-20-75 in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

T L

TOMAS, Julio Emilio
Ex Diputado Justicialista
Asesor del Banco de la Pro.de Formosa
[illegible]

Detained on 11-20-75. Formosa. Never tried.

Comm Ent Ctra 9/75
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

T

TOMAS, Mario Alfredo

Disappeared 6-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

C-113/75/6 824/79/3

TOMASELLA, Sergio Felix

Date of Birth:Nov.13,1939,Lavalle,Corrientes,Arg.
ID#. LE:5.657.402
Address: Juan E. Martinez 191,3450-Goya(Ctes)

Detained 11-24-77 - Resistencia

Requested "ROO" MinInt informed no person registered 11-78

12-20-78 11 of 7. informed Consulate. Released. Family still claims he is in jail.-

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

RI

TOMASEVICH, Francisco

Under PEN Unidad 6 Rawson

ADLeague

TOMASEVICH, Julio
Worker from Dalmine

Detained in Coronda.

ADLeague

TOMASEVICH, Luis
Asesor de la Unión Obrera Metalúrgica, de la Unión Ferroviaria y de la Junta de Granos (Delegaciones de Villa Constitución, Santa Fé)

Detained on 6.20-75. At present in Coronda Jail, Santa Fé.

Carcer. Arch. Corr. 9/78
Amn. Int. Leagues
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

TOMASEVICH, Ricardo Alberto

Under PEN

ADLeague

TOMASIN

ABD 5-1-76

ML

1)

TOMASIN, Emilio

DIS 6-25-76

ML

3

TOMASIN, Emilio Jaime
LE: 8.240.497
Bfe 24

Disappeared 4-29-76 San Martin

Prog. Ang. Del Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
ML

3

TOMASSI, Maria Esther
Bfe 24
DNI: 10.507.200

Disappeared 3-6-76 Adrogué

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

FREED 95/77/9 *

D

TOMASSINI, Graciela Sara
Zeballo 307, 2°Fl. Ap.A
Rosario (Santa Fé)

Disappeared since March, 1976. (Add. information requested)
(Ag phone was informed that a tel is still a works at present of that address.)

Haywood, George E. Jr. (Letter Mar. 4th, 1979) (husband)

[ ]

Cong. Cavanaugh
Cong. Curtis

B6

D

TOME, A

=

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

TOME, Héctor Luis

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

TONIOLI, Eduardo José
Age 21
DNI: 11.478.384

Disappeared 2-9-77 Córdoba

P
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

TONIOLLI, Silvio Francisco
Age 34
DNI: 4.939.336

Disappeared 8-25-76 Zárate

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

TONSLEARDONA, Emilio

DIS 4-22-76 Buenos Aires

I

PAHR(L)
ML

TORANZO, Pedro Osmar
CI. 4.667.454

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

TORANZO, Roberto
CI. 6.088.303 LE: 7.837.636
Técnico Mecánico (Estudiánte Ing. - Univ.Bs.As.)
Bolivia 4112 Dto.2 - Capital
Age: 28
Member Fed. Jur. Com.

Disappeared on 4-5-78 together with wife Patricia Dina Palacin (3 months pregnant).
La Nacion 4/5 PAHR(L)
Cancer Anti Congr. 9/78
Comm. Party
Palacin, Carlos Luis y Sra C.I. 2.547.671 (Parent-in-law)
Jujuy 1155 2°B-Capital
Letter to Rosalyn Carter - 3-13-78 FDD-14-5-78

TORANZO DE TORANZO, Elda Lidia

Age: 32
Worker

Detained in Córdoba in 1976-at presente Unidad 2 Villa Devoto Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

TORELBERG, Hugo

D

Disappeared

ADLeague

D

TORENZO, Roberto

Disappeared 4-5-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

6/24/78/10 D 78

TORNAY NIGRO, Alberto Jorge
LC: 8.568.812
Born: 1947
Profession: Dosicentta, S.A.Enterprises,
Avda. Belgrano 748-Capital TE:30=5497
Address: Guayaquil 746 - 2°B,Buenos Aires

6 DA reply 1-17-79: No records.

DIS 9-1-78.

Migone, Maria Rosa (Wife)
Buenos Aires 2584-Santa Fé 3000 Phone: 23288

Cong.Fenwick 68-1168
PAHR (L)
11015

D

TORON, Jorge Eugenio
R/c 23
CI: 7.218.659

DIS 11-5-77 Ramos Oeste

Ramos Oeste 3-10-77
PAHR (L)

T

TORRALBA, Américo
Director de El Independiente-La Rioja

UNDER PEN

ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78
Arg. Arg. Sin Novedad

T

TORRALBA, Pablo
"El Independiente" - La Rioja

UNDER PEN

ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78
Arg. Arg. Sin Novedad

TORRALLARDUNA, Emilio

DIS 4-22-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

TORRANO, Adrian

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

TORRANO, Graciela Beatriz
DNI: 13.713.219
Calle 531 - 1079 La Plata Bs.As.
Año 19
Med student

Disappeared 9-2-76

Comen Arch Cong. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

T

TORRE DE SOBREDO, Maria Luis
Age: 26
Employee

Detained in Nov. 1974-at presente unidad 2 Villa Devoto.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

TORRENT, Jorge Alberto
Age 24
LE: 10.668.111

Disappeared 8-18-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

424/49/1 *

D

TORRENTS, Irene Laura (See also Bermann,Claudio)
CI: 6.232.471

GOA reply 2-23-79- Neg. reply.

Arrested on 11-13-76 with her eight-month-old baby. Since then disappeared. The baby has been returned to Dr. Sylvia Bermann. Niece of Claudio Bermann (at prison).

Speaker O'Neill"s Office.
Cancer Anti Cong. 9/78
Anti-Jewish Literature
Int. Trial Relief Comm
BIL

D

TORRES, Anibal
Police Chief

DIS 10/76 Mendoza

ML

D

TORRES, Carlos Ricardo
RM 25
C11: 5.422.495

Disappeared 1-22-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

TORRES, Cristina

P

ARR 1-30-75 Santiago del Estero PEN-Held in V. Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

TORRES, Daniel Domingo
Apt

Disappeared 12-8-76 San Fernando - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
NL

D

TORRES, Dardo César

Disappeared 12-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

TORRES, Ernesto Rodolfo
Age: 24

D

ABD 9-5-77 from home: Turdera Bs.As.

AISC

D

TORRES, Graciela Haydée
Afr 23
DC: 10.906.361

Disappeared 6-29-76 Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

TORRES, Gustavo Daniel
Afr 17
CI: 218.961 =

Disappeared 5-11-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

TORRES, Héctor Tomás

Detaines since 5-24-77 - Penitenc. Córdoba

AISC
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

TORRES, Hernán
Obrero Renault

D

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

HL

TORRES, Horacio

DIS

Socialist

TORRES, Hugo Francisco
(Attorney)

204/77/11
9

Disappeared on October 7th, 1977. He is attorney of Mr. Omar Castellu, held in Resistencia Prison.

PEN disposal - Clipping La Nación 1-21-26

Amnesty International

HL

TORRES, Jesus Maria

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

TORRES, Jorge Alberto
CI: 5.219.027

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

TORRES, Juan José

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

TORRES, Julio Alberto
C. 8.476.715 Dni: 11.664.314
Age 16

Disappeared 7-21-76 Boulogne-Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

TORRES, Mario Rufino

Disappeared 5-3-76 V. Martelli

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

Rosario
TORRES, Osvaldo ? 184/77/11
Age 30
Fonte ref[illegible]: 3-10-78 x (dic. Ramón Corvalán)
PEN 346 3560 23/11/77
Cargo: Integrante del frente metalúrgico del PCR (Encargado de cápsulas gente)
Abogado: v-d Córdoba
Observaciones: Juez Federal Córdoba el 3/12/77 dispone la excarcelación bajo condición juratoria
Finalidad: Terrorismo
Disappeared on 8-27-77 in Córdoba, together with his wife.
Fuente PEN. La Nación 11-25-77

ML
[illegible]
Cons. Gus Yatron

#1978

TORRES, Pablo

Died June 23,1978

La Plata List - 10/78

TORRES, Raúl Ernesto
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

TORRES, Rodolfo Ernesto
Age 23
DNI: 11.159.690

Idem.
Arrested together with his girlfriend (Silvia Streger) in Turdera, Partido de Lomas de Zamora. Since then disappeared.

Streger, Jaime (Future father-in-law)
Loria 166 - 4°P.
1832 Lomas de Zamora

FAHR(C)

TORRES, Ruben Antonio
Alt. 40
Ej: 5.011.013

D

DIS 2-16-77 Temperley

PAHR (1)

D

TORRES CORREA, Ricardo Guillermo
[illegible]
Doc. 4.610.913

4-29-77?
Disappeared 7-12-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
NL
Tucumán

P

TORRES DE BANEGAS, Lucía M.

PEN Córdoba

AISC

TORRES MOLINA, Ramón

ARR

AISC

TORRES PAREDES, Francisco R.

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

TORRIANI, Eduardo Alberto

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

TORRICO GONZALEZ, Justina

D

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

TORRILLA ROBLES, José
DIN. 11.076.438
Calle 126 Nro. 1941-La Plata
(Telef. 4-4667 La Plata)

Ante un pedido de captura de la Base Naval Pto.Belgrano, ha solicitado al Juez un Habeas Corpus Preventivo, por cuanto teme por su seguridad personal y la de su familia. (Copia del H.C.P.en el archivo).

Visita personal al Sr. Harris 9-22-77.

TORTI, Estela María

Detained 3-24-76 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

TOSCANO, Omar C.
Córdoba

Detained since 3-24-76 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

TOSO, Hugo Osvaldo
Age 19
CI: 5.947.247

Disappeared 7-7-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

TOSSI, Enzo
Rosario

Detained in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

TOTTERAU, Mario Luis
DNI: 11.295.565
A/e 25
1° de Mayo 5180 - Santa Fé

Disappeared 2-24-76 Santa Fé

PBHR(L)
Enrique R. Mathieu - 1° de Mayo 5180. Santa Fé (father-in-law)
Personal call 9-15-78 24655
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

D

TOUBES, Hector Juan
Age: 30
DOB: 6-24-1947
Granaderos 999-Banfield
L: 7612.349

Mail employee of Burzaco (Prov.Bs.As.)- Arrested on October 1, 1976. Since then disappeared. Banfield (Prov. Bs.)

PBHR(L)
Zambaglione, Alba (Nun) (Aunt)
Yapeyú 132-Capital
Colegio Maria Auxiliadora
Phone: 811-5242; 6529

366/28/5 9

TOUM, FAUD
Well known as the defense lawyer of political prisoners, trade unions and students.

GOA reply 9-5-78:
Optión Art. 23 Constitución Nacional - Salió el 3/7/75 destino Perú

Arrested in February, 1975 in Mendoza - Penitenciaria 2- Villa Devoto

New Jersey State Bas Association-Mr.Donald Zarin-4-12-78

613/78/9 D

TOUNDAIAN, Angélica Beatriz
R/c 23
L.E 11.576.562

Peruvian - United Bosnia
Assistant Business School -
boyfriend of friend → then lost friend (Valentina
Norma Kehayan)

Disappeared on 2-2-77. when 21 years old sic

GOA reply 1-19-79: Negative reply.

Letter to Vance, 11-21-77
Letter to Derian, 11-21-77
Letter to Todman, 11-21-77 (Father)
Toundaian, Jacob
Dorrego 2129-Capital
Letter to Amb. 2-27-78
PAHR(L)
Letter to Vance 1-19-79 Sp. of State -BA-744

TOURSARHISSIAN, Martin D
LE. 4.323.454 - CI. 2.497.195

Arrested on 7-4-77 by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

Toursarhissian, Maria Nahabedian de (Wife)
Moliere No. 65 - Capital Federal
Tel: 67-7273

Personal visit 11/78

TOURSARKISSION, Susana D

DIS 7-4-77

PAHR (L)

TOURVAF, Nélida Nora D

DIS 4-22-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

TPERVER, Hugo D

Disappeared

ADLeague

TRAGANO DE AHUERNA, Silvia (Journalist) D

DIS

ML

TRAINOFF, Alberto
Age: 19

DIS 4-28-76

PAHR (L)

TRAPANI, Margarita Alicia

ARR PEN

AISC

TRAVAGLINO, Humberto
CI: 5.143.882

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

TRAVAGLINO, Humberto

P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (RIO Negro newspaper)

P

TRAVERSO, Alejandro Luis
CI. 7.315.424
DU: 13.933.077

Detained in Campo de Mayo-Escuela Caballeria Escuadrón Demostración. Entered 2-15-78 and was detained on 3-22-78. He had been abd.two days when he was tortured, he was released on Panamericana and taken by the army and accused to have stolen a pistol. Parents visited Embassy and said that all the family was being threaten not to do anything, as it would be dangerous for the detained son.
Reappeared July 1958 (Harris data 8-14-78)

Traverso, Aldo
Traverso Ana M. B. de (Parent)
San Juan 2842-Martinez (Phone)798-2937
Personal call Embassy 7-18-78

D

TRAVERSO, Ernesto Victor E.
LE: 7.634.591

DIS 2-26-77 Rosario

PAHR(H)
FDD

D

TRAVERSO, Susana Elba
LC: 6.385.628

Disappeared 6-13-77 Bahia Blanca

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

TREJO, Juan Carlos
Age: 41
Doc. 7.065.133

DIS 5-28-76 Tucuman

PAHR(4)
Tucuman

D

TREJO VALLEJOS, Pablo David(24) ©
C.I. 5.226.869
Ituzaingó 4444 - Mar del Plata.
Age 24

Kidnapped on 4-19-77. Since then without any news. Mar del Plata - Pcia. Bs. As.

TREJO, Patricia Vallejos de (Mother)

8-9-77 Letter to Derian

Causes Amt. Cong. 9/78
MC
Hig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR(4)

TREPTOW, Marta Graciela

DIS 4-14-77

PAHR

TREVINO, Victor A
Age: 18

ABD 9/76 in La Plata

ML

TREZACO, Mónica

DIS 7/77

AISC

D

TRIANA

(Doctor's daughter from La Plata). Detained in La Plata.

Harris data - 8-14-78

D

TRIANA DE SALAS, Elisa Noemf

DIS 10-26-76 La Plata-Bs. As.

LA Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(2)

TRIAS HERNANDEZ, C. Sal
Age 23

299/76/9 D
(Uruguayan)

Disappeared 9-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
ML

VHHR-5-1-78

TRIAY, Diana Miriam
AR 32
DNI. 5.325.406

Disappeared 12-9-75

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

TRICHIMOR, Irene Claudia

DIS 6-18-76

PAHR (L)

D

TRIGO, Raúl Horacio
LE 8.820.943
Architect Student
Córdoba - Pistoya 93 - Barrio Pueyrredón
Member Ed. Sup. Com.

Disappeared 6-23-76 Córdoba

Cancer Cntr. Org. 9/76
Comm Party.
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

TRINCHERI, Andrea
Age: 25

DIS 1977 Santa Fé

AISC (Arg.Komm-Sveden)

D

TRINIDAD ESPINOSA, Libertad

DIS 5-7-76 Buenos Aires

ML

D

TRINOF, Alberto
Age 19

Disappeared 4-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

TRIPANI,

D

DIS

AISC

D

TRIPIANA FUNES, Francisco
Odi Rosa 611, J. Rafael, Mendoza
LE: 8 013 858

Disappeared 3-23-76 Mendoza

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

C-2741/76

TRIPOLI, Noemí Susana (nee Genera)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto, judged.

ADLeague

D

TRISTAN, Omar Roldan
Age 20
DNI: 12.551.317

Disappeared 9-18-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D78

TROITERO, Alfredo
Age: 38

DIS 10-12-78

FDD

TROKSBERG, Carlos Alberto
Economics professor. Univ. Lujan
Age 28

Disappeared 11-27-76

DAIA
Arch. Lic. Laguna
ML

TROMBINI, Hector
Age: 30
Student, Medicine
CI: 5.370.744

Disappeared on April 4, 1977. After arriving from Prov. of Córdoba talked by phone with familiars. He was going to met them for dinner. Never appeared.

TROMBINI, Mercedes E. Murguillón de (Mother)
Rivadavia 4415, Piso 14, Dpto.C-Capital
C.I. 721642

Cámara Crim. y Corr. 9-78
Copy of Habeas corpus presented to the judge. Tucumán

NL
PAHR(L)

TRONCOSO, Jorge Alberto
Age: 25
CI: 6.617.603

DIS 6-15/16-76

PAHR (L)

TRONCOSO, Nélida de las Mercedes

DIS 11-23-78 Moreno Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

104/77/9 *

TRONCOSO, Raúl Reinaldo 9

prison Int. reported visit 11/78 as under judicial system

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
Under PEN 1135 - 7/1/76. T.Harris from GOA, 9-28-77.
Sentenced to 8 years in prison. El Dia clipping 12-7-78
Removed from PEN - La Nacion 2-17-79

1-23-79
552/104

D

TRONELLI, Mirta Felisa
H/c 24
DNI: 10.208.238

Disappeared 6/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

TRONQUELLI, Graciela Susana

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

TROTTA, Alberto Enrique

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

TROTTARA,
Obrero Ford-Buenos Aires

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

LIG. Arg. Der. Hombre

TRUMPER DE KLIMOVSKY, Nora Lía

Amnesty PEN - Centralist Liberty 12-22-78
Arrested at home. Decree 732/78 La Prensa 6-2-78

DAIA
Amnesty Def. Argue
PEHR (L)

TSCHANZ, Aníbal Rodolfo

Renewed from PEN - 11-22-78
Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé

DALEague

D

TUCCI, René Isidro
Chile 930. V. Sarmiento Pcia. Bs. As.
Apt 34

Disappeared 10-27-76 Ramos Mejía

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML

T

TUDELA, Daniel
Abogado del fuero de Córdoba

Detained in 1976 in Cuerpo Ejército

Cancr. Amt. Cruz. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

TUFINO, Gregorio
Blt 30
LE 8.177.624

Disappeared 9-13-76 Salta

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

TULA, Héctor Gerardo
Age: 24
Doc. 10.982.811

DIS 6-8-76 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (2)

P

TULA, Jorge
Journalist

Detained

Visited 10-28-77 PEN Report
Le Monde 6-10-78

D 78

TULA, Miguel Segundo
Age: 23
Doc.-11.494.374

DIS 5-3-78 Tucumán

Tucumán

BAHR(L)

TULA GOMEZ, Jorge Raúl

Detained 4-2-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

TUFINO, Gregorio
Salta

Disappeared 9-30-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

C-121-78/2

TULIAN VILLEGAS, Fernando Félix

9
Option

R00 application in process 4/78

PEN; Unidad 2 Sierra Chica

Authorized leave country. Spain ha Mexico 1/27/78

Tulian, Alberto (Father)
Agüero 1909 - 5°- 16 - Capital
(Relatives: Phone 631-7971)

2-1-78

D

TUMICO, Ana Maria
Sociologist

DIS 7/77

PAHR (L)

D 78

TUMINI, Alberto Miguel

DIS

WOLA 11-78

470/78/7 D

BONATI
TUR, Alberto
Age: 36
Profesion: Teacher
Rivadavia 1675, Santa Fé

GOA-Wpfg 9-15-78: N.R.A.D

Disappeared 5-15-78 together with his wife Amelia Ricotti in Santa Fé.

TUR DONATI, Carlos, Guanajuato 183-Mexico 7, D.F. Mexico

State 167736
La Razon clipping 5-21-78

TURK, Jorge Ernesto
Laywer

7

ARR 5-28-76 Comisaria San Martin Jujuy

AISC

TURRA, Maria Dora

9

ARR C6rdoba

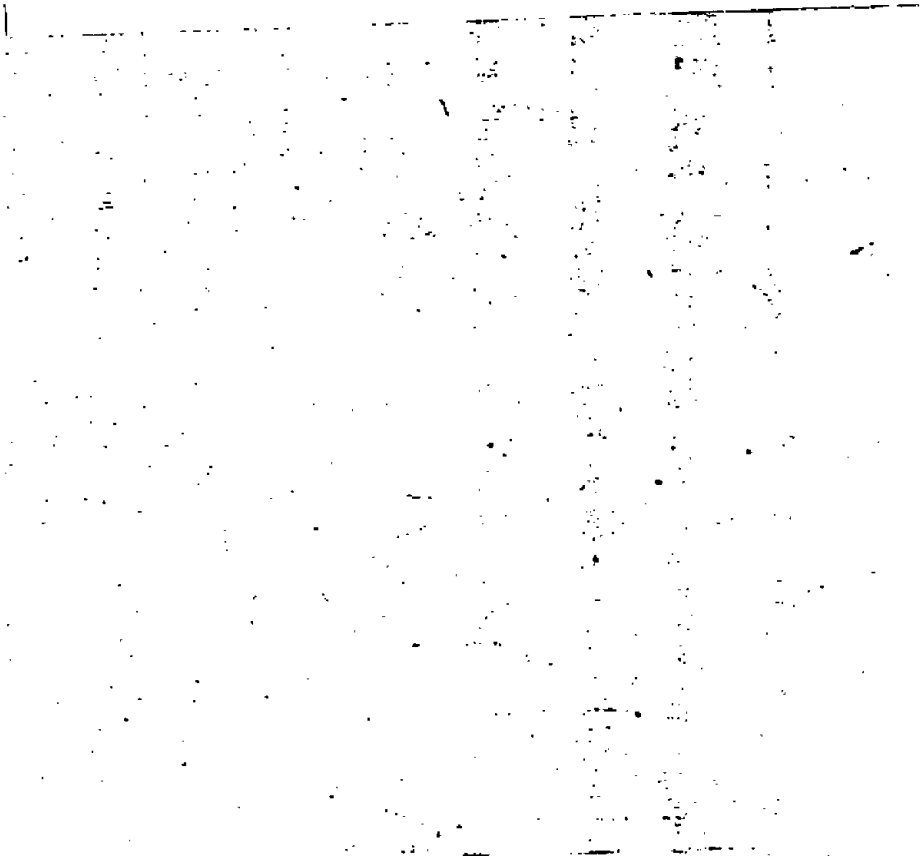
AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

TUSSI, René I.

Disappeared 10-27-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre



UBIEDO, Salvador Valerio
Obrero Mol. de Escobar

Detained 4-30-76 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

UDABE, Oscar Arturo
LE.7.725.814
Bucaret 460 - Villa Elvira
Lomas de Zamora Tafeta No. 6 Banfield (Código 1828)

Arrested on 12-12-76. Since then disappeared.

Udabe, Angela Delia Diaz de (Mother)
LE. 2118.681
Bucaret 460 Villa Elvira-Lomas de Zamora
Tafeta No. 6 Banfield (Código 1828)

Letter to Amb.Castrol-31-78.

D

UGANDO, Jorge Oscar
Calle 12 - 1982 La Plata Bs As
Age 29

Disappeared 10-16-76 La Plata

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

UGANDO, Stella Maris M. de
Lawyer
Calle 12 No. 1782 LA PLATA, Bs.As.

AED 10-16-76

ML

D

UJHELLY, José Luis (Dk.)
LE: 5.666.642
Ramsay 732, Bs.As.

Disappeared 1-5-77

Canar Nat. Comp. 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

ULLMAN, Eva

D

ABD w/Claudio Tatele and their daughter.

AISC

D

ULRICH, Agustin Hilario
C.I. 4.343.200
Age 33

Disappeared 4-6-76

ML
Amb. Def. Lagos
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

ULRICH, Teodoro

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

P

UMANSKY, Victor Samuel

Under PEN Coronda Santa Fé
Released ADL

ADLeague

UNCAL, Juan de Dios
Juez Federal de la Pcia. de La Pampa

Detained after the action of 1976. La Pampa

AISC
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

UNCAUZ, Enrique Algredo

ARR Sentenced to 6 yers by Judge F. Mantras

AISC

UNGARO, Horacio Angel
Calle 116 No. 542-P.5 Dto.42-La Plata
DNI: 13.434.234 Reg 17
RACERO, Daniel

Arrested by the Army on 9-16-76, at my house. Since then disappeared.

Ungaro, Olga (LC 1011560) (Mother)
Calle 116, No. 542-P.5 Dto.42-La Plata
Racero, Elsa (Mother)
Calle 13 No. 340-La Plata

Testimony to Representatives.

La Plata list. 10/78
AIL PRHR(L)

UQUET, Marta Nomeí

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

URAL PEREZ, Liliana

DIS

AISC

222/47/12

URANGA, Rodolfo

Disappeared. Idá

Cong. McHugh

D 185/77/11

URANGA, Alicia de

Disappeared August 1977 in Córdoba.

Cong.Gus Yatron

D

URCOLA, Raúl Oscar

DIS 12/76

PGHR(L)
ML

VARDAMPILLETA, Silvia D

ABD 1975 in Chacarita, Bs.Aires City.

ML

UREA, Jorge Horacio

DIS

ML

UREÑA, Victor A.
CI: 8.094.621

DIS 2-12-75 Tucumán

PAHR (4)

URFEIG, Ernesto

DAIA

URIARTE, Juan Alberto
Age: 28
LE: 5.037.017
DOB: 4-14-48
Moreno-Buenos Aires

ABD from home

ML

URIBE, Hector Alfonso
Age 31
LE: 11.708.316
CE: 1-600.636

DIS 11-17-77 Tucumán

FJD
PAHR(1)

URIEN,

Condemned.

K

URONDO, Francisco
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

URONDO, Josefina

ABD 1/1977 in Buenos Aires

ML

URQUIA, Nilda
Lawyer

K

Killed found in a river together w/Marta Zamaro

AISC

316/RE/3 G *

4/251/78/8

URQUIDI, Juan José Ricardo (Bolivian)
DOB: La Paz, Bolivia, 3-28-1949.

Gca reply 5-19-78
PEN: 251 del 10-2-77
Confer. Tecnica Nacional Subversivo
Sentenciado ley 21.449 Decreto 3428 del 10-10-77

Detained since March of 1976 under PEN. In 1977 was transferred to LA PLATA, Penitenciaria 9, Pabellon 22, Celda 552.

Cong. Waxman-Letter 3-7-78 on behalf of [redacted], to Amb. Castro.

D B6

URQUIZA, Luis Alberto

R

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

URRA, Elena de

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

URRA FERRARESI, Oscar J.

DIS 5-22-76 San Miguel Bs.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

URRA OSSOLA, Susana E
L: 11.045.184

DIS 5-22-76 San Miguel Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D H

URRIOL, Oscar Roberto
Calle 22 Nro. 394-La Plata

Abducted from the hospital General San Martin, where he had been operated some days ago. June 1978

Newspaper clipping.

Inicial, Caca b.a.b. (LE: 3.023.876) (Faltan)

D

URRA FERRANESE, Oscar J.
CI: 8.921.285
Alem 1614 - 2°202-San Miguel (Bs.As.)

Killed.
Disappeared 5-22-76, arrested at public street. San Miguel Bally

Maria Farrarese de Urra (Mother)
Mitre 1729-2°"A"-San Miguel 667-1195 (Neighbour)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

Personal call 9-12-78

D

URRUTI, Dora Alicia

DIS 4-21-76

FDD
PAHR(1)

URRUTIA, Jorge César (Chileno) D-78

DIS 6-10-78

PAHR

D

URSI DE EGGERS, Marcelo Adolfo
Hijo 25
U. 6.648.141

Disappeared 5-7-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

URSUA, Andres

DIS

ML

672/76/12

URTASUN TERRA, José Luis (Uruguayan)
Age 32

DIS 8-12-78

PAHR(1)
Amn Int.
Refugiado.

D

URTEAGA, Esperanza A de

ABD 1-4-77

ML

D

URTEAGA, José

ABD 1-4-77 and previously 7-19-76

ML

D

URUEÑA, Felipe Arturo

LC: 7.025.561
Date of Birth: 8-8-28
Address: Raul columbia 318 San Miguel en Tucuman.

Disappeared 1-28-77

Married with three kids. Mother visit to embassy-
Nov. 20-78.,Felominna Alvarez de Urueña -Tel:27505

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Personal visit with Mr. Harris.-11-22-78

D

URUEÑA, Victor Orlando
Age: 30
Doc. 8.094.621

DIS 2-12-76 Yucuman

Tucumán

URUGAY, Daniel

D

DIS

AISC

URUSOFF, Pedro Adolfo
Age 37
LE: 4.379.612

D-78

DIS 6-6-78

FDD List 9/16/78 - Cap. Federal

PAHR (e)

URUZAGASTI?
URZAGASTI? César Augusto
Age 25
DNI: 10.388.550

D

DIS 10-20-76 La Plata

PAHR (L)

L-234/78/8

302/78/2 P

USABIAGA, Mario Arnaldo
L.E.: 5.463.832
Bahia Blanca

Removed PEN - La Plata 1/20/79

GOA reply 3-15-77 PEN - Sto 1681 - 13-8-76
Confn - Ley 20 840 Militante PCR.
Procesado por Juzgado Federal Bahia Blanca.
Alojado: U9 - La Plata.
Amn Int. refused visit 11/78 on undisclosed judicial system.
Arrested 7-20-76 by Federal Police of Bahia Blanca. Process 612/76 by the Federal Judge of Bahia Blanca. PEN No. 1681/76. At present Unidad 9 IA PIATA (Pabellón 6, Celda 251.

San Diego 68-1844; Ba 2112

L (Amcitizen) B6

(Killed with fiancee)

UTURBEY, Julio K

Killed with fiancee

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

UZIGA, Santiago Norberto
LE: 6.139.064
Age: 28

DIS 3-4-77

PAHR (L)
ML

D

UZIN, Andres Alcides
DNI: 10.824.330

Disappeared 4-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

UZIN LITJAN, Diana de

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

VACA NARVAJA, Hugo (Padre)
harvyl
Ajc 81

Abducted from his home on 3-10-76 in Córdoba by Paramilitary forces. Former Intendente of Cosquín y. Córdoba.

Cancer Asist Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
AISC

76/77/4 *

VACA NARVAJA, Miguel Hugo
LE. 2.772.633 - D.M. 43
Villa Warcalde, Prov.de Córdoba

Disappeared on 3-10-76.

For.Off.Inq.: 4-5-77 GOA reply: NO
4-18-77 6-18-77
11-10-77 Nag.

U.S.Interest. on Behalf of Mrs. Susana de Vaca Narvaja, [redacted]
State 041551 6M-7557

Blo

D

VACARINI DE RODRIGUEZ, Olga Liliana
DNI: 11.513.142
P.Lino Fuentes 1405 - Rosario (Santa Fé)
Ajc 23

Disappeared 5-16-77 Rosario - Santa Fé

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

VACCA, Nora Inés
Age 24
LE: 10.456.462

Disappeared 9-17-76 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

VACCARILLI, Alberto Luis
CI: 3.463.444
Pacheco 1870, Saenz Peña Bs As.
Age 46

Disappeared 11-4-77 Saenz Peña - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
Rig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VACCARO, Susana Victoria
CI. 9.764.090

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

VACA RUBIO, Raúl Alberto
DNI: 10.676.942
Age 23
Diputada 27 - Tucumán
Med. student

Disappeared 9-20-76 Tucumán

Cancer Amb. Cong. 9/27/78
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

VACHI, Casiana

P

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

P

VACS, Raúl
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained October 75 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VADILLO, Carlos Félix
HR 26
DNI: 10.446.706

D-78

DIS 5-12-78 Córdoba

PAHR (1)

Cav's VADIOLO, Osvaldo 7/14/78/12 P

Arrested around October 1974 In Córdoba. He is probably being held under the "state of siege" provisions of the previous government.

GOA reply 2-23-79. Have no antecedents.

Mitnick, Barry
147 Nieto Av.-Long Beach, CA, 90803
USA. Requests information.

7-7-77 Letter to Embassy B.A.

FBI
Jan. Hayakawa } 81-1971
Columbia } State 042567
AR 1976

D

VAISMAN, Gustavo Alberto
Jalal 1742
HR 26
CI: 7.018.173

Disappeared 4-20-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Both Bu. League

D

VAL, Roberto
DNI: 10.444.569
Calle 32 N° 350 - La Plata
Apt 23

Disappeared 12-22-76 La Plata - Bs.As.

Jorge D.M.Val (Brother)
Av. Emilio Solari 151-Vedia (Prov.Bs.As.)
Phone: 222
Personal call Embassy 9-5-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

VALCARCE SOTO, Alfredo
Apt 25
LE: 11.001.420

Disappeared 4-3-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

D

VALDARRAMA, Silvio Mario
LE 6.960.373
DOB: 9-25-1941. Born in Catamarca

Arrested by joint forces on 2-28-77 in Buenos Aires.
Since then disappeared.

Valderrama, Tomas E.
Sarmiento 352-Catamarca (Catamarca)
Phone 4878
Personal call - 2-14-78.

VALDERRAMA, Homar Osvaldo Electo
DOB: 8-5-1944

PEN without charge - Rawson, Unidad 6 Pabellón 2.

Valderrama, Tomas (Father)
Calle Sarmiento 352 - San Fernando del Valle de
Catamarca - (Catamarca)
Phone 4878
Personal call - 2-14-78

VALDES, Luis Alberto
Age: 28
DI: 7.838.425

DIS 10-12-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

VALDEZ, Aurora
CI. 7.819.484

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

D

VALDEZ, Daniel Aradio

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

VALDEZ, Fernando José
CI. 7.127.136

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

VALDEZ, Héctor Oscar ~~Oscar~~

DIS 5-31-76

PAHR (L)
ML

D

VALDEZ, Jorge Alberto
LE: 8.318.134
Chofer de Peluquería. Temperley Bs. As.

Disappeared 6-13-76 Temperley - Bs. As.

Lig Arg Der Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

VALDEZ, Juan Osvaldo
DNI: 4.348.435
Calle 16 #672 - La Plata
Age 30

Disappeared 9-10-76

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VALDEZ, Luis Alberto
Age 28
Dnt. 7.838.425

Disappeared 10-12-76

Tucuman
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

VALDEZ, Mónica Silvia
CI: 9.055.423

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

VALDEZ, Nestor Ramón (Dr.)

Detained in Catamarca in 8-7-76.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

VALDEZ, Osvaldo Juan Carlos
[illegible]
LE: 8.348.475

Disappeared 9-10-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

VALDORA DE OLMEDO, Maria M.
CI: 2.003.854

ABD from home w/daughter and son in law, Osvaldo Spatola

ML

D

VALDUEZ DE VILLANUEVA,
DNI: 10.766.369
Olavarria 2724-Caseros, Buenos Aires

ABD

ML

D

VALDUEZA DE VILLANUEVA, Graciela B.
DNI: 10.766.369

Disappeared 3-25-76 Caseros

VALDY DE GUAGNINI, Maria I. D

AED 5-30-77, Bs.Aires (Wife of Diego J. Guagnini)

ML

D

VALENCIA DE FERNANDEZ, Isabel Noemí
AM 38
LC: 3.709.729

Disappeared 10-12-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

VALENGA, Marcelo Daniel D

DIS

aisc 9clarin)

D78

VALENTE, Alfredo Daniel
Dr.

DIS May /78 Prov. Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

VALENTI, Aparicio

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

VALENTI, Silvia Mabel Isabella
Age 21

Disappeared 8/76 La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

VALENTICH, José
LE: 5.634.459
Tenezuela, Mariano (Bs As)
Afz 3º

Disappeared 9-15-76

Lic Arg. Der. Humanos
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

VALENTIN, ~~Hector~~ Nelson

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML
AISC (Cmtpc. - Mz)

D

VALENZUELA, Lucio Roberto
Age: 41
Doc. 7.061.088

DIS-7-20-77

Tucumán

D *

VALERA, Baldomero Juan
Profession: Lawyer
LE: 9.431.801
ap. Mitre 180- 5°"B"- Avellaneda
Attorney of Comm. Party

Disappeared on 11-3-76. Grandfather of David Kraiselburd. Avellaneda - Bs. As.
PAHR(L)
Causa Cent. Cmq. 4/78
ML La Plata List 10/78
Commercial cable to White House, from Barcelona, Spain.
Dated 9-13-77.
Valera, Juan Guillermo (Son)
Casanova 182-Barcelona
Repr. Aug. Bel Frondo
Comm. Party Australian Embassy

L

Q-1978

VALERA, Patricia Carleta

Dis: 1-78 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 10/78
PAHR(L)

D

VALERI, Silvia
Age 22
CI: 7.113.483

Disappeared 6-8-76 San Nicolás

1

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

VALERO, Felix
Age: 52
Doc.-7.013.977

DIS 11-30-77 Tucumán

Tucumán

PAHR (1)

VALES DE GUILIO, Celia Beatriz 4/21/77 F

GOA reply: 2-23-78: Under PEN-Decree 1238 - 5/8/77 in Villa Devoto.
Charge: Belong to the Montoneros.

Detained in April 77 in Unidad Arg. At present:

Detained in Villa Devoto, Unidad 2, Pabellon 37
2°Piso, Planta 6.

Senator Lawton Chiles State 004590
(Senator Robert Kennedy)(Dick) Richard() Also letter 12-29-77 (Passed to Panel program)

VALETTI, Roberto Claudio
CI. 7.110.860
Pile 18
Human Fed. Tort. Comm.

10/27/77 D *

I.R.A.D/GOA-9-5-78

Disappeared on July 1, 1977.

PAHR(1) FDD
Cancir Cuts Ang. 9/78

San Martin, Amadeo Luis (Amcit) (Father-in-law)
Mariano Pelliza 4005 - Olivos
762-2322
Personal call to Mr. Harris
Formal mail home 4/4/78 Comm. Party

L

VALETTI, Maria Elena San Martin
CI. No. 7.494.283
Student, Doctorado Ingles y Frances,
Hunter: Ed. Sur. Com.

N.R.A.D-604-9-5-75

Disappeared on the 1st.of July 1977.

FAAR(4)
San Martin, Amadeo Luis (Amcit.) (Father)
Mariano Pelliza 4005 - Olivos
762-2322 FDD
Cancel Amb. Cong. 9/76
Personal call to Mr. Harris.
Lig Arg Der. Hombre Comm. Party

VALIENTE, Ricardo

DIS 8-3-77 while house was destroyed.

AISC

VALIGNO, Darío L.
Obrero Fiat-~~COSTESA~~ Caseros

Disappeared 7-1-1977

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VALIGNO, María M. de
Obrero Fiat-Caseros

Disappeared since 7-1-77

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

VALIÑO, Dario Miguel
Ag 27

Disappeared 7-1-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

VALIÑO, Maria Mercedes
Ag 24

Disappeared 7-1-77

PAHR-Presa 5-17-78(1)

D

VALLADARES DUPUIS, Nevy de
Age: 62
CI: 9.855-447

DIS 4-22-77 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

VALLARES CAORTA, Julio

Arrested in La Paz in June 1976 and taken to Charana on the Chilean Border.

Bolivian Permanent Assembly for H.R. 4-27-78

D 78

VALLEJO, Cristina Elena
Age: 23
LC: 10.545.957

DIS 5-26-78 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

VALLEJO DE IBARGUREN, Maria E.
Age: 24
DI: 11.403.538

DIS 5-31-76 Mar del Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

VALLEJOS, Elena

ARR 7-22-76 Bs.As. PEN - Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

VALLEJOS, Graciela Alba (dr.)
ci: 5 922.201
Age 24

Disappeared 9-9-77

Caucus Anti-Dict 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Sig. Arg. Sin Nombre

VALLEJOS, Tomas

ABD 4/76

PAHR(L)
ML

VALLEJOS DE BENVENUTTO, R.

DIS 7-23-76

PAHR (L)

VALLETTI, Roberto Carlos

DIS 7-1-77

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

R/FDD

FREED

VALLINI, (Father and Son)
Misiones 1569 - Bernal Oeste.

Norberto Libio
Silvio
Died Decree N° 3045/77
Opinion 6-16-78

On 2-17-77 their home was searched by a group of armed men. Father, son and daughter were arrested. The daughter was freed the same day. Father and son at present at Unidad Carcelaria No. 9 in La Plata. They are members of the Communist Party.

Released by decree 10/8/82

8-19-77. Letter to Senators.

Vallini, Isabel Espada de (Wife and Mother)
Misiones 1569 - Bernal Oeste.

PAHR(L)

VALOR, Susana
Age: 26

DIS 8-29-76 Mar del Plata from Tandil Bs.As.

AISC

VALOY DE GUAGNINI, Maria
Age 29
CI: 6.351.433

Disappeared 5-30-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

468/78/7 D

VALVERDE, Eduardo Jorge
No. 6.883.910
Lawyer - Age 34

BCA reply: 9-11-78 N.R.A.

Disappeared 3-24-76 in Córdoba

Cavdr Amn Cong. 9/78
Family Wife, children, mother-in-law
State 167736
Mendoza Family Inst 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

VAN CAUWELAERT, Bruno Francisco (Belgian) P

ARR Córdoba PEN

Expelled La Nación 2-17-77

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

432/25/6 D

VAN GELDEREN, Roberto Ricardo
25 old
CI: 5.676.891
LE: 10.621.665
Lawyer
calls Aug - July, 1977

Disappeared 5-31-1977.

2/8 personal visit.
Dr. Hopkins, Indiana University
WOLA.

D

VANODIO, Julio Luis
Age: 24
CI: 6.773.748

DIS 5-26-76

PAHR (L)

VANOS, Raúl
La Rioja

Detained 4/76 Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VARA, Carlos Maria
lawyer

Detained in Córdoba on 12-2-75. Never heard.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-18-78

RISC

734/79/1 D 1978

VARA DE ANGUITA, Matilde
Age 60

Kidnapped on 7-23-78 from Guillermo Peña Propiedades at 6 pm. Mother of Eduardo Anguita detained in La Plata Prison.

Harris data-8-12-78

Roberto ?
VARAS, Alberto Segundo
Age 31
LE: 7.947.107

D

Disappeared 8-5-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VAREIA DE VEIGA, Griselda
Nurse

Detained in 1-24-74.

VARELA, Gerónima Haydée
Doc. primaria- Santa Fé

Detained 1-5-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VARELA, Gustavo Americo
LE. 5.526.879
Cramer 315 - Buenos Aires
Profession: Lawyer

Disappeared since 6-16-77. Colegiales, Bs. As.

PAHR(1)
Varela, Etelvina Neumann de (Mother)
Sucre 2698 - 6°"C"
Phone 783-2743

VARELA, Hector Emeterio

arr PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

C-144/78/2

VARELA, Jorge Raul
Pampa

PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata

Consulate.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D.

VARELA, José
L.E: 4.536.967
La Pampa 4836, Bs As.

Disappeared 8-21-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

VARELA, José Manuel
Apt 22
Ctl: 6.909.947

DIS 7-20-76

PAHR (1)

169/77/11

VARELA, Julio

(Amnesiado 1º de Julio. Se solicitó Jubilación. De oficio)
PEN: Dto. 1584 - 22-11-74
Cargos: Actuaciones antisemitas, tenencia de armas de guerra.
Alojado U-2 Sierra Chica - Pasó el 19-9-77 a U-9 La Plata
Observaciones: No solicitó opción.

Detained in La Plata. Jail sentence due to end on November 10, 1977.

State 266342

VARELA, Silvia del Valle
DNI: 4 332 866
Ar. San Martín 1654 - Bs. As.
Age 21

Disappeared 6-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
ML

VARETTO, Horacio Alcides

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

VARGAS, Carlos Oscar
Age: 31
LE: 4.750.380

DIS 7-12-77 Campana

FDD

VARGAS, Dora Elena
Hijo 25

D

DIS 11-11-77

PAHR (2)

VARGAS, E

Granted Right of Option-Left 4-26-78.

UK

VARGAS, Francisco
CI: 6.434.264

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

VARGAS, Olimpia

ARR 10-14-76 Goya, Corrientes - PEN V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

VARGAS, Yohnny
DM: 11.824.622
Agronomy Student
Tucuman

Disappeared 7-21-76 jujuy

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

VARGAS ALVAREZ, Jorge
Age 35 Lawyer
LU 7.935.148

Disappeared 7-12-76 Mendoza
Ex-Adviser ACMA, San Juan

AISC
Mendoza Family list 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Hijo Arq. Dn. Hombre

D

VARGAS BUSTAMANTE, Maria Antonieta (Paraguayenne)

DIS 9-21-77 in Buenos Aires

D

VARGAS DE PEREZ, M.Luisa

DIS 11/76

PAHR (L)

D

VARGAS VIGO, Graciela

DIS 12/76

PAHR(1)
ML

D

VARGAS ZEPEDA, Agustin

ARR 11-22-75 Buenos Aires

Mexico 79

D

VARICEZLE, Osvaldo

DIS

VARILLAS DE FERRACHIONE, Adriana

CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78
Crimca 11-13-78

VARILLA, Adriana
Córdoba

Detained since 75 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VARRIN, Enrique Hugo Jorge

Age: 30
CI: 4.887.851 Calle Italia 2464 - Martinez
LE: 8.240.917

Dis: 8-21-78, Martinez
Apprehended 11-27-78 sent in Villa Devoto prison. (Info from mother's letter 12/78)

Farca de Varrin Gloria (LC.0099172) (Mother)
Italia 2464 - Martinez
FDD List-9-16-78

D

VILLEGAS, Edesio
Rfe 30
LE: 8.157.205

Disappeared 5-25-77 Mendoza

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

VILLEGAS, Jorge
Rfe 20
DNI: 12.493.057

DIS 6-8-77 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

VILLEGAS, Jorge Antonio
CI: 7.441.733

DIS 12-17-76 Ituzaingó- Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

VILLEGAS, Marcelo Eugenio

DIS 11/76

PAHR(1)
ML

D

VILLEGAS, Rita

DIS

ML

D

VILLELA, Luis Alberto
Age: 28

ABD 6-13-77 in San Martin & Panamericana, Florida, Bs.As.

ML

VILTE, Marina Leticia
Hjt 38
LC: 3.844.323

Disappeared 12-31-76. Jujuy

Hig. Aug. Gen. Lamela
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

VINE, Osvaldo Alberto
CI. 7.761.209

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

VINEO, Cesar
"El Independiente" - La Rioja

Under PEN

ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78

D

VAZQUEZ, Daniel Enrique
Actores Argentinos
Age 28

Disappeared 3-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
HL

D

VAZQUEZ, Enrique Raúl
Age 29
LE: 5.401.892

Disappeared 9-15-76 San Andres - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

VAZQUEZ, Graciela Mónica
Age: 28
CI: 6.078.518

DIS 10-15-77

FDD

D

VAZQUEZ, Guillermina S.
Ct: 5 467.81

Disappeared 1-17-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
HL

VAZQUEZ, Gustavo Alberto

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

VAZQUEZ, Harry Pedro
Worker. POETRA

D

DIS 3-24-76 Tucumán

AISC

VAZQUEZ, Héctor
Age: 63

ABD 6-10-76 in Villa Ballester (Bs.As.Prov.)

Cancer Anti-Congress 9/78

VAZQUEZ, Jorge Máximo

DIS 5-15-77

La Prensa clipping 8-3-78

VAZQUEZ, José María
Ex Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores.

At presente in Magdalena Military Jail (Prov.Bs.As.)

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

D

VAZQUEZ, Juan Carlos
CI: 2.514.534

Disappeared 9-15-76 San Andres (Pr. Bs.)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VAZQUEZ, Luis M.
Ex Secr.Gremial de SOETAP-Mendoza

Min. Sup. informó visit. ilegal en cuadr. judicial cautiva.

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VAZQUEZ, Maria Esther
LC 4 206 066
Age 36

Disappeared 7-13-77. Mar de Plata.

Maria C. Maestra Vda. de Garcia. LC. 3.445.563. Rivadavia 7562

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
CDD. 6-11-6-78

D

VAZQUEZ, Maria Luis

DIS

ML

D

VAZQUEZ, María Marta

ABD after March 1976

Mexico 79

440/44/11 D 48

VAZQUEZ, Martín

Student
Age 18

DIS 4-19-78

WOLA 11-78
81
Cancer Rights Campaign 4/78

T

VAZQUEZ, Nardo (writer)

Arrested 2/8/77; imprisoned.

La Jornada 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

VAZQUEZ, Oscar M.
Laguna Paiva-Santa Fé

Detained 11-1-76 in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VAZQUEZ, Pedro

DIS

ML

D

VAZQUEZ, Raúl

DIS 4-9-76 Córdoba

ML

D

VAZQUEZ, Ricardo Adolfo
LE: 7.646.122
V. Somoza 3455 - Bs. As.
Mfl 28

Disappeared 8-27-76

Sig. Arg. Ser. Humbs
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
ML

D

VAZQUEZ, Victor
LE: 644.850
Miembro Comunista Partido
Santa Adelina 525 - V. Ballester (Bs. As. Prov.)

-10-
Disappeared 6-4-76

Sig. Arg. Ser. Humbs
Comm. Party
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
ML FDD

D

VAZQUEZ DE ALVAREZ, G. Monica
Age 28
CI: 6.078.518

Disappeared 10-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

VAZQUES DE GARCIA, M.V.
Lawyer

ABD in La Plata city.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

94:1/78 SP

VAZQUEZ DE LUTZKY, Cecilia
Age: 21
Bank worker

ABD 7-18-78 in Buenos Aires

Le Nat-French Magazine Aug. 1978

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

WOLA 11/79
FH

D

VAZQUEZ OCAMPO DE LUGONES, Maria M.
C1: 5.031.743 (5.194.082)?
Age 23
Psicologist

Disappeared 5-14-76

Cancer Aust. Amg. 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D-1978

VEANTE, Alfredo Rodolfo
LE: 4.290.137
Age: 38

Dis: 15-9-78, Cap. Federal

FDD List-9-16-78

D

VECCHI, Cecilia Luisa
Age: 23

DIS 6-9-76 Cinco Saltos-Rio Negro

PAHR (L)
ML

D

VECCIO, José

DIS

ML

D

VERINO, Manuel
DNI: 4.387.919
Worked at Laboratorio Lazar

ABD 4-5-77 Leandro Alem & Reconquista, Don Torcuato Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

D

VEDIA, Luis Alberto
Dálmine Siderca

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VEGA, Carlos
La Rioja

Detained 8/76 - U.9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VEGA, Elda Eva

Disappeared 12-6-77 La Plata (Bs. As.)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

VEGA, Emilio Etelvire (Blind)
247.072

-14-
DIS Septiembre 1977. together with wife
Maria Esther Ravelo de Vega. Rosario-State

Rosario Sect
PAHR(1)

VEGA, Guillermo

DIS 4-14-76

ML

VEGA, Hugo
Tafí Viejo

DIS

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (4)

AFL/CIO

VEGA, Jesus Miguel
Rpt 24

DIS 9-25-76 Berisso-Pcia.

Jesus Miguel Vega worker. He was abducted by a group dressed in civilian and military clothes, on September 25th 1976 at 4 a.m. in La Plata.

PAHR (4)
ML

D

VEGA, José Blas
LE: 8.487.564
Av. Aconquija Km. 9
Yerba Buena - Tucumán
Member: Federación Juvenil Comunista
Age 26

Disappeared 3/76 12.2.75.

Tucumán
Career Quit, Cong. 9/77
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
M.L. Com. Party

D

VEGA, Juan Carlos
Age 34
CI: 5.569.143

Disappeared 2-14-77 Palomar - Pa. Ds.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VEGA, Nicolas
La Rioja

Detained 8/76 - U.9-la Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VEGA DE BALSANI, M. Alicia de

DIS 12-6-77

PAHR (L)

VEGA FABRE, Obdulia Lucia

Disappeared 1-5-77 Villa Devoto Opinion 6-16-77
Removed from PEN 12-22-78

Insg. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VEGA DE LUZI, Stella Maris
~~Celia Ma.~~
Ic: 6.356.405
Age 24
Victoria, Pcia. Entre

Disappeared 4-14-76 Victoria

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

VEGAS DE ESPECHE, Mercedes (Sr.)

DIS 6-8-76 Mendoza

Cancer Auth Org. 9/78
ML

VEGINA, Manuel
DNI: 4.387.919

D

DIS 4-15-77 D.Torcuato, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

VEIGA, Marta Edith
Age: 23
DI: 11.092.152

D

DIS 12-16-76 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

VEISZ, Jorge

ADLeague

405/74/6 D

VELARDI, Leticia Andrea
CI. 8.415.901
Age 17

Informed father 12/26/79
[illegible]

Disappeared on 7-4-77 returning from school to her home Villegas 775, Cipolletti.

Veraldi, Félix Gabriel (Father)
CI. 3.067.827
Córdoba 427-2°'9'-Capital 45-1216

D

VELAZCO, Hilda

Disappeared 8-29-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

R/FDD

5 VELAZCO, Olga Beatriz (F) 271/78/1 D *
CI. 7.675.230 [illegible]
Las Heras 1678-San Martin, Bs.As.
Pge 23

Villa Lynch

On 8-29-76 was arrested. / Since then disappeared.

Letter to Comandante Raul Cura from Montreal 1-#78

Velazco, Hilda Gasquez de (Mother)
CI. 7.675.229
Las Heras 1678-San Martin, Bs.As.

Statement to Senators.

BISC
FDD
ML

L

D

VELAZCO DE MARINI, Catalina Martha (Sr.)
25 de Mayo 1151, Escobar Pr. Bs.
Pge 26

Disappeared 3-30-76 Escobar - Entre Rios

Cancer Contr Comp. 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

VELAZQUEZ, Carlos Alberto
Pge 27
DNI: R. 531.401

Disappeared 6-9-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VELASQUEZ, Haidée
Student

Detained in 1975 in Córdoba City-at present in Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

VELAZQUEZ, Hugo Armando

Disappeared 5-11-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

C-145/78/2

VELAZQUEZ COGLEY, Javier Alfredo Lujan

PEN - Resistencia.

Consulate.

VELAZQUEZ DE GIGENA, Graciela
DNI: 10.412.409

Disappeared 8-13-77 Ramos Mejía

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

VELEDA, Ricardo Horacio

Disappeared 5-14-77

F.D
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

VELENTICH, José Argentino
L.E. 5.674.459
Venezuela between Cadiz and Duran-Moreno
Worker

Disappeared 9-15-76

AD League
ML

VELEZ, Angela Pastora
Age: 23

Detained 11-16-74 in Mendoza - at present Villa Devoto prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9778

VELEZ, Roberto Edmundo
DNIM. 6.146.316

Arrested on 8-9-76. Still at PEN (Poder Ejecutivo Nacional) disposition. He is a communist.

Velez, Elba Mirta Sosa de (Wife)
LC 5.330.170
Tucumán 530-Mendoza (Mendoza)

8-8-77 Letter to T.Todman.

VELEZ MACHADO, Rosa Ana
CI. 7.527.242

DIS

AISC (CLARIN)

D

VELLER, Stella Maris

DIS

ML

D-78

VELURTAS, Juan Maria

DIS 2-17-78

PAHR

D

VELZI, Tomas Alberto
Doc. 5.952.909
Age: 33

8-21-77
Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fé

PAHR (1)
Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

D

VENAZI, Juan

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D-78

VENDRELL, Alberto Jorge
Age 27 lawyer
CI: 6.654.667

DIS 5-9-78

PAHR

D

VENEDIT, Francisca

DIS 7-28-76 La Plata, Bs.Aires

ML

D 78

VENEGAS, Vda. de Miguel Lilia M.

DIS 5-4-78

Mar del Plata List

D

VENODICO, Julio

DIS

ML

D

VENSENTINI, Rosalba
Salliqueló 443 Pcia. B.A.
Pcia. Bs. As.
CI: 2.105.424

Disappeared 9-2-77

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
ML

D

VENTURA, Carlos Marcelo
LE: 7.690.172
Student La Plata Univ.

Disappeared 3-28-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata hist 10/78
Cancer Anti Cong. 9/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Rig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VENTURA, Flores Pedro

D

DIS 3-11-76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

VENTURA, Victor Hugo
LE: 8.436.574
CI. 6.608.841
Alvarado 344 - Florencio Varela (Bs.As.)
Worker at Mercedes Benz

Arrested on 1-5-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR
Ventura, Maria Esther (Sister)
LC. 3.191.971
Gual 2329 - Dto."B" -Capital
Liq Arg Der Hombre

VENTURA, Perez (journalist)

Arrested and imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

VENTURI, Patricia Ofelia

DIS 6-21-77

PAHR

VENTURUZZI, Viviana Virginia

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

R

VERA, Humberto Eduardo

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

C-125/1981

9

VERA, Jorge Horacio

Gotten

PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Vera, Alberto (Father)
Asunción 4819-Capital
Phone 50-9971

2-6-78

D

VERA, Juan Carlos
DNI: 10.460.502
Injury 478 - B. As.
Age 23

Disappeared 8-3-76 with m/s Maria

Mother-in-Law - Lucrecia C. de Spagnuolo - CI 2.508.701
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
FOD-11-6-78

D

VERA, Julio Diomar
DNI: 4.599.749
Barrio J. Ingenieros, Ciudadela Pcia. Bs. As.
Age 34

Disappeared 8-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Mil. Eng. Ind. Nombre

D

VERA, Julian Román
LE- 4.052.416
Age 46

Disappearance 5-18-77 Castelar - Pcia. Bs. As.

Wife: Beatriz H. F. de Vera - LE-4.777.147
Capt: 19 1952
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDD 11-6-78

D

VERA, Laura

Disappeared 5-15-76 Flor. Varela - Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VERA, Rodolfo Osvaldo
LE: 8.369.355

D

DIS 12-6-77 Mendoza

PAHR (1)

D 1978

VERA, Rubén
Lawyer

Abducted 7-20-78 in Posadas, Misiones.
Car found.

Cemen Cent. Cruz. 9/78
Newspaper clipping; Bs.As.Herald 7-28-78

D

VERA, Wenceslao
F.M. Saenz 4934 - Córdoba
Apt. 2°

Disappeared 3-28-76

Hig. Arg. Ser. Hombres
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

VERA BARROS, Roberto Miguel
Pet 23
JNI: AD.822.712

Disappeared 4-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

VERA DE RODRIGUEZ, Edith
Ardil trabajo 3400 - Pza.
Pet 34

Disappeared 3-31-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

VERA DE SPAGNULO, Marta
Junta Nacional de Granos

Disappeared 8-3-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VERAIDI, Leticia Andrea

Disappeared 7-4-77 Mercedes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VERDECANNA DE CARRICONDO, Graciela Cristina

DIS 12-6-77 La Plata-Bs.As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR (L)

VERDU, Luis Alberto
Doc. 10.523.242
Age: 26

8-20-79
Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fé.

PAHR (L)
Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

VERDU) Ramon (journalist)

Arrested 9/12/77; IMprisoned. Since 9/12/77 Confirmed

La Nueva 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VERGARA, Aníbal J

Detained since 10-25-74 in Paraná

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

C - 122/78/2

VERGARA, Guillermo Amilcar

Option

Minister of Interior informed 11/78 on matter of judicial system

PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata

Morelli, Eleonora (Mother)
Condarco 1368 Capital
Phone 58-9777

2-3-78

VERGARA, Patricia
Age: 29

D

DIS 12-10-77 Necochea

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

9

VERGUES, Juan
Lawyer

Detained in 1976 in San Luis

Cancer Anti Congress 9678

VERILLAS, Monica

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

D

VERMEULEN, Osvaldo Mario
DNI: 11.112.258
Age 23

Disappeared 4-1-77? 8-21-77? Rosario.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

VERNAZZA, Jorge Eduardo

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

VERNAZA, Juan Carlos

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

VERNAZZA, Ricardo Francisco

arr - Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

VERNIER, Carlos
Lawyer

Detained in Mendoza in 1976, later is hold in La Plata prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

VERNOSSI, Hugo
Age: 21

DIS 2/77 in Buenos Aires

ML

D

VERON, Luis Angel
LE: 4.573.382

Disappeared 12-6-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

VERON, Salvador D

DIS 3-23-76

FDD
PAHR (L)

VERONESSI, Edgardo D.
Age: 21

ABD 2/77 Bs.As.

AISC (C.R.P.A.B.)

D

VESCO, Silvia
Worker for Magazine El Raton de Occidente

DIS 3-1-77

ML

P

VETTI CAGGIANO, Jorge Angel

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

D

VEZZINI, José

Disappeared 12-14-76 La Matanza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

NL

VIALE,

K

Detained at his home late in 1976. Months later his father a doctor from La Plata was called to the "morgue policial" in Avellaneda to identify his corp. Dr. Viale made a tremendous report, as he saw many young people corps which had been tortured and many of them presented their limbs amputated.

Harris data - 8-14-78

VIALE, Maria Elena

D

DIS 5-13-77 Bs.As.

aisc (Cospa-Mx)

VIAPANO, Osvaldo Ricardo

D

Rpt 25

DNI: 10.962.767

DIS 12-15-76

PAHR (1)

VICARIO, Héctor Emilio -
Worker f/Talleres D.G.I.
Apt 29
DI: 8.315.492

DIS 3/77 Buenos Aires

PAHR(L)
ML

VICARIO, Juan Carlos
LE:7.685.446

DIS 2-5-77 Rosario

PAHR(L)

VICARIO, Miguel Angel

ARR 10/75 Sierra Chica prison - PEN

AISC

VICARIO, Ramón
Córdoba

Detained Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VICARIO, Ximena (9 months)
ci: 26.809.954

DIS 2-5-77 Rosario

PAHR(1)

I

VICECONTE, Miguel José
LE.: 4.149.384
Urquiza 351 - Piso 21 - Dpto.H - Caseros

Vice-director of ENET No.1 School of Moron.
Was detained on 6-6-77. Since then disappeared.

Letter to Amb. Castro - 1-20-78.

Viceconte, Marta Capallo de (Wife)
Urquiza 351 - Piso 21 - Dpto.H - Caseros
Phone (Flia. Cellia)628-2487

Viceconte, Jorge Vicente (Brother)
Paraguay 2357 - Dpto.3 - Capital
Phone: 84-5104

VICENTINI, Remy

ABD 4-14-76 Tortured

ML

VICHES, Laura

ABD 2/77 From teacher's union.

AISC (C.R.P.A.B.)

VICINI, José Luis

DIS 9-76

Mar del Plata List

VICTORELLO, Armando Ignacio

Repeated Dias: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper

VIDAILLAC DE MORALES, Graciela

ABD 11-2-76 at the home of Mr. Morales

ML

VIDAL, Alba

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC

VIDAL, Angel Antonio
Ap 33

Disappeared 2-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

VIDAL, Emilio Carlos
C.I.: 4.833.331

Disappeared 8-19-76 La Matanza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

VIDAL FERNANDEZ, Ernesto
Hotel Briston (Esp)-Capital

Disappeared 9-23-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

VIDAL SIQUOT, Maria Teresa

ABD Córdoba & Moreno, Rosario, Santa Fé

AISC

VIDE, Maria Elena
Age: 29

DIS Bs.As.

AISC

VIDELA, Abraham Cruz
50 years old

At present Unidad 9 La Plata

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

VIDELA, Juan Carlos
Afe 26

Disappeared 8-3-76 Escobar - Bs. As.

Rep. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

VIDELA DE MEDRANO, Elba Nidia
Afe 28
LC: 5.780.378

DIS 11-24-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR (1)

VIEGA, Enrique Justo

DIS January 1977

PAHR

D

VIERA, Carlos Alberto

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

VIERA ROMERO, Ricardo Sergio (Dr.)

Detained in 1976.

Cancer Amti Congress 9/78

D

VIEYRA DE CUNNA, Antonio

DIS

PAHR(L)
FDD

VIGNAL, Luis Carlos

DIS 4-30-76 Córdoba

PHHR(L)
ML

VIGNANI, Antonio Sirio
R VIGNANI, Silvia Schvartzman de

In Prison sentenced to 9 years and 9 month Silvia and 22 years Antonio. Mr. Schvarzman asks for appointement.

Schvartzman, Angel (Father)
CI. 74-758

8-11-77 Letter to Representatives.

VIGNOLI, Antonio

Detained 6-14-76 - Detained and condemned with Vignoli (nee Schwartzman), by a military tribunal.

ADLeague

VIGNOLI, (nee Schwartzman)

Detained 7-14-76- condemned with Antonio Vignoli by a military tribunal.

ADLeague

VIGO, Abel Luis
DNI: 12.991.279

Disappeared 6-30-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata Brig. 11/77
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

VIGO, Victorina

DIS 12/76

PAHR(1)
ML

D

VIJANDE, Radl Francisco
DNI: 8.556.521
DOB: 3-6-1951
Illinois No. 696, Córdoba
Student

Arrested on 12-5-1977. Since then disappeared.

Micaela Priotti de Vijande (Mother)
LC: 7.571.825
Bolivar 958-Rio Cuarto-Cba.
Letter to Amb. Castro 9-4-78

D

VIJON, Anibal Jorge

DIS

ML

D

VILA, Juan José
Age 34
CI: 6.238.865

Disappeared 4-1-78 Villa Dominico

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

VILAR, Guillermo Fernando

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC

VILAR PALLAS, Ercilia A.
H/c 23

Disappeared 11-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

VILCHES, Estela (nee Salvanas)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

VILCHES, Laura
Delegate in SEPAC

DIS 2/77

ML

Villa (Dr.)
Asesor de Ligas Agrarias

Detained in Chaco.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

VILLA, Efrain (Bolivian)
Age: 25

ABD from Tucumán

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

VILLA, Patricia (journalist;wife of Eduardo Suarez)

Abducted in 8/76; whereabouts unknown.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

VIL
PAHR(L)

VILLABRILLE, Eduardo
LE 7.698.169
Age 28
VILL (Villabrille)

Arrested by two persons on 6-2-77 in 25 de Mayo street in Moron. Since then disappeared.

Villabrilla, Orisela Nélida Suarez Vda. de (Mother).

PAHR(L) Statement to Representatives.
Rig. Arg. Den Hombre
VIL
Rig. Arg. Den. Hombre

VILA BUSTOS, José Salvador
Alvarez Nos- San José, Mendoza
Age: 28
DNI: 7.804.066

Disappeared from Bank. Banco de Mendoza.

VILA 11-78
Mendoza Family List 1978
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
VIL
Rig. Arg. Den Hombre

VILLA COLOMBO
VILLACOMBO, Mario Juan
Age 48
CII: 2.863.950

D

DIS Buenos Aires 3-24-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

VILLADA, Carlos Eulogio
LE: 7.248.102
Member Comm. Party
Av. Libertad 231 - Villa Ciudad de Nieve (Jujuy)

Disappeared 11-25-76 from Jujuy

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Cmte. Amb. Carnet 9/178
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Pol. Comm. Party

D

VILLAFAÑE, Juan C.
Empleado tránsito-Matanza
Age 21
LE: 11.192.556

Disappeared 11-10-76 Córdoba

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

C-42/7711

VILLAFAÑE, Manuel Angel Angel 293/78/2 P Optica.
Ml. 10.619.880

Gob Jujuy 3-15-78: PEN 24.922 4-3-77
Cargo: Puesto a disposición autoridades militares.
Alojado U-1 - Jujuy.

Removed from PEN - La Unión 8-19-78
Penitenciaria de Jujuy - se ignora su situación.

ex-Partido Socialista

D

VILLAFAÑE, Manuel

DIS 3-24-76

PAHR(1)
FDD

241/22/12 D*

DE VICENTI, Azucena Villaflor de
Ape 0

-10-
Arrested in front of the Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77 presumably by the Argentine Security Forces.

PAHR(1)
ML
204-5644

VILLAGRA, Lucia

D

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

D!F. 30/76/11 D

Cont.: VILLAGRA, Maria Fernanda NOGUER de
(VILLAGRA, Nanita)

Disappeared on 6-3-76 with her two-month-old baby while they were waiting for a No. 60 bus at Santa Fé and Urquiza, Acassuso(Bs.As.).

GCA reply 11-10-77 Neg.

Villalobos, Lucrecia Rebecca (Mother)
Jorge Newberry 1646,BA. 772-5145 grand
Robson, Julio Guillermo, (U.S.Citizen) (Step/father)

PAHR (2) Personal call to Mr. T.Harris.
RL

D

VILLAGRA, Silverio Fortunato
Age 48
LE: 6.469.419

DIS 2-12-77 Córdoba

PAHR (1)

D

VILLAGRA DE CHAVEZ, Manuela E
Caracas 3041. Tigre (Prov Bs As)

Disappeared 6-21-76 with son Damian. Tigre

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

ML

D

VILLALBA,

ABD 7-29-76 with wife Fidela from home

ML

D

VILLALBA, Fidela Isabel de
Maestra primaria
Loyola 1042, Pcia Bs As.
Apo 24

Disappeared 9-29-76

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Killed D

VILLALBA, Mauricio Juan
Astarsa
Rfe 45

Disappeared 5-25-76. Killed 7-14-76.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VILLALBA, Romelia Alicia
DNI: 10.403.349

Disappeared 8-26-77 Asn. Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
NL

P

VILLALBA, Rubén Argentino
Villa Ocampo, Prov.Santa Fé

UNDER PEN at Corondo Prison.

Villalba, Norma Lilí Viola de
P.Alessio 1560
3560 Reconquista, Pcia.Santa Fé
Letter to Amb. 8-10-78

VILLALDA, Carlos Eulogio
LE: 7.268.102

DIS 11-25-76 Jujuy

FDD

VILLALOBO, Lorenzo Alejo

DIS 11/76

PAHR(L)
ML

C-124/78/2 211/77/1 *

VILLALOBOS, Guillermo Martin

Fonts: Rel. 3-10-78

PEN: dto. 2051 30-9-75
Carga: Ley 20.840 - Componente de Manifestaciones Montoneros
Alojado: Unidad 9 La Plata
Observaciones: Fue sobreseído parcial y provisionalmente por Juzgado Federal N° 1.
Denegatoria Ley 21.449 de opción por Dto. 3825 del 22-12-77

Detained in Unidad 9, La Plata on charges of inciting a riot.

Guillermo and Lease counsel - La Plata 9-1-78 to Swedan
Min. Ind. Relations visit on Prisoners Rec for Sweden.

AF case

SEN PERCY 8-10-78 BA-418
SEN STEVENSON - BA-981
Congressional Interest, State 279348, 22-11-77.
Personal call 2-3-78 of Francis - Letter signed Mrs. Robert Duemble

Ventura

D

VILLALOBOS, María Ines
CI: 5.968.700

DIS 5-15-76 San Fernando - Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR(2)
ML

4/26/78

VILLANI, Mario
Age: 38
Profession: Physicist

GAC reply 1-30-79: No record.

Disappeared October or Novembre 1977.

WOLA

VILLANUEVA, Ernesto
Former Rector Univ. La Plata

Beaten terribly in August 78. Judge sent to prison. Family members disappeared (brother and sister in-law). She reappeared, he is still missing.

Hartis data 8-14-78

Swedish Emb. Interest-11/78

D

VILLANUEVA, Fernando Eduardo
DNI: 10.669.033

Disappeared 3-25-76 Caseros - Pcia. Bs.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
ML

D

VILLANUEVA, G.B.E. de
DNI: 10.746.365

Disappeared 3-25-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ML

D

VILLANUEVA, José Ernesto
DNI: 8.400.847

7-19-47?
DIS-3-18-77?

PAHR (1)

VILLANUEVA, Juan

ARR - Unidad 9 La Plata, Bs.As.

AISC

VILLANUEVA, Julio Alex

DIS

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

VILLANUEVA, Ramón Pablo
Alt 33
LE: 6.723.051

DIS 11-3-77 Los Polvorines

AISC
PAHR(4)
Socialist

D 78

VILLANUEVA, Santiago Bernardo
Age: 32
CI: 5.603. 310

DIS 7-26-78

PAHR (L)

D

VILLANUEVA, Victor

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

VILLAR, Hector Marcelino
CI. 8.767.776

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

VILLAR, Maria Gabriela
CI. 2.924.175

ARR 11-9-77 Córdoba PEN - San Martin Prison, Córdoba

AISC

VILLAR, Patricia Gabriela
DNI. 13.377.800
Student-Univ.John Kennedy
Ramon Freire 2320 - 8°"C"-Barrio Belgrano-Capital

Arrested on 12-5-77. She was living with a girlfriend and a boyfriend. Her mother does not know their names. They were all arrested together.

PAHR (1)
Villar, Elsa Ramos de (Mother)
1°de Mayo 1925-Dpto.4-Santa Fé 3000 25922
(Personal call to Embassy-6-27-78.
Villar, Marcelo
Biedma 220-Villa Sarmiento(Falbella Fly). 658-9596

VILLAREAL, Juan Manuel
Age 20

4-15-76
Muerto por fuerzas de seguridad. Hijo de un abogado y escritor y poeta de La Plata. Temperley - Bs As.

PAHR(1)
Harris data-8-14-78

VILLAREAL, Mercedes Maria del

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

VILLARES, Jorge
Age: 20
DNI: 12.433.057

DIS 6-8-77 Tucumán

FDD

T
R

VILLARNOBO, Hector Ricardo (F)
LE 8.704.659
[redacted]
Sidoti 270 - Ensenada-La Plata

Arrested on 12.3.76 by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

VILLARNOBO, Celva Ricarda Lazarte de (Mother)
LC 3.109.104
Tomas Garcia y Ameghino-City Bell-La Plata

Statement. To T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

D-K

VILLARREAL, Francisco M.
Age: 32

ABD 7/78 by Police - Killed

AISC

D

VILLARREAL, Jorge Rafael
AR 20
CI: 8.476.213

Disappeared 4-15-76 Temperley

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

VILLARRUEL, Osvaldo Hector

Reported Resid. PEN
Dia: Oct. 78-La Nacion

VILLAVERDE, Alicia

DIS 6-12-76

PAHR (1)
ML

VILLAVICENCIO, Roberto Omar
Age: 28

DIS Mendoza

PAHR (1)
FDD

VILLEGAS, Aida Inés
Age: 24
LD: M. 366.655

DIS 11-2-76 Tucumán

PAHR (1)

D

VINAO, Juan Carlos
H/e20
LI 3.631.037

DIS 10-2-76 Vte. López ?

Alfredo Viñao, V. Vayna 1024 - Vte. López (Father) 791/2606
PAHR(1) Personal call 3-13-79.-

D

VIOLINI, Liliana Rita

DIS 5-14-77 La Plata - Bs As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(1)

D

VISCARRA, Manuel Tomás

Disappeared 10-20-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

VISNOVERSZKY, Carmelo Horacio 7

ARR Catamarca Prov. PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

VISSANI, Norberto Omar

DIS 4-21-76 Jose Pe. Varela - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

VISTUER, Maria Cristina
Jean Martin 1968 - Mar del Plata
Age 21

Disappeared 10-16-77 Mar del Plata

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

VITAL PEDRAZA, Horacio
Age 21
LE: 5.240.217

Disappeared 2-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
hij Arg Ser. Kimber

VITALE, Graciela Susana

Disappeared 12-6-76

hij Arg Ser. Kimber
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

VITALE DE BACHETTI, Graciela

DIS 4-12-77 with husband and son.

AISC

VITALE DE BERON, Graciela S.
Age: 28
LC: 6.851.444

AED 12-6-77 with husband Luis A.

PAHR(1)
ML
hig aug. Des Moines

VITULIO, Maria del Carmen

ABD Córdoba by armed men. Wife of Daniel Poce.

AISC

VITULO DE FERREYRA, Olga N.
Age 42
LC: 1.643.194

Disappeared 2-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

VIVANCO, Arturo

Material contained in Mayan in jail - Bs. As. Herald - 2-20-78

Arrested 12-23-75.

PAHR(1)
Letter from: (6-22-78

B6

T
R

VIVAS, Carlos Horacio Benigno (F) D
CI 7.471.136 - DNI 12.464.520

Mother's home was searched. They were looking for him. Since then he did not returned home, but phoned frequently. Around 3-3-1977 the mother was informed by phone that her son had been arrested. Since then disappeared.
Arrested on 1.11.76

VIVAS, Paulina R. de (Mother)
3.134.935
Secretary de Derechos Humanos, Pcia. Bs. As.

PAHR(1) Statement. To T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

L

F

VIVAS, Horacio

Was released from detention place.

Harris data - 8-14-78

D

VIVAS, Manuel Ismael
DNI: 7.944.250

Disappeared Jujuy

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D *

VIVAS-CERALIOS, Horacio R
Fecha de nac.: 4-20-1937.

Attorney for La Razón was abducted in May 1976. In 1977 he was seen in La Plata Prison, since then disappeared.

PAHR(1)
Congressional interest.

Senator James B. Allen
PETE V. DOMENICI
CHARLES H. PERCY
NL

Ings. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VIVES, Hernan
Dirig. Sindical-Córdoba
Member Comm. Party

6-4-76?
Disappeared 5-13-76 in Cordoba

PAHR(1)
NL

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Comm. Party

D

VIZA, Roberto

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

VIZZINI, José Antonio
Mercedes Benz - Buenos Aires
Age 36

Disappeared 12-14-76 J. Casanova

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

VLADICA, Eugenio
Age 35
LE: 4.527.038

Disappeared 8-2-77

Lig Arg Der Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

VODOVOSOFF, Hugo Diego
CI: 7.38.222

Disappeared 11-4-76 Rio Santiago - Bs. As.

Amb. Bs. Aires
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
RL

P

VOGELIUS, Federico Manuel

Arrested in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Buenos Aires Herald May 12, 1978.

C-6177/10 Com. fde FREED 66/77/5 P *
3 (F.V.)
VOGIER, Guillermo Claudio
CI. 6.616.427

Detained in La Plata under PEN. Has petition to leave country pending. Has 5th preference immigrant vista opportunity through U.S. relatives in California - Mr. and Mrs. Fourness - and support of California Congressman Miller. (Released PEN)

For.Off.Inq.: 5-17-77 GOA reply: NO. Int. Min. Expediente 189.213

Vogler, Luz - Habeas Amb. 12-11-78 (Wife)
~~Vogler~~ 34-6191

Personal visit to Derian.

Im Cranston.
Sister visit to B.Stevens. 4-28-77.
Cong.Miller

see over

42/62 Cleared Cert. Letter 10.31.78

11.21.77 Mrs.Luz Vogler called to inform that her husband has been brought to Buenos Aires on Saturday 19th. He is now in Carcel de Caseros Pichincha 2100,Buenos Aires.

12-23-77 Mr. Vogler left around 03:00 pm. Argentina. Flew to Rio on 01:00 in the morning took plane in RIO en was supposed to arrive in San Francisco at 2:00 pm. Information eceived from Luz Vogler.

C-4173/10 Gen. file
D (P.V.)

Vogler, Liliana Graciela
CI. 8.118.193
Has had refused exit visa as under judicial system.
Unidad 2 Villa Devoto - Pr. Diam 2-4-78

67/73/5

Detained on formal charges of subversion in Villa Devoto Prison. No petition to leave country pending as she is under criminal charges. Liliana has also 5th preference for inmigrant visa through U.S. relatives. (Detained PEN Case charge)

For.Off.Inq.: 5-17-77 GOA reply: NO.

Sentenced confirmed by Nacion 6-17-78

Vogler, Luz (Mother)
M - 1333
54-6174

Personal visit to Derian:

Amb Ad Hoc Committee
Mother visit
Amb. Aud. 12-14-77
Sen. Hatch
Cong. Miller. 6A.4118
Arg. Trial Bilia Comm.

Exit visa: 5-19-78
PEN: Sig. 1781 del 27-6-75
Cargo Ley 20.840 ERP
Intervino Juez Federal de Rio Cuarto (Córdoba) que lo condenó a 9 años de prisión el 17-2-78.
Federal Court of Appeals confirmed 9 year sentence.

VOLLMER, Carlos
Psychiatrist
Mendoza
Age: 34

Detained in Mar del Plata since 10/76.

Amnesty Int. Cong. 9/78
ADLeague

608/78/9 D 1978

VOLNOVICH, Jorge Ruben
Professor at the Univ. of Buenos Aires and member of the Arg. Federation of Psychiatrists.
Age 31

GOA reply: 1-12-79: Negative reply.

ABD 9-8-78. Since then disappeared. Relatives are in Mexico, contact Dr. Silvia Berman 905-563-2676. PAHR informed that he reappeared 2 days later.

Cancer Cult Cong. 9/78
Council on Hemispheric Affairs - 9-13-78
PAHR 8-9-78
FDD List 9-16-78

D

VOLOCH, José Gabriel
Age 27

Disappeared 6-14-77

DAIA
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D 78

VOLOCH, Victor
Member of Partido Comuni-sta Marxista-Leninista.

Arrested 7-24-78.

KOLA 11-78
Hochman, Abraham
Lawyer
Personal call Embassy 7-31-78

(50-77757)
Dr. Idelson

VOLPE, Rosa Catalina

DIS

AISC(Clarin)

VUERA, Guillermo

DIS 4-14-76

PARA(L)
ML

WACHEJOSKY, Ana Maria

D

DIS 11-7-76 Escobar, Bs.As.

AISC

WACIARZ, José Miguel
7232R3cC1.

Disappeared 6-11-1978

Amnesty Int. League
DAIA
PAHR(L)

D1978

WAEN, Laura Isabel
~~Vicente Lopez (Prov. Bs.As.)~~

DIS 8-11-78

PAHR 9-28-78

D 78

WAES, Jorge

DIS

WOLA 11-78

D

WAGUIN, Gloria Isabel
Age: 25

DIS 1-8-76 Córdoba

ML

D

WAGUIN, Norma Eleonor
Age: 25

DIS 1-8-76 Córdoba

ML

D

WAICHEJOSKY DE TONSO, Ana M

ABD 11-7-76

ML

D

WAINSTEIN DE COLMAN, Eva
Age 41

Disappeared 9-29-76 Córdoba Prov

Anti Def. Rights
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
ML

D76

WAIS, Jorge
~~Age: 29~~
Worker

ABD in 7-22-78 in Buenos Aires

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

261/78/1 D *

WAISBERG, Ricardo
Age: 25

Detained at Escuela Educativa Mecanica

Disappeared on May 13th, 1977

Cancer Amb Cmp. 4/78
Amb Bs. As.
GA-3765
FBA 4-1-78

D

WAISE, Margarita Rosa

DIS 9-14-76

CAHR(1)
ML

D

WAISMAN, Gustavo A
Verbal 1752, Bs.As.
Apt 21

ABD 4-20-76

ML

WAISMAN, Patricia

ARR

ADLeague
NL

WAISMAN, José
Lawyer

Killed

ADLeague
NL

D

WAISSBEIN, Adrian Claudio
Age: 20
DNI: 13.924.321

DIS 9-23-76

PAHR (L)

WAISSE DE LOMARDI, Margarita Rosa
3.191.241 C1.

Disappeared ~~XXXXXX~~ 9-10-76 Hurlingham - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Amb. Def. Liaqu

WAITMAN, Sara Liliana

Under PEN in Córdoba

ADLeague

WAITZMAN, Margarita
Professor at University of Buenos Aires

DIS 4/76

ADLeague
HISC

D

WAITZ, Carlos
Age: 20
Rivas 3232-Mar del Plata

Detained by Joint Forces on 1-26-77 in Mar del Plata. At that time around 17 youth were taken, two of them were released. The other all are disappeared. All were student of the University of Mar del Plata.

Carlos Waitz (Father)
Rivas 3232-Mar del Plata Phone 35338

WAJNESZTEJN, Szewach

P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

WALKER, Enrique Juan (journalist)
Gral Lamadrid Pcia 36
GI: 3.630.017

~~5-4-44/45~~ D
498/78/8 D

SOA reply 11-19-78: N.R.A.D
BOA reply 1-30-78 - Neg reply.

Arrested at gunpoint on 7/17/76; imprisoned, whereabouts unknown.

Sen. Abourezk
WHCHR-Conrad Bizzonsky - 8-16-78
Amb. Def. League
Emg Org. Int. Brothers
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Org. Jewel Blind Comm.

WALSCH, Maria Victoria
Journalist Primera Plana

Killed 9/29/76 Rodolfo Walsh's daughter.

AISC
Le Monde 6-10-78

186/77/11 D

WALSH, Rodolfo Jorge
CI. 2.845.022
Apeso

Disappeared on March 25, 1977.

N.R.O.D-GOA-9-5-78

Le Monde 6-10-77
AIL PAHR(L)
Agency Le Monde
Irma Ferreyra de Walsh
Permanente de Humanos - San Nicolás - B. As.
Visited 10-28-77 PEN report

L

WALTER, Bela Rosa (nee Horchman)

Under PEN
Released From PEN - Oct. 28-78 - El Dia Newspaper

ADLeague

D

WAQUIN, Gloria Isabel
Age 26
DNI: 11.559.329

DIS 1-7-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

PAHR(1)

D

WAQUIN, Norma Elinor
Age 28
LC: 5.995.094

DIS 1-7-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

PAHR(1)

WASER, Enrique
UTA
WASSER, Henry Angel

Detained since May 1975 in Resistencia PEN
Removed from PEN - La Nación 1/13/79

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FREED 139/77/10 *

WASSERMAN, Perla

Miss Martinez' mother, was arrested two years ago and has been held in the Villa Devoto jail since then without trial and without charges being broght against her.

Gtr reply 9-8-77
Sets. Reinstated 9/14 - 10-6-76

Amnesty League
The Intern. League for H.R. (Fernando Rondon) 8-15-77.

D

WASTEIN DE COLMAN, Eva

ABD 9-21-76 in Córdoba city.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

Comm. Party

609/78/9 D 1978

WATTS, Jorge Federico
CI. 6.282.097
LE. 7.374.897
Cangallo 3077-2° "38"-Capital

GOA reply 1-18-79: Negative reply.

Arrested 7-22-78 leaving his work (Bagley). Formerly he had been "delegado sindical de ATE Asoc.Trabajadores del Estado).
PAHR(L)
hj
Council on Hemispheric Affairs - 9-13-78
Pergament de Watts, Eva (Wife)
Cangallo 3047-2° "38"-Capital
Personal call Embassy 8-18-78 (Phone:48-3754Morn.)

D

WATZLAWIK, Sigfried
Federuta 2139 - Lanus Pcia. de.
Arg. 34
DNI: 5.908.463

Disappeared 12-10-77 Lanús

Centro Def. Iraqui
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Hig. Arg. Des. Wimbil

D

WEBSTER, Carlos Alberto
DNI: 11.653.434

Disappeared 6-28-77

Centro Def. Iraqui
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

WECHSLER, Irene Diana

DIS Pcia. de Bs.

DEIA

Ctro. Def. Iraqui
PAHR (L)

D

WEHISENTIEL, Daniel Alejandro
Age 35

DIS 6-26-76 Pilar

PAHR (L)

D

WEIDMAN, Osvaldo M.

DIS 7-22-76

PAHR (L)

FREED D

WEINSTEIN, Beatriz Rosalia Iparraguirre
Age: 48
Coronel Diaz 1649-Bs.Aires
Profession: Doctor; blood specialist
Bulnes 60-6°m 20° - Capital 88-6291
821-6291

Arrested on 3-8-78 at her home. Since then disappeared.

Freed Clipping Review 3-15-78

Bs.As.Herald clipping - 3-10-78

398/74/6 D

WEINSTEIN, Mauricio Fabio
CI. 6.558.606
Olleros 1656-2°"A"-Capital
Age: 18
Secundary school student
(link w/ Debora Bernhoorn)
GOA reply 9-5-78 NRAD.

Arrested on 4-19-78 from his father office Viamonte 2565-2° "C". Since then disappeared. PPHR(1) Comp. Reinaldo Hal...
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith.
Personal call Embassy-5-12-78
Weinstein, Marcos, (Father)
Olleros 1656-2°"A"-Capital
Phone 774-6393;772-4534; 48-6596(Office)

WEINZETTEL, Alicia Angel (nee Ferrer)

P

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

WEISS, Nora Maria

P

ARR - PEN Villa Devoto

AISC

D

WEISZ, Irene H.
3.604.254

Disappeared

ADLeague

494/79/1 D

WEISZ, Jorge Osvaldo
Apt 34

In prison Jujuy. Was freed 12-7-76, but never returned home.

PANR(L)
DNR
Mauricio Weisz (Father)
Lisboa 890-Capital
641-9978
ADL AR
Personal call Embassy 2-21-78

Over

D78

WEISZ, Marcelo
LE. 10-314.914
CI. 7.045.263

Was arrested on 2-16-78 by Joint Forces, together with his wife Susana Gonzalez de Weisz. Their little baby 3 months old, was delivered at the ~~aunt~~ grandmother house. Since then disappeared.

union worker at Banco Shaw

PANR(L)
Weisz, Ernesto (Father)
Weisz, Ruth de (Mother)
Warnes 1075 - Florida (phone 760-0387)
Office: Lavalle 1548 - 46-4781;0108
ignorant that I'm talking
Personal call embassy 2-21-78.
DNR
Anti Def League

WEIXZ, Jorge C.

ADLeague

WEJEMAN DE GLAZ, Esther
CI: 5.671.142
Alvarez Thomas 1336-Bs.As.

ARD 1-10-77

DAIR
Amn Def. League
ML
PAHR - Prensa 5-14 78 (2)

WENNER, Tilo (writer, poet, journalist and editor)
Chacabuco, Cuccha, Rio Ca Co. CI: 6.344.116 Age: 44
'El Animal'

Arrested 3/26/76; imprisoned, whereabouts unknown.

La Opinión 6-10-78
Amn Def. League
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Hay Org. Del Hombre
ML FDD
PAHR (1)

1

WERLE, Santiago Luis
Ab 27
DNI: 4.790.417

DIS 10-22-76 Rosario - Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

WERMIGUE ?
WERNICK, Jaime

Disappeared

PAHR (L)
NL
ADLeague

WESBERG, Ricardo

DIS 5-13-76

PAHR (L)

C-61/74/4

73/77/6

WESTERKAMP, Gustavo
Ident: 5.362.513
PEN: 2da. 3076 23-10-75
Cargo: Corriente Izierda. Integrante del ERP. Falsificación de documentos
oficiales en V.I. Sierra Chica.

Option

Detained. At PEN's disposal, in Unidad Carcelaria Penitenciaria de Sierra Chica.
Detained.
For.Off.Inq.: 6-30-77.

GOA Reply: NC.
PEN 9-21-75

FILE Amnesty 3-13-78

11-6-74: Decree 3076/23-10-75 PEN Unidad 9- La Plata
Ag. Federal Police - Adoption
Dept. of Justice
Org. World Council Comm.
GA-6880

D

WETTENGEL, Máximo Ricardo
DOB: 1-24-1946
Profession: merchant

Detained on 6-10-1976 in Corrientes. Released on 6-15-1976.
Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L).
German Embassy - Von Schlick
Dept. of Justice
DNA

D

WHITE, Guillermo Horacio
DNI: 10.779.947

DIS 2-10-77 Rosario - Santa Fe

Rosario List
PAHR(L)

400/78/6

WIELAND, Alicia Beatriz
DOB: 12-9-1948 - Córdoba
Profession: Photographic Reporter
GOA reply 9-5-78:
PEN 960. 3409 - 14/11/75
Confer: Ley 20840 - Art. 1°
Ld 30/378 Amicio ley 21650

Detained Villa Devoto

Cong. Andy Jacobs, Jr. - State
Le Monde 6-10-78
Congr. Andrew Jacobs - State 139976 AA. 3844

D

WIESEN, Liliana

ABD 92-76

ML

D

WIKAILOV, Boris

Disappeared

FL
ADLeague

T WILLENBERG, Rodolfo Miguel
R LE 7.802.297-CI 5.230.374
Bvard. Finca 437, Dto. 4, EL PALOMAR (Bs.As.)
Empleado FIAT

Kidnapped on 7-7-76. Since then disappeared.

Willenberg, Elisa Isabel Senra de (Mother)
2.210.498
Bvard. Finca 437, Dto.4, EL PALOMAR (Bs.As.)
PAHR(L)
PAHR Statement. To T. Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

WILLIAMS, Carlos Guillermo J.
Age 26
LE: 8.383.738

DIS 12-17-76 La Plata

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

WILSON, Roberto Alejandro
LE: 5.584.164
Francia 1746 - Mar del Plata
Member - Communist Party

Disappeared 2-14-76 Mar del Plata - Bs. As.

Comm. Party
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

WIMER, Adalberto

Since April 30, 76 on prison ship Rio Paraná in Buenos Aires harbor.

C-102/76/4

WIN, Jorge Humberto
C.I. 6.301.562
Age: 18

Optar

PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata, since 5-19-76.

Win, Hilda S. de (Mother)
C.C. 160-Moreno 1744
Beethoven y Saavedra
MORENO 1744

WINDECHER, Jorge
Age: 22
LE: 10.928.353

8-5-76 DIS V. Bosch

FDD

9

WINTERNITZ, Jorge Carlos (poet and editor)

Imprisoned

Le Monde 6-16-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

WIRKAILOV, Boris D

DIS

PAHR (L)

WISMAN, D

ABD 3/76 in Caseros, Bs.As.

ML

R

THE WITNESSES OF JEHOVA

D

WITOSZYNSKI, Luis Maria
Age 34
L.E. 8.351.733

Disappeared 12-3-76 Berisso - Bs. As.

Arch. Bol. Bayer
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

WOLCHEJOSKY, Ana Maria
Natural 3413 - San Justo
L.C. 3 994.767
Age 43

Disappeared 11-7-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Arch. Bol. Bayer

WOJTCHUK,
WOFCHUCK, Guillermo

Local PEN - La Opinion 10-28-76

Under PEN

ADLeague

WYSZYNSKI, Enrique Eduardo

Anti Def. League

DAIA

PAHR(I)

D

YACOMOSI, Alcira Angela
Age 48
LC: 4.013.877

DIS November 1977 Mar del Plata

PAHR (4)

D

YACOPETTI, Hugo José
Age: 28
CI. 5.447.215

DIS 6-17-77

PAHR (L)

AAAS

YACUB, Mario Gerardo (F) 11/76/11 11/76/10 D *
Age 31
Lawyer

Lawyer, President of the Argentine Lawyers Association.
Abducted in November 1976.

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.:11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76
FOLLOW UP FOR URGENT INFORMATION.

7-29-77. Letter to Derian from AAAS.

Cong.Fraser, Congressmen Drinan and Harkin.

PAHR(4)

YADHJIAN, Juan (Dr.)

Auth. Iraq country - Clarin 12-2-78

Detained 4-5-76. At presente Unidad 7 Resistencia Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

YAGURE, Miguel

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

T
R

YANES, Jorge Eugenio
CI 6.169.131
Charlone 162-Dto.1-Capital
Age 21

On 12-12-76 our house of apartment was searched by armed men. Later they informed me that my son had been arrested. Since then he is disappeared.

YANES, Maria de las M. C. de (Mother)
DNI 13.478.913
Charlone 162-Dto.1-Capital

AHR-Brun I-147-71(L) Testimony. To T.Todman.
ML Testimony to Representatives.
FDD - 11-6-78

D

YANGUAS, Miguel

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

YANGUAS, Ricardo Fidel
LE:8.259.962
Ag 30

Disappeared 7-1-76 Villa Leynds

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

YANKELEVICH, Héctor

ADLeague

YANKELEVICH, Gustavo Ariel

National Executive Poser - DTO. 2561 of 10/20/76
U9 La Plata - Member CELL PRT and Guevarista Youth-
Confiscation of Documentation and Marxist Literature.

RDL

YANKILIEVICH, Andres Patricio

DIS 10-4-78 Chilabert Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

YANKILIEVICH, Claudia Inés

DIS 10-4-78 Chilabert Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D1978

YANKILEVICH, Roberto Luis
Lawyer

ABD 9-22-78 in Córdoba.

Reappeared Historic date

LA Nación clipping 9-22-78

YANKILLEVICH, Andrea Débora

Disappeared June 1976

DAIA
Arch Del. Tregre

YANKILLEVICH, Gustavo Ariel

DAIA

YANTORNO, Roberto Fidel
M.I. 8.348.472

DIS 12-5-77

PAHR(2)

YAÑEZ 40/77/1

YAÑEZ, Julio Cesar
M.I. 8.598.794

(Cris Ana Olson de Oliva-killed by Provincial Police 10-19-76)

Detained. For.Off.Inq.:1-6-77 GOA reply:NO
in Córdoba Sept. 30, 1976.

José F.A.Yanez
27 de Febrero 70
B°Patricios Norte
Córdoba 5000

Olson family, US. (~~Whitmen~~).

PAHR(1)

75/40

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c/215/78/5

YAÑEZ, Sara Agustina
LC. 5.019.734

Authorized to leave country by Nación 2-14-79.

Optional case. Sent letter to Mr. Blood.

Yañez, Herbert Nicias (Brother)
San Martin 3449-Tucuman

D

YAÑEZ, Tirso

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

YAPUR, Eduardo Enrique
Age: 30
Doc. 5.096.267

DIS 8-4-75

Tucumán
PAHR(1)

D

YASEN, Susana Graciela

ARD 2-5-77 in Azul, Buenos Aires

ML

YEDRO, Roberto Horacio
Ref 29
NI: 7-632.501

Disappeared 9-24-76 Chaco

Archivo Lugo
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

YERCOVICH, Clotilde Adelina

Under PEN in Córdoba

ADLeague

YOFRE, Gabriela

ABD 10/76 in Buenos Aires

ML

D

YORNET, Roberto Julio
Age 34
LE: 7.944.318

Disappeared 7-23-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
FIL

D

YULIS, Salvador

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D.

ZABALA,

DIS 3-24-76 Reconquista

Mexico 79
PAHR(L)

ZABALA, Gilberto Antonio

arr - PEN

AISC

D

ZABAIA, Omar Alberto

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

ZABALA RODRIGUEZ, Miguel A. K

Killed 1/77 - Director of the Weekly"el Auténtico"

AISC

ZABALA SAN MARTIN, Jimena D

DIS

PHR(L)
ML

ZABALETA, Natalio Jose Norberto D 77

Age: 56
Address: Monroe 587-cap.federal

Dis: Reported disappeared on the La Nacion-Oct.21-78 from his home. He worked at the obra social de personal de Obras Sanitarias de la Nacion.He is Argentine.

Card maded:11-21-78

ZACARI, Armando Agustin
Ap 30
LE: 7.765.021

DIS 12-9-77 San Justo

PAHR (1)

D

ZACARRILLI,
FCGSM

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ZAFARONI CASTILLA, Jorge
Ap 24
Venezuela 3328 - Bs. As.

Disappeared 9-29-76 with daughter Mariana, aged 1

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
ML

D

ZAFFARONI, Maria E. V. de
Age 23
Uruguaya 3328 - Bs. As.

ABD 2-27-76

ML

600/78/9
(Uruguayan) D

ZAFFARONI ISLAS, Mariana
18 months old

ABD with parent on 9-27-76.

Dis Dept of Educ
ML
PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78
VOZ, 5-31-78
French Embassy
VHRR-9-1-78

607/78/9 D

ZAFFORA, Roberto Omar
LE: 5.388.977
DOB: 1-22-46 La Rioja
Pueyrredón 112-San Martin

GOS reply: Knad.-

together with wife Maria del Carmen Barros

Arrested on 9-26-77 by Army Forces. Since then disappeared.

RA 9154
Cong. Magnin

Barros, Carolina Maria de (Mother)
Pueyrredón 112-San Martin
Phone: 752-2906 Vecinos)

PAHR Pers. call 5-22-78

ZAGULLIE, Sara Beatriz D

DIS 6-19-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

C.F.

ZAHN FREIRE DE ANDRES, Edelweiss (Uruguayan)
Age: 35
Calle Deheza 1710-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-13-76. At present in Uruguay under conditional freedom, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

371/78/5 D

ZAIDMAN, Samuel Leonardo
CI. 8.309.423
Estado de Israel 4632 - 4°"A"-Capital
Age: 17
DOB: 8-8-60

V.R.A.D - GOA-4-5-78

Arrested at his home on 5-9-78 by group of Policemen.

Zaidman, Bernardo (Parent)
Zaidman, Susana de
Estado de Israel 4632 - 4°"A"-Capital

Rabbi Meyer Pers. call 5-22-78 88-1928

ZAIAIZZU, Horacio

DIS 11/76

PAHR(1)
ML

ZALAZA, Susana

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

ZALAZAR, Ana Maria del Valle

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D

ZALAZAR, Dionisio

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

ZALAZAR, Guillermo

DIS

ML

D

ZALAZAR, Horacio Jose

Grand Pen.
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper

ZAIAZAR, Mercedes
Empleada de ACA (Delegada)
Jujuy

Detained since 1975 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D78

ZALDARRIAGA DE BROCHERO, Patricia Graciela
Age: 18
DNI: 12.260.774

DIS 5-19-78 Gran Bourg Bs.As.

FDD

K

ZAMARA, Marta
Laywer
CI.8.009.743

Killed. Found in a river together with Nilda Urquia

AISC (Clarin)

ZAMIEC, Antonio

Detained 8-28-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ZAMORA, Eva

DIS Córdoba

ML

P

ZAMORA, Juana

ARR PEN

AISC

ZAMORA, Susana

DIS

PAHR (L)

P

ZAMORANO, Carlos Mariano
Vicepresidente de la Junta Ejecutiva Nacional de la LADH.
Ramon 4

Arrested. Ramon
Arrested in November 1974.

Comm. Detn. Cong. 9/78
Inge Amn. Ass. del Hombre
Guatemalan Cont.

AFL/CIO

D *

ZAMPICCHIATTI, Gustavo Alfredo
DNI 12.913.194
Reg 2J
Bkt. Student

7-5-77

GUSTAVO ALFREDO ZAMPICCHIATTI: D.N.I. 12.913.194. Student. He was detained in May 1977.

Letter to Amnesty 9/1976
mother: MARIA M. DE ZAMPICCHIATTI - LC:-3.496.695
Guat. Cong. Comm. 9/78
BL PAHR(L)
Cong. Comm.
F DD-11-6-78

L

ZAMUDIO, Washington
Ref SL
JNI: 7.046.123

D

DIS 9/76 Leandro N. Alem, Misiones (Tucuman)

PRHR (L)
ML

D

ZANDRA, Susana

=

DIS

ML

P

ZANOTTI, Libia
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

9

ZANZI VIGOUROUX, Rolando Alberto (Chilean)
Age: 24
Engineering student (Ing. Química de la Univ.de Bs.As.)
Employee of Empresa Molinos Rio de la Plata
Navarro 5471, Carapachay, Bs.As.
CI: 5.916.286

Detained on 7-20-78 Carapachay

PBRL(1)
Zanzi, Alfredo Miguel (Father)
Zanzi, Alegria Vigouroux de (Mother)
Navarro 5471-Carapachay,Bs.As. 762-1595
Letter to Amb. Castro 7-24-78
FDO List 9-16-78

D

ZAPATA, Alberto

DIS

ML

ZAPATA, Heber

Detained U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ZAPATA, Juan Roberto
LE: 18.194.190
Age 22

Disappeared 1-30-77. CAP. Fcd.
Mother - Eva de ZAPATA - LC. 1697007. LANUS. Mitre 3503

Human Lib 3-10-79
Lig Arg Der Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
FDD. 78-11-6

D

ZAPATA, Nestor A.
Entre Rios

Disappeared 6-17-75

Lig Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ZAPATA, Ramón R.
Entre Rios

Disappeared 6-17-75

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ZAPATA, Walter
Chofer Linea 172-Capital

Disappeared May 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ZAPORTE, Walter

AED 5/76 Matanza Buenos Airez

ML

ZAPPIA, Jorge

Detained 8-7-76.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

328/78/4

ZARACEANSKY, Mario

GOA w/fy 6-27-78 ERP (See folder)

GOB w/fy 2-23-79: Under PEN-Decree 3J 1-12-78 in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Detained in Córdoba since last July, 1977.

Amb Del Campo
Cong.Ted Weiss AA-1440
Arthur C. Danto, Columbia Univ.
AI

D

ZARAGOZA, Nestor Omar
Age: 21
Med. Stud.in La Plata
Member FJComm.
LE: 11.791.843

ABD 6-9-77 with 3 others La Plata

La Plata Pris 10/78
Cauce Quit. Pmg. 9/78
Comm. Party
ML

ZARAGOZA OLIVARES, Luis Arnaldo (Chilean) D
CI: 6.439.568
Guinnueta 2488 - V. Bosch, Bs. As.

Disappeared 8-17-76 Villa Bosch - Bs. As.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Mig Arg. Sen. Mondale

ZARATE, Hugo

D

DIS 1976

Córdoba List 12-1-78

ZARATE, Ramon Alfredo
Age: 30
DI: 8.064.187

DIS 5-3-75 Tucumán

PAHR(L)
Tucumán

ZARATE, Rubén Oscar

Integrant of "Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo"-ERP

Cronica clipping 6-14-78

D

ZARCO PEREZ, David Oscar
Age: 22
Member: Ped. Ind. Org.
Río Negro 980. Córdoba
CI: 89.707.418

Disappeared 9-17-76 Córdoba

Cancer Cent. Cong 9/78
Comm Party
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

ZAREMBA, Juan Mariano
Age 23

Disappeared 9/76 Posadas (Misiones)

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

ZARZUELO, Héctor Mauricio
Age 23

Disappeared 5-27-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Lig. Soc. Armada

D

ZATYLNY, Ricardo Héctor
Gervais 3671, Boulogne
Age 21
DNI: 11.188.265

Disappeared 9-21-76

Arch Def. Lista
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
ML

D

ZAVALA
UO-Construction workers-Reconquista

DIS after 3-24-76

ML

D

ZAVALA RODRIGUEZ, Miguel Angel
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

ZAVOLA, Marta Silvia

ARR 11-12-74 Bs.As. Held in V. Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

ZAZULIA, Sara Beatriz
Qe 24
CI: 5.937.839

Disappeared 6-19-76

DAIA
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

ZCJER, Margarita A.

Disappeared 6-2-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ZECCA, Diana Irene

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

D ZEFF, Ricardo Jaime (P) 7/73/3 D *
CI 7947215
Age 18

On 7-23-76 he was arrested by armed men at mother's home together with three friends at this moment there (Alicia Marina Mingorance-17 years old; Daniel Mingorance-20 years old; Daniel Najmanovich-20 years old). Since then disappeared.

Disappeared. For.Off.Inq.: 3-14-77 GOA reply: NO.

ZEFF, Luis (Father)
CI 5100769
Vidt 1942, 10°"C"-Capital
HL PAHR (L)
8-4-77 Letter to Derian
Cong Tuba
Am Jewish Lbld Comm
Amn Lbty League

D

ZELADA DE FERENEZ, Carmen Clara
Age 45

Disappeared 9-10-76 Morón o Monte Grande - Bs As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

ZELARRAYAN, Argentino Roberto
Ag 32

Disappeared 7-30-77 Gral. Belgrano - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
NL

D

ZELAYA, José Esteban

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

9

ZELD, Pablo

Sentenced to 15 years.

ADLeague

ZENIQUEL DE URANGA, Margarita Isabel
Dob: 6-30-48
Age: 31

Arrested on July 77 together with mother-in-law Sara Polo de Uranga, who was freed in October 78. She is now under PEN in Villa Devoto. Has two little children.

Maria Rosa Zeniquel de Sosa (Sister)
Las Heras 3056-Corrientes
Phone: 27031
Personal visit Embassy 1-26-79.

ZERBINO, Mario Carlos

Under PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata.

Mario Carlos Zerbino (Father)
Asunción 2554-Capital
Phone 571-4639
Personal call Embassy(Harris) 8-29-78

ZERDAN, Lucas Nestor Alejandro
LE: 8.138.559

Under PEN in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Zerdan, Lucas Marcial (Father)
Pueyrredón y Sarmiento
3760- ANATUYA (Santiago del Estero)

ZERECEANSKY, Mario
Laywer

Detained in 1977, at present in Córdoba prison'

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

ZERVINO, Mario Carlos

ABD 6-5-75

AISC

ZETTLIN, Edith Estela
DNI: 12.935.201
[illegible]

Disappeared 7-15-77

[illegible]
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)
ML

HIGH INTEREST FRG EMBASSY CASE

ZIESCHANK, Claudio Manfredo
C.I: 7.468.862

Arrested on 3-26-76 in Province of Buenos Aires. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(4)
AI Auskalia - Adoption
Permanent Sub. Com. Habeas

Zieschank, Annemarie (Mother)
C.P. 764
80.000 Curitiba-Brasil)
Hija desap. p. fuerzas del Ejército

ZILVER, Ruben Alberto

ADLeague

664/78/1

ZIMMAN, Alicia Noemí
Med. student
DNI: 11.816.057

Disappeared 3-15-77

AI Auskalia - Adoption
Amnesty Int. Report 9/78
Anti Def. League
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Int. Helsinki

140/77/10 D *
141/77/10 D

D (B)

ZIMMERMANN, Maria
C.I. 8.571.814
ZIMMERMANN, Leonora
C.I. 8.571.815

Occupied 9-11-77 Mz.
On 10-11-76 the two girls were looked for at the college. On 10-23-76 they were arrested at her home. Since then they disappeared.

Both girls arrested on 10-22-76 at early sunrise. Disappeared since then.
Marcelo R. Zimmermann (Parent)
Myriam F. de Zimmermann
Gral. J. M. Paz 1626 - Florida (1602)
T.E.: 791 - 9733
The Intern.League for H.R.-Fernando Rondon- 8-15-77.
Mz
10 August 1977 Letter to Derian.

Wash.Off.On Latin America - 7-11-77
Am. Jewish Joint Comm. PAHR(L) Ang.Conf. of Bishops
Amnesty Int. Reagan

D

ZINA FIGUEREDO, Gastón (Uruguayan)
DI: 1.232.111
Age 21

Disappeared 7-14-76 { Reappeared Uruguay Denied assistance No witnesses; under continual freedom.

Mz
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
REPOBLEMENT

T (F) D *

ZINGARETTI, Zulma Pura
CI 6.061.012
Santiago del Estero 1616-Godoy Cruz-Mendoza

Arrested on 8-22-76. Since then disappeared. Godoy Cruz - Mendoza

PAHR(L)
Zingaretti, Nieves R de (Mother)
Santiago del Estero 1616-Godoy Cruz, Mendoza
Cong. Schroeder.
8-8-77 FJD Letter to T. Todman.
Mendoza Family List 8/78

ZITTELMAN, Laura Rosa (nee Frangi Sorsi)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague
AISC

ZITTO,
Lawyer

Detained on 3-27-76 and at present in Villa Maria prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

ZO, José Francisco

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

#478/78/7 D

ZOGAGLIA, Haydée
CI: 6.263.402
GoA reply 9-5-78: N.R.D

Arrested on 7-16-76.

State Department-Univ.California

D

ZOMAIZN, Horacio

DIS

ML

#79/77/4 *

ZONCA, Sandra
DNI: 12.507.094
See Luis y Inacio, Sandra Zonca de

D

DIS since 3-28-77

For.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77 GOA reply: 6-8-77 No record
11-10-77 Neg.

PAHR(L)
State Department

D

ZONZINI, David Oscar
Age 23
DNI 10.903.922

DIS 8-12-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List-12-1-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

ZOPPI, Gustavo

Disappeared 8-17-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

ZOPPI, Ricardo Jaime
Age 18

ABD 7-23-76

PAHR(L)
ML

389/78/5 D

20R2A
~~BAREK~~, Ismael
Age: 21
DNI: 11.694.250
Av. del Trabajo 6378-Casa 505-Lcp

GCA supply 9-N-78: M.R.A.D.

Arrested 3-26-78

San Justo

ZOTKNER, Eduardo

ADLEAGUE

D78

ZUAREZ, Virginia Adela
LC. 10.509.185

DIS

WOLA 11-78

ZUAZO MAIO, Maria Nieves
Age 49

Disappeared 7-20-77 La Rioja

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
BL

ZUBARAN, Héctor
Obrero Ford-Buenos Aires

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ZUBERNIK, Martin Roberto
Age: 19
CI: 7.927.324

DIS 6-16-76 Banfield

PAHR(A)
FDD

D

ZUCARIA HITT, Ricardo José
IN:8.645.194
Hjo 24

DIS 1-6-76 Córdoba

ML

D

ZUCARIO, Ricardo José
Hjo 24

Disappeared 1-9-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

ZUCCHI, Irma A.

DIS 11-17-76 La Plata Bs. As.

La Plata List 11-21-78
PAHA(1)

ZUKERFELD, Luis
Age: 23
DNI: 11.360.531

DIS

PMHR(1)
FDD

ZUKERNIK, Martin Roberto
[illegible] C I
Age 19

Disappeared 6-16-76 Banfield

DL
Arch. Def. Urgente
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Urg. Arg. Der. Humano

ZUNINO, Enzo Rafael

DIS

ML

D 78

ZUÑIGA MARTINEZ, Horacio Ramón
Ag. 27
DI: 5.629.100

Disappeared on 1-4-78.

PAHR. Prensa 5-17-78
Zuñiga Martinez, Maria Cristina (Sister)
San José 429 - 1° "F"
1076 Buenos Aires
Letter to T.Todman-4-24-78

D

ZUPAKIECVIZ, Samuel A.

Disappeared 4-17-77.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ZUPPA, Néstor Oscar
Ag. 33
CI: 1.871.560

Disappeared 11-24-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ZURIO, Pablo

La Opinión newspaper 6-5-78 stated that Pablo Zurio, member of Montoneros, declared to a german journalist in Mar del Plata Prison, that he had never been tortured and that they were well treaten, contrary to what had been published in newspapers.

La Opinión, 6-5-78.

D78

ZURITA, Alejo
Age: 24
LE: 11.035.440

DIS 6-10-78 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

ZURITA, Maria Rosa
Age: 24
Doc. 11.475.461

DIS-12-10-75 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

D

ZURITA, Nestor Juan Agustin
Age: 27
Doc. 8.590.103

DIS 8-1-75 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (1)

ZURITA, Sergio D-78

DIS 2-1-78

PAHR

ZUSTOVICH, Silvia Viviana 9

Under PEN Unidad 2, Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

ZUVEIFEL, Mirta S

Disappeared 7-8-77

ADLeague

ZWAIG, Jorge Raúl

ADLeague

Department of State
Argentina Project (S200000044)

Attachment to 1979 Airgram No. 46 from American Embassy Buenos Aires to the Department of State

Part 5 of 7

AI	Amnesty International
ADL	Anti Defamation League
D	Disappeared
D & REAPP.	Disappeared and Reappeared
DAIA	Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
IACHR	Inter American Com. on Human Rights
K	Killed
N.R.A.D.	No registra antecedentes de detención
PAHR	Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos
R	Released
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
⊕	Detained

MENDEZ LOMPODIO, baby (Uruguayan)

DIS 7-13-76

VNHCC-9-5-76

MENDEZ LOMPODIO, Sara Rita (Uruguayan)
Age: 33
Calle Juana Azurduy 3163, Buenos Aires

Disappeared in Buenos Aires 7-13-76. At present in Punta Rieles Prison in Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

MENDEZ DE RAMOS, María G

Detained in La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MENDEZ VAL, Epifanio

D

Disappeared 10-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MENDIOLAZA,
Obrero Renault

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MENDOZA, Carlos Alfredo

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D 1975

MENDOZA, Carlos Mario

6/23/78
Detained between 6/20 to 6/10, 1978.

Mar del Plata list
Harris data-8-14-78

60/77/4 D*

MENDOZA, José Martin
Age 26
DNI: 8.557.629

9-17-66
Disappeared. FOR.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77 GOA reply: 6-8-77
6-10-77 No record
Ltd.

Aunt Mrs.Castillo ~~to George S. Brown~~.

FIL
PAHR(L)

MENDOZA, Sabino

DIS PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

MENENDEZ, Guillermo Antonio

Disappeared 10-29-77

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MENENDEZ, Mario Eduardo
Age: 20
LE: 13.182.417

DIS 2/77 Concordia

PAHR(L)
DFF

MENENDEZ, Marta Susana

F

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

MENENDEZ, Rafael Maria

DIS

FAHR (L)
ML

MENEM, Carlos

PEN

October 31, 1978, Govenor of Provincia de La Rioja, Carlos Menem is in Mar de Plata accoring to the news paper, La Razon. He was released from PEN but should not leave the city.

P

MENIN, Ovide

Detained in Resistencia prison since 3-31-76

Mexico 79

Domingo ?
MENNA, Domenico ?
Medicine student

D

ABD. together with wive A.M. Lancillota on 7-19-77

GAHR(L)
Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

759/77/1

MENNA, Pablo
Age: 2

D

Detained with mother Rina Raquel in may 1977.

VIEJA-5-31-78
[illegible]
French Embassy

MENNA, Reinaldo Martin
Age: 47
LE. 4.051.410

D

DIS

FDD

MERAJVER, Adrian Gabriel

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

MERAJVER, Eduardo Ezequiel
S.I.N. 250
Age 22

Disappeared 5-13-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
Cath Lit League
Rep Leg Dr. Herman

MERBILHAA
MERBILHAA, Eduardo Raúl
DNI: 4.041.946

Dob: 4-18-1946-La Plata
Married; two children

ABD 9-14-76 Barrio de Villa Devoto, Bs.As.

Munitis de Merbilhaá (Wife)
23, Alee Louis Blériot
94310 Orly - France
La Plata Jour 11/78

ML
PAHR(4)

R/FDD

MERCADEL, Luis Salvador
LE 4.991.054-CI 5.979.686
Age: 25

Disappeared on 1-9-77. Returning to his home while waiting for a bus was surprised by a group of armed men. Afraid he ran and was wounded. Since then there are no news.

MERCADEL, Josefina Yudice de (Mother)
La Madreselva 6969-Capital
Sarmiento, Julia Estela (CI 7.064.112) (Bride).*
Block 49-Piso 14-Dto.C. Lugano I y II.Capital
8-11-77 - Letter to Derian.
8-3-77 - Statement. Sent to T.Todman.
*Statement to Representatives.
8-19-77 - Statement to Senators.

MERCADER, Mario Alberto.
DI: 11.743.914

DIS 2-15-77 La Plata

MERCADO, Adela del Carmen
Age: 30
Doc.. 5.278.095

MERCADO, Julio César
Tucumán
Member Com. Party
7.197.589

5-24-77
Disappeared 8-20-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ML
Comm. Party
PAHR(L)

MERCADO, Manuel Antonio
Age: 32
Doc. 8.088.946

DIS 8-23-75

Tucumán
PAHR(L)

MERCADO, Maria del Valle
Age: 28
Doc. 11.335.905

DIS 8-23-75 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR(L)

823/79/3 P

MERCADO LUNA, Ricardo (editor) Diario El Independiente
lawyer

Arrested in 4/76; imprisoned Sierra Chica.

AI
Cancer Amn Cong. 9/78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
hearing before Int Human
APEPA - La Opinion 4-1-78

D

MERCURI, Maria Leonor
CI. 6.667.071
LE. 10.460.321
Barrio Cementista-Monoblock "B"
Sector 8-Dpto.2-Las Heras,Mendoza

Arrested by a group pf armed men on 9.9.76 (Operativo antijesuita). Mendoza

fil
PAHR-Prensa 1-17-78(1)
Mercuri, Dolores Monzo de (Mother)
Alvarado 2770-Dpto.38-Capital
Phone 21-1294
Mendoza Permanent 4/78
2-9-78 "WOLA 11/78"

D

MEREB, Jorge Luis
Age: 30

DIS 3-3-77

PAHR (L)

D

MEREDIZ, Julio

Disappeared 1-4-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

MEREDIS, Rodolfo Antonio
I. Ingeniero Civil - R. de Escalada
Psicólogo estudiante
Age 31

R.G.D. 1-4-77 mk mf Angelica

DAIA
ML
PAHR (1)

MEREQUE, Sebastián

DIS 6-2-77

PAHR

MERES, Jorge Luis
Age 31

Disappeared 3-3-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MERIALDO, Daniel? Aldo
Age 26?

Disappeared 11-25-77 Liniers, Bs. As. Seen in Concentration Camp of La Plata

BISC
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

C - [illegible] 10/1/77/99

MERINO, Jorge Eduardo
Franciscan Seminarian
[illegible] refused since 11/75 an Air Force appointment as Naval Judicial Captain.

Arrested on 4-20-75.

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
Sentenced to 5 years, lawyer says it can be reduced to 3, family asks if possible to enable him to leave the country.
[illegible] Secret [illegible] Year 1980 - ERP

Wash.Off.on Latin America. 7-27-77.

D 76

MEROLO, Hugo Alberto

DIS 11-28-78

PAHR (L)

D

MESA, Gilberto Alfredo
Rio Negro 376, Jumn (Bs As)
Age 45

Disappeared 9-17-76 Jumn Bs As

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rep Arg, Ger. Amnesty

D

MESA, Sabina

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

MESAGLI, Osvaldo Raúl
Age 19
LE: 11.895.166

Disappeared 12-30-75 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MESQUIDA, Sebastian

DIS

ML

D

MESAGLI, Osvaldo Raúl
LE: 11895166
Age: 19
Paraguay 1759, San Francisco Córdoba

DIS 12/75

ML

D

Messiez, Ruben Fernando Oscar
DNI: 6.000.119
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 8-22-77 - Santa Fe

Comis. Pueb. Corrg. 9/75
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Comm. Party

D

MESTRE,
From Luz y Fuerza Union

DIS After 3-24-76

PAHR(L)
ML

MESTRI, Carlos

F

ARR PEN

AISC

METEDRICHI, Delia

DIS

FABR (L)
ML

METNIK, Rosa
LC: 827.185

ABD 11-13-76

ML

METZ, Raúl Eugenio
DNI: 11.113.005
fig 24

Disappeared on 12-16-76 in Cutral-Có, Neuquen with wife

La Prensa clipping 1-3-78
Auto. Self Neuquen
MiL
PEBA (2)

MEZA, Carlos Alberto
Age: 25
DNI: 10.567.858

DIS 2-28-77

PAHR (L)

MEZA, Oscar

ABD FROM CORDOBA PROV. after 3-24-76

PAHR (L)
ML

MEZA, Sabino

DIS 5-13-76- La Rioja -

Habeas Corpus
PAHR (L)

MEZA MARENGO, Carlos Alberto
DNI 10.567.858 - Ced. de Corrientes 281.559

Disappeared 2-28-77. Since then disappeared.

Meza, Eugenia Encarnación Marengo de (Mother)
LC 4.695.389
San Martin 11.81 Prov. Corrientes

8.1.77 Letter. To Representatives.

MEZQUIDE, Nelson
MEZQUIDA, Nelson Juan
BJ 140

Disappeared 4-22-78. Publ. Jornada 6-22-78

FDD
RETOURNEMENT
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MEZZADRA, Maria de Lourdes Noia de
Pavón 2352 - 4°P. - Dto.15 - Bs.As.

On. 10-13-76 a group of 5 armed men arrested her. Since then disappeared.

NOIA, Josefina G. de (Mother)
DNI 0079794

Testimony. Sent T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

D

MIANI, Alberto Daniel
Bco. Norte y Delta
Vicente Lopez
DNI: 11.712.499
Lavalle 1230 - San Fernando (Bs.As.)
Age 22

Disappeared 9-19-77 San Fernando

PAHR(L)
ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
FDD - 78-6-11

D 1978

MIANI, Mario José
San Isidro, (Bs.As.Province)
Age 26
DNI: 10.111.127

DIS 8-9-78

MIANI Mario Edgar D. de MIANI LC 2.072.125 Lavalle 1223

PAHR 9-28-78(L)
15-5-79
FDL Last 9-16-78

D 78

MICABELLI, Francisco Natalio
DOB: 2-3-53
Terrada 3942
Taxidriver.

Disappeared in San Justo on 11-9-78.

Margarita Agustine Arrastua
Patricios 1522 Capital

MICELLI, Ricardo Luis
Ag: 29
CI: 6.539.926

Disappeared 6-9-77 Lanus - Bs As

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D 75

MICFLIK, Saul
Ag: 39

DIS 8-10-78 Caseros - Bs As.

WOLA 11-78
PAHR(L)

MICHAUD, Eduardo Pablo Emilio
Ag: 24
CI: 6.714.089

Disappeared 10-27-76 Martinez

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

551/78/9 D

MICHELENA, José Enrique (Uruguayan)
(Wife: Graciela Lucrina di Gouveia Gallo di Michelena)
Age 28
DW: 11.27.98

GOA reply 2-14-79 - N.r.g.d.

Disappeared 7/77 Orletlanda - B.As.

UNHRC-9-C-79
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MICHELINI, Zelmar K

Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

MICHELINI GUARCH, Raúl

DIS

FAHR (L)
ML

MICHENS, Marcos

D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

MICILLO, Héctor

DIS 4-27-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

9

MICLINCZUK, Victor/

Cause: Member of E.R.P.
Decree: 479/76 Intervención Militar

/Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
7-26-77.

MICUCCI, Daniel Bernardo
DNI: 10.889.328
Student
Age 23

Disappeared 11-11-76 Pilar

José Micucci (Parent)
Ilda Micucci 792-4282

Personal call Embassy 7-31-78

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

MICUCCI, Horacio Alejandro

POLOff suggested that they made contact with [ ] from [ ] in Buenos Aires. B6

D15. 5-5-78 & 8-4-78

Under PEN since 5-14-75 in Unidad 9 La Plata, Pabellón 10, Celda 462. Last Thursday 8-4-78 visit day, he was not at Prison, he had been taken the night before to Police station for interrogation. Relatives were told to come back on Monday 7. They saw when he was brought back to prison, they could see him for 5 minutes and he told them that he had been tortured. The next visit will be on the 10th. After they will come to the Embasy and inform if there has been something new.

Micucci, Elana Camps de (Wife)
L.C. 5.251.348
Vicente Lopez 62
Quilmes

MICUCCI, Viana Ercilia
D.N.I. [illegible]

Disappeared 11-11-76 Martinez

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)
José Micucci (Parent)
Ilda Micucci Personal call Embassy 7-31-78 792-4282

MICUCCI DE ZARATE, Neddy Luisa

Integrant of "Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo" ERP

Crónica clipping 6-14-78

MIEDAN, Hugo Orlando
8.274.449 LE.

Disappeared 2-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MIERES DEMINO, M.C.

DIS

ML

D

MIETA, J.
Worker from Luz y Fuerza

DIS

ML

D

MIGHENS, Marcos
DNI: M.4[illegible].389

Disappearance

PANR-Prensa 5-17-78

P

Migliari, Antonio Atilio
Age: 40.
LE: 4.858.[illegible]

Municipal employee in the depot of Labarden & Chutro. Was detained at his home on Nov.4, 1977 together with his wife Haydee Marta Barracosa.

Buenos Aires, Herald clippin - 11-10-77

Liubicion, Azucena Argentina Barracosa de (sister-in-law)

ML

MIGLIER DE EGGERS (ELLER'), Ramona

Disappeared 9-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MIGLIONE, Juan C.

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

MIGNACO DE OTERO, Rita Irene
Age: 27
LC: 6.692.054

DIS 7-26-76

FDD
PAHR (1)

4/26/11 D *

MIGNONE, Mónica Maria Candelaria
CI. 6.336.146 or 6.136.466
Afr 24

Arrested on 5-14-76. Since then disappeared. (Disappeared)

PAHR(L)
Mignone, Emilio Fermin Ref Amb. 12-14-77 (Father)
Av. Santa Fé 2949-3°"A"
1425 Buenos Aires
7-29-77 Letter to Derian from AAAS
AAAS
ML

L

D

MIGUEL, Guillermo Augusto
LE: 8.037.392
Lawyer
Pasaje Ramon Carrillo 51-Sgo.del Estero
Afr 3b

Disappeared 11-23-76 near to his home. Was "Diputado Provincial" during Peron's government.

Miguel, Anamaria Tennelier de (Wife)
Pasaje Ramon Carrillo 51-Sgo.del Estero (5532 parent-in-law)
Adela Miguel, Paraguay 2880-PB.1-Capital (826-6187; of. 32-1672
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Personal call 8-22-78.-

D

MIGUEL, Mario Osvaldo
Afr 3c
DNI: 8.055.139

Disappeared 8-9-77

(D)
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
hrg hrg Sen. Humbert

MIGUELE, Hilda Noemí

ARR 6-14-75 Bs.As. Held in Villa Devoto PEN

AISC (CADHU)

MIGUELES CHAZARRETA, Raúl R
Age: 40
President Student Center Law School

Killed 3-29-77 Córdoba and Callao, Bs.As.

AISC (Arg.Komm.Sveden)

MIGUELES RENDICH, Néstor
Dálmine Siderca

Disappeared 10-16-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

582/78/5

D

MIGUEZ, Félix (Uruguayan)

GOA reply 2-14-79 : N.h.o.d.

DIS 8-10-75

UNHRC-9-5-78

D

MIGUEZ, Lidio Antonio

Disappeared 1-10-76 Ciudad. City

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

MIGUEZ, Mario O

Disappeared 9-12-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MIGUEZ, Omar Mario

ABD 5/77 from mother's home

ML

D

MIGUEZ, Omar Mario

Disappeared 6-29-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
RIL

(F)

MIGUEZ, Pablo Antonio
C.I. 6.979.152
Comandante Spur 397, Avellaneda

14 years old boy lived with his mother. Parent separeted. Visited regularly his father. As he did not do it for some time, the father went to his home and was told that on 5-12-77 a group of armed men had arrested the mothhr, two men and the boy. Since then disappeared.

MIGUEZ, Juan Carlos (Father)
Albarellos 245, Tigre (Bs.As.)
Tel. 749-0718

8-6-77 Letter to Derian
8-15-77 Letter to T.Todman.
PAHR (L)
RISC

MILCHAUD, Eduardo P.E.
Age: 24
CI: 6.714.089

DIS 10-27-76 MARTINEZ Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MILISTEIN, Diana

ADLeague

MILLAN, Amalia

DIS

ML

C-237/78/7

P

MILLAN, Hilda Noemí (Nee Migueles)

Disappeared 11/78 as under judicial system.

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

MILLER, Julia
Age: 22
Psychology student

Detained 8-10-76 together with boyfriend. Disappeared.

ADLeague

P

MILLER SCHELLORN, Juan Jorge

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

MILLIA DE PIELES, Susana

D

DIS 7/77 Buenos Aires

ML

Millín de Pirles, Alicia
~~Santa Fé~~

Reported to have been seen Mech. School.
Maggio Letter. 4-10-78

Harris info 12-14-78

D

MILLON, Jorge Luis

DIS

ML

D

MILSTEIN, Ruben Wladimiro
D) 5.736.019
Av. Vergara 1850-V.Tessei

Disappeared 3-24-77.

ADLeague
ML

MINABERRY, Eugéne (French)

Arrested on two dates: 5-20-76 and 7-14-76. Freed 5-27- and 7-17-76.

French Embassy

D

MINER

DIS

ML

D

MINGO, Eduardo Esteban

DIS 6-24-77 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

Encl.

D

MINGORANCE, Daniel
DNI. 12.601.632
MINGORANCE, Alicia Marina
DNI. 13.214.029

D

7-23-76

Personal request for Derian intercession on behalf of above mentioned persons.

PAHR (L)
HL

D

MINGORANCE, Julio
Age: 19

DIS 7-23-76

PAHR (L)

MINI, Sara Ema
Age: 24
C/I: 7.370.443

DIS 8-26-76 Munro - Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

MINIELLO, Ana Maria
Age: 31
LC: 5.883.175

ARR 11-16-77 Córdoba- PEN San Martin Prison Córdoba

AISC

MINIZ, Blanca Patricia

DIS 8-18-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

MINO, Juan (Dr.)

Detained in 1976. At presente in Resistencia prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

MINO, Teresa M. del Carmen

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MINSBURG, Rodolfo Ignacio
Pre 21
DI : 6.522.011

DIS 3-21-77

PAHR (4)
Amn Ed League
DAIA
FDD

65 Y/Y/12

MINSBURG, Victor Nicolás
Age 24 DI: 6.525.012
Victor Castro 1443
Member: Ted. Jus. Com.

Disappeared 3-20-77

Cancer Arch Corr. 9/78
PAHR (L)
NL
DAIA
Arch Ed. Liaison
Common Causes

D

MINUE, Antonio
LE: 8.564.082
Villa Union - La Rioja

Disappeared 7-16-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

P

MIR, Arnaldo Patricio

ARR San Juan PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MIRALLES, Ramon

R 78

PEN - 24-3-76
La Nacion paper 8-30-78, Released and is under servileness in province de La Rioja.

MIRAMAR CASINO (Employees)
(Prov. Córdoba)

Group of 24 were arrested on 3-21-77. 16 of them released but 7 still remain at PEN disposal.

Letter unsigned by writer. Is afraid of being known. 10-21-77.

MIRAMON, Luis Enrique

D

DIS 3-30-77 La Matanza Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MIRANDA, Diego

8/24/
DIS 1975 La Plata - Bs. As.

FAHR(L)
La Plata hist 10/78

ML

T MIRANDA, Oscar
R DNI 10.284.146
Sarmiento y Rivadavia, Moreno (Pcia.Bs.As.)
Agtes.

on 2.15-77 was kidnapped by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared. - Moreno -

Miranda, Delicia Silva de (Mother)
L.C. 3.061.450
Beron de Astrada 6739-Capital

Testimony. Sent to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

FAHR(L)

MIRANDA, Raquel M.
Empleada Pública-Mendoza

Detained in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MIRANDA, Raúl
PAR 35
LE: 5.489.892

DIS 9-7-76

PAHR(L)
La Prensa clipping 8-3-78

D 78

MIRANDA, Susana Elvira
DNI: 10.695.992

DIS 8-22-78 Rosario - Santafé

Rosario List
PAHR(L)

D

MIRANDA PEREZ, Fernando
DOB: 7-4-19

Arr. 11-30-75 in Montevideo.
GOU says they do not have him, he went to Bs.As.

Montevideo Embassy

D

MIRENNE DE ATTADEMO, Elena Susana

DIS 8-22-76 San Isidro Bs As

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR(4)

D

MIRETTI, Ma.Elena
LC: 10.523 A2A

Disappeared 10-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D78

MIRSILLI, Daniel

DIS October 1978 with a friend - Avellaneda

AAAS
NAS

9/24/11

MISETICH, Antonio Anselmo
Age: 31

Formerly employed at the Argentine Comision Nacional de Energía Atómica (CNEA). Arrested in April 1976.

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76.
2nd Inf. Request. 6-22-78. " " 12-14-78 NRAD.
" " 1-30-79 by reply.

Letter to Derian from AAAS (American Assoc. for the Advancement of Science). 7-29-77.

FAHR(4) Letter to Derian from NAS.

Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS.
Int'l Comm.
Amn. Int. League

MISETICH, Mirta
L. 10.523.121

10-14-76 ?
ABD 4-23-76 ?

FAHR (L)
ML

MISLOS, Felipe Eduardo (journalist)

Arrested 9/12/76 - imprisoned.

ML
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

MISRAJI DE PASQUINI, Liliana
4.471.498

DIS 6-10-76 w/husband Eduardo from Rosario

Comm Cont Congress 9/78
ML

D

MITNIK, Dr. Rosa
14827.185
Velazco 215, 5° "B" - Capital
Psychoanalyst

Disappeared 11-13-76.

Comm Cont Cong 9/78
ML
ADLeague
FAHR-Trans 5.17.78 (2)

D

MITONO, Juan Carlos

DIS

FAHR (2)
ML

D

MITROVICH DE CORREA, Adriana C.
DNI: 10.013.725

Disappeared 4-28-77 Córdoba

Asist. Lit. Liaqua
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

MITROVICH DE TORRES, Adriana Cecilia
DNI: 10.013.725
~~Age 26~~

AED 4-28-77 in Tucuman w/fellow student Horacio Ferreyra

ml
Tucumán

304/78/2 *
D

MIYARES, Juan Felipe
DPOB: 9-29-1914-Balcarce (Prov.Bs.As.)
LE: 1.374.240

Gob. Mil. Lic. Pen.
6-23-78 A.C.N.D. Ofic. reitera pedido de investigación (Mayo 1978)

Arrested on 6-10-77 in Necochea. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(4)
Miyares, Ana Eteldreda R. de (Wife)
Calle 71, 736, Necochea
Phone: ~~Niece Helena de Rabioglio 5800.~~
Primo Rabioglio 2089
State 048586 - 2-24-78 [illegible]

PCC: call - 16-6-78

de PASQUINI
MIZRAJI, Graciela Liliana
Age 36
DI: 4.472.998

10-6-76 DIS Rosario-Santa Fe

Ant. Def. Lucha
DAIA

288/78/2 *

MOADED, Nestor Salvador
CI. 7.215.435
DOB: 2-17-57, Buenos Aires
Gabriela hijo PEN
6-27-78 A.R.A.D. figura siglas mecanografiado

Disappeared on 5-8-76.

Mr.and Mrs. Moaded
20 Camacua, Buenos Aires
632-7850
PRHR
Dept.of State-Cable 041048

MOAURO, Amalia Clotilde
Age: 28

DIS 1976 in TUCUMAN

ML

D

MOBILI DE BONETO, Ana Maria
CI: 1.735.430

DIS 2-1-77 La Plata

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR-Pena 5-17-78 (4)

MOCHON, CESAR RAUL
DPOB: 2-22-1937 (Buenos Aires)

Inmigrant visa applicant in Uruguay.

Cable Montevideo 5074. 10-28-77.

FREED 12-6-78
305/783

MOCHON, Isaac Hector
CI. 5.011.092
Santa Fé 1622 - 13°"A"
Buenos Aires - 44-4825

GOA 11/5/78: PEN: Art. 2127 - 11-9-77
3-15-78 Cargos: Investigado x delito económico con fraude tentativa calificado.
Detenido: 1-10 Caseros
Removed from PEN - Ley Nacional 9-1-78

UNDER PEN - Delito Económico Decreto 2127 dated 7-21-77.

Su hijo FRIEDLING [illegible] 4/1/78.

Mrs. Mochon (Wife)
Santa Fé 1622- 13°"A"-Buenos Aires
44-4825
Cong. Drinan (State 309631 Cong. Fascell 64-7148.

MOGILNER, (Guillermo) Juan Jacob

Dis 12-5-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR(1)
ADLeague

MOGLIE, Marcelo Roberto
Age; 18

D

ABD 9-19-77 from home by Security Forces

AISC

MORADED, Ana María

P

ABD 8-15-76 in Córdoba
Right of option to enter Norway and Switzerland.
June 26/78 Right of Option to enter Australia.
Transferred from PEN after 10-1-78, at disposal of Special Permanent War Court No. 1 of Córdoba province.

Norway
Australia Embassy information 2-26-79.
ML

MOILLI, Nico Atilio

DIS 7-18-76

ML

MOISA, Susana Mabel (nee Elicavide)

UNDER PEN, Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

MOISE, Matilde Tesse (Cristi) 80/77/7

For.Off.Inq.: 7-11-77 GOA reply: NO. 11-10-77 - Neg.

MOJILNER, Mr.

D

DIS

AISC

MOLCIUSKY, Blanca Frida (nee Becher)

P

Under PEN-Unidad 2, Villa Devoto, judged.

AISC
ADLeague

4/17/9

D *

MOLDAVSKY, Adolfo Ruben
C.I.D. 5.231.955
Arenales 1560 - 10th "I" - Bs.Aires
Age 34

Dr. Moldavsky was arrested at his home on 8-1-77 by 14 armed men who identified themselves as coming from the 17th precint. The 17th later denied any involvement. Since then disappeared.

(2 copies)
TEL " PARA(2)
Moldavsky, Jacobo and Sofia (Parent)
Guemes 393, Avellaneda (Bs.As.)
Tel. 204-0419

Sen. H.M.Metzenbaum Cong. Bill Gradison

Cong.Fraser

MOLDAVSKY DE REY, Beatriz

Authorized leave country by Videla 5-3-79

Detained Villa Devoto. Husband also in jail.

ADLeague

D 78

MOLE, SalvaDOR Alfredo
AGE: 24

DIS 7-26-78 in Buenos Aires

FDD 9-16-78

MOLER, Emilce Graciela

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D78

MOLERO, Ana María

DIS 11-22-78

PAHR (L)

D

MOLESINO, Miguel

DIS 3-24-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

MOLFINO, Mario Vicente
Age 21

Disappeared 2-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

FP

MOLGINER FESTANA, Guillermo Ernesto

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

D

MOLINA, Ms.

ABD La Plata 1977

AISC

D

MOLINA, Antonio Juan

Disappeared Mendoza

Amnesty Family List 2/78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

"WOLA 1/79"

D

MOLINA, Dardo Francisco

Disappeared 12-24-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MOLINA, Donald David
Socialist Worker's Party (PST)

D ??

1-8-79

Arrested between January 6-8-79 in Mar del Plata

Buenos As. Herald clipping 1-27-79
PAHR(L)

MOLINA, Estela Mary

?

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

R/FDD

MOLINA, Jorge Luis
DNI 10.558.334
Junin 1374, 1°P."3", Villa Madero

Disappeared since 5.17-77.

Molina, Luisa Vda. de (Mother)
LC 5.855.680
Junin 1374, 1°3", Villa Madero

Statement to Representatives.
Statement to Senators.
Letter to Embassy.

MOLINA, Julio César

DIS 9-2-76

PAHR

MOLINA, Lucia Dora

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

MOLINA, Lucía Esther D

DIS 4-21-77

Córdoba List 12-1-78

MOLINA, Maria Virginia P

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MOLINA, Raúl D
Age:

DIS 4-27-76

FDD

180/77/11 D

MOLINA LUJAN, Raul Mateo
LE. 8.531.820
DOB: 12-28-1950
Eliseo Soaje 815-Res.Velez Sarsfield-Ciudad de Córdoba
Student leader

Head of Architecture Student Union

Arrested on 10-5-76 on 27 de Abril and Marcelo T. de Alvear streets (La Cañada), since then disappeared.
Cong Yatron 84-7283
Cong Hellagh 84-9534
Contact Wash Cong 9/75
Lujan de Molina, Sara (Mother)
LC.7-343-451 (Same address as above)
Letter to Amb. 6-2-78.
ML

D

MOLINAS DE MARTINEZ, Inés

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

MOLINA DE MARTINEZ, Irma M.

DIS 7-13-77

ML

MOLINA DE TORRES, Lacay Celina

CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78

MOLINA Y VEDIA, Eduardo Lucio (journalist)

Abducted by unidentified men on 4/6/76; government acknowledged his arrest on 4/19/76; imprisoned, allegedly tortured.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

MOLINARI, Yolanda Patricia

Cleared PEN
Reported Dis: Oct.76-La Nacion

P

MOLINAS, Rodolfo Enrique
Edad: 26
Married, two children

Under PEN, unidad 9 La Plata Pab. 1. Charged in Mendoza.

Molinas, Alberto José (Father)
Av. Gral. Lopez 2876-Santa Fé 41-571

Personal call Emb, 12-7-78.

D

MOLINAS DE MARTINEZ, Inés

DIS

PAHR (L)

P

MOLINERI, Ana

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MOLLO, Aldo

Detained Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MOLTENI, Hugo
Ex Juez Federal de La Plata

Detained 3-24-76.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

MOLTENI, Carlos Luis

Authorized to leave country

Announcement made on Oct. 7, 1978

D

MOLTENI, Liliana Edith
16.536.903 DNI.
Age 24

Disappearance 6-5-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Hijo Luis Del. Arroyo

MOLTRAGIO, Jorge Luis
Age 27
DNI: 7.693.412

DIS 12-13-76 San Fernando

PAHR (L)

MONACO, Alfredo
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

447/55/6 D

MONACO, Luis Carlos
Newspaperman
LE: 7.998.273
Age 29
GOA reply 1-30-79 - key reply

Kidnapped on 1-11-78 in Villa Maria (Córdoba) with wife.

Dept. of State 044934
Clamor-Mexico
WOLA
PAHR(L)

MONACO, Ricardo Jorge

D

DIS 9-7-74

PAHR (L)

D

MONAJI, Alberto Horacio
Age 29
LE: 7.781.203

Disappeared 4-28-77 La Plata

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MONARDI, Héctor José
LE: 11.994.243

Disappeared 5-7-77-C. de Mayo-

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MONARDI, Norma Gladys
Age 26
DNI: 13.019.727

Disappeared 7-8-76 in Capital

DL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MONARI, Graciela Clarisa
Age: 24
DNI: 6.356.878

DIS 11-25-76

FDD

MONASTERI, Leonardo

DIS

AISC (CLARIN)

MONASTERIO, Mario Domingo
Salta

Disappeared 1-27-76 Tucumán

PAHR (1)
NL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MONASTERIO, Susana Ma.
NJ: 25
LD: 10.376.866

Disappeared 6/76 Villa María - Córdoba

MONCHIETTI, Rogelio
Age: 17
San Genaro Norte

Disappeared in Coronda in may 1978.

La Razón clipping 5-21-78

MONCIANO, Maria Cristina
MONCERRO
Apt 23

DIS 6-22-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ml

MONDE, Carlos

Detained 3-24-76 Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MONGE, Elias

DIS

ML

D

MONGIANO, Maria Cristina

Detainedon 6-22-76 by Army Forces. Since then disappeared.

Mongiano, Julia (Mother)
DI. 1.570.010
Neuquen 274-5000 Córdoba
Leter to Amb.Castro-12-30-77.

MONIER DE CARRIZO, Cristina Haydée
DNI: 11.690.345
Pje 22

DIS 11-4-77 Mar del Plata - Bs As.

PAH_R (L)

D

MONJEAU, Alejandro Jorge
DOB: 10-23-1955
Age 21

Disappeared in March 1977 together with wife Ana Patricia Caselli (both students of La Plata University). She appeared detained some time later in Córdoba. On 7-6-77 she had a baby and in April 1978 she left the country and his at present in Italy. He still is disappeared.

PAHR
Monjeau, Félix Guillermo (Father)
San Martin 2583-Of.1121-Mar del Plata 7600 Phone 40942
Personal call Embassy 7-7-78

D

MONOURCADE, Ernesto Bonifacio

DIS

ML

MONSALLES, Alberto Pedro

Denied FEI!
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

D

MONSALVO, Roberto Luján

DIS

ML

Right of Option FP

MONSEGUR, Pablo José

Abraham Borenstejn (Father)
Curia 3099 - Piso 16
ADLeague

71-9601
35-0066

Right of Option FP

MONSEGUR, Patricia (nee ~~Borenstejn~~ Borenstejn)

Detained in Villa Devoto with husband Pablo José Monsegur

Abraham Borenstejn (Father)
Curia 3099 - Piso 16
ADLeague

71-9601
35-0066

MONSERRAT, Alejandra Silvia

Reported- Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper
Recd PEN - fm. Kram 10-11-78

MONTALVO, Carlos Alberto
DNI 11.036.489

On 9-16-76 he was arrested at our home by four armed men.
Since then disappeared.

Montalvo, Maria Lopez de (Mother)
CI. 4.248.837
Zapiola 3239 - San Justo, Bs.As.

Statement. To T.Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

MONTALVO, Maria Luisa
Asesora de la Fiscalía de Estado de la Prov. de Córdoba.

At presente in Villa Devoto jail.

Cancer Ctr. Cong. 9/79
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

294/76/2

MONTAÑA, Juan Carlos

GER w/ltr. 3-15-78

PEN: Sig. 3993 19-12-71
Cargos: Ley 20840 - Antecedentes que lo vinculan a la FAS y ERP (organización bien internacional).
Procesado: Juzgado Federal Mendoza - sin resolución.
Detenido Leg. 21445 Exp. 530 del 29-2-77.
Destino: U2 - Sierra Chica.

Was held at La Plata Prison, now at Sierra Chica.

Testimonio y lo dicho: 1-16-78 del penal Sierra Chica.

BA-1314 - 2-22-78
Conn. Victim London - Bolivia 040+82

D

MONTAÑO AMEZAGA, Victor (Bolivian)
Age 34
CI: 7.116.587

Disappeared 7-27-76 Caseros

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

MONTARCE, Enrique Pastor
Age 26

Disappeared 8-31-77 - I. L. Suarez -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MONTEAGUDO, José Manuel

DIS 6-22-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

D

MONTEDONICO, Pilar

ABD 6-10-76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MONTEIRO, Ricardo Alberto
CI: 12.931.968
Casa 55 - Policía Municipal - Zárate Bs As
Bjt 48

Disappeared 12-10-76 - Zárate - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

D

MONTEJO, Beatriz

DIS Córdoba

PAHR (1)
ML

D

MONTEMAYOR, Mariano (journalist)

Abducted 4/2/77; whereabouts unknown. Freed 3 days afterwards.

PAHR (1)
ML

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

MONTENEGRO, Irma Elena

DIS

ML

D

MONTENEGRO, Jacinto Rubén
LE: 11.030.208
Arrest. 1115-Cantelar (Fco Ds)
Age 23

Disappeared 1-5-77 with m/s Liliana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MONTENEGRO, José Oscar

Detained in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Netherland Embassy.

D

MONTENEGRO, Tomás Hilario
TAMET
LE: 7.430.436
Age: 32

Disappeared 4-19-76 Detained - Coronda?

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombr3
PAHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDD 11-6-78

MONTEQUIN DE BALUT

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

MONTERO, Beatriz

DIS Córdoba

AISC

D 78

MONTERO, Jorge Rodolfo
LE: 4.523.223
Member of "Vanguardia Comunista"

DIS 8-15-78
Advertisement in newspaper La Nueva 1/24/79

PAHR (L)

MONTERO, Mirtha Liliana

DNI: 13.746.998

DIS 7-8-76 Córdoba

Córdoba List 12-1-78

MONTES, Guillermo Federico
Age: 26
LE: 8.537.844
Edison 352-Martinez Bs.As.

DIS 9-20-77 leaving work

FRHR(L)
ML

MONTESANO DE O, Stella
LC: 5.865.057

ABD 10-16-76

AISC

MONTESINO, Leonardo Amador
LE: 11.043.511
Med. student
Age 23

Disappeared 2-5-77 La Plata

Cause: Amb. Emg. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MONTESINOS, Eloy Martin

Reported Disappeared PEN.
Dis:Oct.78,La Nacion newspaper

MONTESINOS, Nora

DIS Salta

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

MONTIVERO, Rodolfo

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

MONTIVEROS, Pedro

Cesad PEN: La Nacion 10-21-78
Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion

MONTOYA, Mirta

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

P

MONTOYA, Roberto (writer and journalist)

Arreste 11/11/74; imprisoned.

Liste 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

MONTOYO, Carlos Eusebio
[illegible]
Apr 33

Disappeared 5-13-76

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

329/78/4 P

ZARACEANSKY, Sylvia Montserrat de

GOA nifty 6-27-78 PEN Newsl 35, 1-12-78 (1e folder)

Detained in Córdoba since last July, 1977.
Listed in Córdoba prison list published.

Cong. Ted Weiss 60-5490
Arthur C. Danto, Columbia Univ.

D

MONTQUIN, Mariano

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

MONZON, Inés Teresa
Age 17
LE: 13 283 712

Disappeared 1-3-77 San Fernando

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MONZON, Juan

DIS Mar del Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MONZON, Raúl

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

MONZON, Reynaldo José
Age 22

Disappeared 4-21-77 Ciudadela

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

R/FDD

S

MOORE, Leslie Ricardo
DNI 12.464.928
Guardia Vieja 3948 - 1192 Capital
Age 41

Disappeared on 7-27-76.

Moore, Alicia M.Mc Cormick de (Mother)
Guardia Vieja 3948 - 1192 Capital

8-10-77. Letter to Senators.

PAHR (L)
NL
Rec. Rec. Rec. Remitir
E DD 11-6-78

MOPARDO, Alfredo Néstor

D

Disappeared 11-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MORA, Concepción Ester

D-78

DIS 5-23-78 Bonzaco

PAHR (L)

D

MORA, Juan Carlos

DNI: 11.922.642

Calle 17-873 - La Plata (Fco. C.)

Disappeared 12-1-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MORA. Maria Rosa

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

MORAL, Ana Maria

Disappeared Mendoza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
"ECLA-11-78"

D

MORAL, Jorge Nestor LE: 5.130.038
San Martin 874-Ensenada
Age 37
Member Comm. Party

R

Was arrested at his mother's home Calle 124 - 45 y 46, El Dique. by a group of armed men from Coordinación Federal. Since then disappeared. 5-15-76

Moral, Estela Gallego de (Wife)
LC 4.480.546
San Martin 874-Ensenada
Testimony to Representatives.
Comm. Dept. Exec. 9/77
ML PAHR (L)
Leg. Ass. Dep. Hombres
Comm. Party

MORALEJO RODRIGUEZ, Maria Cristina

D 78

Disappeared 2-14-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MORALES, Alejandro Manuel
CI: 5.045.963
Age 29

DIS 5-25-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

D

MORALES, Ana Maria

Disappeared

Lindsey Family List 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MORALES, Gladys Beatriz
C.I.: 8.142.695
F. Belén 7173, 6to G.
Rfx 15

Disappeared 9-17-77

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
ML

C-22/2/11

P Optan

MORALES, Héctor Osvaldo

Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

ex-Partido Socialista
Ruy for La Perla

MORALES, Jr., José Ramón

AHD 11-2-76 at the home of Mr. Morales Sr.

ML

D

MORALES, Sr. José Ramón

ABD 11-2-76 at the Home of Mr. Morales Sr.

ML

D

MORALES, Juan

Disappeared 5-16-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Nombre

D

MORALES, Juan Pedro
Fijo
LE: 5.712.145

Disappeared with José F. Reynaldo Ha Mestanza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
Fil

MORALES, Luis Alberto
Age: 22 Student

ABD 11-2-76 at the home of Mr. Morales Sr.

Anth. Australia Adoption
ML

MORALES, Nidia de

ABD 11-2-76 at the home of Mr. Morales Sr.

ML

MORALES, Ricardo Alfredo

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

MORALES, Stella Maris

ARR 3-22-76 Córdoba
PEN - Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

321/78/4 Dor Killed

MORALES MIY, Carlos Rafael
Calle Mitre 1085 - Escobar ??

Our information is that he was killed resisting his arrest. Now in Rawson PEN list, appears his name. Have requested information if he is the same person?

[illegible] Rawson. PEN Interior 1393 dated 1/22/75. Charges [illegible] GCH reply 4-14-78

FOWG- 4-4-78.

[illegible] BA-4223

320/78/4 D

MORALES MIY, Maria Elida
LC. 10.993.140
Calle Mitre 1085 - Escobar
Age: 24
DOB: 9.30.1953 Salta

H.R.B.B. GCH - 4-7-78

Detained on 4-22-77. Her husband was killed, as he resisted to be detained. Her both children were given to her father on 5-3-77. Since then she is disappeared.

Sen. Lawton Chiles, on behalf of [ ] State 081344 BA-4231
Sen. Richard(Dick)Stone on behalf of [ ], BA-4223 BA-4278

Morales Miy, Victoriano Naimes (Father)
Belgrano 906-Salta Phone 10734

1-31-78

66

MORALES REYES, Humberto
Age 27

Disappeared 4-14-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Tucumán

D

MORALES SANCHEZ, Juan Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

553/75/9

D

MORALES VON PIEVERLING, Juan Miguel (Uruguayan)

GOA reply 2-14-79. N.k.n.d.

DIS 9-26-76

611/78/9 D 1978

MORALLI, Guillermo
Fac. de Ingeniería de la Univ. Bs. As.

Gen reply 1-18-79: No records.

Arrested on 7-28-78 during an seembly called to seek the release of Norma Falcon, a lawyer and member of the Partido Popular Cristiano.

RI
Cancer Arch Encs. 9/78
Council on Hemispheric Affairs - 9-13-78
WOLA 11/78

MORALLI, Mónica D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MORAN , Hilda Esther de D

DIS 4-29-76

PAHR (L)

D78

MORANDI, Ariel Eduardo
DNI: 10.986.277

DIS 5-11-78 Rosario - Santa Fe

Rosario List

PAHR(L)

D

MORANDI, Héctor Victor
DI: M.724.243

Disappeared 5-2-77 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MORANDINI, Cristina del Valle
Fic 23
DNI: M.141.077

Disappeared 10-18-77

Lic Arq. Dir. Amb.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MORANDINI, Héctor Luis

Disappeared 9-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MORANDINI, Nestor Luis
Age 22
Id.: M. 748.282

Disappeared 8-18-77

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MORATA, Ana Aurora
Peredo 651, Córdoba

ABD 7-26-77 from home
Cleared CEN - La Nación 10-21-78

ML

370/78/5

D

MORAXO, Rosa Irene
Federal Capital

Disappeared 5-16-78

M.R.A.D - GOA - 9-1-76

PAHR - 5-30-78

D

MORAZONI, Enrique

DIS

GOHR(4)
ML

D

MORCILIO DE MOPARDO, Maria Alicia

Disappeared 11-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

45/77/3 ♀ *

MORDASINI, Adelina Beatriz.
CI. 2.534.121 - LC 6.708.045
Fecha de Nac.: April 30, 1951 in Neuquen(Pce.of Neuquen)

Released. For.Off.Inq.: 3-14-77 Goa reply: NO

Father (sister-dual natl.)

-MORE, Abel Alfredo D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MORE, Alicia Raquel D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MORE, Carlos Alfredo

D

DIS

FAIMR (L)
ML

Morea, Sra. de

782-1466

Cox recommended.

P

MOREIRA, Domingo
Federation Ceramic. Workers

Arrested March 76, at present at Coronda prison.
Christmas list 1977- ceased to be under PEN.

Belgium Embassy Interest-Arsene Van der Driessche-1-25-78.

D 78

MOREIRA, Héctor Horacio

DIS 12-6-78 in Buenos Aires.

El Dia clipping 12-15-78

MOREIRA, Héctor Horacio D

DIS 10-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

MOREIRA, Victor Jacobo
Age: 24
Doc. 11.234.025

DIS 4-11-77 Tucumán

Tucumán

PAHR (L)

de Fernandez

MOREIRA, Maria Rosa

DNI: 11.438.028

K-199

Age: 24

Dis: Rxx 6-7-78, Ranelagh

FDD List- 9-16-78

D

MOREL, Pedro Crisoldo

Disappeared 5-13-77 with wife Sara-Claypole-

HL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MOREL VILLALBA, VIDELA

Age 25

Disappeared 7-29-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MORELDO, Raúl Antonio
DNI: 10.880.470

D

Disappeared 5-15-77 Moreno - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

9

MORELLI, José Elias (journalist)

Arrested 9/23/76; imprisoned

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

MORELLI, Roberto

D

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

MORELLO, Raúl Antonio

Trib.-Secc 3902/77 - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 5-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MORENDINI, Cristina del Valle
Age: 23
DNI: 11.191-077
P. Colón 1598,Bs.As.

ABD 9-18-77 from home

ML

MORENDINI, Nestor Luis
Age: 22
DNI: 11.748.282

DIS 9-18-77 in Buenos Aires

ML

MORENO
CI. 8.102.330

ABD 3-30-77 from San Justo B.Aires

ML

MORENO, Adolfo

ARR Applied Parole Visa USA

AISC

MORENO, Alberto L.
Dálmine Siderca

Disappeared 11-22-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AIF/CIO

D

MORENO, Carlos Alberto

DIS - 3-28-77

[illegible]: D.N.I. 11.134.154. We do not know the circumstances in which h was detained. He came from Mar del Plata, but he was abducted here in March 1977. A t days after he disappeared, somebody with his name was killed by the police in an alle "ambush". His parents went to the official morgue but could not find the corpse.

PAHR (L)
ML

MORENO, Charo

ARR 11-4-75 Bs.As. Held in Villa Devoto PEN
Judge: Adamo

AISC (CADHU)

D

MORENO, Eduardo

Disappeared 6-9-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

399/78/6 D

MORENO, Elisa

GCA reply 9-5-78:
PEN - Dto. 1613 del 18-7-78
delegada: Comisaria 8°. LA Plata el 31.7.7[illegible]
Cargo: Subsecretario PCR.

Abducted on 3-26-78 together with her fianceé Raul Eduardo Petrouch outside near to San Justo Cathedral, after Eastern evening mass.

San Justo

D

MORENO, Graciela
Age 30
LE: 5.411.246

Disappeared 4-29-77 - [illegible] de Zamora -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
hL

K

MORENO, Jorge
Student

Killed since on year and two months in the [illegible] neighbourhood of Hospital de Niños in La Plata, when he resisted to be kidnapped by forces of the Policia de la Prov. de Buenos Aires.

Harris data - 8-14-78

D

MORENO, Jorge Horacio

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MORENO, José Daniel
Ferroportuario

Disappeared 1-4-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MORENO, José Eduardo
Apr 23
Cor. 2 Kaelin 4441, Moreno (Pcia.)

Disappeared 9-14-77 with Father Merlo

hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

D

MORENO, Luis Bravo

DIS

FARR (4)
ML

P Optica

MORENO, Maria Celia Brieva de

Carcel de Villa Devoto - PEN Sumi 3-25-76

ex-Partido Socialista

D

MORENO, Mario

DIS

ML

MORENO, Raúl Arnoldo
Dálmine Siderca
AR 24
L: 965.11

9/22/76 - Disappeared. Campana - Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MORENO, Ramón

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

MORENO, Rodolfo
Mar del Plata

Disappeared June 1976

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MORENO, Rómulo
RA: 45
LE: 4.718.021

Disappeared 9-20-77 Campana

PARH-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

MORENO, Rosa Irene D

ABD 5-16-78

MORENO CERRESE, Charo Noemí

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

D

MORENO DELGADO, Antonio D.
Age 44
Av. San Martin 4001, Lierle

Disappeared 9-14-77 with son José Eduardo - Lierle

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
AL

D

MORENO DELGADO, José
DNI: 2.933.895
Edad 24 - Lierle
Age 22

Disappeared 9-14-77 with brother and father

AL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MORENO DE GOYOCHEA, Nélida Noemí
Age 33
L. 5.099748

Disappeared 8-15-77 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

P

MORENO KIERNAN, Magdalena (nee Romanuk)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

P

MORENO KIERNAN, Rafael Alberto

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

PAHR (L)
ADLeague

584/78/9

MORENO MALUGANI, Miguel Angel (Uruguayan)
DPOB: 3-23-1948 Montevideo
Ref 25

GOA reply 2-14-79 : N.k.a.d.

Picked up bu the Argentine Army, since then disappeared.
This happened on 10-1-76 in Buenos Aires.

PAHR(L)
Malugani Torena, Violeta (Mother)
Andres Cheveste 1411-Montevideo
UN HRC - 9-5-78
AISC

P

MORENO SOMFOLINSKY, Silvia (Uruguayan)
Age 28

Detained Olmos Jail.

ADLeague

D

MORERO, Jorge Horacio

DIS

FISC (Corpus-Hrs)
ML

D

MORERO, Rafael Alberto

DIS

ML

585/78/9

MORES MONTEDONICO, María del Pilar (Uruguayen) D

GCA 4/14/76 - N.Y.a.d.

DIS 10 June, 1976

UNHRC - 9-7-78

MORETTI, Oscar (Dr.) P

Detained in December 1974. At presente Resistencia Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

MORGANTE, Manuela

DIS 7-17-77 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

MORGENSTERN , Amelia Ester

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro Newspaper)

MORGONI, Jorge

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

MORINAS, Luis
Medicine student

DIS 7/76 Mendoza

ML

D

MORINI, Hugo Luis
25 de Mayo 1111, Ciudadela Pcia. Bs. As.
Age 47

Disappeared 3-30-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MORINI LAVALL E.C.de

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

MORIÑA JUNG, Luis Rodolfo

Disappeared

Solicitud VI-Lista Ejército 6-16-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MORNADI, Héctor José
L. 11.724.243

DIS 5-7-77

PAHR (L)

MORO, Raimundo Raul

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

MORO DE VICENZO, Miriam S. de
L. 10.496.572

DIS 9/77 Rosario-Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

D

MORONI, Edgardo Omar
Age 26
LI 10.554.542

Disappeared 9-7-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MORRESI, Norberto Julio
CI 8.198.947
Age 17

Disappeared 4-23-76

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MORRESI, Ruben Osvaldo
Age 23
DNI: 10.833478

Disappeared 9-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MORRILLAS, Isabel Mercedes
PAPESA - San Justo

Detained 11/1975 - Olmos

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MORRONE, Guido

ABD

AISC

Passed

MORTILLARO ZUNINO, Ariel
LE: N. 06[illegible]279
Gutemmo Ferraris 4036 - Capital
Ing. Industrial (Technol. - complejo textil - abogado)
Mendoza 5546, Pto. Cto.
6/[illegible]77

Disappeared since 5-21-77. from home - Studied in Southern - Ciudad Católica

MORTILLARO, Clara Josefina Zunino, Vda. de (Mother)
Mendoza 5546, Dpto.3, Capital

5-27-77 Letter to Mrs. Rosalynn Carter.

CAHR(L)
54-6483 Mortillaro de Pacho, Ofelia (Hermana)
Mendoza 5546 - Piso 4 - Capital
(Sra. Carter) (Personal with Pinochet 6-24-77)

P

MORTVIN, Mónica Emilia

Authorized to leave country - La Nacion 2-17-79

Under PEN - Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

P

MORZAN, Delia Esther

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

MOSCA ALSINA, Carlos Enrique
DNI: 11.944.654
DOB: 4-18-1956
Martin Cornejo 98-Salta
Student of Universidad Católica Salta

Disappeared 8-4-76 in Salta.

Mosca, Carlos Enrique (Father)
Martin Cornejo 98-Salta
Letter to Amb. 7-25-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MOSCHINI, Enrique Antonio
Age 39
LE: 5.169.314

Disappeared 1-3-77 Buenos Aires

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
AL

MOSCOSO ESPINOSA, René Alejandro
Age 29
CI: 9.090.508

Disappeared 9-15-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MOSCOVICH, Marcelo
Age: 21
Architecture student

Disappeared November 1976

ADLeague
DAIA

D

MOSETO, Libertad de

DIS 3-24-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MOSETO, Miguel Angel

DIS 4-9-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MOSIGLIA, Antonio Amadeo

Disappeared 6-3-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MOSQUEIRA, Victor

DIS 12-23-75

AISC

R MOSQUERA, Antonio Juan Lucas (E)
L.E. 7.700376
Serrano 2258 - San Miguel

Disappeared 12-17-76. San Miguel

Mosquera, Dora Nélida Ordoñez Vda. de (Mother)
LC 2.279.358
Serrano 2258-San Miguel, Bs.As. 664-1248

Testimony to Representatives.

FAHR(L)
MIL

MOSQUERA, Juan José
Obrero Mercedes Benz
Age 29
LE 7.664.666

Disappeared 8/12/76 San Justo - Bs. As.

FAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MOSQUERA, Ricardo de Jesus Ram

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

D

MOSSO, Patricia

Disappeared 7-11-76

FDD
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

MOSSO DE CARLEVARO, Adriana
CI: 6.485.990

Disappeared 4-27-76

FDD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

MOTT, Hugo Alberto

ARR Catamarca PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MOTTA, Rubén Hugo
DNI: 84.994.077

Disappeared 1-7-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MOTTAI, Hugo Ruben

ABD

ml

MOUGAN, Hugo
Mendoza

Detained Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MOUJAN, Hugo Alfredo
Age:

DIS

FDD

D

MOURA, Jorge Horacio
Age: 29

3-8-77
ABD 2-8-77 in Bélgica and Vergara, City Bell, Buenos Aires

PHHE (L)
ML

MOURCADE, Ernesto Bonifacio

DIS 12/76

ML

D 1

MOURIÑO, Eusebio Jesus
Kaufger
H/c 126
C/I : 4.872.280

Abducted on 11-6-1976 in Florida, Buenos Aires.

Cancer Amb. Arg. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78 (L)
FAHR (L)

C-142/78/2

MOVIA, Ada Graciela

Opinion

Was last observed alive in the military judicial system.

PEN - Villa Devoto

Consulate.

MOYA, Haydée V. de
Santa Fé

Detained 1-3-77 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

586|78|9

MOYANO, Alfredo (Uruguayan)
Out: 11.496558
Age 21

GOA reply 2-14-79 - N.h.a.d.

Disappeared 12-30-77 with wife

E. Argentina Santander - L.C.U. 81.683 - Ligua: I. # 139
VHHR - 4-5-79
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
FDD - 6-11-78

MOYANO, Aristóbulo Daniel
Age 33
LE: 6.694.614

Disappeared 5-28-76 Olivos

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

MOYANO, Carlos Alberto
Age 41

Disappeared 3-10-77 - Munro -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MOYANO, Jorge

Detained in Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MOYANO, Jorge Daniel

Disappeared

Hundreds Family list 6/78
#L

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
"WOLA 11/78"

D

MOYANO, José Andres
C.I: 5.306.222
P de Mayo 2977 - Fco Co.
Apt 24

Disappeared 6-30-76 with wife Susana

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

MOYANO, Magdalena

DIS 12-8-76

ML

MOYANO, Roberto

Detained since 9-12-76 (Condenado Consejo Guerra)

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MOYANO, Salvador Alberto
LE: 11.266.537

ABD Mendoza

FDD
PAHR(L)
Mendoza Family list 8/78
ML
"WOLA 11/78"

MOYANO ACOSTA, Luis M.
Aje 24

Disappeared 8-24-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MUCCETTI, Miguel Angel

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

MUCCIOLO, Irene Nélida
Ap 22
La Plata List 8/27/78

Disappeared 1-27-78 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MUCHIUTTI, María Inés

Disappeared 8-16-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MUGANO, Horacio Angel

DIS

PAHR (L)

MUGICA, José
Employee pharmacists trade union

DIS 9-30-76

PAHR (L)
ML

MUJICA, Laura Cristina

DIS 6-24-76 Olivos, Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MUJICA, Susana Edith
Master in Political Science
Age: 27
H.Yrigoyen 597, Neuquen

ABD 6-9-76 Neuquen

Luis Arg. Ber. Kimber
PAHR - Prima J-17-76 (L)
ML

MULLER, Héctor
Farmacy (Santa Fe)
Age 45

Disappeared 5-28-76

Amnesty Int. Report
NL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Inf. Arg. Der. Hombre

MULTRAZZI, José Alberto
AGE: 23
DNI: 10.896.181

DIS 11-20-76 Zárate

FDD

MUNITIS, Luis
Dob: 10-20-1954-La Plata
Medicine student
LE: 4.642.776

DIS 5-13-1977 La Plata-Bs As

PAHR(L)

Munitis de Merbilhaá (Sister)
23, Allee Louis Blériot
94310- Orly - France

D

MUNNE, Daniel Oscar
DU. 10.849.403
Entre Rios 827 - Quilmes (Bs.As.)

Arrested at her bride's home Breezzone 935-Ezpeleta, (Graciela Beatriz Di Piazza) on 8-4-77. Since then both disappeared.

Munne, Isolina Corna de (Mother)
DU. 3.381.248
Entre Rios 827 - Quilmes

MUNTANE, Juan José
CI: 2.731.131

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D 1978

MUNTANER, Mario Juan
Age: 25

Arrested 1-26-78' Since then disappeared.

Buenos Aires Herald clipping- 1-31-78. 2/9/76

PAHR

MUÑIZ, Agustina Maria
DI 66999319
Araoz 2873 - 3°P.

Arrested on 4-21-76 by a group of armed men.

Muñiz, Agustina Paz de (Mother)

PAHR(L) Statement to Representatives.

MUÑIZ, Blanca
Age: 22

6-6-76 Abdected with friends, witnesses of her tortures, friends released after 24 hs.

PAHR(L)
ML

MUÑIZ, Eduardo Oscar
Age 18
CI: 8 463 748

Arrested on 10-22-76 at early sunrise. Since then disappeared.

The Intern. League for H.R.-Fernando Rondon-8-15-77.

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MUÑIZ, Ma. Dolores
DNI: 10.965.372
Guillermina 3321 (Mata)

Disappeared 3-17-76 Mundial Plata - Ex Detenida

hl
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

MUÑIZ BARRETO, Diego ?

Unsure whether he has gone underground or been "disappeared"
Had close Montonero connections according to SRF.

hl

D

T MUÑOZ, Antonio Hernán
CI 6743254
R DNI: 10.311.246
hija 25

Kidnapped or arrested on 9.28.76 around Plaza Italia by Military Forces. Since then disappeared.

Muñoz, Angela de (Mother)
LC 30829

Statement. To T. Todman.
Statement to Representatives.

hl

D 48

MUÑOZ, Carlos

DIS 11-22-78

PAHR (L)

MUÑOZ, Carlos Damien (Chile) 12/76/11 D *

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76
GOA reply: 11-12-76

PAHR (L)

D

MUÑOZ, Carmen Mabel

Disappeared 11-11-77

HL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

MUNOZ, Hernan Antonio
Age: 25
CI: 6.743.254

DIS 9-28-76

PAHR (L)

MUÑOZ, Julio Anibal

ABD 9-28-76

PAHR (L)
ML

MUÑOZ, Mario
Age: 36
Leader Aconcagua Union in Chile

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

MUÑOZ BARBACHAN, José Luis

DIS Córdoba

PAHR(L)
~~XXXXXX~~ ML

MUÑOZ MARTINEZ, Sergio (Chilean) *

On Expulsion list 12-23-76.

PAHR(L)
ML

D

MURA, Ma. Cristina
LC: 6.224.209
Parish Birth: Bs. As.
Age 23

Disappeared 8-10-77

Esther M. De MURA LC. 1.617.209 - SANTA FE 2016/2°E
ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

FDD 11-6-78

Murat, Sara
Doc.prov.Jujuy-Jujuy

Detained U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

MURILLO, Eduardo Jorge
Age: 23
DNI: M.438.329

Disappeared 11-10-76 Avellaneda - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

MURNO DE MEREDIZ, Rosa A

Disappeared 1-4-77 R. Escalada

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
DAIA

MURRAY TRONCONI, Bernardo

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MURUA, Miguel Angel
Age: 21
LE: 11.087.617

DIS 9-17-76 Tucumán

FDD

MUSOLO, Mario
Age: 36

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

MUSSA, José Osvaldo

ARR ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MUSSETI, Miguel Angel

DIS

CAHR (L)
ML

MUSSI, Elias

Right of option certificate for France.

At present in Penal Unidad 9, La Plata Prison, Bs.As.
PEN 2845 - 7/29/75. T.Harris from GOA 9-28-77.

State 192160 —
Cancer Cenf, Cong 9/77
Cent de Lutte

France

D

MUSSI, Juan Pedro

DIS 3-4-76 Córdoba

ML

MUSSIO, José
Acindar

Detained 3-24-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

MUSSO, Jorge Mario

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

MUSSO, Pablo Daniel
LE 8.490.135
Triunvirato 475-Temperley
t.: 6.147.365

On 10-25-76 our house was searched and our son Pablo Daniel arrested; this was done by a group of armed men who said to be from Gendarmeria. Since then he is disappeared.

Musso, Fernando (Parent)
Musso, Irma B. de

Testimony to Representatives.

PAHR(L)
ML
Lic. Eug. Luis Narbaitz

D

NABOR, Gomez
Córdoba

Disapparead 4/76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D 1978

NACAR, Juan R.
Journalist

DIS or DITAINED.

ADEPA, 8-16-78,
GA-SDS Harwis data.

D

NACET, Elsa Alicia
DNI: 11.347.874

Disappeared 12-16-76 La Plata –

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

275/78-2 D*

NACHMAN, Gregorio
DoB: 2-24-1930
Larrea St. 3183, 7°- Mar del Plata
LE: 4.054.691
Director of Comedia Municipal Mar del Plata.

Arrested on 6-19-76 by policemen. His oldest children sons ages 20 and 21, have left home for fear of being picked up by police or other persons.

MIL PAHR(L)
Archbishop Lefebvre
DEIN

Mr. Harry Lautman (Cousin-AMcit) B6

Amer. Embassy Vienna 03383 BA-0122
Senator Javits: Letter 7-13-77.
Leg. Leg. Der. Humb.

31/76/11 *

NACHUMOW, Raimundo (Polish)

Left country. For.Off.Inq.: 11-18-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76

D78

NADAL, Carmela
Age: 7 years

DIS 9-22-78 Escobar Bs.As. to-gether with parent.

PAHR (L)

D78

NADAL, Diego Reinaldo

DIS 9-22-78 Escobar (Bs.As.)

PAHR (L)

D78

NADAL, Diego Victoriano
Age: 4 months

DIS 9-22-78 Escobar Bs.As. together with parent

PAHR (L)

NADAL, Jorge Adalberto

Carmen 7-21-78.
Sinfisiotomia de 2 grados a la derecha

ADLeague

D

NADAL, Juan Domingo

DIS 9-29-77 Chacabuco Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

NADAL, Salvador

Detained in Buenos Aires

ADLeague

NADAL, Stella Maris
Lawyer

ARR Chaco - No trial

AISC

D 78

NADAL, Vladimiro
Age: 9 years

DIS 9-22-78 Escobar Bs.As. together with parent

PAHR (L)

T

NADAL MARTINENGO, Alberto

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLeague

D

NADRA, Jorge Raúl

DIS 7-3-76

Córdoba List 12-1-78

D 1973

NAFTAL, Alejandra Judith

DIS 5-9-78

La Nación clipping 7-7-78

D

NAGUER, Namba

DIS 7/76, Buenos Aires

ML

D

NAHS DE BRUZZONE, Carmen L.
DNI: 11.453.467

DIS 8-8-77 Rosario Santa Fé

PAHR (L)
Rosario Inst

NAIEF SAADE, Antonio
Bqto 40
L[7.071.799

D-78

DIS 1-16-78 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

NAIJMARK, Alicia Irene
CI: 5.277.948
Bqto 31

ABD ~~1977~~ 11-10-76

PAHR(L)
ML

NAJMANOVICH, Daniel

658/78/12

D

Disappeared 5/76

ADLeague

D

NAJMANOVICH, Rafael
7.721.753
Age: 18
Student

Disappeared 7-23-76

PAHR (1)
RL
ADLeague

P

NAJMIAS, Jorge

Detained 4-7-76

ADLeague

D

NAME, Jorge Miguel
Age: 30
LE: 5.098.244
CI: 5.788.241

DIS 3-13-75 Birmingham, Ala.

FDD

D

NANDEAU, ~~Dilia D. de~~ Liliana Cristina
Prof. de Historia - Buenos Aires
Estrada 620. L.de Zamora (Bs As)
A/c 32

Disappeared 4-9-76

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PRHR - Prensa 5/12/78 (4)

D

NANNI, Gustavo Daniel

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

9-5-78 520/78/9

NANNI, Rodolfo Francisco

DNI: 5.394.341
CI: 1.108.180
Address: 75 Nro. 1124-La Plata

Dis: July 6-78

NRAD-(Desp. 16-10-78)
PRHR(4)

D 78

NARDONE, Dina

DIS 11-9-78

PAHR (L)

D

NARIO, Enrique Daniel
Age 21
Doc: 11-506-191

Disappeared 4-21-76 - Mar del Plata -

Friend Visited Embassy - Oct 31-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D78

NARVAEZ, Juan Argentino
Age 22

Disappeared together with brother in law Miguel Galvan on 6-16-78.

Narvaez de Galvan, Armanda - Born 43 - Schoolteacher (Sister)
Newspaper clipping

NARVARTE, Horacio Luis

P

Detained in Mendoza prison.
Transfer to Unidad 9, La Plata - Oct-28-78

Narvarte, Cándida V. de (Wife)
Pedro Goyena 1475-Dto.36
Villa Hipodromo-G.Cruz Mendoza
Letter to Amb. 6-27-78.
Letter to Amb. 11-6-78 - Answered - 11-14-78

NASO, Hector José

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

P

NASSER, Carlos Alberto
DOB: 8-25-54 Ballesteros (Córdoba)

Detained at beginning of 1975. At present in Unidad 9 La Plata since 8-8-78.

Authorized Incommunicado. Upon his release 1/27/79

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

NASSIF, Norma Beatriz

Medicine student
Student leader

DIS Detained on 3-10-75. At present under PEN in Villa Devoto.

Nueva Hora 11/78

NAUANZOUK, Pedro

Detained since 4-17-76 Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

NAUDREAN, Liliana Cristina

DIS 4-9-76 Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

NAVAJA, Cristina Silvia

DIS 7-14-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

NAVAJAS JAUREGUI, Eduardo Enrique

DIS 6/25/76 [12/77] Buenos Aires La Plata-Bs As

PAHR(L)
La Plata Print 10/78
ML

NAVAJAS JAUREGUI DE OGANDO, Maria Victoria

DIS 6-16-76 La Plata - Bs As

La Plata List 11-21-78

PAHR(L)

D

NAVARRETE, Maria Isabel (Chilean)
Age 24
Medical Student
Member Fed. Univ. Com.

Disappeared 3/77 - La Plata -

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Comm. Party
Cancn Cong. 9/78

D78

NAVARRO, Araceli Noemí
Age: 23
DNI: 11.677.058

DIS 3-30-78 Remedios de Escalada, Bs.As.

FDD

D

NAVARRO, Elba
Delegate of UEPC

ABD 8-10-76 in Córdoba

PAHR (4)
Reg Civ. Ident. Nombre
ML

NAVARRO, Héctor

7

DIS Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

NAVARRO, Jorge Alberto? Roberto?

Disappeared 10-19-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

NAVARRO, Juan
Acindar

Detained - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

NAVARRO, Juan Carlos
DNI: 16 333.320
F. Alvarez 2719 - Córdoba
Prof. 25
Member Comm. Party

Disappeared 10-18-77

ML

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Comm. Party

D

NAVARRO, Luis

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

NAVARRO, Orlando
Industrial Worker-Santa Fé

DIS after 3-24-76 Santa Fé

PAHR (L)
ML

NAVARRO DE GONZALEZ, Ignacia

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

NAVARRO DE PINON, Cristina Maria

Age: 25
LC: 10.801.457

DIS 8-12-78 in Buenos Aires

FDD 9-16-78
PAHR 4-28-78

NAVARRO REY, Maria Anabella
Age: 50

DIS 10-19-77

PAHR (L)

NAVIA, Antonio
CI: 1.341.487

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

NAVOR GOMEZ,

ABD Córdoba

ML

NAYEN, Victor Antonio
CI. 4.748.193

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

659/77/12 D

NAYMARK, Alicia Irene
C.I.: [illegible]
Arg. 31
Lavalle 551, Pta. Ba.

Disappeared 11-10-76

Mother: Ana Clara de Goffre - CF 293.580
Rodriguez 2444 - 0548
Amb. Bf. Aires
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
FDD 11-6-78

FF

NAZAL, David Ricardo

Unidad 9 La Plata. Condemned to 10 years.

ADLeague

D + Recap
77 - 78

NAZAR, ~~Joaquín~~ Juan Ramón
"La Opinión" de Trenque Lauquen

Disappeared, 7-21-77 Reappeared 8-23-78.

ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78
La Nación - La Prensa clippings 8-29-78

NAZZUCHI, Wiston (Uruguayan journalist)

Arrested 2/8/76; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

NEBULASI, Mario Alberto
Affiliy Fachina - Zarate (Bs As)
Pfe 22

Disappeared 11-19-76 Zárate (Bs. As.)

FAHR (L)
ML

D

NEBULOZZI, Mario A.
Dálmine Siderca

Disappeared 6-11-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

NEGLI, José

D

DIS Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

NEGRETE, Natalia Maria (nee Ratcheff)

P

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

C-11/73/4

NEGRO, Javier Federico
DNU: 11.607.155

Option
P

Min Ind. refused visit 11/78 as not longer under PEN.

UNDER PEN 1769/76 - U9 La Plata. Has presented petition for option to leave country.
El DIA Newspaper-Oct 28-78. Released From PEN.

Al Australia - Adoption

Negro, Carmen Asensio de (Mother)
Diag.80 N-. 791 - 9""B"
LA PLATA
Phone: 44662 (Relatives).

D

NEGRO, Paula

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D78

NEGRO, Raquel

ABD with son Sebastian of 12 months on 1-2-78 in Mar del Plata. Pregnant.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

NEIBURG, José

NEIBURG, Raquel (nee Baron)

ADLeague

NEIMARK, Alicia

D

ABD 11-12-76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

NEIRAN,
Fiat Worker

D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

NELL, José Luis
Age 66

Argentine disappeared in Paraguay.

NELSON, Alfredo Jorge
Maestro
Age 22

-8-
Disappeared 10/76

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
FAHR - Prisma 5-17-78 (L)

NENE

AED 11-26-76 from Policlínico Posadas

ML

NERON, Luis Angel
Age: 32
LE: 4.552.382
Calabria 3866 Buenos Aires

ABD 12-6-77 from home with wife Graciela

FRAR(A)
ML

NETO, Nebio

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

NEWBOUND, Carlos Juan
Age: 24
Law student

ABD 3-8-77 from home Bs.As. by Army

FRAR
ML

NERON, Luis Angel
Age: 32
LE: 4.552.382
Calabria 3866 Buenos Aires

ABD 12-6-77 from home with wife Graciela

PAAR(L)
ML

NETO, Nebio

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

NEWBOUND, Carlos Juan
Age: 24
Law student

ABD 3-8-77 from home Bs.As. by Army

PAAR
ML

2 4

NEYRA, Mercedes Jose

Cleared FEB.

Repeated Dis: Oct.78-La Nacion newspaper

NICOLA, Lucia de

ABD 4/77. Son Ricardo was delivered to her parents by the army

ML

NICCOLIA, Graciela Esther
Ref 23

Disappeared 6-3-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

NICOLAS, Felipe (Journalist)

IMprisoned. Lima 9-12-77 in Ciudadela

Le Monde 6-10-78
Rép. Arg. Des Livres

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

NICOLETTI, Mirta Liliana (nee Chiernajovsky)

Under PEN Villa Devoto

ADLeague

NICOLETTI, Nelson
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

NICOLI, Susana

D

DIS 3/76

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

NICOLIA, Graciela
Belgrano y 33 Orientales - 7°Fl.
Buenos Aires
Member of Fed. Juv. Comunista
Univ. student
Alt 23

ABD on 6-3-77

Comm. Party
PAHR (L)

AFL/CIO

D

NICOTERA, Ricardo Alfredo
Alt 27
CI: 6.243.000

[redacted]: C.I. 6.243.000 worker. He was abducted from his home in Capital Federal, on July 21st 1976 together with his wife.

PAHR (L)
AL

NICROSINI PEREZ, Enrique Carlos

Removed from PEN - La Plata 1/13/79

Detained and at presente in Unidad 9-La Plata

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

NICROSINI SANTINI, Enrique Carlos
Over 60 years

Detained since 1976 in Unidad 9 La Plata.

Removed from PEN - La Plata 1/13/79

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

NIELLA, Lidia Marta

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

T NIETO, Adriana Silvia
R DU. 11.816.666
Yerbal 2105-Capital

While she was visiting Córdoba city she was arrested on 8-15-76. Since then disappeared.

Nieto, Ramona B. de (Mother)
DU. 3.348.3k4
Yerbal 2105-Buenos Aires

PAHR(L)

ML

Testimony. To T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.
Testimony to Senate Comm. - 1-18-78

NIETO, Antonio Lorenzo
Age 24

Disappeared 6-14-76 -Grand Bourg-

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

C - 99/79

NIETO, Carlos Adrian

Option P

Action Dist. requested visit 11/78 as under judicial system.

PEN- Unidad 9 La Plata

Elesa Prone de Nieto (Mother)
Los Mistoles 14
4400 Tres Cerritos (Salta)
Leandro Nieto (hermano) PHONE: Salta 1002 (7-15 hrs.)

NIETO, César
Age: 62

DIS 12-14-76 S. Fernando

PAHR(L)
FDD

NIETO, Gonzalez Isidora Francisca

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

NIETO, Cesar
Disappeared 12-14-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

NIEVA, Alberto Ruben

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

NIEVA, Miguel Angel

DIS

ML

D

NIEVAS, Jorge Carlos

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

NIEVAS, Manuel
Correo-Córdoba

Detained since February 1977 in Córdoba.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

NIEVES, Susana Leonardi de

D

DIS 3-31-76

PAHR (L)

D

NIEVES SANCHEZ, Rodolfo

DIS 3-29-76 Buenos Aires

FAHR(L)
ML

D

NILLNI, Ines Maria Pedemonte de
01:3759 3[illegible]

Disappeared 10-8-76. Husband and children in Israel.

ADLeague

D

NIMSBURG,
Age: 23

Disappeared 3-20-77 with brother.

NL
ADLeague

D

NIMSBURG,
Age: 21

Disappeared 3-20-77 with brother

NL
ADLeague

239/22/12 D *

NIÑO, Gustavo

Arrested in front of Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77
presumably by the Argentine Security Forces.

Corr. Garcia A. Rocha

NIRO, Claudio Orlando
Age 17 D-78

DIS 5-8-78

PAHR (1)

NISELSKY, Pedro
Ast. Rio Santiago

Detained since April 76 - Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Amn. Int. Caqui

D

NISELSKY, Victor Jacobo

Disappeared

AI

ADLeague

P

NITTOLI, Horacio Luis

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

784/79/1 P

NIVOLI, Marcelo Raúl
Dob: 2-10-44 San Juan

PEN detainee - Unidad 9 Pab. 1, La Plata.
Parent stated that the prisoners are now afraid when they are released that it will happened them as to the other two or three released who never got home.

Ian. Crawford

Juan V. Nivoli (Parent)
Antonia Tomas de Nivoli
Avidio Lagos 51 - Dpto. 4-Córdoba

Personal visit Embassy 2-10-78.

NIVOLI, Mario Alberto
DI. 6.564.277
O.Lagos 51 - Córdoba

788/77/1 D

Arrested on 2-14-77 by the provincial police of Córdoba.
Since then disappeared.

Nivoli, Graciela María Gauchat de (Wife)
DI. 6.030.097
G"uemes 5823-Santa Fé (3000)

8-19-77. Letter to Embassy B.A.

PAHR(L)

NIZTZSCHMANN PICON, José Martin

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLeague

NOBEL, Alejandro

D

ABD 11-10-76 from work with brother-Bs.As.

AISC

D

NOBILI DE BONETTI, Ana Maria
CI: 1.735.430

DIS 2-1-77 La Plata

FDD

D

NOCEDA, Carlos Norberto

DIS

ML

D

NOCENT, Elsa Alicia
DOB: 17-7-1955
DI. 11.341.874
Student

Disappeared on 12-16-76 en LA PLATA.

PAH 8(L)
Leila Seiuba 8-26-78

Nocent, Albano José (LE.3.035.633)
Ela Gelatti de Nocent(LC.4.062.213) (Parent)
Cnel. Falcón 24 - Bahia Blanca

NOCETTI, Ines

ABD 8-10-76 with Selma J. Ocampo

ML

NOCIGLIO, Antonio Amadeo
DNI: 8.270.786
Age 29

Disappeared 6-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

NOE, Carlos Alcides
Age 27
DNI: 8.206.207

Disappeared 10-21-76 6-3-76 Munro

Ruth Def. Hagen
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

NOE, Jorge

DIS

ML

NOE, Pedro

Disappeared 10-25-76

ML

ADLeague

32/26/11 *

NOE, Victor Jacobo
Lawyer
Age 28
ID: 4.620.671

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 11-18-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76

Detained on 10/23/76 near Congress Chamber.

FAHR(L)
Cancer Center Emg. 9/78
ML
DAIA
Letter de Cuba Center 1-11-78
Lic Leg. Ex. Emig.

D

NOES, Ricardo Alberto
2

Disappeared 6-30-77. La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata hist 10/78
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
FAHR(L)

9

NOGUEIRA, Alejandro (Uruguayan)

Disappeared 12-11-75 in Buenos Aires. At present detained in Libertad Prison in Montevideo accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

D

NOGUEIRA, Guillermo

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

D

NOGUEIRA PAULLER DE RODRIGUEZ LARRETA, Raquel (Burzaco)

Disappeared 6-30-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

NOGUEIRA PAULLIER DE RODRIGUEZ LARRETA, R.

Disappeared 7-13-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

NOGUEIRA DE RICNY, Graciela Mirta
Hij: 24
CI: 6.299.518

Disappeared 7-21-77 Burzaco - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

NOGUEIRA DE RODRIGUEZ MARTINEZ, Raquel (Uruguayan) C F
Age: 27
Calle Víctor Martinez 1285-Buenos Aires

Disappeared 7-13-76 in Buenos Aires; at present in conditional freedom in Uruguay, accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

D

NOGUEIRA SOLARI, Alberto

DIS Córdoba

ML

NOGUER,
Age; 2

D

DIS Daughter of Maria F. Noguer

AISC

NOGUERA, Juan Felipe

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

NOGUERA, Juan José

DIS

FAHG(L)
ML

NOGUEZ, Ricardo Martin

DIS 12/76

FAHG(L)
ML

NOIA DE MEZZAGRA, Maria
Age: 30
LC: 5.488.096

DIS 10-13-76

PAHR(L)
FDD

R. NOLASCO, fernando Pablo (X)
CI. 6.718.057 - DNI 10.691.571
B. Escalada de San Martin 4586-5°"A"-Capital

Arrested by supposed Security Forces on the public street.
Since then disappeared. 6-25-76.

Nolasco, Gloria Fernandez (Mother)
B. Escalada de San Martin 4585 - 5°"A"
Capital (1407) 63-8603

PAHR(L) Statement to Representatives.
Personal call Embassy Asst. Sec. Todman 7-28-78

NORA, Adolfo H.

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

NORBERG, Roberto

ADLeague

NORES MONTEDONICO, Alvaro " (Uruguayan) F
Age: 26

Disappeared 10-1-76 in Buenos Aires. Freed on 12-22-76 in Montevideo.

REFOULEMENT

F

NORES MONTEDONICO, María del Pilar (Uruguayan)

Disappeared 6-10-76 in Buenos Aires. Freed on 12-23-76 in Montevideo.

REFOULEMENT

50/77/3

NORIEGA, Carlos
CI: 3.537.297
O'Higgins 1765 2°"D"
Capital 782-3876

Disappeared. For.Off.Inq.: 3-14-77 GOA reply: NO

GOA reply 9-5-78: N.R.A.D.

Noriega, Isolina Ana Cerino de (wife)
CI. 4.469.546
O'Higgins 1765 2°"D"
Dapital Tel: 782-3876

NORIO, Enrique Daniel

DIS 4-21-76

AISC (A.D.P.H.)

NORVELLO, Luis

DIS 9-25-76 La Plata

AISC

D

NOSARETTI, Héctor

DIS 12/76

AHMR(L)
ML

NOSE~~R~~ ~~or NOCELIA~~, Carlos Alberto

D

DIS

AHMR(L)
ML

462/78/7

NOSIGLIA, Maria Magdalena
CI. 7.089.871
DOB: 5-13-1953 Posadas (Misiones)

Geography: 9-15-78 M.R.A.D

Disappeared

Wife of Oscar Cristobal (terrorist) sentenced to 5 years. Gaceta 2-16-79.

Freeman-Dr. Luis A. Caeiro
AFL/CIO

415/78/6 D

NOTALIVERTO, Ismael
CI. 2.598.608
Castro y Av. Rolon, Boulogne (Prov.Bs.As.)

Disappeared. Lozadur.

NOTARO, José D

DIS

FAIR(L)
ML

NOUYON DE PEREZ, Norma Beatriz
Age: 28
Worker

Detained in 1975-at presente in Villa Devoto Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

NOUYU, Jorge Américo

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D 78

NOVANO, Araceli Noemí

DIS 3-30-78

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

NOVATO, Carlos Martin

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

NOVERA, Héctor Lima
Age 21
Q1: 6.100. 198

Snatch 9-23-77

DAIA
PAHR(L)

NOVERA, Jorge Mario
Taken from [illegible]
Law student
Age 25

Snatch 9-23-77 with brother
Rel Arma - La Prensa 6-2-78
Opinion 6-16-78

DAIA
PAHR(L)

D

NOVILLO, Alejandro Luis
Age 22

Disappeared 2-28-77 Rosario

D

NOVILLO, Carlos Alberto
Age 19

Disappeared 2-28-77 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

NOVILLO, Jorge Horacio
Age: 24
Pasaje Nelson 570-Rosario

Arrested on 2-28-77. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
Novillo, Jorge Oscar (LE:6.096.938) (Parent)
Novillo, Maria Juana Saade de(LC.2.385.173)
Dorrego 546
Venado Tuerto, Santa Fé

D

NOVILLO CORBALAN, Rosa Eugenia

FOWG REPLY:
PEN Dto. 1584 - 11-22-74
Charges: ERP member, subversive activities
Profuga: since 5-24-75 when she escaped from Buen Pastor prison (Córdoba).

October 1978.

NOVILLO RABELLINI, Rodolfo Francisco

FOWG REPLY: Octo. 1978.

PEN Dto. 2731 9-7-77
Charges: Itegrante de PER, editan pamfletos subvsers. Córdoba prison.

8-14-78

NOVO BARAGLIA, Rubén

ABD 12-13-75 Tucumán

Mexico 79

c-08/12/12

NUDEL, Raúl Oscar

Minister informed emb. in PR on R.Gs rejected w/ 6 months

PEN - Coronda Jail (Prov. Santa Fé). Permision for option to leave country. Gave mather forms to be sent to the consulate.

Nudel, Angela Sandiano de
Castelli 89 - 5°C - Capital (Mother)
Phone: 47-6625

NUDELMAN, Nora
Age: 24

Detained Villa Devoto

ADLeague

NUDER, Hernan

AED 1977 Córdoba Prov.

ML

NUGHES, Juan Angel

Arrested on 8-11-76. from "Instituto Agropecuario de ciudad de Alberti"

Nughes, Victorino Raúl (Father)
Biel, Switzerland

European Co-Operative Longo MAP,
Assoziationsgenossenschaft. Postfach. Ch. 4002 Basle, Switzerland

PFHR(L)

NUGHES, Victorino Raúl
DOB: 2-25-34
Villa Juan B. Alberdi, Prov.Tucumán

REFUGEE
At present in Red Switzerland.

La Paz 6144

NUGUER, Hernan Gerardo
CI. 5.772.067 LE: 8.649.372
Member Fed. Jur. Com.
(Invalid)

Arrested on 10-27-77. Since then disappeared.

Cond. Com. Conv. 9/78

Nuguer, Juana M S. de (Mother)
Av. La Plata 165 - 4°- Bs.As.
PEHR - Prens. 5-1978 (L)
Letter to Mrs. Carter - 11-3-77.
Comm. Party

NUÑEZ, Blanca Nieves
CI: 10.479.192

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

NUÑEZ, Diego Eustaquio
Age 40

Disappeared 8-13-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Humanos

NUÑEZ, Eva Esther
Age 24
DNI: 11.818.130

Disappeared 7-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

NUÑEZ, Fermin Angel

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

NUÑEZ, Héctor
Municipal Worker

ABD 3-20-76 Bahia Blanca

PAHR(L)
ML

D

NUÑEZ, Horacio Santos

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

P

NUÑEZ, Joaquin

UNDER PEN.

AI-Notre Dame, Indiana USA

D

NUÑEZ, Jorge Damian
Administr. Central
Bogotá 1846-Gp Ca

Disappeared 5-6-1977

ML

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

NUÑEZ, José Enrique
DNI: 8.437.814
Calle 132 y 41, La Plata Gp Ca

Disappeared 2-17-77 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Rep. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

NUÑEZ, Maria Juana

DIS 4-26-76

PAHR(L)
ML

NUÑEZ, Mario Martin

ARR PEN

AISC (Clarin)

NUÑEZ, Miguel Angel

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

NUÑEZ, Norma Ada
Fil: 24
DNI: M.031.301

DIS 9-23-77 Transferred

PAHR(L)

NUÑEZ, Omar

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

NUÑEZ, Oscar

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

NUÑEZ, Pedro Francisco
Alt 26
DNI: 10.553.173

DIS 5-4-76 Metan - falta

PAHR(L)

NUÑEZ, Ramona

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

NUÑEZ, Roque

DIS

PAHR (L)

NUÑEZ, Victor Hugo
Hjt 25

DIS 2-26-76 Córdoba

PAHR (1)

431/78/6 P

NUÑEZ, Violeta Maria
Age: 26
DOB: 12-22-50

Detained in Villa Devoto since 12-13-75.

Dept.of State-Bumpus 6-5-78

NUNEZ DE MARANGON, Susana D

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

NUSBAUM, Rosa Ana Damiana D
Ref 28

Disappeared 9-6-77

Amnesty Int. Report
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

NUSENOVICH, Moises

Under PEN.
Refund ADL

ADLeague

ÑANCUPEL, Guido Adrian

In Penal Rawson, Chubut.

Ñandupel, Adrian (Father)
Comodoro Rivadavia (Chubut)

C-54[illegible]2

OBEID, Ruben

Rec application in person 11/78
PEN - Rawson, Chubut - Option to leave country
Authorized leave country - Invoked ha Station 1/27/79

Obeid, Maria Cristina Vega de (Wife)
8305 Barda del Medio (Rio Negro)

Maria Teresa Candis (Cousin) 241-0386

OBERLIN, Hector Guillermo
Age: 26

ABD 1-7-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ml

OBERTI DE SORIANO, Rosa ADela
LC: 5.806.471

ABD 3-17-76 Prov. Bs.As.

PAHR
ML

OBLIGADO. Maria

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)
ML

OBRAMOVICH, Ricardo
Public official

ADLeague

OCAMPO, Amanda Maria
Age: 18
CI: 6.428.408

DIS 7-23-77

PAHR (L)
FDJ

OCAMPO, Héctor
Santa Fé

Detained - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

OCAMPO, Raul Osvaldo
Social Sciencies student - ciencias Economicas
Age 21
C.I: 5.047.402
DU: 11.824.122

DIS 11-15-76 together with Alberto Ezequiel Said.

Sotero Raul Ocampo (Parent)
Regina Amalia Rogiero de Ocampo
Av. F. D. Roosevelt 5657-4°P. DptoB (Personal call 2-22-77)
(Italo Bartolome)
ML
PHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

OCAMPO, Selma Julia

ABD 8-10-76 with Ines Noceti

ML

D

OCAMPO FERREYRA, Amanda Ma.
CI: 6 428.408
Valentín Gomez 3524 - Fco Cis.
Age 15

Disappeared 7-23-77

mother - Gilda F. De Ocampo - C.I. 4 355.177 - 3524 Valentín Gomez
ML Arg. Arg Sec. Hombre
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
F D D 78-6-11

D

OCANIA, Luis Gabriel

DIS

ML

D

OCANO
UO-Construction Workers-Reconquista

DIS after 3-24-76 Reconquista - Santa Fe

PAHR(4)
ML

OCANTO, Julio
FCGSM T. Lauquen

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

C - 475/78/4

OCAÑA ELIAS, Luis Gabriel

Hom Rights. Informed visit 4/78 on medic. judicial system.
Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

OCAÑO LOMBA, Jorge Antonio
FAR 26
CI: 6.465.647

DIS 5-8-76
Letter to Embassy - NOV. 9-78
Interest person - David Eric Newsom

PAHR(L)

OCARIZ, Jorge

DIS

WOLA 11-78

OCHIATTO, Jorge Alberto

DIS

ML

OCHIUTO DE RUIZ, Catalina
Age: 51
Nicaragua 4959, Buenos Aires
Worked at Hospital Militar

ABD 11-15-76 with husband Oscar from home

PRAF - Prima 1-17-78 (L)
ML

D

OCHOA, Cándido
La Cantábrica
LE: 4.915.754
Arrestado el 1° de Mayo, Liberado (no Ch.)
Ag.32

Disappeared 5-14-77 with wife

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

OCHOA, Enrique Ramón

Arrested on 10-23-75 in San Juan. At present in Unidad 9 La Plata.

letter to Amb. Castro 12-5-78
OCHOA- Andrea de (Mother)
Catamarca 465-Villa Lerga
Prov.San Juan 5423 Capitan Lazo, Dpto.Rawson.

D

OCHOA, Hugo

DIS 1975

Córdoba List 12-1-78

OCHOA, Mónica Patricia
CI: 8.794.795

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

OCHOA, Piturno

Unidad 9 La Plata.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

OCHOA, Victor Cándido
Appt 27

Disappeared 5-14-77 Paso del Rey - Bs As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

OCOPLER, María D.
Jujuy

Detained since 1975 in Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

161/77/11

ODELL, Alejandro Roberto
Bob: 7-12-1954
Address: Güemes 4718-5°"B"-Capital
DU: 11.203.379
Occupation: Student in Geology, Fac. de Ciencias Exactas. Universidad de Buenos Aires (Nuñez) - Part-time Taxi Driver.

Disappeared on August 14, 1977 between 2 and 8 pm. Activity at time of disappearance: employed (and working) as Taxi Driver de Capital Federal, (Peugut 404 Diesel (Gasolero), License no. 0618872, Motor no. D-0-4801, Chassis No. 3104322.

Odell, Josefina Diana Manos (Wife)
Güemes 4718-5°"B"-Capital
Cong. Fraser - 11-23-77
Congr. Holt. 11-9-77
Jan. Spalvins 11-9-77

OCANDO, Emilio Horacio
LE: 3.763.504
Michael Hudson

Disappeared 10-15-76 La Plata

La Plata first 10/78
NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

HSG 125 La Plata

OGANDO, Estela de
Lawyer
LC: 5.865.057

DIS 10-13-77

PAHR(L)
ML

OGANDO, Gustavo Ruben

DIS 6-9-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

PAHR(L)
La Plata List - 11-21-78

OGANDO, Jorge Oscar
LE 5.222.542
OGANDO, Stella Maris Montesano de
LC 5865057
Sarmiento 159-Villa Ballester

Arrested on 10-16-76 by supposed Security Forces. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
Califano, Delia Celia Giovanola de (Mother)
LC 1012247
Sarmiento 159, Villa Ballester 768-1444
La Plata list 10/78
Statement to Representatives.
ML
Casa de las Madres
Cassette Amnesty Int. 9/78

OGANDO, Baby

B

Califano, Delia Cecilia Giovanda de (Grandmother)
Sarmiento 159-Villa Ballester (Prov.Bs.As.)

D

OJEA, Ignacio Pedro
DNE - 11.303.436
CI: 6.756.116

Disappeared 3/77

mother visit-Nov. 6-78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

OJEA, Jorge

ABD 1/77 in a school camp in Córdoba

ML
AISC (CAPAS)

OJEA QUINTANA, Esteban M.
Age: 24
DNI: 10.506,490 ot M.774.223

DIS 4-28-77 Mar del Plata

FDD
PAHR (L)

OJEA ROVINTANA, Esteban Maria

DIS 4-5-76

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

OJEDA, Aldo Oscar
LE: [illegible]
Age 24

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Rep. Arg. Ber. Permall

OJEDA, H.
Acindar

Detained 3-24-76 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

1

OJEDA, Hugo Fernando

DIS 7-18-76 Concepción - Tucumán

PAHR (1)

1

OJEDA, José Eduardo

DIS 8-19-77 Concepción - Tucumán

PAHR (1)

OJEDA, Juan Carlos

D

DIS Santa Fé

ML

D

OJEDA SIERRA, Luis Rodolfo
Age 32
LE: 8.058.587

Disappeared 4-8-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

O'KELLY, Elsa Mónica
Age: 17

DIS 4-21-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

OLANDO, Ricardo Daniel

D

DIS Córdoba

PAHR(2)
ML

OLARRAGA, Miguel
Córdobā

Detained in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

OLAVE, Jorge Raúl
Bfe 24
DNI: 10.506.490

Third Secret Hearing - Opinion 6-16-78
Disappeared 4-28-77 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(2)

OLAZO, Mónica
Age: 19
Medical student

D

DIS 6/77 La Plata

AISC

D

OLDANI DE REGGIARDO, A.
Age: 57
DNI: 3.094.655

DIS 2-8-77 Flor.Varela Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

OLEJAVETZKY, Adolfo Daniel

Held under article 2 inclusive, of the Institut.Act of September 1, 1977 - Law 21650

ADLeague

OLIVA, Ana Isabel

Detained 3-23-76 - Villa Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

OLIVA, Diana Elena
Age: 15

DIS 5-15-77

PAHR (L)

OLIVA, Juan Antonio
Delegado

Disappeared 3-16-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

OLIVA, Justo José
Age 24

Disappeared 5-15-77 with wife Sonia & Daughter Diana

hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D78

OLIVA, Miguel Antonio

DIS October 1978

P

OLIVA BERROTARAN, Gustavo E.

ARR PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

OLIVAR, Victor M.

D

DIS 4-28-76 Córdoba

FAHR (L)
ML

OLIVEIRA, Rafael

D

DIS 7-13-76 Mendoza

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

OLIVENCE, Daniel Horacio
Age: 28

DIS 1-2-77 San Juan

PAHR (L)

T OLIVENCIA, Daniel Horacio (X)
DI. 8.324.138

Disappeared in San Juan on about middle of October 1976.
Encotar - Fr. Ar.

Olivencia, Vicenta T. de (Mother)
CI 8.309.237
Patricias Mendocinas 2462-Mendoza
PAHR(L)
8-11-77 Letter to T.Todman.

TN "WOLA-11-78"

OLIVENCIA, Luis Alberto

DIS

ML

OLIVER, Susana
Age 21
CI: 6.086.079

Disappeared 4-23-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

OLIVERA,
Empleado público-San Juan

Detained Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

OLIVERA, Dario

Returned from PEN - 12-22-78

Detained since 12-1-75 in Gualeguaychú

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

OLIVERA, Juan Manuel
Age 24
DN. 10.910.465

Disappeared 10-18-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D-78

OLIVERA, Juan Pablo
Age: 24

DIS 6-5-78 in Buenos Aires

FDD 9-16-78

D-1978

OLIVERA, Raul Pedro

Age: 24

Dis: 5-6-78, Cap. Federal

FDD List - 9-16-78

D

OLIVERA, Roberto

ARR 3-24-76 La Plata

Mexico 79

P

OLIVERA SAN MARTIN, Edgardo
DOB: 9-21-38
CI: 7.326.970
Mechanic

Detained in 11-7-74, at presente Rawson prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

D

OLIVERES, Fernando Pedro
Arg
CI: 1.814.903

Disappeared 1-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

OLIVERI, Gloria Marta

Disappeared 5-6-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

OLIVERI DE DUCCA, M. Cristina

D

ABD 5/76 from home Bs.As.

AISC

OLIVIER, Patricia Silvia
Age 24
DNI: 10.624.087

D

ABD 4-11-77 from her home with Luis E. Matsuyana

PRHR-Prensa 5-17-77 (L)
ML

324/78/4 J. +

OLIVIERA CEZAR, Mercedes Julieta de
CI. 4.583.167
Divorced.
Address: Avenida del Libertador 1024, 7th fl.- Bs.As.

Disappeared 3:oo am. 8-20-1976.
Her name appears on p.66 of the Argentine Information Service Center List of 11-4-77.
ML

Inquirer Rural Press: 3-2-78 AD-2107

B6

Chacabuco :55, 6D San Isidro, Bs.As.

803/74/1 D1978

OLIVIERI, Carlos

Taken by uniformed men on December 6, 1978
on his way to a friend's wedding.

State 020955-1-26-79-Dpto.of State

D

OLIVIERI DE DUCCA, Maria C.
Age 36
C/I: 255.236

Disappeared 4/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

OLIVIESI, Daniel

DIS 10/76 SAN JUAN

ML

c-59/77/11

OLIVARES, Jorge Abelardo

Option P

PEN - Unidad 9 - La Plata - Option to leave country.

Olivarez, Rosa Videla de
Echeverria 1606
RIO CUARTO (Tel.24381 Amistad)

GA- 9043

OLIVETO, Juan Antonio
Age 29

Disappeared 3/15/77 Corrientes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(i)
RISC (Corpa. Lix)

OLLEROS, Inés
DNI: 11.504.794
Age 22
Mendoza Fid Jur. Com.

Disappeared 7-19-77

Causa Arch. Cong. 9/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Comm. Party

OLLIO, Alberto
Soldier

DIS 6-26-76

PAHR(L)
ML

OLLOS, Miguel Angel
Age 21

Disappeared 8-3-77 Ezeiza - B. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

OLMEDO, Gustavo Gabriel (F)
MI. 11.935.328
OLMEDO, José Horacio
MI. 10.640.619 LE: 10.633.613
OLMEDO, Graciela Gladys Pujol de

Gustavo Gabriel Olmedo disappeared in Córdoba City on 3-26-76. José Horacio and his wife Gabriela Gladys Pujo de Olmedo in Buenos Aires disappeared end of October 1976.

Olmedo, Tomás M. (Father)
Los Sarmientos-Chilecito-La Rioja
Tel. 517
PAHR(L)
8-10-77. Letter to Embassy B.A.

OLMEDO, Miguel Angel

D

DIS 5-12-77 Morón

PAHR (L)

D

OLMEDO, Silvio Martin
Age 24

Disappeared 10/76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
NL

D

OLMEDO DE SPATOLA, Alicia
LC: 7.300.321
Age 32

Disappeared 12-7-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

OLMEDOA, José Horacio
LE: 10.633.613
Medicine student

ABD 3-24-76

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

OLMOS; Jorge E.

DIS 4-13-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

OMIROPO, Estela

DIS 5-14-77

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

557/78/9 D

O'NEIL VELAZQUEZ, Haber Edmundo (Uruguayan)

Disappeared in December 1977 in Buenos Aires
[illegible]

Registered:
UNHCR-Refugee
3-9-78

94/77/9 D *

O'NEILL, Eduardo Miguel
LE.7.788.805 [illegible]
Laprida 1204 - 7°"30"-Capital
Tel. 83-8412
[illegible]

[illegible]

Arrested on 9.9.77 by a group of armed men (ler.Cuerpo de Ejercito). He is a doctor, was member of Federación de Residentes, while he studied. Wife's sister, resident in the U.S., has asked Mr. [illegible] for help.

[illegible]

Mrs. O'Neill [illegible] (wife)
Laprida 1204 - 7°"30"-Capital
Tel. 83-8412
[illegible]

ONGARO, Horacio Angel D

DIS 9-16-76

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

ONIFICI, Eva Raquel

D

DIS

AISC(Cospa-Mx)

D

Maria
ONIS, Cristina
Apt 32
LU 4.122.646

ABD 6-4-76 from home in Florida, Bs.Aires

ML
PRHR (1)

D

ONODRIO, Rosanna Victoria
FIFA Labor.

Disappeared 10-20-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ONOFRI, Hugo Luis

DIS 10-20-76

PAHR

ONORES, Luis
Ex-Delegate from Ika-Renault

DIS 11/76 in Córdoba

ML

ONS, Adelaida Beatriz

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Madrid)

D

ONTIVERO, Pedro Jorge
Age: 31
LE: 7.992.637

DIS 9-29-76 V. Libertador-Córdoba

PAHR (L)

D

ONTIVEROS, Gabriel
Obrero Renault

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ONTIVEROS DE MOSCARINI, Elsa
CI: 5.843.671 or 9.848.671

DIS

AISC

OPEN, Daniel

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

OPPENHEIMER, Alicia Nora
6.Sep.76
Age 23

Disappeared 7/31/76 - From work. 3471 PAMPA, CAPITAL Federal.

Mothers Visit. Nov 4-78 (OFFICE)
DAIA
PARA(L)
mother: Olga Kleinman de OPPENHeimer
CAPITAL-781-3613 O'Higgins 2341-42

ORANE, Eduardo Gabriel

Arrestado en frente Iglesia de Santa Cruz, Diciembre 8, 1977.

Tomás E. Ewbe. Cruz

ORBIETO, Luis

DAIA

ORDOÑEZ, Jorge Audiosio D

DIS 9-20-76

Mar del Plata List

OREJANA, Francisco Domingo D

DIS

ML

D

ORELLANA, Haydée Mercedes
CI: 6.857.605

Arrested on 9-20-76 in Lomas de Zamora.
Disappeared since then.

Orellana, Juan D. (Father)
Ericson 14- Temperley

D 78

ORELLANA, Miguel
Age: 35

ABD 5-11-78 from Uspallata 2556, Bs.As.

AISC

ORELLANO, José Maria
HF: 24
LE: 11.471.025

D-78

DIS 4-14-78

PAHR (L)

R/FDD

ORFANO, Pantaleon Daniel Age 25
D C.I. 6.223.739
R ORFANO, Guillermo Lucas Age 21
S C.I. 7.223.511

P.D.Orfano was arrested at Corrientes and Libertad streets. Since then disappeared. This happened on 7-30-76. On the 12-2-76 his brother Guillermo Lucas was also arrested, he has not returned yet.
Father's car found. Bs. As. Herald 3-9-79

ORFANO, Lilia J. de (Mother)
DNI 0.115.922
Luis Saenz Peña 1729 P.BB-Capital

8-11-77 - Letter to Derian.
FDD Copy of above mentioned letter to Representatives.
Agosto 1977 - Letter to Senators.
AL PAHR(L)

ORGAZ DE BRIZUELA, Nancy

DIS 6-29-76

PAHR(L)
ML

ORIA, Elber Mario Hugo
Age 43
L.E. 6.540.902

DIS 4-3-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)

D

ORIETA, Miguel Angel
Age 26
CI: 9.104.427

Disappeared 2-5-77 F. Varela

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

ORIPICI DE MARCIANO, Eva R

Detained 4-1-76 - U.2.V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

FP

ORIFKI, Eva

ARR 5-30-76 Bs.As.- PEN V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

351/78/5 D

ORLANDO, Irene
Larrea 785 - 17°"D" - Buenos Aires

Disappeared together with her son's fiancee Beatriz Irene Rosa Pagés on 9-4-1977.

Caso Amb Emb. 9/78
FAHR
Fraser-State 087870 (4-10-78)

D

= ORLANDO, Ricardo Daniel

DIS Córdoba

FAHR (i)
ML

ORMAECHE, Negro
Age: 38

K

ABD 6/77 Recognized by the Army 2 months later in a Hospital in Sta.Fé. Died because of torture on 12-23-77.

AISC

D

ORO,
Lawyer

DIS 11/76 in Buenos Aires

ML

D

ORO, Alberto Marcelo
lawyer
Age 29
LC: 4.696.632

Disappeared 10-30-76 Ramos Mejia

Cancr Gastr Cong. 9/77?
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

ORONO,

DIS

ML

H48/78/6 D

OROZCO, Daniel Fco.
Student
Age: 22
DU. 10.978.138
GOA reply 1-30-79: Neg. reply

Disappeared 3-26-76 Córdoba

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
WOLA

D

ORRIETA, Carlos Raúl
CI: 6.303.495
Rpt 277

Disappeared 6-4-77

Req Orig Der. Hombre
ML
PAHR-PRENSA 5-17-78 (L)

D

Orsci, Mrs.
Sociologist

Reported to have been seen in Mech School.
Maggio letter. 4-10-78

Info Harris 12-14-78

ORTEGA
(Fossatti's wife)

DIS

La Plata List

ORTEGA , Ines

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

ORTEGA, José M.
Salta

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ORTEGA, José Napoleon
I. 10.420.316

DIS

PAHR (L)

ORTEGA, José Vicente

DIS 2-4-76

RL
PAHR

ORTEGA, Luis Roberto? Alberto?

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

ORTEGA, Maria Ines
Age: 18

DIS 2/76 (8 mo. pregnant)

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D 1978

ORTEGA, Monica Elsa

Dis: 2-25-78 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 10/78
PAHR (L)

ORTEGA, Vicente D

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

ORTELLADO, Delia A. Vda. de

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

ORTEMBERG, José Eduardo
Mendoza
DI:7.662-013

Disappeared February-June 1976.

Mendoza Family Assn 2/78
FL
Amb Del Campo
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
"WOLA 11/78"

ORTIS, Maria del Carmen

ABD 12-2-74 Bahia Blanca - PENN V. Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

ORTIZ, Alfonso Paulino
PAHR 23
CI: 8.110.225

D-78

DIS 4-18-78 Va. Albertina (Bs. As.)

PAHR (L)

ORTIZ, Anselmo

D

DIS 11/76

PAHR (L)
ML

ORTIZ, Carlos
Journalist

D

Detained

Le MONDE 6-10-78

ORTIZ, Graciela

Detained in La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

ORTIZ, Gustavo (Bolivian)

Father of six children. Arrested in La Paz and exiled to Salta.

Bolivian Permanent Assembly for H.R. - 4-27-78

D

ORTIZ, Juan Telmo
Age 19
DNI: 12.782.731

DIS 12-14-77 - Mar del Plata -

PAHR

ORTIZ, Liliana Elizabeth

Integrant of "Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo"-ERP

Crónica clipping 644-78

ORTIZ, Manuel

ARR 1-28-76 Catamarca

Mexico 79

ORTIZ, Miguel Luis (French)
DOB: 3-31-1953

Arrested on 11-23-74. Sentenced to 15 years in prison.
Detained in Magdalena prison.

French Embassy

ORTIZ, Nelly

Disappeared in November 1976. Wife of Diaz Lestrem.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
Asistencia Embajada

ORTIZ, Pedro Alberto
Fab. Arg. Engranajes-Wilde

Disappeared 7-6-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ORTIZ, Ramón Antonio
Age 28

DIS 3-19-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

ORTIZ, Rodolfo

DIS 3-23-76

PAHR (L)

ORTIZ, Segundo
Prof. sec.

Detained - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

ORTIZ, Serafin
CI. 5.857.753

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

ORTIZ, Vilma Ethel

DIS Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

ORTIZ DE AUERVACH, Ana

DIS

, PAHR (L)

ORTIZ DE BOROBIA, Maria del Carmen

Integran of "EJERCITO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO" - ERP

Crónica clipping 6-14-78

D

ORTIZ DE CABRAL, Laura

DIS

PAHR(4)
ML

D

ORTIZ DE DIAS LESTREM, Nelly
Lawyer

ABD November 1976

RXHR Cancer Anti Congress 9778

D

ORTIZ DE MURUA, Blanca Ester
Age 25
DNI: 6.716.942

DIS 10-28-76 Berazategui Bs. As.

PAHR (4)

ORUE, Griselda Elisabeth
(Parag.)
Aft 21
Cli: 7.315.026

D-78

DIS 1-25-78

PAHR (L)
FDD

D-1978

ORZABAL, Mario Esteban
DNI: 10.265.961
Age: ____

Dis: 30-6-78- Moron

FDD List - 9-16-78

9T

OSATINSKY, Fernando

Detained since 4-1-76 in Cordoba

ADLeague

OSATINSKY, Ricardo

DIS 4-13-76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

Osatisnky, Widow of Marcos Osatinsky (Montonero)

Reported to have been seen in Mech. School. Maggio Letter. 4-10-78

Harris info. 12-14-78

OSELLA, Graciela (nee Draguicevich)

Under PEN Decree 1519/75 Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

OSHIRO, Jorge Eduardo
CI: 8.353.318

Disappeared 11-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D L

OSHIRO, Oscar
Labor lawyer
CI: 4.712.561

Taken from his office Av. Mitre 351 (Avellaneda) on 4-21-77. During the night they returned and set fire.

Oscar Asist. Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78
PAHR(L)
FDD

D

OSLE, Norberto Oscar
Rpt 28

Disappeared 2-13-77 - Gonnet -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

OSMAR, Juan Sr.

D

ABD 6/76 at home by Police who where looking for son

ML

D

OSOLA, Susana

DIS 7/76 from Junin Bs.Aires with husband

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

OSORES, Carlos Raúl
Age-28
Doc..7.884.972

DIS 9-17-76 Tucuman

TUCUMAN
FAHR (L)

OSORIO, Pablo Horacio

DIS 11-22-77

PAHR (L)

OSRUNI, Osvaldo Anibal

Disappeared 9-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

URRA, Susana Elena OSSOLA de
LC: 4.045.814 DI: ~~11.045.184~~
Alem 1614 - 2°202 - San Miguel (Bs.As.)

DIS 5-22-76 Buenos Aires. Arrested at public street.

PAHR(L)
Maria Ferrarese de Urra (Mother-in-law)
Mitre 1729=2°"A"-SAN MIGUEL 667-1195 (Neighbour)
Personal call 8-10-78 Embassy
Personal call 9-12-78
ML

OSTEREAG, Silvia Graciela

Under PEN-Unidad 2 Villa Devoto

ADLeague

OSTREJ, Claudio Alejandro
CI: 7.703.507
Member Ted. Jur. Com.

Disappeared7-15-77

PAHR(L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Comm. Party

OSTROWIECKI, David Manuel
CI:11991573
Colon 1614-1°"C"-Mar del Plata

Arrested on 10-28-76. Disappeared since then.

Ostrowiecki, Pablo (Parent)
CI. 2257122
Ostrowiecki, Felisa
LC 0403323

Statement to Representatives.

PAHR(L)

D

OSTUNI, Osvaldo Anibal
Age: 33
CI: 5.271.820

DIS 9-29-77

PAHR (L)

D

Educado

OSUNA, Alberto
Age 26
DNI: 8.530.162

Disappeared 5-10-77 R. de Zamora

Name Trace 3-10-78

FIL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

OSUNA ESPINOL de CORBO, Lidia
Age 23

D-78

DIS 5-20-78 - Ramos Oeste -

PAHR (L)

D

OTAHAL, Ernesto Carlos
CI: 5.642.144
Age 22

Disappeared 8-17-77 Ranelagh

HL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

OTAÑO, Guillermo E.

DIS 10-5-76 La Plata - Bs. As.

PBHR (2)
La Plata List - 11-21-78

D

OTEGUI, Lucio Oscar

DIS Córdoba

PBHR (2)
ML

OTERO, Delfor
Journalist

Detained

Le Monde 6-10-78

D

OTERO, Eduardo
Age 20
DNI: 12.923.784

Disappeared 8-19-77 - Lanus -

Lanus Hist 3-10-79
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

OTERO, Javier Antonio
Age 23
DNI: 11.594.787

Disappeared 6-25-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

OTERO, de Pera Martinez Fernanadez Maria Margarita

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

D

OTIN, Eduardo

Disappeared 5-18-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

OUALLE, Maria del Carmen

Detained on 5-7-75 in Santa Fé.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

OUTES, Pablo
Journalist

K

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

OVANDO, Ricardo
Lanzu

Detained in 1976. At present in La Plata prison.
No data.

Comm. Amb. Cruz 9/78
Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

R OVEJERO, David José Evaristo E D
CI 5.275.041

Kidnapped on 5-13-77 at his parent's home. Since then disappeared.

Ovejero, Cora Miryam Peixoto de (Mother)
LC.0296129

Statement to Representatives.

FAIR(L)

OVEJERO, Hector Rafael
DNI 11.030.418
OVEJERO, Liliana Graciela Castillo Barrios de
CI.7.528.336-DNI 11.686.518.

Arrested on 5-5-77. Since then disappeared.

Castilla Barrios, Eva H. Marquez de (Mother)
Rivadavia 2880-2°Piso-"B"-Cap. Fed. 89-8367

Testimony to Representatives.

PHHR(L)
Letter Answered-NOV. 9-78

OVEJERO, Baby

Castillo Barrios, Eva H. Marquez de (Grandmother)
Rivadavia 2880 - 2°Piso E - Capital

OVEJERO, Julio
Com. Rivadavia

Detained 5-12-77 - Rawson U-6

OVEJERO, Maria C.
LC: 5.617.820

ABD 10-18-76

AISC

OVIEDO, Fabian

DIS 9-7-76

PAHR

OVIEDO, Mario Domingo

ABD 6-24-76 Córdoba

PAHR
ML

238/77/12

OVIEDO, Patricia Cristina
C.I.: 7.693.937 - DNI. 11.121.095
Age 24

Arrested in front of the Saint Cross Church on 12-8-77 presumably by the Argentine Security Forces.

PAHR(L)
mother: JUANA de Oiedo -LC: 0 351.971. RIVADAVIA 3201 11 "E"
ML
Jun Committee
Group Torres & Perdia
F.L.L. 11-6-78

R/FDD

OVIEDO, Pedro Bernardo
DNI. 10200475-CI. 5554440
AGE 24

On 6-26-76 at his work (Cerrito 272-Capital) he was arrested by a group of men. Since then disappeared.

Mother: JUANA de Oiedo - LC: 0.351971
Oviedo, Jacinto Carlos (Father)
CI. 7.584.719
Rivadavia 3201- 11"E"-Capital

PAHR(L) Copy of Habeas Corpus - sent to Senators.
ML FDD
Hug. Dep. Bernardo
F.D.D. 11-6-78

OVIS, Maria Cristina

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

OVIS, Maria Elena

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

C-127/78/9

OXLEY, German Teodoro

9
Captain

PEN- Unidad 9 La Plata

Oxley, Julieta Moytiño de (Mother)
Quitp 4149 - Dpto.4 - Capital
811-1880

2-7-78

OXLEY, Raul Enrique
Bjt 28
DNI: 8.389.519

DIS 10-23-74

PAHR (L)

D

OYARZABAL, José Antonio

DIS 10-12-76 Rosario, Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

D = Killed

OYARZUN MANZO, Oscar Orlando (Chilean)
(Refugee)

DIS 1-26-79 - Found dead on 1-31-79

Unclas BBC DW - March 13, 1979

D

OYOS, Miguel Angel
Age: 22

DIS 8-3-77 Ezeiza

FDD

OZAN, Omar Aldo
LE No. 658.444

Disappeared

WOLA 11-78
Reading Family List 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

---

1 - 426/78/6 D

OZELDIN, Jorge Carlos

LE: 4.313.967
Born: July 1,1940
Yerbal 1661 - Capital

GOA reply 1-30-79. No reply.

Worker in Cattaneo(Boulogne) Supervisor of ceramica. Was arrested at his home on 10-27-77 by persons indentify as corrinacion federal.(Yerbal No.1661 de Villa Adelina,province of Buenos Aires. Sisters visited on Oct.31-78-Elvira Ozeldin,L.C.-2.978.689,same address. Neighbor Tel: 766-9444.

PAHR Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Informe Del Hombre
Lozadur People-Personal call.
FDD
Prodey - Chofer Bomb.

PACCIARONI, Victor Hugo

D

DIS 6-3-76

Córdoba List-12-1-78

D

PACHANO DE NARIO, Liliana G.
Age: 2f
Doc: 11.351.455

Disappeared 5-10-76 Ave. del Pinar - Buenos Aires

hL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

PACHE, Humberto Enrique
Age 32

Disappeared 6-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
FDJ

D 78

PACHECO, Hugo Hernan
Ci: 418.709
Age 25

DIS Candidate

WOLA 11-78
FDD

D

PACHECO, Liliana

DIS 4-22-76

FBHR(L)
ML

D

PACHECO, Miguel Julio
LE; 40.461.463

Disappeared 4-7-77 Mendoza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Mendoza Family List 8/38
"WOLA-11-78"

PACHECO, Stella Maris E. de

DIS Mendoza

aisc (SCAP)

PACIAMI, Victor Hugo

DIS 6-3-76

AISC (A.D.P.H.)

PACIANONE, Victor Hugo
Age: 25
DNI: 10.445.332

DIS 6-3-76 Córdoba

FDD

PACO, Alberto

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

PADILLA, José Fernando

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

P

PADIN, Clemente

Arrested on 8-23-77 and indicted on Oct. 20 for attacking the morale and reputation of the Army. He is currently detained in a civilian detention center, either Libertad or Punta CarretasPrison.

Cong. Cleveland 8-31-78

PADIN, Vicente
Ap 20
CNI: 9.840.909

DIS 4-8-77 Villa Ballester

PAHR (L)

PADORUSKY, Jorge E.

Disappeared

PAHR (L)
ADLeague

PADRIGANI, Carlos

DIS 12/76

PAHR (L)
FDD

PADRON, Juan R.

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PADULLA, Rubén Héctor

DIS

PAHR (L)

PAEREZ, Silvia S.

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PAEZ,

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

AFL/CIO C-24/77/11 Optan P

PAEZ, José Francisco
(Leader of SITRACSITRAM, one of the most important unions of Córdoba).

In prison. Although on 8-6-76 he was declared innocent by the Judge Zamboni, he is still detained at the Unidad No.2 Sierra Chica-Olavarria.

US Emb. visit granted 11/78

9-7-77. Letter to AFL/CIO.

ex-Partido Socialista de Trabajadores.

C-36/77/11 P Optan

PAEZ, José Hector

Carcel de Sierra Chica - PEN

ex-Partido Socialista

Amnes. Int'l - Jermany - Permiso de Blood. 17-20-78

PAEZ, Juan

Detained in Sierra Chica.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PAEZ, Nestor

ABD 5-13-76 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PAGELLA TOLDO, Fraciela Gribo

ARR PEN

AISC(La Opinión)

203/77/11 D

PAGES, Beatriz Irene Rosa
Age: 26
Fiancee of Mario Tempone
CI: 6.647.551

Disappeared on 9-4-77 in Villa Adelina (Prov.Bs.As.)

PAHR(L)
Cong. Fraser
Amnest.Int'l

PAGNINI, Alberto
Centenera

Detained 3-25-76

Lig Arg. Der. Hombre

PAIRO, Ricardo D

ABD 6-6-75

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

D

PAIS, Olga

DIS LA PLATA - 6.0.

Detained February 1977. Her sister Alicia Pais de Juares detained in Villa Devoto Unidad 2, died because of no medical atention.

PHHR(L)
Harris data 8-7-78

D

PAJES LARAYA, Rosa
Age: 26

DIS Buenos Aires

ML

PAKMAN, Enrique Daniel

Under Pen. Released.

ADLeague

de Toranzo

D

PALACIN, Patricia Dina
CI. 6.704.624
Docente
AGE: 25
Bolivia 4112 - Dto. 2 - Capital
Member Fed. Juv. Com.

Disappeared on 4-5-78 together with husband Roberto Toranzo.
PAHR(L)
Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
Comm. Party
Palacin, Carlos Luis y Sra. 62-3.5x763 (Parent)
Jujuy 1155 2°B-Capital
Letter to Rosalyn Carter- 3-13-78.-

P

PALACIO, Dante Luis
Lawyer

Detained in Córdoba in june 1977. At present in Córdoba prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78/

D

PALACIO, Héctor Francisco
Age 31

Disappeared 6-6-76-Florida-

RL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

PALACIOS, Humberto Roque

Report of Dis: Oct,78-La Nacion

PALACIO, Sara Eugenia

DIS Mendoza

FDD
PAHR (L)

PALACIOS, Jorge Agustín
Age: 21

DIS 2/76

FDD

R/FDD

PALACIOS, Jorge Alberto
C.I. 5.629.668

Arrested on 8-19-76. Was labor deputy. At present in the Villa Devoto Penitentiary.

Palacios, Ramona Doralisa Gonazlez de (Wife)
Calle General E. Garzón 5611 - Capital (1440)
L.C. 4.994.294

Letter to Derian.
Statement to Senators.
Statment to Embassy.

D

PALACIOS, José
Ex-Presidente JOC and metalurgic leader

Disappeared in February 77 in Buenos Aires.

Are you sure?
I think this is an older case
-- a celebrated case taken up
for years in the ILO a/f

Belgium Embassy Interest - Arsene Van der Driessche - 1-25-78

D

PALACIOS VIDELA, Ignacio (journalist)

Abducted from his home on 5/3/77; whereaboyts unknown

RL

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

PALADA, Ernesto

DIS 7-20-76 La Pampa

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PALANCO DE GOLDRING, Alicia E
Maestra - Buenos Aires
LC: 5.896.840
Member: Comm. Party
Age 37

Disappeared 3-22-76 with husband from Haron (CASTELAR)
Hdela G de Goldring - C.I. 3.253.169. 2901 " ARISTOTE FRANCE

PAHR(L)
ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Comm Party

FDD-6-11-78

D

PALAVECINO, Domingo Valentin
Age: 22
Doc. 12.414.060

DIS 3-11-77 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR(L)

414/78/6 D

PALAVECINO, Ferdinando
LE. 7.894.879

11-3-77
Disappeared. Lozadur.

D

PALAVICINO, Francisco
L.894.879
Arc 3

Disappeared 11-3-77

FSD
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

PALAZZO, Ricardo Luis
C.I: 6.768.254

Disappeared 2-21-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

D

PALLAK, Fernando

Disappeared

FAHR(L)
ML
ADLeague

D

PALLARES, Mario

DIS

FRHR(L)
ML

PALLARES D'ELIA, César Julio

Dec.-77 Captured Uruguayan DIS.

"AI - 10/78"

Maded new card.

PALLIALEF, Ernesto

Disappeared

PAHR(L)
ADLeague

PALLONI

DIS

PAHR (L)

PALMA, Carlos

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

PALMA, Daniel Rolando Alberto

ARR 3/78 PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

PALMA, Rosaí Catalina

DIS

PALMA(L)
ML

PALMGARTEN, Deane Luisa
Age: 28 (born 7-17-48)

Detained Villa Devoto

ADLeague

D

PALTAI, Rodolfo

Sin datos

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre 4-19-78

D
T

PALUDI, Osvaldo Cayetano (F)
L.E. 4.391.815
Arce 243 - Capital

62/77/4 D*

Arrested by men from the Policia Federal on 4-13-1976.
Since then disappeared.

For.Off.Inq.: 4-18-77 GOA reply: 6-8-77 No record
4-12-77 Req.

PALUDI, Josefa Donato Vda. de (Mother)
Bustamante 2176, 8°"D" - Capital

Causes Anth. Cong. 9/78 PAHR (L)

8-4-77 Letter to Derian
8-12-77 Letter to T.Todman
8-15-77 Letter to T.Todman.

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

L

PALUMBO, Heriberéto Roney D-78
Arce 48
LE: 4.053.760

DIS 3-24-78

PAHR (L)

8

PALUMBO, Miguel

ARR 3-24-76 San Luis

AISC

PAMPINI,

Detained Unidad 9-La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

PAMA, Carlos

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

PANA. Francisca

Disappeared 6-30-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

PANA, Francisco Victor
Ferroportuario
Hijo 25
DE: 10.258.537

Disappeared 6-30-77

PAHR (L)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PANDO, Demetrio Eleuterio
Ferroportuario

Detained since December 1975 in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PANDO, Donato

Detained on 7-28-75 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PANDOLFINO, Antonio D

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PANDOLFINO, Salvador D

ABD 3-24-76 Tigre-Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PANEBIANCO, Julio Enzo

D

DIS 3-9-77

ML

Am Cit. 11c/77/9 T

PANERO, Marta Alicia
DPOB: May 12, 1957, Philadelphia, Penna.

PEN 3468 - 12-29-76. ~~Formerly~~ at present in Villa Devoto.
Arrested 9-2-76, Córdoba.
After eleven months of detention, the PEN has not resolved the case, despite many consular letters and two Embassy notes urging GOA action. (PEN)
Authorized to leave country
Emitido 2-Villa Devoto habeas 2-4-76

Raised w/FOWGHR by Sherman/Harris on 9/28/77.

BA - 7358

Christmas 1977 Announcement. Ha Hacia 9/4/78 ajam

Am Cit. 1c9/77/9 T

PANERO, Maria Susana
DPOB: October 24, 1955, Reading, Penna.
Continuing 3-19-73
Cargo: Participación con terroristas pertenecientes a la JUP por Sospechosa
Emitido Leg U.650 el 20-1-76

PEN 2426 - 18-8-76. At present in Villa Devoto U2.
Arrested 8-26-76, Córdoba.
After almost one year of detention there has been no movement to resolve case, despite many consultar letters and two Embassy notes urging GOA action. (PEN)
Emitido 2-Villa Devoto Ha Hacia 2-4-76

Raised w/ FOWGHR by Sherman Harris on 9/28/77.

Authorized to leave country 3-3-78 Ha Hacia

FILE Circulate 3-13-78

Cames 733/78/1 D1978

PANIGUA, Noemí
Student
Age: 23
Chemical student at La Plata Univ.

DIS 9-26-78

Bs.As.Herald clipping 10-1-78
AI

429/78/6 D

PANIZA, Juan

GEC reply 1-30-79: Key reply.

Worker in Cattaneo, (Bolougne). During labor strife he was arrested at his work place, on 10-27-77.

Panik (L)
Lozadur people. Personal call.

D

PANIZZA, Gustavo José

ARR.

Mexico 79

D

PANIZZA, Juan Carlos
Age: 29
DNI: 7.678.756

DIS 10-27-77 Boulogne Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

PANKOMIN, Enrique
C.I: 4 004.715
Age 34

Disappeared 10-1-76 with wife María Cristina Fernández - La Plata

La Plata Post 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

D

PANTALEO ABALOS, Mario P.
Merchant Marine Captain and member of the UCR

DIS 7-26-76

PAHR(L)
ML

PANTIN, Manuel Raul
Especialista en Derecho Laboral

At present in Rawson (Chubut)

Cause Arch Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg. Der.Hombre 4-19-78

PAOLA PEREZ Ines de

DIS

PAHR (L)

PAOLETTI, Mario (editor)
Il Lavoro

Arrested 4/3/76; imprisoned. La Liga (Liberacion 4-22-78)

La Lunes 6-10-78
La Liga Los Lunes
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

PAOLINO, Gustavo Edgardo
Medical Student
Apt 24

Disappeared 7-23-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PAPADOPULOS, Jorge
LE: 8.392.922
Dob: 7-23-1950

Disappeared 7-1-77 with Mario Valiño
Was arrested from workplace together with Mario Valiño, who was killed in Santa Fé a month after being arrested. It seems it has a kidnapping affair in this case. (Zanella kid was kidnapped by Valiño and others.) Family stated that their son had nothing to do with this affair.
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Mercedes Buceta de Papadopulos (Mother)
Av.San Martin 355-Caseros
Maria Buceta (aunt) 750-7706

D

PAPAGNO, Rogelio

ARR. 3-24-76 Buenos Aires

Mexico 79

PAPANI DE REMEY, Silvia G.

D

DIS 3-26-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

D

PAPANO ALVAREZ, Alfredo

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

PAPATERRA MENDI, Maria Leonor

ABD 2/77 in Ramos Mejía, Prov.Bs.As.

ML

D

PAPEC, Susana Luján
CI: 6.916.673

Disappeared 12-6-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
HL

D

PAPIN, Lujan Susana
CI: 6.916.053

Disappeared 12-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PAPPETTI, Jorge Emilio
Age 24
LE 10.911.327

Disappeared 3-22-77 Villaguay

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PAPPETTI, Victor Hugo

DIS 4-20-76

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

PARADA, Ernesto Mario
Age 22

Disappeared 6-22-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

PARADA, Ernesto Victor

DIS

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

PARAMO ALVAREZ, Alfredo

DIS

ML

PARANAGUA, Paulo (Brasil) 10/76/11 *

Deported. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76
Sierra Chica
expulsion prob.

PARDO, Alicia Cecilia
Gregorio de Laferrere 2807-1°m C°-Capital
C.I. 6.122.572

Was arrested on 6-2-76 after the disappearence of her husband. Since then disappeared.

Pardo, Alberto Pardo (Father)
LE 1.805.921
Yatay 361-Dto.2-Capital

Testimony to Representatives.

PARDO, Jorge Luis
CI. 6.281.825
Las Flores 550 - Wilde - (Bs.As.)

Disappeared. 3-1-%

PAHR(L)
Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza
M.L

PARDO, Héctor René
Age: 59
LE: 3.496.450

DIS 5-26-76 Tucumán

FDD

PARDO, Marcelo Pablo
PRT 2M

Disappeared 11-9-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PAREDES, Francisco

DIS 11/76

ML

PAREDES, Rosario Laudeano D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PAREDES TORRES, Francisco R. D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PAREIRA, Patricia Elida
CI: 6.655.028
Laprida 1835-Florida Bs.As.

ABD 1-21-77

ML

D

PAREJA GALBIATTI, José A
[illegible]

Disappeared 5-12-77 Olivarria - Bs As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PARENTE, Hugo Alberto
CI: 5.410.400

Disappeared 7-8-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D PARGAMENT, Alberto José
T CI 3.761.105-LE 4530728
R Santa Fé 2088- 11"C"-Capital

Met Amb.Castro-12-7-77

Arrested on 11-10-76. Since then disappeared.

PARG(L)
Pargament, Juana Meller de (Mother)
CI. 1.677.504
J.E. Uriburu 228 - Capital -Tel.48-0550
FDD
Personal visit to Derian.
Testimony. To T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

PARGAMENT, Roberto
Psychiatrist

Detained 9/76 (barbarously tortured and beaten (wife, who was 7 months pregnant, heard this from another room).

ADLeague

PARGAS DE CAMPS, Rosa M.

DIS

PARG(L)
ML

D

PARIS, Eduardo

DIS 6-11-76 Neuquen

PAHR (L)

D

PARIS, Eugenio Ernesto

DIS

PAHR (L)

PARISI, Enrique

ARR. 76 Resistencia

Mexico 79

D

PARISINI, Miguel

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

KILER
PARISKEVSKY, Ruben
Tesorero Sindic.-Córdoba

Detained 4-16-76 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
Amt Def Hagni

D

PARODI, Eduardo (Dr.)

DIS in September 1977

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PARODI OCAMPO, Roberto Paraguayan

Right of Option Certificate for France.

France

449/76 D

PARODI DE OROZCO, Silvana Mónica
Age: 20
Student
DU. 11.976.419

GOA reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply.

Disappeared 3-26-76 Córdoba

Concer Amb Cong. 9/78
DiL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
WOLA

D

PAROLA, Graziella
Age: 25

DIS

ML

R/FDD

5

PARRA, Jorge Rodolfo (Paraguayan)
CI. 6.028.514
Hpz 19

Was arrested on 4-9-76 in our small shop (Warnes 3603) by three armed men, who said to be of the police. Since then disappeared.

Parra, Juliana Gonzalez de (Mother)
CI. 6.028.512
Manuel Maza 3209-Valentin Alsina(Partido Lanus Oeste)

8-19-77. Letter to Senators.

PARRA(L)
ML
Lanus Este 3-10-79

PARRA, José María

ABD 2-16-76

ML

PARRA, Manuel
Member of Christian Revolutionary Party
Hpz 19

ABD 4/76

PARRA(L)
ML

D

PARRA GONZALEZ, Jorge Rodolfo (Paraguayenne)

DIS 4-9-76 (Warnes 3603, Lanus Oeste Buenos Aires)

D

PARRAL, Alberto

DIS 1976 after the coup

FAHR(L)
ML

D

R PARREIRA, Patricia Elida
LC. 6.689.810 - CI. 6.655.028
Age: 20

On 1.21.1977 she was arrested by a group of armed men.
Since then disappeared.

PARREIRA, Maria E. Fernandez de (Mother)
LC. 4.334.180

Testimony to Representatives.

FAHR(L)
ML

PARRELLO, Maria Angela

ARR CORDOBA Pen :

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

PARRUCA, José Carlos
Age: 27
DNI: 8.300.601

DIS 8-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR (L)

PARTIDA, Aldo
Doc. 13.677.411
Age: 22

Disappeared middle 1977 in Santa Fé

Letter to Amb. 5-22-78

PARULSKY, Ricardo
Water and Energy union leader

ADLeague

PASAGLINI, Ruben Edgardo
CI 7.700.520 or 7.700.920

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PASATIR, Flora Cecilia

Disappeared 4-5-76-City Bell-

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

PASCUA, Otilio Julio
Ref 27
LE: 8.383.412

DIS 10-24-77 La Plata (Bs.As.)

PAHR (2)
Sen. Alan Cranston-behalf of [ ] 1-6-78 B6

224/82/12 P

PASCUAL, Enrique
LE: 6.765.354
Calle 8, No. 183-Cerro de las Rosas - Córdoba
Gen Urq 5-19-78
PEN 3112 del 7-10-77
Confn Varias discusiones - Escuela Lee Briano

Apoderado Legal de la Coop. de Trabajo ORDECOM.
(Santa Rosa de Calamuchita - Córdoba).
Detained on 9-29-77. Incommunicado in Cárcel de
Encausados de la Prov.Córdoba, Pabellón 11.
Pet - La Opinion 10-22-77

Juan Torres, hermano - Carta de Amn Central 2-2-78

Pascual, Matilde Barrionuevo de (Wife)
Tel.: 810116 Córdoba

Ralph Suter (Amcit) Lef Amb. 12-14-77 (Brother)

FILE Consult 3-13-78 B6

P

PASCUET, Carlos Enrique
CI. 4.341.742
Ref 20

Disappeared 5-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

D

PASERO, Carlos Roberto
Age: 33
LE: 5.216.033

DIS 6-10-77 La Plata

PAHR(L)
FDD

R

PASIARONE, Victor Hugo

Disappeared 6-3-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

42/77/11 D *

PASIK, Gustavo José
(PASSIK)
CI. 7.851.290-DNI. 13.368.215

Disappeared 5-22-76 from his home Juan B.Justo 6732-PB-Capital.

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 1-19-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77

Stirbo father?

PAHR(L)
DAH
for Intl Hist Comm.
Amnesty League

PASQUA, Otilio Julio

DIS 10-24-7?

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

PASQUARROSA, José Jacinto
Obrero M. Río de la Plata
C.I. 6.634.936
Aje 25

Disappeared 7-15-76

FDD
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PARR(L)

PASQUARROSA, Juan Carlos
Obrero M. Río de la Plata
C.I. 6.634.936
Aje 26

Disappeared 7-13-76

FDD
Lig, Arg. Der. Hombre
PARS(L)

PASQUINELLI, Alfredo Martin
DNI: 11.340.815
Age: 24
Law student

ABD 3-10-77from his grandmothèr's home (Mrs. Pilar widow of Tte. Coronel Joaquin Goll.

Pasquinelli, Eduardo Augusto (Father)
Letter to OEA 1-30-79.

AAAS
NAS

PASQUINI, Eduardo

Physicist, Department of Physics, Universidad de Rosario.
Arrested in June 1976.

GOR reply 1-30-79. Hrg. reply

Letter 7-29-77- to Derian from AAAS.
Letter to Derian from NAS.

Cornell Union Group, NAS, AAAS

PASQUINI, Eduardo Alfredo
LE: 6.519.233

DIS 1-30-79 Rosario Santa Fé

Rosario List
FOAR(4)

PASQUINI, Dr. Liliana (nee Misraji)

Disappeared 6-10-76 (Married to Dr. Edward Pasquini)

ADLeague

PASSANI, Dardo Emilio

DIS

GAHR(L)
ML

PASSI, Roberto
Lawyer

DIS

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PASSUT, Mabel

ARR

EL

ADLeague

PASTARINI, Aida Alicia
Age 24
CI: 141.281

T

DIS 6-18-76 Córdoba.

PAHR(L)

PASTASINI, Beatriz Olga
LC: 10.189.110

P

DIS 12-3-76 Rosario

ML

D

PASTERNAK, Marcelo

DIS

PAHR (L)

PASTIGO, Juan F.

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PASTORI, Eduardo Julio
CI. 8.442.607
Las Cabañas s/n
Moron, Buenos Aires
Hpe 34

AED 9-11-76 Moron. Bs.As.

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PASTORI, Juan Carlos
Age: 23
Doc.: 11.909.139

DIS 9-25-76 Tucumán.

Tucumán
PAHR(L)

PASTORINI, Alejandro (Dr.) 8

Detained in May 1976. At. presente in Rosario Prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78
PAHR(L)

D

de JOZAMI
PASTORIZA, Lila Victoria
LC: 4.229.472
Age 37
Hernández 1861 - Pcia. Bs. As.

Disappeared 6-15-77

KL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

PASTORIZA, Mirta
Doc. Prim. UEPC-Córdoba

Detained since 75 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

---

de RIMADA
PATASSINI/Olga Beatriz

D

ABD 12-13-76

RISC
ML

D

PATAT, Victor Hugo
Pt 23
DNI: 10.905.096

Disappeared 4-20-76 Córdoba

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

D

PATIÑO, Hector Mario
Age: 31

DIS Tucumán

ML

7

PATIÑO, Omar Nelson

DIS 12-28-77

PAHR

PATIÑO, Toribio
Age 39

J-78

DIS 6-26-78 - PAHR-1. CASANOVA
DIS 6-20-79
FBI LIST 9-16-78

PAHR (L)

PATRIGNANI Carlos Ranger 365/78/5
Desde 11/6/71 alojado en Cárc. Penitenciario de Jujuy Pabellón
Cargos: Activa participación subversiva en célula ERP.
Quedó en libertad por disposición del area 323 de Ejercito.

Detained in Jujuy since 1975. He was released in December 1976 but has since disappeared. His wife Mrs. Patrignani, was arrested when she made inquiries about her husband's whereabouts.

Cancer Amts Cong. 9-78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

Fil
New Jersey State Bar Association - Dr. Donald Zarin 4-12-78

D

PATRONA, Humberto

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PATRONI, Aldo Enrique
DNI: 10.041.308

DIS 10/76 Mendoza

PAHR (L)

D

PATTACINI DE RIMADA, Olga Beatriz
Hija 25
LE: 10.185.443

Disappeared 12-3-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

PAULIN, Osvaldo Héctor
LE: 11.685.201
Hijo 24

Disappeared 7-12-76 with inf Graciela - Marlo-

BL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

PAULLALEF, Ernesto V.

DIS

ML

PAULLIER DE NOGUEIRA, R. L.

D

DIS 7-13-76

PAHR (L)

PAULON, Victorio
Vil-Ber

Detained 5-1-75

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

PAULONI

DIS

ML

244/78/5 T*.

PAVIOLO, Osvaldo
~~or Vaciolo~~
b.g. Tucuman

labor leader Luz y Fuerza in Cordoba -

Resistencia charge.
Under PEN, ~~Benson, Omaar~~ Cable 11-17-77 ..
Acquitted by Judiciary in 1976
Poo denied in '78 - for Italy -
Big Big Air hijacker
Dpt. of Treasury- on behalf of

3-15-78

B6

FAHR(L)

D

PAVIOTTI, Raquel

ABD 7/76 in Rosario

ML

D

PAVLOVSKY, Jorge

Disappeared

ML
ADLeague

PAYASLIAN, Carlos

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PAYON, Selva

DIS

ML

PAZ, Albertina

DIS 3/76

PAHR(L)
ML

PAZ, Alberto

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PAZ, Antonio Domingo
DNI 7.884.804
Los Ralos (Tucuman)
Age. 27

On 10-9-76 was kidnapped by a group of armed men. Since then disappeared.

mothers visited Emb. NOV. 20-78
Paz, Blanca M. de (Mother)
DNI 16200568 Via Raul 1161
SAN MIGUEL DE TUCUMAN Tel:27505

PAHR(L)
Testimony. To T.Todman.
Tucuman Testimony to Representatives.
Personal call to Mr. Harris.-11-22-78

PAZ. Juan Horacio
Age: 20
CI: 8.415.951

ABD 4-14-77

AISC

D 78

PAZ, Raúl Santiago
Age: 20
Doc. 11.811.594

DIS 3-9-78 Tucumán

Tucumán
PAHR (L)

D

PAZ GARRIDO, Hector J.

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

PAZOS, Alfredo Bernabé
CI: 2 321 264
Recepción 7-7- Gerard (Fr. A.)

Disappeared 7-28-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PECHIEN Luis Hugo
Rfe 21
CI: 7.413.769

Disappeared 3-23-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PECOSZ, S.

D

DIS Córdoba

PAHR (L)
ML

D

PEDEMONTE DE NILNE, Inés Ma.
Rfe 36
CI: 3.798.352

Disappeared 10-8-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PEDEMONTE DE RUIZ VARGAS, Josefina T
Age 47
LC: 5.485.437

Disappeared 8-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

PEDERNERA, Dolinda I. A. de
LE: 3.790.454
Moron, Bs.As.

ABD 9-17-76

FDD
ML

D

PEDERNERA, Néstor Alberto
C.I. 7.961.346
Age 36

Disappeared 9-17-76 with wife Dolinda

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
FDD

PEDERNERA DE REARTE, Noemí

ARR PEN

AISC

D

PEDRAZA, Horacio Vital
Age: 29
LE: 5.260.217
A.Brown 686, Buenos Aires

ABD 2-6-77

PRHR(L)
ML

D

PEDRAZA, Jorge

DIS

ML

D

PEDRAZA ALVEAR, Jaime Arturo

DIS
Expelled - la Chimen 10-28-76

FAHR (L)
ML

D

PEDREGOSA, Manuel Francisco

DIS 3-13-76 Tucumán

PAHR (L)

D

PEDRETTI, Enrique Ramón

DIS 5-6-77

PAHR (L)

D 1775

PEDRINI, Adam
Former leader of the Justicialist delegation from Chaco in the chamber of deputies.

Arrested 7-14-78. Disappeared

Buenos Aires Herald clipping 7-15-78

D

PEDRINI, Helena

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

PEDRINI, Susana Elena
Age: 29
LC: 5.236.349

DIS 7-27-76

PAHR (L)
FDD

PEDROZA DE CARVELARO, Adriana
CI: 6.485.990

Disappeared 4-27-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PEDROZO, Maria Angelica

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PEGORARO, Juan
Age 49
CI: 9.497.775

DIS 6-28-77 - Mar del Plata -

PAHR (L)

PEGORARO, Susana B.
Rfe 21

DIS 6-28-77

PAHR(L)

PEGOSZ, B.

DIS Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

404/75/6 D

PEIRANO, Edith Mercedes
LC: 6.695.540
DOB: 10-5-51 - La Plata
Profession: Lawyer

GOA reply 9-5-78: N.R. D

April 21, 1977
Disappeared after leaving home(Independencia 3177-4 "D") going to her place of employment (Reconquista 585) in Buenos Aires. Her boyfriend Rolando Jeckell had also disappeared at another time.

PAHR(L)
La Plata Brief 10/78

E

B6

Letter April 18, 1978.
San Herreun 66.656 68-760

35/77/1 *

PEIRO, Claudia Ines

Expelled.
~~Deported~~. For.Off.Inq.: 1-6-77 GOA reply: 3.1.77
Gone to Guatemala. Author.to leave Decree 1268.

PEJEVID ~~or PEPEVICH~~, Antonio D

DIS

FAHR(L)
ML

PELEGRINO, Carmen de D
Teacher

Arrested at her home.

Harris data 8-7-78

PELAN, Manuel H.

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PELATO, Alberto Luis

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PELL, Luis Alberto
LE: 6.046.347

Disappeared 5-17-77 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

PELLA, Jorge
Lawyer
Ex-Advisor Sta.Cruz Prov.

ARR 11-12-74

AISC

PELLARDINI, Jorge
Ex asesor del Gobierno de Santa Cruz.

Detained on 11-12-74.

Carmen Ant. Carnaj 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

PELLEGRINO DE LORDKIPANIDSE, Liliana Marcela
DOB: 1-16-1957
DUI: 12.791.677
Humberto I Nro. 1319 - Piso 3°- "A" - Capital

Arrested at Muñiz and Venezuela streets together with husband on 11-18-1978.

Cayetano Pellegrino (Father)
Muñiz 1040-Capital 922-3822

PELLICO, Aldo Cirilo
LE: 6.386.216

DIS 8-3-77 Córdoba

PAHR (1)

PELLITA, ~~José~~ Juan Carlos
Peoples Comm. Party

ABD 10/76 PERGAMINO, Bs.As.

PAHR
ML
Comm. Party

PELLIZA, Heraldo
Age: 55

DIS 4-30-77

FDD

PELLOLI, Carlos Guillermo

PEN - Unidad 2 - Sierra Chica (Olavarria) - Option to leave country.

Pelloli, Carlos Pablo (Father)
Moreno 625 - Zarate (Bs.As.)

Tel. 3385

PELOZO, Justo José

DIS 2-16-77 Rosario

PAHR (4)

PELULLITI, Guido E.
Bco. Social

Disappeared 9-20-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PENA. Héctor

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PENA, Jorge

D

ABD

AISC

9 L

PENA, José

Sin datos.

Liga Arg. Der Hombre 4-19-78

PENA, Juan Roger

D

DIS 10-27-77

AISC (A.P.D.H.)

PENAYO, Ferreyra

D

DIS

PAMR(L)
ML

PERCHASKY, Juan César
Lawyer

Detained in october 1975 in Chaco. FREED

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78
Cancer Aut Cong. 9/78

D

PENDER, Luis Roberto
LE: 4.646.114
Age: 30
Calle 885 Nº 4260 - San Francisco Solano (Gr. Bs. Prov.)
Member - Comm. Party

Disappeared 5-10-76

Clara Pender, Corrientes 1017 - Quilmes Oeste (Hotel) Pendel call 3 p.m. (Sister)
Arch. Sec. Pesqu
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Comm. Party

PENEDO, Alberto

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

PENNELLI, Graciela Dora
Age 21
CI: 7.301.143

Disappeared 11-22-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PENSALOSTO, Ricardo

D

DIS

FARR(L)
ML

PEÑA. Graciela
Mendoza

Detained 3-27-76 - U.2-V.Devoto

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

AFL/CIO

Miriam?

PEÑA, Irene Nelida
Ganja, Chaco 253 - Capital
DNI 6.291.218

D

[illegible] D.N.I. 6.291.218. She was abducted on September 14th 1976 at 2 together with her boyfriend Benito Jacinto Cosme, from her home in Sanbal Resort

FARR (L)

L

B-1478

PEÑA, Isidere Oscar

Dis: 7-10-78 La Plata - Bs.As.

La Plata List - 10/78

PAHR(4)

B-1478

PEÑA, Jesus Pedro

Dis: 6-27-78 La Plata - Bs.As.

La Plata List - 10/78

WOLA 9/78

PAHR(4)

D

PEÑA. Juan Roger
DNI: 10.506.029
Av. Independencia 667 - 4°D - MAR DEL PLATA
Profession: Prof. Nacional de Educación Física

Arrested by Security Forces on 10-27-76. Since then disappeared.

CDHR

Barbano, Adela Peña de — (Sister)
Barbano, Adelqui Francisco — (Brother-in-law)
Gral. Paz 166-Tandil Phone 2511
Personal call 5-26-78

PEPE, Carlos Miguel

DIS 8-19-77

PAHR

PERACON

DIS

ML

PERALDA, Sergio (writer)

Arrested in 11/76; imprisoned.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

D

PERALTA, Agustín José
@1:4-743.012
Aminio y Villoro, Maria (Gs Bs)
Rpt 36

Disappeared 10-12-77

ML
PAHR_prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PERALTA, Carlos D

DIS

DDAlto Valle 11/78

PERALTA, Enrique Omar D

DIS

ML

PERALTA, Esteban

K

Killed 75 by Police

AISC (Arg.Komm.Sveden)

D

PERALTA, Eustaquio
Age: 27
CI: 4.292.716

Disappeared 12-28-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Rep Arg Der. Hombre

PERALTA, Javier (Spanish)
Age: 26
Calle Zapiola 851-Chacarita, Buenos Aires

in Buenos Aires
Disappeared 9-30-76./ At present in Libertad Prison in Uruguay accused of subversive association.

REFOULEMENT

D

PERALTA, Luis Alfredo
Age: 24
LE: 8.564.060

Disappeared 1-16-76 Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

PERALTA, Niceforo (Paraguayan)
Age: 27

Disappeared 9-16-76 Father of 12 children - S. de Zamora

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

PERALTA, Osvaldo Sergio
Age: 22
DNI: 12.034.176

DIS 7-13-77 Santos Lugares (Bs.As.)

PAHR (L)

PERALTA, Victor Alcides
CI. 5.815.493

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PERALTA DE FERREYRA, Silvia

ABD After 3-24-76 from her car w/parents, husband and daughter.

AISC (Arg.Komm Sweden)

PERALTA PASSARINI, Carlos Alberto
DNI: 11.264.227
Calle 8 Nº 564 - La Plata

Disappeared 2-14-77 - La Plata -

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

PERALTA, de Pedregosa Rosa Juana

Criminal appeals court held PEN detention invalid.

10/14/78

D

PERALTADE VASQUEZ, Alicia Nora
DNI. 11.714.497

Disappeared on 9-25-76 in Mar del Plata.

Peralta-LE: 5.417.006 (Father)
Peralta, Nelly E. P. de-LC:4.)44.676 (Mother)
Moreno 45-2°P. Dto.4-B.Blanca

PERASSOLO, Juan Carlos

P

ARR Preventive impirsonment

AISC

PERCHANSKY, Juan
Lawher

ADLeague

D

PERCIVATI FRANCO DE MANZOTTI
Age: 21
LC: 12.226.049

DIS 8-24-76

PAHR(1)
FDD

D

PERDEI, Luis Roberto

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

PERDICHE, Ana Ma. Rita
C.I: [illegible] DNI: 10.565.820
Age 28

Disappeared 9-15-76-La Plata -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

PERDICHE, Victorio Graciano
[illegible] La Plata
Age 25
C.I: 6.428.233

Disappeared 12-16-76 La Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
ML

PERDIGUE, Ana Maria

DIS

DDAlto Valle 11/78

PEREA, Guillermo

D 79 - Reappeared

Reappeared in the same way as Baraldi. 2/3/79 (Cond. freedom)

Arrested together with friend Luis Alberto Baraldi on 1-19-79 in La Plata.

PAHR(L)
Bs.As.Herald clipping 1-27-79

PEREE, Juan Domingo

D

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

PEREGO, Carlos Damian
[illegible]
Tolosa, [illegible]

D

Disappeared 7-30-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

PEREIRA, Carlos Rafael

Disappeared 7-15-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

PEREIRA, E. Uruguayan

Right of option - no decision.

UK

D

PEREIRA, Horacio Abel

Disappeared 4-22-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

PEREIRA, Iris Beatriz
Rfc 24
CI: 6.954.448

Disappeared 8-31-77 -Tigre-

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

PEREIRA, José Maria
CI: 4.713.507

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PEREIRA, Liliana Carmen

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

410/76/6 D

PEREIRA DE GONZALEZ, Estela M
CI. 2.644.458

GOA reply 1-30-79 : Neg. reply

Disappeared 12-6-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
WOLA

184/77/11 D

PEREIRA PLAZA, Reinalda del Carmen (Chilean)

N.R.A.D - 609 - 9-5-78

Allegedly Pereira crossed into Argentina on foot at the Los Libertadores (Caracoles)/Las Cuevas Border as shown by Chilean and Argentine border crossing cards. She was 5-6 months pregnant when she disappeared December 15, 1976.

Raised by Amemb.Santiago-Santiago 9465.

PEREIRA DE PRIETO, Maria del R.

ARR V.Devoto prison.

AISC

D

PEREIRO, Stella Marris
CI: 2.644.458
Student

Arrested on 12-6-77 together with Mario Alberto Depin
and Marta María Barberp de Depino.

PAHR (L)

Delorenzo de Pereiro (Mother)
Sarmiento y Vergara
Manuel Gonnet, La Plata, Bs.As.
Visited by Person 9-7-78

F

PERE LUTZ, Elizabeth (Uruguayan)
Barrio Once, Buenos Aires

Disappeared 6-15-76 in Buenos Aires. Freed in Montevideo on 12-22-76.

REFOULEMENT

D

PERETI DE GALLARDO, Nora
HR 33
DNI: 4.957.187

DISAPPEARED 5-12-76 - Córdoba -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PEREYRA
Sarmiento
City Bell

Daughter of ex-football player Estudiantes de La Plata.

La Plata List

PEREYRA, Antonio Rico D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PEREYRA, Carlos Rafael
Age: 29
Delgado 836-Buenos Aires

ABD 7-16-77 from his store-Juncal 2021-Bs.Aires

PAHR(L)
ML

D 1978

PEREYRA, Claudia Leonor
Capital Federal
Age 21
DNI : 13.655.293

DIS 8-2-78 Freed 11-9-78

PAHR 9-28-78(L)

D

PEREYRA, Ezequiel Matias Claudio
Age: 24
Doc. 11.080.072

DIS 7-6-77

Tucumán

PEREYRA, Guillermo E. D

DIS 3-29-76 Córdoba

PAHR(L)

PEREYRA, Higinio Antonio
Age: 24

D

ABD 10-12-76 from home: Pdo.San Martin,Bs.As.

AISC (CADHU)

PEREYRA, Horacio Abel
Age 29
CI: 6.071.682

D

DIS 4-22-77

PAHR (L)
ML

PEREYRA, Iris Beatriz
Age: 24
CI: 6.954.478

D

DIS 8-31-77 Tigre

PAHR (L)

PEREYRA, Jorge Ruben
Kolynos

Detained Unidad 9 - La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PEREYRA, Juan Carlos
CI: 9.419.062

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PEREYRA, Justo A.

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PEREYRA, Liliana Carmen
DNI: 11.607.946

(See also Cagnola, Eduardo Alberto)

Detained on 10-4-77 by a group of Army. Since then disappeared
She is awaiting a baby for May.

PAHR(L)
Pereyra, Osvaldo Jorge (Parent)
Pereyra, Jorgelina Azzarri de
Calle 51, No. 743, Piso 2°Dpto. 5-La Plata
Phone: 2-1543

PEREYRA, Maria

ARR 12-24-75 Bs.As.-Held in V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

PEREYRA, Mariano Reinaldo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D76

PEREYRA, Mónica

DIS August 1978 Buenos Aires

PEREYRA, Néstor
Acindar

Detained 3-20-75 - Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

PEREYRA, Raúl

DIS 11/76

PAHR (L)
ML

PEREYRA, Reynalda del Carmen — Chilean

DIS 1/77

ML

PEREYRA, Rual

DIS

AISC

PEREYRA, Santiago Adolfo

DIS

PAHR (L)

PEREYRA DE CORDERO, Maria Olide

DIS

Córdoba List 12-1-78

C-107/78/1

Option

PEREYRA GOMEZ, Edgardo Walter

PEN; Unidad 2 Sierra Chica

Pereyra, Peggy Gladys Gomez de (Mother)
Home: Mariano Moreno 787)Villa Maria(Córdoba)
Office: Buenos Aires 1241)
Phone: 23288

C-82/77/2

PEREYRA PEREYRA, Luis Angel

Option

PEN-Unidad 9 La Plata
US Emb. visit granted 11/78

Presentado directamente en consulado.

D

PEREYRA DE PEREZ, Mafalda

DIS 7-18-77

ML

PEREYRA VIDELA (Uruguayan)

Held since 1978. He has expulsion order since 1975.

Harris data- 8-15-78

D 78

PEREYRO (Son of Dr.)

DIS November - La Plata

La Plata list.
PIHR(L)

D

PEREYRO DE GONZALEZ, Estela M.
Age: 24
CI: 2.644.458

DIS 12-6-77

FDD

D

PEREZ,
Worked for YPF

ABD 4-28-77 from work

ML

D

PEREZ, Ada María

Also according M. of Veteran - Group 6-16-78

Disappeared 7-23-77

CL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

PEREZ, Alejandro Américo

DIS 4-14-76

CAHR(L)
ML

PEREZ, Américo Ramón

DIS

CAHR(L)
ML

PEREZ, Ana
CI. 10.612.063

DIS

AISC (Clarín)

PEREZ, Beatriz

ARR 6-22-76 Bs.As.- PEN V.Devoto

AISC

PEREZ, Carlos (editor)

Abducted from his home in 4/76; whereabouts unknown.

Le Monde 6-10-78
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
Hil

PEREZ, Carlos Alberto
Age 19
C.I.: 8.Año.854

DIS 5-8-76

PAHR (4)

PEREZ, Carlos Enrique
DNI. 703.171
Student - 24 years

Under PEN since October 1976.

Perez de Nieto, Adriana Elena
Av. Eloy Chavez 436-Tres Lagoas-Mato Grosso
Brasil. (Letter to Mrs. R. Carter)

PEREZ, Daniel Alberto
C.L. 7.790.569
Roma 4019 - Lanus Este

Arrested on 7-21-77 by Security Forces. Since then disappeared.

Family hist 3-10-79
PAHR(L)
Perez, Adriana Rodriguez de (Mother)
Roma 4019-Lanus Este

PEREZ, Daniel Ricardo (21)
LE: 7 604.714
Age 30

Disappeared 4-13-77 - Ramos Mejía -

FIL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Cancer Amb Org. 9/78

PEREZ, Eduardo
Worker

Detained in February 1975, at present in Sierra Chica prison.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PEREZ, Eduardo Alberto
DNI: 12.520.848

Disappeared 6-22-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

PEREZ, Eduardo Alfredo
DNI: 13.666.809

Disappeared 10-10-77 - Villa Celina -

HL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

PEREZ, Emérito Darío
B/C 44
CI: 3.018.592

Disappeared 7-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(4)

D

PEREZ, Emiliano
Age: 45
LE: 6.850.827

DIS 4-6-77 Mendoza

FDD
PAHR(4)

D

PEREZ, Ernesto
Age: 28

ABD 2/77 from Azul, Buenos Aires

ML

D

PEREZ, Eugenio Carlos
CI: 7.734.437

Disappeared 9-10-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PEREZ, Felix Jorge (F) D
CI. 6.079.830
Carlos Pellegrini 4385 - Ciudadela (Bs.As.)

On 4-29-77 he was arrested by a group of men from Security Force. Since then disappeared.

Perez, Felix (Father)
C.I. 2.886.407
Carlos Pellegrini 4385-Ciudadela
Tel. 653-2762

PAHR(L) Testimony. To T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

D

PEREZ, Fernando

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PEREZ, Guillermo

DIS 3/77 Mar del Plata

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PEREZ, Gustavo Emir

Age 22

DNI: 12.228.460

DIS 7-7-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR(1)

PEREZ, Héctor Alberto

LE: (12.151.020) or (9.389.091)

Carlos Pellegrini 1243 - Gualeguaychú, Entre Ríos.

Member: United Jewish Com.

Gov't Reply 1-30-79: Negative Reply

Disappeared 11-29-76

rdd

Cuenca Guid. Cong. 4/79

Arg. Ofc. Att. Bombs

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

WOLA

Comm. Party

PEREZ, Héctor Efron

DIS

FARR(L)
ML

PEREZ, Hector Oscar
LE: 12.151.020
Quilmes,Bs.Aires

ABD 11-29-76

ML

PEREZ, Horacio

DIS 5-14-76

AISC

D

PEREZ, Ines Natividad

DIS

eAHR(L)
ML

D

PEREZ, Iris Natividad

DIS

AISC

PEREZ, Jorge Albino
PEREZ, Emiliano
FONSECA, Gloria

6.850.324

Disappeared on April. 6/1977.

PEREZ, Emiliano Albino
Las Heras, Mendoza
FBI
8-20-77-Telegram to G.Yamtbon
ML

"ARGLA-11-78"

D

PEREZ, José Albino
Age: 27
L. 8.342.017

DIS 4-6-77 MENDOZA

PAHR (L)

D 78

PEREZ, Juan Carlos
DU: 11.759.133
Corrientes 810-José Marmol (Prov.Bs.As.

Arrested 12-20-78 after leaving his work
Gomería Palanco, Juan B. Justo 3737-Capital.

Graciela Viera de Gomez (Mother)
Corrientes 810-J.Marmol
Phone: Sister Evita 47-2958

Personal call Embassy 1-11-79.
(Ponce) PAHR (A)

PEREZ, José Felix D

ABD 4/77 from work by Coordination Federal Agents
Worker Bco.Prov. Bs.As.

AISC (Arg.Komm-Sveden)

D

PEREZ, Juan Carlos

DIS 6-6-75 Córdoba

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PEREZ, Marcelino
Delegado Renault-Córdoba

Detained in Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

PEREZ, Marco Antonio
DI: 3.992.120

Disappeared 1-22-76 Taf Viejo- Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Tucumán

D78

PEREZ, Maria A.
Age 25
CI: 7-055.668

DIS 7.7.78

PAHR (L)
WOLA 11-78

PEREZ, Maria Cristina
Age 25
FDR List 9-16-78
CI: 7-055.668

D-78

DIS 7-7-78

PAHR Cap. Forest

D

PEREZ, Marta (journalist)

Abducted in 4/76; whereabouts unknown.

PAHR (L)
#4
Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

PEREZ, Mateo Suava

D

DIS

AISC

D

PEREZ, Miguel Angel Labrador
LE! 8.506.916

Disappeared 9-12-76 Rosario

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

C-114/78/4

PEREZ' Miguel Antonio

M/E 21

Option

PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

PAHR (L)
Perez, Isabel Virginia (Mother)
Venezuela 4174 - 1°"E"-Capital

D

PEREZ, Nestor

DIS

PAHR (L)
FDD

D

PEREZ, Norma Graciela
Age: 26

ABD 2/77 from Azul, Buenos Aires

ML

D

PEREZ, Oscar Alberto
DNI: 13.289.811

Disappeared 8-30-77 Ezeiza Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PEREZ, Pedro Enrique
"El Independiente" - La Rioja

UNDER PEN

ADEPA-La Opinión 4-1-78
Arg. Cong. Ltr. Nov. 78

PEREZ, Remedios
DNI: 4 338.893
Carabinera Pringles / Villa Celina

Disappeared 10-10-77 with embroidery - Villa Celina -

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

R/FDD

S PEREZ, Ramón Lucio
LE. 6.188.143 - CI. 5.966.279
Brandsen 183-Tempertley (Bs.As.)

Arrested on 11-9-76 by a group of armed men. About 15 days later another group of men also armed, came for information on what had happen on the 11-9-77. He belongs to the Communist Party for 14 years. Since then disappeared.

Perez, María Ester (Sister)
Amenedo 3326 - José Marmol, Bs.As.

8-18-77 Letter to Senators.

ML
Cancer Amb. Corr. 8/78
COMM. PARTY.
PAHR(L)

D

PEREZ, Ricardo Adrian
Age 26
C.I: 6.651.868

Disappeared 4-21-77 - Santa Fé -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

802/77/1 D 1978

PEREZ, Roberto Luis

Arrested on Dec. 1, 1978, by people claiming to be Federal Police agents.

Unclassified BA-9815, dated 12-15-78.

Dpto. Dist. - Ltda 020955

PEREZ, Silva S D

DIS

ML

PEREZ, Ventura (Journalist)

Arrested in 4/76; imprisoned

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

PEREZ, Víctor Miguel

Since 12-9-75 at disposal of PEN

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PEREZ DE ACONA, Elizabeth

DIS 9-14-76

AISC

D

PEREZ DE AGUIRRE, Raúl

DIS 7-7-76

FDD
PAHR(4)

D

PEREZ DE ASTORGA, Alicia Isabel
Age: 24
Doc. 10.015.575

DIS 3-16-76

Tucumán

D

PEREZ DE AZCONA, Ana María de C
Age: 26
Doc. 10.013.732

Disappeared 9-14-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

23/76/11

PEREZ BRAVO, Maria

Under review. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76 GOA reply: 11-30-76
11-11-77 Ltr

PEREZ CASTELLANO, Juan Carlos (journalist)

Arrested and imprisoned 9/12/76; unconfirmed reports state he was released from prison 9/28/76; present status unknown.

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT
La Linea 6-11-76

PEREZ CATAN, Alejandro Luis

ARR Sierra Chica PEN -

AISC

D

PEREZ CATAN, Jorge Enrique
DNI: 10-617.222
Córdoba 2420 - 3°- Mar del Plata

Disappeared since 1-31-77.

PAHR
Rivere de Perez Catan, Maria Elena (Mother)
Córdoba 2420 - 3°- Mar del Plata
Phone: 49178 Mar del Plata (83-7684)
Personal call Embassy 6-12-78.

D

PEREZ DE DONDA, Ma. Hilda
Age 26
CI: 7.151.274

Disappeared 2-28-77 Castelar (Bs. As.).

Cases Amb Corp 9/78
PAHR-Prensa/5-17-78 (L)

D

Perez de Donda, Baby

Mother Maria Hilda Perez de Donda, detained and disappeared on 3-28-77 in Morón o Castelar.

Leontina Puebla de Perez (Grandmother)
DNI: 0.635.451
Sargento Cabral 476-Palomar

92/77/5 F*

PEREZ ESQUIVEL, Adolfo Maria

Arrested on 4-4-1977, under Decree 929 issued by the Exc. Nat. Power as a "subversive". Still in jail awaiting trail and as yet no charges have been brought against him.

Arrested on 4-4-77. At disposal of PEN, at present in Unidad 9 Pabellón 16A in La Plata City. (PEN 929)
Both Inter-country Classes 8-12-78
Sought by Optum for Kidnap. Aug 1978
U.S. confirmed that P.E. to be released "Liberated in place" since 6-23-78

Newspaper clipping. 8-9-77.
The Intern. League for H.R.(Fernando Rondon) 8-15-77.
Son's visit to Emb. 4-28-77.

Son. Harkin 1978 State: BA-6303
Son. Long 1-10-78

PEREZ ESQUIVEL, Mario P

Detained under PEN.

Perez Esquivel, Leonardo (Father)
Office phone: 34-4395

Mr. Bova, Note 8-9-77.

D

PEREZ Lara, Bonanzo Antonio
LE No. 741.38

Disappeared Mendoza

WOLA 11-78
Mendoza Family Visit 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PEREZ LOZANO, Walter
Profesor Secundario-Jujuy

Disappeared 12-14-75

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PEREZ LUTZ, Elizabeth

DIS 6.5.76

PAHR (L)

PEREZ MONSALVE

DIS La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

D

PEREZ MILLAN, Carlos Alberto
LE: 0.445.743

Disappeared 1-4-77 - Castelar -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

PEREZ DE PAOLA, Ines

D

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

PEREZ DE RADIA, Inés

D

DIS

PAHR (1)
ML

PEREZ RIZZO, Carlos Enrique 7

ARR PEN

AISC (La Opinión)

PEREZ ROIG, Edith de D

ABD 7/77 Bs.As.Prov.

AISC

1224/75/6 D

PEREZ ROIG, Marcelino Alberto
h/e 26
DNI: 10.433.040

Disappeared on 7-7-1977 in La Plata.

PAHR(L)
La Plata Prov 10/78
Amamb.Tegucigalupo - Tegucigalpa 2361.
Magda Roig Estape de Puerto Cortes, Honduras

642/78/11

PEREZ ROJO, José Manuel

GOA reply 2-23-79 - Neg. reply

DIS 10-8-78 together with wife Patricia Julia Roisinblit de Perez.

Mother in law visit Emb. 11-22-78 and 11.14.78.

D

PEREZ SILVA, S

DIS

PAHR (L)

D

PEREZ SOSA, Emiliano
LE: 6.850.127
Ajedrez

DIS 4-6-77

Sundry Family Ref 8/78
ML

D

PEREZ VARGAS, Maria Luisa de

DIS 11/76

ML

D

PEREZ WEISS, Beatriz (nee Carbonel)

Disappeared 5-14-76 with Horacio Perez Weiss

APHR
ADLeague (L)

PEREZ WEISS, Horacio
Age: 25
CI: 5.752.790

D

Disappeared 5-14-76 with Beatriz Carbonel de Perez Weiss
geology student

APHR-Prensa 5-14-78 (L)
ADL
ADLeague

PERIE, Francisco Anibal
Student

Detained 1976
MinInt lifted arrest, between 30-29-78 and 10-6-78.
Announcements were made on Saturday, Oct. 7, 1978

AIAustralia-Adoption

PERIE, Juan Domingo
Student

Detained February 1975-La Plata prison

AIAustralia-Adoption

PERIER, Alicia
Journalist

Killed

Le Monde 6-10-78

57/77/4 D *

PERNAS, Graciela Eugenia
Age 21
DNI: 11.607.316

For Off.Inq.: 4-5-77 GOA reply: NO
11-16-78 Hg.

NL
Personal Chart to Evans 1-26-78 "WOLA-11-78"

PERON, Jorge Luis
Diesel Parisi
DNI: 10.469.913
Age 25

Detained 7-21-77

NL
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR - Prensa 5.14 - 78 (L)

543/78/8 D/1978

PEROSIO, Beatriz
Presidente de la Federación de Psicólogos de la Rep.Arg.
Presidente de la Asociación de Psicólogos de Buenos Aires

GOA reply 2-23-79: Neg. reply.

Arrested by Security Forces on 8/8/78.

11/16/78 reported still missing in BA Herald.

Maria Hora (Comm. municipal) reported she had been seen in Villa Dentro.
GOA reply 11-16-78: N.R.A.D. 10-78
WOLA 11/78 BOL 9/22 FBI
Career Club Congr. 9/78 American Psychological Association

Clarin clipping 8-10-78.
AAAS Newsletter 2-1978

PEROT, Guillermo Alberto
Arc 25
DNI: 10.524.434

DIS 3-23-76 Rosario

PAHR (1)

PEROTTI, Eneas
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 4-23-75 - Resistencia

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PEROZ, Mateo Suavo

DIS

PAHR(1)
ML

D75

PERPINOL, Sara (Perpignan)
Lawyer

DIS 11-22-78

PAHR (L)
Australian Embassy

PERRIER, Maria José

D

Disappeared 10-30-76 with Silvia R. Gerlelmo from Libertad 851 Pis. 6.

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PERROTA, Rodolfo
(Dueño de El Cronista)

L. Linde 6-10-75
Newspaper assoc.

D

PERROTTA, Rafael A
Age 56

Former editor of "El Cronista Comercial. Disappeared in late June or early July 1977.
Relatives: Mrs.Bengolea de Perrotta, wife; Rafael Perrotta Bengolea and Santiago Perrotta Bengolea, nephews.

U.S.Interest: Letter from [redacted]

[redacted]

1

NL

P

PERRUCA, José Carlos
Ap. 27
8.300.601

Disappeared 8-15-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78
Córdoba Post 12-1-78

T

PERTIERRA, Armando R
Ap. 22
LE: 11.598.671

DIS 10-8-76

D

PERTIERRA, Carlos

DIS

PARA(L)
ML

D

PERTZLUTZ, Isabel (Uruguayan)

Disappeared 6-1-76

ML
ADLeague
PARA(L)

D

PERUCCA, JoséCarlos

DIS 8-15-76

Córdoba list

D 48

PES, Alicia Graciela
AGE; 26
DNI: 10.623.399

DIS 10-30-78

FDD

PESARINI, Alberto Oscar

DIS 12-21-77

PBHR

PESATRIZ, Ofelia

DIS

AISC

D 77

PESCE, José
Hft 30
CI: 221.450

Disappeared 9-2-77 Córdoba
Secuestrado PEN - habeas corpus 12-21-78

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

660/78/12 D 78

PESCI, Eduardo
Lawyer
CI: 4.762.481

DIS 10-23-78.

San Lorenzo y Rivadavia

Morfino de Pesci, Maria Tecla (Mother)
Buenos Aires Herald 10-27-78

AI 12-8-78
Amnesty Int.

D

PESOLANO DE RENOU, Otilia M.

DIS 7-13-77

ML

D

PETACCHIOLA, Graciela Mónica
Asunción 2950 Olivos Pcia. B.A.
CI: 8.664.975
Age 17

Disappeared 10-8-76 - Olivos

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

J

PETRAGLIA, Angel Julio
Age 29
L.E. 4.700.671

DIS 5-19-77

PAHR (L)

D

PETRAT, Ingrid

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PETRICCA, Antonio
LE. 4.637.552

Disappeared since 9-14-76. La Plata

La Plata Dist 10/78
Petricca, Antonio (Father)
LE. 1.098.279
Calle 79 N°354-La Plata
PAHR (L)

PETRIDES CATINO DE LUBIAN, Marta Amalia - (Uruguayan) C.F.
Age: 24

Disappeared in Buenos Aires on 7-13-76 with 2 children.
Under conditional freedom in Uruguay; in Sweden since August 1978.

REFOULEMENT

D

PETRINI, Osvaldo Segio
Age 21
Clase del 56
Teacher -Colegio Pio XII de Villa Bosch
Student: 3rd. year Engineering
DNI: 12.134.176

-Santos Lugares-
Abducted on 7-13-77. Since then disappeared.

Letter to Amb. Castro from Sábato. 3-10-78.
PAHR (L)
Petrini, Evel Detained cell 5-11-78
Cuelli 2041-Santos Lugares
Ernesto Sábato, Severino Langeri 3135-Santos Lugares

PETRACCHIOLA
PETROCCHIOLO, Gabriela Mónica

CI: 8.664.995

DIS 10-8-76 Olivos (Bs As)

FDD
North zone Bs.As.Prov.

400/78/6

PETROUCH, Raul Eduardo (Dr.)
DNI: 12.691.663

GOA reply 9-5-78: PEN-Dto. 1613 del 18/7/78
Cargos: Integrante PCR.
GOA reply 2-23-79: Have no antecedents.

Abducted on 3-26-78 outside near to San Justo Cathedral, after Eastern evening mass.

Same 2, appeared

San Justo

PETTINA, Rodolfo Emilio
DNI: 11.370.506
Medicine student
Member: Ted. Jun. Com.

Disappeared 6-15-77 - La Plata -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
Comm. Party

D

POLLOLA, José Americo
DNI. 11.812.165
Age: 22
Calle 6 Nro. 1333 - 5°"C"-La Plata Phone 27768

On 2-25-78 was arrested with another group of boys, at Cnel Cesar Diaz y Terrada streets. Since then disappeared. Student of Bellas Artes School in La Plata during 1973/74.

FAHR(L)
Pollola, José Nicolas (Father)
Calle 3 No. 1333 - 5°"C"-La Plata (Phone 27768)
Pollola, Delia Noemí Dossena de (Mother)

Personal call Emb. 3-2-78.
LA FIRST LIST 8/5/78

POLO DE URANGA, Sara FP

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC(Rio Negro newspaper)

5/11/78/8 D 1338

POLTARAK, Mauricio Alberto
CI. 5.093.830
Monroe 3139-Capital
Age: 35

In 1965 was Secy Cen'l de Centro de Estudiantes de Ingeniería de la Univ. de B.A. (Linea Recta)
Reported alive in mid August, 1978
Searched house 3 days after disappearance. Conflict between police + Army during search.
Disappeared 7-21-78.

Anti Def. League-Rosenthal 9-14-78 GCArreply: 1.h.c.d.
FAHR Hi
[illegible]

Personal call Embassy 7-31-78 // 10/23/78 //
[illegible]
Carmaño de Poltarak, Marta M. 701-4732 (Wife)
Monroe 3139-Capital
Sara P. de Cymes (sister) 87-1455 (Informed by phone of atrocities 9-26-78)

12/11/78 Wife called and informed us that PCML sources who had been taken with her husband informed family that subject had died in detention of untreated broken ~~ulcer~~ity which became infected. Family seeking verification.

= Septisemia =

2/79 - reported to be alive.

D

POMPA DE INGENIERO, Irma M.
H/C 23

Disappeared 5-5-77 Campana

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

PONCE, Alberto Rengel D78

DIS 12-7-78 Ciudadela, Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

R/FDD

PONCE, Alfredo Tomas
L.E. 4.388.320
PONCE, Maria Esther Lecroix de
L.C. 3.554.616
Address: Calle 9 entre 503 y 504-Manuel B. Gonet (Bs.As.)

Arrested on 7-7-76 by a group of armed men. Since then they are disappeared.

PONCE, Livia Capalbo de (Mother and Mother in Law)

8-11-77 Letter to Derian.
Testimony to Representatives
Testimony to Senators.

PONCE, Carlos Nestor
Age: 31
LE: 6.140.050

DIS 1-6-77 Santa Fé

PAHR (L)

PONCE, Clara Soledad
Age: 11 months.

DIS 2-14-77

Reappeared in Casa Cuna.

PAHR (L)

PONCE, Daniel

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

Cautiva
PONCE, Daniel Benito
T (HANONO, Saúl Eduardo)

Arrested on 3-7-77. At present in Unidad 9 de La Plata.

6-11-78 Liberación

Elena Hanono de Ponce. (Wife and sister)
25 de Mayo 19.Bo.Bombal-Mendoza

8-2-77 Letter to T.Todman.

D

PONCE, Enrique
Ex-Lt. Colonel of Gendarmery

Disappeared

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

ML

D

PONCE, Horacio Marcelo
Age: 24
Doc. 10.925.725

DIS 4-22-77 Tucuman

Tucumán

PAHR(L)

D

PONCE, Humberto Rubén
DI 4.338.460
Apt 28

Disappeared Tucumán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

PONCE, Ime Roberto
Age: 53
Doc. 3.508.981

DIS 7-4-77

Tucumán

PAHR(L)

PONCE, Julio

Disappeared Mendoza

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
AL "WOLA-11-78"

PONCE, Manuel
-Age: 23

Sentenced to 9 years because of illicit association.

MinInt lifted arrest between 30-29 and 10-6-78.
Announcements were made on Saturday, Oct. 7, 1978

La Opinion clipping 3-29-78

PONCE, Miguel
SANTA FE

Detained 3-20-75 Penit. San Nicolas

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

PONCE, Miguel Angel

DIS

PRHR(L)
ML

K

PONCE, Hoemí
Age: 28
Juan B. Justo 2834-Bs.As.

Body was found near autopista Rosario-Santa Fé Km. 3.
Oído hacia el Campero

Newspaper clipping.

D
T
K

PONCE, Oscar Armando (F)
L.E. 8406085
Hoy: 24

D

Disappeared 2-14-77.

PONCE, Isolina C. Rodriguez de (Mother)
Maza 949 - 3°Piso B - Capital

ML
Telegram to Derian.
Letter to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

PRHR - Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

428/76/6 D

PONCE, Pedro

GOA reply 1-30-79 - Neg. reply

Worker in Cattaneo (Bolougne). During labor strife he was arrested at his work place on 10-27-77.

Lozadur people. Personal call.

D

PONCE, Pedro Ulderrico
LE: S.279.661

Disappeared Mendoza

FL: Mendoza Family list 8/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
"WOLA-11-78"

D

PONCE, Ramón E

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

R/FDD

PONCE, Rodolfo Enrique
CI. 6.773.434-LE. 4.608.509
Pasaje 1°s/n, entre Rioja y Catamarca
Benavidez, Bs.As.-Partido del Tigre

Was arrested on 9-13-76 by a group of armed men. On the following days 9-13/14/15-76 these same men came to the house again, threatening his wife not to say anything and not to leave the house. They robbed and took the house contract. Since then disappeared.

Urbano, Maria Ruiz de (Mother)
CI. 5.603.649-LC 4.353.006
Callao 1681-6°P-Capital
PAHR(L)
BL
FDD
Testimony to Senators.

PONCE, Ruben

DIS 3-24-76 Reconquista-Santa Fé

Mexico 79
PAHR(L)

PONCE, Sara Alicia
Law student

Detained 6-11-75 - Villa Devoto Prison

AIAustralia-Adoption

PONCE, SEGUNDO MANUEL
C.I. 6179739
(Place clara Soledad (Baby - 6 months) Appeared in Casa Cuna)

Disappeared 2-14-77.

PONCE, Isolina C. Rodriguez de (Mother)
Maza 949 - 3°Piso B - Capital

Telegram to Derian.
Letter to T.Todman.
Testimony to Representatives.

PAHR(L)

PONCE DE BIANCO, M. Eugenia

Disappeared 12-8-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PONCE DE FERNANDEZ, Ana Maria
Age: 26
DNI: 10.697.071

DIS 7-18-77

FDD

356/75/5 D

PONCE DE LEON, Gustavo Adolfo
Computer programmer and system analyst
6.447.471
Gob. civil. M.B.D. Fue visto detenido (Junio 1978)
6-28

Kidnapped from his Buenos Aires home on August 5, 1976.
Since then disappeared. Rosario

PBHR(L)
AL
Amnesty International 1978.

D

PONCE DE LEON, Ruben
5.093.409

DIS Oct. 1977

Rosario List

D

PONDAL, Roberto

DIS 7/77

ML

D

PONDER, Luis Roberto

DIS

ML

PONT, Carlos
= Ranger

Detained after action of 1976. At present La Plata prison

Comm Amb Cong. 9/78
Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

Cmd PONT ANGRIMAN, Carlos Alberto

Arrested on 3-15-76, in San Rafael (Prov. of Mendoza). At present in Unidad Carcelaria No. 9 of La Plata. On 5-5-77 by a Decreet signed by President Videlo he was authorized to leave the country. Unfortunately the Army has revoked the permission.

Authorized to leave country by Law 21.449-La Razon clipping 9-24-77.- . La Opinion 9-24-77

PONT, Gladys Sala de (Wife)
Avellaneda 117-San Rafael(Mendoza)

8-2-77. Letter to Embassy B.A.

D

PONTI, Daniel Ricardo

DIS 12/76

ML

D

PONTI HARVEY, Daniel Carlos
DoB: 2-4-76

Disappeared 11-25-77 La Plata

La Plata Pisó 10/78
ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PONZA, Ernesto

ABD 2-78 Córdoba

AISC (Arg.Komm-Sveden)

D PORCEL, Eduardo José

Former Director of Salta Prisons

GcA- 9-5-78 : PEN -Dto. 1659 del 1/12/74
cargo: miembro ERP - Violación ley 20840
Alfpde: (V-9) in Plata desde el 1/10/75

Imprisoned Resistencia, Chaco since 1974, without charges.
Rondeau-Ka Abierto 14-5
Mrs. Hortensia Rodriguez de Porcel incarcerated in Villa Devoto.

Amnesty International USA
2112 Broadway-New York City

Cable addressed to Derian.

Cong. Mc. Kinney
RI

D

PORCEL, Gladys del Valle
J.P. Valle los Hornos Pcia Bs.
Age 24

Disappeared 10-27-76 - Moreno -

NL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (c)

D

PORCEL, Maria

DIS 10-10-76 Salta

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PORCO, Juan

D

DIS 5-16-77 Bs.As. Maritime Union

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PORCUS, Angelo
Acindar - Villa Constitución

Detained 3-20-75 - Sierra Chica

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

PORNOY, José Andres

Disappeared

D

PORRA, Juan Carlos
Age: 21
J. Alvarez 776, Bs.Aires

Removed from PER- la Noche 2-10-76

ABD 5-4-76

PAER (L)
ML

PORREIRO, Patricia E.

DIS 1-21-77

North zone Bs.As.Prov.

PORRINI, Beatriz
C.I.- 1.559.654 L. 4.950.591
Age 33

DIS 6-15-76 - SA. de PADUA.
Hotel en LAL - Medida 6. Pie SORIA - LC. 0.430.444 - Wife - Balvanera

PAHR (L)
FDP. 11-6-78

PORTA, Ada Victoria
Bfe 19
CNU: 7.863.952

Disappeared 8-7-76 Banfield

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PORTA, Gabriel Adrian
C.I. 6.633 226
Diaz Velez 1328, Villa Sarmiento-HAEDO (Bs.As.)

Arrested 11-25-76 by a group of armed men (they said to be Security force). This same day he received a reply to the "Expediente No. 5032/76 del Registro de la Univ. de Bs. As., No. 119.998/76 de la Fac. de Agronomía" initiated by him on 10-23-76, about malversation of funds. Since then disappeared.

Porta, Martha Leonor (Mother)
Olivestri de (LC.0.399.821)

7-28-77. Letter from his mother, without signature. Statement to Representatives.

PAHR (L)

PORTA, Manuel

Disappeared Mendoza

Sunday Family Post 5/78
L.L.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)
"WOLA 11-78"

PORTAL, Raul Alberto
CI: 4.574.986

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PORTAS,
ELMA

D

Disappeared Sept. 77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PORTAS, Ruben

D

DIS

Nueva Hora 11/78

K

PORTÀS BORRAS, Juan

1978
Shot in Córdoba (or dead) after the Air Force refused to shot him in 1977 when Military Tribunal condemned him to death.

Harris data 8-15-78

PORTILLA, Armando (Chilean) D

DIS 12/76

ML

D

PORTILLA, Medina Hermones de

DIS 12/76

ML

PORTILLO PENAYO, Bresentado

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

PORTIÑO DE ENCINA, Ana Olga
[illegible] 3333 - N. Ga.
Hfc 26

Disappeared 11-24-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
[illegible]

PORTNOY, José

Right of option certificate un der review.

France

D

PORTO VALDEZ ZALAMAR, Guadalupe
hfe 2l

DIS

PPHR(4)
ML

D 18

PORTOLAC, Mauricio
Secretary of FUA

DIS 7-22-78

AISC

D

POSSO, Julia Esther

DIS 7-30-76

ML

D

POSSO, Patricia Liliana

DIS 7-30-76

ML

POT, Cristina

P

ARR 1-24-76 Santa Fé-PEN Villa Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

P

POT, Hugo Marcelino

Under PEN Resistencia Chaco

ADLeague

POT, Margarita Noemí (nee Irurzun)

Under PEN Unidad 2 Villa Devoto, judged.

ADLeague

POURTALE, Maria Enriqueta

DIS Agosto 1976

PAHR(c)

AFL/CIO

POYASTRO, Eduardo Guillermo
POYASTRO, Graciela Monari de

[redacted] D.N.I. 6.356.673 - [redacted] D.N.I. 5.955.702. employees who were arrested from their home by Federal Police on November 25th 1976, together with her husband, by civilians.

[redacted] D.N.I. 8.533.067. He was arrested from his home together with his [redacted] on November 25th 1976 at 10 p.m.

L

D

POZOS GRADOS,

DIS La Pampa

PAHR (L)
ML

P

POZZE, Patricia Liliana
Age: 18

DIS 7-30-76 La Plata - Bs.As.

Reap.'Villa Devoto'

PAHR (L)

D

POZZE DE CASTAGNET, Julia
Age: 21
L. 11.616.547

DIS 7-29-76 La Plata Bs.As.

PAHR (L)

POZZO,
Address: 9 Nro. 484-La Plata
(Sister is detained in Villa Devoto)

DIS

La Plata List

POZZO, Roberto Luis

PEN; Coronda(Santa Fé). Given forms for him,his wife and two children.

Pozzo, Teresa Suarez de (Wife)
Dorrego 5480-Santa Fé
Tel.: 63506

POZZO, Patricia Liliana
LC. 12.530.304

Arrested on 7-29-76. Still at PEN's disposition. At present in Villa Devoto Penitentiary.
CRIM-APP-CT- ordered released from PEN.-11/78

Pozzo, Esther Fonrouge de (Mother)
LC. 3.141.877
Calle 9- 484 1/2-La Plata

8-14-77 Letter to T.Todman.

PRADANO, Juan Carlos

DIS 4-22-76

PARR(L)
FDD

PRADO, Claudio Aníbal L.

Disappeared 3-20-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

Prado, Claudio Luis

For.Off.Inq.: 4-5-77 GOA Reply: NO.

White House.

PRADO, Gabriel Herberto
Age: 24

Arrested together with his wife on 8-24-77. Since then disappeared.

Prado, Herberto G. Eduardo (Father)
Sarmiento 752-Dpto. Int. Bahia Blanca

PRADO, Mario Roberto

D

DIS

ML

PRADO, Miguel Angel
Member Communist Party

D

DIS 5-20-77

ML

PRADO, Mónica Gonzalez de
Age: 23

Arrested together with her husband on 8-24-77. Since then disappeared.

Prado, Herberto G. Eduardo (Father in law)
Sarmiento 752-Dpto. Int. Bahia Blanca

AFL/CIO

PRADO, Norma Susana Huder de

D

[redacted]: student. She was obtained by people wearing the uniform of the police of the province of Buenos Aires. This took place while she was at her parent's in the city of Mar del Plata, on October 24th 1976.

PRADO, Salvador Marcos
Railroad Worker

D

ABD

PAHR (L)
ML

D

PRAT, José Carlos
Age 26
LE: 8.614.031

Disappeared 1-1-77 Santa Fé

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

PRAT HIDALGO, Alicia Angélica

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

D

PRATO, Amanda Virginia (Abogada)
LC. 5.699.119
Los Aromos 234, El Palomar. Pcia. Bs.

Disappeared 2-12-78 Mar del Plata

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)
Juana C. de Prato
Calle 45 761 - 2° "5" - La Plata 751 - 5490 (Hermana)

P

PRECKEL RUSSO, Juan José

Under PEN Sierra Chica

ADLeague

D

PREDANOS, Juan Carlos

DIS 5-20-76 Bahia Blanca, Bs.Aires

PAHR(1)
ML

PREISZ, José
PAHR2
DNI: 4.452.909

D-78

DIS 4-11-78 Villa Ballester - Bs. As.

PAHR(1)

D

PREMAT, Raúl Horacio
Age 14
CI: 2.422.540

Disappeared 4-29-76 Olivos

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

D

PREMAT, Ricardo Abel

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

P

PRESA, María José
Age: 21

Arrested in April 1976 together with her husband, possibly as a consequence of tehri membership of "Partido Auténtico". Her husband was shot under attempt of escape. She's detained in Unidad 2, Villa Devoto at PEN's disposal.

Danish Embassy

PRIANO, Alberto (Miguel?)
CI. 6.474.604
Deheza 3181 - Remedios de Escalada
Age 27

Arrested on 3-24-78. Since then disappeared.

Torres Nido 3-10-79
PAHR(4)
Priano, Mercedes Marta Vidal de (Mother)
Deheza 3181 - Remedios de Escalada
Phone: 247-3526 (Sister)
Personal call Embassy 4-24-78
F.U.6. 11.6.79

PRIETO, Alberto Antonio
TENSA

Disappeared 5-7-76

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre

PRIETO, Antonio

ABD 5-7-76

PAHR(4)
ML

D

PRIETO, Armando
Ch. 7 Sal. 495
Apt. 2a

Disappeared 7-21-76

KL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

F R E E D

PRIETO, Carlos
Age: 30

Abducted 3-30-78

San Justo

PRIETO, Carlos Alberto

D

ABD

PAHR(1)
ML

PRIETO, Hugo A

Disappeared 7-25-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

D

PRIETO, Hugo Ernesto
Cab. Pol. [illegible] Pza. Libertad (Fm. Ab.)
Age 23

Disappeared 5-27-76 Quilmes - Bs. As.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)
NL

D

PRIETO, Hugo Félix
Age 18

Disappeared 7/77

NL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

PRIETO, Walter Hugo Manuel
Age 26
LE: 8.486.789

Disappeared 8-22-77 Lanus-Avellaneda

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

8-23-77/3

PRIGIONE, Juan Hector
DU 12.961.018
DOB: 2-16-57
Solis 1519 - Capital

D 79

Arrested on 1-25-78. Grandfather died 11.11.62 was borned in Philadelphia.

Carlos Prigione (Father)
Solis 1915-Capital
Phone: 26.8657

Personal visit Embassy 1/26/79.

PRINCIO, Giuseppe Italian D
Age:52

DIS 4/76

ML

PRIOTTE, Eduardo J.
Prop. Siderúrgica

Disappeared 8-25-76.

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PRIOTTI, Eduardo José
Rfc 24

Disappeared 11-25-76 La Plata

La Plata list 10/78
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

C-12/77/11 12c/77/10

PROL, Luis (Andres) Rodolfo
Lawyer
Bv.Junin 46, Piso 8, Dpto.15
5000 Córdoba
Jdh 4/15 5-15-78 : PEN-Sección 12/23-3-76 - Unidad 2 Sierra Chica
Cargos: Asociación ilícita
Delitos tipificados ley 21.650 - 1-2-78
Unidad Judicial Penitenciaria 1/11/78 en Sierra Chica Unidad Carcelaria 2 Olavarría
Arrested on March 22, 1976; at present under PEN at Unidad Carcelaria No. 2, Sierra Chica, Buenos Aires Prov. in Interno 1204, Celda 520, Pabellón 8.

Prol, Luis Rodolfo (Father)
Bv.Junin 46, Piso 8, Dpto.15
5000 Córdoba
Phone Córdoba 45317
Comm. Cent. Cong. 3/78
Hon. Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
White House Interest.

FILE Comunidad - 3-15-78

PROPATTO, Carlos A.
Obrero Ford-Buenos Aires

Detained Unidad 9 La Plata

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PROPERI, Maria Cristina
Hija 24
L.E. 5.954.100

DIS 3-30-77 La Plata-Pcia. Bs.

PAHR(L)

PROTTI, Mónica
Mil. Unidad - Córdoba
Hija 23
DNI: 10.542.362

Disappeared 9-21-76 Córdoba

Camara Anti Crim 9/78
F.L.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

PRUNEDA, Alberto Armendo
CI. 6.855.364
Gral. Urquiza 1065-Capital

On 2-17-77 he was arrested. Since then disappeared.

Pruneda, Maria Asunción Caputo de (Mother)
DI. 0305.909
Gral. Urquiza 1065-Capital

Testimony to Representatives.

PAHR(L)

PUCCI, Jorge Alberto

DIS 12-6-77 La Plata - Bs. As.

La Plata List - 11-21-78
PAHR(L)

309/780

PUCCIETTI GONZALEZ, Maria Ernestina
Federal Capital

Disappeared 5-6-78.
NARA - GCA - 9-5-78

PAHR, 5-30-78

AFL/CIO

PUCCIO, Jorge Eduardo

D

DIS. 9-2-76

[illegible] was abducted from his home in San [illegible] Airport on September 2nd. 1976 at 22:30.

PAHR (L)

PUCH, Ramon Ricardo

D

DIS 3-9-77

ML

D

PUCHETTA, Elba Rosario
Age 40
LC: 3 464.9c7

Disappeared 5-25-76 Córdoba

AL

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

Compº
PUENTE, Elba Nidia
LC. 3.972.780
Los Ceibos 1252-Villa Adelina (Bs.As.)

416/76/6 D

Disappeared. Lozadur. 2-3-77 San Isidro-Bs.As.

PAHR(L)

D

PUENTES, Hernoldo

DIS 7-18-76

PAHR(L)
ML

9

Ayala
PUEBLA, Jorge Reynaldo
Actor

Arrested 3-29-76 in Mendoza. Detained at Unidad 9 - La Plata.
Released from PEN - Quiroga 8-12-78

PL
Amn.Int'l Vienna 03383 [illegible]

PAHR(L)
Danish Embassy

NEW CASE

PUERTA, Rolando Guillemo

Age: 27
Born December 10,1950,Rojas, pro. of Buenos Aires.
Profession: Student of Medicine.(last year)

Taken from home, Cordova,Marcelo T. Alvear 95,Piso 11- Apt. A

Arrested October 30, 1976 and is prison at Cordova-Caselia No.1, Pro. of Cordova. Mother visited son Dec. 24th in years 76 and 77. That has been stopped and she is not allow to go anymore.
Moved to del Pc La Plata - Phone Call - Mother 11-13-78

Mother: Elva Rosa Almerech De Puerta-San Martin 756-
tel: 4608-office-2835-Catamarca. Age 56
Father: Pedro Rolando Puerta-enginer civil- age- 62

D

PUERTO, Norma Lilia
CI: 6.648.385

Disappeared 9/77 Liberán

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PUGI,
Bahia Blanca

Detained

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PUIGROSS nee NUÑEZ, Violeta Maria 781/7/1

Detained under PEN - Right of Option

Consulate

D

PUJADO, Victor Hugo

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

BRNNR
PUJOL, Graciela C.
Wife of José Horacio Olmedo
Apt 24

D

ABD early 1976

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PAHR(L)

I

PUJOL DE OLMEDO, Graciela Gladis
LC: 10.633.613

ABD. 10/76. Together with husband. Preganant 7 months.

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

782/F1/1

PUJOL VIEYTES, Roque Abel

Detained under PEN - Right of Option
Removed PEN - Pe Decree 20/31

Consulate
(CB will telecon)

J

PULLETTI, Guido Eduardo A
Cl. (Civil)
Pfc 24

Disappeared 9-20-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

PUPPO, Roberto José
Arc 46
LE: 4.667.889

Disappeared 1-23-78 Zárate

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)
Prig. Arg. Seh. Lerm Lee

PURCEF, Manuel Angel

Disappeared

PRER(L)
AL
ADLeague

C-28/77/11

PUS, Dionisio

Unidad 9 La Plata - PEN
Card PEN La Nueva 7-21-78

ex-Partido Socialista

PUTIGNANO, Alfredo

DIS 12/76

PRHR(L)
ML

PEYCHAUX, Carlos

ARR. 4/76 at work Tucumán-Held at Villa Urquiza

AISC

PEYEVICH, Antonio

Disappeared

ADLeague

PEZATRIZ, Ofelia

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

e/26/78/5

601/78/5 P

PEZZUTTI, Daniel Jorge
DNI: 12.102.659
CI: 8.396.839

Freed 9-9-78 - He is at present at home. - (Bravo's info)
Remitted from PEN. La Plata 9-1-78
8-3-78 Ltr 2013

Under PEN - Unidad 9 La Plata Pabellón 1:3

Dept.of State

Pezzutti, Raúl Jorge (Father)
José Indart 1931-San Justo
Phone: 40-4001 (From 13-21:00 pm.)-mother
Personal call to Harris 5-15-78

D

PIAGGI, José Alberto

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

D

PIASECKY, Roberto Francisco

DIS 7-28-77

PAHR

PIAZZA, Jorge
Obrero Renault

Disappeared

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PIAZZA, Marcelo Francisco
Age 28
DNI: 11.528.369

Disappeared 6-21-77

FJJ)
PAIR-Prensa 5-17-78 (2)

C-16/79/80.

PIAZZA, Ruben Orlando
DNI. 11.480.941
AZUL (Prov. Buenos Aires)

Arrested o Plaza. Burgos 758 - Azul. Held 1-24-77. Freed 1-12-78 in Buenos Aires. Condemned. Cleared.

Foreign Affairs: PEN - Sec. 209. del 28-1-77
3-10-78 Causa Participante del Grupo Montonero
Azul. V-2 Denuncia
Sentenced por Seguridad etc.

PEN. Condemned to 3 years. Will end on Nov. 10. 77.
Will ask for opcion to leave country.

See BA-8737 and BA-8736 in Soc 14-12.

Piazza, Elisa Amendolara de (Mother)
Burgos 758, AZUL
Tel:Horario de Comercio) Azul 2990

State 266342

BA-8733

Roo application being processed. 1/78
denied 1/0 2-25-79. Esp brother from Azul

FILE Cannibali 5-13-78

86

PIAZZA, Roberto Jesus
CI: 10.456.795

D

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

D

PIAZZA SEGURA, Guillermo

Disappeared 10-28-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PICARDI, Félix Eduardo

DIS 4-18-77 La Plata - Pos. Ds

PAHR(L)
La Plata List - 11-21-78

PICCININI, Alberto
Sec. Gral. UOM

Detained 3-20-75 - Rawson

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

P

PICCOLO, Gustavo Angel R.

ARR PEN

AISC

LOU

PICCOLO, Walter Agustin
Capitan de Corbeta (R.E.)
Seudónimo político HERNANDEZ
Chacabuco 867 - MERLO (Prov.Bs.As.)
Phone (Neighbour) 0220-21189

[ ]

Letter to Amb. Castro. Saw DCM.

PICHULMAN, Iván Raúl
Age 27
CI: 76.435

Disappeared 1-21-77- Neuquen -

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PICHULMAN, José Francisco
Age: 21
CI. 76.417

DIS 8-12-77 Neuquen

PAHR (L)
FDD

D

PICI DE CANEI, Luisa

DIS 7-18-77

ML

D

PICO, Eduardo

ABD 3-29-76 Moreno-Bs.Aires

ml

PIDAL DE BALBI, Cristina Maria

CRIM-APP-CT-ordered released from PEN.-11/78

Cronica - 11-13-78

D

GOMEZ
PIEDRA, Maria Luisa
Age 21
DNI: 11.195.057

Disappeared 5-3-76 Córdoba

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

PIEDRAS, Jorge Mario
Empleado-San Martin
LE: 11.214.104
Age: 22
Economic Student

Disappeared 8-31-76 on public street.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
FDD- 4-9-78

PIEN, Nora Dain de
CI: 3.400.760

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PIERA, Enrique
El País (Montevideo)

Disappeared 7-13-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PIERANI, Eduardo Alberto

DIS 11/76

PRR(L)
ML

PIERO, Monti

DIS Córdoba

PRR(L)
ML

PIERRE, Ettore

DIS 6-12-76 Bs.As.

aisc (Cospa-Mx)

PIETTRI, Ettore (journalist)

Arrested 5/27/76; imprisoned

Listed 10-28-77 PEN REPORT

PIEVAUL, Eduardo Alberto

DIS

ML

PIFARRE, Alicia Adelina
Docente - Neuquen
[illegible]

Disappeared 6-9-76 Neuquen

ML
Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
[illegible]

482/78/7 D

PIFARETTI, Ana Maria
:Age: 32 / 3
Leader of Argentine Women's Liberation Movement.
DNI: 5.253.691

Disappeared 6-28-78 after leaving Sanitario Gerardo Güemes, Buenos Aires, where she worked as dietician.
FBI List 9-12-78 - PAHR - Ltr dtd 9/13

PAHR(L)
FBI
Cancr Aud Cong. 9/78
Dept. of State: 6-19-78
Trans. Embassy 5-26-78

PILIA, Maria Regina (Exact) 15/06/11 *

Deported. For.Off.Inq.: 11-10-76 GOA reply: 11-12-76

D

PINA, Alejandro Victor
Age: 20
CI: 8.000.040

Disappeared 10-26-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

D

PINCHEIRA, Miguel

DIS 11-4-76

PAHR (L)

D

PINCHEIRA, Miguel Angel
L. 10.891.025

Trid Decis 3067/76 Oficios 6-16-78
Disappeared 6-14-76 Neuquen

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PINEDA DE ISIS, Viviana

Disappeared 10-13-76

HL
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PIN_EDO, Angel Mario
Alfe 28
Cl: 7.849.196

DIS 7-2-76 Ensenada - Bs. As.

Le Platz List 10/78
PAHR (L)

PINEIRO, Martin

Arrested.

Univ.of Calif.,Davis.

PINEIRO, Norberto L.
Bco. Interc.Regional
LE: 4.560.915
Alfe 22
Montoneros

Disappeared 8-2-77

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre
PAHR (L

D

PINEIRO or PINIEIRO, Roberto J O

DIS

ML

D

PINI DE BOLZAN, Olga Haydée
Age 34

Disappeared 1-20-77 Caseros

AISC
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)

PININO, Alberto
Law student

D

DIS 7/76

AISC (C.R.P.A.B.)

PININO, Alberto
Law student

D

DIS 1/76

ML

PINTI, Nelida de

A

ABD 6-4-76 Mendoza

ML

PINTI, Sulferino

D

ABD 6-4-76 Mendoza

ML

PINTO, Alberto

ARR Córdoba PEN

AISC

PINTO, Edras

DIS 12/76

ML

PINTO, Gabriel Daniel
Age 23
DNI: 10.847.212

Disappeared 6-4-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(L)

PINTO DE LANDI, Brunilda (Chilean)

Age: 35
Worker

Detained in Nov. 1975-at present Villa Devoto prison.

Ministry of Interior will expulse her.- letter 2-17-79

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PINTOS, Leucario Jesus
Age: 45
LE: 6.987.235

DIS 2-5-77

FDD

PINTOS, Miguel Angel
AGE; 24
LE: 10.415.360

DIS 2-5-77 F. Varela

FDD

PINEIRO, Maria Aida
Edad: 30

DIS 4-6-77

PAHR (L)

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de Guarido
PIÑEIRO, Mónica Mb. 666/78/2
(Pregnant woman)

DIS August 1978.

PAHR (L)
AI

PINERUA, Roberto Jorge

DIS 11-11-77 Ramos Mejía Bs. As.

PAHR (L)

D

PIÑEYRA, Roberto Jorge
CI. 4.286.740
~~Barrio Luz y Fuerza - Isidro Casenova (Prov.Bs.As.)~~
Edificio 10 - Palier C - Dpto. 21
(Delegado Gremial Peronista del Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza)
Address: Ave. San Martin-1°fl.-apt. B

Disappeared with his car on 4-22-76. The car appeared a week later.
Information contact Mrs. Rafaela Clausi-Tel:665-5164
Cayetano Valdez,2562-Moron 50-6955,-50-7826.
Villa :
PERSONAL Call Emb. 11-17-78
Piñeyro, Carmen G. de (Wife)
Barrio Lyz 6 Fuerza - Isidro Casanova (Prov.Bs.As.)
Edificio 10-Palier c-Dpto. 21 Phone: 37-4461/0
Personal call Embassy 4-27-78 Vidal or Bugallo

D 78

PIÑON, Arnoldo Jorge
Age: 31
CI: 5.767.487

DIS 8-12-78 in Buenos Aires

FDD 9-16-78

D

PIOLI, Cora Maria
DU. 10.737.179
Patricios 742
8000 Bahia Blanca

Arrested on 11-25-76 in Bahia Blanca. Since then disappeared.

PRHR(1)
F.L.

Letter to Amb. Castro:
Pioli, Ana Maria Santarelli (Mother)
Patricios 742-8000 Bahia Blanca

C-

PIOLI, Susana

Force expiry 3-10-75:

PEN: Dto. 1640 - 23-6-74
Cargo: Vinculación elementos extremistas - Cámara Federal de Apelaciones de la Plata - La subrogó provisoriamente 12-3-75.
Alcaide: Unidad 2 Devoto - Sumariante Ley 21-4-49 por Dto. 944 del 6-4-77

Permission for interior Min Pista requested on 1-4-79 to Ministry of Interior denied as she is being indicted 8-6-77.
Detained in Villa Devoto Prison. Jail sentence due to end on November 10, 1977.

Cong. Buffalo 66-2161
Cong. Smith 64-1112 66-2193
Cong. Studds 66-2111 66-2292
State 266342

PIOMATO, Julio Juan

ARR EXP. 9-3-78 to France

AISC

PIOVOSO, Antonio Enrique

DIS 12-6-77

PAHR

PIPINO, Bruno Tomás

Disappeared 6-21-76

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (1)
Arg. Arg. Ber. Familia

D

PIPINI, Mario

DIS 7-5-76 Buenos Aires

ML

D

PIRFARRA, Alicia

DIS 6-24-76 Bahia Blanca, Bs.As.

ML

D

PIRIS, Luis
Psicologist--Periodist

ABD in Buenos Aires in July 1976

Cancer Anti Congress 9/78

PIRLES, Roberto

Killed

Killed 1/77 La Plata

Mexico 79

D

de RIVELLI
PIROLA, Elba Beatriz
Age: 25
LC: 10.104.921

DIS 10-9-76 La Plata

FAHR(L)
FDD

D

PIRONI, Aldo Antonio
Estudiante arquitectura
Age 22

Disappeared 3-11-77

ML
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

D

PISON, Tarcisio
Age 23

Disappeared 1-27-77 Quilmes

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

PISONI, Rolando Victor Age 21 (E)
LE. 8007544 - CI 5979889
BELLOCCHIO, Irene Ines
DI. 10478652 CI. 6273.704 Age 25

D
D

Arrested on 8-5-77. Called by phone 8 days later, Since then disappeared.

PAHR (L)

PISONI, Felicidad López de (Mother)
Marmol 483 - Planta Baja "B")
Tel.: 811-7127
811-6870 (Neighbor)

9-8-77. Personal visit-Embassy FAHarris.

ML

L

PISONI, Tarcisio

DIS

ASIC (A.P.D.H.

PISTANI, Alicia

DIS 1976

AISC

PISTARINO
Santa Fé

Detained in Coronda

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

PISTONI, Lucia

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D 1978

PITA, Pedro Ricardo
Capital Federal

DIS 8-29-78

PAHR 9-29-78

D

PITELLI DE CANON, Anabella
LC 4.732.690
Edad: 34
Parral 72, Buenos Aires

ABD 6-9-77 from home with husband Carlos M.

FDD
PAHR-Prisos 1-17-78 (1)
ML

D

PITRELLI, Daniel

DIS 4-1-76 Córdoba

FAHR(L)
ML

PITRELLI, Estela Robledo D

DIS 4-1-76 Córdoba

FAHR(L)
ML

C-105/78/4 799/79/11 P
Optan

PITURA, Antonio Miguel
Est.Ingeniería Electrónica

Fin Ud. Seguridad visit 11/78 a. Rco Mijeolet c/6 meses.

PEN; Unidad 2 Sierra Chica

PI
Carmen Elena Demone (Separada) (Wife)
Obispo Salguero 178-4°"P"
Córdoba 36148

PIUMATO, Julio Juan)French)

Detained in La Plata. Sentenced as member of the Montoneros.

French Embassy

PIVETTA BRODA, Daniel
CI. 10.469.902.

DIS

AISC (Clarin)

PIZA, Diana

ARR 11-18-75 Trelew - PEN V.Devoto

AISC (CADHU)

D

PIZA, Liliana

DIS 4-26-77 La Plata - Pa. Ar.

La Plata List - 11-21-78

PAHR (L)

D

PIZAR or ~~PIZARRO~~, O. Juan

DIS

PAHR (L)
ML

D

PIZZARELLO, Angel

DIS

PAHR (L)

PIZARRO, Roberto
PIZARRO, Alicia

(Arg) 19/76/11

Left country. For.Off.Inq.: 11-13-76 GOA reply: NO

76/?

D

PIZZATURO, Juan

ABD 9/11/76 from home F.Sanchez & Chivilcoy, Castelar, with wife Norma

ML

D

PIZZATURO, Norma S. de

ABD 9-11-77 from home, Castelar Bs.As.

AISC (C.R.P.A.B.)

D

PLA, Pedro

DIS

PAAR(L)
ML

762/79/1 D

PLANAS, Jorgelina
Age: 4

Detained with mother Cristina in May 1977

VIENNA, 5-31-78

French Embassy
Buy end of Brain

D

PLANAS MAZZEI, Arturo
DOB: 6-16-57 Uruguayan

DIS

PAAR(L)
ML

PLANCHARD, Liliana

DIS 4-20-76 Mar del Plata

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

PLAT or PLOT, Ricardo Pedro

ARR Córdoba PEN 3/78

AISC (Rio Negro newspaper)

PIAUL, Osvaldo
LE. 7.750.151-CI. 6.915.829
José Ingenieros 5157-Remedios de Escalada (Bs.As.)

Arrested on 1-4-77. Disappeared since then.

Plaul, Alcides Sebastian (Father)
Sitio de Montevideo 100
Lanus Oeste.

8-10-77. Letter and Testimony to Embassy BA.

PLAZA, Olga Carmen

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

POCCIO, Alberto

D

DIS 12/76

PAHR(L)
ML

T POCE, Julio Gerardo 294/76/2 (F) D *
R DI 11.233.402 295/76/2
POCE, Graciela Eugenia Pernas de D
DNI 11.607.316
Granaderos 655- Capital Federal

GOA reply 12-19-78- N.R.A.D

GOA reply 6-22-78 No Pet. N.R.A.D 30 days response with found (May 1978)

Were arrested on 10-19-76. Since then disappeared.

PAHR(L)
La Plata Visit 10/78
Reg. Visit 8A. 1958

Pernas, Alba Martino de (Mother)
DNI 3.046.857
Calle 13 No. 829 - P.4 - La Plata (21) 43-5 66 - La Plata
Poce, Julio C. 43-577 La Plata. (Father)
Statements. To T. Todman.
8-10-77 Letter to T.Todman
ML Statement to Representatives.
Personal Visit to Norris 1-26-78 (Feldman)

(over)

419/79/1 D48

POCE, Ricardo César
DI: 11.895.679
DOB: 2-14-56
Age: 22

Ecknefly 2-23-79: Have no antecedents.

Arrested on 12-9-78 by Security Forces in Ezpelete.

Poce, (Dr.) (Father)

D

POCIELLO, Jorge
Age: 30
Venezuela 1845-Bs.Aires

ABD 11-30-77 from home

ML

D

404/79/12

PODGAETZKY, Mario
DE: 4.[illegible].44
Age: 34
[illegible]

Disappeared 10-14-76

Sen. Tejerto - Hab. 042564
PAHR(L)
[illegible]
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78

PODKAMIENSKY, Mirta Beatriz
(Podkamisnky de GRIMBERG, Mirta Beatriz)

Cause: Member of the Montoneros.
Decree: 482/76
(Stopped PEN: Decree 1590/77)

PEHR (L)
Anti Defamation League on B'nai B'rith
7-26-77
ML

PODOLSKY, Jorge Ernesto

Under PEN Unidad 9 La Plata

ADLeague

---

de Brenzel
PODOLSKY, Cecilia

573/78/9

GOA reply 2-14-79: N.k.a.d.

Disappeared 7-27-76

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (L)

POGALSKY, Mario.

Detained after the action of 1976.

Liga Arg.Der.Hombre 4-19-78

POGGI, Guillermo Hugo
Age: 25
DNI 10.714.306

ARR 11-16-77 PEN San Martin Prison-Córdoba

AISC

POGGIO, Horacio Norberto
Age: 36

Disappeared 7-23-76 Córdoba

Liga Arg. Der. Hombre
H.L.

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78 (4)

POI, Cristina

ARR Sentenced to 9 yers by Judge F.Mantras

AISC (Clarin)

POIMAN, Ramon Humberto
Age 27

DIS 5-21-76

PAHR (L)

36/77/1

POINTSTEAU, Miguel Alfredo
L.E. 347.776
Age 34

Detained 11/4/76 in Mendoza.

Not registered. For.Off.Inq.: 1-6-77 GOA reply: 3-1-77

Amcit. Mother.
Carlotta Rosenden de Frisco
Empezando 650 - Firmat.
PAHR (L)

B6

L

POLANCO, Alicia Elena

DIS 3-22-76 Castelar, Bs.As.

AISC (Cospa-Mx)

POLASTRI, Armando Sergio

ARR. Unidad 9 La Plata

AISC (Clarin)

POLETTI, María Lourdes

Disappeared 8-27-76

Lig. Arg. Der. Hombre

POLI, Ester

D

DIS

PAHR(L)
ML

D

POLI, José Fernando
Age: 32
Doc. 8.0590284

DIS

Tucumán

644/78/11

T 77

POLICASTRO DE SANSONE, Liliana C.
C.I.-5.932.535. DNI: 11.477.307
Address: Cangallo 1547,Capital
Profession: Bank Central,Student
GOA Reply 2-23-79: Neg. Reply.
Sisters Address [redacted]
Tel [redacted]

B6

DIS 3-26-77-At her Home,Cangallo 1547,3am
Sister visit me 11-24-78 and said she came all the way from her home in Miami,she is married to an american and living there now. Her father has been to scared to come forward with this info. All information was left here with me and is now on file. She said her sister and husband disappear the same day and were badly hurt while being taken
PAHR(L)
Sisters Visit-Nov.24-78 Jefatura de Policía Fed. 32-2313
Cong Fascell 8A-12-79 (Antillas)

c/ dto/ 78/3

272/78/1

B *

POLLANO, Humberto Primo
ID. 3.655.931
Bazan y Bustos 347
LA RIOJA

Urgda FEH Decree 48 - 21/1/74 - Gob. 9-5-78

FILE Consulate 3-13-78

Political prisoner
US Emb. visit granted 11/78
FI report of hour Visit by Italy - 11/78
Sra. Pollano de Belgrano 83-0742 (daughter)
Karl Edwards
State 279877, 11-22-77 - Gob. 1-31-78
Personal visit 3-6-78 - Hillcrest Blvd.

A

POLLETTI, Enrique A.
Age 24
LE: 8.316.347

Disappeared 2-2-77

PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

A

POLLETTI DE GALLO, Maria
Age 25
CI: 10.314.546

Disappeared 8-27-76 Vte. Lopez

Brig Aug. Gis. Arenales
PAHR-Prensa 5-17-78(1)

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DECONTROL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04286 202157Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
CA-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /054 W
----------015577 202203Z /73

O R 202053Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3758
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify/In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINS
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: APPEAL POSTPONED; SYMPATHETIC INTERVIEW WITH CONTRERAS

REF: SANTIAGO 4210

1. SUMMARY: DEFENSE LAWYER REQUESTS POSTPONEMENT OF EXTRADITION APPEAL HEARINGS. NEWSWEEKLY "ERCILLA" FEATURES A LENGTHY INTERVIEW WITH MANUEL CONTRERAS, PORTRAYING HIM AS A GOOD SOLDIER. "HOY" NEWSWEEKLY DENIES CONTRERAS' CAMP GAVE IT THE INSDIDE SCOOP; COLUMNIST STRESSES INCONSISTENCY IN BORQUEZ' RULING THAT EVIDENCE NOT GOOD ENOUGH TO EXTRADITE BUT IS GOOD ENOUGH TO START LOCAL TRIAL. DAILY PRESS REPRINTS BRAZILIAN PAPER'S INTERVIEW WITH USG PROSECUTORS; FEW SHORT ITEMS REFER TO RENEWED ARGENTINE INTEREST IN 1974 PRATS ASSASSINATION. END SUMMARY.

2. JUNE 20 PRESS, IN BRIEF ITEMS BURIED ON INSIDE PAGES, REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH HEARINGS ON THE APPEAL OF THE EXTRADITION REQUEST ARE STILL OFFICIALLY SCHEDULED TO BEGIN TODAY, IT IS KNOWN THAT FERNANDEZ LARIOS' LAWYER HAS REQUESTEED WEEK'S POSTPONEMENT.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04286 202157Z

STORIES NOT THAT UP TO THREE POSTPONEMENTS ARE POSSIBLE. (COMMENT: THE EFFECT OF A SECOND POSTPONEMENT WOULD BE TO PUT THE HEARINGS BEFORE THE OTHER (JULY) PANEL OF THE SUPREME COURT. IT IS WIDELY RUMORED THAT THE JUNE PANEL OF THE COURT CONTAINS SOME MEMBERS IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THEO BORQUEZ DECISION. END COMMENT)

3. "EXCLUSIVE: GENERAL CONTRERAS SPEAKS" HEADLINES AN "ERCILLA"

COVER. FEATURE STORY, REPORTEDLY TAKEN FROM FIVE HOUR SESSION WITH CONTRERAS IN HIS ROOMS AT THE MILITAY HOSPITAL, IS LENGTHY INTERVIEW. AFTER TELLING REPORTED THAT TIME IN HOSPITAL HAS GIVEN HIM OPPOTRUNITY TO MEDITATE AND READ UP ON OTHER INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, CONTRERAS DESCRIBES DINA AS AN ORGANIZATION NEEDED TO ROUT OUT CLANDESTINE TERRORISM AFTER THE MILITARY HAD QUASHED OPEN OPPOSITION. HE ASSERTS THAT EVENTUALLY THE "MARTYRS" KILLED IN SOME 160 SKIRMISHES WITH TERRORISTS WILL BE GIVEN A PLACE OF HONOR IN CHILEAN HISTORY. CONTRERAS DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS A CATHOLIC WHO HAS ABSOLUTE RESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE -- ALTHOUGH HE SAYS THAT IN WARTIME PEOPLE GET KILLED.

4. QUESTIONED ABOUT DINA'S ROLE IN THE VELOSO CASE (WHICH, AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS DURING MAY-JUNE 1977, ESTABLISHED THAT DINA ATTEMPTED TO FRAME OPPONENTS FOR THE TORTURE/RAPE OF A YOUNG BOY), CONTRERAS REPEATS THE DISCREDITED FRAME-UP STORY JUST AS IF THE REST OF THE ACCOUNT HAD NOT BECOME KNOWN. CONTRERAS ALSO DENIES DINA RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LONQUEN MASS GRAVE. (COMMENT: CONTRERAS IS RIGHT. THE SIXTEEN LONQUEN VICTIMS WERE KILLED BY LOCAL CARABINEROS BEFORE DINA CAME INTO EXISTENCE. END COMMENT) HE ALSO SAYS THAT MANY DINA FILES WERE BURNED AND LAUGHS OFF THE RUMOR THAT HE SOUHT TO SPIRIT SOME DINA FILES ABROAD, PART OF WHICH WERE ALLEGEDLY INTERCEPTED BY THE FBI.

5. QUESTIONED ABOUT THE LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION, CONTRERAS SAYS THAT THE [illegible] EVIDENCE CONTAINS FALSE DOCUMENTS AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04286 202157Z

INCONSISTENCIES, THAT THE "PROFF" IS JUST "TO DECEIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE." TO EXPLAIN WHY TOWNLEY KILLED LETELIER, CONTRERAS SUGGESTS THAT FIDEL CASTRO STOOD MOST TO GAIN; ALTERNATIVELY HE STATES THAT LETELIER PROVIDED JACK ANDERSON WITH THE ITT PAPERS WHICH LED TO THE HELMS TRIAL. HE ALSO SAYS THAT TWO SENIOR CIA OFFICIALS HAVE TESTIFIED THAT TOWNLEY BELONGED TO THE AGENCY. (COMMENT: OF COURSE THE STATEMENTS SAY JUST THE OPPOSITE -- TOWNLEY WAS CLEARED FOR FURTHER CONTACT BUT SUCH CONTACT NEVER OCCURRED. END COMMENT) CONTRERAS SAYS THAT DINA HAD NO INTEREST IN LETELIER, WHOM HE DESCRIBES AS A SMALL-FRY LIVING FAR FROM CHILE. HE ASSERTS THAT TOWNLEY COULD NEVER HAVE WORKED FOR DINA SINCE HE WAS JUST A PAID KILLER AND CROOK. THEN ASKED WHY TOWNLEY WAS SENT TO ACCOMPANY FERNANDEZ ON THE PARAGUAY CAPER, CONTRERAS BLASELY REPEATS THE DEFENSE ARGUMENT THAT TOWNLEY WAS GOING ALONG TO INTERPRET. CHARACTERISTIC OF THE ARTICLE'S SYMPATHETIC TREATMENT OF CONTRERAS, THE INTERVIEWER NEVER ASKS THE OBVIOUS QUESTION: WHY WOULD DINA SEND THIS ALLEGEDLY NOTORIOUS KILLER AND CROOK ON SUCH A MISSION?

6. THE INTERVIEWER DID PRESS CONTRERAS ON HIS ALLEGED ROLE AS

THE HERO OF HARDLINERS WITHIN THE MILITARY. CONTRERAS DENIES THAT THERE ARE, IN FACT, DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITHIN THE MILITARY. THE REPORTER WAS A LITTLE PUT OFF BY CONTRERAS' REFUSAL TO COMMENT ON HIS CONSTITUTIONAL ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE THREE CIVILIAN MINISTERS.

7. BOTH "ERCILLA" AND CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRAT "HOY" LED INTO THEIR WEEKLY "NEWS IN REVIEW" STORIES WITH THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE, MENTIONING FERNANDEZ LARIOS' LETTER TO PINOCHET DENYING PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTRERAS/ESPINOZA CHARGES AGAINST THE MINISTERS, ESPINOZA'S TRANSFER TO "LO AGUIRRE," AND THE RECALL OF CHILEAN AMBASSADOR BARROS (SEE SEPTEL). "HOY"DENIED THAT IT HAD BEEN GIVEN CLOSELY HELD DOCUMENTS BY THE CONTRERAS' CAMP -- A RIDICULOUS CHARGE MADE LAST WEEK IN TABLOID "SEGUNDA." "HOY" ALSO MENTIONED THAT ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES HAS REOPENED THE PRATS ASSASSINATION CASE. AN EFE ITEM ALONG THE SAME LINES APPEARED
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 04286 202157Z

IN JUNE 20 "MERCURIO", AND A SIMILAR SQUIB, ATTRIBUTED TO ONE OF PRATS'S DAUGHTERS, APPEARED IN A RECENT "SEGUNDA."

8. "MERCURIO" REPRINTED THE SPANISH TRANSLATION OF THE FULL STORY WHICH APPEARED IN RIO'S "O GLOBO" ON JUNE 17. IN THE STORY, USG PROSECUTORS ARE QUOTED MAKING UNFLATTERING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE CHILEAN COURTS AND PRESIDENT PINOCHET (SEE RIO DE JANEIRO 2625 FOR TEXT OF "O GLOGO" STORY).

9. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT IDEOLOGUE JAIME CASTILLO WRITES IN THIS WEEK'S "HOY" PICKING UP ON EDUARDO FREI'S COLUMN LAST WEEK DESCRIBING CHILE AS AN INSANE ASYLUM. CASTILLO SAYS THAT CHILEANS MUST BE CRAZY IF THEY UNDERSTAND JUDGE BORQUEZ' DECISION ON THE EXTRADITION CASE. HOW IS IT, HE ASKS, THAT BORQUEZ FINDS THE EVIDENCE INSUFFICIENT TO BELIEVE THAT THE THREE OFFICERS WERE INVOLVED IN THE LETELIER/MOFFITT KILLINGS (CASTILLO NOTES THAT THE EVIDENCE DID NOT HAVE TO MEET THE TEST FOR CONVICTION, BUT ONLY REASONABLE CAUSE), AND YET ORDERS A MILITARY TRIAL JUDGE TO LOOK INTO ABSURDITIES AND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE TESTIMONY OF THE OFFICERS.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04285 202137Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
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/051 W
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O 202053Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3759

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 4285

UNCLASSIFIED

E. O. 12065: GDS 6/20/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: :C) LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: AMBASSADOR BARROS' STATEMENTS AND HIS RETURN PLANS

1. (C) AMBASSADOR BARROS FINALLY CALLED ME TODAY AND HE AGREED TO VISIT ME AT THE RESIDENCE FRIDAY EVENING, JUNE 22. HE WILL BE LEAVING SANTIAGO JUNE 23 TO GO TO ROME IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOUTHERN ZONE MEDIATION WITH ARGENTINA, BUT PLANS TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON PRIOR TO JULY 4.

2. (U) BARROS MET FOR AN HOUR WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET JUNE 19, AND HIS POST-MEETING COMMENTS HAVE BEEN GIVEN WIDE PLAY ON TELEVISION AND RADIO AND IN THIS MORNING'S PRESS. HIS REMARDS AND MEDIA QUESTIONS CENTERED ON THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE AND HOW IT MAY AFFECT US-CHILE RELATIONS. BARROS DESCRIBED THE MEETING WITH PINOCHET AS "HIGHLY IMPORTANT FOR MY MISSION AS AMBASSADOR", SAID HE HAD RECEIVED VERY CLEAR IDEAS FROM THE PRESIDENT, AND THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE IN ORDER THAT US-CHILE RELATIONS MAY BE GOOD -- "WITHIN THE FRAME OF RESPECT FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION AND FOR CHILEAN INSTITUTIONS AND JUDICIAL DECISIONS."

3. (U) ASKED TO CATEGORIZE THE PRESENT STATE OF US-CHILE RELATIONS, BARROS DESCRIBED THEM AS "MORNAL GIVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES."

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04285 202137Z

ON THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF WHETHER THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE COULD BRING ABOUT A BREAK IN RELATIONS, BARROS BEGGED OFF ANY PREDICTIONS, SAYING THAT LOGIC DOES NOT ALWAYS GOVERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; BUT HE ADDED THAT INTERNATIONAL LAW PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR A JUDICIAL SOLUTION AND THAT THIS IS THE ONLY MEANS TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM. "WE ARE VERY CONSCIOUS," SAID BARROS,

"OF WHAT THIS (LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE) MEANS FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. BUT THE ACCUSED PERSONS ALSO HAVE RIGHTS AND A PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE UNTIL PROVEN OTHERWISE." WITH A REFERENCE TO CHILE'S EXPERIENCE WITH ARGENTINA OVER THE BEAGLE CHANNEL, BARROS EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE USG, AFTER AGREEING TO FOLLOW LEGAL PROCEDURES, WOULD NOT DISREGARD THE RESULT SIMPLY BECAUSE IT MIGHT BE UNFAVORABLE. HE NOTED THAT USG ADHERANCE TO LEGAL PROCESS HAS BEEN RATIFIED MOST RECENTLY BY THE DECISION TO APPEAL THE BORQUEZ DECISION.

4. (U) BORQUEZ WAS AT PAINS TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE EXPRESSED OPINIONS OF SOME US CONGRESSMEN AND THE POSITION OF THE USG: "I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HIMSELF IS AGAINST IMPORPER PRESSURES. IT IS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES THAT MANAGES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; THEREFORE, IT IS NOT ALWAYS USEFUL TO EQUATE THE POSITIONS OF THE WHITE HOUSE WITH ATTITUDES OF CERTAN ELEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS." GOING ON: "WITHOUT DISCARDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WANT TO EXERT UNACCEPTABLE AND ILLEGITIMATE PRESSURES, IT WOULD NOT BE FAIR TO THINK OR BELIEVE THAT THIS POSITION CORRESPONDS TO THE WISHES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR THE WHITE HOUSE." ASKED WHETHER THE USG HAS EXERTED PRESSURES, BARROS REPLIED THAT IT IS HANDLING THE MATTER STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW. ASKED WHETHER HE HIMSELF HAD BEEN SUBJECT TO PRESSURES, BARROS SAID THERE HAD BEEN NONE AND IF THERE HAD BEEN HE WOULD NOT HAVE ACCEPTED THEM: "YOU CAN REST EASY ON THAT SCORE; THE AMBASSADOR OF CHILE DOES NOT

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04285 202137Z

ACCEPT PRESSURE FROM ANYONE."
LANDAU

[redacted]

NNN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( )In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

R

UNCLASSIFIED

6/20/79

Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AR172

ORIGIN TRSY-02

INFO OCT-00 ARA-11 ADS-00 EB-08 SS-15 IO-14 AID-05
STR-08 COM-02 FRB-03 OMB-01 XMB-02 PA-01 ICA-11
H-01 NSC-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DIC-02 HA-05
L-03 /139 R

TX-387

DRAFTED BY TREASURY/ION/J.SWEENEY
APPROVED BY EB/IFD/ODF:EWLOLLIS, ACTING
TREASURY/M/A.SOLOMON
STATE/EB/J.BUSHNELL
EB/IFD/ODF:RHJONES

----------BB3197 2811112 /17

R 2086132 JUN 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] STATE 158173

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/5/85 (DOLLIS, EDWARD W.)

TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, EAID, IDB

SUBJECT: BILATERAL WITH ARGENTINA AT THE IDB ANNUAL MEETING

1. UNDER SECRETARY OF TREASURY SOLOMON AND OTHER U.S. DELEGATION REPS BUSHNELL, DUNCAN, FINKEL AND SWEENEY MET WITH FINANCE MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ AND OTHER ARGENTINE DELEGATION REPS, DANTE SIMON, SOLA, ZUBARAN, AND TAREZZA. TOPICS DISCUSSED INCLUDED ARGENTINA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, IDB PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS, A DOUBLE TAXATION TREATY, EXPORTS OF HIDES FROM ARGENTINA, AND DEFINITIONS ON LENDING TO THE POOR.

2. THE ARGENTINE ECONOMY. MARTINEZ DE HOZ OPENED WITH A SKETCH OF ARGENTINE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS. HE POINTED OUT THAT WHEN THE NEW GOVERNMENT ACCEDED TO POWER IN 1976, INFLATION WAS 950 PERCENT AND ONLY 19 PERCENT OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES WERE COVERED BY TAXES. SINCE THAT TIME, IT HAS BEEN NECESSARY TO REVERSE THE ENTIRE DIRECTION OF THE ECONOMY BY OPENING IT, FREEING THE EXCHANGE RATE AND INTEREST RATES, SHIFTING EMPHASIS TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TO SPUR GROWTH, AND REDUCING THE BUDGET DEFICIT AS A SHARE OF GDP. THESE MEASURES HAVE WORKED WELL AS REFLECTED BY A LARGE TRADE SURPLUS LAST YEAR, A RAPID INCREASE IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES TO $7 BILLION, AND AN EXPANSION IN THE INTERNAL SAVINGS RATE TO 28 PERCENT OF GDP. AT THE SAME TIME, ARGENTINA IS NOW 90 PERCENT SELF-SUFFICIENT IN ENERGY AND IT IS IN THE PROCESS OF GREATLY INCREASING ITS HYDRO BASED ENERGY SURPLUSES, IN PART THROUGH A LARGE HYDRO PROJECT AT YACYRETA FOR WHICH LOANS FROM THE IDB AND IBRD PLAY A PART. THE IBRD LOAN WILL COME TO THE BOARD IN JUNE IF PROBLEMS WITH PARAGUAY ARE RESOLVED.

3. THE MINISTER CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT SOME PROBLEMS REMAIN. THE MOST DIFFICULT ONE IS INFLATION WHICH IS STILL RUNNING AT 150 PERCENT. THIS IS LARGELY DUE TO CONTINUED INFLATIONARY EXPECTATIONS WHICH HAVE BUILT UP OVER THE PAST FEW DECADES AND, DESPITE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS, IT IS STILL DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT THE RULES OF THE GAME ARE CHANGING. ALSO, THE BALANCE OF TRADE SURPLUS AND CAPITAL INFLOWS HAVE PRODUCED AN INFLUX OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE WHICH HAS ADDED TO INFLATIONARY PRESSURES. IN FACT, 85 PERCENT OF THE CURRENCY ISSUE THIS YEAR HAS BEEN DUE TO EXTERNAL INFLOWS OF CAPITAL. HOWEVER, THESE ARE NOT INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTIES AND IT IS CRITICAL THAT ARGENTINA CONTINUE FIRMLY ON THE TREND OF THE PAST FEW YEARS TOWARD ECONOMIC STABILIZATION.

4. IDB RESOLUTIONS. SOLOMON MENTIONED THAT HE HAD BEEN CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT THE RESOLUTION ON THE IDB PRESIDENT'S SALARY HAD BEEN RAISED FOR VOTE AT THE FIRST SESSION BY ARGENTINA WITHOUT PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO THE U.S. DELEGATION. HE OBSERVED THAT IDB REGULATIONS CALLED FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION AND THAT THIS RULE, WHICH APPARENTLY HAD FALLEN INTO DISUSE, SHOULD BE REINVIGORATED. HE SUGGESTED THAT SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL SEND A LETTER TO THE OTHER IDB GOVERNORS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF IDB REGULATIONS AND INQUIRED WHETHER ARGENTINA WOULD SUPPORT THIS INITIATIVE. MARTINEZ DE HOZ REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE US DELEGATION HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY INFORMED OF THE RESOLUTION. HE APOLOGIZED IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY MISUNDERSTANDING AND PROMISED TO SUPPORT THE U.S. ON THIS ISSUE.

5. HUMAN RIGHTS. BUSHNELL SAID THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE DECLINE IN PERSONS DISAPPEARED IN ARGENTINA SINCE JANUARY, BUT THAT TWO MAJOR PROBLEMS STILL REMAINED: (A) THE OVER 2500 POLITICAL PRISONERS; AND (B) INFORMATION ON THOSE PEOPLE WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED AND LACK OF MOVEMENT IN THE LEGAL PROCESS WITH RELATION TO THESE INDIVIDUALS. HE ADDED THAT SEVERAL LISTS OF MISSING PERSONS HAD BEEN PUBLISHED BUT NOT EVERYONE ON THESE LISTS IS REALLY MISSING. HOWEVER, BECAUSE ARGENTINA HAS DONE SO LITTLE TO MAKE INFORMATION AVAILABLE WITH REGARD TO THESE LISTS, THE IMPRESSION IN THE U.S. IS THAT 13,000 TO 15,000 INDIVIDUALS HAVE DISAPPEARED.

6. MARTINEZ DE HOZ EXPLAINED THAT ARGENTINA HAD GONE THROUGH A PERIOD OF 8 OR 9 YEARS OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY AND THAT MANY PERSONS HAD DISAPPEARED OR WERE KILLED BECAUSE OF THE FIGHTING, PRIVATE VENDETTAS, AND LEAVING THE COUNTRY. HE ADDED THAT JUDGES PREVIOUSLY HAD BEEN FORCED TO RELEASE TERRORIST SUSPECTS FOR FEAR OF REPRISALS, BUT OVER THE PAST YEAR THEY HAD AGAIN BEGUN TO CONVICT PEOPLE THROUGH THE NORMAL LEGAL PROCESS. HE STATED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT ADVANCE HAD BEEN THE REINTRODUCTION OF "DUE PROCESS OF LAW" WHEREBY DETAINEES EITHER ARE RELEASED, GIVEN THE OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, OR TURNED OVER TO THE COURTS. FOR EXAMPLE, 72 PEOPLE HAD RECENTLY BEEN RELEASED BECAUSE THEY WERE ONLY MINOR SUSPECTS. HE ADDED THAT THERE WERE STILL MORE THAN 2,000 PERSONS UNDER DETENTION AND THEIR NAMES HAD ALL BEEN MADE PUBLIC. HE ALSO OBSERVED THAT THERE WILL ALWAYS BE A RESIDUE OF MISSING PERSONS, SOME OF WHOM WERE HIDING IN ARGENTINA OR ABROAD, ABOUT WHOM THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT KNOW THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

7. SOLOMON INQUIRED WHEN THE BACKLOG OF DETAINED PERSONS MIGHT BE CLEANED UP. MARTINEZ DE HOZ RESPONDED THAT A FULL TIME COMMITTEE WAS WORKING ON THIS, BUT THAT SOME CASES WERE VERY DIFFICULT SUCH AS THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD BEEN CONVICTED OF TERRORIST ACTS BY THE REGULAR JUDICIAL PROCESS BUT RELEASED UNDER THE PERON AMNESTY. HE ALSO STATED THAT PROPAGANDA BY ARGENTINE TERRORISTS LIVING ABROAD WAS MAKING THE SITUATION MORE DIFFICULT. SOLOMON OBSERVED THAT THE BEST WAY TO ANSWER SUCH CRITICISM WAS TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY ON AS MANY CASES AS POSSIBLE.

8. BILATERAL TAX TREATY. MARTINEZ DE HOZ INDICATED THAT

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HE HOPED THAT PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE ON CONCLUDING A DOUBLE TAXATION TREATY WITH THE U.S. LAREZZA STATED THAT AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE HAD BEEN REACHED AND THAT IT WAS BEING CIRCULATED FOR PUBLIC COMMENT IN THE U.S. BUSHNELL OBSERVED THAT THE NEXT MEETING ON THE TAX TREATY WOULD BE IN JULY AND HE HOPED THAT FURTHER PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE BY THAT TIME.

9. HIDE EXPORTS. SOLOMON INQUIRED ABOUT EXPORTS OF RAW HIDES FROM ARGENTINA. MARTINEZ DE HOZ REPLIED THAT ARGENTINA HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO OPEN ITS ECONOMY, REDUCE SUBSIDIES, LIFT IMPORT PROHIBITIONS, AND REACH AGREEMENT

IN THE GATT NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THE CASE OF HIDES WAS DIFFICULT BECAUSE BRAZIL AND URUGUAY WERE PURCHASING ARGENTINE HIDE EXPORTS, THEN FURTHER PROCESSING THEM FOR RE-EXPORT. SINCE BOTH OF THE COUNTRIES OFFER LARGE SUBSIDIES TO THEIR PRODUCERS, THIS REPRESENTED UNFAIR COMPETITION FOR ARGENTINE PRODUCERS OF THE PROCESSED PRODUCT. BUSHNELL NOTED THAT BRAZIL AND URUGUAY WERE REDUCING THEIR SUBSIDIES AND AS THEY DID SO THE PROBLEM FOR ARGENTINA SHOULD DISAPPEAR, AS IT WOULD IF BRAZIL AND URUGUAY ALLOWED THE EXPORT OF RAW HIDES. MARTINEZ DE HOZ AGREED.

10. DUNGAN MENTIONED THAT THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY ON DEFINITION OF LOW INCOME GROUPS FOR IDB LENDING PURPOSES. MARTINEZ DE HOZ CONCURRED, BUT SAID THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE A COUNTRY BY COUNTRY APPROACH BASED ON PER CAPITA INCOME BUT RATHER IT SHOULD BE LOOKED AT IN TERMS OF ZONES AND REGIONS, SINCE 70 PERCENT OF THE POOR IN LATIN AMERICA LIVED IN BRAZIL, MEXICO, AND VENEZUELA. ALSO, ARGENTINA STILL HAD POCKETS OF POVERTY. HE FURTHER SSTATED THAT IT IS SOMETIMES DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROJECTS BUT THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO WORK OUT APPROPRIATE GUIDELINES ON THIS ISSUE. VANCE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04322 212207Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 CA-01 HA-05 CIAE-00
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O R 212136Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3768
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGATT

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV PINS CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ROUND-UP

REF: SANTIAGO 4286

1. SUMMARY. PRESS CONFIRMS POSTPONEMENT OF APPEALS HEARING. THE PRESS JUNE 21 REPORTS DENIALS BY PROPPER AND BARCELLA THAT THEY MADE CERTAIN STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO THEM BY "O GLOBO" IN RIO. "MERCURIO" EDITORIALIZES THAT LETELIER/MOFFITT AFFAIR NOT A PREOCCUPATION OF TOP OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON. "COSAS" INTERVIEW WITH CONTRERAS LAWYER, SERGIO MIRANDA, ADDS NOTHING NEW. "SEGUNDA" LOCATES SCHERRER IN BUENOS AIRES. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PRESS JUNE 21 CONFIRMED THAT CARLOS CRUZ-COKE, THE LAWYER FOR FERNANDEZ LARIOS HAD REQUESTED A POSTPONEMENT OF THE ORAL ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT REVIEW PANEL. THE EARLIEST THAT PROCEEDING
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04322 212207Z

CAN NOW BEGIN WILL BE JUNE 27, BUT THERE IS SPECULATION THAT OTHERS OF THE DEFENSE LAWYERS WILL ALSO REQUEST THE ONE-WEEK POSTPONEMENTS TO WHICH EACH IS ENTITLED. THUS, ACCORDING TO THE "MERCURIO" STORY, THE HEARING MAY NOT BEGIN UNTIL NEAR THE MIDDLE OF JULY.

3. "MERCURIO" (AND SISTER PAPER "ULTIMAS NOTICIAS") GAVE

PROMINENT COVERAGE TO "CLARIFICATIONS" MADE BB USG PROSECUTORS PROPPER AND BARCELLA IN WASHINGTON AND THE EMBASSY HERE REGARDING ERRORS IN AN "O GLOBO" STORY WHICH APPEARED IN RIO JUNE 17. IN THE RIO STORY, THE USG OFFICIALS WERE QUOTED AS STATING FOR A FACT THAT CONTRERAS ORDERED PLACING THE BOMB WHICH EXPLODED LAST FALL AT THE HOUSE OF SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT BORQUEZ, THAT "THE REGIME IMPOSED BY GENERAL PINOCHET VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS FOR CIVILIZED BEHAVIOR," AND THAT "NOT EVEN MINIMUM RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EXISTS IN CHILE." THE RESPECTIVE CLARIFICATIONS STRESSED THAT NEITHER PROSECUTOR SPOKE PORTUGUESE AND WERE MISUNDERSTOOD OR MISQUOTED. "MERCURIO'S" JUNE 21 EDITORIAL WELCOMED THE CLARIFICATIONS BUT WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT SINCE CHILE WAS HARDLY A MAJOR ISSUE FOR SENIOR U.S. POLICYMAKERS, "SECONDARY OFFICIALS" WERE HANDLING THE SITUATION WITH A LESS THAN DEFT TOUCH. "MERCURIO" ASSERTED THAT CHILE WAS WILLING THE SUPPORT AND RECOGNITION OF THE U.S. BUSINESS COMMUNITY; THAT THE AFL-CIO BOYCOTT THREAT HAD FADED INTO THE BACKGROUND; AND THAT TOP OFFICIALS WERE TIED UP OVER NNICARAGUA. THUS, THE REMAINING PROBLEM IN U.S.-CHILE RELATIONS WAS THE LETELIER CASE, AND IT WAS BEING HANDLED BY JUSTICE DEPARTMENT PROSECUTORS WHO "ARE YOUNG, HAVE A POLITICAL CAREER AHEAD OF THEM, AND HAVE ATTITUDES NOT SUPPORTED BY THE BROADER CONSIDERATIONS OF DIPLOMACY NOR OF JURISPRUDENCE."

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04322 212207Z

4. "COSAS" BIWEEKLY CONTAINS AN INTERVIEW WITH MIRANDA CARRINGTON IN WHICH CONTRERAS' LAWYER REITERATES THAT HE DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN HIS CLIENT'S REQUEST THAT THE JUNTA IMPEACH THE THREE CABINET MEMBERS. HE ASSERTS, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH HE AND CONTRERAS ARE ONE HUNDRED PERCENT SUPPORTIVE OF PINOCHET. REPEATING PREVIOUS CLAIMS, MIRANDA SAYS THAT DINA NEVER VIOLATED THE LAW, THAT IT NEVER EMPLOYED TOWNLEY, AND THAT USG EVIDENCE IS WORTHLESS. HE SAYS TOWNLEY HAS NO PERSONAL DISLIKE OF CONTRERAS, THAT HE WAS FOLLOWING ORDERS OF SOME FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE WHEN HE KILLED LETELIER. MIRANDA VENTS HIS SPLEEN ON A FAVORITE TARGET: FBI SPECIAL AGENT SCHERRER, "A BIG LIAR, A DR. JEKYLL AND MR HYDE."

5. AFTERNOON NEWSPAPER "LA SEGUNDA" SOMEHOW GOT WIND THAT SCHERRER WENT TO BUENOS AIRES FOLLOWING THE RIO DE JANIERO MEETING WITH ETCHEBERRY. THE JUNE 21 EDITION CARRIES A TELEPHONE INTERVIEW WITH SCHERRER IN BUENOS AIRES IN WHICH THE LATTER EXPLAINS THAT HE IS SIMPLY FILLING IN TEMPORARILY FOR THE LEGAL ATTACHE ON LEAVE

IN THE UNITED STATES AND THAT HIS VISIT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE REPORTED REOPENING OF THE PRATS' MURDERS BY ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES.
LANDAU

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6/21/79 KO 896

Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20523

TO: Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

EXCISE

ENCLOSURE FROM:

[redacted]

RE: Extradition of Manual Contreras from Chile

The attached correspondence is being forwarded to your office for appropriate action.

An early reply in duplicate would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

John Culver

JOHN C. CULVER

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise__X__ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

Return to the attention of: Ken Albrecht

(on your envelope only, please)

FAORC
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

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The following is a description of 12 certifications all signed by Acting Legal Attache Robert W. Scherrer at Buenos Aires on June 22, 1979 and which were attached to a June 19, 1979 letter to General Mena from Scherrer.

The certifications are not numbered but are described in the order in which they appear, all are copies.

Spanish language translation of statement given by Officer Charles F. Kuchovich on September 22, 1979; it is further marked as Government Exhibit 3, PD 119 12/73

Spanish translation of statement by Michael Townley, 42 pages and further marked as Government Exhibit No. 41.

Document dated June 5, 1978 in memorandum form, from Propper and Bracella to General Hector Orozco, titled Letelier/Moffitt Murder Investigation. The memo states that there are copies attached, i.e. autopsy report and crime scene reports, but they are NOT. There is only a Spanish translation attached to the English.

Spanish translation of statement dated September 21, 1976 given by Det. Walter I. Johnson, DC Police. It is further marked as Government Exhibit No. 2.

Spanish translation of document dated September 21, 1976 given by Michael P. Moffitt. It is further marked as Government Exhibit No. 1

Spanish translation of autopy report dated September 21, 1976 for Orlando Letelier by Washington D.C. Coroner. The first page is numbered 11 and continues through page 20 -- page 21 is a Supplement of testimony by Dr. Luke.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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Continuation of Certifications attached to June 19 letter to General Mena

Spanish translation of autopsy report dated September 21, 1976 for Ronni Moffit. Pages are numberes 1 through 10.

Spanish translation of an interview by Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation with Dr. Peterson conducted on September 23, 1976 (Dr. Danna B. Peterson, offered assistance at scene of crime). It is further marked as Government Exhibit No. 4.

Spanish translation of a statement given by Carter Cornick of FBI, not dated, but evidently a statement re his observations at scene -- further identified as Government Exhibit No. 5.

English interview with Hans D. Sylten, Vice Pres-Director of Engineering, Audio Intelligence Devices, Florida in which Sylten identifies Juan Williams as looking like individual he knows as Kenneth Enyart. Dated March 13, 1978.

Interview with Jack N. Holcomb, President Audio Intelligence Devices on March 16, 1978 conducted by Carter Cornick. FBI File WFO 185-493. Has attached to English memo,: Letter dated January 29, 1975 from Enrique Montero to Mr. Holcomb (with copy of envelope); letter dated August 18, 1975 from Jose Fernandez to Audio Intelligence Devices (with copy of envelope); letter from Holcomb to Mr. Jose Fernandez dated September 15, 1975; copy of invoice of Audio Intelligence

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Continuation of certifications attached to June 19 letter to General Mena

(order date 2/7/75 and shipment date 2/15/75) and with notation cked order with Gen. Wash Carraco. in the amount of 4,334,00; invoice again page 2 of 3; invoice again 3 of 3; invoice dated illegible / 15/75; in the amount of $800, notation Enyart pick up; invoice number 92176 for Consultec in B.A. signed by Ken Enyart; a two-page list of Enyart elephone calls from Dec 10, 1974 to 22 September 1976; not clearly marked is a copy of what appears to be visits made by Enyart for admittance to Audio Intelligence Devices card dated 2/15/75.

Three English interviews conducted by FBI with Mr. Holcomb, President of Audio Intelligence Devices on March 9 and 13, 1978 and again on March 29.

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MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Jones - FYI

Memorandum

DECONTROL

TO : Agency Heads and Section Chiefs (please see distribution below)

DATE: June 25, 1979

FROM : DCM - Charles W. Grover

SUBJECT: FACT SHEET ON THE USG EXTRADITION CASE

The murder of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt, the United States Government case against those accused of participating in their assassination, and claims made by those defending the three Chilean officers whose extradition we seek have produced an indigestible volume of stories and commentary. The enclosed paper summarizes the evidence on which the USG case is built and describes the principal points made by the defense. It does not address the legal issues per se.

I think the paper will give your American staff a good background on the facts of the case and help them field questions on the subject. All the information comes from what are legally public documents -- the entire extradition file is technically public, although access has been closely controlled by the Chilean Courts. While you and your American staffs are free to draw on the information in the paper in casual conversations it should not be cited, quoted, or circulated outside the official USG community.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05172 01 OF 02 262102Z 6/26/79
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 5172

E.O. 12065 XDS-1 6126109 (CASTRO, RAUL H) OR-M
TAGS AR, SHUM
SUBJECT [redacted] AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES HUMAN RIGHTS WITH GENERAL VIOLA

REF: A BUENOS AIRES 4701; B STATE 163602

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: GENERAL DENIAL ENTERED BY GENERAL VIOLA ON JACOBO TIMERMAN'S REPORTED IMMINENT RELEASE. HE LABELED RECENT NEWSPAPER STORIES AS TOTALLY INACCURATE. VIOLA AGAIN PROMISED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WOULD BE REDUCED SUBSTNATIALLY. HE ALSO PREDICTED GREAT MOVEMENT IN RIGHT OF OOPTION CASES. VIOLA EXPRESSED GREAT CONFIDENCE IAHRC WOULD FIND IMPRESSIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, BUT OFFERED NO HOPE FOR "DESAPARECIDOS." HE EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN ABOUT NICARAGUA STRESSING GOA'S WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH USG IN ITS OBJECTIVES. VIOLA FELT AN OAS MILITARY PEACE FORCE PROBABLY NEEDED BUT NOT ACCEPTABLE TO LA COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY

3. APPRECIATION FOR MFM SUPPORT: GENERAL ROBERTO VIOLA, JUNTA PRESIDENT AND ARMY COMMANDER, REQUESTED I MEET WITH HIM ON MONDAY, JUNE 25 AT 1715 HOURS AT HIS OFFICE. DUE TO MY BEING OUT OF COUNTRY, I HAD NOT SEEN GENERAL
[redacted]
[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (520000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

VIOLA SINCE ABOUT MIDDLE OF APRIL. HE MET ME WITH THE TRADITIONAL "ABRAZO" AND INQUIRED ABOUT HOW THINGS STOOD

IN WASHINGTON, DC. HE EXUDED FRIENDLINESS BUT YET SHOWED CONCERN ABOUT RECENT WAVE OF NEGATIVE NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ON ARGENTINA APPEARING IN CONUS.

4. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES: VIOLA WAS SPECIFIC IN HIS DISDAIN FOR NEW YORK TIMES SERIES WRITTEN BY MR OAKS AND ENSUING EDITORIAL. HE TERMED WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL CONTEMPTIBLE AND IRRESPONSIBLE. HE HOPED DEPARTMENT WOULDN'T ACCEPT VERACITY OF ARTICLES "IN TOTO", RECOGNIZING SOME MERIT TO PORTIONS OF REPORTING. I MADE IT CLEAR TO VIOLA AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS ARE INDEPENDENT AND ATTRIBUTION SHOULD NOT BE TO EMBASSY OR DEPARTMENT. HE ACKNOWLEDGED TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF NEWS MEDIA AND STATED NO LINKAGE OR ATTRIBUTION SHOULD BE MADE TO USG. VIOLA'S CONCERN WAS THAT DUE TO IMPORTANCE OF NEW YORK TIMES AND WASHINGTON POST, DEPARTMENT MIGHT CAVE IN ASSUME AN ARBITRARY AND CAPRICIOUS POSTURE TOWARDS GOA. I ALLAYED VIOLA'S FEARS BY TELLING HIM DEPARTMENT AND USG TOOK AN OBJECTIVE AND JUDICIOUS VIEW ON ARGENTINA. I REMINDED VIOLA THE STRAIN IN RELATIONS IS DUE TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, BUT USG WELCOMED IMPROVEMENTS. I EMPHASIZED "BALL NOW IN THEIR COURT"ND IMPROVED RELATIONS WERE CONTIGENT ON MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS. HE ACCEPTED THIS AS A FACT.

5. IAHRC VISIT: VIOLA REMINDED ME IAHRC WOULD BE VISITING ARGENTINA STARTING SEPTEMBER 6. HE STATED THIS DATE WAS CHOSEN BY IAHRC AND NOT BY GOA, WHO HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATING ITS VISIT SINCE LATE MAY. VIOLA STATED PRISON CONDITIONS HAVE IMPROVED TREMENDOUSLY AND RELEASES WILL OCCUR IN LARGE NUMBERS. HE SAID ALL [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05172 01 OF 02 262102Z

OF GOA IS BEING GEARED FOR IAHRC VISIT RESULTING IN VIRTUALLY NO DISAPPEARANCES, NO TORTURE AND NO IRREGULAR ARRESTS. I REMINDED HIM OF SIX DISAPPEARED STUDENTS AS OF A FEW WEEKS AGO. HE AGREED THIS WAS A BLACK MARK IN THEIR RECORD, BUT DESPITE ALL INVESTIGATORY EFFORTS NO INFORMATION EXISTED ON THIS BIZARRE OPERATION.

5. DESAPARECIDOS: VIOLA STATED IN 1978 THERE WAS AN AVERAGE OF ABOUT FIFTY "DESAPARECIDOS". AT THIS POINT HE LOOKED AT HE WITH DIABOLICAL GRIN -- FROM EAR TO EAR -- JOINING HIS GREY MUSTACHE WITH HIS SIDEBURSNS, AS IF THOUGH HE HAD ONE ON ME AND SAID: "I TAKE YOUR FIGURES

OF FIFTY PER MONTH LAST YEAR. LOOK AT THE RECORD THIS YEAR. IT'S ONLY SEVENTEEN DISAPPEARED IN SIX MONTHS." I INTERRUPTED HIM STATING OUR FIGURES INDICATED TWENTY-TWO DISAPPEARANCES. HE SAID "EVEN SO, YOU MUST ADMIT THERE IS A MAJOR IMPROVEMENT." I ACKNOWLEGED THE IMPROVEMENT BUT TOLD HIM HE WOULD NOT GET MUCH SOLACE FROM USG UNTIL THE FIGURE WAS ZERO. HIS REPLY WAS THAT THEY WERE GETTING THERE AND WAS CONFIDENT BY TIME IAHRC ARRIVED GOA WOULD REACH THE ZERO STATUS. VIOLA MADE IT CLEAR TO ME THE "DESPARECIDOS" WOULD NOT RETURN. I INQUIRED ABOUT HIS STATEMENT. HE REPEATED IN HIS OPINION THE DISAPPEARED WOULD NOT BE SURFACING. AGAIN, I ASKED ON WHAT HE BASED HIS OPINION. VIOLA'S REPLY WAS THAT GOA LACKED INFORMATION ON THE DISAPPEARED AND IN VIEW OF THE EXTENDED PERIODS OF DISAPPEARANCE HE DOUBTED ANY OF THESE PEOPLE WERE ALIVE. HE SAID THERE MIGHT BE A FEW CASES SURFACING - THOSE UNACCOUNTED FOR IN PRISON DUE TO ERROR -- BUT THESE WERE RARE EXCEPTIONS. VIOLA STATED GOA WOULD PROBABLY HAVE SOME STATEMENT ON DISAPPEARED WHEN IAHRC ARRIVED. HE SAID IT WOULD BE A STATEMENT WITHOUT SPECIFICS, BUT HOPEFULLY WOULD BE PALATABLE TO SOCIETY.

7. RIGHT OF OPTION: I TOLD VIOLA THE RIGHT OF OPTION [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 05172 01 OF 02 262102Z

PROGRAM HAD BEEN A FIASCO UP TO NOW. HE WAS REMINDED GOA -- THROUGH ITS APPROPRIATE AGENCIES -- HAD NOT GIVEN EMBASSY REASONABLE COOPERATION, BUT TO CONTRARY HAD RAISED ALL KINDS OF BARRIERS. AMAZINGLY ENOUGH, HE AGREED WITH MY STATEMENT, BUT RETORTED RIGHT OF-OPTION CASES WOULD BE MOVING FAST FROM NOW ON. HE SAID THESE CASES WERE HIGH ON THE AGENDA.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05172 02 OF 02 262116Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1253

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 5172

8. TIMERMAN CASE: RECENTLY "CONVICCION", NAVY ORIENTED NEWSPAPER, AND THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD, ENGLISH-AMERICAN NEWSPAPER, FRONT-PAGED TIMERMAN'S IMMINENT RELEASE.I TOLD VIOLA USG HOPED THESE PREDICTIONS WERE ACCURATE. HE DENIED ANY TRUTH TO THE REPORTS. HE SAID TIMERMAN WAS NO CLOSER NOW THAN HE WAS SIX MONTHS AGO TO BEING RELEASED. VIOLA AGAIN EXCULPATED HIMSELF BY STATING IF IT WERE LEFT UP TO HIM TIMERMAN WOULD HAVE BEEN RELEASED A LONG TIME AGO. IN A JESTING FASHION, I SUGGESTED TO VIOLA THAT AS ARMY COMMANDER AND PRESIDENT OF THE JUNTA HE WAS IN A UNIQUE POSITION OF AUTHORITY TO LEAD THE WAY. HE SMILED AND REPLIED HIS OBSTACLES WERE WELL KNOWN TO ME. IT WAS THEN I INQUIRED IF IT WOULD BE PROPER TO DISCUSS THE TIMERMAN CASE WITH GENERAL SUAREZ MASON, CHIEF OF STAFF AND TIMERMAN'S NEMESIS. I EXPECTED A MINOR EXPLOSION ON THIS SUGGESTION FOR AS LONG AS I HAVE DEALT WITH VIOLA HE HAS NEVER ADMITTED SUAREZ MASON TO BE ONE OF HIS PROBLEMS. MUCH TO THE CONTRARY, VIOLA LOWERED HIS VOICE AND TOLD ME HE STRONGLY RECOMMENDED I DISCUSS THE TIMERMAN CASE WITH SUAREZ MASON. I TOLD VIOLA THAT RECENTLY SUAREZ MASON HAD INVITED HIMSELF TO MY RESIDENCE FOR AN "ASADO" - "GAUCHO BARBECUE". IT WAS SUGGESTED BY VIOLA THAT DURING THIS BARBECUE I DISCUSS THE TIMERMAN CASE. VIOLA INDICATED EVEN THOUGH TIMERMAN'S RELEASE IS NOT IMMINENT, THERE
[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05172 02 OF 02 262116Z

IS STILL SOME HOPE.

9. SARAGOVI CASE: I REMINDED VIOLA OF RENEWED AND CONTINUED CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST ON THE HORACIO SARAGOVI CASE. HE APPEARED NOT TO BE FAMILIAR WITH THE CASE. I TOLD HIM THE CASE WAS DIRECTLY IN HIS LAP AS IT WAS A MILITARY TRIBUNAL CASE. THE CASE WAS UP FOR REVIEW BY HIM. HE TOOK NOTES AND PROMISED TO LOOK INTO THE MATTER.

10. SOCCER GAME: LAST NIGHT ARGENTINA, WORLD CHAMPIONS,

PLAYED AGAINST A TEAM, COMPRISED OF OUTSTANDING PLAYERS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. ARGENTINA LOST 2 TO 1 WITH A FULL STADIUM OF OVER 75,000 PEOPLE. I ATTENDED THE GAME. I WAS PREPARED TO SIT WITH THE REST OF THE "COMMON HERD" BUT AS I WALKED INTO THE STADIUM AN UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN SPOTTED ME AND TOLD ME I WAS TO SIT IN THE "PALCO DE HONOR" (VIP BOX). I TOLD THIS PERSON MY TICKETS WERE NOT THE VIP AND I WAS PERFECTLY CONTENT TO SIT AT MY DESIGNATED PLACE. THIS GENTELMAN WAS QUITE STERN IN TELLING ME I BELONGED IN THE PRESIDENT'S BOX. I WAS THE ONLY AMBASSADOR IN THAT SPECIFIC AREA. THERE WERE SEVERAL AMBASSADORS IN ATTENDANCE, BUT I WAS THEONLY ONE PERMITTED TO SIT NEAR THE PRESIDENT AND THE JUNTA. I THOUGHT THIS WAS AN UNUSUAL TWIST CONSIDERING SOMEWHAT STRAINED RELATIONS DUE TO NEGATIVE NEWSPAPER STORIES FROM USA.

11. COMMENT: THROUGHOUT THE MEETING VIOLA KEP TELLING ME HIS PURPOSE IN WANTING TO SEE ME WAS TO DISCUSS NICARAGUA. WE DID DISCUSS NICARAGUA, BUT I FELT IT WAS ONLY AN EXCUSE TO DISCUSS MULTIPLE OTHER MATTERS. HE SAID GOA WAS FULLY IN AGREEMENT WITH USG ON NICARAGUAN POLICY, BUT FEARED SENDING A MILITARY PEACE FORCE WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO LA COUNTRIES. HIS REASONING
[redacted]

[redacted]

WAS MOST OF LA COUNTRIES HAVE INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND EACH COUNTRY FEARED A PRECEDENT WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN SENDING MILITARY UNITS TO SETTLE BASIC DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. VIOLA SAID THE NICARAGUAN PROBLEM WAS NOW BEYOND DIALOGUE AND NECESSITATED CURTAILING THE INFILTRATION OF MATERIAL AND TROOPS THROUGH PANAMA AND COSTA RICA. VIOLA RATIONALIZED THIS COULD ONLY BE DONE WITH A MILITARY PEACE FORCE, BUT THE ARGENTINE PUBLIC WOULD NEVER BUY IT. IT APPEARED TO ME HE WAS GROPING OR HOPING FOR ME TO GIVE HIM SOME JUSTIFICATION FOR SENDING A PEACE FORCE TO NICARAGUA, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ARGENTINA.

12. ADMIRAL MASSERA: STRANGELY ENOUGH AS I WAS LEAVING VIOLA' OFFICE I RAN INTO ADMIRAL MASSERA, WHO WAS COMING TO REPORT TO VIOLA ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO MEXICO. MASSERA WAS COMPLETELY SURPRISED TO SEE ME AS I WAS TO SEE HIM. THE ONLY ONE NOT SURPRISED WAS VIOLA AND I FELT HE HAD PLANNED IT THAT MASSERA AND I WOULD MEET. IT APPEARED VIOLA WANTED MASSERA TO KNOW I HAD BEEN WITH HIM. IT'S JUST THE CASE OF THE OLD "ARGENTINE INTRIGUE" JUST

AS SUAREZ MASON WANTED VIOLA TO KNOW THAT I WAS HAVING AN "ASADO" WITH HIM.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

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[redacted]

NV312 R

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05211 292335Z 4/27/79
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 IO-14 /047 W
----------007287 300748Z /23

R 271915Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1267
USUN NEW YORK 0977
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5211

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full Decontrol
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT ESTHER BALLESTRINO DE CAREAGA

REF: ASUNCION 2906

EMBASSY HAS NO NEWS OF MRS BALLESTRINO DE CAREAGA BUT POLOFF YVONNE THAYER WILL MEET WITH ARTIGAS FRANCISCO BALLESTRINO SHOULD HE CALL AT THE EMBASSY NEXT WEEK.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1979BUENOS05230 6/27/79
Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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C043

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05230 272135Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 ARA-11 VO-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
SSO-00 INRE-00 /032 W
107359 272137Z /21

O R 272055Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1274
INFO INS/CO WASHDC

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5230

FOR HA (AILEEN ROBINSON)

FOR INFO INS/CORAP (MR. POTTER)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: SREF, SHUM, AR (MARTINEZ, IRENE LEONOR)
SUBJECT: HEMISPHERIC PAROLE PROGRAM: US INTEREST CASE OF IRENE LEONOR MARTINEZ

REF: ROBINSON/BARRISH TELCON OF 6-27-79

1. ON JUNE 27, 1979, THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN OFFICE INFORMED EMBASSY THAT IRENE LEONOR MARTINEZ WAS GRANTED CONDITIONAL LIBERTY EFFECTIVE JUNE 19, 1979. MISS MARTINEZ'S AUTHORIZED TRAVEL IS RESTRICTED TO THE CITY OF VILLA CABRERA, PROVINCE OF CORDOBA, WHERE SHE RESIDES WITH HER MOTHER.

2. CONDITIONAL LIBERTY IS A FORM OF FREEDOM IN WHICH A PEN PRSONER IS RELEASED FROM PRISON BUT STILL REMAINS UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE POWER (PEN). THE PRISONER IS RESTRICTED IN HIS MOVEMENTS AND CAN BE RE-ARRESTED IF FOUND TO BE VIOLATING THE CONDITIONS OF HIS RELEASE. CONDITIONAL LIBERTY PRISONERS, ALTHOUGH STILL UNDER PEN, ARE NOT RPT NOT NORMALLY CONSIDERED ELIGIBLE BY THE GOA TO APPLY FOR
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05230 272135Z

THE RIGHT OF OPTION.

Current Class: [redacted]
Page: 1

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 200000044

3. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1979BUENOS05231

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

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6/27/79 N 313 P B6

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05231 300111Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 HA-05 ADS-00 /008 W
----------008272 301120Z /14

R 272056Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1276

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5231

E.O. 12065 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF LAURA ISABEL FELDMAN (476-78-7)

H PASS: HONORABLE S. WILLIAM GREEN
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC

1. DEAR CONGRESSMAN GREEN:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR RECENT INQUIRY ON BEHALF OF YOUR CONSTITUENT, [redacted] REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LAURA ISABEL FELDMAN IN ARGENTINA WE MADE AN OFFICIAL INQUIRY AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ABOUT HER SITUATIN. THE MINISTRY RECENTLY INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MS FELDMAN, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING HER WHEREABOUTS. WE HAVE COMMUNICATED US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

B6

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __

2. THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THIS CASE AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: S200000044

[redacted]

D055

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04451 272154Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 SY-05 CA-01
/059 W

----------107534 272200Z /12

O R 272128Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3826
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
~~Declassify~~: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

[redacted]SANTIAGO 4451

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI, PINS, PGOV
SUBJ:/ 535/35834/MOFFITT CASE: APPEAL HEARING POSTPONED AGAIN;
OTHER ITEMS

REF: SANTIAGO 4362

1. JUST BEFORE ORAL ARGUMENTS WERE TO HAVE BEGUN IN THE APPEAL OF THE BORQUEZ DECISION ON EXTRADITION, LAWYER SERGIO MIRANDA CARRINGTON REQUESTED A FURTHER ONE WEEK POSTPONEMENT ON BEHALF OF HIS TWO CLIENTS, MANUEL CONTRERAS AND PODRO ESPINOZA. THIS MEANS THAT THE ORAL ARGUMENT CAN NOW NOT BEGIN UNTIL JULY 4 AT THE EARLIEST. RATHER THAN THE SECOND CHAMBER OF THE SUPREME COURT WHICH HAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR JUNE APPEALS, THE CASE WILL NOW BE HEARD BY THE FIRST CHAMBER. MIRANDA DID NOT GIVE ANY REASON FOR REQUESTING THE NEW POSTPONEMENT.

2. WE HAVE RECEIVED COPIES OF ARTICLES THAT WERE TO APPEAR IN THIS WEEK'S ISSUE OF "HOY" MAGAZINE. THE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04451 272154Z

MAGAZINE WAS SUSPENDED FOR TWO MONTHS JUNE 22, OSTENSIBLY BECAUSE IT HAD PUBLISHED INTERVIEWS WITH TWO LEADING

UNCLASSIFIED

CHILEAN MARXISTS IN EXILE. MORE BASICALLY, AS A MINISTRY OF INTERIOR STATEMENT MADE CLEAR, THE GOVERNMENT THINKS "HOY" HAS ENGAGED IN A SYSTEMATIC STRATEGY OF UNDERMINING ITS AUTHORITY. ONE OF THE TWO COVER STORIES FOR THIS WEEK WOULD HAVE BEEN "THE INTERNATIONAL TRAVELS OF TOWNLEY: THE PRATS AND LEIGHTON CASES." THE STORY, APPARENTLY BASED IN LARGE PART ON INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING BY US NEWSMAN JOHN DINGES, IS A FAIRLY DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS PIECES OF EVIDENCE AND INFORMATION THAT PLACE TOWNLEY IN BUENOS AIRES JUST PRIOR TO THE MURDER OF GENERAL PRATS AND HIS WIFE IN 1974 AND IN ROME SHORTLY BEFORE THE ATTEMPT ON BERNARDO LEIGHTON AND HIS WIFE IN 1975. IT INCLUDES SPECULATION THAT FERNANDEZ LARIOS WAS INVOLVED WITH TOWNLEY IN THE PRATS AFFAIRS AND IT SAYS THAT IN ARGENTINA TOWNLEY WORKED WITH CIVILIANS LINKED TO THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIDE) AND IN ITALY WITH FASCIST TERRORIST GROUPS. (COMMENT: THE OTHER LEAD STORY IN "HOY" THIS WEEK WAS TO HAVE BEEN THE REPORT THAT JUDGE BANADOS WROTE TO THE MILITARY COURT WHEN HE SURRENDERED JURISDICTION OVER THE ONQUEN MASSACRE INVESTIATION. WITHOUT SAYING SO EXPLICITLY, IT POINTS AN ACCUSING FINGER AT THE LOCAL CARABINERO DETACHMENT.)

3. "LA SEGUNDA" OF JUNE 26 REPEATED FOR THE THIRD TIME A STORY ABOUT A $2,500 CHECK TOWNLEY BOUNCED OFF A PLASTIC SURGEON NAMED ZARHI IN OCTOBER, 1978. A PHOTOSTAT OF THE ALLEGED SOUTHEAST FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF MIAMI BEARS AN OCTOBER 4 DATE (SIX MONTHS AFTER TOWNLEY'S EXTRADITION) AND THE SIGNATURE OF "ANDRES WILSON."ONE OF TOWNLEY'S CHILEAN ALIASES. ZARHI, CONTACTED BY "SEGUNDA," REFUSED COMMENT EXCEPT TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT HE HAD TURNED THE CHECK [redacted]

OVER TO HIS LAWYERS FOR COLLECTION AFTER THE MIAMI BANK REFUSED PAYMENT BECAUSE THE ACCOUNT HAD BEEN CLOSED. THE NEWSPAPER ASSERTS THAT FBI AGENTS HAVE QUESTIONED ZARHI ABOUT THE CHECK AND THAT THE CIA IS INTERESTED ALSO. THE DEFENSE APPARENTLY HOPES TO USE THE EXISTENCE OF VARIOUS "ANDRES WILSON" BANK ACCOUNTS (SUPPOSEDLY AT LEAST FIVE AREKNOWN) TO BOLSTER ITS CLAIM THAT TOWNLEY WAS A DOUBLE AGENT -- EMPLOYED BY CIA AS WELL AS BY DINA.
LANDAU

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05234 300111Z 6/27/79
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ARA-15 ADS-00 HA-05 /023 W
----------008274 301132Z /23

R 272055Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1279

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5234

E.O. 12065 N/A
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCES
OF JOSE PATRICIO ACUNA (1045-79-5) AND MARIA ACUNA (1044-79-5)

H PASS: HONORABLE JACOB K. JAVITS
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON DC

1. DEAR SENATOR JAVITS:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR RECENT INQUIRY ON BEHALF OF
YOUR CONSTITUENTS, B6
REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCES OF JOSE
PATRICIO ACUNA AND MARIA ACUNA, THE FOREIGN
OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US IT HAS
NO RECORD OF THE
DETENTION OF TH MR AND MRS ACUNA, NOR ANY
INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHERABOUTS.

2. THE US CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS MATTER
HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. THE
EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE CASES AND
WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

JNN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

6/28/79

Case Number: 200000044

B054

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05238 301309Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 HA-05 ADS-00 /008 W
----------014719 302117Z /20

R 281231Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1281

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5238

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCES OF REV. PABLO GAZZARI (461/78/7); REV. CARLOS ARMANDO BUSTOS (460/78/7) AND REV. MAURICIO KLEBER SILVA IRIBARNEGARAY (319/78/4)

REF: STATE 082983

H PASS: HONORABLE JOHN L. BURTON
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC

1. DEAR CONGRESSMAN BURTON:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR INQUIRY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCES OF THREE PRIESTS IN ARGENTINA, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF REV. GAZZARI, REV. BUSTOS AND REV. SILVA, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THESE CASES AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO
UNCLASSIFIED

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05240 301259Z 6/28/79 N 319 P B6
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 /008 W
----------014616 302113Z /13

R 281231Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1283

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5240

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCES OF MONICA SUSANA MASRI DE ROGGERONE (971/79/4) AND CARLOS MARIA ROGGERONE (979/79/4)

H PASS: HONORABLE JACOB J. JAVITS
U.S. SENATE WASHDC

1. DEAR SENATOR JAVITS:
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR INQUIRY ON BEHALF OF YOUR CONSTITUENT, [redacted] CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCES OF MONICA SUSANA MASTI DE ROGGERONE AND CARLOS MARIA ROGGERONE, THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S EEDWORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MRS. AND MR. ROGGERONE, NOR ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR WHEREABOUT. B6

2. WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN THESE CASES AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR
CASTRO

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05269 281959Z 6/28/79 N 321
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SSO-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00 /035 W
----------121369 282004Z /64

O 281959Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1299

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5269

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: UNANNOUNCED PEN PRISONER RELEASES

WITHIN THE LAST WEEK THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED THREE REPORTS FROM RELEASED PEN PRISONERS OF A LARGE PEN PRISONER RELEASE FROM LA PLATA PRISON. ONE SOURCE, A RELEASED PRISONER WHO CLAIMED TO HAVE PERSONALLY SEEN THE RELEASE LIST, STATED THAT A TOTAL OF 42 PEN PRISONERS WERE SCHEDULED FOR RELEASE. SEVENTEEN OF THESE 42 PRISONERS WERE RELEASED ACTUALLY ON JUNE 16, 1979. HE BELIEVED THE REMAINING 25 ARE TO BE RELEASED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. ANOTHER PRISONER, A RIGHT OF OPTION APPLICANT WHO VISITED THE EMBASSY JUNE 28, SPOKE OF A SEPARATE RELEASE OF 70 PRISONERS -- OF WHOM EIGHTEEN WERE RELEASED JUNE 25. TO DATE, NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS PRISONER RELEASE HAS APPEARED IN THE LOCAL PRESS. EMBASSY WILL TRY TO VERIFY THIS RELEASE INFORMATION THROUGH PRISON OFFICIALS AT LA PLATA PRISON.
CASTRO

UNCLASSIFIED

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

6/25/79 D Argentina R

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STATISTICAL FIGURES ON DETAINEES

I. NUMBER OF PEOPLE IMPRISONED AND RELEASED BY DISPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

DATES	ARRESTS	RELEASES
1. FROM NOV. 4, 1974 UNTIL MARCH 23, 1976	3.546	830
2. FROM MARCH 24, 1976 UNTIL DECEMBER 31, 1976.	3.464	1.505
3. 1977.	1.275	1.879
4. 1978.	386	1.069
5. 1979 (UNTIL JUNE 28)	42	630
	TOTAL: 8.713	5.913

DIFFERENCE: 2.800

FROM THOSE 2.800 CASES

1. UNDER PAROLE (LIBERTAD VIGILADA)	160
2. UNDER HOUSE ARREST	12
3. PEOPLE EXPELLED	192
4. GRANTED THE CONSTITUTIONAL OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY	713
TOTAL:	1.077

DIFFERENCE: 1.723

TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE IMPRISONED BY DISPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER. (UNTIL JUNE 28, 1978)

TOTAL: 1.723

F2 D103
Box 17404

II. CONSTITUTIONAL OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY: 713

COUNTRY	APPROVED	DENIED	UNDER CONSIDERATION
1. AUSTRIA	2	2	-
2. BELGIUM	7	1	9
3. BOLIVIA	1	-	-
4. BRAZIL	1	-	-
5. CANADA	1	1	6
6. DENMARK	1	-	-
7. EAST GERMANY	1	-	-
8. FINLAND	1	-	-
9. FRANCE	6	3	9
10. GREAT BRITAIN	2	-	5
11. HOLAND	-	-	5
12. ISRAEL	9	3	12
13. ITALY	34	12	29
14. MEXICO	1	-	1
15. NORWAY	5	-	-
16. PANAMA	3	-	-
17. PARAGUAY	1	-	-
18. PERU	1	-	-
19. SENEGAL	1	-	-
20. SPAIN	45	12	32
21. SWEDEN	19	4	84
22. SWITZERLAND	3	-	4
23. UNITED STATES	10	-	47
24. WEST GERMANY	7	-	35

III. CASES OF PEOPLE EXPELLED DUE TO TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

1. CITIZENSHIP	APPROVED	UNDER CONSIDERATION
A. AMERICAN	26	6
B. BELGIAN	1	-
C. BOLIVIAN	8	2
D. BRAZILIAN	6	-
E. CHILEAN	53	6
F. CZECHOSLOVAKIAN	1	1
G. EGYPTIAN	1	-
H. FRENCH	6	-
I. GERMAN	2	-
J. ITALIAN	15	1
K. MEXICAN	2	-
L. PARAGUAYAN	1	-
M. PERUVIAN	14	-
N. POLISH	1	-
O. SPANISH	16	4
P. SWISS	1	-
Q. URUGUAYAN	37	-

2. DATE OF EXPULSION---NUMBER OF PEOPLE EXPELLED	
A. FROM NOV. 4, 1974 TO MARCH 23, 1976.	27
B. FROM MARCH 24, 1976 TO DEC. 31, 1976.	80
C. 1977.	41
D. 1978.	45
E. 1979 (UNTILL JUNE)	19
	TOTAL: 212

IV. CASES UNDER JUDICIAL PROCEEDING

DATES		
1. FROM NOV. 4, 1974 TO MARCH 23, 1976.	829	5
2. FROM MARCH 24, 1976; TO DEC. 31, 1976.	1996	24
3. 1977.	941	287
4. 1978.	78	230
5. 1979.	32	46
TOTAL;	3.876	592

V. CASES BEEN RELEASED, OPTIONS, AND PAROLES GRANTED FROM JUNE 1st. TO JUNE 28th., 1979.

1. RELEASED	190
2. EXPELLED	2
3. OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY	9
4. PAROLE (LIBERTADA VIGILADA)	47

TOTAL: 248

VI. PAROLE (LIBERTAD VIGILADA) AND HOUSE CUSTODY

By Law 21650 (September 27, 1977) these two systems of supervised freedom were established

YEAR	PAROLE	HOUSE CUSTODY
1978	59	13
1979	101	-
TOTALS:	160	13

Of the 13 cases of house custody, one of them ended in 1979.

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[redacted]

6/29/79

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05307 01 OF 03 292032Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /084 W
----------005761 292043Z /70

O R 291926Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1319
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): X B3NA
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 5307

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/29/85 (HALLMAN, WILLIAM H.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - JUNE 28, 1979

REF: BUENOS AIRES 5055

1. (U) INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: THE SIGNIFICANT NEWS OF THIS WEEK IS THAT NUMBERS OF PEN PRISONERS ARE BEING RELEASED BUT, FOR REASONS WE DO NOT YET KNOW, THESE RELEASES ARE NOT BEING PUBLISHED AS BEFORE. IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM WE DESCRIBE REPORTS OF 112 RELEASES OR PROSPECTIVE RELEASES WITHIN THE PAST WEEK OR TEN DAYS. THIS DOES HOWEVER PLAY HOB WITH PEN STATISTICS THE EMBASSY MAINTAINED BY ADDING TO AND SUBSTRACTING FROM LISTS WE HELD BASING THESE ENTRIES ON OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. ALREADY THERE WAS DISCREPANCY OF SOME 350 BETWEEN OUR ESTIMATES
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05307 01 OF 03 292032Z

AND AN OFFHAND ESTIMATE GIVEN EMBOFF BY COL. SAN ROMAN OF THE INTERIOR MINISTRY--SAN ROMAN'S FIGURES WERE LOWER,

INDICATING THAT SIGNIFICANT UNRECORDED RELEASES MAY HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE THEY COMMENCED COMING TO OUR ATTENTION. EMBOFFS ARE SEEKING INTERVIEWS NEXT WEEK TO COME UP WITH ANNEX PEN FIGURE.

2. (U) ALSO REPORTED SEPARATELY (BUENOS AIRES 5223) WERE 13 NAMES OF PERSONS RECENTLY GRANTED RIGHT OF OPTION FOR THE UNITED STATES. THESE ARE IN ADDITION TO SIX PERSONS WHO BY ARGENTINE COUNT ALSO RECEIVED OPTION TO SETTLE IN THE UNITED STATES. (THREE WERE BY ARGENTINE COUNT AND OURS "OPTIONED", WHILE ONE-[ ]WAS AN IMMIGRANT PREFERENCE CASE UNDER OUR COUNT AND TWO-[ ]-ARE UNITED STATES CITIZENS.) B3 N A B3 N A

3. [redacted] THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THIS MESSAGE RECAPITULATES THE NUMBER OF DISAPPEARED REPORTED TO THE EMBASSY THUS FAR THIS CALENDAR YEAR. IT STANDS NOW AT 25, WITH SOME RECORDINGS ADMITTEDLY DUBIOUS. GENERAL VIOLA, IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR SPOKE OF 17 DISAPPEARANCES. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

4. (U) JUDGE DELVING INTO DISAPPEARANCE OF SZNAIDER ET AL -----
THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD REPORTED IN A FRONT PAGE STORY ON JUNE 27 THAT FEDERAL JUDGE LEON C. ARSALANIAN ON MAY 31 CALLED WITNESSES IN THE DISAPPEARANCE CASE OF JORGE V. SZNAIDER AND FIVE COMPANIONS (SEE BUENOS AIRES 4082). MRS. SZNAIDER HAD PREVIOUSLY FILED A HABEAS CORPUS PETITION BEFORE JUDGE BONIFATI ON MAY 15, WHICH WAS REJECTED THREE DAYS LATER. GATHERING FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE ABDUCTION,
[redacted]

[redacted]

MRS. SZNAIDER FILED ANOTHER HABEAS CORPUS WRIT ON MAY 31. THE WITNESSES CALLED WERE THE PORTERO IN THE BUILDING FROM WHERE THE SIX WERE ABDUCTED, POLICE OFFICERS, THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD AND MRS. SZNAIDER. MRS. SZNAIDER IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE SIX HAD FORMED A WRITERS' WORKSHOP, AND THE WRITING THAT THEY HAD DONE WAS TAKEN WHEN THEY WERE KIDNAPPED. HOWEVER, SHE AND HER HUSBAND HAD GONE THROUGH THEIR SON'S WORK AT HOME AND WERE SATISFIED THAT HIS WORK WAS COMPLETELY NONPOLITICAL.

5. (U) JUDGE SEEKING INFORMATION ON US INTEREST CASE -----
ON JUNE 25 CRONICA CARRIED AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT JUDGE CARLOS

OLIVERI IS INVESTIGATION AN ACCUSATION OF ILLEGAL DEPRIVATION OF LIBERTY IN THE CASE OF EDUARDO MIGUEL O'NEIL(L) (EMBASSY CASE NO. 94/77/9) WHO DISAPPEARED AFTER HAVING BEEN KIDNAPPED. THE ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOT GIVE ANY DATES, HOWEVER EMBASSY FILES REVEAL THAT DR. O'NEILL WAS ABDUCTED ON 9/9/77 BY A GROUP OF ARMED MEN. DR. O'NEILL IS AN INTEREST CASE BY CONGRESSMAN ROSENTHAL, SEN. MOYNIHAN, AND THE CANCER CONGRESS. EMBASSY PREVIOUSLY MADE TWO REQUESTS TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON 11/10/77 AND 3/10/78, TO WHICH NEGATIVE REPLIES WERE RECEIVED.

6. (U) INTEREST GROUP FORMED TO LOOK INTO DISAPPEARANCES OF WRITERS AND JOURNALISTS -----
THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD ON JUNE 26 REPORTED THAT A SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FORMED BY RELATIVES OF MISSING JOURNALISTS. THEY HAVE COMPILED A LIST OF 63 PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED SINCE THE 1976 MILITARY COUP AND WHO WORKED AS WRITERS OR AS JOURNALISTS. THE HERALD, WHICH PRINTED THE LIST, REPORTED THAT THE GROUP WAS ALSO TRYING TO HAVE IT PUBLISHED IN A LOCAL SPANISH DAILY "ALONG WITH AN APPEAL TO PUBLIC OPINION TO JOIN THEM IN THEIR 'SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE.'" THE GROUP ALSO REPORTED THAT OVER 400 JOURNALISTS HAVE LEFT THE COUNTRY SINCE THE 1976 TAKEOVER. EMBASSY FILES CONTAIN ALL BUT THREE OF THE PERSONS
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 05307 01 OF 03 292032Z

LISTED IN THE HERALD ARTICLE. THE THREE ARE: CASADIDIO, ALDO NESTOR, DISAPPEARED 12/7/76; OSTERHELD, HECTOR HERMAN, DISAPPEARED 6/77; AND SERUCO, BARBA LUIS, DISAPPEARANCE DATE UNKNOWN.

7. (U) FRENCH NURSE RELEASED -----
THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT A FRENCH CITIZEN, VIVIANE JACOB, HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS IN PRISON AND RELEASED IN ADVANCE THROUGH A MEASURE SIGNED BY PRESIDENT VIDELA ON TUESDAY JUNE 19. MS. JACOB WAS ARRESTED ON DECEMBER 24, 1975 ON CHARGES OF ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION AND PROPAGANDIZATION. SHE WAS ALSO CHARGED
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05307 02 OF 03 292056Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
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O R 291926Z JUN 79
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1320
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 5307

WITH BEING PART OF A MEDICAL UNIT OF THE MONTONERO MOVEMENT. (NOTE: EMBASSY RECORDS INDICATE THAT MS. JACOB WAS SENTENCED IN 1977 TO FOUR YEARS IN JAIL ON CHARGES OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN ERP.)

8. (U) IACHR VISIT CONFIRMED FOR SEPTEMBER -----
THE ARGENTINE PRESS OF THE 26TH AND 27TH CARRIED WASHINGTON DATELINED STORIES THAT THE INVESTIGATION BY THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE OAS WILL TAKE PLACE FROM SEPTEMBER 6 UNTIL THE 20TH, HEADED BY FORMER VENEZUELAN MINISTER OF JUSTICE ANDRES AGUILAR.

9. (U) PRELATES SPEAK -----
TWO PROMINENT CHURCH DIGNITARIES MADE MAJOR PRONOUNCEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THEY SEEMED TO START IN DIFFERENT
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05307 02 OF 03 292056Z

DIRECTIONS. MONS. MIGUEL MEDINA, BISHOP OF TUCUMAN, ANSWERED A MESSAGE FROM A HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION--PRESUMARLY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL--STATING THAT "IN MY COUNTRY THERE ARE NO OFFICIAL KIDNAPPINGS." HE ALSO INDICATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST NOT BE BLAMED FOR

ALL THE DISAPPEARANCES. ON THE OTHER HAND, RAUL CARDINAL PRIMATESTA, BISHOP OF CORDOBA, IN EFFECT WARNED THE GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE RISK OF "CONFUSING NATIONAL SECURITY WITH THE SECURITY OF THE STATE." THESE STATEMENTS WERE GIVEN WIDE PUBLICITY, BUT NO ATTEMPT AT ELABORATION WAS MADE.

10. (U) MORE PRE-JUNTA CRIMINALS SENTENCES -----
THE ARGENTINE PRESS REPORTS THAT
(A) ON JUNE 22, ERNESTO FERNANDO VILLANUEVA, A 34 YEAR OLD ARGENTINE SOCIOLOGIST, WAS SENTENCED TO 5 YEARS IN PRISON AND LOSS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ON CHARGES OF POSSESSION OF ARMS, MUNITIONS, EXPLOSIVES, AND FALSE IDENTITY PAPERS. MR. VILLANUEVA WAS ARRESTED IN MARCH OF 1975.
(B) RETIRED COL. MARIANO CARTAGO SMITH WAS FOUND GUILTY AND SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS IN PRISON FOR MASTERMINDING THE 1975 KIDNAPPING OF AN ARGENTINE BUSINESSMAN. IN ADDITION, ACCOMPLICES RAMON MARCELINO RODRIGUEZ AND FELIPE EDUARDO ACA WERE SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS EACH, JOSE MARIA VIERA AND CLAUDIO PATRICIO VARELA TO FIVE AND A HALF YEARS EACH, AND MARIA DE LAS MERCEDES MORALES DE RIVERO TO FIVE YEARS IN PRISON.
(C) TWO "TERRORISTS" WERE SENTENCED TO SIX YEARS AND THREE AND A HALF YEARS EACH IN PRISON IN PARANA. MARIA DEL CARMEN OVALLE DETAINED IN SANTA FE IN 1975, AND HER NEPHEW, ANGEL EDGARDO DIAZ, ALSO DETAINED IN 1975 WERE FOUND GUILTY OF POSSESSION OF SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE. MS. OVALLE WAS GIVEN A MAXIMUM SENTENCE FOR BEING
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05307 02 OF 03 292056Z

RESIDENT IN A HOUSE (ALTHOUGH ABSENT AT THE TIME) WHERE THE SECURITY FORCES SEARCHED AND FOUND THE LITERATURE. HER NEPHEW WAS SENTENCED TO A LESSER SENTENCE FOR BEING RESIDENT AND CARETAKER OF THE HOUSE AT THE TIME OF THE SECURITY FORCE SWEEP. MR. DIAZ HAS BEEN SET FREE, HIS PREVIOUS TIME SERVED TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. IN THE SAME CASE, THE JUDGE IS SEEKING THE EXTRADITION OF LAWYER JOSE LEONARDO ACOSTA, PRESENTLY RESIDENT IN MEXICO, ON CHARGES OF HAVING KNOWLEDGE OF THIS CASE. (NOTE: ACOSTA'S NAME FIGURES ON A LIST SUBMITTED BY THE NEW YORK CITY BAR ASSOCIATION AS A DETAINEE HERE IN ARGENTINA.)

11. (U) CHARGES AGAINST POLICE -----
(A) PRESS REPORTS STATE THAT TWO POLICE OFFICERS SERVING AS WARDENS OF WOMEN PRISONERS IN SANTA FE PROVINCE ARE

BEING HELD FOR ARRAIGNMENT BECAUSE OF A COMPLAINT BY A WOMAN PRISONER, 7LEMA CARMEN MARTINEZ, WHO WAS MISTREATED BY THE TWO WHILE BEING TRANSFERRED TO A HOSPITAL BECAUSE OF ILLNESS. THE TWO OFFICER, ONE A CHAUFFEUR, TOOK A CIRCUITOUS ROUTE TO THE HOSPITAL AND ARE CHARGED WITH MISTREATMENT OF MS. MARTINEZ ENROUTE.
(B) ON JUNE 27 LA NACION REPORTED THAT A POLICE OFFICER, LUIS MARCOS MINCOFF, WAS SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS IN PRISON IN CORDOBA FOR AN AUGUST 1978 INCIDENT WHERE HE BROKE INTO AND ENTERED A RESIDENCE, MADE THREATS, THREATENED BODILY HARM, ILLEGALLY DEPRIVED A PERSON OF HIS LIBERTY AND WOUNDED THE PERSON. MINCOFF BROKE INTO THE RESIDENCE OF MRS. NIEVES PAREDES DE MONTIEL LOOKING FOR HIER SON, JUAN RAMON; LATER LOCATING THE YOUTH, HE HIT HIM AND THREATENED HIM, AND AT ONE POINT PULLED THE TRIGGER OF HIS REVOLVER, BUT THE GUN DIDN'T FIRE. MONCOFF WAS TRYING TO LOCATE TWO PERSONS WHO CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONVICTION OF A POLICE EMPLOYEE THROUGH JUAN RAMON.

12. (U) BOMB EXPLODES IN SANTA FE PROVINCE -----
[redacted]

[redacted]

THE BUENOS AIRES PRESS REPORTED THAT ON JUNE 27 A BOMB EXPLODED UNDER THE CAR OF A JUDGE IN ROSARIO, SANTA FE PROVINCE, WHO WAS INVOLVED IN INVESTIGATING THE CASE OF SEVERAL ROSARIO POLICEMEN WHO WERE ACCUSED OF BEATING A GROUP OF PRISONERS. THE CAR WAS PARKED IN FRONT OF THE JUDGE'S HOUSE AT THE TIME OF THE INCIDENT.

13. (U) NORMA KENNEDY TRIED AND RELEASED -----
THE ARGENTINE PRESS REPORTS THAT NORMA KENNEDY, A FORMER PERONIST HEAD OF A SECTION OF A MINISTRY OF SOCIAL WELFARE ("MESAS DE TRABAJO PERONISTAS"--A SORT OF STOREFRONT STATE EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY AGENCY), WAS SENTENCED TO TWO YEARS IN PRISON AND PERPETUAL LOSS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ON CHARGES OF MISUSE OF FUNDS. THE TWO YEAR PRISON SENTENCE TOOK INTO ACCOUNT TIME ALREADY SERVED, AND MS. KENNEDY HAS BEEN ORDERED RELEASED FROM CUSTODY.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05307 03 OF 03 060037Z
ACTION ARA-15

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[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 5307

14. (U) FEDERAL POLICE CONDUCTING CENSUS IN BUENOS AIRES -----
THE JUNE 23RD PRESS REPORTS THAT THE FEDERAL POLICE HAVE RELEASED A COMMUNIQUE STATING THAT THE POLICE COMMISSARIATS ARE CONDUCTING A CENSUS OF THE CITY, HOUSE OY HOUSE, IN ORDER TO BETTER KNOW THEIR DISTRICTS FOR SECUTITY REASONS, TO PREVENT CRIME AND MAINTAIN PUBLIC ORDER.
(U) EMBASSY COMMENT: THE COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED AFTER PERSONS IN THE ONCE AREA BECAME SUSPICIOUS AND REPORTED THE POLICE ACTION TO THE PRESS. WHILE THE REASON FOR THE CENSUS TAKING IS GIVEN AS A USUAL POLICE FUNCTION, THE NATURE OF THE INFORMATION SOUGHT, AS WELL AS THE QUESTIONS BEING ASKED IS UNKNOWN. EMD EMBASSY COMMENT.

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05307 03 OF 03 060037Z

15. (U) TELEVISION INTERFERENCE IN SANTA FE -----
LA PRENSA REPORTED THAT ON SATURDAY THE 23RD, AT 10:30 PM SANTA FE'S CHANNEL 13'S TRANSMISSION WAS INTERRUPTED

FOR 8 MINUTES. THE INTERRUPTING TRANSMISSION CONSISTE OF A "SUBVERSIVE PROCLAMATION" AND THE PLAYING OF THE PERONIST MARCH. LATER THAT EVENING AT MIDNIGHT A CAR PASSED THE THIRD SECTION POLICE STATION AT A HIGH VELOCITY. THE POLICE GAVE CHASE, BUT THE CAR DISAPPEARED.

16. [redacted] 1979 DISAPPEARANCES: RECAPITULATION -- INAMBASSADOR'S CABLE REPORTING HIS JUNE 25 CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL VIOLA (BUENOS AIRES 5172) THE GENERAL ASSERTED THAT THUS FAR IN 1979 HE KNEW OF ONLY 17 REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES. DISCOUNTING A SMALL NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO WERE APPARENTLY PICKED UP BY POLICE OR OTHER SECUTITY FORCES, INTERROGATED WHILE HELD INCOMMUNICADO, AND THEN WERE SURFACED UNDER PEN OR RELEASED, THE EMBASSY HAS NOW REPORTS OF 25 DISAPPEARANCES DURING 1979, 19 OR 20 OF WHICH CAN BE REGARDED AS FAIRLY CREDIBLY DOCUMENTED. HERE WAS THE PATTERN:
A. JANUARY. THE JANUARY LIST INCLUDES 9 PERSONS ABDUCTED IN MAR DEL PLATA AND STILL NOT SURFACED. (NOTE: IN AN EARLIER CONVERSATION VIOLA ADMITTED TO KNOWING OF 6 MAR DEL PLATA ABDUCTIONS. WE CANNOT EXPLAIN THIS DIFFERENCE EXCEPT TO SUGGEST THE GENERAL HAD
NOT BEEN FULLY BRIEFED OR THAT
3 PEOPLE ON OUR LIST MAY HAVE ABSENTED THEMSELVES WHEN NEWS OF THEIR PST COMPANIONS' ABDUCTIONS REACHED THEM.) ALL WERE REPORTEDLY MEMBERS OF PARTIDO DE TRABAJADORES SOCIALISTAS. THEY WERE:
MANZA, JULIO MARTIRE
[redacted]
[redacted]

MOLINA, DONALD DAVID
PRADO, ANGEL ALBERTO
RODRIGUEZ, MARIO GERMAN
RODRIGUET, JUAN
ROMOLI, ANA MARIA
SASSO, MARIO
SCHIPANNI DE SASSO, NORMAN
SCIUCA DE RUIZ, PALMIRA
IN ADDITION THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PERONIST BUSINESSMAN ANTONIO HECTOR ABRALES WAS WIDELY PUBLISHED HERE BECAUSE OF HIS PROMINENCE IN BUSINESS AND EARLIER TIES WITH THE PERONIST PARTY. HORACIO AGUILERA'S DISAPPEARANCE WAS ONLY RECENTLY REPORTED IN A LIST

PUBLISHED BY THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
AND WE HAVE NO FURTHER DETAILS. WE HAVE COUNTED IN
THE DISAPPEARED CATEGORY ALSO OSCAR OYARZUN MANZO,
A CHILEAN CITIZEN WHO APPARENTLY WAS ABDUCTED ON
JANUARY 26 AND WAS FOUND DEAD ON JANUARY 31, IN
CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CAUSED THE (COMMUNIST LINKED)
"LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" TO PROTEST THE DISAPPEARANCE
AS A HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION.
THRRSONS WERE APPARENTLY ABDUCTED AND THEN
SURFACED; LUSI ALBERTO BARALDI AND GUILLERMO
PREZ APPEARED UNDER PEN IN EARLY FBRUARY IN LA
PLATA PRISON; JOURNALIST JORGE FONTVECCHIA SURFACED AND
REFUSED TO DISCUSS HIS WHEREABOUTS DURING THE
SEVERAL DAYS HE WAS MISSING. TOTAL: 12
B. FEBRUARY. ONE REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE,THAT OF
PARAGUAYAN CITIZEN MARIO RAMIREZ, TURNED OUT TO BE
AN ARR T FOR SUBVERSION (SEE BUENOS AIRES 2444).
C. MARCH. DURING MARCH THREE PERSONS WERE REPORTED
DISAPPEARED IN TIGRE (EDY BARRIONUEVO, JOSE SOSA
AND JORGE ALBERTO STESSER). ALL TURNED UP LOCALLY
ARRESTED ON MARCH 29, 1979. THE DISAPPEARANCE OF
ROBERTO BARREIROS AND HIS WIFE MARIA ROSA CONTINUES
TO BE A MYSTERY EVEN THOUGH THE COUPLE HAS REPORTEDLY
[redacted]
[redacted]

COMMUNICATED WITH MR. BARREIROS' MOTHER. TOTAL: 2
D. APRIL. THE DISPPEARANCE OF JULIO CESAR ABRUZZESE
AND THELMA DOROTY JARA DE CABEZAS WERE REPORTED TO
THE EMBASSY BY FAMILY MEMBERS AND GROUP OF FRIENDS.
THE DISAPPEARANCES OF MARIO MORRERO, JORGE SABADOR
GULLO AND ELBIO JOSE RODRIGUEZ WERE REPORTED ONLY
IN CABLES FROM THE DEPARTMENT AND HAVE NOT BEEN
LOCALLY SUBSTANTIATED. TOTAL: 5 (BUT THE NUMBER
IS "SOFT").
E. MAY. THE SIX MAY DISAPPEARANCES (SEE BUENOS
AIRES 4082) APPEAR CREDIBLY DOCUMENTED AND HAVE
BEEN WIDELY PUBLISHED. THEY ARE:
SNAIDER, JORGE V.
PEREZ BRANCATO, JORGE
MALOSOVSKY, HUGO
BELTONE, NOEMI GRACIELA
PEREZ, CARLOS ALBERTO
SILBER DE PEREZ, MIRTA
F. JUNE. WE HAVE NO REPORT OF DATE OF JUNE DIS-
APPEARANCES.

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O R 291926Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1322
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 981
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5308

E.O.12065: NA
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: SUPPLEMENT TO 6/28 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT

BUENOS AIRES PRESS REPORTED THAT A CIRCUIT JUDGE HAS ORDERED THE RELEASE OF A CHILEAN CITIZEN HELD IN JAIL FOR SIX MONTHS WITHOUT CHARGES, AND AT THE SAME TIME RAPPED THE ARMY HIGH COMMAND FOR "DELAYING REPLIES TO HABEAS CORPUS QUERIES". THE JUDGE, EMILIO GARCIA MENDEZ, CHARGED THAT THE ARMY HIGH COMMAND HAD REPEATEDLY FAILED TO REPLY TO INQUIRIES, AND WENT ON TO CHARGE THAT THIS CONSTITUTED A "FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION," THAT "NOBODY CAN BE ARRESTED WITHOUT A WARRANT FROM COMPETENT AUTHORITY," AND THAT IF THESE NORMS ARE VIOLATED CONSITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS "BECOME AN ILLUSION."
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05308 292124Z

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APPROVED BY ARA/ECA:CWRUSER
HA/HR:PFLOOD

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P 292037Z JUN 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 168165

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __.

E.O. 12065 GDS

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: JAIME LOKMAN CASE

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. RABBI ROSENTHAL OF ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE INFORMED DEPARTMENT OF THE TRANSFER OF JAIME LOKMAN TO RAWSON PRISON AND OF HIS REPORTED MEDICAL CONDITION. ROSENTHAL EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN THAT LOKMAN HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO DETENTION FACILITY THAT HAS BEEN GENERALLY USED FOR SUSPECTED HARDENED SUBVERSIVES AND THE ADDITIONAL DANGER THIS COULD POSE TO LOKMAN'S HEALTH.

3. ROSENTHAL REQUESTS THAT THE AMBASSADOR RAISE LOKMAN CASE WITH GOA OFFICIALS ON URGENT BASIS TO SEEK RECONSIDERATION OF DECISION TO TRANSFER HIM TO RAWSON AND ASK THAT HE BE TRANSFERRED TO BUENOS AIRES PRISON FACILITIES. CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05342 021902Z 23JUL 79 6759

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1335

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 5342

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CI PINS PGOV
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE

REF: SANTIAGO 4451

1. INFORMATION PROVIDED 6/28/79 BY AUSA EUGENE PROPPER, WASHINGTON, D. C. INDICATES MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY TOLD HIM THAT THE CHECK REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH THREE OF REFERENCED WAS WRITTEN IN OCTOBER, 1977, NOT 1978. IT WAS DRAWN TO PAY PLATIC SURGEON, DR. MIGUEL ZAHRI, FOR PLASTIC SURGERY ON TOWNLEY'S WIFE, MARIANA. TOWNLEY FURTHER ADVISED HE TOLD THE DOCTOR TO HOLD THE CHECK FOR SEVERAL MONTHS BUT LATTER CASHED IT AND, AS A RESULT, IT BOUNCED.

2. AUSA PROPPER PLANS TO SUBPOENA BANK RECORDS CONCERNING THIS TRANSACTION AND REQUESTS THAT NO DISSEMINATION BE MADE TO GOVERNMENT OF CHILE WITHOUT COORDINATION WITH HIS OFFICE.
CASTRO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemptions ____
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(List of Secret Detention Camps Compiled by French Embassy & Given us July 31/79 —

- Cárcel de Olmos

- Unidad 9 - LA PLATA - Pabellón 16

- Comisarías 5a. 8a. 9a. - LA PLATA

- Brigada de Investigaciones (calle 55 nº 12/13)

- Quilmes, base aeronautica "Las Malvinas"

- Arsenal de "Viejo Bueno" cerca de Monte Chingolo, dirección de La Plata

- Banfield (cercano al Puente la Noria)

- ARANA, pasando las vías del Ferrocarril, cerca de La Plata. (destroyed today).

- B.I.M. en La Plata en 122 y 50.

- Pereyra, estación de Ferrocarriles, en el parque sobre la Estrada a La Plata - Buenos Aires - Pertenece a la Armada.

- San Justo, base militar, fué dado en LA PRENSA, después de declaracion de una joven española desaparecida, liberada gracias al Rey Juan Carlos (visita en España). Número de personas desaparecidas en este lugar según ella : 12 a 16.

- Ezeiza - Puente 12 - Pertenece a la policía de la provincia.

- Bahía Blanca - Quinto Cuerpo.

- Azul - Regimiento del Segundo Cuerpo.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04576 01 OF 02 031647Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 SIL-01 LAB-04 COME-00
OMB-01 TRSE-00 /067 W
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O R 031556Z JUL 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3885
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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DEPARTMENT PASS AFL-CIO

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: LABOR LAW: GOC OUTLINES LABOR PLAN LEGISLATION DUE THIS WEEK

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 4023, (B) SANTIAGO 4401

1. SUMMARY: OVER NATIONAL TV NET, LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA OUTLINED THE NEW LABOR PLAN TO BE PUBLISHED SOME TIME THIS WEEK. THE LEGISLATION CONTAINS PROVISIONS FOR TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, ELECTIONS, AND AFFILIATION AND FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING BEGINNING AUGUST 16. THE NEW LEGISLATION WILL PERMIT MULTIPLE UNIONS TO BE CONSTITUTED WITHIN EACH PLACE OF WORK BY A MINIMUM OF TWENTY-FIVE WORKERS. STRIKES WILL BE LIMITED TO A MAXIMUM OF SIXTY DAYS, AFTER WHICH TIME STRIKERS NOTT ACCEPTING THE EMPLOYER'S CONTRACT OFFER MUST QUIT. EMPLOYERS ARE OBLIGED TO OFFER A CONTRACT CONTAINING FULL COST-OF-LIVING INCREASES. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS ONLY FOR INCREASES TO THIS MINIMUM POSITION. THE MINISTER ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE LABOR PLAN WOULD CONTAIN SOME PROVISIONS TO ENCOURAGE EMPLOYMENT OF OLDER PERSONS, TO STANDARDIZE REGULATIONS GOVERNING TRADE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04576 01 OF 02 031647Z

UNIONS AND EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, AND TO RESTRICT THE MONOPOLY POWER OF BOTH LABOR AND BUSINESS. END SUMMARY

2. ON JULY 1, LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA ANNOUNCED THAT THE LABOR PLAN PROMISED ON JANUARY 2 HAD BEEN SIGNED BY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND WOULD BE SENT TO THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC ON JULY 2. THE COMPTROLLER IS EX-

PECTED TO PUBLISH THE NEW LAWS LATER THIS WEEK. WE WILL BE REPORTING AND ANALYZING THE NEW LEGISLATION AS IT COMES OUT. THE MAIN POINTS OF THE PINERA SPEECH, LISTED BELOW, DO NOT CONSTITUTE A COMPLETE OR SYSTEMATIC SUMMARY OF THE LABOR PLAN.

3. FREE ASSOCIATION:
--FULL FREEDOM FOR EACH WORKER TO JOIN OR NOT JOIN A TRADE UNION OF HIS CHOICE WITHIN HIS FIELD OF WORK.

--WORKERS MAY JOIN ONLY TRADE UNIONS ORGANIZED WITHIN THEIR PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT.

-- SEVERAL TRADE UNIONS MAY EXIST IN ANY PLACE OF WORK WITH A MINIMUM OF TWENTY-FIVE MEMBERS EACH, REPRESENTING AT LEAST 10 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE. IN BUSINESSES OR FARMS WITH LESS THAN TWENTY-FIVE PERSONS EMPLOYED, WORKERS MAY FORM TRADE UNIONS WITH AS FEW AS EIGHT MEMBERS.

--ONCE ORGANIZED, A TRADE UNION IS LEGALLY CONSTITUTED WITH THE SIMPLE DEPOSIT OF ITS CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAYS WITH THE LABOR INSPECTOR OF THE LABOR MINISTRY. THE INSPECTOR MAY NOTT REFUSE JURIDICAL IDENTITY (PERSONA JURIDICA). FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS EN[illegible] THE SAME PRIVILEGE. (THIS REPRESENTS AN EAS-
LI[illegible]ALUSE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04576 01 OF 02 031647Z

ING OF PREVIOUS REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS.)

-- TRADE UNIONS ARE PERMITTED TO MANAGE THEIR OWN FUNDS WITHOUT GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION AND USE WHATEVER BANK THEY CONSIDER BEST TO DEPOSIT FUNDS. FORMERLY, A LABOR INSPECTOR HAD TO SIGN OFF ON ALMOST ALL DISBURSEMENTS AND ALL ORGANIZATIONS HAD TO MAINTAIN THEIR FUNDS IN THE BANCO DEL ESTADO.

4. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING:
-- THE FIRST ROUND OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WILL BEGIN ON AUGUST 16, 1979, AND END ON APRIL 17, 1980, ACCORDING TO A SCHEDULE TO BE PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT. TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY.

- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WILL TAKE PLACE BY COMPANY AND NOTT BY AREA OF ACTIVITY, SECTOR OR PROVINCE. (THERE MAY BE EXCEPTIONS FOR MARITIME AND COPPER WORKERS).

-- EMPLOYERS ARE REQUIRED TO OFFER A CONTRACT CONTAIN-
ING WAGE INCREASES TO THE FULL AMOUNT OF THE COST-
OF-LIVING INCREASE (RATE OF INFLATION). BARGAINING
WILL BE FOR INCREASES ABOVE THIS BASE.

-- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WILL BE BETWEEN THE EMPLOYER
AND ONE OR ALL OF THE TRADE UNIONS ORGANIZED WITHIN
THE COMPANY JOINTLY OR SEPARATELY, AS AGREED UPON
BETWEEN THE EMPLOYER AND THE UNIONS CONCERNED.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04576 02 OF 02 031701Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
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OMB-01 TRSE-00 /067 W
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INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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5. STRIKES:
-- STRIKES ARE PROHIBITED FOR NATIONAL AND MUNICIPAL
EMPLOYEES AND IN COMPANIES WHERE A STRKE WOULD
CAUSE GRAVE DANGER TO THE HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF
THE POPULACE, TO THE ECONOMY, OR TO THE NATIONAL
SECURITY. IN ORDER TO CLARIFY THE RESTRICTED
APPLICATION OF THIS PROHIBITION, THE GOVERNMENT WILL
ISSUE A LIST OF FIRMS IN WHICH THE STRIKE WEAPON IS
ILLEGAL. IN THESE CASES COMPULSORY ARBITRATION WILL
GOVERN.

-- IN OTHER FIRMS, STRIKES ARE PERMITTED AFTER A PERIOD
OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FOR A PERIOD NOTT TO EXCEED
SI TY DAYS.

-- AFTER SIXTY DAYS OF STRIKING, WORKERS MUST EITHER AC-
CEPT MANAGEMENT'S LAST OFFER OR QUIT: WHETHER AND
HOW FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS MAY TAKE TPLACE AFTER THE
60 DAY PERIOD IS UNCLEAR. DURING A STRIKE, EMPLOYERS

ARE PERMITTED TO HIRE OTHER WORKERS TO FULFILL
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04576 02 OF 02 031701Z

STRIKERS' JOBS, BUT NOTT TO CANCEL THE STRIKERS' CONTRACTS.

--STRIKES MUST BE ~~VOTED~~ UPON BY SECRET BALLOT BY AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNION CONCERNED.

6. ELECTIONS:
-- ELECTIONS ARE PERMITTED IN TRADE UNIONS NINETY DAYS AFTER A CONTRACT IS SIGNED.

-- IN UNIONS HAVING AFFILIATES FROM MORE THAN ONE COMPANY (E.G., ACTORS, CHAUFFEURS, JUSICIANS, ETC.), ELECTIONS MAY BEGIN WITHIN NINETY DAYS OF THE PUBLICATION OF THIS LAW.

-- IN UNION WHICH ELECTED NEW LEADERS UNDER DL 2376 (IN OCTOBER, 1978), NEW ELECTIONS MAY BE HELD ONLY IF THE PRESENT UNION LEADERS ARE CENSURED. OTHERWISE, THESE LEADERS MAY COMPLETE THE FOUR YEAR TERM PRESCRIBED.

-- ALL OTHER UNION LEADERS MAY REMAIN IN THEIR PRESENT POSITIONS FOR ONE MORE YEAR WITHOUT ELECTIONS.

7. OTHER PROVISIONS:
-- THERE WILL BE PROVISIONS ENCOURAGING EMPLOYERS TO HIRE WORKERS OVER 55.

--THE LABOR PLAN WILL BE COMPLEMENTED BY REGULATIONS TO APPLY THE SAME CRITERIA TO EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS AS TO RADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS.

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04576 02 OF 02 031701Z

-- PINERA PROMISED THAT ANTIMONOPOLY LEGISLATION, AFFECTING BUSINESS AS WELL AS LABOR, WILL BE APPLIED MORE STRICTLY.

8. COMMENT: CHILE'S TRADE UNIONISTS WILL PROBABLY FIND ACCEPTABLE THE PROVISIONS PROVIDING FOR LEGAL RECONGNITION

OF UNIONS, NO CONTROL OVER TRADE UNION FUNDS, AN EMPLOYER OBLIGATION TO OFFER A CONTRACT BASED UPON 100 PERCENT OF THE COST-OF-LIVING, AND FUTURE ELECTIONS. THEY AR LIKELY TO HAVE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES, HOWEVER, WITH, THE PROVISIONS PROHIBITING FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS FROM ENGAGING IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, RESTRICTING MONOPLISTIC PRACTICES LIMITING STRIKE EFFECTIVENESS BY ALLOWING EMPLOYERS TO FILL STRIKERS' JOBS DURING SIXTY DAY PERIOD AND ELIMINATING THE RIGHT TO AN EXCLUSIVE BARGAINING AGENT. SMALL BUSINESSMEN (TRUCK OWNERS AND SMALL FARMERS) APPEAR UPSET BY THE REFERENCE TO ANTIMONOPOLY PROVISIONS IN THE LAW AS THEY MAY RESTRICT THEIR FEDERATIONS' ABILITY TO SET FREIGHT CHARGES AND AGRICULTURAL PRICES. OTHER BUSINESSMEN HAVE EXPRESSED SOME UNHAPPINESS WITH THE PROVISIONS FOR FORMING UNIONS WITH AS FEW AS EIGHT WORKERS AND ARE CONCERNED THAT THE SIXTY DAY CUT-OFF FOR STRIKES WILL PROVE UNWORKABLE AND THEREFORE UNDESIRABLE.
LANDAU

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04589 031733Z
ACTION SS-25

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EXDIS

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

E. O. 12065: GDS 7/3/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: (C) LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ETCHEBERRY ASKS FOR ONE WEEK POSTPONEMENT

1. ENTIRE TEXT CONFIDENTIAL.

2. ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY CALLED ME TODAY AND SAID THAT WHEN THE COURT CONVENES TOMORROW, JULY 4, HE WILL ASK FOR A ONE-WEEK DELAY.

3. ETCHEBERRY EXPLAINED THAT MIRANDA CARRINGTON HAD JUST FILED A 50-PAGE BRIEF DEALING WITH PROCEDURAL MATTERS.MIRANDA QUESTIONED A BORQUEZ DECISION RELATING TO THE ADMISSABILITY OF TOWNLEY'S EVIDENCE AND THE WEIGHT THAT SHOULD BE ASSESSED. THE DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL BORQUEZ IN HIS RULING DECLARED TOWNLEY'S EVIDENCE ADMISSABLE BUT ACCORDING TO ETCHEBERRY HIS LEGAL REASONING WAS POOR.

4. ETCHEBERRY HAS NOW DECIDED TO PREPARE HIS OWN WRITTEN BRIEF WHICH HE WILL SUBMIT TO THE COURT PRIOR TO THE HEARING WHICH

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04589 031733Z

NOW MUST START JULY 11. NO FURTHER POSTPONEEMENTS ARE POSSIBLE AS THE LAW ALLOWS ONLY THREE REQUESTS AND ALL HAVE BEEN TAKEN UP.
LANDAU

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7/5/79

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REPUBLICA DE CHILE
MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Nº 09724

El Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores saluda muy atentamente a la Embajada de los Estados Unidos de América y tiene el agrado de transmitirle la siguiente petición formulada por el Fiscal Militar ad-hoc, General de Brigada, señor [illegible] go Sinclair M.

"En causa Nº [illegible], tramitada ante este Tribunal, se ha dispuesto oficiar a US. con el objeto de que se sirva disponer la adopción de las medidas del caso que permitan obtener de la Embajada de los Estados Unidos en Chile, toda información relativa a la identidad de las personas que en el año 1976, en los meses de Junio, Julio y Agosto aproximadamente pertenecían o trabajaban para la organización que podría responder a la denominación de "C. I.A. - CHILE".

Esta diligencia debe practicarse con el fin de esclarecer los hechos investigados".

El Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores hace propicia esta oportunidad para reiterar a la Embajada de los Estados Unidos de América las seguridades de su más alta y distinguida consideración.

SANTIAGO, - 5 JUL. 1979

ACTION
BY
DATE

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JUL 6 - 1979

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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(N4085a)

No. 79/12061-1

United States of America

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

To whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I certify That the document hereunto annexed is under the seal of the District of Columbia and that such seal is entitled to full faith and credit.*

In testimony whereof, I, Warren Christopher, Acting Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Authentication Officer of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this sixth day of July, 1979.

* FOR THE CONTENTS OF THE ANNEXED DOCUMENT THE DEPARTMENT ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY

Warren Christopher
Acting Secretary of State.

By [illegible]
Authentication Officer, Department of State.

Certificate not valid if it is removed or altered in any way whatsoever

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE (1979—O-279-064)

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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Serial № 36402

District of Columbia

Washington, D. C., July 6 *, 19*79

all whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

tify that CAROL N. WITKOWSKI

ame is signed to the accompanying paper, is now, and was at the time of signing

, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia duly commissioned and

ness whereof, I, JUANITA ALSTON

Clerk

Notary Public of the District of Columbia, has hereunto caused the Seal of the District of Columbia to be affixed on the day and year first above written.

Chief Notary Public Clerk

J-91503

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VERIFICATION

MARCELO MONTECINO, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a professional translator and that the foregoing "Demanda (Modificada) por Conducta Constitutiva de Delito Civil en Violacion del Derecho Internacional: por Conspiracion Para Privar de Derechos Civiles: por Causar Muerte a Ortos: por Agresion y Vias de Hecho: Se Solicita Un Jurado" and "Notificacion en Juicio Civil" are true and accurate Spanish translations of the attached "First Amended Complaint for Tortious Conduct in Violation of Law of Nations; Conspiracy to Deprive of Civil Rights; Wrongful Death; Assault and Battery; Jury Demand" and "Summons in Civil Action."

MARCELO MONTECINO

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of July, 1979

Carol M. Wittkowski
Notary Public

My Commission Expires Feb. 28, 1982

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Notificación en juicio civil

Green, J.

CORTE DISTRITAL DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
PARA EL DISTRITO DE COLUMBIA

Expendiente en juicio civil
num. 78-1477

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, y otros)
)
demandante)
)
contra)
)
CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES)
(anteriormente DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA)
NACIONAL, tambien conocide por la sigla)
DINA), y otros)
)
demandado)

Al demandado arriba mencionado: Armando Fernandez Larios

Usted es notificado y requerido de entregar a Michael E. Tigar, abogado del demandante, cuya direccion es

Suite 201
1302 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

una contestación de la demanda que aquí se le entrega adjunta, dentro del plazo de 20 días después de que se le haya practicado esta notificación, excluyendo el día en que se practicó la notificación. Si usted no lo hiciera, se decidirá en su rebeldía acerca de lo requerido en la demanda.

James F. Davey
Official de la Corte

Firmado:
Oficial alterno

[Sello de la Corte)

Fecha:

Nota: Esta notificación se practica conforme a la Norma 4 de las Normas Federales de Procedimiento Civil.

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N 78-1477

CORTE DISTRITAL DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
PARA EL DISTRITO DE COLUMBIA

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, y otros

contra

CONTRO NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES (anteriormente DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL, tambiém conocide por la sigla DINA) y otros

NOTIFICACION EN JUICIO CIVIL

Contestable no después de 20 días con posterioridad a su recepción.

Michael E. Tigar
Abogado de la parte demandante

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EN LA CORTE DISTRITAL DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
PARA EL DISTRITO DE COLUMBIA

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER
4314 36th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
234-9382

MICHAEL MAGGIO,
en representación de
Orlando Letelier
1803 Newton Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
265-9500

CHRISTIAN A. LETELIER,
JOSE I. LETELIER,
FRANCISCO J. LETELIER
JUAN PABLO LETELIER,
por sí y en representación de
Ronni Karpen Moffitt,
12413 Falls Road
Potomac, Maryland 20854
234-9382

MURRAY H. KARPEN e
HILDA KARPEN,
31 Belmont Place
Passaic, New Jersey 07055
(201) 777-8748,

Demandantes,

contra

CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES (anteriormente DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL, también conocida por la sigla DINA), LA REPUBLICA DE CHILE, PEDRO ESPINOZA BRAVO, JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SUPULVEDA, ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS, MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY, ALVIN ROSS DIAZ, VIRGILIO PAZ ROMERO, JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ ESQUIVEL, GUILLERMO NOVO SAMPOL, IGNACIO NOVO SAMPOL y persona o personas aún no individualizades,

Demandados.

GREEN, J.

Juicio civil num. 78-1477

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IAB & BUFFONE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

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DEMANDA (MODIFICADA) POR CONDUCTA CONSTITUTIVA DE DELITO CIVIL EN VIOLACION DEL DERECHO INTERNACIONAL: POR CONSPIRACION PARA PRIVAR DE DERECHOS CIVILES: POR CAUSAR MUERTE A ORTOS: POR AGRESION Y VIAS DE HECHO: SE SOLICITA UN JURADO

Los demandantes sostienen que:

1. Esta Corte tiene jurisdicción para conocer de esta demanda en virtud del Código 28 de los E.E.U.U. §§ 1330, 1331, 1332, 1343(1), 1343(2), 1350, 1602-11; Código 18 de los E.E.U.U. § 112 con respecto a la persona de Orlando Letelier, una persona amparada internacionalmente conforme se define en el Código 18 de los E.E.U.U. § 1116, Código 42 de los E.E.U.U. § 1985(3), y las doctrinas sobre jurisdicción accesoria. La cuantía de la causa excede la suma de diez mil dólares ($10,000.00), intereses y costas exclusive. Ninguno de los actos que se imputan supone el ejercicio de una función privativa de la República de Chile ni de ninguno de sus organismos o agencias.

2. La demandante Isabel Morel de Letelier demanda por sí y como viuda de su difunto marido, Orlando Letelier. Ella y Christian A. Letelier, José I. Letelier, Francisco J. Letelier, y Juan Pablo Letelier, estos cuatro últimos, hijos de Orlando Letelier, son nacionales de la República de Chile y no lo son de los Estados Unidos. El demandante Michael Maggio demanda como representante de Orlando Letelier. Michael Maggio es ciudadano de los Estados Unidos y del Distrito de Columbia. El demandante Michael Moffitt demanda por sí y como viudo y representante de su difunta cónyuge, Ronni Karpen Moffitt. Michael Moffitt es ciudadano de los Estados Unidos y del Estado de Maryland. Murray H. Karpen e Hilda Karpen, padres de Ronni Karpen Moffitt son ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos y del Estado de New Jersey.

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3. En cuanto esta es una demanda por causar muerte a otros, son aplicables las disposiciones del Código 16 del Distrito de Columbia §§ 1701-02. En su calidad de representantes, los demandantes Isabel Morel de Letelier, Michael Maggio y Michael Moffitt entablan esta acción de acuerdo al Código 16 del Distrito de Columbia §§ 101, 1701-02. La eventual prescripción, si la hubiera, ha sido suspendida por el hecho de que los individuos demandados han estado fugados y por el hecho de que los demandados habían callado u ocultado la responsabilidad que les cabe en las muertes de Orlando Letelier y Ronni Karpen Moffitt sólo vino esa responsabilidad a establecerse cuando se reveló, en o alrededor de junio de 1978, el papel que los demandados habían jugado en los hechos en cuestión.

4. La República de Chile ("Chile") es un Estado extranjero. La Central Nacional de Informaciónes ("CNI") es una institución o agencia de un Estado extranjero, de acuerdo a como se define en el Código 28 de los E.E.U.U. § 1603(b). CNI era conocida anteriormente como Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional ("DINA"), también ésta una institución o agencia de un Estado extranjero según se define en el Código 28 de los E.E.U.U. § 1603(b). Los demandados Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo y Armando Fernández Larios son o fueron en épocas pertinentes al caso, funcionarios y agentes de CNI y DINA, y son demandados personalmente y además en su calidad de tales funcionarios y agentes. El Estado de Chile, CNI y DINA, actuando a través de los individuos demandados llevaron a cabo y ejecutaron los actos ilegales que se exponen en esta demanda, incluyendo, aunque no exclusivamente, las acciones de ordenar, dirigir, obtener la participación y financiar las actividades de

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

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los individuos demandados. El Estado de Chie y el CNI no tienen fuero o inmunidad en esta causa, en razón de que la acción es de un tipo enumerado en el Código 28 de los E.E.U.U. § 1605(a)(5).

5. Los individuos demandados son ciudadanos de un Estado extranjero o bien de un Estado de los Estados Unidos que no es el Estado de Maryland, el Estado de New Jersey o el Distrito de Columbia.

6. Con respecto a cada demanda de reparación señalada más adelante, todos los demandados mencionados actuaron concertadamente entre ellos y con un número do otros implicados cuyas identidades no se conocen aún. Cuando sepan las identidades de estos últimos los demandantes solicitarán authorización para agregar sus nombres como demandados.

PARA UNA PRIMERA DEMANDA

7. A partir de y alrededor de 1976 hasta el presente (inclusive), todos los demandados conspiraron y los individuos demandados, o algunos de ellos, actuando concertadamente con el Estado de Chile y el CNI ingresaron de incógnito a Estados y Territorios de los Estados Unidos, incluyendo (aunque no exclusivamente) a los Estados de New York, New Jersey y Florida y al Distritito de Columbia, con el propósito de privar a Orlando Letelier, Ronni Karpen Moffitt y otras personas opuestas a las acciones ilegales e inhumanas del Gobierno de Chile y sus agentes, de la igual protección ante la ley y con el propósito de obstaculizar que las autoridades constituídas de los Estados y del Distrito mencionados dieran y aseguraran la igual protección ante la ley. En la prosecución de esta asosiación y conspiración ilegales y para privar a Orlando Letelier y Ronni Karpen Moffitt de, entre otros, sus derechos y privilegios a la libertad de expresión, de prensa, de asociación y de petición,

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los demandados provocaron la muerte de Orlando Letelier y Ronni Karpen Moffitt, el 21 de Septiembre de 1976, en el Distrito de Columbia.

PARA UNA SEGUNDA DEMANDA

8. Se incorporan aquí los párrafos 2 a 6 de esta demanda los que pasan por esta referencia a ser parte de este punto.

9. Con fecha 21 de Septiembre de 1976, a alrededor de esa fecha, en el Distrito de Columbia, los demandados, en forma voluntaria, maliciosa, deliberada e intencional agredieron y recurrieron a vías de hecho contra Orlando Letelier y Ronni Karpen Moffitt, causándoles la muerte.

PARA UNA TERCERA DEMANDA

10. Se incorporan aquí los párrafos 2 a 6 de esta demanda los que pasan por esta referencia a ser parte de este punto.

11. A partir de o alrededor de agosto de 1976 y hasta el 21 de Septiembre de 1976 o alrededor de esa fecha, en el Distrito de Columbia y en otros lugares los demandados, negligente y temerariamente y con razones para creer que su conducta creaba un grave riesgo de muerte para Orlando Letelier, Ronni Karpen Moffitt otros, transportaron y acordaron transportar explosivos y colocarlos y detonarlos dentro del Distrito de Columbia, las consecuencias de cuyos actos resultaron en la muerte de Orlando Letelier y Ronni Karpen Moffitt.

PARA UNA CUARTA DEMANDA

12. Se incorporan aquí los párrafos 2 a 6 de esta demanda los que pasan por esta referencia a ser parte de este punto.

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13. A partir de o alrededor de 1975 y hasta el 21 de septiembre de 1976 inclusive, los demandados violaron las normas de derecho internacional incluyendo (aunque no exclusivamente) actos de tortura, privación ilegal de libertad y asesinato, con el fin de perpetuar el régimen militar de la República de Chile y para silenciar a sus opositores. Debido a la oposición que Orlando Letelier, embajador y ex-ministro de legítimo Gobierno de Chile, y sus asociados hacían contra las políticas del presente Gobierno de Chile, y debido a las actividades de Orlando Letelier y sus asociados, en ejercicio de sus derechos protegidos por el derecho internacional, para procurar y obtener acceso a organizaciones y agencias internacionales, personal y agencias diplomáticas, organismos gubernamentales y otras entidades reconocidas bajo el derecho internacional, para llevar adelante una campaña, ajustada a la ley, por la restauración de un gobierno democrático en la República de Chile, los demandados asesinaron y provocaron el asesinato de Orlando Letelier y Ronni Karpen Moffitt.

PARA UNA QUINTO DEMANDA

14. Se incorporan aquí los párrafos 2 a 6 de esta demanda los que pasan por esta referencia a ser parte de este punto.

15. Con fecha 21 de septiembre de 1976 o alrededor de esa fecha, y dentro del Distrito de Columbia, los demandados atacaron, agredieron, hirieron y usaron de violencia contra Orlando Letelier, una persona amparada internacionalmente, y condujeron un violento ataque contra su vehículo, y facilitaron, instigaron, urgieron, aconsejaron, promovieron y causaron dichos actos, resultando directamente de los cuales, como los demandados podían razonablemente prever y de hecho previeron, la muerte de Orlando Letelier y Ronni Karpen Moffitt.

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16. A consecuencia de los actos ilegales expuestos en los párrafos 7 a 15, los demandantes han sufrido y continuarán sufriendo grave daño emocional, pérdida económica y perjuicios en un monto todavía no completamente determinado. Cuando dicho monto esté determinado, solicitaremos autorización para modificar esta demanda.

POR TANTO, los demandantes solicitan respetuosamente:

1. Una indemnización de perjuicios ascendiente a una suma que excede los diez mil dólares ($10,000.00) intereses y costas exclusive. El monto de los perjuicios no está aún completamente determinado. Cuando lo esté solicitaremos autorización para modificar esta demanda.

2. Una indemnización penal contra todos los demandados res que esten de acuerdo cos esos perjuicios en una cantidad que sera determinada.

3. El pago de honorarios de abogados y sus costas proccsales.

4. Toda otra justa reparación.

Firmado: Michael E. Tigar
TIGAR & BUFFONE,
Firma
1302 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 466-5470
Colegio de Abogados Unificado
(Unified Bar) número 103762

Los demandantes solicitan juicio por un jurado de doce en relación con todas las demandas que correspondan ser vistas de ese modo.

Firmado: Michael E. Tigar

LAW OFFICES
TIGAR & BUFFONE
SUITE 301
1302 18TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 466-5470

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United States District Court

FOR THE

~~District of Columbia~~ Green, J.

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 78-1477

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, et al.,

Plaintiff

v.

THE CENTRO NACIONAL DE INTELLIGENCIA (formerly DIRECCION DE INTELLIGENCIA NACIONAL, a/k/a DINA), et al.,

Defendant

SUMMONS

To the above named Defendant : ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Michael E. Tigar

plaintiff's attorney , whose address is 1302 18th Street, N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036

an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 20 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

JAMES F. DAVEY

Clerk of Court.

Deputy Clerk.

Date: [Seal of Court]

NOTE:—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

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RETURN ON SERVICE OF WRIT

I hereby certify and return, that on the day of 19 ,

I received this summons and served it together with the complaint herein as follows:

MARSHAL'S FEES

Travel ---- $ ----------

Service ---- ----------

United States Marshal.

By ----------

Deputy United States Marshal.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a this

day of , 19 .

[SEAL]

Note:—Affidavit required only if service is made by a person other than a United States Marshal or his Deputy.

No. 78-1477

United States District Court
FOR THE
District of Columbia

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, et al.,

v.

THE CENTRO NACIONAL DE INTELLIGENCIA (formerly DIRECCION DE INTELLIGENCIA NACIONAL, a/k/a DINA), et al.,

SUMMONS IN CIVIL ACTION

Returnable not later than 60 days after service.

Michael E. Tigar
Attorney for Plaintiff

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER,
4314 36th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
234-9382

MICHAEL MAGGIO,
as personal representative
of Orlando Letelier
1803 Newton Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
265-9500

CHRISTIAN A. LETELIER,
JOSE I. LETELIER,
FRANCISCO J. LETELIER,
JUAN PABLO LETELIER,
4314 36th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
234-9382

MICHAEL MOFFITT,
individually and a personal representative of Ronni Karpen Moffitt
12413 Falls Road
Potomac, Maryland 20854
234-9382

MURRAY H. KARPEN and
HILDA KARPEN,
31 Belmont Place
Passaic, New Jersey 07055
(201) 777-8748,

Plaintiffs,

v.

THE CENTRAL NACIONAL DE INFORMACIONES (formerly DIRECCION DE INTELIGENCIA NACIONAL, a/k/a DINA), THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE, PEDRO ESPINOZA BRAVO, JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS, MICHAEL VERNON TOWNLEY, ALVIN ROSS DIAZ, VIRGILIO PAZ ROMERO, JOSE DIONISIO SUAREZ ESQUIVEL, GUILLERMO NOVO SAMPOL, IGNACIO NOVO SAMPOL, JOHN DOES ONE through TEN,

Defendants.

Civil Action No.
78-1477

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FIRST AMENDED COMPLAINT FOR TORTIOUS CONDUCT IN VIOLATION OF LAW OF NATIONS; CONSPIRACY TO DEPRIVE OF CIVIL RIGHTS; WRONGFUL DEATH; ASSAULT AND BATTERY; JURY DEMAND

Plaintiffs allege:

1. This Court has jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. §§ 1330, 1331, 1332, 1343(1), 1343(2), 1350, 1602-11; 18 U.S.C. § 112 in respect of the person of Orlando Letelier, an internationally protected person as defined in 18 U.S.C. § 1116, 42 U.S.C. § 1985(3), and the pendent and ancillary jurisdiction doctrines. The amount in controversy exceeds the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars ($10,000.00), exclusive of interest and costs. None of the acts alleged involve the exercise of any discretionary function of the Republic of Chile or any of its agencies or instrumentalities.

2. Plaintiff Isabel Morel de Letelier sues individually and as widow of Orlando Letelier, deceased. She, Christian A. Letelier, Jose I. Letelier, Francisco J. Letelier, and Juan Pablo Letelier, the latter four being the sons of Orlando Letelier, are citizens of the Republic of Chile and are not citizens of the United States. Michael Maggio sues as personal representative of Orlando Letelier. He is a citizen of the United States and of the District of Columbia. Plaintiff Michael Moffitt sues individually and as widower and personal representative of Ronni Karpen Moffitt, deceased. He is a citizen of the United States and of the State of Maryland. Murray H. Karpen and Hilda Karpen, parents of Ronni Karpen Moffitt, are citizens of the United States and of the State of New Jersey.

3. To the extent that this is an action for wrongful death, the provisions of 16 D.C. Code §§ 1701-02 are applicable. In their representative capacities, plaintiffs Isabel Morel de

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Letelier, Michael Maggio and Michael Moffitt bring this action pursuant to 16 D.C. Code §§ 101, 1701-02. The statute of limitations, if any, is tolled by the individual defendants having been fugitives, and by the fact that responsibility of the defendants for the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt was concealed by defendants and not established until revelation of defendants' role in or about June 1978.

4. The Republic of Chile ("Chile") is a foreign state. The Central Nacional de Informaciones ("CNI") is an agency or instrumentality of a foreign state as defined in 28 U.S.C. § 1603(b). CNI was formerly known as the Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional ("DINA"), also an agency or instrumentality of a foreign state as defined in 28 U.S.C. § 1603(b). Defendants Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo and Armando Fernandez Larios are or were at relevant times officers and agents of CNI and DINA, and are sued individually and as such officers and agents. Chile, CNI and DINA, acting through the individual defendants, performed and caused the wrongful acts alleged in this complaint, including but not limited to commanding, directing, procuring and financing the activities of the individual defendants. Chile and CNI are not immune from suit herein, because the action is of a type enumerated in 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(5).

5. The individual named defendants are either citizens of a foreign state or of a state of the United States other than the States of Maryland, New Jersey or the District of Columbia.

6. With respect to each claim for relief set out below, all named defendants acted in concert with one another and with John Does One through Ten. Plaintiffs do not know the identity of John Does One through Ten, and when their identities

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are known, leave will be sought to add them as named defendants.

FOR A FIRST CLAIM

7. From in and about 1976 to and including the present, all defendants conspired and the individual defendants, or some of them, acting in concert with Chile and CNI went in disguise within States and Territories of the United States, including but not limited to the States of New York, New Jersey, and Florida, and the District of Columbia, for the purpose of depriving Orlando Letelier, Ronni Karpen Moffitt and other persons opposed to the lawless and inhumane actions of the government of the Republic of Chile and its agents of equal protection of the laws, and for the purpose of hindering the constituted authorities of the aforesaid States and District from giving and securing the equal protection of the laws. In furtherance of this unlawful combination and conspiracy, and to deprive Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt of the rights and privileges of, among others, freedom of speech, press, association, and petition, the defendants caused the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt on September 21, 1976, in the District of Columbia.

FOR A SECOND CLAIM

8. Paragraphs 2-6 of this complaint are incorporated herein and by reference made a part hereof.

9. On or about September 21, 1976 in the District of Columbia, the defendants willfully, maliciously, deliberately and intentionally committed an assault and battery upon Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, which caused their deaths.

FOR A THIRD CLAIM

10. Paragraphs 2-6 of this complaint are incorporated herein and by this reference made a part hereof.

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11. Beginning in or about August 1967 and continuing to on or about September 21, 1976, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, defendants negligently, recklessly, and with reason to believe that their conduct created a grave risk of death to Orlando Letelier, Ronni Karpen Moffitt, and others, transported and agreed to transport explosives and to place and detonate said explosives within the District of Columbia, which acts resulted in the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt.

FOR A FOURTH CLAIM

12. Paragraphs 2-6 of this complaint are incorporated herein and by this reference made a part hereof.

13. Beginning in or about 1975 and continuing to and including September 21, 1976, defendants violated the norms of the law of nations, including but not limited to acts of torture, unlawful confinement and assassination to perpetuate the military regime of the Republic of Chile and to silence those opposed to its policies. For and because of the opposition of Orlando Letelier, an ambassador and former minister of the lawful government of the Republic of Chile, and his associates, to the policies of the present government of the Republic of Chile, and because of the activities of Orlando Letelier and his associates, among other exercises of rights protected by the law of nations, in seeking and obtaining access to international organizations and agencies, diplomatic personnel and agencies, governmental bodies and other entities recognized under the law of nations to carry on a lawful campaign for the restoration of democratic government in the Republic of Chile, the defendants assassinated and caused the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt.

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FOR A FIFTH CLAIM

14. Paragraphs 2-6 of this complaint are incorporated herein and by this reference made a part hereof.

15. On or about September 21, 1976, within the District of Columbia, the defendants assaulted, struck, wounded, and offered violence to Orlando Letelier, an internationally protected person, and made a violent attack upon his means of transportation, and aided, abetted, counselled, advised, procured and caused said acts, as a proximate result of which, as the defendants could reasonably have foreseen and did foresee, Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt were killed.

16. Because of the wrongful acts alleged in paragraphs 7 through 15, the plaintiffs have suffered and will continue to suffer great emotional harm and financial loss and damage in an amount not yet completely determined, when said amount is determined leave will be sought to amend this complaint.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs pray:

1. For compensatory damages in an amount in excess of Ten Thousand Dollars ($10,000.00) exclusive of interest and costs. The amount of plaintiffs' damages are not yet completely determined, when said amount is determined leave will be sought to amend this complaint.

2. For punitive damages against all defendants amenable to such damages in an amount to be determined.

3. For attorneys fees and their costs of suit.

4. For such other relief as may seem just.

Michael E. Tigar
TIGAR & BUFFONE,
A Professional Corporation
1302 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 466-5470
Unified Bar No. 103762

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Plaintiffs demand trial by a jury of twelve as to all claims so triable.

Michael E. Tigar

LAW OFFICES
TAN & DUPONT
SUITE 700
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

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Pal R 7/27/79 (NLC093) (Q)

My comments on RUBIN'S article and PROPPERSs draft answer:

1.- According to Chilean law, he who forces or directly induces another person to commit a crime, is considered a principal author thereof, on a level with the actual killer, and receives the same penalty. This rule applies also to whom, having conspired to commit a crime, facilitates the means by which it is carried out.

2.- Conspiracy is not an independent crime under Chilean law. But if the intended crime is committed (or even attempted) the previous conspiracy is considered as a part of the homicide itself. On the other hand, extradition is sought in this case not only on the charde of conspiracy, but on three different charges of homicide as well.

3.- The possibility of considering these offences as political ones was not even raised in the Bórquez's decision, and would be contrary to Chilean treaty law and judicial precedent.

4.- Several provisions in the Chilean law grant a lenient treatment to informers that help the police and the courts. Some do even exempt them from any penalty whatsoever.

5.- It is outrageous to say that the extradition of the three officers is sought on the charge of "some sort of complicity" in the murder. That "sort of complicity" is nothing less than having conceived the whole scheme, having planned its details, having actually ordered the murders had having provided every means to carry it out.

If it is necessary to quote Chilean legal provisions and court decisions:

Par. 1: Chilean Penal Code, art. 15, nº 1º and 3º;

Par. 2: Chilean Penal Code, arts. 8 and 15, nº 2º and 3º.

Par. 3: Chilean Extradition Treaties with Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Perú and Venezuela (murder, even if politically motivated, is never considered a political crime); case Extradition of HECTOR CAMPORA ET AL., Chilean Suprema Court (1957), R.D.J. LIV, 4 - 197.

Par. 4: Chilean Penal Code, arts. 8, 11, 192, 495; State Security Act (Law 12927), art. 23-a .

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04736 01 OF 02 101604Z
ACTION ARA-15

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Release X Excise Deny
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Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4736

DEPARTMENT PASS AFL-CIO

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: REVISION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS DEALING SPECIFICALLY WITH LABOR

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 4576, (B) SANTIAGO 4694

1. SUMMARY: DECREE LAW 2755 CONTINUES THE PROCESS OF RE-DEFINING AND ELABORATING CONSTITUTIONAL NORMS GOVERNING LABOR. IT SUPPLANTS THE PERTINENT ARTICLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL ACT 3 OF 1976 WHICH HAD REPLACED THOSE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1925, AS AMENDED. FOR THE FIRST TIME LABOR LAW IS CONSTITUTIONALLY DECLARED TO APPLY EQUALLY TO ALL WOKERS AND THERE IS SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RIGHT (IN ACCORDANCE WITH ELIGIBILITY AS SET BY LAW). OTHER ADDITIONS: WORKERS CANNOT BE REQUIRED TO DROP UNION MEMBERSHIP AS A CONDITION FOR RETAINING THEIR JOBS; TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS ARE PROHIBITED FROM ENGAGING IN PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OR FROM HAVING PROFIT MAKING OBJECTIVES; THE STATE IS REQUIRED TO IDENTIFY IN ADVANCE THOSE ENTERPRISES IN WHICH STRIKES ARE ILLEGAL. END SUMMARY.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04736 01 OF 02 101604Z

2. DECREE LAW 2755 OF JULY 5 IS ONE OF SIX LAWS MAKING UP THE GOC'S LABOR PLAN (OTHER BEING REPORTED BY SEPTELS). ITS PURPOSE IS TO GIVE SOME ELEMENTS OF THE LABOR PLAN A CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS. OSTENSIBLY DL 2755 REPLACES ARTICLE 1 PARAGRAPHS 20 AND 22 OF CONSITUTIONAL ACT 3 OF SEPTEMBER 11, 1976. THOSE PROVISIONS HAD BEEN

SOMEWHAT FURTHER AMENDED IN THE DRAFT OF A NEW CONSITUTION NOW BEING REVIEWED BY THE COUNCIL OF STATE. ALTHOUGH TECNICALLY THERE CAN BE FURTEHR CHANGES BEFORE THE NEW CONSITUTION IS SUBMITTED TO A PLEBISCITE FOR APPROVAL, THE PRESENT INTENT IS TO INCORPORATE DL 2755 INTO THE FINAL DOCUMENT.

3. THE CONSTITUTION OF 1925, AS AMENDED THROUGH 1971, DEVOTED FIVE SHORT PARAGRAPHS TO LABOR RIGHTS. EVERY INDIVIDUAL HAD THE RIGHT TO A FREE CHOICE OF EMPLOYMENT AND TO AN INCOME THAT WOULD PROVIDE A DECENT LIVING AND A JUST PARTICIPATION IN THE PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR. WORKERS HAD THE RIGHT TO FORM UNIONS AND TO STRIKE. UNIONS, FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS COULD OBTAIN JURIDICAL IDENTITY SIMPLY BY REGISTERING THEIR STATUTES IN THE MANNER PRESCRIBED BY LAW. UNIONS WERE FREE TO CARRY OUT THEIR OWN OBJECTIVES. NO TYPE OF WORK OR ACTIVITY COULD BE PROHIBITED UNLESS IT WAS CONTRARY TO PUBLIC MORES, PUBLIC SECURITY OR HEALTH OR THE NATIONAL INTEREST, AND A SPECIFIC LAW SO DECLARED.

4. CONSTITUTIONAL ACT 3 ADDED A PROVISION THAT NO ONE COULD BE REQUIRED TO BELONG TO A UNION AS A CONDITION FOR HOLDING A GIVEN JOB (UNDER PRE-1973 LABOR LAW, BLUE COLLAR UNIONS ONCEL LEGALLY RECOGNIZED WERE OBLIGATORY FOR ALL WAGE EARNERS IN AN ENTERPRISE). THE COMPANY
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04736 01 OF 02 101604Z

("EMPRESA") WAS RECOGNIZED AS THE BASIC UNIT OF PRODUCTIVE HUMAN ACTIVITY. NEW OR GIVEN CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS FOR THE FIRST TIME WERE: PROVISIONS FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT BY CONCILIATION AND COMPULSORY ARBITRATION: A CLAUSE DENYING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE TO STATE AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS AS WELL AS THOSE WORKING IN PUBLIC UTILITIES OR WHERE THE HALTING OF WORK COULD CAUSE GRAVE DAMAGE TO HEALTH, PUBLIC SUPPLY OF NECESSARY COMMODITIES, THE ECONOMY OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY; A STIPULATION THAT TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE AUTONOMOUS AND SELF-FINANCED; AS SPECIFIED IN LAW AND WHEN REQUIRING UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IS OBLIGATORY.

5. DL 2755 FUTHER AMENDS THE LABOR PROVISIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL ACT IN THE FOLLOWING RESPECTS:
-- THERE IS AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT THAT ALL LABOR LAWS APPLY EQUALLY TO ALL CHILEAN WORKERS.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED AFL-CIO.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04736 02 OF 02 101607Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 4736

DEPARTMENT PASS AFL-CIO

-- THE PROVISION SAYING UNION MEMBERSHIP IS NOT A REQUIREMENT FOR HOLDING ANY JOB IS NOW BALANCED BY A CLAUSE SAYING THAT NO WORKER CAN BE REQUIRED TO ABANDON UNION MEMBERSHIP AS A CONDITION FOR RETAINING HIS JOB.

-- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS GIVEN CONSTITUTIONAL STAUTS FOR THE FIRST TIME; IT IS DESCRIBED AS A RIGHT OF THOSE WORKERS WHO ARE EXPRESSLY GRANTED AUTHORIZATION BY LAW TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY; THE LAW WILL ALSO SPECIFY THOSE AREAS ("CASOS") IN WHICH FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING MUST BE FOLLOWED BY COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

-- THE FORMULA PROSCRIBING STRIKES BY SOME WORKERS AND IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES REMAINS AS PREVIOUSLY, BUT THERE IS NOW A REQUIRMENT THAT THE LAWS SPECIFY THOSE COMPANIES WHOSE WORKERS CANNOT AVAIL THEMSELVES OF THE STRIKE WEAPON.

- THERE IS AN EXPLICIT PROHIBITION AGAINST TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS GETTING INVOLVED IN PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITES (WHILE NOT IN CONSTITUTIONAL ACT 3, THIS IDEA WAS ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFT NOW BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF STATE).

-- IN ADDITION TO THE CONSITITUIONAL ACT 3 REQUIRE-
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04736 02 OF 02 101607Z

MENT THAT UNIONS MUST BE AUTONOMOUS AND SELF-FINANCED, TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS ARE NOW PROSCRIBED FROM HAVING

PROFIT MAKING ACTIVITIES OR OBJECTIVES.

6. COMMENT: MANY OF THE IDEAS NOW GIVEN CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS WERE PREVIOUSLY INCLUDED IN LABOR LEGISLATION: FOR EXAMPLE, THE RIGHT TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY AND PROHIBITIONS AGAINST THE USE OF STRIKES BY SOME CATEGORIES OF WORKERS. THE ONLY ONES WHICH DID NOT EVEN HAVE LEGISLATIVE STATUS PRIOR TO THE NEW LABOR LAWS ARE THOSE REMOVING UNION MEMBERSHIP AS A REQUIREMENT FOR HOLDING ANY JOB, PROSCRIBING PROFIT MAKING OBJECTIVES FOR TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS AND PROBHITING THEM FROM POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. THE CLAUSE APPLYING LABOR LEGISLATION TO ALL WORKERS WAS MOTIVATED BY THE FACT THAT COPPER WORKERS SINCE 1971 HAVE BEEN UNDER A SEPARATE LAW WITH CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS. THE STATUS IS NOW REVOKED AND THE COPPER WORKER'S ORGANIZATIONS HAVE ONE YEAR IN WHICH TO COMPLY WITH THE RELEVANT PORTIONS OF THE NEW LABOR LEGISLATION.
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ORIGIN ARA-15

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APPROVED BY ARA:RGUZMA
ARA/AND:WKNEPPER
ARA/RPP:RBOOTH
LABOR:LAZORCHICK

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178330

E.O. 12065 GDS, 7/10/85 (R. DEBOLD)

TAGS: ELAB, CI

SUBJECT: CHILE: NEW LABOR LEGISLATION

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. JULY 10 NEW YORK TIMES CARRIES EXCEEDINGLY CRITICAL ARTICLE BY JUAN DE ONIS ON CHILE'S NEW LABOR DECREES. ARTICLE CLAIMS DECREES DRASTICALLY UNDERMINE RIGHTS OF ORGANIZED LABOR BY STRIPPING UNIONS OF ESTABLISHED RIGHTS TO DUES AND MANDATORY AFFILIATIONS, DISMANTLING EXISTING PEASANT UNIONS, AND CONSTRAINING STRIKES OR JOB ACTIONS.

3. ON JULY 9, PRIOR TO APPEARANCE OF DE ONIS ARTICLE, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR HAD DECIDED TO DELAY DECISION ON INVITING CHILEAN MINISTER OF LABOR PINERA TO WASHINGTON UNTIL CONVINCED THAT NEW CHILEAN LEGISLATION WOULD NOT MAKE INVITATION A SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT TO U.S. IN VIEW OF DE ONIS ARTICLE, WE CONCUR WITH DOL'S RELUCTANCE
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PAGE 02 STATE 178330

TO EXTEND INVITATION UNTIL IT HAS A CLEAR READING OF CHILEAN LABOR LEGISLATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILEAN LABOR. DOL OFFICIALS HOPE TO MEET WITH CHILEAN LABOR LEADERS WHEN LATTER VISIT WASHINGTON FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH AFL-CIO, REPORTEDLY TO TAKE PLACE THE WEEK OF JULY 15.

4. IN ORDER TO PUT DE ONIS ARTICLE IN PERSPECTIVE AND TO ANSWER POSSIBLE PRESS QUERIES, WE NEED EMBASSY'S COMMENTS ON ARTICLE SOONEST, AS WELL AS EMBASSY'S BEST PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF CHILE'S LABOR DECREES. PLEASE SEND NIACT IMMEDIATE. VANCE

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Department of State 7/11/79 INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05563 111926Z 5223 BUENOS 05563 111926Z

ACTION ARA-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1445
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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MEXICO CITY FOR NIXON

E.O. 12065 GDS 7-11-85 (THAYER, YVONNE) OR-P
TAGS ELAB, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT (U) SIX ARGENTINE LABOR LEADERS RELEASED; TRIACA RETURNS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3496

1. (U) SIX LABOR LEADERS JAILED SINCE APRIL 27 FOR CALLING A STRIKE WERE RELEASED FROM PREVENTIVE ARREST ON JULY 7 BY AN ARGENTINE APPEALS COURT. CITING "INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE" UNDER APPLICABLE LAW NO 21,400, THE COURT REVOKED THE PREVENTIVE ARREST ORDERS AGAINST ROBERTO GARCIA (TAXIS), ROBERTO DIGAN (TOBACCO WORKERS), RAUL RAVITTI (RAILWAY WORKERS), ENRIQUE MICO (GARMENT WORKERS), DEMETRIO LORENZO (FOOD WORKERS), AND JOSE LUIS CASTILLO (BOAT MECHANICS). THE COURT ORDERED THAT THE INVESTIGETION INTO POSSIBLE ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES COMMITTED BY THE SIX BE CONTINUED. THE SIX WERE THE ONLY ONES TURNED OVER FOR TRIAL AND THE LAST SIX TO BE RELEASED OF THE 30 LABOR LEADERS DETAINED IN LATE APRIL FOR THE STRIKE CALL.

2. (U) LABOR LEADER JORGE ALBERTO TRIACA, WHO REPRESENTED ARGENTINE LABOR UNIONS AT THE ILO MEETING IN GENEVA LAST MONTH, REFUTE OFFICIAL CRITICISM OF HIS DECLARATIONS MADE IN GENEVA, CLAIMING THAT HIS STATEMENTS REFLECTED THE SENTIMENTS OF THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT. TRIACA, WHO AT THE ILO ACCUSED GOA OF COMMITTING "ECONOMIC SUBVERSION" THROUGH ITS ECONOMIC POLICIES, WAS PUBLICLY CRITICIZED BY LABOR MINISTRY UNDERSECRETARY AMERICO DAHER AND BY ECONOMY MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ FOLLOWING HIS REMARKS IN GENEVA. TRIACA DEFENDED HIMSELF AS ACCURATELY REPRESENTING WORKERS' COMPLAINTS, UPON HIS ARRIVAL IN BUENOS AIRES O JULY 6 FROM A TRIP WITH OTHER UNION LEADERS TO GENEVA AND THE US. REPORTED SEPARATELY IN THE NEWS WERE REMARKS FROM PETROLEUM WORKERS UNION LEADER ANTONIO CASSIA ON JULY 6 CRITICIZING TRIACA FOR AIRING PROBLEMS IN AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM THAT SHOULD BE RESOLVED WITHIN ARGENTINA.

3. COMMENT: DESPITE DISAPPROVAL BY SOME OFFICIALS OF TRIACA'S STATMENT, HIS REMARKS IN GENEVA ARE COMMONLY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY CLEARED BY MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT INCLUDING GENERAL VIOLA HIMSELF. GOVERNMENT LABOR OFFICIALS APPARENTLY REMAIN ON GOOD TERMS WITH TRIACA, HAVING INTERVENE AT HIS

URGING LAST WEEKEND TO OBTAIN A VISA TO THE US FOR A SOND OF ABDALA BALUCH, WHO COLLAPSED IN THE US AND DIED ON JULY 9 EN ROUTE HOME FROM GENEVA. END COMMENT.

4. (U) ALSO RELEASED WAS HECTOR HUGO CEBALLOS, WHO WAS HELD IN PARANA, ENTRE RIOS PROVINCE, FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE PARIL 27 STRIKE CALL.

5. (U) DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SUBSTANCE OF THIS

MESSAGE TO AFL-CIO/AIFLD.
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Argentina

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04802 01 OF 03 112219Z
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INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4802

DEPARTMENT PASS AFL-CIO

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: GOC PUBLISHES A NEW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 4736, (B) SANTIAGO 4694, (C) SANTIAGO 4576

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC PUBLISHED JULY 6 A NEW LAW (DL 2758) REGULATING LABOR CONFLICTS. THIS LAW IS ONE OF SIX LAWS OF THE GOVERNMENT LABOR PLAN. THE NEW LAW DEFINES A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF CERTAIN SECTORS TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY; STES UP STRICT PROCEDURES, NROMS, AND DEADLINES FOR EXERCISING THIS RIGHT; DRAWS UP A LIST OF UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES; PROVIDES FOR LIMITED STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS, INCLUDING A NINETY DAY COOLING-OFF PERIOD IF A POTENTIAL STRIKE WILL DAMAGE NATIONAL SECURITY; AND, SETS UP A SYSTEM OF ARBITRATION COVERING ALL ASPECTS OF CONTRACT NEGOTIATION AND SETTLEMENT. STATE-OWNED COMPANIES, FARMS, AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISES ARE COVERED BY THIS LAW. END SUMMARY.

2. DECREE LAW 2758 PUBLISHED JULY 6, DEALS WITH THE RIGHT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION PROCEDURES, STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS, AND UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES FOR BOTH EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS. AS SUCH IT REPLACES TITLE II, BOOK IV OF THE PRE-JUNTA
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04802 01 OF 03 112219Z

LABOR CODE.

3. GENERAL PROVISIONS: PROHIBITED FROM COLLECTIVE BARGAINING ARE ADMINISTRATIVE EMPLOYEES OF THE STATE, THOS EMPLOYED BY THE JUDICIARY OR THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES, AND THOSE IN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS WHOSE BUDGETS DURING THE PREVIOUS TWO

YEARS HAVE BEEN FINANCED MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OUT OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS (E.G., UNIVERSITIES). IN ADDITION, THE LAW EXCLUDES FROM THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS APPRENTICES, TEMPORARY WORKERS, SUPERVISORS AND MANAGERS.THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IS DENIED TO WORKERS IN PUBLIC UTILITIES OR IN INETERPRISES WHOE PARALYZATION WOULD CAUSE GRAVE DAMAGE TO THE HEALTH OR BASIC SUPPLIES OF THE POPULACE, TO THE ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY, OR TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY. THIS RESTRICTION IS QUALIFIED BY THE STIPULATION THAT ANY SUCH ENTERPRISE MUST REPRESENT A"SIGNIFICANT SHARE" OF THE RESPECTIVE ACTIVITY, AND THE ENTERPRISES IN WHICH STRIKES WILL NOT BE LEGAL MUST BE LISTED EACH JULY BY THE GOVERNMENT. FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS ARE SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED FROM ENGAGING IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THERE CAN BE NO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN A NEW ENTERPRISE FOR AT LEASE ONE YEAR. THE FOLLOWING METTERS ARE NOT SUBJECT TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING:

-- THOSE WHICH MODIFY INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE WORKERS AS ESTABLISHED BY LAW;

-- MATTERS EXTERNAL TO THE OPERATION OF THE ENTERPRISE;

-- THOSE WHICH RESTRICT THE ABILITY OF THE MPLOYER TO ORGANIZE, DIRECT AND ADMINISTER THE ENTERPRISE;

-- THOSE WHICH COULD RESTRICT THE USE OF THE WORK FORCE OR OTHER INPUTS, SUCH AS LIMITATIONS ON THE HIRING OF NON-UNION WORKERS OR APPRENTICES, MATTERS RELATING TO THE SIZE OF THE WORK TEAM, THE SPEED OF PRODUCTION, THE PROMOTION SYSTEM AND THE USE OF MACHINERY;

-- THOSE WHICH RELATE TO THE PAY AND CONDITIONS OF WORK FOR PERSONS NOT BELONGING TO THE UNION OR NEGOTIATING GROUP;
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04802 01 OF 03 112219Z

-- THOSE WHICH IMPLY AN OBLIGATION ON THE PART OF THE EMPLOYER TO PAY WORKERS DURING A STRIKE;

-- THOSE WHICH DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY PROVIDE FINANCING TO UNION OR WORKER ORGANIZATIONS;

-- THOSE WHICH REFER TO THE DREATION OF UNION-CONTROLLED FUNDS OR SIMILAR ENTITIES FINANCED TOTALLY OR IN PART BY THE EMPLOYER (HOWEVER, CONTRIBUTIONS TO ENTITIES ALREADY ESTABLISHED AND LEGALLY RECOGNIZED CAN FORM PART OF NEGOTIATIONS).
THESE PROHIBITIONS ARE MUCH MORE SPECIFIC THAN ANYTHING EXISTING PREVIOUSLY IN CHILEAN LABOR LAW.

4. NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO A COLLECTIVE CONTRACT: THE ONLY STIPULATION

PREEVIOUSLY REGARDING TIMING FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WAS THAT WORKERS SHOULD PRESENT THEIR PROPOSAL WHEN AN EXISTING CONTRACT EXPIRED. UNDER DL 2758, WORKERS, WITH AN EXISTING COLLECTIVE CONTRACT MUST PRESENT THIER NEW PROPOSAL WITHIN 45 AND 40 DAYS BEFORE ITS EXPIRATION IN A LARGE PLANT, AND 30 AND 25 DAYS BEFORE-HAND IN A SMALL PLANT. WORKERS NOT UNDER COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS

CAN PRESENT A PROPOSAL AT ANY TIME; HOWEVER, THE EMPLOYERS HAVE A RIGHT TO EXCLUDE BY PRIOR NOTIFICATION ANY PERIOD UP TO SIXTY DAYS DURING THE YEAR IF HE SO DESIRES. FOR THE FIRST ROUND OF NEW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WORKERS MUST PRESENT THEIR PROPOSALS ACCORDING TO A TIMETABLE SET FORTH IN THE TRANSITORY ARTICLES TO DL 2758, THE INTENT OF WHICH IS TO SPACE OUT CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE PERIOD BEGINNING 16 AUGUST, 1979 AND ENDING 17 APRIL 1980.

5. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROPOSALS CAN BE PRESENTED BY UNIONS OR GROUPS OF WORKERS REPRESENTING AT LEST TEN PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE (AT LEAST 25 WORKERS) OR MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE (WITH A MINIMUM OF EIGHT WORKERS), OR BY AT LEAST 250 WORKERS REGARDLESS OF PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WORK FORCE (SEE PARAGRAPH 5 OF SANTIAGO 4694).

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04802 02 OF 03 112232Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4802

DEPARTMENT PASS AFL-CIO

WHEN AN EMPLOYER RECEIVES A COLLECTIVE CONTRACT PROPOSAL, HE MUST NOTIFY ALL OTHER WORKERS IN THE ENTERPRISE OF THE FACT. OTHER EMPLOYEES HAVE 30 DAYS IN WHICH TO PRESENT SIMILAR OR SEPARATE BARGAINING POSITIONS. COLLECTIVE CONTRACT PROPOSALS MUST INCLUDE AT A MINIMUM THE NAMES OF THE PERSONS TO BE COVERED, THE SPECIFIC CLAUSES TO BE INCLUDED IN THE CONTRACT, THE DURATION OF THE CONTRACT AND THE NAMES OF NEGOTIATING COMMISSION FOR THE WORKERS. WHEREAS PREVIOUSLY, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WAS DONE BY THE ELECTED DIRECTORS OF A UNION, (AS WILL BE DONE IN THE UPCOMING BARGAINING IN UNIONS WHICH PARTICIPATED IN LAST YEAR'S SNAP ELECTIONS), UNDER DL 2758, WORKERS MUST ELECT BY SECRET BALLOT A COMMISSION SPECIFICALLY FOR THIS PURPOSE. THE SIZE OF THE COMMISSIO
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VARIES FROM THREE TO SEVEN DEPENDINGON THE TOAL NUMBER OF WORKERS REPRESENTED. EACH WORKER HAS THE RIGHT TO TWO, THREE OR FOUR VOTES

DEPENDING ON THE SIZE OF THE NEGOTIATING COMMISSION. BOTH THE NEGOTIATING COMMISSION AND THE EMPLOYER CAN CALL UPON A MAXIMUM OF THREE OUTSIDE EXPERTS TO ASSIST IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. AN EMPLOYER IS REQUIRED TO REPLY IN WRITING TO THE UNION OR GROUP PRESENTING A COLLECTIVE CONTRACT PROPOSAL (PREVIOUSLY THERE WAS NO SUCH REQUIREMENT AND EMPLOYERS COULD SIMPLY REJECT PROPOSALS
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04802 02 OF 03 112232Z

OUT OF HAND). IN HIS REPLY, THE EMPLOYER MUST ADDRESS EACH SPECIFIC POINT RAISED. THE NORMAL TERM FOR REPLY IS TEN DAYS BUT THIS CAN BE EXTENDED BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT. THE RESPONSE OF THE EMPLOYER CANNOT PROPOSE A REDUCTION IN THE TOAL VALUE OF WAGES AND BENEFITS BELOW THAT ESTABLISHED IN PREVIOUS CONTRACTS AS ADJUSTED BY THE INDEX OF CONSUMER PRICES. NO MAINTENANCE OF REAL VALUE CLAUSE EXISTED PREVIOUSLY IN CHILEAN LABOR LAW DEALING WITH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

7. UNDER PREVIOUS CHILEAN LABOR PRACTICE, THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS WENT BEFORE A PERMANENT BOARD OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION. THE NORM PROPOSED IN DL 2758 IS FOR WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS GROUPS TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY AND AS FREQUENTLY AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO REACH AGREEMENT; MEDIATION IS VIEWED AS THE EXCEPTION RATHER THAN THE RULE (SEE PARAGRAPH 8 BELOW). AN AGREED UPON CONTRACT MUST INCLUDE A PRECISE LISTING OF THE PERSONS AFFECTED, THE AGREEMENTS REACHED REGARDING WAGES AND BENEFITS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK (ANY BENEFITS OR CONDITIONS CARRIED FORTH FROM PREVIOUS AGREEMENT MUST BE SPECIFICALLY SPELLED OUT), THE DURATION OF THE CONTRACT AND THE DESIGNATION OF AN ARBITRATOR TO INTERPRET CONTRACT CLAUSES AS THE NEED MAY ARISE. UNDER DL 2758 COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS MUST BE FOR A DURATION OF AT LEAST TWO YEARS; PREVIOUSLY THE NORMAL PERIOD WAS ONE YEAR.

8. MEDIATION: THE PARTIES TO A NEGOTIATION MAY AT ANY TIME AGREE TO REFER THE MATTER TO MEDIATION, COSTS TO BE SHARED EQUALLY. A MEDIATOR HAS TEN DAYS FROM HIS DESIGNATION TO PRESENT HIS REPORT, IN WHICH HE MUST INCLUDE THE FINAL POSITIONS OF BOTH PARTIES.

9. ARBRITRATION: ARBITRATION IS OBLIGATORY IN THOSE ENTERPRISES WHERE STRIKES ARE PRHIBITED AND WHEN THE PARTIES TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING CANNOT REACH AGREEMENT THROUGH NEGOTIATION. ELSEWHERE THE PARTIES MAY RESORT TO VOLUNTARY ARBITRATION EITHER DURING NEGOTIATIONS OR AFTER A STRIKE OR LOCK-OUT HAVE BEEN DECLARED.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04802 02 OF 03 112232Z

FOR PURPOSES OF ARBITRATION, THE GOVERNMENT WILL ESTABLISH A LIST OF ARBITRATORS, THE MEMBERS OF WHICH WILL BE PROPOSED BY THE ARBITRATION GROUP ITSELF AND APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. ARBITRATOR WILL BE CHOSEN BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT OR FAILING THAT ON THE BASIS OF EACH PARTY LISTING ITS PREFERENCES IN DESCENDING ORDER. THE ARBITRATOR HAS 30 DAYS, WHICH CAN BE EXTENDED TO 40, TO DELIVER HIS DECISION, IN CASES OF OBLIGATORY ARBITRATION HE IS REQUIRED TO DECIDE IN FAVOR OF ONE OR THE OTHER FINAL POSITION. HE CANNOT PROPOSE A COMPROMISE. IN MAKING HIS DECISION, THE ARBITRATOR IS REQUIRED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS: GENERAL WAGE LEVELS FOR THE VARIOUS TYPES OF WORK UNDER NEGOTIATION, THE DEGREE OF SPECIALIZATION AND EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKERS, THE LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE ENTERPRISE. THE ARBITRATION DECISION CAN BE APPEALED TO A THRE MEMBER ARBITRATION PANEL. AT ANY STAGE IN THE ARBITRATION PORCESS THE PARTIES ARE PERMITTED TO REACH AGREEMENT SEPARATELY AND SIGN A COLLECTIVE CONTRACT. AS WITH MEDIATION ALL COSTS OF ARBITRATION ARE SHARED BY BOTH PARTIES.

10. STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS: PREVIOUSLY, WORKERS COULD DECLARE A STRIKE ONCE AN EXISTING CONTRACT HAD EXPIRED AND AS APPROVED BY A MAJORITY VOTE OF A QUORUM OF AT LEAST TWO-THIRDS OF THE WORKERS AFFECTED. UNDER DL 2758, THE STRIKE VOTE MUST BE TAKEN PRIOR TO EXPIRATION OF AN EXISTING CONTRACT AND MUST BE APPROVED BY AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF ALL WORKERS AFFECTED. THE VOTE MUST BE BEFORE A COMPETENT OFFICIAL. IF AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY IS NOT OBTAINED IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WORKERS ACCEPT THE FINAL PROPOSAL OF THE EMPLOYER; HOWEVER, IT MAY BE MUTUALLY AGREED TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS FURTHER. ONCE VOTED A STRIKE MUST BEGIN NO EARLIER THAN THE THIRD DAY FOLLOWING THE VOTE NOR LATER THAN THE FIFTH DAY. IF THE STRIKE DOES NOT BEGIN, IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WORKERS HAVE ACCEPTED THE FINAL OFFER OF THE EMPLOYER. AT ANY TIME DURING A STRIKE THE NEGOTIATING COMMISSION FOR THE WORKERS, OR 10 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE INVOLVED, CAN REQUEST A VOTE ON ANY PROPOSALS MADE BY THE EMPLOYER. THE VOTE TO TERMINATE A STRIKE MUST ALSO HAVE AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE WORKERS INVOLVED.
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 04802 02 OF 03 112232Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04802 03 OF 03 112244Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4802

DEPARTMENT PASS AFL-CIO

11. ONCE A STRIKE IS IN EFFECT, THE EMPLOYER HAS A RIGHT TO DECLARE A TOTAL OR PARTIAL LOCK-OUT. THE LOCK-OUT CAN NOT CONTINUE FOR MORE THAN 30 DAYS. AM EMPLOYER CAN DECLARE A LOCK-OUT ONLY IF MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THE WORKERS ARE ON STRIKE OR IF, WHEN LESS THAN 50 PERCENT, THE STRIKE CAUSES VITAL DISRUPTION OF ACTIVITIES. DURING A LOCK-OUT AN EMPLOYER CAN HIRE TEMPORARY WORKERS TO REPLACE THOSE ON STRIKE. STRIKERS FOR THEIR PART MAY ENGAGE IN OTHER ACTIVITIES WITHOUT LOSING THEIR RIGHTS IN THE ENTERPRISE. BOTH OF THESE PROVISION ARE NEW.

12. AFTER 30 DAYS OF A STRIKE (THE MAXIMUM DURATION OF A LOCK-OUT) ANY WORKERS MAY WITHDRAW FROM THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND RETURN TO WORK. AFTER A STRIKE HAS GONE ON FOR SIXTY DAYS, IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WORKERS HAVE VOLUNTARILY RESIGNED THEIR JOBS, THUS ENDING ALL LEGAL OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THEM ON THE PART OF THE EMPLOYER. IF A STRIKE ENDS PRIOR TO SIXTY DAYS THE EMPLOYER IS LEGALLY OBLIGED TO RETAIN ALL EMPLOYEES. AT ANY TIME DURING A STRIKE A MINIMUM OF 10 PERCENT OF THW WORKERS AFFECTED MAY CALL A VOTE OF CENSURE AGAINST THE NEGOTIATING COMMISSION. IT MUST BE APPROVED BY AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE WORKERS.

13. WHEN A STRIKE OR LOCK-OUT CAUSES GRAVE DAMAGE TO THE HEALTH
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04802 03 OF 03 112244Z

OR BASIC SUPPLIES OF THE POPULACE, OR TO THE ECONOMY OR NATIONAL SECURITY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC CAN DECREE A RESUMPTION OF WORK FOR 90 DAYS. THE TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT WILL BE THE SAME AS THOSE PERTAINING AT THE TIME OF PRESENTING A COLLECTIVE CONTRACT PROPOSAL. PREVIOUSLY UNDER CHILEAN LAW THERE WAS NO RESTRICTION ON THE LENGTH OF STRIKES.

14. UNFAIR PRACTICES: DL 2758 CONTAINS A LONGER AND MORE DETAILED LISTING OF UNFAIR EMPLOYER AND WORKER PRACTICES THAN PREVIOUSLY EXISTED IN CHILEAN LABOR LAW. EMPLOYERS CANNOT: IMPEDE THE FORMATION OF UNIONS BY THREATS OR LOSS OF JOB OR BENEFITS OR CLOSING OF THE FACTORY; OFFER SPECIAL BENEFITS FOR THE EXCLUSIVE

PURPOSE OF PREVENTING THE FORMATION OF A UNION OR TO DISCOURAGE WORKERS FROM JOINING A UNION; INTERVENE ACTIVELY IN A TRADE UNION ORGAINZATION; EXERT PRESSURES SO THAT WORKERS WILL JOIN A SPECIFIC UNION; DISCRIMINATE AMONG EXISTING UNIONS IN AN UNJUST AND ARBITRARY MANNER GIVING SOME SPECIAL BENEFITS AND CONCESSIONS; DISCRIMINATE AMONG WORKERS FOR THE EXCLUSIVE PURPOSE OF DISCOURAGING UNION MEMBERSHIP. ACTIONS BY AN EMPLOYER WHCIH DELAY OR INTERFERE WITH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WILL ALSO BE CONSIDERED UNFAIR PRACTICES: EFUSING TO RECEIVE OR NEGOTIATE WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS ESTABLISHED BY LAW; REFUSING TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO JUSTIFY POSITIONS TAKEN; MANIFEST BAD FAITH DURING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS; THE USE OF PHYSICAL OR MORAL FORCE AGAINST PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS; IMPROPER USE OF THE LOCK-OUT PROVISIONS OF THE LAW.

15. THE FOLLOWING ARE CONSIDERED UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES ON THE PART OF WORKERS: ANY COLLUSION WITH AN EMPLOYER TO ENGAGE IN THE UNFAIR PRACTICES LISTED ABOVE; ANY COLLUSION WITH AN EMPLOYER TO BRING ABOUT THE FIRING OF A WORKER OR OTHER MEASURES OF DISCRIMINATION FOR FAILURE TO PAY FINES, DUES OR DEBTS TO A UNION; THE PUNISHMENT OR EXPULSION OF A FELLOW WORKER FOR NOT
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04802 03 OF 03 112244Z

SUPPORTING AN ILLEGAL DECISION; PRESSURE AGAINST AN EMPLOYER TO DESIGNATE A SPECIFIC REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS OR REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE WITH EMPLOYER REPRESENTATIVES, INSTEAD DEMANDING THEIR REPLACEMENT OR THE PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OF THE EMPLOYERS; MANIFEST BAD FAITH IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS; THE USE OF PHYSICAL OR MORAL FORCE AGAINST PERSONS DURING A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; ANY AGREEMENT WITH THE EMPLOYER THAT TENDS TO CONTRAVENE THE LEGAL STIPULATIONS GOVERNING COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; ANY PHYSICAL OR MORAL FORCE AGAINST A WORKER TO OBTAIN HIS AFFILIATION OR DISAFFILIATION FROM A UNION OR WHICH OBLIGES A WORKER TO SUPPORT THE FORMATION OF A TRADE UNION; ANY PHYSICAL OR MORAL FORCE DIRECTED TO PREVENTING FREEDOM OF OPINION AMONG MEMBERS OF A UNION.

16. JUDICIAL PROCEDURES: ALL DISPUTES ARISING OUT OF DL 2758 REGARDING MATTERS OF LAW ARE SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION OF LABOR COURTS.

17. OTHER ARTICLES: FOR ONE TIME ONLY, AS COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RESUMES AFTER A LAPSE OF ALMOST SIX YEARS, WORKERS WHO ARE NOT MEMBES OF A UNION BUT WHO RECEIVE THE BENEFITS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING CONTRACT MUST PAY TWO MONTHS DUES TO THE UNION NEGOTIATING THE CONTRACT. ALSO DURING THE FIRST ROUND OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING ARBITRATORS IN CASES OF OBLIGATORY ARBITRATION ARE NOT REQUIRED TO DECIDE STRICTLY IN FAVOR OF ONE

POSITION OR THE OTHER. THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY IS GIVEN RESPONSIBILITY

FOR DETERMINING THE DATES ON WHICH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING CAN BEGIN IN ENTERPRISES THAT HAVE STATE PARTICIPATION.

18. COMMENT: THIS LAW AND DL 2756 COVERING LABOR ORGANIZATIONS (SANTIAGO 4694) ARE THE CENTER PIECES OF THE GOC'S LABOR PLAN. SOME OF THE KEY ELEMENTS HAVE BEEN GIVEN CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS BY DECREE LAW 2755 (SANTIAGO 4736). DECREE LAWS 2757 ON TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND 2760 ON THE DEFENSE OF FREE ENTERPRISES (BEING REPORTED SEPTELS) RELATE PRIMARILY TO EMPLOYRS BUT ALSO HAVE
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 04802 03 OF 03 112244Z

IMPLICATIONS FOR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. DL 2761 PROVIDES FOR GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO EMPLOYERS HIRING NEW WORKERS WITH AN ADDITIONAL INCENTIVE IF THE EMPLOYEES ARE 55 OR OLDER. A 7TH LAW, DL 2759 DEALS PRIMARILY WITH COPPER WORKERS.
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: APPEAL OPENS; PINOCHET SPEECH; REACTION TO EDITORIAL

REF: A) SANTIAGO 4762, B) SANTIAGO 4647

1. THE FIRST PANEL OF THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT BEGAN ITS HEARING OF THE USG APPEAL IN THE CONTRERAS, ESPINOZA, AND FERNANDEZ EXTRADITION CASE JULY 11. ONLY THE GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER FAILED TO REPORT THAT THE EARINGS WERE TO BEGIN.

2. IN PINOCHET'S JULY 9 SPEECH TO CHIEAN YOUTH (REF A), HE DENOUNCED AS IMPERIALISTIC "ANY EFFORTS TO PLACE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA ISSUES WHICH BY THEIR NATURE BELONG ELSEWHERE"" -- A CLEAN SWIPE AT THE U.S. HANDLING OF THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE. WITH UNINTENTIONAL IRONY, THE CHILAN LEADER WENT ON TO ASSERT THAT IT WAS "NOT THE RESPONSIBLITY OF CHILE THAT THE FREE WORLD LACKS MORAL LEADERSHIP."

3. GOC REACTION TO THE JULY 9 WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL "JUSTICE
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ACROSS BORDERS" WAS SWIFT AND SHARP. INTERIOF MINISTER FERNANDEZ CALLED THE ARTICLE "AUDACIOUS AND UNJUSTIFIABLE," INSISTING THAT CHILEAN JUDGES ARE INCORRUPTIBLE AND RENOWNED FOR THEIR INTEGRITY. HE DECRIED THE EFFORT OF A FOREIGN PUBLICATION TO PRESSURE THE TRIBUNALS IN HIS COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH NO CHILEAN JOURNAL HAS PRINTED THE FULL TEXT OF THE U.S. EDITORIAL, COVERAGE OF GOC REBUTTALS HAS BEEN WIDESPREAD. THE LDETTER FROM THE CHILEAN PRESS

ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON TO THE EDITOR OF THE POST GOT PROMINENT PLACEMENT. THE AUTHOR REPEATS FERNANDEZ' CONTENTIONS AND ADDS THAT THE USG HAS NEVER ACCUSED THE GOC OF COMPLICITY IN THE MURDERS OF LETELIER AND MOFFITT.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04832 122052Z
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E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: REACTION TO APPEAL OPENING; CONTINUING REACTION TO EDITORIAL

REF: SANTIAGO 4803

1. ALL FOUR SANTIAGO MORNING DAILIES CARRIED STORIES DEALING WITH THE OPENING OF THE APPEAL PANEL REVIEW OF THE SG EXTRADITION REQUEST -- THERE WAS, HOWEVER, NO EDITORIAL REACTION. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, THE COURT CLERK WILL REQUIRE SEVERAL SESSIONS IN ORDER TO FINISH HIS BRIEFING OF THE CASE. THIS WILL DELAY THE PRESENTATION OF THE LAWYER'S ARGUMENTS UNTIL MONDAY, JULY 23. USG ATTORNEY ETCHEBERRY STATED THAT HIS ARGUMENTS WILL BE HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT, SINCE U.S. EVIDENCE WILL FINALLY BE MADE PUBLIC. CONTRERAS' ATTORNEY, MIRANDA, SAID HE WELCOMED PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE U.S. EVIDENCE; HE CHARACTERIZED IT AS "A PATCHWORK OF LIES, FICTIONS, AND FALLACIEIS" WHICH WOULD LEAVE BOTH THE CHILEAN AND AMERICAN PUBLICS "AGHAST."

2. THE EMBATTLED "WASHINGTON POST" EDITORIAL "JUSTICE ACROSS BORDERS" RECEIVED YET ANOTHER BLOW TODAY. "EL MERCURIO" PUBLISHED AN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "INJURY TO MAGISTRATES"
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04832 122052Z

WHICH CONDEMNED THE "POST" MORE THAN ITS OFFENDING ARTICLE. "EL MERCUIRO" SCOFFED AT THE "POST"ALLEGATIONS THAT CHILEAN JUSTICE WAS CORRUPT AND CONTROLLED BY THE GOC. IT PERCEIVED A CONTINUING POST CAMPAIGN TO DESTABLIZE GOC. THE "POST'S" RECOMMENDATION FOR ADDITIONAL USG ACTIONS AGAINST GOC WAS CITED AS A CALL FOR THE UNSHEATHING OF THE "LONG-DISCREDITED AND NOW INEFFECTIVE BIG STICK." IN ADDITION, "EL MERCURIO", ON A FAVORITE THEME,

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ATTACKED USG HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AS HYPOCRITICAL -- ENFORCED AGAINST WEAK NATIONS, IGNORED WITH STRONG ONES.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04844 01 OF 03 122222Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4844

E. O. 12065: GDS: 7-12-85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: ELAB, PGOV, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: A FIRST ASSESSMENT OF THE CHILEAN LABOR PLAN

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 1389, (B) SANTIAGO 4576, (C) SANTIAGO 4694
(D) SANTIAGO 4736, (E) SANTIAGO 4760, (F) SANTIAGO 4761
(G) SANTIAGO 4802 (NONE SENT TO CARACAS)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE GOC HAS PUBLISHED THE LAWS MAKING UP THE LABOR PLAN PROMISED AFTER JOSE PINERA WAS NAMED LABOR MINISTER SIX MONTHS AGO. THE SEVEN LAWS REPRESENT A SYSTEMATIC EFFORT TO REVISE CHILEAN LABOR LAW IN CONFORMITY WITH CHILE'S CURRENT MIXED ECONOMIC SYSTEM BASED ON FREE ENTERPRISE CAPITALISM AND ITS PROJECTED "PROTECTED DEMOCRACY" (BY PRECLUDING FURTHER CLOSE INVOLVEMENT OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN PARTISAN POLITICS). THE NEW LAWS WILL LESSEN THE ECONOMIC POWER AND WEAKEN THE POLITICAL ROLE OF LABOR IN CHILEAN SOCIETY FROM ITS HIGH WATER MARK DURING THE ALLENDE PERIOD. COMMENTS FROM LABOR LEADERS HAVE BEEN LARGELY NEGATIVE; BUT MANY CLAIM TO SEE SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS. REACTIONS FROM BUSINESSMEN ARE MORE POSITIVE, BUT NOT TOTALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04844 01 OF 03 122222Z

UNCRITICAL. THE LABOR PLAN IS A BIT RIGID, THE PRODUCT OF TECHNICIANS. THIS NEW LABOR CODE IS LIKELY TO BE A PRIME TARGET FOR SUBSTANTIAL REVISION AT SUCH TIME AS CHILE RETURNS TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. MEANWHILE, AT THIS EARLY STAGE, THE EMBASSY IS OF DIFFERNET MINDS AS TO THE INTENT AND LIKELY CONSEQUENCES; OUR DIFFERING ASSESSMENT CONCLUDES THE MESSAGE. END SUMMARY.

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3. LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA ANNOUNCED THE NEW LABOR LEGISLATON IN A NATIONWIDE SPECIAL JULY 2 (SANTIAGO 4576). THE LABOR PLAN CONSISTS OF SEVEN LAWS:

-- DECREE LAW 2755 AMENDS CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS DEALING WITH LABOR (SANTIAGO 4736);

-- DECREE LAW 2756 REPLACES EARLIER LAWS GOVERNING LABOR ORGANIZATIONS (SANTIAGO 4694);

-- DECREE LAW 2757 APPLIES SOME OF THE SAME PROVISIONS TO TRADE ASSOCIATION (SANTIAGO 4761);

-- DECREE LAW 2758 DEALS WITH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION PROCEDURES, STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS, AND UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES (SANTIAGO 4802);

-- DECREE LAW 2759 IS A POTPOURRI BUT RELATES PRIMARILY TO THE ACCURED ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF COMPANY WORKERS;

-- DECREE LAW 2760 IS A NEW ANTI-MONOPOLY LAW (SANTIAGO 4760);

-- DECREE LAW 2761 AUTHORIZES GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO EMPLOYERS HIRING ADDITIONAL WORKERS WITH SPECIAL INCENTIVE FOR HIRING THOSE OLDER THAN 55.

ALL TTE LAWS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED AND ARE NOW IN EFFECT.

4. BACKGROUND: WHEN THE MILITARY OUSTED ALLENDE IN 1973, IT FIRST ASSURED ORGANIZED LABOR THAT ALL ACCRUED RIGHTS AND BENEFITS WOULD BE PROTECTED AND THEN SUSPENDED ALL BASIC RIGHTS FOR THE DURATION OF THE EMERGENCY. ALMOST ALL NON-MARXIST-LENINIST LABOR LEADERS INITIALLY SUPPORTED THE COUP AND THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT; HOWEVER, AS THE YEARS WENT BY WITH EMERGENCY

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RULE CONTINUING AND BASIC RIGHTS SUSPENDED, THEY BECAME INCREASINGLY CRITICAL OF GOC POLICIES AND SKEPTICAL OF PROMISES REGARDING FUTURE RESTORATION. GIVEN THE GENERALLY STATIST PROPENSITIES OF THIS GROUP, THE CONCERTED EFFORT BEGINNING IN 1975 TO RESTRUCTURE THE CHILEAN ECONOMY ACCORDING TO FREE-MARKET PRINCIPLES DID LITTLE TO ASSUAGE THEIR FEARS. MANY INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WERE HOSTILE TO THE PINOCHET REGIME FROM THE START. THE AFL-CIO WAS SYMPATHETIC TO THE NTI-MARXIST CREDENTIALS OF THE REGIME BUT, FROM 1976 ON, APPLIED INCREASING PRESSURE ON THE GOC TO RESTORE TRADE UNION RIGHTS. BY 1978, THE AFL-CIO LEADERS WERE TALKING OPENLY OF SUPPORTING A BOYCOTT AGAINST CHILEAN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS IF LABOR RIGHTS WERE NOT RESTORED, AND THE ORIT MEETING IN LIMA OF NOVEMBER LAST YEAR APPROVED SUCH A BOYCOTT.

5. ACCORDING TO THE GOC ECNOMIC TEAM, THEY HAD ALL ALONG INTENDED TO "RATIONALIZE" THE LABOR MARKET AS THEY HAD THE CAPITAL AND PRODUCT MARKETS. PROMPTED BY THE BOYCOTT THREAT, THE GOC ECONOMIC TEAM THEN CONVINCED PINOCHET THAT BASIC LABOR RIGHTS SHOULD BE RESTORED AND THAT THIS COULD BE DONE WITHIN THE CONTEXT

OF THE ECONOMIC MODEL AND WITHOUT OPENING THE WAY FOR THE INTENSE POLITICIZATION OF ORGANIZED LABOR THAT HAD CHARACTERIZED CHILE IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE OVERTHROW OF ALLENDE. JOSE PINERA, A HARVARD PHD IN ECONOMICS, WAS THE CHOSEN INSTRUMENT OF THE ECONOMIC TEAM TO DRAW UP THE LABOR PLAN. ON JANUARY 2, PINERA PROMISED THAT THE PLAN WOULD BE IN PLACE BY JUNE 30. HE MISSED BY ONLY A FEW DAYS.

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE OVERALL PLAN: THE NEW LEGISLATION RECOGNIZES BASIC RIGHTS OF ORGANIZED LABOR TO ELECT LEADERS, TO MEET FREELY, TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY, AND TO STRIKE. PREVIOUS LEGAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN BLUE COLLAR, PROFESSIONAL, AND FARM WORKERS ARE ELIMINATED. THE NUMBER OF WORKERS REQUIRED TO FORM A UNION IS GREATLY REDUCED AND PROCEDURES FOR OBTAINING LEGAL RECOGNITION OF A NEW UNION, FEDERATION, OR CONFEDERATION ARE NOW VIRTUALLY AUTOMATIC AND MUCH SIMPLIFIED.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04844 01 OF 03 122222Z
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04844 02 OF 03 122232Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4844

DUES CHECKOFF FOR UNION MEMBERS IS ALLOWED, BUT CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONFEDERATIONS AND FEDERATIONS WILL HAVE TO BE COLLECTED BY CONSTITUENT UNIONS RATHER THAN THE EMPLOYER. LEGALLY CONSTITUTED UNIONS FOR THE FIRST TIME HAVE NEARLY COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THEIR FINANCES. THE LEGAL RIGHT TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO ALL STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES AND FOR THE FIRST TIME WILL BE INCLUDED AS A CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION. EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS ARE NOW SUBJECT TO MANY OF THE SAME RESTRICTIONS

APPLYING TO TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS AND THE LIST OF UNFAIR PRACTICES ON THE PART OFF BOTH MANAGEMENT AND LABOR HAS BEEN EXPANDED.

7. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE BASED ON REAL WAGE INCREASES -- I.E., THE ESTABLISHED WAGE WILL BE AUTTOMATICALLY AJUSTED FOR INCREASES IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX AND THESE AUTOMATIC INCREASES WILL NOT BE NEGOTIABLE. (NOTE: U.S. VOLUNTARY WAGE PRICE GUIDELINES ARE SET AT 7.5 PPRCENT, WELL BELOW THE CURRENT ANNUAL RATE OF U.S. INFLATION.) THE LABOR PLAN ENVISIONS THAT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WILL CENTER ON HOW TO DISTRIBUTE THE FIRM'S MARGINAL REVENUE PRODUCT AFTER INFLATION HAS BEEN NETTED OUT. IN OTHER WORDS, LABOR AND MANAGEMENT WILL HAVE TO DECIDE THE RELATIVE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR VERSUS CAPITAL.

8. WHILE BASIC RIGHTS ARE RECOGNIZED, SOME ARE NOW MORE CIRCUMSCRIBED THAN PREVIOUSLY. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE AT THE UNION/COMPANY LEVEL, AND FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS ARE EXPLICITLY EXCLUDED AS ARE EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS. STRIKES ARE NOW LIMITED TO A MAXIMUM LENGTH OF SIXTY DAYS, AFTER WHICH TIME WORKERS MUST EITHER ACCEPT THE FINAL OFFER OF THE EMPLOYER OR RESIGN. PREVIOUSLY, AGRICULTURAL UNIONS WERE ABLE TO BRING TOGETHER WORKERS FROM DIFFERENT FARMS IN A GIVEN AREA; NOW THEY ARE RESTRICTED TO A SINGLE AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE. UNDER EARLIER LEGISSLATION, ONCE A BLUE COLLAR INDUSTRIAL UNION WAS FORMED (REQUIRING 55 PERCENT SUPPORT OF THE WORKERS IN THE PLANT OR ACTIVITY), ALL OTHER BLUE COLLAR WORKERS WERE REQUIRED TO JOIN AND TO PAY DUES. THE OPEN SHOP NOW AAPPLIES EQUALLY TO INDUSTRIAL, PROFESSIONAL, AND FARM WORKERS. REQUIREMENTS FOR AFFILIATION WITH FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS ARE ALSO CHANGED. PREVIOUSLY, AFFILATION WASOFTEN DECIDED ONLY BY A UNION'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS. NOW, THERE MUST BE A SECRET, ABSOLUTE MAJORITY VOTE AND THE AFFILIATION MUST BE RECONFIRMED EVERY TWO YEARS. DISAFFILIATION IS AUTOMATIC IF NOT RECONFIRMED. FOR THE FIRST TIME EMPLOYERS ENJOY A CLEARLY DEFINED LEGAL RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN LOCKOUTS AND TO HIRE TEMPORARY WORKERS TO REPLACE THOSE ON STRIKE.

9. THE OBJECTIONS OF LABOR UNION LEADERS TO THE NEW LEGISLATION DO NOT FOCUS SO MUCH ON SPECIFIC PROVISIONS AS ON THE OVERALL PHILOSOPHY UNDERLYING THE PLAN. THEY BELIEVE THAT THIS GOVERNMENT IS DEDICATED TO POLICIES THAT ARE MORE FAVORABLE TO BUSINESS THAN TO LABOR. LABOR LEADERS ARGUE THAT THE MAIN EFFECT OF THE NEW LEGISLATION WILL BE TO SERIOUSLY DIVIDE AND WEAKEN ORGANIZED LABOR. THEY POINT TO THE REQUIREMENT THAT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING BE CARRIED OUT ONLY AT THE COMPANY/SHOP LEVEL, TO THE TECHNICAL/EDUCATIONAL ROLE FOR FEDERATIONS AND

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04844 02 OF 03 122232Z

CONFEDERATIONS, AND TO THE PROHIBITION AGAINST WORKERS ORGANIZING SLATES FOR UNION OFFICE. ANOTHER PERCEPTION OF LABOR UNION LEADERS IS THE FACT THAT A GREAT DEAL OF CHILEAN LABOR PRACTICE PRIOR TO 1973 OPERATED ON THE MARGIN OR OUTSIDE THE SPECIFIC TERMS OF THE LABOR CODE. IN CRITICIZING THE NEW LABOR PLAN, THEY ARE COMPARING IT NOT WITH PRECEDING LAWS SO MUCH AS WITH HOW THE SYSTEM ACTUALLY WORKED.

10. THERE IS ALSO AN ELEMENT OF POSTURING IN CURRENT LABOR-STATED OBJECTIONS TO THH NEW LEGISLATION. ALL LABOR LEADERS, EXCEPT A HANDFUL TOTALLY COMMITTED TO THE REGIME, MUST HAVE DUE REGARD FOR THE LIKELIHOOD THAT MANY ELEMENTS IN THE NEW LEGISLATION WILL BE MODIFIED. SUPPORT NOW -- EVEN IF ONLY FOR THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH ARE POSITIVE FROM LABOR'S POINT OF VIEW -- MAY BE CONSTRUED LATER ON TO HAVE REPRESENTED "BACKING FOR A DICTATORIAL REGIME WHICH FAVORED BUSINESS OVER LABOR."

11. SUPPORTERS OF THE LABOR PLAN SAY THAT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS ACTUALLY DONE IS REDRESS THE BALANCE WHICH HAD BY SEPTEMBER OF 1973 BECOME HEVILY WEIGHTED IN FAVOR OF TRADE UNIONISM. THE GOC SAYS THAT THE NEW LABOR CODE IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF RIGHT TO WORK; FEEDOM OF CHOICE; NO POLITICAL AFFILIATION; AND MINIMAL GOVERNMENT REGULATION. THE CODE RESOLVES THE BASIC CONFLICT BETWEEN THE OPEN VERSUS THE CLOSES SHIP, COMING DOWN IN FAVOR OF THE RIGHT TO WORK. LABOR MINISTER PINERA TELLS US THAT FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF LABOR WILLARD WIRTZ AND STANFORD LABOR LAW EXPERT, JOHN PENCAVEL, WERE CONSULTED THROUGHOUT THE DRAFTING PROCESS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04844 03 OF 03 122249Z
ACTION ARA-15

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 SANTIAGO 4844

12. COMMENT: TACTICALLY, THE LINES WERE LARGELY DRAWN ON THE LABOR PLAN BEFORE THE GOC BEGAN TO RELEASE THE VARIOUS IMPLEMENTING DECREES. PREDICTABLY, SOME LABOR AND POLITICAL ELEMENTS WERE FOURSQUARE AGAINST IT AND, JUST AS PREDICTABLY, THE GGOC SPONSORS LAUDED IT AS A FARSEEING AND INNOVATIVE SCHEME. JUAN DE ONIS BASED HIS ONE-SIDED ARTICLE (STATE 178330) ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY UPON THE CONTENTIONS OF OPPONENTS. THE FACT IS THAT IT IS TOO EARLY TO EVALUATE FULLY THE LABOR PLAN. THE PLAN IS A MATRIX OF COMPLEX MEASURES; THAT IS WHY WE HAVE BEEN SUMMARIZING AND CABLING DECREES AS THEY HAVE COME OUT. WE ALSO WISH TO ENCOURAGE WASHINGTON EXPERTS,BOTH WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT AND WITHIN THE LABOR COMMUNITY, TO SHARE (IF NOT TAKE THE LEAD) IN PERFORMING THE ANALYTICAL TASK. THEY, AFTER ALL, ARE GOING TO HAVE TO TELL US WHETHER THE PLAN MEETS OR FAILS "INTERNATIONAL NORMS."

13. WITHIN THE EMBASSY, AT THIS EARLY STAGE THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT DIVISION REGARDING THE INTENT AND LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF THIS LABOR LEGISLATION. ONE ELEMENT SEES IT AS BASICALLY AN OVERLY TECHNICAL SERIES OF LAWS DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT THE CHILEAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WILL NEVER POSE A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE PERCEIVED INTERESTS OF CERTAIN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECTORS, MANY OF WHOM HAVE FORGOTTEN THE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY

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DEMOCRATIC TRADEUNIONISTS AGAINST THE ALLENDE REGIME'S EXCESSES). LABATT FOR HIS PART BELIEVES THAT IN SPITE OF SOME GOOD FEATURES, THE PLAN REMOVES A NATIONAL LABOR VOICE AND FUTHERS THE "NATIONAL SECURITY STATE" TYPE OF POLITICAL AUTHORITARIAN THE GOVERNMENT WANTS OF CHILE. CHILEAN TRADE UNIONISM REMAINS A PTENT FORCE IN THE SOCIETY AND UNION LEADERS WILL OF COURSE COMPLAIN BITTERLY AT AN EFFORT TO FRAGMENT AND WEAKEN IT. AAT THE SAME TIME, THESE LEADERS NOW HAVE AN INSTITUTIONAL BASTION WHICH TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE TO CREATE ONCE AGAIN A STRONG DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT IN CHILE.

14. OTHERS BELIEVE THAT THE LABOR PLAN IS A POSITIVE STEP FORWARD IN THAT IT RECOGNIZES BASIC FREEDOMS, ESTABLISHES A LABOR LAW STRUCTURE, AND GIVES LEGITIMACY TO THE LABOR UNION CONCEPT. NO ONE YET CLEARLY UNDERSTANDS THE LABOR PLAN, THE PROOF OF WHICH WILL BE IN THE PRACTICE. WHAT ANALYSIS IS AVAILABLE NOW IS LARGELY BASED ON BIASES AND POLITICAL POSTURING. NEVERTHELESS, SOME IN THE EMBASSY BELIEVE IT PLAUSIBLE THAT IN THE LONG RUN THE PLAN MAY PROVE TO BE CLEARLY IN THE U.S.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE PLAN WILL ENGENDER A STRONGER, INDEPENDENT, NONPOLITICAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT CONTRIBUTORY TO A STABLE AND INCREASINGLY PROSPEROUS CHILE COMMITTED TO A FREE-ENTERPRISE, FREE-MARKET SYSTEM SIMILAR TO AND COMPATIBLE WITH THAT OF THE UNITED STATES. THOSE INCLINED TO GIVE THE PLAN A CHANCE IN PRACTICE FURTHER SUGGEST THATIN ITSELF IT IS A SIGNIFICANT MEASURE IN EASING THE WAY TOWARD CIVILIAN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

15. WHATEVER OUR INTERNAL DIFFERENCES, ALL ELEMENTS OF EMBASSY AGREE THAT WASHINGTON VISIT BY LABOR MINISTER PINERA TO HELP CLARIFY THE ISSUES IS DESIRABLE OUTCOME, AND I URGE THAT *DEPARTMENT TAKE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT MY RECOMMENDATION IN SANTIAGO 4401.*

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04844 03 OF 03 122249Z

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05670 01 OF 03 132148Z
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E.O. 12065: XDS-4 7/12/99 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: [redacted] HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - JULY 12, 1979

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 5458; (B) BUENOS AIRES 5307

1. [redacted] INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: A BIZARRE NON-EVENT WAS THIS WEEK'S MOST INTERESTING HUMAN RIGHTS HAPPENING: FRIDAY AFTERNOON'S "LA RAZON" (JULY 6) AND SEVERAL DAILIES ON SATURDAY MORNING (INCLUDING "LA NACION", WHICH ACCORDING TO SUAREZ MASON HIMSELF STUDIOUSLY AVOIDS MENTIONING THE GENERAL) REPORTED THAT CHIEF OF THE ARMY GENERAL STAFF SUAREZ MASON HAD DELIVERED A HARD-HITTING SPEECH OUTLINING THE COUNTRY'S "NEW ANTI-SUBVERSION STRATEGY" BEFORE A GROUP OF ARGENTINE AND FOREIGN DIPLOMATS. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S "FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE" WAS CITED AS SCENE OF THE SPEECH, AT WHICH THE GENERAL
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05670 01 OF 03 132148Z

WAS ALLEGED TO HAVE WARNED THAT SUBVERSIVES WERE STILL PLENTIFUL AND THAT THEY AND THEIR SUPPORTERS AND

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FRIENDS OF SUPPORTERS WERE TO BE FOUND VIRTUALLY EVERYWHERE IN THE SOCIETY--ALL PART OF THE MARXIST-COMMUNIST WORLD PLOT. ON SATURDAY THE GENERAL DENIED THE SPEECH IN A PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR CASTRO (ALTHOUGH NOT THE SENTIMENTS, WHICH HE ADMITTED FINDING CONCENIAL), AND ON SUNDAY (JULY 8) THE NEWSPAPERS PRINTED OFFICIAL DENIALS. ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY TELAM'S ORIGINAL STORY THE SUAREZ MASON "REVELATIONS" WERE TAKEN FROM A DOCUMENT HE PRESENTED TO THE CABINET ABOUT ONE MONTH AGO--AN EVENT PUBLISHED AT THE TIME AND NOT AFTERWARDS DENIED. THE "FSI" STORY APPARENTLY GREW FROM A TALK GIVEN BY TWO ARMY COLONELS, REPORTEDLY FROM SUAREZ MASON'S STAFF, WHO DID IN FACT GIVE A "SECURITY LECTURE" AT THE FOREIGN SERVICE TRAINING FACILITY. THERE WAS LITTLE REPORTABLE NEWS IN OTHER FRONTS. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. [redacted] PERMANENT ASSEMBLY MEMBER CONSULTS WITH INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS -----
PERMANENT ASSEMBLY MEMBER EMILIO MEGNONE DESCRIBED TOEEMBOFF JULY 6 HIS JUNE 18-JUNE 22 CONSULTATIONS WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. MIGNONE'S PRINCIPAL CONTACT WAS EDMUNDO VARGAS CARRENO, THE COMMISSION'S EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, ALTHOUGH HE ALSO WAS ABLE TO TALK WITH VARGAS' PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT PAZ BARNICA (A HONDURAN) AND WITH US CITIZEN STAFF MEMBER CHARLES MOYER. MIGNONE HAD ONE FORMAL, TWO-HOUR SESSION WITH ALL SIX COMMISSION MEMBERS. (MIGNONE EXPLAINED THAT THE MEXICAN COMMISSION MEMBER HAD RESIGNED SHORTLY AFTER HIS ELECTION AND WILL NOT BE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 05670 01 OF 03 132148Z

REPLACED UNTIL THE OAS MEETS IN OCTOBER IN LA PAZ.)
PAZ BARNICA PLANS TO VISIT ARGENTINA LATER THIS MONTH TO MAKE HOTEL AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE COMMISSION'S SEPTEMBER ARRIVAL, ALTHOUGH PAZ BARNICA WANTS TO KEEP A LOW PROFILE AND NEITHER ENCOUNTER A FLOOD OF "DENUNCIAS" NOR MEET WITH POLICY LEVEL ARGENTINE OFFICIALS. ABOUT 30 COMMISSION MEMBERS AND STAFFERS WILL COME TO BUENOS AIRES IN SEPTEMBER--ALL BUT A SKELETON STAFF THAT WILL REMAIN IN WASHINGTON. (THE COMMISSION HAS DECIDED AS A MATTER OF POLICY NOT TO HIRE A LOCAL STAFF, MIGNONE SAID.)
MIGNONE REPORTED THAT AS OF JUNE 22 THE

COMMISSION HAD RECEIVED SOME 2,900 "DENUNCIAS" REGARDING APPROXIMATELY 7,000 PERSONS, WHO IN SOME WAY HAD BEEN VICTIMS OF REPRESSION-DISAPPEARED, IMPRISONED OR TORTURED. THE COMMISSION, IN ITS ATTEMPT TO DO AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN ADVANCE, ASKED THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS OF THESE COMPLAINTS, BUT HAS RECEIVED NO RESPONSES SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER. THE COMMISSION HAS ALSO REQUESTED THE NAMES OF ALL PERSONS FOR WHOM "DENUNCIAS" HAVE BEEN REGISTERED WITH MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, AND OF ALL PERSONS FOR HABEAS CORPUS WRITS HAVE BEEN FILED IN THE COURTS SYSTEM.

ALSO IN ITS EFFORTS TO DO AS MUCH WORK IN ADVANCE AS POSSIBLE, EVEN TO PREPARING PARTS OF ITS REPORTS, COMMISSION STAFFERS ARE PREPARING A LEGAL BRIEF ON ARGENTINA'S LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS REGARDING STATE OF SIEGE AND THE REPRESSION OF TERRORISM/SUBVERSION. ALTHOUGH IT PROBABLY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO COMPLETE THE FULL COMMISSION REPORT AND ALLOW THE REQUIRED THREE WEEKS FOR STUDY AND A REPLY BY THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE OAS IN LA PAZ IN OCTOBER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY VARGAS MENTIONED TO MIGNONE THE POSSIBILITY OF THERE BEING AN "INFORMAL DRAFT" WHICH COULD BE CIRCULATED AT THAT TIME.

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05670 01 OF 03 132148Z

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05670 02 OF 03 132220Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 5670

THE COMMISSION IS TRYING TO FIND OTHER MEANS OF SAVING TIME DURING ITS RELATIVE SHORT STAY HERE IN BUENOS AIRES. IT PLANS TO PRINT NOTICES IN LOCAL NEWSPAPERS IN ADVANCE OF ITS VISIT THAT MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC SEEKING INTERVIEWS CAN BE RECEIVED DURING CERTAIN HOURS, BUT BEFORE APPEARING THEY SHOULD FILL OUT QUESTIONNAIRES REGARDING THEIR COMPLAINTS. THE QUESTIONNARIES--COMMISSION MEMBERS HOPE--WILL BE PART OF THE NEWSPAPER ANNOUNCEMENT. USING THE QUESTIONNAIRES SHOULD REDUCE INTERVIEWS TO A FORMALITY OF ACCEPTING WRITTEN "DENUNCIAS".

THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY MEANWHILE IS WORKING ON A LIST OF 300 "BEST CASES"--THOSE WITH PARTICIPATION BY "IDENTIFIABLE" MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES--FOR THE COMMISSION TO STUDY "ON THE GROUND" HERE.

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT MIGNONE SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMISSION DO BEFORE ARRIVING WAS ISSUE A STATEMENT EXPLAINING THE VERY REAL DIFFICULTIES MEMBERS OF THE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05670 02 OF 03 132220Z

COMMISSION HAD IN FINDING A TIME WHEN ALL OF THEM COULD COME TO BUENOS AIRES--TO DISPEL SUGGESTIONS IN HUMAN RIGHTS CIRCLES HERE THAT ARGENTINE "MACHINATIONS" WERE THE CAUSE OF OF THE VISIT'S POSTPONEMENT.

3. [redacted] REARRESTS ----

ONE CASE HAS BEEN REPORTED TO THE EMBASSY OF A PERSON RELEASED UNDER THE JUNE LIST OF 190 DELETED FROM THE PEN WHO WAS SUBSEQUENTLY REARRESTED. CARLOS RAUL ARANDA, ACCORDING TO HIS SISTER WHO VISITED THE EMBASSY' WAS AT LIBERTY FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE WEEK BEFORE BEING REARRESTED BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND TAKEN TO RESISTENCIA FOR "FURTHER IDENTIFICATION AND INQUIRY ABOUT HIS RESIDENCE". ARANDA HAD RECEIVED A RIGHT OF OPTION CERTIFICATE FROM THE EMBASSY, BUT HIS OPTION PETITION HAD BEEN DENIED ABOUT TEN DAYS BEFORE IT WAS ANNOUNCED HE WAS TO BE SET FREE.

4. [redacted]MORE ON THE TIMERMAN CASE -----
"LA NACION" REPORTED ON JULY 12 THAT WHILE SPECULATION ABOUNDS THAT THE MILITARY JUNTA MIGHT RELEASE TIMERMAN, THERE ARE SOME IMPORTANT GAPS IN THE REASONING. LA NACION OPINES THAT NO ACTION WILL BE TAKEN UNTIL OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT TOP ARMY BRASS DURING A MEETING IN MAY VOTED TO OPPOSE HIS RELEASE. NACION MENTIONS ONLY AS A POSSIBILITY THAT TIMERMAN COULD BE RELEASED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE VISIT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN SEPTEMBER. TIMERMAN IS PRESENTLY APPEALING THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO CONFISCATE SOME OF HIS ASSETS. "IT WILL THEN BE INTERESTING TO SEE WHAT WILL BE SAID ABOUT THIS IN THE FEDERAL COURT, WHICH IS THE CORRECT TRIBUNAL THAT INTERVENES IN SUCH CASES,"
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05670 02 OF 03 132220Z

NACION COMMENTED.

5. [redacted]FOR WASHINGTON AREA RESIDENTS WHO MISSED IT:
BA HERALD EDITOR APPEARS ON MEET THE PRESS -----
BUENOS AIRES HERALD EDITOR ROBERT COX AND MRS. HELENA AROCENA (WHO LOST A SON) APPEARED ON "MEET THE PRESS" SUNDAY, JULY 8. COX DISCUSSED DISAPPEARANCES IN ARGENTINA, DOWN FROM 50 TO 60 A MONTH IN 1978 TO 25 IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1979. HE TALKED OF THE COUNTER-TERRORISM IN RESPONSE TO A SITUATION HE LIKENED TO THE FEELING OF TERROR EVOKED BY THE ASSASSINATIONS OF MARTIN LUTHER KING AND BOTH THE KENNEDYS--EXCEPT THAT HERE ASSASSINATIONS RAN AT MAYBE THREE A DAY--AND SAID THAT THAT ATMOSPHERE OF TERROR CONTINUED WELL INTO 1978. COX SAID THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN A COUNTRY IS USUALLY OF INTEREST ONLY TO THOSE DIRECTLY AFFECTED. THE AVERAGE ARGENTINE REACTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS CRITICISM FROM ABROAD, HE SAID, WAS A PATRIOTIC RE-SPONSE--TO DEFEND ARGENTINA RIGHT OR WRONG WHEN UNDER ATTACK, EVEN AMONG PERSONR
GITH SERIOUS REFERVATIONS
ABOUT THIS GOVERNMENT. TO ONE QUESTION COX REPLIED THAT "OUT OF CONTROL GROUPS" WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR DISAPPEARANCES. AT ANOTHER POINT HE POINTED TO A BETTER WORKING COURTS SYSTEM AS CREATING SOME OPTIMISM.
MRS. AROCENA FOR THE MOST PART DESCRIBED THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HER SON, MARCOS, A WELL-KNOWN ARGENTINE WRITER WO WAS ABDUCTED ONE MORNING AT 5 AM

NEARLY THREE YEARS AGO. SHE SAID THAT SHE HAD PURSUED LOCATING HIM THROUGH THE VARIOUS MINISTRIES, BUT THAT AT THE TIME OF HIS DISAPPEARANCE LAWYERS AND COURTS WERE NOT TAKING SUCH CASES. MR. COX, IN RESPONDING TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE RULE OF LAW, POINTED OUT THAT THE HABEAS CORPUS PROCESS WAS SIMILAR TO THAT IN THE UNITED STATES--A METHOD OF LOCATING A PERSON BEING HELD, RATHER THAN AN INVESTIGATIVE

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PAGE 04 BUENOS 05670 02 OF 03 132220Z

PROCESS. HE SAID THAT JUDGES, HOWEVER, WERE TAKING THEIR CUE FROM A SUPREME COURT JUDGEMENT AND BEGINNING TO CALL AS MANY WITNESSES AS POSSIBLE TO GET AT THE FACTS OF DISAPPEARANCES. MR. COX SAID, THAT "TO GET BACK TO THE RULE OF LAW, IT IS TERRIBLY NECESSARY THAT THE JUDGES START TO ACT AS JUDGES."

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE COULD DO ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA, COX SPOKE OF FACING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION NOT AS A POLITICAL ISSUE BUT AS A HUMANITARIAN ONE, AND OF APPEALING TO THE GOODNESS IN THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05670 03 OF 03 132226Z
ACTION ARA-15

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[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 5670

6. [redacted] JUDGE SEEKING INFORMATION ON DISAPPEARED -----
JUDGE OLIVERI (SEE REF B, PARA 5) IS REPORTED ACTIVELY INVESTIGATING THE 1977 DISAPPEARANCE OF ALEJANDRO DANIEL FERRARI, A 29 YEAR OLD ARGENTINE DOCTOR WHO DISAPPEARED (EMBASSY HUMAN RIGHTS FILES CONTAIN HIS NAME) ON JULY 22, 1977 FROM THE POLICLINICO FERROVIARIO CENTRAL. THE STORY WAS CARRIED IN THREE OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE BUENOS AIRES NEWSPAPERS ON JULY 6. EMBASSY COMMENT: THIS IS THE SECOND CASE IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME IN WHICH FEDERAL JUDGE OLIVERI HAS RENEWED EFFORTS TO LOOK INTO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF A DOCTOR. END EMBASSY COMMENT.

7. [redacted] MASS FOR MISSING HELD ON JULY 8 -----
THE JULY 9 BUENOS AIRES HERALD CARRIED A SHORT NEWS ITEM THAT THE BISHOP OF QUILMES, MONSIGNOR JORGE NOVAK CELEBRATED A MASS FOR MISSING PEOPLE ON JULY 8 IN BERAZATEGUI (A SUBURB OF BUENOS AIRES). MOTHERS AND [redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05670 03 OF 03 132226Z

RELATIVES OF MISSING PERSONS ATTENDED THE SPECIAL AFTERNOON MASS, AT WHICH MONSIGNOR NOVAK "REFERRED TO THE PROBLEM OF MISSING PEOPLE IN ARGENTINA IN HIS SERMON." COMMENT: THE BISHOP OF QUILMES HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT FROM THE BEGINNING. END COMMENT.

8. [redacted] SECURITY MEASURES IN SANTA FE YIELD SUBVERSIVE SUSPECT ----
"LA PRENSA" AND "EL DIA" CARRIED STORIES ON JULY 10 THAT THE SECURITY FORCES IN SANTA FE DURING THE PAST 24 HOURS HAD TIGHTENED SECURITY MEASURES AND SURVEILLANCE BECAUSE OF A BOMBING AT THE LOCAL FEDERAL COURTHOUSE AND AN INTERRUPTION OF THE TRANSMISSION OF CHANNEL 13 IN THAT CITY (REPORTED REF B, APRAS 15 AND 12). THEY ARRESTED SERGIO ORLANDO RIGOLI, A 22 YEAR OLD RESIDENT OF THAT CITY, WHO WAS DRIVING A MOTORCYCLE AND ALLEGEDLY HAD IN HIS POSSESSION A BRIEFCASE FULL OF "MNOTONERO SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE" DESTINED FOR DISTRIBUTION IN A SLUM ("VILLA DE EMERGENCIA"). THE EL DIA STORY

FURTHER RELATED THAT RIGOLI, HAVING BEEN ARRESTED IN THE MILITARY SECTOR OF THE CITY WOULD BE HELD UNDER THAT AUTHORITY.

9. [redacted] NEILSON ON THE CLAMOR -----
EARLY IN THE WEEK, HERALD COLUMNIST JAMES NEILSON MENTIONED "GROWING UNEASE ABOUT THE FATE OF THE 'MISSING' AND THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE MANY PEOPLE BEING HELD IN JAIL WITHOUT CHARGES." HE SAW A PROMISING SIGN IN THE FACT THAT "MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES ARE REFERRING TO THE MATTER WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY AND, WHAT

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IS MORE, THEY ARE BEING ASKED ON OCCASION WHAT THEIR OFTEN CRYPTIC WORDS MEAN."

NEILSON ALSO POINTED OUT THAT "ONE OF THE MANY DISADVANTAGES OF GOVERNMENT INACTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS THAT IT GIVES AN OPPORTUNITY TO CYNICAL INDVIDUALS LIKE THE COMMUNISTS TO EXPLOIT A GREAT TRAGEDY FOR THEIR OWN SQUALID ENDS."

10. [redacted] PRESS REPORTS DURING THE PAST WEEK DESCRIBED INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY LASHING OUT AT "PEOPLE WHO TODAY POSE AS DEFENDERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY WERE CRIMINALS IN TERRORIST BANDS... AND ARE CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN FROM ABROAD SO THAT A BUNCH OF USEFUL IDIOTS PICK UP WHAT THEY SAY AND TRY TO USE IT AGAINST THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE." CASTRO

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS/INTERNAL SECURITY NOTES: LONQUEN CULPRITS SEEKING TO INVOKE AMNESTY; MORE MIRISTAS DETAINED; COMANDO CAREVIC-TYPE THREAT

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 4602, (B) SANTIAGO 4693

1. ACCUSED POLICE APPEAL: THE EIGHT CARABINEROS INDICTED FOR USING "UNNECESSARY FORCE INCLUDING DEATH" IN THE CASE OF 15 PERSONS INTERRED IN A LIME KILN AT LONQUEN IN OCTOBER 1973 (REF A) HAVE REPORTEDLY SUBMITTED AN APPEAL TO THE MILITARY COURT REQUESTING THAT THE 1978 AMNESTY BE APPLIED TO THEM. THE COURT IS CONSIDERING THE REQUEST; IT IS NOT KNOWN WHEN IT WILL HAND DOWN A DECISION.

2. RELATIVES OF THE VICTIMS HAVE PETITIONED TO THE COURTS TO BE PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TRIAL AND HAVE URGED THAT THE MEN BE TRIED FOR DELIBERATE HOMICIDE RATHER THAN "UNNECESSARY FORCE," THE CHARGE NORMALLY USED FOR INJURY TO PERSONS RESISTING ARREST. THE PRESS SPECULATES THAT THE VICTIMS HAD BEEN INTERRED ALIVE SINCE THE AUTOPSY SHOWED NO EVIDENCE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04897 132242Z

OF BULLET WOUNDS.

3. MORE ALLEGED MIRISTAS DETAINED: FROM CONCEPCION, BIRTHPLACE OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) AND SCENE OF A SERIES OF ARRESTS FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF TWO PEOPLE ALLEGEDLY PLACING A BOMB (REF A), COME WORD OF FIVE MORE DETENTIONS. IT APPEARS THAT SECURRITY FORCES HAVE DETAINED AT LEAST TEN-

FIFTEEN PEOPLE SO FAR. MILITARY COURTS IN CONCEPCION ARE SHUFFLING PAPERS BACK AND FORTH WHILE SEEKING TO AVOID JURISDICTION. (COMMENT: THERE IS A NAVAL ZONE AT THE NEARBY PORT OF TALCAHUANO WHERE SOME OF THE DETAINEES EITHER LIVER OR OPERATED. A NAVY COURT RULED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ARMY COURTS SHOULD HAVE JURISDICTION SINCE MOST OF THE ALLEGED TORTURES TOOK PLACE OUTSIDE THE NAVAL ZONE. END COMMENT.)

5. "COMANDO CAREVIC" STYLE THREATS: IN A NEW TWIST, ONE OF THE RECIPIENTS OF DEATH THREATS FROM AN OSTENSIBLE RIGHT-WING VIGILANTE GROUP NAMED AFTER A GOVERNMENT EXPLOSIVE EXPERT WHO WAS BLOWN UP APRIL 23 (REF B) RECEIVED A SIMILARLY CRAFTED THREAT SIGNED BY A "MIR SUCICIDE SQUAD." THE RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED ORGAINZATION ASSUMED THAT THIS IS A MORE SERIOUS PLOY ON THE PART OF THE SAME RIGHTISTS. THEY FEAR THAT THE GROUP MAY NOW ATTEMPT TO KILL ONE OF THE RELATIVES AND BLAME THE CRIME ON THE MIR. THEY HAVE FILED FOR A PROTECTIVE HABEAS CORPUS BEFORE THE COURTS. (COMMENT: THE APPEARANCE OF THIS UNDOUBTEDLY BOGUS "MIR" THREAT JUST ADDS FUEL TO SPECULATION THAT OTHER EVENTS ATTRIBUTED TO THE MIR MIGHT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT BY RIGHTISTS. END COMMENT).
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04896 132234Z
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U.S. Department of State
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: HEARING TO CONTINUE; DEBATE OVER LEGAL ISSUES BETWEEN GUTIERREZ & USG ATTORNEY

REF: A) SANTIAGO 4832, B) SANTIAGO 4647

1. THE SUPREME COURT HEARING OF THE APPEAL IN THE EXTRADITION CASE, BEGUN JULY 11, WILL CONTINUE JULY 16. NO SESSIONS HELD JULY 12 DUE TO ILLNESS OF PANEL CHAIRMAN EYZAGUIRRE NOR JULY 13 BECAUSE OF WEEKLY PLENUM SESSION. INTERST IN THE HARING AMONG JOURNALISTS HAS BEEN GREAT -- THIRTY-FIVE FOREGN AND TWENTY-FOUR CHILEAN CORRESPONDENTS HAVE BEEN GIVEN PERMISSION TO COVER THE ORAL ARGUMENTS STILL SCHEDULE TO BEGIN MONDAY, JULY 23. IN ADDITION, TWO RADIO NETWORKS, RADIO MINERIA, CONSERVATIVE, AND RADIO COOPERATIVA, CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRAT ORIENTED, WILL BE ABLE TO BROADCAST THE ATTORNEYS' STATEMENTS.

2. IN "EL MERCURIO" JULY 13, FORMER CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO U.S., SERGIO GUTTIEREZ OLIVOS, DECLARES A TRUCE IN HIS BATTLE WITH
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04896 132234Z

USG ATTORNEY ETCHEBERRY OVER EXTRADITION LAW (REF B). HE INSISTS THAT HIS VERSION IS CORRECT BUT DECLINES TO ANSWER ETCHEBERRY'S REBUTTAL, SAYING THAT FURTHER DEBATE WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE SINCE THE MATTER IS NOW BEFORE THE COURTS. GUTIERREZ GOES ON TO MAKE THE SIGNIFICANT OBSERVATION THAT CHILE FINDS ITSELF IN AN "EXTREMELY DIFFICULT INTERNATIONAL POSITION" AND THAT THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION WILL, THEREFORE, BE OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE:

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"THERE ARE TIMES," HE SAYS, "TO ACT WITH AUDACITY WHILE OTHER TIMES REQUIRE MODERATION."
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...garet P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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UNRESOLVED DISAPPEARANCES SINCE
February 1, 1979

Roberto and Maria Rosa Barreiros

Reported picked up by the police on March 12. Mr. Barreiros's mother subsequently received a telephone call from her daughter-in-law advising that the couple was well and would reappear. There has been no word from them since.

Julio Cesar Abruzzese

Reported picked up by police on April 11. Mr. Abruzzese was reputed to be involved in criminal activities and his disappearance does not appear to have political significance.

Thelma Doroty Jara de Cabezas

Mrs. Jara de Cabezas was reported picked up by the police on April 27. She was a key official of the Argentine Communist Party-associated Relatives of the Disappeared and Detained (FDD). Letters have subsequently been received from her (one by Ambassador Castro) describing in detail her work for the FDD and denouncing the Montoneros for having used her for subversive political ends. Family members are convinced that the letters are genuine. There has been no further word from her.

Mario Marrero (April 20), Jorge Sabador Gullo (April 26), and Elbio Jose Rodriguez (April 23). All are in their 20's.

These three persons were reported disappeared in separate incidents in Buenos Aires. We have received no information concerning their whereabouts.

Jorge V. Sznaider, Jorge Perez Brancato, Hugo Malosovsky, Noemi Graciela Beltone, Carlos Alberto Perez, and Mirta Silber de Perez. All are in their 20's.

These six persons were reported picked up by the police on May 13 in a Buenos Aires apartment while they were holding a political discussion. No word has been received since on their whereabouts.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1543

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5771

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/17/85 (HALLMAN, WILLIAM H.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) ZALAQUETT VISIT TO ARGENTINA

REF: (A) STATE 180246; (B) STATE 184096

1. DR. ZALAQUETT TELEPHONED TO POLCOUNS THIS MORNING AT 1130 LOCAL TIME THAT HE HAD ARRIVED SAFELY AND THAT A MILITARY OFFICER FROM COL. CERDA'S OFFICE AT THE CASA ROSADA HAD MET HIM AND OFFERED TO SHOW HIM SOMETHING OF BUENOS AIRES BEFORE ZALAQUETT'S PLANE LEAVES THIS AFTERNOON FOR MENDOZA.

2. POLCOUNS SUGGESTED THAT ZALAQUETT TELEPHONE WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS FROM MENDOZA TO CONFIRM THAT ALL IS WELL. HE AGREED TO DO THIS.

3. STEPHANIE GRUNT FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL WASHINGTON TELEPHONED THIS AFTERNOON REGARDING ZALAQUETT AND WE GAVE HER STATE OF PLAY.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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7/17
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Mark:

Stephanie Grant phoned to say that Jose Zalaquett arrived in Buenos Aires this morning and was met by a representative from the President's office. He was told that a sightseeing tour of B.A. had been arranged for him and that he would be back at the airport this evening in time to catch his plane to Mendoza. Zalaquett did contact the Embassy when he arrived and will contact them again tomorrow to confirm his safe arrival in Mendoza. Embassy will do a cable to us.

Carol

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS SHUUM CI
SUBJ: INTERNAL SECURITY NOTES: TWO FIND PANAMANIAN ASYLUM

REF: A) SANTIAGO 3660, B) SANTIAGO 0653

1. TWO MEMBERS OF THE BANNED MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) HAVE SOUGHT POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE PANAMANIAN EMBASSY HERE. GASTON MUNOZ BRIONES, 33, AND GLORIA ELGUETA PINTO, 25, REPORTEDLY ENTERED THE EMBASSY JULY 13. PANAMANIAN DEPLOMATS HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO COMMENT PUBLICLY ON THE CASE SO FAR.

2. MUNOZ BRIONES AND ELGUETA PINTO HAVE BOTH BEEN IN THE NEWS RECENTLY. ON JANUARY 24 THEY WERE REPORTED TO BE AMONG SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO REQUESTED ASYLUM IN THE COSTA RICAN EMBASSY -- A REQUEST WHICH WAS REFUSED BY THE COSTA RICANS. IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT NEITHER PARTICIPATED IN THAT UNSUCESSFUL EFFORT. ADDITIONALLY, MUNOZ IS ALLEGED TO HAVE TAKEN PART IN A FAILED ATTEMPT TO EXPLODE A BOMB AT A SANTIAGO GASOLINE STATION ON THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 5/6 (REFTEL B). GLORIA ELGUETA'S MOTHER, MRS. PINTO DE ELGUETA, IS WELL-KNOWN TO THIS EMBASSY AS THE AGGRIEVED AND ILL, BUT NEVERTHELESS IRASCIBLE, LADY WHOSE EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF HER DAUGHTER CAUSED AN (UNWAR-
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RANTED) INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY (REFTEL B).
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BACKGROUND PAPER: CENTRAL AMERICA

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Introduction

Today, far more than at any time in the past, extreme leftist forces in Central America are supported by an extensive foreign intelligence and training apparatus, modern military equipment and a large and sophisticated propaganda network. With Soviet bloc support, Cuba is using contacts nurtured over more than 20 years to provide political and military training, plus material and propaganda support, to many violent groups in a number of Central American countries. The immediate goals are to consolidate control of the Sandinista Directorate in Nicaragua and to overthrow the Governments of El Salvador and Guatemala. Honduras and Costa Rica also have been targeted (see Map #1).

[redacted] he set the pattern [redacted] Sandinistas are repeating in Nicaragua. [redacted] an inner core of trusted [redacted] built the instruments of power (the army, [redacted] "revolutionary tribunals," and new mass [redacted] democratic allies were kept busy in [redacted] such as the Council of State and government [redacted] This strategy helped him consolidate power and [redacted] democratic allies until they could no longer unite [redacted] many of these allies later were executed or [redacted] or left the country.

[redacted] democratic opposition to Somoza established a "broad opposition front" in coalition with the Sandinistas, who assured their democratic allies (as Castro had done in 1957-59) of their commitment to democratic elections "after Somoza." The presence of noncommunist elements in the Sandinista-led "broad coalition" served to deceive many Western governments about the true character of the Sandinista Directorate. As in Cuba, two decades earlier, this broad coalition provided a political network that could be used by the extreme left to mislead Western opinion [redacted] On June 21, 1979 the OAS gave provisional recognition to the anti-Somoza forces, contingent upon the establishment of a democratic political system including free political parties, free elections, free trade unions, religious freedom and an independent [redacted] The Sandinistas promised that they would hold [redacted] freedoms. The Sandinistas have yet to implement this promise.

During this period, Cuba provided about 500 tons of weapons and other military supplies directly to the Sandinista [redacted] Cuba also trained and deployed an "Internationalist Brigade," whose personnel fought with the Sandinistas. And on July 18, 1979, Julian Lopez Diaz, a leading Cuban covert action operative, flew to Managua from Costa Rica, where he had been the Sandinistas' key adviser. He became, and remains, the Cuban Ambassador.

After their victory, the Sandinistas followed Castro's example and established a dual governing structure. The inner core was headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a nine-person Directorate, which immediately moved with Cuban help to establish a new army, an internal security apparatus and a variety of controlled organizations: neighborhood "defense committees," trade unions, professional organizations and media organs. The Sandinistas also came to dominate the nominally independent executive branch: the Junta, the quasi-legislative Council of State, and most government ministries.

The Sandinistas encouraged their democratic allies to participate in [illegible] executive branch institutions, both to use the skills of these [illegible] and their international credibility. This helped [illegible] in Western aid from July 1979 to the end of 1980. The United States, along with other democratic governments, recognized the new government. During the first 15 months of the regime, the United States provided more than $118 million in direct aid and endorsed more than $220 million in Inter-American Development Bank credits.

Repression of the democratic political parties, trade unions, and media began within weeks of Somoza's departure. In August and September 1979, the Sandinistas launched a campaign against the social democratic and Christian Democratic trade unions and their national federations, and tried to consolidate organized labor in two Sandinista-controlled groupings. A conference of Sandinista leaders in late September 1979 produced a specific plan for consolidating power. It stated that the democratic groups were to be "isolated" and brought under Sandinista control and that "while political parties must be permitted to exist" because of "international opinion," the Sandinistas would "work within them to get them to support the revolution."

Finally, in August 1980, the Sandinistas declared publicly that elections would not be held until 1985. Even then, these are not [illegible] will serve only to "ratify" the revolution.

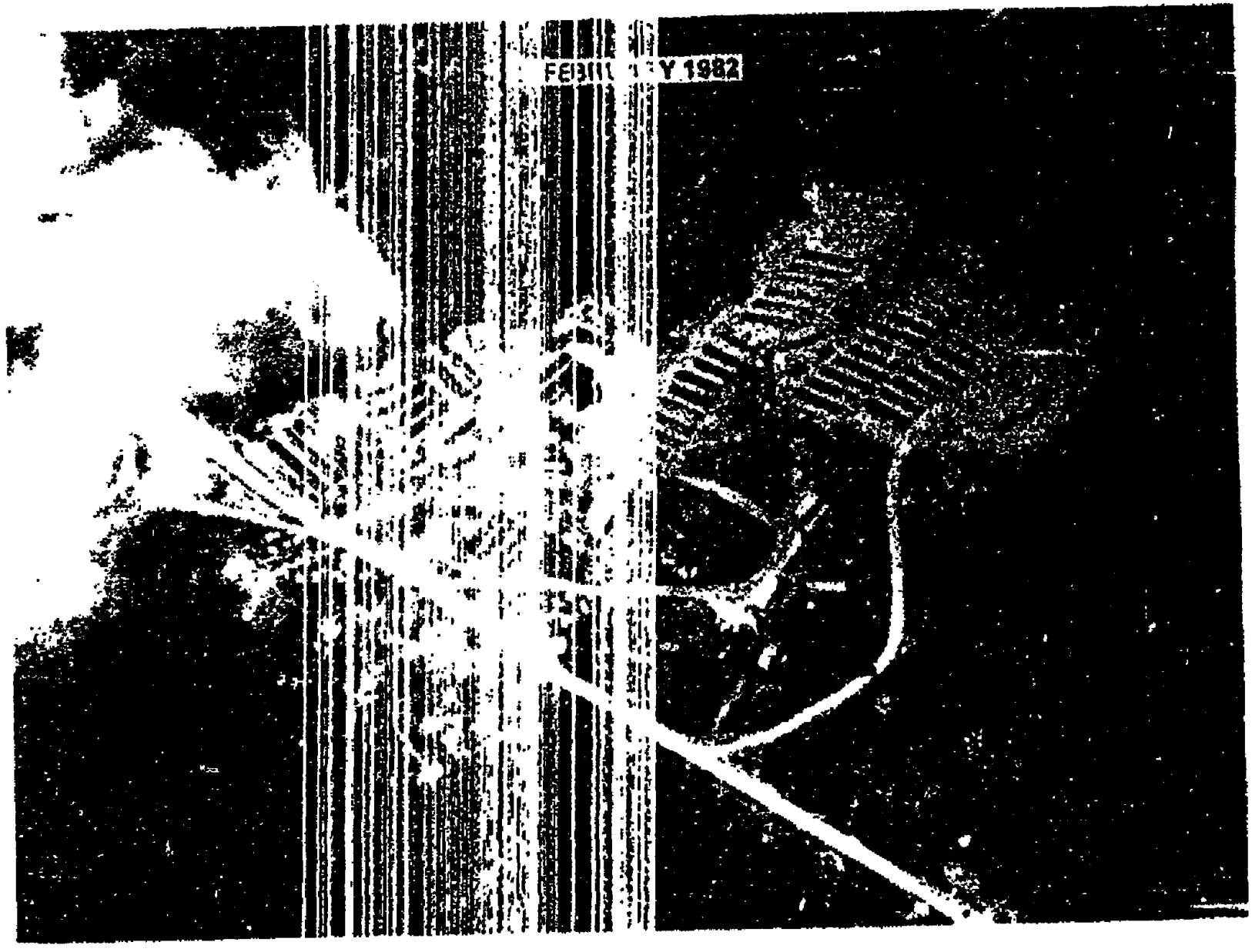
As a further measure of internal repression, in December 1981 the Sandinistas began destroying more than 40 villages of the [illegible] in northeastern Nicaragua. [illegible] Miskito by the [illegible] from their homes. The proof of these crimes [illegible] (Photos 1, 2, and 3 provide photographic evidence of the destruction of these villages.)

[illegible] campaign has served to consolidate power [illegible] the Sandinistas genuinely democratic groups and ethnic minorities have been excluded from real political participation. Although some are permitted to survive under surveillance and pressure, political control is held only by the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista directorate.

Within a week after the Sandinistas' takeover, Cuba had some 100 military and security personnel in Nicaragua. Three months later, by October 1979, this figure had increased to 200. Today, Nicaragua "hosts" 7,000 to 8,000 Cubans, including 1,500 to 2,000 military and security advisers, and many high-level Sandinistas have counterpart Cuban advisers. Cubans have trained virtually all Nicaraguan recruits in the General Directorate of Sandinista State Security, the new State police organization responsible for maintaining Sandinista control over the populace.

NICARAGUAN DETENTION CAMP FOR RELOCATED INDIANS

SUMUBILA, NICARAGUA



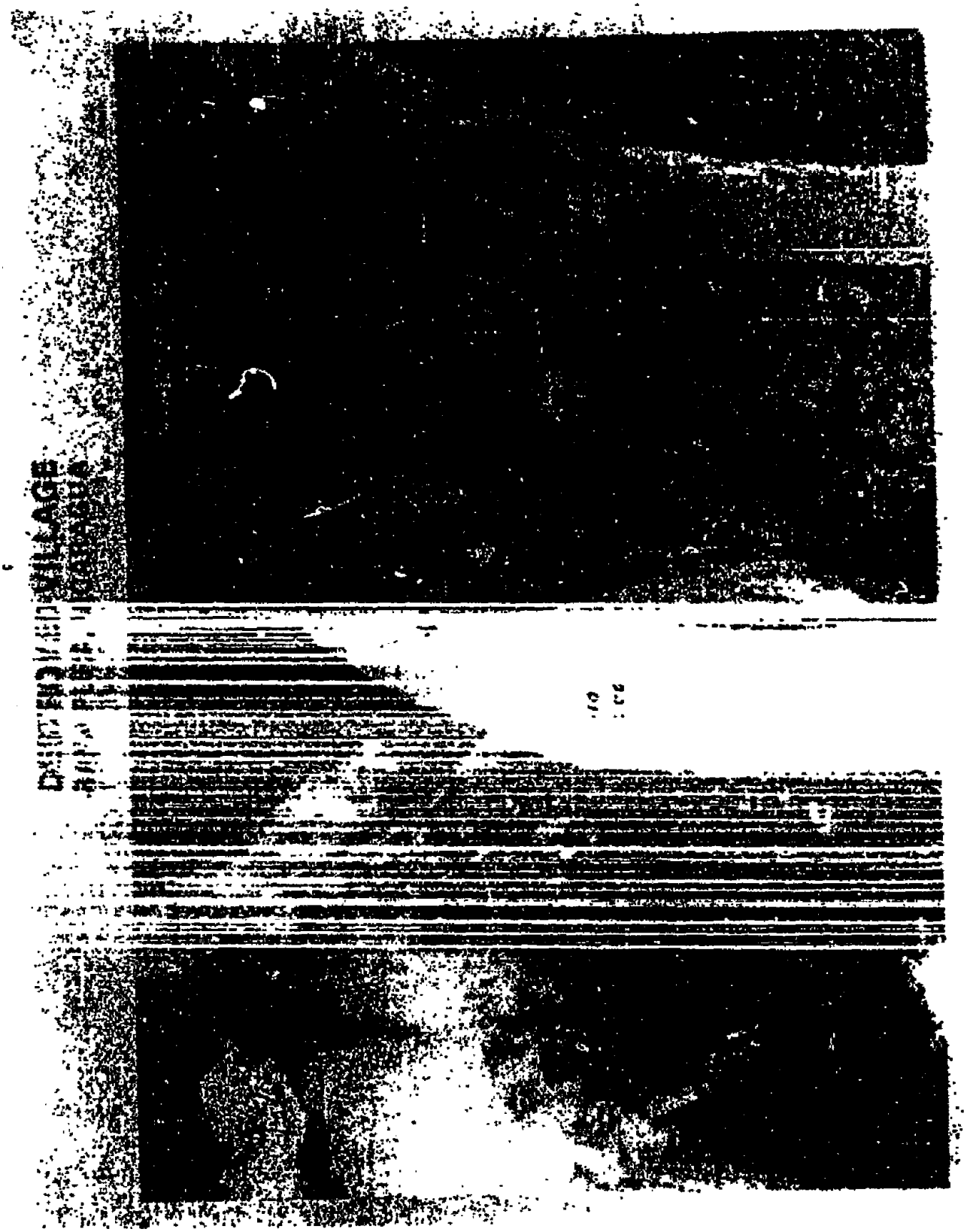
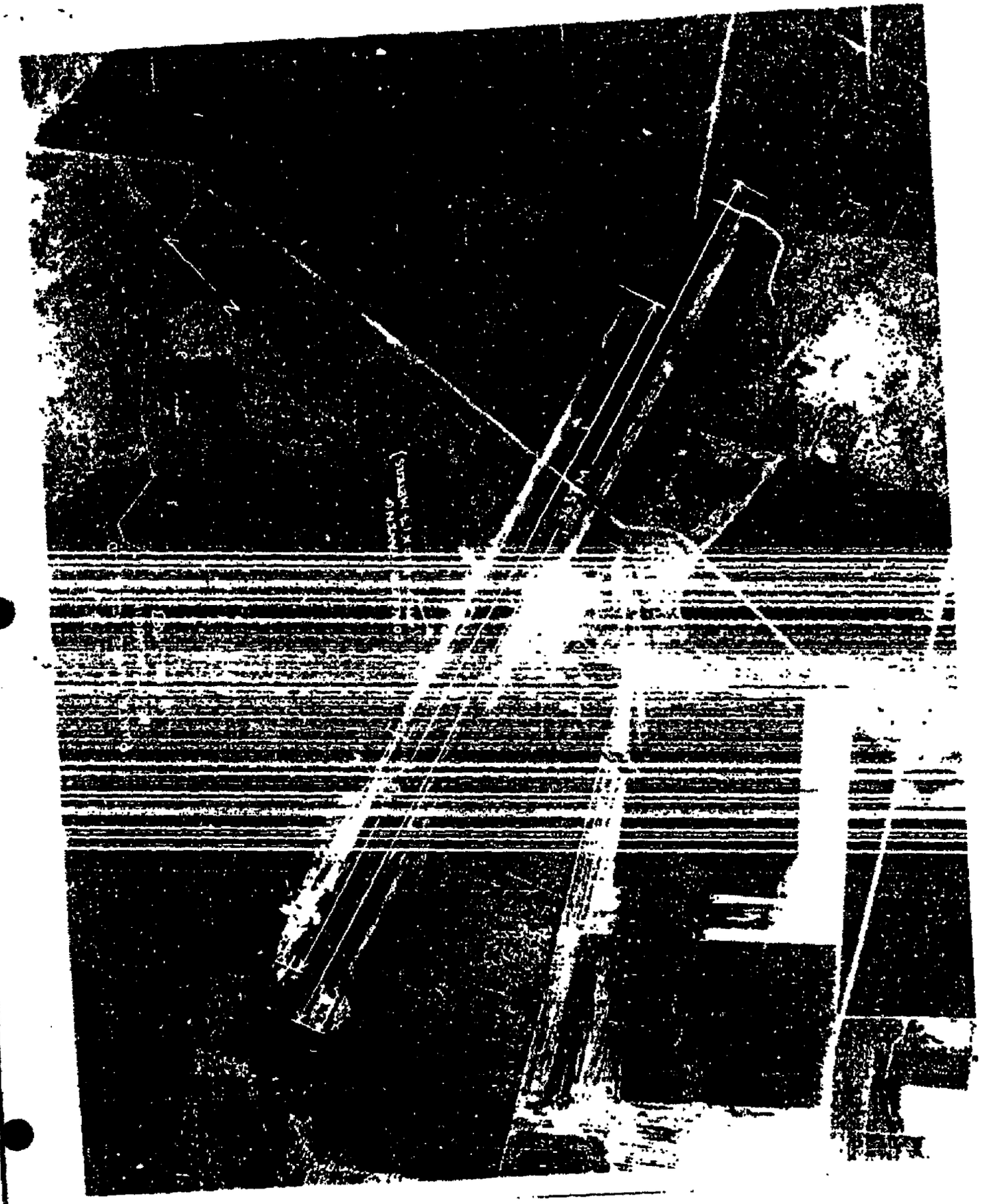


PHOTO #2



The Sandinista military buildup also began immediately. Somoza's National Guard numbered about 9,000 before 1977, and 15,000 at the height of the fighting. The Sandinistas have increased their military forces to some 35,000 regular troops on active duty, plus another 50,000 in active reserve and militia forces. In addition, they have added 36 new military bases and Soviet-bloc weapons, including 45-50 tanks, armored personnel carriers, mobile rocket-launchers and helicopters. Airfields are being constructed or improved which could service military jet aircraft.

For example, construction of a new dual runway airfield at Punta Huete, near Managua, is proceeding at an extremely rapid pace. About 800 meters of the estimated 3,600 meter main runway have been completed and work has begun on a parallel runway-taxiway; large, square area is being leveled for a probable parking apron. The location of Punta Huete strongly suggests that the new airfield, when completed, will be Nicaragua's main military airbase as well as the largest military airfield in Central America. This conclusion is based on: the relatively isolated location near Lake Managua (7 miles northwest of Managua); the estimated length of the runway, as well as the fact it will have a dual runway-taxiway [illegible] parking [illegible].

[illegible] military activity in [illegible] has [illegible] achieving power in Cuba, seeking to [illegible] Western Hemisphere, particularly during the 1970s, as well as [illegible] Soviet KGB and Soviet military. He also has cultivated close ties with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Libya and pro-Soviet factions in Africa and the Middle East in support of terrorism and subversion. Castro has a method of operation with the following principal components:

-- Unification of the extreme left;

-- Establishment of a "broad coalition"--led by the extreme left but including some noncommunist opposition elements--which makes direct or ambiguous promises of a "broad based" government after victory;

-- Use of the "broad coalition" and systematic propaganda and political action techniques in order to obtain noncommunist international support and isolate the target governments from Western political and material help;

-- Provision of Soviet bloc, Cuban, and other anti-Western military support as an incentive for extreme left unity.

This approach proved successful in Nicaragua. It was then turned against El Salvador in late 1979. Similar efforts have been made in Guatemala since 1980, accompanied by stepped-up covert activities against Honduras and Costa Rica starting in 1981 and 1982. The rapid expansion of these violent techniques in Central America is illustrated by the fact that while the total armed strength of the Marxist-Leninist left in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica was estimated at about 1,450 in 1978, by 1981 it was nearly 8,000.

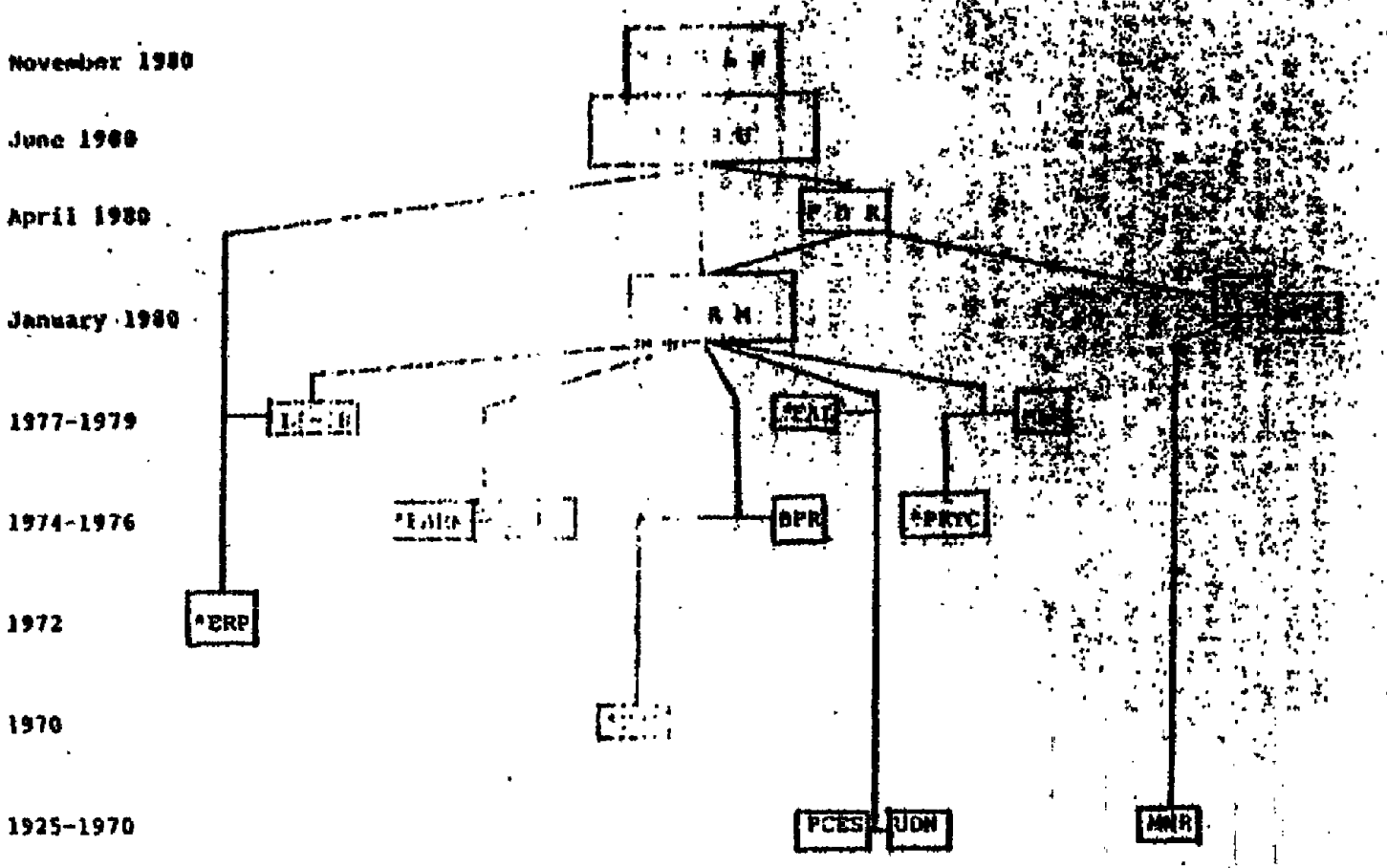
VIII. El Salvador

Soon after defeating Somoza, the Sandinistas began training guerrillas from El Salvador and other Central American countries. This was the beginning of a steadily expanding partnership between Cuba and the Sandinistas in exporting subversion in the region--a partnership that has included the establishment in Nicaragua of numerous guerrilla training camps, the transportation of tons of weapons and the establishment on Nicaraguan territory of guerrilla command and control facilities along with a variety of propaganda and covert activities.

[redacted] over tactics Castro [redacted] Salvadoran Communist [redacted] agreement to form a coordinating committee as [redacted] publicly in January 1980. It was also at this meeting that Castro [redacted] El Salvador and Guatemala [redacted] of guerrilla [redacted]

Three small noncommunist groups in El Salvador formed the "Democratic Front" in April 1980. Shortly thereafter, the Marxist-Leninist leaders and the noncommunist leaders of the "Democratic Front" formed the "Revolutionary Democratic Front" (FDR), thereby establishing the "broad coalition" which has been used to give the impression that the guerrillas are democratic and not Marxist-led. In June 1980, a meeting in Cuba united the military and political components of the extreme left under a "United Revolutionary Directorate" (DRU). In November 1980, a military alliance of the five insurgent factions, the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN), was created. Chart #1 depicts the evolution of this organizational framework.

The DRU became the command structure for the Marxist-Leninist organizations and also the directing authority over the "Democratic Front," for which representatives of three small noncommunist groups often act as spokesmen. The result was an unequal coalition in which the Marxist-Leninist groups controlled the armed units, weapons, intelligence, and covert support from the Soviet bloc/Cuba, while the non-Marxist-Leninist element provided a useful facade for maintaining international respectability.



terrorist groups

Having achieved the unified command for the extreme left, a communist-led "broad coalition," and some noncommunist international support, Cuba moved to increase the military strength of the Salvadoran guerrillas with full but discreet support from the Soviets. In April 1980, Salvadoran guerrilla leaders met in the Hungarian Embassy in Mexico City with representatives of Cuba, the USSR, Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland and Vietnam. In June and July 1980, the Salvadoran communist leaders went to Moscow and then with Soviet endorsement visited East Germany, Bulgaria, Vietnam and Ethiopia--all of which promised them military and other support. The commitment of weapons was estimated at about 800 tons.

The Cuban/Soviet bloc military supply operation used Western weapons (some from Vietnam) for "cover" and covertly shipped some 200 tons of weapons through Cuba and Nicaragua to arm the Salvadoran guerrillas for their intense but unsuccessful "final offensive" in January 1981.

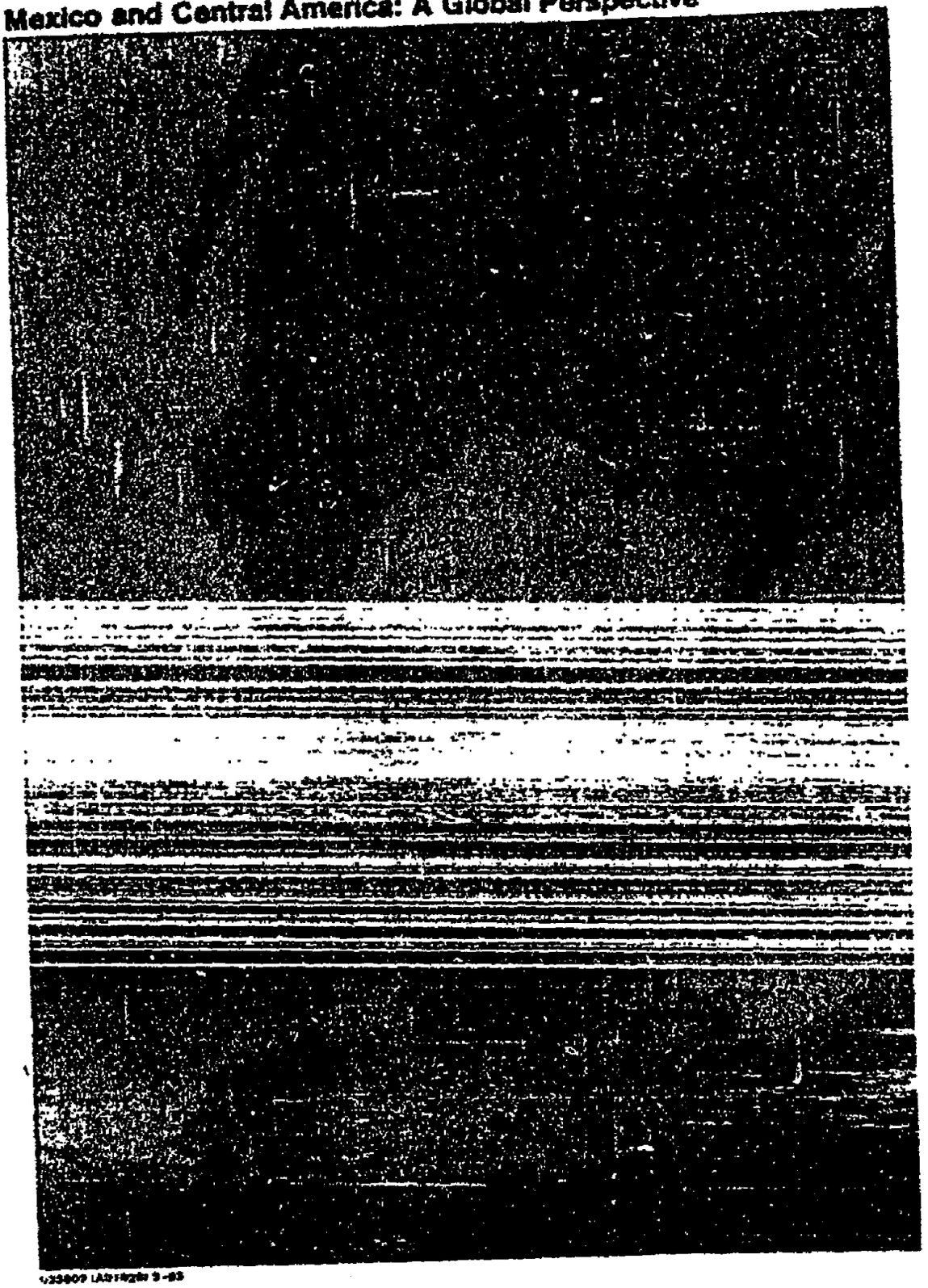
Although the offensive failed, it led President Carter to authorize U.S. military aid for arms, ammunition and equipment for the first time since 1977 to "support the Salvadoran government in its struggle against left-wing terrorism supported covertly with arms, ammunition, training and political and military [illegible]

Throughout 1981, Cuba, Nicaragua and the Soviet bloc aided in rebuilding, arming and improving the Salvadoran guerrilla forces, which expanded their operations in the [illegible]

[illegible] political support as well as [illegible] arming. The FMLN headquarters in Nicaragua now has a [illegible] military command and control [illegible] in fact, than that used by the Sandinistas against [illegible] Guerrilla planning and operations are guided from this headquarters, where Cuban and Nicaraguan officials are involved in command and control. The guidance flows to guerrilla units widely spread throughout El Salvador. The FMLN headquarters in Nicaragua also coordinates propaganda and logistical support for the insurgents, including food, medicines, clothing, money and--most importantly--weapons and ammunition.

Although some guerrilla actions take place as targets of opportunity appear, the headquarters in Nicaragua decides on most locations to be attacked and coordinates supply deliveries. The guerrillas themselves have centralized their control procedures. For example, on March 14, 1982, the FMLN clandestine Radio Venceremos, then located near the Salvadoran border, broadcast a message to guerrillas in El Salvador urging them "to maintain their fighting spirit 24 hours a day to carry out the missions ordered by the FMLN general command (emphasis supplied)." The murder and

Mexico and Central America: A Global Perspective



MAP #1

Introduction

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I. Nicaragua

When Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba, he set the pattern which, 20 years later, the Sandinistas are repeating in Nicaragua. Castro established a dual government. An inner core of trusted guerrillas controlled and built the instruments of power (the army, the secret police, "revolutionary tribunals," and new mass organizations), while his democratic allies were kept busy in formal institutions such as the Council of State and government ministries. This tactic helped him consolidate power and neutralize his democratic allies until they could no longer unite against him. Many of these allies later were executed or imprisoned, or left the country.

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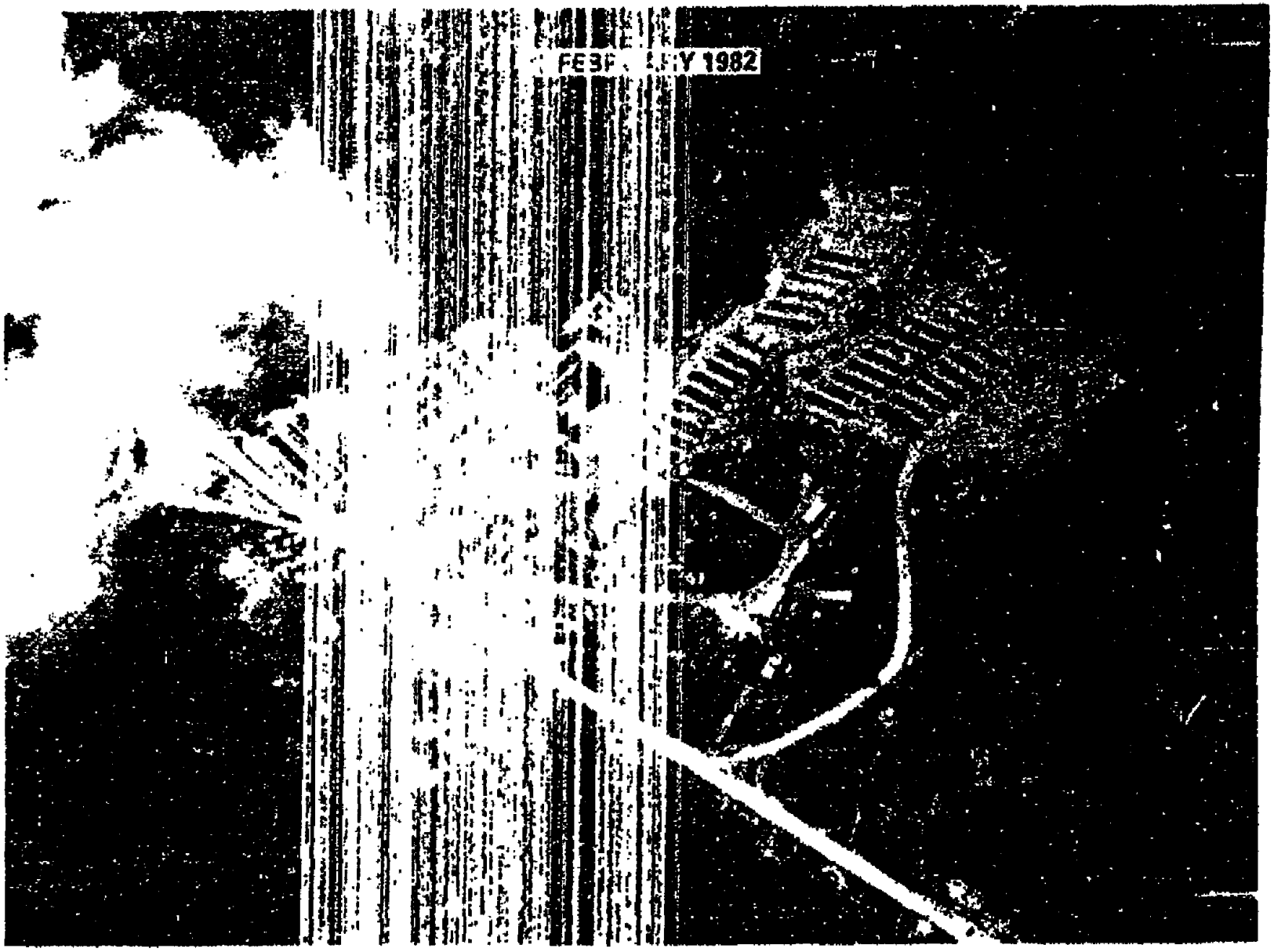
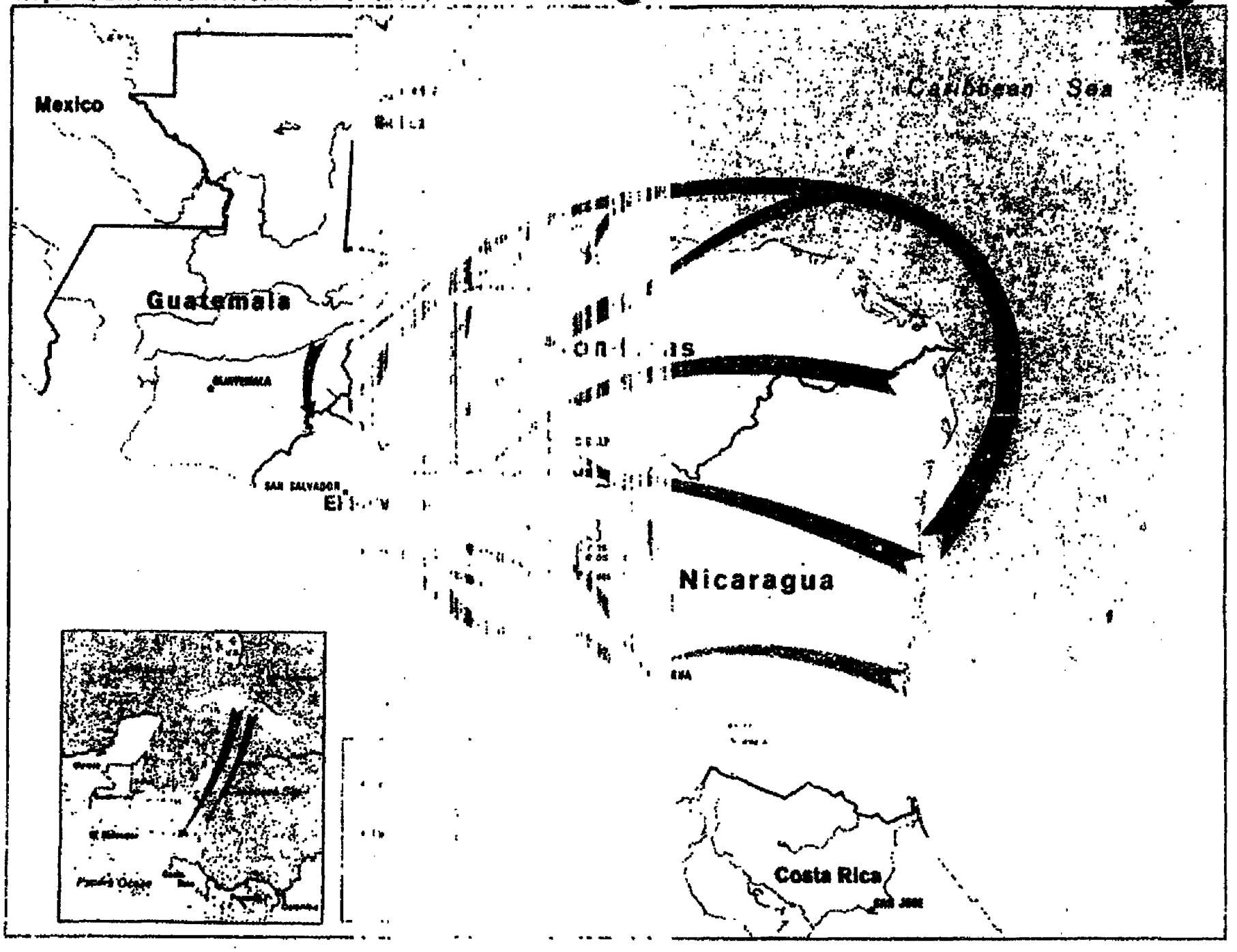
NICARAGUAN DETENTION CAMP FOR RELOCATED INDIANS

PUERTO BILA, NICARAGUA



Major Central American Arms Routes



alleged suicide of leaders of El Salvador's largest guerrilla group (the FPL) residing in Managua in April 1983 provided dramatic evidence of the guerrillas' base in Nicaragua.

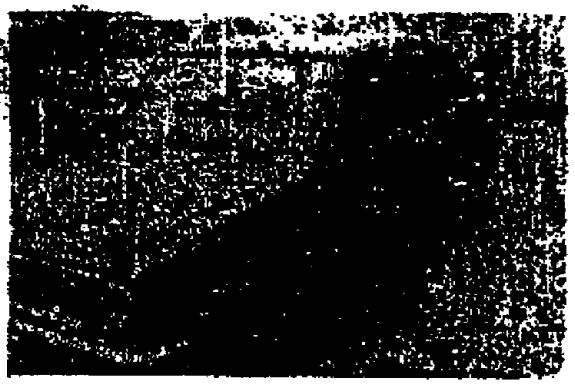
After El Salvador scheduled free elections for a Constituent Assembly for March 28, 1982, the Salvadoran Government invited the Social Democrats (MNR) and the Communist-front UDN, both of which support the FMLN, to compete openly in those elections. This offer was rejected and the top priority of the guerrillas became the disruption or prevention of these elections. In December 1981, after meetings in Havana with Salvadoran guerrilla leaders, Fidel Castro directed that external supplies of arms to FMLN units be stepped up to launch a offensive to disrupt the elections.

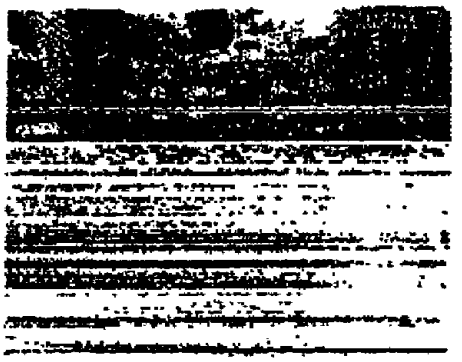
During the first 3 months of 1982, arms shipments into El Salvador surged. Cuban-Nicaraguan arms flowed through Honduras into El Salvador by sea, air, and overland routes. In February, for example, Salvadoran guerrilla groups picked up a large shipment on the Salvadoran coast, near Usulutan, after the shipment arrived by sea from Nicaragua.

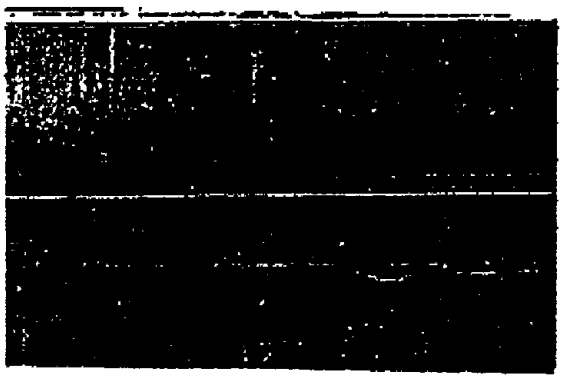
In addition to vitally needed ammunition, these supply operations included greater quantities of more sophisticated heavy [illegible] several thousand sticks of TNT and detonators from Nicaragua [illegible], five sticks are needed to blow up an electrical pylon). [illegible] explosives, uniforms, passports [illegible] guerrillas. Map #2 displays the known major [illegible] for arms during [illegible].

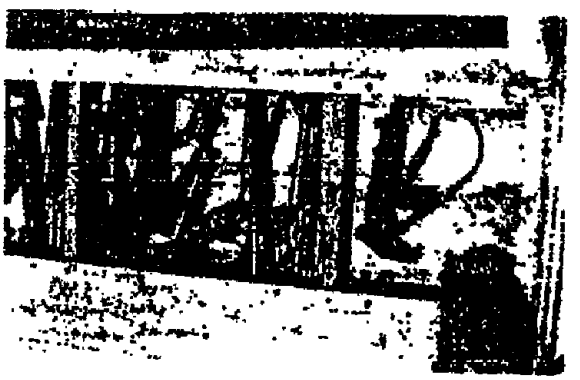
With this support, thousands of Salvadoran guerrillas attempted to prevent the March 1982 election by destroying public buses, blocking highways and attacking villages, town, and voting places. Nonetheless, with several hundred election observers from democratic countries and about 700 foreign journalists as witnesses, the people of El Salvador repudiated the extreme left by voting in overwhelming numbers. More than 80% of the eligible voters participated.

Following their obvious repudiation in the elections, the FMLN leaders reacted as they had after their failed 1981 "final offensive." They consulted the Nicaraguan and Cuban officials [illegible]









plan strategy and to obtain more and better military and communications equipment for their forces. For the next 6 months, they continued terrorist harrassment and economic sabotage. In mid-October 1982, they used their expanded capabilities to begin a new series of military attacks. By early 1983 the guerrillas had controlled about a dozen towns for more than 2 months, and their morale clearly had recovered--in part due to the continued Cuban, Nicaraguan and Soviet bloc support, which enabled them to sustain operations despite their rejection by the Salvadoran people. During 1982, guerrilla operations resulted in about 2,500 government forces wounded and 1,300 killed. These intensified attacks have continued through the first 5 months of 1983.

Although Castro has often denied responsibility for shipping weapons to the Salvadoran guerrillas, German Social Democrat leader Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski stated publicly in 1981 that Castro had admitted the Cuban role. Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez confirmed Cuban training of Salvadoran guerrillas in interviews given in the fall of 1981. In an article published in the Toronto Globe and Mail on February 12, 1982, a reporter interviewed a Salvadoran guerrilla trainee who described courses for Salvadoran guerrillas in demolition and intelligence operations, taught by Cubans, and attended by the Salvadorans at that time.

[illegible] commission in Nicaragua overseeing the shipping of weapons from that country to here." He also said there have been [illegible]

[illegible] a commercially undeveloped [illegible] of Managua [illegible]

[illegible] approximately 1,200 meters. Hangars were [illegible] strategic arms for the Salvadoran guerrillas.

the airbase were confirmed by photographic [illegible] unidentified aircraft were frequently sighted in El Salvador. Several pilots who regularly flew the route into El Salvador have been identified in Nicaragua. This particular route has been closed down, but air infiltration over new routes continues to this day.

In addition to the air infiltration routes, the Salvadoran guerrillas make extensive use of sea and overland infiltration routes through Honduras and Guatemala from Nicaragua. Photo #5 taken in May 1983, in San Salvador, demonstrates that the guerrillas use sophisticated vehicular concealment devices to confound detection by local authorities.

Details of Cuban/Nicaraguan support have been provided by two high-level FMLN leaders captured in mid-1982. One of them, known as "Alejandro Montenegro," was seized on August 22, 1982, in conjunction with a raid on an FMLN safehouse in Honduras. Montenegro's importance is underscored by the fact that the September 1982 taking of 108 civilian hostages in San Pedro Sula, Honduras, was essentially an attempt by a leftist Honduran terrorist group (with close ties to the Salvadoran insurgents) to secure his release. The hostage seizure failed because Montenegro had already been transferred to Salvadoran military authorities. Montenegro provided some significant information:

-- He said that the Cubans played a major role in training those who conducted the successful January 27, 1982, raid on the Salvadoran air base at Ilopango, which damaged or destroyed a dozen aircraft.

-- Montenegro himself directed the attack, leading an eight-man team that had received 5 months of special infiltration and sabotage training in Cuba.

-- He said that he personally had attended two high-level meetings with Cuban officials in 1981--one in Havana and the other in [illegible]

-- One of the guerrillas captured with Montenegro made [illegible] trips to Managua in 1982 to pick up arms [illegible]

[illegible] weapons and ammunition. Although he [illegible] some weapons and ammunition from the Salvadoran military.

The other captured Salvadoran guerrilla leader, Lopez Arriola, admitted attending a platoon leaders' course in Cuba in July 1979. He said that:

-- Hundreds of Salvadoran guerrillas have received military training in Cuba;

-- Cubans give special courses for combatants, commanders, staff officers, and intelligence officials;

-- He had attended an insurgent strategy meeting in Havana in June 1981, at which Castro himself appeared.

Lopez Arriola also revealed that the Sandinistas control weapons delivered from Vietnam to Nicaragua for the Salvador insurgents and that the guerrillas must ask for permission to draw on the supplies. He added that the Sandinistas give the insurgents an extensive base of operations in and around Managua and provide a school for their children.

IV. Guatemala

In Guatemala, although there was increased guerrilla activity in the months proceeding the elections, this violence failed to disrupt the national elections of March 7, 1982. A widespread, but unconfirmed, perception of extensive electoral fraud by the government together with pervasive and excessive government corruption and international isolation led to a junior officer coup on March 23, 1982. The new President, General Efrain Rios Montt, who had been on inactive duty for four years, acted quickly.

He disbanded various semi-official groups that had taken part in violence against opposition leaders and offered amnesty for guerrillas who surrendered before the end of June 1982. (The Guatemalan Government has since renewed this offer and it is currently in force). From that point on, the Guatemalan Government [illegible] intensive counter-insurgency program. This included [illegible] food and [illegible]

[illegible] Guatemalan security forces [illegible] Guatemala City. [illegible] Nicaragua.

[illegible] efforts [illegible] September 9, 1982, a guerrilla [illegible] called a press conference in Havana [illegible] the unity of the four principal Guatemalan guerrilla groups. The Cubans and the Soviet bloc have continued to provide military training and support to various factions of the Guatemalan insurgency.

V. Honduras

The new democratic government of Honduras--inaugurated in January 1982--increased its cooperation with the United States and neighbors in the region to neutralize the threat posed by the large military buildup in Nicaragua as well as by the guerrillas in the region. Having failed in 1981 to persuade Honduras to be neutral by promising that Cuba and Nicaragua would "spare Honduras" from

the terrorism affecting El Salvador and Guatemala, Cuba now seeks to intimidate Honduras and its leaders into passivity through acts of terrorism. By doing so, the Cubans hope to eliminate a major obstacle to arms shipments to El Salvador and thus to increase the chance that the Salvadoran guerrillas can succeed.

Cuba and Nicaragua have worked actively to keep the Honduran Government from cooperating with El Salvador's efforts to prevent the transit of guerrilla supplies. Increased Cuban/Nicaraguan training and support have been provided to the Honduran extreme left, and Havana has stepped up efforts to promote unity among the Honduran leftist groups as part of a campaign to destablize the Honduran Government. Examples of extreme leftist actions in Honduras during 1981 included the following:

-- In early January 1981, Honduran police caught six persons unloading weapons from a truck enroute from Nicaragua. The six identified themselves as members of the International Support Commission of the Salvadoran Popular Liberation Forces, a part of the FMLN. They had in their possession a large number of altered and forged Honduran, Costa Rican, and Salvadoran passports and other identity documents. One truck contained more than 100 M-16/AR-15 automatic rifles, 50 81mm mortar rounds, about 100,000 rounds of 5.56mm ammunition, machineguns [illegible]

-- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] for the Morazanist Front for the Liberation of [illegible] was described in the pro-government newspaper El Nuevo Diario, by "Octavio," one of its founders, as a political-military organization formed as part of the "increasing regionalization of the Central American conflict." The raid occurred on November 27, 1981, in Tegucigalpa. Following a gunfight the Honduran police captured several members of this group. This cell included a Honduran, a Uruguayan, and several Nicaraguans. The captured terrorists told Honduran authorities that the Nicaraguan Government had provided them with funds for travel expenses, as well as explosives.

Captured documents and statements by detained guerrillas further indicated that the group was formed in Nicaragua at the instigation of high-level Sandinista leaders. The group's chief of operations resided in Managua. Members of the group received military training in Nicaragua and Cuba. The documents included classroom notebooks from a 1-year training course held in Cuba in 1980. Other captured documents revealed that guerrillas at one safehouse were responsible for transporting arms and ammunition into Honduras from Esteli, Nicaragua.

Our information shows that Nicaraguan agents and Salvadoran extreme left groups have played a leading role in the Honduran operation:

-- The Salvadoran guerrillas have links with almost all Honduran terrorist groups and assist them in subversive planning, training, and operations.

-- The December 1982, kidnapping of Honduran President Suazo's daughter in Guatemala was the work of a Guatemalan Marxist-Leninist guerrilla faction.

-- Discussions reportedly were held in mid-1982 among the [illegible]

-- Captured Salvadoran and Honduran terrorists have admitted [illegible] bombing attacks in the Honduran [illegible]

[illegible]

Costa Rica now [illegible] and social tensions [illegible] May 1982. [illegible] Right and Left, was inaugurated as President.

Because his government has attempted to stop the continued use of its territory for the supply of weapons to the region's Marxist-Leninist guerrrillas, Cuba and Nicaragua also have made Costa Rica a target for subversion. During 1982, for example:

-- Cuba funded a new leftist political party designed to unify various leftist elements and attract broader popular support;

-- The Cubans and Sandinistas provided weapons and training for Costa Rican leftist terrorists;

-- Since the beginning of 1982, several guerrilla arms caches and safehouses have been discovered in Costa Rica.

-- In March 1982, the Costa Rican Judicial Police discovered a large arms cache in a house in San Jose. Among the nine people arrested there were Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, an Argentine, a Chilean, and a Costa Rican. Costa Rican police so far have seized 13 vehicles designed for arms smuggling and more than 170 weapons, including machineguns, TNT, fragmentation grenades, a grenade-launcher, ammunition and 500 combat uniforms.

-- Nicaragua has instigated terrorist actions in Costa Rica, leading to increased tensions between the two countries. Although the Sandinistas denied complicity, the July 3, 1982, bombing of the Honduran airlines office in San Jose took place at Nicaragua's direction, according to a Colombian M-19 member arrested by Costa Rican authorities on July 14, 1982.

-- The captured terrorist also stated that the July 3, bombing was part of a broader Nicaraguan plan that included sabotage, kidnappings, bank robberies, and other terrorist acts designed to discredit Costa Rica internationally.

-- In November 1982, Salvadoran guerrillas attempted to kidnap [illegible] Costa Rica to destabilize the government.

[illegible] to invade El Salvador using the armies of Honduras and Guatemala with assistance from Brazil, Argentina, and [illegible] was characterized as a last ditch effort by the U.S. [illegible] transform the situation in El Salvador in favor of government forces prior to the U.S. elections in November 1980.

Captured documents indicate that the FMLN has coordinated the FDR's international activities (in the United States, Canada, and Europe) from Mexico City. The Soviets in Mexico City are also in contact with the Salvadoran guerrillas. Logistics and international relations policy, however, are handled in Havana. The Cuban press agency, Prensa Latina, provides international communications for the FDR and its representatives abroad.

The Soviets and Cubans met in June 1980 with several Salvadoran insurgent leaders in Havana to establish a strategy for an international political campaign on El Salvador. Evidence from captured guerrilla documents indicates that the strategy includes:

-- Propaganda: Spokesmen should emphasize that the Salvadoran "revolution" represents the people and is fighting against oppression and for freedom from outside intervention. The United States seeks direct military intervention in El Salvador to keep the "junta" in power.

-- International Support: Representatives should gain recognition and support for the insurgents from a broad range of international organizations and political and regional groups.

-- U.S. Initiatives: Representatives should strengthen ties with sympathetic American organizations and seek support from American politicians.

-- Public Posture: From the outset, representatives should call for a dialogue to seek resolution of the conflict. "The policy of a dialogue is a tactical maneuver to broaden [illegible] peace and justice.

[illegible]

[illegible] with Cuban cronies, since that time Havana and the Salvadoran guerrilla leadership in Nicaragua have followed it [illegible]

[illegible] El Salvador, and widespread use has been made of disinformation to substantiate the message. Moscow also has employed its international fronts, such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions, in support of the propaganda campaign.

Communist parties in Europe, Latin America, Canada and Australia have participated in the propaganda campaign and helped organize demonstrations. Their publications have continuously printed articles on El Salvador and contributed to disinformation circulating about the situation in that country. For instance, the Communist Party of Spain, in its maganzine Mundo Oberro Semanal amid pictures of blood-covered bodies, accused the United States of

encircling El Salvador with the aid of Honduras and Guatemala, of sending tanks and helicopters "piloted by Yankees," of invading El Salvador, and of murdering Salvadoran Archbishop Romero.

Meanwhile, the FDR-FMLN, with Soviet and Cuban support, has directed the establishment of "Solidarity Committees" throughout Europe and Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These serve as propaganda outlets and conduits for contributions to the guerrillas. These committees also have helped plan, in conjunction with Communist parties and local leftist groups, many of the demonstrations that have taken place in support of the Salvadoran guerrillas. The timing and location of the demonstrations, such as those held worldwide after the failure of the January 1981 FMLN "final offensive" and those to protest the March 1982 Salvadoran elections, show that they resulted from a well-coordinated effort.

VIII. Extent of Outside Support

Since the Sandinista victory in July 1979, both Cuba and Nicaragua have steadily increased the size and quality of their "Revolutionary" military forces. The Soviets have played a major role in this militarization of the region.

[redacted]

-- In April 1982, a communist bloc ship delivered four Soviet heavy tank ferries, one small patrol boat, and 12 small mobile multiple-rocket-launchers.

-- The tank ferries provide the Sandinista army with an offensive water-crossing capability, while the mobile rocket-launchers gave them a mass firepower weapon unmatched in the region.

-- In mid-1982, the Sandinistas completed a new garrison for their Soviet T-54/55 tank battalion just outside of Managua. They also completed two new infantry battalion garrisons near Managua and have begun work on another major military installation south of the capital.

-- As is evident from photos #6-8, all of these military installations have a common layout similar to Cuban garrisons designed and constructed with Cuban assistance.

-- It is noteworthy that Cuban Defense Minister Raul Castro visited Nicaragua in mid-1982 with a high-level military delegation, ostensibly to offer aid for flood damage. It was announced later that 2,000 Cuban construction workers were being sent to Nicaragua. Since then, we have detected a spurt in military construction activity.

-- In November 1982, a Soviet bloc ship delivered an additional group of 25 T-54/55 tanks, bringing the total to about 50. The delivery followed a visit by Sandinista Directorate member, Daniel Ortega, to Moscow earlier in the year. To enhance the mobility of Sandinista ground forces, the Soviets have delivered MI-8 helicopters, AN-2 aircraft and armored personnel carriers also have been provided.

-- During early December 1982, eight new 122mm howitzers were delivered, supplementing the twelve 152mm guns delivered in 1981.

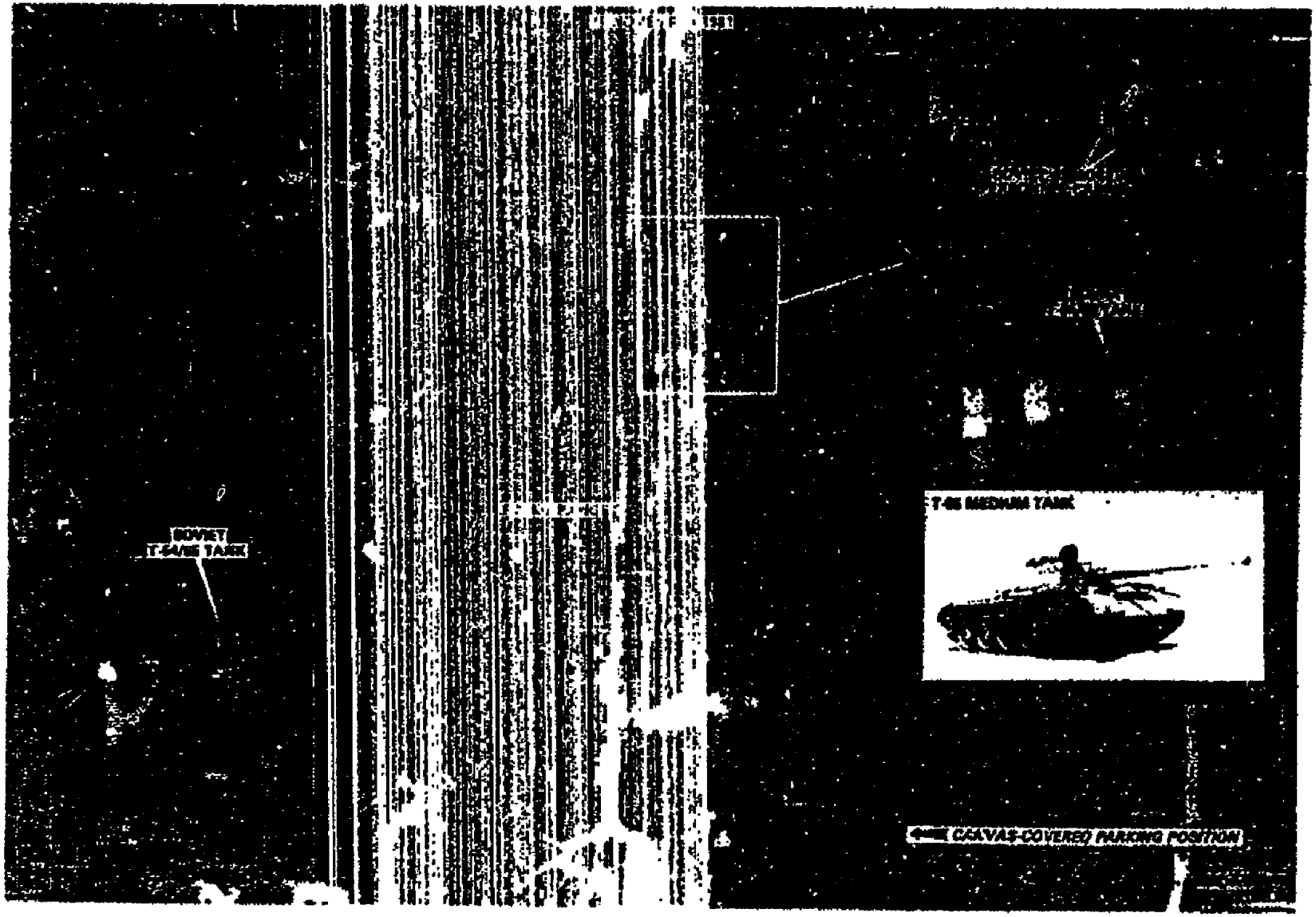
-- Finally, in late December 1982, the first delivery was made of sophisticated Soviet electronic gear--a high frequency/

[redacted]

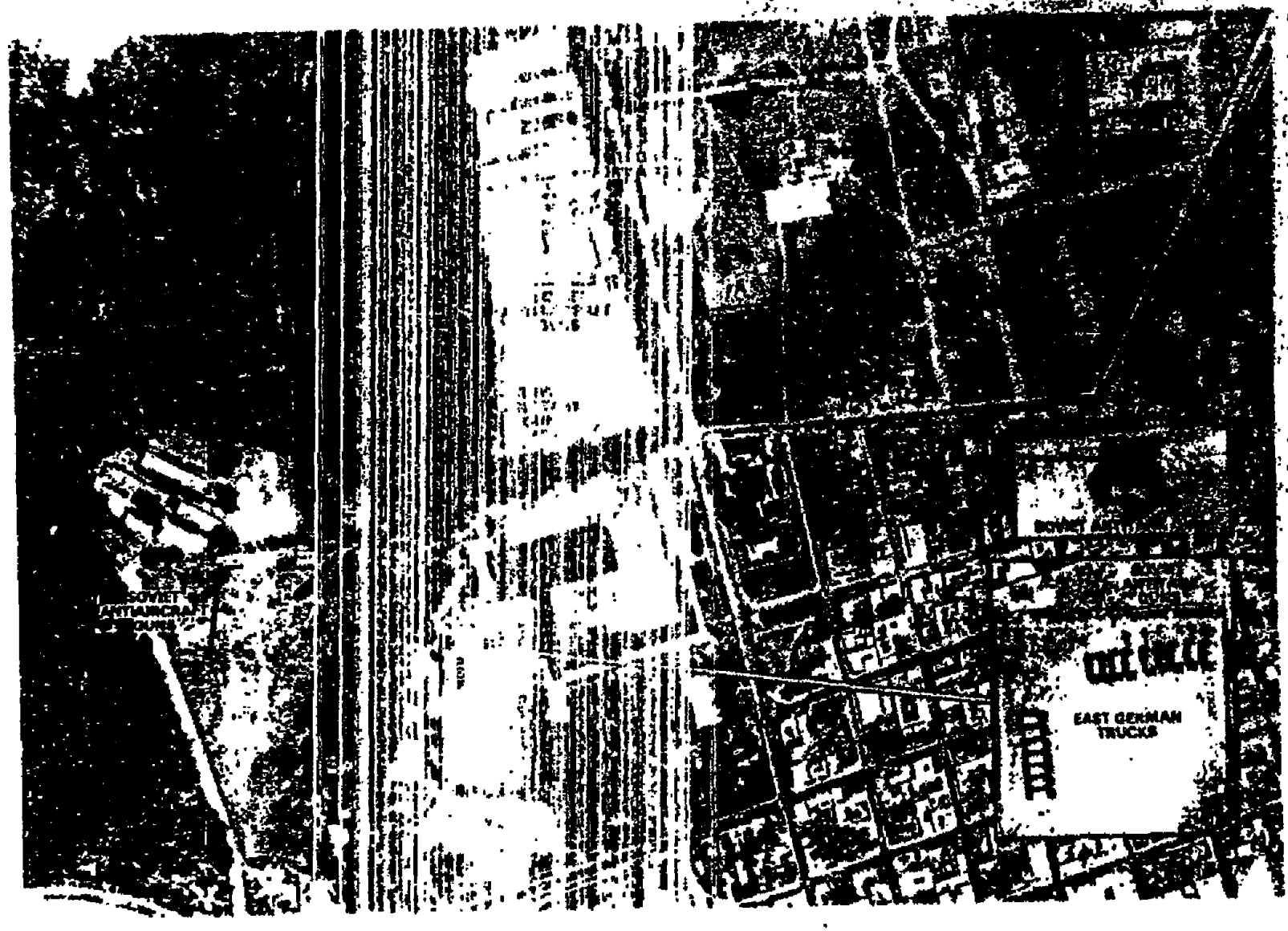
the security services, and the Cubans are attached to the Nicaraguan General Staff and the headquarters services. By mid-1982, they had concluded military agreements with Nicaragua estimated to be worth at least $125 million.

There are also about 35 military and 200 economic advisors from East European countries in Nicaragua. Most are East Germans, but some Bulgarians, Czechoslovakians, Poles and Hungarians are also present. The East Germans are most active in the Nicaraguan internal security organizations.

TEMPORARY ARMOR STORAGE AREA
MANAGUA, NICARAGUA



SOVIET/EAST GERMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT
IN SELECTED NICARAGUA



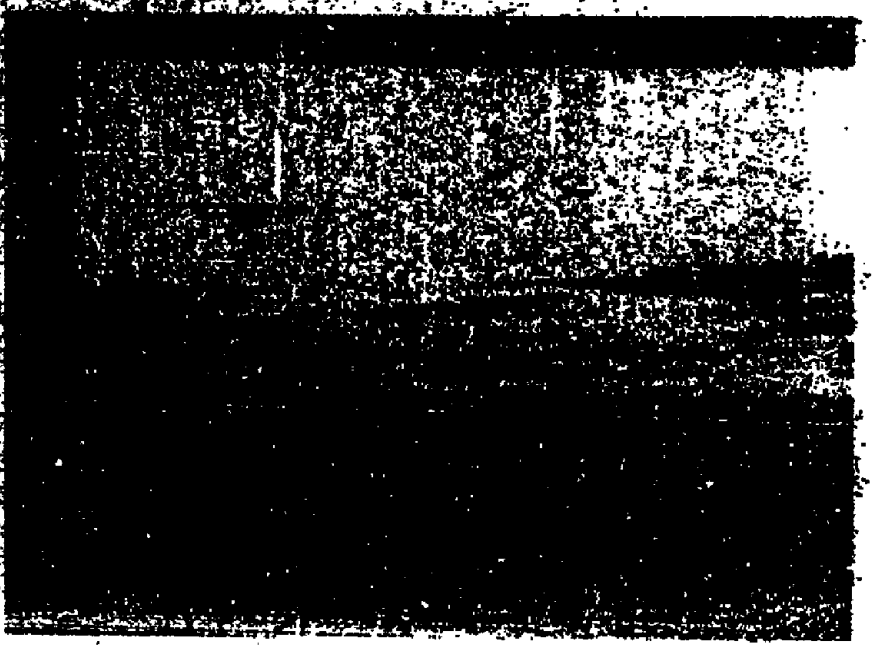
As many as 50 Libyan and PLO advisors have been active in Nicaragua. The Libyan advisors have been engaged mostly in assisting the Soviet-built Mi-8 light helicopters they provided the Nicaraguan [illegible]. The Libyans also provided the Sandinistas with four Soviet-built aircraft useful in counter-insurgency operations.

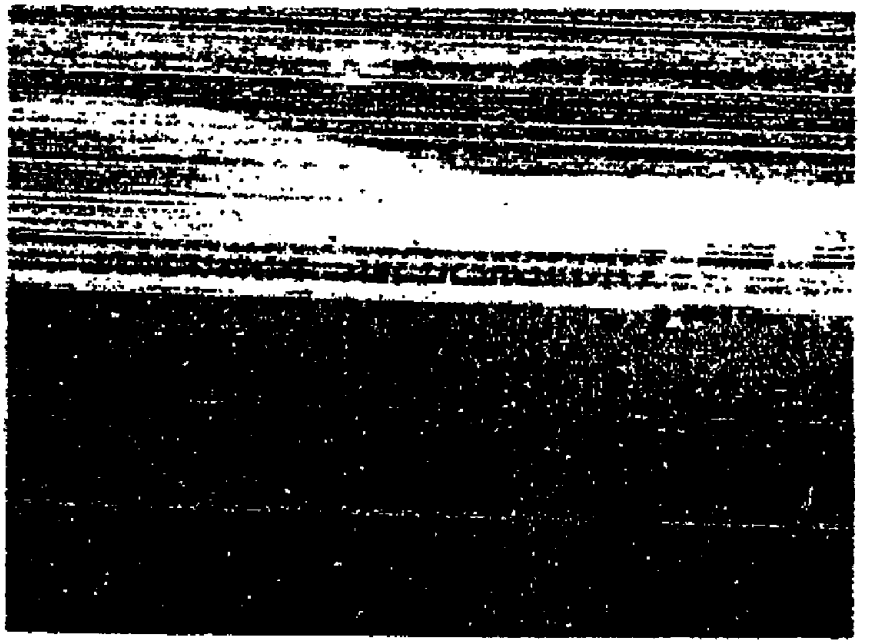
In April 1983, Brazil detained four Libyan aircraft transporting large quantities of weapons to Nicaragua, including two jet aircraft. This event, and a high-level delegation to Managua in May underscored Libyan leader Qadhafi's commitment to the Central American struggle (see photos 39 and 40). (Salvadoran guerrilla leader Cayetano Carpio returned to Nicaragua from Libya immediately before his April 72 purported suicide in Managua.)

PLO leader Yasir Arafat agreed to provide military equipment to Nicaragua, including arms and aircraft, when he was in Managua on July 22, 1980. The PLO has trained selected Salvadorans in the Near East and in Nicaragua. Arafat affirmed to a group of Palestinian journalists in Beirut on January 11, 1982, that "there are Palestinian revolutionaries with the revolutionaries in El Salvador..." About 30 PLO personnel are providing pilot training and aircraft maintenance in Nicaragua.

[illegible] It is a large-scale intervention in the political affairs of the nations directly concerned, for the clear purpose of bringing to power governments on the Cuban model.

LIBYAN ARMS AIRCRAFT IN BRAZIL





PHOTOS #9 and 10

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1979BUENOS05780

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Page: 1

Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05780 210949Z
ACTION H-02

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INFO OCT-01 HA-05 ADS-00 /008 W
----------112219 211452Z /44

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

R 181455Z JUL 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1548

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 5780

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF RAYMUNDO GLEYZER (13/76/11)

H PASS: HONORABLE TOBY MOFFETT
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC

1. DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOFFETT:
I AM WRITING IN RESPONSE TO YOUR INQUIRY OF JUL 5, 1979 REGARDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF RAYMUNDO GLEYZER THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS INFORMED US THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RECORD OF THE DETENTION OF MR. GLEYZER NOR ANY INFO REGARDING HIS WHEREABOUTS.

2. SENATORS AND SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAVE WRITTEN US ABOUT MR. GLEYZER'S DISAPPEARANCE. WE HAVE REITERATED THIS INTEREST IN OUR PRESENTATIONS TO THE MINISTRY. THIS CASE WILL BE CONTINUE TO BE MONITORED BY THE EMBASSY AND WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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JNN

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

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No. 2011012

United States of America

NA085

R

DOJ

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I Certify That the document hereunto annexed is under the seal of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, United States of America, and that such seal is entitled to full faith and

DOJ

In testimony whereof, I, Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Authentication Officer of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this eighteenth day of July, 19 79.

*FOR THE CONTENTS OF THE ANNEXED DOCUMENT THE DEPARTMENT ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY

Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State.

By
Authentication Officer, Department of State.

Issued pursuant to 5 USC 158, Sec. 82 Stat. 346, 28 U.S.C. 1733; May 26, 1949, c. 139, Sec. 104 and 31 Stat. 174 and 5 USC 140.

SEC 23, RS 203; June 25, 1948, c. 646 of Act of 28 USC 1551; amended June 27, 1952, c. 477, Title IV, Ch. 44, 1443, and

This Certificate is not valid if it is removed or altered in any way whatsoever.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972—O-481-178

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Lot 96F002 Box 1

~~0016 0049~~ UNCLASSIFIED

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CONSULADO DE CHILE
EN WASHINGTON, EE.UU. DE AMERICA

El Cónsul que suscribe certifica la autenticidad de la firma de don Edwin H. McGowen por cuanto al parecer la suya. Asimismo al legalizar no asume responsabilidad alguna por el contenido de los documentos o por la validez de los mismos.

Actuación Nº 1045 Arancel Art. Nº 11/35
Derechos percibidos: US$ 9.-
WASHINGTON, de JUL 20 1979 de 19

CONSULADO DE CHILE · WASHINGTON ·

FERNANDO MOLINA ALCALDE
CONSUL DE CHILE

SERVICIO CONSULAR · CONSULADO DE CHILE · WASHINGTON · 1979 · US$ CHILE US$

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ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF
THE UNITED STATES COURTS

I, William E. Foley, Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts of the United States of America, and keeper of the seal approved by the Supreme Court of the United States pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 608, hereby certify that the seal affixed to the attached document on page two thereof, is a true and authentic seal of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, and that the signature affixed to the document is the true and authentic signature of Joyce H. Green, a Judge of said Court.

In testimony whereof, I hereunto sign my name and affix the seal of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts at Washington, D.C., this 17th day of July, 1979.

William E. Foley
Director
Administrative Office of
the United States Courts

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No. 79/11559-2

United States of America

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

To whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I Certify That the document hereunto annexed is under the seal of the District of Columbia and that such seal is entitled to full faith and credit.*

In testimony whereof, I, Warren Christopher, Acting Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Authentication Officer of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this twenty-ninth day of June, 19 79.

*FOR THE CONTENTS OF THE ANNEXED DOCUMENT THE DEPARTMENT ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY

Warren Christopher
Acting Secretary of State.

By Edward J. McGowan
Authentication Officer, Department of State.

This Certificate is not valid if it is removed or altered in any way whatsoever

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WASHINGTON, de JUL. 13 1979 de 19.

Actuación Nº 0996 Arancel Art. Nº II/35.

Derechos percibidos: US$ 9.=

WASHINGTON, de JUL 13 1979 de 19.

Los 7 líneas tachadas no valen.-

CONSULADO DE CHILE WASHINGTON

FERNANDO MOLINA ALCALDE
CONSUL DE CHILE

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№ 36341

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District of Columbia

Washington, D. C., June 29, 1979, *19*

l whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

fy that CAROL N. WITKOWSKI

ne is signed to the accompanying paper, is now, and was at the time of signing a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia duly commissioned and

ess whereof, I, SALLY M. PROCTOR

~~Chief~~, *Notary Public Section of the District of Columbia, has hereunto caused the Seal of the District of Columbia to be affixed on the day and year first above written.*

Sally M. Proctor

Chief, Notary Public Section

1-91809

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VERIFICATION

MARCELO MONTECINO, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a professional translator and that the foregoing "Solicitud de Asistencia Judicial Internacional" and accompanying "Certificacion de Notificacion" are true and accurate Spanish translations of the attached "Request for International Judicial Assistance" and "Certificate of Service."

MARCELO MONTECINO

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of June, 1979.

Notary Public

My Commission Expires Feb. 28, 1982

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CORTE DISTRITAL DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
PARA EL DISTRITO DE COLUMBIA

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, Y OTROS, Demandantes, contra LA REPUBLICA DE CHILE, Y OTROS, Demandados.	Juicio Civil No. 78-1477

SOLICITUD DE ASISTENCIA JUDICIAL INTERNACIONAL

A la Authoridad Judicial Competente de la República de Chile:

Rola ante esta Corte un proceso pendiente caratulado Causa No. Juicio Civil No. 78-1477, en el cual los demandantes solicitan una sentencia en juicio civil en contra de Pedro Espinoza Bravo es de profesión Coronel de Ejército. Se ha hecho presente ante esta Corte que el domicilio donde el demandado Espinoza puede ser habido es Comandancia en Jefe de Ejército, Ministerio de Defensa, Santiago, o bien Recinto Militar de "lo Aguirre."

Esta Corte solicita respetuosamente a US. que se sirva ordenar la notificacion de una copia de emplazamiento y demanda que se adjuntan a Pedro Espinoza Bravo, en el domicilio arriba indicado o dondequiera que él pueda ser habido dentro de la República de Chile, de la manera prescrita para la notificación de documentos análogos en la legislación de la República de Chile. Esta Corte solicita a US., además, que, una vez practicada la notificación, US. disponga que la persona que haya notificado los documentos a Pedro Espinoza Bravo complete el "Certificado de Notificación" adjunto y lo remita, junto con la certificación de US. y una copia de los documentos notificados, a esta Corte.

Esta Corte está dispuesta a reembolsar los gastos en que se incurriere en la ejecución de esas diligencias.

Los Tribunales de los Estados Unidos están facultados por ley, Sección 1696, Título 28, Código de los Estados Unidos, para brindar una asistencia similar a los Tribunales de la República de Chile, en casos análogos.

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Esta Corte hace llegar a las autoridades judiciales de la República de Chile las seguridades de su más alta consideración.

Juez Joyce H. Green
Corte Distrital de los Estados Unidos para el Distrito de Columbia

Fecha:

Se adjunta: Emplazamiento y Demanda (en duplicado)
Traducción de los anteriores documentos (en duplicado)
Certificado de Notificación

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CERTIFICACION DE NOTIFICACION

Se solicita a la autoridad requerida que se sirva devolver o disponer que se devuelva al requirente una copia de los documentos con una certificación al tenor de lo que a continuación se señala:

La autoridad infrascrita tiene el honor de certificar que el documento ha sido notificado:

Con fecha _____

En (calle, número, ciudad) _____

De una de las maneras siguientes:

____ mediante su entrega al destinario;

____ de acuerdo al modo que aquí se describe: _____

_____

_____

Los documentos a que se refiere la solicitud se han entregado a (identidad y descripción de la persona): _____

_____

Relación de la persona arriba mencionada con el destinatario:

_____

_____

Lista de Documentos

1. Texto corregido de la demanda
2. Emplazamiento

Cuando corresponda, documentos en que consta la notificación:

_____

_____

Certificación otorgada en:

_____
(Lugar)

_____
(Fecha)

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, et al., Plaintiffs, v. THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE, et al., Defendants.	Civil Action No. 78-1477

REQUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE

To the appropriate Judicial Authority in the Republic of Chile:

There is currently pending before this Court a suit captioned Docket No. Civil Action No. 78-1477, in which the plaintiffs seek a civil judgment against Pedro Espinoza Bravo, retired Colonel of the Army. It has been represented to this Court that defendant Espinoza may be found at Comandancia en Jefe del Ejercito, Ministerio de Defensa or the military headquarters of "lo Aguirre".

The Court respectfully requests that you cause one copy of the attached Summons and Complaint to be served upon Pedro Espinoza Bravo at the above address, or wherever else he may be found in the Republic of Chile, in the manner prescribed for the service of similar documents under the laws of the Republic of Chile. The Court further requests that, after service has been made, you cause the person who serves the documents upon Pedro Espinoza Bravo to execute the attached "Certificate of Service" and return it, together with your certification and a copy of the documents served, to this Court.

This Court stands ready to reimburse your authority for all expenses incurred in executing the instant request for judicial assistance.

The Courts of the United States are authorized by statute, Section 1696, Title 28, United States Code, to extend similar assistance to the Tribunals of the Republic of Chile in like cases.

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The Court extends to the judicial authorities of the Republic of Chile the assurances of its highest consideration.

Judge Joyce H. Green
United States District Court
for the District of Columbia

Dated:

Enclosures: Summons and Complaint (in duplicate)
Translation of the above (in duplicate)
Certificate of Service

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

The authority is requested to return or to have returned to the applicant a copy of the documents with a certificate as provided below.

The undersigned authority has the honor to certify that the document has been served:

the date _____

the place (street, number, city) _____

in one of the following methods:

____ by delivery to the addressee;

____ in accordance with the method described below:

_____

_____

The documents referred to in the request have been delivered to (identity and description of person): _____

_____

Relationship of the above-named person to addressee: _____

_____

List of Documents

1. Plaintiffs' Amended Complaint
2. Summons

In appropriate cases, documents establishing the service:

_____

_____

Done at: _____
(Place)

_____
(Date)

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[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED 1/16/17 Department of State INCOMING TELEGRAM R

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05786 1817487 9579

ACTION ARA-15

AK207

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SR-04 VO-05 INSE-00 /030 W

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P 181650Z JUL 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1551

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 5786

E.O. 12065 GDS 7-18-85 (HALLMAN WILLIAM H) OR-P
TAGS AR, SHUM, SREF
SUBJECT (U) RIGHT OF OPTION DENIALS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 5758

1. [redacted]-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DURING AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL VIOLA MID-DAY JULY 17, AMBASSADOR RAISED QUESTION WHY JORGE OMAR DELGADO, PASCUAL ANGEL REYES AND JORGE HORACIO VERA HAD APPARENTLY BEEN SLATED FOR RIGHT OF OPTION APPROVAL BUT THEN TURNED DOWN AT THE LAST MINUTE.

3. VIOLA SAID HE KNEW NOTHING OF THESE CASES BUT PROMISED TO TAKE THEM UP WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

82 D103
Box 17464

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04993 182207Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COM-04 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
NSAE-00 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 L-03 NSC-05
PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-15 HA-05 AID-05 TRSE-00
IO-15 /117 W
----------090527 182306Z /75

P R 182127Z JUL 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4043
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 4993

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJ: LABOR LAW: GOC MODIFIES PAST LEGISLATION TO CONFORM WITH THE LABOR PLAN

REF: SANTIAGO 4844, SANTIAGO 4802

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC PUBLISHED DECREE LAW 2759 JULY 6. THE DECREE REPEALS AND PUTS SEVERAL PREVIOUS LAWS IN CONFORMITY WITH THE LABOR PLAN. THE NEW LEGISLATION REPEALS SPECIAL LEGISLATION FOR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF COPPER WORKERS AND STATE BANK WORKERS AND PLACES THEM AND EMPLOYEES OF OTHER STATE-OWNED CORPORATIONS UNDER THE SAME LEGISLATION REGULATING PRIVATE SECTOR LABOR ACTIVITY. UNIONS WITHIN THE STATE-OWNED SECTOR WILL HAVE UP TO A YEAR TO ADJUST THEIR ORGANIZATIONS TO THE NEW RULES. MARITIME WORKERS REMAIN EXCLUDED FROM LABOR PLAN LEGISLATION. THE NEW LAW ALSO MAKES ADJUSTMENTS IN THE LABOR CODE TO ESTABLISH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AT THE COMPANY/ UNION LEVEL AND PROHIBIT EMPLOYEE AND EMPLOYER FEDERATIONS FROM ENGAGING IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND TO PERMIT EMPLOYERS TO FIRE WORKERS PARTICIPATING IN ILLEGAL WORK STOPPAGES. END SUMMARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04993 182207Z

2. THE GOC PUBLISHED DECREE LAW 2759 ON JULY 6, 1979. IT MODIFIES DECREE LAW (DL) 2200 ON INDIVIDUAL CONTRACTS, DL 2079 ON STATE BANK ORGANIZATION, AND DL 1350 ON CODELCO-CHILE THE STATE-OWNED COPPER MINING COMPANY. IT REPEALS THE 1956 DECREE (DFL)313 ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL COPPER UNION FOR COPPER WORKERS IN THE LARGEST

AND NOW STATE-OWNED COPPER MINES.
IN THE PAST, WORKERS IN THE FIVE OPERATING DIVISIONS WERE REQUIRED TO MAINTAIN SEPARATE UNIONS PARTICULAR TO EACH PLANT JOINED AT THE FEDERATION LEVEL.)

3. THE NEW LEGISLATION REQUIRES EMPLOYEES OF STATE-OWNED CORPORATIONS TO COME UNDER THE SAME REGULATIONS AS EMPLOYEES OF PRIVATELY-OWNED COMPANIES IN FORMING TRADE UNIONS. TRADE UNIONS AND TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS REPRESENTING EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE-OWNED CORPORATIONS NOTT REGISTERED LEGALLY WITH THE LABOR MINISTRY ARE NOW REQUIRED TO DO SO. PREVIOUSLY, MANY TRADE UNIONS HAD SPECIAL LEGISLATION PERMITTING THEM TO UNIONIZE (COPPER WORKERS AND STATE BANK WORKERS), REGISTER WITH THE JUSTICE MINISTRY AS A NONPROFIT CORPORATION (RAILROAD WORKERS), OR NOTT REGISTER WITH THE GOVERNMENT AT ALL (MARITIME WORKERS, PETROLEUM WORKERS, AND SUGAR WORKERS). ALL EXCEPT MARITIME WORKERS MUST REGISTER THEIR ORGANIZATIONS UNDER THE NEW LEGISLATION. IN MOST CASES THIS WOULD MEAN ESTABLISHING WITHIN THE COMPANY LOCAL SHOP-BASED UNION ORGANIZATIONS WHICH THEN RENEW THEIR AFFILIATION WITH THE NATIONAL LEVEL ORGANIZATION EVERY TWO YEARS AS NOW REQUIRED IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THE LAW ALLOWS UNIONS WITHIN THE STATE-OWNED SECTOR ONE YEAR IN WHICH TO ADJUST THEIR CONSTITUTIONS AND BYLAWS TO THE NEW REQUIREMENTS.

4. DECREE LAW 2759 MODIFIES BOOK I AND II OF THE NEW
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04993 182207Z

LABOR CODE (78 SANTIAGO 4833) TO EXCLUDE PARTICIPATION OF TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS AND EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. THE LAW ALSO ESTABLISHES ONE EXEMPTION FROM THE BLANKET PROSCRIPTION AGAINST FIRING MORE THAN TEN PERSONS (OR 10 PERCENT OF WORK-FORCE) IN A MONTH WITHOUT GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZATION BY PERMITTING DISMISSALS FOR ILLEGAL WORK STOPPAES, UNLESS ARTICLE 38 OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW (LAW 12,927) IS BEING INVOKED. THE DECREE ALSO MAKES A CONTRACTOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ILLEGAL LABOR ACTIONS OR UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES OF SUBCONTRACTORS EXCEPT ON CONSTRUCTION SITES. IT SPECIFICALLY MAINTAINS PRE-JUNTA RULES ALLOWING COPPER WORKERS TO SHARE IN 30 PERCENT OF THE COMPANY'S PROFITS, AS WELL AS THE 1974 LEGISLATION ESTABLISHING A FORMULA EQUIVALENT NOW TO APPROXIMATELY $600 PER YEAR BONUS PAYMENT.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05020 192202Z
ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4052

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 5020

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/19/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PGOV CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: ETCHEBERRY TO LEAD OFF JULY 23

1. RAPPORTEUR BENQUIS IS TO FINISH BRIEFING THE FIRST PANEL OF THE SUPREME COURT (HEARING ON THE EXTRADITION APPEAL) ON JULY 19. THE PANEL NORMALLY DOES NOTT MEET ON FRIDAY (20TH), SO THE ORAL PRESENTATIONS TO THE COURT WILL START ON MONDAY, JULY 23. OUR LOCAL LAWYER, AFREDO ETCHEBERRY, IS TO LEAD OFF AND HAVE TWO FULL SESSIONS TO COMPLETE HIS ARGUMENTS. EACH OF THE DEFENSE LAWYERS WILL TAKE A SESSION: CRUZ COKE (FOR FERNANDEZ LARIOUS); JORGE BALMACEDA (FOR ESPINOZA); AND MIRANDA CARRINGTON (FOR CONTRERAS). CARRINGTON WILL TALK ON JULY 30 IF THE SCHEDULE HOLDS. NORMALLY EACH SESSION LASTS TWO HOURS, BUT IT IS THOUGHT THAT FOR THIS CASE SESSIONS WILL RUN FROM 2:30 - 5:30 P.M.

2. ACCOMPANIED BY ETCHEBERRY, EMBOFFS PAID COURTESTY CALL ON SECRETARY OF SUPREME COURT RENE PICA JULY 19. THEY DID WALK-THROUGH OF COURT WHERE CASE WILL BE AIRED. WE HAVE SPACE ON FIRST ROW FOR THREE EMBASSY PERSONNEL AND WILL PLAN ON TAPING PRESENTATION FROM SEATS. COURT PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM WILL BE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05020 192202Z

PIPED INTO ANOTHER LAGE ROOM WHERE RADIO STATIONS WILL TAP IN FOR BROADCASTS (WHICH EMBASSY ALSO WILL TAPE). ACCORDING TO PICA, SEVERAL OTHER DIPLOMATS, NUMBER OF LAW SCHOOL DEANS, AND AT LEAST TWO OF LETELIER'S RELATIVES WILL BE SHARING CLOSE-UP SEATS IN COURTROOM. PRESS ANDOTHER OBSERVERS WILL FILL REST OF 127 PLACES IN COURT. REST OF PRESS AND OTHER

SPECTATORS WILL BE IN ANOTHER ROOM.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

EXCISE

B1 B3 NR

July, 19, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: ARA/CIA Weekly Meeting

PARTICIPANTS: ARA - Assistant Secretary Vaky;
Deputy Assistant Secretaries Bushnell and Guzman
CIA - [redacted] B3
INR/DDC - Mr. Ted Heavner

[redacted] NR

Letelier Case. [redacted] noted that the GOC has asked [redacted] B3 B1 B+

Ambassador Vaky suggested that CIA send a back channel message to [redacted] B1

[redacted] NR

T. Heavner

Ted Heavner
INR/DDC

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
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July 19, 1979

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IAW DOD

MEMORANDUM TO: The Ambassador

THROUGH: DCM - Charles E. Grover

FROM: POL - Daniel H. Clare

SUBJECT: Additional Advance Against Fuels Exchange Agreement

The attached message, prepared by MILGP and supported by DAO (the organization responsible for drawing up and administering the fuels exchange agreement with the Chilean Navy), proposes a nearly three million dollar loan of bunker fuel which under normal circumstances would not be drawn against until 1985-7. It comes at a time when: the USN's petroleum is in short supply even from traditional suppliers; the Chilean Navy already has a projected six year supply on hand (given past usage); the USN has already ruled against allowing the Chilean Navy to purchase fuel under the agreement; and FMS sales are prohibited.

While under current circumstances (i.e. Letelier case), we are not hassling the GOC. On the other hand this is one big favor, and I do not believe we should convey that signal to the GOC at this time. I also believe it unwise to put the Embassy or its components on record as requesting such a favor for the Chilean Navy at this time.

My understanding is that this long-term loan is designed to spare the Chilean Navy from having to buy on the spot market. Nonetheless, if they wish to keep their war reserves topped off for a contingency six months down the road, that is their decision.

I recommend that, as a matter of USG policy, this message be held in abeyance at least until there are favorable developments in the Letelier case, when it could be reconsidered.

POL:DHClare:lgj 7/19/79

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05072 202240Z
ACTION ARA-15

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P R 202146Z JUL 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4076
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 5072

E.O. 12065: GDS: 7/20/85 (CLARE, DANIEL H.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI
SUBJ: INTERNAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS NOTES

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 4645 (B) SANTIAGO 4991

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: "HOY" LOSES ANOTHER LEGAL ROUND. TWO MORE BOMBINGS IN SPITE OF CONTINUING DETENTIONS. PANAMA OFFICIALLY REQUESTS SAFE-CONDUCTS FOR TWO TO WHOM IT GRANTED ASYLUM. END SUMMARY.

3."HOY" MAGAZINE LOSES APPEAL: IN A SPLIT DECISION ANNOUNCED JULY 19 A THREE JUDGE APPEALS COURT DENIED THE APPLICABILITY IN THE "HOY"CASE OF A JUDICIAL REMEDY CALLED A "RECURSO DE PROTECCION". A MAJORITY OF THE COURT RELED THAT ACCORDING TO ANOTHER JUNTA LAW THE REMEDY DID NOTT EXTEND TO ACTS OF MILITARY ZONE COMMANDERS DURING PERIODS OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY. THE MINORITY DECIDION CONTENDED THAT THE ZONE COMMANDER HAD EXCEEDED HIS AUTHORITY AND THAT "HOY'S" CASE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ON ITS MERITS. (COMMENT: THE "RECURSO DE PROTECCION" WAS INTRODUCED INTO CHILEAN LAW
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05072 202240Z

WITH GREAT FANFARE BY A JUNTA CONSTITUTIONAL ACT IN SEPTEMBER 1977. IT IS DESIGNED AS A SORT OF "HABEAS CORPUS" ACTION TO PROTECT PROPERTY RIGHTS. ANOTHER CONSTITUTIONAL ACT, PROMULGATED AT THE SAME TIME, VITIATES THE "RECURSO" UNDER CERTAIN PERIODS OF EXCEPTION. ALTHOUGH NOTT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSED IN THE ACT, THE COURT CONSIDERS

THE CURRENT STATE OF EMERGENCY WITHIN ITS PURVIEW. END COMMENT)

4. "HOY" WILL APPEAL THE CURRENT RULING TO THE SUPREME COURT. ALREADY BEFORE THAT COURT ON APPEAL IS ANOTHER ACTION STARTED BY "HOY" ASSERTING THAT THE ZONE COMMANDER INVOKED THE WRONG PROVISION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY LAW IN CLOSING IT DOWN FOR TWO MONTHS. MEANWHILE THE PUBLIC AND PRESS OUTCRY OVER THE SUSPENSION IS WANING. NONETHELESS, THE PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT 120 SELF-DESCRIBED JOURNALISTS HAVE CIRCULATED A PETITION OBJECTING TO THE SUSPENSION, AND "FRIENDS OF HOY" CONTINUE SOLICITING SYMBOLIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF SUPPORT FOR THE MAGAZINE. (COMMENT: "HOY" WILL NOTT WIN IN THE COURTS. IN LARGE MEASURE, THE IMPACT OF THE SUSPENSION WILL HAVE GREATER IMPACT ABROAD THAN IN CHILE. HERETOFORE, THE GOC HAD AT LEAST BEEN ABLE TO CONTEND THAT PRESS FREEDOMS IN CHILE WERE BASICALLY OBSERVED. WITHIN CHILE, WE JUDGE THAT MOST PEOPLE ARE INURED TO SUCH ACTIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT. END COMMENT)

5. OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY NOTES: TWO LOUD NOISE BOMBS EXPLOED THE NIGHT OF JULY 15/16. ALTHOUGH ONE WENT OFF IN THE GENERAL VICINITY OF THE RESIDENCES OF CONTROVERSIAL GOVERNMENT FIGURES (MINISTER OF LABOR PINERA AND UNIVERSITY OF CHILE RECTOR GENERAL TORO DAVILA), NEITHER DEVICE SEEMED DESIGNED TO CAUSE PERSONAL OR PROPERTY DAMAGE. A GROUNDLESS BOMB THREAT CAUSED THE LAN-CHILE FLIGHT CARRYING URUGUAYAN FOREIGN MINISTER FOLLE MARTINEZ TO RETURN TO

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PUDAHUEL AIRPORT. THE U.S. MISSION ALSO RECEIVED A BOGUS BOMB THREAT JULY 20, FROM A BARELY COHERENT CALLER DESCRIBING HIMSELF AS AN ANTI-COMMUNIST. (COMMENT: THESE BOMBINGS AND THREATS FOLLOW A RELATIVELY QUIET PERIOD DURING WHICH SECURITY SERVICES MADE A NUMBER OF DETENTIONS AND DROVE A PAIR OF LEFTIST TERRORISTS INTO ASYLUM-- SEE BELOW. THAT THEY HAVE STARTED AGAIN RAISES A NUMBEROF QUESTIONS. END COMMENT)

6. MEANWHILE, THERE WAS A MINOR STIR IN THE TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY (UTE) STUDENT CENTER IN SANTIAGO ABOUT THE DETENTION OF A UTE STUDENT BY THE SECURITY SERVICES. THE GENERALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT STUDENT LEADERS DEFENDED THEMSELVES FROM OTHER STUDENTS' COMPLAINTS THAT THEY HAD NOTT GONE TO THEIR COLLEAGUES DEFENSE. ON JULY 20, THE JUDGE ORDERED THE RELEASE OF THE DETAINEE FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE. HE HAD BEEN HELD AT LEAST A WEEK. SAME DAY, SECURITY SERVICES ANNOUNCED THE DETENTION OF NINE PERSONS IN ARICA; ALLEGEDLY THEY ARE MEMBERS OF THE

MOVEMENT OF THE EVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) BUT CHARGED WITH INTERNAL SECURITY CODE VIOLATIONS RATHER THAN ARMS CONTROL VIOLATIONS, I.E., PROPAGANDA RATHER THAN VIOLENT CRIMES.

7. THE PANAMANIAN EMBASSY HAS OFFICIALLY REQUESTED SAFE-CONDUCTS FOR ITS TWO VISITORS WHO SOUGHT ASYLUM LAST WEEK (SEE REFTEL B). FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS HAS TWICE REPEATED THAT THE GOC DOES NOTT CONSIDER PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR COMMON CRIMES TO BE POLITICAL PRISONERS, BUT WE ASSUME THAT THIS IS FOR DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CONSUMPTION AND THAT SAFE-CONDUCTS WILL EVENTUALLY BE FORTHCOMING.
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ACTION ARA-15

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI
SUBJ: INTERNAL SECURITY NOTES: MORE DETENTIONS; ANOTHER FINDS ASYLUM

REF: A) SANTIAGO 4991, B) SANTIAGO 4602

1. SINCE JULY 19, AT LEAST TWENTY-TWO PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE MOVEMENT OF THEREVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) AND FOR VARIOUS ACTS OF VIOLENCE, PRIMARILY BOMBINGS. A TOTAL OF TWELVE ALLEGED MEMBERS WERE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BETWEEN JULY 19 AND JULY 21 IN ARICA, IN THE EXTREME NORTH OF CHILE. POLICE ACTED AGAINST WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS A "CONGRESS" OF MIRISTAS, HEADED BY RODRIQO ALCAZAR, ONE OF THE ARRESTED. A SECOND GROUP MADE UP OF TEN REPORTED MIR MEMBERS WAS JAILED IN ANOTHER NORTHERN CITY, ANTOFAGASTA.

2. THE GOVERNMENT SAID THAT THE ARRESTS PREVENTED THE FORMATION OF A REGIONAL MIR NETWORK IN THE NORTH AND POINTED TO A HANDFUL OF NOISE BOMBINGS IN THE AREA WHICH OCCURRED EVEN AS ARRESTS WERE BEING MADE. SECURITY SERVICES LEAKED WORD THAT SOME OF THOSE DETAINED HAD SOUGHT REFUGE AT WHAT WAS ERRONEOUSLY
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05092 232225Z

CALLED THE ARICA "VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY." THE LOCAL BISHOP POINTED OUT THAT THE VICARIATE DID NOTT HAVE A BRANCH IN ARICA AND THAT NONE OF THOSE ARRESTED HAD TIES TO THE CHURCH. THE BISHOPRIC STATEMENT ADDED THAT PEOPLE WANTED FOR INTERNAL SECURITY REASONS SOMETIMES ASKED THE CHURCH TO TURN THEM IN -- THUS REDUCING CHANCES FOR ILLEGAL ARREST AND MISTREATMENT WHILE UNDER DETENTION.

3. WHILE THE PANAMANIAN MISSION ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN SAFE CONDUCT PASSES FOR THE TWO MIR EXTREMISTS IT IS SAFEGUARDING (REF A), THE VENEZUELAN EMBASSY IS ATTEMPTING TO DEAL WITH ITS OWN POLITICAL REFUGEE. VICTOR SALAS SALAS OBTAINED SANCTUARY JULY 19, THE SAME NIGHT AS THE TWO OTHERS. POLICE HAVE DESCRIBED SALAS AS A DIRECTOR OF MIR AND SUSPECT HIM OF PARTICIPATING IN THE JUNE 21 SHOOTINGS WHICH LEFT TWO DEAD -- A CARABINERO POLICE OFFICER AND A MIR ASSAILANT (REF B). VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR, PERHAPS AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS, HAS REFUSED TO COMMENT ON THE CASE.
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JOHN J. PRIVITERA
LYNNE BERNABEI

SUITE 201
1302 18TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 466-5470

July 23, 1979

HAND DELIVERY

Mr. Jay A. Rini
Chief, South American Division
of the Office of Citizens
Consular Services
United States Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Rini:

Enclosed you will find three letters of request addressed to Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo and Armando Fernandez Larios.

Plaintiffs are serving the amended complaint and summons on the three Chilean defendants through letters of request.

The full title and docket number of the case are:

Isabel Morel de Letelier, Michael Maggio, Christian A. Letelier, Jose I. Letelier, Francisco J. Letelier, Juan Pablo Letelier, Michael Moffitt, Murray H. Karpen and Hilda Karpen v. The Central Nacional de Informaciones (formerly Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional, a/k/a DINA), The Republic of Chile, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Armando Fernandez Larios, Michael Vernon Townley, Alvin Ross Diaz, Virgilio Paz Romero, Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel, Guillermo Novo Sampol, Ignacio Novo Sampol, John Does One through Ten, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 78-1477.

The case is assigned to United States District Judge Joyce Hens Green, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

The address of the clerk of the District Court for the District of Columbia is James F. Davey, United States Courthouse, Constitution Avenue and John Marshall Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

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I have enclosed a certified check for $180.00 made payable to the United States Embassy in Santiago, Chile, in payment for the cost of transmitting the three letters of request. We stand ready to reimburse the Embassy for any costs beyond $180.00 incurred in connection with this matter.

If you have any questions about the letters or requests, please contact us immediately.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Lynne Bernabei

Lynne Bernabei

LB:ll
Enclosures

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05083 231942Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COM-02 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4091
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 5083 UNCLASSIFIED

E. O. 12065: GDS 7/23/85 (ARCHER, EDWARD E.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: (L) REACTION TO CHILEAN LABOR PLAN: PRO-GOVERNMENT LABOR CONFEDERATION GRUMBLING; COMMUNISTS UNUSUALLY TACITURN

1. (C) SUMMARY: AFTER TWO WEEKS OF STUDY, THE PRO-GOVERNMENT LABOR CONFEDERATION ISSUED A STATEMENT DESCRIBING THE LABOR PLAN AS HARMFUL TO WORKERS' INTERESTS AND CALLING FOR A WORKERS' PLEBISCITE AND JOINT LABOR-GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS TO REDRAFT IT. THE COPPER WORKER WHO REPRESENTS LABOR ON THE APPOINTED COUNCIL OF STATE COMPLAINS ABOUT THE GOC'S REMOVAL OF SPECIAL LEGAL RECOGNITION FOR COPPER WORKERS. AN EX:CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, WHO HELPED DRAFT THA LABOR PLAN, SAYS THAT HE LIKES 20 PERCENT BUT HAS TROUBLE WITH THE OTHER 80. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WALK, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN SURPRISINGLY MUTED IN THEIR CRITICISMS .
TWO COMMUNIST UNIONISTS TOLD OUR LABATT THAT PROVISIONS IN THE PLAN SPECIFICALLY ENCOURAGING UNIONS TO SERVE AS HIRING HALLS IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND BUILDING TRADES WILL REDOUND TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. THE DIFFERENT SIDES ARE OBVIOUSLY PLAYING VARIOUS ANGLES, BUT THEIR REACTIONS ARE SOMEWHAT UNEXPECTED. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) TWO WEEKS OF CAREFUL STUDY LATER, THE PRO-GOVERNMENT

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05083 231942Z

UNION OF CHILEAN WORKERS (UNTRACH) HAS PUBLICLY CALLED FOR A WORKERS' PLEBISCITE TO DETERMINE THEIR OPINION ON WHAT THE CONFEDERATION DESCRIBED AS A LABOR PLAN WHICH HARMS WORKERS' INTERESTS. THE JULY 19 ANNOUNCEMENT PROPOSED THE CREATION OF A LABOR/GOVERNMENT BILATERAL COMMISSION TO REDRAFT LABOR LEGISLATION AND URGED THE END OF "THE CAMPAING TO DISCREDIT LABOR LEADERS,"

BY ALLOWING THE GRASS ROOTS TO DECIDE BY WHOM AND HOW THEY WANTED TO BE LED.

3. (L) THE GOVERNMENT-DESIGNATED LABOR REPRESENTATIVE TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE, A COPPER CONFEDERATION LEADERS, HAS NOT SURPRISINGLY
CRITICIZED THE GOC DECREE WHICH RECINDS THE PREVIOUS LEGISLATION MAKING SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR THE COPPER WORKERS AND THEIR ORGANIZATION. PRIVATELY HE TOLD EMBOFFS OF HIS CONCERN OVER PROVISIONS IN THE NEW LAWS AIMMD AT ENDING THE POLITICIZATION OF LABOR BY ENCOURAGING PROLIFERATION OF LOCAL UNIONS. MEDINA DOUBTED THAT THIS APPROACH WOULD WORK -- SPECULATING THAT PARTY PHILOSOPHIES WOULD MERELY RESULT IN THE POLITICALLY LIKE-MINDED CREATING THEIR SMALL BASE UNIONS IN EACH PLANT. ULTIMATELY, THIS WOULD ACTUALLY BENEFIT THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE OF THEIR PROVEN ORGANIZATIONAL AND CONTROL ABILITIES.

4. (U) WILLIAM THAYER, A LONG-TIME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT WHO WAS REMOVED FROM PARTY ROLLS BECAUSE OF HIS WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH THE CURRENT GOC, PROVIDED "COSAS" BIEWEEKLY WITH A LENGTHY INTERVIEW. HE WAS ONE OF THE DRAFTERS OF THE LABOR PLAN, BUT ACCORDING TO THE MAGAZINE HE SAYS HE "LIKES 20 PERCENT OF IT" BUT "HAS SEVERE CRITICISMS OF THE OTHER 80 PERCENT." AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAYER CRITICIZED THE EFFORT TO ATOMIZE THE UNION MOVEMENT AND REDUCE THE ROLE OF FEDERATIONS. HE ALLOWED THAT IN PRACTICE TRADE UNIONISTS MAY FIND WAYS AROUND THIESE PROSCRIPTIONS ON THEIR ACTIVITIES, BUT HE THOUGHT THE WHOLE

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PROCESS WAS DEEPLY FLAWED BY THE DECADE OF ALLENDE AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WHICH TOGETHER HAVE KEPT GOVERNMENT, LABOR, AND MANGEMENT FROM THE KIND OF ONGOING DISCUSSIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE PRODUCED A BETTER SYSTEM.

5. (L) LOOKING AT THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TRACKS, WE HAVE BEEN SURPRISED AT THE EXTREMELY MUTED REACTION OF THE COMMUNISTS. IN THE PAST, WHEN INTERESTS THE PARTY THOUGHT VITAL WERE BEING THREATENED, THE PCCH FOUND AVENEUES TO LET ITS SQUAWKS BE HEARD. WE HAVE COMBED THE OPPOSITION PUBLICATIONS AND SOUGHT FOR THE USUAL BARRAGE OF FLYERS WHICH INDICATE COMMUNISTS CONCERN. WE HAVE FOUND EXCEPTIONALLY LITTLE.

6. (L) SHORTLY AFTER THE LABOR PLAN WAS ANNOUNCED, HECTOR CUEVAS -- COMMUNIST LEADER OF THE GOC-BANNED BUILDING TRADES CONFEDERATION -- AND RICARDO LECARIOS -- COMMUNIST PRESIDENT OF THE BANNED METAL WORKERS FEDERATION -- TOLD LABATT THAT IN SPITE OF THE GOC BANS THEY HAD OPENED NEW OFFICES. THEY CLAIM TO BE BUSY CREATING NEW PROVINCIAL LEVEL FEDERATIONS UNDER THE NEW LEGISLATION

AND AS AN INTERIM MEASURE. CUEVAS -- WHILE OBVIOUSLY NOT PLEASED WITH THE LABOR PLAN IN GENERAL -- ASSERTED THAT FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW IT CONTAINED AT LEAST ONE VERY USEFUL PROVISION: THE LAW ENCOURAGES THE UNIONIZATION OF THE BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES AND THE USE OF THESE UNIONS AS HIRING HALLS. GIVEN THE LARGE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED CONSTRUCTION WORKERS, CUEVAS IS CONFIDENT THAT HIS ALREADY TIGHT-KNIT CADRE WILL FIND AN AMPLE POOL OF NEW UNION MEMBERS.

7. (C) COMMENT: OBVIOUSLY, UNTRACH WANTS TO AVOID BEING PORTRAYED AS LACKEY-FLACKS FOR THE GOVERNMENT; YET IT IS CLEAR THAT ITS FORCEFUL ANNOUNCEMENT HAS IRKED THE GOC AND LABOR MINISTER PINERA. PINERA, FOR HIS PART, HAS TOLD EMBOFFS THAT HE IS PREPARING CHARTS OF HOW FEW UNIONS JOINED FEDERATIONS UNDER THE NEW GROUND RULES WHICH, HE ASSERTS, SHOWS THAT CURRENT LABOR LEADERSHIP REPRESENTS LITTLE. UNTRACH'S CRITICISM, HOWEVER, DEMONSTRATES THAT MAJOR PARTS OF THE NEW LAWS DO NOT SIT WELL WITH LABOR LEADERS

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OF ANY STRIPE.

8. (C) THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS IS MORE DIFFICULT TO FATHOM. IT HAS BEEN REPORTED ELSEWHERE THAT TOP COMMUNISTS VIEW THE LABOR PLAN AS THE VIRTUAL DEATH KNELL TO THEIR ORGANIZATION. SHOULD THAT BE THE CASE, WE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED THE KIND OF OUTCRY WE KNOW THE PARTY CAN PUT OUT WHEN IT WANTS TO. AS TROUBLESOME IS THE FACT THAT COMMUNISTS TRADE UNIONISTS HAVE CONTINUED TO ACT WITH IMPUNITY. OUSTING THE COMMUNISTS FROM THE CONSTRUCTION AND BUILDING TRADES OR ERODING THEIR BASE WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT EVEN WITHOUT THE NEW LAWS. WHILE CUEVAS UNDOUBTEDLY SPOKE WITH A BRAVADO HARD TO WEIGH, OUR OWN ASSESSMENT IS THAT HE SHOULD BE ABLE TO EXPLOIT THESE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW LAW TO COMMUNISTS ADVANTAGE.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05124 242118Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4107
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release Y Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS PGOV CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: FIRST DAY'S PRESENTATION

REF: SANTIAGO 4896

1. SUMMARY: USG LOCAL LAWYER ETCHEBERRY SPOKE FOR NEARLY THREE HOURS JULY 23, IN THE OPENING PRESENTATION OF ORAL ARGUMENTS BEFORE A FIVE-JUDGE PANEL OF THE SUPREME COURT REVIEWING THE USG EXTRADITION REQUEST. ETCHEBERRY CONCENTRATED ON ESTABLISHING TOWNLEY'S CREDIBILITY. TWO RADIO STATIONS CARRIED THE HEARINGS LIVE; TV FEATURED THE STORY. THE TWO LEADING DAILIES FRONT-PAGED THE EVENT; GOC-OWNED "CRONISTA" OBVIOUSLY BURIED IT IN A FEW INSIDE PARAGRAPHS. SO FAR, MEDIA HAS GIVEN STRAIGHT FORWARD COVERAGE; ONLY EDITORIAL ("TERCERA'S") SAID UNPRECEDENTED LIVE BROADCAST AND LARGE NUMBER OF PRESS WILL SHOW WORLD THAT CHILE HAS NOTHING TO HIDE. JULY 24 ETCHEBERRY CONTINUES AND WILL OUTLINE USG CASE. END SUMMARY.

2. TWO EMBOFFS WERE AMONG HUNDRED SPECTATORS FILLING THE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05124 242118Z

CHAMBER AS ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY LED OFF THE ORAL PRESENTATIONS BEFORE THE FIRST PANEL OF THE SUPREME COURT. OTHER PRESS, LAWYERS, LAW STUDENTS, AND THOSE INTERESTED IN HUMAN RIGHTS FILLED A SECOND ROOM WHERE SPEAKERS TRANSMITTED ETCHEBERRY'S PRESENTATION. PDC-ORIENTED "RADIO COOPERATIVA" AND WIDELY HEARD "RADIO MINERIA" BROADCAST HIS ARGUMENTS LIVE, AN EVENT DESCRIBED BY THE PRESS AS UNPRECEDENTED. THE FORMAL ORAL

PRESENTATIONS OF THE LAWYERS FOR THE PARTIES IS THE ONLY PHASE OF THE JUDICIAL PROCESS WHICH IS TRULY PUBLIC AND INTEREST IS HIGH.

3. ETCHEBERRY, FOLLOWING CHILEAN PROCEDURES, SITS BEHIND A DESK AND GIVES A FORMAL SPEECH TO FIVE SOMBER JUDGES WHO TRY MANFULLY TO PAY ATTENTION. DEFENSE ATTORNEYS BUSILY TAKE NOTES, WHILE COURT RAPPORTEUR BENQUIS SITS AT ANOTHER DESK SILENTLY CONTEMPLATING A LARGE STACK OF PAPERS -- THE EXTRADITION FILE. THE THREE DEFENDANTS ARE NOT PRESENT. IN SUM, FOR A LAYMAN EXPOSED TO POPULARIZED VIEWS OF THE TENSION AND DRAMA OF U.S. COURTROOM PROCEDURES IN CRIMINAL CASES, THIS IS A RATHER TAME AFFAIR.

4. ETCHEBERRY DEDICATED HIS FIRST DAY'S PRESENTATION TO SHOWING THAT THE USG HAD MET THE REQUIREMENTS FOR EXTRADITION. HE DISCUSSED POSSIBLE CHILEAN JURISDICTION -- EITHER CIVILIAN OR MILITARY -- AND POINTED OUT THE INCONSISTENCY OF TRYING TO SPLIT FIRST INSTANCE JURISDICTION BETWEEN TWO STATES. HE ALSO REBUTTED THE DEFENSE'S PASSING REFERENCES TO INVOKING THE TREATY PROVISIONS REGARDING POLITICAL CRIMES BY OBSERVING THAT THE MURDER OF RONNI MOFFITT AUTOMATICALLY EXCLUDES THIS LINE OF DEFENSE. HE ALSO DREW FROM CHILEAN LAW TO SHOW THAT GROUNDS FOR INDICTMENT REQUIRED ONLY "REASONABLE CAUSE" WHILE CONVICTION REQUIRED A HIGHER DEGREE OF CERTAINTY.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05124 242118Z

5. ETCHEBERRY CONCENTRATED ON ESTABLISHING MICHAEL TOWNLEY'S CREDIBILITY. HE WAS HARSH INCRITICIZING BOTH FISCAL CHAMORRO AND SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT BORQUEZ'S DECISIONS FOR CONTAINING ONLY PASSING MENTION OF THE SUPPORTING EVIDENCE. ETCHEBERRY SAID THAT TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY HAD BEEN SUBSTANTIATED ON EVERY VERIFIABLE POINT AND THE REAL QUESTION BEFORE THE COURT WAS HIS TRUTHFULNESS. ETCHEBERRY SAID A PLEA BARGAIN REQUIRING TESTIMONY UNDER OATH WAS NOT ONLY ACCEPTED U.S. PRACTICE, BUT THE THREAT OF CANCELLING THE DEAL IF THE WITNESS LIED LENT CREDENCE TO THE VERACITY OF THE TESTIMONY (IN ROMAN LAW, A DEFENDANT DOES NOT TESTIFY UNDER OATH AND HAS NO LEGAL OBLIGATION TO TELL THE TRUTH -- HOWEVER, HE HAS NO FIFTH AMENDMENT PROTECTION). MOREOVER, ETCHEBERRY WENT ON TO POINT TO ANALOGOUS EXAMPLES IN CHILEAN LAW WHICH PROVIDE REDUCED SENTENCES, TO THOSE ACCUSED OF CERTAIN CRIMES, FOR COOPERATION WITH THE COURTS. THE DEFENSE HAD MADE MUCH OF TOWNLEY'S FIRST STATEMENTS BEFORE MILITARY PROSECUTOR OROZCO BEFORE LEAVING CHILE (IN WHICH HE DENIED PARTICIPATING IN THE ASSASSINATION). ETCHEBERRY, THEREFORE, REVIEWED OROZCO'S QUESTIONABLE BEHAVIOR: HIS RE-

LUCTANCE TO EXPLAIN CANDIDLY TO BORQUEZ THE REASON FOR HIS MID-APRIL 1978 TRIP TO SEE TOWNLEY IN THE U.S.; AND HIS ILLEGAL ACTIONS IN PROVIDING CONTRERAS WITH TOWNLEY'S OSTENSIBLE SECRET FIRST DECLARATION. ETCHEBERRY PROMPTED A REACTION FROM THE SPECTATORS WHEN HE READ OROZCO'S FRIENDLY NOTE TO "MAMO" (CONTRERAS' NICKNAME) IN TRAKNSMITTING THE DOCUMENT.

6. TV FEATURED THE OPENING OF THE HEARINGS WHILE " ERCURIO" AND "TERCERA," THE LEADING DAILIES, GAVE IT FRONT-PAGE ATTENTION. LOW-CIRCULATION TABLOID "ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" CARRIED A FULL PAGE, STRAIGHTFORWARD ACCOUNT INSIDE. GOC-OWNED "CRONISTA" RATHER OBVIOUSLY RELEGATEE THE STORY TO A FEW PARAGRAPHS ON PAGE SIX. "TERCERA'S " EDITORIAL SAID THAT THE PRESS AND RADIO COVERAGE WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT CHILEAN JUSTICE IS OPEN AND IMPARTIAL.
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 05124 242118Z

7. COMMENT: WE ANTICIPATE CONSIDERABLY MORE INTEREST AND COMMENTARY FOLLOWING TODAY'S PRESENTATION IN WHICH ETCHEBERRY WILL BE LAYING OUT THE USG CASE AND HIS VIEWS OF THE LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF FAILURE TO GRANT EXTRADITION.
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7/24/79

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EXCISE

July 24, 1979

Dear Senator Williams:

I am replying to your letter to the Department of Justice of March 5 on behalf of [redacted] concerning the death in Chile of American citizen Charles Horman.

As [redacted] knows, Mr. Horman was killed in Santiago shortly after the military coup in Chile of September 11, 1973. The circumstances of his death have not been established, despite intensive efforts by the Department of State, our Embassy in Santiago, and Mr. Horman's own family. Charges have been made that he was killed by forces of the military government that took power by force just before his death. The Chilean Government has denied these charges, and to date the matter remains unresolved.

Many allegations have been advanced since Mr. Horman's death. Some of them are based upon simple misunderstandings of facts, some are distorted, and some appear to be inventions. Careful and exhaustive investigation by this Department has not substantiated the allegations of negligence or wrongdoing by U.S. Government employees.

We remain interested in this case and determined to pursue any information that may lead to its resolution.

Sincerely,

PA/PC/CM:HHGilsnis:dj
X24933 7-19-79

H #100-0218 LPC: ARA: 7/78
H: E. Taylor

J. Brian Atwood
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

Correspondence returned.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

The Honorable
Harrison A. Williams, Jr.,
United States Senate.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05156 251953Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 SY-05 MCT-03 FBIE-00 JUSE-00
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O R 251910Z JUL 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4124
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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Exemption(s) ____

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BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS PGOV CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: SECOND DAY'S PRESENTATION

REF: SANTIAGO 5124

1. ON JULY 24 ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY COMPLETED HIS ORAL PRESENTATION TO THE FIVE JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT HEARING THE EXTRADITION REQUEST. ETCHEBERRY LAID OUT THE USG CASE AGAINST CONTRERAS, ESPINOZA, AND FERNANDEZ FOR THE FIRST TIME IN PUBLIC. HE BUILT THIS CASE ON THE EVIDENCE SUBMITTED IN OUR INITIAL EXTRADITION REQUEST AND STATEMENTS THE THREE DEFENDANTS HAD GIVEN HERE IN THE COURSE OF THE INVESTIGATIONS CONDUCTED BY JUDGE BORQUEZ. WITH VIRTUALLY NO NEED TO RELY ON THE TOWNLEY DECLARATION, ETCHEBERRY SHOWED THAT: 1) TOWNLEY KILLED LETELIER AND MOFFITT, 2) HE HAD BEEN AN IMPORTANT AND LONG-TIME MEMBER OF DINA (THE CHILEAN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY), AND 3) HE TRAVELED TO THE U.S. IN SEPTEMBER, 1976, UNDER ORDERS OF DINA. ETCHEBERRY THEN DEMONSTRATED THAT, BY THEIR OWN STATEMENTS, THE THREE DEFENDANTS ACKNOWLEDGED HAVING BEEN DIRECTLY,
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05156 251953Z

PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN ARRANGEMENTS, ALTHOUGH FOR OTHER PURPOSES. ETCHEBERRY LISTED NUMEROUS FLAWS, LIES, AND INCONCSISTENCIES MADE BY THE DEFENDANTS IN EXPLAINING THESE "OTHER PURPOSES."

2. ETCHBERRY SAID THAT THE GOC HAD A PERFECT RIGHT TO REJECT EXTRADITION ON GROUNDS OF NATIONALITY, AND THAT SHOULD

IT DO SO, TG WOULD HAVE NO LEGAL RECOURSE GIVEN THE TERMS OF THE EXTRADITION TREATY. BUT HE OBSERVED THAT THE RESULT OF INVOKING THE NATIONALITY OPTION, OR PERMITTING THE BORQUEZ DECISION TO STAND, WOULD IN PRACTICAL TERMS MEAN THAT THE DEFENDANTS COULD NOT RECEIVE A MEANINGFUL TRAIL IN CHILE. HE STRONGLY OBJECTED TO DEFENSE ASSERTION THAT THE EXTRADITION WAS DIRECTED AGAINST "CHILE" OR EVEN ITS GOVERNMENT. ETCHEBERRY CONTENDED THAT THE BEST INTEREST OF CHILE WAS TO PERMIT THE MEN TO STAND TRIAL IN THE U.S. WHERE THEY MIGHT VINDICATE THEMSELVES. COUNTERING A DEFENSE ASSERTION THAT TURNING OVER THE CHIEF OF SECRET POLICE PLACED IN JEOPARDY NATIONAL SECURITY SECRETS, ETCHEBERRY ARGUED THAT ON THE CONTRARY SUCH A PERSON BEST UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT REVEALING INFORMATION DAMAGING TO CHILE'S NATIONAL SECURITY.

3. LIVE RADIO COVERAGE CONTINUED: TV NEWS FEATURED THE HEARINGS FOR THE SECOND CONSECUTIVE DAY. IN THE WRITTEN PRESS, HOWEVER, "MERCURIO" RATHER OBVIOUSLY RELEGATED THE STORY TO ONE QUARTER OF AN INSIDE PAGE. ONLY "TERCERA" GAVE FULLY APPROPRIATE PLAY. THERE HAS BEEN NO EDITORIAL COMMENT SO FAR ON THE MERITS OF THE CASE.

4. CRUZ COKE SPEAKS JULY 25 IN DEFENSE OF FERNANDEZ LARIOS.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05190 262127Z
ACTION ARA-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4146

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 5190

E. O. 12065: NGDS 7/26/85 (GETTINGER, H. CARL) OR-P
TAGS: PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: (L) LEIGH SPEAKS OUT BUT IS ANYONE LISTENING?

1. (U) GENERAL GUSTAVO LEIGH, FORMER CHILEAN AIR FORCE CHIEF AND OUSTED MEMBER OF THE ORIGINAL JUNTA, HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 24, THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HIS FORCED DEPARTURE. LEIGH CALLED HIS DISMISSAL "THE DIRECT RESULT OF HIS LOYALTY TO THE PRINCIPLES WHICH MOTIVATED THE SEPTEMBER 11 MOVEMENT." HE CRITICIZED THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT AS "PERSONALIST, IMMOBILE, AND LEADING TO A STRATIFICATION OF THIS SOCIETY" WHICH COULD LEAD CHILE TO AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION LIKE THAT IN NICARAGUA. HE STATED THAT CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL SITUATION "COULD NOT BE WORSE," THAT CHILE FINDS ITSELF ABSOLUTELY ALONE IN THE WORLD.

2. (U) CONTINUING, THE FORMER OFFICER EXPLAINED THAT THE LETELIER KILLING WAS A CRIME THAT HAS SEVERELY PREJUDICED CHILE IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT NO JUNTA MEMBER WAS AWARE OF THE ASSASSINATION PLAN AND THAT HE, AS A MAN WHO RESPECTS THE LAW, WOULD ACCEPT THE SUPREME COURT DECISION.

3. (U) FINALLY, LEIGH DENIED THAT HE HAS ANY POLITICAL AMBITIONS. HE CONTENDED THAT HIS ONLY AMBITION IS, FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY, TO PROMOTE CHANGE IN THE STULTIFYING POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHILE.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05190 262127Z

4. (L) WHILE FORMER GENERAL LEIGH VOICED HIS NUMEROUS COMPLAINTS HIS REPLACEMENT, AIR FORCE CHIEF FERNANDO MATTHEI, RECEIVED CONGRATULATORY LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT PINOCHET AND HIS COLLEAGUES ADMMERINO AND GENERAL MENDOZA. IN HIS LETTER PINOCHET EXPRESSED HIS AFFECTION, ESTEEM, FELICITY, AND THE LIKE. IRONICALLY, HIS LETTER CITED THE DATE AS SYMBOLIC OF THE TRADITIONAL

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UNITY OF THE ARMED FORCES -- LEIGH'S OUSTER A YEAR AGO RESULTED IN THE RESIGNATION OF EIGHTEEN OTHER GENERAL OFFICERS.

5. (C) COMMENT: LEIGH'S STATEMENT HAD BEEN BILLED IN ADVANCE AS SOMETHING OF A BOMBSHELL. IT IS TOUGH AND VERY CRITICAL OF THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT, BUT CAUSED NO MANIFEST PUBLIC REACTION. WE ALSO DOUBT THAT IT WILL HAVE MUCH IMPACT WITHIN THE AIR FORCE AND LESS IN THE OTHER SERVICES. NONETHELESS, LEIGH'S CONTINUING CRITICISMS ANNOY THE GOC AS PINOCHET'S EFFUSIVE WORDS OF PRAISE TO MATTHEI DEMONSTRATE. IN SPITE OF LEIGH'S OFT-REPEATED PROTESTATIONS THAT HE HAS NO POLITICAL AMBITIONS, HE "DOTH PROTEST TOO MUCH."
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7/26/79

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OPERATIONS MEMORANDUM

RJS

TO: AmEmbassy SANTIAGO

DATE: 7/26/79

FROM: Department of State (CA/OCS/CCS/ARA)

SUBJECT: Transmitting letters rogatory in the matter of the Letellier case

REF:

file LETELLIER

There are enclosed letters rogatory and accompanying documents, requesting judicial assistance in connection with the case mentioned in the subject of this instruction. These documents have been received from the law offices of Tigar and Buffone.

It is requested that the enclosed documents be forwarded to the appropriate judicial authorities for transmission to the proper tribunal for execution. In accordance with the provisions of 7 FAM 844.3, the completed testimony should be returned to the Department in an envelope bearing the Embassy's seal for transmission to James F. Davey, Clerk of the District Court for the District of Columbia, United States Courthouse, Constitution Avenue and John Marshall Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. This address and the docket number must be placed on the outside of the envelope.

There is enclosed a check in the amount of $180.00 made payable to the Embassy to cover the expenses incident to the execution and return of the letters rogatory.

The completed testimony, or any report concerning the case, should be sent to the Department under cover of an operations memorandum, referring to this instruction.

Enclosures:

1. Letters Rogatory and accompanying documents.
2. Check for $180.00

[redacted]

Clearances:
ARA/AND:WKnepper
L/EB:GALehner

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05191 262117Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4145
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: THIRD DAY'S PRESENTATION

REF: SANTIAGO 5156

1. SUMMARY: FERNANDEZ LARIOS' LAWYER, CRUZ COKE, ADDRESSED THE SUPREME COURT PANEL JULY 25, FOLLOWING THE GENERAL FORMAT OF HIS EARLIER BRIEF, CRUZ COKE MADE PERFUNCTORY OBJECTIONS TO THE CERTIFICATION OF OUR EVIDENCE AND THE MULTIPLICITY OF THE CHARGES AGAINST HIS CLIENT. HE THEN DESCRIBED THE DEFENSE'S REASONS FOR FERNANDEZ' TRIPS TO PARAGUAY AND THE US AND TORE INTO TOWNLEY AND STATEMENT BY A LAN-CHILE EMPLOYEE. HE ASKED THAT THE BORQUEZ RULING BE UPHELD AND "IMPROVED" BY DELETING BORQUEZ' OBSERVATIONS THAT FERNANDEZ HAD GIVEN ABSURD AND CONTRADICTORY TESTIMONY. ONLY ONE RADIO STATION IS BROADCASTING THE HEARINGS. TV STILL GIVING THE CASE LEAD STATUS. GOC-OWNED "CRONISTA," WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY LARGELY IGNORED THE HEARINGS, DEDICATED THREE-FOURTHS OF AN INSIDE PAGE TO CRUZ COKE'S DEFENSE. REST OF PRESS ACCORDED APPROPRIATE COVERAGE. END SUMMARY.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05191 262117Z

2. A SLIGHTLY SMALLER CROWD LISTENED TO CRUZ COKE SUMMARIZE THE DEFENSE ARGUMENTS FOR ARMANDO FERNANDEZ LARIOS, THE CHILEAN ARMY OFFICER WHO SURVEILLED LETELIER TO SET UP THE ASSASSINATION. CRUZ COKE REVIEWED THE DEFENSE'S CONTENTION THAT FERNANDEZ ACCOMPANIED TOWNLEY TO PARAGUAY TO GET DOCUMENT TO SEE GENERAL WALTERS. HE STRESSED THAT FERNANDEZ' TRIP TO THE US WITH THE MYSTERIOUS "LILIANA WALKER" WAS AS HER BACKSTOP ON

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THE CODELCO CAPER AND DOWNPLAYED EARLIER, EQUALLY SPECIOUS, ARGUMENTS THAT IT WAS A CONSOLATION PRIZE AWARDED BY CONTRERAS SINCE HE SENT TWO OTHERS ON THE SECOND UNSUCCESSFUL TRY TO SEE GENERAL WALTERS. CRUZ COKE SOUGHT TO FUZZ UP FERNANDEZ' EARLIER TRIP TO BUENOS AIRES TO GET FALSE ARGENTINE DOCUMENTATION. HE USED A CLASSIFIED CHILEAN EMBASSY REPORT TO DENY THAT LETELIER WAS IN WASHINGTON IN LATE AUGUST (INSINUATING THAT THE GOC WAS MAINTAINING A SURVEILLANCE OF LETELIER FROM THE EMBASSY). COMMENT: WE HAD ALREADY ENTERED INTO THE RECORD PROOF THAT LETELIER WAS IN WASHINGTON DURING THE CRUCIAL PERIOD. END COMMENT.

3. TURNING TO THE USG EVIDENCE AGAINST FERNANDEZ, HE WENT AFTER TOWNLEY WHOM HE ASSERTED WORKED FOR THE CIA. HE TOOK OUT OF CONTEXT A USG AFFIDAVIT ACKNOWLEDGING TOWNLEY HAD BEEN CLEARED FOR USE AS AN AGENT WITHOUT MENTIONING THAT THE SAME AND ACCOMPANYING AFFIDAVITS SHOWED THAT HE HAD NEVER BEEN USED BY THE AGENCY. CRUZ COKE ALSO DEDICATED A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF HIS ARGUMENT TO DISCREDITING THE LAN-CHILE EMPLOYEE AT KENNEDY AIRPORT WHO TESTIFIED THAT THE MEETING BETWEEN TOWNLEY AND FERNANDEZ WAS PRE-ARRANGED. HE CLAIMED THAT THE EMPLOYEE HAD MADE HIS INCRIMINATING STATEMENTS AS PART OF A DEAL WITH PROSECUTORS NOT TO INDICT HIM FOR HIS ROLE IN PASSING EXPLOSIVES TO ANTI-CASTRO CUBANS. IN CONCLUDING, CRUZ COKE SAID THAT AS A LOYAL ARMY OFFICER, CHILE OWED FERNANDEZ SUPPORT.HE ANSWERED THAT THE USG HAD NO EVIDENCE AGAINST HIM, BUT IF THERE WAS TO BE A FURTHER HEARING IT SHOULD
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05191 262117Z

BE BEFORE CHILEAN MILITARY COURTS.

4. ALTHOUGH TWO RADIO STATIONS WERE TO BROADCAST THE HEARINGS LIVE, RADIO MINERIA HAD "TECHNICAL TROUBLES" EARLY THE FIRST DAY AND OSTENSIBLY HAD BEEN UNABLE TOCOME THEM. THIS HAS PROMPTED STORIES THAT THE STATION HAS BEEN COUNSELED NOT TO TRANSMIT THE HEARINGS. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT-ORIENTED RADIO COOPERATIVE CONTINUES TO COVER THE CASE. THE GOVERNMENT'S LITTLE-READ "CRONISTA," SUDDENLY FOUND THE HEARINGS IMPORTANT AFTER ALL AND DEDICATED MOST OF A PAGE TO A PHOTO OF CRUZ COKE AND HIS PRESENTATION. WITH ITS NOW NOTORIOUS FACILITY FOR MISHANDLING A STORY, "CRONISTA" CHOSE TO HEADLINE THE DEFENSE'S MOST BLATANT LIE: "LETELIER IN HOLLAND WHEN FERNANDEZ IS U.S." OTHER DAILIES ACCORDED PRESENTATION NORMAL COVERAGE.

5. JULY 26 JORGE BALMACEDA PUTS FORWARD HIS DEFENSE FOR COLONEL ESPINOZA.
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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05245 01 OF 02 281921Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4163
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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CARACAS AND MEXICO FOR LABATT

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB PGOV CI
SUBJECT: CHILEAN LABOR PLAN

REF: A) SANTIAGO 5083, B) SANTIAGO 5219

1. SUMMARY: DEBATE OVER LABOR PLAN INTENSIFIES. GROUP OF TEN (G-10) AND AFL-CIO ISSUE JOINT DECLARATION ATTACKING PLAN. HEAD OF G-10 CALLS FOR USE OF STRIKES AS WEAPON AGAINST GOVERNMENT'S LEGISLATION. PINOCHET DEFENDS PLAN AND ATTACKS G-10 (NOT BY NAME) AS "TRAITORS" WHO SEEK EXTERNAL SOLUTIONS. PINERA DENOUNCES INTERVENTION IN CHILEAN AFFAIRS. EXTENSIVE PRESS COVERAGE INCLUDES VITUPERATIVE EDITORIALS. THIS MAY BE SOUND AND FURY TO BE FOLLOWED, AS IN THE PAST, BY DISCUSSION AND MODIFICATIONS OF THE PLAN. BOYCOTT DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE A MAJOR ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

2. RIOS STATEMENT: THE RETURN OF GROUP OF TEN (G-10) CHIEF EDUARDO RIOS AND HERNOL FLORES FROM THE US AND THE ISSUANCE OF A JOINT G-10/AFL-CIO DECLARATION JULY
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05245 01 OF 02 281921Z

26 HAS INTENSIFIED THE DEBATE OVER THE GOC LABOR PLAN. RIOS STRONGLY ATTACKED THE LEGISLATIION INSISTING THAT IT WAS REGRESSIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE OF THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS. IN OPPOSITION TO THE PLAN, RIOS URGED THE USE OF STRIKES--OUTLAWED IN CHILE SINCE 1973. HE PREDICTED THAT THE LEGISLATION MAY LAST BUT ONLY SO LONG AS THE CURRENT REGIME LASTS. RIOS WENT ON TO

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SAY THAT A US LABOR UNION BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN GOODS COULD OCCUR, THAT THE G-10 WOULD SYMPATHIZE WITH SUCH A BOYCOTT, BUT THAT THE GROUP HAS NOT ASKED FOR SUCH AN ACTION, A DECISION FOR INTERNATIIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS TO MAKE.

3. JOINT DECLARATION: THE JOINT DECLARATION ITSELF CASTIGATED THE GOC FOR "THWARTING LEGITIMATE LABOR ASPIRATIONS IN CHILE" AND CONTINUING THE "UNION DIVISIONIST PRACTICES INITIATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF DR ALLENDE." THE DOCUMENT FAULTED GOC FOR CLAIMING THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN IT (THE GOVERNMENT) AND AFL-CIO WHEN, IN FACT, NONE HAD TAKEN PLACE. CHASTISED ALSO WAS THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO CONSULT WITH DEMOCRATIC WORKER ORGANIZATIONS.

4. GOC REACTION: GOC REACTION WAS SWIFT AND COMBATIVE. CHILEAN PRESIDENT PINOCHET, IN HIS JULY 26 PRESS CONFERENCE, HAD ALREADY DEFENDED THE LABOR PLAN, PORTRAYING HIMSELF AS THE DEFENDER OF THE VOICELESS. HE CALLED MONOPOLISTIC UNIONS AND THEIR LEADERS INIMICAL TO THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS, AND LABELED THEM INSTRUMENTS OF MARXIST DOGMA. FINALLY, WHILE NOT NAMING THE G-10 BUT CLEARLY REFERRING TO THEM, PINOCHET SAID THAT "TRAITORS HAVE REAPPEARED
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05245 01 OF 02 281921Z

WHO SEEK FOREIGN SOLUTIONS" TO CHILEAN PROBLEMS. PRESIDENT PINOCHET SPOKE BEFORE THE G-10 PRESS CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE. THE MORNING OF JULY 26 CHILEAN PRESS CONTAINED A VERSION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. (COMMENT: THE LEAK, TRACED BACK TO WASHINGTON, STOLE G-10 THUNDER AND, ALSO, ALLOWED GOC TO HIGHLIGHT "INTERVENTIONIST" NATURE OF G-10 ACTIONS.)

5. SO FAR THREE GOC CABINET MEMBERS HAVE RESPONDED TO RIOS' STATEMENT AND THE JOINT DECLARATION. LABOR MINISTER PINERA ISSUED A LENGTHY STATEMENT DENOUNCING THE AFL-CIO FOR "OPEN INTERVENTION IN CHILEAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS." HE DENIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN AGREEMENT TO CONSULT WITH AFL-CIO ON THE DRAFTING OF THE LABOR LEGISLATION; HE SAID GOC HAD AGREED TO KEEP THAT ORGANIZATION INFORMED AND HAD DONE SO. PINERA CALLED THE G-10 MEMBERS "PUPPETS" WHO SOUGHT TO PROVOKE GOC TO TAKE MEASURES AGAINST THEM. THE GOC, HE SAID, WOULD NOT MAKE "VICTIMS" OF THE PERPETRATORS OF THIS "MANEUVER" BUT WOULD ACT AGAINST ANYONE, "POLITICAL-

LABOR LEADER OR NO", ATTEMPTING TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THEIR THREATS OF "AGGRESSION AGAINST CHILE." AT ONE POINT, THE MINISTER ARGUES THE POLITICAL, EVEN SUBVERSIVE, NATURE OF THE G-10 AND ITS DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN PATRONAGE. HE REFERS TO A G-10 TRIP TO THE SOUTH OF CHILE "NOT ONLY TO IMPUGN THE LABOR PLAN BUT ALSO TO APPEAL FOR THE END OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT (INCLUSO A PEDIR EL TERMINO DEL ACTUAL GOVIERNO), ALL THIS IN THE COMPANY OF THE US LABOR ATTACHE" (COMMENT: THIS REFERS TO A VISIT TO THE SOUTH BY THEN LABATT ARCHER AND SOME MEMBERS OF G-10 PRINCIPALLY TO CLOSE AN AIFLD SEMINAR).

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05245 02 OF 02 281934Z
ACTION ARA-15

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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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THE MINISTER'S STRIDENT STATEMENT WAS MODERATED ONLY BY HIS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT (OFTEN REPEATED PUBLICLY) THAT GOC WAS AND IS PREPARED TO LISTEN TO RESPONSIBLE DISSENT AND IS "DISPOSED TO PERFECT SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE LABOR PLAN"--THE G-10'S ACTIONS, FOR HIM WERE CLEARLY OUTSIDE THE REALM OF RESPONSIBLE DISSENT.

6. FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS AND ECONOMY MINISTER KELLY ALSO COMMENTED ON THE SUBJECT. CUBILLOS, POINTING OUT THAT THE AFL-CIO WAS NOT A USG AGENCY, LIMITED HIS COMMENTS BUT OFFERED A FEW CONDEMNATORY WORDS OF HIS OWN IN LABELING THE DECLARATION AN "UNJUSTIFIED INTERVENTION" WHICH "DEFORMS THE ACTUAL SITUATION." MINISTER KELLY CALLED THE G-10'S ACTION UNPATRIOTIC AND "INCREDIBLE," AND MOCKED THE BOYCOTT AS AN EFFECTIVE PRESSURE DEVICE.

7. PRESS COVERAGE: PRESS COVERAGE OF RIOS' STATEMENT AND OF THE JOINT DECLARATION WAS HEAVY. "EL MERCUURIO" JULY 27 HEADLINED RIOS' CALL FOR THE USE

OF STRIKES AGAINST THE PLAN AND PRINTED THE FULL TEXT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. EDITORIAL REACTION WAS SWIFT AND PREDICTABLY ANGRY. "LA TERCERA" DIRECTED
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05245 02 OF 02 281934Z

OUTRAGE AT THE AFL-CIO WHICH IS CALLED A "SUPRA-NATIONAL POLITICAL ENTITY." GOC-OWNED "EL CRONISTA", WHILE NOT NAMING THE G-10, WAS MAKING THE OBVIOUS REFERENCE WHEN IT INVEIGHED AGAINST THOSE "DESPERATE MINORITIES" WHO, FINDING NO SUPPORT IN CHILE, HAVE TO SEEK THE ASSISTANCE OF FOREIGNERS. "EL MERCURIO" ON JULY 28 CHARGED THAT THE AFL-CIO UNCHARACTERISTICALLY IS INJECTING AN IDEOLOGICAL ELEMENT INTO ITS ACTIVITIES IN CHILE. "EL MERCURIO'S" STRONG BUT REASONED EDITORIAL CONTRASTS WITH A COMMENTARY OVER NATIONAL RADIO IN CHICH RAFAEL KITTSTEINER EXCORIATED G-10 MEMBERS AS "TRAITORS AND SERVANTS OF A FOREIGN POWER." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE AFL-CIO ACTION WAS PART OF A USG CAMPAIGN TO PRESSURE CHILE INTO GRANTING THE EXTRADITION OF CONTRERAS, ET. AL.

8. COMMENT: THE GOC IS STUNG BY THE AFL/CIO-G 10'S COMPREHENSIVE CONDEMNATION OF THE LABOR PLAN AND, AS IN THE PAST, IS ATTEMPTING TO MOBILIZE NATIONALIST SENTIMENT AGAINST "FOREIGN INTERVENTION" INCLUDING RAISING THE SPECTRE OF BOYCOTT. FOR THE GOC, THE VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND THE LEAKED JOINT DECLARATION MAKE THE G-10 AN ATTRACTIVE TARGET. YET, NO MAJOR CHILEAN LABOR LEADER SO FAR HAS SPOKEN ON THE INTER-VENTIIONIST ISSUE. THE CHOICE, EVEN FOR PRO-GOC NATIONALIST LABOR LEADERS, IS A DIFFICULT ONE SINCE FEW IF ANY SEEM TO WISH TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH THE PLAN, AND THE ISSUES OF "INTERVENTIONISM" AND BOYCOTT, AT THIS POINT, APPEAR TO BE INEXTRICABLY LINKED WITH THE PLAN.

9. NONETHELESS, THE TRAIN OF EVENTS MAY REPLICATE THOSE OF THE PAST YEAR. UNLESS AN UNEXPECTED EXTERNAL EVENTS FUELS THE CONTROVERSY, SUCH AS THE DECLARATION
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05245 02 OF 02 281934Z

OF EVEN A SYMBOLIC BOYCOTT AT CARACAS, THE SOUNDD AND FURY MAY SUBSIDE AND THE PARTIES BEGIN TO RECONCILE MORE QUIETLY SOME OF THEIR DIFFERENCES. THE LABOR MINISTER'S STATEMENT INVITES FURTHER DISCUSSION OF

"LEGITIMATE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION" AND NOTES GOC WILLINGNESS TO PERFECT SPECIFIC ASPECTS" OF THE PLAN. THIS INVITATION COULD OFFER THE BASIS FOR EVENTUAAL INTERNAL DIALOGUE AND ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN THE GOC AND LABOR SECTOR.

10. FINALLY, THE STRENGTH OF THE JOINT AFL/CIO STATEMENT AIMS TO COMPENSATE, IN PART, FOR THE FACT THAT THE THREAT OF AN AFL/CIO SUPPORTED BOYCOTT IS NOT A CREDIBLE ISSUE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. NEITTHER RIOS NOR THE OTHERS SERIOUSLY VOICE IT. UNDERNEATH THE FUROR, WE BELIEVE THE GOC MAY BE HEAVING A SIGH OF RELIEF (BUT AT THE SAME TIME KNOCKING WOOD).
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PAGE 01 CARACA 07204 290116Z **DECONTROL**
ACTION SIL-01

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FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, ICFTU, XR, VE
SUBJECT: ICFTU CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY; CHILE BOYCOTT RESOLUTION

REF: SANTIAGO 5219

1. A RESOLUTION FOR A WEEK-LONG SYMBOLIC BOYCOTT OF CHILE WAS AGREED UPON BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) MEETING JULY 26. THIS WAS REPORTEDLY ENDORSED BY THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY JULY 27.

2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION TRANSMITTED IN SPANISH: EL COMITEE DE LA CIOSL PARA LA DEFENSA DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS Y SINDICALES EN LA AMERICA LATINA REUNIDO EN CARACAS EL 26, 27 DE JULIO DE 1979, DECIDIO INTENSIFICAR LA LUCHA A NIVEL MUNDIAL DEL MOVIMIENTO SINDICAL LIBRE CONTRA EL REGIMEN DICTATORIAL DE CHILE. COMO PRIMERA MEDIDA EL COMITE HIZO UN LLAMAMIENTO A
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PAGE 02 CARACA 07204 290116Z

TODAS LAS AFILIADAS DE LA CIOSL Y SUS SPI PARA QUE ORGANICEN ACCIONES ESPECIALES INCLUYENDO EL BOICOT DURANTE LA SEMANA DEL 9 AL 16 DE SETIEMBRE DE 1979 EN APOYO DE LA LUCHA DEL PUEBLO CHILENO PARA RECOBRAR LA LIBERTAD, LA DEMOCRACIA Y EL PLENO RESPETO DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS Y SINDICALES.
ESTAS ACCIONES QUE SE LLEVAN A CABO DENTRO DEL MARCO

DE LA LUCHA DE LA CIOSL, ORIT, ITF Y DE LOS DEMAS SPI PARA LA DEFENSA DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS Y SINDICALES EN LA AMERICA LATINA SE LLEVARA A CABO SEGUN LAS CARACTERISTICAS IDIOSINCRACIAS DE CADA UNA DE LAS RESPECTIVAS AFILIADAS.
UN INFORME COMPLETO SOBRE LAS ACTIVIDADES QUE A NIVEL MUNDIAL SE LLEVAN A CABO CONTRA EL REGIMEN DE PINOCHET SE SOMETERAA AL CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LA CIOSL EN MADRED EN NOVIEMBRE DE 1979 PARA MOVILIZAR AUN MAS SOSTEN HACIA LE PERMANENTE PRESION POLITICA Y ECONOMICA CONTRA EL REGIMEN REPRESIVO DE CHILE.

3. GROUP OF TEN REPRESENTATIVE FLORES HAS NOT APPEARED IN CARACAS CONTRARY TO THE EXPECTATIONS OF REFTEL AND OF HIS STAND-IN HERE, LUIS SEPULVEDA. SEPULVEDA IS RETURNING TO SANTIAGO JULY 29 AT 6 P.M.

4. COMMENT: THERE REPORTEDLY WAS WIDE DISCUSSION OVER SPANISH VERSION OF THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION. THERE ALSO WAS A VARIETY OF REACTIONS, THE MOST COMMON BEING THAT THE RESOLUTION DOES NOT GO SIGNIFICANTLY BEYOND PREVIOUS INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS FEDERATION AND ORIT BOYCOTT DECLARATIONS. REPORTEDLY THE EUROPEAN DELEGATES WERE PESSIMISTIC OVER ABILITY OF MANY EUROPEAN AFFILIATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE BOYCOTT BECAUSE OF LEGAL BARRIERS. A SEPARATE RESOLUTION, A
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PAGE 03 CARACA 07204 290116Z

TEXT OF WHICH WE DO NOT HAVE YET, PROVIDED FOR PROPSED DEVELOPMENT OF A FUND TO DEFER EXPENSES FOR LEGAL CASES BROUGHT AGAINST UNIONS PARTICIPATING IN BOYCOTTS. FURTHER, THERE WAS THE FEELING IT WOULD BE LARGELY SYMBOLIC AND NOT EFFECTIVE. ORIT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IS MEETING JULY 28. WILLIAM DOHERTY, WHO WAS BRIEFED ON REFTEL, WAS NOT SURE WHETHER ORIT WOULD EVEN DISCUSS BOYCOTT QUESTION.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05267 311830Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COM-02 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
NSAE-00 SIL-01 HA-05 SY-05 MCT-03 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /097 W
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R 302125Z JUL 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: AFL-CIO CRITICISM OF LABOR PLAN: MORE LOCAL REACTION

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 5245, (B) CARACAS 7204

1. IN EDITORIALS JULY 29 "EL MERCURIO" WENT FURTHER THAN ANY TIME PREVIOUSLY IN ATTRIBUTING THE LETELEIR/MOFFITT CASE AND US SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC LABOR IN CHILE TO A CONCERTED USG POLICY AIMED AT DESTABILIZING THE GOC. ONE OF THE EDITORIALS, PRAISING COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT PINOCHET IN HIS JULY 26 PRESS CONFERENCE (PARAGRAPH 4 OF REFTEL A), SAID THAT THE REAL INTEREST OF US LABOR LEADERS IS NOT THE CHILEAN LABOR PLAN BUT RATHER TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE GOC AND THREATEN PINOCHET. THE OTHER EDITORIAL, EDITOR ARTURO FONTAINE'S WEEKLY POLITICAL ANALYSIS, ATTRIBUTES THE PRESSURE OF AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS TO AN INTERVENTIONIST POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IN CHILE -- "THE 'BIG HAND' AS THEY SAY IN CENTRAL AMERICA."

2. ACCORDING TO FONTAINE, WASHINGTON HAD HOPED THAT THE LETELIER/ MOFFITT CASE WOULD BE THE INSTRUMENT THAT WOULD DESTABILIZE THE GOC BY CREATING DIFFICULTIES WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES. NOW
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05267 311830Z

THAT EVEN THE USG LAWYER HAD ADMITTED BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT THAT "CHILEAN AUTHORITIES WERE NOT INVOLVED IN THE LETELIER MATTER" (SIC), THE INTERESTED PRESSURE GROUPS IN WASHINGTON ARE PUSHING THE AFL-CIO TO THE FRONT OF THE STAGE. ELSEWHERE IN HIS EDITORIAL, FONTAINE ARGUES THAT THE JOINT AFL-CIO/GROUP OF TEN PRESS RELEASE ON THE LABOR PLAN DID NOT GO INTO ANY KIND OF SUBSTANTIAL ANALYSIS. UNSUPPORTED CHARGES OF THIS TYPE,

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ACCORDING TO FONTAINE, HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE AFL-CIO'S BAD IMAGE IN SOME COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS TO THE ACCUSATIONS THAT IT IS SOMETHIMES THE VISIBLE ARM OF THE CIA ON LABOR MATTERS.

3. LEAD CIRCULATION "LA TERCERA" CARRIES AN EDITORIAL JULY 30 REPUDIATING THE AFL-CIO/GROUP OF TEN ATTACK ON THE LABOR PLAN, CLAIMING THAT ALL CHILEANS WILL UNDERSTAND THIS AS A FOREIGN POLITICA L
INTERVENTION. CHILE, SINCE IT HAS NEVER SUBMITTED TO FOREIGN DOMINATION, WILL NOT BE AFFECTED.

4. THE MEDIA HERE HAS SO FAR GIVEN ONLY LOW-KEY REPORTING TO THE ONE-WEEK SYMBOLIC BOYCOTT OF CHILE APPARENTLY AGREED UPON AT CARACAS OVER THE WEEK-END. THERE HAS BEEN NO EDITORIAL COMMENT AS YET.

5. COMMENT: THE RECENT DENOUEMENT IN NICARAGUA, INCLUDING AMBASSADOR PEZZULLO'S WIDELY MISQUOTED STATEMENT ON US POLICY TO REMOVE SOMOZA, HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE VEHEMECY OF OFFICIAL CHILEAN REACTION TO THE AFL-CIO STATEMENT ON THE LABOR PLAN. GOC IDEOLOGUE JAIME GUZMAN DEVOTED HIS COLUMN IN "ERCILLA" LAST WEEK TO AN EXPLANATION OF WHY CHILE IS NOT NICARAGUA: THE SOMOZA REGIME WAS NOT AND IN FACT HAS HAD TO CONTEND WITH THE ANIMOSITY OF THE US FOR MUCH OF THE TIME SINCE IT CAME TO POWER. FONTAINE IN HIS JULY 29 EDITORIAL ALSO REFERS TO THE MISGUIDED IMPRESSION IN WASHINGTON (PART OF AN OVERALL MISUNDERSTANDING OF LATIN AMERICA) THAT PINOCHET CAN BE EQUATED WITH SOMOZA AND TRUJILLO.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05261 302023Z **DECONTROL**
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR LEGAL ATTACHE

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: FINAL DAY OF ORAL ARGUMENTS POSTPONED ONE WEEK

REF: SANTIAGO 5238

1. SHORTLY BEFORE THE FINAL SESSION JULY 30 WAS TO BEGIN, THE SUPREME COURT ANNOUNCED THAT FIRST CHAMBER PRESIDENT JOSE MARIE EYZAGUIRRE IS ILL AND THAT THE ORAL ARGUMENTS HAVE BEEN POSTPONED ONE WEEK. SERGIO MIRANDA CARRINGTON, THE LAWYER FOR CONTRERAS, WILL NOW MAKE HIS PRESENTATION MONDAY, AUGUST 6.

2. INFORMED SOURCES SAY THAT EYZAGUIRRE IS INDEED SICK; HOWEVER, THERE WAS IMMEDIATE SPECULATION IN THE CORRIDORS OF THE SUPREME COURT BUILDING THAT EYZAGUIRRE HAD REQUESTED POSTPONEMENT IN ORDER TO HAVE MORE TIME TO STUDY THE CASE. THIS SEEMS SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY IF ONLY BECAUSE THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT AFTER THE ORAL ARGUMENTS CONCLUDE FOR THE JUDGES TO AGREE UPON AND PREPARE THEIR DECISION.
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66TH. INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

13-21 SEPTEMBER 1979 - CARACAS, VENEZUELA

CL/125/79/5
30 July 1979
Original: French

REPORT

of the

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ENTRUSTED WITH PRESENTING TO THE COUNCIL, IN CARACAS, AN EXCEPTIONAL REPORT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN LATIN AMERICA, PARTICULARLY IN ARGENTINA, CHILE, NICARAGUA AND URUGUAY

Rapporteur: Mr. I. Wane (Senegal)

CONTENTS:

	Page
Work of the Special Committee	2
The Human Rights Situation in Latin America	5
Argentina	11
Chile	16
Nicaragua	20
Uruguay	22

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

The Special Committee was established by the Inter-Parliamentary Council at its 124th session, held at Prague on 21 April 1979.

It is composed of representatives of the National Groups of Belgium, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Mexico and Senegal.

It met at the Union's headquarters in Geneva from 10 to 13 July 1979.

Participation

(a) National Groups

The Mexican National Group had been unable to send a representative to the Special Committee's session due to the general elections held in Mexico on 1 July 1979.

The other National Groups on the Special Committee had sent the following representatives: *Belgium:* Mr. E. Cuvelier; *Costa Rica:* Mr. R. Madrigal Nieto; *Czechoslovakia:* Mr. B. Kucera; *Senegal:* Mr. I. Wane.

Mr. Madrigal Nieto and Mr. Wane were appointed respectively Chairman and Rapporteur of the Special Committee.

(b) Authorities of Argentina, Chile, Nicaragua and Uruguay:

The National Group of Nicaragua and the Governments of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay had been invited to delegate a representative to the Special Committee if they so desired. However, none of these authorities expressed the wish to send a representative to the session. Nevertheless, the Argentinian authorities had sent a memorandum outlining the Government's position regarding the human rights situation in Argentina.

(c) International organizations:

In accordance with practice and the Council's decision, the following international organizations had been invited to delegate a representative to the Special Committee: United Nations (Commission on Human Rights); United Nations High Commission for Refugees; International Labour Organisation; Organization of American States; Amnesty International; International Commission of Jurists; World Council of Churches.

The following international organizations had sent a representative:

United Nations: Mr. R. McCarthy, Special Assistant to the Director of the Division of Human Rights; *United Nations High Commission for Refugees:* Mr. R. Muller, Head of the American, Iberia and Oceania section, and Mr. L.

Franco, officer responsible for protection; *Amnesty International:* Miss P. Feeney, of the Latin America Research Department; *International Commission of Jurists:* Mr. A. Donadio, legal adviser for Latin America.

The following international organizations had sent either a memorandum or documentation: International Labour Organisation; Organization of American States; Amnesty International; International Commission of Jurists.

(d) Personalities invited in an individual capacity:

In accordance with practice and the Council's decision, various personalities had been invited to testify before the Special Committee regarding the situation of human rights in their country, namely:

Argentina: Senator Hipolito Solari Yrigoyen and former Deputy Anibal Augusto Iturrieta;

Chile : Senator Luis Valente Rossi; Senator Renan Fuentealba, who had also been invited, was unable to come to Geneva;

Nicaragua: The Archbishop of Managua; he was unable to reply to the invitation sent to him;

Uruguay : Senator Wilson Ferreira Aldunate and Senator Enrique R. Erro.

The personalities present had submitted memoranda on the situation of human rights in their respective countries.

Methods of work:

In accordance with the mandate given to it by the Inter-Parliamentary Council, the Special Committee firstly carried out a comprehensive review of the human rights situation in Latin America, and then considered the specific situation of the four countries named in the definition of its mandate, i.e. Argentina, Chile, Nicaragua and Uruguay.

In order to do this, it studied the written documentation sent to it and heard statements by the representatives of the international organizations and personalities invited.

Report of the Special Committee:

The members of the Inter-Parliamentary Council will find below the report prepared by the Special Committee upon the conclusion of its work. This report contains firstly a general part concerning the human rights situation in Latin America as a whole, followed by reports on the specific situation of Argentina, Chile, Nicaragua and Uruguay.

Each of these reports contains a statement of the various findings made by the Special Committee, followed by recommendations.

*

* *

REPORT

I - *THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN LATIN AMERICA*

FINDINGS

A.

It emerges from the information gathered by the Special Committee that in several Latin American countries, despite the fact that some of them are parties to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the American Convention on Human Rights, the rule of law does not exist.

The present régimes, which in many cases took power by force, are repressive régimes which are not based on respect for the internationally recognized principles regarding human rights but on the so-called doctrine of national security which tends to privilege the power of the State and collective security at the expense of the individual and the values inherent in his dignity.

The advent of these régimes is generally preceded by increasing infiltration of the armed forces into the State apparatus and followed by the suppression of representative institutions, the suppression of political parties or the suspension of their activities, and by persecutions against their members. The armed forces are generally presented as the providential élite charged with the mission of mitigating the deficiencies of a civilian authority which has been declared unfit to guarantee national security.

Thereafter, the executive authority - entrusted either to a Governing Junta or a head of State with wide discretionary powers - begins to control legislative and judicial powers closely, and even to concentrate them directly in its hands.

The state of emergency is often maintained when it is no longer justified by the circumstances. Emergency legislation thus acquires a permanent nature and is used to legalize political repression.

The task of repression is assigned to the armed forces and the police but also, in many cases, to para-military and para-police forces, which act with complete impunity and often without co-ordination.

Military justice takes the place of civil justice which has been rendered inoperative by emergancy legislation; legal remedies for protection (Amparo; Habeas Corpus)are also rendered inoperative.

These régimes tend to institutionalize this de facto situation through decrees or institutional acts which illegally amend the Constitution. Furthermore, in some countries, Constitutions are being prepared by the authorities and the drafts already published do not fully guarantee human rights.

These facts give rise to a number of consequences which affect human rights, particularly:

- Right to life: murders for political reasons are a common practice in several Latin American countries; the Special Committee's attention was particularly drawn to Argentina, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. The murders are committed either by the regular security forces or their intelligence services, or by para-military or para-police groups. To the Special Committee's knowledge, these murders are generally not investigated seriously and impartially nor are their perpetrators or instigators punished. Such murders are in fact extrajudicial executions.

- Right to personal integrity: although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international, universal or regional legal instruments, to which some of the countries in question are parties, provide that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment", the Special Committee received information and, in certain cases, testimony which reveal that such practices are commonplace in several countries. The Special Committee received allegations of such practices - with considerable differences regarding the magnitude and frequency of the phenomenon - concerning Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Uruguay.

- Right to liberty and security of person: information received by the Special Committee reveals that kidnapping and arrests, often carried out by security agents acting anonymously and without a warrant and frequently followed by temporary or definitive disappearances, are a common practice in Latin America; that applications made on behalf of the victimes (Amparo; Habeas Corpus) have no effect; that detainees remain at the disposal of the Executive for indefinite periods, often incommunicado and without access to any of the minimum guarantees generally accorded to persons under arrest.

- Particular case of disappeared persons: the phenomenon of disappearances for political reasons, which is a new form of repression, has grown increasinglyin a number of Latin American countries, particularly in Argentina. Although there is abundant proof that disappearances generally follow arrest by State security forces, the governmental authorities deny any responsibility in this connection and impute the disappearances to action by opposing political factions. The courts refuse, or show themselves unable, to grant the appeals and applications by relatives of the victims, even when they have clear proof of arrest; in some cases, the military authorities state that disappearances are the price to be paid for national order and security.

- Right to justice and a proper and fair trial: according to information received by the Special Committee, a large number of persons detained for political reasons in the countries in question are held in detention, at the disposal of the Executive, without precise charges being brought against them and without trial; it also happens that they have no access to counsel or that such counsel is imposed by the court; when they are brought to trial, they are often brought before a military court, without guarantees of defence being fully respected.

- Right to reside in one's country or to leave it: the Special Committee received information which reveals that, on account of the foregoing, a large number of citizens of the countries in question are compelled to go into exile; that a large number are expelled from the national territory and prevented from returning; that, in some of the countries under consideration, the right to choose to leave one's country has been suspended. The universally recognized principle of non-expulsion has not always been respected in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay.

- Collusion in repression: the Special Committee received information that in various countries of the Southern Cone there is collusion between their security organizations to repress persons sought for political reasons.

- Situation of parliamentarians: the above-mentioned facts have affected and affect a large number of parliamentarians whose cases have mostly been treated by the Inter-Parliamentary Council, which is seized of a new case, that of Deputy Alberto Fuentes-Mohr, who was murdered in Guatemala.

- Education, science and culture: in several countries, the contents of education programmes and the functioning of universities, schools, colleges and cultural institutes have been placed under the strict control of the military authorities and the police.

- Freedom of association: in several Latin American countries, albeit parties to the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation, trade union activity has been considerably reduced: trade union organizations have been dissolved or placed entirely under the control of the State; the main achievements of the labour movement, such as the right to strike, have been practically suppressed; and the labour movement itself tends to be fragmented as a result of the persecution of its leaders and the constraints imposed upon it. At its session in June 1979, the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation was seized of complaints alleging violation of freedom of association in the following countries: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Uruguay.

- Freedom of opinion and expression: in several countries, the freedom of opinion and expression has been widely reduced or suppressed; officials of Press organs are either persecuted or compelled to conform to the policy of the authorities and exercise self-censorship; in addition, strict censorship is often imposed.

- Economic and social rights: the economic policy of these régimes often has a negative impact on the social situation of the most disadvantaged social strata; it generates increased inequalities in living standards.

B.

Foreign military and economic assistance: information available to the Special Committee reveals that most of the régimes considered receive considerable foreign military and economic assistance, despite the widespread violations of human rights for which they are responsible.

C.

Refugees: despite the generous welcome accorded to refugees by several countries, particularly in Latin America, their situation remains precarious and does not always give them the right to work.

Some Latin American countries have not yet acceded to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees and to the 1967 Protocol, whose provisions supplement those existing in Latin America under various conventions on the right of asylum, and others have acceded to it with reservations as to its scope; most of the States parties to these two instruments do not yet have domestic legislation permitting the full implementation of all their provisions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. The Special Committee recommends to the Inter-Parliamentary Council to request the Governments of the countries considered above:

1. To restore forthwith the rule of law and in particular:

- To put an end to the state of emergency.* The state of emergency should be lifted as soon as possible, particularly in the following countries: Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. The Special Committee also considers that the declaration of a state of emergency should be subject to parliamentary oversight and independent judicial oversight.

- To give full legal effect on their territory to the International Covenants on human rights and the American Convention on Human Rights;**

- To restore constitutional rights and guarantees;

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* At its 123rd session, the Inter-Parliamentary Council expressed the opinion that measures derogating from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the American Convention on Human Rights, authorized by Article 4 of the Covenant and by Article 27 of the Convention "in time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed", can only be of an exceptional and transitory nature.

** The following Latin American States are parties:

(a) To the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jamaica, Panama, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay, Venezuela

(b) To the American Convention on Human Rights:

Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Panama, Peru, Venezuela

- To restore the freedom of political parties and to re-establish representative institutions after a free and democratic electoral process;

- To restore and respect the independence of the judiciary.

2. - To put an end to the persecution of citizens for their opinions, to arbitrary arrests and to torture;

- To ensure that political murders and extrajudicial executions can no longer be perpetrated;

- To prosecute and punish those responsible for such practices;

- To bring all prisoners to trial, with all the guarantees set out in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and in the American Convention on Human Rights, or to release them immediately;

- To put an end to the practice of arrests followed by disappearances and to provide full information about the situation of disappeared persons, as it is their duty to do so;

- To restore fully the legal remedies for protection (Amparo; Habeas Corpus);

- To put an end to expulsions and to enable exiles to return to their countries legally; to restore the right to choose to leave one's country where this right exists; to put an end to the practice of refusing passports to exiles or of granting them with restrictions;

3. To guarantee the right to intellectual freedom and, in particular, to respect freedom of opinion and expression and freedom of education.

4. To restore fully trade union rights and freedoms.

II. The Special Committee also recommends to the Inter-Parliamentary Council to request the National Groups:

1. To ensure the widest possible distribution of this report and, in particular, to bring it to the attention of their respective Parliaments and Governments so that they may take appropriate action; to make its contents known to public opinion;

2. To encourage the sending of parliamentary missions to the countries in question;

3. To urge their Governments to make all necessary representations to the authorities of the countries in question so that disappearances cease, such occurrences constituting a new method of repression;

4. To sponsor exiled Latin American parliamentarians in order to ensure their return to their countries;

5. To recommend to their Governments to refrain from granting military or financial assistance to the Governments of the countries in question, without prejudice to the humanitarian assistance given to the people of those countries;

6. To ensure that their respective States accede, if they have not already done so, as soon as possible and without reservations to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol; that possible reservations are removed; and to promote, as soon as possible, domestic legislation permitting the implementation of these instruments;

7. To inform the Secretary General regularly of the measures taken and the results achieved.

III. The Special Committee lastly recommends to the Inter-Parliamentary Council to request the Secretary General to transmit this report and the decisions of the Council to the authorities of the countries mentioned therein, as well as to all competent organizations.

IV. The Special Committee suggests to the Inter-Parliamentary Council that it envisage including again in the agenda of one of its coming sessions consideration of the situation of human rights in Latin America.

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II - *ARGENTINA*

FINDINGS

On 24 March 1976, after a long process of infiltrating the State apparatus, the armed forces took power by force in Argentina. The reason given by the Junta which had acceded to power was the necessity of the anti-subversive struggle.

The National Congress and the provincial assemblies were immediately suppressed - it should be noted that general elections should have taken place at the end of 1976 and that the elected authorities should have taken office in May 1977; all elective responsibilities were rendered null and void and a large number of persons with such responsibilities were harassed; political activities were suspended; the judiciary was placed under the strict control of the military authorities; the General Confederation of Labour and many trade unions suffered the same fate. This situation continued to prevail when the Special Committee met.

The state of siege - which had been brought into effect on 6 November 1974 by the previous Government at a time when Parliament was not meeting, and without any restriction as to time or space - was maintained and is still in force, thus acquiring a permanent nature. The Special Committee notes that this situation is contrary to the provisions of the Argentinian Constitution. It also notes that since the Argentinian authorities themselves say that they control the situation in the country as a whole, the present circumstances are not of an exceptional nature and do not justify the maintenance of the state of emergency.

The political violence and repression which had characterized the last years of the previous Government were intensified as from the coup d'Etat. The following aspects in particular reveal the existence of repression:

1. Disappeared persons

The practice of disappearances has acquired in Argentina a magnitude which is unprecedented in Latin America. The Special Committee considers that this problem is the most serious with regard to Argentina. According to Amnesty International, the number of victims is estimated at 15,000. Disappearances are either definitive or temporary, the person appearing subsequently in a prison at the disposal of the Executive. The authorities deny responsibility in this connection even when there is proof that the person was arrested by the security services. Legal remedies remain inoperative, with the result that the relatives of the victims are left in anguish. In a recent statement, quoted in the international Press, the commander-in-chief of the army, General Viola, said that missing persons should be regarded as "absent for ever". The Special Committee learned, however, that several persons who had reappeared after "disappearance" had testified to the existence of numerous secret concentration camps operating in military establishments in various parts of the country.

When kidnappings take place, security forces, which generally arrive in plain clothes and without a warrant, often ransack the homes of the victims, the booty being regarded as spoils of war.

The relatives of missing persons are often arrested themselves and harassed when they try to obtain information.

The Special Committee has learned that in many cases, young children whether or not arrested at the same time as their parents, have also disappeared or been thrown into the street. In addition, the number of children who were born in prisons and who have disappeared is also large.

2. Right to life

The Special Committee was informed that murders for political reasons are frequent in Argentina. The authorities sometimes claim that the persons murdered were killed in clashes between security forces and terrorists. Detainees are also often executed during transfers, on the pretext of attempted escape.

3. Right to personal integrity

Information received by the Special Committee reveals that the practice of torture in Argentina has acquired the dimension of an habitual practice. The prison system tends towards the moral and physical destruction of political prisoners. They are subject to the régime of "maxima peligrosidad" (maximum security) instituted by decree 2023 adopted in November 1974 and increased in scope in May 1976.

4. Right to liberty and security of person

According to the Government, there are 2,700 political prisoners in Argentina, but this figure may be lower than the real number. These persons are mostly detained at the disposal of the Executive for indefinite periods without any legal guarantees. Some of them are subject to re-education; according to a statement by the Minister of the Interior, "they volunteer".

5. Right to justice and a proper and fair trial

Due to repression, lawyers of political detainees are either detained or harassed and compelled to go into exile; as a result, lawyers are afraid to defend prisoners. Under decree 21264, councils of war have become competent to deal with certain categories of political prisoners, who do not have any guarantee of defence and no access to a civilian lawyer.

Legal remedies have proved to be inoperative. It should be noted, however, that, for the first time since 1976, the Supreme Court asked a Court of Appeal on 3 March 1979 to carry out an investigation into two applications for a writ of Habeas Corpus made on behalf of a missing person, Mr. Alfredo Antonio Giorgi.

6. Right to reside in one's own country or to leave it

Hundreds of thousands of Argentinians have been compelled to leave the country as the result of repression. The Government has revoked the constitutional right to choose to leave the country for political prisoners at the disposal of the Executive; subsequently, it decreed that this right depended on the Executive; new legislation makes persons who have benefited from this right liable to four years' imprisonment in the event of their return. Furthermore, the Argentinian Government's refusal to grant the necessary safe-conducts to persons who have found asylum in embassies is contrary to a norm recognized in inter-American law.

7. Persecution of refugees

The Special Committee has learnt that a large number of refugees, particularly Bolivians, Chileans, Paraguayans and Uruguayans, have been persecuted in Argentina. In many cases, these persons have been handed over by Argentinian security forces to the security forces of their own countries; some have been found murdered in their own countries.

The Special Committee wishes particularly to mention the cases of General Carlos Prats Gonzalez, commander-in-chief of the Chilean army; General Juan José Torres, former President of Bolivia; Senator Zelmar Michelini and the President of the Uruguayan House of Representatives, Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, who were murdered in Argentina.

The Special Committee also wishes to recall the case of Senator Enrique R. Erro which was examined by the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 1977, in accordance with the special procedure for communications: Senator Erro, who was a refugee in Argentina, was arrested in that country and kept in detention for two years under the régime of "maxima peligrosidad" (maximum security) without ever being charged, before his expulsion from the country without any explanation; he was ill-treated.

8. Situation of parliamentarians

A number of Argentinian parliamentarians have been arrested, tortured, murdered or kidnapped. Under its procedure for communications regarding individual situations which has been in force since 1 January 1977, the Inter-Parliamentary Union has had before it several cases regarding which the following facts should be recalled: Deputy Mario Abel Amaya died in prison from the effects of torture; Senator Luis Carnevali is reported missing; Senator Hipolito Solari Yrigoyen, who is now forbidden to return to Argentina, was kidnapped on 7 August 1976, imprisoned and tortured, and then released in April 1977; Deputies Julio Mera Figueroa and Manuel Isauro Molina were imprisoned in April and December 1976 respectively and then released in November and March 1978 respectively. It is to be hoped that the Argentinian Government will also release in the near future Deputies Juan Ramirez, who has been in prison since March 1976, and Antonio Isaac Guerrero, in prison since 1977.

The Special Committee has received specific information concerning Deputy Elvio Lumello who is said to be at the disposal of the Executive, and former Deputy Carlos Kunkel who is reported to have been brought to trial; provincial Deputies Orlando Stirneman, Victor Marchesini, who are detained at the disposal of the Executive, and Mario Medina who is being brought to trial; former President of the Chamber of Deputies and former constitutional President of the Republic, Hector J. Campora, who took refuge in the Mexican Embassy and to whom the authorities refuse to grant a safe-conduct to leave the country.

9. Freedom of expression

The Special Committee has been informed that, due to repression, self-censorship is widely practised. About a hundred journalists and many writers are reported to have disappeared or to be detained.

10. Freedom of association

The trade union organizations have been placed under strict military control; the right to strike is practically suspended and its exercise is regarded as subversive.

Since 1976, the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation has been seized of numerous complaints alleging violation of freedom of association in Argentina. The last report, presented by the Committee on Freedom of Association and approved by the Governing Body in May-June 1979, dealt with the detention or disappearance of trade unionists and former trade unionists, the taking over of trade union organizations and restriction on trade union activities, as well as with arrests for calling a general strike.

11. Economic and social rights

According to information received by the Special Committee, the living standards of the workers have considerably deteriorated since the coup d'Etat.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. The Special Committee recommends to the Inter-Parliamentary Council to request the Government of Argentina:

1. To repeal the repressive legislation and to restore the rule of law and the representative institutions founded on the sovereignty of the people;

2. To provide full information about the situation of all disappeared persons; to give, in particular, information about the fate of Senator Luis Agustin Carnevali;

3. To publish the complete list of persons detained for political reasons or trade union activities and who are at the disposal of the Executive or brought to trial;

4. To put an end to torture, kidnapping and persecution and to prosecute those responsible for such acts; to humanize the prison system;

5. To bring political prisoners to trial in accordance with a procedure which respects human rights or to release them and particularly: national Deputies Juan Manuel Ramirez, Antonio Isaac Guerrero and Elvio Lumello; former Deputy Carlos Kunkel; provincial Deputies Orlando Stirneman, Victor Marchesini and Mario Medina;

6. To respect the right of asylum and to grant a safe-conduct to the former President of the Chamber of Deputies and former constitutional President Hector J. Campora;

7. To respect the right to life and security, as well as individual guarantees;

8. To respect the right to live in one's own country or to leave it;

9. To restore freedom of opinion and expression and in particular to provide full information about the situation of detained or missing journalists, particularly Rodolfo Walsh, Haroldo Conti, Julian Delgado, Edgardo Sajon and Luis Rodolfo Guagnini.

10. To restore political activities and to put an end to the control exercised over trade union organizations.

II. The Special Committee recommends to the Inter-Parliamentary Council to request the National Groups:

1. To take measures to accelerate procedures for the admission of Argentinian political refugees and emigrants;

2. To ask their Governments to denounce in international bodies the violations of human rights for which the Argentinian Government is responsible, and particularly the practice of disappearances, and to exert pressure on the Argentinian Government so that it puts an end to that situation.

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7/31/79 BA - Mr Holdridge

AX 056

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

July 31, 1979

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: The Secretary
The Deputy Secretary

FROM: HA - Patricia M. Derian

U.S. Lawyers' Group Reports to UN on Argentine Human Rights Abuses

The Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights has submitted a report on Argentine human rights abuses to the United Nations under ECOSOC Resolution 1503. The report says these abuses constitute "evidence of a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights." The UN Human Rights Commission has not so far addressed the problem of human rights abuses in Argentina.

As you know, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York sent a mission to Argentina in April to study the human rights situation. The Lawyers Committee's report to the UN is based largely on the mission's findings.

The report contends that changes in Argentina's political and legal structure since 1976 have seriously undermined the most basic protections of human rights and have permitted government security forces to conduct a virtual reign of terror. It says the "desaparecidos" (disappeared persons) are the chief victims of this terror and criticizes the Argentine Government for its refusal to admit knowledge of the abductions or whereabouts of the victims, and for its failure to remedy the situation.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason __

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The report also discusses the plight of persons detained without formal charge or trial under the Executive's "state of siege" power, and assesses conditions in prisons. It also discusses secret camps where many of the disappeared have reportedly been held.

The report says members of the media, trade unionists, and lawyers have suffered particularly harsh treatment under the present regime because of their potential to challenge Government policies.

The report concludes that the Argentine Government has either suspended or violated a large number of internationally-recognized human rights and undermined virtually all due process guarantees and minimal judicial safeguards for the protection of these rights. Repressive statutes, such as the abolition of the Congress, and banning of political parties and activities, severe restrictions on trade union activities, limitations on press freedom, and the vastly increased power of military authorities in cases involving "subversives" have contributed to the breakdown of the legal structure. The Lawyers Committee concludes that these actions, and the Government's failure to address effectively the problems of the detained and disappeared, have produced "a complete breakdown of the rule of law in Argentina."

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Concurrence:HA/HR:CBSalmon,Jr:

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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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CLAMOR CX035

COMITÉ DE DEFESA DOS DIREITOS HUMANOS PARA OS PAISES DO CONE SUL
ORGÃO VINCULADO À COMISSÃO ARQUIDIOCESANA DE PASTORAL
DOS DIREITOS HUMANOS E MARGINALIZADOS

BOLETIN DE PRENSA
31.07.79

El Hecho

Dos criaturas, (1) Anatole Boris Julien Grisona, nacido en Uruguay el 27.09.72, y (2) Eva Lucía Julien Grisona, nacida en la Argentina el 07.05.75, secuestradas el 26.09.78 en Buenos Aires, en una operación conjunta de las fuerzas policiales uruguayas y argentinas, fueron encontradas en la ciudad de Valparaiso, Chile. Las criaturas están bien. Sus padres, Roger Julien Cáceres (uruguayo) y Victoria Grisona (argentina), secuestradas en esa misma operación, continúan desaparecidos. La familia entera fué secuestrada de su residencia en Partido de San Martín, Provincia de Buenos Aires.

Misión de Juristas Internacionales

En diciembre de 1977, una misión de juristas internacionales, representando a la Federación Internacional de los Derechos Humanos, al Movimiento Internacional de Juristas Católicos y a la Federación de Juristas Democráticos, visitó Uruguay a fin de investigar la desaparición de 80 ciudadanos uruguayos en la Argentina en los años 1975 y 76. Esta misión era integrada por Jean Louis Weil, abogado del tribunal en Paris, Robert Goldman, profesor de derecho internacional en Washington y relator del informe de la OEA sobre el Uruguay, y el diputado español Martínez Bjorkman.

En entrevista con el Presidente del Supremo Tribunal Militar del Uruguay, éste informó a los juristas que Roger Julien Cáceres se encontraba detenido en el Establecimiento de Reclusión Militar Nº 1, Penal de Libertad. (El Presidente del referido tribunal es el Coronel Silva Ledesma.) A pesar de eso, sus familiares nunca consiguieron verlo, porque las autoridades uruguayas, después de diciembre de 1977, se niegan a admitir su detención.

Testigos oculares, vecinos y la prensa argentina informaron que, durante el secuestro en la residencia de la familia Julien, se produjo un intenso tiroteo del que resultó con herida grave uno de los miembros adultos de la familia, aunque sin precisar cuál.

Telon de Fondo

Entre Setiembre y Octubre de 1976 hubo una ola de secuestros de uruguayos residentes en Argentina. Entre ellos se encontraban dos familias -- Roger Julien Cáceres y Victoria Grisona, y Jorge Zaffaroni y María Emilia Islas -- todos militantes del Partido por la Victoria del Pueblo, del Uruguay. Juntamente con los dos hijos del primer matrimonio, fué secuestrada la hija del segundo matrimonio, con dos años de edad, Mariana Zaffaroni Islas.

Apesar de las incontables denuncias formuladas ante la ONU, la OEA, la Cruz Roja, la UNICEF, y otros organismos internacionales, nada se sabe sobre la suerte de esas familias. Varias misiones de abogados y juristas internacionales visitaron el Uruguay y la Argentina en el curso de estos tres últimos años. La respuesta del gobierno uruguayo fué siempre la misma: "No hay uruguayos desaparecidos. Son autosecuestros que se fabrican por la subversión internacional para desprestigiar la imagen del país en el exterior."

Está bien presente en la memoria del pueblo brasilero el secuestro en Porto Alegre de Universindo Rodríguez Díaz, Lilián Celiberti y sus dos hijos Camilo y Francesca,

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ocurrido el 12.11.76. Innumerables pruebas fueron presentadas en la CPI sobre la colaboración entre elementos represivos brasileros y uruguayos en este secuestro.

Autosecuestros?

Un hecho echa por tierra los alegatos uruguayos de que las desapariciones resultan de "autosecuestros" inventados para perjudicar la imagen externa del aquel país: DE LAS CRIATURAS SECUESTRADAS EN LA ARGENTINA POR FUERZAS REPRESIVAS URUGUAYAS, DOS DE ELLAS ACABAN DE SER ENCONTRADAS EN VALPARAISO, EN CHILE: Anatole Boris Julien Grisona y Eva Lucía Julien Grisona. FUERON ABANDONADAS EN UNA PLAZA EN DICIEMBRE DE 1976, TRES MESES DESPUES DEL SECUESTRO, SIN QUE NADA SE SUPESE DE DONDE VENIAN O QUIENES ERAN SUS PADRES.

Cómo consiguieron dos criaturas de 4 y de 1 1/2 años cruzar la cordillera de los Andes, sólos, sin sus padres? Quién los llevó de la Argentina a Chile? Dónde están sus padres? Quién los robó de sus legítimas familias para abandonarlas en una plaza cualquiera de Valparaiso? Dónde están las otras criaturas uruguayas desaparecidas en la Argentina, especialmente Mariana Zaffaroni Islas y Simón Antonio Riquelo(*)? Dónde están sus padres? Qué ocurrió con los demás uruguayos desaparecidos en Argentina?

(*)Simón Antonio Riquelo, con 20 días de edad, fué arrancado de las manos de su madre en la Argentina, en julio de 1976. Desde entonces su madre, que se encuentra detenida en el Establecimiento de Reclusión Militar Nº 1, para mujeres, en Punta de Rieles, no ha tenido ninguna noticia de su hijo.

Otras Preguntas

Hasta cuándo prevalecerá la doctrina de la seguridad nacional en los países del Cono Sur sobre los más elementales principios del derecho internacional?

Hasta cuándo los gobiernos del Cono Sur continuarán más preocupados con la doctrina de la seguridad nacional que con la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos?

Hasta cuándo los regímenes de fuerza del Cono Sur prestarán apoyo a secuestros, asesinatos y robos de criaturas, violando, así, todos los acuerdos internacionales que firmaron sobre asilo político?

Hasta cuándo la soberanía nacional será violada sin que países del Cono Sur reconozcan que la solidaridad y la defensa de los derechos humanos transcienden fronteras políticas y ideológicas?

* * *

Mayores informaciones y detalles serán presentadas en la conferencia de prensa por las seguientes personas:

* Mons. Paulo Evaristo Arns, Presidente de la Comisión Archidiocesana de Pastoral de los Derechos Humanos y Marginados, Cardenal Arzobispo de São Paulo.
* Rev. Jaime Wright y Dr. Luiz Eduardo Greenhalgh, del Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos para los Países del Cono Sur.
* Sr. Ricardo Carvalho, periodista de Clamor.
* Sra. María Angélica Cáceres de Julien, abuela de las dos criaturas secuetradas y ahora descubiertas. Ella reside en Montevideo.

* * *

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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SUBJECT (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - JULY6, 1979

REF: BUENOS AIRES 5873

1. (U) INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: BUENOS AIRES NEWSPAPERS THIS WEEK GAVE HEAVY COVERAGE TO THE VISIT HERE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, EDMUNDO VARGAS CARRENO. THE PRESS ALSO GAVE WIDE NOTICE OF FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR'S RETURN FROM THE UNITED NATION MEETING ON REFUGEES IN GENEVA, WHERE ARGENTINA OFFERED TO ACCEPT SOME 5,000 INDO-CHINESE REFUGEES. ARGENTINA'S GESTURE WAS WIDELY PLAYED HERE AS ONE "DEMONSTRATING THIS COUNTRY'S TRADITION OF HUMANENESS AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS." ONE DISAPPEARANCE REPORT DURING THIS PERIOD PUBLISHED IN THE BUENOS
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 06227 01 OF 03 011535Z

Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: S200000044

AIRES HERALD SMOKED OUT A PROMPT REPLY BY POLICE AUTHORITIES THAT MIGUEL ANGEL DE NICHILO HAD IN FACT BEEN ARRESTED BY THE POLICE FOR UNSPECIFIED REASONS. WE HAVE ONE FAIRLY RECENT REPORT OF A

PRISONER HELD AT THE NAVY MECHANICS SCHOOL. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. (U) VARGAS CARRENO VISIT -----
ALL BUENOS AIRES NEWSPAPERS GAVE WIDE - EVEN LAVISH - COVERAGE OF THE VISIT HERE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, EDMUNDO VARGAS CARRENO, WHO ARRIVED HERE ON JULY 22 AND RETURNED TO WASHINGTON ON JULY 27. OF GREATEST HEADLINE INTEREST WAS VARGAS CARRENO'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT WHILE HERE HE HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY THE ATTORNEY OF MRS. PERON AND HAD ACCEPTED A PETITION THAT THE COMMISSION MEET WITH HER DURING THE VISIT HERE OF ITS MEMBERS. VARGAS CARRENO WENT ON TO STATE THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD IN FACT ATTEMPT TO INTERVIEW ALL LIVING FORMER PRESIDENTS OF ARGENTINA INCLUDING HECTOR CAMPORA, STILL EXILED WITHIN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY HERE. THE COMMISSION'S EXECUTIVE SECRETARY SAID ALSO THAT THE COMMISSION WILL SEEK AN INTERVIEW WITH JACOBO TIMERMAN, AND THAT GIVEN THE FACT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HAVING PROMISED FULL COOPERATION HE ANTICIPATED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM IN OBTAINING THE INTERVIEW. REPORTING ON THE VISIT, AND ON THE UPCOMING SEPTEMBER 6-20 VISIT OF THE FULL COMMISSION, WAS PURELY FACTURAL AND UPBEAT EXCEPT FOR ONE EDITORIAL IN THE INFLUENTIAL (BECAUSE THIS NEWSPAPER SO OFTEN REGISTERS THE VIEWS OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR SAINT JEAN AND ARMY HEARDLINERS)
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 06227 01 OF 03 011535Z

LA NUEVA PROVINCIA OF BAHIA BLANCA, WHIC SAW ARGENTINA'S RECEIVING THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION AS PERMISSION TO VIOLATE THIS COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY. THE MOST HOSPITABLE AND FAVORABLE EDITORIAL CAME IN THE TOP CIRCULATION "CLARIN" OF JULY 25, DRAWN IN LARGE MEASURE FROM A CONVERSATION HELD OFF THE RECORD BETWEEN AMBASSADOR CASTRO AND CLARIN MANAGING EDITOR GYTRYNBLUM.

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: S200000044

[redacted] AT THE SAME TIME STORIES OF ARMY UNREST ABOUT THE PROSPECTIVE MISSION VISIT ARE COMING TO THE SURFACE. ONE REPORTER FROM A MAJOR NEWSPAPER DESCRIBED CONSIDERABLE ARMY UNREST AND REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THIRD CORPS COMMANDER GENERAL MENENDEZ HAD SAID THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO ENTER HIS TERRITORY.

3. (U) DE NICHILO "DISAPPEARANCE" -----
THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD REPOTED JULY 21 THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MIGUEL ANGEL DE NICHILO ON JULY 14, AND ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 23 MRS. DE NICHILO VISITED THE EMBASSY TO GIVE FURTHER DETAILS AND REQUEST ASSISTANCE. ON JULY 24 SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS REPORTED A STATEMENT BY THE POLICE THAT DE NICHILO HAD, AFTER ALL, BEEN ARRESTED BY POLICE AUTHORITIES AND WAS BEING HELD FOR UNSPECIFIED CRIMES.
[redacted] IN HASTENING TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT IT HELD DE NICHILO IN CUSTODY, THE POLICE DEMONSTRATED A RARELY SHOWN CONCERN FOR PUBLISHED NEWS OF A DISAPPEARANCE. ALTHOUGH THIS COULD TURN OUT TO BE A COMMON CRIMINAL CASE, AT THE TIME OF MRS. DE NICHILO'S REPORTING HER HUSBAND'S DISAPPEARANCE TO THE HERALD AND TO THE EMBASSY SHE WAS FEARFUL THAT THE CASE WAS A POLITICAL ONE. TEN YEARS AGO DE NICHILO HAD BEEN A MEMBER OF A TERRORIST GROUP CALLED THE "FRENTE ARGENTINO DE LIBERACION" --- "FAL". MRS. DE NICHILO AFFIRMED, HOWEVER, THAT HER HUSBAND CUT HIS TIES WITH
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 06227 01 OF 03 011535Z

THAT ORGANIZATION 10 YEARS BACK. MRS. DE NICHILO WAS ALSO CONCERNED BECAUSE ONE YEAR AGO HER HUSBAND'S CLOSEST FRIEND AND CO-PARTICIPATIONIST IN THE FAL, JORGE KARAVELOS, WAS TAKEN BY POLICE AUTHORITIES ALONG WITH HIS ESTRANGED WIFE AND NEVER RETURNED.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 06227 02 OF 03 312144Z

Current Class: [redacted] Page: 3

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: S200000044

ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 IO-14 ADS-00 SR-04 EA-10 INSE-00
VO-05 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 PM-05 SS-15 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00
SY-05 SYE-00 MCT-03 ICAE-00 /091 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 6227

(THE KARAVELOS PAID WERE PICKED UP BY ORDINARY POLICE AUTHORITIES WHEN THEY CALLED ATTENTION TO THEMSELVES DURING A FAMILY ROW AT A BAR-RESTAURANT. WHEN NEITHER JORGE KARAVELOS NOR HIS WIFE LUCIA SUICA RETURNED FROM THE POLICE STATION WHERE THEY WERE KNOWN TO BE HELD FAMILY MEMBERS SUBMITTED A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS. SEVERAL MONTHS LATER THE FAMILY WAS TOLD BY POLICE AUTHORITIES THAT JORGE AND LUCIA HAD BEEN KILLED "IN A SERIOUS TRAFFIC ACCIDENT," AND THAT THEIR BODIES COULD NOT BE RETURNED TO THE FAMILY.)

[redacted] EMBASSY WILL TRY TO INTERVIEW MRS. DE NICHILO AGAIN FOR THE DETAILS OF THIS CASE.

E. (U) CAPUTO ARREST ----
THE ARREST OF RIOBO CAPUTO, THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE SANTE FE DAILY "EL LITORAL" ON JULY 24 FOR PUBLISHING NEWS THAT MONTONERO LEADERS FIRMENICH AND VACA NARVAJA HAD [redacted]

[redacted]

SURFACED IN NICARAGUA THIS WEEK SET OFF A FUROR OF PRESS COVERAGE AND EDITORIAL DISAPPROVAL. CAPUTO WAS ORDERED TO PREVENTIVE DETENTION BY A FEDERAL JUDGE IN SANTE FE FOR ALLEGED VIOLATION OF NATIONAL LAW 20.840, "APOLOGIA DE SUBVERSION" --

ADVOCACY OF SUBVERSIVE GROUPS OR TACTICS. ANOTHER JOURNALIST, REYNALDO ACTIS OF THE NEWSPAPER "LA OPINION" OF THE TOWN OF RAFAELA WAS ORDERED INTO CUSTODY BY THE SAME JUDGE BUT AT WEEK'S END WAS REPORTED TO HAVE ELUDED THE REGULAR POLICE AND WAS STILL BEING SOUGHT. (LATE NEWS: ACTIS TURNED HIMSELF IN ON JULY 29.) THE IRONY OF CAPUTO'S SITUATION WAS THAT PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE BUENOS AIRES DAILIES AND ONE MAJOR NEWS MAGAZINE HAD ALSO PRINTED ACCOUNTS OF THE FIRMENICH-VACA NARVAJA SIGHTINGS WITH IMPUNITY. THE ARGENTINE PROVINCIAL PRESS ASSOCIATION (ADIRA) AND THE ARGENTINE NEWSPAPER OWNERS ASSOCIATION (ADEPA) PROTESTED TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, WHICH IN TURN ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT IT HAD NOT ORDERED CAPUTO'S ARREST. PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR DESIMONE VISITED CAPUTO IN JAIL AS SOON AS CAPUTO WAS PERMITTED TO RECEIVE VISITORS, AND THERE WERE OTHER SIGNS OF OFFICIAL DISMAY AT THE FEDERAL JUDGE'S APPARENTLY PRECIPITOUS AND ILL-JUDGED ACTION. CAPUTO WAS SUBSEQUENTLY MOVED TO HOUSE ARREST BY THE JUDGE, BUT NOT BEFORE IT HAD BEEN HEADLINED THAT HIS WORLDLY GOODS HAD BEEN ATTACHED. WE ASSUME THIS CASE WILL WIND DOWN QUICKLY WITH RESULTS NO MORE SERIOUS THAN THE JUDGE'S PUBLIC HUMILIATION.

5. [redacted] GIORGI CASE ----
THE FATHER OF ALFREDO ANTONIO GIORGI, WHO WAS TAKEN BY SECURITY FORCES FROM HIS WORK AT THE INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE TECNOLOGIA INDUSTRIAL ("INTI") ON NOVEMBER 27, 1978, VISITED THE EMBASSY ON JULY 25 TO DISCUSS LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LEGAL ACTION HE HAS TAKEN IN BEHALF OF HIS SON. IT LOOKED POSSIBLE WHEN FIRST REPORTED BACK IN EARLY MARCH OF THIS YEAR [redacted]

[redacted]

THAT IN THE GIORGI CASE SOME KIND OF LEGAL BREAKTHROUGH MIGHT BE ACHIEVED, IN THAT THE SUPREME COURT AT THAT TIME ORDERED THAT AJUDGE BE CHOSEN TO PROBE THE EVENTS SURROUNDING YOUNG GIORGI'S ABDUCTION. MR. GIORGI TOLD US, HOWEVER, THAT THE RESULT OF ALMOST FOUR MONTHS OF INVESTIGATIONS DONE BY FEDERAL JUDGE DR. GITARD, OF THE PROVINCIAL CITY OF SAN MARTIN, HAD BEEN UNFRUITFUL, AND THAT HE HAD JUST BEEN NOTIFIED BY THE SUPREME COURT THAT IN ABSENCE OF FURTHER EVIDENCE THE HIGH COURT FOUND NO REASON FOR REOPENING CONSIDERATION OF THE CASE.

[redacted]XDS-4) SINCE HIS SON'S DISAPPEARANCE, MR. GIORGI

Case Number: S200000044

HAS RECEIVED SEVERAL REPORTS WHICH HE BELIEVES THAT THE YOUNG SCIENTIST IS BEING HELD AT THE NAVAL MECHANICS SCHOOL. MOST RECENTLY MR. GIORGI WAS TOLD THAT HIS SON WAS STILL THERE BY A PERSON WHOSE LAST NAME IS AZZAN, AN ARGENTINE OF ARAB DESCENT, WHO WAS RELEASED ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO -- ACCORDING TO MR. GIORGI AT THE BEHEST OF THE SAUDI AMBASSADOR HERE, WHO IS REPORTEDLY A DISTANT RELATIVE OF AZZAN. ALTHOUGH AZZAN WAS WILLING TO TELL MR. GIORGI PRIVATELY THAT HE (AZZAN) HAD ONLY A SHORT TIME BEFORE HIS RELEASE SEEN YOUNG GIORIGI ALIVE AT THE NAVY MECHANICS SCHOOL, AZZAN WAS UNWILLING TO TESTIFY TO JUDGE GITARD TO THIS EFFECT -- OUT OF FEAR FOR HIMSELF, ACCORDING TO MR. GIORGI.

(U) IN CONNECTION WITH THE GIORGI DISAPPEARANCE INVESTIGATIONS AND OTHER INVESTIGATIONS RECENTLY ORDERED BY JUDGES LOOKING INTO HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS, A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE THIS WEEK BY JUDGE CARLOS A. OLIVIERI THAT HE REQUIRES ANYONE HAVING KNOWLEDGE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF OR THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF BEATRIZ LEFOUR DE CARRARA TO REPORT THAT INFORMATION TO HIS OFFICE. BEATRIZ DE CARRARA WAS TAKEN FROM HER HOME BY A GROUP OF ARMED MEN ON JUNE 16, 1976. (THE DE CARRARA CASE IS LISTED IN EMBASSY FILES AS ONE DOCUMENTED BY THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.)

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 06227 02 OF 03 312144Z

3. [redacted]XDS-4) VOGLER ALLEGATIONS ----
THE AUNT OF VILLA DEVOTO PRISONER LILIANA VOGLER -- A MRS. HINOJOSA -- VISITED THE EMBASSY JULY 24 AND ALLEGED THAT HER NIECE HAS TOLD HER THAT NUMBERS OF OTHER PERSONS DETAINED WITH HER ARE BEING FORCED NOW TO SIGN DECLARATIONS ADMITTING THEIR LINKS WITH TERRORISTS. THE AUNT HAS SAID THAT THE WOMEN ARE THREATENED WITH PUNISHMENT IF THEY REFUSE. MRS. HINOJOSA, WHOSE ACCOUNTS OF EVENTS AT VILLA DEVOTO ARE USUALLY MORE LURID THAN THOSE OF OTHER SOURCES, HAS ALSO TOLD US A CAMPAIGN IN THE UNITED STATES IS BEING ORGANIZED TO OBTAIN COMMUTATION OF LILIANA'S PRISON SENTENCE. THE EMBASSY WILL INQUIRE [redacted] WHETHER THEY HAVE REPORTS OF THE SITUATION MRS. HINOJOSA DESCRIBED. B1

4. [redacted] ISABEL MIGNONE ----
THE DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT EARLIER THIS YEAR THERE WAS SERIOUS CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF ISABEL MIGNONE, THE

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Case Number: S200000044

DAUGHER OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS EMILIO MIGNONE, ONE OF WHOSE DAUGHERS DISAPPEARED SOME THREE YEARS AGO AT THE HANDS OF SECURITY OFFICIALS. ISABEL AND AN OFFICIAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION OF NEWARK, DELAWARE VISITED THE EMBASSY

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 06227 03 OF 03 312152Z
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 SR-04 EA-10 INSE-00 VO-05
IO-14 TRSE-00 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 INRE-00
SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 SY-05
SYE-00 MCT-03 ICAE-00 /091 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1002
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 6227

ON JULY 6 WITH THE STORY OF AN ALARMING NEW INQUIRY INTO ISABEL'S ACTIVITIES. ACCORDING TO ISABEL AND CLAUDIA CASEY, AN ASSITANT TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE ASSOCIATION, A PERSON CLAIMING TO BE A MEMBER OF THE ARGENTINE CUSTOMS BUREAU HAD VISITED ISABEL INQUIRING ABOUT FOREIGN TRIPS SHE MIGHT HAVE MADE OR FOREIGN VISITORS SHE MIGHT HAVE RECEIVED. HE EXPLAINED THAT ANY ACTIVITIES INVOLVING TEACHERS, BOOKS AND FOREIGNERS WERE OF COURSE SOMETHING THAT WOULD BE OF "CONERN TO THE GOVERNMENT." ALTHOUGH ISABEL WAS IN ONE SENSE RELIEVED TO HAVE ACTUALLY CONFRONTED SOMEONE IN PERSON WHO CLAIMED AN INTEREST IN HER, SHE REMAINED NERVOUS AT WHAT SHE TOOK TO

BE IN FACT THE DISGUISED INQUIRY OF A SECURITY SERVICE. WE HAVE TAKEN THIS UP WITH ONE OF THE SECURITY SERVICES AND HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT THE SERVICE IS INTERESTED [redacted]

[redacted]

ONLY IN THE FOLLOWING THE ACTIVITIES OF ISABEL'S FATHER, NOT THE GIRL HERSELF. THIS IS ENCOURAGING, BUT WE FEAR NOT DEFINITIVE SINCE THERE ARE OTHER "LEGITIMATE" SECURITY SERVICES. WE WILL STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE MIGNONE FAMILY ON DEVELOPMENTS.

8. [redacted] ANTONIO ZARATE -----
IN ADDITION TO THOSE YOUNG MEN REARRESTED IN RESISTENCIE FOLLOWING THEIR RELEASE FROM PEN (SEE PREVIOUS WEEK'S HUMAN RIGHTS ROUNDUP) WE HAVE RECEIVED A LETTER FROM THE MOTHER OF ANTONIO E. ZARATE INFORMING US THAT HER SON WAS REARRESTED ON JUNE 27 IN RESISTENCIA AFTER HAVING BEEN RELEASED FROM THE PRISON IN LA PLATA ON JUNE 16. EMBOFF HAS INFORMATION THAT AFTER BEING ALLOWED INITIAL VISITS BY THEIR FAMILIES THE RESISTENCIA PRISONERS ARE NOW BEING HELD INCOMMUNICADO.

9. (U) PAT DERIAN CRITICIZED -----
A BRUTAL CRITICISM OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN HAS APPEARED IN THE BAHIA BLANCA NEWSPAPER "LA NUEVA PROVINCIA" UNDER THE BYLINE OF MALENA GAINZA DE ETCHEBARNE. MRS. ETCHEBARNE ACCUSES MRS. DERIAN OF SILENCE IN THE CASE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN IRAN SINCE TO SPEAK OF THAT COUNTRY WITH THE FRANKNESS WOULD BE TO RISK JEOPARDIZING THE OIL SUPPLIES THAT THE UNITED STATES RECEIVES FROM IRAN. AN ENGLISH VERSION OF THE ETCHEBARNE ARTICLE ALSO APPEARED IN THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD AS A LETTER IN ENGLISH TO THE EDITOR.

10. (U) ALFONSIN ON HUMAN RIGHTS -----
SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS CARRIED THIS WEEK REPORTS [redacted]

[redacted]

THAT RADICAL POLITICAN RAUL ALFONSIN HAS CALLED UPON POLITICAL PARTIES TO BECOME INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS AND SHOW THEIR METTLE BEFORE THE VISIT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. ALFONSIN, UNLIKE ALMOST ALL OTHER ARGENTINE POLITICIANS, HAS BEEN OUTSPOKEN IN HIS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CRITICISM AND IS A LEADING MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

11. (U) TIMERMAN ----
SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS COVERED A RECENT STATEMENT BY THE 44TH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEN CLUB AT ITS MEETING IN RIO DE JANEIRO CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF JACOBO TIMERMAN. THE PEN CLUB ALSO DISPATCHED A TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT VIDELA EXPRESSING ITS MEMBERS CONCERN FOR DETAINED AND DISAPPEARED WRITERS AND JOURNALISTS IN ARGENTINA.

12. (U) THE PRESS REPORTED ON JULY 26 THAT IN BAHIA BLANCI FIVE PERSONS LINKE WITH TERRORISM (TWO MEN AND THREEE WOMEN) HAD BEEN SENTENCED TO TERMS RANGING BETWEEN ONE AND NINE YEARS. THE INCIDENT FOR WHIC SENTENCES WERE GIVEN TOOK PLACE ON 7 AUGUST 1974 WHEN THE ARMED ASSAILANTS TOOK OVER AN INSTALLATION OF THE ARGENTINE COAST GUARDS IN PUERTO GALVAN.

13. (U) FORMER SUBVERSIVE RELEASED -----
CONSIDERING A RECENT STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR THAT THE NAMES OF DEFECTOR MONTONEROS MUST BE MAINTAINED IN SECRECY LEST THEY BE MURDERED BY THEIR FORMER COMPANIONS, AN INTERESTING NEWS ITEM ON JULY 19 APPEARED FROM MENDOZA DESCRIBING HOW A YOUNG WOMAN NAMED SUSANA PORRAS HAD BEEN SET FREE BY THE "COMMANDER OF SUB ZONE 33" IN VIEW OF THE FACT SHE HAD DEMONSTRATED A "HIGH SPIRIT OF COLLABORATION" AND THAT HER REINTEGRATION
[redacted]

[redacted]

INTO SOCIETY WOULD ENABLE HER TO BEGINE LIFE ANEW ON THE RIGHT PATH.
CASTRO

[redacted]

8/79

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Q Argentina

AR222

U.S. ACTIONS RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA

--The U.S. Government continues to convey its concern over human rights abuses to the Argentine Government at the highest levels and has discussed the overall human rights situation as well as a large number of individual cases.

--Argentina is barred by law from the Foreign Military Sales program.

--Munitions List-controlled items may not be exported to Argentina.

--The U.S. has opposed Argentine loan requests in the international financial institutions on human rights grounds when the projects to be financed do not clearly meet basic human needs.

--The U.S. Embassy in Argentina has submitted inquiries to the Argentine Foreign Office on thousands of cases of disappeared and detained persons.

--Embassy officials are in close contact with relatives of many disappeared and detained persons.

--The U.S. Government has repeatedly expressed its deep concern over the detention of Jacobo Timerman and has urged the Argentine authorities to release him from custody.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

August 1979

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Box 17404

UNCLASSIFIED

TELEGRAM

CN 6245 8/1/79 R

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INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

AZ084

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

12065:
E.O. ~~11652~~:
TAGS:
SUBJECT:

GDS 7/31/85 (HALLMAN, WILLIAM H.) OR-P
SHUM SNAR AR
WESTERKAMP ARREST

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 6245

1. [redacted] - Entire Text.)

2. Embassy received information this morning (July 31) that Federico Guillermo Westerkamp, 30 year old son of human rights activist Jose Westerkamp, had been taken from his neighborhood by three men dressed in civilian clothes before noon on July 30. (Jose is the father of Gustavo Westerkamp, imprisoned since 1975 on charges of terrorism and now held at La Plata Prison.)

3. The Ambassador immediately telephone General Viola's office to inquire. That office replied at 1600 that Westerkamp is being held on a narcotics trafficking charge. (Comment: Mrs. Westerkamp told us subsequent to our first information of her son's involvement with a young woman whom Federico had described to his family as a narcotics addict, and of association with friends of the young woman Mrs. Westerkamp feared

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U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): ___
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date ___ Declassify on ___ Reason ___

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POLCOUNS:WHHallman:jk	8/1/79	278	DCM:MChaplin

CLEARANCES:

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION
UNCLASSIFIED

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OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

81F184
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would lead to trouble. The Westerkamps will report further developments to us.)

CASTRO

FORM 4-68 FS-413(H)a
(CONTINUATION SHEET)

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CLAMOR

Ano II
Nº 6
Agosto 1979

Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en el Cono Sur

Comisión Archidiocesana de la Pastoral de los Derechos Humanos y Marginados de São Paulo

"Inclina tu oído a mi clamor." (Salmos 88,2)

1. Relatório sobre Mujeres desaparecidas que estaban embarazadas en el momento de su detención. (Preparada por la "Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos" - Buenos Aires, Argentina.)
2. Boletín de Prensa, 31.07.79.
3. Boletín de Prensa, 14.08.79.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

83F86
24/55

Mujeres "desaparecidas" que estaban embarazadas en el momento de su detención

El presente informe se basa en el estudio de la documentación de 57 casos, preparada para su presentación ante la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos de la O.E.A. por parte de los familiares de las víctimas.

Grupos etarios

de 18 a 20 años: 17,5%.
de 21 a 25 años: 42,5%.
de 26 a 30 años: 32,5%.
de 31 años y más: 7,5%.

Tiempo de gestación

Menos de 3 meses: 12,5%.
de 3 a 5 meses : 27,5%.
de 5 a 7 meses : 37,5%.
de 7 meses y más: 22,5%.

1. Características de los procedimientos.

En todos los casos estudiados, los procedimientos reproducen las características propias de este tipo de operativo: despliegue de efectivos fuertemente armados, uniformados o no, a menudo protegidos por chalecos anti-balas, que se desplazan en varios automóviles sin identificación. Además en un número importante, se registran uno o varios de los siguientes hechos debidamente documentados:

-- Interrupción del tránsito, a veces por lapsos prolongados, frente al domicilio donde se efectúa el procedimiento. Disparos intimidatorios. Uso del megáfono. Colocación de una faja clausurando la vivienda por orden de determinadas fuerzas de seguridad.

-- Robo de bienes de la familia afectada, perpetrado en el momento del secuestro o con posterioridad, por fuerzas de idénticas características a las que actuaron durante el operativo.

-- Allanamientos en domicilios de otros familiares o amigos de las víctimas, con pocas horas de diferencia, antes o después del secuestro.

-- Secuestro de otros miembros de la familia, posteriormente liberados, de cuyo testimonio surge que operaron fuerzas que disponen de importantes infraestructura logística, en varios casos perfectamente identifiable.

-- Secuestro de otro miembro de la familia, cuyo cadáver es entregado a los deudos por fuerzas de seguridad.

Pero cualesquiera sean los episodios que matizan estos operativos - asimilándolos a los que han dejado como saldo miles de desaparecidos durante los últimos tres años - en los casos aquí documentados resaltan un elemento específico. La víctima de la acción represiva no es una mujer, ni siquiera una pareja, aunque en la inmensa mayoría se trate de secuestros dobles. Aquí, en un solo acto se destruye a toda una familia, en sus tres generaciones.

2. La madre en cautiverio

El hecho de llevar un hijo en sus entrañas, no mejora el trato que recibe la mujer por parte de las fuerzas que intervienen en el operativo. A pocos meses o pocas semanas de dar a luz - en uno de los casos cinco días antes - la futura madre es arrojada con igual violencia que su marido en el piso o el baúl de uno de los coches, y desaparece con destino desconocido.

Será sometida a apremios y vejámenes? Los testimonios de personas secuestrada en operativos similares, y posteriormente liberadas, coinciden

en señalar a la tortura como un procedimiento rutinario y sistemático. Quisieramos creer que el embarazo - realidad biológica respetada por todas las culturas, inclusive las más primitivas - ha eximido a estas mujeres encintas de la picana eléctrica. No sabemos, sin embargo, por falta de datos, si la denuncia documentada de una mujer que sufrió la interrupción de su embarazo a raíz de torturas padecidas durante su secuestro y detención, constituye o no un caso atípico.

Aún así, y basándonos en el testimonio de mujeres secuestradas durante el proceso de gestación, pero liberadas antes del parto, podemos afirmar que las condiciones impuestas durante la detención, habrán de perjudicar seriamente a la futura madre y el niño, tanto desde el punto de vista físico como psíquico.

Pero nada comparable a la tortura espiritual a la que aquélla está sometida, cuando, desde el cautiverio, ve avanzar la hora del alumbramiento, sin saber cuál será el destino de ese ser cuyo nacimiento tanto había deseado y por cuya vida se siente responsable.

3. Contexto familiar.

Para sus futuros padres y abuelos, este ser es el bien más preciado, compartido desde antes de su nacimiento por ambas generaciones, las cuales, en la inmensa mayoría de los casos documentados, están unidas por estrechos vínculos afectivos.

Los futuros abuelos saben cómo y dónde viven sus hijos, y cuáles son las expectativas que la joven pareja abriga con respecto a su descendencia. El nombre que se dará a los niños ha sido elegido. El ajuar y la cunita esperan.

La atención pre-natal que recibe la futura madre testimonia un alto grado de responsabilidad y sus actividades se desarrollan a la vista de familiares, vecinos y compañeros de trabajo. Algunas de estas embarazadas son primerizas; otras dejan en el hogar a niños de corta edad a la que estaban dedicadas. El caso más notable es el de C. G. quien fue secuestrada cuando le faltaban tres meses para ser madre por sexta vez.

4. Derecho a la vida y Seguridad Nacional.

No hemos indagado las ideas de estas mujeres, pero su conducta potencial puede deducirse del contexto que acabamos de describir. Podría alguna de ellas constituir un peligro inmediato? Y si hubiera tenido conexiones que fuere preciso investigar. Es lícito manejar dicha investigación haciendo caso omiso de su estado y poniendo en serio peligro físico y espiritual al ser que de ella habría de nacer?

Porque ya en el momento del secuestro materno, estos seres tienen entidad propia.

Según la Ley de Dios, son personas con todos los atributos que su filiación divina les confiere.

Nuestro Código Civil define como "personas por nacer" a las que, no habiendo nacido, están concebidas en el seno materno, y como tales, les concede la protección de las leyes y el derecho absoluto a la vida (Tit. III, art. 63).

Frente a la claridad de la Ley, nada sabemos sin embargo, sobre el cumplimiento de esas normas éticas y jurídicas con referencia a estas madres y sus hijos. Ignoramos si se ha respetado la vida como valor supremo o si se la ha supeditado a otras consideraciones tácticas o estratégicas.

5. Incógnitas y desenlace.

En todos los casos documentados, el niño fue entregado a sus abuelos por disposición de fuerzas de seguridad, tres y cinco meses después del alumbramiento, respectivamente. En otros tres, los abuelos tuvieron noticias extraoficiales del nacimiento de su nieto, probablemente por intermedio del personal que intervino en el parto. Nada se supo de los demás, pese a las numerosas acciones legales interpuestas y a las gestiones personales realizadas por los familiares, que recorren incansablemente oficinas, juzgados de menores y asilos.

Cabe por tanto, formular las siguientes hipótesis:

a) Nacimiento en término de la criatura, que comparte la detención e incomunicación de la madre;

b) Muerte o traslado de la madre, pero entrega del hijo nacido en esas circunstancias a personas ajenas al grupo familiar o a instituciones públicas;

c) muerte de la madre y/o de la criatura que lleva en su seno, como consecuencia de malos tratos, de acción criminal deliberada o de sentencia penal.

Aún dentro de la primera hipótesis, la más optimista, resultan obvios los perjuicios físicos y espirituales que tal situación habrá de provocar en el niño, comprometiendo peligrosamente su normal desarrollo, así como el equilibrio psíquico de su madre. Por otra parte, deberá dilucidarse qué jurisdicción decidió segregar al niño de su grupo familiar (abuelos, hermanos, padre, etc.) en evidente colisión con las leyes que establecen la protección y promoción de la familia, célula fundamental de nuestra sociedad.

Pero la posible entrega de estos niños a padres adoptivos o a la tutela estatal, plantea problemas jurídicos aún más delicados. La suspensión de la patria potestad no puede establecerse al margen de las prescripciones legales (art. 7 de la Ley 17.771 y 307 - 308 del Código Civil), sin intervención del juez competente, y del defensor de menores que lo es también de "incapaces" o de "ausentes". No puede negarse, tampoco, a los familiares el derecho preferencial en el otorgamiento de la tutela, asegurando así la preservación de la familia.

Aunque resulte inconcebible admitir que en el caso de niños tan pequeños, hubieran intervenido fueros especiales o tribunales "ad hoc", ninguno de los recaudos señalados fueron tomados en los casos a que nos referimos, con excepción de uno de ellos.

Más inadmisible aún resulta la tercera hipótesis, dentro de su aterradora simplicidad. Ya no sería menester preguntarse con qué poder y con qué objetivos se los habría condenado a estos niños a un cautiverio inhumano, o se los habría desposeído de su grupo familiar legítimo. Simplemente habría muerto, al igual que sus madres. Tal ha sido el desenlace de uno de los casos, como pudo comprobarse por la entrega del cadáver materno a sus familiares.

Pese a todo, inmunes a la desesperación y con fuerza que les infunde un gran amor y un inmenso dolor, la mayoría de los abuelos los sigue bregando por la devolución de sus seres queridos y por la dilucidación de situaciones aberrantes.

Qué puede hacer cada uno de nosotros en su ayuda?

La aparición de una solicitada, publicada en el diario "La Na-

ción" (ver página 4).

SOLICITADA

LA NACION (Buenos Aires), 05.04.79

LAS MADRES DE
ROBERTO TORANZO Y PATRICIA DINA PALACIN DE TORANZO
LAS ABUELAS DE LA CRIATURA NACIDA EN EL CAUTIVERIO

Hace un año nuestros hijos no regresaron. Personas desconocidas, inhallables, intocables, practicaron una vez más, el oscuro ejercicio de su poder y les llegó a Roberto y Patricia, el turno de desaparecer. Un hecho de rutina. Archivaron nuestras denuncias. Rechazaron los Hábeas Corpus.

Nuestros hijos son trabajadores y estudiantes, ella es Docente, él es Técnico y alumno de Ingeniería. Son conocidos y queridos por numerosos compañeros, amigos y familiares. Nada tienen que ocultar. Nada de qué avergonzarse. Construían un hogar. Forjaban la Patria. Piensan. Tienen legítimos ideales. Si fueron detenidos por ello, entonces tienen mucho trabajo por delante los secuestradores. Les resta por secuestrar a una inmensa mayoría de jóvenes argentinos.

Patricia esperaba un hijo. Nuestro primer nieto. Debe haber nacido en octubre último. **Quisiéramos saber donde está.** Qué han hecho con él. En qué ambiente lo están criando. **Qué destino le reservan.**

No entendemos de política. Pero, durante todo un año hemos visto, pensado y aprendido mucho. Creemos que algo tiene que ver el destino de nuestros hijos con el de toda la Nación. **Creemos que una sociedad que esconde y tolera la barbarie va preparando su propia destrucción,** porque se hace cómplice. Porque las personas más capaces y prestigiosas se habitúan a callar. Mientras tanto, los más inescrupulosos y prepotentes, los sanguinarios y los cobardes se van haciendo fuertes. Se van haciendo dueños.

Quisiéramos que para este 5 de abril, después de año de angustia se nos concediera tan solo esto: QUE IMPERE LA LEY, PARA NUESTROS HIJOS, PARA NUESTRO NIETO, PARA TODOS LOS HABITANTES DE ESTA TIERRA.

AMBICIONAMOS UNA PATRIA LIBRE, ORGULLOSA, CON HOMBRES QUE LEVANTEN SUS VOCES PARA QUE IMPERE POR SIEMPRE LA JUSTICIA Y LA PAZ.

ILDA A. VELAZQUEZ DE TORANZO **MARIA A. R. DE PALACIN**

Esta solicitada fue costeada con los aportes de conocidos, amigos, familiares y por personas que no conocen a nuestros hijos

NOMINA DISPONIBLE DE MUJERES SECUESTRADAS EN ESTADO DE EMBARAZO

AL 20/IV/79

	APELLIDO Y NOMBRE	EDAD	MESES DE EMBARAZO	LUGAR	FECHA
1.	Acuña de Gutierrez, María Isabel		5	San Justo (Bs. As.)	26/08/76
2.	Altmann, Susana Haydé	26	3	Cap.	19/07/77
3.	Arganaraz de Fresneda, María	34	5	Mar del Plata (Bs.As.)	6/07/77
4.	Artigas de Moyano, María	26	2	Ramos Mejía (Bs. As.)	30/12/77
5.	Baravalle de Galizzi, Ana María	28	4 1/2	San Martín (Bs. As.)	27/08/76
6.	Barragan de Rojas				
7.	Caimi de Marizcurrena, Liliana Beatriz	20	6 1/2	Martínez (Bs. As.)	11/10/76
8.	Candela de Lanzillotto, A.T.	24		S.S.	24/04/77
9.	Carloto, Laura Estela	23	3 Fue entregada muerta el 25/8/78	S. S.	29/11/77
10.	Carriquiriborde de Repetur, Gabriela	22	5	La Plata (Bs. As.)	3/09/76
11.	Casco de D'Elia, Yolanda	32		San Fernando (Bs. As.)	22/12/77
12.	Castillo Barrios de Ovejero, Liliana	22	5	San Justo (Bs. As.)	5/05/77
13.	Castro de Dominguez, Gladys	24	6	Godoy Cruz (Mendoza)	9/12/77
14.	Coeytes de Carranza, M. C.			Cap.	19/08/76
15.	Corazza de Sanchez, Silvia	27	5 El 3/1/77 le entregaron a la abuela un bebe de 3 meses.	Lanus (Bs. As.)	19/05/76
16.	Cournou de Grandi, María C.	28	3	Paso del Rey (Bs. As.)	22/06/76
17.	De la Cuadra de Barati, Elena	25	5	La Plata (Bs. As.)	23/02/77
18.	Deschamps de Bretal,		5 Liberada	La Plata (Bs.As.)	
19.	Delard de Meiero, Gloria Xinema	21		Haedo (Bs. As.)	7/01/77
20.	Fontana, Liliana Celia	20		Caseros (Bs. As.)	1/07/77
21.	Galeano, Celina Amelia		Estaba emb.y es madre de 6 hijos	Castelar (Bs. As.)	11/08/78
22.	Garcia I. Goyena de Gelman, María Claudia	21	7	Cap.	24/08/76
23.	Garin de De Angelis, María Adela	29	Embarazada operada del corazón	Quilmes (Bs. As.)	13/01/77
24.	Garofalo de Placci, Alba Noemí		4 tiene un hijo de 61/2 meses	San Martín (Bs. As.)	8/12/76
25.	Gatti de Rey,				
26.	Godoy de De Angelis, Laura Adela	20		Mar del Plata (Bs.As.)	28/11/77
27.	Isabella Valenzi de López Mateos, Silvia Mabel	21	3	La Plata (Bs. As.)	22/12/76
28.	Jansenson de Arcuschin, N.	19		Cap .	13/09/76
29.	Landaburu de Catnich, Leonor Rosario	25	7	Cap.	31/08/77
30.	Lanzillotto de Mena, Ana María		81/2	Cap.	19/07/76

	APELLIDO Y NOMBRE	EDAD	MESES DE EMBARAZO	LUGAR	FECHA
31.	La Spina de Cena, Nora Susana		8 1/2	La Plata (Bs. As.)	20/11/76
32.	Lemos de Lavalle, Mónica	26	8	San Fernando (Bs.As.)	20/07/77
33.	López Guerra de Balaustegui, María Cristina		2	3 de Febrero (Bs.As.)	26/07/76
34.	Mancusso de Rosenfel, Cristina		4	Mar del Plata (Bs.As)	16-25/10/7
35.	Masri de Roggerone, Mónica S.	22	2 1/2	Cap.	12/04/77
36.	Molina Vda. de Nicola, Lucía Esther	21	4 Llevada c/un niño de 11/2 que fue entregado a la abuela	San Martín (Bs. As.)	16/10/76
37.	Montesano de Ogando, Stella Maris	29	8 1/2	La Plata (Bs. As.)	16/10/76
38.	Moyano, María del Carmen		8 1/2	Cap.	4/05/77
39.	Muñoz, Nedi Beatriz	17	2	Lanús (Bs. As.)	8/04/78
40.	Negro				
41.	Neuhaus de Martinis, Beatriz Haydé	24	4	Ramos Mejía (Bs. As.)	16/03/76
42.	Claso de Pord, Mónica Edith	19	2	La Plata (Bs. As.)	11/05/77
43.	Ortega de Posatti, María Inés		7 1/2	Quilmes (Bs. As.)	21/01/77
44.	Ossola de Urra, Susana E.	30		San Miguel (Bs. As.)	22/05/76
45.	Palacin de Toranzo, Delia	25	3	Villa Urquiza (Bs. As.)	5/04/78
46.	Parodi de Orozco, Silvina	20		Córdoba	23/03/76
47.	Pérez de Azcona, María del Cármen	25	9	Cap.	14/09/76
48.	Pérez de Donda, Ma. Hilda	26	5	Castelar (Bs. As.)	28/02/77
49.	Quintela, Silvia Mónica	26	3	Avellaneda (Bs. As.)	17/01/77
50.	Recchia de García, Beatriz	28	5	V. López, (Bs. As.)	12/01/77
51.	Ross				
52.	Segarra de Mendoza, Alicia Estela	22	8	Cap.	21-23/06/78
53.	Sagarra de Torre, Laura Beatriz		8 1/2	Cap.	21-23/06/78
54.	Tasca, Adriana Leonor	22		Cap.	9-15/12/77
55.	Trotta de Taglione,		Liberada	La Matanza (Bs. As.)	
56.	Vacaro de Deria, Marta Inés		7 Tiene una hija de 21 meses		28/11/78
57.	Zampalio de Barragan, Mirta Mabel		7	Cap.	16/12/77
58.	Alonso de Hueravillo, Mirta M.	24	6. Apareció el niño en la casa Cuna	Cap.	19/05/77

* * *

[redacted]

AS109A

Current Human Rights Situation in Argentina

(U) Following is a description of key human rights developments since the Task Force completed its assessment in early February:

Disappearances

[redacted] We have received reports of seventeen disappearances for the period since February 1. We immediately communicated these reports to high GOA authorities and asked for information on their whereabouts. The GOA has provided us with information that three of the persons were arrested and charged in the courts. One person was briefly detained and then released. The GOA has been unable to provide information on the thirteen other cases. In three cases, however, the disappeared persons have contacted relatives by letter or telephone call to advise that they were well and would eventually reappear. The last disappearance took place May 13. A list of unresolved disappearances, including those three, is attached.

[redacted] The victims of these abductions/disappearances have no confirmed connection with terrorist groups. Some, such as members of the Socialist Workers' Party, and the Argentine Communist Party-associated Relatives of Disappeared and Detained Persons are related to the nonviolent political left.

[redacted] This record since February compares to previous years when disappearances averaged about 55 per month in 1978, 180 per month in 1977, and 300 per month in 1976. In mid-May 1979 the Argentine Permanent Assembly for Human Rights published a list of 5,465 disappearances since 1975; in the month following publication, the Assembly received reports of an additional 105 previously unreported cases. An earlier Assembly report contained 80 1978 disappearances unknown to the Embassy and one from 1979.

Accounting for the Disappeared

[redacted] The GOA has not yet taken any public step to account for the disappeared. The Government has addressed the broad issue internally and is seeking solutions to specific aspects of the problem, such as

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
(U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
(X) Classify as C ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
5/22/01 Declassify on 5/21/01 Reason 25X6

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shortening the period for legal presumption of death. There are also indications that it is seeking to establish what documentary evidence exists throughout the security apparatus.

[redacted] Foreign Minister Pastor briefed EC-9 ambassadors in Buenos Aires recently on the terms of new legislation and said that relatives will be able to petition the Government for assistance and information three months after the occurrence of a disappearance. The Government will have three months to establish the whereabouts of the missing person and, if no information is developed, relatives will be able to claim survivors' benefits and regularize their legal status. Although he did not supply details, Pastor said relatives will be able to claim indemnization.

[redacted] General Viola reiterated to Ambassador Castro on June 25 that the GOA does not have information on the fate of the disappeared and in view of the extended periods of disappearance he doubted any of these people were alive. He said a few of the disappeared may reappear, but these would be rare exceptions. In a public speech delivered on Army Day (May 29) Viola referred obliquely to the fate of the disappeared, calling them "those who will be absent forever." Argentine human rights groups have interpreted this tacit statement as an admission that many of the disappeared were killed by Argentine police and military forces.

[redacted] The Embassy concluded in a recent trends report (May 31) that "we are reasonably certain that the apparatus for disappearing people still exists although, even considering a small upsurge of disappearances in the past several weeks, it appears less used than in the past."

PEN Prisoners

[redacted] The GOA has continued to release detainees from PEN. The Embassy estimated in mid-June that the political prisoner population in this category is now at about 2,200. The GOA announced June 29 that there are now 1,723 PEN prisoners. At the end of 1978, this figure stood at about 2,900 and at the beginning of 1978 at about 3,500. It is not clear

how many of those removed from PEN are at liberty and how many remain in custody under some form of charges in judicial processes, or after having been convicted by either military or civilian tribunals. The Embassy [redacted] estimate the total current prison population of persons confined because of the GOA's counter-subversion campaign at just under 3,000, including those held under PEN and persons who have been tried and convicted in civil or military courts. We have been told by a source on President Videla's staff that the GOA will continue to review the status of PEN detainees and plans to have the number down to 800 to 1,000 by the end of this year; these prisoners would continue to be held indefinitely under PEN since the "Campora amnesty" of 1973 makes it impossible to prosecute them. Other high-level Argentine officials have said that a certain number of persons will continue under PEN since the GOA considers them committed subversives although it lacks evidence that will stand up in court.

[redacted] Foreign Minister Pastor said the GOA has augmented its legal staff reviewing PEN detention from four to 30.

Clandestine Prisoners

[redacted] The Embassy has received fragmentary but credible data which suggest the GOA may continue to hold a number of prisoners that it has not publicly acknowledged. In a recent case a woman, who had disappeared in late 1978, was released by the authorities. It appears that most of the persons being held clandestinely are either the "disappeared" in process through the security apparatus or former terrorists who are cooperating with the authorities. As the number of new disappearances has dropped, there is little reason to think that there are still substantial numbers "in process." The Embassy believes that if clandestine prisoners exist, their number could not be more than a few hundred as an outside limit, and it considers it unlikely that the figure be that high. There are fragmentary data supporting, in the Embassy's view, that some small, scattered clandestine detention centers still exist, each holding no more than perhaps 25 persons. It is believed that such centers would be closed before the arrival of the IACHR in November.

[redacted]

Right of Option

Argentine Government action on the right of option program continues at a slow pace. The GOA has given permission for 18 detainees to travel to the U.S. under the right of option program; 13 entered the U.S. under our parole program. The Embassy has issued 95 certificates of eligibility. General Viola assured Ambassador Castro again that approval of right of option cases would proceed more quickly. GOA officials announced that about 170 persons have been released under right of option for travel to all countries.

Prison Conditions

The GOA has published uniform regulations for the treatment of detainees in a move designed to end variations in treatment at different facilities. The ICRC urged this step and has called the rules a significant improvement for the treatment of detainees. We have reports, however, that the regulations have not yet been fully implemented in all facilities. The GOA has consolidated PEN detainees in six facilities.

According to reports from other prisoners, in February one person disappeared from prison, another was tortured, and a third died as a result of beatings by guards. In early May, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights reported that some of the 200 prisoners moved from Resistencia prison to the La Plata prison were beaten and robbed during the transfer.

The Judiciary

(U) As the NYC Bar mission noted in its report, the executive power continues to decline to provide information in response to habeas corpus petitions filed by the relatives of disappeared persons. Regarding PEN detainees, the Executive response is that "links with subversives" constitute sufficient grounds for continued detention, invoking its alleged power to hold individuals without charge under the Constitutional state of siege authority. The NYC Bar mission report was sharply critical of the lack of professional objection to the denial of due process and deterioration in the executive power of the judiciary in recent years.

(U) The courts have recently tried a number of persons on pre-1976 subversive charges and sentenced them to prison terms. Three police officers were recently prosecuted for abuse of prisoners.

Argentine Attitudes Toward the Human Rights Issue

[redacted] President Videla and Army Commander Viola are maintaining their leadership position within the GOA on human rights policy and appear to have begun carrying out commitments made to us repeatedly in the past to bring disappearances to an end and reduce PEN detention. Hardliners in the Argentine military still favor repressive policies directed at a broad range of political dissidents. Army Chief of Staff General Suarez Mason, for example, recently proposed to the Cabinet a broad offensive against political subversives which clearly would include groups unrelated to the terrorist movements of the past. General Menendez, Third Corps Commander, has called for continued strong efforts to battle "ideological subversion."

(U) The prestigious daily La Prensa has joined The Buenos Aires Herald in championing human rights. However, no paper has agreed to publish the Permanent Assembly's latest list of disappearances. The Catholic Church addressed an appeal to President Videla on May 4 on behalf of disappeared persons, PEN detainees, jailed labor leaders, and lower income groups adversely affected by present GOA economic policy.

(U) The New York Bar Association's report on human rights conditions in Argentina noted that ingredients are present for future progress in human rights observance, but that the support of the Argentine legal profession is essential for a quick return to civilized legal practices. The New York Bar Association exhorted its Argentine colleagues to take a more active role in this area.

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66TH. INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

13-21 SEPTEMBER 1979 - CARACAS, VENEZUELA

CX036

CL/125/79/6
August 1979

REPORT

of the

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

(Item XI of the provisional agenda)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
I.	*WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE*	4
II.	*IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL*	6
III.	*CASES SUBMITTED TO THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL :*	
	ARGENTINA	
	Case No. ARG/08 - LUIS AGUSTIN CARNEVALI	8
	Draft resolution	9
	Case No. ARG/17 - JUAN MANUEL RAMIREZ	10
	Draft resolution	11
	Case No. ARG/18 - ANTONIO ISAAC GUERRERO	13
	Draft resolution	14

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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24/55

Page

BAHRAIN

Case No. BAH/01 - MOHSEN MARHOUN 15
Draft resolution 17

Case No. BAH/02 - MOHAMED JABIR SUBAH SIYYADI 18
Draft resolution 19

BRAZIL

Case No. BRE/01 - MARCELO GATTO
Case No. BRE/02 - NELSON FABIANO SOBRINHO
Case No. BRE/03 - NADIR ROSSETTI
Case No. BRE/04 - AMAURI MULLER 20
Case No. BRE/05 - LYSANEAS MACIEL
Case No. BRE/06 - MARCOS TITO
Case No. BRE/07 - ALENCAR FURTADO

Draft resolution 24

CHILE

Case No. CHI/02 - CARLOS LORCA TOBAR 26
Draft resolution 27

Case No. CHI/06 - VICENTE ATENCIO CORTES 28
Draft resolution 29

GUATEMALA

Case No. GUA/01 - ALBERTO FUENTES-MOHR 30
Draft resolution 31

INDONESIA

Case No. IDS/04 - EDDY ABDURACHMAN MARTALOGAWA
Case No. IDS/05 - RICHARD PAINGOT SITUMEANG 32
Case No. IDS/08 - KAREL SUPIT

Draft resolution 33

Case No. IDS/07 - ABDURACHMAN SUNDARI 34
Draft resolution 35

URUGUAY

Case No. URG/02 - JOSE LUIS MASSERA LERENA 36
Draft resolution 38

Case No. URG/03 - JAIME GERSCHUNI PEREZ 39
Draft resolution 41

Page

Case No. URG/05 - VLADIMIR ILITCH TURIANSKY 42
Draft resolution 43

Case No. URG/06 - ALBERTO ALTESSOR GONZALES 44
Draft resolution 45

Case No. URG/07 - ROSARIO PIETRARROIA ZAPALA 46
Draft resolution 47

Case No. URG/08 - GERARDO CUESTA VILLA 48
Draft resolution 49

ANNEX *PROCEDURE FOR THE EXAMINATION AND TREATMENT BY THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION OF COMMUNICATIONS CONCERNING VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS*

I. WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee on Violations of the Human Rights of Parliamentarians held its sixth session at the headquarters of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Geneva from 25 to 28 June 1979.

2. The following persons took part in the session: Mr. André Chandernagor (France), Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Derikoye Tita Avungara (Zaïre), and Mr. S.N. Sinha (India), titular members of the Special Committee; Mr. T. Draganu (Romania), substitute for Mr. Bogdan Osolnik (Yugoslavia), and Mr. C. Tattenbach, substitute for Mr. Carlos Canache Mata (Venezuela).

3. The Special Committee examined the situation of 32 parliamentarians from 9 countries in different regions, in accordance with the "Procedure for the examination and treatment by the Inter-Parliamentary Union of communications concerning violations of the human rights of parliamentarians".

4. Twenty-four cases had been the subject of a report by the Special Committee to the 124th session of the Inter-Parliamentary Council (Prague, 21 April 1979); most of them had given rise to a resolution of the Council. The cases in question are the following:

Manuel Isauro Molina (Argentina); Luis Agustin Carnevali (Argentina); Mohsen Marhoun (Bahrain); Marcelo Gatto, Nelson Fabiano Sobrinho, Nadir Rossetti, Amauri Muller, Lysaneas Maciel, Marcos Tito and Alencar Furtado (Brazil); Carlos Lorca Tobar and Vicente Atencio Cortes (Chile); Umiharti Sardjono (Indonesia); John Marie Seroney, George Moseti Anyona, Martin Shikuku and Wasonga Sijeyo (Kenya); Lee Tee Tong (Singapore); José Luis Massera Lerena, Jaime Gerschuni Perez, Vladimir Ilitch Turiansky, Alberto Altessor Gonzales, Rosario Pietrarroia Zapala and Gerardo Cuesta Villa (Uruguay).

5. The Special Committee continued examination of unresolved cases. It also resumed confidential examination of the cases of 14 parliamentarians; 7 of these cases are submitted to the Council for examination for the first time, namely the cases of Deputies Juan Manuel Ramirez and Antonio Isaac Guerrero (Argentina); Deputy Mohamed Jabir Subah Siyyadi (Bahrain); and Deputies Eddy Abdurachman Martalogawa, Richard Paingot Situmeang, [redacted] Abdurachman Sundari and Karel Supit (Indonesia).

6. Lastly, the Special Committee studied for the first time a communication about the murder of Deputy Alberto Fuentes-Mohr (Guatemala). The report on this case will be found on page 33 .

7. The Special Committee examined all these cases in the light of the replies from the authorities of the countries concerned to the requests by the Inter-Parliamentary Council and its own requests - where it had received such replies - and in the light of further information gathered during investigation of the cases,

8. The Special Committee also took account of information supplied by three National Groups - those of Australia, Austria and Poland - which will be found in Section II of this report (page 7).

9. At its session, the Special Committee examined, in particular, the report of the mission to Singapore to visit Mr. Lee Tee Tong, carried out at the request of the Council by a member of the Committee, Mr. S.N. Sinha (India), and the Secretary General. The report on the case of this parliamentarian is contained in document CL/125/79/6 Add.1.

10. The members of the Council will find in Section III the reports prepared by the Special Committee on 25 cases, together with draft resolutions.

"The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

Considering that the action it undertakes for the defence of of the human rights of parliamentarians will be all the more effective if it is amplified and supported by the National Groups,

1. Calls on the National Groups to take all such measures as they may deem suitable for the support of the decisions of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in this matter and to inform the Organization's Secretariat of their initiatives and the results obtained;

2. Recalls that these measures include :

- Oral or written approaches by the National Groups, their Presidents or their members to their Governments and to the Speakers or Bureaux of their Parliaments, with a view to action by the latter directed towards the authorities of the countries concerned;

- Use of the mass media for the dissemination of the reports of the Special Committee and the decisions of the Council;

- Direct material and legal aid in appropriate forms to the victims."

4. In reply to his requests, the Secretary General has received the following information from the National Groups of Australia, Austria and Poland :

AUSTRALIA.- The Council's resolutions were communicated to all the members of the two Houses of the Australian Parliament.

AUSTRIA.- The resolutions adopted in Prague by the Inter-Parliamentary Council on the above-mentioned parliamentarians were transmitted to the Federal Chancellor with a request that all the necessary measures be taken.

POLAND.- A detailed report on the Prague meetings was sent to the members of the Bureau of the Diet, the 460 Deputies of the Diet, including the Chairmen of the Standing Committees, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the heads of the regional departments of the Foreign Ministry and the heads of the Institute for International Affairs. The report of the Special Committee and the resolutions of the Council were communicated more especially to the Minister of Foreign Affairs so that he might intervene at international meetings and during bilateral diplomatic contacts. These documents were widely commented on by the Press, particularly in articles written by Polish parliamentarians and in televized interviews with them.

III. CASES SUBMITTED TO THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL

Case No. ARG/08 - LUIS AGUSTIN CARNEVALI - ARGENTINA

(a) *Source of communication:*

Mrs. Juana Romero, member of the Argentinian Parliament at the time of the coup d'Etat in March 1976.

(b) *Outline of the case:*

It emerges from the evidence that Senator Luis Agustin Carnevali was arrested on 24 March 1977 and that he has been missing since then. The Argentinian authorities state that they have no information about his arrest and present whereabouts; they have indicated that the competent authorities have begun an investigation and have not disclosed its results.

Although Senator Carnevali was reportedly arrested at his home in San José de la Quintana, province of Cordoba, by members of the Third Army Corps, at that time under the command of General Luciano Benjamin Menendez, and although neighbours witnessed his arrest, Senator Carnevali has never been brought to trial. He may have been murdered.

(c) *Previous treatment:*

This case, which the Special Committee examined at its second session (August 1977), was the subject of a report by the Special Committee to the 122nd, 123rd and 124th sessions of the Inter-Parliamentary Council and of unanimous resolutions by that body.

In the resolution which it adopted at its 124th session, the Inter-Parliamentary Council urged "the Government of Argentina, in the light of this information (which it possesses regarding this parliamentarian), to hasten its inquiry and to inform the Special Committee of the results thereof as rapidly as possible".

(d) *Report concerning the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council at its 124th session:*

(i) On 22 March 1979, the Secretary General transmitted the report of the Special Committee to the Argentinian governmental authorities. Following the 124th session of the Council, on 7 June 1979, he officially transmitted the report again, together with the Council's resolution on the case of Senator Carnevali.

(ii) These communications had not been answered with regard to Senator Carnevali when the Special Committee met.

(e) *Decision of the Special Committee:*

The Special Committee,

Decides to recommend to the Inter-Parliamentary Council that it adopt the following resolution :

Case No. ARG/08 - LUIS AGUSTIN CARNEVALI - ARGENTINA

The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

Referring to the resolutions which it adopted at its 123rd session (September 1978) and 124th session (April 1979) concerning Senator Luis Agustin Carnevali, of Argentina,

Taking note of the report of the Special Committee,

Recalling that the Argentinian authorities stated, on 22 August 1978, that "Mr. Luis Agustin Carnevali is not among those persons whose whereabouts were recently ascertained by the governmental authorities",

Considering, however, that the information received by the Special Committee reveals that Senator Luis Agustin Carnevali was arrested on 24 March 1976 at his home in San José de la Quintana, in the province of Cordoba, by members of the IIIrd Army Corps under the command of General Luciano Benjamin Menendez; that Senator Carnevali's neighbours were witnesses to his arrest; that it is to be feared that he might have lost his life,

Recalling that, by letter of 26 August 1977, confirmed on 18 January 1978, the Government of Argentina stated that the competent authorities had opened an inquiry into his case,

Deeply concerned over the fate of Senator Carnevali,

1. Regrets that the Argentinian authorities have not replied to the pressing request of the Council to hasten this inquiry and inform the Special Committee as soon as possible of the results thereof;

2. Earnestly repeats that request.

Case No. ARG/17 - JUAN MANUEL RAMIREZ - ARGENTINA

(a) *Source of communication:*

Mrs. Juana Romero, member of the Argentinian Parliament at the time of the coup d'Etat in March 1976.

(b) *Outline of the case:*

The evidence in the case reveals that Deputy Juan Manuel Ramirez, representative of the Province of Chaco, was arrested in March 1976; that he has been detained since then without trial; that he has been transferred from the prison of the Province of Chaco, where he was initially detained, to the Resistencia prison in Buenos Aires, where he is subject to the maximum security régime ("maxima peligrosidad"); that he is accused of being a "Montonero" but appears never to have belonged to that movement; that, at the time of his arrest, his wife was placed under house arrest and died some time later, Deputy Ramirez's young children thus now being left to fend for themselves.

(c) *Investigation of the case:*

(i) The Special Committee first examined the case of Deputy Juan Manuel Ramirez at its 5th session (February 1979). It then approached the Argentinian authorities in order to :

1. Ask them whether it is correct that Deputy Ramirez was arrested in March 1976 and has been detained since then without trial;

2. Ask them, if so, whether the competent authorities contemplate releasing him rapidly;

3. In the event that it is not planned to release him rapidly, ask them to inform him of :

   (a) The legal provisions under which he was arrested and is held in detention, having regard to the provisions of Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of Article 7 of the American Convention on Human Rights;

   (b) The charges against him; the present status of the procedure under way; the court seized of his case and the date of the trial; the guarantees available to him for his defence, having regard to the provisions of Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of Article 8 of the American Convention on Human Rights.

These requests were made by letter of 14 February 1979.

(ii) When the Special Committee met they had not been answered.*

(d) *Decision of the Special Committee:*

The Special Committee,

Decides to recommend to the Inter-Parliamentary Council that it adopt the following resolution **:

The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

Having before it the case of Deputy Juan Manuel Ramirez, of Argentina, who was the subject of a study and a report by the Special Committee on Violations of the Human Rights of Parliamentarians, in accordance with the "Procedure for the examination and treatment by the Inter-Parliamentary Union of communications concerning violations of the human rights of parliamentarians",

Taking note of the report of the Special Committee,

Considering that the evidence in the case reveals that Deputy Juan Manuel Ramirez, representative of the Province of Chaco, was arrested in March 1976; that he has been detained since then without trial; that he was recently transferred from the prison of the Province of Chaco to the prison of Resistencia in Buenos Aires where he is subject to the maximum security régime ("maxima peligrosidad"); that he is accused of being a "Montonero" but appears never to have belonged to that movement; that, at the time of his arrest, his wife was placed under house arrest and died some time later, Deputy Ramirez's young children thus now being desolate,

Regretting that the Argentinian authorities have not replied in substance to the requests which the Special Committee addressed to them,

1. Instructs the Secretary General to approach the Argentinian authorities again in order to:

(a) Inform them of the Inter-Parliamentary Council's concern over the fate of Deputy Ramirez who has been under administrative imprisonment for more than three years;

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* A few days after the meeting, however, the Secretary General received from the Argentinian authorities a letter dated 18 May, which had not been properly routed. It states that:

"Former parliamentarian Juan Manuel Ramirez:
He is at the disposal of the national executive authorities under decree No. 2426/76; he is accused of sabotage and possession of material of the "Montoneros" subversive organization; he is at Unit No.7 in the Resistencia prison."

** When the Special Committee prepared this draft resolution it did not possess the information from the Argentinian authorities contained in footnote *.

(b) Inform them of the pressing request of the Inter-Parliamentary Council that this parliamentarian either be tried as soon as possible at a trial offering all the guarantees set out in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, or be released immediately;

2. Declares that, should no action be taken on the above requests before its next session, it will have to conclude in a violation of the human rights of Deputy Ramirez.

Case No. ARG/18 - ANTONIO ISAAC GUERRERO - ARGENTINA

(a) *Source of communication:*

Mrs. Juana Romero, member of the Argentinian Parliament at the time of the coup d'Etat in March 1976.

(b) *Outline of the case:*

The evidence in the case reveals that Deputy Antonio Isaac Guerrero was arrested by the army at Tucuman in March 1976, transferred to the Buenos Aires Prison and subsequently to the prison in La Plata, where he is currently detained without trial.

(c) *Investigation of the case:*

(i) The Special Committee first examined the case of Deputy Antonio Isaac Guerrero at its 5th session (February 1979). It then approached the Argentinian authorities in order to:

1. Ask them whether it is correct that Deputy Guerrero was arrested in March 1976 and has been detained since then without trial;

2. Ask them, if so, whether the competent authorities contemplate releasing him rapidly;

3. In the event that it is not planned to release him rapidly, ask them to inform him of:

(a) The legal provisions under which he was arrested and is held in detention, having regard to the provisions of Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of Article 7 of the American Convention on Human Rights;

(b) The charges against him; the present status of the procedure under way; the court seized of his case and the date of the trial; the guarantees available to him for his defence, having regard to the provisions of Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of Article 8 of the American Convention on Human Rights.

These requests were made by letter dated 14 February 1979.

(ii) When the Special Committee met they had not been answered.*

(d) *Decision of the Special Committee:*

The Special Committee,

Decides to recommend to the Inter-Parliamentary Council that it adopt the following resolution**:

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* Several days after the meeting, however, the Secretary General received from the Argentinian authorities a letter dated 18 May which had not been properly routed. It states that *"Former parliamentarian Antonio Isaac Guerrero is at the disposal of the national executive authorities under decree 1660/77; he is accused of subversive activities and is at Unit No.9 in La Plata prison"*.

** When the Special Committee prepared this draft resolution it did not possess the information from the Argentinian authorities contained in the footnote *.

Case No. ARG/18 - ANTONIO GUERRERO - ARGENTINA

The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

Having before it the case of Deputy Antonio Guerrero, of Argentina, who was the subject of a study and a report by the Special Committee on Violations of the Human Rights of Parliamentarians, in accordance with the "Procedure for the examination and treatment by the Inter-Parliamentary Union of communications concerning violations of the human rights of parliamentarians",

Taking note of the report of the Special Committee,

Considering that the evidence in the file reveals that Deputy Antonio Guerrero was arrested by the army at Tucuman in March 1976; that he appears to be detained in the prison of La Plata,

Regretting that the Argentinian authorities have not replied in substance to the request which the Special Committee addressed to them,

1. Instructs the Secretary General to approach the Argentinian authorities again in order to:

   (a) Inform them of the Inter-Parliamentary Council's concern over the fate of Deputy Guerrero who has been under administrative imprisonment for more than three years;

   (b) Inform them of the pressing request of the Inter-Parliamentary Council that this parliamentarian either be tried as soon as possible at a trial offering all the guarantees set out in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, or be released immediately;

2. Declares that, should no action be taken on the above requests before its next session, it will have to conclude in a violation of the human rights of Deputy Guerrero.

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INFORMAL TRANSLATION

DIPLOMATIC NOTE

Chile Project (#5199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America and has the honor to refer to Note Nº 72 of the Embassy, dated November 17, 1978, and to the responding note of the Ministry dated January 16, 1979, relating to the case of Letelier, et al. v. Central Nacional de Informaciones, et al. (Civil Action 78-1477) in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

More than six months has elapsed since the Ministry presented its last note concerning this matter. In the intevening time, the Ministry has not been informed of the position of the United States or of the District Court with respect to the points r raised in that note, and, in particular, the Ministry has not been advised if the case in question has been dismissed for lack of jurisdiction.

Since the Ministry's note of January 16, 1979, the Ministry has studied further the legal considerations, both internacional and municipal, which are relevant to the jurisdictional issue. The results of this study are incorporated in a Memorandum of Law which is annexed to this note. The Memorandum of Law makes two essential points.

First, the District Court like courts in other countries has the authority to determine its own jurisdiction; without jurisdiction the court ...ver to maintain the civil action. Under the relevan... ited States Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act

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as well as under international law upon which the statute is based, it is clear that the court lacks jurisdiction in this case.

Second, the exercise of jurisdiction would involve inquiry into alleged acts and policies of a foreign sovereign, and would implicitly question itsdiplomatic and public representations, thus contravening the "Act of State Doctrine" applied by United States courts.

The Ministry is aware of the policy of the Department of State, in cases involving the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, that a diplomatic note presented by a foreign governement concerning the assertion of jurisdiction under this statute will be transmitted by the Department of State to the appropriate court. In accordance with this policy, the Ministry request that a copy of this note and the Annexed Memorandum Of Law be transmitted to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, so that the Court may be further aware of the position taken by the Republic of Chile in this matter.

The Ministry emphasizes that an exercise of jurisdiction in this case would be contrary to legal authority and would be without precedent in international law or practice. Although there is a shared concern to bring all the guilty parties to justice in accordance with the law, this objective cannot justify an unwarranted assertion of one nation's judicial processes against another sovereign nation.

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The Ministry requests that it be advised by the Embassy of the decision by the District Court on these questions of jurisdiction, so that, if the position of the Republic of Chile is not accepted, the Ministry may consider alternative means of resolving the jurisdictional dispute that would then exist between two sovereign States. The Ministry in its last note suggested the possibility of international adjudication, and the Ministry would welcome an indication from the Embassy as to whether the United States is prepare: to submit to international adjudication any jurisdictional dispute which may arise as a result of decision in this matter.

Santiago, August 1979.

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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA004368

ADP148
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 04368 030116Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 COME-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 SY-05 SYE-00
A-02 OPR-02 PC-01 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 IO-14
SPH-01 HA-05 OCS-06 CA-01 NCT-03 USSS-00 ACDA-12
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3807
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 4368

STATE ALSO PASS TO LAC/DP ; MEXICO CITY
FOR

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 8/2/89 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS: ASEC ELAB PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) ALLEGED DEATH THREATS AGAINST LABOR CONFEDERATION (CGS) MEMBERS

REF: SAN SALVADOR 4037

1. [redacted]ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ON JULY 31, FRANCISCO VIDAL PRADO ORTIZ, WHO SHOWED PAPERS IDENTIFYING HIMSELF AS REPRESENTATIVE FOR INTER-AMERICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS (ORIT), TALKED TO LABOR OFFICER ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF GETTING VISAS TO U.S. FOR MEMBERS OF GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF UNIONS - CGS. (CGS IS CONSIDERED PART OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT AND HAS TIES WITH AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT - AIFLD.)
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04368 030116Z

H EMENTIONED ANONYMOUS DEATH THREATS RECEIVED BY CGS SECRETARY OF FINANCES JOSE ISRAEL HUIZA CISNEROS DUE TO HIS ALSO BEING HEAD OF CGS UNION AT PAN LIDO. (PAN LIDO HAS HAD A LONG-STANDING LABOR DISPUTE -- SEE REFTEL.)

3. PRADO ORTIZ THOUGHT THAT JOSE GUILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE (CCS), WHICH IN TURN IS CONTROLLED BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940038E

(BPR), WAS RESPONSIBLE. (CCS HAS TAKEN OUT ADS DENOUNCING PAN LIDO FOR TREATMENT OF WORKERS AND HAS GIVEN INDICATIONS THAT IT CONSIDERS PAN LIDO CASE AS FALLING WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION.) ACCORDING TO PRADO ORTIZ, CCS WAS TRYING TO PUSH CGS UNION ASIDE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF WORKERS. DUE TO DEATH THREATS, HUIZA HAD APPARENTLY RESIGNED AS HEAD OF CGS UNION AT PAN LIDO BUT HAS STILL CONTINUED TO RECEIVE THREATS. PRADO ORTIZ ALSO SAID THAT TWO FEMALE CGS MEMBERS AT "CONFECCIONES BUFFALO" PLANT (A PANTS MANUFACTURER) IN SAN SALVADOR HAD RECEIVED THREATS FROMSUSPECTED CCS MEMBERS AND THEY MIGHT HAVE TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. HE ALSO MENTIONED A "MAURICIO RENETT" WHO MIGHT HAVE TO DO SAME DUE TO CCS THREATS.

4. PRADO (WHO SAYD HE USUALLY SPLITS HIS TIME BETWEEN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA), STATED HE HAD RECEIVED A VISIT AT HIS HOSRCHSFROM PEOPLE WHOM HE SUSPECTED OF BEING CCS MEMBERS. HE SAID THEY HAD ASKED HIM TO COME ALONG WITH THEM TO UNDISCLOSED DESTINATION BUT THAT HE HAD REFUSED.

5. PRADO ORTIZ ASKED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF CGS MEMBERS RECEIVING VISAS FROM U.S. EMBASSY. LABOR OFFICER STATED THAT [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 04368 030116Z

IN PAST, BIG PROBLEM HAD NOT BEEN GETTING PEOPLE INTO U.S. BUT RATHER QUESTION OF THEIR WANTING TO BE ABLE TO WORK WHEN THEY GOT THERE; PROBLEM AROSE BECAUSE SUCH PERSONS ARE NOT ALLOWED TOWORK UNDER B-2 VISAS AND OTHER VISAS THAT DO PERMIT THEM TO WORK ARE NOT READILY AVAILABLE. LABOR OFFICER ADDED THAT HE WOULD DO ALL HE COULD TO BE HELPFUL BUT THAT THIS WAS BASICALLY A CONSULAR MATTER. PRADO ORTIZ STATED THAT HE WOULD ARRANGE FOR ORIT HEADQUARTERS IN MEXICO CITY TO WRITE LETTER TO CONSUL EXPLAINING PROBLEM.

6. NOTE: PRADO ORTIZ SEEMED SURPRISED THAT LABOR OFFICER HAD NOT BEEN PREVIOUSLY APPROACHED ON THIS MATTER BY CGS OFFICIALS. HOWEVER, WHILE CGS OFFICIALS HAVE COME TO EMBASSY REQUESTING ASSISTANCE ON REGULAR VISA MATTERS, THEY HAVE NOT APPROACHED EMBASSY ON ALLEGED DEATH THREATS TO CGS MEMBERS. PRADO ORTIZ SAID THAT MICHAEL VERDUE OF ORIT HAD BEEN INFORMED OF SITUATION PREVIOUSLY. EMBASSY WOULD WELCOME COMMENTS FROM EMBASSY MEXICO CITY ON THIS QUESTION AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION IT MIGHT HAVE ON MATTER.

7. COMMENT: INCIDENT REPORTED BY PRADO ORTIZ, IF SUBSTANTIALLY CORRECT, MAY BE ANOTHER INDICATION THAT CCS IS USING STRONG-ARM TACTICS -- RATHER THAN

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JUST APPEALS TO WORKERS -- AS METHOD OF WINNING OVER UNIONS NOMINALLY AFFILIATED WITH ESTABLISHED LABOR FEDERATIONS LIKE THE CGS. SUCH TACTICS ARE MADE CREDIBLE BY TIES OF CCS, AS MEMBER OF BPR, TO EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL).
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SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /066 W
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O R 031501Z AUG 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4224
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, CI
SUBJ: LABOR NOTES: BREAKFAST WITH THE PRESIDENT; MORE ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

REF: SANTIAGO 5245

1. SUMMARY: TOP LABOR LEADERS SUPPORTING GOC ARE CRITICAL OF LABOR LEGISLATION BUT ALSO CONDEMN BOYCOTT THREAT AND INTRUSION OF AFL-CIO. EXTERNAL ACTIONS PROVIDE GOC WITH USEFUL DIVERSION. GOVERNMENT SETS FORTH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SCHEDULE FOR STATE ENTERPRISES AND PUBLISHES THE LIST OF STATE AND PRIVATE FIRMS IN WHICH STRIKES WILL NOTT BE PERMITTED. THE LATTER IS NOTT AS WIDE-RANGING AS SOME HAD FOREBODED. END SUMMARY.

2. BREAKFAST WITH PINOCHET. EIGHTEEN PRO-GOVERNMENT LABOR LEADERS BREAKFASTED WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET, LABOR MINISTER PINERA, AND OTHER TOP OFFICIALS JULY 31. THE ORIENTATIONS OF THOSE IN ATTENDANCE RANGED FROM THE UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT OF NITRATE WORKERS' JULIO BASTIAS TO THE PREDOMINANTLY CRITICAL ATTITUDE OF PRIVATE EMPLOYEES' LEADER FEDERICO MUJICA. COUNCIL OF OF STATE MEMBER GUILLERMO MEDINA AND COPPER WORKERS' LEADER BERNARDINO CASTILLO WERE ALSO PRESENT. THE MEETING LASTED
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05372 031554Z

THREE HOURS AND WE HAVE BEEN TOLD (BY MUJICA) THAT ALMOST ALL THE LEADERS GAVE WELL-ARGUED CRITICISMS OF VARIOUS PORTIONS OF THE NEW LABOR LEGISLATION. THE PRESS (LA TERCERA DOING THE BEST JOB) REPORTED MANY OF THE CRITICISMS, BUT ALSO GAVE PROMINENCE TO THE CRITICAL REMORKS OF THE LEADERS REGARDING THE ICFTU-APPROVED SYMBOLIC BOYCOTT OF CHILE AND THEIR CONDEMNATION OF GROUP OF TEN " COLLUSION" WITH THE AFL-CIO. GOC

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OFFICIALS REPEATED PREVIOUS OFFERS TO CORRECT MISTAKES IN THE LEGISLATION AND REVISE SOME TECHNICAL ASPECTS, AND PINOCHET PROMISED MEDINA AND CASTILLO TO REVIEW THE REVOCATION OF THE COPPER WORKER'S SPECIAL LEGAL STATUS. (COMMENT: WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, EVEN THESE PRO-GOC LEADERS HAD MAJOR CRITICISMS OF THE LABOR LEGISLATION. WHILE THE LABOR LEADERS EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE GOC WOULD ACT ON THEIR CRITICISMS, MUJICA TELLS US THAT FEW EXPECT MORE THAN COSMETIC CHANGES. AS PARTIAL OFFSET, THE GOVERNMENT GOT SOME SUPPORTIVE EXPRESSIONS VIS-A-VIS THE ICFTU SYMBOLIC BOYCOTT APPROVED LAST WEEK AND THE JOINT AFL-CIO/GROUP OF TEN PRESS STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE LABOR LEGISLATION. BOTH THE LEADERS AND THE MEDIA IN REPORTING THEIR STATEMENTS TENDED TO CONFUSE THE TWO, MAKING IT SEEM AS THOUGH THE AFL-CIO IS STILL IN THE FORFRONT OF THE BOYCOTT THREAT. EXTERNAL ACTIONS, PARTICULARLY OF THE AFL-CIO, ARE OF CONCERN TO THE GOC BUT THEY ALSO SERVE TO DIVERT PUBLIC ATTENTION FROM THE LEGITIMATE COMPLAINTS OF LOCAL LABOR LEADERS.)

3. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SCHEDULE. ON JULY 31 ALSO, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SCHEDULE FOR TWENTY -FOUR STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES. THE INITIATION OF BARGAINING IS STAGGERED FROM MID-AUGUST UNTIL MID-APRIL OF NEXT YEAR -- TO AVOID SIMULTANEOUS NEGOTIATION IN ALL SECTORS. COMPANIES OR DIVISIONS HAVE FORTY-FIVE DAYS FROM THE DESIGNATED BEGINNING DATE TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATIONS. IF NO SETTLE-
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05372 031554Z

MENT HAS BEEN REACHED, A STRIKE OR ARBITRATION OOULD FOLLOW. ALSO SPECIFIED IS THE LENGTH OF TIME THE COLLECTIVE CONTRACT WILL RUN FOR EACH ENTERPRISE OR DIVISION: 12, 18, OR 24 MONTHS. THERE IS NO READILY APPARENT PATTERN. FOR EXAMPLE, AMONG THE CODELCO DIVISIONS, THE CONTRACTS FOR CHUQUICAMATA AND EL SALVADOR WILL RUN FOR EIGHTEEN MONTHS WHILE THOSE FOR EL TENIENTE AND ANDINA WILL BE FOR A YEAR.

4. THE NO-STRIKE LIST. AS REQUIRED BY THE RECENT LEGISLATION, THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY HAS COME OUT WITH A LIST OF ENTERPRISES IN WHICH STRIKES WILL NOTT BE PERMITTED. THE LIST INCLUDES TEN PRIVATE AND TWENTY-ONE STATE COMPANIES OR DIVISIONS. ALL THOSE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR ARE WATER, GAS, OR ELECTRIC COMPANIES. THE STATE ENTERPRISES ARE ALSO PREDOMINANTLY UTILITIES OR RELATED TO TRANSPORTATION. OTHERS INCLUDED ARE ENAP, THE GOVERNMENT OIL COMPANY, AND THE BANCO DEL ESTADO. OF THE MAJRO COPPER MINES ONLY WORKERS AT CHUQUICAMATA (WHICH PRODUCES CLOSE TO HALF OF CHILE'S COPPER) ARE DENIED THE STRIKE WEAPON. THIS HAS DRAWN AN EXPECTED NEGATIVE REACTION FROM A UNION LEADER AT THE MINE. (COMMENT:

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THE NO-STRIKE LANGUAGE IN THE NEW LAW ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING COULD BE INTERPRETED TO PROHIBIT STRIKES IN A LARGE PORTION OF THE CHILEAN ECONOMY. TO MINIMIZE CRITICISM ON THAT SCOPE, THE PRIOR LISTING PROVISION WAS INSERTED IN DL 2758. AT FIRSTT EXAMINATION THE STRIKE PROSCRIPTION IS BEING FAIRLY NARROWLY SPPLIED. IN INFRINGES ONLY MARGINALLY ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR. SOME 95,000 WORKERS IN STATE ENTERPRISES RETAIN THE STRIKE RIGHT.)
LANDAU

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8/2/79

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

AS109

S/S 3 AUG 1979

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
(X) Classify as C ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date 5/23/01 Declassify on 7/22/11 Reason 2.5X6

TO: The Secretary
The Deputy Secretary

FROM: ARA - Viron P. Vaky
HA - Patricia M. Derian

Current Human Rights Situation in Argentina

(U) The following is a summary of the human rights situation in Argentina. A more detailed review of current conditions is set forth in the attachment.

Disappearances: Seventeen since February 1; three have turned up arrested by the GOA, one was released, and 13 remain unresolved. The last reported disappearance occurred May 13. In 1978, 55 persons disappeared per month; in 1977, 180; in 1976, 300.

Accounting for the Disappeared: The GOA is preparing new legislation to shorten to six months the time period for declaring presumptive death. Army Commander and Junta Member Viola has spoken publicly for the first time of the disappeared as "those who will be absent forever" and told the Embassy he thinks, with rare exceptions, most of the disappeared are dead. The GOA has so far refused to provide individual accounting.

PEN Prisoners: The GOA announced on June 29 it now holds 1,723 persons under PEN (executive detention). It is not clear how many former PEN detainees have been freed and how many have continued in prison after civil or military trials, but the Embassy and the ICRC estimate the total number of political prisoners at just under 3,000 in all of these categories. GOA officials plan to reduce the PEN category to 800-1,000 by late 1979; the latter will continue to be held for an unstated period. In early 1978, the GOA acknowledged that it held about 3,500 PEN prisoners.

GDS - 7/31/85

[redacted] Clandestine Prisoners: The question of whether clandestine prisoners exist in significant numbers remains unresolved. If there are, they could number up to a few hundred as an outside limit; our Embassy considers it unlikely that the number would be that high; We have no firm evidence. Fragmentary data, however, suggest the existence of at least some unacknowledged prisoners and of some small scattered clandestine detention centers about to be closed.

[redacted] Right of Option: Moving at a slow pace, with only 18 GOA approvals so far for PEN prisoners seeking to come to the U.S. The GOA has approved approximately 170 applications since September 1977 for all countries.

[redacted] Prison Conditions: The GOA issued nation-wide uniform prison regulations in late April and consolidated PEN detainees in six facilities. In February, there were reports of two beatings (one fatal) and a disappearance in prisons and, in May, of a number of beatings and robberies among a group of prisoners in transit.

B1

[redacted] The Judiciary: The NYC Bar Association mission noted that the Executive continues to be uncooperative in responding to habeas corpus petitions. The Judiciary has made some attempts to force greater cooperation, but its effective power remains limited.

[redacted] Argentine Attitudes Toward the Human Rights Issue: Videla and Viola appear to be trying to carry out commitments to us to end disappearances and reduce PEN detentions. Hardliners such as General Suarez Mason and General Menendez have recently stepped up calls for a new GOA offensive to root out "intellectual subversion." A political test of strength between these two points of view is shaping up for year's end.

(U) The NYC Bar Association mission noted that progress is possible but would come much faster if the Argentine legal profession would take a more active interest in return to rule of law.

[redacted]

(U) The Church and some elements of the press have become more outspokenly critical in dealing with human rights.

Attachment:

Detailed Review of Current Conditions.

Drafted: HA/HR:PFlood:ARA/ECA:CHBrayshaw:mas
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Clearances: INR/RAR:JBuchanan

2/6/79

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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[redacted] DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12065RDS 08/01,85 (DERIAN, PATRICIA M.)

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: CLANDESTINE PRISONERS

REF: A.) BUENOS AIRES 6150; B.) BUENOS AIRES 3056 (NOTAL)

1. DEPARTMENT IS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY REPORT (REF A, PARA 5) THAT QTE THERE IS INFORMED SPECULATION THAT SOME OF THE REMAINING CLANDESTINE PRISONERS ARE BEING MURDERED UNQTE, APPARENTLY IN CONNECTION WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE IAHRC VISIT IN SEPTEMBER. -WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR URGENTLY MAKING WHATEVER FURTHER INQUIRIES INTO THIS MATTER MAY BE POSSIBLE AND FURNISHING IN-DEPTH ASSESSMENT OF AUTHENTICITY OF THESE REPORTS.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 204564

2. DEPT ALSO REQUESTS YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO WHAT ADDITIONAL STEPS US MIGHT TAKE, PERHAPS IN CONCERT WITH

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OTHER CONCERNED GOVERNMENTS, (E.G., THE EC-9 AMBASSADORS) TO INFLUENCE GOA TO HALT KILLINGS. FYI: IN RECENT CALL ON HA ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN, SWEDISH CHARGE SAID SWEDISH GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED REPORTS THAT GOA IS KILLING CLANDESTINE PRISONERS AND OFFERED TO JOIN WITH USG IN JOINT OR PARALLEL APPROACHES TO GOA TO PRESS FOR CESSATION OF KILLINGS. END FYI.

3. ALSO, PURSUANT TO EMBASSY SUGGESTION IN PARA 6 OF REF B THAT QTE THE BEST COURSE FOR DEALING WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF CLANDESTINE PRISONS IS TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE IAHRC VISIT AND TO COLLECT ANY INFORMATION WHICH MIGHT ASSIST IT IN DEALING WITH THIS QUESTION UNQTE, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE TIMELY TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON YOUR RECOMMENDATION BY REVIEWING AVAILABLE INFORMATION WITH A VIEW TO FURNISHING APPROPRIATELY SANITIZED DATA TO COMMISSION ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS. DEPARTMENT THEREFORE REQUESTS YOU REVIEW INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN EMBASSY FILES FROM ALL SOURCES ON CLANDESTINE OR OTHER UNACKNOWLEDGED FACILITIES AND FORWARD A LIST AND DESCRIPTION OF ALL CENTERS YOU BELIEVE ARE PROBABLY STILL IN OPERATION.

4. WE ALSO WANT YOUR ESTIMATE OF THE CREDIBILITY OF THE REPORTS AND INFORMATION FILES. YOUR REPLY SHOULD, IF POSSIBLE, CONTAIN INFORMATION ON:

A.) EXACT LOCATION;
B.) WHO CONTROLS THE FACILITY (E.G., FEDERAL POLICE, ARMY, NAVY, ETC.);
C.) APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF DETAINEES;
D.) NAMES OF ANY DETAINEES, IF KNOWN;
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 204564

E.) MAIN PURPOSES OF FACILITY (E.G., INTERROGATION, TRANSIT, RE-EDUCATION, LONG TERM CONFINEMENT, ETC.);
F.) DATE OF LAST REPORT(S); NUMBER OF SOURCES REPORTING ON THIS FACILITY; AND
G.) BRIEF EVALUATION OF AUTHENTICITY AND RELIABILITY OF INFORMATION AND SOURCES.

5. PLEASE ALSO PREPARE A SEPARATE LIST OF NAMES AND LOCATION OF CENTERS YOU BELIEVE HAVE BEEN CLOSED, AND ANY INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT HEPPENED TO PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN HELD IN THEM.

6. REQUEST REPORT ON AN URGENT BASIS.

7. AFTER RECEIVING YOUR REPORT, THE DEPARTMENT WILL THEN DECIDE WHAT FURTHER APPROACHES MIGHT BE MADE TO THE GOA.
VANCE

[redacted]

NNN

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Marc [redacted] Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): [redacted]
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full XDS-4
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____

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Dec 8/7/79

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Emilio Mignone, Permanent Assembly for Human Rights
William H. Hallman, Political Counselor, American Embassy, Buenos Aires

DATE : July 30, 1979

SUBJECT : Argentine Police Raid on Printing House

Background. Several newspapers reported on July 29 and July 30 that on Saturday afternoon July 28 police personnel from the First Precinct raided the Alemann Printing Company, where they confiscated galley plates and other materials having to do with a publication regarding the disappeared. According to the same reports, police authorities surrounded the building (which is located near the "Casa Rosada") and prevented people from leaving between about 5 in the afternoon and 6:30.

Although the company does a large amount of job printing, it is best known for the newspaper Argentinisches Tageblatt, the newspaper which serves Argentina's German speaking community and is published by the family of Juan Alemann, the present secretary for treasury in the Ministry of Economy, and his brother Roberto, a former Economy Minister. (The family is of Swiss German descent.)

According to a communique issued subsequently by the federal police: "Personnel of this organization in compliance with Executive Decree No. 1829 enacted a procedure yesterday afternoon in a building in which the Alemann and Company print shop is located. They proceeded to confiscate 3,500 copies, printing plates and other materials related to a publication. The contents of that publication asserted certain activities unacceptable to the public forces, attributing acts without describing those persons responsible. The decree cited prohibits the distribution, sale, circulation and partial or total reproduction of the publication by whatever means throughout the national territory.

The police proceedings took place only in the commercial printing section -- apart from the daily newspaper and its presses -- where several kinds of publications of persons outside the company are done.

What Mignone Added. Mr. Mignone explained that the confiscated publication was in fact a printed version of the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights most recent tabulation of the disappeared, containing some 5,200 names. The Assembly had been rebuffed by several newspapers. The Buenos Aires Herald declined to publish

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the list on grounds of costs involved and other factors. (The Herald has a policy of not accepting human rights announcements as paid advertisement, as do other newspapers, so it would have been faced with the problem of a large news printing job the list would have entailed. The editor of Prensa, whose owner-editor Gainza had promised to accept the list as advertisement, subsequently declined to accept the list when Assembly members visited his office to pay for the announcement. The Assembly had therefore ordered 30,000 commercially printed versions of the disappeared list from the Alemann Company, which the organization expected to mail out to large numbers of people in Argentina and abroad.

Mignone heard that in fact the police had visited the printing company the day before, a Friday, and had taken enough material to indicate the nature of the printing job the Alemann Company was undertaking. He believes that the prestige of the company and the prominence of its owners caused a small flurry in government, so that when police authorities came the following afternoon they did so armed with a carefully drawn statement which clearly distinguished between the newspaper the Alemann family owns and its other printing activities. The Permanent Assembly is now studying what legal action can be taken to regain what it regards as in part its property. A large deposit had been left with the Alemann Company for the printing job.

DISTRIBUTION:

AMB	ARA/ECA
DCM	INR/OIL/B Argentina
POL 3	INR/RAR
POL/R	HA/HR
ECOM	
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Clearance:
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POLCOUNS:WHHallman:jk
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8-13-79

No. 79/15489 UNCLASSIFIED

United States of America

N4099

R X D05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

... all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I Certify That Anthony D. Sierra, whose name is subscribed to the ...nent hereunto annexed, was at the time of subscribing the same Chief, ...lating Branch, Department of State, United States of America, and ...ull faith and credit are due to his acts as such.*

... further certify that the English Text of same is certified under the ... the District of Columbia, and that such seal is entitled to full ...d credit.*

In testimony whereof, I, Cyrus R. Vance,

Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Authentication Officer of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this thirtieth

day of August, 19 79.

Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State.

By
Authentication Officer, Department of State.

...ficate is not valid if it is removed or altered in any way whatsoever

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—80320-1

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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Exemption(s) ____

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

7915499 -1

UNCLASSIFIED LS NO. 91353-C

CERTIFICADO DE TRADUCCION

Por los presentes certifico que la traducción adjunta que porta el número LS-91353-C ha sido preparada por la División de Servicios de Idiomas del Departamento de Estado y que es una traducción correcta a mi real saber y entender.

Fecha: 29 de agosto de 1979

Anthony D. Sierra
Jefe, Sección de Traducciones

CERTIFICATION OF TRANSLATION

I hereby certify that the above translation bearing LS No 91353-C was prepared by the Division of Language Services of the Department of State and that it is a correct translation to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated:

AUG 29 1979

Anthony D. Sierra
Chief, Translating Branch

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LS-91353-C

DECLARACION JURADA

Yo, L. Carter Cornick, Jr., Agente Especial de la Oficina Federal de Investigaciones (FBI), por la presente afirmo bajo juramento lo siguiente:

En una declaración jurada presentada ante la Corte en enero de 1979, relaté el contenido de una entrevista que sostuve con el Sr. Jack Holcomb, Presidente de Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc. el 15 de marzo de 1978 en Washington, D.C.

El tercer anexo de dicha declaración consiste en la primera página de una factura de Audio Intelligence Devices que mostraba un pedido con fecha del 7 de febrero de 1975 y una fecha de entrega del 15 de febrero de 1975. Bajo la casilla de observaciones de la factura, el Sr. Holcomb anotó de su puño y letra que para el 15 de febrero de 1975, fecha de entrega del pedido, él (Holcomb) había indagado sobre las credenciales de Juan Andrés Wilson/Kenneth Enyart/Michael Townley, con el General Washington Carrasco, a quien él (Holcomb) conocía como un funcionario de la Embajada de Chile.

La antedicha factura, unida a la declaración de Holcomb, indica claramente que se utilizó al General Washington Carrasco como punto de referencia de Juan Andrés Wilson/Kenneth Enyart/Michael Townley en 1975 para establecer sus credenciales. Al General Carrasco se le habló por teléfono en algún momento entre el 7 de febrero de 1975, fecha en que se hizo el pedido, y el 15 de febrero de 1975, fecha en que se hizo entrega de los materiales.

Holcomb no señaló la fecha exacta de su llamada telefónica al General Carrasco, pero indicó que su norma era confirmar las credenciales de los clientes potenciales de un

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Gobierno extranjero poco después de hacerse un pedido (en este caso, el 7 de febrero de 1975) y antes de la fecha de entrega del mismo (en este caso, 15 de febrero de 1975), para evitar trabajo innecesario a sus empleados en caso de que no se confirmen las credenciales del cliente potencial.

Holcomb declaró asimismo que en el momento de hacer la llamada telefónica (entre el 7 y el 15 de febrero de 1975), él sabía que el General Carrasco formaba parte del personal de la Embajada de Chile, lo cual indica claramente que había habido previo trato, o contactos, entre Carrasco y Holcomb.

La investigación realizada por la FBI confirma que en febrero de 1975 los dos números anotados en la casilla de observaciones de la factura eran números de teléfono no públicos y en funcionamiento, asignados a la Misión Militar de la Embajada Chilena en Washington, D.C.

(F) L. Carter Cornick, Jr.
L. Carter Cornick, Jr.
Agente Especial
Oficina Federal de
Investigaciones

Suscrita y jurada ante mí el 29 de agosto de 1979 en el Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos, Washington, D.C.

No. 79/15489-1 UNCLASSIFIED

Serial № 36857

District of Columbia

7915489

Washington, D. C., August 30 *,* 19 79

all whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I **rtify** *that* JOHN F. JUNGHANS

w *name is signed to the accompanying paper, is now, and was at the time of signing th* *ue, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia duly commissioned and qu* *d.*

In **tness whereof,** *I,* JUANITA ALSTON

Clerk

~~Chief~~ *Notary Public* ~~Section~~ *of the District of Columbia, has hereunto caused the Seal of the District of Columbia to be affixed on the day and year first above written.*

Juanita Alston

~~Chief,~~ *Notary Public* ~~Section~~ Clerk

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7915429-1

AFFIDAVIT

I, L. Carter Cornick, Jr., Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, do hereby affirm the following under oath:

In a sworn affidavit submitted to the Honorable Court during January 1979, I previously related the substance of an interview between Mr. Jack Holcomb, President of Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc. and me which took place March 15, 1978 at Washington, D. C.

The third attachment to that affidavit was the first page of an invoice of Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc. which showed an order date of February 7, 1975 and a delivery date of February 15, 1975. Under the remarks block on the invoice, Mr. Holcomb noted in his own handwriting that by February 15, 1975, the delivery date of the order, he (Holcomb) had checked the bonafides of Juan Andres Wilson/ Kenneth Enyart/Michael Townley with General Washington Carrasco, known to him (Holcomb) to be an employee of the Embassy of Chile.

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The above-mentioned invoice, when taken together with Holcomb's statement clearly indicates that General Washington Carrasco was utilized as a point of reference by Juan Andres Wilson/Kenneth Enyart/Michael Townley in 1975 to establish his bonafides. General Carrasco was contacted telephonically sometime between February 7, 1975, the date the order was placed, and February 15, 1975 the date the materials described in the invoice were delivered.

Holcomb did not name the specific date of his confirmation call to General Carrasco, but he did indicate that it was his standard procedure to confirm the credentials of a potential customer of a foreign Government soon after the placement of the order (in this case February 7, 1975) and before the delivery date (in this case February 15, 1975) so as to avoid needlees effort on the part of his staff in the event the credentials of the potential customer were not confirmed.

Holcomb also stated that General Carrasco was known to him (Holcomb) at the time of the call (February 7-15, 1975) to be a member of the staff of the Chilean Embassy, thereby clearly indicating previous dealings or contacts with Carrasco by Holcomb.

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Investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation confirmed that the two telephone numbers shown in the remarks block of the invoice were working, non-public telephone numbers assigned to Chilean Embassy Military Mission in Washington, D. C., in February, 1975.

L. Carter Cornick, Jr.
Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subscribed and sworn before me on August 24, 1979 in Washington, D.C.

My Commission Expires May 31, 1983

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No. 79/15488 UNCLASSIFIED

8-13-79
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RQ DOJ

United States of America

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I Certify That *Anthony D. Sierra, whose name is subscribed to the nt hereunto annexed, was at the time of subscribing the same Chief, ting Branch, Department of State, United States of America, and ll faith and credit are due to his acts as such.**

*urther certify that the English Text of same is certified under the he District of Columbia, and that such seal is entitled to full credit.**

In testimony whereof, *I, Cyrus R. Vance,*

Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Authentication Officer of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this thirtieth day of August, 19 79.

Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State

By
Authentication Officer, Department of State.

Issued pursuant to 61, 5 U.S. 203, 5 USC of Act of 1948, 62 St. 1733; Sec. of May 26, 111, 5 U. and Sec. 10 Act of Jun 66 St. 174 SC 1104, 5 USC 140.

This e is not valid if it is removed or altered in any way whatsoever

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—60526-1

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Lot 96F002 Box 1

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

7915[illegible]9

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 91353-A

CERTIFICADO DE TRADUCCION

Por los presentes certifico que la traducción adjunta que porta el número LS-91353-A ha sido preparada por la División de Servicios de Idiomas del Departamento de Estado y que es una traducción correcta a mi real saber y entender.

Fecha: 29 de agosto de 1979

Anthony D. Sierra
Jefe, Sección de Traducciones

CERTIFICATION OF TRANSLATION

I hereby certify that the above translation bearing LS No. 91353-A was prepared by the Division of Language Services of the Department of State and that it is a correct translation to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated: AUG 29 1979

Anthony D. Sierra
Chief, Translating Branch

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UNCLASSIFIED LS - 91353-A

DECLARACION JURADA

Yo, Robert W. Scherrer, Agente Especial de la Oficina Federal de Investigaciones (FBI), por la presente afirmo bajo juramento lo siguiente:

En enero de 1979 fui en viaje oficial a Santiago de Chile. El día 14 de enero de 1979 por la tarde fui al aeropuerto internacional de Pudahuel para regresar a los Estados Unidos. En el aeropuerto me encontré con Su Excelencia el Sr. George Walter Landau, Embajador de los Estados Unidos en Chile, que iba a viajar conmigo a los Estados Unidos en el vuelo 150 de la Línea Aérea LAN Chile. Debido a algunos problemas en el avión se retrasó la salida del vuelo 150 de la LAN, y el Embajador Landau y yo fuimos a la sala de espera VIP del aeropuerto. Cuando estábamos en la sala de espera, el Embajador Landau y yo nos encontramos con el general del Ejército chileno Washington Carrasco que había ido al aeropuerto a despedir a alguien que salía en el mismo vuelo de la LAN que el Embajador y yo íbamos a tomar.

En el curso de la conversación, el general Carrasco dijo que había oído decir que el FBI aseguraba que el Sr. Jack Holcomb, presidente de Audio Intelligence Devices, de Fort Lauderdale, Florida, había llamado por teléfono al general Carrasco en Washington, D.C. el 15 de febrero de 1975, con objeto de establecer las credenciales de Kenneth Enyart y Andres Wilson (dos de los nombres falsos de Townley). El general Carrasco observó que el Sr. Holcomb de ninguna manera podría haberse puesto en contacto con él en Washington, D.C. el 15 de febrero de 1975, puesto que él, el general Carrasco, había salido de dicha ciudad el día 13 de febrero de 1975, o alrededor de esa fecha, para regresar a Chile y tomar posesión de su nuevo cargo de Intendente en el Sur de

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Chile. Le dije al general Carrasco que todos los documentos relacionados con Enyart/Wilson obtenidos por el FBI de Audio Intelligence Devices, le habían sido proporcionados al director del CNI, general Odlanier Mena, a principios de 1978 y también se habían incluido en la solicitud de extradición del general Contreras, el coronel Espinosa y el capitán Fernández para corroborar la información facilitada por el Sr. Holcomb. Se hace notar que durante nuestra conversación, el general Carrasco no negó en ningún momento el haber hablado con el Sr. Holcomb en otras ocasiones con anterioridad al 13 de febrero de 1979. Deseo señalar a la atención de la Corte una declaración jurada del Agente Especial L. Carter Cornick, Jr. que esclarece la información previamente suministrada por el Sr. Holcomb con respecto a sus contactos telefónicos con el general Carrasco en Washington, D.C., durante el mes de febrero de 1975.

Según información que me facilitó Michael Vernon Townley, el general Carrasco, además de hablar con el Sr. Holcomb por teléfono sobre compras efectuadas en Audio Intelligence Device por Kenneth Enyart y Andrés Wilson en febrero de 1975, también estuvo en contacto telefónico con el propio Townley en diciembre de 1974. Townley me dijo que en diciembre de 1974 había llamado al general Carrasco a Washington, D.C. desde Florida, usando el nombre de Andrés Wilson, para pedirle al general Carrasco que le ayudase a establecer las credenciales de Wilson (Townley) en Audio Intelligence Device, a fin de facilitar la compra de material electrónico que iban a utilizar los agentes de seguridad de S.E. el Presidente Pinochet en un viaje a Lima, Perú, que por entonces se estaba organizando. Townley me dijo asimismo, que había solicitado la ayuda del general Carrasco para conseguir la

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colaboración del coronel Sepúlveda, que entonces era cónsul de Chile en Miami, Florida, en el envío a Chile por la Línea Aérea LAN Chile, del material electrónico adquirido en diciembre de 1974 en Audio Intelligence Devices.

[Fdo.] Robert W. Scherrer

Robert W. Scherrer
Agente Especial
Oficina Federal de Investigaciones

Suscrita y jurada ante mí el 29 de agosto de 1979, en el Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos, Washington, D.C.

UNCLASSIFIED

Serial № 36856

District of Columbia

7915[illegible]

Washington, D. C., August 30 , 1979

all whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

tify *that* JOHN E. JUNGHANS

ame is signed to the accompanying paper, is now, and was at the time of signing

, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia duly commissioned and

ness whereof, *I,* JUANITA ALSTON
Clerk

~~Clerk~~ *Notary Public* ~~Recorder~~ *of the District of Columbia, has hereunto caused the Seal of the District of Columbia to be affixed on the day and year first above written.*

Juanita Alston
~~Clerk~~ *Notary Public* ~~Recorder~~ Clerk

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—40520-1

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AFFIDAVIT

I, Robert W. Scherrer, Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), do hereby affirm the following under oath:

During January 1979, I visited Santigo, Chile, on official business. On the evening of January 14, 1979, I went to Pudahuel International Airport, in order to return to the United States. At the airport, I met the Honorable George Walter Landau, United States Ambassador to Chile, who was traveling with me to the United States via LAN Chile Airlines, Flight 150. Due to equipment problems,the departure of LAN Chile Flight 150 was delayed and Ambassador Landau and I went to the VIP lounge at the airport to wait. While in the VIP lounge area, Ambassador Landau and I encountered Chilean Army General Washington Carrasco, who was at the airport to see someone off on the same LAN Chile flight that the Ambassador and I were to take.

During conversation, General Carrasco mentioned that he learned that the FBI claimed Mr. Jack Holcomb, the President of Audio Intelligence Devices, Fort

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Lauderdale, Florida had telephonically contacted General Carrasco in Washington, D. C., on February 15, 1975, in order to establish the bona fides of Kenneth Enyart and Andres Wilson (two of Townley's false identities). General Carrasco noted that Mr. Holcomb could not have possibly reached him by telephone in Washington, D. C., on February 15, 1975, inasmuch as he, General Carrasco, departed Washington, D. C., on or about February 13, 1975, to return to Chile to take up new duties in Southern Chile as an Intendente. I told General Carrasco that all documents related to dealings with Enyart/Wilson obtained by the FBI from Audio Intelligence Devices had been provided to CNI Director, General Odlanier Mena, during early 1978, and also included in the United States Government's request for extradition of General Contreras, Colonel Espinosa and Captain Fernandez to clearly support information provided by Mr. Holcomb. It is emphasized that, at no time during our conversation, did General Carrasco deny that he had spoken with Mr. Holcomb on occasions prior to February 13, 1979. The attention of the Honorable Court is invited to an affadavit of FBI Special Agent L. Carter Cornick, Jr., which clarifies information previously provided by Mr. Holcomb concerning his telephonic contacts with General Carrasco in Washington, D. C. during February 1975.

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In addition to speaking with Mr. Holcomb on the telephone concerning Audio Intelligence Device purchases by Kenneth Enyart and Andres Wilson during February 1975, General Carrasco, according to information provided to me by Michael Vernon Townley, also spoke on the telephone with Townley himself during December 1974. Townley told me that he called General Carrasco in Washington, D. C., from Florida in December 1974, using the Andres Wilson identity, in order to ask General Carrasco's help in establishing Wilson's (Townley's) bona fides with Audio Intelligence Devices to facilitate the purchase of electronic equipment to be used by security personnel of SE President Pinochet on a then pending trip to Lima, Peru. Additionally, Townley also told me that he asked General Carrasco's assistance in arranging for the colaboration of Colonel Sepulveda, the then Chilean Consul in Miami, Florida, in shipping the electronic equipment purchased during December 1974 from Audio Intelligence Devices to Chile via LAN Chile Airlines.

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Robert W. Scherrer
Robert W. Scherrer
Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subscribed and sworn before me on August 29, 1979 in Washington, D.C.

John F. Josephone
My Commission Expires May 31, 1980

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05631 01 OF 02 142257Z
ACTION HA-05

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5631

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/14/85 (CLARE, DANIEL H.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM PINS CI AR VE MX UR PN
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS/INTERNAL SECURITY: CHILE GRANTS TWO SAFE-CONDUCTS; BABY BUSINESS; REACTION TO CONDOR ARTICLES

REF: BUENOS AIRES 6411

1. (C) SUMMARY: AFTER INITIAL GRUMBLING, THE GOC HAS GRANTED SAFE-CONDUCTS TO TWO PEOPLE HOLED UP IN THE PANAMIAN EMBASSY; THE VENEZUELANS ALSO HAVE TWO VISITORS. MEANWHILE, PRESS AND COMMENTARY CONTINUE TO HAMMER ON THE PERSISTENT THREAT FROM LEFTIST TERRORISTS AND THE HUNT FOR PASCAL ALLENDE AS YET A SECOND EXTREMIST ALLEGEDLY BLOWS HIMSELF UP. THE LOCAL ORGANIZATION OF RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED, SPURRED BY THE DISCOVERY IN CHILE OF TWO CHILDREN OF URUGUAYANS WHO DISAPPEARED IN ARGENTINA THREE YEARS AGO, HAS CREATED A SUBGROUP TO SEEK OUT POSSIBLE OFFSPRING OF MISSING CHILEANS. CARABINEROS INDICTED IN THE LONQUEN MURDERS ARE FREE ON BAIL WHILE THE COURTS CONSIDER WHETHER THE 1978 AMMESTY SHOULD NOW BE APPLIED; NEAR CONCEPCION
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05631 01 OF 02 142257Z

ANOTHER JUDGE IS INVESTIGATING COMPLICITY OF A DOZEN CARABINEROS IN FIFTEEN DISAPPEARANCES FOLLOWING THE 1973 COUP -- IN THIS CASE THE BODIES HAVE NOT BEEN LOCATED. END SUMMARY

2. (C) GASTON MUNOZ BRIONES AND GLORIA ELGUETA PINTO WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE PANAMANIAN AMBASSADOR WHEN THEY DEPART

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SANTIAGO EN ROUTE TO MEXICO VIA PANAMA ON AUGUST 14. THE PAIR OF AVOWED MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) ACTIVISTS DUCKED INTO THE PANAMIAN EMBASSY ABOUT A MONTH AGO (SEE SANTIAGO 4991) AS SECURITY FORCES ZEROED IN ON THEIR WHEREABOUTS. FOREIGN MINISTER CUBILLOS TWICE SAID PUBLICLY THAT THE DUO WAS NOT ENTITLED TO SAFE-CONDUCTS BECAUSE THEY WERE COMMON CRIMINALS (REMARKS HARD TO SQUARE WITH GOC-INSPIIRED STORIES PORTRAYING THEM AS POLITICAL TERRORISTS EARLIER IN THE YEAR) BEFORE GRANTING THEIR PASSES. MS ELGUETA IS THE DAUGHTER OF AN EXILED EX-CONGRESSMAN LIVING IN MEXICO CITY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT AT LEAST TWO PEOPLE ARE SEEKING ASYLUM AT THE VENEZUELAN EMBASSY. ONE IS AN ALLEGED MIRISTA PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED AS SALAS SALAS; THE OTHER IS A PROFESSED SOCIALIST WHOSE CASE THE LOCAL AMBASSADOR IS STILL STUDYING BEFORE SENDING IT TO CARACAS FOR A FAVORABLE OPINION.

3. (L) INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ HAS CAUTIOUSLY REMAINED EVASIVE WHEN PRESSED TO CONFIRM THE PRESENCE IN CHILE OF TOP MIRISTA PASCAL ALLENDE. SECURITY SERVICES CONTINUE TO BRIEF THE PRESS ABOUT MIR OPERATIONS AS ALLEGEDLY DISCOVERED IN THE EL ARRAYAN RAID (SANTIAGO 5495). AS DESCRIBED IN OVERBLOWN NEWS HEADLINES, THE MIR HAD
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MIR AND THE NEED FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO RETAIN AUTHORITY TO EXTIRPATE THE TERRORIST MINORITY.

4. (C) AN AUGUST 13 REPORT THAT 66 YEAR OLD SOCIALIST LEADER IN COQUIMBO CHOSE TO BLOW HIMSELF UP WITH GRENADES RATHER THAN FACE CAPTURE WILL RAISE EYEBROWS, COMING SO QUICKLY ON THE HEELS OF AN ALLEGED SIMILAR SUICIDE DURING THE EL ARRAYAN RAID. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT TWO TO THREE EXTREMISTS DIED UNDER MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES EARLY IN 1978, FILLING THE HUMAN RIGHTS CIRCUIT WITH NEVER-CONFIRMED, BUT PLAUSIBLE, RUMORS THAT SECURITY SERVICES HAD FOUND ANOTHER TECHNIQUE FOR ELIMINATING OPPONENTS.

5. (L) BUENOS AIRES REFTEL REPORTED THAT A URUGUAYAN MOTHER OF A PERSON MISSING IN ARGENTINA SINCE 1976 HAD LOCATED HER TWO GRANDCHILDREN IN VALPARAISO, CHILE. LOCAL PRESS ACCOUNTS EMPHASIZED THE PLIGHT OF THE ADOPTIVE CHILEAN

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05631 02 OF 02 142302Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5631

PARENTS WHO ARE SEEKING TO RETAIN CUSTODY. BARELY MENTIONED INN LOCAL ACCOUNTS WAS THE SPECTER RAISED BY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS IN BRAZIL AND THE REST OF THE SOUTHERN CONE INSINUATING THAT INTELLIGENCE SERVICES WERE IN THE BABY BUSINESS -- TRANSPORTIING INFANTS OF APPREHENDED VICTIMS ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS. ACCORDING TO CHILEAN ACCOUNTS, HOWEEVER, IT APPEARS EQUALLY PLAUSIBLE THAT THE CHILDREN WERE BROUGHT TO CHILE BY ACQUAINTANCES OF THE MISSING EXTREMISTS RATHER THAN BY SECURITY SERVICES.

6. (U) AN ARGENTINE GRANDMOTHER MADE A WELL-PUBLICIZED TRIP TO CHILE TO FOLLOW UP REPORTS THAT HER RELATIVE HAD BEEN ADOPTED BY ANOTHER CHILEAN COUPLE; HER TREK WAS UNSUCCESSFUL. MEANWHILE, THE CHILEAN ORGANIZATION OF MISSING PERSONS CREATED A SUBGROUP DEDICATED TO SEARCHING FOR THE POSSIBLE OFFSPRING OF CHILEEAN WOMEN PREGNANT AT THE TIME OF THEIR DISAPPEARANCE.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05631 02 OF 02 142302Z

SARY FORCE WHICH RESULTED IN "DEATH" OF FIFTEEN MEN FOUND IN THE LIME KILN AT LONQUEN OBTAINED RELEASE ON BAIL AS THE RESULT OF A 4-1 MILITARY APPEALS COURT DECISION EARLY IN AUGUST.. COURTS ARE STILL CONSIDERING THE POLICEMEN'S RE-

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QUEST THAT THE APRIL, 1978, AMNESTY LAW BE APPLIED TO THEIR CASE AT THIS POINT. MEANWHILE, RELATIVES OF A MAN WHO DISAPPEARED A FEW WEEKS BEFORE THE DETENTION OF THE FIFTEEN LONQUEN VICTIMS IN OCTOBER, 1973, HAVE CHARGED THAT SEVERAL OF THE EIGHT CARABINEROS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS DISAPPEARANCE AS WELL.

8. (L) A SPECIAL INVESTIGATING JUDGGE LOOKING INTO DISSAPPEARANCES IN THE CONCEPCION AREA IS DEVOTING SPECIAL ATTENTION TO FIFTEEN CASES. RELATIVES OF THE VICTIMS HAVE FILED A PETITION IDENTIFYING A DOZEN CARABINEROS THEY ASSERT WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTIONS. AS IN THE LONQUEN CASE, POLICE ACKNOWLEDGE DETENTIONS IN SOME OF THE CASES BUT CLAIM THEY TURNED THEM OVER TO OTHER SECURITY SERVICES (WHICH, IN TURN, CLAIM NO RECORD); UNLIKE LONQUEN, HOWEVER, THE BODIES HAVE NOT BEEN DISCOVERED.
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2000000044).
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
( ) Declassify ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date ( ) Declassify on ( ) Reason

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RUESDO/AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO 1974
RUEHZP/AMEMBASSY PANAMA 2632
RUESUP/AMCONSUL SAO PAULO 416
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[redacted] SANTIAGO 5631

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U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
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The Embassy of Chile presents its compliments to the Department of State and upon instructions from its Government, has the honor to refer to Note No.72 of the Embassy of the United States of America in Santiago, dated November 17, 1978, and to the responding note of the Chilean Ministry for Foreign Relations, dated January 16, 1979, relating to the case of Letelier, et al. v. Central Nacional de Informaciones, et al. (Civil Action 78-1477) in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

2.- More than six months has elapsed since the Chilean Ministry presented its note concerning this matter. In the intervening time, the Government of Chile has not been informed of the position of the United States or of the District Court with respect to the points raised in that note, and, in particular, it has not been advised if the case in question has been dismissed for lack of jurisdiction.

3.- Since its above mentioned note of January 16, 1979, the Chilean Ministry for Foreign Relations has studied further the legal considerations, both international and municipal, which are relevant to the jurisdictional issue. The results of this study are incorporated in a "Memorandum of Law" which is annexed to this note. The Memorandum makes two essential points:

(a) The District Court like courts in other countries has the authority to determine its own jurisdiction; without jurisdiction the court lacks power to maintain the civil action. Under the relevant statute (the United States Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act) as well as under international law upon which the statute is based, it is clear that the court lacks jurisdiction in this case.

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(b) The exercise of jurisdiction would involve inquiry into alleged acts attributed by the amended complaint to the Republic of Chile and portrayed in that complaint as political decisions. Adjudication of the validity of such allegations formulated in a complaint against a foreign State, is outside the jurisdiction which a local court may exercise with respect to a foreign State, both under international public law and under the "Act of State Doctrine" applied by the United States courts.

4.- The Embassy of Chile understands that it is the policy of the Department of State, in cases involving the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, that a diplomatic note presented by a foreign government concerning the assertion of jurisdiction under this statute is transmitted by the Department of State to the appropriate court. In accordance with this policy, the Embassy begs leave to request that a copy of this note and the annexed Memorandum of Law be transmitted to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, so that the Court may be further aware of the position taken by the Republic of Chile in this matter.

The Embassy has been instructed to emphasize that an exercise of jurisdiction in this case would be contrary to legal authority and would be without precedent in international law or practice. Although there is a shared concern to bring all the guilty parties to justice in accordance with the law, this objective cannot justify an unwarranted assertion of one nation's judicial processes against another sovereign nation.

The Embassy request that it be advised by the Department of State of the decision by the District

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Court on these questions of jurisdiction, so that, if the position of the Republic of Chile is not accepted, the Government of Chile may consider alternative means of resolving the jurisdictional dispute that would then exist between two sovereign States. In the Chilean note of January 16, 1979, the Chilean Ministry for Foreign Relations suggested the possibility of international adjudication, and the Chilean Embassy would welcome an indication from the Department of State as to whether the United States is prepared to submit to international adjudication any jurisdictional dispute which may arise as a result of a United States judicial decision in this matter.

The Embassy of Chile avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Department of State the assurances of its highest and most distinguished consideration.

EMBAJADA DE CHILE
WASHINGTON

Washington, D.C., AUG 14 1979

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ANNEX

MEMORANDUM OF LAW

The Republic of Chile and one of its government departments, the Central Nacional de Informaciones, have been named as defendants in a civil legal proceeding that has been brought before the United States District Court for the District of Columbia in a case entitled Letelier, et al. v. Central Nacional de Informaciones, et al. (Civil Action 78-1477).

This memorandum presents legal authorities in support of the position that the Republic of Chile and its government departments cannot be subjected to the jurisdiction of a United States court in this case. First, the District Court in this case lacks jurisdiction over a sovereign nation with respect to the type of claims which have been asserted. Second, an exercise of jurisdiction by the District Court in this particular case would implicitly call into question the position taken and representations made by the Republic of Chile with respect to the crime that has been committed, and would involve judicial inquiry into alleged acts, policies and motivations of the Chilean Government, in violation of the Act of State Doctrine as applied by United States courts.

In demonstrating that the District Court cannot properly exercise jurisdiction, the following facts are relevant to the analysis:

1.- On September 21, 1976, Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt were slain by a bomb while in an automobile in the District of Columbia.

2.- In the aftermath of this crime, the Republic of Chile has conducted its own investigation and has assisted United States authorities in their investigations. In the latter regard, the Republic of Chile has taken the

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extraordinary step of allowing United States prosecutors to come to Chile and to interrogate, in Chile, officers and employees of the Chilean Government. The Republic of Chile also expelled from Chile Michael Vernon Townley, an action which ensured his entering into the custody of United States authorities and his becoming the principal witness in the criminal prosecutions which are occurring in the United States.

3.- The Republic of Chile has taken the position and has represented both to the United States Government as well as publicly that it was not responsible for these crimes. The highest officials of the Chilean Government have stated publicly that no Chilean official was in any way authorized to commit the alleged acts that are the basis of the civil action that has been brought in the District of Columbia, or to engage others to commit these acts.

4.- On August 1, 1978, a criminal indictment against several individuals was brought in the District of Columbia concerning the same events. On August 23, 1978, an amended complaint was filed in the pending civil action.

5.- With respect to the individual defendants in the civil action, the amended complaint essentially presents a claim for wrongful death, the plaintiffs being survivors of the deceased victims. Any recovery that would be available to survivors appears to be governed by the District of Columbia Code.

6.- The amended complaint in the civil action attempts to implicate the Republic of Chile itself in the crime for which certain individuals have been indicted, by attempting to portray the crime as involving a political decision by a sovereign nation. For example, the amended

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complaint alleges not only that a sovereign nation was responsible for two murders, but that these alleged actions were part of a conspiracy for the "purpose of depriving" of their rights "persons opposed to the lawless and inhumane actions of the government of the Republic of Chile" (Amended Complaint, paragraph 7); that a sovereign nation allegedly committed these crimes "willfully, maliciously, deliberately and intentionally" (Amended Complaint, paragraph 9); that a sovereign nation allegedly "violated the norms of the law of nations, including but not limited to acts of torture, unlawful confinement and assassination" and allegedly "assassinated and caused the assassination" of the slain victims (Amended Complaint, paragraph 13); and that a sovereign nation allegedly made "a violent attack" upon an internationally protected person (Amended Complaint, paragraph 15).

7.- On November 17, 1978, the Embassy of the United States of America in Santiago, Chile, delivered a Diplomatic Note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile, to which were attached certain judicial documents purporting to serve legal process on the Republic of Chile in the civil action pending in the District of Columbia. On January 16, 1979, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered a Diplomatic Note in response to the Embassy's communication. The Ministry's Note rejected the purported service and returned the original judicial documents to the Embassy of the United States of America. In so doing, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took the position that the District Court from which the documents originated lacked jurisdiction in a matter of this nature, and stated also that "the Republic of Chile cannot in this matter permit itself to be subjected to the inquiries of a national court of another state, or to permit such a court implicitly to question the statements made by the Chilean

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Government concerning this crime." It was requested that the Note be transmitted to the District Court "so that the Court may be aware of the position taken by the Republic of Chile in this matter."

8.- On September 20, 1978, one month after the filing of the amended complaint in the civil action, the Embassy of the United States of America in Santiago, Chile, presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a request for extradition under the Treaty on Extradition between the United States and Chile of 1902. The request and supporting documents sought the extradition to the United States of three Chilean nationals who were indicted in the related criminal case and who are defendants in the pending civil action: former Colonel Juan Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, former Major Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and former Army Lieutenant Armando Fernandez Larios. On the following day, September 21, 1978, the Ministry transmitted the request and supporting documents to the Supreme Court of Chile, and it so advised the Embassy of the United States, noting that the Supreme Court of Chile, like the United States Supreme Court, was separate from and independent of the executive branch of the government, and that the extradition request was under Chilean law to be decided in the first instance by the President of the Supreme Court of Chile in accordance with the relevant Treaty.

9.- On May 13, 1979, the President of the Supreme Court of Chile announced his decision that, under the relevant Treaty, the request for extradition had to be denied. The decision noted that under Article 1 of the 1902 Treaty on Extradition, it was required that the evidence in support of the extradition request be assessed "according to the laws of the place" where the persons charged are found; that under Chilean law testimony obtained in exchange for a bargained plea cannot be the basis for a conviction; that under Article 5 of the Treaty, neither Chile nor the United

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States are "bound to deliver up its own citizens or subjects"; that the United States Supreme Court has previously ruled that the United States President lacks the authority to extradite U.S. citizens under a similar treaty provision, Valentine v. U.S. ex rel. Neidecker, 299 U.S. 5, October Term, 1936; and that in view of the military status of the three individuals concerned, a certified copy of this decision would be transmitted to the Second Military Court in Santiago for appropriate proceedings "to investigate what responsibility may be charged to Fernandez, Espinoza, and Contreras in the homicides of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt". The attorney representing the United States Government in the extradition proceedings in Chile has appealed this decision to the Supreme Court. This appeal is now pending.

10.- The Republic of Chile has not yet been informed whether the District Court in the civil action has made a decision as to its own jurisdiction, in light of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs note of January 16, 1979.

In view of this background, the following legal points must be considered.

THE DISTRICT COURT LACKS JURISDICTION

1.- The Court Must Determine Its Jurisdiction in Cases Involving A Foreign Sovereign

It is an elementary legal principle that a court may not exercise judicial authority unless it has jurisdiction. Under United States law, federal courts must establish that they have "subject matter jurisdiction." A United States

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district court may at any time, and at its own initiative, determine whether it has subject matter jurisdiction. Louisville & Nashville Railroad v. Mottley, 211 U.S. 149, October Term, 1908. Thus, in Mellos v. Brownell, 250 F.2d 35, United States Court of Appeals, District of Columbia Circuit, decided November 27, 1957, the Court of Appeals concluded that jurisdiction "may be raised at any time, by the parties or by the court sua sponte," and it dismissed the suit because the United States was entitled to immunity -- it had not "consented" to be sued.

In cases involving foreign sovereigns, subject matter jurisdiction is determined under section 1330(a) of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, United States Code, Title 28, Section 1330(a) which states:

> The district court shall have original jurisdiction... of any nonjury civil action against a foreign state... as to any claim for relief in personam with respect to which the foreign state is not entitled to immunity... under Sections 1605-1607 of this title... /Underscoring added./

The legislative material accompanying this statute indicates that an action is to be dismissed for lack of jurisdiction where "the foreign state is entitled to sovereign immunity." House of Representatives Report No. 94-1487, September 9, 1976, page 13.

Therefore, the District Court must determine that the Republic of Chile is not entitled to sovereign immunity in order to determine that it has jurisdiction. This determination in each case is necessary because, as suggested in the legislative material, "a disparate treatment of cases involving foreign governments may have adverse foreign relations consequences." House of Representatives Report No. 94-1487, September 9, 1976, page 13.

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The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act makes a distinction between establishing jurisdiction (where it must be determined whether a foreign state is "entitled" to immunity) and attempts by a foreign state to claim sovereign immunity as a separate defense. Even though a foreign state may have to meet certain burdens in support of a separate defense, the underlying jurisdiction of the court must be established through an inquiry into the entitlement of the foreign state concerned to immunity under sections 1605-1607 of the statute.

2.- There is No Jurisdiction Under Sections 1330(a) and 1605(a)(5) of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act

Since the existence of jurisdiction depends upon a determination that the Republic of Chile is "not entitled to immunity... under sections 1605-1607" of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, one must examine the latter provisions relating to immunity. With respect to the Letelier civil action, the only relevant provision relating to the non-entitlement to immunity is Section 1605(a)(5) of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. Indeed, the Amended Complaint (paragraph 4) refers only to Section 1605(a)(5) as a basis for concluding that the Republic of Chile and CNI are not entitled to immunity.

Section 1605(a)(5) relates to claims based upon private "torts". As stated in the legislative material, "Section 1605(a)(5) is directed primarily at the problem of traffic accidents but is cast in general terms as applying to all tort actions for money damages...". The legislative material states also:

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> The purpose of section 1605(a)(5) is to permit the victim of a traffic accident or other non-commercial tort to maintain an action against a foreign state to the extent otherwise provided by law.

House of Representatives Report No. 94-1487, September 9, 1976, page 21.

Recent decisions by United States courts interpreting this provision demonstrate that Section 1605(a)(5) relates to private torts, particularly traffic accidents, and clearly does not cover scurrilous allegations of political assassinations and similar assertions designed to implicate a foreign sovereign in a crime. In particular, these U.S. decisions emphasize that the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act denies immunity only with respect to commercial and private acts, and not with respect to acts which are alleged to be of a governmental or political origin or nature.

Thus, in Carey v. National Oil Corp., 453 F. Supp. 1097, United States District Court, S.D. New York, June 15, 1978, it was stated:

> The structure of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act leaves no question that non-commercial activities of a foreign state will be treated with the same deference to which they were entitled before 1976. (page 1102)

A similar principle was announced in Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency, 443, F. Supp. 849, United States District Court, S.D. New York, January 23, 1978. In that case, a Soviet dissident brought a suit claiming that two Soviet news agencies, TASS and Novosti, had engaged in political attacks against his reputation which constituted libel. After noting that the particular claim of libel was

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expressly exempted under one provision of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, the Court then considered a second immunity provision -- Section 1605(a)(2) -- and whether the plaintiff's claim was of a commercial/private character or of a governmental/political character. The Court concluded that although it was opposed to the political tone of the TASS and Novosti articles, it nevertheless had to conclude that the publication of Soviet political commentary constituted "an activity whose essential nature is public or governmental." (at page 857) The claims pending against the Republic of Chile are much more extreme in two respects. First, the Republic of Chile, unlike TASS and Novosti, has repeatedly reaffirmed that it did not engage in the acts that are alleged in the Complaint. Second, Plaintiffs' efforts to implicate the Republic of Chile in the civil action have led the plaintiffs to allege that a political assassination has occurred -- clearly an allegation whose essential nature is not private or commercial.

In Gittler v. German Information Service, 408 N.Y.S. 2d 600, Supreme Court, Special Term, New York County, Part I, June 20, 1978, the Court concluded that the engagement of a public relations consultant "in connection with fostering cultural relations in promoting understanding between Germany and the United States" was not of a private or commercial nature under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act.

Cases decided prior to the enactment of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act are also relevant. As stated in the legislative material, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act in the area of jurisdictional immunities simply "codified" the preexisting law in the United States as followed by the courts and the executive branch. House of Representatives Report No. 94-1487, September 9, 1976, page 7.

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Thus, in Heaney v. Government of Spain, 445, F.2d 501, United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, July 2, 1971, the Court concluded that a foreign state's engaging of a private individual to create political propaganda against a third country clearly fell within the category of strictly political or public acts for which a foreign state is entitled to immunity. (page 503) The Court then considered the argument of the appellants that political conduct which was improper should not give rise to immunity. The Court rejected that argument:

> We are likewise unable to accept appellant's alternative contention that even if the acts in question may be characterized as political, they are political acts of a sort which are incompatible with the appropriate exercise of diplomatic functions by a foreign sovereign in this country and therefore unprotected by whatever immunity Spain might otherwise enjoy...
> But even assuming that there were some basis (for contending that Spain's actions were improper or unlawful), we are not persuaded that the suggested conclusion would follow... Rather, to condition a foreign sovereign's immunity on the outcome of a preliminary judicial evaluation of the propriety of its political conduct, with the attendant risks of embarassment at the highest diplomatic levels, would frustrate the very purpose of the doctrine itself. (page 504)

The present civil action presents an even more extreme political situation because the Government of Chile's involvement in the events giving rise to the action has been categorically denied.

In summary, the allegations appearing in the amended complaint cannot be fitted into a "commercial or private" framework. It is only be alleging conduct of a political character that the amended complaint can attempt to implicate the Republic of Chile.

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3.- Jurisdiction Must Also be Denied Under International Law, Upon Which the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act Is Based

The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act provisions on jurisdictional immunities are based on international law. This is made clear in the legislative material. House of Representatives Report No. 94-1487 states that the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act codifies the restrictive principle of sovereign immunity "as presently recognized in international law" (page 7); that "the United States has found that sovereign immunity is a question of international law" (page 9); that "sovereign immunity is a doctrine of international law" (page 8); and that the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act provides "a statutory regime which incorporates standards recognized under international law" (page 14).

International law, in particular court decisions in other countries, reaffirms the distinction between commercial/private and governmental/political claims that is embodied in the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. The following list of decisions from several nations shows that alleged conduct not of a purely private character cannot be the basis for asserting jurisdiction over a foreign sovereign:

Immunity of United Kingdom from Jurisdiction Case, 24 International Law Reports 207 (Federal Republic of Germany: Ct. of App. Schleswig, March 26, 1957). In that case, an individual accompanying the British forces in Germany following World War II was sent to the Soviet Zone in Germany to bring back certain arms and military plans. He was arrested by Soviet forces, sustained injuries, and subsequently brough suit against the United Kingdom in a

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West German court. The court concluded that even though one might attempt to portray the plaintiff's claim as being "of a private character," the claim in fact alleged "performance of sovereign functions by the British Army" and thus the United Kingdom was immune from suit.

The Ditta Pomante v. Federal Republic of Germany, 40 International Law Report 64 (Italy: Civil Ct. L'Aquila, December 7, 1960). This was an action for wrongful conversion and alleged breach of a contract committed by the German Military Command in Italy during World War II. The plaintiff, who had provided timber to the Nazi forces, claimed he had not been paid. The court stated that the distinction between private and political claims must be respected:

> "The efforts of counsel for the plaintiff to endow with contractual and private law characteristics something which ... seems to be and is no more and no less that a requisitioning of works and services for the benefit of the occupying forces, must therefore fail ..."

The Italian court concluded that since the claim was based on alleged exercise of sovereign and political power, the foreign state was immune from suit.

Societe Anonyme Eau, Gaz, Electricite et Applications v. Office D'Aide Mutuelle, 23 International Law Reports 205 (Belgium: Ct. of App. Brussels, January 25, 1956). The plaintiff suffered damages in a traffic accident involving a British military truck transporting troops. The court concluded that claims relating to the transport of troops on the order of a foreign government did not involve private wrongs, and that the foreign state was entitled to immunity.

Henon V. Egyptian Government and British Admiralty,

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[1947] Annual Digest 78 (Egypt: Civil Tribunal Mixed Courts, April, 1947). Plaintiff's villa was requisitioned by the British Forces in Egypt during World War II. Extensive damage was done to the villa and plaintiff brought suit after the war. The court dismissed the suit on grounds of immunity.

The Hanna I, 15 International Law Reports 146 (Norway: Supreme Court, August 18, 1948). A maritime lien was asserted against a ship, alleging that the ship had negligently caused damages after it had been requisitioned by the German Occupation authorities in Norway during World War II. The court recognized immunity even though the ship had subsequently been returned to private activities.

U Kyaw Din v. The British Government, [1956] 23 International Law Reports 209 (Burma: High Court of Rangoon, July 14, 1948). Immunity accorded in a tort action relating to the destruction of property by the British forces when evacuating Rangoon in 1942.

The countries of Latin America have consistently taken an even stronger position with respect to the immunities of foreign states than have the countries of North America and Western Europe. Virtually all countries of Latin America are parties to the Inter-American Convention on Private International Law of 1928 (Bustamante Code). Under Articles 333-335 of this international treaty, foreign states are entitled to immunity except in cases involving a claim with respect to real property, a waiver of immunity, or a counter-claim.

It should be noted that the Republic of Chile is a party to this treaty and, indeed, has incorporated its

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provisions into Chilean domestic law. Codigo de Derecho Internacional Privado, art. 333-335. Under this codification, the Republic of Chile extends a broad immunity to all foreign states in accordance with the immunity principles of the Inter-American Convention on Private International Law. A refinement to this approach is contained in a recent enactment in Chile which states:

> Any foreign state and its organizations, institutions and enterprises will be able to ask for immunity from jurisdiction and from execution in Chile, according to the circumstances of the case, on the same terms and with equal breadth and identical exceptions as are recognized in its own legislation in favor of the State of Chile or its organizations, institutions and enterprises.

Decree Law No. 2.349 of October 13, 1978, art. 90.

These principles, which clearly extend immunity for claims alleging political or governmental conduct, have been applied in Latin American judicial decisions. Thus, the Supreme Court of Uruguay recognized immunity of a foreign state in a case involving the construction of a government railway. Sociedad Europea de Estudios y Empresas, S.A. v. Government of the Peoples Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Judgment of the Supreme Court of Justice, Uruguay, Anuario Uruguayo de Derecho Internacional, 247 (1962).

The United States a few years ago benefitted from these rules of immunity in a case involving the discharge of a Brazilian national by the United States Information Service in Brazil. United States Information Service v. Torres Brandao, Judgment of May 4, 1967, Tribunal Superior do Trabalho, Brazil, reported in A. Dias da Silva, Direito Processual Internacional, 193 (1971).

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All of these authorities demonstrate that unless a claim is clearly of a private nature, a foreign state is entitled to immunity. Certainly, the more extreme claims in the pending civil suit -- claims of political assassination, of conspiracy, of malicious and deliberate assault with intent to murder a political opponent -- do not involve the clearly private claims to which a sovereign nation may be subjected under international law and which are contemplated in the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act.

In summary, the joining of the Republic of Chile is based upon various alleged acts which are portrayed in the complaint as political conduct of a foreign sovereign. Wholly apart from the absence of any basis for this imputation, it must be pointed out that it cannot be concluded that the Republic of Chile "is not entitled to immunity under Section 1605-1607" of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Acts, because the amended complaint with respect to the Republic of Chile is not based upon allegations of commercial or private acts. Consequently, jurisdiction does not exist under United States Code, Title 28, Section 1330(a) and the civil action against the Republic of Chile must be dismissed.

THE DISTRICT COURT MAY NOT EXERCISE JURISDICTION BECAUSE OF THE ACT OF THE STATE DOCTRINE

The Act of State Doctrine is a longstanding principle of American law under which United States courts decline to adjudicate cases relating to the acts, conduct and policies of foreign governments. The United States Supreme Court in the case of Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Sabbatino, 376 U.S. 398, October Term, 1963, stated that the Act of State Doctrine has "constitutional underpinnings"

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(at page 423).

In the earlier case of Oetjen v. Central Leather Co., 246 U.S. 297, October Term, 1917, the Supreme Court stated:

> The principle that the conduct of one independent government cannot be successfully questioned in the courts of another is as applicable to a case involving the title to property brought within the custody of a court, such as we have here, as it was held to be to the cases cited, in which claims for damages were based upon acts done in a foreign country, for it rests at last upon the highest consideration of international comity and expediency. To permit the validity of the acts of one sovereign State to be reexamined and perhaps condemned by the courts of another would very certainly "imperil the amicable relations between governments and vex the peace of nations." (at pages 303-304).

These principles received additional explanation in the recent case of Hunt v. Mobil Oil Corp., 550 F. 2d 68, United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, decided January 12, 1977. In that decision, the Court of Appeals concluded that the Act of State Doctrine precluded United States courts from making inquiry into the "motivation" and "policies" of the Libyan Government. The Court Stated:

> The American judiciary is being asked to make inquiry into the subtle and delicate issue of the policy of a foreign sovereign, ... precluded by the act of state doctrine as well as the realities of the fact-finding competence of the court in an issue of far-reaching national concern. (at page 77)

The Court of Appeals noted that the United States Department of State had condemned the Libyan actions which were involved in the case, and concluded that this was an additional reason for the Court not to exercise jurisdiction. Then the Court stated:

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> Even if the Department of State had not spoken, the inquiry required by the third claim in this private litigation is hardly within the fact-finding competence of the judicial branch...
> This necessarily would require a wholesale examination of Libyan policy--how did it treat other companies, what provoked its displeasure, how far could concessions by Hunt appease President al-Qadhafi... To dismiss this examination as an issue of fact and not of law and therefore beyond the ambit of the act of state doctrine is, in our view, neither conceptually nor pragmatically sound. (at page 78)

The same considerations apply to the pending civil action.—The Republic of Chile has repeatedly represented, both diplomatically and publicly, that it was not responsible for the crimes which have occurred, and that no Chilean official was in any way authorized to commit those acts or to engage others to do so.

If the District Court were to exercise jurisdiction in the pending civil action, it would be implicitly questioning the foregoing representations--representations which have been made in Chile by the highest officials of the Chilean Government.

In addition, judicial inquiry into these representations as well as into the amended complaint would require the District Court to "find facts" relating to events which occurred in Chile. The amended complaint in effect alleges that the Republic of Chile directed a United States citizen (Townley) and several Cuban nationals to commit a crime -- and that this alleged direction of a crime was committed by Chilean officers within Chile. Thus, the district Court would not only be making inquiry into the representations made in Chile, but also into claims cocerning alleged events in Chile.

Finally, as in the case of Hunt v. Mobil Oil Corp.,

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the amended complaint makes allegations concerning the motivation and policies of a sovereign nation. It alleged that a sovereign nation commited crimes and did so "willingly, maliciously, deliberately and intentionally." It alleges a "conspiracy" by a sovereign nation, that crimes were allegedly committed as part of alleged policies to deny fundamental rights, "to silence those opposed to its policies," and to commit other wrongful acts.

There can be no more extreme example than this case, where a United States court is being asked to inquire into the motivations and policies of another sovereign state. When these considerations are added to the other reasons for applying the Act of State Doctrine discussed above, it becomes clear that the Doctrine precludes an exercise of jurisdiction in this situation.

CONCLUSIONS

I. The District Court lacks jurisdiction under United States Code, Title 28, Section 1330(a).

II. Even if jurisdiction were found to exist --which would be an improper result-- nevertheless such jurisdiction could not be exercised because the claims would require judicial review of the acts, representations, policies and motivation of a foreign sovereign -- judicial endeavors prohibited by the Act of State Doctrine.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

No. 55

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile and transmits herewith three duly certified requests for international judicial assistance issued by the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia. The District Court requests the appropriate judicial authority in the Republic of Chile to cause to be served the enclosed Summonses and Complaints upon Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios; to complete the respective "Certificates of Service" once it has done so; and, to have them returned to this Embassy for transmission to the District Court.

The enclosures to this note include copies in English and Spanish of the respective requests for international judicial assistance and the appropriate format for the certifications, as well as duplicate copies of the Summonses and Complaints in both languages.

It should be noted that the Courts of the United States of America are authorized by statute, Section 196, Title 28, United States Code, to extend similar assistance to the Tribunals of the Republic of Chile in like cases. Further, the District Court stands ready to reimburse the Chilean judicial authority for all expenses incurred in executing this specific request for judicial assistance.

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The Embassy of the United States of America avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the assurances of its highest consideration.

Embassy of the United States of America

Santiago, August 21, 1979

POL:DHClare:lgj 8/21/79

POL:REService

CONS:ASMacias

Translation:EAlvarado

Approved:DCM:CWGrover

AMB:GWLandau

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No. 55

La Embajada de los Estados Unidos de América saluda muy atentamente al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República de Chile y transmite adjunto tres solicitudes, debidamente certificadas, de asistencia judicial internacional emitidas por la Corte Distrital de los Estados Unidos para el Distrito de Columbia. La Corte Distrital solicita a la autoridad judicial competente en la República de Chile se sirva disponer la notificación de Emplazamiento y Demanda adjunta a Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, y Armando Fernandez Larios; que se completen los respectivos "Certificados de Notificación" una vez efectuadas las diligencias; y que sean devueltas a esta Embajada para ser transmitidas a la Corte Distrital.

Los documentos adjuntos a esta nota incluyen copias en inglés y castellano de las respectivas solicitudes de asistencia judicial internacional y el formulario apropiado para la certificación, así como también duplicados del Emplazamiento y Demanda en ambos idiomas.

Debe notarse que las Cortes de los Estados Unidos de América están facultadas por ley, Sección 196, Título 28, Código de los Estados Unidos, para brindar asistencia similar a los Tribunales de la República de Chile en casos análogos. Además, la Corte Distrital está dispuesta a reembolsar a la autoridad judicial

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CORTE SUPREMA
CHILE
22 AGO. 1979

FORMULA OBSERVACIONES A LOS DOCUMENTOS QUE INDICA

Exema. Corte,

ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY, abogado patrocinante y entre-
presentación del Gobierno de Los Estados Unidos, en autos in-
greso 3-78 sobre extradición pasiva de JUAN MANUEL CONTRERAS
SEPULVEDA Y OTROS, a US[illegible] digo:

Iniciada la vista de la causa, durante los
alegatos, la defensa de los acusados CONTRERAS y ESPINOZA a-
compañó diversos documentos y presentó no menos de siete es-
critos con observaciones sobre el fondo de la causa y sobre
el alegato de esta defensa.

Con fecha 13 de Agosto US. dictó una resolución
por la cual decretó diversas diligencias para mejor resolver
del fallo y entre ellas, con la letra (i) concedió a esta de-
fensa conocimiento de los antecedentes presentados por la de-
fensa de CONTRERAS y ESPINOZA.

Habiendo tomado conocimiento de tales antecedentes
y documentos, esta defensa estima del caso formular las
siguientes observaciones:

1) Sobre los documentos

a) Documentos de fs. 849 y 850 son fotocopias
de recortes de publicaciones efectuadas en el Diario "O Globo"
de Río de Janeiro, Brasil, los días 17 y 23 de Junio de 1979.
Suponiendo que ellos fueran auténticos, ninguna relación tie-
nen con los factores que la ley ordena tomar en consideración
para otorgar o denegar la extradición solicitada. Por lo que
toca al fondo de las declaraciones que allí se contienen de los
señores PROPPER y MARCELA, ellas fueron oportunamente objeta-

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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no confidenciales, reservados o secretos, van codificados mediante el empleo de claves diferentes y exclusivas. Tratándose de mensajes secretos o reservados, aquellos que sean cifrados y descifrados personalmente por el remitente y el destinatario. Solo estos últimos podrían entonces garantizar la autenticidad del mensaje, pero con ello dejarían al descubierto un sistema criptográfico castrense nacional y lo que hace inconcebible que algunos de ellos ya hayan entregado a CONTRERAS. Obsérvese la mención "CRIPTO" en el texto de la supuesta telex.

Por lo demás, se trataría en todo caso de un mensaje de una autoridad judicial militar chilena a la misión también militar de Chile en Washington, que en nada afecta a las autoridades norteamericanas ni a las autoridades de Gobierno o judiciales chilenas vinculadas a la extradición solicitada. Y además, con la sola lectura del supuesto telex nuestro que, aun suponiendo lo auténtico, sólo significaría una diligencia de investigación de la Fiscalía ad hoc, frente a la explicación dada por CONTRERAS acerca de la misión ante WALTERS, cuya veracidad desea el Fiscal comprobar. Por lo demás, las auto- declaraciones categóricamente negativas del General WALTERS en cuanto a cualquier gestión o intervención suya sobre el asunto materia [illegible] ya [illegible] nos remitimos.

2. Sobre los restantes antecedentes

Escrito de fs. 839. Nos merecen las siguientes observaciones:

1° Básicamente el escrito está destinado a demostrar la existencia de supuestas presiones de las autoridades norteamericanas. Tales presiones no han existido, pero en todo caso, nada tendrían que ver con la concurrencia o ausencia de los requisitos que la ley exige para otorgar

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puestos medios de fortuna cuantiosos por parte de TOWNLEY, ya que el cheque no se pagó y fue protestado por cuenta cerrada.

En fin, se trata de un documento absolutamente irrelevante en relación con la extradición solicitada, pues no se refiere, ni siquiera indirectamente, a los requisitos que la ley y el Tratado establecen para otorgar o denegar la extradición.

f) Documento de fs. 848. Se trata de una supuesta copia fotostática del acuerdo de 7 de Abril de 1978 entre los señores EARL J. SILBERT, Fiscal de los Estados Unidos y en representación de este país, y ENRIQUE MONTERO, Subsecretario del Interior, como representante del Gobierno de Chile. No consta a esta defensa que dicha fotocopia corresponda realmente al documento original. Para tales efectos el tribunal de USE. ha citado al Sr. MONTERO, firmante del mismo, a la presencia judicial. No obstante, es cierto que un acuerdo de esta naturaleza se firmó en la fecha indicada entre aquellas personas, y que en lo sustancial, sus términos son los que se contienen en el documento de fs. 848.

g) Documento de fs. 897. Se trataría de la copia de un cable o telex enviado por el General OROZCO, Fiscal instructor ad hoc en el proceso 192-78 de la Justicia Militar, al jefe de la Misión Militar de Chile en Washington al 4 de Abril de 1978. Sobre este documento debemos señalar en primer término que su autenticidad no aparece certificada ni reconocida, ni por su firmante, General OROZCO, ni por su destinatario, el jefe de la Misión Militar chilena en Washington. Además, su autenticidad resulta tanto más sospechosa cuanto que los telex provenientes del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional son recibidos en la Misión Militar chilena en Washington directamente en el aparato telex de que dispone. Los mensajes

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La defensa de los acusados (vuelve en este escrito a repetir por enésima vez las mismas argumentaciones ya hechas en torno de temas como el principio de identidad de la norma, el comienzo de ejecución del delito, la ley que rige la admisibilidad de la prueba). Respecto de estos temas estimamos que el debate está agotado y que dichos argumentos han sido contestados suficientemente en nuestras presentaciones anteriores sobre estos temas, a las cuales nos remitimos.

2°) No ha sostenido esta defensa que la sentencia de extradición sólo deba mencionar una causal de rechazo de la misma. Es evidente que si concurren varias, bien puede indicarlas todas. Lo que hemos sostenido, y creemos que con claridad, es que el rechazo en virtud de la cláusula opcional sobre nacionalidad sólo puede entrar a aplicarse cuando se admite que concurren todos los restantes requisitos para conceder la extradición. En otras palabras, cuando esta es la causal, ella es única. Y esto, en virtud de que ordinariamente el rechazo por la nacionalidad trae aparejada la obligación de juzgamiento local, en tanto que si falta alguno de los otros requisitos el acusado queda en libertad inmediata y no se le juzga. Es evidente que en este último caso (por ejemplo, si la acción está prescripta o el hecho no es delictivo para el Estado requerido) la circunstancia de ser además nacional no podría obrar en su perjuicio y obligar a someterlo a un juicio inútil.

3°) No es exacta la afirmación de que dentro del Art. 274 del C. de P. Penal el "delito" o "cuerpo del delito" sea lo que la doctrina penal llama el "tipo". El tipo es una descripción legal abstracta, en tanto que el cuerpo del delito es el "hecho punible" mismo. Podría en todo caso, ser

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caso Extradición de HUMBERTO URBINA (R.D.J. XXIV, 1523). Sin embargo, transcribe entre comillas (fs. 852 vta. línea 30, hasta fs. 853 línea 9) un párrafo que no forma parte de la sentencia, sino que está tomado del resumen doctrinal que hacen los redactores de la Revista antes del texto, y que en este caso no corresponde fielmente al contenido del fallo. En efecto, basta con leer los considerandos del mismo (que es muy breve) para darse cuenta de que los considerandos segundo y tercero dejan establecido que el artículo 5° del Tratado con los Estados Unidos considera facultativa la entrega de los nacionales, y que AGUIRRE (porque ese es su verdadero nombre) es chileno. Pero no se agrega nada, ni se fundamentan conclusiones o decisiones en ese hecho. En otras palabras el fallo se limita a advertir inicialmente que se encuentra ante un caso de extradición facultativa y no obligatoria, y nada más. Luego se dedica a examinar las exigencias del Tratado y encuentra en ellas el fundamento del rechazo, ya que las pruebas no acreditaban el cuerpo del delito, este último, en caso de estar probado, no era de los enumerados en el Tratado de Extradición, y por último, según la ley chilena, el reo está favorecido por una excusa legal absolutoria. La frase "en consecuencia, (refiriéndose a la cláusula opcional), no procede acoger la solicitud del Gobierno de Estados Unidos en que pide la extradición de un chileno, y con mayor razón [illegible] que se cita por la defensa de CONTRERAS, no figura en el fallo, y no corresponde al tenor de éste, ni a su contenido.

Es una afirmación gratuita que "con anterioridad al año 1944, de manera uniforme se denegó la extradición de chilenos, cuando no había Tratado sobre el particular" (fs. 860 vta.) y que en ese año se haya concedido por primera vez la extradición

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de un chileno. La defensa de CONTRERAS incurre en el mismo vicio que nos reprocha reiteradamente, esto es, el de hacer afirmaciones sin demostrarlas. No ha podido citar ni un solo caso anterior al año 1944 en que se haya rechazado la extradición de un chileno, por razón de su nacionalidad, que es el punto en debate. El único caso es el de DIAZ CHACON.

c) Escrito de fs. 862. Pretende explicar la flagrante contradicción entre la indagatoria de CONTRERAS y las conclusiones de las investigaciones practicadas por el Sr. Presidente instructor. Todo lo expresado en este escrito es simple invención de CONTRERAS, que para tener un mínimo de credibilidad requeriría por lo menos certificaciones oficiales de la C.N.I. en apoyo de lo que sostiene. No merece mayores comentarios.

d) Escrito de fs. 870. Se limita a acompañar el documento de fs. 871, al cual ya nos hemos referido en la primera parte de este escrito.

e) Escrito de fs. 872. Se limita a acompañar los documentos de fs. 873 a 893, ya comentados en la primera parte de este escrito.

f) Escrito de fs. 894. Se limita a acompañar los documentos de fs. 895 y 896, sobre los cuales nos remitimos a lo ya dicho en la primera parte de este escrito.

g) Escrito de fs. 898. Se limita a acompañar el documento de fs. 897, sobre el cual ya hemos efectuado observaciones precedentemente, a las cuales nos remitimos.

EN ESTA VIRTUD,

SIRVASE USE. tener por formuladas estas observaciones y tenerlas presente.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA004784

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 04784 01 OF 02 251137Z
ACTION ARA-15

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

R 231400Z AUG 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4094
INFO AMEMBASSY BOTOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4784

E.O. 12065: RDS-2 8/22/89 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (S) HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE WITH GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR--
PRELIMINARY EVALUATION

REF SAN SALVADOR 3271, 3297, AND 3328

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, WE HAVE BEENENGAGED IN A HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE WITH GOES. THIS CAME INTO BEING AS RESULT OF PRESIDENT ROMERO'S NAMING A COMMISSION (SAN SALVADOR 6290, 12/2/78) TO DISCUSS WITH US THE PROBLEMS ARISING IN THE GENERAL SECTOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04784 01 OF 02 251137Z

3. REPRESENTING GOES IN THE HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE HAVE BEE THE VICE PRESIDENT, FOREIGN MINISTER, PRESIDENT OF SUPREME COURT, MINISTEROF PLANNING, AND SUBSECRETARY OF DEFENSE. EMBASSY OFFICERS AND I HAVE REPRESENTED THE USG POINT OF VIEW.

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4. OUR BASIC INSTRUCTION HAS BEEN STATE 89568 # WHICH BY NOW, IN A SERIES OF DISCUSSION MEETINGS HAS BEEN RATHER FULLY CONVEYED TO OUR SALVADORAN COUNTERPARTS. AS A

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940031F

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Special Project (1993)

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MATTER OF FACT, BECAUSE OF THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND THE OCCURRENCE OF RELATED EVENTS, WE HAVE HAD TO GO BEYOND THE LITERAL TEXT OF THAT INSTRUCTION BUT HAVE BEEN CAREFUL ALWAYS TO DO SO IN A MANNER FULLY CONSISTENT WITH ITS SPIRIT AND INTENT.

5. AFTER HEARING US OUT IN PRESENTATIONOF THE USG POSITION, THE GOES COMMISSION JOINTLY SHARED IN THE TASK OF GIVING US A FORMAL REPLY. THIS WAS DONE ON JUNE 13, WAS GROUPED UNDER THE SAME THREE CATEGORY HEADINGS WHICH WE HAD USED, THAT IS CATEGORY HUMAN RIGHTS, CATEGORY II, AND CATEGORY III, AND HAS BEEN REPORTED TO THE DEPARTMENT IN THREE SEPARATE BUT RELATED TELEGRAMS, SS 3271, 3297 AND 3328. THE SINGLE OUTSTANDING ITEM REMAINS THE WRITTEN MEMORADUM PROMISED US BY SUBSECRETARY OF DEFENSE COL. IRAHETA CONFIRMING AND EXPANDING UPON HIS PRESENTATION RELATIVE TO CATEGORY I HUMAN RIGHTS AND THEIR VIOLATIONS. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY REMINDED COL. IRAHETA OF THIS, THE MEMORANDUM HAS YET TO REACH US. IN VIEW OF OUR EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL ADD RELATIVELY LITTLE TO HIS ORAL PRESENTATION, THE EMBASSSY CONCLUDES THAT IT SHOULD NOT FURTHER DELAY PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF THE HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE TO DATE.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 04784 01 OF 02 251137Z

6. OUR INITIAL EVALUATIVE COMMENT IS THAT THE GOES DESERVES CREDIT FOR ITS INITIATIVE IN RECOGNIZING THE APPROP ATENESS OF SUCH DISCUSSION AND FOR NAMING TO HIGH-LEVEL A COMMISSION TO UNDERTAKE SAME.

7. WE WOULD, SECONDLY, GIVE CREDIT TO THE HIGH-LEVEL GOES OFFICIALS FOR THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THEY HAVE APPROACHED THIS DIALOGUE, THE VERY CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TIME THEY HAVE PUT INTO IT, THE EFFORT WHICH THEY HAVE EXPENDED, AND THE COLLABORATIVE ATTITUDE WITH WHICH THEY HAVE ACCEPTED OUR INHERENTLY CRITICAL REMARKS AND ATTEMPTED TO RESPOND TO THEM.

8. WITH REGARD TO SUBSTANCE, WE WOULD RATE THE THREE SALVADORAN PRESENTATIONS IN VERY GENERAL TERMS AS FOLLOWS:

A. CATEGORY I HUMAN RIGHTS - COL. IRAHETA DID A SOLIDERLY JOB OF DENYING THE UNDENIABLE AND TRYING TO DEFEND THE INDEFENSIBLE (SS 3328). THERE CAN REALLY BE NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE GOES IS GUILTY OF SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF CATEGORY I HUMAN RIGHTS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT HAS NEVER ADMITTED TO ANY OF THESE, REJECTS CHARGES OF POLITICAL MURDERS, CHALLENGES THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DISAPPEARANCES, DENIES THAT IT HOLDS ANY POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND MAINTAINS THAT POLICE

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Special Project (1993)

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ARE STRICTLY ENJOINED AGAINST TORTURE OR MISTREATMENT OF THOSE ARRESTED. THE WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE AND ALLEGATION IS OVERWHELMINGLY TO THE CONTRARY, BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST ASK OURSELVES IF IT IS REASONABLE TO EXPECT A GOVERNMENT TO REPUDIATE ITS PUBLICLY EXPRESSED AND OFT REPEATED POSITION ON SUCH MATTERS. COL. IRAHETA DID HIS BEST TO CARVE OUT SOMETHINGOF A MIDDLE POSITION.

B. CATEGORY II HUMAN RIGHTS - MINISTER OF PLANNING REYES, [redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 04784 01 OF 02 251137Z

WITHSOME ASSISTONCE FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT, ARGUED STRONGLY AND SOMETIMES EMOTIONALLY THAT EL SALVADOR'S RECORD HERE IS CONSIDERABLY BETTER AND MORE DEFENSIBLE THAN WE DEPICT IT (SS 3271 AND A-50). IN SPITE OF ALL THE BAD PUBLICITY WHICH THIS COUNTRY RECEIVES, THEY MAINTAIN THAT EL SALVADOR'S STATISTICS ON ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, DISTRIBUTION, SHARE OF THE BURVT# ALLOCATED TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND EFFORT TO MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORM ARE INDEED A REFLECTION OF ITS POVERTY BUT DO NOT

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA004784

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 04784 02 OF 02 251246Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INC-01 PM-05
NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /059 W
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R 231400Z AUG 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4095
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
SCINCSD QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4784

COMPARE ALL THAT BADLY WITH THOSE OF MANY OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. IN TERMS OF CURRENT INITIATIVES, *THEY ARGUED, EL SALVADOR IS MAKING A GOOD FAITH EFFORT* TO MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTIN. THE VICE PRESIDENT SUGGESTS THAT IT IS SOMEWHAT VENTURESOME FOR THE *U.S. OR ANY OTHER OUTSIDER TO INTERPOSE ITS JUDGMENT* OVER THAT OF THE NATIONAL AUTHORITIES AS TO THE RATE AND THE RHYTHM WITH WHICH THE GOES CAN, FOR EXAMPLE, ATTEMPT TO MOVE TOWARD LAND REFORM (AS IT IS DOING) WITHOUT INVITING SERIOUS DAMAGE TO NATIONAL PRODUCTION UPON WHICH THE ENTIRE ECONOMY RESTS. BOTH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE MINISTER OF PLANNING FEEL

THE UNITED STATES IN THE NAME OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS SLOWED AND BUNTERFERED WITH THE VERY DEVELOPMENT *PLAN WHICH IS DESIGNED TO ADVANCE THE CATEGORY II*

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04784 02 OF 02 251246Z

HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR.

C. CATEGORY III HUMAN RIGHTS - THE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT STRUCK AN OPEN AND FORTHCOMING NOTE IN THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ACCEPTABLE ELECTORAL CLIMATE (SS 3297). SINCE THEN, SIGNIFICANTLY, PRESIDENT ROMERO HAS PUBLICLY ASSURED THAT THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS WILL BE FREE AND HONEST, HAS INVITED ALL POLITICAL

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Special Project (1993)

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EXILES TO RETURN, HAS PROMISED REFORM OF THE ELECTORAL LAW, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT A NEW CENTRAL COMMISSION

OF ELECTIONS WILL BE NAMED, AND HAS TAKEN VARIOUS OTHER STEPS SEEMINGLY CONDUCTIVE TO A POLITICAL OPENING

9. WE HAVE REACHED MORE OR LESS THE END OF THE FIRST PHASE OF HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE BASED UPON STATE 039568. IN VIEW OF THIS MIXED BAG OF SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTIAL PROGRESS, I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WE CONTINUE WITH THE HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE BUT ON THE BASIS OF RENEWED AND UPDATED INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON. I BELIEVE THAT THE EMBASSY SHOULD BE INSTRUCTED AND AUTHORIZED TO EXPRESS OUR GENERAL APPRECIATION FOR THE HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE CONDUCTED TO DATE, THEN TO SEEK SUCH CLARIFICATIONS AS THE DEPARTMENT MAY CONSIDER APPROPRIATE, AND FINALLY TO PUSH FORWARD ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

A. CATEGORY I HUMAN RIGHTS - WITHOUT BELABORING THE POINT IN AN UNACCEPTABLE FASHION, LET THE GOES KNOW THAT WE ARE BY NO MEVKNS TAKEN IN BY THEIR PROTESTATIONS OF INNOCEN E, REFRAIN FROM PRESSING FOR A [redacted]

PROBABLY UNOBTAINABLE PUBLIC CONFESSION OF GUILT FOR THEYOAST, AND CONCENTRATE INSTEAD ON FORCEFULLY CONVINCING THE GOES THAT A DRAMATICALLY BETTER PERFORMANCE AND RECORD BEGINNING IMMEDIATELY ARE VERY MUCH IN ITS OWN BEST INTEREST IN TERMS OF SURVIVAL AND OF RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY THE UNITED STATES.

B. CATEGORY II HUMAN RIGHTS - GIVE THE GOES SOME CREDIT FOR ITS ACHIEVEMENTS AND EFFORTS TO DATE BUT THEN PRESS IT FOR FUTURE ACTION WHICH WILL BE LESS PALLIATIVE IN NATURE AND MORE BOLD AND STRUCTURALLY REFORMIST.

C. CATEGORY III HUMAN RIGHTS - REITERATE OUR APPROVAL FOR THE MEASURE WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLICLY PROMISED BY PRESIDENT ROMDERO BUT MAKE CLEAR THAT DEEDS, NOT FSUVORDS, WILL PEKE THE DIFFERENCE. POINT OUT THAT TIME IS SHORT AND MAY BE RUNNING OUT. ON THIS BASIS, PRESS FOR IMMEDIATE, CONTINUING, AND DEMONSTRABLE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THAT HAS BEEN PROMISED, PLUS SUCH OTHER MEASURES AS WILL ADD UP TO INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE ELECTIONS AND OFFER SOME CHANGE OF RESTORING THE FAITH IN DEMOCRACY OF THE BY NOW DISILLUSIONED PEOPLE AND YOUTH OF EL SALVADOR.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

10. SOMOZA HAS FALLEN AND WE FACE SOMETHING OF A NEW SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. ATTITUDES AND TRADITIONAL POSITIONS IN EL SALVADOR HAVE BEEN SERIOSSLY SHAKEN. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MAY HAVE AN INCREASED STAKE IN BRINGING ABOUT REFORM AS OPPOSED TO REVOLUTION OR COLLAPSE IN THIS COUNTRY. THE INTER-ACTION OF THESE TWO FACTORS IS SUGGESTED IN SUPPORT OF CONTINUED AND

MORE URGENT HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE ON THE BASIS OF RENEWED AND UPDATED INSTRUCTIONS DRAFTED IN THE LIGHT [redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 04784 02 OF 02 251246Z

OF THE SITUATION WHICH TODAY CONFRONTS US.
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PAGE 01 STATE 223705
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INC-01 ICA-11 /063 R

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APPROVED BY ARA/AND:MRBARNEBEY
L/EB: FWILLIS

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R 251531Z AUG 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

DECAPTIONED

C ~~O N F I D E~~ N T I A L STATE 223705

E.O. 12065 GDS, 8/23/85 (WHITNEY, P.)

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, CI

DECAPTION

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE

REF: TELECON LANDAU/BARCELLA AUGUST 16

1. ENTIRE TEXT - C

2. FOLLOWING IS RESPONSE FROM AUSA LARRY BARCELLA TO AMBASSADOR LANDAU'S INQUIRIES. STATE CONCURS.

3. WITH THE EXTRADITION PROCEEDING HAVING BEEN FULLY ARGUED AND NOW PENDING DECISION BY THE SUPREME COURT, A FEW MATTERS SHOULD BE CLARIFIED. AS YOU WILL RECALL, A NUMBER OF MONTHS AGO FEDERICO WILLOUGHBY CAME TO THE UNITED STATES AND MET WITH AUSA PROPPER AND MYSELF AND, ON DIFFERENT OCCASIONS, WITH DICK BARNEBEY AND BOB STEVEN. HE CONSIDERED HIMSELF TO BE AN UNOFFICIAL EMISSARY ACTING ON BEHALF OF FERNANDEZ LARIOS AND PRO-

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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PAGE 02 STATE 223705

POSED THE FOLLOWING:

4. IF THE UNITED STATES WERE TO DROP ITS REQUEST FOR EXTRADITION AGAINST FERNANDEZ, WILLOUGHBY IMPLIED THAT HE WOULD LIKELY BE IN A POSITION TO INSURE THAT CONTRERAS AND ESPINOSA WOULD BE EXTRADITED. HE AGREED THAT

FERNANDEZ WOULD PROVIDE A STATEMENT AND WOULD BE WILLING TO TESTIFY IN THE UNITED STATES TO THE EFFECT THAT HE, FERNANDEZ LARIOS, WAS ORDERED BY ESPINOSA AND CONTRERAS TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SURVEILLING LETELIER AND THAT HE WAS TO REPORT THE FRUITS OF THAT SURVEILLANCE TO TOWNLEY. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD GO ON TO SAY THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH HE WAS CONDUCTING THAT SURVEILLANCE. WE INDICATED TO MR. WILLOUGHBY THAT THIS WAS CONTRARY TO OUR EVIDENCE. LATER WHEN FERNANDEZ LARIOS' BROTHER ALSO MET WITH US AND WILLOUGHBY, WE REPEATED THE FACT THAT OUR EVIDENCE INDICATED THAT FERNANDEZ LARIOS WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE PURPOSE FOR THE MISSION AND HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY ORDERED TO CARRY OUT THE MISSION WITH THE END RESULT BEING THE ASSASSINATION OF LETELIER. BECAUSE OF THIS FACTUAL DISPUTE, WE WOULD BE UNABLE TO REACH ANY AGREEMENT. WE INDICATED THAT IF FERNANDEZ LARIOS WAS WILLING TO TELL US THE COMPLETE TRUTH, WE MIGHT THEN BE IN A POSITION TO BARGAIN. AT THE TIME OF OUR DISCUSSIONS, THERE WAS NO EXPLICIT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES WITH REGARD TO THE DISCLOSURE OF THAT INFORMATION. IF, IN YOUR VIEW, IT WOULD BECOME APPROPRIATE TO MAKE THE FACT OF MR. WILLOUGHBY'S TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE SUBSTANCE OF FERNANDEZ LARIOS' STATEMENT KNOWN TO PERSONS IN CHILE, WE COULD PERCEIVE NO PROHIBITION AGAINST IT.
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PAGE 03 STATE 223705

5. SECONDLY, THERE HAS BEEN MUCH SPECULATION THAT THE DECISION OF THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT MAY BE AGAINST EXTRADITION AND IN FAVOR OF SOME TYPE OF INVESTIGATION/TRIAL IN CHILE. WHILE WE THINK THAT THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE AN UNFORTUNATE DECISION, IF THAT IS THE MANDATE OF THE SUPREME COURT, THE CHILEANS SHOULD REALIZE CERTAIN FACTS. THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, SPECIFICALLY THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, WOULD PROVIDE TO THE APPROPRIATE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES ALL POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE. THIS WOULD INCLUDE ALLOWING THEM TO USE (WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT WE MUST ULTIMATELY RETAIN) ALL OUR PHYSICAL EVIDENCE INCLUDING, BUT NOT LIMITED TO, ANY TESTIMONY OR EXHIBITS WE UTILIZED DURING THE COURSE OF THE TRIAL UP HERE. WE WOULD ALSO ATTEMPT TO FACILITATE THEIR ACCESS TO ANY OF THE WITNESSES THAT TESTIFIED AT THE TRIAL. THIS WOULD INCLUDE TRYING TO MAKE MR. TOWNLEY, UNDER APPROPRIATE SECURITY CONDITIONS, AVAILABLE FOR THIER USE. WHILE OBVIOUSLY A MOUNTAIN OF INCIDENTALS WOULD HAVE TO BE

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WORKED OUT, WE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE APPROPRIATE CHILEAN OFFICIALS THAT WE WOULD

COOPERATE IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE TO INSURE THAT THE INVESTIGATION/TRIAL IN CHILE IS FULL, FAIR, THOROUGH AND JUST. IN FACT, IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE ONLY WAY TO INSURE THAT KIND OF A TRIAL IS WITH OUR COOPERATION. CHRISTOPHER

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005025

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Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05025 080006Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ID-15 ADS-00 HA-05 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-05
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R 051500Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4377
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
USMISSION GENEVA
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 5025

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: IMPLEMENTATION OF PRESIDENT'S PRGRAM: INVITATION TO INTERNATIOAL RED CROSS

REF SAN SALVADOR 4680 (NOTAL)

1. OFFICE OF PRESIDENT ROMOERO HAS SENT AMBASSADOR COPY OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT INVITING INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TO SEND A DELEGATION TO EL SALVADOR IN REGARD TO "ACCUSATIONS" (POLITICAL PRISONER) MADE AGAINST GOES. ACCORDING TO LETTER, DELEGATION WOULD BE FREE TO CHOOSE TIME OF VISIT, LENGTH OF STAY, AND PLACES TO BE VISITED. PRESIDENT GAVE ASSURANCE VISIT WOULD PROVIDE "AUTHENTIC DEMONSTRATION OF THE FACTS AS THEY ARE IN REALITY" AND ANY REPORT THE RED CROSS WISHED TOMAKE WOULD BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT RESERVATION.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 05025 080008Z

2. LETTER NOTED THAT PRESIDENT ALREADY HAD HELD CONVERSATIONS ON SUBJECT WITH ULRICH G. BEDERT, REGIONAL DELEGATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CORSS FOR CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO, AND PANAMA AND GEORGE HEUMAN OF THE SAME OFFICE.
DEVINE

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United States Department of State
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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940031F

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
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R 141238Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2386

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 7603

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: PEREZ ESQUIVEL, ADOLFO MARIA (92/77/9)

H PASS: HONORABLE CHARLES H. PERCY
U.S. SENATE WASHDC

1. DEAR SENATOR PERCY:
IN JAN 1978 YOU INQUIRED ABOUT THE WHEREABOUTS OF MR. ADOLFO MARIA PEREZ ESQUIVEL, ON BEHALF OF [redacted]. I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM YOU OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MR. PEREZ ESQUIVEL'S CASE, AS PROMISED.

2. ON AUG 23, 1979 THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED THAT MR. PEREZ ESQUIVEL IS NO LONGER BEING HELD UNDER STATE OF SEIGE PROVISIONS (THE PEN LIST) MR. PEREZ ESQUIVEL HAD ALREADY BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON AND PLACED IN A STATE OF SUPERVISED FREEDOM IN JUN 1978.

3. THOUGH IT APPEARS THAT MR. PEREZ ESQUIVEL'S SITUATION HAS BEEN RESOLVED IN HIS FAVOR WE WILL SEEK TO KEEP YOU INFORMED SHOULD THERE BE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

4. SINCERELY YOURS, MAXWELL CHAPLIN, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.
CHAPLIN
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07603 170640Z

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Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] 7/14/17 INCOMING

Department of State TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07636 01 OF 02 142201Z 5627 AK280 BUENOS 07636 01 OF 02 142201Z

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 [illegible]-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
PM-06 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /058 W
----------129285 142215Z /78

O R 141532Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2404
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1031
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 7636

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/14/85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - SEPTEMBER 5-12

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7283

SUMMARY: THE IACHR VISIT HAS DRIVEN HOME THE EXISTENCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE TO VIETUALLY EVERY ARGENTINE, TO THE PLEASURE OF SOME AND THE UNHAPPINESS OF OTHERS. IN THE PROCESS, HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME A POLITICAL ISSUE BETWEEN THE PERONISTS AND THE GOVERNMENT AS THE FORMER PUBLICLY BELABORED THE LATTER FOR BEING BOTH "DE FACTO" AND ABUSING HUMAN RIGHTS (BUENOS AIRES 7559), AND THE GOVERNMENT WEIGHED IN WITH A WITHERING RESPONSE. THERE HAS BEEN ONE REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE IN SEPTEMBER. THE CONTROVERSIAL LAW ON PRESUMPTIVE DEATHS (BUENOS AIRES 7565) HAS BEEN PROMULGATED. END SUMMARY.

1. IAHRC VISIT ----
THE VISIT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (IAHRC) ECLIPSED ALL OTHER VENTS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS FRONT IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. COMMISSION MEMBERS CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT, THE JUNTA, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, GENERALS, GOVERNORS, PROMINENT PRISONERS, EX-PRESIDENTS, AND THE LEADERS OF THE CHURCH. THE COMMISSION ALSO VISITED JAILS. THE COMMISSION WILL BE MEETING UNDER CONDITIONS OF RELATIVE PRIVACY TO DISCUSS SELECT CASES WITH VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, WHOHAVE DETAILED ACCUSATIONS. BUT PERHAPS THE MOST DRAMATICALLY AFFECTING ASPECT OF THE VISIT TOOK PLACE WHEN HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE COULD BECSEEN DAILY LINED UP OUTSIDE THE COMMISSION'S OFFICE, DESPITE SOME CLUMSY ATTEMPTS AT POLICE INTIMIDATION, TO WAIT FOR THEIR TURN TO DE..OUNCE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. THE INTER-SIVE COVERAGE GIVEN THE COMMISSION'S ACTIVITIES AND RE-FERCUSSIONS BY ALL THENEWS MEDIA--THE LIMITS OF SELF-CENSORSHIP ALL BUT COLLAPSED--SHOULD HAVE DRIVEN HOME TO ALL ARGENTINES THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE AN ISSUE OF IMPORTANCE.

2. ANY REMAINING DOUBTS ON THIS SCORE WERE PROBABLY ERASED WHEN THE PERONISTS TOOK UP THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAUSE AS THEIR OWN, USINGTHE VISIT OF THE COMMISSION AS THE OCCASION TO MAKE AN UNPRECEDENTED ATTACKSON THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH IT ACCUSED AS BEING BOTH "DE FACTO" AND HAVING GROSSLY VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS. THE GOVERNMENT IMMEDAITELY ISSSUED A FIERY REJOINDER, LABELING THE PERON-IST STATEMENT INTOLERABLE AND REMINDING THE PERONISTS THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT AND PARTY WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SITUATION WHICH FORCED THE MILITARY TO TAKE OVER IN 1976. WHILE THE DURABILITY OF THE PERONISTS' COMMITMENT TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAUSE IS UNCERTAIN, IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT WHAT IS UNDOUBTEDLY ARGENTINA'S LARGEST SINGLE POLITICAL FORCE HAS FOR THE FIRST TIME SPOKEN OUT ON THE ISSUE. OF NO LESS SIGNIFICANCE IS THAT BY TAKING A STAND, THEY HAVE MADE HUMAN RIGHTS AN ISSUE IN THE GREAT POLARIZATION THAT DIVIDES ARGENTINE SOCIETY--PERONISTS AGAINST ANTI-PERON-ISTS. IF THIS DEVELOPMENT PERSISITS, IT WILL VASTLY COM-PLICATE US INVOLVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION HERE.

3. MANY OTHERS BESIDES THE PERONISTS MADE KNOWN THEIR TTOUGHTS ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, WITH MORE OR LESS ELOQUENCE AND WITH OPPOSING STANCES. THE MOST ELOQUENT OF ALL WAS ISSUED BY ARGENTINE WRITER ERNESTO SABATO, WHO DEFENDED THE RULE OF LAW AND STATED THAT THERE "IS NOT SUCH THING AS INEXCUSALBE AND EXCUSABLE VIOLATIONS, EVEN IF THE LATTER ARE COMMITTED IN THE DE-FENSE OF GREAT IDES." ON THE OTHER SIDE WERE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS--SOME WITH THE BACKING OF THE GOA--WHO SOUGHT TO REMINDSALL THAT THE NATION HAD BEEN SAVED BY THE ARMED

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& Argentina

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 [redacted]-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
PM-06 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /068 W
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O R 141932Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
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AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1032
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

FORCES FROM A "REVOLUTIONAY WAR" IN WHICH TERRORISTSD GROSSLY VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS. THE TOWN ALSO BLOSSOMED WITH STICKERS IN THE NATIONAL COLORS--PROCLAIMING THAT "WE ARGENTINES ARE RIGHTFUL AND HUMAN" ("LOS ARGENTINOS SOMOS DERECHOS Y HUMANOS"). A NEW ORGANIZATIONS ALSO APPEARED, " THE LEAGUE OF FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE VICTIMS OF TERRORISM," GROUPING THOSE WHO LOST LOVED ONES TO TERRORIST ACTIONS.

4. [redacted] TWO SMALL GLITCHES DEVELOPED DURING THE VISIT SO FAR. THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT HAS VETOED A COMMISSION INTERVIEW AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY WITH FORMER PRESIDENT CAMPORA. AND THE COLOMBIAN MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION, GERARDO MONROY CABRA, A MEMBER OF THE COLOMBIAN SUPREME COURT, WAS TEMPORARILY RECALLED TO COLOMBIA BY THE COURT, A RECALL WHOSE REASONS WERE NOT CLEARLY REPORTED IN BUENOS AIRES.

5. (U) DISAPPEARANCES----
TWO REAPPEARANCES (BUENOS AIRES 7407) BY MEN WHO REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED IN AUGUST--RAUL ALBERTO ARAMENDI AND OSCAR RICARDO ROMERO--LEFT UNEXPLAINED, KNOWN DISAPPEARANCES FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST AT TEN. IN ADDITION, MRS. ELIO VALDERRAMOS (WHOSE HUSBAND'S DISAPPEARANCE ALSO WAS REPORTED IN BA 7407) HAS REPORZEDLY MADE AN OFFICIAL COMPWAINT THAT HER HUSBAND, A DOCTOR WAS TAKEN FROM THE MENDOZA PROVINCIAL HOSPITAL WHERE HE WORKED BY A GROUP OF MEN WHO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS BELONGING TO THE SECURITY FORCES. MRS/ VALDERRAMOS REPORTEDLY STATED AUGUST 10 THAT SHE WAS UNABLE TO LOCATE HER HUSBAND IN ANY MENDOZA POLICE OR SECURITY FACILITY.

6. [redacted] REPORTS THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE AUGUST DISAPPEARANCES RELATE TO THE BREAK UP OF AN UNDERGROUND "FAP". ("FUERZAS ARMADAS PERONISTAS") CELL CONTINUE TO REACH US. IT IS CLEAR THAT THIS INFORMATION IS CIRCULATING WIDELY THROUGHT THE ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES. SIMILARLY CIRCULATING IS A REPORT THAT THE MONTONEROS ARE ACTIVELY SEEKING TO INFILTRATE TERRORISTS BACK INTO THE COUNTRY. WE HAVE NO WAY OF INDEPENDENTLY JUDGING THE VALIDITY OF THESE REPORTS. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT WHATEVER THEIR VELIDITY, SOME ELEMENTS IN THE GOA WILL USE SUCH REPORTS TO ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY A CONTINUATION OF THE SECURITY FORCES'S PRACTICES.

7. (U) PRESUMPTIVE DEATH LAW PUBLISHED---
THE GOA PROMULGATED ITS CONTROVERSIAL LAW ON PRESUMPTIVE DEATH SEPTEMBER 12. THE PROVISIONS OF THE LAW WHICH GIVE THE STATE THE RIGHT TO SEEK A DECLARATION OF PRESUMPTIVE DEATH FOR A MISSING PERSON AND WHICH CAUSED OBJECTIONS, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE ARGENTINA, ARE UNCHANGED. THE RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED HAVE ASKED THE SUPREMED COURT TO DECLARE THIS LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL, IN A MOTION WHICH ALSO PROTESTS THE CONTINUED UNRESPONSIVENESS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS. MEANWHILE, A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN REPORTEDLY CLAIMED THAT THE STATE HAS BEEN GIVEN A ROLE BY THE LEGISLATION ONLY TO ALLOW IT TO ACT IN BEHALF OF ORPHANED CHILDREN, WHO HAVE NO RELATIVES.
CHAPLIN

[redacted]

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W B023

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

TO: The Deputy Secretary

FROM: ARA - Viron P. Vaky

SUBJECT: Letelier-Moffitt Case

ISSUE: U. S. Government reactions to decision of the Review Panel of the Chilean Supreme Court on the Letelier-Moffitt Case.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS: The Review Panel of the Chilean Supreme Court is expected to issue its decision sometime soon after September 24. That decision will constitute the critical decision point from a public, political and legal perspective for the U.S. Government.

The U.S. Government position, as defined in the June 1, 1979 Cable of Instructions to Ambassador Landau (attached) was that the Borquez decision was "unacceptable" and "inconsistent with international norms of justice." In the cable you approved, it was stated that we did not accept the Borquez conclusion that the evidence was insufficient to warrant extradition. The cable stated that "we remain primarily interested" in the extradition of the defendants. Recognizing the discretion contained within the Extradition Treaty permitting a trial if the nationality clause of the treaty were invoked, the cable noted that it was essential that there be "a reversal of Borquez' holding that our evidence is not credible or convincing and hence is insufficient to establish probable cause. Unless that holding is reversed, we do not see how a trial of the defendants in Chile could be genuine and thorough-going."

With that underlying determination, Ambassador Landau conveyed the message to the GOC that the Borquez ruling would make it impossible

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for any proceeding conducted here in Chile to be genuine and thorough-going."

If extradition was not granted or the Borquez ruling on the sufficiency of the evidence not reversed as part of an order directing a trial, then Ambassador Landau said, "the reaction of my government, the Congress, and the American people will be severe -- more severe than anything we have yet seen in our relations."

Failure to take such actions would result in a judgment that we were faced with "a case of unpunished terrorism."

We therefore called, first for the Chileans to reverse the Borquez decision with regard to the sufficiency of the evidence, order either extradition, or failing that, fair and genuine trial based on all our evidence -- untainted by the deprecations of insufficiency bestowed by the Borquez ruling; and, second for the GOC to "energize" the military court to diligently pursue its investigation and subsequent trial rather than continuing to proceed in the dilatory fashion that has characterized its more than a year-long investigation of passport fraud.

The specific potential consequences of a failure to satisfy those criteria cited by Ambassador Landau included:

1. A determination by the President that the Ex-Im Bank should deny applications for Chile on the grounds that Chile is harboring international terrorists;

2. An unhelpful attitude by the U.S. on external problems Chile may have.

3. The raising of the question of influencing private bank lending.

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The Embassy now believes that an intentionally lengthy and confusing ruling will be issued. The bottom line will be the decision that there still is insufficient evidence to indict/extradict the ex-~~Dina~~ DINA officers.

Although we will want to study the ruling before acting definitively, presumably with Ambassador Landau consulting with us, our response should come within a short time frame.

PERSPECTIVES:

In weighing appropriate U.S. reaction, we would want to examine the impact on our efforts to discourage international terrorism, and the impact in Chile of our decisions. In the absence of satisfaction of our two criteria, we already have determined that our objective of bringing the three ex-Dina officials to justice would be a forlorn hope in a military court.

-- Even with the fullest affirmation of our evidence by the Court, the record of the Chilean military justice would make the likelihood of a decision uninfluenced by Pinochet slim. This judgment is reinforced by the recent event in which the Lonquen bodies were directed by the court to be returned to the families but the military prosecutor disregarded that order and had them buried in a mass grave on an offshore island. Without the fullest affirmation of our evidence through the reversal of the Borquez ruling, the military trial would be a sham.

-- Our actions must demonstrate clearly that the governments engaging in international terrorism, and those harboring its perpetrators will suffer penalties. Our objective is to act so as

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to deter any other would-be assassins from Chile or elsewhere.

-- Chile's human rights performance has improved in some aspects of Basket One, although recent incidents of torture and death after detention demonstrate that such practices remain part of the repressive apparatus. Civil and political liberties remain circumscribed and even a narrowly conceived constitutional structure is to be delayed until at least the mid-1980s.

-- Chile remains diplomatically isolated, with the United Nations Resolutions -- while more restrained than in years past -- still evidence of Chile's image and symbol of destruction of democracy. The Andean countries continue to hold Pinochet at arms length and the lack of any response on the disappeared has drawn sharp and public criticism in both Mexico and Venezuela.

-- U.S. Congressional restrictions on economic and military assistance remain in force.

-- Despite the arms-length relationship of our official ties, private U.S.-Chilean business relations have continued with both direct and portfolio investment increasing.

-- Any critical U.S. response will be seized upon by Pinochet as an excuse to try to drum up nationalist support. However, Chilean opinion is divided; DINA is unpopular in most quarters and many Chileans -- including all of the moderate political sectors and the church -- would respect and support our posture. The groups seeking an end to authoritarian rule still hope that the Letelier case, either through the extradition or the U.S. pressure in the absence of extradition, will encourage pressures in Chile for a return to democracy.

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II. SCENARIOS

There are four potential Supreme Court Review Panel decisions:

A. Acceptance of our request for extradition;

B. No extradition, reversal of the Borquez decision on evidence and directing a trial in military court;

C. No extradition, trial in military court, vague or middle-of-the-road characterization of U.S. evidence admissibility and significance but without reversing President Borquez on characterization of U.S. evidence as "insufficient";

D. No extradition, no trial.

HA's and S/P's view is that any action other than A or B fails to meet the standard we had set forth as constituting compliance with the obligations of the Extradition Treaty and effectively entails allowing terrorists to go unpunished.

Scenario C, the most likely according to the Embassy, rules out a fair and genuine trial and insures a long and drawn-out process with every likelihood of the effective exoneration of the defendants. For this reason, the Department previously determined that a reversal of Borquez on the sufficiency of the evidence for extradition was a requirement for anything less than severe U.S. reaction.

ARA's view

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III. RECOMMENDED RESPONSES

A. Extradition: Issue statement commending Chilean decision and announcing that USG will proceed to try the extradited individuals. Follow with a review of positive actions that might be taken in our relations with Chile in the light of the favorable outcome of this case.

N.B. If only Contreras (head of DINA at time of Letelier/Moffitt assassination) or Contreras and Espinoza (Chief of Operations of DINA0 and not Fernandez (Lieutenant at the time),were extradited we could still issue an overall commending statement because we would have for trial the person or two persons whom we believe ordered the assassination.

B. No extradition, reversal of the Borquez decision on evidence and directing a trial in military court: Chile can deny extradition of its nationals to the U.S. under the nationality provision of our bilateral extradition treaty.

-- Issue statement expressing disappointment with failure to extradite but welcoming Chilean full acceptance of our evidence and Chilean intention to proceed with trial. Emphasizing that we will be diligent in our monitoring of trial in our desire to see that justice be meted out in an expeditious fashion.

C. No extradition, trial in military court, vague or middle-of-the-road characterization of U.S. evidence admissibility and significance but without reversing President Borquez on characterization of U.S. evidence as "insufficient".

D. No extradition, no trial.

If C or D occur, the following action should definitely be taken:

-- Issue especially strong deploring statement.

-- Reduce representation to Charge until early 1981.

-- End Ex-Im lending with a presidential finding on the legal grounds that Chile is harboring international terrorists.

-- Be less helpful to Chile on external issues such as on Bolivian demarche for access to sea, but, to avoid raising nationalist reaction, without reference to specific cases, and without prejudicing U. S. interests in each case.

-- Announce suspension of FMS pipeline.

-- Withdraw MILGP.

-- Cancel UINTAS with Chile for foreseeable future.
-- Lobby in IDBs against non-BHN loans for Chile.
-- Lower number of official visitors and consider reducing Embassy staff in Santiago.

-- Concentrate IVP program on opposition leaders.

-- Stay away from selected GOC official events.

-- Raise matter rhetorically in OAS and UN.

We should also weigh these additional measures:

-- Permanent reduction to Charge.

-- Pending private bank lenders to halt resource flows for Chile.

-- Remove Peace Corps.

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PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION

Pursuant to Subsection 2(b)(1)(B) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945, as amended, I determine that it is in the national interest and would clearly and importantly advance United States policy in combatting international terrorism for the Export-Import Bank of the United States to deny guarantees, insurance, extensions of credit and participations in the extension of credit in support of the purchase or lease of any product or service by any purchaser or lessee in Chile.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

JIMMY CARTER

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005371

ADP875 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 05371 191727Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 SYE-00 MCT-02 USSS-00 SIL-01
LAB-04 COME-00 A-02 OPR-02 PC-01 AID-05 OMB-01
IO-14 TRSE-00 SPH-01 HA-05 DCS-06 CA-01 ACDA-12
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /132 W
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P 191650Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4530
INFO AMEMBASSY GUTAEMALA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 5371

STATE ALSO PASS TO LAC/DP MEXICO

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC, ELAB, PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: LEADERS OF DEMOCRATIC TEACHERS' ORGANIZATION (AMAD) RECEIVE DEATH THREATS FROM TERRORISTS OF EXTREME LEFT

REFS A) SAN SALVADOR 4054; B) SAN SALVADOR 4368

1. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORT DURING WEEK OF SEPT 10, ALVARO TORIBIO ERNESTO VARELA AND DORA ENID GALVEZ DE VARGAS, PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF FINANCES OF TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION (AMAD), HAVE RECEIVED DEATH THREATS FROM EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION *POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL). BOTH HAVE REPORTEDLY* BEEN ACCUSED OF "HIGH TREASON TO THE TEACHERS' CAUSE", FOR WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN "CONDEMNED TO DEATH". ACCORDING TO [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05371 191727Z

PRESS, INCIDENT HAS BEEN REPORTED TO AUTHORITIES.

2. AMAD IS CONSIDERED DEMOCRATIC IN ITS ORIENTATION AND HAS HAD TIES TO AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT (AIFLD). ALTHOUGH SMALLER IN MEMBERSHIP, IT IS CONSIDERED SOMETHING OF COMPETITOR TO TEACHERS' ORGANIZATION "ANDES 21 DE JUNIO", WHICH IS AFFILIATED WITH LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR). (BPR IN TURN IS CONSIDERED FRONT ORGANIZATION FOR FPL.)

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/12/94
Case ID: S940039G

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005371

AMAD REFUSED TO HONOR TEACHERS' STRIKE CALLED BY ANDES JULY 16-20 (REF A), WHICH MAY BE REASON VARELA AND SRA. DE VARGAS ARE ACCUSED BY FPL OF "HIGH TREASON".

3. COMMENT: THIS IS THIRD INSTANCE IN LAST TWO MONTHS (SEE REF B) IN WHICH EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED REPORTS OF THREATS LEVELLED BY LEFT AGAINST MEMBERS OF DEMOCRATIC LABOR GROUPS.
DEVINE

[redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005426

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05426 232240Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06
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R 211400Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4572
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTIVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ
USUN NEW YORK 570

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 5426

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/20/85 (DEVINE, FRNK J.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM OAS OTRA UNGA ES
SUBJ: (U) FOREIGN MINISTER'S TRAVEL IN LATIN AMERICA AND TO UN

REF: (A) SAN SALVADOR 5203 (NOTAL), (B) SAN SALVADOR 5185

1. (C) LOCAL PRESS HAS BEGUN TO TAKE NOTICE OF FOREIGN MINISTER RODRIGUEZ PORTH'S CURRENT SWING THROUGH SOUTH AMERICA IN SEARCH OF SUPPORT FOR GOES AT OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT LA PAZ. REF A POINTED OUT GOES CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE CONDEMNATION IN CONNECTION WITH INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (IAHRC) REPORT ON EL SALVADOR.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05426 232240Z

2. (U) INFORMATION ON RODRIGUEZ' PLANNED VISITS IN LATIN AMERICA WAS FIRST RELEASED IN CONNECTION WITH ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE WOULD ATTEND NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN HAVANA BUT DETAILS WERE NOT GIVEN. SUBSEQUENTLY THERE WAS SILENCE UNTIL LAST FEW DAYS. PRESS NOW REPORTS RODRIGUEZ WENT FROM CUBA TO MEXICO, THEN TO VENEZUELA, PERU, AND PARAGUAY, WITH SUBSEQUENT STOPS PLANNED IN ARGENTINA AND CHILE.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/12/94
Case ID: S940031G

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

3. (U) INFORMATION ON FOREIGN INISTER'S OTHER PLANNED TRAVEL IS THAT HE AND SUBSECRETARY ROBERTO MENDOZA WILL TRAVEL TO NEW YORK TO HEAD SALVADORAN DELEGATION TO UNGA (REMAINDER OF DELEGATION WILL BE COMPOSED OF PERMANENT SALVADORAN REPRESENTATION AT UN). RODRIGUEZ WILL SPEAK AT UNGA SESSION ON OCTOBER 8 AND THEN RETURN TO EL SALVADOR, LEAVING MENDOZA IN CHARGE. RODRIGUEZ ALSO REPORTEDLY WILL HEAD SALVADORAN DELEGATION TO 9TH OASGA.
DEVINE

[redacted]

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9/21/79 Mr. [illegible] Room 6420 BTJ 14

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

September 21, 1979

SECRET

TO : The Deputy Secretary

FROM: HA - Patricia M. Derian

Letelier-Moffitt Case

ISSUE

U.S. Government reactions to decision of the Review Panel of the Chilean Supreme Court on the Letelier-Moffitt Case.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

The Review Panel of the Chilean Supreme Court is expected to issue its decision sometime soon after September 24. That decision will constitute the critical decision point from a public, political and legal perspective for the U.S. Government.

The U.S. Government position, as defined in the June 1, 1979 Cable of Instructions to Ambassador Landau (attached) was that the Borquez decision was "unacceptable" and "inconsistent with international norms of justice." In the cable you approved, it was stated that we did not accept the Borquez conclusion that the evidence was insufficient to warrant extradition. The cable stated that "we remain primarily interested" in the extradition of the defendants. Recognizing the discretion contained within the Extradition Treaty permitting a trial if the nationality clause of the treaty were invoked, the cable noted that it was essential that there be "a reversal of Borquez' holding that our evidence is not credible or convincing and hence is insufficient to establish probable cause. Unless that holding is reversed, we do not see how a trial of the defendants in Chile could be genuine and thorough-going."

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLASSIFIED

(GDS 9/21/85)

Access # 99-0601
pg 2 of 5

With that underlying determination, Ambassador Landau conveyed the message to the GOC that the "Borquez ruling would make it impossible for any proceeding conducted here in Chile to be genuine and thorough-going."

If extradition was not granted or the Borquez ruling on the sufficiency of the evidence not reversed as part of an order directing a trial, then Ambassador Landau said, "the reaction of my government, the Congress, and the American people will be severe -- more severe than anything we have yet seen in our relations."

Failure to take such actions would result in a judgment that we were faced with "a case of unpunished terrorism."

We therefore called, first for the Chileans to reverse the Borquez decision with regard to the sufficiency of the evidence, order either extradition, or failing that, fair and genuine trial based on all our evidence -- untainted by the deprecations of insufficiency bestowed by the Borquez ruling; and, second for the GOC to "energize" the military court to diligently pursue its investigation and subsequent trial rather than continuing to proceed in the dilatory fashion that has characterized its more than a year-long investigation of passport fraud.

The specific potential consequences of a failure to satisfy those criteria cited by Ambassador Landau included:

1. A determination by the President that the Ex-Im Bank should deny applications for Chile on the grounds that Chile is harboring international terrorists;

2. An unhelpful attitude by the U.S. on external problems Chile may have.

3. The raising of the question of influencing private bank lending.

The Embassy now believes that an intentionally lengthy and confusing ruling will be issued. The bottom line will be the decision that there still is insufficient evidence to indict/extradite the ex-Dina officers.

Although we will want to study the ruling before acting definitively, presumably with Ambassador Landau consulting with us, our response should come within a short time frame.

PERSPECTIVES

In weighing appropriate U.S. reaction, we would want to examine the impact on our efforts to discourage international terrorism, and the impact in Chile of our decisions. In the absence of satisfaction of our two criteria, we already have determined that our objective of bringing the three ex-Dina officials to justice would be a forlorn hope in a military court.

-- Even with the fullest affirmation of our evidence by the Court, the record of Chilean military justice would make the likelihood of a decision uninfluenced by Pinochet slim. This judgment is reinforced by the recent event in which the Lonquen bodies were directed by the court to be returned to the families but the military prosecutor disregarded that order and had them buried in a mass grave on an offshore island. Without the fullest affirmation of our evidence through the reversal of the Borquez ruling, the military trial would be a sham.

-- Our actions must demonstrate clearly that the governments engaging in international terrorism, and those harboring its perpetrators will suffer penalties. Our objective is to act so as to deter any other would-be assassins from Chile or elsewhere.

-- Chile's human rights performance has improved in some aspects of Basket One, although recent incidents of torture and death after detention demonstrate that such practices remain part of the repressive apparatus. Civil and political liberties remain circumscribed and even a narrowly conceived constitutional structure is to be delayed until at least the mid-1980s.

-- Chile remains diplomatically isolated, with the United Nations Resolutions -- while more restrained than in years past -- still evidence of Chile's image as a symbol of the destruction of democracy. The Andean countries continue to hold Pinochet at arms length and the lack of any response on the disappeared has drawn sharp and public criticism in both Mexico and Venezuela.

-- U.S. Congressional restrictions on economic and military assistance remain in force.

-- Despite the arms-length relationship of our official ties, private U.S.-Chilean business relations have continued with both direct and portfolio investment increasing.

-- Any critical U.S. response will be seized upon by Pinochet as an excuse to try to drum up nationalist support. However, Chilean opinion is divided; DINA is unpopular in most quarters and many Chileans -- including all of the moderate political sectors and the church -- would respect and support our posture. The groups seeking an end to authoritarian rule still hope that the Letelier case, either through the extradition or the U.S. pressure in the absence of extradition, will encourage pressures in Chile for a return to democracy.

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There are four potential Supreme Court Review Panel decisions:

A. Acceptance of our request for extradition;

B. No extradition, reversal of the Borquez decision on evidence and directing a trial in military court;

C. No extradition, trial in military court, vague or middle-of-the-road characterization of U.S. evidence admissibility and significance but without reversing President Borquez on characterization of U.S. evidence as "insufficient";

D. No extradition, no trial.

HA's view is that any action other than A or B fails to meet the standard we had set forth as constituting compliance with the obligations of the Extradition Treaty and effectively entails allowing terrorists to go unpunished.

Scenario C, the most likely according to the Embassy, rules out a fair and genuine trial and insures a long and drawn-out process with every likelihood of the effective exoneration of the defendants. For this reason, the Department previously determined that a reversal of Borquez on the sufficiency of the evidence for extradition was a requirement for anything less than severe U.S. reaction.

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III. RECOMMENDED RESPONSES

A. Extradition: Issue statement commending Chilean decision and announcing that USG will proceed to try the extradited individuals. Follow with a review of positive actions that might be taken in our relations with Chile in light of the favorable outcome of this case.

N.B. If only Contreras (head of DINA at time of Letelier/Moffitt assassination) or Contreras and Espinoza (Chief of Operations of DINA) and not Fernandez (Lieutenant at the time), were extradited we could still issue an overall commending statement because we would have for trial the person or two persons whom we believe ordered the assassination.

B. No extradition, reversal of the Borquez decision on evidence and directing a trial in military court: Chile can deny extradition of its nationals to the U.S. under the nationality provision of our bilateral extradition treaty.

-- Issue statement expressing disappointment with failure to extradite but welcoming Chilean full acceptance of our evidence and Chilean intention to proceed with trial. Emphasize that we will be diligent in our monitoring of trial in our desire to see that justice be meted out in an expeditious fashion.

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If C or D occur, the following actions should definitely be taken:

-- Issue especially strong deploring statement.

-- Reduce representation to Charge until early 1981.

-- End Ex-Im lending with a presidential finding on the legal grounds that Chile is harboring international terrorists.

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-- Be less helpful to Chile on external issues such as on Bolivian demarche for access to sea, but, to avoid raising nationalist reaction, without reference to specific cases, and without prejudicing U.S. interests in each case.

-- Announce suspension of FMS pipeline.

-- Withdraw MILGP.

-- Cancel UNITAS with Chile for foreseeable future.

-- Lobby in IDBs against non-BHN loans for Chile.

-- Lower number of official visitors and consider reducing Embassy staff in Santiago.

-- Concentrate IVP program on opposition leaders.

-- Stay away from selected GOC official events.

-- Raise matter rhetorically in OAS and UN.

-- Persuade private bank lenders to halt resource flows for Chile.

-- Remove Peace Corps.

Attachment:

State 140552 - June 1, 1979
(NODIS)

Drafted:HA:MLS[illegible]:cbp

cc:ARA:Mr. Eaton

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET

UNCLASSIFIED

R

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1979BUENOS07866

9/21/79

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Case Number: S200000044

A138

<<<<[redacted]>>>>

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07866 01 OF 02 212237Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
PM-06 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /068 W
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O R 212000Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2496
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1033
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCJSO QUARRY HTS CZ

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 7866

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E.O. 12065 GDS 9-21-85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - SEPTEMBER 12-19

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7636

[redacted] SUMMARY: A REPORTED SUPREME COURT DECISION ORDERED THE JUNTA TO RELEASE JACOBO TIMERMAN AND THE CONCLUSION OF THE IAHRC VISIT (SEPTEL) TOPPED THE CALENDAR DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. THE REPORTED CANCER OF FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA, ALSO OPENS UP THE POSSIBILITY THAT HE ULTIMATELY MAY BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. THE CONTINUATIION OF DISAPPEARANCES, INCLUDING THE SNATCHING OF THREE MINOR CHILDREN ALONG WITH THEIR PARENTS, GIVE FURTHER INDICATION THAT THE SECURITY FORCES REMAIN WEDDED TO THEIR STANDARD ANTI-TERRORIST TECHNIQUES WHEN THEY DEEM NECESSARY, ESPECIALLY NOW THAT

[redacted]

[redacted]

urrent Class: [redacted]

Case Number: S200000044

THEY CAN DEMONSTRATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH METHODS AS REFLECTED IN THE CLAIMED DEATH OF TWO IMPORTANT MONONERO LEADERS IN A REPORTES SHOOT-OUT WITH THE POLICE, AFTER EVIDENTLY HAVING REEENTERED THE COUNTRY CLANDESTINELY. THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, WHILE VERY PLEASED WITH THE IAHRC VISIT, REMAIN CONCERED ABOUT THE ONGOING INVESTIGATION INTO THEIR ACTIVITIES BY THE JUDGE WHO ORDERED LAST MONTH'S JURAID ON THEIR HEADQUARTERS. END SUMMARY.

1. [redacted] TIMERMAN AND CAMPORA-ON WAY TO FREEDOM?----
THERE WERE SEVERAL INDICATIONS THAT TWO OF ARGENTINA'S MOST NOTED POLITICAL DETAINEES MAY BE MOVING CLOSER TO LEAVING THE COUNTRY. IN A REMARKABLE WELL PUBLICIZED, BUT STILL SECRET DECISION, THE ARGENTINE SUPREME COURT HAS REPORTEDLY ORDERED THE JUNTA TO RELEASE JACOBO TIMERMAN. IT WAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA, WHO IS AN ASYLEE IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY, IS SUFFEREING FROM CANCER. HIS SICKNESS MAY LEAD GOA TO ALLOW HIM TO DEPART FOR TREAT-MENT ABROAD. HOWEVER, THESE DEVELOPMENTS ARE NO MORE THAN BEGINNINGS WHICH COULD BE ABORTED BY THOSE MILITARY-MEN WHO SEE TIMERMAN AND CAMPORA AS ARCHEVIL TYPES RESPONSIBLE FOR A GENERATION OF RADICALIZED YOUTH.

2. [redacted] TWO MONTONEROS REPORTED KILLED ----
THE GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT ARMANDO DANIEIL CROATTO AND HORACIO MENDIZABAL, TWO HIGH RANKING MONTONEROS, WERE KILLED IN A SHOOT-OUT WITH SECURITY FORCES IN THE BUENOS AIRES SUBURB OF MUNRO SEPTEMBER 17. MENDIZABAL WAS THE MILITARY SECRETARY OF THE MONTONEROS AND CROATTO, A FORMER PERONIST DEPUTY WITH CONNECTIONS TO THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, WAS HEAD
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07866 01 OF 02 212237Z

OF THE MONTONEROS LABOR BRANCH. CROATTO WAS REPORTED "MISSING"BY HIS ACQUAINTANCES SEPTEMBER 17 WHEN THEY WENT TO THE IAHRC TO SEEK HELP-AN EVENT THAT THE PRESS REPORTED SEPTEMBER 18. HOWEVER, SEVERAL OF OUR SOURCES EXPRESSED GREAT SURPRISE THAT HE WAS IN THE COUNTRY, GIVEN THE RECORD AND ASSOCIATIONS. IF REPORTS OF THEIR DEATH ARE ACCURATE, IT SEEMS THAT BOTH HE AND MENDIZABAL WERE LIVING HERE CLANDESTINELY. THE DEATH OF THESE TWO

MEN IN ARGENTINA, SIGNIFICANT REVERSALS FOR THE MONTONEROS, SEEMS TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO RUMORS AND REPORTS WE HAVE HAD THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED THAT MONTONEROS ARE RETURNING TO THE COUNTRY. WHILE WE DO NOT THINK THE THREAT FROM THE TERRORIST IS VERY HIGH, SECURITY FORCES WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY USE THE PRESENCE OF THESE TWO MEN IN ARGENTINA TO JUSTIFY CONTINUING THEIR TECHNIQUES.

3. [redacted] CONTINUED DISAPPEARANCES -----
DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW WE BECAME AWARE OF SIX MORE SOLID REPORTS OF DISAPPEARANCES INCLUDING THE TAKING OF THREE MINOR CHILDREN ALONG WITH THEIR PARENTS. THE FAMILY INVOLVED, REGINO ADOLFO GONZALES, HIS WIFE, AND THEIR THREE SMALL DAUGHTERS WERE SEIZED SEPTEMBER 13. ACCORDING TO WHAT THE FAMILY OF THE GONZALES HAS TOLD US THAT THE COUPLE LEFT ARGENTINA IN 1976, SOON AFTER THE MILITARY COUP, AND RETURNED TO LIVE IN MUNRO ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO. BY THE FAMILY'S STATEMENTS THEY WERE INVOLVED IN UNIVERSITY POLITICS PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE. (WE HAVE NO RECORD FOR A REGINO ADOLFO GONZALES BUT AN ADOLFO GONZALES WAS REPORTED TO A MONTONERO LEADER LIVING IN DAC ES SALAAM IN 1978.) ONE SECURITY FORCE HAS TOLD US, TOO THAT THE GONZALES' WERE MONTONEROS WITH A LONG RECORD. THE GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE RELEASED SEPTEMBER 21, ALLEGED THAT MRS GONZALES IS A MONTONERO. IT ALSO SAID THAT THE CHILDREN WERE TAKEN UNDER
[redacted]
[redacted]

PROTECTIVE CUSTODY AND HAVE NOW BEEN RELEASED. THE PARENTS OF DANIEL CROSTA, A NINETEEN YEAR OLD WORKER, HAVE ALSO REPORTED HIS SEPTEMBER 15 DISAPPEARANCE TO US.

4. [redacted] OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION INTO TORTURE-----
ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, THE ARMY IS CARRYING OUT AN UNUSUAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE AUGUST 22 ABDUCTION AND TORTURE OF SERGIO HUGO SILMAN IN ROSARIO. SILMAN WAS HELD SIX DAYS BEFORE BEING TURNED OVER TO A HOSPITAL, SUFFERING GRAVELY FROM THE MISTREATMENT HE RECEIVED. HE WAS REPORTEDLY ARRESTED BY MEN IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES AS ARMY SECURITY AFTER PASSING OUT A HANDOUT HELD SIX DAYS BEFORE BEING TURNED OVER TO A HOSPITAL,

Case Number: S200000044

SUFFERING

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07866 02 OF 02 220031Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
PM-06 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /068 W
----------053013 220038Z /62

O R 212000Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2497
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 7866

DEALING WITH NICARAGUA. THE IAHRC LOOKED INTO THIS CASE WHILE IN ROSARIO.

5. [redacted] LEGAL PROSECUTION OF PERONISTS FOR DECLARATION -----
TWO FEDERAL JUDGES, ONE IN PARANA AND THE OTHER IN RIO GALLEGOS, HAVE OPENED AN INQUIRY INTO LAST WEEK'S PERONIST DECLARATION CONCEMNING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY FOR ITS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND ARBITRARY ACTIONS. PERONIST LEADERS DEOLINDO FELIPE BITTEL AND HERMINIO IGLESIAS, WHO SIGNED THE DECLARATION ARE THE OBJECTS OF AN INQUIRY BASED ON THEIR PRESUMABLY HAVING VIOLATED THE NATIONAL SECURITY LAW. THE MILITARY HAS BEEN OUTRAGED BY THE BITTEL STATEMENT AND ARMY COMMANDER VIOLA REPORTEDLY HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO CRITICISM FROM OTHER FLAG OFFICERS FOR ALLEGEDLY TREATING THE PERONISTS TOO COMPLACENTLY. THE ARMY REACTED BY BLAMING THE STATEMENT ON "COMMUNIST INFILTRATORS" IN THE PERONIST MOVEMENT. THAT THE COURTS HAVE NOW GOTTEN INTO THE ACT MAY SERVE TO CALM DOWN THE MILITARY.

[redacted]

Case Number: S200000044

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07866 02 OF 02 220031Z

6. [redacted] REPERCUSSIONS OF RAIDS ON HR ORGANIZATIONS -----
ONCE AGAIN INSPIRED LEAKS CONCERNING THE INVESTIGATION
INTO ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS THAT BEGAN WITH THE
RAIDS ON THE ORGANIZATIONS LAST MONTH APPEARED IN THE
BUENOS AIRES PRESS. THESE LEAKS SUGGEST THAT INVESTI-
GATING JUDGE JORGE ANZOATAGUI HAS DETERMINED THAT 400
ON THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY'S LIST OF DISAPPEARED (WHICH
NOW HAS MORE THAN 6,000 NAMES) ARE ACTUALLY LIVING
ABROAD WHILE ANOTHER 50 ARE BEING LEGALLY PROSECUTED.
THE JUDGE IS REPORTEDLY SEEKING TO DETERMINE WHERE THE
ORGANIZATIONS GET THEIR FUNDS TO SUPPORT HUMAN RIGHTS
ACTIVISTS' "INEXPLICABLE ABILITY" TO TRAVEL IN ARGENTINA
AND ABROAD. THE REPORTS ALSO SUGGEST THAT THE JUDGE IS
INVESTIGATING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS
ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY, HAVE
ENGAGED NOT ONLY IN A "PROCEDURAL FRAUD" BUT ALSO IN AN
ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN TO DEFAME ARGENTINA, SOME REPORTS NOTE
THAT FOLLOWING THE RAIDS THE JUDGE RECEIVED NUMEROUS
LETTERS FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CHAPTERS ABROAD
ASKING HIM TO STOP HIS "PERSECUTION". THE JUDGE IS
ALSO REPORTEDLY EXAMINING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE
HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CONSTITUTE "ILLICIT
ASSOCIATIONS." SOURCES IN THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY ARE
WORRIED BY THE IMPLICATION THAT IT MAY AT SOME TIME
HAVE TO FACE THE CHARGE THAT IT IS AN ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION.
THE EXACT IMPACT OF SUCH A CHARGE IS UNCLEAR AT THIS
POINT, BUT THIS IS NOT A BATTLE THAT THE ASSEMBLY WANTS
TO FIGHT, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT WOULD HAVE A CHILLING
EFFECT ON THOSE WHO MIGHT OTHERWISE APPROACH THE
ASSEMBLY FOR HELP.
CASTRO

[redacted]

NNN

(KF0416)

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

September 21, 1979

~~SECRET~~

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

TO : The Acting Secretary

FROM: HA - Patricia M. Derian

Letelier-Moffitt Case

ISSUE

U.S. Government reactions to decision of the Review Panel of the Chilean Supreme Court on the Letelier-Moffitt Case.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

The Review Panel of the Chilean Supreme Court is expected to issue its decision sometime soon after September 24. That decision will constitute the critical decision point from a public, political and legal perspective for the U.S. Government.

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UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

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-- Raise matter rhetorically in OAS and UN.

-- Persuade private bank lenders to halt resource flows for Chile.

-- Remove Peace Corps.

~~Attachment:~~

~~State 140552 -- June 1, 1979 (NODIS)~~

Drafted:HA:MLS[redacted]:cbp

cc:ARA:Mr. Eaton

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CONFIDENTIAL 9/21/79 3 INCOMING 09217
Department of State UNCLASSIFIED TELEGRAM WB024

PAGE 01 SANTIA 06584 212132Z 2318
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SANTIAGO 6584

~~EXDIS~~ DECAPTIONED

STADIS//////////////////////

FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/21/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: CI PGOV PINS
SUBJECT: LETELIER/ MOFFITT CASE: VERDICT DUE SEPTEMBER 24/25; ETCHEBERRY'S LAST FILING

REF: A) STATE 234044, B) SANTIAGO 6079

1. ENTIRE TEXT ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2. ALFREDO ETCHEBERRY'S COURT SOURCES CONFIRM THAT THE EXTRADITION VERDICT IS BEING TYPED IN FINAL AND SHOULD BE READY FOR REVIEW BY THE COURT MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24. MOST LIKELY IT WILL BE GIVEN THE PARTIES LATE MONDAY OR ON TUESDAY.

3. EARLIER ETCHEBERRY HAD FORMALLY SUBMITTED THE BARCELLA AFFIDAVIT REGARDING JACK HOLCOMB OF AUDIO INTELLIGENCE DEVICES (REF A) TOGETHER WITH HIS VIEWS ON THE ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE REQUESTED BY THE COURT (REF B). AS HE HAD EXPECTED, THE COURT RULED THAT THE BARCELLA AFFIDAVIT HAD ARRIVED TOO LATE TO BE ENTERED IN EVIDENCE. BUT EACH OF THE JUDGES ACTUALLY READ THE AFFIDAVIT BEFORE DECIDING ON ITS INADMISSIBILITY -- THUS IT SERVED ITS PURPOSE. THE COURT DID ACCEPT ETCHEBERRY'S COMMENTS ON THE OTHER MATERIAL. HE CONCENTRATED ON HIGHLIGHTING THE OBVIOUS ERRORS OF FACT IN THE GUANES MEMO WHICH THE PARAGUAYANS HAD GIVEN CNI'S MENA.

4. ETCHEBERRY STRESSED AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHES TO THE WORDING OF THE REVIEW PANEL VERDICT IF THE COURT FINDS OUR EVIDENCE INSUFFICIENT FOR EXTRADITION BUT NONETHELESS SENDS THE FILE TO MILITARY JUSTICE. IN THIS CASE ETCHEBERRY BELIEVES THAT THE VERDICT'S PRECISE WORDING WILL GREATLY INFLUENCE THE PROBABILITY OF INDICTMENT. SINCE ANY TRIAL PROCESS IN CHILE BEGINS WITH AN INVESTIGATIVE -- "SUMMARIO" -- PHASE, THE FIRST GOAL IS TO HAVE THE JUDGE DECIDE TO INDICT -- "DECLARAR REO." ETCHEBERRY THINKS THAT CLOSE STUDY OF THE STRUCTURE AND PHRASING OF THE RULING WILL OFFER CLUES AS TO THE LIKELIHOOD OF INDICTMENT.
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Chile Project (#S1999000030)
U.S. Department of State
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NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETA

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07875 01 OF 02 212253Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 ACDA-12 HA-05 MCT-02 CIAE-00
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 7875

E.O. 12065 GDS 9/21/85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS SHUM, AR OAS
SUBJECT [redacted] THE IAHRC VISIT: NOT MUCH CHANGED?

1. [redacted] *INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: THE MEMBERS OF THE* INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (IAHRC) CAME, SAW AND LISTENED DURIN THEIR SEPTEMBER 5-20 VISIT TO ARGENTINA. *IT IS MORE DIFFICULT TO SAY WHAT IF ANYTHING THEY CONQUERED,* SINCE THOUGH THEIR VISIT MAY HAVE MADE HUMAN RIGHTS AN ISSUE FOR MANY HITHERTO UNCONCERNED OR UNCARING ARGENTINES, IT IS LESS CERTAIN IT CHANGED VERY MANY MINDS OR CONTRIBUTTED TO A CESSATION OF THE PRACTICES THAT HAVE EARNED ARGENTINA A REPUTATION AS A MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATOR AND HAVE STRAINED US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.
[redacted]
[redacted]

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Case Number: 200000044

2. (U) A PROGRAMMATIC SUCCESS -----
JUDGED FROM A DISTANCE-AND WE ABOIDED DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE COMMISSION-THE VISIT WAS A SUCCESS IN TERMS OF WHAT THE COMMISSION WANTED TO DO. THEY MET WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA AT THE BEGINNING AND THE END OF THEIR VISIT. INTTHE LATTER ENCOUNTER THEY REPORTEDLY LEFT HIM WITH A CONFIDENTIAL AND PRELIMINARY LIST OF "RECOMMENDATIONS", PRESUMABLY ON WHAT ARGENTINA MIGHT DO TO IMPROVE ITS HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. IN ADDITION THEY HELD CONFABS WITH ALL THE LEADING LIGHTS OF THE GOVERNEMTN, WITH PROMINENT PRISONERS LIKE TIMERNMAND AND MRS PERON, WIHT OTHER EX-PRESIDENTS, WITH HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS, WITH POLITICANS, JUDGES, GENERALS AND THE LIKE. THEY ALSO TOOK TESTIMONY FROM THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE DISAPPEARED AND FROM FORMER PRISONERS; CHECKED OUT AT LEAST THREE SITES OF FORMER CLANDESTINE PRISONS; AND INVESTIAGED DISAPPEARANCES.

3. [redacted] THROUGHOUT THEIR VISIT THE COMMISSION SEEMED TO DISPLAY BOTH PROFESSIONALISM AND, ON OCCASION, CREATIVITY. FOR EXAMPLE, EMBMERS VISITED CEMETERIES, COMPARING THE UNUSUALLY LARGE NUMBERS OF ANONYMOUS BURIALS IN POTTERS FIELDS WITH THE DATES OF KNOWN CLASHES BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND TERRIRSTS-THE ASSUMPTION BEING THAT IF THERE WERE NO CORRELATION BETWEEN DATES OF THE BURIALS AND THE CLASHES, THE THE UNKNOWN DEAD MAY WELL BE DISAPPEARED WHO WERE KILLED BY THE AUTHORITIES.

4. [redacted] A MEDIA BARRAGE -----
THE COMMISSION'S VISIT WAS MASSIVELY COVERED BY THE ARGENTINE PRESS, TELEVISION AND RADIO. THERE CAN HARDLY BE AN ARGENTINE ALIVE WHO IS NOW UNAWARE THAT HUMAN [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07875 01 OF 02 212253Z

RIGHTS ARE AN ISSUE OF SIGNIFICANCE. EVERYWHERE THE COMMISSION WENT AND EVERYBODY THEY MET WITH-EXCEPT FOR CASES WHERE THE COMMISSION SOUGHT AND OBTAINED MORE CONFIDENTIAL MEETINGS-WAS REPORTED. THE DRAMATIC ASSEMBLY OF HUNDRES OF PEOPLE WAITING OUTSIDE THE ORGANIZATIONS BUENOS AIRES OFFICE TO REPORT DISAPPEARANCES DROVE HOME THE POINT HERE THAT MANY HAVE COMPLAINTS.

5. [redacted] THERE WAS LITTLE DISCUSSION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE-WHAT VIOLATIONS HAVE ACTUALLY TAKEN PLACE AND HOW MANY. NO PAPER EVEN PUBLISHED AN INTERIVEW WITH THOSE WAITING TO GIVE TESTIMONY ABOUT VIOLATIONS TO THE COMMISSION.

6. [redacted] BUT THERE WERE MANY NATIONALISTIC PUBLIC PROTESTS ABOUT THE VIOLATIONS OF ARGENTINA'S SOVEREIGNTY, ABOUT THE ALLEGED FAILURE OF THE COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH TERRORIST PAST, AND, ABOUT EH NECESSITY FOR STERN MEASURE TO COUNTER A MAJOR SUBVERSIVE THREAT. GOVERNMENT ELEMTNS CLEARLY HELPED STIMULATE THIS OUTBURST OF NATIONALIST SENTIMENT. IT WAS ALSO SPONTANEOUS AND RELFECTED THE CHAUVINISTIC MOOD THAT RUNS STRONGLY HERE. THUS, THOUG HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY ARE PLEASED THAT THE VIST BROUGHT SO MUCH ATTENTION TO THE ISSUE, WE ARE FORCED TO CONCLUDE THAT IT ALSO STIRRED SENTIMENTS THAT MAY NOT BE HELPFUL TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAUSE.

7. [redacted] THERE WAS ONE DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE REAMS OF PUBLIC RESPONSES TO THE VISIT, SOME MORE ELOQUENT AND OTHER LESS SO, BUT MOST PREDICTABLE. PUBLISHERS OF ARGENTINAS MAJOR DAILIES REFUSED THE INVITATION TO MEET WITH THE COMMISSION. SEVERAL PUBLISHERS ALSO RELEASED RINGING-AND LESS-THAN-CANDID-STATEMENTS CLAIMING THE COMPLETE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN ARGENTINA.

[redacted]

[redacted]

AND ONE PUBLISHER VIGOROUSLY DENOUNCED IAHRC'S MEDLDLING IN ARGENTINE AFFAIRS. AS MEN WHO EARN THEIR BREAD SELLING A COMMODITY TO THE PUBLIC, THE PUBLISHERS' REACTION TO THE VISIT MAY HAVE BEEN A COMMENT ON THEIR READING OF THE PUBLIC MOOD.

8. [redacted] THE PERONISTS POLITICIZE THE ISSUE-TEMPORARILY AT LEAST -----
THE BIGGEST SURPRISE OF ALL WAS DELIVERED BY A GROUP OF PERONISTS. USING THE COMMISION'S VISIT AS AN OPPORTUNITY, THEY ISSUED THE FIRST STRONG PUBLIC STATEMENT OF OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT SINCE 1976, BLASTING

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07875 02 OF 02 212302Z
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 7875

THE MILITARY FOR EXERCISING DE FACTO POWER AND GROSSLY ABUSING HUMAN RIGHTS. GIVEN THE PAST RECORD OF PERONIST GOVERNMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE STATEMENT SUBSTITUTED HYPOCRISY FOR THE MOVEMENT'S RECENT INDIFFERENCE TO THE ISSUE. BUT FOR THE MOMENT IT ALSO PUT A SECTOR OF THE NATION'S LARGEST SINGLE CIVILIAN POLITICAL FORCE ON THE SIDE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THUS, AT LEAST SOME POLITICIANS SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN A READING THAT DEFENDING HUMAN RIGHTS MAKES POLITICAL SENSE IN ARGENTINA.

3. [redacted] THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS DEVELOPMENT ARE STILL UNCERTAIN. WHETHER THE DECLARATION WAS PURELY A TACTIC--THE PERONISTS HAVE CURIOUS IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO BARGAIN WITH THE MILITARY--OR A WELL THOUGHT OUT MOVE BY MEN

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07875 02 OF 02 212302Z

WHO BELIEVE THE TIME IS RIPE TO BEGIN AN OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN IS UNCLEAR. THE GOVERNMENT HAS CHOSEN TO INTERPRET IT AS A POLITICAL MOVE BY "COMMUNIST-INSPIRED" ELEMENTS IN THE PERONIST MOVEMENT ANY MANY OTHER PERONIST LEADERS QUICKLY DISOWNED THE STATEMENT AND DISTANCED THEMSELVES FROM BITTLE.

10. [redacted] IF THE PERONIST'S GRAB FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS BANNER HAD ENDURED IT WOULD HAVE POLITICIZED THE ISSUE ALONG THE LINES OF THE GREAT SCHISM IN ARGENTINE SOVIETY-THE PERONISTS AND THE ANTI-PERONISTS. THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA HAS ON BALANCE BENEFITTED BECAUSE IT WAS, AT LEAST SUPERFICIALLY NON POLITICAL. THE DEGREE THAT IT BECOMES POLITICIZED COULD INFLUENCE--AND RESTRICT--THE ABILITY OF THIRD PARTIES LIKE THE UNITED STATES TO INTERJECT THEMSELVES INTO THE ISSUE.

11. [redacted] THE REAL POLITICS: UNIFORMED POLITICS -----
THE MOST IMPORTANT IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BATTLE IN THE COUNTRY CONCERNS THE MILITARY SUCCESSION PROBLEM AND NOT THE PERONISTS. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE IAHRC VISIT WILL NOT BECOME AN ISSUE IN THE STRUGGLE THAT PITS RELATIVE MODERATES--PRESIDENT VIDELA, ARMY COMMANDER VIOLA--AGAINST THE KNOWN HARDLINERS--ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF CARLOS SUAREZ MASON AND GENERAL LUCIANO MENENDEZ. WE HAVE NO DIRECT KNOWLEDGE OF HOW THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY HAVE RESPONDED TO THE VISIT. FOR EXAMPLE, DOES VIDELA THINK IT WAS A SUCCESSFUL GAMBLE, THUS FAR?

12. [redacted] THE HARDLINERS ARE CLEARLY TRYING TO SHOW HIM-- AND THEIR COLLEAGUES--THAT IT WAS NOT. THUS, WE HAVE [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07875 02 OF 02 212302Z

SEVERAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM THEM WHICH SUGGESTS THAT THEY ARE SEEKING TO USE THE VISIT TO STOKE THEIR AMBITIONS AND FIRE NATIONALISTIC SENTIMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PRESIDENT AND VIOLA. SUAREZ MASON TOLD THE PRESS THAT "WE DO NOT NEED ADVICE FROM ABROAD," ADDING THAT HE ACCEPTED THE VISIT BECAUSE IT WAS A DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT. MENENDEZ WAS EVEN BLUNTER, DECLARING TO THE PRESS THAT IT HAD "HURT" HIM TO HAVE

TO TALK TO THE COMMISSION ABOUT ARGENTINE AFFAIRS. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD DONE SO ONLY BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN ORDERED TO. HE ALSO DENIED THAT ANY SORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE UNDER HIS COMMAND. SEVERAL ARGENTINES HAVE COMMENTED TO US THAT MENENDEZ' REMARKS WERE INSUBORDINATE AND WOULD HAVE BEEN ENOUGH TO GET HIM SACKED UNDER EARLIER GOVERNMENTS. THAT HE GOT AWAY WITH SUCH CONTEMPTUOUS TALK, IN THE VIEW OF THESE MEN, IS AN INDICATION OF THE WEAKNESS OF VIOLA AND THE PRESIDENT. (ON THE OTHER HAND, HE DID OBEY ORDERS AND RECEIVED THE COMMISSION--WHICH MAY BE A MORE IMPORTANT FACT THAN HIS SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT TO THE PRESS.)

13. [redacted] BRIGHTENING ARGENTINA'S IMAGE -----
ONE OF THE GOA'S GOALS IN INVITING THE COMMISSION WAS TO BRIGHTEN ARGENTINA'S BENT AND TARNISHED IMAGE ABROAD. THE FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION WILL DETERMINE IN GREAT MEASURE HOW SUCCESSFUL THAT BID WILL BE. BUT AT LEAST AS SIGNIFICANT WILL BE THE BEHAVIOR OF THE NATION'S SECURITY FORCES, WHOSE BRUTAL PRACTICES EARNED THE COUNTRY THE LABEL OF A MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATOR.

AND THESE SAME SECURITY FORCES BY DESIGN OR INADVERTENCE CONTINUED THOSE PRACTICES PRIOR TO AND DURING THE COMMISSION'S VISIT. THE GROSSEST PUBLIC MANIFESTATION OF THIS PROBLEM WAS THE TAKING OF THREE SMALL CHILDREN DURING THE LAST DAYS OF THE COMMISSION'S STAY. AND THE SECURITY FORCES INDULGED IN ACTIONS RANGING FROM THE HARSH

[redacted]

[redacted]

--CONTINUING DISAPPEARANCES--TO THE KEYSTONE COPPISH--CLUMSY AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO INTIMIDATE THOSE APPROACHING THE COMMISSION, AND SETTING OF "BLACK" PAMPHLET BOMBS WHICH SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS WITH THE TERRORISTS.

IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT PRESIDENT VIDELA AND GENERAL VIOLA WANTED SUCH ACTIONS TO TAKE PLACE, EITHER AS PRELUDES OR ACCOMPANIMENT TO THE IAHRC VISIT. BUT THEY DID, EMPHASIZING THAT THE SECURITY FORCES ARE SEIZED WITH A DIFFERENT MENTAL FRAMEWORK. THE RULE OF LAW CONTINUES TO BE BREACHED WHENEVER THE MILITARY OR ELEMENTS WITHIN THE SECURITY FORCES DEEM IT JUSTIFIED--NO MATTER WHAT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS.

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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E.O. 12065 GDS, 9/22/85 (VAKY, VIRON P.)

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: TIMERMAN CONDITIONAL REQUEST FOR REFUGE

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 7849; (B) STATE 249264

1. [redacted]-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WE NOTE THAT EMBASSY CONSIDERS IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE CONTINGENCY FEARED BY TIMERMAN WILL OCCUR AND HOPE THAT THE NEW REPRESENTATIONS AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO MAKE (REF B) WILL FURTHER DIMINISH ANY PROPENSITY THAT MIGHT EXIST IN THE GOA TO RESORT TO SUCH A SCENARIO TO SOLVE TIMERMAN CASE. MOREOVER, WE WOULD HOPE AMBASSADOR'S REPRESENTATIONS WOULD SUCCEED IN DISSUADING GOA, NOT ONLY FOR REASONS OF TIMERMAN'S SAFETY BUT ALSO FOR THE GOA'S STANDING INTERNATIONALLY AND FOR US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS.

3. IF CONTINGENCY REFERRED TO IN REFTEL NEVERTHELESS SEEMS POSSIBLE, WE REQUEST, IN VIEW OF US POLICY OF NOT GRANTING ASYLUM IN EMBASSIES, THAT EMBASSY SEEK ALTERNATIVES TO TEMPORARY REFUGE IN THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE THAT WOULD ENSURE AN EQUIVALENT LEVEL OF SAFETY FOR TIMERMAN. POSSIBILITIES WOULD PRESUMABLY INCLUDE TEMPORARY RESIDENCE AT SOME LATIN AMERICAN EMBASSY OR THE ISRAELI

EMBASSY. IF SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE WORKED OUT THROUGH OTHER GOVERNMENTS OR INSTITUTIONS, AND IF TIMERMAN AGREES TO SUCH ARRANGEMENTS, AMBASSADOR IS AUTHORIZED TO LEND APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE, SUCH AS TRANSPORTING TIMERMAN IN HIS VEHICLE AND MAKING REPRESENTATIONS TO GOA AS RECOMMENDED REFTEL.

4. IF THE ACTIONS OUTLINED IN PARAS : AND 3 ARE UNAVAILING AND THE AMBASSADOR AT THAT TIME CONSIDERS TIMERMAN TO BE IN IMMINENT PERSONAL DANGER, AMBASSADOR, CONSISTENT WITH 2 FAM228.3 REGULATIONS, MAY GRANT TIMERMAN TEMPORARY REFUGE AT HIS RESIDENCE AND TAKE THE OTHER STEPS OUTLINED IN REFTEL. VANCE

FYI Argentina

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Box 17404

AT 107C

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS

-- Jacobo Timerman has become a symbol of the struggle to vindicate human rights in Argentina. His steadfast courage during his long ordeal has won him the admiration of countless Americans.

-- Our Government has taken a strong interest in Mr. Timerman's case since the time of his arrest. The President raised his case with President Videla during the latter's visit to the U.S. in 1977. Secretary Vance did the same during his visit to Buenos Aires in November of 1977. Other high-ranking Department of State officials have made similar approaches to the Argentine Government during visits to Argentina, and Ambassador Castro and the U.S. Embassy staff have made numerous representations on Mr. Timerman's behalf.

-- We shall continue to make representations to the Argentine Government at all levels to release Mr. Timerman and permit him to leave the country. We will continue to make clear to the Argentines that his case is a major element of concern in our relations and that his early release would have a favorable impact in United States official and public circles.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 22, 1979

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MEMORANDUM FOR DR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Mrs. Rische Timerman's Request for a Meeting with Mrs. Carter

Mrs. Rische Timerman, the wife of detained Argentine newspaper editor and publisher Jacobo Timerman, wishes to meet with Mrs. Carter to discuss her husband's case. Jacobo Timerman's continued arbitrary detention is a particularly flagrant human rights violation which in some ways has become a symbol of the Argentine human rights situation. We believe a meeting with Mrs. Carter would be helpful in promoting overall U.S. human rights policy objectives but could further complicate the prospects for Mr. Timerman's early release. Mrs. Timerman is prepared to take this risk. We therefore recommend that Mrs. Carter agree to receive Mrs. Timerman.

The attached paper provides background information and suggested talking points that emphasize our deep concern for Mr. Timerman and our determination to continue urging the Argentines to release him from house arrest and permit him to leave the country.

Peter Tarnoff
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

Tab 1 - Background on the Timermans
Tab 2 - Suggested Talking Points

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HA:PMDerian
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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AT 107B

BACKGROUND ON THE TIMERMAN CASE

Jacobo Timerman, publisher and editor of the Buenos Aires newspaper La Opinion, was detained by Argentine security forces in April, 1977. He was held incommunicado for several months and severely tortured during that period. Although a military court found Mr. Timerman innocent of any wrongdoing, he remained in prison by executive order. The Argentine Supreme Court subsequently ruled last year that no legal basis existed for his continued detention. The Executive, however, ignored this ruling and merely transferred Mr. Timerman from prison to house arrest where he remains. Armed guards occupy his apartment, and he is permitted few visitors or contact with the outside world other than his family and his rabbi. He is forbidden, of course, to leave the apartment and was unable to attend his son's wedding in Israel earlier this year or to accept the Hubert Humphrey Freedom Award from B'nai B'rith in New York this summer.

Because Jacobo Timerman had earned a reputation for excellence in journalism and for his honest and courageous portrayal of human rights abuses, his arrest and continued detention have drawn widespread criticism in international journalistic circles, as well as among Members of Congress and other important sectors of American opinion. His continued deprivation of liberty, after having been fully exonerated by the courts, clearly illuminates the Military Junta's arbitrariness as well as the impotence of the Argentine judiciary in the face of flagrant abuses. His case has come to symbolize the plight of the thousands of Argentines who have been deprived of their liberty during the last 3½ years, of whom over 1500, including Mr. Timerman, remain in executive detention.

Congressional and public interest in this case remains high. Numerous articles have appeared in the U.S. press, and important nongovernmental organizations have joined their voices in the general protest.

The President raised Mr. Timerman's case with President Videla when the latter was in Washington for the Panama Canal Treaties signing ceremony. Secretary Vance reviewed his case in detail when he visited Argentina in November of 1977. Under Secretary Newsom and Assistant Secretaries Todman and Derian and others have reiterated our concerns in the interim. Ambassador Castro continues to intercede energetically on every possible occasion with the highest levels of the Argentine Government in an effort to secure Mr. Timerman's release.

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9/22/79

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PAGE 01 STATE 249361
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IO/HR:NSHAFT (SUBS)
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date 5/11/01 Declassify on 5/10/11 Reason 25X6

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E.O. 12065: GDS - 9/21/85 (VAKY, VIRON P.)

TAGS: SHUM, PINS, ICRC, AR

SUBJECT: CLANDESTINE PRISONERS IN ARGENTINA

REF: GENEVA 13502

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT'

2. REFTEL REPORTED THAT [redacted] HE WOULD APPROACH GOA IN CONTEXT OF FOLLOW-UP TO LIST OF DISAPPEARED.

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 STATE 249361

3. WE NOW HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS, AS YET UNVERIFIED, THAT A CAMP IN THE SOUTHWEST OF ARGENTINA APPARENTLY

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USED TO DETAIN CHILEANS MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN USED TO HOLD SOME FEW OF THE ARGENTINE DISAPPEARED. THEREFORE, SUGGEST THAT YOU APPROACH [ ] ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: B1

-- OUR EMBASSIES HAVE RECEIVED A VARIETY OF REPORTS THAT THERE ONCE WAS--AND POSSIBLY MAY STILL BE--A DETENTION CENTER IN RIO NEGRO PROVINCE ON ROUTE 22 BETWEEN THE TOWNS OF GENERAL ROCA AND ALLEN;

-- ACCORDING TO THESE REPORTS, THIS CAMP ONCE HELD OVER 400 CHILEANS, WHO WERE REPATRIATED TO CHILE WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ICRC IN MARCH OR APRIL OF THIS YEAR;

-- OUR SOURCES HAVE ALSO REPORTED THE REPATRIATED CHILEANS STATE THAT THEY SAW A HANDFUL OF DISAPPEARED ARGENTINES IN THE CAMP. WE ARE UNABLE TO JUDGE THE RELIABILITY OF THIS REPORT, BUT WE FEEL AN OBLIGATION TO FOLLOW UP;

-- IF THE RED CROSS WAS, AS REPORTED, INVOLVED IN THE REPATRIATION OF CHILEANS FROM THIS CAMP, COULD ITS DELEGATE IN CHILE CONTACT FORMER IMMATES OF THE CAMP TO TRY TO CONFIRM OR REFUTE THE REPORT THAT ARGENTINES WERE BEING HELD IN THE CAMP? DOES THE ICRC BELIEVE THAT THE CAMP MAY STILL BE FUNCTIONING AS A DETENTION CENTER FOR ARGENTINES?

-- FINALLY, DEPENDING ON WHAT THE ICRC LEARNS, COULD THE DELEGATE IN ARGENTINA BE INSTRUCTED TO FOLLOW UP WITH THE GOA? VANCE

[redacted]

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PAGE 03 STATE 249361

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 249201
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /025

DRAFTED BY L/EB:GLEHNER/RW
APPROVED BY ARA:SEATON
ARA/AND - P. WHITNEY
S/S-O - J. HULINGS
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
D,P,L,ARA

File Project (#S199900050)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify In Part ____ In Full Y
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O 220056Z SEP 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 249201

STADIS
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DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12065 GDS 9/22/85 (LEHNER, G.) L/EB

TAGS: PINS, PGOV, CI

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE

REF: (A) SANTIAGO 6399; (B) STATE 246470; (C) 78' STATE 285740

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THIS MESSAGE SUPPLEMENTS INFORMATION PROVIDED REFTEL B WITH RESPECT TO TERMINATION OF EX-IM ACTIVITIES IN CHILE. WE HAVE DISCUSSED IN GENERAL TERMS THIS WITH EX-IM ATTORNEY WHO SPECIALIZES IN THESE MATTERS.

3. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS RAISED IN PARA 9 REFTEL A

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 249201

WE CAN PROVIDE FOLLOWING.

A. WE HAVE NEVER MADE A DETERMINATION UNDER THE CHAFFEE AMENDMENT AGAINST ANY COUNTRY.

B. OUR VIEW IS THAT WE COULD, IF CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANTED,

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REVOKE RATHER QUICKLY ANY ADVERSE DETERMINATION MADE UNDER THE CHAFFEE AMENDMENT. THERE IS NO FIXED PERIOD SET BY THE STATUTE. (SEE REF C OF NOVEMBER 1978)

3. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SECTION 607 (REFERRED TO IN REF B) COULD BECOME OPERATIVE AUTOMATICALLY IF THERE WAS NO EXTRADITION AND NO TRIAL IN CHILE. HOWEVER, THE PROHIBITION IN SECTION 607 APPLIES ONLY TO FINANCING ACTIVITIES FOR PUBLIC/GOVERNMENT ENTITIES. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS ACCOUNTS FOR ONLY 10 OF EX-IM ACTIVITY IN CHILE.

4. FULLER DISCUSSION FOLLOWS BY SEPTEL. VANCE

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[redacted] 11/22/17

Department of State

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TELEGRAM R
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PAGE 01 STATE 249264
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 SS-15 NSCE-00 SP-02
L-03 INR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /055 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:MMADAMS, JR.:MAS
APPROVED BY ARA:VPVAKY
ARA:SDEATON
ARA/ECA:CWRUSER
HA:MSCHNEIDER (SUBS)
SY:GHARVEY (SUBS)

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O 220107Z SEP 79 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES NIACT IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 249264

E.O. 12065: GDS - 9/21/85 (VAKY, VIRON P.)

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: RELEASE AND PROTECTION FOR TIMERMAN

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7849

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WE NOTE EMBASSY'S ASSUMPTION THAT ARGENTINE JUNTA'S MEETINGS MONDAY AND TUESDAY WILL DISCUSS TIMERMAN CASE AND ARE HOPEFUL THAT SUPREME COURT'S DECISION MIGHT TIP BALANCE IN FAVOR OF DECISION TO RELEASE TIMERMAN AND PERMIT HIM TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

3. -WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT AMBASSADOR-HAS RAISED TIMERMAN'S CASE NUMEROUS TIMES WITH GOA (MOST RECENTLY WITH VIOLA AND FOREIGN MINISTRY) UNLESS EMBASSY SEES OBJECTION WE SUGGEST THAT AMBASSADOR SEEK APPOINTMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AT AS HIGH A LEVEL AS YOU CONSIDER APPROPRIATE AND URGE TIMERMAN'S RELEASE AND PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. WE RECOGNIZE THE AMBASSADOR HAS TENTATIVE APPOINTMENT TO SEE GENERAL VIOLA ON WEDNESDAY, UUT NOTE THAT HIS MEETING WOULD OCCUR AFTER THE JUNTA HAS CONSIDERED THE ISSUE.

4. IN THIS CALL, AMBASSADOR SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN FOR TIMERMAN'S PERSONAL SAFETY SHOULD THE MODALITIES OF HIS RELEASE NOT INCLUDE PROVISION FOR HIS PROTECTION DURING THE PERIOD PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE COUNTRY (ASSUMING THAT HE WOULD WISH TO DO SO). WE ARE COGNIZANT OF YOUR PARAGRAPH 4 WHICH GIVES TIMERMAN'S ESTIMATE THAT, IF GRANTED A PASSPORT, THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM. GOA APPARENTLY MAY HAVE CONCERNS OF ITS OWN ABOUT TIMERMAN'S SAFETY.

5. COMMENT: WE WOULD APPRECIATE SOONEST FURTHER DETAILS ON THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION. WITH THIS DECISION, WHAT IS THE PRESENT LEGAL AND PRACTICAL STATUS OF TIMERMAN'S CASE? HAS TIMERMAN NOW BEEN FULLY ABSOLVED BY THE ARGENTINE JUDICIAL SYSTEM? I THERE STILL SOME LEGAL BASIS ON WHICH HE COULD BE HELD? WHAT IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW IS THE PRESENT STATE OF PLAY WITHIN THE ARGENTINE REGIME? PLEASE ADVISE.

6. INSTRUCTIONS CCNCERNING POSSIBLE ASYLUM FOLLOW SEPTEL. VANCE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005485

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05485 242323Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 MCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO USDOC WASHDC
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 5485

DEPT FOR ARA/EX, M/CT AND A/SY
PANAMA FOR RSS

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/24/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS/ ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) KIDNAPPING OF AMERICAN CITIZENS - UPDATE

REF: DATT IR 6 829 0136 79

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ACCORDING TO USDOC BECKMAN INSTZENTS
OF FULLERTON, CALIFORNIA CONFIRMS THAT FAUSTO BUCHELI, IS,
REPEAT, IS U.S. CITIZEN.

3. LA PRENSA GRAFICA OF 9/24/79 CARRIED SHORT ARTICLE
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05485 242323Z

ATTRIBUTING KIDNAPPING TO THE PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DE
LOS TRABAJADORES CENTROAMERICANOS (PRTC) BASED ON A
COMMUNIQUE DELIVERED TODAY 9/24/79. ARTICLE QUOTES
COMMUNIQUE AS INDICATING THAT PRTC HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN
OTHER TERRORIST INCIDENTS BUT HAS REMAINED SILENT TO DATE.
NO DEMANDS WERE GIVEN FOR RELEASE OF MCDONALD BUT
COMMUNIQUE REPORTEDLY INDICATED BOTH CAPTIVES WERE IN
PERFECT HEALTH. FINAL PARAGRAPH INDICATED THAT PRTC WOULD
CONTINUE ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST ROMERO REGIME.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940030LH

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA005486

4. CONTACTS WITH FAMILY BY DATT (SEE REF) INDICATE THAT MCDONALD'S WIFE RECEIVED PHONE CALLS SEPTEMBER 23-24 FROM PERSONS IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES AS BELONGING TO PRTC. PERSONS STATED MCDONALD WAS "ALL RIGHT" AND ASKED WHEN COMPANY REP. WAS COMING DOWN.

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5. ONLY PREVIOUS EMBASSY INFORMATION ON PRTC IS IN SAN SALVADOR 1850 - PRTC WAS REPORTED TO HAVE SET OFF PROPAGANDA BOMBS IN SAN SALVADOR AND OTHER LOCALITIES ON FEBRUARY 26. ACCORDING TO DATT, MODUS OPERANDI USED BY ASSAILANTS IS SIMILAR TO THAT OF EXTREME LEFTIST REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE (ERP); THUS, PRTC COULD WELL BE SPLINTER GROUP FROM ONE OF ESTABLISHED LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS.
DEVINE

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07881 241440Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
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O 241408Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2508

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7881

E.O. 12065 GDS 9-24-85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT (U) REPORTS THAT TIMERMAN MAY BE EXPELLED FROM COUNTRY

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7834

1. (U) THE PRESS CARRIES REPORTS CITING "RUMOS CIRCULATING AMONG OFFICIAL SOURCES" THAT THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IS PLANNING TO ORDER JACOBO TIMERMAN'S RELEASE SOMETIME THIS WEEK, STRIPPING HIM OF HIS ARGENTINE CITIZENSHIP AND EXPELLING HIM FROM THE COUNTRY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE RECENT SUPREME COURT FINDING THAT HIS CONTINUED DETENTION BY THE JUNTA WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL. A JUNTA MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, AND ACCORDING TO INFORMED PRESS SPECULATION, THE JUNTA DECISION REGARDING TIMERMAN WILL BE ISSUED AT THAT TIME. A MEETING OF THE FULL PLENARY OF ARGENTINE ARMY GENERALS IS SCHEDULED FOR TODAY SEPTEMBER 24 AND THERE IS SPECULATION THAT THE TIMERMAN ISSUE WILL BE AMONG THOSE DEALT WITH AT THAT MEETING ALSO.

2. (U) THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL COMMENT OF THE PRESS SPECULATION REGARDING TIMERMAN'S POSSIBLE RELEASE, BUT ARMY COMMANDER GENERAL VIOLA INFORMED THE PRESS SEPTEMBER 21 THAT IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TIMERMAN CASE WERE IN THE OFFING.

3. (U) THE PRESS HAS ALSO REPORTED THAT THE GUARD ON TIMERMAN'S RESIDENCE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED IN THE WAKE OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION AND PRESS REPORTS CONCERNING HIS POSSIBLE RELEASE.

4. (U) TO DATE THE TEXT OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION HAS EVIDENTLY BEEN KEPT SECRET AND THE COURT HAS NOT EVEN CONFIRMED THAT IT HAS RULED IN THIS MATTER. CLARIN, SEPTEMBER 23, COMMENTING ON THE SUPREME COURT ACTION STATED THAT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WAS SURPRISED BY THE COURT DECISION WHICH CLARIN HERALDS AS A NEW DEMONSTRATION OF THE COURT'S INDEPENDENCE VIS-A-VIS THE EXECUTIVE.

5. (U) THIS CONTENTION SEEMS TO BE SUPPORTED BY A COMMENT GIVEN US LAST WEEK BY THE RECENTLY ARRIVED FRENCH MINISTER-COUNSELOR WHO WHEN CALLING ON SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT GABRIELLI LAS WEEK WAS INFORMED THAT THE COURT WAS ABOUT TO ISSUE A BOMB SHELL THAT THE EXECUTIVE HAD NOT ANTICIPATED.

6. (U) CLARIN ALSO REPORTED THAT WHEN THE IAHRC RAISED THE REPORTED COURT DECISION REGARDING TIMERMAN IN A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA, THE PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT ARGENTINA WOULD FULFILL ITS CONSTITUTIONAL TRADITION IN THIS MATTER.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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TO RUESNA/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 1720
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 7751
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DAO			FAS	
MILGP			FAA	
			CHRON	
			RF	1

E.O. 12065: GDS 9-25-85 (YOULE, JOHN J.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, UY
SUBJECT: URUGUAYAN HUMAN RIGHTS CASE - MARIANA ZAFFARONI ISLAS, AGE 4-1/2 YEARS

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. MARIANA ZAFFARONI ISLAS (NOW AGE 4-1/2) DISAPPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES WITH HER URUGUAYAN PARENTS, JORGE ZAFFARONI CASTILLA AND MARIA EMILIA ISLAS GETTI DE ZAFFARONI, IN SEPTEMBER 1976. THE GRANDPARENTS, MR. AND MRS. JULIO ROBERTO ZAFFARONI AUBIETA, HAVE RECENTLY TRAVELLED TO SANTIAGO IN SEARCH OF MARIANA. THEY HAVE STRONG REASONS TO BELIEVE THAT SHE WAS TAKEN TO SANTIAGO TOGETHER WITH THE GRISSONA CHILDREN AND HOPE THAT SHE ALSO MAY STILL BE ALIVE. THE GRANDPARENTS' INTENTION IS TO HIRE A PRIVATE DETECTIVE TO SEARCH THE RECORDS OF ALL ADOPTION AGENCIES AND ORPHANAGES TO LOCATE THE CHILD.

3. THE ZAFFARONIS CAME TO THIS EMBASSY TO SEEK ADVICE AND POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE IN APPROACHING THE WOMAN WHO ALLEGEDLY TRANSPORTED THE GRISSONA AND ZAFFARONI CHILDREN TO SANTIAGO IN 1976. THEY MAY ALSO APPROACH EMBASSY SANTIAGO. IF SO, WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR RECEIVING THEM AND INFORMING US OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

HUMAN RIGHTS HIGHLIGHTS

ARGENTINA: TIMERMAN RELEASE?

SOURCES: Buenos Aires 7838; 7881; 7917

(Entire text [redacted])

Rumors about the impending expulsion of Jacobo Timerman have attained such currency, according to Embassy Buenos Aires, that his release is being taken for granted in Buenos Aires press and political circles. Press speculation concerning the fate of Argentina's best known political detainee was ignited by a reported Supreme Court decision of September 17 that ordered Timerman's release from house arrest. According to Embassy sources, the Court acted independently. However, the text of the decision has not been published, and government spokesmen have made no comment on the case. The executive's reaction to the Court's decision is expected after ~~the~~ September 26 Junta meeting.

INR Comment: The situation looks promising, but this is not the first spate of rumors concerning Timerman's release. Nor is it the first time that the Supreme Court has ruled his detention illegal; it did so in July 1978.

No evidence has ever been made public to substantiate charges ~~that Timerman aided or encouraged subversion~~ that Timerman was involved in political or economic subversion. His continued detention has seriously damaged the government's reputation at a time when the frequency of category one human rights violations has declined significantly. Despite these facts, Timerman has been held because he symbolizes for military hardliners what they hold responsible for Argentina's ills. While Timemman was not a terrorist,

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per se, his detractors believe that he encouraged (and justified) terrorism through his journalism, associated with those who financed terrorism (Graiver, et. al.), and participated in a variety of corrupt business practices. That he is a Jew ~~and can be arrogant~~ has compounded his problem with anti-Semitic military officers, as does his tendency to be arrogant.

The fact that so much is suspected in Timerman's case and so little is proven seems only to be regarded as evidence that he is very clever and , therefore, all the more dangerous. Given this attitude, those like Brig. Gen. Camps, who directed the original investigation of Timerman's affairs, are irrational about the case. If moderate officers are able to gain Timerman's release despite Camps and others like him, it will be a significant accomplishment.

INR/RAR: J. Buchanan 9/25/79 x22251

9/25/79

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WILSON ROOSEVELT JR 10/12/79 145332 PRINTER: LW
79 BUENOS AIRES 7929 [redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07929 251520Z
ACTION ARA-15
INFO OCT-21 ADS-00 SY-05 SS-15 NSCE-00 L-03 E-01
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2529
[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7929
E.O. 12065: GDS 9/25/85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND E.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) RELEASE AND PROTECTION FOR TIMERMAN
REF: STATE 249264
1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. WE HAVE NOW HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH TIMERMAN'S LAWYER, GENARIO CARRIO WHO SPOKE TO US IN CONFIDENCE.
3. INCUDE HE HAS NOT SEEN THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON TIMERMAN, CARRIO FEELS PRESS REPORTS ABOUT IT ARE PROBABLY CORRECT, AT LEAST SO FAR AS ITS MAJOR THRUST--THE JUNTA HAS BEEN TOLD BY THE COURT THAT THE CONTINUED DETENTION OF TIMERMAN IS ILLEGAL. MOREOVER, CARRIO BELIEVES THAT IN SECRT ORDER--PROBABLY THIS WEEK--TIMERMAN WILL PROBABLY BE STRIPPED OF HIS CITIZENSHIP AND EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY BY THE JUNTA WHICH WILL TAKE THESE STEPS UNDER THE POWERS IT CONFERRED ON ITSELF WITH THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT OF 1976.
4. CARRIO STATED TO US THAT HIS PRESENTATION TO THE COURT IN TIMERMAN'S BEHALF HAD TWO THRUSTS: A: THAT TIMERMAN'S DETENTION UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07929 2515222
ACT IS ILLEGAL; AND
B: THAT THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT IN ITSELF IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.
5. HE BELIEVES THAT IN ORDERING TIMERMAN FREED THE COURT PROBABLY DEALT WITH THE FIRST OF THESE ARGUMENTS, BECAUSE TO DECLARE THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT ITSELF UNCONSTITUTIONAL WOULD OPEN UP A PANDORA'S BOX FOR THE JUNTA, AFFECTING AS IT WOULD THE MANY PEOPLE BEING HELD OR WHO HAVE BEEN PUNISHED UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT.
6. THE BASIC ARGUMENT HE USED TO ATTACK THE LEGALITY, AS OPPOSED TO ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY, OF TIMERMAN'S DETENTION WAS NARROWLY AIMED AT PARAGRAPH (E) OF ARTICLE TWO OF THE ACT WHICH STATES THAT AMONG THE MEASURES THAT CAN BE APPLIED TO THOSE BEING PUNISHED UNDER THE BILL IS "DETENTION IN A PLACE DETERMINED BY THE EXECUTIVE POWER FOR SO LONG AS THE INDIVIDUAL

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
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(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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WILSON ROOSEVELT JR 10/12/79 145333 PRINTER: LW
79 BUENOS AIRES 7929 [redacted]

REMAINS AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER...."
THE ARGUMENT OF THE DEFENSE WAS THAT SINCE TIMERMAN'S
DETENTION UNDER THE EXECUTIVE POWER HAS BEEN RULED
ILLEGAL (BY THE COURT LAST YEAR) AND HE IS NO LONGER
AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE, HE CAN NO LONGER
BE HELD UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT.
7. OTHER THAN RELEASING TIMERMAN, THE JUNTA HAS TWO
OTHER OPTIONS: ONE, TO IGNORE THE COURT ORDER; TWO,
TO PLACE HIM BACK UNDER PEN. CAFRIC ASSERTED THAT
NEITHER OF THESE OPTIONS WAS LIKELY--THE FIRST
"BECAUSE IT WOULD BE ILLEGAL" AND THE SECOND BECAUSE
"IT WOULD MAKE THEM LOOK RIDICULOUS TO THE WORLD."
CASTRO
[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07929 2815202
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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07946 251945Z 7259
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 SS-15 NSCE-00 SP-02
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2538

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7946

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/25/85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: TIMERMAN CASE: MILITARY DELIBERATIONS

REF: STATE 249264

1. THE ARGENTINE MILITARY IS CONTINUING A SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS IN WHICH THE TIMERMAN CASE (AS WELL AS THAT OF FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA) ARE PROBABLY CENTRAL ISSUES. ON SEPTEMBER 24, THE JUNTA HELD AN UNSCHEDULED MEETING. ON SEPTEMBER 25 THE GENERAL OFFICERS OF EACH SERVICE ARE GATHERING IN SEPARATE CONFABS PRESIDED OVER BY EACH SERVICE CHIEF, AND ON SEPTEMBER 26 THE JUNTA IS SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE.

2. COMMENT: THE DECISION TO RELEASE TIMERMAN -- EVEN STRIPPED OF HIS CITIZENSHIP AND EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY -- CANNOT BE AN EASY ONE FOR THE MILITARY. STUBBORN INFLEXIBILITY CAUSED THE MILITARY TO DETAIN TIMERMAN DESPITE THE PAST COURT ORDER AND DESPITE THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT HE IS AN INTERNATIONAL CAUSE CELEBRE BADLY DAMAGING ARGENTINA IN FOREIGN EYES. THERE MAY BE MILITARY MEN WHO ARE STILL GRASPING FOR A WAY TO KEEP HIM UNDER LOCK AND KEY. IN THIS REGARD WE NOTE THAT THE PRESS QUOTES SOURCES STATING THE COURT FIXED NO DEADLINE FOR TIMERMAN'S RELEASE. WHILE THIS MAY INDICATE THAT SOME IN THE MILITARY COULD SEEK TO HOLD TIMERMAN ON THIS EXCUSE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE ANONYMOUS SPOKESMAN MAY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO SUGGEST THAT THE ARMED FORCES WERE ACTING LEGALLY IN TAKING TIME TO DELIBERATE THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION.

3. NOTE: WE RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL MINUTES AGO FROM AN AMERICAN NEWSMAN SAYING HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY A CONTACT IN THE PRESIDENCY THAT A DECISION ON TIMERMAN WILL BE MADE PUBLIC TOMORROW SEPTEMBER 26. CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07962 252244Z

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SSO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
NEA-06 INRE-00 /037 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2547

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7962

E.O. 12065: XDS-2 9-25-79 (CASTRO, RAUL H.) CR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) TIMERMAN BEING EXPELLED

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. DURING CONVERSATION AT 1800 THIS EVENING GENERAL VIOLA TOLD ME JACOBO TIMERMAN WAS THEN BEING PROCESSED FOR EXPULSION FROM ARGENTINA TONIGHT.
HE DECLINED TO PROVIDE DESTINATION, BUT IMPLIED IT WOULD BE ISRAEL. I SAID WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT HIS SAFETY AND OFFERED TO DO WHATEVER WE COULD IN THAT REGARD. VIOLA SAID NOT TO WORRY ABOUT THAT, THEY WOULD TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS TO ASSURE THAT HE REACHED HIS DESTINATION SAFE AND SOUND. HE DECLINED TO PROVIDE FLIGHT NUMBER OR AIRLINE, BUT PRESS MAY SOON HAVE IT SINCE TELEVISION NEWSMEN HAVE ALREADY LEARNED TIMERMAN HAS LEFT HIS APARTMENT AND ARE SPECULATING HE WILL BE LEAVING COUNTRY.

3. DETAILS FOLLOW TOMORROW.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005490

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05490 01 OF 03 251534Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 PC-01 HA-05 TRSE-00
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O 251400Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDV IMMEDIATE 4824
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMETVASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5490

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 9/24/89 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, PGOV, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR MEANINGFUL DEMOCRATIC OPENING JUDGED TO BE DIMMING

REFS (A) SAN SALVADOR 5244, (B) SAN SALVADOR 5465, (C) SAN SALVADOR 5484, (D) STATE 250050

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: PROSPECTS FOR A MEANINGFUL DEMOCRATIC OPENING SEEM INCREASINGLY DIM AMID SIGNS OF A HARDENING GOVERNMENT POSTURE AND GREATER POLITICAL POLARIZATION WHICH MAY LEAD TO AN OPPOSITION BOYCOTT OF THE MARCH [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05490 01 OF 03 251534Z

1980 ELECTIONS. LONG-TIME EMBASSY SOURCE, WHO HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST ACTIVE PROMOTERS OF PRIVATE INTERNAL DIALOGUE, INFORMED EMBASSY FRIDAY, SEPT 21, THAT ALL EFFORTS TO ARRANGE A PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT ROMERO AND SECTORAL GROUPS INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING MEASURES TO IMPROVE ELECTORAL CLIMATE HAVE FLOUNDERED DUE TO AN APPARENT LACK OF PRESIDENTIAL INTEREST. SOURCE ATTRIBUTES PRESIDENT ROMERO'S ATTITUDE TO A VARIETY OF FACTORS, INCLUDING POSSIBLE MISINTERPRETATION

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940034H

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Special Project (1993)

OF AMBASSADOR BOWDLER'S MOST RECENT VISIT TO EL SALVADOR.

3. MEANWHILE, SIGNS OF POLITICAIIPOLARIZATION ARE INCREASINGLY EVIDENT AS CHIRSTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S WING OF THE CHURCH AND OTHER MODERATE GROUPS, WHOSE SUPPORT IS ESSENTIAL TO MEANINGFUL ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR, SERIOUSLY QUESTION CREDIBIV TY
OF PRESIDENT'S VOMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC OPENING. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN PARTICULAR SEEMS TO BE LEANING TOWARD NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE MARCH ELECTIONS AND HAS JOINED WITH A WIDE SPECTRUM OF OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS IN DEMANDING GOES MEASURES TO ESTABLISH A MORE CREDIBLE ELECTORAL CLIMATE.

4. UNLESS THERE IS SOME EARLY REVERSAL OF THE CURRENT TREND, PERHAPS THROUGH SERIOUS PRIVATE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND MODERATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTORS WORKING TOWARD A MEANINGFUL ELECTORAL PROCESS, CURRENT PROSPECTS FOR A GENUINE DEMOCRATIC OPENING THAT MIGHT ARREST THE TRENO TOWARD A DESTRUCTIVE CYCLE OF ESCALATING VIOLENCE SEEM DOUBTFUL. END SUMMARY.

5. ACCORDING TO LONG-TIME EMBASSY SOURCE, POLITICALLY [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 05490 01 OF 03 251534Z

ACTIVE IN THE BUSINESS SECTOR AND ONE OF THE ORIGINAL PROMOTERS OF PRIVATE INTERNAL DIALOGUE, PRESIDENT ROMERO'S GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED AN INCREASINGLY HARD LINE WHICH THREATENES TO FORECLOSE MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT WITH OPPOSITION SECTORS THAT MIGHT LEAD TO VIABLE DEMOCRATIC OPENING AND OPPOSITION PARTICIPATION IN MARCH 1980 ELECTIONS.

6. SOURCE WAS ONE OF SECTORAL REPRESENTATIVES CHOSEN TO MEET WITH VICE PRESIDENT JULIO ASTACIO SEPT 12 AFTER PRESIDENT ROMERO DECLINED TO ATTEND SEPTEMBER 10 MEETING WITH LARGER DLEEGATION REPRESENTING CHURCH, PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS OF PRIVATE SECTOR, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC), ETC. (REF A) TO DISCUSS CONDITIONS PREREQUISITE FOR VIABLE ELECTORAL CLIMATE.

7. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, SESSION WITH VICE PRESIDENT WAS NOT PRODUCTIVE. LATTER SEEMED DISCOURAGED, IRRITATED AND CONTINUED TO CRITICIZE ALLEGED PDC BAD FAITH IN FAILING LAST MAY TO PARTICIPATE IN GOES' PUBLICLY-ORCHESTRATED NATIONAL FORUM. SOURCE SAID DELEGATION EMPHASIZED TO VICE PRESIDENT IMPORTANCE OF HAVING BROAD SPECTRUM OF OPPOSITION SECTORS MEET DIRECTLY WITH PRESIDENT TO PRESENT WRITTEN DOCUMENT WHICH COULD SERVE AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION OF ELECTORAL CLIMATE, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS. DURING FOLLOWING WEEK

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

SOURCE MADE FOUR CALLS TO GENERAL AGREDA, PRESIDNT ROMERO'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, BUT IN CONTRAST TO PAST CONTACTS WHEN AGREDA ALMOST IMMEDIATELY RETURNED CALLS, NO RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING. SINCE UNSATISFACTORY MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT, SOURCE SAID SECTORAL REPRZEENTATIVES -- INCLUDING CHURCH AND PDC -- HAVE MET SEVERAL TIMES. GROUP, HOWEVER, IS NOW PROFOUNDLY PESSIMISTIC THAT PRESIDENT IS REALLY INTERESTED IN OR ABLE TO JOIN IN PRIVATE DIALGOUE AIMED AT PROMOTING NATIONAL CLIMATE

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MORE PROPITIOUS TO DEMOCRATIC OPENING.

8. SOURCE BELIEVES PRESIDENT ROMOER AND HIS CLOSET SUPPORTERS IN BOTH MILITARY AND CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS CIRCLES ARE INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT THEY CAN COPE WITH EXTREME LEFT WITHOUT FURTHER POLITICAL CONCESSIONS AND ARE PREPARED TO PROCEED WITH ELECTIONS WITH OR WITHOUT PARTICIPATION OF PDC AND OTHER LEFT-OF-CENTER OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES. AS EXPLANATION FOR TOUGHER POSTURE OF ROMOERO REGIME, SOURCE CITED FOLLOWING FACTORS:

A. GROWING GOES OPTIMISM, BASED IN INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (ANEP) AND FONMIN RODRIGUEZ PORTH, THAT EL SALVADOR

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005490

ADP428

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05490 02 OF 03 251545Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 PC-01 HA-05 TRSE-00
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O 251400Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4625
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
SINCICSO QUARRY HTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5490

WILL ESCAPE OAS CENSORSHIP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE
DURING OCTOBER MEETING IN LA PAZ.

B. INCREASED CONSULTATION AND POLITICAL SOLIDARITY AMONG PRESIDENTS (ROMERO AND LUCAS AND PAZ) OF SO-CALLED NORTHERN TIER COUNTRIES IN CA.

C. GOES BELIEF (YICH SOURCE CONSIDERS ERRONEOUS AND SHORT-SIGHTED) THAT POPULAR POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE WEAKER AND HAVING PROBLEMS IN GAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT.

D. VIRULENT PRESS CAMPAIGN -- ENCOURAGED AND ABETTED BY GOES -- AGAINST ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S WING OF THE CHURCH, PDC, SUBVERSIVE GROUPS AND, MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THE US. REGARDING THE LATTER POINT, OFFICIAL GOES [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05490 02 OF 03 251545Z

COOLNESS TOWARD US HAS RECENTLY BEEN REFLECTED IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT, DISTANT AND CRITICAL ATTITUDE OF MILITARY CONTACTS, AND INCREASINGLY VITUPERATIVE PUBLIC AND PRESS CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AGAINST US POLICY TOWARD CA.

E. HASTIYL-CONTRIVED MEETING OF GOVERNMENT'S PCN PARTY ON SEPT 20 (REF B) IN WHICH PRESIDENT ROMERO REPORTEDLY SIGNATAD HIS LACK OF CONCERN AS TO WHETER

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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Special Project (1993)

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PDC AND OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES OPT TO PARTICIPATE IN MARCH 1980 ELECTIONS.

F. RUMORS BEING CIRCULATED AROUND TOWN THAT USG IS SATISFIED THAT GOES HAS ACTED IN GOOD FAITH TO HOLD DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND THAT MEASURES ANNOUNCED AND IMPLEMENTED BY PRESIDENT TO DATE ARE ENOUGH.

G. IN LATTER CONTEXT, SOURCE SAID THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION AND PERHAPS MISINTERPRETATION OF AMBASSADOR BOWDLE'S MOST RECENT VISIT TO EL SALVADOR. MANY ASSUMED THAT BOWDLER MET WITH PRESIDENT AND THAT HE CARRIED MESSAGE WHICH TENDED TO CONTRIBUTE TO STIFFER GOES POSITION OUTLINED ABOVE. AT THIS POINT AMBASSADOR ASSURED SOURCE THAT PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF BOWDLER VISIT HAD BEEN TO EXPLAIN PAST AND PRESENT US POLICY TOWARD NICARAGUA AND THAT, ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATIONS INEVITABLY TOUCHED UPON SITUATION IN

EL SALVADOR, BOWDLER CARRIED NO MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT ROMERO, MET ONLY WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER TO DISCUSS NICARAGUA AND ONLY INDIRECTLY COMMENTED ON SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR BY HIGHLIGHTING RELEVANCY OF CERTAIN LESSONS EMERGING FROM THE NICARAGUAN EXPERIENCE.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 05490 02 OF 03 251545Z

SOURCE EXPRESSED DISBELIEF THAT BOWDLER COULD HAVE VISITED EL SALVADD AT THIS CRITICAL TIME WITHOUT (A) CARRYING SOME MESSAGE FOR GOES AND/OR OTHER SECTORS OR (B) FORUMULATING USG POSITION ON CRISIS IN EL SSXVADOR, ADDING THAT THIS FACT IN ITSELF MIGHT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO INCLINATION OF GOES AND MOST CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN PRIVATE SECTOR TO ADOPT A HARDER LINE TOWARD OPPOSITION SECTORS ON ASSUMPTION THAT USG SATISFIED WITH PROGRES TOWARD DEMOCRATIC OPENING.

10. SOURCE, WHO CONFESSED THAT HIS MORE CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS IN ANEP HAVE STARTED LABELING HIM A "COMMUNIST" AND A TOOL OF THE PDC BECAUSE OF HIS DIALOGUE CONTACTS WITH THE PARTY AND THE CHURCH, FELT THAT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS MUST ALSO SHARE BLAME FOR THE GROWING POLARIZATION AND HARDENING ATTITUDES. WHILE UNDER-STANDING OF THE PDC'S NEED TO ASSURE ITSELF OF A MORE VIABLE ELECTORAL CLIMATE AND OBTAIN A REDUCTION OF OFFICIAL VIOLENCE DIRECTED AGAINST NON-EXTREMIST SECTORS, SOURCE SAID THE PARTY HAS UNFORTUNATELY NOW ADOPTED A HARD AND INTRANSIGENT PUBLIC POSITION WHICH WILL COMPLICATE ANY POSSIBILITY OF PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT. IN THIS REGARD THE PDC'S PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND STATEMENTS IN THE SO-CALLED POPULAR FORUM ON SEPT 20 WILL ONLY STRENGTHEN THE HADN OF PARTY CRITICS IN THE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR WHO

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Special Project (1993)

GENERALLY CONSIDER (OR DEPICT) THE PDC AS STALKING HORSE FOR THE EXTREME LEFT (REF C).

11. IN ALL CANDOR, SOURCE SAID HE IS INCREASINGLY DOUBTFUL THAT PDC AND OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE MARCH ELECTIONS. WHILE SOURCE PLANS RENEWED EFFORT THIS WEEK TO REACH PRESIDENT AND PROMOTE PRIVATE DIALOGUE WITH OPPOSITION GROUPS, HE IS PESSIMISTIC THAT ROMERO WILL RESPOND. DESPITE DELICATE AND PROTRACTED DIALOGUE EFFORTS OF PAST YEAR, [redacted]

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SOURCE BELIEVES THAT IT IS A TRAGIC BUT INESCAPABLE FACT THAT THE TIME NECESSARY TO PROMOTE A VIABLE DEMOCRATIC OPENING, WHICH MIGHT WEAKEN AND DIFFUSE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE EXTREME LEFT, HAS NOW FURTUALLY RUN OUT. IN HIS JUDGEMENT, EVEN A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO GET THE DIALOGUE BACK ON TRACK WILL PROVE TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE TO ARREST THE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

12. COMMENT: SOURCE'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE ALREADY FRAGILE DEMOCRATIC OPENING IS CLOSE TO OR IN THE PROCESS OF COLLAPSE THREATENES TO BE UNCOMFORTABLY ACCURATE. WITH OR WITHOUT REASONS, THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT'S CREDIBILITY WITH PROGRESSIVE WING OF THE CHURCH, PART OF THE BUSINESS SECTOR AND MIDDLE CLASS, OPPOSITION POLTICAL GROUPS AND A LARGE PORTION OF THE LOWER CLASS HAS SEEMINGLY REACHED A NEW LOW MARKED BY GROWING CYNICISM ABOUT PRESIDENT ROMERO'S PROFESSED SUPPORT FOR GENUINE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS.

13. PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO TALK ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND HAS IMPLEMENTED A SERIES OF TECHNICAL INITIATIVES, OSTENSIBLY AIMED AT ALLOWING FREE ELECTIONS. AT THE [redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05490 03 OF 03 251556Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
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O 251400Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4626
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PPANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5490

SAME TIME, HOWEVER, HIS REFUSAL TO ENGAGE IN A SERIOUS, PRIVATE DIALOGUE WITH MODERATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPOSITION, THE CONTINUATION, IF NOT ESCALATION, OF OFFICIAL VIOLENCE, AND ROMERO'S RENEWED EMPHASIS ON COMBATTING SUBVERSION HAVE RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT SINCERITY OF HIS INTENTIONS. IN ASSESSING REGIME'S POSTURE TOWARD THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, ONE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT A GENUINE DEMOCRATIC OPENING WITH RELATIVELY UNFETTERED ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS COULD WELL BE REGARDED BY THE CURRENT MILITARY LEADERSHIP AND THEIR CIVILIAN ALLIES IN ANEP AS MORE OF A THREAT TO THEIR POLITICAL SURVIVAL THAN THE POWERFUL BUT AS YET FRAGMENTED GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 05490 03 OF 03 251556Z

14. SIGNS OF A HARDENING GOES POSITION TOWARD OPPOSITION CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION IN A DEMOCRATIC OPENING DO INDEED SEEM EVIDENT AND MAY HAVE BEEN BOLSTERED BY:

A. GOVERNMENT PERCEPTION THAT US AND OTHER COUNTRIES WITH INTERESTS IN THE REGION HAVE THUS FAR SEEMED TO ACCEPT ITS DEMOCRATICATION PROGRAM AT FACE VALUE; AND

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

6. BELIEVE THAT IN A SHOWDOWN MARKED BY OPPOSITION BOYCOTT OF THE ELECTIONS FURTHER POLARIZATION AND STEPPED UP VIOLENCE BY THEK EXTREME LEFT, USG, IN LIGHT OF A PERCEIVED MARXIST THREAT IN NICARAGUA, WILL HAVE LITTLE CHOICE EXCEPT TO BACK THE GOVERNMENT OR AT LEAST STAND ASIDE IN A NEUTRAL POSTURE.

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15. AT THE SAME TIME, SO-CALLED "MIDDLE SECTORS" ENCOMPASSING CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND OTHER LEGALLY RECOGNIZED OPPOSITION PARTIES, ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S WING OF THE CHURCH, MORE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, MIDDLE-CLASS PROFESSIONALS, AND SOME SEGMENTS OF LABOR, CONFRONT AN INSOLUABLE DILEMMA. IF THEY GO TO ELECTIONS WITHOUT GREATER GOVERNMENT GUARANTEEBSN THEY FACE NOT ONLY THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTORAL DEFEAT BUT -- EVEN MORE IMPORTANT -- A LOSS OF POPULAR SUPPORT WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THEIR CREDIBILITY AND FUTURE POLITICAL INFLUENCE IF AND WHEN -- AS MANY NOW ASSUME -- THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT IS FORCED TO RELINQUISH POWER. CONFRONTED WITH THE CHOICE OF GOING TO ELECTIONS OR ABSTENTION, THE MIDDLE SECTORS ARE LIKELY TO DIVIDE WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND OTHERS AS OF NOW LEANING TOWARD REJECTION OF THE

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 05490 03 OF 03 251556Z

PRESIDENT'S ZIECTORAL OFFER AND SHIFTING TO A WAIT-AND-SEE POSTURE FURTHER TO THE LEFT; WHILE OTHERS, OUT OF DESPERATION AND FEAR OF THE EXTREME LEFT, MAY EITHER DROP OUT OF POLITICS COMPLETELY OR THROW IN THEIR LOT WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

16. TO COMPLICATE THIS PICTURE STILL FURTHER, GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT ARE GEARING UP FOR A RENEWED ASSAULT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND WILL AMOST CERTAINLY MAKE EVERY EFFORT WITHIN THEIR POWER TO SABOTAGE AND PREVENT ELECTIONS, IRREGARDLESS OF OPPOSITION PARTICIPATION. TALK ABOUT A "POPULAR UPRISING" IN EARLY DECEMBER OR JANUARY MAY STILL BE PREMATURE BUT THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE FAR LEFT IS GAINING STRENGTH AND IN SEVERAL MONTHS WILL PROBABLY BE ABLE TO CONFRONT THE GOVERNMENT WITH A FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE.

17. AGAINST THIS SOMBER BACK-DROP IT IS LITTLE WONDER THAT THE CURRENT PROSPECTS FOR A GENUINE DEMOCRATIC OPENING WITH BROAD POLITICAL PARTICIPATION ARE SEEN BY MANY OBSERVERS AS INCREASINGLY DIM.
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005490

ADP43S
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05490 01 OF 03 251534Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 PC-01 HA-05 TRSE-00
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O 251400Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDV IMMEDIATE 4624
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5490

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 9/24/89 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, PGOV, SHUM, ES
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2. SUMMARY: PROSPECTS FOR A MEANINGFUL DEMOCRATIC OPENING SEEM INCREASINGLY DIM AMID SIGNS OF A HARDENING GOVERNMENT POSTURE AND GREATER YOLITICAL POLARIZATION WHICH MAY LEAD TO AN OPPOSITION BOYCOTT OF THE MARCH
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 05490 01 OF 03 251534Z

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3. MEANWHILE, SIGNS OF POLITICAIIPOLARIZATION ARE INCREASINGLY EVIDENT AS CHIRSTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S WING OF THE CHURCH AND OTHER MODERATE GROUPS, WHOSE SUPPORT IS ESSENTIAL TO MEANINGFUL ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR, SERIOUSLY QUESTION CREDIBIV TY OF PRESIDENT'S YOMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC OPENING. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN PARTICULAR SEEMS TO BE LEANING TOWARD NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE MARCH ELECTIONS AND HAS JOINED WITH A WIDE SPECTRUM OF OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS IN DEMANDING GOES MEASURES TO ESTABLISH A MORE CREDIBLE ELECTORAL CLIMATE.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

SOURCE MADE FOUR CALLS TO GENERAL AGREDA, PRESIDNT ROMERO'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, BUT IN CONTRAST TO PAST CONTACTS WHEN AGREDA ALMOST IMMEDIATELY RETURNED CALLS, NO RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING. SINCE UNSATISFACTORY MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT, SOURCE SAID SECTORAL REPRZEENTATIVES -- INCLUDING CHURCH AND PDC -- HAVE MET SEVERAL TIMES. GROUP, HOWEVER, IS NOW PROFOUNDLY PESSIMISTIC THAT PRESIDENT IS REALLY INTERESTED IN OR ABLE TO JOIN IN PRIVATE DIALGOUE AIMED AT PROMOTING NATIONAL CLIMATE [redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 05490 01 OF 03 251534Z

MORE PROPITIOUS TO DEMOCRATIC OPENING.

8. SOURCE BELIEVES PRESIDENT ROMOER AND HIS CLOSET SUPPORTERS IN BOTH MILITARY AND CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS CIRCLES ARE INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT THEY CAN COPE WITH EXTREME LEFT WITHOUT FURTHER POLITICAL CONCESSIONS AND ARE PREPARED TO PROCEED WITH ELECTIONS WITH OR WITHOUT PARTICIPATION OF PDC AND OTHER LEFT-OF-CENTER OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES. AS EXPLANATION FOR TOUGHER POSTURE OF ROMDERO REGIME, SOURCE CITED FOLLOWING FACTORS:

A. GROWING GOES OPTIMISM, BASED IN INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (ANEP) AND FONMIN RODRIGUEZ PORTH, THAT EL SALVADOR

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05490 02 OF 03 251545Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 PC-01 HA-05 TRSE-00
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----------079550 251606Z /51

O 251400Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4625
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
SINCICSD QUARRY HTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5490

WILL ESCAPE OAS CENSORSHIP ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE
DURING OCTOBER MEETING IN LA PAZ.

B. INCREASED CONSULTATION AND POLITICAL SOLIDARITY AMONG PRESIDENTS (ROMERO AND LUCAS AND PAZ) OF SO-CALLED NORTHERN TIER COUNTRIES IN CA.

C. GOES BELIEF (YICH SOURCE CONSIDERS ERRONEOUS AND SHORT-SIGHTED) THAT POPULAR POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE WEAKER AND HAVING PROBLEMS IN GAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT.

D. VIRULENT PRESS CAMPAIGN -- ENCOURAGED AND ABETTED BY GOES -- AGAINST ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S WING OF THE CHURCH, PDC, SUBVERSIVE GROUPS AND, MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THE US. REGARDING THE LATTER POINT, OFFICIAL GOES
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05490 02 OF 03 251545Z

COOLNESS TOWARD US HAS RECENTLY BEEN REFLECTED IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT, DISTANT AND CRITICAL ATTITUDE OF MILITARY CONTACTS, AND INCREASINGLY VITUPERATIVE PUBLIC AND PRESS CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AGAINST US POLICY TOWARD CA.

E. HASTIYL-CONTRIVED MEETING OF GOVERNMENT'S PCN PARTY ON SEPT 20 (REF B) IN WHICH PRESIDENT ROMERO REPORTEDLY SIGNATAD HIS LACK OF CONCERN AS TO WHETER

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PDC AND OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES OPT TO PARTICIPATE IN MARCH 1980 ELECTIONS.

F. RUMORS BEING CIRCULATED ARDUND TOWN THAT USG IS SATISFIED THAT GOES HAS ACTED IN GOOD FAITH TO HOLD DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND THAT MEASURES ANNOUNCED AND IMPLEMENTED BY PRESIDENT TO DATE ARE ENOUGH.

G. IN LATTER CONTEXT, SOURCE SAID THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION AND PERHAPS MISINTERPRETATION OF AMBASSADOR BOWDLE'S MOST RECENT VISIT TO EL SALVADOR. MANY ASSUMED THAT BOWDLER MET WITH PRESIDENT AND THAT HE CARRIED MESSAGE WHICH TENDED TO CONTRIBUTE TO STIFFER GOES POSITION OUTLINED ABOVE. AT THIS POINT AMBASSADOR ASSURED SOURCE THAT PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF BOWDLER VISIT HAD BEEN TO EXPLAIN PAST AND PRESENT US POLICY TOWARD NICARAGUA AND THAT, ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATIONS INEVITABLY TOUCHED UPON SITUATION IN

EL SALVADOR, BOWDLER CARRIED NO MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT ROMERO, MET ONLY WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER TO DISCUSS NICARAGUA AND ONLY INDIRECTLY COMMENTED ON SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR BY HIGHLIGHTING RELEVANCY OF CERTAIN LESSONS EMERGING FROM THE NICARAGUAN EXPERIENCE.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 05490 02 OF 03 251545Z

SOURCE EXPRESSED DISBELIEF THAT BOWDLER COULD HAVE VISITED EL SALVADO AT THIS CRITICAL TIME WITHOUT (A) CARRYING SOME MESSAGE FOR GOES AND/OR OTHER SECTORS OR (B) FORUMULATING USG POSITION ON CRISIS IN EL SSXVADOR, ADDING THAT THIS FACT IN ITSELF MIGHT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO INCLINATION OF GOES AND MOST CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN PRIVATE SECTOR TO ADOPT A HARDER LINE TOWARD OPPOSITION SECTORS ON ASSUMPTION THAT USG SATISFIED WITH PROGRES TOWARD DEMOCRATIC OPENING.

10. SOURCE, WHO CONFESSED THAT HIS MORE CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS IN ANEP HAVE STARTED LABELING HIM A "COMMUNIST" AND A TOOL OF THE PDC BECAUSE OF HIS DIALOGUE CONTACTS WITH THE PARTY AND THE CHURCH, FELT THAT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS MUST ALSO SHARE BLAME FOR THE GROWING POLARIZATION AND HARDENING ATTITUDES. WHILE UNDER-STANDING OF THE PDC'S NEED TO ASSURE ITSELF OF A MORE VIABLE ELECTORAL CLIMATE AND OBTAIN A REDUCTION OF OFFICIAL VIOLENCE DIRECTED AGAINST NON-EXTREMIST SECTORS, SOURCE SAID THE PARTY HAS UNFORTUNATELY NOW ADOPTED A HARD AND INTRANSIGENT PUBLIC POSITION WHICH WILL COMPLICATE ANY POSSIBILITY OF PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT. IN THIS REGARD THE PDC'S PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND STATEMENTS IN THE SO-CALLED POPULAR FORUM ON SEPT 20 WILL ONLY STRENGTHEN THE HADN OF PARTY CRITICS IN THE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR WHO

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Special Project (1993)

GENERALLY CONSIDER (OR DEPICT) THE PDC AS STALKING HORSE FOR THE EXTREME LEFT (REF C).

11. IN ALL CANDOR, SOURCE SAID HE IS INCREASINGLY DOUBTFUL THAT PDC AND OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE MARCH ELECTIONS. WHILE SOURCE PLANS RENEWED EFFORT THIS WEEK TO REACH PRESIDENT AND PROMOTE PRIVATE DIALOGUE WITH OPPOSITION GROUPS, HE IS PESSIMISTIC THAT ROMERO WILL RESPOND. DESPITE DELICATE AND PROTRACTED DIALOGUE EFFORTS OF PAST YEAR,

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SOURCE BELIEVES THAT IT IS A TRAGIC BUT IN-ESCAPABLE FACT THAT THE TIME NECESSARY TO PROMOTE A VIABLE DEMOCRATIC OPENING, WHICH MIGHT WEAKEN AND DIFFUSE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE EXTREME LEFT, HAS NOW FURTUALLY RUN OUT. IN HIS JUDGEMENT, EVEN A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO GET THE DIALOGUE BACK ON TRACK WILL PROVE TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE TO ARREST THE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

12. COMMENT: SOURCE'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE ALREADY FRAGILE DEMOCRATIC OPENING IS CLOSE TO OR IN THE PROCESS OF COLLAPSE THREATENES TO BE UNCOMFORTABLY ACCURATE. WITH OR WITHOUT REASONS, THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT'S CREDIBILITY WITH PROGRESSIVE WING OF THE CHURCH, PART OF THE BUSINESS SECTOR AND MIDDLE CLASS, OPPOSITION POLTICAL GROUPS AND A LARGE PORTION OF THE LOWER CLASS HAS SEEMINGLY REACHED A NEW LOW MARKED BY GROWING CYNICISM ABOUT PRESIDENT ROMERO'S PROFESSED SUPPORT FOR GENUINE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS.

13. PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO TALK ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND HAS IMPLEMENTED A SERIES OF TECHNICAL INITIATIVES, OSTENSIBLY AIMED AT ALLOWING FREE ELECTIONS. AT THE

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PAGE NO. 6
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05490 03 OF 03 251556Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 PC-01 HA-05 TRSE-00
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O 251400Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4626
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PPANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5490

SAME TIME, HOWEVER, HIS REFUSAL TO ENGAGE IN A SERIOUS, PRIVATE DIALOGUE WITH MODERATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPOSITION, THE CONTINUATION, IF NOT ESCALATION, OF OFFICIAL VIOLENCE, AND ROMERO'S RENEWED EMPHASIS ON COMBATTING SUBVERSION HAVE RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT SINCERITY OF HIS INTENTIONS. IN ASSESSING REGIME'S POSTURE TOWARD THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, ONE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT A GENUINE DEMOCRATIC OPENING WITH RELATIVELY UNFETTERED ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS COULD WELL BE REGARDED BY THE CURRENT MILITARY LEADERSHIP AND THEIR CIVILIAN ALLIES IN ANEP AS MORE OF A THREAT TO THEIR POLITICAL SURVIVAL THAN THE POWERFUL BUT AS YET FRAGMENTED GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 05490 03 OF 03 251556Z

14. SIGNS OF A HARDENING GOES POSITION TOWARD OPPOSITION CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION IN A DEMOCRATIC OPENING DO INDEED SEEM EVIDENT AND MAY HAVE BEEN BOLSTERED BY:

A. GOVERNMENT PERCEPTION THAT US AND OTHER COUNTRIES WITH INTERESTS IN THE REGION HAVE THUS FAR SEEMED TO ACCEPT ITS DEMOCRATICATION PROGRAM AT FACE VALUE; AND

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Special Project (1993)

B. BELIEVE THAT IN A SHOWDOWN MARKED BY OPPOSITION BOYCOTT OF THE ELECTIONS FURTHER POLARIZATION AND STEPPED UP VIOLENCE BY THEK EXTREME LEFT, USG, IN LIGHT OF A PERCEIVED MARXIST THREAT IN NICARAGUA, WILL HAVE LITTLE CHOICE EXCEPT TO BACK THE GOVERNMENT OR AT LEAST STAND ASIDE IN A NEUTRAL POSTURE.

15. AT THE SAME TIME, SO-CALLED "MIDDLE SECTORS" ENCOMPASSING CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND OTHER LEGALLY RECOGNIZED OPPOSITION PARTIES, ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S WING OF THE CHURCH, MORE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, MIDDLE-CLASS PROFESSIONALS, AND SOME SEGMENTS OF LABOR, CONFRONT AN INSOLUABLE DILEMMA. IF THEY GO TO ELECTIONS WITHOUT GREATER GOVERNMENT GUARANTEEBBN THEY FACE NOT ONLY THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTORAL DEFEAT BUT -- EVEN MORE IMPORTANT -- A LOSS OF POPULAR SUPPORT WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THEIR CREDIBILITY AND FUTURE POLITICAL INFLUENCE IF AND WHEN -- AS MANY NOW ASSUME -- THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT IS FORCED TO RELINQUISH POWER. CONFRONTED WITH THE CHOICE OF GOING TO ELECTIONS OR ABSTENTION, THE MIDDLE SECTORS ARE LIKELY TO DIVIDE WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND OTHERS AS OF NOW LEANING TOWARD REJECTION OF THE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 05490 03 OF 03 251556Z

PRESIDENT'S ZIECTORAL OFFER AND SHIFTING TO A WAIT-AND-SEE POSTURE FURTHER TO THE LEFT; WHILE OTHERS, OUT OF DESPERATION AND FEAR OF THE EXTREME LEFT, MAY EITHER DROP OUT OF POLITICS COMPLETELY OR THROW IN THEIR LOT WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

16. TO COMPLICATE THIS PICTURE STILL FURTHER, GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT ARE GEARING UP FOR A RENEWED ASSAULT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND WILL AMOST CERTAINLY MAKE EVERY EFFORT WITHIN THEIR POWER TO SABOTAGE AND PREVENT ELECTIONS, IRREGARDLESS OF OPPOSITION PARTICIPATION. TALK ABOUT A "POPULAR UPRISING" IN EARLY DECEMBER OR JANUARY MAY STILL BE PREMATURE BUT THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE FAR LEFT IS GAINING STRENGTH AND IN SEVERAL MONTHS WILL PROBABLY BE ABLE TO CONFRONT THE GOVERNMENT WITH A FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE.

17. AGAINST THIS SOMBER BACK-DROP IT IS LITTLE WONDER THAT THE CURRENT PROSPECTS FOR A GENUINE DEMOCRATIC OPENING WITH BROAD POLITICAL PARTICIPATION ARE SEEN BY MANY OBSERVERS AS INCREASINGLY DIM.
DEVINE

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

9/26/14

AK301

Rec'd 10/11

R

México, 26 de setiembre de 197

Argentina

Sr. Mark Schneider
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs
Department of State:

NOTHING

Nos dirigimos a Ud. a fin de que por su intermedio, el Departamento de Estado, tome conocimiento de la desaparición del ciudadano argentino Eduardo URRETAVIZCAYA.-

Eduardo URRETAVIZCAYA, fué Secretario General de la Federación Universitaria Argentina (FUA) en el año 1958, asesor laboral de diversos sindicatos argentinos, luchador por las libertades democráticas, y colaborador hasta el momento de su secuestro por de los organismos argentinos defensores de los derechos humanos en aquel país.-

El secuestro se produjo en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, el día 3 de septiembre de 1979, cuando transitaba por la vía pública, en horas del mediodía, 12.30 hs aproximadamente; siendo interceptado por varias personas vestidas de civil, fuertemente armadas, quienes lo introdujeron en un automóvil, partiendo luego con rumbo desconocido. A partir de ese momento no ha sido posible obtener noticia alguna sobre su paradero.-

Es de hacer notar que la desaparición de Eduardo URRETAVIZACAYA se produjo días antes de que se constituyera en la Argentina la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos de la Organización de Estados Americanos.-

Le infromamos asimisme que su esposa y dos hijos residen en Buenos Aires, pero se encuentran imposibilitados de emprender todo tipo de trámite con el objeto de obtener información sobre el paradero y estado de su esposo, debido a la situación imperante en la Argentina.-

A través de ésta, solicitamos respetuosamente que en

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Box 17402

forma urgente,el Departamento de Estado tome a su cargo todas las medidas a su alcance para gestionar ante la Junta Militar Argentina y demás Organismos Internacionales competentes,el paradero de URRETA-VIZCAYA,tratando de garantizar su vida e integridad física y moral.-

Seguros de que realizará todo lo que esté a su alcance le saluda a Ud. muy atentamente

Rubén DRI

Presidente del Centro de Estudios Políticos Argentino "Rodolfo Ortega Peña".-

Centro de Estudios Políticos Argentino
"Rodolfo Ortega Peña"
Insurgentes Sur 32 Z.P. 6
México D.F.

1979

AK 300 A

DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED FROM ARGENTINA - 1 August - 16 September 197

3 August — Jose Luis Hasan

His wife: Josefina

4 August — Raimundo Anibal Villaflor (brother of Josefina)

His wife: Maria Elsa Martinez de Villaflor

5 August — Lopez Cupo

His wife arrested and released after interrogation and reported torture.

~~12~~ August — Norma Cristina Cozzi (niece of Telma Jara de Cabezas who was abducted last April)

Her husband: Hugo Prisnela

14 August — Fernando Brodsky

~~10 September — Idalina Radice Tatter (mother of Plaza de Mayo)~~

around 15 September - no precise date:

Armando Daniel Croatto

Regino Adolfo Gonzalez

His wife: Maria Castano Blanco (Spanish)

His three daughters: Delia Gonzalez Castano 5 yrs.
Eva , 4 years old
Mariana, 3 years old

~~Maria Elsa Martinez Mesejo - Spanish~~

Nora Irene Wolfson - dis. 7-13 Aug in B.A.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07963 261408Z 0383

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ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SS-15 SP-02
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DODE-00 NEA-06 H-01 ANAE-00 /062 W
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O 261251Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2548

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7963

E.O. 12065: XGDS-2 9-26-85 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) TIMERMAN EXPELLED

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7962

1. (U) JACOBO TIMERMAN WAS EXPELLED FROM ARGENTINA THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 25 BY THE MILITARY JUNTA IN ACCORDANCE WITH A DECREE WHICH ALSO STRIPPED HIM OF HIS ARGENTINE NATIONALITY. HE DEPARTED AT 1915 HOURS ON AEROLINEAS ARGENTINAS FLIGHT 116 TO ROME WITH A TRAVEL DOCUMENT BEARING AN ISRAELI VISA. TIMERMAN WAS DRIVEN TO THE DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES AIRPORT, AEROPARQUE, AND WAS THEN TRANSFERRED TO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT EZEIZA BY HELICOPTER, WITH AN ADDITIONAL ESCORT HELICOPTER WHICH LANDED BESIDE THE AEROLINEAS 747 WHICH TIMERMAN IMMEDIATELY BOARDED. HE WAS REPORTEDLY ACCOMPANIED TO THE PLANE BY THE ISRAELI CHARGE. WIRE SERVICES REPORTED THAT TIMERMAN TELEPHONED HIS WIFE IN NEW YORK DURING THE FLIGHT'S STOPOVER IN RIO DE JANIERO AND THAT SHE WOULD BE JOINING HIM SHORTLY IN ISRAEL.

2. [redacted] DURING HIS INTERVIEW WITH AMBASSADOR CASTRO--WHICH WAS ALMOST SIMULTANEOUS WITH TIMERMAN'S BOARDING AIRCRAFT--GENERAL VIOLA STRESSED THAT THE EXPULSION DECISION HAD CREATED BITTER DIVISIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY AND HAD "CAUSED DEEP WOUNDS WHICH WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME TO HEAL." VIOLA SHOWED STRAIN AND ANXIETY FROM THE TENSE DISCUSSIONS PRECEDING THE JUNTA DECISION AND COMPLAINED THAT THE TIMING OF THE COURT'S DECISION COULD HARDLY HAVE BEEN WORSE. HE IMPLIED THAT THE HARD-LINERS HAD RESISTED THE DECISION BITTERLY AND THAT IT WOULD HAVE A POLITICAL IMPACT IN MANY OTHER AREAS. HE SAID THEY HAD EXPECTED A POSSIBLE ADVERSE DECISION EITHER WELL BEFORE THE IAHRC VISIT OR A MONTH AFTER, BUT THAT THE DECISION DURING THE VISIT TOGETHER WITH THE REVIVAL OF THE CAMPORA ASYLUM ISSUE HAD SERIOUSLY OVERLOADED THE MILITARY'S CIRCUITS. HE VOLUNTEERED THAT THE CAMPORA DECISION WOULD BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT AND HE DID NOT KNOW HOW THAT WOULD TURN OUT.

3. (U) GOA CERTAINLY COMPLIED WITH ITS PROMISE TO PROVIDE TIMERMAN BEST PROTECTION. HIS MANNER OF TRAVEL TO THE AIRPORT IS USUALLY RESERVED FOR VISITING CHIEFS OF STATE. THE SUPREME COURT PUBLISHED ITS DECISION IN THE TIMERMAN CASE ON SEPTEMBER 25. DECISION WILL BE SUBJECT OF SEPARATE REPORT. DETAILS OF OTHER SUBJECTS DISCUSSED BY SEPTELS.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06719 262231Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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P R 262209Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4829
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USMISSION GENEVA

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SANTIAGO 6719

[redacted] **DECAPTIONED**

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/26/85 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.)OR-M
TAGS: SHUM CI AR
SUBJ: ALLEGED ARGENTINE CLANDESTINE PRISON

REFS: A) BUENOS AIRES 7789, B) STATE 249361, C) GENEVA 15810

1. EMBOFF SPOKE AGAIN WITH VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY STAFFERS SEEKING A BETTER FEEL FOR PEDRO REYES GONZALEZ' STORY. ALTHOUGH THE VICARIATE HAS HAD NO CONTACT WITH REYES SINCE HE APPEARED ASKING MONEY FOR TRAVEL TO PUERTO MONTT ON AUGUST 21, REYES SUPPOSEDLY WILL RETURN TO SANTIAGO IN OCTOBER. AT THAT TIME THE VICARIATE WILL URGE HIM TO MAKE A NOTARIZED STATEMENT REGARDING HIS ALLEGED EXPERIENCES. THE VICARIATE SOCIAL WORKER WHO INTERVIEWED REYES WAS IMPRESSED BY THE FACT THAT DISCUSSION OF THE ARGENTINE CAMP CAME UP APPARENTLY BY ACCIDENT; NORMALLY FABRICATORS WANT TO SWAP THEIR SUPPOSED INFORMATION FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT. VICARIATE LAWYERS ALSO RECALL THAT A CHILEAN PRIEST DID GO TO ARGENTINA EARLIER THIS YEAR IN SEARCH OF MISSING CHILEAN COLLEAGUE, JULIO SAN CRISTOBAL.

2. WE ARE STILL SEARCHING OLD NEWSPAPERS FOR ANY STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO REYES AND WILL BE TOUCHING BASE WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ICRC IN CONNECTION WITH THE INFORMA-

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TION IN REF C.
LANDAU

9/26/79 rec'd 10/5

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL U.S.A.
413 East Capitol Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003 202/544-0200

NATIONAL SECTION OFFICE
2112 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10023

AK300

September 26, 1979

Mark Schneider
Deputy Assistant
State Department

Dear Mark:

I enclose for your information a note of those cases of disappearance which we have had reported to us from Argentina for the period 1st of August to 16th of September 1979. Since this was the time immediately before and during the visit of the Inter American Commission of Human Rights it has particular significance.

Good wishes,

Yours,

Stephanie Grant

SG/ck
enclosure

PF
To be checked against cables & then only to send the EAI ... I do not ...

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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Box 17404

Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience, men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, color, ethnic origin, sex, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. Amnesty International opposes torture and the death penalty in all cases without reservation and advocates fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners. Amnesty International is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests and religious creeds. It has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees). Amnesty International was the recipient of the 1977 Nobel Prize for Peace.

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS
David Hinkley

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Gerhard A. Elston

DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE
Stephanie Grant

9/27/79

DCM Chron

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Buenos Aires

UNCLASSIFIED

September 27, 1979

[redacted]

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Claus W. Ruser, Esquire
Director, East Coast Affairs
ARA/ECA
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Dear Claus:

Tuesday night was Timerman's despedida. When General Viola told the Ambassador about Timerman's departure, he asked what they would have to discuss in the future since Timerman had always been topic number one on the Ambassador's list. In the Embassy we are wondering how Marshall Meyer will occupy himself, since he had tended to neglect his congregation in favor of Timerman. [redacted]

B6

The really interesting developments in Argentina will be in the military politics of the next month or so. We still do not know what to make of recent developments such as the Supreme Court decision, the IAHRC visit, the disappearances, and the elimination of Mendizabal and Croatta. The Ambassador said General Viola was unusually anxious during the meeting on September 25 and said he simply did not know how the military would sort itself out. We were all hoping that the Commission visit would come to symbolize a major milepost in this government's transition to normality. That still may be the case, but the shocks of the past week may instead have unsettled military politics and strengthened the blindly reactionary hardliners. Viola implies as much and others suggest that the disposal of the two Montoneros will simply serve to confirm the view of the hardliners

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that their counterterrorist tactics have been the correct ones. We hope the military reach some consensus about the current situation before Patt's testimony on October 18.

Since dictating the above, the bombing of the Klein house has occurred, and that may well be a response of one sector of the military to recent events. We also note that yesterday the GOA felt called upon to formally deny a Clarin story which implied that Videla had made a commitment to Andres Aguilar to free Timerman, or that Pastor had discussed human rights with the Secretary in New York. To this we add press reports that Videla imposed the decision to free Timerman on the Generals by a threat to resign. In our discussion of all this at the meeting this morning, the Ambassador reemphasized that Viola was deadly serious when he said on Tuesday that the military was in serious disarray and he didn't know how matters would turn out. At the moment, military politics seem to be taking an ominous turn.

We have had only a glance at the enclosure to your letter which described a secret camp identified as Olimpio. The Political Section will try to determine if it is a new location. The other location was well known and has been destroyed. The Commission reportedly made two unprogrammed visits to sites which were presumed to have been secret prisons, but we have no report on the details.

We follow the process you describe as the erosion of safeguards with considerable interest. As you know, we have always felt that the emphasis on deferring reprocessing was made at a potential risk to full scope safeguards. We hope the discussions in Switzerland are productive.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Chaplin

Enclosures

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Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 08030 272111Z
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 8030

STATE FOR S/RP (AILEEN ROBINSON)

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SREF,SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HEMISPHERIC PAROLE PROGRAM: VOLAG ASSIGNMENTS

TRANSMIT BY DIRECT RELAY FOR:
MR. THERON VAN SCOTER
ACVA-AMERICAN COUNCIL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES
200 PARK AVE. SO
NEW YORK, NY 10003

EMBASSY HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT CARLOS SAMUEL SANABRIA AND CLAUDIO BERNARDO VAZQUEZ HAVE BEEN MOVED FROM RAWSON PRISON TO ALCAIDIA POLICE STATION IN BUENOS AIRES FOR THE PROCESSING OF THEIR PASSPORTS. THEREFORE, EMBASSY URGENTLY REQUESTS VOLAG ASSIGNMENTS PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED IN OUR LETTER OF 9-4-79, AS THEY WILL BOTH BE READY TO TRAVEL IN APPROXIMATELY 15 DAYS. AMERICAN EMBASSY, BUENOS AIRES.
CASTRO

NOTE BY OC/T: PASSED ADDRESSEE.

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PRESS GUIDANCE ARA - September 27, 1979

AK 303

ARGENTINA: TIMERMAN'S RELEASE

Q. Do you have any comment on Jacobo Timerman's release from house arrest and expulsion from Argentina?

A. As you know, Mr. Timerman's case has been the subject of considerable interest and concern in this country. We are pleased that the Government of Argentina has released Mr. Timerman and has allowed him to join his family in Israel.

Q. Do you know why Mr. Timerman was released at this time?

A. We understand that the Argentine Supreme Court recently found in Mr. Timerman's favor when his case was taken before it. We assume that his release was a result of the actions of the Court. If so, the functioning of the Argentine judiciary now in this case may be a positive signal for the future. At the same time, is to be regretted that he had to endure prison and detention for two and one-half years.

Q. How does the release of Timerman affect U.S. policy toward Argentina?

A. The release of Timerman is [redacted] a positive action. At the same time, we continue to be concerned about the human rights situation in Argentina, such as the remaining political prisoners and the thousands who have disappeared.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
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INCOMING TELEGRAM

AK 294

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07917 242116Z 3191

ACTION ARA-15

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[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 7917

E.O. 12065: GDS 9-24-85 (CASTRO, RAUL H.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: RELEASE AND PROTECTION FOR TIMERMAN

REF: STATE 249264

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. I OBTAINED AN APPOINTMENT TO SEE GENERAL VIOLA AT 1800 HOURS SEPTEMBER 26 AT WHICH TIME I WILL CARRY OUT INSTRUCTION CONTAINED IN REFTEL.

3. POLITICAL GOSSIP AND PRESS ARE NOW TAKING FOR GRANTED THAT A JUNTA DECISION HAS BEEN MADE TO EXPEL TIMERMAN AND CANCEL HIS ARGENTINE NATIONALITY. OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT IF IN FACT THIS IS NOT THE CASE, THE MEDIA AND MILITARY OPINION ARE BEING MANIPULATED TO MAKE SUCH A DECISION EASIER.

4. IN A DISCUSSION WITH RABBI MEYER THIS AFTERNOON I INFORMED HIM OF DEPARTMENT'S POLICY RE REFUGE AND AGAIN REASSURED THAT I THOUGHT POSSIBILITY OF TIMERMAN'S BEING LEFT UNPROTECTED IN BUENOS AIRES WAS EXTREMELY UNLIKELY. IT WOULD MAKE NO SENSE FOR MODERATES IN GOA TO FORCE THE ISSUE OF HIS RELEASE AND THEN FURTHER BLACKEN COUNTRY'S IMAGE BY PERMITTING HIS DEATH OR DISAPPEARANCE.
CASTRO

Argentina

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

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E.O. 12065: GDS 9/28/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: EINV, ETDR, PINS, ES, ASEC
SUBJ: RECENT KIDNAPPING OF U.S. BUSINESSMEN SPARKS CONCERN OVER AND WITHIN SAN BARTOLO ZONA FRANCA

REFS A. SAN SALVADOR 5501; B. SAN SALVADOR 5512

SUMMARY: PROMPTED BY KIDNAPPING OF TWO U.S. CITIZEN EMPLOYEES OF BECKMAN INSTRUMENTS, THE CALIFORNIA BASED PARENT FIRM OF APLAR (EL SALVADOR), S.A - ONE OF 13 FIRMS OPERATING OUT OF SAN BARTOLO ZONA FRANCA - WORRIED GOES OFFICIALS MET SATURDAY, SEPT 22 (DAY AFTER KIDNAPPING) WITH EVEN MORE CONCERNED REPRESENTATIVES OF ZONA CONSTITUENCY TO DISCUSS CURRENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR APLAR, OTHER RESIDENT FIROS AND ZONA FRANCA ITSELF. END SUMMARY.

2. ON SATURDAY, SEPT 22, WORRIED OFFICIALS OF INSTITUTO [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05592 282305Z

SALVADORENO DE COMESIO EXTERIOR (ISCE) CALLED URGENT MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF 13 COMPANIES LOCATED WITHIN SAN BARTOLO FREE TRADE ZONE, FOR WHICH ISCE HAS PROMOTION W AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY.

3. PURPOSE OF MEETING, CHAIRED BY CHIEF OF ISCE'S INVESTMENT PROMOTION DIVISION, WAS TO FOSTER EXCHANGE OF IMPRESSIONS AND INFO BETWEEN ISCE OFFICIALS AND COMPANY REPRESENTATIVES IN AFTERMATH OF TERRORIST KIDNAPPING OF TWO U.S. CITIZEN

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940031H

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Special Project (1993)

EMPLOYEES OF BECKMAN INSTRUMENTS, PARENT FIRM OF APLAR (EL SALVADOR) S.A. AND ONE OF 13 FIRMS CURRENTLY OPERATING OUT OF FREE TRADE ZONE (REFTELS-B).

4. ISCE SPOKESMAN LED OFF WITH VERBOSE ANALYSIS OF KIDNAPPING AND RESULTING IMPLICATIONS FOR APLAR, OTHER ZONA INVESTORS AND ZONA FRANCA ITSELF, HIGHLIGHTS OF WHICH INCLUDE:

A. ERP - EJERCITO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO - WAS MOST LIKELY TERRORIST CULPRIT WITH PRTC - PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DE TRABAJADORES DE CENTRO AMERICA, A CLOSE SECOND. WHILE LATTER VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN, PRTC HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN AT LEAST TWO INCIDENTS DIRECTLY RELATED TO ZONA FRANCA IN 1979.

B. POLITICAL DEMANDS, SUCH AS RELEASE OF 3 ALLEGED POLITICAL PRISONERS DEMANDED BY LP-28 (REFTEL A) OR EVEN RENUNCIATION OF PRESIDENT ROMERO (USING RUMORS OF U.S. PRESSURE AS SPRINBOARD) ARE LIKELY TO OVERSHADOW MONETARY DEMANDS.

C. DIRECTOR OF ISCE SCHEDULED TO MEET LATER THAT AFTERNOON WITH MINISTER AND SUBSECRETARY OF ECONOMY TO DISCUSS IMPLICATIONS OF KIDNAPPING AND POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONAL SECURITY MEASURES TO PREVENT REOCCURENCE. IN TURN, MINISTER OF ECONOMY WAS TO BRIEF PRESIDENT.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 05592 282305Z

D. PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ZONA FRANCA, WHICH HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT OVER LAST YEAR, NOW APPEAR IMPOSSIBLE AT LEAST FOR NEAR FUTURE.

5. REPRESENTATIVES OF ZONA FRANCA FIRMS, OF WHICH ONLY THREE SENT PARTICIPANTS (AVX, EAGLE INTERNATIONAL AND BOURNS), MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. WHILE SECURITY WITHIN ZONA FRANCA WAS GOOD, ALL FELT EXTREMELY VULNERABLE ENROUTE TO AND FROM WORK.

B. SHIPMENTS OF FINISHED PRODUCT FROM FACTORIES OUT TO AIRPORT WERE EXTREMELY VULNERABLE TO TERRORIST ATTACK.

C. REQUESTED ISCE AND MINISTRY OF ECONOMY'S FULL UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT IN EVENT THAT PARENT FIRMS OPTED, OVER LOCAL OBJECTIONS, TO SHUT DOWN OPERATIONS, REQUIRING PROMPT RE-EXPORT OF INENTORY AND MACHINERY.

D. URGED ISCE TO RAISE STANDARDS FOR ENTRY OF FIRMS INTO ZONA FRANCA TO KEEP OUT DISREPUTABLE SWEAT SHOP OPERATIONS.

E. ONE PARTICIPANT ALLUDED TO EAGLE INTERNATIONAL'S UNION AS POSSIBLE SOURCE OF CONTINUING TROUBLE IN ZONA FRANCA.

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6. IN RESPONSE ISCE SPOKESMAN AGREED TO (A) PRESS FOR GREATER SECURITY PRESENCE ALONG INDUSTRIAL BOULEVARD TO CITY; (B) STUDY POSSIBILITY OF CONVOYING SHIPMENTS FROM ZOA TO AIRPORT; (C) INDICATED ISCE WOULD COOPERATE FULLY WITH ANY FIRM OBLIGED TO LEAVE; (D) PROMISED TO REDOUBLE EFFORTS TO SCREEN OUT UNDESIRABLE APPLICANTS; (E) DEFENDED EAGLE INTERNATIONAL'S EMPLOYEE MANAGEMENT RELATIONS AS WORTHY OF EMULATION AND ITS UNION AS MORE NUISANCE THAN THREAT.

7. AT THIS POINT PARTICIPANTS ASKED FOR COMMENTS FROM ECONOFF [redacted]

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WHO LIMITED HIMSELF TO REITERATING IMPORTANCE OF GOES' FULL COOPERATION WITH ANY COMPANY OBLIGED TO CEASE OPERATIONS, AT LEAST ENHANCING LONG TERM PROSPECTS OF AN EVENTUAL RETURN.

8. MEETING ENDED ON RATHER SOMBER TONE WITH PROMISE OF A SUBSEQUENT MEETING ONCE DEMANDS FOR RELEASE OF U.S. CAPTIVES WERE KNOWN.

9. COMMENT: ISCE OFFICIALS ARE CLEARLY CONCERNED THAT KIDNAPPING OF U.S. BUSINESSMEN EMPLOYED ON ZONA FRANCE MAY SPELL BEGINNING OF END FOR SAN BARTOLO SINCE, ON ONE HAND, CONSTITUENT FIRMS ARE NOW CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE PRIME TERRORIST TARGETS AND SEVERAL ARE MAKING NO SECRET THAT PLANS FOR ALTERNATIVE PLANT SITES IN OTHER COUNTRIES ARE EITHERACTIVELY UNDERWAY OR BEING DUSTED OFF, AND ON OTHER HAND, PROSPECTIVE NEW INVESTORS FOR SAME REASON LIKELY TO BECOME INCREASINGLY SCARCE.
DEVINE

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FOR AMBASSADOR FROM VAKY

E.O. 12065: GDS - 9/27/85 (VAKY, VIRON P.)

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: TIMERMAN RELEASE

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7962

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT).

2. THE NEWS THAT JACOBO TIMERMAN HAS BEEN RELEASED AND PERMITTED TO JOIN HIS FAMILY IN ISRAEL IS MOST WELCOME. HIS CASE WAS SEEN AS A SYMBOL OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES OF THE GOA IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE AROUND THE WORLD. WE CAN HOPE THAT HIS RELEASE WILL MARK A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN ARGENTINA'S JOURNEY BACK TO GENERAL RESPECT FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW.

3. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS TO YOU MY PERSONAL APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS THAT YOU HAVE MADE WITH THE GOA TO SECURE MR. TIMERMAN'S RELEASE. I AM SURE THAT THE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS THAT YOU HAVE MADE TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE GOA WEIGHED VERY HEAVILY ON MR. TIMERMAN'S SIDE WHEN THE DECISION WAS MADE FOR HIS RELEASE. VANCE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: PRESS GUIDANCE

1. FOLLOWING WAS GUIDANCE PREPARED ON CONTINGENCY BASIS FOR PRESS BRIEFING SEPTEMBER 28. QUOTE:

Q. HAS THERE BEEN ANY OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE HOME OF ARGENTINE SECRETARY OF PLANNING GUILLERMO WALTER KLEIN?

A. YES, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT DEPLORES AND CONDEMNS SUCH VIOLENCE. IT SEES NO JUSTIFICATION FOR IT, WHATEVER ITS SOURCE, AND PARTICULARLY IT REGRETS THAT TWO GUARDS WERE KILLED AND MEMBERS OF KLEIN'S FAMILY WERE INJURED IN THE ATTACK ON DR. KLEIN'S HOME. DR. KLEIN HAS MANY FRIENDS IN THIS COUNTRY AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL COMMUNITY. A MESSAGE HAS BEEN SENT TO DR. KLEIN -DEEPLY REGRETTING THE ATTACK ON HIS HOME AND THE INJURIES TO DR. KLEIN AND HIS FAMILY.
Q. WHO SIGNED THE MESSAGE FROM STATE?

A. MR. JOHN BUSHNELL, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS. VANCE

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E.O. 12065 GDS 9-28-85 (FREEMAN, ANTHONY G.) OR-P
TAGS PGOV, AR
SUBJECT [redacted] DIVISIONS IN THE MILITARY

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7963

1. [redacted] SUMMARY: WE SEE SEVERAL REASONS FOR THE DEEP CONCERN GENERAL VIOLA EXPRESSED TO THE AMBASSADOR WHEN THEY MET SEPTEMBER 25 (REFTEL). ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, TIMERMAN WAS RELEASED OVER THE OBJECTIONS OF A NUBER OF SENIOR ARMY GENERALS, LENDING SUBSTANCE TO VIOLA'S ASSERTION THAT THE TIMERMAN EXPULSION HAD DANGEROUSLY DIVIDED THE ARMY. THE TIMERMAN DEBACLE ALONG WITH OTHER DRAMATIC EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK, INCLUDING THE DISCOVERY AND ELIMINATION OF TWO TOP MONTONERO LEADERS AND THE ATTACK ON THE RESIDENCE OF ECONOMY SECRETARY KLEIN, COULD UPSET VIOLA'S REPORTED PLANS TO NAME GENERAL GALTIERI AS ARMY COMMANDER AND RETIRE FROM THE ARMY IN DECEMBER 1979 AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS HAVING HIMSELF NAMED PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE NEXT YEAR. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD SEPTEMBER 27 CARRIED A NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS NEWS AGENCY REPORT THAT THE GOA DECISION TO FREE JACOBO TIMERMAN IN COMPLIANCE WITH A SUPREME COURT RULING WAS MADE OVER THE OBJECTIONS OF A NUMBER OF SENIOR ARMY GENERALS. ACCORDING TO THE HERALD'S RENTION OF THE NEWS AGENCYS REPORT, SIX OF THE NINE MOST SENIOR ARMY GENERALS VOTED AGIANST COMPLYING WITH THE SUPREME COURT RULING, TRANSMITTING THIS OPINION TO ARMY COMMANDER GENERAL VIOLA ON SEPTEMBER 24. PRESIDENT VIDELA'S REACTION REPORTEDLY WAS TO THREATEN TO RESIGN FROM OFFICE IF THE JUNTA, RESPONDING TO THE GENERAL'S OPOINION, REFUSED TO COMPLY WITH THE SUPREME COURT ORDER, VIDELA TAKING THE POSITION THAT ONE OF THE COMMITMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHEN THEY ASSUMED POWER IN 1976 WAS TO RESPECT THE DECISIONS OF THE COURTS. ACCORDING TO THE STORY, THE JUSTICE MINISTER AND ALL FIVE MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT ALSO PLANNED TO RESIGN.) IN THE FOLLOWING DAY, AFTER AN UNUSUAL 6:30 AM MEETING OF THE ARMY COMMAND BETWEEN PRESIDENT VIDELA AND GENERAL VIOLA, THE LATTER, PRESUMABLY AFTER BRIEFING ARMY GENERALS ON THE PRESIDENT'S REACTION, ASKED THE GENERALS AGAIN FOR THEIR OPINIONS. THIS TIME ONLY TWO OPPOSED THE FREEING OF TIMERMAN PROVIDING HE WAS STRIPPED OF HIS CITIZENSHIP AND EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY. IT WAS THEN THAT TIMERMAN WAS WHISKED AWAY TO THE AIRPORT AND PLACED ON A FLIGHT TO ISRAEL.

3. [redacted] THIS REPORT PROVIDES FURTHER SUBSTANCE TO GENERAL VIOLA'S COMMENTARY TO THE AMBASSADOR (REFTEL) EXPRESSING THAT THE TIMERMAN EXPULSION DECISION HAD CREATED BITTER DIVISIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY WHICH COULD TAKE A LONG TIME TO HEAL, IMPLYING THAT THERE COULD BE ADVERSE IMPACT ON OTHER POLICITAL DECISIONS. ONE OF THE MORE IMMEDIATE ISSUES IS WHAT TO DO ABOUT FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA. (ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT CITING INFORMED SOURCES, THE GOVERNMENT WILL GRANT CAMPORA SAFE CONDUCT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY WHEN IT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED THAT CAMPORA HAS CANCER. A BIOPSY REPORTEDLY CAN BE MADE WITHOUT CAMPORA'S LEAVING MEXICAN EMBASSY PRECINCTS.)

4. (U) A WEIGHTIER DECISION TO BE MADE IN TERMS OF THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, RELATED TO THE VIOLA SUCCESSION ISSUE. IT HAS BEEN SEMI-OFFICIALLY STATED FOR LONG THAT VIOLA WOULD NAME HIS SUCCESSOR AND RETIRE FROM THE ARMY IN DECEMBER 1979, AND THE BE DESIGNATED BY THE JUNTA AROUND SEPTEMBER 1980 TO SUCCEED PRESIDENT VIDELA AT THE END OF THE LATTER'S MANDATE IN MARCH 1981. VIOLA ISSUED A STATEMENT ON AUGUST 30 IN TUCUMAN CONFIRMING THAT "IN PRINCIPLE" HE PLANNED TO RETIRE AT THE END OF THIS YEAR AND ADMITTING THE POSSIBILITY THAT HE WOULD SUCCEED VIDELA. HOWEVER, IN THAT STATEMENT VIOLA ACKNOWLEDGED SOMETHING COULD ALWAYS HAPPEN TO MODIFY HIS RETIREMENT PLANS. HE GVE NO EXMALES OF WHAT MIGHT UPSET HIS PLANS, BUT THE CONTEXT IN WHICH HE MADE THIS STATEMENT SUGGESTED TO SOME HE WAS THINKING PARTICULARLY OF THE BEAGLE CHANNEL PRLBME OR PERPAHS THE POSSIBILITY OF LABOR UNREST.

5. [redacted] ON THAT SAME DAY, PRESIDENT VIDELA, SPEAKING IN ROSARIO TOLD THE LOCAL GRAIN BOARD THAT HE WOULD GOVERN "WITHOUT DIMINUTION OF VIGOR" UNTIL 1981, AND IN A PRESS CONFERENCE STATED THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF CHANGING THE GOERNEMTN'S ECONOMIC POLICIES. THE CONTEXT IN WHICH THAT STATEMENT WAS MADE SUGGESTED THAT IT WAS INTENDED TO SCOTCH A RUMOR CAMPAIGN THAT VIOLA, INFLUENCED BY PRESSURES FROM SUAREZ MASON AND ALLEGEDLY FED UP WITH THE INABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO SOLVE THE INFLATION AND RELATED ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, WAS CONTEMPLATING THE POSSIBILITY OF ASKING VIDELA TO STEP DOWN BEFORE THE END OF HIS TERM OF OFFICE, MAKING HIMSELF PRESIDENT IN VIDELA'S TEAD, AND FORCING THE RESIGNATION OF ECONOMY MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ (SEE BUENOS AIRES 6112). ANOTHER FACTOR FEEDING SPECULATION ABOUT A VIOLA PRESIDENCY EARLER THAN MARCH 1981 IS THE REALIZATION THAT SOLDIERS WHO RESIGN FROM THE MILITARY WITH THE INTENTION OF SEEKING HIGHER POLITICAL OFFICE USUALLY FIND THAT THEIR PRESIDENTIAL PROSPECTS DWINDLE RAPIDLY AFTER THEY TAKE OFF THEIR UNIFORMS. (A RECENT CASE-IN-POINT

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8866

S THAT OF ADMIRAL MASSERA WHOSE POLITICAL MOMENTUM
INCE RETIRING FROM THE NAVY AND THE JUNTA HAS NOT KEPT
P WITH EXPECTATIONS.) UNDER THIS THEORY, VIOLA
ECOGNIZED HE COULD NOT AFFORD TO STEP INTO CIVILIAN
IMBO FOR NINE MONTHS UNTIL THE JUNTA NAMED HIM PRESIDENT-
ESIGNATE IN SEPTEMBER OF 1980, BECAUSE, MILITARY
NSTABILITY BEING WHAT IT WAS, SOMETHING WAS LIKELY TO
APPEN TO THROW THE VIOLA PRESIDENCY OFF THE TRACKS DURING
HIS LAPSE OF TIME. IT WAS THIS CONSIDERATION WHICH
ENERATED SPECULATION THAT VIOLA WOULD BE COMPELLED TO
AKE A DEAL WITH ARMY CHIEF-OF-STAFF GENERAL SUAREZ MASON
HEREBY THE ARMY (PRESUMABLY RATIFIED BY THE JUNTA) WOULD
AME VIOLA TO TAKE VIDELA'S JOB TOWARD THE END OF 1979
ND SUAREZ MASON WOULD SUCCEED VIOLA AS ARMY COMMANDER.
ANOTHER THEORY, FED BY VIOLAS TUCUMAN STATEMENT, IS
HAT HE INTENDS TO PROLONG HIS TERM AS ARMY COMMANDER
EYOND DECEMBER IN ORDER TO SHORTEN HIS PERIOD OUT OF
FFICE TO A MINIMUM. IN ORDER TO DO THIS, HE WOULD HAVE
O CITE, OR FABRICATE, SOME CRISI AS JUSTIFICATION.)

[redacted] AS OF THIS WRITING, THE TWO LEADING CONTENDERS
O SUCCEED VIOLA AS ARMY COMMANDER ARE, WE BELIEVE, STILL
UAREZ MASON AND ARMY I CORPS COMMANDER GALTIERI. OUR
RAGMENTARY INFORMATION UNTIL THE DRAMATIC EVENTS OF
HIS PAST WEEK SUGGESTED, ON BALANCE, THAT VIOLA INTENDED,
ND WOULD PROBABLY BE ABLE, TO AVOID THE "SUAREZ MASON
CENARIO" AND NAME MILITARY ENGINEER GALTIERI HIS SUCCESSOR,
ORCING THE RETIREMENT (OR ASSIGNMENT ABROAD) OF HARDLINE
AVALRY OFFICERS SUAREZ MASON AND III CORPS COMMANDER
ENERAL MENENDEZ ALONG WITH TWO OTHER SENIOR GENEALS
ONTRARY TO THE SPECULATION ABOUT A VIOLA-SUAREZ MASON
EAL AND INTER VANTION OF VIDELA'S TERM OF OFICE, THE
ALTIERI SUCCESSION WOULD BE CONSONNANT WITH A MORE
RDERLY SCENARIO WITH VIDELA'S SUCCESSOR (IE VIOLA)
AKING OVER THE PRESIDENCY IN MARCH 1981 AS CALLED FOR IN
IE "SCHEME OF POWER" ARRANGEMENT AGREED TO BY THE JUNTA
AST YEAR. N TERMS OF ECONOMIC ISSUES, A GALTIERI
LECTION AS ARMY COMMANDER WOULD IMPLY A CONTINUATION
THE MARTINEZ DE HOZ POLICIES, ON THE POLITICAL SIDE
REATER PROGRESS TOWARDS A GRADUAL CIVILIAN OPENING AND
THE QUESTION OF THE REPRESSION OF SUBVERSION, A TENDENCY
WARD ETURN T THE RULE OF LAW. SUAREZ MASON'S
LECTION CNJURES UP A DIFFERENT PICTURE IN POLITICAL
RCLES CONSISTING ON THE ONE HAND OF CONTINUED HARDLINE
PRESSION AGAINST THOSE CONSIDERED TO BE SUBVESIVES
ND POSSIBLY AN EXPANSION OF THE TARGETS) BUT ALSO THE
SSIBILITY OF POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION WITH PERONISTS AND
HER NATONALISTS, AT LEAST WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC
LICIES. THESE CONTRASTING SCENARIOS ARE EXAGGERATED
OUR VIEW, BUT THEY REPRESENT (TO SOME DEGREE SELF-
TERESTED) NOTIONS WHIC CIRCULATE AMONG POLITICAL
RTY AND JOURNALIST SOURCES.

[redacted] IT SEEMS TO US NOW MORE LIKELY THAT SUAREZ
SON, FACED WITH THE LIKELIHOOD THAT GALTIERI WAS
OLA'S HAND PICKED SUCCESSOR, WILL TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE
OF ANY OPPORTUNITY BETWEEN NOW AND THE END OF THE YAEAR
TO UPSET VIOLA'SGAME PLAN, INCLUDING A NEW OUTBREAK
OF LABOR UNREST OR AHEATING UP THE BEAGLE CHANNEL
DISPUTE. THE DRAMATIC EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK, OR SO,
INCLUDING THEVISIT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMISSION, THE DISCOVERY AND ELIMINATION OF TWO TOP
MONTONERO LEADERS IN THE COUNTRY, THE TOUGH TEITMERMAN
DECISION AND NOW THE ARMED ATTACK BY UNIDENTIFIED
ASSAILANTS ON THE HOUSE OF MARTINEZ DE HOZ'S RIGHT-
HAND MA, GUILLRMO WALTER KLEIN, JR., ARE JUST THE
RIGHT ELEMENTS FOR UNSETTLING THE UNEASY BALANCE IN THE
ARMY AND CREATING A CHANGED GAME BOARD ON WHICH VIOLA
MUST NOW PLAN NEW STRATEGY.
CASTRO

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

P 81

1/28/79

A139

<<<< >>>>
[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 08067 01 OF 02 282240Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 MCT-02 /080 W
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O R 281226Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2593
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ 3516
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8067

[redacted]

E.O. 12065: XDS-2 9/28/99 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - SEPTEMBER 19-26

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7866

[redacted] SUMMARY: JACOBO TIMERMAN WAS FINALLY FREED, A LARGE TERRORIST ATTACK WAS CARRIED OUT AND A JUNTA MEMBER DECLRED THAT THE "WAR GOES ON" DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY WENT ON TELEVISION AND RADIO TO SOOTHER NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS IRRITATED BY THE IAHRC VISIT. WE HEARD THAT THE COMMISSION LEFT AR ARGENTINA WITH AN ENHANCED APPRECIATION BOTH OF THE DIMENSIONS OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE WHICH PRECEDED THE MILITARY'S 1976 COUP AND OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHICH FOLLOWED IT. END SUMMARY.

[redacted]

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(/) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) in Part ( ) In Full
(X) Classify as S ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to
Date 4/16/01 Declassify on _____ Reason 25X1

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: S200000044

1. [redacted] TIMERMAN FREED---
AFTER WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN WRENCHING AND FIFFICULT DELIVERATIONS BY THE JUNAT AND THE MILITARY, THE GOA ACCEPTED THE SUPREME COURT DECISION AND RELEASED JACOBO TIMERMAN SEPTEMBER 25 (SEPTELS). STRIPPED OF HIS CITIZENSHIP, HE WAS EXPELLED TO ISRAEL BY JUNTA ORDER. THE JUNTA HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA--NOW IN ASYLUM AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY--MAY ALSO BE EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY IF TESTS SHOW THAT HE NEEDS MEDICAL TREATEMENT ABROAD, THOUGH THIS IS FAR FROM CERTAIN. TIMERMAN'S LIBERATION IS A POSITIVE STEP, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE VIDELA AND VIOLA WERE ABLE TO CARRY THE DAY AGAINST WHAT APPARENTLY WAS DIEHARD RESISTANCE BY HARDLINERS WHO WANTED TO DEFY THE SUPREME COURT. THE AMPLE PRESS COVERAGE OF THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE TIMERMAN RELEASE, EVEN INCLUDING DETAILED REPORTS OF THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE NATION'S TOP MILITARY MEN, ILLUSTRATED THE EXPANDING BOUNDS OF PRESS FREEDOM HERE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THOSE WHO OPPOSED VIDELA AND VIOLA ARE BOWED BUT NOT DEFEATED AND WILL BE LOOKING FOR THEIR CHANCE TO COME BACK.

2. (U) TERRORISTS STRIKE--
A GROUP OF 10-12 ARMED PERSONS ATTACKED THE RESIDENCE OF THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY'S SECRETARY OF PLANNING AND COORDINATION, GUILLERMO WALTER KLEIN, SEPTERMBER 27 (SEPTELS). IN A WELL-COORDINATED AND PLANNED ATTACK THEY KILLED TWO GURADS AT THE HOUSE BEFORE BLOWING IT UP WITH THE ENTIRE KLEIN FAMILY (FATHER, MOTHER AND FOUR CHILDREN) IN IT. IN WHAT IS BEING REASONABLY DESCRIBED AS A MIRACLE, NONE OF THE KLEINS WERE SERIOUSLY HURT ALTHOUGH THE HOME WAS COMPLETELY DESTROYED. SUB-
[redacted]
[redacted]

SEQUENTLY, A GROUP IDENTIFYING ITSELF AS THE "HORACIO MENDIZABAL COMMAND" OF THE MONTONERO PARTY CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS CRIME.

3. [redacted] JUNTA MEMBER DECLARES WAR STILL ON--
AIR FORCE COMMANDER AND JUNTA MEMBER, GENERAL OMAR GRAFFIGNA ANNOUNCED THAT "THE WAR HAS NOT ENDED" IN A SEPTEMBER 24 SPEECH. GRAFFIGNA STATED THAT GHOUGH THE ENEMY-MARXIST TERRORISM AND SUBVERSION-- HAD BEEN DE-

UNCLASSIFIED

FEATED IN COMBAT, "THE WAR CONTINUES" AND THE ENEMY CAN NOW BE EXPECTED TO "CHANGE TACTICS AND TERRAIN. IT WILL APPEAR TO BE IN RETREAT.... BUT WILL TRY TO INFILTRATE IN THE CLASSROOMS, IN THE UNIVERSITIES, IN INTERMDEDIARY ORGANIZATIONS, IN ALL THE AREAS OF NATIONAL LIFE THAT IT ONCE USED AS A BASE FOR ITS NATIONAL CAMPAIGN...." IN HIS SPEECH, WHICH ECHOES HARDLINE THINKING HERE, GRAFFIGNA ALSO DECLARED THAT ARGENTINA HAD ACUTALLY WON THE "UNDECLARED" THIRD WORLD WAR IN OVERCOMING THE TERRORISTS, ALLOWING THE NATION TO RESUME ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE AS THE "WEST'S RESERVE IN THE EXTREME SOUTH." IN WHAT IS A NEW DEPARTURE FOR THE REGIME'S PUBLIC DISCOURSE, GRAFFIGNA ALSO STATED THAT "LIBERTY, IN THE AMERICAS IS INDIVISIBLE... WE WILL NOT ALLOW ANY SISTER NATION TO FALL UNDER THE ENSLAVING YOKE (OF MARXISM) .... WE ACCEPT OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN DEFENSE OF COUNTRIES THREATENED BY THE COLLECTIVIST MENACE."

4. [redacted] THE GOA DEFENDS ITSELF OVER IAHRC VISIT---
"ARGENTINES ONLY CONFESS TO GOD," MINISTER OF INTERIOR GENERAL ALBANO HARGUINDEGUY TOLD THE NATION IN A NATIONAL RADIO AND TELEVISION ADDRES SEPTEMBER 21 DEALING WITH THE VISIT OF THE INTER-AMERIVAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (IAHRC). THE MINISTER ASSERTED THAT THE "LIES ABOUT ARGENTINA" WERE "DISPROVEN FOREVER" BY WHAT THE COMMISSION SAW AND HEARD DURING THEIR VISIT HERE. HE STOUTLY ASSERTED THAT THE GOA HAD NOT CONFESSED TO ANYONE BE-
[redacted]
[redacted]

CAUSE IT HAD NOTHING TO CONFESS. HARGUINDEGUY'S RADIO AND TELEVISION ADDRESS WAS DEFENSIVE ABOUT THE GOA'S DECISION TO INVITE THE IAHRC TO ARGENTINA AND, AS SUCH, WOULD SEEM TO REFLECT A READING BY THE GOA THAT THE COMMISSION'S VISIT DID NOT SIT WELL WITH MANY ARGENTINES.

. [redacted] REACTION OF THE IAHRC---
A SOURCE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT WHO SPENT A GOOD DEAL OF TIME WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE IAHRC TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT COMMISSION DEPARTED ARGENTINA WITH AT LEAST FOUR CONCLUSIONS:

[redacted]

Case Number: S200000044

NNN

[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 08067 02 OF 02 282301Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 MCT-02 /080 W
----------107506 282307Z /12

O R 281226Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2594
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ 3517
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8067

[redacted]

A) THAT TERRORIST VIOLENCE HAD ACHIEVED MUCH LARGER
DIMENSIONS IN ARGENTINA THAN THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY
REALIZEC. ARGENTINA HAD FACED A REAL AND MAJOR THREAT;
B) THAT THE MILITARY'S RESPONSE TO THE TERRORIST THREAT
WAS EMBODIED IN A SORT OF DOCTRINE OF REPRESSION.
UNDER THIS DOCTRINE THE TERRORISTS WERE ELIMINATED BUT
AT THE SAME TIME WIDESPREAD HUMAN RIFHTS ABUSES TOOK
PLACE;
C) VERY FEW OF THE DISAPPEARED ARE STILL ALIVE--THERE
ARE NO SIGNIFICANT CLANDESTINE CAMPS;
D) THAT THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES SUPPORTED WHAT THE
MILITARY HAD DONE--INSOFAR AS THEY WERE AWARE OF IT AND
WOULD SUPPORT SUCH TACTICS IF THEY WERE NECESSARY
TO MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY AGAINST TERRORISTS.
OUR SOURCE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FINAL REPORT OF
THE COMISSION WILL BE A BLAST AT ARGENTINA'S HUMAN

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 08067 02 OF 02 282301Z

RIGHTS RECORD. HE SAID THE REPORT WILL BE ISSUED IN LATE JANUARY OR EARLY FEBRUARY 1980. THERE IS ALSO SOME POSSIBILITY, HE SAID, THAT THE COMMISSION WILL MAKE AN ORAL PRESENTATION TO THE AOSA GENERAL ASSEMBLY ABOUT THE ARGENTINE SITUATION IN LA PAZ.

6. [redacted] THE DISAPPEARED---
OUR RECORDS NOW SHOW A TOTAL OF 13 PEOPLE WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED SINCE AUGUST 1 AND NOT REAPPEARED. THREE OF THESE UNEXPLAINED DISAPPEARANCES TOOK PLACE IN SEPTEMBER, INCLUDING THE MURKY CASE OF REGINO GONZALEZ. GONZALES' FAMILY DISAPPEARED SEPTEMBER 13 ONLY TO BE SURFACED A WEEK LATER BY SECURTIY SERVICES, WHEN THE CHILDREN WERE RELEASED AND IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT MRS. GONZALES WAS BEING HELD IN CUSTODY. GONZALES REPORTEDLY WAS NOT AT HOME WHEN THE FAMILY WAS SEIZED, BUT HIS RELATIVES ASSUME HE WAS TAKEN ELSEWHERE SINCE HE WAS MISSING. THERE IS ONE REPORT THAT HE IS INDEED IN CUSTODY, AND ANOTHER THAT HE IS DEA. ON SEPTEMBER 25, FIVE AFRICAN LIBERARTION ORGANIZATIONS DEMANDED HIS RELEASE, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS OUT OF DAR ES SALAAM, STATING HE HAD BEEN THE MONTONERO LIAISON WITH THEM.

7. [redacted] WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE REPORTS THAT THE TEN PEOPLE DISAPPEARED IN AUGUST ARE STILL ALIVE AND PROBABLY CONNECTED WITH AN UDERGROUND CELL OF "FAP" ("FUERZAS ARMADAS PERONISTAS"), A TERRORIST GROUP ACTIVE IN THE EARLY 1970'S. [redacted] ADDED [redacted] "FAP" DETAINEES ARE BEING HELD IN THE CAMPO DE MAYO MILITARY BASE AWAITING TRIAL BY A SECRET MILITARY TRIBUNAL. INTERESTINGLY, A MOTHER OF ONE OF THE DISAPPEARED WHOSE FAMILY IS WELL CONNECTED TOLD US SEPTEMBER 21 THAT SHE HAD [redacted]

B1

HEARD, WITHOUT BEING BALE TO CONFIRM IT, THAT HER SON WAS BEING HELD IN CAMPO DE MAYO.

8. [redacted] FOR THE YEAR AS A WHOLE WE NOW HAVE 35 SUBSTANTIAL REPORTS OF UNEXPLAINED DISAPPEARANCES.

9. (U) BITTEL LET GO BY ONE JUDGE--
ONE OF THE TWO FEDERAL JUDGES INVESTIGATING THE ANTI-

Case Number: S200000044

GOVERNMENT DECLARATION BY PERONIST DEOLINDO BITTEL AND HERMANIO IGLESIAS CALLED A HALT TO FURTHER JUDICIAL ACTIVITY SEPTEMBER 27. THE JUDGE ACTED BECAUSE, HE SAID, HE HAD NO WITNESSES OTHER THAT BITTEL AND IGLESIAS WHO REFUSED UNDER THE CONSTITUTIONS TO TESTIFY AGAINST THEMSELVES. THE INVESTIGATION AGAINST THE TWO BY THE JUDGE IN SANTA FE IS STILL PENDING.
CASTRO

[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] 9/28/79 INCOMING

Department of State TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 08045 301752Z 6365

ACTION ARA-15

AK307

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 L-03 H-01 NSC-05 INR-10
CIAE-00 SY-05 HA-05 /060 W

118872 301931Z /53

R 281635Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2581

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8045

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/28/85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: [redacted] TIMERMAN COURT DECISION

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 7929; (B) BUENOS AIRES 7963

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE HAVE NOW BEEN OVER THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION IN THE TIMERMAN CASE AND HAVE DISCUSSED IT BRIEFLY WITH TIMERMAN'S LAWYER. IN SUM, IT WAS A NARROW DECISION DIRECTED AT THE ILLEGALITY OF TIMERMAN'S DETENTION RATHER THAN THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE LAWS UNDER WHICH HE WAS DETAINED. IN THIS REGARD, IT FOLLOWED VERY CLOSELY THE REASONING SET FORTH IN REF A. WE ARE SURE, HOWEVER, THAT LAWYERS HERE WILL TRY TO EXPLOIT THIS DECISION TO FIND BROADER MEANING AND APPLICATION IN IT--IN FACT THIS WAS CLEARLY IMPLIED TO US BY TIMERMAN'S LAWYER WHO SAID "THEY THINK IT IS A NARROW DECISION BUT WE SHALL SEE."
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005596

ADP675
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 05596 302317Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 PM-06 MCT-02 SY-05 HA-05 COM-02 SYE-00
SS-15 SP-02 ADS-00 OCS-06 CA-01 L-03 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OPIC-07 /065 W
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R 282230Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4696
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 5596

DEPARTMENT FOR ARA/EX, M/CT, AND A/SY; PANAMA FOR RSS

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/28/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: (C) KIDNAPPING OF AMERICAN CITIZENS - UPDATE

REF SAN SALVADOR 5512

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. BECKMAN INSTRUMENTS OFFICIAL RAYNE WAS IN EL SALVADOR ONLY ONE DAY SEPT 26 AND LEFT AFTER CONSULTING WITH EMBASSY AND COMPANY OFFICIALS. APPLAR CONTACT WITH KIDNAPPERS WILL BE APLAR EXECUTIVE JAVIER NAVARRO, WHO IS EMPLOYEE RELATIONS MANAGER.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05596 302317Z

3. ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED BY DATT, MRS. MCDONALD AND HER TWO CHILDREN WILL DEPART SAN SALVADOR FOR GUATEMALA ON SEPT 29. DATT HAS RECEIVED NO REPORTS FROM SECURITY FORCES AS TO ANY LEADS IN CASE.

4. OFFICIALS OF GOES-RUN SALVADORAN INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN TRADE (ISCE), CALLED MEETING ON SEPT 22 OF REPRESNTATIVES OF THIRTEEN COMPANIES LOCATED WITHIN SAN BARTOLO FREE TRADE ZONE. ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940030H

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OFFICER (WHO ATTENDED MEETING) ISCE OFFICIALS STATED THAT MOST LIKELY GROUP RESPONSIBLE FOR KIDNAPPING OF MCDONALD AND BUCHELI WAS EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE (ERP), WITH REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF CENTRAL AMERICAN WORKERS (PRTC) A CLOSE SECOND. WHILE PRTC IS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN IN EL SALVADOR IT WAS APPARENTLY INVOLVED IN AT LEAST TWO INCIDENTS IN SAN BARTOLO FREE TRADE ZONE IN 1979. ISCE SPOKESMAN STATED THAT POLITICAL DEMANDS SUCH AS RELEASE OF ALLEGED POLITICAL PRISONERS OR EVEN RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENT ROMERO (USING RUMOURS OF U.S. PRESSURE AS LEVERAGE) ARE LIKELY TO OVERSHADOW ECONOMIC DEMANDS.DETAILS OF MEETING WILL BE REPORTED IN SEPTEL.
DEVINE

[redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____
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DOS

Summary Points Regarding Supreme Court Panel Decision on U.S. Extradition Request For Murder of Orlando Letelier

1. Court ruled inadmissable, and therefore refused to consider, the following evidence:

-- Plea bargained testimony (i.e., Michael Townley's statements after plea bargaining agreement with U.S. prosecutors)

Comment: We argued plea bargaining concept is recognized in numerous Chilean criminal statutes (reduced penalties or immunity for confessing or informing on others). The Court made no reference to this point in its decision.

-- Townley's pre-plea bargained statement before General Orozco, on grounds that Orozco (responsible for military investigation in Chile) was not authorized to act outside Chilean territory.

Comment: The Court did not directly rule this statement was inadmissable, but rather by implication in its criticism of General Orozco.

-- All evidence produced from activities from U.S. officials including Gene Propper in Chile, on grounds that such activity was an infringment of Chilean Sovereignty. In the same vein the Court criticized

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4. Despite 3, above, the Court said there was no basis for an investigation of the murder (which requires only "suspicions" to initiate), overruling this part of Judge Borquez' decision, and stated further that initiation of any such investigation would have to be based on new evidence (Paragraph 178).

Comment: The Court here kills any realistic investigation by concluding that none of the U.S. evidence raises a suspicion as to any of the three defendants.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005599

ADP821
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 05599 012304Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-05 IO-14 TRSE-00 /089 W
----------128367 012359Z /65

R 011445Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4699
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTIVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ
USUN NEW YORK 571

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 5599

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/28/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM OAS OTRA UNGA ES
SUBJ: (U) FOREIGN MINISTER SAYS LATIN AMERICAN TOUR WAS NOT TO WIN OASGA VOTES

REF: (A) SAN SALVADOR 5426 (NOTAL, (B) SAN SALVADOR 5203 (NOTAL)

1. (U) FOREIGN MINISTER RODRIGUEZ PORTH DENIED TO LOCAL PRESS SEPTEMBER 27 THAT JUST COMPLETED SOUTH AMERICAN TRIP WAS FOR PURPOSE OF WINNING SUPPORT FOR GOES AT NINTH [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05599 012304Z

OASGA. STATEMENT WAS MADE UPON ARRIVAL AT SAN SALVADOR AIRPORT AFTER APPROXIMATELY THREE WEEK JOURNEY THAT BEGAN FROM HAVANA IMMEDIATELY AFTER CONCLUSION OF NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE. HE HAD VISITED CHILE, PARAGUAY, URUGUAY, ARGENTINA, BRASIL, AND PERU. RODRIGUEZ PORTH EXPLAINED MOTIVE FOR JOURNEY WAS DESIRE FOR DIRECT CONTACTS WITH COLLEAGUES WHO HAD NOT PARTICIPATED IN NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE.

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940030H

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005599

2. (U) RODRIGUEZ WAS MOST EMPHATIC IN DENIAL THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN SEEKING VOTES TO AVOID CONDEMNATION OF EL SALVADOR AT OASGA FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HE NOTED THAT OAS REPORT ON THIS SUBJECT IS ON AGENDA, BUT DISMISSED IT AS COVERING EVENTS THAT OCCURED TWO YEARS AGO AND HAS LITTLE OR NOTHING TO DO WITH CURRENT GOES.

3. (U) ACCORDING TO RODRIGUEZ, HOWEVER, HE DID EXCHANGE IMPRESSIONS ON "SUBVERSION" WITH HIS COLLEAGUES, NOTING THAT TROUBLES OCCURING IN EL SALVADOR WSRE NOT UNIQUE, BUT WERE COMMON TO MOST OF COUNTRIES OF HEMISPHERE. HE ACCUSED PRESS OF EXAGGERATING OR FALSIFYING EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR AND SAID THERE IS SECTOR INTERESTED IN INTERPUTING DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OFFERED BY PRESIDENT ROMERO AND UNDERMINING GOES IN ORDER TO INSTALL SOCIALIST REGIME.

4. (U) ON SUBJECT OF HAVANA CONFERENCE, RODRIGUEZ SAID EL SALVADOR IS NOT DISPOSED TO CHANGE ITS OBSERVOR STATUS IN NON-ALIGNED GROUP. HE ALSO SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO DIRECT REFERENCE TO EL SALVADOR AT THE CONFERENCE, EXCEPT A REFERENCE IN FINAL DOCUMENT URGING GREATER DEMOCRACY IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 05599 0123042

RODRIGUEZ TERMED THAT REFERENCE AS NO THREAT, MUCH LESS PRESSURE BY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES.

5. (C) COMMENT: RODRIGUEZ' INGENUOUS EXPLANATION FOR THREE WEEK JOURNEY IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY TO DECEIVE ANYONE. AS WAS POINTED OUT REF B, THERE IS INORDINATE CONCERN IN GOES OVER POSSIBILITY OF CONDEMNATION BY OAGFA, ALTHOUGH IT SEEMS TO BE LESSENING SOMEWHAT. OPPOSITION ON OTHER HAND HOPES GOES WILL BE CONDEMNED, OR AT LEAST KEPT UNDER PRESSURE, AND THERE ARE REPORTS HERE OF PLANS FOR DEMONSTRATIONS BOTH IN EL SALVAOR AND AT LA PAZ URGING CONDEMNATION.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

RELEASED IN PART

October 4, 1979

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TO: ARA/CEN

FROM: INR/RAR/OD

SUBJECT: Outside Assistance To Guerrillas in El Salvador

REF: Your request of September 27

Encouraged and stimulated by the FSLN victory in Nicaragua, El Salvador's extreme leftist guerrillas are increasingly aggressive. Some reports predict they will mount a major effort to seize power by early 1980. In the meantime, their demonstrated capability to carry out well-coordinated hit and run attacks on police stations and to conduct operations of a similar level of difficulty reveal a rising level of confidence and skill.

Reports from fairly reliable [redacted] sources support A5 the estimate that something more than 2,000 guerrillas who have received some training are available for combat in El Salvador at present. At least one or two hundred, possibly more, have been trained in Cuba, after which they trained others in El Salvador. Four or five hundred have been trained in Nicaragua, have fought there at the side of the FSLN, or both. The level and quality of training is probably uneven but equal to that of Nicaragua's FSLN core guerrillas in, say, late 1978.

In early September of this year, reports indicated that the guerrilla leaders in El Salvador were concerned over their inadequate stock of arms and materiel. They expected, however, to receive a substantial shipment by the end of the month. The guerrillas have, in fact, stepped up their attacks on National Guard (GN) posts in recent days, but the rather scanty evidence thus far available on the types of arms employed in these attacks suggests that stocks remain relatively small. Some of the arms reported could quite possibly have reached the guerrillas from Nicaragua or Cuba, though this cannot yet be definitely established. There had been earlier reports of Cuban efforts to arrange a channel for air delivery of arms to El Salvador from Costa Rica, but the results of these efforts are so far unknown.

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Date: 04/26/94
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In summary, the evidence now available indicates the following.

--A substantial number of trained guerrillas are available for combat in El Salvador--more, for example, than were estimated to be available to the FSLN leadership as late as spring of 1979.

--Arms and supplies to equip these guerrillas are probably still insufficient to permit a major, prolonged effort.

--Sufficient materiel may be on hand, however, to support a campaign of harassment against the Salvadoran security forces, providing at the same time combat experience to the guerrillas.

--Credible reports indicate that arms shipments have been expected during the past month.

--Given the stock of weaponry which could be made available to the Salvadoran rebels through Nicaraguan and/or Cuban channels, and in light of the experience of the FSLN arms supply effort in Nicaragua, arming the Salvadorans should not present major difficulties or entail significant delay once a firm decision to do so is made by the prospective donors. (S/[redacted] A5

* * *

Background

Before 1978, Cuban help to Salvadoran insurgents was modest in nature and volume, consisting mainly of some training opportunities in Cuba, nominal financial support on occasion, encouragement and advice. During that period, as later, Cuban advice to the insurgent groups was invariably to work, along with the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES), toward unification. (S/[redacted] A5

Spurred by increasing radicalization and polarization within El Salvador and stimulated by the example of the FSLN triumph in Nicaragua, Salvador's leftist extremists have now stepped up their activity. They have continued their strong ties with Cuba and are clearly receiving more assistance than before. The bulk of Cuban help has gone to the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), but some attention is also devoted to the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), the People's

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Revolutionary Army (ERP), and the PCES. (S/[redacted] A5

The Salvadoran insurgents have also strengthened their contact with Marxist groups elsewhere in Central America and have received some support from like-minded groups. They have sought the support of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) as well as that of the ruling PRI party. There have been indications that Panama's Torrijos has maintained at least indirect links with the Salvadoran extremists, though we have seen no significant evidence that he is providing any assistance or encouragement to them. Finally, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has reportedly given its (moral) support to the PCES in its decision to engage in armed struggle. (S/[redacted] A5

Training Assistance: Trained Salvadoran guerrillas now available for action probably number more than 2,000.

--A [redacted] source reported in August 1979 that 100 FPL members had trained in Cuba during the past year and later trained 1,000 FPL and Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) members in El Salvador. Some 700 additional members were to complete the six-week course in late September, when still another group of some 450 members trained in Nicaragua was expected to return to El Salvador. (S/[redacted] A5 A5

--A [redacted] in early September quoted information received from [redacted] diplomat to the effect that Guatemalan and Salvadoran subversive groups had "joined forces", though El Salvador's insurgency was given precedence. They were to receive training, beginning in late September, in guerrilla campsbeing set up in Costa Rica. (S/[redacted] A5 A5

--The PCES decided last April to give military training to some 200 of its followers, some of whom were then in Nicaragua. (S/[redacted] A5

--A source [redacted] reported in August that Costa Rican Communist Party (PVP) members were assigned to give "technical advice" to the PCES. (S/[redacted] A5 A5

--A [redacted] source reported the arrival in El Salvador during late July of an Ethiopian arms and guerrilla warfare expert to provide advanced instruction to FPL members. (S/[redacted] A5 A5

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The nature and effectiveness of the training evidently being given over the past year is not known. It must be assumed, however, that the instruction equals, and may be identical with, that given the Nicaraguan FSLN at an earlier period. (C)

Arms Supply: By the end of September, there were strong indications that shipments of arms to the guerrillas from abroad were in the offing but no adequate flow of arms and materiel had yet been established. (C)

--A [redacted] reported in August that the FPL leaders were concerned over the lack of arms, with only 1,300 weapons on hand. They expected a large shipment, however, from the FSLN in mid-September. The same source, perhaps referring to the same shipment, had earlier reported that 4,000 rifles were expected by the FPL. (S/[redacted] A5 A5

--A source [redacted] reported in May receipt by the ERP from Guatemala guerrillas of "significant quantities" of plastic explosive. A5

--Reports received from [redacted] sources by the DAO in San Salvador in late September indicate that guerrillas were using in attacks on National Guard (GN) posts "bazooka-type weapons" (possibly an anti-tank grenade fired from a Chinese Communist-manufactured launcher), German G-3 rifles (used by El Salvador's GN), Galil rifles (a type used by some members of Nicaragua's former National Guard, now presumably in FSLN hands), and FAL rifles. Other weapons were ill-assorted--pistols, shotguns, hand grenades. (C) A5

--A source [redacted] reported in July and August on efforts by [redacted] to arrange for possible air delivery of weapons from Costa Rica to leftist-extremist groups in El Salvador. (S/[redacted] A5 A5

Other Sources and Forms of Assistance

One report [redacted] indicated that the so-called Simon Bolivar International Brigade is involved as liaison between the FPL and Guatemalan insurgent groups. Some members of this group, made up of guerrillas of various nationalities who fought with the FSLN, remain in Nicaragua. The exact form of assistance they might provide to the FPL is unclear. (S/[redacted] A5 A5

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A [redacted] source reported in late September A5
on meetings between Salvadoran revolutionaries and Mexican Communist Party (PCM) members. Agreement was reached whereby the PCM would help to raise funds in Mexico to aid the rebel cause in El Salvador, carry out an extensive propaganda campaign on the rebels behalf, and denounce the present government of El Salvador and US companies doing business there. Some training (primarily ideological) was also to be offered to Salvadoran guerrillas. The Salvadoran emissaries were also reported to have had some contact with representatives of the ruling party, the PRI. (S/[redacted] A5

One form of support may, in a sense, be inferred--that of tactical advice to Salvadoran guerrillas. A marked flare-up in guerrilla activity during reported in late September strongly suggests the influence of Cuban or Nicaraguan training and advice. A series of attacks on police stations followed a pattern and were quite similar in technique to operations carried out by the FSLN at one stage during the struggle against Somoza. Attacks were relatively brief and, of course, inconclusive, but probably highly effective as a method of harassment against the GN. In one case, the guerrillas dressed in pseudo-military uniforms, reminiscent of the FSLN guerrillas' disguise as Nicaraguan National Guardsmen when they seized the National Palace in Managua in mid-1978. (C)

cc: INR
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05755 1013072
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INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USDOC WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 5755

EO. 12065: NA
TAGS: ECON, EFIN, PINS, ES
SUBJ: MINISTER OF PLANNING PRESENTS GOES VERSION OF "SALVADORAN REALITY"
AT 24TH ANNUAL IMF/IBRD MEETING

SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO LOCAL NEWS MEDIA ACCOUNT MINISTER OF PLANNING, DR. EDUARDO REYES, ADDRESSED ASSEMBLED DELEGATES OF ANNUAL IMF/IBRD MEETING IN BELGARADE ON THE "TRUE REALITY OF EL SALVADOR". THE REPORTED HIGHMARK OF PRESENTATION CAME AS REYES EMPHASIZED THAT IN THE PREVAILING RUSH TO DEFEND RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS, THERE APPEARS TO BE LITTLE IF ANY REGARD FOR THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF NATIONS. REYES ALSO CRITICIZED EXTERNAL NEWS MEDIA FOR CARRYING ON INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO DENIGRATE GOES EFFORTS ON BEHLAF OF ITS CITIZENS, CREATING A FALSE AND DISTORTED IMAGE OF THE COUNTRY, WHICH ONLY

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940031

MADE MATTERS WORSE THAN EVER. THE MINISTER CONCLUDED BY CALLING ON ALL NATIONS TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE GREATEST POSSIBLE COMMON GOOD. END SUMMARY.

2. ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS IN THURSDAY, OCT 4 EDITION OF LA PRENSA GRAFICA, DR. JOSE EDUARDO REYES, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND COORDINATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, OCT 3 ADDRESSED 24TH ANNUAL IMF/IBRD MEETING IN BELGRADE. THE

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA005755

OBJECTIVE OF DR. REYEJS' ADDRESS ACCORDING TO ARTICLE WAS TO PORTRAY TTHE "TRUE REALITY OF EL SALVADOR".

3. HIGHLIGHTS OF DR. REYES SPEECH AS REPORTED LOCALLY INCLUDE:
(A) EL SALVADOR IS IN PROCESS OF CREATING A NEW AND JUST SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF SOLIDARITY (INTERDE-PENDENCE), WITHOUT HEGEMONY OR PRESSURE OF ANY NATURE, WITHIN CONCEPT OF JURIDICAL EQUALITY AMONG NATIONS.

(B) DISMAL PROSPECTS FOR LDC'S IN FUTURE CAUSED BY HEAD ON COLISION WITH RISING PROTECTIONISM, DETERIORATING TERMS OF TRADE, IMPORTED INFLATION AND INCREASINGLY SCARCE FINANCIAL RESOURCES. MOST DISCOURAGING, ACCORDING TO REYES, ARE THE CONTINUOUS INTERNATIONAL FORA WHICH DISCUSS AMPLY BUT DO SO LITTLE TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS.

(C) IN HIS MOST WELL RECEIVED POINT, ACCORDING TO ARTICLE, DR. REYES EMPHASIZED THAT WHIE INDIVIDUALS HAVE INALIENABLE HUMAN RIHTS; WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL OMMUNITY OF NATIONS, THE NATIONS THEMSELVES ALSO HAVE INALIENABLE RIGHTS, FOREMOST OF WHICH IS THAT OF SURVIVAL ACCOMPANIED BY CONTINUOUS AND REAL INCREASES IN THE WELFARE OF EACH NATIONS' CITIZENS.

(D) IN REFRRRING TO THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS, DR. REYES
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 05755 1013072

INDICATED THAT A GROWING PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AMONG RICH AND POOR NATIONS IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THE ACCEPTANCE OF SOCIAL UNREST AND POLITICAL AGITATION AS A DAY TO DAY REALITY IN FUTURE YEARS.

(E) EL SALVADOR' AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, BIENSTAR PARA TODOS, HAS THE OBJECTIVE OF EFFECTIVELY IMPROVING THE WELFARE OF THE POREST OF THE POOR WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ENHANCING SOCIAL JUSTICE. DR. REYES ALSO REFERRED TO POLITICAL REFORMS UNDERWAY AIMED AT POROMOTING GREATER POPULAR PARTICI-PATION IN GOVERNMENT.

(F) PEACE AND JUSTICE ARE INDISPENSIBLE AND COMPLEMENTARY FACTORS IN ACHIEVING A BETTER FUTURE, WHEREAS VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM WILL RESOLVE NOTHING. A PRECISE KNOWLEDGE AND SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING WITHIN THE INTERNATIONALC OMMUNITY IN SUPPORT OF THE WELL-MEANING INTENTIONS AND EFFORTS GOES IS REALIZING IS ALSO NECESSARY FOR A BETTER FUTURE.

(G) THERE IS AN EXTERNAL COMPAIGN TO UNDERMINE THE POSITIVE EFFORTS OF THE GOES WHICH IS CARRIED OUT BY THE INTERNAIONAQ NEWS MEDIA PRIMARRILY THROUGH THE TACTIC OF CONFUSING INTERA-TIONAL PUBLIC OPINION.

(H) WHILE THE GOES IS AWARE OF THE NEGATIVE PROBLEMS HINDERING EL SALVADOR'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS, THE PROBLEMS ARE

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COMPOUNDED BY THE DISTORTIONS OF THE NEWS MEDIA, THROUGH IRRESPONSIBLE REPORTING, WHOLE APPARENT END IS TO CREATE AN IMAGE OF THE COUNTRY THAT I$ EXTREMELY DISTORTED, THEREFORE SUCH REPORTS ARE PER SE FALSEAND UNRELIABLE.

(1) REYES CONCLUDED BY ASSERTING THAT EL SALVADOR DESIRED PEACE FOR ITSELF AND FOR ALL HUMANITY INASMUCH AS THE BEST OF ALL WORLDS IS THAT IN WHICH PEACE AND WELL BEING (LA CONCORDIA), UNDERSTANDING (LA COMPRENSION), RESPECT (EL RESPECTO) AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE (LA CONFINZA MUTUA) REGN SUPREME, AND IN WHICH
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PAGE 04 SAN SA 05755 101307Z

ALL NATIONS SEEK AMONG THEMSELVES THE GREATEST POSSIBLE COMMON GOOD.

4. COMMENT: DR. REYES ADDRESS TO IM/IBRD ASSEEMBLY APPEARS TO BE ON MORE PHASE OF GOES STRATEGY TO IMPROVE EL SALVADOR'S
INTERNATIONAL IMAGE IN THE FACE OF PERSISTENTLY NEGATIVE INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY, UPCOMING OAS MEETING, AND, PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, CONTINUING SCARCITY OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL RESOURCES. END COMMENT.
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AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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DIA WASHDC

DATE: OCTOBER 10, 19

GDS 10/10/85 (DEVINE, Frank J.) OR-M
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HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT - AUGUST 1979

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SUMMARY. On August 4, Catholic priest was shot and killed in front of his church altar by three unknown assailants, causing widespread condemnation by members of both "progressive" and conservative wings of Catholic Church. On August 16, President Romero announced moves GOES was prepared to take (such as invitation to OAS to observe 1980 elections, return of all political exiles, reform of Electoral Law, restructuring of ORDEN) to ensure widespread participation in March, 1980 legislative-municipal elections. However, in talks with Embassy officers, officials of opposition political parties PDC and MNR pronounced themselves dissatisfied with announced moves, while Executive Committee of communist-dominated UDN had on August 14, announced its decision to abstain from elections. Other groups such as the Salvadoran Commission on Human Rights challenged assertion in President Romero's August 16 press conference that there are no political prisoners in El Salvador. Killing of eight persons in San Salvador machine shop on August 16, had earmarks of having been done by extreme rightist terrorist organization. During August, BPR-affiliated Jose Guillermo Rivas Union Coordinating Committee (CCS) continued to take over factories and hold hostages, including U.S. citizen William Boorstein. END SUMMARY.

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DRAFTING DATE	PHONE NO.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
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Special Project (1993)

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS:

Assassination of Catholic Priest

On August 4 in church of San Esteban Catarina (Department of San Vicente), Catholic priest Alirio Napoleón Macías was shot and killed in front of church altar by three unknown assailants (San Salvador 4396). The Ambassador issued statement that assassination had "shocked and saddened" him, particularly in view of the fact that Father Macías "was killed inside of his own church at a time when he was asked to preside over a religious ceremony."

In August 10 bulletin, Archbishop Romero (in his capacity as Bishop of San Salvador), Bishops of Santa Ana, San Miguel and Santiago de María condemned "horrible and sacriligious assassination." Bishop of San Vicente (and head of Episcopal Conference) Pedro Arnoldo Aparicio called for "thorough" investigation and announced that Episcopal Conference had decided to withdraw its two delegates from the GOES-sponsored National Forum (San Salvador 4528).

Father Macías' death thus appeared to bring closer two wings of Catholic Church. However, unity was only temporary as controversy erupted between Archbishop Romero on one hand, and Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador, Bishops of San Miguel, Santa Ana, San Vicente, on the other, over meeting of 248 members of clergy and subsequent letter (dated August 11) from them calling for end of "repressive" practices against Church and others (San Salvador 4715). Archbishop Romero stated meeting had been to "unify" Church in call for cessation of repression while other bishops called meeting an "abuse" and one that had been "manipulated" by a certain group (San Salvador 4726).

GOES AND OPPOSITION PARTIES AND GROUPS:

President Romero's August 16 Press Conference

At mid-day press conference on August 16, (San Salvador 4644), President Romero announced the following steps to ensure widespread participation in the March 1980 legislative-municipal elections: substantial reforms to be made in electoral law; return of all political exiles with their security and freedom of movement guaranteed (Romero

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Special Project (1993)

made special reference to exiled PDC leader José Napoleón Duarte); invitation to OAS to verify purity of 1980 elections; Salvadoran and International Red Cross to investigate prisons to prove GOES contention that there are no political prisoners; promise that ORDEN would be restructured to ensure that it be "apolitical"; statement that next presidential candidate of ruling National Conciliation Party (PCN) should be a civilian; and changes in Central Council of Elections (CCE). During month of August, GOES implemented some of these proposed measures to extent, for example, of sending letters to OAS Secretary General and International Red Cross (San Salvador 4739, 4991, 5023, 5025, 5026). In separate conversations with Embassy officers, Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes, then Secretary-General of Christian Democratic Party (PDC), and Guillermo Manuel Ungo, Secretary-General of National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), denigrated impact of press conference and indicated their belief that published reaction to the press conference by the Department and Embassy was premature and disproportionate to actual importance of Romero's announcements (San Salvador 4783). In another conversation, PDC officials indicated to Embassy officers their view that more dramatic actions by GOES - such as replacement of chiefs of security forces and possible Cabinet changes - would be necessary (San Salvador 4963).

On August 14, Executive Council of communist-dominated Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN) had already announced its decision to abstain from March 1980 elections (San Salvador 4617).

In conversation with Embassy Officers, Marianella Garcia Villas, Vice President of Salvadoran Commission on Human Rights (CDHES) stated that she had received two death threats from the extreme rightist terrorist group White Warriors' Union (UGB). In August 24 conversation CDHES President Roberto Lara Velado stated that anonymous phone calls with death threats were still being made against him.

Continued Controversy Over Issue of "Political Prisoners"

After President Romero's statement that there were no "political prisoners" in El Salvador, the Salvadoran Commission on Human Rights, on August 18, issued bulletin of non-acceptance of Romero's contention. It cited statement made by former political prisoner to effect that political prisoners had been moved to other locations during January 1978 visit of Inter-American Commission on

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Special Project (1993)

Human Rights (IAHRC).

In light of Romero's August 16 statement, the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners and Disappeared Persons placed August 21 paid press insertion asking for an interview with President Romero. Opposition weekly "La Cronica del Pueblo" (August 23-30 reported remarks of several priests to effect that President Romero had "lied" when he stated there were no political prisoners.

In August 30 appearance at Legislative Assembly, Subsecretary of Defense José Eduardo Iraheta stated that many students give up their family ties to join terrorist movements without informing their relatives, who in turn go to the authorities to ask about their whereabouts. Iraheta then reportedly stated that "subversive groups" which these young people have joined start alleging that these same members are being held by the security forces.

Killing of Eight Persons in San Salvador Machine Shop

At approximately 1200 hours on August 16, eight persons were apparent: lined up and then machine-gunned to death in San Salvador machine shop Salvador 4674). Authorities stated victims may have been members of extreme leftist terrorist organization Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL). Incident had earmarks of having been committed by extreme rightist terrorist organization and led some opposition members to doubt sincerity or feasibility of steps outlined in President Romero's August 16 speech. Incident was one of worst in terms of numbers of victims killed and brazen manner in which it was carried out.

LABOR DISTURBANCES

Workers and non-workers affiliated with the BPR-affiliated José Guillermo Rivas Union Coordinating Committee (CCS) occupied San Salvador plant of U.S.-owned APEX, holding several persons hostage including resident manager William Boorstein (San Salvador 4602). Boorstein managed to escape during late evening of August 23 (San Salvador 4837). APEX dispute has not been resolved.

During August, CCS continued to take over factories and hold hostages. (San Salvador 4495, 4802, 4927). In conversations with Embassy Officers, Minister of Labor Col. Roberto Escobar Garcia stated that

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Special Project (1993)

in order to counteract this phenomenon, he was planning to ask Legislative Assembly to introduce law that would nullify agreements signed between companies and unions in which force or duress had been used (San Salvador 5053, 4296).

In the meantime, one of companies affected by a CCS takeover (Sacos Sinteticos) announced its closing as of August 13 (San Salvador 4802). On August 20, San Salvador residence of Carlos Cuellar (Manager of U.S.-owned IMES) was fired on by unknown assailants. CCS-affiliated union at IMES plant took over factory on June 18 after company suspended operations (San Salvador 4927). CCS was group reportedly responsible for August 6 fire-bombing of Ministry of Labor Regional Office in San Miguel, allegedly protesting dismissal of 120 workers at local firm.

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Special Project (1993)

CHRONOLOGY OF OPPOSITION, TERRORIST, AND SECURITY FORCES ACTIVITIES

A. Activities of Overt Opposition Groups:

August 2 - Members of leftist Popular Leagues of February 28 (LP-28) occupied National Cathedral as act of solidarity with occupants of San Miguel Cathedral and to ask for release of four persons allegedly detained by security forces (see August 2 item under "Activities of Security Forces"). It was fifth time during this year that National Cathedral had been occupied. Occupants left Cathedral on August 21 and conducted march through the downtown area of San Salvador.

August 4 - Under Red Cross protection, LP-28 members gave up occupation of San Miguel Cathedral.

August 6 - Members of leftist Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) joined in occupation of National Cathedral asking for resolution of labor disputes at IMES, Pan Lido, and Fabril de Aceites. BPR also announced that eighteen workers and ten BPR "militants" would maintain hunger strike until resolution of those disputes.

August 10 - Legal actions, on charges of illegal possession of a firearm and carrying false identification papers, against BPR Secretary-General Facundo Guardado Guardado were formally discontinued by criminal court judge. Guardado had originally been arrested on the charges in May and subsequently released.

August 12 - Elements of LP-28 took over Santa Ana Cathedral, asking among other things for release of Andrés de Jesus Aguirre and protesting alleged detention of one hundred sixty five "disappeared persons". Occupants left Cathedral on August 24.

August 14 - BPR held demonstration of "solidarity" in San Salvador for occupants of National Cathedral, causing some traffic congestion.

August 15 - During shootout in Santa Ana that occurred between several members of security forces and group of persons conducting meeting of "solidarity" with occupants of Santa Ana Cathedral at least one seventeen year old student (Alcides Mendoza Padilla) was wounded.

August 17 - Persons reportedly belonging to LP-28 occupied church in San Miguel.

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Special Project (1993)

August 18 - LP-28 members occupied church in La Union.

August 21 - LP-28 members occupied church in Usulután.

August 21 - Newspaper "El Mundo" printed letter from General José Alberto Medrano, a frequent critic of the government. Medrano stated that among methods of confronting climate of violence affecting El Salvador would be for GOES to ensure that human rights provisions are adhered to and also for GOES to set up effective means of counter-acting among government officials the tendency to engage in private business practices rather than attend to their governmental duties.

August 21 - Cathedral of San Vicente was occupied, reportedly by members of LP-28.

August 21 - Group of around three hundred demonstrators marched in front of Embassy (San Salvador 4761).

August 23 - An estimated one hundred fifty members of the BPR tried to block traffic on one of the main highways in the Department of Chalatenango in the jurisdiction of San Jerónimo, causing damage to several vehicles. Shooting broke out when members of security forces arrived on the scene resulting in the deaths of three BPR members.

August 23 - "La Cronica" reported that an employee of the Independent Newspaper Agency (API) had been abducted near Catholic University (UCA) and questioned before being released.

August 26-27 - Members belonging to BPR campesino organization FECCAS-UTC occupied churches in Apopa, Suchitoto, and San Salvador suburb of Mejicanos.

August 29 - Members of FAPU-affiliated Association of Salvadoran Students (ARDES), protesting "repression" against students in La Union, on August 28, occupied National Cathedral in San Salvador. ARDES members also tried to block traffic intersections in several areas of San Salvador, including area near Presidential Palace, by taking over buses, using them to block streets and then puncturing tires. No major confrontations with security forces were reported. According to local API news service, on August 28, three students in La Union were killed by National Guard agents and twenty arrested when the students occupied a school.)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

B. Activities of Extreme Leftist Terrorist Groups:

July 28 - At approximately 0745 hours, two agents of National Police (NP) were attacked near Santa Cruz Michapa, with one being killed and having body covered by flag of extreme leftist terrorist organization Popular Foces of Liberation (FPL).

August 1 - During early morning, three bombs - reportedly planted by FPL - went off at mayoralty building in Nahulingo (Department of Sonsonate), entrance to local commandant's building in El Congo (Department of Santa Ana), and Santa Ana residence of Tadeo Calderón, member of ruling National Conciliation Party (PCN) and member of Legislative Assembly. As a result, two persons were wounded.

August 3 - House of local commandant in Ciudad Delgado section of San Salvador was dynamited, reportedly by the FPL. There were no injuries.

August 9 - During early morning hours in Guazapa (Department of San Salvador), elements - reportedly belonging to FPL - set off bomb in factory "Textiles de El Salvador", and wounded two (one of them later died) NG agents who were acting as watchmen. Agents of Policia de Hacienda (PH) who arrived on scene shortly afterwards engaged in a brief firefight with FPL members, with no casualties reported on either side.

August 9 - Members of alleged "subversive" group (otherwise not identified by the authorities) created traffic congestion in downtown section of San Salvador by placing tires in streets and intersections and setting them on fire.

August 9 - In action attributed to FPL, local commandant of Nahuizalco was attacked but escaped unharmed. One of persons accompanying him was slightly wounded in the exchange of gunfire. (San Salvador 4620)

August 10 - In action attributed to FPL, bomb exploded in Santa Ana regional office of Ministry of Labor. In pamphlets left at scene, FPL reportedly stated attack was one means of protesting slowness with which Ministry of Labor was attempting to resolve certain labor disputes. (San Salvador 4620)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

August 14 - At Approximately 0715 hours in San Miguel, teacher Isidro Sanchez and his nine year old son were victims of shooting attack. Sanchez was killed outright while his son was wounded. Sanchez is relative of former President (1967-1972) Fidel Sanchez Hernandez. An ERP flag was left at scene, (San Salvador 4620) and ERP later claimed credit for attack.

August 14 - In action attributed to FPL, gasoline station near Apastepeque (Department of San Vicente) was set on fire (San Salvador 4620).

August 14 - In Santa Ana, ORDEN members Valentin Contreras Argueta and Alexander Aguilar Morales were shot and killed in actions attributed to FPL (San Salvador 4620).

August 14 - In action attributed to FPL, bus was stopped and burned near San Pedro Nonualco.

August 17 - Press reported death of Miguel Angel Escolero Ayala, who reportedly died of wounds caused by bomb thrown in his car while he was driving near San Miguel. Action was attributed to FPL.

August 17 - "La Prensa Grafica" quoted despatch from Mexico City newspaper "Excelsior" to the effect that three extreme leftist terrorist organizations (FPL, FARN, and ERP) were in a process of "unification". "Excelsior" quoted FPL official - only identified as "Comandante Anselmo" - as stating that "1980 will be the year of liberation of El Salvador."

August 19 - In action attributed to ERP, Modesto Jacobo Miranda, member of city council of Armenia, (Department of Sonsonate), was shot and killed by five assailants in his home. Miranda had reportedly previously received various death threats mailed to him in anonymous letters.

August 20 - Traffic congestion was caused on route to airport by tires placed in route and set on fire.

August 24 - In action attributed to FPL, ORDEN member Ambrosio Martinez Ibarra was assassinated in Tecoluca by individuals wearing what appeared to be police uniforms.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

August 27 - First Criminal Court of San Salvador handed down ruling that only two (Rubin Aquino Belloso and Ricardo Alfonso Lemus Merino) of eight individuals arrested in connection with November, 1977, killing of Raul Molina Cañas (during a kidnap attempt) would be bound over for a formal trial.

C. Alleged Activities of Rightist Terrorist Groups:

July 27 - Corpse of Pedro Antonio Girón (who had been missing twenty two days) was found near Quelapa (Department of San Miguel) with message from extreme rightist organization White Warriors' Union (UGB) reading: "This man has had justice rendered onto him for being an enemy of the people and for belonging to the ERP. The same will happen to his companions Yeyo, Teto, Chencho, Wilbert and others who are militants in Marxist organizations."

July 28 - Newspaper "La Prensa Grafica" reported that teacher Alberto Salvador Palacios of San Matias (Department of La Libertad) had received note presumably sent by UGB telling him that he had fifteen days in which to leave the country.

August 15 - In weekly opposition newspaper "La Cronica", there was report that UGB had been threatening teachers in San Esteban Catarina area. "La Cronica" also reported July 20 assassination of teacher Atanasio Valladares Revelo in San Rafael Obrajuelo (Department of La Paz).

August 22 - UGB reportedly made threats against LP-28 members occupying National Cathedral.

D. Activities of Security Forces:

August 1 - In paid press insertion addressed to President Romero, parents asked for release or presentation before courts of Miguel Angel Terezon Ramos, allegedly arrested July 19 in San Salvador by members of security forces. Letter written by mother to President of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights appeared as paid press insertion on August 7. In it, mother claimed that National Guard (NG) was holding her son and that security forces had taken his car and other property in act of arresting him.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

August 2 - In paid press insertion, Salvadoran Commission on Human Rights (CDHES) claimed that members of security forces had on July 25 arrested campesinos Concepcion Claros, Guillermo Claros, Napoleon Velasquez near El Rosario (Department of Morazán) and Facundo Mendez near Meanguera (Department of Morazán). Commission claimed that four had not been heard from since. Four were released by judge on August 7 for lack of evidence. Four were accused of having provoked disorders in San Miguel on July 29.

August 3 - Weekly opposition newspaper "La Cronica" claimed that on July 20 corpses of Pablo Cortez (allegedly abducted July 17) and Celso Cruz (allegedly abducted July 18) had been found near Izalco, with signs of torture. "La Cronica" claimed that student Ricardo Isabel Amaya had been arrested in San Vicente, July 24, and taken to NP barracks; also, that student David Elioneo Ponce Torres had been arrested July 19 by NP agents near Pasaquina.

August 9 - In paid press insertion addressed to the Minister of Defense, mother of Rafael Humberto Alarcon claimed that her son had been arrested by NP and NG agents on August 5 in front of his family in their Chalchuapa residence. Mother claimed that NP had thus far refused to turn her son over to the courts in the time (seventy two hours) prescribed by law.

August 9 - In paid press insertion addressed to President Romero, mother of Juan Maria Leon Guevara claimed that her son had been arrested July 30 by members of security forces near El Paisnal (Department of San Salvador) in front of many witnesses. She stated security forces subsequently had denied holding her son.

August 11 - Newspaper "El Diario de Hoy" reported that Santos Ortiz Ascencio, allegedly arrested July 26 in San Vicente, had according to his parents still not been turned over to the courts. CDHES stated same thing in August 12 bulletin.

August 12 - Security forces reportedly announced arrest by NG agents in Chalchuapa of one of persons involved in takeover of radio stations in Santa Ana area.

August 15 - "La Cronica" reported July 31 arrest in Chalatenango of teacher Eva Ardón Martinez. (She was reportedly released after twenty four hours.) Ardón had allegedly been threatened previously by two ORDEN members.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

August 17 - In paid press insertion, BPR teachers' organization "ANDES 21 de Junio" claimed that on July 28, teacher Romeo Cuadra had been arrested near Apopa and badly beaten before being released. Insertion (without giving any details) also claimed that teachers José Jorge Rauda and Humberto Cardoza had been "arbitrarily detained" by agents of Policía de Hacienda.

August 19 - Archbishop claimed that security forces had occupied zone near Guazapa and were engaging in acts of repression (San Salvador 4843). National Guard claimed that medical-dental unit was in area to give medical aid and to give talks on "civics". NG claimed that they had "not fired even one shot" in area and referred to area as birthplace of BPR campesino organization FECCAS-UTC.

August 24 - Student Alcides Mendoza Padilla was wounded in a shootout in Santa Ana that occurred between members of security forces and persons attempting to organize a demonstration at a school.

August 29 - BPR teachers' organization "ANDES 21 de Junio" and Catholic organization "Fe y Alegría" protested August 25 arrest of teacher Sergio Zamora, teacher at "Fe y Alegría" school in San Miguel and member of Directorate of ANDES for Department of San Miguel. Also, both organizations protested surrounding of school in Acajutla by armed individuals asking about whereabouts of female director of school.

August 28 - Six students arrested for trying to hold demonstration in school in La Union and for possession of "subversive" literature, were released same day. However, API News Service claimed that in same action, security forces had killed three students and arrested twenty.

August 29 - Eighteen members of municipal police of San Miguel reportedly tried to resign - but were persuaded not to do so - as a result of machine-gunning of their barracks that occurred August 28, resulting in one wounded policeman.

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Special Project (1993)

E. Non-Attributable Actions:

August 2 - Marcelino Imbers, Assistant Secretary General of ruling National Conciliation Party (PCN) in La Union, was seriously wounded in an attack near his home. Imbers managed to kill one of his assailants and wound another. No group took credit for the attack.

August 2 - In Chinameca, student Oscar Manuel Cuadra Villalobos and his mother Rosa Adriana Cuadra were shot by group of masked and armed men who entered the mother's house. Both died of wounds.

August 9 - Spanish businessman Jaime Conde Feijó was kidnapped by group of armed men in San Salvador. He was released on August 25, with no terrorist group taking credit for act.

August 9 - Newspaper "El Diario de Hoy" reported that various doctors and lawyers in the city of San Miguel had left El Salvador because of death threats they had received. Newspaper also reported that many San Salvador businessmen and industrialists had left for the same reason.

August 14 - In what press labelled "mysterious shootout", three persons were wounded in San Miguel. Death of person (BPR member Oswaldo Doño García), whose body was later found nearby was possibly due to shootout.

August 14 - Near Tacachico (Department of Santa Ana), nude corpse was found.

August 18 - In paid press insertion, Lawyers' Association of Eastern El Salvador condemned the "threats and acts of violence" directed the past several weeks against lawyers in San Miguel and other parts of eastern El Salvador. Insertion did not attribute these activities to any particular groups.

August 18 - Corpse (showing signs of strangulation and beatings) of teacher Mauricio Antonio Menéndez (a reported member of ANDES) was found near Juayúa.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

August 21 - Armed and masked men kidnapped Mardoqueo Arnaldo Castillo Olla, accountant for municipality of Apaneca (Department of Ahuachapán).

August 24 - ORDEN member Valentín Jiménez Jovel, also head of a Territorial Forces unit in Tecoluca, was assassinated in Tecoluca.

August 24 - Bodies of six men and one woman were found in areas surrounding Tejutla, La Reina, and La Palma (Department of Chalatenango). There was some press speculation that seven may have been involved in earlier clash between security forces members and BPR members trying to block one of main highways in area. In August 26 homily, Archbishop Romero stated one of the six men was Francisco Fuentes Landaverde, who he said had been arrested August 15 and on whose behalf a habeas corpus petition had been presented subsequently.

August 25 - "La Prensa Grafica" reported that Amadeo Mondizábal, editor of San Miguel newspaper "Voice of the East", had left El Salvador because of numerous death threats he had received.

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ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-05 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00
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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1039
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8414

E.O. 12065 GDS 10-12-85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - OCTOBER 5-11

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8243

[redacted] SUMMARY: CONTINUED REPORTS OF INCREASED TERRORIST CAPABILITIES, SEVERAL INTERESTING COURT DECISIONS, CONTINUED ATTENTION TO THE REQUEST THAT FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA BE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL ABROAD, AND A NEW PETITION BY THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES MARKED THE HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE THIS WEEK. END SUMMARY.

1. [redacted] TERRORIST RESURGENCE -----
WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE FROM A VARIETY OF SOURCES REPORTS THAT A NUMBER OF MONTONEROS-ABOUT 20- HAVE RETURNED IN RECENT MONTHS TO THE COUNTRY TO CONDUCT SPECTACULAR ACTS OF TERRORISM, SIMILAR TO THE BOMBING OF THE KLEIN HOUSE TWO WEEKS AGO. IN ADDITION, ANOTHER GROUP OF MONTONEROS DEDICATED TO PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION ARE REPORTEDLY ORGANIZED AND ACTIVE IN THE COUNTRY. ONE OF THESE ACTIVIES IS THE INTERRUPTION OF TELEVISION BROADCASTS-WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE FROM TIME TO TIME-WITH MONTONERO PROPAGANDA, THROUGH THE USE OF SECRET MOBILE TRANSMITTERS. THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE REPORTEDLY SCORED SOME SUCCESSES AGAINST THE AGITATION TEAMS BUT NOT YET AGAINST THE TERRORIST SQUADS.

2. [redacted] FOR THE ARGENTINE PUBLIC, SQUEEZED BY INFLATION AND THE GOA'S ECONOMIC MEASURES, THE GOVERNMENT'S SUCCESS IN ENDING TERRORISM IS ONE OF ITS PALPABLE ACHIEVEMENTS. IF THE MONTONEROS DO MANAGE TO MOUNT A SIGNIFICANT CAMPAIGN OF TERRORISM HERE IT COULD STRIP THIS PIECE OF LEGITIMACY FROM VIDELA AND VIOLA. THE BENEFICIARIES ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD BE THE HARDLINE MILITARY MEN WHO STILL CALL FOR A MASSIVE CRACKDOWN ON ALL DISSIDENTS SO AS TO ROOT OUT SUBVERSION. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT PRESIDENT VIDELA, GENERAL VIOLA AND THEIR SUPPORTERS TAKE A SOOTHING PUBLIC LINE-MOST RECENTLY IN PRESIDENT VIDELA'S STATEMENT ON LEAVING JAPAN-SUGGESTING THAT A MINIMUM LEVEL OF TERRORISM IS NATURAL, GIVEN THE RECENT PAST AND THE GOA WILL SUCCEED, ULTIMATELY, IN CONTROLLING IT. WE NEVERTHELESS BELIEVE THAT EVEN A THREAT OF RENASCENT TERRORISM BODES ILL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS HERE, AND WE WILL WATCH THE SITUATION CAREFULLY.

3. (U) JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES APPEAL -----
THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES HAVE APPEALED TO THE PRESIDENT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S SEPTEMBER DECISION CONFIRMING THE DECREE DENYING THEM THE STATUS OF A RECOGNIZED RELIGION. IF THE PRESIDENT SHOULD UPHOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTRY-AS MOST EXPECT-THE WITNESSES WILL TAKE THEIR CASE AGAIN TO THE COURTS. WE ARE TOLD THAT THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION ORDERING SCHOOLS TO ENROLL WITNESS CHILDREN WHO ARE TOO YOUNG TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR ACTS (IN PRACTICE THROUGH PRIMARY) IS BEING UNEVENLY APPLIED BY LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE CHILDREN ARE BEING ENROLLED IN SOME LOCATIONS BUT NOT IN OTHERS. THE WITNESSES ARE APPEALING THROUGH THE COURTS IN AREAS WHERE CHILDREN ARE TURNED AWAY. THEY ARE ALSO BEGINNING LEGAL PROCEEDINGS TO ALLOW WITNESS CHILDREN ACCESS TO SECONDARY EDUCATION.

4. [redacted] CAMPORA CASE STILL ON THE BURNER -----
PRESIDENT VIDELA IS FACED WITH ANOTHER DIFFICULT PROBLEM: WHAT TO DO WITH FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA, IN ASYLUM AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY AND REPORTEDLY SUFFERING FROM CANCER. THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED THE GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW CAMPORA TO TRAVEL ABROAD FOR TREATMENT. MINISTER OF INTERIOR HARGUINDEGUY OCTOBER 9 SAID THAT THE DECISION ON WHETHER TO ALLOW CAMPORA TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY RESTS WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA. HARGUINDEGUY SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS MEDICAL REPORTS BY ARGENTINE DOCTORS WHO HAVE EXAMINED CAMPORA.

5. [redacted] AS AN OBJECT OF CONTEMPT AND REVENGE, CAMPORA SURPASSES EVEN TIMERMAN IN THE MIND OF THE ARGENTINE MILITARY, WHO TRACE CORRUPTION AND TOLERATION OF TERRORISM DIRECTLY TO HIS PRESIDENCY. EVEN WITH THE VATICAN ON HIS SIDE, A DECISION TO RELEASE CAMPORA WILL CAUSE WAVES IN THE ARMED FORCES. NEVERTHELESS, TWO MEMBERS OF VIDELA'S OFFICE SUGGESTED TO US RECENTLY THAT LIKE IT OR NOT, CAMPORA IS A SICK MAN AND THAT SITUATION IS PROBABLY OVERRIDING. THE PERONISTS, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE DONE CAMPORA A SCANT FAVOR, WHEN ON OCTOBER 11, THEY RELEASED A STATEMENT CALLING FOR HIS RELEASE ALONG WITH THAT OF OTHER PERONIST LEADERS NOW BEING HELD, USING THE TIMERMAN DECISION AS A PRECEDENT.

6. (U) COURT ACCEPTS HABEAS CORPUS PETITION AND ORDERS ITS SUBJECT FREED -----
THERE WERE SEVERAL INTERESTING COURT DECISION ANNOUNCED DURING THE WEEK. IN ONE, AN APPELATE COURT UPHELD A HABEAS CORPUS PETITION AND, IN ADDITION, ORDERED THE SUBJECT OF THE PETITION-PERLA AMELIA DIEZ-RELEASED. THE COURT ALSO DENIED TWO OTHER PETITIONS. IN ANOTHER CASE, A COURT ORDERED THAT FIFTEEN EMPLOYEES OF THE STATE NEWS AGENCY-TELAM-WHO WERE FIRED IN 1978 IN CHARGES OF CORRUPTION BE IMMEDIATELY REHIRED AND INDEMNIFIED. THE COURT REPORTEDLY FOUND THAT THE MANAGEMENT OF TELAM HAD PROCEEDED ARBITRARILY AND ILLEGALLY AND WITHOUT SUFFICIENT CAUSE. WE ARE SEEKING TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THESE DECISIONS, PARTICULARLY THE POSITIVE ACTION ON THE HABEAS CORPUS PETITION, A VERY UNUSUAL DEVELOPMENT HERE.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

No doubt news this week —

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 08658 2515082

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 IO-14 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 SY-05 SYE-00 NCT-02 OCS-06 CA-01 AS-01
USSS-00 AID-05 DODE-00 NSAE-00 ICAE-00 PM-06 H-01
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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1041
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 8658

E.O. 12065 GDS 10-19-85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS SHUM, AR
SUBJECT (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - OCTOBER 11-18

REF: BUENOS AIRES 8414

1. [redacted] CAMPORA CASE -----
TWO MEMBERS OF GENERAL VIOLA'S STAFF CONFIRMED TO US THAT THE JUNTA HAS TAKEN THE DECISION TO ALLOW FORMER PRESIDENT CAMPORA TO TRAVEL ABROAD, IF IT IS CONFIRMED THAT HE IS SUFFERING FROM CANCER. HOWEVER, THEY SAID THAT UNTIL HE SUBMITS TO A BIOPSY, THE GOA WILL NOT ACT ON THAT DECISION. OUR SOURCES SAID THAT ONLY A BIOPSY CAN DEMONSTRATE WHETHER CAMPORA IS INDEED AS ILL AS IT IS CLAIMED. MEANWHILE, THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT IS APPARENTLY CONTINUING TO PRESS THE GOA TO ALLOW CAMPORA TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY-THE ARGENTINE PRESS REPORTS THAT A MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN PUBLICLY CONFIRMED THAT CAMPORA WILL BE TREATED FOR CANCER IN MEXICO CITY, IF THE GOA ALLOWS HIM TO TRAVEL. IT WAS ALSO REPORTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE HAS REQUESTED A TWO-YEAR SENTENCE FOR ISABEL PERON IN ONE OF THE SIX COURT CASES PENDING AGAINST HER. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME A FORMAL REQUEST FOR A SENTENCE HAS BEEN MADE IN ANY OF THESE CASES.

2. [redacted] BASKET II CONTRADICTIONS -----
EMPHASIZING THE UNEVEN TEXTURE OF BASKET II HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, ARGENTINE LABOR IS ENGAGED IN A SERIES OF STRIKES FOR HIGHER WAGES. THESE STRIKES, WHICH ARE CURRENTLY ILLEGAL BUT SO FAR HAVE NOT BEEN INTERFERED WITH BY THE GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES, ARE ACCOMPANIED IN SOME OF THE PLANTS WITH INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN MANAGEMENT AND UNION SHOP STEWARDS, NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING CONTINUES SUSPENDED BY OFFICIAL DECREE. ON THE OTHER HAND, OSCAR ALENDE, LEFTIST LEADER OF THE INTRANSIGENT PARTY WAS PREVENTED BY POLICE FROM HOLDING A PRESS CONFERENCE OCTOBER 1. THE POLICE, THE PRESS REPOTED, STATED THEY WERE ACTING ON ORDERS FROM HIGHER AUTHORITY. THE SILENCING OF ALENDE IS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE OUTSPOKEN ACTIVITES OF PERONIST AND RADICAL PARTY LEADERS IN RECENT WEEKS, THOUGH PERONISTS WERE PROHIBITED FROM HOLDING PUBLIC GATHERINGS TO CELEGRATE OCOTBER 17, "PERONIST LOYALTY DAY."

3. [redacted] RAWSON PRISONER COMMITS SUICIDE -----
EDGARDO GUERRA, A PRISONER IN THE MAXIMUM SECURITY SECTION AT RAWSON PRISON REPORTEDLY HUNG HIMSELF OCOTBER 13. ACCORDING TO A SOURCE WHO SUBSEQUENTLY VISITED A RELATIVE ALSO DETAINED AT RAWSON, GUERRA IS RUMORED AMONG THE PRISONERS

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AS HAVING SUFFERED FROM SEVERE DEPRESSION. THE SOURCE OF THIS DEPRESSION, ACCORDING TO THESE RUMORS, WAS GUERRA'S REMORSE OVER HAVING BETRAYED HIS "MONTONERO" COMPANIONS AND HIS LONELINESS SINCE HE HAD NO FAMILY MEMBERS WHO WERE ABLE TO VISIT HIM-HIS MOTHER IS SERIOUSLY ILL AND HIS WIFE IS IN PRISON ELSEWHERE.

4. (U) DIVINE LIGHT RAID -----
POLICE REPORTEDLY HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY ARRESTED FIVE MEMBERS OF THE DIVINE LIGHT MISSION (DLM) IN CORDOBA, CHARGING THEM WITH "REDUCING THEIR DISCIPLES TO SERVITUDE." THE FOLLOWERS OF GURU MAHARAJI HAD BEEN LIVING IN CORDOBA SINCE SEPTEMBER. THE DLM WAS DECREED ILLEGAL IN ARGENTINA IN 1977 BUT A LOCA COURT LAST MONTH IN LA PLATA SUSPENDED PROCEEDINGS IN A CASE AGAINST THE DLM AFTER ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE GROUP WERE PROVED FALSE.

5. [redacted] IAHRC AFTERMATH -----
AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WE ATTEMPTED TO MONITOR WHETHER AND TO WHAT DEGREE ARGENTINES WHO COOPERATED WITH THE COMMISSION WERE SUBJECT TO REPRISALS BY THE GOA. UNTIL THIS WEEK, WE HAD NO REPORTS OF ANY REPRISALS, INCLUDING AGAINST 88-98 FORMER PRISONERS WHO TESTIFIED TO THE COMMISSION. NOW HOWEVER, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS BELIEVE THAT THE TRANSFER OF THREE CURRENT PRISONERS FROM NORMAL DETENTION TO MUCH MORE RIGOROUS DETENTION AMONG "INCORRIGIBLES" IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THESE THREE HAVING COOPERATED WITH THE IAHRC. THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITISTS, WHO SAY THEY KNOW OF NO OTHER SUCH "REPRISALS," BASE THEIR ASSUMPTION PRIMARILY ON THE FACT THAT THE THREE INDIVIDUALS WERE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT WITNESSES WITH THE IAHRC AND THAT "NOTHING ELSE" CAN EXPLAIN THEIR TRANSFERS. WE ARE STILL WITHHOLDING JUDGMENT AS TO THE ACCURACY OF THESE SUSPICIONS AND WILL CONTINUE TO WATCH TO SEE OF OTHER INSTANCES IF REPRISALS OCCUR AND IF THE FORM A PATTERN.

6. [redacted] A POSSIBLE DISAPPEARANCE -----
ACCORDING TO ONE SPANISH LANGUAGE BUENOS AIRES PAPER A WOMAN IN MENDOZA WAS SEIZED BY THREE UNIDENTIFIED MEN WHO SHOVED HER INTO A CAR AND DROVE OFF OCTOBER 14. THE REPORT STATES THAT BEFORE BEING DRIVEN OFF THE WOMAN, ESTER LILIANA BERBUDEZ DE HERRRERA WAS ABLE TO SHOUT TO WITNESSES FOR HELP. THERE HAVE BEEN NO FURTHER REPORTS OF THIS INCIDENT NOR HAS IT BEEN REGISTERED, THUS FAR, WITH ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006030

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06030 192306Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 HA-05 AID-05 MCT-02 EB-08
OMB-01 TRSE-00 MC-02 /093 W
----------128768 192313Z /70

O 192230ZHRLT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5013
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PIRDITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6030

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUN ES
SUBJ: POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS

1. (U) IN PRESS CONFERENCE OCT 18, REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) ANNOUNCED FORMATION WITHIN FEW DAYS OF COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE MATTER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. ACCORDING TO ANNOUNCEMENT, COMMITTEE WILL BE CONSITITUED OF MOTHERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS (WHETHER OR NOT THAT MEANS REPRESENTATIVES FROM ORGANIZATION OF THAT NAME IS NOT CLEAR) PLUS REPRESENTATIVES OF ARCHBISHOPRIC, SALVADORAN RED CROSS, AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR PERSONS WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR CONCERN ABOUT INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06030 192306Z

2. (U) JUNTA MEMBERS STATED COMMISSION WOULD HAVE JRG BACKING, THAT DOORS OF THE SECURITY FORCES WOULD BE OPEN TO IT, AND THAT IT COULD SEARCH WHEREVER IT CONSIDERED NECESSARY. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION JUNTA STATED IT HAD NO INFORMATION OF "CLANDESTINE PRISONS" BUT THAT COMMISSION WOULD TAKE CHARGE OF THIS MATTER.

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3. (U) LOCAL RADIO STATION REPORTED MORNING OCTOBER 19

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940038J

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THAT UNSPECIFIED MEMBERS OF JRG WERE THAT MORNING VISITING PRISONS IN SAN SALVADOR IN SEARCH OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. ACCORDING TO RADIO REPORT, JUNTA MEMBERS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, MEMBERS OF RED CROSS, HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AND COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS, ALONG WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. NO FURTHER DETAILS ARE YET AVAILABLE.

4. (U) JUNTA HAD ON OCTOBER 17 RELEASED 73 PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN CAPTURED PRECEDING DAY BY SECURITY FORCES DURING OPERATIONS AGAINST OCCUPIED FACTORIES AND DISTURBANCES IN MEJICANOS AND CUSCATANCINGO. THEY WERE RELEASED WITH EXHORTATION BY COLONEL MAJANO TO STOP ALL "ANARCHIC ACTIVITY" AND INTEGRATE THEMSELVES IN DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. MAJANO AT THAT TIME REPORTEDLY LED TOUR OF TREASURY POLICE FACILITIES AT CLOSE OF WHICH HE ANNOUNCED THAT AS HAD BEEN SEEN, THERE WERE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING HELD THERE.

5. (LOU) JRG HAS COME UNDER SOME ATTACK BECAUSE OF EIGHT DAY DELAY BEFORE GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS WOULD BECOME EFFECTIVE (SAN SALVADOR

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06030 192306Z

5977). QUESTION WAS RAISED AS TO WHY THERE SHOULD BE ANY DELAY AT ALL. UNDOUBTEDLY POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS ISSUE WITH ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR COUP IMAGE AND ABILITY TO WIN PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE IS DELICATE MATTER FOR JRG, BUT ONE WHICH JUNTA NOW APPEARS READY TO FACE.
DEVINE

[redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006083

ADP205 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06083 230036Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 SYE-00 DC-06 CCO-00 MCT-02
OPR-02 A-02 HA-05 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08
ACDA-12 PC-01 OCS-06 CA-01 PER-01 USSS-00 SSC-01
/112 W
----------016483 230042Z /64

O 222130Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6083

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, ES, SHUM
SUBJ: SITREP NO 10 ASDF 1430 HOURS, 10/22/79

REF SAN SALVADOR 6031

1. ON OCTOBER 19 DURING HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCH IN SANTA ANA, FOUR MEMBERS OF EXTREME LEFTIST ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE (FARN) AND ONE MEMBER OF POPULAR LEAGUES OF FEB 28 (LP-28) WERE CAPTURED, ACCUSED OF POSSESSION OF FIREARMS AND PROPAGANDA.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06083 230036Z

2. AT APPROXIMATELY 1200 HOURS ON OCT 20, ELEMENTS OF FARN TOOK OVER RADIO STATION IN SAN SALVADOR, TRANSMITTING MESSAGE. BOMB WAS LEFT BY ASSAILANTS BUT WAS LATER DEACTIVIATED.

3. PRESS REPORTED THAT FRANCISCO VASQUEZ WAS ASSASSINATED IN CIUDAD ARCE ON OCT 18 BY EXTREME LEFTIST POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL).

PAGE NO
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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031J

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4. PRESS REPORTED THT EX-MINISTER OF INTERIOR GEN. ARMANDO LEONIDAS ROJAS LEFT FOR MEXICO ON OCT 18 AND THAT GEN. RAMON PEDRO ALVARENGA, AN EX-DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL GUARD, HAD LEFT FOR PANAMA ON OCT 19.

5. MEETING TO DEMONSTRATE SUPPORT FOR NEW JUNTA HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN PLANNED BY POPULAR FORUM MEMBERS FOR 1400 HOURS ON OCTOBER 24 IN SAN SALVADOR.

6. CURFEW APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN WELL OBSERVED --AT LEAST IN SAN SALVADOR AREA -- DURING WEEKEND OF OCT 20-21.

7. ACCORDING TO RADIO REPORTS, MARCH SPONSORED BY FAPU LEFT SOYAPANGO AT APPROXIMATELY 1030 HOURS OCTOBER 22FOR SAN SALVADOR. ACCORDING TO EYEWITNESS REPORT, MARCHERS WERE WELL-ARMED. GUNFIRE AND EXPLOSIONS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN HEARD. AS OF YET EMBASSY HAS NO FIRM INFORMATION ON ICIDENT.

8. AT APPROXIMATELY 1330 HOURS ON OCTOBER 22, REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) ANNOUNCED FOLLOWING CABINET APPOINTMENTS: FOREIGN MINISTER: ING. HECTOR DADA HIREZI; SUBSECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS: HECTOR DOUELI COLINDRES; MINISTER OF LABOR: DR. GABRIEL GALLEGOS

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06083 2300362

VALDES; SUBSECRETARY OF LABOR: MIGUEL CORDON CEA; MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS: RAUL VALIENTE; MINISTER OF JUSTICE: DR. NELSON SEGOVIA; VICE MINISTER OF JUSTICE: FERNANDO AUGUSTO MENDEZ.
DEVINE

[redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006087

ADP125

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06087 222312Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 COME-00 CIAE-00 EB-08 INR-10
LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 INRE-00 HA-05 OPIC-07 AID-06
FRB-03 OMB-01 TRSE-00 XMB-02 PM-06 H-01 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 /090 W
---------- 015984 222346Z /75

O R 222245Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5066
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6087

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/22/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS: ELAB PGOV PINR PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ (C) COMMENTS ON REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) BY
LABOR FEDERATION LEADER

REF: SAN SALVADOR 5983

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. IN LATE MORNING MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR AND LABOR OFFICER
ONLOCTOBER 22, FRANCISCO ZALDANA CABRERA, SECRETARY OF
ORGANIZATION OF FEDERATION OF UNIONS OF CONSTRUCTION AND
TRANSPORTATION WORKERS - FESINCONSTRANS (EL SALVADOR'S
LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, DEMOCRATIC IN ORIENTATION), MADE
FOLLOWING POINTS:

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06087 222312Z

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A. PUBLIC AT LARGE HAS CONFIDENCE IN NEW REVOLUTIONARY
JUNTA GOVERNMENT (SSQUP AND REPUDIATED ACTIONS OF EXTREME
LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS IN MEJICANOS AND CUSCATANCINGO ON OCTOBER
16 AND SAN MARCOS ON OCTOBER 17:

B. HE THOUGHT SECURITY FORCES MAY HAVE BEEN TOO
HASTY IN THEIR OCTOBER 16 OCCUPATION OF FACTORIES
PREVIOUSLY TAKEN OVER BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031K

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Special Project (1993)

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BLOC (BPR) BUT THAT NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS MORE FAILURE OF "PROPER PROCEDURE" ON PART OF SECURITY FORCES THAN LACK OF GOOD INTENTIONS;

C. POLITICAL PRISONER ISSUE WOULD BE SENSITIVE ONE FOR JRG IF ANY OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND "DISAPPEARED PERSONS" FAILED TO APPEAR BUT THAT NEVERTHELESS, IF JRG COULD BE ABLE TO SHOW DILIGENT EFFORTS IN SEARCHING FOR AND ACCOUNTING FOR PRISONERS, THAT ISSUE COULD BE DEFUSED;

D. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT JRG PUNISH THOSE MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. ZALDANA CLAIMED TO HAVE RECIEVED INFORMATION THAT SOME MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES HAD BEEN JAILED FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS BUT THAT LITTLE PUBLICITY HAD BEEN MADE ABOUT THIS. HE FOUND DISTURBING AMBASSADOR'S REFERENCE TO OCTOBER 22 PRESS REPORT THAT GEN RAMON ALFREDO ALVARENGA HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO LEAVE EL SALVADOR OCTOBER 19, COMMENTING THAT PERSONS LIKE ALVARENGA SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO GO UNPUNISHED;

E.
WAS CONSULTING FULLY WITH FESINCONSTRANS

AND OTHER LABOR FEDERATIONS ON APPOINTMENT OF NEW MINISTER OF LABOR. ALSO, THAT FESINCONSTRANS SECRETARY GENERAL FELIPE ZALDIVAR WAS PART OF GROUP BEING CONSULTED WITH BY JRG ON TOETHER CABINET APPOINTMENTS. ZALDANA REMARKED THAT WHATEVER CHOICES WERE FAINALLY MADE, MERE FACT OF "SERIOUS" CONSULTATIONS BY JRG WITH LABOR AND OTHER GROUPS HAD BEEN CAUSE FOR MUCH HOPE AND CONFIDENCE IN NEW GOVERNMENT;

F. CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT BROUGHT ABOUT BY OCTOBER 15 COUP WAS A "REAL" ONE AND UNLIKE PREVIOUS CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION WN WHICH A FEW CABINET POSTS WERE SUFFLED AROUND.

3. COMMENT: OCCASION FOR MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR WAS ZALDANA'S HAVING BEEN GIVEN GRANT TO ATTEND STUDY PROGRAM FOR LABOR LEADERS OCT 24-NOV 22, 1979 SPONSORED BY U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. ZALDANA SEEMED ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT JRG AND HOPEFUL ABOUT EL SALVADOR'S FUTURE BECAUSE OF RECENT CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. AS SECRETARY OF ORGANIZATION, ZALDANA OCCUPIES NUMBER TWO POSITION IN FESINCONSTRANS.
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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006110

ADP086 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06110 232211Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-08 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 AID-05 PC-01 MCT-02 OMB-01 FS-01
ID-14 /083 W
----------024585 232227Z /14

O 232100Z OCT 79
FM AVEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5081
AMEMBASSY LA PAX IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6110

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/23/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS

REF SAN SALVADOR 6030 (NOTAL)

1. (LOU) REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) IS PLAGUED WITH CONTINUING PROBLEM OF HOW CREDIBLY TO DETERMINE AND MAKE PUBLIC FATE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHILE ITSELF ESCAPING SOME STIGMA OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR PAST EVENTS. TO COMPLICATE MATTER STILL FURTHER SOME OF SAME ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONS WHO MOST ACTIVELY ATTACKED ROMERO REGIME ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES ARE NOW DIRECTING FIRE AGAINST JRG.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06110 232211Z

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2. (U) RADIO REPORT PARA THREE REFTEL THAT JUNTA MEMBERS ACCOMPANIED BY ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS INTERESTED GROUPS WERE VISITING SAN SALVADOR PRISONS OCT 19 WAS INCORRECT. INSTEAD, JUNTA MET IN PRESENCE OF LOCAL AND FOREIGN NEWSMEN WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS (MOTHERS) AND OF COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (CDHES). APPARENTLY TOUR

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/20/94
Case ID: 9940031K

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Special Project (1993)

OF PRISONS HAD BEEN PLANNED, BUT MOTHERS OBJECTED ON BASIS THEY HAD AFFLICATED THEMSELVES WITH FRUITLESS VISITS TO PRISONS PREVIOUSLY. NOW THEY CONTENDED IT WAS RESPONSIBILITY OF JUNTA IMMEDIATELY TO DETERMINE IF POLITICAL PRISONERS WERE STILL ALIVE, OR IF DEAD WHERE THEY ARE BURIED. COL. GUTIERREZ IN REPLY POINTED OUT JUNTA HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THESE PAST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND WAS SEEKING WAYS TO SOLVE PROBLEM, ONE OF THEM BEING APPOINTING OF COMMISSION ON WHICH IT WAS ANTICIPATED MOTHERS WOULD SERVE.

3. (U) COHES EVIDENCED MORE WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH JUNTA IN COMMISSION, BUT STILL ASSIGNED PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR INVESTIGATION AND DISCLOSURE TO JRG. COHES REPRESENTATIVES ALSO DEMANDED EXTRADITION OF FORMER PRESIDENTS ROMERO AND MOLINA TO ANSWER FOR CRIMES OF THIS TYPE. MOTHERS SUPPORTED THIS PROPOSAL AND SUGGESTED FORMER MINISTER OF JUSTICE FLORES Y FLORES ALSO BE BROUGHT TO ACCOUNT.

4. (U) COHES REPRESENTATIVE ALSO CHARGED THAT JUNTA ITSELF AS SOON AS IT CAME TO POWER HAD BEGUN TO VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS, CLAIMING "CONCRETE EVIDENCE" OF PRISONERS BEING KILLED BY SECURITY FORCES AFTER BRUTAL

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TORTURE.

5. (U) IN HOMILY OCTOBER 21, ARCHBISHOP ROMERO ALSO INSISTED JRG HAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACCOUNTING FOR POLITICAL PRISONER AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS, AS IT IS ONLY ORGANIZATION HAVING AUTHORITY AND RESOURCES TO DO SO. ALTHOUGH ARCHBISHOP OFFERED THEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR COUP AND SPOKE POSITIVELY OF IT THROUGHOUT HOMILY, HE DID CRITICIZE WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS "BRUTAL" AND "VIOLENT" DISLODGEMENT OF OCCUPIERS OF FACTORIES AND SUPPRESSION OF INCIDENTS IN SOYAPANGO, MEJICANOS AND CUSCATANCINGO. HE CLAIMED THAT CHURCH IN SOYAPANGO HAD BEEN INVADED AND PARISH PRIEST ARRESTED. HE ALSO DENOUNCED NATIONAL GUARD ATTACKS AND ARRESTS IN ARCATAO.

6. (7) OTHER FAMILIAR HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES ALSO CAME OUT AGAINST JRG. MAVERICK JOSE NAPOLEON GONZALEZ HEADLINED OCT 18 SPECIAL EDITION OF HIS NEWSPAPER "LA CRONICA", "JUNTA BEGINS WITH MASSACRES" AND ALSO CALLED FOR JUSTICE AGAINST "FACIST GANG" OF PREVIOUS REGIME FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CRIMES.

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7. (LOU) APPARENTLY COHES INTENDS CONTINUATION OF LOBBYING FOR CONDEMNATION OF EL SALVADOR IN CONNECTION WITH INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHS COMMISSION REPORT. ACCORDING TO WIRE SERVICE REPORTED COHES MEMBER MARISOL

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GALINDO (WHO IS REPRESENTATIVE OF LEFTIST POPULAR LEAGUES OF FEB 28 - LP 28) UPON ARRIVAL IN LA PAZ OCT 18 STATED COUP HAS JUST BEEN "CHANGE OF FACADE". ACCCORDING TO SAME WIRE SERVICE, GALINDO WAS TO BE JOINED IN LA PAZ BY ROBERTO LARA VELADO, CDHES PRESIDENT. LOCAL NEWSPAPER MADE ONE OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO ALLEGED CALL BY LARA VELANDO TO GOVERNMENTS OF WORLD NOT TO RECOGNIZE JRG.

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Special Project (1993)

8. (U) IN SOMEWHAT ASSOCIATED MATTER OF ASSASSINATIONS OF TEACHERS, COL. MAJANO ANNOUNCED LAST WEEK THAT SPECIAL [redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06110 232211Z

COMMISSION WOULD BE SET UP SOON TO INVESTIGATE THEIR DEATHS AND DETERMINE GUILTY PARTIES. MAJORITY OF THRITY-TWO TEACHERS MURDERED WITHIN RECENT MONTHS WERE MEMBERS OF ANDES 21 DE JUNIO, TEACHERS AFFILIATE OF LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC.

9. (C) COMMENT: THORNY, EMOTIONAL ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS IS LIKELY TO TROUBLE JRG FOR SOMETIME. IT IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT FEW, IF ANY, OF THE PEOPLE ARE STILL ALIVE SO THAT CLARIFICATION PROCESS WILL SHATTER ANY REMAINING HOPES AND WIN LITTLE CREDIT FOR JUNTA ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. ALSO DEMANDS FOR JUSTICE ARE LIKELY TO INCREASE, CREATING ANOTHER THORNY PROBLEM FOR JRG. FINALLY, JUNTA IS ON NOTICE THAT IT TOO WILL BE SUSPECTED AND ACCUSED OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. THIS MAY SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE IN FURTHER SENSITIZING NEW JUNTA, WHICH SEEMS WELL-DISPOSED TO GUARD AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND DEVELOP A CLEAN RECORD IN SHARP CONTRAST WITH THAT OF THE ROMERO ADMINISTRATION. IN JUDGING HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD OF NEW JUNTA, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT LEFTIST GROUPS WILL ACTIVELY SEIZE EVERY CONCEIVABLE OPPOSRTUNITY TO ALLEGE VIOLATIONS BY NEW GOVERNMENT. USG, WHILE FIRMLY SUPPORTIVE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, MUST BE VERY CAREFUL IN ITS ASSESSMENT OF LEFTIST CHARGES REGARDING SUCH VIOLATIONS LEST ENEMIES OF GENUINE DEMOCRATIC OPENING USE AND EXPLOIT OUR OWN POLICY IDEALS IN FURTHERANCE OF THEIR OBJECTIVES.

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paraguay watch

p.o. box 21061 washington, d.c. 20009 u.s.a.

Volume II, number 10 October 24, 1979

Inconstitutionality of the state of siege

The first legal challenge to the constitutionality of the state of siege was presented last month in the case of Domingo Laíno, the opposition leader who was denied habeas corpus and sentenced to an extrajudicial "confinement" in Mbuyapey, department of Paraguarí, under the state of siege September 20.

The defense statement pointed out irregularities in the application of the measure: there was no written order for his arrest, no justification in terms of international conflict or internal commotion; he was confined in an area not covered by the state of siege; and the measure itself "was instituted as an exceptional measure, but through successive extensions it has been applied for 25 consecutive years. This has distorted its purpose, by making it a permanent state."

"The Supreme Court faces a hard choice," said a *La Tribuna* headline (September 26). "To deny the action would be to abdicate its responsibility to oversee the actions of the other branches of government. To admit it would have undeniable political consequences and would mean a real change in national political life." The court has not responded so far to the challenge.

The lawyers also reported that Laíno is not "confined" in Mbuyapey -- which would imply considerable freedom of movement and association within the town -- but imprisoned, under restrictions which vary from day to day. The lawyers, political associates, reporters, and friends who come daily from Asunción (2-1/2 hours away by car) are sometimes admitted, sometimes not. Those who are excluded have been forced to wait under police guard.

"An absolutely sovereign decision"

Eight North American congressmen, and 130 Brazilian legislators, criticized the detention without trial of the political economist. From Sao Paulo, Brazil, Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns expressed surprise that "declarations made in Brazil, which caused no negative reaction here, caused Laíno's imprisonment in Paraguay."

On September 27, U.S. Ambassador Robert E. White expressed his government's concern over this "step backwards" for human rights. On October 3, Interior Minister Sabino A. Montanaro, acting as interim foreign minister, replied

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Other cases: Rabi-Vasconsellos, Filártiga, Sosa Cardozo, Santa Rosa, Silva-Almada, Constantino Coronel . . . . . p. 2

Santucho, Acosta, the Landis released 4

Reports: Inter-American Commission, *Clamor*, BID 5

Political news 7

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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that his government had acted "strictly within constitutional and legal norms". Montanaro, who as Interior Minister had ordered Laíno's detention, added that the U.S. comments were "a flagrant intromission to judge the motivations of an absolutely sovereign decision of the Government... a legitimate decision which requires no explanations." The criticism was based, he said, on erroneous and incomplete information: "that is the only explanation when a markedly reasonable decision to protect the higher interests of the nation is interpreted as a 'step backwards' in the Paraguayan Government's longstanding efforts to improve the integral protection of human rights..." (*ABC*, October 4, 1979).

Rabi-Vasconsellos: theatre of the absurd

We reported in September on the alleged abduction to Brazil of Dr. Julio César Vasconsellos, lawyer for the international financier Eduardo Rabi. Rabi is accused of fraud by Guaraní Cambios, an enterprise of Gen. Andrés Rodríguez (whose daughter is married to Stroessner's son, and who is considered number two in the military hierarchy). Dr. Sara Rivas de Vasconsellos, the exiled lawyer's wife, has taken over the case, but it was interrupted by the transfer of Rabi to a hospital for an emergency operation. While conciliation proceedings between Rabi and Guaraní Cambios continued, Mrs. Vasconsellos has flamboyantly discussed the case with the press and with one of the judges involved, as in this anecdote (the judge is not identified in the report):

Vasconsellos: "What they've done to Rabi is ridiculous, they're going to kill him with all this." Judge: "Watch your words, *doctora*." Vasconcellos: "The fact is that here they use a big stick for the law, and the law as a big stick." Judge: "Shut up, or I'll have you arrested." Vasconcellos: "Go ahead, that's all that was lacking, to eliminate all your lawyers they way you did my husband." The shouting match reportedly ended with the abrupt withdrawal of the judge (*Hoy*, September 25).

From Sao Paulo (Mr.) Dr. Vasconsellos formally requested the trial and removal of judge José Francisco Appleyard, who is handling the accusation lodged against him as a subversive after his kidnapping. Vasconsellos accused the judge of complicity in the abduction, because he had not proceeded on the basis of Vasconsellos' denunciation of the incident (*ABC*, September 29). Appleyard was slow to respond, saying, "I'll take all the time the law allows, and if I don't answer, Sarita is sure to have me tried and arrested" (*ABC*, October 5).

The Supreme Court rejected the challenge, based on procedure: the denunciation should have been presented in writing, and Vasconsellos had made it by telegram from Brazil. Said Vasconsellos: "Of course I expected this decision, obviously the pressure (on the court) is great." He added that the law of telecommunications "indicates that a telegram has the same effect as if it had been personally presented." He also referred to other cases where the same court has accepted telegraphed communications (*ABC*, October 6).

The government published international reports that Eduardo Rabi was sought by the police in Switzerland, Canada, Denmark, Belgium, Italy and Israel under the names of Jack Bender and Elie Rabiea (*Ultima Hora*, September 15). (Mr.) Vasconsellos replied from Brazil that "this cannot have judicial implications" in Paraguay. "I put it that way, because if it is true, it still does not attenuate or justify what they are doing to Mr. Rabi in Paraguay" (*Ultima Hora*, September 17).

Editorial commentary: Paraguay has a long history of international criminals who suddenly appear at the highest levels of national commerce. It also has seen apparently innocent individuals -- whose only crime was having crossed a high local or national official -- pointed out as international criminals, with pseudonym and all. We won't know which of the two applies to Rabi, until the government takes one of the two steps universally approved in such cases: to arrange his extradition to one of the countries that supposedly seek him, or try him in Paraguay with all the appropriate judicial guarantees. Nor will we know whether Vasconsellos' removal is a violation of the rights to defense and personal security, unless the judge considers his report that he was kidnapped, on the merits of the case.

What Paraguay needs is a Kafka or a Borges, to do literary justice to the judicial labyrinth. Until one appears, (Mrs.) Dr. Vasconsellos has turned a phrase worth laughing and thinking about: the big stick as law, and the law as a big stick.

Trials and releases

In the case of Dr. Joel Filártiga (father of Joelito, who died in 1976) against police officer Américo Peña Irala: on October 1 the mother in-law of Hugo Derlis Duarte Arredondo testified in favor of the official theory that Duarte Arredondo had killed Joelito Filártiga out of jealousy over an alleged affair between his wife and neighbor Filártiga (*ABC*, October 2). The Supreme Court accepted the case this year, after officer Peña was arrested in New York and it appeared he might be tried here, on the request of Filártiga's sister, Dolly.

In the case against police officer Lucio Sosa Cardozo, who admitted killing Agustín Bareiro Amarillo in September 1978: on October 5 the victim's body was exhumed to see whether he had died of one shot (as Sosa claims) or two (which under Paraguayan law would indicate malicious intent). Sosa testified that he killed Bareiro when the latter resisted arrest. The results will be given soon to Judge Appleyard (*ABC*, October 6).

In the case against the officials of Santa Rosa, Misiones, who allegedly raped a young woman who had come for a good conduct certificate on December 23 while they were having a Christmas party: Judge Antonio Escobar rejected a challenge against the rural judge who accepted the denunciation, but who was allegedly present during the incident (*Ultima Hora*, September 12). Three police recruits are being held in connection with the rape, but they have blamed higher officials in the Santa Rosa police station.

By chance or not, the three cases -- against Peña, Sosa and the Santa Rosa officials -- were lodged by the families with advice from Dr. Mario Melgarejo and his colleague, Dr. Celso Castillo Gamarra. All three deal with accusations of abuse of authority, and two of them -- the death of Bareiro and the rape in Santa Rosa -- led to the first two street demonstrations in recent memory against such abuses. The demonstrations were later cited as evidence in the case against Melgarejo on grounds of mutiny. The recent movement in all three cases is barely perceptible, but it does appear to indicate new life in the court as a result of the confirmation of the Supreme Court judges for 1978-83, which was announced in August 1979.

The government has published its case against Alfonso Silva and María Saturnina Almada, who were charged under law 209 last June. The couple had been in prison from 1968 to 1978 without trial; released last year, they were arrested again in May 1979. The police report indicates that in 1959 Silva joined the United National Liberation Front in Brazil, where the subjects of discussion were "' unmasking the character of the Stroessner dictatorship', 'the imbalance between the three branches of Government', 'the existence of a minority group of 1500 latifundistas', and 'landless peasants'". They are also alleged to have received political training at the University of Moscow in 1966-67 (*La Tribuna*, September 2).

Coronel in chains

There has been no movement in the case of Constantino Coronel, who was imprisoned from 1976-78, freed without a verdict, and rearrested this year after a failed assassination attempt. With his court case apparently paralyzed, we understand Coronel is being held in chains, seriously ill, in the Encarnación jail.

Four prisoners freed

The freedom of Amílcar Santucho and Severo Acosta, September 22 and October 8 respectively, has been confirmed. Santucho, an Argentine citizen and brother of a guerrilla leader there, went to Sweden under the auspices of the UN High Commission for Refugees. About Acosta, who has been in prison without trial for 15 years, we only know that he was released in Paraguay without the return of his identity documents.

Several days later two Argentine prisoners were freed: they were detained August 4 under the names of Enrique and Ofelia Landi, but by official reports their real names are Julio Regino Domínguez Funes and Marizza Estela Pizarro. Their son Andrés Domínguez Pizarro (Toto Landi) brought international attention: the Mexican Embassy asked for custody of the 3 year-old boy, who was born in Mexico, and who apparently had been handed over to a police officer's family. By various reports the parents were arrested for subversion or for carrying false identity documents, but were never charged. We have no news about the other Argentines arrested in August.

More about the disappeared

On October 4, Amnesty International presented to the Paraguayan Supreme Court a report on the deaths in November 1975, in police custody, of three Communist Party leaders: Miguel Angel Soler, Derlis Villagra and Rubén González Acosta.

On the next day Interior Minister Sabino A. Montanaro said that the reports were "absolutely false". According to Montanaro, Soler had been abroad many years and had finally gone from Montevideo to the Soviet Union; Villagra was imprisoned from 1965 to 1972, but left the country and never returned; González Acosta "is totally unknown to the security forces of the State, never was arrested, and we have no police reports on him" (*ABC*, October 6).

On August 19, Radical Liberal legislator Ligia Prieto de Centurión asked for government intervention on behalf of over 100 Paraguayans disappeared in Argentina. Her bill asks the government to request information from the Argentine junta, and asks the Paraguayan embassy in Argentina to make contact with the families of the Paraguayan *desaparecidos*, "in order to clarify the facts" (*La Tribuna*, September 23).

Carmen Lara Castro, president of the Paraguayan Commission for the Defense of Human Rights, also spoke out for Paraguayans disappeared in Argentina in a visit to Buenos Aires, where she met in September with Dr. Edmundo Vargas Carreño, secretary of the Interamerican Commission for Human Rights.

Enervating climate

"Favorable laws are only applied to the momentarily privileged; odious laws fall exclusively on the backs of the unprivileged, which creates an enervating climate of social insecurity and unrest; not only partisan political divergencies which might be legitimate within a democratic national structure, but real squabbles and persecution among opponents, in open contradiction to the preaching of orthodox patriotism and nationalism.

"...The practice of religiosity concretized at the surface of the conscience, with ritual practices and perhaps the fulfillment of precepts, without coming to the conversion of the 'old man' into 'new man' in justice and truth. The idol of money, the thirst for profit, growing out of this era of rapid economic progress in the country. Luxury, accepted as a purpose of life, carries along with it the corruption of customs, the downfall of the family and class struggle, an apt climate for the easy diffusion of foreign and dissolute ideas, like marxism."

-- Msgr. Ismael Rolón, Archbishop of Asunción, in a pastoral letter entitled "A heritage which commits us" (*La Tribuna*, September 11)

Inter-American Commission: inconclusive conclusions

The Interamerican Commission on Human Rights published its annual report on October 5, and it was a disappointment to the Paraguayans who had admired their deep and detailed analysis last year. The most interesting part of the report was a long reply from Foreign Minister Alberto Nogués to last year's conclusions, dated July 2, 1979, which said among other things:

There are only 4 persons detained under the state of siege; "no one is deprived of freedom without the intervention of the appropriate judicial authorities..." That "each of the branches of government, Executive, Judicial and Legislative, act within their assigned spheres... It can in no way be admitted that the gentlemen of the Judicial Branch work with their hands tied or under pressure, as it has been affirmed." That "the free interplay of the democratic parties in Paraguay is a permanent, everyday experience", but that the National Agreement (Acuerdo Nacional) "tries to attract, in a precarious and circumstantial way, small political groups of varying doctrinal origin which are united in the purpose of subverting the constituted legal order and harming the external image of Paraguay."

On the state of siege: "The Government, despite all these manifestations of social danger, uses the measure prudently", and that the measure is used only in the capital city, "which is exposed to the dangerous proximity of an international border and to the contingencies of incitations to subversion, terrorism and urban guerrilla activities. Regulation of the constitutional faculty of the state of siege is an iniciative which corresponds only to the legitimate leaders of the Paraguayan people, as represented in the National Congress." Mrs. Lara Castro, "the seditious president of a so-called Paraguayan Human Rights Commission which represents no one," was

called to appear in court "only to give informative testimony as requested by the state's attorney."

The Interamerican Commission refrained from commenting on the Foreign Minister's reply, and simply observed that there had been several changes since 1978: "In the first place almost all the political prisoners have been set free." Torture "has diminished considerably during 1978", although there is no indication that alleged torturers have been tried. "Also as a positive fact, the Commission observes that there has been less control over the printed press." The only criticism repeated this year is that "there have been no institutional changes which might diminish fears that the past will be repeated. The state of siege is still a constant factor in the life of most Paraguayans, as long as it continues in effect in the capital city of Asunción."

This year's recommendations include only three of the changes recommended in 1978: 1) a Commission visit to Paraguay; 2) lifting the state of siege; 3) freedom or trials for the four remaining prisoners. The Commission did not question the number of untried prisoners, although it had sufficient information to add the names of Escolástico Ovando, Román Martínez, and quite a few confirmed but unrecognized prisoners. Nor did the Commission insist on some of the other recommendations made last year, though there has been no movement toward compliance: the regularization of arrests with written orders, notification of families and medical supervision; protection of the rights of habeas corpus and *amparo*; punishment for those who abuse prisoners; protection for lawyers and judges.

The report comprises pages 150-165 of document 1101/79 of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, titled "Annual Report of the Interamerican Human Rights Commission to the General Assembly"; it may be requested from the General Secretariat of the OAS, Washington, DC 20006.

Clamor

A special issue on Paraguay came out in *Clamor* last month, published by the *Comite de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en el Cono Sur* (Av. Higienópolis 890, 01238 Sao Paulo SP, Brasil). It is entitled "Human Rights in Paraguay, 1978-79", and it represents an amplification and updating of information compiled and presented last May to several international human rights organizations. Its subjects include recent deaths, torture, irregular detentions and disappearances; considerations on legal justice; the press, political parties, human rights organizations, labor unions and churches in Paraguay.

BID report

Also in September, the Inter-American Development Bank (BID) published its annual report, including among its 520 pages a section on Paraguay. One paragraph of the report says: "The prospect for 1979 (and future years) is still favorable. According to projections the real GDP will increase on the order of 10% in 1979, several percentage points above the rate set as a goal in the current Economic Development Plan, which covers the period from 1978-1983. Besides continued work on the hydroelectric projects, this optimistic projection also reflects a larger crop area for the principal agricultural products, especially soybeans and cotton. Inflation is still the main concern, since an additional accumulation of foreign exchange is predicted. Although this situation may lead to the adoption of restrictive monetary measures, such action may be unnecesary if the action of the cen-

tral government in fiscal matters continues to improve as it did in 1977 and 1978 (*Ultima Hora*, September 10).

Political news

Colorado assemblies

After the Colorado Party assemblies in Asunción last August, the campaign opened in the interior for elections in November and December. The most controversial assembly will be in Fernando de la Mora, where the incumbent president, Senator Alfonso Colmán, "will put on the line his 10-year hegemony in this city, and with it the future of his economic power" (*La Tribuna*, September 15). His rival is Francisco Vergara, who is supported by Dr. Mario Melgarejo.

The campaign began with two incidents: Vergara partisans have denounced "a shooting spree several weeks ago in Tres Bocas, to intimidate the Women's Commission of our slate" (*ABC*, October 2), and the arrival of some 50 Colman partisans "shooting revolvers, pushing, and totally inebriated" at a sub-precinct meeting on September 29. Colmán commented: "They are just trying to blow up a balloon. This is all a normal part of a political campaign... It is natural in a partisan struggle; it's a momentary thing" (*ABC*, September 30).

All kinds of problems become political because of the interdependence of economic and social interests with local bosses of the governing party. In other elections the political implications of commercial and labor actions rarely went beyond the level of local gossip; this year the local press has picked up such items -- but gingerly, and only when it could quote the main participants.

Thus, for example, the foreign firm of Carlos Casado S.A. has been accused of interfering in the local elections of Puerto La Victoria (formerly Puerto Casado), on the upper Paraguay River. Casado has a long history of labor problems, and last August it dismissed 151 lumber and chemical workers -- among them the two principal labor leaders. Although the precinct president, Tarcisio Sostoa, defended the company (saying that the recent flood and the need to build a new plant had led to the layoffs), it later appeared that the company was supporting Sostoa's rival, Obdulio Ojeda. According to *La Tribuna*, September 23, Ojeda announced the additional dismissal of another 50 workers because they supported Sostoa. "Misery, overcrowding, illness and filth are the characteristics of this town, which only recently began to seek improvements in their standard of living, led by the Sostoa group," said *La Tribuna*.

Casado vice-president Sergio Peralta Ramos commented that the Ministry of Justice and Labor and the national labor union CPT (which has not been able to decide what to do) supported the company. A local precinct leader expressed his frustration, saying, "If we protest against Casado, our precinct is sure to be intervened. But they never do anything about the Colorados who ally themselves with the company to persecute their fellow party members" (*La Tribuna*, September 24 and 26).

In Emboscada, Cordillera Department, some people thought it was a political maneuver when the Ministry of Education intervened a local school. The school was named after Andrés Ferreira, who has been the local precinct president for 25 years. Apparently the director and some teachers were supporting the opposition, and they resisted a recent decision to

manufacture insignias for required use on school uniforms, with the name of the school (the politician). But three parents went to Asunción to deny that the intervention was politically motivated, saying it was based only on technical and pedagogical factors (*ABC*, October 2 and 4).

Liberal convention

The former "legitimate directorate" of the Radical Liberal Party (PLR), led by Dr. Augusto Cáceres Carísimo, reunited with the Liberal Party led by Dr. Fulvio H. Celauro, on September 23. Cáceres became one of four vice-presidents on the enlarged Liberal directorate, and his fellow ex-Radicals were elected to two of six other offices.

"As long as they're going to another Liberal sector, it's fine," said PLR senator Enzo Doldán philosophically. "The risk would be if they were going over to the Colorado Party or another current besides ours" (*Ultima Hora*, September 25). But Dr. Justo Pastor Benítez asked the rules commission of the Chamber of Deputies to expel the five ex-Radicals who changed parties, calling them "political gypsies" (*UH*, September 14). Legislator Carlos Ferreira replied that Benítez -- whose own party status is unclear -- was a "political undesirable who has no place in any sector of Liberalism" (*UH*, September 19).

Patria editorialized for several days on "political minifundization" (an apt term in view of the historical relationship between minifundios and latifundios). Said the official daily: "Political parties should be gravitational and representative, they should respond to perfectly characterized principles and doctrines to establish their constitutional legality, and they should offer conditions of permanence and stability, so as to participate productively in the formation of elective authorities and in the orientation of national policy" (September 17, 1979).

Febrerista convention

The XI Ordinary Convention of the Febrerista Revolutionary Party will be held November 23-25, according to a recent press release. Drs. Euclides Acevedo and Carlos Caballero Gatti, and possibly also Dr. Ignacio Iramaín, will be candidates for the party presidency.

Febrerista leaders have denounced a planned electoral "reform", designed "to outlaw the political parties which refuse to participate in the elections" (*La Tribuna*, September 23). Only the Febrerista Party would be affected, since the other abstentionist parties are not recognized by the Colorado-controlled electoral board. But a Colorado spokesman told the press that the bill in question is five years old, and its passage is "unlikely" (*La Tribuna*, October 10).

League mission ends

A mission to Paraguay from the International League for Human Rights ended on October 21, after a full week of interviews with the Interior Minister, independent newspaper editors, lawyers, ex-prisoners and prisoners' relatives (they were not allowed to see Laíno). Dr. David Helfeld, specialist in constitutional law at the University of Puerto Rico, and the Rev. William Wipfler of the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A., promised to make their findings available "well before Christmas".

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006150

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 251603Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6150

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/24/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT EAID, SHUM ES
SUBJ: MEETING WITH NEW CIVILIAN/MILITARY JUNTA OF EL SALVADOR ON
THE CONTINUATION OF RELATIONS

REFS (A) STATE 275713, (B) SAN SALVADOR 6141

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ON OCT 23 AT 1500 DCM HOWARD AND I MET FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR WITH THREE CIVILIAN AND TWO MILITARY MEMBERS OF THE NEW JUNTA TO PRESENT THE OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC NOTE (REF A) ON THE CONTINUATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOES AND THE USG. MEETING MARKED CONSTRUCTIVE, SUBSTANTIVE AND USEFUL BEGINNING.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 251603Z

3. AFTER EXPRESSING THE USG'S PLEASURE AT ESTABLISHING FORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE JUNTA I COVERED PASSAGES FROM MY SEPARATE PUBLIC STATEMENT (REF B) COMMENDING THE JUNTA'S EXPRESSED DETERMINATION TO ADHERE TO PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, TO HOLD FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND TO SEEK A MORE JUST FUTURE FOR THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR. FROM THE OUTSET, I EMPHASIZED USG'S DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND OUR

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940031K

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST THE JUNTA BY PROVIDING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND EVEN SECURITY ASSISTANCE SHOULD THE JUNTA DEEM SUCH HELP APPROPRIATE AND CONSISTENT WITH ITS POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.

4. RESPONDING INITIALLY ON BEHALF OF THE JUNTA, DR. GUILLERMO UNGO EXPRESSED APPREICATION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND MY STATEMENT REGARDING THE NATURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. HE STATED THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WELCOMES AND LOOKS FORWARD TO THE POSSIBILITY OF "CLOSE COOPERATION" WITH THE US IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AREAS. HE THEN TURNED TO HIS COLLEAGUES FOR THEIR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES AND COMMENTS.

5. ECONOMIC CRISIS AND NEED FOR EARLY ASSISTANCE -- COL. GUTIERREZ SPOKE OF THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS CONFRONTING THE NATION REFLECTED IN HEAVY CAPITAL FLIGHT, LACK OF INVESTMENT AND VIRTUAL CUT-OFF OF FINANCIAL CREDITS -- BOTH INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY. ELABORATING ON THIS THEME, JUNTA MEMBER ANDINO MADE A STRONG PLEA (ENDORSED BY OTHER JUNTA MEMBERS) FOR US ASSISTANCE IN IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE COUNTRY AND THEREBY FACILITATING THE FLOW OF PUBLIC AND [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 251603Z

PRIVATE FINANCIAL CREDITS TO ASSIST NATION IN WEATHERING THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD.

6. IN SIMILAR VEIN ANDINO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT IMPROVEMENT IN NATIONAL SITUATION WILL PERMIT EARLY REMOVAL OF TRAVEL ADVISORY WHICH AS REFLECTION OF NATIONAL REALITY HAS SERIOUSLY AFFECTED TOURISM AND INVESTMENTS IN EL SALVADOR. I RESPONDED BY ASSURING JUNTA THAT TRAVEL ADVISORY HAS NEVER INTENDED AS MEANS OF PRESSURING EL SALVADOR. NOTHING INITIAL SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT ATTENDANT UPON CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, I STRESSED THAT THE EMBASSY AND USG STRONGLY DESIRE TO LIFT ADVISORY AS SOON AS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR PERMITS.

7. PICKING UP ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE THEME, DR. MAYORGA IMPLIED THAT COUNTRY WOULD WELCOME AND NEED SUBSTANTIAL EXTERNAL HELP BOTH THROUGH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL MECHANISMS. HE IMPLIED THAT EL SALVADOR WOULD LIKE SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN AID PROGRAM WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDS COULD NOW BE USED MORE EFFECTIVELY FOR WELL BEING OF POOR AND DISADVANTAGED IN EL SALVADOR. HE, AS WELL AS OTHER JUNTA MEMBERS, ALLUDED SEVERAL TIMES TO JUNTA'S COMMITMENT TO STRUCTURAL CHANGES WHICH WOULD MAKE SUCH ASSISTANCE BOTH NECESSARY AND MORE USEFUL IN HELPING THE MOST NEEDY.

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El Salvador. Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006150

8. REFERRING TO FORTHCOMING IDB MISSION, MAYORGA LODGED A SPECIAL REQUEST FOR USG UNDERSTANDING AND ACTIVE SUPPORT -- NOT JUST NEUTRALITY -- IN NEW GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE IN SOFT LOANS TO CARRY OUT PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC TRANSITION. MAYORGA SAID NEW GOES IS PUTTING TOGETHER "EMERGENCY" ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHOSE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES WILL BE TO CREATE EMPLOYMENT, STIMULATE PRODUCTION AND PUT UNUSED CAPACITY TO WORK. PROGRAM'S SUCCESS WILL,

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 251603Z

IN IMPORTANT MEASURE, DEPEND ON AFFIRMATIVE US SUPPORT IN THE IDB. EL SALVADOR DESPERATELY NEEDS A RAPID AND AGILE RESPONSE TO ITS AID REQUESTS, MAYORGA EMPHASIZED.

9. HUMAN RIGHTS -- AT THIS JUNCTURE CONVERSATION SHIFTED TO QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND COROLLARY AND THORNY ISSUES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. IN RESPONSE TO UNGO'S INQUIRY ABOUT HOW FOREIGN PRESS IS REACTING TO JUNTA, I POINTED OUT THAT INITIAL REACTION TO NEW JUNTA HAS BEEN POSITIVE WITH

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z
ACTION ARA-15

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SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 AID-05 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5117
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6150

TINGE OF SKEPTICISM AS TO WHETHER NEW LEADERSHIP WILL BE ABLE TO COPE WITH EXTREMES OF LEFT AND RIGHT WHILE FOLLOWING THROUGH ON PROMISED RE-
FORMS IN HUMAN RIGHTS
AND OTHER FIELDS. GUTIERREZ AND UNGO THEN OUTLINED DIFFICULTY JUNTA IS ENCOUNTERING IN COPING WITH CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND NEARLY INSOLUBLE PROBLEM OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS.

10. REGARDING LATTER, JUNTA HAS SEARCHED JAILS AND NOW VERIFIED THAT ALLEGED 300 POLITICAL PRISONERS NO LONGER EXIST, BUT IT DOES NOT KNOW HOW TO REVEAL AND ADMIT THIS FACT PUBLILY WITHOUT PROVOKING PUBLIC OUT-
CRY. MEANWHILE, HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS, LEFTISTS GROUPS, ETC., ARE DEMANDING THAT JUNTA
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z

OBTAIN EXTRADITION OF EX-PRESIDENTS MOLINA AND ROMERO AND BRINGING OF CHARGES AGAINST NUMEROUS OFFICERS IN MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES FOR THEIR ALLEGED RESPONSIBILITY IN PAST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HE SAID ROOTING OUT AND PUNISHING PAST VIOLATORS IS A DESIRABLE BUT POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TASK UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. AS A RESULT, UNGO EXPLAINED THAT CHALLENGE AND PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF JUNTA IS TO IMPLEMENT POSITIVE HUMAN RIGHTS MEASURE IN FUTURE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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WHICH WILL CREATE GOOD RECORD AND OVERSHADOW NEGATIVE AND PROBABLY UNRECTIFIABLE EXCESSES COMMITTED IN THE PAST. THIS IS NOT THE IDEAL OR MOST DESIRABLE SOLUTION, UNGO SAID, BUT IT APPEARS TO BE THE ONLY VIABLE COURSE OF ACTION GIVEN EXISTING POLITICAL REALITIES.

11. ON THE EQUALLY SENSITIVE ISSUE OF EXCESSIVE OFFICIAL VIOLENCE IN THE PURSUIT OF LAW AND ORDER, I INFORMED THE JUNTA THAT A GROUP OF US HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAD MET WITH ME EARLIER IN THE DAY AND CRITICIZED THE SECURITY FORCES FOR USING UNNECESSARY AND EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE IN DISSOLVING TA FAPU ORGANIZED MARCH ON OCT 22 ON THE ROAD FROM THE AIRPORT. IN RESPONSE BOTH ANDINO AND GUTIERREZ UNEASILY ADMITTED THAT ALL OF THEIR EFFORTS TO DATE HAVE PRODUCED CONFLICTING VERSIONS AS TO WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN TERMS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS VIOLENT CONFRONTATION. GUTIERREZ AND UNGO TACITEDLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE MAY BE SOME TRUTH TO CHARGES OF OVERREACTION BY THE SECURITY FORCES. GUTIERREZ ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE JUNTA IS COMMITTED TO STRENGTHENING ITS INVESTIGATIVE CAPABILITY AND AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT WILL PROCEED TO WEEK OUT UNDESIRABLE ELEMENTS IN THE SECURITY FORCES. IN THIS CONTEXT, GUTIERREZ

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z

SAID THE JUNTA MET SEVERAL DAYS AGO WITH LEADERS OF ALL THE SECURITY FORCES AND WARNED THEM THAT EXCESSIVE USE OF VIOLENCE, TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WILL NO LONGER BE PERMITTED. UNGO SAID THAT APPOINTMENT OF NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL AND A THOROUGH RESTRUCTURING OF JUDICIAL SYSTEM SHOULD GREATLY ASSIST IN HANDLING VIOLENCE AND ILLEGAL ACTIONS IN A MORE HUMANE WAY. WHILE IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT 100 PERCENT IMPROVEMENT OVERNIGHT, THEY STRESSED THAT THE JUNTA IS COMMITTED TO AND ENGAGED IN IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN EL SALVADOR.

12. US ASSISTANCE AND INDEPENDENCE POSITION OF JUNTA -- CONVERSATION THEN SHIFTED TO ANDINO, WHO IN NAME OF JUNTA EXPRESSED HOPE THAT USG WOULD UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT THAT NEW GOVERNMENT MUST MAINTAIN ITS "INDEPENDENT CRITERIA" REGARDING PROGRAMS AND PRESUMABLY RELATED QUESTION OF POSSIBLE US ASSISTANCE. IN THIS CONTEXT HE ALSO MADE A SPECIFIC REFERENCE REGARDING UNHELPFUL NATURE OF A US-ORIGINATED REPORT ABOUT POSSIBLE US KNOWLEDGE OF THE COUP. I REPLIED THAT USG UNDERSTANDS AND RESPECTS DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL SENSITIVITIES OF NEW JUNTA. REITERATED OUR DESIRE TO BE HELPFUL WHILE RESPECTIG JUNTA'S INSTINCTS AND GUIDANCE REGARDING WHAT FORMS SUCH

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ASSISTANCE MIGHT TAKE. WHEN JUNTA
HAS COMPLETED ITS
ECONOMIC DIAGNOSIS I SAID USG WILL BE PLEASED TO
CONSIDER AND RESPOND TO REQUESTS FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.
IN ADDITION, I REITERATED THAT USG IS DISPOSED TO
HELP IN ANY OTHER WAY THE JUNTA CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE.
(IT WAS INTERESTING AND PERHAPS SIGNIFICANT THAT AT NO
TIME DID ANY JUNTA MEMBER BRING UP SUBJECT OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE.)

13. THE MEETING CONCLUDED ON A POSITIVE NOTE WITH

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z

JUNTA MEMBERS STATING THEIR DESIRE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE,
INFORMAL AND DISCREET CONTACT WITH ME AND OTHER KEY
MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY STAFF. THEY PROPOSED, AND I
READILY AGREED, TO WORK OUT FLEXIBLE AND INFORMAL
CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WHICH WILL ENABLE OUR TWO
GOVERNMENTS TO WORK TOGETHER EFFECTIVELY IN THE
DIFFICULT PERIOD THAT LIES AHEAD.
DEVINE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006150

ADP610 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 251603Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 AID-05 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00
OCS-06 PPT-01 CA-01 COME-00 /085 W
----------040210 251659Z /47

O 251400Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5116
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE
DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6150

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/24/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT EAID, SHUM ES
SUBJ: MEETING WITH NEW CIVILIAN/MILITARY JUNTA OF EL SALVADOR ON THE CONTINUATION OF RELATIONS

REFS (A) STATE 275713, (B) SAN SALVADOR 6141

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ON OCT 23 AT 1600 DCM HOWARD AND I MET FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR WITH THREE CIVILIAN AND TWO MILITARY MEMBERS OF THE NEW JUNTA TO PRESENT THE OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC NOTE (REF A) ON THE CONTINUATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOES AND THE USG. MEETING MARKED CONSTRUCTIVE, SUBSTANTIVE AND USEFUL BEGINNING.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 251603Z

3. AFTER EXPRESSING THE USG'S PLEASURE AT ESTABLISHING FORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE JUNTA I COVERED PASSAGES FROM MY SEPARATE PUBLIC STATEMENT (REF B) COMMENDING THE JUNTA'S EXPRESSED DETERMINATION TO ADHERE TO PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, TO HOLD FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND TO SEEK A MORE JUST FUTURE FOR THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR. FROM THE OUTSET, I EMPHASIZED USG'S DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND OUR

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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031K

PAGE NO

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Special Project (1993)

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WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST THE JUNTA BY PROVIDING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND EVEN SECURITY ASSISTANCE SHOULD THE JUNTA DEEM SUCH HELP APPROPRIATE AND CONSISTENT WITH ITS POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.

4. RESPONDING INITIALLY ON BEHALF OF THE JUNTA, DR. GUILLERMO UNGO EXPRESSED APPREICATION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND MY STATEMENT REGARDING THE NATURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. HE STATED THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WELCOMES AND LOOKS FORWARD TO THE POSSIBILITY OF "CLOSE COOPERATION" WITH THE US IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AREAS. HE THEN TURNED TO HIS COLLEAGUES FOR THEIR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES AND COMMENTS.

5. ECONOMIC CRISIS AND NEED FOR EARLY ASSISTANCE -- COL. GUTIERREZ SPOKE OF THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS CONFRONTING THE NATION REFLECTED IN HEAVY CAPITAL FLIGHT, LACK OF INVESTMENT AND VIRTUAL CUT-OFF OF FINANCIAL CREDITS -- BOTH INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY. ELABORATING ON THIS THEME, JUNTA MEMBER ANDINO MADE A STRONG PLEA (ENDORSED BY OTHER JUNTA MEMBERS) FOR US ASSISTANCE IN IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE COUNTRY AND THEREBY FACILITATING THE FLOW OF PUBLIC AND [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 2516032

PRIVATE FINANCIAL CREDITS TO ASSIST NATION IN WEATHERING THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD.

6. IN SIMILAR VEIN ANDINO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT IMPROVEMENT IN NATIONAL SITUATION WILL PERMIT EARLY REMOVAL OF TRAVEL ADVISORY WHICH AS REFLECTION OF NATIONAL REALITY HAS SERIOUSLY AFFECTED TOURISM AND INVESTMENTS IN EL SALVADOR. I RESPONDED BY ASSURING JUNTA THAT TRAVEL ADVISORY HAS NEVER INTENDED AS MEANS OF PRESSURING EL SALVADOR. NOTHING INITIAL SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT ATTENDANT UPON CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, I STRESSED THAT THE EMBASSY AND USG STRONGLY DESIRE TO LIFT ADVISORY AS SOON AS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR PERMITS.

7. PICKING UP ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE THEME, DR. MAYORGA IMPLIED THAT COUNTRY WOULD WELCOME AND NEED SUBSTANTIAL EXTERNAL HELP BOTH THROUGH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL MECHANISMS. HE IMPLIED THAT EL SALVADOR WOULD LIKE SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN AID PROGRAM WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDS COULD NOW BE USED MORE EFFECTIVELY FOR WELL BEING OF POOR AND DISADVANTAGED IN EL SALVADOR. HE, AS WELL AS OTHER JUNTA MEMBERS, ALLUDED SEVERAL TIMES TO JUNTA'S COMMITMENT TO STRUCTURAL CHANGES WHICH WOULD MAKE SUCH ASSISTANCE BOTH NECESSARY AND MORE USEFUL IN HELPING THE MOST NEEDY.

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006150

8. REFERRING TO FORTHCOMING IDB MISSION, MAYORGA LODGED A SPECIAL REQUEST FOR USG UNDERSTANDING AND ACTIVE SUPPORT -- NOT JUST NEUTRALITY -- IN NEW GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE IN SOFT LOANS TO CARRY OUT PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC TRANSITION. MAYORGA SAID NEW GOES IS PUTTING TOGETHER "EMERGENCY" ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHOSE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES WILL BE TO CREATE EMPLOYMENT, STIMULATE PRODUCTION AND PUT UNUSED CAPACITY TO WORK. PROGRAM'S SUCCESS WILL,

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06150 01 OF 02 251603Z

IN IMPORTANT MEASURE, DEPEND ON AFFIRMATIVE US SUPPORT IN THE IDB. EL SALVADOR DESPERATELY NEEDS A RAPID AND AGILE RESPONSE TO ITS AID REQUESTS, MAYORGA EMPHASIZED.

9. HUMAN RIGHTS -- AT THIS JUNCTURE CONVERSATION SHIFTED TO QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND COROLLARY AND THORNY ISSUES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. IN RESPONSE TO UNGO'S INQUIRY ABOUT HOW FOREIGN PRESS IS REACTING TO JUNTA, I POINTED OUT THAT INITIAL REACTION TO NEW JUNTA HAS BEEN POSITIVE WITH

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ADP809 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 AID-05 ACDA-12 DMB-01 TRSE-00
OCS-06 PPT-01 CA-01 COME-00 /085 W
----------D40386 251659Z /47

O 251400Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5117
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIAGE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE
DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6150

TINGE OF SKEPTICISM AS TO WHETHER NEW LEADERSHIP WILL BE ABLE TO COPE WITH EXTREMES OF LEFT AND RIGHT WHILE FOLLOWING THROUGH ON PROMISED RE-
FORMS IN HUMAN RIGHTS
AND OTHER FIELDS. GUTIERREZ AND UNGO THEN OUTLINED DIFFICULTY JUNTA IS ENCOUNTERING IN COPING WITH CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND NEARLY INSOLUBLE PROBLEM OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS.

10. REGARDING LATTER, JUNTA HAS SEARCHED JAILS AND NOW VERIFIED THAT ALLEGED 300 POLITICAL PRISONERS NO LONGER EXIST, BUT IT DOES NOT KNOW HOW TO REVEAL AND ADMIT THIS FACT PUBLILY WITHOUT PROVOKING PUBLIC OUT-CRY. MEANWHILE, HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS, LEFTISTS GROUPS, ETC., ARE DEMANDING THAT JUNTA [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z

OBTAIN EXTRADITION OF EX-PRESIDENTS MOLINA AND ROMERO AND BRINGING OF CHARGES AGAINST NUMEROUS OFFICERS IN MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES FOR THEIR ALLEGED RESPONSIBILITY IN PAST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HE SAID ROOTING OUT AND PUNISHING PAST VIOLATORS IS A DESIRABLE BUT POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TASK UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. AS A RESULT, UNGO EXPLAINED THAT CHALLENGE AND PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF JUNTA IS TO IMPLEMENT POSITIVE HUMAN RIGHTS MEASURE IN FUTURE

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Special Project (1993)

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WHICH WILL CREATE GOOD RECORD AND OVERSHADOW NEGATIVE AND PROBABLY UNRECTIFIABLE EXCESSES COMMITTED IN THE PAST. THIS IS NOT THE IDEAL OR MOST DESIRABLE SOLUTION, UNGO SAID. BUT IT APPEARS TO BE THE ONLY VIABLE COURSE OF ACTION GIVEN EXISTING POLITICAL REALITIES.

11. ON THE EQUALLY SENSITIVE ISSUE OF EXCESSIVE OFFICIAL VIOLENCE IN THE PURSUIT OF LAW AND ORDER, I INFORMED THE JUNTA THAT A GROUP OF US HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAD MET WITH ME EARLIER IN THE DAY AND CRITICIZED THE SECURITY FORCES FOR USING UNNECESSARY AND EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE IN DISSOLVING TA FAPU ORGANIZED MARCH ON OCT 22 ON THE ROAD FROM THE AIRPORT. IN RESPONSE BOTH ANDINO AND GUTIERREZ UNEASILY ADMITTED THAT ALL OF THEIR EFFORTS TO DATE HAVE PRODUCED CONFLICTING VERSIONS AS TO WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN TERMS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS VIOLENT CONFRONTATION. GUTIERREZ AND UNGO TACITEDLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE MAY BE SOME TRUTH TO CHARGES OF OVERREACTION BY THE SECURITY FORCES. GUTIERREZ ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE JUNTA IS COMMITTED TO STRENGTHENING ITS INVESTIGATIVE CAPABILITY AND AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT WILL PROCEED TO WEEK OUT UNDESIRABLE ELEMENTS IN THE SECURITY FORCES. IN THIS CONTEXT, GUTIERREZ [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z

SAID THE JUNTA MET SEVERAL DAYS AGO WITH LEADERS OF ALL THE SECURITY FORCES AND WARNED THEM THAT EXCESSIVE USE OF VIOLENCE, TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WILL NO LONGER BE PERMITTED. UNGO SAID THAT APPOINTMENT OF NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL AND A THOROUGH RESTRUCTURING OF JUDICIAL SYSTEM SHOULD GREATLY ASSIST IN HANDLING VIOLENCE AND ILLEGAL ACTIONS IN A MORE HUMANE WAY. WHILE IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT 100 PERCENT IMPROVEMENT OVERNIGHT, THEY STRESSED THAT THE JUNTA IS COMMITTED TO AND ENGAGED IN IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN EL SALVADOR.

12. US ASSISTANCE AND INDEPENDENCE POSITION OF JUNTA -- CONVERSATION THEN SHIFTED TO ANDINO, WHO IN NAME OF JUNTA EXPRESSED HOPE THAT USG WOULD UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT THAT NEW GOVERNMENT MUST MAINTAIN ITS "INDEPENDENT CRITERIA" REGARDING PROGRAMS AND PRESUMABLY RELATED QUESTION OF POSSIBLE US ASSISTANCE. IN THIS CONTEXT HE ALSO MADE A SPECIFIC REFERENCE REGARDING UNHELPFUL NATURE OF A US-ORIGINATED REPORT ABOUT POSSIBLE US KNOWLEDGE OF THE COUP. I REPLIED THAT USG UNDERSTANDS AND RESPECTS DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL SENSITIVITIES OF NEW JUNTA, REITERATED OUR DESIRE TO BE HELPFUL WHILE RESPECTIG JUNTA'S INSTINCTS AND GUIDANCE REGARDING WHAT FORMS SUCH

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Special Project (1993)

ASSISTANCE MIGHT TAKE. WHEN JUNTA
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CONSIDER AND RESPOND TO REQUESTS FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.
IN ADDITION, I REITERATED THAT USG IS DISPOSED TO
HELP IN ANY OTHER WAY THE JUNTA CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE.
(IT WAS INTERESTING AND PERHAPS SIGNIFICANT THAT AT NO
TIME DID ANY JUNTA MEMBER BRING UP SUBJECT OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE.)

13. THE MEETING CONCLUDED ON A POSITIVE NOTE WITH

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06150 02 OF 02 251629Z

JUNTA MEMBERS STATING THEIR DESIRE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE,
INFORMAL AND DISCREET CONTACT WITH ME AND OTHER KEY
MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY STAFF. THEY PROPOSED, AND I
READILY AGREED, TO WORK OUT FLEXIBLE AND INFORMAL
CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WHICH WILL ENABLE OUR TWO
GOVERNMENTS TO WORK TOGETHER EFFECTIVELY IN THE
DIFFICULT PERIOD THAT LIES AHEAD.
DEVINE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006149

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ADP515 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06149 251611Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SS0-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 A-02 OPR-02 SY-05 SYE-00 MCT-02
AID-05 PC-01 AS-01 ANAE-00 /072 W
----------040281 2516222 /43

O 251400Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5115
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6149

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: SITREP NO. 12 AS OF 1500 HOURS, 10/24/79

REF SAN SALVADOR 6102

1. NO FURTHER REPORTS REGARDING OCCUPATION OF MINISTRIES OF ECONOMY AND LABOR BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR). JRG DID ANNOUNCE THAT FOR THE PRESENT IT WOULD MAINTAIN AN ATTITUDE OF NON-INTERVENTION REGARDING WHAT IT CONSIDERED PEACEFUL OCCUPATION OF THE TWO MINISTRIES.

2. PREE REPORTED THAT ON OCT 22, MIGUEL ANGEL CASTRO AGUILUZ, MEMBER OF EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06149 251611Z

REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE (ERP, HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR TRYING TO EXPLODE HOME-MADE BOMB IN SAN SALVADOR RESIDENCE OF EX-PRESIDENT COL. ARTURO ARMANDO MOLINA. CASTRO HAD REPORTEDLY WORKED IN MOLINA RESIDENCE AS EMPLOYEE FOR LAST SEVEN YEARS.

3. ON OCT 22, NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (FENASTRANS), PART OF PREDOMINANTLY COMMUNIST UNITED CONFEREATION

United States Department of State
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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031K

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Special Project (1993)

OF SALGADORAN WORKERS (CUTS), ANNOUNCED ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM POPULAR FORUM, CITING OCTOBER 16 ACTION OF JUNTA AGAINST OCCUPANTS OF FACTORIES AND TWO DEATHS THAT RESULTED FROM OCTOBER 22 MARCH IN SAN SALVADOR AREA SPONSORED BY LEFTIST UNITED POPULAR ACTION FRONT - FAPU (FAPU HAS TIES TO FENASTRANS).

4. IN OCTOBER 22 MEETING SPONSORED BY "SOCORRO JURIDICO" (LEGAL AID SOCIETY WITH TIES TO ARCHBISHOPRIC) ATTENDED BY ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, REPRESENTATIVES OF "SOCORRO" STATED THAT THERE WERE TOTAL OF 176 POLITICAL PRISONERS AND "DISAPPEARED PERSONS" UNACCOUNTED FOR AS RESULT OF ACTIONS BY MOLINA AND ROMERO REGIMES. THEY ASKED THAT THESE CASES BE "IMMEDIATELY" CLARIFIED OR ACCOUNTED FOR BY REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG).

5. IN OCT 22 ANNOUNCEMENT, ARCHBISHOP ROMERO STATED THAT HE WAS IN DISAGREEMENT WITH OCT 21 OCCUPATION OF NATIONAL CATHEDRAL, STATING THAT IT DID NOT MAKE SENSE TO OCCUPY CHURCHES AND OTHER BUILDINGS WHEN OTHER MEANS OF DISCOURSE NOW EXISTED TO EXPRESS GRIEVANCES.

6. ENRIQUE ALVAREZ CORDOVA WAS SWORN IN AS MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE ON OCT 23, COMPLETING ROSTER OF CABINET APPOINTMENTS PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED ON OCTOBER

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06149 251611Z

22 (SAN SALVADOR 6103).

7. COL. ERNESTO CLARAMOUNT, 1977 OPPOSITON PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, REPORTEDLY ANNOUNCED HE WOULD BE RETURNING TO SAN SALVADOR FROM COSTA RICAN EXILE ON SATURYDA, OCT 27.

8. ON OCT 24, EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL) OCCUPIED TWO RADIO STATIONS IN SANTA ANA IN ORDER TO TRANSMIT MESSAGES.
DEVINE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006163

ADP980 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06163 251918Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01
SY-05 SYE-00 OC-06 CCO-00 MCT-02 ACDA-12 OPR-02
A-02 AID-05 OCS-06 CA-01 /113 W
----------041633 251937Z /47

O 251630Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5125
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted]SAN SALVADOR 6163

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/25/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) FAPU'S STAND ON COUP AND JUNTA

REFS A) SAN SALVADOR 5714; B) SAN SALVADOR 6084

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. POLOFF MET WITH FRONT FOR UNIFIED POPULAR ACTION (FAPU) SECRETARY GENERAL JOSE ALBERTO RAMOS MORNING OCTOBER 24 TO DISCUSS FAPU'S CURRENT ATTITUDE AND ACTIONS IN WAKE OF COUP THAT BROUGHT REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) TO POWER. RAMOS SAID FAPU COULD NOT SUPPORT JRG, BUT ON OTHER HAND WAS NOT ACTIVELY OPPOSING IT. HE STATED THAT FAPU [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06163 251918Z

DECLARATION CRITICIZING COUP (REF B) HAD NOT BEEN DRAWN UP UNTIL AFTER JUNTA HAD ALREADY ACTED VIOLENTLY TO DISLODGE STRIKERS FROM FACTORIES OCT 16 EVEN ALTHOUGH SOME OF STRIKES ALREADY HAD BEEN IN PROGRESS FOR A LONG TIME. IN ADDITION, HE CLAIMED HARASSSMENT AND PERSECUTION OF FPAU WAS CONTINUING AND THAT IN SOME PARTS OF COUNTRYSIDE, OPPRESSION WAS CONTINUING AS IT HAD PRIOR TO COUP.

3. RAMOS CONFIRMED THAT ALTHOUGH FAPU HAD NEVER

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PAGE NO.
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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940031K

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PARTICIPATED DIRECTLY IN POPULAR FORUM, IT HAD BEEN REPRESENTED INDIRECTLY BY FAPU-CONTROLLED LABOR MOVEMENT (FENASTRANS). HOWEVER, UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, FAPU AFFILIATES HAD WITHDRAWN AT LEAST TEMPORARILY FROM POPULAR FORUM BECAUSE OF LATTTER'S SUPPORT FOR JRG. CONSEQUENTLY, FAPU WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN POPULAR FORUM DEMONSTRATION AFTERNOON OCT 24 BECAUSE OF IMPLIED SUPPORT FOR JRG. RAMOS INDICATED THAT CONTACTS AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH POPULAR FORUM WERE CONTINUING, HOWEVER, AND THERE WAS POSSIBILITY THAT SOME KIND OF "FRONT" WOULD BE FORMED TO WHICH FAPU COULD SUBSCRIBE. HE EXPRESSED GENERAL APPROVAL OF COMMON PLATFORM.

4. ON OTHER HAND, RAMOS STATED FAPU IS NOT ACTIVELY OPPOSING JRG. FAPU SUSPECTS AND DISTRUSTS SALVADORAN MILITARY ON BASIS OF HISTORY AS WELL AS CONTINUING REPRESSIVE ACTS AFTER COUP. HE COMMENTED ON OCT 22 INCIDENT IN WHICH SEVERAL PEOPLE WERE KILLED WHILE PARTICIPATING IN FAPU SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION AS INDICATIVE OF SITUATION. RAMOS MAINTAINED DEMONSTRATION WAS FIRED UPON FROM REAR BY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN UNIFORM AND THAT THERE WAS ALSO FIRE FROM SOME NATIONAL GUARD PPERSONNEL AND PEOPLE IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES. FAPU, HE SAID, WAS CONVINCED THAT THIS WAS "OFFICIAL" REPRESSION, RATHER THAN AN ISOLATED,

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INDEPENDENT ACT BY RIGHTIST ELEMENT. BUT HE SAID FAPU DID NOT KNOW AT WHAT LEVEL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTION LIES, WHETHER WITH UNIT COMMANDERS OR HIGHER UP IN JRG.

5. STILL, FAPU RECOGNIZED JUNTA PROCLAMATIONS CONTAINED DESIRABLE CHANGES, AND TIME SHOULD BE ALLOWED FOR REFORMS TO BE REALIZED. HOWEVER, RAMOS CRITICIZED SLOWNESS WITH WHICH JRG IS ACTING, INDICATING THIS REFLECTED ADVERSELY ON JUNTA'S CREDIBILITY. BUT FAPU HOPED FOR BASIC, ENDURING REFORMS AND IS WILLING TO ALLOW REASONABLE PERIOD OF GRACE IF THERE ARE SIGNS OF PROGRESS. HE MENTIONED SIX MONTHS AS A VERY GENERAL POSSIBILITY. AT SAME TIME, HE INDICATED IN FAPU'S OPINION JRG IS IN DANGEROUS POSITION, BESEIGED BY RIGHT AND LEFT AND NOT ACTING FAST ENOUGH AND RESPONSIVELY ENOUGH TO ATTRACT POPULAR SUPPORT.

6. RAMOS QUESTIONED USG SPONSORSHIP AND GUIDANCE OF COUP, CITING INFORMATION FAPU HAD ON EMBASSY CONTACTS PRIOR TO COUP. (NOTE: EXAMPLES RAMOS GAVE WERE VERY WIDE OF MARK, DEMONSTRATING NO SUBSTANTIVE INFORMATION ON SUBJECT). HE ALSO EXPRESSED VIEW IT WAS WITH USG PLANNING AND CONNIVANCE THAT LEADERS OF ROMERO GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO LEAVE EL SALVADOR. RAMOS ACCEPTED WITHOUT CONTRADICTION POLOFF'S CATEGORIC STATEMENT OF NO USG INVOLVEMENT, BUT IT IS EXTREMELY UNLIKELY

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Special Project (1993)

HE WAS CONVINCED.

7. WASHINGTON ORIGINATED STATEMENT OF POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR JUNTA WERE STRONGLY CRITICIZED BY RAMOS. HE AFFIRMED JUNTA DID NOT NEED SUCH ASSISTANCE AND THAT FAPU FEARED IT WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE USED TO REPRESS PUBLIC.
8. POLOFF RAISED OCT 8 FAPU DEMONSTRATION AGAINST EMBASSY. RAMOS SAID PURPOSE OF DEMONSTRATION WAS NOTHING MORE THAN TO COMMEMORATE ANNIVERSARY OF DEATH OF [redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06163 2519182

CHE GUEVARA AND AS USG HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN HIS CAPTURE AND DEATH. DEMONSTRATIOON IN FRONT OF EMBASSY WAS CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE. HE STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT THERE HAD NEVER BEEN ANY INTENTION TO TAKE VIOLENT ACTION AGAINST EMBASSY PROPERTY OR PERSONNEL ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED EMBASSY GUARDS MIGHT HAVE FELT ENDANGERED.

9. LOCAL PRESS CARRIED FAPU AD INVITING NEWSMEN TO PRESS CONFERENCE AT NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AT 9:00 A.M. OCTOBER 24, BUT RAMOS SAID HE HAD ALREADY INFORMED COLLEAGUES HE WOULD BE LATE FOR CONFERENCE BECAUSE OF EMBASSY APPOINTMENT. HE INDICATED SAME BASIC POINTS WOULD BE COVERED IN PRESS CONFERENCE THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED WITH POLOFF.

10. COMMENT: RAMOS WAS MUCH MORE RELAXED AND ELOQUENT THAN IN INITIAL MEETING WITH POLOFF, BUT AGAIN THERE WERE NO POLEMICS NOR DIATRIBES. RAMOS GIVES IMPRESSION OF BEING FRANK, BUT OPINIONS HE EXPRESSED MUST BE VIEWED IN TERMS OF ORIENTATION AND SELF-INTERESTS OF ORGANIZATION HE REPRESENTS.
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[redacted] 10/25/79 INCOMING
Department of State TELEGRAM R

PAGE 01 TEL AV 22928 01 OF 02 280404Z
ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 HA-05 PM-06 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 /067 W
---------- 060438 280425Z /23

R 251518Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4307
INFO USICA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 22928

STATE FOR NEA/ARA VAKY; HA FOR DERIAN
USICA FOR AR

E.O. 12065: RDS-10/25/99 (DIETERICH, W.J.) OR-O
TAGS: PEPR, PINR, PINT, IS, AR
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH ARGENTINE EXILE JACOBO TIMERMAN
1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. IN CONVERSATION WITH PRESS ATTACHE DIETERICH, WHO KNEW HIM IN ARGENTINA DURING A 1972-74 TOUR THERE, TIMERMAN DISCUSSED INTER ALIA HIS INTERROGATION BY POLICE AUTHORITIES IN ARGENTINA, ANTI-SEMITISM ON THE ARGENTINA MILITARY RIGHT, HIS PERSONAL DILEMMA AS TO WHETHER TO WRITE ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCES, AND THE FUTURE OF ARGENTINE POLITICS. TIMERMAN WILL BE IN THE UNITED STATES TO RECEIVE AN AWARD FROM THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE ON SATURDAY, OCT. 27. AFTER THAT HE PLANS TO TRAVEL TO NEW YORK WHERE HE EXPECTS TO SEE ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN. THEN HE WILL GO TO WASHINGTON FOR VARIOUS MEETINGS ON THE HILL, AT THE DEPARTMENT, AND AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

3. TIMERMAN SAID THAT THE MAIN FOCUS OF QUESTIONING DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT WAS HIS ROLE AS THE ARGENTINE "LEADER" OF AN ALLEGED WORLD ZIONIST CONSPIRACY, AND THAT THERE WAS VERY LITTLE EMPHASIS ON ANY LEFTIST OR TERRORIST CONNECTIONS. HE WAS ONCE TORTURED IN LA PLATA IN A ROOM WITH AN ORGANIZATION CHART WHICH SHOWED ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI AS THE LEADER OF THE CONSPIRACY. ON ANOTHER OCCASION HE WAS TOLD THAT HE WAS BEING BEATEN BECAUSE HE HAD DARED TO USE THE TERM LEFTIST-FASCISTS IN A CONVERSATION WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN, THE OBJECTION APPARENTLY BEING THAT HE HAD SLANDERED FASCISM. HE WAS ALSO QUESTIONED CONCERNING SUPPOSED CONTACTS BETWEEN MENACHEM BEGIN AND THE MONTONERO GUERILLAS DURING A BEGIN VISIT TO ARGENTINA IN 1976. TIMERMAN BELIEVED THESE QUESTIONS STEMMED FROM THE FACT THAT BEGIN'S BOOK "WAR IN THE HOLY LAND" HAD BEEN FOUND AMONG MATERIALS USED BY THE MONTONEROS. TIMERMAN WAS BROUGHT FROM PRISON TO AN INTERVIEW WITH GEN. MARGUINDEGUY IN THE CASA ROSADA PRIOR TO A DERIAN VISIT. THE GENERAL INFORMED HIM THAT THE ARGENTINA GOVERNMENT WAS AWARE THAT PATT DERIAN WAS INTERESTED IN HIS CASE BECAUSE SHE WAS HIS COUSIN.

4. TIMERMAN ALSO REPORTS THAT HE BELIEVES LANUSSE'S EXPRESS SECRETARY EDGARDO SAJON DIED OF A HEART ATTACK DURING TORTURE BY ELECTRIC SHOCK. SINCE HE WAS A RELATIVELY YOUNG MAN, THE MILITARY DID NOT SUSPECT THAT HE HAD A HEART CONDITION.

5. TIMERMAN IS NOW RELUCTANT TO WRITE ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCES IN ARGENTINA BECAUSE HE FEARS REPRISALS BY THE MILITARY AGAINST FRIENDS STILL IN ARGENTINA. AS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS HE MENTIONED THAT ROBERT COX, EDITOR OF THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD, HAD SENT A MESSAGE TO HIM THROUGH THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES ASKING HIM

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NOT TO MENTION COX IN ANY ARTICLES.

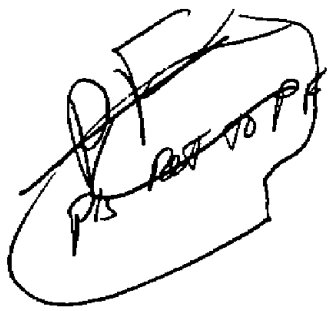
6. TIMERMAN ALSO MENTIONED THAT HE BELIEVES THE RIGHT-WING AND VERY ANTI-SEMITIC NEWSPAPER CABILDO IS FINANCED BY DIANA DE MASSOT, PUBLISHER OF NUEVA PROVINCIA IN BAHIA BLANCA. (NB: MRS. MASSOT WAS WELL-KNOWN TO THE EMBASSY, AND IF MEMORY SERVES, RECEIVED A MARIA MOORS CABOT OR IAPA AWARD IN 1973 OR 1974.)

7. AS TO THE FUTURE OF ARGENTINE POLITICS, TIMERMAN SAYS HE SEES A SITUATION IN WHICH MODERATE AND RIGHT WING ELEMENTS IN THE MILITARY WILL COMPETE FOR PERONIST SUPPORT, WHICH MAY CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH ISABEL PERON WILL BE IN A POSITION TO DECIDE WHO RUNS ARGENTINA.

8. IN CONVERSATION WITH TIMERMAN ONE IS LEFT WITH A CHILLING IMPRESSION THAT HE IS SIMPLY REPORTING WHAT HE HAS EXPERIENCED AND BELIEVES. HE CHARACTERIZES THE ARGENTINE MILITARY RIGHT AS CLASSICALLY TOTALITARIAN AND ANTI-SEMITIC.

9. TIMERMAN IS NOW EMPLOYED BY THE IMPORTANT TEL AVIV DAILY MAARIV AND SEEMS COMFORTABLE WITH THAT FACT, ALTHOUGH HE SAID HE MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN SPENDING SOME TIME AT AN ACADEMIC INSTITUTION IN THE US. HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED COLUMBIA. THUS FAR HE HAS WRITTEN ONLY ON LATIN AMERICAN MATTERS, BUT IT IS TO BE EXPECTED THAT HE WILL BRANCH INTO BROADER DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL MATTERS. HE SAID THAT THE THEME OF A SPEECH HE WILL GIVE IN THE UNITED STATES WILL BE HUMAN RIGHTS AS THE IDEOLOGY OF THE EIGHTIES, AND ADDED THAT THE US

IS ARGENTINA ON THE PLANET EARTH?



ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 PM-06 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 HA-05 /067 W
----------060441 280424Z /23

R 251510Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4308
INFO USICA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 22920

WILL BE REAPING THE BENEFITS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY FOR YEARS TO COME. TIMERMAN STRESSES THAT IN HIS PUBLIC APPEARANCES HE WILL BE DISCUSSING HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL AND WILL AVOID SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN ARGENTINA. HE IS ANXIOUS TO EXPRESS HIS GRATITUDE TO SENIOR OFFICIALS AT THE DEPARTMENT AND THE WHITE HOUSE. LEWIS

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006245

ADP810
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06245 292254Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 SYE-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-06
H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 MCT-02
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01
/069 W
----------072658 292301Z /75

O 292200Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5187
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMDMBASSY GUATEMALA 7094
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 6245

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES ASEC
SUBJ: RENEWED WAVE OF VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR

1. VIOLENCE OF WEEKEND SPILLED OVER INTO MONDAY, OCT 29 WHEN MAJOR SHOOTING INCIDENTS OCCURRED IN CENTER OF SAN SALVADOR. SHOOTING BEGAN IN MORNING AND WAS CONTINUING SPORADICALLY AT 1500 HOURS. THERE IS CONFUSION AS TO WHO IS SHOOTING AT WHOM AND WHY. EARLY RUMORS WERE THAT TERRORIST GROUPS AND MEMBERS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY WERE HAVING ANOTHER CONFRONTATION. DAILY NEWSPAPER LA PRENSA GRAFICA CLAIMED TO EMBASSY IT WAS UNDER ATTACK BY ESTIMATED 100 ARMED, MASKED MEN. AT ONE TIME CENTRAL BANK WAS ALSO REPORTEDLY UNDER ATTACK. AT SOME POINT SECURITY FORCES ENTERED FRAY. HIGH OFFICIAL SOURCE TOLD EMBOFF BY TELEPHONE
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06245 292254Z

THAT AT LEAST 17 PERSONS HAD BEEN KILLED. AN EARLIER REPORT FROM DIFFERENT SOURCE INDICATED NINE DEAD AND 35 WOUNDED.

2. VIOLENCE OF WEEKEND WAS MARKED BY WAVE OF BOMBINGS:
A. BR TZ OF BANK OF AMERICAN IN SAN SALVADOR WAS HIT APPROXIMATELY 1:00 A.M. OCT 28. POWERFUL BOMB LARGELY DESTROYED FACADE AND CONTENTS OF BANK AND CAUSED CONSIDERABLE STRUCTURAL DAMAGE. APPARENTLY THERE WERE NO CASUALTIES. FLYER LEFT ON SCENE SAID

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PAGE NO. 1
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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940001K

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Special Project (1993)

BOMBING WAS WORK OF "NASCENT PEOPLE'S ARMY OF LIBERATION". DIRECTED BY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES (FPL) AND WAS PART OF OPERATION "DEATH TO THE IMPERIALIST YANKEES".

B. PRINCIPAL OFFICES OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST NEWSPAPERS WERE BOMBED WITHIN MINUTES OF EACH OTHER AT APPROXIMATELY 2100 HOURS OCT 28. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES OF "LA PRENSA GRAFICA" WERE LARGELY DESTROYED. DIARIO DE HOY BUILDING SUFFERED FEWER DAMAGES. REPORTEDLY THERE WAS ONLY ONE SERIOUS INJURY IN EACH OF THESE INCIDENTS. PRESSES WERE NOT DAMAGED AND BOTH PAPERS WILL CONTINUE TO APPEAR. PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP) HAS REPORTEDL CLAIMED RESPOSIBILITY FOR BOTH BOMBINGS.

C. HOTEL TROPICO INNIN SAN MIGUEL WAS FIREBOMBED BY ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE (FARN) EVENING OF OCT 26. REPORTED DAMAGE TOTALED APPROXIMATELY EIGHTY THOUSAND COLONES. NO INJURIES WERE REPORTED.

3. OTHER VIOLENT ACTS OVER WEEKEND WERE:

A. DBAPTY MANAGER OF FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK WAS SHOT TO DEATH EARLY MORNING OCT 26. INITIAL REPORTS DO NOT RPT NOT INDICATE INCIDENT WAS REALTED TO VICTIM'S EMPLOYEMENT BY U.S. FIRM, BUT SHOOTING STILL HAS NOT BEEN EXPLAINED.

B. IN EXCHANGE OF GUNFIRE WITH SECURITY FORCES IN FRONT OF SAN MIGUEL CATHEDRAL (WHICH IS

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OCCUPIED BY POPULAR LEAGUES OF FEB 28 (LP-28), REPORTEDLY ONE MEMBER OF LP-28 AND ONE MISFORTUNATE DRUNK WHO CAME TO SEE EXCITEMENT WERE KILLED.

C. LT. JOSE ANTONIO CASTILLO RAMIREZ, UNTIL RECENTLY CHIEF OF DEPARMENT OF INVESTIGATIONS OF NATIONAL GUARD WAS SHOT TO DEATH SUNDAY MORNING IN SANTA ANA BY UNIDENTIFIED GROUP OF TERRORISTS. CASTILLO REPORTEDLY KILLED TWO OF ASSAILANTS.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006243

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ADP458 [redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06243 292221Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00
ACDA-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /072 W
------------------072457 292233Z /75

O 292135Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5185
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6243

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/29/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S VIEWS ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

REF A) SAN SALVADOR 5835; B) SAN SALLVADOR 6080

1. (C - ENOIRE TEXT)

2. AMBASSADOR OCT 26 HOSTED LUNCHEON FOR ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND TWO OF ARCHBISHOP'S CLOSEST ADVISORS, MONSENOR RICARDO URIOSTE AND FATHER FRANCISCO ESTRADA. DCM AND POLOFF WERE ALSO IN ATTENDANCE. CONVERSATION NATURALLY CENTERED ON SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR IN WAKE OF OCT 15 COUP.

3. ARCIBISHOP EXPRESS VIEW THAT ALTHOUGH SITUATION WAS STILL DELICATE, IT HAD GREATLY IMPROVED WITH COUP. [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06243 292221Z

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REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) NEEDS TIME AND SUPPORT TO PUT THINGS IN ORDER. ARCIBHSIOP AGREED WITH AMBASSADOR'S ASSESSMENT THAT THIS MIGHT BE LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL, MODERATE CHANGE IN COUNTRY. EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO GUIDE IT IN RIGHT DIRECTION AND MAKE IT SUCCESSFUL. IT WAS CONSENSUS OF GROUP THAT JRG IS FAILING TO CAPITALIZE ON POSITIVE ACTIONS IT IS TAKING BECAUSE OF INADEQUATE PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT, AND THAT JUNTA NEEDS TECHNICAL ADVICE AND AN

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940031K

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ACTIVE PROGRAM IN THIS RESPECT.

4. ARCHBISHOP SAW JRG ENDANGERED FROM BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT. ENTRENCHED ECONOMIC INTERESTS ON RIGHT HAD ALWAYS BEEN OPPOSED TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS, AND ARE ACTIVELY INTERESTED IN SUBVERTING COUP TO PREVENT REFORMS FROM BEING REALIZED NOW. POSSIBLE COUNTER COUP FROM RIGHT IS ALSO MATTER OF SERIOUS CONCERN. ARCHBISHOP SPOKE OF HIS EFFORTS TO CONVINCE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHT TO ACCEPT NECESSARY REFORMS.

5. ARCHBISHOP CONDEMNED VIOLENT ACTS BY LEFTIST POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING OCCUPATIONS OF CHURCHES, SAYING THOSE ORGANIZATIONS WERE FAILING TO TAKE INTO A COUNT FACT THAT NOW HAD OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL POLITICAL EXPRESSION, CONTRARY TO SWTUATION UNDER ROMERO REGIME. HE SAID FRONT FOR UNITED POPULAR ACTION (FAPU) HAD CALLED HIM A "TRAITOR" FOR HIS SUPPORT FOR JUNTA. HOWEVER, HE REPEATED FREQUENTLY HEARD EVALUATION THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO REASON WITH AT LEAST SOME ELEMENTS OF FAPU AND POPULAR LEAGUES OF FEBRUARY 28 (LP-28), BUT DIALOGUE WITH POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) IS IMPOSSIBLE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION THE ARCHBISHOP SAID THE COUNTRYSIDE IS EVEN MORE RADICALIZED [redacted]

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THAN THE CITY.

6. PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WAS RECOGNIZED BY SRCHBISHOP AS BEING VERY DIFFICULT ONEFOR JRG TO SOLVE. TO DELVE DEEPLY WOULD THREATEN INSTITUTIONAL UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF ARMED FORCE. DESPITE DELAYS AND SETBACKS, HOWEVER, HE CREDITED JRG WITH "GOOD INTENTIONS" IN MATTER. HE NOTED THERE HAVE BEEN SOME ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND DISAPPEARANCES SINCE JUNTA TOOK POWER, INCLUDING CASE OF STILL MISSING SACRISTAN OF SOYAPANGO CHURCH. HE SAID JRG OFFICIALS HAD CONCEDED THAT THEY DID NOT YET HAVE ALL UNITS OF SECURITY FORCES UNDER EFFECTIVE CONTROL SO THERE ARE SOME CONTINUING ABUSES. (NOTE: IN HOMILY OCT 28, ARCHBISHOP PROPSED THREE-POINT PROGRAM FOR RESOLVING POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS QUANDARY: (1) EXHAUSTIVE INVESTIGATION OF INCIDENTS, (2) JUSTICE AGAINST THOSE GUILTY OF CRIMES IN THIS FIELDUJ AND (3) JUST INDEMNIFICATION OF FAMILIES OF VICTIMS.

7. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF COUNTRY ALSO CAME UNDER DISCUSSION, INCLUDING FACT THAT POLITICAL INSTABILITY HAS CAUSED ECONOMIC DECLINE AND LOSS OF JOBS. GUESTS NOTED THAT JRG PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC REFORMS IS SEVERELY INHIBITED BY FACT TWO OF TOP ECONOMIC OFFICIALS, MINISTERS OF ECONOMY AND PLANNING, ARE BEING HELD HOSTAGE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006243

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300

BY BPR. ARCHBISHOP ADVICATED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR JRG, BUT MADE NO MENTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH HE HAD CRITICIZED IN OCT 21 HOMILY (REF B).
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006243

ADP458
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06243 292221Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 DNB-01 TRSE-00
ACDA-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /072 W
072457 292233Z /75

O 292135Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5165
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6243

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/29/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S VIEWS ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

REF A) SAN SALVADOR 5835; B) SAN SALLVADOR 6080

[redacted]

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3. ARCIBISHOP EXPRESS VIEW THAT ALTHOUGH SITUATION WAS STILL DELICATE, IT HAD GREATLY IMPROVED WITH COUP.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06243 292221Z

REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) NEEDS TIME AND SUPPORT TO PUT THINGS IN ORDER. ARCIBHSIOP AGREED WITH AMBASSADOR'S ASSESSMENT THAT THIS MIGHT BE LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL, MODERATE CHANGE IN COUNTRY. EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO GUIDE IT IN RIGHT DIRECTION AND MAKE IT SUCCESSFUL. IT WAS CONSENSUS OF GROUP THAT JRG IS FAILING TO CAPITALIZE ON POSITIVE ACTIONS IT IS TAKING BECAUSE OF INADEQUATE PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT, AND THAT JUNTA NEEDS TECHNICAL ADVICE AND AN

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United States Department of State
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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031K

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ACTIVE PROGRAM IN THIS RESPECT.

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BY BPR. ARCHBISHOP ADVICATED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR JRG, BUT MADE NO MENTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH HE HAD CRITICIZED IN OCT 21 HOMILY (REF B).
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006270

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06270 01 OF 02 301910Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SVC-00 PM-06 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 HA-06 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01
SSO-00 INRE-00 /060 W
----------079599 301948Z /64

O 3018002 OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5201
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASH DC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6270

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/30/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: EAID EINV MASS PINR PINS PINT SHUM ES NU
SUBJ: ASSISTANCE TO NEW GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR

[redacted]

2. AS STATED REFTEL, LT:.COL WALKER AND I DINED LAST NIGHT WITH REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) MEMBER COLONEL JAIME ABDUL GUTIERREZ, MINISTER OF DEFENSE COLONEL GARCIA, AND SECRETARY OF INFORMATION MAJOR (RETIRED) SALAZAR BRENES. LET ME AT THE OUTSET THANK DEPARMENT AND EMBASSY MANAGUA FOR THE INVALUABLE INFORMATION AND COMMENT WITH WHICH THEY SO QUICKLY ARMED US FOR THIS DISCUSSION.

3. I WAS IMMEDIATELY STRUCK BY HOW TIRED COLONEL GUTIERREZ APPEARED. WHEN WE SUGGESTED THAT THE PAST TWO WEEKS MUST

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06270 01 OF 02 301910Z

HAVE BEEN TRYING ONES, HE AGREED AND THEN ADDED WARILY THAT THINGS HAD BEEN GOING WELL "UNTIL TODAY".

4. OUR DISCUSSION LASTED OVER THREE HOURS AND WAS A FAR-RANGING ONE, VARIOUS ASPECTS OF WHICH WILL BE REPORTED OR ENLARGED UPON IN SEPTELS. WE MADE CLEAR TO OUR VISITORS THE APPROVAL OF USG FOR THEIR PROCLAIMED PROGRAM OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL REFORM, THEIR COMMITMENT TO FREE ELECTIONS, ETC., AND OUR DESIRE TO BE OF SUPPORT. WE TRIED TO COMMENT HELPFULLY

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940031K

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UPON POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THEIR SITUATION, EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE WHICH ATTACHES TO RETENTION AND ENLARGEMENT OF THEIR BASE OF POLITICAL SUPPORT. WE DISCUSSED WITH THEM IN SYMPATHETIC AND HOPEFULLY HELPFUL TERMS THEIR PROBLEM RELATING TO POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WE STRESSED THE POSITIVE IMPACT WHICH HAD BEEN CREATED BY THEIR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND URGED THAT THEY HOLD TO THIS IN THE FACE OF OBVIOUS PROVOCATION FROM THE EXTREME LEFT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ASSURED THEM OF OUR PRACTICIAL RECOGNITION OF THEIR NECESSITY TO DEFEND THE JRG AND SALVADORAN SOCIETY AGAINST POLITICAL VIOLENCE INTENDED TO LEAD TO CIVIL INSURRECTION, BUT WE URGED THAT THIS BE DONE WITH MINIMUM POSSIBLE COUNTER-VIOLENCE.

5. FOR THEIR PART, OUR DINNER GUESTS WERE RELAXED AND REMARKABLY FORTHCOMING. THEY ADMITTED TO SOME DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF JRG BUT ACCEPTED WITH GOOD GRACE OUR SUGGESTION THAT IT WAS HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO GET THEM ALL ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH. THEY DENIED THE RUMOR THAT JRG MEMBER MARIO ANDINO MIGHT BE READY TO RESIGN AND SAID SMILINGLY THAT TO THE CONTRARY HE MIGHT BE THE LAST TO GO. JRG MEMBER GUILLERMO MANUEL UNGO THEY DESCRIBED AS AN EXPERIENCED POLITICAN WHO UNDERSTOOD THE TRIALS OF THE MOMENT. BUT WITH RESPECT TO THE FINAL CIVILIAN MEMBER OF JRG, RECOTOR [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06270 01 OF 02 301910Z

ROMAN MYRDGA, THEY TERMED HIM A "MAGNIFICENT PERSON" BUT ONE WHO IS OVERWHELMED BY THE ABRUPT CHANGE FROM ACADEMIC LIFE TO THE PRACTICAL PRESSURES OF RUNNING A GOVERNMENT.

6. IN THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION, I MENTIONED HAVING READ THAT EL SALVADOR'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER HAD STATED AT LA PAZ THAT GOES WOULD BE RECOGNIZING AND ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH CUBA. REPEATING MY EARLIER ASSURANCES THAT THIS WAS OBVIOUSLY AN INHERENT RIGHT AND THE SOVEREIGN DECISION OF EACH GOVERNMENT, I THEN IMPLEMENTED STATE 281136. SALVADORAN GUESTS HEARD ME OUT, COMMENTED THAT EVERY JOURNALIST WHOM THEY SEE PRESSES THEM ON THIS, SAID THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA HAS A VERY LOW PRIORITY WITH THEM, AND THAT WHILE THEY MIGHT BE MOVING TOWARD THIS END IT MIGHT TAKE THEM A VERY LONG TIME EVER TO GET THERE. IT WAS AGAIN APPARENT FROM THEIR MANNER,ESPECIALLY THAT OF COLONEL GUTIERREZ, THAT HE THOUGHT THEY MIGHT NEVER MAKE IT.

7. WHEN THEY BROUGHT UP NICARAGUA AND THEIR CONCERN OVER REPORTS OR OTHER INDICATIONS OF A POSSIBLE SANDINISTA-SPONSORED THREAT TO EL SALVADOR, I DREW UPON MANAGUA 5209, MANAGUA 5245, AND STATE 282423 TO MAKE APPROPRIATE REPLY. ALL THREE GUESTS LISTENED INTENTLY TO ENTIRE PRESENTATION, SEEMED REASSURED BY ITS GENERAL TENOR AND CONTENTN, RELAXED VISIBLY ON THE SUBJECT OF NICARAGUA, AND RAISED VARIOUS POINTS FOR DISCUSSION. WE CAUTIONED THEM THAT WHAT WE

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WERE SUPPLYING WAS OUR BEST ESTIMATE BUT THAT THEY SHOULD
IN NO WAY LET DOWN THEIR GUARD, ESPECIALLY SINCE WE HAVE
TERECEIVED REPEATED REPORTS OF SIZEABLE ARMS SHIPMENTS INTO
EL SALVADOR PLUS A STEADILY INCREASING LEVEL OF TRAINING
AND READINESS ON THE PART OF THE EXTREME LEFT IN THIS
COUNTRY. IN CONCLUDING THIS PART OF CONVERSATION, OUR
GUESTS EXPRESSED CONTUING INTEREST IN ANYTHING ELSE WE
MIGHT DEVELOP ON THE SUBJECT AND ACCEPTED WITH ENTHUSIASM
OUR OFFFER (STATE 282423 PARA 7) TO COOPERATE WITH
JRG IN TERMS OF INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGES ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06270 01 OF 02 301910Z

NOTE BY OC/T: REFERENCE OMITTED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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DECLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006270

ADP893
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06270 02 OF 02 301916Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-06 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 HA-05 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 SSO-00
INRE-00 /060 W
----------079638 301948Z /64

O 301800Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5202
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASH DC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6270

FROM ABROAD. (IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF DEPARTMENT WOULD PROVIDE US WITH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTING FAST FOLLOW-UP ON THIS.)

8. AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF OUR READINESS TO ASSIST NEW

JRG, I THEN CONVEYED TO THEM CONTENT OF STATE 281355 CONCERNING OUR READINESS TO SUPPORT EL SALVADOR'S PRE-INVESTMENT PROGRAM WHEN IT COMES TO A VOTE IN THE IDB. THIS WAS A DIFFERENT WORLD AND ALL NEWS TO THEM, SO WE EXPLAINED PAST RECORD OF OUR POSITION AND VOTES IN THE IFI'S BASED UPON EL SALVADOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS CONSTITUTED A COMPLETE TURNABOUT IN THEIR FAVOR. (I USED THIS TO ILLUSTRATE THE IIPORTANCE OF KEEPING THEIR COPYBOOK CLEAN IN THE FUTURE IN TERMS OF OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.) WHEN THEY FINALLY GRASPED WHAT THIS WAS ALL ABOUT,
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06270 02 OF 02 301916Z

OUR VISITORS WERE MOST IMPRESSED AND GREATEFUL.

9. FINALLY WE TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR AS SET FORTH IN STATE 282178. THIS WAS REALLY THE FROSTING ON THE CAKE, AND THE THREE MILITARY LEADERS LISTENED WITH MOUNTING DELIGHT AND APPRECIATION AS I TOLD THEM OF OUR TURNABOUT ON TEAR GAS, THE ITEMS WHICH WE THOUGHT MIGHT FIGURE IN THEIR NEXT ORDERS OF PRIORITY, THE RAPIDITY WITH WHICH WE WERE PREPARED TO MAKE CASH SALES,

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THE FACILITY WHICH WE WERE PREPARED TO EXTEND IN TERMS OF FMS FINANCING (BASED ON FY:1975 FUNDS), AND THE $633,766 WHICH REMAINS AVAILABLE TO THEM. AS THE SAME TIME, I WAS AT PAINS TO IMPRESS UPON THEM THE POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF SOME OF THIS AND THE OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE -- IN OUR VIEW -- THAT THEY HAVE THE COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA AS THEY WENT INTO ANY SUCH PROGRAM. THEY SEEMED TO AGREE ON THIS LATTER POINT AND EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT JRG WOULD BE ACTING AS A UNIFIED TEAM. WE LEFT IT THAT LT.COL. BOWEN AND LT.COL. GEORGES OF OUR MILGROUP WOULD BE IN EARLY TOUCH WITH THEM TO WORK OUT DETAILS AND FACILITATE FORWARD MOVEMENT ON THIS FRONT.

10. AS INDICATED ABOVE, WE WILL BE REPORTING SEPARATELY ON OTHER ASPECTS OF CONVERSATION, BUT WE DID TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO IMPRESS UPON OUR GUESTS THE IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLSHING EARLY AND EFFECTIVE WORKING CONTACT BETWEEN THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF OUR MISSION AND THE CORRESPONDING MINISTERS IN THE NEW CABINET (RECOGNIZING, OF COURSE, THAT MINISTERS OF ECONOMY, PLANNING AND LABOR HAVE ALL BEEN HOSTAGES OF THE BPR DURING PAST FEW DAYS). I DESCRIBED IN GENERAL TERMS NATURE OF OUR USAID PROGRAM AND SOME OF ITS CAPABILITIES. WHEN OUR VISITORS EXPRESSED OVERRIDING PREOCCUPATION WITH CURRENT LIQUIDITY PROBLEM OF GOES, I

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06270 02 OF 02 301916Z

CAUTIONED THEM AGAINST EXPECTING TOO MUCH FROM US ON THIS FRONT BUT URGED EARLIEST POSSIBLE CONVERSATION WITH USAID DIRECTOR AND HIS STAFF TO BEGIN MAPPING OUT PLAN AND PROGRAM OF WHAT WSEMIGHT BE ABLE TO DO TO BE HELPFUL.

11. ALL IN ALL, IT WAS AN INTERESTING AND USEFUL EVENING, AND ONCE AGAIN I AM GRATEFUL TO WASHINGTON AGENCIES FOR THEIR DECISIONS AND INFORMATION WHICH WERE OF SUCH MATERIAL ASSISTANCE.
DEVINE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006283

ADP279 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06283 311822Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-05 NCT-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 OPR-02
A-02 SIL-01 LAB-04 PC-01 HA-05 SY-05 SYE-00
SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /082 W
----------087772 311841Z /53

O 311730Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5211
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORTY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6283

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: SITREP NO 15 AS OF 1030 HOURS 10/31/79

REF SAN SALVADOR 6219

1. IN ACTION ATTRIBUTED TO EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL), LANDOWNER ANTONIO AZCUNAGA WAS ASSASSINATED NEAR SAN JUAN OPICO AT APPROXIMATELY 0600 HOURS, OCT 30.

2. AT APPROXIMATELY 0500 HOURS ON OCT 30 NEAR GUAZAPA (DEPARTMENT OF SAN SALVADOR), HUSBAND AND WIFE PABLO AND CARMEN ORELLANA WERE ASSASSINATED BY UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06283 311822Z

(REPORTEDLY WEARING MASKS). ORELLANAS HAD PERMITTED HOUSE TO BE USED FOR LODGING BY NATIONAL GUARD UNITS IN AREA. AT APPROXIMATELY 0700 HOURS ON OCT 29, OWNER OF BUILDING HOUSING NATIONAL GUARD COMMANDANT IN SAN VICENTE WAS SHOT AND DIED OF WOUNDS NEXT DAY. HE HAD REPORTEDLY RECEIVED THREATS BEFORE FROM CLANDESTINE GROUPS.

3. AT APPROXIMATELY 0620 HOURS, OCT 31, SIX PERSONS CLIMBED [redacted]

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940034K

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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UP ON WALL SURROUNDING GUATEMALAN EMBASSY AND FIRED AT WINDOWS OF EMBASSY BUILDING WITH 38 IMPACTS BEING COUNTED. ATTACK WAS REPELLED BY NATIONAL POLICE AGENTS ENE AND ATTACKERS FLED. SEVENTY-FIVE SHELL CASINGS WERE FOUND AT SCENE PLUS UNEXPLODED U.S.-MADE M-28 GRENADE. THERE WERE NO INJURIES.

4. RADIO REPORT AS OF 0730 HOURS OCT 31 INDICATED THAT SAN SALVADOR HEADQUARTERS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) HAD BEEN OCCUPIED BY UNKNOWN ELEMENTS.

5. ON OCT 29, MEMBERS OF BPR TEACHERS' ORGANIZATION "ANDES 21 DE JUNIO" OCCUPIED TEACHERS' BUILDING ("CASA DE MAESTRA", MAINTAINED BY GOVERNMENT FOR TEACHERS' USE), FROM WHICH IT HAD BEEN EVICTED ON JULY 26, 1978 AFTER SHOOTING INCIDENT INVOLVING SECURITY FORCES. MINISTER OF EDUCATION SALVADOR SAMAYOA RECOGNIZED AS VALID THE ANDES TAKEOVER AND SAID HE WOULD SEEK MEANS OF TURNING LEGAL TITLE TO BUILDING OVER TO ANDES.

6. DURING EARLY EVENING OF OCT 29, LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) SET FREE THIRTY EMPLOYEES OF MINISTRY OF LABOR, CONTINUING TO HOLD AS HOSTAGES APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN HOSTAGES, INCLUDING MINISTER OF LABOR AND SUBSECRETARY OF LABOR. BPR ALSO [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06283 311822Z

SET FREE MOST EMPLOYEES AT MINISTRY OF ECONOMY, HOLDING ON TO MINISTERS OF ECONOMY AND PLANNING, SUBSECRETARY OF INTERNAL ECONOMY, AND SIX DIRECTORS OF COFFEE PROCESSING ASSOCIATION.

7. AT LEAST TWENTY-FOUR DEAD (INCLUDING TWO MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES) AND MORE THAN FIFTY WOUNDED RESULTED FROM SHOOTING INCIDENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN DOWNTOWN AREA OF SAN SALVADOR ON OCT 29. CONFLICTING REPORTS HAVE CIRCULATED CONCERNING INCIDENTS, WITH ONE UNCONFIRMED REPORT INDICATING THAT MAJOR AREA OF CONFRONTATION WAS AROUND BUILDING BELONGING TO "LA PRENSA GRAFICA" NEWSPAPER WITH PRIVATE GUARDS HAVING SHOOTOUT WITH PERSONS TRYING TO OCCUPY BUILDING AND SECURITY FORCES ARRIVING ON SCENE ONLY AFTER LENGTHY PERIOD.

8. GOVERNMENT VEHICLE BELONGING TO MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE WA SET ON FIRE NEAR NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (UES) DURING AFTERNOON OF OCT 29.

9. IN ACTIONIBUTED TO EXTREME LEFTIST POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL). ONE PENITENTIARY GUARD WAS KILLED AND SEVEN WOUNDED IN OCT 29 ATTACK IN SAN SALVADOR.

10. BPR "COMMITTEE FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS" OCCUPIED SAN SALVADOR CHURCH DURING NIGHT OF OCT 30-31.

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006282

11. EMBASSY RECEIVED BOMB THREAT DURING MORNING OF OCT 31, INDICATING THAT EXPLOSION WOULD OCCUR AT 0930 HOURS. SEARCH OF EMBASSY PREMISES WERE CONDUCTED AND APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO ENSURE SAFETY OF PERSONNEL WERE TAKEN. EMBASSY WAS DECLARED SECURE AS OF 1000 HOURS. DURING MORNING, EMBASSY CONTINUED TO RECEIVE MESSAGES OF CONCERN AND SYMPATHY OVER YESTERDAY'S ATTACK.
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006305

ADP726 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06305 312254Z

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 PM-06 SSO-00 NSCF-00 SP-02
SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00 NCE-00
ACDA-12 L-03 H-01 OMB-01 /071 W
------------------089320 312323Z /66

O 312230Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5232
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO IMMEDIATE

DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6305

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/31/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: EAID EINV MASS PINR PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: MEETING BETWEEN USMILGROUP SAN SALVADOR AND REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) MINISTER OF DEFENSE

REF A. STATE 282178, B. SAN SALVADOR 6270

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. MORNING OF 31 OCT 79 LT.COLS. BOWEN AND GEORGES, USMILGROUP, MET WITH JRG MINISTER OF DEFENSE COLONEL GARICA TO FOLLOWUP ON MEETING OF 29 OCT 79 AS REPORTED REF B. PURPOSE OF TODAY'S MEETING WAS TO REINFORCE AMBASSADOR [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06305 312254Z

DEVINE'S SUGGESTION THAT MILGROUP BE IN CONTACT WITH MOD'S OFFICE TO DISCUSS PROPOSED SECURITY ASSISTANCE. COLONEL GARCIA WAS ANXIOUS TO REVIVE TRADITIONAL MILGROUP CONTACTS AND EXPRESS THE GRATITUDE OF JRG FOR U.S. OFFER OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE. FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS WERE MADE BY COLONEL GARCIA AND MILGROUP DURING SUBJECT MEETING:

A. COLONEL GARCIA STATED THAT JUNTA AS A WHOLE ARE INCLINED IN PRINCIPLE TO ACCEPT LIMITED SECURITY ASSISTANCE FROM THE U.S. IN AREA OF RIOT CONTROL ITEMS LISTED REF A.

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PAGE NO. 1

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940034L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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HE SAID THAT "WE WANT AND NEED THESE TYPES OF THINGS IN ORDER TO AVOID NEEDLESS BLOODSHED IN THE DIFFICULT TIMES THAT ARE AHEAD OF US ALL." ADDITIONALLY, COLONEL GARCIA STATED THAT JRG WAS SPECIFICALLY INTERESSTED IN NTHAL TYPE BULLETS, I.E. RUBBER, PLASTIC, OR WHATEVER IS AVAILABLE, RIO CONTROL TYPE HELMETS (NOT STEEL HELMETS), IN ADDITION TO OTHER ITEMS LISTED FIRST IN REF A.

B. SPECIFIC ITEMS IN QUANTITIES THAT JRG WILL BE NEEDING ARE BEING STAFFED WITHIN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AT THIS POINT AND A SPECIFIC FORMAL REQUEST AND FINANCING DATA WILL BE FORTHCOMING FROM MOD IN VERY NEAR FUTURE.

C. MOD WILL DESIGNATE A POINT OF CONTACT TO REPRESENT MOD IN SECURITY ASSISTANCE REQUESTS TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH MILGROUP IN HOPES OF EXPEDITING ANY AGREEMENTS.

D. OTHER CATEGORIES OF ITEMS LISTED IN PARA 6 REF A ARE NOT BEING REQUESTED AT THIS TIME AS JRG DOES NOT FEEL THAT THESE TYPES OF ITEMS ARE OF PRIORITY NATURE VIS A VIS RIOT CONTROL EQUIPMENT.

E. COLONEL GARCIA ASSURED MILGROUP THAT ANY FORMAL REQUEST FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE WOULD BE A COORDINATED JRG POSITION AND NOT SOLELY A MILITARY DECISION.

F. MILGROUP EXPLAINED THAT A FORMAL REQUEST FOR RESUMPTION OF MILITARY ASSITANCE IF DESIRED BY JRG WOULD AID IN EXPEDITING ANY FUTURE REQUESTS FOR ANY TYPE OF [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06305 312254Z

MILITARY ASSISTANCE. COLONEL GARCIA MADE NOTE OF THIS AND STATED THAT POSSIBLY FORMAL LETTER WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. MILGROUP ASSURED COLONEL GARCIA THAT USGOVERNMENT STOOD READY TO RESPOND TO ANY REQUEST FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND THAT THE US GOVERNMENT WAS NOT ATTEMPTING TO PUSH ANYTHING THAT JRG DID NOT WANT OR NEED. COLONEL GARCIA CLOSED MEETING WITH REQUEST THAT MILGROUP EXPRESS HIS PERSONAL APPREICATION TO AMBASSADOR DEVINE FOR HIS HELP AND SUPPORT AND THAT HE WOULD BE IN CONTACT WITH US VERY SOON.

2. FURTHER INFORMATION WILL BE SUBMITTED AS AVAILABLE.
DEVINE

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362

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006336

ADP335 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06336 020051Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-05 MCT-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 OPR-02
A-02 SIL-01 LAB-04 PC-01 HA-05 SY-05 SYE-00
SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /082 W
----------096095 020054Z /70

O P 012315Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5250
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORIY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6336

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: SITREP NO. 16 AS OF 1600 HOURS, 11/1/79

REF: SAN SALVADOR 6283

1. EMBASSY SECURITY: REPORTS RECEIVED BY EMBASSY ON OCTOBER 31 INDICATED POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER ATTACK SUCH AS OCCURRED AGAINST CHANCERY ON OCTOBER 30. NATIONAL EMPLOYEES WERE TOLD TO GO HOME AT 1130 HOURS AND ALMOST ALL U.S. EMPLOYEES WERE TOLD SAME AT 1400 HOURS. ATTACK DID NOT TAKE PLACE. IF ATTACK WAS INDEE CONTEMPLATED, PRESENCE OF NATIONAL GUARD (NG) AGENTS AND PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY EMBASSY SECURITY GUARDS AND MARINES PROBABLY DETERRED IT.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06336 020051Z

2. AT APPROXIMATELY 0730 HOURS ON NOVEMBER 1, TWO PROPAGANDA BOMBS WERE SET OFF OUTSIDE BUILDING (ONE BLOCK FROM CHANCERY) HOUSING AID MISSION. LEAFLETS OF EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL) WERE LEFT AT SCENE.

3. KIDNAPPING OF PROINENT BUSINESSMAN: AT APPROXIMATELY 1730 HOURS ON OCTOBER 31, JAIME HILL ARGUELLO WAS KIDNAPPED BY SIX ASSAILANTS FROM HIS

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031L

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006336

DOWNTOWN SAN SALVADOR OFFICE. ONE OF HILL'S EMPLOYEES WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY KIDNAPPERS.

4. SINTS OF NATIONAL GUARD (NG) KILLED IN AMBUSH: ON OCTOBER 31 NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY FORTY PERSONS AMBUSHED NG VEHICLE, KILLING SIX AND WOUNDING TWO OF OCCUPANTS.

5. FURTHER VIOLENCE IN DOWNTOWN AREA: DURING MARCH SPONSORED BY LEFTIUT POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) ON OCTOBER 31, DEMONSTRATORS ENCOUNTERED VEHIELC OF SECURITY FORCES NEAR CENTRAL MARKET AND ALLEGEDLY STARTED THROWING INCENDIARY BOMBS AGAINST IT. OCCUPANTS OF VEHICLE FIRED ON PERSONS, REPORTEDLY KILLING AT LEAST SEVEN PERSONS.

6. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS: A. ON OCTOBER 30, REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) ISSUED BULLETIN CONCERNI G OCTOBER 29 INCIDENTS IN DOWNTOWN AREA OF SAN SALVADOR IN WHICH AT LEAST TWENTY-FOUR PERSONS WERE KILLED ISAN SALVADOR 6283). BULLETIN STATES THAT ARMED GROUPS ATTACKED MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES GUARDING BUILDING OF NRESPAPER "LA PRENSA GRAFICA" AND THAT "ARMED AGGRESSION" WAS RESPONDED TO IN EXERCISE OF "RIGHT

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06336 020051Z

OF LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE."

B. ON OCTOBER 30, REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) APPOINTED THIRTEEN PERSONS TO REPLACE MEMBERS OF SUPREME COURT WHOSE TENURE WAS REVOKED AS RESULT OF OCTOBER 15 CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. MIGUEL ANTONIO GRANILLO WAS SELECTED AS NEW PRESIDENT OF SUPREME COURT. JUDGES OF OTHER COURTS AND NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL (DR ROBERTO SUAREZ SUAY) WERE SWORN IN SAME DAY.

C. ON OCTOBER 30, JRG ISSUED DECREE NUMBER SEVEN WHICH STATED THAT MAYORS AND MEMBERS OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILS ELECTED AS RESULT OF MARCH 1978 ELECTIONS WOULD STAY IN PLACE UNTIL ORGANIZATION OF NEW ELECTIONS. MAYORS IN ALL 261 MUNICIPALITIES WERE ELECTED UNDER BANNER OF THEN-RULING NATIONAL CONCILIATION PARTY (PCN).

D. IN PRESS NOTICE THAT APPEARED OCTOBER 31, IT WAS REPORTED THAT TWO CHURCHES IN ZACATECOLUCA AREA WERE TAKEN BY UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS ON OCTOBER 27. IN ONE OF TAKEOVERS, SHOTS FIRED, RESULTING IN WOUNDING OF MEMBER OF TERRORITORIAL FORLNJ OTH N

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006336

7. NOTE: EMBASSY RECEIVED REPORT AS OF 1545 HOURS NOVEMBER 1 THAT BOMB WAS DUELTO GO OFF AS OF 1630 HOURS. BOTH U.S. AND NATIONALEMPLOYEES HAVE BEEN GIVEN PERMISSION TO LEAVE EMBASSY ON PHASED BASIS. DEVINE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006337

ADP338

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06337 01 OF 02 020058Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 AID-05 HA-05 IO-14 MCT-02 EB-08 OMB-01
TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /101 W
----------098123 020107Z /70

O 012315Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5251
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 06337

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/1/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJ: LEADERS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DPC) ANALYZE POLITICAL SCENE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DURING A THREE-HOUR DINNER CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR AND DCM ON OCT 31, PDC LEADER NAPOLEON DUARTE, ANTONIO MORALES EHRLICH AND FIDEL PSVEZ MENA COMMENTED EXTENSIVELY AS FOLLOWS ON NEW REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) AND VOLATILE AND RAPIDLY EVOLVING POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06337 01 OF 02 020058Z

3. DUARTE, OBVIOUSLY TIRED AND UNDER GREAT PERSONAL TENSION, LED OFF DISCUSSION BY FIRST SUMMARIZING HIS OUTSIDE ANALYSIS OF THE CRISIS IN EL SALVADOR AS SHARED WITH US OFFICIALS IN CARACAS. DUARTE AND OTHERS REITERATED PDC'S CONCLUSION IN EARLY SEPTEMBER THAT ROMERO GOVERNMENT WAS UNABLE AND/OR UNWILLING TO DIRECT COUNTRY TO GENUINE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS; HENCE, SOME OTHER SEMI-CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION OF "GOLPE DE ESTADO" WAS REQUIRED TO REMOVE ROMERO FROM POWER

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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AND OPEN WAY FOR MORE BROADLY-BASED GOVERNMENT THAT COULD SEIZE POLITICAL INITIATIVE/POPULAR SUPPORT FROM EXTREME LEFT AND HOLD DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT DUARTE WAS SOMEWHAT CRITICAL OF US POLICY NOT REACHING CONCLUSION EARLIER THAT ROMERO WAS A LOST CAUSE AND TAKING INTELLIGENT STEPS IN LINE WITH OBVIOUS BACKNRUPTCY OF ROMERO'S PROTESTATIONS REAGARDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS. IN LIEU OF INTELLIGENT ACTION BEFORE FACT, HE SAID, USG SEEMED WEDDED TO REACTIVE POSTLY BWHICH AWAITED MOMENT OF CRISIS AND THEN CAME ON FULL THROTTLE WITH MOMENTUM OF BUREAUCRATIC RESPONSE CALLING FOR ALL-OUT SUPPORT TO NEW JUNTA. WHILE US SUPPORT FOR JRG IS IMPORTANT -- INDEED, PERHAPS ESSENTIAL -- TO ITS SURVIVAL, IT MUST BE GIVEN WITH INTELLIGENCE, SUBTLY, AND RESPONSIVE TO INTERNAL POLITICAL SENSITIVITIES IN JRG. IT MUST BE PROFFFERED SO AS TO AVOID PUBLIC STIGMA OF US CREATION.

4. DUARTE AND OTHER PDC LEADERS WERE ALL VERY CONCERNED BY EVIDENT STRENGTH AND AGGRESSIVE POSTURE OF EXTREME LEFT WHICH SEEMS BENT UPON IMMEDIATE AND VIOLENT CHALLENGE TO JRG BEFORE IT CAN ORGANIZE

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06337 01 OF 02 0200582

AND CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION. DUARTE THEN MENTIONED REPORTS FROM AN UNKNOWN SOURCE THAT SANDINISTA LEADER TOMAS BORGE HAD SAID PRIVATELY THAT 100 OF 600 TRAINED GUERRILLAS HAVE BEEN DISPATCHED TO EL SALVADOR AND THAT AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE OF SOME 3000 IS IN TRAINING FOR USE AT THE PROPER MOMENT. ALLEGED REPORT IS SIMILAR TO INFORMATION JRG PUBLIC RELATIONS CHIEF SALAZAR BRENES PASSED TO DATT PAST WEEKEND. BASED ON WASHINGTON INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT, AMBASSADOR TOLD DUARTE THAT USG HAS NO INTELLIGENCE THAT NICARAGUANS CONTEMPLATING INTERVENTION OF TYPE AND SCALE INDICATED. MORALES EHRLICH ALSO DOUBTED SANDINISTAS WOULD RISK SUCH BLATANT INTERVENTION, ALTHOUGH ALL AGREED THAT PROVISION OF WEAPONS AND TRAINING MUST BE EXPECTED FROM NICARAGUA AND CUBA.

5. ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO CLEAR EVIDENCE AS YET THAT GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR HAVE RECEIVED HEAVY WEAPONS FROM OUTSIDE SOURCES, MORALES SAID THIS CANNOT BE DISCOUNTED AND CONSIDERABLE CONTACT AND PRESUMABLY ISTANCE BETWEEN SANDINISTAS AND GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR MUST BE ASSUMED. WHATEVER CURRENT CAPABILITIES OF CLANDESTINE GROUPS HERE, ALL-OUT STRUGGLE CAN BE ANTICIPATED DURING COMING SIX MONTHS WITH LEVEL OF VIOLENCE LIKELY TO INCREASE THROUGHOUT COUNTRY. AT THIS POINT PDV LEADERS ALL SAID THAT THEY ARE

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Special Project (1993)

UNDOUBTEDLY PRIMARY TARGETS FOR ASSASSINATION.

6. DUARTE AND MORALES EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE THREAT OF AN EARLY COUNTERMOVE AGAINST THE JUNTA BY THE EXTREME RIGHT, USING DISCONTENTED SENIOR OFFICERS WHO HAVE EITHER BEEN PUSHED ASIDE BY THE JUNTA OR PERHAPS INFILTRATED THEMSELVES INTO POSITION OF RESPONSIBLITY. THEY CITED NO NAMES AND OFFERE NO SPECIFICS EXCEPT TO CITE REPORTS THAT SOME PERSONS

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IN THE REACTIONARY WING OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR ARE REPORTEDLY SPREADING MONEY AROUND AMONG SEVEN OR EIGHT MILITARY OFFICERS AND PUSHING THE ALLEGED VACUUM OF POWER AND WEAKNESS OF THE JUNTA IN COPING WITH THE EXTREME LEFT AS JUSTIFICATION FOR A COUNTER "GOLPE".

7. ABOUT THIS POINT IN CONVERSATION DUARTE, WHO LOOKED VERY ILL, LEFT THE ROOM TO LIE DOWN. RETURNING LATER FOR A FEW MINUTES, HE EXPLAINED THAT COMBINATION OF HEAVY SCHEDULE, PERSONAL TENSION AND CHANGE OF DIET WOULD REQUIRE HIS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CONVERSATION. ALMOST PATHETICALLY BEFORE LEAVING FOR BED, HE SPOKE LONGINGLY OF HIS EIGHT TRANQUIL YEARS IN CARACAS AND

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06337 02 OF 02 020152Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 AID-05 HA-05 IO-14 MCT-02 E8-08 DNB-01
TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /101 W
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O 012315Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5252
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6337

THE HARSH REALITY OF HIS PRESENT GUARDED AND RECLUSIVE POSITION IN EL SALADOR.

8. AFTER DUARTE'S DEPARTURE, REMAINING PDC LEADERS SHIFTED CONVERSATION TO NEW JUNTA AND ITS INITIAL CHALLENGES AND WEAKNESSES. IN ADDITION TO FIVE-MAN JUNTA'S COLLEGIATE AND HETEROGENEOUS NATURE, SLOWNESS IN ORGANIZING, LACK OF EXPERIENCED POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND DISPROPROTIONATELY HEAVY MILITARY INFLUENCE, PDC LEADERS SAID JUNTA SEEMS TO LACK BOTH A POLITICAL STRATEGY AND A DEFINED PROGRAM. IN DEALING WITH EXTREMIST DEMONSTRATIONS, THE JUNTA (OR MORE SPECIFICALLY ITS MILITARY LEADERS) EITHER USE EXCESSIVE AND REPRESSIVE FORCE OR PULL BACK AND LEAVE A VACUUM OF POWER. THIS IS SERIOUS BECAUSE ITS REPRESSIVE ACTS TEND TO ERODE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06337 02 OF 02 020152Z

INITIAL POPULAR SUPPORT, PROMOTE POLARIZATION AND PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF ACUTE STRATEGISTS OF THE EXTREME LEFT WHO ARE STRIVING TO REGAIN POPULAR SUPPORT AND PORTRAY THE JUNTA AS A MERE EXTENSION OF THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT. CHAVEZ MENA SAID THAT UNDER THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT THE LEFT WAS ORGANIZING A POPULAR INSURRECTION; THE COUP TURNED THE TABLES AND FORCED THEM INTO AN INSURGENCY EFFORT WITHOUT A MASS FOLLOWING, BUT IF THE JUNTA DOES NOT ACELLIGENTLY, THE SITUATION COULD SHIFT BACK

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TO INSURRECTION WITH THE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE THAT THE CHURCH, PDC, ETC., WOULD NOW BE LUMPED WITH THE ANTI-POPULAR FORCE OF REPRESSION.

9. TO AVERT THIS SITUATION CHAVEZ MEAN SAID THE PDC HAS FORMULATED A FIVE-POINT STRATEGY FOR "DESTABILIZING" THE EXTREME LEFT. PDC LEADERS HOPE TO MEET IN A DAY OR SO WITH THE MILITARY LEADERS OF THE JUNTA TO EXPLAIN THEIR CONCEPT WHICH HELDESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

A. DEVELOP A POLITICAL STRATEGY WHICH WOULD BE AGREED TO BY THE MODERATE POLITICAL OPPOSITION: THE CHURCH, THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

B. WITHIN THIS STRATEGY SPECIFIC AND URGENT ACTIONS WOULD BE CONTEMPLATED ON ISSUES SUCH AS THE FOLLOWING:

(1) POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS -- COMMISSION MUST INVESTIGATE AND TAKE PUBLICLY CREDIBLE STEPS TO IDENTIFY AND PUNISH AT LEAST SOME OF GUILTY (HE RECOGNIZED THIS COULD CAUSE SERIOUS STRAINS IN THE MILITARY WHILE IT AND JUNT ARE FACING AGGRESSIVE ATTACK BY EXTREME LEFT);

(2) RESTRUCTURE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WHICH IS FALLING UNDER INCREASED INFLUENCE OF THE EXTREME LEFT; AND

(3) IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT OF RESPECTED CITIZENS TO SERVE AS INTERIM MAYORS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, THEREBY HELPING TO UNDERCUT POLITICAL SUPPORT OF EXTREME LEFT IN RURAL [redacted]

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C. REINFORCE JUNTA'S POLITICAL SUPPORT AMONG KEY NATIONAL SECTORS BY REORGANIZING AND EXPANDING THE SO-CALLED TABLE ONE AND TWO DIALOGUE GROUPS AS A NEW SOURCE OF POLITICAL BAKCING AND POTENTIAL COUNTERWEIGHT TO POPULAR FORUM WHICH HAS NO REAL LEFTIST ORIENTATION THAN WOULD RECONSTITUTED SECOND TABLE.

D. JUNTA MUST IMMEDIATELY DEFINE ITS ROLE AS TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AND FORMULATE AND ANNOUNCE ITSV PLAN FOR HOLDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS. PDC FAVORS EARLY ELECTIONS BUT STATED THAT COMMUNIST-ORIENTED GROUPS LED BY UDN ARE SEEKING AT LEWO-YEAR DELAY TO STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION AND FORCE JUNTA INTO SEIES OF SWEEPING REFORM INITIATIVES WHICH PDC THINKS SHOULD BETTER BE LEFT TO POPULARLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT. PDC COMPROMISE ELECTORAL PREFERENCE TO GET UDN ON BOARD IS: HOLD CONSITUTIENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN EIGHT MONTHS AND HAVE ASSEMBLY CHOOSE INTERIM PRESIDENT WHO WOULD SERVE UNTIL PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD IN ABOUT 18 MONTHS. DESPITE ALLEGATIONS OF WEAKNESS PDC IS CONFIDENT THAT DUARTE'S POPULARITY IS INTACT AND THAT PARTY IS NUMBER ONE ELCTORAL FORCE IN COUNTRY AND CAN EASILY DEFEAT ANY LEFTIST ELECTORAL FORCE NOW ON THE HORIZON. IN NON-DEMOCRATIC CONTEXT, PARTY CANNOT COMPETE WITH EXTREME LEFT BUT IN DEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PDC IS STILL NUMBER ONE POLITICAL FORCE.
F. JUNTA MUST CONSOLIDATE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY FROM US, ANDEAN GROUP AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES LIKE GERMANY. IN THIS CONTEXT PDC SAID POLITICAL UNDER STANDING AND ADVICE TO JUNTA IS MORE URGENT NEED THAN MATERIIAL SUPPORT. BATTLE WILL BE WON OR LOST IN TERMS OF INTELLIGENT POLITICAL CONDUCT OF THE JUNTA. MOST IMMEDIATE MATERIAL NEED IS RIOT CONTROL EQUIPMENT TO ENABLE JUNTA TO DEAL WITH EXTREMIST DEMONSTRATORS WITHOUT RESORTING TO EXCESSIVE FORCE WHICH PRODUCES MARTYRS AND

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06337 02 OF 02 020152Z

MORE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR EXTREME LEFT. PDC HOPED US COULD PROVIDE SUCH SUPPORT QUICKLY BUT UNOBTRUSIVELY SO AS TO AVOID CREATING POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND EMBARRASSMENT FOR JUNTA, WHICH NEEDS TO AVOID OVERLY CLOSE US EMBRACE TO MAINTAIN BROADEST POSSIBLE POLITICAL SUPPORT. REGARDING OTHER POTENTIAL INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR JUNTA, PDC LEADERS SAID NEW FOREIGN MINISTER AND PDC FOUNDER HECTOR DADA, TOGETHER WITH PARTY'S ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS, SHOULD PROVE GREAT ASSET IN ENSURING INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL BACKING FOR JUNTA. MORE SERIOUS PROBLEM AND IMMEDIATE THREAT IS TO BROADEN JUNTA'S NAL POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT.

10. PDC LEADERS URGED USG TO AVOID SWEEPING BUREAUCRATIC GESTURES AND INSTEAD TO USE POLITICAL SENSITIVITY AND INTELLIGENCE IN ITS EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN JUNTA'S PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL, WHILE STRESSING PARTY'S DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING CLOSELY WITH EMBASSY AND USG IN THIS COMMON OBJECTIVE. EVENING'S DISCUSSION CONCLUDED WITH AGREEMENT TO MAINTAIN CONTACT AND MEET AGAIN AS SOON AS DUARTE HAS RECOVERED AND BELIEVES ANOTHER SESSION WOULD BE USEFUL.

1. COMMENT: WE WILL USE OUR EXISTING CONTACTS WITH THE JUNTA TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO MEET WITH THE PDC AND FOCUS ON THE NEED FOR A POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE KIND OUTLINED IN THIS MESSAGE.
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AUG. 1979 NOTES ON REPORTED LOCATIONS OF CLANDESTINE DETENTION CENTERS IN ARGENTINA.

ALFREDO ANTONIO GIORGI, disappeared November 1978, was seen by a fellow inmate at the Naval Mechanics School in mid-July, 1979.

ESTRELLA IGLESIAS, disappeared August 11, 1978, was tortured at La Tablada Infantry Regiment during the following months. This barracks is located near Buenos Aires Province's border with the Federal Capital. There have been other, fragmentary reports that this center may still be in operation.

A facility near the General Paz-Ricchieri interchange.

A building located at 8000 Rivadavia in the Capital.

The Army Arsenal of "Viejo Bueno" near Monte Chingolo.

A military base in the Buenos Aires suburb of San Justo.

A recent (August) report of "a center near Ezeiza Airport" - this could be the La Tablada or Paz-Ricchieri facility.

There were reports last year of facilities in the Ezeiza area at the Hq of the Buenos Aires Mounted Police (located behind the Atomic Energy Commission Bldg.) and at heavily-guarded barracks near the General Paz-Ballester intersection on Rte. 3.

La Plata: a) "Robberies Investigation Unit" at 55th Street, No. 12-13.

b) The Marine Barracks.

c) Pereyra Railroad Station.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

LOT 82D177
BOX 8114 (2/21)

We understand from a La Plata human rights activist that detainees transferred from the now-closed clandestine facility at Estancia La Armonia, near Arana in the La Plata area, were transferred earlier this year to the La Plata 5th, 8th, and 9th Comisarias, La Carcel de la Magdalena, La Unidad Regional de La Plata, and to the Comisaria de Robos y Hurtos. The same source reported his understanding that a large number of desaparecidos were being held earlier this year at the Armored Regiment base in Azul, about 400 km. southwest of Buenos Aires. They were reportedly being guarded by uniformed gendarmeria forces and not regular army personnel. Other places believed by source to hold clandestine prisoners are the infantry regiment base in Bahia Blanca and the Brigada Policial in Lanus and Comisarias in La Matanza and a place called Carloto. (We have no further identifying information on these last two.)

DECLASSIFIED
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006333 UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ADP431 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06333 01 OF 02 020124Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
AID-05 PC-01 MCT-02 DHB-01 TRSE-00 /084 W
----------098189 020128Z /64

P R 012145Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5247
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6333

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/1/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (LOU) ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUES TO CAUSE PROBLEMS OF CREDIBILITY FOR NEW GOVERNMENT

REF: SAN SALVADOR 6110

1. (LOU) SINCE OCTOBER 15 CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND "DISAPPEARED PERSONS" HAS CONTINUED TO BE CONTROVERSIAL AND VEXATIOUS ISSUE FOR REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG). THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF INCIDENTS AND POSITIONS TAKEN CONCERNING THIS ISSUE:

A. DURING WEEK OF OCTOBER 21, THERE WAS REPORT THAT JUDGES OF SOME SAN SALVADOR COURTS SAW PROBLEMS WITH GENERAL [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06333 01 OF 02 020124Z

AMNESTY DECREED BY JRG (SAN SALVADOR 5977) SINCE AT LEAST SEVENTEEN OF CASES INVOLVE PERSONS WHO ALSO COMMITTED COMMON CRIMES AND WERE TREATED BY LEGAL SYSTEM AS SUCH. JUDGES WANTED "CLARIFICATION" OF AMNESTY BECAUSE OF LEGAL PETITIONS BEING MADE TO THEM BY RELATIVES OF THOSE DETAINED.

B. IN ARTICLE THAT APPEARED IN OCTOBER 25 "EL MUNDO", IT WAS REPORTED THAT TWO MOTHERS INVOLVED IN

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940031L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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HUNGER STRIKE BEING STAGED BY COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS IN SAN SALVADOR'S PLAZA DE LIBERTAD WERE SRA. ANGELA PARADA CARRANZA (MOTHER OF AUGUSTO CARRANZA PARADA, ACCUSED OF HAVING BEEN INVOIN MY 1978 KIDNAP-KILLING OF JAPANESE INDUSTRIALIST FUJIO MATSUMOTO) AND EULALIA

CORNEJO (MOTHER OF SANTOS HERRERA CORNEJO, ALLEGEDLY ARRESTED BY SECURITY FORCES). ONE MEMBER OF COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WAS ALSO CALLING FOR RELEASE OF ROGER ALBERTO NERIO BLANDINO AND MIGUEL ANGEL VILLALOBOS, BOTH EPORTEDLY MEMBERS OF REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE (ERP) WHO WERE TRIED FOR SEPTEMBER 2, 1976 KILLING OF ELSA JORDAN DE MEJIA VILLALTA. (HUNGER STRIKE WAS SUPPOSED TO BE PROGRESSIVE IN NATURE WITH OTHERS JOINING IN. OCTOBER 25 INCIDENT IN PLAZA LIBERTAD IN CONNECTION WITH APPEARANCE OF DUARTE INTERRUPTED VIGIL, WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RESUMED,BUT HAS NOTRECEIVED AS MUCH PUBLICITY AS PREVIOUSLY.)

C. ON OCTOBER "5 IN VISIT TO PLAZA DE LIBERTAD, SUBSECRETARY OF JUSTICE FERNANDO AUGUSTO MENDEZ, WHO IS ALSO MEMBER OF SALVAZTRAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ASKED FOR COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS TO GIVE UP ITS PUBLOC

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06333 01 OF 02 020124Z

DEMONSTRATIONS AND TO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN DECLARATIONS OF JRG.

D. IN PRESS STATEMENT THAT APPEARED ON OCTOBER 26, SHAFIK HANDAL, SECRETARY GENERAL OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR, ASSIGNED AS A FIRST PRIORITY FOR JRG THE RESOLUTION OF QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND "DISAPPEARED PERSONS".

E. ON OCTOBER 26, PRESS REPRINTED TEXT (DATED OCTOBER 19) OF LETTER SENT TO COL JAIME ABDUL GUTIERREZ AND COL ADOLFO MAJANO BY MARTIN ENNALS, SECRETARY GENERAL OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, IN WHICH ENNALS WELCOMED HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARATIONS OF JUNTA AND ITS DECISION TO RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. AT SAME TIME, ENNALS ASKED FOR INFORMATION ON ALL PERSONS DETAINED OR UNACCOUNTED FOR SINCE BEGINNING OF JANUARY 1979 AND THAT NEW GOVERNMENT PERMIT OAS TO CONTINUE ITS INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT.

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F. OCTOBER 27 EDITION OF "LA CRONICA DEL PU REPORTED THAT WORKERS AT APEX AND ARCO, TWO OF FACTORIES ON STRIKE WHICH WERE OCCUPIED BY SECURITY FORCES LAST OCTOBER 16, HAD CLAIMED THAT FOUR WORKERS ARRESTED ON THAT OCCASION WERE STILL MISSING. NEW REVOLUTIONARY

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) HAD SUPPOSEDLY RELEASED ON OCTOBER 17 ALL OCCUPANTS OF FACTORIES ARRESTED IN THAT SECURITY FORCE OPERATION.

G. ON OCTOBER 27, LEGAL AID SOCIETY "SOCORRO JURIDICO", AFFILIATED WITH ARCHBISHOPRIC, PLACED PAID PRESS INSERTIONS IN NEWSPAPERS STATING THAT IT COULD NOT ACCEPT JRG CLAIM THAT THERE WERE NO PRISONERS OR DISAPPEARED PERSONS FOUND IN BASEMENTS AND "CLANDESTINE JAIL CELLS" OR SECURITY FORCES. INSERTION ALSO

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CLAIMED THAT BY ITS SLOWNESS IN RESPONDING TO CERTAIN PETITIONS, JRG WAS PERHAPS TRYING TO COVER UP RESPONSIBILITY OF CERTAIN PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH ASSASSINATIONS AND "DISAPPEARANCES" CARRIED OUT BY FORMER REGIMES. INSERTION ASKED "WHERE ARE THE 176 PERSONS ARRESTED FOR POLITICAL REASONS AND SUBSEQUENTLY UNACCOUNTED FOR?" VIEWS OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO HIMSELF WERE GIVEN IN SAN SALVADOR 6243.

H. IN FULL-PAGE PAID PRESS INSERTION THAT APPEARED ON OCTOBER 30, SALVADORAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS --(CDHES)--(ONLY NAME THAT APPEARED ON INSERTION WAS THAT OF CDHES VICE PRESIDENT MARIANELA GARCIA VILLAS) REVIEWED SITUATION ON POLITICIAL PRISONERS SINCE OCTOBER 15 CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT AND CLASSIFICATION 'ACTIONS OF JRG IN RELATION TO THIS SITUATION AS "CENSURABLE AND DEMAGOGIC". CDHES CITED FAILURE OF JRG TO PREVENT DEPARTURE FROM EL SALVADOR OF HIGH SINCTIONARIES OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT " RESPONSIBLE" FOR PLIGHT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND "DISAPPEARED PERSONS", ASCNG "DO UES EXIST BETWEEN PRESENT AND FORMER GOVERNMENTS THAT PREVENT COMPLIANCE WITH PROMISES PREVIOUSLY MADE?" CDHES THEN CALLED FOR, AMONG OTHER THINGS: "IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF REPRESSION -- ESPECIALLY IAL AREAS", "IMMEDIATE TRIAL" FOR THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN PAST, EXTRADITION OF EX-PRESIDENTS ROMERO AND MOLINA AND OTHER FORMER FUNCTIONARIES, AND "CESSATION OF HARASSMENT OF MEMBERS OF THIS COMMISSION".

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006333

UNCLASSIFIED

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ADP492 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06333 02 OF 02 020127Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO DCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
AID-05 PC-01 MCT-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /084 W
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P R 012145Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5253
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PI
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6333

I. AS PART OF FULL-PAGE PAID PRESS INSERTION THAT APPEARED ON OCTOBER 30, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) STATED QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND "DISAPPEARED PERSONS" POSED "GRAVE OBSTACLE" FOR COMMENCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND THAT IT WAS "PROFOUNDLY"PREOCCUPIED" WITH WHOLE QUESTION. INSERTION STATED THAT JRG MUST "GIVE A SATISFACTORY AND COMPLETE RESPONSE ON THIS ISSUE TO THE PEOPLE... IT MUST INVESTIGAGE AND DISCOVER THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE DISAPPEARED AND SUBMIT TO THE CRIMINAL PROCESS THOSE GUILTY OF THIS SITUATION; IT MUST ALSO INDEMNIFY THE FAMILIES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS".

J. IN PRESS STATEMENT THAT APPEARED OCTOBER 30, CDL ERNESTO CLARAMOUNT, OPPOSITION CANDIDATE IN 1977 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (WHO RETURNED FROM COSTA [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06333 02 OF 02 020127Z

RICAN EXILE ON OCTOBER 27) CALLED ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS A "SERIOUS PROBLEM" FOR JRG BUT SAID THAT JRG MEMBERS WERE ACTING IN GOOD FAITH. HE SAID IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR JRG TO CLARIFY QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE CALLED FOR PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR CRIMES UNDER PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. CLARAMOUNT STATED THAT SUCH PUNISHMENT SHOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO MEMBERS OF ARMED FORCE, BUT SHOULD BE METED OUT TO CIVILIANS WHO

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PARTICIPATED IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND OTHER CRIMES.

K. IN TWO-PAGE PAID PRESS INSERTION THAT APPEARED ON OCTOBER 31, SALVADORAN POPULAR PARTY (PPS) CALLED ON JRG FOR AMONG OTHER THINGS, "PROMPT CLARIFICATION" OF ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

2. (C) COMMENT: PDC, PPS, AND PCED HAVE ALL CALLED ON JRG TO RESOLVE EXPEDITIOUS QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. IT IS NOT CLEAR AT THIS POINT IF OCTOBER 30 CDHES PRESS INSERTION REFLECTS POSITION OF COMMISSION AS A WHOLE AS COMMISSION IS DEEPLY, AND PERHAPS IRREVOCABLY SPLIT OVER OCTOBER 15 COUP. ALSO, ONE OF MOST PROMINENT MEMBERS OF CDHES, FERNANDO AUGUSTO MENDEZ (NOW SUBSECRETARY OF JUSTICE) DID CALL ON COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS TO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN DECLARATIONS OF JRG.

3. (C) IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT SOME OF PERSONS WHOSE RELEASE COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS HAS CALLED FOR DO NOT FALL UNDER CATEGORY OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS BUT ARE RATHER PEOPLE WHO PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS ACKNOWLEDGED HOLDING AND TRIED FOR COMMITTING WHAT THEY CONSIDERED

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06333 02 OF 02 020127Z

COMMON CRIMES. IN ANY CASE, SHEER VOLUME AND INTENSITY OF RECENT REPRESENTATIONS TO JRG ON POLITICAL PRISONERS ISSUE INDICATE THAT IT IS QUESTION THAT WILL NOT GO AWAY AND THAT JRG CAN ONLY DEFUSE BY TAKING MORE CONCRETE AND PUBLIC ACTIONS. OTHERWISE ITS PUBLIC CREDIBILITY COULD BECOME SERIOUSLY AFFECTED BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006348

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06348 021840Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 A-02 OPR-02 SY-05 NCT-02 SYE-00
ANAE-00 AID-05 PC-01 /071 W
----------103610 021844Z /43

O 021800Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5259
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC
[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6348

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/2/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT MASS SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) INITIAL MEETING WITH NEW FOREIGN MINISTER OF
EL SALVADOR
[redacted]

2. ON OCTOBER 31 NEW FOREIGN MINISTER HECTOR DADA HIREZI ASKED TO CALL ON ME AT EMBASSY RESIDENCE AT 3:00 P.M. AS THAT HOUR APPROACHED, I WAS PINNED DOWN BY HOSTILE DEMONSTRATIONS IN EMBASSY CHANCERY AND TELEPHONED FOREIGN MINISTRY TO SEEK A POSTPONEMENT. ON NOV 1, BY SUBSEQUENT ARRANGEMENT, FONMIN DADA VISITED ME AT EMBASSY
RESIDENCE.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06348 021840Z

3. FONMIN LED OFF BY EXPRESSING HIS REGRET OVER OCT 30 ATTACK BY 150-200 PERSONS ON OUR EMBASSY CHANCERY. I FILLED HIM IN AS TO DETAILS OF THE INCIDENT AND USED THE OCCASION TO EMPHASIZE OUR DEEP INTEREST IN PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE POLICE RESPONSE UPON SUCH OCCASIONS.

4. FONMIN THEN SAID THAT HE HAD COME AT REQUEST OF COLONEL MAJANO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG9 TO EXPLORE WITH ME POSSIBILITIES OF QUICKLY ACQUIRING RIO CONTROL EQUIPMENT FROM U.S.

PAGE NO. 1
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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031L

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SOURCES. IT SEEMED APPARENT THAT HE AND COL. MAJANO WERE SOMEWHAT BEHIND POWER CURVE SO I FILLED FONMIN IN AT SOME LENGTH ON STATUS OF THIS MATTER, ON MONDAY EVENING CONVERSATION WITH COLONEL GUTIERREZ AND OTHERS ON THIS SUBJECT (SAN SALVADOR 6270), ON WEDNESDAY CONVERSATION OF OUR MILGRP OFFICERS WITH MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND HIS ASSOCIATES ON SAME SUBJECT, AND ON FACT THAT WE WERE NOW ONLY WAITING FOR GOES TO INFORM US WHAT ITEMS AND WHAT QUANTITIES IT WANTED. I ASSURED HIM OF OUR DESIRE TO BE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE ON EXPEDITED BASIS. FONMIN THANKED ME FOR BACKGROUND BRIEFING ON THIS ENTIRE SUBJECT AND SAID THAT HE WOULD CORRESPONDINGLY
INFORM COLONEL MAJANO.

5. WE THEN HAD A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE MOMENT IN EL SALVADOR. HE WAS AWARE THAT DCM HOWARD AND I HAD BEEN WITH NAPOLEON DUARTE PRECEDING EVENING, AND TALK INEVITABLY TURNED
TO STABILITY OR INSTABILITY OF JRG. WHEN I SAID THAT WE WERE HEARING FROM MANY SOURCES THAT INITIAL POSITIVE IMPRESSION ACHIEVED BY
JRG WAS ERODING DUE TO SLOWNESS
IN GETTING ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT AND REFORM, FONMIN SAID THAT WHAT I WAS TELLING HIM HE HAD JUST BEEN TELLING THE CABINET. WE DISCUSSED AND BOTH AGREED AS TO ESSENTIALITY OF JRG
[redacted]

MAINTAINING AND EXPANDING ITS POPULAR BASE.

6. WITH REGARD TO PROSPECT OF USG ASSISTANCE, I TOLD FONMIN THAT WE WERE VERY FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY JRG, ITS EMPHASIS UPON HUMAN RIGHTS, ITS COMMITMENT TO REFORM, AND ITS PLEDGE OF FREE ELECTIONS. FOR THIS REASON, I SAID, IT WAS MY PERSONAL IMPRESSION THAT USG WOULD BE FORTHCOMING WITH ECONOMIC AND OTHER TYPES OF ASSISTANCE. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, WISH TO PROFFER THIS SO PUBLICLY OR ON SUCH A SCALE AS TO GIVE THE WRONG IMPRESSION, "CONTAMINATE" THE JRG IN EYES OF THE PUBLIC, OR COMPLICATE ITS ALREADY DIFFICULT EXISTENCE. WE ARE HOPEFUL, I SAID, THAT ANY USG ASSISTANCE WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO JRG AS A WHOLE AND WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO INTERNAL PROBLEMS OR DIVISIONS. PURSUING THIS MATTER, ISAID THAT WE ARE ANXIOUS FOR OUR U.S. MISSION STAFF MEMBERS TO ESTABLISH EARLY CONTACT WITH NEW MINISTERS SO THEY CAN BEGIN TO REVIEW WITH THEM ONGOING ASSISTANCE BEING EXTENDED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE FIELDS PLUS NEW WAYS IN WHICH WE MAY BE ABLE TO TO BE OF EVEN GREATER ASSISTANCE. OUR EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION HAD BEEN HAMPERED THUS FAR BY FACT THAT THREE KEY MINISTERS PLUS SOME SUB-SECRETARIES ARE STILL BEING HELD HOSTAGE IN MINISTRIES OCCUPIED BY EXTREMIST GROUPS. FONMIN WAS UNDERSTANDING AND ENCOURAGED US TO GET ON WITH PROCESS OF MEETING NEW MINISTERS.

7. AT ONE POINT, FONMIN TOLD ME THAT THERE ARE ALREADY RUMORS OF A COUNTER-COUP BY FORCES OF THE POLITICAL RIGHT, PARTICULARLY BY SOME HIGH-RANKING MILITARY OFFICERS DISPLACED BY THE RECENT

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CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. MENTIONING ONE OF THESE BY NAME, HE QUOTED UNKN OWN
INFORMANTS TO EFFECT THAT THIS OFFICER HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED IN SUCH ACTIVITES BY OUR AMERICAN EMBASSY. AT THIS POINT, I LAUGHED, TOLD HIM THAT I WAS PROBABLY THE ONLY PERSON FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY WHO HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THAT OFFICER SINCE THE RECENT COUP, DESCRIBED IN DETAIL MY VERY PERSONAL CONVERSATION WITH HIM, AND ASSURED FONMIN THAT SUBJECT OF ANY COUNTER-COUP COULD NOT HAVE BEEN FURTHER FROM OUR DISCUSSION. I THEN REVIEWED FOR HIM SIMILAR REPORTS ARISING ON PREVIOUS OCCASION S DURING ROMERO ADMINISTRATION AND

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06348 021840Z

CAUTIONED AGAINST TAKING LOCAL RUMOR MILL TOO SERIOUSLY. IN POINT OF FACT, I AID, USG FEELS THAT JRG MAY BE BEST POSSIBLE ANSWER TO EL SALVADOR'S LONGSTANDING PROBLEMS AND IS THEREFORE INTERESTED IN SUPPORTING AND STRENGTHENING IT RATHER THAN ENCOURAGING MOVE-MENTS AGAINST IT. PARENTHETICALLY, I MENTIONED ONE REPORT REACHING US THAT HIGH-RANKING OFFICER IN QUESTION MIGHT BE SENT ABROAD ON A DIPLOMATIC ASSIGNMENT, WHEREUPON FONMIN LAUGHTED, SAID THAT HE WILL NEXT WEEK BE PROPOSING HIM FOR AN AMBASSADORIAL POST, AND CONFIDED THAT HE WOULD PROBABLY MAKE A CONSIDERABLY BETTER AMBASSADOR THAN MANY OTHERS NOW IN SERVICE.

8. AS CONVERSATION DREW TO A CLOSE, I TOLD FONMIN THAT IN VIEW OF OUR MANY SHARED INTERESTS AND USG DESIRE TO BE OF ASSISTANCE, I HOPED THERE MIGHT BE OPPORTUNITY FOR INFORMAL, OFF-THE-RECORD, FRIELDLY DISCUSSION FROM TIME TO TIME WITH MEMBERS OF JRG. HE ASSURED ME THAT THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE.

9. AS I ESCORTED FONMIN TO THE DOOR, HE REMINDED ME THAT WE HAD FIRST MET LONG AGO AT TIME WHEN THEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN HAD VISITED EL SALVADOR AND AS PART OF HIS PROGRAM HAD MET IN MY OFFICE WITH A GROUP OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADERS. OVER-ALL, TODAY'S MEETING WAS FRIENDLY AND DEFINITELY PROMISING OF A USEFUL FUTURE RELATIONSHIP.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006353

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06353 01 OF 02 022131Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 SPH-01 HA-05 TRSE-00
IO-14 AID-05 SY-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
/084 W
----------104746 022158Z /73

O R 022030Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5264
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6353

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/2/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) EL SALVADOR'S NEW REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA OUTLINES PLANS IN TELEVISION BROADCAST

1. (C) IN TELEVISION BROADCAST EVENING NOVEMBER 1, REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) OUTLINED PUBLIC DIRECTION AND STATUS OF ITS POLICY AND PLANNING. PRESENTATION WAS WELL ORGANIZED, QUITE THOROUGH AND SHOULD APPEAL TO THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE WILLING TO GIVE JRG TIME AND OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT PROGRAM. IT WAS NOT, HOWEVER, DRAMATIC OR CHARISMATIC; IT MIGHT WELL HALT AT LEAST TEMPORARILY EROSION OF JRG'S POSITION, BUT IN AND OF ITSELF WOULD NOT APPEAR SUFFICIENT TO REVERSE SITUATION AND ONCE AGAIN RESTORE JUNTA POPULAR MOMENTUM.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06353 01 OF 02 022131Z

2. (U) COL MAJANO GAVE OPENING AND CLOSING STATMENT WITH EACH OF OTHER FOUR MEMBERS OF JUNTA GIVING PRESENTATION ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PROBLEMS AND PLANS. MAJANO REPEATED LEGAL AND POLITICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR COUP THAT HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN GIVEN. HE CALLED COUP RPUTURE WITH PAST, SAID OBJECTIVE IS TO CREATE "REAL, EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY" AND REITERATED PRINCIPAL POINTS OF ORIGINAL JUNTA

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940038L

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PROCLAMATION. OE AFFIRMED JRG IS TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, WITH CABINET BEING AN ALLIANCE OF FORCES REPRESENTING MAJOR CURRENTS IN COUNTRY. WARNING DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WOULD TAKE TIME, HE CALLED UPON THE PEOPLE TO MAKE SURE THAT IT IS NOT INTERRUPTED. FINALLY HE CALLED FOR HARMONY, MUTUAL RESPECT, AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION.

3. (U) GUILLERMO UNGO SPOKE ON POLITICAL MATTERS. HE STATED THAT MILITARY SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS POSED BY ROMERO REGIME WOULD HAVE MEANT "TOTAL WAR" AND "NATIONAL SUICIDE". INSTEAD, JRG IS CALLING FOR PARTICIPATION, DIALOGUE, AND PLUSALISM. AS DID MAJANO, UNGO EMPHASIZED JRG IS COMPLETE BREAK WITH PAST, EL SALVADOR, HE SAID, MUST LARN DEMOCRACY AND HOW TO PRACTICE IT. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES VIOLENCE IS NO LONGER JUSTIFIED AND SHOULD CEASE. HE TOO CALLED JRG AN ALLIANCE OF SECTORS, POINTING OUT THAT HE PERSONALLY WAS CHOSEN TO REPRESENT POPULAR FORUM AND ITS COMMON PLATFORM. HE CALLED UPON SALVADORANS NOT TO SEE THEMSELVES AS ENEMIES, BUT AS PARTICIPANTS, NOTING AT CLOSE THAT BIRTH OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WOULD HAVE ITS PAINS AND THAT ALL SHOULD SACRIFICE

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06353 01 OF 02 022131Z

TO MAKE IT A SUCCESS.

4. (U) COL GUTIERREZ NEXT TOOK UP SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, PARTICULARLY POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. HE SUMMARIEZED JRG ACTIONS THUS FAR AS BEING:

A. GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS.
B. JUNTA MEETINGS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS INCLUDING COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS, SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS.
C. JUNTA MEETING WITH HEADS OF SECURITY FORCES WHERE IT WAS LEARNED THERE ARE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING HELD AND NO RECORDS OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM OR OTHER DISAPPEARED PERSONS.

5. (U) GUTIERREZ SAID ALL SECTORS OF COUNTRY HAD SUFFERED IN THIS RESPECT AND THAT TRAGEDY COULD NOT BE ERASED IN SINGLE DAY OR FORGOTTEN IN FEW DAYS. BUT IT MUST BE INVESTIGATED AND CLARIFIED. HE ANNOUNCED DECREE NO. 9 TO TAKE EFFECT IMMEDIATELY UPON OFFICIAL PUBLICATION, WHICH:

A. CREATES A COMMISSION COMPOSED OF REPRESNTATIVES OF (1) ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE (FISCALIA GENERAL), (2) SUPREME COURT, AND (3) JUNTA ITSELF.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006353

B. INSTRUCTS COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE (1) WHERE ARE POLITICAL PRISONERS, (2) EXISTENCE OF CLANDESTINE PRISONS, (3) WHERE TORTURES WERE CONDUCTED, (4) EXISTENCE OF CLANDESTINE CEMETARIES.

C. REQUIRES COMMISSION TO REPORT TO PUBLIC WITHIN SIXTY DAYS ITS FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06353 01 OF 02 022131Z

D. CALLS UPON COMMISSION TO MAKE USE OF INFORMATION ALREADY DEVELOPED BY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND SETS UP CENTER FOR RECEIVING INFORMATION FROM PUBLIC.

E. ORDERS SECURITY FORCES TO COOPERATE COMPLETELY WITH COMMISSION.

F. STATES COMMISSION WILL BE INDEPDENT AND AUTONOMOUS AND PERMITTED TO WORK FREELY THROUGHOUT COUNTRY.

G. PLEDGES FULL JRG COOPERATION.

(NOTE: ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT INCLUDED IN DECREE, GUTIERREZ IN PRECEDING REMARKS MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF INDEMNIFICATION OF RELATIVES OF VICTIMS AND INVITATION TO INTERNATIONAL ORGAIZATIONS, SPECIFICALLY INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, TO ASSIST IN INVESTIGATION.)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006353

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06353 02 OF 02 022118Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-08 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 SPH-01 HA-05 TRSE-00
IO-14 AID-05 SY-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
/084 W

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O 022030Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5265
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6353

6. (U) MARIO ANDINO CONCENTRATED UPON CHALLENGE POSED BY POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) PARTICULARLY IN ITS OCCUPATION OF MINISTRIES OF LABOR AND ECONOMY. HE SAID JRG LOOKED TO DIALOGUE AS SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS, BUT THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED WEAK POSTURE. BPR, ANDINO STATED, SHOULD REALIZE THAT THE SOONER IT DECIDES TO ACT WITHIN LEGAL FRAMEWORK, SOONER ITS OWN REPLEVIN PLATFORM CAN BE REALIZED. CURRENT BPR ACTIONS, HOWEVEY, ONLY COMPLICATE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FOR WHICH THERE ARE NO PANACEAS IN ANY CASE. TACTIC OF VIOLENT ACTIONS UTILIZED AGAINST PREVIOUS REGIME ARE NO LONGER JUSTIFIED AS POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IS NOW POSSIBLE, AND COUNTRY NEEDS PEACE TO DEVELOP ITS RESOURCES FOR BENEFIT OF PEOPLE. ANDINO CONCLUDED THAT JRG IS WILLING TO ACCEPT PREMISE OF

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06353 02 OF 02 022118Z

BPR'S GOOD WILL TOWARD COUNTRY AND CALLED UPON IT TO ACCEPT DIALOGUE. IN CONCLUSION, HE GAVE JRG PROMISE THAT IF BPR LIBERATES HOSTAGES AND EVACUATES MINISTRIES, PHYSICAL SAFETY OF OCCUPIERS WOULD BE GUARANTEED, AND THERE WOULD BE OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO BPR DEMANDS WITHIN "REASONABLE" TIME. HE ALSO NOTED THAT IF BPR DESIRED, JRG IS WILLING TO ACCEPT THIRD PARTY IN NEGOTIATIONS.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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7. (U) ROMAN MAYORGA TOOK UP SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROGRAM OF JRG. HE COMMENTED ON PROBLEMS OF INFLATION (AT LEAST 15 PERCENT), DECLINING GNP (ESTIMATED MINUS 2-4 PERCENT THIS YEAR), AND UNEMPLOYMENT GROWING BOTH IN PERCENTAGE AND REAL TERMS. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT ESTIMATED FOREIGN RESERVES AT YEARS END WOULD BE EQUIVALENT OF 500 MILLION COLONES AND THAT DEVALUATION OF COLON IS THEREFORE NOT NECESSARY. MAYORGA CITED FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES OF SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PLAN:
A. REACTIVE ECONOMY FOR BENEFIT OF PEOPLE.
B. SELECTIVE CONTROL OF INFLATION TO PROTECT PRICES OF BASIC CONSUMER ITEMS.
C. INCREASE IN GENERAL EMPLOYMENT.
D. ERADICATE CORRUPTION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.
E. PREPARE BASIS FOR MORE BASIC ECONOMIC CHANGES.

8. (U) MAYORGA OUTLINED FOLLOWING AS MEASURES NOW BEING STUDIED:
A. REVISION OF BUDGET TO HALT SPECTACULAR PROJECTS WITH LITTLE PUBLIC VALUE AND REDIRECT FUNDS FOR GREATER GOOD OF PEOPLE.
B. STUDY OF MINIMUM SALARIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN RURAL AREAS.
C. REDEFINITION OF ITEMS OF BASIC POPULAR CONSUMPTION.
D. REACTIVE FOREIGN BORROWING (WHICH NEW IMAGE OF SALVADOR NOW MADE POSSIBLE).

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06353 02 OF 02 022118Z

E.ERADICATE OFFICIAL CORRUPTION
F. STUDY OF TAX STRUCTURE
G. INITIATE NATIONAL LITERACY AND NUTRITION CAMPAIGNS.
H. REORIENT URBAN POLICY.

9. (U) IN CONCLUDING REMARKS, COL. MAJANO ASKED SALVADORAN PEOPLE TO REFLECT THAT IT IS FACED WITH CHOICE BETWEEEN TWO PATHS; THAT OF VIOLENCE AND CIVIL WAR ESPOUSED BY EXTREME RIGHT AND LEFT, OR THAT OF REAL PARTICIPATION BY THE PEOPLE. HE REPEATED SLOGAN WHICH HE PREVIOUSLY INTRODUCED (AND WHICH HAS BECOME MOST WIDELY REPEATED WORDS ARISING FROM COUP): "JUSTICE, NOT VENGEANCE"

10. (C) COMMENT: JRG'S PRESENTATION, ALTHOUGH OVERDUE, WAS A PROMISING FIRST STEP TOWARD CLEARER POLICY DIRECTION AND DEFINITION. HOPEFULLY IT SIGNALS THAT NEW GOVERNMENT IS NOW GETTING ORGANIZED AND INTENDS TO PROCEED WITH FORMULATION AND INITIAL IMPLEMENATION OF PROGRAMS. EFFECTIVE AND PUBLICLY-ARTICULATED FOLLOW-UP, HOWEVER, WILL BE REQUIRED TO COUNTERACT EARLIER PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF DRIFT AND LACK OF DIRECTION. NEXT FEW WEEKS WILL BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING WHETHER JRG IS READY AND ABLE TO MOVE AHEAD IN ESTABLISHING CREDIBILITY AND EXPANDING POPULAR SUPPORT.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006348

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06348 021640Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SS0-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 A-02 OPR-02 SY-05 NCT-02 SYE-00
ANAE-00 AID-05 PC-01 /071 W
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O 021800Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5259
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
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[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6348

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/2/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT MASS SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) INITIAL MEETING WITH NEW FOREIGN MINISTER OF EL SALVADOR

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ON OCTOBER 31 NEW FOREIGN MINISTER HECTOR DADA HIREZI ASKED TO CALL ON ME AT EMBASSY RESIDENCE AT 3:00 P.M. AS THAT HOUR APPROACHED, I WAS PINNED DOWN BY HOSTILE DEMONSTRATIONS IN EMBASSY CHANCERY AND TELEPHONED FOREIGN MINISTRY TO SEEK A POSTPONEMENT. ON NOV 1, BY SUBSEQUENT ARRANGEMENT, FONMIN DADA VISITED ME AT EMBASSY RESIDENCE.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06348 021640Z

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4. FONMIN THEN SAID THAT HE HAD COME AT REQUEST OF COLONEL MAJANO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRGB TO EXPLORE WITH ME POSSIBILITIES OF QUICKLY ACQUIRING RIO CONTROL EQUIPMENT FROM U.S.

PAGE NO. 1

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
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SOURCES. IT SEEMED APPARENT THAT HE AND COL. MAJANO WERE SOMEWHAT BEHIND POWER CURVE SO I FILLED FONMIN IN AT SOME LENGTH ON STATUS OF THIS MATTER, ON MONDAY EVENING CONVERSATION WITH COLONEL GUTIERREZ AND OTHERS ON THIS SUBJECT (SAN SALVADOR 6270), ON WEDNESDAY CONVERSATION OF OUR MILGRP OFFICERS WITH MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND HIS ASSOCIATES ON SAME SUBJECT, AND ON FACT THAT WE WERE NOW ONLY WAITING FOR GOES TO INFORM US WHAT ITEMS AND WHAT QUANTITIES IT WANTED. I ASSURED HIM OF OUR DESIRE TO BE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE ON EXPEDITED BASIS. FONMIN THANKED ME FOR BACKGROUND BRIEFING ON THIS ENTIRE SUBJECT AND SAID THAT HE WOULD CORRESPONDINGLY
INFORM COLONEL MAJANO.

5. WE THEN HAD A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE MOMENT IN EL SALVADOR. HE WAS AWARE THAT DCM HOWARD AND I HAD BEEN WITH NAPOLEON DUARTE PRECEDING EVENING, AND TALK INEVITABLY TURNED
TO STABILITY OR INSTABILITY OF JRG. WHEN I SAID THAT WE WERE HEARING FROM MANY SOURCES THAT INITIAL POSITIVE IMPRESSION ACHIEVED BY
JRG WAS ERODING DUE TO SLOWNESS
IN GETTING ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT AND REFORM, FONMIN SAID THAT WHAT I WAS TELLING HIM HE HAD JUST BEEN TELLING THE CABINET. WE DISCUSSED AND BOTH AGREED AS TO ESSENTIALITY OF JRG

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06348 021840Z

MAINTAINING AND EXPANDING ITS POPULAR BASE.

6. WITH REGARD TO PROSPECT OF USG ASSISTANCE, I TOLD FONMIN THAT WE WERE VERY FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY JRG, ITS EMPHASIS UPON HUMAN RIGHTS, ITS COMMITMENT TO REFORM, AND ITS PLEDGE OF FREE ELECTIONS. FOR THIS REASON, I SAID, IT WAS MY PERSONAL IMPRESSION THAT USG WOULD BE FORTHCOMING WITH ECONOMIC AND OTHER TYPES OF ASSISTANCE. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, WISH TO PROFFER THIS SO PUBLICLY OR ON SUCH A SCALE AS TO GIVE THE WRONG IMPRESSION, "CONTAMINATE" THE JRG IN EYES OF THE PUBLIC, OR COMPLICATE ITS ALREADY DIFFICULT EXISTENCE. WE ARE HOPEFUL, I SAID, THAT ANY USG ASSISTANCE WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO JRG AS A WHOLE AND WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO INTERNAL PROBLEMS OR DIVISIONS. PURSUING THIS MATTER, ISAID THAT WE ARE ANXIOUS FOR OUR U.S. MISSION STAFF MEMBERS TO ESTABLISH EARLY CONTACT WITH NEW MINISTERS SO THEY CAN BEGIN TO REVIEW WITH THEM ONGOING ASSISTANCE BEING EXTENDED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE FIELDS PLUS NEW WAYS IN WHICH WE MAY BE ABLE TO TO BE OF EVEN GREATER ASSISTANCE. OUR EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION HAD BEEN HAMPERED THUS FAR BY FACT THAT THREE KEY MINISTERS PLUS SOME SUB-SECRETARIES ARE STILL BEING HELD HOSTAGE IN MINISTRIES OCCUPIED BY EXTREMIST GROUPS. FONMIN WAS UNDERSTANDING AND ENCOURAGED US TO GET ON WITH PROCESS OF MEETING NEW MINISTERS.

7. AT ONE POINT, FONMIN TOLD ME THAT THERE ARE ALREADY RUMORS OF A COUNTER-COUP BY FORCES OF THE POLITICAL RIGHT, PARTICULARLY BY SOME HIGH-RANKING MILITARY OFFICERS DISPLACED BY THE RECENT

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Special Project (1993)

CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. MENTIONING ONE OF THESE BY NAME, HE QUOTED UNKN OWN
INFORMANTS TO EFFECT THAT THIS OFFICER HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED IN SUCH ACITIVITES BY OUR AMERICAN EMBASSY. AT THIS POINT, I LAUGHED, TOLD HIM THAT I WAS PROBABLY THE ONLY PERSON FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY WHO HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THAT OFFICER SINCE THE RECENT COUP, DESCRIBED IN DETAIL MY VERY PERSONAL CONVERSATION WITH HIM, AND ASSURED FONMIN THAT SUBJECT OF ANY COUNTER-COUP COULD NOT HAVE BEEN FURTHER FROM OUR DISCUSSION. I THEN REVIEWED FOR HIM SIMILAR REPORTS ARISING ON PREVIOUS OCCASION S DURING ROMERO ADMINISTRATION AND

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06348 021840Z

CAUTIONED AGAINST TAKING LOCAL RUMOR MILL TOO SERIOUSLY. IN POINT OF FACT, I AID, USG FEELS THAT JRG MAY BE BEST POSSIBLE ANSWER TO EL SALVADOR'S LONGSTANDING PROBLEMS AND IS THEREFORE INTERESTED IN SUPPORTING AND STRENGTHENING IT RATHER THAN ENCOURAGING MOVE-MENTS AGAINST IT. PARENTHETICALLY, I MENTIONED ONE REPORT REACHING US THAT HIGH-RANKING OFFICER IN QUESTION MIGHT BE SENT ABROAD ON A DIPLOMATIC ASSIGNMENT, WHEREUPON FONMIN LAUGHTED, SAID THAT HE WILL NEXT WEEK BE PROPOSING HIM FOR AN AMBASSADORIAL POST, AND CONFIDED THAT HE WOULD PROBABLY MAKE A CONSIDERABLY BETTER AMBASSADOR THAN MANY OTHERS NOW IN SERVICE.

8. AS CONVERSATION DREW TO A CLOSE, I TOLD FONMIN THAT IN VIEW OF OUR MANY SHARED INTERESTS AND USG DESIRE TO BE OF ASSISTANCE, I HOPED THERE MIGHT BE OPPORTUNITY FOR INFORMAL, OFF-THE-RECORD, FRIELDLY DISCUSSION FROM TIME TO TIME WITH MEMBERS OF JRG. HE ASSURED ME THAT THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE.

9. AS I ESCORTED FONMIN TO THE DOOR, HE REMINDED ME THAT WE HAD FIRST MET LONG AGO AT TIME WHEN THEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN HAD VISITED EL SALVADOR AND AS PART OF HIS PROGRAM HAD MET IN MY OFFICE WITH A GROUP OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADERS. OVER-ALL, TODAY'S MEETING WAS FRIENDLY AND DEFINITELY PROMISING OF A USEFUL FUTURE RELATIONSHIP.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006379

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06379 0908122
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10
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HA-05 SY-05 /060 W
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R 061745Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5286
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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DIA WASHDC
[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6379

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/6/85
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) ARCHBISHOP STRONGLY CONDEMNS VIOLENCE OF PAST WEEK

1. (C) BEGIN SUMMARY AND COMMENT. ARCHBISHOP ROMERO IN HOMILY NOVEMBER 4 ATTACKED SECURITY FORCES'V VIOLENCE DURING PRECEDING WEEK IN TERMS AS HARSH AS THOSE HE HAD EMPLOYED AGAINST ROMERO REGIME. DIFFERENCE WAS THAT ARCHBISHOP INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT GOOD FAITH OF JUNTA AND YOUNG MILITARY IN REFORM EFFORTS. FACT THAT ARCHBISHOP DEVOTED MAJOR PROTION OF HIS HIMILY WHICH IS BROADCAST NATIONWIDE TO THIS SUBJECT IS EVIDENCE OF DELICACY OF SITUATION AND STRONG PASSIOS AROUSED. WHEN ARCHBISHOP, WHO IS UNQUESTIONABLY BASIC SUPPORTER OF COUP CRITICIZES SECURITY FORCES VIOLENCE IN SUCH TERMS, CREDIBILITY OF EXTREME LEFT IN OPPOSITION TO COUP BECOMES MORE APPARENT.
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06379 090812Z

ARCHBISHOP PROPOSED ANY U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE BE TIED TO CONTROLLING SECURITY FORCES, AN APPARENT SLIGHT CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS POSITION OF REJECTING ANY SUCH ASSISTANCE, AND CITED RESTRAINED METHODS
USED BY U.S. MARINES IN REPELLING ATTACK ON EMBASSY AS MODEL FOR SALVADORAN FORCES. ARCHBISHOP AGAIN REITERATED DEMAND FOR INVESTIGATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS ISSUE WITH INDEMNIFICATION OF FAMILIES OF VICTIMS AND PUNISHMENT OF GUILTY.
END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

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Special Project (1993)

2. (U) ARCHBISHOP LAMENTED VIOLENCE OF PAST WEEK WHICH HE SAID RESULTED IN MORE THAN 80 DEAD AND 100 WOUNDED. HE DEMANDED INCIDENTS BE INVESTIGATED AND RESULTS BE MADE PUBLIC, BUT CONTINUED THAT BRUTALITY WITH WHICH SECURITY FORCES HAD ATTACKED COULD BE CONDEMNED WITHOUT INVESTIGATION. (THIS DREW LONG, SUSTAINED APPLAUSE FROM AUDIENCE). INVESTIGATION, HE SAID, COULD EXPLAIN, BUT IN NO WAY JUSTIFY NUMBER OF DEATHS, FOR WHICH SECURITY FORCES BORE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY. AT ANOTHER POINT ARCHBISHOP SAID SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS WERE MORE BRUTAL THAN THEY HAD BEEN UNDER ROMERO REGIME. HE CONTRASTED THIS WITH MEASURES OF U.S. MARINES IN REPELLING ATTACK ON EMBASSY, USING TEAR GAS AND RESULTING ONLY MINOR INJURIES.

3. (U) ARCHBISHOP SAID BELIEVED IN HONESTY OF YOUNG SALVADORAN MILITARY NOW IN COMMAND, AND CALLED ON THEM TO COOPERATE IN CLEANING UP BY SECACITY FORCES. SITUATION, HOWEVER, WAS WORSE THAN BEFORE BECAUSE THE GUILTY ARE NOW COMMITTING NEW CRIMES TO COVER OLD ONES. HE NOTED THAT SECURITY FORCE AGENTS GUILTY OF ABUSES HAD ACTED UPON COMMANDS OF THEIR LEADERS AND IT IS LEADERS WHO MUST BE INDICATED AND PUNISHED. THIS HE SAID IS TASK OF NEW GOVERNMENT.

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4. (L) ARCIBHSHOP READ LETTER FROM LP-28 DENYING IT HAD PROVOKED INCIDENTS OF OCT 29 AND ALSO QUOTED FROM SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHT COMMISSION COMMUNIQUE WHICH AMONG OTHER THINGS SAID REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERMENT (JRG) USE OF FORCE CONTRADICTED COUP PROCLAMATION AND WAS ISOLATING "ALMOST IRREVERSIBLY" JRG FROM PEOPLE. ARCHBISHOP SAID HE ALSO COULD NOT EXPLAIN JUNTA JUSTIFICATION OF MASSACRES. HE TERMED "MAGNIFICENT" BUT UNSATISFACTORY

FIRING OF TREASURY POLICE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER FOR DENYING TREASURY POLICE HAD BEEN INVOLLED IN AN INCIDENT. FIRING DID NOT EXPLAIN WHY OFFICER FELT IT NECESSARY TO LIE IN FIRST PLACE.

5. (U) NOTHING U.S. OFFERS OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO JRG ARCHBISHOP SAID ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE TIED TO ENDING ABUSES OF SECURITY FORCES AND SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. OTHERWISE, HE SAID, MILITARY ASSISTANCE WOULD ONLY REINFORCE OPPRESSION OF PEOPLE.

6. (U) ARCHBISHOP WENT ON TO CONDEMN VIOLENCE OF EXTREME LEFT, INCLUDING ASSASSINATION OF EIGHT MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES AND KIDNAPPING OF BUSSINESSMEN. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN EXESSES OF LEFT WOULD BE USED AS JUSTIFICATION FOR COUTER COUP. HE SUPPORTEE JRG EFFORTS FOR DIALOGUE WITH POULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) OCCUPIERS OF TWO MINISTRIES, BUT EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR BPR RELUCTANCE OT GIVE UP HOSTAGES WHO ARE PROTECTION AGAINST VIOLENT DISLODGEMENT. HE DESCRIBED BURIAL OF 23 OF POPULAR LEAGUES OF 28 FEB DEAD IN EL ROSARIO CHURCH AS "PRUDENT" IN VIEW OF

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Special Project (1993)

ADDITIONAL VIOLENCE THAT MARCH TO CEMETERY MIGHT HAVE ENTAILED. IN NOFURLA TIMES, HE NOTED, BURIAL WITHIN CHURCH WOULD REQUIRE APPROVAL OF POPE AND IVIL AUTHORITIES, BUT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES HE WOULD INFORM POPE WHAT HAD OCCURRED. (BISHOP APARICIO OF SAN VICENTE PROTESTED BURIAL IN CHURCH.)

7. (U) TENSE SITUATION NIGHT OF NOV 1-2 WAS ALSO REFERRED TO BY ARCHBISHOP. HE RELATED THAT ARMED [redacted]

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NATIONAL GUARD HAD TRIED TO ENTER EL ROSARIO CHURCH AND WAS CAPTURED BY LP-28 OCCUPIERS.47(DETAILS OF CAPTURE ARE MATTER OF DISPUTE.) NATIONAL GUARD FORCES WERE THEN DRAWN UP AROUND CHURCH AND THREATENED TO STORM IT TO OBTAIN RELEASE OF THEIR COMRADE. DISASTER WAS AVERTED WHEN ARCHBISHOP AND OTHERS WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN GUARD'S RELEASE TO NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL.

8. (U) URG ANNOUNCEMENT OF COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WAS WELCOMED BY ARCHBISHOP. HE CALLED UPON PUBLIC TO SUPPORT INVESTIGATION TO ENSURE IT WOULD BE TRUE AND THOROUGH. NOT LIKE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS. ARCHBISHIP ALSO CALLED FOR INDEMNIFICATION OF FAMILIES OF VICTIMS AND PUNSIHMENT OF GUILTY. ARCHBISHIP FURTHER NOTED URG WAS CALLING THIS PROBLEM "INHERITANCE" FROM ROMERO REGIME, WHEN IN FACT THERE HAVE ALSO BEE DISAPPEARANCES UNDER URG.
ARCHBISHBHIP CITED AGAIN MISSING SACRISTAN OF SOYAPANGO CHURCH.
HOWARD

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06376 01 OF 05 061919Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 INR-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 SPH-01
SP-02 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 /038 W
----------000639 062027Z /50S

O P 061745Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5279
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
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DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 6376

LINDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/6/85
TAGS: PGOV PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: (U) ANALYSIS OF SALVADORAN SITUATION

REF: STATE 284820

1 [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. INTRODUCTION -- AFTER THREE WEEKS IN POWER, THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) HAS ONLY NOW BEGUN TO GET ITS ACT TOGETHER AND DEFINE A POLICY AND PROGRAM WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL ENABLE IT TO WITHSTAND THE AGGRESSIVE ATTACKS MOUNTED BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND THE LESS APPARENT BUT ALWAYS LATENT THREAT OF A RIGHTIST COUNTERCOUP. EMBASSY HAS, OF COURSE, ALREADY REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON COUP AND MANY OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED REFTEL, BUT THIS [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06376 01 OF 05 061919Z

REPORT IS DESIGNED TO SUMMARIZE AND FURTHER ANALYZE FLUID POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

3. AS REFTEL INDICATES, THE INITIAL DAYS OF THE JUNTA WERE MARKED BY CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF CONFUSION AND LACK OF DEFINITION ARISING FROM THE PURELY MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE COUP, THE NEED TO SEEK MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION FROM A BROAD RANGE OF POLITICAL SECTORS, THE HETEROGENEOUS AND COLLEGIATE CHARACTER OF A FIVE-MAN GOVERNMENT SPLIT BETWEEN MILITARY INSTIGATORS OF

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)
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THE COUP AND CIVILIANS HASTILY RECRUITED TO REPRESENT DIFFERENT SECTORS AND THE LABORIOUS AND POLIICCALLY COMPLICTED PROCESS OF CONSULTATION REQUIRED TO FORM A NEW CABINET. LACKING BOTH POLITICAL COHERENCE, EXPERIENCE AND CLEAR LINES OF LEADERSHIP, FACED WITH AN IMMEDIATE AND VIOLENT CHALLENGE BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND CONFLICTING POLITICAL INTERESTS AND PRESSURES, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE JUNTA SEEMED TO BE DRIFTING AND ON THE DEFENSIVE DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS.

4. NOW THAT THE JRG HAS BEEN FORMED AND THE ARDUOUS PROCESS OF CABINET SELECTION COMPLETED, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN TO ARTICULATE PUBLICLY THE BROAD OUTLINE OF ITS POLICY AND PROGRAMS. THE FIRST COHERENT, PUBLIC PRESENTATION IN THIS RESPECT WAS THE JRG HOUR-LONG TV APPEARANCE ON NOV 1 (SEE SAN SALVADOR 6353) WHICH REPRESENTED AN OVERDUE BUT ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP TO HOLD AND EXPAND THE PUBLIC SUPPORT ENGENDERED BY THE COUP. WHILE EARLY AND EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-UP WILL BE REQUIRED TO BUILD AND SUSTAIN MOMENTUM, THE JRG HAS AT LEAST BEGUN TO FUNCTION AS A GOVERNMENT AND TO DEFINE ITS POLICY AND PROGRAM.

5. THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) -- MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE WEAKNESSES OF THE JUNTA, PARTICULARLY ITS HETEROGENEOUS AND CUMBERSOME COMPOSITION OF TWO MILITARY AND THREE CIVILIAN MEMBERS, SLOWNESS IN GETTING ORGANIZED, AND ITS PERCEIVED [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06376 01 OF 05 061919Z

INACTION. WHILE THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR CRITICISM, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF THE JUNTA'S STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITY, MUCH OF THIS IS THE UNAVOIDABLE PRODUCT OF THE JUNTA'S ORIGINS, THE NEED FOR MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND THE AMOUNG OF TIME REQUIRED FOR AN AD HOC SELECTION OF FIVE MEN TO STRUCTURE AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY COPING WITH AN AGGRESSIVE AND UNRELENTING ATTACK FROM THE LEFT.

6. JUNTA HETEROGENEOUS COMPOSITION IS BOTH A LIABILITY AND AN ASSET BUT THUS FAR THE FIVE MEMBERS REPRESENTING DIFFERENT GROUPS AND INTERESTS SEEM TO BE WORKING TOGETHER IN REMARKABLE HARMONY. THE TWO MILITARY LEADERS -- GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO -- ARE NEW FIGURES, UNACCUSTOMED TO THE POLITICAL WARS IN EL SALVADOR BUT THEY SEEM SINCERELY INTERESTED IN RESTORING THE WELFARE OF BOTH THE ARMED FORCES AND THE COUNTRY, ARE HIGHLY RECEPTIVE TO ADVICE AND DESPITE THEIR CONTROL OF THE IMMEDIATE LEVERS OF POWER, SEEM TO WORK WELL WITH CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA. GUILLERMO UNGO, WHO REPRESENTS THE 14 GROUPS OF THE POPULAR FORUM, IS ONE MOST POLITICALLY EXPERIENCED MEMBER OF THE JUNTA, BASICALLY A MODERATE AND A GOOD PERSONAL FRIEND OF JUNTA MEMBER ROMAN MAYORGA. HE MUST TRY TO ACCOMMODATE THE BROAD AND IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WITH JUNTA POLICY SO AS TO KEEP THE BROADEST POSSIBLE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE JRG. SO FAR HE HAS MANEUVERED THROUGH

THIS DIFFICULT MINE FIELD RATHER WELL, ALTHOUGH THE DIVERSE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006376

INTEREST GROUPS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WILL PROVE VERY DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE IN THE LONG TERM. ROMAN MAYORGA REPRESENTS THE THINKING OF THE ACADEMIC, TECHNOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR. INEXPERIENCED POLITICALLY, BUT A MAN OF GREAT INTEGRITY AND DEDICATION, HE IS AN IMPORTANT INDIRECT LINK TO AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMERO WING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALLY CONCERNED PROFESSIONALS. CRITICISM OF HIS ACADEMIC BENT AND THUS FAR ALLEGEDLY INDECISIVE APPROACH TO CONCRETE ISSUES MAY OR MAY NOT BE JUSTIFIED BUT HE HAS THE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY TO GROW AND MATURE IN THE

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06376 01 OF 05 061919Z

JOB. MARIO ANTONIO ANDINO APPEARS TO BE AN EXCELLENT CHOICE TO BRING PRACTICAL EXPERIENCEAND BALANCE TO THE JUNTA WHILE EFFECTIVELY REPRESENTING THE MORE PROGRESSIVE OR CHANGE-ORIENTED MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. A QUIET MAN, HE HAS REPORTEDLY SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE DECISIVE, ARTICULATE AND AN EFFECTIVE FOIL TO THE MORE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF SOME JUNTA MEMBERS.

7. IN SUM, THE JUNTA, WHILE CUMBERSOME, IS A DIVERSE BUT SEEMINGLY BALANCED COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS WHO SO FAR ARE WORKING MORE EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER THAN SOME HAVE ANTICIPATED. LAST WEEK THEY REPORTEDLY DIVIDED UP THEIR RESPECTIVE AREAS OF CABINET RESPONSIBILITY AND BEGAN TO FURTHER DEFINE A PROGRAM.

8. RELATIONS BETWEEN JRG AND VARIOUS SECTORS OF SOCIETY -- LIKE EVERYTHING IN THE POST-COUP CONFUSION, THE JRG RELATIONSHIP TO PRINCIPAL SECTORS OF THE SOCIETY IS STILL IN FLUX AND EVOLUTION BUT CERTAIN TENTATIVE COMMENTS CAN BE MADE.

NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH MR. BELLAMY, S/S-O.

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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006376

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06376 02 OF 05 061943Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 INR-05 INRE-00 S50-00 SPH-01
SP-02 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 /036 W
------------------000887 062029Z /50

O P 061745Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5280
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
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DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 6376

LIMDIS

9. MILITARY -- THE JUNIOR OFFICER CORPS (LIEUTENANTS THROUGH MAJORS), WHO ORGANIZED THE 15 OCTOBER 1979 COUP, NAMED COLONELS GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE GOVERNING JUNTA. THE COUP OBJECTIVES OF THE JUNIOR OFFICERS WERE: (1) TO PUT THE GOVERNMENT BACK ON STEADY FOOTING AND GET IT HEADED TOWARD DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, WITH ULTIMATE OGJECTIVE OF TURNING OVER EXECUTIVE POWER TO AN ELECTED CIVILIAN PRESIDENT, (2) TO ELIMINATE CORRUPTION IN THE ARMED/SECURITY FORCES AND (3) TO AVOID THE FATE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD IN NICARAGUA. THESE SAME YOUNG OFFICERS HAVE FORMED A "COMMITTEE" (ONE OFFICER FROM EACH MAJOR CUARTEL - APPROXIMATELY TWENTY IN TOTAL) WHICH SERVES AS AN OVERSIGHT GROUP TO INSURE THE JUNTA'S DIRECTION REMAINS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR STATED OBJECTIVES. MEMBERS CLAIM -- PERHAPS WITH SOME EXAGGERATION -- THAT
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06376 02 OF 05 061943Z

THEY HAVE TOPPLED ONE CORRUPT GOVERNMENT AND COULD REPLACE THE ENTIRE JUNTA OR ANY MEMBER WHO IS EITHER INEFFECTIVE OR STRAYS FROM THE ESTABLISHED SHORT-TERM GOALS. THE COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY DOES NOT INVOLVE ITSELF IN DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES OF THE JUNTA BUT RATHER IN A BROADER SENSE HOLDS A DEGREE OF POWER OVER THE DIRECTION OF THE JRG.

10. IN A ROUGH DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE JUNTA, COL. MAJANO HAS EMERGED AS SOMEWHAT OF THE SPOKESMAN OR PUBLIC

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Special Project (1993)

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RELATIONS FIGURE FOR THE GROUP, AND -- PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANTLY -- THE LIAISON WITH THE YOUNGER MILITARY AND THE GARRISONS. COL. GUTIERREZ, PRESUMABLY THE STRONGEST FIGURE IN THE JUNTA, HAS TAKEN ON HIMSELF LIAISON WITHIN THE JUNTA, THE QUESTION OF APPOINTMENTS, AND PROBABLY THE MOST SENSITIVE ISSUE FACING THE JRG, THAT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WITHIN THE JUNTA, MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONSHIPS THUS FAR APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN HARMONIOUS, WITH NEITHER GROUP ATTEMPTING TO GAIN ASCENDANCY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

11. THE GREATEST DANGER TO THE MILITARY IS THE LOSS OF DISCIPLINE THROUGH THE RUPTURE IN A FUNCTIONING CHAIN OF COMMAND BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DISCARDING OF SOME FIFTY SENIOR OFFICERS AND MASSIVE PERSONNEL SHIFTS. A MAJOR CONCERN OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS IS THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THAT CHAIN OF COMMAND TO CONTROL THE JUNIOR OFFICERS. THE YOUNGER OFFICERS APPEAR CAPABLE OF MANAGING THE MILITARY UNITS, BUT HAVE EXPERIENCED SOME DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING THE SECURITY FORCES WHO ENVISION THEMSELVES AS THE PAWNS IN THE POLITICAL PRISONER/DISAPPEARED PERSONS GAMBIT.

12. CHURCH -- RELATIONS WITH THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH ARE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06376 02 OF 05 061943Z

GOOD BUT DELICATE ON BOTH SIDES. MAYORGA IS CONSIDERED (WITH MUCH JUSTIFICATION) TO REPRESENT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND JESUIT INTERESTS CLOSELY TIED TO ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. THE ARCHBISHOP, HOWEVER, WHILE CLEARLY SUPPORTING THE JUNTA, WISHES TO AVOID CHARGES OF OVERT POLITICAL ACTIVISM/INDENTIFICATION AND TO MAINTAIN HIS POPULAR PRESTIGE AND CREDIBILITY SO AS TO DRAW SUPPORT FROM THE EXTREME LEFT. HENCE, HE MUST ADOPT A HELPFUL BUT NOT UNCRITICAL PUBLIC POSTURE TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHICH PRESERVES HIS POPULAR INFLUENCE. TO DATE HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA. IF AND WHEN THE SECURITY FORCES USE EXCESSIVE FORCE AGAINST EVEN THE FAR LEFT, HOWEVER, ROMERO FEELSCOMPELLED BOTH MORALLY ANDPRACTICALLY TO TAKE A CRITICAL STANCE. SIMILARLY, HE MUST AND DOES PRESS THE JRG PUBLICLY ON HIGHLY EMOTIONAL ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHILE PRIVATELY RECOGNIZING THAT NEW MILITARY LEADERS WHO ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST SINS HAVE A NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE JOB OF INVESTIGATING AND PUNISHING THE GUILTY WITHOUT RIPPING APART THE FABRIC OF MILITARY UNITY. AS LONG AS THE JRG AND THE MILITARY SINCERELY TRY TO DEVELOP A NEW APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH WILL PROVIDE IMPORTANT, IF NOT UNCRITICAL, SUPPORT AND ALL THE INTELLECTUAL RESOURCES OF THE IMPORTANT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY-JESUIT COMMUNITY WILL BE AVAILABLE TO THE JUNTA.

13. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- EMBASSY HAS REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON RELATIONS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

UNCLASSIFIED

TO THE JUNTA AND WILL ONLY SUMMARIZE THE HIGHLIGHTS. INITIALLY AMBIVALENT TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN JRG, PDC SUBSEQUENTLY TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET MEMBER APPOINTED TO JUNTA ITSELF AND AGREED TO SETTLE FOR CABINET AND SUB-SECRETARY POSITIONS. WHILE WISHING POTENTIAL POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE OF INDEPENDENT POSITION, PDC'S FUTURE IS CLOSELY TIED TO JUNTA'S SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS IN WAY WHICH ENSURES PARTY BACKING FOR NEW GOVERNMENT. INDEED, PDC'S CURRENT FRUSTRATION THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE GREATER DIRECT ROLE IN FORMULATING JUNTA'S POLITICAL STRATEGY DERIVES FROM ITS IMPOSSIBLE DESIRE TO HAVE IT BOTH

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06376 02 OF 05 061943Z

WAYS, I.E., THE ELCTORAL BENEFITS OF INDEPENDENCE VERSUS THE MORE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BENEFIS OF SHAPING JRG POLICY IN A WAY MOST CALCULATED TO ENSURE ITS SURVIVAL. IN ESSENCE, HOWEVER, THE PDC HAS AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING THE JUNTA WHILE SEEKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DERIVE MAXIMUM POLITICAL BENEFIT FROM ITS STILL AMBIVALENT POSITION. SINCE PDC DOES LOOM AT LEAST INITIALLY AS STRONGEST SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY, ITS POSITION AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE JRG WILL REMAIN IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THE POLITICAL QUESTION.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006376

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ADP272
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06376 03 OF 05 062006Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 INR-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 SPH-01
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 6376

LIMDIS

14. PRIVATE SECTOR RELATIONS WITH THE JRG ARE ALSO COMPLICATED, INFLUX AND COVERED IN PREVIOUS EMBASSY REPORTING. IN SUMMARY, #923;34, PROGRESSIVE BUSINESSMEN AND GROUPS -- WHO ARE AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FORCE -- SUPPORT THE JRG AND JUNTA LEADER MARIO ANDINO. WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY APPOINTED A MIXED COMMISSION TO WORK WITH AND SUPPORT ANDINO. CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS INTERESTS -- TRADITIONALLY VOCAL THROUGH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (ANEP) -- HAVE TAKEN A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE AND ARE LESS HOSTILE TO THE JUNTA THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, NERVOUS ABOUT THE PROMISE OF JRG REFORMS AD WILL SEEK TO BLUNT OR MODERATE ANY FAR-REACHING JUNTA PROGRAMS WHILE RELUCTANTLY ACCOMMODATING OTHERS. THE MOST CONSERVATIVE AND POLITICALLY ACTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WHO WERE THE POWER BEHIND THE RECENTLY DEPOSED LEADERSHIP
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06376 03 OF 05 062006Z

OF ANEP, ARE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY DISCREDITED, INTERESTED IN PLOTTING BUT SEEMINGLY FRUSTRATED, AND TENDING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY TO AVOID REPRISALS. IN THIS CONTEXT PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS OF COUP PLOTTING, THE KIDNAPPING OF JAIME HILL (COUSIN OF REACTIONARY AGRICULTURALIST, BANKER ROBERTO HILL AND A CLOSE FRIEND OF EX-PRESIDENT ROMERO), THE REMOVAL OF QUESTIONABLE MILITARY OFFICERS FROM ACTIVE DUTY AND THE DEPARTURE OF FORMER ANPE LEADERS MAY TEMPORARILY DEFUSE A RIGHIST COUNTERCOUP. IN THE LONGER RUN, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE JRG WILL BE SHAPED BY (A)

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE NO. 7

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
DECLASSIFIED IN PART

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

UNCLASSIFIED

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006376

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE JRG'S REFORM PROGRAM AND (B) THE SHIFTING AND STILL UNCLEAR BALANCE BETWEEN SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVE/ MODERATES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE MORE TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIEVE OR REACTIONARY GROUPS.

15. LABOR -- REACTION OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED FEDERAL OF UNIONS OF CONSTRU TION AND TRANSPORTATION WORKERS (FESINCONSTRAINS), AND OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST RURAL CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION, THE UNION COMUNAL SALVADORENA (UCS), TO THE JRG HAS GENERALLY BEEN FAVORABLE, WITH BOTH CITING THE JRG'S WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT THEM ON IMPORTANT CABINET APPOINTMENTS AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS (SAN SALVADOR 5983, 6087, 6143, 5992, 6191). REACTION FROM CONSERVATIVE SECTOR OF LABOR MOVEMENT -- AS REPRESENTED BY DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN UNIONS-CGS (EL SALVADOR'S THIRD-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION) -- HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY LESS ENTHUSIASTIC, PROBABLY DUE TO CGS'S CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH PREVIOUS ROMERO GOVERNMENT. EL SALVADOR'S SECOND-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, THE PREDOMINANTLY COMMUNIST UNITED CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (CUTS) IS A MEMBER OF POPULAR FORUM AND AS SUCH HAS GIVEN SUPPORT TO JRG. HOWEVER, ITS LARGEST COMPONENT, THE NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (FENASTRANS) -- WHICH HAS TIES [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06376 03 OF 05 0620062

TO LEFTIST UNIONED POPULAR ACTION FRONT (FAPU) -- RECNTLY ANNOUNCED ITS WITHDRAWAAL FROM THE POPULAR FORUM, DENOUNCING WHAT IT SAID WERE SOME OF JRG'S "REPRESSIVE" ACTIONS. ON THE EXTREME LEFT OF LABOR SPECTRUM, EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST TEACHERS ORGANIZATION, A"ANDES 21 DE JUNIO" AND THE JOSE GUILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE- CS (LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRE-COUP PERIOD WAVE OF PLANT TAKEOVERS) HAVE BOTH COME OUT AGAINST JRG. HOWEVER, ANDES IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. BOTH ANDES AND CCS ARE CONTROLLED BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR). IN SUM, JRG IS DRAWING SUPPORT FROM MODERATE AND CENTRIST SECOTRS OF ORGANIZED LABOR WHILE LABOR GROUPS ASSOCIATED WITH EXTREME LEFTIST SPECTRUM OF SALVADORAN LABOR MOVEMENT GAVE GONE INTO OPEN OPPOSITION.

16. MEDIA -- THE ESTABLISHED SALVADORAN MEDIA, WWHICH IS VERY CONSERVATIVE BY LATIN AMERICAN STANDARDS (ITS COMPLAINTS WERE DIRECTED AT WEAK GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP IN CRACKING DOWN ON "LEFT", INTERFERENCE WITH UNFETTERED FREE ENTERPRISE AND EXCESSIVE CONCERN ABOUT US HUMAN RIGHTS' POLICY) WAS CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP. IT IS NOW FOLLOWING CAREFUL AND OSTENSIBLY NEUTRAL POLITICAL LINE TOWARD JRG WITH CONTINUING ATTACKS OB LEFT. ESTABLISHED PRESS INTERESTS WILL TRY AND SURVIVE BY ADOPTING TO THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT OVERTLY ATTACKING JUNTA, AS LONG AS ITS POWER IS INTACT, CONSERVATIVE MEDIA WILL PROBABLY INVOKE FREEDOM OF PRESS TO SLOW OR BLOCK ANY JRG REFORM EFFORTS AIMED AT REAL STRUCTURAL CHANGE. THE CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER "ORIENTATION" WILL

PAGE NO. 8

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

FOLLOW THE LINE OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND OPENLY CRITICAL AND AND OPINIONATED LEFTIST DAILY "LA CRONICA" WILL CONTINUE TO WEAVE BETWEEN THE RADICAL AND ORTHODOX LEFT. CRITICIZING ANY JUNTA ACTIONS DEEMED
REPRESSIVE OR DIRECTED AGAINST PUBLIC. RADIO WILL REMAIN A VERY INFLUENTIAL MEDIA WHICH IS FAR MORE OPEN THAN PRESS OR TV TOWARDS POLITICAL PLURALISM. EVENTUALLY, MORE PROGRESSIVE

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AND MODERATE MEDIA INTERESTS MAY EMERGE IN SUPPORT OF THE JUNTA BUT THE PREPONDERANT QUALITY AND ORIENTATION OF THE MEDIA IS AT PRESENT LOW AND GENERALLY CONSERVATIVE. EVEN BEFORE THE COUP, HOWEVER, THE MEDIA WAS SHOWING SIGNS OF OPENING UP TO THE OPPOSITION, AND THAT TREND HAS SINCE ACCTOTY PG.

17. CHALLENGE FROM RIGHT AND LEFT -- THE EXTREME LEFT AND RIGHT WERE CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP AND HAVE BEEN FORCED TO REVISE THEIR RESPECTIVE STRATEGIES. THE RIGHT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ROMERO REGIME, HAD REPORTEDLY BEEN PLANNING A MASSIVE CRACKDOWN AFTER THE OAS CONSIDERED THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON EL SALVADOR AND THE COUNTRY HOPEFULLY AVERTED CONDEMNATION. WHEN REPORTS OF THE COUP PLOT BY YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS REACHED PRESIDENT ROMERO, THERE WAS APPARENTLY A FUTILE EFFORT TO ORGANIZAE A COUNTERCOUP AND THEN A TENSE PERIOD OF NEGOTION ON OCT 15 BETWEEN ROMERO LOYALISTS IN THE ARMED FORCES AND THE GOLISTAS. DETAILS OF WHAT WAS AGREED ARE NOT KNOW BUT CLEARLY ROMERO'S INNTER CIRCLE COMPOSED OF SOME MILITARY OFFICERS AND PRESUMABLY SOME CABINET MINISTERS, WERE GUARANTEED SAFE PASSAGE OUT OF THE COUNTRY. IN ADDITION, THE COUP ORGANIZERS MAY HAVE GIVEN SOME ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST OTHER FIGURES IN THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT WHO CHOSE TO REMAIN. IN ANY EVENT, WHATEVER AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ENABLED ROMERO AND COMPNY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY PEACEFULLY AND AVOIDED AN INTERNAL CONFRONTATION IN THE ARMED FORCES WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN DISASTEROUS.

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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006376

UNCLASSIFIED

ADP302
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06376 04 OF 05 062054Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 INR-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 SPH-01
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted]ECTION 4 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 6376

LIMDIS

18. FOLLOWING THE COUP THE MOST IMMEDIATE THREAT FROM THE RIGHT APPEARS TO STEM FROM A POTENTIAL COMBINATION OF TWO GROUPS: A REACTIONARY ELEMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHICH WAS ENGAGED INRIGHTIST TERRORISM UNDER ROMERO AND DISGRUNTLED SEGMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO WERE DISPLACED BY THE COU BUT DO NOT SUPPORT THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP OR THE OBJECTIVES AND ORIENTATION OF THE JRG. DESPITE STRONG INITIAL CONCERN THAT THESE TWO GROUPS MIGHT UNITE IN A COUNTERCOUP, THE IMMEDIATE THREAT MAY BE RECEDING SOMEWHAT AS PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF A WOULD-BE COUNTERCOUP SURFACES. EXTREMISTS OF THE RIGHT EXIT THE COUNTRY, THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP ACTS TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER WOULD-BE COUP PLOTTERS AMONG DISPLACED OR INITIALLY DISAFFECTED MILITARY OFFICERS. THE JUNTA MOVEMENT TO DEFINE A POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR SEEKING BROADER SUPPORT AND ITS DESIRE TO DEV-ELOP BETTER ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS FOR COPING WITH THE VIOLENT

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06376 04 OF 05 062034Z

CHALLENGE ON THE EXTREME LEFT SHOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE JUNTA AND NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP CAN GET THEIR ACT IN ORDER,

IT WILL HELP UNDERCUT THE IMMEDIATE MACHINATION OF THE FAR RIGHT. ANOTHER AND PROBABLY MORE SERIOUS THREAT FROM THIS QUARTER MAY ARISE LATER IF AND WHEN THE JUNTA DECIDES TO LAUNCH A MEANINGFUL REFORM PROGRAM WHICH WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE TRADITIONALLY DOMINANT AND CONSERVATIVE INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

UNCLASSIFIED

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19. THE TIMETABLE AND STRATEGY OF GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT WERE ALSO JOLTED BY THE MILITARY COUP. AFTER INITIAL CONFUSION AND SOME INTERNAL DIVISIONS, HOWEVER, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE SOMEWHAT RECOVERED. WHETHER SEPARATELY OR IN CONCERT, THREE CLANDESTINE GROUPS AND THEIR POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS HE APARENTLY DECLARED WAR ON THE JUNTA AND ARE ENGAGED IN AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN OF MASS DEMONSTRATIONS, SELECTIVE TERRORISM, POLITICALLY PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS AND EVEN LOW-LEVEL GUERRILLA ATTACKS TO KEEP THE JUNTA OFF-GUARD AND ON THE DEFENSIVE. A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE AT THIS STAGE IS TO PROVOKE THE JUNTA INTO A REACTIVE AND REPRESSIVE POSTURE; ONE CALCULATED TO GENERATE MORE MARTYRS, TARNISH THE DEMOCRATIC IMAGE OTLOHE JUNTA, PROMOTE POLARIZATION AND RECAPTURE POPULAR SUPPORT WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE FLOW TO MODERATE GROUPS LIKE THE PDC. INITIALLY, AT LEAST THIS AGGRESSIVE TACTIC HAS BEEN A PARTIAL SUCCESS. IT HAS SLOWED JU TA PLANNING (THE BPR'S OCCUPATION OF MINISTRIES AND SEUZIRE OF LEADING CABINET MEMBERS AS HOSTAGE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY DAMAGING) AND PROVOKED OCCASIONAL OVER-REACTION BY SECURITY FORCES AND NEW MARTYRS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAS GLEARLY REVEALED THE VIOLENT AND EXTREMIST GOALS AND METHODS OF THE FAR LEFT IN A WAY WHICH IF ACTIVELY AND INTELLIGENTLY COUNTERED

BY THE JUNTA AND THE ARMED FORCES COULD DISCREDIT AND UNDERMINE POPULAR SYMPATHY FOR THE EXTREMIST CAUSE.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06376 04 OF 05 0620542

20. IN GENERAL TERMS THE JRG HAS TRIED TO REACT IN A RESTRAINED AND POLITICAL WAY TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE LEFT EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION TO THE NATION'S PROBLEMS AND UNMASKINGLTHE DEMOGOGIC DEMANDS OF HE FAR LEFT. THUS FAR THE JUNTA'S BASICALLY SOUND POSTURE HAS BEEN WEAKENED BY A VARIETY OF FACTORS: INADEQUATE ORGANIZATION OF JRG'S PUBLIC RELATIONS AND INFORMATION EFFORTS THE DIFFICULTY OF RETRAINING AND RESTRAINING A MILITARY FORCE ACCUSTOMED AND EQUIPPED TO USING VIOLENCE TO CONTROL VIOLENCE, POOR OR ALMOST NON-EXISTENT INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY, SELF-CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE NEED TO SAFEGUARD THE LIVES OF MINISTRIAL HOSTAGES HELD BY THE BPR.

20.A. TWO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE DEDEVILED THE JUNTA'S EFFORTS TO BUILD POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT BY TAKING AWAY ITS POLITICAL BANNERS ARE (A) THE NEARLY INSOLVABLE PROBLEM OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS/POLITICAL PRISONERS AND (B) THE DEMOGOGICAND IMPOSSIBLE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE FAR LEFT. REGARDING THE FIRST ISSUE, THE JUNTA HAS FINALLY ADMITTED IT CAN FIND NO PRISONERS BUT APPOINTED A COMMISSSION RESPONSIBLE FOR AN INVESTIGATION AND REPORT IN 60 DAYS. THE BASIC ISSUE SEEMS CLEAR. MOST, IF NOTALL, THE PRISONERS/ DISAPPEARED PERSONS ARE PROBABLY DEAD BUT THERE IS A QUESTION OF HOW FAR THE JUNTA CAN GO TOWARD FULLY REVEALING AND PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE WITHOUT THREATENINGLTHE FRAGILE UNITY OF THE ARMED FORCES

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD, WHATEVER THE JUNTA DOES IN THIS AREA WILL NOT SATISFY THE
FAR LEFT WHICH NEEDS THIS EMOTIONAL POLITICAL ISSUE. NEVERTHELESS, IT MAY HAVE TO GO MUCH FATHER THAN IT ORIGINALLY HOPED AND CONTINUES TO PLAN IN ORDER TO MAKE CREDIBLE ITS COMMITMENT TO FUTURE HUMAN RIGHTS REFORM AND SATISFY MODERATE POLITICAL GROUPS, THE CHURCH, AND PUBLIC OPINION IN GENERAL THAT THERE WILL BE CHANGE AND THAT PAST RESPONSIBILITY WILL NOT BE IGNORED.

21. ON THE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE LEFT, THE JUNTA MUST

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06378 04 OF 05 062054Z

BEGIN TO ADOPT AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHICH WILL UNDERCUT, IF NOT SATIFY, POPULAR ASPIRATIONS. THIS IS NOT AN EASY STEP AFTER THREE TURBULENT WEEKS WHEN KEY ECONOMIC MINISTERS ARE BEING HELD AND THE COUNTRY IS UNDER LEFTIST ASSAULT, BUT

PLANNING IS UNDERWAY AND THE JUNTA HAS PROVIDED THE BROAD OUTLINES OF AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WITH MORE SPECIFIC MEASURES TO BE ANNOUNCED THIS WEEK.

22. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES DESCRIBED, DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST THE EXTREME LEFT IS LIKELY TO BTLBESS EFFECTIVE THAN INTELLIGENT

BUT FIRM RESTRAINT COUPLED WITH A COHERENT POLITICAL STRATEGY TO DISCREDIT THE EXTREME LEFT. BOTH ARE RECOGNIZED BY THE JRG AND IN THE PROCESS OF INITIAL ELABORATION BUT FACE TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES, PARTICULARLY IN THE SECURITY AREA WHERE TRADITIONAL RESPONSES AND POOR CAPABILITY CANNOT BE CHANGED OVERNGITH. THE CHURCH AND MODERATE POLITICAL SECTORS ARE PRIVATELY MORE UNDERSTANDING AND TOLERANT TO THE JRG PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA THAN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AIMED AT MAINTAINING POPULAR CREDIBILITY MIGHT SUGGEST.

23. IN THE MEDIUM AND LONGER TERN, THE JRG NEEDS TO REGAIN THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE, FURTHER ELABORATE ITS POSITION ON HOLDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND DEFIPE ITS ROLE AS A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PLEDGED TO REFORM OR AT LEAST TO LAY THE GROUND WORK FOR OVERDUE POLITICALAND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS. AT THIS EARLY POINT, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASSESS THE JRG ABILITY TO REACH THESE OBJECTIVES. WE DO KNOW THAT JUNTA MEMBERS RECOGNIZE AND ARE ACTIVELY WEIGHTING THESE ISSUES. THE DIVERSITY OF POLITICAL INTERESTS INVOLVED AND REFLECTED N THE JUNTA TENDSTO FORCE A SLOWER DECISION-MAKING PROCESS BASED ON CONSULTATION, BUT IF AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED BY THIS ROUTE, THE RESULTS MAY BE MORE

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PAGE 05 SAN SA 06378 04 OF 05 062054Z

ACCEPTABLE, ENDURING AND HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA'S STRUGGLE TO BUILD A MODERATE CONCENSUS WHICH WILL ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT.

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006376

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006376

ADP303
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06376 05 OF 05 062104Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 INR-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 SPH-01
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DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 5 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 6376

LIMDIS

24. FINALLY, THE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND ASSESSMENT REQUESTED (REFTEL) ARE COVERED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE ALONG WITH SONE POLICY QUESTIONS WHICH THEY RAISE FOR USG RESPONSE.

25. HOW CAN THE USG BEST HELP THE JRG? -- AT THIS DELICATE STAGE IN THE JUNTA'S LIFE, THE USG'S ROLE IS VERY IMPORTANT BUT REQUIRES POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING AND SENSITIVITY TO LOCAL REALITIES. AMBASSADOR DEVINE CAN BEST ADDRESS THE COMPLEX QUESTIONS ATTACHED TO THE USG'S POSTURE AND POLICY TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT DURING CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON. NEVERTHELESS, SEVERAL GENERAL OBSERVATIONS SEEM WORTH MENTIONING OR REITERATING AT THIS TIME:

A. US SECURITY AND ECONOIC ASSISTANCE MAY WEL PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT THE TIMING, AMOUNT AND
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06376 05 OF 05 062104Z

ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY MUST DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE JUNTA'S POLITICAL JUDGMENT OF WHAT IS REQUIRED AND APPROPRIATE.

B. A CLOSE CONTINUOUS BUT DISCREET POLITICAL AND ECNOMIC DIALOGUE WITH THE JUNTA AND OTHER KEY OFFICIALS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS NECESSARY BUT REQUIRES CAREFUL DEVELOPMENT SO AS TO AVOID THE INTERNAL POLITICAL STIGMA OF EXCESSIVE PUBLIC ASSOCIATION.

C. IN ADDITION TO USG ASSISTANCE, IT WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

FOR US TO TAKE THE LEAD PRIVATELY ENCOURAGING OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO OFFE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT. BILATERAL US ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE MORE POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE JUNTA EITHER IN THE CONTEXT OF A MULTILATERAL EFFORT OR IF COMPLEMENTED BY BILATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM A VARIETY OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

D. WE MUST ENCOURAGETHE JUNTA IN THEIR OWN EFFORTS TO DEVISE A SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM POLITICAL STRATEGY WHICH CAN BE PUBLICLY ARTICULATED IN A WAY THAT ISOLATES THE FAR LEFT. IN ADDITION TO REGULAR CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT, WE MUST CONTINUE TO URGE DIALOGUE AND CONSULTATION AMONG ALL MODERATE SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT IS NEEDED FOR THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL. WE MUST COOPERATE WHEREVER POSSIBLE IN ASSITING THE JUNTA TO COPE WITH CHALLENGES ON THE EXTREME LEFT OR RIGHT. THIS IMPLIES SOME SHARING OF APPROPRIATE INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER INFORMATION.

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26. STRENGTHENING CONTACTS WITH THE JRG AND OTHER SECTORS -- AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, BOTH FROM STATE CABLES, MILITARY [redacted] MESSAGES, THE MISSION HAS HAD SUBSTANTIAL CONTACT BOTH FORMALLY AND INFORMALLY WITH MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA DURING ITS SHORT TENURE IN POWER. MORE CONTACT IS OF COURSE DESIRABLE AND WILL BE ACTIVELY PURSUED IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD, BUT [redacted]

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06376 05 OF 05 062104Z

THE NATURE AND FREQUENCY OF SUCH CONTACTS MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF POLICY, POLITICAL, AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ENGENDERED BY CERTAIN INTERNAL REALITIES IN EL SALVADOR. IN THE FIRST PLACE, CONSTRUCTIVE PUBLIC AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, PRIVATE CONTACT WITH THE JUNTA DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS WAS LIMITED BY THE INCIPENT JRG'S OWN ABSORPTION AND PREOCCUPATION WITH THE DIFFICULT CONSULTATIVE PROCESS OF (A) FORMING AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT, (B) DEFINING INTERNAL LINES OF AUTHORITY, (C) DEFINING THE BROAD OUTLINE OF A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY, AND (D) REACTING TO THE ALMOST IMMEDIATE ONSLAUGHT FROM THE FAR LEFT. CONTACTS WERE ESTABLISHED THROUGH A VARIETY OF CHANNELS, BUT TO HAVE BURDENED THE HARD-PRESSED JUNTA MEMBERS WITH REQUESTS FOR FURTHER MEETINGS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT -- AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE -- WAS THE NEED TO AVOID EXCESSIVE US PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION WITH A NEW GOVERNMENT. MODERATE BUT STILL POLITICALLY SHAKY IT IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A BROAD POLITIAL LBASE BY REACHING OUT TO AN IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL CONSTITUENCY, PART OF WHICH WOULD RESIST OR EVEN OPPOSE A CLOSE, OVERT YELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.

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27. IN THIS CONTEXT, PUBLIC OFFERS OF US ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF RIOT CONTROL, WHILE PRIVATELY HEARTENING TO MOST MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA, ARE ALSO A POTENTIAL SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BUILD PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SUPPORT. TO GIVE ONLY ONE EXAMPLE, THE CHURCH FELT COMPELLED TO PUBLICLY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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NOTE AND OPPOSE REFERENCES TO POSSIBILITY OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHILE RADICAL GROUPS ON THE NON-EXTREMIST LEFT, WHICH THE JUNTA SEEKS TO ATTRACT, WILL BE WARY AND PUBLICLY CRITICAL OF CLOSE JUNTA ASSOCITION WITH THE US. IN REALITY USG SUPPORT -- POLITICAL AS WELL AS MATERIAL -- IS LIKELY TO PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT IT MUST BE PROFERRED WITH CARE AND SOPHISTICATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT INTERNAL POLITICAL REALITIES AND SENSITIVITIES.

28. FINALLY, THE MISSION HAS DEVELOPED AND WILL CONTINUE TO

[redacted]

CULTIVATE A WIDE RANGE OF POLITICAL GROUPS AND SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT CONTRIBUTES TO STABILITY AND WHICH CAN INFLUENCE THE JUNTA IN POSITIVE DIRECTIONS THAT WILL STRENGTHEN ITS PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL. INFORMALLY AND PRIVATELYO WE HAVE LONG MOVED ACTIVELY ALONG THESE LINES. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS CLEAR FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE AT LEAST THAT OUR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE CATALYTIC AND SUPPORTIVE OF THE JUNTA MEMBERS WHO, KNOWING BEST THEIR OWN POLITICAL REALITY, CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY DEVISE A STRATEGY APPROPRIATE TO THE COMPLEX SITUATION HERE. HOWARD

NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O, BELLAMY.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006387

ADP341 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06387 062118Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 MCT-02 AGRE-00
HA-05 PC-01 AID-05 SVC-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 OPR-02
A-02 SY-05 SYE-00 ANAE-00 OC-06 CCO-00 /096 W
----------001528 062138Z /14

O 062020Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIAGE 5291
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCIN SO QUARRY HTS PN PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6387

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC PINR PINS PINT ELAB SHUM ES
SUBJ: SITREP NO. 17 AS OF 1300 HOURS, 11/6/79

REF SAN SALVADOR 6336

1. GOVERNMENT STARTS TALKS WITH POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR): ON NOV 5, RUBEN ZAMORA RIVAS, MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENCY, AND MINISTER OF INTERIOR CARLOS CASTRO GARAY -- PRESENTING REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) -- MET WITH BPR REPS. JUAN CHACON AND ANA MARIA GOMEZ IN NICARAGUAN EMBASSY BUILDING IN ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE ISSUE OF CONTINUED BPR OCCUPATION OF MINISTRIES OF LABOR AND [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06387 062118Z

ECONOMY. DURING MORNING OF NOVEMBER 6, BPR GAVE DEADLINE OF 1200 HOURS THAT DAY TO ACCEDE TO ITS DEMANDS. IT IS REPORTED THAT BPR DELEGATES SUSPENDED NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL MID-AFTERNOON FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH LEADERS. FOURTEEN COMPANIES CONTAINING UNIONS BELONGING TO BPR-CONTROLLED JOSE GUILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE (CCS) REPORTEDLY WENT ON STRIKE DURING LATE MORNING OF NOV 6.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940038L

2. COFFEE MIL WORKERS GO ON STRIKE: ON NOVEMBER 5,

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

MEMBERS OF UNION OF WORKERS IN COFFEE INDUSTRY WENT ON STRIKE AT THREE COFFEE MILLS IN WESTERN DEPARTMENT OF SANTA ANA, ONE OF CHIEF COFFEE-GROWING AREAS IN EL SALVADOR. REPORTS DURING MORNING OF NOVEMBER 6 INDICATE THAT COFFEE MILL WORKERS HAVE ALSO GONE ON STRIKE IN SAN MIGUEL, SAN MARTIN, USULUTAN. IF WORK STOPPAGES IS LONG-TERM, IT COULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR COFFEE INDUSTRY, AS HARVEST IS JUST ABOUT TO START.

3. RELEASE OF KIDNAP VICTIM: PROMINENT BUSINESSMAN LUIS ESCALANTE ARCE -- KIDNAPPED FROM HIS SAN SALVADOR RESIDENCE LAST OCT 6 -- WAS RELEASED NOV 4. EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL) TOOK CREDIT FOR ACTION.

4. BOMB THREATS: ON NOVEMBER 1, THERE WERE TOTAL OF THREE BOMB THREATS TO EMBASSY. ON NOVEMBER 3, THERE WAS BOMB THREAT TO MARINE HOUSE AND ON NOVEMBER 4 TO PRIVATE RESIDENCE OF EMBASSY EMPLOYEE. (THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE LATTER THREAT WAS POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.) ALL THREATS WERE MADE BY ANONYMOUS PHONE CALLS AND PROVED TO BE UNFOUNDED.

5. JRG NAMES NEW SUBSECRETARY OF DEFENSE: ON NOVEMBER 2, JRG NAMED COL. NICOLAS CARRANZA (WHO HAD JUST BEEN [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06387 062118Z

APPOINTED OCTOBER 19 AS NEW CHIEF OF STAFF OF ARMED FORCE) AS NEW SUBSECRETARY OF DEFENSE. (BIO INFORMATION ON CARRANZA WAS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED IN SAN SALVADOR 6209). NAMED AS NEW CHIEF OF STAFF OF ARMED FORCE WAS COL. FRANCISCO HERNAN PEREIRA, FORMERLY MILITARY ATTACHE IN SAN SALVADORAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON.

6. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS:

A. ON NOVEMBER 1, VARIOUS GROUPS REPORTEDLY TRIED TO OCCUPY WAREHOUSES OF GOVERNMENT-RUN TELECOMMUNICATIONS COMPANY ANTEL NEAR SAN MARCOS (DEPARTMENT OF SAN SALVADOR) BUT WERE BEATEN OFF.

B. ON NOVEMBER 1, MINISTER OF JUSTICE LUIS NELSON SEGOVIA, IN CLARIFICATION OF DECREE NUMBER 7 ISSUED ON OCT 30 (SAN SALVADOR 6336), STATED THAT JRG COULD NAME NEW MAYORS FOR EL SALVADROR'S 261 MUNICIPALITIES IN ABSENCE OF REGULARLY SCHEDULED ELECTIONS.

C. ON NOV 5, COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS AND RELATIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS STAGED MARCH IN SAN SALVADOR CALLING FOR, AMONG OTHER THINGS, RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS,
DISSOLUTION OF CERTAIN OF SECURITY FORCES (NATIONAL GUARD, NATIONAL

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

POLICE, AND POLICIA DE HACIENDA), AND EXPULSION OF "YANKEE" AND ISRAELI "MILITARY ADVISORS" FROM EL SALVADOR.

D. ON NOV 5, URG THANKED ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND MARIANELA GARCIA VILLAS, VICE PRESIDENT OF SALVADORAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (CDHES), FOR THEIR HELP IN PREVENTING CONFRONTATION DURING EVENING OF NOV 1 BETWEEN NATIONAL GUARD (NG) UNITS AND LP-28. OCCUPANTS OF EL ROSARIO CHURCH IN SAN SALVADOR. SLP-28 (#)
OF TWENTY-ONE PERSONS IN CHURCH

[redacted]

THAT DAY AND HAD DETAINED MEMBER OF NG INSIDE CHURCH, ALMOST CAUSING CONFRONTATION.

E. REPORTS OF ARMED CLASH IN SANTA ANA ON NOV 5 HAVE BEEN CIRCULATED BY MEDIA. AS OF YET, NO DETAILS ARE AVAILABLE.

7. NOTE: BPR DEMONSTRATORS GATHERED IN PARQUE CUSCATLAN AREA OF SAN SALVADOR AS OF 1030 HOURS ON NOV 6 AND ARE STAGING MARCH TO DOWNTOWN AREA.
HOWARD

NOTE BY OC/T: (#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006410

ADP885
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06410 101229Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 PM-06 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 H-01
CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11
COM-02 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 DHS-01 TRSE-00 AID-05
/093 W
----------029263 101302Z /46

R 071620Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5313
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCGIALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOY 6410

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV PINT ES SHUM
SUBJ: POPULAR FORUM SHOWS CONTINUING VIABILITY; EMPHASIZES POLITICAL PRISONER ISSUE

1. (LOU) ALTHOUGH POPULAR FORUM IS COMPOSED OF DIVERSE GROUPS, IT SHOWS SIGNS OF BECOMING MORE VIABLE AS A CONTINUING FORCE IN SALVADORAN POLITICAL SCENE. BUT ITS COHESIVENESS WILL CONTINUALLY BE TESTED. JUNTA MEMBER GUILLERMO UNGO ON NOVEMBER 1 APPEARED BEFORE POPULAR FORUM MEETING TO REACKNOWLEDGE HIS STATUS AS REPRESENTATIVE OF POPULAR FORUM ON JUNTA. HE REPEATED POINT THAT SAME EVENING IN JUNTA TELEVISION BROADCAST TO NATION, OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCING PLANS AND PROGRAMS.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06410 101229Z

2. (U) UNGO IS NOT ONLY REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) OFFICIAL WHOSE CONSTITUENCY IS POPULAR FORUM. IN NOVEMBER 1 MEETING, UNGO WAS ACOMPLANIED BY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, SUB-SECRETARIES OF JUSTICE AND EDUCATION, FIRST MAGISTRATE OF GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE (CORTE DE CUENTAS), ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR POOR, AND OTHER FUNCTIONARIES NAMED TO THEIR POSITIONS THROUGH POPULAR FORUM. ALSO MINISTER OF LABOR AND BOTH SUB-SECRETARIES OF LABOR AND AGRICULTURE HAVE

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

United States Department of State
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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031L

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED THEY OWE POSITIONS TO POPULAR FORUM.

3. (U) POPULAR FORUM NOW APPEARS TO HAVE TAKEN INITIAL STEP TOWARD A BETTER WORKING ORGANIZATION BY NAMING A COORDINAGING COMMISSION WITH FOLLOWING MAMBERSHIP:

MARIO ZAMORA RIVAS - CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC)
FELIPE A. ZALDIVAR - FESINCONSTRANS (CONSTRUCTION UNION FEDERATION)
MARIO AGUINADA CARRANZA - NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDN)
FRANCISCO MARROQUIN - NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MNR)
JORGE HERRERA - STIUSA (TEXTILE WORKERS UNION)

ALL OF ABOVE ARE EITHER HEADS OF RESPECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS OR HOLD OTHER HIGH POSITIONS.

4. (U) FORUM IS CURRENTLY CONCENTRATING ON DEMAND THAT JRG SOLVE POLITICAL PRISONER AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS ISSUE. IN NOV 1 MEETING WITH UNGO, FORUM SPEAKERS TOOK POSITION THAT SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM WAS ESSENTIAL FOR CONTINUING SUPPORT OF JUNTA. THEY [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06410 101229Z

STATED MILITARY IS ONLY INSTITUTION IN POSITION TO INVESTIGATE EXHAUSTIVELY AND IMMEDIATELY AS WELL AS TO IDENTIFY AND DENOUNCE THOSE GUILTY OF CRIMES IN THIS FIELD. THEY FURTHE MAINTAINED DELAYS IN CLARIFYING SITUATION COULD FUEL SUSPICION THAT REMNANTS OF ROMERO REGIME INTEND TO REGAIN POWER. FORUM ALSO POINTED OUT ALLEGED REPRESSIVE ACTS UNDER JRG AND ABSOLVED ITSELF AND ITS APPOINTEES TO JRG OF ANY RESPONSIBILITITY AS INCIDENTS FELL OUTSIDE THEIR AREAS OF COMPETENCY. LATTER POSITION WAS REPEATED IN PAID INSERTION DATED NOV 1 (BUT NOT APPEARING IN PRESS UNTIL NOV 6) CONDEMNING "MASSACRES" BY SECURITY FORCES IN PRECEDING DAYS.
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11/7/79

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 09166 071618Z 1517
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 IO-14 MCT-02 EB-08 OMB-01
TRSE-00 FRB-03 SIL-01 LAB-04 SY-05 SYE-00 SS-15
SSO-00 NSCE-00 PM-06 SP-02 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-10
NSAE-00 INRE-00 DODE-00 ANAE-00 /095 W
-----------------007374 071640Z /42 S

AK337

O R 071538Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3066
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9166

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/7/85 (FREEMAN, ANTHONY G.) OR-P
TAGS: ASEC PINS SHUM ELAB AR
SUBJ: (U) ATTACK ON ARGENTINE SECRETARY OF TREASURY ALEMANN

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 8008; (B) BUENOS AIRES 8863;
(C) BUENOS AIRES 8921

1. (U) AT 9:20 AM NOVEMBER 7 THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY VEHICLE IN WHICH THE SECRETARY OF TREASURY, JUAN ALEMANN, WAS TRAVELING TO WORK WAS INTERCEPTED AT OR NEAR A MAJOR THOROUGHFARE IN THE BELGRANO DISTRICT OF BUENOS AIRES BY A PICK-UP TRUCK REPORTEDLY CARRYING THREE INDIVIDUALS WHO HURLED AN INCENDIARY GRANADE INTO AND FIRED ON ALEMANN'S CAR WITH SEMI-AUTOMATIC WEAPONS. THE UNIDENTIFIED ATTACKERS EVIDENTLY GOT AWAY.

2. (U) ALEMANN, HIS CHAUFFEUR AND THE POLICE GUARD TRAVELING WITH HIM ARE NOW ALL IN A LOCAL POLICE HOSPITAL. ALEMANN REPORTEDLY IS UNINJURED, BUT THE BODYGUARD IS SERIOUSLY HURT.

3. [redacted] THE ATTACK ON ALEMANN FOLLOWS THE SEPTEMBER 27 BOMBING OF THE HOME OF ANOTHER KEY ECONOMY MINISTRY OFFICIAL, SECRETARY OF PLANNING AND ECONOMIC COORDINATION WALTER KLEIN (REF A), WHICH THE GOVERNMENT ATTRIBUTED TO MONTONERO TERRORISTS WHO REPORTEDLY ENTERED THE COUNTRY CLANDESTINELY IN RECENT MONTHS. REPORTS CIRCULATING AS A RESULT OF THE KLEIN INVESTIGATION SUGGESTED THAT THE MONTONERO OBJECTIVE WAS TO ATTACK OFFICIALS CONNECTED WITH THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN AN ATTEMPT TO INGRATIATE THEMSELVES AND DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY WITH WORKERS AND POOR PEOPLE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY THE GOA'S DEFLATIONARY PROGRAM. ALEMANN HAS ACHIEVED NOTORIETY FOR HIS OUTSPOKEN, HARD-HITTING DEFENSE OF GOA ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES, MOST RECENTLY HAVING GOTTEN HIMSELF INTO A PUBLIC ARGUMENT WITH THE ARGENTINE TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP KNOWN AS "CATA" WHEN HE ISSUED A CHALLENGE TO THEM TO PUT UP OR SHUT UP WITH RESPECT TO THEIR ABILITY TO CALL A GENERAL STRIKE (REF B). FOLLOWING THIS INCIDENT RUMORS HAVE CIRCULATED THAT ALEMANN WOULD BE ASKED TO RESIGN.

4. [redacted] ACTION REQUESTED: IN LINE WITH POLICY PROPOSALS OUTLINED REF C AND THE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSE IN THE KLEIN PRECEDENT, REQUEST THAT DEPARTMENT ISSUE A STATEMENT DEPLORING THIS TERRORIST ACTION AND TERRORISM GENERALLY WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE OR IMPLICATIONS CONCERNING THE IDENTITY OF THE ASSAILANTS IN THIS CASE, I.E. AVOIDING THE "WHOEVER THEY MAY BE" FORMULA USED IN THE KLEIN STATEMENT.
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006436

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06436 072323Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SPH-01 HA-05 TRSE-00 AID-05 SY-05
CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /070 W
010095 072340Z /64

O R 072230Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5331
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6436

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/7/85
TAGS: PINT SHUM ES PINR
SUBJ: (U) APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATING COMMISSION FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS

REF: SAN SALVADOR 6353

1. (U) SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION (CEI) FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WAS SWORN IN MORNING NOVEMBER 7 BY JUNTA MEMBER COL MAJANO. IN ACCORDING TWITH CEI FORMAT ESTABLISHED BY DECREE NO. 9 (REFTEL), REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) NAMED HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION PRESIDENT ROBERTO LARA VELADO AS "HONORABLE CITIZEN" MEMBER OF COMMISSION, DR ROBERTO SUAREZ BECAME MEMBER BY VIRTUE OF POSITION AS JRG ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND DR LUIS ALONSO POSADA WAS NAMED BY SUPREME COURT.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06436 072323Z

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2. (U) ALSO AS STIPULATED IN DECREE NO. 9, COMMISSION IS CHARGED WITH INVESTIGATING:

A. WHEREABOUTS OF POLITICAL DISAPPEARED PERSONS;
B. EXISTENCE OF CLANDESTINE PRISONS;
C. EXISTENCE OF PLACES OF TORTURE;
D. EXISTENCE OF CLANDESTINE CEMETARIES.

PAGE NO
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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940031L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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3. (U) FULL AUTONOMY OF COMMISSION WAS REITERATED. NECESSARY RESOURCES AND AUXILIARY PERSONNEL ARE TO BE PROVIDED BY MINISTRY TO THE PRESIDENCY. SECURITY FORCES ARE ENJOINED TO COMPLETE COOPERATION. AFTER SWEARING-IN, COL MAJANO SAID THAT RESULTS OF COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATIONS "WILL DEPEND UPON THE RESOLUTION OF EXTRADITION OF THOOTTOWOH OFFICIALS, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, THAT ARE FOUND GUILTY OF THESE CHARGES".

4. (U) IN PAID PRESS INSERTION APPEARING PRIOR TO SEEARING-IN, LARA VELADO, WITHOUT SPECIFYING POSITION FOR WHICH HE WAS BEING CONSIDERED, LAYED DOWN FIVE DEMANDS WHICH HE SAID WERE "INDISPENSABLE PREREQUISITES" FOR ACCEPTING ANY POSITION PROPOSED BY JRG.

A. ACTIONS BY SECURITY FORCES MUST BE STRICTLY WITHIN THE LAW.
B. ALL LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF CITIZENRY MUST BE RESPECTED.
C. POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THOSE CONSIDRED ILLEGAL UNDER PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS, MUST BE LEGALLY RECOGNIZED.
D. JRG MUST PUBLICLY COMMIT ITSELF TO DETERMINE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06436 072323Z

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTS OF CORRUPTION OR FOR VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND PUNISH THEM ACCORDING TO LAW.
E. JRG MUST PUBLICLY RECOGNIZE INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION IN POSITION HE (LARA VELADO) WOULD FILL.

(NOTE: AVAILABLE INFORMATION DOES NOT YET DEFINITIVELY INDICATE EXTEPT TO WHICH LARA VELADO(S DEMANDS WERE MET.)

5. (U) POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WERE EITHER SUBJECT OF OR IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN TWO FULL-PAGE PRESS INSERTIONS ALSO APPEARING MORNING NOV 7. COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS CRITICIZED 60 DAYS LIMIT FOR CEI REPORT ON BASIS IT WOULD ALLOW TIME FOR DISAPPEARED PERSONS STILL ALIVE TO BE KILLED AND FOR GUILTY TO LEAVE COUNTRY. IT FURTHER DEMANDED THAT JRG PUBLISH NAMES OF CHIEFS OF SECURITY FORCES WHO WERE IN COMMAND AT TIMES EACH OF 300 LISTED PERSONS "DISAPPEARED", AND THAT NAMES BE PUBLISHED OF MILITARY CHIEFS RESPONSIBLE FOR "MASSACRES" INCLUDING THOSE OF OCTOBER 16, 19, 22, AND 31 UNDER PRESENT GOVERNMENT.ANOTHER INTERESTING FEATURE OF INSERTION WAS CALL BY MOTHERS, IF JRG FAILED TO MEET DEMANDS, FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF "POPULAR TRIBUNALS" WITH PARTICIPATION

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS, FAMILIES OF VICTIMS OF REPRESSION, SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, ARCHBISHOP OF SAN SALVADOR, AND "HONEST" LAW PROFESSIONALS.

6. (U) WIDE-RANGING SUTC (CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION) PRESS INSERTION CARRIED POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS ISSUE STEP FURTHER THAN PREVIOUS NORM. IT DEMANDED RESTRUCTURING OF SECURITY FORCES BECAUSE CHIEFS AT MEDIUM AND LOW LEVELS ARE STILL THOSE [redacted]

RESPONSIBLE FOR REPRESSION, DISAPPEARANCES, AND TORTURE. WHILE HIGH GOVERNMENT LEVELS ARE MAKING PROMISES, AT LOWER LEVELS THERE STILL EXISTS MENTAL TENDENCY TOWARD REPRESSION OF PEOPLE, RESULTING IN "REPRESSIVE ACTS" OF RECENT DAYS, WHICH SUTC CONDEMNS.

7. (C) COMMENT: POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS ISSUE APPEARS DESTINED TO HAUNT JRG NO MATTER WHAT ACTION IT TAKES. NOT ONLY CAN IT NOT ESCAPE PAST, BUT IS BEING HELD STRICTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR INCIDENTS SINCE OCTOBER 15. EVEN WITH PROMPT DRAMATIC ACTION IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER JRG COULD HAVE DIFFUSED ISSUE, BUT DELAYS HAVE VIRTUALLY GUARANTEED ESCALATION OF DEMANDS AS EVIDENCED BY MOTHERS' AND SUTC DECLARATIONS. SUTC DEMAND IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTING AS IT INDICATES EVALUATION BY STRONGEST AND MOST ASTUTE LABOR LEADER OF COUNTRY, FELIPE ZALDIVAR, AS TO WHERE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IN ISSUE LIES.

8. (LOU) ON MORE POSITIVE SIDE, DECISION BY ROBERTO LARA VELADO TO ACDEPT JRG INVITATION TO SERVE AS ONE OF THREE MEMBERS OF THE CEI SHOULD STRENGTHEN PUBLIC CREDIBILITY OF INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS AS LARA VELADO HAS BEEN CONSISTENT CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR WITH BROAD CONNECTIONS THROUGHOUT POLITICAL SPECTRUM INCLUDING POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS ON THE EXTREME LEFT.
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AZ 122

FROM: AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

12065:
E.O. ~~11652~~
TAGS: SHUM AR PINS
SUBJECT: (U) A DISAPPEARANCE EXPLAINED

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO: USCINCSO QUARRY HTS
[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9163

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CHRON

1. (U) THE ARGENTINE ARMY'S FIRST CORPS ANNOUNCED ON OCTOBER 10 THAT VICTOR RUBEN PORTER, WHOSE DISAPPEARANCE WAS REPORTED LAST WEEK (BUENOS AIRES 9069) IS UNDER DETENTION AND CHARGED WITH BEING A MEMBER OF THE MONTONEROS. THE ARMY ANNOUNCEMENT SAID THAT RUBEN PORTER WAS INCRIMINATED BY DOCUMENTS BELONGING TO A TERRORIST KNOWN ONLY AS "CARMEN" WHO KILLED HERSELF IN LATE OCTOBER RATHER THAN BE CAPTURED ("CARMEN'S" SUICIDE WAS ANNOUNCED AT THE TIME BY THE MILITARY). ACCORDING TO THE ARMY STATEMENT, RUBEN PORTER WAS INVOLVED IN "COMMUNICATIONS" FOR THE MONTONEROS. HE WILL BE HELD AND TRIED BY A MILITARY COURT.

2. [redacted] COMMENT: A HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCE WHO WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE EFFORT TO FIND RUBEN PORTER TOLD US THAT ARMY SECRETARY GENERAL BIGNONE AGAIN REPEATED

U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:TBFRIEDMAN:JK	11/6/79	277	A/POLCOUNS:AGFREEMAN

CLEARANCES:
DCM:MCHAPLIN

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

50153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

81F184
42/48

YESTERDAY THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MORE DISAPPEARANCES, SUGGESTING THAT ACCUSED TERRORISTS WOULD WIND UP IN MILITARY COURTS. BIGNONE ADDED THAT THE OFFICIAL CUT OFF DATE FOR DISAPPEARANCES WAS SEPTEMBER 12 THE DAY ON WHICH THE CONTROVERSIAL LAW ON PRESUMPTIVE DEATHS WAS OFFICIALLY PUBLISHED. WHILE WE KNOW OF ONE UNEXPLAINED DISAPPEARANCE SINCE SEPTEMBER 12, THE ARMY ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THEY HAVE PORTER IN JAIL IS DISTINCT FROM GENERAL PAST PRACTICE AND HOPEFULLY WILL BE A PRECEDENT.

3. [redacted] THE ARMY DID NOT, WE NOTE, ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT RUBEN PORTER'S EMPLOYMENT IN THE HERALD PRINTING PLANT. RATHER, THE ANNOUNCEMENT STATED PORTER WAS USING THE JOB AS "COVER", IMPLYING THAT THE HERALD WAS INNOCENTLY VICTIMIZED.

4. [redacted] WE HAVE NO WAY OF EVALUATING THE CHARGE THAT RUBEN PORTER IS A MONTONERO. RECENTLY, THOUGH, THE GOA'S RECORD ON SUCH CHARGES HAS BEEN REASONABLY ACCURATE. HIS FAMILY STATED TO US THAT HE WAS NOT INVOLVED IN POLITICS AS FAR AS THEY KNEW. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY ALSO SAY THAT MANY OF HIS FRIENDS IN ARGENTINA WERE POLITICALLY ACTIVE AND THAT WAS ONE REASON THEY SENT HIM TO MEXICO TO STUDY IN 1976. HE RETURNED TO ARGENTINA FROM MEXICO AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR.

CASTRO

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006435

ADP784

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06435 072306Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 MCT-02 HA-05
PC-01 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 OPR-02 A-02 SY-05
SYE-00 OC-06 CCO-00 /096 W
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O 072230Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8330
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6435

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC, ELAB, PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: SITREP NO 18 AS OF 1630 HOURS, 11/7/79

REF SAN SALVADOR 6387

1. DISSOLUTION OF ORDEN: ON NOVEMBER 6, REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) IN ITS DECREE NUMBER TWELVE FORMALLY DISSOLVED ORDEN, ORDERING THAT ALL STATE PROPERTY BELONGING TO IT BE PASSED ON TO OTHER STATE AGENICES AND ALSO PROHIBITED FUTURE USE OF ORDEN IDENTIFICATION CARDS. DISSOLUTION OF ORDEN WAS ONE OF FIRST OBJECTIVES SET FORTH IN PROCLAMATION OF MILITARY OFFICERS WHO CARRIED

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06435 072306Z

OUT OCTOBER 15 COUP.

2. FOURTEEN FIRMS GO ON ONE-DAY WORK STOPPAGE: UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH JOSE ILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE (CCS), CONTROLLED BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR), STAGED ONE-DAY WORK STOPPAGE ON NOVEMBER 6 AT FOURTEEN PLANTS AS MEASURE OF SUPPORT FOR BPR DEMANDS THEN BEING NEGOTIATED WITH JRG. CCS ALSO DEMANDED 100 PER CENT INCREASE IN

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

SALARIES FOR ALL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYEES AND U.S. $2.80 DAILY WGE FOR SEASONAL HARVEST WORKERS.

3. OTHER REPORTED DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDE:
A. IN ACTION ATTRIBUTED TO EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL, ANDRES MERINO FLORES, EX-JUSTICE OF PEACE, WAS ASSASSINATED NEAR SAN LORENZO WHILE SON WAS WOUNDED.
B. ON NOVEMBER 5, IN ACTION ATTRIBUTED TO BPR ELEMENTS, PERSONS SET FIRE TO CROP-DUSTING PLANES, TRACTORS, AND OTHER EQUIPMENT AT TWO HACIENDAS NEAR ZACATECOLUCA.
C. AT MID-DAY NOV 6, FPL TOOK OVER TWO SAN SALVADOR RADIO STATIONS.

4. COMMENT: MANY OF PLANTS INVOLVED IN WORK STOPPAGE CARRIED OUT BY CCS WERE ONES (LA CONSTANCIA-LA TROPICAL, U.S.-OWNED EAGLE INTERNATIONAL, AINCO, TRIPODRAFICA CENTRAL) TAKEN OVER IN PAST BY CCS WITH HOLDING OF HOSTAGES.
HOWARD

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79STATE 291354

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PAGE 01 STATE 291354
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO 0000

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LIMDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT SAN SALVADOR 6376 ACTION STATE INFO CARACAS GUATEMALA MANAGUA MEXICO PANAMA SAN JOSE TEGUCIGALPA USCINCSO QUARY HEIGHTS PN DIA NOV 6

QUOTE S E C R E T SAN SALVADOR 6376

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/6/85
TAGS: PGOV PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: (U) ANALYSIS OF SALVADORAN SITUATION

REF: STATE 284820

1. [redacted]

2. INTRODUCTION -- AFTER THREE WEEKS IN POWER, THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) HAS ONLY NOW BEGUN TO GET ITS ACT TOGETHER AND DEFINE A POLICY AND PROGRAM WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL ENABLE IT TO WITHSTAND THE AGGRESSIVE ATTACKS MOUNTED BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND THE LESS APPARENT BUT ALWAYS LATENT THREAT OF A RIGHTIST
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PAGE 02 STATE 291354

COUNTERCOUP. EMBASSY HAS, OF COURSE, ALREADY REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON COUP AND MANY OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED REFTEL, BUT THIS REPORT IS DESIGNED TO SUMMARIZE AND FURTHER ANALYZE FLUID POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

3. AS REFTEL INDICATES, THE INITIAL DAYS OF THE JUNTA WERE MARKED BY CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF CONFUSION AND LACK OF DEFINITION ARISING FROM THE PURELY MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE COUP. THE NEED TO SEEK MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION FROM A BROAD RANGE OF

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POLITICAL SECTORS, THE HETEROGENEOUS AND COLLEGIATE CHARACTER OF A FIVE-MAN GOVERNMENT SPLIT BETWEEN MILITARY INSTIGATORS OF THE COUP AND CIVILIANS HASTILY RECRUITED TO REPRESENT DIFFERENT SECTORS AND THE LABORIOUS AND POLITICALLY COMPLICTED PROCESS OF CONSULTATION REQUIRED TO FORM A NEW CABINET. LACKING BOTH POLITICAL COHERENCE, EXPERIENCE AND CLEAR LINES OF LEADERSHIP, FACED WITH AN IMMEDIATE AND VIOLENT CHALLENGE BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND CONFLICTING POLITICAL INTERESTS AND PRESSURES, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE JUNTA SEEMED TO BE DRIFTING AND ON THE DEFENSIVE DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS.

4. NOW THAT THE JRG HAS BEEN FORMED AND THE ARDUOUS PROCESS OF CABINET SELECTION COMPLETED, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN TO ARTICULATE PUBLICLY THE BROAD OUTLINE OF ITS POLICY AND PROGRAMS. THE FIRST COHERENT PUBLIC PRESENTATION IN THIS RESPECT WAS THE JRG HOUR-LONG TV APPEARANCE ON NOV 1 (SEE SAN SALVADOR 6353) WHICH REPRESENTED AN OVERDUE BUT ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP TO HOLD AND EXPAND THE PUBLIC SUPPORT ENGENDERED BY THE COUP. WHILE EARLY AND EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-UP WILL BE REQUIRED TO BUILD AND SUSTAIN MOMENTUM, THE JRG HAS AT LEAST BEGUN TO FUNCTION AS A GOVERNMENT AND TO DEFINE ITS POLICY AND PROGRAM.

5. THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) -- MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE WEAKNESSES OF THE JUNTA, PARTICULARLY ITS HET-

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PAGE 03 STATE 291354

EROGENEOUS AND CUMBERSOME COMPOSITION OF TWO MILITARY AND THREE CIVILIAN MEMBERS, SLOWNESS IN GETTING ORGANIZED, AND ITS PERCEIVED INACTION. WHILE THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR CRITICISM, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF THE JUNTA'S STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITY, MUCH OF THIS IS THE UNAVOIDABLE PRODUCT OF THE JUNTA'S ORIGINS, THE NEED FOR MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND THE AMOUNG OF TIME REQUIRED FOR AN AD HOC SELECTION OF FIVE MEN TO STRUCTURE AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY COPING WITH AN AGGRESSIVE AND UNRELENTING ATTACK FROM THE LEFT.

6. JUNTA HETEROGENEOUS COMPOSITION IS BOTH A LIABILITY AND AN ASSET BUT THUS FAR THE FIVE MEMBERS REPRESENTING DIFFERENT GROUPS AND INTERESTS SEEM TO BE WORKING TOGETHER IN REMARKABLE HARMONY. THE TWO MILITARY LEADERS -- GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO -- ARE NEW FIGURES, UNACCUSTOMED TO THE POLITICAL WARS IN EL SALVADOR BUT THEY SEEM SINCERELY INTERESTED IN RESTORING THE WELFARE OF BOTH THE ARMED FORCES AND THE COUNTRY, ARE HIGHLY RECEPTIVE TO ADVICE AND DESPITE THEIR CONTROL OF THE IMMEDIATE LEVERS OF POWER, SEEM TO WORK WELL WITH CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA. GUILLERMO UNGO, WHO REPRESENTS THE 14 GROUPS OF THE POPULAR FORUM, IS GHE MOST POLITICALLY EXPERIENCED MEMBER OF THE JUNTA, BASICALLY A MODERATE AND A GOOD PERSONAL FRIEND OF JUNTA MEMBER ROMAN MAYORGA. HE MUST TRY TO ACCOMMODATE THE BROAD AND IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WITH JUNTA POLICY SO AS TO KEEP THE BROADEST POSSIBLE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE JRG. SO FAR HE HAS MANEUVERED THROUGH

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THIS DIFFICULT MINE FIELD RATHER WELL, ALTHOUGH THE DIVERSE INTEREST GROUPS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WILL PROVE VERY DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE IN THE LONG TERM. ROMAN MAYORGA REPRESENTS THE THINKING OF THE ACADEMIC, TECHNOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR. INEXPERIENCED POLITICALLY, BUT A MAN OF GREAT INTEGRITY AND DEDICATION, HE IS AN IMPORTANT INDIRECT LINK TO AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMERO WING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALLY CONCERNED PROFESSIONALS. CRITICISM OF HIS ACADEMIC BENT AND THUS FAR ALLEGEDLY INDECISIVE

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PAGE 04 STATE 291354

APPROACH TO CONCRETE ISSUES MAY OR MAY NOT BE JUSTIFIED BUT HE HAS THE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY TO GROW AND MATURE IN THE JOB. MARIO ANTONIO ANDINO APPEARS TO BE AN EXCELLENT CHOICE TO BRING PRACTICAL EXPERIENCEAND BALANCE TO THE JUNTA WHILE EFFECTIVELY REPRESENTING THE MORE PROGRESSIVE OR CHANGE-ORIENTED MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. A QUIET MAN, HE HAS REPORTEDLY SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE DECISIVE, ARTICULATE AND AN EFFECTIVE FOIL TO THE MORE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF SOME JUNTA MEMBERS.

7. IN SUM, THE JUNTA, WHILE CUMBERSOME, IS A DIVERSE BUT SEEMINGLY BALANCED COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS WHO SO FAR ARE WORKING MORE EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER THAN SOME HAVE ANTICIPATED. LAST WEEK THEY REPORTEDLY DIVIDED UP THEIR RESPECTIVE AREAS OF CABINET RESPONSIBILITY AND BEGAN TO FURTHER DEFINE A PROGRAM.

8. RELATIONS BETWEEN JRG AND VARIOUS SECTORS OF SOCIETY -- LIKE EVERYTHING IN THE POST-COUP CONFUSION, THE JRG RELATIONSHIP TO PRINCIPAL SECTORS OF THE SOCIETY IS STILL IN FLUX AND EVOLUTION BUT CERTAIN TENTATIVE COMMENTS CAN BE MADE.

9. MILITARY -- THE JUNIOR OFFICER CORPS (LIEUTENANTS THROUGH MAJORS), WHO ORGANIZED THE 15 OCTOBER 1979 COUP, NAMED COLONELS GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE GOVERNING JUNTA. THE COUP OBJECTIVES OF THE JUNIOR OFFICERS WERE: (1) TO PUT THE GOVERNMENT BACK ON STEADY FOOTING AND GET IT HEADED TOWARD DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, WITH ULTIMATE OGJECTIVE OF TURNING OVER EXECUTIVE POWER TO AN ELECTED CIVILIAN PRESIDENT, (2) TO ELIMINATE CORRUPTION IN THE ARMED/SECURITY FORCES AND (3) TO AVOID THE FATE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD IN NICARAGUA. THESE SAME YOUNG OFFICERS HAVE FORMED A "COMMITTEE" (ONE OFFICER FROM EACH MAJOR CUARTEL - APPROXIMATELY TWENTY IN TOTAL)

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PAGE 05 STATE 291354

WHICH SERVES AS AN OVERSIGHT GROUP TO INSURE THE JUNTA'S DIRECTION REMAINS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR STATED OBJECTIVES. MEMBERS CLAIM -- PERHAPS WITH SOME EXAGGERATION -- THAT THEY HAVE TOPPLED ONE CORRUPT GOVERNMENT AND COULD REPLACE

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THE ENTIRE JUNTA OR ANY MEMBER WHO IS EITHER INEFFECTIVE OR STRAYS FROM THE ESTABLISHED SHORT-TERM GOALS. THE COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY DOES NOT INVOLVE ITSELF IN DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES OF THE JUNTA BUT RATHER IN A BROADER SENSE HOLDS A DEGREE OF POWER OVER THE DIRECTION OF THE JRG.

10. IN A ROUGH DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE JUNTA, COL. MAJANO HAS EMERGED AS SOMEWHAT OF THE SPOKESMAN OR PUBLIC RELATIONS FIGURE FOR THE GROUP, AND -- PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANTLY -- THE LIAISON WITH THE YOUNGER MILITARY AND THE GARRISONS. COL. GUTIERREZ, PRESUMABLY THE STRONGEST FIGURE IN THE JUNTA, HAS TAKEN ON HIMSELF LIAISON WITHIN THE JUNTA, THE QUESTION OF APPOINTMENTS, AND PROBABLY THE MOST SENSITIVE ISSUE FACING THE JRG, THAT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WITHIN THE JUNTA, MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONSHIPS THUS FAR APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN HARMONIOUS, WITH NEITHER GROUP ATTEMPTING TO GAIN ASCENDANCY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

11. THE GREATEST DANGER TO THE MILITARY IS THE LOSS OF DISCIPLINE THROUGH THE RUPTURE IN A FUNCTIONING CHAIN OF COMMAND BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DISCARDING OF SOME FIFTY SENIOR OFFICERS AND MASSIVE PERSONNEL SHIFTS. A MAJOR CONCERN OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS IS THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THAT CHAIN OF COMMAND TO CONTROL THE JUNIOR OFFICERS. THE YOUNGER OFFICERS APPEAR CAPABLE OF MANAGING THE MILITARY UNITS, BUT HAVE EXPERIENCED SOME DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING THE SECURITY FORCES WHO ENVISION THEMSELVES AS THE PAWNS IN THE POLITICAL PRISONER/DISAPPEARED PERSONS GAMBIT.

12. CHURCH -- RELATIONS WITH THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH ARE [redacted]

GOOD BUT DELICATE ON BOTH SIDES. MAYORGA IS CONSIDERED (WITH MUCH JUSTIFICATION) TO REPRESENT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND JESUIT INTERESTS CLOSELY TIED TO ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. THE ARCHBISHOP, HOWEVER, WHILE CLEARLY SUPPORTING THE JUNTA, WISHES TO AVOID CHARGES OF OVERT POLITICAL ACTIVISM/INDENTIFICATION AND TO MAINTAIN HIS POPULAR PRESTIGE AND CREDIBILITY SO AS TO DRAW SUPPORT FROM THE EXTREME LEFT. HENCE, HE MUST ADOPT A HELPFUL BUT NOT UNCRITICAL PUBLIC POSTURE TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHICH PRESERVES HIS POPULAR INFLUENCE. TO DATE HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA. IF AND WHEN THE SECURITY FORCES USE EXCESSIVE FORCE AGAINST EVEN THE FAR LEFT, HOWEVER, ROMERO FEELSCOMPELLED BOTH MORALLY ANDPRACTICALLY TO TAKE A CRITICAL STANCE. SIMILARLY, HE MUST AND DOES PRESS THE JRG PUBLICLY ON HIGHLY EMOTIONAL ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHILE PRIVATELY RECOGNIZING THAT NEW MILITARY LEADERS WHO ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST SINS HAVE A NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE JOB OF INVESTIGATING AND PUNISHING THE GUILTY WITHOUT RIPPING APART THE FABRIC OF MILITARY UNITY. AS LONG AS THE JRG AND

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THE MILITARY SINCERELY TRY TO DEVELOP A NEW APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH WILL PROVIDE IMPORTANT, IF NOT UNCRITICAL, SUPPORT AND ALL THE INTELLECTUAL RESOURCES OF THE IMPORTANT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY-JESUIT COMMUNITY WILL BE AVAILABLE TO THE JUNTA.

13. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- EMBASSY HAS REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON RELATIONS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) TO THE JUNTA AND WILL ONLY SUMMARIZE THE HIGHLIGHTS. INITIALLY AMBIVALENT TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN JRG, PDC SUBSEQUENTLY TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET MEMBER APPOINTED TO JUNTA ITSELF AND AGREED TO SETTLE FOR CABINET AND SUB-SECRETARY POSITIONS. WHILE WISHING POTENTIAL POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE OF INDEPENDENT POSITION, PDC'S FUTURE IS CLOSELY TIED TO JUNTA'S SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS IN WAY WHICH ENSURES PARTY BACKING FOR NEW

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GOVERNMENT. INDEED, PDC'S CURRENT FRUSTRATION THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE GREATER DIRECT ROLE IN FORMULATING JUNTA'S POLITICAL STRATEGY DERIVES FROM ITS IMPOSSIBLE DESIRE TO HAVE IT BOTH WAYS, I.E., THE ELCTORAL BENEFITS OF INDEPENDENCE VERSUS THE MORE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BENEFIS OF SHAPING JRG POLICY IN A WAY MOST CALCULATED TO ENSURE ITS SURVIVAL. IN ESSENCE, HOWEVER, THE PDC HAS AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING THE JUNTA WHILE SEEKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DERIVE MAXIMUM POLITICAL BENEFIT FROM ITS STILL AMBIVALENT POSITION. SINCE PDC DOES LOOM AT LEAST INITIALLY AS STRONGEST SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY, ITS POSITION AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE JRG WILL REMAIN IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THE POLITICAL QUESTION.

14. PRIVATE SECTOR RELATIONS WITH THE JRG ARE ALSO COMPLICATED. INFLUX AND COVERED IN PREVIOUS EMBASSY REPORTING. IN SUMMARY, #923;34, PROGRESSIVE BUSINESSMEN AND GROUPS -- WHO ARE AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FORCE -- SUPPORT THE JRG AND JUNTA LEADER MARIO ANDINO. WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY APPOINTED A MIXED COMMISSION TO WORK WITH AND SUPPORT ANDINO. CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS INTERESTS -- TRADITIONALLY VOCAL THROUGH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (ANEP) -- HAVE TAKEN A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE AND ARE LESS HOSTILE TO THE JUNTA THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, NERVOUS ABOUT THE PROMISE OF JRG REFORMS AD WILL SEEK TO BLUNT OR MODERATE ANY FAR-REACHING JUNTA PROGRAMS WHILE RELUCTANTLY ACCOMMODATING OTHERS. THE MOST CONSERVATIVE AND POLITICALLY ACTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WHO WERE THE POWER BEHIND THE RECENTLY DEPOSED LEADERSHIP OF ANEP, ARE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY DISCREDITED, INTERESTED IN PLOTTING BUT SEEMINGLY FRUSTRATED, AND TENDING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY TO AVOID REPRISALS. IN THIS CONTEXT PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS OF COUP PLOTTING, THE KIDNAPPING OF JAIME HILL (COUSIN OF REACTIONARY AGRICULTURALIST, BANKER ROBERTO HILL AND A CLOSE FRIEND OF EX-PRESIDENT ROMERO), THE REMOVAL OF QUESTIONABLE MILITARY OFFICERS FROM ACTIVE DUTY AND THE DEPARTURE OF FORMER ANPE LEADERS

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MAY TEMPORARILY DEFUSE A RIGHIST COUNTERCOUP. IN THE LONGER RUN,

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RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE JRG WILL BE SHAPED BY (A) THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE JRG'S REFORM PROGRAM AND (B) THE SHIFTING AND STILL UNCLEAR BALANCE BETWEEN SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVE/ MODERATES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE MORE TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIEVE OR REACTIONARY GROUPS.

15. LABOR -- REACTION OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED FEDERAL OF UNIONS OF CONSTRU TION AND TRANSPORTATION WORKERS (FESINCONSTRAINS), AND OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST RURAL CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION, THE UNION COMUNAL SALVADORENA (UCS), TO THE JRG HAS GENERALLY BEEN FAVORABLE, WITH BOTH CITING THE JRG'S WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT THEM ON IMPORTANT CABINET APPOINTMENTS AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS (SAN SALVADOR 5983, 6087, 6143, 5992, 6191). REACTION FROM CONSERVATIVE SECTOR OF LABOR MOVEMENT -- AS REPRESENTED BY DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN UNIONS-CGS (EL SALVADOR'S THIRD-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION) -- HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY LESS ENTHUSIASTIC, PROBABLY DUE TO CGS'S CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH PREVIOUS ROMERO GOVERNMENT. EL SALVADOR'S SECOND-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, THE PREDOMINANTLY COMMUNIST UNITED CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (CUTS) IS A MEMBER OF POPULAR FORUM AND AS SUCH HAS GIVEN SUPPORT TO JRG. HOWEVER, ITS LARGEST COMPONENT, THE NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (FENASTRANS) -- WHICH HAS TIES TO LEFTIST UNIONED POPULAR ACTION FRONT (FAPU) -- RECNTLY ANNOUNCED ITS WITHDRAWAAL FROM THE POPULAR FORUM, DENOUNCING WHAT IT SAID WERE SOME OF JRG'S "REPRESSIVE" ACTIONS. ON THE EXTREME LEFT OF LABOR SPECTRUM, EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST TEACHERS ORGANIZATION, A"ANDES 21 DE JUNIO" AND THE JOSE GUILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE- CS (LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRE-COUP PERIOD WAVE OF PLANT TAKEOVERS) HAVE BOTH COME OUT AGAINST JRG. HOWEVER, ANDES IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. BOTH

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ANDES AND CCS ARE CONTROLLED BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR). IN SUM, JRG IS DRAWING SUPPORT FROM MODERATE AND CENTRIST SECOTRS OF ORGANIZED LABOR WHILE LABOR GROUPS ASSOCIATED WITH EXTREME LEFTIST SPECTRUM OF SALVADORAN LABOR MOVEMENT GAVE GONE INTO OPEN OPPOSITION.

16. MEDIA -- THE ESTABLISHED SALVADORAN MEDIA, WWHICH IS VERY CONSERVATIVE BY LATIN AMERICAN STANDARDS (ITS COMPLAINTS WERE DIRECTED AT WEAK GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP IN CRACKING DOWN ON "LEFT", INTERFERENCE

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WITH UNFETTERED FREE ENTERPRISE AND EXCESSIVE CONCERN ABOUT US HUMAN RIGHTS' POLICY) WAS CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP. IT IS NOW FOLLOWING CAREFUL AND OSTENSIBLY NEUTRAL POLITICAL LINE TOWARD JRG WITH CONTINUING ATTACKS OB LEFT. ESTABLISHED PRESS INTERESTS WILL TRY AND SURVIVE BY ADOPTING TO THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT OVERTLY ATTACKING JUNTA, AS LONG AS ITS POWER IS INTACT, CONSERVATIVE MEDIA WILL PROBABLY INVOKE FREEDOM OF PRESS TO SLOW OR BLOCK ANY JRG REFORM EFFORTS AIMED AT REAL STRUCTURAL CHANGE. THE CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER "ORIENTATION" WILL FOLLOW THE LINE OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND OPENLY CRITICAL AND AND OPINIONATED LEFTIST DAILY "LA CRONICA" WILL CONTINUE TO WEAVE BETWEEN THE RADICAL AND ORTHODOX LEFT, CRITICIZING ANY JUNTA ACTIONS DEEMED
REPRESSIVE OR DIRECTED AGAINST PUBLIC. RADIO WILL REMAIN A VERY INFLUENTIAL MEDIA WHICH IS FAR MORE OPEN THAN PRESS OR TV TOWARDS POLITICAL PLURALISM. EVENTUALLY, MORE PROGRESSIVE AND MODERATE MEDIA INTERESTS MAY EMERGE IN SUPPORT OF THE JUNTA BUT THE PREPONDERANT QUALITY AND ORIENTATION OF THE MEDIA IS AT PRESENT LOW AND GENERALLY CONSERVATIVE. EVEN BEFORE THE COUP, HOWEVER, THE MEDIA WAS SHOWING SIGNS OF OPENING UP TO THE OPPOSITION, AND THAT TREND HAS SINCE ACCTOTY PG.

17. CHALLENGE FROM RIGHT AND LEFT -- THE EXTREME LEFT AND RIGHT WERE CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP AND HAVE BEEN FORCED TO REVISE THEIR RESPECTIVE STRATEGIES. THE RIGHT, IN CONJUNCTION [redacted]

PAGE 10 STATE 291354

WITH THE ROMERO REGIME, HAD REPORTEDLY BEEN PLANNING A MASSIVE CRACKDOWN AFTER THE OAS CONSIDERED THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON EL SALVADOR AND THE COUNTRY. HOPEFULLY AVERTED CONDEMNATION. WHEN REPORTS OF THE COUP PLOT BY YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS REACHED PRESIDENT ROMERO, THERE WAS APPARENTLY A FUTILE EFFORT TO ORGANIZAE A COUNTERCOUP AND THEN A TENSE PERIOD OF NEGOTION ON OCT 15 BETWEEN ROMERO LOYALISTS IN THE ARMED FORCES AND THE GOLISTAS. DETAILS OF WHAT WAS AGREED ARE NOT KNOW BUT CLEARLY ROMERO'S INNTER CIRCLE COMPOSED OF SOME MILITARY OFFICERS AND PRESUMABLY SOME CABINET MINISTERS, WERE GUARANTEED SAFE PASSAGE OUT OF THE COUNTRY. IN ADDITION, THE COUP ORGANIZERS MAY HAVE GIVEN SOME ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST OTHER FIGURES IN THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT WHO CHOSE TO REMAIN. IN ANY EVENT, WHATEVER AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ENABLED ROMERO AND COMPNY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY PEACEFULLY AND AVOIDED AN INTERNAL CONFRONTATION IN THE ARMED FORCES WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN DISASTEROUS.

18. FOLLOWING THE COUP THE MOST IMMEDIATE THREAT FROM THE RIGHT APPEARS TO STEM FROM A POTENTIAL COMBINATION OF TWO GROUPS: A REACTIONARY ELEMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHICH WAS ENGAGED INRIGHTIST TERRORISM UNDER ROMERO AND DISGRUNTLED SEGMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO WERE DISPLACED BY THE COU BUT DO NOT SUPPORT THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP OR THE OBJECTIVES AND ORIENTATION OF THE JRG. DESPITE STRONG INITIAL CONCERN

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THAT THESE TWO GROUPS MIGHT UNITE IN A COUNTERCOUP. THE IMMEDIATE THREAT MAY BE RECEDING SOMEWHAT AS PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF A WOULD-BE COUNTERCOUP SURFACES. EXTREMISTS OF THE RIGHT EXIT THE COUNTRY, THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP ACTS TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER WOULD-BE COUP PLOTTERS AMONG DISPLACED OR INITIALLY DISAFFECTED MILITARY OFFICERS. THE JUNTA MOVEMENT TO DEFINE A POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR SEEKING BROADER SUPPORT AND ITS DESIRE TO DEVELOP BETTER ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS FOR COPING WITH THE VIOLENT

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PAGE 11 STATE 291354

CHALLENGE ON THE EXTREME LEFT SHOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE JUNTA AND NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP CAN GET THEIR ACT IN ORDER

IT WILL HELP UNDERCUT THE IMMEDIATE MACHINATION OF THE FAR RIGHT. ANOTHER AND PROBABLY MORE SERIOUS THREAT FROM THIS QUARTER MAY ARISE LATER IF AND WHEN THE JUNTA DECIDES TO LAUNCH A MEANINGFUL REFORM PROGRAM WHICH WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE TRADITIONALLY DOMINANT AND CONSERVATIVE INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR.

19. THE TIMETABLE AND STRATEGY OF GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT WERE ALSO JOLTED BY THE MILITARY COUP. AFTER INITIAL CONFUSION;AND SOME INTERNAL DIVISIONS, HOWEVER, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE SOMEWHAT RECOVERED. WHETHER SEPARATELY OR IN CONCERT, THREE CLANDESTINE GROUPS AND THEIR POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS HE APARENTLY DECLARED WAR ON THE JUNTA AND ARE ENGAGED IN AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN OF MASS DEMONSTRATIONS, SELECTIVE TERRORISM, POLITICALLY PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS AND EVEN LOW-LEVEL GUERRILLA ATTACKS TO KEEP THE JUNTA OFF-GUARD AND ON THE DEFENSIVE. A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE AT THIS STAGE IS TO PROVOKE THE JUNTA INTO A REACTIVE AND REPRESSIVE POSTURE; ONE CALCULATED TO GENERATE MORE MARTYRS, TARNISH THE DEMOCRATIC IMAGE OTLOHE JUNTA, PROMOTE POLARIZATION AND RECAPTURE POPULAR SUPPORT WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE FLOW TO MODERATE GROUPS LIKE THE PDC. INITIALLY, AT LEAST THIS AGGRESSIVE TACTIC HAS BEEN A PARTIAL SUCCESS. IT HAS SLOWED JU TA PLANNING (THE BPR'S OCCUPATION OF MINISTRIES AND SEUZIRE OF LEADING CABINET MEMBERS AS HOSTAGE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY DAMAGING) AND PROVOKED OCCASIONAL OVER-REACTION BY SECURITY FORCES AND NEW MARTYRS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAS QLEARLY REVEALED THE VIOLENT AND EXTREMIST GOALS AND METHODS OF THE FAR LEFT IN A WAY WHICH IF ACTIVELY AND INTELLIGENTLY COUNTERED

BY THE JUNTA AND THE ARMED FORCES COULD DISCREDIT AND UNDERMINE POPULAR SYMPATHY FOR THE EXTREMIST CAUSE.

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PAGE 12 STATE 291354

20. IN GENERAL TERMS THE JRG HAS TRIED TO REACT IN A RESTRAINED

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AND POLITICAL WAY TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE LEFT EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION TO THE NATION'S PROBLEMS AND UNMASKINGLTHE DEMOGOGIC DEMANDS OF HE FAR LEFT. THUS FAR THE JUNTA'S BASICALLY SOUND POSTURE HAS BEEN WEAKENED BY A VARIETY OF FACTORS: INADEQUATE ORGANIZATION OF JRG'S PUBLIC RELATIONS AND INFORMATION EFFORTS THE DIFFICULTY OF RETRAINING AND RESTRAINING A MILITARY FORCE ACCUSTOMED AND EQUIPPED TO USING VIOLENCE TO CONTROL VIOLENCE, POOR OR ALMOST NON-EXISTENT INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY, SELF-CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE NEED TO SAFEGUARD THE LIVES OF MINISTRIAL HOSTAGES HELD BY THE BPR.

20.A. TWO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE DEDEVILED THE JUNTA'S EFFORTS TO BUILD POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT BY TAKING AWAY ITS POLITICAL BANNERS ARE (A) THE NEARLY INSOLVABLE PROBLEM OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS/POLITICAL PRISONERS AND (B) THE DEMOGOGICAND IMPOSSIBLE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE FAR LEFT. REGARDING THE FIRST ISSUE, THE JUNTA HAS FINALLY ADMITTED IT CAN FIND NO PRISONERS BUT APPOINTED A COMMISSSION RESPONSIBLE FOR AN INVESTIGATION AND REPORT IN 60 DAYS. THE BASIC ISSUE SEEMS CLEAR. MOST, IF NOTALL, THE PRISONERS/ DISAPPEARED PERSONS ARE PROBABLY DEAD BUT THERE IS A QUESTION OF HOW FAR THE JUNTA CAN GO TOWARD FULLY REVEALING AND PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE WITHOUT THREATENINGLTHE FRAGILE UNITY OF THE ARMED FORCES

IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD. WHATEVER THE JUNTA DOES IN THIS AREA WILL NOT

SATISFY THE
FAR LEFT WHICH NEEDS THIS EMOTIONAL POLITICAL ISSUE. NEVERTHELESS, IT MAY HAVE TO GO MUCH FATHER THAN IT ORIGINALLY HOPED AND CONTINUES TO PLAN IN ORDER TO MAKE CREDIBLE ITS COMMITMENT TO FUTURE HUMAN RIGHTS REFORM AND SATISFY MODERATE POLITICAL GROUPS, THE CHURCH, AND PUBLIC OPINION IN GENERAL THAT THERE WILL BE CHANGE AND

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PAGE 13 STATE 291354

THAT PAST RESPONSIBILITY WILL NOT BE IGNORED.

21. ON THE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE LEFT, THE JUNTA MUST BEGIN TO ADOPT AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHICH WILL UNDERCUT, IF NOT SATIFY, POPULAR ASPIRATIONS. THIS IS NOT AN EASY STEP AFTER THREE TURBULENT WEEKS WHEN KEY ECONOMIC MINISTERS ARE BEING HELD AND THE COUNTRY IS UNDER LEFTIST ASSAULT, BUT

PLANNING IS UNDERWAY AND THE JUNTA HAS PROVIDED THE BROAD OUTLINES OF AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WITH MORE SPECIFIC MEASURES TO BE ANNOUNCED THIS WEEK.

22. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES DESCRIBED, DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST THE EXTREME LEFT IS LIKELY TO BTLBESS EFFECTIVE THAN INTELLIGENT

BUT FIRM RESTRAINT COUPLED WITH A COHERENT POLITICAL STRATEGY TO DISCREDIT THE EXTREME LEFT. BOTH ARE RECOGNIZED BY THE JRG AND IN THE PROCESS OF INITIAL ELABORATION BUT FACE

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TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES, PARTICULARLY IN THE SECURITY AREA WHERE TRADITIONAL RESPONSES AND POOR CAPABILITY CANNOT BE CHANGED OVERNGITH. THE CHURCH AND MODERATE POLITICAL SECTORS ARE PRIVATELY MORE UNDERSTANDING AND TOLERANT TO THE JRG PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA THAN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AIMED AT MAINTAINING POPULAR CREDIBILITY MIGHT SUGGEST.

23. IN THE MEDIUM AND LONGER TERM, THE JRG NEEDS TO REGAIN THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE, FURTHER ELABORATE ITS POSITION ON HOLDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND DEFIPE ITS ROLE AS A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PLEDGED TO REFORM OR AT LEAST TO LAY THE GROUND WORK FOR OVERDUE POLITICALAND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS. AT THIS EARLY POINT, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASSESS THE JRG ABILITY TO REACH THESE OBJECTIVES. WE DO KNOW THAT JUNTA MEMBERS RECOGNIZE AND ARE ACTIVELY WEIGHTING THESE ISSUES. THE DIVERSITY OF POLITICAL INTERESTS INVOLVED AND REFLECTED N THE JUNTA TENDSTO FORCE A SLOWER DECISION-MAKING PROCESS BASED ON CONSULTATION, BUT IF AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED BY THIS ROUTE, THE RESULTS MAY BE MORE

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PAGE 14 STATE 291354

ACCEPTABLE, ENDURING AND HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA'S STRUGGLE TO BUILD A MODERATE CONCENSUS WHICH WILL ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT.

24. FINALLY, THE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND ASSESSMENT REQUESTED (REFTEL) ARE COVERED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE ALONG WITH SOME POLICY QUESTIONS WHICH THEY RAISE FOR USG RESPONSE.

25. HOW CAN THE USG BEST HELP THE JRG? -- AT THIS DELICATE STAGE IN THE JUNTA'S LIFE, THE USG'S ROLE IS VERY IMPORTANT BUT REQUIRES POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING AND SENSITIVITY TO LOCAL REALITIES. AMBASSADOR DEVINE CAN BEST ADDRESS THE COMPLEX QUESTIONS ATTACHED TO THE USG'S POSTURE AND POLICY TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT DURING CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON. NEVERTHELESS, SEVERAL GENERAL OBSERVATIONS SEEM WORTH MENTIONING OR REITERATING AT THIS TIME:

A. US SECURITY AND ECONOIC ASSISTANCE MAY WEL PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT THE TIMING, AMOUNT AND ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY MUST DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE JUNTA'S POLITICAL JUDGMENT OF WHAT IS REQUIRED AND APPROPRIATE.

B. A CLOSE CONTINUOUS BUT DISCREET POLITICAL AND ECNOMIC DIALOGUE WITH THE JUNTA AND OTHER KEY OFFICIALS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, IS NECESSARY BUT REQUIRES CAREFUL DEVELOPMENT SO AS TO AVOID THE INTERNAL POLITICAL STIGMA OF EXCESSIVE PUBLIC ASSOCIATION.

C. IN ADDITION TO USG ASSISTANCE, IT WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE FOR US TO TAKE THE LEAD PRIVATELY ENCOURAGING OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO OFFE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT. BILATERAL US ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE MORE POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE JUNTA EITHER IN THE CONTEXT OF A MULTILATERAL EFFORT OR IF COMPLEMENTED

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BY BILATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM A VARIETY OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

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D. WE MUST ENCOURAGETHE JUNTA IN THEIR OWN EFFORTS TO DEVISE A SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM POLITICAL STRATEGY WHICH CAN BE PUBLICLY ARTICULATED IN A WAY THAT ISOLATES THE FAR LEFT. IN ADDITION TO REGULAR CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT, WE MUST CONTINUE TO URGE DIALOGUE AND CONSULTATION AMONG ALL MODERATE SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT IS NEEDED FOR THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL. WE MUST COOPERATE WHEREVER POSSIBLE IN ASSITING THE JUNTA TO COPE WITH CHALLENGES ON THE EXTREME LEFT OR RIGHT. THIS IMPLIES SOME SHARING OF APPROPRIATE INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER INFORMATION.

26. STRENGTHENING CONTACTS WITH THE JRG AND OTHER SECTORS -- AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, BOTH FROM STATE CABLES, [redacted], THE MISSION HAS HAD SUBSTANTIAL CONTACT BOTH FORMALLY AND INFORMALLY WITH MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA DURING ITS SHORT TENURE IN POWER. MORE CONTACT IS OF COURSE DESIRABLE AND WILL BE ACTIVELY PURSUED IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD, BUT THE NATURE AND FREQUENCY OF SUCH CONTACTS MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF POLICY, POLITICAL, AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ENGENDERED BY CERTAIN INTERNAL REALITIES IN EL SALVADOR. IN THE FIRST PLACE, CONSTRUCTIVE PUBLIC AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, PRIVATE CONTACT WITH THE JUNTA DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS WAS LIMITED BY THE INCIPENT JRG'S OWN ABSORPTION AND PREOCCUPATION WITH THE DIFFICULT CONSULTATIVE PROCESS OF (A) FORMING AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT, (B) DEFINING INTERNAL LINES OF AUTHORITY, (C) DEFINING THE BROAD OUTLINE OF A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY, AND (D) REACTING TO THE ALMOST IMMEDIATE ONSLAUGHT FROM THE FAR LEFT. CONTACTS WERE ESTABLISHED THROUGH A VARIETY OF CHANNELS, BUT TO HAVE BURDENED THE HARD-PRESSED JUNTA MEMBERS WITH REQUESTS FOR FURTHER MEETINGS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT -- AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE -- WAS THE NEED TO AVOID EXCESSIVE US PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION WITH A NEW GOVERNMENT. MODERATE BUT STILL POLITICALLY SHAKY IT IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A BROAD POLITIAL LBASE BY REACHING OUT TO AN IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL

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CONSTITUENCY, PART OF WHICH WOULD RESIST OR EVEN OPPOSE A CLOSE, OVERT YELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.

27. IN THIS CONTEXT, PUBLIC OFFERS OF US ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF RIOT CONTROL, WHILE PRIVATELY HEARTENING TO MOST MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA, ARE ALSO A POTENTIAL SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BUILD PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SUPPORT. TO GIVE ONLY ONE EXAMPLE, THE CHURCH FELT COMPELLED TO PUBLICLY

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NOTE AND OPPOSE REFERENCES TO POSSIBILITY OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHILE RADICAL GROUPS ON THE NON-EXTREMIST LEFT, WHICH THE JUNTA SEEKS TO ATTRACT, WILL BE WARY AND PUBLICLY CRITICAL OF ANY CLOSE JUNTA ASSOCITION WITH THE US. IN REALITY USG SUPPORT -- POLITICAL AS WELL AS MATERIAL -- IS LIKELY TO PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT IT MUST BE PROFERRED WITH CARE AND SOPHISTICATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT INTERNAL POLITICAL REALITIES AND SENSITIVITIES.

28. FINALLY, THE MISSION HAS DEVELOPED AND WILL CONTINUE TO CULTIVATE A WIDE RANGE OF POLITICAL GROUPS AND SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT CONTRIBUTES TO STABILITY AND WHICH CAN INFLUENCE THE JUNTA IN POSITIVE DIRECTIONS THAT WILL STRENGTHEN ITS PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL. INFORMALLY AND PRIVATELYQ WE HAVE LONG MOVED ACTIVELY ALONG THESE LINES. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS CLEAR FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE AT LEAST THAT OUR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE CATALYTIC AND SUPPORTIVE OF THE JUNTA MEMBERS WHO, KNOWING BEST THEIR OWN POLITICAL REALITY, CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY DEVISE A STRATEGY APPROPRIATE TO THE COMPLEX SITUATION HERE.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79STATE 291354

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FOLLOWING REPEAT SAN SALVADOR 6376 ACTION STATE INFO CARACAS GUATEMALA MANAGUA MEXICO PANAMA SAN JOSE TEGUCICALPA USCINCSO QUARY HEIGHTS PN DIA NOV 6

QUOTE [redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6376

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/6/85
TAGS: PGOV PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: (U) ANALYSIS OF SALVADORAN SITUATION

REF: STATE 284820

1. [redacted]ENTIRE TEXT)

2. INTRODUCTION -- AFTER THREE WEEKS IN POWER, THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) HAS ONLY NOW BEGUN TO GET ITS ACT TOGETHER AND DEFINE A POLICY AND PROGRAM WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL ENABLE IT TO WITHSTAND THE AGGRESSIVE ATTACKS MOUNTED BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND THE LESS APPARENT BUT ALWAYS LATENT THREAT OF A RIGHTIST [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 291354

COUNTERCOUP. EMBASSY HAS, OF COURSE, ALREADY REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON COUP AND MANY OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED REFTEL, BUT THIS REPORT IS DESIGNED TO SUMMARIZE AND FURTHER ANALYZE FLUID POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

3. AS REFTEL INDICATES, THE INITIAL DAYS OF THE JUNTA WERE MARKED BY CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF CONFUSION AND LACK OF DEFINITION ARISING FROM THE PURELY MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE COUP, THE NEED TO SEEK MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION FROM A BROAD RANGE OF

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Special Project (1993)

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POLITICAL SECTORS, THE HETEROGENEOUS AND COLLEGIATE CHARACTER OF A FIVE-MAN GOVERNMENT SPLIT BETWEEN MILITARY INSTIGATORS OF THE COUP AND CIVILIANS HASTILY RECRUITED TO REPRESENT DIFFERENT SECTORS AND THE LABORIOUS AND POLIICCALLY COMPLICTED PROCESS OF CONSULTATION REQUIRED TO FORM A NEW CABINET. LACKING BOTH POLITICAL COHERENCE, EXPERIENCE AND CLEAR LINES OF LEADERSHIP, FACED WITH AN IMMEDIATE AND VIOLENT CHALLENGE BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND CONFLICTING POLITICAL INTERESTS AND PRESSURES, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE JUNTA SEEMED TO BE DRIFTING AND ON THE DEFENSIVE DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS.

4. NOW THAT THE JRG HAS BEEN FORMED AND THE ARDUOUS PROCESS OF CABINET SELECTION COMPLETED, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN TO ARTICULATE PUBLICLY THE BROAD OUTLINE OF ITS POLICY AND PROGRAMS. THE FIRST COHERENT PUBLIC PRESENTATION IN THIS RESPECT WAS THE JRG HOUR-LONG TV APPEARANCE ON NOV 1 (SEE SAN SALVADOR 6353) WHICH REPRESENTED AN OVERDUE BUT ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP TO HOLD AND EXPAND THE PUBLIC SUPPORT ENGENDERED BY THE COUP. WHILE EARLY AND EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-UP WILL BE REQUIRED TO BUILD AND SUSTAIN MOMENTUM, THE JRG HAS AT LEAST BEGUN TO FUNCTION AS A GOVERNMENT AND TO DEFINE ITS POLICY AND PROGRAM.

5. THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) -- MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE WEAKNESSES OF THE JUNTA, PARTICULARLY ITS HET-

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EROGENEOUS AND CUMBERSOME COMPOSITION OF TWO MILITARY AND THREE CIVILIAN MEMBERS, SLOWNESS IN GETTING ORGANIZED, AND ITS PERCEIVED INACTION. WHILE THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR CRITICISM, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF THE JUNTA'S STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITY, MUCH OF THIS IS THE UNAVOIDABLE PRODUCT OF THE JUNTA'S ORIGINS, THE NEED FOR MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND THE AMOUNG OF TIME REQUIRED FOR AN AD HOC SELECTION OF FIVE MEN TO STRUCTURE AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY COPING WITH AN AGGRESSIVE AND UNRELENTING ATTACK FROM THE LEFT.

6. JUNTA HETEROGENEOUS COMPOSITION IS BOTH A LIABILITY AND AN ASSET BUT THUS FAR THE FIVE MEMBERS REPRESENTING DIFFERENT GROUPS AND INTERESTS SEEM TO BE WORKING TOGETHER IN REMARKABLE HARMONY. THE TWO MILITARY LEADERS -- GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO -- ARE NEW FIGURES, UNACCUSTOMED TO THE POLITICAL WARS IN EL SALVADOR BUT THEY SEEM SINCERELY INTERESTED IN RESTORING THE WELFARE OF BOTH THE ARMED FORCES AND THE COUNTRY, ARE HIGHLY RECEPTIVE TO ADVICE AND DESPITE THEIR CONTROL OF THE IMMEDIATE LEVERS OF POWER, SEEM TO WORK WELL WITH CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA. GUILLERMO UNGO, WHO REPRESENTS THE 14 GROUPS OF THE POPULAR FORUM, IS GHE MOST POLITICALLY EXPERIENCED MEMBER OF THE JUNTA. BASICALLY A MODERATE AND A GOOD PERSONAL FRIEND OF JUNTA MEMBER ROMAN MAYORGA. HE MUST TRY TO ACCOMMODATE THE BROAD AND IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WITH JUNTA POLICY SO AS TO KEEP THE BROADEST POSSIBLE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE JRG. SO FAR HE HAS MANEUVERED THROUGH

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79STATE 291354

THIS DIFFICULT MINE FIELD RATHER WELL, ALTHOUGH THE DIVERSE INTEREST GROUPS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WILL PROVE VERY DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE IN THE LONG TERM. ROMAN MAYORGA REPRESENTS THE THINKING OF THE ACADEMIC, TECHNOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR. INEXPERIENCED POLITICALLY, BUT A MAN OF GREAT INTEGRITY AND DEDICATION, HE IS AN IMPORTANT INDIRECT LINK TO AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMERO WING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALLY CONCERNED PROFESSIONALS. CRITICISM OF HIS ACADEMIC BENT AND THUS FAR ALLEGEDLY INDECISIVE

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PAGE 04 STATE 291354

APPROACH TO CONCRETE ISSUES MAY OR MAY NOT BE JUSTIFIED BUT HE HAS THE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY TO GROW AND MATURE IN THE JOB. MARIO ANTONIO ANDINO APPEARS TO BE AN EXCELLENT CHOICE TO BRING PRACTICAL EXPERIENCEAND BALANCE TO THE JUNTA WHILE EFFECTIVELY REPRESENTING THE MORE PROGRESSIVE OR CHANGE-ORIENTED MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. A QUIET MAN, HE HAS REPORTEDLY SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE DECISIVE, ARTICULATE AND AN EFFECTIVE FOIL TO THE MORE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF SOME JUNTA MEMBERS.

7. IN SUM, THE JUNTA, WHILE CUMBERSOME, IS A DIVERSE BUT SEEMINGLY BALANCED COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS WHO SO FAR ARE WORKING MORE EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER THAN SOME HAVE ANTICIPATED. LAST WEEK THEY REPORTEDLY DIVIDED UP THEIR RESPECTIVE AREAS OF CABINET RESPONSIBILITY AND BEGAN TO FURTHER DEFINE A PROGRAM.

8. RELATIONS BETWEEN JRG AND VARIOUS SECTORS OF SOCIETY -- LIKE EVERYTHING IN THE POST-COUP CONFUSION, THE JRG RELATIONSHIP TO PRINCIPAL SECTORS OF THE SOCIETY IS STILL IN FLUX AND EVOLUTION BUT CERTAIN TENTATIVE COMMENTS CAN BE MADE.

9. MILITARY -- THE JUNIOR OFFICER CORPS (LIEUTENANTS THROUGH MAJORS), WHO ORGANIZED THE 15 OCTOBER 1979 COUP, NAMED COLONELS GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE GOVERNING JUNTA. THE COUP OBJECTIVES OF THE JUNIOR OFFICERS WERE: (1) TO PUT THE GOVERNMENT BACK ON STEADY FOOTING AND GET IT HEADED TOWARD DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, WITH ULTIMATE OGJECTIVE OF TURNING OVER EXECUTIVE POWER TO AN ELECTED CIVILIAN PRESIDENT, (2) TO ELIMINATE CORRUPTION IN THE ARMED/SECURITY FORCES AND (3) TO AVOID THE FATE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD IN NICARAGUA. THESE SAME YOUNG OFFICERS HAVE FORMED A "COMMITTEE" (ONE OFFICER FROM EACH MAJOR CUARTEL - APPROXIMATELY TWENTY IN TOTAL)

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PAGE 05 STATE 291354

WHICH SERVES AS AN OVERSIGHT GROUP TO INSURE THE JUNTA'S DIRECTION REMAINS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR STATED OBJECTIVES. MEMBERS CLAIM -- PERHAPS WITH SOME EXAGGERATION -- THAT THEY HAVE TOPPLED ONE CORRUPT GOVERNMENT AND COULD REPLACE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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THE ENTIRE JUNTA OR ANY MEMBER WHO IS EITHER INEFFECTIVE OR STRAYS FROM THE ESTABLISHED SHORT-TERM GOALS. THE COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY DOES NOT INVOLVE ITSELF IN DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES OF THE JUNTA BUT RATHER IN A BROADER SENSE HOLDS A DEGREE OF POWER OVER THE DIRECTION OF THE JRG.

10. IN A ROUGH DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE JUNTA, COL. MAJANO HAS EMERGED AS SOMEWHAT OF THE SPOKESMAN OR PUBLIC RELATIONS FIGURE FOR THE GROUP, AND -- PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANTLY -- THE LIAISON WITH THE YOUNGER MILITARY AND THE GARRISONS. COL. GUTIERREZ, PRESUMABLY THE STRONGEST FIGURE IN THE JUNTA, HAS TAKEN ON HIMSELF LIAISON WITHIN THE JUNTA, THE QUESTION OF APPOINTMENTS, AND PROBABLY THE MOST SENSITIVE ISSUE FACING THE JRG, THAT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WITHIN THE JUNTA, MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONSHIPS THUS FAR APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN HARMONIOUS, WITH NEITHER GROUP ATTEMPTING TO GAIN ASCENDANCY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

11. THE GREATEST DANGER TO THE MILITARY IS THE LOSS OF DISCIPLINE THROUGH THE RUPTURE IN A FUNCTIONING CHAIN OF COMMAND BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DISCARDING OF SOME FIFTY SENIOR OFFICERS AND MASSIVE PERSONNEL SHIFTS. A MAJOR CONCERN OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS IS THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THAT CHAIN OF COMMAND TO CONTROL THE JUNIOR OFFICERS. THE YOUNGER OFFICERS APPEAR CAPABLE OF MANAGING THE MILITARY UNITS, BUT HAVE EXPERIENCED SOME DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING THE SECURITY FORCES WHO ENVISION THEMSELVES AS THE PAWNS IN THE POLITICAL PRISONER/DISAPPEARED PERSONS GAMBIT.

12. CHURCH -- RELATIONS WITH THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH ARE [redacted]

PAGE 06 STATE 291354

GOOD BUT DELICATE ON BOTH SIDES. MAYORGA IS CONSIDERED (WITH MUCH JUSTIFICATION) TO REPRESENT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND JESUIT INTERESTS CLOSELY TIED TO ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. THE ARCHBISHOP, HOWEVER, WHILE CLEARLY SUPPORTING THE JUNTA, WISHES TO AVOID CHARGES OF OVERT POLITICAL ACTIVISM/INDENTIFICATION AND TO MAINTAIN HIS POPULAR PRESTIGE AND CREDIBILITY SO AS TO DRAW SUPPORT FROM THE EXTREME LEFT. HENCE, HE MUST ADOPT A HELPFUL BUT NOT UNCRITICAL PUBLIC POSTURE TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHICH PRESERVES HIS POPULAR INFLUENCE. TO DATE HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA. IF AND WHEN THE SECURITY FORCES USE EXCESSIVE FORCE AGAINST EVEN THE FAR LEFT, HOWEVER, ROMERO FEELSCOMPELLED BOTH MORALLY ANDPRACTICALLY TO TAKE A CRITICAL STANCE. SIMILARLY, HE MUST AND DOES PRESS THE JRG PUBLICLY ON HIGHLY EMOTIONAL ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHILE PRIVATELY RECOGNIZING THAT NEW MILITARY LEADERS WHO ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST SINS HAVE A NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE JOB OF INVESTIGATING AND PUNISHING THE GUILTY WITHOUT RIPPING APART THE FABRIC OF MILITARY UNITY. AS LONG AS THE JRG AND

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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THE MILITARY SINCERELY TRY TO DEVELOP A NEW APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH WILL PROVIDE IMPORTANT, IF NOT UNCRITICAL, SUPPORT AND ALL THE INTELLECTUAL RESOURCES OF THE IMPORTANT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY-JESUIT COMMUNITY WILL BE AVAILABLE TO THE JUNTA.

13. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- EMBASSY HAS REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON RELATIONS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) TO THE JUNTA AND WILL ONLY SUMMARIZE THE HIGHLIGHTS. INITIALLY AMBIVALENT TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN JRG, PDC SUBSEQUENTLY TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET MEMBER APPOINTED TO JUNTA ITSELF AND AGREED TO SETTLE FOR CABINET AND SUB-SECRETARY POSITIONS. WHILE WISHING POTENTIAL POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE OF INDEPENDENT POSITION, PDC'S FUTURE IS CLOSELY TIED TO JUNTA'S SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS IN WAY WHICH ENSURES PARTY BACKING FOR NEW [redacted]

PAGE 07 STATE 291354

GOVERNMENT. INDEED, PDC'S CURRENT FRUSTRATION THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE GREATER DIRECT ROLE IN FORMULATING JUNTA'S POLITICAL STRATEGY DERIVES FROM ITS IMPOSSIBLE DESIRE TO HAVE IT BOTH WAYS, I.E., THE ELCTORAL BENEFITS OF INDEPENDENCE VERSUS THE MORE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BENEFIS OF SHAPING JRG POLICY IN A WAY MOST CALCULATED TO ENSURE ITS SURVIVAL. IN ESSENCE, HOWEVER, THE PDC HAS AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING THE JUNTA WHILE SEEKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DERIVE MAXIMUM POLITICAL BENEFIT FROM ITS STILL AMBIVALENT POSITION. SINCE PDC DOES LOOM AT LEAST INITIALLY AS STRONGEST SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY, ITS POSITION AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE JRG WILL REMAIN IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THE POLITICAL QUESTION.

14. PRIVATE SECTOR RELATIONS WITH THE JRG ARE ALSO COMPLICATED, INFLUX AND COVERED IN PREVIOUS EMBASSY REPORTING. IN SUMMARY, #923;34, PROGRESSIVE BUSINESSMEN AND GROUPS -- WHO ARE AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FORCE -- SUPPORT THE JRG AND JUNTA LEADER MARIO ANDINO. WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY APPOINTED A MIXED COMMISSION TO WORK WITH AND SUPPORT ANDINO. CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS INTERESTS -- TRADITIONALLY VOCAL THROUGH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (ANEP) -- HAVE TAKEN A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE AND ARE LESS HOSTILE TO THE JUNTA THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, NERVOUS ABOUT THE PROMISE OF JRG REFORMS AD WILL SEEK TO BLUNT OR MODERATE ANY FAR-REACHING JUNTA PROGRAMS WHILE RELUCTANTLY ACCOMMODATING OTHERS. THE MOST CONSERVATIVE AND POLITICALLY ACTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WHO WERE THE POWER BEHIND THE RECENTLY DEPOSED LEADERSHIP OF ANEP, ARE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY DISCREDITED, INTERESTED IN PLOTTING BUT SEEMINGLY FRUSTRATED, AND TENDING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY TO AVOID REPRISALS. IN THIS CONTEXT PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS OF COUP PLOTTING, THE KIDNAPPING OF JAIME HILL (COUSIN OF REACTIONARY AGRICULTURALIST, BANKER ROBERTO HILL AND A CLOSE FRIEND OF EX-PRESIDENT ROMERO), THE REMOVAL OF QUESTIONABLE MILITARY OFFICERS FROM ACTIVE DUTY AND THE DEPARTURE OF FORMER ANPE LEADERS

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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MAY TEMPORARILY DEFUSE A RIGHIST COUNTERCOUP. IN THE LONGER RUN, [redacted]

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE JRG WILL BE SHAPED BY (A) THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE JRG'S REFORM PROGRAM AND (B) THE SHIFTING AND STILL UNCLEAR BALANCE BETWEEN SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVE/ MODERATES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE MORE TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIEVE OR REACTIONARY GROUPS.

15. LABOR -- REACTION OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED FEDERAL OF UNIONS OF CONSTRU TION AND TRANSPORTATION WORKERS (FESINCONSTRAINS), AND OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST RURAL CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION, THE UNION COMUNAL SALVADORENA (UCS), TO THE JRG HAS GENERALLY BEEN FAVORABLE, WITH BOTH CITING THE JRG'S WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT THEM ON IMPORTANT CABINET APPOINTMENTS AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS (SAN SALVADOR 5983, 6087, 6143, 5992, 6191). REACTION FROM CONSERVATIVE SECTOR OF LABOR MOVEMENT -- AS REPRESENTED BY DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN UNIONS-CGS (EL SALVADOR'S THIRD-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION) -- HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY LESS ENTHUSIASTIC, PROBABLY DUE TO CGS'S CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH PREVIOUS ROMERO GOVERNMENT. EL SALVADOR'S SECOND-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, THE PREDOMINANTLY COMMUNIST UNITED CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (CUTS) IS A MEMBER OF POPULAR FORUM AND AS SUCH HAS GIVEN SUPPORT TO JRG. HOWEVER, ITS LARGEST COMPONENT, THE NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (FENASTRANS) -- WHICH HAS TIES TO LEFTIST UNIONED POPULAR ACTION FRONT (FAPU) -- RECNTLY ANNOUNCED ITS WITHDRAWAAL FROM THE POPULAR FORUM, DENOUNCING WHAT IT SAID WERE SOME OF JRG'S "REPRESSIVE" ACTIONS. ON THE EXTREME LEFT OF LABOR SPECTRUM, EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST TEACHERS ORGANIZATION, A"ANDES 21 DE JUNIO" AND THE JOSE GUILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE- CS (LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRE-COUP PERIOD WAVE OF PLANT TAKEOVERS) HAVE BOTH COME OUT AGAINST JRG. HOWEVER, ANDES IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. BOTH [redacted]

ANDES AND CCS ARE CONTROLLED BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR). IN SUM, JRG IS DRAWING SUPPORT FROM MODERATE AND CENTRIST SECOTRS OF ORGANIZED LABOR WHILE LABOR GROUPS ASSOCIATED WITH EXTREME LEFTIST SPECTRUM OF SALVADORAN LABOR MOVEMENT GAVE GONE INTO OPEN OPPOSITION.

16. MEDIA -- THE ESTABLISHED SALVADORAN MEDIA, WWHICH IS VERY CONSERVATIVE BY LATIN AMERICAN STANDARDS (ITS COMPLAINTS WERE DIRECTED AT WEAK GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP IN CRACKING DOWN ON "LEFT", INTERFERENCE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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WITH UNFETTERED FREE ENTERPRISE AND EXCESSIVE CONCERN ABOUT US HUMAN RIGHTS' POLICY) WAS CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP. IT IS NOW FOLLOWING CAREFUL AND OSTENSIBLY NEUTRAL POLITICAL LINE TOWARD JRG WITH CONTINUING ATTACKS OB LEFT. ESTABLISHED PRESS INTERESTS WILL TRY AND SURVIVE BY ADOPTING TO THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT OVERTLY ATTACKING JUNTA, AS LONG AS ITS POWER IS INTACT, CONSERVATIVE MEDIA WILL PROBABLY INVOKE FREEDOM OF PRESS TO SLOW OR BLOCK ANY JRG REFORM EFFORTS AIMED AT REAL STRUCTURAL CHANGE. THE CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER "ORIENTATION" WILL FOLLOW THE LINE OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND OPENLY CRITICAL AND AND OPINIONATED LEFTIST DAILY "LA CRONICA" WILL CONTINUE TO WEAVE BETWEEN THE RADICAL AND ORTHODOX LEFT, CRITICIZING ANY JUNTA ACTIONS DEEMED
REPRESSIVE OR DIRECTED AGAINST PUBLIC. RADIO WILL REMAIN A VERY INFLUENTIAL MEDIA WHICH IS FAR MORE OPEN THAN PRESS OR TV TOWARDS POLITICAL PLURALISM. EVENTUALLY, MORE PROGRESSIVE AND MODERATE MEDIA INTERESTS MAY EMERGE IN SUPPORT OF THE JUNTA BUT THE PREPONDERANT QUALITY AND ORIENTATION OF THE MEDIA IS AT PRESENT LOW AND GENERALLY CONSERVATIVE. EVEN BEFORE THE COUP, HOWEVER, THE MEDIA WAS SHOWING SIGNS OF OPENING UP TO THE OPPOSITION, AND THAT TREND HAS SINCE ACCTOTY PG.

17. CHALLENGE FROM RIGHT AND LEFT -- THE EXTREME LEFT AND RIGHT WERE CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP AND HAVE BEEN FORCED TO REVISE THEIR RESPECTIVE STRATEGIES. THE RIGHT, IN CONJUNCTION [redacted]

PAGE 10 STATE 291354

WITH THE ROMERO REGIME, HAD REPORTEDLY BEEN PLANNING A MASSIVE CRACKDOWN AFTER THE OAS CONSIDERED THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON EL SALVADOR AND THE COUNTRY. HOPEFULLY AVERTED CONDEMNATION. WHEN REPORTS OF THE COUP PLOT BY YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS REACHED PRESIDENT ROMERO, THERE WAS APPARENTLY A FUTILE EFFORT TO ORGANIZAE A COUNTERCOUP AND THEN A TENSE PERIOD OF NEGOTION ON OCT 15 BETWEEN ROMERO LOYALISTS IN THE ARMED FORCES AND THE GOLISTAS. DETAILS OF WHAT WAS AGREED ARE NOT KNOW BUT CLEARLY ROMERO'S INNTER CIRCLE COMPOSED OF SOME MILITARY OFFICERS AND PRESUMABLY SOME CABINET MINISTERS, WERE GUARANTEED SAFE PASSAGE OUT OF THE COUNTRY. IN ADDITION, THE COUP ORGANIZERS MAY HAVE GIVEN SOME ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST OTHER FIGURES IN THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT WHO CHOSE TO REMAIN. IN ANY EVENT, WHATEVER AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ENABLED ROMERO AND COMPNY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY PEACEFULLY AND AVOIDED AN INTERNAL CONFRONTATION IN THE ARMED FORCES WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN DISASTEROUS.

18. FOLLOWING THE COUP THE MOST IMMEDIATE THREAT FROM THE RIGHT APPEARS TO STEM FROM A POTENTIAL COMBINATION OF TWO GROUPS: A REACTIONARY ELEMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHICH WAS ENGAGED INRIGHTIST TERRORISM UNDER ROMERO AND DISGRUNTLED SEGMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO WERE DISPLACED BY THE COU BUT DO NOT SUPPORT THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP OR THE OBJECTIVES AND ORIENTATION OF THE JRG. DESPITE STRONG INITIAL CONCERN

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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THAT THESE TWO GROUPS MIGHT UNITE IN A COUNTERCOUP, THE IMMEDIATE THREAT MAY BE RECEDING SOMEWHAT AS PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF A WOULD-BE COUNTERCOUP SURFACES. EXTREMISTS OF THE RIGHT EXIT THE COUNTRY, THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP ACTS TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER WOULD-BE COUP PLOTTERS AMONG DISPLACED OR INITIALLY DISAFFECTED MILITARY OFFICERS. THE JUNTA MOVEMENT TO DEFINE A POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR SEEKING BROADER SUPPORT AND ITS DESIRE TO DEV-ELOP BETTER ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS FOR COPING WITH THE VIOLENT

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CHALLENGE ON THE EXTREME LEFT SHOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE JUNTA AND NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP CAN GET THEIR ACT IN ORDER

IT WILL HELP UNDERCUT THE IMMEDIATE MACHINATION OF THE FAR RIGHT. ANOTHER AND PROBABLY MORE SERIOUS THREAT FROM THIS QUARTER MAY ARISE LATER IF AND WHEN THE JUNTA DECIDES TO LAUNCH A MEANINGFUL REFORM PROGRAM WHICH WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE TRADITIONALLY DOMINANT AND CONSERVATIVE INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR.

19. THE TIMETABLE AND STRATEGY OF GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT WERE ALSO JOLTED BY THE MILITARY COUP. AFTER INITIAL CONFUSION AND SOME INTERNAL DIVISIONS, HOWEVER, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE SOMEWHAT RECOVERED. WHETHER SEPARATELY OR IN CONCERT, THREE CLANDESTINE GROUPS AND THEIR POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS HE APARENTLY DECLARED WAR ON THE JUNTA AND ARE ENGAGED IN AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN OF MASS DEMONSTRATIONS, SELECTIVE TERRORISM, POLITICALLY PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS AND EVEN LOW-LEVEL GUERRILLA ATTACKS TO KEEP THE JUNTA OFF-GUARD AND ON THE DEFENSIVE. A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE AT THIS STAGE IS TO PROVOKE THE JUNTA INTO A REACTIVE AND REPRESSIVE POSTURE; ONE CALCULATED TO GENERATE MORE MARTYRS, TARNISH THE DEMOCRATIC IMAGE OTLOHE JUNTA, PROMOTE POLARIZATION AND RECAPTURE POPULAR SUPPORT WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE FLOW TO MODERATE GROUPS LIKE THE PDC. INITIALLY, AT LEAST THIS AGGRESSIVE TACTIC HAS BEEN A PARTIAL SUCCESS. IT HAS SLOWED JU TA PLANNING (THE GPR'S OCCUPATION OF MINISTRIES AND SEUZIRE OF LEADING CABINET MEMBERS AS HOSTAGE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY DAMAGING) AND PROVOKED OCCASIONAL OVER-REACTION BY SECURITY FORCES AND NEW MARTYRS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAS CLEARLY REVEALED THE VIOLENT AND EXTREMIST GOALS AND METHODS OF THE FAR LEFT IN A WAY WHICH IF ACTIVELY AND INTELLIGENTLY COUNTERED

BY THE JUNTA AND THE ARMED FORCES COULD DISCREDIT AND UNDERMINE POPULAR SYMPATHY FOR THE EXTREMIST CAUSE.

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20. IN GENERAL TERMS THE JRG HAS TRIED TO REACT IN A RESTRAINED

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79STATE 291354

AND POLITICAL WAY TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE LEFT EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION TO THE NATION'S PROBLEMS AND UNMASKINGLTHE DEMOGOGIC DEMANDS OF HE FAR LEFT. THUS FAR THE JUNTA'S BASICALLY SOUND POSTURE HAS BEEN WEAKENED BY A VARIETY OF FACTORS: INADEQUATE ORGANIZATION OF JRG'S PUBLIC RELATIONS AND INFORMATION EFFORTS THE DIFFICULTY OF RETRAINING AND RESTRAINING A MILITARY FORCE ACCUSTOMED AND EQUIPPED TO USING VIOLENCE TO CONTROL VIOLENCE, POOR OR ALMOST NON-EXISTENT INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY, SELF-CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE NEED TO SAFEGUARD THE LIVES OF MINISTRIAL HOSTAGES HELD BY THE BPR.

20.A. TWO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE DEDEVILED THE JUNTA'S EFFORTS TO BUILD POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT BY TAKING AWAY ITS POLITICAL BANNERS ARE (A) THE NEARLY INSOLVABLE PROBLEM OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS/POLITICAL PRISONERS AND (B) THE DEMOGOGICAND IMPOSSIBLE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE FAR LEFT. REGARDING THE FIRST ISSUE, THE JUNTA HAS FINALLY ADMITTED IT CAN FIND NO PRISONERS BUT APPOINTED A COMMISSSION RESPONSIBLE FOR AN INVESTIGATION AND REPORT IN 60 DAYS. THE BASIC ISSUE SEEMS CLEAR. MOST, IF NOTALL, THE PRISONERS/ DISAPPEARED PERSONS ARE PROBABLY DEAD BUT THERE IS A QUESTION OF HOW FAR THE JUNTA CAN GO TOWARD FULLY REVEALING AND PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE WITHOUT THREATENINGLTHE FRAGILE UNITY OF THE ARMED FORCES

IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD. WHATEVER THE JUNTA DOES IN THIS AREA WILL NOT

SATISFY THE
FAR LEFT WHICH NEEDS THIS EMOTIONAL POLITICAL ISSUE. NEVERTHELESS, IT MAY HAVE TO GO MUCH FATHER THAN IT ORIGINALLY HOPED AND CONTINUES TO PLAN IN ORDER TO MAKE CREDIBLE ITS COMMITMENT TO FUTURE HUMAN RIGHTS REFORM AND SATISFY MODERATE POLITICAL GROUPS, THE CHURCH, AND PUBLIC OPINION IN GENERAL THAT THERE WILL BE CHANGE AND

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PAGE 13 STATE 291354

THAT PAST RESPONSIBILITY WILL NOT BE IGNORED.

21. ON THE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE LEFT, THE JUNTA MUST BEGIN TO ADOPT AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHICH WILL UNDERCUT, IF NOT SATIFY, POPULAR ASPIRATIONS. THIS IS NOT AN EASY STEP AFTER THREE TURBULENT WEEKS WHEN KEY ECONOMIC MINISTERS ARE BEING HELD AND THE COUNTRY IS UNDER LEFTIST ASSAULT, BUT

PLANNING IS UNDERWAY AND THE JUNTA HAS PROVIDED THE BROAD OUTLINES OF AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WITH MORE SPECIFIC MEASURES TO BE ANNOUNCED THIS WEEK.

22. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES DESCRIBED, DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST THE EXTREME LEFT IS LIKELY TO BTLBESS EFFECTIVE THAN INTELLIGENT

BUT FIRM RESTRAINT COUPLED WITH A COHERENT POLITICAL STRATEGY TO DISCREDIT THE EXTREME LEFT. BOTH ARE RECOGNIZED BY THE JRG AND IN THE PROCESS OF INITIAL ELABORATION BUT FACE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES, PARTICULARLY IN THE SECURITY AREA WHERE TRADITIONAL RESPONSES AND POOR CAPABILITY CANNOT BE CHANGED OVERNGITH. THE CHURCH AND MODERATE POLITICAL SECTORS ARE PRIVATELY MORE UNDERSTANDING AND TOLERANT TO THE JRG PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA THAN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AIMED AT MAINTAINING POPULAR CREDIBILITY MIGHT SUGGEST.

23. IN THE MEDIUM AND LONGER TERM, THE JRG NEEDS TO REGAIN THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE, FURTHER ELABORATE ITS POSITION ON HOLDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND DEFIPE ITS ROLE AS A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PLEDGED TO REFORM OR AT LEAST TO LAY THE GROUND WORK FOR OVERDUE POLITICALAND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS. AT THIS EARLY POINT, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASSESS THE JRG ABILITY TO REACH THESE OBJECTIVES. WE DO KNOW THAT JUNTA MEMBERS RECOGNIZE AND ARE ACTIVELY WEIGHTING THESE ISSUES. THE DIVERSITY OF POLITICAL INTERESTS INVOLVED AND REFLECTED N THE JUNTA TENDSTO FORCE A SLOWER DECISION-MAKING PROCESS BASED ON CONSULTATION, BUT IF AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED BY THIS ROUTE, THE RESULTS MAY BE MORE

ACCEPTABLE, ENDURING AND HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA'S STRUGGLE TO BUILD A MODERATE CONCENSUS WHICH WILL ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT.

24. FINALLY, THE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND ASSESSMENT REQUESTED (REFTEL) ARE COVERED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE ALONG WITH SOME POLICY QUESTIONS WHICH THEY RAISE FOR USG RESPONSE.

25. HOW CAN THE USG BEST HELP THE JRG? -- AT THIS DELICATE STAGE IN THE JUNTA'S LIFE, THE USG'S ROLE IS VERY IMPORTANT BUT REQUIRES POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING AND SENSITIVITY TO LOCAL REALITIES. AMBASSADOR DEVINE CAN BEST ADDRESS THE COMPLEX QUESTIONS ATTACHED TO THE USG'S POSTURE AND POLICY TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT DURING CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON. NEVERTHELESS, SEVERAL GENERAL OBSERVATIONS SEEM WORTH MENTIONING OR REITERATING AT THIS TIME:

A. US SECURITY AND ECONOIC ASSISTANCE MAY WEL PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT THE TIMING, AMOUNT AND ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY MUST DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE JUNTA'S POLITICAL JUDGMENT OF WHAT IS REQUIRED AND APPROPRIATE.

B. A CLOSE CONTINUOUS BUT DISCREET POLITICAL AND ECNOMIC DIALOGUE WITH THE JUNTA AND OTHER KEY OFFICIALS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS NECESSARY BUT REQUIRES CAREFUL DEVELOPMENT SO AS TO AVOID THE INTERNAL POLITICAL STIGMA OF EXCESSIVE PUBLIC ASSOCIATION.

C. IN ADDITION TO USG ASSISTANCE, IT WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE FOR US TO TAKE THE LEAD PRIVATELY ENCOURAGING OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO OFFE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT. BILATERAL US ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE MORE POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE JUNTA EITHER IN THE CONTEXT OF A MULTILATERAL EFFORT OR IF COMPLEMENTED

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BY BILATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM A VARIETY OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

D. WE MUST ENCOURAGETHE JUNTA IN THEIR OWN EFFORTS TO DEVISE A SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM POLITICAL STRATEGY WHICH CAN BE PUBLICLY ARTICULATED IN A WAY THAT ISOLATES THE FAR LEFT. IN ADDITION TO REGULAR CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT, WE MUST CONTINUE TO URGE DIALOGUE AND CONSULTATION AMONG ALL MODERATE SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT IS NEEDED FOR THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL. WE MUST COOPERATE WHEREVER POSSIBLE IN ASSITING THE JUNTA TO COPE WITH CHALLENGES ON THE EXTREME LEFT OR RIGHT. THIS IMPLIES SOME SHARING OF APPROPRIATE INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER INFORMATION.

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26. STRENGTHENING CONTACTS WITH THE JRG AND OTHER SECTORS -- AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, BOTH FROM STATE CABLES, [redacted], THE MISSION HAS HAD SUBSTANTIAL CONTACT BOTH FORMALLY AND INFORMALLY WITH MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA DURING ITS SHORT TENURE IN POWER. MORE CONTACT IS OF COURSE DESIRABLE AND WILL BE ACTIVELY PURSUED IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD, BUT THE NATURE AND FREQUENCY OF SUCH CONTACTS MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF POLICY, POLITICAL, AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ENGENDERED BY CERTAIN INTERNAL REALITIES IN EL SALVADOR. IN THE FIRST PLACE, CONSTRUCTIVE PUBLIC AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, PRIVATE CONTACT WITH THE JUNTA DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS WAS LIMITED BY THE INCIPENT JRG'S OWN ABSORPTION AND PREOCCUPATION WITH THE DIFFICULT CONSULTATIVE PROCESS OF (A) FORMING AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT, (B) DEFINING INTERNAL LINES OF AUTHORITY, (C) DEFINING THE BROAD OUTLINE OF A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY, AND (D) REACTING TO THE ALMOST IMMEDIATE ONSLAUGHT FROM THE FAR LEFT. CONTACTS WERE ESTABLISHED THROUGH A VARIETY OF CHANNELS, BUT TO HAVE BURDENED THE HARD-PRESSED JUNTA MEMBERS WITH REQUESTS FOR FURTHER MEETINGS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT -- AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE -- WAS THE NEED TO AVOID EXCESSIVE US PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION WITH A NEW GOVERNMENT. MODERATE BUT STILL POLITICALLY SHAKY IT IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A BROAD POLITIAL LBASE BY REACHING OUT TO AN IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL

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CONSTITUENCY, PART OF WHICH WOULD RESIST OR EVEN OPPOSE A CLOSE, OVERT YELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.

27. IN THIS CONTEXT, PUBLIC OFFERS OF US ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF RIOT CONTROL, WHILE PRIVATELY HEARTENING TO MOST MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA, ARE ALSO A POTENTIAL SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BUILD PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SUPPORT. TO GIVE ONLY ONE EXAMPLE, THE CHURCH FELT COMPELLED TO PUBLICLY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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NOTE AND OPPOSE REFERENCES TO POSSIBILITY OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHILE RADICAL GROUPS ON THE NON-EXTREMIST LEFT, WHICH THE JUNTA SEEKS TO ATTRACT, WILL BE WARY AND PUBLICLY CRITICAL OF ANY CLOSE JUNTA ASSOCITION WITH THE US. IN REALITY USG SUPPORT -- POLITICAL AS WELL AS MATERIAL -- IS LIKELY TO PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT IT MUST BE PROFERRED WITH CARE AND SOPHISTICATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT INTERNAL POLITICAL REALITIES AND SENSITIVITIES.

28. FINALLY, THE MISSION HAS DEVELOPED AND WILL CONTINUE TO CULTIVATE A WIDE RANGE OF POLITICAL GROUPS AND SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT CONTRIBUTES TO STABILITY AND WHICH CAN INFLUENCE THE JUNTA IN POSITIVE DIRECTIONS THAT WILL STRENGTHEN ITS PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL. INFORMALLY AND PRIVATELYO WE HAVE LONG MOVED ACTIVELY ALONG THESE LINES. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS CLEAR FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE AT LEAST THAT OUR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE CATALYTIC AND SUPPORTIVE OF THE JUNTA MEMBERS WHO, KNOWING BEST THEIR OWN POLITICAL REALITY, CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY DEVISE A STRATEGY APPROPRIATE TO THE COMPLEX SITUATION HERE.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 796BONN 020096

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PAGE 01 BONN 20096 01 OF 02 081804Z
ACTION EURE-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 HA-05 IO-14 L-03 PM-06
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3074
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LIMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY QUITO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 20096

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE, AMB. WAGNER

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/08/85
TAGS: PINT, PINS, ES, GW
SUBJECT: (U) EL SALVADOR'S INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY. WE APPROACHED THE FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR EL SALVADOR AND CENTRAL AMERICA ON NOVEMBER 6 TO DISCUSS ASSISTANCE TO THE JUNTA. THE FRG ASSESSMENT
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BONN 20096 01 OF 02 081804Z

GENERALLY ACCORDS WITH OURS. WHILE RECOGNIZING THE NEED TO SUPPORT THE JUNTA QUICKLY, HOWEVER, BONN FEELS SEVERAL CONSTRAINTS THAT DISCOURAGE HIGH-PROFILE INITIATIVES.
END SUMMARY.
3. THOUGH INITIALLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE JUNTA'S CHANCES OF WINNING SUPPORT AND PROVIDING EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP, GERMAN ANALYSTS NOW QUESTION WHETHER IT CAN SUCCEED. THEY ARE

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940031L

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INFLUENCED BY RECENT REPORTS FROM THEIR EMBASSY THAT THE JUNTA'S HOPES ARE WANING FOR ESTABLISHING EFFECTIVE CONTACT WITH, OR ISOLATING, OR EFFECTIVELY COMBATTING RIGHT WING ELEMENTS. AT THE SAME TIME, AN MNR OFFICIAL, BASSERA ESCOBAR, WHO VISITED GERMANY LAST WEEK AT THE INVITATION OF THE FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG (INSTITUTE), EXPRESSED TO THE GERMANS HIS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE DANGER FROM BOTH THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT. ESCOBAR FERVENTLY HOPES THE JUNTA CAN SURVIVE SO AS TO HELP MODERATE ELEMENTS GAIN SWAY AND TO OPEN THE WAY FOR A BROADENING OF DEMOCRACY. THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE EBERT INSTITUTE SHARE THIS HOPE.

4. STATING THAT SUPPORT OF THE CHURCH IS CRITICAL, OUR CONTACT VOICED DOUBTS WHETHER IT WILL ULTIMATELY BACK THE JUNTA. HE NOTED THE TRADITIONAL SPLIT BETWEEN LEFT AND MODERATE FACTIONS WITHIN THE CHURCH AND TOLD US HE UNDERSTANDS ARCHBISHOP ROMERO MAY BE BACKING AWAY FROM HIS INITIAL SUPPORT OF THE JUNTA.

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PAGE 03 BONN 20096 01 OF 02 081804Z

5. OUR SOURCE ALSO NOTED THAT THE JUNTA COULD RECEIVE POTENTIALLY STRONG SUPPORT FROM CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. HE POINTED TO THE RETURN OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT LEADER DUERTE AS A GOOD SIGN IN THIS REGARD. NOTING THE ABSENCE OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION ON THE JUNTA, HOWEVER, OUR CONTACT SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE WELL ADVISED SOMEHOW TO WORK WITH DUERTE AND OTHERS IN HIS PARTY.

6. REGARDING GERMANY'S OWN POSSIBILITIES, OUR CONTACT WAS EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE FRG IS CONTINUING ITS ONGOING ASSISTANCE, E.G. IRRIGATION PROJECTS, AND HE EXPRESSED A BELIEF THE FRG WOULD BE WILLING TO EXPAND AID IF THE JUNTA ASKED FOR IT, IF IT WINS MODERATE SUPPORT AND EFFECTIVE CONTROL, AND IF IT PROCEEDS TO IMPROVE EL SALVADOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE AND TO INTRODUCE DEMOCRACY.

7. COMMENTING ON THE LAST POINTS, OUR CONTACT SAID THE JUNTA HAS UNFORTUNATELY NOT ESCAPED THE NEGATIVE IMAGE OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT IN THE EYES OF THE GERMAN PUBLIC. CONSEQUENTLY, THE FRG FEELS A NEED TO MOVE CAUTIOUSLY.

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Special Project (1993)

HOWEVER, IF THE JUNTA FULFILLS ITS PROMISES ABOUT RELEASING POLITICAL PRISONERS, ENDING TORTURE, AND CEASING PERSECUTION OF OPPOSITION MEMBERS, ITS IMAGE HERE WOULD IMPROVE SUBSTANTIALLY, AND OUR CONTACT BELIEVES THE FRG WOULD FEEL MORE COMFORTABLE ACTIVELY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 BONN 20096 02 OF 02 081810Z
ACTION EURE-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 HA-05 IO-14 L-03 PM-06
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O 081750Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3075
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 20096

SUPPORTING IT.

8. NEVERTHELESS, THE FRG REMAINS INTERESTED AND ANXIOUS TO HELP WHERE IT CAN. ECONOMIC COOPERATION MINISTER OFFERGELD HAD BEEN CONSIDERING AN UNOFFICIAL STOP IN EL SALVADOR IN CONNECTION WITH A TRIP IN MID-NOVEMBER TO NICARAGUA AND MEXICO. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THE FRG EMBASSY HAS NOW RECOMMENDED AGAINST THIS ON SECURITY GROUNDS. BONN WOULD CONSIDER SUCH VISITS IF THE SECURITY SITUATION IMPROVES, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, AND WE URGED SUCH CONSIDERATION.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BONN 20096 02 OF 02 081810Z

9. UNOFFICIAL GERMAN EFFORTS REMAIN ACTIVE, IN PARTICULAR THROUGH THE WORK OF THE SPD-CONNECTED FRIEDRICH EBERT INSTITUTE. JUNTA MEMBER UNGO, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE MNR, HAS ESPECIALLY CLOSE TIES TO THE INSTITUTE, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE. THE CDU-AFFILIATED KONRAD ADENAUER INSTITUTE MIGHT ALSO BE ENCOURAGED TO UNDERTAKE AN EFFORT IN

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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EL SALVADOR IF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY BECOMES A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR THERE.

10. REGARDING POSSIBLE US ACTIONS, OUR CONTACT SUGGESTED THAT ANYTHING THE U.S. CAN DO TO HELP ENHANCE THE JUNTA'S PUBLIC IMAGE WOULD IMPROVE BONN'S ABILITY TO ASSUME A MORE OPEN, ACTIVE POLICY TOWARD EL SALVADOR.

11. OUR CONTACT ALSO MENTIONED THE ACTIVE ROLE THE VATICAN HAS HAD IN EL SALVADOR, IN CONNECTION WITH THE KEY POSITION OF THE LOCAL CATHOLIC CHURCH. THOUGH EQUIVOCAL, OUR SOURCE SEEMED TO THINK ACTION BY THE VATICAN MIGHT BE USEFUL. IN THIS CONNECTION HE REITERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SALVADOREAN CHURCH'S UNITING BEHIND THE JUNTA, OBSERVING HOWEVER THAT THE TRADITIONAL FACTIONALISM OF THE CHURCH'S LEFT WING MIGHT OBSTRUCT SUCH UNITY.

12. COMMENT: THE FRG IS CLEARLY INTERESTED IN HELPING ENCOURAGE MODERATE DEVELOPMENT IN EL SALVADOR. IN CONSIDERING A VISIT BY OFFERGELD, BONN WAS ON THE VERGE OF A GESTURE OF THE KIND WE SEEK. THE EBERT INSTITUTE IS HEAVILY

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ENGAGED ALREADY, AND THE ADENAUER INSTITUTE MIGHT BECOME SO. THE FRG IS WILLING TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL AID UNDER THE RIGHT CIRCUMSTANCES. WHILE CONCEDING THAT THE NEED TO SUPPORT EL SALVADOR IS CRITICAL AND IMMEDIATE, OUR CONTACT GAVE THE IMPRESSION BONN WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO DO MUCH OFFICIALLY BEFORE THE SITUATION THERE CLARIFIES, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO SECURITY AND TO THE JUNTA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS.
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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Buenos Aires

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November 8, 1979

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OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Claus Ruser, Esquire
Director, East Coast
Affairs (ARA/ECA)
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Dear Claus:

This note is being rushed to meet the pouch since we have the feeling there may be some perception gaps opening up with ARA on the topic of the "high road".

Your letter of November 2nd related Timerman's description of the Argentine political scene and his conclusion that the pragmatic approach to our human rights objectives is ineffective. It was suggested that the US should simply take the high road because our efforts to work with the moderate factions in military regimes have produced modest results. Without calling a meeting to canvas Embassy opinion, I believe there would be virtually unanimity that supporting the moderates in Argentina is the only realistic alternative. Who is there to support other than the moderates? The Montoneros or the military hardliners? The existing political parties are not a realistic option in the near term and do not even pretend to be. It was not clear how Timerman's option for Argentina would work. The "high road" sounds suspiciously like a euphemism for cutting off all relations with the GOA until its behavior suits us better. Timerman's position that the pragmatic approach was wrong and that we should work with Venezuela and Mexico to build up democracy strikes me as the height of inconsistency. Mexico's track record in international politics is as pragmatic as they come, and we note that the Andean group is not stampeding into the Bolivian situation on the side of the angels.

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We are eager to join this issue if it is to be raised in the short term human rights strategy. We would prefer to have the issue stated somewhat differently than it is in the first full paragraph on page 3 of your letter. As stated it appears to prejudge the issue somewhat. It would also be helpful to have a specific description of what the "high road" is. We have done a number of assessments on the quantitative and qualitative improvements in the GOA's human rights record in the past year and while the progress has certainly not been fast or far enough, there can be no question that it has been substantial. The GOA's assertion that some things are very difficult for them to do was certainly born out by the Menéndez episode. It is also significant to me that only last month did the Vatican finally adopt a firm position on human rights in Argentina, and success will require further efforts with the hierarchy and the clergy here.

Finally, I was a bit puzzled by your remark that "ARA was perhaps too successful at its efforts at muting the Timerman visit," when in fact the Secretary rejected ARA's position on his visit to the President.

The announcements of assignments and promotions should start coming out about the end of next week if they are on schedule. Once these have been digested, then the Argentine military can return to giving some thought to running the country, provided it does not interfere with the vacation period.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Maxwell Chaplin

PS: Here follows our rapid attempt to provide you with language for the HR Report on the topic of disappeared children:

There are numerous reports of minor children and adolescents who have disappeared, though it is very difficult to establish precise numbers. One category of these

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minors, which one source estimates at around 50, is constituted of children under the age of ten who disappeared with their parents and have not since been turned over to their relatives. Another category, estimated at between 55-60, are the children born to women who were pregnant at the time they were seized. According to testimony, these women, most of whom have not reappeared, gave birth while in detention. The children, like the minors under the age of ten, were apparently given out for adoption--indeed there is one case on the public record where two small children of a disappeared mother were found in Chile. Finally there is a more substantial group of adolescents between 11 and 20 who figure among the disappeared, totaling, by some estimates, more than 500.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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LIMDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT SAN SALVADOR 6376 ACTION STATE INFO CARACAS GUATEMALA MANAGUA MEXICO PANAMA SAN JOSE TEGUCICALPA USCINCSO QUARY HEIGHTS PN DIA NOV 6

QUOTE [redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6376

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/6/85
TAGS: PGOV PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: (U) ANALYSIS OF SALVADORAN SITUATION

REF: STATE 284820

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. INTRODUCTION -- AFTER THREE WEEKS IN POWER, THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) HAS ONLY NOW BEGUN TO GET ITS ACT TOGETHER AND DEFINE A POLICY AND PROGRAM WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL ENABLE IT TO WITHSTAND THE AGGRESSIVE ATTACKS MOUNTED BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND THE LESS APPARENT BUT ALWAYS LATENT THREAT OF A RIGHTIST [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 291354

COUNTERCOUP. EMBASSY HAS, OF COURSE, ALREADY REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON COUP AND MANY OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED REFTEL, BUT THIS REPORT IS DESIGNED TO SUMMARIZE AND FURTHER ANALYZE FLUID POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

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3. AS REFTEL INDICATES, THE INITIAL DAYS OF THE JUNTA WERE MARKED BY CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF CONFUSION AND LACK OF DEFINITION ARISING FROM THE PURELY MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE COUP, THE NEED TO SEEK MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION FROM A BROAD RANGE OF

PAGE 02

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Special Project (1993)

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POLITICAL SECTORS. THE HETEROGENEOUS AND COLLEGIATE CHARACTER OF A FIVE-MAN GOVERNMENT SPLIT BETWEEN MILITARY INSTIGATORS OF THE COUP AND CIVILIANS HASTILY RECRUITED TO REPRESENT DIFFERENT SECTORS AND THE LABORIOUS AND POLIICCALLY COMPLICTED PROCESS OF CONSULTATION REQUIRED TO FORM A NEW CABINET. LACKING BOTH POLITICAL COHERENCE, EXPERIENCE AND CLEAR LINES OF LEADERSHIP, FACED WITH AN IMMEDIATE AND VIOLENT CHALLENGE BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND CONFLICTING POLITICAL INTERESTS AND PRESSURES, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE JUNTA SEEMED TO BE DRIFTING AND ON THE DEFENSIVE DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS.

4. NOW THAT THE JRG HAS BEEN FORMED AND THE ARDUOUS PROCESS OF CABINET SELECTION COMPLETED, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN TO ARTICULATE PUBLICLY THE BROAD OUTLINE OF ITS POLICY AND PROGRAMS. THE FIRST COHERENT PUBLIC PRESENTATION IN THIS RESPECT WAS THE JRG HOUR-LONG TV APPEARANCE ON NOV 1 (SEE SAN SALVADOR 6353) WHICH REPRESENTED AN OVERDUE BUT ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP TO HOLD AND EXPAND THE PUBLIC SUPPORT ENGENDERED BY THE COUP; WHILE EARLY AND EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-UP WILL BE REQUIRED TO BUILD AND SUSTAIN MOMENTUM, THE JRG HAS AT LEAST BEGUN TO FUNCTION AS A GOVERNMENT AND TO DEFINE ITS POLICY AND PROGRAM.

5. THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) -- MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE WEAKNESSES OF THE JUNTA, PARTICULARLY ITS HET-

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PAGE 03 STATE 291354

EROGENEOUS AND CUMBERSOME COMPOSITION OF TWO MILITARY AND THREE CIVILIAN MEMBERS, SLOWNESS IN GETTING ORGANIZED, AND ITS PERCEIVED INACTION. WHILE THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR CRITICISM, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF THE JUNTA'S STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITY, MUCH OF THIS IS THE UNAVOIDABLE PRODUCT OF THE JUNTA'S ORIGINS, THE NEED FOR MAXIMUM POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND THE AMOUNG OF TIME REQUIRED FOR AN AD HOC SELECTION OF FIVE MEN TO STRUCTURE AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY COPING WITH AN AGGRESSIVE AND UNRELENTING ATTACK FROM THE LEFT.

6. JUNTA HETEROGENEOUS COMPOSITIDN IS BOTH A LIABILITY AND AN ASSET BUT THUS FAR THE FIVE MEMBERS REPRESENTING DIFFERENT GROUPS AND INTERESTS SEEM TO BE WORKING TOGETHER IN REMARKABLE HARMONY. THE TWO MILITARY LEADERS -- GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO -- ARE NEW FIGURES, UNACCUSTOMED TO THE POLITICAL WARS IN EL SALVADOR BUT THEY SEEM SINCERELY INTERESTED IN RESTORING THE WELFARE OF BOTH THE ARMED FORCES AND THE COUNTRY, ARE HIGHLY RECEPTIVE TO ADVICE AND DESPITE THEIR CONTROL OF THE IMMEDIATE LEVERS OF POWER, SEEM TO WORK WELL WITH CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA. GUILLERMO UNGO, WHO REPRESENTS THE 14 GROUPS OF THE POPULAR FORUM, IS ONE MOST POLITICALLY EXPERIENCED MEMBER OF THE JUNTA, BASICALLY A MODERATE AND A GOOD PERSONAL FRIEND OF JUNTA MEMBER ROMAN MAYORGA. HE MUST TRY TO ACCOMMODATE THE BROAD AND IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WITH JUNTA POLICY SO AS TO KEEP THE BROADEST POSSIBLE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE JRG. SO FAR HE HAS MANEUVERED THROUGH

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Special Project (1993)

THIS DIFFICULT MINE FIELD RATHER WELL, ALTHOUGH THE DIVERSE INTEREST GROUPS IN THE POPULAR FORUM WILL PROVE VERY DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE IN THE LONG TERM. ROMAN MAYORGA REPRESENTS THE THINKING OF THE ACADEMIC, TECHNOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR. INEXPERIENCED POLITICALLY, BUT A MAN OF GREAT INTEGRITY AND DEDICATION, HE IS AN IMPORTANT INDIRECT LINK TO AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ROMERO WING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALLY CONCERNED PROFESSIONALS. CRITICISM OF HIS ACADEMIC BENT AND THUS FAR ALLEGEDLY INDECISIVE

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PAGE 04 STATE 291354

APPROACH TO CONCRETE ISSUES MAY OR MAY NOT BE JUSTIFIED BUT HE HAS THE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY TO GROW AND MATURE IN THE JOB. MARIO ANTONIO ANDINO APPEARS TO BE AN EXCELLENT CHOICE TO BRING PRACTICAL EXPERIENCEAND BALANCE TO THE JUNTA WHILE EFFECTIVELY REPRESENTING THE MORE PROGRESSIVE OR CHANGE-ORIENTED MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. A QUIET MAN, HE HAS REPORTEDLY SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE DECISIVE, ARTICULATE AND AN EFFECTIVE FOIL TO THE MORE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF SOME JUNTA MEMBERS.

7. IN SUM, THE JUNTA, WHILE CUMBERSOME, IS A DIVERSE BUT SEEMINGLY BALANCED COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS WHO SO FAR ARE WORKING MORE EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER THAN SOME HAVE ANTICIPATED. LAST WEEK THEY REPORTEDLY DIVIDED UP THEIR RESPECTIVE AREAS OF CABINET RESPONSIBILITY AND BEGAN TO FURTHER DEFINE A PROGRAM.

8. RELATIONS BETWEEN JRG AND VARIOUS SECTORS OF SOCIETY -- LIKE EVERYTHING IN THE POST-COUP CONFUSION, THE JRG RELATIONSHIP TO PRINCIPAL SECTORS OF THE SOCIETY IS STILL IN FLUX AND EVOLUTION BUT CERTAIN TENTATIVE COMMENTS CAN BE MADE.

9. MILITARY -- THE JUNIOR OFFICER CORPS (LIEUTENANTS THROUGH MAJORS), WHO ORGANIZED THE 15 OCTOBER 1979 COUP, NAMED COLONELS GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE GOVERNING JUNTA. THE COUP OBJECTIVES OF THE JUNIOR OFFICERS WERE: (1) TO PUT THE GOVERNMENT BACK ON STEADY FOOTING AND GET IT HEADED TOWARD DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, WITH ULTIMATE OGJECTIVE OF TURNING OVER EXECUTIVE POWER TO AN ELECTED CIVILIAN PRESIDENT, (2) TO ELIMINATE CORRUPTION IN THE ARMED/SECURITY FORCES AND (3) TO AVOID THE FATE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD IN NICARAGUA. THESE SAME YOUNG OFFICERS HAVE FORMED A "COMMITTEE" (ONE OFFICER FROM EACH MAJOR CUARTEL - APPROXIMATELY TWENTY IN TOTAL)

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PAGE 05 STATE 291354

WHICH SERVES AS AN OVERSIGHT GROUP TO INSURE THE JUNTA'S DIRECTION REMAINS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR STATED OBJECTIVES. MEMBERS CLAIM -- PERHAPS WITH SOME EXAGGERATION -- THAT THEY HAVE TOPPLED ONE CORRUPT GOVERNMENT AND COULD REPLACE

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Special Project (1993)

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THE ENTIRE JUNTA OR ANY MEMBER WHO IS EITHER INEFFECTIVE OR STRAYS FROM THE ESTABLISHED SHORT-TERM GOALS. THE COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY DOES NOT INVOLVE ITSELF IN DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES OF THE JUNTA BUT RATHER IN A BROADER SENSE HOLDS A DEGREE OF POWER OVER THE DIRECTION OF THE JRG.

10. IN A ROUGH DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE JUNTA, COL. MAJANO HAS EMERGED AS SOMEWHAT OF THE SPOKESMAN OR PUBLIC RELATIONS FIGURE FOR THE GROUP, AND -- PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANTLY -- THE LIAISON WITH THE YOUNGER MILITARY AND THE GARRISONS. COL. GUTIERREZ, PRESUMABLY THE STRONGEST FIGURE IN THE JUNTA, HAS TAKEN ON HIMSELF LIAISON WITHIN THE JUNTA, THE QUESTION OF APPOINTMENTS, AND PROBABLY THE MOST SENSITIVE ISSUE FACING THE JRG, THAT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WITHIN THE JUNTA, MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONSHIPS THUS FAR APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN HARMONIOUS, WITH NEITHER GROUP ATTEMPTING TO GAIN ASCENDANCY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

11. THE GREATEST DANGER TO THE MILITARY IS THE LOSS OF DISCIPLINE THROUGH THE RUPTURE IN A FUNCTIONING CHAIN OF COMMAND BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DISCARDING OF SOME FIFTY SENIOR OFFICERS AND MASSIVE PERSONNEL SHIFTS. A MAJOR CONCERN OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS IS THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THAT CHAIN OF COMMAND TO CONTROL THE JUNIOR OFFICERS. THE YOUNGER OFFICERS APPEAR CAPABLE OF MANAGING THE MILITARY UNITS, BUT HAVE EXPERIENCED SOME DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING THE SECURITY FORCES WHO ENVISION THEMSELVES AS THE PAWNS IN THE POLITICAL PRISONER/DISAPPEARED PERSONS GAMBIT.

12. CHURCH -- RELATIONS WITH THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH ARE [redacted]

GOOD BUT DELICATE ON BOTH SIDES. MAYORGA IS CONSIDERED (WITH MUCH JUSTIFICATION) TO REPRESENT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND JESUIT INTERESTS CLOSELY TIED TO ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. THE ARCHBISHOP, HOWEVER, WHILE CLEARLY SUPPORTING THE JUNTA, WISHES TO AVOID CHARGES OF OVERT POLITICAL ACTIVISM/INDENTIFICATION AND TO MAINTAIN HIS POPULAR PRESTIGE AND CREDIBILITY SO AS TO DRAW SUPPORT FROM THE EXTREME LEFT. HENCE, HE MUST ADOPT A HELPFUL BUT NOT UNCRITICAL PUBLIC POSTURE TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHICH PRESERVES HIS POPULAR INFLUENCE. TO DATE HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA. IF AND WHEN THE SECURITY FORCES USE EXCESSIVE FORCE AGAINST EVEN THE FAR LEFT, HOWEVER, ROMERO FEELSCOMPELLED BOTH MORALLY ANDPRACTICALLY TO TAKE A CRITICAL STANCE. SIMILARLY, HE MUST AND DOES PRESS THE JRG PUBLICLY ON HIGHLY EMOTIONAL ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHILE PRIVATELY RECOGNIZING THAT NEW MILITARY LEADERS WHO ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST SINS HAVE A NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE JOB OF INVESTIGATING AND PUNISHING THE GUILTY WITHOUT RIPPING APART THE FABRIC OF MILITARY UNITY. AS LONG AS THE JRG AND

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THE MILITARY SINCERELY TRY TO DEVELOP A NEW APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ROMERO WING OF THE CHURCH WILL PROVIDE IMPORTANT, IF NOT UNCRITICAL, SUPPORT AND ALL THE INTELLECTUAL RESOURCES OF THE INPORTANT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY-JESUIT COMMUNITY WILL BE AVAILABLE TO THE JUNTA.

13. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- EMBASSY HAS REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON RELATIONS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) TO THE JUNTA AND WILL ONLY SUMMARIZE THE HIGHLIGHTS. INITIALLY AMBIVALENT TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN JRG, PDC SUBSEQUENTLY TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET MEMBER APPOINTED TO JUNTA ITSELF AND AGREED TO SETTLE FOR CABINET AND SUB-SECRETARY POSITIONS. WHILE WISHING POTENTIAL POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE OF INDEPENDENT POSITION, PDC'S FUTURE IS CLOSELY TIED TO JUNTA'S SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS IN WAY WHICH ENSURES PARTY BACKING FOR NEW

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PAGE 07 STATE 291354

GOVERNMENT. INDEED, PDC'S CURRENT FRUSTRATION THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE GREATER DIRECT ROLE IN FORMULATING JUNTA'S POLITICAL STRATEGY DERIVES FROM ITS IMPOSSIBLE DESIRE TO HAVE IT BOTH WAYS, I.E., THE ELCTORAL BENEFITS OF INDEPENDENCE VERSUS THE MORE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BENEFIS OF SHAPING JRG POLICY IN A WAY MOST CALCULATED TO ENSURE ITS SURVIVAL. IN ESSEMCE, HOWEVER, THE PDC HAS AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING THE JUNTA WHILE SEEKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DERIVE MAXIMUM POLITICAL BENEFIT FROM ITS STILL AMBIVALENT POSITION. SINCE PDC DOES LOOM AT LEAST INITIALLY AS STRONGEST SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY, ITS POSITION AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE JRG WILL REMAIN IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THE POLITICAL QUESTION.

14. PRIVATE SECTOR RELATIONS WITH THE JRG ARE ALSO COMPLICATED, INFLUX AND COVERED IN PREVIOUS EMBASSY REPORTING. IN SUMMARY, #923;34. PROGRESSIVE BUSINESSMEN AND GROUPS -- WHO ARE AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FORCE -- SUPPORT THE JRG AND JUNTA LEADER MARIO ANDINO. WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY APPOINTED A MIXED COMMISSION TO WORK WITH AND SUPPORT ANDIND. CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS INTERESTS -- TRADITIONALLY VOCAL THROUGH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (ANEP) -- HAVE TAKEN A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE AND ARE LESS HOSTILE TO THE JUNTA THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, NERVOUS ABOUT THE PROMISE OF JRG REFORMS AD WILL SEEK TO BLUNT OR MODERATE ANY FAR-REACHING JUNTA PROGRAMS WHILE RELUCTANTLY ACCOMMODATING OTHERS. THE MOST CONSERVATIVE AND POLITICALLY ACTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WHO WERE THE POWER BEHIND THE RECENTLY DEPOSED LEADERSHIP OF ANEP, ARE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY DISCREDITED, INTERESTED IN PLOTTING BUT SEEMINGLY FRUSTRATED, AND TENDING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY TO AVOID REPRISALS. IN THIS CONTEXT PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS OF COUP PLOTTING, THE KIDNAPPING OF JAIME HILL (COUSIN OF REACTIONARY AGRICULTURALIST, BANKER ROBERTO HILL AND A CLOSE FRIEND OF EX-PRESIDENT ROMERO), THE REMOVAL OF QUESTIONABLE MILITARY OFFICERS FROM ACTIVE DUTY AND THE DEPARTURE OF FORMER ANPE LEADERS

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

MAY TEMPORARILY DEFUSE A RIGHIST COUNTERCOUP. IN THE LONGER RUN, [redacted]

PAGE 08 STATE 291354

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE JRG WILL BE SHAPED BY (A) THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE JRG'S REFORM PROGRAM AND (B) THE SHIFTING AND STILL UNCLEAR BALANCE BETWEEN SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVE/ MODERATES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE MORE TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIEVE OR REACTIONARY GROUPS.

15. LABOR -- REACTION OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED FEDERAL OF UNIONS OF CONSTRU TION AND TRANSPORTATION WORKERS (FESINCONSTRAINS), AND OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST RURAL CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION, THE UNION COMUNAL SALVADORENA (UCS), TO THE JRG HAS GENERALLY BEEN FAVORABLE, WITH BOTH CITING THE JRG'S WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT THEM ON IMPORTANT CABINET APPOINTMENTS AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS (SAN SALVADOR 5983, 6087, 6143, 5992, 6191). REACTION FROM CONSERVATIVE SECTOR OF LABOR MOVEMENT -- AS REPRESENTED BY DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN UNIONS-CGS (EL SALVADOR'S THIRD-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION) -- HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY LESS ENTHUSIASTIC, PROBABLY DUE TO CGS'S CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH PREVIOUS ROMERO GOVERNMENT. EL SALVADOR'S SECOND-LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION, THE PREDOMINANTLY COMMUNIST UNITED CONFEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (CUTS) IS A MEMBER OF POPULAR FORUM AND AS SUCH HAS GIVEN SUPPORT TO JRG. HOWEVER, ITS LARGEST COMPONENT, THE NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (FENASTRANS) -- WHICH HAS TIES TO LEFTIST UNIONED POPULAR ACTION FRONT (FAPU) -- RECNTLY ANNOUNCED ITS WITHDRAWAAL FROM THE POPULAR FORUM, DENOUNCING WHAT IT SAID WERE SOME OF JRG'S "REPRESSIVE" ACTIONS. ON THE EXTREME LEFT OF LABOR SPECTRUM, EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST TEACHERS ORGANIZATION, A"ANDES 21 DE JUNIO" AND THE JOSE GUILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE- CS (LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRE-COUP PERIOD WAVE OF PLANT TAKEOVERS) HAVE BOTH COME OUT AGAINST JRG. HOWEVER, ANDES IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. BOTH [redacted]

PAGE 09 STATE 291354

ANDES AND CCS ARE CONTROLLED BY LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR). IN SUM, JRG IS DRAWING SUPPORT FROM MODERATE AND CENTRIST SECOTRS OF ORGANIZED LABOR WHILE LABOR GROUPS ASSOCIATED WITH EXTREME LEFTIST SPECTRUM OF SALVADORAN LABOR MOVEMENT GAVE GONE INTO OPEN OPPOSITION.

16. MEDIA -- THE ESTABLISHED SALVADORAN MEDIA, WWHICH IS VERY CONSERVATIVE BY LATIN AMERICAN STANDARDS (ITS COMPLAINTS WERE DIRECTED AT WEAK GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP IN CRACKING DOWN ON "LEFT", INTERFERENCE

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WITH UNFETTERED FREE ENTERPRISE AND EXCESSIVE CONCERN ABOUT US HUMAN RIGHTS' POLICY) WAS CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP. IT IS NOW FOLLOWING CAREFUL AND OSTENSIBLY NEUTRAL POLITICAL LINE TOWARD JRG WITH CONTINUING ATTACKS OB LEFT. ESTABLISHED PRESS INTERESTS WILL TRY AND SURVIVE BY ADOPTING TO THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT OVERTLY ATTACKING JUNTA, AS LONG AS ITS POWER IS INTACT, CONSERVATIVE MEDIA WILL PROBABLY INVOKE FREEDOM OF PRESS TO SLOW OR BLOCK ANY JRG REFORM EFFORTS AIMED AT REAL STRUCTURAL CHANGE. THE CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER "ORIENTATION" WILL FOLLOW THE LINE OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND OPENLY CRITICAL AND AND OPINIONATED LEFTIST DAILY "LA CRONICA" WILL CONTINUE TO WEAVE BETWEEN THE RADICAL AND ORTHODOX LEFT, CRITICIZING ANY JUNTA ACTIONS DEEMED
REPRESSIVE OR DIRECTED AGAINST PUBLIC. RADIO WILL REMAIN A VERY INFLUENTIAL MEDIA WHICH IS FAR MORE OPEN THAN PRESS OR TV TOWARDS POLITICAL PLURALISM. EVENTUALLY, MORE PROGRESSIVE AND MODERATE MEDIA INTERESTS MAY EMERGE IN SUPPORT OF THE JUNTA BUT THE PREPONDERANT QUALITY AND ORIENTATION OF THE MEDIA IS AT PRESENT LOW AND GENERALLY CONSERVATIVE. EVEN BEFORE THE COUP, HOWEVER, THE MEDIA WAS SHOWING SIGNS OF OPENING UP TO THE OPPOSITION. AND THAT TREND HAS SINCE ACCTOTY PG.

17. CHALLENGE FROM RIGHT AND LEFT -- THE EXTREME LEFT AND RIGHT WERE CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE COUP AND HAVE BEEN FORCED TO REVISE [redacted] THEIR RESPECTIVE STRATEGIES. THE RIGHT, IN CONJUNCTION

PAGE 10 STATE 291354

WITH THE ROMERO REGIME, HAD REPORTEDLY BEEN PLANNING A MASSIVE CRACKDOWN AFTER THE OAS CONSIDERED THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON EL SALVADOR AND THE COUNTRY. HOPEFULLY AVERTED CONDEMNATION. WHEN REPORTS OF THE COUP PLOT BY YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS REACHED PRESIDENT ROMERO, THERE WAS APPARENTLY A FUTILE EFFORT TO ORGANIZAE A COUNTERCOUP AND THEN A TENSE PERIOD OF NEGOTION ON OCT 15 BETWEEN ROMERO LOYALISTS IN THE ARMED FORCES AND THE GOLISTAS. DETAILS OF WHAT WAS AGREED ARE NOT KNOW BUT CLEARLY ROMERO'S INNTER CIRCLE COMPOSED OF SOME MILITARY OFFICERS AND PRESUMABLY SOME CABINET MINISTERS, WERE GUARANTEED SAFE PASSAGE OUT OF THE COUNTRY. IN ADDITION, THE COUP ORGANIZERS MAY HAVE GIVEN SOME ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST OTHER FIGURES IN THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT WHO CHOSE TO REMAIN. IN ANY EVENT, WHATEVER AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ENABLED ROMERO AND COMPNY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY PEACEFULLY AND AVOIDED AN INTERNAL CONFRONTATION IN THE ARMED FORCES WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN DISASTEROUS.

18. FOLLOWING THE COUP THE MOST IMMEDIATE THREAT FROM THE RIGHT APPEARS TO STEM FROM A POTENTIAL COMBINATION OF TWO GROUPS: A REACTIONARY ELEMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHICH WAS ENGAGED INRIGHTIST TERRORISM UNDER ROMERO AND DISGRUNTLED SEGMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO WERE DISPLACED BY THE COU BUT DO NOT SUPPORT THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP OR THE OBJECTIVES AND ORIENTATION OF THE JRG. DESPITE STRONG INITIAL CONCERN

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THAT THESE TWO GROUPS MIGHT UNITE IN A COUNTERCOUP, THE IMMEDIATE THREAT MAY BE RECEDING SOMEWHAT AS PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF A WOULD-BE COUNTERCOUP SURFACES. EXTREMISTS OF THE RIGHT EXIT THE COUNTRY, THE NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP ACTS TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER WOULD-BE COUP PLOTTERS AMONG DISPLACED OR INITIALLY DISAFFECTED MILITARY OFFICERS. THE JUNTA MOVEMENT TO DEFINE A POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR SEEKING BROADER SUPPORT AND ITS DESIRE TO DEV-
ELOP BETTER ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS FOR COPING WITH THE VIOLENT

[redacted]

PAGE 11 STATE 291354

CHALLENGE ON THE EXTREME LEFT SHOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE JUNTA AND NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP CAN GET THEIR ACT IN ORDER

IT WILL HELP UNDERCUT THE IMMEDIATE MACHINATION OF THE FAR RIGHT. ANOTHER AND PROBABLY MORE SERIOUS THREAT FROM THIS QUARTER MAY ARISE LATER IF AND WHEN THE JUNTA DECIDES TO LAUNCH A MEANINGFUL REFORM PROGRAM WHICH WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE TRADITIONALLY DOMINANT AND CONSERVATIVE INTERESTS IN EL SALVADOR.

19. THE TIMETABLE AND STRATEGY OF GROUPS ON THE EXTREME LEFT WERE ALSO JOLTED BY THE MILITARY COUP. AFTER INITIAL CONFUSION AND SOME INTERNAL DIVISIONS, HOWEVER, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE SOMEWHAT RECOVERED. WHETHER SEPARATELY OR IN CONCERT, THREE CLANDESTINE GROUPS AND THEIR POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS HE APARENTLY DECLARED WAR ON THE JUNTA AND ARE ENGAGED IN AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN OF MASS DEMONSTRATIONS, SELECTIVE TERRORISM, POLITICALLY PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS AND EVEN LOW-LEVEL GUERRILLA ATTACKS TO KEEP THE JUNTA OFF-GUARD AND ON THE DEFENSIVE. A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE AT THIS STAGE IS TO PROVOKE THE JUNTA INTO A REACTIVE AND REPRESSIVE POSTURE; ONE CALCULATED TO GENERATE MORE MARTYRS, TARNISH THE DEMOCRATIC IMAGE OTLOHE JUNTA, PROMOTE POLARIZATION AND RECAPTURE POPULAR SUPPORT WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE FLOW TO MODERATE GROUPS LIKE THE PDC. INITIALLY, AT LEAST THIS AGGRESSIVE TACTIC HAS BEEN A PARTIAL SUCCESS. IT HAS SLOWED JU TA PLANNING (THE BPR'S OCCUPATION OF MINISTRIES AND SEUZIRE OF LEADING CABINET MEMBERS AS HOSTAGE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY DAMAGING) AND PROVOKED OCCASIONAL OVER-REACTION BY SECURITY FORCES AND NEW MARTYRS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAS CLEARLY REVEALED THE VIOLENT AND EXTREMIST GOALS AND METHODS OF THE FAR LEFT IN A WAY WHICH IF ACTIVELY AND INTELLIGENTLY COUNTERED

BY THE JUNTA AND THE ARMED FORCES COULD DISCREDIT AND UNDERMINE POPULAR SYMPATHY FOR THE EXTREMIST CAUSE.

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PAGE 12 STATE 291354

20. IN GENERAL TERMS THE JRG HAS TRIED TO REACT IN A RESTRAINED

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AND POLITICAL WAY TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE LEFT EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-VIOLENT SOLUTION TO THE NATION'S PROBLEMS AND UNMASKINGLTHE DEMOGOGIC DEMANDS OF HE FAR LEFT. THUS FAR THE JUNTA'S BASICALLY SOUND POSTURE HAS BEEN WEAKENED BY A VARIETY OF FACTORS: INADEQUATE ORGANIZATION OF JRG'S PUBLIC RELATIONS AND INFORMATION EFFORTS THE DIFFICULTY OF RETRAINING AND RESTRAINING A MILITARY FORCE ACCUSTOMED AND EQUIPPED TO USING VIOLENCE TO CONTROL VIOLENCE, POOR OR ALMOST NON-EXISTENT INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY, SELF-CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE NEED TO SAFEGUARD THE LIVES OF MINISTRIAL HOSTAGES HELD BY THE BPR.

20.A. TWO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE DEDEVILED THE JUNTA'S EFFORTS TO BUILD POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT BY TAKING AWAY ITS POLITICAL BANNERS ARE (A) THE NEARLY INSOLVABLE PROBLEM OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS/POLITICAL PRISONERS AND (B) THE DEMOGOGICAND IMPOSSIBLE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE FAR LEFT. REGARDING THE FIRST ISSUE, THE JUNTA HAS FINALLY ADMITTED IT CAN FIND NO PRISONERS BUT APPOINTED A COMMISSSION RESPONSIBLE FOR AN INVESTIGATION AND REPORT IN 60 DAYS. THE BASIC ISSUE SEEMS CLEAR. MOST, IF NOTALL, THE PRISONERS/ DISAPPEARED PERSONS ARE PROBABLY DEAD BUT THERE IS A QUESTION OF HOW FAR THE JUNTA CAN GO TOWARD FULLY REVEALING AND PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE WITHOUT THREATENINGLTHE FRAGILE UNITY OF THE ARMED FORCES

IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD. WHATEVER THE JUNTA DOES IN THIS AREA WILL NOT

SATISFY THE
FAR LEFT WHICH NEEDS THIS EMOTIONAL POLITICAL ISSUE. NEVERTHELESS, IT MAY HAVE TO GO MUCH FATHER THAN IT ORIGINALLY HOPED AND CONTINUES TO PLAN IN ORDER TO MAKE CREDIBLE ITS COMMITMENT TO FUTURE HUMAN RIGHTS REFORM AND SATISFY MODERATE POLITICAL GROUPS, THE CHURCH, AND PUBLIC OPINION IN GENERAL THAT THERE WILL BE CHANGE AND [redacted]

PAGE 13 STATE 291354

THAT PAST RESPONSIBILITY WILL NOT BE IGNORED.

21. ON THE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE LEFT, THE JUNTA MUST BEGIN TO ADOPT AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHICH WILL UNDERCUT, IF NOT SATIFY, POPULAR ASPIRATIONS. THIS IS NOT AN EASY STEP AFTER THREE TURBULENT WEEKS WHEN KEY ECONOMIC MINISTERS ARE BEING HELD AND THE COUNTRY IS UNDER LEFTIST ASSAULT. BUT

PLANNING IS UNDERWAY AND THE JUNTA HAS PROVIDED THE BROAD OUTLINES OF AN EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAN WITH MORE SPECIFIC MEASURES TO BE ANNOUNCED THIS WEEK.

22. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES DESCRIBED, DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST THE EXTREME LEFT IS LIKELY TO BTLBESS EFFECTIVE THAN INTELLIGENT

BUT FIRM RESTRAINT COUPLED WITH A COHERENT POLITICAL STRATEGY TO DISCREDIT THE EXTREME LEFT. BOTH ARE RECOGNIZED BY THE JRG AND IN THE PROCESS OF INITIAL ELABORATION BUT FACE

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TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES, PARTICULARLY IN THE SECURITY AREA WHERE TRADITIONAL RESPONSES AND POOR CAPABILITY CANNOT BE CHANGED OVERNGITH. THE CHURCH AND MODERATE POLITICAL SECTORS ARE PRIVATELY MORE UNDERSTANDING AND TOLERANT TO THE JRG PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA THAN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AIMED AT MAINTAINING POPULAR CREDIBILITY MIGHT SUGGEST.

23. IN THE MEDIUM AND LONGER TERM, THE JRG NEEDS TO REGAIN THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE, FURTHER ELABORATE ITS POSITION ON HOLDING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND DEFIPE ITS ROLE AS A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PLEDGED TO REFORM OR AT LEAST TO LAY THE GROUND WORK FOR OVERDUE POLITICALAND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS. AT THIS EARLY POINT, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASSESS THE JRG ABILITY TO REACH THESE OBJECTIVES. WE DO KNOW THAT JUNTA MEMBERS RECOGNIZE AND ARE ACTIVELY WEIGHTING THESE ISSUES. THE DIVERSITY OF POLITICAL INTERESTS INVOLVED AND REFLECTED N THE JUNTA TENDSTO FORCE A SLOWER DECISION-MAKING PROCESS BASED ON CONSULTATION, BUT IF AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED BY THIS ROUTE, THE RESULTS MAY BE MORE

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ACCEPTABLE, ENDURING AND HELPFUL TO THE JUNTA'S STRUGGLE TO BUILD A MODERATE CONCENSUS WHICH WILL ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT.

24. FINALLY, THE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND ASSESSMENT REQUESTED (REFTEL) ARE COVERED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE ALONG WITH SOME POLICY QUESTIONS WHICH THEY RAISE FOR USG RESPONSE.

25. HOW CAN THE USG BEST HELP THE JRG? -- AT THIS DELICATE STAGE IN THE JUNTA'S LIFE, THE USG'S ROLE IS VERY IMPORTANT BUT REQUIRES POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING AND SENSITIVITY TO LOCAL REALITIES. AMBASSADOR DEVINE CAN BEST ADDRESS THE COMPLEX QUESTIONS ATTACHED TO THE USG'S POSTURE AND POLICY TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT DURING CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON. NEVERTHELESS, SEVERAL GENERAL OBSERVATIONS SEEM WORTH MENTIONING OR REITERATING AT THIS TIME:

A. US SECURITY AND ECONOIC ASSISTANCE MAY WEL PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT THE TIMING, AMOUNT AND ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY MUST DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE JUNTA'S POLITICAL JUDGMENT OF WHAT IS REQUIRED AND APPROPRIATE.

B. A CLOSE CONTINUOUS BUT DISCREET POLITICAL AND ECNOMIC DIALOGUE WITH THE JUNTA AND OTHER KEY OFFICIALS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, IS NECESSARY BUT REQUIRES CAREFUL DEVELOPMENT SO AS TO AVOID THE INTERNAL POLITICAL STIGMA OF EXCESSIVE PUBLIC ASSOCIATION.

C. IN ADDITION TO USG ASSISTANCE, IT WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE FOR US TO TAKE THE LEAD PRIVATELY ENCOURAGING OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO OFFE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT. BILATERAL US ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE MORE POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE JUNTA EITHER IN THE CONTEXT OF A MULTILATERAL EFFORT OR IF COMPLEMENTED

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BY BILATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM A VARIETY OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.
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D. WE MUST ENCOURAGETHE JUNTA IN THEIR OWN EFFORTS TO DEVISE A SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM POLITICAL STRATEGY WHICH CAN BE PUBLICLY ARTICULATED IN A WAY THAT ISOLATES THE FAR LEFT. IN ADDITION TO REGULAR CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT, WE MUST CONTINUE TO URGE DIALOGUE AND CONSULTATION AMONG ALL MODERATE SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT IS NEEDED FOR THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL. WE MUST COOPERATE WHEREVER POSSIBLE IN ASSITING THE JUNTA TO COPE WITH CHALLENGES ON THE EXTREME LEFT OR RIGHT. THIS IMPLIES SOME SHARING OF APPROPRIATE INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER INFORMATION.

26. STRENGTHENING CONTACTS WITH THE JRG AND OTHER SECTORS -- AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, BOTH FROM STATE CABLES, [redacted], THE MISSION HAS HAD SUBSTANTIAL CONTACT BOTH FORMALLY AND INFORMALLY WITH MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA DURING ITS SHORT TENURE IN POWER. MORE CONTACT IS OF COURSE DESIRABLE AND WILL BE ACTIVELY PURSUED IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD, BUT THE NATURE AND FREQUENCY OF SUCH CONTACTS MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF POLICY, POLITICAL, AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ENGENDERED BY CERTAIN INTERNAL REALITIES IN EL SALVADOR. IN THE FIRST PLACE, CONSTRUCTIVE PUBLIC AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, PRIVATE CONTACT WITH THE JUNTA DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS WAS LIMITED BY THE INCIPENT JRG'S OWN ABSORPTION AND PREOCCUPATION WITH THE DIFFICULT CONSULTATIVE PROCESS OF (A) FORMING AN ENTIRELY NEW GOVERNMENT, (B) DEFINING INTERNAL LINES OF AUTHORITY, (C) DEFINING THE BROAD OUTLINE OF A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY, AND (D) REACTING TO THE ALMOST IMMEDIATE ONSLAUGHT FROM THE FAR LEFT. CONTACTS WERE ESTABLISHED THROUGH A VARIETY OF CHANNELS, BUT TO HAVE BURDENED THE HARD-PRESSED JUNTA MEMBERS WITH REQUESTS FOR FURTHER MEETINGS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT -- AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE -- WAS THE NEED TO AVOID EXCESSIVE US PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION WITH A NEW GOVERNMENT, MODERATE BUT STILL POLITICALLY SHAKY IT IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A BROAD POLITIAL LBASE BY REACHING OUT TO AN IDEOLOGICALLY DIVERSE POLITICAL
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CONSTITUENCY, PART OF WHICH WOULD RESIST OR EVEN OPPOSE A CLOSE, OVERT YELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.

27. IN THIS CONTEXT, PUBLIC OFFERS OF US ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF RIOT CONTROL, WHILE PRIVATELY HEARTENING TO MOST MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA, ARE ALSO A POTENTIAL SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BUILD PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SUPPORT. TO GIVE ONLY ONE EXAMPLE, THE CHURCH FELT COMPELLED TO PUBLICLY

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Special Project (1993)

NOTE AND OPPOSE REFERENCES TO POSSIBILITY OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHILE RADICAL GROUPS ON THE NON-EXTREMIST LEFT, WHICH THE JUNTA SEEKS TO ATTRACT, WILL BE WARY AND PUBLICLY CRITICAL OF ANY CLOSE JUNTA ASSOCITION WITH THE US. IN REALITY USG SUPPORT -- POLITICAL AS WELL AS MATERIAL -- IS LIKELY TO PROVE ESSENTIAL TO THE JUNTA'S SURVIVAL BUT IT MUST BE PROFERRED WITH CARE AND SOPHISTICATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT INTERNAL POLITICAL REALITIES AND SENSITIVITIES.

28. FINALLY, THE MISSION HAS DEVELOPED AND WILL CONTINUE TO CULTIVATE A WIDE RANGE OF POLITICAL GROUPS AND SECTORS WHOSE SUPPORT CONTRIBUTES TO STABILITY AND WHICH CAN INFLUENCE THE JUNTA IN POSITIVE DIRECTIONS THAT WILL STRENGTHEN ITS PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL. INFORMALLY AND PRIVATELYO WE HAVE LONG MOVED ACTIVELY ALONG THESE LINES. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS CLEAR FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE AT LEAST THAT OUR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE CATALYTIC AND SUPPORTIVE OF THE JUNTA MEMBERS WHO, KNOWING BEST THEIR OWN POLITICAL REALITY, CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY DEVISE A STRATEGY APPROPRIATE TO THE COMPLEX SITUATION HERE.
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason: ____

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE: DISAPPEARANCE OF DANIEL LAZARO RUS (93/77/9)

REF: BA-1311

H PASS: HONORABLE BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC

1. DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROSENTHAL:
THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF OCT 16, 1979 ASKING ABOUT DANIEL LAZARO RUS. WE HAVE NO LATER INFORMATION IN THIS CASE BEYOND THAT WHICH WE FORWARDED VIA THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN OUR CABLE 1311 OF FEBRUARY 15, 1979.

2. IN THAT MESSAGE I STATED THAT THE ARGENTINE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAD REITERATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS NO RECORD ON THE ARREST OF DANIEL LAZARO RUS AND NO INFORMATION ON HIS WHEREABOUTS. AS YOU KNOW, THIS IS THE USUAL REPLY THE EMBASSY RECEIVES IN CASES OF UNEXPLAINED DISAPPEARANCES. WE WILL, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO MONITOR THIS CASE AND WILL INFORM YOU SHOULD THERE BE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 09225 111532Z

3. SINCERELY YOURS, RAUL CASTRO, AMBASSADOR.
CASTRO

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006503

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06503 092242Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 AID-05 PC-01 OC-06 CCO-00 EB-08 HA-05
OMB-01 TRSE-00 COM-02 LAB-04 SIL-01 SY-05 SYE-00
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O 092210Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5382
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASH DC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6503

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ECON, ELAB PGOV SHUM PINT ES
SUBJ: JUNTA REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT (JRG) MAKES RADIO AND TELEVISION ADDRESS TO SALVADORAN PUBLIC

1. AT 2000 HOURS ON NOV 8, FIVE MEMBERS OF REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) ADDRESSED NATION VIA RADIO AND TELEVISION FOR THIRTY MINUTES. GUILLERMO MANUEL UNGO, COL. ACREDO MAJANO, AND ROMAN MAYORGA WERE THE ONLY ONES TO SPEAK.

2.
DURING HIS PORTION OF PROGRAM, UNGO REFERRED TO
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06503 092242Z

NOVEMBER 6 JRG DECREE NUMBER 12 THAT FORMALLY DISSOLVED ORDEN (SAN SALVADOR 6435) AND MENTIONED SOME OF ACTIONS THAT JRG WOULD TAKE TO IMPLEMENT DECREE. HE SAID THAT ALL VEHICLES PREVIOUSLY USED BY ORDEN WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED TO OTHER GOVERNMENT ENTITIES. UNGO ADDED THAT MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENCY RUBEN ZAMORA RIVAS HAD ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COURT OF ACCOUNTS TO DO A COMPLETE INVENTORY OF ORDEN PROPERTY. UNGO ALSO REFERRED TO NOV 7 CREATION OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940034L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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COMMISSION FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS - CEI (SAN SALVADOR 6436). JUNTA EMPHASIZED THAT FIVE DEMANDS PREVIOUSLY MADE BY CEI MEMBER DR. ROBERTO LARA VELADO BEFORE BECOMING MEMBER OF COMMISSION HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY ACCEPTED BY JRG, A POINT THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY REMAINED UNCLEAR.

9. DURING HIS PORTION OF SPEECH, MAYORGA DISCUSSED CERTAIN ECONOMIC MEASURES THAT HAD BEEN TAKEN BY JRG, SPECIFICALLY ANNOUNCING THAT DECREE HAD BEEN ISSUED FIXING PRICES OF CERTAIN BASIC FOOD ITEMS (EGGS, CHICKEN, MILK, ETC.) AT CERTAIN LEVELS FOR THIRTY DAYS. MAYORGA SAID THAT DURING THE 30-DAY PERIOD JRG WOULD MAKE EFFORT TO DETERMINE COST OF PRODUCTION FOR THESE ITEMS IN ORDER TO DETERMINE A FAIR PRICE AND GUARANTEE JUST RETURN TO PRODUCERS OF THESE ITEMS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ENSURING THAT PRICES FOR THESE ITEMS WOULD REMAIN AS LOW AS POSSIBLE FOR SALVADORAN CONSUMING PUBLIC. MAYORGA STATED THAT SALES ESTABLISHMENTS WOULD BE ORDERED TO DISPLAY SIGNS INDICATING PRICES FIXED IN DECREE. MAYORGA SET FORTH THE SANCTIONS FOR THOSE BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS WHO VIOLATED THE DECREE (FIRST VIOLATION WOULD MEAN ESTABLISHMENT WOULD BE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06503 092242Z

CLOSED FOR EIGHT DAYS, SECOND VIOLATION WOULD ENTAIL THREE-MONTH CLOSING, AND THIRD VIOLATION WOULD RESLT IN PERMANENT CLOSING). MAYORGA STATED MINISTRY OF ECONOMY WOULD SET UP SPECIAL BANK OF TELEPHONES TO RECEIVE COMPLAINTS WITH REGARD TO DECREE.

4. MAYORGA ALSO TOUCHED ON THE SUBJECT OF MINIMUM WAGES, STATING THAT JRG HAD THEM UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION, SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING THE UPCOMING WAGES THAT WOULD BE SET FOR HARVEST WORKERS IN THE COFFEE, SUGAR CANE, AND COTTON SECTORS. MAYORGA STATED THE JRG STILL HAD THE WHOLE QUESTION OF MINIMUM WAGES UNDER CONSIDERATION BUT THAT A KEY CRITERION WOULD BE THAT THERE SHOULD BE SALARY INCREASES TO A LEVEL THAT WOULD HELP TO INCREASE INTERNAL MARKET FOR SALVADORAN MANUFACTURED GOODS. IN THIS CONTEXT, MAYORGA STATED THAT THIS WOULD NOT ONLY HELP SALVADORAN WORKER BUT ALSO SALVADORAN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN THE LONG-RUN.

5. COL. MAJANO ADDRESSED QUESTION OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, COMMENTING THAT HERETOFORE MAYORALTIES HAD NOT HAD REAL POWER. MAJANO ANNOUNCED THAT JRG HAD GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO PERMIT LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES TO ENGAGE IN THEIR OWN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT UNDUE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

INTERFEERENCE FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. MAJANO ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT NEW MAYORS WOULD BE SELECTED BY JRG FOR EL SALVADOR'S 261 MUNICIPALITIES AND THAT EL SALVADOR'S ESTABLISHED POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE SELECTION PROCESS. FINALLY, HE ANNOUNCED THAT SUCH GOVERNMENT ENTITIES AS SALVADORAN INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATIVES (INSAFOCOOP) AND PRIDECO WOULD CEASE TO BE INSTRUMENTS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND WOULD BE HENCEFORTH AT DISPOSAL OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. MAJANO EMPHASIZED

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06503 092242Z

THAT THIS DECENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS WOULD HOPEFULLY GIVE SALVADORAN CITIZENS A GREATER SENSE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPANTION.

6. COMMENT: JRG ADDRESS TO SALVADORAN PUBLIC WAS NOTEWORTHY NOT ONLY FOR MEASURES ANNOUNCED BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT SEEMED TO INDICATE THE JRG IS TRYING TO ENGAGE IN GREATER PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT TO RALLY SUPPORT TO JRG. MORE DETAILED SEPTELS WILL FOLLOW, TOUCHING SPECIFICALLY ON ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY JRG.
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006499

ADP399 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06499 120705Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
TRSE-00 /075 W
----------039628 120738Z /64

R 092130Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5376
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6499

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (LOU) ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUES TO CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG)

REF: SAN SALVADOR 6436

1. DESPITE NAMING OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATING COMMISSION (CEI) FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS ON NOVEMBER 7 (REFTEL), ISSUE HAS CONTINUED TO CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG). LATEST DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDE:

A. MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS AND RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS STARTED HUNGER STRIKE DURING MORNING OF NOVEMBER 7 IN OFFICE OF [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06499 120705Z

SUBSECRETARY OF JUSTICE DR FERNANDO AUGUSTO MENDE, WHO IS ALSO MEMBER OF SALVADORAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (COHES). MENDEZ REPORTEDLY REMARKED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD ATTITUDE OF MOTHERS' COMMITTEE MEMBERS IN VIEW OF MENTAL ANGUISH THEY HAD GONE THROUGH AND STATED HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO THEIR REMAINING IN HIS OFFICE. HE REMARKED THAT HE THOUGHT THEIR DEMANDS WERE "FAIR" BUT THAT HE HAD HOPES

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031L

PAGE NO 1

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006499

CEI WOULD YIELD CLARIFICATION OF WHOLE PROBLEM.

B. IN PAID PRESS INSERTION THAT APPEARED IN NOVEMBER 9 EDITION OF NEWSPAPER "EL MUNDO", CDHES CLAIMED THAT TEN PERSONS HAD "DISAPPEARED" BETWEEN OCTOBER 16-31 AFTER BEING ARRESTED BY NATIONAL GUARD AND NATIONAL POLICE.

C. LEFTIST UNITED POPULAR ACTION FRONT (FAPU) ANNOUNCED THAT ON NOVEMBER 9, REYNALDO CRUZ MENJIVAR (WHO CLAIMED TO HAVE ESCAPED FROM CLANDESTINE JAIL CELL OF POLICIA DE HACIENDA IN SEPTEMBER 1978 - 78 SAN SALVADOR 5396 AND 5525; HE SUBSEQUENTLY SOUGHT ASYLUM IN VENEZUELAN EMBASSY) WOULD BE GIVENG TALK AT NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (UES) ON HIS EXPERIENCES AT HANDS OF SECURITY FORCES AS "DISAPPEARED PERSON" PRIOR TO HIS ESCAPE. FAPU INVITED LOCAL AND FOREIGN JOURNALISTS TO ATTEND SPEECH.

D. IN ITS NOVEMBER 7 RESPONSE TO JRG FORMATION OF CEI, BPR-CONTROLLED TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06499 120705Z

"ANDES 21 DE JUNIO" ANNOUNCED THAT IT WAS UNWILLING TO ABIDE WITH 60-DAY PERIOD GIVEN TO CEI TO COME UP WITH INFORMATION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS. INSTEAD ANDES GAVE JRG UNTIL NOVEMBER 12 TO COME UP WITH INFORMATION CONCERNING "DISAPPEARANCES" OF FIVE ANDES MEMBERS. TWO OF THESE MEMBERS WERE ALLEGEDLY ARRESTED IN NOVEMBER 1977, ONE IN APRIL 1978, ONE IN AUGUST 1979, AND THE LAST IN SEPTEMBER 1979.

E. MINISTER TO PRESIDENCY RUBEN ZAMORA RIVAS ON NOVEMBER 7 INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO TESTIFY BEFORE CEI ABOUT HIS PERSONAL DETENTION AS REQUESTED BY MOTHERS' COMMITTEE IN NOVEMBER 7 PRESS INSERTION (SAN SALVADOR 6436). ZAMORA RIVAS WAS DETAINED BY SECURITY FORCES IN 1976-77 TIME PERIOD AND REPORTEDLY SAW SOME OF POLITICAL PRISONERS WHOSE NAMES HAVE APPEARED ON LISTS OF ALLEGED POLITICAL PRISONERS.

F. MOTHERS' COMMITTEE HAD 15-MINUTE TELEVISION BROADCAST AT 1830 HOURS NOVEMBER 8. BASICALLY, PARTICIPANTS JUST READ FROM TEXT OF NOV 7 PRESS INSERTION. THEY CLAIMED THERE HAD BEEN ELEVEN MORE CASES OF "DISAPPEARED PERSONS" SINCE OCTOBER 15 COUP.

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006499

2. COMMENT: DUE TO EFFORTS OF SUCH GROUPS AS COHES AND MOTHERS' COMMITTEE, ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME TO BE AT FOREFRONT OF PROBLEMS CONFRONTING JRG. HOPEFULLY, CEI WILL WITHIN 60 DAYS BE ABLE TO COME UP WITH INFORMATION THAT WILL HELP TO DEFUSE THIS EMOTIONAL AND POLITICALLY SENSITIVE QUESTION AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO RESOLVE SOME OF VERY REAL QUESTIONS STILL SURROUNDING WHOLE ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06499 120705Z

AND "DISAPPEARED PERSONS".
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006507

ADP485
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06507 1207412
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 IO-14 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 /069 W
----------039753 120916Z /12

R 092230Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVDOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5395
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6507

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/9/85
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION REPORT ON VIOLATIONS FROM INITIATION OF COUP TO OCTOBER 31

1. (U) SALVADORAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (CDHES) PAID PRESS INSERTION APPEARING NOVEMBER 7 MAKES PUBLIC THAT ORGANIZATION'S LIST OF ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR PERIOD OF OCTOBER 16-31. LIST PRESENTS NAMES OF SOME VICTIMS AND GIVES FIGURES FOR VARIOUS INCIDENTS MUCH HIGHER THAN THOSE GENERALLY REPORTED IN PRESS PREVIOUSLY. CDHES INSERTION LISTS AS SOURCES "TESTIMONY OF FAMILY MEMBERS...REPORTS TO ARCHBISHOPRIC AND INTERNATIONAL CABLES." INSERTION EMPHASIZES DATA IS "INCOMPLETE", EXPLAINING THERE ARE NUMEROUS OTHER CASES NOT REPORTEDIN FEAR OF REPRISAL.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06507 1207412

2. (U) CDHES INSERTION LISTS BY NAME, DATE OF CAPURE, AND SECURITY FORCE INVOLVED, TEN "DISAPPEARED" PERSONS FOR THE PERIOD. IT FURTHER LISTS BY NAME, DATE OF CAPTURE, SECURITY FORCE INVOLVED AND DATE CADAVER WAS FOUND. THREE PERSONS "ASSASSINATED AFTER CAPTURE". UNDER CATEGORY "UNIDENTIFIED" CDHES ALLEGES THAT ONH OCTOBER 17, DAY FOLLOWING INCIDENT IN MEJICANOS, TWELVE BODIES WITH THROATS CUT WERE FOUND IN GENERAL

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PAGE NO

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940038L

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El Salvador: Human R
Special Project (199

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CEMETERY OF SAN SALVADOR, AND THAT BODIES HAD BEEN TAKEN FROM MEJICANOS TO NATIONAL GUARD MORGUE. IT ALSO ALLEGES THAT ON OCTOBER 18 , DAY FOLLOWING INCIDENT AT SAN MARCOS, SEVENTY-FIVE BODIES WITH THROATS CUT, EYES PUT OUT AND OTHER SIGNS OF TORTURE AND WOUNDS FROM GUN FIRE APPEARED IN GENERAL CEMETERY OF EL SALVADOR, HAVING BEEN TAKEN THERE FROM SAN MARCOS BY NATIONAL GUARD.

3. (U) FINAL SECTION OF INSERTION PRESENTS NUMBERS OF PERSONS KILLED IN CONNECTION WITH VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS BOTH AS LINE GRAPH AND LISTING OF INCIDENTS AS FOLLOWS:

A. OCTOBER 16 - "MASSACRE" OF MEJICANOS AND CUSCATANCINGO (47 DEAD).

B. OCTOBER 17 - "MASSACRE" OF SAN MARCOS (27 DEEAD).

C. OCTOBER 19 - ASSASSINATIONS IN COLONIA ZACAMIL OF SAN SALVADOR (TWO DEAD).

D. OCTOBER 22 - DISSOLUTION OF FUNERAL [redacted]

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DEMONSTRATION (FOUR DEAD).

E. OCTOBER 26 - INCIDENT AT SAN MIGUEL CATHEDRAL (TWO DEAD).

F . OCTOBER 29 - "MASSACRE" OF DEMONSTRATION IN SAN SALVADOR (76 DEAD).

G. OCTOBER 30 - "MASSACRES" OF "COMIC" DEMONSTRATION (27 DEAD).

4. (C) COMMENT: INSERTION LOSES CONSIDERABLE CREDIBILITY UPON CLOSER EXAMINATION. IT WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT CAREFULLY PREPARED AND APPEARS TO BE SOMEWHAT OF A CATCH-ALL COMPILATION WITHNOTHING TO INDICATE THERE WAS VERIFICATIONOF SOURCES AND INFORMATION. THERE ARE ALSO SOME INTERNAL INCONSISTENCIES IN INSERTION, E.G. ALLEGED 75 UNIDENTIFIED DEAD LISTED IN PARA TWO ABOVE ARE NOT REFLECTED IN ITEM B OF PARA THREE. ALSO LINE GRAPH INDICATES THAT ON OCTOBER 22 OR 23 SOME 35 MEMBERS OF "SECURITY FORCES, ORDEN, ARMY" WERE KILLED. NO EXPLANATION OF THIS ITEM IS GIVEN WHATSOEVER, AND EMBASSY IS UNAWARE OF ANY INCIDENT OR TOTAL OF INCIDENTS THAT WOULD PRODUCE THAT NUMBER OF OFFICIAL OR PARA-MILITARY DEAD. STILL, GENERALLY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

HIGHER DEATH TOLLS ARE MORE IN LINE WITH CLAIMS OF POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS THAT SUFFERED LOSSES AND THAT APPARENTLY ARE BEING ACCEPTED BY WIDER SPECTRUM OF PUBLIC ACCORDING
TO INFORMATION REACHING EMBASSY.
IN ANY EVENT, THEY GIVE AN INDICATION AS TO SIZE OF CREDIBILITY PROBLEM FACED BY JRG ON THIS ISSUE.

5. (C) CDHES HAS SUFFERED FROM DIVISIONS IN ITS RANKS SINCE OCTOBER 15 BETWEEN THOSE SUPPORTING COUP

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06507 120741Z

AND THOSE OPPOSED TO IT AS BEING ALLEGED FACADE FOR CONTINUATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT. LATTER APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN GAINING UPPER HAND IN CDHES PUBLIC STATEMENTS. HOWEVER, ROBERTO LARA VELADO HAS REMAINED PRESIDENT OF CDHES AND HAS NOW BEEN NAMED BY JRG AS "HONORABLE PERSON" MEMBER OF SPECIAL INVESTIGAING COMMISSION. LARA VELADO'S CONDITIONS FOR TAKING POSITION WITH CEI WERE PUBLICLY ACCEPTED BYJUNTA MEMBER BUILLERMO UNGO IN RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCAST NOVEMBER 8. ALSO, CDHES VICE PRESIDENT MARIENELA GARCIA VILLAS' EFFORT IN DEFUSING TENSE SITUATIONNIGHT OF NOVEMBER 1-2 WHEN NATIONAL GUARD THREATENED TO ATTACK OCCUPIED EL ROSARIO CHURCH HAS PUBLICLY BEEN RECOGNIZED BY JRG. CONSEQUENTLY, CDHES MAINTAINS CERTAIN PRESTIGE, CREDIBILITY, AND USEFULNESS IN BOTH OFFICIAL AND OPPOSITION SECTORS. HOWARD

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006480

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ADP480
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06480 01 OF 02 120524Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05
PC-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 HA-05 SY-05 MCT-02 /089 W
----------039253 120908Z /14

R 091700Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6380
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6480

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/8/85
TAGS: PGOV PINR PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) COMMENTS ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION BY LEADER OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC)

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. IN A NOVEMBER 8 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS, MARIO ZAMORA RIVAS, MEMBER OF PDC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, STATED THAT PDC HAD BECOME SOMEWHAT DISENCHANTED WITH THE PERFORMANCE TO DATE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) AND HAD PRESENTED A CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM TO HIGH-LEVEL JRG OFFICIALS OUTLINING PDC CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION IN NEW GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH ZAMORA DID NOT CLEARLY DEFINE THESE CONDITIONS, HE COMMENTED THAT SECURITY FORCES UNDER JRG HAD ENGAGED IN
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06480 01 OF 02 120524Z

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BUT THAT JRG AND SECURITY FORCES APPEARED TO BE MAKING SERIOUS ATTEMPTS TO REMEDY THIS SITUATION. ZAMORA STATED THAT HE THOUGHT THAT POPULAR FORUM WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A VIABLE INSTITUTION ONLY IF COMMUNIST-DOMINATED NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDN) DID NOT SUCCEED IN TRYING TO TURN IT INTO SOME SORT OF UNITED FRONT ORGANIZATION. END SUMMARY.

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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3. HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION UNDER JRG. ZAMORA REFERRED TO THE OCTOBER 29 INCIDENT IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA OF SAN SALVADOR IN WHICH AT LEAST 24 PERSONS WERE KILLED (SAN SALVADOR 6283). ZAMORA SAID THAT REPORTS ON INCIDENT WERE CONFUSED AND CONFLICTING BUT THAT THERE DID APPEAR TO BE EVIDENCE THAT SECURITY FORCES HAD PREVIOUSLY SURROUNDED DEMONSTRATORS BELONGING TO LEFTIST POPULAR LEAGUES OF FEBRUARY 28 (LP-28) BEFORE SHOOTING BROKE OUT. HE STATED THAT OCTOBER 31 INCIDENT (SAN SALVADOR 6336) IN WHICH SEVEN MEMBERS OF THE LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) WERE KILLED IN CONFRONTATION WITH MEMBERS OF POLICIA DE HACIENDA HAD RESULTED IN TROOPS INVOLVED BEING DETAINED AND WITH THE JRG WITHDRAWING ITS PREVIOUS ASSERTION THAT POLICIA DE HACIENDA FORCES WERE NOT INVOLVED. ZAMORA SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO DOUBT THAT IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE SECURITY FORCES HAD DELIBERATELY FIRED ON PERSONS ENGAGING IN ESSENTIALLY PEACFUL DEMONSTRATION. ZAMORA SAID THAT THE JRG AND SECURITY FORCES WERE MAKING A REAL EFFORT TO ISSUE CLEAR INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL LEVELS OF THE SECURITY FORCES TO ENSURE THAT SUCH INCIDENTS DID NOT OCCUR AGAIN. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE SOME PROBLEMS OF COMMAND AND CONTROL WITHIN AND BETWEEN [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06480 01 OF 02 120624Z

VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. HE ADDED THAT THE FRAGILITY OF THE JRG WAS SUCH THAT IT WAS NOT TO BE EXPECGED THAT MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES ENGAGING IN SUCH VIOLATIONS WOULD BE PUNISHED SEVERELY.

4. PDC PARTICIPATION IN NEW GOVERNMENT: ZAMORA COMMENTED THAT WITH EXCEPTION OF HIS BROTHER RUBEN ZAMORA RIVAS (MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENCY) PDC HAD NOT SUBMITTED NAMES OF ITS MOST IMPORTANT OFFICIALS FOR CABINET POSTS. ZAMORA STATED THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FOR PDC SECRETARY GENERAL JOSE ANTONIO MARALES EHRLICH TO TAKE FOREIGN MINISTER POST BUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONSCIOUS DECISION ON PART OF PDC LEADERSHIP THAT MOST IMPORTANT PDC OFFICIALS SHOULD DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO PARTY ORGANIZATION IN PREPARATION FOR UPCOMING ELECTIONS. ZAMORA COMMENTED THAT BY HAVING ACCEPTED CABINET LEVEL POST THE PDC HAD SHOWN ITS APPROVAL OF JRG. HOWEVER, ZAMORA EMPHASIZED THAT THIS APPROVAL HAD ITS LIMITS AND THAT THE PDC HAD RECENTLY SUBMITTED CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM TO JRG STATING THAT PDC WOULD WITHDRAW ITS MEMBERS FROM THE CABINET UNLESS CERTAIN CONDITIONS WERE MET. ZAMORA SAID THAT THE PDC WAS CHIEFLY CONCERNED WITH JRG'S DECIDING AND PUTTING INTO EFFECT RAPIDLY CONCRETE MEASURES THAT WOULD ENSURE VIABILITY OF JRG. HE ALSO MENTIONED PDC WAS QUITE CONCERNED

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

UNCLASSIFIED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM T9SAN SA006480

ABOUT SOME OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAT HAD BEEN ENGAGED IN BY JRG AND HE SUPPORTED ARCHBISHOP' ROMERO'S COMMENTS CONCERNING THE JRG'S VIOLATIONS, SET FORTH IN HIS NOVEMBER 4 HOMILY (SAN SALVADOR 6379).

5. ZAMORA SAID THAT MEMBERS OF JRG ITSELF, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF UNGO, WERE POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND WERE IN EFFECT ENGAGING IN ON-THE-JOB TRAINING. HE COMMENTED THAT EVEN UNGO TENDED TO ENGAGE IN LONG

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06480 01 OF 02 1205242

ABSTRACT DISCUSSIONS RATHER THAN IN SETTING FORTH CONCRETE PROPOSALS. ACCORDING TO ZAMORA, EVEN COLONELS ABDUL GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO LIKED TO ENGAGE IN LONG DISCUSSIONS AND THAT THIS HAD IN EFFECT CONSIDERABLY SLOWED DOWN THE JRG'S DECISION MAKING PROCESS.

6. PDC PARTICIPATION IN POPULAR FORUM. ZAMORA SAW A CONTINUING ROLE FOR THE POPULAR FORUM ONLY IF THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDN)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06480 02 OF 02 120816Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05
PC-01 DMB-01 TRSE-00 HA-05 SY-05 MCT-02 /089 W
----------039921 120907Z /14

R 091700Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5361
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6480

DID NOT SUCCEED IN GETTING ITS ORGANIZATIONAL PROPOSALS ADOPTED. ACCORDING TO ZAMORA, UDN WAS ENGAGING IN OLD-FASHIONED COMMUNIST TACTIC TRYING TO CREATE A UNITED FRONT, EVEN AT DEPARTMENTAL AND MUNICIPAL LEVELS. ZAMORA ALSO SAID THE UDN WAS TRYING TO HAVE DECISIONS OF POPULAR FORUM BE MADE BY MAJORITY DECISION, AN ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD BENEFIT UDN SINCE PLURALITY OF MEMBERS (UDN, CAMPESINO ORGANIZATIONS ATACES, LABOR ORGANIZATIONS CUTS AND FUSS) ARE DMONINATED BY COMMUNISTS. ZAMORA SAID THAT PDC HAD MADE IT KNOWN THAT IT OPPOSIED HAVING POPULAR FORUM TRYING TO ENGAGE IN SUCH ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS. HE ADDED PDC HAD MADE IT QUOTE CLEAR THAT AS AFAR AS IT WAS CONCERNED DECISIONS OF POPULAR FORUM WOULD HAVE TO BE MACE ON CONCENSUS BASIS INSTEAD OF BY A SIMPLE MAJORITY.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06480 02 OF 02 120816Z

7. ZAMORA REMARKED THERE WAS LITTLE POSSIBILITY THAT LOP-28 OR NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS -- FENASTRANS (WHICH HAD BEEN INDIRECTLY REPRESENTING LEFTIST UNITED POPULAR ACTION FRONT - FAPU) - WOULD RESUME MEMBERSHIP IN POPULAR FORUM. HOWEVER, HE SAID PDC HAD ONLY RECENTLY STARTED HOLDING DISCUSSIONS WITH FAPU, WHICH HAD SHOWN CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE AFTER ITS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR DISRUPTING OCT 25 ARRIVAL OF PDC LEADER JOSE NAPOLEON DUARTE. HOWEVER, HE

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Special Project (1993)

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THOUGHT PDC-FAPU TALKS MIGHT HAVE FRUITMFUL RESULTS, SINCE FAPU APPEARED TO BE THE MOST INTERESTED OFALL THE LEFTIST PEOPLES' ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGING IN NORMAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

8. PDC PROSPECTS: ZAMORA COMMENTED THAT IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD TOMORROW THAT DUARTE WOULD BE EASILY ELECTED PRESIDENT. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT THERE WAS SOME DANGER THAT DUARTE'S IMAGE COULD BE ERODED BY EFFORTS OF SUCH GROUPS AS BPR. ZAMORA MADE PERSONAL OBLSERVATION THAT PDC MIGHT HAVE BEEN BETTER ADIVSED TO TAKE CABINET POSITIONS THAT BETTER CORRESPONDED TO EL SALVADOR'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT OF THE POSITIONS NOW HELD BY PDC (FOREIGN MINISTER, SUSECRETARY OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY, SUB-SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, AND MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENCY, PLUS - INDIRECTLY - SUB-SECRETARY OF LABOR) ONLY SUBSECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE JORGE VILLACORTA WAS IN A POSITION TO ENGAGE IN ACTIONS THAT MIGHT HELP PDC'S FUTURE ELECTION PROSPECTS. HE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT HAVE ALSO BEEN BETTER FOR THE PDC TO HAVE ACCEPTED MINISTRY OF INTERIOR POST (BECAUSE OF ITS OVERALL SUPERVISION OF SALVADORAN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT) THAN MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENCY, WHICH MIGHT OVERLY IDENTIFY PDC WITH ACTIONS OF FIVE-MEMBER JUNTA.

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9. HOWEVER, ZAMORA THOUGHT THERE COULD BE SOME BENEFIT FOR THE PDC IN HAVING HECTOR DADA AS FOREIGN MINISTER SINCE LATTER COULD APPOINT PDC MEMBERS TO IMPORTANT AMBASSADORSHIPS (HE MINTIONED U.S. AND GUATEMALA AS BEING PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT ONES) THAT COULD HELP RALLY INERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR JRG. ZAMORA ALSO SAID THAT PDC WOULD CONTINUE ITS CONTACTS WITH FELIPE ZALDIVAR, SECRETARY GENERAL OF EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST LABOR FEDERATION FESINCONSTRANS, AND WITH UNION COMUNAL SALVADORENA (UCS), EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST CAMPESINO COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION, WITH A VIEW TO GETTING THEIR POLITICAL SUPPORT. OVERALL, ZMAORA WAS QUITE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PDC ELEDTION PROSPECTS AND CITED PDC'S PAST ELECTION SUCCESSES, PARTICULARLY AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL, AS HOPEFUL OMENS FOR THE FUTURE.

10. COMMENT: ZAMORA RIVAS IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF PDC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND IS ALSO THE PDC REPRESENTATIVE ON THE POPULAR FORUM COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SAN SALVADOR 6410). ZAMORA CLAIMED THAT THERE HAD EVEN BEEN THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS BECOMING MINISTER OF INTERIOR BUT THAT HE HAD THOUGHT THAT HAVING TWO BROTHERS IN CABINET-LEVEL POSITIONS WOULD CAUSE CRITICISM. ZAMORA HAS A DETAILED KNOWLEGE OF PDC AFFAIRS AND SALVADORAN POLITICS IN GENERAL AND

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Special Project (1993)

APPEARS TO PRESENT THIS KNOWLEDGE IN FORTHRIGHT MANNER IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH EMBASSY OFFICIALS.

1. WHILE PDC MAY WELL HAVE OUTLINED POLITICAL CONDITIONS OR SUGGESTIONS RELATED TO ITS PARTICIPATION IN NEW GOVERNMENT, WE DO NOT BELIEVE PARTY IS CONTEMPLATING OR THREATENING TO WITHDRAW. INDEED, PDC HAS A MAJOR STAKE IN THE SUCCESS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND JRG MEMBER MARIO ANDINO HAS TOLD EMBASSY THAT PARTY THUS FAR HAS BEEN MOST SUPPORTIVE POLITICAL

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06480 02 OF 02 120816Z

GROUP. EMBASSY IS IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH OTHER PDC LEADERS AND WILL SEEK ADDITIONAL VIEWS REGARDING PARTY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE JRG.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SAN SA006516

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Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06516 100039Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 SY-05 SYE-00 OPR-02 A-02 OCS-06
CA-01 AID-05 PC-01 HCT-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-12
USSS-00 EB-08 SIL-01 LAB-04 AGR-01 COM-02 ANAE-00
/112 W
----------026049 100044Z /70

O 092230Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5383
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY ROME
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6516

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC ELAB PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: SITREP NO 20, AS OF 1630 HOURS 11/9/79

REF SAN SALVADOR 6470

1. DEATH THREATS AGAINST ARCHBISHOP ROMERO: NOVEMBER 7 EDITION OF "LA CRONICA DEL PUEBLO" AND RADIO SONORA REPORTED THAT ARCHBISHOP ROMERO HAD RECEIVED DEATH THREATS FROM EXTREME LEFTIST [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06516 100039Z

TERRORIST GROUP. ROMERO DID NOT IDENTIFY GROUP FROM WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED THREATS, ONLY STATING THAT HE WAS "PERPLEXED" BY THREATS. IN NOV 9 RADIO INTERVIEW ROMERO STATED THAT THE DEATH THREATS COULD BE COMING FROM LEFT OR RIGHT JST THAT HE WOULD REMAIN CALM AND TAKE APPROPRIATE PRECAUTIONS.

2. ELECTRICAL WORKER'S UNION (STECEL)THREATEN EIGHT-HOUR SUSPENSION OF ELECTRICAL SERVICE: STECEL ON NOV 7 THREATENED THIS SUSPENSION IF NATIONAL GUARD (NG) UNITS WERE NOT WITHDRAWN

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940030L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

FROM CEL INSTALLATIONS BUT NO DEADLINE WAS SET FOR WITHDRAWAL OR POWER CUT-OFF. STECEL WAS UNION RESPONSIBLE FOR SERIES OF ELECTRICAL BLACKOUTS LAST MARCH THAT CAUSED CONSIDERABLE TURMOIL IN EL SALVADOR. STECEL DID HOLD ONE-DAY STRIKE ON NOV 7 BUT THIS DID NOT AFFECTELECTRICAL SERVICE.

3. OCCUPATION OF NATIONAL PALACE: AT APPROXIMATELY 1030 HOURS ON NOV 9, GROUP OF FEMALES OCCUPIED ENTRANCE LEADING TO NATIONAL PALACE, WHICH HOUSES MINISTRIES OF INTERIOR AND DEFENSE. LEFTIST POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) HAD PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED ON NOV 8 THAT IT WOULD OCCUPY ENTRANCE (INCLUDING STAIRWAY). ACCORDING TO LATEST REPORTS, THERE WAS NO VIOLENCE. THERE WERE REPORTS THAT BPR WAS PLANNING ON HOLDING SERIES OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN DOWNTOWN AREA AT 1600 HOURS, NOV 9 IN SUPPORT OF OCCUPATION. EMBASSY HAS NOT YET RECEIVED ANY MORE DETAILS ON THIS.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SEOUL 017327

ADP511 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SEOUL 17327 180636Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-06 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 /051 W
----------079706 180644Z /12

R 140800Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2301

[redacted] SEOUL 17327

E.O. 12065:GDS 11/14/85 (GLEYSTEEN, W.H.) OR-M
TAGS: PINT, PGOV,KS
SUBJECT: SURPRISINGLY FEW MOURN PARK CHUNG-HEE

1. [redacted] LIKE OTHERS, WE HAVE BEEN STRUCK BY THE ABSENCE OF OBSERVABLE GRIEF OVER THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT PARK. ALTHOUGH FEW PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN DISRESPECT AND MANY HAVE PRAISED HIS CONTRIBUTION TO KOREA'S PLACE IN THE SUN, PARK'S DEATH HAS NOT BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY THE KIND OF EMOTIONAL OUTPOURING THAT ONE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED IN A CASE OF ASSASSINATION. THE OBVIOUS EXPLANATION, WHICH IS OFFERED BY KOREANS WHEN ASKED, IS THAT PRESIDENT PARK HAD SERVED TO THE POINT WHERE HIS INCREASINGLY AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL POLICIES WERE BEGINNING TO OBSCURE HIS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS. PEOPLE WERE TIRED OF EIGHTEEN YEARS OF ONE-MAN RULE AND IN A SENSE SEEM RELIEVED THAT PARK HAS LEFT THE SCENE BEFORE MORE SERIOUS DAMAGE WAS DONE.

2. [redacted] A TAXI DRIVER PUT IT TO ME RATHER APTLY THE OTHER DAY. WHEN ASKED WHAT HE THOUGHT OF ACTING PRESIDENT CHOI'S SPEECH OF NOVEMBER 10 REGARDING CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT, HE REPLIED THAT IT WAS A GOOD SPEECH AND THAT MOST OF HIS FRIENDS FELT THE SAME WAY. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE FELT SORRY FOR PRESIDENT PARK BECAUSE HE HAD COME TO SUCH A CRUEL END. YET IN A WAY HE HAD IT COMING TO

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PAGE 02 SEOUL 17327 180636Z

HIM BECAUSE HE WAS "TOO MUCH OF A DICTATOR FOR TOO LONG". THE TAXI DRIVER POINTED OUT THAT EVEN THOUGH EVERYONE KNEW KIM CHAE KYU WAS THE ASSASSIN, HARDLY ANY MALIGNED KIM WHO HAD RID THE COUNTRY OF A DICTATOR. THE DRIVER ADDED PROUDLY THAT IT WAS FORTUNATE THE GRIM EVENTS OF OCTOBER 26 TOOK PLACE IN A COUNTRY WHICH WAS AS MATURE AS KOREA. HAD IT HAPPENED IN THE PHILIPPINES OR MEXICO, THE RESULTS WOULD HAVE BEEN A NATIONAL DISASTER.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79CARACA011028

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PAGE 01 CARACA 11028 01 OF 02 151300Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 INR-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00
NSCE-00 PM-03 DODE-00 SP-02 /035 W
------------------060377 151346Z /50

O R 151126Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9543
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

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Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 CARACAS 11028

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/14/85 (LUERS, WILLIAM H.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH NAPOLEON DUARTE

REF: CARACAS 9884

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. NAPOLEON DUARTE ASKED TO SEE ME ON NOVEMBER 13 A FEW DAYS PRIOR TO HIS RETURN TO SALVADOR. HE IS OPTIMISTIC. HE GAVE HIS ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION, SAID HE THINKS THE PDC CAN BE RESTRUCTURED WITHIN SIX MONTHS AND BELIEVES THAT THE ELECTION PROCESS MUST BE UNDERWAY WITHIN SIX MONTHS WITH AN ELECTED PRESIDENT IN PLACE BEFORE A YEAR IS OUT. HE BELIEVES THE LEFT HAS THE INITIATIVE NOW BUT THAT IF THE JUNTA AND THE PDC CAN EFFECTIVELY MORE TOWARD ELECTIONS AND, IN THE PROCESS, PASS SOME REFORMS, THE LEFT COULD BECOME MORE ISOLATED. THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 CARACA 11028 01 OF 02 151300Z

MOST CRITICAL SHORT-TERM ISSUE IS THE HANDLING OF THE "DISAPPEARED PERSONS" ISSUE. HE THINKS THE JUNTA CAN MANAGE IT IF IT ADOPTS DUARTE'S PLAN WHICH HAS RECEIVED GOOD RESPONSE FROM MILITARY OFFICERS. ALTHOUGH THE JUNTA IS WEAK IT IS CAPABLE OF SOME MOVEMENT. HE BELIEVES THAT HE, BISHOP ROMERO AND THE TWO MILITARY OFFICERS IN THE JUNTA, WORKKING TOGETHER, CAN MORE THINGS ALONG MORE RAPIDLY. FINALLY, HE IS NEGATIVE ABOUT U.S. MILITARY SUPPORT OT THE JUNTA AND BELIEVES ECONOMIC SUPPORT SHOULD BE CONDITIONED ON PRESSING FOR

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: 9940031L

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

EARLY ELECTIONS. AS TO ANDEAN PACT INVOLVEMENT, HE BELIEVES VISITS CAN BE EFFECTIVE IF TIMED TO INTERNAL EVOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES. END SUMMARY.

3. NAPOLEON DUARTE VISITED ME ON NOVEMBER 13 AT HIS REQUEST FOR A LONG REVIEW FOLLOWING UP ON OUR EARLIER DISCUSSUION (REFTEL). HE SAID HE IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE PROCESS EVEN THOUGH HE FOUND THE SITUATION IN SALVADOR MUCH TOUGHER THAN HE HAD IMAGINED. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED AT LEAST FOUR ATTEMPTS WERE MADE ON HIS LIFE -- ONE AT THE AIRPORT IN PANAMA ENROUTE TO SAN SALVADOR WHERE HE WAS OFFERED "ASSISTANCE" IN HIS ONWARD TRAVEL PLANS BY SANDINISTAS WHO CEASED THEIR INTEREST WHEN THEY LEARNED HE WAS ON A VENEZUELAN AIR FORCE PLANE. THEN HE SAID THERE WERE THREE ATTEMPTS AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN SALVADOR.

4. STATUS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PCD). DUARTE SAID THE PDC STRUCTURE HAD VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED, BUT THAT THE TOP LEADERSHIP AND THE BASE AROUND THE COUNTRY STILL WAS PRETTY MUCH IN PLACE. THE PARTY LACKS FUNDS TO REBUILD THE PARTY STRUCTURE, BUT HE BELIEVES MUCH CAN BE DONE WITHIN FOUR TO SIX MONTHS TO GIVE AN EFFECTIVE ELECTROAL STRUCTURE TO THE PDC. MANY "BASE" SUPPORTERS WHO IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, [redacted]

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DEFECTED TO THE LEFT, WILL RETURN TO THE PDC. HE SAID THAT THE PDC HAS SUPPORTERS IN EVERY LITTLE TOWN ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. WHEREAS THE LEFT IS CONCENTRATED IN THE URBAN AREAS SINCE THEIR OBJECTIVES ARE SUBVERSION AND DEMONSTRATIONS. HE RETURNED TO SALVADOR TO FIND THAT DURING HIS ABSENCE HIS EARLIER POLITICAL SUCCESSES HAD BEEN MAGNIFIED TO THE POINT WHERE HE HAS BECOME A MYTH. HE SAID THIS GIVES THE PDC A POLITICAL ADVANTAGE -- A KNOWN LEADER -- THAT THE LEFT DOES NOT HAVE. HE STRESSED THAT HE WAS AWARE THAT THE "MYTH OF DUARTE" COULD LAST FOR ONLY ABOUT SIX MONTHS TO A YEAR. HE SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE USED EFFECTIVELY IN THAT PERIOD TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE FROM THE LEFT, MOVE ELECTIONS FORWARD AND BEGIN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WITH A NEW PRESIDENT. AFTER HIS RETURN TO SALVADOR THIS WEEK, HE WILL BEGIN A LOW KEY NATION-WIDE EFFORT THROUGH THE MASS MEDIA, PARTICULARLY TELEVISION, AND PLANS TO TRAVEL IN THE COUNTRY TO BEGIN TO BUILD SUPPORT FOR THE PDC AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. HE SAID THE PDC PLANS TO EXPAND THE NUMBER OF "MESAS" (WHICH WE TRANSLATED AS "ROUNDTABLES" IN OUR EARLIER CABLE - REFTEL). THE SECOND MESA BECAME THE "POPULAR FORUM" USED BY THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT. THE FIRST MESA IS COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJOR ECONOMIC GROUPS. THE THREE NEW MESAS WILL GATHER TOGETHER LEADERS FROM: 1) PROFESSIONAL GROUPS; 2) TECHNICAL GROUPS AND 3) POPULAR GROUPS. THE THRID NEW MESA WILL DUPLICATE THE EARLIER SECOND MESA, BUT THEY HOPE TO MAKE THE NEW "POPULAR" MESA STRONGER LEAVING

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Special Project (1993)

THE LEFT SOMEWHAT ISOLATED IN THE "SECOND MESA".

5. THE LEFT. DUARTE HAS TALKED WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND WITH FAPU, BUT HAS NOT YET TALKED TO THE LEAGUE OF 28 WHICH HE PLANS TO DO. HE WILL NOT BE TALKING TO THE BLOQUE (BPR) WHICH HE IS CONVINCED DOES NOT WANT TO DEAL WITH HIM OR THE PDC. HE BELIEVES THE LEFT, AS OF NOW, HAS THE INITIATIVE. THE COMMUNISTS AND THE FAPU, WHO HE MET WITH SEPARATELY, HAD USED ALMOST IDENTICAL LANGUAGE, SUGGESTING A VERY CLOSE LINKAGE WITH EACH OTHER. FAPU AND THE COMMUNISTS [redacted]

WANT TO PLAY A SEMI-SUPPORTIVE ROLE FOR THE TIME BEING FOR THE JUNTA. HE SAID BOTH ARE FULLY CONVINCED THAT THE JUNTA WILL FAIL BUT THEY WANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS PERIOD TO EXPAND THEIR POPULAR BASE AND DEMOCRATIC IMAGE, BUT THEY WILL MOVE INCREASINGLY TOWARD INSURRECTION AGAIN AS THE JUNTA FALTERS. THE BPR, MEANWHILE, WILL CONTINUE TO BE INTRANSIGENT AND WILL PROBABLY MAKE DUARTE A PRIMARY TARGET OF VIOLENCE. THE BPR OBJECTIVE AND ULTIMATELY THE OBJECTIVE OF THE COMMUNISTS AND FAPU, DUARTE BELIEVES, IS TO POLARIZE THE POLITICAL PROCESS AGAIN BETWEEN THE RIGHT AND LEFT. THIS POLARIZATION, DUARTE BELIEVES, CAN BE ACHIEVED IF THE ELECTION PROCESS IS NOT BEGUN SOON AND IF THE JUNTA DOES NOT UNDERTAKE REFORMS IN THE INTERIM. OBVIOUSLY, IN A NEW POLARIZATION PROCESS THE PDC AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES BECOME IRRELEVANT AGAIN.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 CARACA 11028 02 OF 02 151332Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 INR-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00
NSCE-00 PM-03 DODE-00 SP-02 /035 W
----------060568 151345Z /50

O R 151126Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9544
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
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6. THE JUNTA. DUARTE SAYS THE JUNTA IS WEAK AND INDECISIVE. IT WAS BORN OUT OF A GOLPE ACTING ALMOST INDEPENDENTLY. THE FACTIONS WITHIN THE JUNTA AND GOVERNMENT MAKE EVERY DECISION VERY DIFFICULT. THE RESULT IS THERE HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY NO CHANGES IN ANY OF THE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS OTHER THAN THE LEADERS AND THE MINISTERS. HE SAID STRUCTURAL CHANGES BELOW THE CABINET MUST BEGIN SOON PARTICULARLY IN THE SECURITY FORCES. HE SPOKE OF MAYORGA, WHO HE SAID WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JESUITS WHO ARE "DESK POLITICIANS" WITH A DESIRE TO CARRY OUT SOCIAL REFORM BASED ON "THEORY" AND PROBABLY ARE ARGUING TO KEEP THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT FOR FIVE YEARS LONGER. DUARTE BELIEVES THAT MAYORGA, HOWEVER, IS COMING AROUND, SLOWLY, TO THE PDC VIEW OF EARLY ELECTIONS WHILE MOVING FORWARD ON SOCIAL REFORM.

7. DUARTE'S STRATEGY. JUST BEFORE COMING TO CARACAS, DUARTE ANNOUNCED ON TELEVISION THE NEED FOR THE ELECTION PROCESS TO
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PAGE 02 CARACA 11028 02 OF 02 151332Z

BEGIN WITHIN SIX MONTHS AND CALLED ON THE JUNTA TO DECLARE ITSELF "TRANSITIONAL." HE SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED HIS TELEVISION ANNOUNCEMENT WITH THE JUNTA PRIOR TO APPEARING ON TLEVISION AND HE BELIEVES THE JUNTA IS WITH HIM. DUARTE'S BELIEF IS THAT THE ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD SOME TIME AFTER SIX MONTHS. THE ELECTIONS SHOULD BE FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY, FOR MUNICIPAL LEADERS AND FOR THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID THE NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT SHOULD BE IN OFFICE UNTIL A NEW CONSTITUTION IS WRITTEN BY THE ASSEMBLY WHICH WOULD THEN APPROVE THE INCUMBENT PRESIDENT FOR A SET

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Special Project (1993)

TERM OF OFFICE. THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY WOULD THEN RECONSTITUTE ITSELF AS A CONGRESS. HE BELIEVES THIS FORMULA IS ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE A STRONG BEGINNING FOR A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. HE HAS TOLD THE JUNTA THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THEM AS LONG AS THEY MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF ELECTIONS SOON. HE SAYS HE HAS NOT YET GIVEN THE JUNTA A FULL EXPLANATION OF WHAT HIS AND THE PDC VIEWS ARE WITH REGARD TO TIMING OF ELECTIONS AND HOW THEY WOULD BE CONDUCTED. HE HAS TOLD THE JUNTA THAT IF THEY BECOME TOO FOND OF POWER AND DO NOT MOVE RAPIDLY, HE WILL BE PREPARED TO GO INTO THE STREETS AGAINST THEM. HE SAID THAT HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH ARCHBISHOP ROMERO IS EXCELLENT AND THAT THEY SEE THE SITUATION ALMOST IDENTICALLY. HE BELIEVES THAT HE, THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE TWO MILITARY MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA CAN MOVE TOGETHER TO GET THE PROCESS MOVING ALONG RAPIDLY.

8. THE ISSUE OF "DISAPPEARED PERSONS". THE CURRENT MOST CRITICAL ISSUE FOR THE JUNTA IS HOW TO DEAL WITH THE DISAPPEARED PERSONS ISSUE WITHOUT DESTROYING THE STRUCTURE OF THE SECURITY FORCES. HE SAID THAT WITHIN THE SECURITY FORCES SENIOR OFFICERS HAVE A STRING OF ACCOMPLICES IN MURDER ALL THE WAY DOWN TO THE BASE. ONE AN ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE ON THE "DISAPPEARED" AND INVESTIGATIONS ARE BEGUN THE SECURITY FORCES WILL BECOME UNRAVELED. HE SAID THAT IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ARMY [redacted]

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HE HAS BECOME CONVINCED THAT VIRTUALLY EVERY DISAPPEARED PERSON COULD BE TRACED. HE HAS PROPOSED TO SOME SAMLL GROUPS OF MILITARY THAT AN ANNOUNCEMENT BE MADE SOON OF WHAT HAPPENED TO ALL OF THE DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WHEN DEMANDS ARE MADE AS TO WHO IS RESPONSIBLE, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ANNOUNCE THAT IT WAS THE PROBLEM OF THE SYSTEM OF THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT AND THAT THE JUNTA HAS NOW REMOVED THAT GOVERNMENT AND ALL OF THE MILITARY LEADERS THAT GAVE THE ORDERS. DUARTE BELIEVES A STRONG CASE COULD BE MADE AND THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE WOULD ACCEPT THIS EXPLANATION ULTIMATELY. DUARTE ALSO SAID THAT A MAJOR SHIFT THAT MUST BE MADE SOON IS FOR THE SECURITY FORCES TO THINK ABOUT PROTECTION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES AND REAL SECURITY ISSUES RATHER THAN HAVING THE MENTALITY AND FUNCTION OF SEEKING OUT GUERILLAS. HE SAID THE LATTER SHOULD BE THE JOB OF THE MILITARY.

9. ROLE OF THE U.S. AND ANDEAN PACT. DUARTE SAID A MAJOR U.S. ROLE WILL BE TO REINFORCE DOMESTIC PRESSURE ON THE JUNTA TO MOVE TOWARD ELECTIONS SOON. HE SAID WE COULD DO THIS, IN PART, BY CONDITIONING OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE ON PROGRESS MADE ON REFORMS AND TOWARD ELECTIONS. HE WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT U.S. OFFERS OF MILITARY AID TO THE JUNTA. PARTICULARLY, HE BELIEVES THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT MAKE A BIG PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF MILITARY AID SINCE THE PEOPLE OF SALVADOR WILL NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE UNITED STATES IS SUPPLYING ARMS TO THE JUNTA. HE WAS SURPRISINGLY RESERVED ABOUT WHETHER THE ANDEAN PACT

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Special Project (1993)

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COULD BE OF SUPPORT. HE SAID THEY CAN BE OF HELP IN VISITING SALVADOR IF THE TIMING OF THE TRIP IS SUPPORTIVE OF INTERNAL DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT. THE MAJOR OBJECTIVE IS TO KEEP UP PRESSURE ON THE JUNTA TO MOVE TOWARD A DEMOCRACY. HE WAS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT PRESIDENT HERRERA, WHOM HE SAW THE EVENING BEFORE HE SAW ME, WAS FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE EFFORTS. HE ALSO WAS CLEAR THAT HE COULD NOT APPEAR IN ANY WAY PUBLICLY, ASSOCIATED WITH VENEZUELA OR THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN HIS POLITICAL CREDIBILITY IN SALVADOR.

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PAGE 04 CARACA 11028 02 OF 02 151332Z

10. VENEZUELAN HELP.
DUARTE SAID THAT HE HAD ACCOMPLISHED TWO THINGS DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO CARACAS. FIRST, HE HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES THAT A VENEZUELAN GROUP WOULD DESIGN AND POSSIBLY FUND A POLL IN SALVADOR WHICH WOULD IDENTIFY THE TYPES AND LOCATIONS OF POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THE LEFT, PARTICULARLY THE BPR. HE BELIEVES THAT SUCH A POLL IS POSSIBLE. SECONDLY, HE RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM THE MINISTER OF MINES THAT THEY WOULD SEND A TECHNICAL GROUP TO SALVADOR TO DISCUSS WITH THE GOVERNMENT HOW TO SET UP MORE EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY, PARTICULARLY THE EXXON REFINERY.

11. DUARTE THEN RAISED A PERSONAL PROBLEM. HE SAID THAT THOUGH HE HAS NO PLANS TO GO TO THE U.S. IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, ON PREVIOUS VISITS HE HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO RIGOROUS QUESTIONING AND DELAY BY US IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS. "AM I ON SOME SORT OF LIST?" HE ASKED. I PROMISED THAT THIS COMPLAINT WOULD BE LOOKED INTO EXPEDITIOUSLY AND THAT I WOULD TELL HIM OF THE RESULTS WHEN WE NEXT TALK.

12. DUARTE SAID THAT HE WOULD BE RETURNING TO CARACAS PROBABLY EVERY MONTH EVEN THOUGH HE PLANS TO HAVE HIS FAMILY MOVE TO SALVADOR TO BE WITH HIM IN EARLY DECEMBER. HE WOULD TRY TO SEE ME ON EVERY OCCASION WHEN HE RETURNS TO GIVE ME A THOROUGH REPORT. HE SAID HE ALSO PLANNED TO SEE AMBASSADOR DEVINE SHORTLY AFTER HIS RETURN TO SALVADOR. THE REASON HE WANTS TO GIVE ME THESE SUPPLEMENTARY BRIEFINGS IS THAT HE CAN DO SO IN A SOMEWHAT DETACHED WAY SINCE HE IS OUT OF SALVADOR. IT ALSO PROVIDES A MORE DISCREET, UNPUBLICIZED SETTING.

13. COMMENT: I AM INCREASINGLY IMPRESSED BY DUARTE'S CLARITY AND COMMITMENT TO THE TASK AHEAD. I WILL, UNLESS

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OTHER INSTRUCTED, CONTINUE TO SEE DUARTE WHEN HE SO DESIRES AND REPORT HIS VIEWS RAW AND UNCLUTTERED BY

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KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTEXT.
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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Cyrus Vance

Subject: El Salvador: Prospects for the Junta and U.S. Policy

THE SITUATION

The five-man military/civilian Junta that took office following the October 15 military coup against the repressive government of President Romero finds itself in serious difficulties because of inherent weaknesses, the immediate violent opposition of the extreme left, and the latent threat of the far right. In trying to follow a reformist program it is buffeted by cross currents and challenges that inhibit resolute action to implement specific projects or deal effectively with disruption of public order.

Junta's Program: The Junta has called for fundamental socio-economic reforms, including higher wages, nationalization of the marketing of export crops, agrarian reform, free trade union organization and tax reform. On the political side it has called for the democratization of the political process, including free elections and the right of all political groupings to organize freely, and respect for human rights. It has failed, however, to come up with concrete proposals on many of these key issues and has not yet developed a consensus within the Junta on many points essential to governing effectively. This has produced a dangerous sense of drift.

Vulnerabilities: Consolidation of the Junta's position is hampered by these vulnerabilities:

-- The Junta has inherent weaknesses, including political inexperience, ineffective collegial decision making, fundamental philosophical and ideological differences and a tendency to hold

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Case ID: 940031N

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to the views of their constituencies rather than working for consensus.

-- The left's systematic use of violent tactics to undermine the Junta's authority and provoke a repressive reaction results from a realization that the Junta's reformist program would destroy the extreme left's use of widespread popular discontent as a vehicle to power.

-- The Junta's proposed reforms, which are essential for building a strong popular following and depriving the extreme left of appealing issues, threaten the economic interests of the still powerful right; this poses the danger of a coup by conservative elements and produces caution and indecision in the Junta.

-- Many of the progressive young military officers who promoted the coup are becoming increasingly impatient at the apparent lack of action by the Junta and could move to take power into their own hands.

-- At the same time the proficiency of the security forces has deteriorated to such a degree that their ability to deal with a sustained guerrilla effort by the extreme left is in question.

Factors favoring the Junta: Despite the foregoing weaknesses, the Junta still has these factors working in its favor:

-- The Junta has its priorities straight in emphasizing socio-economic reforms and moving cautiously in dealing with public disturbances so as not to adversely affect its popular base.

-- Broad support from the Church and moderate organizations which opposed the previous governments, conditioned on implementation of the reform program.

-- Continuing approbation and support of most of the international community.

-- An extreme left still not unified or able to launch a full-scale offensive against the government.

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-- An economy which although under increasing attack by the extreme left retains a strong productive capacity.

THE PROSPECTS

In the two months it has been in office, the Junta has not consolidated its position as it should. It is aware of this and under the continued pressure of the extreme left has come to realize that it must act on both the reform/development and security fronts if it is to halt the deterioration of its position.

The Junta's most immediate threat is a determined and violent challenge from the groups which comprise the extreme left. Intelligence sources indicate that preparations to launch a concerted attack on the government are under way.

The danger from elements of the far right is still incipient, but nonetheless real. How they react will depend on their perception of the reforms and the ability of the Junta to control leftist violence.

We believe the Junta can meet these threats if it:

-- moves quickly to organize itself and implement significant elements of its reform and development program;

-- responds firmly (but with due regard to human rights) to current efforts to undermine its authority;

-- takes immediate steps to upgrade the capabilities of its security forces; and

-- does a much better job of publicizing the mobilizing public opinion in support of its programs.

In order to improve the lot of the underprivileged the Junta has raised wages significantly in certain sectors and frozen the prices of some essential commodities. Over the weekend it announced the nationalization of the foreign marketing of principal agricultural products. Last week it decided to use measured force in dealing with the violent

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tactics of the far left and is already acting on this decision. It has been slow to upgrade its security forces, but under the prodding of our intelligence and military survey teams it has formally requested USG assistance. It has also invited a New York public relations firm with considerable experience in advising democratic governments in Latin America to help devise a strategy for winning support at home and abroad.

We cannot predict whether the Junta will correct the deficiencies in time to meet the challenge from the left or possibly from the right. The imponderables are too many. But with the advantages it now enjoys, coupled with timely action along the lines described above, the Junta stands a better than even chance to consolidate its position. In this confrontation with the far left the role of our Embassy in counseling the Junta and our ability to respond rapidly to essential needs will be very important.

UNITED STATES POLICY

In supporting the Junta we identify with forces advocating basic economic and social change and a return to democratic procedures. The alternatives to the Junta are inimical to our interest: a takeover by the far right will further polarize and radicalize the crisis, while a victory by the far left, because of the strong class antagonism existing in El Salvador, will usher in a revolutionary regime more radical than the Sandinistas. The impact on Honduras and Guatemala of either outcome, following on the heels of revolutionary success in Nicaragua, would be highly destabilizing.

We therefore need to give maximum support to the Junta while avoiding too close an identification that could be exploited by the extreme left. The far right will be inhibited by our involvement especially as it serves to bolster the Junta against the radical left. Our strategy for helping the Junta is based on these elements:

We have already:

-- asked Ambassador Devine to increase his efforts as a catalyst in helping the Junta see the seriousness of the extreme left's challenge and the need for cohesion and decisiveness in maintaining its authority;

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-- asked Ambassador Devine to devise an approach to the Junta to elicit Andean and Mexican assistance in order to multilateralize the support effort. We would move behind the Junta's initiative and encourage those governments to be forthcoming;

-- provided the GOES with tear gas and other non-lethal crowd control equipment and an MTT to give instruction in its use ($205,000);

-- sent an AID team to develop with GOES officials high-impact projects in rural and urban areas pegged to a target FY 80 aid level of $35 million;

-- sent intelligence and military teams to assess needs for U.S. remedial assistance in training and equipment;

-- reached inter-agency agreement to reprogram $3.5 million of FMS financing (when we have our FY 80 appropriation) for purchases of most immediately needed materiel; and

-- notified Congress of our intent to reprogram $300,000 of IMET for provision of MTT's and other training to cover most immediate deficiencies.

We have under consideration:

-- a visit by Junta members to the U.S. for discussions with official and private groups in early February. (If your schedule is too full to receive them, we might follow the pattern used with the Nicaraguan Junta and have them meet with the Vice President with you dropping in.);

-- in connection with the foregoing visit an appropriate high-level statement welcoming their plans to return to constitutional procedures with full respect for human rights and indicating support for their reform and development programs;

-- a visit to El Salvador in early January by a high U.S. official to underscore our support of the Junta; and

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-- gearing up a people-to-people program for El Salvador as soon as the security situation permits Americans to travel there without serious risk; meanwhile we are working on efforts which do not require such travel.

In order to reduce our vulnerabilities we are:

-- substantially reducing the number of U.S. mission dependents;

-- closing out the small HEW-malaria and IAGS-mapping operations; and

-- working on a further scale-down of the Peace Corps presence, looking toward close-out if the situation deteriorates further.

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ACTION ARA-15

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5486
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6664

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/20/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS: MASS MILI PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR

1. [redacted]

2. NEW REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) OF EL SALVADOR FACES IMMEDIATE THREAT IN TERMS OF ARMED CONFRONTATION FROM EXTREMIST LEFT, INCIPIENT THREAT FROM EXTREME RIGHT WHEN IT ANNOUNCES AND MOVES TO IMPLEMENT ITS PROGRAM OF POLITICAL/ECONOMIC/SOCIAL REFORM, AND THREAT OF UNCERTAIN DIMENSIONS IN TERMS OF ARMS AND PERSONNEL WHICH IT HAP REASON TO BELIEVE ARE ALREADY BEING CLANDESTINELY INTRODUCED INTO EL SALVADOR FROM ABROAD.

3. IN FACE OF THIS SITUATION, JRG HAS REQUESTED CERTAIN LIMITED TYPES OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE FROM US.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06664 201647Z

4. WITH SURPRISINGLY LITTLE PUBLICITY, FOLLOWING HAS NOW BEEN DONE:

A. C-141 LANDED HERE NOVEMBER 9 WITH INITIAL SHIPMENT OF NON-LETHAL RIOT CONTROL EQUIPMENT;
B. ADDITIONAL NON-LETHAL RIOT CONTROL EQUIPMENT FROM COMMERCIAL SOURCES IS ONE WEEK OVERDUE AND EXPECTED MOMENTARILY;

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/25/94
Case ID: 9940031M

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C. SIX-MAN MTT FROM SOUTHCOM ARRIVED HERE NOVEMBER 12 AND GAVE ONE-WEEK COURSE IN USE OF NON-LETHAL RIOT CONTROL EQUIPMENT TO 23 JUNIOR OFFICERS WHO WILL NOW DISSEMINATE RESULTS OF TRAINING COURSE TO OTHERS;
D. MTT ALSO CONDUCTED SURVEY OF PERTINENT NEEDS OF SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES IN FIELD OF COUNTER-INSURGENCY TO PROVIDE BASIS FOR PREPARATION OF A TAILORED COURSE OF TRAINING;
E. SOUTHCOM J-3 VISITED SAN SALVADOR NOVEMBER 16 FOR DISCUSSION OF PRESENT SITUATION WITH AMBASSADOR AND ALL PERTINENT ELEMENTS OF COUNTRY TEAM;
F. MINDEF IS CURRENTLY MEETING WITH DATT TO DETERMINE HOW WE CAN BEST ASSIST GOES IN SETTING UP MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM TO DETECT, IDENTIFY, AND INTERDICT CLANDESTINE INTRODUCTION OF ARMS AND PERSONNEL FROM ABROAD BY SUBVERSIVE FORCES (WITH EXPECTATION THAT SOUTHCOM WILL PLAY A USEFUL ROLE).
G. USCINCSO AND I AGREE THAT SOME AUGMENTATION OF USMILGRP IS IN ORDER AND I AM HOPEFUL THAT WASHINGTON WILL LOOK FAVORABLY UPONOUR RECOMMENDATIONS IN THAT REGARD.

5. IT IS IN MY OPINION IMPORTANT THAT WE STRENGTHEN THE ARMED FORCES OF EL SALVADOR AND THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO [redacted]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) SO LONG AS LATTER REMAINS COMMITTED TO PROGRAM OF HUMAN RIGHTS, POLITICAL/ ECONOMIC/SOCIAL REFORM, AND EARLY FREE ELECTIONS. TO THIS END, EARLY STEPS WHICH WE HAVE TAKEN (OUTLINED ABOVE) ARE ALL TO THE GOOD BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE MAINTAIN MOMENTUM NOW ESTABLISHED. I HOPE THAT DEPARTMENT, DOD, AND SOUTHCOM WILL ALL AGREE AND CO-OPERATE TO THIS END.
DEVINE

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Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06664 201647Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 SY-05 SYE-00 INR-10 CIAE-00
NSAE-00 PM-06 /052 W
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P R 2015202 NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6486
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DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6664

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/20/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J.) OR-M
TAGS: MASS MILI PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06664 201647Z

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DEVINE

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BACKGROUND PAPER: CENTRAL AMERICA

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940031A

Mexico and Central America: A Global Perspective

Introduction

Today, far more than at any time in the past, extreme leftist forces in Central America are supported by an extensive foreign intelligence and training apparatus, modern military equipment and a large and sophisticated propaganda network. With Soviet bloc support, Cuba is using contacts nurtured over more than 20 years to provide political and military training, plus material and propaganda support, to many violent groups in a number of Central American countries. The immediate goals are to consolidate control of the Sandinista Directorate in Nicaragua and to overthrow the Governments of El Salvador and Guatemala. Honduras and Costa Rica also have been targeted (see Map #1).

[redacted] in Cuba, he set the pattern [redacted] the Sandinistas are repeating in Nicaragua. [redacted] an inner core of trusted [redacted] and built the instruments of power (the army, [redacted] revolutionary tribunals," and new mass [redacted] democratic allies were kept busy in [redacted] such as the Council of State and government [redacted] helped him consolidate power and [redacted] allies until they could no longer unite [redacted] many of these allies later were executed or [redacted] left the country.

[redacted] democratic opposition to Somoza established a "broad opposition front" in coalition with the Sandinistas, who assured their democratic allies (as Castro had done in 1957-59) of their commitment to democratic elections "after Somoza." The presence of noncommunist elements in the Sandinista-led "broad coalition" served to deceive many Western governments about the true character of the Sandinista Directorate. As in Cuba, two decades earlier, this broad coalition provided a political network that could be used by the extreme left to mislead Western opinion [redacted] On June 21, 1979 the OAS gave provisional recognition to the anti-Somoza forces, contingent upon the establishment of a democratic political system including free political parties, free elections, free trade unions, religious freedom and an independent [redacted] the Sandinistas, the Sandinista [redacted] that they would hold free elections and [redacted] freedoms. The Sandinistas have yet to implement this promise.

During this period, Cuba provided about 500 tons of weapons and other military supplies directly to the Sandinista [redacted] also trained and deployed an "Internationalist Brigade," whose personnel fought with the Sandinistas. And on July 18, 1979, Julian Lopez Diaz, a leading Cuban covert action operative, flew to Managua from Costa Rica, where he had been the Sandinistas' key adviser. He became, and remains, the Cuban Ambassador.

After their victory, the Sandinistas followed Castro's example and established a dual governing structure. The inner core was headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a nine-person Directorate, which immediately moved with Cuban help to establish a new army, an internal security apparatus and a variety of controlled organizations: neighborhood "defense committees," trade unions, professional organizations and media organs. The Sandinistas also came to dominate the nominally independent executive branch: the Junta, the quasi-legislative Council of State, and most government ministries.

The Sandinistas encouraged their democratic allies to participate in these executive branch institutions, both to use the skills of [illegible] and their international credibility. This helped obtain more than $1.6 billion in Western aid from July 1979 to the end of 1982. The United States, along with other democracies, immediately recognized the new government. During the first 18 months of the regime, the United States provided more than $118 million in direct aid and endorsed more than $220 million in Inter-American Development Bank credits.

Repression of the democratic political parties, trade unions, and media began within weeks of Somoza's departure. In August and September 1979, the Sandinistas launched a campaign against the social democratic and Christian Democratic trade unions and their national federations, and tried to consolidate organized labor in two Sandinista-controlled groupings. A conference of Sandinista leaders in late September 1979 produced a specific plan for consolidating power. It stated that the democratic groups were to be "isolated" and brought under Sandinista control and that "while political parties must be permitted to exist" because of "international opinion," the Sandinistas would "work within them to get them to support the revolution."

Finally, in August 1980, the Sandinistas declared publicly that elections would not be held until 1985. Even then, these are not to be "[illegible]" and will serve only to "ratify" the revolution.

As a further measure of internal repression, in December 1981 the Sandinistas began destroying more than 40 villages of the [illegible] in northeastern Nicaragua. [illegible] Killing by the Sandinistas [illegible] from this [illegible]. The proof of this [illegible] (Photos 1, 2, and 3 provide photographic evidence [illegible] of these villages.)

[illegible] campaign has served to consolidate [illegible] the [illegible] genuinely democratic groups and [illegible] have been excluded from real political influence. Although some are permitted to survive under surveillance, [illegible] political control is held only by the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista directorate.

Within a week after the Sandinistas' takeover, Cuba had some 100 military and security personnel in Nicaragua. Three months later, by October 1979, this figure had increased to 200. Today, Nicaragua "hosts" 7,000 to 8,000 Cubans, including 1,500 to 2,000 military and security advisers, and many high-level Sandinistas have counterpart Cuban advisers. Cubans have trained virtually all Nicaraguan recruits in the General Directorate of Sandinista State Security, the new State police organization responsible for maintaining Sandinista control over the populace.

NICARAGUAN DETENTION CAMP FOR RELOCATED INDIAN

SUMUBILA, NICARAGUA

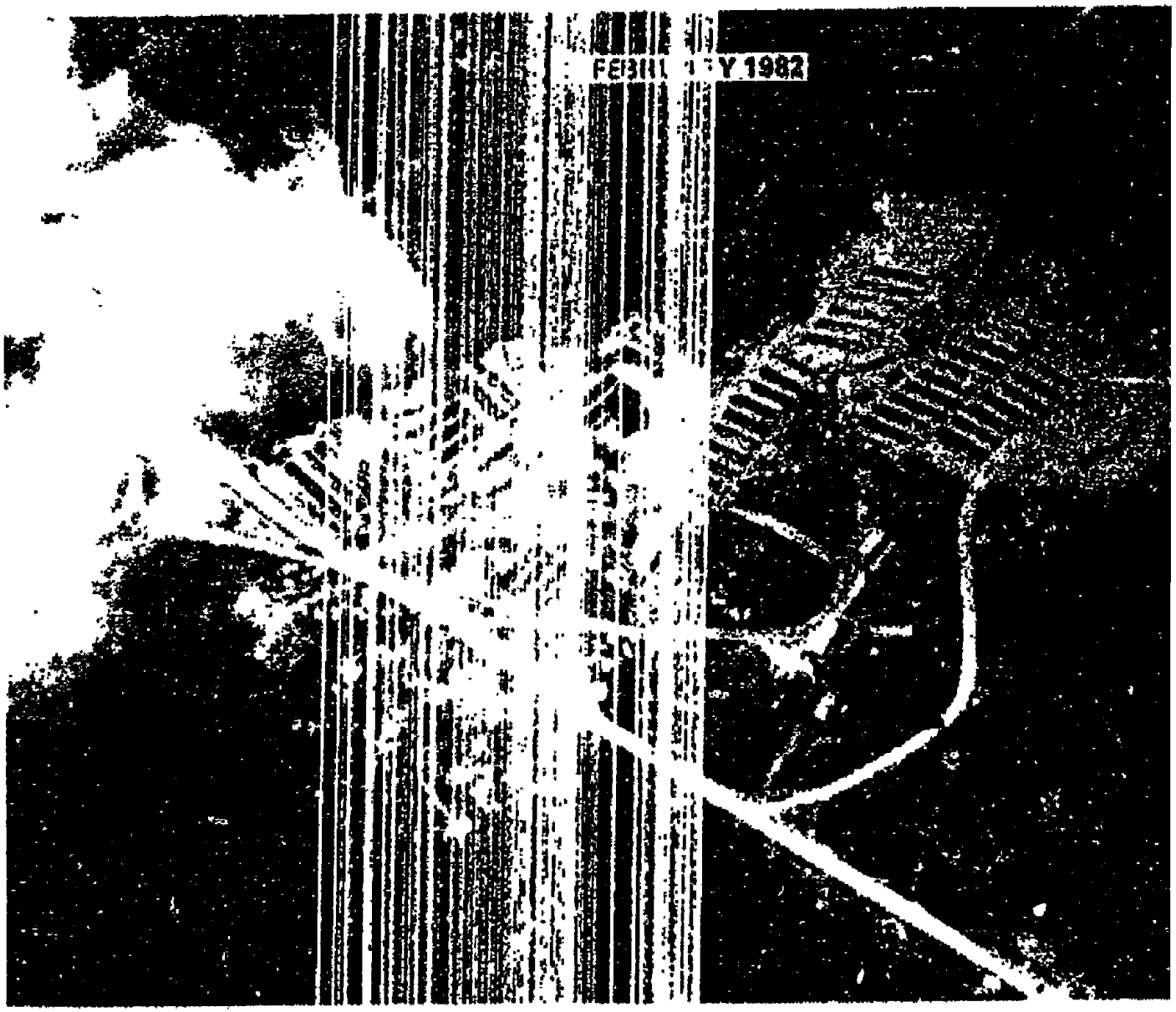
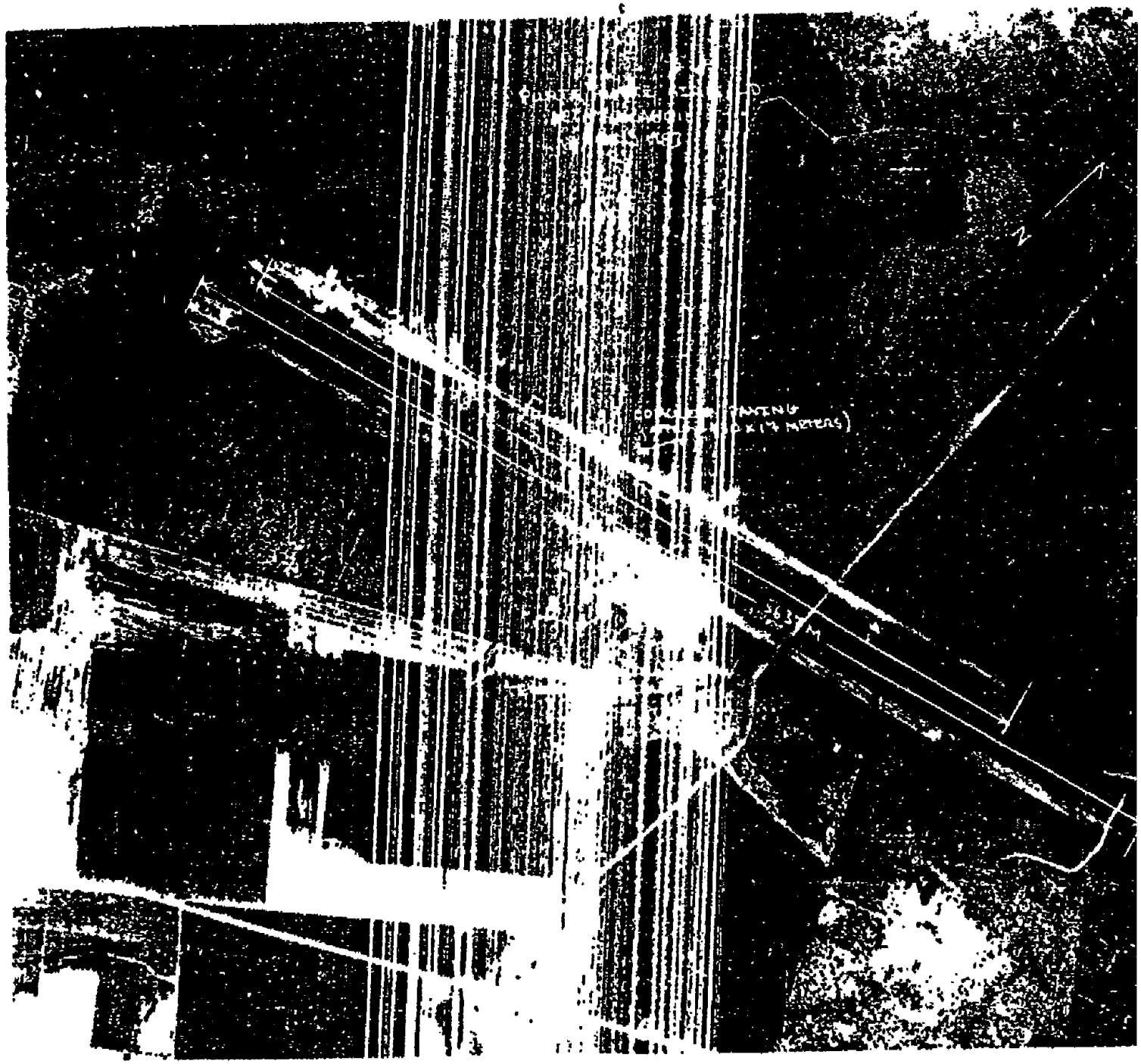


PHOTO #2

VILLAGE

NICARAGUA



The Sandinista military buildup also began immediately. Somoza's National Guard numbered about 9,000 before 1977, and 15,000 at the height of the fighting. The Sandinistas have increased their armed forces to some 25,000 regular troops on active duty, with another 50,000 in active reserve and militia forces. In addition, they have added 36 new military bases and Soviet-bloc weaponry, including 45-50 tanks, armored personnel carriers, mobile rocket-launchers and helicopters. Airfields are being constructed or improved which could service military jet aircraft.

For example, construction of a new dual runway airfield at Punta Huete, near Managua, is proceeding at an extremely rapid pace. About 800 meters of the estimated 3,600 meter main runway have been completed and work has begun on a parallel runway-taxiway; large, square area is being leveled for a probable parking apron. The location of Punta Huete strongly suggests that the new airfield, when completed, will be Nicaragua's main military airbase as well as the largest military airfield in Central America. This conclusion is based on: the relatively isolated location near Lake Managua (7 miles northwest of Managua); the estimated length of the runway, as well as the fact it will have a dual runway-taxiway

[illegible]

military activity in [illegible] has [illegible]
achieving power in Cuba, [illegible]
Western Hemisphere, particularly during the 1970s, [illegible]
nearly two decades of [illegible] collaboration with the
Soviet KGB and Soviet military. He also has cultivated close ties
with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Libya and
pro-Soviet factions in Africa and the Middle East in support of
terrorism and subversion. Castro has a method of operation with
the following principal components:

-- Unification of the extreme left;

-- Establishment of a "broad coalition"--led by the extreme left but including some noncommunist opposition elements--which makes direct or ambiguous promises of a "broad based" government after victory;

-- Use of the "broad coalition" and systematic propaganda and political action techniques in order to obtain noncommunist international support and isolate the target governments from Western political and material help;

-- Provision of Soviet bloc, Cuban, and other anti-Western military support as an incentive for extreme left unity.

This approach proved successful in Nicaragua. It was then turned against El Salvador in late 1979. Similar efforts have been made in Guatemala since 1980, accompanied by stepped-up covert activities against Honduras and Costa Rica starting in 1981 and 1982. The rapid expansion of these violent techniques in Central America is illustrated by the fact that while the total armed strength of the extreme left in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica was estimated at about 1,450 in 1978, by 1981 it was nearly 8,000.

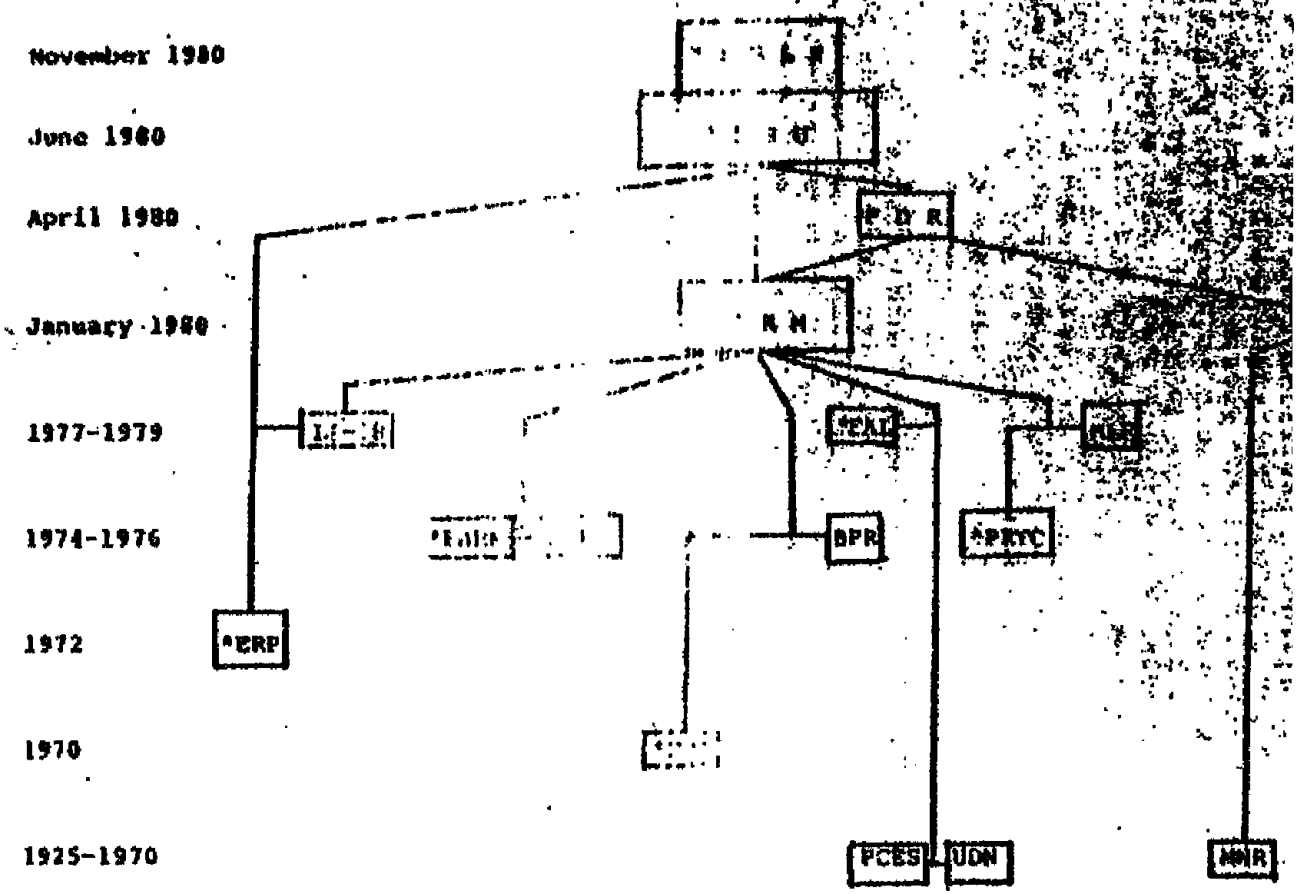
III. El Salvador

Soon after defeating Somoza, the Sandinistas began training guerrillas from El Salvador and other Central American countries. This was the beginning of a steadily expanding partnership between Cuba and the Sandinistas in exporting subversion in the region--a partnership that has included the establishment in Nicaragua of numerous guerrilla training camps, the transportation of tons of weapons and the establishment on Nicaraguan territory of guerrilla command and control facilities along with a variety of propaganda and covert activities.

[redacted]

Three small noncommunist groups in El Salvador formed the "Democratic Front" in April 1980. Shortly thereafter, the Marxist-Leninist leaders and the noncommunist leaders of the "Democratic Front" formed the "Revolutionary Democratic Front" [redacted] thereby establishing the "Broad Coalition" which has been used to give the impression that the guerrillas are democratic and not Marxist-led. In June 1980, a meeting in Cuba united the military and political components of the extreme left under a "United Revolutionary Directorate" (DRU). In November 1980, a military alliance of the five insurgent factions, the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN), was created. Chart #1 depicts the evolution of this organizational framework.

The DRU became the command structure for the Marxist-Leninist organizations and also the directing authority over the "Democratic Front," for which representatives of three small noncommunist groups often act as spokesmen. The result was an unequal coalition in which the Marxist-Leninist groups controlled the armed units, weapons, intelligence, and covert support from the Soviet bloc/Cuba, while the non-Marxist-Leninist element provided a useful facade for maintaining international respectability.



...igeri... terrorist groups

RT #1

Having achieved the unified command for the extreme left, a communist-led "broad coalition," and some noncommunist international support, Cuba moved to increase the military strength of the Salvadoran guerrillas with full but discreet support from the Soviets. In April 1980, Salvadoran guerrilla leaders met in the Hungarian Embassy in Mexico City with representatives of Cuba, the USSR, Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland and Vietnam. In June and July 1980, the Salvadoran communist leaders went to Moscow and then with Soviet endorsement visited East Germany, Bulgaria, Vietnam and Ethiopia--all of which promised them military and other support. The commitment of weapons was estimated at about 800 tons.

The Cuban/Soviet bloc military supply operation used Western weapons (some from Vietnam) for "cover" and covertly shipped some 200 tons of weapons through Cuba and Nicaragua to arm the Salvadoran guerrillas for their intense but unsuccessful "final offensive" in January 1981.

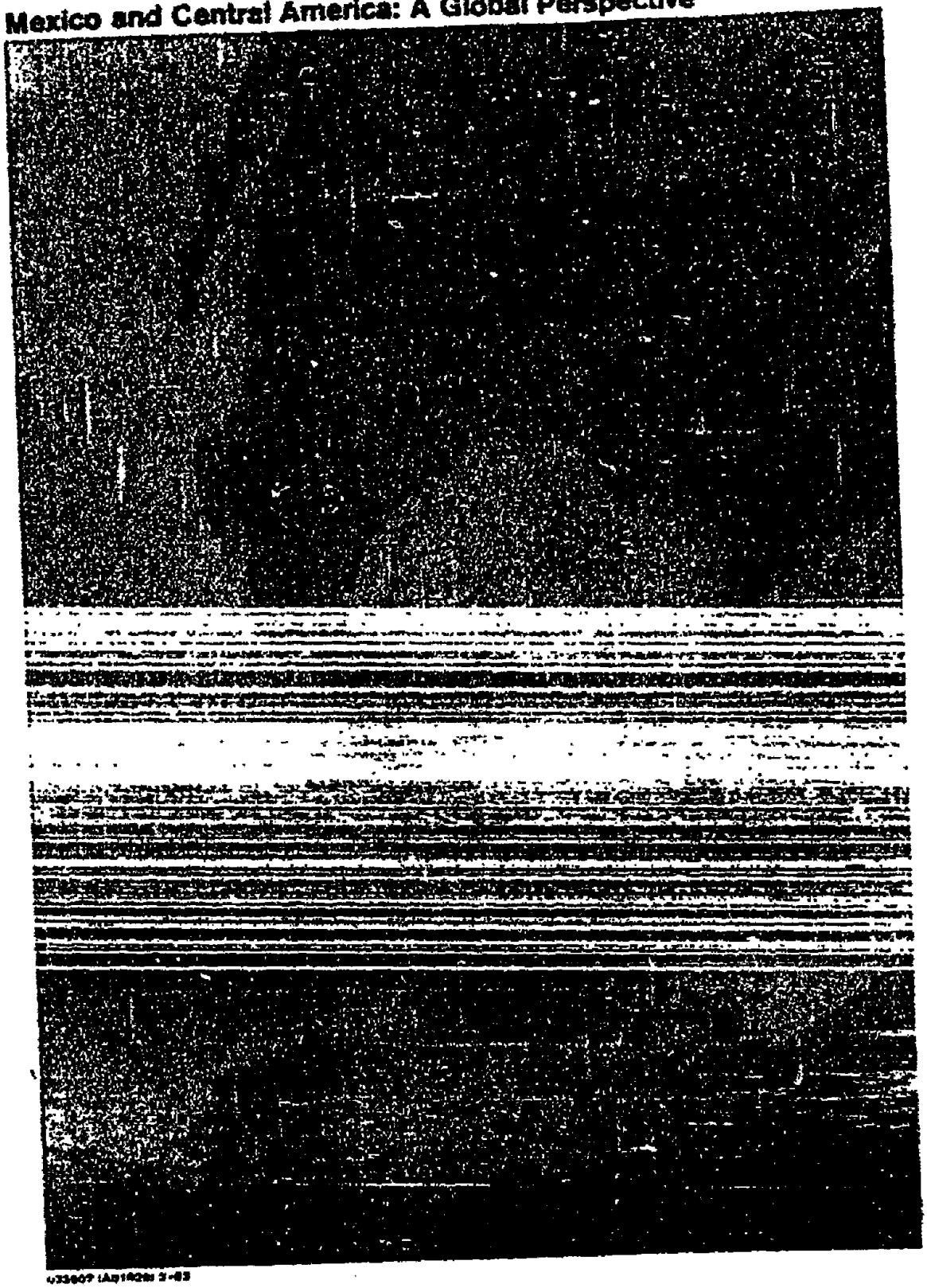
Although the offensive failed, it led President Carter to authorize U.S. military aid for arms, ammunition and equipment for the first time since 1977 to "support the Salvadoran government in its struggle against left-wing terrorism supported covertly with arms, ammunition, training and political and military [illegible]

Throughout 1981, Cuba, Nicaragua and the Soviet bloc aided in rebuilding, rearming and improving the Salvadoran guerrilla forces, which expanded their operations in the [illegible]

[illegible] political support as well [illegible] services. The FMLN headquarters in Nicaragua [illegible] extremely complex [illegible] command and control [illegible] in fact, than that used by the Sandinistas against [illegible] Guerrilla planning and operations are guided from this headquarters, where Cuban and Nicaraguan officials are involved in command and control. The guidance flows to guerrilla units widely spread throughout El Salvador. The FMLN headquarters in Nicaragua also coordinates propaganda and logistical support for the insurgents, including food, medicines, clothing, money and--most importantly--weapons and ammunition.

Although some guerrilla actions take place as targets of opportunity appear, the headquarters in Nicaragua decides on most locations to be attacked and coordinates supply deliveries. The guerrillas themselves have centralized their control procedures. For example, on March 14, 1982, the FMLN clandestine Radio Venceremos, then located near the Salvadoran border, broadcast a message to guerrillas in El Salvador urging them "to maintain their fighting spirit 24 hours a day to carry out the missions ordered by the FMLN general command (emphasis supplied)." The murder and

Mexico and Central America: A Global Perspective



MAP #1.

Introduction

Today, far more than at any time in the past, extreme leftist forces in Central America are supported by an extensive foreign intelligence and training apparatus, modern military equipment and a large and sophisticated propaganda network. With Soviet bloc support, Cuba is using contacts nurtured over more than 20 years to provide political and military training, plus material and propaganda support, to many violent groups in a number of Central American countries. The immediate goals are to consolidate control of the Sandinista Directorate in Nicaragua and to overthrow the Governments of El Salvador and Guatemala. Honduras and Costa Rica also have been targeted (see Map #1).

I. Nicaragua

When Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba, he set the pattern which, 20 years later, the Sandinistas are repeating in Nicaragua. Castro established a dual government. An inner core of trusted guerrillas controlled and built the instruments of power (the army, the secret police, "revolutionary tribunals," and new mass organizations), while his democratic allies were kept busy in formal institutions such as the Council of State and government ministries. This tactic helped him consolidate power and neutralize his democratic allies until they could no longer unite against him. Many of these allies later were executed or imprisoned, or left the country.

In Nicaragua, the democratic opposition to Somoza established a "broad opposition front" in coalition with the Sandinistas, who assured their democratic allies (as Castro had done in 1957-59) of their commitment to democratic elections "after Somoza." The presence of noncommunist elements in the Sandinista-led "broad coalition" served to deceive many Western governments about the true character of the Sandinista Directorate. As in Cuba, two decades earlier, this broad coalition provided a political network that could be used by the extreme left to mislead Western opinion

democratic political system including free political parties, free elections, free trade unions, religious freedom and an independent

During this period, Cuba

also created and deployed an "

personnel [illegible] with the

Tomas Lopez Diaz, a leading Cuban covert action operative, [illegible]

Managua from Costa Rica, where he had been the Sandinistas'

adviser. He became, and remains, the Cuban Ambassador.

After their victory, the Sandinistas followed Castro's example and established a dual governing structure. The inner core was headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a nine-person Directorate, which immediately moved with Cuban help to establish a new army, an internal security apparatus and a variety of controlled organizations: neighborhood "defense committees," trade unions, professions. organizations and media organs. The Sandinistas also came to dominate the nominally independent executive branch: the Junta, the quasi-legislative Council of State, and most government ministries.

The Sandinistas encouraged their democratic allies to participate in these executive branch institutions, both to use the skills of their allies and their international credibility. This helped obtain more than $1.5 billion in Western aid from July 1979 to the end of 1981. The United States, along with other democracies, immediately recognized the new government. During the first 18 months of the regime, the United States provided more than $118 million in direct aid and endorsed more than $220 million in Inter-American Development Bank credits.

Repression of the democratic political parties, trade unions, and media began within weeks of Somoza's departure. In August and September 1979, the Sandinistas launched a campaign against the social democratic and Christian Democratic trade unions and their national federations, and tried to consolidate organized labor in two Sandinista-controlled groupings. A conference of Sandinista leaders in late September 1979 produced a specific plan for consolidating power. It stated that the democratic groups were to be "isolated" and brought under Sandinista control and that "while political parties must be permitted to exist" because of "international opinion," the Sandinistas would "work within them to get them to support the revolution."

Finally, in August 1980, the Sandinistas declared publicly that [illegible] Even then, these are not [illegible]

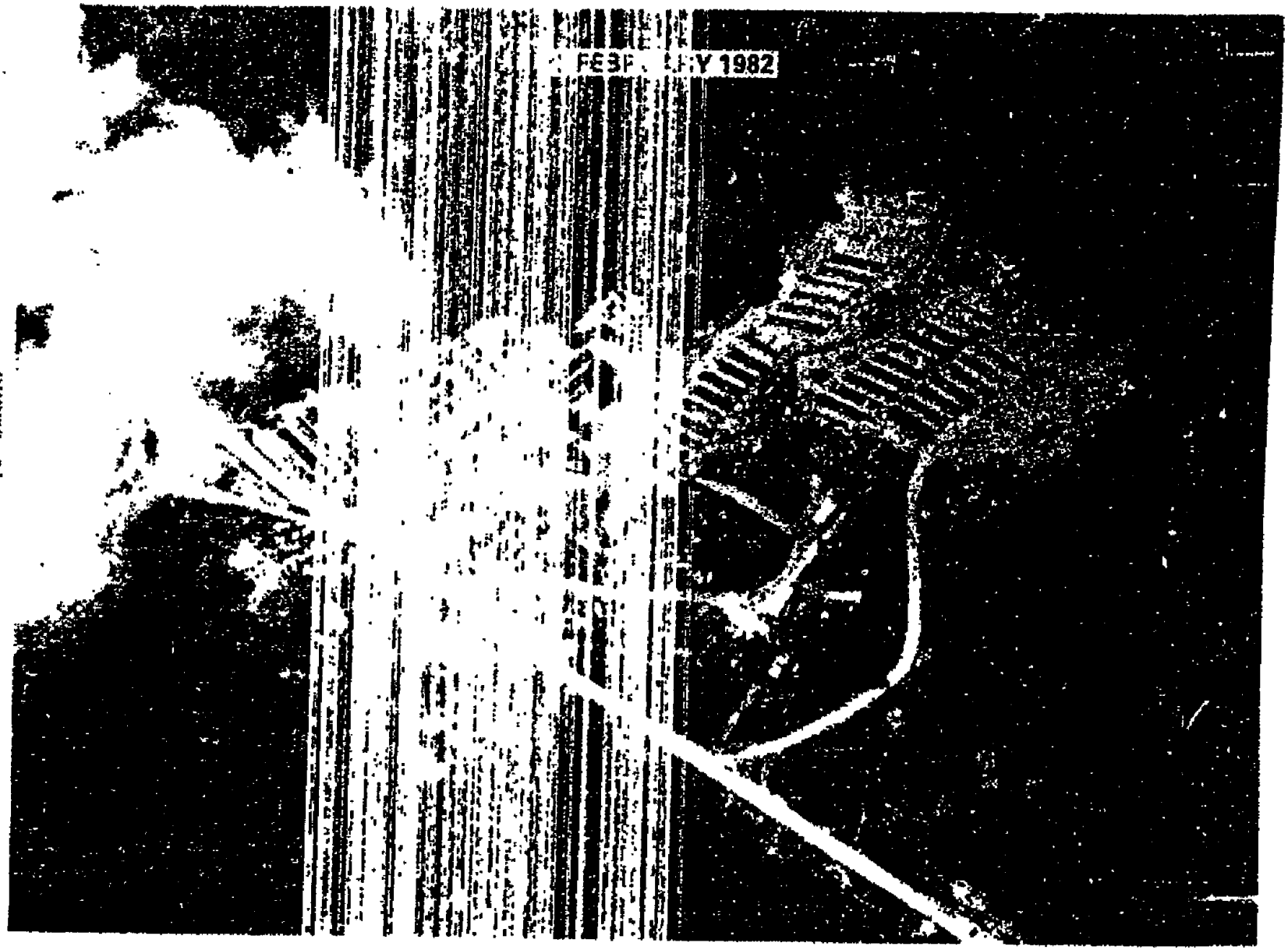
As a further measure of internal repression, [illegible] destroying more than 40 villages of the [illegible] from their homes [illegible] [illegible] 3, 5, and 6 provide photographs [illegible] villages.)

[illegible] the Sandinistas, [illegible] have been curtailed from [illegible] Although some are permitted to survive under surveillance and pressure, control is held only by the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista directorate.

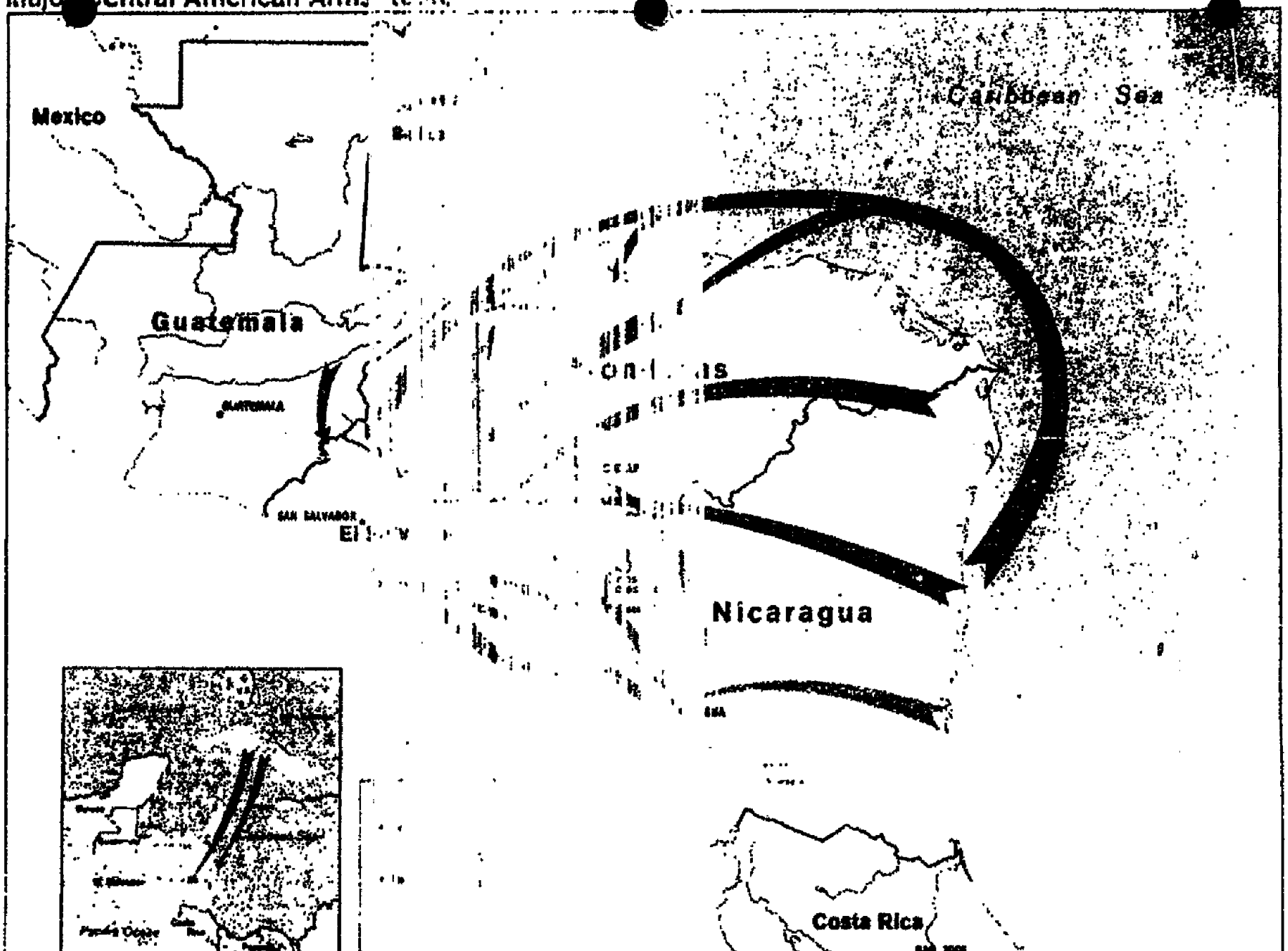
Within a week after the Sandinistas' takeover, Cuba had some 100 military and security personnel in Nicaragua. Three months later, by October 1979, this figure had increased to 200. Today, Nicaragua "hosts" 7,000 to 8,000 Cubans, including 1,500 to 2,000 military and security advisers, and many high-level Sandinistas have counterpart Cuban advisers. Cubans have trained virtually all Nicaraguan recruits in the General Directorate of Sandinista State Security, the new State police organization responsible for maintaining Sandinista control over the populace.

NICARAGUAN DETENTION CAMP FOR RELOCATED INDIANS

PUERTO CABEZAS, NICARAGUA



Major Central American Arms Routes



alleged suicide of leaders of El Salvador's largest guerrilla group (the FPL) residing in Managua in April 1983 provided dramatic evidence of the guerrillas' base in Nicaragua.

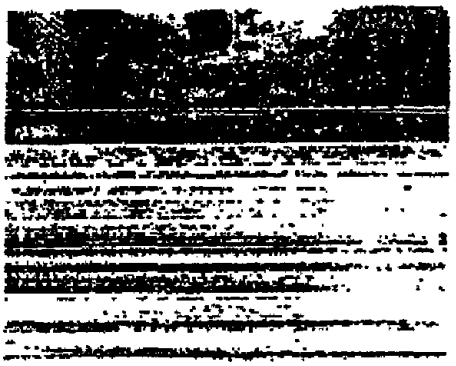
After El Salvador scheduled free elections for a Constituent Assembly for March 28, 1982, the Salvadoran Government invited the Social Democrats (MNR) and the Communist-front UDN, both of which support the FMLN, to compete openly in those elections. This offer was rejected and the top priority of the guerrillas became the disruption or prevention of these elections. In December 1981, after meetings in Havana with Salvadoran guerrilla leaders, Fidel Castro directed that external supplies of arms to FMLN units be stepped up to launch a offensive to disrupt the elections.

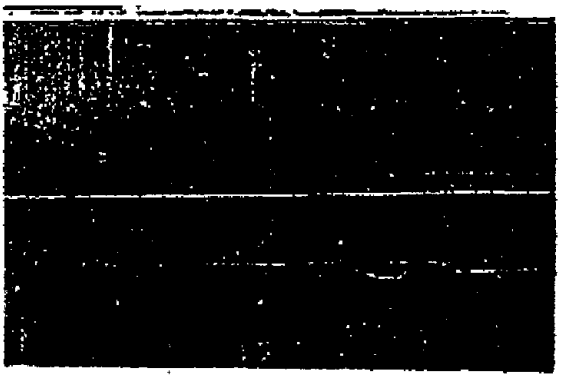
During the first 3 months of 1982, arms shipments into El Salvador surged. Cuban-Nicaraguan arms flowed through Honduras into El Salvador by sea, air, and overland routes. In February, for example, Salvadoran guerrilla groups picked up a large shipment on the Salvadoran coast, near Usulutan, after the shipment arrived by sea from Nicaragua.

In addition to vitally needed ammunition, these supply operations included greater quantities of more sophisticated heavy [illegible] several thousand sticks of TNT and detonators from Nicaragua [illegible] five sticks are needed to blow up an electrical pylon. Individual [illegible] explosives, uniforms, passports, documents, [illegible] guerrillas. Map #2 displays the known major [illegible] for arms being [illegible] El Salvador.

With this support, thousands of Salvadoran guerrillas attempted to prevent the March 1982 election by destroying public buses, blocking highways and attacking villages, town, and voting places. Nonetheless, with several hundred election observers from democratic countries and about 700 foreign journalists as witnesses, the people of El Salvador repudiated the extreme left by voting in overwhelming numbers. More than 80% of the eligible voters participated.

Following their obvious repudiation in the elections, the FMLN leaders reacted as they had after their failed 1981 "final offensive." They consulted the Nicaraguan and Cuban officials [illegible]





plan strategy and to obtain more and better military and communications equipment for their forces. For the next 6 months, they continued terrorist harrassment and economic sabotage. In mid-October 1982, they used their expanded capabilities to begin a new series of military attacks. By early 1983 the guerrillas had controlled about a dozen towns for more than 2 months, and their morale clearly had recovered--in part due to the continued Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Soviet bloc support, which enabled them to sustain operations despite their rejection by the Salvadoran people. During 1982, guerrilla operations resulted in about 2,500 government forces wounded and 1,300 killed. These intensified attacks have continued through the first 5 months of 1983.

Although Castro has often denied responsibility for shipping weapons to the Salvadoran guerrillas, German Social Democrat leader Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski stated publicly in 1981 that Castro had admitted the Cuban role. Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez confirmed Cuban training of Salvadoran guerrillas in interviews given in the fall of 1981. In an article published in the Toronto Globe and Mail on February 12, 1982, a reporter interviewed a Salvadoran guerrilla trainee who described courses for Salvadoran guerrillas in demolition and intelligence operations, taught by Cubans, and attended by the Salvadorans at that time.

[illegible] clandestine communication in Nicaragua overseeing the smuggling of weapons from that country to here." He also said there have been [illegible]

[illegible] a communist underground [illegible] military camps in Managua [illegible]

[illegible] to approximately 1,200 meters. Managua [illegible] operating area for the Salvadoran guerrillas. [illegible] the airbase were confirmed by photographic [illegible] unidentified aircraft were frequently sighted in El Salvador. Several pilots who regularly flew the route into El Salvador have been identified in Nicaragua. This particular route has been closed down, but air infiltration over new routes continues to this day.

In addition to the air infiltration routes, the Salvadoran guerrillas make extensive use of sea and overland infiltration routes through Honduras and Guatemala from Nicaragua. Photo #5 taken in May 1983, in San Salvador, demonstrates that the guerrillas use sophisticated vehicular concealment devices to confound detection by local authorities.

Details of Cuban/Nicaraguan support have been provided by two high-level FMLN leaders captured in mid-1982. One of them, known as "Alejandro Montenegro," was seized on August 22, 1982, in conjunction with a raid on an FMLN safehouse in Honduras. Montenegro's importance is underscored by the fact that the September 1982 taking of 108 civilian hostages in San Pedro Sula, Honduras, was essentially an attempt by a leftist Honduran terrorist group (with close ties to the Salvadoran insurgents) to secure his release. The hostage seizure failed because Montenegro had already been transferred to Salvadoran military authorities. Montenegro provided some significant information:

-- He said that the Cubans played a major role in training those who conducted the successful January 27, 1982, raid on the Salvadoran air base at Ilopango, which damaged or destroyed a dozen aircraft.

-- Montenegro himself directed the attack, leading an eight-man team that had received 5 months of special infiltration and sabotage training in Cuba.

-- He said that he personally had attended two high-level meetings with Cuban officials in 1981--one in Havana and the other in [illegible]

-- One of the guerrillas captured with Montenegro made [illegible] trips to Managua in 1982 to pick up arms [illegible]

[illegible] meetings [illegible] Nicaraguan Ministry of Defense. [illegible]

[illegible] insurgent weapons and ammunition, although he added that [illegible] some weapons and ammunition from the Salvadoran military.

The other captured Salvadoran guerrilla leader, Lopez Arriola, admitted attending a platoon leaders' course in Cuba in July 1979. He said that:

-- Hundreds of Salvadoran guerrillas have received military training in Cuba;

-- Cubans give special courses for combatants, commanders, staff officers, and intelligence officials;

-- He had attended an insurgent strategy meeting in Havana in June 1981, at which Castro himself appeared.

Lopez Arriola also revealed that the Sandinistas control weapons delivered from Vietnam to Nicaragua for the Salvador insurgents and that the guerrillas must ask for permission to draw on the supplies. He added that the Sandinistas give the insurgents an extensive base of operations in and around Managua and provide a school for their children.

IV. Guatemala

In Guatemala, although there was increased guerrilla activity in the months proceeding the elections, this violence failed to disrupt the national elections of March 7, 1982. A widespread, but unconfirmed, perception of extensive electoral fraud by the government together with pervasive and excessive government corruption and international isolation led to a junior officer coup on March 23, 1982. The new President, General Efrain Rios Montt, who had been on inactive duty for four years, acted quickly.

He disbanded various semi-official groups that had taken part in violence against opposition leaders and offered amnesty for guerrillas who surrendered before the end of June 1982. (The Guatemalan Government has since renewed this offer and it is currently in force). From that point on, the Guatemalan Government [illegible] intensive counter-insurgency program. This included [illegible] food and economic [illegible]

[illegible] Guatemalan security forces captured [illegible] Guatemala City. [illegible] Nicaragua.

[illegible] officers [illegible] February 9, 1982, a [illegible] called a press conference in Havana [illegible] the unity of the four principal Guatemalan guerrilla groups. [illegible] Soviet bloc have continued to provide military training and support to various factions of the Guatemalan insurgency.

V. Honduras

The new democratic government of Honduras--inaugurated in January 1982--increased its cooperation with the United States and neighbors in the region to neutralize the threat posed by the large military buildup in Nicaragua as well as by the guerrillas in the region. Having failed in 1981 to persuade Honduras to be neutral by promising that Cuba and Nicaragua would "spare Honduras" from

the terrorism affecting El Salvador and Guatemala, Cuba now seeks to intimidate Honduras and its leaders into passivity through acts of terrorism. By doing so, the Cubans hope to eliminate a major obstacle to arms shipments to El Salvador and thus to increase the chance that the Salvadoran guerrillas can succeed.

Cuba and Nicaragua have worked actively to keep the Honduran Government from cooperating with El Salvador's efforts to prevent the transit of guerrilla supplies. Increased Cuban/Nicaraguan training and support have been provided to the Honduran extreme left, and Havana has stepped up efforts to promote unity among the Honduran leftist groups as part of a campaign to destablize the Honduran Government. Examples of extreme leftist actions in Honduras during 1981 included the following:

-- In early January 1981, Honduran police caught six persons unloading weapons from a truck enroute from Nicaragua. The six identified themselves as members of the International Support Commission of the Salvadoran Popular Liberation Forces, a part of the FMLN. They had in their possession a large number of altered and forged Honduran, Costa Rican, and Salvadoran passports and other identity documents. One truck contained more than 100 M-16/AR-15 automatic rifles, 50 81mm mortar rounds, about 100,000 rounds of 5.56mm ammunition, machineguns belts, field packs, and [illegible]

-- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] for the Morazanist Front for the Liberation of [illegible] was described in the pro-government Nicaraguan newspaper El Nuevo Diario, by "Octavio," one of its founders, as a political-military organization formed as part of the "increasing regionalization of the Central American conflict." The raid occurred on November 27, 1981, in Tegucilgalpa. Following a gunfight the Honduran police captured several members of this group. This cell included a Honduran, a Uruguayan, and several Nicaraguans. The captured terrorists told Honduran authorities that the Nicaraguan Government had provided them with funds for travel expenses, as well as explosives.

Captured documents and statements by detained guerrillas further indicated that the group was formed in Nicaragua at the instigation of high-level Sandinista leaders. The group's chief of operations resided in Managua. Members of the group received military training in Nicaragua and Cuba. The documents included classroom notebooks from a 1-year training course held in Cuba in 1980. Other captured documents revealed that guerrillas at one safehouse were responsible for transporting arms and ammunition into Honduras from Esteli, Nicaragua.

Our information shows that Nicaraguan agents and Salvadoran extreme left groups have played a leading role in the Honduran operation:

-- The Salvadoran guerrillas have links with almost all Honduran terrorist groups and assist them in subversive planning, training, and operations.

-- The December 1982, kidnapping of Honduran President Suazo's daughter in Guatemala was the work of a Guatemalan Marxist-Leninist guerrilla faction.

-- [illegible] reportedly, was held in mid-1982 among the [illegible]

-- Captured Salvadoran and Honduran terrorists have [illegible] explosives used in bombing attacks in the Honduran [illegible]

[illegible]

Costa Rica now [illegible] Marxist-Leninist [illegible] and Central terrorists [illegible] and Costa Rica's [illegible] In May 1982, [illegible] Monge, a Social [illegible] Democrat, was inaugurated as President.

Because his government has attempted to stop the continued use of its territory for the supply of weapons to the region's Marxist-Leninist guerrillas, Cuba and Nicaragua also have made Costa Rica a target for subversion. During 1982, for example:

-- Cuba funded a new leftist political party designed to unify various leftist elements and attract broader popular support;

-- The Cubans and Sandinistas provided weapons and training for Costa Rican leftist terrorists;

-- Since the beginning of 1982, several guerrilla arms caches and safehouses have been discovered in Costa Rica.

-- In March 1982, the Costa Rican Judicial Police discovered a large arms cache in a house in San Jose. Among the nine people arrested there were Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, an Argentine, a Chilean, and a Costa Rican. Costa Rican police so far have seized 13 vehicles designed for arms smuggling and more than 170 weapons, including machineguns, TNT, fragmentation grenades, a grenade-launcher, ammunition and 500 combat uniforms.

-- Nicaragua has instigated terrorist actions in Costa Rica, leading to increased tensions between the two countries. Although the Sandinistas denied complicity, the July 3, 1982, bombing of the Honduran airlines office in San Jose took place at Nicaragua's direction, according to a Colombian M-19 member arrested by Costa Rican authorities on July 14, 1982.

-- The captured terrorist also stated that the July 3, bombing was part of a broader Nicaraguan plan that included sabotage, kidnappings, bank robberies, and other terrorist acts designed to discredit Costa Rica internationally.

-- In November 1982, Salvadoran guerrillas attempted to kidnap [illegible] Costa Rica to destabilize the [illegible].

[illegible] to invade El Salvador using the armies of Honduras and Guatemala with assistance from Brazil, Argentina, and [illegible] was characterized as a last ditch effort by the U.S. [illegible] transform the situation in El Salvador in favor of government forces prior to the U.S. elections in November 1980.

Captured documents indicate that the FMLN has coordinated the FDR's international activities (in the United States, Canada, and Europe) from Mexico City. The Soviets in Mexico City are also in contact with the Salvadoran guerrillas. Logistics and international relations policy, however, are handled in Havana. The Cuban press agency, Prensa Latina, provides international communications for the FDR and its representatives abroad.

The Soviets and Cubans met in June 1980 with several Salvadoran insurgent leaders in Havana to establish a strategy for an international political campaign on El Salvador. Evidence from captured guerrilla documents indicates that the strategy includes:

-- Propaganda: Spokesmen should emphasize that the Salvadoran "revolution" represents the people and is fighting against oppression and for freedom from outside intervention. The United States seeks direct military intervention in El Salvador to keep the "junta" in power.

-- International Support: Representatives should gain recognition and support for the insurgents from a broad range of international organizations and political and regional groups.

-- U.S. Initiatives: Representatives should strengthen ties with sympathetic American organizations and seek support from American politicians.

-- Public Posture: From the outset, representatives should call for a dialogue to seek resolution of the conflict. "The policy of a dialogue is a tactical maneuver to broaden [illegible] peace and justice."

[illegible]

[illegible] El Salvador, and widespread use has been made of disinformation to substantiate the message. Moscow also has employed its international fronts, such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions, in support of the propaganda campaign.

Communist parties in Europe, Latin America, Canada and Australia have participated in the propaganda campaign and helped organize demonstrations. Their publications have continuously printed articles on El Salvador and contributed to disinformation circulating about the situation in that country. For instance, the Communist Party of Spain, in its maganzine Mundo Obrero Semanal amid pictures of blood-covered bodies, accused the United States of

encircling El Salvador with the aid of Honduras and Guatemala, of sending tanks and helicopters "piloted by Yankees," of invading El Salvador, and of murdering Salvadoran Archbishop Romero.

Meanwhile, the FDR-FMLN, with Soviet and Cuban support, has directed the establishment of "Solidarity Committees" throughout Europe and Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These serve as propaganda outlets and conduits for contributions to the guerrillas. These committees also have helped plan, in conjunction with Communist parties and local leftist groups, many of the demonstrations that have taken place in support of the Salvadoran guerrillas. The timing and location of the demonstrations, such as those held worldwide after the failure of the January 1981 FMLN "final offensive" and those to protest the March 1982 Salvadoran elections, show that they resulted from a well-coordinated effort.

VIII. Extent of Outside Support

Since the Sandinista victory in July 1979, both Cuba and Nicaragua have steadily increased the size and quality of their "Revolutionary" military forces. The Soviets have played a major role in this militarization of the region.

[redacted]

-- In April 1982, a communist bloc ship delivered four Soviet heavy tank ferries, one small patrol boat, and 12 small mobile multiple-rocket-launchers.

-- The tank ferries provide the Sandinista army with an offensive water-crossing capability, while the mobile rocket-launchers gave them a mass firepower weapon unmatched in the region.

-- In mid-1982, the Sandinistas completed a new garrison for their Soviet T-54/55 tank battalion just outside of Managua. They also completed two new infantry battalion garrisons near Managua and have begun work on another major military installation south of the capital.

-- As is evident from photos #6-8, all of these military installations have a common layout similar to Cuban garrisons designed and constructed with Cuban assistance.

-- It is noteworthy that Cuban Defense Minister Raul Castro visited Nicaragua in mid-1982 with a high-level military delegation, ostensibly to offer aid for flood damage. It was announced later that 2,000 Cuban construction workers were being sent to Nicaragua. Since then, we have detected a spurt in military construction activity.

-- In November 1982, a Soviet bloc ship delivered an additional group of 25 T-54/55 tanks, bringing the total to about 50. The delivery followed a visit by Sandinista Directorate member, Daniel Ortega, to Moscow earlier in the year. To enhance the mobility of Sandinista ground forces, the Soviets have delivered MI-8 helicopters. AN-2 aircraft and armored personnel carriers also have been provided.

-- During early December 1982, eight new 122mm howitzers were delivered, supplementing the twelve 152mm guns delivered in 1981.

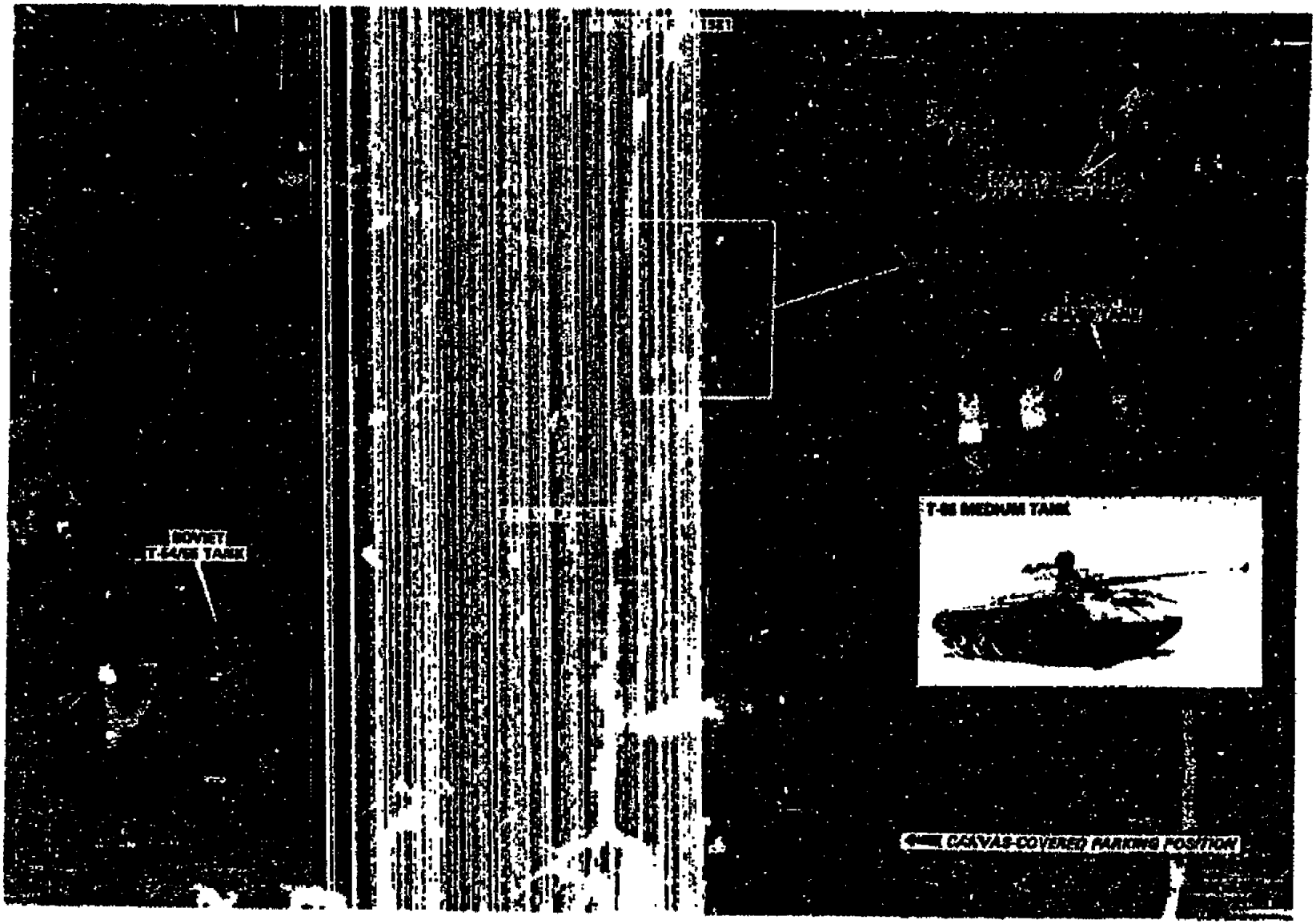
-- Finally, in late December 1982, the first delivery was made of sophisticated Soviet electronic gear--a high frequency/

the security services, and the others are attached to the Nicaraguan General Staff and the Ministries of Interior services. By mid-1982, they had concluded military agreements with Nicaragua estimated to be worth at least $125 million.

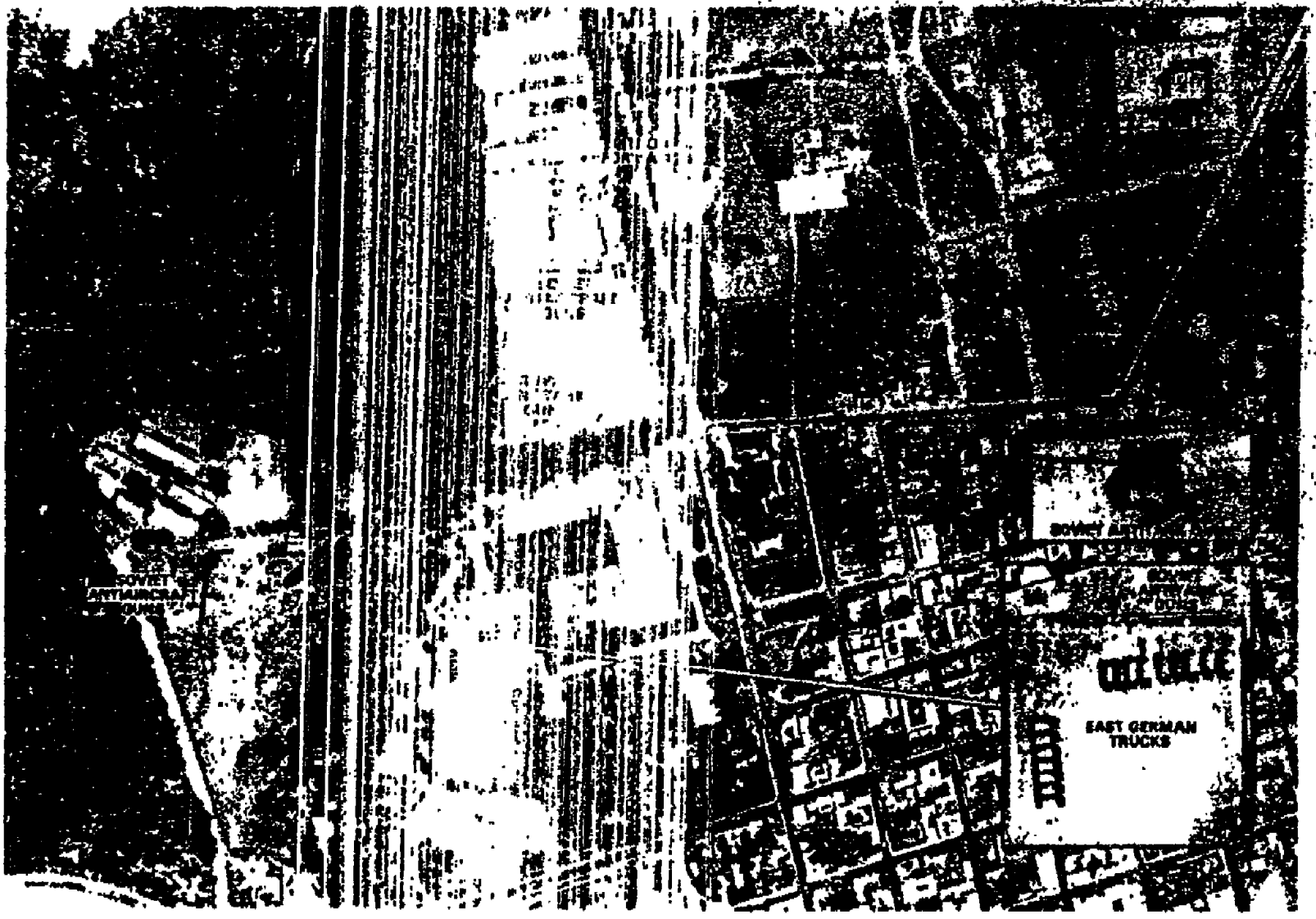
There are also about 35 military and 200 economic advisors from East European countries in Nicaragua. Most are East Germans, but some Bulgarians, Czechoslovakians, Poles and Hungarians are also present. The East Germans are most active in the Nicaraguan internal security organizations.

CLEAN-STYLE
SPECIAL FORCES TRAINING FACILITY
LAKE NICARAGUA

TEMPORARY ARMOR STORAGE AREA
MANAGUA, NICARAGUA



SOVIET/EAST GERMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT
IN CUBA & NICARAGUA



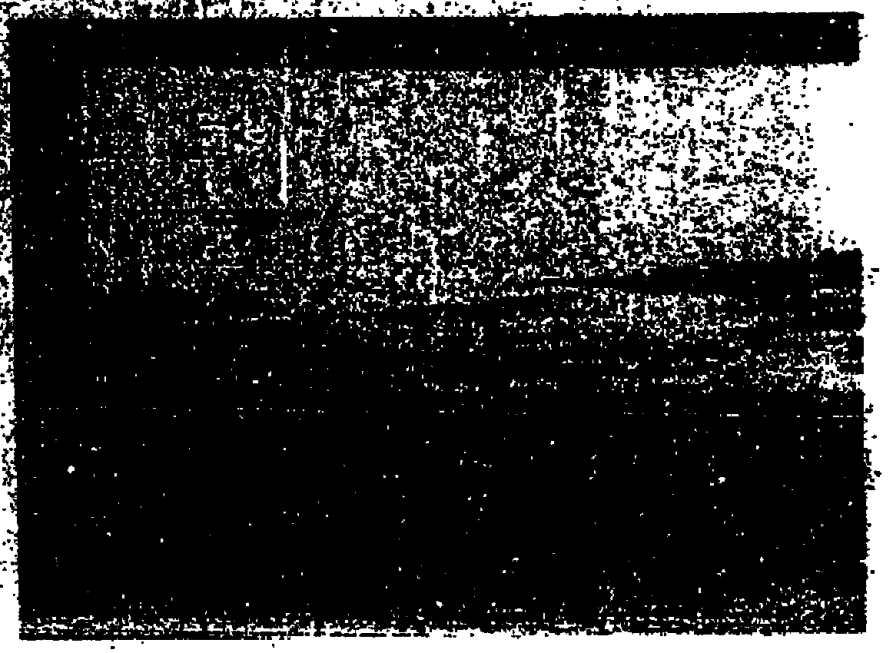
As many as 50 Libyan and PLO advisors have been active in Nicaragua. The Libyan advisors have been engaged mostly in assisting the Soviet-built Mi-8 light helicopters they provided the Sandinistas. Last May, the Libyans also provided the Sandinistas with four small training aircraft useful in counter-insurgency operations.

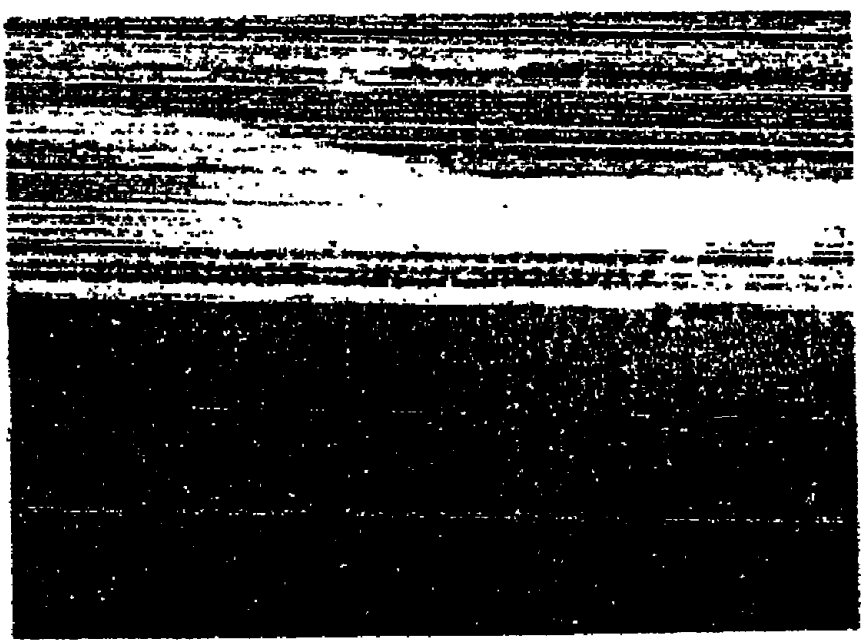
In April 1983, Honduras detained four Libyan aircraft transporting large quantities of weapons to Nicaragua, including two jet aircraft. This event, and a high-level delegation to Managua in May underscored Libyan leader Qadhafi's commitment to the Central American struggle (see photos 39 and 40). (Salvadoran guerrilla leader Cayetano Carpio returned to Nicaragua from Libya immediately before his April 12 purported suicide in Managua.)

PLO leader Yasir Arafat agreed to provide military equipment to Nicaragua, including arms and aircraft, when he was in Managua on July 22, 1980. The PLO has trained selected Salvadorans in the Mideast and in Nicaragua. Arafat affirmed to a group of Palestinian journalists in Beirut on January 11, 1982, that "there are Palestinian revolutionaries with the revolutionaries in El Salvador..." About 30 PLO personnel are providing pilot training and aircraft maintenance in Nicaragua.

[illegible] assistance to assist[illegible] indigenous guerrilla activity. It is large-scale intervention in the political affairs of the nations directly concerned, for the clear purpose of bringing to power governments on the Cuban model.

LIBYAN ARMS AIRCRAFT IN BRAZIL





PHOTOS #9 and 10

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09595 01 OF 02 232154Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
TRSE-00 AID-05 SY-05 MCT-02 EUR-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 /097 W

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O 232048Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3264
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B-5
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 9595

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/23/85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - NOVEMBER 15-22

1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: A BIOPSY WHICH SHOWS THAT FORMER PRESIDENT CAMPORA HAS CANCER HAS PUT THE GOA ON THE SPOT WHETHER TO FINALLY GRANT HIM A SAFE CONDUCT PASS OUT OF ARGENTINA. JAIME LOKMAN LEFT FOR ISRAEL NOVEMBER 22. THE GOA CONTINUES TO TAKE A REASSURING LINE ON THE LIMITED NATURE OF THE TERRORIST THREAT. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH CONTINUES TO TRY TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE POPE'S RECENT STATEMENT ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARTENTINA. END SUMMARY.

3. CAMPORA TO GET SAFE CONDUCT?----

[redacted]

[redacted]

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A NOVEMBER 21 BIOPSY AT A BUENOS AIRES HOSPITAL CONFIRMED THAT AILING FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA HAS METASTATIZED CANCER WITH SERIOUS COMPLICATIONS. THE MILITARY HAD MADE SUCH A BIOPSY A CONDITION PRECEDENT TO ISSUING CAMPORA A SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF THE COUNTRY FROM HIS MEXICAN EMBASSY ASYLUM. THOUGH THE JUNTA HAD EARLIER INDICATED THAT A FINDING OF SERIOUS CANCER WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO GRANT THE EX-PRESIDENT SAFE CONDUCT, THE MILITARY WAS STILL WRESTLING WITH THE ISSUE AS OF MIDDAY NOVEMBER 23. (WE ARE TOLD THAT SOURCES CLOSE TO THE PERSON WHO PERFORMED THE BIOPSY SAY THAT CAMPORA HAS ONLY THREE MONTHS TO LIVE.)

4. JAIME LOKMAN LEAVES----

JAIME LOKMAN, ONE OF THE BETTER KNOWN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ARGENTINA LEFT FOR ISRAEL ON THE RIGHT OF OPTION NOVEMBER 22. LIKMAN, A USED CAR DEALER IN CORDOBA, HAD BEEN HELD SINCE MARCH 1976 ON VAGUE AND UNSUBSTANTIATED CHARGES OF ASSISTING SUBVERSIVES. IN FACT, HE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF A PERSONAL ANIMUS OF GENERAL LUCIANO BENJAMIN MENENDEZ AND WAS A BENEFICIARY WHEN THE GENERAL WAS RETIRED FOLLOWING HIS ABORTIVE SEPTEMBER COUP.

B-6

MRS. LOKMAN, WHO WAS PARTICULARLY IRON WILLED AND DOGGED IN EFFORTS TO GET HER HUSBAND FREED, HAS TOLD US THAT THEY BOTH PLAN TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES TO THANK ALL THOSE WHO CONTRIBUTED TO HIS ULTIMATE RELEASE.

[redacted]

[redacted]

5. TERRORISM----

THE LINE IS THE SAME: ALL GOA SPOKESMEN CONTINUE TO MINIMIZE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT TERRORIST INCIDENTS. THE LINE THE SERVICE COMMANDERS AND OTHERS (INCLUDING GENERAL BUSSI) TAKE IN THEIR PUBLIC REMARKS IS THAT THE MONTONERO ATTACKS ARE THE WORK OF ISOLATED FANATICS FROM WHICH NO SOCIETY IS IMMUNE TODAY. AS

Case Number: 200000044

WE HAVE NOTED BEFORE A MOST PALPABLE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS GOVERNMENT FOR MOST ARGENTINES WAS ITS ABILITY TO RESTORE ORDER AND ELIMINATE TERRORIST VIOLENCE. FROM ONE POINT OF VIEW IT WOULD HARDLY PAY POLITICAL BENEFITS TO THE JUNTA TO ALLOW FEARS TO BE FED HERE THAT THE TERRORISTS ARE MAKING A COMEBACK. NEVERTHELESS, THE GOA DID HAVE OTHER OPTIONS -- INCLUDING AN EFFORT TO GATHER SUPPORT BY EXAGGERATING THE DANGER WHILE GEARING UP FOR ANOTHER ROUND AT BASHING "SUBVERSIVES" AND TERRORISTS. MOREOVER, THERE WERE AND ARE ELEMENTS IN THE MILITARY WHO WOULD HAVE SUPPORTED SUCH A REGRESSION AND USED IT FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL PURPOSES. THEREFORE, THE GOVERNMENTS.S SINGLE-MINDED SOUNDING OF REASSURANCES AT VARIOUS LEVELS IS A WELCOME AND POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09595 02 OF 02 232141Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
TRSE-00 AID-05 SY-05 MCT-02 EUR-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 /097 W
----------123076 232208Z /73

O R 232048Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3265
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 9595

AT THE SAME TIME THAT MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN WERE REASSURING THE PUBLIC THAT TERRORISM IS A THING OF THE PAST THEY WERE ALSO PROMISING ARGENTINES THAT THE PROCESS OF RETURNING THE COUNTRY TO DEMOCRATIC RULE OF LAW WOULD CONTINUE. JOINING JUNTA MEMBERS IN

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Case Number: 200000044

MAKING THIS THEME EXPLICIT WAS MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR HARGUINDEGUY, WHO MADE A STRONG DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL TERMS. EVEN GENERAL SUAREZ MASON, THE ARCH-TYPICAL HARDLINER SPOKE OUT PUBLICLY THIS WEEK, IN A MANNER WHICH IF AMBIGUOUS DID SEEM TO MOVE HIM TOWARDS THE POSITION OF VIDELA AND VIOLA. HE ALSO HAD WORDS OF PRAISE FOR BRITAIN AND ITS DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, DELIVERED THIS WEEK AT A PARTY FOR A DEPARTING U.K. ATTACHE.

6. THE CHURCH CONTINUES TO WRESTLE WITH POPE'S MESSAGE----

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[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 09595 02 OF 02 232141Z

THE ARGENTINE CATHOLIC CHURCH CONTINUES TO TRY TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE POPE'S RECENT ADMONISHMENTS TO THE GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HERE -- PARTICULARLY THE SITUATION OF DISAPPEARED AND DETAINED PEOPLE. MOST ARGENTINE PRELATES CONTINUE TO SEEK TO DIMINISH THE IMPACT AND THE MEANING OF THE POPE'S WORDS. HOWEVER, MSGR. VICENTE ZAZPE, A LIBERAL AND SECRETARY OF THE BISHOPS' COUNCIL, TOOK A DIFFERENT TACK. ALSO SUNDAY ZAZPE GAVE A SERMON IN WHICH HE REPEATED THE TEXT OF THE POPE'S REMARKS ON ARGENTINA, AFFIRMED THAT THEY WERE PERFECTLY CLEAR DESPITE ATTEMPTS TO DISTORT THEM, AND CALLED THEM A "REMINDER OF THE SACRED URGENCY OF JUSTICE AND....CHARITY."

THE ARGENTINE PRESS CONTINUES TO BE SPRINKLED WITH RUMORS AND REPORTS THAT THE POPE MAY VISIT BRAZIL, ARGENTINA DN URUGUAY IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE. THE OUTCOME OF PAPAL MEDIATION OF THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE HAS BEEN LINKED BY MANY TO THE POSSIBILITY OF THE POPE'S COMING HERE. NOW THE POPE, HAVING PUT HIMSELF PUBLICLY ON RECORD ON SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS, HAS ADDED ANOTHER ELEMENT TO THE SPECULATION OF CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A PAPAL VISIT WOULD BE FEASIBLE. CASTRO

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006785 UNCLASSIFIED

ADP346 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06785 01 OF 02 010138Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05
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----------042246 010229Z /65

R 271630Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5571
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WAHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6785

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/26/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR RESULTING FROM
RECENT CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. OCTOBER 15 CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT -- RESULTING IN ESTABLISHMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) -- HAS BROUGHT NEW HOPES TO THOSE SEEKING IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. JRG HAS TAKEN SUCH ACTIONS AS DECLARING AN AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ESTABLISHING SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION (CEI) TO DETERMINE WHEREABOUTS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHOSE NAMES WERE FIRST BROUGHT [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06785 01 OF 02 010138Z

FORTH UNDER THE MOLINA AND ROMERO REGIMES. PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY SPECIFIC SHORT TERM MEASURES THAT JRG HAS TAKEN THUS FAR IS THE HOPE THAT IT CAN ESTABLISH A RELATIVELY FREE AND OPEN POLITICAL CLIMATE LEADING TO FAIR ELECTIONS, THEREBY REVERSING THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL POLARIZATION THAT TOOK PLACE UNDER THE MOLINA AND ROMERO REGIMES.

3. MANY OBSERVERS WOULD ATTRIBUTE THE HUMAN RIGHTS

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940031M

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ABUSES THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED SALVADORAN POLITICAL LIFE OVER THE LAST SEVEN YEARS TO THE SUPPRESSION OF SO-CALLED CATEGORY III RIGHTS (POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS), CLASSIFICATION USED BY DEPARTMENT (CATEGORY I RIGHTS OF COURSE REFER TO SO-CALLED INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND INTEGRITY OF PERSON WHILE CATEGORY II REFER TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC RIGHTS). BEGINNING WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, OF 1972, OFFICE PARTY -- NATIONAL CONCILIATION PARTY (PCN) -- AND GOVERNMENT THEN IN POWER RESORTED TO SUCH TACTICS AS OUTRIGHT FRAUD AND DISQUALIFYING SLATES OF CANDIDATES PUT FORTH BY THE OPPOSITION. THIS PRACTICE INCREASINGLY RESORTED TO OVER THE LAST SEVEN YEARS RESULTED IN SUCH OCCURENCES AS THE ESTABLISHED OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES REFUSING TO EVEN PARTICIIPATE IN THE MARCH 1978 LEGISLATIVE AND MAYORALTY ELECTIONS.

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4. GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSION OF CATEGORY III RIGHTS CAN BE SAID IN TURN TO HAVE LED TO SERIOUS ABUSES IN CATEGORY I AND CATEGORY II RIGHTS AS WELL. WITH RESPECT TO THE CATEGORY I RIGHTS, THE GOVERNMENT, HAVING TO CONTEND WITH A RADICALIZED OPPOSITION USING VIOLENT RATHER THAN LEGAL METHODS, FELT ITSELF LESS RESTRAINED IN RESORTING TO VIOLENT TACTICS SUCH AS HAVING [redacted]

PERSONS "DISAPPEAR" AS A MEANS OF SILENCING OPPOSITION. IT ALSO MEANT THAT THERE COULD BE LESS HOPE FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE CATEGORY II RIGHTS AS WELL SINCE THE OPPOSITION, RESPRESENTING MIDDLE CLASS AND LOWER-INCOME SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION, HAD LESS CHANCE OF GETTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE EXISTING POLITICAL SYSTEM CONTROLLED BY THE MILITARY AND THE OLIGARCHY.

5. INITIALLY THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OFFERED SOME HOPE OF ACCOMODATING PRESSURES FOR CHANGE. THUS, IT IS USEFUL TO REMEMBER THAT FROM 1962-1972, UNDER THE JULIO RIVERA (1962-67) AND FIDEL SANCHEZ HERNANDEZ (1967-72) REGIMES, ESTABLISHED OPPOSITION PARTIES -- SUCH AS THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) -- WERE ABLE TO FUNCTION IN THE OPEN AND ELECT A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF DEPUTIES TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND ALSO A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF MAYORS, INCLUDING THOSE OF SAN SALVADOR AND SOME OF EL SALVADOR'S OTHER MAJOR CITIES. PCN ITSELF HAD SOME PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS AS WELL WITH SOME -- SUCH AS THE PRESENT MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE ENRIQUE ALVAREZ -- PROPOSING ADOPTION OF REAL REFORMS IN AGRARIAN SECTOR. WITH RESTRAINTS ON THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES INCREASINGLY RESOLRTED TO AFTER 1972 BY GOVERNMENTS THEN IN POWER, HOWEVER, THERE WAS MUCH LESS CHANCE FOR REFORM

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Special Project (1993)

MEASURES TO BE ADOPTED AND FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS TO BE PROTECTED. PRESSURES BUILT UP TO AN EXTENT THAT A SUCCESSION OF NON-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS INCREASINGLY FOUDN IT NECESSARY TO VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER TO RETAIN POWER.

6. THE GROWTH OF ESTABLISHED OPPOSITION POLTICIAL GROUPS SUCH AS THE PDC DURING THE 1960'S IN A SENSE WAS A REFLECTION OF THE INCREASING ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DIVERSIFICATION -- INCLUDING ESTABLISHMENT OF LIGHT [redacted]

INDUSTRIES -- THAT OCCURRED IN EL SALVADOR AT THAT TIME. THE SIGNIFICANT GROWTH OF THE MIDDLE CLASS IN THIS PERIOD HELPED IN SOME RESPECTS TO LESSEN THE GLARING DISPARTIES IN THE RELATIVE ECONOMIC WEALTH CONTROLLED BY THE SO-CALLED "FOURTEEN FAMILIES" AND THE POVERTY LEVEL CONDITIONS OF MOST O F EL SALVADOR'S POPULATION. AT THE SANE TIME THE GROWTH OF ESTABLISHED OPPOSITION PARTIES SERVED AS A MEASNS OF CHANNELING OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT AND TO THE ESTABLISHED ORDER INTO LEGITIMATE CHANNELS AND THEREBY HELPED EL SALVADOR TO AVOID WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY SUCH AS GUATEMALA WHERE THERE WAS AN INCREASING [redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06785 02 OF 02 010134Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05
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SY-05 /098 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5572
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6785

RESORT TO TERRORISM FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND RIGHT.

7. THIS CONDITION CHANGED STARTING IN 1972 WHEN A SERIES OF NON-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS HELD POWER THROUGH ELECTIORAL FRAUD AND INTIMIDATION, WITH LEGAL CHANNELS OF DISSENT CLOSED, BOTH EXTREME LEFTIST AND EXTREME RIGHTIST TERRORIST GROUPS STARTED UP IN EL SALVADOR DURING THE EARLY '70'S AND CONTINUED TO EXPAND THEIR ACTIVITIES DURING REST OF DECADE. PERHAPS MORE DRAMTIACLLY, ESTABLISHED OPPOSITION PARTIES LIKE THE PED LOST ADHERENTS AND SUPPORT WHEN SIGNIFICANT SEMGMENTS OF SALVADORAN POPULACE LOST FAITH IN LEGALLY ESTABLISHED POLITICAL PROCESS. THIS LED TO GROWTH OF SO-CALLED LEFTIST POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR), WHICH AT THE SAME [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06785 02 OF 02 010134Z

TIME SERVED AS FRONT ORGANIZATIONS FOR EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST GROUPS. GROWTH OF THESE POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS WAS PERHAPS MADE EVEN MORE INEVITABLE BY FACT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A RELATIVELY LONG PERIOD OF POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION IN EL SALVADOR AND SIGNIFICANT SEGMENTS OF SALVADORAN POPULATION WERE NOT WILLING TO RETURN TO THE PRE-1962 STATUS QUO.

8. DESPITE THE RECENT OVERTHROW OF PRESIDENT

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Special Project (1993)

ROMERO AND PLEDGES TO RE-ESTABLISH A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, THE POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS AND EXTREME LEFTIST TERROSIST GROUPS ARE NOT LIKELY TO DISAPPEAR COMPLETELY IN THE NEAR FUTURE. UNDER PRESIDENT MOLINA AND PARTICULARLY UNDER PRESIDENT ROMERO, LEFTIST GROUPS SEIZED ON GOVERNMENT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS A MAJOR POLITICAL BANNER TO RALLY POPULAR SUPPORT AND THEY MADE MANY CONVERTS. THE NEW JRG HOPES TO RE-ESTABLISH ON A CREDIBLE BASIS SO-CALLED CATEGORY III RIGHTS, THEREBY HALTING AND HOPEFULLY REVERSING THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL POLARIZATION THAT CHARACTERIZED LAST SEVEN YEARS. AT BEST, HOWEVER, THIS WILL TAKE TIME.

9. MEANWHILE, THE EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST GROUPS ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE OPERATIONS, AND GIVEN RECENT REPORTS THAT GROUPS SUCH AS ORDEN MIGHT GO UNDERGROUND (SAN SALVADOR 6593) IT IS LIKELY THAT TERRORIST OPERATIONS WILL CONTINUE IN EL SALVADOR AT LEAST FOR THE NEAR FUTURE. ALSO, LEFTIST POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS WILL AT LEAST FOR NEAR FUTURE PROBABLY CONTINUE DEMONSTRATIONS AND OCCUPATION OF BUILDINGS. THEIR OBJECTIVE IS TO PROVOKE GOVERNMENT REPRESSION. RESUME THE PROCESS OF POLARIZATION AND RECAPTURE POPULAR SUPPORT. TO MAINTAIN POLITICAL MOMENTUM THEY MUST [redacted]

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CONTINUE TO PROVOKE THE GOVERNMENT INTO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OR FAILING IN THIS THEY WILL SEEK TO USE THE JRG'S RESPONSE TO THE VIOLATIONS OF PAST GOVERNMENTS AS POLITICAL ISSUE TO DISCREDIT THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND MAINTAIN POPULAR SUPPORT. WHATEVER STEPS THE NEW GOVERNMENT TAKES TO TRY AND RECTIFY OR CORRECT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, THEREFORE, THE RADICAL LEFT USING ITS PARTICIPATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS AND RELATIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS OR THE NOW RADICALIZED SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (CDHES) CAN BE EXPECTED TO HEAVILY PUBLICIZE CONTINUED ANOMALIES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA IN TURN WILL LEAD TO CONTINUED CHARGES OF HUMAN RIGHS VIOLATIONS UNDER THE NEW JUNTA.

10. IN A REAL SENSE THE RADICAL LEFT, IGNORING ITS OWN DISMAL RECORD OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, WILL NOW SEEK TO USE THIS ISSUE TO UNDERMINE THE FIRST SALVADORAN GOVERNMNEBT IN OVER A DECADE WHICH SEEMS SINCRELY COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC REFORM AND REAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE COUNTRY'S DISMAL HUMAN RIGHST RECORD. GIVEN PROVOCATIONS THAT WILL BE LEVELED AT SECURITY FORCES AND LOW LEVEL OF TRAINING AND ECUATION AMONG MOST OF THEIR CADRE, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT ALLEGATIONS OF ABUSES OF CATEGORY I RIGHTS WILL COMPLETELY DISAPPEAR IN FUTURE. EVEN IF SUCH ABUSES CAN BE SIGNIFICANTLY

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Special Project (1993)

REDUCED OR ELIMINATED, RADICALIZED GROUPS SUCH AS THE COHES AND THE COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY FIND CONTINUED AMMUNITION FOR THEIR OPERATIONS. WHILE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IS LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ISSUE THAT HAS AFFECTED ALL OPPOSITION GROUPS IN SALVADOR, IT IS THE RADICAL LEFT WHICH MUST NOW SEEK TO KEEP THIS ISSUE ALIVE IN ORDER TO WEAKEN AND DISCREDIT THE NEW JUNTA.

11. WHILE MANY OBSERVERS EARLIER EXPRESSED THE FEELING THAT EL SALADOR MIGHT BECOE THE NEXT NICARAGUA, IT

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IS NOW AT LEAST POSSIBLE THAT THE JRG AND WHATEVER DEMOCRATIC REGIME HOPEFULLY FOLLOWS IT CAN ESTABLISH SUFFICIENT PROGRESS IN ALL CAGEGORIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO AVERT A LEFTIST INSURRECTION. THIS OF COURSE ASSUMES THAT THE GRN IN NICARGAUA WOULD FOLLOW A HANDS-OFF STANCE IN TERMS OF GRANTING MATERIAL AID AND ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR'S EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORIST GROUPS AND THAT RADICAL LEFTIST GROUPS IN EL SALVADOR FAIL IN THEIR BID TO USE HUMAN RIGHTS AS POLITICAL ISSUE TO DISCREDIT THE NEW JUNTA. IT ALSO ASSUMES THAT THE JRG AND WHATEVER GOVERNMENT FOLLOWS IT WOULD BE ABLE TO REDUCE SOME OF ELSALVADOR'S GLARING SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISPARITIES. THESE ARE BIG "IFS" BUT IF THEY CAN BE ATTAINED, EL SALVADOR COULD HOPEFULLY RETURN IN LARGE, IF NOT FULL MEASURE, TO THE RELATIVELY CIVILIZED LEVEL OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE THAT CHARACTERIZED THE 1960'S AND REMOVE ITSELF FROM THAT LIST OF NATIONS TO WHICH INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPION ASCRIBES THE WORST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.

12. HOWEVER, EVEN UNDER BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, RANDOM TERRORISM INDULGED IN BY BOTH EXTREME LEFTIST AND RIGHTIST GROUPS WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE AND GIVEN PROVOCATION THIS WILL GIVE TO SALVADORAN SECURITY FORCES, HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES CANNOT BE EXPRECTED TO COMPLETELY DISAPPEAR. THEREFORE, IF ONE IS LOOKING FOR PARALLELS, SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR MAY BE MORE AKIN -- ALTHOUGH AT HOPEFULLY LOWER LEVEL OF VIOLENCE -- TO SITUATION PREVAILING IN GUATEMALA RATHER THAN TO ONE IN NICARAGUA.
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11/28/79

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY

ARGENTINA: CAMPORA INTO ASYLUM IN MEXICO

SOURCE: Press

(U) Hector Campora, former Argentine president (May-July 1973), left Argentina for political asylum in Mexico on November 27. Since the military overtbrow of Mrs. Peron's government on March 24, 1976, Campora had been a refugee in the Mexican Embassy in Buenos Aires.

[redacted] INR Comment: Campora's fate had long been a contentious issue within the military. Many officers, particularly the so-called hardliners, were prepared to see Campora rot in the Mexican Embassy because during his brief presidential tenure he released a large number of terrorists jailed by the security forces between 1969 and 1973. The decision to permit his departure was prompted by evidence of a possibly malignant tumor. The medical basis for the move should drain the issue of much of its political significance and inhibit the emergence of the kind of tensions that surfaced after the September release of Jacobo Timerman.

INR/RAR: J. Buchanan

x22251 11/28/79

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 795AN SA006858

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06858 022024Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-06 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 AID-05 /080 W
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R 301500Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5622
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6858

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/29/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-MT
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) POLITICAL PRISONERS SPECIAL INVESTIGATING COMMISSION ISSUES FIRST REPORT

1. (U) SPECIAL INVESTIGATING COMMISSION (CEI) HAS PRESENTED ITS FIRST REPORT TO REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT (JRG) ON ITS INVESTIGATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS PROBLEM. REPORT APPEARED AS PAID INSERTIONS BY SECRETARIAT OF INFORMATION OF OFFICE OF PRESIDENCY IN LOCAL PRESS NOVEMBER 28.

2. (U) REPORT LISTED EIGHTEEN DETAINEES (11 BY NATIONAL GUARD, TWO BY NATIONAL GUARD AND NIGHTWATCHMEN (SIC) TWO BY NATIONAL POLICE, AND TWO BY TREASURY POLICE) ON WHOM IN CIE'S OPINION THERE IS SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE OF THEIR CAPTURE AND

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06858 022024Z

DISAPPEARANCE. CEI EMPHASIZED THIS IS NOT ALL OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS, BUT ONLY THOSE ON WHOM CEI ALREADY HAS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE (NOTE: ALL OF THESE CASES OCCURED UNDER THE ROMERO AND MOLINA REGIMES.)

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3. (U) CEI REPORT ALSO INCLUDED FOLLOWING SEVEN RECOMMENDATIONS TO "PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE...IN ORDER TO SERVE AS EXAMPLE TO FUTURE GENERATIONS, AND TO GIVE TO RELATIVES OF AFFECTED PERSONS....THE SATISFACTION TO WHICH

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940031M

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

S WELL AS TO SATISFY THE JUST POPULAR

EDIATELY WITH LEGAL ACTION
EFS DURING MOLINA AND ROMERO
ECIALLY AGAINST THOSE TWO EX-PRESIDENTS
AS COMMANDING GENERALS OF THE
AS THE SUCCESSIVE DIRECTORS GENERAL
), NATIONAL POLICE, AND TREASURY POLICE
ILS OR PROVISIONAL DETENTION
S OF PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES WHICH
BUSES. INSTEAD, ALL PRISONERS
ILS UNDER ADMINISTRATION OF

MEDIATELY LEGAL PROCEEDINGS
VSIBLE FOR DETENTION AND
OF SACRISTAN OF SOYAPANGO CHURCH,
EADING TO PRESUMPTION OF HIS DEATH IN
UND.
'ARY COMMITTEE OF HONORABLE OFFICERS
INVESTIGATIONS.
ELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS AS WELL AS
MAGED BY ARMED MILITARY OR PARAMILITARY

E INTERPRETING AND AMPLIFYING

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ING AMNESTY TO POLITICAL
NADEQUATE TO GRANT AMNESTY IN
WHICH IT WAS INTENDED.
UPREME COURT ACTION IN HABEAS CORPUS CASES.

ES WITH STATEMENT OF CEI'S "SHARP
OF SUPREME COURT DURING ROMERO
TIONS FOR "CULPABLE NEGLIGENCE"
IR DUTIES.

T PUBLICATION OF CEI'S FIRST
USE SOME CRITICISM FOR SLOW

ITIVE ISSUE. ON OTHERHAND,
G TO JUSTICE FORMER MEMBERS OF
Y CREATE SOME PROBLEMS IN RANKS
UNITY OF MILITARY INSTITUTION.
SACRISTAN OF SOYAPANGO TOOK
5 COUP SO THAT IT CANNOT BE
NCE FROM MOLINA AND ROMERO

ELADO, "HONORABLE PERSON" MEMBER
OF SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS
EMBOFFS SATISFACTION WITH
AR AND EXPRESSED SOME CONFIDENCE

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

IN POSSIBILITY OF FINAL PRODUCT THAT WOULD BE
RESPONSIVE TO DEMANDS OF PUBLIC. LARA VELADO
INDICATED HE WAS PLEASED WITH JRG DECISION TO PUBLISH
CEI REPORT. HE ALSO SAID THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR
JRG TO REACT TO REPORT BEFORE EXTREME LEFT CAN FURTHER
EXPLOIT ISSUE FOR ITS OWN POLITICAL ENDS. FINALLY,
HE CLAIMED THAT PROPOSAL OUTLINED PARA D TO CREATE
MILITARY COMMITTEE TO ASSIST CEI IS DESIGNED TO CREATE
MECHANISM FOR REDUCING MILITARY SUSPICION REGARDNG
COMMISSION'S WORK ANDD TO ENHANCE PROSPECTS FOR MILITARY/

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 06858 022024Z

CIVILIAN COLLABORATION IN DEALING WITH THIS CONTROVERSIAL
AND POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE ISSUE.
DEVINE

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

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Policy Docs

November 30, 1979

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Chile Project (#S19990030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Release In Part In Full ✓
Exemption(s)

STATEMENT

The Government of the United States has been reviewing our relations with the Government of Chile, in light of Chile's actions with respect to the assassination of Orlando Letelier, a former Ambassador of Chile to the U.S., and Ronni Moffitt. Mr. Letelier and Mrs. Moffitt were killed in Washington in September 1976 by a bomb attached to their car. On August 1, 1978, a federal grand jury handed down a number of indictments in the case. Three officers of the Chilean intelligence service (Messrs. Contreras, Espinoza, and Fernandez) were indicted for having planned and directed the killings. Michael Townley, a member of the Chilean intelligence service, pleaded guilty and was sentenced for his role in the crime, and two of his Cuban accomplices were subsequently tried and convicted in the U.S. District Court in Washington. The United States sought the extradition from Chile of the three Chilean officials, but on October 1 that request was denied by the Chilean Supreme Court. The court also chose not to call for a Chilean investigation of the murder charges.

—

The Government of Chile bears a two-fold responsibility in this matter. First, the three men indicted for having planned and directed the killings were officials of that

government, and included the former head of Chile's intelligence service. The overwhelming body of evidence amassed by the Department of Justice makes it likely that the charges against these officials would be upheld if a fair trial could be held. Second, for over 20 months the Government of Chile has made no serious effort to investigate or prosecute these crimes on its own.

The Government of Chile has thus, in effect, condoned this act of international terrorism. It now seems likely that the men who planned and directed this crime, committed on the streets of our nation's capital, will go unpunished. We believe it is essential that we make clear, both to the Government of Chile and to others throughout the world, that such acts of terrorism cannot be tolerated.

Accordingly, the President has concluded that the following measures should be taken:

(1) We shall reduce the size of our Mission in Chile:

(2) By January 1, 1980, we will terminate the Foreign Military Sales "pipeline" to Chile and will thereby terminate all deliveries of military equipment to the Government of Chile by the U.S. Government.

(3) The MilGroup now stationed in our Embassy in Santiago will be phased down as the FMS pipeline is reduced; at the end of this year, we will assess whether the MilGroup should be completely eliminated.

(4) Pursuant to the Export-Import Bank Act and to authority delegated by the President, Secretary Vance has determined that suspension of Exim financing in Chile would "clearly and importantly advance U.S. policy" in combatting international terrorism. Exim is therefore immediately suspending all such financing.

(5) OPIC will not approve any further guaranties or undertake any new activities in Chile.

Chile's deplorable conduct in this affair, and in particular its refusal to conduct a full and fair investigation of this crime, demand the actions we are taking today, which constitute a strong reaffirmation of our determination to resist international terrorism.

* * * *

I would like to add one further comment, which is prompted by some press accounts that have sought to link our actions on the Letelier matter with the situation in Iran. There is only one link between those two situations - both involve egregious acts of international terrorism, and in both cases our responses reflect our determination to resist such terrorist acts, wherever they occur.

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] 11/30/79

Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 09886 3821382

ACTION ARA-15

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AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 9886

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/29/85 (FREEMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - NOVEMBER 22-29, 1979

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9595

1. (U) CAMPORA FREED -----

THE MILITARY FINALLY GRANTED AILING FORMER PRESIDENT HECTOR CAMPORA HIS SAFE CONDUCT AND HE LEFT THE COUNTRY FOR MEXICO NOVEMBER 25. THERE APPARENTLY WAS MUCH PULLING AND HAULING WITHIN THE MILITARY BEFORE IT FINALLY DECIDED TO LET CAMPORA LEAVE. EVEN THE MOST COMMITTED HARDLINERS WOULD HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME ATTACKING THE DECISION TO ALLOW AN OBVIOUSLY VERY ILL CAMPORA OUT OF THE COUNTRY. HOWEVER, THERE ARE LATE NEWS STORIES OUT OF MEXICO SUGGESTING THAT MEXICAN DOCTORS HAVE FOUND THAT CAMPORA DOES NOT REQUIRE URGENT SURGERY. THIS COULD BE "STRAIGHT" NEWS, BUT ALREADY JOURNALISTS HERE ARE SPECULATING THAT A ZPLANT" TOOK PLACE TO EMBARRASS ONE SIDE OR ANOTHER (E.G. THE "SOFTLINERS" HAD VOTED TO LET CAMPORA GO).

2. (U) COURT ORDERS 13 CREED -----

A BUENOS AIRES APPEALS COURT ORDERED THE GOVERNMENT TO FREE 13 WOMEN PRESENTLY BEING HELD UNDER PEN BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT SHOWN ADEQUATE CAUSE TO HOLD THEM. THE SAME COURT DECIDED IT WAS COMPETENT TO DECIDE IF ANOTHER 51 INDIVIDUALS BEING HELD UNDER PEN WERE CORRECTLY DETAINED. IT REJECTED 38 OTHER HABEAS CORPUS DETENTIONS. THE APPEALS COURT DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE BROKEN ANY NEW GROUND WITH ITS DECISIONS, EVEN THE ONE ORDERING THE FREEING OF THE 13 WOMEN. WE UNDERSTAND THE GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY APPEAL THE DECISION FREEING THEM TO THE SUPREME COURT, WHICH IN THE PAST HAS GENERALLY REVERSED THE APPEALS COURTS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE ALLEGATION THAT INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH TERRORIST OR SUBVERSIVE GROUPS WAS SUFFICIENT GROUNDS FOR DETAINING THEM UNDER PEN.

3. [redacted] PEN REDUCTIONS -----

A WELL INFORMED AND HIGH LEVEL GOA SOURCE HAS TOLD US THAT THE PEN LIST IS NOW DOWN TO ABOUT 1300. HE WENT ON TO STATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT PLANS TO REDUCE THE PEN LIST TO ABOUT 1000 BY THE END OF THE YEAR. HE ADDED THAT BY THE END OF 1980 THERE SHOULD BE NO MORE THAN 400-500 PEOPLE STILL UNDER PEN. HE ASSERTED THAT THESE WILL BE INDIVIDUALS ON WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE--OR WERE--TERRORISTS, BUT IS UNABLE TO DEMONSTRATE THIS IN A COURT. (OTHER SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT THE NUMBER THAT WILL BE HELD IS CLOSER TO 700-800, AND THAT MANY OF THEM ARE INDIVIDUALS WHO ONCE BENEFITTED FROM THE CAMPORA AMNESTY AND CANNOT BE RETRIED FOR THE CRIMES THEY HAD COMMITTED). THE SOURCE'S FIGURE OF ABOUT 1300 PEN DETAINEES IS FAIRLY CLOSE TO WHAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DEDUCE BY PIECING TOGETHER REPORTS OF RECENT RELEASES. THE SOURCE NOTED THAT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE RELEASED FROM PRISON ARE BEING PLACED UNDER "SUPERVISED FREEDOM", ADDING THAT IN SIX MONTHS PEOPLE IN THIS CATEGORY USUALLY RECEIVE COMPLETE FREEDOM. WE ARE UNCERTAIN WHY THESE ADVANCES ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS FRONT ARE NOT BEING ANNOUNCED AS BEFORE, BUT IT COULD RELATE TO SENSITIVITIES RAISED IN SOME CIRCLES BY THE TIMERMAN RELEASE AND THE AWAITED "CAMPORA CRISIS."

4. [redacted] FOWG -----

WE HAVE BEEN PUZZLED ABOUT WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT ON THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE RECENT DEPARTURE OF JUAN CARLOS ARLIA AS ARGENTINA'S AMBASSADOR IN KENYA. A JUNIOR MEMBER OF THE FOWG (MARTIN SARABIA) HAS TOLD US THAT IGNACIO PICO ESTRADA WILL SHORTLY REPLACE ARLIA, BUT THAT THE FOWG WILL "OPERATE DIFFERENTLY." WE BELIEVE THAT MEANS WITH LESS INDEPENDENCE AND AUTHORITY."
CASTRO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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11/30/79 (K0148)

P790123-0423

P790123-0423

Congress of the United States

November 30, 1979

Captain D. F. Pearce, President
International Federation of Air Line
Pilots Associations
Interpilot House
116 High Street
Egham, Surrey TW20 9 HQ
United Kingdom

Chile Project (#S19900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Dear Captain Pearce:

The Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation is responsible for general congressional oversight of the United States Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Since 1975, it has been concerned about the FAA's regulation of the transportation by air of hazardous materials, particularly explosives.

In that regard, I have recently obtained evidence that pilots and other personnel of the Chilean national airline, Lan Chile, were directly used to help carry out the September 21, 1976, Washington, D.C. assassination of Orlando Letelier, the former Ambassador to the United States for the Allende government. My purpose in writing is to alert you to this situation and to request that the International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations take any steps it can to assure that pilots of Lan Chile or any other airline are not used to help implement terrorist acts in the United States or in any other nation.

According to sworn testimony of Michael Vernon Townley, the American-born agent of Chile's secret police, the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) who played a major role in the Letelier assassination, as well as other evidence made available to the subcommittee, Lan Chile pilots became a regular conduit for materials sent by Townley to and from the United States. These materials included the actual detonating device used in the Letelier assassination, as well as small quantities of C-4 and TNT explosives.

The following are the pertinent excerpts from the Townley testimony:

(1) Mr. Townley explained in general terms his use of Lan Chilean employees:

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(4)

Q. Now, sir, you were talking about how you sent material on Lan Chilean Airlines.

Would you explain that, please?

A. As a result of the trip to the United States in the end of 1974, I attempted to make friendly contact with numerous pilots of Lan (sic) Chile, which were crewed personnel, so as to be able to send correspondence, letters, and small packages, utilizing the friendship of these pilots.

At no time did they have knowledge that they were carrying explosives.

Q. Did you send anything else on Lan Chile?

A. Most correspondence between the MNC and myself was carried out via pilots of Lan Chile.

I have no memory of any letter ever being sent by radio or mail.

THE COURT: You are saying all of this is being done without benefit of Customs?

THE WITNESS: That is correct.

(2) Mr. Townley described his return to the United States of electronic equipment modified to act as a detonating device:

Q. Mr. Townley, directing your attention to the period of time in late 1975 or early 1976, the best as you can recollect, were you ever sent any radio equipment by anyone in the Cuban Nationalist Movement.

A. I was sent equipment identical to that which I had purchased, to take to Mexico. This equipment was sent to me by Mr. Virgilio Paz utilizing the Lan Chilean pilots.

I had telephone conversations with him in early December of 1975, at which time he asked for an explanation as to how to modify this equipment in similar fashion to the equipment I had modified to take to Mexico.

I attempted to explain it to him, was not able to make myself clear and suggested that he send the equipment to me for modification.

I'm not sure whether I received the equipment in late December or early January of 1976. I did, in fact, receive the equipment. I did modify the equipment. The additional parts that were necessary were also sent to me at the same time.

And I returned the equipment to them, to him, to Mr. Paz, I think, in February of that same year, 1976.

Q. Now, what exactly was the equipment that was sent to you?

A. It was a Fanon & Courier transmitter and encoder device and a number of receivers.

Q. And what requests--what modification requests were made to you?

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Captain D. F. Pearce

A. The transmitter was modified to be able to operate on 12 volt, automotive volt, and as well as the 110 volt voltage and the receivers were modified so as to activate a blasting device or a blasting cap to initiate an explosive charge.

Q. And you sent this back to the United States?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Addressed to who?

A. To Virgilio Paz. I sent to Javier--

(3) Mr. Townley explained how, after the Letelier assassination, he used Lan Chilean pilots to return to the Cuban Nationalist Movement in the United States explosives they had used in the assassination:

THE WITNESS: The explosive was given to me on the quality of a loan, if it was not used or used, that it was to be returned or replaced with other material.

THE COURT: You mentioned there were two people there you saw in New Jersey.

With whom are you having conversations of this nature?

THE WITNESS: When we asked for the explosive materials, Your Honor. That was the morning of the meeting in Howard Johnson Motel, with Dinisio Suarez and Guillermo Nov. At that time it was stipulated that the explosives they would supply us with, it was a loan, that if we did not return that specific material, that we would return the same amount of equipment type or more of the explosive material for the loan of the stuff that they had given me.

BY MR. PROPPER:

Q. And did you ever return anything to the Cuban Nationalist Movement?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What did you return to them?

A. A very small quantity of C-4 plastic explosive, and primarily the explosive returned was TNT.

Q. Now, sir, how did you get the C-4 and the TNT to the Cuban Nationalist Movement?

A. It was placed in envelopes and sent as correspondence through friendly Lan Chilean pilots.

The Townley testimony remains uncontradicted. Further, it has been buttressed by a number of conversations conducted by the subcommittee staff with personnel of the U.S. Department of Justice. Moreover, you should also know that DINA has attempted or carried out assassinations in Mexico, Argentina, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Although there is no such direct evidence that Lan Chilean pilots were used in a similar fashion in these events, the potential here is obvious.

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Captain D.F. Pearce November 30, 1979

It would be unthinkable for the Federation, having taken a justifiably strong stance against acts of terrorism directed against airline passengers and flightcrew, not to take some action to prevent its members from being used as instruments in terrorist actions taken outside their aircraft--actions which, in the process, violate U.S. regulations concerning the transportation of hazardous materials.

I have no reason to believe that the individual pilots involved had direct knowledge of what they were transporting for DINA. Further, it seems obvious that, given the circumstances, no pilot would want to know the contents of any such packages.

Nevertheless, hopefully the Federation could in some way help Lan Chilean pilots, or pilots of any other airline, to resist managerial or government pressure to be used again as instruments of terrorist activities.

In anticipation of your constructive action, I am

Sincerely yours,

John L. Burton
Chairman

JLB:BRB:csc

cc: Honorable Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of State
Honorable Benjamin R. Civiletti, Attorney General
His Excellency Jose Miguel Barros, Ambassador of Chile
Honorable Langhorne M. Bond, Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration
Captain John J. O'Donnell, President, Air Line Pilots Association, United States

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05737 01 OF 03 010132Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 AF-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

Case Project #S199900050
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 05737

E.O. 12065:N/A
TAGS: SHUM, UNGA, CI
SUBJECT: 34TH UNGA: THIRD COMMITTEE - ECOSOC REPORT,
ITEM 12 - CHILE RESOLUTION

REF: (A) USUN 5614, (B) SANTIAGO 8128

1. DRAFTING GROUP WORKED OUT COMPROMISE RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE. NOVEMBER 28 WHEN RESOLUTION DEADLINE CAME UP, NETHERLANDS, DENMARK AND SWEDEN TABLED DRAFT RESOLUTION VERY SIMILAR TO DRAFT TEXT IN REFTEL A, AND MEXICO, ALGERIA, CUBA AND YUGOSLAVIA TABLED THEIR OWN VERSION. NEGOTIATIONS HAD BROKEN DOWN PRIMARILY OVER OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 6 ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS, BECAUSE MEXICO AND ITS CO-SPONSORS BALKED AT ACKNOWLEDGING ABSENCE OF DISAPPEARANCES SINCE 1977, NOT WANTING TO INCLUDE ANY COMMENT FAVORABLE TO CHILE. (UK HAD EARLIER WITHDRAWN FROM DRAFTING GROUP ON GROUND THAT IT COULD NOT ACCEPT CONCESSIONS BEING MADE BY THE OTHER WESTERN EUROPEANS.) COMPROMISE LEAVES NETHERLANDS VERSION OF PARAGRAPH 6 INTACT, IT BEING AN EXACT QUOTATION FROM THE REPORT OF

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PAGE 02 USUN N 05737 01 OF 03 010132Z

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S EXPERT ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS IN CHILE (PARAGRAPH 180 OF A/34/583/ADD.1). NETHERLANDS ANNOUNCED HANDFUL OF AMENDMENTS TO OTHER PARAGRAPHS, NONE OF SERIOUS CONSEQUENCE, MEXICO THEN WITHDREW ITS RESOLUTI AND MEXICO, ALGERIA, CUBA AND YUGOSLAVIA, AS WELL AS AUSTRIA, JOINED DENMARK AND SWEDEN AS CO-SPONSORS OF NETHERLANDS RESOLUTION.

2. U.S. CO-SPONSORSHIP NO LONGER EXPECTED, BUT WE WILL NEED VOTING INSTRUCTIONS. MISSION RECOMMENDATION SEPTEL.

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3. TEXT OF COMPROMISE RESOLUTION FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 31/124, 32/118 AND 33/175 ON THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE,

RECALLING ALSO RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON REPORTED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, WHICH, INTER ALIA, DECIDED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND EXPERTS TO STUDY THE QUESTION OF MISSING AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS IN CHILE,

EXPRESSING ITS REGRET THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES REFUSED TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR
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PAGE 03 USUN N 05737 01 OF 03 010132Z

AND THE EXPERTS APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

NOTING WITH CONCERN THE DELAY IN THE PUBLICATION OF THE REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND THE EXPERT ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS,

NOTING THAT BOTH REPORTS IN THEIR CONCLUSIONS CLEARLY INDICATE THAT GENERALLY THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS NOT IMPROVED, AND EVEN IN A NUMBER OF AREAS HAS DETERIORATED, COMPARED WITH THAT DESCRIBED IN THE LAST REPORT OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON CHILE,

DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT RECENT REPORTS REGARDING THE DISCOVERY IN THE MAIN CEMETERY OF SANTIAGO DE CHILE OF HUNDREDS OF UNMARKED GRAVES BELIEVED TO CONTAIN THE REMAINS OF VICTIMS OF POLITICAL EXECUTIONS, AND EXPRESSING ITS HOPE THAT THE JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION INITIATED TO DETERMINE THE ORIGINS OF THESE GRAVES, WILL BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT HINDRANCE,

NOTING WITH PARTICULAR CONCERN THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE FAILED TO TAKE URGEAND EFFECTIVE MEASURES AS REQUESTED IN ITS RESOLUTION 33/175 TO

INVESTIGATE AND CCARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS REPORTED
TO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS,
CALLING THE ATTENTION OF THE COMMISSION TO THE RECOM-
MENDATIONS IN THE REPORT OF THE EXPERT ON MISSING
AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS IN CHILE, WHEN
PURSUING THE QUESTION OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS AS REQUESTED
BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 33/173 AND WHEN CON-
SIDERING RESOLUTION 5B (XXXII) OF THE SUB-
COMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION
OF MINORITIES,

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05737 02 OF 03 010133Z
ACTION IO-15

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5029
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 05737

1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND THE EXPERT
ON MISSING AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS FOR THEIR WORK;

2. REQUESTS THE CMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS
THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION TO STUDY THOROUGHLY THE REPORT
OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND THE REPORT OF THE
EXPERT ON MISSING AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS;

3. REITERATES ITS INDIGNATION AT THE CONTINUED VIOLATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AND CONCLUDES THAT IT SHOULD
CONTINUE TO EXERCISE VIGILANCE WITH REGARD TO
THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT COUNTRY;

4. EXPRESSES ALSO ITS GRAVE CONCERN THAT THERE HAS
BEEN A DETERIORATION IN A NUMBER
OF AREAS, NOTABLY IN RELATION TO

(I) AN INCREASE IN THE ARBITRARY POWERS OF SECURITY
AGENCIES,

(II) CASES OF TORTURE, ILL-TREATMENT AND UNEXPLAINED

UNCLASSIFIED

DEATHS,

(III) FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION,

(IV) TRADE UNION RIGHTS,

(V) THE PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE OF ACCUSED PERSONS,

(VI) THE TREATMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE;

5. URGES THE AUTHORITIES OF CHILE TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES IT HAS UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS, AND IN PARTICULAR TO

(A) CEASE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, UNDER WHICH CONTINUED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS OCCUR AND TO RESTORE THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FORMERLY ENJOYED BY THE CHILEAN PEOPLE,
(B) TO ENSURE AN IMMEDIATE END TO TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT AND TO PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH PRACTICES,

(C) RESTORE FULLY THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, AND OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION,

(D) RESTORE FULLY TRADE UNION RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS THE FREEDOM TO FORM TRADE UNIONS, WHICH CAN OPERATE FREELY WITHOUT GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND CAN EXERCISE FULLY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE,

(E) ALLOW THEIR CITIZENS FREELY TO ENTER AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY, AND TO RESOTRE CHILEAN NATIONALITY TO

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THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF IT FOR POLITICAL REASONS,

(F) RESTORE FULLY THE RIGHT OF AMPARO (HABEAS CORPUS),

(G) RESPECT THE RIGHTS, IN PARTICULAR THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION,

(H) ADOPT MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE ENJOYMENT OF ECONOMIC

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SOCIAL RIGHTS BY THE POPULATION AT LARGE;

6. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN THAT, EVEN THOUGH NO PERSONS ARE REPORTED TO HAVE DISAPPEARED IN CHILE DURING 1978 AND 1979, THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO DISAPPEARED BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 1973 AND THE END OF 1977 AND WHOSE WHEREABOUTS ARE STILL UNKNOWN, PRESENT A CONTINUOUS SITUATION OF GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS;

7. URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS REPORTED TO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO INFORM RELATIVES OF THE OUTCOME, AND TO INSTITUTE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEARANCES, AND TO PUNISH THOSE FOUND GUILTY;

8. INVITES THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONTINUE TO GIVE CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION IN CHILE AND TO THIS END;

(A) TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF CHILE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARAGRAPH 6 OF RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF THE

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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,
(B) TO CONSIDER FURTHER AT ITS THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS OF CLARIFYING THE WHEREABOUTS AND FATE OF MISSING AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS IN CHILE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONTENTS OF THE REPORT PREPARED BY THE EXPERT ON MISSING AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS;

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9. URGES FURTHER THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND THE EXPERT ON MISSING AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS;

10. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO REPORT ON THE SUBJECT, THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

END TEXT.
MCHENRY

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 10012 01 OF 03 072218Z 9666

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ROME FOR VATICAN AFFAIRS OFFICE

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/7/85 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJ: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - NOVEMBER 29-DECEMBER 6, 1979

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9806

[redacted] SUMMARY: GENERAL VIOLA'S APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL GALTIERI AS HIS SUCCESSOR AS ARMY COMMANDER PROMISES CONTINUATION OF POLICIES WHICH HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT RECENT PROGRESS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS FRONT. BUENOS AIRES HERALD EDITOR ROBERT COX WILL LEAVE ARGENTINA FOR AT LEAST A YEAR FOLLOWING ANONYMOUS THREATS BY PEOPLE HE BELIEVES TO BE MEMBERS OF SOME SECURITY APPARATUS. END SUMMARY.

1. [redacted] ARMY COMMANDER NAMED -----
AFTER MONTHS OF SPECULATION ARMY COMMANDER ROBERTO VIOLA NAMED GENERAL LEOPOLDO GALTIERI AS HIS SUCCESSOR. GALTIERI WAS LONG KNOWN TO BE VIOLA'S PREFERRED CANDIDATE FOR THE JOB AND HIS DESIGNATION PROMISES THE CONTINUATION OF THE RELATIVE MODERATION AND POSITIVE, IF SLOW, EVOLUTION IN POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS HERE. GENERAL SUAREZ MASON, THE STANDARD-BEARER OF THE HARD-LINERS IS SLATED FOR RETIREMENT AS IS HIS IDEOLOGICAL PARTNER, GENERAL RAMON CAMPS.

2. [redacted] HERALD EDITOR TO LEAVE ARGENTINA -----
BUENOS AIRES HERALD EDITOR ROBERT COX HAS ANNOUNCED HIS DECISION TO TAKE A YEAR'S LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM ARGENTINA BEGINNING DECEMBER 16. COX MADE HIS DECISION IN THE WAKE OF A LETTER THREATENING HIM AND HIS FAMILY WITH DEATH UNLESS THEY DEPARTED (BUENOS AIRES 9865). THE LETTER, WHICH CAME IN THE WAKE OF OTHER THREATS, PURPORTED TO BE FROM THE EXTREME LEFT MONTONERO TERRORISTS. HOWEVER COX'S WELL GROUNDED SUSPICION IS THAT ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE SECURITY SERVICES, ACTING WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL OF RESPONSIBLE GOA AUTHORITY, IS PROBABLY THE REAL AUTHOR.

3. (U) UNDER COX'S DIRECTION THE ENGLISH-LANGUATE HERALD HAS BEEN A CALM, BALANCED AND ELOQUENT SPOKESMAN OF HUMAN RIGHTS EVEN IN THE DARKEST DAYS OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE AND SUBSEQUENT GOVERNMENT REPRESSION. IN THE LATER PERIOD COX EARNED THE ENMITY OF THE FAR

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RIGHT FOR HIS STANCE. AK352

4. [redacted] COX AND THE HERALD HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT FACTORS AS ARGENTINA STRUGGLES TO ACKNOWLEDGE AND COME TO TERMS WITH THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE HERE. PRESIDENT VIDELA TACITLY RECOGNIZED COX'S IMPORTANCE LAST MONTH, WHEN, UPON HEARING THAT COX WAS CONSIDERING ABANDONING ARGENTINA BECAUSE OF MOUNTING THREATS AGAINST HIM, HE SENT A PERSONAL MESSAGE TO THE BRITISH EDITOR ASKING HIM TO REMAIN IN THE COUNTRY. HE HAS AGAIN SOUGHT TO REASSURE COX THAT HE WOULD BE PROTECTED. THE COX HOME WAS GIVEN POLICE PROTECTION FOR ONE DAY. THE GUARD ENDED, WAS BRIEFLY RESUMED AND THEN ENDED AGAIN. THIS UNUSUAL PROCEDURE CAUSED COX TO SPECULATE IN HIS PAPER WHETHER THE COMING AND GOING OF THE GUARD WAS SIMPLY INEFFICIENCY OR, MORE SINISTER, SOMEBODY WAS COUNTERMANDING ORDERS TO SUPPLY HIM WITH PROTECTION. UNFORTUNATELY, SUCH SPECULATION IS LEGITIMATE. EVEN WITH THE SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT VIDELA COX CANNOT FEEL SECURE IN ARGENTINA.

5. [redacted] MINISTER OF INTERIOR ALBINO HARGUINDEGUY'S REACTION TO THE THREATS TO COX WAS TO SAY TRUTHFULLY, BUT FOOLISHLY, THAT SUCH WAS THE PRICE OF PUBLIC LIFE IN ARGENTINA. THE REMARK HAS EARNED HIM A STINGING REPLY NOT ONLY FROM THE HERALD BUT FROM SEVERAL OTHER NEWSPAPERS.

6. [redacted] IRONICALLY, COX'S MOST LIKELY SUCCESSOR AS EDITOR IS THE HERALD'S POLITICAL COLUMNIST JAMES NIELSON, WHO HAS ALREADY PROVEN HIMSELF TO BE MORE OUTSPOKEN IN ATTACKING GOVERNMENT HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES THAN COX.

7. [redacted] TIMERMAN THREATS -----
THE POSSIBILITY THAT FRIENDS AND RELATIVES OF FORMER NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER JACOBO TIMERMAN WOULD BE SINGLED OUT FOR REPRISALS IF HE SPEAKS OR PUBLISHES ARTICLES ABROAD ATTACKING ARGENTINA CONTINUES TO GENERATE SPECULATION IN ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD FOR EXAMPLE THAT TIMERMAN'S BROTHER, JOSE, IS NOW AMONG THOSE URGING THAT THE EXILED NEWSPAPERMAN NOW REMAIN SILENT, LEST HE, JOSE, BE KILLED.

8. [redacted] WE STILL HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT SUCH THREATS HAVE BEEN MADE. THE ISRAELI EMBASSY HAS NOW TOLD US THAT ONE OF ITS SENIOR OFFICERS DID COUNSEL TIMERMAN TO REMAIN SILENT BUT THAT HIS ADVICE WAS BASED ON AN ANALYSIS OF THE TENSE POLITICAL SITUATION RATHER THAN ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THREATS. AMONG THE FACTORS THE ISRAELIS TOOK INTO ACCOUNT IN SO ADVISING WAS THE ONGOING STRUGGLE TO NAME GENERAL VIOLA'S SUCCESSOR. THE ISRAELIS FEARED THAT CONTROVERSIAL ASSERTIONS BY TIMERMAN WOULD ONLY STRENGTHEN THE HARDLINERS HERE.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 10812

THE ISRAELIS EMPHASIZED TO US AGAIN THAT TO THEIR KNOWLEDGE THE GOA NEVER INTIMATED, IN ANY WAY, THAT THERE WOULD BE REPRISALS IF TIMERMAN SPOKE OUT. THEY ALSO SAID THAT THEY HAD NO REPORTS THAT ANTI-SEMITIC GROUPS HERE ACTING ON THEIR OWN WERE CONTEMPLATING REPRISALS, THOUGH THIS IS A POSSIBILITY IN ARGENTINA.

9. [redacted] THOUGH ROBERT COX USED THE HERALD TO SUPPORT DEMANDS FOR THE RELEASE OF TIMERMAN WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE RECENT THREATS TO HIM ARE PART OF A PLAN TO KEEP TIMERMAN SILENT. THIS OPINION IS SHARED BY COX HIMSELF AND THE ISRAELIS. RATHER, AS WE NOTED ABOVE, COX HIMSELF HAD EARNED THE ENMITY OF THE FAR RIGHT HERE. SOME AMONG THIS GROUP APPARENTLY DECIDED. THE TIME HAD COME TO GO AFTER HIM.

10. [redacted] SARAGOVI CASE -----

THE MOTHER OF HORACIO OSCAR SARAGOVI, THE VICTIM OF A PARTICULARLY GROSS MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE, HAS TOLD US PRESIDENT VIDELA WILL BE SOON CONSIDERING A REQUEST FOR HER SON'S PARDON. ON THE BASIS OF THIS INFORMATION AMBASSADOR CASTRO CALLED THE PRESIDENCY TO AGAIN URGE THAT SARAGOVI BE PARDONED. THE AMBASSADOR WAS PROMISED THAT VIDELA WILL GIVE THE CASE A SYMPATHETIC HEARING. INDIVIDUALS IN THE PRESIDENCY HAVE PRIVATELY SUGGESTED TO US THAT THEY TOO ARE CONVINCED THAT SARAGOVI IS THE VICTIM OF A "JUDICIAL ERROR".

11. (U) JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES' PROPERTY SEIZED -----

SOME PROPERTIES IN THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES WERE TAKEN OVER BY THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS LAST WEEK, BASED ON RULINGS THAT THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES ARE AN ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION IN ARGENTINA. THE TAKEOVER OF THE PROPERTIES TOOK PLACE PURSUANT TO AN ITEM IN THE CIVIL CODE WHICH STATES THAT WHEN AN ASSOCIATION IS DISSOLVED ITS PROPERTIES SHOULD TRANSFER TO THE STATE IF THE ASSOCIATION'S BYLAWS HAVE NO PROVISION FOR THEIR DISPOSITION.

12. [redacted] DISAPPEARANCES -----

WE ARE SEEKING TO DEVELOP MORE INFORMATION ON THE LIST OF RECENT DISAPPEARANCES SUPPLIED TO THE DEPARMENT BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND OTHER SOURCES (STATE 311377). BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN NO REPORTS OF UNEXPLAINED DISAPPEARANCES TO LOCAL ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS SINCE THE END OF SEPTEMBER, THE NAMES FOR OCTOBER ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTING. WE DO HAVE SOME INFORMATION IN OUR FILES ON A NUMBER OF THE INDIVIDUALS LISTED:

(A) ADRIANI LESGART (REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED ON SEPT. 12): SHE WAS THE LEADER OF THE MONTONERO PRESS AND PROPAGANDA SQUADS AND WAS CAPTURED IN SEPTEMBER (BUENOS AIRES 8668).

(B) JULIO SUAREZ (REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED OCT. 1 IN RIO NEGRO PROVINCE): SUAREZ WAS REPORTEDLY A MONTONERO BASED IN MEXICO. HE WAS ARRESTED IN 1975 IN ARGENTINA, HELD UNDER PEN, AND GIVEN THE RIGHT OF OPTION TO PERU THAT SAME YEAR.

(C) JOSE DALMOS LOPEZ (REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED OCT. 1 IN RIO NEGRO PROVINCE): IN JANUARY 1978 DALMOS LOPEZ WAS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE "RESISTENCE CGT", A FICTITIOUS MONTONERO LABOR ORGANIZATION.

(D) HUGO VERA AND WIFE; OSCAR VERA AND WIFE (REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED OCT. 1 IN RIO NEGRO PROVINCE): IN MID-NOVEMBER WE WERE TOLD BY A RESIDENT OF MENDOZA THAT THE VERA COUPLES HAD SURFACED UNDER ARREST IN MENDOZA. (ON OCT. 13 A REPORT IN LA PRENSA HAD STATED THAT SECURITY FORCES HAD BROKEN UP A TERRORIST GROUP IN BARILOCHE, RIO NEGRO PROVINCE AND FOUR (SIC) PEOPLE ARRESTED HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO MENDOZA FOR QUESTIONING THE PAPER GAVE NO NAMES BUT SAID THAT THE CELL HAD BEEN DISCOVERED WHEN A WOMAN DESERTED THE TERRORISTS AND TURNED HERSELF OVER TO THE POLICE. OUR SOURCE FROM MENDOZA CONFIRMED THE OUTLINE OF THE STORY AND GAVE US THE NAMES OF THE VERA COUPLE.)

(E) LILIANA BERMUDEZ DE HERRERA (DISAPPEARED IN MENDOZA OCT. 13): OUR SORCE FROM MENDOZA, WHO CLAIMED TO KNOW BERMUDEZ, SAID THAT SHE HAS SURFACED UNDER ARREST IN MENDOZA.

(F) EDUARDO URRETAVIZCAYA (REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED BUENOS AIRES SEPT. 3): HE WAS ONCE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PRT, THE POLITICAL ARM OF THE ERP TERRORIST GROUP AND WAS ACCUSED OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN 1976.

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13. [redacted] THUS, ON THE BASIS OF OUR RECORDS AT LEAST SOME OF THOSE WHO DISAPPEARED WERE PROBABLY ACTIVE MONTONEROS. IN ADDITION, ANOTHER OF THOSE ON THE AMNESTY LIST, CRISTINA GUILLEN, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WITH TERRORISTS SINCE, ACCORDING TO THE AI INFORMATION SHE WAS WOUNDED IN A SHOOTOUT WITH POLICE DURING WHICH HER HUSBAND DIED.

14. [redacted] IN ADDITION TO SEEKING TO CONFIRM THESE REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES AND DISCOVER THESE INDIVIDUALS' FATE, WE ARE LOOKING IN PARTICULAR INTO THE ALLEGATION THAT IN SOME CASES SMALL CHILDREN OF THE DISAPPEARED VANISHED WITH THEIR PARENTS.

15. (U) BOMBS AWAY-----

TWO NEW BOMB ATTACKS WERE REPORTED THIS WEEK. A MEDIUM SIZE BOMB REPORTEDLY EXPLODED AT THE OFFICE OF PRENSA ECONOMICA, AMONTHLY ECONOMIC REVIEW. ANOTHER BOMB WENT OFF AT A RESTAURANT WHERE A GROUP OF PERONISTS PLANNED TO HOLD A DINNER MEETING, CAUSING THE CANCELATION OF THE AFFAIR. NOBODY WAS HURT IN THE ATTACKS.

16. (U) INRECENT MONTHS A NUMBER OF BOMBINGS HAVE BEEN REPORTED. BESIDES THE JEWISH SEMINARY THE TARGETS HAV INCLUDED SHOPS AND IN ONE INSTANCE AN APARTMENT BUILDING WHERE SEVERAL FLAG OFFICERS HAVE THEIR HOMES. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS IN THESE ATTACKS AND SO FAR AS WE KNOW NOBODY HAS ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEM. FOR THE MOMENT THEY WERE WRITTEN OFF AS THE SORT OF VIOLENT BACKGROUND THAT ACCOMPANIES LIFE AND POLITICS IN ARGENTINA DN SEEM TO CAUSE LITTLE CONCERN AMONG THE PEOPLE.

17. [redacted] LATE ITEM ON SARAGOVI -----

FOLLOWING THE AMBASSADOR'S INITITATIVE ON BEHALF OF SARAGOVI THE PRESIDENCY HAS INFORMEDUS THAT HIS REQUST FOR COMMUTATION OF HIS SENTENCE IS UNDER REVIEW. THE PRESIDENCY ADDED THAT, WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THIS REVIEW, IN MAY OF 1980 SARAGOVI WILL HAVE COMPLETED TWO THIRDS OF HIS SENTENCE, BECOMING ELIGIBLE TO APPLY FOR PAROLE STATUS UNDER "SUPREVISED LIBERTY." WE ARE INFORMING MRS. SARAGOVI.
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Attachment [redacted] E645A

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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[redacted] December 26, 1979

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Cyrus Vance

Subject: El Salvador: Prospects for the Junta and U.S. Policy

THE SITUATION

The five-man military/civilian Junta that took office following the October 15 military coup against the repressive government of President Romero finds itself in serious difficulties because of inherent weaknesses, the immediate violent opposition of the extreme left, and the latent threat of the far right. In trying to follow a reformist program it is buffeted by cross currents and challenges that inhibit resolute action to implement specific projects or deal effectively with disruption of public order.

Junta's Program: The Junta has called for fundamental socio-economic reforms, including higher wages, nationalization of the marketing of export crops, agrarian reform, free trade union organization and tax reform. On the political side it has called for the democratization of the political process, including free elections and the right of all political groupings to organize freely, and respect for human rights. It has failed, however, to come up with concrete proposals on many of these key issues and has not yet developed a consensus within the Junta on many points essential to governing effectively. This has produced a dangerous sense of drift.

Vulnerabilities: Consolidation of the Junta's position is hampered by these vulnerabilities:

-- The Junta has inherent weaknesses, including political inexperience, ineffective collegial decision making, fundamental philosophical and ideological differences and a tendency to hold

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/12/94
Case ID: 9940032E

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to the views of their constituencies rather than working for consensus.

-- The left's systematic use of violent tactics to undermine the Junta's authority and provoke a repressive reaction results from a realization that the Junta's reformist program would destroy the extreme left's use of widespread popular discontent as a vehicle to power.

-- The Junta's proposed reforms, which are essential for building a strong popular following and depriving the extreme left of appealing issues, threaten the economic interests of the still powerful right; this poses the danger of a coup by conservative elements and produces caution and indecision in the Junta.

-- Many of the progressive young military officers who promoted the coup are becoming increasingly impatient at the apparent lack of action by the Junta and could move to take power into their own hands.

-- At the same time the proficiency of the security forces has deteriorated to such a degree that their ability to deal with a sustained guerrilla effort by the extreme left is in question.

Factors favoring the Junta: Despite the foregoing weaknesses, the Junta still has these factors working in its favor:

-- The Junta has its priorities straight in emphasizing socio-economic reforms and moving cautiously in dealing with public disturbances so as not to adversely affect its popular base.

-- Broad support from the Church and moderate organizations which opposed the previous governments, conditioned on implementation of the reform program.

-- Continuing approbation and support of most of the international community.

-- An extreme left still not unified or able to launch a full-scale offensive against the government.

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-- An economy which although under increasing attack by the extreme left retains a strong productive capacity.

THE PROSPECTS

In the two months it has been in office, the Junta has not consolidated its position as it should. It is aware of this and under the continued pressure of the extreme left has come to realize that it must act on both the reform/development and security fronts if it is to halt the deterioration of its position.

The Junta's most immediate threat is a determined and violent challenge from the groups which comprise the extreme left. Intelligence sources indicate that preparations to launch a concerted attack on the government are under way.

The danger from elements of the far right is still incipient, but nonetheless real. How they react will depend on their perception of the reforms and the ability of the Junta to control leftist violence.

We believe the Junta can meet these threats if it:

-- moves quickly to organize itself and implement significant elements of its reform and development program;

-- responds firmly (but with due regard to human rights) to current efforts to undermine its authority;

-- takes immediate steps to upgrade the capabilities of its security forces; and

-- does a much better job of publicizing the mobilizing public opinion in support of its programs.

In order to improve the lot of the underprivileged the Junta has raised wages significantly in certain sectors and frozen the prices of some essential commodities. Over the weekend it announced the nationalization of the foreign marketing of principal agricultural products. Last week it decided to use measured force in dealing with the violent

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tactics of the far left and is already acting on this decision. It has been slow to upgrade its security forces, but under the prodding of our intelligence and military survey teams it has formally requested USG assistance. It has also invited a New York public relations firm with considerable experience in advising democratic governments in Latin America to help devise a strategy for winning support at home and abroad.

We cannot predict whether the Junta will correct the deficiencies in time to meet the challenge from the left or possibly from the right. The imponderables are too many. But with the advantages it now enjoys, coupled with timely action along the lines described above, the Junta stands a better than even chance to consolidate its position. In this confrontation with the far left the role of our Embassy in counseling the Junta and our ability to respond rapidly to essential needs will be very important.

UNITED STATES POLICY

In supporting the Junta we identify with forces advocating basic economic and social change and a return to democratic procedures. The alternatives to the Junta are inimical to our interest: a takeover by the far right will further polarize and radicalize the crisis, while a victory by the far left, because of the strong class antagonism existing in El Salvador, will usher in a revolutionary regime more radical than the Sandinistas. The impact on Honduras and Guatemala of either outcome, following on the heels of revolutionary success in Nicaragua, would be highly destabilizing.

We therefore need to give maximum support to the Junta while avoiding too close an identification that could be exploited by the extreme left. The far right will be inhibited by our involvement especially as it serves to bolster the Junta against the radical left. Our strategy for helping the Junta is based on these elements:

We have already:

-- asked Ambassador Devine to increase his efforts as a catalyst in helping the Junta see the seriousness of the extreme left's challenge and the need for cohesion and decisiveness in maintaining its authority;

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-- asked Ambassador Devine to devise an approach to the Junta to elicit Andean and Mexican assistance in order to multilateralize the support effort. We would move behind the Junta's initiative and encourage those governments to be forthcoming;

-- provided the GOES with tear gas and other non-lethal crowd control equipment and an MTT to give instruction in its use ($205,000);

-- sent an AID team to develop with GOES officials high-impact projects in rural and urban areas pegged to a target FY 80 aid level of $35 million;

-- sent intelligence and military teams to assess needs for U.S. remedial assistance in training and equipment;

-- reached inter-agency agreement to reprogram $3.5 million of FMS financing (when we have our FY 80 appropriation) for purchases of most immediately needed materiel; and

-- notified Congress of our intent to reprogram $300,000 of IMET for provision of MTT's and other training to cover most immediate deficiencies.

We have under consideration:

-- a visit by Junta members to the U.S. for discussions with official and private groups in early February. (If your schedule is too full to receive them, we might follow the pattern used with the Nicaraguan Junta and have them meet with the Vice President with you dropping in.);

-- in connection with the foregoing visit an appropriate high-level statement welcoming their plans to return to constitutional procedures with full respect for human rights and indicating support for their reform and development programs;

-- a visit to El Salvador in early January by a high U.S. official to underscore our support of the Junta; and

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-- gearing up a people-to-people program for El Salvador as soon as the security situation permits Americans to travel there without serious risk; meanwhile we are working on efforts which do not require such travel.

In order to reduce our vulnerabilities we are:

-- substantially reducing the number of U.S. mission dependents;

-- closing out the small HEW-malaria and IAGS-mapping operations; and

-- working on a further scale-down of the Peace Corps presence, looking toward close-out if the situation deteriorates further.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 SAN SA 07413 300322Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 DCT-02 SY-05 CIAE-00 CON-02
EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 PM-05 H-01
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05 PC-01
SYE-00 /102 W
----------115124 300449Z /15

R 281445Z DEC 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6035
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSOQUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 7413

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/27/85 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: ELAB, PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: (C) KIDNAPPINGS AND ASSASSINATIONS OF UNION LEADERS

REFS A. SAN SALVADOR 7343 B. SAN SALVADOR 7314

1. (U) TWO CORPSES WITH SIGNS OF TORTURE FOUND DEC 23 NEAR SANTA TECLA WERE IDENTIFIED AS THOSE OF LABOR LEADERS WHO HAD BEEN KIDNAPPED DEC 19. THESE ARE IN ADDITION TO TWO LABOR LEADERS WHOSE BODIES WERE FOUND DEC 19 AND SUBSEQUENTLY IDENTIFIED AS REPORTED REF A.

2. (U) LATEST VICTIMS WERE RAUL HUMBERTO MARTINEZ, UNION LEADER AT CONELCA (ERRONEOUSLY REPORTED AS EXECUTIVE OF THAT COMPANY IN REF B) AND MANUEL ANTONIO ARTIGA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF PRIVATE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 07413 300322Z

EMPLOYEES UNION. POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR) CLAIMS BOTH MEN AS MEMBERS OF ITYNJOSE GUILLERMO RIVAS UNION COORDINATING COMMITTEE. IN CASE OF MARTINEZ, BPR REPORTEDLY STATED AT ONE POINT IT WOULD HOLD CONELCA RESPONSIBLE FOR LABOR LEADER'S FATE. CONEL A HAS COUNTERED WITH SERIES OF PRESS INSERTIONS INITIALLY CONDEMNING MARTINEZ' KIDNAPPING AND LATER HIS MURDER.

3. (U) LABOR LEADERS, HOWEVER, WERE NOT ONLY RECENT

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Review Authority JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/28/94
Case ID: S940038N

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Special Project (1993)

VICTIMS OF THIS TYPE OPERATION. UNCLE OF MARIO AGUINADA CARRANZA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF COMMUNIST NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDN), WAS PPED DEC 22 AND HIS CORPSE SUBSEQUENTLY FOUD NEAR ANOTHER TOWN. DEATH WAS INTERPRETED BY UDN AS ATTACK AGAINST THE PARTY AND ITS SECRETARY GENERAL.

4. (C) COMMENT: ASSASSINATIONS OF FOUR UNION LEADERS WITHIN LESS THAN WEEK UNDER STRIKINGLY SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES GIVES APPEARANCE THAT ORGANIZED WAVE OF TERROR AGAINST MILITANT LEFTIST UNION LEADERS MAY HAVE BEEN INITIATED BY RIGHT. ALTHOUGH THERE IS AS OF YET NO INDICATION OF ASSASSINATIONS BEING WORK OF ANY PARTICULAR GROUP, EXTREME LEFTIST POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS UNHESITATINGLY USE DEATHS TO ATTACK REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG), RAISING SPECTER OF ASSASSINATIONS DURING PREVIOUS REGIMES.
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Specia' Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA000330

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00330 142242Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 SPH-01 SY-05 DCT-02
HA-05 ID-15 TRSE-00 MCE-00 ANAE-00 NSCE-00 SS0-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 /083 W
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O R 142130Z JAN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6348
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 0330

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: PANAMANIAN EMBASSY TAKE-OVER CONTINUES: OTHER INCIDENTS

1. PANAMANIAN EMBASSY

1. NEWSPAPERS SUGGEST HOSTAGES MAY BE RELEASED TODAY, JAN. 14. ACCORDING REPORTS, MEXICAN AND VENEZUELAN AMBASSADORS ARE ACTING AS MEDIATORS, AND JRG IS PREPARED TO MEET LP-28'S DEMANDS FOR RELEASE FROM DETENTION OF SEVEN MEMBERS OF THAT GROUP. DURING WEEKEND, OCCUPIERS RELEASED TWO CHILDREN AND MOTHER OF TWO-MONTH OLD BABY. TWO LOW-LEVEL SALVADORAN EMPLOYEES WERE OFFERED LIBERTY BUT REFUSED IT. RED CROSS HAS BROUGHT FOOD, MEDICINE AND COTS TO EMBASSY, AND SIX REMAINING HOSTAGES CLAIM THEY ARE BEING WELL-TREATED. PRESS REPORTS 52 LP-28 MEMBERS INSIDE EMBASSY. OCCUPIERS STATE THEY ARE NOT
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00330 142242Z

REQUESTING ASYLUM AND INTEND TO REMAIN IN EL SALVADOR. RELATIVES OF HOSTAGES ARE PROVIDING FOOD FOR BOTH HOSTAGES AND OCCUPIERS. BECAUSE OF OVERCROWDING AND LACK OF FACILITIES, CONDITIONS WITHIN EMBASSY ARE REPORTEDLY UNCOMFORTABLE AND UNPLEASANT.

B. DURING HOMILY ARCHBISHOP ROMERO CONDEMNED TAKING OF EMBASSY. ROMERO ADDED THAT HIS OFFER TO MEDIAT WAS REFUSED.

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940032A

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Specia' Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA000330

2. KIDNAPPING OF NATIONAL GUARDSMAN

ALSO IN HOMILY ROMERO DENOUNCED KIDNAPPING IN CHALATENANGO OF NATIONAL GUARDSMAN JOSE QUINTANILLA BY UNNAMED SUBVERSIVE GROUP. ACCORDING ROMERO, FRIENDS OF QUINTANILLA HAVE THREATENED WITH DEATH GROUP OF NUNS IF KIDNAPPED MAN IS NOT RETURNED UNHARMED.

3. THREE KILLED

ON JANUARY 10 NEAR USULUTAN POLICE FOUND BODIES OF THREE MEN BEARING MARKS OF TORTURE. LP-28 IDENTIFIED THREE AS MEMBERS OF CHRISTIAN FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN CAMPESINOS - UNION OF LAND WORKERS (FECCAS-UTC), WHICH IS BPR MEMBER.

4. CUSTOMS POLICE ATTACKED

IN SANTA ANA ON JAN. 11 ONE CUSTOMS POLICEMAN WAS KILLED AND ANOTHER WOUNDED BY POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION (FPL;

5. OCCUPATIONS IN MEDJICANOS
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00330 142242Z

AN AREA OF MEJICANOS, A POOR SUBURB OF SAN SALVADOR, WAS TEMPORARILY OCCUPIED BY FPL ON JAN. 8. ACCORDING FPL SPOKESMAN, ONE OBJECTIVE OF TAKEOVER WAS TO PROTEST "VIOLENT DISPLACEMENT" OF CERTAIN SLUM-DWELLERS FROM HOMES BY GOVERNMENT. TWO DAYS LATER REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF PEOPLE (ERP) TEMPORARILY TOOK OVER ANOTHER AREA WITHIN MEJICANOS TO PROTEST FORMATION OF "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA" AND TO UNMASK PDC AS REPRESENTATIVE OF IMPERIALISM.

6. WEAPONS CACHE

HACIENDA POLICE ON JAN. 11 FOUND A CACHE OF WEAPONS, PROPAGANDA, AND MATERIAL FOR MAKING BOMBS IN SOYAPANGO. CACHE INCLUDED MACHINE GUN, FOUR RIFLES, SHOTGUN AND PISTOL. ARRESTED WITH IT WAS OVIDIO MARTINEZ RAMOS, FINANCIAL SECRETARY FOR STUDENT ASSOCIATION LINKED TO NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDN). RAMOS CLAIMED CONTENTS OF CACHE WERE GIVEN TO HIM BY UDN SECGEN MARIO AGUINADA CARRANZA.

7. LP-28 COMMUNIQUE

SHORT LP-28 PRESS INSERTION PUBLISHED JAN. 11 REFERRED TO PDC FOUR TIMES AS "TRAITORS".

8. GUATEMALAN EMBASSY

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA000330

EMBASSY OF GUATEMALA WAS MACHINE-GUNNED AT APPROXIMATELY 5:00 A.M. JAN. 14. NO OTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME.
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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA000370

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00370 180812Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 HA-05 DCT-02 OC-06 CCO-00
OPR-02 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-15 /095 W
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R 152200Z JAN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6376
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 0370

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: AMBASSADORS RELEASED BUT VIOLENCE CONTINUES

1. PANAMANIAN EMBASSY. ON JANUARY 14 JRG HANDED OVER SEVEN IMPRISONED MEMBERS OF LP-28 TO MEMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, WHO CONVEYED THEM TO LP-28 REPRESENTATIVES. IN RETURN GROUP RELEASED ALL HOSTAGES UNHARMED FROM PANAMIANIAN EMBASSY DURING EVENING SAME DAY.

2. CHALATENANGO.
A. NEW FIGHTING BROKE OUT IN AREA OF CHALATENANGO WHERE SEVERAL INCIDENTS, INCLUDING THOSE DENOUNCED BY ARCHBISHOP ROMERO ON JAN 5, HAVE OCCURRED SINCE LATE DECEMBER. APPARENTLY IN ATTEMPT TO RESCUE KIDNAPPED NATIONAL GUARDSMAN QUINTANILLA (PREVIOUSLY REPORTED), NATIONAL GUARD CARRIED OUT SEVERAL OPERATIONS ON JAN 13 AND 14. ACCORDING PRESS, A NUMBER OF CLASHES OCCURRED WHICH RESULTED IN
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00370 180812Z

"NUMEROUS LOSSES" FOR SUBVERSIVES. NO CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED BY NATIONAL GUARD, WHICH CLAIMED EVIDENCE INDICATED QUINTANILLA, HAD BEEN TORTURED AND PROBABLY KILLED. NEWSPAPERS SAY NG OPERATIONS WILL CONTINUE ON JAN 15 AND NEW CLASHES ARE EXPECTED.
B. ACCORDING PRESS, NG INVESTIGATION FOUND EVIDENCE LINKING QUINTANILLA KIDNAPPING WITH ITIALIAN PRIEST AND TWO MEXICAN NUNS. ALL THREE WERE DETAINED JAN 12 (DAY OF KIDNAPPING) AND RELEASED SAME DAY. THIS

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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940032A

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Special Project (1993)

RPOMPTED ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S STATEMENTS (PREVIOUSLY
REPORTED) DURING SUNDAY JAN 12 HOMILY ABOUT NO
THREATS TO NUNS. ONE OF TWO NUNS TRAVELED TO SAN SALVADOR
AND MADE PLEA IN CATHEDRAL FOR QUINTANILLA'S SAFE
RETURN DURING ARICBR HOP'S HOMILY.
C. INSERTION OF JAN 15 PRESS BY CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
OF SALVADORAN CAMPESINOS - UNION OF LAND WORKERS
(FECCAS-UTC, A BPR AFFILIATE) DENOUNCES CHALATENANGO
EVENTS, CLAIMING SECURITY FORCES KILLED TWELVE PEOPLE
THERE BETWEEN DEC 29 AND JAN 10. FECCAS-UTC
ANNOUNCES THAT FOLLOWING ARE HELD RESPOLSIBLE: JRG
(THREE NEW CIVILIAN MEMBERS ARE MENTIONED BY NAME); OLIGARCHYN
AND SPECIFICALLY "PEACE, WORK, AND LOVE" CAMPAIGN;
AND NORTH AMERIAN IMPERIALISM

3. BPR MEMBER KILLED.
A. A MEMBER OF BPR'S NATIONAL PROPAGANDA COMMISSION
WAS SHOT AND KILLED JAN 12 IN SOYAPANGO.
B. PRESS INSERTION ON JAN 15 BY NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF SALVADORAN EDUCATORS (ANDES 21 DE JUNIO) HOLDS
JRG RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLING, DEMANDS PUNISHMENT FOR
GUILTY PARTIES, AND INVITES PUBLIC TO FUNERAL.

4. ORDEN MEMBER KILLED. ON JAN 12 UNKNOWN
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00370 180812Z

ASSAILANTS KILLED A FORMER ORDEN OFFICIAL NEAR SONSONATE.

5. ERP SHOOTING. REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE
(ERP) HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR SERIOUSLY
WOUNDING THE SECRETARY OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION OF
CUSCATANCINGO (SUBURB OF SAN SALVADOR) ON JAN 14.

6. EX-PCN DEPUTY SHOT. IN AYUTUXTEPEQUE UNIDENTIFIED
TERRORISTS ASSASSINATED ON JAN 14 FORMER PCN DEPUTY
MARIO ADOLFO CUELLAR MARTINEZ. RADIO REPORTS NOW INDICATE FARN
HAS CLAIMED RESPONSABILITY.

7. GUATEMALAN EMBASSY. NO INJURIES RESULTED FROM
MACHINE-GUNNING OF GUATEMALAN EMBASSY EARLY MONDAY
MORNING. REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF CENTRAL AMERICAN
WORKERS (PRTC) CLAIMS IT CARRIED OUT ATTACK TO PROTEST
"MACHINE-GUNNING AT CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF GUATEMALA
BY ANTI-COMMUNIST ARMY".
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THE WHITE HOUSE

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WASHINGTON

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January 17, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

In response to a report on Ambassador Castro's meeting with former Argentine Junta member, General Viola during which the General expressed serious concern over the State Department human rights report on Argentina (Buenos Aires 472), the President has directed that you personally approve the language of the report.

Zbigniew Brzezinski

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

[redacted] Review on January 17, 1986

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00985 01 OF 02 012154Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 PA-01 ICA-11
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
INRE-00 /084 W
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O R 012102Z FEB 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4099
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
/AMEMBASSY BRASILIA 3951
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1075
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (✓ In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 0985

USEEC

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E. O. 12065:: GDS 2/1/86 (FRIEDMAN, TOWNSEND B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: (U) HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY - JANUARY 26 - FEBRUARY 1, 1980

REF: BUENOS AIRES 0772

[redacted] SUMMARY: THE SWEDES ARE STILL WAITING FOR A GOA REPLY TO STOCKHOLM'S LATEST INQUIRY INTO THE FATE OF DAGMAR HAGELIN. PRESSS FREEDOM AND NEWSPAPER ECONOMICS ARE GENERATING A HEATED DEBATE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT
[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 00985 01 OF 02 012154Z

AND NEWSPAPER OWNERS. THE OUTCOME COULD HAVE A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON THE FATE OF SMALLER PAPERS, AND PERHAPS

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Page: 1

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ULTIMATELY, ON NEWSPAPER INDEPENDENCE. THE SARAGOVI CASE IS STILL UNDER PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW. A LIGHT, AND PROBABLY TRANSITORY, INCREASE IN GOA OPTION APPROVALS. END SUMMARY.

1. [redacted] THE HAGELIN CASE---
THE SWEDISH EMBASSY HAS PRIVATELY SHOWN US THE SWORN TESTIMONY OF NORMA SUSANA BURGOS, A MONTONERO AND FORMER INMATE AND TRUSTY OF THE DETENTION CENTER AT THE NAVAL MECHANIC'S SCHOOL (ESMA) IN BUENOS AIRES (STOCKHOLM 0262). THIS TESTIMONY WAS THE BASIS ON WHICH THE SWEDES MADE THEIR INQUIRY TO THE GOA LAST DECEMBER ON THE FATE OF DAGMAR HAGELIN,--- A SEVENTEEN YEAR OLD SWEDISH NATIONAL WHO DISAPPEARED IN JANUARY 1977. BURGOS, A FRIEND OF HAGELIN STATES SHE SAW HER ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THROUGH EARLY FEBRUARY 1977, BUT THAT SHE WAS LATER TOLD BY AN ESMA GUARD THAT HAGELIN HAD BEEN "TRANSFERRED" (THIS SLANG TERM COULD MEAN EITHER THAT SHE WAS EXECUTED OR SIMPLY MOVED.) BURGOS STATES THAT HAGELIN WAS PROBABLY TAKEN BY THE SECURITY FORCES WHEN THEY MISTAKENLY IDENTIFIED HER AS A MRS. BERGER, ONE OF BURGO'S MONTONERO ASSOCIATES WHOM HAGELIN ALLEGEDLY RESEMBLED. THE MOST SENSITIVE PART OF BURGOS' TESTIMONY IS THE IDENTIFICATION, BY NAME, OF TWO NAVAL OFFICERS WHO SHE SAYS WERE DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH HAGELIN AT THE SCHOOL. A COPY OF THE TESTIMONY WAS PRESENTED TO THE GOA WHICH HAS NOT YET RESPONDED TO THE SWEDES' DEMARCHE. THE SWEDES' ACTIVITY IN BEHALF OF HAGELIN RECEIVED SOME PUBLICITY HERE AND THERE WERE REPORTS THAT THE SWEDISH AMBASSAOR WOLLTER, WHO HAS BEEN REASIGNED TO MEXICO, WAS BEING
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 00985 01 OF 02 012154Z

WITHDRAWN FORM BUENOS AIRES AS A PROTEST GESTURE. THE SWEDISH EMBASSY HERE, HOWEVER, STATES THAT WOLLTER'S TRANSFER IS NORMAL AND UNRELATED TO THE HAGELIN CASE.

2. [redacted] PRESS FREEDOM---
THE GOA'S DECISION TO INCREASE THE TAX ON IMPORTED NEWSPRINT FROM 10 PERCENT TO 45 PERCENT HAS STIRRED AN ANGRY REACTION AMONG SMALLER AND MEDIUM SIZE PUBLISHERS. THE IMPORT TAX WILL FORCE PAPERS TO BUY THE MUCH HIGHER COST AND INFERIOR OUTPUT OF ARGENTINA'S ONLY NEWSPRINT MANUFACTURER, PAPER PRENSAN

JOINTLY OWNED BY THE COUNTRY'S MOST AFFLUENT NEWSPAPERS --CLARIN, LA NACION, LA RAZON-- AND THE GOA. THE PUBLISHERS OF OTHER PAPERS FEAR THE ADDITIONAL COSTS OF NEWSPRINT WILL CAUSE THEM TO GO UNDER. THEY ALSO POINT TO THE POTENTIAL FOR MANIPULATIVE ATTACKS ON PRESS FREEDOM IF ALL NEWSPAPERS ARE FORCED TO RELY ON A MONOPOLY SOURCE FOR NEWSPRINT.
THESE FEARS ARE REASONABLE. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE GOA WAS MOTIVATED BASICALLY BY A

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00985 02 OF 02 012158Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 PA-01 ICAE-00
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SS-15 /073 W
----------083102 012212Z /66
O R 012102Z FEB 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4100
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USUN NEW YORK 1076
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 0985

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DESIRE TO INHIBIT PRESS FREEDOM. RATHER, IT WOULD LIKE TO SEE PAPEL PRENSA START MAKING MONEY -- A DESIRE NO DOUBT ENCOURAGED BY ITS PARTNERS IN THE VENTURE. MOREOVER, NONE OF THE LATTER WOULD BE UNHAPPY IF THEY PICKED UP A LARGER SHARE OF THE MARKET IF SOME OF THEIR SMALLER COMPETITORS WERE

FORCED OUT OF BUSINESS.

PRESS FREEDOM ALSO CAME UP LAST WEEK IN THE CONTEXT OF A RAID BY BUENOS AIRES MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES ON A SMALL NEWS AGENCY WHICH SERVICES PROVINCIAL [redacted]

[redacted]

PAPERS. THE AUTHORITIES ALLEGED THAT THE AGENCY DID NOT HAVE AN OPERATING LICENSE AND CLOSED IT. THIS ALLEGATION WAS PROVEN FALSE AND AFTER SEVERAL DAYS -- THE RAIDERS WERE REPORTEDLY SHOWN THE LICENSE WHEN THEY ARRIVED -- THE AGENCY REOPENED. THE REAL MOTIVATIONS OF THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES IN SEEKING TO CLOSE THE AGENCY REMAIN UNKNOWN. HOWEVER, THE EASE WHICH THEY ACTED UNDERLINES THE STILL GREAT POTENTIAL FOR ARBITRARY USE OF POWER HERE.

DESPITE THE FOREGOING, PRESS FREEDOM HERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY EXPANDED OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS. BY ALL ACCOUNTS THE HEAVY HAND OF GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP -- OR INTIMIDATION -- IS LESS FELT NOW THAN ANY TIME IN THE RECENT PAST: POLITICAL SUBJECTS, HUMAN RIGHTS TOPICS APPEAR WITH FREQUENCY. (WE NOTE THIS WEEK THAT LA PRENSA PUBLISHED A LONG, OBJECTIVE COMMENTARY ON FREEDOM HOUSE'S RECENT LISTING OF ARGENTINA AMONG THE "NOT FREE"; NACION REPORTED THAT FORMER BUENOS AIRES EDITOR ROBERT COX WAS GIVEN AN AWARD AS "THE BEST EDITOR OF THE YEAR" BY A MAJOR BRITISH T.V. COMPANY.)

. [redacted] SARAGOVI CASE ----

PRESIDENT VIDELA WHO IS NOW CONSIDERING WHETHER TO GRANT A COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE TO HORACIO OSCAR ARAGOVI HAS ORDERED FURTHER "CONSULTATIONS" WITH MILITARY AUTHORITIES INVOLVED IN THE CASE, WE ARE TOLD. THESE CONSULTATIONS ARE SUPPOSED TO TAKE ABOUT TWO MORE WEEKS. THE MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE WHO HAS BEEN HANDLING THIS MATTER -- AND HAS INDEED TAKEN AN INTENSE PERSONAL INTEREST IN SEEING [redacted]

[redacted]

ITS INJUSTICE RIGHTED -- PROFESSES OPTIMISM THAT THE COMMUTATION REQUEST WILL BE DECIDED FAVORABLY. IF SO, IT WOULD BE THE FIRST SUCH COMMUTATION GRANTED BY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT. WE LEARNED, TOO, THAT THE PRESIDENT IS NOW CONSIDERING TWO OTHER CASES WHICH, IN THE VIEW OF HIS STAFF MEMBER, ALSO MERIT COMMUTATION.

7. [redacted] OPTION PROGRAM ----

DURING THE MONTH OF JANUARY NINE PEN DETAINEES HOLDING U.S. OPTION CERTIFICATES WERE APPROVED FOR TRAVEL TO THE U.S. BY THE GOA, FAR IN EXCESS OF THE AVERAGE MONTHLY RATE OF THREE WE HAVE BEEN EXPERIENCING. ONE ELEMENT IN THE INCREASE WAS THE ABNORMALLY LARGE NUMBER OF PEN DETAINEES HOLDING OUR CERTIFICATE OF APPROVALS THAT WERE CONSIDERED FOR OPTION BY THE GOA IN JANUARY (22 VERSUS THE NORMAL MONTHLY RATE OF 10). WE HAVE NO INFORMATION TO SUGGEST THAT THIS UPSURGE CONSTITUTES A CHANGE IN GOA POLICY ON THE OPTIONS PROGRAM. A CHECK WITH OTHER EMBASSIES, FOR EXAMPLE, SHOWS NO PATTERN OF UPSURGE WITH GOA APPROVALS DURING THE MONTH. MORE IMPORTANTLY, AS WE NOTED LAST WEEK, THE GOA VIEWS THE OPTION PROGRAM WITH HEIGHTENED RESERVE, CONVINCED THAT IT HAS BEEN USED BY TERRORISTS TO GET OUT OF DETENTION AND RETURN TO THE ATTACK IN ARGENTINA.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA000453

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00453 01 OF 03 280642Z
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00
CIAE-00 NSAE-00 /031 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6434
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 0453

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

GUATEMALA FOR ASST. SEC. BOWDLER

DEPT PASS UNCINCSO AND DIA

E.O. 12065: RDS-2 1/19/99 (DEVINE, FRANK J) OR-M
TAGS: EAID MASS MILI PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: DISCUSSION OF CURRENT PROBLEMS WITH TWO MILITARY MEMBERS
OF REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG)

REF SAN SALVADOR 0452

1. [redacted]

2. INTRODUCTION: IN TWO-HOUR SATURDAY MORNING (JAN 19)
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00453 01 OF 03 280642Z

CONVERSATION, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY CHEEK, DCM HOWARD AND I REVIEWED WITH JRG MEMBERS COLONEL GUTIERREZ AND COLONEL MAJANO PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN EL SALVADOR. DAS CHEEK LED OFF BY STATING CONCERN FELT IN U.S. AND SOME OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES OVER IMAGE OF SLOWNESS BEING PROJECTED BY JRG IN FORMING NEW GOVERNMENT AND MOVING AHEAD WITH ITS REFORM PROGRAM. HE WARNED AGAINST GETTING BOGGED DOWN IN MYRIAD OF PERSONAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND URGED FORWARD MOTION AND DEVELOP-

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/12/94
Case ID: 9400328

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MENT OF POSITIVE MOMENTUM IN CARRYING FORWARD BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT. WHILE INDICATING AWARENESS OF REPORTED DIFFERENCES WITHIN MILITARY AND BETWEEN MILITARY AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) WITH WHICH IT IS NOW ALLIED, CHEEK STRESSED ADVANTAGES OF AVOIDING AGONIZING ATTENTION TO EACH OF THESE IN FAVOR OF MOVING BOLDLY AHEAD WITH REFORM AND OTHER PROGRAMS WHICH ARE ON THE DOCKER ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, HE SAID, IS READY TO GO AND A RELATED TEAM OF EXPERTS IS READY TO ARRVIE HERE NEXT WEEK. WE HAVE A PACKAGE OF ASSISTANCE ELEMENTS READY, AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS PLUS ITS EARLY IMPLEMENTATION WILL IN AND OF THEMSELVES CONTRIBUTE TO A PUBLIC IMAGE OF FORWRD MOVEMENT AND POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT. WE HOPE THAT JUNTA WILL QUICKLY ROUND OUT ITS CABINET APPOINTMENTS AND BE ASLE TO MOVE AHEAD ON THIS AND OTHER FRONTS.

3. IN RESPONDING TO THESE OPENING REMARKS BY DAS CHEEK, COL GUTIERREZ ACKNOWLEDGED THAT JRG HAS BEEN BESET WITH MANY PROBLEMS, THAT ITS RELATIVELY CENTRIST POSITION IS UNDER HEAVY FIRE FROM BOTH SIDES, AND THAT ITS ALLIANCE WITH PDC IS BEING WIDELY CRITICIZED. PDC ITSELF HAS ADDED TO PROBLEM BY BEING UNNECESSARILY EXPLICIT IN CERTAIN RESPECTS. ILLUSTRATIVE OF LATTER,

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00453 01 OF 03 280642Z

COL GUTIERREZ SAID THAT PDC HAD INSISTED ON PUBLICIZING ITS INTENT TO EXCLUDE PRIVATE SECTOR FROM JUNTA AND FROM CABINET AND HAD REJECTED MILDER TERM "REFORM" IN FAVOR OF "NATIONALIZATION" OF BANKING SYSTEM. IN THUS TRYING TO AVOID ANY APPEARANCE OR CHARGES OF RIGHTWARD DRIFT (SUCH AS PRESENTED BY PREVIOUS DISSIDENT MINISTERS), PDC HAD BOUGHT FOR ITSELF SOME GRATUITOUS PROBLEMS AND HAD ENRAGED AND ALIENDATED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHT MORE THAN WAS NECESSARY OR PRUDENT.

3. ARMED FORCES PROBLEM: STILL WITH REFERENCE TO DAS CHEEK'S OPENING REMARKS, COL GUTIERREZ THEN TURNED TO PROBLEM OF ARMED FORCES AND QUESSTION OF REMOVAL OR RETENTION OF COL GARCIA AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE. OUTSIDE CRITICISM, HE SAID, HAD COME TO CENTER ON COL GARCIA. PDC HAD MENTIONED THIS TO MILITARY MEMBERS OF JRG THOUGH WITHOUT MAKING MAJOR ISSUE OF IT. JRG MEMBERS HAD TURNED MATTER OVER TO YOUNGER OFFICERS PERMANENT COUNCIL OF ARMED FORCES (COPEFA) FOR REPLY. WHEN ISSUE WAS CIRCULATED WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES, HOWEVER, IT GAVE RISE TO US CONCERNS, GENERATED VARIOUS MEETINGS, AND BROUGHT INTO BEING TWO GROUPS AMONG OFFICER CORPS: THOSE FAVORING REMOVAL AND THOSE FAVORING RETENTION OF COL GARCIA. FORMER SIGNED A LETTER PRESENTING THEIR DEMAND, AND LATTER CALLED FOR PUNISHMENT ON GROUNDS OF INSUBORDINATION. PROBLEM WAS A TROUBLESOME

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ONE, SUGGESTED THAT SOME SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS HAD BEEN ABLE TO SWAY SOME YOUNGER OFFICERS, AND CLEARLY INDICATED THAT LATTER DID NOT REALIZE DIMENSIONS OF CRISIS FOR ARMED FORCES WHICH THEY WERE CREATING. COLONELS GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO MEDIATED IN THIS DISPUTE, AND AS OF NOW MATTER HAD BEEN TURNED OVER TO THEM FOR THEIR DECISION WHICH BOTH SIDES OF MILITARY HAVE AGREED TO ACCEPT. THEY CONSIDER PROBLEM TO BE A SOLUBLE ONE WITH AN HONORABLE OUTCOME FOR ALL CONCERNED. THEY CAREFULLY DID NOT RPT NOT TELL US WHAT THE CONTEMPLATED SOLUTION MIGHT BE, BUT THEY

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 00453 01 OF 03 280642Z

SAID AND REITERATED THAT THEY THOUGHT THE MILITARY CRISIS OF PAST WEEK WAS ABOUT OVER.

4. IN COMMENTING ON THIS ISSUE, CHEEK RECOGNIZED IMPORTANCE OF ARMED FORCES TO MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN EL SALVADOR AND TERMED ARMED FORCES UNITY ESSENTIAL TO SURVIVAL OF COUUNTRY. HE SAID THAT KEY QUESTION WAS DEGREE OF ESSENTIALITY OF COL GARCIA TO EFFECTIVENESS OF ARMED FORCES. IF NOT ESSENTIAL, HE MIGHT WELL BE ASKED TO STEP ASIDE IN INTERESTS OF NATIONAL UNITY AND PEACE. BUT IF HE IS DEEMED ESSENTIAL, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF LARGE NUMBER OF OFFICERS ALREADY LOST TO ARMED FORCES, THEN HE SHOULD BE RETAINED. OTHERWISE,

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA000453

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00453 02 OF 03 280644Z
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00
NSAE-00 DODE-00 /031 W
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O R 192310Z JAN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6435
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 0453

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

GUATEMALA FOR ASST. SEC BOWDLER; DEPT PASS USCINCSO AND DIA

ARMED FORCES MIGHT FIND THEMSELVES "BLED TO DEATH"
BY CONTINUING DEMANDS OF MILITANT LEFT. IN MATTERS
SUCH AS THIS, JUDGMENT OF THE MILITARY SHOULD BE PRIMARY
CONSIDERATION. ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH RESISTS MILITANT
LEFTIST VIOLENCE WILL INEVITABLY BE CHARGED WITH
REPRESSION, BUT THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT IT
IS GUILTY OF REPRESSION. THEREFORE GOVERNMENT CANNOT
AFFORT TO TAKE SUCH CRITICISM AT FACE VALUE AND REACT
ACCORDINGLY. A BASIC DUTY OF GOVERNMENT IS TO RESIST
MILITANT LEFT'S EFFORTS TO DESTROY UNITY AND EFFECTIVE-
NESS OF ARMED FORCES.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00453 02 OF 03 280644Z

5. COL GUTIERREZ REPLIED THAT THERE IS BASIC LACK OF
UNDERSTANDING OF ARMED FORCES ON PART OF CIVILIAN
POPULACE AND PDC AS A PARTY. ARMED FORCES WILL NOW TRY
TO CORRECT THIS. MILITARY MEMBERS OF JRG WILL THIS COMING
WEEK COMMENCE SERIES OF VISITS TO MILITARY UNITS -- THEY
SUGGESTED THAT PART OF COL GARCIA'S PROBLEM HAD
BEEN INATTENTION TO THIS BASIC MILITARY DUTY -- AND PLAN
TO TAKE WITH THEM CIVILIAN POLITICAL LEADERS WHO ARE
NOW THEIR ALLIES. COL GUTIERREZ CONFIRMED THAT OFFICER
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COPRS HAD LOST DANGEROUS PROPORTION OF ITS PROFESSIONAL CAPABILITIES AND COULD NOT AFFORD TO GIVE AWAY TOO MUCH MORE. NOW THAT CRISIS IS ABOUT OVER, HE AND COL MAJANO WILL BE VISITING MILITARY UNITS TO SMOOTH OVER THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAVE ARISEN AND PREVENT THEIR RECURRENCE IN FUTURE. AS THEY DO THIS, BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT WILL BE LEFT CONSIDERABLY MORE IN HANDS OF CIVILIAN ELEMENTS OF JRG.

6. MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH CHRISITAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC): MILITARY JRG MEMBERS SAID THAT THEY ARE GETTING ALONG BETTER WITH THEIR NEW PDC ALLIES. THEY RECOGNIZE POLITICAL TALENTS OF PDC, AND THEY PLAN IN NEAR FUTURE TO WORK WITH THEM TO MOBILIZE SOME MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS OF POPULWJR SUPPORT FOR JRG. WHEN DCM HOWARD ASKED IF PDC SEEMED UNITED, OUR MILITARY GUESTS ADMITTED THAT THEY WERE SOME PROBLEMS BETWEEN LEFT AND RIGHT WINGS OF THAT PARTY, PDC HAS DETERIORATED IN RECENT YEARS, PARTLY BECAUSE OF TREATMENT AFFORDED IT BY MOLINA AND ROMERO ADMINISTRATIONS, AND NOW IS DEFINITELY NOT AT ITS BEST. MUCH OF ITS YOUTH MAY HAVE GONE OFF TO THE MILITANT AND EXTREMIST LEFT, A FACT DENIED BY PDC BUT ON WHICH THE REAL RETURNS ARE NOT YET IN. PDC HAS HAD PROBLEM IN FORMING A CABINET AND ONE WHICH IS [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 00453 02 OF 03 280644Z

EMERGING IS NOT AN "ELEGANT" CABINET BUT AT LEAST IT IS MORE HOMOGENEOUS AND WORKABLE ONE THAN ITS PREDECESSOR. PDC IS WORKING HARD TO REACTIVATE SOME OF ITS FORMER ADHERENTS AND IS ASSISTED IN THIS BY ITS POSITION IN GOVERNMENT.

7. MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: WHEN ASKED ABOUT THIS, COLS GUTIERREZ AND MAJANO RESPONDED IN A WAY WHICH SHOWED THAT THEY HAD ALREADY BEEN APPROACHED BY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ON BASIS OF OUR LAST NIGHT'S CONVERSATION (REFTEL. THEY MENTIONED DESIRABILITY OF A MULTILATERAL COVER AND DUARTE'S READINESS TO BEGIN LINING THIS UP IN VENEZUELA IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. THEY AND WE AGREED THAT IT COULD BE HELPFUL IF CONCEPT OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE COULD APPEAR TO EMERGE FROM A MULTILATERAL CONSIDERATION OF PROBLEM, WITH OUR PROGRAM OF MATERIAL AND TRAINING FOLLOWING ALONG AS SOMETHING OF AN APPARENT OUTGROWTH OF THAT. AT SAME TIME, OTHER NATIONS COULD ASSIST, EACH IN ITS OWN WAY. I MENTIONED THAT GERMAN AMBASSADOR HAD RECENTLY DISCUSSED SOMETHING OF THIS WITH ME AND POSSIBILITY THAT HE WOULD BE RECOMMENDING ASSISTANCE IN TERMS OF POLICE TRAINING. JRG MEMBERS SAID THEY THOUGHT AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE ON OUR PROGRAM OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN NEAR FUTURE, BUT ADDED THAT THEY WOULD BE DOING SOME EDUCATIONAL WORK THEREON WITH PDC COLLEAGUES. COL MAJANO

REITERATED GREAT NEED FOR ASSISTANCE IN SETTING UP INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM. BOTH HE AND COL GUTIERREZ EXPRESSED CONTINUING CONCERN OVER INFILTRATION OF HOSTILE ARMS AND PERSONNEL FROM ABROAD. DAS CHEEK MENTIONED IMPORTANCE OF HONDURAN BORDER AS AREA OF INFILTRATION. COL GUTIERREZ REPLIED THAT THERE ARE ALP REPORTS OF RIGHTIST FORCES FORMING UP IN GUATEMALA FOR ACTION IN EL SALVADOR. SANDOVAL ALARCON AND HIS FOLLOWERS, HE SAID, PREFER TO FIGHT COMMUNISM HERE RATHER THAN IN GUATEMALA. MAJANO MENTIONED AGAIN INTEREST IN INTELLIGENCE AND

PAGE 04 SAN SA 00453 02 OF 03 280644Z

WE ASSURED HIM THIS WOULD BE A PART OF OUR TRAINING EFFORT.

8. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: BOTH COLONELS EXPRESSED GREAT APPREHENSION OVER DTERIORATION OF EL SALVADOR'S ECONOMY. THEY ASKED IF USG COULD HELP ARREST FLIGHT OF CAPITAL FROM THIS COUNTRY. WE RESPONDED THAT ONLY SENSE OF SECURITY, CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE, AND SOME ASSURANCE FOR INTEGRITY OF INVESTED CAPITAL WOULD BE PERSUASIVE WITH INVESTING COMMUNITY. WE REITERATED READINESS OF OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PACKAGE, AND URGED THEM AGAIN TO APPROACH OTHER LENDING COUNTRIES AND MULTILATERAL LENDING INSTITUTIONS SO AS TO ACHIEVE CONCERTED IMPACT. BUSINESSMEN ARE GUIDED BY FACTS, BUT IF THEY SEE IMPROVED STABILITY, THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT THE COUNTRY MAY WELL COME BACKJHZ
C9. SECURITY PROBLEM: OUR VISITORS STATED THAT EXTREMIST LEFT IS ABSOLUTELY INTRANSIGENT AND WANTS ONLY DESTRUCTION OF PRESENH GOVERNMENT AND FORM OF SOCIETY. GOVERNMENT, IN DEALING WITH THEIR CONSTANT PROVOCATION FACES PROBLEM THAT ANY RESULTING VIOLENCE ONLY BRINGS RENEWED CHARGES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION. WE URGED UPON JRG MEMBERS NEED FOR BETTER PRESENTATION OF THEIR SIDE OF CASE SO THAT COUNTERING AND CORRECTION OF ILLEGAL

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00453 03 OF 03 280645Z
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS0-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00
CIAE-00 NSAE-00 /031 W
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O 192310Z JAN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6436
AMEMBASSSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
RUESMG /AMEMBASSY MANAGUA 3587
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted]ECTION 3 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 0453

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

GUATEMALA FOR ASST. SEC. BOWDLER; DEPT PASS USCINCSO AND DIA

ACTIONS BY EXTREMIST LEFT ARE NOT AUTOMATICALLY MADE
TO APPEAR AS "REPRESSION". THEY SAID THAT THEY WOULD
BE WORKING WITH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN DEVISING BETTER
WAYS AND MEANS OF HANDLING SECURITY PROBLEM RELATED
TO PERIOD OF VIOLENCE AND TURBULENCE WHICH THEY SEE
LOOMING AHEAD. AS PART OF THIS, THEY HAVE NOW FORMED
WORKING COMMITTEE OF MINISTRIES OF AGRICULTURE, DEFENSE,
INTERIOR AND LABOR TO STUDY BEST WAY OF REACTING TO
EACH PROVOCATION. IN FUTURE, THE WILL EXPAND THIS
GROUP TO INCLUDE ALSO ECONOMY, FOREIGN REALTIONS, AND
PLANNING. ALL OF THIS TO BE PRESIDED OVER BY JRG AND
TO BECOME EQUIVALENT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00453 03 OF 03 280645Z

THEY ASKED FOR UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT, POINTING OUT
THAT WHEN SOVIETS OR CUBANS PLAY A ROLE THEY GO ALL OUT
TO INSURE SUCCESS. COL GUTIERREZ AND COL MAJANO ASKED
US TO BEAR IN MIND WHAT IS AT STAKE HERE IN TERMS OF
PEACE AND STABILITY THROUGHOUT ALL OF CENTRAL AMERICA.
DAS CHEEK AGAIN SUGGESTED RESORT TO OTHER FRIENDLY
COUNTRIES AS WELL, STATING THAT ALL ARE CONCERNED
ABOUT THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR.

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10. PUBLIC RELATIONS: COL GUTIERREZ SAID THAT AMONG JUNTA'S PROBLEMS IS GREAT WEAKNESS IN TERMS OF COMMUNICATION AND INTERNATIONAL IMAGE. MEDIA IN GENERAL BUY THE EXTREME LEFT POINT OF VIEW AND ATTACK THE JUNTA. MEXICAN MEDIA ARE PARTICULARLY BAD IN THIS RESPECT. JUNTA BELIEVES THAT SOVIET EMBASSIES IN SAN JOSE AND MEXICO CITY ARE BEHIND THIS CAMPAIGN. DAS CHEEK RESPONDED THAT SOVIETS AND CUBANS ARE IN SOMEWHAT BAD ODOR THEMSELVES AT MOMENT BECAUSE OF RECENT AGGRESSION, ALSO THAT SENTIMENT IN U.S. HAS HARDENED IN RECENT WEEKS BECAUSE OF AFGHANISTAN, ETC. WE ALL AGREED THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR JUNTA TO TELL ITS OWN STORY IN A CONVINCING WAY. IN THIS CONTEXT, WE URGED CONTINUED AND STRENGTHENED CONTACT WITH ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND THE CHURCH.

11. VISIT BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BOWDLER: IN POINTING OUT THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY BOWDLER WOULD PROABLY ARRIVE IN SAN SALVADOR, AS PART OF A CENTRAL AMERICAN VISIT, ON WEDNESDAY, JAN 23, DAS CHEEK EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ARRANGING A SERIES OF HIGHLY MEANINGFUL VISITS DURING ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S BRIEF STAY HERE. OUR GUESTS AGREED THAT THE PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED DATE OF JAN 22 WOULD HAVE BEEN INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE VISIT, VOICED HOPEFUL OPTIMISM THAT JAN 22 DEMONSTRATIONS WOULD

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00453 03 OF 03 280645Z

COME OFF PEACEFULLY, AND IN THAT EVENT WELCOMED THE PROSPECT OF AMBASSADOR BOWDLER'S VISIT THE FOLLOWING DAY. THEY AGREED THAT FULL JUNTA WOULD RECEIVE HIM AND THAT IT WOULD ALSO BE APPROPRIATE FOR HIM TO MEET WITH A BROAD SPECTRUM OF OTHER NATIONAL LEADERS. DAS OCHEEK SUGGESTED THAT
F MILITARY CRISIS WERE RESOLVED;
IF CABINET WERE ROUNDED OUT BY THEN, IF AMBASSADOR BOWDLER WERE TO VISIT HERE WITH APPROPRIATE PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND MEETINGS, AND IF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TEAM WERE TO COME IN MORE OR LESS SIMULTANEOUSLY, ALL OF THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL IMAGE OF AN EL SALVADOR WITH A FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT GOING RESOLUTELY ABOUT ITS BUSINESS.

12. CONCLUSION: IN THIS TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION, WE SAW NO REAL SIGN OF ANY SPLIT BETWEEN COL GUTIERREZ AND COL MAJANO, FOUND THEM UNDERSTANDABLY CONCERNED ABOUT PROBLEMS OF THE MOMENT, AND HEARD THEM VOICE DETERMINATION TO PUSH AHEAD ON ALL FRONTS IN AN EFFORT TO HAVE JRG SUCCEED. THEY SMILINGLY RECALLED EARLIER PREDICTIONS THAT FIRST JRG WOULD NOT LAST BEYOND CHRISTMAS AND SAID THAT MANY ARE TODAY PREDICTING THAT PRESENT JRG WILL NEVER MAKE IT TO EASTER. IT WAS APPARENT FROM THEIR PRESENTATION THAT THEY WILL TRY TO DISPROVE THIS THESIS AND THAT THEY ARE BY NOW COGNIZANT OF AND COUNTING HEAVILY

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSAN SA000453

UPON PDC POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION TO HELP THEM DO SO.
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PAGE 01 AIT TA 00388 01 OF 02 262009Z
ACTION AIT-02

INFO OCT-01 EA-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/TE (1) Date 14 Apr 98
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PA Exemptions
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 TAIPEI 00388

PASS USICA WASHDC FOR EA, PGM/R
PASS SECSTATE WASHDC FOR EA
CINCPAC FOR USICA ADVISOR

E.O. 12065: N/A
SUBJECT: REPORT FOR PERIOD JANUARY 17-23, 1980

-- DAVID DEAN'S TAIPEI VISIT CAUSED CONSIDERABLE EDITORIAL SPECULATION THAT HIS TRIP WAS PRIMARILY TO "PRESSURE" THE GONT ON THE KAOHSIUNG RIOT.

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHINA POST REPORTED DEAN "SHUNNED" THE MEDIA AND THAT AIT-TAIPEI OFFICIALS REFUSED TO RELEASE HIS ITINERARY. THE PAPER RAN A 17-AND-A-HALF COLUMN INCH OPEN LETTER JANUARY 19 TO DEAN FROM A "LOCAL CITIZEN" WHO SAID, "WE SUSPECT YOU ARE BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON OUR GOVERNMENT TO TAKE SOME MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR EXPECTATIONS." THE LETTER WRITER WARNED THAT THIS WOULD AROUSE PUBLIC INDIGNATION, AND ASSERTED THE RIOTERS WERE TRYING TO PREPARE FOR A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER.

DEAN'S MEETING AT AIT WITH 18 RELATIVES OF PERSONS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 AIT TA 00388 01 OF 02 262009Z

ARRESTED FOR RIOTING OR RELATED CAUSES OCCASIONED ESPECIALLY STRONG COMMENTS. THE NEW LIFE DAILY SAID THE 18 PERSONS "OBVIOUSLY MADE APPEALS TO FOREIGNERS." THE UNITED DAILY NEWS CARRIED A READER'S LETTER STATING TAIWAN WAS "HUMILIATED" BECAUSE THE GROUP "DISCLOSED THEIR GRIEVANCES TO A FOREIGNER" AND CALLED DEAN'S RECEPTION OF THEM "MEDDLING IN TAIWAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS."

PAPERS QUOTED THE AIT SPOKESMAN AS EXPLAINING DEAN "HAD NO REASON TO REFUSE" SEEING THE 18 RELATIVES. DEAN'S MEETING WITH LEADING PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OFFICIALS ON JANUARY 19 WAS NOTED, BUT GENERALLY DOWN PLAYED BY THE PRESS.

THE MIN SHENG DAILY NEWS SAID TAIWAN WILL HANDLE THE KAOHSIUNG RIOT CASE ACCORDING TO LEGAL PROCEDURES AND THAT NO U.S. CONCERN OR UNDERSTANDING IS NECESSARY.

PAPER REPORTED THAT DR. HSIEH HSIU-HSIUNG, A PRESBYTERIAN CLERGYMAN WHO HAD BEEN SOUGHT FOR QUESTIONING TURNED HIMSELF IN, BUT WAS LATER RELEASED ON BAIL AFTER INTERROGATION.

THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS NOTED THAT HSIEH, 40, HAS A DOCTORATE OF THEOLOGY FROM EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY. THAT PAPER ALSO QUOTED THE TAIWAN GARRISON COMMAND AS CONFIRMING THAT EIGHT ECCLESIASTICS ARE AMONG 66 PERSONS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE RIOT.

THE CHINA TIMES NOTED THAT HSIEH TAUGHT AT THE TAINAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND THAT TWO OF HIS GRADUATE STUDENTS WERE ARRESTED EARLIER ON KAOHSIUNG RIOT CHARGES.
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PAGE 03 AIT TA 00388 01 OF 02 262009Z

-- CONSIDERABLE LOCAL AND FOREIGN REACTION TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S BID FOR BOYCOTTING OR MOVING THE OLYMPICS WAS EVIDENT IN ALL PAPERS.

LORD KILLANIN'S CLAIM THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD HURT THE OLYMPICS MORE THAN THE SOVIETS RECEIVED FRONT PAGE TREATMENT. THE UNITED DAILY NEWS POINTED OUT KILLANIN PERMITTED POLITICS TO INTERFERE WITH TAIWAN'S OLYMPIC STATUS AND THUS GUILTY OF EMPLOYING A DOUBLE STANDARD.

THE CHINA POST NOTED U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE PRESIDENT ROBERT KANE'S COMMENT THAT THE BOYCOTT WAS A "MOST INAPPROPRIATE TACTIC" AND EDITORIALLY SAID THAT U.S. PRESSURE TO MOVE THE GAMES WOULD BE INEFFECTIVE.

THE CHINA NEWS SAID "HYPOCRISY HAS REACHED THE POINT OF DESTROYING INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION" AND ASKED IF TAIWAN'S ATHLETES, BARRED FROM THE LAST OLYMPIAD, WOULD BE ALLOWED TO COMPETE IN THE NEXT.

-- ALL PAPERS TOOK NOTE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION HEADED BY LESTER WOLFF, AND REPORTED THAT HE ATTENDED AN AIT BRIEFING AND MET

PRESIDENT CHIANG CHING-KUO AT A HOSPITAL WHERE HE IS RECOVERING FROM PROSTATE SURGERY. PAPERS DISCLOSED CHIANG ASSURED WOLFF HE WILL CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR BETTER U.S.-TAIWAN RELATIONS AND INTERNAL STABILITY, PROSPERITY AND DEMOCRACY.

WOLFF'S DELEGATION SCHEDULED MEETINGS WITH U.S. BUSINESS LEADERS AND THE CHINA POLITICAL SCIENCE SOCIETY WERE WIDELY NOTED.

-- ALL PAPERS CARRIED EXCERPTS FROM PRESIDENT CARTER'S
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PAGE 04 AIT TA 00388 01 OF 02 262009Z

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, INCLUDING HIS VOW TO MAINTAIN THE UNITED STATES AS THE STRONGEST NATION AND

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PAGE 01 AIT TA 00388 02 OF 02 262010Z
ACTION AIT-02

INFO OCT-01 EA-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10
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HA-05 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 EUR-12 SMS-01 MMO-01
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FM AIT TAIPEI
TO AIT WASHDC
INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 TAIPEI 00388

HIS REMARKS ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE PRC.

-- THE CHINA POST IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW REPORTED LEONARD UNGER, MAKING A FOUR-DAY STOPOVER IN TAIPEI, DENIED RUMORS HIS TRIP WAS CONNECTED WITH THE KAOHSIUNG RIOT. UNGER IS REPORTED AS BEING SATISFIED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT, BELIEVING THAT THE U.S. WILL EVENTUALLY PROVIDE ADVANCED WEAPONS FOR DEFENSE TO TAIWAN, AND BEING CONVINCED THE ROC WILL PROPERLY HANDLE THE KAOHSIUNG RIOT AFTERMATH.

-- SENATOR HAYAKAWA IN A TAIPEI PRESS CONFERENCE EXPRESSED PLEASURE THAT "AIT IS BEHAVING MORE LIKE AN EMBASSY THAN A TRADE MISSION," BUT THAT HE IS NOT ENTIRELY SATISFIED WITH THE ORGANIZATION. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, HE WILL RECOMMEND TO THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE THAT DIRECT CONTACTS BE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN CORRESPONDING OFFICES AND HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND THAT THE U.S. OFFER TAIWAN ADEQUATE WEAPONS FOR DEFENSE.

-- CHARLES CROSS, ATTENDING A "COMPUTECH '80" PREVIEW AT THE AMERICAN TRADE CENTER, SAID HE EXPECTS THE U.S.-
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 AIT TA 00388 02 OF 02 262010Z

TAIWAN TRADE IMBALANCE TO LESSEN AND BILATERAL TRADE TO INCREASE IN 1980. THIRTY-FOUR COMPANIES ARE DISPLAYING COMPUTER HARDWARE AND TECHNOLOGY UNDER THE AIT TRADE CENTER SPONSORSHIP.

-- PAPERS PICKED UP A NEW YORK TIMES STORY THAT SOME U.S. CONSULAR OFFICIALS AND FOREIGN NATIONAL EMPLOYEES HAVE ACCEPTED BRIBES FOR ISSUING VISAS. CONSULATES IN HONG KONG, BOMBAY, TEL AVIV, MEXICO CITY AND LISBON WERE LISTED AS EXAMPLES. A STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL WAS QUOTED SAYING FOREIGN NATIONAL EMPLOYEES AT THE HONG KONG CONSULATE HAVE A PARTICULARLY BAD RECORD.

-- A CHINA TIMES ARTICLE SAID TAIWAN WILL SET UP AN UNOFFICIAL OFFICE IN BANGKOK TO REPLACE CHINA AIRLINES IN HANDLING TRADE AND TOURIST SERVICES.

-- A 5,670-TON EAST GERMAN FREIGHTER ARRIVED IN KAOHSIUNG FOR SCRAPPING AND REPORTEDLY IS THE FIRST SHIP FROM EAST EUROPE TO BE SCRAPPED SINCE TAIWAN OPENED TRADE WITH THAT AREA.

-- THE CHINA TIMES SAID THAT AFTER A 26-DAY AIT-SPONSORED INTERNATIONAL VISITOR TOUR OF AMERICA WU CHUNG-LING, KAOHSIUNG CITY ASSEMBLY SPEAKER, DESCRIBED AMERICA TO PRESIDENT CHIANG AS A DRIFTING, ROOTLESS COUNTRY WHERE EDUCATION IS NEGLECTED ALTHOUGH CHINESE STUDENTS ARE BURDENED WITH STUDIES AND THAT THE FLAG AND NATIONAL ANTHEM ARE NOT ESTEEMED. BUT DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF ORIENTAL CULTURE, AMERICANS ARE TAKING BETTER CARE OF ELDERLY CITIZENS, WU SAID.
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PAGE 01 GUATEM 00673 301826Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADS-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01 NSCE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8126
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date 2/26/98
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LIMDIS

EO 12065: RDS-1 1/30/99 (ORTIZ, FRANK) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR GT
SUBJECT: (C) PRESIDENT LUCAS COMMENTS ON THE CURRENT SITUATION

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. PRESIDENT LUCAS, IN THE MOST ANIMATED CONVERSATION I HAVE YET HAD WITH HIM, SPOKE OF HIS CONCERNS FOR THE FUTURE. THE PRESIDENT APPEARS TO BE IN AN EMBATTLED FRAME OF MIND. GRAVE EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR, THE CONTINUING SAGA OF THE EXPECTED RESIGNATION OF VICE PRESIDENT VILLAGRAN KRAMER, PUBLIC HUMILIATION AT THE HANDS OF MEXICO, ANNOYANCE OVER THE OBVIOUS INCOMPETENCE OF HIS MINISTERS, AND A SEEMINGLY UNENDING STREAM OF UNFRIENDLY FOREIGN COMMENT ALL SEEM TO HAVE DIMINISHED HIS USUAL PROJECTION OF DETERMINED OPTIMISM.

3. THE PRESIDENT REFERRED TO LETTERS HE WAS RECEIVING FROM ABROAD COMMENTING ON GUATEMALA'S INTERNAL SITUATION. HE SAID NONE OF THOSE WRITING THEM ARE SINCERE IN THEIR EXPRESSIONS OF [redacted]

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PAGE 02 GUATEM 00673 301826Z

INTEREST IN GUATEMALA'S WELL-BEING. HE SAID HE WAS COMING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT GUATEMALA HAD ALMOST NO FRIENDS AND THAT SOON GUATEMALA WOULD HAVE TO TAKE UNILATERAL ACTIONS TO ASSURE

ITS OWN SECURITY REGARDLESS OF FOREIGN OPINION. HE WONDERED AS TO THE WISDOM OF BEING PATIENT AND RESPONSIVE TO FOREIGN OPINION. HE BELIEVED GUATEMALA SOON COULD NO LONGER STAND BY WITH FOLDED ARMS WAITING FOR THE RESPONSIBLE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA "TO WAKE UP TO THE REALITIES."

4. I ASKED THE PRESIDENT IF IN THIS LATTER OBSERVATION HE WAS REFERRING TO THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, BELIZE, OR THE INTERNAL SITUATION. HE SAID HE MENAT THE SITUATION GENERALLY, HE REPEATED HIS OFT-STATED VIEW THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IS INTERVENING IN CENTRAL AMERICA; THAT THE MAIN OBJECTIVE WAS MEXICO; THAT MEXICO COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO RESIST ANY REAL PRESSURE, BUT WOULD QUICKLY TEMPORIZE WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE US. HE SAID GUATEMALA WAS NOW THE TARGET COUNTRY. "GUATEMALA," HE SAID, "WILL BE THE LAST BATTLE WITH COMMUNISM BEFORE IT REACHES THE VERY BORDERS OF THE US." HE SAID THE GUATEMALAN PEOPLE WERE PREDOMINANTLY ANTI-COMMUNIST. THE US SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBT THAT MANY GUATEMALANS WOULD STAND AND FIGHT. HOWEVER, GUATEMALA'S FRIENDS SEEMED PARALYZED WITH INACTION. THIS WAS DISHEARTENING AND EMBOLDENED OUR COMMON ENEMIES. WHILE ARMS FOR THE MARXISTS WERE FLOWING INTO GUATEMALA, HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TO DEAL WITH UNSAVORY ARMS PEDDLERS (HE MENTIONED A MR MARTENS) WHO OFFER INFERIOR EQUIPMENT AT ENORMOUS PRICES.

5. I DEMURRED WITH THE PRESIDENT'S GENERAL ASSESSMENT, ASSURING HIM THAT GUATEMALA COULD COUNT ON MANY FRIENDS, BUT IT WAS NECESSARY TO BEAR IN MIND THAT IN FACING UP TO SUBVERSION IT WAS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE THAT FOREIGN OPINION BE WON OVER. I REMINDED THE PRESIDENT, AS I HAVE MANY TIMES, THAT GUATEMALA MUST

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PAGE 03 GUATEM 00673 301826Z

MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES, CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER, AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS TO HELP GUATEMALA. THE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT HE FEARED THAT ANY SUCH SUPPORT WOULD COME TOO LATE TO ASSURE THAT GUATEMALA REMAINED STRONG ENOUGH TO DISCOURAGE OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. I REMINDED HIM OF THE MANY SUPPORTIVE ACTIONS BY THE US IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA WHICH DEMONSTRATED OUR INTEREST IN AND CONCERN FOR THE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA. HE SEEMED ONLY SLIGHTLY MOLLIFIED.

6. I SUGGESTED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT WE SEEK AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY FOR A MORE LENGTHY DISCUSSION. HE READILY AGREED.

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7. COMMENT. THE PRESIDENT SEEMS PARTICULARLY TROUBLED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN EL SALVADOR. EVERY WAVE OF REFUGEES BRINGS NEW STORIES CHILLING TO GUATEMALAN EARS. AS COULD BE EXPECTED, THE GUATEMALAN FAR RIGHT IS NOW POINTING TO EL SALVADOR AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE ERROR OF MAKING CONCESSIONS TO LESSEN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LEFTIST APPEALS. WHILE THUS FAR MOST GUATEMALANS SEEM TO REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF STAYING AHEAD OF THE POWER CURVE, THERE IS NO DOUBT THE PRESIDENT IS UNDER HEAVY PRESSURES.

8. ACTION REQUESTED. GIVEN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS, IT APPEARS THAT A FORM OF "SIEGE MENTALITY" SEEMS TO BE GAINING GROUND IN HIS PERCEPTION OF EVENTS. CARRIED TO ILLOGICAL EXTREMES, IT COULD AFFECT IF NOT REVERSE CURRENT GOG POLICIES OF GENERAL NONINTERVENTION IN THE PROBLEMS OF EL SALVADOR; OF RELATIVE FLEXIBILITY REGARDING BELIZE AND OF WHAT HERETOFORE SEEMED TO BE ACCEPTANCE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING THE GOG'S RECORD ON THE OBSERVATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE DEPARTMENT IS REQUESTED TO PROVIDE SPECIFIC POINTS IT CONSIDERS MIGHT MOST USEFULLY BE MADE TO PRESIDENT LUCAS. ORTIZ

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 00701 311552Z
ACTION ARA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8143
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/TR Date 12/6/97
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[redacted] GUATEMALA 0701

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 1/30/99 (ORTIZ, FRANK V.) OR-M
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, GT
SUBJECT: (C) VICE PRESIDENT AGAIN DELAYS RESIGNATION

REF: GUATEMALA 0648

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. VICE PRESIDENT VILLAGRAN ASKED ME TO SEE HIM EVENING JANUARY 29. AFTER ONE-AND-A-HALF HOURS' EXPLANATION, THE SCENARIO FOR HIS LONG-HERALDED RESIGNATION MORE THAN EVER RESEMBLES THAT OF SARAH BERNHARDT'S CELEBRATED PROLONGED EXIT FROM CENTER STAGE. IN SHORT, HE WILL NOT RESIGN ANYTIME SOON, BUT HIS DEPARTURE WILL BE ATTENDED BY FULL SPOTS AND MUSIC. END SUMMARY.

3. VILLAGRAN BEGAN BY BITTERLY COMPLAINING ABOUT WHAT HE TERMED INCOMPETENCE IN THE HANDLING OF HIS PROPOSED RESIGNATION. HE SAID DESPITE AMPLE WARNING (THIS IS CERTAINLY TRUE), THOSE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 GUATEM 00701 311552Z

RESPONSIBLE HAD NOT YET COME UP WITH A SUCCESSOR. AS A CONSEQUENCE, OUT OF A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY, HE WAS GIVING THEM ANOTHER CHANCE. HE ADVISED ME THAT HE WOULD AGAIN DELAY

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SUBMITTING HIS RESIGNATION. INSTEAD, HE FORMALLY HAD ASKED THE CONGRESS FOR THE REQUIRED PERMISSION TO ABSENT HIMSELF FROM GUATEMALA FOR ABOUT "A FORTNIGHT." HE EXPECTS TO LEAVE AROUND FEBRUARY 4. I ASKED HIM WHERE HE PLANNED TO GO. HE SAID EITHER COSTA RICA OR MEXICO OR SOMEPLACE NEARBY. (OTHER SPECULATION IS THAT HE MAY HEAD FOR GENEVA AND THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.) HE SAID DURING HIS ABSENCE PERHAPS THERE COULD BE AN AGREEMENT ON A SUCCESSOR IN WHICH CASE HE WOULD RETURN TO GUATEMALA AND SUBMIT HIS RESIGNATION ABOUT FEBRUARY 23. HOWEVER, IF HE REALLY BECOMES FED UP WITH THE MISHANDLING OF HIS RESIGNATION, HE WOULD SUBMIT IT SOONER, "DESPITE THE CONSE-QUENCES FOR THE COUNTRY."

4. VILLAGRAN TOLD ME HE PLANS TO REMAIN IN GUATEMALA UNTIL SOMETIME IN MAY AT WHICH TIME HE PLANS TO START A LENGTHY AUTOMOBILE TRIP THROUGH CALIFORNIA, THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AND CANADA ENDING UP IN ALASKA. AFTER CONCLUDING THIS TRIP, HE WAS LOOKING INTO THE POSSIBILITY OF SETTLING ON THE PACIFIC COAST OF THE U.S. "NEAR A GOOD LIBRARY." HE SAID IF THESU.S. VISA PROBLEMS FOR HIM AND HIS WIFE COULD NOT BE WORKED OUT, HE WOULD SETTLE IN MONTREAL. VILLAGRAN IS INDEPENDENTLY WEALTHY SO PRESUMABLY HE CAN SETTLE WHERE HE CHOOSES.

5. VILLAGRAN INTENDS TO KEEP AND USE HIS DIPLOMATIC PASSPORT. HE APPARENTLY HAS NO CONCRETE PLANS OR CONTRACTS ALONG THE ROUTE OF HIS TRAVELS. THERE IS NO PROSPECTIVE EMPLOYMENT EITHER WITH AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OR A UNIVERSITY AS WAS RUMORED.

6. VILLAGRAN LAUNCHED INTO A HIGHLY CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE [redacted]

PAGE 03 GUATEM 00701 311552Z

BAD REPORTING BY THE PRESS. HE SAID HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THEY KEPT FIXING DATES FOR HIS RESIGNATION. HE SAID HE CONSIDERED THE PRESS TOTALLY IRRESPONSIBLE. AT THIS POINT IN THE CONVERSATION, RECALLING THIS EMBASSY'S TRANSMISSION OF REFTEL THAT SAME AFTERNOON, MY SYMPATHIES TENDED TO BE WITH THE PRESS.

7. VILLAGRAN DISCUSSED THOSE RUMORED AS BEING CONSIDERED TO SUCCEED HIM. HIS MOST NOTABLE COMMENT BEING, "IF THE PRESIDENT DARES TO CHOOSE ANYONE FROM THE LEFT, I WILL DESTROY THAT PERSON. I WILL NOT PERMIT ANYONE FROM THE LEFT TO ACCEPT THE VICE PRESIDENCY."

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8. COMMENT. VILLAGRAN CLEARLY ENJOYS HIS, TO OTHERS, DISCONCERTING ROLE. ASIDE FROM REVELING IN THE LIMELIGHT, THE PROBABILITY THAT HE HAS NO CONCRETE JOB OFFERS AND HIS UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHAT HIS AND HIS WIFE'S U.S. VISA STATUS MIGHT BE ARE MOST LIKELY THE TRUE EXPLANATION FOR HIS RELUCTANCE TO RESIGN AT THE PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED TIME. WE VENTURE TO GUESS THAT THE ISSUE OF HIS RESIGNATION WILL CONTINUE AS AN INCANDESCENT POLITICAL TOPIC FOR YET SOME TIME.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

DECLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

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E700B

RELEASED

FY 80 IMET ($ Millions)

	Allocation	CRA Levels
EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC		
Burma	.031	.031
Indonesia	1.949	1.639
Korea	1.222	1.032
Malaysia	.304	.259
Philippines	.644	.544
Thailand	.891	.751
Regional Total	5.041	4.256
NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA		
Bangladesh	.129	.109
Egypt	.996	.846
India	.438	.368
Jordan	1.049	.879
Lebanon	.437	.367
Morocco	1.105	.925
Nepal	.027	.027
Pakistan	.2	.2
Sri Lanka	.025	.025
Tunisia	.774	.644
Yemen	.528	.438
Regional Total	5.708	4.828
EUROPE		
Austria	.025	.025
Finland	.04	.04
Greece	1.422	1.192
Iceland	.004	.004
Portugal	1.915	1.61
Spain	2.0	2.0
Turkey	1.719	1.449
Regional Total	7.124	6.319

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/18/94
Case ID: S940032C

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El Salvador: Human Rights
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	Allocation	CRA Levels
AFRICA		
Botswana	.08	.08
Cameroon	.05	.05
Gabon	.05	.05
Ghana	.218	.178
Ivory Coast	.03	.03
Kenya	.498	.418
Liberia	.23	.2
Malawi	.02	.02
Mali	.11	.11
Rwanda	.05	.05
Senegal	.219	.179
Sudan	.497	.417
Togo	.03	.03
Uganda	.032	.02
Upper Volta	.1	.082
Zaire	.897	.757
Regional Total	3.111	2.671
LATIN AMERICA		
Bahamas	.06	.06
Barbados	.059	.059
Bolivia	.298	.248
Colombia	.304	.254
Dominica	.01	.01
Dom. Rep.	.319	.269
Ecuador	.305	.255
El Salvador	.35	.25
Haiti	.149	.129
Honduras	.347	.297
Mexico	.149	.129
Nicaragua	.246	.196
Panama	.348	.298
Peru	.309	.309
St.Lucia	.01	.01
St.Vincent	.01	.01
Panama Schools	4.0	4.0
Regional Total	7.273	6.783
General Costs	.143	.143
Total Program	28.4	25.0

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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A1033

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

TOPIC: Videla Talks to Newspaper Editors About Goodpaster Visit

PARTICIPANTS: Carlos Fernandez of Somos and Conviccion and John Corr, IO

PLACE: Ligure Restaurant, Buenos Aires

DATE: February 1, 1980

Fernandez, a reliable contact, said:

President Videla, in a meeting Jan. 31 at the Casa Rosada with newspaper executives, said that Argentina had agreed in talks with General Goodpaster to limit its grain sales this year to the Soviet Union. Videla said that although grain sales would be limited, Argentina would in fact sell more grain this year than last year to the Soviet Union because it would maintain its "normal" level of grain trade with the USSR.

Apparently putting the best possible face on whatever grain sales limit had been agreed on with Goodpaster, Videla proudly told the executives that Argentina had never been in a stronger position in its relations with the U.S. He said the U.S., in the Goodpaster talks, has offered many concessions, while Argentina had not had to really concede anything.

COMMENT: Videla's definition of "normal" levels of grain sales to the USSR apparently is connected with the Argentine contention that "normal" grain exports with the USSR means annual increases, as Admiral Castro Madero pointed out before he denied what he indeed appeared to have said in Brazil. An American correspondent here reported that Videla also said to the newspaper executives that Argentina was in the position of being "arbiter" between the two superpowers. Another Argentine source said Videla also gave the executives an account of Gen. Goodpaster's sympathy for some of the problems involved in fighting the dirty war here as the result of his experiences in Vietnam. This account was mentioned in weekend political columns. On Monday, a Clarin article mentioned the possibility of Argentina asking the USSR to limit its grain purchases from Argentina. The reporter who wrote the article, Oscar Cardoso of Clarin, said a Foreign Ministry source had given him this information and had also told him the request to limit grain purchases would be made the week of February 11 by the Argentine Embassy in Moscow.

cc:

AMB ECON
DCM ARA
POL H/A/HR-P. Flood
PAO USICA/AR
POL/R INR/OIL
AGR INR/RAR
SCI

Clearance: DCM/MChaplin
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00937 01 OF 02 121418Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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ICA-11 /074 W
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P 112037Z FEB 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6155

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

LIMITED OFFIC AL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0937

E.OM. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT SHUM CI
SUBJ: RIOT IN SANTIAGO PRISON -- POLITICAL CHARGE AND PARTIAL RETREAT

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC SAYS IT HAS "DOCUMENTARY PROOF" THAT PRISON UNREST IS ENCOURAGED BY OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME, BUT THEN BACKPEDALS: THE VICARIATE DENIES CHARGES, BUT HAS A FEW THOUGHTS ON WHAT OFFICIALS HAD IN MIND. POLITICAL PRISONERS WERE NOT INVOLVED IN THE RECENT RIOT AT THE OVERCROWDED SANTIAGO PRISON. ESTIMATES OF THE TOTAL OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CHILE AT THE PRESENT TIME ARE IN THE RANGE 21 TO 34, ABOUT TWO THIRDS HELD IN A SEPARATE BLOCK IN SANTIAGO. END SUMMARY.

2. A RIOT IN THE SANTIAGO PUBLIC JAIL IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 6 LEFT ONE PRISONER DEAD AND DOZENS WOUNDED, INCLUDING FOUR GUARDS AND TWO FIREMEN. THE CAUSE OF THE RIOT, ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL SOURCES, WAS THE DISCOVERY OF TWO ESCAPE TUNNELS DURING THE COURSE OF ROUTINE SWEEPS BY GUARDS. (COMMENT: THE SANTIAGO PUBLIC JAIL HAS SEEN TWO ESCAPES OF A SIMILAR NATURE IN THE LAST EIGHT MONTHS. ONE, IN JUNE OF 1979, INVOLVED SIXTY-ONE PRISONERS, SOME OF WHOM ARE STILL AT LARGE.)

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00937 01 OF 02 121418Z

3. MINISTER OF JUSTICE MONICA MADARIAGA TOURED THE JAIL SOME HOURS AFTER THE RIOT WAS QUELLED, AFTER WHICH SHE WAS QUOTED BY LOCAL PRESS AS CLAIMING THAT THE RIOTS WERE "POLITICAL RIOTS, PREPARED FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.... WE HAVE IN OUR POSSESSION A SERIES OF MAPS AND PLANS SENT FROM OVERSEAS" ALLEGEDLY SHOWING PRISONERS HOW TO PLAN ESCAPES AND OTHERWISE CONDUCT THEMSELVES WITH A VIEW TO

EMBARRASSING THE GOC. SHE FURTHER WAS QUOTED THAT THE GOC HAD IDENTIFIED AN INDIVIDUAL WORKING FOR AN ORGANIZATION " THAT SAYS IT DEFENDS HUMAN RIGHTS" AS HAVING DELIVERED THE DOCUMENTS TO THE PRISONERS.

4. SUBSEQUENTLY, OFFICIAL COMMENTS HAVE BACKED AWAY FROM MADARIAGA'S STATEMENTS. THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON FEBRUARY 7, SAID THAT THE MINISTER MEANT "OUTSDIE THE WALLS OF THE PRISON" AND NOT OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY WHEN SHE REFERRED TO DOCUMENTS INSTRUCTING PRISONERS IN ESCAPE AND DISTURBANCE TECHNIQUES. HE SAID HE DISCOUNTED "FOR NOW" A POLITICAL MOTIVE FOR THE INCIDENT, BUT ADDED THAT IN GENERAL THERE IS A "SUBVERSIVE CAMPAIGN" AIMED AT CHILE'S PRISONS FROM SOURCESSWITHIN AND WITHOUT CHILE, W TH DOCUMENTS BEING DELIVERED TO PRISONERS BY A HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION. HE IDENTIFIED THE MESSENGER AS A CHAUFFEUR FOR THE VICARIATE WHO HAD BEEN CAUGHT FIVE MONTS AGO DELIVERING DOCUMENTS TO CELL BLOCK FIVE, WHERE MOST OF THE "SO-CALLLED POLITICAT PRISONERS" ARE KEPT. HE BACKED OFF IMPLICATING THE VICARIATE DIRECTLY, SAYING THAT IT MAY HAVE BEEN AN INDIVIDUAL ACTION ON THE PART OF THE CHAUFFEUR. HE ADDED THAT PROMINENT LOCAL PRESS REPORTS ON THE NEW MEXICO PRISON RITO PROBABLY SERVED AS AN EXAMPLE TO PRISONERS HERE.

5. NEVERTHELESS, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE FEBRUARY 8,
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00937 01 OF 02 121418Z

JUSTICE UNDERSECRETARY FRANCISCO FOLCH CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT POLITICAT GROUPS ARE TRYINO TO FOMENT UNREST IN THE JAILS, BUT SAID THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOTT MAKE ITS EVIDENCE PUBLIC AT THIS TIME. THE SAME DAY, THE VIKCARIATE PUT OUT ITS OWN STATEMENT DENYING THE CHARGES AND INSINUATIONS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00937 02 OF 02 121454Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6156

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0937

6. CONVERSATIONS WITH VICARIATE OFFICIALS SUGGEST THE GOC MAY HAVE TWO INCIDENTS IN MIND IN MAKING THE POLITICAL ACTION CHARGE. THE VICARIATE DOES MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH "POLITICAL PRISONERS." ON ONE OCCASION A DRIVER WAS DETAINED AND INTERROGATED AND MAGAIZINES, NEWSPAPERS (INCLUDING THE VICARIATE'S OWN PUBLICATION) AND OTHER ITEMS CONFISCATED. AT THE TIME OF THE LAST HUNGER STRIKE OF RELATIVES OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS, THE FATHER OF ONE OF THE PRISONERS WAS RELIEVED OF A TETTER WHICH, INTER ATIA, REPORTEDLY SAID IT WAS NOTT AN APPROPRIATE TIME FOR THE PRISONERS TO UNDERTAKE SOME SORT OF PARALLEL STR KE ACTION. THE VICARIATE DISCLAIMS ANY CONNECTION WITH THAT INCIDENT.

7. COMMENT: THE SANTIAGO JAIL WAS BUILT FOR 600 AND NOW HOLDS 1,860 PERSONS. PRISONERS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH POLITICALLY-RELATED CRIMES ARE USUATLY KEPT SEPARATE IN BLOCK FIVE. THE RIOTING TOOK PLACE IN CETL BLOCKS ELEVEN AND TWELVE CONTAINING COMMON CRIMINATS, SOME OF WHOM WERE INVOLVED IN THE JUNE, 1979, ESCAPE. MADARIAGA'S ATTEMPT TO INJECT POLITICAL FACTORS LOOKS LIKE A RATHER CLUMSY EFFORT TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM MORE BASIC AND NORMAL (CHILE IS NOTT ALONE) PRISON PROBLEMS.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00937 02 OF 02 121454Z

8. THE VICARIATE CURRENTLY LISTS 34 PERSONS AS POLITICAL PRISONERS. ALL ARE IN JAIL ON SPECIFIC CHARGES OF VIOLATING INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OR SERVING SENTENCES. ICEM IS CURRENTLY WORKING W TH A LIST OF 29 POLITICAL PRISONERS, BUT THIS INCTUDES EIGHT PERSONS CONVICTED FOR THE MURDER OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC SENATOR PEREZ ZUJOVIC IN 1971. THE VICARIATE DOES NOTT CONSIDER THEM POLITICAL PRISONERS.
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Department of State

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relev[redacted] El Salvador ( ).

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ACTION SS-30

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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MADRID

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1336

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/22/86 (CHEEK, JAMES R) OR-P
TAGS: MASS PINT PINS ES SHUM
SUBJ: RIGHTIST COUP IMMINENT IN EL SALVADOR?

1. [redacted]-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DURING THE LAST WEEK THE US MISSION AND THE SALVADORAN NATION AS A WHOLE HAVE BEEN INUNDATED WITH RUMORS THAT A RIGHTIST COUP COULD COME AT ANY MOMENT. WE HAVE TAKEN THESE RUMORS SERIOUSLY BECAUSE THERE IS EVERY REASON FOR THE ULTRA-RIGHT TO STRIKE. FROM THEIR VIEWPOINT, THE CURRENT JRG HAS TRANSFORMED ITSELF FROM A JOKE TO A REAL MENACE TO THEIR VITAL INTERESTS. ALTHOUGH THE JRG REMAINS WEAK AND INEFFECTUAL, THE RIGHT IS REALIZING THAT IT HAS THE DETERMINATION AND AUTHORITY TO AT LEAST PROMULGATE AN AGRARIAN REFORM LAW AND MAY DO SO WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK. THE JUNTA MAY NEVER BE ABLE TO IMPLEMENT LAND REFORM BUT THE VERY EXISTENCE OF SUCH A LAW ON THE

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 01336 2219202

BOOKS COULD CAUSE THE MASSES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE,

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EXDIS REVIEW
Cat. A - Caption removed; transferred to CADRC
Cat. B - Transferred to CADRC with [illegible] comments by [illegible]
Cat. C - Caption and [illegible] retained by [illegible]
Reviewed by: EK
Date: 7-28-93

BACKED BY THE ARMED REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS, TO TAKE THIS LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS. EITHER WAY, POWERFUL RIGHT WING FORCES SEE THEIR INTERESTS AS DOOMED. CONSEQUENTLY, THEY ARE ACTIVELY PLOTTING A COUP AND SOLICITING ACQUIESCENCE IF NOT SUPPORT FROM THE USG ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE PRODUCING CLASSES ARE THE LAST BULWARD AGAINST A COMMUNIST ONSLAUGHT THAT WILL ENGULF ALL OF CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO AND FINALLY THE US. EVEN THE RELATIVELY MODERATE MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHO ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SOME REFORMS ARE BEING FORCED TO MAKE COMMON CAUSE WITH THE EXTREME RIGHT BY THE RAPID ECONOMIC DETERIORATION WHICH CONVINCES THEM THAT TIME IS RUNNING OUT AND SOMETHING DRASTIC MUST BE DONE TO SAVE THE ECONOMY FROM COLLAPSE.

3. WE HAVE NOT ONLY RESPONDED TO THESE APPROACHES BUT HAVE SOUGHT OUT ALL CONCEIVABLE PARTICIPANTS IN A RIGHTIST COUP, PARTICULARLY THE MILITARY, TO: (A) FORCEFULLY REITERATE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE JRG; (B) MAKE CLEAR THAT SUCH A COUP WOULD IGNITE A CIVIL WAR THAT WOULD HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR EVERYONE; AND (C) WARN THAT THEY COULD NOT COUNT ON US SUPPORT FOR SUCH AN ADVENTURE.

4. WE ARE SATISFIED THAT THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED. WE HOPE OUR WARNING WILL PROVE AN EFFECTIVE DETERRENT, ESPECIALLY WITH THE MILITARY WHICH COUNTS MOST HEAVILY ON US SUPPORT. OUR CONCERN, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY MAY BE PERCEIVING US ACTIONS ELSEWHERE AS CONTRARY TO OUR LOCAL MESSAGE. MANY ON THE RIGHT HERE APPEAR TO BE INTERPRETING OUR STAND IN SOUTH ASIA, ESPECIALLY IN

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 01336 2219202

PAKISTAN, AS A SHIFT IN US POLICY AWAY FROM INSISTENCE THAT REGIMES RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER USG INTERESTS AND TOWARD A LESS DISCRIMINATING STANCE THAT ASKS ONLY THAT REGIMES BE ANTI-COMMUNIST. THEY ALSO SEEM TO BE INTERPRETING STATEMENTS EMANATING FROM WASHINGTON AS A RETURN TO THE 1950S WHEN THE TEST THE US APPLIED TO ITS LATIN AMERICAN ALLIES WAS HOW STRIDENTLY ANTI-SOVIET THEY WERE. AS ONE JUNIOR OLIGARCH (FANATICAL ANTI-COMMUNIST AND LIKELY COUP PLOTTER) TOLD US THIS WEEK, "WE ARE AWARE THAT THE

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Special Project (1993)

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PENDULUM IN THE UNITED STATES IS SWINGING OUR WAY; THE REPUBLICANS BEST EXEMPLIFY THIS SO WE INTEND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THEIR VICTORY." WE UNDERSTAND THAT A GROUP IS ALREADY IN WASHINGTON REPRESENTING THIS POINT OF VIEW AND MORE ARE LIKELY TO FOLLOW.

5. ALL MISSION OFFICERS ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO CONVINCE THE SALVADORAN RIGHT THAT THIS IS A MISTAKEN INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT US ATTITUDES. WE ARE TELLING THEM THAT THE REALITY OF THEIR COUNTRY IS SO THREATENING THAT REPRESSION AND ANTI-COMMUNIST RHETORIC UNACCOMPANIED BY REAL REFORMS WILL NOT HEAD OFF A LEFTIST REVOLUTION. WE KNOW FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE IS NECESSARY HERE AND ARE WILLING TO SUPPORT THE REFORMS. THE QUESTION IS, ARE THE SALVADORAN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ELITES PREPARED TO MAKE ANY SACRIFICES OF THEIR OWN? A RIGHTEST COUP NOW MEANS THE ANSWER IS NO, AND WITHOUT A FIGHT.
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Special Project (1993)

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS 2/23/86 (BOWDLER, WILLIAM G.)

TAGS: ES, PO, SHUM, PINT, PINS

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 050388

SUBJECT:
MANUEL UNGO'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND
MARIO SOARES' VISIT TO LATIN AMERICA

REFS: (A) LISBON 1237, (B) LISBON 1227, (C) SAN SALVADOR 1348, (D) STATE 047653.

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/13/94
Case ID: 9940032E

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Special Project (1993)

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2. THE FOLLOWING IS PROVIDED FOR AMBASSADOR BLOOMFIELD'S USE AT HIS FEBRUARY 26 LUNCH WITH PS SECGEN MARIO SOARES.

3. MANUEL UNGO DID IN FACT HAVE A BROAD RANGE OF CONTACTS IN WASHINGTON (AND PRESUMABLY ALSO NEW YORK.) ASSISTANT SECRETARY BOWDLER HOSTED A DINNER FOR UNGO FEBRUARY 22 THAT WAS ATTENDED BY AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE WHITE, BOB PASTOR (NSC) AND LUIGI EINAUDI (ARA/PPC) AS WELL AS JORGE SOL CASTELLANOS. UNGO ALSO SAW SENATOR ZORINSKY THAT DAY, AND ON FEBRUARY 25 WILL BE FEATURED GUEST AT WOLA LUNCHEON.

4. UNGO'S PRESENTATION AT BOWDLER DINNER WAS MUCH ALONG LINES REPORTED REF A. DISCARDING BOTH CURRENT JUNTA AND PINOCHET-TYPE ALTERNATIVE AS UNVIABLE, AND STRESSING THAT REFORMS WOULD BE DOOMED WITHOUT POPULAR PARTICIPATION, UNGO ARGUED THAT PARTICIPATION OF AT LEAST SOME OF POPULAR FORCES (WHOM UNGO CLAIMED WERE MORE RADICALIZED IN METHOD THAN IN OBJECTIVES) COULD BE ARRANGED IN A PLURALIST FRAMEWORK IN WHICH BOTH MNR AND PDC COULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE.

5. WE AGREED THAT ANY REGIME THAT DID NOT UNDERTAKE [redacted]

REFORMS WOULD PROVE UNVIABLE, BUT NOTED THAT WE WERE NOT CONVINCED THAT THE BASIC OCTOBER 15 FORMULA WAS FULLY PLAYED OUT, AND QUESTIONED HIS OMISSION OF THE MILITARY FROM HIS FUTURE CALCULATIONS. UNGO'S RESPONSE WAS ESSENTIALLY THAT HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE OCT. 15 JUNTA HAD CONVINCED HIM NO GOVERNMENT COULD FUNCTION WITHOUT THE LEFT, AND THAT THE MILITARY WAS FOR OTHERS TO WORRY ABOUT.

6. CONVERSATION WAS VERY CORDIAL AND FRANK THROUGHOUT. UNGO SEEMED TO BE HEARING OUR BASIC ARGUMENT THAT EL SALVADOR'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES COULD ILL AFFORD SELF-DESTRUCTIVE INTERNECINE PETTINESS IN THE FACE OF MOUNTING THREAT FROM BOTH REACTIONARY AND COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANS. BUT WHETHER HE HAS THE POLITICAL SAVVY TO CONTRIBUTE EFFECTIVELY REMAINS TO BE SEEN (SEE REF C).

7. IN YOUR CONVERSATION WITH SOARES, YOU MIGHT ALSO REFER TO DEPT PRESS STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 22 (REF D). KEY POINTS ARE THAT WE "STAND FOR CHANGE IN EL SALVADOR", HAVE LONG SHARED MANY OF THE CONCERNS RAISED BY ARCHBISHOP ROMERO IN HIS LETTER, AFFIRM "UNEQUIVOCALLY" THAT NO PROGRAM UNDER REVIEW INCLUDES "SENDING MILITARY ADVISORS TO EL SALVADOR TO SUPPORT A COUNTERINSURGENCY PROGRAM",AND THAT "WE DO NOT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

INTEND THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE CONTRIBUTE TO REPRESSION IN EL SALVADOR OR THAT IT BE USED TO FRUSTRATE REFORM." THE STATEMENT INDICATES THAT WE ARE IN FACT CONSIDERING SOME MILITARY TRAINING ASSISTANCE, BUT IT "IS STILL UNDER REVIEW", AND ANY ASSISTANCE WE PROVIDE WILL BE PREMISED ON ITS CONTRIBUTION TO "REFORM, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES," WHICH ARE THE BASIC GOALS OF U.S. POLICY IN EL SALVADOR.

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PAGE 04 STATE 050388

8. FOLLOWING UP THAT STATEMENT, AND IN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF RUMORED RIGHT-WING COUP, SENIOR DEPT OFFICIAL BACKGROUNDED WASHINGTON PRESS FEB 23 THAT WE NOT ONLY OPPOSE A RIGHT-WING COUP IN EL SALVADOR BUT WOULD REACT, AS WE DID LAST FALL IN BOLIVIA, BY TERMINATING ALL ASSISTANCE, EXCEPT ECONOMIC AID FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES.

9. WITH REGARD TO SOARES' TRAVEL PLANS, WE ARE DELIGHTED THAT HE WILL VISIT NICARAGUA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND PERU, ALL OF WHICH ARE KEY TO THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE AREA, AND IN ALL OF WHICH SOARES' PRESENCE CAN CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY AS SYMBOL OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY. PERU'S RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH THE U.S. STRONGLY SUPPORTS, WILL BE PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT. IN NICARAGUA, WE HOPE SOON TO HAVE A POSITIVE VOTE IN THE HOUSE ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL FOR $75 MILLION IN SUPPLEMENTAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

10. AS CONCERNS THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MEETING IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, WE STRONGLY FAVOR ANY RESOLUTION ENDORSING THE NEED FOR CHANGE IN EL SALVADOR, BUT WOULD HOPE THAT IT MIGHT AVOID EXACERBATING RIVALRIES AMONG DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND FORCES TO THE ULTIMATE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR COMMON ENEMIES.WE BELIEVE THAT THE BITTER CRITICISM OF AND OPPOSITION TO THE JRG THAT CHARACTERIZED EARLIER SOCIALIST INERNATIONAL STATEMENTS WOULD HAVE THOSE RESULTS. VANCE

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[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1591

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/3/86
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES[redacted]
SUBJ: (U) D'AUBUISSON ATTACKS PDC AND USG

1. (U) RIGHTIST BROAD NATIONAL FRONT (FAN) AGAIN PRESENTED MAJOR D'AUBUISSON ON ALL TV CHANNELS EL NING MARCH 2 IN BITTER ATTACK AGAINST PDC AND USG. D'AUBUISSON ACCUSED PDC OF INCOMPETENCE WHICH IS LEADING COUNTRY TO DISASTER, AT WHICH POINT PDC WOULD ABANDON SINKING SHIP, LEAVING THE ARMED FORCE TO FACE CONSEQUENCES. BUT BEFORE ABANDONING SHIP, D'AUBUISSON CLAIMED, PDC WOULD WARN ITS "FOREIGN GODFATHERS" SO THAT THEY COULD SEND IN "MARINES AND GREEN BERETS" IN ORDER NOT TO LOSE CONTROL OF OIL RESERVES OF MEXICO AND VENEZUELA AS WELL AS PANAMA CANAL. BUT THIS WOULD ONLY UNNECESSARILY ESCALATE BLOODSHED IN EL SALVADOR, ACCORDING TO D'AUBUISSON.

2. (U) D'AUBUISSON STATED THAT PDC PROPOSED REFORMS AND AGRARIAN REFORM IN PARTICULAR ARE TUNTIC TO GRADUALLY IMPOSE SOCIALIZATION ON COUNTRY. HE SARCASTICALLY ACCUSED PDC OF HYPOCRISY IN ITS ATTACKS AGAINST THE OLIGARHY, CITING FOREIGN MINISTER CHAVEZ' TIES WITH POMA INTERESTS, ABRAM RODRIGUES' (ONE OF PDC FOUNDERS) LINKS WITH SIGMA, AND FRANCISCO DE SOLA'S OWN BUSINESS INTERESTS. HE CATEGORICALLY DENIED ANY RESPONSIBILITY IN ASSASSINATION OF MARIO ZAMORA AND INTIMATED IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DONE BY PDC ITSELF LOOKING FOR A MARTYR TO HELP ITSELF OUT OF CURRENT DIFFICULTIES.

3. (U) MUCH OF D'AUBUISSON PRESENTATION WAS PITCH TO SALVADORAN MILITARY, WHICH HE CONCLUDED BY CLAIMING FAN WAS PREPARED TO OFFER REFORM PROPOSALS TO MILITARY FOR IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION.

4. (C) COMMENT: D'AUBUISSON'S BLEND OF INVECTIVE AND HATE COUPLED WITH "REVELATIONS" OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION PLAYS UPON THE FEARS OF SUBSTANTIAL SEGMENT OF MIDDLE CLASS THAT ACCEPT HIS CHARGES UNQUESTIONINGLY. HIS APPEAL IS POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS FOR STABILITY OF COUNTRY. FONMINISTER TOLD US TODAY HE IS VERY CONCERNED BY D'AUBUISSON'S HATE PROPAGANDA AND JRG IS GOING TO HAVE TO TAKE ACTION TO SHUT OFF RIGHT AND LEFT WING FIREBRANDS MEDIA ACCESS.
CHEEK

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Exceptions withheld: classified ( ); privacy ( )
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

Isabel Morel De LETELIER et al., Plaintiffs,

v.

The REPUBLIC OF CHILE et al., Defendants.

Civ. A. No. 78-1477.

United States District Court, District of Columbia.

March 11, 1980.

Survivors of an assassinated Chilean dissident leader sued the Republic of Chile, alleging that it had directed the assassination. Upon receipt of a note from the Chilean Republic suggesting that the court lacked subject-matter jurisdiction, the District Court, Joyce Hens Green, J., held that neither the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act nor the act of state doctrine would protect a foreign government from civil liability if it ordered an assassination that took place in the United States.

Order accordingly.

1. Courts ⇐24, 37(2), 39

Subject-matter jurisdiction cannot be conferred upon court by consent of parties involved, whether that consent is by affirmation or acquiescence of defendant, and issue of subject-matter jurisdiction can be raised by courts sua sponte at any time.

2. Federal Courts ⇐30

In action against foreign government, alleging that it had ordered assassination of plaintiffs' decedent in the United States, district court would consider its subject-matter jurisdiction upon receipt of note from foreign government, even though default judgment had already been entered against foreign government.

3. International Law ⇐10.9, 10.33

Neither Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, nor act of state doctrine would shield foreign government from civil liability if it ordered assassination that took place in United States. 28 U.S.C.A. § 1605(a)(5).

Michael E. Tigar, Lynne A. Bernabei, Washington, D. C., for plaintiffs.

MEMORANDUM OPINION

JOYCE HENS GREEN, District Judge.

Presently before the Court is the question of its subject matter jurisdiction to entertain this action against defendant Republic of Chile. Despite the previous entry of a default against that foreign state that plaintiffs argue precludes further judicial scrutiny of this issue, the Court nonetheless is persuaded that the jurisdictional question must now be given careful consideration, and, having examined the relevant congressional enactment, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, 28 U.S.C. §§ 1330, 1602-1611 (1976), is convinced that such jurisdiction does indeed exist, entitling plaintiffs to proceed to seek a judgment against the Chilean Republic.

Filed in August 1978 by Isabel, Christian, Jose, Francisco, and Juan Pablo Letelier, and Michael Maggio, respectively the widow, sons, and personal representative of Orlando Letelier, as well as by Michael Moffitt and Murray and Hilda Karpen, respectively the widower-personal representative and parents of Ronni Karpen Moffitt, the complaint herein, as amended, seeks recompense for tortious injuries connected with the deaths of both former Chilean ambassador and foreign minister Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt in the District of Columbia on September 21, 1976, when Letelier's car, in which they were riding to work with Michael Moffitt, was destroyed by an explosive device. Plaintiffs allege that the bomb was constructed, planted, and detonated by defendants Michael Vernon Townley, Alvin Ross Diaz, Virgilio Paz Romero, Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel, Guillermo Novo Sampol, and Ignacio Novo Sampol, acting in concert and purportedly at the direction and with the aid of defendants Republic of Chile, its intelligence organ the Centro Nacional de Intelligencia (CNI) (formerly Direccion de Intelligencia Nacional, a/k/a

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DINA), and supposed CNI–DINA agents and officers Pedro Espinoza Bravo, Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, and Armando Fernandez Larios.[1] In accord with their allegations and acting pursuant to the provisions of the District of Columbia Code governing survival of actions, D.C.Code § 12–101 (1973), and wrongful death, *id.* § 16–2701 (Supp. V 1978), plaintiffs have set forth the following five causes of action that they contend give rise to civil liability on the part of the defendants:

1) Conspiracy to deprive Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt of their constitutional rights, including equal protection of the law, and freedom of speech, press, association, and petition, in violation of 42 U.S.C. § 1985 (1976). Amended Complaint ¶ 7.

2) Assault and battery causing the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. *Id.* ¶ 9.

3) Negligent transportation and detonation of explosives. *Id.* ¶ 11.

4) Assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt in violation of international law. *Id.* ¶ 13.

5) Assault upon Orlando Letelier, an internationally protected person pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 112 (1976), that was the proximate result of his death and the death of Ronni Moffitt. *Id.* ¶ 15.

Following service upon defendants Michael Vernon Townley, Alvin Ross Diaz, Ignacio Novo Sampol, and Guillermo Novo Sampol, and the failure of these defendants to answer, defaults were entered against them in late August 1978. Plaintiffs have been unable to obtain service upon Virgilio Paz Romero and Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel. Service was attempted upon Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios by registered mail to Chile and the return receipts were filed with the Court in September 1978. Subsequently, in August 1979 service was again attempted upon these three individuals in Chile pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 4(i) by means of letters of request, signed by the Court, but proof of the completion of such service has not yet been forthcoming.

As to the Republic of Chile and CNI, pursuant to the terms of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, 28 U.S.C. § 1608(a)(4), two copies of the summons and amended complaint were dispatched by the Clerk of the Court to the United States Department of State on October 24, 1978. One of these copies, along with an explanatory diplomatic note, was delivered by the State Department to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile in Santiago on November 17, 1978. On February 9, 1979, the Clerk of the Court was notified by letter from the Department of State that the Chilean Foreign Affairs Ministry, by a diplomatic note dated January

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1. Just one week prior to the institution of this civil proceeding, a criminal action involving the deaths of former Chilean ambassador Letelier and Mrs. Moffitt was commenced in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia with the entry of an indictment naming all the individual defendants in this suit, except Michael Vernon Townley. *United States v. Sepulveda*, Crim.No. 78–0367 (D.D.C. filed Aug. 1, 1978). Of the eight individuals indicted, only Alvin Ross Diaz, Ignacio Novo Sampol, and Guillermo Novo Sampol, all members of the Cuban National Movement (CNM), were brought to trial. After a lengthy proceeding on charges including conspiracy to murder a foreign official, murder of a foreign official, and first degree murder, all three were convicted and given substantial sentences. Each of them has noted an appeal. *United States v. Sampol*, No. 79 1541 (D.C.Cir. filed Apr. 2, 1979); *United States v. Diaz*, No. 79 1542 (D.C.Cir. filed Apr. 2, 1979); *United States v. Sampol*, No. 79 1808 (D.C.Cir. filed Mar. 23, 1979).

With regard to the remaining defendants, CNM members Virgilio Paz Romero and Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel are fugitives sought by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, while the efforts of the United States to extradite Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios have, up to this point, been without success. As to Michael Vernon Townley, an American citizen and self-confessed CNI-DINA agent who testified at the criminal trial as a government witness concerning his substantial involvement in the killings, he entered a plea of guilty on August 11, 1978, to a charge of conspiracy to kill a foreign official and is now serving his sentence under the custody of the United States Department of Justice Witness Protection Program.

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16, 1979, had requested that the copy of the summons and amended complaint be returned to the Court. In the note, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made it clear that CNI was not a separate legal entity but only an organ of the Chilean government and that the Republic of Chile would not acquiesce in the jurisdiction of this Court over the subject matter of this suit.

On May 2, 1979, following the plaintiffs' filing that same day of a motion, with supporting memorandum of law, seeking the entry of a default against the Republic of Chile, the Honorable John H. Pratt held a hearing on that request. The next day an order was filed entering a default against the Republic of Chile.

On June 27, 1979, this action, along with other cases, was randomly reassigned to this judge as a new member of the Court. A hearing memorandum on plaintiffs' right to relief against all defendants was filed on August 17, 1979, but on September 4, 1979, prior to the scheduling of a hearing at which the plaintiffs would be allowed to make their required evidentiary showing in order to obtain the entry of a default judgment, 28 U.S.C. § 1608(e) (1976),[2] the Department of State sent to the Clerk of the Court, at the request of the Republic of Chile, a copy of Embassy Note No. 180, dated August 14, 1979, and an accompanying memorandum of law in which the Chilean Republic reiterated its belief that the Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction.

On September 13, 1979, plaintiffs moved, pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 11, to strike the note because it was a pleading not signed by counsel. By order filed October 11, 1979, the Court denied plaintiffs' motion in that the note and the accompanying memorandum were not a "pleading" but instead could be considered a "suggestion" under Rule 12(h)(3) that the Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction. Further, the Court asked plaintiffs to submit a memorandum of law concerning that question as well as the effect of Judge Pratt's entry of a default upon this Court's ability to consider that issue. Such a memorandum has been filed.

[1] Although it is firmly established that subject matter jurisdiction cannot be conferred upon a court by consent of the parties involved, whether that consent is by affirmation or acquiescence of the defendant, and that the issue of subject matter jurisdiction can be raised by the court sua sponte at any time, 1 *Moore's Federal Practice* ¶ 0.60[4], at 624–28 (2d ed. 1979); 13 C. Wright, A. Miller & E. Cooper, *Federal Practice and Procedure* § 3522, at 46–48 (1975), plaintiffs nevertheless argue that the entry of a default by Judge Pratt after their submission of a memorandum dealing with subject matter jurisdiction and a hearing at which the issue could have been raised should preclude the Court from further considering the issue. According to plaintiffs, two different considerations require this result. Citing *DiFrischia v. New York Central Railroad*, 279 F.2d 141 (3d Cir. 1960), they first contend that the Court should not allow the government of Chile to "play fast and loose" with the judicial machinery by allowing it to resurrect a question that already has been decided. In addition, they assert that the doctrine of "law of the case" precludes this judge from further consideration of the matter.

[2] In *DiFrischia*, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, expressing its unwillingness to allow a party to "play fast and loose with the judicial machinery and deceive the Courts," refused to allow a defendant who had stipulated to the existence of diversity jurisdiction to move two years later to dismiss for want of such jurisdiction. 279 F.2d at 144. Although the Court must concede that the actions of the Chilean government in re-

2. For a plaintiff to be able to secure a default judgment under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, he must establish his claim or right to relief by evidence satisfactory to the court. 28 U.S.C. § 1608(e) (1976), the same requirement applicable to default judgments against the United States under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 55(e). H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 25-26 (1976), *reprinted in* [1976] *U.S. Code Cong. & Admin.News*, p. 6604; *S.Rep.No. 94-1310, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 25 (1976).*

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fusing to enter a formal appearance through counsel despite the existence of statutory provisions allowing a special appearance, 28 U.S.C. § 1330(e) (1976), or to communicate with the Court other than by diplomatic notes relayed through the State Department, is not in conformance with what would be considered the preferred procedure for raising the jurisdictional question it seeks to have decided, it is clear that the decision of the Third Circuit in *DiFrischia*, the rationale of which has not been widely followed, *see Eisler v. Stritzler*, 535 F.2d 148, 151–52 & n. 2 (1st Cir. 1976), is without applicability here since the government of Chile, despite its unorthodox presentation of its views, has maintained consistently that this Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction.

As to the application of the doctrine of "law of the case" in this instance, no less a jurist than Mr. Justice Holmes has stated the rule as being that "[i]n the absence of statute the phrase, 'law of the case,' as applied to the effect of previous orders on the later action of the court rendering them in the same case, merely expresses the practice of courts generally to refuse to reopen what has been decided, not a limit to their power." *Messenger v. Anderson*, 225 U.S. 436, 444, 32 S.Ct. 739, 740, 56 L.Ed. 1152 (1912), *quoted in Van Voorhis v. District of Columbia*, 240 F.Supp. 822, 824 (D.D.C. 1965); *accord, Naples v. United States*, 123 U.S.App.D.C. 292, 293 n. 1, 359 F.2d 276, 277 n. 1 (1966) (per curiam); *United States v. Fuller*, 277 F.Supp. 97, 99 (D.D.C.1967). While the benefits of adherence to the doctrine of law of the case are obvious, both in terms of judicial economy and as a means of avoiding unnecessary uncertainty for the parties involved, nonetheless the Court finds the existence of special factors here which make it necessary that the issue of subject matter jurisdiction be thoroughly considered by this Court. Although Judge Pratt's entry of a default could be considered an implicit recognition that the courts of the United States do have subject matter jurisdiction over the Republic of Chile in this action, the nature of this litigation, it apparently being the first instance in which redress for tortious injuries such as are alleged here has been sought under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, as well as the potential diplomatic impact of any action by the Court, makes it necessary that the question of jurisdiction be fully and sensitively explored on the record.

Turning then to that task, it is necessary to focus upon the provisions of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, which, like all other statutory enactments regulating the subject matter jurisdiction of the federal district courts, delimits the boundaries within which the jurisdictional power of this Court can be exercised.[3] *See, e. g., Owen Equipment & Erection Co. v. Kroger*, 437 U.S. 365, 372, 98 S.Ct. 2396, 2402, 57 L.Ed.2d 274 (1978); *Aldinger v. Howard*, 427 U.S. 1, 15, 96 S.Ct. 2413, 2420, 49 L.Ed.2d 276 (1976). Because of the manner in which the Act is structured, several of its provisions, all found in title 28 of the United States Code, impact upon the question of the Court's jurisdiction. Among those are the following:

§ 1330. Actions against foreign states

(a) The district courts shall have original jurisdiction without regard to amount in controversy of any nonjury civil action against a foreign state . . . as to any claim for relief in personam with respect to which the foreign state is not

3. As constitutional authority for the enactment of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, Congress relied on its power to prescribe the jurisdiction of the federal courts, U.S.Const. art. I, § 8, cl. 9; *id.* art. III, § 1, to define offenses against the "Law of Nations," *id.* art. I, § 8, cl. 10, to regulate commerce among foreign nations, *id.* § 8, cl. 3, and "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry into Execution . . . all . . . Powers vested . . . in the Government of the United States," including the judicial power of the United States over controversies between "a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States," *id.* § 8, cl. 18; *id.* art. III, § 2, cl. 1. H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 12; S.Rep.No. 94-1310, *supra* at 12. The Republic of Chile has not challenged either the authority of Congress to pass legislation governing grants of sovereign immunity or its authority to enact any of the specific provisions of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act.

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entitled to immunity either under sections 1605–1607 of this title or under any applicable international agreement.

§ 1602. Findings and declaration of purpose

The Congress finds that the determination by United States courts of the claims of foreign states to immunity from the jurisdiction of such courts would serve the interests of justice and would protect the rights of both foreign states and litigants in United States courts. Under international law, states are not immune from the jurisdiction of foreign courts insofar as their commercial activities are concerned, and their commercial property may be levied upon for the satisfaction of judgments rendered against them in connection with their commercial activities. Claims of foreign states to immunity should henceforth be decided by courts of the United States and of the States in conformity with the principles set forth in this chapter.

§ 1604. Immunity of a foreign state from jurisdiction

Subject to existing international agreements to which the United States is a party at the time of enactment of this Act a foreign state shall be immune from the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States and of the States except as provided in sections 1605 to 1607 of this chapter.

§ 1605. General exceptions to the jurisdictional immunity of a foreign state

(a) A foreign state shall not be immune from the jurisdiction of courts of the United States or of the States in any case—

* * * * * *

(5) not otherwise encompassed in paragraph (2) above [(which denies immunity for a foreign state's commercial activities)] in which money damages are sought against a foreign state for personal injury or death, or damage to or loss of property, occurring in the United States and caused by the tortious act or omission of that foreign state or of any official or employee of that foreign state while acting within the scope of his office or employment; except this paragraph shall not apply to—

(A) any claim based upon the exercise or performance or the failure to exercise or perform a discretionary function regardless of whether the discretion be abused, or

(B) any claim arising out of malicious prosecution, abuse of process, libel, slander, misrepresentation, deceit, or interference with contract rights.

28 U.S.C. §§ 1330(a), 1602, 1604, 1605(a)(5) (1976). As a reading of these sections reveals, the Act very broadly confers original jurisdiction upon federal district courts to hear any nonjury civil action against a foreign state, thereby encompassing the action plaintiffs now seek to prosecute against the Republic of Chile. The matter does not end there, however, for this jurisdictional grant is qualified in that it has been made subject to any proper interposition of the defense of sovereign immunity, a defense upon which the defendant places its greatest reliance.[4]

4. In addressing the question of the procedure for raising the defense of sovereign immunity, both the House and Senate committee reports concerning the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 state that "sovereign immunity is an affirmative defense which must be specially pleaded." H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 17; S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 17. In this instance the Republic of Chile, while not having entered a formal appearance through counsel or having filed a responsive pleading through an accredited representative, has had the Department of State transmit to the Court a diplomatic note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a note from the Embassy of Chile in which the issues of the Court's jurisdiction and Chile's sovereign immunity have been discussed. The extent to which the affirmative defense of sovereign immunity can be raised by way of such a procedure rather than by a formal appearance or the filing of a pleading is one that the Court need not answer definitively, see generally, however, *Ex parte Muir*, 254 U.S. 522, 532–33 (1921); *Puente v. Spanish Nat. State*, 116 F.2d 43, 44 (2d Cir. 1940), *cert. denied*, 314 U.S. 627, 62 S.Ct. 57, 86 L.Ed. 504 (1941); 2A *Moore's Federal Practice* ¶ 8.28, at 8-270 to 275 (2d ed. 1979) (affirmative defense can be raised by motion to dismiss or motion for summary judgment); *Restatement (Second) of Foreign Rela-*

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As a doctrine of international law requiring that, under the proper circumstances, a domestic court will relinquish jurisdiction over a foreign state, sovereign immunity first was recognized in American law in the early nineteenth century by Chief Justice Marshall in *The Schooner Exchange v. M'Faddon*, 11 U.S. (7 Cranch) 116, 3 L.Ed. 287 (1812), in which a foreign entity's plea of immunity, as supported by the executive branch, was found to be valid as within the general law and practice of nations. By this century, however, the judicial reliance upon general principles of international law to decide questions involving sovereign immunity began to give way to a deference to the practices and policies of the Department of State, as articulate in the suggestions of immunity presented to the courts by the department. *See, e. g., Mexico v. Hoffman*, 324 U.S. 30, 35–36, 65 S.Ct. 530, 532–533, 89 L.Ed. 729 (1945); *Ex parte Peru*, 318 U.S. 578, 587–89, 63 S.Ct. 793, 799, 800, 87 L.Ed. 1014 (1943). As was most fully articulated in 1952 in a letter from Jack Tate, Legal Adviser to the State Department, to the Attorney General, the department's policy was to render a suggestion of immunity only in those restricted instances in which the acts of a friendly foreign state were of a public or sovereign nature (*jure imperii*) rather than being simply private or commercial (*jure gestionis*). 26 Dep't State Bull. 984 (1952).

The distinction between a state's public actions and its private or commercial activities was found to be one that often was easier to proclaim than to apply. The determination of the executive about what constituted a public, as opposed to a private or commercial act, frequently was subject to diplomatic rather than strictly legal considerations, thereby resulting in suggestions of immunity that were not in conformity with the policy articulated in the Tate letter. Moreover, even in those instances when executive suggestions were not involved, there was a lack of uniform judicial interpretation.[5]

It is against this background that the Congress considered and enacted the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976.

As is made clear both in the Act and in its legislative history, one of its principal purposes was to reduce the foreign policy implications of sovereign immunity determinations and assure litigants that such crucial decisions are made on purely legal grounds, an aim that was to be accomplished by transferring responsibility for such a decision from the executive branch to the judiciary. 28 U.S.C. § 1602 (1976); H.R.Rep.No.94–1487, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 7 (1976), *reprinted in* [1976] *U.S.Code Cong. & Admin.News*, p. 6604; S.Rep.No.94 1310, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 9 (1976). In addition, the Act itself is designed to codify the restrictive principle of sovereign immunity that makes a foreign state amenable to suit for the consequences of its commercial or private, as opposed to public acts. *Id.*

In considering the related questions of jurisdiction and sovereign immunity under the Act, one court has observed:

> The Act's central feature is its specification of categories of actions for which foreign states are not entitled to claim

tions Law of the United States § 71, Comment b (1965), for even assuming it has been pleaded properly, the Court still has subject matter jurisdiction for the reasons discussed *infra*.

5. The judicial attempt at definition that is perhaps most widely recognized is that of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in *Victory Transport, Inc. v. Comisaria General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*, 336 F.2d 354, 360 (2d Cir. 1964), *cert. denied*, 381 U.S. 934, 85 S.Ct. 1763, 14 L.Ed.2d 698 (1965), in which the court classified public acts as those involving (1) internal administration, such as expulsion of an alien; (2) legislation, such as nationalization; (3) the armed forces; (4) diplomatic activity; and (5) public loans.

For more detailed discussions of the principle of sovereign immunity as it existed prior to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, see generally *Victory Transport, Inc. v. Comisaria General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*, *supra*, 336 F.2d at 357–60; H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 8–9; S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 9–10; Note, *Sovereign Immunity in the Supreme Court: Using the Certiorari Process to Avoid Decision-making*, 16 Va.J. Int'l L. 903, 904–09, 920–24 (1976). See also *Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law of the United States*, *supra*, §§ 63–72.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

> the sovereign immunity from American court jurisdiction otherwise granted to such states. These exceptions are contained not in the sections of the Act which describe the grounds on which jurisdiction may be obtained, however, but are phrased as substantive acts for which foreign states may be found liable by American courts. This effects an identity between substance and procedure in the Act which means that a court faced with a claim of immunity from jurisdiction must engage ultimately in a close examination of the underlying cause of action in order to decide whether the plaintiff may obtain jurisdiction over the defendant.

Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency, 443 F.Supp. 849, 851 (S.D.N.Y.1978). In the instant action, relying on section 1605(a)(5) as their basis for combatting any assertion of sovereign immunity, plaintiffs have set forth several tortious causes of action arising under international law, the common law, the Constitution, and legislative enactments, pp. 666–667 *supra*, all of which are alleged to spring from the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. The Republic of Chile, while vigorously contending that it was in no way involved in the events that resulted in the two deaths, further asserts that, even if it were, the Court has no subject matter jurisdiction in that it is entitled to immunity under the Act, which does not cover political assassinations because of their public, governmental character.

[3] As supportive of its conclusion that political, tortious acts of a government are to be excluded, the Republic of Chile makes reference to the reports of the House and the Senate Judiciary Committees with regard to the Act, in which it was stated:

> Section 1605(a)(5) is directed primarily at the problem of traffic accidents but is cast in general terms as applying to all tort actions for money damages. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The purpose of section 1605(a)(5) is to permit the victim of a traffic accident or other noncommercial tort to maintain an action against a foreign state to the extent otherwise provided by law.

H.R.Rep.No.94–1487, *supra* at 20–21; S.Rep.No.94–1310, *supra* at 20–21. It is clear from these passages, the Chilean government asserts, that the intent of Congress was to include only private torts like automobile accidents within the exclusion from immunity embodied in section 1605(a)(5).

Prominently absent from defendant's analysis, however, is the initial step in any endeavor at statutory interpretation: a consideration of the words of the statute. *See, e. g., Touche Ross & Co. v. Redington*, 442 U.S. 560, 568, 99 S.Ct. 2479, 2485, 61 L.Ed.2d 82 (1979); *American Trucking Associations v. United States*, 195 U.S.App.D.C. 266, 561–62, 602 F.2d 444, 449–50, *cert. denied*, 444 U.S. 991, 100 S.Ct. 522, 62 L.Ed.2d 420 (1979). Subject to the exclusion of these discretionary acts defined in subsection (A) and the specific causes of action enumerated in subsection (B), neither of which have been invoked by the Republic of Chile, by the plain language of section 1605(a)(5) a foreign state is not entitled to immunity from an action seeking money damages "for personal injury or death . . . caused by the tortious act or omission of that foreign state" or its officials or employees. Nowhere is there an indication that the tortious acts to which the Act makes reference are to only be those formerly classified as "private," thereby engrafting onto the statute, as the Republic of Chile would have the Court do, the requirement that the character of a given tortious act be judicially analyzed to determine whether it was of the type heretofore denoted as *jure gestionis* or should be classified as *jure imperii*. Indeed, the other provisions of the Act mandate that the Court not do so, for it is made clear that the Act and the principles it sets forth in its specific provisions are henceforth to govern all claims of sovereign immunity by foreign states. 28 U.S.C. §§ 1602, 1604 (1976).

Although the unambiguous language of the Act makes inquiry almost unnecessary,

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further examination reveals nothing in its legislative history that contradicts or qualifies its plain meaning. The relative frequency of automobile accidents and their potentially grave financial impact may have placed that problem foremost in the minds of Congress, but the applicability of the Act was not so limited, for the committees made it quite clear that the Act "is cast *in general terms* as applying to *all tort actions* for money damages" so as to provide recompense for "the victim of a traffic accident or *other noncommercial tort*." H.R.Rep.No. 94–1487, *supra* at 20–21 (emphasis supplied); S.Rep.No.94–1310, *supra* at 20–21 (same). Further, any notion that the Congress wished the courts to go outside the scheme promulgated by legislative action to determine the extent to which the defense of sovereign immunity could be invoked is foreclosed by the committee reports that not only state that "[t]his bill . . . sets forth the *sole and exclusive* standard to be used in resolving questions of sovereign immunity raised by foreign states before Federal and State courts in the United States," H.R.Rep.No.94–1487, *supra* at 12 (emphasis supplied); S.Rep.No.94–1310, *supra* at 11 (same), but also provide that the burden of proof shall be upon the foreign state to present evidence "that the plaintiff's claim relates to a *public act* of the foreign state—that is, *an act not within the exceptions in section 1605–1607*," H.R.Rep. No.94–1487, *supra* at 17 (emphasis supplied); S.Rep.No.94–1310, *supra* at 17 (same). Thus, it is apparent that the terms of section 1605(a)(5) set the sole standard under which any claim of sovereign immunity must be examined.[6]

6. The Republic of Chile has cited several cases decided since the passage of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act that it contends establish foreign states under the Act are to be granted immunity for any tortious act committed by a sovereign entity while acting in its public capacity. The Court finds these cases inapposite.

In *Carey v. National Oil Corp.*, 433 F.Supp. 1097, 1102 (S.D.N.Y.1978), *aff'd on other grounds*, 592 F.2d 673 (2d Cir. 1979) (per curiam), while indicating in what could be classified as dictum that the alleged acts of a foreign state to induce a breach of contract were sovereign and therefore not within the exceptions to immunity in the Act, the court found that at best the supposed actions of the foreign state would state a claim for tortious interference with contract rights, which was exempted specifically by section 1605(a)(5)(B). Likewise in *Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency*, 443 F.Supp. 849, 855 (S.D.N.Y.1978), the court found it had no jurisdiction to entertain a claim of libel as a noncommercial tort under section 1605(a)(5) because such a cause of action was exempted by the terms of subsection (B). Thus, in each of these instances, the tort action in question was barred not by classification of the actions in question as public or private, but rather because Congress had exempted them from the broad category of noncommercial torts for which a foreign state cannot claim immunity.

Reference is also made by the Chilean Republic to *Gittler v. German Information Center*, 95 Misc.2d 788, 408 N.Y.S.2d 600 (Sup.Ct. 1978). In that case, suit was brought to recover unpaid compensation and benefits allegedly due an American citizen for his work on documentary films commissioned by an entity of the West German government and designed to foster cultural relations between Germany and the United States. Relying on the decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in *Heaney v. Government of Spain*, 445 F.2d 501 (2d Cir. 1971), in which the court determined that a government's contract for public relations work designed to discredit another nation was a public or sovereign act entitling it to immunity from any suit for breach of that contract, the New York Supreme Court in *Gittler* found the agreement in question to be one involving sovereign action of West Germany, thereby precluding any suit to enforce its terms. 408 N.Y.S.2d at 601. Although it is unclear whether the court in *Gittler* made its finding of immunity pursuant to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, that Act having become effective after the date of the alleged breach of contract and after suit was filed, nonetheless to the extent that the case can be so read, this Court declines to follow its analysis of the immunity issue. It is made evident both in the Act and in its legislative history that any decision to grant immunity to a foreign state is dependent on the provisions of the Act and thus the case law on the subject of sovereign immunity as it analyzed the distinctions between commercial or private acts and a state's public actions is persuasive only to the extent those interpretations can be deemed to be in conformity with the exceptions to immunity as set forth in the Act. *Compare* H.R.Rep.No.94–1487, *supra* at 16 (contract of foreign government to buy provisions or equipment for armed forces or to construct government building is commercial activity under Act) *and* S.Rep.No.94 1310, *supra* at 15–16 (same) *with Heaney v. Government of Spain*, *supra*, 445 F.2d at 504 (dictum) (foreign

UNCLASSIFIED

Examining then the specific terms of section 1605(a)(5), despite the Chilean failure to have addressed the issue, the Court is called upon to consider whether either of the exceptions to liability for tortious acts found in section 1605(a)(5) applies in this instance. It is readily apparent, however, that the claims herein did not arise "out of malicious prosecution, abuse of process, libel, slander, misrepresentation, deceit, or interference with contract rights," 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(5)(B) (1976), and therefore only the exemption for claims "based upon *the exercise or performance or the failure* to exercise or perform a discretionary function regardless of whether the discretion be abused," *id.* § 1605(a)(5)(A), can be applicable.

As its language and the legislative history make apparent, the discretionary act exemption of subsection (A) corresponds to the discretionary act exception found in the Federal Tort Claims Act. H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 21; S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 20. *Compare* 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(5)(A) (1976) *with id.* § 2680(a). As defined by the United States Supreme Court in interpreting the Federal Tort Claims Act, an act that is discretionary is one in which "there is room for policy judgment and decision." *Dalehite v. United States*, 346 U.S. 15, 36, 73 S.Ct. 956, 968, 97 L.Ed. 1427 (1953). Applying this definition to the instant action, the question becomes, would the alleged determination of the Chilean Republic to set into motion and assist in the precipitation of those events that culminated in the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt be of the kind in which there is "room *for policy judgment and decision.*"

While it seems apparent that a decision calculated to result in injury or death to a particular individual or individuals, made for whatever reason, would be one most assuredly involving policy judgment and decision *and thus exempt as a discretionary* act under section 1605(a)(5)(A), that exception is not applicable to bar this suit. As it has been recognized, there is no discretion to commit, or to have one's officers or agents commit, an illegal act. *Cruikshank v. United States*, 431 F.Supp. 1355, 1359 (D.Hawaii 1977); *see Hatahley v. United States*, 351 U.S. 173, 181, 76 S.Ct. 745, 751, 100 L.Ed. 1065 (1956). Whatever policy options may exist for a foreign country, it has no "discretion" to perpetrate conduct designed to result in the assassination of an individual or individuals, action that is *clearly contrary to the precepts of humanity* as recognized in both national and international law. Accordingly there would be no "discretion" within the meaning of section 1605(a)(5)(A) to order or to aid in an assassination and were it to be demonstrated that a foreign state has undertaken any such act in this country, that foreign state could not be accorded sovereign immunity under subsection (A) for any tort claims resulting from its conduct. As a consequence, the Republic of Chile cannot claim sovereign immunity under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act for its alleged involvement in the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt.

Finally, the Republic of Chile seeks to invoke the act of state doctrine to excuse itself from the jurisdiction of the Court. As recognized by the Supreme Court in its recent decision in *Alfred Dunhill of London, Inc. v. Republic of Cuba*, the traditional formulation of this principle provides:

> Every sovereign State is bound to respect the independence of every other sovereign State, and the courts of one country will not sit in judgment on the acts of the government of another done within its own territory. Redress of grievances by reason of such acts must be obtained through the means open to be availed of by sovereign powers as between themselves.

government's contract to purchase bullets or erect fortifications for army is sovereign rather than commercial or private act) *and Victory Transport, Inc. v. Comisaria General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*, *supra*, 336 F.2d at 360 (dictum) (purchase of shoes or bullets for army, erection of fortifications, or rental of house for embassy not private acts). See also *Broadbent v. Organization of American States*, No. 78-1465 (D.C. Cir. Jan. 8, 1980).

UNCLASSIFIED

425 U.S. 682, 691 n. 7, 96 S.Ct. 1854, 1859, 48 L.Ed.2d 301 (1976) (quoting *Underhill v. Hernandez*, 168 U.S. 250, 252, 18 S.Ct. 83, 84, 42 L.Ed. 456 (1897)). While again denying involvement in the deaths at issue here, the Chilean Republic asserts that those acts of which it is accused would be public ventures carried out within Chile itself and therefore entitled to immunity under the act of state doctrine.

Although the acts allegedly undertaken directly by the Republic of Chile to obtain the death of Orlando Letelier may well have been carried out entirely within that country, that circumstance alone will not allow it to absolve itself under the act of state doctrine if the actions of its alleged agents resulted in tortious injury in this country. To hold otherwise would totally emasculate the purpose and effectiveness of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act by permitting a foreign state to reimpose the so recently supplanted framework of sovereign immunity as defined prior to the Act "'through the back door, under the guise of the act of state doctrine.'" H.R.Rep.No. 94-1487, *supra* at 20 n. 1 (quoting Amicus Brief of United States at 41, *Alfred Dunhill of London, Inc. v. Republic of Cuba*, 425 U.S. 682, 96 S.Ct. 1854, 48 L.Ed.2d 301 (1976)); S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 19 n. 1 (*same*).

Accordingly, the Court having subject matter jurisdiction to entertain this action, a status hearing will be held on March 18, 1980, at 10:00 a. m. at which time argument will be heard on plaintiffs' pending motion to compel defendant Townley to answer interrogatories and a time will be set for a hearing, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1608(e), to establish evidence satisfactory to the Court to permit the entry of a default judgment against the Republic of Chile.

In the Matter of the Petition on the Behalf of Carol Ann CYWINSKI for a writ of habeas corpus

v.

Colonel Charles W. BINNEY, Commander and Secretary of Defense.

Civ. No. B-80-0062.

United States District Court, D. Maryland.

March 11, 1980.

Enlisted member of United States Army since 1974 sought to secure her release from service, through writ of habeas corpus, claiming that she was improperly denied conscientious objector status. The District Court, Blair, J., held that: (1) Army did not deprive petitioner of procedural due process in that it failed to provide her with copy of staff judge advocate's recommendation when it submitted whole record for her review in rebuttal as documented issue presented no new facts or information in support of its recommendation and simply summarized reasons stated elsewhere in the record; and (2) evidence supported Army's decision not to reclassify enlistee as conscientious objector.

Writ denied.

1. Habeas Corpus ⇐45(3)

District courts of the United States have jurisdiction to entertain petitions for habeas corpus filed by military personnel seeking discharge by reason of conscientious objection.

2. Armed Services ⇐11

Test to determine whether an individual is entitled to conscientious objector status is the same for persons not yet inducted and persons in the military; essential elements are that person must be opposed to war in any form, his or her opposition must be based upon religious training and belief, and his or her objection must be sincere.

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part Isabel Morgan Bell
Exemption(s)

ISABEL LETELIER et al., Plaintiffs,

v.

The REPUBLIC OF CHILE et al., Defendants.

Civ. A. No. 78-1477.

United States District Court, District of Columbia.

March 11, 1980.

Survivors of an assassinated Chilean dissident leader sued the Republic of Chile, alleging that it had directed the assassination. Upon receipt of a note from the Chilean Republic suggesting that the court lacked subject-matter jurisdiction, the District Court, Joyce Hens Green, J., held that neither the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act nor the act of state doctrine would protect a foreign government from civil liability if it ordered an assassination that took place in the United States.

Order accordingly.

1. Courts ⇐24, 37(2), 39

Subject-matter jurisdiction cannot be conferred upon court by consent of parties involved, whether that consent is by affirmation or acquiescence of defendant, and issue of subject-matter jurisdiction can be raised by courts sua sponte at any time.

2. Federal Courts ⇐30

In action against foreign government, alleging that it had ordered assassination of plaintiffs' decedent in the United States, district court would consider its subject-matter jurisdiction upon receipt of note from foreign government, even though default judgment had already been entered against foreign government.

3. International Law ⇐10.9, 10.33

Neither Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, nor act of state doctrine would shield foreign government from civil liability if it ordered assassination that took place in United States. 28 U.S.C.A. § 1605(a)(5).

Michael E. Tigar, Lynne A. Bernabei, Washington, D. C., for plaintiffs.

MEMORANDUM OPINION

JOYCE HENS GREEN, District Judge.

Presently before the Court is the question of its subject matter jurisdiction to entertain this action against defendant Republic of Chile. Despite the previous entry of a default against that foreign state that plaintiffs argue precludes further judicial scrutiny of this issue, the Court nonetheless is persuaded that the jurisdictional question must now be given careful consideration, and, having examined the relevant congressional enactment, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, 28 U.S.C. §§ 1330, 1602-1611 (1976), is convinced that such jurisdiction does indeed exist, entitling plaintiffs to proceed to seek a judgment against the Chilean Republic.

Filed in August 1978 by Isabel, Christian, Jose, Francisco, and Juan Pablo Letelier, and Michael Maggio, respectively the widow, sons, and personal representative of Orlando Letelier, as well as by Michael Moffitt and Murray and Hilda Karpen, respectively the widower-personal representative and parents of Ronni Karpen Moffitt, the complaint herein, as amended, seeks recompense for tortious injuries connected with the deaths of both former Chilean ambassador and foreign minister Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt in the District of Columbia on September 21, 1976, when Letelier's car, in which they were riding to work with Michael Moffitt, was destroyed by an explosive device. Plaintiffs allege that the bomb was constructed, planted, and detonated by defendants Michael Vernon Townley, Alvin Ross Diaz, Virgilio Paz Romero, Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel, Guillermo Novo Sampol, and Ignacio Novo Sampol, acting in concert and purportedly at the direction and with the aid of defendants Republic of Chile, its intelligence organ the Centro Nacional de Intelligencia (CNI) (formerly Direccion de Intelligencia Nacional, a/k/a

UNCLASSIFIED

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DINA), and supposed CNI–DINA agents and officers Pedro Espinoza Bravo, Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, and Armando Fernandez Larios.[1] In accord with their allegations and acting pursuant to the provisions of the District of Columbia Code governing survival of actions, D.C.Code § 12–101 (1973), and wrongful death, *id.* § 16–2701 (Supp. V 1978), plaintiffs have set forth the following five causes of action that they contend give rise to civil liability on the part of the defendants:

1) Conspiracy to deprive Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt of their constitutional rights, including equal protection of the law, and freedom of speech, press, association, and petition, in violation of 42 U.S.C. § 1985 (1976). Amended Complaint ¶ 7.

2) Assault and battery causing the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. *Id.* ¶ 9.

3) Negligent transportation and detonation of explosives. *Id.* ¶ 11.

4) Assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt in violation of international law. *Id.* ¶ 13.

5) Assault upon Orlando Letelier, an internationally protected person pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 112 (1976), that was the proximate result of his death and the death of Ronni Moffitt. *Id.* ¶ 15.

Following service upon defendants Michael Vernon Townley, Alvin Ross Diaz, Ignacio Novo Sampol, and Guillermo Novo Sampol, and the failure of these defendants to answer, defaults were entered against them in late August 1978. Plaintiffs have been unable to obtain service upon Virgilio Paz Romero and Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel. Service was attempted upon Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios by registered mail to Chile and the return receipts were filed with the Court in September 1978. Subsequently, in August 1979 service was again attempted upon these three individuals in Chile pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 4(i) by means of letters of request, signed by the Court, but proof of the completion of such service has not yet been forthcoming.

As to the Republic of Chile and CNI, pursuant to the terms of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, 28 U.S.C. § 1608(a)(4), two copies of the summons and amended complaint were dispatched by the Clerk of the Court to the United States Department of State on October 24, 1978. One of these copies, along with an explanatory diplomatic note, was delivered by the State Department to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile in Santiago on November 17, 1978. On February 9, 1979, the Clerk of the Court was notified by letter from the Department of State that the Chilean Foreign Affairs Ministry, by a diplomatic note dated January

1. Just one week prior to the institution of this civil proceeding, a criminal action involving the deaths of former Chilean ambassador Letelier and Mrs. Moffitt was commenced in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia with the entry of an indictment naming all the individual defendants in this suit, except Michael Vernon Townley. *United States v. Sepulveda*, Crim.No. 78–0367 (D.D.C. filed Aug. 1, 1978). Of the eight individuals indicted, only Alvin Ross Diaz, Ignacio Novo Sampol, and Guillermo Novo Sampol, all members of the Cuban National Movement (CNM), were brought to trial. After a lengthy proceeding on charges including conspiracy to murder a foreign official, murder of a foreign official, and first degree murder, all three were convicted and given substantial sentences. Each of them has noted an appeal. *United States v. Sampol*, No. 79 1541 (D.C.Cir. filed Apr. 2, 1979); *United States v. Diaz*, No. 79 1542 (D.C.Cir. filed Apr. 2, 1979); *United States v. Sampol*, No. 79 1808 (D.C.Cir. filed Mar. 23, 1979).

With regard to the remaining defendants, CNM members Virgilio Paz Romero and Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel are fugitives sought by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, while the efforts of the United States to extradite Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios have, up to this point, been without success. As to Michael Vernon Townley, an American citizen and self-confessed CNI–DINA agent who testified at the criminal trial as a government witness concerning his substantial involvement in the killings, he entered a plea of guilty on August 11, 1978, to a charge of conspiracy to kill a foreign official and is now serving his sentence under the custody of the United States Department of Justice Witness Protection Program.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

16, 1979, had requested that the copy of the summons and amended complaint be returned to the Court. In the note, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made it clear that CNI was not a separate legal entity but only an organ of the Chilean government and that the Republic of Chile would not acquiesce in the jurisdiction of this Court over the subject matter of this suit.

On May 2, 1979, following the plaintiffs' filing that same day of a motion, with supporting memorandum of law, seeking the entry of a default against the Republic of Chile, the Honorable John H. Pratt held a hearing on that request. The next day an order was filed entering a default against the Republic of Chile.

On June 27, 1979, this action, along with other cases, was randomly reassigned to this judge as a new member of the Court. A hearing memorandum on plaintiffs' right to relief against all defendants was filed on August 17, 1979, but on September 4, 1979, prior to the scheduling of a hearing at which the plaintiffs would be allowed to make their required evidentiary showing in order to obtain the entry of a default judgment, 28 U.S.C. § 1608(e) (1976),[2] the Department of State sent to the Clerk of the Court, at the request of the Republic of Chile, a copy of Embassy Note No. 180, dated August 14, 1979, and an accompanying memorandum of law in which the Chilean Republic reiterated its belief that the Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction.

On September 13, 1979, plaintiffs moved, pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 11, to strike the note because it was a pleading not signed by counsel. By order filed October 11, 1979, the Court denied plaintiffs' motion in that the note and the accompanying memorandum were not a "pleading" but instead could be considered a "suggestion" under Rule 12(h)(3) that the Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction. Further, the Court asked plaintiffs to submit a memorandum of law concerning that question as well as the effect of Judge Pratt's entry of a default upon this Court's ability to consider that issue. Such a memorandum has been filed.

[1] Although it is firmly established that subject matter jurisdiction cannot be conferred upon a court by consent of the parties involved, whether that consent is by affirmation or acquiescence of the defendant, and that the issue of subject matter jurisdiction can be raised by the court sua sponte at any time, 1 *Moore's Federal Practice* ¶ 0.60[4], at 624–28 (2d ed. 1979); 13 C. Wright, A. Miller & E. Cooper, *Federal Practice and Procedure* § 3522, at 46–48 (1975), plaintiffs nevertheless argue that the entry of a default by Judge Pratt after their submission of a memorandum dealing with subject matter jurisdiction and a hearing at which the issue could have been raised should preclude the Court from further considering the issue. According to plaintiffs, two different considerations require this result. Citing *DiFrischia v. New York Central Railroad*, 279 F.2d 141 (3d Cir. 1960), they first contend that the Court should not allow the government of Chile to "play fast and loose" with the judicial machinery by allowing it to resurrect a question that already has been decided. In addition, they assert that the doctrine of "law of the case" precludes this judge from further consideration of the matter.

[2] In *DiFrischia*, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, expressing its unwillingness to allow a party to "play fast and loose with the judicial machinery and deceive the Courts," refused to allow a defendant who had stipulated to the existence of diversity jurisdiction to move two years later to dismiss for want of such jurisdiction. 279 F.2d at 144. Although the Court must concede that the actions of the Chilean government in re-

2. For a plaintiff to be able to secure a default judgment under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, he must establish his claim or right to relief by evidence satisfactory to the court, 28 U.S.C. § 1608(e) (1976), the same requirement applicable to default judgments against the United States under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 55(e), H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 25–26 (1976), *reprinted in* [1976] *U.S. Code Cong. & Admin.News, p. 6604; S.Rep.No. 94-1310, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 25 (1976).*

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

fusing to enter a formal appearance through counsel despite the existence of statutory provisions allowing a special appearance, 28 U.S.C. § 1330(e) (1976), or to communicate with the Court other than by diplomatic notes relayed through the State Department, is not in conformance with what would be considered the preferred procedure for raising the jurisdictional question it seeks to have decided, it is clear that the decision of the Third Circuit in *DiFrischia*, the rationale of which has not been widely followed, *see Eisler v. Stritzler*, 535 F.2d 148, 151–52 & n. 2 (1st Cir. 1976), is without applicability here since the government of Chile, despite its unorthodox presentation of its views, has maintained consistently that this Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction.

As to the application of the doctrine of "law of the case" in this instance, no less a jurist than Mr. Justice Holmes has stated the rule as being that "[i]n the absence of statute the phrase, 'law of the case,' as applied to the effect of previous orders on the later action of the court rendering them in the same case, merely expresses the practice of courts generally to refuse to reopen what has been decided, not a limit to their power." *Messenger v. Anderson*, 225 U.S. 436, 444, 32 S.Ct. 739, 740, 56 L.Ed. 1152 (1912), *quoted in Van Voorhis v. District of Columbia*, 240 F.Supp. 822, 824 (D.D.C. 1965); *accord, Naples v. United States*, 123 U.S.App.D.C. 292, 293 n. 1, 359 F.2d 276, 277 n. 1 (1966) (per curiam); *United States v. Fuller*, 277 F.Supp. 97, 99 (D.D.C.1967). While the benefits of adherence to the doctrine of law of the case are obvious, both in terms of judicial economy and as a means of avoiding unnecessary uncertainty for the parties involved, nonetheless the Court finds the existence of special factors here which make it necessary that the issue of subject matter jurisdiction be thoroughly considered by this Court. Although Judge Pratt's entry of a default could be considered an implicit recognition that the courts of the United States do have subject matter jurisdiction over the Republic of Chile in this action, the nature of this litigation, it apparently being the first instance in which redress for tortious injuries such as are alleged here has been sought under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, as well as the potential diplomatic impact of any action by the Court, makes it necessary that the question of jurisdiction be fully and sensitively explored on the record.

Turning then to that task, it is necessary to focus upon the provisions of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, which, like all other statutory enactments regulating the subject matter jurisdiction of the federal district courts, delimits the boundaries within which the jurisdictional power of this Court can be exercised.[3] *See, e. g., Owen Equipment & Erection Co. v. Kroger*, 437 U.S. 365, 372, 98 S.Ct. 2396, 2402, 57 L.Ed.2d 274 (1978); *Aldinger v. Howard*, 427 U.S. 1, 15, 96 S.Ct. 2413, 2420, 49 L.Ed.2d 276 (1976). Because of the manner in which the Act is structured, several of its provisions, all found in title 28 of the United States Code, impact upon the question of the Court's jurisdiction. Among those are the following:

> § 1330. Actions against foreign states
>
> (a) The district courts shall have original jurisdiction without regard to amount in controversy of any nonjury civil action against a foreign state . . . as to any claim for relief in personam with respect to which the foreign state is not

3. As constitutional authority for the enactment of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, Congress relied on its power to prescribe the jurisdiction of the federal courts, U.S.Const. art. I, § 8, cl. 9; *id.* art. III, § 1, to define offenses against the "Law of Nations," *id.* art. I, § 8, cl. 10, to regulate commerce among foreign nations, *id.* § 8, cl. 3, and "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry into Execution . . . all . . . Powers vested . . . in the Government of the United States," including the judicial power of the United States over controversies between "a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States," *id.* § 8, cl. 18; *id.* art. III, § 2, cl. 1. H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 12; S.Rep.No. 94-1310, *supra* at 12. The Republic of Chile has not challenged either the authority of Congress to pass legislation governing grants of sovereign immunity or its authority to enact any of the specific provisions of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

entitled to immunity either under sections 1605–1607 of this title or under any applicable international agreement.

§ 1602. Findings and declaration of purpose

The Congress finds that the determination by United States courts of the claims of foreign states to immunity from the jurisdiction of such courts would serve the interests of justice and would protect the rights of both foreign states and litigants in United States courts. Under international law, states are not immune from the jurisdiction of foreign courts insofar as their commercial activities are concerned, and their commercial property may be levied upon for the satisfaction of judgments rendered against them in connection with their commercial activities. Claims of foreign states to immunity should henceforth be decided by courts of the United States and of the States in conformity with the principles set forth in this chapter.

§ 1604. Immunity of a foreign state from jurisdiction

Subject to existing international agreements to which the United States is a party at the time of enactment of this Act a foreign state shall be immune from the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States and of the States except as provided in sections 1605 to 1607 of this chapter.

§ 1605. General exceptions to the jurisdictional immunity of a foreign state

(a) A foreign state shall not be immune from the jurisdiction of courts of the United States or of the States in any case—

* * * * * *

(5) not otherwise encompassed in paragraph (2) above [(which denies immunity for a foreign state's commercial activities)] in which money damages are sought against a foreign state for personal injury or death, or damage to or loss of property, occurring in the United States and caused by the tortious act or omission of that foreign state or of any official or employee of that foreign state while acting within the scope of his office or employment; except this paragraph shall not apply to—

(A) any claim based upon the exercise or performance or the failure to exercise or perform a discretionary function regardless of whether the discretion be abused, or

(B) any claim arising out of malicious prosecution, abuse of process, libel, slander, misrepresentation, deceit, or interference with contract rights.

28 U.S.C. §§ 1330(a), 1602, 1604, 1605(a)(5) (1976). As a reading of these sections reveals, the Act very broadly confers original jurisdiction upon federal district courts to hear any nonjury civil action against a foreign state, thereby encompassing the action plaintiffs now seek to prosecute against the Republic of Chile. The matter does not end there, however, for this jurisdictional grant is qualified in that it has been made subject to any proper interposition of the defense of sovereign immunity, a defense upon which the defendant places its greatest reliance.[4]

4. In addressing the question of the procedure for raising the defense of sovereign immunity, both the House and Senate committee reports concerning the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 state that "sovereign immunity is an affirmative defense which must be specially pleaded." H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 17; S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 17. In this instance the Republic of Chile, while not having entered a formal appearance through counsel or having filed a responsive pleading through an accredited representative, has had the Department of State transmit to the Court a diplomatic note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a note from the Embassy of Chile in which the issues of the Court's jurisdiction and Chile's sovereign immunity have been discussed. The extent to which the affirmative defense of sovereign immunity can be raised by way of such a procedure rather than by a formal appearance or the filing of a pleading is one that the Court need not answer definitively, see generally, however, *Ex parte Muir*, 254 U.S. 522, 532–33 (1921); *Puente v. Spanish Nat. State*, 116 F.2d 43, 44 (2d Cir. 1940), *cert. denied*, 314 U.S. 627, 62 S.Ct. 57, 86 L.Ed. 504 (1941); 2A *Moore's Federal Practice* ¶ 8.28, at 8-270 to 275 (2d ed. 1979) (affirmative defense can be raised by motion to dismiss or motion for summary judgment); *Restatement (Second) of Foreign Rela-*

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

As a doctrine of international law requiring that, under the proper circumstances, a domestic court will relinquish jurisdiction over a foreign state, sovereign immunity first was recognized in American law in the early nineteenth century by Chief Justice Marshall in *The Schooner Exchange v. M'Faddon*, 11 U.S. (7 Cranch) 116, 3 L.Ed. 287 (1812), in which a foreign entity's plea of immunity, as supported by the executive branch, was found to be valid as within the general law and practice of nations. By this century, however, the judicial reliance upon general principles of international law to decide questions involving sovereign immunity began to give way to a deference to the practices and policies of the Department of State, as articulate in the suggestions of immunity presented to the courts by the department. *See, e. g., Mexico v. Hoffman*, 324 U.S. 30, 35–36, 65 S.Ct. 530, 532–533, 89 L.Ed. 729 (1945); *Ex parte Peru*, 318 U.S. 578, 587–89, 63 S.Ct. 793, 799, 800, 87 L.Ed. 1014 (1943). As was most fully articulated in 1952 in a letter from Jack Tate, Legal Adviser to the State Department, to the Attorney General, the department's policy was to render a suggestion of immunity only in those restricted instances in which the acts of a friendly foreign state were of a public or sovereign nature (*jure imperii*) rather than being simply private or commercial (*jure gestionis*). 26 Dep't State Bull. 984 (1952).

The distinction between a state's public actions and its private or commercial activities was found to be one that often was easier to proclaim than to apply. The determination of the executive about what constituted a public, as opposed to a private or commercial act, frequently was subject to diplomatic rather than strictly legal considerations, thereby resulting in suggestions of immunity that were not in conformity with the policy articulated in the Tate letter. Moreover, even in those instances when executive suggestions were not involved, there was a lack of uniform judicial interpretation.[5]

It is against this background that the Congress considered and enacted the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976.

As is made clear both in the Act and in its legislative history, one of its principal purposes was to reduce the foreign policy implications of sovereign immunity determinations and assure litigants that such crucial decisions are made on purely legal grounds, an aim that was to be accomplished by transferring responsibility for such a decision from the executive branch to the judiciary. 28 U.S.C. § 1602 (1976); H.R.Rep.No.94–1487, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 7 (1976), *reprinted in* [1976] *U.S.Code Cong. & Admin.News*, p. 6604; S.Rep.No.94–1310, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 9 (1976). In addition, the Act itself is designed to codify the restrictive principle of sovereign immunity that makes a foreign state amenable to suit for the consequences of its commercial or private, as opposed to public acts. *Id.*

In considering the related questions of jurisdiction and sovereign immunity under the Act, one court has observed:

> The Act's central feature is its specification of categories of actions for which foreign states are not entitled to claim

tions Law of the United States § 71, Comment b (1965), for even assuming it has been pleaded properly, the Court still has subject matter jurisdiction for the reasons discussed *infra*.

5. The judicial attempt at definition that is perhaps most widely recognized is that of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in *Victory Transport, Inc. v. Comisaria General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*, 336 F.2d 354, 360 (2d Cir. 1964), *cert. denied*, 381 U.S. 934, 85 S.Ct. 1763, 14 L.Ed.2d 698 (1965), in which the court classified public acts as those involving (1) internal administration, such as expulsion of an alien; (2) legislation, such as nationalization; (3) the armed forces; (4) diplomatic activity; and (5) public loans.

For more detailed discussions of the principle of sovereign immunity as it existed prior to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, see generally *Victory Transport, Inc. v. Comisaria General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, supra*, 336 F.2d at 357–60; H.R.Rep.No.94–1487, *supra* at 8–9; S.Rep.No.94–1310, *supra* at 9–10; Note, *Sovereign Immunity in the Supreme Court: Using the Certiorari Process to Avoid Decision-making*, 16 Va.J. Int'l L. 903, 904–09, 920–24 (1976). See also *Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law of the United States, supra*, §§ 63–72.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

the sovereign immunity from American court jurisdiction otherwise granted to such states. These exceptions are contained not in the sections of the Act which describe the grounds on which jurisdiction may be obtained, however, but are phrased as substantive acts for which foreign states may be found liable by American courts. This effects an identity between substance and procedure in the Act which means that a court faced with a claim of immunity from jurisdiction must engage ultimately in a close examination of the underlying cause of action in order to decide whether the plaintiff may obtain jurisdiction over the defendant.

Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency, 443 F.Supp. 849, 851 (S.D.N.Y.1978). In the instant action, relying on section 1605(a)(5) as their basis for combatting any assertion of sovereign immunity, plaintiffs have set forth several tortious causes of action arising under international law, the common law, the Constitution, and legislative enactments, pp. 666–667 *supra*, all of which are alleged to spring from the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. The Republic of Chile, while vigorously contending that it was in no way involved in the events that resulted in the two deaths, further asserts that, even if it were, the Court has no subject matter jurisdiction in that it is entitled to immunity under the Act, which does not cover political assassinations because of their public, governmental character.

[3] As supportive of its conclusion that political, tortious acts of a government are to be excluded, the Republic of Chile makes reference to the reports of the House and the Senate Judiciary Committees with regard to the Act, in which it was stated:

> Section 1605(a)(5) is directed primarily at the problem of traffic accidents but is cast in general terms as applying to all tort actions for money damages. . . .
>
> * * * * * *
>
> The purpose of section 1605(a)(5) is to permit the victim of a traffic accident or other noncommercial tort to maintain an action against a foreign state to the extent otherwise provided by law.

H.R.Rep.No.94–1487, *supra* at 20–21; S.Rep.No.94–1310, *supra* at 20–21. It is clear from these passages, the Chilean government asserts, that the intent of Congress was to include only private torts like automobile accidents within the exclusion from immunity embodied in section 1605(a)(5).

Prominently absent from defendant's analysis, however, is the initial step in any endeavor at statutory interpretation: a consideration of the words of the statute. *See, e. g., Touche Ross & Co. v. Redington*, 442 U.S. 560, 568, 99 S.Ct. 2479, 2485, 61 L.Ed.2d 82 (1979); *American Trucking Associations v. United States*, 195 U.S.App.D.C. 266, 561–62, 602 F.2d 444, 449–50, *cert. denied*, 444 U.S. 991, 100 S.Ct. 522, 62 L.Ed.2d 420 (1979). Subject to the exclusion of these discretionary acts defined in subsection (A) and the specific causes of action enumerated in subsection (B), neither of which have been invoked by the Republic of Chile, by the plain language of section 1605(a)(5) a foreign state is not entitled to immunity from an action seeking money damages "for personal injury or death . . . caused by the tortious act or omission of that foreign state" or its officials or employees. Nowhere is there an indication that the tortious acts to which the Act makes reference are to only be those formerly classified as "private," thereby engrafting onto the statute, as the Republic of Chile would have the Court do, the requirement that the character of a given tortious act be judicially analyzed to determine whether it was of the type heretofore denoted as *jure gestionis* or should be classified as *jure imperii*. Indeed, the other provisions of the Act mandate that the Court not do so, for it is made clear that the Act and the principles it sets forth in its specific provisions are henceforth to govern all claims of sovereign immunity by foreign states. 28 U.S.C. §§ 1602, 1604 (1976).

Although the unambiguous language of the Act makes inquiry almost unnecessary,

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

further examination reveals nothing in its legislative history that contradicts or qualifies its plain meaning. The relative frequency of automobile accidents and their potentially grave financial impact may have placed that problem foremost in the minds of Congress, but the applicability of the Act was not so limited, for the committees made it quite clear that the Act "is cast *in general terms* as applying to *all tort actions* for money damages" so as to provide recompense for "the victim of a traffic accident or *other noncommercial tort*." H.R.Rep.No. 94-1487, *supra* at 20-21 (emphasis supplied); S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 20-21 (same). Further, any notion that the Congress wished the courts to go outside the scheme promulgated by legislative action to determine the extent to which the defense of sovereign immunity could be invoked is foreclosed by the committee reports that not only state that "[t]his bill . . . sets forth the *sole and exclusive* standard to be used in resolving questions of sovereign immunity raised by foreign states before Federal and State courts in the United States," H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 12 (emphasis supplied); S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 11 (same), but also provide that the burden of proof shall be upon the foreign state to present evidence "that the plaintiff's claim relates to a *public act* of the foreign state—that is, *an act not within the exceptions in section 1605-1607*," H.R.Rep. No.94-1487, *supra* at 17 (emphasis supplied); S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 17 (same). Thus, it is apparent that the terms of section 1605(a)(5) set the sole standard under which any claim of sovereign immunity must be examined.[6]

6. The Republic of Chile has cited several cases decided since the passage of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act that it contends establish foreign states under the Act are to be granted immunity for any tortious act committed by a sovereign entity while acting in its public capacity. The Court finds these cases inapposite.

In *Carey v. National Oil Corp.*, 453 F.Supp. 1097, 1102 (S.D.N.Y.1978), *aff'd on other grounds*, 592 F.2d 673 (2d Cir. 1979) (per curiam), while indicating in what could be classified as dictum that the alleged acts of a foreign state to induce a breach of contract were sovereign and therefore not within the exceptions to immunity in the Act, the court found that at best the supposed actions of the foreign state would state a claim for tortious interference with contract rights, which was exempted specifically by section 1605(a)(5)(B). Likewise in *Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency*, 443 F.Supp. 849, 855 (S.D.N.Y.1978), the court found it had no jurisdiction to entertain a claim of libel as a noncommercial tort under section 1605(a)(5) because such a cause of action was exempted by the terms of subsection (B). Thus, in each of these instances, the tort action in question was barred not by classification of the actions in question as public or private, but rather because Congress had exempted them from the broad category of noncommercial torts for which a foreign state cannot claim immunity.

Reference is also made by the Chilean Republic to *Gittler v. German Information Center*, 95 Misc.2d 788, 408 N.Y.S.2d 600 (Sup.Ct. 1978). In that case, suit was brought to recover unpaid compensation and benefits allegedly due an American citizen for his work on documentary films commissioned by an entity of the West German government and designed to foster cultural relations between Germany and the United States. Relying on the decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in *Heaney v. Government of Spain*, 445 F.2d 501 (2d Cir. 1971), in which the court determined that a government's contract for public relations work designed to discredit another nation was a public or sovereign act entitling it to immunity from any suit for breach of that contract, the New York Supreme Court in *Gittler* found the agreement in question to be one involving sovereign action of West Germany, thereby precluding any suit to enforce its terms. 408 N.Y.S.2d at 601. Although it is unclear whether the court in *Gittler* made its finding of immunity pursuant to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, that Act having become effective after the date of the alleged breach of contract and after suit was filed, nonetheless to the extent that the case can be so read, this Court declines to follow its analysis of the immunity issue. It is made evident both in the Act and in its legislative history that any decision to grant immunity to a foreign state is dependent on the provisions of the Act and thus the case law on the subject of sovereign immunity as it analyzed the distinctions between commercial or private acts and a state's public actions is persuasive only to the extent those interpretations can be deemed to be in conformity with the exceptions to immunity as set forth in the Act. *Compare* H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 16 (contract of foreign government to buy provisions or equipment for armed forces or to construct government building is commercial activity under Act) *and* S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 15-16 (same) *with Heaney v. Government of Spain*, *supra*, 445 F.2d at 504 (dictum) (foreign

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Examining then the specific terms of section 1605(a)(5), despite the Chilean failure to have addressed the issue, the Court is called upon to consider whether either of the exceptions to liability for tortious acts found in section 1605(a)(5) applies in this instance. It is readily apparent, however, that the claims herein did not arise "out of malicious prosecution, abuse of process, libel, slander, misrepresentation, deceit, or interference with contract rights," 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(5)(B) (1976), and therefore only the exemption for claims "based upon the exercise or performance or the failure to exercise or perform a discretionary function regardless of whether the discretion be abused," *id.* § 1605(a)(5)(A), can be applicable.

As its language and the legislative history make apparent, the discretionary act exemption of subsection (A) corresponds to the discretionary act exception found in the Federal Tort Claims Act. H.R.Rep.No.94-1487, *supra* at 21; S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 20. *Compare* 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(5)(A) (1976) *with id.* § 2680(a). As defined by the United States Supreme Court in interpreting the Federal Tort Claims Act, an act that is discretionary is one in which "there is room for policy judgment and decision." *Dalehite v. United States*, 346 U.S. 15, 36, 73 S.Ct. 956, 968, 97 L.Ed. 1427 (1953). Applying this definition to the instant action, the question becomes, would the alleged determination of the Chilean Republic to set into motion and assist in the precipitation of those events that culminated in the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt be of the kind in which there is "room for policy judgment and decision."

While it seems apparent that a decision calculated to result in injury or death to a particular individual or individuals, made for whatever reason, would be one most assuredly involving policy judgment and decision and thus exempt as a discretionary act under section 1605(a)(5)(A), that exception is not applicable to bar this suit. As it has been recognized, there is no discretion to commit, or to have one's officers or agents commit, an illegal act. *Cruikshank v. United States*, 431 F.Supp. 1355, 1359 (D.Hawaii 1977); *see Hatahley v. United States*, 351 U.S. 173, 181, 76 S.Ct. 745, 751, 100 L.Ed. 1065 (1956). Whatever policy options may exist for a foreign country, it has no "discretion" to perpetrate conduct designed to result in the assassination of an individual or individuals, action that is clearly contrary to the precepts of humanity as recognized in both national and international law. Accordingly there would be no "discretion" within the meaning of section 1605(a)(5)(A) to order or to aid in an assassination and were it to be demonstrated that a foreign state has undertaken any such act in this country, that foreign state could not be accorded sovereign immunity under subsection (A) for any tort claims resulting from its conduct. As a consequence, the Republic of Chile cannot claim sovereign immunity under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act for its alleged involvement in the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt.

Finally, the Republic of Chile seeks to invoke the act of state doctrine to excuse itself from the jurisdiction of the Court. As recognized by the Supreme Court in its recent decision in *Alfred Dunhill of London, Inc. v. Republic of Cuba*, the traditional formulation of this principle provides:

> Every sovereign State is bound to respect the independence of every other sovereign State, and the courts of one country will not sit in judgment on the acts of the government of another done within its own territory. Redress of grievances by reason of such acts must be obtained through the means open to be availed of by sovereign powers as between themselves.

government's contract to purchase bullets or erect fortifications for army is sovereign rather than commercial or private act) *and Victory Transport, Inc. v. Comisaria General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*, *supra*, 336 F.2d at 360 (dictum) (purchase of shoes or bullets for army, erection of fortifications, or rental of house for embassy not private acts). See also *Broadbent v. Organization of American States*, No. 78-1465 (D.C.Cir. Jan. 8, 1980).

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425 U.S. 682, 691 n. 7, 96 S.Ct. 1854, 1859, 48 L.Ed.2d 301 (1976) (quoting *Underhill v. Hernandez*, 168 U.S. 250, 252, 18 S.Ct. 83, 84, 42 L.Ed. 456 (1897)). While again denying involvement in the deaths at issue here, the Chilean Republic asserts that those acts of which it is accused would be public ventures carried out within Chile itself and therefore entitled to immunity under the act of state doctrine.

Although the acts allegedly undertaken directly by the Republic of Chile to obtain the death of Orlando Letelier may well have been carried out entirely within that country, that circumstance alone will not allow it to absolve itself under the act of state doctrine if the actions of its alleged agents resulted in tortious injury in this country. To hold otherwise would totally emasculate the purpose and effectiveness of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act by permitting a foreign state to reimpose the so recently supplanted framework of sovereign immunity as defined prior to the Act " 'through the back door, under the guise of the act of state doctrine.' " H.R.Rep.No. 94-1487, *supra* at 20 n. 1 (quoting Amicus Brief of United States at 41, *Alfred Dunhill of London, Inc. v. Republic of Cuba*, 425 U.S. 682, 96 S.Ct. 1854, 48 L.Ed.2d 301 (1976)); S.Rep.No.94-1310, *supra* at 19 n. 1 (same).

Accordingly, the Court having subject matter jurisdiction to entertain this action, a status hearing will be held on March 18, 1980, at 10:00 a. m. at which time argument will be heard on plaintiffs' pending motion to compel defendant Townley to answer interrogatories and a time will be set for a hearing, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1608(e), to establish evidence satisfactory to the Court to permit the entry of a default judgment against the Republic of Chile.

In the Matter of the Petition on the Behalf of Carol Ann CYWINSKI for a writ of habeas corpus

v.

Colonel Charles W. BINNEY, Commander and Secretary of Defense.

Civ. No. B-80-0062.

United States District Court, D. Maryland.

March 11, 1980.

Enlisted member of United States Army since 1974 sought to secure her release from service, through writ of habeas corpus, claiming that she was improperly denied conscientious objector status. The District Court, Blair, J., held that: (1) Army did not deprive petitioner of procedural due process in that it failed to provide her with copy of staff judge advocate's recommendation when it submitted whole record for her review in rebuttal as documented issue presented no new facts or information in support of its recommendation and simply summarized reasons stated elsewhere in the record; and (2) evidence supported Army's decision not to reclassify enlistee as conscientious objector.

Writ denied.

1. Habeas Corpus ⇐45(3)

District courts of the United States have jurisdiction to entertain petitions for habeas corpus filed by military personnel seeking discharge by reason of conscientious objection.

2. Armed Services ⇐11

Test to determine whether an individual is entitled to conscientious objector status is the same for persons not yet inducted and persons in the military; essential elements are that person must be opposed to war in any form, his or her opposition must be based upon religious training and belief, and his or her objection must be sincere.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01626 142119Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /072 W
----------003240 142122Z /64

O R 142037Z MAR 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6486
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 1626

MEXICO FOR LABATT NIXON

E.O. 12065: GDS-3-14-86 (PASCUA, GERARD R) OR-P
TAGS: PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJ: REMAINING WOMEN'S DAY PRISONERS RELEASED

REF: A) SANTIAGO 1558 B) MEXICO 4350

1. (U) EXCEPT FOR TWELVE PERSONS BANISHED TO PROVINCIAL TOWNS (REF A), THE REMAINING PRISONERS ARRESTED IN VALPARAISO (11 MEN, 11 WOMEN) AND SANTIAGO (46 MEN, 34 WOMEN) MARCH 7-8 IN CONNECTION WITH INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATIONS HAVE NOW BEEN RELEASED. (THE NUMBER DETAINED IN SANTIGO IS LOWER THAN EARLIER REPORTED; SOME 22 OF THOSE INITIALLY ARRESTED WERE MINORS WHO WERE RELEASED TO THE CUSTODY OF THEIR PARENTS WITHIN A FEW HOURS AFTER ARREST.)

2. (U) THOSE WHO WERE BANISHED DEPARTED SANTIAGO AND VALPARAISO MARCH 12. WITHIN THEIR TOWNS OF BANISHMENT THEY ARE FREE TO LIVE AND DO AS THEY PLEASE BUT MUST CHECK IN WITH LOCAL POLICE PERIODICALLY (NORMALLY EITHER EVERY 24 OR 48 HOURS).

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01626 142119Z

3. (U) FAMILIES OF THE EIGHT BANISHED SANTIAGO RESIDENTS HAVE FILED WRITS OF "AMPARO " (HABEUS CORPUS) WITH THE LOCAL APPEALS COURT. THEY HAVE REQUESTED THAT THE BANISHMENT ORDER BE OVERTURNED ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR ACTED WITHOUT AUTHORITY AND THAT THE EIGHT WERE UNABLE TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT

TO A DEFENSE IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

4. (U) COINCIDENT WITH THE RELEASE IN SANTIAGO OF THE 46 MALE PRISONERS, AN APPEALS COURT DENIED A WRIT OF "AMPARO" FILED BY LAWYERS ACTING FOR THE MEN. THE WRIT ARGUED THAT THE POLICE HAD EXCEEDED THEIR AUTHORITY IN MAINTAINING THE MEN INCOMMUNICADO. A COURT APPOINTED JUDGE REPORTEDLY VISITED THE JAIL AND FOUND THE CHARGE TO BE UNFOUNDED.

5. (C) FOR MEXICO CITY (WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR 4350): WHILE THE SANTIAGO DEMONSTRATION, WHICH INVOLVED 200-300 PEOPLE, WAS UNDOUBTEDLY POLITICAL IN NATURE, WE HAVE LITTLE CONCRETE AS TO WHO ORGANIZED IT. SEVERAL SSOURCES HAVE TOLD LABATT THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR ORGANIZING GROUPS WAS THE COORDINADORA NACIONAL SINDICAL (CNS), A LEFTIST TRADE UNION GROUPING, ESPECIALLY THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE CNS WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT IS COMPLETELY CONTROLLED BY COMMUNIST ELEMENTS. OF THE SIGNERS OF THE CABLE TO ORIT, MANUEL BUSTOS IS A LEFTIST CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, EX-GROUP OF TEN MEMBER, AND PRESIDENT OF THE CNS; MANUEL JIMINEZ IS A MEMBER OF THE CNS DIRECTORATE AND A MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY; AND SERGIO FREYHOFFER IS ALSO A MEMBER OF THE CNS EXECUTIVE AND A PRO-UP RADICAL PARTY MEMBER WHO HAS MADE A NUMBER OF ATTACKS ON THE AFL-CIO AND LEADERS OF THE GROUP OF TEN, PARTICULARLY WHEN TRAVELLING ABROAD. SO FAR AS
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01626 142119Z

WE ARE AWARE, NO LABOR LEADERS, CNS OR OTHERWISE, WERE AMONG THE 12 PERSONS INTERNALLY BANISHED.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN JO001437

ADP983

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 01437 172230Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 HA-05 DCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 /065 W
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O P R 172204Z MAR 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8107
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USINT HAVANA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN
JCS WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC

[redacted] SAN JOSE 1437

EO 12065: GDS 3-17-86 (BINNS , J.R.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, CS, ES, NU, PEPR
SUBJ: (C) THE SALVADORAN CONNECTION

REF: MANAGUA 1272

1. [redacted]

2. EMBASSY FINDS STATEMENT IN SUMMARY OF REFTEL, REPEATED IN DIFFERENT FORM IN PARA 6, THAT "NICARAGUA'S CUBAN FRIENDS ... ARE USING HONDURAS AND COSTA RICA AS STAGING AREAS FOR THEIR SUBVERSION..." SURPRISING. THE PROBLEM MAY HINGE ON THE DEFINITION OF "STAGING AREA", WHICH WE DEFINE

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN JO 01437 172230Z

AS AN AREA WHERE FORCES AND SUPPLIES ARE ORGANIZED AND PREPARED FOR ACTION. WE HAVE NO REAL EVIDENCE THAT COSTA RICA HAS BEEN SO USED AS REGARDS EL SALVADOR. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF SALVADORAN EXTREMIST GROUPS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MOVE FREELY IN AND OUT OF COSTA RICA, AND HAVE MET WITH CUBAN PERSONNEL STATIONED IN COSTA RICA.

3. DOES EMBASSY MANAGUA HAVE ANY EVIDENCE THAT MORE THAN THIS IS INVOLVED?

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/16/94
Case ID: S940032F

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

3/17/80 NB023

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (Entire Text) March 17, 1980

TO: ARA/DAS - Mr. Eaton
ARA/AND - Mr. Barnebey/Mr. Knepper

FROM: ARA/AND/CH - Peter D. Whitney

SUBJECT: LETELIER/MOFFITT CIVIL SUIT

Introduction: Following last week's article in the Washington Post I checked with our usual contacts at the FBI and the Justice Department and obtained the following information.

Letelier/Moffitt Civil Suit: U.S. District Judge Joyce Hens Green has ruled that the GOC can be sued for money damages and Chilean assets in the U.S. could be attached as a result of the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. This possibility is somewhat remote. In order to prove the GOC is responsible for the assassination one must have the testimony of Michael Townley. He is a defendant in the civil suit and, as such, is not required to testify against himself. In addition, nearly all the testimony of the FBI agents and Justice Department officials would be regarded as "hearsay." Hearsay is not permissible in a civil suit if it is challenged. Although the GOC has, so far, refused to become involved in the civil suit on the grounds that the D.C. court does not have proper jurisdiction, it might at some point wish to enter the case to challenge the "hearsay."

Theoretical Scenario for Attachment of Chilean Assets: The following is a theoretical scenario for the attachment of Chilean assets in Washington. First, the Judge's decision would have to be affirmed up the ladder of the courts and this would take several years at least. In her ruling, the Judge has overturned a 1976 law which provides immunity to representatives of a sovereign power. She argues that this law was not meant to protect such immune persons if they committed a criminal act such as murder. Second, the evidence would have to be strong, and this would require the testimony of Michael Townley, which is highly unlikely.

Michael Townley. As recently as last week Townley told a Department of Justice official that he would not testify in the civil suit case because he did not want to help the Letelier/IPS group which is the plaintiff. Townley would rather accept a "contempt" charge than testify. In most jurisdictions he would not be subject to a contempt charge for not testifying

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if he were not "available." It has not been determined whether a refusal to testify is a legitimate rationale for being "unavailable" or not. Although Townley continues to aver his intention to return to Chile when he completes his sentence and to not testify further, it is interesting to note that the GOC did not process the importation of his car and his old "friend" in the Chilean intelligence service refuses to take phone calls from him. Townley has been quite irritated about this. Townley is eligible for parole in the summer of 1981. If he were to receive a "contempt" charge it might delay him another 6-18 months.

cc: L/EB - Mr. Willis

3/17/80

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P 041

PAGE 01 BUENOS 02316 172045Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10
LAB-04 NSAE-00 STR-09 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 /108 W
----------024022 172116Z /63

P R 172003Z MAR 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4674
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 2316

USEEC

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/17/86 (FREEMAN, ANTHONY G.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB PINS AR SHUM
SUBJECT: (U) BOMBING ATTEMPT AT HOME OF PERONIST LABOR LEADER

REF: BUENOS AIRES 1611 (PARA 9)

1. (U) A BOMB EXPLODED IN FRONT OF THE HOME OF PERONIST LABOR LEADER ROBERTO GARCIA IN THE EARLY HOUS OF MARCH 14. GARCIA, EX-SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE TAXI UNION, IS THE NOMINAL HEAD OF THE UNION BLOC KNOWN AS THE MOVIMIENTO SINDICAL PERONISTA (MSP) AND FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU). THE BOMB REPORTEDLY DID LITTLE DAMAGE AND NO ONE WAS INJURED. POLICE REPORTEDLY DEACTIVATED ANOTHER BOMB BEFORE IT WENT OFF.

2. (U) FOLLOWING THE BOMB ATTEMPT THE MSP ISSUED A STATEMENT WHICH SAID THAT "FOR FOUR YEARS NOW, THE ARGENTINE LABOR MOVEMENT HAS BEEN SUFFERING A SYSTEMATIC AND CONSTANT AGGRESSION AT ALL LEVELS: INSTITUTIONAL, ORGANIZ AND EVEN PERSONAL, IN PERFECT CORRELATION WITH
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 02316 172045Z

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES (OF THE GOVERNMENT), WHICH SERIOUSLY THREATEN THE WORKERS OF OUR COUNTRY."

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3. (U) THE TRADITIONALLY ANTI-PERONIST BUENOS AIRES HERALD TOOK THE MSP TO TASK FOR DEMAGOGICALLY IMPLYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMB ATTEMPT AND THEN ADDED ITS OWN SPECULATION THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF VIOLENCE-PRONE PERONIST LABOR POLITICS, SOME RIVAL PERONIST FACTION MIGHT HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE.

4. [redacted] GARCIA IS THE MOST AGGRESSIVELY ANTI-GOVERNMENT OF THE CURRENT CROP OF PERONIST LABOR LEADERS. GOVERNMENT LABOR OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN INFORMALLY WARNING LABOR OBSERVERS FOR WEEKS THAT GARCIA COULD EXPECT TO BE REARRESTED, OR WORSE, IF HE DID NOT LET UP ON HIS PRESSURE TO HOLD A GENERAL PLENARY OF REGIONAL AND NATIONAL LABOR LEADERS TO DISCUSS AN ACTION PLAN (INCLUDING STRIKE ACTION) AGAINST GOVERNMENT LABOR POLICIES.
CASTRO

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INCOMING TELEGRAM
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Department of State

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02287 2920562 3262 SAN SA 02287 2920562
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 NP-10 SR-04 DCT-02 AID-07
ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /094 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7769
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2287

MEXICO FOR ASST.SEC. BOWDLER

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/28/86 OR-M
TAGS: PINT, PINS, SNUM, ES
SUBJ: CALL BY AMERICAN FRIENDS ON AMBASSADOR

[redacted]

2. EMBASSY REGRETS DELAY IN TRANSMISSION OF REPORT ON AMBASSADOR'S 2880 MEETING MONDAY (MARCH 24) AT EMBASSY WITH AMERICAN FRIENDS GROUP. THEY HAD NOT CONTACTED EMBASSY UNTIL IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S ASSASSINATION WHEN THEY ASKED TO SEE THE AMBASSADOR IMMEDIATELY. IN ENSUING CRISIS OF ARCHBISHOP'S DEATH REPORTING CABLE WAS DELAYED. DCM SPOKE AT LENGTH WITH ARLEN WILSON BY SECURE PHONE ON WEDNESDAY TO PASS ALONG DETAILS OF SESSION.

3. MEMBERS OF FRIENDS COMMITTEE GROUP DESCRIBED TO AMBASSADOR THEIR CONVERSATION WITH REFUGEES WHO HAVE BEEN ARRIVING IN SAN SALVADOR OVER THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS AND MANY OF WHOM HAVE BEEN LODGED AT OFFICES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE. FATHER WIPFLER OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN PARTICULAR RECOUNTED STORIES OF ATROCITIES ATTRIBUTED BY REFUGEES TO ORDEN AND MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES. HE SUGGESTED THAT ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S DEATH HAD BEEN WORK OF SECURITY FORCES AND SAID THERE WAS REALLY NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE JRG, THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE ULTRA-RIGHT. MR. QUIGLEY OF THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE SUPPORTED FATHER WIPFLER IN THIS ASSESSMENT. OTHER MEMBERS OF GROUP WERE ALSO VEHEMENT ON SCOPE AND INTENSITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS' VIOLATIONS IN THE COUNTRY-SIDE WHICH THEY ALSO ATTRIBUTED TO THE SECURITY FORCES.

4. AMBASSADOR DEFENDED THE DECENCY AND GOOD WILL OF THE JRG, DESCRIBED HIS WIFE'S ACTIVITIES ON BEHALF OF THE REFUGEES FROM RURAL VIOLENCE AND REJECTED THE ASSERTION THAT JRG, SECURITY FORCES AND ULTRA-RIGHT ARE IDENTICAL ENTITIES. WE DO NOT KNOW, HE SAID, WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ARCHBISHOP'S DEATH AND THE AUTHORS MAY NEVER BE FOUND BUT WE KNOW FROM FIRST-HAND REPORTS OF AMERICAN PERSONNEL THAT ARMY GARRISONS AND POLICE WERE STUNNED BY THE NEWS.
WE KNOW THAT THE REFUGEES UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE ARCHDIOCESE HAVE FLED FROM VILLAGES THAT SECURITY FORCES IDENTIFIED AS "PRO-BPR" OR "PRO-FPL" AND WHERE INNOCENT CIVILIANS WERE ATTACKED AND KILLED ALONG WITH LEFT-WING POLITICAL ACTIVISTS AND ARMED INSURGENTS. WE DEPLORE THESE EXCESSES ON THE PART OF THESECURITY FORCES AND HAVE URGED THE JRG AND THE HIGH COMMAND TO TAKEEVERY STEP TO DISCIPLINE THE TROOPS.

5. THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE SALVADORAN COUNTRY-SIDE HAS BEEN HIGH FOR OVER SIX MONTHS. THE KILLING BY BOTH THE EXTREME LEFT AND THE EXTREME RIGHT, AS WELL AS BY SECURITY FORCES EMPLOYING SECLESSIVE BRUTALITY AGAINST ANYBODY SUSPECTED OF COMPLICITY IN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES, REACHED NEW HIGHS IN THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS. WE HAVE TOLD JRG AND HIGH COMMAND THAT CONTINUED US MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL BE ENDANGERED BY OFFICIAL INSPIRED OR TOLERATED VIOLENCE.
WE ARE CERTAIN THE JRG IS TRYING TO BRING VIOLENCE TO AN END BUT THAT SOME ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY ARE IGNORING THEIR ORDERS. THE REAL PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY IS NOT THAT THE JRG IS REPRESSIVE BUT THAT IT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO RESTORE ORDER AMIDST INCREDIBLE VIOLENCE FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT.

6. FRIENDS GROUP MADE CLEAR IN SUBSEQUENT REMARKS THAT THEY WERE SPEAKING EXCLUSIVELY OF RIGHT WING VIOLENCE, OR OPPRESSION, IN WHICH THEY IMPLICATED MILITARY, ULTRA RIGHT AND JUNTA BUT THAT VIOLENCE FROM THE ULTRA LEFT WAS SIMPLY INVISIBLE TO THEM.

7. AT THIS POINT WE DESCRIBED CLOSE LIAISON BETWEEN EMBASSY AND PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS IMPLEMENTING THE LAND REFORM. THEY INFORM US THAT MUCH RURAL VIOLENCE IS ASSOCIATED WITH FAR LEFT EFFORTS TO TERRORIZE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE REPS AND ELECTED MEMBERS OF NEWLY FORMED PEASANT COOPERATIVES WHO ARE TAKING OVER THE GREAT ESTATES. SCA WHILE WE ARE AWARE THAT FAR RIGHT AND SOME ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES ARE TAKING PART IN BRUTAL KILLINGS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, WE ARE ALSO AWARE THAT THE FAR LEFT IS CARRYING ON ITS OWN CAMPAIGN OF MURDER AND INTIMIDATION AND THAT IT IS AIMED INCREASINGLY AT THE OFFICIALS AND ELECTED MANAGERS OF THE NEW COOPERATIVE FARMS. THIS SHOULD BE DENOUNCED TOO AS A DESPERATE EFFORT TO STOP SOCIAL CHANGE IN EL SALVADOR THAT WILL STRIKE HARD AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF MARXIST EXTREMISM. THESE COMMENTS WERE RECEIVED WITH GOOD DISBELIEF.

8. ONLY ONE YOUNG PROGRESSIVE OFFICER, RENE GUERRA Y GUERRA, A KEY FIGURE IN THE OCTOBER 15 COUP, HAS LEFT EL SALVADOR. HE IS REPORTEDLY IN SAN SALVADOR.
WHITE

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] DECLASSIFIED
United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: 9940032G

RELEASED

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80STATE 082898

ADP180
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 082898
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-00 EUR-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00
EB-08 AID-07 OMB-01 SY-05 DCT-02 HA-05 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /094 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ IMMEDIATE
USINT HAVANA PRIORITY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

UNCLAS STATE 082898

E.O. 12065: N/A
UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 082898

TAGS: MASS, ES

SUBJECT: SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS
AND NICARAGUA

RLF: (A) MADRID 4566, (B) OTTAWA 1510,
(C) MANAGUA 1460

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940032G

1. CURRENT PLANNED LEVELS OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE (EXCLUDING ESF) FOR CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA IN FY 1980 AND 1980 FOLLOW:

(IN MILLIONS OF $)

	FY 980		FY 98	
	FMS	IMET	FMS	IMET
EL SALVADOR	$ 5.7	$0.350	$5.0	$0.498
HONDURAS	3.53	0.447	5.0	0.495
NICARAGUA	.27	0. 46;	5.0	0.498
PANAMA	----	0.348	5.0	0.498
TOTALS	$ 0.5	.29	20.0	.989

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PAGE 01 STATE 082898
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-00 EUR-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00
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AMEMBASSY ROME

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E.O. 12065: N/A
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PAGE 02 STATE 082898

TAGS: MASS, ES

SUBJECT: SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS
AND NICARAGUA

REF: (A) MADRID 4566, (B) OTTAWA 1510,
(C) MANAGUA 1460

PAGE NO. 1

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940032C

1. CURRENT PLANNED LEVELS OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE (EXCLUDING ESF) FOR CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA IN FY 1980 AND 1980 FOLLOW:

(IN MILLIONS OF $)

	FY 980		FY 98	
	FMS	IMET	FMS	IMET
EL SALVADOR	$ 5.7	$0.350	$5.0	$0.498
HONDURAS	3.53	0.447	5.0	0.495
NICARAGUA	.27	0. 46;	5.0	0.498
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ACTION ARA-15

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7778
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 2288

MEXICO FOR ASST. SEC. BOWDLER

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: MASS SOPN ES
SUBJ: WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE

1. THANK YOU FOR SENDING THE CHRIS DICKEY ARTICLE ENTITLED "U.S. ENVOYS QUESTION MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR."

2. I DO NOT HAVE ANY IDEA WHERE DICKEY FOUND THE ENVOYS TO WHOM HE REFERS. THE ONLY TIME THE DCM AND I SAW DICKEY WAS AT A PRESS BRIEFING ATTENDED BY 30 OR 40 PERSONS. I AM CERTAIN THAT USICA OFFICERS SAW DICKEY AT OTHER TIMES BUT I AM EQUALLY CERTAIN THEY WERE NOT THE SOURCE.

3. I WILL PROVIDE DEPARTMENT WITH A STATEMENT ON MILITARY AID BY MONDAY.

4. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF MY STATEMENT AT THE PRESS BRIEFING:

QUOTE:
Q. WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR?

A. THIS GOVERNMENT HAS REQUESTED BOTH ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE. YOUR PARTICULAR QUESTION, BERNIE, WAS ABOUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE, SO I'LL JUST CONCENTRATE ON THAT. THE TYPE OF ASSISTANCE THE GOVERNMENT HAS REQUESTED AND WHICH WE WANT TO GIVE TO THEM -- PROVIDED THE CONGRESS APPROVES THE 5.7 MILLION DOLLARS -- IS BASICALLY COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT AND TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT, TRUCKS. AND COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT, WHY? BECAUSE A CAPTAIN OR A MAJOR TAKES FIFTY MEN OUT ON PATROL TO COUNTER A LEFTIST GUERRILLA THREAT, AND HE SENDS OUT VARIOUS PATROLS AND HE HAS NO WAY OF COMMUNICATING WITH THEM. SO WHAT HAPPENS? THESE MEN WITHOUT DIRECTIONS OF THEIR OFFICER SOMETIMES HAVE TO ACT ON THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITY. WE WANT -- THROUGH THIS COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT -- TO INCREASE THE CAPACITY OF THE MILITARY OFFICERS WHO ARE MORE HIGHLY TRAINED AND IN COMMAND, IN ORDER TO MAKE SURE THAT THE COMMAND STRUCTURE DOES NOT BREAK DOWN AND THAT SOME PEOPLE DO NOT FOLLOW THEIR PRIVATE INCLINATIONS. WE HAVE ALSO SUPPLIED THIS GOVERNMENT WITH SOME NON-LETHAL CROWD-CONTROL EQUIPMENT, SUCH AS TEAR GAS AND FLAK JACKETS. THE PHILOSOPHY HERE IS THAT THE YOUNG PRIVATE OR CORPORAL WILL FEEL A LOT MORE CONFIDENT OF HIMSELF AND WILL BE A LOT LESS READY TO SHOOT IF HE FEELS THAT HE IS, TO SOME DEGREE, PROTECTED FROM THE MOB BY THIS TYPE OF EQUIPMENT. SO, IT IS DEFINITELY DEFENSIVE TYPE PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT. REGARDING THE MILITARY TRAINING TEAMS, THE GOVERNMENT DID REQUEST THOSE. WE HAVE NOT RESPONDED, AND I THINK THAT THE DECISION OF WHETHER TO RESPOND OR NOT TO RESPOND IS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON, AS I UNDERSTAND IT.
END QUOTE
WHITE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: 9940032C

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA, 1977-1980:
UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

Edith James

Office of the Historian

Research Project No. 1224-K

April 1980

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

The triumph of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation in Nicaragua during July 1979, completed the first successful guerrilla revolution in Latin America since Castro's victory in Cuba twenty years earlier. By March 1980, another such revolution had gotten under way in El Salvador. These revolutions posed important policy concerns for President Jimmy Carter.

1977: THE SETTING

During 1977 President Carter firmly committed the United States to work toward a order that respected individual human rights and responded to human aspirations. El Salvador and Nicaragua posed situations that demonstrated the complexities involved in implementing human-rights policy. El Salvador, the most densely populated country in Central America, was a logical setting for unrest. The highly imbalanced distribution of income, wealth, and land characterized the export-oriented economy. Nearly a third of the work force was unemployed. For over forty years, the Somoza family and its National Guard had ruled Nicaragua. The Somozas concentrated much of the country's land and productive capacity in their own hands. By the late 1970's broad-based opposition groups challenged the rulers of both countries.

On May 3 United States Representative to the United Nations Andrew Young stated the Administration's basic policy in an address before a session of the United Nations Economic Commission on Latin America.

> There is at this moment, waiting to be born, a new synthesis of two powerful ideas . . . . the integration of the concepts of social justice and economic development into a single vision of historical process. . . . We must unite the concept of development (which usuallly means economic growth) with the concept of liberation (which usually means freedom from oppression, poverty, dependence, and degradation). (Doc. 1)

During 1977, the United States support for economic growth with social justice in El Salvador and in Nicaragua became manifest in three main areas: economic cooperation, dispute settlement, and human rights.

The Carter administration fostered the concept of regional economic cooperation, structuring assistance programs along regional lines and stressing integration through the Central American common Market, an organization launched in the early 1960s. At a meeting in Washington with President Carter on September 8 El Salvador's President, Carlos Humberto Romero Mena, informed President Carter that the Congress

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

had voted to accept the agreement signed in 1976 at Washington that provided for mediation of the border disputes. At the same meeting, President Romero told Carter of his request that a commission on human rights from the United Nations or the Organization of American States go to El Salvador to view progress there. Earlier that year, the Carter administration cited human rights violations in Nicaragua and El Salvador as a factor that restricted military aid to both countries.

1978: NICARAGUA IN CRISIS

Diplomatic pressure did not force Somoza to improve his human-rights record. On January 10, 1978, the most widely-known opposition leader was assassinated, the moderate Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, editor of La Prensa. This act led to a nationwide strike. Religious, civic, and business leaders, political organizations, and the Sandinistas supported the strike, which lasted for two weeks. During the protests, the National Guard, reinforced by tanks, battled armed civilians. Somoza sought to maintain power, despite calls for his resignation. By March conditions verged on civil war.

Commenting on the violence in Nicaragua during a visit to Caracas, President Carter offered a plan to deal with the situation:

> ...a delegation from the United Nations or the OAS should be welcomed into Nicaragua and other countries where human rights are threatened, to provide the facts to the outside world. We have a policy in our country, which I am insistent in maintaining, of not intervening in the internal affairs of other nations. But we have a right to express our own selves forcefully and also to encourage action on the part of the United Nations and OAS in going into countries to determine the facts. (Doc. 2)

Support for Somoza was impossible, given the U.S. commitment to human rights; the Administration threw its weight behind a process of mediation.

In September, a massive uprising occurred in Nicaragua, and Somoza declared martial law. From September to December 1978, the United States played a major role in a mediation aimed at arranging the resignation of Somoza.

On September 21, before the meeting of consultation of the foreign ministers of the OAS countries, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher urged that the OAS support humanitarian relief to the people of Nicaragua

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

> who have been affected by the fighting of the past several weeks and, as may be necessary, to the Nicaraguan refugees in Honduras and Costa Rica; support the mandate of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and urge that it investigate forthwith the allegations of serious violations in Nicaragua; support and extend the mandate of the factfinding mission in an effort to keep further violence from spilling across international borders; and urge the Government of Nicaragua and the opposition groups that have called for international conciliation to accept an offer of good offices to help find an enduring and democratic solution. (Doc. 3)

A few days later Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, speaking to the General Assembly of the United Nations reaffirmed the United States' determination to find a peaceful solution.

> In this Hemisphere, we must respond to the agony of those caught up in the violence and bloodshed of Nicaragua. We and several countries in Latin America have offered to assist in the mediation of Nicaragua's internal crises.
>
> It is our hope and expectation that all parties concerned will accept these offers and agree to a fair mediation process in which all can have confidence. Only a democratic solution in Nicaragua-- not repression or violence -- can lead to an enduring stability and true peace. (Doc. 4)

The Administration thus indicated that it favored replacement of Somoza by means of a moderate solution, perhaps a national plebiscite. On September 30 Somoza accepted an International Mediation Group that included representatives of the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and the United States. On October 2 Carter appointed Ambassador William G. Bowdler to the Group. Meanwhile, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission investigated alleged abuses and on November 17 issued a unanimous condemnation of the regime.

Early in December the conciliation attempt seemed likely to produce results. On December 6, Somoza agreed to lift the decree of martial law, to grant amnesty to political prisoners, and to relax censorship. The next day Carter remarked to the Members of the White House Correspondents Association:

> We're making some progress, I think, in Nicaragua. . . to get Somoza for the first time even to agree to an outside arbitration group to resolve the differences

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

> between himself and his political adversaries in Nicaragua, to stop the violence, to restrain the shipment of arms into Nicaragua to both sides, and to provide peace between Nicaragua and her immediate neighbors. . . . we have helped to shift the Nicaraguan circumstance from active and massive bloodshed and violence into a negotiation on the details of a democratic plebiscite, that would be monitored by the United Nations or by the OAS, that would decide on the future government of Nicaragua. (Doc. 5)

Shortly thereafter the opposition agreed to the Mediation Group's proposal for an national plebiscite sponsored by the OAS.

1979: REVOLUTION TRIUMPHS

On January 18 Somoza rejected the plebiscite. In response, the United States announced the end of military ties and some economic aid. On that occasion the State Department spokesman, Hodding Carter, said that the three-nation negotiating team "concluded that it cannot break the impasse between the opposition and the Nicaraguan Government caused by President Somoza's unwillingness to accept the essential elements of the mediators' most recent proposal." (Doc. 6)

The United States would take certain steps:

> First, the United States is withdrawing the U.S. military assistance group in Nicaragua, and it is terminating our military assistance program which has, in fact, been suspended for some months.
> Second, with respect to economic assistance, those Agency for International Development projects which are well-advanced will continue since they are aimed at the basic human needs of the poor. . . . However, no new projects with the government will be considered under present conditions. . . .
> Third, we are withdrawing all Peace Corps volunteers from Nicaragua.
> Fourth, we are also reducing the number of U.S. Government officials at our embassy in Managua. (Doc. 6)

Thereafter, full-scale fighting broke out; by May civil war paralyzed the nation. Mexico then broke diplomatic relations with the Somoza regime. On June 17 the signatories of the Andean Pact declared Nicaragua to be in a state of war and described the Sandinistas as "legitimate combatants" seeking to establish representative democracy and justice. On the same date the rebels named a five-man junta to serve

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

as a government-in-exile.

On June 21 Secretary Vance suggested a peace proposal to the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the OAS:

> --Formation of an interim government of national reconciliation acceptable to all major elements of the society;
>
> --The dispatch by this meeting of a special delegation to Nicaragua;
>
> --A cessation of arms shipments;
>
> --A cease fire;
>
> --An OAS peacekeeping presence to help establish a climate of peace and security and to assist the interim government in establishing its authority and beginning the task of reconstruction; and
>
> --A major international relief and reconstruction effort. (Doc. 7)

Although the meeting rejected the proposal of the United States to send a peacekeeping force to Nicaragua, it passed a resolution (II) on September 23 that called for a democratic government to replace the Somoza regime immediately.

After the OAS meeting, the United States began to deal directly with the government-in-exile. On June 27 Ambassador William Bowdler met rebel leaders, and he maintained contacts while the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction formed a Cabinet. On July 17, Somoza resigned. A week later the Junta and the United States agreed to continue diplomatic relations.

On July 25, President Carter commented on the major elements of United States policy towards Nicaragua during the revolution:

> It's a mistake for Americans to assume or to claim that every time an evolutionary change takes place, or even an abrupt change takes place in this hemisphere, that somehow it's the result of secret, massive Cuban intervention. The fact in Nicaragua is that the incumbent government, the Somoza regime, lost the confidence of the Nicaraguan people. There was a broad range of forces assembled to replace Somoza and his regime as the head of the Nicaraguan Government.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

We worked as closely as we could without intervening in the internal affairs of Nicaragua with the neighboring countries and with the so-called Andean Group in the northern part of South America to bring about an orderly transition. Our effort was to let the people of Nicaragua ultimately make a decision on who should be their leader, what form of government they should have. We also wanted to minimize bloodshed and to restore stability. That is presently being done. We have a good relationship with the new government. We hope to improve it. We are providing some minimum humanitarian aid for the people of Nicaragua, who've suffered so much.

I think that our posture in Nicaragua is a proper one. I do not attribute at all the change in Nicaragua to Cuba. I think the people of Nicaragua have got enough judgment to make their own decisions, and we will use our efforts in a proper fashion without interventionism, to let the Nicaraguans let their voice be heard in shaping their own affairs. (Doc. 8)

After the change of governments the United States maintained its presence and helped with reconstruction. A proposal soon went to Congress asking for reprogramming of $18.5 million in foreign assistance from the budget for FY 1979. Speaking before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee on September 11, 1979, Deputy Secretary Christopher explained the basic tenets of United States policy:

--To develop a positive relationship with the new government in Nicaragua based on the principles of nonintervention, equality, and mutual respect.

--To support the development of a democratic, pluralistic government in Nicaragua, by maintaining contact with all elements of Nicaraguan society, including the church, the media, and the private sector, as well as public officials;

--To cooperate with other nations and public and private institutions in assisting Nicaragua's economic recovery; and

--To help directly with the reconstruction effort by interim aid such as we are proposing today and by assessing and seeking to assist in the longer term effort. (Doc. 9)

He warned that "the moderate outcome we seek will not come

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

about if we walk away now. Precisely because others are assisting Nicaragua and may seek to exploit the situation there, we must not turn our backs."

In November, the Administration sent a $75 million supplementary aid request to Congress.

1980: EL SALVADOR IN CRISIS

During 1978 and 1979, the Administration dealt primarily with Nicaragua, but it continued to monitor the situation in El Salvador. On May 4, 1979, members of El Salvador's Popular Revoutionary Bloc occupied the French and Costa Rican embassies and San Salvador Cathedral and took hostages. Police attacked Bloc sympathizers outside San Salvador Cathedral and on May 8 killed at least twentythree persons. Violence continued throughout May. Speaking before the International University in Miami on May 18, the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Patricia Derian, registered the Administration's concern:

> El Salvador is another country where we continue to receive credible reports that serious human rights abuses persist. The recent violence at the national cathedral in San Salvador is a particularly shocking instance of this situation. These problems have affected out bilateral relations, and we will continue to urge the Salvadoran Government to restore effective safeguards for human rights. We welcomed the repeal this February of the Law of Public Order, which had given rise to numerous domestic and international criticisms of Salvador's human rights practices. (Doc. 10)

Despite intermittent guerrilla activity throughout 1979, a tiny oligarcy of families monopolized the land and businesses, controlled the government, and maintained power. When the Romero administration proposed reforms, the United States encouraged the effort. Before the subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on September 11, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Viron Vaky, stated:

> Putting an end to human rights violations of the integrity of the person is crucial to the overall atmosphere in the country. We believe the establishment of a real and credible electoral process, leading to free municipal/legislative elections in March 1980, is crucial to El Salvador's peaceful evolution and to arresting the critical polarization and frustration that can lead almost certainly to violent confrontation between right and left. . . .We will support real

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

and serious reform with appropriate cooperation and assistance. (Doc. 11)

Romero's steps however, were too little and too late. On October 15, 1979, young military offers broke with the regime, ousted Romero, and joined with moderate civiian leaders to form a Revolutionary Junta of government. The Junta granted amnesty to some political prisoners and committed itself to a platform of social and economic reforms, respect for human rights, and democratic elections. It decreed the abolition of Orden, a rural militia that had terrorized the country side on behalf of previous military regimes.

Since January 1980, the Junta has begun to implement a series of structural reforms. Among them is expropriation of some two million acres of El Salvador's best farmland. This land is to be given to peasants as small private farms or larger cooperatives. Another change involves tranfer of 51 percent of local bank stock to the government. The remaining shares to be sold to bank employees and the public.

The United States demonstrated support of the Junta's reforms through pledges of economic aid. It promised $50 million for FY 1980 to support the agrarian reform and other programs directly y beneficial to the poor. It also extended military assistance of $5.7 million in foreign military sales credits to allow purchases of communication and transportation equipment intended to protect the reform program against violence from both the right and left.

The Department of State spokesman, Hodding Carter rferred to the assistance program on February 19:

> We support the Revolutionary Governing Junta's desire to carry out basic reforms that will give all the people of El Salvador a more adequate share in the wealth of the country. . . . The security assistance program currently under consideration for El Salvador, will contribute to this goal. . . . The United States has no plans to involve United States forces in a counter-insurgency program of assistance, nor does the program . . . . involve sending United States military advisors to that country. (Doc. 12)

The Junta's reform program did not stem the slide toward civil war. Nearly 700 deaths have been reported sice 1980. Popular organizations and guerrillas appear to be unifying their forces. Meanwhile, the extreme right is developing a civilian army. Cubans are active in the area. The recent assassinations of El Salvador's Archbishop, Oscar Romero, and the leftist leader, Juan Chacon of the

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Popular Revolutionary Bloc, may solidify opposition in the same way as the death of Chamorro, and polarize the nation.

The United States supported the Junta because it appears to be capable of providing an effective buffer between the extreme right and extreme left.

CONCLUSION

The Carter Administration displayed willingness to tolerate left-nationalist elements in both Nicaragua and El Salvador and to deal with them when negotiations appeared to be in the national interest. The Administration's human-rights policy encouraged political opposition in both countries.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

List of Documents

1. U.S. Representative to the United Nations Andrew Young, Statement before the 17th Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Guatemala City, May 3, 1977.

2. President Jimmy Carter, Press Conference, Caracas, Venezuela, March 28, 1978.

3. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Statement before the Meeting of Consultation of the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States, Washington, September 21, 1978.

4. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Statement before the United Nations General Assembly, New York, September 29, 1978.

5. President Jimmy Carter, remarks and a Question-and Answer Session with Members of the White House Correspondents Association, Washington, December 7, 1978.

6. Department of State Spokesman Hodding Carter III, Response to a Question at the Daily Press Briefing, Washington, February 8, 1979.

7. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Statement before the Meeting of the Organization of American States, Washington, September 21, 1979.

8. President Jimmy Carter, Press Conference, Washington. July 25, 1979.

9. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Statement before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee, Washington, September 11, 1979.

10. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Patricia M. Derian, Statement before the Florida International University, Miami, Florida, May 18, 1979.

11. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Washington, September 11, 1979.

12. Department of State Spokeman Hodding Carter III, Daily Press Briefing, Washington, February 19, 1980.

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Department of State

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02383 311723Z 9346 SAN SA 02383 311723Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 SP-02 PM-05 NSCE-00 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 HA-05 L-03 H-02 SSO-00
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UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 2383

MEXICO FOR AMB BOUDLER

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: MASS ES
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE

1. THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) OF EL SALVADOR IS COMMITTED TO BRINGING RAPID AND PROFOUND POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE TO THIS COUNTRY. FORCES OF THE EXTREME RIGHT OPPOSE ANY MEASURES THAT WOULD ALTER THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY IN A WAY THAT WOULD AFFECT ADVERSELY THIS GROUP'S NARROW SELF-INTEREST. MEANWHILE, TH EXTREME LEFT, THROWN OFF BALANCE BY THE AGRARIAN AND OTHER REFORMS, IS RESORTING TO DESPERATE MEASURES TO SOW PANIC AND PROVOKE CHAOS.

2. IN THE FACE OF ARMED RESISTANCE BY THESE TWO EXTREMES, THE JRG HAS SURVIVED AND I BELIEVE WE WILL NOW BEGIN TO SEE MODERATE FORCES OF BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT ENDING VIOLENT RESISTANCE AND ULTIMATELY SUPPORTING THE MODERATE, REFORMIST JRG IN ITS EFFORTS TO BUILD A MORE JUST AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN EL SALVADOR.

3. IT WAS THE YOUNGER MILITARY OFFICERS WHO OVERTHREW THE ROMERO REGIME AND BROKE PUBLICLY WITH THE OLD ORDER HERE LAST OCT 15. THEIR MANIFESTO, REPEATED IN MID-FEBRUARY, DECLARED A BREAK WITH THE PAST. OVER THE MONTHS OF THIS PROCESS OF CHANGE, THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT EXPELLED SOME SEVENTY-FIVE SENIOR OFFICERS FROM ITS OWN RANKS AND IT BEGAN EDUCATING ITSELF TO PLAY A NEW ROLE IN EL SALVADOR. THE RESTRUCTURING AND RE-EDUCATION OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT WAS MAD A GOOD BEGINNING. IT IS NOT YET COMPLETE. THERE HAVE BEEN FAR TOO MANY EXAMPLES OF ABUSES OF POWER AND OF EXCESSES, ESPECIALLY ON THE PART OF THE SECURITY FORCES. BUT THE PICTURE IS IMPORVING. AT THE FUNERAL OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, SNED TERRORISTS OF THE ULTRA LEFT SOWED PANIC AMONG THE MASSES ATTENDING THE SERVICES AND DID ALL THEY COULD TO PROVOKE THE SECURITY FORCES INTO RETURNING FIRE. BUT THE DISCIPLINE OF THE ARMED SERVICES HELD. MOREOVER, THE NIGHT OF THE FUNERAL, THE ARMED FORCES AND THE SECURITY SERVICES TOOK CONTROL OF THE CAPITAL AND MAINTAINED ORDER WITH RESTRAINT AND HIGH PROFESSIONALISM.

4. I AM AWARE OF THE AGRUMENTS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE QUESTION AND I AGREE WITH THOSE WHO STATE THERE IS NO MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF EL SALVADOR. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS NO POLITICAL SOLUTION IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF RIGHT-AND LEFT-WING TERROR INTENDED TO END IN THE COLLAPSE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND A STATE OF ANARCHY. THE PROVISION OF MODEST AMOUNTS OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT WILL NOT MOVE US TOWARD A MILITARY SOLUTION TO A POLITICAL PROBLEM BUT TOWARD A POLITICAL SOLUTION BACKED UP BY A COMPETENT, PROFESSIONAL AND RESTRAINED MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. THE ASISTANCE IS MEANT TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT CARRY FORWARD ITS REFORM PROGRAM. I OPPOSE THE PROVISION OF LETHAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO THE ARMED FORCES OF EL SALVADOR AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED. BUT I DO SUPPORT THE 5.7 MILLION DOLLAR MILITARY ASSISTANCE PACKAGE NOW BEFORE THE CONGRESS BECAUSE I BELIEVE IT CAN STRENGTHEN THE PROFESSIONALISM OF THE ARMED FORCES AND REINFORCE THEIR COMMITMENT TO REFORM. I WILL BE VITALLY CONCERNED THAT THIS NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT BE USED IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. I WILL KEEP A CLOSE WATCH ON THE PROGRAM'S PROGRESS AND INSTANTLY FLAG ABUSES OR ANY OTHER MISUSE OF OUR EQUIPMENT. MY BEST GUESS, HOWEVER, IS THAT THOSE WHO HAVE TRIED DESPERATELY TO PROVOKE CIVIL DISORDER ARE INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND THAT AS THIS GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHES ITS BONA FIDES AMONG THE PEOPLE, THE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD OF THE ARMED FORCES WILL IMPROVE AND INCIDENTS OF EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE TO RESTORE ORDER WILL END.
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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S9400326

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UNCLAS STATE 084476

E.O. 12065:N/A

TAGS: ES, HO, NU

SUBJECT: SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 084476

AND NICARAGUA

REF: STATE 82898

1. PARA ONE REFTEL WAS BADLY GARBLED IN TRANSMISSION.
CORRECT TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

CURRENT PLANNED LEVELS OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE (EXCLUDING
ESF) FOR CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA IN FY 1980 AND 1981

PAGE NO. 1

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940033G

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80STATE 084476

FOLLOW:

	(IN MILLIONS OF $) FY 1980		FY 1981	
	FMS / FMS	IMET / IMET	MS / MS	IMET / IMET
EL SALVADOR	$ 5.7	$0.350	$5.0	$0.498
HONDURAS	3.53	0.447	5.0	0.495
NICARAGUA	1.27	0.146	5.0	0.498
PANAMA	----	0.348	5.0	0.498
TOTALS	$10.5	1.291	20.0	1.989

MOST 1980 AMOUNTS WILL BE REDUCED IF NO FY 80 SECURITY APPROPRIATION IS PASSED BY CONGRESS AND WE ARE FORCED TO OPERATE THE ENTIRE FISCAL YEAR UNDER CRA.

NOTE THAT NO FMS CREDITS OR IMET GRANTS ARE PLANNED FOR EITHER COSTA RICA OR GUATEMALA.

2. IN ADDITION, THE DATE IN PARA 2 REFTEL SHOULD BE
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PAGE 03 STATE 084476

FY 1981 RPT 1981. VANCE

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

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Department of State
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PAGE 01 HAVANA 03817 011514Z 2963 HAVANA 03817 011514Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 STE-00 DCT-02 CIAE-00
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SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INSE-00 /065 W
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FM USINT HAVANA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7812
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

[redacted] HAVANA 3817

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/1/86 (SMITH, W.S.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, PGOV, CU, ES, US
SUBJ: CUBA BLAMES US FOR MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO

1. SUM: CUBAN PRESS HAS CONSISTENTLY PORTRAYED SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR AS ONE OF US IMPERIALISM, ALIGNED WITH LOCAL OLIGARCHY AND RIGHTWING MILITARY, MANEUVERING TO DEFEAT REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND ROB "PROGRESSIVE FORCES" OF THEIR JUST VICTORY. LEAD EDITORIAL IN GRANMA MARCH 29 DIFFERED FROM PAST TREATMENT, HOWEVER, IN THAT ITS CHARGES AGAINST US WERE MORE POINTED AND THAT IT WAS MORE OFFICIAL IN CHARACTER; A FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL IN CCP ORGAN GRANMA IS TAKEN AS THE VIEW OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

2. SUM: THE MARCH 28 EDITORIAL'S PRINCIPAL THRUST IS THAT US RESPONSIBLE FOR MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO WHICH GRANMA CONDEMNS AS BRUTAL, REPUGNANT AND COWARDLY ACT. ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO LOOK FAR TO SEE WHO RESPONSIBLE, EDITORIAL CONTINUES, ASSERTING THAT ROMERO'S DEATH IS AN "IRREMOVABLE STAIN ON THE DIRTY ALLIANCE OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM, THE SALVADORAN OLIGARCHY, THE MILITARY JUNTA IMPOSED BY THE US AND A SECTOR OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS...THE US GOVT BEARS THE GRAVEST RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS INSANE KILLING...AND NO TWISTED PHRASEOLOGY WILL SERVE TO HIDE IT."

3. SUM: EDITORIAL GOES ON TO SAY ROMERO HAD SPOKEN OUT AGAINST US PLANS TO INTERVENE (SUGGESTING THIS MAY HAVE BEEN ONE OF REASONS FOR WANTING HIM OUT OF THE WAY). AND IT PROBABLY MORE THAN COINCIDENCE, EDITORIAL NOTES, THAT ROMERO'S MURDER WAS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDED BY STATEMENTS OF US POLITICAL FIGURES ACCUSING CUBA OF SUPPLYING ARMS TO SALVADORAN REVOLUTIONARIES THROUGH HONDURAS. THIS AN ABSOLUTE LIE. CUBA GIVES IMPERIALISTS NO EXPLANATIONS AND WOULD GIVE NONE BUT IT SHOULD BE SAID THAT IT WAS COURAGEOUS SALVADORAN PEOPLE WHO WERE MAKING THEIR OWN REVOLUTION AND NO IMPERIALIST MANEUVERS WOULD ROB THEM OF THEIR VICTORY. CUBA WAS PROUD TO BE ON THEIR SIDE; US, ON OTHER HAND, WAS ON SIDE ASSASSINS, OLIGARCHY AND EXPLOITERS OF PEOPLE.

4. [redacted] COMMENT: IN CONVERSATION WITH KEY CUBAN OFFICIAL MARCH 31, USINT CHIEF EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT UNHELPFUL TONE OF EDITORIAL AND REJECTED ALLEGATION THAT US IN ANY WAY RESPONSIBLE FOR ROMERO'S DEATH. CUBAN OFFICIAL DID NOT ANSWER DIRECTLY; RATHER, WITH CLEAR HINT AS TO WHAT HAD REALLY RUBBED CUBAN NERVE ENDS AND TOUCHED OFF EDITORIAL, OFFICIAL SAID CUBA HAD DEEPLY RESENTED RECENT STATEMENTS OF US OFFICIALS SUGGESTING CUBA BEHIND VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR. THIS SIMPLY NOT TRUE AND US KNEW IT. CUBA HAD NEVER HIDDEN ITS ASSOCIATION WITH REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS IN EL SALVADOR BUT VIOLENCE THERE NOT OF CUBA'S MAKING.

5. SUM: GRANMA APRIL 1 CARRIES STINGING ATTACK AGAINST US FOR ITS CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR JUNTA, WHICH RESPONSIBLE FOR DEATHS OVER 100 PEOPLE AT ROMERO FUNERAL SERVICES AND WHICH BRUTALLY SUPPRESSING SALVADORAN PEOPLE WHILE CYNICALLY SPEAKING OF REFORMS. RADIOFOTO OF NUNS COMING OUT OF CATHEDRAL WITH HANDS IN THE AIR AND STATEMENT OF BISHOPS IN EFFECT BLAMING JUNTA FOR VIOLENCE USED VERY EFFECTIVELY BY CUBAN MEDIA.
SMITH

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DECLASSIFIED

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
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EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA, 1977-1980:
UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

Edith James

Office of the Historian

Research Project No. 1224-K

April 1980

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
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The triumph of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation in Nicaragua during July 1979, completed the first successful guerrilla revolution in Latin America since Castro's victory in Cuba twenty years earlier. By March 1980, another such revolution had gotten under way in El Salvador. These revolutions posed important policy concerns for President Jimmy Carter.

1977: THE SETTING

During 1977 President Carter firmly committed the United States to work toward a order that respected individual human rights and responded to human aspirations. El Salvador and Nicaragua posed situations that demonstrated the complexities involved in implementing human-rights policy. El Salvador, the most densely populated country in Central America, was a logical setting for unrest. The highly imbalanced distribution of income, wealth, and land characterized the export-oriented economy. Nearly a third of the work force was unemployed. For over forty years, the Somoza family and its National Guard had ruled Nicaragua. The Somozas concentrated much of the country's land and productive capacity in their own hands. By the late 1970's broad-based opposition groups challenged the rulers of both countries.

On May 3 United States Representative to the United Nations Andrew Young stated the Administration's basic policy in an address before a session of the United Nations Economic Commission on Latin America.

> There is at this moment, waiting to be born, a new synthesis of two powerful ideas . . . . the integration of the concepts of social justice and economic development into a single vision of historical process. . . . We must unite the concept of development (which usuallly means economic growth) with the concept of liberation (which usually means freedom from oppression, poverty, dependence, and degradation). (Doc. 1)

During 1977, the United States support for economic growth with social justice in El Salvador and in Nicaragua became manifest in three main areas: economic cooperation, dispute settlement, and human rights.

The Carter administration fostered the concept of regional economic cooperation, structuring assistance programs along regional lines and stressing integration through the Central American common Market, an organization launched in the early 1960s. At a meeting in Washington with President Carter on September 8 El Salvador's President, Carlos Humberto Romero Mena, informed President Carter that the Congress

had voted to accept the agreement signed in 1976 at Washington that provided for mediation of the border disputes. At the same meeting, President Romero told Carter of his request that a commission on human rights from the United Nations or the Organization of American States go to El Salvador to view progress there. Earlier that year, the Carter administration cited human rights violations in Nicaragua and El Salvador as a factor that restricted military aid to both countries.

1978: NICARAGUA IN CRISIS

Diplomatic pressure did not force Somoza to improve his human-rights record. On January 10, 1978, the most widely-known opposition leader was assasinated, the moderate Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, editor of La Prensa. This act led to a nationwide strike. Religious, civic, and business leaders, political organizations, and the Sandinistas supported the strike, which lasted for two weeks. During the protests, the National Guard, reinforced by tanks, battled armed civilians. Somoza sought to maintain power, despite calls for his resignation. By March conditions verged on civil war.

Commenting on the violence in Nicaragua during a visit to Caracas, President Carter offered a plan to deal with the situation:

> ...a delegation from the United Nations or the OAS should be welcomed into Nicaragua and other countries where human rights are threatened, to provide the facts to the outside world. We have a policy in our country, which I am insistent in maintaining, of not intervening in the internal affairs of other nations. But we have a right to express our own selves forcefully and also to encourage action on the part of the United Nations and OAS in going into countries to determine the facts. (Doc. 2)

Support for Somoza was impossible, given the U.S. commitment to human rights; the Administration threw its weight behind a process of mediation.

In September, a massive uprising occurred in Nicaragua, and Somoza declared martial law. From September to December 1978, the United States played a major role in a mediation aimed at arranging the resignation of Somoza.

On September 21, before the meeting of consultation of the foreign ministers of the OAS countries, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher urged that the OAS support humanitarian relief to the people of Nicaragua

> who have been affected by the fighting of the past several weeks and, as may be necessary, to the Nicaraguan refugees in Honduras and Costa Rica; support the mandate of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and urge that it investigate forthwith the allegations of serious violations in Nicaragua; support and extend the mandate of the factfinding mission in an effort to keep further violence from spilling across international borders; and urge the Government of Nicaragua and the opposition groups that have called for international concilation to accept an offer of good offices to help find an enduring and democratic solution. (Doc. 3)

A few days later Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, speaking to the General Assembly of the United Nations reaffirmed the United States' determination to find a peaceful solution.

> In this Hemisphere, we must respond to the agony of those caught up in the violence and bloodshed of Nicaragua. We and several countries in Latin America have offered to assist in the mediation of Nicaragua's internal crises.
>
> It is our hope and expectation that all parties concerned will accept these offers and agree to a fair mediation process in which all can have confidence. Only a democratic solution in Nicaragua-- not repression or violence -- can lead to an enduring stability and true peace. (Doc. 4)

The Administration thus indicated that it favored replacement of Somoza by means of a moderate solution, perhaps a national plebiscite. On September 30 Somoza accepted an International Mediation Group that included representatives of the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and the United States. On October 2 Carter appointed Ambassador William G. Bowdler to the Group. Meanwhile, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission investigated alleged abuses and on November 17 issued a unanimous condemnation of the regime.

Early in December the conciliation attempt seemed likely to produce results. On December 6, Somoza agreed to lift the decree of martial law, to grant amnesty to political prisoners, and to relax censorship. The next day Carter remarked to the Members of the White House Correspondents Association:

> We're making some progress, I think, in Nicaragua. . . to get Somoza for the first time even to agree to an outside arbitration group to resolve the differences

between himself and his political adversaries in Nicaragua, to stop the violence, to restrain the shipment of arms into Nicaragua to both sides, and to provide peace between Nicaragua and her immediate neighbors. . . . we have helped to shift the Nicaraguan circumstance from active and massive bloodshed and violence into a negotiation on the details of a democratic plebiscite, that would be monitored by the United Nations or by the OAS, that would decide on the future government of Nicaragua. (Doc. 5)

Shortly thereafter the opposition agreed to the Mediation Group's proposal for an national plebiscite sponsored by the OAS.

1979: REVOLUTION TRIUMPHS

On January 18 Somoza rejected the plebiscite. In response, the United States announced the end of military ties and some economic aid. On that occasion the State Department spokesman, Hodding Carter, said that the three-nation negotiating team "concluded that it cannot break the impasse between the opposition and the Nicaraguan Government caused by President Somoza's unwillingness to accept the essential elements of the mediators' most recent proposal." (Doc. 6)

The United States would take certain steps:

> First, the United States is withdrawing the U.S. military assistance group in Nicaragua, and it is terminating our military assistance program which has, in fact, been suspended for some months.
> Second, with respect to economic assistance, those Agency for International Development projects which are well-advanced will continue since they are aimed at the basic human needs of the poor. . . . However, no new projects with the government will be considered under present conditions. . . .
> Third, we are withdrawing all Peace Corps volunteers from Nicaragua.
> Fourth, we are also reducing the number of U.S. Government officials at our embassy in Managua. (Doc. 6)

Thereafter, full-scale fighting broke out; by May civil war paralyzed the nation. Mexico then broke diplomatic relations with the Somoza regime. On June 17 the signatories of the Andean Pact declared Nicaragua to be in a state of war and described the Sandinistas as "legitimate combatants" seeking to establish representative democracy and justice. On the same date the rebels named a five-man junta to serve

as a government-in-exile.

On June 21 Secretary Vance suggested a peace proposal to the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the OAS:

> —Formation of an interim government of national reconciliation acceptable to all major elements of the society;
>
> —The dispatch by this meeting of a special delegation to Nicaragua;
>
> —A cessation of arms shipments;
>
> —A cease fire;
>
> —An OAS peacekeeping presence to help establish a climate of peace and security and to assist the interim government in establishing its authority and beginning the task of reconstruction; and
>
> —A major international relief and reconstruction effort. (Doc. 7)

Although the meeting rejected the proposal of the United States to send a peacekeeping force to Nicaragua, it passed a resolution (II) on September 23 that called for a democratic government to replace the Somoza regime immediately.

After the OAS meeting, the United States began to deal directly with the government-in-exile. On June 27 Ambassador William Bowdler met rebel leaders, and he maintained contacts while the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction formed a Cabinet. On July 17, Somoza resigned. A week later the Junta and the United States agreed to continue diplomatic relations.

On July 25, President Carter commented on the major elements of United States policy towards Nicaragua during the revolution:

> It's a mistake for Americans to assume or to claim that every time an evolutionary change takes place, or even an abrupt change takes place in this hemisphere, that somehow it's the result of secret, massive Cuban intervention. The fact in Nicaragua is that the incumbent government, the Somoza regime, lost the confidence of the Nicaraguan people. There was a broad range of forces assembled to replace Somoza and his regime as the head of the Nicaraguan Government.

We worked as closely as we could without intervening in the internal affairs of Nicaragua with the neighboring countries and with the so-called Andean Group in the northern part of South America to bring about an orderly transition. Our effort was to let the people of Nicaragua ultimately make a decision on who should be their leader, what form of government they should have. We also wanted to minimize bloodshed and to restore stability. That is presently being done. We have a good relationship with the new government. We hope to improve it. We are providing some minimum humanitarian aid for the people of Nicaragua, who've suffered so much.

I think that our posture in Nicaragua is a proper one. I do not attribute at all the change in Nicaragua to Cuba. I think the people of Nicaragua have got enough judgment to make their own decisions, and we will use our efforts in a proper fashion without interventionism, to let the Nicaraguans let their voice be heard in shaping their own affairs. (Doc. 8)

After the change of governments the United States maintained its presence and helped with reconstruction. A proposal soon went to Congress asking for reprogramming of $18.5 million in foreign assistance from the budget for FY 1979. Speaking before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee on September 11, 1979, Deputy Secretary Christopher explained the basic tenets of United States policy:

--To develop a positive relationship with the new government in Nicaragua based on the principles of nonintervention, equality, and mutual respect.

—To support the development of a democratic, pluralistic government in Nicaragua, by maintaining contact with all elements of Nicaraguan society, including the church, the media, and the private sector, as well as public officials;

--To cooperate with other nations and public and private institutions in assisting Nicaragua's economic recovery; and

--To help directly with the reconstruction effort by interim aid such as we are proposing today and by assessing and seeking to assist in the longer term effort. (Doc. 9)

He warned that "the moderate outcome we seek will not come

about if we walk away now. Precisely because others are assisting Nicaragua and may seek to exploit the situation there, we must not turn our backs."

In November, the Administration sent a $75 million supplementary aid request to Congress.

1980: EL SALVADOR IN CRISIS

During 1978 and 1979, the Administration dealt primarily with Nicaragua, but it continued to monitor the situation in El Salvador. On May 4, 1979, members of El Salvador's Popular Revoutionary Bloc occupied the French and Costa Rican embassies and San Salvador Cathedral and took hostages. Police attacked Bloc sympathizers outside San Salvador Cathedral and on May 8 killed at least twentythree persons. Violence continued throughout May. Speaking before the International University in Miami on May 18, the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Patricia Derian, registered the Administration's concern:

> El Salvador is another country where we continue to receive credible reports that serious human rights abuses persist. The recent violence at the national cathedral in San Salvador is a particularly shocking instance of this situation. These problems have affected out bilateral relations, and we will continue to urge the Salvadoran Government to restore effective safeguards for human rights. We welcomed the repeal this February of the Law of Public Order, which had given rise to numerous domestic and international criticisms of Salvador's human rights practices. (Doc. 10)

Despite intermittent guerrilla activity throughout 1979, a tiny oligarcy of families monopolized the land and businesses, controlled the government, and maintained power. When the Romero administration proposed reforms, the United States encouraged the effort. Before the subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on September 11, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Viron Vaky, stated:

> Putting an end to human rights violations of the integrity of the person is crucial to the overall atmosphere in the country. We believe the establishment of a real and credible electoral process, leading to free municipal/legislative elections in March 1980, is crucial to El Salvador's peaceful evolution and to arresting the critical polarization and frustration that can lead almost certainly to violent confrontation between right and left. . . .We will support real

and serious reform with appropriate cooperation and assistance. (Doc. 11)

Romero's steps however, were too little and too late. On October 15, 1979, young military offers broke with the regime, ousted Romero, and joined with moderate civiian leaders to form a Revolutionary Junta of government. The Junta granted amnesty to some political prisoners and committed itself to a platform of social and economic reforms, respect for human rights, and democrntic elections. It decreed the abolition of Orden, a rural militia that had terrorized the country side on behalf of previous military regimes.

Since January 1980, the Junta has begun to implement a series of structural reforms. Among them is expropriation of some two million acres of El Salvador's best farmland. This land is to be given to peasants as small private farms or larger cooperatives. Another change involves tranfer of 51 percent of local bank stock to the government. The remaining shares to be sold to bank employees and the public.

The United States demonstrated support of the Junta's reforms through pledges of economic aid. It promised $50 million for FY 1980 to support the agrarian reform and other programs directly y beneficial to the poor. It also extended military assistance of $5.7 million in foreign military sales credits to allow purchases of communication and transportation equipment intended to protect the reform program against violence from both the right and left.

The Department of State spokesman, Hodding Carter rrferred to the assistance program on February 19:

> We support the Revolutionary Governing Junta's desire to carry out basic reforms that will give all the people of El Salvador a more adequate share in the wealth of the country. . . . The security assistance program currently under consideration for El Salvador, will contribute to this goal. . . . The United States -- has no plans to involve United States forces in a counter-insurgency program of assistance, nor does the program . . . . involve sending United States military advisors to that country. (Doc. 12)

The Junta's reform program did not stem the slide toward civil war. Nearly 700 deaths have been reported sice 1980. Popular organizations and guerrillas appear to be unifying their forces. Meanwhile, the extreme right is developing a civilian army. Cubans are active in the area. The recent assassinations of El Salvador's Archbishop, Oscar Romero, and the leftist leader, Juan Chacon of the

Popular Revolutionary Bloc, may solidify opposition in the same way as the death of Chamorro, and polarize the nation.

The United States supported the Junta because it appears to be capable of providing an effective buffer between the extreme right and extreme left.

CONCLUSION

The Carter Administration displayed willingness to tolerate left-nationalist elements in both Nicaragua and El Salvador and to deal with them when negotiations appeared to be in the national interest. The Administration's human-rights policy encouraged political opposition in both countries.

List of Documents

1. U.S. Representative to the United Nations Andrew Young, Statement before the 17th Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Guatemala City, May 3, 1977.

2. President Jimmy Carter, Press Conference, Caracas, Venezuela, March 28, 1978.

3. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Statement before the Meeting of Consultation of the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States, Washington, September 21, 1978.

4. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Statement before the United Nations General Assembly, New York, September 29, 1978.

5. President Jimmy Carter, remarks and a Question-and Answer Session with Members of the White House Correspondents Association, Washington, December 7, 1978.

6. Department of State Spokesman Hodding Carter III, Response to a Question at the Daily Press Briefing, Washington, February 8, 1979.

7. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Statement before the Meeting of the Organization of American States, Washington, September 21, 1979.

8. President Jimmy Carter, Press Conference, Washington. July 25, 1979.

9. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Statement before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee, Washington, September 11, 1979.

10. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Patricia M. Derian, Statement before the Florida International University, Miami, Florida, May 18, 1979.

11. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Washington, September 11, 1979.

12. Department of State Spokeman Hodding Carter III, Daily Press Briefing, Washington, February 19, 1980.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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SECSTATE FOR ARA, S/MEX

E.O. 12565: N/A
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT, APRIL 3, 1988

1. U.S.-EL SALVADOR -- COMMENTARY CONTINUES IN MEXICO CITY PRESS LINKING ALLEGED U.S. SUPPORT FOR JUNTA TO UNFOLDING VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR.

2. UNOMASUNO (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) COLUMNIST GUILLERMO ALMEYRA BLAMES MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND EXTREME RIGHT FACTION FOR ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND "MASSACRE" ON DAY OF HIS FUNERAL. SAYS MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS TO ASK NOW ARE (1) HOW IMPERIALISM WILL REACT TO CURRENT SITUATION WHERE TIME IS AN ENEMY OF THE MILITARY JUNTA AND (2) WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO SALVADOREAN ARMED FORCES.

3. ALMEYRA SAYS "U.S., FOR POLITICAL REASONS BOTH INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL, DOES NOT WANT TO SEE DIRECT AND OPEN MILITARY REPRESSION IN EL SALVADOR, AND INSTEAD SHOULD ADVISE A GRADUAL AND SELECTIVE REPRESSION WHILE POSSIBLE. THAT IS THE MISSION OF ITS AMBASSADOR, A SPECIALIST IN COUNTERINSURGENCY WHO MUST HAVE KNOWN OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE MASSACRE... BUT, IN SPITE OF UPCOMING ELECTIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE OF THE U.S., WE CAN BE SURE THAT THE PENTAGON HAS A PLAN TO AVOID ANOTHER CUBA. A VICTORY FOR THE SALVADOREAN REVOLUTION WOULD PRODUCE A SITUATION MORE LIKE CUBA THAN OCCURRED IN NICARAGUA AND WOULD PRECIPITATE A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION THROUGHOUT CENTRAL AMERICA. THEREFORE DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION IS STILL A REAL POSSIBILITY... A VICTORY FOR THE MILITARY JUNTA WILL MEAN A STRENGTHENING OF IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA, THE RETURN OF OPEN U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE REGION."

4. UNOMASUNO COLUMNIST JUAN MARIA ALPONTE REFERS TO U.S. CONGRESSMAN MCHUGH'S RECENT REMARKS SUPPORTING U.S. ASSISTANCE TO SALVADOREAN JUNTA AND SAYS "HE WILL LIVE TO REGRET THOSE REMARKS." COLUMNIST SAYS U.S. CONGRESS HAS NOT AUTHORIZED BOMBING OF EL SALVADOR, BUT ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID FOR THE REGIME SHOW CLEARLY THE U.S. DECISION TO SUPPORT IT WITH FORCE AND TO SANCTION IT WITH ARMS AND DOLLARS. SAYS PENTAGON STATEMENT THAT CUBA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SALVADOREAN EVENTS IS SIMPLISTIC AND IGNORES FACT THAT CRISIS EXISTS THROUGHOUT CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN.

5. EL UNIVERSAL (NATIONALISTIC) COLUMNIST CARLOS SANCHEZ CARDENAS SAYS SALVADOREAN RIGHT WING IS MOST FEARFUL OF LOSING POWER OVER SALVADOREAN PEOPLE, AND THIS IS REASON WHY IT HAS JOINED JUNTA SUPPORTED BY U.S. ZUCKERMAN

EOT

United States Department of State
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Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
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Department of State

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E.O. 12065: N/A
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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: 9940032G

UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

memorandum

DATE: 7 April 1980

REPLY TO ATTN OF: RSO/James J. Blystone, American Embassy, Buenos Aires

SUBJECT: Conversation with Argentine Intelligence Source

BO 0405

TO: The Ambassador

Through: DCM/Maxwell Chaplin

On April 2, 1980, the RSO had a meeting with a member of the Argentine intelligence services to discuss various topics. In the beginning the RSO jokingly asked what had happened to the two Montoneros that disappeared between Mexico and Rio. The source answered that he would tell me but only in the strictest of confidence as this information was top secret. Source stated that Force 601 had captured a Montonero and during the interrogation learned that this Montonero was to have a meeting with the two Montoneros from Mexico and the meeting was to take place in Rio de Janiero. The two Montoneros from Mexico are Horacio Campiglia (warname Peter) and Susana de Binstok. Horacio Campiglia (number 4 or 5 in the Montonero structure) has overall charge of the TEI operations and manages these forces from Mexico. Source advised that during the interrogation they told the Montonero that they had captured, that if he cooperated with the forces he would live. This Montonero knew he was in no position not to cooperate, provided the date and time for the meeting in Rio. The Argentine military intelligence (601) contacted their Brazilian military intelligence counterparts for permission to conduct an operation in Rio to capture two Montoneros arriving from Mexico. Brazilians granted their permission and a special team of Argentines were flown under the operational command of Lt. Col. Roman, to Rio aboard an Argentine airforce C130. Both of the Montoneros from Mexico were captured alive and returned to Argentina aboard the C130. The Argentines, not wanting to alert the Montoneros that they had conducted an operation in Rio, utilized an Argentine woman and man to register at a hotel using the false documents obtained from the two captured Montoneros, thereby leaving a trail that the two Montoneros from Mexico had arrived in Rio, registered at a hotel and then departed. These two Montoneros are presently being held at the army's secret jail, Campo de Mayo.

Regarding another subject, the source advised that within the last ten to 15 days security forces had captured alive 12 members of a TEI group which was reinfiltrating the country. Source stated that they had captured some time ago, the Montonero who was the TEI training instructor in Libya (previously reported by the RSO) and who is now working with the Argentine

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date: ___ Declassify on: _____ Reason: ___

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services. This Montonero who is cooperating with the Argentines, received information that 12 members of the TEI would be re-entering Argentina via bus routes from Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil. The Argentine security services, with the cooperation of the police set up a trap to capture all 12 members. The police performed documentation and drug control procedures in the bus terminals in Buenos Aires and the intelligence services with the cooperation of this Montonero, were able to apprehend the TEI members arriving by bus. Once the Montonero member was identified, the police would ask to check their documents and advise the individual he would have to go to the police station for routine police matters. Once the Montonero was placed in a car for transportation to a police station, military intelligence took over and transported the Montonero to their secret jail in Campo de Mayo. All 12 members of the TEI group were captured with documentation which indicated that they would place under surveillance 10 targets of the Minister of Economy and of the 10 targets under surveillance, decide which three would be the easiest to attack. The Argentine intelligence service is upset as none of the 12 TEI members apprehended were armed. Logistically the Argentines are confused as to where and how the Montoneros are obtaining their weapons.

Regarding the TEI, the Argentines have further learned that a group of TEI members are to infiltrate the country to reorganize their political structure, which is a drastic change from previous operations. This for the Argentines signifies a change in the Montonero thinking in that they have decided to give up armed attacks and try to gain their objectives through political means.

On the last subject, the RSO inquired whether the source had any additional information regarding Jarara de Cabezas. Source stated that he hadn't any new information beyond the fact that she is still alive and being held by the Navy. (Note, the RSO was not previously informed that this individual was being held by the Navy, just that she was being held.)

The RSO questioned the source regarding the disappeareds who are able to communicate and visit their families. Source advised that this is true. The forces sometimes capture Montoneros but during investigation and interrogation, learn that the individual is a sympathizer, not a full-fledged member or combatant. These individuals, after a period of time are allowed limited liberty by the forces to contact their families until their paperwork is ready. At that time they are sent out of the country. An agreement is made with them that they will not

contact their families for a period of months. Source stated that it would be detrimental to the services if these individuals were granted limited liberty and then killed.

THIS INFORMATION IS NOT TO BE USED WITHOUT PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE RSO.

cc: DCM
POL
POL/R
DAO

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

April 7, 1980

Dear Reverend Ramirez:

I have been asked to respond to your recent mailgram to President Carter concerning events in El Salvador.

We too were appalled at the brutal assassination of Archbishop Romero and have endorsed the Revolutionary Junta of Government's pledge to investigate the murder and bring those responsible to justice. In the meantime, however, it is essential that the Junta's reform programs, aimed at redressing the El Salvadorans' grave economic and social disparities, be implemented.

United States economic aid to El Salvador is directed toward the most needy and the realization of basic reforms, such as the agrarian reform. A modest amount of security assistance, primarily for transportation and communications equipment, is also destined for the Salvadoran Armed Forces to enable them to restore order and prevent extremist violence in the most effective, humanitarian way. Should we suspend all assistance to El Salvador, the cause of the extremists, whether of the left or right, would be served. Their cause is to bring about the destruction of the reformist government through unrest and violence--an objective which they sought to achieve by the murder of Archbishop Romero.

We intend to continue supporting the moderate Junta as long as it is committed to bringing about basic socio-economic reforms and to preserving the human rights of its citizens.

Sincerely,

Central American Affairs

Reverend Ricardo Ramirez, CSB
Executive Vice President,
Mexican American Cultural Center,
San Antonio, Texas

UNCLASSIFIED

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/19/94
Case ID: 9940032C

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State

RELEASED

INCOMING

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02607 140249Z 1936
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
PC-01 AID-07 HA-05 IO-14 /096 W
------------------106856 140403Z /14

R 112245Z APR 86
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7983
INFORUESRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS 990
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2607

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/11/86
TAGS: PINT PEPR ES
SUBJ (C) VIEWS OF LIBERAL JESUIT ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIALOGUE

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WE CALLED, APRIL 10, ON FATHER MIGUEL ESTRADA OF THE JESUIT-RUN UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL AMERICA. ESTRADA WAS AN ADVISOR TO THE ASSASSINATED ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO AND PARTICIPATED IN THE ARCHBISHOP'S CONTACTS WITH THE INSURGENT LEFTIST COORDINADORA REVOLUCIONARIA DE LAS MASAS.

3. ESTRADA JUSTIFIED ROMER'S CONTACTS WITH THE COORDINADORA AS A MEANS TO AVOID CIVIL WAR AND TO MINIMIZE VIOLENCE. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS NATURAL THAT THE SALVADORAN CHURCH HAS A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COORDINADORA THAN DOES THE USG. THE CHURCH, HE SAID, IS LOOKING ONLY TO LESSEN SUFFERING FOR THE SALVADORAN POPULACE, WHILE THE USG, HE ASSERTED, HAS BROADER REGIONAL AND GLOBAL POLITICAL INTERESTS IN MIND.

4. FATHER ESTRADA SAID THAT, WHILE THE LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS OF THE COORDINADORA INITIALLY REJECTED CHURCH APPROACHES AND INDEED WERE OPENLY HOSTILE, IN RECENT MONTHS THE LEFTISTS HAVE BEEN QUITE OPEN TO THE CHURCH. FATHER ESTRADA DISCLOSED THAT HE AND OTHER JESUITS HAVE BEEN PROVIDING ADVICE TO THE COORDINADORA ON HOW THEY SHOULD REACT TO NEW DEVELOPMENTS -- ADVICE WHICH HE FELT WAS BEING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

5. ASKED ABOUT DIFFERENT FIGURES IN THE CURRENT JUNTA, FATHER ESTRADA POINTED OUT THAT THE LATE ARCHBISHOP ROMERO HAD HAD A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP OF CONFIDENCE WITH COLONEL MAJANO. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT MAJANO'S INFLUENCE WAS LOW AND THAT CONSERVATIVE MILITARY ELEMENTS WERE OPERATING UNCHECKED. IN THIS REGARD, HE SHARPLY CONDEMNED U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE JUNTA -- ASSISTANCE WHICH, HE SAID, WAS HIGHLY IRRESPONSIBLE IN LIGHT OF THE LACK OF BETTER GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THESE FORCES.

6. COMMENT: ESTRADA'S OPINIONS REFLECT THOSE OF THE JESUIT SECTOR WHICH WAS MOST INFLUENTIAL ON THE LATE ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF NEW, SEEMING MORE OBJECTIVE APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR RIVERA, WE SUSPECT THAT, WHILE CHURCH CONTACTS WITH THE COORDINADORA WILL CONTINUE, THE JESUITS WILL INCREASINGLY BE ISOLATED IN THEIR ENTHUSIASTIC APPROACH TO THE COORDINADORA.
WHITE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/13/94
Case ID: 9940032H

UNCLASSIFIED

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Department of State

RELEASED INCOMING E918

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BONN 06961 01 OF 02 111437Z 1828

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 NA-05 AID-07 /107 W
----------086891 111512Z /51

P 111311Z APR 84
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7265
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 06961

E.O. 12065: GDS 4-11-86
TAGS: PINS, PINT, CS, GW
SUBJECT: (U) COMMENTS ON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
- MEETING IN SANTO DOMINGO

REFS: (A) STATE 89466
- (B) SAN JOSE 1856

[redacted].

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2. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR CALLED ON SI PRESIDENT BRANDT APRIL 10 TO REGISTER U.S. CONCERN OVER ATTACKS ON U.S. POLICY EMINATING FROM SI MEETING IN SANTO DOMINGO. BRANDT LISTENED TO AMBASSADOR'S POINTS WITHOUT MAKING DIRECT REPLY. HE ADMITTED THAT CONFERENCE HAD BEEN CHAOTIC, BUT STRESSED SI AS SUCH HAD ISSUED NO OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE AT END OF CONFERENCE. "DECLARATION OF SANTO DOMINGO" WAS DOCUMENT OF LATIN AMERICAN COMMITTEE, AND APPENDAGES HAD NOT EVEN BEEN AGREED BY LATIN AMERICAN COMMITTEE. BRANDT SAID HE HAD SOUGHT TO WIN SUPPORT FOR MODERATE LANGUAGE DURING THE CONFERENCE AND HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY FINAL LANGUAGE, WHICH THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMITTEE APPROVED. HE OFFERED NO FURTHER COMMENT ON THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE EXCEPT TO SAY THE NEXT SI CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER WOULD BE MORE BALANCED IN ITS APPROACH. END SUMMARY.

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3. AMBASSADOR CALLED ON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (SI) CHAIRMAN WILLY BRANDT ON APRIL 10 TO RAISE POINTS IN REF A. BRANDT, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM VACATION, APPEARED NOT TO BE SURPRISED THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD COME TO REGISTER THE CONCERN OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE "DECLARATION OF SANTO DOMINGO." BRANDT TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE DECLARATION WAS NOT IN FACT AN OFFICIAL SI STATEMENT. IT HAD NOT BEEN APPROVED BY THE SI CONFERENCE BUT HAD BEEN REFERRED AS A DRAFT TO THE LATIN AMERICA COMMITTEE FOR FURTHER WORK, AND WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT WHEN ISSUED IT WOULD REPRESENT ONLY THE VIEWS OF THE LATIN AMERICA COMMITTEE, NOT THE SI AS A WHOLE.

BRANDT TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD LEARNED OF THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION AND OF ITS NUMEROUS "APPENDAGES" ONLY FOUR OR FIVE DAYS AFTER THE CONFERENCE HAD ENDED, AND HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY THE "APPENDAGES."

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4. BRANDT VOLUNTEERED THAT THE ENTIRE CONFERENCE HAD BEEN POORLY ORGANIZED AND, FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW, CHAOTIC FROM BEGINNING TO END. HE CLAIMED THE PERFORMANCE BY CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE CAUGHT EVERYONE BY SURPRISE. PEREZ, ACCORDING TO BRANDT, WAS SUPPOSED TO DELIVER A EULOGY FOR THE MURDERED ARCHBISHOP ROMERO AND AFTER ALL OF THE CONFERENCE MEMBERS HAD RISEN FROM THEIR SEATS, PEREZ LAUNCHED INTO A DIATRIBE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. BRANDT WAS EMBARRASSED BUT FELT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO INTERVENE TO STOP PEREZ UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

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5. BRANDT CLAIMED THE ORIGINAL DRAFT FOR THE CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUE, WHICH HAD BEEN PREPARED BY ONE (FNU) MIRANDA, THE FORMER LEADER OF THE RADICAL PARTY OF CHILE, AND NOW LIVING IN EXILE IN MEXICO, HAD CONSISTED OF A LENGTHY RECITATION OF COMPLAINTS AND ACCUSATIONS AGAINST U.S. ACTIVITIES IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. BRANDT SAID THAT HE, WORKING WITH JOSE PENA GOMEZ OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC HAD SOUGHT TO PRODUCE A MORE BALANCED DOCUMENT. GOMEZ, ACCORDING TO BRANDT, PREPARED A COUNTERDRAFT IN WHICH THE U.S. WAS NEVER ONCE MENTIONED. BECAUSE AGREEMENT ON A COMMUNIQUE HAD NOT BEEN REACHED AT THE TIME THE CONFERENCE WAS DUE TO CLOSE, HOWEVER, BRANDT SAID IT WAS AGREED THAT NO OFFICIAL CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUE WOULD BE ISSUED. INSTEAD, THE DRAFT DOCUMENT UNDER DISCUSSION WAS REFERRED TO THE LATIN AMERICA COMMITTEE FOR FINAL EDITING AND ISSUANCE AS A COMMITTEE DOCUMENT AND NOT AS AN SI DOCUMENT. BRANDT LISTENED WITHOUT COMMENT TO THE OBSERVATION THAT THIS TECHNICAL FACT WAS WIDELY OVERLOOKED BY THE PRESS AND CERTAINLY HAD NOT BEEN UNDERSTOOD BY MOST OBSERVERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/13/94
Case ID: S940032H

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ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 AID-07 /107 W
----------086899 111515Z /51

P 111351Z APR 80
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7290
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 06961

6. BRANDT SAID THE NEXT SI CONFERENCE, SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER IN MADRID, WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY ADDRESS PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA. HE EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT THE STATEMENT AT THAT TIME WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE MORE BALANCED THAN WHAT CAME OUT OF SANTO DOMINGO. BRANDT ADDED THAT THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE SANTO DOMINGO CONFERENCE WERE NOT ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. HE IMPLIED THE MAJORITY WERE IN FACT NONMEMBERS WHO WERE NONETHELESS ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE AS IF THEY HAD BEEN FULL MEMBERS. WHILE SOME OF THESE NONMEMBERS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE MADRID SI CONFERENCE AS OBSERVERS, THEY WILL NOT HAVE AN OFFICIAL SAY IN THE OUTCOME OF THE COMMUNIQUE.
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4/18/80

INCOMING

Department of State A1112 TELEGRAM

PAGE-01 BUENOS 03258 01 OF 02 182055Z 7512

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ID-14 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-03 INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00
STR-09 SIL-01 SS-15 TRSE-00 HA-05 L-03 PA-01
ICAE-00 /098 W

011705 182107Z /68

O R 182019Z APR 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO NIACT IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC 5062
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3258

USEEC

MEXICO FOR LABATT: PLEASE PASS SUBSTANCE TO AFL-CIO DELEGATION

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 4/18/00 (CHAPLIN, MAXWELL) OR-M
TAGS: ELAB SHUM ICFTU ILO AR
SUBJECT: (U) NEW CHIEFS IN ARGENTINE TRADE UNION FACTIONS: MIGUEL FREE BUT STRIPPED OF CIVIL RIGHTS

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2639

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE GOA IS ENGAGED IN PULLING OFF ANOTHER COUP WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, ENDUCING MODERATE LEADERS TO REORGANIZE THE PROVISIONAL BOARD KNOWN AS CONDUCCION UNICA DE TRABAJADORES ARGENTINAS (CUTA) TO THE EXCLUSION OF HARDLINE PERONIST MILITANTS, ANTIVERTICALISTS AND INDEPENDENT UNION ELEMENTS WHICH REMAINED OUTSIDE OF CUTA ARE COOPERATING IN THIS PLAN, ALONG WITH THE "CNT" FACTION OF CUTA. AN APPARENT OBJECTIVE IS TO GET A RELATIVELY MALLEABLE WORKER DELEGATION TO ATTEND THE UPCOMING INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE. THIS MANEUVER HAS SPLIT CUTA AND THERE ARE NOW TWO RIVAL ARGENTINE LABOR DELEGATIONS ATTENDING THE ORIT CONFERENCE IN MEXICO -- INEVITABLY CAUSING SLIPPAGE IN OUR ORIT AFFILIATION EXPECTATIONS. MEANWHILE, EX-LABOR CAPO LORENZO MIGUEL HAS FINALLY BEEN RELEASED FROM HOUSE ARREST STATUS, ALTHOUGH HE REMAINS UNDER THE ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND DEPRIVED OF HIS CIVIL RIGHTS. HOW ACTIVE MIGUEL WILL BECOME AND WHETHER HIS FREEDOM WILL EVENTUALLY MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE TRADE UNION EQUATION REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THE TERMS OF HIS RELEASE MAKE CLEAR THAT HE IS EXPECTED TO KEEP OUT OF POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION BUSINESS AND HE PROBABLY WILL KEEP HIS NOSE CLEAN--AT LEAST FOR AN INITIAL PERIOD. (WE UNDERSTAND HE MAY BE CONTEMPLATING A TRIP ABROAD.) BUT AS THE ROUSING HERO'S WELCOME FOR HIM IN HIS LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD SUGGESTS, A HUGE CHUNK OF THE PERONIST MOVEMENT NOW REGARDS HIM AS THEIR CAUDILLO AND WE BELIEVE THAT PERONIST LABOR RESISTANCE TO GOA PLANS IS BOUND TO INCREASE.

3. THE SPLIT IN CUTA HAS WIDENED SINCE OUR LAST REPORT (REFTEL). AS THE US TRADE UNION DELEGATION TO THE ORIT CONFERENCE IN MEXICO IS ALREADY AWARE, THERE ARE FOR ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES TWO ARGENTINE TRADE UNION DELEGATIONS NOW IN CUERNAVACA: (A) NAVAL ELECTRICIAN VENTURINI, TELEPHONE WORKER PERRONE, AND LEATHER WORKER AVELINO FERNANDEZ FOR THE "MODERATE" CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DE TRABAJO (CNT); AND (B) GARCIA (EX-TAXI LEADER), MILLAN (GLASS EMPLOYEES), AND PEREZ (TRUCKERS) FOR THE MOVIMIENTO SINDICAL PERONISTA (MSP), OR EX-COMMITTEE OF 25. AIFLD REPRESENTATIVE TORRES-LAZO'S MEETING WITH THE CUTA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE TO INFORM THEM OF AFL-CIO PRESIDENT KIRKLAND'S INVITATION TO MEET WITH HIM IN CUERNAVACA SLOWED DOWN THE CENTRIFUGAL PROCESS ONLY BRIEFLY.

4. IT IS PROBABLY THE CNT WHICH BEARS THE GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR HAVING PRECIPITATED THE SPLIT AND WE BELIEVE THAT WE SEE THE GOVERNMENT'S HAND BEHIND THAT MANEUVER, BUT THE MSP HAD JUST ABOUT EXHAUSTED ITS INTEREST IN MAINTAINING THE CUTA FACADE AS WELL. BEHIND THIS MOVE, WE THINK, IS THE MINISTRY OF LABOR'S PERENNIAL INTEREST IN HAVING AN ARGENTINE WORKER DELEGATION PRESENT AT THE ILO CONFERENCE IN GENEVA IN JUNE IN ORDER TO SALVE INTERNATIONAL APPEARANCES--A DELEGATION AS MODERATE BUT ALSO AS REPRESENTATIVE AS POSSIBLE. A CLOSELY RELATED AIM IS TO SPLIT THE MSP, ISOLATING THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT PERONIST "DUROS" E.G. GARCIA, THE CGT-ORIENTED DIGON, AUTOWORKER LEADER RODRIGUEZ, ETC. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE NATURAL INTEREST OF THE ARGENTINE TRADE UNION LEADERS TO ATTEND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN ORDER TO KEEP THEIR NAMES IN PRINT AND THEIR FUTURE LEADERSHIP PROSPECTS ALIVE, LABOR UNDERSECRETARY ROJAS, WE BELIEVE, HAS SUBTLY ORCHESTRATED A SERIES OF TRADE UNION MEETINGS WITH THE AIM OF REORGANIZING THE OFFICIALLY NON-RECOGNIZED NATIONAL UNION BOARD AROUND THREE BASIC POLES: (A) THE CNT; (B) THE "GROUP OF 20" ANTIVERTICALISTS AND INDEPENDENTS (SODA WORKER RACCHINI, ROOSLEHEAD (?) BARRIONUEVO, RAILWAY ENGINEER LEADER ETCHEGAR, ETC.) WHICH HAD PURPOSEFULLY REFUSED TO JOIN CUTA FROM THE START IN ORDER NOT TO SPEND ITSELF IN FUTILE CONFLICT WITH THE GOVERNMENT; AND (C) ANY ELEMENTS OF THE MSP WHICH MIGHT BE WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S GAME. IN OTHER WORDS, ALMOST A CARBON COPY OF LAST YEAR'S PERFORMANCE WHEN, UNDER GOA URGING, THE CNT AND GROUP OF 20 TURNED THEIR BACKS ON THE "25" LEADERS THEN IN JAIL AND WENT OFF TO ATTEND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE (SEE 79 BUENOS AIRES 4098).

5. POSTAL WORKER LEADER BALDASSINI (PROTECT) HAS CONFIDED TO AIFLD REPRESENTATIVE TORRES-LAZO THAT THE MEETINGS A WEEK AGO BETWEEN THE LABOR MINISTER AND SELECTED UNION LEADERS WAS DESIGNED TO SET THE STAGE FOR A REQUEST FROM CAREFULLY SELECTED LABOR LEADERS FOR GOA PERMISSION

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____.

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UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03258 02 OF 02 182117Z 7559

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 AOS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-00 INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00
STR-00 SIL-01 SS-15 TRSE-00 HA-05 L-03 PA-01
ICAE-00 /098 W

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O R 182019Z APR 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5063
AMEMBASSY MEXICO NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 3258

TO HOLD A PLENUM TO DISCUSS--NOT WORKER GRIEVANCES OVER WAGES, THE TRADE UNION AND PROJECTED SOCIAL PROJECTS LEGISLATION AND RECENT FACTORY DISMISSALS --BUT RATHER TO NAME A WORKER DELEGATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE (I) IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PREARRANGED PLAN, THE MINISTRY HAS NOW WINKED BACK THAT SUCH A PLENUM WOULD BE "ACCEPTABLE", BUT THE DATE HAS NOT BEEN DEFINITELY FIXED. ACCORDING TO BALDASSINI, THE PLENUM'S BASIC PURPOSE IS TO RESTRUCTURE THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF CUTA (WITH THE MAKEUP OF THE ILO WORKER DELEGATION REFLECTING THAT NEW REALITY). THE PLENUM WILL ALSO CONFIRM LOCAL METAL WORKER ACTING SECRETARY MARCOS AS CUTA'S DESIGNATE TO THE ICFTU BOARD. AS A PLACEBO FOR TORRES-LAZO AND THE AFL CIO, BALDASSINI THREW IN THE PROMISE THAT WHEN THE DELEGATION GETS TO GENEVA IT WILL FORMALLY REQUEST AFFILIATION WITH ORIT, (--THUS DASHING HOPES THAT THE MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE WILL BE SIGNED IN CUERNAVACA).

6. ONE OF THE IMPLICATIONS BEHIND THIS GAME PLAN IS THAT THE CNT, EITHER ON ITS OWN OR UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT, HAS DECIDED TO DOWNGRADE THE CUERNAVACA MEETING. THIS IS EVIDENT FROM THE FACT THAT NONE OF THE FIRST-LINE CNT LEADERS WERE SELECTED TO GO TO THE ORIT CONFERENCE. UNDOUBTEDLY THEY HAVE GOOD REASON. THERE ARE BIGGER FISH TO FRY FOR THEM IN BUENOS AIRES THIS WEEK, SINCE LISTS OF CANDIDATES ARE BEING DRAWN UP FOR THE GENEVA WORKER DELEGATION. ALSO, BALDASSINI'S UNION HAS AN ANNUAL MEETING THIS WEEK. HOWEVER, WE ALSO SUSPECT THAT THEY DID NOT WISH TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE TRADE UNION RIGHTS DISCUSSIONS IN CUERNAVACA, AS THIS WOULD HAVE PREJUDICED THEIR UNDERSTANDING WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

7. BUT NOW THERE IS A NEW FACTOR TO ASSESS. FORMER METALWORKER AND 62-ORGANIZATIONS BOSS LORENZO MIGUEL'S HOUSE ARREST STATUS WAS LIFTED AT 3 AM APRIL 17-FOLLOWING A JUNTA DECISION WHICH NEVERTHELESS STIPULATED THAT HE WAS STILL INCLUDED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE ACT OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THEREFORE WOULD CONTINUE TO BE DEPRIVED OF HIS CIVIL RIGHTS. (FORMER CONSTRUCTION WORKER LEADER ROGELIO PAPAGNO WAS ALSO RELIEVED OF CONDITIONAL LIBERTY STATUS.) IN ANNOUNCING THIS ACTION THE JUNTA DID NOT PUBLICLY EXPLAIN THE REASONING BEHIND ITS DECISION TO RELEASE MIGUEL, OR ITS JUSTIFICATION FOR KEEPING HIM UNDER THE ACT. HOWEVER, JUNTA MEMBER (AIR FORCE COMMANDER) GENERAL GRAFFIGNA, IN A PUBLIC CEREMONY APRIL 16, STATED THAT THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT OF JUNE 1976 PROVIDED FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF PENALTIES FOR 37 PERSONS "WHO HAD DONE GREAT DAMAGE TO THE REPUBLIC." SAID GRAFFIGNA: "AS THE PERSONS INCLUDED UNDER THESE DECREES SERVE OUT THE TERMS ORDERED BY THE JUNTA, THEY WILL BE TAKEN OFF THE ACT." HOWEVER, HE ADDED, WITHOUT SPECIFICALLY REFERRING TO MIGUEL'S CASE, "THERE MAY BE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE RECOVERED THEIR LIBERTY, BUT PERHAPS HAVE THREE OR FOUR (OTHER) TYPES OF PENALTIES TO PAY WHICH ARE OF A SECRET CHARACTER"--PRESUMABLY A REFERENCE TO THE CONTINUING PROHIBITION AGAINST MIGUEL'S EXERCISE OF HIS CIVIL RIGHTS.

8. SO FAR THE GOVERNMENT HAS RUN RINGS AROUND THE ARGENTINE TRADE UNION LEADERS AND MOST OF THEM HAVE BEEN WILLING TO JUMP THROUGH THE HOOPS IN ORDER TO RETAIN THEIR POSITIONS. AT THIS POINT IT SEEMS FAIRLY CERTAIN THAT A WORKER DELEGATION WILL BE FIELDED TO GENEVA, ALTHOUGH SOME SLIPPAGE IN THE DATE SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE FOR HOLDING THE PLENUM IN WHICH THE GAME PLAN WAS TO HAVE BEEN ORCHESTRATED. TTHE ULTIMATE IMPACT WHICH MIGUEL'S RELEASE WILL HAVE ON THE MOVEMENT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. SOURCES ASSERT THAT NO DEAL WAS MADE WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND INDEED THE FACT THAT HE REMAINS STRIPPED OF HIS RIGHTS SUGGESTS THAT THIS MAY BE SO. WE UNDERSTAND FROM HIS LIEUTENANTS THAT HE INTENDS TO PROCEED VERY SLOWLY, TAKING HIS FAMILY AWAY FOR A VACATION IN THE MOUNTAINS AND POSSIBLY EVEN MAKING A TRIP ABROAD. THE GOVERNMENT CALLS MIGUEL A THUG AND STORIES ABOUND ABOUT HUGE GRAFT AND CORRUPTION IN HIS UNION, MASSIVE ARMIES OF PRIVATE BODYGUARDS AND POSSIBLY EVEN AN ASSASSINATION HERE OR THERE, BUT THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO PROVE ONE IOTA OF THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM AND HAS RELEASED HIM. WE DO NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHY AS YET. PERHAPS INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE INCLUDING THAT OF THE VATICAN PLAYED A ROLE. BUT AS THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING HIS FESTIVE THREE HOUR WALK THROUGH HIS BARRIO YESTERDAY SUGGESTS, THE PERONISTS FINALLY HAVE A CAUDILLO ON THE STREETS AGAIN AND THE MOOD OVER THE LONG RUN IN WHAT WE THINK ARE THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THAT MOVEMENT WILL BE INCREASINGLY THAT OF OUTWARD OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

9. WE WOULD APPRECIATE A REPORT FROM MEXICO ON THE RESULTS OF THE ARGENTINE PARTICIPATION IN CUERNAVACA, INCLUDING THE MEETING WITH AFL-CIO PRESIDENT KIRKLAND.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02481 01 OF 02 182241Z
ACTION ARA-15

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2481

MEXICO CITY FOR NIXON

E.B. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB PINS PINT CI
SUBJ: ARREST OF LABOR LEADER FOR SLANDER AND INCITEMENT: SOME REMINDERS OF THE PAST

1. SUMMARY : THE ARREST OF TAXI FEDERATION LEADER JUAN JARA EXPOSES GOC SENSITIVITY TO CRITICISM OF THE MILITARY AS AN INSTITUTION. THE GOC WAS PROBABLY INCLUENCED BY THE APPROACH OF MAY DAY, AND AN UPCOMING MEETING OF THE ENTIRE LAND TRANSPORT SECTOR WHICH HAS BEEN HIGHLY CRITICAL OF GOC ECONOMIC POLICY AS IT AFFECTS THAT SECTOR. WITH RESPECT TO MILITARY SENSITIVITIES AND DISAFFECTION OF PARTS OF THE TRANSPORT SECTOR, THERE ARE IRONIC REMINDERS OF EVENTS IN 1972-73. END SUMMARY

2. JUAN JARA, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TAXI DRIVERS, WHICH ALSO INCLUDES "COLECTIVOS" (TAXIS THAT RUN FIXED ROUTES FOR AFIXED FARE) AND TAXI-BUSES, WAS ARRESTED IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF APRIL 10 BY THE INVESTIGATIVE POLICE AND CHARGED BY THE GOC WITH VIOLATING CHILE'S INTERNAL SECURITY LAW.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02481 01 OF 02 182241Z

3. THE DAY BEFORE JARA HAD HELD A MEETING OF HIS FEDERATION TO DISCUSS A RECENT PROHIBITION ON THE CIRCULATION OF "COLECTIVOS" (MULTI-PASSENTER TAXI CABS) IN THE CENTER OF SANTIAGO. JARA ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED APPROVAL FOR A NATIONAL STRIKE AT A DATE TO BE DETERMINED, AND HARSHLY CRITICIZED THE GOC ECONOMIC PLAN (CALLING IT EXTREMELY PREJUDICIAL TO THE WORKING CLASS) AND THE

ECONOMIC TEAM. HIS COMMENTARY ON THE LATTER WAS PARTICULARLY STRONG AND REW THE IRE OF THE MILITARY, LEADING TO HIS DETENTION. LOCAL PRESS QUOTED JARA AS SAYING"(WE'VE HAD) ENOUGH STUPIDITY. (WE'VE HAD) ENOUGH OF A GROUP OF LITTLE MEN ("SENORITOS"--A HIGHLY PEJORATIVE TERM IN SPANISH) OF SECOND, THIRD, AND EVEN FOURTH CLASS WHO, SUPPORTED BY THE BAYONETS OF THE ARMED FORCES, TRAMPLE ON THE UNION MOVEMENT. THESE ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHO WERE NOTT IN CHILE DURING THE GREAT EVENTS (LEADING TO THE DOWNFALL OF ALLENDE), BUT WHO RETURNED TO IMPOSE AN ECONOMIC POLICY THAT THEY CLAIM IS THE BEST AND IS THE SALVATION OF THE COUNTRY. THE ENTIRE LAND TRANSPORT SECTOR IS GOING BANKRUPT BECAUSE OF THIS FRAUD (POMADA) OF AN ECONOMIC POLICY... THE TIME HAS COME TO SAY 'ENOUGH'* THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE RESCUED FROM THE CLUTCHES OF A PRIVI-1 LEGED GROUP, FROM THIS GROUP OF LITTLE MEN, FROM THE BLOOD-SUCKERS OF CHILEANS."

4. OFFICIAL GOC REACTION WAS STRONG AND SWIFT. BESIDES THE ARREST OF JARA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF GOVERNMENT, GENERAL SERGIO BADIOLA, TOLD THE PRESS THAT JARA'S STATMENTS WERE "TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE (TO THE ARMED FORCES AS AN ENTITY)... IT IS ONE THING FOR JARA TO DISCUSS A PROBLEM HE MIGHT BE HAVING; IT IS QUITE ANOTHER TO OFFEND AND INSULT A RESPECTED AND RESPECTABLE INSTI-
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02481 01 OF 02 182241Z

TUTION". HE ACCUSED JARA OF TRYING TO INCITE A NATIONAL TAXI STRIKE AND TERMED THIS "A GRAVE ERROR". HE THEN WARNED THAT ANY TRADE UNIONISTS WHO EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR OR SOLIDARITY WITH JARA'S "OFFENSIVE STATEMENTS" WOULD BE CHARGED WITH THE SAME OFFENSE. DESPITE THIS WARNING, NUMERIOUS PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT WERE ISSUED BY VARIOUS LABOR AND SMALL BUSINESS GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS.

5. ON APRIL 15 A SANTIAGO JUDGE FORMALLY INDICTED JARA UNDER THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW FOR DEFAMING AND SLANDERING GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES. THE CHARGE CARRIES A PENALTY OF ONE AND A HALF TO FIVE YEARS (EITHER IN PRISON OR INTERNAL BANISSMENT). AS A FIRST STEP, JARA'S LAWYERS ARE SEEKING HIS RELEASE ON BAIL (GRANTED THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 18). JARA HAS DENIED THAT HE INTENDED ANY OFFENSE TO THE MILITARY, POINTING OUT THAT ONE OF HIS SONS IS ON THE ARMY.

6. COMMENT: JARA, LONG VIEWED AS PRO-GOC, HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY CRITICAL OF GOC ECONOMIC POLICY, BUT NEVER

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02481 02 OF 02 182241Z
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QUITE IN THE TERMS WHICH LED TO HIS ARREST. ALTHOUGH SUCH STATEMENTS (AND STRONGER) ARE FAIRLY COMMON IN TRADE UNION CIRCULES, THEY ARE SELDOM PUT ON THE RECORD. AS FAR BACK AS SEPTEMBER 1978, LEON VILARIN, HEAD OF THE TRUCK OWNERS CONFEDERATION AND A LEADER WITH JARA IN THE STRIKES WHICH PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN ALLENDE'S DOWNFALL, TOLD "HOY" MAGAZINE THAT "I CONSIDER THAT WE ARE LIVING UNDER A ECONOMIC DICTATORSHIP ADMINISTERED BY A GROUP OF CIVILIANS WITH THE BACKING OF THE ARMED FORCES. THIS WAS NOTT WHAT THE CITIZENS OF CHILE ASKED FOR IN SEPTEMBER 1973." VILARIN HAS EXPRESSE STRONG SUPPORT FOR JARA AND ADDED THAT GOC ECONOMIC POLICY WAS LEADING TO THE PRESENTATION OF A NEW "PLIEGO DE CHILE" (A LIST OF ECONOMIC WANTS PRESENTED TO ALLENDE LATE IN 1972--VILARIN WAS ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE GROUP WHICH PRESENTED THE "PLIEGO"). INTERESTINGLY, A MEETING OF THE PRESENTLY INACTIVE LAND TRANSPORT CONFEDERATION, HEADED BY JARA, IS SCHEDULED FOR THE WEEKEND OF APRIL 19 WITH A VIEW TO REACTIVATING IT AND TO SEEK MEANS TO EFFECT CHANGE IN GOC ECONOMIC POLICY AS IT AFFECTS THE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02481 02 OF 02 182241Z

GROUP'S MEMBERS.

7. WHILE THE NEW RULES FOR "COLECTIVOS" SPARKED JARA'S

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RECENT OUTBURST, THE MORE BASIC PROBLEM FOR HIM (AS WELL AS VILARIN'S TRUCKERS) IS THE EXTENSIVE DEREGULATION OF TRANSPORT UNDER CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICY. THE ISSUANCE OF TAXI LICENSES IS NO LONGER RESTRICTED. THE NUMBER OF TAXIS IN SANTIAGO HAS AT LEAST DOUBLED SINCE 1973. ACCORDING TO JARA, MANY PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN FIRED FROM OTHER JOBS USE THEIR SEVERENCE PAY TO PUCHASE A TAXI. WHILE THE PUBLIC BENEFITS, TAXI DRIVERS HAVE LESS WORK PER DRIVER AND, JARA CLAIMS, LOWER INCOME.

8. IN HIS STATEMENT ON THE JARA ARREST, GENERAL BADIOLA SEEMED MOST CONCERNED BY THE REFERENCE TO THE MILITARY. THIS IS A SENSITIVE AREA, NOTT LEASE BECAUSE OF THE SCORN HEAPED ON INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS IN THE PERIOD BEFORE THEN MOVED TO OUST ALLENDE. (ALONG THIS LINE, A RECENT MAPU-OC FLYER--ONE OF THE SMALLER FACTIONS OF ALLENDE'S UP ALLIANCE-- ASKS HOW LONG CHILE'S SOLDIERS ARE GOING TO LET EHEMSELVES BY MADE RIDICULOUS. THE FLYER CALLS FOR PINOCHET'S RESIGNATION.) WE THINK IT MORE LIKELE, HOWEVER, THAT GOC EDGINESS IN THIS CASE RESULTED FROM THE APPROACH OF MAY DAY, TRADITIONALLY A TIME OF LABOR/LEFT INSPIRED STREET DEMONSTRATIONS, AND TO WIDER UNREST IN THE TRANSPORTATION SECTOR. VILARIN CERTAINLY AND JARA PERHAPS ARE MORE INCLINED THAN MOST TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE MILITARY BECAUSE THEY PLAYED A SUSTAINED AND MAJOR ROLE DURING THE ALLENDE PERIOD WHICH BROUGHT THE MILITARY TO POWER; IN THEIR OPINION THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES, WHICH THEY HELPED BRING IN, HAS NOTT LIVED UP TO THEIR EXPECTATIONS. THE REMINDERS OF THE PAST IMPLICIT IN THIS EPISODE ARE PROBABLY NOTT AUGURIES OF THE FUTURE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02481 02 OF 02 182241Z

BUT THEY ARE WORTH NOTING.
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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, MICHAEL MAGGIO, as personal representative of Orlando Letelier, CHRISTIAN A. LETELIER, JOSE I. LETELIER, FRANCISCO J. LETELIER, JUAN PABLO LETELIER, MICHAEL MOFFITT, individually, and as personal representative of Ronni Karpen Moffitt, MURRAY H. KARPEN, and HILDA KARPEN,

Judgment Creditors,

-against-

THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE, also doing business as LINEA AEREA NACIONAL-CHILE,

Judgment Debtor,

-and-

LINEA AEREA NACIONAL-CHILE,

Garnishee-Respondent.

Civ. A. No. M 18-302

MEMORANDUM OF LAW IN OPPOSITION TO JUDGMENT CREDITORS' MOTION TO APPOINT A RECEIVER

HALE RUSSELL & GRAY
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 10178

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, MICHAEL MAGGIO, as personal representative of Orlando Letelier, CHRISTIAN A. LETELIER, JOSE I. LETELIER, FRANCISCO J. LETELIER, JUAN PABLO LETELIER, MICHAEL MOFFITT, individually, and as personal representative of Ronni Karpen Moffitt, MURRAY H. KARPEN, and HILDA KARPEN,	
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-against-	Civ. A. No. M 18-302
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Judgment Debtor,	
-and-	
LINEA AEREA NACIONAL-CHILE,	
Garnishee-Respondent.	

MEMORANDUM OF LAW
IN OPPOSITION TO JUDGMENT CREDITORS' MOTION TO APPOINT A RECEIVER AND IN SUPPORT OF CROSS-MOTION TO DISMISS SUMMARY PROCEEDING AND FOR OTHER RELIEF

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Preliminary Statement.....1

Summary of Argument.....3

Statement of Facts.....6

A. Background.....6

B. The Letelier Default Judgment.....9

C. Other Investigations of LAN-Chile's Alleged Involvement.....15

D. LAN-Chile's Relationship with the Republic.....20

Argument.....23

I. LAN-CHILE'S ASSETS ARE IMMUNE FROM EXECUTION UNDER THE FOREIGN SOVEREIGN IMMUNITIES ACT.....23

A. LAN-Chile is an "Agency or Instrumentality" of a "Foreign State" Entitled to Execution Immunity Under the FSIA.....23

B. The "Commercial Activity" Exception of 28 U.S.C. §1610(a)(2) Does not Defeat LAN-Chile's Immunity.....25

C. The Exception of 28 U.S.C. §1610(b)(2) Does Not Defeat LAN-Chile's Immunity.....33

D. LAN-Chile Has Not Waived its Immunity.....37

E. To Construe the Exceptions Under the FSIA as Authorizing Execution Against LAN-Chile Property Would Violate Established International Law and Rules of Statutory Construction.....41

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE

II. REGARDLESS OF LAN-CHILE'S SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY, ITS ASSETS CANNOT BE LEVIED UPON TO SATISFY A *DEFAULT JUDGMENT* AGAINST THE REPUBLIC.....46

A. Judgment Creditors Have Ignored Controlling Choice-of-Law Principles Applied in this Circuit.....46

B. Under the Bancec Test, LAN-Chile's Status Under Chilean Law as a Separate Juridical Entity Must Be Upheld.....56

C. The Republic Does Not Have an Attachable "Property Interest" in LAN-Chile's Assets.....64

D. Even on Its Own Terms, Judgment Creditors Cannot Prevail on their "Alter Ego" Theory.....69

III. GRANTING JUDGMENT CREDITORS THE RELIEF THEY SEEK IN THIS SUMMARY PROCEEDING WOULD BE AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL DENIAL OF DUE PROCESS AND OTHERWISE UNLAWFUL.....76

A. Granting Judgment Creditors' Motion Would Deny LAN-Chile Due Process of Law.....76

B. Granting Judgment Creditors The Relief They Seek Would Be An Unlawful Prejudgment Attachment Under 28 U.S.C. §§1609 and 1610(d).....82

IV. APPOINTING A RECEIVER IS LEGALLY AND FACTUALLY UNWARRANTED.....83

A. Judgment Creditors Have Failed to Make the Factual Showing for a Receiver to be Appointed.....83

B. Judgment Creditor Michael Moffit Is Not a Proper Receiver.....86

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Table of Authorities

I. CASES

Page

Adelman v. CGS Scientific Corporation, 332 F. Supp. 137 (E.D. Pa. 1971).....87

Aerotrade, Inc. v. Banque Nationale de la Republique d'Haiti, 376 F. Supp. 1286 (S.D.N.Y. 1974).....77

In re Air Crash Disaster at Warsaw, Poland, 16 Av. Cas. (CCH) ¶17,985 (E.D.N.Y. 1981).....54

American Anthracite and Bituminous Coal Corporation v. Amerocean S.S. Co., 131 F. Supp. 244 (E.D. Pa. 1955).....72

American Hawaiian Ventures, Inc. v. M.V.J. Latuharhary, 257 F. Supp. 622 (D.N.J. 1966).....65

Arango v. Guzman Travel Advisors Corp., 621 F.2d 1371 (5th Cir. 1980).....30-32, 39, 53, 63

Argentine Airlines v. Ross, 64 A.D.2d 994, 408 N.Y.S.2d 831 (3d Dept. 1978), leave to appeal denied 47 N.Y.2d 708, 418 N.Y.S.2d 1026 (1979), cert. denied 444 U.S. 973 (1979).....39, 54

Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Chase Manhattan Bank, 505 F. Supp. 412 (S.D.N.Y. 1980), modified 658 F.2d 875 (2d Cir. 1981).....61

Banco Nacional de Cuba v. First National City Bank, 478 F.2d 191 (2d Cir. 1973).....57, 61

Banco Para El Comercio Exterior de Cuba v. First National City Bank, 658 F.2d 913 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. granted ____ U.S. ____, 103 S.Ct. 253, 74 L.Ed.2d 198 (1982).....47-76

Bankers Trust Co. v. Worldwide Transportation Services Inc., 537 F. Supp. 1101 (E.D. Ark. 1982).....49, 52

In re Beck Industries, Inc., 479 F.2d 410 (2d Cir.), cert. denied 414 U.S. 858 (1973).....68

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

Bellomo v. Pennsylvania Life Company, 488 F. Supp. 744 (S.D.N.Y. 1980).....72

Billy v. Consolidated Machine Tool Corporation, 51 N.Y.2d 152, 432 N.Y.S.2d 879 (1980).....71-72

Boise Cascade Corp. v. Wheeler, 419 F. Supp. 98 (S.D.N.Y. 1976) aff'd without opinion, 556 F.2d 554 (2d Cir. 1977).....66-67

Bracco v. Lackner, 462 F. Supp. 436 (N.D. Cal. 1978).....84

Brady Coal & Ice Co. v. McAteer, 254 A.D. 776, 4 N.Y.S.2d 744 (4th Dept. 1938).....85

Brunswick Corp. v. Waxman, 459 F. Supp. 1222 (E.D.N.Y. 1978), aff'd 599 F.2d 34 (2d Cir. 1979).....71, 75

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Chas. T. Main International, Inc. v. Khuzestan Water & Power Authority, 651 F.2d 800 (1st Cir. 1981).....42, 49, 83

China National Chemical Import & Export Corp. v. M/V Lago Hualaihue, 504 F. Supp. 684 (D. Md. 1981).....50

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Czarnikow Ltd. v. Centrala Handlu Zagranicznego "Rolimpex" [1978] 3 W.L.R. 274.....54

Dat Pethe v. District Collector, 1976 A.I.R. Ker. 37...54

DeLetelier v. Republic of Chile, 502 F. Supp. 259 (D.D.C. 1980).....passim

DeSanchez v. Banco Central de Nicaragua, 515 F. Supp. 900 (E.D. La. 1981).....27, 32, 49, 52

UNCLASSIFIED

ARCHIVED

Page

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Drucker v. Drucker, 53 Misc. 2d 446, 278 N.Y.S.2d 645 (Sup. Ct., Queens Co., 1967).....84

Dudley v. Smith, 504 F.2d 979 (5th Cir. 1974), rehearing denied 507 F.2d 1280 (5th Cir. 1975).....78

Eagle Transport, Ltd. v. O'Connor, 470 F. Supp. 731 (S.D.N.Y. 1979).....78

Edlow International Co. v. Nuklearna Elektrarna Krsko, 441 F. Supp. 827 (D.D.C. 1977).....52-53

Establissement Tomis v. Shearson Hayden Stone, Inc., 459 F. Supp. 1355 (S.D.N.Y. 1978).....71

E-Systems, Inc. v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 491 F. Supp. 1294 (N.D. Tex. 1980).....83

Farmers' Loan and Trust Co. v. Cape Fear & Y. Val. R. Co., 62 F. 675 (C.C.N.C. 1894).....87-88

First National City Bank v. Banco Nacional De Cuba, 406 U.S. 759, 768-69 (1972).....59

In re Flora Mir Candy Corporation, 432 F.2d 1060 (2d Cir. 1970).....68

Florida Canal Industries v. Rambo, 537 F.2d 200 (5th Cir. 1976).....81

Flota Maritima Browning de Cuba S.A. v. M/V Ciudad de la Habana, 335 F.2d 619 (4th Cir. 1964).....40,45

FMC Finance Corp. v. Murphree, 632 F.2d 413 (5th Cir. 1980).....60

Gartner v. Snyder, 607 F.2d 582 (2d Cir. 1979).....60, 66, 70

General Motors Acceptance Corp. v. Whisnant, 387 F.2d 774 (5th Cir. 1968).....37

Geveke & Co. International, Inc. v. Kompania di Awa i Elektrisidat di Korsou, N.V. 482 F. Supp. 660 (S.D.N.Y. 1979).....82

ARCHIVED

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

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Gittler v. German Information Center, 95 Misc.2d 788, 408 N.Y.S.2d 600 (Sup. Ct., N.Y. Co., 1978).....78, 79

Glassner v. Kaufman, 19 A.D.2d 885, 244 N.Y.S.2d 449 (1st Dept. 1963).....85, 87

In re Adolf Gobel, Inc., 80 F.2d 849 (2d Cir. 1936).....68

Matter of Gulfco Investment Corporation, 593 F.2d 921 (10th Cir. 1979).....68

Hannes v. Kingdom of Roumania Monopolies Institute, 260 A.D. 189, 20 N.Y.S.2d 825 (1st Dept. 1940) leave to appeal and reargument denied 260 A.D. 1006, 24 N.Y.S.2d 994 (1940), resettlement granted 260 A.D. 1058, 26 N.Y.S.2d 856 (1940).....37

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Heaney v. Government of Spain, 445 F.2d 501 (2d Cir. 1971).....79

Herman v. El Al Israel Airlines, 502 F. Supp. 277 (S.D.N.Y. 1980).....50, 54

Herzberger v. Compania Acero del Pacifico, S.A., 78 Civ. 2451 (S.D.N.Y., August 17, 1978).....25

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International Railway Company v. Niagara Parks Commission [1941] A.C. 328.....54

Jackson v. Kelly, 557 F.2d 735 (10th Cir. 1977).....37

Jerry v. Francisco, 632 F.2d 252 (3d Cir. 1980).....79

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

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Kingdom of Sweden v. New York Trust Co., 197 Misc. 431, 96 N.Y.S.2d 779 (Sup. Ct., N.Y. Co., 1949).....74

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Kingston Dry Dock Co. v. Lake Champlain Transp. Co., 31 F.2d 265 (2d Cir. 1929).....73

Kirno Hill Corp. v. Holt, 618 F.2d 982 (2d Cir. 1980).....70, 72

Kramer Motors, Inc. v. British Leyland, Ltd., 628 F.2d 1175 (9th Cir.), cert. denied 449 U.S. 1062 (1980).....41

Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar v. Elicofon, 478 F.2d 231 (2d Cir. 1973), cert. denied 415 U.S. 931 (1974).....74

Leasco Data Processing Equipment Corp. v. Maxwell, 468 F.2d 1326 (2d Cir. 1972).....41

Letelier v. Republic of Chile, 488 F. Supp. 665 (D.D.C. 1980).....passim

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UNCLASSIFIED

Page

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Minpeco, S.A. v. Conticommodity Services, Inc., 549 F. Supp. 857 (S.D.N.Y. 1982).....56, 69

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National Airmotive Corp. v. Government & State of Iran, 499 F. Supp. 401 (D.D.C. 1980).....43

National City Bank v. Republic of China, 348 U.S. 356 (1955).....58-60

New York & Cuba Mail S.S. Co. v. Republic of Korea, 132 F. Supp. 684 (S.D.N.Y. 1955).....45

Ohntrup v. Firearms Center, Inc., 516 F. Supp. 1281 (E.D. Pa. 1981).....49

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Packer v. Caesar's World, Inc., 54 A.D.2d 676, 387 N.Y.S.2d 851 (1st Dept. 1976).....73

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Parkview - Gem, Inc., v. Stein, 516 F.2d 807 (8th Cir. 1975).....68

Pasos v. Ferber, 263 F. Supp. 877 (M.D. Pa. 1967), aff'd 386 F.2d 452 (3d Cir. 1967).....78

Paterson, Zochonis (U.K.), Ltd. v. Compania United Arrow, S.A., 493 F. Supp. 621 (S.D.N.Y. 1980).....39-41

Perez v. The Bahamas, 482 F. Supp. 1208 (D.D.C. 1980), aff'd 652 F.2d 186 (D.C. Cir. 1981), cert. denied 454 U.S. 865 (1981).....29, 39

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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

Playa Larga v. I Congreso Del Partido, [1981] 3 W.L.R. 328.....53

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Prelude Corp. v. Owners of F/V Atlantik, 1971 A.M.C. 2651 (N.D. Cal.).....66

Putnam Mills Corp. v. United States, 479 F.2d 1334 (Ct. Cl. 1973).....82

Reading & Bates Corp. v. National Iranian Oil Co., 478 F. Supp. 724 (S.D.N.Y. 1979).....83

Reconstruction Finance Corporation v. J.G. Menihan Corporation, 312 U.S. 81 (1941).....74

Ricker v. American Zinser Coporation, 506 F. Supp. 1 (E.D. Tenn. 1978), aff'd without opinion, 633 F.2d 218 (6th Cir. 1980).....73

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Saull v. Seplowe, - Misc. 2d, - 218 N.Y.S.2d 777 (Sup. Ct., Kings Co., 1961).....85

The Schooner Exchange v. M'Fadden, 11 U.S. (7 Cranch) 116 (1812).....58

Security Pacific National Bank v. Government and State of Iran, 513 F. Supp. 864 (C.D. Cal. 1981).....83

Matter of Sedco, Inc., 543 F. Supp. 561 (S.D. Tex. 1982).....49, 52

Sloan Shipyards Corporation v. United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, 258 U.S. 549 (1922).....74

Smith & Smith, Ltd. v. Smith, [1939] N.Z.L.R. 588.....54

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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

Matter of Sterling Navigation Co., Ltd., 444 F. Supp. 1043 (S.D.N.Y. 1977).....80

Strick Corporation v. Thai Teak Products Company, Ltd., 493 F. Supp. 1210 (E.D. Pa. 1980).....78

S.T. Tringali Co. v. Tug Pemex XV, 274 F. Supp. 227 (S.D. Tex. 1967).....73

Sugarman v. Aeromexico, Inc., 626 F.2d 270 (3d Cir. 1980).....54

Sukhdev Singh v. Bhagatram, 1975 A.I.R. 1331.....54

Tamlin v. Hannaford [1950] 1 K.B. 18.....54

Tannis v. Tannis, - Misc. 2d -, 213 N.Y.S.2d 320 (Sup. Ct., Kings Co., 1961).....85

Texas Trading & Milling Corp. v. Federal Republic of Nigeria, 647 F.2d 300 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. denied 454 U.S. 1148 (1982).....29, 41, 43

Torrey Delivery Inc. v. Chautauqua Truck Sales & Service Inc., 47 A.D.2d 279, 366 N.Y.S.2d 506 (4th Dept. 1975).....67

Ulen & Co. v. Bank Gospodarstwa Krajawego, 261 A.D. 1, 24 N.Y.S.2d 201 (2d Dept. 1940).....37

In re Unishops, Inc., 494 F.2d 689 (2d Cir. 1974).....68

United States v. Deutsches Kalisyndikat Gesellschaft, 31 F.2d 199 (S.D.N.Y. 1929).....37

United States v. Fiore, 443 F.2d 112 (2d Cir. 1971)....81

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United States v. Sampol, 636 F.2d 621 (D.C. Cir. 1980).....10, 11, 63, 78

United States v. Strang, 254 U.S. 491 (1921).....74

Upton v. Empire of Iran, 459 F.Supp. 264 (D.D.C. 1978), aff'd without opinion 607 F.2d 494 (D.C. Cir. 1979).....32

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UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

Page

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Verlinden B.V. v. Central Bank of Nigeria, 488 F. Supp. 1284 (S.D.N.Y.), aff'd 647 F.2d 320 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. granted 454 U.S. 1140 (1982).....41

Vicente v. Trinidad and Tobago, 53 A.D.2d 76, 385 N.Y.S.2d 83 (1st Dept. 1976), aff'd 42 N.Y.2d 929, 397 N.Y.S.2d 1007 73

Walkovsky v. Carlton, 18 N.Y.2d 414, 276 N.Y.S.2d 585 (1966).....70

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Worldwide Carriers, Ltd. v. Aris S. S. Co., 301 F. Supp. 64 (S.D.N.Y. 1981).....71-72

Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency, 443 F. Supp. 849 (S.D.N.Y. 1978).....32, 39, 49

Zenith Radio Corp. v. Hazeltine Research, Inc., 395 U.S. 100 (1969), on remand 418 F.2d 21 (7th Cir. 1969), rev'd on other grounds 401 U.S. 321 (1971), rehearing denied 401 U.S. 1015 (1971).....76-78

Zinke-Smith, Inc., v. Marlowe, 323 F. Supp. 1151 (D.V.I. 1971).....85

CLASSIFIED

Page

II. STATUTES, TREATIES, COURT RULES, AND RELATED MATERIALS

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Fed. R. Civ. P. 69(a).....76, 84

Fed. R. Evid. 802.....15, 80

Fed. R. Evid. 803(b).....80

Fed. R. Evid. 804(a)(5).....12, 78

Fed. R. Evid. 804(b)(1).....80-81

Fed. R. Evid. 805.....15, 80

14 C.F.R. §375.26 (1982).....38-40

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State Immunity Act, 1978, c. 33 (United Kingdom).....40

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18 U.S.C. §1116.....9, 14, 26

28 U.S.C. §1602.....3, 79

28 U.S.C. §1603.....3, 24, 26

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

28 U.S.C. §1604.....39

28 U.S.C. §1605(a)(5).....10, 26-35, 38, 79, 80

28 U.S.C. §1607.....59

28 U.S.C. 1608(e).....9, 11

28 U.S.C. §1609.....4, 24, 39, 44

28 U.S.C. §1610.....4, 9, 25-45

28 U.S.C. §1611.....25, 44

28 U.S.C. §1746.....1

28 U.S.C. §2241.....12, 79

42 U.S.C. §1985.....9, 14, 26

III. SECONDARY SOURCES

Advisory Committee Notes on Fed. R. Evid. 803.....81

Alleged Violations of U.S. Aviation Laws and Regulations by LAN-Chile Airlines: Hearings Before a Sub-Committee of the House Committee on Government Operations, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. (May 9, 1980).....16, 19

Alleged Violations of U.S. Aviation Laws and Regulations by LAN-Chile Airlines, H.R. Rep. No. 96-1157, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. (July 8, 1980).....16, 18

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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

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Note, The Problem of Execution Uniformity Under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 and Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 69, 12 VAL. U.L. REV. 569 (1979).....27, 34, 46

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VI. MISCELLANEOUS

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Letter from Charles Brower, Robert Craft and Mark B. Feldmam on behalf of American Bar Association, Section of International Law, to The Honorable Davis Robinson, Legal Advisor, U.S. Department of State (March 24, 1983).....28

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Page

Restatement (Revised) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States §460, Tentative Draft No. 2 (1981).....46

Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law §69, Reporter's Note 2 (1965).....46

Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law §70(3)(1965).....43-44

Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law §71(3)(1965).....43-44

Restatement (Second) of Judgments §34(3)(1982).....76

Restatement (Second) of Judgments §75, Comment a (1982).....77

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM OF LAW
IN OPPOSITION TO JUDGMENT CREDITORS'
MOTION TO APPOINT A RECEIVER
AND IN SUPPORT OF A CROSS MOTION
TO DISMISS SUMMARY PROCEEDING
AND FOR OTHER RELIEF

Preliminary Statement

This Memorandum of Law is submitted on behalf of respondent LAN-Chile Airlines ("LAN-Chile"): (1) in opposition to the motion by Judgment Creditors (sometimes hereinafter referred to as "Plaintiffs") to appoint Judgment Creditor Michael Moffitt a receiver of LAN-Chile's assets in the United States in order to preside over their liquidation in satisfaction of a default judgment awarded to Judgment Creditors and against the Republic of Chile and other individual defendants in Isabel Morel DeLetelier, et al. v. Republic of Chile, et al., 502 F. Supp. 259 (D.D.C. 1981) (hereinafter referred to, together with all other proceedings therein, as the "Letelier Default Judgment" or "Letelier Action"), and (2) in support of LAN-Chile's cross-motion to dismiss the summary proceeding herein, to vacate the Restraining Notices served on LAN-Chile herein and to strike certain non-evidentiary matter contained in Judgment Creditors' moving papers.

The facts relevant to this motion are set forth in detail in the Declaracion, made pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §1746, of Eduardo Del Campo O., LAN-Chile's Gerente Tecnico (Vice presi-

CLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

dente) ("Del Campo Declaration"), the Informe en Derecho of Professor Eduardo Soto-Kloss ("Soto Report"), and the Informe en Derecho of Professor Julio Zenteno Vargas ("Zenteno Report").* Also submitted herewith are the affidavits of Carter K. Combe, Esq. with certain relevant documents attached (the "Combe Affidavit"), Guillermo Goldberg, General Manager, North America of LAN-Chile ("Goldberg Affidavit"), and Gerald D. Morgan Jr., Esq. ("Morgan Affidavit"). LAN-Chile specifically reserves its right to submit further supporting law and factual matter in opposition to Judgment Creditors' motion and in support of its cross-motion because of the unreasonably short time it has had to respond to this motion and, by submission of this and any further matter before this Court, LAN-Chile should not be understood to have waived any further rights it may have with respect to any of the proceedings herein.

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* The Soto Report and Zenteno Report were both executed in the evening of April 21, 1983 in Santiago, Chile, and arrived in our offices in the afternoon of April 22, the date of this Memorandum. Morgan Affidavit ¶5. Both Reports are in Spanish. English translations are being prepared and will be provided to the Court. We note, again, the presence in the Judgment Creditors' moving papers of Spanish language documents to which we have been required to respond without the benefit of English translations, as well as other Spanish language documents as to which only uncertified, informal English translations were provided and upon which we could not rely.

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Summary of Argument

In this summary proceeding pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 69(a), the Judgment Creditors attempt to execute upon the assets of LAN-Chile in order to satisfy a default judgment against the Republic of Chile (the "Republic"), a judgment rendered two and one-half years ago in an action in which LAN-Chile was never a party, wherein no efforts were made to make it a party and as to which LAN-Chile, prior to the instant proceeding before this Court, received no legal notice whatsoever. The arguments advanced to support this attempt are founded on misstatements of fact, innuendo, inadmissible hearsay, selective analogies to inapposite law, and prejudicial appeals to political and ideological notions, rather than the neutral principles of law which bind this Court, as they should bind the litigants before it.

In response, LAN-Chile demonstrates conclusively herein that Judgment Creditors may not satisfy their default judgment against LAN-Chile's assets because, first, those assets are immune from attachment, execution, and proceedings in aid thereof under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, 28 U.S.C. §1602 et seq. (the "FSIA"). The rationale for this immunity in this case is simply stated: Judgment Creditors concede and LAN-Chile has shown that LAN-Chile is an "agency or instrumentality" of a "foreign state," as those terms are defined in 28 U.S.C. §1603. As such, its property is prima facie entitled to the

UNCLASSIFIED

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sovereign immunity from execution provided for in 28 U.S.C. §1609. Contrary to Judgment Creditors' contentions, none of the FSIA's exceptions to that immunity (see 28 U.S.C. §1610) apply to this case. Moreover, LAN-Chile's assets remain immune even if these assets are deemed attachable property of the Republic and even if LAN-Chile is deemed to be the Republic's "alter ego," as Judgment Creditors further claim. See, Section I, below.

Aside from LAN-Chile's sovereign immunity from execution, Judgment Creditors' motion must be denied for the equally fundamental reason that LAN-Chile's assets are not leviable property of the judgment debtor Republic. LAN-Chile is a legally separate entity from the Republic that can sue and be sued in its own name (in fact, it has sued and has been sued by the Republic), owns its property in its own right and title, contracts in its own name, borrows on its own credit, pays taxes to the Republic, maintains its own books and records, has no government employees, and operates, in accordance with the sole and exclusive purpose permitted in its Charter, i.e., as a purely commercial airline. Judgment Creditors' arguments that (a) the Republic has some leviable "property interest" or "equitable ownership interest" in LAN-Chile's assets, and (b) LAN-Chile is the "alter ego" of the Republic, are legally unprincipled and unsupported by the record. As we demonstrate conclusively in Point II, below, these assertions by Judgment Creditors rely exclusively on grafting, alternately and selectively, inappropriate analogies from

UNCLASSIFIED

American law onto Chile's legal system and, conversely, ascribing American legal consequences to Chilean legal principles. More fundamentally, these arguments elide the choice-of-law aspects of these issues, choosing instead to follow choice-of-law "principles" that are without support, precedent or other sound foundation. See, Section II, below.

Apparently malcontented with merely twisting the law, Judgment Creditors have also grossly and irresponsibly misrepresented the relevant facts. It should be borne in mind that the "facts," as such, upon which the Judgment Creditors audaciously presume to rely were established at a default judgment hearing where neither LAN-Chile nor, of course, any defendant ever appeared. The only evidence before that Court, therefore, was proffered by the Judgment Creditors and was not subject to cross-examination or refutation. What meager facts do appear are these: Michael Townley ("Townley"), an alleged agent of an intelligence agency of the Republic, deliberately cultivated and then took advantage of personal friendships with several LAN-Chile pilots and ground personnel to carry packages and envelopes between the United States and Chile and to grant other small, personal favors, including incidental use of other LAN-Chile facilities. Neither LAN-Chile nor its employees have ever been alleged or proven to have known what was in the packages (other than such items as peanut butter and printed matter) or what Townley's aims were. Quite the contrary, later investigations by

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a grand jury, a Congressional subcommittee and by the Federal Aviation Administration ("FAA") found no culpable conduct on LAN-Chile's part whatsoever.

A finding for Judgment Creditors in this summary proceeding based on their factual showing would, moreover, deny LAN-Chile due process of law. Elementary notions of due process - notice and an opportunity to be heard - mean that even the bare-bones findings of fact and conclusions of law in the Letelier Default Judgment may not bind LAN-Chile. These same principles forbid Judgment Creditors from "bootstrapping" a judgment against the Republic into one against LAN-Chile by the sorcery of alter ego notions or otherwise. The innuendo, misrepresentation, and hearsay which Judgment Creditors use to support their motion fall far short, even if believed, of the plenary proof of their case necessary for them to prevail.

Finally, the remedy Judgment Creditors seek here, appointing Judgment Creditor Michael Moffitt a receiver of LAN-Chile's United States assets, is entirely inappropriate.

Statement of Facts

A. Background

LAN-Chile is a civil airline organized and existing since 1932 under the laws of Chile. Judgment Creditors are the personal representatives and members of the families of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Karpen Moffitt, both of whom were killed on

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September 21, 1976 in Washington, D.C. by an explosive device planted in Orlando Letelier's automobile. Alleging that this device had been planted by an intelligence agent of the Republic, Michael Vernon Townley, and members of a Cuban liberation movement, the Judgment Creditors commenced the Letelier Action on August 8, 1978 to recover damages for the deaths of Mr. Letelier and Mrs. Moffitt and for injuries sustained by Judgment Creditor Michael Moffitt, who had also been in the car at the time. The original named defendants in the Letelier Action were several individuals, not relevant to this motion, the Republic, and Central Nacional de Informaciones ("CNI"), originally identified as an "agency or instrumentality" of the Republic. All of the defendants defaulted.

There are two reported decisions in the Letelier Action: Letelier v. Republic of Chile, 488 F. Supp. 665 (D.D.C. 1980) (discussing sovereign immunity) and deLetelier v. Republic of Chile, 502 F. Supp. 259 (D.D.C. 1980) (entry of the default judgment). (Henceforth, these decisions will be referred to as "Letelier I" and "Letelier II", respectively.)

LAN-Chile was not a named defendant in the Letelier Default Judgment. At no time was it served with process in that action. Neither were any LAN-Chile employees named as defendants or served with process. There is no record that any efforts were ever made to serve LAN-Chile or any of its employees, even though Judgment Creditors named and served process on CNI, which they

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alleged was an "agency or instrumentality" of the Republic, and even though throughout the Letelier Action they repeatedly served various notices on CNI, the Republic, and the individual defendants.* See, Combe Affidavit, Ex. 3. Moreover (and more incredibly in view of Judgment Creditors' belated assertions of LAN-Chile's supposed involvement and culpability in the events alleged to support the default), despite the fact that, as early as November 1978, attorneys for Judgment Creditors admitted that they were planning to levy on LAN-Chile's assets to satisfy any judgment they might obtain in the Letelier Action, Judgment Creditors did not join LAN-Chile as a party to the Letelier Action.** See, Townley letter to "Don Hector", p.2 (November 24, 1978), attached as Exhibit D, p. 79, to Affidavit of John J. Privitera, Esq. submitted in support of Judgment Creditors' motion (the "Privitera Affidavit").

Despite these facts, the Judgment Creditors now seek to enforce their default judgment against the Republic by levying on assets in the United States of an entirely different legal entity, LAN-Chile. These efforts come two and one-half years after

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* The ex parte Plaintiffs later agreed to dismiss CNI. Letelier II, 502 F.Supp. at 261 n.2.

** This disclosure is but the most vivid instance of the attempts made by Judgment Creditors to have it both ways, i.e., establishing liability by default against the utterly immune Republic, on the one hand, and enforcing that "liability" against LAN-Chile as an "agency or instrumentality" with more limited FSIA immunity on the other. This argument is exposed for the cynical shell game it truly is in Point I of this Argument, below.

UNCLASSIFIED

the default judgment was entered, and more than a year and one-half after Judgment Creditors were granted permission pursuant to 28 U.S.C.§§1610(c) and 1608(e) to seek to enforce it. See, Combe Affidavit, Ex. 5.

B. The Letelier Default Judgment

In the Letelier Action Judgment Creditors alleged five causes of action: (1) 42 U.S.C. §1985 conspiracy to deprive Mr. Letelier and Mrs. Moffitt of their civil rights, (2) common law assault and battery, (3) common law reckless transportation and use of explosives, (4) violations of international law, and (5) an implied right of action under 18 U.S.C. §1116 (murder of a foreign official). See, Letelier II, 502 F. Supp. at 260 n.1; Letelier v. Republic of Chile First Amended Complaint ¶¶ 7-15 (August 23, 1978) (Ex. 2 to Combe Affidavit) ("Letelier Amended Complaint").

The original named defendants were CNI*, the Republic, three alleged officials of CNI** (all Chilean citizens), Townley an American citizen, resident in Chile, and the alleged DINA agent who later was extradited to the United States and became an informant with respect to the bombing), and several members of the Cuban National Movement (who also allegedly participated in

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Formerly, Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional, or "DINA."

* Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, Pedro Espinoza Bravo, and Armando Fernandez Larios.

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the bombing).* Id. ¶¶4-5. Several "John Doe" defendants were also named (id. ¶6), but were later dismissed with Judgment Creditors' concurrence. Letelier II, 502 F.Supp. at 261 n.2.

Neither LAN-Chile nor any of its employees was ever named as defendants.

All of the defendants defaulted by failing to appear. The Republic submitted a diplomatic note to the United States Department of State, which in turn passed it on to the Letelier Court. This note questioned the Court's subject-matter jurisdiction because of the Republic's sovereign immunity from suit, and the Court responded in Letelier I, 488 F. Supp. 665.

The Court ruled that it had subject-matter jurisdiction over the Republic and CNI based only on 28 U.S.C. §1605(a)(5), which states:

> (a) A foreign state shall not be immune from the jurisdiction of courts of the United States or of the States in any case -
>
> ...
>
> (5) ... in which money damages are sought against a foreign state for personal injury or death ... occurring in the United States and

* These were Alvin Ross Diaz, Virgilio Paz Romero, Jose Dionisio Suarez Esquivel, Guillermo Novo Sampol and Ignacio Novo Sampol. It is not without interest that, in contrast to the default judgment obtained ex parte in the Letelier action, the defendants who were tried in a criminal action for their participation in the plot which Judgment Creditors describe at length (Privitera Affidavit ¶¶ 5-21 passim) were all acquitted. The appellate opinion reversing the initial convictions is reported as United States v. Sampol, 204 U.S. App. D.C. 349, 636 F.2d 621 (D.C. Cir. 1980).

UNCLASSIFIED

caused by the tortious act or omission of that foreign state or of any official or employee of that foreign state while acting within the scope of his office or employment; except this paragraph shall not apply to -

(A) any claim based upon the exercise or performance or the failure to exercise or perform a discretionary function regardless of whether the discretion be abused ...

(Emphasis added.)

Subsequently, on June 20, 1978 the Court held a hearing pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §1608(e) in order for the claimants to establish their claims "by evidence satisfactory to the Court."* The Letelier Court, by Judge Green, made extensive findings of fact relying as to the liability issue entirely on the recorded hearsay testimony of Townley at the prior criminal trial, together with some documentary exhibits and like corroborative evidence which may or may not have been hearsay as to the Republic.** Letelier II, 502 F. Supp. at 261 n. 3.

This explicit reliance on the Townley's prior hearsay testimony from the first Sampol trial was based on the unfounded ruling that Townley, although in the Witness Protection Program,

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* By this time the action had been dismissed as to CNI, the "John Doe" defendants, and defendants Virgilio Paz and Jose Suarez. Letelier II, 502 F. Supp. at 261 n. 2. Thus, no claim is tenable, and we do not understand the Judgment Creditors to contend, that LAN-Chile by virtue of any alias or other persona was in any way before the Court at this hearing.

** Compare United States v. Sampol, 636 F.2d at 640 where the Court stated: "Without Townley's testimony the government would not have had a case."

was unavailable to appear as a witness. The Court proceeded to make a finding of unavailability of the witness, pursuant to the catch-all provisions of Federal Rule of Evidence 804(a)(5) "because of the clear and present danger to Mr. Townley and to other persons" by having Townley produced to testify. The finding of unavailability was unsupported by the direction of any writ of habeas corpus ad testificandum to the United States Marshal's Service.*

As a consequence of the findings on this hearing a default judgment was entered against all of the remaining defendants, with the significant exception of Ignacio Novo Sampol. As against him, the case was dismissed because he did not have the requisite knowledge of and involvement in the alleged murders at the time they were committed to be found liable under any of the counts of the Letelier Amended Complaint. Id. at 266 n. 4.

On October 21, 1980, the Judgment Creditors moved the Court to make findings of fact against LAN-Chile "to preserve

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* Clearly, the Court had the power to produce Townley to testify by the means of a writ. 28 U.S.C. §2241(a) and (c)(5). The Judge sought to bolster her admission of Townley's prior testimony by noting that it was nowhere questioned by the Court of Appeals in its reversal of the criminal convictions. This, of course, misses the mark because the Court of Appeals specifically found that without Townley's testimony the Government would not have had a case and then reversed all the convictions because the importance of corroborating Townley foreclosed the possibility of a finding of harmless error in the admission of the testimony of the prison informers. The wisdom of the Court of Appeals in refusing to find "harmless error" was at least somewhat confirmed by the subsequent acquittals of all defendants.

plaintiffs' rights concerning collection of a judgment herein."* See, Combe Affidavit, Ex. 4. The Court made no "findings" as to LAN-Chile, and only made the following statement concerning LAN-Chile:

> Uncontradicted testimony demonstrated that facilities and personnel of LAN-Chile Airlines, a foreign air carrier owned and operated by the government of Chile, were used by Townley in connection with the preparation and carrying out of the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt.

Id. at 262. Without mentioning LAN-Chile by name, the Court also stated, at 264: "Townley, traveling under the name of Kenneth Enyart, returned to Chile on a Chilean airline flight that left Miami on the evening of Wednesday, September 22, 1976." The Court made no other mention of LAN-Chile.**

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* Despite this clear - even brazen - expression of Judgment Creditors' intention to attempt to collect the judgment against the Republic by going against LAN-Chile, Judgment Creditors made no effort to give LAN-Chile notice of its motion to have these facts "found."

** A close reading of Judge Green's statements shows that there was no "finding" as to any LAN-Chile actions or involvement other than carrying Townley as a passenger on September 22, 1976. As to any of the supposed actions by LAN-Chile, Judge Green merely "found" that there was certain "uncontradicted testimony." That the testimony should have been "uncontradicted" will come as no surprise in that, as stated earlier, neither LAN-Chile nor anybody else was present to give evidence or argue another view. In any event the "uncontradicted testimony" to which the Court referred related not to acts of LAN-Chile but to incidental use by Townley of certain LAN-Chile personnel and facilities. See, Combe Affidavit, Ex. 4.

What emerges from the Letelier II decision and the Letelier Amended Complaint is the following: (1) LAN-Chile was never a named defendant in the action, (2) none of the Letelier Amended Complaint's allegations can be fairly read to encompass LAN-Chile, (3) none of the Letelier Action's theories of action could apply to LAN-Chile, (4) all of the findings of fact as to liability were based on Townley's inadmissible hearsay testimony, and (5) none of the findings of fact or conclusions of law in the Letelier Default Judgment could be deemed to be or were intended as findings or conclusions which bind LAN-Chile. Nothing in the Letelier Default Judgment demonstrates that:

> (a) LAN-Chile or its agents or employees knew of or knowingly participated in the actions complained of;
>
> (b) LAN-Chile or its employees conspired to deprive Mr. Letelier and Mrs. Moffitt of their civil rights under 42 U.S.C. §1985. Letelier Amended Complaint ¶7 (Combe Affidavit, Ex. 2);
>
> (c) LAN-Chile or any of its employees "wilfully, maliciously, deliberately and intentionally did commit an assault and battery upon Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Karpen Moffitt." Id. ¶9;
>
> (d) LAN-Chile "negligently, recklessly, and with reason to believe that their conduct created a grave risk of death to Orlando Letelier, Ronnie Moffitt and others, transported and agreed to transport explosives and to place and detonate said explosives within the District of Columbia, which acts resulted in the death of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Karpen Moffitt." Id. ¶ 11.
>
> (e) LAN-Chile violated international law pertaining to acts of "torture, unlawful confinement and assassination..." Id. ¶ 13;

(f) Finally, as to the implied right of action under 18 U.S.C. §1116, LAN-Chile could not be a proper defendant under that statute, and therefore no right of action can be implied against it thereunder. Id. ¶¶ 15-16.

The Court entered default judgment against the Republic only on the assault and battery and reckless transportation of explosives counts.* Letelier II, 502 F.Supp. at 266.

C. Other Investigations of LAN-Chile's Alleged Involvement

Not only were there no findings in the Letelier Default Judgment that LAN-Chile was liable, but other official investigations by the FAA have also found LAN-Chile to be innocent of any wrongdoing, and hearings by a Congressional subcommittee supported this finding.

It is a matter of public record, of course, that no LAN-Chile employee of whatever level in the company, whether stationed in the United States or Chile, was indicted by the Washington, D.C. grand jury which indicted Townley, other Chilean

* As set forth below, there are no facts anywhere which support the theory that LAN-Chile knew or should have known that explosives were being transported on its aircraft. Nothing in the Townley testimony (Exhibit C to Privitera Affidavit) indicates this, and even the double hearsay contained in the FBI report (Exhibit D to Privitera Affidavit) which must in any event be disregarded by the Court, Fed. R. Evid. Rule 802 and 805, suggests nothing to the contrary. In any event, as demonstrated in Section I(c) below, LAN-Chile has been found to have had no culpability and to have done nothing improper with respect to these counts.

officials, and members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement. The grand jury, hearings held by the Congressional subcommittee, and the FAA found no evidence that (1) LAN-Chile employees participated in any conspiracy with respect to the deaths, (2) any LAN-Chile employee knew that Townley carried or had them carry explosives, or related paraphernalia, (3) any LAN-Chile official condoned, authorized, or even knew about the favors lower-echelon employees performed for Townley, or (4) LAN-Chile or any of its employees received or obeyed any orders or directives from CNI, DINA or the Republic or any of its other agencies with respect to these matters.

The Congressional hearings appear in a Congressional report entitled Alleged Violations of U.S. Aviation Laws and Regulations by LAN-Chile Airlines: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. (May 9, 1980) (copy attached as Exhibit 6 to Combe Affidavit) ("House LAN-Chile Hearings"). The resultant report is contained in H.R. Rep. No. 96-1157, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. (July 8, 1980) (Ex. 7 to Combe Affidavit). The first persons to testify at these hearings were the Assistant U.S. Attorney and FBI agents who investigated the bombing. They testified that Townley had managed to befriend several LAN-Chile employees and pilots and had used these friendships to have them carry small packages between the United States and Chile. House LAN-Chile Hearings at 2-9. But they also testified that these LAN-

Chile personnel did not know either that Townley was a DINA agent or what was in the packages they were carrying. Lawrence Barcella, the Assistant U.S. Attorney, summarized the results of their investigation as follows:

> There was no evidence we were able to develop that LAN-Chile personnel were aware of what Mr. Townley had done. But they did give him certain courtesies and assistance that basically enabled him to carry out the mission, although their level of knowledge and level of intent as far as our investigation was able to reveal was such that we could not proceed against them criminally.

Id. at 9.

More specifically, Mr. Barcella testified:

> Mr. Townley told us in his interviews repeatedly that the LAN-Chile personnel that he utilized for a couple of years on a substantial number of occasions generally and specifically were not aware of why he was doing what he was doing or even what was included in some of the packages and envelopes that he was shipping back and forth between New York and Santiago.

Id. at 12.

Fernando Cruchaga, LAN-Chile's Assistant Station Manager at John F. Kennedy International Airport in 1976, also testified before the House subcommittee. He testified that he did not know that Townley or the other Chileans allegedly involved were, in

fact, DINA agents. Id. at 14-15.* More importantly, Mr. Cruchaga testified that no LAN-Chile officials ever gave him any instructions with respect to Townley or any other alleged DINA agents:

> [CONGRESSMAN JOHN BURTON]. Did you ever receive any instructions from LAN-Chile officials relative to helping Mr. Townley, Capt. Fernandez, or Miss Lillian A. Walker?
>
> MR. CRUCHAGA. No, sir.

Id. at 14.

At the criminal trial of the Cuban Nationalist Movement members, Townley also testified about LAN-Chile. This testimony is fairly summarized by the Administrator of the FAA in his letter of January 16, 1980 to Congressman Burton:

> According to the transcripts of Townley's testimony, he did not transport explosives used in the Letelier assassination on LAN-Chile aircraft. He commented during the trial that he had obtained the explosives from individuals in New Jersey. Townley did admit that he had transported some components of the explosive device from Chile to the United States via LAN-Chile Airlines unbeknown to airline personnel. The transcripts further indicate that Townley did send explosives from Chile to members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement in the United States. These, he testified, were transported in correspondence, letters, and small packages utilizing the friendship

* The grand jury testimony of Cruchaga, attached as Exhibit B to the Privitera Affidavit (presumably as support for the motion to appoint a receiver), is materially identical to Cruchaga's testimony before the House subcommittee (see Cruchaga's Grand Jury Testimony, Exhibit B to Privitera Affidavit at 18, 24).

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> of LAN-Chile pilots. Townley, according to the transcripts, also stated: "At no time did they have knowledge that they were carrying explosives."

H.R. Rep. No. 96-1157 at 27 (emphases added).

In other words, there is no evidence, nor has there ever been any evidence, that LAN-Chile knowingly participated in, or, indeed, had anything to do with, the deaths of Mr. Letelier or Mrs. Moffitt. Nor is there any evidence -- from the two criminal trials, from the grand jury investigation, from the two official U.S. government investigations, from the ex parte proceedings before the Letelier Court, or even from the extravagant and misleading representations of Judgment Creditors herein -- that LAN-Chile knew or should have known that Townley was so involved. Similarly, there is no evidence that the Republic ever directed LAN-Chile to cooperate in this venture, or even in general, to provide assistance to DINA or CNI agents.*

* In any event, whatever actions were undertaken by LAN-Chile pilots and other employees were not officially sanctioned or condoned by LAN-Chile. These employees were performing favors for a friend outside the scope of their employment. There is no proof that any pilot knew what was in the packages, packages which Cruchaga testified were opened only by U.S. Customs officials, never by himself. These packages never contained explosives to Cruchaga's knowledge. Ex. B to Privitera Affidavit at 7, 9, 23, 26 and 29.

D. LAN-Chile's Relationship with the Republic

Under its Organic Statute and the applicable Chilean law, LAN-Chile is a separate legal entity, created for the purpose of providing commercial air transportation services within and without Chile. Soto and Zenteno Reports, passim. LAN-Chile is part of the decentralized administration of the Republic, as are other separate legal entities serving specific purposes. Id. As such, LAN-Chile is not under the direct control of the President of the Republic, as are the ministries which form part of the centralized administration of the Chilean State. Id. LAN-Chile does not stand in an hierarchical relationship with the President of the Republic. Id. Through the Ministry of Transportation, the Republic exercises only an oversight function as to LAN-Chile's operations to the extent of ensuring that it carries out the purposes for which it was created. Soto Report, passim.

LAN-Chile is a commercial enterprise, and must be remunerated for services it provides. Soto Report, passim. LAN-Chile is a separate legal entity from all other legal persons, including the Fisco, which is the legal embodiment of the centralized administration of the Republic with respect to all fiscal matters. Id. LAN-Chile can sue and be sued by the Fisco. Id. In fact, the Republic has recently engaged in substantial administrative litigation with LAN-Chile in respect of taxes it claims

LAN-Chile owes. Del Campo Declaration ¶14. LAN-Chile is liable for taxes on the same basis as a private commercial enterprise. Id.; Soto Report passim.

LAN-Chile's property is wholly separate from that of the Fisco. Soto Report, passim. The Fisco and LAN-Chile enter into obligations on their own behalves, and neither is responsible for the other's debts or liabilities. Id.; Del Campo Declaration ¶12. LAN-Chile's assets cannot be reached to satisfy a judgment against the Republic, and vice versa. Soto Report, passim. A Chilean judgment that purported to do so would be void as violating Constitutional and procedural law. Id.

Moreover, the above is a matter of Chilean Constitutional jurisprudence dating back at least to the Constitution of 1925 and, in some matters, to the Constitution of 1833.

LAN-Chile is self-managed, having its principal place of business in Santiago, Chile. Del Campo Declaration ¶4. It is managed by its President and Board of Directors. Id. LAN-Chile's employees are not government functionaries, except for a few who teach on a private, part-time basis. Id. ¶15.

LAN-Chile's operations are solely those of a commercial enterprise. The Republic must pay for the LAN-Chile services it utilizes. Id. ¶9. LAN-Chile purchases, owns, and sells its property in its own name. Id. ¶10. Its bank accounts are its own, as are its books and records. Id. ¶¶11-13.

In addition to the tax litigation mentioned, in the past the Republic has sued LAN-Chile in Chilean courts. Id. ¶14. The Chilean Civil Aeronautics Board regulates LAN-Chile's flight operations in the same way that that it regulates the operations of private air carriers. Id. ¶16.

A great many of the claims made in the Affidavit of Eugenio Velasco submitted by Judgment Creditors ("Velasco Affidavit") are simply untrue. Id. ¶16 fn. LAN-Chile does not, as Velasco contends, serve any "supplementary purposes" of the Republic. Id. ¶18. It does not perform services for the Republic without remuneration. Id. And LAN-Chile is not required to fulfill any other functions of the Republic which call for air transporation. Id.

Overall, the Velasco Affidavit presents many problems. First, Velasco has no basis for many of the opinions he sets forth. He has never been employed by LAN-Chile (id. ¶3) or, apparently, any other state-owned commercial enterprise in Chile. Velasco Affidavit ¶1. He has not even been in Chile since 1976 (id.), and given the circumstances of his leaving, he can hardly be characterized as a dispassionate expert. Nor does he appear to have any relevant professional expertise in respect of the manner in which the Chilean Government is organized, and the relationships between various state entities and the State itself. A number of his statements are flatly contradicted in the Zenteno and Soto Reports. One of his statements (Velasco Af-

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fidavit ¶18) is entirely unsupported and flatly contradicts earlier sworn testimony he gave on the same subject and on which his affidavit purports to rely. Zenteno Report, passim.

In other words, Judgment Creditors have adduced no factual foundation for Velasco's assertions about LAN-Chile's juridical relations with the Republic or its operations or its day-to-day relations with the Republic. As demonstrated conclusively in the Del Campo Declaration and the Soto and Zenteno Reports, these operations and relations are those of a separate legal person.

In summary, LAN-Chile is a separate juridical entity whose relation to the Republic is not such so as to justify a conclusion that they are a single entity or one is the alter ego of the other.

Argument

I. LAN-CHILE'S ASSETS ARE IMMUNE FROM EXECUTION UNDER THE FOREIGN SOVEREIGN IMMUNITIES ACT

A. LAN-Chile is an "Agency or Instrumentality" of a "Foreign State" Entitled to Execution Immunity Under the FSIA

The FSIA establishes a broad rule, subject only to limited exceptions, that the property of a "foreign state" or an "agency or instrumentality" of a foreign state is immune, inter alia, from execution to satisfy a judgment:

> Subject to existing international agreements to which the United States is a party at the time of enactment of this Act, the property in the United States of a foreign state shall be immune from attachment, arrest and execution except as provided in sections 1610 and 1611 of this chapter.

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28 U.S.C. §1609. As used in this section "foreign state" includes any "agency or instrumentality" of the state. 28 U.S.C. §1603(a).

LAN-Chile, as the Judgment Creditors themselves admit, is an "agency or instrumentality" of the Republic of Chile. An "agency or instrumentality" is defined by the FSIA as any entity:

> (1) which is a separate legal person, corporate or otherwise, and
>
> (2) which is an organ of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof, or a majority of whose shares or other ownership interest is owned by a foreign state or political subdivision thereof, and
>
> (3) which is neither a citizen of a state of the United States as defined in section 1332(c) and (d) of this Title, nor created under the laws of any third country.

Id. §1603(b). LAN-Chile meets all of these criteria. Under Chilean law, it is a separate legal entity. Soto and Zenteno Reports, passim. "The first criterion, that the entity be a separate legal person, is intended to include a corporation, association, foundation or any other entity which, under the law of the foreign state where it was created, can sue or be sued in its own name, contract in its own name or hold property in its own name."

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H. R. Rep. No. 94-1487, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 15, reprinted in [1976] U.S. Code & Ad. News 6604, 6614 (emphasis added) ("House Report 94-1487"); see, Herzberger v. Compania Acero del Pacifico, S.A., 78 Civ. 2451 (S.D.N.Y., August 17, 1978) (Chilean law referred to in order to determine if entity was "agency or instrumentality" of Republic). Similarly, LAN-Chile meets the second and third criteria. Soto Report; Del Campo Declaration ¶4.

Thus, LAN-Chile's property in the United States is immune from execution as long as none of the exceptions to that immunity, enumerated in 28 U.S.C. §1610, applies.* As set forth below, none of them does.

B. The "Commercial Activity" Exception of 28 U.S.C. §1610(a)(2) Does not Defeat LAN-Chile's Immunity

Subsection 1610(a)(2) of the FSIA allows execution in satisfaction of a judgment against a foreign agency's commercial property in the United States only if "the property is or was used for the commercial activity upon which the claim is based...." This exception does not apply to LAN-Chile for several reasons.

First, the claims of the Letelier Default Judgment were not based upon any "activity" of LAN-Chile, commercial or other-

* Section 1611 of the FSIA, pertaining to immunity of military property, central bank deposits, and property of international organizations, does not apply here.

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wise. Indeed, those claims could not have been based on any activity of LAN-Chile because LAN-Chile was not named as a party and no judgment was entered against LAN-Chile in the Letelier Action. Moreover, the activity upon which the claim was based had nothing to do with LAN-Chile. Rather, it was based on alleged murders undertaken by individuals who were not LAN-Chile employees. The Letelier Court merely referred to the use of LAN-Chile by one of the individual defendants; it neither found nor adverted to any culpable conduct on the part of LAN-Chile or any of its employees. In short, Judgment Creditors stumble over the first hurdle in trying to show that 1610(a)(2)'s exception applies to LAN-Chile.

Secondly, subsection 1610(a)(2) also clearly states that the claim upon which execution is sought must be based on "commercial activity." To be sure, as set forth in the Del Campo Declaration (¶¶6, 9), LAN-Chile is a commercial entity engaged exclusively in a "commercial activity," i.e., commercial air transportation. But there can be no doubt that the Letelier and Moffitt murders, however appalling and disgusting, were not "commercial." The Letelier Default Judgment, therefore, was not based on "commercial activity." To the contrary, it was explicitly based upon noncommercial torts under 28 U.S.C. §1605(a)(5). Letelier I, 488 F. Supp. at 666. Likewise, causes of action for a 42 U.S.C. §1985 conspiracy, common law battery, common law reckless use of explosives, breach of international

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law, and an implied right of action under a federal criminal statute are not "commercial activity." See, 28 U.S.C. §1603(d); House Report 94-1487 at 16.

Quite apart from the foregoing discussion of common sense and plain language, it is also clear under the case law and the FSIA's legislative history that claims under 1605(a)(5) - such as the Letelier Action claims - are mutually exclusive from "commercial activity" claims. "Section 1605(a)(5) ... is cast in general terms as applying to all tort actions for money damages, not otherwise encompassed by section 1605(a)(2) relating to commercial activities." House Report 94-1487 at 20-21 (emphasis added); see, DeSanchez v. Banco Central de Nicaragua, 515 F. Supp. 900, 914 (E.D. La. 1981) (distinguishing 1605(a)(5) tort as being mutually exclusive from "commercial activity" tort). Accordingly, since 1610(a)(2)'s reference to claims based on "commercial activity" is, by definition, exclusive of the non-commercial claims upon which the Letelier Default Judgment was based, the Judgment Creditors cannot now seek to defeat LAN-Chile's sovereign immunity by invoking the "commercial activity" exception to execution immunity contained in 1610(a)(2).

In fact, it has been recognized that the only means of executing upon a judgment based on a 1605(a)(5) tort, such as the Letelier Default Judgment, is either by virtue of a waiver of execution immunity under 1610(a)(1), Note, The Problem of Execution Uniformity Under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act

UNCLASSIFIED

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of 1976 and Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 69, 12 VAL. U. L. REV. 569, 587 (1979), or by proceeding against an insurance policy indemnifying the foreign state from liability for the claim merged into the judgment. 28 U.S.C. §1610(a)(5). "There is no express provision for execution on a tort judgment under Section 1605(a)(5) except in the case of an insurance policy." Letter from Charles Brower, Robert Craft and Mark B. Feldman* on behalf of American Bar Association, Section of International Law, to The Honorable Davis Robinson, Legal Advisor, U.S. Department of State, p. 4 (March 24, 1983) (copy attached in Appendix). The FSIA's legislative history itself states these views of executing under 1610(a)(2). It provides that execution pursuant to 1610(a)(2) may be available for claims based on (a) "commercial activities encompased by 1605(a)(2)," (b) "commercial activity" as to which a waiver under 1605(a)(1) could apply, and (c) "commercial activity" giving rise to a maritime lien under 1605(b). No mention whatsoever is made of noncommercial torts under 1605(a)(5) being satisfied by way of 1610(a)(2). House Report 94-1487 at 28.

The Judgment Creditors have thus stumbled over the second hurdle, too, for their claims were not based on "commercial activity" by LAN-Chile or, for that matter, the Republic.

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* Mr. Feldman was the Deputy Legal Advisor of the Department of State at the time this action was brought and is presently of counsel to Donovan Leisure Newton & Irvine's Washington, D.C., office. (See, Letelier Memo of Law at 4n.)

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The final hurdle is equally problematic for Judgment Creditors. Even if one assumes that (1) the mutual exclusivity of 1605(a)(5) claims and "commercial activity" did not exist, and (2) the claims of the Letelier Default Judgment were based on "activity" of LAN-Chile, then subsection 1610(a)(2) would still not defeat LAN-Chile's execution immunity because LAN-Chile's "activity" with respect to the gravamen of the Letelier Default Judgment was not "commercial activity" within the meaning of subsection 1610(a)(2). While "commercial activity" is to be broadly defined, referring to the nature of the conduct rather than its purpose, Texas Trading & Milling Corp. v. Federal Republic of Nigeria, 647 F.2d 300, 308 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. denied 454 U.S. 1148 (1982); House Report 94-1487 at 16, the conduct involved here has no commercial aspect. For instance, in a case similar in this respect, Perez v. The Bahamas, 482 F. Supp. 1208 (D.D.C. 1980), aff'd 652 F.2d 186 (D.C. Cir. 1981), cert. denied 454 U.S. 865 (1981) the parents of an American minor sued The Bahamas for injuries resulting from that country's police shooting at him when he encroached upon Bahamian fishing waters. The court held that the action of the police did not constitute "commercial activity" even though the Bahamian police may have been protecting their country's commercial fishing interests. 482 F. Supp. at 1210. Here, as in Perez, although there may be an incidental commercial aspect of certain activities relating to the claims,

UNCLASSIFIED

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the actual activity giving rise to the claims was not commercial.*

In a case materially identical to this one, Arango v. Guzman Travel Advisors Corp., 621 F.2d 1371 (5th Cir. 1980), plaintiffs sued the Dominican national air carrier, an agency of the Dominican Republic, for false imprisonment and battery when employees of the airline assisted Dominican Republic officials in preventing the plaintiffs from deplaning because they were allegedly on a list of "undesirable aliens." The plaintiffs also claimed, however, for breach of contract and warranty based on the miscarriage and nonperformance of the contemplated vacation tour. Dominicana defended on the ground that plaintiffs' claims arose not from the commercial activity of its airline operations, but from the acts of Dominican immigration officials in expelling the Arangos from the Dominican Republic. The Court distinguished between the false imprisonment and battery claims, on the one

* The allegations of the Privitera Affidavit -- that LAN-Chile airplanes, departure lounges, pilots, telephones, and tickets were used -- prove too much. The claim here is not that LAN-Chile entered the marketplace and dishonored its contract of carriage, or damaged some cargo, or poisoned a passenger. The claim here, asserted against others, was that Mr. Letelier was deliberately murdered. LAN-Chile's commercial activity was not implicated in this claim. Indeed, the claims of favors done for Townley -- pilots carrying packages, Cruchaga accompanying Townley to rent a car, permitting Townley access to the cockpit -- even if true and even if LAN-Chile knew Townley's aims, cut against Judgment Creditors' theory inasmuch as these supposed delicts may readily be discerned as "noncommercial" in the sense that LAN-Chile, on this theory, received no revenue for this activity. See, Arango v. Guzman Travel Advisors Corp., 621 F.2d 1371, 1379 (5th Cir. 1980).

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

hand, and the breach of warranty and contract claims on the other. As to the former, the Court found the airline not answerable and rejected the plaintiffs' urging of the "commercial activity" exception:

> The focus of the exception to immunity recognized in §1605(a)(2) is not on whether the defendant generally engages in a commercial enterprise or activity, as an airline such as Dominicana unquestionably does; rather, it is on whether the particular conduct giving rise to the claim in question actually constitutes or is in connection with commercial activity, regardless of the defendant's generally commercial or governmental character....Dominicana's actions in connection with the "involuntary re-routing" were not commercial. Dominicana was impressed into service to perform these functions, for which it apparently was not compensated, by Dominican immigration officials pursuant to that country's laws. Dominicana acted merely as an arm or agent of the Dominican government in carrying out this assigned role, and, as such, is entitled to the same immunity from any liability arising from that governmental function as would inure to the government, itself.

Id. at 1379. Contrastingly, the airline was held to answer for the plaintiffs' allegation concerning breaches of contract and warranty because these claims, and the duties alleged therein to have been breached, arose directly from or in connection with its marketing and execution of contracts and thus plainly stemmed from Dominicana's "commercial activity" in the United States.

Applying the Arango rationale to our facts, it is clear that, even on Judgment Creditors' theory and accepting for the purposes of argument their allegations as true, their claims are

UNCLASSIFIED

indistinguishable from the tort claims in Arango and, even further accepting for the purposes of argument that LAN-Chile did through its employees what is alleged it did knowingly, it is no different from Dominicana which allegedly assisted the immigration officers. Accordingly, the Republic's absolute execution immunity, on Judgment Creditors' own submission, would be conferred on LAN-Chile as well. Id. In any event, the underlying claim clearly did not arise out of a "commercial activity."*

In conclusion, subsection 1610(a)(2) avails the Judgment Creditors not at all. Clearly, the Letelier Default Judgment was not based on any activity of LAN-Chile or on any "commercial activity" by LAN-Chile, the Republic, or anyone else. Thus, it is merely ridiculous to suggest, given the structure of the FSIA, that execution on that judgment could be had based on the "commercial activity" exception to execution immunity found in 28 U.S.C. §1610(a)(2).

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* Other cases have recognized that commercial entities may sometimes engage in noncommercial activities, thereby evidencing the narrow interpretation given to "commercial activity" under the FSIA. Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency, 443 F.Supp. 849 (S.D.N.Y. 1978); Upton v. Empire of Iran, 459 F.Supp. 264 (D.D.C. 1978), aff'd without opinion 607 F.2d 494 (D.C. Cir. 1979). See, also, DeSanchez v. Banco Central de Nicaragua, 515 F.Supp. 900 (central bank engaging in transactions to control foreign exchange not engaged in "commercial activity" simply because transaction has commercial effects).

C. The Exception of 28 U.S.C. §1610(b)(2) Does Not Defeat LAN-Chile's Immunity

Judgment Creditors also seek to justify execution against LAN-Chile by claiming that under 1610(b)(2) of the FSIA LAN-Chile's assets may be executed upon because, as assets of a mere "agency or instrumentality" of a foreign state, they are not immune to satisfy claims reduced to judgment against the foreign state itself. This claim, which depends both on ignoring the statutory framework of the FSIA and (consistent with the other arguments made by Judgment Creditors) performing hocus-pocus on the English language, must be rejected.

Subsection 1610(b)(2) of the FSIA provides for certain limited exceptions to execution immunity of property in the United States owned by a commercial agency or instrumentality of a foreign state:

> (b) ... any property in the United States of an agency or instrumentality of a foreign state engaged in commercial activity in the United States shall not be immune from attachment in aid of execution, or from execution, upon a judgment entered by a court of the United States or of a State ... if:
>
> ...
>
> (2) The judgment relates to a claim for which the agency or instrumentality is not immune by virtue of section 1605(a) ... (5) ... regardless of whether the property is or was used for the activity upon which the claim is based.

(emphasis added). As discussed above, section 1605(a)(5), referred to in the above language, is the section upon which the

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Letelier Default Judgment was based. Section 1605(a)(5) states in material part:

> (a) A foreign state shall not be immune from the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States ... in any case -
>
> ...
>
> (5) ... in which money damages are sought against a foreign state for personal injury or death ... occurring in the United States and caused by the tortious act or omission of that foreign state ...

A reading of the above sections reveals that the Judgment Creditors' reliance on 1610(b)(2) to defeat LAN-Chile's immunity from execution is misplaced for several reasons.

The purpose of 1610(b) was to put commercial agencies of a foreign state on a more equal footing with private commercial enterprises in terms of satisfying judgments against them. Note, The Problem of Execution Uniformity, 12 VAL. U. L. REV. at 586-88. Subsection 1610(b) does this by providing for means of execution against agencies that are unavailable against their governments. House Report 94-1487 at 29-30. Execution is also available in a broader range of actions against commercial agencies than against foreign governments. Subsection 1610(b) is therefore not designed to provide additional means of execution against foreign governments on claims based on noncommercial wrongs. The FSIA's statutory scheme, thus, forbids the use of 1610(b)(2) to levy upon LAN-Chile's assets to satisfy a judgment against the Republic. The FSIA may simply not be read to carve

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cut broader exceptions to pre-existing immunity rules as to commercial agencies, on the one hand, and to ignore the clear separateness of commercial agencies from their state, on the other hand.

Also, no claims - whether based on 1605(a)(5) or otherwise - could have been or were made against LAN-Chile in the Letelier Default Judgment.* For this reason, too, 1610(b)(2) cannot be used to defeat its sovereign immunity from execution to satisfy that judgment.

Judgment Creditors' "alter ego" and "equitable interest" arguments do not change this conclusion. Subsection 1610(b) is not to be used as a means of "piercing the entity veil" to satisfy judgments against foreign states or their agencies:

> Section 1610(b) will not permit execution against the property of one agency or instrumentality to satisfy a judgment against another, unrelated agency or instrumentality.... There are compelling reasons for this. If U.S. law did not respect the separate juridical identities of different agencies or instrumentalities, it might encourage foreign jurisdictions to disregard the juridical divisions between different U.S. corporations or between a U.S. corporation and its independent subsidiary.

House Report 94-1487 at 29 (citations omitted).

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* It is worth repeating that CNI, the DINA successor and alleged to be an "agency or instrumentality" of Chile by the Judgment Creditors, was named as a defendant. Obviously, had the plaintiffs wished to proceed against LAN-Chile on the claims they seek to press for the first time herein, it was open to them to do so. Plaintiffs' earlier failure to name LAN-Chile and to prove its claims in the plenary action should not be rewarded now by twisting the FSIA beyond recognition.

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Moreover, the FSIA's definition of "agency or instrumentality" requires that reference be made to the foreign state's law to determine if a particular entity is a separate legal entity for the purpose of the FSIA. Id. at 15. Since, as Judgment Creditors admit (Velasco Affidavit ¶6), under Chilean law LAN-Chile is a separate entity, they cannot now intone ritualistically, "LAN-Chile is the Republic is LAN-Chile," thereby ignoring the clear language and intent of 1610(b)(2). That subsection is simply not available to Judgment Creditors in this proceeding.

The FSIA's legislative history clearly provides that the Act was not designed to change the substantive law of "alter ego":

> The [FSIA] is not intended to affect the substantive law of liability. Nor is it intended to affect...the attribution of responsibility between or among entities of a foreign state; for example, whether the proper entity of a foreign state has been sued, or whether an entity sued is liable in whole or in part for the claimed wrong.

Id. at 12. By the same token, the "substantive law of liability" referred to above cannot be used to alter the FSIA's clear intent.

To argue otherwise would fly in the face of the FSIA's statutory scheme. Using 1610(b)(2) -- which on its face applies only to agencies -- to execute on a judgment rendered only against a foreign state would (a) contradict the FSIA's stated goal of providing for fewer means of execution against foreign states than against their agencies (House Report 94-1487 at 29),

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and (b) render 1610(a) nugatory in large part, i.e., to the extent it duplicates 1610(b).* As stated in the legislative history, as long as the foreign state's law recognizes the separateness of an entity, so must the Court for the purposes of the FSIA in general, and subsection 1610(b)(2) in particular.**

In summary, 1610(b)(2) of the FSIA cannot be utilized by the Judgment Creditors to defeat LAN-Chile's immunity from execution.

D. LAN-Chile Has Not Waived its Immunity

As somewhat spiritless fillip to their arguments that LAN-Chile is not immune from execution, Judgment Creditors append a footnote (Letelier Memo of Law at 37 n.) claiming that LAN-

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* Such an interpretation must of course be rejected; for Congress is presumed not to enact unnecessary or ineffectual legislation. Jackson v. Kelly, 557 F.2d 735, 740 (10th Cir. 1977); see, General Motors Acceptance Corp. v. Whisnant, 387 F.2d 774, 778 (5th Cir. 1968).

** Pre-FSIA cases often referred to a foreign state's law to determine if a state-owned agency was a separate juridicial entity. E.g., Hannes v. Kingdom of Roumania Monopolies Institute, 260 A.D. 189, 20 N.Y.S.2d 825, 834 (1st Dept. 1940), leave to app. and reargument denied A.D., 24 N.Y.S.2d 994 (1940), resettlement granted 260 A.D. -, 26 N.Y.S.2d 856 (1940); Stephen v. Zivnostenska Banka, National Corp., 15 A.D.2d 111, 222 N.Y.S.2d (1st Dept. 1961), aff'd 12 N.Y.2d 781, 235 N.Y.S.2d 1 (1962) (per curiam); Ulen & Co. v. Bank Gospodarstwa Krajawego, 261 A.D.1, 24 N.Y.S.2d 201 (2d Dept. 1940); United States v. Deutsches Kalisyndikat Gesellschaft, 31 F.2d 199, 202 (S.D.N.Y. 1929); see, generally, J. M. Sweeney, The International Law of Sovereign Immunity, U.S. Dep't of State, Bur. Intelligence and Research, 54 (1963). See, also Letelier I, 488 F.Supp. at 670.

UNCLASSIFIED

Chile has waived its sovereign immunity from execution by virtue of filing its foreign air carrier permit.*

To lay this afterthought to rest, it is necessary only to refer to the permit itself. It states that LAN-Chile "waives any right it may possess to assert any defense of sovereign immunity from suit in any action or other proceedings ... based upon any claim arising out of operation by [LAN-Chile] under this permit." 14 C.F.R. §375.26 (1982) (emphasis added).

As may be readily seen, LAN-Chile's permit does not waive its execution immunity since the Letelier Action did not "aris[e] out of operation by [LAN-Chile] under this permit." The claims in the Letelier Action did not arise out of LAN-Chile's activities at all. The Letelier Amended Complaint said nothing about LAN-Chile. Nothing in the Letelier Default Judgment constitutes a valid finding that LAN-Chile's acts proximately caused

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* Subsections 1610(a)(1) and 1610(b)(1) are substantively identical clauses stating that a foreign state's or agency's commercial property in the United States shall not be immune from execution if:

> (1) The foreign state [or agency or instrumentality] has waived its immunity from attachment in aid of execution or from execution either explicitly or by implication, notwithstanding any withdrawal of the waiver the foreign state may purport to effect except in accordance with the terms of the waiver...

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or contributed to the deaths of Mr. Letelier or Mrs. Moffitt. No such proof was adduced at the default judgment hearing.*

Moreover, even if the claim had arisen out of LAN-Chile's operation under its permit, the permit does not waive LAN-Chile's execution immunity. It waives only LAN-Chile's immunity from jurisdiction, and not its immunity from execution. The FSIA and pre-FSIA law clearly distinguish between these two immunities. Compare 28 U.S.C. §§1604 and 1605 with §§1609 and 1610; see, Dexter & Carpenter, Inc. v. Kunglig, Jarnvagsstyrelsen, 43 F.2d 705, 708 (2d Cir. 1930), cert. denied

* Even if one assumes that the claims in the Letelier Action were somehow based on LAN-Chile's acts, the permit waives immunity only for claims arising from LAN-Chile's commercial activities. See, Argentine Airlines v. Ross, 64 A.D.2d 994, 408 N.Y.S.2d 831 (3d Dept. 1978), leave to appeal denied 47 N.Y.2d 708, 418 N.Y.S.2d 1026 (1979), cert. denied 444 U.S. 973 (1979). As discussed above, the Letelier Default Judgment was based on noncommercial torts under subsection 1605(a)(5) of the FSIA, and not upon any commercial activity of any defendant or potential defendant. Letelier I, 488 F. Supp. 665. Further, as has also been discussed, the crucial test under the FSIA is not whether an agency is generally a commercial entity or generally engages in commercial activity, but whether it is engaged in a specific commercial activity giving rise to the cause of action. Under this test, whatever role LAN-Chile may have played, it cannot be called "commercial" and the permit's waiver of immunity with respect to its commercial activities cannot defeat LAN-Chile's immunity in this case. See, Arango v. Guzman Travel, supra; Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press Agency, supra; Perez v. The Bahamas, supra. Thus, the permit's waiver of immunity would not apply in this noncommercial action. See, also, Paterson Zochonis v. United Arrow, discussed supra.

[illegible] U.S. 896 (1931).* Thus, waivers of immunity must clearly state which immunity is being waived. See, Flota Maritima Browning de Cuba, S.A. v. M/V Ciudad de la Habana, 335 F.2d 619 (4th Cir. 1964) (waiver of jurisdiction immunity is not waiver of execution immunity). LAN-Chile's permit, by waiving immunity "from suit," clearly waives only its jurisdiction immunity.

If further support were needed beyond the plain language of the permit itself, this Court (per Sand, J.) supplied it in Paterson, Zochonis (U.K.), Ltd. v. Compania United Arrow, S.A., 493 F. Supp. 621 (S.D.N.Y. 1980). In that action involving a maritime tort the plaintiff claimed that the fact that the defendant ship had filed an oil pollution certificate with the Federal Maritime Commission containing a waiver of sovereign immunity and appointing a U.S. agent for receipt of service of process constituted a waiver of sovereign immunity in the action, even though the alleged torts had nothing to do with oil pollution. This Court rejected that argument, stating that the waiver of immunity in the certificate was not intended to apply to cases beyond the scope of the certificate. Id. at 623. A fortiori, LAN-Chile's waiver in its permit of its jurisdiction immunity for claims arising out of its air carrier operations cannot be a waiver of its execution immunity in a judgment against a different party

* This distinction also exists in international law and the law of other nations. E.g., European Convention on State Immunity, 11 INT'L LEGAL MAT'LS 470 (1972); State Immunity Act, 1978, c. 33 (United Kingdom); see, generally, Crawford, Execution of Judgments and Foreign Sovereign Immunity, 75 AM. J. INT'L L. 820 (1981).

DECLASSIFIED

based on wrongs committed by others and unrelated to LAN-Chile's operations.*

E. To Construe the Exceptions Under the FSIA as Authorizing Execution Against LAN-Chile's Property Would Violate Established International Law and Rules of Statutory Construction

The FSIA necessarily involves courts in delicate and intricate decisions affecting foreign entities and the foreign relations of the United States with other countries. Appropriately, the Second Circuit has cautioned courts that "circumspection is appropriate in transnational disputes..." Texas Trading & Milling Corp. v. Federal Republic of Nigeria, 647 F.2d at 315-16 n.37; accord, Leasco Data Processing Equipment Corp. v. Maxwell, 468 F.2d 1326, 1341 (2d Cir. 1972) and Kramer Motors, Inc. v. British Leyland, Ltd, 628 F.2d 1175 (9th Cir. 1980), cert, denied 449 U.S. 1062 (1980). Indeed, the purpose of the

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* Nor has LAN-Chile impliedly waived its immunity. An explicit waiver of immunity may be by treaty or contract. House Report 94-1487 at 18. Implied waivers are not favored under the FSIA, however:

> The legislative history suggests that implied waivers by commercial action are not consonant with the Act's purposes; implicit waivers are reflected in actions relating to adjudication and explicit waivers are found in treaties.

Harris v. VAO Intourist Moscow, 481 F. Supp. 1056, 1058 (E.D.N.Y. 1979); accord, Verlinden B.V. v. Central Bank of Nigeria, 488 F. Supp. 1284, 1302 n. 88 (S.D.N.Y.) (dicta), aff'd 647 F.2d 320 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. granted 454 U.S. 1140 (1982).

DECLASSIFIED

doctrine of sovereign immunity (and its corollary mandate of circumspection) is to prevent embarrassment to the Executive Branch and injury to United States foreign relations resulting from decisions by American courts. Ex Parte Peru, 318 U.S. 578, 588-89 (1942); Mexico v. Hoffman, 324 U.S. 30 (1945). These dangers are increasingly acute as more and more nations, either directly or through their "agencies or instrumentalities," engage in a broader range of activities that a traditionally, free-market politico-economic system would label "private" or "commercial" and not "public" or "governmental."* A primary purpose of the FSIA, therefore, is to give predictability to this sensitive area. "In a modern world where foreign state enterprises are every day participants in commercial activities, [the FSIA] is

* As the First Circuit has said:

> We observe that many foreign states, both developed and undeveloped, conduct vast and critically important economic programs and projects through the device of government corporations.

Chas. T. Main International, Inc. v. Khuzestan Water & Power Authority, 651 F.2d 806, 816 (1st Cir. 1981).

urgently needed legislation." House Report 94-1487 at 7.* See also Texas Trading & Milling Corp. v. Federal Republic of Nigeria, 647 F.2d at 310-316 (discussing enhancement of commercial certainty).

Courts have thus interpreted the FSIA's "commercial activity" exception to the general rule of immunity narrowly "to keep our courts away from those areas that touch very closely upon the sensitive nerves of foreign countries." International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers v. Organization of

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* A principal purpose of [the FSIA] is to transfer the determination of sovereign immunity from the executive branch to the judical branch, thereby reducing the foreign policy implications of immunity determinations and assuring litigants that these often crucial decisions are made on purely legal grounds and under procedures that insure due process.

Id. In other words, the FSIA is designed to give, to the extent possible, clear guidance on sovereign immunity issues to foreign states, their entities, and persons dealing with them. By so doing, the FSIA is designed to remove politics, economic theory, and ideology from the sovereign immunity deliberations of American courts.

Thus, courts applying the FSIA must be ever mindful that, as one court has put it, "under the terms of the Immunities Act, this court must determine without reference to political considerations the claims of sovereign immunity ..." Jet Line Services, Inc. v. M/V Marsa el Hariga, 462 F. Supp. 1165, 1172 (D. Md. 1978).

> A primary purpose of [the FSIA] was to depoliticize sovereign immunity decisions by transferring them from the executive to the judicial branch of government, thereby assuring litigants that such decisions would be made on legal rather than on political grounds.

National Airmotive Corp. v. Government & State of Iran, 499 F. Supp. 401, 406 (D.D.C. 1980).

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Petroleum Exporting Countries, 477 F. Supp. 553, 567 (C.D. Cal. 1979), aff'd, 649 F.2d 1354 (9th Cir. 1981), cert. denied 454 U.S. 1163 (1982). To accept the radical theory advanced on Judgment Creditors' motion -- executing against assets of a commercial agency of a foreign state on a judgment against the immune state -- is to depart from the narrow strictures of the cautious statutory construction mandated in this area.

A court interpreting the FSIA's provisions on execution immunity (§§1609-1611) must be especially reluctant to hew out exceptions to this immunity because the FSIA'S execution provisions represent a substantial departure from prior United States

law* and international law. House Report 94-1487 at 7. It has long been settled, of course, that federal courts will apply customary international law. The Paquete Habana, 175 U.S. 677, 708 (1900). Similarly, "an Act of Congress ought never to be construed to violate the law of nations, if any other possible construction remains." Murray v. The Charming Betsey, 2 Cranch (U.S.) 64, 118 (1804) (Marshall, C.J.). This Court must therefore reject Judgment Creditors' urging that they be allowed to execute, contrary to international law and in the absence of any waiver, against property owned by a party other than the judgment debtor and unrelated either to the claim upon which the judgment

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* As noted by Judgment Creditors in their Memorandum of Law (at p. 31 note), before passage of the FSIA property of a foreign state or agency in the United States was given absolute immunity from execution to satisfy a judgment. E.g., Dexter & Carpenter, v. Kunglig, 43 F.2d 705 (engaging in commercial activity does not waive execution immunity); New York & Cuba Mail S.S. Co. v. Republic of Korea, 132 F. Supp. 684 (S.D.N.Y. 1955); Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law §§70(3) and 71(3) (1965). This rule was applied even if the sovereign had waived immunity from the jurisdiction of United States courts, or the judgment was based on the sovereign's commercial activities. E.g., Flota Maritima Browning v. M/V Ciudad de la Habana, 335 F.2d at 627 (waiver of jurisdiction immunity is not waiver of execution immunity); Weilamann v. Chase Manhattan Bank, 21 Misc. 1086, 192 N.Y.S.2d 469 (Sup. Ct., Westchester Co., 1959) (same).

Historically, this rule of absolute immunity from execution was the norm in customary international law and the laws of other countries. I. Brownlie, Principles of Public International Law, 343-44 (3d ed. 1979). Execution immunity remains a substantial and unsettled problem in the legal systems of other countries. See, generally, Crawford, Execution of Judgments and Foreign Sovereign Immunity, 75 AM. J. INT'L L. 820 (1981). The FSIA's legislative history itself notes the FSIA's departure from this rule of absolute immunity, and that "the enforcement of judgments against foreign state property remains a somewhat controversial subject in international law ..." House Report 94-1487 at 27.

DECLASSIFIED

is based or to any "commercial activity" excepted under the Act. Note, Sovereign Immunity - Limits of Judicial Control - The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, 18 HARV. INT'L L. J. 429, 447-49 (1977); The Problem of Execution Uniformity, 12 VAL. U. L. REV. at 571; see, generally, Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law §69, Reporter's Note 2 (1965); Restatement (Revised) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States, §460, Tentative Draft No. 2 (1981).

Accordingly, to permit execution in this case based on the scant showing made by Judgment Creditors of the applicability of the "commercial activity" exception would contravene both established case law regarding proper construction of the FSIA and principles of international law regarding immunity from execution. This Court must, therefore, deny Judgment Creditors' motion.

II. REGARDLESS OF LAN-CHILE'S SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY, ITS ASSETS CANNOT BE LEVIED UPON TO SATISFY A DEFAULT JUDGMENT AGAINST THE REPUBLIC

A. Judgment Creditors Have Ignored Controlling Choice-of-Law Principles Applied in this Circuit

Judgment Creditors argue that, notwithstanding considerations of sovereign immunity which, as we have already shown, independently defeat the execution herein, they should be permitted to execute upon LAN-Chile's assets either because the Republic has some sort of leviable "equitable interest" in them or because LAN-Chile is the Republic's "alter ego." Other

sections of this Memorandum* demonstrate that the factual predicate for these arguments has been artfully fabricated by Judgment Creditors. This section shows that these arguments are legally insufficient not only on their own terms, but presume also an improper choice-of-law approach to the legal issues themselves.

The manner in which Judgment Creditors have framed these "equitable ownership" and "alter ego" issues* is, in the final analysis, legally unprincipled. While professing to follow the Second Circuit's holding in Banco Para El Comercio Exterior de Cuba v. First National City Bank, 658 F.2d 913 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. granted, ___ U.S. ___, 103 S. Ct. 253, 74 L. Ed.2d 198 (1982) ("Bancec"), Judgment Creditors actually ignore that case's holding that the law of the foreign state must be deferred to, absent extraordinary circumstances, in determining whether that state's agencies are separate legal persons for the purpose of imposing liability.

Instead, Judgment Creditors have selectively alternated two conflicting methodologies of "alter ego law": they sometimes

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* See, Statement of Facts and section II.B.

* These issues will be referred to as "alter ego issues" for the remainder of this section unless otherwise noted. In any event, there is but little difference, other than semantic, between the two theories.

ascribe common law ramifications to features of Chilean law,* and at other times apply common law principles to entities formed and regulated under Chilean law.** The resulting hodgepodge, not surprisingly, serves only itself and its chef.

To recover the perspective denied the Court in Judgment Creditors' parochial presentation, it is helpful to recall something of how countries throughout the world go about organizing themselves and their polity. Thus, for instance, many nations, both in developing areas and in industrialized Western Europe, use state-owned enterprises to perform functions sometimes thought of as "private" by purely American standards. See, generally, State-Owned Enterprise in the Western Economies (R. Vernon and Y. Aharoni ed. 1981); Public and Private Enterprise in a Mixed Economy, (W. J. Baumol ed. 1980). The FSIA's own legislative history lists mineral extraction, airlines and foreign trade as examples of endeavors frequently owned and operated by

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* E.g., Judgment Creditors argue that the fact that there are no issued shares of stock in LAN-Chile must mean, under American private corporation law, that the Republic has a direct ownership interest in LAN-Chile's aircraft, plane ramps, ticket counters, stationery, etc. (Letelier Memo of Law at 17-19.)

** E.g., Judgment Creditors suggest that since American courts look to "interlocking directorates" as one factor in piercing the private corporate veil under the common law, this Court should do so in evaluating a public enterprise of a foreign sovereign with a civil law tradition. (Letelier Memo of Law at 26-27.)

foreign states.* House Report 94-1487 at 16. Indeed, some of the functions performed by state-owned enterprises make the wealth of these endeavors seem almost improbable. E.g., Bernard Marine Corp. v. Pezetel, 461 F. Supp. 384 (D. Del. 1978) (golf cart manufacture).

Moreover, the forms in which state-owned enterprises are organized are often, quite literally, alien, at least in part, to our legal, political and economic models.** For instance Walder v. L/P/G Benghazi, 653 F.2d 812 (3d Cir. 1981), cert. dismissed 455 U.S. 929 (1982), involved a ship owned by a cor-

* Cases under the FSIA show that other "private" matters are often performed by state-owned enterprises: hotels and tourism, Harris v. VAO Intourist Moscow, 481 F. Supp. 1056, power utilities, Chas. T. Main International, Inc. v. Khuzestan Water & Power Authority, 651 F.2d 800, shipping, Jet Line Services v. M/V Marsa el Hariga, 462 F. Supp. 1165, capital investment, Gilson v. Republic of Ireland, 517 F. Supp. 477 (D.D.C. 1981), modified 682 F.2d 1022 (D.C. Cir. 1982), small arms manufacture, Ohntrup v. Firearms Center, Inc., 516 F. Supp. 1281 (E.D. Pa. 1981), banking, DeSanchez v. Banco Central de Nicaragua, 515 F. Supp. 900, electronic media, Mashayekhi v. Iran, 515 F. Supp. 41 (D.D.C. 1981), commodities trading, Bankers Trust Co. v. Worldwide Transportation Services, Inc., 537 F. Supp. 1101 (E.D. Ark. 1982), oil exploration, Matter of Sedco, Inc., 543 F. Supp. 561 (S.D. Tex. 1982), and print media, Yessenin-Volpin v. Novosti Press, 443 F. Supp. 849.

** Congress recognized this fact in passing the FSIA. See, House Report 94-1487 at 15-16.

poration itself owned by both Libya and Algeria.* A labor agency jointly operated by and serving several Caribbean countries was involved in Rios v. Marshall, 530 F. Supp. 351 (S.D.N.Y. 1981). A "mixed-economy" bauxite exporting company, that is, a company whose stock was owned partly by a Liechtenstein corporation and partly by the Republic of Guinea, was the subject of Maritime International Nominees Establishment v. Republic of Guinea, 505 F. Supp. 141, 142 n. 1 (D.D.C. 1981), rev'd 693 F.2d 1094 (D.C. Cir. 1982). Such joint public/private ownership is also found among international air carriers. E.g., Herman v. El Al Israel Airlines, 502 F. Supp. 277 (S.D.N.Y. 1980).**

Furthermore, the purposes and operations of a state-owned enterprise are often mixed. State enterprises are formed and operated for both "public" and "private" reasons, as those

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* It is not difficult to imagine the bizarre and inauspicious results if a court too hastily pierced the "entity veil" to execute on one of this company's ships to satisfy a judgment based on a terrorist act by Libya, thereby harming U.S. relations with Algeria, which have greatly improved since the Iranian Hostage Crisis. Similar problems could arise because international commercial transactions frequently involve state-owned enterprises from more than one country. E.g., China National Chemical Import & Export Corp. v. M/V Lago Hualaihue, 504 F. Supp. 684 (D. Md. 1981) (People's Republic of China and Republic of Chile). These problems could also arise in this case since LAN-Chile provides direct air carrier service to the U.S. to Peru and, indirectly, to other Latin American nations. Ex. 8 to Combe Affidavit. Moreover, adoption of Judgment Creditors' orphan theory of alter ego could, of course, serve as anarchic precedent in this particularly sensitive area of the law.

** As another example, SAS, the Scandinavian air carrier, is a consortium of private investors and the governments of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. A. Buraas, The Making of SAS, A Triumvirate in World Aviation, 11 and passim (trans. 1973).

terms are commonly used in capitalist systems. Hence, they cannot be held to the same policy and legal standards as private entities; other standards must be applied:

> State-owned enterprises... do not exist solely to maximize profits; they have multiple objectives reflecting conflicting public needs and political pressures. Managerial discretion in state-owned enterprises cannot be stated simply in terms of divergence from profit maximization or from any other single objective. The absence of clearly defined goals for state-owned enterprises forms the basis for difference in managerial discretion between private and state-owned enterprises.

Y. Aharoni, "Managerial Discretion," State-Owned Enterprise in the Western Economies, 184. LAN-Chile itself has, over the years, been subject to such shifting objectives and the concomitant need for different management practices. Del Campo Declaration ¶¶6-8.

Another particularly important goal of state enterprises is capital formation, which is often a problem for developing nations. It cannot be gainsaid that it is a problem in Chile today (or, for that matter, as may be judicially noticed, in Mexico, Brazil, and Venezuela, to name just a few). State-owned enterprises aid in capital formation, both in their founding and by continuing regulation of their operations. E. Sacristan R., "Some Considerations on the Role of Public Enterprise," Public and Private Enterprise in a Mixed Economy, 44-52.

It is not uncommon, therefore, for commercial enterprises to be closely supervised by their governments, use property owned by their governments, have government officials play a sig-

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nificant role in management, and perform "governmental" as well as "commercial" functions.* E.g., Gilson v. Republic of Ireland, supra (capital formation); DeSanchez v. Banco Central de Nicaragua, 515 F. Supp. 900 (foreign exchange control and commercial banking); Bankers Trust v. Worldwide Transportation, 537 F. Supp. 1101 (price supports through commodities transactions); Matter of Sedco, Inc., 543 F. Supp. 561 (oil exploration and related economic planning). These relationships between governments and their entities have not led American courts to pierce the "entity veil" or find that the "entity and its government are one. On the contrary, courts that have examined these issues in cases involving governments that closely control their economies have sedulously recognized that such facile arguments must be rejected. For example, in Edlow International Co. v. Nuklearna Elektrarna Krsko, 441 F. Supp. 827 (D.D.C. 1977) the court rejected the argument that defendant was an agency of the

* Although the United States is often referred to as a free-market economy, in reality federal and state governments frequently take a large and detailed role in regulating "private" industries. Such regulation has been particularly common with so-called "natural monopolies" (e.g., telecommunications, utilities, etc.) and industries that were thought, at least in their infancy, to have required protection from "harmful competition" (e.g., civil aviation and trucking). In addition, federal and state governments often channel investment decisions in the "private" sector through tax incentives. More directly, the federal government has guaranteed the obligations in the "bail-outs" of manufacturers such as Chrysler and Lockheed. Such regulation can be so pervasive as to effectively direct major investment decisions by private industry, as with the former Atomic Energy Commission. See, Lanouette, "Dream Machine: Why the Dangerous and Maybe Unworkable Breeder Reactor Lives On," The Atlantic, 35 (April 1983).

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Yugoslavian government merely because "all property in a socialist system such as Yugoslavia's is subject to the ultimate ownership of the state." Id. at 831. Another court rejected a Polish manufacturer's argument that it served governmental functions, thereby exempting it from United States antitrust laws: "It does not follow that because a business in such a country has objectives and government ties alien to those of enterprises in a capitalist system that each such business is equal in stature to the government under which it operates." Outboard Marine v. Pezetel, 461 F. Supp. at 396.

Foreign courts have also recognized and felt themselves bound by the distinction between state-owned enterprises and the governments that own them. For example, the House of Lords in Playa Larga v. I Congreso Del Partido, [1981] 3 W.L.R. 328 (Lord Wilberforce, J.) held that a Cuban state trading enterprise was separate from the Cuban government, although it was subject to the government's direction and control and dependent upon the government as its source of funds:

> State controlled enterprises, with legal personality, ability to trade and to enter into contracts of private law, though wholly subject to the control of their state, are a well-known feature of the modern commercial scene. The distinction between them, and their governing state, may appear artificial; but it is an accepted distinction in the law of England and other states.

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Id. at 332. Other English cases and cases from other common law nations have reached the same conclusion with respect to both foreign and domestic state-owned enterprises.*

State-owned air carriers present the above complications, and others. It is very common for foreign air carriers to be state-owned.** Historically, international civil aviation has been closely regulated by both multilateral conventions and bi-

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* Czarnikow Ltd. v. Centrala Handlu Zagranicznego "Rolimpex", [1978] 3 W.L.R. 274 (Polish state trading organization subject to directions by government but which had a separate legal personality under Polish law recognized as distinct from Polish government); Tamlin v. Hannaford, [1950] 1 K.B. 18 (statutory commercial corporation held distinct from Crown despite control by Minister of Transport); International Railway Company v. Niagara Parks Commission, [1941] A.C. 328 (commission in Canada held legal entity separate from Crown because of incorporation and independent contractual capacity); Smith & Smith, Ltd. v. Smith, [1939] N.Z.L.R. 588 (New Zealand court recognized statutory intent that enterprise is separate corporate entity despite receiving public funds and being subject to government control); Dat Pethe v. District Collector, 1976 A.I.R. Ker 37 (statutory corporations in Australia held distinct from government); see Sukhdev Singh v. Bhagatram, 1975 A.I.R. 1331, 1348 (employees of public corporations in India not servants of the government).

** See, e.g., Herman v. El Al Israel Airlines, supra; Marschalk Co. v. Iran National Airlines Corp., 518 F. Supp. 69 (S.D.N.Y. 1981) rev'd 657 F.2d 3 (2d Cir. 1981); In re Air Crash Disaster at Warsaw, Poland, 16 Aviation Cases (CCH) ¶17,985 (E.D.N.Y. 1981) (LOT Polish Airlines); Arango v. Guzman Travel, 621 F.2d 1371 (Dominican Republic airlines); Argentine Airlines v. Ross, supra; Icenogle v. Olympic Airways, S.A., 82 F.R.D. 36 (D.D.C. 1979) (Greek airlines); Vergara v. Aeroflot, 390 F. Supp. 1266 (D. Neb. 1975) (U.S.S.R. airlines); Sugarman v. Aeromexico, Inc., 626 F.2d 270 (3d Cir. 1980). This list is by no means exhaustive.

lateral treaties.* Concomitantly, even in free-market nations civil aviation, both foreign and domestic, has been closely regulated by governmental authorities. Until very recently the United States Civil Aeronautics Board closely regulated routes, fares, rules, relations with travel agents and freight forwarders, and virtually every aspect of airlines' domestic and international operations. The mere suggestion that Pan Am was an alter ego of the CAB by reason of the exercise of this control is, of course, ludicrous.

The Second Circuit in Bancec, has considered these questions, however, and devised a test to deal with them:

> As a general matter, we start with the proposition that an instrumentality of a government is not necessarily an alter ego of that government for all purposes. If the instrumentality has been created as a separate and distinct juridical entity under the laws of the state that owns it, we will normally respect its independent identity for a number of purposes.

658 F.2d at 918. The Court went on to make clear that this distinction between a state and its enterprises should not be ig-

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* See, e.g., Warsaw Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to International Transportation by Air, [1929] 49 Stat. 3000, T.S. No. 876; Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, [1944] 61 Stat. 1180, T.I.A.S No. 1591; Protocol Relating to Certain Amendments to the Convention on International Civil Aviation, [1954] 8 U.S.T. 179, T.I.A.S. No. 3756; Protocol on the Authentic Trilingual Text of the Convention on International Civil Aviation with Annex, [1968] 19 U.S.T. 7693, T.I.A.S, No. 6605; Geneva Convention on the International Recognition of Rights in Aircraft, [1948] 4 U.S.T. 1830, T.I.A.S. No. 2847. In addition, the United States has bilateral air transport agreements with 80 countries. See, 4 [1983] Aviation L. Rep. (CCH) ¶26,305.

ered for purposes of recovery on a counterclaim for the supposed wrongs of the state unless the enterprise played a "key role" in the state's conduct on which the claim is based. In applying Bancec, this Court has said, "[T]he prohibition against piercing of the corporate veil in ordinary cases is particularly appropriate in cases concerning foreign government-owned corporations ..." Minpeco, S.A. v. Conticommodity Services, Inc., 549 F. Supp. 857, 859 (S.D.N.Y. 1982). As shown in the following section, when Bancec's test is properly applied to LAN-Chile and to the facts of this summary proceeding, Judgment Creditors' arguments are revealed to be empty and unpersuasive.

B. Under Bancec, LAN-Chile's Status Under Chilean Law as a Separate Juridical Entity Must Be Upheld

LAN-Chile obviously passes the first part of the Bancec test: It is a separate juridical entity under Chilean law, and owns its property in its own name. Velasco Affidavit ¶6; Soto and Zenteno Reports, passim. The separate legal status of LAN-Chile, and the numerous legal consequences which flow from it, are not matters of recent innovation or the result of recent changes in law. They are the result of established Chilean constitutional and administrative doctrines that date in part from the Chilean Constitution of 1925, and in part from the Chilean Constitution of 1833. Soto Report, passim.

This Court need not reach Bancec's "key role" criterion, however, because that portion of Bancec's test was based on longstanding equitable considerations utterly inapplicable to the

instant proceeding.* Briefly, the facts in Bancec were that an export bank, Bancec, wholly-owned by the Cuban government, was held not to be an alter ego of that government for purposes of liability on counterclaims against Bancec based on expropriation of the defendant's assets by the Cuban government after Fidel Castro seized power. The Court reasoned that Bancec, a distinct legal entity under Cuban law, had not played a "key role" in the expropriation.

In Bancec the Court reached the "key role" question because it had concluded, based on its holding in Banco Nacional de Cuba v. First National City Bank, 478 F.2d 191 (2d Cir.1973) that the Banco Nacional de Cuba, into which Bancec had been merged, was an alter ego of the Republic of Cuba and explained:

> Our ruling in the Banco Nacional case was carefully limited to the circumstances in which the counterclaim was based on the acts of expropriation that were performed principally by the instrumentality that was a party. Thus, we reiterated that Banco Nacional and the Cuban government were alter egos "in the nationalization," id. at 193, "in the expropriation," id. at 194, "in implementing the nationalization policy," id.; and we stated that our conclusion was reached "for the purposes of this litigation." Id. at 193; id. n.1. We ended this section of our opinion by emphasizing that the issue was not whether Banco Nacional and the government could be considered alter egos in general; the "decisive" fact was the role of Banco Nacional in the expropriations that were the subject of the Citibank counterclaims. . . .

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* The Bancec Court stated the test in this way:

> We will, on the other hand, ignore the statutory distinction between the state and its instrumentality when the subject matter of the counterclaim assertible against the state is state conduct in which the instrumentality had a key role.

658 F.2d at 918 (emphasis added).

Bancec, 658 F.2d at 918. Because the Bancec court found Bancec not to have been involved in the expropriations, it was held not to be an alter ego of either the Republic of Cuba or Banco Nacional.

The opinion also assumed the applicability of the FSIA and then made clear that it reached the same result under that Act, which, the Court stated, merely codified the existing law represented by National City Bank v. Republic of China, 348 U.S. 356 (1955). Bancec, 658 F.2d at 920. In Republic of China, the National City Bank was sued by China for refusing to pay on a withdrawal of $200,000 on deposit with the Bank's New York office. National City Bank counterclaimed for $1,634,432 worth of Chinese treasury notes on which China had defaulted. The Supreme Court, through Justice Frankfurter and relying on King of Spain v. Oliver Pet, CC 276, F. Cas. No. 7813 (C.D. Pa. 1816),* held that the counterclaim could be maintained, at least up to the amount of China's claim because it was the sovereign, China, who had come as a suitor into our courts. The Court stated:

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* Justice Frankfurter cited King of Spain v. Oliver Pet as anticipating his holding. That case was decided by Mr. Justice Washington on Circuit. Without belaboring the facts here, the significance of that case was that Mr. Justice Washington decided it a scant four years after he sat on the Supreme Court panel which decided The Schooner Exchange v. M'Fadden, 11 U.S. (7 Cranch) 116 (1812) (Marshall, C.J.), the case which first proclaimed the doctrine of sovereign immunity. It is plain, therefore, that the equitable exception to immunity in the counterclaim context is nearly as old in our law as sovereign immunity itself.

> It is recognized that a counterclaim based on the subject matter of a sovereign's suit is allowed to cut into the doctrine of immunity. This is proof positive that the doctrine is not absolute, and that considerations of fair play must be taken into account in its application.

348 U.S. at 364 (emphasis added).

The Court made plain that these equitable considerations of fair dealing barred recognition of immunity on the counterclaim despite the fact that the counterclaim was not based on the same transaction as the one on which China had sued. Although the transactions were unrelated, they, nevertheless, might be regarded as aspects of a "continuous business relationship." Id. The Court concluded: "The point is that the ultimate thrust of the consideration of fair dealing which allows a setoff or counterclaim based on the same subject matter reaches the present situation." Id.*

The alter ego theory, and thus the "key role" corollary, invoked against foreign states or foreign agencies are thus

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* The equitable holding of Republic of China was reaffirmed in First National City Bank v. Banco Nacional de Cuba, 406 U.S. 759, 768-69 (1972) and perhaps more succinctly therein by Justice Douglas concurring ("To allow recovery without more [i.e., permitting assertion of the counterclaim] would permit Cuba to have its cake and eat it too.") 406 U.S. at 772. The importance of equity in the counterclaim context has been weighed as well by the Second Circuit in Menendez v. Saks and Co., 485 F.2d 1355 (2d Cir. 1973), cert. denied 425 U.S. 991 (1976). The Court there found an identity of a course of dealing in the claim and counterclaim, both of which involved the manufacture and importation of cigars, and concluded: "Indeed the equities here balance much more heavily in favor of the importers [the counterclaimants] than in the First National City Bank case where the counterclaim arose out of a wholly unrelated factual context." 485 F.2d at 1383 (emphasis added).

rounded in equitable considerations of the sovereign's initial entry into our courts and on the "continuous business relationship" which Justice Frankfurter found in Republic of China would make it unfair for the defendant not to be able to raise his claims where this relationship exists. As Bancec makes clear, this exception is carried directly into the FSIA scheme in 28 U.S.C. §1607(c).

Thus seen, the alter ego doctrine is simply irrelevant to the instant case. LAN-Chile did not bring this case and has not invoked this Court's or the Letelier Court's jurisdiction. To the contrary, LAN-Chile is a stranger to the action. Moreover, LAN-Chile has had no transactions with the plaintiffs here and certainly not the "continuous business relationship" necessary to invoke the Court's inherent equity in Republic of China.* Accordingly, Judgment Creditors' assertions of "key role" and "alter ego" should be not only rejected, they should be ignored.

Even if the "key role" analysis is used here, however, it yields no different result. In Bancec, the Second Circuit held that Bancec had not played a "key role" in expropriating First National City Bank's Cuban assets even though Bancec's close relationship to the State was demonstrated by the facts that (1) Bancec was entirely capitalized by the government, (2)

* Alter ego theory in simple domestic contexts is also rooted in equity. Gartner v. Snyder, 607 F.2d 582, 586 (2d Cir. 1979); FMC Finance Corp. v. Murphree, 632 F.2d 413, 422 (5th Cir. 1980).

Bancec remitted all of its profits to the Cuban Treasury, (3) Bancec served the sole function of managing commodities export for the government's account, (4) Cuba had dissolved Bancec soon after the action was commenced, (5) Bancec had assigned its claims in the action to the national bank, which was headed by Che Guevara,* and had been directly responsible for nationalizing those assets, and (6) Bancec's assets and functions had been assigned to the Ministry of Trade and the national bank, which had previously been held by the Second Circuit to be Cuba's alter ego in the expropriation of First National City Bank's assets. Banco Nacional de Cuba v. First National City Bank, 478 F.2d 191 (2d Cir. 1973).** In other words, although the Cuban government dissolved Bancec and replaced it with another instrumentality that had previously been adjudged an alter ego of the government, the statutory distinction between Bancec and Cuba was, nevertheless, respected.

LAN-Chile's relationship to the Republic is nowhere near as close as Bancec's was to the Cuban government. LAN-Chile, like Bancec, was created as a distinct legal entity under the

* See, Banco National de Cuba v. Chase Manhattan Bank, 505 F. Supp. 412, 420 (S.D.N.Y. 1980), modified, 658 F.2d 875 (2d Cir. 1981).

** Indeed, after the dissolution of Bancec, counsel for Bancec stipulated that Cuba itself should be substituted for Bancec as a plaintiff, and the District Court thereafter approved the filing of an amended complaint that would substitute Cuba for Bancec. Brief for the United States as Amicus Curiae in Support of Petitioner, First National City Bank v. Banco Para el Comercio Exterior de Cuba, U.S. Supreme Court No. 81-984 dated December 1982 (the "Solicitor General's Brief") at 10, 13.

laws of the state that created it. Soto Report, passim. LAN-Chile, in comparison to Bancec, enjoys far more autonomy from its government. Del Campo Declaration ¶¶9-16, and Soto Report, passim. In contrast to Bancec, which existed only to serve government functions, LAN-Chile operates as a self-managed commercial airline. Del Campo Declaration, ¶9. Under the principles announced in Bancec, therefore, LAN-Chile is clearly revealed to be a separate juridical entity under Chilean law, and that separateness must be honored by an American court. To reach this conclusion it is unnecessary and inappropriate to go further, as Judgment Creditors suggest (Letelier Memo of Law at 29-30), and to perform detailed exegesis of LAN-Chile's "key role" vel non in the events underlying Judgment Creditors' claim.

Even if the facts concerning LAN-Chile are reviewed, however, it is clear that LAN's "role" was nonexistent.* LAN-Chile played no role in any conspiracy to kill Mr. Letelier. It did not take orders from DINA; it had no knowledge of any of DINA's plans. Unknowing favors and acts performed by lower-level employees who acted on their own, without the knowledge or consent of LAN-Chile's management and contrary to management directives, cannot be seriously construed as evidence supporting any of Judgment Creditors' claims. These employees knew nothing

* That LAN-Chile was never named as a party in the Letelier action estops Judgment Creditors in any event from claiming otherwise now.

of Townley's alleged identity, schemes, assignments, methods, or goals.*

In short, under the law in this Circuit, LAN-Chile cannot be held liable for the acts of the Republic on any "key role" or "alter ego" theory.** Moreover, as shown in the next

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* Even were one to assume what has never been proven -- not in the Sampol case, not in the FAA investigation, not in the Congressional hearing and not by Judgment Creditors before Judge Green or before this Court -- that LAN-Chile employees knew what Townley was doing and were acting at his instructions (as Judgment Creditors seemingly desire to prove), even then LAN-Chile's assets would not be subject to execution as LAN-Chile would, under the teaching of Arango v. Guzman Travel Advisors Corp., 621 F.2d at 1379 have been acting "merely as an arm or agent" of the Chilean government and, thus, have been entitled to the undisputed absolute immunity that inures to the Republic.

** Nor, contrary to Judgment Creditors' contention, does LAN-Chile qualify as the alter ego of the Republic under the test proposed in the Solicitor General's Brief in Bancec, a brief submitted primarily to protect rights of Americans in raising valid expropriation claims in proceedings instituted against them. Solicitor General's Brief at 6. The Solicitor General suggests four factors in addition to "key role" which should be considered in determining whether an instrumentality of a foreign government is an alter ego of its sovereign: 1) whether, by analogy to principles of corporate law, the sovereign disregards the separate existence of its instrumentality; 2) whether the instrumentality exists solely to discharge a government function or is treated by the sovereign as a mere agency; 3) whether the government is the real party in interest; and 4) whether other special equitable concerns are involved. None of these factors point to LAN-Chile as an alter ego of the Republic. The Chilean government has not disregarded LAN-Chile's separate existence. As a commercial airline, LAN-Chile does not perform a governmental function, but provides a commercial service. Third, the factor of real party in interest is not applicable to this action, as it was in Bancec. Finally, Bancec's salient concern with equitable rights to the assertion of setoffs and counterclaims is not present in this case.

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section, the Republic does not have a leviable "property interest" in LAN-Chile's assets.

C. The Republic Does Not Have an Attachable "Property Interest" in LAN-Chile's Assets

As with their "alter ego" argument, Judgment Creditors' contention that the Republic has a direct, leviable "property interest" in LAN-Chile's assets ignores the realities of Chilean law. Under that law, LAN-Chile owns that property in its own name. Soto Report, passim. Its property cannot be levied upon to satisfy judgments against the Republic, and vice versa. Id. These are principles not only of positive law, but are settled principles of Chilean jurisprudence and are rooted in constitutional norms over a history beginning as early as the Constitution of 1833. Id. Under Chilean law, therefore, the Republic does not stand in the same shoes with respect to LAN-Chile as a shareholder does with respect to a corporation, or a parent to a subsidiary. Rather, LAN-Chile's status as a state-owned corporation is both sui juris and sui generis as regards United States law, and thus analogies to U.S. law are highly misleading.

The short answer to the "equitable interest" theory is that it is, in reality, a mere paraphrase of the "alter ego" contention. Both theories are based on the same alleged facts -- the relationship between LAN-Chile and the Republic. The championing of both theories, in blatant disregard of the teaching of Bancec, ignores the contrary effect of Chilean law. Judgment

creditors assert in both arguments that the Republic so controls LAN-Chile that the statutory distinction between it and the Republic should be disregarded. Both theories rely on the same opposite principles of the common law of private corporations. Judgment Creditors analogize the relationship between LAN-Chile and the Republic in both arguments to the relationship between a corporation and the shareholders (either parent corporation or individual) that control it. In the final analysis, both arguments boil down to the same question of disregarding the foreign entity's veil, and Bancec definitively addressed that issue. Whether Judgment Creditors style their argument as "alter ego" or "property interest," it does not satisfy the requirements of Bancec.

Nor, as the Soto Report and the Del Campo Declaration make clear, and as the Velasco Affidavit nowhere disputes, do principles of alter ego and equitable ownership have any bearing on LAN-Chile's juridical personality. This point is best illustrated by the fact that the Republic is currently suing LAN-Chile for damages caused by LAN-Chile employees to property of the Republic. Del Campo Declaration, Annex A. Can it be seriously maintained that the Republic is suing itself for payment of an obligation it owes to itself?

The principle that a state-owned entity is not responsible for the torts or liabilities of the government merely because the government owns it and its assets is also apparent in Prelude Corp. v. Owners of F/V Atlantik, 1971 A.M.C. 2651 (N.D. Cal.). In Prelude plaintiff attached vessels owned by a Soviet

shipping company to commence a suit for marine torts allegedly committed by the Soviet Union. The shipping company moved to vacate the attachment, arguing that it was a separate entity from the Soviet government and therefore not liable for that government's torts. Even though - unlike the instant proceeding - the defendant admitted that the sovereign owned the attached property, the attachment was vacated. See, also, American Hawaiian Ventures, Inc. v. M.V.J. Latuharhary, 257 F. Supp. 622 (D.N.J. 1966).*

Even were Chilean law inapplicable, however, Judgment Creditors' argument misapprehends the proper application of American law. Judgment Creditors imply as a part of their argument that a sole shareholder may, subject to the claims of creditors, do whatever it pleases with the assets of the controlled corporation. (Letelier Memo of Law at 20). This proposition ignores the distinction between ownership of stock and ownership of corporate property.** In Boise Cascade Corp. v. Wheeler, 419 F. Supp. 98, (S.D.N.Y. 1976) aff'd without opinion, 556 F.2d 554 (2d Cir. 1977), the court flatly rejected the claim that as sole shareholder, plaintiff had a right to do as it pleased with the corporate property of its wholly-owned subsidiary:

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* See, discussion of these cases in the FSIA's legislative history. House Report 94-1487 at 28.

** This proposition also misapprehends traditional doctrines of alter ego which do not look to the possibility of improper interference but to whether in fact control has been abused and actual management of the corporation assumed. See, e.g., Gartner v. Snyder, 607 F.2d at 586 (applying New York law). See Section II.D. below.

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> This argument falls before the long-standing principle of ... law that a corporation's property rights are entirely distinct from those of its shareholders and that
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> 'even complete ownership of capital stock does not operate to transfer the title to corporate property and that ownership of capital stock is by no means identical with or equivalent to ownership of corporate property'.

Id. at 102, citing Torrey Delivery, Inc. v. Chautauqua Truck Sales & Service Inc., 47 A.D.2d 279, 282, 366 N.Y.S.2d 506, 510 (4th Dept. 1975)*; see, also, City Bank Farmers Trust Company v. MacFadden, 13 A.D.2d 395, 216 N.Y.S.2d 215 (1st Dept. 1961), aff'd 12 N.Y.2d 1035, 239 N.Y.S.2d 680 (1963), cert. denied 375 U.S. 823 (1963) (court refused to hold corporation liable for obligations of controlling member).

Moreover, courts would not treat the assets of LAN-Chile, considered as an independently operating subsidiary, as property of its parent corporation. Courts have, for example, refused to treat the assets of a subsidiary as those of the parent in a bankruptcy proceeding against the parent corporation. E.g., Matter of Gulfco Investment Corporation, 593 F.2d 921, 929 (10th Cir. 1979); In re Flora Mir Candy Corporation, 432 F.2d 1060 (2d Cir. 1970); Maule Industries, Inc. v. Gerstel, 232 F.2d 294, 297 (5th Cir. 1956). By the same token, corporate

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* Judgment Creditors cite (Letelier Memo of Law at 19) Torrey Delivery Inc. for the proposition that the stockholders are the equitable owners of a corporation's assets, but neglect to add that Torrey expressly holds that even complete ownership of capital stock does not operate to transfer the title to corporate property from the corporation to the sole stockholder. 47 A.D.2d at 282, 366 N.Y.S.2d at 510.

assets of an independently operating subsidiary have been held not to be property of the debtor for purposes of the bankruptcy courts' "jurisdiction of the debtor and its property." E.g., Parkview-Gem, Inc. v. Stein, 516 F.2d 807 (8th Cir. 1975); In re Carshops, Inc., 494 F.2d 689 (2d Cir. 1974); In re Beck Industries, Inc., 479 F.2d 410 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 414 U.S. 858 (1973); In re Adolf Gobel, Inc., 80 F.2d 849 (2d Cir. 1936).

In other words, in constructing their "property interest" theory Judgment Creditors abandon their analogy to American private corporate law not when its logic breaks down, but when it no longer serves their purpose. To be logically consistent and legally correct, the conclusion of their analogy is not that the Republic has a direct property interest in LAN-Chile's assets, but an indirect interest identical to that of a shareholder in a corporation. Moreover, to levy on such an indirect interest Judgment Creditors must seek out the judgment debtor, the Republic, where it may be found, in Chile. Another logical consequence of their analogy is that if they are to treat LAN-Chile as the garnishee of the Republic's "shares," they must, again, seek garnishment in Chile. N.Y. Civ. Prac. Law & R. §5201(c)(1) (McKinney 1978). If Judgment Creditors' argument is logically applied, therefore, LAN-Chile is not a proper garnishee, at least in the United States, and their motion to appoint a receiver must be denied.

To summarize, the leviable property interest argument cannot stand for several reasons. It ignores Bancec and Chilean

It also ignores other, contrary authority in American law. Finally, it tumbles from the weight of its own illogic.

D. Even on Its Own Terms, Judgment Creditors Cannot Prevail on their "Alter Ego" Theory

LAN-Chile cannot be found to be the "alter ego" of the Republic even if one applied the classic alter ego principles of the common law of private corporations that Judgment Creditors attempt to apply to this proceeding. Courts have pierced the private corporate veil only in very limited circumstances that do not exist in this proceeding.

It is well-established that the integrity of the corporate form of a domestic and, particularly, a foreign state-owned corporation will not be disregarded "unless it has been abused; that is, unless the corporate form has been used 'to perpetrate a fraud' or unless the corporation's owners 'have so dominated or disregarded [the corporation's] corporate form that [the corporation] primarily transacted [the owner's] business rather than its own corporate business'". Minpeco S.A. v. Conticommodity Services, Inc., 549 F.Supp. at 859, citing Kirno Hill Corp. v. Holt, 618 F.2d 983, 985 (2d Cir. 1980).* Thus, in Walkovsky v. Carlton, 18 N.Y.2d 414, 276 N.Y.S.2d 585 (1966), the court held that the fact that a controlling shareholder organized, managed

* Accord, Gartner v. Snyder, 607 F.2d at 586; Karlin v. Avis, 326 F.Supp. 1325, 1331 (E.D.N.Y. 1971) ("piercing the corporate veil ... is a drastic approach authorized only in the most extreme circumstances").

and dominated a fragmented corporate entity consisting of ten taxicab corporations, owning two cabs each, would not justify piercing the corporate veil and holding the shareholder liable for the conduct of one of the corporations, where the shareholder was not conducting business in his individual capacity.

LAN-Chile, however, has not been treated by the Republic as a mere "agency" or "department" and therefore would not be regarded as the Republic's alter ego under corporate law principles. As discussed above, LAN-Chile is a self-managed commercial enterprise. Del Campo Declaration ¶4; Soto and Zenteno Reports, passim. It provides air transportation services only for payment, and any air transportation services provided to the government are handled on a commercial basis. Del Campo Declaration, ¶9. LAN-Chile purchases, owns, and sells its property in its own name, maintains its own books and accounts in its own name, and obtains private bank loans on its own credit. Id. ¶¶ 10, 12, 13. LAN-Chile also hires and fires its own employees without regard to the Republic. These employees do not belong to unions which represent government employees and do not have official or diplomatic passports as government employees do. Id. ¶15. Moreover, the Republic assesses LAN-Chile for taxes and custom duties, and LAN-Chile must pay the same airport fees to the appropriate government authority as privately-owned airlines. Id. ¶¶ 14, 16. It would be curious, indeed, if a corporate entity were to charge itself fees for the provision of services.

Judgment Creditors have the burden of overcoming the presumption of corporate regularity and establishing a basis to pierce the corporate veil. Establissement Tomis v. Shearson Hayden Stone, Inc., 459 F.Supp. 1355, 1365 (S.D.N.Y. 1978).*

Accordingly, in attempting to carry that burden, Judgment Creditors essay analogy to a wholly-owned subsidiary of a parent corporation. (Letelier Memo of Law at 26-27.) Judgment Creditors have utterly failed to show, however, that courts will disregard the corporate form merely because a subsidiary is wholly-owned by its parent corporation.** Billy v. Consolidated Machine Tool Corporation, 51 N.Y.2d 152, 163, 432 N.Y.S.2d 879, 886; accord, Kirno Hill v. Holt, 618 F.2d at 985. As a prerequisite to treating a subsidiary as the alter ego of its parent, "there must be direct intervention by the parent in the management of the subsidiary to such an extent that 'the subsidiary's paraphernalia of incorporation, directors and officers'

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* Accord, Brunswick Corp. v. Waxman, 459 F. Supp. 1222, 1229 (E.D.N.Y. 1978); aff'd 599 F.2d 34 (2d Cir. 1979), where Judge Mulligan expressed the Court's skepticism about piercing corporate veils generally observing as well that "New York law in this area is hardly as clear as a mountain lake in springtime." 599 F.2d at 35.

** In the one case it cites for the factors this Court should consider, Worldwide Carriers, Ltd. v. Avis Steamship Co., 301 F. Supp. 64, 67-68 (S.D.N.Y. 1968) (Letelier Memo at 26), (a case in which Judge Tenney, at page 69, likened the facts to those in New York's notorious taxicab cases), Judgment Creditors list five of eleven factors cited by Judge Tenney as decisive in his holding. The other six factors are ignored. In fact, of the eleven factors listed in that case, only two, one dealing with subsidies by the parent and the other with the parent causing the incorporation of the subsidiary (the latter uncited by Judgment Creditors) are relevant here.

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are completely ignored." Billy v. Consolidated Machine, 52 N.Y.2d at 163, 432 N.Y.S.2d at 886. Accord, Port Chester Electrical Construction Corp. v. Atlas, 40 N.Y.2d 652, 389 N.Y.S.2d 327 (1976) (controlling principal respected separate identities of corporations, each of which pursued its corporate business rather than the personal business of principal; court refused to pierce corporate veil); Bellomo v. Pennsylvania Life Company, 488 F. Supp. 744, 745 (S.D.N.Y. 1980) (court refused to treat parent and subsidiary as the same entity for jurisdictional purposes absent day-to-day control by the parent "so complete that the subsidiary is, in fact, merely a department of the parent."); see, generally, A. A. Berle, The Theory of Enterprise Entity, 47 COLUM. L. REV. 343, 348 (1947).

Under alter ego doctrine, LAN-Chile would not in any event be held responsible for the conduct of the Republic merely because of the parent-subsidiary relationship. E.g., Kingston Dry Dock Co. v. Lake Champlain Transp. Co., 31 F.2d 265 (2d Cir. 1929) (subsidiary not liable under contract made by parent where subsidiary did not intend parent to act as agent and did not impose in parent's affairs); Ricker v. American Zinser Corporation, 506 F.Supp. 1 (E.D. Tenn. 1978) aff'd without opinion, 633 F.2d 218 (6th Cir. 1980) (subsidiary not liable for injuries by machine manufactured and sold by parent); American Anthracite and Bituminous Coal Corporation v. Amerocean S.S. Co., 131 F. Supp. 244 (E.D. Pa. 1955) (writ of attachment against property of subsidiary vacated in dispute arising from contract

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with parent); Packer v. Caesar's World, Inc., 54 A.D.2d 676, 387 N.Y.S.2d 851 (1st Dept. 1976) (prejudgment attachment of subsidiary's bank account premised upon action for breach of contract by parent held improper).

Similarly, in an international context, United States courts have recognized the distinction between a foreign agency and its sovereign for many purposes. In Vicente v. Trinidad and Tobago, 53 A.D.2d 76, 385 N.Y.S.2d 83 (1st Dept. 1976), aff'd 42 N.Y.2d 929, 397 N.Y.S.2d 1007 (1977), it was held that service of process upon a foreign government-controlled enterprise did not constitute service upon the foreign government itself. In S.T. Tringali Co. v. Tug Pemex XV, 274 F.Supp. 227 (S.D. Tex. 1967), the court held that vessels held by a Mexican government-owned corporation were not considered owned by the government, and therefore were subject to prejudgment attachment. In addition, the courts have examined the relationship between an agency and its government in determining the real party in interest. Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar v. Elicofon, 478 F.2d 231 (2d Cir. 1973), cert. denied 415 U.S. 931 (1974); Kingdom of Sweden v. New

York Trust Co., 197 Misc. 431, 96 N.Y.S.2d 779, 787 (Sup. Ct., N.Y. Co., 1949).*

Judgment Creditors also have failed to prove that LAN-Chile was used as part of a fraudulent scheme, such that piercing the entity veil would be justified. They lamely suggest that "it partook of fraud for Chile to represent to the Civil Aeronautics Board that it was operating a commercial airline in this country while using the facilities of that airline for the transport of agents or explosives." This argument, however, does not withstand even a cursory analysis. As a preliminary matter, the Civil Aeronautics Board is not a party to this action and has not complained of fraud. Furthermore, the allegations that agents or explosives were carried by LAN-Chile aircraft are immaterial to the issue of whether the corporate entity was used to a fraudu-

* The Supreme Court has also recognized that the separate status of domestic government corporations must be respected. E.g., Pierce v. United States, 314 U.S. 306 (1941) (Tennessee Valley Authority held distinct from government for purposes of criminal code); Reconstruction Finance Corporation v. J. G. Menihan Corporation, 312 U.S. 81 (1941) (government corporation not immune from liability for court costs); Keifer & Keifer v. Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 306 U.S. 381 (1938) (government corporation not immune from suit); Sloan Shipyards Corporation v. United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, 258 U.S. 549 (1922) (government's immunity from suit in tort does not extend to government corporation; corporation's claim of priority in bankruptcy on the ground that debt to corporation is owed to the United States rejected); United States v. Strang, 254 U.S. 491 (1921) (employee of government corporation held not to be agent of the United States within meaning of criminal code); see, United States v. Orleans, 425 U.S. 807 (1976) (community action corporation which received federal funds and was subject to federal standards and regulations, but whose day-to-day operations were not supervised by federal government, held not to be federal agency under Federal Tort Claims Act).

lent end.* Thus, Judgment Creditors have not met their burden of proving under either their "property interest" or "alter ego" arguments that any justification does exist or can exist for disregarding LAN-Chile's separate juridical nature and treating LAN-Chile's assets as belonging to the Republic.

In conclusion, LAN-Chile's relationship to the Republic does not justify disregarding its identity as a separate corporate entity under doctrines of corporate law. Although the government has provided capital in prior years to LAN-Chile and other state-owned enterprises, it neither disregards LAN-Chile's entity structure nor directs the daily operation of LAN-Chile. Del Campo Affidavit ¶¶6, 9-16. As the Second Circuit noted in Brunswick Corp. v. Waxman, 599 F.2d 34 (2d Cir. 1979), "[W]hat the formula [of separate corporate personality] comes down to, once shorn of verbiage about control, instrumentality, agency and corporate entity, is that liability is imposed to reach an equitable result." Id. at 36. Whatever equity may require in other contexts, it certainly is not served by imposing liability on an entity who was not a party to the original action. A separate statutory entity, LAN-Chile, operating as a commercial enterprise both in general and with respect to the particular facts of this case, cannot be deemed the Republic's alter ego.

* To risk untoward redundancy, the charges against LAN-Chile of knowingly carrying explosives have been reviewed by repeated official government investigations (largely at the instance of Judgment Creditors) and have been found baseless at least three times. See Statement of Facts at 15-16, above.

III. GRANTING JUDGMENT CREDITORS THE RELIEF THEY SEEK IN THIS SUMMARY PROCEEDING WOULD BE AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL DENIAL OF DUE PROCESS AND OTHERWISE UNLAWFUL

A. Granting Judgment Creditors' Motion Would Deny LAN-Chile Due Process of Law

Judgment Creditors have commenced this summary proceeding against LAN-Chile pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 69(a) even though LAN-Chile was not a party or in privity with a party in the Letelier Action. Hence, to grant Judgment Creditors the relief they pray for on the sketchy showing they have made would deny LAN-Chile due process of law. "It is elementary that one is not bound by a judgment in personam resulting from litigation in which he is not designated as a party or to which he was not been made a party by service of process." Zenith Radio Corp. v. Hazeltine Research, Inc., 395 U.S. 100, 110 (1969), on remand 418 F.2d 21 (7th Cir. 1969), rev'd on other grounds 401 U.S. 321 (1971), rehearing denied 401 U.S. 1015 (1971); see, Restatement (Second) of Judgments §34(3)(1982).

LAN-Chile was never served with process in the Letelier Action, nor were any attempts made to serve it even though plaintiffs obviously were aware of LAN-Chile's existence and, indeed, apparently knew well before the default judgment was entered that they would try to execute against LAN-Chile. See, Statement of Facts at 7. The Letelier Court made no determination that LAN-Chile was liable on any of the counts of that action, nor did it find that LAN-Chile was the alter ego of the Republic, nor were any facts adduced that would show or tend to

show that LAN-Chile was in privity with the Republic. See, generally, Restatement (Second) of Judgments §75, Comment a (1982).

The facts of Zenith Radio v. Hazeltine Research, supra, illustrate the truly desperate nature of Judgment Creditors' efforts to execute against the property of LAN-Chile to satisfy a judgment against the Republic. In that case the Supreme Court reversed the Seventh Circuit's determination that a judgment against a subsidiary research company was binding upon that company's parent. The Court held that, as an elementary matter of due process, the nonparty parent could not be bound by any of the findings of fact or conclusions of law rendered in the judgment against the subsidiary.

The same reasoning must be applied in this case. The Letelier court obviously never purported to exercise jurisdiction over LAN-Chile. The Court made no finding that LAN-Chile was in privity with the Republic; it did not even so much as speculate that LAN-Chile was or may be an alter ego of the Republic. Judgment Creditors cannot now play fast-and-loose with elementary concepts of due process by claiming that the Letelier Default Judgment is enforceable against a nonparty, separate entity.*

* See, also, Strick Corporation v. Thai Teak Products Company, Ltd., 493 F. Supp. 1210 (E.D. Pa. 1980); Dudley v. Smith, 504 F.2d 979, 982-83 (5th Cir. 1974), rehearing denied 507 F.2d 1280 (5th Cir. 1975); Eagle Transport, Ltd. v. O'Connor, 470 F. Supp. 731, 733 (S.D.N.Y. 1979); Pasos v. Ferber, 263 F. Supp. 877, 881-82 (M.D. Pa. 1967), aff'd 386 F.2d 452 (3d Cir. 1967); cf., Aerotrade, Inc. v. Banque Nationale de la Republique d'Haiti, 376 F. Supp. 1286 (S.D.N.Y. 1974) (Weinfeld, J.) (attachment of assets of state-owned bank denied when doubtful bank is alter ego of foreign government).

These due process dangers are obvious from the fact that Judgment Creditors' proof, both on this motion and before the Letelier Court, is based so heavily on inadmissible hearsay.

As noted above, (at 11), the Townley testimony admitted from the first Sampol trial was virtually the entire case before the Letelier Court. This testimony was admitted only by virtue of a finding that Townley was unavailable as a declarant under Federal Rule of Evidence 804(a)(5), the catch-all provision permitting consideration of hearsay when the declarant is absent and the court is unable to procure his presence by process or other reasonable means. Letelier II, 502 F. Supp. at 261 n. 3. This finding was obviously erroneous in view of the fact that it is a matter of record in the Letelier II opinion that Townley was in the custody of the United States Marshal in the Witness Protection Program and, therefore, clearly subject to the process of the court through the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus ad testificandum. 28 U.S.C. 2241(a) and (c); Jerry v. Francisco, 632 F.2d 252 (3d Cir. 1980).*

As LAN-Chile is clearly not bound by the findings made in the Letelier Action, not having been a party therein, it is free now to challenge the findings made. As the particular findings relevant to LAN were based at least in part on Townley's

* Obviously, the fact that Townley's testimony constituted the entire theory of the defendant's liability made any decision not to produce him, to the extent it was discretionary, an abuse of that discretion.

hearsay, they must be discarded. As the judgment as a whole rests on this inadmissible hearsay, it likewise must be vacated.*

Other matter in the Privitera Affidavit is similarly problematic. For instance, its reference to the "findings" of Letelier II as to LAN-Chile's "role" in the deaths of Mr. Letelier and Mrs. Moffitt is wholly disingenuous. There was no finding in Letelier II as to any "role" by LAN-Chile in those events. The only finding was that there was "uncontradicted testimony" that Townley had used facilities and personnel of LAN-

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* It should also be noted that the Letelier Default Judgment is void for lack of subject-matter jurisdiction. The FSIA, which also governs subject-matter jurisdiction, was designed to put private litigants on an equal footing with foreign sovereigns engaging in activities essentially commercial or private in nature. House Report 94-1487 at 6-7; see 28 U.S.C. §1602. In this respect, section 1605(a)(5), upon which the Letelier Court supposedly based its subject-matter jurisdiction, was aimed primarily at traffic accidents and similar occurrences, id. at 20-21, and not matters such as the Letelier Action. The Letelier Court's use of 1605(a)(5) has been termed "unexpected." Brower, Bistline and Loomis, The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 in Practice, 73 AM. J. INT'L L. 200, 201 (1979).

The Letelier action obviously did not involve acts by a foreign sovereign that were essentially private in nature. Before the FSIA public acts of a sovereign enjoyed immunity even when they entailed arguably private wrongs to United States citizens. E.g., Heaney v. Government of Spain, 445 F.2d 501 (2d Cir. 1971); Gittler v. German Information Center, 95 Misc.2d 788, 408 N.Y.S.2d 600 (Sup. Ct., N.Y. Co., 1978). At least one post-FSIA case has taken this view, also, Carey v. Nat'l Oil Corp. 453 F. Supp. 1097, 1102 (S.D.N.Y. 1978) (dicta), aff'd 592 F.2d 673 (2d Cir. 1979) (per curiam), and since the FSIA codified prior law to a great extent, e.g., 28 U.S.C. §1605(a)(5)(A), the Letelier Court should have held that it lacked subject-matter jurisdiction because the action involved the public acts of a foreign sovereign. Of course, since LAN-Chile was not a party in the Letelier Action, it may and does now raise this issue.

Chile. Some of that testimony was the product of nonjudicial hearings and investigations in which LAN-Chile had no right to cross-examine witnesses. It contains multiple layers of hearsay, and is obviously inadmissible. Fed. R. Evid. 802 and 805, see, id. 804(b)(1); Matter of Sterling Navigation Co., Ltd., 444 F. Supp. 1043 (S.D.N.Y. 1977).

The Privitera Affidavit also attaches excerpts from Townley's testimony in the criminal proceedings (Ex. A), Cruchaga's grand jury testimony (Ex. B), an FBI report (Ex. C), and some letters purportedly written by Townley while in prison (Ex. D). These documents, too, are inadmissible hearsay.

Additionally, Townley's testimony does not come within the prior testimony exception of Federal Rule of Evidence 804(b)(1) because LAN-Chile was not a party to the proceedings, and therefore had no opportunity to cross-examine Townley. Accordingly, matters contained in Townley's testimony may not be used against LAN-Chile.

For the same reasons, Cruchaga's grand jury testimony is inadmissible against LAN-Chile. Not only was Cruchaga unable to have his own lawyer present, but LAN-Chile had no opportunity to cross-examine him. In short, this testimony is inadmissible hearsay. See, United States v. Fiore, 443 F.2d 112, 115 (2d Cir. 1971) (admission of grand jury testimony offends hearsay rule).

The FBI report is an even more egregious affront to the hearsay rule. The summary itself is hearsay, as are the statements contained in it. These statements were not even made under

oath. There is simply no way to determine the report's sources or their reliability. Moreover, LAN-Chile had no opportunity to cross-examine the FBI agents or the suppliers of those agents' information. Even if the report itself falls with the business records exception, Fed. R. Evid. 803(6), its statements are nevertheless hearsay and therefore inadmissible. See, Advisory Committee Note on Fed. R. Evid. 803; accord, Florida Canal Industries v. Rambo, 537 F.2d 200 (5th Cir. 1976) (while Coast Guard report of investigation of collision was made in regular course of business, statements of yacht owner incorporated into report were not). The FBI report therefore may not be used against LAN-Chile.

Finally, the Townley letters are incontestably hearsay, and are not even arguably within any exception to the hearsay rule. The translations from Spanish are not certified, and the statements are self-serving and not made under oath. In short, the letters are patently unreliable and inadmissible against LAN-Chile in this proceeding.

In short, Judgment creditors' proof of LAN-Chile's connection with the events underlying the Letelier Action relies so heavily on inadmissible hearsay that their motion must be denied on this ground alone. Moreover, their efforts to bind LAN-Chile with the findings of the Letelier Default Judgment -- based as they are on inadmissible hearsay -- cannot be sanctioned either. See, Putnam Mills Corp. v. United States, 479 F.2d 1334 (Ct. Cl. 1973).

B. Granting Judgment Creditors The Relief They Seek Would Be An Unlawful Prejudgment Attachment Under 28 U.S.C. §§1609 and 1610(d)

Given Judgment Creditors' failure to make a sufficient factual showing against LAN-Chile both in this proceeding and in the Letelier Action, granting their motion would be tantamount to a prejudgment attachment. Prejudgment attachments are not favored under the FSIA because "such attachments gave rise to 'serious friction' in United States foreign relations." Geveke & Co International, Inc. v. Kompania di Awa i Elektrisidat di Korsou, 482 F.Supp. 660, 663 (S.D.N.Y. 1979). As a result, the FSIA allows prejudgment attachments only if "the foreign state has explicitly waived its immunity from attachment prior to judgment," and the purpose of the attachment is to secure satisfaction of a judgment. 28 U.S.C. §1610(d) (emphasis added).

As discussed in detail in section I, above, LAN-Chile has not waived its immunity from attachment, and has certainly not made an explicit waiver of that immunity. See, Reading & Bates Corp. v. National Iranian Oil Co., 478 F. Supp. 724 (S.D.N.Y. 1979); accord, E-Systems, Inc. v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 491 F. Supp. 1294 (N.D. Tex. 1980); Security Pacific National Bank v. Government and State of Iran, 513 F. Supp. 864, 879-80 (C.D. Cal. 1981).

Thus, Judgment Creditors motion must be denied as requesting an unlawful prejudgment attachment. For the same reason, the restraining notices, which are effectively preliminary

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injunctions, served by Judgment Creditors upon LAN-Chile must be vacated as unlawful prejudgment attachments. Preliminary injunctions have been recognized as equivalent to prejudgment attachments within the meaning of the FSIA, and are therefore barred for the same reasons as prejudgment attachments are. See, Chas. T. Main International v. Khuzestan Water and Power Authority, 651 F.2d at 808 n.12.

IV. APPOINTING A RECEIVER IS LEGALLY AND FACTUALLY UNWARRANTED

A. Judgment Creditors Have Failed to Make the Factual Showing for a Receiver to be Appointed

Finally, Judgment Creditors' request to have Judgment Creditor Michael Moffitt appointed receiver of LAN-Chile's United States assets is unfounded in law or fact.

The accepted procedure in federal courts to enforce a money judgment is by writ of execution. Thus, Rule 69(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure provides: "Process to enforce a judgment for the payment of money shall be by writ of execution, unless the court directs otherwise." "The 'unless' clause [of Rule 69] does not give the federal court unlimited power to provide some means other than an execution for the enforcement of a money judgment." 7, pt. 2 , Moore's Federal Practice ¶69.03 [2] (2d ed. 1982) ("Moore's"). To the extent it is incorporated by Rule 69(a), New York law provides that a receiver may not be appointed to enforce a money judgment if a more expeditious pro-

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ceeding can be brought. Drucker v. Drucker, 53 Misc. 2d 446, 278 N.Y.S.2d 645 (Sup. Ct., Queens Co., 1967). Receivership is a remedy of last resort, it should not be employed absent a compelling showing that no other remedy exists. Bracco v. Lackner, 462 F.Supp. 436, 456 (N.D. Cal. 1978).

Here, Judgment Creditors have not even alleged that an execution or some other means of enforcement, if attempted, would not be successful. This Court has been provided with no reason to conclude that LAN-Chile would not comply with less drastic procedures. To the contrary, LAN-Chile has represented to the Court that its North American operations will not be affected by this proceeding. See, Ex. 8 to Combe Affidavit.

Appointment of a receiver, it is well established, may not be based upon unsubstantiated conclusions. Miller v. Fisco, 376 F. Supp. 468 (E.D. Pa. 1974); Brady Coal & Ice Co. v. McAteer, 254 A.D. 776, 4 N.Y.S. 2d 744 (4th Dept. 1938). The burden of proving that a receiver is necessary is upon the applicant. Tannis v. Tannis, - Misc. 2d -, 213 N.Y.S.2d 320, 322 (Sup. Ct., Kings Co., 1961); Saull v. Seplowe, - Misc. 2d -, 218 N.Y.S.2d 777 (Sup. Ct., Kings Co., 1961).

Judgment Creditors purport to support their application with what, at best, could be characterized as a series of suggestions and inferences, unsubstantiated by any evidence. The Court is apparently being asked to "fill in the blanks" in their showing in order to come to the conclusion that a receiver is necessary. That conclusion would be utterly contrary to the New York

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and federal requirement that there be a "clear evidentiary showing of the necessity for the conservation of property" to support the appointment of a receiver. Glassner v. Kaufman, 19 A.D.2d 885, 244 N.Y.S.2d 449 (1st Dept. 1963); Zinke-Smith, Inc. v. Marlowe, 323 F. Supp. 1151 (D.V.I. 1971).

Judgment Creditors assert, for instance, that LAN-Chile substituted leased aircraft for its own aircraft "[i]n an evident attempt to limit its exposure to attachment." (Judgment Creditors' Memorandum, at 14.) This statement purposely ignores the contents of Exhibit E to the Privitera Affidavit, upon which the assertion is supposedly based. Exhibit E clearly shows that LAN-Chile had a legitimate business purpose for leasing the DC-10's: to evaluate the need for additional capacity an its Santiago - New York run. See, also, Del Campo Declaration ¶¶ 10-11. To suggest, as Judgment Creditors have, that LAN-Chile would more than double its passenger capacity at a cost of $900,000 per month (CAB application, Exhibit E to Privitera Affidavit), merely to avoid the outside chance of liability on a $3,000,000 judgment is, quite literally, incredible.

Also, Judgment Creditors' bare assertion that LAN-Chile aircraft have been "removed" from this country does not warrant the conclusion that they have been improperly removed. It also omits to assert that LAN-Chile has brought back planes which it has removed. The only sense in which LAN-Chile assets have been "removed" from the United States is that its planes do what most planes do. They fly -- fly in as well as out.

Judgment Creditors next assert that the appointment of a receiver would be appropriate because "[a]s in the case of any ongoing business, many assets may be under lease or subject to encumbrances." (Judgment Creditors' Memorandum, at 15.) Judgment Creditors are apparently arguing that receivership is appropriate to enforce a judgment against any ongoing business, an argument that obviously cannot be sustained. Glassner v. Kaufman, supra. They have not proved any facts to support their claim that LAN-Chile's assets are of such an unusual nature that they need to be "untangled."

Other arguments put forth by Judgment Creditors simply miss the point. The possibility that the value of LAN-Chile's assets may be less than the amount of the judgment bears no relevance to the issue of whether a receiver should be appointed. Moreover, even accepting, arguendo, Judgment Creditors' theory that LAN-Chile is the alter ego of Chile, they do not offer any explanation why such a relationship warrants the appointment of a receiver over the usual methods of execution.

B. Judgment Creditor Michael Moffitt Is Not a Proper Receiver

Judgment Creditor Michael Moffitt has not proved that he is qualified or competent to perform the duties that would be required of the receiver of the assets of an international air-

line.* In his affidavit, Moffitt asserts that his experience includes evaluating stocks and bonds and analyzing the world economy. (Moffitt Affidavit ¶¶2-3.) Such experience may indicate a knowledge of macroeconomic theory, but has little to do with real life in running real business transactions. Nowhere has Moffitt asserted that he has any experience in running a business of any kind or that he has any knowledge of the workings of the airline industry. The power to appoint a receiver is based upon sound judicial discretion, 65 Am. Jur. 2d, Receivers §19 (1972); to appoint Moffitt as receiver in the present case would risk unnecessary harm to LAN-Chile and constitute an abuse of discretion. See, Adelman v. CGS Scientific Corporation, 332

* In their Memorandum of Law, Judgment Creditors cite the hoary authority of Farmers' Loan and Trust Co. v. Cape Fear & Y. Val. R. Co., 62 F. 675 (C.C.N.C. 1894), for the proposition that a receiver need not be an expert in the business affected by the receivership. (Memorandum at 38.) One assumes that they cited this case because they thought it supported this proposition. A quick glance at the court's opinion shows that it contradicts that proposition. In that case, which involved a liquidation in bankruptcy (and thus was not concerned with preserving the viability of the business), the court stated:

> It is said that [the receiver] is not a railroad man, his employment being that of a banker and financier. If by this [it] is meant that he is not a railroad expert, acquainted with all the details of the mechanical work of a railroad plant, this objection, no doubt, is founded on fact...

Id. at 676-77. Judgment Creditors take this statement out of context, for the court then went on to point out that the receiver had been "concerned in the construction and management of railroads, and [knew] railroad accounts." Id. (emphasis added). In addition, he had been trustee of a mortgage on the railroad's assets, and had also been an owner of some of the railroad's mortgage bonds. Id.

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F. Supp. 137 (E.D. Pa. 1971). In addition, because of the highly charged political atmosphere of the present controversy, the appointment of an "adverse party with an obvious conflict of interest" is inappropriate. Id., at 147-48. Moffitt has no incentive to perform the duties of a receiver in such a way as to avoid irreparably injuring LAN-Chile. Id. Indeed, it could be reasonably concluded that he has precisely the opposite intention.

Conclusion

In conclusion, for the reasons set forth above and in the Affidavits, Declarations and other materials and exhibits submitted herewith, it is respectfully requested that Judgment Creditors motion be denied, this summary proceeding be dismissed,

the underlying Judgment be vacated, and the Restraining Notices served upon LAN-Chile and others vacated.

Dated: New York, New York
April 22, 1983

Respectfully submitted,

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FOLLOWING REPEAT KINGSTON 2623 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BRIDGETOWN CARACAS GEORGETOWN MEXICO PORT OF SPAIN SAN SALVADOR SANTO DOMINGO APR 10:

QUOTE UNCLAS KINGSTON 2623

E.O. 12165: NA
TAGS: OEPR, ES, JM
SUBJECT: SALVADORIAN STUDENTS ATTACK JUNTA AND THE U.S/

1. . SUMXARY (A DELEGATION FROM TYE UNIERSITY OF SALVADOR DENOUNKED TYE MILITARY/CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR FOR ATTEMPTING TO CLOSE DOWN THE CBUNTRY'S UNIVERSITY/ THEY ALSO ATTACKED UNITED STATES SUPPORT TO THE SALADORUAN REGIXE' CLAIMING THAT IN ADDITION TO GIVING SUBSTANTIAL AMBUNTS OF FINANCIAL AID TO THE REPRESSIVE REGIME, AXERICAN XARINES AND OTHER MILITAJY HAD PARTICIPATED IN OPPRESSING THE NATION'S PEASANTS. THE GROUP DENIED THAT AFY MEANINGFUL REFORMS WERE TAKING PLAKE IN EL SALVADOR, CLAIMING THAT THE NEW REGIME WAS ONWY DIERTING ATTENTION FROM ITS CAMPAIGN OF GENOCIDE. END SUMMARY.

2. A FOUR MEMBER DELEATION FROM THE EL SALVADOR UNIVERSITY ASSOCTION, CURRENTLY ON A "CARIBBEAN MISSION"' VISITED JAMAICA APRIL 5-8 AND GAE A PRESS COFFERENCE WHICH WAS WELL COERED IN THE LOCAL PRESS. THE GROUP ACCUSED THE GOVERNXENT OF EL SALVADOR OF PLANNING TO INTERVENE IN THE AFFAIRS BF THE UNIVERSITY/ THESE PLAFS, ACCORDING TO GRBUP SPOKESXAN MANVEL BIARES, INCWUDE THE MASSACRE OF STUDENTS, THE SLASHING OF THE UNIERSITY'S BUDET AND THE TERRORIZING OF STAFF MEMBERS: ALL IN AN EFFORT TO CLOSE DOWN THE SCHOOL/

3. THE GROUP ALSO BITTERWY ATTAKKED WHAT IT SAW AS THE UNITED STATES' ROLE IN THE KURRENTSSITUATION/ THEY APPEALED TO THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE REGION "TO CONDEMN THE TREACHEROUS ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CONTIFUED REPRESSION OF THE OEOPLE OF EL SALVADOJ... WHICH FBUND ITS GREATEST EXPRESSION IN THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR A. ROMERO." THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY GIVEN $21 MILLION TO THE NEW REGIXE, INCLUDING $" MILLION FOR MILITARY PURPOSES, THE SPBKESMAN SAID! AND WAS NOW PLANNING TO BRING IN EX-SOMOSA NATIOFAL GUARDSMEN FROM GUATEXALA IN ADDITION, THEY CHARED THAT AXERICAN XARINES HAD ACTIEWY OARTICIPATED IN REPRESSION AGAINST SALVADORIAN OEASANTS AND THAT THE U.S. MAINTAINS FBUR MILITARY BASES IN THEIR COUNTRY AND CURRENTWY HAS 30 MILITARY ADVUSORS IN THE EL SALVADORIAN ARMY.

4/ THE UNIVERSITY GROUP APOEALED TO AREA DEMOCRACIES TO DENBUNKE THE DICTATORSHIP IN THEIR CBUNTRY. THEY CLAIMED THAT THE AIM BF THE JUNTA WAS TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS WORKING FOR THE BENEFIT BF THE PEASANTS WHILE UNLEASHING "A BRUTAL AND GENOCIDAL" PAMOAIGN IN THE JURAL AREAS. THE DELEGATION WHICH ARRIED FROM MEXICO ON SATURDAY IS NOW IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.
LAWRENCE
UNQUOTE VANCE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400321

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FOLLOWING REPEAT KINGSTON 2623 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BRIDGETOWN CARACAS GEORGETOWN MEXICO PORT OF SPAIN SAN SALVADOR SANTO DOMINGO APR 10:

QUOTE UNCLAS KINGSTON 2623

E.O. 12165: NA
TAGS: OEPR! ES, JM
SUBJECT: SALVADORIAN STUDENTS ATTACK JUNTA AND THE U.S/

1. . SUMXARY (A DELEGATION FROM TYE UNIERSITY OF SALVADOR DENOUNKED TYE MILITARY/CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR FOR ATTEMPTING TO CLOSE DOWN THE CBUNTRY'S UNIVERSITY/ THEY ALSO ATTACKED UNITED STATES SUPPORT TO THE SALADORUAN REGIXE' CLAIMING THAT IN ADDITION TO GIVING SUBSTANTIAL AMBUNTS OF FINANCIAL AID TO THE REPRESSIVE REGIME, AXERICAN XARINES AND OTHER MILITAJY HAD PARTICIPATED IN OPPRESSING THE NATION'S PEASANTS. THE GROUP DENIED THAT AFY MEANINGFUL REFORMS WERE TAKING PLAKE IN EL SALVADOR, CLAIMING THAT THE NEW REGIME WAS ONWY DIERTING ATTENTION FROM ITS CAMPAIGN OF GENOCIDE. END SUMMARY.

2. A FOUR MEMBER DELEATION FROM THE EL SALVADOR UNIVERSITY ASSOCTION, CURRENTLY ON A "CARIBBEAN MISSION"! VISITED JAMAICA APRIL 5-8 AND GAE A PRESS COFFERENCE WHICH WAS WELL COERED IN THE LOCAL PRESS. THE GROUP ACCUSED THE GOVERNXENT OF EL SALVADOR OF PLANNING TO INTERVENE IN THE AFFAIRS BF THE UNIVERSITY/ THESE PLAFS, ACCORDING TO GRBUP SPOKESXAN MANVEL BIARES, INCWUDE THE MASSACRE OF STUDENTS, THE SLASHING OF THE UNIERSITY'S BUDET AND THE TERRORIZING OF STAFF MEMBERS; ALL IN AN EFFORT TO CLOSE DOWN THE SCHOOL/

3. THE GROUP ALSO BITTERWY ATTAKKED WHAT IT SAW AS THE UNITED STATES' RDLE IN THE KURRENTSSITUATION/ THEY APPEALED TO THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE REGION "TO CONDEMN THE TREACHEROUS ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CONTIFUED REPRESSION OF THE OEOPLE OF EL SALVADOJ...WHICH FBUND ITS GREATEST EXPRESSION IN THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR A. ROMERO." THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY GIVEN $21 MILLION TO THE NEW REGIXE, INCLUDING $" MILLION FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. THE SPBKESMAN SAID! AND WAS NOW PLANNING TO BRING IN EX-SOMOSA NATIOFAL GUARDSMEN FROM GUATEXALA' IN ADDITION, THEY CHARED THAT AXERICAN XARINES HAD ACTIEWY OARTICIPATED IN REPRESSION AGAINST SALVADORIAN OEASANTS AND THAT THE U.S. MAINTAINS FBUR MILITARY BASES IN THEIR COUNTRY AND CURRENTWY HAS 30 MILITARY ADVUSORS IN THE EL SALVADORIAN ARMY.

4/ THE UNIVERSITY GROUP APOEALED TO AREA DEMOCRACIES TO DENBUNKE THE DICTATORSHIP IN THEIR CBUNTRY. THEY CLAIMED THAT THE AIM BF THE JUNTA WAS TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS WORKING FOR THE BENEFIT BF THE PEASANTS WHILE UNLEASHING "A BRUTAL AND GENOCIDAL" PAMOAIGN IN THE JURAL AREAS. THE DELEGATION WHICH ARRIED FROM MEXICO ON SATURDAY IS NOW IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.
LAWRENCE
UNQUOTE VANCE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400323

8ID84-10494

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 STATE 110651
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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

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R 261601Z APR 80
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON 7886

UNCLAS STATE 110651

FOLLOWING REPEAT KINGSTON 2623 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BRIDGETOWN CARACAS GEORGETOWN MEXICO PORT OF SPAIN SAN SALVADOR SANTO DOMINGO APR 10:

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E.O. 12165: NA
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LAWRENCE
UNQUOTE VANCE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400321

81D84-03494

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02766 011732Z
ACTION ARA-15

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 ANAE-00 COME-00
EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04 STR-09 SIL-01 PM-05 H-01
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O R 011712Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6956
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release A Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 2766

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, CI
SUBJ: MAY 1 ACTIVITIES/ACTIONS

REF: SANTIAGO 2762 (NOTAL)

1. AT THE GOC'S OFFICIAL LABOR DAY CEREMONY PRESIDENT PINOCHET ANNOUNCED THAT PENSIONS AT LOWER END OF SCALE WILL BE INCREASED IMMEDIATELY, THAT THE EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL SECURITY IS BEING REDUCED BY THREE PERCENT TO ENCOURAGE JOB CREATION, THAT THE NUMBER OF PRESIDENTIAL EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIPS FOR NEEDY FAMILIES WILL BE INCREASED FROM 5,000 TO 6,000 AND THAT THE PROMISED REFORM AND INCREASE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE PAY SCALE WILL BE ENACTED BY THE END OF THE YEAR. AS IS USUAL, PINOCHET ALSO INVEIGHED AGAINST COMMUNISM AND PROMISED TO MAINTAIN FIRM AND STEADY PROGRESS TOWARD A "NEW CHILE". OTHER SPEAKERS INCLUDED LABOR MINISTER JOSE PINERA, WHO DEVOTED PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM, AND LABOR LEADERS GUILLERMO GACITUA OF THE STATE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02766 011732Z

ELECTRIC COMPANY CHILECTRA AND JULIO BASTIAS OF THE NITRATE WORKERS.

2. AS OF MID-DAY NO SERIOUS STREET DISTURBANCES HAVE BEEN REPORTED ALTHOUGH AT LEAST ONE GROUP OF STUDENTS WAS DISBURSED IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO. THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF ARRESTS AS YET.

3. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT COMMUNIST LABOR LEADERS MET WITH THE GROUP OF 10 AND CEPCH THE EARLY MORNING OF MAY 1 PROMISING NOT TO ENGAGE IN STREET DEMONSTRATIONS IF THOSE TWO GROUPS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETING SCHEDULED AT THE PANAL UNION HALL. THE GROUP OF 10 AND CEPCH HAD CALLED OFF THEIR PARTICIPATION APRIL 30, AND THEY REAFFIRMED THAT POSITION THIS MORNING. APPROXIMATELY 17 FOREIGN LABOR REPRESENTATIVES ARE REPORTED TO BE IN SANTIAGO, OF WHICH 12 ARE FROM ITALY AND AFFILIATED PREDOMINANTLY WITH THE ICFTU. THERE ARE ALSO THREE FROM CANADA, ONE FROM HOLLAND, AND ONE FROM SPAIN. MOST WILL BE ATTENDING THE PANAL MEETING.

4. CARABINEROS ARE OUT IN FORCE. THE GOVERNMENT IS TAKING NO CHANCES ON ANY DEMONSTRATIONS GETTING OUT OF HAND.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 02768 021640Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08
INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 STR-09 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 DCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 IO-14 ACDA-12
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O R 021611Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6957
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 2768

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/2/86 (SERVICE, ROBERT E.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, CI
SUBJ: (U) MAY 1 -- 50 PLUS ARRESTS, CARDINAL'S MESSAGE

REF: SANTIAGO 2766

1. (U) ALTHOUGH PRESS ACCOUNTS DIFFER SLIGHTLY, A TOTAL OF 55 PERSONS MAY HAVE BEEN ARRESTED MAY 1 IN CONNECTION WITH LABOR DAY ACTIVITIES. THE LARGEST GROUP, 33, WERE ARRESTED WHEN A REPORTED 200 PEOPLE TOOK TO THE STREETS AFTER A FUT (LOCAL CLAT AFFILIATE) RALLY. APPARENTLY SOME SHOTS WERE FIRED BUT, CONTRARY TO SOME EARLIER REPORTS, THERE WERE NO INJURIES. MOST OF THE OTHER ARRESTS WERE FOR DISTRIBUTING FLYERS. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS THE 46 MEN AND 9 WOMEN WILL BE CHARGED WITH VIOLATIONS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW.

2. (U) THE PANAL MEETING OF OPPOSITION LABOR GROUPS WAS ATTENDED BY ABOUT 1400, INCLUDING FOREIGN VISITORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE GROUP OF TEN AND CEPCH (REFTEL) IT WAS PRIMARILY A COORDINADORA NACIONAL SINDICAL (CNS)
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 02768 021640Z

AFFAIR. MANUEL BUSTOS WAS THE MAIN SPEAKER. AFTER DEPARTING ON FOOT FROM THE PANAL MEETING BISHOP ALVEAR, FATHER CRISTIAN PRECHT (EX-HEAD OF THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY) AND THREE OTHER PRIESTS WERE STOPPED BRIEFLY BY CARABINEROS BUT THEN ALLOWED TO CONTINUE. THERE ARE ALSO REPORTS THAT SEVEN OF THE VISITING ITALIANS WERE ASKED TO SHOW IDENTIFICATION

WHILE TAKING PICTURES IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO.

3. (U) ALTHOUGH THE CARDINAL HAD SUSPENDED THE USUAL LABOR DAY MASS (SANTIAGO 2762), CHARGING GOC PRESSURE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT THEN DENIED, HE RELEASED A LONG MESSAGE TO THE FAITHFUL. REFERRING TO THE SUSPENSION, CARDINAL SILVA CONCLUDED THAT CONDITIONS OF INTERNAL UNDERSTANDING HAVE NOT IMPROVED, RATHER "THAT PEACE IN CHILE IS EVERY DAY MORE DIFFICULT." HE EXHORTED CHRISTIANS TO CONTINUE TO SEEK PATHS OF CONCILIATION, NOT VIOLENCE. HE REPEATED THE RECENT CALL OF CHILE'S BISHOPS FOR AN EARLY RETURN TO INSTITUTIONAL NORMALITY.
4. (C) COMMENT. BY THE USUAL MEASURE, NUMBER OF ARRESTS, THIS YEAR'S LABOR DAY WAS A NON-EVENT. THERE WERE OVER 700 ARRESTS IN 1978 AND 400 PLUS LAST YEAR. AT THE SAME TIME HOWEVER THE GOC WORKED HARDER TO DISCOURAGE GATHERINGS THAT MIGHT HAVE LED TO DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE SECURITY FORCES WERE OUT IN LARGER NUMBERS. THE FATAL SHOOTING OF A CARABINERO APRIL 28 AND THE ENSUING POLICE CRACKDOWN ON SUSPECTS PROBABLY ALSO HAD AN INTIMIDATING IMPACT. AS ONE IMMEDIATE RESULT GOC RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH ARE ONCE AGAIN SEVERELY STRAINED. AND THERE MAY BE LONGER TERM SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LAST MINUTE REFUSAL OF THE GROUP OF TEN AND THE CEPCH TO HOLD A JOINT MEETING WITH THE LEFTISTS GROUPED IN THE CNS. IN THIS INSTANCE AT LEAST THEY REFUSED TO LEND THEIR SUPPORT TO ACTIVITIES WHICH, FROM MOST REPORTS, THE COMMUNISTS HOPED WOULD LEAD TO SERIOUS
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 02768 021640Z

CONFRONTATION AND A LARGE NUMBER OF ARRESTS.
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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03383 1000852 6315 SAN SA 03303 1000852

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 SYE-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
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O R 092300Z MAY 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8455
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
/USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3303

ALSO FOR A/SY/CC/TAGS/TELFORD, A/SY/PRS/GWYN/ ARA/EX/WILSON; PANAMA FOR RSS ALSO

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/9/88
TAGS: PINS PINS ASEC ES
SUBJ: (LOU) ARREST OF D'AUBUISSON AND COHORTS; SOME OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

1. (LOU) THE ARREST OF MAJOR D'AUBUISSON AND OTHER MILITARY AND CIVILIAN FIGURES ACCUSED OF FOMENTING A COUP AGAINST THE JRG FIRST BROKE ON THE RADIO AND SUBSEQUENTLY HAS RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE PRESS ATTENTION. IT HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN HANDLED RATHER GINGERLY, SOMETIMES RELYING ON THE TACTIC OF QUOTING AN INTERNATIONAL WIRE SERVICE STORY, RATHER THAN TAKING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PRODUCING A LOCAUSREPORT. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARRESTS ARE ALSO RATHER CAREFULLY SKIRTED.

2. (U) THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE STORY HAVE BEEN MADE CLEAR, THAT D'AUBUISSON AND OTHE RIGHTIST MILITARY AND CIVILIAN FIGURES WERE ARRESTED AT A FINCA NEAR SANTA TECLA BY FORCES OF THE FIRST REGIMENT LOYAL TO COL MAJANO AND WERE TAKEN TO THE SAN CARLOS BARRACKS, WHERE THEY WERE HELD. ONLY A FEW NAMES, ALLEGEDLY THOSE OF FORCIBLY RETIRED OFFICERS HAVE APPEARED IN THE PRESS.

3. (C) AMONG THE POLITICAL GROUPS OR FORCES INVOLVED, HOWEVER, THE RAMIFICATIONS ARE VERY MUCH IN THE FOREFRONT. COL MAJANO HAS CHOSEN TO MOVE STRONGY -- AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT --

UNILATERALLY AGAINST THOSE WHO WERE SEEKING TO DEPOSE HIM A FEW DAYS EARLIER. HE JUSTIFIED HIS ACTION ON THE VERY RATIONAL BASIS THAT REPEATED FAILURE TO ACT AGAINST THOSE FROM THE RIGHT SEEKING TO DESTABILIZE THE GOVERNMENT FURTHE WEAKENS THE GOVERNMENT AND ULTIMATELY MIGHT GUARANTEE THE SUCCESS OF THE RIGHTISTS.

4. (C) THE RIGHT, OF COURSE, SEES ITS VERY CONTINUATION ENDANGERED AND CANNOT LET WHAT IT CONSIDERS TO BE MAJANO'S GRAB FOR POWER GO UNCHALLENGED. CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS, PERHAPS NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH THE PLOTTERS, MUST ALSO WONDER WHERE THIS DEVELOPMENT WILL LEAD THEM ALSO. WHATEVER CATEGORY INTO WHICH DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA AND SUB-SECRETARY CARRANZA MIGHT FALL THE CAREERS AND FUTURES ALONG WITH MANY OTHERS ARE AT ZAKE.

5. (C) THE POC HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED TO STAND WITH MAJANO IN DEMANDING THE PUNISHMENT FOR THE PLOTTERS. THERE IS NO WORD YET ON THEIR PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH WAS TO BE HELD TODAY. THE DETERMINATION WITH WHICH THEY MIGHT DEMAND PUNISHMENT AND THE SEVERITY THEY MAY ADVOCATE WILL BE OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE IN THE REPERCUSSIONS FOR THE POC IN ITS UNEASY ROLE WITH THE MILITARY IN THE JRG.

6. (C) THE VARIOUS FORCES ARE STILL TAKING THEIR SIDES AND IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF ENOUGH OF THEM WILL STAND FIRM SO THAT THERE WILL BE A CONFRONTATION THAT PRODUCES SPLITS OR LEADS TO SOME TYPE OF A DEFINITIVE SOLUTION, OR WHETHER, AS IN SO MANY CASES IN THE RECENT PAST, THINGS WILL QUIETLY WIND DOWN AND BE PAPERED OVER, ONLY TO ERUPT AGAIN SHORTLY.

7. (C) ON SUM, IT WOULD APPEAR IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY FOR THERE TO BE TAKEN SOME DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST THE RIGHT, POSSIBLY ELIMINATING THAS SERIOUS DIVISIVE FACTOR ONCE AND FOR ALL SO THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN GAIN A LITTLE MANEUVERIN SPACE ON THE RIGHT AND TO WIN SOME CREDIBILITY WITH THE MODERATE LEFT AND MOVE FORCEFULLY AGAINST THE EXTREME LEFT. BUT DECISIVE ACTION WILL CREATE ADDITIONAL STRESSES AND STRAINS, AND IT IS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT THE JRG IS CAPABLE OF SURVIVING THEM.
WHITE

El Salvador

Department of State IG/FPC/CDR El Salvador BP Date 9/26/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ); statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1993)

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Department of State UNCLASSIFIED INCOMING TELEGRAM

EL SALVADOR

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03311 1617592
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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O R 161736Z MAY 86
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8455
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3311

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/16/86
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: PDC'S DEMAND FOR JUDICIAL ACTION AGAINST D'AUBUISSON AND OTHER CONSPIRATORS

1. (U) PDC PRESS CONFRENCE ANNOUNCEMENT MAY 9 THAT PARTY DEMANDS PUNISHMENT OF MAJOR D'AUBUISSON AND OTHERS ARRESTED WITH HIM IS RECEIVING WIDE PUBLICITY IN PRESS AND RADIO. SPEAKING FOR THE PDC, SAN SALVADOR MAYOR REY PRENDES SAID THE PLOTTERS SHOULD BE TRIED ACCORDING TO THE LAW AND IF THEY WERE NOT, THE PDC WOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE GOVERNMENT. REY PRENDES SAID THAT DOCUMENTS CAPTURED WITH D'AUBUISSON IMPLICATED VARIOUS PROFESSIONALS, BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALSISTS WHOSE NAMES WOULD BE REVEALED DURING THE PROCESS. HE ALSO SAID D'AUBUISSON FRONTED FOR A GROUP THAT HAS CONTACTS WITH CONSERVATIVE U.S. SENATORS AND SOUGH AMERICAN SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY CHILE. REY PRENDES, HOWEVER, WAS APPARENTLY CAREFUL NOT TO NAME ANY PERSONS, SALVADORAN OR FOREIGN, EXCEPT D'AUBUISSON.

2. (U) PRESS ALSO ANNOUNCES THAT RELATIVES OF D'AUBUISSON AND THE OTHERS ARRESTED ARE REQUESTING A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS FROM THE SUPREME COURT DEMANDING THE PRISONERS BE REMANDED TO THE COMMON COURTS IF THEY ARE BEING CHARGED WITH THE VIOLATION OF ANY LAWS. THE REQUEST REPORTEDLY STATES THAT THE MEN ARE BEING HELD INCOMMUNICADO AT THE SAN CARLOS BARRACKS. OTHER NAMES INCLUDED IN THE HABEAS CORPUS REQUEST ARE: MAJOR ALVARO SARAVIA, ANTONIO CORNEJO ARANGO, FERNANDO SAGRERA ABERLE, FRANCISCO ARKIN, ROBERTO MUYSHONDT YUDICE, AND RICARDO VALDIVIESO.

3. (U) DIARIO DE HOY CARRIES A STORY IN WHICH D'AUBUISSON IS IDENTIFIED AS BEING A MEMBER OF THE "ANTI-COMMUNIST" BROAD NATIONAL FRONT (FAN) AND WHICH CITES HIS RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTS "IN DEFENSE OF THE PRESTIGE AND SURVIVAL OF THE ARMED FORCES" AGAINST COMMUNIST ASSAULT. THE STORY ALSO CLAIMS D'AUBUISSON HAS MET WITH U.S. SENATORS AND IMPORTANT PEOPLE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO INFORM THEM ABOUT THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. SENATORS STROM THURMOND, RICHARD STONE, S.I. HAYAKAWA, AND HARRY BYRD ARE THE ONLY PERSONS LISTED BY NAME. THE ARTICLE FURTHER CLAIMS THAT INTERVIEWS WERE BROADCAST BY THE BBC AND VOICE OF AMERICA AND THAT D'AUBUISSON HAS BEEN INVITED TO APPEAR ON THE CBS TELEVISION PROGRAM "29-29".

4. (C) COMMENT: THE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE PDC'S DEMAND FOR JUDICIAL ACTION AGAINST D'AUBUISSON, INCLUD-

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INT ITS VERY FREQUENT REPETITION ON THE GOVERNMENT RADIO, SERVES TO LOCK THE PDC AND OTHER SECTORS MORE FIRMLY INTO POSITION. CONCEIVABLY IT COULD BE A PLOY BY THE MILITARY TO SHIFT ANY ONUS FOR JUDICIAL ACTION FROM ITS OWN SHOULDERS TO THAT OF THE PDC. IT COULD, ON THE OTHER HAND, BE AN INITIATIVE BY THE PDC TO MAKE CERTAIN ITS DEMAND IS KNOWN AND UNDERSTOOD. IN any EVENT, IT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO QUIETLY LET THE WHOLE THING DIE DOWN AND FADE AWAY.
WHITE

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/22/
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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Department of State

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03418 142309Z 5721 SAN SA 03418 142309Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
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SP-02 SS-15 /053 W
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O R 142225Z MAY 86
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8518
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3418

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/14/86
TAGS: PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: DD D'AUBUISSON AND OTHER COUP-PLOTTERS RELEASED

1. [redacted] BEGIN SUMMARY: MAJOR D'AUBUISSON AND THE OTHERS ARRESTED FOR COUP-PLOTTING WERE RELEASED THE EVENING OF MAY 13. IN PRACTICAL TERMS THIS PROBABLY MEANS THE END OF THE CASE. THERE ARE HOWEVER REPERCUSSIONS FOR THE PDC AND COL MAJANO. THE PDC IS PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOVERNMENT IF D'AUBUISSON IS NOT PUNISHED. IT WILL BE HARD FOR THE PARTY TO EAT ITS WORDS. MAJANO HAS BEEN STRUCK A SERIOUS BLOW BRINGING INTO QUESTION HIS ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE ON IN THE JUNTA. THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR IS AT ANOTHER CROSSROADS, WITH SERIOUS RAMIFICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY. END SUMMARY.
2. [redacted] MAJOR D'AUBUISSON AND 23 OTHERS ARRESTED WITH HIM FOR COUP-PLOTTING WERE RELEASED AT 2808 HOURS MAY 13. ONE OF MAJOR MORNING NEWSPAPERS QUOTES DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA AS SAYING THE MILITARY INVESTIGATING JUDGE HAD TOLD HIM THAT HE (THE JUDGE) "FOUND NO MERIT" IN DETAINING THE PRISONERS BEYOND THE 72 HOUR DEADLINE SET BY THE LAW, RATHER THAN ORDERING THEIR CONTINUED ETENTION AND INITIATING A COURT MARTIAL. GARCIA ALSO IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE LAW ALLOWS THE INVESTIGATING JUDGE TO CONTINUE THE INTERROGATIONS AND STUDYING THE EVIDENCE FOR 20 DAYS, DURING WHICH TIME HE MAY AGAIN ORDER THE DETENTION OF THE ACCUSED AND INITIATE A COURT MARTIAL. ACCORDING TO THE NEWSPAPER GARCIA SUMMARIZED, "I AM SATISFIED, BECAUSE THE ACTIONS IN THIS CASE HAVE BEEN LEGAL AND CORRECT". THE OTHER MAJOR MORNING PAPER REPORTS -- WITH SOME OBVIOUS SATISFACTION -- D'AUBUISSON'S RELEASE AS THE END OF THE PROCESS.

3. [redacted] COMMENT: IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THIS INITIAL DECISION WILL BE REVERSED AND THE RE-ARREST OF D'AUBUISSON BE ORDERED. IN THAT UNLIKELY EVENT, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT D'AUBUISSON AND ANY OF THE OTHERS WOULD BE READY AND WAITING TO BE PICKED UP AGAIN. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THEN, THE PRESENT D'AUBUISSON COUP-PLOT CASE APPEARS FINISHED.

4. [redacted] BUT THE REPERCUSSIONS ARE FAR FROM FINISHED. THE PDC PUBLICLY COMMITTED ITSELF TO THE DEMAND THAT D'AUBUISSON BE PUNISHED WITH THE WARNING THAT OTHERWISE THE PDC WOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE GOVERNMENT. INTERNALLY, THE PDC HAS REAFFIRMED AND STRENGTHENED THIS DECISION. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFFS, PARTY LEADERS HAVE STRESSED NOT ONLY THE PARTY'S BUT THEIR OWN DETERMINATION ON THIS ISSUE. IN FACT, SEVERAL OF THE LEADERS HAVE REFLECTED A CERTAIN SENSE OF RELIEF THAT THE ISSUE WAS JOINED AND THAT THE MILITARY IN THE PROCESS WOULD HAVE TO DEFINE ITSELF AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE PDC. THESE SAME PDC LEADERS INDICATE A WEARINESS WITH THE UNCERTAINTY OF THEIR ROLE AND THE FUTURE OF THE PARTY IN THE GOVERNMENT, INDICATING IT IS BETTER TO SEE THE ISSUES RESOLVED NOW WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY, WHETHE THE RESOLUTION GOES IN FAVOR OF THE PARTY OR NOT. THE PDC MAY BE ABLE TO SWALLOW ITS WORDS AND ITS PRIDE, BUT AT BEST IT IS LIKELY TO CAUSE SOME SEVERE CHOKING.

5. [redacted] FOR COL MAJANO THE SITUATION IS STILL MORE DIFFICULT. HE HAD MORE OR LESS UNILATERALLY ENGINEERED D'AUBUISSON'S ARREST AND HAD THE MOST DIRECT PERSONAL AND POLITICAL INTERESTS IN SEEING HIM PUNISHED AND REMOVED AS A POLITICAL FIGURE. D'AUBUISSON'S RELEASE, FOLLOWING IMMEDIATELY ON THE HEELS OF MAJANO'S LOSS TO GUTIERREZ IN THE ELECTION TO THE POSITION OF SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCE, IS A SERIOUS BLOW TO MAJANO, PLACING IN JEOPARDY HIS ABILITY AND/OR WILLINGNESS TO CONTINU
E
OR IN THE JUNTA.

6. [redacted] IT WOULD BE HARD NOT TO SEE IN D'AUBUISSON'S RELEASE A PLOT TO SECURE REMOVAL OR WITHDRAWAL OF MAJANO AND THE PDC. BUT ALTHOUGH THESE ARE READILY APPARENT CANDIDATES FOR THE VILLIAN ROLE, THE SITUATION IS STILL TOO UNCLEAR AND FLUID FOR FINAL JUDGEMENTS. EL SALVADOR IS AT ANOTHER CROSSROADS, WITH SERIOUS RAMIFICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY.
WHITE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032J

81D64-13494

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

DECL[redacted]

RELEASED

INCOMING E1666

Department of State

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03414 150125Z 6109
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /054 W
------------------077398 150145Z /63

O R 142356Z MAY 86
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8526
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN
RUEKJCSXDIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3414

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/14/86 (WHITE, ROBERT E) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PDC LEADER

REF: BOWDLER OCHNEK/WHITE TELECON OF MAY 14, 1986

[redacted]

2. I WAS CONCERNED THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS MIGHT MEET AGAIN THIS EVENING AND COME TO THE WRONG DECISION. THEREFORE, I FELT IT IMPORTANT TO GIVE NAPOLEON DUARTE THE BOWDLER/CHEEK MESSAGE THAT WHATEVER DECISION THE PARTY CAME TO SHOULD BE RELAYED TO US IN CONFIDENCE WITH SUFFICIENT TIME TO ALLOW US TO TOUCH BASES IN WASHINGTON.

3. TO MY RELIEF, DUARTE SAID THAT WHILE THE PARTY HAD NOT YET COME TO A DECISION, HE WAS MOVING THINGS IN SUCH A WAY THAT HE WAS REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT THE PDC "WOULD STAY AND RIDE IT OUT."

4. I APPLAUDED HIS DECISION BUT SAID THAT AT THE SAME TIME THE PARTY SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR ANOTHER MANEUVER AGAINST IT. HE SAID THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT WE ARE GOING TO MEET ON TONIGHT. (COMMENT: THIS CRYPTIC LAST PARAGRAPH REFERRED TO OUR CONVERSATION EARLIER TODAY IN WHICH DUARTE, THEN IN A MUCH MORE DISCOURAGED MOOD, SAID THAT IF THE PDC ABSORBED THIS BLOW, THE NEXT THING IN STORE FOR THEM WOULD BE THE MILITARY REINSTATEMENT OF THE CONSPIRATOR D'AUBUISSON. I SHOULD ADD THAT I KNOW THAT DUARTE TALKED TO COL MAJANO DURING THE DAY AND I CAN ONLY ASSUME THAT THIS MEANS THAT MAJANO WILL STAY ALSO.) WHITE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032J

UNCLASSIFIED

81D64-13494

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM #OSAN SA003430

738

RELEASED

ADP066
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03430 151842Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-15 AID-07
/082 W
----------083135 151844Z /41

P 151650Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8528
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
JIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 3430

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: FPL RECRUITMENT AND CLAIMS

1. MAY 14 EL INDEPENDIENTE PUBLISHED AN FPL COMMUNIQUE TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR 23 INCIDENTS DURING THE PERIOD APRIL 26 TO MAY 5. INCIDENTS, INCLUDING CONFRONTATIONS, AMBUSHES, AND TEMPORARY OCCUPATIONS OF VILLAGES AND RADIO STATIONS, WERE CARRIED OUT BY TWO SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE FPL ACTING ALONE OR TOGETHER: THE POPULAR LIBERATION MILITIA AND REGIONAL GUERRILLA SQUADS.

2. ACCORDING COMMUNIQUE, FPL EXECUTED 46 INDIVIDUALS, KILLED 64 SOLDIERS AND SECURITY CORPS MEMBERS IN ARMED CLASHES, AND WOUNDED MORE THAN 40 OTHERS DURING THE 10 DAY PERIOD.
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 03430 151842Z

3. SAME EDITION OF NEWPAPERS CARRIED AN FPL ADVERTISEMENT SAYING, "SALVADORAN - IT IS YOUR DUTY TO JOIN AND COOPERATE WITH THE FPL. THE HOUR HAS ARRIVED TO JOIN THE FPL."
ADVERTISEMENT ASKS FOR DONATIONS OF MEDICINE, PROVISIONS, MONEY, AND USED CLOTHING. ON MAY 13 FPL TOOK OVER A RADIO STATION TO BROADCAST SAME ANNOUNCEMENT.

4. COMMENT. ALLOWING FOR EXAGGERATION, IT IS STILL CLEAR THAT THE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S9400321

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA003490

738

FPL HAS STEPPED UP BOTH ITS ARMED ACTIVITIES AND ITS
RECRUITMENT. EMBOFFS HAVE HEARD STORIES THAT UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
ARE BEING COERCED INTO JOINING FPL, AND THAT SOME WHO HAVE REFUSED
HAVE BEEN BEATEN OR KILLED.
WHITE

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

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RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASE

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA003426 16

ADP838 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03426 151643Z
ACTION VO-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 CA-01 L-03 CIAE-00 INSE-00
NSAE-00 FBIE-00 SSO-00 /021 W
----------082427 151647Z /43

O R 151600Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8526
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
RUESMGAMEMBASSY MANAGUA 4035
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3426

E.O. 12065: RA
TAGS: CVIS (D'AUBUISSON, ROBERTO AKA D'ASUSSION, ROBERTO)
SUBJ: DENYING ENTRY TO ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AT ANY U.S. PORT

REF A. SAN SALVADOR 3423, B. STATE 125158

EMBASSY REQUESTS THAT DEPARTMENT INSURE THAT SUBJECT'S
NAME IS ENTERED INTO INS LOOKOUT SYSTEM ASAP. EMBASSY
BELIEVES THAT SUBJECT'S ENTRY INTO U.SA. AT PRESENT TIME
WOULD BE HIGHLY PREJUDICIAL TO U.S. INTERESTS.
WHITE

[redacted]

NNN

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UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] Department of State

RELEASED

INCOMING TELEGRAM

E1012

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03435 1518302 6293 SAN SA 03435 1518302
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W
----------083058 151848Z /42

O R 151808Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8531
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3435

EXDIS DECAPTIONED

DEPT PLEASE PASS USCINCSO QUARRY NTS PM AND DIA WASHDC

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 5/15/99 (WHITE, ROBERT E) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: D'AUBUISSON RELEASE AND POC/MAJANO REACTION

REF SAN SALVADOR 3418

[redacted]

1. IT IS BEGINNING TO APPEAR THAT THE CRISIS THAT LOOMED SO LARGE YESTERDAY MAY BE MANAGEABLE. IN MY HOUR LONG DISCUSSION DURING THE MORNING OF MAY 14 WITH JUNTA MEMBER NAPOLEON DUARTE, I FOUND HIM DISCOURAGED AND CONFUSED. DUARTE'S OWN WORDS WERE THAT HE FELT "USED, BATTERED, AND DECEIVED". DUARTE SAID THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THAT THE MILITARY INTENDED TO FORCE THE POC INTO A POSITION WHERE THE PARTY PROVIDED NOTHING BUT A FRONT FOR THE MILITARY, THE TRUE RULERS OF THE COUNTRY. DUARTE SAID THAT HE WAS CONVINCED NOW THAT VICE MINISTER OF DEFENSE CARRANZA HAS IMPORTANT LINKS WITH THE EXTREME RIGHT AND EXERCISES THE REAL POWER IN THE HIGH COMMAND. DUARTE SAID THAT MINISTER OF DEFENSE GARCIA IS THE PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN AND COL. ABDUL GUTIERREZ WILL BE THE SOMEWHAT CREDIBLE FIGUREHEAD IN THE JUNTA BECAUSE OF HIS LEADERSHIP IN THE OCT 15 OVERTHROW AND SUBSEQUENT REFORM MOVEMENT. BUT THE PROGRAM WILL SHIFT TO THE FAR RIGHT AND IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE POC TO STAY IN THE GOVERNMENT.

2. WHEN I SPOKE TO DUARTE IN THE LATE AFTERNOON (SAN SALVADOR 3414) HE PRACTICALLY TOLD ME THE MATTER HAD BEEN WORKED OUT. WE HAVE A SUBSEQUENT REPORT THAT HE WAS MOST PESSIMISTIC LAST NIGHT, HOWEVER, BUT I AM NOT SURE WHAT HAPPENED IN THE MEANTIME TO CHANGE HIS OUTLOOK. THE POC'S DAY-LONG EMERGENCY SESSION PRODUCED A DECISION TO REMAIN IN THE JRG AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT. RADIO REPORTS LAST NIGHT SAID THAT THE JRG (AS A WHOLE) HAS ASKED THE MILITARY COURT JUDGE IF IT IS LEGAL TO REPEAL THE RELEASE ORDER AND ARREST D'AUBUISSON ET.AL. IF THEY ARE STILL IN EL SALVADOR. SESO REPORTS THAT THE POC IS DISPOSED TO GIVE THE MILITARY THE LEGAL 28 DAYS TO PRODUCE A CASE AGAINST THE COUP PLOTTERS BUT THEREAFTER, IF NOTHING IS DONE, THEY WILL HAVE TO LEAVE THE JRG EN MASSE.

3. THIS MORNING, MAY 15, SAN SALVADOR MAYOR AND POC PARTY STALWART ADOLFO REY PRENDES IS QUOTED IN THE PRESS AS SAYING THAT HE HOPED THAT THE JUNTA WOULD ORDER THE REARREST OF EX-MAJOR D'AUBUISSON AND THAT IN THE INTERIM THE POC WOULD LOOK FOR MORE EVIDENCE TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT [redacted]

WAS TRIED AND PUNISHED. REY PRENDES ALSO STATED THAT THE POC MUST TAKE THE LONG VIEW AND THAT WHETHER THE POC STAYED IN THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT DEPEND ON THE FATE OF ONE MAN BUT ON A SERIES OF POSITIVE ACTS.

WGE

4. COMMENT: WHETHER THE POC WAS ACTED CORRECTLY ONLY THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS WILL TELL. UNLESS THE MILITARY GIVES THEM SOMETHING IN RETURN FOR THE TWO SEVERE BLOWS ADMINISTERED TO THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF THIS GOVERNMENT OVER THE LAST WEEK, THIS GOVERNMENT WILL INCREASINGLY BE REGARDED AS A RIGHT-WING MILITARY REGIME. SOME OF THE STATEMENTS OF COL. ABDUL GUTIERREZ IN GUATEMALA WILL REINFORCE THIS OPINION.

CEN
PPC

5. THE D'AUBUISSON CASE WILL BECOME AN IMPORTANT, EVEN CRUCIAL, ISSUE AGAIN IF D'AUBUISSON DECIDES TO STAY IN THE COUNTRY AND ASSUME LEADERSHIP OF THE PAN. THE BEST THING THAT CAN HAPPEN NOW IS FOR D'AUBUISSON TO FLEE THE COUNTRY AND 28 DAYS HENCE IT WILL BE MUCH EASIER FOR THE JUDGE TO FIND AGAINST HIM.

6. I HAVE A REQUEST IN TO SEE COL. GUTIERREZ AND DUARTE HAS PROMISED TO CALL ME IF THERE IS ANY IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT. COL. MAJANO INVITED HIMSELF TO BREAKFAST TOMORROW MORNING. HE ASKED TO SEE ME ALONE AND I AGREED.
WHITE

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032J

[redacted] THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

E1064-13494

DECLASSIFIED

(20)

741

RELEASED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA003477

ADP262
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03477 161946Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 DCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 PA-02
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
/040 W
----------091343 161948Z /67

O R 161900Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8558
INFO USICA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 3477

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS PORS SHUM ES
SUBJ: ABDUCTION OF ASSOCIATED PRESS STRINGER EDUARDO VASQUEZ BECKER

REF SAN SALVADOR 3451 (NOTAL)

VASQUEZ RETURNED SAFELY TO HIS HOME THURSDAY EVENING (MAY 15). THE ABDUCTION REPORTED IN REFTEL WAS FOR THE PURPOSE OF HIS ATTENDING A CLANDESTINE PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY EX- MAJOR D'ABUISSON. AFTER WHICH HE WAS ALLOWED TO RETURN UNHARMED.
WHITE

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032J

TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSAN SA003467

740

RELEASED

ADP591
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03467 161911Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-02
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-15 /060 W
------------------091181 1622572 /67

P 161710Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8549
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 3467

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINR PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: FARN PUBLICIZES ITS ACTION

1. MAY 15 EL INDEPENDIENTE CARRIES AN ADVERTISEMENT PAID FOR BY THE ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE (FARN, FAPU'S ARMED GROUP) LISTING FIVE INCIDENTS FOR WHICH IT TAKES RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PERIOD MAY 7 TO MAY 13. INCLUDED ARE THREE EXECUTIONS AND TWO ATTACKS ON NATIONAL POLICE POSTS.

2. COMMENT. THE ADVERTISEMENT IS SIGNED BY JOSE ARNULFO GRANDE, OSCAR ANTONIO MENDOZA, AND HECTOR BERNABE RECINOS, ALL OF WHOM ARE LEADERS OF FAPU. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN OUR MEMORY THAT A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION'S AD HAS ACTUALLY APPEARED WITH SIGNATURES, OR THAT LEADERS OF A "POPULAR ORGANIZATION" HAVE PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH AN ARMED GROUP.
WHITE

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 03467 161911Z

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032

PAGE NO. 1
PAGE NO. 2

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E1022

742

RELEASED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA003523

ADP926
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03523 202210Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 RP-10 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01
ICA-11 SP-02 EB-08 AGR-01 AID-07 HA-05 /071 W
---------- 118712 202227Z /67

P R 191930Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8585
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGAU
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3523

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: EAGR PINS PINT SHUN ES
SUBJ: APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR CALLS FOR TRUCE DURING PLANTING SEASON

1. (U) IN HIS HOMILY MAY 18, APOSTOLIC ADMINSTRATOR RIVERA SAID THAT ALTHOUGH IT COULDN'T BE CALLED A CIVIL WAR ON A NATIONAL LEVEL, THERE HAD BEEN A SERIES OF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE CHALATENANGO, SAN VICENTE, AND MORAZON AREAS THAT WERE CREATING MORE REFUGEES, BOTH ACROSS THE BORDER INTO HONDURAS AS WELL AS TO THE ARCH-BISHOPRIC. RIVERA SAIT THE SITUATION IS MORE CRITICAL
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 03523 202210Z

NOW BECAUSE IT IS THE PLANTING SEASON AND MANY CAMPESINOS AND FARMERS ARE UNABLE TO PLANT OR ARE DETERRED FROM PLANTING BECASUE OF THE SECURITY SITUATION. HE SAID AT LEAST A TRUCE IS NECESSARY TO PERMIT THE PLANTING OR THE COUNTRY WILL BE FACED WITH HUNGER. HE INVITED BOTH THE OFFICIAL FORCE AND THE "POPULAR" FORCES TO SUBMIT THEIR PROPOSALS FOR SUCH A TRUCE.

2. (U) RIVERA REPORTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN 215

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S9400321

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ASSASSINATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE "POPULAR" SECTOR DURING THE FIRST 14 DAYS OF MAY. THIS, HE SAID, DID NOT INCLUDE DEATHS IN THE ARMY, THE SECURITY FORCES, AND ORDEN, WHICH HE SAID HE KNEW HAD ALSO SUFFERED CASUALTIES. AS HE HAS DONE PREVIOUSLY, RIVERA LISTED SEVERAL CAPTURED PERSONS AND ASKED THAT THEY EITHER BE FREED OR TURNED OVER TO THE COURTS IF THERE ARE CHARGES AGAINST THEM.

3. (U) RIVERA RELATED THAT IN ONE OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS A CHURCH HAD BEEN BROKEN INTO AND SEARCHED AND A NUN HAD BEEN ARRESTED. HE CREDITED CAPITULAR VICAR URIOSTE WITH OBTAINING HER RELEASE SHORTLY THEREAFTER. THIS BROUGHT A BURST OF APPLAUSE FROM THE AUDIENCE. ON THE OTHER SIDE, HE CONDEMNED THE WIDESPREAD LEFTIST OCCUPATIONS OF CHURCHES.

4. [redacted] IN WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN A VEILED CRITICISM OF THE STATE OF SIEGE (OF WHICH URIOSTE HAD BEEN OPENLY CRITICAL THE PREVIOUS WEEK), RIVERA TALKED OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE "SOCIAL" MEDIA TO PRESENT A COMPLETE AND TRUE STORY OF EVENTS, CITING FORMER ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S PLEASE ON THE SAME SCORE. RIVERA CALLED NOT ONLY FOR THE MEDIA, BUT ALSO ITS AUDIENCE TO BE MORE RESPONSIBLE.
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 SAN SA 03523 202210Z

5. [redacted] COMMENT: RIVERA DID NOT MENTION NUMBERS OF REFUGEES, BUT APPEARED TO BE VERY CONCERNED, COMING BACK TO THE SUBJECT SEVERAL TIMES, AND LINKING IT WITH SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION.
WHITE

[redacted]

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DECONTROLLED/UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 03203 222212Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ADS-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00
COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04 NSAE-00 STR-09 SIL-01
DODE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 PM-05 H-01 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /095 W
----------004582 222216Z /63

O R 222131Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7139
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 3203

E.O. 12065: GDS 5-22-86 (CRAVEN, ROBERT L.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, CI
SUBJECT: VISIT BY GROUP OF TEN LEADER TO U.S.

REF: A) 79 SANTIAGO 6469, B) SANTIAGO 2303, C) SANTIAGO 2449, D) SANTIAGO 2977

1. (LOU) EDUARDO RIOS, PRESIDENT OF THE GROUP OF TEN (G-10), AND AIFLD CPD JAY WILL BE TRAVELLING TO WASHINGTON (ARRIVING THERE MAY 27) TO MEET WITH TOP LEADERS OF THE AFL-CIO. RIOS WAS ORIGINALLY INVITED BY THE AFL-CIO TO GO TO GENEVA FOR THE UPCOMING ILO MEETING, BUT AFTER SOUNDING OUT THE EUROPEANS AND THE ORIT ON TALKS WITH RIOS, THE AFL-CIO WITHDREW THE INVITATION. INSTEAD HE WAS ASKED TO COME TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH THE US LABOR DELEGATION AND OTHER AFL-CIO OFFICERS.

2. (U) EUROPEANS AND LATIN TRADE UNIONISTS APPARENTLY REFUSED TO MEET WITH RIOS BECAUSE OF G-10 LAST MINUTE NON-PARTICIPATION IN A MAY DAY ASSEMBLY SPONSORED BY A NUMBER OF TRADE UNION GROUPS AND ATTENDED BY A NUMBER OF ICFTU-AFFILIATED EUROPEAN DELEGATES (REF D). RIOS HAD LEARNED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WERE PREPARING STREET INCIDENTS DESIGNED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03203 222212Z

TO LEAD TO SERIOUS CONFRONTATIONS WITH GOC SECURITY FORCES. THEREFORE, BOTH THE G-10 AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYEES CONFEDERATION (CEPCH) ANNOUNCED THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON PERSONAL INSTRUCTION OF THE CARDINAL ALSO CALLED OFF ITS TRADITIONAL MAY DAY MASS FOR THE SAME REASON.

3. (C) THE G-10'S REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE WITH THE MARXISTS IN JOINT MAY DAY ACTIVITIES BRINGS TO THE FORE ONCE AGAIN THE PROBLEM OF EXTERNAL FINANCING FOR CHILE'S TRADE UNIONS. ALTHOUGH WE MAY REGRET THE NEED FOR SUCH FINANCING, THE TRADITION EXTENDS BACK A LONG WAY AND, IF ANYTHING, CHILE'S NEW LABOR LEGISLATION MAKES INTERNAL FINANCING EVEN MORE PRECARIOUS. APART FROM FUNDS CHANNELLED DIRECTLY TO THE CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY BY THE USSR OR OTHER FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS, THE MAJOR SOURCE OF EXTERNAL SUPPORT FOR CHILE'S TRADE UNIONS HAS BEEN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN LABOR MOVEMENT. MISTAKINGLY, IN OUR VIEW, THEY CONTINUE TO INSIST ON COLLABORATION BETWEEN DEMOCRATS AND MARXISTS AS A CONDITION FOR SUCH ASSISTANCE. PRIMARILY TO GAIN ACCESS TO WEST EUROPEAN FUNDS, RIOS AND THE G-10 TOOK A LEAD ROLE IN FORMING THE COMANDO NACIONAL DE DEFENSE DE LOS DERECHOS SINDICALES, EMBRACING MARXISTS AS WELL AS DEMOCRATIC OPPONENTS OF GOC LABOR POLICY. BECAUSE OF CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES AND DISAGREEMENT OVER TACTICAL MOVES, THE COMANDO NEVER FUNCTIONED WELL. MAY 1 MAY HAVE MARKED ITS DEMISE.

4. (C) FOR THE PRESENT RIOS AND THE GROUP OF TEN FIND THEMSELVES CUT OFF FROM EUROPEAN FINANCING AND, ACCORDING TO RIOS, EVEN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORIENTED ORIT WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE G-10'S REFUSAL TO PROCEED WITH JOINT ACTIVITIES ON MAY DAY. RIOS SAYS THE G-10 IS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 03203 222212Z

DEMORALIZED TO THE POINT THAT RIOS PRESENTED HIS OWN RESIGNATION AS G-10 PRESIDENT AT THE LAST MEETING. IT WAS NOT ACCEPTED.

5. (LOU) RIOS SAID HIS MESSAGE TO THE AFL-CIO WILL BE A SUMMARY OF THE ABOVE. HE SAID HE WILL ALSO POINT OUT THAT IF THE G-10 CANNOT COUNT ON FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE AFL-CIO, THE TOP LEADERSHIP WILL RETIRE FROM THE SCENE LEAVING THE REST FREE TO DO WHAT THEY MUST TO SURVIVE (I.E., JOIN FORCES WITH MARXIST ELEMENTS SO AS TO BECOME "ELIGIBLE" ONCE AGAIN FOR EUROPEAN FUNDING).

6. (C) COMMENT: WITH AFL-CIO AND AIFLD SUPPORT THE G-10 HAS DONE MUCH TO UPHOLD THE IDEA OF INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISM IN WHICH THE TIES OF INDIVIDUAL LEADERS TO SPECIFIC POLITICAL PARTIES ARE OF SECONDARY, NOT PRIMARY, IMPORTANCE. THIS EMBASSY HOPES THAT FUNDS FOR THE AIFLD/CHILE SPECIAL PROGRAM REQUEST NOW PENDING (REFTELS B AND C) CAN BE APPROVED PROMPTLY. DIRECT AFL-CIO SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISM IS, OF

COURSE, A MATTER FOR THAT ORGANIZATION TO DECIDE IN TERMS OF ITS OWN CRITERIA AND PRIORITIES. WE HAVE NO DOUBT RIOS WILL MAKE A STRONG CASE.

7. (U) DEPARTMENT: PLEASE BRING THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS MESSAGE TO THE ATTENTION OF AIFLD AND AFL-CIO PRIOR TO RIOS' ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON MAY 27.
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INCOMING E1031
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03670 262252Z RELEASED 0059
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 AID-07
SY-05 DOT-02 /083 W
----------033754 270013Z /67

R 232230Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8675
INFO /AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA 8142
AMEMBASSY MANAGU
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
USICNCOSO QUARRY HTS PN
AMEMBASSSY TEGUCIGALPA
/DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3670

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/23/86
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: ANOTHER EXTREME LEFTIST GROUP EMERGES

REF SAN SALVADOR 3583

ANOTHER GROUP TO ADD TO THE PROLIFERATING LEFTIST CLANDESTINE ORGANIZATIONS IS THE COMAANDO REVOLUCIONARIO PARA LA LIBERACION (COREL) WHICH, ACCORDING TO EMBASSY SOURCES, IS A FACTION OF THE ERP MADE UP OF EXTREMELY WELL-ORGANIZED, ARMED CAMPESINOS OPERATING IN KIDNAPPINGS AND ASSASSINATIONS. SOURCES SAY GROUP WAS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN KIDNAPPING AND RELEASE NEGOTIATIONS OF MIGUEL MENENDEZ SALAZAR (REFTEL). WHETHER COREL WILL HAVE ANY TYPE OF INDEPENDENT LIFE ROR IS A ONE-SHOT FACADE OF THE ERP REMAINS TO BE SEEN.
WHITE

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INCOMING E1029
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03638 231745Z 7656
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 SYE-00 OCT-02
TRSE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 ANAE-00
/038 W

----------011515 231815Z /43

O R 231645Z MAY 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMMEDIATE 8648
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3638

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSS

E.O. 12356: GDS 5/22/88
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ (U) RIGHTIST TERRORIST GROUPS REPORTEDLY FORM NEW ORGANIZATION TO KILL COMMUNISTS

1. (U) LOCAL PRESS MAY 22 SUMMARIZED A COMMUNIQUE FROM THE "SECRET ANTI-COMMUNIST ARMY" (EJERCITO SECRETO ANTI-COMUNISTA - 3-), CLAIMING THAT THE MILITARY ANTI-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS, I.E. WHITE WARRIORS UNION (UGB), DEATH SQUADRON (EM), ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION FROM COMMUNISM (OLC), WHITE HAND, CARIBBEAN LEGION, AND THE SALVADORAN ANTI-COMMUNIST BRIGADE, HAD UNITED IN THE NEW GROUPING FOR THE PURPOSE OF PHYSICALLY ELIMINATING COMMUNISTS, COMMON CRIMINALS AND THE CORRUPT OF ALL TYPES. THE COMMUNIQUE CLAIMED THAT EVEN THE JUNTA AND THE CABINET ARE INFILTRATED WITH COMMUNISTS. IT CALLED UPON A BROAD NUMBER OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING THE ARMED FORE, FAN, PCN, ORDEN, AND ANEP TO JOIN IN ITS CRUSADE, WHICH IS TO BEGIN WITH A METHODICAL PLAN OF OPERATIONS.

2. [redacted] COMMENT: IF THIS COMMUNIQUE HAS SOME SUBSTANCE, RATHER THAN BEING STILL ANOTHER IN A LONG LIST OF FACADES, IT IS A CHILLING DEVELOPMENT. THERE IS A QUESTION, HOWEVER, OF HOW MUCH OF AN ACTUAL ORGANIZATION EXISTS IN ANY OF THESE GROUPINGS AND HOW MUCH IS FREE-LANCE, ANARCHICAL VIOLENCE BY ANYONE WISHING TO COVER THEMSELVES WITH AN ORGANIZATIONAL DESIGNATION. SUCH LEADERS AS MAY EXIST ARE LIKELY TO BE FEW IN NUMBERS AND ASSOCIATED WITH THE NAMES OF SEVERAL OF THE GROUPS AND AT SOME LEVEL AN INTERFACE WITH THE SECURITY FORCES IS A VIRTUAL CERTAINTY.

3. [redacted] THE MISSION HAS OBTAINED A COPY OF THE ESA COMMUNIQUE. THEIR "HIT LIST" INCLUDES THE NAMES OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FAR LEFT, JESUITS, MANY MODERATE INDEPENDENTS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (INCLUDING DUARTE AND MORALES EHRLICH), AND HIGH RANKING MILITARY OFFICERS (INCLUDING COL. MAJANO). THE ONLY FOREIGNER NAMED IS AMBASSADOR WHITE. COPY OF COMMUNIQUE IS BEING POUCHED TO ARAA/CEN.
WHITE

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ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 DCT-02 SY-05 STE-00 CIAE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 NIA-06 OPR-02 A-02 ACDA-12
A10-07 /116 W

------------------011378 231836Z /58

P R 231640Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8569
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 3648

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSO ROBINSON

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/22/86
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: MID MAY 28; STILL NO SIGN OF ALL-OUT LEFTIST OFFENSIVE

[redacted]

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. RUMORED ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE BY THE LEFT FOR THE PERIOD OF MAY 28-22 HAS FAILED TO MATERIALIZE. RUMORS WERE WIDELY BELIEVED, BUT DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ANY ORGANIZED EFFORT BY THE LEFT. THEY VENTURED LITTLE, IF ANYTHING, AND THEIR LOSSES -- IF ANY -- WERE COMMENSURATE. THE QUIET MAY BE INTERPRETED AS A LOSS OF MOMENTUM, HOWEVER. OTHER VIOLENCE CONTINUED UNABATED, AND THE LEFT HAS OFFERED TRAINING CLASSES IN FIRST AID, TERRORIST TACTICS, AND MANUFACTURING OF HOME-MADE WEAPONS. FAPU AND FENASTRAS HAVE LAUNCHED A "PROGRESSIVE" STRIKE AS PART OF THEIR "PREPARATION FOR A GENERAL STRIKE". IN SAN SALVADOR, MAY 1980 HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET COMPARED TO MAY 1979, BUT THE FOCUS OF VIOLENCE HAS SHIFTED TO RURAL AREAS. THE SITUATION REMAINS DELICATE, BUT THERE ARE AS OF YET NO IMMEDIATE SIGNS OF ANY ALL-OUT LEFTIST OFFENSIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PERIOD OF MAY 20-22, NOW RUMORED AS THE STARTING DATE FOR THE EXTREME LEFT'S ARMED OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, HAS PASSED THUS FAR WITHOUT ANY MAJOR INCIDENTS AND WITHOUT ANY EVIDENCE THAT THE LEFT SERIOUSLY CONTEMPLATED OPENING AN OFFENSIVE. IT APPEARS THAT THE PERSISTENT AND INSISTENT RUMORS THAT ACHIEVED SUFFICIENT CREDIBILITY TO LEAD TO PANIC BUYING AND HOARDING AND TO INHIBIT BUSINESS AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY WERE NOT THE PRODUCT OF ANY LEFTIST CAMPAIGN, BUT WERE LARGELY SELF-GENERATING AND SELF-PERPETUATING WITHIN THE POPULATION, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES. THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE BLOODY INCIDENT AT THE VENEZUELAN EMBASSY WAS CONSIDERED ANOTHER NATURAL DATE FOR SOME VIOLENT COMMEMORATION BY THE LEFT WHICH, COUPLED WITH SOME NOT UNUSUAL LEFTIST RHETORIC, WAS SUFFICIENT TO SPOOK A VERY WARY PUBLIC.

3. ALTHOUGH THERE IS THE TEMPTATION TO CHALK THIS UP AS A FURTHER DEFEAT FOR THE EXTREME LEFT, THE FACT IS THAT THEY VENTURED LITTLE IF ANYTHING AND THEIR LOSSES.-- IF ANY -- WERE COMMENSURATE. ADMITTEDLY THIS CONTINUATION OF THE QUIET ON THE LEFT MAY BE AN INDICATION THAT IT HAS LOST ITS MOMENTUM AND IS UNABLE TO MUSTER THE ENTHUSIASM AND THE WILLINGNESS TO FACE POSSIBLE DEATH IN THE STREETS WHICH WERE THE HALLMARKS OF MAY 1979 BUT WERE LAST SEEN IN THE JAN 22, 1980 LEFTIST MARCH IN SAN SALVADOR.

4. THE ABSENCE OF EXTRAORDINARY INCIDENTS DURING THE PERIOD SHOULD NOT OBSCURE THE FACT THAT THE ESCALATING VIOLENCE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY HAS CONTINUED, WITH SOME OF THE CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN THE LEFT AND THE SECURITY FORCES AND MILITARY PRODUCING CASUALTIES REPORTEDLY AS HIGH AS 100. THE POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS AND THE WAVE OF COMMON CRIMES HAVE CONTINUED UNABATED.

5. IN THE MEANTIME, THE LEFT EVACUATED MOST OF THE CHURCHES IT HAD OCCUPIED WITH AS LITTLE FANFARE AS IT HAD OCCUPIED THEM (SAN SALVADOR 3468). THE REASON GIVEN WAS THAT THE COMMEMORATION OF THOSE KILLED IN THE PREVIOUS MAY HAD BEEN TERMINATED. ACCORDING TO KNOWLEDGEABLE AND RELIABLE SOURCES, THE EXTREME LEFT HAS BEEN SPONSORING FIRST AID CLASSES, INSTRUCTING IN HOW TO DRESS COMBAT INJURIES AND CARE FOR THE WOUNDED, AS WELL AS HOW TO CARRY OUT TERRORIST ACTIONS AND, HOW TO PRODUCE ONE-MADE WEAPONS AND BOMBS. ALSO, THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE LEFT IS DISTRIBUTING FLYERS ON INDIVIDUAL SECURITY MEASURES IN CASE OF MILITARY ACTION, INCLUDING BOMBING, IN THE CITY. REPORTEDLY, THOSE DISTRIBUTING THE

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Case ID: S940032J

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INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03648 02 OF 02 231808Z 7761

ACTION ARA-13

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 10-14 OCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 CIAE-00
PM-03 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 NA-09 OPR-02 A-02 ACDA-12
AID-07 /113 W

-----------------011642 231839Z /38

P R 231640Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8638
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 3648

FLYERS HAVE EXPLAINED THAT THEY ARE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CITIZENRY WHEN FIGHTING BREAKS OUT, "LATER THIS WEEK".

7. FAPU, THROUGH ITS UNION CONFEDERATION AFFILIATE, FENASTRAS, HAS LAUNCHED A "PROGRESSIVE" STRIKE, PART OF ITS "PREPARATION FOR A GENERAL STRIKE" (SAN SALVADOR 3525). THE ACTION BEGAN WITH THREE FACTORIES ON MAY 28 AND WAS SUPPOSED TO EXTEND TO OTHER ENTITIES UNTIL ALL FENASTRAS UNIONS, INCLUDING THE ELECTRICAL UNION, STECEL, ARE ON STRIKE BY MAY 22. ACCORDING TO A REPORT IN THE LEFTIST "LA CRONICA" A STECEL SPOKESMAN SAID THAT THERE COULD BE A POWER CUT-OFF IF THE STRIKES ARE SUPPRESSED. A REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR) CONTACT OF THE EMBASSY HAS INDICATED THAT THIS IS A FAPU INITIATIVE NOT COORDINATED WITH THE FDR OR PROBABLY WITH THE COORDINADORA REVOLUCIONARIA DE MASAS - CRM BUT HAS AT LEAST THE TACIT APPROVAL OF THESE BODIES AS AN APPROPRIATE MEASURE. EMBASSY DOES NOT YET HAVE INFORMATION AS TO HOW EFFECTIVE THE STRIKE MAY BE, BUT THE LAST FENASTRAS-SPONSORED GENERAL STRIKE WAS A TOTAL FAILURE. THIS ONE, TOO, IS UNLIKELY TO BE EFFECTIVE UNLESS STECEL RESORTS TO ITS ULTIMATE WEAPON, A POWER BLACK-OUT.

8. WITHIN THE CITY OF SAN SALVADOR, THE CONTRAST BETWEEN MAY 1979 AND MAY 1980 IS GREAT. MAY 1979 WAS MARKED BY EMBASSY OCCUPATORS, THE CATHEDRAL AND VENEZUELAN EMBASSY "MASSACRES", THE ASSASSINATION OF THE SWISS CHARGE, AND AN UNBROKEN SERIES OF DEMONSTRATIONS BY ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE POPULAR ORGANIZATION AFFILIATES. BY THOSE STANDARDS MAY 1980 HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET WITHIN THE CITY, AND SOLELY ON THOSE CRITERIA, ONE WOULD BE FORCED TO SAY THAT THERE HAS BEEN A DRASTIC DECLINE IN THE DEMONSTRATED POWER OF THE LEFT. THE COUNTERVAILING FACTOR, HOWEVER, IS THE TRANSFER OF ACTION TO THE RURAL AREAS, WITH STEPPED UP TERRORIST ACTIONS BOTH FROM LEFT AND RIGHT, (THE LATTER INCLUDING ILLEGITIMATE SECURITY FORCE ACTIVITIES), AND MORE LEGITIMATE, OFFICIAL SUPPRESSION MEASURES AGAINST THE LEFTIST EXTREMISTS. ON BALANCE, THE DAILY NUMBER OF DEATHS THIS YEAR ARE MUCH HIGHER, BUT THE EVENTS LAST YEAR WERE MORE SPECTACULAR AND WITH GREATER NEWS IMPACT.

9. SITUATION WILL PROBABLY REMAIN WORRISOME AND DELICATE, BUT THERE ARE AS OF YET NO IMMEDIATE SIGNS OF ANY ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE BY THE LEFT. HOWEVER, THE POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE, INCLUDING A POSSIBLE CIVIL WAR CONTINUES.

10. AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: I DISAGREE WITH THE CONCLUSION EXPRESSED IN PARA 4 THAT THE LEFT VENTURED LITTLE AND LOST LITTLE. RADIO AND NEWSPAPER ANNOUNCEMENTS BEGINNING FROM LATE APRIL CONTENDED THAT MAY WOULD BE "THE DECISIVE MONTH." THERE WERE EVEN PUBLISHED NEWSPAPER REPORTS THAT AS A RESULT OF THE EXPECTED SUCCESS OF THE OFFENSIVE IN MAY, A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE WOULD BE SET UP. I BELIEVE THAT THIS MONTH HAS BEEN A DISASTER FOR THE FAR LEFT. IT'S WEAKNESS HAS BECOME MANIFEST TO ALL OBSERVERS WITH WHOM I HAVE SPOKEN. THE ONLY SENSE IN WHICH YOU CAN SAY THAT THE LEFT HAS NOT BEEN WEAKENED SUBSTANTIALLY IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CAPITALISE ON THE LEFT'S PROGRESSIVE WEAKENING. THIS IS IN LARGE PART DUE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S INEPT HANDLING OF THE D'AUBUISSON CASE AND THE RESULTING AND UNFORTUNATE PERCEIVED SHIFT TO THE RIGHT BY THE JRG.
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E1041

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03685 272049Z 3265
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 AID-07
OCT-02 SY-05 HA-05 /088 W
------------------041062 272105Z /67

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P R 272030Z MAY 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8693
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3685

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/27/86 OR-P
TAGS: ASEC PINS INT ES
SUBJ: (U) FPL CLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR TERRORIST INCIDENTS

1. [redacted] AN FPL COMMUNIQUE APPEARING IN EL INDEPENDIENTE MAY 26 LISTS 23 VIOLENT INCIDENTS FOR WHICH THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY DURING THE FIRST 15 DAYS OF MAY. THE INCIDENTS ARE RATIONALIZED AS BEING THE RESPONSE TO THE "ABHORRENT GENOCIDAL ACTS" OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT JUNTA, THE OLIGARCHY, AND YANKEE IMPERIALSIM. THE COMMUNIQUE LISTS 55 MEMBERS OF ORDEN, THE SECURITY FORCES, AND THE MILITARY AS HAVING BEEN KILLED IN THESE OPERATIONS. THE MAJORITY ARE LISTED AS HAVING BEEN "EXECUTED", RATHER THAN HAVING BEEN KILLED IN CONFRONTATIONS.

2. [redacted] COMMENT: IF THE FPL, AS ONLY ONE OF THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS, DID INDEED KILL 55 DURING THE PERIOD, IT WOULD BE A MUCH HIGHER KILL RATE THAN IS NORMALLY ATTRIBUTED TO LEFTIST TERRORIST ACTION EITHER BY OFFICIAL SOURCES OR THE LEFTIST SYMPATHIZING GROUPS THAT COMPILE STATISTICS ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE. THE STATISTICS COMPLIERS HAVE A BIAS TOWARDS SHOWING THAT THERE IS DISPROPORTIONATE VIOLENCE FROM THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE RIGHT. BUT THE COMMUNIQUE'S CLAIMS -- WHETHER FACT OR EXAGGERATION -- REFUTE THE ARGUMENT THEY ARE ONLY REACTING TO PERSECUTION.
WHITE

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Department of State TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03688 271912Z 1891 SAN SA 03688 271912Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05
EUR-12 /086 W
--------------------048486 272011Z /62

P R 271700Z MAY 86
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8658
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3688

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/27/86 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: (U) BISHOP RIVERA COMMENTS ON INDISCRIMINATE KILLING AND GOVERNMENT NON-INTERVENTION

1. (U) IN HIS HOMILY MAY 25, APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR RIVERA SAID THERE ARE "TRULY ALARMING" REPORTS REGARDING "INDISCRIMINATE KILLING" INCLUDING CHILDREN IN THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY. IN THE PAST WEEK, HE SAID, THERE HAD BEEN A SERIES OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS, AND HE EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN OVER THE GROWING SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE. IN PARTICULAR HE CITED THE STRAFING OF TWO CHURCHES, THREATS AGAINST PRIESTS AND NUNS AND IN "TIMES WE THOUGHT WERE OVERCOME", DEATH THREATS CAUSING MANY TO FLEE THE COUNTRY, INVASIONS OF HOSPITALS, ASSASSINATIONS OF DOCTORS, AND EXECUTIONS OF WHOLE FAMILIES. (NOTE: THERE HAS BEEN A WAVE OF MULTIPLE KILLINGS WITHIN SINGLE FAMILIES, INCLUDING YOUNG CHILDREN. IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE DEATHS RESULTED FROM COMMON RATHER THAN POLITICAL CRIMES.)

2. (U) BISHOP RIVERA CALLED FOR AN END TO THE FRATICIDAL STRIFE, AND REPEATED HIS PREVIOUS CALL FOR ALL PARTIES TO ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE TO FIND SOLUTIONS LEADING TOWARD A MORE JUST SOCIETY. AT THE SAME TIME, HE WAS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR APPEARING TO STAND ALOOF, NOT INTERVENING IN THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE EXTREMES OF RIGHT AND LEFT.

3. [redacted] COMMENT: IN INVOKING FORMER ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S NAME, BISHOP RIVERA NOTED THAT IT HAD BEEN TWO MONTHS SINCE ROMERO'S DEATH AND SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT NOT ONLY TO HONOR HIS NAME, BUT TO FOLLOW HIS PRECEPTS. IN CITING "INDISCRIMINATE KILLING" IN THE CHALATENANGO OPERATION AND CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT FOR NON-ACTION IN HALTING THE VIOLENCE, RIVERA CAME CLOSER TO FOLLOWING SOME OF ROMERO'S PRECEPTS THAN HE HAS PREVIOUSLY DONE. STILL IT WAS A FAR CRY FROM THE VEHEMENCE AND RHETORIC OF ROMERO'S STYLE.

4. [redacted] IT MAY BE APPROPRIATE TO NOTE THAT ROMERO HAD A QUIET, CONSERVATIVE REPUTATION BEFORE BECOMING ARCHBISHOP AND THAT IT WAS ONLY LATER THAT HE TOOK UP HIS CURSADE. WHILE THERE MAY BE GREAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RIVERA AND ROMERO IN STYLE AND SUBSTANCE, RIVERA'S CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE MILITARY OPERATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT INDICATE HE MAY FEEL THAT EVENTS ARE FORCING HIM TO SPEAK OUT. THE GOVERNMENT CAN ILL AFFORD

WHITE

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Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 STATE 141468 1583 STATE 141468

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INFO OCT-00 ARA-00 SSO-00 /030 R

TO INFORM KEY MEMBERS OF THE JRG PRESUMABLY DUARTE AND COL. GUTIERREZ, OF ANY MEETINGS BETWEEN CRM REPRESENTATIVES AND EMBASSY OFFICERS. MUSKIE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/27/88 (BOUCHER, WILLIAM B.)

TAGS: PEPR, ES, MX

SUBJECT: CONTACTS WITH THE SALVADORAN LEFT IN MEXICO

REF: MEXICO 05508

1. [redacted]

2. FOR EMBASSY MEXICO: THE DEPARTMENT HAS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE PROPOSAL OUTLINED IN REFTEL TO BRING THE USG INTO CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COORDINADORA DE MASAS (CRM). FOR SOME MONTHS WE HAVE SOUGHT CONTACT WITH THE CRM IN EL SALVADOR. TO DATE THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN THWARTED BY THE CRM'S IMPOSITION OF PRIOR CONDITIONS, ESPECIALLY ITS INSISTENCE ON PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF ANY SUCH CONTACTS. IF THE CRM GENUINELY WISHES TO MEET WITH USG REPRESENTATIVES WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS, WE SEE NO REASON WHY THESE CONFIDENTIAL MEETINGS CANNOT TAKE PLACE IN EL SALVADOR. FYI. WE BELIEVE THAT FACTORS SUCH AS ABSENCE OF ANY SIGN THAT CRM IS INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE JRG, ADDED UNCERTAINTIES OF FMLN INVOLVEMENT AND CURRENT UNSETTLED STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN PDC AND THE MILITARY ARGUE STRONGLY AGAINST OUR UNDERTAKING SUCH A HIGH RISK CONTACT OUTSIDE OF EL SALVADOR AT THIS TIME. END FYI.

3. IN VIEW OF ABOVE, EMBASSY MEXICO SHOULD RESPOND TO ALONSO AS FOLLOWS:

-- THE USG HAS FOR SOME MONTHS SOUGHT DIRECT CONFIDENTIAL CONTACTS WITH THE CRM BUT THE CRM HAS IMPOSED UNACCEPTABLE PRECONDITIONS, PARTICULARLY ITS INSISTENCE ON PUBLIC DISCLOSURE.

-- IF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CRM ARE GENUINELY INTERESTED IN SUCH CONTACTS WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN EL SALVADOR.

-- WE WOULD APPRECIATE ALONSO INFORMING HIS CRM CONTACTS OF OUR POSITION AND ADVISING US OF THEIR REACTION. WE ALSO APPRECIATE ALONSO'S WILLINGNESS TO SERVE AS AN INFORMAL LINK BETWEEN US AND THE CRM AND HOPE HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

4. FOR EL SALVADOR: WE DOUBT THAT CRM WILL ACCEPT OUR COUNTER OFFER. HOWEVER, SHOULD IT DO SO WE WOULD INTEND

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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032K

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Department of State

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03895 3181832 5548

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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O R 302326Z MAY 89
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8778
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3895

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/30/95 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SNUM ES
SUBJ: (U) DIFFERING VERSIONS OF ATTACK ON UCS COOPERATIVE

REF FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PM 8317

1. (U) MAY 29 AFTERNOON NEWSPAPER REPORTS THAT IN THE EARLY MORNING OF THAT DAY TWELVE MEMBERS OF AN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE, INCLUDING TWO ISTA EMPLOYEES, WERE ASSASSINATED AT HACIENDA SAN FRANCISCO GUAJOYO BY "A LARGE GROUP OF ARMED INDIVIDUALS". ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE, THE "SUBVERSIVES" TOOK THE VICTIMS FROM THEIR HOMES AND SHOT THEM, SAYING "TRAITORS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE MUST BE EXECUTED".

2. (U) ON THE SAME DAY A HIGH RANKING FDC OFFICIAL TOLD POLOFF THAT THIS INCIDENT WOULD TURN CAMPESINOS AGAINST THE EXTREME LEFT BECAUSE CAMPESINOS KNEW VERY WELL THE LEFT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR IT.

3. (U) REF GUATEMALA MANAGUA RADIO SANDINO BROADCAST SAYING "GUERRILLAS ATTACKED AND TOOK OVER GUAYOJO...AT LEAST 38 SOLDIERS AND PARAMILITARY UNITS, WHO ARE PARTICIPATING IN ARMY AND POLICE ACTIONS AGAINST GUERRILLAS AND PEASANTS WERE KILLED IN THIS ACTION."

4. [redacted] MOST OF THE DEAD WERE UCS MEMBERS. AIFLD REP ATTENDED PART OF A UCS EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING CALLED ON MAY 29 T DISCUSS THE TRAGEDY. THE BOARD TOOK NO POSITION ON WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING. IT DECIDED TO PUBLICLY CONDEMN THE INCIDENT WITHOUT REFERNCE TO THE PERPETRATORS, AND TO REQUEST AN AUDIENCE WITH THE JRG TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. FROM OTHER UCS SOURCES AIFLD REP LEARNEDD THAT SOME UCS MEMBERS BELIEVE THE NATIONAL GUARD COMMITTED THE MURDERS. EYEWITNESSES REPORTED THAT SOME OF THE THIRTY OR FORTY ATTACKERS WORE WHAT APPEARED TO BE NATIONAL GUARD UNIFORMS AND SOME WERE DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES. THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM A LIST OF THEIR VICTIMS'S NAMES.

5. [redacted] TWO AMERICAN REPORTERS VISITED THE SCENE OF THE INCIDENT APPROXIMATELY SIX HOURS AFTERIT OCCURRED AND TALKED WITH ANUMBER OF WITNESSES. LATER THE REPORTERS TOLD THE PAO THAT NONE OF THE WITNESSES ACCUSED THE NATIONAL GUARD DIRECTLY, BUT THE WITNESSES GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE NATIONAL GUARD WAS RESPONSIBLE. THE LARGE AMOUNT OF AMMUNITION EXPENDED ON THE VICTIMS ALSO SUGGESTED NATIONAL GUARD, RATHER THAN GHERRILLA, INVOLVMENT.

SAN SA 03895 3181832

6. [redacted] ON MAY 30 AIFLD REP MET WITH A SURVIVOR OF THE INCIDENT. THE SURVIVOR, WHO LIKE MANY OF THE CAMPESINOS IN THE COOPERATIVE IS SYMPANTHETIC TO FAPU, STATED THAT HE WA TAKEN FROM HIS HOUSE BY TWO MEN IN NATIONAL GUARD UNIFORMS AND A MASKED CIVILAN. THE UNIFORMED MEN CARRIED WEAPONS NORMALLY ISSUED TO THE NATIONAL GUARD. A "TANQUETE" (APC) WAS SEEN BY SOME VILLAGERS. THE SURVIVOR TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE DARKNESS TO RUN FROM HIS CAPTORS AND HIDE. HE TOLD THE AIFLD REP, WHO HAS KNOWN HIM FOR SEVERAL YEARS AND VOUCHES FOR HIS VERACITY, THAT THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED WERE DEFINITELY NATIONAL GUARDSMEN.

7. [redacted] ALSO ON MAY 30 CHARGE INTERVIEWED AN INDIVIDUAL WHO ARRIVED ON THE SCENE AFTER THE INCIDENT AND TALKED WITH EYEWITNESSES AND A WOUNDED SURVIVOR. ALL CLAIMED THE NATIONAL GUARD COMMITTED THE KILLINGS BUT WERE TERRIFIED OF REPRISALS AND WOULD NOT SPEAK OUT PUBLICLY.

8. [redacted] COMMENT. THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE GUERRILLAS SOMETIMES WEAR SIMILAR UNIFORMS AND USE THE SAME TACTICS. IN THIS CASE, HOWEVER, THE WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE POINTS TO THE NATIONAL GUARD. WHATEVER THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER, TWO DEVASTATING FACTS ARE APPARENT: FIRST, THE CAMPESINOS BELIEVE THE NATIONAL GUARD IS KILLING THEM; AND SECOOND, EARLY ON MAY 30 THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE COOPERATIVE ABANDONED IT AND TOOK REFUGE WHEREEVER THEY COULD. IT IS A SAD COMMENTARY ON VIOLENCE HERE THAT EVEN THE ISTA (GOVERNMENT WORKERS) AND THE UCS (ALLIES OF THE GOVERNMENT) SUSPECT THE NATIONAL GUARD (SUPPOSEDLY A GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCE) IS GUILTY OF THESE LARGE SCALE KILLINGS.
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INCOMING E1048
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MEXICO 09075 302123Z 5042
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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 05/30/86 OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, ES, MX
SUBJECT: CONTACTS WITH SALVADORAN LEFT

REF: (A) STATE 141460

1. [redacted]

2. WE PASSED REFTEL RESPONSE ON TO ALONSO, MAY 30. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD INFORM COORDINADORA REPRESENTATIVES OF DEPARTMENT POSITION IN MEETING SCHEDULED WITH THEM FOR JUNE 1. (HE ADDED THAT CRM REPRESENTATIVES HAD TELEPHONED HIM PREVIOUS DAY INQUIRING ABOUT USG RESPONSE TO ALONSO'S PROPOSAL TO US FOR MEXICO TALKS.) ALONSO SAID THAT HE WOULD PROVIDE CRM REACTION TO US EARLY IN WEEK OF JUNE 1.
(DRAFTED: JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

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Case ID: S940032K

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MEXICO 09075 302123Z 5042

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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 05/30/86 OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, ES, MX
SUBJECT: CONTACTS WITH SALVADORAN LEFT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (199[illegible]

REF: (A) STATE 141460

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. WE PASSED REFTEL RESPONSE ON TO ALONSO, MAY 30. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD INFORM COORDINADORA REPRESENTATIVES OF DEPARTMENT POSITION IN MEETING SCHEDULED WITH THEM FOR JUNE 1. (HE ADDED THAT CRM REPRESENTATIVES HAD TELEPHONED HIM PREVIOUS DAY INQUIRING ABOUT USG RESPONSE TO ALONSO'S PROPOSAL TO US FOR MEXICO TALKS.) ALONSO SAID THAT HE WOULD PROVIDE CRM REACTION TO US EARLY IN WEEK OF JUNE 1.
(DRAFTED: JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

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Department of State IB/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/97
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03862 01 OF 02 0320212
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
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HA-05 SY-05 /093 W
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P R 0319192 JUN 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8811
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 3862

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/3/86 (MILLSPAUGH, ROBERT) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: (U) COHES ISSUES HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS FOR MARCH AND APRIL

REF SAN SALVADOR 2445

1. (U) THE SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (COHES) HAS JUST RELEASED ISSUES #3 (MARCH) AND #4 (APRIL) OF ITS "INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION BULLETIN." REF DESCRIBED #1-2, A SINGLE PAMPHLET COVERING JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

2. (U) FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO ISSUE #4: "THE VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR IS INCREASING, AND WITH IT THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE NUMBER OF DEAD IS NOW

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 03862 01 OF 02 0320212

HIGHER THAN IN MARCH, ALTHOUGH THE DATE WE HAVE INDICATE [redacted]

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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DEATHS IN MARCH AND 592 IN APRIL. THE EXPLANATION IS SIMPLE: OUR DATA ARE INCREASINGLY INCOMPLETE...THE VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR IS DIVIDED INTO TWO TYPES: THAT WHICH KILLS PEOPLE OF THE RIGHT AND IS CARRIED OUT PRINCIPALLY BY GUERRILLAS... THAT WHICH ASSASSINATES MEMBERS OF THE POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS AND PEOPLE IN GENERAL, AND THAT WE CALL REPRESSION ORIGINATED BY THE SECURITY CORPS, REACTIONARY SECTORS OF THE ARMY, AND THE FASCIST AND PARAMILITARY GROUP....THE REPRESSION HAS NOT STOPPED INCREASING SINCE JAN 1980, THAT IS, SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECOND JRG, COMPOSED ONLY OF THE MILITARY AND THE PDC. ALSO, THE INCREASE IN TECHNICAL AND MILITARY AID FROM THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE NOTED. THE PRESNCE OF NORTH AMERICAN ADVISORS IN THE SECURITY CORPS AND THE MILITARY UNITS SPECIALIZING IN COUNTER-INSURRECTION, BESIDES THE PRESENCE OF MERCENARIES FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES (SIC). THUS THE REPRESSION IS ORIGINATED AND PLANNED BY THE FASCIST SECTORS OF THE ARMY AND ITS ACCOMPLISCE THE PDC, AND IS BACKED BY THE OLIGARCHY AND THE U.S...IN CONCLUSION, WE THINK THAT THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS TO BE A POLITICAL ONE, WITH THE COMING TO POWER OF A POPULAR AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT...."

3. (U) THE TABLE AT THE END OF THE MARCH REPORT SHOWS A TOTAL OF 591 DEATHS DURING THE MONTH, INCLUDING 514 "CIVILIAN DEATHS" AND 77 "DEATHS OF PRO-OLIGARCHS BECAUSE OF VIOLENT POPULAR REACTION" THE BODY OF THE REPORT, A DAY-BY-DAY ACCOUNT OF EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR, ACTUALLY ENUMERATES 436 KILLINGS. IT ALSO LISTS A NUMBER OF INSTANCES IN WHICH INDIVIDUALS DISAPPEARED UNDER SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. [redacted] IN THE NEXT OF PAMPHLET #3, THE COHES ASSIGNS

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 03862 01 OF 02 0320212

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE 436 DEATHS (THAT IS, ALL THOSE FOR WHICH IT GIVES DETAILS INCLUDING EXACT NUMBER KILLED) IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER.
- KILLED BY EXTREME LEFT GROUPS, NINETEEN.
- KILLED IN CONFRONTATIONS OR "SO-CALLED CONFRONTATION", FORTY-SEVEN.
- KILLED BY THE MILITARY OR SECURITY CORPS, ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY NINE.
- KILLED BY "MEN DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES," NINE.
-- KILLED BY UNKNOWNS OR IN CIRCUMSTANCES NOT EXPLAINED BY

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COHES, ONE HUNDRED SIXTY NINE
- ACCIDENTAL DEATHS, THREE

5 (U) THE TABLE IN BULLETIN #4 SHOWS A TOTAL OF 582 DEATHS, OR 449 "CIVILIANS" AND 142 "PRO-OLIGARCHS." THE TEXT DESCRIBES 363 KILLINGS. IN ADDITION, IN A FEW INCIDENTS IT REPORTS AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF CASUALTIES, AND LIKE ISSUE #3 IT MENTIONS "DISAPPEARED PERSONS." (COMMENT: THE TABLES IN #3 AND #4 LIST DISAPPEARED PERSONS SEPARATELY AND DO NOT INCLUDE THEM IN THE TOALS OF DEATHS.)

6. (U) THE TEXT OF #4 ASSIGNS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE 353 DEATHS IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER.

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03862 02 OF 02 0320372
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IO-14
HA-05 SY-05 /093 W
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P R 0319192 JUN 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8812
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOT
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 3862

-- KILLED BY EXTREME LEFT GROUPS OR IN "GUERRILLA OPERATIONS." ONE HUNDRED THREE
- KI[redacted]CONFRONTATIONS OR "SO-CALLED CONFRONTATIONS," THIRTY
-- KILLED BY THE SECURITY CORPS AND THE MILITARY, ONE HUNDRED THIRTY SEVEN.
-- KILLED BY "RIGHTISTS," FORTY THREE
-- KILLED BY UNKNOWNS OR CIRCUMSTANCES NOT EXPLAINED BY COHES, FORTY.

7. (U) NOTES
-- THE COHES BULLETINS DO NOT EXPLAIN THE REASONS FOR THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE STATISTICS GIVEN IN THE TABLES AND THE STATISTICS THAT CAN BE GLEANED FROM THE TEXT.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 03862 02 OF 02 0320372

-- OF THE 789 VICTIMS MENTIONED IN THE TWO BULLETINS, ONLY 124 ARE IDENTIFIED AS BELONGING TO OR LINKED WITH EXTREM[redacted]

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LEFT GROUPS, AND ONLY 112 ARE IDENTIFIED WITH THE MILITARY, THE SECURITY FOCES, OR THE EXTREME RIGHT.
-- THE ONLY EXTREME RIGHT GROUP REFERRED TO BY NAME IN EITHER REPORT IS THE DEATH SQUADRON, WHICH IS CREDITED WITH FIFTEEN KILLLINGS
-- ACCORDING TO COHES, DURING THE TWO MONTH PERIOD THE FOLLOWING TEXTREME LLEFT GROUPS CLAIMED CREDIT FOR KILLIGS: FPL (68), ERP (2), AND PRTC (1).
- BECAUSE THE COHES OFTEN REFERS TO "JOINT FORCES" OR "SECURITY FORCES", IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE AN ACCURATE BREAKDOWN OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST SPECIFIC ORGANIZATIONS, BUT THERE APPEAR TO BE MORE MENTIONS OF THE NATIONAL GUARD THAN ANY OTHER UNIT.

8. [redacted] COMMENT: THE COHES REPORTS ARE NOT OF MUCH HELP AT US IN UNDERSTANDING THE PATTERN OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OR IN ATTEMPTING TO CORRECT THEM. BASICALLY THESE DOCUMENTS ARE INTENDED AS GENERAL INDICTMENTS OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS IN THIS COUNTRY, AND THE UNDERLYING ASSUMPTION IS THAT THOSE SYSTEMS' FAULTS ARE SO SERIOUS THAT THEY MUST BE RADICALLY CHANGED, NOT CORRECTED. NOWHERE DO THE BULLETINS ACCUSE INDIVIDUALS OR SPECIFIC UNITS WITHIN THE ARMY, THE NATIONAL GUARD, OR THE OTHER SECURITY FORCES. INSTEAD, IT DESCRIBES INDIVUDALS AS BEING KILLED BY "THE SECURITY CORPS", BY "RIGHTISTS", BY "MILITARY OPERATIONS", OR EVEN BY "THE REPRESSION."

9. [redacted] ANOTHER PROBLEM WIT THE COHES REPORTS IS THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE STATEMENTS MADE IN ITS NAME AND THE RAW DATA IT PRESENTS TO BACK UP THOSE STATEMENTS. FOR INSTANCE, COHES [redacted] (AND ITS OFFICIALS SOMETIMES STATE) THAT THE

GOES IS RESPONSIBLE FOR OVER 1600 DEATHS DURING THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF THIS YEAR. HOWEVER, EVEN IF ALL ITS ACCUSATIONS ARE ACCEPTED AT FACE VALUE, AND INCLUDING IN THE TOTAL THOSE DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO SUCH CAUSES AS "MILITARY OPERATIONS" AND "THE REPRESSION", BULLETINS 1-4 ACTUALLY ACCUSE THE MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES OF ABOUT 500 OF THE ROUGHLY 1100 KILLINGS THEY HAVE REPORTED. IN SOME 20 PERCENT OF THE CASES IT DESCRIBES, THE COHES MAKES NO ACCUSATION AT ALL, BUT SIMPLY REPORTS THE DISCOVERY OF BODIES, OFTEN WITHOUT ANY INDICATION OF WHO THEY WERE OR WHY THEY WERE KILLED. THE REMAINING DEATHS ARE ATTRIBUTED IN ALMOST EQUALLY PROPORTIONS TO THE EXTREME RIGHT, THE EXTREME LEFT, AND TO CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN EXTREME LEFT GROUPS AND THE MILITARY OR SECURITY FORCES. THUS THE COHES PRESENTS BIASED DATA TO SERVE A POLITICAL PURPOSE BUT UNBIASED DATA ON THE VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR IS UNAVAILABLE AND WE REPORT THE LEFT'S VERSION FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM E1058

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PAGE 01 STATE 146524 3299

ORIGIN ARA-15

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INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY [redacted]STON
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/2/88

TAGS: PEPR, PINT, ES, MX
SUBJECT: FDR ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE U.S.

REF: MEXICO 6008 (NOTAL)

1. [redacted]ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ACCUSATIONS MADE BY REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR) REPRESENTATIVES VISITING MEXICO'S PRI THAT THE U.S. HAS MILITARY ADVISORS AND 100 MARINES IN EL SALVADOR, PLUS THAT WE HAVE HELICOPTER BASES THERE, ARE, OF COURSE, NONSENSE. THE CHARGES REPRESENT PART OF A CONTINUING CAMPAIGN OF MISINFORMATION ABOUT U.S. POLICY AND ACTIVITIES, AS WELL AS ABOUT THE PROGRAM OF EL SALVADOR'S REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA OF GOVERNMENT. THE STATEMENTS ARE SO ASSURD THAT THE DEPARTMENT IS DISINCLINED TO DIGNIFY THEM WITH A PUBLIC DENIAL.

3. THE PARTICIPATION IN THESE CHARGES OF THE MNR'S (SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC) GUILLERMO MANUEL UNGO IS PARTICULARLY DISAPPOINTING. HE IS CERTAINLY AWARE THAT THE STATEMENTS ARE FALSE AND HIS JOINING THEM IS A SAD DEMONSTRATION OF HOW STRONGLY DOMINATED BY THE EXTREME LEFT IS THE OSTENSIBLY BROAD-BASED FDR.

4. AS OPPORTUNITIES PRESENT THEMSELVES, PARTICULARLY WITH INTERESTED HOST GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OFFICIALS, ADDRESSEES SHOULD POINT OUT THAT CHARGES OF U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR ARE ABSURD AND LAMENT THE FACT OF THE MNR'S AND UNGO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EXTREME LEFT'S SLANDER CAMPAIGN. MUSKIE

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MEXICO 09211 0402082

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5911
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 06/03/86 OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, ES MX
SUBJECT: CONTACTS WITH SALVADORAN LEFT IN MEXICO

REF: (A) STATE 141460

1. PRI PRESIDENT FOR FEDERAL DISTRICT JOSE LUIS ALONSO TELEPHONED US JUNE 3 AND SAID THAT HE CONVEYED REFTEL PROPOSAL TO HIS COORDINADORA CONTACTS. RESPONSE WAS THAT, BEFORE CONSIDERING CONTACTS IN EL SALVADOR, GROUP WISHES TO HAVE "INFORMAL CONVERSATION" (PLATICA INFORMAL) WITH US IN MEXICO CITY. CRM REPRESENTATIVES TOLD ALONSO THAT THEY WOULD NOT PUBLICIZE CONVERSATION AND THAT THEY WANT SIMPLY TO HEAR OUT DIRECTLY REFTEL USG SUGGESTION ON CONTACT IN EL SALVADOR.

2. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT REQUESTED TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON WHETHER WE SHOULD RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY TO CRM REQUESTED CONTACT IN MEXICO CITY. (DRAFTED JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

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United States Department of State
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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032K

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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ACTION ARA-15

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8338
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3908

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 6/4/98 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SNUM ES
SUBJ: (U) THREE COMMENTS ON THE VIOLENCE

1. (U) IN HIS JUNE 1 HOMILY, ACTING ARCHBISHOP RIVERA SAID, "ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF SOCORRO JURIDICO OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC, FROM THE 22ND TO THE 29TH OF MAY THERE WERE 164 DEATHS, THE MAJORITY AS A RESULT OF MILITARY OPERATIONS AND OF TERRORIST ACTIONS OF THE EXTREME RIGHT. THE EXTREME LEFT HAS ALSO BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY DEATHS AND EXECUTIONS, LIKE THAT OF THE FORMER LEGAL ADVISOR OF THE NATIONA POLICE...SOCIAL STRUGGLES, IF THEY ARE REALLY FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE, MUST HELP THOSE WHO MOST NEED IT. WHEN THESE STRUGGLES ARE CONVERTED INTO THE CULT OF POWER OR INTO IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES, THE RISK IS RUN OF SEEKING AS THE PRIME OBJECTIVE THE DOMINANCE OF A CERTAIN IDEOLOGY, AND THE ATTAINMENT OF BENEFITS FOR THE MAJORITY PASSES TO SECOND PLACE, UNTIL ONE ARRIVES AT THE ABSURD POINT OF SACRIFICING THE DEPRIVED AND THE POOR THEMSELVES FOR THE SAKE OF POWER OR IDEOLOGY. FINALLY, THE PACIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY CANNOT BE ACCOMPLISHED BY KILLING AND SPREADING FEAR AND TERROR. WE NEED A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE AS A MEANS FOR ARRIVING AT A DIALOGUE THAT WILL PROVIDE STABLE, JUST AND FIRM BASES FOR PEACE IN EL SALVADOR."

2. [redacted]ON JUNE 2 JUAN RAMIREZ RANDA, SECGEN OF THE PDC, TALKED WITH PAO. RAMIREZ WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF EL SALVADOR AND THE PDC'S CONTINUED ROLE IN GOVERNMENT. HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE MILITARY WHO ARE, HE SAID, ACCOMPLICES IN THE REPRESSION IF NOT ITS INSTIGATORS. THE MILITARY, RAMIREZ ADDED, ARE TEARING THE COUNTRY APART. THEY ARE FORCING THE CAMPESINOS TO TAKE SIDES AGAINST THEM, EXACTLY AS SOMOZA'S NATIONAL GUARD DID. RAMIREZ CLASSIFIED THE MILITARY INTO TWO GROUPS, "THE BAD AND THE WORSE." HE STRESSED THE FACT THAT MORE PDC MEMBERS ARE BEING KILLED NOW THAN AT ANY TIME WHEN THEY WERE IN OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

3. (U) THE SALVADORAN CAMPESINO CENTER (CCS), A CAMPESINO ORGANIZATION WITH TIES TO THE PDC, HELD A CONFERENCE MAY 24 AND 25. THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT RELEASED BY THE CONFERENCE INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS: "CERTAINLY THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE THAT RULES THE COUNTRY ORIGINATES FROM GROUPS OF THE EXTREME LEFT AND EXTREME RIGHT, BUT ONE CANNOT FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE SO-CALLED 'FORCES OF PUBLIC ORDER' IN UNHOLY ALLIANCE WITH GROUPS OF THE EXTREME RIGHT REPRESS AND ASSASSINATE IN A COWARDLY MANNER HONORABLE AND PEACEFUL CITIZENS, PROVOKING A REAL BLOOD BATH. WITH THIS IN VIEW, WE CANNOT CEASE AFFIRMING THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE DEMO-
CRATIC LIBERTIES FOR THE WORKERS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS HAVE NO LEGAL FORCE, BUT ON THE CONTRARY ARE PERMANENTLY TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT."
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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032K

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] STATE 147735

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/4/88

TAGS: PINT, PINR, XH

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR OPPOSITION GROUPS IN EL SALVADOR
REFERENCE: STATE 88466
. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. DISSIDENT GROUPS SEEKING TO UNSEAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA HAVE ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION AND SUPPORT. INFLUENTIAL AND RESPECTED ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ESPOUSE GOALS IN BOTH COUNTRIES SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE U.S. -- DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND PROGRESSIVE REFORMS -- OUTSPOKENLY OPPOSE U.S. POLICIES WHICH THEY SEE AS SUPPORTING REPRESSIVE REGIMES. THE DISSIDENTS' CAMPAIGN MAY PORTEND EARLY FORMATION OF A SHADOW GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR, POSSIBLY TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH AN INSURGENT MILITARY OFFENSIVE, AND MAY ADVERSELY AFFECT THE CHANCES FOR PEACEFUL EVOLUTION IN GUATEMALA. WE ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS. THIS CABLE IS INTENDED TO PROVIDE AMBASSADORS AND OTHER EMBASSY OFFICERS WITH NECESSARY INFORMATION TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE WITH HOST GOVERNMENT AND

POLITICAL LEADERS INITIATED IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL. END SUMMARY.

3. BACKGROUND. IN LATE MAY, A DELEGATION REPRESENTING SALVADOR'S LEFT-COALITION (MARXIST DOMINATED) REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR) VISITED MEXICO TO SOLICIT THE SUPPORT OF THE DOMINANT PRI PARTY. THE DELEGATION, HEADED BY THE FORMER RECTOR OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF EL SALVADOR, REVEALED PLANS TO TRAVEL WIDELY IN LATIN AMERICA AND EUROPE. THIS CONTINUES THE SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN BY LEFTIST DISSIDENTS TO ENLIST INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSE. NUMEROUS EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN PARTIES, AS WELL AS CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, HAVE LENT THEIR PRESTIGE TO THE INSURGENTS.

4. A SERIES OF CONFERENCES HAS BEEN HELD SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR TO PROMOTE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. IN LATE JANUARY, THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (SI) AND THE FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION (LINKED TO THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY) SPONSORED A CONFERENCE ON EL SALVADOR WHICH WAS DOMINATED BY RADICALS AND PRODUCED STRIDENT DENUNCIATIONS OF BOTH THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR (JRG) AND THE U.S. POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR IT. THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN REGIONAL MEETING OF THE SI WAS HELD IN MARCH IN THE WAKE OF THE ASSASSINATION OF SALVADORAN ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. FORMER VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ SHARPLY CONDEMNED JRG REPRESSION AND CRITICIZED U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR. U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA ALSO CAME UNDER STRONG ATTACK THERE FROM EUROPEANS SUCH AS MAARTEN VAN TRAA (DUTCH LABOR PARTY) AND PIERRE SCHORI (SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY). SUCH SI NOTABLES AS WILLY BRANDT AND MARIO SOARES APPEARED TO AT LEAST TACITLY SUPPORT THIS CRITICISM. AT A CONFERENCE OF SI AND OTHER LEFT-OF-CENTER GROUPS IN PERU IN APRIL, PEREZ ONCE AGAIN CRITICIZED THE JRG AND SPOKE OF AN INEVITABLE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE MILITARY/OLIGARCHY AND THE PEOPLE.

5. THE STAGE IS THUS BEING SET FOR THE FORMATION OF A SHADOW GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR. THE FDR HAS REVEALED THAT AT THE "OPPORTUNE TIME" IT WILL REQUEST GOVERNMENTS

TO BREAK RELATIONS WITH THE JRG AND ACCORD IT "BELLIGERENT" STATUS. SUCH A MOVE MAY COINCIDE WITH AN INSURGENT MILITARY OFFENSIVE WITHIN EL SALVADOR.

6. A SIMILAR INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN HAS BEGUN AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF GUATEMALA, WHERE THE LEFTIST THREAT IS LESS IMMINENT. IN MID-MAY, A GUATEMALAN SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE ATTENDED BY SOME OF THE SAME GROUPS WAS HELD IN SAN JOSE. THE ADMINISTRATION OF GUATEMALAN PRESIDENT LUCAS WAS DENOUNCED AS A "TERRORIST MILITARY DICTATORSHIP." THE U.S. WAS BLAMED FOR ESTABLISHING IN 1954, AND SINCE THEN SUPPORTING, SUCCESSIVE REPRESSIVE REGIMES IN GUATEMALA.

7. HEAVY BLAME FOR THE SITUATION IN BOTH GUATEMALA AND EL SALVADOR WAS LAID ON THE U.S. AND OUR POLICIES HAD NO DEFENDERS, AT LEAST NONE WHOSE REMARKS WERE PUBLISHED. AGAIN, OUR MOST SEVERE CRITIC WAS PIERRE SCHORI OF THE SWEDISH SOCIALIST PARTY WHO HAD CONSULTED WITH A NUMBER OF DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON ON HIS WAY TO SAN JOSE. HE SAID, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE U.S. "HAS CREATED

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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/26/94
Case ID: S940032K

A FRANKENSTEIN'S MONSTER MORE REAL AND FATAL THAN THE SPECTER OF FIDEL CASTRO ... WE DIFFER PROFOUNDLY WITH CUBA ... BUT AT THE PRESENT TIME, WE PREFER A CUBAN DOCTOR TO AN AMERICAN MARINE." BOTH SCHORI AND MARIA EMILIO DE MELO (PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY) CHARGED, THAT THE U.S. HAD MOUNTED A "DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE" AGAINST THE CONFERENCE ITSELF TO WEAKEN INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AMONG SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA AND EUROPE RESISTING REPRESSION.

8. ACTION REQUESTED: NO SPECIAL DEMARCHE IS REQUESTED AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, ALL ADDRESSEES, INCLUDING INFO ADDRESSEES, SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ANY APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN ABOUT GROWING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR OPPOSITION GROUPS IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA. TALKING POINTS ARE PROVIDED IN FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS AND IN REFTEL.

9. TALKING POINTS

-- MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS VITAL TO THE FUTURE OF LATIN AMERICA. CONTACTS BETWEEN EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AND THEIR LATIN AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS CAN SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND PROMOTE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN THE HEMISPHERE.

-- IN EL SALVADOR, THE SITUATION HAS LONG BEEN CRITICAL, BUT A MAJOR CHANGE FOR THE BETTER OCCURRED IN OCTOBER OF LAST YEAR, WHEN A GROUP OF REFORM-MINDED YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS ASSUMED CONTROL AND INITIATED A PROCESS OF URGENTLY NEEDED REFORMS.

-- DURING HIS VISIT TO THE DEPARTMENT, PIERRE SCHORI ACKNOWLEDGED THE WORTH OF THE JRG'S REFORM MEASURES. HE INDICATED THAT THEY COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR BROADER INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE JRG PROVIDED VIOLENCE COULD BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL.

-- INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR INSURGENT GROUPS IN EL SALVADOR (LEFT OR RIGHT) APPARENTLY GROWS OUT OF A CONVICTION THAT THE JRG IS WEAKENING AND WILL NOT SURVIVE. THIS TENDS TO BECOME, OF COURSE, A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY.

-- WE ALSO HAVE THE FEELING THAT SOME EUROPEANS VIEW THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR AS A RIVALRY BETWEEN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. THIS IS NOT A EUROPEAN-TYPE PARTY CONTROVERSY BUT A LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE WITH SERIOUS REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS.

-- WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE JRG REPRESENTS THE BEST HOPE FOR EL SALVADOR. SUPPORT FOR THIS GOVERNMENT AND THEIR REFORM INITIATIVES IS THE BASIS FOR ALL OUR POLICIES AND ASSISTANCE.

-- THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE JRG IS ASSUMPTION OF POWER BY THE EXTREME RIGHT OR LEFT IN EL SALVADOR.

-- EITHER EVENTUALITY WOULD PROBABLY BE PRECEDED BY CIVIL WAR, AND MOST CERTAINLY DESTROY THE FRAGILE PROGRESS TOWARD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORM INITIATED BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

-- UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY INTERNATIONAL GROUPS DO NOT OFFER THEIR SUPPORT TO THE JRG.

-- IN GUATEMALA, LONG TERM POLITICAL EROSION, EXACERBATED BY REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA AND TURMOIL IN EL SALVADOR,

IS INCREASING THE PROBABILITY OF VIOLENT CHANGE.

-- THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY, HOWEVER, IS SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF ITS CENTRAL AMERICAN NEIGHBORS.

-- GUATEMALA IS NATURALLY WEALTHY AND HAS DEVELOPED RELATIVELY STRONG INSTITUTIONS. THE MIDDLE CLASS IS DEVELOPING, HAS A GROWING STAKE IN THE SYSTEM, AND IS A POTENTIALLY STABILIZING FORCE. THE NUCLEUS OF A MODERN PARTY SYSTEM EXISTS.

-- THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE PRIVATE SECTOR, INCLUDE MANY INFLUENTIAL FIGURES WHO CLEARLY RECOGNIZE THAT POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM IS ESSENTIAL. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT VIOLENCE MUST BE CONTROLLED, THE ELECTORAL PROCESS STRENGTHENED AND LEGITIMATE CHANNELS FOR DISSENT ESTABLISHED.

-- FURTHER, GUATEMALAN COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF GUATEMALAN TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST BELIZE AND AN ORDERLY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE FOR BELIZE.

-- GUATEMALAN REFUSAL TO DEAL WITH OR AID RIGHTISTS IN EL SALVADOR WHO ARE ATTEMPTING TO OVERTHROW THE REFORMIST GOVERNMENT IS ALSO ESSENTIAL AT THIS POINT. A MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE BY THE GOG CONCERNING THE JRG WOULD STRENGTHEN ITS CHANCES OF SURVIVAL SIGNIFICANTLY.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT ANY IMPROVEMENTS IN GUATEMALA MUST RESULT FROM ACTIONS AND DECISIONS BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND ITS SUPPORTERS.

-- BUT ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES -- INTERNAL STABILITY AND REFORM, COOPERATION ON REGIONAL ISSUES -- IS BEING DEFEATED BY A CROVING SIEGE MENTALITY ON THE PART OF THE GUATEMALAN LEADERSHIP.

NATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY RESISTANT TO INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE FOR CHANGE.

-- WE BELIEVE THE BEST HOPE IS TO BREAK DOWN THIS MENTALITY, REESTABLISH A DIALOGUE BETWEEN MODERATE GUATEMALAN LEADERS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND THUS PROMOTE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN THAT COUNTRY.

-- INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM OF THE SORT THAT CAME OUT OF THE SAN JOSE CONFERENCE DEFEATS THIS PURPOSE BY REINFORCING THE GUATEMALAN SENSE OF ISOLATION.

-- IN SUM, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA ARE BASED ON AND CONSISTENT WITH PRINCIPLES GENERALLY ACCEPTED IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY THESE POLICIES ARE SUBJECTED TO THE SORT OF STRIDENT AND BIASED CRITICISM THAT RESULTED FROM RECENT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS IN SAN JOSE AND SANTO DOMINGO.

10. FOR OSLO: WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WILL BE A SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL BUREAU MEETING IN OSLO JUNE 12-13, AT WHICH LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES WILL BE DISCUSSED. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION YOU CAN

DEVELOP ON PARTICIPATION AND RESULTS. HUSKIE

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[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3995

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/9/86 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) PDC OFFICIALLY ASKS USG FOR HELP TO HALT THE VIOLENCE

REF SAN SALVADOR 3976

[redacted]

2. ON JUNE 9 FISCAL GENERAL GUEVARA AND PDC SECRETARY FOR TRAINING ORELLANA VISITED EMBASSY ON BEHALF OF PDC'S POLITICAL COMMISSION TO OFFICIALLY ASK USG TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH EL SALVADOR'S MILITARY TO REDUCE THE VIOLENCE IN THIS COUNTRY. THEY COMMENTED TO CHARGE AND LABOR ATTACHE THAT GIVEN THE PRESENT LEVEL OF VIOLENCE, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PDC TO HOLD

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 03995 091809Z

ITS PEOPLE IN THE GOVERNMENT NO MATTER WHAT THE INTENTIONS OF OF THE LEADERSHIP.

3. MUCH OF THE PRESENT VIOLENCE, THEY SAID, IS CAUSED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY BY THE ARMY AND THE SECURITY COPRS. THE ARMY, WHICH UNTIL RECENTLY HAD BEEN RELATIVELY FREE FROM ABUSES, IS NOW ENTERING VILLAGES WITH LISTS OF NAMES AND KILLING THE PEOPLE WHOM IT SUSPECTS OF INVOLVEMENT WITH LEFTIST GROUPS. THESE ACTIONS, THEY CLAIMED, ARE DRIVING THE CAMPESINOS INTO

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032K

THE ARMS OF THE EXTREME LEFT. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL SAID THAT EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE NAMES APPEAR ON THE LISTS HAVE LITTLE OR NO CONNECTION WITH THE EXTREME LEFT.

4. ACCORDING TO THE TWO MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION, PDC OFFICIALS WILL MEET THIS MORNING WITH THE MILITARY'S HIGH COMMAND AND SOME LOCAL COMMANDERS. THE PDC PLANS TO ASK THE MILITARY TO STOP THE REPRESSION, TO REAFFIRM ITS PACT WITH THE PDC AND TO PROTECT ITS LOCAL OFFICIALS. IT WILL ALSO SUGGEST THAT A "STATE OF EMERGENCY" BE DECLARED, WHICH WOULD BE A LESSER MEASURE THAN A DECLARATION OF WAR, BUT WOULD ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE CHANGES IN SOME OF ITS INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO COPE WITH EXTREMIST VIOLENCE.

5. A NUMBER OF PDC MAYORS ARE STANDING BY AWAITING THE RESULTS OF THE PDC'S CONFERENCE WITH THE MILITARY. ORELLANA EXPRESSED THE CONCERN THAT THE MAJORS WILL RESIGN EN MASSE IF THE MILITARY DOES NOT MAKE A SATISFACTORY RESPONSE.

6. CHARGE ASSURED THE TWO PDC OFFICIALS OF OUR CONTINUING SUPPORT AND OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE PRESENT LEVEL OF VIOLENCE. GUEVARA AND ORELLANA THEN LEFT TO VISIT OTHER EMBASSIES IN THEIR SEARCH FOR DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 03995 0918092

7. COMMENT: THE PRESSURE ON THE PDC'S LEADERSHIP FROM ITS MEMEBERS IS IMMENSE. ORELLANA COMMENTED THAT AT THE FUNERAL ON SATURDAY FOR ONE OF THE PDC'S ASSASSINATED LOCAL OFFICIALS, SOME MEMBERS ACCUSED THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ASSASSINATION ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WAS CARRIED OUT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF WHICH THEY ARE A PART.
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 4879

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS PINT ASUM ES
SUBJ: PDC MAYORS OFFICIALLY PROTEST THE VIOLENCE

1. JUNE 11 NEWSPAPER CARRIES A FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT BY PDC MAYORS ENTITLED "ENOUGH!". AFTER GIVING THE NAMES OF NINE PDC LOCAL OFFICIALS WHO HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, THE ADVERTISEMENT STATES THAT "MEMBERS OF ACTUAL EXECUTION SQUADS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A REAL STRATEGY OF EXTERMINATION OF PDC OFFICIALS."

2. IT CONTINUES, "FACED WITH THIS SITUATION WE FEEL ESTRANGED AND CONFUSED, UNABLE TO EXPLAIN TO OURSELVES WHAT IS HAPPENING AND WHO THE BACKERS ARE BEHIND THOSE TO HAVE DEVISED AS AN OBJECTIVE THAT EVIDENT STRATEGY OF LIQUIDATION OF ALL OF US. INDEED WE KNOW THAT THESE ATTACKS DO NOT ORIGINATE FROM THE EXTREME LEFT, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND WE ARE MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT REGIME. THIS CIRCUMSTANCES MAKES OUR SITUATION ABSURD AND CREATES A GRAVE CONTRADICTION, SINCE AS AUTHORITIES WE SHOULD ENJOY THE PROTECTION OF THE SECURITY CORPS BUT WE ARE, RATHER SUBJECT TO CONTINUING THREATS ON OUR LIVES."

3. ARTICLE CONTINUES WITH THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS:
QUOTE:
- TO ENERGETICALLY PROTEST AND CONDEMN THE ASSASSINATIONS AND ATTACKS AGAINST OUR FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY AND THE TERROR CAMPAIGN UNLEASHED AGAINST THE MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT MUNICIPAL COUNCILS.
- A SPECIAL MOTIVE OF OUR CONDEMNATION AND REPUDIATION IS THE USELESS SACRIFICE OF ALL SALVADORANS WHO HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF THE WAVE OF VIOLENCE AND TERROR IN WHICH OUR COUNTRY LIVES.
- TO DEMAND THAT THE JRG AND THE ARMED FORCES CONDUCT AN EXHAUSTIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE DENOUNCED FACTS, AND CONSEQUENT PUNISHMENT OF THOSE WHO ARE GUILTY.
- REQUEST TO THE JRG TO REFORM DECREE NO. 160 ON THE CARRYING OF ARMS, TO INCLUDE, AMONG THOSE AUTHORITIES WHO ARE PERMITTED TO CARRY ARMS, THE MAYORS AND MUNICIPAL COUNSELORS.
- TO REQUEST TO THE JRG THAT THEY ESTABLISH PERSONAL SECURITY MEASURES FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY, AND AUTHORIZE LIFE INSURANCE POLICIES.
- TO MAINTAIN OURSELVES IN A VIGILANT ATTITUDE, WHILE WAITING FOR CLEAR SIGNS THAT INDICATE A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS; AND A POSITIVE ANSWER TO OUR DEMANDS.
END QUOTE.

4. APPROXIMATELY 175 PDC MAYORS AND OFFICIALS SIGNED THE ADVERTISEMENT.

5. COMMENT. AS IT HAS IN PAST CRISES, THE PDC IS WAITING FOR SIGNALS FROM THE MILITARY REGARDING THE MILITARY'S INTENTIONS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE PDC IS MEETING WITH THE MILITARY TODAY, JUNE 11.
WHITE

United States Department of State
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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032K

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

E1070

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04062 111841Z 1368

ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 ST-05
SYE-00 HA-05 SIL-01 /068 W

------------------026152 111923Z /45

P R 111738Z JUN 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4559
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 4062

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/11/16 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SNUN ASEC ES
SUBJ: (C) POC MEETINGS WITH MILITARY AND MAYORS

[redacted]

1. SUMMARY. ON JUNE 10 TWO POC OFFICIALS COMMENTED ON THEIR CONFERENCE WITH THE MILITARY AND SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH THEIR OWN MAYORS, ON ATTEMPTS TO FORM A GROUP TO PROTEST THE VIOLENCE, AND ON SECRET RIGHTIST ARMIES. END SUMMARY.

3. ON JUNE 10 POC TREASURER OSCAR QUIROS AND SECRETARY OF ADMINISTRATION EDUARDO MOLINA TALKED WITH LABOR ATTACHE ABOUT THE PARTY'S RESPONSE TO THE CURRENT WAVE OF VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR.

4. MEETING WITH MILITARY. ON JUNE 9 THE POC'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PLUS MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCE ALVERGUE AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHAVEZ MENA MET WITH THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF PLUS THE ARMY'S DEPARTMENTAL COMMANDERS AND THE HEADS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. ACCORDING TO QUIROS THE MEETING WAS DIFFICULT BUT THE PARTY WAS PLEASED BY THE RESULTS. AT ONE POINT, HE ADDED, THE MEETING ALMOST BROKE DOWN UNDER MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS, BUT THE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE OF JRG MEMBER COL. GUTIERREZ SAVED THE DAY. WHEN THE POC OFFICIALS COMPLAINED THAT THEY WERE TAKING CASUALTIES (SEVEN POC MEMBERS WERE ASSASSINATED LAST WEEK) THE MILITARY REPLIED WITHOUT SYMPATHY THAT THERE ARE PRESENTLY 123 SOLDIERS HOSPITALIZED WITH WOUNDS. FINALLY, HOWEVER, THE MILITARY DID PROMISE TO PROVIDE PROTECTION FOR THE POC MAYORS WHEN IT IS REQUESTED. MOST IMPORTANT FROM THE POC'S POINT OF VIEW WAS THE MILITARY'S FRANK ADMISSION THAT IT NEEDS THE POC'S PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL RESPECTABILITY. WHEN THE POC SAID THAT IT FAVORED THE RELEASE OF FORMER MINISTER SANAYOA THE MILITARY MADE NO RESPONSE. (QUIROS BELIEVES THE MILITARY IS DIVIDED ON THE QUESTION ABOUT WHAT TO DO WITH SHAAYOA.) DURING THE MEETING THE MILITARY MADE NO ADMISSION OF WRONG-DOING, EITHER IN THE CASE OF THE ASSASSINATED POC MEMBERS OR WHEN TOLD ABOUT ASSASSINATIONS OF CAMPESINOS DURING ARMY OPERATIONS, BUT MOLINA COMMENTED THAT SOME OF THE OFFICERS APPEARED "CONFUSED" BY THE INFORMATION. THE TWO POC OFFICIALS SAID THAT THE PARTY EXPECTS THE MILITARY TO RESPOND TO THIS MEETING WITH "ENCOURAGING SIGNALS" IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AT ONE POINT, MOLINA IMPLIED THAT TRANSFERS OF OFFICERS MIGHT TAKE PLACE. THE POC PLANS TO HOLD MORE MEETINGS WITH THE MILITARY. WHEN ASKED WHO IN THE MILITARY APPEARED WILLING TO STOP THE VIOLENCE AND COULD BE USEFULLY INFLUENCED, BOTH POC MEMBERS IMMEDIATELY MENTIONED GUTIERREZ. WHEN ASKED FOR ANOTHER NAME, MOLINA RESPONDED, SURPRESINGLY, "NAPOLEON DUARTE." HE THEN EXPLAINED THAT DUARTE IS HELD IN VERY HIGH REGARD BY MANY WITHIN THE MILITARY. NEITHER POC OFFICIAL TRUSTED OR RESPECTED MINDEF GARCIA OR SUBSECRETARY CARRANZA.

5. MEETING WITH MAYORS. AFTER THE MEETING WITH THE MILITARY, THE POC OFFICIALS HELD A CONFERENCE WITH 156 OF THEIR APPROXIMATELY 210 MAYORS. MOLINA DESCRIBED THE MEETING AS INITIALLY DIFFICULT SINCE THE POC LEADERS HAD BROUGHT NO CONCRETE RESULTS FROM THEIR EARLIER CONFERENCE. THE MAYORS, HE SAID, BELIEVE THAT THE CHIEF THREAT TO THEM IS FROM THE RIGHT, AND MANY ARE AFRAID OF THE ARMY AND THE SECURITY FORCES. MANY MAYORS HAVE ALSO RECEIVED LETTERS FROM THE UDN AND THE CRN CONTAINING VEILED THREATS. THE DEMANDS OF THE LOCAL POC OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, WERE NOT RADICAL. THEY ASK FOR THE RIGHT TO CARRY WEAPONS, FOR LIFE INSURANCE POLICIES, AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUE ITS REFORM POLICY. MOLINA AND QUIROS APPEARED RELIEVED AND SOMEWHAT SURPRISED THAT THE POC'S LOCAL OFFICIALS HAD NOT BEEN IN A MORE CONFRONTATIONAL MOOD.

6. SUPPORT FOR PEACE. THE POC IS CURRENTLY SEEKING SUPPORT FROM A NUMBER OF GROUPS, INCLUDING CHURCH GROUPS, SOME LABOR UNIONS, PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, AND THE ASSOCIATION OF SMALL BUSINESSMEN (ENAPEES), IN AN ATTEMPT TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE JRG TO REDUCE THE VIOLENCE. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THEY HAD CONTACTED ANY OTHER GROUPS OF BUSINESSMEN, THEY REPLIED THAT CONTACTS WITH SUCH GROUP ARE MADE ONLY AT THE LEVEL OF DUARTE AND MORALES EHRLICH.

7. SECRET ARMIES. QUIROS AND MOLINA STATED THAT THERE ARE FOUR SECRET RIGHTIST ARMIES OPERATING IN VARIOUS SECTIONS OF EL SALVADOR. THE FOUR, THEY SAID, ACT SEPARATELY BUT MAINTAIN CONTACTS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN AHUACHAPAN THERE IS AN ARMY OF 40-50 PEOPLE. THE OTHER SECRET ARMIES, WHICH ARE OF A SIMILAR SIZE, ARE FINANCED BY LOCAL AND GUATEMALAN RIGHTISTS AND COMPOSED OF FORMER OFFICERS WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE SALVADORAN NATIONAL GUARD AND "SOMOCISTAS." ROBERTO HILL, THEY SAID, IS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN ARRANGING FINANCING FOR THESE GROUPS. THEY ADDED THAT SOME MILITARY OFFICERS ARE AWARE OF THESE GROUPS BUT ALLOW THEM TO OPERATE WITH IMPUNITY. WHEN ASKED WHETHER ANY OFFICERS WERE INVOLVED IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE ARMIES, THEY ANSWERED THAT THAT WAS A POSSIBILITY AND THEN MENTIONED THE NAMES OF SUBSECRETARY OF DEFENSE CARRANZA AND THE HEAD OF THE TREASURY POLICE MORAN. QUIROS, WHO MAINTAINS CONTACTS WITH AND RECEIVES INFORMATION FROM MOST OF THE POC'S LOCAL OFFICIALS, SAID HE HAS A LIST OF NAMES OF MEMBERS OF ALL FOUR ARMIES WHICH HE PLANS TO PRESENT TO GUTIERREZ LATER IN THE WEEK.

8. CONTACTS WITH LEFT. BOTH MOLINA AND QUIROS REMAINED OPTIMISTIC THAT AN UNDERSTANDING CAN BE REACHED WITH AT LEAST SOME GROUPS OF THE EXTREME LEFT, AND THEY MENTIONED FAPU SPECIFICALLY. THEY DID NOT INDICATE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ANY RECENT CONTACTS. QUIROS NOTED THAT ONE PROBLEM IN CONDUCTING SUCH NEGOTIATIONS IS THAT THE REAL LEADERS OF THE EXTREME LEFT DO NOT RESIDE IN EL SALVADOR.
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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032K

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Department of State TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MEXICO 09674 111901Z

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W

RELEASED

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------------------026298 111904Z /44

O 111843Z JUN 88
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6083
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] MEXICO 09674

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 06/10/86 OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, ES, MX
SUBJECT: CONTACT WITH SALVADORAN LEFT

REF: (A) STATE 151828

1. [redacted]

2. WE PASSED REFTEL POINTS TO PRI PRESIDENT FOR FEDERAL DISTRICT JOSE LUIS ALONSO, JUNE 10, SUGGESTING THAT IF THE COORDINADORA (CRM) IS INTERESTED IN CONTACTS IN EL SALVADOR THEY SHOULD CONTACT DCM DION, AMBASSADOR WHITE, OR POLITICAL OFFICER MILLSPAUGH WHO COULD ARRANGE FOR SUCH CONTACTS.

3. ALONSO SAID THAT HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH THE CRM AND WOULD PROVIDE A RESPONSE TO US ON OR ABOUT JUNE 13.
(DRAFTED: JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

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United States Department of State
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Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA004154

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ADP452 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04154 01 OF 02 141841Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IOCA-02
SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /078 W
----------050172 141908Z /41

P R 141630Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9015
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4154

BUENOS AIRES FOR ONLY

E.O. 12065: RDS-2 6/13/90 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: [redacted] THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, EARLY JUNE

[redacted]

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[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04154 01 OF 02 141841Z

THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM, THE CAPTURE AND RELEASE OF A MAN WHO SYMBOLIZES THE EXTREME RIGHT, MAJ. D'AUBUISSON AND ONE NON-EVENT, THE FAILURE OF THE EXTREME LEFT TO PRODUCE A REASONABLE SHOWING OF STRENGTH ON MAY DAY.

3. THE GOVERNMENT. THE JRG SURVIVED ITS FIFTH MONTH. THE NECESSITY OF RESPONDING TO AN ALMOST CONSTANT SERIES OF CRISES HAS LIMITED ITS EFFICIENCY AND ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE, BUT THE FACT OF ITS CONTINUED EXISTENCE IS SLOWLY PERSUADING SOME

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MODERATES FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND RIGHT TO DEAL WITH IT. SERIOUS ATTEMPTS TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR ARE INCIPIENT AT BEST. THE GOES ITSELF, AS A RESULT OF RECENT CABINET CHANGES AND WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, APPEARS CAPABLY LED. THE BUREAUCRACY, HOWEVER, WHILE PROBABLY MORE HONEST THAN IN THE PAST, REMAINS AS INEFFICIENT AS EVER. WE CONTINUE TO HEAR COMPLAINTS THAT THE BUREAUCRACY, AND ESPECIALLY MAG, IS NOT DOING ENOUGH IN SUPPORT OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE JRG APPEARS TO BE GROWING GRADUALLY.

4. THE MILITARY. THE ARMY REMAINS THE MAJOR POLITICAL FORCE IN EL SALVADOR AND THE MAINSTAY OF THE GOVERNMENT. THROUGH ITS SUPPORT THE VARIOUS REFORM MEASURES WERE IMPLEMENTED. IN SPITE OF ITS COMMITMENT TO THE ABSTRACT IDEA OF REFORM, HOWEVER, IT IS CONFUSED BY AND SUSPICIOUS OF SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LEADERS AND SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS, INCLUDING THE "LAND TO THE TILLER LAW". IT VOTED TO ELECT JRG MEMBER COL. GUTIERREZ AS (IN EFFECT) ITS SOLE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AND IT APPEARS THAT IT IS BEGINNING TO UNITE BEHIND HIM. THE ARMY HAS BEEN BADLY PROVOKED BY THE AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS OF THE EXTREME LEFT, IS TAKING AND GIVING CASUALTIES, AND APPEARS INCREASINGLY EAGER FOR A MILITARY RATHER THAN POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE EXTREME LEFT'S CHALLENGE. WE ARE HEARING MORE AND MORE

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REPORTS ABOUT THE TAKING AND SHOOTING OF PRISONERS DURING ITS "SWEEPS". THE D'AUBUISSON AFFAIR DEMONSTRATED ITS INABILITY TO ACT AGAINST ONE OF ITS OWN WHO WAS CLEARLY INVOLVED IN ACTIVITIES OF THE EXTREME RIGHT.

5. DAO COMMENT: THE MILITARY'S VOTE FOR GUTIERREZ MUST BE PERCEIVED AS A VOTE FOR THE INSTITUTION AND A VOTE AGAINST EITHER THE PDC OR MAJANO TRYING TO DICTATE UNILATERAL ACTION. MOST OFFICERS CONSIDER MAJOR D'AUBUISSON A LIABILITY. END DAO COMMENT.

6. THE PDC. THE PLAS OF THE PDC AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW TO MOUNT A MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL DRIVE FOUNDERED DURING A SERIES OF CRISES THAT HAVE SERIOUSLY DIMINISHED ITS CONFIDENCE. THE ASSASSINATION CAMPAIGN OF EARLY JUNE AGAINST ITS LOCAL OFFICIALS (WHICH THEY BELIEVE IO CARRIED OUT BY THE EXTREME RIGHT WITH CONSIDERABLE PARTICIPATION FROM THE SECURITY CORPS) IS CURRENTLY IMPERILING ITS CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. IN SPITE OF THESE SETBACKS, HOWEVER, THE PDC HAS MADE PROGRESS. SUPPORT FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPS CONTINUES. WITHIN EL SALVADOR, SOME MEMBERS WHO HAD DROPPED AWAY OVER THE YEARS ARE RETURNING TO THE PARTY, AND SOME INDEPENDENTS ARE NOW WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH IT. THE PDC IS FINDING IT EASIER TO ATTRACT QUALIFIED PEOPLE FOR A RANGE OF GOVERNMENTAL JOBS. ON THE MINUS SIDE, ITS RELATIONS WITH THE MILITARY REMAIN

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POOR, AND ALTHOUGH IT HAS HAD CONTACTS WITH THE EXTREME LEFT, SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT YET IN VIEW.

7. THE CHURCH. THE CHURCH'S ATTEMPT TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE EXTREME LEFT MET WITH NO SUCCESS. ACTING ARCHBISHOP RIVERA HAS DEALT OUT CRITICISM IN A MORE EVEN-HANDED FASHION THAN DID ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, BUT AS REPORTS OV VIOLENCE FROM THE MILITARY AND THE SECURITY CORPS HAVE INCREASED, HIS CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BECOME SHARPER.

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8. THE PRIVATE SECTOR. BUSINESSMEN HAVE BEEN SLOW TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES IN A FORM WHICH THE JRG WOULD FIND ACCEPTABLE FOR CONDUCTING NEGOTIATIONS. ALTHOUGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE MADE STATEMENTS ABOUT THE NEED TO COOPERATE WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR, FEW ACTIONS HAVE YET BEEN TAKEN TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING. HOWEVER, THE APPOINTMENT OF A PLANNING MINISTER WHO IS TRUSTED BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AND HIS RECENT BRIEFING OF ASSOCIATION OF SALVADORAN INDUSTRIALISTS (ASI) ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS.

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ADP453 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04154 02 OF 02 141651Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IDCA-02
SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /078 W
----------050240 141907Z /41

P R 141630Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9016
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
M/AMEMBASSY LIMA 571
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4154

BUENOS AIRES FOR ONLY

9. THE EXTREME LEFT. NOMINAL UNITY AND INTERNAL DISSENTION CONTINUE TO CHARACTERIZE THE EXTREME LEFT. IT NOW APPEARS THAT FAPU ACTED ENTIRELY ON ITS OWN IN CALLING FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AND AN UPRISING IN MAY, AND THAT ITS DECISION PRODUCED DISCORD WITHIN THE CRM. A SMALL GROUP, MLP, JOINED THE CRM. AGGRESSIVE RECRUITING FOR ARMED GROUPS, WHICH IN SOME CASES AMOUNTS TO IMPRESSMENT, APPEARS TO HAVE ALIENATED SOME OF HE "POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS'" SYMPATHIZERS. THE FRENTE DEMOCRATICO IS NOT ATTRACTING MUCH SUPPORT WITHIN EL SALVADOR, AND ITS ALLIANCE (THE FDR) WITH THE CRM HAS YET TO PRODUCE A JOINT PROGRAM OR A GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, BOTH OF WHICH WERE PLANNED FOR EARLY [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04154 02 OF 02 141651Z

MAY. INTERNATIONALLY, THE FDR HAS NOT ATTRACTED SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT. THE MILITARY EFFORTS OF THE EXTREME LEFT HAVE HAD SUCCESS IN SEVERAL AS YET SMALL-SCALE GUERRILLA OPERATIONS. BOTH THE NUMBER OF THESE OPERATIONS AND THE CASUALTIES RESULTING FROM THEM HAVE INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY.

10. THE EXTREME RIGHT. CAPITALIZING ON OPPOSITION TO THE "LAND TO THE TILLER LAW" AND ENCOURAGED BY THE RELEASE OF D'AUBUISSON, THE EXTREME RIGHT HAS BECOME MORE ACTIVE. THE

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ANNOUNCED UNIFICATION OF EXTREME RIGHT GROUPS PROBABLY HAS MORE TO DO WITH PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE THAN REALITY, BUT VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, SOME OF WHICH IS REPORTEDLY CARRIED OUT BY THE SECURITY CORPS AND MUCH OF WHICH IS DIRECTED AGAINST MODERATES OR INDIVIDUALS WITH TENUOUS TIES TO THE EXTREME LEFT, HAS CLEARLY INCREASED.

11. DAO COMMENT: THE ACTIVITIES OF THE EXTREME RIGHT MUST BE SEPARATED FROM GOVERNMENT SANCTIONED REPRESSION, ALTHOUGH THERE IS SOME OVERLAPPING OF ACTORS, BECAUSE CONTROL OF THE PROBLEM INVOLVES A TWOFOLD APPROACH. THE FIRST CATEGORY IS THE MOST BRUTAL. THE PARTICIPANTS ARE PROBABLY GUARDIA AUXILIARIES, HISTORICALLY HIRED BY THE RICH TO SERVE THE PURPOSES OF THE RICH, THEY ARE IDENTIFIED AS GUARDIA IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND WEAR GUARDIA UNIFORMS. SOME IN THIS CATEGORY ARE HIRED MERCENARIES, INCLUDING SOME IN THE WESTERN ZONE WHO WORK BOTH IN GUATEMALA AND EL SALVADOR. ALSO IN THIS CATEGORY ARE FORMER MEMBERS OF ORDEN AND MOONLIGHTING ACTIVE DUTY SECURITY FORCE AND ARMY PERSONNEL. A CATEGORY OF SEMI-SANCTIONED REPRESSION OCCURS AT THE SMALL UNIT LEVEL WHERE CORPORALS' AND SERGEANTS' ACTS OF VENGEANCE KILL CAMPESINOS WHO MAY OR MAY NOT BE TERRORISTS. THE SECOND CATEGORY OF REPRESSION IS CONDUCTED BY SECURITY FORCES AND ARMY UNITS IN SOME OF THEIR OPERATIONS. THIS IS TYPIFIED [redacted]

BY SEARCH AND DESTROY MISSIONS WHERE ALL PEOPLE ON A LIST OR IN A PARTICULAR AREA ARE CONSIDERED TO BE TERRORISTS AND SHOT. THESE OPERATIONS ARE CHARACTERIZED BY POOR ORGANIZATION AND COORDINATION, AND DEMONSTRATE HOW UNPROFESSIONAL SOME UNITS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND ARMY ARE. END DAO COMMENT.

12. COMMENT: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM IS DAMAGING THE PROSPECTS OF BOTH THE EXTREME LEFT AND THE EXTREME RIGHT, AND THEIR OPPOSITION TO IT IS INCREASINGLY BITTER AND VIOLENT. BOTH GROUPS HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE MODERATES, AND THE RESULT IS THAT IN SOME AREAS OF THE COUNTRY THE AGRARIAN REFORM HAS BEEN DISRUPTED. THE JRG'S POSITION IS IMMENSELY COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT MANY OF THE EXTREME RIGHT ARE NOMINALLY UNDER ITS CONTROL, BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO TAKE EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST THEM.

13. THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CHANGE THAT THE JRG IS ATTEMPTING TO BRING ABOUT GUARANTEES THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO EXPERIENCE CRISES FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. WHEN AND IF IT GETS BY THE FIRST GENERATION PROBLEMS OF FORMULATION AND PASSAGE OF THE REFORMS, SECOND GENERATION PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION AND UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES WILL APPEAR (AND IN THE CASE OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM, ARE ALREADY APPEARING). IN THE COMING MONTHS THE JRG WILL CONTINUE TO NEED ALL OF THE MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT WE CAN GIVE IT. ONE AREA IN WHICH WE HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IS THAT OF STRENGTHENING THE UNEASY ALLIANCE BETWEEN

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THE MILITARY AND THE PDC, WHICH IS PRESENTLY THREATENED BY THE PDC'S SUSPICIONS THAT THE MILITARY IS UNWILLING TO PROTECT THE PARTY'S MEMBERS.

14. ANOTHER AREA IN WHICH U.S. EMBASSY CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IS THAT OF ENCOURAGING A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN PDC AND PRIVATE SECTOR IN TERMS OF CONCENTRATING ON SHARED INTERESTS RATHER THAN HISTORICAL DIFFERENCES, WITH PRINCIPAL SHARED INTEREST BEING THE RESTORATION OF POLITICAL/ECONOMIC STABILITY. MOREOVER, SINCE BOTH THE PDC AND PRIVATE SECTOR

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ARE GROWING INCREASINGLY UNEASY WITH GROWING LEVEL OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE, WHETHER FROM THE SECURITY FORCES, ULTRA-RIGHT OR ULTRA-LEFT, BOTH PDC AND PRIVATE SECTOR HAVE IN COMMON THE GOAL OF CONVINCING MILITARY TO INHIBIT AND EVENTUALLY STOP VIOLENCE AND KILLING.
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RELEASED

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

(A-077)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSAN SA004154

ADP452

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 04154 01 OF 02 141841Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IOCA-02
SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /078 W
----------050172 141906Z /41

P R 141630Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9015
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4154

BUENOS AIRES FOR ONLY

E.O. 12065: RDS-2 6/13/90 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, EARLY JUNE

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THIS IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF TELEGRAMS GIVING THE MISSION'S ANALYSIS OF HOW THE MAJOR POLITICAL ACTORS IN EL SALVADOR HAVE FARED DURING THE PREVIOUS MONTH. THIS TELEGRAM COVERS MAY THROUGH EARLY JUNE. THE MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS OF THE PERIOD WERE THE PASSAGE OF THE "LAND TO THE TILLER LAW", WHICH GREATLY EXPANDED

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 04154 01 OF 02 141841Z

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA004154

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 04154 01 OF 02 141841Z

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSAN SA004154

ADP453 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04154 02 OF 02 141851Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IDCA-02
SY-05 SYE-00 OCT-02 /078 W
----------050240 141907Z /41

P R [redacted]30Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9016
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA 571
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4154

BUENOS AIRES FOR ONLY

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 04154 02 OF 02 141851Z

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Special Project (1993)

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSAN SA004154

ADP452

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04154 01 OF 02 141841Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IDCA-02
SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /078 W
----------050172 141908Z /41

P R 141630Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9015
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4154

BUENOS AIRES FOR ONLY

E.O. 12065: RDS-2 6/13/90 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, EARLY JUNE

[redacted]

2. THIS IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF TELEGRAMS GIVING THE MISSION'S ANALYSIS OF HOW THE MAJOR POLITICAL ACTORS IN EL SALVADOR HAVE FARED DURING THE PREVIOUS MONTH. THIS TELEGRAM COVERS MAY THROUGH EARLY JUNE. THE MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS OF THE PERIOD WERE THE PASSAGE OF THE "LAND TO THE TILLER LAW", WHICH GREATLY EXPANDED [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04154 01 OF 02 141841Z

THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM, THE CAPTURE AND RELEASE OF A MAN WHO SYMBOLIZES THE EXTREME RIGHT, MAJ. D'AUBUISSON AND ONE NON-EVENT, THE FAILURE OF THE EXTREME LEFT TO PRODUCE A REASONABLE SHOWING OF STRENGTH ON MAY DAY.

3. THE GOVERNMENT. THE JRG SURVIVED ITS FIFTH MONTH. THE NECESSITY OF RESPONDING TO AN ALMOST CONSTANT SERIES OF CRISES HAS LIMITED ITS EFFICIENCY AND ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE, BUT THE FACT OF ITS CONTINUED EXISTENCE IS SLOWLY PERSUADING SOME

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032K

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 04154 02 OF 02 141851Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IDCA-02
SY-05 SYE-00 OCT-02 /078 W
------------------050240 141907Z /41

P R 141630Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9016
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
M/AMEMBASSY LIMA 571
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4154

BUENOS AIRES FOR ONLY

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 04154 02 OF 02 141851Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03704 141643Z
ACTION OCS-06

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 CA-01 H-01 L-03 (ADS) W
----------050057 141812Z /43

P 141627Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7337

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 3704

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CGEN SHUM CI
SUBJ: CIVIL SUIT (ISABEL MOREL DE LETELIER, ET AL)

REF: SANTIAGO 2091

1. SANTIAGO PRESS JUNE 14 REPORTS THAT "SUMMONS AND COMPLAINT" DOCUMENTS STEMMING FROM THE SUBJECT CIVIL SUIT WERE SERVED ON MANUEL CONTRERAS AND ARMANDO FERNANDEZ JUNE 13. ACCORDING TO THE SAME STORIES PEDRO ESPINOZA HAS NOTT YET BEEN SERVED.

2. COMMENT. THE EMBASSY TRANSMITTED THE US DISTRICT COURT DOCUMENTS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY LAST AUGUST. WE SEE NO SIGNIFICANCE IN YESTERDAY'S IMPLEMENTATION ACTION BEYOND THE NORMAL, IF VERY SLOW, CARRYING OUT OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE REQUEST FROM ONE JUDICIAL SYSTEM TO ANOTHER. IN DUE COURSE THE EMBASSY MAY RECEIVE CERTIFICATES OF SERVICE FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. IF SO, WE WILL FORWARD THEM TO THE CLERK OF THE DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AS INSTRUCTED BY OPERATIONS MEMORANDUM OF 7/26/79 FROM CA/OCS/CCS/ARA.
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6-16-80

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Santiago, Chile

June 16, 1980

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
UNCLASSIFIED

Peter Whitney, Esquire
ARA/SC
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Dear Peter:

Following our telephone conversation regarding the death of Pedro Andurandegui, I asked DEA SAIC Bruce Stock to see what he could find out. Andurandegui was arrested by personnel of Investigaciones. Despite the allegation at the time that he was using marijuana, Stock is told emphatically that the narcotics unit of Investigaciones was in no way involved. Furthermore, both Investigaciones and the Carabineros narcotics office tell Stock that there was no previous record of Andurandegui for narcotics related offenses. It would appear, although we can never be totally sure, that individuals we hope to reach through the DEA training course are not those who killed Andurandegui.

The investigation of the Andurandegui death continues. I enclose a copy of a recent article from "Hoy" magazine.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Robert E. Service
Acting Deputy Chief of
Mission

Enclosure (Hoy, June 11-17, 1980, pp. 18 & 20)

ADCM:REService:ta 6-16-80

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84-83-0004

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MJ#37

BOB PACKWOOD
OREGON

[illegible] -3/
Des

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 18, 1980

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Assistant Secretary of State
for Congressional Relations
United States Department of State
22nd and C Streets N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

R

Dear Sir:

Recent news articles describe actions taken by the Chilean government to exile a number of university students, including some Americans. I believe today's Washington Post reports that 22 students were arrested and sent into exile in remote villages.

One of my constituents has expressed concern for the safety and welfare of an American student who may be among the individuals exiled. His name is Nathan Stone, a volunteer with the Holy Cross Foundation in Santiago. I would appreciate your assistance in determining whether Mr. Stone has been arrested so that I may respond to my constituent. Your quick cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

Bob Packwood

BOB PACKWOOD

BP:bw

1980 JUN 26 AM 10 55
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

UNCLASSIFIED

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6-18-80

KS002

Department of State TELEGRAM

DECONTROL

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ( ) Deny
Declassify: In Part ( ) In Full
Exemption(s)

UNCLASSIFIED ENTER CLASSIFIED USE

AN: DB00297-03

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AGE 01 SANTIA 03788 1822082
CTION ARA-15

NFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
NR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
CA-11 AID-07 IO-14 HEW-04 /099 W
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1821312 JUN 80
M AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
O SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7372

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.O. 12065: N/A
AGS: PINT, SEDU, SHUM, CI
UBJ: GOC SENTENCES 22 MORE PERSONS TO INTERNAL EXILE

EF: A) SANTIAGO 0875, B) SANTIAGO 3705

. . IN THE LATE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 17, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED
T HAD INTERNALLY BANISHED 22 OF THE 96 PERSONS, MOSTLY STUDENTS,
ETAINED ON JUNE 12 FOR HOLDING A "POLITICAL MEETING" (REF B).
HE SANTIAGO MORNING DAILIES ON JUNE 18 BANNERED THE STORY.
HE LENGTH OF THE RELEGATIONS IS THE STANDARD THREE MONTHS, IN
CCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF DECREE LAW 3168 ISSUED EARLIE
HIS YEAR (REF A). THE 22 PERSONS, ALL MEN, WERE SENT IN SMALL
ROUPS (OF 2 OR 3) TO NINE DIFFERENT LOCATIONS IN THE SOUTH,
OSTLY ON THE ISLAND OF CHILOE. THE REMAINING 74 PERSONS WERE
REED.

2. IN ITS STATEMENT, THE GOC IDENTIFIED THOSE IT HAD RELAGATED
S "MARXIST ACTIVISTS" WHO HAD ENGAGED IN REPEATED ACTIONS
AGAINST THE PUBLIC ORDER." THOSE WHO WERE FREED WERE WARNED
HAT THEY WOULD ALSO FACE SANCTIONS IN THE EVENT OF RECURRING
NVOLVEMENT.

3. COMMENT. AS USUAL, THE GOVERNMENT WAITED UNTIL THE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03788 1822082

AXIMUM FIVE DAY DETENTION PERIOD WAS ALMOST UP BEFORE

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ACTING. WHAT MAKES THESE RELEGATIONS DIFFERENT FROM THOSE PREVIOUSLY CARRIED OUT UNDER D.L. 3168 (ON 6 MARCH, 1 MAY AND 8 MAY) IS THAT THE PEOPLE WERE NOT EXILED INDIVIDUALLY. MEANWHILE, THE 17 PERSONS RELEGATED ON MARCH 8 FOR PARTICIPATING IN INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY ACTIVITIES HAVE BEGUN RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES.
LANDAU

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6-18-80 (KS001)

Department of State TELEGRAM

DECONTROL

Chile Project (#S1999000307)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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AN: D800297-0401

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03787 1822047
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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----------076940 1822577 /12
P R 1821187 JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7371
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
USCINCSO

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, MARR, CI
SUBJ: MORE CHILEAN REACTION TO NON-INVITATION TO UNITAS XXI

REF: SANTIAGO 3758

1. LOCAL REACTION AND PRESS PLAY TO FINAL DECISION BY USG NOT TO INVITE CHILEAN PARTICIPATION IN UNITAS XXI CONTINUES TO BE NEGATIVE AND NATIONALISTIC. LARGEST CIRCULATION DAILY "LA TERCERA" JUNE 18 EDITORIALIZED IN SUPPORT OF ADMIRAL MERINO'S STATEMENT YESTERDAY (REFTEL) AND AGAINST US PRESSURES WHICH, "LA TERCERA" SUGGESTS, ARE AIMED AT SPEEDING CHILE'S RETURN TO DEMOCRACY.

2. "EL MERCURIO" JUNE 18 CARRIED STATEMENTS BY ADMIRAL MCINTIRE, CHIEF OF THE FLEET, WHO STATED THAT THE DECISION WAS "ANOTHER ERROR" IN U.S. POLICY; AND BY ADMIRAL RAUL LOPEZ, MILITARY GOVERNOR OF THE 5TH REGION AND CHIEF OF THE FIRST NAVAL ZONE, WHO SAID THAT THE CHILEAN NAVY HAS THOUGHT FOR SOME TIME THAT UNITAS OPERATIONS WERE LESS
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03787 1822047

THAN USEFUL BECAUSE CARTER ADMINISTRATION POLICIES HAD

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DESTROYED THEIR CENTRAL REASON FOR BEING: "HEMISPHERIC SOLIDARITY". HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THIS UNDERLYING RATIONALE WOULD BE RESTORED.

3. COMMENT: WITH THE PARTIALNAYQE EXCEPTION OF LOPEZ, PRESS COMMENTARY AND INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS BY GOC LEADERS HAVE CAREFULLY NOTED THAT THE DECISION INVOLVES ONLY UNITAS XXI. MCINTYRE IN PARTICULAR WAS VERY UPBEAT ON THIS POINT, SAYING THAT "THIS SITUATION IS ONLY TEMPORARY. OUR PARTICIPATION IN OR ABSENSE FROM UNITAS DEPENDS STRICTLY ON U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY...AND WE THINK THAT IS GOING TO CHANGE VERY SOON."
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Department of State

INCOMING
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03789 182217Z
ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7373

~~C O N F I~~ D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 3789

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DECAPTIONED

FOR ARA, D, P AND L ONLY

E.O. 12065: GDS 6-18-86 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV, PINC, CI
SUBJ: LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE: LETTER FROM UNITED STATES PAROLE COMMISSION TO THE SECRETARY

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. BY LETTER OF MAY 28 TO SECRETARY MUSKIE COMMISSIONER ROBERT D. VINCENT OF THE UNITED STATES PAROLE COMMISSION REQUESTED GUIDANCE ON THE POSSIBLE FOREIGN POLICY RAMIFICATIONS OF A PAROLE DECISION IN THE CASE OF MICHAEL TOWNLEY.

3. SEEN FROM CHILE, A DECISION AT THIS TIME TO GRANT PAROLE TO MICHAEL TOWNLEY WOULD BE DELETERIOUS TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY INTEREST. THE INTEREST AT STAKE IS DETERRENCE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. TO THAT END WE HAVE IMPOSED VARIOUS SANCTIONS AS THE RESULT OF THE FAILURE OF THE GOC TO INVESTIGATE FULLY THE LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATIONS. WHILE NOT LIKELY TO LEAD TO THE TRIAL AND CONVICTIONS WE BELIEVE WARRANTED, THAT INVESTIGATION CONTINUES.

4. KNOWLEDGEABLE CHILEANS DO NOT CONTEST STRONGLY THE CULPABILITY OF THE DINA, BUT MANY, INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAVE NO LOVE FOR THE CURRENT REGIME, DO NOT THINK THE U.S. CASE FOR EXTRADITION WAS VERY STRONG AND HAVE PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY WITH MICHAEL TOWNLEY'S TESTIMONY AND PLEA BARGAINED SENTENCE. PLEA BARGAINING AS WE KNOW IT DOES NOT EXIST IN CHILEAN JUDICIAL PRACTICE.

5. IF AND WHEN TOWNLEY IS RELEASED ON PAROLE, THERE WILL BE EVEN LESS LIKELIHOOD THAN AT PRESENT THAT THE GOC WILL PURSUE SERIOUSLY ITS OWN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF CONTRERAS, ESPINOZA AND FERNANDEZ. IN ADDITION, THOSE CHILEANS WHO PREFER TO SEE USG ACTIONS IN THE LETELIER/MOFFITT CASE AS POLITICAL, RATHER THAN BASED ON SEEKING JUSTICE, WILL HAVE A STRONGER ARGUMENT.
LANDAU

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

Access # 99-99-0601
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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (E1065)

PAGE 01 STATE 151828 3513
ORIGIN SS-30

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 151828

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E.O. 12065: GDS 6/9/86 (COWDLER, WG)

TAGS: PEPR, PINT, ES, MX

SUBJECT: CONTACT WITH THE SALVADORAN LEFT IN MEXICO

REF: A) STATE 141466; B) MEXICO 9211

1. [redacted]).

2. EMBASSY MEXICO SHOULD EXPRESS TO THE PRI'S JOSE LUIS ALONSO THE USG'S APPRECIATION FOR HIS CONTINUING INTEREST AND ASK HIM TO PASS THE FOLLOWING REPLY TO HIS COORDINADORA (CRM) CONTACTS:

-- WE ARE OPEN TO INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS WITH THE COORDINADORA (CRM) BUT BELIEVE THAT THEY SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN EL SALVADOR BETWEEN THE CRM AND OUR EMBASSY.

-- ACCORDINGLY, THE CRM SHOULD MAKE DIRECT CONTACT AT WHATEVER LEVEL IT PREFERS WITH OUR EMBASSY IN SAN SALVADOR.
MUSKIE

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032K

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S-A/A 6-30-80
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June 30, 1980

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
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Madison M. Adams, Jr., Esquire
Acting Director
Southern Cone Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

Dear Mac:

This letter replies to yours of June 20 which included a copy of Pat Flood's Memorandum to the Files. It is now clear why Peter was so concerned about Santiago 2489 and the reference to men dying while under police detention. I had thought it related primarily to the issue of a DEA training course. Quite obviously the matter carries much greater weight in HA and perhaps elsewhere.

From what we know of these two cases (mainly from the Vicariate), as well as other instances of citizens being killed or wounded by police officers, there does not appear to be a political angle. I realize that this argument cuts both ways. HA may argue that police violence has now become so institutionalized in Chile that even common criminals (or innocent persons) are sometimes subjected to physical mistreatment resulting in death. It seems to me, however, that there is an important distinction between ad hoc police brutality and the more purposeful policy of torturing prisoners suspected of political activity. The almost certain torture followed by death of Alvarez Santibañez last August falls in the latter category. So may most of the more recent allegations of torture or mistreatment. The two deaths reported in 2489 and which Pat Flood appears to place on an equal footing probably belong in the first.

Police brutality is a fact of life in all countries including the U.S. Not entirely innocently, the local media gave great attention to the recent Miami riots and the precipitating

GDS 6/30/86 (LANDAU, George W.) OR-M

84-83-0004

incident. In current day Chile there is probably more police brutality than during some earlier periods, in part because the judiciary still refrains from a vigorously independent role. But, to come to Pat Flood's suggestion in the last paragraph of his memo, I do not think we should make total cessation of such incidents a condition for modifying our stance on Chile in the UNHRC, or UNGA. We might point out to the GOC what they already know — that any deaths or reports of mistreatment while in police custody will be used against Chile in such forums. But to the extent we are talking about ad hoc police brutality, it would be a mistake to tie U.S. policy to something the GOC does not fully control.

I have mixed feelings about Pat Flood's proposal that we get involved at an early stage in the drafting of the annual Chile resolutions. I would like to think our more objective and dispassionate view would carry the day but experience to date has not been very encouraging. What does not serve our interest is to be committed to cosponsorship of a resolution which is not accurate, perpetuates the double or multiple standard, and puts us in the company of numerous countries whose objectives are frankly political. Nevertheless, participation in drafting is worth considering as we get closer to the UNGA.

Congratulations on the San Jose assignment. With best regards,

Sincerely,

George W. Landau

ADCM:REService:ta 6-30-80

RELEASED
El Salvador Declassification
Special Projects

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9-22-93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSTATE 174232

UNCLASSIFIED

ADP773 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 174232
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-08 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 VO-05
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 174232

E.O. 12065:N/A

AGS: PINT, MPOL, ES

SUBJECT: D'AUBUISSON PRESS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

1. MAJOR (RETIRED) ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE, ANNA, ALFREDO MENA (CO-DIRECTOR OF FAN), AND ORLANDO DE SOLA (PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY OF EL SALVADOR) GAVE A NEWS CONFERENCE AT 11:00 A.M. TODAY AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL, WHICH IS CO-SPONSORING D'AUBUISSON'S VISIT ALONG WITH THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE TASK FORCE OF THE AMERICAN [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 174232

LEGION. ABOUT 50 PERSONS WERE PRESENT; GENERAL ATMOSPHERE WAS VERY SUPPORTIVE OF D'AUBUISSON, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE PRESS ASKED POINTED QUESTIONS.

2. D'AUBUISSON READ A SEVEN-PAGE STATEMENT IN WHICH HE GAVE THE REASON FOR HIS TRIP TO THE U.S.--TO DENOUNCE THE INTERVENTION OF THE U.S. IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EL SALVADOR, EXPRESSED THROUGH AMBASSADOR WHITE, WHO HE REFERRED TO AS "THE VIRTUAL PRESIDENT" OF THE COUNTRY.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSTATE 174232

DURING QUESTIONING HE DENIED HAVING TAKEN PART IN ANY VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THAT FAN IS ENGAGED IN ANY PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES, AND THAT HE HAS ANY "DIRECT RELATIONS" WITH THE SALVADORAN MILITARY. HE CLAIMED TO HAVE EVIDENCE THAT COL. MAJANO WAS GOING TO MOUNT A COUP

IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS, AND WOULD PROCLAIM A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IN EXILE OR LIBERATED TERRITORY AND THEREBY GAIN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF GUERRILLA FORCES AS BELLIGERENTS. HIS SOLUTION FOR EL SALVADOR IS A MILITARY TAKEOVER. HE WOULD WELCOME A REQUEST FROM THE MILITARY FO HIS SERVICES OR THOSE OF FAN. HE WOULD WELCOME U.S. INTERVENTION, IF IT WAS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO PREVENT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DOMINATION.

3. WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT HIS ENTRY INTO THIS COUNTRY, HE CLAIMED THAT HE HAD HAD NO PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT THE U.S. MILITARY ATTACHE IN SAN SALVADOR HAD DELIVERED A THREAT FROM AMBASSADOR WHITE THAT HIS VISA HAD BEEN REVOKED, BUT THAT "THEY (THE EMBASSY) MUST HAVE HAD SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT CARRYING THE THREAT OUT."

4. D'AUBUISSON'S PORT OF ENTRY WAS APPARENTLY MIAMI VIA GUATEMALA. ACCORDING TO INS, ITS MIAMI OFFICE HAS [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 174232

NO RECORD OF D'AUBUISSON AMONG THE MORE THAN 9,000 ALIENS WHO CAME THROUGH MIAMI JUNE 30. INS IS CURRENTLY TRYING TO LOCATE HIM IN ORDER TO CHECK HIS DOCUMENTATION AND CANCEL HIS VISA.

5. D'AUBUISSON WILL BE MEETING WITH SENATOR HELMS THE MORNING OF JULY 2 AND WILL TESTIFY BEFORE THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE IN THE AFTERNOON. WE DO NOT KNOW OF ANY OTHER ACTIVITIES HE MAY HAVE PLANNED. CALLS FROM THE MEDIA, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND FROM HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS COMPLAINING HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS. MU [redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80STATE 175209

ADP779
[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 175209
ORIGIN ARA-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SIG-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
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APPROVED BY ARA/CEN JBLACKEN
ARA/CHP - DMATHES(SUB)
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 175209

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PINT, MPOL, ES

SUBJECT: D'AUBUISSION PRESS GUIDANCE

REF: STATE 174232

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE REGARDING ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED BY THE DEPARTMENT ON AN "IF ASKED ONLY BASIS." IT WAS USED AT THE NOON BRIEFING ON JULY 2.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 175209

2. BEGIN TEXT:

-- Q: CAN YOU TELL US HOW MAJ. D'AUBUISSON GOT BY IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS AT THE PORT OF ENTRY TO THE U.S.?

-- A: WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE INS IS INVESTIGATING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MR. D'AUBUISSON'S ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES. WE DON'T WANT TO SPECULATE ON HOW THAT MIGHT TURN OUT.

PAGE NO.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80STATE 175209

-- Q: DOES THE STATE DEPT. CONSIDER D'AUBUISSON A "TERRORIST"?

-- A: WE ARE NOT TRYING TO PUT LABELS ON PEOPLE FROM THIS PODIUM. OUR CONCERN WITH MR. D'AUBUISSON IS HIS ELIGIBILITY TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE DETERMINED THAT HE IS INELIGIBLE UNDER THE LAW FOR A U.S. VISA BECAUSE OF HIS ACTIVITIES IN EL SALVADOR. HIS TRAVEL TO THIS COUNTRY AND HIS PRESENCE HERE WERE DETERMINED TO BE PREJUDICIAL TO THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND HIS VISA WAS REVOKED.

-- Q: WHAT SECTION OF THE LAW IS INVOLVED?
-- A: IT IS SECTION 212 (A) (27) OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT WHICH DECLARES INELIGIBLE FOR VISAS THOSE PERSONS WHOSE ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE PREJUDICIAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST, OR ENDANGER THE WELFARE, SAFETY OR SECURITY OF THE U.S.

-- Q: WHAT ARE THE ACTIVITIES THAT D'AUBUISSON WAS INVOLVED IN THAT THE STATE DEPT. CONSIDERS "PREJUDICIAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST"?

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 175209

-- A: HE IS A LEADING FIGURE IN AN ORGANIZATION SUSPECTED OF BEING ASSOCIATED WITH VIOLENT ACTIVITIES IN EL SALVADOR. HE IS BELIEVED TO HAVE PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN TWO ATTEMPTED COUPS AGAINST THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT IN RECENT MONTHS. MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION HE REPRESENTS, THE BROAD NATIONAL FRONT, HAVE MADE PUBLIC THREATENING STATEMENTS AGAINST U.S. OFFICIALS. END TEXT

3. INS HAS JUST INFORMED THE DEPARTMENT THAT D'AUBUISSON VOLUNTARILY CAME INTO THE INS DISTRICT OFFICE AFTERNOON OF JULY 2. HIS VISA WAS FORMALLY CANCELLED AND HE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY INS OFFICIALS UNTIL HE DEPARTS MIAMI TOMORROW (JULY 3) AFTERNOON FOR GUATEMALA.

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PAGE NO. 2

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]

[redacted] AN: 0800326-1049

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04652 0806362
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 OCT-02
SY-05 /076 W
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R 0720452 JUL 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9344
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 4652

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/7/86 OR-P
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) VIOLENCE HAS BECOME RELATIVE HERE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. IT IS SOME MEASURE OF THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE IN SAN SALVADOR THAT THE PAST WEEKEND (JULY 5-6) WAS CONSIDERED BY MANY TO BE A TRANQUIL ONE. THE DOWNTOWN AREAS WERE APPARENTLY FILLED WITH PEOPLE, AS USUAL, AND RESTAURANTS, SHOPS AND MOVIE THEATERS SEEMED TO BE DOING GOOD BUSINESS. AT THE LOCAL AMERICAN SOCIETY JULY 4 PICNIC (HELD JULY 6), ONE MEMBER, A SALVADORAN BUSINESSMAN MARRIED TO A U.S. CITIZEN, MENTIONED THE APPARENT LETUP IN VIOLENCE AND TENSION AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THIS MIGHT BE THE START OF A TREND.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04652 0806362

2. THE ABOVE MUST BE VIEWED IN PROPER CONTEXT.

[redacted]

[redacted]

SATURDAY EVENING, THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE BEER AND SOFTDRINK WORKERS UNION WAS BLOWN UP. THE DAY BEFORE, THERE WAS AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON A FORMER SAN SALVADOR MAYOR, WHO QUICKLY LEFT THE COUNTRY. ON SUNDAY, GUNMEN WALKED INTO A RESTAURANT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF SAN SALVADOR AND SHOT AND KILLED NINE PERSONS IN THE RESTAURANT. THE SAME DAY, IN LA LIBERTAD, A COASTAL CITY ABOUT 20 MILES FROM SAN SALVADOR (AND THROUGH WHICH MANY EMBOFFS PASS TO NEARBY BEACHES), TWO INDIVIDUALS CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE LOCAL U.S. CITIZEN PRIEST WERE SHOT AND KILLED. THE ASSAILANTS WERE OBSERVED BY FAIRLY RELIABLE WITNESSES TO WALK SEVERAL BLOCKS AND TO ENTER A POLICE CAR. AND, OF COURSE, ESTIMATES OF DAILY, COUNTRYWIDE KILLINGS ON THE ORDER OF 20 OR 30 ARE ROUTINELY REPORTED IN THE CONTROLLED, LOCAL PRESS. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THESE FIGURES ARE LOW, PERHAPS HALF OF AN ACCURATE TOTAL.

3. EVERYTHING IS RELATIVE, WE SUPPOSE, AND PERHAPS LAST WEEKEND WAS RELATIVELY CAL. BUT THE FACT REMAINS, OF COURSE, THAT THIS COUNTRY IS EXPERIENCING A GROTESQUE WAVE OF KILLINGS AND VIOLENT ACTS UNMATCHED IN THIS HEMISPHERE AND THE TREND SEEMS TO BE GROWING. IT IS PARTICULARLY UNSETTLING THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF DEATHS ARE UNATTRIBUTED. QUOTE UNIDENTIFIED END QUOTE GUNMEN SEEM TO BE RESPONSIBLE IN THE LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF CASES.
WHITE

[redacted]

Department of State IR/FIC/CDR, El Salvador FP Date 9/23/97
Declassified under E.O. 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: discretion ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

E11a

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RELEASED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA004877

ADP752 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04877 142016Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02
CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /077 W
------------------004328 142018Z /64

O 141930Z JUL 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9501
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAUGA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCKGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 4877

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/14/86
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) SAMAYOA RELEASED JULY 12

REF SAN SALVADOR 4869 (NOTAL)

1. (U) GOES RELEASED SALVADOR SAYAYOA, FORMER EDUCATION MINISTER IN FIRST JUNTA AND LATER LEADER OF FPL AFTER HIS RESIGNATION FROM JUNTA, JULY 12 REPORTEDLY ON DEMAND OF SEPREME COURT FOR LACK OF MILITARY COURT JURISDICTION. SAMAYOA HAD BEEN CAPTURED MAY 29. WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE DEPARTED FOR SPAIN UPON HIS RELEASE.

2. [redacted]COMMENT: SAMAYOA RELEASE WAS GIVEN LITTLE PUBLICITY AND, MORE SUPRISING, ELICTED LITTLE APPARENT INTEREST AMONG THE PEOPLE. HIS RELEASE IS SIMPLY THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04877 142016Z

MOST RECENT REFLECTION OF A SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING THIS GOVERNMENT. SECURITY FORCES APPREHEND A PROMINENT EXTREMIST OF THE LEFT OR RIGHT, E.G. JUAN CHACON AND SAMAYOA ON THE LEFT, MAJ. ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON ON THE RIGHT; AND LATER THEY ARE RELEASED EITHER BECAUSE THE JUDICIARY IS SO THREATENED THAT NO JUDGE WILL TRY THEM OR BECAUSE SYMPATHETIC ELEMENTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT WORK FOR THEIR RELEASE (AS WITH D'AUBUISSON). THE RELEASE HAS A DOUBLY BAD EFFECT.F FIRST, IT MAKES A

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400321

DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

MOCKERY OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN THE EYES OF THE PEOPLE AND THIS BECOMES YET ANOTHER GOVERNMENTAL ELEMENT WHICH IS PERCEIVED AS NOT FUCTIONING PROPERLY. SECOND, THESE RELEASES ENCOURAGE SECURITY FORCE BRUTAILTY. WHY ARREST A TERRORIST IF HE WILL ONLY BE RELEASED? FAR BETTER TO KILL HIM, OR SO THE REASONING GOES.
WHITE

[redacted]

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DECLASSIFIED

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RELEASED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSAN SA004877

ADPT52

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04877 142018Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02
CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /077 W
004328 142018Z /64

O 141930Z JUL 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9501
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAUGA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCKGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 4877

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/14/86
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) SAMAYOA RELEASED JULY 12

REF SAN SALVADOR 4869 (NOTAL)

1. (U) GOES RELEASED SALVADOR SAYAYOA, FORMER EDUCATION MINISTER IN FIRST JUNTA AND LATER LEADER OF FPL AFTER HIS RESIGNATION FROM JUNTA, JULY 12 REPORTEDLY ON DEMAND OF SEPREME COURT FOR LACK OF MILITARY COURT JURISDICTION. SAMAYOA HAD BEEN CAPTURED MAY 29. WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE DEPARTED FOR SPAIN UPON HIS RELEASE.

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[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04877 142018Z

MOST RECENT REFLECTION OF A SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING THIS GOVERNMENT. SECURITY FORCES APPREHEND A PROMINENT EXTREMIST OF THE LEFT OR RIGHT, E.G. JUAN CHACON AND SAMAYOA ON THE LEFT, MAJ. ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON ON THE RIGHT; AND LATER THEY ARE RELEASED EITHER BECAUSE THE JUDICIARY IS SO THREATENED THAT NO JUDGE WILL TRY THEM OR BECAUSE SYMPATHETIC ELEMENTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT WORK FOR THEIR RELEASE (AS WITH D'AUBUISSON). THE RELEASE HAS A DOUBLY BAD EFFECT.F FIRST, IT MAKES A

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: 9940032L

UNCLASSIFIED

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MOCKERY OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN THE EYES OF THE PEOPLE AND THIS BECOMES YET ANOTHER GOVERNMENTAL ELEMENT WHICH IS PERCEIVED AS NOT FUCTIONING PROPERLY. SECOND, THESE RELEASES ENCOURAGE SECURITY FORCE BRUTAILTY. WHY ARREST A TERRORIST IF HE WILL ONLY BE RELEASED? FAR BETTER TO KILL HIM, OR SO THE REASONING GOES.
WHITE

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 04572 192030Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 /065 W
045572 192302Z /62

R 181528Z JUL 80
FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 390
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CRIR Date 1/26/98
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART EO Citations
( ) DENY
1995013 48
TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

[redacted] GUATEMALA 4572

EO 12065: GDS 7/17/86 (ORTIZ, FRANK) OR-M
TAGS: OVIP GT PN
SUBJECT: (U) VICE PRESIDENT VILLAGRAN KRAMER'S TRAVEL PLANS

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. VICE PRESIDENT VILLAGRAN KRAMER ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED, AFTER SOME BACKING AND FORTHING, PERMISSION FROM CONGRESS TO BE ABSENT FROM GUATEMALA UNTIL AUGUST 31. HE INTIMATED THAT HE PLANNED TO GET MEDICAL TREATMENT IN MEXICO FOR A CHRONIC BACK PROBLEM (WHICH HE HAS AND WHICH IS APPARENTLY QUITE PAINFUL). DURING THE AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL CALL ON HIM, HE SAID THAT HE INTENDS TO SPEND MOST OF HIS TIME IN THE US AND CANADA. HE HINTED STRONGLY, AS HE HAS ON NUMEROUS OTHER OCCASIONS, THAT HE WOULD SOON BE RELINQUISHING THE VICE PRESIDENCY. HIS CHIEF AIDE TELLS US VILLAGRAN, HIS WIFE PIERANGELA AND A 16-YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER PLAN TO LEAVE GUATEMALA JULY 19 IN THEIR PRIVATE AUTOMOBILE, DRIVE THROUGH MEXICO AND ENTER THE US AT ONE OF THE TEXAS ENTRY POINTS, AND THEN TO CANADA WHERE HE HAS A "GOOD FRIEND" IN PREMIER TRUDEAU. HE SAID HE DOUBTED VILLAGRAN WOULD BE PRESENT FOR THE JULY 19 SANDINISTA

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 GUATEM 04572 192030Z

ANNIVERSARY CEREMONIES WHICH, HE POINTED OUT, COINCIDE WITH THE DATE OF HIS EXPECTED DEPARTURE FOR MEXICO.

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3. WE UNDERSTAND THAT VILLAGRAN DEPARTED JULY 16 FOR PANAMA WHERE HE EXPECTS TO TALK TO TORRIJOS. WE NOTE COINCIDENCE OF MONINICAN PRD LEADER PENA GOMEZ' PLANS TO STOP IN PANAMA (SANTO DOMINGO 4966 (NOTAL)). THE MAVERICK VILLAGRAN, OF COURSE, CONSIDERS HIMSELF A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

4. COMMENT. HARD AS IT IS TO TAKE VILLAGRAN'S RESIGNATION SERIOUSLY AFTER SO MANY FALSE STARTS, WE MUST NOTE THAT HIS STAFF APPEARS TO BE VERY SERIOUSLY EXPLORING ONWARD EMPLOYMENT POSSIBILITIES. ORTIZ

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** - [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 HAVANA 05851 082300Z POSS DUPE
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 PA-01 NSCE-00 PM-07 SP-02
SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00 DODE-00
ICAE-00 /051 W
----------061193 090220Z /66

O 082110Z AUG 80
FM USINT HAVANA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0210
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY

CLASSIFIED
SECRET HAVANA 5851

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny____
Declassify: In Part____ In Full X
Exemption(s) B6

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 8/08/00 (TIPTON, JOHN B.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, CI, CU
SUBJECT: CUBA TRAINING CHILEAN GUERRILLAS?

1. (S) AT LUNCH AUGUST 8, PAO WAS INFORMED BY [redacted] THAT HE KNOWS DEFINITELY" THAT CUBAN GOVERNMENT IS TRAINING CHILEAN GUERRILLAS. [redacted] SAYS HIS SOURCE IS A PERUVIAN WHO, YEARS AGO, LIVED IN ENGLAND. NO INFO ON LOCALE, NUMBERS, OR POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF TRAINEES. WE WILL PURSUE SUBJECT AND REPORT FURTHER.

EXCISE

2. (U) COINCIDENTLY, OFFICIAL CCP DAILY GRANMA AUGUST 7 CARRIED PRENSA LATINA ITEM DATELINED MEXICO CITY REPORTING STATEMENT BY CHILEAN MIR LEADER ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE TO MEXICAN WEEKLY "PROCESO" THAT "CHILEAN POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS HAD FORMULATED A GENERAL PLAN OF ARMED STRUGGLE" AGAINST PINOCHET REGIME. MIR, HE CLAIMED, IS ACTIVELY SEEKING TO UNITE ALL "POPULAR FORCES", WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON MILITANT CHRISTIANS AND PRIESTS, TO OVERTHROW PINOCHET DICTATORSHIP. GRANMA HAS ALSO BEEN GIVING CONTINUAL COVERAGE TO CHILEAN INTERNAL SECURITY EVENTS.

UNCLASSIFIED SECRET
UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET

PAGE 02 HAVANA 05851 082300Z POSS DUPE

3. (S) COMMENT: SOURCE IS KNOWN HERE AS SOMEWHAT A LEFTIST. ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, HIS INFORMATION HAS PROVED ACCURATE.
TIPTON

UNCLASSIFIED SECRET

[redacted]

8/8/80 TBF

DG044

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Soc 11

NNNNVV ESA679BRA329
PP RUESBA
DE RUFHGV 0810 2211626
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
P 0816252 AUG 80
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8989
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY 1612
RUESLZ/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ PRIORITY 0452
RUESLM/AMEMBASSY LIMA PRIORITY 0843
RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY 1682
RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO 3231
BT

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ECOM			HER	
POL/R			USO	
CONS			RMF	
ICA			CPO	
LABOR			TCU	
SCI			DEA	
DAO			FAS	
MILGP			CHRON	
FCS			RF	

R

[redacted] GENEVA 10812

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/8/86 (SIEVERTS FRANK A.)
TAGS: SHUM, AR, SP, PE, BL
SUBJECT: BODY OF ARGENTINE EXILE DISCOVERED IN MADRID

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THE GENEVA CORRESPONDENT OF MEXICAN NEWSPAPER EL SOL PROVIDED MISSION COPY OF AUGUST 2 ARTICLE FROM MADRID DAILY EL PAIS DESCRIBING THE DEATH IN MADRID OF NOEMI ESTHER GIANOTTI DE MOLFINO. THE ARTICLE SAYS MRS. MOLFINO IS ONE OF THE ARGENTINE EXILES ABDUCTED IN PERU IN LATE JUNE.

3. EL PAIS ARTICLE MENTIONS JULY 24 MADRID NEWS ARTICLES CONCERNING DISCOVERY THREE DAYS EARLIER OF THE BODY OF A WOMAN WITH A FALSE PASSPORT IN AN APARTMENT RENTED ON JULY 16 BY TWO MEN WHO SUBSEQUENTLY VANISHED.

4. IPS WIRE SERVICE REPORT DATELINED MADRID AUGUST 6 SAYS INITIAL AUTOPSY REPORT ATTRIBUTES DEATH TO AN ACUTE RESPIRATORY CARDIAC ARREST CAUSED BY EXTERNAL FACTORS. IPS REPORT SAYS THAT ALTHOUGH A MORE COMPLETE AUTOPSY REPORT IS STILL BEING PREPARED, SPANISH LAWYER AND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY DEPUTY PABLO CASTELLANOS PLANS TO PRESS FOR MURDER CHARGES IN THE CASE.

5. COMMENT: WE HAVE NOT SEEN OTHER REPORTS ON MRS. MOLFINO'S DEATH. THE CASE OBVIOUSLY HAS FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS, AND DEPARTMENT AND ADDRESSEE POSTS MAY BE ABLE TO SHED ADDITIONAL LIGHT ON THE AFFAIR. MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ANY INFORMATION WHICH BECOMES AVAILABLE, AS WELL AS ASSESSMENT OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE. IF DEPARTMENT AGREES, WE WOULD PROPOSE TO SHARE SUCH INFORMATION WITH THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS DIVISION FOR USE BY THE UNHRC WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES. END COMMENT HELMAN
BT

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _____ ( ) Extend as _____ ( ) Downgrade to _____
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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3/52

ACTION: POL

INFO:
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CHRON
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DEPARTAMENT OF STATE

UNCLASSIFIED

TELEGRAM

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1994)

INCOMING SAN SALVADOR [redacted]

CONTROL: 1372

classification

C. A. R.

R 212226Z AUG 80
FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA '80 AUG 22 AM 9 44
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 897
INFO RUESNA/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 388
RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 425
RUESDO/AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO 199
RUESAS/AMEMBASSY ASUNCION 237
RUESLZ/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ 383
RUESUZ/AMEMBASSY BRASILIA 240
RUESBG/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA 920
RUESLM/AMEMBASSY LIMA 516
RUESQI/AMEMBASSY QUITO 534
RUESRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS 826
RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO 4775
RUESAL/AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR 7402
RUESTE/AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA 7252
ZEN/AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE POUCH
RUEHZP/AMEMBASSY PANAMA 2298
BT
[redacted] GUATEMALA 5380

SS 8/23/8

EO 12065: GDS 8/21/86
TAGS: CVIS PINT ES
CD'AUBUISSON, ROBERTO)
SUBJECT: (C) REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON THE ACTIVITIES OF ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON

REF: (A) STATE 222190, (B) GUATEMALA 5133 (NOTAL)

1. (C-ENTIRE TEMZ)

2. DURING CONSULAR INTERVIEW OF D'AUBUISSON (REF B) POLITICAL OFFICER WHO SAT IN AVOIDED SHOWING TOO ACTIVE INTEREST IN D'AUBUISSON'S ACTIVITIES, LEST IT BE CONSTRUED AS INDICATING DESIRE FOR CLOSER RELATIONSHIP. SEVERAL TIMES DURING CONVERSATION D'AUBUISSON ALLUDED TO PREVIOUS CONTACTS WITH EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR, ESPECIALLY WITH FORMER MILITARY ATTACHE, AND HINTED HEAVILY THAT HE WANTED TO REESTABLISH AN "INTELLIGENCE" RELATIONSHIP WITH US OFFICIALDOM. HE TOOK LINE THAT MUCH OF THE INFORMATION NOW AVAILABLE TO US AGENCIES ABOUT ALLEGED CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN NICARAGUA CAME FROM HIM OR HIS CONFEDERATES. WE DID NOT REACT TO THIS APPARENT FISHING EXPEDITION OUT OF CONCERN THAT A SHOW OF INTEREST COULD SEND UNWANTED SIGNALS TO THE VYING SALVADORAN SECTORS.

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/24/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
( ) deliberative process withheld; classified ( ); privacy ( ); law enforcement ( ); not relevant to El Salvador ( )

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-2-

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Special Project...

3. WE RAISE THE FOREGOING BECAUSE IT WOULD BE EASY TO RESPOND TO D'AUBUISSON'S APPARENT OVERTURE AND TRY TO MILK IT FOR FIRST-HAND INFORMATION ON HIS ACTIVITIES. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER DEPARTMENT WISHES US TO SHOW MORE RECEPTIVITY TO HIS DESIRE FOR CONTINUING CONTACT.

4. DURING HIS JULY 31 CONSULAR MXTERVIEW, WE PHOTO-COPIED D'AUBUISSON'S PASSPORT (NO. 0571310) ENTRIES. ALMOST ALL OF THE TRAVEL RCORDED THEREIN SINCE THE OCTOBER 27, 1979 ISSUANCE DATE WAS BETWEEN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA. THE EXCEPTIONS WERE SAN ANDRES, COLOMBIA, NOVEMBER 29-DECEMBER 4, 1979; SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, DECEMBER 4-5, 1979; ENTRY INTO MEXICO ON MAY 30, 1980; AND THE PUBLICIZED US ENTRIES ON JUNE 3 (SAN FRANCISCO) AND JUNE 29, 1980 (KEY WEST). WE DO NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY HE COULD HAVE TRAVELED ELSEWHERE ON OTHER DOCUMENTATION, CONCEIVABLY GUATEMALAN DOCUMENTATION IN ANOTHER NAME. SINN
BT
#5380

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of Violence (1993)

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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AN: 0800404-1080

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05809 2502SZ
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-07 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 OCT-02 SY-05
/074 W
---------043829 250552Z /14
R 231620Z AUG 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 643
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 5809

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/23/86 (WHITE, ROBERT E) OR-M
AGS: CVIS PINT ES
SUBJ: ACTIVITIES OF ROBERT D'AUBUISSON

REF GUATEMALA 5380

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT D'AUBUISSON'S STATEMENT THAT HE ASSISTED THE EMBASSY, SPECIFICALLY THE MILITARY ATTACHE, WITH INFORMATION IS ACCURATE. AT THAT TIME D'AUBUISSON SERVED AS G-2 OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY AND DOUBTLESS HAD ACCESS TO SOME INFORMATION OF IMPORTANCE.

3. WE DOUBT SERIOUSLY THAT D'AUBUISSON HAS ANY SUCH INFORMATION NOW. D'AUBUISSON HAS PRACTICALLY NO LINKS INTO THE SALVADORAN MILITARY AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE OVER-RIDING REASON TO SEEK TO ESTABLISH AN "INTELLIGENCE" RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S.
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 05809 2502SZ

OFFICIALS IS TO ENABLE D'AUBUISSON TO CLAIM LINKS WITH THE

[redacted]

Department of State IG/FPC/CDR El Salvador EP Date 9-22-93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
sections withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( );

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Project (1993)

[redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT THESE LINKS SHOULD NOT BE RE-ESTABLISHED. AT THIS POINT D'AUBUISSON IS THE EQUIVALENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL OUTLAW AND WHATEVER SCRAPS OF INFORMATION HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE WOULD BE OUTWEIGHTED A HUNDREDFOLD BY THE POLITICAL DISADVANTAGE OF ESTABLISHING A CONNECTION WITH D'AUBUISSON AT THIS CRUCIAL POINT IN THE POLITICAL BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EL SALVADOR.
WHITE

[redacted]

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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23 AUG 05Z 20 31
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Department of State
INCOMING
TELEGRAM
PAGE 01 OF 03 231954Z
ACTION NOD3-00
INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 /001 W
036793 232003Z /62
O R 231700Z AUG 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 044
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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SECDEF WASHDC
Copy 1 of 15 copies
RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)
[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5810
NODIS
DECAPTIONED
E.O. 12065: XDS-2 8/22/98 (WHITE, ROBERT E) OR-M
TAGS: MASS PINT PINS ES
SUBJ: (S) AMBASSADOR AND COMUTILGP PRESENTATION OF HELICOPTER
PROPOSAL TO JRG AND HIGH COMMAND, AUGUST 21
REFS A) STATE 218613 B) SAN SALVADOR 4575 C) COMUSMILGP ES
282108Z MAY (STATE CITE 3723) D) COMUSMILGP ES 081630Z JULY
IP (STATE CITE 4688)
1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)
2. SUMMARY. IN A MEETING WITH THE JRG AND THE HIGH COMMAND
AUGUST 21 THE AMBASSADOR AND COMUSMILGP PRESENTED THE USG
[redacted]
United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/16/94
Case ID: S940032N
UNCLASSIFIED
NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
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DECLASSIFIED

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

OFFER TO LEASE SIX HELICOPTERS TO THE GOES. THE TERMS OF THE U.S. OFFER PROVOKED SOME MIXED REACTIONS. THE TWO MONTH PERIOD DURING WHICH PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD BE MEASURED WAY AN ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT PILL FOR THE GOES. THE GOALS OF THE U.S. PROPOSALS WERE LAUDED; THE APPEARANCE THAT THE GOES WOULD BE SUCCUMBING TO USG DICTATES WAS DEPLORED. NEVERTHELESS, THE MEETING WAS GENERALLY POSITIVE AND WE EXPECT A POSITIVE RESPONSOLOO OUR OFFER. END SUMMARY.

3. THE AMBASSADOR, COMUSMILGP, AND POLOFF MET AUGUST 21 WITHTHNE ENTIRE JRG AND THE MEMBERS OF THE HIGH COMMAND. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO EXPLAIN TO THE GOES THE USG PROPOSAL FOR THE LEASE OF SIX HELICOPTERS TO EL SALVADOR.

4. JRG MEMBER DUARTE OPENED THE MEETING, INDICATING SIMPLY THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD REQUESTED IT IN ORDER TO DISCUSS A MILITARY RELATED SUBJECT. HE TURNED IT OVER TO THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVES FOR THEIR PRESENTATION.

5. IN HIS INITIAL REMARKS THE AMBASSADOR SUMMARIZED THE STATE OF US-GOES RELATIONS COMPLIMENTING THE JUNTA AND THE MILITARY FOR THEIR ROLE IN INSURING THAT THE GENERAL STRIKE FAILED AND STATING HIS CONVICTION THAT INTERNATIONAL OPINION WAS CHANGING IN A POSITIVE FASHION BOTH FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND FOR US POLICY. HE INDICATED CONTINUING U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE JRG AND ITS POLICIES OF CARRYING OUT REFORMS AND DEMOCRATIZATION. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO NOTED THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS CREATED IN THAT RELATIONSHIP BY THE CONTINUAING VIOLENCE OF THE EXTREMIST RIGHT WHICH IS PERCEIVED INTERNATIONALLY TO BE -- AND OFTEN ACTUALLY IS -- CONDONED BY ELEMENTS WITHIN THE MILITARY. THE

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

 SAN SA 05810 01 OF 03 231954Z

FAILURE OF THE GOES TO PUT AN END TO THAT VIOLENCE IS THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO GREATER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

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Special Project (1993)

6. COMUSMILGP FOLLOWED BY READING A STATEMENT WHICH CONTAINED THE USG OFFER TO PROVIDE THE HELICOPTERS, TRAINING AND SPARE PARTS. HIS STATEMENT ALSO CONTAINED THE POINTS MADE IN REF A AND THE FIVE USG CONDITIONS TO THE LEASE OF THE AIRCRAFT. HE CONTINUED BY SUGGESTING A SERIES OF MEASURES WHICH THE GOES COULD UNDERTAKE AND WHICH WOULD SERVE SIMULTANEOUSLY AS THE MEANS TO LIMIT VIOLENCE AND THE MEANS TO MEASURE THE SUCCESS OF THE GOES IN MEETING THE FIVE U.S. CONDITIONS. COMUSMILGP CONCLUDED BY READING THE TIMETABLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LEASE (SEE REF A). A DOCUMENT CONTAINING COMUSMILGP'S THREE STATEMENTS, HIS SUGGESTED CODE OF CONDUCT AND HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE MOD AND PUBLIC SECURITY (SEE REFS C AND D) WAS GIVEN TO EACH OFFICIAL PRESENT.

7. DUARTE RESPONDED TO THE U.S. PROPOSAL. HE INDICATED THAT IN THE U.S. DOCUMENT THERE ARE SOME GOOD IDEAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS; HE ALSO SAID THAT HE SAW NO PROBLEM WORKING WITH THE U.S. TO SOLVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM. HOWEVER, SOME OF THE PROPOSALS MADE WERE UNACCEPTABLE. THE "TRIAL PERIOD" OF 60 DAYS DURING WHICH THE U.S. WOULD EVALUATE PROGRESS MADE WAS PARTICULARLY GALLING. DUARTE CLAIMED THAT THE U.S. WAS SAYING THAT ONLY "IF YOU ARE GOOD BOYS WILL THE HELICOPTERS BE PROVIDED."

8. DUARTE CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT "ABUSES OF AUTHORITY" EXISTED AND WERE DESTROYING SOME OF THE JRG'S WORK. HE SAID THAT THE JRG AND THE HIGH COMMAND WERE CURRENTLY WORKING ON IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS PICTURE IN EL SALVADOR. U.S. SHOULD NOT DOUBT THAT THE GOES WOULD COMPLY WITH ITS PART OF THE AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: IN ESSENCE, DUARTE WAS [redacted] NOT SO MUCH ABOUT THE CON-

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SAN SA 03818 01 OF 03 231954Z TELEGRAM

DITIONS THEMSELVES AS THE USG INSISTENCE ON MEASURING PERFORMANCE OVER A SIXTY DAY PERIOD. END COMMENT.)

9. THE AMBASSADOR THEN INDICATED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THAT THE TWO POSITIONS WERE THAT FAR APART. HE REPEATED THE FIVE CONDITIONS AND POINTED OUT THAT THOSE WERE THE ONLY REQUIREMENTS THAT CAME FROM WASHINGTON. (DUARTE HAD TAKEN ISSUE WITH ONE OF COMUSMILGP'S RECOMMENDATIONS AS IF IT ALSO HAD BEEN A CONDITION.) THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THE PRIVATE NATURE OF THE ACCORD BETWEEN THE TWO

GOVERNMENTS. HE EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR PROGRESS IN THE FIVE AREAS CITED AND SAID THAT IN HIS OPINION THE JRG AND MOD WERE ALREADY COMMITTED TO ALL OF POINTS LISTED BUT THAT IN SOME OF THE AREAS PROGRESS WAS IMPERCEPTIBLE.

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10. DUARTE RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT HE SAW A POLITICAL PROBLEM WITH THE FOURTH CONDITION, THAT ONE WHICH REQUIRES THAT THE HIGH COMMAND DEAL TOUGHLY WITH EXTREME RIGHT WING ELEMENTS INCLUDING THOSE IN THE MILITARY. HE SAID IT WAS OBVIOUS WHO THIS REFERRED TO -- THE D'AUBUISSON SOPT. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT NO ACT OF EXTREMIST VIOLENCE, WHETHER OF THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT, SHOULD BE TOLERATED. HE SEEMED, THEN, TO AGREE WITH THE BASIS OF THE FOURTH POINT AND, APART FROM THE POLITICAL PROBLEM THAT HE SAW WITH THAT ONE, HE VOICED NO OBJECTIONS. (COMMENT: THIS WAS A DELIBERATE TACTIC ON DUARTE'S PART TO POINT UP THE PROBLEM OF RIGHT WING EXTREMIST IN THE MILITARY. END COMMENT.

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SAN SA 05810 02 OF 03 231955Z

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5810

NODIS

11. JRG MEMBER MORALES EHRLICH ASKED WHETHER THE FIVE CONDITIONS WOULD BE LABELLED AS CONDITIONS WHEN THE PROPOSAL REACHED CONGRESS. IN RESPONSE THE AMBASSADOR INDICATED THAT THE JRG'S SUCCESSES IN THE FIVE AREAS WOULD BE EMPHASIZED OVER THE CONDITIONAL ASPECT OF THE AGREEMENT. WHAT WE WANT, HE SAID, IS TO HAVE A FACTUAL RESPONSE TO CRITICISM WHEN WE AGREE TO PROVIDE THE HELICOPTERS.

12. COL. MAJANO SPOKE UP SAYING THAT HE SAW DUARTE'S PREOCCUPATION AS CENTERING AROUND THE POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. THAT PROBLEM COULD BE OBVIATED IF THIS WERE TO BE A PRIVATE, "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT." LIKE MORALES EHRLICH, HOWEVER, HE WAS CONCERNED THAT THE PRESENTATION BEFORE CONGRESS WOULD CITE THE CONDITIONS AND ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE GOES HAD ACCEDED TO THEM. ON [redacted]

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THE WHOLE, HOWEVER, MAJANO WAS FAVORABLE TOWARD THE PROPOSAL, SAYING, IN EFFECT, THAT HE WAS IN AGREEMENT WITH THE GOALS AND MEASURES LISTED IN THE DOCUMENT.

13. DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA HAD A DIFFERENT REACTION. HE CLAIMED THAT WHILE THE HUMAN RIGHTS GOALS IN THE U.S. DOCUMENT WERE GOOD ONES SALVADORAN "IDIOSYNCRACIES" WERE NOT BEING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. (BY "IDIOSYNCRACY" GARCIA MEANS THAT ALL ABUSES OF AUTHORITY BY THE MILITARY ARE HANDLED QUIETLY AND "IN HOUSE".) HE AGREED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ABUSES BUT DIDN'T THINK IT A GOOD IDEA TO "PROCLAIM" THE FACT. HE SEEMED TO THINK THAT THERE WAS NO POINT IN IT. THOSE THAT LOOKED UPON THE JRG AS REPRESSIVE AND THE LEFT AS PROGRESSIVE, WHO CITED AS "CASUALTIES" THE ARMY'S DEAD BUT SAW THE DEAD ON THE LEFT AS "ASSASSINATED" WERE ALREADY CONVINCED AND THE U.S. PROPOSED MEASURES WOULD DO LITTLE TO CHANGE THAT.

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Special Project (1993)

14. GARCIA PERSONALLY VOUCHED FOR THE EFFORTS THAT ARE BEING MADE BY THOSE PRESENT (I.E., THE JRG AND THE HIGH COMMAND) ON BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE CLAIMED THAT THE U.S. RECOMMENDATIONS ARE BEING CARRIED OUT. HOWEVER, IT WAS ONE THING TO CARRY OUT THESE THINGS VOLUNTARILY AND ANOTHER TO HAVE THEM ENFORCED BY ANOTHER COUNTRY. THE COUNTRY'S DIGNITY WAS OFFENDED AND WHILE THEY -- THE JRG AND HIGH COMMAND -- MIGHT BE ABLE TO OVERLOOK THE OFFENSE THE REST OF THE COUNTRY MIGHT NOT.

15. AT THIS POINT THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR. HOWEVER, THE REALITY IS THAT MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE. CONCENTRATING THEIR EFFORTS ON THE FIVE AREAS MENTIONED WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO THE U.S. THAT THE GOVERNMENT

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

WAS SERIOUS ABOUT BRINGING VIOLATIONS UNDER CONTROL, HE POINTED OUT THAT WHILE THE MILITARY IS ENTITLED TO ITS SPECIAL IDIOSYNCRACIES, PUTTING THE JRG INTO INTERNATIONAL DISREPUTE BY CONDONING ACTS OF VIOLENCE SEEMED EXTREME.

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Special Project (1993)

16. COL. GUTIERREZ CONTINUED THE CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD THE MOTIVES FOR THE CONDITIONS. ALL OF THE PROPOSALS, HE SAID, "ARE THINGS WHICH WE SHOULD BE DOING". HE ESPECIALLY LIKED THE COMUSMILGP'S CODE OF CONDUCT, BUT GUTIERREZ WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO CONSULT WITH HIS OFFICER CORPS. THE RISK OF MISINFORMATION AND MISINTERPRETATION IS GREAT, HE SAID, AND SO BEFORE AGREEING TO THE PROPOSAL HE WOULD LIKE TO INFORM THEM AND ASK FOR THEIR REACTIONS.

17. GUTIERREZ ENDED BY SAYING THAT THEY (THE GOES) WOULD HAVE MUCH PREFERRED A "MORE FRANK ASSISTANCE" AND "A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THEM BY THE U.S."

18. COL. VIDES CASANOVA ASKED WHY THE U.S. WAS SO INSISTENT ON DEALING TOUGHLY WITH THE RIGHT EXTREMISTS AND NOT WITH THOSE OF THE LEFT. HE INDICATED THAT SOME PEOPLE OF THE RIGHT HAVE DONE MORE TO RESOLVE THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS SINCE THE OCTOBER COUP THAN THOSE ON THE LEFT.

19. THE AMBASSADOR TOLD COL. VIDES THAT THERE WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING. LIBERTY OF EXPRESSION IS NOT AT ISSUE; PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO THINK IN ANY WAY THEY CHOOSE AND TO ACT WITHIN THE LAW. WHAT THEY DO NOT HAVE A RIGHT TO DO IS TO COMMIT ACTS OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE. FOR EXAMPLE, HE ASKED WHEN THE LAST TIME WAS THAT AN ORDEN MILITANT WAS PUNISHED. NO ONE CAME UP WITH AN ANSWER.

20. DUARTE THEN USED THE OCCASION TO DO SOME STRAIGHT TALKING TO THE MILITARY. HE SAID THAT WHAT WAS UNDER [redacted]

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TELEGRAM

DISCUSSION WERE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE PART OF THE MILITARY AND WHO ARE COMMITTING TERRORIST ACTS. HE THOUGHT THAT IT WAS UNDERSTOOD BY THE HIGH COMMAND THAT THEY SHOULD PUT A STOP TO THESE UNJUST, VIOLENT ACTS.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

21. DUARTE WENT ON TO MAKE FOUR POINTS. HE SAID COL. GUTIERREZ' IDEA OF CONSULTING THE OFFICERS WAS A GOOD ONE. THAT DISCUSSIONS WERE NECESSARY TO DEVELOP THE MEANS TO MAKE THE "POINTS" -- THE U.S. CONDITIONS -- REALIZABLE. HE SUGGESTED A PUBLIC ACT IN EL SALVADOR WITH A U.S. GENERAL PRESENT TO ANNOUNCE THE AGREEMENT. FINALLY, HE SAID THAT HE STILL SAW A DANGER IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE AGREEMENT. HE SAID THAT THIS CONDITIONAL ASSISTANCE, WITH ITS SUGGESTION OF U.S. INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, COULD BE NEGATIVE FOR BOTH THE U.S. AND EL SALVADOR.

2. DUARTE SUMMARIZED. TWO THINGS WERE NECESSARY: MEASURES TO PUT THE PROPOSALS INTO PRACTICE AND MEASURES TO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS FACED BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS.

23. COL. MAJANO POINTED OUT THAT IN OCTOBER 1979 THE MILITARY HAD PUBLICLY STATED THAT THERE WERE FAULTS IN ITS OWN INSTITUTION. MAJANO WAS IN EFFECT RESPONDING TO MOD GARCIA AND TO THE NEED TO REFORM THE MILITARY AS STATED IN THE OCTOBER 15 REVOLUTION. ANY MEMBER OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO HAS UNAUTHORIZED DEALINGS WITH EXTREMIST GROUPS OF EITHER THE RIGHT OR LEFT SHOULD BE DISCIPLINED, SAID MAJANO. THE PROBLEM IS ONE OF BALANCE ("EQUILIBRIO").

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 05810 03 OF 03 231957Z

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]ECTION 3 OF 3 SAN SALVADOR 5810

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24. MAJANO MADE A SECOND POINT. EVERYTHING PRESENTED HE VIEWED AS "CORRECT" BUT HE NOTED THAT THE PUBLIC PRESENTATION COULD BE A PROBLEM. HE VIEWED THE CRUCIAL QUESTION AS HOW TO SOLVE WASHINGTON'S PROBLEMS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME NOT GIVING THE APPEARANCE THAT EL SALVADOR SUCCUMBED TO A POLITICAL SET OF CONDITIONS.

25. AIR FORCE COL. BUSTILLOS REFLECTED ON THE OFFER AND COMPARED IT WITH A PREVIOUS U.S. OFFER OF 5.7 MILLION DOLLARS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THE INTERNATIONAL REACTION, HE SAID, WAS VERY BAD. THE REACTION TO THE HELICOPTER AGREEMENT WOJULD BE AS BAD OR WORSE AND WOULD PROVOKE INCREASED ASSISTANCE TO THE LEFT FROM CUBA OR THE SOVIET UNION. IMPLICIT IN BUSTILLO STATEMENT WAS THE VIEW THAT THE U.S. WAS GIVING LITTLE AND DEMANDING A LOT.

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Department of State INCOMING TELEGRAM

SAN SA 05810 03 OF 03 231957Z

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1998)

28. DUARTE ENDED THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT BUSTILLOS' THESIS WAS VALID BUT THAT IT WAS LESS IMPORTANT NOW THAN IT WAS TWO OR THREE MONTHS AGO. IN THE INTERIM THE JRG AND THE ARMED FORCES HAVE GAINED THE BACKING OF THE PEOPLE. WHATEVER AID THE LEFT RECEIVES WILL BE OF LITTLE USE TO THEM AS THEY HAVE LOST THE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT.

27. DUARTE CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT THE PROBLEM THAT THE U.S. SEES IS THAT THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND PROGRAM OF REFORMS WILL STOP SHORT OF ITS GOALS. HE SYMPATHIZED WITH THE U.S. CONCERN. HE THOUGHT THAT TO ENSURE THAT THOSE GOALS ARE REALIZED THE MILITARY SHOULD REDEDICATE ITSELF TO THE POLITICAL DEFINITION OF OCTOBER 1979. HE SAID THAT POLITICAL CONSCIENCE MUST BE DEVELOPED THROUGHOUT THE ARMED FORCES. THE HIGH COMMAND MAY SEE THINGS CLEARLY BUT CLEAR SIGNALS MUST BE SENT TO ALL ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY.

28. COMMENT: WHILE WE DID EVERYTHING WE COULD TO SOFTEN THE PRESENTATION, THERE WAS NO WAY TO DISGUISE THAT THE DEAL CONSISTED OF HELICOPTERS IN EXCHANGE FOR A MEASURABLY IMPROVED PERFORMANCE IN DETERMINED AREAS OVER A FIXED TIME SPAN. DUARTE HAS NO REAL OBJECTION TO THIS AND IN FACT ASSURED ME LATER THAT THE WHOLE PROBLEM WOULD BE WORKED OUT SATISFACTORILY. DUARTE LED OFF AS HE DID IN ORDER TO PRECLUDE A STRONGER REACTION FROM THE CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE HIGH COMMAND.

29. THE REAL DANGER HERE IS THAT AS THE MILITARY DISCUSS OUR PROPOSAL THE WHOLE MATTER WILL BECOME PUBLIC AND INTERPRETED IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT WILL APPEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES IS IMPOSING CONDITIONS AND AFFRONTING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF EL SALVADOR. ON THE OTHER HAND, AT THIS

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Department of State

INCOMING

TELEGRAM

SAN SA 05810 03 OF 03 231957Z

POINT JUST ABOUT ANY MEETING ON ANY SUBJECT THAT INVOLVES THE ENTIRE MILITARY WILL PROBABLY BENEFIT OUR OVERALL POLICY. IT IS PAST TIME THAT PROGRESSIVE AND CONSERVATIVE OFFICERS MET ON A SUBJECT THAT DOES NOT HAVE DIRECTLY TO DO WITH CAUSES OF INTERNAL DISSENSION AND WILL PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A FULL AIRING OF VIEWS. OUR HOPE, OF COURSE, WOULD BE THAT THIS WOULD RESULT IN SOME RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS FACTIONS.
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Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 05632 022223Z
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TAGS: PINT, GT
SUBJECT: (U) VICE PRESIDENT QUITS

1. (C) SUMMARY. VICE PRESIDENT FRANCISCO VILLAGRAN KRAMER FINALLY MADE GOOD ON REPEATED THREATS TO RESIGN. HIS SEPTEMBER 1 RESIGNATION STATEMENT IS A SOBERLY COUCHED BUT NONETHELESS BITING LITANY OF DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE REPRESSIVE COURSE OF THE LUCAS GOVERNMENT. WE EXPECT LITTLE DOMESTIC IMPACT FROM A DECISION LONG-RUMORED AND HENCE DISCOUNTED; INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT. THE CONSTITUTION EMPOWERS THE CONGRESS JOINTLY WITH THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO ELECT A SUCCESSOR. PRESUMABLY THAT PERSON WILL BE SOMEONE MORE COMPATIBLE WITH THE PRESIDENT. AFTER 26 MONTHS, THE, THE CURTAIN FALLS ON "THE ODD COUPLE." END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE RESIGNATION CAME IN THE FORM OF A LETTER [redacted]

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PAGE 02 GUATEM 05632 022223Z

DELIVERED TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS AND A TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT LUCAS SEPTEMBER 1, TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH THE EXPIRATION OF THE PERIOD GRANTED VILLAGRAN TO BE OUT OF

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THE COUNTRY. DESIGNATION OF SUCCESSOR FALLS TO THE CONGRESS AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE VOTING TOGETHER, PRESUMABLY ON THE PRESIDENT'S CHOICE. THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES NO TIME LIMIT FOR THIS PROCESS. VILLAGRAN WAS THE THIRD PUBLICLY DISAFFECTED VICE PRESIDENT IN THE LAST FOUR TERMS, BUT THE FIRST TO RESIGN.

3. (U) VILLAGRAN'S RESIGNATION MESSAGES WERE RELATIVELY MUTED COMPARED TO THE OFTEN SARCASTIC SWIPES AT GOVERNMENT POLICY HE EMPLOYED SINCE TAKING OFFICE TWENTY-SIX MONTHS AGO. THEY FALL SHORT OF A DIRECT, PERSONAL ATTACK ON LUCAS. THE MEDIA PUBLISHED THEM IN THEIR ENTIRETY. HIS SHORT MESSAGE TO LUCAS ALLUDES TO "VIRTUAL IMPOSSIBILITY" OF A DIALOGUE WITH HIM. IT EXHORTS PRESIDENT TO RETURN TO ORIGINAL ELECTORAL PROGRAM OF THE FRENTE AMPLIO IN ORDER TO RESTORE DOMESTIC PEACE.

4. (U) THE LONGER MESSAGE TO CONGRESS TAKES THE REGIME TO TASK FOR ABANDONING ITS "CENTER-LEFT" COMMITMENT AND YIELDING TO THE "PREPONDERANCE OF THE MOST RADICAL RIGHTWING SECTORS." THUS, ASSASSINATIONS CLOSED OFF THE PROMISED POLITICAL OPENING; PERSECUTION AND KILLIING OF UNION LEADERS AND "NO FEW" BUSINESSMEN DEALT HEAVY BLOW TO TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENT AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; HARASSMENT OF INDIANS IMPEDES SOCIAL INTEGRATION; LACK OF A "GLOBAL AND NATIONALIST" VISION COMPROMISES THE NATION'S ECONOMIC HERITAGE; SAN CARLOS UNIVERSITY IS UNDER SIEGE BY THOSE WHO WANT EDUCATION IDEOLOGICALLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE REGIME. THE COUNTRY, VILLAGRAN

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PAGE 03 GUATEM 05632 022223Z

ASSERTED, DEMANDS NATIONAL HARMONY, FREE IDEOLOGICAL PLAY AND RESPECT FOR BASIC RIGHTS, NO BARRICADES AND TRENCHES. "DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE ABSENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL FORUMS FOR DEBATING(THESE)SERIOUS NATIONAL PROBLEMS". MADE NECESSARY HIS IRREVOCABLE RESIGNATION, THE MESSAGE CONCLUDED.

5. (C) COMMENT. THE MAVERICK VILLAGRAN CRIED "WOLF" TOO OFTEN NOT TO DISSIPATE AND CAUSE TO BE DISCOUNTED THE IMPACT OF HIS RESIGNATION WHEN IT FINALLY CAME. DOMESTICALLY IT IS A MANAGEABLE EMBARRASSMENT. MANY REGIME SUPPORTERS SHARE THE "GOOD RIDDANCE" SENTIMENT THROWN AT VILLAGRAN BY THE MLN SPOKESMAN WHEN HE HEARD THE NEWS.

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AS WE HAVE SAID OFTEN, VILLAGRAN, ALTHOUGH ONE OF THE MOST INTELLECTUALLY GIFTED INDIVIDUALS IN THE LUCAS GOVERNMENT, HAD LITTLE LOCAL CONSTITUENCY. EVEN THE LEFTWING FUR CHIDED HIM PUBLICLY FOR SKIPPING OUT.

6. (C) WE SPEAK WITH LESS ASSURANCE ABOUT THE EVENT'S INTERNATIONAL IMPACT. PERSONS AND SECTORS WITH SUPERFICIAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH GUATEMALA COULD ATTACHE HEAVY SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE TO VILLAGRAN'S DECISION; AND VILLAGRAN'S INTERNATIONAL FRIENDS, MANY IN HIGH PLACES, COULD WELL RALLY ROUND IN WAYS WHICH FURTHER DISCREDIT OR PUT PRESSURE ON THE LUCAS GOVERNMENT.

7. (C) ACCORDING TO HIS CHIEF AIDE, EDGAR PONCE, WHO PERSONALLY DELIVERED THE RESIGNATION MESSAGE SEPTEMBER 1, VILLAGRAN HAS NO CURRENT PLANS TO ALLY HIMSELF WITH THE LARGELY EXILE DEMOCRATIC FRONT AGAINST REPRESSION (FDCR). PONCE TELLS US VILLAGRAN AND HIS WIFE HAVE NO SPECIFIC PLANS YET FOR THE FUTURE - - THAT THEY HOPE TO REMAIN IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE TIME BEING AND LIVE OFF INVESTMENT INCOME. PONCE HIMSELF IS IN SEMI-HIDING ON THE CHANCE THERE MIGHT BE SOME REPRISAL AGAINST HIMSELF AS MESSENGER. WE CONSIDER THIS UNLIKELY.

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PAGE 04 GUATEM 05632 022223Z

8. (C) AS VILLAGRAN DISCOVERED, THE POST ITSELF HAS LITTLE CONTENT. AGAINST THE REMOTE POSSIBILITY OF "CONSTITUTIONAL COUP" INTRIGUES IN THE REMAINING TWO YEARS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, WE EXPECT LUCAS TO LOOK FOR A SUCCESSOR COMBINING LOYALTY AND ABSENCE OF POLITICAL AMBITION. TIMMINS

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P 115

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U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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E.O. 12065: GDS 9/5/86 (RUSER, CLAUS W.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (U) DISAPPEARANCE AND REAPPEARANCE

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. AN ACTIVE TERRORIST HAS TURNED UP IN CUSTODY RATHER THAN REMAINING DISAPPEARED. THIS DEVELOPMENT IS MOST UNUSUAL AND SEEMINGLY FOLLOWS THE INTERVENTION OF PRESIDENT VIDELA AFTER A DEMARCHE ON THE CASE BY THE EMBASSY. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL, HOWEVER, WHETHER THIS DEVELOPMENT REFLECTS A CHANGE IN THE WAY THE GOA WILL DEAL WITH ACTIVE TERRORISTS. IT IS, NEVERTHELESS, A PRECEDENT ON WHICH WE WILL SEEK TO BUILD. END SUMMARY.

3. ON AUGUST 28 THE EMBASSY WAS INFORMED OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF AIXSA EDITH BONA, A 28-YEAR OLD ARGENTINE CITIZEN. ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMANT, A DISTANT RELATIVE OF BONA, BONA'S MOTHER-IN-LAW HAD BEEN CALLED TO A LOCAL POLICE PRECINCT IN BUENOS AIRES AUGUST 27 TO PICK UP BONA'S SMALL DAUGHTER. THE MOTHER-IN-LAW WAS TOLD BY THE POLICE THAT THE CHILD WAS BEING TURNED OVER TO HER AT BONA'S SPECIFIC REQUEST. OUR INFORMANT SAID THAT BONA'S MOTHER-IN-LAW WAS UNABLE TO LEARN ANYTHING FROM THE POLICE ABOUT BONA'S WHEREABOUTS AND THE FAMILY FEARED THAT SHE WAS DISAPPEARED. OUR INFORMANT ALSO STATED, MISTAKENLY AS IT TURNED OUT, THAT SHE UNDERSTOOD THAT BONA'S HUSBAND WAS
[redacted]

[redacted]

LIVING IN MEXICO WHERE THE COUPLE HAD RESIDED FOR SOME TIME BEFORE BONA'S RETURN TO ARGENTINA.

4. THOUGH THE INFORMATION WAS LIMITED WE BELIEVED IT WAS SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE OF A POSSIBLE DISAPPEARANCE. THEREFORE AN EMBASSY OFFICER RAISED THE MATTER IMMEDIATELY WITH A SENIOR MEMBER OF PRESIDENT VIDELA'S STAFF ON AUGUST 28. THE EMBOFF NOTED THAT IF IT WAS A DISAPPEARANCE, WE HAD TO BE CONCERNED FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS AND FOR THE EFFECT OF SUCH PRACTICES ON U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS. THE EMBOFF ALSO OBSERVED THAT CONTINUED USE OF DISAPPEARANCE AS AN ANTI-TERRORIST TECHNIQUE IN EFFECT GAVE TO THE TERRORISTS A WHIP HAND IN U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS. SO LONG AS MONTONEROS WERE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE SUICIDAL MISSIONS TO ARGENTINA AND THE SECURITY FORCES CONTINUED TO DESAPPEAR THEM, THE USG WOULD FACE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN REBUILDING ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH ARGENTINA.

5. THE ARGENTINE INTERLOCUTOR TOOK NOTE OF THE SPECIFICS OF THE CASE. HE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE BROADER ISSUE OF DISAPPEARANCE IN U.S.- ARGENTINE RELATIONS. HE SAID THAT HE PLANNED TO RAISE THE ISSUE IMMEDIATELY WITH GENERAL CRESPI, PRESIDENT VIDELA'S CHIEF OF STAFF. WITHIN HOURS, THE ARGENTINE CALLED THE EMBOFF AT HOME TO INFORM HIM THAT ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF PRESIDENT VIDELA, AS ISSUED BY GENERAL CRESPI, ARMY COMMANDER IN CHIEF GALTIERI WAS PERSONALLY TASKED WITH LOOKING INTO THIS MATTER.

6. FOLLOWING THIS EXCHANGE, BONA'S RELATIVE INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT BONA'S "HUSBAND," MARTIN HERVASIO GUADEX, WAS ALSO MISSING IN ARGENTINA. OUR INFORMANT SAID THAT HER EARLIER INFORMATION THAT GUADEX HAD BEEN LIVING IN MEXICO WAS MISTAKEN. THIS REPORT WAS IMMEDIATELY PASSED ON TO THE GOA.

[redacted]

[redacted]

7. ON SEPTEMBER 3 THE GOA INFORMED US THAT BONA WAS IN CUSTODY CHARGED WITH BEING AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE MONTONEROS. ACCORDING TO THE INFORMATION GOA PROVIDED, BONA HAD BEEN ARRESTED ON AUGUST 27 AND WAS "SUBSEQUENTLY" PLACED BEFORE A CIVILIAN JUDGE. THE GOA ALLEGES THAT SHE HAD BEGUN HER ASSOCIATION WITH THE MONTONEROS IN 1977, HAD RECEIVED TRAINING IN MEXICO IN 1978 AND HAD RETURNED CLANDESTINELY TO ARGENTINA IN 1979 ALONG WITH HER COMMON LAW HUSBAND. WHEN ARRESTED SHE WAS REPORTEDLY IN POSSESSION OF CODES, LIGHT ARMS, A GRENADE LAUNCHER, MUNITIONS AND AN OFFSET PRINTING PRESS.

8. GOA ALSO DENIED TO US THAT IT ALSO ARRESTED GUADEX WHO THEY ALLEGE IS A FUGITIVE.

9. BONA'S SISTER CALLED ON THE EMBASSY SEPTEMBER 7. SHE VOLUNTEERED THAT BOTH HER SISTER AND GUADEX HAD BEEN MEMBERS OF THE MONTONEROS OPERATING CLANDESTINELY IN THE COUNTRY. SHE SAID THAT HER FAMILY HAD LITTLE DIRECT CONTACT WITH THEM. THE FAMILY HAS NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO SPEAK DIRECTLY WITH BONA SO SHE WAS UNABLE TO SAY WHETHER GUADEX HAD BEEN ARRESTED AT THE SAME TIME AS HER SISTER.

10. COMMENT: WITH ONE EXCEPTION, WE KNOW OF NO OTHER CASE IN WHICH AN ACTIVE MONTONERO TERRORIST SUCH AS BONA HAS TURNED UP ALIVE AND IN CUSTODY IN THE LAST YEAR. THE SINGLE EXCEPTION WAS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF A COUPLE AND THEIR CHILDREN DURING LAST YEAR'S VISIT OF THE IAHRC. FOLLOWING TREMENDOUS PUBLICITY THAT FOCUSED ON THIS DEISPPEARANCE, THE WIFE APPEARED IN CUSTODY AND RECEIVED A LONG JAIL SENTENCE.

11. IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE EMBASSY'S INTERVENTION IN THIS CASE MOVED GOA IN POSITIVE DIRECTION.
BONA'S REAPPEARANCE COULD MARK ANOTHER STEP TOWARDS THE RULE OF LAW AND AWAY FROM THE USE OF SUMMARY EXECUTIONS BY THE SECURITY FORCES IN THEIR OPERATIONS AGAINST TERRORISTS. BUT THIS HOPE IS FAR FROM ESTABLISHED, PARTICULARY GIVE THE UNCERTAINTY
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 04 BUENOS 07156 051311Z

CONCERNING GUADEX'S WHEREABOUTS. FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF OFFICIAL INFORMATION ON BONA, THE EMBASSY OFFICER INVOLVED IN THIS CASE ASKED HIS INTERLOCUTOR ON THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF IF BONA'S REAPPEARANCE REPRESENTED A DEFINITIVE CHANGE IN POLICY. THE ARTENTINE REPLIED THAT HE HOPED SO. HOWEVER, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE ARGENTINE WAS UNABLE TO GUARANTEE THAT THE TACTIC OF DISAPPEARANCE HAS NOW BEEN LEFT BEHIND. NEVERTHELESS, THE EMBASSY WILL SEEK TO BUILD UPON THIS CASE TO ENCOURAGE THE GOA TO FOLLOW THE RULE OF LAW IN THE FUTURE.
RUSER
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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1980BUENOS07249

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Page: 1

Channel: n/a

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P 116

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07249 01 OF 03 082136Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 DCT-02
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P 082029Z SEP 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6677
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 7249

USEEC

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

EO 12065: GDS 9/5/86 (RUSER, CLAUS W.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY: AUGUST 23-SEPTEMBER 5, 1980

REF: BUENOS AIRES 6781

1. [redacted] SUMMARY. DISAPPEARANCE AND REAPPEARANCE. BUENOS AIRES HERALD EDITOR THREATENED AGAIN. PRISON CONDITIONS STILL CONTROVERSIAL. NEW EFFORTS TO CLEAR UP DISAPPEARANCES. LOCAL CENSORSHIP. CONFUSING DEVELOPMENT IN LIMA DISAPPEARANCES. UNIONISTS JAILED. END SUMMARY.
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07249 01 OF 03 082136Z

2. [redacted] DISAPPEARANCES. AIXSA EDITH BONA, A MONTONERO LIVING CLANDESTINELY IN ARGENTINA, WAS ARRESTED AND SEEMINGLY DISAPPEARED

Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

THE WEEK OF AUGUST 25, ONLY TO TURN UP AS AN ACKNOWLEDGED PRISONER OF THE GOVERNMENT SEPTEMBER 3. BONA'S COMMON LAW HUSBAND, MARTIN HERVACIO GUADEX, WHO WAS LIVING CLANDESTINELY IN THE COUNTRY, CANNOT BE LOCATED BY HIS FAMILY WHO BELIEVE HIM TO BE DISAPPEARED. ACCORDING TO THE FAMILY, HIS WIFE'S FIRST DEPOSITION BEFORE THE JUDGE, SEPTEMBER 4, INCLUDED THE STATEMENT THAT SHE AND HER HUSBAND WERE TAKEN AT THE SAME TIME. THE GOVERNMENT TELLS US PRIVATELY THAT HE IS A FUGITIVE.

3. [redacted] COMMENT: BONA'S SURFACING IN CUSTODY IS A VERY UNUSUAL DENOUEMENT FOR A MONTONERO -- BOTH HER FAMILY AND THE GOVERNMENT AGREE THAT SHE WAS, LIKE HER HUSBAND, A MONTONERO ACTIVIST WHO RETURNED CLANDESTINELY WITH HER SPOUSE FROM MEXICO. ACCORDING TO THE GOVERNMENT, AT THE TIME SHE WAS ARRESTED SHE WAS IN POSSESSION OF LIGHT ARMS, A GRENADE LAUNCHER AND GRENADES, AND AN OFFSET PRINTING PRESS. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER BONA'A APPEARANCE IN CUSTODY REPRESENTS A TURN AWAY FROM THE PRACTICE OF DISAPPEARANCE TOWARDS THE RULE OF LOW OR OBEYS SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE INFORMATION ON GUADEX IS DISQUIETING. NEVERTHELESS, THE REAPPEARANCE OF BONA IS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. WE SHALL SEEK TO ENCOURAGE THE GOA TO MAKE IT A PRECEDENT RATHER THAN AN EXCEPTION.

4. (U) BUENOS AIRES HERALD EDITOR THREATENED AGAIN: JAMES NEILSON, BRITISH CITIZEN EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN-OWNED BUENOS AIRES HERALD, RECEIVED TWO THREATENTING PHONE CALLS SEPTEMBER 3 AND 4, IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A NEW PRESSURE CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIM AND THE PAPER. THE FIRST CALLER STATED THAT NEILSON HAD NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN AND THE SECOND SAID THAT IF HE IS NOT OUT OF THE COUNTRY BY SEPTEMBER 10 "YOU WILL DIE," ACCORDING TO THE HERALD'S REPORT OF THESE THREATS. [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07249 01 OF 03 082136Z

5. [redacted] COMMENT: THE THREATS TO NEILSON HAVE NOT CAUSED HIM TO CHANGE HIS EDITORIAL POLICY WHICH SEEMS PROFOUNDLY DISTURBING TO SOME GROUPS HERE. NEILSON'S COMMENTARIES ON SUCH SUBJECTS AS ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS HERE ARE WRITTEN FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A SUPPORTIVE CRITIC OF THE GOVERNMENT. BUT TOLERANCE FOR SUCH CRITICISM -- ESPECIALLY BY A FOREIGNER -- DOES NOT FLOURISH IN SOME SECTORS HERE, INCLUDING THE FAR RIGHT WHERE IT SEEMS PROBABLE THESE THREATS ORIGINATE. IN OUR VIEW, TOO, NEILSON IS PROBABLY A TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY FOR RIGHTISTS WHO OPPOSE THE RELATIVELY MODERATIVE LINE IMPOSED BY PRESIDENT VIEDLA AND EX-ARMY COMMANDER VIOLA, STILL THE FRONTRUNNER IN THIS MONTH'S SELECTION OF VIDELA'S SUCCESSOR. THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO PROTECT NEILSON FROM THOSE WHO MIGHT DO HIM HARM WHEN THESE THREATS

STARTED LAST MONTH. THE EMBASSY WILL AGAIN APPROACH THE GOA TO SEEK RENEWALS OF THESE PROMISES.

6. (U) PRISON CONDITIONS PROTESTED: THE PERMANENT

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07249 02 OF 03 082144Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 DCT-02
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P 082029Z SEP 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6678
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 7249

ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (PAHR) SENT A LETTER TO MINISTER OF JUSTICE ALBERTO RODRIGUEZ VARELA CLAIMING "INHUMAN CONDITIONS" UNDER WHICH PRISONERS JAILED FOR SUBVERSION AND TERRORISM ARE HELD. THE PAHR CALLED FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF THESE CONDITIONS, POINTING TO FIVE SUICIDES OF DETAINEES IN THE PAST YEAR. THE PAHR POINTED PARTICULARLY TO THE CONDITION OF PRISONERS WHO ALLEGEDLY ARE "PUNISHED PHYSICALLY AND MORALLY FOR INSIGNIFICANT ACTS BY BEING PLACED IN SPECIAL CELLS FOR SIMPLY NOT LOOKING AT THE GROUND WHEN A GUARD PASSES OR HAVING A BUTTON UNDONE." COINCIDENTALLY, ON SEPTEMBER 3 THE JUDGE INVESTIGATING THE SUICIDE OF ONE PRISONER, RAFAEL FRANCISCO BENEDETTI, JULY 19 IN RAWSON PRISON, RELEASED HIS FINDINGS. IN SUM, THE JUDGE STATED THAT BENEDETTI'S SUICIDE WAS THE RESULT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DEPRESSION. SEVEN WEEKS BEFORE HE KILLED HIMSELF BENEDETTI HAD BEEN SENTENCED TO 23 YEARS IN PRISON FOR ROBBERY, AND MURDER AS A MEMBER OF A TERRORIST

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07249 02 OF 03 082144Z

GROUP. BENEDETTI HAD ALREADY SERVED SIX YEARS UNDER PEN.

7. [redacted] COMMENT: WE ARE TOLD THAT PHYSICAL CONDITIONS AND ACCESS TO EXERCISE AND LITERATURE IN THE PRISONS HAVE IMPROVED SOMEWHAT FOLLOWING LAST MAY'S PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ON THE SUBJECT. ARBITRARY USE OF AUTHORITY APPARENTLY CONTINUES TO BE A PROBLEM, HOWEVER. BUT THIS DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE PART OF A GOVERNMENT POLICY, TENSIONS BETWEEN GUARDS AND PRISONERS WHOM THE GUARDS REGARD AS DANGEROUS SUBVERSIVES, VINDICTIVENESS BY PRISON SUPERVISORS AND INDIVIDUAL SADISTIC TENDENCIES MAY ALL PLAY A ROLE. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO MORE TO CURB THESE FACTORS, BUT IT IS AN OPEN QUESTION WHETHER IT HAS THE MEANS, OR PERHAPS EVEN THE WILL, TO DO SO. THE GROWING REALIZATION ON THE PART OF SOME PRISONERS THAT FREEDOM FOR THEM IS A VERY LONG WAY AWAY UNDOUBTEDLY ALSO TAKES A TOLL ON THEIR MORALE.

8. (U) COURT ORDERS INVESTIGATION OF HIDALGO SOLA'S DISAPPEARANCE: THE SUPREME COURT, REVERSING A LOWER COURT, ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION INTOTHE DISAPPEARANCE OF HECTOR HIDALGO SOLA. HIDALGO SOLA WAS THE GOA AMBASSADOR TO VENEZUELA AND WAS VISITING BUENOS AIRES WHEN, ON JULY 18, 1977 HE WAS SEIZED ON A MAIN STREET OF BUENOS AIRES BY A GROUP OF ARMED MEN. HE NEVER WAS SEEN AGAIN. AT THE TIME OF HIS DISAPPEARANCE IT WAS WIDELY BELIEVED THAT HE WAS TAKEN AS PART OF AN INTERNAL STRUGGLE WITHIN THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE CULPRITS WERE A GROUP WHICH WANTED TO SEND A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT VIDELA. THE LOWER COURT HAD ACCEPTED SIMPLE STATEMENTS BY THE SECURITY SERVICES THAT THEY HAD NO INFORMATION ON HIDALGO SOLA'S WHEREABOUTS OR FATE. THE SUPREME COURT, REPEATING A DOCTRINE IT ESTABLISHED MOST CLEARLY IN THE MACHADO CASE (BUENOS AIRES 6398), STATED THAT UNDER HABEAS CORPUS PROCEDURES THE COURTS HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO SEEK TO CLARIFY THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING SUCH A DISAPPEARANCE. IT IS NOW UP THE LOWER COURT TO INVESTIGATE WHAT HAPPENED.

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[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07249 02 OF 03 082144Z

9. [redacted] COMMENT: THOUGH HIDALGO SOLA WAS SEIZED BEFORE MANY WITNESSES THERE IS LITTLE INFORMATION AVAILABLE AS TO HIS SUBSEQUENT FATE. IN SHORT, THE TRAIL FOR THE COURT TO FOLLOW IS NOT ONLY COLD IT IS HARDLY VISIBLE. SO, IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHAT

THE NEXT STEPS WILL BE. ON THE OTHER HAND, A PETITION WAS PRESENTED TO A COURT TO LOOK INTO THE FATE OF 15 PERSONS WHO DISAPPEARED BETWEEN JULY 18 AND AUGUST 17, 1978. THE PETITION BY A GROUP OF LAWYERS AND RELATIVES OF THE DISAPPEARED PERSONS, STATES THAT THE MISSING INDIVIDUALS WERE SEEN IN CUSTODY BY EIGHT WITNESSES WHO HAVE PRESENTED TESTIMONY TO THAT EFFECT. THE WITNESSES, FORMER INMATES OF THE CAMP WHERE THE FIFTEEN WERE HELD, PRESENTLY RESIDE IN FRANCE AND THE PETITION ASKS THAT THEIR DEPOSITIONS BE TAKEN THERE.

10. (U) LOCAL CENSORSHIP: TWICE DURING THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 1 THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES STOPPED THE

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07249 03 OF 03 082151Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-05 SY-05 DCT-02
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P 082029Z SEP 80
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6679
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 3 BUENOS AIRES 7249

DISTRIBUTION OF A MASS CIRCULATION WEEKLY MAGAZINE. THE MUNICIPALITY USED ITS POWER TO HOLD UP DISTRIBUTION FOR UP TO 48 HOURS TO EXAMINE THE CONTENT OF A PUBLICATION. ON SEPTEMBER 2 THE AUTHORITIES HALTED THE DISTRIBUTION OF "SIETE DIAS," WHICH HAD A SIMILAR PROBLEM IN JULY, ONLY TO ALLOW IT TO GO AHEAD ON SEPTEMBER 3. THEN ON SEPTEMBER 4 THEY REPEATED THE OPERATION AGAINST THE MAGAZINE "RADIOLANDIA," WHICH LIKE "SIETE DIAS" MIXES REPORTAGE WITH PICTURES,

MANY OF THEM OF SHAPELY WOMEN IN BATHING SUITS. THE SAME COMPANY PUBLISHES BOTH MAGAZINES.

11. [redacted] THE MUNICIPALITY GAVE NO CONCRETE REASON FOR HOLDING UP "SIETE DIAS." REPORTEDLY IT HAD TO DO WITH THE MAGAZINE' COVER PHOTO -- WHICH WAS OF A YOUNG WOMAN WEARING A VERY FULL BIKINI. ARGENTINE MAGAZINES, WHILE SHYING AWAY FROM EVEN PARTIAL NUDITY, HAVE LONG PRINTED SEXIER SHOTS THAN THAT ONE. OTHERS SPECULATE [redacted]

[redacted]

THAT BUENOS AIRES MAYOR CACCIATORE IS STILL ANGRY AT A CRITICAL PIECE ON HIS ADMINISTRATION THAT "SIETE DIAS" RAN SEVERAL MONTHS AGO AND IS SEEKING REVENGE. THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE MAGAZINE'S POLITICAL COZENT IS ANNOYING THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES IS GENERALLY DISCOUNTED.

12. (U) LIMA DISAPPEARANCES. THE CASE OF THE 3 ARGENTINES WHO DISAPPEARED IN LIMA IN JUNE CONTINUED IN THE NWS IN BUENOS AIRES. IN ONE OF THE LATEST TWISTS THE LOCAL PRESS REPORTS THAT FINGERPRINTS FOUND IN THE MADRID APARTMENT WHERE THE BODY OF NAOMI ESTHER GIANETTI DE FOLFINO WAS DISCOVERED BELONGED TO JULIO CESAR RAMIREZ AND LUIS ESTEBAN ALMIRON, ACCORDING TO THE MADRID POLICE. RAMIREZ AND ALMIRON, THE PRESS REPORTS, WERE AMONG THE ARGENTINES DEPORTED FROM LIMA ALONG WITH MOLFINO.

13. [redacted] COMMENT: THE ARGENTINE PRESS HAD PLAYED THE ALLEGED DISCOVERY OF THE FINGERPRINTS AS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE GOA WAS UNINVOLVED IN THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ARGENTINES FROM LIMA. IN FACT, HOWEVER, THE TALE IS SOMEWHAT MORE CONFUSING. JULIO CESAR RAMIREZ USED THE ALIAS OF LUIS ESTEBAN ALMIRON, ACCORDING TO PUBLIC DECLARATIONS BY THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE ARGENTINE ARMY. THEREFORE, IT IS HARD TO UNDERSTAND HOW TWO DISTINCT SETS OF FINGERPRINTS COULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO RAMIREZ/ALMIRON. THE PLOT THICKENS.

14. (U) UNIONISTS JAILED. THREE MEMBERS OF A LOCAL UNION WERE JAILED IN SAN LUIS PROVINCE AUGUST 29. THEY WERE ACCUSED OF VIOLATING A NATIONAL SECURITY LAW. ACCORDING TO THEIR LAWYER, THE CHARGES ORIGINATED IN THE DETAINEES' ORGANIZATION OF A CONFEDERATION OF LABOR UNIONS AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL.
RUSER

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CONFIDENTIAL

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AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 238770

E.O. 12065: GDS - 9/8/86 (BUSHNELL, J.)

TAGS: OAS, CI

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE OAS INITIATIVE ON CHILEAN PLEBISCITE

REF: SANTIAGO 5478

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. USOAS HAS BEEN CONTACTED BY BOTH DAZA AND BY CARDOZO OF VENEZUELA. DAZA MADE SAME POINTS THAT ILLANES CONVEYED TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 238770

DCM.
3. CARDOZO'SPITCHWAS THAT ANY SORT OF CRITICISM EX-
PRESSED IN OAS WOULD BE USEFUL TO CHILEAN POLITICAL PARTIES
OPPOSING PLEBISCITE. WE ASKED HIM IF HE HAD CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATS PARTICULARLY IN MIND. HE SAID THAT HE HAS HEARD
FROM OTHER PARTIES AS WELL. CARDOZO WAS VAGUE ABOUT

SPECIFICS OF WHAT HE HAD IN MIND. HE DID CITE PARAGRAPH 5 OF LAST YEAR'S OASGA RESOLUTION ON IAHRC'S ANNUAL REPORT. THIS PARAGRAPH DEALS WITH CHILE AND CONTAINS A REFERENCE TO PROMPT REINSTATEMENT OF RIGHT TO VOTE.
E LISTENED TO BOTH DAZA AND CARDOZO WITHOUT INDICATING
4. WE LISTENED TO BOTH DAZA AND CARDOZO WITHOUT INDICATING ANY SPECIFIC POSITION OR POINT OF VIEW. WE DOUBT THAT CARDOZO HAS SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT AND IN ANY CASE TIME FRAME IS PROBABLY TOO TIGHT TO ALLOW FOR OAS INITIATIVE WHICH COULD INFLUENCE OUTCOME OF SEPT. 11 VOTE.
5. WE SEE NO REASON GIVE ANY PEACE OF MIND TO CHILEANS ON THIS ISSUE. THUS YOU SHOULD TELL GOC ONLY THAT WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN PRESENTED WITH ANY PROPOSED TEXT AND ARE UNCLEAR ON PRECISE STATE OF PLAY IN OAS. MUSKIE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

9/9/80

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R

Office Of The Mayor
City of Seattle

Charles Royer, Mayor

September 9, 1980

Honorable Warren G. Magnuson
127 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Magnuson:

I have recently become aware of an urgent and distressing situation which has affected the lives of people now living in Seattle. I am referring to the reported violations of human rights in Argentina.

A few months ago, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States concluded its report on the atrocities committed by the Argentine authorities against its citizens. Apparently the violations of human rights are continuing. During the past few weeks, I have received reports from Argentine refugees of cases of insanity, illness, and suicide among political prisoners in Argentina as a consequence of the conditions of their imprisonment.

In view of these reports, I solicit your support for the conclusions and recommendations of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and for its proposal for sanctions against the Argentine government. I believe very strongly in this nation's commitment to human rights and I believe our nation must take action to end the suffering in Argentina.

Sincerely,

Charles Royer

CR:tbj

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

9/9/80

Z02YB

Office Of The Mayor
City of Seattle

Charles Royer, Mayor

September 9, 1980

R

General Jorge Rafael Videla
Casa Rosada
Balcarce 50
1100 Capital Federal
ARGENTINA

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you to express my deep concern about the reported kidnapping and disappearance of Argentinian citizens. I am specifically concerned about Peruvian media reports about the disappearance of five Argentinians in a joint action by the Argentinian and Peruvian armies.

I am asking you to do as much as you can toward a rapid investigation of this case so that the lives of those involved may be saved. My letter is motivated by the painful experience of Argentinian families living in my city who have endured the disappearance of their sons, daughters, and friends.

I appeal to you in the name of human rights to take action to end these violations.

Sincerely,

Charles Royer

Charles Royer

CR:tbj

cc: Ambassador Gale McGee
Senator Warren G. Magnuson
Senator Henry M. Jackson
Congressman Joel Pritchard
Congressman Mike Lowry

AIR MAIL

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
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PAGE 01 STATE 244450
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CANBERRA FOR ASST SECY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 9/12/90 (ARMACOST, MICHAEL)

TAGS: ENRG, MNUC, TECH, KS, US, PINT, PINS, SEDU, PGOV,

TO: EA - MR. ARMACOST, ACTING

FROM: EA/K - ROBERT G. RICH

1. [redacted] NUCLEAR EXPORTS

WE HAVE HEARD INFORMALLY THAT TWO OF THE FOUR NRC COMMISSIONERS HAVE VOTED TO DENY THE PETITION TO REVIEW [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 244450

WESTINGHOUSE'S EXPORT OF THE POWER PLANTS FOR KOREAN NUCLEAR UNITS 7 AND 8. A THIRD COMMISSIONER, CHAIRMAN HENDRIE IS EXPECTED TO VOTE TO DENY THE PETITION IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AS A RESULT, WESTINGHOUSE SHOULD SOON HAVE FINAL NRC APPROVAL.

WE HAVE SEEN A REPORT INDICATING THAT THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO LIMIT FUTURE NUCLEAR CONTRACTS TO ESSENTIALLY ONE COMPANY, FOLLOWING THE PROBABLE AWARD OF NUCLEAR UNITS

PAGE NO. 1

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AND 10 TO FRAMATOME. WESTINGHOUSE APPEARS TO HAVE THE

2. [redacted] UNIVERSITIES CONTINUE TO RE-OPEN

ALL OF THE MAJOR UNIVERSITIES HAVE NOW BEEN GIVEN SCHEDULED RE-OPENING DATES. THUS FAR THE UNIVERSITIES THAT HAVE RESUMED CLASSES HAVE DONE SO VERY QUIETLY WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE MINOR INCIDENT AT KYUNGHEE UNIVERSITY ON SEPTEMBER 9. IN THIS INCIDENT FOUR STUDENTS WERE ARRESTED FOR DISTRIBUTING PAMPHLETS WHICH REPORTEDLY CALLED ON THE U.S. TO STOP SUPPORTING CHUN, AMONG OTHER TOPICS. ONE OF THE STUDENTS SLASHED HER WRISTS UPON BEING ARRESTED, BUT THE PROTEST, WHICH WAS WITNESSED BY ABOUT 100 OTHER STUDENT DID NOT SPREAD. THE EMBASSY NOTES THAT THE "KAMIKAZE SPIRIT" DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE WIDESPREAD. (RASMUSSEN)

3. [redacted] NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO RE-OPEN SEPTEMBER 20

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL RE-OPEN ON SEPTEMBER 20 FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE IT WAS SUSPENDED ON MAY 17. THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WILL BE RATIFICATION OF NAM DUCK-WOO AS PRIME MINISTER FOLLOWED BY APPROVAL OF THE BUDGET. APPROXIMATELY 10 PER CENT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY ARE EITHER IN JAIL OR HAVE BEEN FORCED TO RESIGN, LEAVING IT COWED AND IN SERIOUS DISARRAY. (RASMUSSEN)

[redacted]

4. [redacted] RE-EDUCATION

MARTIAL LAW COMMANDER LEE HUI-SONG PROVIDED MORE DETAILS OF THE RE-EDUCATION CAMPAIGN FOR "HOOLIGANS" ON SEPTEMBER 9. ACCORDING TO LEE, MORE THAN 37,000 PERSONS HAVE BEEN DETAINED AS SUSPECTED "HOOLIGANS" IN THE PAST MONTH. OF THIS NUMBER 10,381 WERE RELEASED WITH ADMONITIONS, 1,452 "HEINOUS GANGSTERS" WERE REFERRED FOR PROSECUTION, 23,714 "JUDGED TO BE CORRIGIBLE WERE SENT TO MILITARY UNITS FOR FOUR WEEKS OF REFORMATORY EDUCATION, AND THE REMAINING 5,789 "HARDENED CRIMINALS" HAVE BEEN SENT TO THE FRONT LINE FOR A STRICTER COURSE OF RE-EDUCATION. OF THE 23,714 "CORRIGIBLES", 17,889 HAVE ALREADY BEEN RELEASED. APPARENTLY THE OTHER APPROXIMATELY 6,000 REQUIRE ADDITIONAL "RE-EDUCATION" BEYOND THE ORIGINAL FOUR WEEK PERIOD. WE HAVE FEW DETAILS OF WHAT THIS "RE-EDUCATION" CONSISTS OF, BUT IN PAST SWEEPS OF STREET PEOPLE IT HAS BEEN PRIMARILY A COURSE IN HARD MANUAL LABOR UNDER THE WATCHFUL EYE OF MILITARY DRILL INSTRUCTORS. THAT SEEMS TO BE THE PRESENT PATTERN ALSO. WE EXPECT THAT INDOCTRINATION IN THE IDEALS OF THE "NEW ERA" AS WELL AS A DEGREE OF "SELF-CRITICISM" ARE INCLUDED IN THE COURSE WORK. RE-EDUCATION MAY BE SOMEWHAT HARSHER FOR THOSE DISPATCHED TO THE "FRONTLINE." (RASMUSSEN)

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5. [redacted] THE U.S., JAPAN AND THE KOREAS: THE PLOT THICKENS

SOUTH KOREAN PARANOIA IS RUNNING DEEP, AS THE ROK APPEARS TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE U.S. AND JAPAN ARE ENGAGED IN A SINISTER PLOT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH NORTH KOREA. SUPPOSEDLY, THE OPENING GAMBIT IN THIS PLOT WAS CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ VISIT. TOM RESTON'S VISIT TO PYONGYANG, (HE HAD AN INTERVIEW WITH KIM YONG NAM) HAS APPARENTLY CONVINCED THE SOUTH KOREANS THAT SOMETHING TERRIBLE IS HAPPENING, BUT THEY'RE NOT SURE WHAT IT IS. RESTON'S VISIT HAS DRAWN A [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 244450

DRUMBEAT OF STRONG CRITICISM IN THE ROK PRESS AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER CALLED IN THE EMBASSY'S POLITICAL COUNSELOR TO FORMALLY EXPRESS THE ROKG'S DISPLEASURE OVER HIS VISIT.

SINCE THE SOLARZ VISIT A SERIES OF JAPANESE DELEGATIONS HAVE VISITED THE NORTH. YESTERDAY IN PYONGYANG THE LEADER OF THE AFRO-ASIAN RESEARCH GROUP OF THE LDP SAID THAT JAPANESE-NORTH KOREAN TRADE, NOW BEING CONDUCTED THROUGH DUMMY FIRMS, SHOULD BE UPGRADED TO A MEMORANDUM TRADE AGREEMENT FORMULA SIMILAR TO THE TRADE FORMULA ADOPTED FOR JAPAN-CHINA TRADE PRIOR TO NORMALIZATION OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN 1972. AN UNNAMED ROK MOFA OFFICIAL RESPONDED THAT SOUTH KOREA IS CONSIDERING A MEASURE TO FORBID TRADE WITH FOREIGN FIRMS ENGAGED IN DIRECT TRADE WITH THE NORTH (SHADES OF THE ARAB EMBARGO TACTIC). EARLIER ANOTHER UNNAMED MOFA OFFICIAL WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "THE ROKG IS STUDYING YET MORE POSITIVE ACTION IN PREPARATION FOR ANY CHANGE IN US/JAPAN POLICIES TOWARD THE ROK." WE HAVE BEEN BESIEGED BY REQUESTS FROM THE ROK EMBASSY RECENTLY FOR INFORMATION ON OUR TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST NORTH KOREA AND FOR ASSURANCES THAT IT WILL BE EXTENDED AND NOT RELAXED IN ANY WAY. (RASMUSSEN)

6. [redacted] NORTH KOREA PURSUES CONTACTS WITH THE USA

NORTH KOREA CONTINUES TO SIGNAL A DESIRE TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH US. THE DPRK OBSERVER MISSION TO THE UN ASKED QUAKER REPRESENTATIVES TO CONVEY TO US THE DPRK'S DESIRE TO "BUILD A RAINBOW BRIDGE" BETWEEN THE U.S. AND NORTH KOREA, WHICH "SPANS THE PAST TROUBLED RELATIONS TO A FUTURE OF GOOD FRIENDLY RELATIONS."

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IN ADDITION, SEVERAL OF OUR EMBASSIES HAVE REPORTED THAT, SINCE THE SOLARZ VISIT, NORTH KOREAN DIPLOMATS HAVE MADE UNUSUAL FRIENDLY GESTURES AT SOCIAL OCCASIONS WHERE THEY WOULD NORMALLY STUDIOUSLY IGNORE U.S. OFFICIALS. CERTAINLY THE WORD APPEARS TO BE OUT TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM AFFORDED BY THE SOLARZ VISIT. (RASMUSSEN)

7. [redacted] NORTH KOREA IN THE CARIBBEAN

NORTH KOREA HAS MADE SOME DIPLOMATIC GAINS IN THE CARIBBEAN RECENTLY, THE MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH WAS MEXICO'S AGREEMENT ON SEPTEMBER 6 TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE DPRK. LAST MONTH GRENADA BROKE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREA. MEXICO'S ACTION IN RECOGNIZING NORTH KOREA COULD HELP PROMOTE THE EXPANSION OF NORTH KOREAN REPRESENTATION THROUGHOUT THE REGION. THE DIPLOMATIC RACE BETWEEN THE TWO KOREA'S HAS BECOME VERY CLOSE, AND IF THE RECENT TREND CONTINUES WE COULD SEE THE DPRK SURPASSING SOUTH KOREA IN THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WITH WHICH IT HAS RELATIONS IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE. (RASMUSSEN) MUSKIE

SUBJECT: WEEKLY STATUS REPORT - KOREA

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P 119

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07578 01 OF 02 192001Z
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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EO 12065: XDS-2 9/19/00 (RUSER, CLAUS W.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, OAS, AR
SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCES: A NEW AND LARGER NUMBER FOR THE YEAR?

REF: [redacted]

1. [redacted] SUMMARY. NEW REPORTS HAVE REAISED THE NUMBER OF REGISTERED DISAPPEARANCES HERE FROM SIX TO ELEVEN. AT THE SAME TIME, OTHER INFORMATION SUUGGESTS THAT THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DISAPPEARED THIS YEAR MAY BE SUBSTANTIALLY LARGER, TOTALING 25 OR MORE. THIS NEW DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WITH GEN. VIOLA, THE PAPAL NUNCIO AND ARGENTINE

OFFICIALS. END SUMMARY

2. (U) THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE MOST CAREFUL ORGANIZATION IN DOCUMENTING DISAPPEARANCES, NOW LISTS ELEVEN PEOPLE AS HAVING DISAPPEARED AND HAVING THEIR DISAPPEARANCES REGISTERED WITH THE ASSEMBLY BETWEEN JANUARY 1 AND AUGUST 26. NEW CASES WITH THE ASSEMBLY INCLUDE TWO PARAGUAYAN COMMUNISTS (ANTONIO MAIDANA AND EMILIO ROA WHO REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES AUGUST 26. MAIDANA REPORTEDLY HAD SERVED 20 YEARS IN JAIL IN PARAGUAY
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07578 01 OF 02 192001Z

(BEFORE HIS RECENT RELEASE THERE) AND MARTIN HERVACIO GUADEX. (GUADEX IS THE HUSBAND OF AIXSA EDITH BONA A MONTONERO WHO AFTER DIS-

APPEARING BRIEFLY REAPPEARED IN CUSTODY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT BONA HAS NOW TOLD RELATIVES THAT HER HUSBAND LEFT THE HOUSE ON AUGUST 28 AND NEVER RETURNED. SHE WAS ARRESTED THE NEXT DAY AND TOLD BY HER CAPTORS THAT HER HUSBAND WAS IN CUSTODY TOO. THE GOVERNMENT HAD DENIED TO US THAT IT CAPTURED GAUDEX AND CLAIMS THAT HE IS A FUGITIVE.)

3. (U) IN ADDITION TO THE TOTALS NOW CARRIED BY THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN ARGENTINA AND ABROAD ARE CIRCULATING A LIST OF 14 INDIVIDUALS WHO REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED IN MARCH, ONLY FOUR OF WHOM REGISTERED WITH THE ASSEMBLY.

4. [redacted] THE SOURCE OF THIS LIST IS APPARENTLY THE MONTONERO ORGANIZATION IN MEXICO. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE MONTONEROS ARE FABRICATING THIS INFORMATION BUT WE ARE INCLINED TO ACCEPT THE ASSERTION THAT THESE PEOPLE DISAPPEARED AS PROBABLY TRUE.

5. [redacted] WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT ALL THOSE ON THE LIST ARE MONTONEROS , AS DO LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCES. THE LONG DELAY BETWEEN THEIR ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCE IN MARCH AND THE SURFACING ON THIS LIST IN AUGUST WHEN WE UNDERSTAND IT FIRST APPEARED, MAY BE ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION'S WISH TO CONFIRM THEIR LOSS BEFORE PREMATURELY EXPOSING THESE INDIVIDUALS TO CAPTURE BY REVEALING THEIR IDENTITIES, SINCE MANY HAD BEEN INFILTRATED OR HAD BEEN LIVING IN THE COUNTRY CLANDESTINELY. MOREOVER, THE MONTONERO ADMISSION OF MAJOR LOSSES IN MARCH CORRESPONDS TO RELIABLE BUT VERY SENSITIVE INFORMATION WE HAD RECEIVED EARLIER THAT ONE OF THE SECURITY FORCES HAD SCORED A MAJOR COUP AGAINST THE MONTONEROS THAT MONTH. HOWEVER WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN THAT ALL THESE DISAPPEARANCES DID TAKE PLACE THAT MONTH (ONE NAME ON THE LIST WAS EARLIER REPORTED TO US AS HAVING DISAPPEARED IN JUNE).

[redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 07578 01 OF 02 192001Z

6. [redacted] LESS SUBSTANTIAL INFORMATION SUGGESTS THAT NEW REPORTS OF OTHER DISAPPEARANCES MAY BE IN THE OFFING. IN THE MIDDLE OF LAST MONTH A SENIOR ARGENTINE MILITARY OFFICER TOLD A RELIABLE WESTERN DIPLOMAT, WHO HAS PASSED THE INFORMATION ON TO US, THAT THE SECURITY FORCES HAD CAPTURED THIRTY-FOUR TERRORISTS UP TO THAT TIME. WE HEARD PRIVATELY FROM A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY FORCES THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD ROUNDED UP A NUMBER OF MONTONEROS IN MAY-JUNE. THERE ARE RUMORS OF OTHER DISAPPEARANCES CIRCULATING AMONG HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCES. THESE INDIVIDUALS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE HAVE NOT YET SURFACED IN CUSTODY. THUS IT IS POSSIBLE THAT TOTAL DISAPPEARANCES MAY BE OVER 25 AND

REACH INTO THE 30'S.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07578 02 OF 02 192020Z
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7. [redacted] THERE IS A GENERAL CONSENSUS AMONG OUR CONTACTS, INCLUDING THOSE IN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE TWO PARAGUAYAN COMMUNISTS, PROBABLY ALL WHO HAVE REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED IN ARGENTINA THIS YEAR WERE ACTIVE MONTONEROS.

8. [redacted] COMMENT: THE NEW AND HIGHER FIGURES FOR DISAPPEARED PEOPLE WILL WE UNDERSTAND BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION PRIOR TO THE OASGA. ONE GROUP IN ARGENTINA IS PREPARING A SPECIAL INTERIM REPORT FOR THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS IN ARGENTINA SINCE ITS VISIT. THIS REPORT WILL INCLUDE THE OBSERVATION THAT THE ORGANIZATION AND THE TACTICS THAT THE GOA USED IN THE COUNTERTERRORIST WAR CONTINUE IN PLACE AND TO BE IMPLEMENTED, ALBEIT ON A FAR MORE SELECTIVE BASIS IN CHOOSING ITS TARGETS, I.E. AGAINST ACTIVE TERRORISTS AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPPORTING INFRASTRUCTURE. AT THIS POINT WE WOULD CONCUR IN THAT JUDGEMENT. IF THIS IS TRUE, IT APPEARS THAT THE SURFACING IN CUSTODY OF BONA LATE LAST MONTH MAY HAVE OBEYED SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

9. [redacted] FINALLY, A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO "PROVE" A DISAPPEARANCE, ESPECIALLY UNDER THESE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES WHEN

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07578 02 OF 02 192020Z

INFORMATION IS FROM MONTONERO SOURCES WITHOUT ANY OTHER INDEPENDENT CORROBORATING EVIDENCE. AS OUR ARGENTINE OFFICIAL CONTACTS HAVE BEEN QUICK TO POINT OUT, IN THE PAST WHEN MANY THOUSANDS DISAPPEARED THE QUESTION OF EXACTLY WHAT WERE THE CRITERIS FOR THE USG PUBLICLY ACCEPTING A GIVEN CASE AS CONSTITUTING A BONA FIDE DISAPPEARANCE DID NOT ARISE. WE ARE NOW DEALING WITH MUCH SMALLER FIGURES AND DEFINITIONS ARE IMPORTANT. INCREASINGLY, WE HAVE COME TO TAKE THE ASSEMBLY'S FIGURE FOR DISAPPEARED AS AUTHORITATIVE. TO BE INCLUDED ON THE ASSEMBLY'S LIST MEANS THAT A CONCERNED PERSON, USUALLY A RELATIVE, HAS ACTUALLY REGISTERED IT. FREQUENTLY A HABEAS CORPUS IN BEHALF OF THE DISAPPEARED INDIVIDUAL IS FILED, ALTHOUGH HABEAS CORPUS IS BEING USED LESS SO THAT IN THE PAST. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS STATE THAT THE USE OF HABEAS CORPUS HAS FALLEN OFF BECAUSE RELATIVES THAT DO COME FORWARD ARE AWARE THE DISAPPEARED ARE TIED TO THE TERRORISTS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE RELATIVES ARE ALLEGEDLY TOO FRIGHTENED BOTH FOR THEIR OWN SAFETY AND FOR THE SAFETY OF THE DISAPPEARED PERSON TO MAKE AN OFFICIAL COMPLAINT IN THE COURT.

10. [redacted] USING PRIMARILY THE ASSEMBLY'S FIGURE MEANS THAT WE WILL INCLUDE SOME CASES ON WHICH WE HAVE CONFLICTING INFORMATION, E.G. THAT OF GAUDEX. IT ALSO MEANS WE MAY EXCLUDE SOMESKASES THAT SEEM TO BE PRETTY SOLID DISAPPEARANCES. HOWEVER, RELYING ON THE ASSEMBLY'S SCREENING PROCESS WILL ALSO MEAN THAT WE WILL PROBABLY AVOID INCLUDING CAES WHICH ON CLOSER EXAMINATION WERE ORDINARY MISSING PERSONS OR THE VICTIMS OF COMMON CRIME (ONE OF THE PEOPLE WE LISTED AS DISAPPEARED EARLIER THIS YEAR NOW SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF ORDINARY CRIME.)

11. [redacted] IN THE FINALY ANALYSIS WE ARE NOT DEALING WITH A DISCRETE NUMBER BUT WITH THE TREND THAT NUMBERS INDICATE. FOR THIS PURPOSE WE THINK THAT THE ASSEMBLY'S FIGURE IS THE MOST PUBLICLY DEFENSIBLE ONE WE CAN USE. BUT FOR INTERNAL USE IN CONSIDERING THE TREND HERE [redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 07578 02 OF 02 192020Z

WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE ALL AVAILABLE SOURCES.

12. [redacted] NEVERTHELESS, TO ESTABLISH THE QUANTITATIVE TREND HERE, THE BEST AVAILABLE COMPARISON WOULD BE BETWEEN THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY'S CURRENT FIGURE OF 11 DISAPPEARANCES IN 1980 AND THE TOTAL OF 44 FOR DISAPPEARANCES IN 1979 PUBLISHED IN THE DEPARTMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED WITH APPROXIMATELY THE SAME CRITERIS.

13. [redacted] THE EMBASSY HAS RECENTLY AND REPEATEDLY RAISED THE ISSUE OF DISAPPEARANCES WIT THE GOA: THE CHARGE HAS SPOKEN TO GENERAL VIOLA ON THIS SUBJECT AND WITH THE PAPAL NUNCIO AND FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR GENERAL ROS (SEPTELS). EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE RAISED IT AT THE PRESIDENCY AND WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES. THE MISSION WILL PURSUE THIS MATTER FURTHER IN ITS CONTACTS OVER THE COMING WEEKS IN A CONCERTED MANNER.
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BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE
AND RESEARCH

MEXICO'S ROLE IN THE CONFERENCE OF LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES (COPPAL)

Summary

With the fall of dictator Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua in the summer of 1979, Mexico's leadership perceived the beginning of a new power balance in Central America. It welcomed the decline of US "imperialist" influence in the area, but was concerned lest the expanding power vacuum be filled by totalitarian communism.

To counter this possibility, not only in Central America but also in the Caribbean, Mexico sought to provide a third model, itself, for the area's small nations in political transition to emulate. Rather than step forward too boldly in this effort, the Mexicans placed the government's alter ego, the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), in the vanguard. This tactic was designed to save the government from the stigma of interventionism, from possible rebuffs from other governments, and from blame if the initiative failed.

In October 1979, after considerable preparation, PRI President Gustavo Carvajal called a meeting of 24 "democratic, nationalistic, progressive" parties from 15 hemispheric countries. These parties organized themselves into the Conference of Latin American Political Parties, with Carvajal as president and such leading hemispheric figures as Jamaica's Manley, the Dominican Republic's Pena Gomez, and Bolivia's Paz Estenssoro among the six vice-presidents.

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[redacted] 9/22/86 (Misback, L. E.)

Report No. 1461
September 22, 1980

COPPAL, or elements of it, has held a number of meetings since its inception, centered on such topics as energy, the situations in El Salvador and Guatemala, and human rights. The organization seems to have caught on and, at least as far as Mexico's preliminary aims are concerned, is successfully playing the role for which it was established. Its future depends on continued Mexican concern over expanding instability in the Central American-Caribbean region.

Even though some COPPAL initiatives may be aimed at reducing US influence, the movement has potential for strengthening US-Latin American ties. The Mexicans have aimed COPPAL at supplanting or preempting Soviet and Cuban encroachments as well as at limiting what they have perceived as US hegemony. COPPAL's basic aim of achieving relatively moderate, if strongly nationalistic, solutions to area problems, as opposed to radical and externally dominated solutions, appears more akin to US objectives than to those of our major adversaries.

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Whether from ideological conviction or simple alarm at the course of events in Central America and the Caribbean, President Lopez Portillo has chosen to make Mexico a force in inter-American affairs. For the first time in this century, Mexico has a dynamic foreign policy that seeks to use its prestige and strengths to influence regional affairs.

Political Party as Government Surrogate

The overthrow of Somoza in Nicaragua produced a profound change in the Central American power balance. It brought to the fore a new political force, Sandinismo. Outside Nicaragua (and perhaps Cuba), little was known of this group, its leaders, or its aims. Mexico, like other nations of the hemisphere, found it necessary to educate itself about the Sandinistas. Simultaneously, other relatively unknown political groups were seeking to bring about change in other hemispheric countries, such as El Salvador, Grenada, and Guatemala.

Mexico decided it could not ignore these groups. But, because they were self-professed revolutionaries, not traditional opposition parties, contact with them could jeopardize relations with the governments in power. To solve this dilemma, and at the same time exercise influence over events in volatile regions of the hemisphere, particularly Central America and the Caribbean, the Mexican Government turned to its own Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

Through the PRI, the government sought not only to learn about the new revolutionary groups, but also to establish a framework within which it might influence them.

In internal matters, it is not unusual for the Mexican President to use the PRI in this manner, especially when government involvement could be unseemly, or when official action could appear contrary to Mexico's avowed revolutionary doctrines.

The Nicaraguan situation was ideal for Mexico to test the use of the PRI as a surrogate for official action in the international sphere. In Nicaragua, the Mexicans were concerned that outside forces were becoming increasingly involved. Somoza was seen by the Mexicans both as a fascist dictator and as a lackey of the United States. But, while the Mexican left would have applauded government support for a leftist overthrow of Somoza, the Mexican middle class, which runs Mexico, would

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have felt uneasy at the prospect of radical change which might spill over into other countries in the area. Lopez Portillo's use of the PRI to implement a foreign policy program vis-a-vis Nicaragua avoided seeming to favor one group over another.

The PRI accommodates nearly all points of view in the Mexican political spectrum. Its domestic policies are never extreme, and they fit comfortably with the European-based social democratic movement. Not surprisingly, the PRI turned to the social democratic parties of the hemisphere in establishing an institution to monitor and influence area insurrectionists.

Projecting PRI Power Abroad

The selection of Gustavo Carvajal, formerly a personal assistant to Lopez Portillo, as PRI president was somewhat of a surprise in that he had not previously attained much stature in the party. Almost immediately after assuming the presidency, Carvajal, in April, publicly called for Mexico to break relations with the Somoza regime. His sudden action seemed to be a gaffe. But in all likelihood he was acting with the approval of Lopez Portillo, who probably wished to probe Mexican public reaction to such a move.

There was little reaction, and in May, Lopez Portillo announced that Mexico was severing diplomatic relations with Somoza's government.

Once relations had ended, Carvajal traveled throughout Latin America to seek support for Mexico's policy. The journey gave him the international exposure he needed to take the lead in calling for a hemispheric conference of 24 social democratic parties at Oaxaca, Mexico, in October 1979. He also let it be known that the PRI was willing to pay most of the meeting's expenses.

Membership Requirements

As Carvajal explained it, the conference was to include only parties that were "democratic, nationalistic, progressive, and anti-imperialistic." He added that they would have to be non-ideological and anti-hegemonic, conditions that allowed the conference to exclude both Communist and Christian Democratic-oriented parties, the chief rivals of the PRI and most of the other participants.

Furthermore, the conference was not to permit observers or representatives from outside the hemisphere, which enabled the organizers to finesse the question of Socialist International

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participation. Among those to be admitted were representatives of Nicaragua's Sandinistas, as well as the nominally social democratic parties from other hemispheric countries, including some parties that exist more in the minds of their leaders than in fact, e.g., the Brazilian Workers Party.

COPPAL's Establishment

The meeting, held in a distant, out-of-the-way provincial capital, received little advance publicity. None of the few reporters present in Oaxaca at the time was permitted to attend the sessions. The communique was a laundry list of causes that Latin American "liberals" usually discuss when they assemble. For almost all the participants' countries the list contained a call to right a wrong or, if the participating party was in power, a laudatory resolution. The communique also accused the United States of reintroducing the Cold War into the hemisphere and called for Puerto Rican independence. (The Puerto Rican Independence Party attended.)

The participants agreed to form themselves into the permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties (COPPAL).* Carvajal was elected president. Other officers chosen were:

Vice-Presidents:

Tomas Borge, Sandinist National Liberation Front, Nicaragua
Leonal Brizola, Brazilian Workers' Party
Michael Manley, People's National Party, Jamaica
Daniel Oduber, National Liberation Party, Costa Rica
Victor Paz Estenssoro, National Revolutionary Movement, Bolivia
Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic

Executive Secretary:

Oscar Campero, Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico

COPPAL's Aims

In contacts with the US Embassy in Mexico City after the conference, Carvajal stressed the moderate nature of COPPAL and explained that its object was to help keep the new leftist

* See appendix for list of COPPAL member-parties.

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movements from coming under Cuban domination. (Cuba was not invited to the meeting, nor was it mentioned in the communique.) Carvajal apparently believes that COPPAL can influence the new leftists in the same way that the PRI brings domestic opposition under its wing, by co-opting its positions and people, thereby blunting its force. (Domestically, of course, the PRI resorts to payoffs when necessary and, less frequently, overcomes the opposition by strong-arm tactics.)

To gain the confidence of the dissident movements, the PRI decided that COPPAL must establish its own credentials. This undoubtedly was the reason Carvajal asked Embassy Mexico City to intercede in setting up an appointment for the COPPAL leadership to meet with President Carter. The Embassy deflected the request, but Carvajal has reiterated it several times since, almost as if he feels a need to deliver on a promise to the membership. Inasmuch as no other officer of COPPAL has brought up the question, it would appear that Carvajal was solely responsible for the initiative. But it is not likely that he would have made the proposal without the concurrence of Lopez Portillo.

It is difficult to measure how much influence the PRI, and through it the Mexican Government, has been able to exert by using COPPAL. Generally, COPPAL has taken positions that are consonant with Lopez Portillo's policies, such as denouncing the short-lived November 1979 Bolivian coup. There have been three subsequent meetings of elements of COPPAL, and in at least two of these the issues discussed reflected Mexican concerns.

Subsequent Meetings

Quito, Ecuador

In February 1980, representatives of COPPAL member-parties in oil-producing countries met in Quito to discuss energy topics. Not much is known about what was said, but the meeting undoubtedly was influential in shaping Mexican attitudes leading to the agreement with Venezuela to assist oil-importing countries in Central America and the Caribbean.

Cocoyoc, Mexico

Shortly after the February meeting, various Mexican groups issued a call for Mexico to recognize a Salvadoran revolutionary group, the Revolutionary Coordinating Board of the Masses, as the legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people. This move, similar to the one Carvajal had made earlier in favor

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of Nicaragua's FSLN, did not arouse any general sympathetic reaction from the Mexican public.

On March 3 and 4, the Directorate of COPPAL met at Cocoyoc, Mexico. Carvajal and three vice-presidents--Borge, Paz Estensorro, and Pena Gomez--were present. The communique maintained the position that the Mexican Government had been taking on El Salvador. Thus, although the document supported "the right to self-determination of the Salvadoran people," it did not espouse the cause of the insurrectionists at the expense of the ruling junta, a position paralleled by official Mexican policy. (Since then, Mexico has maintained a neutral public stance toward El Salvador. But it did remove its Ambassador from San Salvador, leaving only a charge, possibly signaling the beginning of a tilt toward the insurgents. Mexico also reportedly unsuccessfully sought Venezuelan consent to exclude Salvador from the joint Mexican-Venezuelan oil-financing facility.)

Other statements in the communique were similarly moderate, yet appealing to hemispheric insurgent groups. The rhetoric used in voicing opposition to US policies was similar to that of the October communique, although there was no reference to Puerto Rico. An interesting new element was introduced: the communique denounced the information media as "dominated by centers which distort the image of democratic movements." This directly reflected a deep concern of Lopez Portillo, who reportedly once told a foreign journalist that he was opposed to the activities of US press and information agencies because they were at the service of transnational companies and were part of the US plan for dominating worldwide news resources. Transnational corporations were also criticized by the COPPAL communique.

San Jose

The PRI did not attend the COPPAL meeting on Guatemala in San Jose in May. Carvajal told Embassy Mexico City that the Mexican Government wanted to avoid the appearance of meddling in Guatemalan internal affairs.

Other PRI Initiatives

The pattern of the PRI's other international contacts, outside the framework of COPPAL but paralleling its general thrust, is consistent with Lopez Portillo's evident desire to involve Mexico more actively with the forces for hemispheric political change. For example:

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--Although nothing has come of it, Carvajal reportedly made an offer of assistance to the Guatemalan Army of the Poor.

--Carvajal has stated that Mexico intends to draw Jamaica's Michael Manley away from radical left influences. (Manley was made a COPPAL vice-president even though he has never attended a meeting.)

--The PRI reportedly has provided financial aid to Peru's American Popular Revolutionary Alliance and to the Uruguayan opposition's Broad Front.

Another example, classically convoluted, was the PRI's support for the Puerto Rican independence conference in Mexico City, November 30-December 2, 1979. The PRI provided funds to the minuscule Mexican Communist Party (PCM), which bankrolled the Mexican Peace Movement (MPM), which in turn sponsored the conference on Puerto Rico.

In addition, while the PRI has been lining up the region's "social-democratic" parties through COPPAL, it has also been working on "socialist" parties through the Mexican Socialist Workers' Party (PST). The PST, assisted by the PRI and with the help of Mexican Government largesse, hosted on June 22 a meeting of Socialist parties from Chile, Costa Rica, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Puerto Rico. Also participating were Nicaragua's FSLN, El Salvador's Revolutionary Front, and a Haitian exile group. Mexico's Communist Party and Peace Movement attended as observers, along with the COPPAL Secretariat.

COPPAL's Future

COPPAL is seen by its Mexican proponents as a league of progressive elements constructing a bulwark against imperialist forces of the left and of the right--with Mexico in the vanguard. Its overriding purpose is, then, to promote basic Mexican policy at minimum risk.

COPPAL also appeals to Mexican policymakers for several secondary reasons:

--It mollifies the Mexican left's demands for an anti-imperialist stance.

--It demonstrates Mexican independence of the US.

--It polishes Mexico's Third World image.

--It projects the PRI as progressive and democratic.

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To the Mexicans, COPPAL, and probably also the Mexico-Venezuela oil facility, is a way to lead other Latin American countries toward a new political balance in the hemisphere. Mexico believes in the necessity to counterbalance US primacy. But it probably also perceives a decline in US ability to exercise effective indirect control and does not want the void filled by Cuba and communism. The Mexicans may also fear that a decline in US influence and indirect control over area events could lead to increasingly active or more direct US intervention. For example, Mexico reasons that governments such as the FSLN-led coalition in Nicaragua are potential allies for efforts to constrain US hegemony. But Mexico also holds that these new governments must be prevented from taking a radical path, such as Cuba's.

COPPAL's future therefore depends on a continued or heightened Mexican concern over growing area instability. As long as this concern remains high, COPPAL probably will continue to be used as an instrument through which Mexico can attempt to influence area events. If hemispheric conditions change, i.e., if international tensions diminish significantly, COPPAL will no longer be very important to Mexico.

Overall, COPPAL has the potential to serve as a vehicle for strengthening US-Latin American relations. Even though some of its attitudes and initiatives pose problems for the United States (e.g., regarding El Salvador), COPPAL aims at achieving relatively moderate, if strongly nationalistic, solutions as opposed to radical and externally dominated ones. COPPAL member-parties, particularly the PRI, will seek to limit and counter US influence and domination, but they will also seek to supplant or preempt Soviet and Cuban influence. The advent of COPPAL emphasizes the multipolar context of the hemisphere's international relationships. As one US Embassy observed, the competition with the Soviets--more precisely, with their Cuban surrogates--remains a harsh reality. Mexico, with considerable prestige in some sectors of the hemisphere and new-found oil wealth, appears to be buying into the competition with a respectable sum of both intellectual and material leverage.

Prepared by D. DuGan
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Approved by W. E. Knepper
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COPPAL Member-Parties

Bolivia	National Revolutionary Movement of the Left (MIR) National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)
Brazil	Brazilian Workers Party (PTB)
Colombia	Liberal Party Latin American Parliament of Colombia
Costa Rica	National Liberation Party (PLN)
Dominican Republic	Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD)*
Ecuador	Democratic Left (MID) Concentration of Popular Forces (CFP)
El Salvador	National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)
Guatemala	Socialist Democratic Party (PSD) United Revolutionary Front (FUR)
Jamaica	People's National Party (PNP)*
Mexico	Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)* Popular Socialist Party (PPS) Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM) Socialist Workers Party (PST)
Nicaragua	Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN)*
Panama	Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD)*
Peru	American Popular Revolutionary Association
Puerto Rico	Independence Party (PIP)
Venezuela	Democratic Action (AD) Socialist Movement (MAS) Electoral Movement of the People (MEP)

* Denotes incumbent party in government.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6593

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/23/96
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) MEETING BETWEEN MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND SONSONATE MILITARY COMMANDER SEPTEMBER 19

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. A MEETING, ATTENDED BY EMBOFF OBSERVER, BETWEEN INTERIOR MINISTER HERNANDEZ AND SONSONATE MILITARY COMMANDER LEIVA SEPTEMBER 19 DID MUCH TO ILLUSTRATE THE TENUOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THEIR MILITARY COLLEAGUES. AT ISSUE WERE TWO RECENT INCIDENTS IN WHICH SONSONATE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT DIGNITARIES HAD BEEN BADLY TREATED BY LOCAL MILITARY OFFICERS. THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTER CHOSE TO MAKE THE CALL RATHER THAN SUMMON LEIVA IS PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING DEMONSTRATION OF HOW, STILL, THE CARDS ARE REALLY STACKED. THE HERNANDEZ LEIVA MEETING -- WHICH TOOK PLACE THROUGHOUT WITH CONSIDERABLE COURTESY ON BOTH SIDES -- ENDED WITH THEIR AGREEING [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06593 2416232

THAT A LACK OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CIVILIANS AND MILITARY OFFICIALS WAS THE CAUSE OF ANY CONFLICT BETWEEN THEM. END SUMMARY.

3. POLOFF TRAVELED WITH GOES INTERIOR MINISTER OVIDIO HERNANDEZ AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) LEGAL ADVISOR LUIS HIDALGO TO SONSONATE SEPTEMBER 19. SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM THAT TRIP FOLLOW.

4. HERNANDEZ WAS TRAVELING TO SONSONATE IN ORDER SPEAK WITH THE DEPARTMENTAL MILITARY COMMANDER ABOUT RECENT PROBLEMS BETWEEN PDC MEMBERS AND THE MILITARY. IN ONE INCIDENT AN ACAJUTLA CITY COUNCILMAN HAD BEEN ARRESTED AT NIGHT AND IN HIS HOUSE BY NAVY POLICE, VERBALLY ABUSED, AND THEN SENT HOME THE NEXT DAY WEARING LITTLE MORE THAN HIS SOCKS. THE ACAJUTLA NAVY COMMANDER HAD BEEN UNIMPRESSED BY THE SUBSEQUENT PROTESTS OF THE MAYOR AND OTHER OFFICIALS. IN A SECOND INCIDENT, TWO CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES OF THE SONSONATE GARRISON WERE IDENTIFIED BY A PDC MEMBER AS BANDITS WHO WHILE OFF DUTY MASQUERADED AS FPL MEMBERS IN ORDER TO STEAL FROM THE CITIZENRY.

5. THE MINISTER POINTED OUT EN ROUTE TO HIS MEETING THAT THIS TYPE OF PROBLEM WAS HINDERING AN EFFECTIVE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE PDC. A GREAT DEAL HAD BEEN DONE TO IMPROVE THAT RELATIONSHIP AT THIE SENIOR LEVEL, HE SAID, BUT MUCH MORE REMAINED TO BE DONE AT THE MIDDLE AND LOWER LEVELS. HERNANDEZ POINTED OUT THAT THE PROBLEM WAS ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT IN THE WESTERN PORTION OF THE COUNTRY, AN AREA, HE SAID, WHERE THE RIGHT WING IS PARTICUARLY STRONG.

6. POLOFF PARTICIPATED -- AS AN OBSERVER -- IN HERNANDEZ' MEETING WITH THE COMMANDER. THE MINISTER [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06593 2416232

BEGAN BY REPEATING IN PART WHAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD POLOFF. HE SAID THAT HE HAD ASKED FOR THE MEEETING IN ORDER TO DISCUSS CERTAIN INCIDENTS WHICH HAD A DISRUPTING EFFECT ON THE CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT SIDE, FACED BY A SERIOUS SUBVERSIVE THREAT, COULD ILL AFFORD THESE INTERNAL CONTROVERSIES. HE CITED THE SEPARATE INCIDENTS.

7. THE COMMANDER, LT. COL. MAXIMILIANO LEIVA, RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT HE WAS SURPRISED BY THE FIRST CITED INCIDENT. [redacted]

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HE CLAIMED THAT HE HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY HEARD OF IT. HE HAD HEARD OF THE SECOND INCIDENT, HOWEVER, AND HAD ALREADY ORDERED THE REMOVAL OF THE CULPRITS AND HAD TURNED THEM OVER T JUDICIARY. HE AGREED THAT THE CIVILINS AND THE MILITARY SHOULD COOPERATE AND SHOULD NOT ALLOW THESE PROBLEMS TO DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM WHICH BOTH FACED; I.E. THE SUBVERSIVES.

8. ALSO PRESENT AT THE MEETING WERE SEVERAL MILITARY OFFICERS, INCLUDING ONE NAVY OFFICER, THE AGGRIEVED CITY COUNCILMAN AND THE ACTING MAYOR OF ACAJUTLA. THE NAVY REPRESENTATIVE WAS LESS WILLING THAN THE OTHER OFFICERS TO SEE ANY POINT IN THE CIVILIANS' COMPLAINTS. HE INDICATED THAT THE INCIDENT WHICH PROVOKED THE ARREST -- THE BOMBING OF AN OCCUPIED CAR BY A GROUP OF TERRORISTS -- WAS ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT ANYONE NOTIFYING THE MILITARY OF THE PRESENCE OF THE GROUP IN THE TOWN. HE SAID THAT THIS DEMONSTRATED THE PASSIVITY OF THE TOWNSPEOPLE AND THE LACK OF COOPERATION ON THEIR PART. THE CIVILIANS STOOD THEIR GROUND AND SAID THAT NO ONE IN HIS RIGHT MIND IS OUT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT TO WITNESS THE TERRORISTS' MOVEMENTS, FEW PEOPLE HAVE TELEPHONES, AND, IN ANY EVENT, THE CITY POLICE ARE SUPPOSED TO TAKE CARE OF NOTIFYING THE MILITARY OF ANY PROBLEMS.

9. THE DISCUSSION WAS FINALLY ENDED BY THE MINISTER AND

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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THE COMMANDER WHO AGREED, ONCE AGAIN, THAT THE SUBVERSIVES WERE THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM. THESE INCIDENTS WERE THE RESULT, THEY AGREED, OF A LACK OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES. THEY EACH PROMISED TO DO THEIR PART TO SOLVE THAT PROBLEM.
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P 126

PAGE 01 BUENOS 07831 01 OF 02 301348Z
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

EO 12065: GDS 9/26/86 (RUSER, CLAUS W.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY: SEPTEMBER 20-26, 1980

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7589

1. [redacted] DETENTIONS AND DISAPPEARANCES: THE FRG EMBASSY HAS TOLD US OF A DETENTION AND A POSSIBLE DISAPPEARANCE LAST AUGUST. ON AUGUST 21 SECURITY FORCES DETAINED NORA INEZ HILB, WHO HOLDS GERMAN AND ARGENTINE CITIZENSHIP, AND HILB'S COMMON-LAW HUSBAND, [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07831 01 OF 02 301348Z

DANIEL CABEZAS. HILB'S FAMILY IMMEDIATELY GOT INTO TOUCH WITH THER GERMAN EMBASSY WHICH INTERVENED IN BEHALF OF BOTH HILB AND

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CABEZAS. HILB SOON THEREAFTER EMERGED IN CUSTODY. SHE STATES THAT HER CAPTORS HAVE TOLD HER THAT CABEZAS WAS ALSO UNDER ARREST, BUT NEITHER THE FRG EMBASSY NOR ANY MEMBER OF THE FAMILY HAS BEEN ABLE TO SEE HIM OR LOCATE HIM AS OF SEPTEMBER 25.

2. [redacted] COMMENT: THE GERMANS TELL US THAT EVERYBODY--THE FAMILY, THE GOA AND HILB--AGREES ON ONE THING IN THIS CASE: HILB AND CABEZAS WERE LIVING IN THE COUNTRY CLANDESTINELY AS MEMBERS OF A MONTONERO AGITATION TEAM. WHEN CAPTURED THEY WERE IN POSSESSION OF ARMS AND A PRINTING MACHINE. PRIOR TO RETURNING TO ARGENTINA EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE TWO HAD BEEN IN MEXICO. THIS CASE BEARS A GREAT SIMILARITY TO THAT OF AIXA EDITH BONA AND MARTIN HERVACIO GUADEX, MONTONEROS WHO WERE ALSO CAPTURED LATE LAST AUGUST (BUENOS AIRES 7249). CABEZAS IS THE SON OF THELMA JARA DE CABEZAS WHO IS ONE OF THE MOST REKNOWNED DISAPPEARANCES BECAUSE OF HER CONNECTION WITH THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO.

3. [redacted] TIGHTENING THE LIMITS FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY? IN THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS POLITICIANS HAVE ENJOYED SUBSTANTIALLY EXPANDED OPPORTUNITIES TO MEET AND TO SPEAK OUT ON ISSUES. AS A RESULT, THE PRESS HAS BEEN FILLED WITH CRITICISMS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY AND POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE CRISSCROSSED THE COUNTRY SPEAKING TO THEIR FAITHFUL.

4. [redacted] THE WELTER OF SHARP ATTACKS ON THE GOA AND THE RUSH OF ACTIVITY DOES NOT SEEM TO BE AIMED AT HUSTLING THE MILITARY OUT OF POWER. RATHER, THE ACTIVITY AND THE STATEMENTS SEEM TO BE BASED FIRST ON EXPECTATIONS THAT THE [redacted]

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 07831 01 OF 02 301348Z

MILITARY MAY FULFILL ITS PROMISE TO ISSUE A PARTY LAW THAT WILL ALLOW THE PARTIES TO REORGANIZE AND TO RENEW THEIR LEADERSHIP, WHICH HAS BEEN FROZEN IN PLACE SINCE 1976. THE FACTIONS WITHIN THE RADICAL AND THE PERONIST PARTIES ARE JOCKEYING FOR POSITION FOR THAT INTERNAL SELECTION. SECONDLY, THERE IS A PERCEPTION AMONG POLITICIANS--PERHAPS FOUNDED IN WISH--THAT THE SANDS ARE BEGINNING TO RUN OUT FOR THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE TIME HAS COME TO BEGIN TO CAMPAIGN FOR POPULAR SUPPORT.

5. [redacted] THE GOVERNMENT IS DISCOMFORTED BY SO MUCH POLITICKING. IT HAS NOW SENT SIGNALS TO THE POLITICIANS

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THAT THEY BEST PULL THEMSELVES IN. THE ARREST AND EXILING OF A REGIONAL-LEVEL PERONIST LEADER WAS BASED ON HIS VIOLATION OF THE LAW SUSPENDING POLITICAL ACTIVITY. PERONIST LEADER DEOLINDO BITTEL WAS DETAINED BY THE POL8:3 AND QUESTIONED FOR FIVE HOURS AFTER HE BLASTED THE GOVERNMENT FOR ALLEGEDLY ARRESTING AND TORTURING A MEMBER OF THE PERONIST YOUTH EARLIER THIS MONTH. THEN THE GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLICIZED A MEETING BETWEEN INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY AND PRESIDENT VIDELA IN WHICH THE MINISTER BRIEFED THE PRESIDENT ON "THE INCREASING ACTIVITY OF POLITICAL SECTORS...THUS VIOLATING THE LAW IN FORCE." FOLLOWING THIS "BRIEFING" A PERONIST GATHERING SCHEDULED IN TUCUMAN AND A RADICAL "SEMINAR" IN CORDOBA WERE BANNED. OTHER POLITICAL MEETINGS WHICH HAD NOT RECEIVED THE PUBLICITY OF THE BANNED GATHERINGS WENT AHEAD, HOWEVER.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 07831 02 OF 02 301411Z
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6. [redacted] WHILE THE GOVERNMENT MAY WANT THE POLITICIANS TO SLOW DOWN, IT WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT MORE FIREWORKS WHEN IT INVITED FORMER PRESIDENT ARTURO FRONDIZI TO PARTICIPATE IN THE "DIALOGUE" WITH INTERIOR MINISTER HARGUINDEGUY. EMERGING FROM THAT MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 23, FRONDIZA PREDICTABLY THREW SOME VERY HARD BALLS AT THE MILITARY: PARTICULARLY, HIS STATEMENT THAT THE PERONISTS REPRESENT THE "IMMENSE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING CLASS;" THAT POLITICAL DETAINEES MUST BE FREED; AND THAT THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM IS "INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE EXISTENCE OF 27 MILLION ARGENTINES." FRONDIZI [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 07831 02 OF 02 301411Z

SOFTENED THESE BLOWS BY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE MILITARY HAD MADE A GREAT CONTRIBUTION IN DEFEATING SUBVERSION AND RECOGNIZED THAT THE ARMED FORCES MUST PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE FUTURE. HE ALSO STATED THAT THERE CURRENTLY IS NO GREAT POPULAR PRESSURE FOR ELECTIONS. FRONDIZI, IN KEEPING WITH THE PHILOSOPHY THAT GUIDES THE MID WHICH HE HEADS, SEEMED TO BE SERVING UP TO THE MILITARY AS A SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT SITUATION SOME SORT OF COMBINATION OF MILITARY POPULISM WHICH WOULD LINK THE ARMED FORCES, THER PERONISTS, AND OF COURSE THE MID AS THE ECONOMIC THINKERS OF SUCH A REGIME.

7. (U) DISAPPEARED: THE CHIEF OF POLICE ATTACKS. FEDERAL POLICE CHIEF GENERAL JUAN SASIAIN GAVE A SPEECH SEPTEMBER 19 IN WHICH HE ADDRESSED THE ISSUE OF THE DISAPPEARED AT LENGTH. HE CRITICIZED POLITICIANS, INTELLECTUALS AND LEADERS WHO HAVE CALLED FOR INVESTIGATIONS AND CLARIFICATION OF THE THOUSANDS OF DISAPPEARANCES. HE CHARGED THAT THE PEOPLE WHO CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT WERE THE SAME ONES WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ARGENTINA'S SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BREAKDOWN IN THE PAST. IN VIEW OF THAT RESPONSIBILITY, HE SAID, THESE CRITICS WOULD DO BETTER TO "MAINTAIN" THE DECORUM OF SILENCE." SASIAIN LAMENTED THAT THOSE WHO SEARCH FOR THE DISAPPEARED MAKE NO SIMILAR EFFORT TO TURN UP THE KILLERS OF MILITARY MEN WHO FELL TO TERRORIST ASSASSINATIONS.

8. (U) TURNING HIS ATTENTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, SASIAIN REPORTEDLY IMPLIED THAT MOST OF THEM ARE MANIPULATED BY "MARXISTS" PARTICIPATING IN "DISMAL COALITIONS". HE SAID THAT THESE ORGANIZATIONS PUBLISH

LISTS OF "PRESUMED SUBVERSIVES WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED." HE ADDED "THEY EVEN INDULGE THEMSELVES TO THE POINT OF
[redacted]

EXPLOITING MATERNAL SENTIMENT, A CRUEL SENTIMENT LOADED WITH GUILT AND DESPERATION BECAUSE IT DRIVES THOSE WHO NEVER KNEW HOW TO FIND THEIR LOVED ONES WHO THEY LOST BEFORE THEY WERE LOST...THIS SAD BITTERNESS WILL PERHAPS NEVER HAVE AN ANSWER BECAUSE THE DISAPPEARED SHOULD HAVE BEEN SOUGHT OUT BEFORE THEY WERE LOST AND MANY OF THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT NOW SEARCH FOR THEM ARE THE SAME ONES THAT CONFUSED THE PATH FOR THEM."

9. [redacted] COMMENT: SASIAIN'S COMMENTS WERE SHRUGGED OFF BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS WE TALKED TO AS NO MORE THAN WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED. THE THOUGHT THAT THE MOTHERS OF THE DISAPPEARED ARE AT FAULT FOR THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THEIR CHILDREN IS NOT A NEW ONE AMONG SOME OF THE MILITARY HERE. THIS IDEA IS ROOTED IN THE BELIEF THAT THE TERRORISTS WERE THE PRODUCT OF FLAWED UPBRINING. SASIAIN'S COMPLAINT THAT THE MOTHERS ARE BEING MANIPULATED BY POLITICIANS WITH ULTERIOR MOTIVES IS ALSO SOMETHING WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHER MILITARY MEN. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HIS VITRIOLIC REMARKS PRESAGE SOME SORT OF CRACKDOWN ON HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, BUT WE DO NOT THINK SO AND THERE HAVE BEEN NO ACTS SUGGESTING THAT THE GOA IS MOVING IN THAT DIRECTION.

10. (U) HABEAS CORPUS FOR DETAINED. THIRTY-FIVE LAWYERS PRESENTED A COLLECTIVE HABEAS CORPUS PETITION FOR 3,259 PEOPLE DETAINED UNDER PEN WITHOUT TRIAL. THE PETITION CHARGED THAT PRISON CONDITIONS ARE "INHUMAN" AND DEMANDED THAT THE DETAINEES BE ALLOWED TO EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF OPTION.

11. [redacted] WE WERE TLD RECENTLY BY A GOA SOURCE THAT OPTIONS WILL BE ANNOUNCED ONLY TWICE A YEAR. THE NEXT ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE IN THE SPRING, PROBABLY IN NOVEMBER.

12. (U) ANOTHER TRIALS ENDS. THE COURTS CONTINUE TO TRY AND SENTENCE DETAINEES WHO WERE ARRESTED AS TERRORISTS OR SUBVERSIVES
[redacted]

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IN THE PAST. TWO PEOPLE WHO WERE ORIGINALLY ARRESTED IN 1974 AND HELD SINCE THEN WERE GIVEN A SENTENCE OF NINE YEARS BY A JUDGE IN CORDOBA.
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FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
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AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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IS/FPC/CDR FG
MR Cases Only:
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Date: 4/26/96
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or
TS authority to:

UNCLAS CARACAS 8691

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS ASEC CU VE
SUBJ: NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BOSCH CASE

REF: (A) CARACAS 8511 (B) CARACAS 8616

1. IN A NEW WRINKLE TO AN ALREADY COMPLICATED AFFAIR VENEZUELAN JOURNALIST ALICIA HERRERA, WHO DISAPPEARED FROM VENEZUELA IN APR WITH HER CUBAN HUSBAND RAIMUNDO URRECHAGA, RESURFACED IN MEXICO SUNDAY MAKING CHARGES OF VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSION OF EVIDENCE IN THE PARDONING OF ORLANDO BOSCH AND FRIENDS FOR THE 1976 CUBANA AIRLINES BOMBING INCIDENT. HERRERA WAS DIRECTOR OF TWO WOMEN'S MAGAZINES IN VENEZUELA, "PAGINAS" AND "KENA". AFTER LEAVING VENEZUELA, SHE ALLEGEDLY MADE HER WAY TO MEXICO
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 02 CARACA 08691 011534Z

VIA COLOMBIA AND MIAMI, MAKING CONTACT WITH THE CUBAN EMBASSY

IN MEXICO CITY AND VISITING CUBA SEVERAL TIMES.

2. HERRERA HAS CHARGED THAT THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMNET ALTERED EVIDENCE AGAINST THE ACCUSED TO FACILITATE THEIR PARDON, WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR GUILT. IN ADDITION, HERRERA CLAIMS THAT ORLANDO BOSCH AND LUIS POSADA CARRILES ADMITTED TO HER THAT THEY AUTHORED THE 1976 BOMBING. SHE CHARGED THAT ALL FOUR WERE RECEIVING MONTHLY SALARIES FROM $500 TO $2,000 FROM THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT.

3. VENEZUELAN OFFICIALS QUICKLY DENIED THE CHARGES. DISIP DIRECTOR REMBERTO UZCATEGUI, AFTER CONSULTING WITH MINISTER OF INTERIOR RAFAEL MONTES DE OCA, SAID THAT THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT HAS KNOWN FOR "A LONG TIME" THAT HERRERA IS A CUBAN SPY, ALTHOUGH SHE NEVER COMMITTED A CRIME AGAINST VENEZUELA. UZCATEGUI SAID HERRERA WAS REPEATING WHAT HER CUBAN BOSSES WANT HE TO SAY AND ADDED THAT VENEZUELA WAS STUDYING THE POSSIBILITY OF TRYING HERRERA FOR TREASON. MONTES DE OCA CATEGORICALLY DENIED THE CHARGES OF MUNIPULATION OF EVIDENCE IN THE BOSCH CASE.

4. MEANTIME DIARIO DE CARACAS REPORTS, SEPTEMBER 30, THAT THE GOV IS STUDYING THE POSSIBILITY OF WITHDRAWING ITS PERSONNEL FROM THE MISSION IN HAVANA. A STICKING POINT, BASED ON COMMENTS BY LEOPOLDO CASTILLO, SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S ADVISORY COMMISSION, IS FINDING A THIRD COUNTRY IN CUBA TO REPRESENT VENEZUELAN INTERESTS AND PSO TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY -- WITH CUBAN APPROVAL-- FOR THE NINETEEN ASYLEES PRESENTLY IN THE VENEZUELAN MISSION.
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AM: 0800467-0650

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06751 3020522
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6751

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/29/86
TAGS: PINT ES
SUBJECT: THE MODERATE RIGHT SPEAKS OUT

1. (U) ON SEPT. 17 THE CENTER FOR JURIDICAL STUDIES PUBLISHED A FULL PAGE AD IN THE NEWSPAPERS ENTITLED "FOR THE RULE OF LAW." THE PRODUCTIVE ALLIANCE (AP) FOLLOWED SUIT ON SEPT. 24 WITH A STATEMENT PUBLISHED UNDER THE TITLE "THE RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONALITY AS A SOLUTION FOR ATTAINING PEACE."

2. (U) THE TWO ADS AGREE ON SEVERAL POINTS.
--BOTH EXPRESS CONCERN OVER THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE AND LINK IT WITH THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF A NON-CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, I.E. LAW OF THE JUNGLE.
--BOTH TASK THE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS INEPT LAWS.
--BOTH CALL FOR ELECTIONS AND THE RETURN TO THE RULE

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06751 3020522

OF LAW.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] Date 9/17/93
portion(s) withheld [redacted]
law enforcement [redacted] privacy [redacted]
non-rel [redacted]

--ONE NOTES THAT IT BACKS THE ARMED FORCES "AS LONG AS ITS ACTIONS ARE CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW," AND THE OTHER ADVOCATES FOR THE SECURITY FORCES "THE RATIONAL AND MEASRED EXERCISE OF FORCE, IN EVERY CASE SUBJECT TO EFFECTIVE CONTROL BY THE JUDICIAL BRANCH."
--BOTH TAKE THE VIEW THAT THE REFORMS NOW ON THE BOOKS ARE SUFFICIENT.

3. (U) THE CENTER AND THE AP APPEAR TO DIFFER IN THEIR APPROACH TO EXISTING REFORMS. ACCORDING TO THE CENTER, "THE REFORMS ALREADY PROMULGATED, OR ABOUT TO BE PROMULGATED BY THE DE FACTO REGIME THAT RULES US MUST BE SUBMITTED, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, TO THE JUDGEMENT AND EVALUATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE ORGANIZED AS A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY." THE AP, ON THE OTHER HAND, SAYS THAT "THE REFORMS ALREADY DECREED SHOULD BE EFFECTIVELY TRANSLATED INTO BENEFITS FOR THE THE MASSES BY ISSUING THE NECESSARY REGULATIONS." (COMMENT. THIS MAY BE A REFERENCE TO THE NEED FOR A TITLING PROCESS TO IMPLEMENT DECREE 207, *THE LAND TO THE THE TILLER LAW.*)

4. (U) IN ADDITION, THE AP RECOMMENDS THAT THE GOES "AUTHORIZED AN AMNESTY THAT WOULD PERMIT-THOSE WHO HAVE ADOPTED THE PATH OF VIOLENCE TO PUT DOWN THEIR ARMS AND ADJUST THEIR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BY POLITICAL MEANS. THE AMNESTY SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED FOR ALL SALVADORANS WHO ACCEPT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS...THE AMNESTY MIGHT BE ESPECIALLY DIRECTED TOWARD PROTECTING ALL THOSE ELEMENTS THAT WANT TO ABANDON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES WITHIN A DETERMINED PERIOD, BUT WOULD NOT INCLUDE THOSE GUILTY OF COMMON CRIMES COMMITTED UNDER THE PRETEXT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES."

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06751 3020522

5. (C) COMMENT. THE MODERATE RIGHT IS RE-GROUPING AS A POLITICAL FORCE IN EL SALVADOR. THERE ARE AT LEAST TWO REASONS FOR THE RIGHT'S RE-EMERGENCE AT THIS TIME. FIRST, THE LEFT'S DEMONSTRATIONS THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE MASS SUPPORT HAVE GIVEN THE RIGHT SOME BREATHING ROOM. AND SECOND, THE GOVERNMENTS'S FAILURE TO END THE VIOLENCE, TO STABLIZE THE ECONOMY, AND TO ADMINISTER ITS DUTIES IN A MORE DFFICIENT FORM HAVE GIVEN THE RIGHT SOME ISSUES.
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MR Cases Only:
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SEOUL 012868

ADP239 [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 12868 01 OF 02 010845Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9436
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SEOUL 12868

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/01/86 (MONJO, JOHN C.) OR-M
TAGS: PGOV PINT KS
SUBJECT: REACTION TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION

REF: SEOUL 12726

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: WHILE KOREANS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT PRESIDENT CHUN'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION IS MORE LIBERAL THAN ITS PREDECESSOR, THEY BELIEVE THE PROOF OF A CONSTITUTION IS IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION, AND THEY EXPECT THE CHUN REGIME TO BE A FIRM ONE. END SUMMARY.

3. IN THE TWO DAYS SINCE PRESIDENT CHUN DOO-HWAN'S (M-R: CHON TU-HWAN) DRAFT OF A NEW CONSTITUTION WAS MADE PUBLIC, WE HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS IT WITH A WIDE CROSS SECTION OF INFORMED KOREANS. THE REACTIONS REPORTED BELOW HAVE PROBABLY BEEN FORMING FOR LONGER THAN TWO DAYS, HOWEVER. MOST OF THE KEY PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION [redacted]

PAGE 02 SEOUL 12868 01 OF 02 010845Z

HAVE BEEN AUTHORITATIVELY LEAKED TO THE PRESS OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS.

4. WHILE THERE ARE NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS, PERHAPS THE STRONGEST REACTION TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS TO DOWNPLAY ITS SIGNIFICANCE. POLITICIANS, ACADEMICS AND JOURNALISTS HAVE ALL BEEN SOMEWHAT BLASE' IN THEIR RESPONSE. NEVERTHELESS, THERE SEEMS TO BE A CONSENSUS THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS A NOTABLE IMPROVEMENT OVER ITS PREDECESSOR

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(PRESIDENT PARK'S YUSHIN CONSTITUTION) IN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT RESPECTS. THESE INCLUDE THE LIMITATION OF THE PRESIDENT TO A SINGLE SEVEN-YEAR TERM, THE ELECTION OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (ONE-THIRD WERE APPOINTED UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM), THE FACT THAT THE ASSEMBLY MUST CONCUR IN ANY DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY, AND THE FACT THAT THE CONSTITUTION MAY BE AMENDED ONLY THROUGH A NATIONAL REFERENDUM. ONLY THE FIRST, HOWEVER--THE LIMITATION TO A SINGLE SEVEN-YEAR TERM--SEEMS TO GENERATE ANY REAL ENTHUSIASM. POLITICIANS IN PARTICULAR WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT CHUN HAS EFFECTIVELY BOXED HIMSELF IN ON THIS ISSUE, AND THAT SEVEN YEARS HENCE THERE WILL BE A TRUE PEACEFUL TRANSITION OF POWER IN KOREA. IN THE MEANTIME, THE FACT THAT IN A LITERAL SENSE THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION IS CLEARLY MORE LIBERAL THAN THE EXISTING DOCUMENT SEEMS TO BE VALUED MUCH MORE HIGHLY BY WESTERN OBSERVERS THAN BY THE KOREANS THEMSELVES. KOREANS TEND TO BELIEVE THAT IMPLEMENTATION IS THE KEY TO THE PROTECTIONS AFFORDED BY ANY CONSTITUTION, AND THAT WHATEVER THE DOCUMENT SAYS THE FIRST FEW YEARS OF THE CHUN REGIME WILL BE QUITE AUTHORITARIAN.

5. A DRP ASSEMBLYMAN EXPANDED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF LIMITING THE PRESIDENT TO A SINGLE TERM. HE BELIEVES THAT [redacted]

PAGE 03 SEOUL 12868 01 OF 02 010845Z

UNDER CHUN'S SYSTEM A PARTY MAY PERPETUATE ITSELF IN POWER, BUT THE FACT THAT A PRESIDENT CANNOT IS A GREAT IMPROVEMENT OVER KOREA'S RECENT POLITICAL HISTORY. HE SAID THE SINGLE TERM, HOWEVER, RAISES OTHER PROBLEMS. SPECIFICALLY, HE BELIEVES THAT IN MEXICO AND OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES THE SINGLE TERM HAS ENCOURAGED CORRUPTION.

6. A GROUP OF EDITORIAL WRITERS, REPRESENTING TWO MAJOR KOREAN LANGUAGE DAILIES, AGREED THAT THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION REPRESENTS SOME IMPROVEMENT OVER THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION, BUT THEY FEEL STRONGLY THAT IT REPRESENTS THE WILL OF PRESIDENT CHUN AND NOT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE WANT DIRECT ELECTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENCY, NOT AN ELECTORAL COLLEGE. THE CONSTITUTION WAS WRITTEN BY "BAMBOO PROFESSORS AND CIVIL SERVANTS," BENDING BEFORE THE WISHES OF CHUN. THE SEVEN-YEAR TERM FOR THE PRESIDENCY IS "MEANINGLESS." "CHUN COULD LAST THREE WEEKS OR 18 YEARS," AND "THE VOTING PROCEDURE IS A FARCE. A "YES" VOTE MEANS CONFIDENCE IN CHUN. A "NO" VOTE MEANS CONFIDENCE IN PARK. WHERE IS THE REAL CHOICE?"

7. IN A SENSE THE TEN SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIONS WHICH ACCOMPANY THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION (SEE PARA 4 REFTEL) ARE MORE CONTROVERSIAL THAN THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION ITSELF. THEY ASSIGN TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL

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SECURITY THE LEGISLATIVE FUNCTION IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN
THE PROMULGATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN LATE OCTOBER
AND THE SEATING OF A NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN EARLY 1981.
AN NDP ASSEMBLYMAN TOLD US THAT IN THIS SEVERAL MONTH
PERIOD THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO PASS MORE THAN
ENOUGH RESTRICTIVE LAWS TO RENDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

[redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSEOUL 012868

ADP233 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SEOUL 12868 02 OF 02 010846Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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P 010817Z OCT 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9437
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
SA CINCUNC KS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SEOUL 12868

IRRELEVANT TO OTHERS, INCLUDING SOME FOREIGN MISSIONARIES LONG TIME RESIDENT IN KOREA, ARE CYNICAL ABOUT WHETHER THESE TEN SPECIAL MEASURES WILL IN FACT GO OUT OF EXISTENCE WHEN THE NEW ASSEMBLY IS SEATED. THIS CYNICISM SEEMS UNFOUNDED, HOWEVER, SINCE ARTICLE VI OF THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES SPECIFICALLY FOR THEIR DISSOLUTION. GLEYSTEEN

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 262748
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/1/86 (EATON, S. D.)

TAGS:PINS, ASEC, VE, CI

SUBJECT: ORLANDO BOSCH CASE

REF: SANTIAGO 5965

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE AGREE THAT HIS PRESENCE IN CHILE MIGHT RAISE PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO BETTER ALTERNATIVE DESTINATION IN MIND AND WE DO NOT WANT HIM HERE. CONSEQUENTLY, WE BELIEVE IT BEST TO LET THE "CARD" FALL WHERE HE MAY. CHRISTOPH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9302099 IS/FPC/CDR FT Date: 4/26/96

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MR Cases Only:
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P800132-1478 (2026) FADRC

October 3, 1980

Dear Ms. Ferraro:

Thank you for your letter of September 9 on behalf of your constituent, Mrs. Nora del Valle M. de Chalabe, concerning the disappearance in Argentina of her husband Pablo Jacobe Chalabe.

The Department of State has no information concerning the whereabouts or welfare of Mr. Chalabe. We will ask our Embassy in Buenos Aires to inquire into his case at the Argentine Foreign Ministry's Working Group on Human Rights. As soon as any information is available concerning Mr. Chalabe, our Embassy will contact your office directly.

Be assured that we remain concerned about the human rights situation in Argentina and take every opportunity to press Argentine officials for improvements in this area.

Sincerely,

J. Brian Atwood
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Geraldine Ferraro,
House of Representatives.

cc: American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Drafted:ARA/SC:GJWhitman:mas
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Clearances:ARA/SC:REService
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Hispanic American Ministries
SYNOD OF RED RIVER & SYNOD OF THE SUN
319 CAMDEN SAN ANTONIO TEXAS 78215 (512) 275-4528

RELEASED

October 10, 1980

The Honorable Edmund Muskie
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Muskie:

In behalf of the Mexican-American Coordinating Council of the Synod of the Sun of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the Synod of Red River of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., we urge you to use your influence to "halt all future assistance to the military and police of El Salvador until there is assurance that all repression has ended. Further, that the United States not intervene directly or indirectly in the fate of the people of El Salvador."

The above recommendation was adopted by the Synod of the Sun and Synod of Red River at their joint meeting held in Ft. Worth on September 29 & 30, and October 1, 1980.

The Synods of Sun/Red River bring together all the Presbyterian Churches in the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana.

Thank you for your assistance in the implementation of the above resolution. Paz! Gozo! Amor!

Sinceramente,

Rodolfo L. Guerrero

CC: Gilbert Garza
William J. Fogleman

RLG:jl

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9400320

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 08227 101613Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7805
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY PARIS

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

UNCLAS BELGRADE 8227

NESTO #62

PARIS FOR UNESCO

E.O. 12065 N/A
TAGS: UNESCO: SHUM, CI, XM
SUBJ: UNESCO: 21ST GENERAL CONFERENCE: ITEM 18: PLEN/DR.13 ON CHILE

REF: STATE 197236

1. THERE FOLLOWS IN PARA 4 THE TEXT OF PLEN/DR.13 CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS RESOLUTION WILL BE CONSIDERED IN THE DRAFTING AND NEGOTIATION GROUP ALONG WITH THE OTHER DRS ALREADY SUBMITTED UNDER ITEM 18, UNESCO'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE ... IT IS LIKELY TO BE CONSIDERED AS EARLY AS MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, BUT COULD COME UP FOR DISCUSSION ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11.

2. COMMENTS. WE SEE NO REASON FOR THE GENERAL CONFERENCE TO SINGLE OUT CHILE FOR SPECIAL APPROBATION. WE RECOMMEND THAT WE BE INSTRUCTED TO ABSTAIN ON PLEN/DR.13 WITH A BRIEF
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 08227 101613Z

EXPLANATION ALONG APPLICABLE LINES OF REFTEL.

3. ACTION REQUESTED. THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS, SUGGESTIONS ON AMENDMENTS WHICH COULD MAKE THE RESOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO US, VOTING INSTRUCTIONS ON IT AND TALKING POINTS ARE REQUESTED. BY OPENING OF BUSINESS ON OCTOBER 13, IF POSSIBLE

n/a
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4. BEGIN TEXT.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

SUBMITTED BY ANGOLA, CAPE VERDE,GUINEA BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE, MEXICO, CUBA, NICARAGUA, GUYANA, GRENADA AND ALGERIA

"UNESCO'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND ITS TASKS WITH RESPECT TO THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ELIMINATION OF COLONIALSM AND RACIALISM"

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE,

RECALLING THE PROVISONS OF ARTICLE 1 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF UNESCO, WHICH DEFINES THE DUTIES OF THE ORGANIZATION WITH REGARD TO THE
RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

REAFFIRMING THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS,

EXPRESSING ITS FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL TO SECURE FULL AWARENESS AND RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND REAFFIRMING
THE ROLE OF UNESCO IN THE PROMOTION AND DEFENCE OF THESE
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PAGE 03 BELGRA 08227 101613Z

RIGHTS IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION,

RECALLING RESOLTUIONS 11.31 AND 14.1 OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESSCO AND RESOLUTION 34/179 OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND NOTING THAT IN THE FIELDS OF COMPETENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION, THE INFORMATION RECEIVED ON THE SITUATION CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SAME CONTINENT AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD CONTINUES TO AROUSE THE GREATEST CONCERN,

1. CALLS ONCE AGAIN ON THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO RESOTRE AND SAFEGUARD HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION;

2. REQUESTS THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL TO CONTINUE TAKING ALL SUCH MEASURES AS HE DEEMS APPROPRIATE TO ENSURE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE IN THE ORGANIZATION'S FIELDS OF INTEREST AND TO INFORM AND CONSULT, SS AND WHEN HE CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY, THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AND THE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

RELEASE

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State TELE

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 07217 1814412
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 HA-06 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 748
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 7217

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: MILI MASS SHUM ES
SUBJECT: (U) JRG HUMAN RIGHTS ORDER TO MILITARY

REF: SAN SALVADOR 7166

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE SPANISH TEXT OF A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) ORDER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR'S ARMED FORCES READ BY NAPOLEON DUARTE AT THE OCTOBER 15 CELEBRATION OF LAST YEAR'S COUP.

2. BEGIN TEXT. LA JUNTA REVOLUCIONARIA DE GOBIERNO CONSIDERANDO: I. QUE LA VIOLENCIA DESATA EN EL PAIS TIENE RAICES SOCIOLOGICAS Y QUE SU GENERALIZACION PUEDE HACER PERDER EL SENTIDO DE LOS VALORES HUMANOS QUE DEBEN REGIR EN TODA SOCIEDAD CIVILIZADA; II. QUE PARA HACER POSIBLE QUE LA SOCIEDAD SE GOBIERNE DENTRO DE UN ORDEN DE RESPECTO A LOS DERECHOS UNIVERSALES DEL HOMBRE, SE HACE NECESARIO QUE LA AUTORIDAD RESPONSABLE DEL
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 07217 1814412

MANTENIMIENTO DE LA DISCIPLINA SOCIAL CONTINUE SIENDO EJEMPLO

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REAL Y EFECTIVO DEL CUMPLIMIENTO DE LAS LEYES, REGLAMENTOS, DIRECTIVAS Y PROCEDIMIENTOS QUE NORMAN LA CONDUCTA SOCIAL; POR TANTO, LA JUNTA REVOLUCIONARIA DE GOBIERNO, CONSCIENTE DE LA RESPONSABILIDAD QUE HA ASUMIDO PARA SALVAR A NUESTRA PATRIA DE LA CRISIS DE VALORES EN QUE SE ENCUENTRA, Y EN BASE DE LA AUTORIDAD EN ELLA DELEGADA POR VOLUNTAD DEL MOVIMIENTO INSURRECCIONAL DEL 15 DE OCTUBRE Y POR DECISION MAYORITARIA DE LA FUERZA ARMADA, ACUERDA: COMUNICAR A TODOS LOS JEFES, OFICIALES, CLASES Y TROPA DE TODAS LAS UNIDADES DE LA FUERZA ARMADA, QUE INCLUYE A TODOS LOS MIEMBROS DEL SERVICIO TERRITORIAL LO SIGUIENTE: PRIMERO: CORRESPONDE A TODO SOLDADO O AGENTE DE SEGURIDAD, EN CUALQUIER CIRCUNSTANCIA DE LA VIDA, EL CUMPLIR SU DEBER CONSTITUCIONAL DE PROTEGER LA VIDA Y LA PROPIEDAD DE TODA LA CIUDADANIA ASI COMO CUMPLIR Y HACER CUMPLIR LAS LEYES Y REGLAMENTOS DE LA REPUBLICA. SEGUNDO: LA NACION HA ADQUIRIDO EL COMPROMISO MUNDIAL DE RESPETAR LOS DERECHOS UNIVERSALES DEL SER HUMANO, RAZON POR LA CUAL DEBE LIMITARSE AL EJERCICIO DE LA AUTORIDAD, A PROMOVER EL ORDEN SOCIAL DENTRO DEL ESTRICTO CUMPLIMIENTO A LAS LEYES Y EN NINGUN CASO, LOS PROCEDIMIENTOS EMPLEADOS DEBEN VIOLAR LOS DERECHOS DE LA PERSONA; EN ESTE SENTIDO Y PARA EL FIEL CUMPLIMIENTO DE ESTE VITAL DEBER SE ORDENA A TODO SUPERIOR QUE TENGA ALGUNA RESPONSABILIDAD DE COMANDO SOBRE OTROS, VELAR PORQUE SE CUMPLAN A CABALIDAD LOS CONCEPTOS Y EL ESPIRITU QUE ABRIGA ESTE COMUNICADO PARA LO CUAL SE DEBE HACER LA DEBIDA CONCIENTIZACION E INSTRUCCION ENTRE LOS ELEMENTOS BAJO SU MANDO. TERCERO: EL MINISTERIO DE DEFENSE Y SEGURIDD PUBLICA
DEBERA PREPARAR TODAS LAS DIRECTIVAS, ORDENES Y PROCEDIMIENTOS QUE ASEGUARAN EL FIEL CUMPLIMIENTO DE LAS OBLIGACIONES MILITARES Y DE SEGURIDAD QUE CORRESPONDAN A TODO SOLDADO O AGENTE DE SEGURIDAD, PREVINIENDO CUALQUIER ABUSO DE
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AUTORIDAD O MAL USO DE LOS MEDIOS COACTIVOS CON QUE CUENTA. ESPECIALMENTE DEBE REGULARSE EL USE DE LA FUERZA, LOS SISTEMAS DE CAPTURA, EL TRATO CON LA CIUDADANIA, EL RESPETO A LA PROPIEDAD, LOS DERECHOS DE LOS REOS Y TODAS AQUELLAS ACCIONES QUE SEAN NECESARIAS PARA EL CUMPLIMIENTO DE ESTOS FINES.
CUARTO: SE PROHIBE TERMINANTEMENTE AQUELLAS ACCIONES QUE DE ALGUNA MANERA PUEDAN SER CALIFICADAS COMO PROCEDIMIENTOS REÑIDOS CON LA LEY Y VIOLATORIAS DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS, Y SE ORDENA COMBATIR LA CREACION Y OPERACION DE ORGANIZACIONES O GRUPOS

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SUBVERSIVOS O TERRORISTAS DE CUALQUIER SIGNO IDEOLOGICO.
QUINTO: TODO SUPERIOR JERARQUICO QUE TENGA CONOCIMIENTO DE CUALQUIER VIOLACION DE LA LEY O DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS DEBERA PROCEDER CONFORME LO INDICA LA ORDENANZA RESPECTIVA. EL SUPERIOR QUE NO PROCEDA O ENCUBRA EL HECHO RESPONDERA ASI MISMO. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THAT "ASI" SHOULD REALLY READ "A SI". END COMMENT.) EN TODO CASO EL COMANDANTE DEBERA ORDENAR ARRESTO PREVENTIVO, ABRIR EL INFORMATIVO CORRESPONDIENTE Y TRANITARLO ANTE EL MINISTERIOR DE DEFENSE Y SEGURIDAD PUBLICA.
SEXTO: ORDENASE AL MINISTERIO OBDEFENSA Y SEGURIDAD PUBLICA DIFUNDIR ESTA RESOLUCION A TODOS LOS NIVELES DE MANDO.
DADO EN EL SALON DE SESIONES DE LA JUNTA REVOLUCIONARIA DE GOBIERNO, CASA PRESIDENCIAL: A LOS TRES DIAS DEL MES DE OCTUBRE DE MIL NOVECIENTOS OCHENTA. END TEXT.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06474 172119Z
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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 6474

USCINCSO FOR INTAFF

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/17/86 (DURKEE, MICHAEL) OR-P
TAGS: PINT CI SHUM
SUBJ: (U) GOC PROHIBITS RETURN OF PDC PRESIDENT ZALDIVAR FOR ALLEGED SEDITIOUS REMARKS; ZALDIVAR DENIES MAKING SUCH STATEMENTS

1. (U) IN AN INTERIOR MINISTRY STATEMENT ISSUED THE NIGHT OF 16 OCTOBER, THE GOC ACCUSED ANDRE ZALDIVAR, PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC), OF MAKING STATEMENTS WHILE TRAVELLING ABROAD WHICH VIOLATED INTERNAL SECURITY, AND ANNOUNCED FURTHER THAT UNDER DECREE LAW 604 HE WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO REENTER CHILE. THE GOC STATEMENT BASED THE ACCUSATION PRIMARILY ON COMMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO SALDIVAR IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED RECENTLY BY THE MEXICAN NEWSPAPER, "UNO MAS UNO," AND QUICKLY PICKED UP BY RADIO MOSCOW. THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMED THAT ZALDIVAR WAS CARRYING OUT A CAMPAIGN TO TARNISH THE REPUTATION OF CHILEAN INSTITUTIONS AND TO FOSTER DIVISION AND INSUBORDINATION WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06474 172119Z

2. (U) ACCORDING TO SUBSEQUENT PRESS REPOTS, HOWEVER, THE MEXICAN NEWSPAPER HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THE INACCURACY OF ITS INTERVIEW, SAYING THERE WERE TWO "INEXCUSABLE" ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT AS PUBLISHED. SPECIFICALLY THE PAPER DISCLAIMED THAT ZALDIVAR HAD SAID THAT A CIVIL WAR WAS POSSIBLE UNDER THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT, OR THAT THE PDC WAS

MAINTAINING CONTACTS WITH THE ARMED FORCES WITH THE INTENT OF PROMOTINGANY DIVISION OR INSUBORDINATION. ZALDIVAR, NOW IN JERUSALEM, IS QUOTED AS DENYING THAT HE HAD BEEN IN MEXICO OR THAT HE HAD MADE ANY STATEMENTS WHILE TRAVELLING ABROAD. HE IS QUOTED FURTHER AS SAYING THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, HE CONSIDERS UNITY OF THE ARMED FORCES ESSENTIAL AND THEIR DIVISION HARMFUL TO THE COUNTRY. THE LOCAL PRESS CITED PDC SOURCES WHO SPECULATED THAT THE INTERVIEW HAD BEEN BASED ON COMMENTS MADE BY ZALDIVAR AFTER THE PDC-SPONSORED PLEBISCITE RALLY HELD AT THE CAUPOLICAN THEATER IN SANTIAGO.

3. (C) WITH THE ISSUANCE OF THE RETRACTION BY THE MEXICAN NEWSPAPER AND THE DENIAL BY ZALDIVAR, THE MAJOR RATIONALE CITED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN BARRING REENTRY HAS BEEN UNDERCUT. ACCORDING TO DECREE LAW 604, A SPECIFIC DECREE WOULD HAVE TO BE ISSUED IN ORDER TO MAKE THE PRO-HIBITION OF ZALDIVAR'S REENTRY OFFICIAL. AS YET THERE HAS BEEN NO PUBLIC REPORT THAT THIS HAS OCCURRED. FURTHER, THE AMBASSADOR HAD OCCASION TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH FONMIN ROJAS AND DEPUTY INTERIOR MINISTER MONTERO WITHIN MINUTES OF THE GOC ANNOUNCEMENT. BOTH OFFICIALS WERE CLEARLY UNCOMFORTABLE OVER THE LIKELY INTERNAL AND FOREIGN REACTIONS TO THIS HARSH ACTION. WHILE MORNING PRESS ACCOUNTS WERE ESSENTIALLY FACTUAL REPORTS, LATE AFTERNOON AND PRO-GOC PAPER "LA SEGUNDA" INCLUDED A SURPRIS-INGLY SYMPATHETIC EDITORIAL EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06474 172119Z

RETRACTION BY THE MEXICAN PAPER AND THE CLARIFICATION BY ZALFIVAR COULD RESOLVED THE CONTROVERSY IN A WAY THAT AVOIDED AN EXTREME AND OUTMODED SANCTION WHILE ALSO CLARIFYING THE LIMITS WITHIN WHICH THE OPPOSITION SHOULD OPERATE. LA SEGUNDA ALSO CITED UNIDENTIFIED GOVERNMENT SOURCES TO THE EFFECT THAT INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ WAS RECONSIDERING THE CASE BUT THAT NO DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN BEFORE MONDAY.

4. (C) COMMENT: THERE IS STILL SOME CHANCE THAT COOLER HEADS WILL PREVAIL OVER THE WEEKEND AND THE GOVERNMENT WILL BACK OFF ITS ORIGINAL HASTY DECISION TO PUNISH ZALDIVAR. BUT OUTSIDE CRITICISM OR PRESSURE COULD AROUSE RESENTMENT AND PROVOKE A HARD-LINE REACTION TO TOUGH IT OUT. FOR NOW, WE SHOULD NOT SAY OR DO ANYTHING TO INJECT OUR VIEWS IN THE CONTROVERSY, BUT THE AMBASSADOR WILL SEE THE FOREIGN MINISTER AGAIN ON MONDAY, AT WHICH TIME WE CAN WEIGH IN AS NECESSARY.
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October 17, 1980

L/ARA - Michael G. Kozak

ARA/SC - Robert E. Service

Attached request for an "advisory visit"

Attached is a description of a visit by an Assistant Chilean Naval Attache to the U.S. Navy Clothing and Textile Research Facility (NCTRF) in Natick, Mass. The Assistant Naval Attache has asked if the NCTRF were able to send representatives to Chile for "advisory visits." Could you give us your legal opinion whether such advisory visits are affected by the 1976 Kennedy Amendment?

Thank you.

Attachment:
As stated.

cc: Ambassador Landau

XL0736 called him.

Drafted:ARA/SC/CH:PDWhitney:ms
10/17/80 Ext. 22575

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 277506
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 277506

FROM DAS EATON FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/17/86 (EATON, S. D.)

TAGS: PEPR, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT: U.S. REACTION TO EXPULSION OF ANDRES ZALDIVAR

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DEPT HAS RECEIVED WORD THAT THE GOC HAS ISSUED A DECREE FORBIDDING THE RETURN TO CHILE OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) LEADER ANDRES ZALDIVAR. WE UNDERSTAND ZALDIVAR IS CURRENTLY IN ISRAEL AND WILL TRAVEL FROM THERE TO ROME. ACCORDING TO THE INFORMATION WE HAVE RECEIVED THE GOC TOOK ACTION ON THE BASIS OF A MEXICAN MAGAZINE STORY BASED ON PUBLIC STATEMENTS ZALDIVAR HAD MADE IN SANTIAGO AUGUST 30. WE ARE ALSO TOLD THAT THESE STATEMENTS ARE REPORTED INCORRECTLY AND/OR TAKEN OUT OF CONTEXT AND THAT ZALDIVAR HAS ISSUED A DENIAL.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 STATE 277506

3. WE REALIZE THAT PINOCHET GOVERNMENT, HAVING FINALLY TAKEN THIS ACTION AGAINST THE INCUMBENT LEADER OF THE LARGEST DEMOCRATIC PARTY (REPORTEDLY AN EFFORT LAST YEAR WAS TURNED OFF ONLY AT THE LAST MOMENT), MAY NOT READILY REVERSE ITSELF. WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF COMPLICATIONS CREATED BYERRONEOUSBELIEF AMONGSOME GOC SUPPORTERS THAT USG

HAS A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PDC. NEVERTHELESS,

AS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AND IN INTEREST OF LONGER TERM U.S./CHILE RELATIONS, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT AN EFFORT BE MADE TO PURSUADE THE GOC TO REVOKE EXPULSION DECREE. THIS RESULT IS PROBABLY MORE LIKELY IF IMMEDIATE EFFORTS ARE CONDUCTED PRIVATELY TO THE GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, AND POSSIBLE COORDINATED ACTION IN SANTIAGO, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE PDC IS SEEKING, AND BELIEVES IT HAS, SUPPORT IN THIS EFFORT FROM VENEZUELAN AND POSSIBLY OTHER ANDEAN GOVERNMENTS, AS WELL AS FROM SOME OF THE WEST EUROPEANS.

4. DEPT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDA TIONS. HOWEVER, UNLESS YOU BELIEVE IT COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AT THIS TIME, YOU SHOULD SEEK EARLY MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS OR OTHER TOP OFFICIAL TO EXPRESS USG CONCERN FOR EXPLUSION OF WELL-KNOWN DEMOCRATIC LEADER AND THE FACT, OBVIOUS THOUGH IT MAY BE, THAT ACTIONS OF THIS SORT DO NOTHING TO HELP U.S./CHILE RELATIONS OR TO ESTABLISH THE CREDIBILITY FOR ITS NEW CONSTITUTION AND TRANSITION PLAN WHICH THE GOC CLEARLY SEEKS.

5. WHILE WE DO NOT PLAN DEPT STATEMENT AT THIS TIME ON ZALDIVAR EXPULSION, SPOKESMAN MAY WELL RECEIVE A QUESTION EARLY NEXT WEEK. IF SO, WE WILL REPLY IN LOW KEY MANNER SAYING USG OPPOSES THE EXPULSION OF ANY CITIZEN
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PAGE 03 STATE 277506

FROM HIS COUNTRY AND PARTICULARLY WHEN HE IS WELL-KNOWN DEMOCRATIC LEADER. MUSKIE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06480 181545Z
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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 6480

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/18/86 (DURKEE, M. L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: GOVERNMENT SETS CONDITIONS FOR LIFTING BAR AGAINST PDC PRESIDENT'S RETURN

REF: A) SANTIAGO 6474, B) STATE 277506

1. (U) DURING EVENING OF OCTOBER 17, INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ ISSUED NEW STATEMENT ON ZALDIVAR CASE IN WHICH HE ACKNOWLEDGED DENIAL BY ZALDIVAR OF ALLEGED SEDITIOUS REMARKS AND RETRACTION BY MEXICAN NEWSPAPER "UNO MAS UNO" AND SAID GOC WOULD RECONSIDER ITS DECISION TO BAR ZALDIVAR'S RETURN IF THE LATTER ISSUED AN "ADEQUATE DENIAL" OF HIS COMMENTS TO THE PAPER AND ALSO MADE A "PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL COMMITMENT TO RESPECT THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR JURIDICAL SYSTEM". WHILE THIS NEW STATEMENT PROVIDES OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION THAT GOC IS PREPARED TO RECONSIDER THE CASE, THE TONE IS TOUGH AND FERNANDEZ REPEATS HIS EARLIER CONTENTION THAT THE COMMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO ZALDIVAR BY THE MEXICAN PAPER ARE ONLY THE CULMINATION OF A SYSTEMATIC EFFORT INSIDE AND OUTSIDE CHILE BY ZALDIVAR TO DENY VALIDITY TO CHILE'S
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06480 181545Z

JURIDICAL SYSTEM AND TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT LEGITIMATE CRITICISM OF ITS ACTS, FERNANDEZ ADDED, IT WILL NOT PERMIT EFFORTS TO DENY RESPECT FOR CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY, THE JURIDICAL SYSTEM, OR THE NEW CONSTITUTION, AND THOSE WHO PERSIST IN SUCH EFFORTS, HE WARNED, SHOULD BE AWARE OF THE CONSEQUENCES.

2. (LOU) THERE HAS BEEN NO PUBLIC REACTION SO FAR FROM THE PDC AND WE UNDERSTAND THE LEADERSHIP IS HUDDLING TO DECIDE HOW TO RESPOND, PRESUMABLY IN CONSULTATION WITH ZALDIVAR, NOW IN ROME. THE NEW STATEMENT BY FERNANDEZ AND ITS APPARENT OPENING WILL CALL FOR ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION BY PARTY LEADERS.

3. (C) THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW OPENED THE DOOR AT LEAST SLIGHTLY, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT THEY MAY INSIST ON BY WAY OF FURTHER DENIALS OR CLARIFICATION BY ZALDIVAR, ESPECIALLY SINCE HIS ALLEGED COMMENTS WERE MADE IN AN INTERVIEW GIVEN BEFORE THE VOTE OF SEPTEMBER 11. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT OUGHT NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT FOR ANY SEASONED POLITICAL LEADER TO DECLARE HIS UNSWERVING LOYALTY TO THE TRADITIONS AND IDEALS OF CHILE'S LEGAL ORDER WITHOUT PLEDGING ALLEGIANCE TO PINOCHET. SINCE THE BALL IS IN PLAY, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT OUTSIDE PRESSURE MUST BE AVOIDED FOR NOW. FOR THE TIME BEING, THEREFORE, THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD REFRAIN FROM ANY STATEMENT ON THE CASE AND, IF ASKED, SHOULD ONLY NOTE THAT THE GOC DECISION APPEARS TO BE UNDER REVIEW AND WE ARE WAITING TO SEE WHAT THE OUTCOME MAY BE.
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AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
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QUOTE: UNCLAS 141600Z OCT FM USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS

E.O. 12065: NA

TAGS: MASS, MILI, PN
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PAGE 02 STATE 279030

SUBJECT: NEWS RELEASE SECURITY ASSISTANCE SCHOOLS IN PANAMA

FOLLOWING IS A NEWS RELEASE DISSEMINATED TO LOCAL NEWS MEDIA THIS DATE FOR YOUR POSSIBLE USE AND/OR DISSEMINATION TO STATESIDE MEDIA: "QUARRY HEIGHTS, PANAMA, OCT. 14 -- RECENT ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT THE U.S. IS SCHOOLING SALVADORAN PERSONNEL AT ITS SECURITY ASSISTANCE SCHOOLS IN PANAMA HAVE BROUGHT INCREASED FOCUS ON THE TRAINING

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/06/94
Case ID: S940032P

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FACILITIES INVOLVED.

"A STATE DEPARTMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN NOTED LAST WEEK THAT MOST TRAINING OF LATIN AMERICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL BY THE U.S. WAS AT THE EXCELLENT AND MORE ECONOMICAL PANAMA SCHOOLS' THAT ARE ABLE TO PROVIDE INSTRUCTION IN SPANISH. ORIGINALLY DESIGNED TO PROMOTE SECURITY IN THE HEMISPHERE, THESE INSTITUTIONS HAVE ALSO TRAINED THOUSANDS IN SKILLS ESSENTIAL TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ALMOST FOUR DECADES.

"THIS YEAR, OVER 1,000 OFFICERS AND ENLISTED PERSONNEL FROM LATIN AMERICA ARE UNDERGOING TRAINING AT THE THREE SECURITY ASSISTANCE SCHOOLS IN THE PANAMA CANAL AREA. THE LARGEST OF THESE IS THE U.S. ARMY SCHOOL OF THE AMERICA (USARSA) AT FORT GULICK. IT IS FOLLOWED IN SIZE BY THE INTER AMERICAN AIR FORCES ACADEMY (IAAFA) AT ALBROOK AIR FORCE STATION, AND THE NAVY'S SMALL CRAFT INSTRUCTION AND TRAINING TEAM (SCIATT) AT RODMAN NAVAL STATION.

"THE SCHOOLS, OPERATED UNDER THE U.S. INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAM SHARE A COMMON PURPOSE OF TRAINING LATIN AMERICAN PERSONNEL SO THEY CAN ACHIEVE HIGHER LEVELS OF RESPONSIBILITY IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND TO IMPROVE THEIR PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL SKILLS.

"SUCH SCHOOLING HAD ITS ORIGINS IN PANAMA IN 1943, WHEN THE PERUVIAN AIR FORCE ASKED THAT 11 OF ITS MEMBERS RECEIVE MECHANIC TRAINING AT ALBROOK. THIS WAS THE BIRTH OF IAAFA, THE OLDEST INTER-AMERICAN MILITARY INSTITUTION IN THE AMERICAS. OVER THE

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PAGE 03 STATE 279030

YEARS, IAAFA HAS TAUGHT OVER 15,000 STUDENTS IN A BROAD RANGE OF SUBJECTS, PRIMARILY OF A TECHNICAL NATURE.

"USARSA DATES ITS EXISTENCE TO 1946, WHEN IT ORIGINATED AS THE LATIN AMERICAN TRAINING CENTER. IT BY FAR HAS THE LARGEST ROLL OF GRADUATES -- SOME 38,500 TO DATE. AS MANY AS 40 DIFFERENT COURSES HAVE BEEN OFFERED IN SOME PAST YEARS, ALTHOUGH THE CURRENT CURRICULUM HAS 15.

"SCIATT IS THE YOUNGEST AND SMALLEST OF THE SCHOOLS. SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN 1963, IT HAS PROVIDED TRAINING IN THE GENERAL AREAS OF SMALL CRAFT OPERATION, REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE TO 1,400 LATIN AMERICAN NAVY MEN.

"OVER THE YEARS, MILITARY STUDENTS FROM 20 DIFFERENT HEMISPHERIC COUNTRIES HAVE COME TO PANAMA TO ENJOY THE MODERN TRAINING FACILITIES AND TECHNIQUES, ALONG WITH EXPERT INSTRUCTION FROM HIGHLY QUALIFIED U.S. INSTRUCTORS AND GUEST INSTRUCTORS FROM VARIOUS NATIONS OF THE AMERICAS.

"MOST OF THE COURSES OFFERED FOLLOW TRAINING GIVEN AT U.S. SERVICE SCHOOLS. HOWEVER, COURSES OFTEN CAN BE TAILORED TO FIT THE SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, 250 SALVADORANS ARE RECEIVING TRAINING AT USARSA THIS YEAR IN A COURSE ENTITLED 'HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS IN INTERNAL DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT.' THIS THREE-WEEK COURSE IS INTENDED TO ENHANCE SELF-DISCIPLINE AND THE CONTROL OF THE USE OF FORCE, AND IS IN LINE WITH THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY THAT THEIR SECURITY FORCES MUST RESPECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL SALVADORANS.

"AS THE STATE DEPARTMENT EXPLAINED, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT

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AND ITS ARMED FORCES ARE COMBATING TERRORISM FROM BOTH THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT, AND SEEKING TO REDUCE VIOLENCE IN THAT COUNTRY. THEY REQUESTED THE TRAINING FROM THE U.S. AND THEY, AS WELL AS THE U.S., VIEW THE TRAINING AS SUPPORTING THEIR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THE SPOKESMAN ADDED.

"IN ALL, 308 SALVADORANS ARE BEING TRAINED THIS YEAR AT PANAMA, IN ADDITION TO THOSE AT USARSA, OTHERS ARE RECEIVING INSTRUCTION IN PRIMARILY TECHNICAL SKILLS, SUCH AS MAINTENANCE AND SUPPLY, AT IAAFA AND SCIATT.

"THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SCHOOLS TO THE WELL-BEING AND

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PAGE 04 STATE 279030

DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA HAVE BEEN GREAT AND VARIED, SCHOOLS OFFICIALS NOTE, AND ARE BOTH TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE. COLLECTIVELY THEY HELP FORM THE BACKBONE OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT.

"THE INFUSION OF PROFESSIONALISM INTO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ARMED FORCES THROUGH ATTENDANCE AT THE SCHOOLS IS CONSIDERED TO HAVE HELPED PROVIDE -- THROUGH STRONG DEFENSE AND SECURITY -- A CLIMATE OF TRANQUILITY AND STABILITY IN MANY COUNTRIES SO THAT NATIONAL ENERGIES COULD BE CONCENTRATED ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT FOR THEIR CITIZENS.

"MANY GRADUATES HAVE GONE ON TO BECOME NATIONAL LEADERS IN GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE ARMED SERVICES. THEY INCLUDE BRIGADIER GENERAL OMAR TORRIJOS, COMMANDER OF THE PANAMA NATIONAL GUARD, WHO ATTENDED FOUR COURSES AT USARSA; AND EX-PRESIDENT OF BOLIVIA HUGO BANZER.

"AND THOUSANDS OF LESS FAMOUS GRADUATES HAVE MADE THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEIR NATION'S PROGRESS THROUGH SKILLS LEARNED AT THE PANAMA SCHOOLS. STUDENTS WHO LEARNED TO OPERATE EARTH-MOVING EQUIPMENT OR TO MAINTAIN VEHICLES AT USARSA LATER WENT ON TO BUILD ROADS OR BECOME AUTOMOTIVE REPAIRMEN FOR THE CIVILIAN SECTOR OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

"SIMILARLY, IAAFA OFFICIALS NOTE THAT THERE ISN'T A MAJOR COMMERCIAL AIRPORT OR NATIONAL RADIO/TELEVISION NETWORK IN LATIN AMERICA THAT DOESN'T HAVE AT LEAST ONE OF ITS GRADUATES AT WORK THERE. THEY COMMENT, TOO, ON THE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE OF AVIATION TO THE ANDEAN NATIONS, WHERE AIR IS VIRTUALLY THE SOLE MEANS OF EAST-WEST TRAVEL. THEY SAY THEIR GRADUATES KEEP THE PLANES FLYING THAT MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH OTHERWISE INACCESSIBLE PARTS OF THESE NATIONS.

"SCIATT'S GRADUATES, WHO HAVE STUDIED ELECTRICAL MAINTENANCE, AIR CONDITIONING OR WELDING, HAVE ALSO BEEN ABLE TO APPLY THEIR TRADES TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

"SCHOOL OFFICIALS POINT OUT THAT THESE CONTRIBUTIONS BY TECHNICIANS ARE REALLY INCALCULABLE, SINCE THERE IS A MULTIPLIER

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PAGE 05 STATE 279030

EFFECT WHICH ADDS TO THE TRAINED WORK FORCES OF THE HEMISPHERIC COUNTRIES. THEY EXPLAIN THAT EACH GRADUATE IS A POTENTIAL TEACHER

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OF WHAT HE HAS LEARNED -- MAINTENANCE, SUPPLY, WELDING, MECHANICS, OR WHATEVER -- TO OTHER PERSONS AT HOME. THEY IN TURN HAVE TAUGHT STILL OTHERS, CONSTANTLY BROADENING THE TECHNICAL BASE THAT IS ESSENTIAL TO DEVELOPMENT.

"THE SCHOOLS ALSO HELP FOSTER INTERAMERICAN RELATIONS THROUGH THE STUDENT MIX OF MEMBERS OF THE DIFFERENT ARMED FORCES WHO HAVE GATHERED TOGETHER SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF LEARNING. MANY NATIONAL ANIMOSITIES HAVE DIMINISHED BETWEEN PERSONS OF NATIONS WHICH HAVE LONG FEUDED. SCHOOL OFFICIALS POINT OUT. 'WE BELIEVE, TOO, THAT SOME OF OUR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND THE SUBORDINATION OF THE MILITARY TO CIVILIAN AUTHORITY IN THE U.S. RUB OFF ON OUR STUDENTS,' THEY ADDED.

"CONTRARY TO SOMETIMES HEARD SPECULATION, PARTICULARLY ABOUT USARSA, NO SECRET, COUNTERINSURGENCY OR 'TORTURE-TYPE' COURSES ARE CONDUCTED. NOR ARE INTELLIGENCE OR POLICE COURSES. EVERY COURSE'S PROGRAM OF INSTRUCTION IS OPENLY PUBLISHED, AND AVAILABLE TO ALL STUDENTS AND FACULTY MEMBERS, INCLUDING THE LATIN AMERICAN GUEST INSTRUCTORS WHO MAKE UP HALF OF THE FACULTY. 'THE SCHOOLS ARE AN OPEN BOOK,' SAYS ONE OFFICIAL.

"DURING THE NEXT YEAR 10 COUNTRIES ARE SCHEDULED TO HAVE STUDENTS AT THE THREE SCHOOLS. SOME NATIONS HAVE BEEN BANNED FROM ANY SECURITY ASSISTANCE FROM THE U.S. BECAUSE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE, AND THUS ARE INELIGIBLE TO ATTEND.

"UNDER AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES SIGNED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY, THE U.S. CONTINUES TO OPERATE THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE SCHOOLS IN PANAMA. THE AUTHORITY TO OPERATE USARSA EXPIRES SEPTEMBER 30, 1984, UNLESS PANAMA AGREES TO ITS CONTINUATION.

"PANAMA IS ONE OF THE MAJOR USERS OF THE U.S. SCHOOLS." UNQUOTE MUSKIE

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TELEGRAM

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ARA-03 SSO-00 /031 W
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O 181822Z OCT 83
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 753
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//ISTAFF
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN

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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 7225

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/19/93
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: RIGHTIST COUP PLOTTING: CURRENTLY INCIPIENT BUT PRESENT WITH POSSIBILITIES

REF: SAN SALVADOR 7068

[redacted]TIRE TEXT.

1. SUMMARY: RIGHTWING COUP PLOTTING IS INCIPIENT AND SO FAR APPARENTLY CONFINED TO A PREDOMINANTLY MILITARY CLIQUE. UNFORTUNATELY, LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF PREVAILING TRENDS, BOTH IN EL SALVADOR AND THE U.S., ARE MORE LIKELY TO FOSTER THAN RETARD COUP PROSPECTS. AT A MINIMUM, PLOTTERS SEEK TO OUST COLONEL MAJANO FROM JRG AND RADICALLY REORIENT GOES PACIFICATION CAMPAIGN FROM A PREDOMINANTLY POLITICAL TO A PREDOMINANTLY MILITARY EFFORT. WHILE PRINCIPAL DETERRENT TO COUP IS POSSIBILITY OF A STRONG ADVERSE REACTION BY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC), THE U.S., MEXICO, EUROPE, ETC., PLOTTERS APPARENTLY BELIEVE THREAT IS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL, GIVEN THEIR PERCEPTION OF PREVALENT TRENDS HERE AND IN THE U.S. TO MINIMIZE HOSTILE REACTION, COUP WILL BE DOWNPLAYED AS NOTHING MORE THAN A PALACE AFFAIR IN WHICH ONE MILITARY MAN IS REPLACED BY ANOTHER. WHILE COUP PLANNING IS LIKELY TO PICK UP CONSIDERABLE MOMENTUM BY NOVEMBER 4, ACTUAL COUP IS NOT LIKELY TO COME BEFORE U.S. POLITICAL INTERREGNUM BETWEEN NOVEMBER 6 AND JANUARY 20. PRESUMPTION OF PLOTTERS, OF COURSE, IS THAT REPUBLICANS WILL WIN. FINALLY, WHILE A REAGAN VICTORY WILL CONSIDERABLY ENHANCE COUP PROSPECTS, A CARTER VICTORY WILL DIMINISH, BUT NOT NECESSARILY ELIMINATE THREAT OF A SHARP RIGHTWARD SHIFT.
COMMENT: INHERENT IN ABOVE SCENARIO IS DANGER THAT, ESPECIALLY WITH MAJANO OUT OF THE JUNTA, REPRESSION WILL INTENSIFY SHARPLY TOGETHER WITH STEPPED UP MILITARY EFFORT AGAINST GUERRILLAS. IF, AS IS NOT UNLIKELY, INCREASED MILITARY EFFORTS, EXEMPLIFIED BY CURRENT OFFENSIVE IN MORAZAN, FAILS TO BREAK BACK OF INSURGENCY IN BORDER AREAS, UNBRIDLED TERROR AGAINST ALL SUSPECTED ENEMIES COULD THEN ERRONEOUSLY AND TRAGICALLY BE PERCEIVED AS COUNTRY'S ONLY REMAINING DEFENSE AGAINST DREADED LEFTIST TAKEOVER. END COMMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. INITIAL REPORT OF RIGHTIST COUP PLOTTING IN SAN SALVADOR DOES NOT SEEM SUBSTANTIATED IN RECENT DAYS BY FURTHER EVIDENCE. WHILE PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS ARE THAT COUP PLOTTING IS STILL AT AN INCIPIENT STAGE AND CONFINED TO A SMALL, PREDOMINANTLY MILITARY CLIQUE, SALVADORAN PERCEPTION OF APPARENTLY PERVASIVE VICTORY BY THE U.S. IS LIKELY TO FOSTER RATHER THAN DISCOURAGE COUP PLOTTING. SALVADORAN PERCEPTION [illegible]

[illegible] THAT A REAGAN VICTORY WILL RESULT IN A MARKED SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY TOWARD EL SALVADOR THAT WILL RELEGATE HUMAN RIGHTS TO LAST PLACE, WELL BEHIND NEED TO COMBAT THREAT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM AND TO SHORE UP FREE ENTERPRISE ABROAD BY BACKING PRIVATE SECTORS.

(B) THAT JRG'S EFFORTS TO DEFEAT TERRORISTS BY POLITICAL MEANS HAVE FAILED TO STOP TERRORISTS' WAR OF ATTRITION AIMED AT DISRUPTING ECONOMY AND INFLICTING CASUALTIES ON MILITARY/SECURITY FORCES.

(C) THAT COLONEL MAJANO IS CAUSING MORE PROBLEMS IN THE JUNTA THAN HE COULD OUTSIDE AND THAT MAJANO WILL RESIST STEPPED UP MILITARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST GUERRILLAS AS WELL AS URBAN TERRORISTS.

(D) THAT POC HAS FAILED TO WIN POPULAR SUPPORT AND IS TIED TO MILITARY, FOR BETTER OR WORSE.

(E) THAT POC IS INCOMPETENT ADMINISTRATIVELY AND CANNOT IMPLEMENT REFORM PROGRAM IT INITIATED WHILE CONTINUING TO COLD SHOULDER PRIVATE SECTOR, WHICH DOES HAVE MANAGERIAL AND TECHNICAL ABILITY POC DESPERATELY NEEDS.

(F) THAT FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES OF USG ARE INCREASINGLY DIVIDED OVER POLICY TOWARD EL SALVADOR, ESPECIALLY CONCERNING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE.
NOTE: UPGRADED TO EXDIS PER S/S-O MR. ENGLISH

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/06/94
Case ID: S940032P

[redacted] AUTHENTICATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

INFO OCT-01 ARA-08 SSO-00 /031 W
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O 191655Z OCT 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 754
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 7225

EXDIS

(G) THAT THREAT OF POC PULLOUT OR LOSS OF US/VENEZUELAN SUPPORT AND END TO TOLERANCE BY MEXICO, PANAMA, ETC. ARE MORE APPARENT THAN REAL. ALL COULD BE OFFSET, AT LEAST PARTIALLY, BUT GREATER PRIVATE SECTOR PARTICIPATION AND INCREASED SUPPORT FROM GUATEMALA/SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES.

5. EVEN MOST REACTIONARY CIVILIAN/MILITARY RIGHTISTS NO LONGER CONTEMPLATE TURNING CLOCK BACK TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE; AT A MINIMUM COUP INSTIGATORS SEEK OUSTER OF COLONEL MAJANO AND A SHARP SHIFT FROM A PREDOMINANTLY POLITICAL TO A PREDOMINANTLY MILITARY EFFORT AGAINST THE LEFT. COUP PLOTTERS BELIEVE THAT POC'S POLITICAL SOLUTION HAS FAILED TO INHIBIT LEFT'S WAR OF ATTRITION AND, IN THEIR VIEW, ONLY REMAINING RECOURSE IS AN ALL OUT MILITARY EFFORT TO EXTERMINATE TERRORISTS ONCE AND FOR ALL (ONLY LEFTWING TERRORISTS, OF COURSE.).

6. COUP PLOTTERS FACE OBVIOUS RISKS, CHIEF ONES BEING:

(A) RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT CARTER.

(B) POC PULLOUT FROM JRG.

(C) WITHDRAWAL OF U.S./VENEZUELAN SUPPORT AND BREAK IN RELATIONS WITH MEXICO/PANAMA/NICARAGUA.

(D) FOR GAINS ALLEGIANCE OF MAJANO AND/OR POC.
IF PRESIDENT CARTER IS RE-ELECTED, CHANCES ARE THAT COUP WILL BE PIGEON-HOLED UNLESS PLOTTERS BELIEVE THAT USG IS STILL DIVIDED OVER WHAT TO DO IN EL SALVADOR. WITHDRAWAL OF POC AND END TO US/VENEZUELAN SUPPORT ARE SEEN AS UNLIKELY BECAUSE ALL ARE TOO TIGHTLY TIED TO JRG AND HAVE TOO MUCH TO LOSE IF EL SALVADOR FALLS TO MARXISTS.

7. COUP PLOTTERS ARE LIKELY TO PLAY DOWN ITS IMPORTANCE TO AVOID BAD REACTION BY PORTRAYING IT AS NOTHING MORE THAN A PALACE COUP IN WHICH ONE MILITARY FIGURE IN THE JRG (MAJANO) IS REPLACED BY ANOTHER. ONCE COUP GENIE IS OUT OF THE BOTTLE, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE HARD TO AVOID REAL BREAKDOWN OF JRG. FOR EXAMPLE, OUSTER OF MAJANO IN CONJUNCTION WITH SHARP INCREASE IN VIOLENCE IS SURE TO ANTAGONIZE FOREIGN SUPPORTERS AND CAUSE SHARP DOMESTIC REACTION. REFORM PROGRAM WOULD BE EASILY VICTIM OF REPRESSION AND STEPPED UP VIOLENCE. SHIFT AWAY FROM REFORM TOWARD REPRESSION WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY GIVE THE FDR A NEW LEASE ON LIFE AND STEP UP ITS RECRUITMENT.

8. COUP IS LIKELY TO PICK UP STEAM AS NOVEMBER 4 APPROACHES BUT WILL PROBABLY NOT TAKE PLACE UNLESS THERE IS AN INTERREGNUM IN THE U.S.

9. IF GOV. REAGAN WINS, COUP PROSPECTS WILL BE ENHANCED CONSIDERABLY. IF PRESIDENT CARTER WINS, COUP PROSPECTS WILL FADE, BUT THIS DEPENDS ON HOW MUCH MOMENTUM BUILDS UP BEFORE NOVEMBER.

10. COMMENT: THE CHIEF DANGER IS THAT THE COUP WILL GO OFF PREMATURELY AND PRESENT US WITH A CRISIS IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS. THE OUSTER OF MAJANO IN CONJUNCTION WITH A STEPPED UP MILITARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST LEFT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY PROVOKE A DRASTIC RISE IN REPRESSIVE VIOLENCE BY THE RIGHT AND SECURITY FORCES. THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE IN MORAZAN WILL PROBABLY FAIL TO ROUTE OUT THE GUERRILLAS ON ANY GREAT SCALE AND THE MILITARY MAY TURN THEN TO UNBRIDLED REPRESSION AS THE COUNTRY'S ONLY REMAINING DEFENSE. THE RESULTING OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED REPRESSION, COMBINED WITH SLACKING OFF OF REFORMS AND POLITICAL PROCESS, WILL SOON LEAD TO RECRUDESCENCE OF POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE FAR LEFT. IF FDC PROVES ITSELF INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO REPRESSIVE MILITARY, OR QUITS JRG EN MASSE, A REVIVED FDR WOULD PROBABLY TAKE ROUND TWO BY DEFAULT. END COMMENT. WHITE
NOTE: UPGRADED TO EXDIS PER 5/5/0 HR ENGLISH

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06512 202119Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8671
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN//INTAFF//

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 6512

USCINCSO FOR INFAFF

E.O. 12065: GDS 10-20-86 (CRAVEN, ROBERT L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: GOC SETS REQUIREMENT FOR PDC PRESIDENT ZALDIVAR'S RETURN

REF: SANTIAGO 6480 AND PREVIOUS

1. (U) INTERIOR MINISTER SERGIO FERNANDEZ ISSUED A STATEMENT THIS AFTERNOON (OCTOBER 20) IN WHICH HE SET FORTH THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS REQUIRED BY THE GOC FOR THE RETURN OF ANDRES ZALDIVAR, PRESIDENT OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC).

2. (U) THE DECLARATION EMPHASIZES THAT THE GOC'S ACTION IN INITIALLY PROHIBITING ZALDIVAR'S REEENTRY INTO CHILE WAS NOT BASED SOLELY ON HIS ALLEGED STATEMENTS TO A MEXICAN DAILY "UNO MAS UNO" (SINCE REFUTED BY BOTH THE DAILY AND ZALDIVAR), BUT ON THE "TOTALITY OF HIS RECENT ACTIONS". FERNANDEZ THEN SETS FORTH THAT ZALDIVAR MUST SIGN A WRITTEN STATEMENT, TO BE PREPARED BY THE GOC, BEFORE A CHILEAN CONSUL IN

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06512 202119Z

ACCORDANCE WITH DECREE LAW 604. IN HIS STATEMENT ZALDIVAR MUST STATE THAT HE "ACCEPTS AND RESPECTS THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, ITS JURIDICAL SYSTEM, AND THE RESULTS OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 PLEBISCITE".

3. (U) PRO-GOC AFTERNOON DAILY "LA SEGUNDA" QUOTED

"GOVERNMENT SOURCES" AS SAYING THAT THE REQUIRED STATEMENT WILL NOT FORCE ZALDIVAR TO ACCEPT SOMETHING THAT WOULD BE IDEALOGICALLY EMBARRASSING FOR HIM, SUCH AS REQUIRING HIS COMPLETE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM. RATHER, THE SOURCES SAY, ZALDIVAR IS SIMPLY BEING ASKED TO RESPECT THE PRESENT AUTHORITIES, THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE LAW.

4. (C) COMMENT: WE EXPECT FURTHER NEWS TOMORROW. UNTIL THEN, THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD CONTINUE TO REFRAIN FROM MAKING ANY STATEMENT ON THE CASE AND, IF ASKED, SHOULD NOTE THAT THE MATTER IS STILL PENDING.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06601 222112Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 L-03 TRSE-00 SS-15 SSO-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8698
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 6601

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/22/80 (DURKEE, MICHAEL L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: BEHIND-THE-SCENES EFFORTS TO RESOLVE ZALDIVAR CASE

REF: SANTIAGO 6480 AND PREVIOUS

1. (LOU) DESPITE RUMORS OF AN IMMINENT DECLARATION BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THE ZALDIVAR CASE, THERE HAS BEEN NO STATEMENT AS OF COB OCTOBER 22. WE UNDERSTAND FROM OPPOSITION AS WELL AS CONSERVATIVE SOURCES, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE ACTIVE EFFORTS UNDERWAY TO TRY TO TURN THE GOC DECISION AROUND. CENTER-RIGHT MAGAZINE "QUE PASA", FOR EXAMPLE, IN ITS EDITORIAL STATES EXPLICITLY THAT THE ACTION BY THE INTERIOR MINISTER IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH CHILEAN LAW AND IS A GRAVE ERROR WHICH UNDERMINES THE CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSES OF THE GOVERNMENT. COMMENTARY FROM OTHER SOURCES WHICH ARE NORMALLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE GOC AND CRITICAL OF THE PDC FOLLOWS SIMILAR LINES.

2. (C) A NEW AND POSSIBLY MORE HOPEFUL ELEMENT IN THE SITUATION IS THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE CHURCH; WE UNDER-
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06601 222112Z

STAND THAT CARDINAL SILVA AND THE PAPAL NUNCIO HAVE DISCUSSED THE CASE WITH GOVERNMENT LEADERS. THE LATE AFTERNOON PAPER "LA SEGUNDA" ATTRIBUTES THE DELAY BY THE PDC IN MAKING A STATEMENT TO HOPES BY PARTY LEADERS THAT THE CHURCH MIGHT BE ABLE TO DEFUSE THE CONFRONTATION.

3. (C) COMMENT: THE SITUATION IS STILL VERY MUCH IN FLUX BUT THE MODERATE AND DEMOCRATIC SECTORS SEEM TO BE INCREASING THE PRESSURE ON PINOCHET AND THE HARDLINERS. WE HAVE STAYED IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH PDC LEADERS BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED TO TAKE ANY ACTION TO HELP. CHILEAN SENSITIVITY TO OUTSIDE PRESSURES IS ALSO ILLUSTRATED, IN SAME ISSUE OF "QUE PASA" WHICH SUPPORTED ZALDIVAR'S RETURN BY SHARP CRITICISM OF ITALIAN DC LEADER MARIANO RUMOR FOR MAKING HASTY REMARKS ABOUT THE SITUATION HERE. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT DEPARTMENT SHOULD AVOID PUBLIC COMMENT ON THIS CASE UNTIL THE OUTCOME IS CLEAR. (FYI: THE NECESSARY LEGAL DECREE TO MAKE THE GOC DECISION EFFECTIVE HAS NOT YET BEEN ISSUED.)
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06639 231947Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-06 TRSE-00 /062 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8707
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF//

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 6639

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/23/86 (PASCUA, GERARD R.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: PDC ISSUES STATEMENT ON ZALDIVAR CASE EXPRESSING HOPE THAT GOC WILL ALLOW HIS RETURN

REF: SANTIAGO 6601 AND PREVIOUS

1. (U) LATE ON OCTOBER 22, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) ISSUED A SEVEN-POINT STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF PDC PRESIDENT ANDRES ZALDIVAR, BARRED BY THE GOVERNMENT FROM RETURNING TO CHILE. THE STATEMENT, SIGNED BY EDUARDO FREI AND 45 OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PDC, ARGUES IN MODERATE LANGUAGE THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTRY DECISION HAS NO BASIS AND SHOULD BE RESCINDED.

2. (U) THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE PDC'S MAJOR POINTS:

-- IT IS CLEAR THAT ZALDIVAR DID NOT MAKE ANY STATEMENTS ABROAD, OR SEEK TO PROMOTE DIVISION AND SUBVERSION

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06639 231947Z

AMONG THE MILITARY, OR DENIGRATE THE COUNTRY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. GIVEN THE DENIAL OF ZALDIVAR AND THE RETRACTION OF THE MEXICAN NEWSPAPER, "UNO MAS UNO," THE SPECIFIC REASONS CITED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR ACTING AGAINST ZALDIVAR ARE UNSUBSTANTIATED.
-- SIMILARLY WITHOUT BASIS ARE THE GOVERNMENT'S

STATEMENTS THAT ZALDIVAR'S RECENT PUBLIC ACTIVITIES DISCREDITED THE CONSTITUTION AND JURIDICAL SYSTEM AND SERVED AS AN ADDITIONAL JUSTIFICATION FOR BARRING HIS RETURN. ZALDIVAR'S ACTIVITIES WERE PART OF THE PRE-PLEBISCITE DEBATE, IN WHICH HE WAS SUPPORTED BY AT LEAST TWO MILLION PEOPLE (VOTING "NO"). THE ARGUMENTS HE USED WERE IN THE HIGHEST FORM OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION, EMPLOYING FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION UNDER THE MARGIN OF LIBERTY GUARANTEED BY THE GOVERNMENT. IT WAS NO ONE'S UNDERSTANDING THAT SUCH A DEBATE WAS TO RESULT IN SANCTIONS. THE EXTREME MEASURE TAKEN AGAINST ZALDIVAR CANNOT BE EXPLAINED AND IS IMPROPER.
-- THE CASE SERVES TO POINT OUT THE RISKS FACED BY ANYONE WHO OFFERS A DIFFERING POLITICAL OPINION AND SHOULD THEN HAPPEN TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.
-- THE RESTRICTION AGAINST RETURNING IS FOR AN UNLIMITED PERIOD. THIS NOT ONLY IS JURIDICALLY WRONG BUT IT CAUSES HARM TO THE FAMILY AND CIVILIZED LIFE.
-- THE GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENTS HAVE CONFUSED THE RIGHT OF THE STATE TO REQUIRE RESPECT FOR NORMS WITH THE RIGHT OF EACH CITIZEN TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION. THE NEED FOR CIVIL OBEDIENCE DOES NOT EMPOWER THE STATE TO OBTAIN A STATEMENT REGARDING POLITICAL CONVICTIONS. IF ZALDIVAR'S ACTIONS HAVE BROKEN THE LAW, HE SHOULD BE TRIED BY THE COURTS AND NOT SANCTION BY ADMINISTRATIVE DECREE.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06639 231947Z

-- THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL THAT ZALDIVAR SIGN A STATEMENT, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF HAS DRAFTED, IS UNJUST AND INTENDED AS AN ACT OF HUMILIATION.
-- ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT PINOCHET SAID ON THE DAY OF THE PLEBISCITE THAT THERE WERE NEITHER VICTORS NOR LOSERS, THE COUNTRY CAN SEE THAT DEEDS HAVE NOT FOLLOWED WORDS. NO PEACEFUL AND STABLE ORDER CAN BE ESTABLISHED EXCEPT ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR DIGNITY AND ESSENTIAL RIGHTS, WHATEVER THE PERSON'S POSITION, POWER OR IDEAS. THE SIGNERS EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE MEASURE AGAINST ZALDIVAR WILL BE RESCINDED.

3. (C) COMMENT: THE PDC HAS TAKEN THE HIGH ROAD OF REASON AND LEGALITY IN THIS EFFORT TO GET THE GOVERNMENT TO BACK OFF ITS ACTION AGAINST ZALDIVAR. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS COURSE WAS ADOPED OVER THE OPPOSITION OF YOUNGER ACTIVISTS WHO WANTED SOMETHING MORE FORCEFUL, POSSIBLY INCLUDING A CALL FOR PUBLIC

DEMONSTRATIONS. THE FACT THAT THE PDC HAS SOUGHT TO AVOID A HEAD-ON CONFRONTATION IS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT EFFORTS ARE UNDERWAY OUT OF PUBLIC VIEW TO FIND A SOLUTION.
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 07543 302307Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10
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P 292230Z OCT 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 927
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 7543

PANAMA ALSO FOR

E.O.12065: N/A
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES PINR
SUBJECT: RECTOR OF UNIVERSITY ASSASSINATED

1. THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EL SALVADOR (UES), FELIX ANTONIO ULLOA, DIED TODAY, OCTOBER 29, OF GUNSHOT WOUNDS SUFFERED THE PREVIOUS DAY. ULLOA AND HIS DRIVER WERE ATTACKED BY UNKNOWN GUNMEN AS THEY WERE DRIVING PAST THE HOSPITAL BLOOM, LOCATED NEAR THE UNIVERSITY. ULLOA'S DRIVER, FRANCISCO ANTONIO CUELLAR HERNANDEZ, DIED IMMEDIATELY OF GUNSHOT WOUNDS DURING THE ATTACK WHICH TOOK PLACE AT APPROXIMATELY 9:30 A.M. ON 10/28.

2. ACCORDING TO NEWS REPORTS, THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT "LAMENTING AND CONDEMNING THE ATTACK" AND SAYING THAT IT "CONSTITUTES A NEW LINK
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 07543 302307Z

IN THE LARGE CHAIN OF VIOLENCE GENERATED AND PROPITIATED BY EXTREMISTS WHO REFUSE TO ACCEPT THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS INVOLVES DIALOGUE AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC INSTRUMENTS. WHITE

UNCLASSIFIED

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: S940032P

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RELEASED (E13[redacted])

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80PANAMA009297

ADP514
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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 01 OF 03 302351Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 AID-07 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 IO-14 SY-05 DCT-02 /096 W
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FM AMEMBASSY PANAMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1391
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PANCANAL COMM IMMEDIATE
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CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 03 PANAMA 09297

E.O. 12065: GDS, 11/29/86
TAGS: MARR, PN, US
SUBJ: CRITICISM OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM PANAMA

REFS: (ALL NOTAL)
- A. PANAMA 8008, B. FBIS PA 211636Z AUG 80,
- C. PANAMA 8880, D. PANAMA 7954, E. PANAMA 7901,
- F. USCINCSO 022101Z OCT 80

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: CRITICISM OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR FROM OUR BASES IN PANAMA HAS INCREASINGLY QUESTIONED THE USG TREATY RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN SUCH
[redacted]

PAGE 02 PANAMA 09297 01 OF 03 302351Z

ACTIVITY. THE CRITICISM REFLECTS CONCERTED LEFTIST ATTEMPTS TO RAISE POLITICAL PRESSURE IN ORDER TO STOP US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR, THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S BELIEF THAT THE 1977 CANAL TREATIES DO NOT AUTHORIZE SUCH ACTIVITIES, AND THE LONG HELD OPPOSITION OF MODERATE POLITICAL GROUPS TO THE PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES OF OUR BASES. WHILE LEFTIST EFFORTS HAVE TAPERED OFF RECENTLY, THERE HAVE BEEN STATEMENTS BY BOTH PANAMANIAN OFFICIAL AND NON-LEFTIST OPPOSITION

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: 9940032P

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ELEMENTS THIS MONTH WHICH DISAPPROVE OF OUR USE OF BASES HERE FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE PURPOSES, INCLUDING ONE OFFICIAL STATEMENT ACCUSING US OF A TREATY "VIOLATION." WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME TO REVIEW OUR MILITARY ACTIVITIES HERE IN LIGHT OF THE NEW POLITICO/LEGAL ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING OUR BASES (SEE SEPTEL). END SUMMARY.

FOCUS ON CANAL TREATY RIGHTS

3. IN RECENT MONTHS, CRITICISM OF US SUPPORT FROM PANAMA FOR THE SALVADORAN MILITARY HAS EXPANDED FROM GENERALIZED POLITICAL COMPLAINTS IN AND OUT OF PANAMA TO INCLUDE REFERENCES TO US MILITARY TREATY RIGHTS HERE. MEDIA COMMENTARY ORIGINALLY EMANATED FROM CONSISTENTLY ANTI-US SOURCES LIKE THE CUBAN PRELA NEWS SERVICE. IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, HOWEVER, THE GOP-CONTROLLED PANAMANIAN STUDENT FEDERATION (FEP) HELD A SEMINAR OF LATIN AMERICAN "STUDENTS" HERE DEVOTED TO "IMPERIALIST MILITARY BASES", AT WHICH THE GOP MINISTER OF GOVERNMENT AND JUSTICE REPORTEDLY TOLD THE STUDENTS THAT US BASES WERE OBJECTIONABLE IN PRINCIPLE TO PANAMA. THE SEMINAR ADOPTED A RESOLUTION DENOUNCING BASES USED BY THE US AGAINST "SALVADORAN AND OTHER [redacted]

PEOPLES" AND CONDEMNING THE CONTINUING "VIOLATIONS" OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY (REF A).

4. SHORTLY BEFORE THE SEMINAR, A MORE PRECISE LEGAL REFERENCE TO U.S. MILITARY ACTIVITIES BASED IN PANAMA HAD APPEARED. AN ARTICLE IN THE GOP DAILY "LA REPUBLICA" (REF. E), BY SECUNDINO TORRES, A REPUTABLE LAWYER CLOSE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND CONSIDERED BY SOME HERE AS A TREATY "WATCH DOG", REFERRED TO PUBLIC CHARGES THAT US TROOPS IN PANAMA WERE TO BE USED TO STRENGTHEN THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT. TORRES CITED ARTICLE IV OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY OF 1977, AND ASSERTED THAT QUOTE THE PLACING OF TROOPS DESTINED FOR EL SALVADOR OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY... FOR THE SAKE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IS... A VIOLATION OF THE TREATY. IN THAT TERRITORY WHICH WE SHARE MILITARILY UNTIL THE YEAR 2,000, THERE CAN BE ONLY TROOPS DESTINED TO PROTECT AND DEFEND THE CANAL. THERE CANNOT BE MILITARY FORCES DESTINED TO RENDER SUPPORT TO ANY GOVERNMENT OF THE AREA. END QUOTE. THE TORRES ARTICLE FOCUSED ATTENTION ON TREATY QUESTIONS WHICH COULD BE RAISED SHOULD THE US WISH TO USE PERSONNEL FROM PANAMANIAN BASES IN OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH WE HAD NO INDICATION WHETHER TORRES WAS SPEAKING FOR THE GOP IN THAT INSTANCE, WE HAVE LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHARES HIS LEGAL

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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 02 OF 03 302359Z
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 PANAMA 09297

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CONCERTED ANTI-US PROPAGANDA

5. IN SEPTEMBER, A PROPAGANDA ORGANIZATION OF OSTENSIBLY SALVADORAN BUT AS YET UNKNOWN ORIGIN, CALLING ITSELF THE "ANASTASIO AQUINO SPECIAL BRIGADE", BEGAN OPERATIONS HERE AND SENT A SERIES OF THREATENING LETTERS TO US OFFICIALS (REFS C, D AND E). MORE IMPORTANT, IT SUCCEEDED IN RAISING STILL FURTHER

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PAGE 02 PANAMA 09297 02 OF 03 302359Z

THE PUBLIC PROFILE OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR BY HAVING ITS PROPAGANDA HANDOUTS PUBLISHED AND COMMENTED UPON WIDELY. COLUMNISTS WRITING IN THE GOP-OWNED DAILIES "MATUTINO" (9/17 AND 9/27) AND "CRITICA" (9/13) CHARGED THAT THE U.S. WAS GUILTY OF "OPEN VIOLATION OF THE PANAMA CANAL NEUTRALITY TREATY...IN USING ITS MILITARY BASES IN THE PANAMA CANAL AREA TO REENFORCE THE GOVERNMENT...OF EL SALVADOR"; IDENTIFIED PANAMA-BASED UNITS AND PER-

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6. DURING OCTOBER, LOCAL PRESS ATTENTION TO US MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR FROM PANAMA HAS CONTINUED, THOUGH THE GOP SEEMS TO HAVE REINED IN ITS PRESS SOMEWHAT. A "CRITICA" COLUMNIST CHARGED ON OCTOBER 8 THAT THE US PLANS TO PROVIDE HELICOPTER PILOT TRAINING TO SALVADORANS IN PANAMA, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND THAT WRITER PROFESSED HIS ASSURANCE THAT NO "SALVADORAN GUERRILLA FRONT IS BEING OPENED IN PANAMANIAN TERRITORY NOR WOULD PRO-GUERRILLA ACTIVITY IN PANAMA INCLUDE SABOTAGE OR TERRORISM" (FBIS PA 081756Z OCT 80). LOCAL PRESS COVERAGE WAS ALSO STIMULATED RECENTLY BY PUBLIC RELEASES BY AMBASSADOR WHITE AND SOUTHCOM PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICERS, AS WELL AS BY LOCALLY PUBLISHED EXCERPTS FROM THE WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE OF OCTOBER 9 AND THE [redacted]

DEPARTMENT'S NOON PRESS BRIEFING THE SAME DAY. THE VARIOUS US EXPLANATIONS OF AID TO EL SALVADOR WERE GENERALLY CARRIED HERE IN A STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER. A PROMINENT TV COMMENTATOR, MARIO VELAZQUEZ, WHO OFTEN REFLECTS GOP VIEWS, OPINED THAT, ALTHOUGH TRAINING OF SALVADORANS (WHICH HE DETAILED ACCURATELY, USING INFORMATION PROVIDED BY SOUTHCOM) WAS PERMITTED BY THE TREATIES, IT WAS "UNTIMELY" AND "NOT IN LINE WITH THE PEACEFUL GOALS OF THE CANAL" (FBIS PA 110202 AND FBIS PA 110328Z OCT 80). THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE STAR AND HERALD NOTED OCTOBER 11 THAT "SOME OBSERVERS" BELIEVE THAT "THE USE OF PANAMANIAN TERRITORY TO TRAIN ARMED FORCES, ESPECIALLY IN THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR... IS A VIOLATION OF THE NEUTRALITY OF THE PANAMA CANAL," AND IT QUESTIONED WHETHER SUCH TRAINING HAD THE "APPROVAL OR FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT."

PANAMANIAN SENTIMENT: GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

7. PANAMANIAN OFFICIAL REACTION TO US MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM PANAMA TO EL SALVADOR HAS BEEN SLOW IN COMING AND MIXED. GIVEN THE PRESS ATTENTION, IT WAS GENERALLY EXPECTED THAT PRESIDENT ROYO WOULD TOUCH ON USARSA'S TRAINING, OR AT LEAST MENTION THE

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STATUS OF US BASES IN PANAMA, WHEN HE SPOKE TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 11. A LOCAL STUDENT GROUP AND AN OPPOSITION NEWSPAPER HAD DEMANDED THAT HE EXPLAIN WHERE PANAMA STOOD. INSTEAD, THE PRESIDENT SPOKE BEFOREHAND TO A REPORTER FROM THE GOP-OWNED NEWSPAPER "LA REPUBLICA", WHICH ATTRIBUTED THE

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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 03 OF 03 310006Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 AID-07 NSCE-00
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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 PANAMA 09297

FOLLOWING REMARK TO HIM ON OCTOBER 10: "ANY TRAINING DIRECTED TOWARD REPRESSION...CANNOT COUNT ON THE MORAL OR POLITICAL CONSENT OF MY GOVERNMENT". HE MADE NO REFERENCE TO US BASES OR TRAINING ACTIVITIES IN HIS OCTOBER 11 SPEECH, AND SINCE THEN REFERENCES TO US FORCES' ACTIVITIES IN THE OFFICIAL PRESS HAVE BEEN RARE AND MUTED. THE BRIEF COMMENTARY OF ONE NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST COULD EVEN BE READ AS CONTRADICTING PRESIDENT ROYO'S REPORTED POSITION: HE WONDERED WHY "SUCH A FUSS IS BEING MADE OVER THE PRESENCE OF SALVADORAN OFFICERS IN THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS" (MATUTINO 10/13).

8. ON THE OTHER HAND, INCOMING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
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PAGE 02 PANAMA 09297 03 OF 03 310006Z

PRESIDENT LUIS DE LEON ARIAS, DURING A PASSAGE IN HIS OCTOBER 11 SPEECH WHICH ALLEGED SEVERAL US TREATY VIOLATIONS, WARNED THAT "USE OF THE MILITARY BASES TO INTERVENE IN THE CONFLICTS OF CENTRAL AMERICA VIOLATES THE NEUTRALITY PACT UNDER THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL USE OF THE INSTALLATIONS AND THE CANAL." PERHAPS SHOWING SOME SENSITIVITY TO EARLIER PUBLISHED THREATS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST US INSTALLATIONS, ARIAS WENT ON TO DENOUNCE "ALL MILITARY MANIPULATIONS THAT

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EXTEND FROM OUR TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE NORTH AMERICAN FORCES DIRECTED TO INTERVENE AND VIOLATE THE TERRITORIES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, SINCE THIS PUTS IN DANGER THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE CONTINENT, AND PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE." ARIAS WAS ALSO AMONG THE SPEAKERS WHO ADDRESSED A SMALL ANTI-US RALLY HERE OCTOBER 15 DEVOTED TO SIMILAR CRITICISM, REPORTEDLY ORGANIZED BY VARIOUS STUDENT GROUPS, "OFFICIAL" AND OTHERWISE, AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PEOPLE.

9. OPPOSITION TO THE PRESENCE OF OUR BASES AND SCRUTINY OF HOW WE USE THEM ALSO HAS COME FROM THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION, NOT ONLY HISTORICALLY BUT IN RECENT DAYS. THE WELL KNOWN POSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE 1977 TREATIES ARE OBJECTIONABLE BECAUSE THEY WERE ARRIVED AT IN SECRET, APPROVED BY PLEBISCITE IN AN UNDEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT, AND LEGITIMIZED THE US MILITARY PRESENCE HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME, FOUND EXPRESSION IN AN EDITORIAL IN THE OPPOSITION "LA PRENSA" OF OCTOBER 23. ALSO, THE FACT THAT THE CANAL TREATIES WERE NOT A MAJOR ISSUE IN THE SEPTEMBER ELECTION, IN WHICH POLITICAL PARTIES TOOK PART, SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT THE DEMO-

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CRATIC OPPOSITION IS UNOPPOSED TO OUR MILITARY ACTIVITIES FROM BASES IN PANAMA. RATHER, THERE IS AN UNFORTUNATELY BROAD CONSENSUS HERE THAT THE BASES ARE UNWELCOME AND THAT THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE SUSPECT, A CONSENSUS WHICH MODERATES OF VARIOUS PERSUASIONS SHARED LONG BEFORE THERE WAS AN ANTI-US RADICAL LEFT IN PANAMA.

COMMENT

10. IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE WE MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON DEFINING AND PROTECTING VITAL US MILITARY FUNCTIONS, BOTH THOSE IN PANAMA AND THOSE INVOLVING FORCES OPERATING OR SUPPORTED FROM PANAMA. WHILE WE HAVE RECEIVED NO OFFICIAL DEMAND OR INQUIRY FROM THE GOP REGARDING THE LEGALITY OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES UNDER THE TERMS OF THE 1977 TREATY AND SOFA, WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME TO REVIEW THE SCOPE AND NATURE OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES HERE IN LIGHT OF THE CURRENT POLITICO/LEGAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH OUR BASES EXIST. PANAMANIAN OFFICIAL ATTENTION TO MILITARY AID FOR EL SALVADOR INVOLVING THESE INSTALLATIONS HAS MADE SUCH A REVIEW MORE URGENT. MOSS

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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 01 OF 03 302351Z
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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 02 OF 03 302359Z
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6. DURING OCTOBER, LOCAL PRESS ATTENTION TO US MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR FROM PANAMA HAS CONTINUED, THOUGH THE GOP SEEMS TO HAVE REINED IN ITS PRESS SOMEWHAT. A "CRITICA" COLUMNIST CHARGED ON OCTOBER 8 THAT THE US PLANS TO PROVIDE HELICOPTER PILOT TRAINING TO SALVADORANS IN PANAMA, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND THAT WRITER PROFESSED HIS ASSURANCE THAT NO "SALVADORAN GUERRILLA FRONT IS BEING OPENED IN PANAMANIAN TERRITORY NOR WOULD PRO-GUERRILLA ACTIVITY IN PANAMA INCLUDE SABOTAGE OR TERRORISM" (FBIS PA 081756Z OCT 80). LOCAL PRESS COVERAGE WAS ALSO STIMULATED RECENTLY BY PUBLIC RELEASES BY AMBASSADOR WHITE AND SOUTHCOM PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICERS, AS WELL AS BY LOCALLY PUBLISHED EXCERPTS FROM THE WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE OF OCTOBER 9 AND THE [redacted]

PAGE 03 PANAMA 09297 02 OF 03 302359Z

DEPARTMENT'S NOON PRESS BRIEFING THE SAME DAY. THE VARIOUS US EXPLANATIONS OF AID TO EL SALVADOR WERE GENERALLY CARRIED HERE IN A STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER. A PROMINENT TV COMMENTATOR, MARIO VELAZQUEZ, WHO OFTEN REFLECTS GOP VIEWS, OPINED THAT, ALTHOUGH TRAINING OF SALVADORANS (WHICH HE DETAILED ACCURATELY, USING INFORMATION PROVIDED BY SOUTHCOM) WAS PERMITTED BY THE TREATIES, IT WAS "UNTIMELY" AND "NOT IN LINE WITH THE PEACEFUL GOALS OF THE CANAL" (FBIS PA 110202 AND FBIS PA 110328Z OCT 80). THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE STAR AND HERALD NOTED OCTOBER 11 THAT "SOME OBSERVERS" BELIEVE THAT "THE USE OF PANAMANIAN TERRITORY TO TRAIN ARMED FORCES, ESPECIALLY IN THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR... IS A VIOLATION OF THE NEUTRALITY OF THE PANAMA CANAL," AND IT QUESTIONED WHETHER SUCH TRAINING HAD THE "APPROVAL OR FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT."

PANAMANIAN SENTIMENT: GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

7. PANAMANIAN OFFICIAL REACTION TO US MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM PANAMA TO EL SALVADOR HAS BEEN SLOW IN COMING AND MIXED. GIVEN THE PRESS ATTENTION, IT WAS GENERALLY EXPECTED THAT PRESIDENT ROYO WOULD TOUCH ON USARSA'S TRAINING, OR AT LEAST MENTION THE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

717

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOPANAMA009297

STATUS OF US BASES IN PANAMA, WHEN HE SPOKE TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 11. A LOCAL STUDENT GROUP AND AN OPPOSITION NEWSPAPER HAD DEMANDED THAT HE EXPLAIN WHERE PANAMA STOOD. INSTEAD, THE PRESIDENT SPOKE BEFOREHAND TO A REPORTER FROM THE GOP-OWNED NEWSPAPER "LA REPUBLICA", WHICH ATTRIBUTED THE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOPANAMA009297

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 03 OF 03 310006Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
[redacted] PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 AID-07 NSCE-00
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O 302240Z OCT 80
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JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 PANAMA 09297

FOLLOWING REMARK TO HIM ON OCTOBER 10: "ANY TRAINING DIRECTED TOWARD REPRESSION...CANNOT COUNT ON THE MORAL OR POLITICAL CONSENT OF MY GOVERNMENT". HE MADE NO REFERENCE TO US BASES OR TRAINING ACTIVITIES IN HIS OCTOBER 11 SPEECH, AND SINCE THEN REFERENCES TO US FORCES' ACTIVITIES IN THE OFFICIAL PRESS HAVE BEEN RARE AND MUTED. THE BRIEF COMMENTARY OF ONE NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST COULD EVEN BE READ AS CONTRADICTING PRESIDENT ROYO'S REPORTED POSITION; HE WONDERED WHY "SUCH A FUSS IS BEING MADE OVER THE PRESENCE OF SALVADORAN OFFICERS IN THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS" (MATUTINO 10/13).

5. ON THE OTHER HAND, INCOMING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
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PAGE 02 PANAMA 09297 03 OF 03 310006Z

PRESIDENT LUIS DE LEON ARIAS, DURING A PASSAGE IN HIS OCTOBER 11 SPEECH WHICH ALLEGED SEVERAL US TREATY VIOLATIONS, WARNED THAT "USE OF THE MILITARY BASES TO INTERVENE IN THE CONFLICTS OF CENTRAL AMERICA VIOLATES THE NEUTRALITY PACT UNDER THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL USE OF THE INSTALLATIONS AND THE CANAL." PERHAPS SHOWING SOME SENSITIVITY TO EARLIER PUBLISHED THREATS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST US INSTALLATIONS, ARIAS WENT ON TO DENOUNCE "ALL MILITARY MANIPULATIONS THAT

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM #OPANAMA009297

EXTEND FROM OUR TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE NORTH AMERICAN FORCES DIRECTED TO INTERVENE AND VIOLATE THE TERRITORIES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, SINCE THIS PUTS IN DANGER THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE CONTINENT, AND PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE." ARIAS WAS ALSO AMONG THE SPEAKERS WHO ADDRESSED A SMALL ANTI-US RALLY HERE OCTOBER 15 DEVOTED TO SIMILAR CRITICISM, REPORTEDLY ORGANIZED BY VARIOUS STUDENT GROUPS, "OFFICIAL" AND OTHERWISE, AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PEOPLE.

9. OPPOSITION TO THE PRESENCE OF OUR BASES AND SCRUTINY OF HOW WE USE THEM ALSO HAS COME FROM THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION, NOT ONLY HISTORICALLY BUT IN RECENT DAYS. THE WELL KNOWN POSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE 1977 TREATIES ARE OBJECTIONABLE BECAUSE THEY WERE ARRIVED AT IN SECRET, APPROVED BY PLEBISCITE IN AN UNDEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT, AND LEGITIMIZED THE US MILITARY PRESENCE HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME, FOUND EXPRESSION IN AN EDITORIAL IN THE OPPOSITION "LA PRENSA" OF OCTOBER 23. ALSO, THE FACT THAT THE CANAL TREATIES WERE NOT A MAJOR ISSUE IN THE SEPTEMBER ELECTION, IN WHICH POLITICAL PARTIES TOOK PART, SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT THE DEMO-

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PAGE 03 PANAMA 09297 03 OF 03 310006Z

CRATIC OPPOSITION IS UNOPPOSED TO OUR MILITARY ACTIVITIES FROM BASES IN PANAMA. RATHER, THERE IS AN UNFORTUNATELY BROAD CONSENSUS HERE THAT THE BASES ARE UNWELCOME AND THAT THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE SUSPECT, A CONSENSUS WHICH MODERATES OF VARIOUS PERSUASIONS SHARED LONG BEFORE THERE WAS AN ANTI-US RADICAL LEFT IN PANAMA.

COMMENT

10. IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE WE MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON DEFINING AND PROTECTING VITAL US MILITARY FUNCTIONS, BOTH THOSE IN PANAMA AND THOSE INVOLVING FORCES OPERATING OR SUPPORTED FROM PANAMA. WHILE WE HAVE RECEIVED NO OFFICIAL DEMAND OR INQUIRY FROM THE GOP REGARDING THE LEGALITY OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES UNDER THE TERMS OF THE 1977 TREATY AND SOFA, WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME TO REVIEW THE SCOPE AND NATURE OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES HERE IN LIGHT OF THE CURRENT POLITICO/LEGAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH OUR BASES EXIST. PANAMANIAN OFFICIAL ATTENTION TO MILITARY AID FOR EL SALVADOR INVOLVING THESE INSTALLATIONS HAS MADE SUCH A REVIEW MORE URGENT. MOSS

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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 01 OF 03 3023512
ACTION ARA-16

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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 03 PANAMA 09297

E.O. 12065: GDS, 11/29/86
TAGS: MARR, PN, US
SUBJ: CRITICISM OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM PANAMA

REFS: (ALL NOTAL)
- A. PANAMA 8008, B. FBIS PA 211636Z AUG 80,
- C. PANAMA 8880, D. PANAMA 7954, E. PANAMA 7901,
- F. USCINCSO 022101Z OCT 80

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: CRITICISM OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR FROM OUR BASES IN PANAMA HAS INCREASINGLY QUESTIONED THE USG TREATY RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN SUCH [redacted]

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PAGE 02 PANAMA 09297 01 OF 03 3023512

ACTIVITY. THE CRITICISM REFLECTS CONCERTED LEFTIST ATTEMPTS TO RAISE POLITICAL PRESSURE IN ORDER TO STOP US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR. THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S BELIEF THAT THE 1977 CANAL TREATIES DO NOT AUTHORIZE SUCH ACTIVITIES, AND THE LONG HELD OPPOSITION OF MODERATE POLITICAL GROUPS TO THE PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES OF OUR BASES. WHILE LEFTIST EFFORTS HAVE TAPERED OFF RECENTLY, THERE HAVE BEEN STATEMENTS BY BOTH PANAMANIAN OFFICIAL AND NON-LEFTIST OPPOSITION

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: 9940032P

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ELEMENTS THIS MONTH WHICH DISAPPROVE OF OUR USE OF BASES HERE FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE PURPOSES, INCLUDING ONE OFFICIAL STATEMENT ACCUSING US OF A TREATY "VIOLATION." WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME TO REVIEW OUR MILITARY ACTIVITIES HERE IN LIGHT OF THE NEW POLITICO/LEGAL ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING OUR BASES (SEE SEPTEL). END SUMMARY.

FOCUS ON CANAL TREATY RIGHTS

3. IN RECENT MONTHS, CRITICISM OF US SUPPORT FROM PANAMA FOR THE SALVADORAN MILITARY HAS EXPANDED FROM GENERALIZED POLITICAL COMPLAINTS IN AND OUT OF PANAMA TO INCLUDE REFERENCES TO US MILITARY TREATY RIGHTS HERE. MEDIA COMMENTARY ORIGINALLY EMANATED FROM CONSISTENTLY ANTI-US SOURCES LIKE THE CUBAN PRELA NEWS SERVICE. IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, HOWEVER, THE GOP-CONTROLLED PANAMANIAN STUDENT FEDERATION (FEP) HELD A SEMINAR OF LATIN AMERICAN "STUDENTS" HERE DEVOTED TO "IMPERIALIST MILITARY BASES", AT WHICH THE GOP MINISTER OF GOVERNMENT AND JUSTICE REPORTEDLY TOLD THE STUDENTS THAT US BASES WERE OBJECTIONABLE IN PRINCIPLE TO PANAMA. THE SEMINAR ADOPTED A RESOLUTION DENOUNCING BASES USED BY THE US AGAINST "SALVADORAN AND OTHER [redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

PEOPLES" AND CONDEMNING THE CONTINUING "VIOLATIONS" OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY (REF A).

4. SHORTLY BEFORE THE SEMINAR, A MORE PRECISE LEGAL REFERENCE TO U.S. MILITARY ACTIVITIES BASED IN PANAMA HAD APPEARED. AN ARTICLE IN THE GOP DAILY "LA REPUBLICA" (REF. E), BY SECUNDINO TORRES, A REPUTABLE LAWYER CLOSE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND CONSIDERED BY SOME HERE AS A TREATY "WATCH DOG", REFERRED TO PUBLIC CHARGES THAT US TROOPS IN PANAMA WERE TO BE USED TO STRENGTHEN THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT. TORRES CITED ARTICLE IV OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY OF 1977, AND ASSERTED THAT QUOTE THE PLACING OF TROOPS DESTINED FOR EL SALVADOR OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY... FOR THE SAKE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IS... A VIOLATION OF THE TREATY. IN THAT TERRITORY WHICH WE SHARE MILITARILY UNTIL THE YEAR 2,000, THERE CAN BE ONLY TROOPS DESTINED TO PROTECT AND DEFEND THE CANAL. THERE CANNOT BE MILITARY FORCES DESTINED TO RENDER SUPPORT TO ANY GOVERNMENT OF THE AREA. END QUOTE. THE TORRES ARTICLE FOCUSED ATTENTION ON TREATY QUESTIONS WHICH COULD BE RAISED SHOULD THE US WISH TO USE PERSONNEL FROM PANAMANIAN BASES IN OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH WE HAD NO INDICATION WHETHER TORRES WAS SPEAKING FOR THE GOP IN THAT INSTANCE, WE HAVE LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHARES HIS LEGAL

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INTERPRETATION SINCE PANAMA HAS, FOR DECADES, CONSIDERED THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN PANAMA A VIOLATION OF THE 1903 TREATY AND SUBSEQUENT TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS RELATING TO THE PANAMA CANAL. IT WOULD BE A PREDICTABLE STEP FROM THE POSITION EXPRESSED IN THAT ARTICLE TO ONE DEMANDING

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 02 OF 03 302359Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 PANAMA 09297

THAT ANY FORM OF ASSISTANCE TO SUCH COUNTRIES FROM US BASES IN PANAMA WOULD BE ILLEGAL UNLESS AUTHORIZED BY THE GOP, AND THIS IS A POSITION ON WHICH THE CURRENT PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION ELEMENTS WOULD AGREE.

CONCERTED ANTI-US PROPAGANDA

5. IN SEPTEMBER, A PROPAGANDA ORGANIZATION OF OSTENSIBLY SALVADORAN BUT AS YET UNKNOWN ORIGIN, CALLING ITSELF THE "ANASTASIO AQUINO SPECIAL BRIGADE", BEGAN OPERATIONS HERE AND SENT A SERIES OF THREATENING LETTERS TO US OFFICIALS (REFS C, D AND E). MORE IMPORTANT, IT SUCCEEDED IN RAISING STILL FURTHER
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PAGE 02 PANAMA 09297 02 OF 03 302359Z

THE PUBLIC PROFILE OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR BY HAVING ITS PROPAGANDA HANDOUTS PUBLISHED AND COMMENTED UPON WIDELY. COLUMNISTS WRITING IN THE GOP-OWNED DAILIES "MATUTINO" (9/17 AND 9/27) AND "CRITICA" (9/13) CHARGED THAT THE U.S. WAS GUILTY OF "OPEN VIOLATION OF THE PANAMA CANAL NEUTRALITY TREATY...IN USING ITS MILITARY BASES IN THE PANAMA CANAL AREA TO REENFORCE THE GOVERNMENT...OF EL SALVADOR"; IDENTIFIED PANAMA-BASED UNITS AND PER-

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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOPANAMA009297

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PAGE 03 PANAMA 09297 02 OF 03 302359Z

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 PANAMA 09297 03 OF 03 310006Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 AID-07 NSCE-00
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Special Project (1993)

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ACTION ARA-16

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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 7621

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM PEPR ES XK
SUBJECT: DISSENTING REPORTS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

1. SAN SALVADOR DAILIES THIS MORNING HIGHLIGHTED A UPI RELEASE CONCERNING A "HERITAGE FOUNDATION" REPORT TO THE EFFECT THAT U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICAN IS MAKING WORSE RATHER THAN BETTER THE SITUATION OF THIS AREA.

2. ACCORDING TO THE UPI STORY, THE REPORT WAS DRAFTED BY "EX-CIA ANALYST C. DIGIOVANNI" WHO NOW IS THE VICE PRESIDENT OF "INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANTS."

3. THE REPORT IS CHARACTERIZED, QUOTING ONE OF ITS PARAGRAPHS, TO THE EFFECT "THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS PROJECTED AN IMAGE OF ASSISTANCE TO THE LEFT AND HOSTILITY TO THE RIGHT WHICH HAS GENERATED MANY OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA."

4. POST RECALLS THAT DIGIOVANNI WAS HERE EARLY IN SEPTEMBER
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 07621 0202202

AND TALKED WITH SEVERAL PEOPLE PROMINENT IN CONSERVATIVE

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SALVADORAN CIRCLES AS WELL AS EMBOFFS. WOULD APPRECIATE COPY OF HERITAGE FONDATION REPORT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06851 01 OF 02 012254Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07
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P R 312014Z OCT 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8793
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 6851

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/1/86 (DURKEE, MICHAEL L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, PEPR CI
SUBJ: THE ZALDIVAR CASE: SETBACK FOR MODERATES ON BOTH SIDES?

REF: SANTIAGO 6639 AND PREVIOUS

1. C- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE GOVERNMENT DECISION TO EXILE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) PRESIDENT ZALDIVAR CONTINUES TO OVERHAND THE POLITICAL SCENE. THE PINOCHET REGIME HAS NOTT BEEN WILLING TO YIELD, ZALDIVAR HAS SO FAR NOTT ACCEPTED THE CONDITIONS TO RETURN, AND MODERATES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION CAMPS HAVE BEEN CAUGHT OFF-BALANCE. PRIVATE INQUIRIES AND APPEALS FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS--AND THE VATICAN--HAVE SO FAR NOTT HELPED ACHIEVE A SOLUTION. THIS CABLE ADDRESSES THE QUESTIONS OF WHY THE GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE TAKEN THIS HARSH MEASURE AND HOW IT AFFECTS THE PDC; IT ALSO
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06851 01 OF 02 012254Z

OFFERS A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF ITS IMPACT ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

3. THE OCTOBER 15 DECISION BY THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT TO BAR THE RETURN OF PDC PRESIDENT ANDRES ZALDIVAR SET OFF SHOCKWAVES WITHIN POLITICAL CIRCLES WHICH, WHILE

FADING FROM PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS, HAVE NOTT YET SUBSIDED. WHILE THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER ZALDIVZR WILL AGREE TO SIGN THE DECLARATION TO RESPECT CURRENT CHILEAN LAW AND AUTHORITIES WHICH THE GOC HAS SET AS THE PRICE OF R, THE CASE ALSO POSES TWO MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS.

4. WHY DID THE GOVERNMENT ACT? FIRST, THE PRO-DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS, INCLUDING CONSERVATIVES WHO SUPPORT THE POLICIES IF NOTT THE PERSON OF PINOCHET, MUST BE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT THIS CASE MAY PORTEND FOR THE NEXT PHASE OF THE TRANSITION PROCESS. THE MORE PESSIMISTIC VIEW, WHICH WE HEAR FROM HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL AS OPPOSITION SOURCES, IS THAT THIS ACTION IS THE OPENING SHOT IN A DELIBERATE GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN TO WEAKEN ITS OPPONENTS AND TO REDUCE THE RANGE OF TOLERATED POLITICAL ACTIVITY. IN THIS VIEW, THE GOVERNMENT WAS JUST WAITING FOR A PRETEXT TO CRACK DOWN ON OPPOSITION LEADERS AND USED THE CRITICAL COMMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO ZALDIVAR BY A LEFT-WING MEXICAN NEWSPAPER AS THE HANDIEST OCCASION. FURTHER, SO THE STORY GOES, ALL OPPOSITION GROUPS CAN EXPECT SIMILAR GOVERNMENT HARRASSMENT UP TO AND BEYOND THE MARCH 11 ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION; PINOCHET HAS GOTTEN WHAT HE WANTED FROM THE PLEBISCITE EXERCISE AND IS NO LONGER WILLING TO PUT UP WITH EVEN VERBAL OPPOSITION, LET ALONE REAL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06851 01 OF 02 012254Z

5. A SOFTER INTERPRETATION OF THE CASE, LHICH COMES FROM MORE CONSERVATIVE SOURCES AND IS HINTED AT BY "BLANDOS" WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, IS THAT PINOCHET BLEW HIS STACK WHEN HE SAW THE ALLEGED ZALEDIVAR COMMENTS IN FOREIGN PAPERS (AND RADIO MOSCOW), ORDERED INTERIRO MINISTER FERNANDEZ TO TAKE ACTION, AND HAS SO FAR BEEN UNWILLING TO RELENT. THAT IS, THE DECISION IS AIMED ONLY AT ZALDIVAR AS ONE OF THE MOST OUTSPOKEN AND PERSISTENT CRITICS AND, THEREFORE, WHILE IT MAY INDICATE WHERE THE GOVERNMENT THINKS LEGITIMATE DISSENT SHOULD STOP, DOES NOTT PRESAGE A WIDER EFFORT AGAINST THE PARTIES OR INDIVIDUAL OPPOSITION LEADERS.

6. WE HAVE NO DIRECT INFORMATION TO CONFIRM EITHER HYPOTHESIS, BUT ARE STRUCK BY THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT DID NOTT ADVANTAGE OF AN APPARENTLY EASY WAY OUT, WHEN THE MEXICAN PRESS STORY WAS DISPROVEN , TO LET ZALIDVAR BACK IN, LEAVING THE ORIGINAL DECISION AS THE OBJECT LESSON AS TO THE LIMITS ONDISSENT. FURTHER, THE

TONE AND CONTENT OF SUBSEQUENT GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS, WHILE UNDERSTANDABLE IN THE CONTEXT OF JUSTIFICATIONS FOR ACONTROVERSIAL ACTION, HAVE HAD THE EFFECT OF STIFFENING THE TERMS FOR RECONSIDERATION OF THE BAN TO INCLUDE A PLEDGE OF FUTURE GOOD BEHAVIOR.

7. THE NUNCIO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT CARDINAL SILVA HAD SOPKEN TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET, THAT CARDINALS HAD RAISED THE MATTER WITH CHILE'S AMBASSADOR TO THE HOLY SEE, AND THAT HE, THE NUNCIO, HAD APPEALED TO FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS. THE NUNCIO ALSO SAID THAT CARDINAL SAMORE, IN CHARGE OF THE MEDIATION, HAD TAKEN AN INTEREST IN THE CASE. WHILE WE KNOW OF ONLY ONE EMBASSY HERE THE ITALIAN, WHICH HAS APPROACHED THE GOC ON INSTRUCTIONS,

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06851 02 OF 02 012255Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07
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P R 312014Z OCT 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8794
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 6851

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN

OTHER WESTERN AMBASSADOR HAVE FOLLOWED OUR LEAD IN EXPRESSING CONCERN AND CERTAINLY CHILEAN AMBASSADORS ABROAD WILL HAVE REPORTED THE UNPLEASANT IMPRESSION THIS CASE HAS MADE. SO FAR, THE GOVERNMENT IS STANDING FIRM, BUT AN INTERESTING PIECE IN GENERALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT "LA SEGUNDA" HINTED THAT THE "LOYALTY OATH" ZALDIVAR MUST SIGN WOULD NOTT IN FACT REQUIRE HIM TO STOP CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT, DEMANDING CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION , OR SEEKING REPLACEMENT OF CURRENT OFFICIALS, SO LONG AS HE DID NOTT ADVOCATE VIOLENCE OR OTHER ILLEGAL MEANS TO THE ENDS.

THIS VIEW DOES NOTT GO SO FAR AS ANOTHER OPINION WE HAVE HEARD FROM THE NUNCIO AND OTHER CHURCH SOURCES,; THAT ANY

DOCUMENT SIGNED UNDER DURESS WOULD HAVE NO MORAL AUTHORITY OR FORCE.

8. HOW DOES THIS AFFECT THE PDC? THE SECOND CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06851 02 OF 02 012255Z

IMPORTANT QUESTION IS HOW THE BAN ON ZALDIVAR AFFECTS THE PDC AND THE REST OF THE OPPOSITION. OUR PERCEPTION, AS FORMED FROM REPORTS COMING FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, IS THAT THE TOP LEADERSHIP OF TH PDC IS DIVIDED AND INDECISIVE, CAUGHT BETWEEN THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF HOW TO HELP ZALDIVAR AND WHO MIGHT REPLACE HIM AND THE LONGER-TERM PROBLEM OF PARTY STRATEGY IN THE POST-PLEBISCITE ERA. THE VARIOUS SECTORS WITHIN THE PARTY OFFER COMPETING CANDIDATES AND COMP STRATEGIES, AND SO FAR THERE IS LITTLE INDICATION OF EITHER FIRM DIRECTION FROM FREI OR OF AN EMERGING CONSENSUS AT LOWER LEVELS.

9. ONE SPECIFIC STRATEGIC ISSUE WITHIN THE PARTY HAS BEEN BROUGHT INTO PUBLIC LIGHT, NAMELY THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE PARTY SHOULD CONTINUE ITS REJECTION OF THE PLEBISCITE AND THE CONSTITUTION, SEEKING TO DENY VALIDITY TO THE TRANSITION PROCESS, OR WHETHER IT SHOULD TACITLY ACCEPT THE NEW RULES OF THE GAME, SEEKING TO MAXIMIZE ITS ADVANTAGES AND INFLUENCE FOR THE FUTURE. BY TEMPERAMENT AND PAST HISTORY, ZALDIVAR HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED AS A PROPONENT OF THE HARDER ANTI-GOVERNMENT LINE, ALONG WITH MANY OF THE YOUNGER PARTY ACTIVISTS IN HJMAN RIGHTS AND STUDENT AFFAIRS, SUCH AS GUILLERMO YUNGE, JAMIE CASTILLO, AND TOMAS REYES. FREI HIMSELF, ALONG WITH RAUL TRONCOSO, JUAN HAMILTON AND PATRICIO AYLWIN, SEEMS TO BELIEVE THE PATY SHOULD TONE DOWN THE RHETORIC AND BEGIN TO LOOK FOR CONSERVA-TIVE BUT DEMOCRATIC INTERLOCUTORS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT CAMP.

10. PDC CONSIDERATION OF STRATEGY HAS OF COURSE BEEN INTERRUPTED AND COMPLICATED BY THE GOVERNMENT ACTION CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06851 02 OF 02 012255Z

AGAINST ZALDIVAR. FOR NOW, AT LEAST, IT APPEARS THAT THE SOFT-LINERS WILL FIND IT HARD TO TAKE ANY DECISIONS WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO REPUDIATE ZALDIVAR; FURTHER, EVEN IF HE EVENTUALLY RETURNS, THE ARBITRARINESS OF THE GOVERNMENT ACTION WILL SERVE AS AMMUNITION FOR THOSE ARGUING THAT PINOCHET AND HIS FOLLOWERS RESPECT ONLY FORCE, NOTT REASON. ON THE OTHER HAND, AND SOONER OR LATER, PARTY LEADERS WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE UNCOMFORTABLE REALITY THAT MANY OF THEIR TRADITIONAL SUPPORTERS VOTED FOR THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PLEBISCITE, A SIGNAL THAT UNREMITTING OPPOSITION, ESPECIALLY WHEN THIS PARALLELS THE STANCE OF THE OLD UP FRAGMENTS, PROVIDES A VERY NARROW BASE FOR THE FUTURE.

11. EMBASSY ASSESSMENT: IT IS TOO EARLY TO OFFER ANY DEFIE CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS CASE, BUT WE OFFER THREE OBSERVATIONS. FIRST, THE MEASURE REFLECTS THE HARSH SIDE OF THE PINOCHET REGIME, READY TO LASH OUT AT CRITICS REGARDLESS OF INTERNAL COSTS OR FOREIGN RACTIONS. GIVEN THE DELICATE STAGE OF THE ALL-IMPORTANT BEAGLE MEDIATION, NO PRUDENT ANALYSIS OF GAINS AND RISKS COULD JUSTIFY A SPECTACULAR ACTION AT THIS TIME AGAINST A MAJOR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER ABROAD ON A TRIP WHICH INCLUDED ROME. THE REGIME GZBLANDOS" ARE DISCOMFITED AND DEFENSIVE, WHILE THE HARDEST-LINERS LIKE PABLO RODRIQUEZ ARE CHEERING. SECOND, THE MORE PROGMATIC ELEMENTS WITHIN THE OPPOSITION ARE ALSO ON THE DEFENSIVE AND WILL FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT TO MAKE THE CASE FOR COMPROMISE AND DIALOGUE. THE NET EFFECT, THOUGH PERHAPS NOTT LASTING, WILL BE TO DELAY THE MUCH-NEEDED PROCESS THROUGH WHICH THE "APERTURISTAS" AND THE LESS-RADICAL OPPOSITIONISTS COULD BEGIN TO WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A REAL TRANSITION. THIRD, THE SENSITIVITIES AROUSED BY THIS CASE MAKE IT INADVISABLE FOROUTSIDERS TO OFFER PUBLIC ADVICE OR COMMENT. UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THE VATICAN HS THE HIGH CARDS TO PLAY
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 06851 02 OF 02 012255Z

AND IS THE MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED IN CONVINCING PINOCHET THAT THE GAME IS NOTT WORTHE THE CANDLE. WE HAVE MADE AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE OUR CONCERNS KNOWN TO INFLUENTIAL CHILEANS, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC USG CRITICISM WILL ONLY SERVE TO STRENGTHEN PINOCHET'S ZENOPHOBIC STREAK AND THUS STIFFEN HIS RESOLVE.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06874 032109Z
ACTION ARA-16

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 6874

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, CI
SUBJECT: ANOTHER BANK ASSAULTED

1. SHORTLY AFTER 09:00 THIS MORNING (NOV. 3) A BANK IN EASTERN SANTIAGO WAS ROBBED AT GUNPOINT BY THREE INDIVIDUALS, REPORTEDLY INCLUDING A WOMAN. SEVERAL SHOTS WERE FIRED DURING THE HOLDUP, BUT REPORTEDLY ONLY ONE PERSON (OUTSIDE THE BANK) WAS SLIGHTLY WOUNDED. SEVERAL REPORTS CLAIM THAT THE ROBBERS GOT AWAY WITH BETWEEN 2 AND 2.5 MILLION PESOS (50-60 THOUSAND DOLLARS), ALTHOUGH ONE RADIO REPORT SAID THAT ONLY 137 THOUSAND PESOS (ABOUT 3,500 DOLLARS) WAS TAKEN. DESPITE POLICE AND SECURITY FORCE EFFORTS, THE ASSAILANTS ARE STILL AT LARGE. TWO PERSONS WERE KIDNAPPED AND THEIR VEHICLE COMMANDEERED DURING THE GETAWAY, BUT BOTH THE HOSTAGES AND THE VEHICLE WERE REPORTEDLY ABANDONED NEAR DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO A SHORT TIME LATER.

2. AFTERNOON DAILY "LA SEGUNDA" REPORTED THAT THE ROBBERS CLAIMED AT LEAST TWICE DURING THE COURSE OF EVENTS THAT THEY BELONGED TO "THE RESISTANCE" AND WERE NOT COMMON CRIMINALS. DESPITE THIS, WE HAVE NO REAL EVIDENCE THAT THIS WAS A TERRORIST ATTACK, AS OPPOSED TO A CRIMINAL ASSAULT. WE WILL REPORT FURTHER WHEN
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06874 032109Z

INITIAL CONFUSION PASSES AND WE HAVE A CHANCE TO CLARIFY MATTERS.
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 07724 01 OF 05 0500062
ACTION ARA-16

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO POUCH
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 07724 01 OF 05 0500062

AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

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portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative process ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ) [illegible] ( )
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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DIA WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 05 SAN SALVADOR 7724

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/3/86
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT (C) EL SALVADOR, ONE YEAR AFTER THE COUP

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. A YEAR AFTER THE COUP THAT BROUGHT IT TO POWER, THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA (JRG) HAS A MIXED RECORD. THE NUMBER OF REFORMS IT HAS ACTUALLY INSTITUTED IS SMALL, BUT THEIR IMPACT IS GREAT. ALTHOUGH IT HAS SUCCEEDED IN ISOLATING THE EXTREMISTS OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT, IT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO STOP THE INCREASE IN THEIR VIOLENCE. IN PART BECAUSE OF THIS VIOLENCE, BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL LEADERS ARE RAPIDLY FALLING INTO DESPAIR AND CYNICISM, WHICH FURTHER ACCELERATES THE CRITICAL FLIGHT OF CAPITAL, TALENT, AND PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.

MEANWHILE, SOME MAJOR REFORMS WHICH MIGHT ESTABLISH A SIZEABLE POPULAR BASE FOR THE JRG, SUCH AS THE PROPOSED [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 07724 01 OF 05 0500062

CHANGES IN THE LABOR CODE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "LAND-TO-THE-TILLER" LAW, HAVE YET TO APPEAR. THE JRG'S VERY SURVIVAL, HOWEVER, HAS RELIEVED THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE OF THE NEED TO MAKE A PAINFUL CHOICE BETWEEN THE FANATICS OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT, AND IT HAS WON THE PEOPLE'S GRATITUDE FOR ITS BOLD ACTIONS AGAINST THE OLIGARCHY. AT THE LOCAL LEVEL MANY OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN REPLACED, BUT SOME OF THE HOLDOVERS, INCLUDING A NUMBER OF THE "LOCAL COMMANDANTES", CONTINUE TO RESIST THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S REFORMS.

THE MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES FORM THE SEVEREST TEST [redacted]

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FOR THE JRG'S POLICY OF REVOLUTION WITHOUT INSTITUTIONAL DESTRUCTION. THEIR SUPPORT IS NECESSARY TO THE JRG, AND THEY HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN THE PAST YEAR, BUT THEY CONTINUE TO HUNT DOWN AND KILL SUSPECTED LEFTIST SUBVERSIVES, OFTEN ON THE BASIS OF FLIMSY EVIDENCE. VIOLENCE ORIGINATES FROM NEARLY ALL SIDES AND MANY CAUSES IN EL SALVADOR. THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST THE VIOLENCE WHICH COMES FROM WITHIN ITS RANKS IS ITS WEAKEST POINT, BUT IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT DOMESTIC CRITICISM ALMOST INVARIABLY ALLEGES THE GOVERNMENT IS KILLING TOO MANY OF THE WRONG PEOPLE AND NOT ENOUGH OF THE RIGHT ONES.

THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS MADE LITTLE ORGANIZATIONAL PROGESS, BUT IT ENJOYS GREATER UNITY AND A CLEARER PLAN FOR THE FUTURE THAN DO ITS RIVALS. NONE OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE LEFT HAS FARED WELL DURING THE PAST YEAR. THE FDR'S UNARMED "DEMOCRATIC" GROUPS, WHICH HAD EXPECTED A BRIEF STRUGGLE AND AN EASY VICTORY OVER THE JRG, NOW FIND THEMSLVES TRAPPED IN A PROLONGED ALLIANCE WITH INCREASINGLY VIOLENT GUERRILLA PARTNERS WHOM THEY BARELY KNOW AND SCARECELY INFLUENCE. THE GUERRILLA GROUPS HAVE FALLEN SHORT OF THEIR GOALS AND BEGUN TO DECREASE, BUT STILL POSSESS CONSIDERABLE DESTRUCTIVE

CAPACITY. THE RIGHT HAS LITTLE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE BUT MUCH SYMPATHY, AND THE DISCONTENT WITHIN THE SOCIETY MAY BE STRENGHTHENING IT.

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 07724 01 OF 05 050006Z

THE JRG HAS BEGUN A REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR, A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE WAY PEOPLE THINK ABOUT EACH OTHER AND THEIR SOCIETAL INSTITUTIONS. IT IS NO LONGER TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT THE SECURITY CORPS CAN KILL CAPESINOS TO UPHOLD LANDLORDS' INTERESTS, THAT BUSINESSMEN CAN EXPLOT WORKERS AT WILL, OR

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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 05 SAN SALVADOR 7724

THAT GOVERNMENT JOBS ARE A LICENSE TO APPROPRIATE TAX MONEY FOR PRIVATE USES. BUT, WHILE CHANGES ARE OCCURRING IN THIS COUNTRY, THEY ARE OCCURRING SLOWLY, AND IT IS FAR FROM CERTAIN WHETHER THESE CHANGES WILL CONTINUE, OR HOW FAR THEY WILL GO. END SUMMARY.

3. THE JRG. ON OCTOBER 15, 1979 PROGRESSIVE ARMY OFFICERS OVERTHREW THE ROMERO REGIME AND REPLACED IT WITH A COALITION GOVERNMENT HEADED BY A FIVE MAN JUNTA. FRUSTRATED BY ITS INABILITY TO BRING ABOUT IMMEDIATE CHANGE OR TO END THE RIGHTIST VIOLENCE PARTICIPATED IN BY THE SECURITY FORCES AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, THE ARMY, THE CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AND JUNTA RESIGNED AFTER TWO AND A HALF MONTHS IN OFFICE. THE ARMED FORCES THEN REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT. BESEIGHED BY VIOLENCE ON THE LEFT AS WELL AS THE RIGHT AND WRITTEN OFF AS A LOST CAUSE BY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF SALVADORANS, THE SECOND VERSION OF THE JRG WAS UNABLE EVEN TO FILL ALL ITS CABINET POSITIONS FOR SEVERAL MONTHS.

4. NATIONAL, WITHOUT QUESTION, THE GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENT OF JRG NUMBER TWO HAS BEEN SURVIVAL. THE FACT OF ITS EXISTENCE

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 07724 02 OF 05 050105Z

HAS RELIEVED THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE'S PAINFUL NECESSITY FOR CHOOSING BETWEEN A FANATIC RIGHT AND A RADICALIZED LEFT. EARLY IN ITS TERM, THE CURRENT VERSION OF THE JRG DECREED AND IMPLEMENTED THREE IMPORTANT REFORMS --THE 263 LARGEST FARMS IN THE COUNTRY WERE TURNED INTO COOPERATIVES; THE BANKS WERE NATIONALIZED; AND THE GOVERNMENT TOOK CONTROL OF THE MARKETING APPARATUS FOR THE MAJOR EXPORT CROPS. THE EFFECT OF THESE REFORMS WAS TO DIMINISH GREATLY THE POWER OF THE OLIGARCHY, THE OLD RULING CLASS COMPOSED OF THE LARGE LANDOWNERS WITH INTERESTS IN BANKING, MILLING, SHIPPING AND INSURANCE.

5. THE JRG'S FRONTAL ATTACK ON THE OLIGARCY WAS BOLD,

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DANGEROUS, AND POPULAR. BUT IT HAS BEEN MUCH HARDER FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THE REST OF THE POWER STRUCTURE, AND PARTICULARLY TO MAKE ROOM IN IT FOR THE URBAN AND RURAL POOR. THE JRG'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION THROUGH GRADUAL CHANGE RATHER THAN VIA DESTRUCTION OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS IMPLIES NEGOTIATION AND PATIENCE, BUT ABOVE ALL, IT NEEDS TIME. IMPORTANT AND MUCH DISCUSSED DECREES THAT HAVE YET TO APPEAR INCLUDE REFORM OF THE LABOR CODE, THE IMPLEMENTING OF THE "LAND-TO-THE-TILLER" LAW, AND CONCRETE STEPS TOWARD THE ELECTION OF A CONSTITUENT ASEMBLY BY 1982.

6. MEANWHILE, THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE, AND THE VIOLENCE IS GETTING WORSE. SOME OF THE REFORMS WHICH MIGHT HAVE ESTABLISHED A SIZEABLE POPULAR BASE FOR THE JRG ARE STILL UNDER DISCUSSION OR NOT YET IMPLEMENTED, AND OTHERS ARE TOO NEW FOR THE PEOPLE TO FEEL THEIR FULL IMPACT. THE GOVERNMENT SURVIVES BECAUSE THE PEOPLE ARE GRATEFUL FOR ITS MEASURES TO CONTROL A STIFLING AND OVER COMPENSATED UPPER CLASS, BECAUSE THEY RECOGNIZE THE JRG'S SYMPATHY FOR THEIR NEEDS, BECAUSE OF THE SUPPORT OF THE USG AND THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE JRG, AND, LAST BUT NOT LEAST, BECAUSE OF THE INEPTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S OPPONENTS. BUT IN EL SALVADOR TIME IS RUNNING OUT ON GOOD INTENTIONS.

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7. LOCAL. AT THE LOCAL LEVEL THE PROBLEM OF REBUILDING THIS SOCIETY WITHOUT FIRST TEARING IT APART RIGHT DOWN TO GROUND

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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 05 SAN SALVADOR 7724

LEVEL SHOWS UP IN ELEMENTARY WAYS. UNDER PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS, THE FOUR LEADING OFFICIALS IN THE MUNICIPALITIES (EL SALVADOR'S SMALLEST ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION, EQUIVALENT TO OUR COUNTRIES) WERE THE MAYOR, THE JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, THE LOCAL COMMANDANTE, AND THE HEAD OF ORDEN, A RIGHTIST PARA-MILITARY GROUP CREATED BY THE NATIONAL GUARD AND USED TO PROTECT LANDOWNERS' INTEREST. (THE VILLAGES HAVE THEIR OWN COMMANDANTES AND ALCALDES BUT, ALTHOUGH THE LEFT HAS DESTROYED PART OF THIS STRUCTURE, IT APPEARS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET MADE MANY PERSONNEL CHANGES.) ALL FOUR ELEMENTS COMPOSED THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL THAT WAS TIED DIRECTLY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WEALTHY. THE JRG HAS REPLACED ALL THE MAYORS AND A LARGE NUMBER OF JUSTICES OF THE PEACE. ORDEN HAS BEEN FORMALLY DISSOLVED, BUT MANY OF ITS MEMBERS MAINTAIN THEIR LONG-STANDING ASSOCIATION WITH THE SECURITY CORPS. ONE ELEMENT SURVIVES INTACT: THE LOCAL COMMANDANTE, WHO IS PAID BY THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE TO HEAD A SMALL LOCAL RESERVE FORCE WHICH CARRIES OUT THE INITIATIVES OF THE ARMY'S DEPARTMENTAL COMMANDER.

8. TENSIONS BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW OFFICIALS RESULTED IN THE KILLINGS OF SEVERAL MAYORS LAST JUNE. THEIR DEATHS NEARLY ENDED THE PDC'S ALLIANCE WITH THE MILITARY. THE PDC AND THE MILITARY THEN MADE AN EFFORT TO INCREASE THE COOPERATION, OR AT LEAST TOLERANCE, AMONG MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS.

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HOWEVER, AND THAT PROBLEM HAS BEEN ALL BUT ENDED. SOME LOCAL COMMANDANTES, HOWEVER, AS WELL AS SOME MILITARY AND SECURITY CORPS OFFICERS, CONTINUE TO OPPOSE LAND REFORM. STILL REGARD PEASANTS WHO STAND UP AGAINST THE OLD SYSTEM AS SUBVERSIVES, AND ADAMANTLY OPPOSE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IN OTHER WAYS.

9. MILITARY/SECURITY FORCES. THE MILITARY AND PARTICULARLY THE SECURITY FORCES (THE NATIONAL GUARD, NATIONAL POLICE, AND TREASURY POLICE) REPRESENT THE SEVEREST TEST FOR THE JRG'S POLICY OF GUIDED REVOLUTION WITHOUT INSTITUTIONAL DESTRUCTION. PLAINLY PUT, THE MILITARY HAVE THE POWER! NO GOVERNMENT CAN

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[redacted] EXIST WITHOUT THEIR APPROVAL. A YEAR AGO; THE SECURITY FORCES, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT THE ARMY, WERE A LAW UNTO THEMSELVES, HOLDING LIFE OR DEATH POWER OVER ALMOST EVERYONE AND EXERCISING IT AT WILL. HUNDREDS OF THE WORST OFFENDERS WERE RETIRED AFTER THE COUP, AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES HAVE BEEN HANDED OUT LIBERALLY SINCE THEN. IN RETROSPECT, IT IS SURPRISING HOW FAR THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE COME SINCE THE ROMERO DAYS.

10. BUT THE PRICE FOR THE MILITARY'S POLITICAL SUPPORT OF THE JRG HAS BEEN HIGH. MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY CORPS AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, OF THE ARMY HAVE CONTINUED TO HUNT DOWN AND KILL SUSPECTED LEFTIST SUBVERSIVES, OFTEN ON THE BASIS OF FLIMSY EVIDENCE. IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED IN EL SALVADOR THAT THE NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM SUCH ACTIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR IS AT LEAST IN THE HUNDREDS, BUT THE MINISTRY OFDEFENSE HAS YET TO PUNISH PUBLICLY ANYONE, CIVILIAN OR MILITARY, FOR KILLING A LEFTIST. IT DOES APPEAR, HOWEVER, THAT EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO NARROW THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "SUBVERSIVE" *TO INCLUDE ONLY SUSPECTED MEMBERS OF GROUPS WHICH USE VIOLENCE TO POOSE THE GOVERNMENT. SINCE THE COUP, ATTACKS AGAINST*

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[redacted] SECTION 04 OF 05 SAN SALVADOR 7724

POLITICIANS, LABOR AND CAMPESINO LEADER, AND TEACHERS WHO ARE EITHER PRO-GOVERNMENT OR NEUTRAL, AND "RESPECTABLE" LEFTISTS, SUCH AS THE SOCIALISTS, HAVE DROPPED SHARPLY. THE JRG'S RECENT ORDER TO THE MILITARY TO END HUMAN RIGHT ABUSES IS A STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF CHANGING THE MENTALITY OF THE MILITARY/SECURITY FORCES, BUT ITS PRACTICAL EFFECT HAS YET TO BE SEEN.

11. THE VIOLENCE. THE SECURITY CORPS HAVE NO MONOPOLY ON VIOLENCE, OF COURSE. EL SALVADOR HAS A VIOLENT COUNTRY LONG BEFORE A WHOLE SPECTRUM OF GROUPS TURNED TO KIDLING AS A ROUTE *TO POLYMICAL POWER. WHAT IS GOING TO NOW, BEYOND POLITICAL WAR*-FARE, IS A WAVE OF DELINQUENCY, A WAR BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS, A CLASS STRUGGLE, AND AN UPSURGE IN IDOLOGICAL FANATICISM ALL JUMBLED TOGHETHER. THE LEFT KILLS TO MAINTAIN ITS DISCIPLINE, *TO ELIMINATE IS ATAGONISTS, TO KEEP ITS WOUNDED OUT OF THE* HANDS OF THE ENEMY, TO STIMULATE RECRUITMENT, AND TO DEMON-STRATE REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR. THE RIGHT KILLS TO SAVE THE SOCIETY FROM THE "ABSOLUTE EVEIL" OF COMMUNISM, TO PROTECT ECONOMIC INTERESTS, TO AVENGE ITS DEAD COMRADES, AND TO ASSURE THE SELF PRESERVATION OF THE MILITARY AND THE MIDDLE CLASS. THE CHOICE OF VICTIMS ON EITHER SIDE APPEARS TO DEPEND MORE ON CONVENIENCE THAN LOGIC.

12. RIGHTIST VIOLENCE PROBABLY ORIGINATES FROM THREE GROUPS-- PRIVATE PERSONS, SOME OF WHOM WERE ORDEN MEMBERS; THE LOCAL

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 07724 04 OF 05 050114Z

COMANDANTE'S FORCE1AND SOME MID-LEVEL MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY AND SECURITY CORPS. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASSIGN PROPORTIONS AMONG THESE THREE, BUT THE TOTAL OF THEIR VICTIMS IS RISING. ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, ORDEN INCREASED ITS ACTIVITIES IN AUGUST AFTER ARMED LEFTISTS TOOK OVER A FEW VILLAGES AND PUBLICLY EXECUTED FORMER ORDEN MEMBERS.

13. THE FAILURE TO TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST THE VIOLENCE WHICH COMES FROM WITHIN ITS RANKS IS THE ACHILLES' HEEL OF THE JRG. REASONS USUALLY GIVEN FOR THIS FAILURE ARE THAT IN THE MIDST OF THE VICIOUS AND BRUTAL STRUGGLE WAGED BY THE LEFT, THE MILITARY WILL NOT ACT AGAINST THOSE WHO ARE KILLING ITS

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ENEMIES LEST A PANDORA'S BOX OF ACCUSATIONS BE OPENED. THE STRUGGLE GOING ON IN EL SALVADOR IS A BITTER ONE-- NO QUARTER IS GIVEN OR ASKED--AND THERE IS VERY LITTLE POSSIBILITY OF COMPROMISE. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THIS COUNTRY TAKE A BACK SEAT TO SURVIVAL. THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AN ARDENT LEFTIST PARTISAN IN THE FIGHT, HAS LOST TWO OF ITS OWN MEMBERS IN RECENT WEEKS. INDICATIVE OF THE MOOD HERE IS THAT DOMESTIC CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENTAL VIOLENCE ALMOST INVARIABLY ALLEGES THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS KILLING TOO MANY OF THE WRONG PEOPLE, AND NOT ENOUGH OF THE RIGHT ONES.

14. THE PDC. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) IS STRUGGLING NOT ONLY TO ISOLATE AND POLITICALLY NEUTRALIZE THE EXTREMES OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT, BUT ALSO TO EASE TS PARTNER, THE

MILITARY, OT OF THE GOVERNING PROCESS. PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ONALL FRONT, BUT ONLY AT THE COST OF CONSTANT AND OFTEN PARALYZING CRISES. THE PDC, LIKE THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF, HS SPENT MOST OF THE LAST YEAR FIGHTING TO SURVIVE. IT IS SLOWLY WINNING BACK THE SYMPATHY IT LOST WHEN IT JOINED FORCES WITH THI MILITARY, ITS LONG-TIME ADVERSARY. THE PDC'S RECENTLY-ELECTED SLATE OF OFFICERS SHOULD BEGIN TO CURE ITS ORGANIZATIONAL MALAISE. WHAT THE PDC HAS, AND WHAT ITS RIVALS LACK, IS UNITY AND CLEAR INSTITUTIONAL GOAL --THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT IN A SYSTEM CHARACTERIZED BY THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL CLASSES IN THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

UNFORTUNATELY, MANY SALVADORANS DO NOT SHARE THE PDC'S ASPIRATION, AND MANY WHO DO REFUSE TO DIRTY THEIR HANDS IN A MESSY AND DANGEROUS TRANSITIONAL PHASE WITH AN UNCERTAIN ENDING.

15. THE LEFT. EL SALVADOR'S LEFT IS COMPOSED OF AT LEAST FOUR ELEMENTS (THE ARMED GROUPS, THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS CONTROLLED BY THE ARMED GROUPS, THE MORE TRADITIONAL, "DEMOCRATIC" LEFTISTS WHO JOINED WITH THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS TO CREATE THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT - FDR -, AND THE TRADITIONAL ELEMENTS WHICH DID NOT JOIN THE FDR) AND NONE HAVE FARED WELL DURING THE PAST YEAR DESPITE FOREIGN PROPAGANDA ABOUT THE INEVITABILITY OF VICTORY. THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS, GROUND DOWN BETWEEN THE REFORMIST POSICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT ON ONE SIDE AND A CAMPAIGN OF PHYSICAL ELIMINATION CARRIED OUT BY RIGHTIST TERRORISTS ON THE OTHER, AND HANDICAPPED BY POOR JUDGEMENT AND TACTICAL ERRORS, LOST MUCH OF THEIR PUBLIC SUPPORT. THE FDR'S UNARMED "DEMOCRATIC" GROUPS, WHICH HAD EXPECTED A BRIEF, EASY STRUGGLE AND A DENOUEMENT A LA NICARAGUA, NOW FIND THEMSELVES TRAPPED IN A PROLONGED ALLIANCE WITH INCREASINGLY VIOLENT GUERRILLA PARTNERS WHOM THEY BARELY KNOW AND SCARCELY INFLUENCE. SOME GROUPS WHICH DID NOT JOIN THE FDR FORMED THEIR OWN FRONT IN SEPTEMBER, BUT HAVE ALSO FAILED TO ATTRACT POPULAR SUPPORT.

16. THE GUERRILLA AND TERRORIST GROUPS MISJUDGED THE WILLINGNESS OF SALVADORANS TO PARTICIPATE IN A VIOLENT REVOLUTION. ATTEMPTS TO TRANSFER RESOURCES FROM THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS TO THE GUERRILLAS DID MORE HARM TO THE FORMER THAN GOOD FOR THE LATTER. THE MUCH TOUTED FEDERATION OF THE ARMED GROUPS PRODUCED MORE SQUABBLING THAN UNIFICATION. IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE COMMAND STRUCTURE WITHIN THE INDIVIDUAL GROUPS IS WEAKENING, ALTHOUGH "RE-ORGANIZATIONS" TAKE PLACE TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF COHERENCE. THE GUERRILLA GROUPS ARE STRONGER THAN THEY WERE A YEAR AGO.

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BUT THEY HAVE FALLEN FAR SHOURT OF WHERE THEY EXPECTED TO BE BE, AND THEY HAVE CLEARLY BEGUN TO DECLINE. THE GENERAL ATTITUDE IN THIS SOCIETY NOW IS THAT THE ARMED GROUPS ARE LOSING THEIR STURGGLE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. PEASANTS ARE INFORMING AGAINST THEM, RECRUITMENT APPEARS TO BE DOWN, SUPPLIES ARE SHORT, AND THE ARMY IS ON THE OFFENSIVE. BUT THE STRUGGLE IS FAR FROM OVER. THE EXTREME LEFT RETAINS CONSIDERABLE DESTRUCTIVE CAPACITY, AND IT APPEARS TO BE MARSHALLING ITS RESOURCES IN A DETERMINED EFFORT TO ROIN THE COUNTRY'S ALREADY STAGGERING ECONOMY. THE GUERRILLAS HAVE YET TO TEST THEIR STRENGTH SERIOUSLY AGAINST THE ARMED FORCES, BUT THEY ARE OPERATING IN EVER LEAGER UNITS, AND A FEV SUCCESSFUL ENGAGEMENTS COULD REVERSE DRAMATICALLY THEIR DECLINING FORTUNES.

17. THE RIGHT. THE POWER OF THE RIGHT IS THE UNKNOWN IN EL SALVADOR'S POLITICAL EQUATION. IT HAS LITTLE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, BUT MUCH SYMPATHY AMONG THE MIDDLE CLASSES, INCLUDING SOME MILITARY OFFICERS, WHICH OFTEN THREATENS TO CRYSTALLIZE INTO A COUP ATAINST THE JRG. THE

EXTREME RIGHT'S POLITICAL GROUPS HAVE BEEN DISCREDITED RATHER THOROUGHLY, BUT ITS LEADERS STILL OPERATE FREELY, PLOTTING AND SEARCHING FOR ALLIES. SEVERAL RECENT MURDERS SUGGEST THAT ITS PRIVATE ASSASSINATION SQUADS ARE BUSY

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AGAIN. GROUPS REPRESENTING THE OWNERS OF INDUSTRIAL AND

[redacted] SECTION 06 OF 06 SAN SALVADOR 7724

AGRARIAN INTERESTS ARE ACTIVE IN THEIR OWN DEFENSE, THOUGHT UNDER MORE PROGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP THAN IN THE PAST. A RESURGENCE OF A HARD-LINE RIGHT COULD BE IN THE OFFING. IMPORTANT CONSERVATIVE MILITARY OFFICERS DISTRUST THE GOVERNMENT'S REFORMS, BUSINESSMEN ARE INCREASINGLY UNHAPPY WITH THE DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION, AND TWO RECENT INVESTIGATIONS INTO CORRUPTION IN PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE NERVOUS. THE MOST IMMEDIATE DANGER TO THE JRG IS THAT THE RESULTS OF THE U.S. ELECTIONS WILL BE READ BY THE LOCAL RIGHT AS A SIGNAL THAT THE USG WILL SUPPORT A RETURN TO SOMETHING VERY SIMILAR TO THE OLD ORDER.

18. ECONOMICS. AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE FAILURE OF THE GENERAL STRIKE MOST RECENTLY CALLED BY THE LEFT, LABOR UNREST HAS ABATED DURING THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, LARGELY DUE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE AMONG THE WORKING CLASS, ITS HARDER LINE AGAINST LABOR AGITATORS, AND THE DESPERATION FO THE WORKERS IN THE FACE OF ROCKETING NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT. AMONG BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL LEADERS, HOWEVER, THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE OF SIX MONTHS AGO IS RAPIDLY T[redacted] INTO DESPAIR AND CYNICISM, FURTHER ACCELERATING THE [redacted]

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FLIGHT OF CAPITAL, TALENT, AND PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY. THREE MAJOR UNCERTAINTIES DOMINATE THE ECONOMIC SPHERE: THE AVAILABILITY OF HARD CURRENCY FINANCING TO CONTINUE PRODUCTION AND TRADE, THE CAPACITY OF THE UPCOMING HARVEST IN COFFEE, COTTON AND SUGAR TO OVERCOME LOSSES DUE TO DISINVESTMENT AND TERRORIST DEPREDATIONS, AND THE POSSIBLY RAPID EXPANSION OF TRADE WITH HONDURAS.

19. COMMENT. THIS HAS BEEN A YEAR OF DESTRUCTION IN EL SALVADOR--OF OLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PATTERNS, OF CERTAIN AUTHORITY GROUPS THAT SUPPORTED AND OPPOSED THEM.

AND OF THE LIVES OF A GREAT MANY PEOPLE CAUGHT IN THE MEATGRINDER OF CHANGE. THE TASK OF REBUILDING HAS HARDLY BEGUN; THE FUTURE IS WIDE OPEN HERE. WHILE SOME OPTIONS HAVE BECOME LESS LIKELY DURING THE PAST YEAR, THERE ARE STILL NO ALTERNATIVES TOO UNPLEASANT TO COME TRUE.

20. BY FAR THE BEST ALTERNATIVE, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF BOTH USG GOALS FOR THE REGION AND SALVADORAN ASPIRATIONS, REMAINS THE JRG. IT HAS ITS PROBLEMS. IT WILL NEVER SERVE AS A MODEL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OR A TEXTBOOK CASE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REFORMS. BUT LOOKED AT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HOW FAR IT HAS COME, RATHER THAN HOW FAR IT STILL HAS TO GO, IT HAS MADE COURAGEOUS PROGRESS AGAINST HIGH ODDS. GIVEN ENOUGH TIME, ENOUGH LUCK, AND ENOUGH HELP, THE JRG WILL ACCOMPLISH ITS OBJECTIVES, AND OUR OWN.
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Department of State TELEGRAM

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Date 9/23

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04011 01 OF 02 0401022
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
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AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 04011

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/3/06 ( ) OR-P
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: 55TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE WORKING PAPER ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

REF: A) USUN 4776 (NOYAL), B) USUN 4799

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SALVADORAN PERM REP ROSALES PASSED TO MISOFF TEXT OF A CUBAN WORKING PAPER ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR WHICH HE SAID WAS BEING PASSED AROUND IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE. THE WORKING PAPER CURRENTLY ALSO HAD THE SUPPORT OF NICARAGUA AND LIBYA, HE SAID, ALTHOUGH ITS EXACT STATUS WAS UNKOWN. ROSALES ASKED THAT WE SOON MEET TO DISCUSS TACTICS FOR DEFEATING THE CUBAN [redacted]. HIS INITIAL THINKING WAS TO ATTEMPT [redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 04011 01 OF 02 0401022

AMENDING THE TEXT IN ORDER TO MAKE IT A GENERAL CONDEMNATION OF VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR AS OPPOSED TO A CONDEMNATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT. USUN WILL REPORT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF THE WORKING PAPER.
BEGIN TEXT.

THE SITUATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN EL SALVADOR

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES ENBODIED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS,

BEARING IN MIND RESOLUTION 19 OF JULY 30, 1980 OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN WHICH CALLS ON THIS BODY TO "CONSIDER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR AND TO ADOPT MEASURES THAT WILL QUICKLY LEAD TO THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN THAT COUNTRY",

AWARE THAT THE MILITARY CORPS HAVE CAUSED THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF PERSONS AND THAT THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IS SUBJECTED TO A CLIMATE OF REPRESSION AND INSECURITY, AND LACK THE MOST BASIC GUARANTEES,

DISMAYED AT THE VILE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO, A PRESTIGIOUS FIGURE, OUTSTANDING FOR [redacted]

PAGE 03 USUN N 04011 01 OF 02 0401022

HIS DEFENSE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE, WHICH SHOCKED INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION AND AT THE PERSECUTION OF OTHER PERSONS HOLDING DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS,

DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE FATE OF MANY PERSONS DETAINED BY THE AUTHORITIES, WITHOUT THEIR WHEREABOUTS BEING KNOWN, NOR THE FATE THEY HAVE MET,

FULLY AWARE THAT THE LACK OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CAUSES

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THE TRAGEDY OF THE WAVES OF REFUGEES, WHICH IN THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR ALREADY AMOUNT TO THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE,

CONSIDERING THAT ANY INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE PARTICULARLY OF A MILITARY NATURE WHICH STRENGTHENS THE RULING REGIME IN EL SALVADOR HELPS TO AGGRAVATE THE INJUSTICES AND THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS;

1. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN FOR THE GRAVE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN EL SALVADOR;

2. DEMANDS THAT THE SALVADOREAN GOVERNMENT TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO GUARANTEE FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN THAT COUNTRY;

3. CONDEMNS THE MURDERS, DISAPPEARANCES FOR POLITICAL REASONS AND OTHER FORMS OF REPRESSIVE VIOLENCE WHICH THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE IS SUBJECTED TO, INCLUDING THE PERSECUTION OF PEOPLE HOLDING DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS;

4. CALLS ON THE GOVERNMENTS TO ABSTAIN FROM PROVIDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE, IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES, SINCE IT CONTRIBUTES OF GREATER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS;

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04011 02 OF 02 0401022Z
ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-12 ADS-00 AF-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
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USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 04011

5. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXAMINE THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR AT ITS 37TH SESSION ON A PRIORITY BASIS, AND TO SUBMIT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AT ITS 36TH SESSION, ITS CONSIDERATION ON THIS *SUBJECT;*

6. DECIDES TO EXAMINE AT ITS 36TH SESSION, BASED ON RELEVANT INFORMATION, THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR AND, TO THAT END, REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DRAW THIS RESOLUTION TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SALVADOREAN GOVERNMENT AND TO INFORM THE ASSEMBLY OF THE RESULTS OF THIS CONTACT DURING SAID SESSION.

END TEXT.
VANDEN HEUVEL

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

B-6

MJ091

PROJECT 57-0274

EXCISE

November 21, 1980

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Thank you for your letter of November 7, in which you enclose information sent to you by [redacted] and inquire about the recent arrest of nine persons in Chile.

We have contacted our Embassy in Santiago and learned that eight of the nine persons were arrested in a single investigation, and the remaining individual was detained in a separate case. Tapia Bricelo, Munoz Benitez, Garcia Corales, Romario Moya, [redacted] Gomez Ocaranza, Domancic and Perez Rosales were picked up in a National Information Center (CNI) investigation of an alleged Communist splinter group, named the Revolutionary Communist Party. Human rights sources believe that as many as seventeen persons were detained. All but six are now free. The six persons were handed over to the civilian courts and subsequently were indicted for violations of Degree Law 77, which proscribes Marxist activity. No physical mistreatment is alleged. Of the names on [redacted] list, Garcia Corales, Sarraute Peron, Gomez Ocaranza, Domancic and Perez Rosales are presently awaiting the action of the civilian courts.

The ninth individual, Montes Garcia, was accused of participating in several extremist attacks, reportedly detained on September 29, transferred to the courts on October 17 and indicted for violations of the Arms Control and Internal Security Laws.

If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

J. Brian Atwood
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Frank Thompson, Jr.,
House of Representatives.

Clearances: ARA/SC:RServi
ARA/CHP:RKohl
H:JMcBr

Drafted:ARA/SC/CH:PDWhitney
11/20/80 Ext. 22675

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSTATE 296322

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PAGE 01 STATE 296322
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 EUR-12 EA-10 IO-14 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 SY-05 SYE-00 TRSE-00 SIG-03
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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BERN PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PANAMA PRIORITY 0179

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PAGE 02 STATE 296322

[redacted] STATE 296322

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC; ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PINS, ES

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: 9400329

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 8OSTATE 296322

SUBJECT:FORMATION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT BY SALVADORAN LEFT

1. SEVERAL WIRE SERVICES, NOTABLY HAVANA PRELA FROM MEXICO CITY, REPORTED OCTOBER 29 THAT THE SALVADORAN DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT (FDR) HAS ANNOUNCED THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT LED BY THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT(FMLN). THE FMLN WAS FORMED IN EARLY OCTOBER AND APPEARS TO HAVE ASSUMED SOME OF THE COORDINATING FUNCTIONS OF THE UNIFIED REVOLUTIONARY DIRECTORATE (DRU) OF WHICH THE FDR IS A MEMBER. IT IS COMPRISED OF THE FARABUNDO MARTI PEOPLES LIBERATION FORCES (FPL), THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR (PCES), THE PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP), AND THE ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL RESISTENCE (FARN). ACCORDING TO THE FDR, THE FMLN GOVERNMENT "WILL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE LIBERATED NORTHERN ZONE OF EL SALVADOR." OTHER REPORTS SAY THAT THE FMLN GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED FORMAL RECOGNITION FROM "SEVERAL GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE AND THE CARIBBEAN" AND IS REPRESENTED AT THE UN BY A "PERMANENT COMMISSION".

2. THE TRUTH IS THAT THE GUERRILLA FORCES IN EL SALVADOR DO NOT PERMANENTLY CONTROL ANY SALVADORAN TERRITORY,

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 296322

ALTHOUGH UNTIL RECENTLY THEY HAD OPERATED RELATIVELY FREELY IN POCKETS ALONG THE HONDURAN BORDER WHEN BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT NEITHER HONDURAS NOR EL SALVADOR EXERCISED JURISDICTION. WE ARE NOT AWARE THAT THE FMLN HAS BEEN ACCORDED RECOGNITION BY ANY COUNTRY AS EITHER A GOVERNMENT OR A BELLIGERENT. THE FDR HAS NOT NAMED ANY OF THE COUNTRIES ALLEGEDLY RECOGNIZING THE FMLN AND NO COUNTRY HAS SO IDENTIFIED ITSELF. AT THE UN , TUILLERMO UNGO AND OTHER SALVADORAN MEMBERS OF THE FDR FOR A TIME WERE LOBBYING THEIR CAUSE IN THE CORRIDORS, WITH THE HELP OF THE CUBAN AND NICARAGUAN DELEGATIONS, BUT THEY WERE GRANTED NO OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OR STATUS.

3. FOR MEXICO: PLEASE ASCERTAIN THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THIS MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENT.

4. IF THE QUESTIONS OF THE FMLN'S STATUS AS A "GOVERNMENT," CONTROL OF TERRITORY, AND/OR CLAIM TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE U.N. ARISE, ADDRESSEES MAY WISH TO DRAW ON PARA 2 ABOVE IN SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN N005040

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ADP982 [redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 05040 01 OF 02 130009Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 550-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 /118 W
----------117047 130036Z /62

O 122348Z NOV 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2865
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05040

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/12/86
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SHUM, E
[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 05040 01 OF 02 130009Z

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE WORKING PAPER ON
- HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

REF: (A) USUN 4776 (NOTAL), (B) USUN 4789,
- [redacted]USUN 4811 (NOTAL)

[redacted]

2. THE CUBAN WORKING PAPER ON EL SALVADOR, CURRENTLY

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: 9400329

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SUPPORTED BY NICARAGUA AND LIBYA, HAS NOT YET BEEN THE SUBJECT OF BROADER ATTENTION. WE WOULD EXPECT A RESOLUTION ALONG THE LINES OF THAT PROVIDED IN REF C TO SURFACE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, THOUGH NEITHER WE NOR THE SALVADORANS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DISCERN ANY ORGANIZED EFFORT TO BROADEN POTENTIAL SPONSORSHIP. CONSIDERATION MAY COME UNDER UNGA ITEM 12, REPORT OF ECOSOC, SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 27 THROUGH DECEMBER 5, ALTHOUGH IT COULD EMERGE EARLIER IN ANOTHER CONTEXT. THE POSSIBILITY REMAINS THAT NO RESOLUTION WILL BE INTRODUCED, BUT THIS SEEMS UNLIKELY.

3. WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING WITH THE SALVADORAN MISSION PLANS TO COUNTER THE ANTICIPATED ATTEMPT TO GAIN APPROVAL FOR THE HEAVILY-SLANTED RESOLUTION CONTAINED IN THE CUBAN WORKING PAPER. THREE MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD WITH SALVADORAN PERMREP ROSALES AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT LEADER AND SAN SALVADOR MAYOR REY PRENDES. AMB. WEISSMAN, MISOFF STRASSER AND ARA/CEN DIRECTOR BLACKEN (WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE NOVEMBER 7 DISCUSSION) HAVE BEEN PRESSING ROSALES TO ORGANIZE SUPPORT TO CO-SPONSOR EITHER AMENDMENTS TO THE ANTICIPATED RESOLUTION OR A SUBSTITUTE DRAFT, WHICHEVER ALTERNATIVE SHOULD EMERGE AS THE MOST EFFECTIVE COUNTER TO THE [redacted]

PAGE 03 USUN N 05040 01 OF 02 130009Z

CUBAN-LIBYAN-NICARAGUAN EFFORT.

4. ROSALES AND REY PRENDES APPEAR TO LEAN TOWARD FINDING EUROPEAN CO-SPONSORS FOR THIS PURPOSE. THE FORMER AT OUR URGING HAS MET WITH LATIN AMERICAN GROUP CHAIRMAN LIEVANO OF COLOMBIA TO SEEK SOME REGIONAL SUPPORT, WITH DISCOURAGING RESULTS. HE IS NOT SANGUINE ABOUT POSSIBILITIES OF FULL ANDEAN GROUP HELP IN ORGANIZING OPPOSITION, AND DOES NOT BELIEVE VENEZUELA ALONE OR IN CONJUNCTION WITH COSTA RICA, LIKELY CANDIDATES FOR CO-SPONSORSHIP, WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY CONVINCING, GIVEN THEIR STRONG IDENTIFICATION WITH GOES AND USG POLICIES TO DATE. REY PRENDES IS IN MADRID FOR THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS AND WILL ASSESS POSSIBILITIES FOR EUROPEAN SUPPORT. THE SALVADORANS APPEAR TO BELIEVE BELGIUM OR ITALY MIGHT SPEARHEAD THE COUNTER-EFFORT TO THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED ROSALES TO EXPAND HIS CONTACTS ON AN URGENT BASIS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE DESIRABILITY OF REPRESENTATIVE CO-SPONR-SHIP FROM COUNTRIES IN OTHER REGIONS AS WELL.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE MANAGED TO GET ROSALES TO REVIEW THE CUBAN DRAFT WITH A VIEW TO THE MINIMUM AMENDING REQUIRED TO MAKE THE RESOLUTION ACCEPTABLE. ROSALES AND REY PRENDES HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE REALISTIC IN RECOGNIZING THAT A POSITIVE EFFORT,

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ACKNOWLEDGING RESPONSIBILITY ON BOTH EXTREMES FOR THE CURRENT VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS GENERALLY, MIGHT HAVE THE GREATEST APPEAL TO UN MEMBERSHIP NOT ALREADY COMMITTED TO A COURSE OF ACTION.

6. THERE FOLLOWS A DESCRIPTION OF THE CHANGES ROSALES NOW BELIEVES SUFFICIENT TO MAKE THE CUBAN DRAFT ACCEPTABLE:

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN N005040

ADP007 [redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 05040 02 OF 02 130010Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 /118 W
----------117053 130049Z /62

O 122348Z NOV 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2866
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
USINT HAVANA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05040

-- A. PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 ARE UNCHANGED.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 05040 02 OF 02 130010Z

-- B. THE THIRD PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH IS SUBSTITUTED FOR BY THE FOLLOWING: "AWARE THAT VIOLENCE HAS CAUSED THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF PERSONS AND THAT THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IS SUBJECTED TO A CLIMATE OF INSECURITY,"

-- C. THE FOURTH PREAMBULAR PARA IS MAINTAINED, WITH THE FINAL PHRASE, "AND AT THE PROSECUTION OF OTHER PERSONS HOLDING DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS", ELIMINATED.

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-- D. THE FIFTH PREAMBULAR PARA IS DROPPED.

-- E. THE SIXTH PREAMBULAR PARA (WHICH BECOMES THE FIFTH) IS MODIFIED TO READ: "FULLY AWARE THAT VIOLENCE AND LACK OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE TRAGEDY OF THE WAVES OF REFUGEES, WHICH IN THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR ALREADY AMOUNT TO THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE,"

-- F. NEW SIXTH AND SEVENTH PARAS ARE ADDED AS FOLLOWS:

-- (6)"TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT THE CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE IN EL SALVADOR HAS MADE A DRAMATIC CALL FOR A SEARCH FOR PEACE IN SUCH COUNTRY, AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR HAS ANNOUNCED AN AMNESTY PLAN FOR THOSE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE."

-- (7) "RECOGNIZING THAT HONDURAS AND EL SALVADOR ON OCTOBER 30, 1980 SIGNED A PEACE TREATY PROVIDING A FRAMEWORK FOR RESOLVING THEIR DISPUTE, SO CONTRIBUTING TO REGIONAL STABILITY AND COOPERATION,"

-- G. THE FINAL PREAMBULAR PARA IS CHANGED TO READ: "CONSIDERING THAT INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO IMPLEMENTING SOCIAL AND [redacted]

ECONOMIC REFORMS IN EL SALVADOR, WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE TO ACHIEVING PEACE THAT SAID COUNTRY IS IN NEED OF,"

-- H. OPERATIVE PARAS 1 AND 2 ARE UNCHANGED.

-- I. OPEATIVE PARA 3 IS ALTERED TO READ: "CONDEMNS THE MURDERS AND ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM WHICH THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE IS SUBJECTED TO;"

-- J. OPERATIVE PARA 4 IS CHANGED TO: "CALLS ON THE GOVERNMENTS TO PROVIDE APPROPRIATE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO IMPLEMENT THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS IN EL SALVADOR;"

-- K. A NEW OPERATIVE PARA 5 IS INSERTED: "ENCOURAGES ALL THE SECTORS IN EL SALVADOR, INCLUDING THE GOVERNMENT, TO ACCEPT THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE TO MEDIATE IN THE PRESENT CRISIS, AND THROUGH A NATIONAL POLITICAL DIALOGUE FIND THE PEACE IN THAT COUNTRY IN SUCH A MANNER THAT GENERAL DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD IN 1982;"

-- L. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 5 AND 6 OF THE CUBAN DRAFT ARE RETAINED, RENUMBERED AS 6 AND 7.

7. THIS MESSAGE IS BEING SENT AND REF C IS BEING

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REPEATED TO A NUMBER OF POSTS TO ALERT THEM AND TO PROVIDE BACKGROUND IN THE LIKELY EVENT THAT DEMARCHES ON THIS MATTER WILL BE REQUIRED AT A LATER DATE.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN N005097

ADP646 [redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 05097 01 OF 02 142116Z
ACTION ID-15

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06 ADS-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 ACDA-12 RP-10 SR-04 /144 W
----------002730 142220Z /62

O 142108Z NOV 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2955
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05097

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/14/80
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SHUM, ES
[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 05097 01 OF 02 142116Z

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE WORKING PAPER ON
- HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

REF: (A) USUN 05040, (B) USUN 05091

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2. CUBAN DRAFT HAS BEGUN TO GET WIDER ATTENTION IN PAST TWO DAYS. AS NOTED IN REFTEL B, NORWAY IS

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400320

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SHOWING INTEREST, THIS FOLLOWING A VISIT TO ITS PERMREP BY SALVADORAN PERMREP ROSALES. THE LEAD, HOWEVER, NOW SITS WITH IRELAND, WHOSE THIRD COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE, DECLAN O'DONOVAN, HAS PRODUCED A REDRAFT OF THE CUBAN WORKING PAPER, THE TEXT OF WHICH IS PROVIDED IN THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THIS MESSAGE.

3. THE STILL HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY NATURE OF O'DONOVAN'S DRAFT, WHICH REACHED ROSALES LATE NOVEMBER 13, LED HIM TO MEET WITH THE FORMER ON AN URGENT BASIS NOVEMBER 14. (EARLIER, WE HAD PROVIDED ROSALES WITH O'DONOVAN'S NAME AS ONE OF FOUR OR FIVE KEY CONTACTS HE SHOULD MAKE IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE.) O'DONOVAN, ACCOMPANIED BY A MEMBER OF NORWAY'S DELEGATION, WAS SYMPATHETIC TO ROSALES' GENERAL CONCERNS AND ASKED ROSALES TO SUGGEST OTHER LANGUAGE. ROSALES REPORTS THAT O'DONOVAN'S MAIN PROBLEM SEEMED TO BE WITH ANY ATTEMPT TO DROP THE "SUPPLY OF ARMS" QUESTION, REFERRED TO IN PREAMBULAR AND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF BOTH THE CUBAN AND IRISH DRAFTS. O'DONOVAN DID SAY THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SOME KIND OF REVISED TEXT, SEEKING THEREBY TO FORESTALL INTRODUCTION OF THE CUBAN TEXT. (DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF ALL THIRD COMMITTEE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS HAS BEEN SET FOR NOV. 19.)

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PAGE 03 USUN N 05097 01 OF 02 142116Z

4. ROSALES WILL WORK OUT ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE AND PLANS TO MEET WITH O'DONOVAN AGAIN ON NOV. 17. WE WILL ENDEAVOR TO ACQUAINT THE IRISH WITH OUR VIEWS ON THE GENERAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR IN THE MEANTIME.

5. TEXT OF THE IRISH DRAFT RESOLUTION IS AS FOLLOWS:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(1) CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL,

(2) NOTING THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,

(3) DISMAYED BY REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EL SALVADOR AND ESPECIALLY BY THE PERSECUTION OF RELIGIOUS FIGURES,

(4) DEEPLY SHOCKED BY THE VILE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO, A PRESTIGIOUS PERSONALITY, OUTSTANDING FOR HIS DEFENSE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN NO05097

SALVADORAN PEOPLE,

(5) GRAVELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE UNKNOWN FATE OF MANY PERSONS DETAINED BY THE AUTHORITIES,

(6) GRAVELY CONCERNED ALSO BY THE REFUGEE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED IN THE AREA,

(7) CONSIDERING THAT THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO EL SALVADOR

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ADP645 [redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 05097 02 OF 02 142116Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 ACDA-12 RP-10 SR-04 /144 W
----------002751 142220Z /62

O 142108Z NOV 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2856
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05097

WILL SERVE TO AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 05097 02 OF 02 142116Z

(B) NOTING THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES WILL SEND A DELEGATION TO EL SALVADOR IN THE NEAR FUTURE IN ORDER TO MAKE A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS THERE,

1. DEPLORES THE MURDERS, DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTED IN EL SALVADOR,

2. URGES THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN N008097

NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND IN PARTICULAR, TO ENSURE THE PROTECTION OF RELIGIOUS PERSONALITIES.

3. CALLS ON GOVERNMENTS TO REFRAIN FROM THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO EL SALVADOR IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. REQUESTS THE COMMISION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO REVIEW AT ITS 37TH SESSION ALL INFORMATION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR AND TO CONSIDER WHAT ACTION MAY BE REQUIRED.
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PAGE NO 5
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSTATE 305362

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PAGE 01 STATE 305362
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 H-02 HA-06 DCS-06 /030 R

----------006517 151808Z /41

O 151742Z NOV 80
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 305362

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS:PINS, SHUM, ES

SUBJECT:REPORTED ARREST OF ANTONIO HANDAL

1. SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY HAS CONTACTED THE DEPARTMENT ON BEHALF OF SEVERAL CONSTITUENTS CONCERNED ABOUT THE WELFARE AND WHEREABOUTS OF SALVADORAN CITIZEN ANTONIO HANDAL. ACCORDING TO VARIOUS INCOMPLETE REPORTS, HANDAL WAS ARRESTED NOVEMBER 11 OR EARLY ON THE MORNING OF NOVEMBER 12 BY NATIONAL GUARDSMEN IN AN ART GALLERY IN WESTERN SAN SALVADOR. THE ARREST REPORTEDLY WAS WITNESSED BY HANDAL'S COLLEAGUES AND MEMBERS OF THE PRESS.

2. HANDAL IS SAID TO BE THE PRESIDENT OF THE ARCHITECTS COLLEGE, A PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION. HIS ASSOCIATES HAVE REPORTED THAT THE SALVADORAN AUTHORITIES HAVE DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF HIS DETENTION OR WHEREABOUTS. KENNEDY'S OFFICE UNDERSTANDS THAT HANDAL IS THE BROTHER OF FARID HANDAL, A MEMBER OF THE FDR WHO RESIDES IN MEXICO CITY.

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PAGE 02 STATE 305362

3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE EMBASSY LOOKING INTO THIS REPORT AND PROVIDING WHATEVER INFORMATION MAY BE AVAILABLE AS WELL AS EMBASSY'S GUIDANCE ON HOW BEST TO RESPOND TO SENATOR KENNEDY. MUSKIE

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400320

Department of State **TELEGRAI**

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AN: D000549-09

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 07994 01 OF 02 1701472
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 DCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 CIAE-00
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 CONE-00 OCS-06
CA-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 IO-14 /091 W
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O R 170100Z NOV 00
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1163
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 7994

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/16/96
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (U) VIOLENCE WEEK IN REVIEW: NOVEMBER 8 - 14

(C) SUMMARY: THIS WEEK WAS MARKED BY A LEVEL OF VIOLENCE SIMILAR TO LAST WEEK. AT LEAST 202 PEOPLE WERE KILLED DURING THE WEEK, AMONG THEM THE LEADER OF A LARGE DEMOCRATIC LABOR UNION, FELIPE ZALDIVAR. ALSO DURING THE WEEK GUERRILLAS SUCCEEDED INDXFXDONG SEVERAL POLICE BY LANDING A GRENADE IN THEIR TRUCK, WERE ABLE TO TAKE OVER AT LEAST ONE TOWN AND SEVERAL RADIO STATIONS FOR SHORT PERIODS AND, ACCORDING TO BISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS, KILLED AT LEAST ELEVEN PEOPLE IN ONE TOWN IN RETRIBUTION FOR THE KILLING OF SEVERAL GUERILLAS BY THE NATIONAL GUARD. RIGHTIST KILLERS

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 07994 01 OF 02 1701472

WERE ALSO ACTIVE: THE BODIES OF TWELVE VICTIMS OF THE DEATH

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SQUADRON WERE FOUND NEAR THE ROAD BETWEEN SAN SALVADOR AND SANTA ANA. A CLOSE EMBASSY CONTACT TOLS US THAT RIGHTIST ARE INTENT ON KILLING JRG MEMBER MAJANO AND ONE OR MORE JESUIT PRIE END SUMMARY

(U) DEATHS: AT LEAST 202 PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN EL SALVADOR DURI THE WEEK NOVEMBER 8-14. WE ARE NOT AWARE WHO KILLED 134 OF THES PEOPLE OR FOR WHAT REASON--IF ANY. WE DO KNOW THAT TWENTY-SEVEN WERE KILLED BY THE MILITARY, TWENTY-ONE BY LEFTIST GUERRILLAS, AND TWENTY BY RIGHTIST TERRORISTS.

INCIDENTS:
-- ON 11/8 ONE MEMBER OF THE POLICE WAS KILLED WHEN GUERRILLAS ATTACKED THE ANTEL (THE TELEPHONE COMPANY) OFFICES IN SAN VICEN
-- ON OR ABOUT 11/8 A GROUP OF FIVE GUERRILLAS RANGING IN AGE F FOURTEEN TO TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD TOOK OVER SONSONATE RADIO STATION YSTN IN ORDER TO PLAY A TAPE INVITING THE LISTERS TO REVOLT.
-- ON OR ABOUT 11/8 A BOMB WAS EXPLODED BY THE GUALAMA BRIDGE NEAR CHAPELTIQUE (SAN VICENTE).
-- ON OR ABOUT 11/8 A GROUP OF ABOUT TWENTY GUERRILLAS ATTACKED A BUS NEAR JUTIAPA (CABANAS); FOUR NATIONAL GUARDSMEN RIDING IN THE BUS SURPRISED THE GUERRILLAS AND KILLED ONE S THEM.
-- ON OR ABOUT 11/9 FPL (POPULAR LIBERATION FORCES) MEMBERS DYNAMITED A LOCOMOTIVE NEAR EL PAISNAL (SAN SALVADOR).
--ON OR ABOUT 11/9 SOLDIERS ATTACKED A GUERRILLA ENCAMPMENT NEA CANTON SAN JOSE, TEJUTLA (CHALATENANGO) KILLING TWO OF THE GUERRILLAS.
--ON OR ABOUT 11/9 IN TECOLUCA (SAN VICENTE) ONE NATIONAL GUAR MAN WAS INJURED WHEN A GROUP OF GUARDSMEN PROTECTING ELECTRICAL WORKERS WAS ATTACKED BY GUERRILLAS.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 07994 01 OF 02 1701472

U-- ON 11/10 A GROUP OF ARMED MEN STOPPED A BUS AND ROBBED THE PASSENGERS NEAR APOPA (SAN SALVADOR).
--ON 17/11 NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS DISCOVERED A GUERRILLA CEL AND A LARGE QUANTITY OF BOMBS, ROCKETS, GRENADES, AND MUNITIONS IN A SAN SALVADOR HOUSE WHICH WAS DISGUISED AS AN ART GALLERY.
--ON 11/11 FPL MEMBERS ENTERED THE OFFICES OF THE MAJOR OF SAC ACOYO (LA LIBERTAD) AND, ON NOT FINDING THE MAYOR, OPTED TO KID NAP HIS EIGHTEEN YEAR OLD ASSISTANT.
-- ON 11/11 NATIONAL GUARDSMEN WERE REPORTED TO HAVE CAPTURED ANTONIO HANDAL, THE BROTHER OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SAL

[redacted]

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VADORAN COMMUNIST PARTY. THE NATIONAL GUARD HAS DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF HANDAL'S CAPTURE.
-- ON 11/12 GUERRILLAS USED BUSES TO BLOCK THE ENTRANCES TO THE TOWN OF APOPA (SAN SALVADOR) AND THEN PROCEEDED TO DISRUPT THE TOWN BY FIRING INTO THE AIR AND INCITING THE POPULATION TO JOIN THE REVOLUTON. THEY WERE DRIVEN OFF AFTER TWO HOURS.
-- ON 11/12 GUERRILLAS FORCED THE ANNOUNCER OF A RADIO STATION LOCATED BETWEEN APOPA AND GUAZAPA (SAN SALVADOR) TO PLAY AN INSURRECTIONIST MESSAGE.
-- ON 11/13 IN SAN SALVADOR A POLICE TRUCK WAS HIT BY A GRENADE WHICH CAUSED THE DRIVER TO LOSE CONTROL AND THE VEHICLE TO PLUNGE OFF AN EMBANKMENT; INITIAL NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS INDICATED THAT A BAZOOKA WAS USED (NOT SO) AND THAT THREE POLICE DIED AND NINE WERE INJURED BUT MORE RECENT REPORTS CITE A FIGURE OF TEN DEAD AND FIFTEEN WOUNDED; THE FARN (ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE) CLAIMED RESPONSBILITY FOR THE ATTACK.

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 7994

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSS

-- ON 11/13 GUERRILLAS SET FIRE TO FOUR BUSES IN DIFFERENT AREAS OF SAN SALVADOR.
-- ON 11/13 THE JUSTICE OF THE PEACE FOR TONACETEPEQUE AND HIS SECRETARY WERE FOUND DEAD ON A ROAD NEAR LA LIBERTAD.
-- ON OR ABOUT 11/13 A GROU OF GUERRILLAS ATTACKED AN ELECTRICAL INSTALLATION NEAR SAN JUAN OPICO (LA LIBERTAD)
-- ON OR ABOUT 11/13 A CONFRONTATI
JBETWEEM SOLDIERS AND GUERRILLAS NEAR CANTON LA HERRADURA (LA PAZ) LEFT SIX SOLDIERS DEAD AND TWO INJURED.
-- ON OR ABOUT 11/13 ONE GUERRILLA WAS KILLED IN AN ATTACK AGAINST TROOPS PATROLING THE SANTA LEONOR SECTION OF SANTA ANA.
-- ON 11/13 TWO MEN ON FOOT ASSASSINATED FELIPE ZALDIVAR, THE [redacted]

VERY PROMINENT AND RESPECTED SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE FESINCONSTRANS LABOR UNION AND LEADER OF THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC UNION.

[redacted]

[redacted]

-- ON 11/14 A BOMB WAS EXPLODED AT ONE OF THE OUTLETS OF A SAN SALVADOR FRIEN CHICKEN CHAIN.
-- ACCORDING TO MONSIGNOR RIVERA Y DAMAS, ON 11/14 A GROUP OF GUERRILLAS ENTERED THE TOWN OF SAN ESTEBAN CATARINA (SAN VICENTE), KIDNAPPED A GROUP OF FARMERS AND KILLED THEM; THIS, HE SAID, WAS IN RETRIBUTION FOR THE KILLING EARLIER IN THE WEEK OF SEVERAL GUERRILLAS BY THE NATIONAL GUARD.

RETROSPECTIVE: LEFTIST NEWSPAPER AND REVOLUTIONARY BULLETIN BOARD 'EPENBNDEPENDENTE' FOR NOVEMBER 11 PUBLISHED AN FMLN (FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT) TRACT IN WHICH THE ORGANIZATION REITERATES ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE KILLING OF INTERNATIONAL FAIR MANAGER MANUEL RIVAS AND FAIR PARTICIPANT GERARDO CASTRO. THE STATEMENT EXPLAINED CASTRO'S ASSASSINATION. IT CLAIMED THAT THE SECURITY AROUND CASTRO AND HIS BUSINESS WAS MADE UP OF "FORMER SOMOZA GUARDSMENUMO RIGHTIST MEMBERS OF THE DEATH SQUADRON WHO WERE CONNECTED TO THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE NATIONAL POLICE."

PROSPECTIVE: POLOFF WAS TOLD BY A FREQUENT EMBASSY CONTACT THAT HE HAS HEARD THAT RIGHTIST ARE INTENT ON KILLING JRG MEMBER COL. MAJANO AND AT LEAST ONE JESUIT IN THE NEAR FUTURE, POSSIBLY NEXT WEEK. OUR SOURCE WAS RELUCTANT TO SAY HOW HE HAD STUMBLED ONTO THIS INFORMATION, SAYING THAT HE PREFERRED TO CONFIRM THE STORY BEFORE OING INTO MORE DETAIL. THIS INFORMATION MAY BE NOTHING MORE THAN A REPETITION OF A PUBLIC RUMOR--THAT ARE FEW PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ARE NOT AWARE THAT THE RIGHT WOULD LIKE TO DO IN MAJANO AND THE JESUITS, AMONG OTHERS.

WEEKEMD UPDATE: APART FROM A ROUTINE BOMB EXPLOSION DURING THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 16 NO SIGNIFICANT ACTS OF VIOLENCE HAVE COME [redacted]

TO OUR ATTENTION AS OF 5:00 P.M. ON NOVEMBER 16.
DION

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DECONTROL

PAGE 01 USUN N 05204 01 OF 03 190224Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3109
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USINT HAVANA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 05204

MADRID FOR JEROME SHESTACK

E.O. 12065:N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, UNGA, CI
SUBJECT:HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION ON CHILE, 35TH UNGA

REF: USUN 5154 (NOTAL)

1. (LOU) MEXICO NOW HAS TABLED A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE UNDER ITEM 12 IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE. WE UNDERSTAND THE MEXICANS WERE CLOSETED WITH THE CUBANS AND THE YOGOSLAVS PRIOR TO SUBMISSION OF THE DRAFT. DUTCH RESOLUTION ON CHILE (REFTEL) WHICH WAS NEVER SUBMITTED WILL NOT REPEAT NOT BE SUBMITTED.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF THE MEXICANS DRAFT RESOLUTION:

BEGIN TEXT.
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PAGE 02 USUN N 05204 01 OF 03 190224Z

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NOTING THAT GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06010 10 OF 10 011522Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10
LAB-04 NSAE-00 STR-09 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 CSCE-04
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8478

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~L SECTION 10 OF 10 SANTIAGO 6010

A CHILE ITEM APPEARS EACH YEAR ON THE AGENDA OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE 1979 GENERAL ASSEMBLY PASSED A RESOLUTION EXPRESSING "PARTICULAR CONCERN THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE FAILED TO TAKE AND URGE EFFECTIVE MEASURES, AS REQUESTED IN ITS RESOLUTION 33/175, TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS REPORTED TO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS," AND URGING THE AUTHORITIES OF CHILE TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES IT HAS UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS. IN FEBRUARY THIS YEAR, THE COMMISSION ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHILE, AS WELL AS THE FATE OF NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAD DISAPPEARED, AND RENEWED THE RAPPORTEUR'S MANDATE FOR AN ADDITIONAL YEAR. THE COMMISSION REQUESTED SPECIFICALLY THAT HIS SUBMISSION CONTAIN A REPORT ON THE DISAPPEARED.

THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION ALSO MAINTAINS A WATCHING BRIEF ON THE CHILEAN SITUATION. THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN OCTOBER 1979 ADOPTED A RESOLUTION BASED ON THE COMMISSION'S 1979 REPORT NOTING THAT "THERE REMAIN IN CHILE SERIOUS LIMITATIONS ON THE EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS" AND URGED THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE "TO
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06010 10 OF 10 011522Z

INTENSIFY ITS ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MEASURES NECESSARY EFFECTIVELY TO PRESERVE AND ENSURE THE FULL EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE." IN LATE 1978 THE ICRC REDUCED ITS CHILEAN PRESENCE TO ONE LOCAL EMPLOYEE

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 31/124, 32/118, 33/175 AND 34/179 ON THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AND 33/173 ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS,

RECALLING ALSO RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, WHICH, INTER ALIA, DECIDED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE,

DEPLORING THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY REFUSED TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

NOTING IN THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT A/35/522, THAT THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS FURTHER DETERIORATED IN THE LAST PERIOD WITH A DEFINITE INCREASE OF THE TENDENCIES REFERRED TO IN THE PREVIOUS REPORT;

ALARMED AT THE FACT THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE PRETENDED TO LEGITIMIZE THIS SITUATION THROUGH A "PLEBISCITE" HELD WITHOUT LIFTING THE "STATE OF EMERGENCY", AND WITHOUT MEETING THE MOST ELEMENTAL CONDITIONS AND GUARANTEES INHERENT IN A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS;

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PAGE 03 USUN N 05204 01 OF 03 190224Z

NOTING THAT THROUGH THIS DEVICE, A "CONSTITUTION" DRAFTED WITHOUT POPULAR PARTICIPATION IS PRETENDED TO HAVE BEEN ADOPTED, THOUGH AT THE SAME IT WAS SUSPENDED FOR AT LEAST EIGHT YEARS, THUS PREVENTING THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE TO BE RESTORED;

DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE SAID "CONSTITUTION", IF APPLIED, WOULD GIVE THE HIGHEST RANK AND A PERMANENT CHARACTER TO THE PRESENT BODY OF LEGISLATION WHICH, BY DEFINITION, VIOLATES THE CIVIL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE;
NOTING WITH INCREASING CONCERN THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO IGNORE THE REPEATED APPEAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REFLECTED IN THE VARIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANS AND HAVE FAILED TO TAKE URGENT AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED,

1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR HIS REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 21 (XXXVI) OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION;

2. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION TO STUDY THOROUGHLY THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTUER;

3. REITERATES ITS INDIGNATION AT THE CONTINUED VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AND CONCLUDES THAT IT SHOULD CONTINUE TO EXERCISE VIGILANCE WITH REGARD TO THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT COUNTRY;

4. EXPRESSES ALSO ITS GRAVE CONCERN THAT THERE HAS BEEN A FURTHER DETERIORATION, IN PARTICULAR CONCERNING:

- (I) THE INCREASE IN THE ARBITRARY POWERS OF SECURITY
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PAGE 04 USUN N 05204 01 OF 03 190224Z

- AGENCIES,

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05204 02 OF 03 190147Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3110
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USINT HAVANA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 05204

MADRID FOR JEROME SHESTACK

- (II) FURTHER CASES OF TORTURE, ILL-TREATMENT AND
- UNEXPLAINED DEATHS,

- (III) FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION,

- (IV) TRADE UNION RIGHTS,

- (V) THE PRINCIPLE OF PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE OF ACCUSED PERSONS,

- (VI) THE ABUSE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE;

- (VII) INSTITUTIONAL NEGATION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS;

- (VIII) SUBVERSION OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM AND ITS INSTITUTIONS;

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PAGE 02 USUN N 05204 02 OF 03 190147Z

- (IX) REPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH;

- (X) REPRESSION OF ACADEMIC LIFE IN GENERAL.

5. URGES AGAIN THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND IN PARTICULAR:

- (A) TO CEASE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, UNDER WHICH CONTINUED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS OCCUR AND TO RESTORE THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS TRADITIONALLY ENJOYED BY THE CHILEAN PEOPLE,

- (B) TO ENSURE AN IMMEDIATE END TO TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT AND TO PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH PRACTICES,
- (C) TO RESTORE FULLY THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, AND OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION,

- (D) TO RESTORE FULLY TRADE UNION RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY THE FREEDOM TO FORM TRADE UNIONS WITH THE CAPACITY TO OPERATE FREELY WITHOUT GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND TO EXERCISE FULLY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE,
- (E) TO ALLOW THEIR CITIZENS FREELY TO ENTER AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY, AND TO RESTORE CHILEAN NATIONALITY TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF IT FOR POLITICAL REASONS,

- (F) TO RESTORE FULLY THE RIGHT OF AMPARO (HABEAS

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PAGE 03 USUN N 05204 02 OF 03 190147Z

- CORPUS).

- (G) TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS, IN PARTICULAR THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION,

- (H) TO ADOPT MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE ENJOYMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS BY THE POPULATION AT LARGE;

- (I) TO ALLOW THE EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF ALL POLITICAL RIGHTS OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE IN ORDER TO PROMOTE DEMOCRATIC LIFE AND RESTORE THE GENUINE LEGAL SYSTEM.

6. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN FOR THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED SINCE SEPTEMBER 1973, WHICH CONTINUES TO BE A GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLANTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS;

7. URGES ONCE MORE THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO INFORM RELATIVES OF THE OUTCOME, AND TO INSTITUTE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEARANCES;

8. INVITES THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONTINUE TO GIVE CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION IN CHILE AND, TO THIS END, TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARAGRAPH 6 OF RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

9. URGES FURTHER THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON MISSING AND DISAPPEARED PERSONS.
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PAGE 04 USUN N 05204 02 OF 03 190147Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05204 03 OF 03 190147Z
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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3111
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USINT HAVANA

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MADRID FOR JEROME SHESTACK

10. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO REPORT ON THE SUBJECT, THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION.

END TEXT.
VANDEN HEUVEL

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11/20/80

file as attachment to TAB memo

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Chile Project (#S19900030) DEPARTMENT OF STATE
U.S. Department of State Washington, D.C. 20520
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____
November 20, 1980

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MEMORANDUM

DECONTROL

TO: ARA - Samuel D. Eaton

FROM: ARA/SC - Robert E. Service

SUBJECT: Chilean Military Requests for Assistance

REFERENCE: (A) Oct. 17 and Nov. 13 memos from ARA/SC to L
(B) Santiago DAO cable No. 723, Oct. 1980

FYI, we have two requests for assistance from the Chilean military which may come under the aegis of the 1976 Kennedy Amendment.

The most urgent one concerns the Chilean Air Force petition for data on the winter operations of C-130 aircraft which "should be incorporated in the pilot's manual and maintenance technical orders." In a separate but related request, the Chilean Air Force requests that we send two pilots and two mechanics to consult directly with them to help clarify some questions they have with the use of ski equipped C-130's. All costs for such a visit would be covered by the Chilean Air Force.

The other request is from the Assistant Naval Attache at the Chilean Embassy in Washington for the United States Navy Clothing and Textile Research Facility (NCTRF) in Natick, Massachusetts, to send a representative to Chile on an "advisory visit" to help the Chilean Navy with clothing and textile problems they have.

We favor going ahead with providing the manual information. On the visits we can foresee possible problems. However, they do not involve U.S.G. expenditures so we could go along with them if they are not contrary to the law. On October 17 and November 13

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we sent memos to L/ARA on this subject. The action on the memos was shifted to L/PM, and we are awaiting a response. The C-130 request is particularly urgent in the Embassy's view.

Attachments:
The references.

cc: L/ARA - Michael Kozak
L/PM - Ted Borek
Ambassador Landau

Drafted:ARA/SC/CH:PDWhitney:ms
11/20/80 Ext. 22575

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05254 200230Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06 HA-06
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USINT HAVANA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 05254

MADRID FOR JEROME SHESTACK

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/19/86 (MOOSE, G.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, UNGA, CI
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS ON CHILE

REFS: A) USUN 5204; B) USUN 5154 C) SHAFT/MOOSE TELCON OF 11/19 D) SANTIAGO 7177

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AS INDICATED REF A, MEXICAN DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS CIRCULATED NOV. 19 IN THIRD COMMITTEE (A/C.3/35/L.61) ALSO CO-SPONSORED BY ALGERIA, CUBA, MOZAMBIQUE, NICARAGUA, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, VIETNAM AND YUGOSLAVIA. DUTCH NOW INFORM US OF THEIR INTENTION TO TABLE THEIR DRAFT RESOLUTION (REF B) DESPITE APPEARANCE OF MEXICAN DRAFT. FOLLOWING INDICATION FROM THE DEPARTMENT (REF C) OF INTEREST IN SUPPORTING THE DUTCH DRAFT IF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 3 (CONCERNING CONTINUED MANDATE OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR) COULD BE AMENDED TO DELETE WORDS "UNTIL SUCH STEPS
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PAGE 02 USUN N 05254 200230Z

HAVE INDEED BEEN TAKEN," MISOFF CONTACTED DUTCH COLLEAGUE WHO SAID HE WOULD MAKE AN EFFORT TO DELETE THE WORDS ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE.

3. USUN HAS POUCHED SPANISH TEXT (ENGLISH WAS ONLY ISSUED TODAY) OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT TO AMEMBASSY

SANTIAGO AND DEPARTMENT. UNFORTUNATELY THE PROCEDURAL PROBLEM NOTED IN REF D OF THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE EACH YEAR BETWEEN ISSUANCE OF THE REPORT AND INTRODUCTION OF A RESOLUTION COMMENTING ON IT IS A PERENNIAL ONE IN THE UN WHICH GOES WELL BEYOND THE CHILE ITEM.
MCHENRY

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA008117

ADP888

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08117 201829Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 SY-05 SYE-00 PM-07 NSC-05
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8117

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/20/86
TAGS: SHUM PINT PINS ES
SUBJ: [redacted] ONE MORE ATROCITY

[redacted]

2. ON NOVEMBER 20 LABOR ATTACHE'S CONVERSATION WITH PDC CONTACT WAS INTERRUPTED BY THE ARRIVAL OF LOCAL OFFICIALS FROM SAN LORENZO, DEPARTMENT OF AHUACHAPAN. THE OFFICIALS DESCRIBED THEIR VILLAGE AS THE MOST SECURE TOWN IN EL SALVADOR. "THERE IS NO SUBVERSION IN THE AREA," THEY SAID. NEVERTHELESS DURING THE PRESENT WEEK THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE HACIENDA POLICE HAVE KILLED SEVEN INDIVIDUALS IN THE TOWN. THE OFFICIALS STATED THAT THE MOTIVE FOR THE KILLINGS MUST HAVE BEEN PERSONAL, AND THAT TWO OF THE DEAD, A FATHER AND DAUGHTER, WERE APPARENTLY MURDERED BECAUSE THEY HAD WITNESSED SOME OF THE OTHER KILLINGS.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08117 201829Z

3. COMMENT: KILLINGS CARRIED OUT BY THE SECURITY CORPS HAVE BECOME MORE OPEN AND MORE FREQUENT DURING THE PAST TWO MONTHS. THE SITUATION IS NOW REACHING THE POINT WHERE THE SECURITY CORPS WILL SOON DISPLACE THE ARMED LEFTISTS AS THE PRIMARY THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF THE JRG.

[redacted]

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: SP400328

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PAGE 01 STATE 309615
ORIGIN IO-15

INFO OCT-00 ARA-12 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-06 SSO-00 NSCE-00
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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APPROVED BY IO:WEHEWITT
HA:RCOHEN
ARA/AND:PWHITNEY

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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 309615

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/21/86 (HEWITT, WARREN E.)

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: AGENDA ITEM 12,
- DUTCH DRAFT RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

REF: (A) USUN 5254, (B) SANTIAGO 7177, (C) USUN 5154

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. USDEL SHOULD INFORM DUTCH AND THEIR CO-SPONSORS OF DRAFT RESOLUTION TRANSMITTED REF (C) ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE THAT U.S. EXPECTS TO BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THEIR RESOLUTION BUT THAT WE RECOMMEND CHANGES BELOW IN PARAGRAPHS 3 AND 7. WE WILL ALSO MAKE A STATEMENT
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PAGE 02 STATE 309615

EXPLAINING OUR VOTE WHICH WILL BE PROVIDED FROM THE DEPT.

3. CHANGE IN PARAGRAPH 3 IS TO DELETE FINAL PHRASE "UNTIL SUCH STEPS HAVE INDEED BEEN TAKEN." AS NOTED IN REF (B), THE IMPLICATION OF PRESENT PARAGRAPH 3 IS THAT THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR SHOULD CONTINUE UNTIL STEPS ARE

TAKEN WHICH, IN THEIR TOTALITY, WOULD FULLY RESTORE DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND INSTITUTIONS IN CHILE. THE CONTINUED NEED FOR A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR CHILE IS OPEN TO QUESTION; IT IS UNREASONABLE TO PROJECT HIS CONTINUATION INTO THE INDEFINITE FUTURE. IT IS NOT UNREASONABLE,

HOWEVER, TO CONCLUDE THAT CONTINUED VIGILANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE IS WARRANTED, SO LONG AS NO UNREALISTIC CONDITIONSLAID DOWN FOR ENDING THE VIGILANCE.

4. PRESENT PARAGRAPH 7 REQUESTS THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO EXTEND THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S MANDATE FOR ANOTHER YEAR. AS IN THE PAST SUCH AN UNGA REQUEST AT THIS TIME MAY BE VIEWED BY SOME COUNTRIES AS PRE-EMPTING A DECISION PROPERLY MADE BY THE UNHRC WHEN IT CONSIDERS THE RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT NEXT MARCH. USDEL SHOULD REQUEST DUTCH TO AMEND PARAGRAPH 7 TO READ "TO CONSIDER EXTENDING" THE RAPPORTEUR'S MANDATE FOR ANOTHER YEAR. MUSKIE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN NO05316

ADP814 [redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 05316 01 OF 02 220002Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
SPRS-02 HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /120 W
----------054595 220040Z /62

O 212358Z NOV 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3267
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
USINT HAVANA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05316

E.O.12065: GDS 11/21/86
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: CUBAN RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR
[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 05316 01 OF 02 220002Z

REF: A) USUN 5250, B) USUN 4811

1. (U) CUBAN RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR, MODIFIED FROM TEXT CONTAINED REF B, WAS TABLED LATE NOV 20 AND APPEARED IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE NOV 21 AS DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.3/35/L.71. DRAFT IS COSPONSORED BY ANGOLA, DEMOCRATIC YEMEN, IRAQ, MOZAMBIQUE, NICARAGUA AND SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, IN ADDITION TO CUBA.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032R

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM USUSUN NY005316

2. [redacted] FOLLOWING APPEARANCE OF CUBAN DRAFT, AMB. WEISSMAN SPOKE TO IRISH DELOFF O'DONOVAN CONCERNING HIS VIEW OF THE SITUATION. O'DONOVAN SAID THAT NOW THAT CUBANS HAD TABLED AND GIVEN FAILURE TO FIND LATIN CO-SPONSOR FOR IRISH DRAFT (VENEZUELANS, ECUADORANS AND FINALLY COSTA RICANS HAD ALL TURNED DOWN COSPONSORSHIP ON BASIS OF TRADITIONAL POSITION OF OPPOSITION TO COUNTRY-SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS RE SISTER REPUBLICS), HE DID NOT NOW INTEND TO PURSUE HIS DRAFT. HE ALSO SAID HE HAD BEEN ASKED BY THE CUBANS TO COSPONSOR THEIR DRAFT AND HAD TURNED THEM DOWN, SAYING THAT HE WOULD NOT WANT IRELAND TO APPEAR AMONG SUCH AN UNDISTINGUISHED LIST OF COSPONSORS. HE SPECULATED THAT AS THE CUBAN DRAFT RESOLUTION NOW STOOD, IT WOULD DRAW A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF ABSTENTIONS. THIS IS EVEN MORE LIKELY, HE SAID, GIVEN APPARENT POSITION OF UNGO AND COMPANY AGAINST ACCEPTING SIGNIFICANT AMENDMENTS TO THE TEXT IN THEIR LATEST TALKS, SUGGESTING THAT MEANINGFUL, CONSTRUCTIVE AMENDMENTS WILL NOT BE WELCOMED BY CURRENT CO-SPONSORS.

3. [redacted] IF THIS IS FIRM IRISH POSITION, IT APPEARS IMPROBABLE THAT A SECOND DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL BE TABLED DURING FEW REMAINING HOURS BEFORE COB NOV. 21 DEADLINE

[redacted]

PAGE 03 USUN N 05316 01 OF 02 220002Z

FOR THAT TO OCCUR. ONLY POSSIBILITY OF WHICH WE ARE AWARE IS BASED UPON INSTRUCTION SALVADORAN PERMREP ROSALES RECEIVED NIGHT OF NOV 20 FROM FM CHAVEZ MENA'S PARTY IN WASHINGTON TO APPROACH NICARAGUAN PERMREP HERE AS FOLLOW-UP TO REPORTED NOV 20 CONVERSATION BETWEEN CHAVEZ MENA AND HIS NICARAGUAN COUNTERPART, D'ESCOTO. ACCORDING TO ROSALES, D'ESCOTO HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER CO-SPONSOR ING IRISH DRAFT, PRESUMABLY WITHDRAWING FROM ITS CURRENT CO-SPONSORSHIP OF THE CUBAN VERSION. ROSALES REPORTED THAT HE WAS TOLD NICARAGUANS MIGHT EVEN BE WILLING TO PRESENT IRISH DRAFT AS THEIR OWN.

4. [redacted] ROSALES IS MOST SKEPTICAL (A VIEW WE TEND TO SHARE) THAT HE WILL EITHER FIND TINOCO WITH INSTRUCTIONS ON THE MATTER, OR THAT WHAT NICARAGUANS MIGHT BE WILLING TO DO WOULD NOW SERVE EL SALVADOR'S BEST INTERESTS. IT MAY WELL BE THAT WORKING TO LIMIT SUPPORT TO THE CURRENTLY POORLY CO-SPONSORED CUBAN DRAFT WILL PROVE TO BE THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION REMAINING.

5. (U) THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF CUBAN DRAFT RESOLUTION L.71:

BEGIN TEXT:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE CHARTER OF THE

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UNITED NATIONS AND UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL,

NOTING THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 8OUSUN N005316

ADP817

[redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 05316 02 OF 02 220004Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
SPRS-02 TRSE-00 AID-07 HA-06 /120 W
----------054608 220040Z /62

O 222358Z NOV 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3268
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
USINT HAVANA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05316

INSTRUMENTS,

BEARING IN MIND RESOLUTION 19 OF JULY 30, 1980, OF THE

[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 05316 02 OF 02 220004Z

WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN
WHICH CALLS ON THIS BODY TO "CONSIDER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN
RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR AND TO ADOPT MEASURES THAT WILL
QUICKLY LEAD TO THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND
FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN THAT COUNTRY",

DISMAYED BY REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EL
SALVADOR AND ESPECIALLY BY THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF
PERSONS AND THE CLIMATE OF REPRESSION AND INSECURITY

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PREVAILING IN THE COUNTRY,

DEEPLY SHOCKED BY THE VILE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO, A PRESTIGIOUS PERSONALITY, OUTSTANDING FOR HIS DEFENCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE, AND BY THE PERSECUTION OF RELIGIOUS FIGURES, AND OTHER PROMINENT PERSONS,

GRAVELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE UNKNOWN FATE OF MANY PERSONS DETAINED BY THE AUTHORITIES,

CONSIDERING THAT THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR WILL SERVE TO AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY,

1. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN FOR THE GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN EL SALVADOR,

2. DEPLORES THE MURDERS, DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTED IN EL SALVADOR,

3. DEMANDS THE SALVADOREAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN THAT COUNTRY,

[redacted]

PAGE 03 USUN N 05316 02 OF 02 2200042

4. CALLS ON GOVERNMENTS TO REFRAIN FROM THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES,

5. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXAMINE THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR AT ITS 37TH SESSION AND TO SUBMIT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AT ITS 36TH SESSION, ITS CONSIDERATION ON THIS SUBJECT.

END TEXT.
MCHENRY

[redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA006155

ADP581
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06155 212147Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 PM-07 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 /074 W
----------053708 212200Z /12

P R 212100Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1253
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6155

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/20/86
TAGS [redacted]SHUM PINS PINT ES
SUBJ: [redacted] AFTER THE OPERATION IN MORAZAN

[redacted]

2. SUMMARY. ON NOVEMBER 20 THREE ALCALDES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF MORAZAN TALKED ABOUT THE AFTERMATH OF THE MILITARY OPERATION IN THEIR DEPARTMENT. ONE STATED THAT HIS "MUNICIPALIDAD" HAD FEW SECURITY PROBLEMS BEFORE THE OPERATION AND THAT THE SITUATION REMAINS UNCHANGED. THE OTHER TWO CLAIMED THAT THEIR AREAS NOW HAVE MORE SECURITY PROBLEMS THAN THEY DID BEFORE THE OPERATION. END SUMMARY.

3. ON NOVEMBER 20 THREE ALCALDES FROM MORAZAN WHO WERE VISITING SAN SALVADOR TALKED WITH LABOR ATTACHE ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE MILITARY OPERATION AGAINST GUERRILLAS IN THEIR DEPARTMENT. (A "MUNICIPALIDAD" IS ROUGHLY COMPARA-
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06155 212147Z

BLE TO A COUNTY AND ITS "ALCALDE" IS ITS CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER.) THE ALCALDE OF CHILANGA (CENTRAL MORAZAN JUST NORTH OF THE DEPARTMENT'S CAPITAL CITY) SAID THAT HIS AREA HAD HAD FEW SECURITY PROBLEMS BEFORE THE OPERATION BECAUSE OF ITS PROXIMITY TO THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO GOTERA AND THE TROOPS STATIONED THERE. CHILANGA, HE ADDED, CONTINUES TO HAVE FEW PROBLEMS.

4. CORINTO IS LOCATED IN EAST-CENTRAL MORAZAN. ITS

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032R

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ALCALDE STATED THAT CORINTO'S SECURITY PROBLEMS ARE GREATER THAN BEFORE BECAUSE THE OPERATION ADDED TO THE HATREDS" IN THE AREA AND THE ARMY LEFT NO TROOPS THERE TO DEAL WITH THE GUERRILLAS' INCREASED ANTAGONISM. ASKED WHETHER THE ARMY HAD CAPTURED ANY GUERRILLAS, HE SAID HE HAD HEARD THAT IT CAUGHT "A FEW WOMEN." THERE WERE NO CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE GUERRILLAS IN HIS AREA, HE ADDED. THE ALCALDE SAID HE HAD GOOD INFORMATION THAT AFTER ESCAPING FROM THE ARMY THE GUERRILLAS HAD PICKED UP LARGER CALIBER WEAPONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LA UNION AND HAD THEN RETURNED. SOON AFTER THE ARMY LEFT SEVERAL SERIOUS GUERRILLA ATTACKS OCCURRED IN THE AREA. THE ALCALDE COMPLAINED THAT THE NATIONAL GUARD IN CORINTO DID NOT PROTECT THE PEOPLE BUT RATHER CONSUMED THEIR SCARCE RESOURCES.

5. THE ALCALDE OF SAN ISIDRO (WEST-CENTRAL MORAZAN) STATED THAT THE GUERRILLA THREAT HAS INCREASED SINCE THE MILITARY OPERATION. HE HAD HEARD THAT THE ARMY HAD CAPTURED "12 TO 20" GUERRILLAS IN HIS AREA, BUT NO CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE GUERRILLAS HAD OCCURRED NEAR SAN ISIDRO. HE DESCRIBED THE MILITARY'S OPERATION DEPRECATINGLY AS "THE ARMY'S VISIT."

[redacted]

6. THE ALCALDES AGREED THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION WOULD NOT IMPROVE UNTIL THE ARMY STATIONED TROOPS PERMANENTLY IN THEIR AREA.

7. CONUSMILGP COMMENT:
A) IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE MILITARY TO STATION TROOPS IN EVERY AREA. PLANNING IS NOW IN PROGRESS TO DETERMINE CRITICAL AREA, TO PROTECT THEM, AND TO DETERMINE LOCATION OF RESERVE/REACTION FORCES.
B) THE KEY TO SUCCESSFUL OPERATIONS IN THESE MOUNTAINOUS AREAS WITH FEW ROADS IS AN AIR MOBILE CAPABILITY. THE CURRENT ASSETS OF THE GOES MILITARY DO NOT PROVIDE THIS CAPACITY, SINCE THEIR FEW HELICOPTERS CANNOT SUPPORT THEIR TOTAL REQUIREMENTS.
C) NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE BASE AND TRAINING CAMPS WHICH WERE CAPTURED OR WEAPONS AND MATERIALS PICKED UP BY THE MILITARY. THIS OPERATION AS A WHOLE CERTAINLY HAD DELETERIOUS EFFECTS ON THE GUERRILLA CAPABILITIES WITHIN THE AREA, BUT IT MANIFESTLY DID NOT DESTROY ALL THE GUERRILLA INFRASTRUCTURE OR ORGANIZATION.

8. DATT COMMENT: THE REMARKS MADE BY THE "ALCALDES" ARE PROBABLY TRUE. THE MAIN MORAZAN OPERATION TOOK PLACE NORTH OF THE RIVER TOROLA AND WEST OF THE PERQUIN-MEANGUERA ROAD (CA-7). THE TOWNS CITED IN THE REPORT ABOVE ARE NOT IN THAT SECTOR. THE SECOND PHASE OF THE OPERATION

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA0008198

WAS TO SWEEP EAST THROUGH CORINTO. THE GUERRILLAS, HOWEVER, WERE ABLE TO ESCAPE PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE ARMED FORCES IN THAT AREA. ALTHOUGH TROOPS WERE LEFT BEHIND TO PREVENT THE RETURN OF THE INSURGENTS, THE LACK OF PERSONNEL AND TRANSPORTATION WOULD MAKE SUCH A TASK HIGHLY DIFFICULT TO ACCOMPLISH.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM @OSAN SA007670

ADP@18
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 07670 032203Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 DCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 PM-07
HA-06 CIAE-00 H-01 ICAE-00 INR-10 INRE-00 L-03
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 PA-01 SPRS-02 TRSE-00 SP-02 SS-15
AID-07 A-02 OC-06 CCO-00 FBOE-00 DHS-01 OPR-02
PLE-00 OCS-06 USSS-00 CA-01 ANAE-00 /096 W
----------039648 032310Z /65

O 032210Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 103
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF PRIORITY
DIA WASHDC PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 7670

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/3/86
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: (U) ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AGAINST COL. MAJANO

[redacted]

2. THIS MORNING (11/3) AT ABOUT 9:15 A VERY POWERFUL BOMB (OF SUFFICIENT STRENGTH TO BLOW OUT WINDOWS AT THE HOUSE OCCUPIED BY THE EMBASSY'S MARINE SECURITY GUARDS LOCATED ABOUT A QUARTER OF A MILE FROM THE BLAST) WENT OFF IN FRONT OF THE INSTITUTO SALVADORENO DE TRANSFORMACION AGRARIA (ISTA) SECONDS BEFORE JUNTA MEMBER MAJANO'S VEHICLE AND SECURITY FOLLOW-ON CAR WERE TO PASS FROM WHERE MAJANO LIVES.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 07670 032303Z

3. THE BOMB, WHICH HAD BEEN PLACED UNDER AN AUTOMOBILE ACROSS FROM ISTA, SHATTERED PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE WINDOWS OF THAT GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION, WHICH IS HOUSED IN TWO FOUR-STORY BUILDINGS AND SEVERAL SMALLER ONES IN A COMPOUND. IN SPITE OF THE EXPLOSION --AND IN SPITE OF THE BOMB'S HAVING BLOWN THE CAR UNDER WHICH IT SAT ONTO THE ROAD SOME DISTANCE FROM THE EXPLOSION--COL. MAJANO'S CAR WAS ABLE TO PROCEED AND TO MAKE A GETAWAY. HIS SECURITY FOLLOW-ON CAR, HOWEVER, STOPPED JUST

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Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400329

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AHEAD OF WHERE THE EXPLOSION HAD TAKEN PLACE AND THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF GUNFIRE WITH ARMED MEN IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY WHO, ACCORDING TO ONE OBSERVER, APPEARED TO BE IN THE AREA TO AMBUSH COL. MAJANO SHOULD THE BOMB ATTEMPT NOT CAUSE HIS DEATH.

4.ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE, BUT HIS HAS NOT BEEN CONFIRMED, ONE OF THE ANTI-MAJANO GUNMEN WAS CAPTURED BY MAJANO'S SECURITY GUARD AS WELL AS THREE UNARMED PEOPLE WHO MAY HAVE BEEN MERELY BYSTANDERS.

5. AMAZINGLY, GIVEN THE DAMAGE DONE TO ISTA BUILDINGS, THERE WERE NO DEATHS BUT 17 PEOPLE WERE TAKEN TO A HOSPITAL BECAUSE OF INJURIES. A PREGNANT WOMAN WHO WAS VISITING AN ISTA OFFICE NEAREST THE ROAD WAS PUT INTO SHOCK AND LATER MISCARRIED.

6. IN A SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT COL. MAJANO BLAMED THE ATTEMPT ON THOSE SAME PEOPLE WHO HAVE "MADE ATTEMPTS AGAINST THE CHURCH AND OTHER SECTORS OF THE NATION WHO DESIRE ITS PROGRESS." MAJANO RETURNED LATER IN THE MORNING TO ISTA HEADQUARTERS TO TALK PERSONALLY WITH ISTA HEAD RODOLFO VIERA AND MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF. WHITE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM #OSAN SA007853

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 07853 01 OF 02 100445Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
1CAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 PA-02
SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 HA-06 /071 W
----------091547 100506Z /12

O R 0923592 NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1075
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 7853

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: (U) VIOLENCE WEEK IN REVIEW: NOBEMBER 1-7

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSS

SUMMARY: THE FIRST WEEK IN NOVEMBER WAS ANOTHER WEEK OF WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR. ONE MEMBER OF THE JRG, COL. MAJANO, WAS VERY NEARLY KILLED BY A POWERFUL CAR BOMB. THE INCIDENT IS INDICATIVE OF THE NATURE OF THE VIDLENCE IN THIS COUNTRY-- SOME CLAIM THAT THE RIGHT WAS TRYING TO GET MAJANO, OTHERS SAY NOT SO; IT WAS THE LEFT TRYING TO GET DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA, AND AT LEAST ONE IVENTIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT SAYS THAT MAJANO PROBABLY SET THE BOMB HIMSELF IN ORDER TO GET BACK INTO THE NEWS-PAPERS. IN ANY EVENT, MAJANO WAS SPARED BY THE BOMB, BUT AT LEAST 222 PEOPLE WERE NOT AS LUCKY THIS WEEK. AMONG THE VICTIMS
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 07853 01 OF 02 100445Z

WERE THE MANAGER OF THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR AND ANOTHER BUSINESSMAN, BOTHASSASSINATED BY LEFTISTS WHO ARE ADAMANT THAT THE FAIR WILL NOT GO ON. THIS WEEK GUERILLAS ALSO ENGAGED IN THE SACKING OF TOWNS. AN ATTACK AGAINST A MILITARY GARRISON IN SANTA ANA, AND, TO CULMINATE THE WEEK, A SERIES OF ACTIONS AGAINST MILITARY GARRISON IN SANTA ANA, AND, TO CULMINATE THE WEEK, A SERIES OF ACTIONS AGAINST MILITARY AND OTHER GOVERNMENT INSTALLATIONS IN AND AROUND SAN SALVADOR DURING THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 7. ON THE OTHER SIDE, RIGHTISTS ONCE AGAIN ATTACKED A CHRUCH BUILDING,
PAGE NO.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400329

THIS TIME BLOWING UP THE PARISH HOUSE OF A GROUP OF BELGIAN PRIESTS.
FINALLY, THERE ARE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS OF A BRUTAL ACTION BY THE
MILITARY IN A POOR SECTION OF SAN SALVADOR: ABOUT FIFTY PEOPLE,
MOSTLY YOUNG, WERE SUPPOSEDLY ROUNDED UP BY THE MILITARY IN
IN AMZYEPEC, AND THEIR BODIES ARE REPORTEDLY NOW BING FOUND IN
GROUPS IN DIFFERENT AREAS.
DEATHS: THERE WERE AT LEAST 222 VICTIMS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE
IN EL SALVADOR DURING THE WEEK NOVEMBER 1-7. OF THESE VICTIMS
AT LEAST THIRTY-TWO WERE KILLED BY LEFTISTS, FIVE BY THE MILITARY
AND FIVE BY RIGHTIST TERRORISTS.
INCIDENTS: --ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER REPORTS, ON 1/1 A CLASH
BETEEEN SOLDIERS AND GUERILLAS IN THE AMATEPEC SECTION OF SOYAPANGO
(SAN SALVADOR) RESULTED IN THREE DEATHS AND AN UNDETERMINED
NUMBER OF INJURIES. (COMMENT: A SOURCE CLOSE TO THE EMBASSY
SAID THAT HIS INFORMATION WAS THAT SEVERAL TRUCKLOADS OF SOLDIERS
ARRIVED IN THE AREA AND BEGAN A HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCH. HE CLAIMED
THAT ABOUT FIFTY PEOPLE WERE TAKEN AWAY AND THAT AT LEAST TEN
OF THOSE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN FOUND DEAD. THIS VERSION OF EVENTS
MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRUE; EMBASSY WILL ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE WHETHER
IT IS ACCURATE. END COMMENT.)
--ON 11/2 A BOMB EXPLODED IN A GAS DISTRIBUTORSHIP IN SAN MIGUEL
BUT CAUSED MINIMAL DAMAGE.
--ON 11/3 A VERY POWERFUL BOMB EXPLODED NEAR THE ISTA (SALVADORAN
INSTUTE FOR AGARIAN REFORM) HEADQUARTERS IN SAN SALVADOR JUST
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 07853 01 OF 02 100445Z

AS JRG MEMBER COL. MAJANO AND HIS GUARD FORCE WERE PASSING THE
AREA. DETAILS OF THE INCIDENT ARE STILL MURKY; IT IS NOT CERTAIN
WHO OR WHAT ORGANIZATION PLACED THE BOMB, HOW MANY PEOPLE, IF
ANY, DIED IN THE INCIDENT, OR EVEN IF THE BLAS WAS DIRECTED AT
COL. MAJANO.
--ON 11/3 THE MANAGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR, MANUEL RIVAS
RODRIGUEZ, WAS ASSASSINATED IN SAN SALVADOR BY A GRROUP WHICH
INCLUDED TWO WOMAN. RIVAS' WIFE IS REPORTED TO HAVE DIED LATER
FROM WOUNDS SUFFERED IN THE INCIDENT. THE POPULAR LIBERATION
FORCES (FPL) CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ASSASSINATION.
--ON 11/3 THE TOWN OF NEJAPA (SAN SALVADOR) WAS OCCUPIED BY
A GROUP OF GUERRILLAS WHO BURNED THE ANTEL BUILDING AND SACKED
SEVERAL STORES WHILE SHOUTING REVEDUTIONARY SLOGANS AND THREATENING
TO CARRY OUT PUBLIC EXECUTIONS. (COMMENT: NEWSPAPER REPORTS
CLAIMED OVER 200 GUERILLAS PARTICIPATED IN THIS ACTION BUT AN
EMBASSY SOURCE WHO TRAVELLED TO NEJAPA TOLD US THAT RESIDENTS
SPOKE IN TERMS OF THIRTY TO FITY. END COMMENT)
--ON 11/3 SEVERAL SAN SALVADOR RADIO STATIONS WERE TAKEN OVER
BY MEMBERS OF LEFTIST GROUPS (ORU, FDR, AND FMLN) WHO USED THE
OPPORTUNITY TO BROADCAST MESSAGE SEVERELY CRITICAL OF THE GOES.
--ON 11/3 APPROXIMATELY TWENTY-FIVE ARMED MEN ENTERED THE TOWN
OF SAN BARTOLOME PERULAPIA (CUSCATLAN), KILLED ONE MAN IN HIS
HOUSE, WENT ON TO KILL A WOMAN WHOSE HUSBAND THEY COULD NOT FIND,
AND ENDED BY BLOWING UP THE HOUSE OF THE DEAD WOMAN'S MOTHER.
--ON OR ABOUT 11/3 GUERILLAS AMBUSHED A MILITARY PATRO ON THE
ROAD TO CERRON GRANDE (CABAHAS) KILLING TWO SOLDIERS AND WOUNDING

TWO OTHERS.
--ON OR ABOUT 11/3 A MILITARY PATROL WAS AMBUSHED NEAR TECOLUCA (SAN VICENTE).

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ADP884
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 07853 02 OF 02 100657Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 PA-02
SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /065 W
----------091993 100611Z /12
O R 092359Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1076
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 7853

--ON 11/4 A CLASH OCCURED BETWEEN SOLDIERS AND A LARGE GROUP OF GUERILLAS ON THE COAST HIGHWAY NEAR LA UNION. THE GUERILLAS WERE REPORTEDLY ASSAULTING PASSING VEHCILES BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE MILITARY.
--ON 11/4 THE HARDEES RESTAURANT IN SAN SALVADOR WAS SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY A BOMB EXPLOSION.
KLWAAON12/4HEHE BETANAHHSCHOOL IN FSN
D TECLA (SAN SALVADOR) WAS
DAMAGED BY A BOMB EXPLOSION.
--ON 11/4 A SAN SALVADOR BRANCH OF AHORROMENT, A SAVINGS AND LOAN ENTTERPRISE, WAS SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY A BOMB EXPLOSION.
--ON 11/4 SIX RESIDENTS OF CANTON HUIZILTEPEQUE NEAR SAN PEDRO PERULAPAN (CUSCATLAN) WERE ASSASSINATED AND TWO OTHERS INJURED BY A GROUP OF ABOUT FIFTY GUERILLAS. THREE WOMEN WERE REPORTED TO HAVE FORMED PART OF THE GROUP.
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 07853 02 OF 02 100657Z

--ON 11/5 GUERRILLAS USED GRENADE LAUNCHERS TO ATTACK THE SECOND INFANTRY BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS IN SANTA ANA. NEWSPAPER REPORT INDICATED THAT ONE GRENADE MISSED ITS TARGET AND LANDED ON A HOUSE WHERE IT KILLED ONE CHILD. TWO GUERILLAS WERE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED IN A COLLISION BETWEEN THEIR VEHICLE AND A MILITARY TRUCK. A TOTAL OF FIVE PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND TWENTY-FIVE INJURED.
--ON 11/5 THREE GUERILLAS WERE KILLED BY SOLDIERS WHO ENTERED AND DESTROYED THEIR ENCAMPMENT NEAR CAN TON EL JOCOTE (LA LIBERTAD).
PAGE NO. 4

--ON 11/5 A BOMB EXPLOSION DID SERIOUS DAMAGE TO A PARRISH HOUSE COOUPIED BY BELGIAN PRIESTS IN TH ZACAMIL SECION OF MAJICANOS (SAN SALVADOR)
--ON 11/5 MEMBERS OF THE LP-28 (POPULAR LEAGUES OF 28 FEBRUARY) TOOK OVER A RADIO STATION IN CANTON COMECAYO (SANTA ANA) IN ORDER TO BROADCAST AN ANTI-GOES MESSAGE.
--ON 11/5 A FOURTEEN YEAR OLD MEMBER OF FARN (ARMED FORCES NF NATIONAL RESISTANCE) WAS REPORTED TO HAVE TURNED HIMSELF IN THE NATIONAL GUARD IN BERLIN (USULUTAN) AND INFORMED THE AUTHORITIES OF THHE LOCATION OF GUERILLA CELLS IN THE AREA.
--ON 11/5 FOUR GUERRILLAS STOPPED AND BURNED A TRUCK BELONGING TO A CIGARRETTE DISTRIBUTOR IN SOYAPANGO (SAN SALVADOR).
--ON 11/5 A BOMB EXPLOSION DESTROYED THE MUEBLES IMPERIO STORE IN SAN SALVADOR.
--ON 11/5 A BOMB EXPLOSION DESTROYED PART OF A GOVERNMENT BUILDING IN USULUTAN.
(C) --ON 11/6 THE OWNER OF MUEBLES IMPERIO, GERARDO CASTRO LINARES, WAS ASSASSINATED AND TWO RELATIVES INJURED AS THE THREE DROVE ALONG A SAN SALVADOR STREET. (COMMENT: WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE ASSASSINATION OF CASTRO AS WELL AS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS BUSINESS WERE CARRIED OUT BECAUSE OF HIS REFUSAL TO END HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR. END COMMENT.)
--ON 11/6 A TRUCK TRANSPORTING GASOLINE WAS STOPPED AND FIRE BOMBED BY APPROXIMATELY TWENTY GUERRILLAS ON THE ROAD NEAR
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 07853 02 OF 02 100557Z

IZALCO (SONSONATE).
--ON 11/6 THREE EXPLOSIONS NEAR THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE GENERAL STAFF IN SAN SALVADOR PROVOKED AN INTENSE FIREFIGHT.
--ON 11/6 A GUN BATTLE BETWEEN POLICE AND A GROUP WHICH TRIED TO ROB A SAN SALVADOR STORE ENDED IN THE DEATHS OF TWO PEOPLE AND INJURIES TO SIC OTHERSN
--ON 11/6 TWENTY YOUGHFUL LEFTIST MILITANTS TURNED TEHMSELVES IN TO THE SONSONATE MILITARY GARRISON. THE GROUP MEMBERS CLAIMED TO BE FROM NAHUIZALCO (SONSONATE) AND TO HAVE RECEIVED TRAINGIN NEAR SANTA ANA.
--ON 11/7 GUERRILLAS CARRIED OUT A SERIES OF ACTIONS IN AND AROUND SAN SALVADOR. THESE ACTIONS INCLUDED A BAZOOKA ATTACK AGAINST THE 1ST BRIGADE "SAN CARLOS" GARRISON, SEVERAL ASSAULTS ON POLICE STATIONS, AND BOMBINGS OF ELECTRICITY AND TELEPHONE LINES. GUNFIRE WAS WIDESPREAD AND INTENSE. AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF PEOPLE WERE KILLED DURING THE VIOLENT EVENING. THE FOLLOWING DAY THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONG (FMLN) CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ACTIONS. (COMMEND: AN EMBASSY OFFICER WITNESSED ON ACTION AGAINST A TELEPHONE INSTALLATION. EMBOFF WAS FORCED TO STOP BY A CAR WHICH STOPPED SUDDENLY IN FRON OF HIS OWN. ONE OCCUPANT OF THE CAR STEPPED OUT AND POINTED A GUN AT EMBOFF; A SECOND OCCUPANT PLACED A BOMB BY THE TARGET TELEPHONE EQUIPMENT; BOTH THEN GOT BACK INTO THE CAR AND FLED. EMBOFF'S GETAWAY WAS MADE DIFFUCULT BY A SECOND GROUP OF GUERILLAS WHO HAD BLOCKED THE STREET WITH A BUS AND WERE IN THE PROCESS OF SHOOTING OUT THE BUS' TIRES. DESPITE THE OBSTRUCTION EMBOFF

WAS ABLE TO MAKE A SAFE ESCAPE END COMMENT.
--ON 11/7 DR. EFRAIN JOVEL, THE LEGAL ADVISOR TO THE GREEN CORSS AND A FORMER JUVENILE COURT JUDGE, WAS ASSASSINATED IN HIS CAR IN SAN SALVADOR. A SIGN ACCUSING JOVEL OF BEING AN ENEMY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND SIGNED BY THE FPL (POPULAR LIBERATION FORCES) WAS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN FOUND AT THE SCENE.
--ON 11/7 NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THAT SEVERAL BODIES HAD BEEN FOUND IN THE SAN MIGUEL AREA ALONG WITH A A"CURIOUS" SIGN, THE SIG WAS REPORTED TO READ: "WITH RONALD REAGAN ALL OF THE GUERILLAS AND UNBEHAVED IN EL SALVADOR WILL BE ELIMINATED.
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PAGE 04 SAN SA 07853 02 OF 02 100557Z

GOOD NIGHT."
WEEKEND VIOLENCE. NO SIGNIFICENT WEEKEND VIOLENCE HAS COME TO THE ATTENTION OF THE EMBASSY AS THIS IS SENT SUNDAY AFTERNOON 1/9. SECURITY AT THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AN ANNOUZIRD TARGET OF THE LEFT, HAS BEEN EXTREMELY TIGHT BEGINNING SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE ITS 11/7 OPENING. ATTENDANCE AT THE FAIR HAS BEEN GOOD.
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(1329)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM &OMEXICO017178

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 17178 052333Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 ARA-12 /060 W
----------056631 052337Z /70

O 052316Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9123
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PN

[redacted] MEXICO 17178

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/05/86 (
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SHUM, ES, MX
SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE WORKING PAPER ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

REF: USUN 4811

[redacted]

2. DURING COURSE OF CALL ON OTHER BUSINESS ON UNDER-SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS MANUEL TELLO, NOVEMBER 4, WE NOTED THAT HE WAS PERUSING BRIEFING PAPER ON CURRENTLY OPERATIVE MEXICAN-SALVADORAN AGREEMENTS. GIVEN TELLO'S SUPERVISION OF MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, HIS REVIEW OF CURRENT AGREEMENTS MAY HAVE BEEN PROMPTED BY UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE WORKING PAPER ON EL SALVADOR (REFTEL).

3. WHILE REFTEL DRAFT TEXT APPEARS TO CALL ONLY FOR ABSTENTION FROM MILITARY ASSISTANCE, ANY UN RESOLUTION EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY ASSOCIATING JRG WITH VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COULD PLACE GOM IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION WITH REGARD TO EXECUTION OF MEXICAN-VENEZUELAN

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 17178 052333Z

OIL FACILITIES ARRANGEMENT AND OTHER COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS (E.G., CURRENT TRAINING OF TWO SALVADORAN OFFICERS AND A MILITARY NURSE IN MEXICAN MILITARY SCHOOLS.)

4. GIVEN DESIRABILITY OF MAINTAINING EXISTING JRG-GOM LINKS, IT APPEARS TO US ESSENTIAL THAT CUBAN DRAFT ON EL SALVADOR BE PROCEDURALLY OR SUBSTANTIVELY DEFEATED.
(DRAFTED: JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S9400329

DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

11/24/80 Chile
ML054
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

DECONTROL

November 24, 1980

This Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ___ Excise ___ Deny ___
Declassify: In Part ___ In Full ___
Exemption(s) ___

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MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA/SC - Mr. Robert E. Service

FROM: L/PM - Ted A. Borek TAB

SUBJECT: Chilean Military Requests for Assistance

Your memoranda on the above subject have been referred to this office for reply. For the reasons outlined below, it is our opinion that a favorable U.S. Government response to the two Chilean requests in question would be precluded by section 406 of the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976 (P.L. 94-329). For convenience of analysis, each request is treated separately.

Technical Assistance Relating to C-130 Aircraft

The Chileans have requested us to provide USAF technical information concerning winter operation and maintenance of C-130 military transport aircraft in their inventory. Such information constitutes a "defense service" within the meaning of section 47(4) of the Arms Export Control Act (the AECA), and hence may not be furnished by the U.S. Government on a reimbursable basis under the foreign military sales (FMS) program in light of section 406(a)(2) of P.L. 94-329, which precludes the making of any new FMS sales to Chile. This prohibition obtains regardless of whether the sales in question are financed by the U.S. Government under FMS, or from Chile's own resources. We are unaware of any other authority under which the requested information could lawfully be furnished to Chile on either a reimbursable or grant basis. (Grants of defense articles and services under the military assistance program (MAP) authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the FAA), are prohibited insofar as Chile is concerned by section 406(a)(1) of P.L. 94-329 and, in any case, would require express statutory authorization.)

While it might (depending on the facts) be possible to bring the provision of the requested information within the scope of some FMS case concluded prior to the enactment of P.L. 94-329, and hence not affected by the limitations of section

406(a)(2), the Administration's cancellation of all existing FMA "pipeline" cases for Chile presumably removes this is an avenue for a favorable response to the Chilean request.

It should be noted that the foregoing applies regardless of the manner in which the information is furnished, that is, whether by the provision of technical manuals or other publications, or directly by USAF personnel.

C-130 aircraft are available through commercial as well as FMS channels. Inasmuch as they constitute defense articles on the U.S. Munitions List, their commercial export from the United States requires prior licensing from the Department's Office of Munitions Control (PM/MC). Unclassified information that "can be used, or be adapted for use in the . . . operation [or] maintenance" of Munitions List defense articles constitutes a "defense service" the commercial export of which also requires prior licensing. ("Export" in this context includes disclosure of Munitions List information to a foreign national within the United States.) In either case, section 406(a)(2) of P.L. 94-329 prohibits the issuance of any license for the export of Munitions List defense articles or services to or for Chile.

Although section 125.11(a)(7) of the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (the ITAR) exempts from the licensing requirement exports of unclassified technical information which consists of "operations, maintenance, and training manuals, and aids relating to [Munitions List] equipment, the export of which has been authorized to the same recipient", section 126.01 of the ITAR provides that such exemption does not apply with respect to countries to which such exports would "not be in furtherance of world peace and the security and foreign policy of the United States." The latter proviso would include those countries to or for which Munitions List exports are prohibited by statute. This exemption-from-an-exemption does not apply, however, where the information sought to be exported falls within either of two catefories:

(1) If it is in published form and subject to public dissemination by being:

(i) Sold at newsstands and bookstores;

(ii) Available by subscription or purchase without restrictions to any person or available without cost to any person;

(iii) Granted second class mailing privileges by the U.S. Government; or

(iv) Freely available at public libraries.

(2) If it has been approved for public release by any U.S. Government department or agency having authority to classify information or material under Executive Order 11652, as amended, and other applicable Executive Orders, and does not disclose the details of design, production, or manufacture of any arms, ammunition, or implements of war on the U.S. Munitions List.

These categories encompass, essentially, information that would be generally and freely available to the public, either through dissemination by non-governmental sources or from the U.S. Government (including information the release of which may be required under the Freedom of Information Act, as amended.) In the former case, the "published form and subject to public dissemination" exemption has been construed narrowly to exclude technical information and other data made available by the manufacturer of a defense article for sale only to purchasers of that defense article. In any event, there is a strong possibility that information of the type requested by the Chileans is proprietary either to the manufacturer (Lockheed) or to the Department of Defense, and hence would not fall within either of the two categories above. In short, it is possible, but not probable, that the needed information is available sources not subject to the limitations of section 406(a)(2) of P.L. 94-329.

"Advisory Visits" to Chile by NCTRF Personnel

The provision of technical advice regarding naval uniforms and their manufacture by representatives of the Navy Clothing and Textile Research Facility would also represent a "defense service" which may be furnished to a foreign country only on a MAP or FMS basis. (I assume from Cdr. Sewell's letter, in which he speaks of reimbursement for services provided, that NCTRF is contemplating an FMS transaction. As with the C-130 problem, we know of no other legal authority for the provision of such services.) Accordingly, section 406(a)(2) of P.L. 94-329 would again operate to prevent a favorable response to the Chilean request.

Uniforms per se are not, as a rule, Munitions List articles (although military life support systems could be, under certain circumstances) and as such section 406 of P.L. 94-329 would not preclude related technical assistance being furnished to Chile from U.S. commercial sources.

I would note in this regard that both the FAA and the AECA define "training" (as a "defense service") quite broadly so as to include "formal or informal instruction . . . by . . . orientation, and military advice to foreign military units and forces". The courtesies already extended to Chilean military representatives by NCTRF arguably fall within this definition, and we would advise that caution be taken in the future to ensure that all activities viz a viz the Chilean military are clearly consistent with the limitations imposed by section 406 of P.L. 94-329.

Please let me know if you have any comments or questions concerning the foregoing.

Drafted by:
L/PM:TABorek:jd
11/26/80:x20321

Concurrence:
L/PM - Mr. Cummings

cc: L/ARA - Mr. Kozak
PM/SAS - Mr. Cox

RELEASED

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08228 2803422
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SPRS-02 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-15 /086 W
----------097189 2803592 /63

R 251930Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1288
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 8228

E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: SHUM PINS ES
SUBJ: FARN ACTIVITIES

1. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED A COMPILATION OF "WAR BULLETINS" NOS. 1-44 ISSUED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE (FARN) AND COVERING THE PERIOD JAN 1 THROUGH OCT 26, 1980. THE DOCUMENT DESCRIBES ABOUT 200 INCIDENTS INITIATED BY FARN AND CLAIMS THAT FARN KILLED OVER 1100 INDIVIDUALS DURING THE FIRST TEN MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

2. THE LATTER STATISTIC IS UNDOUBTEDLY AN EXAGGERATION, BUT ONE COMPONENT OF ITS RINGS TRUE. FARN CLAIMS CREDIT FOR MORE THAN SIXTY EXECUTIONS OF "ORDEN MEMBERS" AND "INFORMERS".

3. ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF THE ALMOST 200 INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE AUG 1. BROKEN DOWN BY DEPARTMENT, THE TOTAL SHOWS A
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08228 2803422

CONCENTRATION OF ACTIVITY (ESPECIALLY DURING AUGUST, SEPTEMBER, AND OCTOBER) IN AND AROUND THE COUNTRY'S TWO LARGEST CITIES: SAN SALVADOR (72 INCIDENTS); SANTA ANA (46); MORAZAN (18); CUSCATLAN (16); AND ALL OTHER DEPARTMENTS, LESS THAN TEN INCIDENTS EACH.
WHITE

UNCLASSIFIED
United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032R

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07314 262105Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 DCT-02 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 IO-14 TRSE-00 /101 W
----------089481 262350Z /67

P 262029Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8994

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 7314

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY ROUNDUP

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release Y Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC RELEGATES 12 MORE PEOPLE; AGITATION CONTINUES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE'S MACUL CAMPUS; A YEAR-END PARDON WILL MEAN FREEDOM FOR 700 PERSONS PRESENTLY IN JAIL, BUT WILL NOT AFFECT THOSE CONVICTED OF VIOLATIONS OF THE ARMS CONTROL OR INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS; THE JUDGE IN CHARGE OF THE UNION TRADING COMPANY TAX FRAUD (IVA) CASE DECLARES THAT HE LACKS JURISDICTION TO PROCEED. END SUMMARY.

2. AN OFFICIAL GOC COMMUNIQUE OF NOVEMBER 25 ANNOUNCED TWELVE NEW CASES OF INTERNAL EXILE. THE TWELVE INVOLVED WERE PART OF A GROUP OF 31 PEOPLE ARRESTED IN CURICO AND MOLINA IN EARLY NOVEMBER BY SECURITY FORCES AND CHARGED WITH BEING MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. SEVEN WERE EXILED EARLIER WITH THE REMAINING 24 RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY BY THE COURT OF APPEALS IN TALCA. POSSIBLY IRRITATED BY THE LACK OF ACTION ON THE PART OF THE CIVILIAN COURT, THE GOC DECIDED TO USE ITS EXECUTIVE POWERS TO BANISH ANOTHER TWELVE. AN INTERESTING DIFFERENCE IN THIS MOST RECENT CASE IS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ALMOST
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07314 262105Z

THREE YEARS SOME OF THOSE AFFECTED WERE SENT TO REMOTE LOCATIONS AT RELATIVELY HIGH ALTITUDE NEAR THE BOLIVIAN BORDER.

3. THE WATERS REMAINED TROUBLED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE'S MACUL CAMPUS, WHICH HAS A HISTORY OF LEFTIST AGITATION. TROUBLES GOING BACK TO JULY HAVE RESULTED IN SEVERAL PERSONS BEING SUSPENDED OR EXPELLED.

RECENTLY, CONTINUED STUDENT EFFERVESCENCE, CENTERED IN THE SCHOOLS OF "HUMAN SCIENCES" AND PHILOSOPHY AND LETTERS, RESULTED IN A FURTHER NINE EXPULSIONS AND 40 SUSPENSIONS. STUDENTS PROMPTLY BEGANS A HUNGER STRIKE AND TRIED TO ORGANIZE A GENERAL CLASSROOM BOYCOTT. IN A MOVE TO LOWER TEMPERATURES, THE SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY DECIDED TO END CLASSES FOR THE YEAR AS OF LAST WEEK, ONE WEEK EARLIER THAN SCHEDULED. STUDENTS WILL STILL HAVE TO TAKE SEMESTER EXAMS IN EARLY DECEMBER.

4. AS A GESTURE IN HONOR OF THE 11TH NATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS, THE GOC PUBLISHED A DECREE COMMUTING OR REDUCING BY A PERIOD OF UP TO ONE YEAR THE PRISON SENTENCES OF SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED, INTER ALIA, THOSE CONVICTED OF VIOLATIONS OF THE ARMS CONTROL OR INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS. SOME 1700 PERSONS REPORTEDLY WILL HAVE THEIR SENTENCES REDUCED BY ONE YEAR, WHILE ANOTHER 700, WITH LESS THAN ONE YEAR REMAINING TO BE SERVED, WILL BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.

5. THE SPECIAL MAGISTRATE APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE THE UNION TRADING CO. TAX FRAUD CASE RECENTLY DECLARED HIMSELF INCOMPETENT TO HANDLE THE CASE. THE REPORTED REASON IS A TECHNICAL ONE: ONE OF THE DEFENDENTS IS ALREADY THE SUBJECT OF AN UNRELATED LEGAL PROCEEDING IN ANOTHER COURT IN SANTIAGO WHICH, ALLEGEDLY, TAKES
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07314 262105Z

PRECEDENCE OVER THE UNION TRADING CASE. THE ACTION BY THE MAGISTRATE IS LIEKWY TO PROLONG EVEN FURTHER THE SLOW-MOVING CHILEAN LEGAL PROCESS. THE PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT THE UNION TRADING CASE IS THE BIGGEST CASE OF TAX FRAUD IN CHILEAN HISTORY, PERHAPS AMOUNTING TO TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. ONE OF THE ALLEGED "BIG FISH" IN THE TAX FRAUD CASE, PRESENTLY IN JAIL AWAITING TRIAL, IS AN ASSOCIATE OF RETIRED GENERAL MANUEL CONTRERAS, EX-HEAD OF THE DIN-, AND IS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN A DINA AGENT AT ONE TIME. THIS RELATIONSHIP HAS SPAWNED PUBLIC SPECULATION THAT CONTRERAS HIMSELF IS SOMEHOW INVOLVED IN THE AFFAIR.
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PAGE 01 USUN N 05396 01 OF 02 260013Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 /120 W
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O 260010Z NOV 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3394
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05396

MADRID PLEASE PASS TO JEROME SHESTACK

E.O.12065: GDS 11/25/86 (SPERO, J.E.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, OCON, UNGA
SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA - THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12, ECOSOC REPORT CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS IN BOLIVIA, CHILE, CUBA, EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THE STATE OF PLAY OF THIRD COMMITTEE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS
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PAGE 02 USUN N 05396 01 OF 02 260013Z

ON THE FIVE COUNTRIES WHICH IN RECENT DAYS HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF ATTENTION FOLLOWS, AS WELL AS USUN'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER ACTION:

A. BOLIVIA: AS REPORTED USUN 5365, BOLIVIA IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE GROUP ON WHICH MORE THAN ONE RESOLUTION

HAS BEEN TABLED. THE WATERED-DOWN DUTCH/SWEDISH TEXT (USUN 5288) WILL PROBABLY RUN INTO FEW PROBLEMS AND THE PANAMANIAN/NICARAGUAN DRAFT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE VOTED UPON (ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS). USUN RECOMMENDS THAT WE VOTE IN FAVOR, BUT ALSO THAT WE MAKE A CLEAR STATEMENT REINFORCING OUR CONCERN, POSSIBLY MAKING REFERENCE TO WHATEVER EMERGES FROM THE OASGA IN THE MEANTIME.

B. CHILE: THE DUTCH DID NOT TABLE AN ANTICIPATED SECOND DRAFT. THEY SAID THE SWEDES ARE WORKING WITH THE CO-SPONSORS OF THE "MEXICAN" RESOLUTION TO SOFTEN IT, HAVING INFORMED THE MEXICANS THAT WESTERN EUROPEAN SUPPORT WILL NOT BE FORTHCOMING OTHERWISE. WE HAVE MADE OUR CONCERNS KNOWN TO THE DUTCH. THEY SAY THE SWEDES HAVE ALREADY SUCCEEDED IN ELIMINATING SEVERAL OBJECTIONABLE PARAGRAPHS AND REWORDING OTHERS TO PRODUCE A SHORTER, MORE OBJECTIVE AND MORE BALANCED DRAFT. THE DUTCH EXPECT A REVISED DRAFT TO EMERGE ON OR ABOUT NOVEMBER 26. WE WILL ADVISE AND MAKE A RECOMMENDATION AT THAT TIME.

C. CUBA: THE DRAFT WORKING PAPER THAT SURFACED BRIEFLY (USUN 5197) GOT NOWHERE, OSTENSIBLY BECAUSE OF A LACK OF SATISSACTORY WESTERN EUROPEAN CO-SPONSORSHIP. WE DOUBT THAT IT WAS A SERIOUS INTENT. IT DID RATTLE THE CUBANS SUFFICIENTLY, HOWEVER, TO CAUSE REPORTED THREATS THAT THEY WOULD RETALIATE
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PAGE 03 USUN N 05396 01 OF 02 260013Z

WITH COUNTRY-SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS ON THE DUTCH/ MOLLUCAN AND IRELAND/NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES, AMONG OTHERS.

D. EL SALVADOR: ONLY THE CUBAN/NICARAGUAN DRAFT (USUN 5316) WAS TABLED. THE IRISH ARE STILL ATTEMPTING TO NEGOTIATE CHANGES, BUT HAVE INDICATED TO THE SALVADORANS (AS HAVE THE DUTCH TO US) THAT THEY WILL END UP SUPPORTING THE DRAFT EVENTUALLY, SUGGESTING THAT DEPSITE QUESTIONABLE CURRENT CO-SPONSORSHIP, THE CUBAN/NICARAGUAN RESOLUTION WILL GET SOME RESPECTABLE SUPPORT. SALVADORAN PERMREP ROSALES HAS CEASED EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE CHANGES IN THE DRAFT, HIS GOVERNMENT HAVING DECIDED (CORRECTLY, WE BELIEVE) THAT THE RESULTS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE IN ANY CASE. WE HAVE REEMPHASIZED HERE -- AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY -- THE VIEW THAT THE CUBAN/ NICARAGUAN DRAFT IS FAR FROM BALANCED OR CONSTRUCTIVE. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE DEMARCHES ASAP IN APPRO-

PRIATE CAPITALS TO MAKE CLEAR THIS VIEW. WE HAVE URGED THE SALVADORANS TO DO LIKEWISE, HERE AND ELSEWHERE. BARRING EXTENSIVE MODIFICATIONS, WE PROBABLY SHOULD VOTE NO, BUT WITH A FORCEFUL STATEMENT OF THE REASONS, POINTING TO THE GOES' CONSIDERABLE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION.

E. GUATEMALA: THE DRAFT WORKING PAPER (USUN 5178) WAS NOT TABLED, EVIDENTLY BECAUSE THE CUBANS AND NICARAGUANS DID NOT WISH TO DETRACT FROM THEIR INITIATIVE ON EL SALVADOR.

3. NIGERIAN THIRD COMMITTEE DELEGATE (COMMITTEE RAPPORTEUR) OBAFEMI INFORMED USDEL THAT HER DELEGATION PLANS TO INTRODUCE A DRAFT DECISION FORWARDING ALL COUNTRY-SPECIFIC DRAFT RESOLUTIONS CURRENTLY BEFORE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 USUN N 05396 01 OF 02 260013Z

COMMISSION, WITHOUT FURTHER ACTION BY THE COMMITTEE. THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE, BEING A TRADITIONAL SUBJECT ON THIRD COMMITTEE AGENDA, WOULD BE

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05396 02 OF 02 260014Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
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PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3395
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05396

EXPLICITLY EXEMPT FROM THE DECISION, ACCORDING TO OBAFEMI. OBAFEMI IS AWARE OF WEOG OPPOSITION TO THE ADOPTION OF SUCH A DECISION, BUT NONETHELESS INTENDS TO PURSUE THE PROJECT.

4. VOTING IN THIRD COMMITTEE ON THE SURVIVING RESOLUTIONS IS LIKELY TO OCCUR DURING THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 1.
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PAGE 01 USUN N 05454 270548Z **DECONTROL**
ACTION IO-15

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, OCON, UNGA
SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA - THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12,
-- CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION ON
-- SITUATION IN CHILE, A/C.3/35/L.61

REF: (A) USUN 5204, (B) USUN 5396

1. AS REPORTED REF B SWEDES AND DUTCH HAVE SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING EXTENSIVE REVISIONS OF ORIGINAL MEXICAN DRAFT (REF A). COMPROMISE WORKING DOCUMENT DATAFAXED TO IO/HR:SHAFT ON 11/25/80, WITH POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL IMPROVEMENTS CURRENTLY BEING SOUGHT BY DUTCH AND SWEDES, IS EXPECTED TO BECOME FORMAL REVISED TEXT ON WHICH THIRD COMMITTEE WILL VOTE ON NOVEMBER 28 OR DECEMBER 1.
USUN REQUESTS DEPARTMENTS INSTRUCTIONS ON L.61.
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PAGE 01 USUN N 05444 01 OF 02 270224Z
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AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05444

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, OCON, UNGA, CI
SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA - THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12,
-- ECOSOC REPORT, VOLUNTARY FUND OF THE U.N.
-- FOR VICTIMS OF GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS
-- OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION SPONSORED BY DENMARK, FINLAND, ICELAND, NORWAY AND SWEDEN WHICH HAS BEEN DISTRIBUTED AS A/C.3/35/L.66.

BEGIN TEXT:

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PAGE 02 USUN N 05444 01 OF 02 270224Z

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 33/174 BY WHICH IT ESTABLISHED A UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND FOR CHILE AS A VOLUNTARY FUND TO RECEIVE CONTRIBUTIONS AND DISTRIBUTE HUMANITARIAN, LEGAL AND FINANCIAL

AID TO PERSONS WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE BEEN VIOLATED IN CHILE,

RECALLING ALSO ITS RESOLUTION 34/176,

NOTING THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,

NOTING WITH CONCERN THAT GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS TAKE PLACE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES,

CONSIDERING THE PLIGHT OF VICTIMS OF GROSS AND FLAGRANT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHEREVER THEY TAKE PLACE,

DECIDES TO REQUEST THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMSSION TO STUDY, AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, THE POSSIBILITY OF EXTENDING THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND FOR CHILE TO RECEIVE VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS AND FURTHER TO STUDY CRITERIA FOR THEIR DISTRIBUTION, THROUGH ESTABLISHED CHANNELS OF ASSISTANCE, AS HUMANITARIAN, LEGAL AND FINANCIAL AID TO PERSONS, NOT COVERED BY THE MANDATE OF OTHER EXISTING UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUNDS, WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE BEEN GROSSLY AND FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED, UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 USUN N 05444 01 OF 02 270224Z

TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LEAVE THEIR COUNTRIES AS A RESULT OF GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO RELATIVES OF PERSONS IN THE ABOVE-MENTIONED CATEGORIES, AND TO REPORT THEREON TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL AT ITS FIRST REGULAR SESSION IN 1981,

REQUESTS THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL TO PRESENT TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE OF THE EXISTING UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND FOR CHILE TO BECOME A UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND FOR VICTIMS OF GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

END TEXT.

2. COMMENT: USDEL RECOMMENDS WE VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION. EVENTUAL CONVERSION OF THE CHILE TRUST FUND TO AN UNIVERSAL FUND WOULD BE CON-

SISTENT WITH OUR EFFORT TO PROMOTE EVEN-HANDED TREATMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION WITHIN THE UN SYSTEM. SUCH A STEP WOULD ALSO BE COMPATIBLE WITH OUT OPPOSITION TO THE PROLIFERATION OF COUNTRY-SPECIFIC UN TRUST FUNDS FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES. MORE IMPORTANT, ESTABLISHMENT OF AN UNIVERSAL FUND FOR VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WOULD HELP STRENGTHEN THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. AS THE DRAFT RESOLUTION MERELY REQUESTS THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO STUDY THE SUBJECT, OUR SUPPORT WOULD NOT COMMIT US TO ACCEPT THE RESULTS. BY SUPPORTING THE PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY, WE PUT OURSELVES IN A STRONGER POSITION TO SHAPE ITS OUTCOME IN WAYS TO OUR LIKING. CO-SPONSORS FINLAND AND NORWAY BELIEVE RESOLUTION WILL PASS EASILY. THEY ARE AWARE OF NO OPPOSITION OTHER THAN FROM SOVIET/EE COUNTRIES.
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PAGE 04 USUN N 05444 01 OF 02 270224Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05444 02 OF 02 270225Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05444

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PAGE 01 STATE 317119
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E.O. 12065: GDS 11/28/86

TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SHUM, ES

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12: CUBAN RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

REF: USUN 5316; 5437

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 317119

2. USDEL SHOULD VOTE AGAINST THE CUBAN RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR TRANSMITTED REFTEL, DOCUMENT A/C.3/35/L.71. IT MISREPRESENTS THE SOURCES OF THE VIOLENCE IN THAT COUNTRY. THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT BEEN PROVIDING LETHAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO THE EL SALVADORAN MILITARY. IRONICALLY, CUBA ITSELF IS A SUPPLIER OF ARMS AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE MAJOR GUERRILLA AND TERRORIST GROUPS WHO ARE NOT MENTIONED IN THE RESOLUTION. A STATEMENTFOR USE IN EXPLAINING THE NEGATIVE U.S. VOTE FOLLOWS

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S9400323

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Special Project (1993)

AND SHOULD BE MADE, IF POSSIBLE, BEFORE THE VOTE IS TAKEN.

3. THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SUPPORTED A RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE CONCERN OF THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THIS ORGANIZATION FOR THE GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH ARE OCCURRING EVERY DAY IN

EL SALVADOR.

WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, CONSIDER THE RESOLUTION BEFORE THIS ASSEMBLY A BALANCED OR ACCURATE PICTURE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR IS FACED WITH EXTREME VIOLENCE EMANATING FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT. WE CONDEMN THE VIOLENCE OF BOTH SIDES.

WE CONDEMN THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, THE ASSASSINATION OF THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN SALVADOR, THE ASSASSINATION OF MEMBERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND COUNTLESS OTHER VICTIMS ATTRIBUTED TO RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE. THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OF APPARENT RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE WAS THE KIDNAPPING AND KILLING OF FDR LEAD-

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PAGE 03 STATE 317119

ERS IN SAN SALVADOR ON NOVEMBER 27. AT THE SAME TIME, WE CONDEMN ASSASSINATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO LEFT-WING TERRORIST GROUPS. WE NOTE THAT ON JULY 19 A LEADER OF ONE OF THE LEFT-WING GUERRILLA GROUPS, PUBLICLY STATED IN MANAGUA THAT HIS ORGANIZATION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE THAN 2,000 CASUALTIES DURING 1980. SINCE THAT TIME, LEFT-WING OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSASSINATIONS OF CIVILIANS INCLUDING THOSE OF MELVIN RIGOBERTO ORELLANA, THE SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ON OCTOBER 10; MANUEL RODRIGUEZ, THE MANAGER OF THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AND HIS WIFE ON NOVEMBER 4; AND A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE CITY OF SANTA ANA NOVEMBER 7 IN WHICH EIGHT PERSONS INCLUDING A NINE YEAR OLD BOY DIED.

A WAR BULLETIN ISSUED BY A GROUP KNOWN AS THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FMNL) ON OCTOBER 27 REPORTED THAT IT HAD CARRIED OUT ATTACKS AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS SUCH AS SHOPPING CENTERS AND BANKS USING EXPLOSIVES AS BOOBY TRAPS. THE FMNL IN ITS "WAR BULLETIN" ALSO STATED THAT IT CONDUCTED ACTIONS AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS WITH ITS PERSONNEL DRESSED AS NATIONAL GUARDSMEN USING SALVADORAN ARMY JEEPS.

ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE PARTICIPATED AND ARE

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Special Project (1993)

PARTICIPATING IN VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL. THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT FOR THIS REASON HAS PROMULGATED A CODE OF CONDUCT DESIGNED TO ENSURE A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY ITS ARMED FORCES. IT HAS ALSO INVITED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS FROM THE INTER AMERICAN HUMAN

RIGHTS COMMISSION TO VISIT THAT COUNTRY AND TO STUDY FIRST HAND THE MULTIPLE SOURCES OF THE VIOLENCE.

NO REFERENCE IS MADE IN THE RESOLUTION TO THE EFFORTS OF [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 317119

THE GOVERNMENT TO CURB HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. THE GOVERNMENT, IN THE FACE OF EXTREME LEFT-WING AND RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE, HAS BEEN MAKING A DETERMINED EFFORT TO CURB HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND VIOLENCE. THE GOVERNMENT IS IMPLEMENTING NEEDED SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS TO ALLEVIATE LONG-STANDING INJUSTICES. IT HAS ANNOUNCED A TIMETABLE FOR POPULAR ELECTIONS. ON OCTOBER 15, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AN AMNESTY FOR ALL INSURGENTS WHO WISH TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. SEVERAL HUNDRED HAVE DONE SO.

THE GOVERNMENT, UNFORTUNATELY, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING UNDER CONTROL EXTREMISTS WHO HAVE REJECTED APPEALS TO PARTICIPATE IN A DIALOGUE OR IN A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS. IT IS NEVERTHELESS COMMITTED TO DOING SO.

ON OCTOBER 18, THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF EL SALVADOR OFFERED TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS OPPONENTS. THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE MEDIATION IN PRINCIPLE BUT REGRETTABLY, ON OCTOBER 29, THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT REJECTED THE MEDIATION OFFER. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE KILLINGSOF T FDR LEADERS O NOVEMBER 27 HAVE FURTHER DAMAGED PROSPECTS FOR MEDIATION AND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE RESOLUTION BEFORE THIS ASSEMBLY IS NOT A BALANCED ONE. IT MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND ARMS FLOWING INTO EL SALVADOR WHICH ARE DESTINED FOR TERRORIST AND GUERRILLA GROUPS THAT HERETOFORE HAVE REJECTED MEDIATION, DIALOGUE, AND PARTICIPATION IN A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS.

THE UNITED STATES IS OPPOSED TO RESOLUTIONS OF THIS NATURE [redacted]

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PAGE 05 STATE 317119

WHICH FAIL TO MAKE REFERENCE, IN A BALANCED WAY, TO THE SOURCES OF VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EL SAL-

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80STATE 317119

VADOR AND TO THE EFFORTS OF THAT GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THESE SEVERE PROBLEMS. MUSKIE

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Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 18090 2817162
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ARA-12 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SY-05 SYE-00
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E.O. 12065: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, OVIP, ASEC, MX, ES
SUBJ: SECVISIT MEXICO: POSSIBLE MEXICAN REACTION TO ASSASSINATION OF LEADERS OF FDR IN EL SALVADOR

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. NO OFFICIAL GOM REACTION HAS YET BEEN MADE TO ASSASSINATION OF LEADERS OF SALVADORAN FDR. WE EXPECT, AT A MINIMUM, AN EXTREMELY STRONG STATEMENT OF CONDEMNATION OF THE KILLINGS BY THE GOM AND PRI TODAY, NOVEMBER 28, AND WE DO NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE GOM MAY BREAK THE VENEZUELAN-MEXICAN OIL AGREEMENT WITH EL SALVADOR AND/OR BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE JRG.

3. THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS HAVE CALLED A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION TO DEPART FROM THE ANGEL OF INDEPENDENCE MONUMENT IN FRONT OF THE EMBASSY TODAY, NOVEMBER 28, AT 1600. SY IS MAINTAINING LIAISON WITH LOCAL POLICE WITH REGARD TO THIS DEMONSTRATION.

4. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A DEMONSTRATION BEING DIRECTED AT THE EMBASSY DURING THE SECRETARY'S [redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 18090 2817162

VISIT HAS INCREASED PERCEPTIBLY AS A RESULT OF THE EVENTS

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Special Project (1993)

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IN EL SALVADOR. THERE IS ALSO AN INCREASED RISK THAT SALVADORAN EXILES HERE MIGHT SEEK TO PRECIPITATE ACTIONS WHICH WOULD EMBARRASS OR ENDANGER THE SECRETARY'S PARTY. WE BELIEVE THAT LOCAL MEXICAN AUTHORITIES WILL BE ABLE TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION, BUT THAT DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE OF THESE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES. ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION PRESENTLY AVAILABLE, WE DO NOT RECOMMEND CALLING OFF SECRETARY'S VISIT. MAYA

NOTE BY OC/T: DISTRIBUTION CO-ORDINATED WITH S/S-O MR. FEATHERSTONE.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80STATE 317119 1077

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PAGE 01 STATE 317119
ORIGIN ARA-16

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INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
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[redacted] STATE 317119

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/28/86

TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SHUM, ES

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12: CUBAN RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

REF: USUN 5316; 5437

1. [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 317119

2. USDEL SHOULD VOTE AGAINST THE CUBAN RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR TRANSMITTED REFTEL, DOCUMENT A/C.3/35/L.71. IT MISREPRESENTS THE SOURCES OF THE VIOLENCE IN THAT COUNTRY. THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT BEEN PROVIDING LETHAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO THE EL SALVADORAN MILITARY. IRONICALLY, CUBA ITSELF IS A SUPPLIER OF ARMS AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE MAJOR GUERRILLA AND TERRORIST GROUPS WHO ARE NOT MENTIONED IN THE RESOLUTION. A STATEMENTFOR USE IN EXPLAINING THE NEGATIVE U.S. VOTE FOLLOWS [redacted]

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S9400328

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AND SHOULD BE MADE, IF POSSIBLE, BEFORE THE VOTE IS TAKEN.

3. THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SUPPORTED A RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE CONCERN OF THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THIS ORGANIZATION FOR THE GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH ARE OCCURRING EVERY DAY IN

EL SALVADOR.

WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, CONSIDER THE RESOLUTION BEFORE THIS ASSEMBLY A BALANCED OR ACCURATE PICTURE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR IS FACED WITH EXTREME VIOLENCE EMANATING FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT. WE CONDEMN THE VIOLENCE OF BOTH SIDES.

WE CONDEMN THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, THE ASSASSINATION OF THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN SALVADOR, THE ASSASSINATION OF MEMBERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND COUNTLESS OTHER VICTIMS ATTRIBUTED TO RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE. THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OF APPARENT RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE WAS THE KIDNAPPING AND KILLING OF FOR LEAD-

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 317119

ERS IN SAN SALVADOR ON NOVEMBER 27. AT THE SAME TIME, WE CONDEMN ASSASSINATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO LEFT-WING TERRORIST GROUPS. WE NOTE THAT ON JULY 19 A LEADER OF ONE OF THE LEFT-WING GUERRILLA GROUPS, PUBLICLY STATED IN MANAGUA THAT HIS ORGANIZATION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE THAN 2,000 CASUALTIES DURING 1980. SINCE THAT TIME, LEFT-WING OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSASSINATIONS OF CIVILIANS INCLUDING THOSE OF MELVIN RIGOBERTO ORELLANA, THE SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ON OCTOBER 10; MANUEL RODRIGUEZ, THE MANAGER OF THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AND HIS WIFE ON NOVEMBER 4; AND A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE CITY OF SANTA ANA NOVEMBER 7 IN WHICH EIGHT PERSONS INCLUDING A NINE YEAR OLD BOY DIED.

A WAR BULLETIN ISSUED BY A GROUP KNOWN AS THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FMNL) ON OCTOBER 27 REPORTED THAT IT HAD CARRIED OUT ATTACKS AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS SUCH AS SHOPPING CENTERS AND BANKS USING EXPLOSIVES AS BOOBY TRAPS. THE FMNL IN ITS "WAR BULLETIN" ALSO STATED THAT IT CONDUCTED ACTIONS AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS WITH ITS PERSONNEL DRESSED AS NATIONAL GUARDSMEN USING SALVADORAN ARMY JEEPS.

ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE PARTICIPATED AND ARE

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PARTICIPATING IN VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL. THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT FOR THIS REASON HAS PROMULGATED A CODE OF CONDUCT DESIGNED TO ENSURE A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY ITS ARMED FORCES. IT HAS ALSO INVITED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS FROM THE INTER AMERICAN HUMAN

RIGHTS COMMISSION TO VISIT THAT COUNTRY AND TO STUDY FIRST HAND THE MULTIPLE SOURCES OF THE VIOLENCE.

NO REFERENCE IS MADE IN THE RESOLUTION TO THE EFFORTS OF [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 317119

THE GOVERNMENT TO CURB HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. THE GOVERNMENT, IN THE FACE OF EXTREME LEFT-WING AND RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE, HAS BEEN MAKING A DETERMINED EFFORT TO CURB HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND VIOLENCE. THE GOVERNMENT IS IMPLEMENTING NEEDED SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS TO ALLEVIATE LONG-STANDING INJUSTICES. IT HAS ANNOUNCED A TIMETABLE FOR POPULAR ELECTIONS. ON OCTOBER 15, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AN AMNESTY FOR ALL INSURGENTS WHO WISH TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. SEVERAL HUNDRED HAVE DONE SO.

THE GOVERNMENT, UNFORTUNATELY, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING UNDER CONTROL EXTREMISTS WHO HAVE REJECTED APPEALS TO PARTICIPATE IN A DIALOGUE OR IN A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS. IT IS NEVERTHELESS COMMITTED TO DOING SO.

ON OCTOBER 18, THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF EL SALVADOR OFFERED TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS OPPONENTS. THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE MEDIATION IN PRINCIPLE BUT REGRETTABLY, ON OCTOBER 29, THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT REJECTED THE MEDIATION OFFER. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE KILLINGSOF T FDR LEADERS O NOVEMBER 27 HAVE FURTHER DAMAGED PROSPECTS FOR MEDIATION AND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE RESOLUTION BEFORE THIS ASSEMBLY IS NOT A BALANCED ONE. IT MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND ARMS FLOWING INTO EL SALVADOR WHICH ARE DESTINED FOR TERRORIST AND GUERRILLA GROUPS THAT HERETOFORE HAVE REJECTED MEDIATION, DIALOGUE, AND PARTICIPATION IN A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS.

THE UNITED STATES IS OPPOSED TO RESOLUTIONS OF THIS NATURE [redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 317119

WHICH FAIL TO MAKE REFERENCE, IN A BALANCED WAY, TO THE SOURCES OF VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EL SAL- [redacted]

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VADOR AND TO THE EFFORTS OF THAT GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THESE SEVERE PROBLEMS. MUSKIE

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PAGE 01 STATE 317068
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INFO OCT-00 IO-14 ADS-00 HA-06 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, PORG, UNGA, CI

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA: THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12, HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION ON CHILE

REF: A. USUN 5204 B. USUN 5454
C. SANTIAGO 7177

1. (LOU) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING ARE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS ON DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED REFTEL, AS AMENDED.

A. USDEL IS INSTRUCTED TO SUPPORT RESOLUTION AND MAKE FOLLOWING STATEMENT, IF POSSIBLE BEFORE VOTING.
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PAGE 02 STATE 317068

B. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF STATEMENT: MR. CHAIRMAN, MY DELEGATION WISHES TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE WILL VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT A/C 3/35/L61. WE DO THIS BECAUSE WE WISH TO ASSOCIATE OURSELVES WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS CALLING UPON THE AUTHORITIES IN CHILE TO IMPROVE THE OBSERVANCE OF AND RESPECT FOR

HUMAN RIGHTS. AS IN PAST YEARS, WE CONTINUE TO WELCOME AND SUPPORT UNITED NATIONS DEMONSTRATION

OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE.

WHILE SIGNIFICANT DEFICIENCIES REMAIN IN CHILE IN THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, DEFICIENCIES WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE CONFRONTED AND CALLED ON TO IMPROVE, THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT POSITIVE CHANGES SINCE 1977. THESE IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN CITED IN VARIOUS PUBLIC REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, BUT THEY ARE IGNORED IN THIS RESOLUTION AS THEY HAVE BEEN IN PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS. IF RESOLUTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE UN ARE TO BE LISTENED TO BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE AND BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS, WE BELIEVE AN EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO MAKE THEM AS OBJECTIVE AS POSSIBLE.

WE FURTHER WOULD NOTE THAT SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL PROMOTERS AND CO-SPONSORS OF THIS RESOLUTION ARE EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER VIOLATIONS WHICH ARE WORSE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES THAN IN CHILE AND ARE CALLING FOR REFORMS WHICH ARE FARTHER FROM REALITY IN THEIR NATIONS THAN IN CHILE.

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PAGE 03 STATE 317068

CONTINUING TO SINGLE OUT CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES, WHEN THERE ARE NO REPORTS OR RESOLUTIONS ON COUNTRIES IN WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES ARE INFERIOR TO THOSE IN CHILE, SUGGEST AN UNFORTUNATE DOUBLE STANDARD AND TENDS TO WORK AGAINST THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF PROMOTING A GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD. THE GOAL OF THIS BODY AND THE UNHRC SHOULD BE AN EFFECTIVE AND EVEN-HANDED APPROACH TO SITUATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.

WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES WOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY AND THAT THE UNHRC AT ITS NEXT SESSION, IN THE LIGHT OF CIRCUMSTANCES AT THAT TIME, WILL BE OPEN TO CONSIDERING APPROACHES TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IN CHILE OTHER THAN THAT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.

THE UNITED STATES REMAINS CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEED TO END ALL HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHILE. WE CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN

CHILE AND TO REPORT ON IT TO OUR CONGRESS. WE BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BE BEST ACHIEVED BY MAINTAINING A FIRM AND CREDIBLE STAND AND ONE THAT IS BASED ON A COMPREHENSIVE AND OBJECTIVE VIEW OF THE SITUATION. MUSKIE

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08319 2823122
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INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8319

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/28/96
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, PINS, ES
SUBJECT: KILLING OF FDR LEADERS - LATE FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24

REF: SAN SALVADOR 8301

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE BODY OF FDR PRESIDENT ENRIQUE ALVAREZ WAS STOLEN FROM A FUNERAL HOME SHORTLY AFTER NOON TODAY. APPARENTLY THE LEFT GOT WIND OF THE FAMILY'S PLANS TO SEND THE BODY TO THE US FOR BURIAL. WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE LEFT PLANS TO STAGE A FUNERAL FOR ITS SLAIN LEADERS ON SUNDAY AT THE CATHEDRAL AFTER THE HOMILY.

3. THERE ARE UNCONFIRMED RUMORS THAT DEMONSTRATIONS WILL BE HELD [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08319 2823122

IN SOME OF SAN SALVADOR'S SUBURBS THIS AFTERNOON.

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PEDESTRIAN AND FOOT TRAFFIC IN THE CITY IS LESS THAN USUAL TODAY.

4. A SCHEDULED PDC MEETING TOOK PLACE LAST NIGHT AND THE KOYLIAGS WERE DISCUSSED, BUT NO DECISIONS WERE MADE. AT LEAST ONE PDC MEETING HAS BEEN HELD TODAY AT HNE CASA PRESIDENCIAL. JRG MEMBER DUARTE HAS RETURNED TO SAN SALVADOR AND SECGEN SANAYOA, ALONG WITH TWO OTHER PARTY OFFICIALS, ARE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE FROM PANAMA TOMORROW.

5. COMMENT: THE FUNERAL REPRESENTS THE LEFT'S BEST CHANCE IN MANY MONTHS TO STAGE A MASS DEMONSTRATION. THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS, BUT PARTICULARLY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FUNERAL IS HIGH. END COMMENT. WHITE

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08319 2823122
ACTION ARA-16

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[redacted] L SAN SALVADOR 8319

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/28/96 [redacted] OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, PINS, ES
SUBJECT: KILLING OF FDR LEADERS -- LATE FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28

REF: SAN SALVADOR 8301

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE BODY OF FDR PRESIDENT ENRIQUE ALVAREZ WAS STOLEN FROM A FUNERAL HOME SHORTLY AFTER NOON TODAY. APPARENTLY THE LEFT GOT WIND OF THE FAMILY'S PLANS TO SEND THE BODY TO THE US FOR BURIAL. WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE LEFT PLANS TO STAGE A FUNERAL FOR ITS SLAIN LEADERS ON SUNDAY AT THE CATHEDRAL AFTER THE HOMILY.

3. THERE ARE UNCONFIRMED RUMORS THAT DEMONSTRATIONS WILL BE HELD [redacted]

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 08319 2823122

IN SOME OF SAN SALVADOR'S SUBURBS THIS AFTERNOON.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (19

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PEDESTRIAN AND FOOT TRAFFIC IN THE CITY IS LESS THAN USUAL TODAY.

9. A SCHEDULED PDC MEETING TOOK PLACE LAST NIGHT AND THE KOYLINGS WERE DISCUSSED, BUT NO DECISIONS WERE MADE. AT LEAST ONE PDC MEETING HAS BEEN HELD TODAY AT HHE CASA PRESIDENCIAL. JRG MEMBER DUARTE HAS RETURNED TO SAN SALVADOR AND SECGEN SANAYOA, ALONG WITH TWO OTHER PARTY OFFICIALS, ARE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE FROM PANAMA TOMORROW.

5. COMMENT: THE FUNERAL REPRESENTS THE LEFT'S BEST CHANCE IN MANY MONTHS TO STAGE A MASS DEMONSTRATION. THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS, BUT PARTICULARLY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FUNERAL IS HIGH. END COMMENT. WHITE

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DEPT PASS MEXICO CITY FOR SECRETARY AND BOWDLER
E.O. 12065: GDS 11-28-86 (WHITE, ROBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: ASSASSINATION OF FDR LEADERS: CONSEQUENCES AND RECOMMENDATIONS
1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)
2. SUMMARY: THIS REPORT STATES THAT THE SECURITY FORCES OF THE GOVERNMENT KIDNAPPED AND KILLED SIX OF THE FDR LEADERSHIP. IT DISCUSSES VARIOUS POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES WHICH COULD FLOW FROM THIS EVENT INCLUDING THE PROBABLE [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 317640
DEPARTURE OF COLONEL MAJANO FROM THE JUNTA AND A POSSIBLE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THE MILITARY. THE ANALYSIS CONCLUDES THAT STRONG UNITED STATES ACTION WILL BE REQUIRED TO KEEP THE GOVERNMENT INTACT AND AVOID THE SLIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT INTO A REPRESSIVE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP WITH AN UNSTATED POLICY OF PERMITTING THE SECURITY FORCES TO KILL WITH IMPUNITY. THE RECOMMENDATIONS INCLUDE AN IMMEDIATE SUSPENSION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT DEALS WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FDR LEADERS IN A SATISFACTORY WAY. THE REPORT DISCUSSES OUR POLICY TOWARDS EL SALVADOR OVER THE PAST YEAR AND CONCLUDES THAT THIS IS THE LAST OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THAT POLICY WORK. END SUMMARY.
3. WHILE SOME OF THE DETAILS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FDR LEADERS ARE STILL SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR TO COME TO A NUMBER OF SOLID CONCLUSIONS. THE EVIDENCE THAT THE SECURITY FORCES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ACTION IS OVERWHELMING.
---THE COMMANDER OF THE NATIONAL GUARD, COLONEL CARLOS EUGENIO VIDES CASANOVA, TOLD ME THAT THE SECURITY FORCES MAINTAIN A CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE OF THE OFFICES OF THE SOCORRO JURIDICO. HE TOLD ME THIS SEVERAL MONTHS AGO [redacted]
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PAGE 1

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Declassified under EO 12356 ( ) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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THE SOCORRO JURIDICO OFFICES.

[redacted] THE NATIONAL POLICE BREAK-IN OF

[redacted] PRIOR TO A CONVERSATION WITH VIDES CASANOVA. THE

[redacted] RESULTS HAD [redacted] ME TELL ME THEY KNOW FULL WELL THAT THE

[redacted] SECURITY FORCES MAINTAIN A WATCH OVER THE COMINGS AND GOINGS

[redacted] THE SOCORRO JURIDICO.

A MEMBER OF THE SOCORRO JURIDICO WHO OBSERVED THE EVENTS OF YESTERDAY TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT SEVERAL OF THOSE INVOLVED IN THE BREAK-IN WERE DRESSED IN POLICE UNIFORMS AND THAT THE VEHICLES, SEVERAL OF WHICH HAD NO NUMBER PLATES, WERE WELL KNOWN AS POLICE VEHICLES. WE HAVE ANOTHER REPORT THAT [redacted] MEDICAL DOCTORS WHO HAVE A CLINIC ACROSS THE STREET [redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

RECOGNIZED SOME OF THE PARTICIPANTS AS MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. A REPORTER WHOSE SYMPATHIES LIE WITH THE CONSERVATIVE SECTOR REPORTED THE PRESENCE OF A NUMBER OF OFFICERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AT THE BREAK-IN. HE HAS GONE INTO HIDING.

--WHEN I SPOKE TO THE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER EARLY LAST EVENING ABOUT THE ARREST OF THE FDR LEADERS, HE STATED THAT IT WAS NOT GOING TO BE A BIG PROBLEM BECAUSE THE MILITARY WOULD HAND THEM OVER TO THE JURIDICAL BRANCH AND THEY WOULD BE TRIED. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, HE SAID THAT THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TOLD HIM THAT THIS WOULD BE THE PROCEDURES. HE ADDED THAT IF THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE AGAINST SOME OF THE MEN, THEY WOULD BE PROMPTLY RELEASED.

--IT IS COMMONLY ACCEPTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY THAT THE BRIGADA ANTICOMUNISTA MAXIMILIANO HERNANDEZ MARTINEZ WHICH HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ASSASSINATIONS IS ONLY A PSEUDONYM FOR ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

--LASTLY, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT A LARGE GROUP OF HEAVILY ARMED MEN COULD SURROUND THE SOCORRO JURIDICO'S OFFICES, ACCOMPLISH A ROOM BY ROOM SEARCH OF THE PREMISES AND TAKE AWAY SIX MEN WITHOUT THE PERMISSION, NOT TO SAY PARTICIPATION, OF THE SECURITY FORCES. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THIS OPERATION TOOK PLACE IN A BUSY SECTOR OF SAN SALVADOR, WITH PEOPLE MOVING ALONG THE STREETS PURSUING THEIR NORMAL BUSINESS DAY'S ACTIVITIES.

A NUMBER OF CONSEQUENCES COULD FLOW FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FDR LEADERS.

--IT IS PROBABLE THAT COLONEL ADOLFO MAJANO WILL RESIGN FROM THE JUNTA UNLESS THE MILITARY MOVE PROMPTLY TO FIND AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE. THIS IS UNLIKELY AS THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, COLONEL GARCIA, HAS OFFICIALLY DENIED ANY SECURITY FORCES PARTICIPATION IN THE AFFAIR.

--IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT RODOLFO VIERA, HEAD OF ISTA, THE AGRARIAN REFORM INSTITUTE, WILL RESIGN FROM THE [redacted]

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GOVERNMENT. VIERA HOLDS THE SECURITY FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR A NUMBER OF RECENT KILLINGS OF CAMPESINO LEADERS AND ITS EMPLOYEES.
-- A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WILL URGE THE PARTY TO CONFRONT THE MILITARY ON THIS ISSUE. [redacted] WILL INSIST THAT UNLESS THE CULPRITS ARE ARRESTED, TRIED, AND PUNISHED, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS SHOULD LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT.
-- DEPENDING ON HOW COLONEL MAJANO REACTS AND DEPENDING ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND, MOST OF ALL, ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PROGRESSIVE AND CENTRIST MILITARY OFFICERS COULD REACT AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSASSINATION AND THOSE WHO HAVE MOVED TO COVER IT UP. IT IS TRUE THAT THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES HAVE LOST COHESIVENESS THROUGH TRANSFERS OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECALL THAT MAJANO RECEIVED OVER 3[illegible] PERCENT OF THE VOTE OF THE OFFICERS IN THE CONFRONTATION WITH GUTIERREZ SOME MONTHS AGO. IT IS PROBABLE THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF OFFICERS REGARD THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FDR LEADERS AS UNACCEPTABLE CONDUCT AND A CONFRONTATION WITHIN THE MILITARY COULD RESULT.
-- SHOULD THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP PERSUADE JUNTA MEMBER NAPOLEON DUARTE THAT THIS WAS A REGRETTABLE ABERRATION, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS MIGHT STAY IN THE GOVERNMENT WITH SOME PRIVATE AGREEMENT THAT THE WORST ACTORS IN THE MIDDLE LEVELS OF THE SECURITY FORCES WOULD BE CASHIERED OR TRANSFERRED. I DO NOT REGARD IT AS ANYTHING MORE THAN A SCANT POSSIBILITY THAT COLONEL MAJANO WOULD CONTINUE IN THE JUNTA UNDER THIS ARRANGEMENT. IT WILL ALSO BE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE SOME OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHO ARE OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT THAT THEY ARE NOT IN GRAVE DANGER FROM RIGHTIST MILITARY OFFICERS.
-- IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT IF CONFRONTED WITH A CHRISTIAN

DEMOCRAT ULTIMATUM TO PUNISH THE GUILTY MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES OR FACE A WITHDRAWAL OF THE PDC, THE MILITARY WOULD YIELD TO THE RIGHTWING BUSINESS COMMUNITY'S PLEAS AND FORM A NEW RIGHTIST GOVERNMENT WITH CIVILIAN PARTICIPATION FROM SMALL SPLINTER PARTIES OF THE RIGHT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR.
-- THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OTHER VARIATIONS BUT THESE WILL SERVE TO ILLUSTRATE THE RANGE OF POSSIBILITIES. IT IS MOST [redacted]O UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE JUNTA INTACT AND THE MILITARY TOGETHER AS AN INSTITUTION IF THE JUNTA CAN FORCE THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND TO ARREST AND PUNISH THE GUILTY OFFICERS AND [redacted]EN OF THE SECURITY FORCES

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Special Project (1993)

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MP DISMISS C[illegible] OF TWO TOP RANKING MILITARY COMMANDERS
HOSE INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAVE OF KILLINGS IS WELL KNOWN.
S. R[illegible] COMMUNICATIONS: I RECALL THAT IN A RECENT TELEGRAM I
STATED THAT THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EL SALVADOR SINCE
OCT. 15, 1979, HAS BEEN THE STRUGGLE OF THE CIVILIAN-MILITARY
JUNTA TO GAIN CONTROL OVER THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND
SPECIFICALLY TO PERSUADE THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND TO END THE
VIOLENT REPRESSION OF THE SECURITY FORCES. OUR POLICY IS
EXPLICITLY TO ASSIST THIS PROCESS AND TO ENCOURAGE THE
DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS ON THE LEFT, CENTER, AND RIGHT TO SET
ASIDE VIOLENCE AND TO CHOOSE INSTEAD DIALOGUE AND THE POLITICAL
PROCESS. THUS IT WAS SPECIFICALLY WITHIN OUR POLICY FRAME-
WORK THAT WE WELCOMED THE BISHOPS' OFFER OF MEDIATION AND THE
GOVERNMENT'S IMMEDIATE ACCEPTANCE OF THE MEDIATION OFFER.
HIS ACCEPTANCE COMMITTED THE GOVERNMENT TO TREAT WITH THE
FDR AS A POLITICAL FORCE. (THERE IS A REPORT THAT THE FDR
SCHEDULED PRESS CONFERENCE WAS TO HAVE ANNOUNCED ITS WILLING-
NESS IN PRINCIPLE TO ACCEPT MEDIATION.) BY KILLING THE
LEADERS OF THE FDR THE MILITARY HAVE EXPLICITLY REJECTED
DIALOGUE AND HERALDED A POLICY OF EXTERMINATION. THOSE WHO
KIDNAPPED THE FDR LEADERSHIP WARNED THE PRIESTS THEY
[redacted] NEXT IF THEY DID NOT STOP POISONING THE MINDS OF

PAGE 06 STATE 317640
THE YOUNG."

6. THERE IS NO WAY THAT THIS GOVERNMENT CAN BRING THIS
COUNTRY TO ELECTIONS IF THE REPRESSION IS NOT BROUGHT TO
AN END. THE REPRESSION WILL NOT END UNLESS THE DEMOCRATIC
ELEMENTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT AND WITHIN THE MILITARY GAIN
CONTROL OVER THE SECURITY FORCES.
7. AT THIS POINT THERE IS NO REAL DOUBT THAT THE SECURITY
FORCES ARE OUT OF CONTROL. THE SAME CIVILIAN ELEMENTS WHICH
APPLAUDED THE ASSASSINATION OF MSGR. ROMERO ARE URGING
THE MIDDLE LEVEL OFFICERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES TO RID THE
COUNTRY OF LEFTIST PRIESTS, LABOR AGITATORS, DISSIDENTS OF ANY
KIND SPECIFICALLY INCLUDING CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.
8. IN MY VIEW, THIS IS THE LAST CHANCE TO MAKE OUR POLICY
[redacted] WORK. WE MUST SEND STRONG, UNAMBIGUOUS
SIGNALS THAT WILL HEARTEN THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES WITHIN AND
WITHOUT THE GOVERNMENT AND PERSUADE THE MILITARY TO
CLEAN HOUSE. IF WE DO NOT SEND THESE CLEAR SIGNALS, WITHIN
[redacted] MONTHS THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR WILL BE JUST ANOTHER
REPRESSIVE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP REVERSING THE REFORMS AND
REJECTING ANY MOVEMENT TOWRDS PLURALISM AND ELECTIONS.
MOREOVER, ABSENT A STRONG REACTION WHICH CONTAINS IMPORTANT
PENALTIES FOR THE MILITARY'S BEHAVIOR, THIS TYPE OF
KILLING WILL CONTINUE AND INCREASE.
9. SPECIFICALLY, I RECOMMEND:
A. A STRONG NOTE TO THE GOVERNMENT STATING THAT WE ARE
SUSPENDING ALL MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR UNTIL

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THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FDR LEADERSHIP IS DEALT WITH IN A SATISFACTORY WAY.
—THE IMMEDIATE REMOVAL OF THE OPERATIONAL PLANNING ASSISTANCE TEAM (GOLDEN HARVEST) AND TDY MILITARY

[redacted]

PAGE 07 STATE 317640
PERSONNEL. (THIS SHOULD BE DONE NOT ONLY AS A SANCTION BUT ALSO AS A MATTER OF PRUDENCE. STORIES ARE BEGINNING TO COME OUT ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF U.S. MILITARY ADVISORS AND ACCUSATIONS THAT THEY HAVE PARTICIPATED IN VARIOUS MILITARY OPERATIONS INCLUDING ENTRY BY THE SECURITY FORCES INTO THE PREMISES OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE IN SEARCH FOR THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDER OF COLONEL CHOTO.)
—A JOINT MESSAGE TO THE GOES BY THE OUTGOING AND INCOMING ADMINISTRATIONS REAFFIRMING THE BROAD LINES OF OUR SUPPORT FOR THIS GOVERNMENT WITH SPECIAL MENTION OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO AVOID VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND RECALLING THE OBJECTIVES OF THE OCTOBER 15 REVOLUTION.
9. OUR INFLUENCE HERE CAN BE DECISIVE. THE MILITARY LEADERS ARE WORRIED AND OFF BALANCE. THEY KNOW THEY HAVE BEEN CAUGHT OUT AND IT IS MY BEST GUESS THAT THEY WILL RESPOND TO PROPERLY APPLIED PRESSURES. OUR OBJECTIVE IS NOT TO FRACTURE THE MILITARY BUT TO STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY ELEMENTS WHO BACK REFORM AND A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF EL SALVADOR. UNLESS WE DO THIS, THE RESULT WILL BE A SHARP SHIFT TO THE RIGHT BY THIS GOVERNMENT OR ITS MUTATION. THE CAUSE OF THE LEFT WILL THEN QUICKEN AND GAIN STRENGTH AND WITHIN A SHORT TIME WE WOULD HAVE A CIVIL WAR IN EL SALVADOR WITH SOME MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT FIGHTING ON THE SIDE OF THE LEFT.
[redacted] UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Special Project (122

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08328 2922332
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 PM-07 SP-02
SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-02
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1344
AMEMBASSY MEXICO NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 8328

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM PINS PINT ES
SUBJECT: PDC AND FDR COMMUNIQUES

1. BOTH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) AND THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR) HAVE NOW RELEASED STATEMENTS ABOUT THE KILLING OF THE FDR LEADERS.

2. PDC.
BEGIN QUOTE:
(THE EXTREME RIGHT AND THE EXTREME LEFT), ALTHOUGH DIVERGING IN THEIR FINAL OBJECTIVE AND IN THE TYPE OF SOCIETY THEY WANT TO FORM, ARE UNIFIED AND COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER IN THE MATTER OF MILITARY ACTIONS. IN THE PURELY TACTICAL FIELD OF DESTABILIZATION, DEMORALIZATION AND TERROR...THE DEATH OF THE LEADERS OF THE FDR, WHICH FITS WITHIN THE STRATEGIC PLAN OF THE MOST REACTIONARY AND DARKEST SECTORS OF OUR COUNTRY AND ABROAD, IS BEING CARRIED OUT BY MEANS OF (THE RIGHT'S) PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS. BY THIS MEANS THEY ARE TRYING TO MOVE FORWARD TO TWO AREAS: A) EXTERNALLY, GENERATING A NEGATIVE IMAGE OF OUR COUNTRY WITH THE INTENTION OF CAUSING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS WHOSE
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 08328 2922332

ATTITUDE WITH RESPECT TO THE SALVADORAN PROCESS HAS BEEN POSITIVE

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Special Project (1993)

OR NEUTRAL TO ADOPT A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE AND ONE OF ISOLATION...
B) INTERNALLY, TO CREATE AN ATHOSPHERE OF TERROR AND DEMORALIZATION THAT MIGHT PERMIT THEM TO MOVE FORWARD WITH A COUP. ANOTHER REASON FOR THIS ACTION IS THAT THE EXTREME RIGHT IS TRYING TO SHOW THE SALVADORAN ARMY WHICH IS BEING SEVERELY ATTACKED BY THE EXTREME LEFT, THAT THE ONLY FORM OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM IS BY MEANS OF STRICTLY MILITARY ACTIONS...THE PDC ENERGETICALLY CONDEMNS (THE KILLINGS OF THE FDR LEADERS) AND CALLS ON THE EPOPLE AND THE ARMY NOT TO FALL INTO THE TRAP THAT THE EXTREME RIGHT IS SETTING, AND ALSO CALLS ON THE DIFFERENT POLTIITICAL ORGANIZATIONS TO JOIN WITH US IN A STATE OF DIALOGUE AND PACIFIC DISCUSSION... THE JRG, FAITHFUL TO ITS PROMISE TO THE PEOPLE, MUST TAKE IMMEDIATELY JUST AND ENERGETIC MEASURES TO BREAK UP THE PARAMILITARY BANDS THAT ARE OPERATING IN OUR COUNTRY...THE AUTHORS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FDR LEADERS, BY THE FORM AND THE METHODS THEY USED, UNDOUBTEDLY ARE THE SAME THAT FOR SOME DAYS HAVE BEEN OPERATING IN OUR COUNTRY AND HAVE NOT FELT THE WEIGHT OF THE LAW, THUS PERMITTING THEM TO ASSASSINATE MANY SALVADORANS OF DIFFERENT IDEAS AND TENDENCIES, AMONG WHOM ARE NUMEROUS HEROES AND MARTYRS OF THE PDC...THE EXTREME RIGHT IS TRYING TO INCITE THE EXTREME LEFT INTO AUGMENTING THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY IN ORDER TO FIND A JUSTIFICATION FOR A COUP. IN THIS CRITICAL MOMENT OF DEFINITION, THE GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO TAKE IMMEDIATELY NECESSARY AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO MAINTAIN ITS CREDIBILITY AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS...END QUOTE.

3. COMMENT: IN SEPTEL WE WILL REPORT PDC LEADERS' ELABORATIONS ON THIS DOCUMENT. END COMMENT.

4. FOR.
BEGIN QUOTE:
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 08328 2922332

(THE FDR) ENERGETICALLY CONDEMNS THE ASSASSINATION OF FIVE MEMBERS OF ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WHO ON THE 27TH OF NOVEMBER WERE MEETING IN THE EXTERNADO SAN JOSE IN AN ORDINARY WORKING SESSION. (THE CRIME) HAS ALL THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOST SAVAGE REPRESSIVE ACT COMMITTED IN ANY COUNTRY AGAINST A MASS POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WHICH IS OPEN AND PLURALIST...THE FDR HAS BEGUN TO RECEIVE EXPRESSIONS OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY REGARDING THE LOSS OF THESE VALIANT COMPANIONS WHO WERE KIDNAPPED, TORTURED AND THEN PHYSICALLY ELIMINATED BY COMMANDOES AND TROOPS SPECIALLY SUPPORTED BY A LARGE MILITARY GROUP, ACTING

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WITH THE GREATEST IMPUNITY BEFORE A GREAT MANY WITNESSES THAT AT THAT HOUR, 11:15 IN THE MORNING, WERE PASSING BY. THE FDR, MINDFUL OF THE GRIEF OF ALL THE ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS, WANTS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE ASSASSINATION OF THESE COMRADES WILL NOT REMAIN WITHOUT PUNISHMENT AND THAT IT DOES NOT BY ANY MEANS ACCEPT THE OFFICIAL EXPLANATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE FDR BLAMES THE RIGHTIST FACTION OF THE ARMED FORCES, THE PUPPET GROUP OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THE CABINET OF THE GOVERNMENT INVOLVED IN GENOCIDE, WHICH INSIST IN APPLYING A SERIES OF REFORMS WITH REPRESSION THAT HAVE BROUGHT ONLY DEATH, TRAGEDY AND GRIEF TO THE COUNTRY...THE FDR DECLARES ITS CONSOLIDATION, THE MAINT-ENANCE OF ITS DIRECTION AND THAT ITS UNITY AND THE STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THE ATTAINMENT OF A GOVERNMENT OF AUTHENTIC SOCIAL JUSTICE. THE ROAD TO POPULAR LIBERATION IS LAID OUT. NOTHING AND NO ONE WILL BE ABLE TO DETAIN THE COMING OF THE POPULAR POLITICAL SCHEME, ENRICHED WITH THE BLOOD OF THOUSANDS OF MARTYRS, WHO FELL BEFORE THE BESTIALITY OF THE OLIGARCHY, IMPRIALISM, AND THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND INVOLVED IN THE WAVE OF BLOOD AND VIOLENCE THAT IS ROCKING THE COUNTRY... END QUOTE.

5. COMMENT: WE NOTE THAT "IMPERIALISM" IS NOT DIRECTLY BLAMED FOR THE KILLINGS.
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PAGE 01 STATE 317214

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Exemption(s) ____

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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, PORG, UNGA, CI

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA: THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12, HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION ON CHILE

REF: SANTIAGO 7324

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF CHILE RESOLUTION (USUN 5204) AS IT HAD BEEN REVISED THROUGH MORNING OF NOVEMBER 28. FURTHER CHANGES IN TEXT ARE UNLIKELY BUT THIS REMAINS A WORKING DRAFT WITH VOTE NOW EXPECTED EARLY NEXT WEEK.

2. TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION. QUOTE: THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL, AND DETERMINED TO REMAIN VIGILANT WITH REGARD TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHENEVER THEY OCCUR,
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PAGE 02 STATE 317214

NOTING, THAT GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT RESPONSI-BILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTER-NATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,
RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 31/124, 32/118, 33/175 AND 34/179 ON THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND 33/173 ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS,

RECALLING ALSO RESOLUTION II (XXXV) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, WHICH, INTER ALIA, DECIDED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE,

DEPLORING THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY REFUSED TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPORTEUR APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

EXPRESSING ITS REGRET THAT THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO NOTE IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SI'UATION IN CHILE, AND THAT HE CONCLUDED THAT IN CERTAIN RESPECTS IT HAS, ON THE CONTRARY, DETERIORATED,

CONSIDERING THAT THE LACK OF PARTICIPATION BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE PREPARATION OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION AND THE PREVAILING RESTRICTIONS ON THE FREEDOMS OF ASSEMBLY, ASSOCIATION, EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, DO NOT ENABLE THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT PLEBISCITE, THROUGH WHICH THE CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED, TO BE REGARDED AS AN AUTHETIC EXPRESSION OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE'S WILL,

NOTING WITH INCREASING CONCERN THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHOR-
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PAGE 03 STATE 317214

ITIES CONTINUE TO IGNORE THE REPEATED APPEAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REFLECTED IN THE VARIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND OTHER INTERNATOINAL ORGANS AND HAVE, IN PARTICULAR, FAILED TO TAKE URGENT AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED,

EXPRESSING DEEP CONCERN THAT THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED ARE STILL UNKNOWN AND THAT THIS HAS CAUSED GRIEF AND OFTEN HARDSHIP TO THEIR RELATIVES,

1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR HIS REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 21 (XXXVI) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS;

2. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, TO STUDY THOROUGHLY THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR:

3. EXPRESSES ITS GRAVE CONCERN AT THE DETERIORATION

OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE AS REPORTED BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, IN COMPARISON WITH THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR,

4. STRONGLY URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO TAKE CONCRETE STEPS AS OUTLINED IN RESOLUTION 21 (XXXVI) OF THE COMMISSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS;

5. CONCLUDES ON THE BASIS OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR THAT CONTINUED VIGILANCE WITH REGARD TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE IS WARRANTED:
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PAGE 04 STATE 317214

6. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN FOR THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED WHICH CONTINUES TO BE A GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:

7. ONCE MORE URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO INFORM RELATIVES OF THE OUTCOME AND TO INSTITUTE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEARANCES:

8. URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES SCRUPULOUSLY TO RESPECT THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF THE CHILEAN JUDICIARY TO EMPLOY FULLY AND WITHOUT RESTRICTION ITS CONSTITUTIONAL POWER UNDER HABEAS CORPUS AND AMPARO.

9. CALLS UPON THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO COOPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND TO SUBMIT THEIR COMMENTS ON THE FINDINGS OF HIS REPORT TO THE COMMISSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS 37TH SESSION:

10. INVITES THE COMMISSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR AND REQUESTS THE COMMISSION TO REPORT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS 36TH SESSION. END QUOTE.
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08327 2921152
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AMAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-02 SPAS-02 SP-02 SS-15 HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07
PC-05 OC-06 CCO-00 A-02 OPR-02 FBO-06 ST-02
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O R 2920452 NOV 89
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8348
AMEMBASSY MEXICO NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
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UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 8327

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM PINS PINT ES
SUBJECT: KILLING OF FDR LEADERS--SATURDAY NOON, NOVEMBER 29

REF: SAN SALVADOR 8319

1. SIX BODIES, ACCORDING TO NOVEMBER 29 NEWSPAPERS, AL SIX OF THE KIDNAPPED REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR) LEADERS HAVE NOW BEEN FOUND DEAD. THE BODY OF THE SIXTH, MANUEL FRANCO OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDN), WAS DISCOVERED THURSDAY NIGHT BUT WAS NOT IDENTIFIED UNTIL SOME TIME FRIDAY. ALTHOUGH DIFFERING VERSIONS OF THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS HAVE APPEARED, IT IS NOW GENERALLY AGREED THAT SIX INDIVIDUALS WERE KIDNAPPED AND KILLED: FRANCO; ENRIQUE ALVAREZ CORDOVA, FOR PRESIDENT; ENRIQUE ESCOBAR BARRERA,
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 08327 2921152

THE DELEGATE OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MNR)

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TO THE FOR: JUAN CHACON, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY BLOC (BPR); NUMBERTO MENDOZA, HEAD OF THE POPULAR LIBERATION MOVEMENT (MLP); AND DOROTEO HERNANDEZ, A MEMBER OF THE SLUM DWELLERS UNION (UPT, WHICH IS AFFILIATED WITH THE BPR).

2. FUNERAL. THE FOR HAS YET TO MAKE AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF ITS PLANS FOR COMMEMORATING THE EVENT, BUT IT NOW APPEARS THAT THERE WILL BE NO PUBLIC FUNERAL TOMMORROW. A PUBLISHED DEATH NOTICE FOR ONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS STATES THAT THE FUNERAL WILL NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL DECEMBER 8. ALL SIX BODIES ARE BELIEVED TO BE IN SAN SALVADOR'S CATHEDRAL, WHICH WAS TAKEN OVER BY LEFTISTS ON THURSDAY.

3. OFFICIAL STATEMENTS. THE JRG HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE MURDERS, BLAMING EXTREMISTS, AND AGAIN DESCRIBING ITSELF AS A GOVERNMENT CAUGHT BETWEEN TWO TERRORIST GROUPS. THE ARMED FORCES HAS ALSO ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE "PROFOUNDLY LAMENTING" THE KILLINGS.

4. MNR. BOTH MORNING NEWSPAPERS CARRY AN MNR NOTICE LAMENTING THE DEATHS OF ALL SIX INDIVIDUALS. ACCORDING TO THE NOTICE, "THE CRIMINAL ACTION CARRIED OUT ON THURSDAY THE 27TH DEMONSTRATES AGAIN TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION THE DEGREE OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE THAT GRIEVES OUR COUNTRY, AT THE SAME TIME THAT IT CONSTITUTES A BLOW AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC SECTORS ON THE PART OF THE TRADITIONAL ENEMIES OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE..THE MNR IN HOMAGE TO THE FALLEN ONES, EXPRESSES ITS UNAVOIDABLE DECISION TO CONTINUE IN THE UNITED STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE."

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 08327 2921182

5. DIFFERING VERSIONS OF THE KIDNAPPING CONTINUE TO APPEAR IN THE NEWSPAPERS. FOR INSTANCE, THE NUMBER OF ABDUCTORS IS REPORTED TO RANGE FROM 13 TO 200 AND THE DISPUTE ABOUT WHETHER ANY MORE UNIFORMS IS UNRESOLVED.
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08324 291916Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-07
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8324

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/28/86 OR-P
TAGS: SHUM PINS PINT ES
SUBJECT: [redacted] MORE ON THE MILITARY OPERATION IN MORAZAN

REF: SAN SALVADOR 8155

[redacted]

2. SUMMARY. ON NOVEMBER 27 FIVE ALCALDES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF MORAZAN GAVE A MORE POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE MILITARY OPERATION IN THEIR DEPARTMENT THAN HAD THEIR COLLEAGUES (REFTEL). THOSE ALCALDES FROM THE AREA IN WHICH THE SWEEP TOOK PLACE AGREED THAT THEY HAD FEWER SECURITY PROBLEMS NOW. ONE ADDED THAT THE 53 INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE SURRENDERED IN HIS DISTRICT SINCE THE OPERATION ARE BEING TREATED WELL BY THE ARMY. END SUMMARY.

3. ON NOVEMBER 27 FIVE ALCALDES FROM MORAZAN WHO WERE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08324 291916Z

VISITING SAN SALVADOR TALKED WITH LABOR ATTACHE ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE MILITARY OPERATION AGAINST GUERRILLAS IN THEIR DEPARTMENT. FOUR OF THE FIVE COME FROM THE AREA IN WHICH THE SWEEP TOOK PLACE.

4. PERQUIN. THE ALCALDE OF PERQUIN, LOCATED IN NORTH-CENTERAL MORAZAN AND ROUGHLY IN THE CENTER OF THE AREA IN WHICH THE GUERRILLAS WERE STRONGEST, STATED THAT HIS AREA CONTINUED TO HAVE SECURITY PROBLEMS, BUT LESS THAN BEFORE

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THE OPERATION. HE COMMENTED THAT ONLY ONE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE GUERRILLAS AND THE ARMY HAD OCCURRED NEAR PERQUIN, BUT HE HAD NO SPECIFICS ON THE NUMBER OF GUERRILLAS KILLED OR CAPTURED THERE. THERE ARE ABOUT 1500 DISPLACED PERSONS (DPS) IN PERQUIN, HE ADDED, AND THEY CANNOT YET RETURN TO THEIR VILLAGES.

5. SAN FERNANDO. SAN FERNANDO IS SITUATED A FEW KILOMETERS WEST OF PERQUIN. ITS ALCALDE STATED THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION IS NOW "A LITTLE BETTER" AND "CALMER". WHEN ASKED FOR A CLARIFICATION HE SAID THAT NO GUERRILLAS HAD BEEN SIGHTED IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF SAN FERNANDO SINCE THE OPERATION. SAN FERNANDO HAS APPROXIMATELY 600 DPS AND SOME ARE NOW RETURNING TO THEIR VILLAGES.

6. ARAMBALA. THE ALCALDE OF ARAMBALA, LOCATED A FEW KILOMTETERS SOUTH OF PERQUIN, SAID THAT THE OPERATION HAD BYPASSED HIS AREA. IT HAD NO SECURITY PROBLEMS BEFORE THE SWEEP, HE CONTINUED, AND HAD NONE NOW. NO GUERRILLAS HAD SURRENDERED IN ARAMBALA SINCE THE SWEEP, AND THE TOWN WAS HOSTING 50-100 REFUGEES.

7. JOATECA. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE OPERATION, THE ALCALDE OF JOATECA (NORTHEASTERN MORAZAN NEAR THE DISPUTED [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 08324 291916Z

BORDER WITH HONDURAS) STATED THAT IT "WA CONTINUING." THE ARMY HAD LEFT 45 SOLDIERS IN JOATECA, HE SAID, IN ADDITION TO THE 13 NATIONAL GUARD REGULARLY STATIONED THERE. THE SOLDIERS, HE ADDED, ARE STILL ACTIVE, BUT ARE NOT TAKING CASUALTIES. THE ALCALDE DESCRIBED THE SECURITY SITUATION NOW AS "MUCH BETTER." FIFTY-THREE GUERRILLAS HAVE SURRENDERED SINCE THE OPERATION, HE STATED. THE ARMY IS KEEPING THEM IN A SPECIAL AREA WITHIN THE TOWN FOR THEIR OWN PROTECTION. THEY ARE FREE TO LEAVE AND RETURN TO THIS AREA AT CERTAIN PERIODS DURING THE DAY. THE MAYOR STATED THAT THE ARMY WAS GIVING THESE FORMER GUERRILLAS GOOD TREATMENT. DURING THE OPERATION, HE SAID, ONE CONFRONTATION OCCURRED IN HIS AREA, RESULTING IN TWO GUERRILLAS KILLED. THERE ARE NOW APPROXIMATELY 1,000 . DPS IN JOATECA.

8. YOLOAIQUIN. THE ALCALDE OF YOLOAIQUIN (CENTRAL MORAZAN NEAR THE DEPARTMENT'S CAPITAL CITY) SAID HIS AREA HAD FEW SCURITY PROBLEMS BEFORE THE SWEEP AND HAS LESS NOW.
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06331 01 OF 02 302225Z
ACTION ARA-16

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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 8331

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/29/86 (WHITE, ROBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM PINS PINT ES
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH JESUIT FATHERS
NOVEMBER 29TH.

1. [redacted]-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: I SPOKE WITH THREE JESUIT FATHERS ON NOVEMBER 29 AT THE SCHOOL WHERE THE SIX FDR LEADERS WERE ABDUCTED ON THURSDAY. ONE OF THE PRIESTS HAD ARRIVED WHILE THE CAPTURE WAS IN PROGRESS AND TOLD ME THAT HE SAW ABOUT TWENTY ARMED MEN NONE OF WHOM WORE EITHER UNIFORMS OR MASKS. THERE WAS AN UNCLEAR REFERENCE MADE TO THE POSIBLE COMPLICITY IN THE KIDNAPPINGS AND SUBSEQUENT MURDERS BY A MAN IDENTIFIED ONLY AS "CAPTAIN SOSA." THE THREE PRIESTS AFFIRMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN GOVERNMENT COMPLICITY IN THE KIDNAPPING AND KILLINGS. ONE POINTED OUT THAT WHILE THE VICTIMS WERE BEING TAKEN FROM THE SCHOOL THE AVENUE BEHIND THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06331 01 OF 02 302225Z

SCHOOL WHICH WOULD BE THE MOST LOGICAL ESCAPE ROUTE WAS HEAVILY PATROLLED BY GOES TROOPS. THE JESUITS' BELIEF THAT THERE HAD BEEN OFFICIAL APPROVAL OF THE ACTION AGAINST THE FDR LEADERSHIP WAS REINFORCED BY THE DILATORY AND MEAGRE NATURE OF THE OFFICIAL "INVESTIGATION."

3. I SPOKE WITH THREE JESUIT FATHERS THE AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER 29 AT THE EXTERNADO SAN JOSE, THE JESUIT HIGH SCHOOL WHERE THE FDR LEADERS WERE MEETING WHEN THEY WERE CAPTURED. THE THREE

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United States Department of State
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Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9400023

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FATHERS WERE THE EXTERNADO RECTOR PEDRO SANTAMARIA, JON SOBRINO, AND ROGELIO PEDRAZ. SOME OF THEIR COMMENTS FOLLOW.

4. SANTAMARIA INDICATED THAT HE ARRIVED AT THE EXTERNADO ON THURSDAY WHILE THE ABUDCTION OF THE LEFTIST LEADERS WAS IN PROGRESS. HE SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY SAW AS MANY AS TWENTY ARMED, NON-UNIFORMED AND UNMASKED MEN ON THE SCHOOL GROUNDS. (COMMENT: THIS CONTRADICTS THE OFFICIAL VERSION CLAIMING THAT THE KIDNAPPERS WORE MASKS.) THESE, HE SAID, IGNORED HIS QUESTION ABOUT WHY THEY WERE THERE AND ORDERED HIM TO JOIN THE PEOPLE--SCHOOL PERSONNEL, PARENTS OF STUDENTS AND OTHERS--WHO WERE ALREADY ON THE GROUND. SANTAMARIA SAID THAT THE GUNMEN REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT EVERYONE WAS TO KEEP HIS EYES CLOSED FOR FIVE MINUTES. THIS, HE SAID, HAMPERED THE ABILITY OF MANY WHO WERE THERE--INCLUDING HIMSELF--TO DETERMINE WHAT WAS OCCURRING. WHEN THE ASSAILANTS DEPARTED SANTAMARIA STILL DID NOT KNOW WHAT OBJECTIVE THEY HAD HAD. IT WAS SEVERAL MINUTES BEFORE HE DISCOVERED THAT THE FDR LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN TAKEN.

5. SANTAMARIA CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT FIVE HOURS AFTER THE INCIDENT TWO POLICE DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES ARRIVED AT HIS OFFICE. THIS APPARENTLY WAS THE GOVERNMENT'S INVESTIGATORY FORCE. HE SAID THAT HE TOLD THE POLICE WHAT HE KNEW BUT POINTED OUT TO THEM THAT SINCE HE WAS FORCED TO LIE FACE DOWN ON THE GROUND

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 08331 01 OF 02 302225Z

WITH HIS EYES CLOSED HE HAD SEEN LITTLE OF WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED. SANTAMARIA CLAIMED THAT THE POLICE SPOKE WITH THREE OTHERS, ONE OF WHOM HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT DURING THE INCIDENT, AND THEN LEFT.

6. FATHER PEDRAZ THEN RELATED THE STORY OF A NUN WHO HAD SPOKEN WITH A MAN IDENTIFIED AS "CAPTAIN SOSA." THIS CONVERSATION HAD TAKEN PLACE, SAID PEDRAZ, ABOUT THREE HOURS AFTER THE ABDUCTION OF THE FDR LEADERS. SOSA WAS REPORTED TO HAVE TOLD THE NUN, REFERRING TO THE ABDUCTION, "NOW WE HAVE TWO TURKERY FOR CHRISTMAS." FATHER SOBRINO INTERJECTED A VAGUE COMMENT ABOUT MENTION OF SOSA'S NAME HAVING BEEN MADE BY AT LEAST ONE EXTERNADO WATCHMAN AFTER THE CAPTURE. THE THREE FATHERS WERE NOT CLEAR ABOUT WHO SOSA WAS OR ABOUT WHAT PARTICIPATION, IF ANY, HE HAD IN THE FDR KIDNAPPINGS AND SUBSEQUENT MURDERS. THEY IMPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN SOME WAY.

7. PEDRAZ, SUPPORTING THE THESIS THAT THERE WAS OFFICIAL COMPLICITY IN THURSDAY'S EVENTS, POINTED OUT THAT SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE ENTRY INTO THE EXTERNADO THERE WERE TROOPS PATROLLING THE PRINCIPAL AVENUE BEHIND THE SCHOOL. HE SAID THAT THE LOGICAL ROUTE OF ESCAPE WOULD BE ALONG THAT AVENUE.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA008331

ADP320
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08331 02 OF 02 302223Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 PC-01 AID-07
HA-06 DCT-02 SY-05 /079 W
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O R 300213Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1348
AMEMBASSY MEXICO NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 8331

8. SOBRINO TURNED THE CONVERSATION AWAY FROM THURSDAY'S KIDNAPPINGS AND MURDERS IN ORDER TO FOCUS ON THE JESUITS' POSITION ON THE COUNTRY'S CURRENT SITUATION. HE REITERATED THE JESUIT ARGUMENT THAT ALL OF THE EFFORTS IN THE PAST TO CHANGE THIS SOCIETY BY PEACEFUL MEANS HAVE FAILED THUS, HE SAID, PROVOKING THE WAR NOW IN PROGRESS. THE CHURCH, HE SAID, REQUIRES THAT ALL PEACEFUL MEANS BE EXHAUSTED BEFORE WAR IS RESORTED TO; THAT IS WHAT HAS OCCURRED HERE. SOBRINO WENT ON TO CLAIM THAT EIGHTY OR NINETY PERCENT OF THE PUBLIC SUPPORTED THE FDR.

9. REPORTERS WERE WAITING FOR ME WHEN I EMERGED FROM THE MEETING. I HAD ANTICIPATED THIS AND MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: QUOTE: I HAVE COME HERE TODAY TO EXPRESS MY FEELING OF HORROR AND REPUGNANCE FOR THE UNSPEAKABLE CRIME PERPETRATED HERE ON THURSDAY AGAINST THE LEADERS OF THE FRENTE DEMOCRATICO REVOLUCIONARIO. I WANT THE MEMBERS OF SOCORRO JURIDICO AND THE STAFF OF THE EXTERNADO SAN JOSE TO KNOW THAT THEY DO NOT STAND ALONE. THE
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08331 02 OF 02 302223Z

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNTED STATES STANDS WITH THEM ALONG WITH THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE CITIZENS OF EL SALVADOR WHO LONG FOR AN END TO THESE TERRIBLE CRIMES BEING COMMITTED BY INSANE EXTREMISTS ON BOTH ENDS OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

IF THIS SLAUGHTER DOESN'T STOP, IF THOSE GUILTY OF THIS CRIME ARE NOT BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, IT WILL BE ANOTHER SERIOUS, PERHAPS IRREPARABLE, SETBACK FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THIS COUNTRY. THE RIGHT DOESN'T WIN WHEN A LEFTIST IS KILLED NOR DOES THE LEFT WIN WHEN THEY EXECUTE A RIGHTIST; EVERY CITIZEN

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA006331

OF THIS NATION, AND INDEED ALL OF HUMANITY LOSES EACH TIME A LIFE IS TAKEN. AND EACH DEATH MOVES EL SALVADOR CLOSER TO ANRACHY AND CIVIL WAR.

WHAT HAPPENED HERE ON THURSDAY IS ALL THE MORE REGRETTABLE BECAUSE IT REDUCES THE CHANCES OF A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LEFT. EVEN THOUGH THE FDR HAD REJECTED AN OFFER BY THE CHRUCH TO MEDIATE, WE WERE HOPEFUL THAT THEY WOULD RECONSIDER. WITH THE RUTHLESS KILLING OF THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE FDR, THIS POSSIBILITY BECOMES MORE REMOTE. MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT SUCH PROVOCATIVE ACTS ONLY STRENGTHEN THE GROWING VICIOUS CIRCLE OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM ALTERNATING BETWEEN THE FAR RIGHT AND THE FAR LEFT. UNQUOTE:
OTHER QUESTIONS I EITHER REFUSED TO ANSWER OR GAVE SOME INNOCUOUS REPLY.
WHITE

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM

[redacted]

AN: 0006674-0832

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

EXDIS REVIEW
Cat A - Caption removed; transferred to O/FADRC
Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C - Caption and custody retained by S
Reviewed by: Claude Kelly Jr
Date: 7-28-93 19

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08378 0123102
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W
-------------------110731 0123132 /14
O R 0122302 DEC 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8371
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8378

EXDIS

MEXICO FOR SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY

PANAMA ALSO FOR AMB ORTIZ

DEPT PSS USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

E.O. 12065: GDS 12-1-86 (WHITE, ROBERT E) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: CURRENT CRISIS: PROGRESS REPORT

REF STATE 310182

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO THE DEPARTMENT FOR ITS PROMPT AND EXCELLENT RESPONSE TO MY RECOMMENDATIONS.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08378 0123102

3. THERE WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE NO MEETING BETWEEN [redacted] THE JRG AND MC TODAY. MY STRATEGY, FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST, IS TO AVOID SUCH A MEETING BECAUSE I DO NOT BELIEVE A CONFRONTATION IS THE WAY TO GAIN OUR OBJECTIVES. INSTEAD I AM MEETING WITH VARIOUS ACTORS ONE-ON-ONE OR IN GROUPS OF TWO OR THREE TO GET OUR MESSAGE ACROSS.

4. I HAD A GOOD DISCUSSION WITH DUARTE EARLY THIS MORNING AND HE IS ACTING MUCH MORE SENSIBLY. HE TOLD ME HE HAD TAKEN A VERY STRONG LINE WITH COLONEL GUTIERREZ, HIS FELLOW JUNTA MEMBER AND CHIEF SUPPORTER. GUTIERREZ, HE SAID, HAS NOW COME OFF HIS HARD LINING POSITION AND IS TRYING TO WORK OUT SOMETHING WITH HIS FELLOW OFFICERS. DUARTE HAS REQUESTED A MEETING BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THE HIGH COMMAND AND THIS WILL TAKE PLACE THIS AFTERNOON. THE PDC WILL DEMAND PUNISHMENT FOR THE GUILTY, A JOINT REDEDICATION OF THE MILITARY AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS TO THE OCT 15 REVOLUTION AND TO EACH OTHER AND LASTLY THE PDC WILL INSIST ON A PUBLIC REAFFIRMATIONHE WILLINGNESS TO DIALOGUE WITH THE LEFT.

5. IMMEDIATELY ON RECEIVING THE INSTRUCTIONS, I WENT TO SEE FOREIGN MINISTER CHAVEZ MENA. WE HAD ABOUT FORTY-FIVE MINUTES TOGETHER BEFORE HE HAD TO LEAVE FOR A STRATEGY SESSION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS PRIOR TO MEETING WITH THE MILITARY. CHAVEZ MENA WAS PLEASED THAT WE WERE TAKING A STRONG STAND AND SAID THAT NOW THAT HE KNEW OUR POSITION IT WOULD ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT TO COME TO A REASONABLE COURSE OF ACTION.

6. CHAVEZ MENA SAID THAT HE HAD COME VERY CLOSE TO RESIGNING FROM THE GOVERNMENT ON FRIDAY. THE ONLY THING THAT HAS KEPT HIM IN, HE SAID, WAS THE REALIZATION THAT IF THE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 08378 0123102

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS GO, THE CO-ORDINADORA TAKES OVER.

7. I SAID THAT I AGREED WITH HIM BUT WARNED HIM THAT THOSE ON THE RIGHT DO NOT SEE IT THAT WAY. MANY OFFICERS HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY RIGHT-WING CIVILIANS AND THERE ARE CONSTANT CONSPIRACIES TO OUST THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND COLONEL MAJANO. I ASKED CHAVEZ MENA IF HE BELIEVED THAT MAJANO WOULD RETURN TO THE JUNTA.

8. CHAVEZ MENA SAID HE DID NOT KNOW BUT ADDED THAT, IN [redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

HIS OPINION, THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT HAD TO BE RESTRUCTURED STARTING WITH THE JUNTA. HE SAID THAT IN PART BECAUSE OF ITS OWN INEPTNESS, IN PART BECAUSE IT HAD TAKEN THE HARD DECISION, THE PRESENT JUNTA COULD NO LONGER WORK AND MUST BE REPLACED. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, HE SAID THIS COULD WELL FORM PART OF THE DISCUSSION THIS AFTERNOON.

9. I EMPHASIZED TO CHAVEZ MENA THAT WE DID NOT SEEK TO DICTATE SOLUTIONS TO SALVADORAN PROBLEMS BUT THAT WE HOPED THAT OUR POSITION AS I HAD EXPRESSED IT WOULD ASSIST THE MILITARY TO COME TO THE REALIZATION THAT IT HAD A CANCER IN ITS BODY THAT MUST BE CUT OUT IF THE MILITARY WERE TO SURVIVE AS AN INSTUTION.

10. CHAVEZ MENA SAID THAT TORRIJOS HAD SENT A MESSAGE THAT HE WANTED TO SPEAK WITH HIM URGENTLY AND THAT HE INTENDED TO TRAVEL TO PANAMASDAY. CHAVEZ MENA SAID HE HOPED TO HAVE A DISCUSSION WITH FOR LEADER RUBEN ZAMORA IN NICARAGUA EN ROUTE TO PANAMA. CHAVEZ MENA REFERRED TO HIS RECENT MEETING WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY BOWDLER AND SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT MEDIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION WAS THE ONLY WAY OUT OF EL SALVADOR'S PROBLEMS. I ENCOURAGED HIM IN THIS LINE OF THINKING AND TOLD HIM THAT IN YESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF MEXICO, CASTANEDA HAD SEEMED TO BE SLIGHTLY MORE POSITIVE TOWARDS EL SALVADOR AND SOME TYPE OF

MEDIATED SOLUTION.
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APPENDIX #5

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 35/192

DECEMBER 15, 1980

UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Thirty-fifth session
THIRD COMMITTEE
Agenda item 2

A/C.3/35/L.71/Rev.2
1 December 1980
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/
SPANISH

The situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador

49. At the same meeting, the Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.3/35L.71/Rev.2, as revised, by a recorded vote of 63 to 13, with 48 abstentions.

46. The revised draft resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Noting that all Governments have an obligation to respect and promote human rights in accordance with the responsibilities they have undertaken under various international instruments,

"Bearing in mind resolution 19 of 30 July 1980 of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women,

"Dismayed by reports of human rights violations in El Salvador and especially by the death of thousands of persons and the climate of repression and insecurity prevailing in the country,

"Deeply shocked by the vile assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, a prestigious personality, outstanding for his defense of the human rights of the Salvadorean people, and by the persecution of religious figures, and other prominent persons,

"Gravely concerned about the unknown fate of many persons detained by the authorities,

"Considering that the supply of arms and other military assistance will serve to aggravate the situation in that country,

"1. Expresses its deep concern for the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador;

"2. Deplores the murders, disappearances and other violations of human rights reported in El Salvador;

"3. Urges the Salvadorean Government to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in that country;

"4. Appeals for a cessation of violence and for the establishment of full respect for human rights in El Salvador;

"5. Calls on Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance in the current circumstances;

"6. Requests the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in El Salvador."

47. A draft resolution (A/C.3/35/L.71/Rev. 2) was introduced on behalf of Angola, Benin, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Iraq, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama and Sao Tome and Principe, subsequently joined by Algeria, Mexico, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

Y	AFGHANISTAN		DEM. KAMPUCHEA	Y	IRELAND	Y	NORWAY		THAILAND
	ALBANIA	Y	DEM. YEMEN		A ISRAEL		A OMAN		A TOGO
Y	ALGERIA	Y	DENMARK		A ITALY		A PAKISTAN		A TRINIDAD-TOBAG
Y	ANGOLA				A IVORY COAST	Y	PANAMA		A TUNISIA
			DJIBOUTI				A PAPUA N GUINEA	Y	TURKEY
N	ARGENTINA		DOMINICA	Y	JAMAICA		N PARAGUAY	Y	UGANDA
	A AUSTRALIA		DOMINICAN REP.		A JAPAN		A PERU	Y	UKRANINIAN SSR
Y	AUSTRIA	Y	ECUADOR		A JORDAN		N PHILIPPINES	Y	U.S.S.R.
	A BAHAMAS			Y	KENYA	Y	POLAND		
			EGYPT						A U. A. EMIRATES
	A BAHRAIN	N	EL SALVADOR		A KUWAIT		A PORTUGAL		A UNITED KINGDOM
	A BANGLADESH		A EQUAT. GUINEA	Y	LAO P.D.R.		A QATAR		A U.R.CAMEROON
Y	BARBADOS	Y	ETHIOPIA		LEBANON		ROMANIA	Y	U.R.TANZANIA
Y	BELGIUM				A LESOTHO	Y	RWANDA		
Y	BENIN		A FIJI		LIBERIA		SAINT LUCIA	N	UNITED STATES
	A BUTHAN	Y	FINLAND	Y	LIBYAN A.J.				UPPER VOLTA
N	BOLIVIA		A FRANCE	Y	LUXEMBOURG		ST. VINCENT-GREN	N	URUGUAY
	BOTSWANA		A GABON	Y	MADAGASCAR		SAMOA		A VENEZUELA
			A GAMBIA		A MALAWI	Y	SAO TOME/PRINC.		
N	BRAZIL	Y	GERMAN D.R.		A MALAYSIA		A SAUDI ARABIA	Y	VIET NAM
Y	BULGARIA		A GERMANY, F.R.		A MALDIVES	Y	SENEGAL		YEMEN
	BURMA	Y	GHANA		A MALI	Y	SEYCHELLES	Y	YUGOSLAVIA
	A BURUNDI	Y	GREECE		MALTA		SIERRA LEONE		A ZAIRE
Y	BYELORUSSIANSSR	Y	GRENADA				A SINGAPORE		
Y	CANADA	N	GUATEMALA	Y	MAURITANIA			Y	ZAMBIA
Y	CAPE VERDE	Y	GUINEA		MAURITIUS		SOLOMON ISLANDS	Y	ZIMBABWE
	A CENTR. AFRIC. REP.	Y	GUINEA-BISSAU	Y	MEXICO		SOMALIA		
	A CHAD	Y	GUYANA	Y	MONGOLIA		SOUTH AFRICA		
			A HAITI		MOROCCO		SPAIN		
N	CHILE		HONDURAS	Y	MOZAMBIQUE				
	CHINA	Y	HUNGARY		A NEPAL		SRI LANKA		
N	COLOMBIA	Y	ICELAND	Y	NETHERLANDS		SUDAN		
N	COMOROS						A SURINAME		
Y	CONGO		A INDIA	Y	NEW ZEALAND		A SWAZILAND		
N	COSTA RICA		A INDONESIA	Y	NICARAGUA	Y	SWEDEN		
Y	CYPRUS	Y	IRAN		A NIGER	Y	SYRIAN A. R.		
Y	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Y	IRAQ		NIGERIA				

DAY-MONTH: 83-12 AGENDA ITEMS: 000-112 VOTE NO: 04 ROLL CALL RECORDED NON RECORDED

ADOPTED 063 YES (Y) 013 NO (N) 048 ABSTAIN (A)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIRTY-FIFTH REGULAR SESSION .....PLENARY MEETING 80TH MEETING OF THIRD COMMITTEE

VOTE SUBJECT: A/C.3/35/L.71/REV. 2
VOTE TIME: 21:14

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA008334

ADP359 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08334 01 OF 02 010212Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 PC-01 CIAE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 IO-14
ONB-01 DCT-02 SY-05 /094 W
----------112632 010216Z /60

O R 010119Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1352
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 8334

E.O. 12065:GDS 11/30/86 OR-P
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: (U) VIOLENCE WEEK IN REVIEW: NOVEMBER 22-28

1. [redacted] SUMMARY: AMONG THE 179 VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE THIS WEEK WERE SIX OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT. THE SIX WERE KILLED IN THE USUAL FASHION: KIDNAPPED BY A GROUP OF ARMED MEN WHO APPEARED AS CIVILIANS, TAKEN AWAY IN THE UBIQUITOUS PICK-UP TRUCKS, SHOT OR STRANGLED OR BOTH, AND THEN DUMPED ALONG ROADSIDES. HUNDREDS OF OTHER DEATHS HAVE OCCURRED IN EXACTLY THE SAME MANNER. THE DEATHS OF THESE SIX MEN ARE USUSUAL IN THAT THEY HAVE GONE NOTICED. BUT, DESPITE THE FUROR THAT THESE KILLINGS HAVE PROVOKED, THERE HAS BEEN ALMOST NO PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION OF IT. SINCE THE THURSDAY KIDNAPPING THIS CITY HAS BEEN STRANGELY QUIET. THE CENTRAL CATHEDRAL HAS BEEN THE FOCUS [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08334 01 OF 02 010212Z

OF THE VIOLENCE THAT HAS OCCURRED; IT WAS TAKEN OVER BETWEEN THURSDAY EVENING AND FRIDAY MORNING AND THEN BOMBED ON FRIDAY EVENING. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THE BODIES OF THREE OF THE DEAD FOR LEADERS--THOSE OF CHACON, HERNANDEZ AND FRANCO--WERE IN THE CATHEDRAL YESTERDAY, NOVEMBER 29, BUT ARE NOT THERE TODAY. THOSE HAVE BEEN REPLACED WITH THE BODIES OF THE OTHER THREE MEN. WE SUSPECT THAT THIS MACABRE APPEARANCE AND DISAPPEARANCE IS DUE TO THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE FUNERAL TO WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3. THERE ARE OBVIOUS FUNERARY REQUIREMENTS THAT THAT POSTPONEMENT

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S9400325

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSAN SA008334

ENTAILS.

2. [redacted] DEATHS: THERE WERE AT LEAST 179 NEW VICTIMS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE THIS WEEK IN EL SALVADOR. ONCE AGAIN WE COULD NOT IDENTIFY--EVEN IN GENERAL TERMS--THE KILLERS OF A LARGE MAJORITY OF THOSE PEOPLE--114. HOWEVER, WE ARE CERTAIN THAT AT LEAST FORTY-THREE WERE KILLED BY THE MILITARY OR SECURITY FORCES, FIFTEEN BY LEFTISTS, AND SEVEN BY RIGHTIST TERRORIST SQUADS. (COMMENT: THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "THE MILITARY" AND "RIGHTIST TERRORISTS" WHICH WE HAVE BEEN MAKING IN THESE WEEKLY VIOLENCE SUMMARIES MAY BE IRRELEVANT; THIS WEEK, FOR EXAMPLE,WE INCLUDE IN THE RIGHTIST CATEGORY THE SIX FOR VICTIMS OF NOVEMBER 27.)

3. INCIDENTS:
--ON 11/22 FOUR MEMBERS OF ONE OF THE MOST VIOLENT OF THE LEFTIST GUERRILLA ORGANIZATIONS, THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF THE PEOPLE (ERP), WERE KILLED DURING A CONFRONTATION WITH A MILITARY PATROL NEAR CANTON AGUA BLANCA (LA UNION).
--ON OR ABOUT 11/22 A GROUP OF ABOUT FIFTY GUERRILLAS WAS REPORTED TO HAVE RAIDED CANTON EL CERRON (CHALATENANGO). THE ATTACKERS REPORTEDLY RANSACKED SEVERAL HOUSES BEFORE SETTING FIRE TO THEM.
--ON OR ABOUT 11/22GUERRILLAS WERE REPORTED TO HAVE SET FIRE TO THE CASERIO EL ARROZALITO NEAR CANTON HUANACASTE (CHALATENANGO).
--ON 11/23 THE CHIEF OF ANTEL (THE STATE TELEPHONE ENTERPRISE) [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 08334 01 OF 02 010212Z

FOR SANTA ANA WAS INJURED WHEN GUERRILLAS MACHINE GUNNED HIS CAR NEAR COLON (LA LIBERTAD).
--ON 11/23 A BOMB SERIOUSLY DAMAGED A PHILIPS DISTRIBUTORSHIP IN SAN SALVADOR.
--ON 11/23 A GROUP OF REPORTEDLY HEAVILY ARMED GUERRILLAS SERIOUSLY DAMAGED TWO INCAFE COFFEE PROCESSING INSTALLATIONS IN VERAPAZ AND GUADALUPE (SAN VICENTE) AND DESTROYED A LARGE AMOUNT OF COFFEE.
--ON OR ABOUT 11/23 A LARGE GROUP OF GUERRILLAS ATTEMPTED TO TAKE OVER THE TOWN OF SAN BARTOLOME PERULAPIA (CUSCATLAN) BUT WERE REPORTEDLY REPELLED BY MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY CORPS. THE ATTACK RESULTED IN SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE TOWN AND A POSSIBLY LARGE BUT AS YET UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF CASUALTIES.
--ON 11/24 AT LEAST EIGHTEEN ERP MEMBERS WERE KILLED BY TROOPS WHO RAIDED A GUERRILLA SAFEHOUSE IN AYUTUXTEPEQUE (A POOR SUBURB LOCATED IN THE NORTH SECTION OF GREATER SAN SALVADOR). ONE REPORT SPECULATED THAT AMONG THE VICTIMS THERE MIGHT BE SEVERAL HIGH LEVEL ERP LEADERS. THE RAIDING PARTY UNCOVERED A LARGE AMOUNT OF WEAPONRY INCLUDING GALIL AND UZI SUBMACHINE GUNS; FAL, G-3, AND M-16 RIFLES; TWELVE GUAGE SHOTGUNS; AND SEVERAL LAND MINES. IN ADDITION, ERP DOCUMENTS OUTLINING THE ORGANIZATION, ITS STRATEGY AND TACTICS WERE REPORTED TO ALSO HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED.
--ON 11/24 AT LEAST FOUR PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND SEVEN INJURED IN A CONFRONTATION NEAR THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING COMPLEX IN SAN SALVADOR. NEWS REPORTS INDICATED THAT TWO CUSTOMS POLICE WERE KILLED WHEN GUERRILLAS ATTACKED THE TRUCK IN WHICH THEY WERE RIDING. THE SURVIVING POLICE APPARENTLY REACTED BY MACHINE GUNNING

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A PASSING BUS, KILLING TWO OF ITS OCCUPANTS AND INJURING SEVERAL OTHERS.

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ADP256 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06334 02 OF 02 010231Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 TRSE-00 AID-07 PC-01 CIAE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 IO-14
ONB-01 OCT-02 SY-05 /094 W
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O R 010119Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1353
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
DIA WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 6334

--ON 11/24 AT LEAST FIVE PEOPLE WERE KILLED DURING A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN GUERRILLAS AND GOVERNMENT TROOPS IN A SAN SALVADOR SHANTYTOWN NAMED "EL PARAISO." REPORTS INDICATED THAT RESIDENTS OF ONE SHANTY CAUGHT THE ATTENTION OF THE PASSING TROOPS BY FIRING ON THEM AND THUS PROVOKING THEM TO RAID THE HOUSE. THE TROOPS WERE REPORTED TO HAVE UNCOVERED A SIZEABLE ARMS CACHE.
--ON OR ABOUT 11/24 SEVERAL POPULAR LIBERATION FORCES (FPL) MEMBERS MOMENTARILY TOOK OVER A SAN VICENTE RADIO STATION BUT FLED WHEN TROOPS APPEARED ON THE SCENE.
--ON 11/25 SIX OF A GROUP OF TWENTY-FIVE GUERRILLAS WERE REPORTED KILLED DURING AN ENCOUNTER WITH NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS AT A LOCATION BETWEEN TEJUTEPEQUE AND JUTIAPA (CABANAS).
--ON 11/25 A BOMB EXPLOSION SERIOUSLY DAMAGE THE COJUTEPEQUE (CUSCATLAN) MUNICIPAL BUILDING, NEIGHBORING HOUSES AND A CHURCH CLOCK.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06334 02 OF 02 010231Z

--ON 11/25 A GROUP ENTERED THE OFFICE OF THE SALVADORAN TOURISM INSTITUTE IN SAN SALVADOR WITH THE INTENTION OF ROBBING IT; THE GROUP LEFT AFTER FINDING AN EMPTY CASH BOX.
--ON OR ABOUT 11/25 AN ELECTRICAL TOWER WAS DYNAMITED NEAR ACAJUTLA (SONSONATE).
--ON OR ABOUT 11/25 ANOTHER ELECTRICAL TOWER BOMBING OCCURRED NEAR SANTIAGO DE MARIA (USULUTAN). FMLN (FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT) LEAFLETS WERE FOUND AT THE SITE.
--ON 11/26 IN SANTIAGO NONUALCO (LA PAZ) THE MUNICIPAL POLICE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM #OSAN SA006334

DIRECTOR, TWO POLICE AGENTS, AND A FOURTH MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEE WERE FOUND NAPPING BY A GROUP WHICH KIDNAPPED THEM AND STOLE SEVERALHKEAPONS AND UNIFORMS.
--ON 11/26 A BOMB EXPLOSION DESTROYED AN ANTEL TELEPHONE INSTALLATION IN SANTA TECLA (LA LIBERTAD).
--ON 11/27 AT MIDDAY A GROUP OF ABOUT TWENTY ARMED MEN ENTERED THE EXTERNADO SAN JOSE, A JESUIT HIGH SCHOOL, AND CAPTURED SIX LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR) WHO WERE MEETING THERE. THOSE CAPTURED WERE: ENRIQUE ALVAREZ CORDOVA, MANUEL FRANCO, JUAN CHACON, DROTEO HERNANDEZ, ENRIQUE BARRERA, AND HUMBERTO MENDOZA. THE BODIES OF ALL SIX MEN WERE FOUND EITHER THAT EVENING OR THE FOLLOWING MORNING; ALL HAD BEEN EITHER STRANGLED, SHOT OR BOTH. A RIGHTIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, THE GENERAL MAXIMILIANO HERNANDEZ MARTINEZ BRIGADE, CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MURDERS.
--ON 11/27 NEWSPAPERS INDICATED THAT ONE OR TWO DAYS PREVIOUSLY A SMALL AIRCRAFT TRANSPORTING ARMS FOR GUERRILLAS HAD CRASH LANDED AT A LOCATIION BETWEEN ZACATECOLUCA (LA PAZ) AND TECOLUCA (SAN VICENTE). THE DISPOSITION OF THE WEAPONS AND THE FATE OF THE CREW WAS LEFT UNCLEAR. ONE REPORT INDICATED THAT THE CREW WAS PICKED UP BY A SECOND AIRCRAFT AFTER THE ARMS ABOARD BOTH PLANES WERE DELIVERED TO THE INTENDED RECIPIENTS.
--ON 11/27 A GROUP OF TEN ARMED MEN SET FIRE TO AN INCAFE INSTALLATION NEAR IZALCO (SONSONATE).

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06334 02 OF 02 010231Z

--ON 11/28 A POWERFUL BOMB APPARENTLY PLACED INSIDE A VEHICLE EXPLODED IN FRONT OF SAN SALVADOR'S METROPOLITAN CATHEDRAL. THE EXPLOSION INJURED SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO WERE AMONG THOSE WHO TOOK OVER THE CHURCH IN PROTEST OVER THE KILLINGS OF THE SIX FDR LEADERS. PART OF THE STRUCTURE WAS SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY THE EXPLOSION AND THE ENSUING FIRE.

4. WEEKEND UPDATE: THIS WEEKEND HAS APPARENTLY PASSED QUIETLY. THE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE OF WHICH WE ARE AWARE AS OF 7:00 P.M. ON SUNDAY ARE THE BURNINGS OF SEVERAL BUSES EARLY ON SATURDAY MORNING AND A SHOOTING ENGAGEMENT IN THE EASTERN SECTOR OF SAN SALVADOR ON SATURDAY EVENING IN WHICH--ONE LISTNER CLAIMED--A BAZOOKA-LIKE WEAPON WAS USED. ALSO, THIS MORNING THERE WAS SHOOTING IN THE AREA OF--BUT NOT DIRECTED AT--THE EMBASSY.
WHITE

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DIRECCION GENERAL DE MIGRACION
EL SALVADOR, AMERICA CENTRAL

ENTRADAS DE RESIDENTES

Delegación: AEROPUERTO EL SALV.
Fecha: 2 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1980

ENTRADAS DE RESIDENTES

NOMBRE DEL VIAJERO	NACIONALIDAD	PROFESION	LUGAR Y FECHA DE NACIMIENT	DOCUMENTO DE VIAJE Y FECHA DE EXPEDICION	PROCEDENCIA	CARNET	FICHA	OBSERVACIONES	SEXO	ESTADO CIVIL
TACA 314 9:00 HORAS										
	ESPAÑOL	RELIGIOSO	47	21/79	PANAMA	6740	V.OF1.303		M	S
	SUIZO	EJECUTIVO	37	1708704	MANAGUA	5761			M	C
	NICARAG.	RELIGIOSO	49	063570	SAN JOSE	7462			M	S
PINEDA	HONDUREÑA	SECRETARIA		031796	PANAMA		32182		F	C
LACSA 647 9:40 HORAS										
[redacted]	USA	HOGAR	49	229001723	MEXICO	5578			F	S
TACA 111 13:20 HORAS										
	USA	ESTUDIANTE	21	22595958	NEW O LEANS		19537		F	S
	NIC.RAG.	DENTISTA	43	193179	"	4861			F	C
	CANADIENSE	HOGAR	21	10187	"	#108588			F	C
	PANAMA	TEC.COMERC.	32	N-14-27	GUAT	33558			M	C
LACSA 646 13:55 HORAS										
[redacted]	CANADIENSE	EMPLEADO	70	TV139317	PANAMA	5448			M	C
LANICA 416 16:00 HORAS										
	USA	COMERC.	47	28310815	MANAGUA		10171		M	C
	USA	RELIGIOSA	62	G124129	"	9437			F	S
	USA	RELIGIOSA	64	23579289	"		10438		F	S
TACA 311 17:25 HORAS										
	ALEMANA	EJECUTIVO	47	E0622319	MIAMI		30742		M	C
	COSTA RICA	EJEC.AVIAC.	68	28-79 SERIC	37127 MIAMI	476			M	C
COPA 318 19:00 HORAS										
ITA FORD	USA	RELIGIOSA	32	22761167	MANAGUA		10436		ET	S
MARY ELIZABETH CLARKE	USA	MISIONERA	49	23632292	"		33520		F	S
TACA 307 19:00 HORAS										
	MEXICANA	HOGAR	27	140-79	MEXICO	9344			F	C
	"	MENOR	2	180-81	"		33291		M	S
	"	MENOR	6	180-80	"		33467		M	S

NOTA: ESTE INFORME SE CIERRA CON EL NUMERO VEINTE(20)

ALEJANDRO ALBERTO CALDERON
SUB-DELEGADO DE MIGRACION...

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify
Date 6/19/98 Exemption B6

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 8ONANAGU005816 189

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PAGE 01 MANAGU 05816 032201Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07
H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SPRS-02
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-15 TRSE-00 /093 W
----------003188 032211Z /52

P R 031809Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7799
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AEMBASSY MEXICO 2662
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USINT HAVANA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

UNCLAS MANAGUA 5816

EO 12065 NA
TAGS: PEPR, ES, NU
SUBJ: GRN JUNTA AND FSLN NATIONAL DIRECTORATE DENOUNCE KILLING OF FDR LEADERS

1. THE GRN JUNTA AND FSLN NATIONAL DIRECTORATE HAVE BOTH ISSUED DENUNICATIONS OF THE KILLINGS OF SIX DEMOCRATIC REV-OLUTIONARY FRONT (FDR) LEADERS IN EL SALVADOR:

- GRN JUNTA COMMUNIQUE, DATED 29NOV SIGNED BY ALL FIVE JUNTA MEMBERS, CALLED THE KILLINGS A "CLEARLY GUIDED MANEUVER" WHICH IT CONDEMNED AS A "COWARDLY ACT" THE COMMUNIQUE RE-PUDIATED THE ESCALATION OF REPRESSION AND DEATH, CALLED ON THE GOVTS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO ACTIVELY EXPRESS
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PAGE 02 MANAGU 05816 032201Z

SOLIDARITY WITH THE VALIANT FIGHT OF THE SALVADORAN PATRIOTS, AND CONDEMNED ALL FOREIGN INTERFERENCE OR INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL MATTERS OF EL SALVADOR.

- THE FSLN COMMUNIQUE, DATED 29 NOV AND SIGNED BY COMMANDER BAYARDO ARCE AS COORDINATOR OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, FSLN NATIONAL DIRECTORATE, SAID THAT WITH THE KILLINGS THE WAR OF EXTERMINATION AGAINST THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE BY THE CIV-ILIAN-MILITARY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC JUNTA HAD RECHED INTOLERABLE
PAGE NO. 1

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032S

LEVELS. ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE THE DEATHS OF THE SIX "DEMOCRATIC AND REVOLUTIONARY" LEADERS SHOW THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE IN EL SALVADOR IS THE SURVIVAL OF THE PEOPLE, ALERTS NICARAGUANS AND TH WORLD TO THE CRIMINAL EAGERNESS OF A SMALL GROUP OF OLIGARCHIC POLITICIANS AND THE GENOCIDAL SALVADORAN ARMY TO CUT SHORT THE UNDERTAINABLE MARCH OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE TOWARD LIBERATION, AND IS A "BLOW TO THE CONSCIENCE" OF THOSE WHO HAVE SUPPORTED IN A SENSELESS MANNER THE EXTERMINATING ACTIONS OF THE SALVADORAN JUNTA. THE COMMUNIQUE EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT THE "NEW CRIME" WILL STRENGTHEN THE DECISION OF SALVADORANS TO FIGHT, THAT EFFORTS AND REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE REDOUBLED, AND THAT VICTORY IN EL SALVADOR WILL BE GAINED, AS IN NICARAGUA, BY THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES.

2. THE FSLN-DOMINATED POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY FRONT (FPR) ALSO ISSUED A STATEMENT ON THE KILLINGS IN SALVADOR. THE FPR CONDEMNED "THAT EXECRABLE CRIME" IN WHICH THE MOST RE-ACTIONARY SECTORS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE IMPLICATED BY MAINTAINING THE JRG I POWER. THE FPR SOUNDED AN ALERT AGAINST THE MANEUVERS OF NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS OF CENTRAL AMERICA THAT ARE LEADING TO THE INFERNAL WORK OF UNCHAINING AN ARMED FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN ELSALVADOR. IN ADDITION TO THE FSLN, THE PLI, PPSC, AND PS
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PAGE 03 MANAGU 05816 0322012

SIGNED THE FPR STATEMENT.

3. THE NOV 30 BARRICADA CARRIED GRN AND FSLN STATEMENTS ON ITS FRONT PAGE. FPR STATEMENT WAS BURIED INSIDE SAME ISSUE. PRO FSLN DIARIO PUBLISHED THE FSLN COMMUNIQUE ON THE FIRST PAGE OF THE NOV 30 EDITION UNDER THE TITLE "FSLN: EL SALVADOR WILL CONQUER," AND RAN THE GRN JUNTA DENUNCIATION ON PAGE 10 WITH THE FSLN CONTINUATION. THE NOV 30 LA PRENSA PUBLISHED THE GRNJUNTA STATEMENT ON PAGE ONE WITH THE HEADLINE, "JGRN CONDEMNS ASSASSINATION OF FDR LEADERS" AND DID NOT CARRY THE FSLN STATEMENT.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSTATE 319441

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PAGE 01 STATE 319441
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INFO OCT-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EUR-12 EA-10 ADS-00 HA-06
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
TRSE-00 SIG-03 /125 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

[redacted] STATE 319441

PAGE 02 STATE 319441

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/2/86 (MCCALL, RICHARD L.)

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, BL, ES

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12, NIGERIAN
- DRAFT DECISION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA AND
- EL SALVADOR; CUBAN RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9400323

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REF: (A) USUN 5505 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 317119 (NOTAL),
- (C) STATE 317048 (NOTAL), (D) STATE 316011

1. [redacted]

2. USDEL SHOULD ABSTAIN ON PROPOSED NIGERIAN DRAFT DECISION SIMPLY REFERRING BOLIVIAN AND SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS TO 37TH SESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION NEXT FEBRUARY/MARCH AS REPORTED REF A. IF CUBAN RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR COMES TO A VOTE DESPITE NIGERIAN EFFORTS, EARLIER INSTRUCTION FOR NEGATIVE VOTE (REF B) HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND CONFIRMED.

3. IF NIGERIANS GO AHEAD WITH THEIR PROPOSAL, AND IF THEY ARE ABLE TO CARRY MAJORITY OF THIRD WORLD DELEGATIONS WITH THEM OVER CUBA'S OPPOSITION, THEY WILL HAVE EXTRACTED US FROM A DILEMMA ON CUBA'S RESOLUTION ON SALVADORAN HUMANRIGHTS.RESOLUTION L.71/REV.2 ON EL SALVADOR IS LESS ACCEPTABLE THAN REV.1 HAD BEEN BUT ON THE OTHER HAND

INCLUDES ECUADOR AND PANAMA AS NEW CO-SPONSORS. OUR DIFFICULTY IN REFRAINING FROM A NEGATIVE VOTE ON RESOLUTION PRINCIPALLY SPONSORED BY CUBA, OUR ANTAGONIST IN EL SALVADOR, CONFLICTS WITH OUR DESIRE TO SHARE LEGITIMATE [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 319441

CONCERN OVER SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF LAST WEEK'S DEVELOPMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WESTERN EUROPEAN RESERVATIONS ON NIGERIAN APPROACH ON GROUNDS THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY INDEED IS COMPETENT TO DEAL WITH URGENT AND FLAGRANT HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS. LATTER POINT MIGHT BE SATISFIED BY TEXT OF NIGERIAN DRAFT, WHICH IS NOT YET AVAILABLE, IF IT REFERS TO BOLIVIAN AND SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS EXPLICITLY. WHILE WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A SEPARATE RESOLUTION ON BOLIVIA, OUR VITAL INTEREST IN EL SALVADOR IN THIS INSTANCE MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE ON THIS PROCEDURAL DECISION.

4. IF NIGERIAN PROPOSAL IS ADOPTED, USDEL SHOULD MAKE EXPLANATORY STATEMENT COVERING BOTH BOLIVIA AND EL SALVADOR. STATEMENT ON BOLIVIA WAS TRANSMITTED REF C, AND FOLLOWING TEXT ON EL SALVADOR IS REVISED FROM TEXT TRANSMITTED REF B. DELEGATION SHOULD ADJUST THESE TEXTS AS NECESSARY TO FIT EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON NIGERIAN DECISION. BEGIN TEXT:

- THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE CONCERN OF THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THIS ORGANIZATION FOR THE GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH ARE OCCURRING EVERY DAY IN EL SALVADOR. THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT THAT THESE VIOLATIONS REPRESENT A MATTER OF DEEP PREOCCUPATION TO ALL OF US.

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- MY GOVERNMENT HAS VOTED AGAINST THIS RESOLUTION BECAUSE WE FEEL IT IS UNBALANCED AND BECAUSE IT DOES NOT ADEQUATELY PORTRAY THE NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE GOING ON IN THAT TROUBLED COUNTRY AND DOES NOT GIVE AN ACCURATE PICTURE OF ALL SOURCES OF THE VIOLATIONS WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE.

- THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR IS FACED WITH EXTREME VIOLENCE EMANATING FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND RIGHT. WE [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 319441

CONDEMN THE VIOLENCE OF BOTH SIDES.

- WE CONDEMN THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, THE ASSASSINATION OF THE RECTOR OF THE UNVIERSITY OF SAN SALVADOR, THE ASSASSINATION OF MEMBERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND COUNTLESS OTHER VICTIMS ATTRIBUTED TO RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE. WE CONDEMN THE ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF ENRIQUE ALVAREZ CORDOVA AND FIVE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT ON NOVEMBER 25. WE URGE

THAT THE PERPETRATORS OF THESE MURDERS BE PROMPTLY APPREHENDED AND BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

- AT THE SAME TIME, WE CONDEMN ASSASSINATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO LEFT-WING TERRORIST GROUPS. ON JULY 19 A LEADER OF ONE OF THE LEFT-WING GUERRILLA GROUPS PUBLICLY STATED IN MANAGUA THAT HIS ORGANIZATION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE THAN 2,000 CASUALTIES DURING 1980. SINCE THAT TIME, LEFT-WING OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSASSINATIONS OF CIVILIANS INCLUDING MELVIN RIGOBERTO ORELLANA, SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ON OCTOBER 10 AND MANUEL RODRIGUEZ, MANAGER OF THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AND HIS WIFE ON NOVEMBER 4 AS WELL AS FOR A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE CITY OF SANTA ANA NOVEMBER 7 IN WHICH EIGHT PERSONS DIED.

- A WAR BULLETIN ISSUED BY A GROUP KNOWN AS THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FMNL) ON OCTOBER 27 REPORTED THAT IT HAD CARRIED OUT ATTACKS AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS SUCH AS SHOPPING CENTERS AND BANKS USING EXPLOSIVES AS BOOBY TRAPS. THE FMNL IN ITS "WAR BULLETIN" ALSO STATED THAT IT CONDUCTED ACTIONS [redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 319441

AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS WITH ITS PERSONNEL DRESSED AS NATIONAL GUARDSMEN USING SALVADORAN ARMY JEEPS.

- ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE PARTICIPATED AND ARE PARTICIPATING IN VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL. WE ARE PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED BY THIS, AND CALL ON THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR TO TAKE IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE STEPS TO BRING THESE UNDISCIPLINED MEMBERS OF ITS SECURITY FORCES TO JUSTICE.

- THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN SOME STEPS. IT HAS INVITED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS FROM THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO VISIT THAT COUNTRY AND TO STUDY FIRST HAND THE MULTIPLE SOURCES OF THE VIOLENCE. IT IS IMPLEMENTING NEEDED SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS TO ALLEVIATE LONG-STANDING INJUSTICES. IT HAS ANNOUNCED A TIMETABLE FOR POPULAR ELECTIONS. ON OCTOBER 15, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AN AMNESTY FOR ALL INSURGENTS WHO WISH TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. SEVERAL HUNDRED HAVE DONE SO.

- THE GOVERNMENT, UNFORTUNATELY, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING UNDER CONTROL EXTREMISTS WHO HAVE REJECTED APPEALS TO PARTICIPATE IN A DIALOGUE OR IN A DEMOCRATIC POLITICALPROCESS. ON OCTOBER 18,THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF EL SALVADOR OFFERED TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE

GOVERNMENT AND ITS OPPONENTS. THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE MEDIATION IN PRINCIPLE BUT REGRETTABLY, ON OCTOBER 29, THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT REJECTED THE MEDIATION OFFER. NOW THE NOVEMBER 25 KILLINGS OF THE FRONT LEADERS HAVE FURTHER DAMAGED PROSPECTS FOR MEDIATION AND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

- THE RESOLUTION BEFORE THIS BODY IS AN UNBALANCED ONE. IT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MULTIPLE SOURCES

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OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY. IT FURTHER DOES NOT MAKE REFERENCE TO THE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE CLANDESTINELY BEING PROVIDED EL SALVADOR FROM THE OUTSIDE. IT IS NOT WITHOUT SIGNIFICANCE THAT TWO AIRCRAFT CARRYING CLANDESTINE SHIPMENT OF ARMS HAVE CRASH-LANDED IN EL SALVADOR IN RECENT MONTHS, THE MOST RECENT BEING AN AIRPLANE REPORTED TO BE CONNECTED WITH ONE OF THE SPONSORS OF THIS RESOLUTION. GIVEN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES MY GOVERNMENT CANNOT SUPPORT A RECOMMENDATION DENYING A GOVERNMENT THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE ASSISTANCE WITH WHICH TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND LIVES OF PEOPLE OPPOSED TO THE VIOLENCE OF THE RADICAL GROUPS AT BOTH EXTREMES.

- (IF APPROPRIATE) MR. CHAIRMAN, WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS COMPETENT TO CONSIDER THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS IN BOLIVIA OR IN EL SALVADOR,

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OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY FOR THAT MATTER. WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE SITUATIONS IN THESE TWO COUNTRIES WILL AT LEAST BE ON THE AGENDA FOR THE 37TH SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. WE LOOK FORWARD TO CONSIDERING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS OF SEVERAL COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD AT THAT SESSION. MUSKIE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08420 0301352
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 SY-05 OCT-02 SYE-00 SR-04
SPRS-02 AID-07 CCO-00 FBOE-00 PM-07 M-01 INR-10
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USSS-00 CA-01 A-02 OCS-06 OMB-01 SS-15 CIAE-00
DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
LAB-04 SIL-01 /122 W
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O R 0301002 DEC 88
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1393
AMEMBASSY BONN
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8420

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSS

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/2/86 OR-P
TAGS: SNUM PINT PINS ASEC ES
SUBJ : [redacted] KILLING OF FDR LEADERS - TUESDAY NOON, DEC 2

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ON THE DAY BEFORE THE FUNERAL OF THE SIX SLAIN REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (FDR) LEADERS, SAN SALVADOR IS EXPERIENCING ONLY THE USUAL AMOUNT OF VIOLENCE. THE CITY'S ACTIVITIES REMAIN AT A NORMAL LEVEL, AND THERE ARE FEW INDICATIONS OF TENSIONS OR PREPARATIONS FOR TOMORROW'S EVENT. THE LABOR UNITY COMMITTEE (CUS THE LOOSE ORGANIZATION [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08420 0301352

OF ALL THE FDR'S LABOR GROUPS) TODAY PUBLISHED A FUNERAL

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]

NOTICE ASKING ITS MEMBERS TO ATTEND. THE MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES REMAIN ON ALERT, BUT WE UNDERSTAND THAT THEY WILL BE KEPT OUT OF THE AREA OF THE FUNERAL, AND WILL ONLY BE USED IN THE EVENT OF OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE.

3. AS OF THIS MORNING, THE PDC HAD NO RESPONSE FROM THE MILITARY TO THE SEVEN POINTS WHICH IT HAD PRESENTED. ONE PDC OFFICIAL STATED CONFIDENTIALLY THAT THE PDC HAD PROPOSED THAT THE JRG BE REDUCED FROM FIVE TO THREE INDIVIDUALS, ELIMINATING COL. MAJANO (WHO RETURNED TO EL SALVADOR YESTERDAY) AND ONE OF THE CIVILIANS. THE SEVEN POINTS, ADDED THE OFFICIAL, DID NOT INCLUDE A THREAT TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT.

4. COMMENT. WE HAVE NO REPORTS OF PLANNED VIOLENCE DURING THE FUNERAL, BUT AN UGLY INCIDENT APPEARS TO BE IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE EXTREME RIGHT AND THE EXTREME LEFT. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT VIOLENCE WILL BE DIRECTED AGAINST THE EMBASSY, BUT, ACCORDING TO FBIS REPORTS, SOME LEFTISTS HAVE BLAMED "IMPERIALISM" FOR THE KILLINGS. THE FUNERAL IS NOT, REPEAT NOT SCHEDULED TO PASS NEAR THE EMBASSY.

5. ADDENDUM. ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON A DELEGATION OF PDC MEMBERS REQUESTED A WEDNESDAY MORNING MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR TO DISCUSS THE MILITARY'S INTRANSIGENCE AND ITS REFUSAL TO YIELD ON THE MATTER OF DISCHARGING RIGHTISTS FROM ITS RANKS.
WHITE

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(1451)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSTATE 319441

1104

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ADP582 [redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 319441
ORIGIN EB-15

INFO OCT-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EUR-12 EA-10 ADS-00 HA-06
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
TRSE-00 SIG-03 /125 R

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O P 030056Z DEC 80
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

[redacted] STATE 319441

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 319441

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/2/86 (MCCALL, RICHARD L.)

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, BL, ES

SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12, NIGERIAN
- DRAFT DECISION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA AND
- EL SALVADOR; CUBAN RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9400325

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOSTATE 319441

UNCLASSIFIED

REF: (A) USUN 5505 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 317119 (NOTAL),
(C) STATE 317048 (NOTAL), (D) STATE 316011

1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. USDEL SHOULD ABSTAIN ON PROPOSED NIGERIAN DRAFT DECISION SIMPLY REFERRING BOLIVIAN AND SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS TO 37TH SESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION NEXT FEBRUARY/MARCH AS REPORTED REF A. IF CUBAN RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR COMES TO A VOTE DESPITE NIGERIAN EFFORTS, EARLIER INSTRUCTION FOR NEGATIVE VOTE (REF B) HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND CONFIRMED.

3. IF NIGERIANS GO AHEAD WITH THEIR PROPOSAL, AND IF THEY ARE ABLE TO CARRY MAJORITY OF THIRD WORLD DELEGATIONS WITH THEM OVER CUBA'S OPPOSITION, THEY WILL HAVE EXTRACTED US FROM A DILEMMA ON CUBA'S RESOLUTION ON SALVADORAN HUMANRIGHTS.RESOLUTION L.71/REV.2 ON EL SALVADOR IS LESS ACCEPTABLE THAN REV.1 HAD BEEN BUT ON THE OTHER HAND

INCLUDES ECUADOR AND PANAMA AS NEW CO-SPONSORS. OUR DIFFICULTY IN REFRAINING FROM A NEGATIVE VOTE ON RESOLUTION PRINCIPALLY SPONSORED BY CUBA, OUR ANTAGONIST IN EL SALVADOR, CONFLICTS WITH OUR DESIRE TO SHARE LEGITIMATE [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 319441

CONCERN OVER SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF LAST WEEK'S DEVELOPMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WESTERN EUROPEAN RESERVATIONS ON NIGERIAN APPROACH ON GROUNDS THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY INDEED IS COMPETENT TO DEAL WITH URGENT AND FLAGRANT HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS. LATTER POINT MIGHT BE SATISFIED BY TEXT OF NIGERIAN DRAFT, WHICH IS NOT YET AVAILABLE, IF IT REFERS TO BOLIVIAN AND SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS EXPLICITLY. WHILE WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A SEPARATE RESOLUTION ON BOLIVIA, OUR VITAL INTEREST IN EL SALVADOR IN THIS INSTANCE MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE ON THIS PROCEDURAL DECISION.

4. IF NIGERIAN PROPOSAL IS ADOPTED, USDEL SHOULD MAKE EXPLANATORY STATEMENT COVERING BOTH BOLIVIA AND EL SALVADOR. STATEMENT ON BOLIVIA WAS TRANSMITTED REF C, AND FOLLOWING TEXT ON EL SALVADOR IS REVISED FROM TEXT TRANSMITTED REF B. DELEGATION SHOULD ADJUST THESE TEXTS AS NECESSARY TO FIT EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON NIGERIAN DECISION. BEGIN TEXT:

- THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE CONCERN OF THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THIS ORGANIZATION FOR THE GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH ARE OCCURRING EVERY DAY IN EL SALVADOR. THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT THAT THESE VIOLATIONS REPRESENT A MATTER OF DEEP PREOCCUPATION TO ALL OF US.

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- MY GOVERNMENT HAS VOTED AGAINST THIS RESOLUTION BECAUSE WE FEEL IT IS UNBALANCED AND BECAUSE IT DOES NOT ADEQUATELY PORTRAY THE NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE GOING ON IN THAT TROUBLED COUNTRY AND DOES NOT GIVE AN ACCURATE PICTURE OF ALL SOURCES OF THE VIOLATIONS WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE.

- THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR IS FACED WITH EXTREME VIOLENCE EMANATING FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND RIGHT. WE [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 319441

CONDEMN THE VIOLENCE OF BOTH SIDES.

- WE CONDEMN THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO, THE ASSASSINATION OF THE RECTOR OF THE UNVIERSITY OF SAN SALVADOR, THE ASSASSINATION OF MEMBERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND COUNTLESS OTHER VICTIMS ATTRIBUTED TO RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE. WE CONDEMN THE ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF ENRIQUE ALVAREZ CORDOVA AND FIVE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT ON NOVEMBER 25. WE URGE THAT THE PERPETRATORS OF THESE MURDERS BE PROMPTLY APPREHENDED AND BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

- AT THE SAME TIME, WE CONDEMN ASSASSINATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO LEFT-WING TERRORIST GROUPS. ON JULY 19 A LEADER OF ONE OF THE LEFT-WING GUERRILLA GROUPS PUBLICLY STATED IN MANAGUA THAT HIS ORGANIZATION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE THAN 2,000 CASUALTIES DURING 1980. SINCE THAT TIME, LEFT-WING OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSASSINATIONS OF CIVILIANS INCLUDING MELVIN RIGOBERTO ORELLANA, SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ON OCTOBER 10 AND MANUEL RODRIGUEZ, MANAGER OF THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AND HIS WIFE ON NOVEMBER 4 AS WELL AS FOR A ROCKET ATTACK ON THE CITY OF SANTA ANA NOVEMBER 7 IN WHICH EIGHT PERSONS DIED.

- A WAR BULLETIN ISSUED BY A GROUP KNOWN AS THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FMNL) ON OCTOBER 27 REPORTED THAT IT HAD CARRIED OUT ATTACKS AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS SUCH AS SHOPPING CENTERS AND BANKS USING EXPLOSIVES AS BOOBY TRAPS. THE FMNL IN ITS "WAR BULLETIN" ALSO STATED THAT IT CONDUCTED ACTIONS [redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 319441

AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS WITH ITS PERSONNEL DRESSED AS NATIONAL GUARDSMEN USING SALVADORAN ARMY JEEPS.

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- ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE PARTICIPATED AND ARE PARTICIPATING IN VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL. WE ARE PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED BY THIS, AND CALL ON THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR TO TAKE IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE STEPS TO BRING THESE UNDISCIPLINED MEMBERS OF ITS SECURITY FORCES TO JUSTICE.

- THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN SOME STEPS. IT HAS INVITED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS FROM THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO VISIT THAT COUNTRY AND TO STUDY FIRST HAND THE MULTIPLE SOURCES OF THE VIOLENCE. IT IS IMPLEMENTING NEEDED SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS TO ALLEVIATE LONG-STANDING INJUSTICES. IT HAS ANNOUNCED A TIMETABLE FOR POPULAR ELECTIONS. ON OCTOBER 15, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AN AMNESTY FOR ALL INSURGENTS WHO WISH TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. SEVERAL HUNDRED HAVE DONE SO.

- THE GOVERNMENT, UNFORTUNATELY, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING UNDER CONTROL EXTREMISTS WHO HAVE REJECTED APPEALS TO PARTICIPATE IN A DIALOGUE OR IN A DEMOCRATIC POLITICALPROCESS. ON OCTOBER 18,THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF EL SALVADOR OFFERED TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE

GOVERNMENT AND ITS OPPONENTS. THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE MEDIATION IN PRINCIPLE BUT REGRETTABLY, ON OCTOBER 29, THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT REJECTED THE MEDIATION OFFER. NOW THE NOVEMBER 25 KILLINGS OF THE FRONT LEADERS HAVE FURTHER DAMAGED PROSPECTS FOR MEDIATION AND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

- THE RESOLUTION BEFORE THIS BODY IS AN UNBALANCED ONE. IT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MULTIPLE SOURCES

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PAGE 06 STATE 319441

OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY. IT FURTHER DOES NOT MAKE REFERENCE TO THE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE CLANDESTINELY BEING PROVIDED EL SALVADOR FROM THE OUTSIDE. IT IS NOT WITHOUT SIGNIFICANCE THAT TWO AIRCRAFT CARRYING CLANDESTINE SHIPMENT OF ARMS HAVE CRASH-LANDED IN EL SALVADOR IN RECENT MONTHS, THE MOST RECENT BEING AN AIRPLANE REPORTED TO BE CONNECTED WITH ONE OF THE SPONSORS OF THIS RESOLUTION. GIVEN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES MY GOVERNMENT CANNOT SUPPORT A RECOMMENDATION DENYING A GOVERNMENT THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE ASSISTANCE WITH WHICH TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND LIVES OF PEOPLE OPPOSED TO THE VIOLENCE OF THE RADICAL GROUPS AT BOTH EXTREMES.

- (IF APPROPRIATE) MR. CHAIRMAN, WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS COMPETENT TO CONSIDER THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS IN BOLIVIA OR IN EL SALVADOR.

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OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY FOR THAT MATTER. WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE SITUATIONS IN THESE TWO COUNTRIES WILL AT LEAST BE ON THE AGENDA FOR THE 37TH SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. WE LOOK FORWARD TO CONSIDERING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS OF SEVERAL COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD AT THAT SESSION. MUSKIE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07430 01 OF 02 032214Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-06 ED-04 SY-05 DCT-02 /088 W
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P R 032127Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9045
INFO USCINCSO, QUARRY HEIGHTS, PN//INTAFF

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 7430

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SEDU, CI
SUBJ: A TURBULENT END TO THE UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC YEAR: NEW RECTORS; MORE RELEGATIONS; A TOUGH STANCE BY THE GOVERNMENT

REF: SANTIAGO 7314

1. SUMMARY: PERHAPS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE IMMINENT END OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR, PRESIDENT PINOCHET MOVED UNEXPECTEDLY TO REPLACE MOST OF CHILE'S UNIVERSITY RECTORS. ALREADY IDENTIFIED AS THE NEW HEADS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE AND THE STATE TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY (UTE) ARE TWO ACTIVE ARMY GENERALS, CLOSE CONFIDANTS OF PRESIDENT PINOCHET. THE PRESIDENT, MEANWHILE, WARNED IN HIS PUBLIC COMMENTS THAT AUTHORITIES WOULDSACT VIGOROUSLY TO END DISTURBANCES AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ON CAMPUS. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DISSIDENT STUDENTS AND THE AUTHORITIES ON THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE'S MACUL CAMPUS CONTINUE, BUT RECENT SIGNS OF COMPROMISE MAY FADE IN THE LIGHT OF THESE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS. MORE ARRESTS OCCURRED NEAR THE MACUL CAMPUS; AND FOUR STUDENTS DETAINED EARLIER HAVE NOW BEEN RELEGATED. DESPITE SOME ESTABLISHMENT URGINGS TO THE CONTRARY, PINOCHET
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07430 01 OF 02 032214Z

HAS GIVEN A CLEAR SIGN THAT HE AND THE GOC WILL CONTINUE A FIRM AND STRICT CONTROL OVER UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON DECEMBER 2, THE DAY AFTER PRESIDENT PINOCHET DIVULGED PUBLICLY IN IMPROMPTU FASHION THAT ALL UNIVERSITY RECTORS HAD OFFERED THEIR RESIGNATIONS, THE PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY IDENTIFIED GENERALS ENRIQUE

MOREL AND JORGE O'RYAN AS THE NEW RECTORS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE AND THE STATE TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY (UTE). RETIRED VICE-ADMIRAL SWETT, RECTOR AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WILL REPORTEDLY BE THE LONE HOLD-OVER. ANNOUNCEMENTS ON OTHER REPLACEMENTS ARE TO FOLLOW.

3. IN ANNOUNCING THE MASS RESIGNATION, THE PRESIDENT REVEALED HE WOULD NOT BE LOOKING WITHIN THE RESPECTIVE UNIVERSITIES FOR REPLACEMENTS: ". . . I BELIEVE THAT PROFESSORS SHOULD DEVOTE THEMSELVES WHOLLY TO TEACHING, WHICH IS THEIR TRUE VOCATION." HE REFUSED COMMENT ON WHETHER ANY PROFOUND CHANGES WOULD OCCUR. WHAT WAS CLEAR, HOWEVER, WAS THAT ANY CHANGES WOULD BE DESIGNED TO END STUDENT DISSIDENT ACTIVITY ON CAMPUS: "WHEN THERE IS ENERGY AND THE AUTHORITY ACTS AS IT SHOULD, THERE IS NO FERMENT ANYWHERE. FERMENT IS FINISHED IN THE UNIVERSITY."

4. PINOCHET CONTINUED THIS LINE ON DECEMBER 2 IN HIS NATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY ADDRESS TO WOMEN VOLUNTEERS GATHERED AT DIEGO PORTALES BUILDING. HE CHARACTERIZED UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCES AS THE PRODUCT OF A VIOLENT AND AGGRESSIVE MINORITY, STIMULATED FROM THE OUTSIDE. THESE ACTIVITIES WERE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT, HE SAID; THE SACRIFICES MADE OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME WERE NOT GOING TO BE LOST IN A MATTER OF DAYS. UNIVERSITIES WERE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07430 01 OF 02 032214Z

CENTERS OF HIGHER STUDIES, OF RESEARCH, DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF ITS SUBJECTS, AND NOT CENTERS OF POLITICS. RESPONDING TO A CALL FROM THE CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS FOR RECONCILIATION AND THE EASING OF RESTRICTIONS, PINOCHET SAID THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN SECTORS, MISINFORMED OR EMPLOYING FALSE CONCEPTS OF UNITY AND RECONCILIATION, WHO APPEARED TO HAVE FORGOTTEN THEIR RESPONSIBILITY IN THE MORAL IND INSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OF THE PAST. PINOCHET RENEWED THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT "TO ERADICATE ALL THE VICES OF THE PAST AND NOT ACCEPT HYPOCRISY, FALLACIES OR POLITICAL GAMES . . ." BESIDES OFFERING A GENERAL HOMAGE TO WOMEN IN CHILEAN SOCIETY, HE ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT A NEW MINISTRY OF THE FAMILY WOULD BEGIN OPERATING MARCH 1 OF NEXT YEAR.

5. AS FOR THE NEW RECTORS, GENERAL ENRIQUE MOREL, FORMERLY SANTIAGO MILITARY ZONE COMMANDER AND MILITARY JUDGE (IN THE PASSPORT FRAUD CASE), REPORTEDLY WILL BRING WITH HIM TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE A MILITARY TEAM TO HELP HIM RUN THE UNIVERSITY. (PINOCHET

REFUSED COMMENT ON THIS, HOWEVER). MOREL HAS BOTH COMMAND AND MILITARY ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE. GENERAL O'RYAN, FORMERLY THE HEAD OF ARMY INTELLIGENCE, COMES TO THE UTE WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANTIAL ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE. BOTH OFFICERS ARE CLOSE TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET.

6. AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE'S EAST CAMPUS (MACUL), THE RECENT STUDENT DISTURBANCES (REFTEL) HAVE LED TO A SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN CAMPUS AUTHORITIES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF OPPOSITION STUDENTS. THERE ARE ESSENTIALLY FOUR ITEMS BEING DISCUSSED: A CLARIFICATION OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MACUL CAMPUS SECURITY FORCES (OFICINA COORDINADORA ADMINISTRATIVA), WHICH DISSIDENT STUDENTS BELIEVE PLAYS TOO INFLUENTIAL A ROLE IN EFFECTING SUSPENSIONS AND OTHER DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS; THE REQUIREMENT THAT ID CARDS BE SHOWN TO ENTER THE CAMPUS; THE CLEAR
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 07430 01 OF 02 032214Z

IDENTIFICATION BY MEANS OF UNIFORM OF ANY UNIVERSITY GUARDS; AND THE REINCORPORATION OF PREVIOUSLY SUSPENDED OR EXPELLED STUDENTS. RECENT PRESS REPORTS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT COMPROMISE MAY BE REACHED ON ESTABLISHING THE UNIFORMED GUARDS AND NO LONGER REQUESTING IDENTIFICATION FOR ENTRANCE ON CAMPUS.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07430 02 OF 02 032222Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-06 ED-04 SY-05 DCT-02 /088 W
----------003367 032235Z /20

P R 032127Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9046
INFO USCINCSO, QUARRY HEIGHTS, PN//INTAFF

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 7430

7. THE PROSPECTS FOR COMPROMISE ARE FADING, NOT ONLY AS A RESULT OF THE CHANGE IN RECTORS AND PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S VERBAL BLASTS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF NEWLY-

REPORTED ARRESTS AND THE RELEGATION OF FOUR MACUL STUDENTS. THE LATTER (JAVIER SAEZ, CLAUDIO GUTIERREZ, FRANKLIN SANTIBANEZ AND CLAUDIO LEIVA) PREVIOUSLY HAD BEEN DETAINED ON NOVEMBER 29 AFTER AN UNAUTHORIZED CEREMONY AT THE ANDRES BELLO MONUMENT. THEY HAVE NOW BEEN SENT INTO ENFORCED RESIDENCE FOR THREE MONTHS IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS ON THE ISLAND OF CHILOE. IN A SEPARATE INCIDENT, SEVEN AS YET UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS WERE DETAINED THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 2 FOR CARRYING OUT AN ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATION. REPORTEDLY, THEY HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF VIOLATING THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW.

8. COMMENT: SECTORS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, PERHAPS BEST EXEMPLIFIED BY THE PRESTIGIOUS "EL MERCURIO", HAVE LONG BEEN PRESSING THE GOVERNMENT TO END THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF APPOINTED RECTORS, ARGUING THAT IT HAS OUTLIVED ITS PURPOSE. PRESIDENT PINOCHET CLEARLY DID NOT AGREE. HIS FIRM STANCE IS CONSISTENT WITH HIS INTEREST AND CONCERN, ALREADY KNOWN, IN UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS. THE MOST RECENT INCIDENTS IN THEMSELVES DO NOT APPEAR SIGNIFICANT ENOUGH
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07430 02 OF 02 032222Z

TO PROVOKE THE HOUSECLEANING AND THE RESTATED TOUGHNESS--THE MOST DISRUPTIVE ACTS WERE LOCALIZED IN ONLY PART OF ONE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE'S CAMPUSES. THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY REMAINS UNAFFECTED IN PART BECAUSE THE VATICAN RECENTLY AFFIRMED SUPPORT FOR SWETT AND ALSO BECAUSE THE ELECTED PRO-GOVERNMENT STUDENT ORGANIZATION ENJOYS OVERWHELMING MAJORITY STUDENT SUPPORT. IN THESE RECENT EVENTS PINOCHET HAS GIVEN A CLEAR MESSAGE TO ALL THAT HE AND THE GOC WILL RETAIN A FIRM AND DIRECT CONTROL OVER THE UNIVERSITIES. IN SO DOING, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO ARGUE CONVINCINGLY THAT PROGRESS TOWARD A NEW INSTITUTIONALITY IN THE UNIVERSITIES IS ANYTHING MORE THAN RHETORIC. FURTHER, A GOVERNMENT CRACKDOWN IS LIKELY TO PERSUADE MORE STUDENTS THAT PEACEFUL PRESSURES TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE ARE FUTILE, LEADING TO MORE POLARIZATION WITHIN THE UNIVERSITIES. THE WHOLE EPISODE SEEMS A SEVERE AND UNWARRANTED PUBLIC CRITICISM OF FORMER UNIVERSITY OF CHILE RECTOR AGUSTIN TORO DAVILA, A VERY SENIOR AND HIGHLY RESPECTED GENERAL ONLY RECENTLY RETIRED. SOME BELIEVE TORO DAVILA WILL, IN FACT, BE MOVED TO ANOTHER JOB OF IMPORTANCE (DAO UNDERSTANDS HE MAY BECOME MINISTER OF DEFENSE WHEN THE CURRENT MINISTER BENAVIDES BECOMES THE NEW ARMY JUNTA MEMBER).
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA008460

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASED

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08460 032344Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ICA-11 H-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSC-05 EB-08 L-03 AGRE-00 COME-00
SPRS-02 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 HA-06
XMB-02 /091 W
----------003780 040011Z /65

P R 032300Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1420
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
SLRUEHZP/AMEMBASSY PANAMA 6585
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8460

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/3/86 OR-P
TAGS: EAID PINT ES
SUBJECT: (U) RESTRICTIONS ON U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR

1. (U) SAN SALVADOR PRESS TODAY DECEMBER 3 FRONT-PAGED OR FEATURED A UPI DISPATCH DESCRIBING WHAT UPI INTERPRETED AS A HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ACTION TO EXCLUDE FROM U.S. FOREIGN ASSISITANCE
ANY MONEY FOR SALVADORAN LAND REFORM.

2. [redacted] USICA DISTRIBUTED A CLARIFICATION LATER IN THE DAY OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE LEGISLATION'S INTENT, BUT THIS NEWS FELL HERE AT A DISTRESSING TIME FOR THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT NEVERTHELESS. PHASE ONE OF LAND REFORM IS ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE PLAGUED WITH ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS; IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS FOR PHASE THREE ("LAND TO THE TILLER") HAVE YET TO BE ISSUED; PHASE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08460 032344Z

TWO IS IN ABEYANCE.

3. [redacted] NUMBERS OF OFFICIALS ASSOCIATED WITH LAND REFORM TELEPHONED THE EMBASSY 12/3 BEFORE THE EMBASSY CLARIFICATION WAS ISSUED TO INQUIRE WHETHER IT WAS EVEN "WORTH IT" TON CONINUE WITH PLANNING AND PROCESSING IMPLEMENTING LAND REFORM LEGISLATION.
KLETE

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9400023

Chile Project (#S199900050)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise_____ Deny___
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

MSP93

UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Mr. Bonker:

Thank you for your letter of [illegible] November 10 in which you express [illegible] human rights situation [illegible] tration to consider cosponsorship [illegible] in the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. On November 19 a draft resolution was circulated that was cosponsored by Algeria, Cuba, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, [illegible], Vietnam and Yugoslavia. We believed this resolution was inaccurate in important respects and that it was not in our interest to cosponsor it. After discussion and negotiations a better resolution emerged which we supported. After casting our "yes" vote, we issued the following explanatory statement:

> Mr. Chairman, my delegation wishes to explain our vote in favor of the resolution on human rights in Chile contained in document A/C 3/35/L61. We do this because we wish to associate ourselves with the recommendations calling upon the authorities in Chile to improve the observance of and respect for human rights. As in past years, we continue to welcome and support United Nations demonstration of concern for human rights in Chile.
>
> While significant deficiencies remain in Chile in the respect for human rights, deficiencies with which the Government of Chile should continue to be confronted and called on to improve, there have been significant positive changes since 1977. These improvements have been cited in various public

The Honorable Don Bonker, Chairman,
Subcommittee on International Organizations,
House of Representatives.

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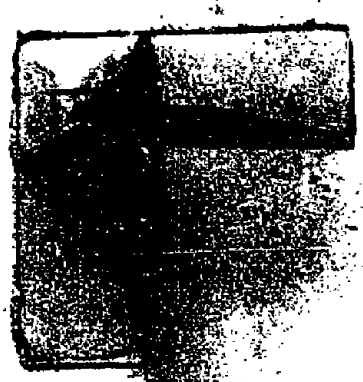
reports on human [illegible]
are ignored in [illegible]
been in previous [illegible]
on human rights [illegible]
to by the Soviet [illegible]
governments. We believe [illegible]
made to make them [illegible]

We further note that some [illegible]
of this report for [illegible]
over violations [illegible]
own countries than in Chile [illegible]
for reforms which are [illegible]
in their nations than in Chile. [illegible]
to single out Chilean human rights practices
when there are no reports [illegible]
on countries in which human rights practices
are inferior to those in Chile, suggests
an unfortunate double standard and tends
to work against the crucial role of promoting
a greater respect for human rights in the
world. The goal of this body and the debate
should be an effective and evenhanded approach
to situations of human rights abuses.

We would hope that the Chilean authorities would continue to take steps to improve the human rights situation in that country and that the UNHRC at its next session, in the light of circumstances at that time, will be open to considering approaches to the human rights problem in Chile other than that of a Special Rapporteur.

The United States remains concerned about the need to end all human rights violations in Chile. We continue to monitor the human rights situation in Chile and to report on it to our Congress. We believe that progress towards improving human rights can be best achieved by maintaining a firm and credible stand and one that is based on a comprehensive and objective view of the situation.



We appreciate your sharing your views with us. If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

J. Brian Atwood
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Drafted:ARA/SC/CH:PDWhitney:ms
12/5/80 Ext. 22575 (80-4870) S/S 8024487

Clearances:ARA/SC:REService
ARA/CHP:RKohn
H:JMcBride
HA:RJorgenson
IO/HR:NShafer

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASE

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TELEGRAM

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( ); law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( ); not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

FROM: XXXXXX SAN SALVADOR | CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: GDS 12/4/86 (DION, Mark) OR-M
TAGS: CASC PINS PINT ES
SUBJECT: Murder of Four U.S. Citizen Nuns

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

AMB [redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8480

DCM
POL
MILGP
CHRON
RF

1. (C - entire text.)

2. At 4:00 p.m. on December 3, Father Paul Schindler, a U.S. Catholic citizen [redacted] priest resident in Saragosa near La Libertad, called the Ambassador to report the disappearance of three U.S. citizen nuns and one U.S. citizen lay missionary. One nun attached to his parish, Sister Rita Kazel, accompanied by lay missionary Jean Donovan, went to the international airport at 5:00 p.m. on December 2 to meet Sister Maura Clark and Sister Ita Ford, resident in Managua, who were arriving on a Lanica flight due in at 6:00 p.m. The four never returned. Father Schindler had not been alarmed because he

DRAFTED BY: AM DCM:JMDion:eg | DRAFTING DATE: XX 12/4/80 | TEL. EXT.: 301 | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: DCM

CLEARANCES:

RIF RC 1546

[redacted] CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 1
(Formerly FS-41)

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

assumed that they had gone directly to San Salvador and stayed with friends. When they never appeared in San Salvador or Saragosa, he became alarmed and phoned the Ambassador for help.

3. On the Ambassador's instructions, MILGP Commander Col. Cummings telephoned Defense Minister Garcia to request his assistance in finding the missing missionaries. Col. Garcia promised full cooperation and, over the next ten hours, spoke repeatedly with Col. Cummings. Meanwhile, U.S. Consul Patricia Lasbury, a personal friend of the two missionaries resident in Saragosa, telephoned the Director of the National Police, Col. Lopez Nuila, to ask his assistance. Thereafter Col. Lopez Nuila spoke to Miss Lasbury and Col. Cummings by telephone throughout the night of December 3. At approximately 8:00 p.m. the Ambassador was informed by Father Schindler that the parish vehicle, a jeep waggoner, had been found by local people some nine km from the airport exit road on the main highway to San Salvador. The vehicle was off the highway some distance and had been burned. No one was in the vehicle. This information was passed immediately to the Defense Minister and the Police Chief. They promised to send investigators to the site immediately.

4. Early on the morning of December 4th the Ambassador and Miss Lasbury met at the Camino Real Hotel with a group of Canadian missionaries who had arrived via Taca from Miami

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

shortly before the Lanica flight carrying the nuns from Managua. The Canadian group had spoken with all four of the missing missionaries but departed the airport some time before the other group. The Canadians were stopped approximately three miles from the International airport by uniformed soldiers in black boots who carried G-3 rifles and wore helmets. They were forced to get out of their vehicles and stand kx by the side of the road with their hands up while the soldiers searched the cars thoroughly. They were then allowed to proceed. This was at approximately 6:00 p.m. (after dark in El Salvador). The Canadian group was leaving for the airport morning of December 4 and the Ambassador offered to accompany them so they could show hm the spot where they had been searched.

5. At 10:40 a.m. on December 4th Msgr. Freddy Delgado, Vicar of the Archdiocese of San Vicente, called to speak to the Ambassador. DCM took the call. He was told that the bodies of the four nuns were found by parishoners near Santa Rita Almendro in the vicinity of Zacatecoluca. They were buried on the farm of Pulgencio Guzman. The four were wearing sandals and dresses or slacks and have the appearance of North Americans. He is certain they are the four missing nuns. The parishoners who found the bodies are terrified to be identified. Their pastor called the Archbishophric of San Vicente and provided all the information.

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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Apostolic Administrator Rivera y Damas spoke to DCM by phone at 11:00 a.m. He had received the same information from Msgr. Delgado and was forming a committee to proceed to the site in order to identify the bodies. He asked if the Embassy would want to send a representative with the committee or separately, noting that the missionaries were unbr the jurisdiction of the archbishopric and were therefore his responsibility although as U.S. citizens clearly the Embassy had a legitimate interest in the identification. DCM told Msgr. Rivera y Damas that full details on the location of the Guzman ~~finca~~ farm had been given Ambassador White by telephone at the airport and that the Ambassador planned to go there directly. He would be accompanied by U.S. Consul, Miss Lasbury. Archbishop Rivera y Damas expressed satisfaction with this information and promised to send his group directly.

7. DCM phoned the MILGP Commander, Col. Cummings at the office of Police Chief Lopez Nuila and provided him the above information. Col. Cummings has now reported that he made the strongest representation to Lopez Nuila, and will see Col. Garcia now, to express the shock and dismay of the U.S. Embassy with this tragic incident and to counsel that a thoroughgoing investigation be made immediately into the circumstances with the aim of punishing the guilty as promptly as possible.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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8. On his return, Ambassador White willm make the demarche described in telephone conversation between Mike Barry and DCM which will be subject of immediate telegram enroute from the Department.

WHITE

[redacted]
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FileName : ...xt/t801291/aaaacwgh.tel

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PAGE 01 HAVANA 08372 042122Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 EB-08 DOE-17 TRSE-00 COME-00 OMB-01
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2303
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/TD Date 8/5/97
RELEASE EXCISE DENY DECLASSIFY DECLASSIFY IN PART EO Citations
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ HAVANA 8372

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/4/86 (TIPTON, JB) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, ENRG, MX, CU
SUBJ: HIGH-LEVEL PEMEX DELEGATION IN HAVANA

1. (U) OFFICIAL CCP DAILY GRANMA DECEMBER 4 REPORTED ARRIVAL IN HAVANA PREVIOUS DAY OF HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION FROM PETROLEOS MEXICANOS HEADED BY PEMEX DIRECTOR GENERAL JORGE DIAZ SERRANO. OTHER MEMBERS ARE CESAR BAPTISTA, DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION; ROBERTO OSEGUEIRA, DEPUTY MANAGER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS; REYNALDO JAUREGUI; MIGUEL GONZALEZ; AND JAVIER MENESES. DELEGATION WAS ACCOMPANIED BY CUBAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO FERNANDO LOPEZ MUINO AND WAS MET BY ALL-STAR CAST OF SENIOR CUBAN OFFICIALS HEADED BY MINISTER OF BASIC INDUSTRIES JOEL DOMENECH AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION MINISTER HECTOR RODRIGUEZ LLOMPART.

2. (U) ACCORDING TO GRANMA, DIAZ SERRANO ANNOUNCED UPON ARRIVAL THAT "WE HAVE THE GREATEST DESIRE TO HOLD CONVERSATIONS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF CLOSER TIES BETWEEN MEXICO AND CUBA IN THE ENERGY FIELD,
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PAGE 02 HAVANA 08372 042122Z

(PETROLEUM) REFINING, TRADE IN (PETROLEUM) PRODUCTS, AND JOINT EXPLORATION, JOINING YOUR TECHNICAL CONTRIBUTION WITH OURS." DELEGATION BEGAN TALKS IN MINISTRY OF BASIC INDUSTRIES SHORTLY AFTER ARRIVAL, THEN WAS RECEIVED BY CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ, THIRD RANKING OFFICIAL IN CUBAN HIERARCHY. ITEMS DISCUSSED IN LATTER SESSION ACCORDING TO GRANMA WERE DEVELOPMENT OF PETROLEDUSTRY IN CUBA, MEXICAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THIS FIELD, AND STUDIES OF POSSIBLE OFFSHORE JOINT EXPLORATION ACTIVITIES. DELEGATION WILL VISIT "NICO LOPEZ" REFINERY IN HAVANA DECEMBER 4, ONE OF TWO PRINCIPAL PETROLEUM REFINERIES IN CUBA.

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3. (C) INTERESTINGLY, IN RECENT CONVERSATION WITH USINT CHIEF, CUBAN OFFICIAL, APROPOS OF NOTHING, RAISED MATTER CUBA'S ENERGY PROBLEMS, COMMENTING THAT EVEN SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT WITH USSR DID NOT INSULATE CUBA ALTOGETHER AND THAT CUBA COULD NOT BE SO COMPLACENT AS TO ASSUME THIS ARRANGEMENT WAS ETERNAL. HENCE, IT HAD TO BE REVIEWING LONG-RANGE ALTERNATIVES. WHEN USINT CHIEF ASKED IF MEXICO REPRESENTED POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE, OFFICIAL RESPONDED THAT IT BUT THAT PRICE WAS HIGH AND CUBA NOT YET IN SUCH DIFFICULT STRAITS THAT IT WILLING TO PAY IT. SMITH

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02

USINFO

80 DEC 5 8

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

USICA ATTN PDA, ID: FOLLOWING STAFF-WRITTEN REPORT

EO 12065 N/A

ON "U.S. SUPPORTS NEW U.N. RESOLUTION ON CHILE." (BEGIN TEXT)

UNITED NATIONS, DEC. 4 -- A NEW UNITED NATIONS CALL ON CHILE TO IMPROVE OBSERVANCE AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS FULLY ENDORSED BY THE UNITED STATES.

PATRICK FLOOD, THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE 35TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIRD COMMITTEE (SOCIAL, CULTURAL, HUMANITARIAN), ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THE VOTE OF A RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DECE,BER 3. THE VOTE WAS 90 IN FAVOR TO EIGHT AGAINST WITH 37 ABSENTIONS. IT CALLS ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO EXPRESS GRVE CONCERN AT THE DETERIORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE IN COMPARISON WITH THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR.

CHILEAN AUTHORITIES ARE URGED TO RESPECT AND PROMITE HUMAN RIGHTS AND INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS.

FLOOD MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF ENDORSEMENT:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MY DELEGATION WISHES TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE VOTED IN FAVOR TO THE RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT A/C. 3/35/L.61/REV.1. WE DO THIS BECAUSE WE WISH TO ASSOCIATE OURSELVES WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS CALLING UPON THE AUTHORITIES IN CHILE TO IMPROVE THE OBSERVANCE OF AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. AS IN PAST YEARS, WE CONTINUE TO WELCOME AND SUPPORT UNITED NATIONS DEMONSTRATION OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILEM

WHILE SIGNIFICANCE DEFICIENCIES REMAIN IN CHILE IN THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, DEFICIENCIES WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE CONFRONTED AND CALLED ON TO IMPROVE, THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT POSITIVE CHANGES SINCE 1977. THESE IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN CITED IN VARIOUS PUBLIC REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, BUT THEY ARE IGNORED IN THIS RESOLUTION AS THEY HAVE BEEN IN PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS. IF RESOLUTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE UNITED NATIONS ARE TO BE LISTENED TO BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE AND BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS, WE BELIEVE AN EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO MAKE THEM AS OBJECTIVE AS POSSIBLE.

WE FURTHER WOULD NOTE THAT SOME OF THE CO-SPONSORS

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OF THIS RESOLUTION ARE EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER VIOLATIONS WHICH ARE WORSE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES THAT IN CHILE AND ARE CALLING FOR REFORMS WHICH ARE FARTHER FROM REALITY IN THEIR NATIONS THAN IN CHILE.

CONTINUING TO SINGLE OUR CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES, WHEN THERE ARE NO REPORTS OR RESOLUTIONS ON

BT
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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02

USINFO

USICA ATTN POA, ID: FOLLOWING STAFF-WRITTEN REPORT

EO 12065 N/A

COUNTRIES IN WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES ARE INFERIOR TO THOSE IN CHILE, SUGGESTS AN UNFORTUNATE DOUBLE STANDARD AND TENDS TO WORK AGAINST THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF PROMOTING A GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD. THE GOAL OF THIS BODY AND THE UNHRC SHOULD BE AN EFFECTIVE AND EVEN-HANDED APPROACH TO SITUATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.

WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES WOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY AND THAT THE UNHRC AT ITS NEXT SESSION, IN THE LIGHT OF CIRCUMSTANCES AT THAT TIME, WILL BE OPEN TO CONSIDERING APPROACHES TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IN CHILE OTHER THAN THAT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.

THE UNITED STATES REMAINS CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEED TO END ALL HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHILE. WE CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE AND TO ON IT TO OUR CONGRESS. WE BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BE BEST ACHIEVED BY MAINTAINING A FIRM AND CREDIBLE STAND AND ONE THAT IS BASED ON A COMPREHENSIVE AND OBJECTIVE VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

(END TEXT) REGARDS. DAVIS

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 18459 062056Z

ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00
DODE-00 EB-08 DOE-17 H-01 INR-10 INT-05 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 OMB-01 PM-07 ICA-11 SPRS-02 OES-09
SP-02 SS-15 STR-10 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 EUR-12 AGRE-00
NEA-06 /161 W

027619 062233Z /21

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR Date 8/5/97
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ MEXICO 18459

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/5/86 (PRYCE, WILLIAM T.) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, ENRG, CU, MX
SUBJECT: PEMEX DIRECTOR VISITS CUBA

REF: HAVANA 8372

1. (U) WITH REGARD TO REFTEL REPORT ON VISIT OF JORGE DIAZ SERRANO, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF PEMEX, TO CUBA, THE LATTER TOLD THE PRESS UPON HIS DEPARTURE FROM MEXICO CITY, DECEMBER 3, THAT HE WOULD BE DISCUSSING WITH THE CUBANS CONTINUED MEXICAN ADVISORY ASSISTANCE AT THE NICO LOPEZ REFINERY IN HAVANA, POSSIBLE COMMERCIAL SALE OF MEXICAN PETROCHEMICAL AND REFINED PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, AND JOINT EXPLORATION WITH CUBANS OF OFFSHORE ZONE.

2. (C) COMMENT: AMBASSADOR RAUL VALDES, FONSEC DIRECTOR-IN-CHIEF OF BILATERAL AFFAIRS, TOLD US, DECEMBER 4, THAT CUBANS CONTINUE TO BE UNINTERESTED IN PARTICIPATION IN VENEZUELAN-MEXICAN PETROLEUM FACILITY AND SUPPLY OF MEXICAN CRUDE BECAUSE OF CUBA'S PREFERENTIAL TERMS OF TRADE WITH SOVIET UNION (I.E.,
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 18459 062056Z

THE LINK BETWEEN THE PRICE OF CUBAN SUGAR AND THAT OF COMMODITIES, INCLUDING OIL, PURCHASED FROM THE SOVIET UNION.) (DRAFTED: JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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RELEASE 8525

TELEGRAM

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)
CHARGE TO

FROM: AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted] Poc 23-8

12065:
E.O. [redacted]
TAGS: N/A
PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: BROADCAST OF JRG LETTERS ORDERING INVESTIGATION OF SLAYINGS OF FOUR AMERICAN CITIZENS
ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

POL [redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8525

AMB
DCM
ECON (R&W)
USICA
DATT
MILGP
RSO

CHRON
RF

1. The National Radio Network broadcast the texts of the letters sent by the JRG to the Attorney General, the Director General of the National Guard, and the President of the Supreme Court of Justice ordering an investigation into the slayings of the three American nuns and one American lay missionary. The initial broadcast was made at 6:30 a.m. December 5. Our informal translation of the texts of those letters follows.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER TO ATTORNEY GENERAL.

SAN SALVADOR 4 DECEMBER 1980.

Mr. Attorney General of the Republic:

DRAFTED BY: F
CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM (Formerly FS January Dept. of

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El Salvador: Human Ri
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The Honorable Revolutionary Governing Junta, profoundly moved by the kidnapping and subsequent assassination of the North American nuns Ita Ford, Marina (sic) Clark, and [redacted] Dorothy Hazel (sic) and the missionary Jean Donovan, has instructed me to ask that you order a prompt and detailed investigation of the act and to provide a report on the investigation made as soon as is possible.

Having brought the above to your attention I take the opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

God, Union, and Liberty.

Colonel and Dr. Rodolfo Antonio Revelo, Private Secretary [redacted] (to the Revolutionary Governing Junta).

END TEXT.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER TO DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

SAN SALVADOR 4 DECEMBER 1980.

Col. Eugenio Vides Casanova,

Director General of the National Guard.

The Honorable Revolutionary Governing Junta, deeply concerned by the kidnapping and subsequent assassination of the North American nuns Ita Ford, Marina (sic) Clark, Dorothy Hazel (sic) and the missionary Jean Donovan, acting through me, orders you to carry out a detailed

[redacted]

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

investigation of the act, at the same time asking you to provide a report on the same in the shortest possible amount of time.

Having brought the above to your attention, I take this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

God, Union and Liberty.

Colonel and Dr. Rodolfo Antonio Revelo, Private Secretary (to the Revolutionary Governing Junta).

END TEXT.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT.

SAN SALVADOR 4 DECEMBER 1980.

Mr. President of the Supreme Court of Mx Justice:

The Honorable Revolutionary Governing Junta has instructed me in ~~their~~ its name to solicit from the Supreme Tribunal ~~in~~ any order to all concerned for the urgent investigation ~~into~~ of the kidnapping and assassination of the North American nuns Ita Ford, Marina (sic) Clark, and Dorothy Hazel (sic) and the lay missionary Jean Donovan.

Having brought the above to your attention, I take this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

God, Union and Liberty.

Colonel and Dr. Rodolfo Antonio Revelo, Private

OPTIONAL FORM 162-
(Formerly FS-413A
January 197
Dept. of State

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Right
Special Project (1993)

Secretary (to the Revolutionary Governing Junta)

(Addressed to)

Leonel Carías Delgado,

President of the Supreme Court of Justice.

END TEXT.

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[redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80MEXICO018462

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 18462 01 OF 02 051920Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-07 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 H-01 DODE-00 TRSE-00 AID-07 /064 W
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P 051748Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9719
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PA

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 18462

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/4/86
TAGS: PEPR, MILI, MX, ES
SUBJECT: GOM ATTITUDES ON EL SALVADOR

REF: MEXICO 18228

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE PRESENTED THREE BACKGROUND PAPERS ON EL SALVADOR (STATE 297397, 298341, AND 297364) TO FONSEC DIRECTOR-IN-CHIEF OF BILATERAL AFFAIRS AMBASSADOR RAUL VALDES, DECEMBER 4, REITERATING PRINCIPAL POINTS IN PAPERS. IN FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION, AMBASSADOR VALDES, REFLECTING AROUSED EMOTIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE MANIFESTED BY FOREIGN SECRETARY CASTANEDA TO SECRETARY MUSKIE, NOVEMBER 29, SAID THAT IN GOM VIEW, JUNTA IS EITHER ACTIVELY SPONSORING OR PASSIVELY CONDONING RIGHTIST VIOLENCE THAT IS CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE.

3. AMBASSADOR VALDES SAID THAT ATTACK ON COLONEL MAJANO TWO WEEKS AGO AND ASSASSINATION OF FDR LEADERS ARE SYMPTOMATIC OF RUNAWAY VIOLENCE BY RIGHT. DESPITE THIS VIOLENCE, HE SAID, THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF ANY ARRESTS OF RIGHTISTS NOR REPORTS OF ANY RIGHTISTS GOING INTO
[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 18462 01 OF 02 051920Z

EXILE OR SEEKING POLITICAL ASYLUM. (WE CORRECTED VALDES, POINTING TO MAJOR D'AUBUISSON AND OTHER RIGHTISTS WHO HAVE DEPARTED EL SALVADOR.)

4. IN DISCUSSION OF FDR KILLINGS IN WHICH WE POINTED OUT THAT LATEST INFORMATION DOES NOT INDICATE WITH CERTAINTY THE IDENTITY OF RESPONSIBLE PARTIES, AMBASSADOR VALDES AGREED THAT NO POSITIVE PROOF HAS BEEN PRESENTED. HE RAISED THE SUSPICION, HOWEVER, THAT

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032T

PAGE NO. 1

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JUNTA MEMBER COLONEL GUTIERREZ IS SOMEHOW INVOLVED. AMBASSADOR VALDES INDICATED THAT FUTURE GOM ACTION--PRESUMABLY WITH REGARD TO MAINTENANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH JRG--WOULD BE DETERMINED BY FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS. HE SAID THAT IF FURTHER "REPRESSION" TAKES PLACE AND RIGHTISTS CONTINUE TO ACT WITH IMPUNITY, IT WILL BE HARDER TO SUPPORT THE JUNTA. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, A MORE FREE ATMOSPHERE IS CREATED ("WHERE PEOPLE HAVE LIBERTY TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES, INCLUDING IN THE STREETS"), THE GOM COULD MAINTAIN ITS CURRENT POSTURE VIS-A-VIS THE JRG.

5. AMBASSADOR VALDES STRONGLY ASSERTED THAT THE JUNTA SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO INCREASE "REPRESSION." (IN THIS REGARD, WE NOTE THAT THE GOM IS LISTED AS A LATE CO-SPONSOR OF THE SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 3, WHICH CALLS ON GOVERNMENTS NOT TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR. ON GENERAL QUESTION OF SUPPORT FOR JUNTA, WE INDICATED THAT, IF JUNTA IS WEAK AND UNABLE TO CONTROL RIGHTIST VIOLENCE, AS MEXICANS BELIEVE, OUTSIDE STATES SHOULD SEEK TO SUPPORT, NOT DEBILITATE, JUNTA, ESPECIALLY IF ALTERNATIVE IS A MORE REPRESSIVE REGIME. AMBASSADOR VALDES TOOK NOTE OF POINT, [redacted]

PAGE 03 MEXICO 18462 01 OF 02 051920Z

BUT MAINTAINED THAT OUTSIDE SUPPORT WILL ONLY FACILITATE JUNTA "REPRESSION.")

6. SEPARATELY, SALVADORAN CHARGE NAZA TOLD US, DECEMBER 4, THAT JUNTA IS "BACK TO ZERO" IN ITS RELATIONS WITH GOM IN WAKE OF FDR ASSASSINATIONS. NAZA SAID THAT PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO, AFTER FDR ASSASSINATION, TURNED DOWN HONDURAN INVITATION TO ATTEND CEREMONY MARKING DEPOSIT OF SALVADORAN-HONDURAN BORDER TREATY. NAZA ADDED THAT HE IS ALSO PREOCCUPIED OVER FATE OF FINANCIAL AGREEMENT UNDERLYING VENEZUELAN-MEXICAN PETROLEUM FACILITY ACCORD WITH EL SALVADOR WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN SIGNED. (COMMENT: PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO, IN A PRESS CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 2, REITERATED THE GOM'S POSITION THAT THE VENEZUELAN-MEXICAN PETROLEUM ARRANGEMENT IS ABOVE POLITICS AND, THEREFORE, WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT.)

7. IN OTHER RELATED DEVELOPMENTS, FOREIGN SECRETARY CASTANEDA, IN CARACAS, DECEMBER 2, CONDEMNED MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ANY GROUP IN EL SALVADOR. UPON HIS RETURN TO MEXICO, DECEMBER 3, THE SECRETARY REPORTEDLY STATED THAT NO PEACEFUL SOLUTION THROUGH DIALOGUE IS NOW POSSIBLE IN EL SALVADOR. (COMMENT: CASTANEDA EXPRESSED INTEREST IN SOME TYPE OF OUTSIDE MEDIATION IN HIS TALKS WITH SECRETARY MUSKIE, NOVEMBER 29.)
8. COMMENT: WHILE IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE GOM WILL MAIN-

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOMEXICO018462

TAIN ITS PETROLEUM AGREEMENT WITH EL SALVADOR (AT LEAST AS REGARDS SUPPLY OF OIL, IF NOT FINANCING), AMBASSADOR VALDES' REMARKS SUGGEST THAT GOM MAINTENANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH URG IS MORE PROBLEMATICAL. THE EMOTIONAL REACTION OF SECRETARY CASTANEDA AND HIS ASSOCIATES TO

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOMEXICO018462

ADP557 [redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 18462 02 OF 02 0519222
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-07 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 H-01 DODE-00 TRSE-00 AID-07 /064 W
----------019228 052005Z /47

P 051748Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9720
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PA

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 18462

RIGHTIST VIOLENCE, AND THEIR SEEMING IGNORANCE OR IMPLICIT JUSTIFICATION OF VIOLENCE BY THE LEFT, CONTINUE TO MAKE A MEXICAN BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE JRG A POSSIBILITY. THESE ATTITUDES ALSO SUGGEST THAT THE FONSEC SENIOR STAFF WILL BE CRITICAL OF ANY FUTURE ADDITIONAL U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR. THIS CRITICISM APPEARS TO BE AN ELABORATION OF PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S PREVIOUS ADMONITION AGAINST DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION AND SUPPORT FOR "REPRESSION" IN CENTRAL AMERICA (SEE MEXICO 17228). (DRAFTED BY JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10494 0523022
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 DCT-02 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /082 W
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P 0521382 DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9737
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PANAMA

[redacted] MEXICO 10494

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/5/86 [redacted] OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, ES, MX
SUBJECT: PRI DEPLORES FOR ASSASSINATION

1. (U) EL DIA, DECEMBER 5, CARRIES TEXTS OF TWO TELEGRAMS SENT BY RULING PRI PARTY PRESIDENT CARVAJAL TO SALVADORAN JRG CONDEMNING FOR ASSASSINATIONS. ONE TELEGRAM WAS DISPATCHED IN THE NAME OF THE PRI AND THE OTHER IN THE NAME OF THE PRI-SPONSORED PERMANENT CONFERENCE OF LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES (COPPPAL).

2. (U) PRI TELEGRAM STATES, INTER ALIA, THAT, "WE PROFOUNDLY DEPLORE WHAT HAS HAPPENED AND MAKE OUR MOST ENERGETIC PROTEST TO THE JUNTA, DEMANDING THAT IT PROCEED ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY. WE LAMENT THE FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT THIS COLLECTIVE HOMICIDE SIGNIFIES AND ASK THAT SUCH OUTRAGES CEASE IMMEDIATELY. WE DEMAND CLARIFICATION OF THE DEEDS AND ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITIES FOR SUCH AN INHUMAN ACT." COPPPAL TELEGRAM MAKES SIMILAR POINTS, ADDING THAT THE KILLINGS, ". . . DESTROY POSSIBILITIES FOR DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY."

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 10494 0523022

3. (C) COMMENT: PRI TELEGRAM AVOIDS PLACING DIRECT

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Special Project (1993)

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[redacted]

BLAME FOR KILLINGS ON JUNTA IN LINE WITH GOM DECISION. FOR THE MOMENT, NOT TO PROCEED TO BREAK OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. (DRAFTED BY [redacted] NAVA

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80MEXICO018462

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 18462 01 OF 02 051920Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-07 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 H-01 DODE-00 TRSE-00 AID-07 /064 W
-----------019223 052006Z /47

P 051748Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9719
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PA

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 18462

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/4/86
TAGS: PEPR, MILI, MX, ES
SUBJECT: GOM ATTITUDES ON EL SALVADOR

REF: MEXICO 18228

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE PRESENTED THREE BACKGROUND PAPERS ON EL SALVADOR (STATE 297397, 298341, AND 297364) TO FONSEC DIRECTOR-IN-CHIEF OF BILATERAL AFFAIRS AMBASSADOR RAUL VALDES, DECEMBER 4, REITERATING PRINCIPAL POINTS IN PAPERS. IN FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION, AMBASSADOR VALDES, REFLECTING ARDUSED EMOTIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE MANIFESTED BY FOREIGN SECRETARY CASTANEDA TO SECRETARY MUSKIE, NOVEMBER 29, SAID THAT IN GOM VIEW, JUNTA IS EITHER ACTIVELY SPONSORING OR PASSIVELY CONDONING RIGHTIST VIOLENCE THAT IS CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE.

3. AMBASSADOR VALDES SAID THAT ATTACK ON COLONEL MAJANO TWO WEEKS AGO AND ASSASSINATION OF FDR LEADERS ARE SYMPTOMATIC OF RUNAWAY VIOLENCE BY RIGHT. DESPITE THIS VIOLENCE, HE SAID, THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF ANY ARRESTS OF RIGHTISTS NOR REPORTS OF ANY RIGHTISTS GOING INTO
[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 18462 01 OF 02 051920Z

EXILE OR SEEKING POLITICAL ASYLUM. (WE CORRECTED VALDES, POINTING TO MAJOR D'AUBUISSON AND OTHER RIGHTISTS WHO HAVE DEPARTED EL SALVADOR.)

4. IN DISCUSSION OF FDR KILLINGS IN WHICH WE POINTED OUT THAT LATEST INFORMATION DOES NOT INDICATE WITH CERTAINTY THE IDENTITY OF RESPONSIBLE PARTIES, AMBASSADOR VALDES AGREED THAT NO POSITIVE PROOF HAS BEEN PRESENTED. HE RAISED THE SUSPICION, HOWEVER, THAT

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
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Date: 05/24/94
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Special Project (1993)

JUNTA MEMBER COLONEL GUTIERREZ IS SOMEHOW INVOLVED. AMBASSADOR VALDES INDICATED THAT FUTURE GOM ACTION--PRESUMABLY WITH REGARD TO MAINTENANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH JRG--WOULD BE DETERMINED BY FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS. HE SAID THAT IF FURTHER "REPRESSION" TAKES PLACE AND RIGHTISTS CONTINUE TO ACT WITH IMPUNITY, IT WILL BE HARDER TO SUPPORT THE JUNTA. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, A MORE FREE ATMOSPHERE IS CREATED ("WHERE PEOPLE HAVE LIBERTY TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES, INCLUDING IN THE STREETS"), THE GOM COULD MAINTAIN ITS CURRENT POSTURE VIS-A-VIS THE JRG.

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BUT MAINTAINED THAT OUTSIDE SUPPORT WILL ONLY FACILITATE JUNTA "REPRESSION.")

6. SEPARATELY, SALVADORAN CHARGE MAZA TOLD US, DECEMBER 4, THAT JUNTA IS "BACK TO ZERO" IN ITS RELATIONS WITH GOM IN WAKE OF FDR ASSASSINATIONS. MAZA SAID THAT PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO, AFTER FDR ASSASSINATION, TURNED DOWN HONDURAN INVITATION TO ATTEND CEREMONY MARKING DEPOSIT OF SALVADORAN-HONDURAN BORDER TREATY. MAZA ADDED THAT HE IS ALSO PREOCCUPIED OVER FATE OF FINANCIAL AGREEMENT UNDERLYING VENEZUELAN-MEXICAN PETROLEUM FACILITY ACCORD WITH EL SALVADOR WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN SIGNED. (COMMENT: PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO, IN A PRESS CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 2, REITERATED THE GOM'S POSITION THAT THE VENEZUELAN-MEXICAN PETROLEUM ARRANGEMENT IS ABOVE POLITICS AND, THEREFORE, WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT.)

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8. COMMENT: WHILE IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE GOM WILL MAIN-

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOMEXICO018482

TAIN ITS PETROLEUM AGREEMENT WITH EL SALVADOR (AT LEAST AS REGARDS SUPPLY OF OIL, IF NOT FINANCING), AMBASSADOR VALDES' REMARKS SUGGEST THAT GOM MAINTENANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH JRG IS MORE PROBLEMATICAL. THE EMOTIONAL REACTION OF SECRETARY CASTANEDA AND HIS ASSOCIATES TO

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOMEXICO018462

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Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 18462 02 OF 02 051922Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-07 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 H-01 DODE-00 TRSE-00 AID-07 /064 W
----------019228 052005Z /47

P 051748Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9720
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PA

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 18462

RIGHTIST VIOLENCE, AND THEIR SEEMING IGNORANCE OR IMPLICIT JUSTIFICATION OF VIOLENCE BY THE LEFT, CONTINUE TO MAKE A MEXICAN BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE JRG A POSSIBILITY. THESE ATTITUDES ALSO SUGGEST THAT THE FONSEC SENIOR STAFF WILL BE CRITICAL OF ANY FUTURE ADDITIONAL U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR. THIS CRITICISM APPEARS TO BE AN ELABORATION OF PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S PREVIOUS ADMONITION AGAINST DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION AND SUPPORT FOR "REPRESSION" IN CENTRAL AMERICA (SEE MEXICO 17225). (DRAFTED BY JON D. GLASSMAN) NAVA

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RELEASE

TELEGRAM

526 RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Righ
Special Project (1993)
INSERT
COLLECT
CHARGE TO

FROM: AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted] Poc 23-8

12065
E.O. XXXX
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: PINS PINT SHUM ES
GOVERNMENT DECLARATION ON SLAYINGS OF FOUR AMERICANS

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

POL
AMB
DCM
ECON
USICA
DATT
MILGP
RSO

CHRON
RF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8526

1. San Salvador dailies the morning of December 5 printed a GOES declaration on the slayings of the three American nuns and one American lay missionary. Our informal translation of the text of that declaration follows.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

The Government of El Salvador together with the Salvadoran public in this delicate moment in its history profoundly deplores and energetically condemns the crime committed against the persons of the nuns of the Maryknoll order, Ita Ford and Maura Clark; of the Ursuline nun Dorothy Hazel (sic) and of the secular missionary Jean Donovan.

DRAFTED BY: F
CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE: 12/5/80 | TEL. EXT.: 305 | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: AMB:REWhite

[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 1
(Formerly FS-41
January 19
Dept. of

86F85 [illegible] 1844

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Collection (1993)

The Revolutionary Salvadoran government [redacted] of the gravity of the problem and disposed to take wide-ranging measures to put an end to the system of violence, as well as to punish the guilty wherever they may be found since it is impossible to continue bearing [redacted] this situation which has caused so much damage to our country and to our people.

It is important under these circumstances to remind international public opinion that forces external to our own nation throughout the world have been mobilized to disinform and disorient as part of their plans for the capture of power in El Salvador by violent means. In that effort the actions of terrorists of the extreme left and of the extreme right coincide; they have demonstrated an absolute lack of scruples and have committed bloody acts including in their political plans some who believe in good faith in their repeated propagandistic schemes.

Viewing the Salvadoran situation with objectivity, the profound reforms that the Government of El Salvador is realizing in favor of the great majority of the people are combatted and obstructed by means of terror, attempting in that way to annul the possibilities of a complete consolidation and success.

The Salvadoran public knows this but [redacted] it is opportune to remind all the peoples of the world of this.

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Special Project (1993)

The failure of the revolutionary government process here is desired and promoted by two sectors: international Marxism which seeks to increase itself geographically and those oligarchical gentlemen who seek the return to past systems of injustice and of privileges for opulent minorities.

To all the citizens of the country who are able to do so the Revolutionary Salvadoran Government asks their help and cooperation in the investigations begun in order to clarify the crime committed against the four North American citizens.

The Revolutionary Governing Junta has given orders to the Attorney General's office and to the office of the Director General of the National Guard and has asked the Supreme Court of Justice that this case be investigated rapidly.

END TEXT.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SSA868

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08545 052341Z 5 DEC 80 18 57
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 AID-07 PC-01 A-02
OPR-02 SY-05 STE-00 OC-06 CCO-00 DCT-02 OCS-06
CA-01 HA-06 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /105 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1464
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8545

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/5/86 (MILLSPAUGH, ROBERT) OR-P
TAGS: PINT ES
SUBJ: (C) THE PDC AND THE CRISIS

S/S-O

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

S/S-O

2. SUMMARY. ON DECEMBER 5 THE PDC REMAINS RESOLVED THAT THE MILITARY MUST DEFINE ITSELF IN FAVOR OF "THE PROCESS". ITS SECRETARY GENERAL EXPECTS A RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT CRISIS WITHIN 72 HOURS. END SUMMARY.

3

3. ON DECEMBER 5 LABOR ATTACHE DROPPED IN ON A GATHERING OF SIX CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY MEMBERS, INCLUDING SECGEN JULIO SAMAYOA. THEIR MEETING PLACE LOOKED AND FELT LIKE A WAR ROOM AWAITING THE NEWS OF A DECISIVE BATTLE. TIRED BUT DETERMINED, THE OFFICIALS WERE IN GOOD SPIRITS AND

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

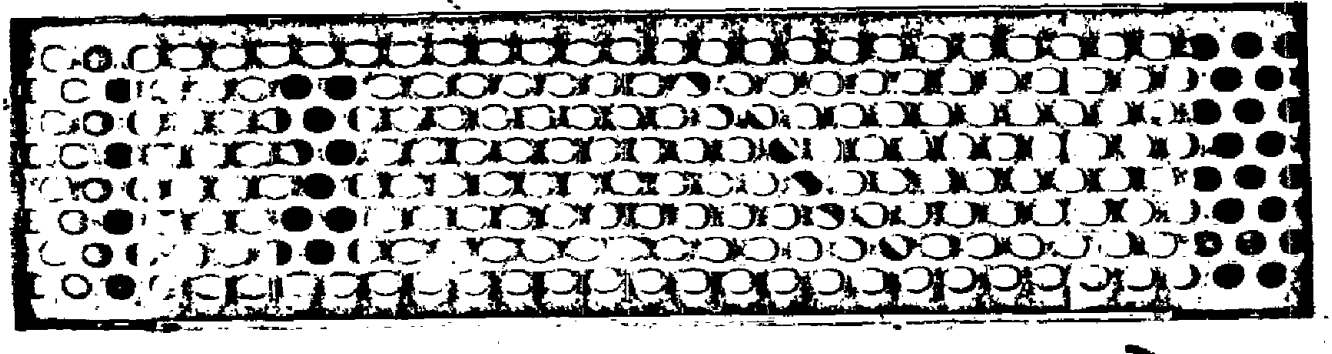
HAD CLEARLY RESOLVED TO DEMAND CHANGES FROM THE MILITARY AS THE PRICE OF REMAINING IN THE GOVERNMENT.

4. SEVERAL EXPRESSED THEIR CONDOLENCES ABOUT THE KILLING OF FOUR U.S. CITIZENS.

5. ALL HAD HEARD THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE USG HAD SUSPENDED ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR. SECGEN SAMAYOA COMMENTED THAT THE SUSPENSION WOULD HELP THE PDC PERSUADE THE MILITARY THAT CHANGES WERE NECESSARY.

6. ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIALS, THE MILITARY IS NOW VOTING TO DECIDE WHO WILL LEAD IT AND THEREFORE WHAT POLICY IT WILL FOLLOW. THEY DID NOT KNOW WHEN THE VOTE WOULD BE COMPLETED BUT EXPECTED IT SOON. SAMAYOA STATED THAT ONE UNIT (ARTILLERY) HAD CAST 37 VOTES FOR COL. GUTIERREZ, FOUR FOR ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL, WITH THREE ABSTENTIONS. SAMAYOA SAID THAT THE ELECTION OF GUTIERREZ WOULD SIGNAL THE MILITARY'S COMMITMENT TO "THE PROCESS", BUT OTHER CHANGES WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE. THE PDC OFFICIALS ALL AGREED THAT A REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE NECESSARY. SAMAYOA EXPECTED THE PRESENT CRISIS TO BE RESOLVED WITHIN 72 HOURS, AND HE SAID THAT THE PDC WOULD REMAIN IN MORE OR LESS CONTINUAL SESSION UNTIL THEN.

7. DURING THE LAST TWO DAYS POLOFFS HAVE SPOKEN WITH A NUMBER OF PDC OFFICIALS. ALL SEEMED DETERMINED TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT UNLESS THE MILITARY MAKES CONCESSIONS, AND ALL WELCOME THIS SHOWDOWN. ONE SAID THE VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR AGREED WITH THEIR STAND AND APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR RIVERA HAD EXPRESSED "UNDERSTANDING" OF THEIR POSITION. ANOTHER STATED THAT THE PDC HAS DRAWN



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UP A LIST OF WORST OFFENDERS IN THE MILITARY AND WILL NOT BE SATISFIED UNLESS THESE ARE DISMISSED OR INCARCERATED.
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05601 01 OF 03 0523022
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
HA-06 DCT-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /115 W
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O 0522512 DEC 86
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3686
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY HAVANA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 05601

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/04/86
TAGS: SHUM, ES, PORG, UNGA
SUBJECT: 39TH UNGA - THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12 - HUMAN
RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, ACTION
[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 05601 01 OF 03 0523022

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/25/94
Case ID: S9400327

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REF: A) USUN 5576 (NOTAL), B) STATE 319441,
C) USUN 5505 (NOTAL)

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: AS REPORTED REF A, GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIRD COMMITTEE ON DECEMBER 3 ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR, 83-13(US)-46. ACCEPTANCE BY CO-SPONSORS OF A MINOR LAST-MINUTE AMENDMENT INDUCED SOME WESTERN DELEGATIONS TO VOTE YES INSTEAD OF ABSTAINING. TEXT OF RESOLUTION AS ADOPTED IS IN PARA 3 BELOW. A DOZEN DELEGATIONS WHICH HAD PARTICIPATED IN IMMEDIATELY-PRECEDING VOTES ON CHILE AND BOLIVIA DID NOT PARTICPATE IN THE VOTE ON EL SALVADOR. EXPECTED NIGERIAN DRAFT DECISION REFERRING BOLIVIA AND EL SALVADOR RESOLUTIONS TO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION DID NOT MATERIALIZE. (DETAILS ON NIGERIAN PROPOSAL REPORTED SEPTEL.) END SUMMARY.

3. TEXT OF RESOLUTION AS ADOPTED:

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BEGIN TEXT:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS,

[redacted]

PAGE 03 USUN N 05601 01 OF 03 052302Z

CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL,

NOTING THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,

BEARING IN MIND RESOLUTION 19 OF 30 JULY 1980 OF

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THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN,

DISMAYED BY REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EL SALVADOR AND ESPECIALLY BY THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF PERSONS AND THE CLIMATE OF REPRESSION AND INSECURITY PREVAILING IN THE COUNTRY, WHICH FAVOURS TERRORISM BY PARAMILITARY GROUPS AND ENABLES IT TO BE ENGAGED IN WITH IMPUNITY,

DEEPLY SHOCKED BY THE VILE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO, A PRESTIGIOUS PERSONALITY, OUTSTANDING FOR HIS DEFENCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE, AND BY THE PERSECUTION OF SALVADOREAN FIGURES SUCH AS MONSIGNOR ARTURO RIVERA DAMAS, APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SAN SALVADOR,

GRAVELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE UNKNOWN FATE OF MANY PERSONS DETAINED BY THE AUTHORITIES,

PROFOUNDLY INDIGNANT AT THE ASSASSINATION OF MR. ENRIQUE ALVAREZ CORDOVA, PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF EL SALVADOR, AS WELL AS OF FIVE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THAT FRONT, PERPETRATED

[redacted]

ON 27 NOVEMBER 1980 IN SAN SALVADOR,

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05601 02 OF 03 052304Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
HA-06 OCT-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /115 W
------------------020927 052310Z /61
O 052281Z DEC 80
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3687
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 05601

CONSIDERING THAT THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL SERVE TO AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY,

[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 05601 02 OF 03 052304Z

1. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN AT THE GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN EL SALVADOR;

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2. DEPLORES THE MURDERS, DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTED IN EL SALVADOR AND REQUESTS THE SALVADOREAN AUTHORITIES TO TAKE PROMPT ACTION TO CURB THE REPREHENSIBLE ACTIVITIES OF PARAMILITARY GROUPS;

3. URGES THE SALVADOREAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN THAT COUNTRY AND TO GUARANTEE THE SAFETY OF MONSIGNOR ARTURO RIVERA DAMAS, APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SAN SALVADOR, WHOSE LIFE IS IN DANGER;

4. APPEALS FOR A CESSATION OF VIOLENCE AND FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR;

5. CALLS ON GOVERNMENTS TO REFRAIN FROM THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES;

6. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXAMINE, AT ITS THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR. END TEXT.

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4. THIRD COMMITTEE DISCUSSION: IRELAND ANNOUNCED DURING DEBATE THAT CO-SPONSORS HAD ACCEPTED DELETION OF WORDS "TO EL SALVADOR" FROM FINAL PREAMBULAR [redacted]

PAGE 03 USUN N 05601 02 OF 03 052304Z

PARAGRAPH AND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 5 CONCERNING "THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE". (COMMENT: IRISH DELEGATE O'DONOVAN HAD EARLIER TOLD USDEL THAT IRELAND AND SOME OTHER WEOG BELIEVED PHRASE "TO EL SALVADOR" MEANT TO THE "GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR", AND THAT ITS DELETION WOULD REMOVE ANY IMPLICATION THAT ONLY AID TO THE GOES WAS COVERED BY THE RESOLUTION. END COMMENT.) CO-SPONSORS MADE CLEAR DURING ENSUING DISCUSSION THAT THEY WOULD ENTERTAIN NO FURTHER AMENDMENTS. IRELAND THEN ASKED FOR POSTPONEMENT OF VOTE UNTIL MORNING TO ALLOW

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DELEGATIONS TIME TO SEEK FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS FROM GOVERNMENTS. UK SUPPORTED IRISH PROPOSAL, BUT SEVERAL CO-SPONSORS OBJECTED. IRISH PROPOSAL WAS THEN PUT TO A VOTE AND DEFEATED 29-48(US)-36. (COMMENT: IRISH REQUEST FOR DELAY WAS APPARENTLY INTENDED TO GARNER MORE WESTERN AFFIRMATIVE VOTES, OR EVEN CO-SPONSORS O'DONOVAN SAID PRIVATELY THAT IRELAND WAS ITSELF LEANING TOWARD CO-SPONSORSHIP AFTER DELETION OF PHRASE "TO EL SALVADOR", END COMMENT.)

5. VOTING: FOLLOWING DEFEAT OF IRISH REQUEST FOR POSTPONEMENT, USDEL (ATKINS) AND SEVERAL OTHER DELEGATIONS DELIVERED EXPLANATION OF VOTE. (USDEL STATEMENT HAS BEEN ISSUED AS USUN PRESS RELEASE - POUCHED TO IO/HR:SHAFT.) RESULTS OF VOTE WERE 63-13(US)-40. BESIDES US, NEGATIVE VOTES WERE BY ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, BRAZIL, CHILE, COLOMBIA, COMOROS, COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, PARAGUAY, PHILIPPINES, AND URUGUAY. NEO COUNTRIES ABSTAINING WERE: AUSTRALIA, FRANCE, FRG, ITALY, JAPAN, PORTUGAL, AND UK. VOTING IN FAVOR WERE: AUSTRIA, BENELUX COUNTRIES, CANADA, NORDIC COUNTRIES, GREECE, IRELAND, AND NEW ZEALAND. MALTA AND SPAIN DID NOT VOTE. AMONG THE LATIN AMERICAN/CARIBBEAN GROUP, THE VOTE

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AF-10 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-06
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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AMEMBASSY LISBON
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 05601

WAS 9-6-10. VOTING IN FAVOR: BARBADOS, CUBA, ECUADOR, GRENADA, GUYANA, JAMAICA, MEXICO, NICARAGUA, AND PANAMA. ABSTAINING WERE: BAHAMAS, HAITI, PERU, SURINAME, TRINIDAD-TOBAGO AND VENEZUELA.

[redacted]

NOT VOTING WERE: DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND HONDURAS.

6. COMMENT: THE TOTAL OF 63 YES VOTES ON THE [redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN N005618

ADP'SOS [redacted]

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PAGE 01 USUN N 05618 01 OF 02 060158Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-12 ADS-00 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SPRS-02
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 EA-10
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AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05618

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, UNGA, PORG, NI, ES
SUBJECT: 35TH UNGA - THIRD COMMITTEE: NIGERIAN
-- DRAFT DECISION PROPOSING REFERRAL OF COUNTRY-
-- SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS TO UN HUMAN RIGHTS COM-
-- MISSION

REF: (A) STATE 319441, (B) USUN 5505

1. SUMMARY: AS DEPARTMENT AND ADDRESSEE POSTS ARE AWARE, NIGERIAN DELEGATION TO UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE HAD BEEN LOBBYING FOR SEVERAL DAYS ON BEHALF OF A PROPOSED DRAFT DECISION TO MERELY REFER THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON BOLIVIA AND EL SALVADOR TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. IN THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 4, NIGERIA REVISED THE PROPOSAL TO COVER ALL FUTURE COUNTRY-SPECIFIC SITUATIONS. IN THE END, THOUGH, NEITHER VERSION WAS FORMALLY INTRODUCED OR DEBATED. WE HAVE HEARD A RUMOR THAT NIGERIA MAY ATTEMPT TO [redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 05618 01 OF 02 060158Z

REVIVE THE PROPOSAL IN PLENARY AND WOULD APPRECIATE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS TO COVER THIS CONTINGENCY. END SUMMARY.

2. MOST THIRD COMMITTEE DELEGATIONS HAD EXPECTED THAT NIGERIA WOULD FORMALLY PROPOSE DRAFT DECISION (SIMPLY REFERRING BOLIVIA AND EL SALVADOR CASES TO UNHRC) JUST BEFORE COMMITTEE BEGAN VOTING PROCESS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (RESPECTIVELY, L.62/REV.2

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/25/94
Case ID: 9400327

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AND L.71/REV.2). HOWEVER, FOR REASONS WHICH REMAINCLEAR TO US, NIGERIAN DELEGATE WAS CHAMBER WHEN DEBATE TOOK PLACE ON THE BOLIVIAN RESOLUTION. AFTER SEVERAL DELEGATIONS SPOKE ON L.52, MEXICO MOVED CLOSURE OF THE DEBATE. MOROCCO THEN APPEALED TO CHAIRMAN TO WAIT FOR EXPECTED NIGERIAN DRAFT DECISION. CHAIRMAN OBSERVED THAT NIGERIAN DELEGATE WAS NOT PRESENT, DENIED THE REQUEST, AND HELD A VOTE WITH THE RESULT THAT COMMITTEE APPROVED CLOSURE BY.74-36(US)-21. CHAIRMAN THEREUPON INITIATED VOTING PROCESS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ITSELF. NIGERIAN DELEGATE RETURNED BEFORE VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION WAS TAKEN AND ATTEMPTED TO INTRODUCE HER DRAFT DECISION. CHAIRMAN RULED HER OUT OF ORDER ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE VOTING PROCESS WAS UNDERWAY. COMMITTEE THEN ADOPTED RESOLUTION L.52/REV. 2 BY A RECORDED VOTE OF 77(US)-8-49.

3. LATER IN THE EVENING, DURING EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION, NIGERIA REGISTERED STRONG COMPLAINT ABOUT THE CHAIRMAN'S EARLIER RULINGS AND PROCEEDED TO EXPLAIN RATIONALE FOR HER DRAFT DECISION. ALTHOUGH ALGERIA AT THAT POINT ASKED CHAIRMAN TO RULE NIGERIA OUT OF ORDER AGAIN, CHAIRMAN THIS TIME CHOSE [redacted]

PAGE 03 USUN N 05618 01 OF 02 060158Z

TO PERMIT NIGERIAN DELEGATE TO "EXPLAIN HER VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE" (I.E., TO VENTILATE HER COMPLAINTS AND EXPLAIN HER NOW-ACADEMIC PROPOSAL.) THE COMMITTEE THEN PROCEEDED TO ADOPT THE RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR (L.71/REV.2) BY A VOTE OF 63-13(US)-48. (ANALYSIS OF VOTE SENT REF C)

4. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECOND "BLANKET" VERSION OF NIGERIAN DRAFT DECISION (DATAFAXED TO IO/HR ON DEC. 3) BEGIN TEXT:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECIDES

(1) THAT ALL REPORTED CASES OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE GIVEN PRIOR CONSIDERATION BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TAKES ACTION ON THEM;

(2) TO RECOMMEND TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF ITS 36TH SESTO EXAMINE APPROPRIATE PROCEDURES TO BE FOLLOWED IN CASES OF EMERGENCY SITUATIONS ON THE CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PROPOSING THE CONDEMNATION OF MEMBER-STATES FOR VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER TO AVOID SELECTIVITY, AND TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE AND DUE PROCESS AND MORE BALANCED TREATMENT OF SUCH SITUATIONS; AND

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN NO06618

(3) THAT ALL PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS DEALING WITH SPECIFIC CASES ADOPTED BEFORE THE 36TH SESSION SHOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A PRECENDENT. END TEXT.

5. COMMENT: REQUEST FOR INSTRUCTIONS: AS THE NIGERIAN DELEGATE EXPENDED CONSIDERABLE ENERGY FOR SEVERAL DAYS ON BEHALF OF HER DRAFT DECISION, HER ABSENCE FROM THE CHAMBER AT THE CRITICAL HOUR IS PUZZLING. ALTHOUGH THE OUTLOOK FOR SUCCESS OF HER [redacted]

PAGE 04 USUN N 06618 01 OF 02 050158Z

INITIATIVE WAS FAR FROM CLEAR, SHE CLEARLY INTENDED TO FORCE THE ISSUE. WE ARE NOT SURE, HOWEVER, WHICH VERSION OF HER DRAFT DECISION SHE PLANNED TO INTRODUCE.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SOUSUN N005618

ADP219 [redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 05618 02 OF 02 0601582
ACTION IO-15

INFO DCT-01 AF-10 ARA-12 ADS-00 HA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SPRS-02
SP-02 SS-15 .NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 EA-10
EUR-12 NEA-06 /113 W
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3714
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 05618

THE SECOND VERSION, WHICH SHE CIRCULATED INFORMALLY ONLY AN HOUR BEFORE THE DEBATE OPENED ON THE BOLIVIAN RESOLUTION, CAUSED CONSTERNATION AMONG WESTERN AND SOME THIRD WORLD DELEGATIONS. ITS KEY PROVISION WOULD HAVE PROHIBITED THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FROM ACTING ON ANY COUNTRY-SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE WHICH HAD NOT BEEN PREVIOUSLY EXAMINED BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. WE HEARD A RUMOR THAT NIGERIA MIGHT ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE A VERSION OF HER DRAFT DECISION IN THE PLENARY, AND WOULD APPRECIATE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS IN CASE THIS HAPPENS. END COMMENT.

CORRECTION: IN PARA 3, LAST SENTENCE SHOULD READ:
(ANALYSIS OF VOTE SENT SEPTEL.)

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RELEASE 8565

081720Z DEC 80

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

RDC

FROM: AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted] POL23-8

GDS 12/8/86 (GETTINGER, H. Carl) OR-P
PINS PINT [redacted]
(U) FALSE REPORTS OF THE DEATH OF JUSTICE OF PEACE INVOLVED IN CASE OF SLAYINGS OF FOUR AMERICANS
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8565

1. (U) At least one San Salvador radio station, Radio Sonora, reported the morning of December 8 that the Justice of the Peace (JOP) who had carried out the official "recognition" of the four murdered Americans had been killed. That report is false. Reporters continue to confuse the JOP for Santiago Nonualco who has not been murdered with another JOP who lived in Santiago Nonualco but worked in Zacatecoluca -- that was the man killed on Thursday, December 4, shortly after the exhumation of the bodies of the four slain Americans. The murdered JOP, Juan Plutarco Dominguez, was killed by unknown assailants and for as yet undetermined reaons.

Gettinger:bkj	DRAFTING DATE 12/8/80	TEL. EXT. 305	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: AMB:REWhite
DCM:JMDion			
POL:WHHallman			

[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS -413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

1845

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]
Classification

MRN 8565

2. (C) On Saturday, December 6, Poloff spoke ~~with~~ by telephone with the JOP for Santiago Nonualco, Juan Santos Ceron. This man, along with his secretary, had authorized the burial of the murdered Americans on December 3, had also been with the Ambassador when the bodies were exhumed on December 4 and had returned to San Salvador with the Ambassador later that afternoon. Embassy was concerned that the assistance provided to us by the JOP and his secretary ~~xxxxx~~ should not result in any retribution against them. We have GOES assurances that the lives of these men will be protected. We have been informed that he is under special protection in San Salvador since late afternoon December 6.

WHITE

REW per jmd

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Classification

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Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Current Analysis Series

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ✓ In Full ____
Exemption(s) NR

December 9, 1980

INTER-AMERICAN HIGHLIGHTS

SAFE D-5, DRAWER 2 Box 9x16
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Chilean Universities: Still No Room for Dissent

Since the founding of the University of Chile by Andres Bello in 1843, Chilean centers of higher education have been noted for their academic excellence and political independence. Subsequent to the 1973 coup, however, all Chilean universities have been administered by government-appointed rectors, in most cases military officers. With the relaxation of internal political tensions since then, strict government control over the universities--including the prestigous Catholic University in Santiago--has been seen as out of step with national reality. Even such conservative members of the Chilean "establishment" as Santiago's

El Mercurio have urged the government to end the system of appointed rectors.

The plebiscite of September 11, in which Chileans approved by a wide margin a draft constitution and transition plan for the return to constitutional rule, was also interpreted as evidence that a relaxation of tight government controls is warranted.

Nevertheless, President Pinochet announced on December 2 that most currently university heads would be replaced at the end of the academic year (mid-to-late December) and that he would not choose replacements from within the universities. The two new rectors identified thus far are army officers and close associates of Pinochet.

The designation of new rectors foreshadows an effort to end student dissidence--on the upswing after years of quiescence--on Chilean campuses. The government believes that leftist terrorists, responsible for the recent wave of violence have ties in Chilean universities. As a warning to dissidents, students of the University of Chile's eastern campus were recently arrested for holding an unauthorized ceremony at a monument to Andres Bello and sent to different locales on the southern island of Chiloe for three months of exile.

Pinochet's determination to strengthen control over the universities and to end student ferment belies claims that the government is seeking accommodation with moderate and opposition forces. His actions are likely to persuade students that peaceful pressures to bring about change are futile.

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Drafted by:INR/IAA:WLofstrom:td
12/9/80 x22251

Approved by:INR:PStoddard

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07547 102122Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-06 /077 W
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P R 102041Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9101
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY ROME
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 7547

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/10/86 (CRAVEN, ROBERT L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, CI
SUBJ: MORE ON THE ZALDIVAR CASE

REF: SANTIAGO 6851 (NOTAL) AND PREVIOUS

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE CASE OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRESIDENT, ANDRES ZALDIVAR (WHO, WHILE TRAVELLING RECENTLY IN EUROPE, WAS PROHIBITED FROM RE-ENTERING CHILE BY THE GOC BECAUSE OF COMMENTS FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO HIM BY A MEXICAN NEWSPAPER--COMMENTS WHICH THE PAPER LATER RETRACTED), HAS HEATED UP AGAIN. A UPI STORY FROM CARACAS GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD TRY TO ENTER CHILE SOON IN DEFIANCE OF THE PROHIBITION. CHILEAN POLICE WAITED AT THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN SANTIAGO WITH ORDERS TO PREVENT HIS ARRIVAL, WHILE HIS PARENTS FILED A WRIT OF AMPARO IN HIS BEHALF. ALL AGREE THAT THE COURT WILL DENY THE WRIT. MANY IN THE PARTY WOULD LIKE TO SEE ZALDIVAR FORCE THE ISSUE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07547 102122Z

BY TRYING TO ENTER CHILE, BUT PARTY MODERATES, WHO ARE IN CONTROL, THINK THIS UNWISE. THE HIERARCHY IS MORE CONCERNED WITH WHO WILL CONTROL THE PARTY AND ARE SENDING A DELEGATION TO LIMA TO MEET AND DISCUSS THE SUBJECT WITH ZALDIVAR. IF NOTHING ELSE, THE TRIP AND THE SPECULATION ON HIS INTENTIONS HAVE ALLOWED ZALDIVAR

TO KEEP THE ISSUE PUBLIC. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) A UPI STORY OF DECEMBER 9 FROM CARACAS HAS BROUGHT THE ZALDIVAR CASE (REFTEL) INTO THE PUBLIC EYE ONCE AGAIN. QUOTING "SOURCES CLOSE TO THE (VENEZUELAN) CHILEAN EXILE COMMUNITY", THE STORY SAID THAT ZALDIVAR HAD LEFT THAT DAY FOR LIMA FROM WHERE HE WOULD ENTER CHILE IN DEFIANCE OF THE GOC'S ORDER PROHIBITING HIS ENTRY UNLESS HE MEETS CERTAIN CONDITIONS.

3. (U) AS A RESULT, A HEAVY POLICE TURNOUT AT THE AIRPORT LATE IN THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 9 AWAITED (IN VAIN) THE ARRIVAL OF ZALDIVAR ON TWO INTERNATIONAL FLIGHTS, ONE FROM CARACAS AND THE OTHER FROM LIMA. THE NUMBER TWO OFFICIAL OF THE INVESTIGATIVE POLICE, WHO WAS PRESENT, TOLD INTERVIEWERS THAT HE HAD ORDERS TO PREVENT ZALDIVAR FROM LEAVING THE PLANE IF HE WAS ON IT. ZALDIVAR ALSO ISSUED A WRITTEN DECLARATION QUESTIONING THE LEGALITY OF THE PROHIBITION AND ANNOUNCING THAT A WRIT OF AMPARO WOULD BE PRESENTED IN HIS BEHALF. LATER THE SAME AFTERNOON, ZALDIVAR'S PARENTS PRESENTED THE WRIT, ASKING THE COURT TO SET ASIDE THE GOC'S ORDER PROHIBITING HIS RETURN TO CHILE.

4. (C) COMMENT: IN FACT, THE PARTY HAS INFORMED US AND A SUPREME COURT JUDGE TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE WRIT HAS NO CHANCE; THE COURT WILL RULE NOT ON THE MERITS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07547 102122Z

THE CASE, BUT ON THE TECHNICAL POINT THAT, UNDER EXISTING LAWS, THE GOC ACTION WAS LEGAL. INDEED, THE PRESENTATION OF THE WRIT OF AMPARO SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT THE PDC HAS GIVEN UP HOPE OF A NEGOTIATED RETURN FOR ZALDIVAR (SEE DURKEE-HAMILTON MEMCON OF 12/3/80). PARTY SOURCES TELL US THAT ZALDIVAR HIMSELF HAD HOPED THAT THIRD COUNTRY INTERVENTION (SPECIFICALLY SPAIN AND THE VATICAN) WOULD RESULT IN HIS RETURN. MANY IN THE PARTY WOULD LIKE TO SEE ZALDIVAR TRAVEL TO CHILE, EVEN IF HE HAS TO DO SO CLANDESTINELY, AND PRESENT HIMSELF TO THE COURTS, DEMANDING THE REVERSAL OF THE GOC PROHIBITION ORDER. THE RESULTANT PUBLICITY, IN THEIR VIEW, WOULD CAUSE MUCH FAVORABLE PUBLICITY FOR THE PARTY AND AN EQUAL AMOUNT OF EMBARRASSMENT FOR THE GOC. THE CONTROLLING MODERATES, HOWEVER, PERCEIVE A DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH PINOCHET AS TACTICALLY UNSOUND AT THIS POINT.

5. (C) A RELIABLE PARTY SOURCE HAS TOLD US THAT THE PARTY LEADERSHIP'S MAIN CONCERN AT THIS MOMENT IS WHO WILL

LEAD IT. THE MODERATES UNDER FREI, WHO PRESENTLY CONTROLS AFFAIRS, ARE APPARENTLY VERY MUCH AFRAID THAT THE LEFT, LED BY TOMAS REYES, EVENTUALLY WILL TAKE OVER. WHATEVER THE CASE, THE PARTY HAS DECIDED TO SEND REYES, JUAN HAMILTON AND RAUL TRONCOSO TO LIMA SOON TO MEET WITH ZALDIVAR (THUS CONFIRMING THAT ZALDIVAR WILL SOON BE IN LIMA, IF HE IS NOT ALREADY THERE) AND ASK FOR HIS DEFINITIVE PRONOUNCEMENT AS TO WHETHER HE WANTS TO CONTINUE TO LEAD THE PARTY FROM EXILE, OR IF, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, HE WISHES TO STEP DOWN AND ALLOW A NEW LEADER TO BE CHOSEN. PARTY MODERATES SAY THAT ZALDIVAR WANTS THE PARTY LEADERSHIP TO TELL HIM WHAT TO DO, AND THUS FEAR THAT THE MEETING WILL RESULT IN A "DIALOGUE OF THE DEAF" WITH NOTHING SETTLED.

6. (C) WE ARE ALSO INFORMED THAT ZALDIVAR'S WIFE AND FAMILY WILL ALSO TRAVEL TO LIMA TO MEET HIM, AND THAT
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 07547 102122Z

ZALDIVAR WILL MEET WITH OTHER PARTY LEADERS (INCLUDING FREI'S SON-IN-LAW) LATER IN BUENOS AIRES. THUS, HE WILL BE AT LEAST CLOSE TO CHILE FOR A WHILE SHOULD HE DECIDE (OR IT BE DECIDED FOR HIM) TO TRY TO FORCE THE ISSUE BY ATTEMPTING TO ENTER THE COUNTRY. WE THINK THIS UNLIKELY FOR NOW, BUT BY TRAVELLING TO NEARBY CAPITALS ZALDIVAR IS KEEPING HIS PREDICAMENT BEFORE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION. PINOCHET SEEMS IMMUNE TO SUCH PRESSURE BUT MODERATES BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE REGIME ARE AT LEAST UNCOMFORTABLE BY THE ARBITRARINESS OF THE GOC ACTION.
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FileName : ...xt/t801269/aaaacemn.tel

E3

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 18615 112126Z

ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 EA-12 ADS-00 AID-07 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00
DODE-00 EB-08 DOE-17 H-02 INR-10 INT-05 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 OMB-01 PM-07 ICA-15 SPRS-02 OES-09
SP-02 SS-15 STR-10 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /160 W
----------061965 120206Z /63

R 101602Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9801
INFO USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/TPA/CRT Date 9/5/97
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) S/Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

UNCLAS MEXICO 18615

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ENRG, EAID, MX, CU, HA, HO, RP
SUBJECT: MEXICO TO ASSIST CUBA IN OIL EXPLORATION,
- AGREES TO SUPPLY CRUDE TO HAITI, HONDURAS
- AND THE PHILIPPINES

1. PETROLEOS MEXICANOS (PEMEX) ANNOUNCED DECEMBER 5 THE SIGNING OF CONTRACTS TO SUPPLY OIL TO HAITI, HONDURAS AND THE PHILIPPINES. HAITI WILL RECEIVE 3,500 B/D, HONDURAS 6,000 B/D AND THE PHILIPPINES 10,000 B/D. SHIPMENTS TO ALL THREE ARE TO BEGIN DURING FIRST QUARTER OF 1981.

2. ACCORDING TO NEWS SERVICE REPORTS FROM HAVANA PUBLISHED IN MEXICO CITY NEWSPAPERS, PEMEX DIRECTOR GENERAL DIAZ SERRANO AND CUBAN MINISTER OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION HECTOR RODRIGUEZ LLOMPART SIGNED A PROTOCOL DECEMBER 6 BETWEEN MEXICO AND CUBA WHICH ESTABLISHES A JOINT PROGRAM OF GEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION FOR OIL AND GAS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 18615 112126Z

IN CUBAN OFFSHORE AREAS. THE PROTOCOL, ACCORDING TO THE REPORTS, ALSO ESTABLISHES COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS TO INCREASE CUBAN LPG PRODUCTION, INCLUDING THE FIRST PHASE OF REMODELING THE CATALYTIC CRACKING UNIT IN THE NICO LOPEZ REFINERY IN HAVANA. IN ADDITION, THE PROTOCOL SETS UP AN INTERCHANGE OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS AND PROVIDES FOR PEMEX COOPERATION IN HELPING CUBA OBTAIN PETROLEUM PRODUCTS. DIAZ SERRANO OBSERVED THAT THE JOINT EXPLORATION ACTIVITIES TO BE CARRIED OUT UNDER AGREEMENT MAY HAVE RESULT OF PROVING THAT GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES FORMING MEXICO'S OFFSHORE OIL FIELDS IN CAMPECHE EXTEND TO CUBA. ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT, DIAZ SERRANO SAID, TO

PREDICT WHEN THERE WILL BE CONCRETE RESULTS, THE PRE-
LIMINARY INDICATIONS ARE PROMISING. NAVA

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

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RELEASED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA008716

ADP159 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08716 130014Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 HA-06 TRSE-00 ICAE-00 NSCE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 NSAE-00
PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 OCS-06 L-03 EUR-12
/082 W
----------071517 130048Z /65

O R 122347Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1566
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8716

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/12/86 (WHITE, ROBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: (C) CALL ON THE AMBASSADOR BY BISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS AND MONSIGNOR URIOSTE

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SAN SALVADOR APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR ARTURO RIVERA Y DAMAS AND MONSIGNOR RICARDO URIOSTE CALLED ON ME THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 12. BISHOP RIVERA OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY EXPRESSING HIS GRATITUDE FOR MY ACTIONS FOLLOWING THE KIDNAPPING AND MURDER OF THE THREE AMERICAN NUNS AND ONE LAY MISSIONARY. HE CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT FATHER MARCIAL SERRANO, KIDNAPPED TWO WEEKS AGO, HAD BEEN KILLED BY THE NATIONAL GUARD (GN). RIVERA SAID THAT SERRANO HAD BEEN STRANGLED AND HIS BODY THROWN INTO LAKE ILLOPANGO ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28. HE ADDED THAT MONS. APARICIO, [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08716 130014Z

A VERY CONSERVATIVE PRELATE, WAS CONVINCED THAT IT HAD BEEN TWO LOW RANKING GN MEMBERS, A CORPORAL AND A PRIVATE; THAT HAD KILLED SERRANO AND THEN TAKEN AND KEPT HIS VEHICLE. FOLLOWING THE INTERVENTION OF ALEJANDRO DUARTE, THE SON OF JRG MEMBER NAPOLEON DUARTE, THE TWO RESPONSIBLE SOLDIERS WERE ARRESTED AND HAVE APPARENTLY CONFESSED. RIVERA TALKED AT LENGTH ABOUT THE MURDER OF SERRANO, USING THAT AS A BASIS FOR HIS ASSERTION THAT A PERSECUATION OF THE CHURCH EXISTS AND THE MILITARY IS BEHIND IT.

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: S940032U

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[redacted]

EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION WAS SUBSTANTIALLY LOWER THAN AFFIRMATIVE VOTES ON THE OTHER TWO COUNTRY-SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED EARLIER IN THE EVENING. (BOLIVIA - 77, CHILE - 90). FIVE OR SIX OF THE AFFIRMATIVE NEO VOTES ARE ATTRIBUTABLE TO LAST-MINUTE SHIFTS BASED ON THE DELETION, DESCRIBED ABOVE, OF THE PHRASE "TO EL SALVADOR". ALSO, THE TOTAL OF 123 VOTES CAST WAS LESS THAN THE NUMBER CAST EARLIER ON THE BOLIVIA AND CHILE RESOLUTIONS (RESPECTIVELY, 134 AND 136), INDICATING THAT SEVERAL DELEGATIONS (E.G., SPAIN, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, HONDURAS) IN THE END PREFERRED TO STAY COMPLETELY AWAY FROM THE VOLATILE EL SALVADOR SITUATION. END COMMENT.)
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[redacted]

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07604 122040Z **DECONTROL**
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-06 /077 W
----------069896 122053Z /70

P R 122020Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9120
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 7604

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, CI
SUBJ: ZALDIVAR IN LIMA

REF: SANTIAGO 7547

1. LOCAL PRESS OF DECEMBER 12 REPORTED ON STATEMENTS MADE AND A DECLARATION ISSUED IN LIMA BY EXILED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADER ANDRES ZALDIVAR. ZALDIVAR SAID HE ARRIVED IN LIMA ON DECEMBER 9 FROM CARACAS VIA MIAMI, TAKING THE LONGER ROUTE AS IT WAS "SAFER". HE SAID HE HAD COME TO LIMA TO MEET AND SPEND THE HOLIDAYS WITH HIS WIFE, CHILDREN AND PARENTS, BUT ADDED THAT HE HAD NOT YET DECIDED IF ALL WOULD DO SO IN LIMA OR ELSEWHERE. HE ALSO CLAIMED THAT SEVERAL EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAD OFFERED HIM THE RIGHT OF RESIDENCE.

2. THE FIRST POINT OF HIS WRITTEN STATEMENT DECLARES THAT IT IS NOT TRUE THAT HE PLANS TO ENTER CHILE SURREPTITIOUSLY. THE DECLARATION GOES ON TO SAY THAT HE WILL USE ALL LEGAL AND PEACEFUL MEANS TO OBTAIN THE RIGHT TO REENTER CHILE, AND AGAIN NOTED IN THIS REGARD THE WRIT OF AMPARO
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07604 122040Z

PRESENTED IN HIS BEHALF BY HIS PARENTS. HE REITERATED HIS BELIEF THAT "JUSTICE WILL BE DONE".

3. COMMENT: ZALDIVAR SEEMS TO HAVE LAID TO REST THE IDEA, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT, THAT HE INTENDS TO ENTER CHILE CLANDESTINELY IN DEFIANCE OF THE GOC'S EXCLUSION ORDER, AND MAKES IT APPEAR THAT THE IDEA MAY HAVE BEEN WISHFUL

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SPECULATION ON THE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS. MEANWHILE, IN SANTIAGO THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR HAS DECLARED ITSELF A FORMAL PARTY TO THE WRIT OF AMPARO. THIS MEANS THAT THE MINISTRY WILL TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE AS A DEFENDANT, RATHER THAN SUPPLYING ONLY AN INFORMATIVE REPORT REQUESTED BY THE JUDGE. IT WILL BE ABLE TO PRESENT EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE GOC ACTION EXCLUDING ZALDIVAR FROM ENTRY, AND WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO REQUEST THE JUDGE TO INVESTIGATE RELATED AREAS OF INTEREST TO IT.
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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/19/98 Exemption

...Human Rights
...Project (1993)

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Participants: H. Carl Gettinger, Political Officer
AmEmbassy San Salvador
National Guard Officer

Date & Place: February 21, 1981
U.S. Embassy, San Salvador

Subject: Conversation with National Guard Officer: Speculations about the Nuns' Deaths and FDR Murders; The Current Political-Security Situation

DEPARTMENT PLEASE DISTRIBUTE PER PAGE 3.

Department of ... Declassified under ... portions withheld ... law enforcement ( ), privacy ( ), ... not relevant to ...

SUMMARY: On February 21 a National Guard (GN) officer told PolOff that, based on rumors circulating within the GN, he believed that members of the GN post in Zacatecoluca were responsible for the murders of the four American churchwomen. We believe this is information that should be taken into account, and have suggested to JRG President Duarte that new investigations be pointed toward this lead, but at the same time it appears that our informant was reporting hearsay rather than direct knowledge. He also talked about the Sheraton murders, claiming that either the right or the left could have been responsible. If the former, then he thought participation by GN S/2 (intelligence branch) personnel was likely. The November FDR massacre, he averred, was a right-wing operation with some military involvement. The source downplayed any possibility of a right-wing coup, saying that the military was largely behind the reforms and favors civilian control of the government. Recent USG statements indicating continued support for the reform program have been decisively important, he said. Finally, the source told of significantly lower levels of official/rightist violence. END SUMMARY.

On February 21 PolOff spoke with a National Guard (GN) officer about murders, coups and violence. The source is of low rank and is posted in a small provincial town in western El Salvador. Some of his comments follow:

MURDERS: The source told PolOff that, while he was still not certain, he believed that GN personnel posted in Zacatecoluca were responsible for killing the three American nuns and one lay worker. He indicated that the story circulating within the GN is that the Zacatecoluca guardsmen (not rpt not San Juan Talpa, as we reported in a previous cable) were actually waiting for someone else and had mistakenly taken the women. PolOff expressed some scepticism, noting that there are few people in El Salvador who could have been confused with the four Americans. The source

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acknowledged the point and, while defending his version of events, promised to uncover the whole story and pass on the information. He added that GN Commander Vides Casanova told a group of officers that if any guardsmen were implicated in the killings he would have them jailed since he - Vides - had repeatedly insisted that such wanton violence should end.

The source knew less about the Sheraton killings and said he was at a loss to explain that event. He seemed at first to accuse the left for the murders, saying that the deaths of the two Americans worked in favor of the left. He went on, however, to acknowledge that the Death Squadron had attempted to kill Rodolfo Viera at least twice; Squadron members, he said, were convinced that Viera was an FPL commander. The source said that if the right was responsible then GN S/2 member Lt. Lopez was certainly aware and probably involved. He indicated that he would find out from his friend Lopez who had committed the murders.

The informant continued by saying that the November massacre of the six FDR leaders was a right wing operation with participation by sympathetic military members. [redacted] He said that the man in charge of the operation had been a military officer who has since been cashiered and is currently in Guatemala. The operation, he said, succeeded in part because of the collaboration of the police (presumably National Police) watch commander on duty that day. The source indicated that he was absolutely in agreement with those who carried out the murders. To emphasize the point he added that he would gladly accept the task of travelling to Mexico in order to kill Guillermo Ungo should the job - and the funding - be offered to him.

COUPS: The source said that the possibility of a right-wing coup had diminished to almost nothing. He said, in fact, that anyone now openly talking about a coup is putting himself and/or his career in jeopardy. The military, he said, is substantially behind the reforms and in favor of allowing civilians to control the government. The idea of staging a coup and returning to a Romero-style status quo ante was, he said, effectively put to rest by recent USG statements indicating support for the reform program. The source seemed especially pleased that wealthy rightists poised for the expected USG renouncing of support for reforms were left "with their arms folded and their mouths open." Nevertheless, he said that in the opinion of many military officers the reforms carried out to date should be consolidated before any others - specifically Phase II - are begun. He explained that it is precisely because the military want to see the reform program succeed that they are advocating caution.

VIOLENCE: The source indicated that he was certain that at least in his part of the country (the western part) the level of violence had diminished. He said that the "bunches" of bodies seen along the roadsides last year were no longer in evidence. The security corps, he said, were carrying out fewer summary executions of suspects and the Death Squadrons were no longer functioning. The source was proud to announce to PolOff that he had only killed one person since their November conversation. He indicated that the reasons for this fall off included tougher measures by commanding officers against unnecessary violence, the obvious failure of the right, and a growing sense within the military that wanton violence is counter-productive. Another reason, he said, was that Major D'Aubuisson was now devoting himself more to helping direct the Guatemalan Death Squads and less to killing fellow Salvadorans.

The source went on to talk about the nature of violence in El Salvador. To illustrate his point he told the following story. One of his troops, he said, had asked to be allowed to travel home in order to murder the man who had killed his - the trooper's - father in an argument. The guard's request was denied by another officer but granted by the source, who claimed he knew nothing of the guard's intention. The next morning the guard reappeared, claiming that the FPL had busted up his town during the night. Several days later the guard was arrested and thrown in jail, he having killed the entire family of his father's killer but only wounded his intended victim. The source pointed out what to him were the salient points: (a) progress could be seen in that the multiple murderer was arrested and will face punishment; (b) much of the violence going on in El Salvador has a personal rather than a political motive. The source, however, pointed out that the multiple killing also demonstrated the "sickness" of many troops - inured to killing after having seen - and accomplished - so much of it.

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Drafted by: POL/

Approved by: POL/

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SAN SA008716

ADP159 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08716 130014Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 HA-06 TRSE-00 ICAE-00 NSCE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 NSAE-00
PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 OCS-06 L-03 EUR-12
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------------------071517 130048Z /65

O R 122347Z DEC 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1566
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8716

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/12/86 (WHITE, ROBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: [redacted] CALL ON THE AMBASSADOR BY BISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS
AND MONSIGNOR URIOSTE

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SAN SALVADOR APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR ARTURO RIVERA Y DAMAS AND MONSIGNOR RICARDO URIOSTE CALLED ON ME THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 12. BISHOP RIVERA OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY EXPRESSING HIS GRATITUDE FOR MY ACTIONS FOLLOWING THE KIDNAPPING AND MURDER OF THE THREE AMERICAN NUNS AND ONE LAY MISSIONARY. HE CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT FATHER MARCIAL SERRANO, KIDNAPPED TWO WEEKS AGO, HAD BEEN KILLED BY THE NATIONAL GUARD (GN). RIVERA SAID THAT SERRANO HAD BEEN STRANGLED AND HIS BODY THROWN INTO LAKE ILLOPANGO ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28. HE ADDED THAT MONS. APARICIO, [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08716 130014Z

A VERY CONSERVATIVE PRELATE, WAS CONVINCED THAT IT HAD BEEN TWO LOW RANKING GN MEMBERS, A CORPORAL AND A PRIVATE; THAT HAD KILLED SERRANO AND THEN TAKEN AND KEPT HIS VEHICLE. FOLLOWING THE INTERVENTION OF ALEJANDRO DUARTE, THE SON OF JRG MEMBER NAPOLEON DUARTE, THE TWO RESPONSIBLE SOLDIERS WERE ARRESTED AND HAVE APPARENTLY CONFESSED. RIVERA TALKED AT LENGTH ABOUT THE MURDER OF SERRANO, USING THAT AS A BASIS FOR HIS ASSERTION THAT A PERSECUATION OF THE CHURCH EXISTS AND THE MILITARY IS BEHIND IT.

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UNCLASSIFIED
United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/24/94
Case ID: 9940032U

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASE

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM: SAN SALVADOR
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ASEC PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: VIOLENCE WEEK IN REVIEW: November 29 - December 5, 1980

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAF
DIA WASHDC

OL
MB
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ECON(RSW)
SICA
DATT
ILGP
RSO
HRON
AF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8724

1. SUMMARY: Four American women were among this week's 177 victims of the violence that is rampant in this country. Sisters Maura Clarke, Dorothy Kazel and Ita Ford and lay missionary Jean Donovan were each shot several times the night of December 2/3 and left by a roadside in a remote part of the country. We do not know who killed the four women but an official commission has been established to determine if government troops were involved in the murders. END SUMMARY

2. DEATHS: This week 177 people became the ~~latest~~ victims of Salvadoran violence. The perpetrators

DRAFTED BY: POL:
APPROVALS:
DRAFTING DATE: 12-14-80
TEL. EXT.: 305
CONTENTS AND CLASSIF
APPROVED BY:

[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

86F85 - 1844

GISS-101

OPTIONAL FORM 1-1
(Formerly FS 4-3)
January 1975
Dept. of State

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of only a small portion of these deaths could be identified. Rightist terrorists -- i.e. members of the Death Squadron, the Organization for the Liberation from Communism, etc. -- killed at least nine of the victims. Government forces and leftists each killed four of the total.

3. INCIDENTS:

-- On 11/29 guerrillas set five to seven busses in Ciudad Delgado, a poor suburb of San Salvador.

-- On 11/29 a military convoy was attacked by guerrillas near Soyapango, another poor suburb of San Salvador.

-- On 11/30 a bomb explosion seriously damaged a commercial center in San Miguel.

-- On 12/1 a confrontation between troops and approximately fifteen guerrillas who attempted to take over Cuscatancingo (San Salvador) left two people dead, ~~one of them a policeman.~~

-- On 12/1 four busses were burned by guerrillas in Mejicanos (San Salvador).

-- On 12/1 guerrillas burned several more busses in the poor southeastern sections of San Salvador.

-- On 12/1 an undetermined number of people were killed during a confrontation between troops and guerrillas who were stopping vehicles on the road between San Salvador and Apopo.

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-- On 12/1 the National Police post in Mejicanos (San Salvador) was attacked by guerrillas.

-- On 12/1 guerrillas set fire to a gasoline station in Zacatecoluca.

-- On 12/1 a confrontation occurred between a reportedly large number of guerrillas and troops near Apopo (San Salvador).

-- On or about 12/1 a milk processing company in Santa Ana was attacked by four armed men and robbed of ~~xx~~ 2500 colones.

-- On or about 12/1 a bus ~~xx~~ traveling from San Salvador to Suchitoto was assaulted by guerrillas who robbed the driver and then shot him. The guerrillas left pamphlets claiming that there would be other acts in vengeance for the killings of the FDR leaders.

-- On or about 12/1 a group of armed men robbed a large quantity of money from a ~~xxx~~ business in Santa Ana.

-- On 12/2 four American women were kidnapped en route to San Salvador from El Salvador's international airport. ~~xxxxx~~ The bodies of the four women -- three nuns and one lay missionary -- were found about 20 miles away and buried the next day. This case has been ~~xxx~~ reported separately.

-- On 12/2 a bomb exploded in the municipal offices of Ayutuxtepeque, causing only material damage.

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-- On ~~12/x~~ 12/2 dynamite was used to blow up a portion of a coffee processing plant in Santa Ana.

-- On 12/3 combat between troops and guerrillas in La Paz Department left an undetermined number of casualties.

-- On 12/3 a group of armed persons engaged in acts of vandalism in the center of San Salvador following the funeral of the six FDR leaders.

-- On 12/3 a group of armed men entered a government office in San Salvador, threatened the office personnel and ~~xx~~ as they left, set fire to five government trucks parked near the offices.

-- On 12/3 guerrillas attacked the National Police post in Zacatecoluca.

-- On 12/3 the ANTEL building in Ilopango (San Salvador) was destroyed by a group of armed men who set fire to it.

-- On 12/3 an undetermined number of people were killed after guerrillas attacked ~~xxx~~ members of the civil defense committee of Ilobasco (Cabañas).

-- On 12/3 four people were killed during an exchange of gunfire between Treasury Police and the occupants of a car which had been stopped by the police in Soyapango (San Salvador).

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Special Project (1993)

-- On 12/3 one Treasury Police agent was killed during a confrontation with guerrillas.

-- On 12/4 several incendiary bombs were thrown at the municipal building in Ciudad Delgado (San Salvador).

-- On 12/5 a group of armed men set fire to a gasoline station in Santa Ana.

-- On 12/5 guerrillas blocked traffic in Ciudad Delgado by crossing busses along several streets.

-- On 12/5 an exchange of gunfire between two unknown groups left one child injured..

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KINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

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Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES AND TRANSPORTATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM B-349-C

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

December 17, 1980

Mr. Deane R. Hinton
Assistant Secretary for
Economic and Business Affairs
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Hinton:

As you know, the Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation, of which I am chairman, conducted an investigation into the involvement of LAN Chile Airlines facilities and personnel in the assassination of former Chilean ambassador to the United States, Orlando Letelier, and Mrs. Ronni Moffitt. Hearings were held by this subcommittee on May 9, 1980 to look into this matter.

At that hearing, Malcolm Barnebey, Director of the Office of Andean Affairs testified that:

> . . . the U.S. Government in the present political context has not agreed to the request for additional authority which (LAN Chile) made in July, 1979, and which, if approved, would have permitted LAN Chile to fly to Los Angeles. We also decided not to enter at this time into negotiation of a new bilateral air transport agreement with the Chilean Government.

He further testified that our aviation agreement with Chile provides for revocation of LAN Chile's permit if they fail to comply with U.S. aviation laws and regulations within U.S. territory, and stated that, "Unless there is an established use of aviation for an illegal act, therefore, we would not terminate operations." I understand that Mr. Barnebey's comments continue to serve as an accurate reflection of the State Department's policy concerning LAN Chile.

In fact, "use of aviation for an illegal act" has been established in Letelier v. Republic of Chile, No. 78-1477 (D.D.C. filed November 5, 1980) (copy enclosed) wherein Judge Green's opinion stated that "facilities and personnel of LAN Chile Airlines, a foreign air carrier owned and operated by the Government of Chile, were used by Townley in connection with the preparation and carrying out of the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt." Id., slip. op. at 5. Moreover, that opinion holds that "employees of the Republic of Chile committed tortious acts of negligent transportation and detonation of explosives." Id., slip. op. at 11. In spite of Judge Green's decision it appears that the State Department has not altered any of its policies concerning LAN Chile Airlines.

In light of the foregoing, my questions to you are as follows:

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

1. Is it correct that the State Department has not taken any steps to revoke the bilateral agreement? If not, why not? What more than a decision by a U.S. District Court would be necessary in order for the State Department to conclude that there has been an established use of aviation for an illegal act? If you have undertaken such efforts, please describe what steps you have taken thus far.

2. Although Mr. Barnebey contends that in failing to negotiate a new bilateral landing rights agreement Chile has been punished, does not this action merely assure that the current agreement continues in effect? If not, why not?

3. Does not the failure of the U.S. to officially reject LAN Chile's request for additional landing rights simply mean that that request is "still pending" and may be granted at any time? Is there not a practical effect between not responding to LAN Chile's request and rejecting it outright? Under what circumstances would you recommend that such action be taken?

In closing, I must emphasize that the recalcitrance of the United States Government to take clear, unambiguous action against LAN Chile becomes more disturbing in light of the Court's recent decision. Please respond to these questions by December 31, 1980.

Sincerely,

/s/

JOHN L. BURTON
Chairman

JLB:KVK:bg
Enclosure

8102100259

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UNCLASSIFIED

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0006-1580

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES AND TRANSPORTATION SUBCOMMITTEE

of the

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

81-0121

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December 17, 1980

Mr. Deane R. Hinton
Assistant Secretary for
Economic and Business Affairs
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030):
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Dear Mr. Hinton:

As you know, the Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation, of which I am chairman, conducted an investigation into the involvement of LAN Chile Airlines facilities and personnel in the assassination of former Chilean ambassador to the United States, Orlando Letelier, and Mrs. Ronni Moffitt. Hearings were held by this subcommittee on May 9, 1980 to look into this matter.

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> . . . the U.S. Government in the present political context has not agreed to the request for additional authority which (LAN Chile) made in July, 1979, and which, if approved, would have permitted LAN Chile to fly to Los Angeles. We also decided not to enter at this time into negotiation of a new bilateral air transport agreement with the Chilean Government.

He further testified that our aviation agreement with Chile provides for revocation of LAN Chile's permit if they fail to comply with U.S. aviation laws and regulations within U.S. territory; and stated that, "Unless there is an established use of aviation for an illegal act, therefore, we would not terminate operations." I understand that Mr. Barnebey's comments continue to serve as an accurate reflection of the State Department's policy concerning LAN Chile.

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In light of the foregoing, my questions to you are as follows:

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-2-

1. Is it correct that the [illegible] the United States Government [illegible] that [illegible] have undertaken [illegible]

2. Although Mr. Barnsley contends that in failing to [illegible] bilateral landing rights agreement Chile has been punished, [illegible] merely assure that the current agreement continues in effect? [illegible]

3. Does not the failure of the U.S. to officially reject [illegible] additional landing rights simply mean that that request is "still pending" [illegible] be granted at any time? Is there not a practical effect between [illegible] to LAN Chile's request and rejecting it outright? Under what circumstances [illegible] you recommend that such action be taken?

In closing, I must emphasize that the recalcitrance of the United States Government to take clear, unambiguous action against LAN Chile becomes more disturbing in light of the Court's recent decision. Please respond to these questions by December 31, 1980.

Sincerely,

/s/

JOHN L. BURTON
Chairman

JLB:KVK:bg
Enclosure

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eName : ...xt/t801238/aaaabelm.tel

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 19059 190721Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 AID-07 CEA-01 CIAE-00
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OES-09 SP-02 SS-15 STR-10 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /160 W
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/ Date: 8/5/97
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
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( ) DENY IN PART
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority to

UNCLAS MEXICO 19059

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ENRG, MX, CU, SP
SUBJECT: MEXICAN OIL DEVELOPMENTS: ASSISTANCE TO CUBA FOR OIL EXPLORATION AND REFINERY REMODELING; PURCHASE OF ADDITIONAL SHARES IN SPANISH REFINERY

REFS: (A) MEXICO 18615 (B) HAVANA 8444 (C) HAVANA 8372

1. PEMEX INFORMED PRESS DECEMBER 15 THAT TECHNICAL COMMERCIAL MISSION FROM CUBA WILL ARRIVE IN MEXICO IN JANUARY TO FLESH OUT AGREEMENT REPORTED IN REFTELS. IN ADDITION TO EXCHANGE OF CUBAN KEROSENE FOR MEXICAN LPG MENTIONED IN REF B, NEWS ITEM SAYS SALE OF MEXICAN AMMONIA AND METHANOL TO CUBA WILL BE DISCUSSED. NEWS ITEM ALSO SAYS THAT PEMEX IS INTERESTED IN SUPPLYING MEXICAN-MADE EQUIPMENT TO CUBA FOR USE IN REMODELING OF NICO LOPEZ REFINERY, AND ADDS THAT "BASIC OIL SUPPLIES WERE DISCUSSED, AND PEMEX HAS OFFERED TO STUDY CUBA'S NEEDS IN THIS AREA..."

2. IN ANOTHER STATEMENT TO PRESS, PEMEX HAS ANNOUNCED
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 19059 190721Z

IT WILL BECOME LARGEST SHAREHOLDER OF PETRONOR (PETROLEOS DE NOROESTE OF BILBAO, SPAIN) WHEN THE FINAL DOCUMENTS ARE SIGNED FOR THE ACQUISITION OF 19.29 PERCENT OF PETRONOR SHARES DURING FIRST TWO WEEKS OF JANUARY 1981. PEMEX WILL THEN OWN 34.29 PERCENT. PEMEX DIRECTOR DIAZ SERRANO IS TO TRAVEL TO BILBAO FOR SIGNING. DRAFTED BY KRIS ATCHLEY. NAVA

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

P880136-1962 DECLASSIFIED
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Department of State

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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DECAPTIONED

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PAGE 01 STATE 335284 COPY 1 OF 20 COPIES
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INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 6049

[redacted] STATE 335284

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

NODIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 12/19/00 (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN)

TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES

SUBJECT: [redacted] FDR/DRU OFFER DIALOGUE WITH EMBASSY

REFS: (A) SAN SALVADOR 8713 (NODIS); (B) CHEEK/DION SECURE TELCON

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WE UNDERSTAND FROM REF B CLARIFICATION THAT NEXT STEP IN DIALOGUE OFFER IS FOR BISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS TO CONTACT AMBASSADOR AFTER HAVING CONSULTED WITH HIS FDR/DRU CONTACTS REGARDING THE PRECONDITION THEY WISHED TO IMPOSE. WHEN RIVERA Y DAMAS CONTACTS YOU, YOU SHOULD INFORM HIM THAT DRU/FDR PROPOSAL RAISES A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ON WHICH [redacted]

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: JOHNSTON, DONALD
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940032W

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WE WOULD LIKE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY SPECIFICS HE COULD OBTAIN FROM HIS FDR/URU CONTACTS REGARDING THE FOLLOWING:

-- WOULD THE PERSONS WHO WOULD PARTICIPATE BE AUTHORIZED SPOKESMEN OF BOTH THE URU AND THE FDR?

-- WHAT LEVEL IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS WOULD THEY REPRESENT?

-- WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSED TALKS? ARE THEY SEEKING SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE USG OR DO THEY WISH MERELY TO EXPLORE WITH S THE MODALITIES OF ARRANGING SUBSTANTIVE TALKS WITH THE JRG? IN THIS CONNECTION, WE NOTE RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF GUARTEANOCOL. GUTIERREZ OFFERING SUCH DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FDR/URU.

-- WHAT ARE FDR/URU INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO HOLDING DIRECT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE JRG? THE FDR/URU SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT PRIOR TO ANY SUCH MEETING WITH URU/FDR REPRESENTATIVES, WE WILL CONSULT WITH THE JRG.

-- WHAT INFORMATION COULD THE URU/FDR FURNISH US WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO DEAL WITH SKEPTICISM ABOUT THEIR INTENTIONS IN MAKING THIS OFFER TO DIALOGUE?

3. YOU WERE CORRECT TO INFORM RIVERA Y DAMAS THAT DIALOGUE BETWEEN US SHOULD HAVE NO PRECONDITIONS, EXCEPT CONFIDENTIALITY.

4. FYI. WE WILL WANT TO REVIEW THE INFORMATION PROVIDED BY RIVERA Y DAMAS BEFORE DECIDING WHETHER A MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE. ENDFYI. MUSKIE

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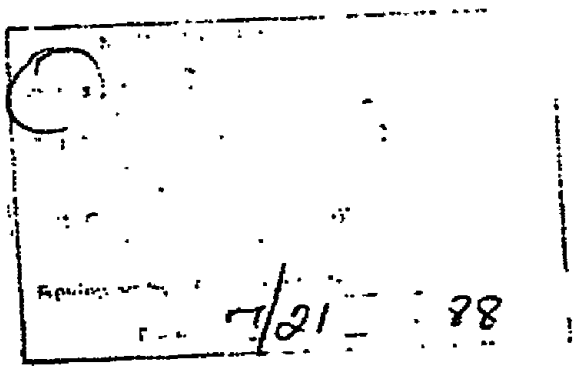

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1986 HOUSE WESTERN HEMISPHERE SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS ON "THE AIR WAR AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EL SALVADOR"

WITNESSES

Eugene "Gus" Newport
(former) Mayor, Berkeley, California
Eileen Purcell
Exec. Dir., SHARE
(Representing Archbishop John R. Quinn, San Francisco)
Michael Urquhart
President, AFGE Local 12
Chairman, Washington Area Coalition on Central America
Aryeh Neir
Director, Americas Watch
Rep. John Conyers
Carlottia Scott
Administrative Assistant, Rep. Ron Dellums
(statement on NEST trip to El Salvador with NEST Exec. Dir. Tracey Schear)

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1986 CONFERENCE "IN SEARCH OF PEACE" SPONSORED BY FMLN LABOR FRONT UNION OF SALVADORAN WORKERS (UNTS)

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Former Latin America Policy Advisor for Rainbow Coalition
Executive Board, SANE
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U.S. Representative FENASTRAS/UNTS (Salvadoran Communist Party-
controlled Labor Federation)

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Pres. National Rainbow Coalition
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Dr. Rudy Acuna
Author and Prof., Claif. State Univ, Northridge
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Dir., Office of the Americas
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So. Calif. Interfaith Task Force on Central America
Marie de Menil
Artist and Exec. Dir., Excess, Inc.
Marie Grosso
Center for a New Creation
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Pres., American Fed. of Government Employees Local 12
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Paster, Riverside Memorial Church

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Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)
Inter-Religious Task Force on Central America
Washington Area Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean
Philadelphia Area Labor Committee on Central America
Randall Forsberg
  Director, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

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1986 MOBILIZATION ACTIONS FOR PEACE, JOBS, AND JUSTICE

COORDINATOR

David Reed
Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy

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Rainbow Coalition
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Executive Director, CISPES
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Director, National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador
Leslie Cagan
Mobilization for Survival

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Exec. Dir., SANE
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United Church of Christ Office of Church and Society
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Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy

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Inter-Religious Task Force on Central America
American Committee on Africa
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ___

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES AND TRANSPORTATION SUBCOMMITTEE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM B-349-A-B

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

December 22, 1980

Mr. Doug Dworkin
Special Assistant
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Dworkin:

As you may know, the House Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation, which I chair, has been examining the extent to which U.S. laws and regulations were violated by LAN Chile Airlines, in connection with the scheme to assassinate the former Chilean Ambassador to the United States, Orlando Letelier. Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have sent to Assistant Secretary Hinton, expressing my concern over the failure of the United States Government to impose sanctions on LAN Chile in spite of the evidence that such violations did occur.

I would appreciate any thoughts that you have about the matters raised in that letter, and hope that you will do what you can to ensure that the State Department provides a prompt and complete response.

Sincerely,

JOHN L. BURTON
Chairman

JLB:KVK:bg
Enclosure

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O SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9219
NFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
MEMBASSY LIMA
SCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

IMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 7853

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise_____ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____

.O. 12065: N/A
AGS: PINT, CI
JBJ: APPEALS COURT REJECTS ZALDIVAR'S PETITION TO RETURN

EF: SANTIAGO 7604

AS REPORTED IN THE LOCAL PRESS ON 30 DECEMBER, THE NTIAGO APPEALS COURT REJECTED, BY UNANIMOUS DECISION, E WRIT OF AMPARO FILED ON BEHALF OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC RTY PRESIDENT ANDRES ZALDIVAR, BARRED BY THE GOVERNMENT OM RETURNING TO CHILE. THE DECISION MAY BE APPEALED THE SUPREME COURT.

IN ITS RULING, THE APPEALS COURT FOUND THAT THE ECUTIVE HAD ACTED ACCORDING TO CORRECT PROCEDURE AND TH FULL AUTHORITY IN ORDERING MEASURES AGAINST LDIVAR'S RETURN.

COMMENT: WE WOULD EXPECT THE CASE TO BE APPEALED TO E SUPREME COURT. GIVEN THAT PREVIOUS COURT DECISIONS VE REGULARLY BACKED OFF FROM CONFRONTATIONS WITH MITED OFFICIAL USE

MITED OFFICIAL USE

GE 02 SANTIA 07853 302040Z

E GOVERNMENT OR A RIGOROUS CONSIDERATION OF NSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, ZALDIVAR'S APPEAL EFFORTS WOULD F SEEM TO HAVE MUCH OF A CHANCE.
NDAU

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

UNCLASSIFIED S/S

DEC 3 1980 RELEASABLE

[redacted] (Entire Text)

TO: The Secretary

FROM: ARA - William G. Bowdler WGB

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Richard Allen on El Salvador

SUMMARY: You are meeting with Richard Allen to inform him of the situation created in El Salvador by the kidnapping and killing on November 25 of six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and of our initial reaction to the killings.

Talking Points:

-- Faced in El Salvador with the alternatives of a takeover by an undeniably radical Marxist left and an equally radical and violent right seeking to restore the old feudal order we have backed the moderate and reformist military-civilivan coalition government (the JRG). The JRG had succeeded through its implementation of reforms and more professional use of military force in gradually turning back the leftist challenge, both politically and militarily and had deterred several rightist coup attempts. It was still struggling to gain wide international acceptance and to end the violence, particularly that which emanates from the right and involves elements of the security forces.

-- Recently new pressures have been generated by Salvadoran conservatives for a shift to the right, perhaps by replacing the centrist Christian Democratic members of the Junta with conservatives from the private sector.

-- Concurrently rightwing terrorism has increased. A dramatic example was the kidnapping and killing on November 25 of six leaders of the leftist Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). Although the killings were done by men dressed in civilian clothes, we have reports that members of the security forces were involved.

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR/El Salvador SP Data
Declassified under EO 12356 (V) in full; ( ) in part
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).
CONFIDENTIAL
SDS 12/1/86

RID LL 13402

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

-- These killings have caused a major crisis and placed in jeopardy the survival of the present Junta, which had pledged to seek to control abuses and cri[redacted] by the security forces.

-- A shift to the right and departure of the Christian Democrats from the Junta would mean the loss of the limited international support that the Junta now has, and would probably cause governments such as Mexico to favor the left in El Salvador.

-- The US has deplored the killings, but refrained from any pubic acknowledgement of involvement by the security forces.

-- The Christian Democrats are attempting to save their credibility and participation in the Junta by insisting on a thorough investigation, and arrest and trial of the civilians involved in the killing and the discharge of the members of the security forces judged guilty.

-- We are considering ways to help give the Christian Democrats and moderates in the military added leverage in their efforts to save the situation.

-- Unfortunately our efforts to do so lack credibility and force because of widespread uncertainty in El Salvador, especially among the military and private sector, as to the future course of U.S. policy.

-- Any statement deploring the violence and expressing hope that the perpetrators of the FDR assassinations be apprehended and punished would greatly support our efforts to strengthen the moderate forces and to prevent an ever escalating spiral of extremist violence, thereby preserving options for the incoming Administration.

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E.O. 12065:NOT APPLICABLE

TAGS: PEPR, ENRG, MX, CU

SUBJECT: EMBARGO IMPLICATIONS OF MEXICO-CUBA OIL AGREEMENT

REF: HAVANA 8444

1. REFTEL REPORTS CUBA-MEXICO OIL COOPERATION AGREEMENT INCLUDES OFFSHORE GEODETIC SURVEYS TO BE PERFORMED 0Y PEMEX USING QUOTE MEXICAN BOATS AND TECHNICIANS UNQUOTE.

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PAGE 02 STATE 342377

2. WHEN APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY ARISES, REQUEST EMBASSY REMIND GOM AND PEMEX OFFICIALS THAT TREASURY CUBAN ASSET CONTROL AND COMMERCE EXPORT ADMINISTRATION REGULATIONS REQUIRE U.S. LICENSE FOR USE OF U.S. ORIGIN EQUIPMENT, TECHNICAL DATA AND/OR PERSONNEL IN CUBAN OFFSHORE WATERS. PROCESSING AND/OR ANALYSIS OF GEOLOGICAL DATA

UNCLASSIFIED

FROM CUBA BY U.S. BASED FIRMS OR THEIR FOREIGN AFFILIATES WOULD ALSO REQUIRE A TREASURY DEPARTMENT LICENSE.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THESE RESTRICTIONS ARE LONG STANDING AND ARE UNIFORMLY APPLIED TO ALL THIRD COUNTRY TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH CUBA. PAST CANADIAN, U.K. AND FRENCH JOINT COOPERATION PROJECTS WITH CUBA IN ENERGY AND OTHER TECHNICAL AREAS HAVE OPERATED UNDER THE SAME RESTRICTIONS. MUSKIE

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*** Current Classification *** ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00024 01 OF 02 022042Z
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS
USCINCLANT NORFOLK

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 0024

USEEC; ROME FOR VATICAN; CINCSO FOR INTAFF; CINCLANT FOR POLAD

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/2/87 (DEANE, JOHN F.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS SUMMARY: DECEMBER 13 - JANUARY 2, 1980/1

REF: BUENOS AIRES 9609

1. (U) SUMMARY. GOVERNMENT RELEASES 87 PEN PRISONERS. MRS. PERON TURNED OVER TO COURTS. ASYLEE IN MEXICAN EMBASSY, HECTOR CAMPORA, JR., DEPORTED. FRANCISCO MANRIQUE, 1973 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, CALLS FOR AN ACCOUNTING OF THE DISAPPEARED. END SUMMARY.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 00024 01 OF 02 022042Z

2. (U) ON DECEMBER 23, 1980 THE GOA ANNOUNCED THAT IT RELEASED 87 PERSONS HELD UNDER PEN. OF THESE, 40

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WERE FREED WITHOUT CONDITION (AMONG THEM, EX-PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MENDOZA ALBERTO JUAN MARTINEZ BACA), 21 HAVE BE GRANTED SUPERVISED LIBERTY STATUS, 4 WERE GRANTED THE RIGHT OF OPTION TO LEAVE ARGENTINA AND TWO FOREIGNERS WERE EXPELLED FROM ARGENTINA. AMONG THE 87 PERSONS, THOSE CASES WHICH ARE OF INTEREST TO THE US ARE LISTED BELOW ACCORDING TO CATEGORY OF ACTION TAKEN BY GOA:

A) RELEASED UNDER SUPERVISED LIBERTY: STIRNEMANN, ORLANDO LUIS (ADL, CANCER ANTI-CONGRESS); CEUNINK, MARTA PATRICIA (ADL); GONZALEZ, HECTOR RAUL (CANCER ANTI-CONGRESS, N.Y. BAR ASSOCIATION); AND DECURGEZ GARCIA, HECTOR HUGO (STATE DEPT, CONG. YATRON);

B) RELEASED WITHOUT CONDITION: CHIERNAJOVSKY DE NICOLETTI, MIRTA LILIANA (ADL); BERDINI, ESTHER NICOLINA (ADL); ARAOZ, HECTOR LUIS (AFL/CIO); GRZEY, JOSE CARLOS (AFL/CIO); LANZILOTTA, CARLOS ALBERTO (AMNESTY INTL); NUNEZ DE PUIGGROS, VIOLETA MARIA (STATE DEPT); AND VITON, ANIBAL JORGE (STATE, CONG.MARKEY, CONG. MCHUGH, CONG. HANLEY);

C) RIGHT OF OPTION: NO US INTEREST CASES. (CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST CASES MENTIONED ABOVE WILL BE ADDRESSED INDIVIDUALLY BY SEPTELS.)

3. [redacted] AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON JANUARY 1, THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED THAT THERE ARE NOW 900 PEN DETAINEES AS COMPARED WITH 5,060 WHEN THE FIGURE WAS HIGHEST (THE DATE WHEN NUMBER REACHED 5,060 WAS NOT REVEALED). OF THE 900, 300 DO NOT HAVE ANY CHARGES [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 00024 01 OF 02 022042Z

AGAINST THEM BEFORE THE COURTS, THE MINISTER NOTED. HE ADDED THAT PERIODICALLY MORE PEOPLE WILL BE FREED AND DECREES WILL BE ISSUED AUTHORIZING THE DEPARTURE OF OTHERS FROM THE COUNTRY. (NOTE: THE LAST FIGURE THAS WE BELIEVED TO BE ACCURATE ON THE NUMBER OF PEN DETAINEES WAS 1,050. DEDUCTING THE 87 PERSONS RECENTLY RELEASED WOULD MEAN THAT 963 PERSONS ARE STILL DETAINED).

4. (U) ON DECEMBER 24 THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAD LIFTED APPLICATION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT OF 1976 TO FORMER PRESIDENT MRS. MARIA ESTELA

MARTINEZ DE PERON, THEREBY TURNING HER OVER TO THE COURTS WHERE SHE HAS CHARGES OF MISCONDUCT PENDING. (SEE BUENOS AIRES 9925 FOR IN-DEPTH REPORT.) ON NEW YEAR'S DAY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TOLD THE PRESS THAT MRS. PERON'S CASES BEFORE THE COURTS WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE SETTLED UNTIL AFTER MARCH, AND HE SAID THE GOA COULD NOT CONSIDER GRANTING HER A PARDON UNTIL AFTER THE COURT CASES ARE EXHAUSTED.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00024 02 OF 02 022102Z
ACTION ARA-16

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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 0024

USEEC; ROME FOR VATICAN; CINCSO FOR INTAFF; CINCLANT FOR POLAD

5. (U) ON DECEMBER 29 THE GOVERNMENT ALLOWED HECTOR CAMPORA, JR., AN ASYLEE IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY SINCE THE 1976 COUP, TO DEPART ARGENTINA UNDER A SAFE CONDUCT PASS (SALVOCONDUCTO) AND TRAVEL TO MEXICO CITY FOR THE FUNERAL OF HIS FATHER, THE FORMER PERSIDENT, WHO DIED THE PREVIOUS DAY. PERONIST YOUTH ORGANIZER JUAN MANUEL ABAL MEDINA IS NOW THE ONLY REMAINING ASYLEE AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY.

6. [redacted] JUST AFTER CHRISTMAS, FRANCISCO MANRIQUE, LEADER OF THE FEDERALIST PARTY, CALLED FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO RENDER AN ACCOUNTING OF THE DEAD AND DISAPPEARED.

[redacted]

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 00024 02 OF 02 022102Z

MANRIQUE WAS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN THE LAST GENERAL ELECTIONS (1973) AND WAS THE THIRD HIGHEST VOTE-GETTER WITH NEARLY 15 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE. THAT A CALL FOR SUCH AN ACCOUNTING SHOULD COME FROM MANRIQUE IS SIGNIFICANT NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF HIS CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL FOLLOWING, BUT BECAUSE THE FEDERALIST PARTY AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COALITION CALLED FEDERALIST POPULAR FORCE (FUFEPO) WERE STRONG SUPPORTERS OF THE MILITARY TAKEOVER IN 1976 AND HAVE BEEN GOA ALLIES EVER SINCE. INDEED, SOMETIMES FUFEPO HAS BEEN CONSIDERED THE NATURAL EMBRYO FROM WHICH TO BUILD AN OFFICIAL PARTY THAT COULD INHERIT THE GOVERNMENT ONCE THE MILITARY HAS COMPLETED ITS REFORMS. THE THRUST OF MANRIQUE'S MESSAGE TO THE GOA WAS POSITIVE -- CLEAR UP THE RECORD OF THE DEAD AND DISAPPEARED BEFORE VIOLA TAKES OFFICE IN MARCH SO THAT HE CAN DEAL WITH THE HOST OF OTHER PROBLEMS HE FACES WITHOUT THIS ADDITIONAL HANDICAP. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, NO INDICATIONS THAT THE MILITARY GOVERN-
MENT WILL HEED MANRIQUE'S ADVICE.

7. (U) ON DECEMBER 28 THE ARGENTINE ARMY ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE STATING THAT GERVASIO MARTIN GUADIX (AKA ALBERTO LUCIO CASTILLO), AND ALLEGED TERRORIST, COMMITTED SUICIDE BY SWALLOWING CYANIDE ON THE ARGENTINE-BRAZILIAN BORDER ON DECEMBER 2. THE ARMY COMMUNIQUE SAID THAT GUADIX HAD PARTICIPATED IN VARIOUS TERRORIST ACTS SINCE 1974 AND THAT ON HIS PERSON WERE FOUND VARIOUS FALSE AND BLANK IDENTIFICATION CARDS, INSTRUCTIONS TO CARRY OUT LABOR AND POLITICAL AGITATION AND SECRET CODES TO RECEIVE RADIO INSTRUCTIONS FROM MONTONERO GROUPS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. THE COMMUNIQUE STATES THAT GUADIX'S NAME FIGURES ON THE LISTS OF SEVERAL INTER-

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PAGE 03 BUENOS 00024 02 OF 02 022102Z

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AS ONE OF THE DISAPPEARED WHICH,

ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE, "REVEALS AGAIN THAT 'DISAPPEARED' PERSONS, SUPPORTED BY PSEUDO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, UNDER THE APPEARANCE OF DEFENDING HUMAN RIGHTS, CARRY OUT TERRORIST ACTIVITIES."
SHLAUDEMAN

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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL U.S.A. 3618 SACRAMENTO ST., SAN FRANCISCO, CA. 94118 415-563-FRI

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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7 JAN 81

U.S.A. Group #62
6288 Shadygrove Court
Cupertino, Ca. 95014
(408) 257-9162

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REP. NORMAN Y. MINETA
SAN JOSE OFFICE

6 January 1981

The Honorable Norman Y. Mineta
1245 Winchester Blvd.
San Jose, California

Dear Mr. Mineta,

I am chairman of group 62 of Amnesty International, the 1977 Nobel Prize winning human rights organization.

Group 62 has recently adopted an Argentinian "prisoner of conscience", Eduardo Antonio Czainik.

Since the March, 1976 coup by the military junta, fifteen thousand Argentinians are estimated to have disappeared after arrest by the police, security forces or parapolice. Many have been killed and others brutally tortured in secret concentration camps. Eduardo Antonio Czainik is one of the "desaparecidos".

The details of Eduardo's case are as follows:

I.D. # 7.594.983
Age 34 Born April 27, 1947
Arrest August 25, 1977 in Buenos Aires
Writs of habeas corpus have been filed

Other details are available, but could endanger other family members living in Buenos Aires. These are the facts relevant for the Argentine government.

Our group would like to request that you use your office to write to two Argentine officials requesting an investigation of Eduardo's arrest and his whereabouts. It is important that Amnesty International is not mentioned in your correspondence.

Many personal letters from our group members have gone unanswered. In the past, before our group adopted Eduardo, the Argentine government claimed to have no knowledge of Eduardo's existence.

We are most grateful to you for any help you can give us. Please feel free to contact me for any further information.

esty International is a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience: men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, color, ethnic origin, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. Amnesty International opposes torture and the death penalty in all cases without reservat on and advocates fair and ot trials for all political prisoners. Amnesty International is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests and religious creeds. It has consultative status with the ed Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO, and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Inter American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, and has observer s with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees). Amnesty International was the recipient of the 1977 Nobel Prize for Peace

EHMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL U.S.A. 3618 SACRAMENTO ST. SAN FRANCISCO, CA. 94118 415-563-FRE

U.S.A. Group #62
6288 Shadygrove Court
Cupertino, Ca. 95014

(408) 257-9162

Yours most sincerely,

Anne C. Miller

Anne C. Miller, chairman
AIUSA #62

Argentine Addresses:

Excelentísimo Señor Presidente
de la Republica Argentina
General Jorge Rafael Videla
Casa Rosada,
Balcarce 50,
Buenos Aires
Argentina

Señor Ministro de Justicia
Doctor Alberto Rodriguez Varela
Ministerio de Justicia
Gral. Gelly y Obes 2289
Buenos Aires
Argentina

Note: Letters should be registered or metered at the post office

Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience (men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, color, ethnic origin, sex, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. Amnesty International opposes torture and the death penalty in all cases without reservation and advocates fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners. Amnesty International is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests and religious creeds. It has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, and has observer status with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees). Amnesty International was the recipient of the 1977 Nobel Prize for Peace.

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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ACTION ARA-16

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 0163

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT: THE FINAL OFFENSIVE: JANUARY 9?

1. IN HIS TELEVISION ADDRESS LAST EVENING 1/7 DURING WHICH HE ANNOUNCED CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT (SEPTEL), JUNTA PRESIDENT NAPOLEON DUARTE SAID THAT LEFTISTS ARE THREATENING THEIR FINAL OFFENSIVE FOR JANUARY 9, BUT THAT THE COUNTRY IS PREPARED AND THE CITIZENRY SHOULD NOT BE UNDULY CONCERNED, ETC., ETC.

2. DUARTE EXPANDED ON THIS THEME TODAY JANUARY 8 WITH A U.S. JOURNALIST: CAPTURED COMMUNICATIONS BY THE GUERRILLA ARMIES, HE SAID, HAD INDICATED THAT JANUARY 9 WOULD SEE THE FINAL OFFENSIVE BEGIN HERE IN SAN SALVADOR, AN OFFENSIVE THAT WOULD INCLUDE BLOWING UP

[redacted]

BANKS, SCHOOLS, AND OTHER PUBLIC BUILDINGS. DURATE SAID

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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THAT THE TREASURY POLICE HAS BEEN GIVEN RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENDING THE CITY AGAINST THESE ATTACKS AND THAT HE WAS SATISFIED THAT THEY WILL BE WITHSTOOD.

3. FYI. IN KEEPING WITH ITS POLICY OF ACTING AS A BULLETIN BOARD FOR THE FAR LEFT, "EL INDEPENDIENTE" ON 7 JANUARY PRINTED A PAGE OF INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW THE POPULATION SHOULD RESPOND TO THE FINAL OFFENSIVE. THESE RECOMMENDATIOONS INCLUDED HAVING ON HAND THE MAKINGS OF MOLOTOV COCKTAILS AND OTHER INFLAMMABLES, HOME PRODUCTION OF BOARDS STUDDED WITH NAILS TO STOP MILITARY CONVOYS, A PROGRAM OF DELIBERATE DISINFORMATION IN THE CASE THAT ANY MEMBER OF THE SECURITY FORCES SHOULD ASK FOR DIRECTIONS OR THE WHEREABOUTS OF SOMEONE, AND THE PRIOR SPOTTING OF THE HOUSES OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, MILITARY OFFICERS AND ALLEGED SPIES. "INFORM THOSE GUERRILLEROS WHEN THEY TAKE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD. THEY WILL KNOW WHAT TO DO IN THESE CASES. IF POSSIBLE, MAKE A SKULL ON THE HOUSE OF THE GOVERNMENT SPIES. REMEMBER THAT IN EVERY CASE YOU SHOULD FOLLOW TO THE LETTER THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN YOU BY GUERRILLEROS. THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY AND YOUR JOINING THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE WILL BRING YOU OUR GRATITUDE AND RECOGNITION." THE ARTICLE IS BY-LINED "PUBLICATIONS OF THE FDR."

4. WE JUST HEARD OF A NEWS REPORT CIRCULATING IN THE UNITED STATES THAT SAN SALVADOR WAS "SURROUNDED BY ARMIES OF THE LEFT COMING FROM THE NORTH, THE EAST, THE SOUTH AND THE WEST." WE BELIEVE THIS IS A PIECE OF OFF-HAND LEFTIST PPROPAGANDA PASSED TO A U.S. JOURNALIST WHO MENTIONED THIS TO ONE OF HIS EDITORS ON THE TELEPHONE WITHOUT FURTHER CHECKING.

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AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 HAVANA 0136

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/8/87 (TIPTON, JOHN B.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, ENRG, MX, CU
SUBJ: CUBA-MEXICO OIL AGREEMENT

REF: (A) 80 STATE 342377 (B) 80 MEXICO 19059 (C) 80 HAVANA 8444 (D) 80 MEXICO 18615 (E) 80 MEXICO 18459 (F) 80 HAVANA 8372

1. CONFIDENTIAL -ENTIRE TEXT

2. WE HAVE OBTAINED COPY OF WHAT PURPORTS TO BE TEXT OF CUBA-MEXICO PETROLEUM AGREEMENT SIGNED IN HAVANA ON DECEMBER 5, 1980 (REFS C AND D). COPY WE HAVE IS TRANSLATION INTO FRENCH FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH AND IS TRANSMITTED AS SUCH RATHER THAN TRYING TO FILTER IT ONE MORE TIME.

3. IN VIEW OF DEPT'S CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE TRANSFER OF US TECHNOLOGY TO CUBA VIA MEXICO, WE PARTICULARLY DIRECT ATTENTION TO PROVISION UNDER POINT THREE IN WHICH MEXICO AGREES TO FURNISH CUBA EQUIPMENT MANUFACTURED IN MEXICO AND "TO MAKE ALL EFFORTS" TO OBTAIN SUCH MATERIAL "MANUFACTURED IN OTHER COUNTRIES."

TEXT FOLLOWS:
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 HAVANA 00136 01 OF 02 082218Z

4. PROTOCOLE

DES CONVERSATIONS SOUTENUES ENTRE LA DELEGATION DE LA COMPAGNIE DES PETROLES MEXICAINS ET LE COMITE D'ETAT DE COLLABORATION ECONOMIQUE DU 3 AU 6 DECEMBRE 1980, L'INGENIEUR JORGE DIAZ SERRANO, DIRECTEUR GENERAL DE LA COMPAGNIE DES PETROLES MEXICAINS A VISITE NOTRE PAYS, REPONDANT A L'INVITATION QUE LUI AVAIT FAITE LE VICE-PRESIDENT DU CONSEIL DES MINISTRIES ET MINISTRE DES INDUSTRIES DU BASE JOEL DOMENECH BENITEZ.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
( ) RELEASE
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Exemptions
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LES LISTES DES MEMBRES DE LA DELEGATION DE "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS" ET DES FONCTIONNAIRES QUI ONT PARTICIPE AUX CONVERSATIONS POUR LA PARTIE CUBAINE, SONT FOURNIES RESPECTIVEMENT EN ANNEXES 1 ET 2 DE CE PROTOCOLE.

LES SUJETS FONDAMENTAUX TRAITES PAR LES DEUX PARTIES QUI ETE LES SUIVANTS:

1) PROGRAMME DE TRAVAIL CONJOINT DE PROSPECTION GEOLOGIQUE, POUR LE PETROLE ET LE GAS, SUR LA PLATA-FORME SOUS MARINE DE LA REPUBLIQUE DE CUBA.

2) OPERATIONS NECESSAIRES PUR AUGMENTER LE PRODUCTION DE GAZ LIQUEFIE DANS LA REPUBLIQUE DE CUBA, COMPARTANT LA PREMIERE PHASE DE REFECTION DE L'USINE DE CROQUAGE CATALYTIQUE DE LA RAFFINERIE NICO LOPEZ DE LA HAVANE.

3) ECHANGE DE PRODUITS ET COOPERATION DE LA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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COMPAGNIE DES PETROLES MEXICAINS PUR L'ACQUISITION D'AUTRES DERIVES DU PETROLE ET L'ASSISTANCE TECHNO-LOGIQUE DANS CETTE BRANCHE.

SUR LE POINT I

LES DEUZ PARTIES SE SONT MISES D'ACCORD POUR CONTINUER LES TRAVAUX PREPARATOIRES ET L'ECHANGE D'INFORMAIONS VISANT A L'ESTABLISSEMENT DU PROGRAMME DE TRAVAIL CONJOINT DE PROSPECTION GEOLOGIQUE POUR LE PETROLE ET LE GAS, SUR LA PLATEFORME SOUS-MARINE DE LA REPUBLIQUE DE CUBA AU PREMIER SEMESTRE DE L'ANNEE 1981. EVENTUELLEMENT, D'AUTRES ASPECTS DE L'ACTIVITE PETROLIERE POURRNAT Y ETRE INCLUS.

LES DEUX PARTIES CONSTITUERONT UN GROUPE DE TRAVAIL POUR L'ETABLISSEMENT DES PROGRAMMES CONSIDERES.

SUR LE POINT 2

LES DEUX PARTIES SE SONT MISES D'ACCORD POUR ETUDIER LES MOYENS PERMETTANT D'AUGMENTER LA PRODUCTION CUBAINE DE GAS LIQUEFIE, INCLUANT LA PREMIERE PHASE DE REFECTION DE L'USINE DE CRAQUAGE CATALYTIQUE DE LA RAFFINERIE "NICO LOPEZ" POUR LAQUELLE IL EST ETABLI:

-QUE LA PARTIE CUBAINE REALISERA LES PROJECTS DE REFECTION, LESQUELS SERONT REVISES PAR LA SOCIETE "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS" A L'OCCASION DE CONSULTATIONS QUI SERONT DECIDEES D'UN COMMUN ACCORD;

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-QU'IL EST ENTENDU D'EFFECTUER DES CONSULTATIONS AUX PREMIER ET TROISIEME TRIMESTRES 1981 PAR L'ENVOI A MEXICO (MERIDA?) DE SPECIALISTES CUBAINS POUR UN MOIS;

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PAGE 04 HAVANA 00136 01 OF 02 082218Z

- QUE LA COMPAGNIE DES PETROLES MEXICAINS ENVERRA DES SPECIALISTES PENDANT LA REPARATION GENERALE DE L'UNITE DE "CRACKING" CATALYTIQUE PROGRAMMEE POUR LE QUATRIEME TRIMESTRE 81. LA PARTIE CUBAINE ESTIME QUE CETTE REFECTION DURERA 45 JOURS.

- LA COMPAGNIE "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS" EST DISPOSEE, SUR DEMANDE DE LA PARTIE CUBAINE, A FOURNIR LES EQUIPEMENTS ET MATERIELS QUI SE FABRIQUENT AU MEXIQUE POUR LA PREMIERE PHASE DES REPARATIONS, ELLE FERA EGALEMENT DE SON MIEUX POUR EFFECTUER LES ACQUISITIONS D'EQUIPEMENTS ET MATERIELS PROVENANT D'AUTRES PAYS, SUGGERANT PAR NECESSITE D'EFFECTUER LES OPERATIONS DE FACON CONTINUE, DE NE PAS COMMENCER LA PREMIERE PHASE AVANT D'AVOIR, SUR LE LIEU MEME DES TRAVAUX, LES MATERIELS ET LES EQUIPEMENTS NECESSAIRES.

LES CONDITIONS DE PAIEMENT, PRIX ET TRANSPORT SERONT ETABLIS SUR LA BASE "COUTE PLUS FRAIS". LES DETAILS SERONT DISCUTES PAR UNE MISSION TECHNICO-COMMERCIALS QUI VISITERA MEXICO AU MOIS DE JANVIER 1980 AFIN DE CONCRETISER CETTE OPERATION.

SUR LE POINT 3

LA PARTIE MEXICAINE A MANIFESTE SON ACCORD POUR ETUDIER LES "PROFORMAS" DE NEGOCIATIONS EN VUE DE L'ACHAT ET LA VENTE DE GAZ LIQUEFIE MEXICAIN ET DE KEROSENE CUBAIN.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 HAVANA 00136 02 OF 02 082224Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 EB-08 OES-09 L-03
HA-06 DOE-10 DOEE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /078 W
----------095274 082234Z /42

UNCLASSIFIED

O P 082130Z JAN 81
FM USINT HAVANA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2830
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 HAVANA 0136

LES DEUX PARTIES SE SONT MISES D'ACCORD POUR QU'EN JANVIER 1981 UNE MISSION TECHNICO-COMMERCIALE CUBAINE VOYAGE A MEXICO AFIN DE CONCRETISER CES OPERATIONS. D'ICI CETTE DATE, LES DEUZ PARTIES ANALYSERONT LES POINTS SUIVANTS:

MECANISME DES PRIX

AMENAGEMENT DES INSTALLATIONS PORTUAIRES NECESSAIRES

COUT DE FRETS A PRENDRE EN CONSIDERATION

CARACTERISTIQUES DES DEUX PRODUITS

LA PARTIE CUBAINE A REMIS AU COURS DES CONVERSATIONS UNE LISTE DES ACCESSORIES ET INSTRUMENTS NECESSAIRES POUR LA MISE EN OPERATION DES BOMBONNES DE STOCKAGE DU GAS LIQUEFIE DE PETROL,

LA PARTIE MEXICAINE EST DISPOSEE A FOURNIR LES ACCESSOIRES ET INSTRUMENTS QUI SONT FABRIQUES AU MEXIQUE ET FERA TOUS LOS EFFORTS POUR SE CHARGER DE L'ACQUISITION DE CEUX QUI SONT FABRIQUES DANS D'AUTRES PAYS. LES CONDITIONS DE PAIEMENT, DE

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PAGE 02 HAVANA 00136 02 OF 02 082224Z

PRIX ET DE TRANSPORT SERONT DISCUTES LORS DE LA MISSION TECHNICO-COMMERCIALE CUBAINE QUI SE RENDRA A MEXICO AU COURS DU PROCHAIN MOIS DE JANVIER 1981.

EN OUTRE, LA PARTIE CUBAINE A FAIT SAVOIR QU'ELLE ETAIT EN MESURE D'EXPORTER JUSQU'A 35.000 TONNES DE "SLURRY" (PRODUITS AYANT LA CONSISTANCE DE BOUES QUI, ENTRE AUTRES UTILLISATION, SONT FREUQEMMENT EMPLOYES DANS LES ECHANGEURS DES CHAUDIERES POUR ANNULER LES EFFETS CORROSIFS DU SODIUM ET DU POTASSIUM CONTENUS DANS LES PRODUITS DE COMBUSTION DU FUEL-OIL (MASOUT) PAR AN PENDANT LE PROCHAIN QUINQUENNAT.

LA PARTIE MEXICAINE S'EST RESERVEE DE REPONDRE AU COURS DES CONVERSATIONS DE JANVIER SUR LA POSSIBILITE DE L'ACQUISITION DE CE PRODUIT DONT LES SPECIFICATIONS ONT ETE REMISES PAR LA PARTIE CUBAINE AU COURS DES CONVERSATIONS.

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LA PARTIE MEXICAINE, AU COURS DES CONVERSATIONS, A MANIFESTE L'INTERET DE VENDRE A CUBA DES PRODUITS COMME L'AMMONIAQUE ET LE METHANOL ET A DEMANDE A LA PARTIE CUBAINE, SI ELLE EST INTERESSE DE PRECISER LES QUANTITES DONT ELLE AURAIT BESOIN POUR LES PROCHAINES ANNEES.

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LA PARTIE CUBAINE S'EST ENGAGEE A REPONDRE PENDANT LA PREMIER TRIMESTRE 1980.
LA PARTIE CUBAINE PRECISERA A "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS" AU COURS DU PREMIER TRIMESTRE DE 1981 LES VOLUMES, LES CATEGORIES ET LES QUALITES D'HUILES DE BASE QUI LUI SERONT NECESSAIRES AU COURS DES ANNEES 1981 ET ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED

1982.

PENDANT LE PREMIER SEMESTRE 1981, "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS" PRECISERA LES CATEGORIES, LES VOLUMES ET LES QUALITES DES HUILES DE BASE SUSCEPTIBLES D'ETRE FOURNIS EN 1981 ET LES DEUX PARTIES ETUBIERONT LES POSSIBILITES POUR LA PERIODE 1982/85.

LE PRESENT PROTOCOLE EST SOUSCRIT LE 5 DECEMBRE 1980 A LA HAVANE, EN DEUX EXEMPLAIRE FAISANT EGALEMENT FOI.

LA PARTIE MEXICAINE SOUMETTRE AU CONSEIL D'ADMINISTRATION DE LA COMPAGNIE "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS" LES TERMES DU PRESENT PROTOCOLE. UNE FOIS RATIFIE, IL SERA NOTIFIE IMMEDIATEMENT A LA PARTIE CUBAINE.

HECTOR RODRIQUEZ LLOMPART
PRESIDENT DU COMITE D'ETAT
DE COLLABORATION ECONOMIQUE

ING. JORGE DIAZ SERRANO
DIRECTEUR GENERAL
DE LA COMPAGNIE
"PETROLEOS MEXICANOS"
TIPTON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED

E1699

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81PANAMA00261

ADP369 [redacted]

PAGE 01 PANAMA 00261 101217Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 SY-05 SYE-00 PM-07 NSC-05
SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01
SPRS-02 ICA-11 /081 W
----------106707 101517Z /47

R 091651Z JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY PANAMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2381
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USSOUTHCOM

[redacted] PANAMA 00261

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/8/87
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: MARYKNOLL NUNS ON THE LEFT'S "FINAL OFFENSIVE"
IN EL SALVADOR

REF: SAN SALVADOR 0141

- PANAMANIAN ARCHBISHOP MARCOS G. MCGRATH TOLD DCM JANUARY 8 THAT HE IS IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH MARYKNOLL NUNS IN PANAMA WHO ATTEMPT TO FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS IN EL SALVADOR. MARYKNOLL SUPERIOR/PANAMA HAS JUST RETURNED FROM GUATEMALA WHERE SHE MET WITH THE TWO MARYKNOLL NUNS REMAINING IN EL SALVADOR. SHE REPORTED TO THE ARCHBISHOP THEIR COMMENTS ON A LARGE-SCALE OFFENSIVE BY THE LEFTIST FORCES EXPECTED TO BEGIN IN MID-JANUARY. GIVEN THE POLARIZATION IN EL SALVADOR, THE EL SALVADOR NUNS SEE NO WAY A BLOOD BATH CAN BE [redacted]

PAGE 02 PANAMA 00261 101217Z

AVERTED. THE NUNS AND THE PEASANTS WITH WHOM THEY ARE IN CONTACT BELIEVE THAT THE LEFT HAS NO CHANCE OF WINNING AND END RESULT WILL BE WIDE-SCALE SLAUGHTER AND FURTHER ENTRENCHMENT OF THE RIGHT. MOSS

[redacted]

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: CROWLEY, JOHN
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S940033B

PAGE NO.
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PAGE 01 STATE 008616
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 H-02 HA-06 /024 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/SC:JHANDRE:LS
APPROVED BY ARA/SC:RESERVICE
----------122454 131836Z /47

R 131515Z JAN 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

UNCLAS STATE 008616

E.O. 12065:N/A

TAGS:SHUM, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

SUBJECT: SUPPORT FOR RELEASE OF MARIO JAIME ZARECEANSKY

REF: A) TYSON-WHITMAN LETTER OF OCTOBER 28, B) 80 BUENOS AIRES 1704

1. CONGRESSMAN TED WEISS HAS AGAIN CONTACTED DEPARTMENT EXPRESSING INTEREST IN THE STATUS OF MARIO ZARECEANSKY. CONGRESSMAN NEXT PLANS TO SEND A LETTER FROM HIMSELF AND AS MANY OTHER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AS POSSIBLE IN SUPPORT OF ZARECEANSKY'S RELEASE.

2. WHILE WE UNDERSTAND THE LIMITED POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS OF FURTHER INQUIRIES TO FOWG, DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY AGAIN INQUIRING ABOUT ZARECEANSKY, NOTING INTEREST OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. MUSKIE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM #1SAN SA000359

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ADP230
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 00359 151832Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
NSAE-00 PA-01 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 OC-06 CCO-00 AID-07 SY-05 STE-00
IO-14 HA-06 CA-01 L-03 DPR-02 A-02 TRSE-00
ACDA-12 ANAE-00 /113 W
----------008385 151837Z /50

Z P 151800Z JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 1975
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 0359

PANAMA ALSO FOR

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/15/87 OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT ES ASEC
SUBJ: SITUATION REPORT AS OF MIDDAY JANUARY 15

1. [redacted]

2. ALTHOUGH THE CAPITAL IS QUIET AT THIS MOMENT EARLIER THIS MORNING A SERIES OF REPORTS WERE PASSED IN SALVADORAN SECURITY CHANNELS THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF GUERRILLAS (THE NUMBER 800 WAS CITED, WHICH IS PROBABLY GROSSLY INFLATED) WERE CONCENTRATING AT THE NORTHERN EDGES OF THE CITY. OTHER INDICATIONS ARE THAT THIS MAY NOT BE OF NEW GUERRILLAS, BUT IN FACT A RECONCENTRATION OF FIGHTERS WHO WERE SCATTERED IN THE CONFRONTATIONS OF LAST SATURDAY NIGHT
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00359 151832Z

AND SUNDAY.

3. ATTACHED TO THESE REPORTS IS THE SUSPICION -- BASED ON PRECISELY WHAT HARD INFORMATION WE DO NOT KNOW -- THAT THESE GUERRILLA FORCES MIGHT TRY FOR AN ARMED UPRISING IN THE CAPITAL THIS EVENING. ALTERNATIVELY, THEY MIGHT TRY FOR A SERIES OF ACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENTS TO HARASS AND DISORGANIZE THE CAPITAL. ONE REPORT IS THAT ONE OR MORE POWER SOURCES WILL BE KNOCKED OUT, SIGNALLING

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United States Department of State
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Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940033C

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AND FACILITATING THE OUTBURST OF FIGHTING.

4. REPORTS ALSO HAVE BEEN MADE OF 20 OR 30 PEOPLE "SPEAKING WITH A STRANGE ACCENT" WHO HAVE MADE THEMSELVES KNOWN TO PEOPLE IN THE CAPITAL ASKING FOR FOOD OR SOME KIND OF ASSISTANCE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EVALUATE THE MEANING OR ACCURACY OF THESE REPORTS AT THIS TIME. OTHER GUERRILLA CONCENTRATIONS ARE SAID TO EXIST NEAR THE CAPITAL AT SAN MARCOS AND SANTO TOMAS.

5. THE SECURITY WATCH COMMITTEE OF THE EMBASSY WILL MEET THIS AFTERNOON AT 2:30 TO DETERMINE WHAT MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN, ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING THAT WE ARE UNDER CURFEW FROM 1900 AND IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR EMBASSY PERSONNEL EXCEPT POSSIBLY MILITARY OFFICERS OF DATT AND MILGP TO LEAVE THE LOCATION IN WHICH THEY FIND THEMSELVES AFTER THAT TIME.

6. YESTERDAY THERE WERE REPORTS OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES NEAR ZARAGOZA AND TWO OTHER SMALL TOWNS ALSO ON THE ROUTE TO THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. THE ROAD TO THE AIRPORT WAS BRIEFLY CUT, BUT IS OPEN AGAIN TODAY.

7. LA UNION: LATEST REPORTS FROM THE GENERAL STAFF ARE THAT IN FIGHTING IN LA UNION PROVINCE SOME 200 OF THE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 00359 151832Z

GUERRILLAS WHO LANDED AT PLAYA EL CUCO HAVE BEEN ROUTED AND ARE FLEEING TO THE WEST. THE GOVERNMENT IS CLAIMING APPROXIMATELY 52 GUERRILLAS KILLED AND IS ADMITTING THAT EIGHT GOVERNMENT TROOPS HAVE DIED IN ACTION. OTHER GUERRILLA RAIDS ARE REPORTED IN TECOLUCA (SAN VICENTE PROVINCE) AND TWO OTHER SMALL TOWNS. COMMENT: WE FOUND A MANAGUA "RADIO MUNDIAL" REPORT OF JANUARY 14 INTERESTING. IT SAID IN PART THAT "SOME 200 INTERNATIONALIST FIGHTERS HAVE ARRIVED IN EL SALVADOR AND THEY HAD A FIERCE CLASH WITH ARMY MEMBERS."
WHITE

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00317 170900Z
ACTION H-02

INFO OCT-01 VO-03 ADS-00 /006 W
----------020363 170915Z /10

R 151529Z JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8123

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 0317

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM,AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
PABLO JACOBO CHALABE

H PASS: THE HONORABLE GERALDINE A. FERRARO
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHDC 20515

1. DEAR MS. FERRAROC

I WRITE IN RESPONSE TO YOUR LETTER OF DEC 22N 1980, CONCERNING PABLO JACOBO CHALABE WHO WAS REPORTEDLY KIDNAPPED IN ARGENTINA.

2. WE DO NOT HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THIS CASE. WITH THE ADDRESS OF MRS. CHALABE THAT YOU PROVIDED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE ENCLOSED WITH YOUR LETTER, WE WILL CONTACT HER DIRECTLY TO LEARN MORE AND SEE HOW WE MIGHT BEST PROCEED.

3. IN ANY CASE, FROM THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN THE LETTER MRS. CHALABE WROTE MR. VARGAS CARRENO, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT HIS REPORTED KIDNAPPING TOOK PLACE SOME TIME, PERHAPS EVEN SEVERAL YEARS, AGO. IF SO, MR. CHARLES IS ONE OF THE MANY PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED IN ARGENTINA. THE EMBASSY'S MANY INQUIRIES TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING GROUP IN BEHALF OF SUCH
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 00317 170900Z

DISAPPEARED PERSONS HAVE NOT, TO DATE, LED TO ANY CLARIFICATION OF THEIR WELFARE AND WHEREABOUTS OTHER

THAN A STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA IS NOT HOLDING THEM AND HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

4. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO ARGENTINA, CONGRESSMAN ZABLOCKI, MEMBERS OF HIS DELEGATION AND OF HIS COMMITTEE'S STAFF DISCUSSED THE ISSUE OF THE DISAPPEARED WITH ME, MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY AND LEADERS OF THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT. I EXPECT THAT THEY WILL SHARE THE SUBSTANCE OF THOSE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE HOUSE MEMBERSHIP. HOWEVER, I SHOULD NOTE HERE THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS MADE EVIDENT THAT OUR ABILITY TO LEARN ANYTHING SUBSTANTIAL ABOUT THE FATE OF INDIVIDUAL DISAPPEARED PERSONS IS, REGRETTABLY, EXTREMELY LIMITED.

5. THUS, WHILE WE WILL MAKE KNOWN TO THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT YOUR INTEREST IN THIS MATTER, I CANNOT AT THIS POINT BE ENCOURAGING THAT WE WILL LEARN VERY MUCH MORE.

6. YOUR LETTER CAME TO THE EMBASSY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC POUCH AND WAS ONLY RECEIVED JANUARY 13. USE OF OUR APO FACILITIES WOULD BE QUICKER. THUS, IF YOU WANT TO WRITE ME IN THE FUTURE, I SUGGEST YOU USE THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS:

AMERICAN EMBASSY
ARGENTINA
APO MIAMI, FL 34034

7. SINCERELY YOURS, HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN, AMBASSADOR.
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PAGE 03 BUENOS 00317 170900Z

SHLAUDEMAN

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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AN: 0810024-0052

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PAGE 01 MANAGU 00247 1622047
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 SP-02 SPRS-02 INR-10 NSCE-00
CIAE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /046 W
----------017521 1623122 /67-L
O R 1621212 JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8173
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SAN DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USINT HAVANA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS
JSC WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC

[redacted] MANAGUA 247

E.O. 12065 GDS 1/16/87 OR-M
TAGS/PEPR, ES, NU
SUBJECT: GRN DENIES INVOLVEMENT IN DISEMBARKATION OF GUERRILLAS ON SALVADORAN COAST

REF: MANAGUA 232 (NOTAL)

1. EMBASSY MANAGUA HAS RECEIVED GRN DIPLOMATIC NOTE NO. 000, DATED 16 JANUARY 1981, SIGNED BY GRN FOREIGN MINISTER MIGUEL D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN. INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF TEXT FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:
MR. AMBASSADOR I HAVE THE HONOR TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO YOUR

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MANAGU 00247 1622047

EXCELLENCY INORDER TO CONVEY THE MOST ENERGETIC PROTEST OF

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[redacted]

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940033C

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THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA, BECAUSE OF DECLARATIONS WITH NEITHER BASIS NOR SERIOUSNESS, WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT OUT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND WHICH AFFECT OUR COUNTRY.
IN EFFECT, ON THE 14TH OF JANUARY, THE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES IN EL SALVADOR, MR. ROBERT WHITE, AS IF THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR COULD NOT SPEAK FOR ITSELF, ACCUSED THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA OF BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR A SUPPOSED DISEMBARKATION OF GUERRILLAS ON THE SALVADORAN COAST, WITHOUT THIS HASTY REMARK BEING RECTIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. LATER, MR. JOHN TRATTNER, OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT, INSTEAD OF DENYING MR. WHITE'S STATEMENT, INFORMED THE PRESS, THAT YOU (PEZZULLO) AS UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO NICARAGUA, PRESENTED OUR GOVERNMENT WITH YOUR OFFICIAL CONCERN ON THE SAME MATTER.
SUCH AFFIRMATIONS, CONTRADICT IN A FLAGRANT MANNER THE CLIMATE OF UNDERSTANDING AND OF MUTUAL RESPECT WHICH HAS UNTIL NOW CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS; AND IT WORRIES US DEEPLY THAT SPOKESPEOPLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARE MAKING SUCH AFFIRMATIONS THAT AT THE SAME TIME IN WHICHNOT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO RENEW MILITARY AID TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR, WHERE AT PRESENT, AN INTERNAL WAR IS BEING WAGED. WE CONSIDER DECLARATIONS OR ACTS WHICH TEND TO PROVOKE AN EXTENSION OF THIS CONFLICT TO OTHERPARTS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN AREA TO BE UNFORTUNATE.
AS LONG AS THEY ARE NOT RECTIFIED, SUCH DECLARATIONS SEEM INTENDED TO CONFUSE PUBLIC OPINIONS, NORTH AMERICAN AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL, ON THE RESPECTFUL ATTITUDE WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT HAS OBSERVED IN REGARDS TO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EL SALVADOR, WITHIN THE FRAME-

[redacted]

WORK OF SOVEREIGNTY AND SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH WE RESPECT AND SUPPORT. SINCE WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE MUS RESOLVE ITS OWN PROBLEMS WITHOUT ANY KIND OF INTERFERENCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, OUR GOVERNMENT IS ACUTELY INTERESTED THAT THE PRESENT CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR BE RESOLED IN A WAY THAT WOULD AVOID FURTHER BLOODSHED.
I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND MY COMPLIMENTS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY. END TEXT

3. COMMENT: THE GRN CLEARLY STROVE TO WRITE A RESTRAINED

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AND CAUTIOUS NOTED. TAKING OUR ADVICE (REFTEL). THE NOTE SHOLD BE SEEN AS A PUBLIC RESPONSE TO RECENT EVENTS AND WAS PUBLISHED IN THE EARLY MORNING PAPERS. IT WOULD BE PRUDENT TO MAKE NO FURTHER PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THIS ISSUS AND TO CONTINUE OUR DIALOGUE CONFIDENTIALLY.
PEZZULLO

[redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81STATE 011504

240

ADP422
[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 011504
ORIGIN ARA-04

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 H-04 /008 R

66011

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O 160451Z JAN 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LIMA IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 011504

FOR REPS OAKAR AND GARCIA

FOLLOWING REPEAT SAN SALVADOR 0359 ACTION STATE INFO GUATEMALA MANAGUA MEXICO SAN JOSE TEGUCIGALPA PANAMA USCINCSO 15 JAN 81.

QTE [redacted] SAN SALVADOR 0359

PANAMA ALSO FOR RSS

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/15/87
TAGS: PINS PINT ES ASEC
SUBJ: SITUATION REPORT AS OF MIDDAY JANUARY 15

1. [redacted]

2. ALTHOUGH THE CAPITAL IS QUIET AT THIS MOMENT EARLIER THIS MORNING A SERIES OF REPORTS WERE PASSED IN SALVADORAN SECURITY CHANNELS THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF GUERRILLAS (THE NUMBER 800 WAS CITED, WHICH IS PROBABLY GROSSLY INFLATED) WERE CONCENTRATING AT THE NORTHERN EDGES OF THE CITY. OTHER INDICATIONS ARE THAT THIS MAY NOT BE OF NEW
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 011504

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GUERRILLAS, BUT IN FACT A RECONCENTRATION OF FIGHTERS WHO WERE SCATTERED IN THE CONFRONTATIONS OF LAST SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY.

3. ATTACHED TO THESE REPORTS IS THE SUSPICION -- BASED ON PRECISELY WHAT HARD INFORMATION WE DO NOT KNOW -- THAT THESE GUERRILLA FORCES MIGHT TRY FOR AN ARMED UPRISING IN THE CAPITAL THIS EVENING. ALTERNATIVELY, THEY MIGHT TRY FOR A SERIES OF ACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENTS TO HARASS

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/25/94
Case ID: S940033D

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AND DISORGANIZE THE CAPITAL. ONE REPORT IS THAT ONE OR MORE POWER SOURCES WILL BE KNOCKED OUT, SIGNALLING AND FACILITATING THE OUTBURST OF FIGHTING.

4. REPORTS ALSO HAVE BEEN MADE OF 20 OR 30 PEOPLE "SPEAKING WITH A STRANGE ACCENT" WHO HAVE MADE THEMSELVES KNOWN TO PEOPLE IN THE CAPITAL ASKING FOR FOOD OR SOME KIND OF ASSISTANCE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EVALUATE THE MEANING OR ACCURACY OF THESE REPORTS AT THIS TIME. OTHER GUERRILLA CONCENTRATIONS ARE SAID TO EXIST NEAR THE CAPITAL AT SAN MARCOS AND SANTO TOMAS.

5. THE SECURITY WATCH COMMITTEE OF THE EMBASSY WILL MEET THIS AFTERNOON AT 2:30 TO DETERMINE WHAT MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN, ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING THAT WE ARE UNDER CURFEW FROM 1900 AND IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR EMBASSY PERSONNEL EXCEPT POSSIBLY MILITARY OFFICERS OF DATT AND MILGP TO LEAVE THE LOCATION IN WHICH THEY FIND THEMSELVES AFTER THAT TIME.

6. YESTERDAY THERE WERE REPORTS OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES NEAR ZARAGOZA AND TWO OTHER SMALL TOWNS ALSO ON THE ROUTE TO THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. THE ROAD TO THE AIRPORT WAS BRIEFLY CUT, BUT IS OPEN AGAIN TODAY.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 011504

7. LA UNION: LATEST REPORTS FROM THE GENERAL STAFF ARE THAT IN FIGHTING IN LA UNION PROVINCE SOME 200 OF THE GUERRILLAS WHO LANDED AT PLAYA EL CUCO HAVE BEEN ROUTED AND ARE FLEEING TO THE WEST. THE GOVERNMENT IS CLAIMING APPROXIMATELY 52 GUERRILLAS KILLED AND IS ADMITTING THAT EIGHT GOVERNMENT TROOPS HAVE DIED IN ACTION. OTHER GUERRILLA RAIDS ARE REPORTED IN TECOLUCA (SAN VICENTE PROVINCE) AND TWO OTHER SMALL TOWNS. COMMENT: WE FOUND A MANAGUA "RADIO MUNDIAL" REPORT OF JANUARY 14 INTERESTING. IT SAID IN PART THAT "SOME 200 INTERNATIONALIST FIGHTERS HAVE ARRIVED IN EL SALVADOR AND THEY HAD A FIERCE CLASH WITH ARMY MEMBERS."
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PAGE 01 MANAGU 00247 1622042
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 SP-02 SPRS-02 INR-10 NSCE-00
CIAE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /046 W
------------------017521 1623122 /67-L
O R 1621212 JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8173
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SAN DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USINT HAVANA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS
JSC WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC

[redacted] MANAGUA 247

E.O. 12065 GDS 1/16/87 OR-M
TAGS/PEPR, ES, NU
SUBJECT: GRN DENIES INVOLVEMENT IN DISEMBARKATION OF GUERRILLAS ON SALVADORAN COAST

REF: MANAGUA 232 (NOTAL)

1. EMBASSY MANAGUA HAS RECEIVED GRN DIPLOMATIC NOTE NO. 000, DATED 16 JANUARY 1981, SIGNED BY GRN FOREIGN MINISTER MIGUEL D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN. INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF TEXT FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:
MR. AMBASSADOR I HAVE THE HONOR TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO YOUR

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PAGE 02 MANAGU 00247 1622042

EXCELLENCY INORDER TO CONVEY THE MOST ENERGETIC PROTEST OF

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940030C

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THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA, BECAUSE OF DECLARATIONS WITH NEITHER BASIS NOR SERIOUSNESS, WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT OUT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND WHICH AFFECT OUR COUNTRY.
IN EFFECT, ON THE 14TH OF JANUARY, THE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES IN EL SALVADOR, MR. ROBERT WHITE, AS IF THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR COULD NOT SPEAK FOR ITSELF, ACCUSED THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA OF BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR A SUPPOSED DISEMBARKATION OF GUERRILLAS ON THE SALVADORAN COAST, WITHOUT THIS HASTY REMARK BEING RECTIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. LATER, MR. JOHN TRATTNER, OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT, INSTEAD OF DENYING MR. WHITE'S STATEMENT, INFORMED THE PRESS, THAT YOU (PEZZULLO) AS UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO NICARAGUA, PRESENTED OUR GOVERNMENT WITH YOUR OFFICIAL CONCERN ON THE SAME MATTER.
SUCH AFFIRMATIONS, CONTRADICT IN A FLAGRANT MANNER THE CLIMATE OF UNDERSTANDING AND OF MUTUAL RESPECT WHICH HAS UNTIL NOW CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS; AND IT WORRIES US DEEPLY THAT SPOKESPEOPLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARE MAKING SUCH AFFIRMATIONS THAT AT THE SAME TIME IN WHICHMOT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO RENEW MILITARY AID TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR, WHERE AT PRESENT, AN INTERNAL WAR IS BEING WAGED. WE CONSIDER DECLARATIONS OR ACTS WHICH TEND TO PROVOKE AN EXTENSION OF THIS CONFLICT TO OTHERPARTS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN AREA TO BE UNFORTUNATE.
AS LONG AS THEY ARE NOT RECTIFIED, SUCH DECLARATIONS SEEM INTENDED TO CONFUSE PUBLIC OPINIONS, NORTH AMERICAN AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL, ON THE RESPECTFUL ATTITUDE WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT HAS OBSERVED IN REGARDS TO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EL SALVADOR, WITHIN THE FRAME-

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WORK OF SOVEREIGNTY AND SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH WE RESPECT AND SUPPORT. SINCE WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE MUS RESOLVE ITS OWN PROBLEMS WITHOUT ANY KIND OF INTERFERENCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, OUR GOVERNMENT IS ACUTELY INTERESTED THAT THE PRESENT CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR BE RESOLED IN A WAY THAT WOULD AVOID FURTHER BLOODSHED.
I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND MY COMPLIMENTS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY. END TEXT

3. COMMENT: THE GRN CLEARLY STROVE TO WRITE A RESTRAINED

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AND CAUTIOUS NOTED. TAKING OUR ADVICE (REFTEL). THE NOTE SHOLD BE SEEN AS A PUBLIC RESPONSE TO RECENT EVENTS AND WAS PUBLISHED IN THE EARLY MORNING PAPERS. IT WOULD BE PRUDENT TO MAKE NO FURTHER PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THIS ISSUS AND TO CONTINUE OUR DIALOGUE CONFIDENTIALLY.
PEZZULLO

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 815AN SA000481

245

ADP761
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00481 01 OF 02 192015Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 10-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-02
INR-10 PA-02 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 AID-07
SY-05 SYE-00 OCT-02 MCE-00 /110 W
----------035417 192020Z /41

O R 191900Z JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2032
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 0481

E. O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PEPR MILI ES
SUBJ: FOREIGN MILITARY SUPPORT FOR SALVADORAN INSURGENCY

1. SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES, JANUARY 19, ISSUED FOLLOWING PRESS RELEASE ON FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO LEFTIST INSURGENTS. INFORMAL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT DEPARTMENT REPEAT TEXT TO APPROPRIATE ARA AND UR POSTS FOR DELIVERY TO FOREIGN MINISTRIES AND PRESS PLACEMENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT.
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00481 01 OF 02 192015Z

FOREIGN MILITARY SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORAN INSURGENCY
MARXIST ARMED
OPONENTS OF THE SALVADORA GOVERNMENT,
AND THEIR BACKERS ABROAD, HAVE MAINTAINED THAT THEIR
TERRORIST AND CHAOS-PROVOKING ACTIVITIES CONSTITUTE AN
"INTERNAL WAR." THEY HAVE CLAIMED THAT NO FOREIGN NATION
HAS INTERVENED ON THEIR BEHALF. THE ARMED MARXIST GROUPS
AND THEIR BACKERS ASSERT THAT ECONOMIC AND MILITARY HELP
TO THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT BLOCKS SELF-DETERMINATION.

PAGE NO.

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/25/94
Case ID: 9400330

BUT THE TRUTH IS OTHERWISE. IT IS THE MARXIST ARMED
GROUPS, ENCOURAGED BY OUTSIDE FORCES, WHICH ARE SEEKING
TO IMPOSE THEIR IDEAS BY TERRORIST MEANS ON THE SALVADORAN
PEOPLE. IT IS THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS THAT HAVE SOUGHT GREATER
MILITARY CAPABILITIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO WAGE AN
INTENSIFIED, ALBIET STILL INEFFECTIVE, "GENERAL OFFENSIVE"
AGAINST THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT, ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE.
THE GOVERNMENT AND AREMED FORCES ARE COMMITTED TO
STIMULATING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, PLURALISM, AND THE
PROCESS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORM.
THE FAILURE OF THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS TO GAIN
PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THEIR AGITATIONAL ACTIVITIES (STRIKES,
DEMONSTRATIONS, AND SO FORTH), AND THEIR REFUSAL TO SEEK
PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL OPENING OFFERED
BY THE GOVERNMENT, HAVE DICTATED THIS TURN BY THE MARXIST
ARMED GROUPS TO A PROCESS WHICH BRINGS SUFFERING TO
THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE. REGRETTABLY, INTERESTS OUTSIDE
EL SALVADOR HAVE ENCOURAGED THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS BY
PROVIDING THEM WITH NEW WEAPONS, NOT HERETOFORE AT THEIR
DISPOSAL. THE APPEARANCE OF THESE NEW WEAPONS OF FOREIGN
ORIGIN HAS COINCIDED WITH, AND HAS FACILITATED, THE LAUNCHING
OF THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS' "GENERAL OFFENSIVE."
THESE NEW WEAPONS RECEIVED FROM ABROAD HAVE
PROVIDED THE MEANS FOR THE MARXIST GROUPS TO SEEK TO IMPOSE
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00481 01 OF 02 192015Z

A MILITARY SOLUTION THROUGH EXPANDED VIOLENCE AGAINST THE
SALVADORAN PEOPLE. FOREIGN ENCOURAGEMENT OF ARMED
ACTIONS BY THE MARXIST GROUPS, WHICH SEEK TO BYPASS A
FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINION BY THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE,
CONSTITUTES AN UNCALLED FOR INTERVENTION.
WHILE THE PRECISE EXTENT OF THIS INTERVENTION IN THE
FORM OF ESCAMATED INFANTRY AND LIGHT ARTILLERY WEAPONS
SUPPLY REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED, THE FACT THAT THIS
INTERVENTION IS OCCURRING, AND THE SFFERING THAT IT
IS CAUSING, CONSTITUTE A DEFIANCE OF UNIVERSAL AND
INTER-AMERICAN NORMS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND A VIOLATION
OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.
WHAT ARE SOME OF THESE NEW FOREIGN ORIGIN WEAPONS
AND LETHAL MILITARY ITEMS WHICH HAVE APPEARED DURING THE
MARXIST ARMED GIOUPS' "GENERAL OFFENSIVE?"
-- THE 57 MILLIMETER RECOILLESS RIFLE OF UNITED STATES
MANUFACTURE. THIS WEAPON HAS THE CAPABILITY OF ATTACKING
PERSONNEL AND SOLID TARGETS. ITS RANGE IS MORE THAN 1500
METERS, AND IT IS OPERATED BY A CREW OF TWO OR THREE
PEOPLE. WHILE A FEW WEAPONS OF THIS TYPE ARE IN THE

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PAGE NO. 2
PAGE NO. 3

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00002 192116Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-15 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-02
INR-10 PA-02 SPRS-02 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 AID-07
SY-05 STE-00 OCT-02 MCE-00 /110 W
----------033797 192119Z /63

O R 191900Z JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2033
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 0481

SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES INVENTORY. IT HAS BEEN ASCERTAINED THAT THESE CAPTURED WEAPONS ARE NOT OF LOCAL ORIGIN. THESE WEAPONS WERE NOT OBTAINED FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.
-- THE M-79 40 MILLIMETER GRENADE LAUNCHER OF UNITED STATES MANUFACTURE. THIS WEAPON HAS THE CAPABILITY OF FIRING AN EXPLSIVE GRENADE FOR MORE THAN 350-400 METERS. MORE ACCURATE THAN A RIFLE-LAUNCHED GRENADE. THESE WEAPONS ARE VERY EFFECTIVE AGAINST GROUPS OF PERSONNEL. NONE OF THESE WEAPONS HAVE BEEN IN THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES INVENTORY BEFORE THEIR CAPTURE. THESE WEAPONS WERE NOT OBTAINED FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00002 192116Z

-- TYPE 56 ROCKET PROPELLENT FOR RPG ANTI-TANK WEAPONS OF CHINESE MANUFACTURE. THE RPG HAS THE CAPABILITY TO FIRE AN EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE 500 TO 900 METERS AGAINST ARMORED VEHICLES, BUILDINGS, OR GROUPS OF PEOPLE. THESE WEAPONS ARE NOT HELD BY THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES.
-- HIGH EXPLOSIVE AND CONCUSSION F-1/RG-42 HAND GRENADES OF SOVIET ORIGIN. THESE GRENADES ARE NOT IN THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES INVENTORY.
-- 5.56 MM SOUTH KOREAN-MANUFACTURED CARTRIGES. THIS

AMMUNITION IS NOT IN THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES INVENTORY.
-- 7.62 MM VENEZUELAN-MANUFACTURED CARTRIGES. THE
NUMERICAL SERIES OF THIS AMMUNITION, MORE THAN 22,000
ROUNDS OF WHICH WERE RECOVERED FROM A CONTRABAND AIR
SHIPMENT IN JUNE 1980, DOES NOT CORRESPOND WITH SALVADORAN
WEAPONS INVENTORIES. (IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT ANOTHER
AIRCRAFT WHICH APPARENTLY SUPPLIED CONTRABAND ARMS CRASHED
HERE ON NOVEMBER 25.)
ACQUISITION OF THESE FOREIGN WEAPONS HAS INCREASED
THE CAPABILITY OF THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS TO ATTACK FROM
A DISTANCE MILITARY OR CIVILIAN TARGETS. THE PROVISION
OF VARIOUS TYPES OF EXPLOSIVE WEAPONS OF HIGH POWER PROVIDES
NEW MEANS TO THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS TO DESTROY BUILDINGS
AND VEHICLES. THE DELIVERY OF FRAGMENTATION GRENADES
INCREASES THE LETHAL RADIUS OF THE ACTION OF THESE
WEAPONS PARTICULARLY LETHAL WHEN USED AGAINST GROUPS OF
UNPROTECTED PEOPLE. AND THE INCREASE OF AMMUNITION STOCKS
PERMITS LENGTHIER AND MORE WIDESPREAD ENGAGEMENTS BY
THE MARXISTS ARMED GROUPS.
THE FACT THAT, DESPITE THESE NEW FOREIGN ORIGIN
SUPPLIES, THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS COULD NOT ACHIEVE SUCCESS
IN THE "GENERAL OFFENSIVE" TESTIFIES TO THEIR LACK OF
PUBLIC SUPPORT AND POPULAR AVERSION TO THE MARXIST GROUPS'
EFFORTS TO IMPROSE THEMSELVES BY MILITARY MEANS AND
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00002 192116Z

TERRORISM.
NEVERTHELESS, THE INITIAL LACK OF SUCCESS DOES NOT
LESSEN THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS'
INTENTION TO ATTACK THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE
THROUGH FRATRICIDAL ATTACKS AND TO STRENGTHEN THEIR HAND
THROUGH THE ASSISTANCE OF FOREIGN INTERESTS. FOR THIS
REASON, ALL INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND THIS
HEMISPHERE SHOULD CONDEMN, AND SEEK TO STOP A LARGER
INTERVENTION IN SUPPORT OF THE MARXIST ARMED GROUPS.
WHITE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00372 202133Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SPRS-02
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 HA-06 IO-14 /098 W
----------043684 202157Z /60

P R 202023Z JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9393
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN//INTAFF

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 0372

BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/20/87 (PASCUA, GERARD R.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: INTERNAL SECURITY WRAPUP

REF: A) SANTIAGO 0277, B) SANTIAGO 0306

1. (LOU) SUMMARY: THE PEACEFUL OCCUPATION OF THE SWEDISH EMBASSY GARDEN BY CHILEANS PROTESTING HOUSING SHORTAGES HAS SETTLED INTO A STANDOFF, ALTHOUGH TALKS CONTINUE. A MAN IDENTIFIED AS A COMMUNIST PARTY MILITANT TRAINED OVERSEAS DIED IN A REPORTED SHOOTOUT WITH MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL INFORMATION CENTER (CNI) IN SANTIAGO. INFORMATION ABOUT HIS ACTIVITIES MAY HELP TO CLARIFY PCCH STRATEGY. ALSO IN SANTIAGO, THE CNI TURNED OVER TO THE COURT A MAN ACCUSED OF BEING A LEADER OF THE MOVEMENT FOR UNITARY POPULAR ACTION (MAPU). END SUMMARY.

2. (C) SITUATION AT SWEDISH EMBASSY. THE EMBASSY OCCUPATION, BEGUN ON 14 JANUARY IN CONJUNCTION WITH AN ATTEMPTED TAKEOVER OF GOVERNMENT SOCCER FIELDS TO DRAMATIZE HOUSING SHORTAGES (REF A AND B), CONTINUES PEACEFULLY WITH LITTLE CHANGE. EMBOFF VISITED SWEDISH FIRST SECRETARY PERSSON FOR A CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00372 202133Z

BRIEFING AND FIRST-HAND VIEW. BY PERSSON'S COUNT, THERE ARE A TOTAL OF 31 PROTESTERS (7 MEN, 10 WOMEN AND 14 CHILDREN) CAMPING OUT IN THE EMBASSY'S BACK PATIO, ALMOST OUT OF VIEW FROM THE STREET. HE CONTINUES TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE PROTEST, WHOM HE DECLINED TO IDENTIFY OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT THEY WERE NOT AMONG THE

GROUP AT THE EMBASSY. WHILE BEING VAGUE ABOUT SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, HE DID SAY THAT THE SWEDES AND THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON MIGRATION (ICM) HAVE OFFERED TO TRY TO ASSIST THE PROTESTERS IN LEAVING THE COUNTRY BUT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WOULD BEP PROCESSED ONLY AFTER THEY LEFT THE EMBASSY.

3. (C) PERSSON CHARACTERIZED THE PROTESTERS AS HAVING REALIZED THAT "THEY HAVE NO WAY OUT": THE SWEDES CANNOT HELP ON THE ISSUE OF HOUSING, BECAUSE OF THEIR MINIMAL INFLUENCE WITH THE GOC; THE GOC WILL NOT SUBMIT TO THE PRESSURE OF THE TAKEOVERS; AND WITHDRAWAL BY THE PROTESTERS WOULD ADD TO THE IMAGE OF ACCUMULATING FAILURES. HE BELIEVES THAT THE PROTESTERS RECOGNIZE THAT THEY PERHAPS ARE BEING USED. THE SWEDES CONSIDER THE RATIONALE FOR OCCUPYING THE EMBASSY AS ILLOGICAL, CONSIDERING THE ASSISTANCE THAT THEY HAVE EXTENDED TO CHILEANS AND THEIR PRESENT LOW STANDING WITH THE GOC: "THE GOVERNMENT IS PROBABLY LAUGHING". PERSSON DID NOT SPECULATE ON PROSPECTS FOR A RESOLUTION; FOR THE MOMENT THERE APPEARS TO BE A STANDOFF. ONE POSSIBLE PROBLEM MAY ARISE, HOWEVER, SHOULD THE CARABINEROS, WHO ARE MONITORING ACCESS TO THE EMBASSY, BEGIN TO CUT OFF THE FLOW OF FOOD FROM OUTSIDE TO THE ADULTS (THE SWEDES ARE PROVIDING FOOD AND MEDICAL CARE TO THE CHILDREN ONLY, PERSSON SAYS).

4. (U) ELSEWHERE, THE UNRELATED OCCUPATION OF UNESCO OFFICES
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00372 202133Z

BY PROTESTING STUDENTS CONTINUES, BUT IS NO LONGER GETTING ANY PRESS COVERAGE. (REF B).

5. (LOU) COMMUNIST PARTY MILITANT KILLED. ACCORDING TO A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY CNI, THEIR AGENTS WERE ABOUT TO SEARCH A HOUSE IN CENTRAL SANTIAGO SHORTLY AFTER MIDNIGHT ON JANUARY 18 WHEN THEY WERE MET BY GUNFIRE. ONE AGENT WAS WOUNDED. IN THE RETURN FIRE, A MAN INSIDE THE HOUSE DIED. CNI IDENTIFIED HIM AS LEANDRO ABRAHAM ARRATIA REYES, A COMMUNIST PARTY MILITANT. ARRATIA REPORTEDLY HAD TRAVELED TWICE TO THE SOVIET UNION (1969 AND 1972) AND ONCE TO MEXICO (1972), CUBA (1973) AND FINLAND (1977). CNI PRESUMES THAT HE RECEIVED GUERRILLA TRAINING ON SOME OF THESE TRIPS. ALSO FOUND IN THE "SAFE HOUSE" REPORTEDLY WERE AN AKA MACHINE GUN, VARIOUS MATERIALS FOR EXPLOSIVES AND GRENADES, DOCUMENTS, GUERRILLA INSTRUCTION MANUALS, AND PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT.

6. (LOU) ACCUSED MAPU LEADER. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS

OF 20 JANUARY, CNI PLACED CARLOS MONTES CISTERNAS IN THE HANDS OF THE COURT AFTER DETAINING HIM FOR 20 DAYS. MONTES, ACCUSED OF BEING THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MAPU, HAS BEEN FORMALLY CHARGED WITH VIOLATING THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW AND DECREE LAW 77 (OUTLAWING MARXIST POLITICAL ACTIVITY).

7. (C) COMMENT: IF ADDITIONAL DETAILS ABOUT ARRATIA REYES (PARA 5) SHOULD SURFACE, THEY MAY PROVIDE A FIRMER BASIS FOR EVALUATING JUDGEMENTS EXPRESSED BY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND OTHER SOURCES THAT, IN THE WAKE OF LAST SEPTEMBER'S PLEBISCITE, THE COMMUNIST PARTY MAY HAVE ADOPTED ARMED VIOLENCE AS ONE OF ITS STRATEGIES. PREVIOUSLY, IT WAS GENERALLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WERE AGAINST SUCH A TACK, LEAVING THAT FIELD TO THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) AND ITS FRONT ORGANIZATIONS--WHICH HAVE TAKEN CREDIT FOR MANY OF THE RECENT EXTREMIST ACTIONS. THE MAPU IN RECENT YEARS, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS NORMALLY LIMITED ITSELF TO NON-VIOLENT POLITICAL
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 00372 202133Z

ACTIVITY. ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS IS THE MONTES CASE (PARA 6). IT PROVIDES AN EXAMPLE IN ANOTHER SENSE AS WELL, IN THAT MONTES WAS HELD FOR 20 DAYS (THE AUTHORIZED PERIOD IN INTERNAL SECURITY CASES INVOLVING KIDNAPPING, INJURY OR DEATH), BUT THEN ULTIMATELY CHARGED FOR MUCH LESS SERIOUS ACTIONS.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81SAN SA000513

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00513 202218Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 PM-07 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 ACDA-12 AID-07 MC-02 EUR-12
/069 W
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P R 201915Z JAN 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2052
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN

[redacted]SAN SALVADOR 0513

E.O. 12065: XDS-1 1/19/01
TAGS: PEPR PINR MILI ES
SUBJ: (S) FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO SALVADORAN INSURGENTS

REF SAN SALVADOR 0481

1. [redacted]

2. TDY OFFICER GLASSMAN AND MILGP CHIEF COL. CUMMINGS MET WITH DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA AND GENERAL STAFF HIERARCHY, JANUARY 16, TO DISCUSS DESIRABILITY OF COMPILING, AND GIVING PUBLICITY, TO LOCAL EVIDENCE OF FOREIGN SUPPORT TO LEFTIST INSURGENTS. MINISTER GARCIA AGREED WITH IDEA AND PROMISED FULL COOPERATION. (FYI. AMBASSADOR RAISED PRESENCE OF GLASSMAN WITH PRESIDENT DUARTE, JANUARY 16. DUARTE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO GATHER EVIDENCE OF FOREIGN SUPPORT OF LEFT. HE SEEMED RELUCTANT, HOWEVER, TO ACCUSE NICARAGUA DIRECTLY OF INTERVENTION -- ACCUSATIONS HE HAS MADE PREVIOUSLY. END FYI.)

3. DURING MEETING WITH COLONEL GARCIA, U.S. SIDE SUGGESTED THAT THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES MIGHT WISH TO
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00513 202218Z

PUBLICIZE NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS RECEIVED BY GUERRILLAS AND CAPTURED BY ARMED FORCES DURING CURRENT LEFTIST OFFENSIVE. MINISTER GARCIA AGREED AND APPROVED A PRELIMINARY DRAFT DECLARATION PREPARED FOR HIS CONSIDERATION. CAPTURED WEAPONS CITED IN DECLARATION HAVE ALL BEEN PREVIOUSLY SEEN BY DAO. NO ACCUSATIONS ARE MADE IN DECLARATION OF SUPPLIER NATIONS' IDENTITIES. (FINAL PRESS STATEMENT ON CAPTURED WEAPONS, ISSUED BY SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES WITH SOME MINOR CHANGES FROM

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 05/25/94
Case ID: S9400330

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.ORIGINAL DRAFT, WAS TRANSMITTED IN SAN SALVADOR 0481. NOTE THAT FINAL STATEMENT, PRESUMABLY INADVERTENTLY, OMITTED CAPTURED RIFLE GRENADES OF PROBABLE CZECH/SOVIET ORIGIN, AS WELL AS LAW ANTI-TANK WEAPON AND M-60 MACHINE GUN WHICH WE HAD NOT SEEN.)

4. FULL SAMPLING OF WEAPONS CAPTURED FROM GUERRILLAS BY VARIOUS MILITARY UNITS IN COUNTRY WERE SHOWN TO PRESS IN SAN SALVADOR, JANUARY 19. BESIDES OTHER NEW WEAPONS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY (57 MM US RECOILLESS RIFLE, US M-79 GRENADE LAUNCHER, RPG ROCKET PROPELLENT, RIFLE GRENADES OF PROBABLE CZECH/SOVIET ORIGIN, AND SOVIET HAND GRENADES), ONLY OTHER NEW WEAPONS SHOWN WERE US M-72 LAW SHOULDER-LAUNCHED ANTI-TANK WEAPON AND US M-60 MACHINE GUN.

6. PURSUANT TO MINISTER GARCIA'S INSTRUCTIONS, GENERAL STAFF INTELLIGENCE SECTION PROVIDED GLASSMAN, JANUARY 19, WITH WHAT WAS PURPORTED TO BE REPRESENTATIVE SELECTION OF CAPTURED DOCUMENTS RELEVANT TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION ISSUE. (THE MAJORITY, BUT NOT ALL, OF THESE DOCUMENTS HAVE BEEN PROVIDED PREVIOUSLY TO DAO.) ACCORDING TO INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONARY, THERE ARE NO RELEVANT PRISONER INTERROGATION REPORTS. (VIDEOCASSETTE STATEMENT OF ONE DEFECTOR CITING [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 00513 202218Z

FOREIGN TRAINING WAS PROVIDED BY MILITARY, JANUARY 19, [redacted] MILITARY HAS ALSO RECOVERED IDENTITY DOCUMENTS OF ALLEGED HONDURAN WHO SERVED IN SANDINISTA ARMED FORCES BEFORE BEING KILLED IN EL SALVADOR. THIS WAS REPORTED IN DAO IR 0829005981 ON 18 JAN 81.)

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6. GENERAL STAFF INTELLIGENCE SECTION MAY BE ABLE TO PROVIDE US LATER WITH CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF WEAPONS CAPTURED BY TYPE IN LAST SIX MONTHS. IT APPEARS, HOWEVER, THAT BESIDES CAPTURED WEAPONS DATA PREVIOUSLY REPORTED BY DAO, ONLY ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE OF FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT AVAILABLE LOCALLY WILL EMERGE FROM COPIES OF ALLEGED CAPTURED DOCUMENTS PROVIDED TO US, JANUARY 19. REPORT WILL BE SENT TO WASHINGTON ASAP ON ANY NEW ASPECTS EMERGING FROM CONTENT OF THESE DOCUMENTS.

7. WE HAVE INDICATED TO SALVADORAN DEFENSE MINISTRY THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF DRAWING FROM WEAPONS DATA AND OTHER DOCUMENTATION PROVIDED TO US IN ORDER TO HELP THEM DRAFT A MORE DETAILED STATEMENT THAN PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE SUMMARIZING FOREIGN ASSISTANCE EFFORTS TO THE INSURGENTS. PROPOSED STATEMENT, WOULD BE DRAFTED IN FINAL AND ISSUED BY SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES.
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Bay Area Ecumenical Committee of Concern for Chile

944 Market Street, (Fourth Floor)
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 433-6083

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SENATOR S. I. HAYAKAWA
RECEIVED
FEB 4 1981
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94108

URGENT!

22 January 1981

Dear friend of Chile:

On 30 December 1980, Carlos Montes Cisternas was arrested while leaving the offices of *Academia de Humanismo Cristiano* (the Academy of Christian Humanism, a research institute), in Santiago, Chile. Sr. Montes is 38, married with three children, an economist and professor. The next day he was turned over to the CNI - Chile's secret police (formerly DINA). He temporarily "disappeared." There was great international protest, his family filed writ of *amparo (habeas corpus)* and finally the CNI admitted holding him but did not disclose where.

In the initial part of his detention, a news source inside Chile published that Sr. Montes is prominent in an outlawed political party (*MAPU* -- Movement for United Political Action, of the Popular Unity. All political parties have been outlawed in Chile.)

THIS NEWS STORY HAS INCREASED THE DANGER AND THREAT OF TORTURE GREATLY.

Sr. Montes has been held for more than the allowed twenty days, without being charged or his family knowing his whereabouts.

In your cables/letters it is imperative to refer only to Sr. Montes' affiliation with the *Academia de Humanismo Cristiano* and the indiscriminate arrest. *To refer to the news story of the outlawed party would add to his danger -- it is only for your information.*

LETTERS/CABLES OF PROTEST TO:

Señor Sergio Fernandez Fernandez
Ministerio del Interior
Edificio Diego Portales
Santiago, Chile

Copies to:

Comisión de Derechos Humanos
Av. Bernardo O'Higgins 1584
Santiago, Chile

Ms. Pat Derian
Office of Humanitarian Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20525

Please send copies or confirmation to our office.

WESTERN UNION 415-431-5520.

night cable to Santiago $3.41/21 wds (ado. inc.)
.15/ea. wd. extra.

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The arrest, inhumane disappearance and treatment of Sr. Montes is one more tragic

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Department of State

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FOLLOWING SAN SALVADOR 0510 DTO JAN 20, SENT ACTION SECSTATE
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TOKYO LISBON USUN NEW YORK USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM BEING
REPEATED FOR UR INFO:

QUOTE SAN SALVADOR 0510

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/20/87 (WHITE, ROBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ELAD MASS MILI ES
SUBJ: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE U.S. POLICY TOWARD SALVADOR'S REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA

REF (A) 80 STATE 355609, (B) 80 SAN SAL 2038, (C) 80 SAN SAL 3677, (D) 80 SAN SAL 6284

1. ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THE MODERATE GOVERNMENT OF EL

PAGE 02 STATE 017543

SALVADOR HAS ADMINISTERED A CRUSHING MILITAR

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DEFEAT TO THE FOREIGN-SUPPORTED AND ORCHESTRATED "FINAL OFFENSIVE" OF THE LOCAL MARXIST GUERRILLAS. THE LONG-PREDICTED MASS INSURRECTION FAILED TO MATERIALIZE AS DID THE PROMISED GENERAL STRIKE, DESPITE THE FEVERED INCITEMENTS TO REVOLT BY RADIO MOSCOW, HAVANA AND MANAGUA PLUS THE CLANDESTINE NICARAGUA-BASED "RADIO LIBERACION." THE PEOPLE STUCK WITH THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE, DESPITE ITS FLAWS, IT HAS BROUGHT THEM THE HOPE THAT EL SALVADOR'S UNJUST AND REPRESSIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE WILL BE CHANGED IN THEIR FAVOR. THE PEOPLE ALSO SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT MARXIST TERRORISTS ARE JF T AS LETHAL AS THE RIGHTIST DEATH SQUADS THAT HAVE VICTIMIZED THEM FOR SO LONG. OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE HERE HAS BEEN MASSIVE OVER THE LAST YEAR AND HAS STRENGTHENED THE BEST ELEMENTS IN THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT; OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE HAD BEEN LIMITED TO NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT INTENDED TO STRENGTHEN THE COMMAND STRUCTURE AND LIMIT REPRESSIVE TENDENCIES IN THE BRUTAL AND CORRUPT SECURITY FORCES. NOW, IN RESPONSE TO FOREIGN-INTERVENTION, WE ARE RESUPPLYING THE ARMED FORCES TO MAKE UP THE DRAWDOWN OF THEIR STOCKS OCCASIONED BY THE LEFTISTS' "FINAL OFFENSIVE." THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES ARE DETERMINED THAT OUR LAST MINUTE MILITARY SUPPORT NOT TAKE CREDIT AWAY FROM THEIR VICTORY OVER A FOREIGN-SUPPLIED AND TRAINED GUERRILLA FORCE. WE MUST CONTINUE TO CALIBRATE OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR TO STRENGTHEN THE CIVILIANS AND MODERATE MILITARY OFFICERS IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO CONTROL REPRESSIVE ELEMENTS IN THE SECURITY FORCES. THE RETURNABF RIGHTIST EMIGRES ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH SQUADS AND RESPONSIBLE FOR DECADES OF CORRUPTION OF THE SECURITY FORCES COUND LEAD TO A RIGHTIST-SPONSORED MASSACRE AND THE RECRUDESCENCE OF THE LEFT. IN THE END, A FUTILE EFFORT TO REIMPOSE A DISCREDITED AND ANACHRON-

PAGE 03 STATE 017543

ISTIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, WHATEVER THE LEVEL OF FOREIGN SUPPORT OR PARTICIPATION, WOULD RESULT IN A LEFTIST VICTORY BUT ONLY AFTER A BLOODY CIVIL WAR. WE SHOULD REFLECT CAREZALLY ON THIS SCENARIO IN CONSIDERING FUTURE U.S. POLICY TOWARD EL SALVADOR. THE LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM THE PAST YEAR HERE IS THAT IT IS UNNECESSARY AND EVEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO FURNISH MILLIONS IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE, TO SEND DOZENS OF MILITARY ADVISORS OR TO SPONSOR "SPECIAL OPERATIONS." WHAT IS NEEDED TO DEFEAT THE MARXIST-LENINISTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS SOLID U.S. BACKING FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT THROUGH EFFECTIVE

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DIPLOMACY--AN EMBASSY SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE AND AN AID PROGRAM THAT GIVES A GOVERNMENT THE TOOLS IT NEEDS TO BETTER THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE. THAT IS HOW A DEMOCRACY FIGHTS COMMUNISM. AND IT WORKS. END SUMMARY.

3. UNLESS FOREIGN NATIONS INTERVENE MASSIVELY AND SOON, THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA OF EL SALVADOR (JRG) HAS NOW DEFEATED THE VAUNTED "FINAL OFFENSIVE" OF THE INDIGENOUS MARXIST/LENINIST GUERRILLA ORGANIZATIONS DESPITE HEAVY DOSES OF PROPAGANDA, SUPPLIES AND TRAINING PROVIDED BY EXTERNAL COMMUNIST SOURCES. THE JRG PREVAILED BECAUSE THE MAJORITY OF SALVADORANS HAVE LOST THEIR SYMPATHY FOR THE LEFTIST MOVEMENT AND, WHILE THEY MAY NOT SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT YET, THEY HAVE DONE NOTHING TO IMPEDE ITS EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS THE LEFTIST OFFENSIVE. MOREOVER, THEY MADE THE LEFTISTS' GENERAL STRIKE A TOTAL FAILURE DESPITE DESPERATE PROPAGANDA EFFORTS ABROAD TO QUALIFY IT AS A "PARTIAL SUCCESS." WELL-ARMED AND TRAINED LEFTIST GUERRILLAS ARE STILL ABLE TO ATTACK SMALL POPULATION CENTERS IN SCATTERED AREAS OF THE COUNTRY. BUT SINCE THE WIDESPREAD AND COORDINATED SERIES OF ATTACKS ON MAJOR CITIES, INCLUDING POOR AREAS OF THE CAPITAL, ON THE NIGHT OF JANUARY 10, THE GUERRILLAS HAVE HAD NO SUCCESS IN TAKING OR HOLDING TERRITORY FOR ANYTHING MORE THAN A FEW HOURS, I.E., ANY TAKEOVER IS TERMINATED BY THE ARRIVAL OF ARMY REINFORCEMENTS WITHIN A FEW HOURS.

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EVEN SOME WESTERN PRESS SOURCES CONTINUE TO DESCRIBE THIS AS EVIDENCE THAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONTROL THE WHOLE TERRITORY BUT THE FACT THAT NO GUERRILLA ENCLAVE EXISTS AND THAT THE LEFTISTS WERE UNABLE TO DECLARE A GOVERNMENT INSIDE THE COUNTRY, AS THEY PROMISED, PROVES THE FAILURE OF THE MAIN POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC PURPOSE OF THE OFFENSIVE.

4. HOW DID THE OFFENSIVE PROCEED? FOR SEVERAL MONTHS THE LEFTIST TERRORIST GROUPS HAVE BEEN THREATENING A "FINAL OFFENSIVE, GENERAL STRIKE AND MASS INSURRECTION" THAT WOULD SWEEP AWAY THE JRG AND LEAVE THEM IN CONTROL OF E SALVADOR. UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM THE CUBANS AND OTHER COMMUNIST BACKERS, THE DISPARATE LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS, BOTH THE GUERRILLAS AND THEIR ALLEGEDLY PEACEFUL FRONT ORGANIZATIONS, WERE MELDED FIRST INTO TWO LARGE UNITS AND FINALLY INTO ONE SUPPOSEDLY MONOLITHIC COALITION

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THE FARABUNDO MARTI LIBERATION MOVEMENT (FMLN), NOW HEADED BY DR. GUILLERMO MANUEL UNGO, IS THE NEW HOLDING COMPANY FOR WHAT HAD BEEN TWO OSTENSIBLY SEPARATE ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE CONDUCTED POLITICAL AGITATION AND TERRORISM RESPECTIVELY FOR THE LAST SIX MONTHS. THE ALLEGEDLY PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT (FDR) HEADED BY DR. UNGO AND THE ARMED, TERRORIST UNIFIED REVOLUTIONARY DIRECTORATE (DRU), HEADED BY CAYETANO CARPIO.

5. ONCE THE UMBRELLA COALITION WAS IN PLACE, I.E. IN EARLY DECEMBER, A GRAND ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PROPAGANDA BEGAN TO PROMISE A FINAL FMLN OFFENSIVE THAT WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY MASS INSURRECTION. 5*3 7)?3*8,5 2- :)3-4)6 THAT USED AGAINST SOMOZA'S NICARAGUA IN WHICH AN ENTIRE PEOPLE ROSE UP AGAINST A HATED DICTATOR WHO BY THEN HAD BECOME ISOLATED INTERNATIONALLY AND INTERNALLY BY A DOCUMENTED SERIES OF OUTRAGES

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AGAINST THE POPULATION. LEFTIST PROPAGANDA AGAINST EL SALVADOR ATTEMPTED TO CAPITALIZE ON A SERIES OF APPALLING VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONNECTED WITH OR DIRECTLY CHARGEABLE TO BRUTAL AND VICIOUS ELEMENTS WITHIN THE SECURITY FORCES WHICH HAD REMAINED LARGELY OUT OF THE CONTROL OF THE JRG. A WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN OF IFAMATION OFFERED AMPLE EVIDENCE OF SECURITY FORCE EXCESSES THAT INCREASED THE DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION OF THE JRG, ESPECIALLY FROM SUCH IMPORTANT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS GERMANY, FRANCE AND SPAIN. THE MURDER OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN IN EARLY DECEMBER, WHICH WAS CERTAINLY THE WORK OF THE SALVADORAN SECURITY FORCES ALMOST COMPLETED THE JRG'S DIPLOMATIC ALIENATION, EVEN FROM ITS MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL SUPPORTER, THE USG.

6. AT THIS POINT, UNDER INTENSE PRESSURE FROM THE USG, VENEZUELA AND OTHER SYMPATHETIC BUT OFFENDED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS, THE JRG AT LAST MOVED TO BEGIN TO ROOT OUT THE CANCER THAT HAD SO WEAKENED THE ANTI-COMMUNIST POSITION IN THIS COUNTRY THROUGHOUT THE LAST YEAR. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE REGIME THREATENED TO WALK OUT UNLESS THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE RESTRUCTURED ITSELF IN A WAY THAT REMOVED FROM COMMAND THE WORST OFFENDERS IN THE SECURITY FORCES. THE PDC ALSO ASKED THAT THE OFFICER CORPS PLEDGE ARMED FORCE COMMITMENT TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SWEEPING

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REFORM PROGRAM THAT HAD SUCCEEDED IN WEANING PUBLIC SUPPORT AWAY FROM THE LEFT SO DRAMATICALLY SINCE ITS INCEPTION IN MARCH 1980. BOTH STEPS WERE TAKEN FOLLOWING A CONSULTATION OF ALL MILITARY OFFICERS. SUBSEQUENT RENEWAL OF U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE GAVE THE JRG A NEW LEASE ON LIFE AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE AND ITS PROMISES TO REFORM THE COMMAND STRUCTURE, INVESTIGATE THE DEATHS OF THE CHURCHWOMEN AND BRING RIGHTIST DEATH SQUADS UNDER CONTROL RENEWED HOPES HERE AND ABROAD THAT A DECENT REFORM

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GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIZATION COULD BE PUT BACK ON TRACK BEFORE THE "FINAL ASSAULT."

7. WEEKS OF MOUNTING AND CLEARLY ORCHESTRATED PROPAGANDA, SUPPLEMENTED OVER THE LAST TWO MONTHS BY LARGE CLANDESTINE SHIPMENTS OF SOPHISTICATED NEW WAR SUPPLIES, CULMINATED IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GREAT OFFENSIVE ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 10TH. FOR SEVERAL DAYS, THE LEFTIST NEWSPAPER EL INDEPENDIENTE HAD PUBLISHED ELABORATE INSTRUCTIONS TELLING THE POPULATION HOW TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INSURRECTION, E.G., BY FABRICATING MOLOTOV COCKTAILS AT HOME, PREPARING BOARDS FULL OF NAILS TO THROW IN THE STREETS BEFORE THE ARMY CONVOYS, PAINTING DEATHS HEADS ON THE HOUSES OF SUSPECTED GOVERNMENT INFORMERS, ETC. A CLANDESTINE RADIO TRANSMITTER LOCATED IN NICARAGUA WENT ON THE AIR SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE THE OFFENSIVE WITH THE SAME KINDS OF INSTRUCTION AND INCITATIONS TO INSURRECTION. FOUR LOCAL RADIO STATIONS WERE SEIZED AT DUSK ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 10 AND THE POPULATION WAS CALLED TO ARMS. MEANWHILE, COORDINATED GUERRILLA ATTACKS TOOK PLACE IN MANY AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING AN ASSAULT ON THE MAIN AIR FORCE BASE AT ILOPANGO, A MUTINY IN THE SANTA ANA BARRACKS AND GUERRILLA ASSAULTS ON A LONG LIST OF SMALL MILITARY POSTS IN WIDESPREAD AREAS OF THE COUNTRY

8. BY 11:00 P.M. THE OFFENSIVE HAD LARGELY SPENT ITSELF. THERE WAS NO MASS UPRISING. ON THE CONTRARY, THE GUERRILLAS RECEIVED LITTLE OR NO ENCOURAGEMENT EVEN IN THE MOST IMPOVERISHED AND ALIENATED DISTRICTS OF SAN SALVADOR WHERE TERRORIST INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED ALMOST NIGHTLY OVER THE LAST YEAR. ON SUNDAY, GOVERNMENT CONTROL WAS

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REASSERTED IN SANTA ANA AND NEW ATTACKS WERE PUT DOWN OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS IN A NUMBER OF OTHER POPULATION

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CENTERS, STILL WITH NO EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC SYMPATHY FOR THE LEFTIST INSURGENTSYM THE GENERAL STRIKES CALLED FOR MONDAHGN JANUARY 12TH, THEN TUESDAY, JANUARY 13TH AND LAST, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14TH WERE UNIFORMLY IGNORED BY 90 PERCENT OR MORE OF THE WORKING POPULATION. ONLY TWO FACTORIES WERE CLOSED IN SAN SALVADOR ON THE FIRST DAY AND THEY REOPENED AT NOON: BUSES WERE OFF THE STREETS FOR SEVERAL HOURS ONEMONDAY AND TUESDAY MORNINGS IN RESPONSE TO TERRORIST THREATS THAT THEY WOULD BE BURNED ON SIGHT BUT SERVICE WAS RESTORED BY MID-MORNING BOTH DAYS: HUNDREDS OF FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HERE FOR THE FINAL OFFENSIVE COULD FIND GUERRILLA ATTACKS UNDER WAY IN REMOTE AREAS OF THE COUNTRY BUT NO EVIDENCE OF ANY SUPPORT FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE. NONETHELESS, COMMUNIST CONTROLLED AND INFLUENCED NEWS ORGANIZATIONS, CONSISTENT WITH THEIR EARLIER PROPAGANDA, REPORTED THAT VAST AREAS OF THE COUNTRY INCLUDING MAJOR POPULATION CENTERS WERE UNDER GUERRILLA CONTROL AND THAT THE WHOLE COUNTRY WAS WRACKED BY INSURRECTION, GENERAL STRIKES AND HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTING. ALL OF THIS WAS UNTRUE AND ULTIMATELY THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICES ESTABLISHED WHAT WAS REALLY HAPPENING IN EL SALVADOR FOR READERS AND LISTENERS NOT UNDER COMMUNIST CONTROL.

9. IN THE MIDST OF THE GENERAL OFFENSIVE THE UNITED STATES ANNOUNCED RENEWAL OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH HAD BEEN SUSPENDED FOLLOWING THE DEATHS OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN AND PENDING THE COMMAND SHIFTS, PURSUIT OF INVESTIGATIONS AND ATTEMPT TO CONTROL RIGHTIST VIOLENCE THAT THE JRG HAD PROMISED. A FURTHER PRESSING DECISION FOR THE USG WAS WHETHER TO RENEW LETHAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH HAD ENDED IN 1977 WHEN THE ROMERO REGIME REFUSED U.S. MILITARY AID IN ANGER OVER HUMAN RIGHTS RESTRICTIONS ON ITS USE.
THE OFFENSIVE FROM THE LEFT, ALTHOUGH OF RELATIVELY BRIEF DURATION, WAS SUFFICIENTLY INTENSIVE TO RUN DOWN STOCKS OF SALVADORAN AMMUNITION AND OTHER MATERIEL. THE MOST PRESSING NEED WAS FOR SMALL ARMS AMMUNITION. ON FRIDAY EVENING,

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JANUARY 17TH, I INFORMED JUNTA PRESIDENT NAPOLEON DUARTE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD RENEW LETHAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN RESPONSE TO THE JRG'S REQUEST FOR EMERGENCY REPLACEMENT OF DEPLETED AMMUNITION STOCKS. DUARTE ACCEPTED THE OFFER WITH SOME RESERVE, ASKING THAT MINIMAL PUBLICITY BE GIVEN AND THAT U.S. MILITARY ADVISORS NOT BE SENT TO EL SALVADOR EXCEPT AS TECHNICIANS PERFORMING REQUIRED PILOT OR MAINTENANCE INSRUCTION FOR THE SALVADORAN AIR FORCE. DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA HAS EXPRESSED THE SAME CONCERNS TO U.S. OFFICERS.

10. MEANWHILE, THE SALVADORAN NATIONAL RADIO, WHICH HAS MONOPOLIZED ALL BROADCAST TIME SINCE THE OPENING OF THE OFFENSIVE ON JANUARY 10TH, SPENT THIS WEEKEND ASSURING THE POPULATION THAT THE GUERRILLAS HAD BEEN DEFEATED UNILATERALLY BY THE ARMED FORCES AND REFORM GOVERNMENT WHICH ENJOY FULL PUBLIC SUPPORT AND ARE MORE THAN CAPABLE OF DEFENDING THE NATIONAL TERRORITY. THESE BROADCASTS MADE CLEAR THAT THE JRG HAD DEFEAT D THE GUERRILLAS BECAUSE THE PUBLIC WAS ON ITS SIDE AND THAT THE ARMED FORCES NEEDED NO OUTSIDE HELP IN CONTAINING THE LEFTIST OFFENSIVE SO LONG AS FOREIGN INTERVENTION WAS CURBED. THE DOMESTIC PRESS AND RADIO HAS MADE MUCH OF EVIDENCE OF FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR THE LEFT IN THE FORM OF CAPTURED WEAPONS, INCLUDING LIGHT ARTILLERY, AND THE BARRAGE OF PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION FROM RADIO MOSCOW, HAVANA AND MANAGUA. THESE JRG BROADCASTS AND STORIES EXPLOITED HEAVY NATIONALIST CHORDS AND SEEM TO HAVE HAD A STRONG PUBLIC IMPACT.

11. COMMENT: IN THE LAST HOURS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND ON THE INAUGURATION DAY OF PRESIDENT REAGAN, IT IS IMPORTANT TO TRY TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE JRG HAS SUCCEEDED IN DEFEATING AKONCERTED LEFTIST CONSPIRACY TO SEIZE POWER IN EL SALVADOR. IT IS CRUCIAL TO COMPREHEND THAT THIS

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GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN HOPE TO AN ENTIRE PEOPLE THAT THE GROSS INJUSTICES AND ABUSES OF THE LAST 50 YEARS ARE COMING TO AN END AND THAT LIFE WILL IMPROVE FOR THE 90 PCT OF THE POPULATION WHO LIVED HERE IN NEAR FEUDAL SERVITUDE UNTIL THE REVOLUTION OF 1979. ONLY TEN MONTHS AGO, VAST LEFTIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS COULD MASS AS MANY AS 200,000 PEOPLE IN THE STREETS OF SAN SALVADOR; THEY COULD TAKE OVER GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES, FOREIGN EMBASSIES AND THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY IN UTTER DEFIANCE OF AN INDECISIVE NEW REGIME THAT PROMISED PROGRESS BUT WAS INEPT AND WEAK. IT WAS ALSO VIOLENTLY OPPOSED BY THE FAR RIGHT FROM EXILE IN MIAMI AND GUATEMALA. IN THE FACE OF BRUTAL ATTACK FROM BOTH EXTREMES THE JRG WENT AHEAD WITH A SERIES OF SWEEPING SOCIAL REFORMS THAT DESTROYED THE POWER BASE OF THE FAR LEFT AND THE MONOPOLY POSITION OF THE FAR RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY, PERHAPS FOREVER. THE REFORMS HAVE SAVED THE CENTER IN EL SALVADOR. IT WAS THE REFORMS THAT MADE THE PEOPLE BREAK WITH THE LEFT. THE REFORMS RESULTED IN THE INCREASING VIOLENCE AGAINST THE PEOPLE BY BOTH EXTREMIST GROUPS, AND COMPLETED THE ALIENATION OF THE MASSES FROM BOTH FACTIONS. THE FAR RIGHT'S VICIOUS TERRORISM AGAINST THE CENTER AS WELL AS UNARMED LEFTIST SYMPATHIZERS BLACKENED THE NAME OF THE JRG ABROAD BECAUSE SOME OF THESE RIGHTIST ELEMENTS HAD CONNECTIONS WITH THE SECURITY FORCES. MILITARY AND CIVILIAN MODERATES WERE UNABLE OR AFRAID TO BREAK THESE LINKS. THE EXCESSES OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE DEPREDATIONS OF THE RIGHT-WING DEATH SQUADS THREATENED TO DESTROY THE JRG AS A GOVERNMENT AND TO ISOLATE IT TOTALLY FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. ONLY THE CRISIS PROVOKED BY THE MURDERS OF THE FOR LEADERS FOLLOWED BY THOSE OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN REVERSED THIS FATAL SLIDE TOWARD RUIN.

12. OVER THE LAST YEAR, THE JRG'S DEFEAT OF THREE ATTEMPTED RIGHT-WING COUPS, FINANCED BY EXILES IN GUATEMALA AND MIAMI AND LED BY THEIR CHOSEN INSTRUMENT, THE PSYCHOTIC MAJOR D'AUBUISSON, HELPED CONVINCE THE MASS O

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THE POPULATION THAT THE JRG MEANT TO CONTINUE ITS COURSE TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION, ECONOMIC/SOCIAL JUSTICE AND CONTROL OF REPRESSIVE FORCES IN THE MILITARY. THE SHIFTS IN THE COMMAND STRUCTURE OF LATE DECEMBER, THE RENEWED COMMITMENT TO AGRARIAN REFORM FOLLOWING THE BRUTAL MURDERS OF ADOLFO VIERA AND HIS TWO AMERICAN ADVISORS AND THE RENEWAL OF U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN RESPONSE TO THE JRG'S PROMISES TO CONTROL RIGHTIST EXCESS, REASSURED THE POPULATION THAT REFORMS WOULD BE MAINTAINED. ON THE VERGE OF THE "FINAL OFFENSIVE" PEOPLE STILL BELIEVED THIS GOVERNMENT COULD BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE COURSE THAT HAS DRAWN AWAY SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY FROM THE LEFT AND THAT HAS ISOLATED THE TERRORISTS OF THE FAR RIGHT AND FAR LEFT AS CRIMINAL ELEMENTS BENT ON OVERTHROWING A MODERATE

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RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 10TH, WHEN THE RADIO STATIONS WERE SEIZED AND THE PEOPLE CALLED UPON TO RISE, NO ONE SPOKE UP. THE LEFTISTS HAVE REVEALED THEMSELVES TO BE IRRESPONSIBLE, FOREIGN-DIRECTED TERRORISTS AND PEOPLE KNOW IT. THEY STAYED OFF THE STREETS AFTER DARK, NOT MERELY IN RESPONSE TO THE 7:00 P.M. CURFEW BUT BECAUSE THEY WANTED NO INVOLVEMENT IN THE ALLEGED INSURRECTION. PEOPLE WENT TO WORK ON MONDAY MORNING NOT MERELY BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT EXHORTED THEM TO DO SO, BUT BECAUSE THEY WANTED TO KEEP THEIR JOBS AND HELP END THE ECONOMIC CRISIS THAT THE FAR RIGHT AND FAR LEFT HAVE VISITED ON THIS COUNTRY.

13. IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE HERE THAT THE BOMBINGS OF FACTORIES AND OFFICES, KILLINGS OF LABOR LEADERS AND TECHNICIANS, AND KIDNAPPINGS OF MODERATE BUSINESSMEN AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE THE WORK OF BOTH THE FAR RIGHT AND THE FAR LEFT. VICIOUS GANGS OF SELF-RULED TERRORISTS, OF THE FAR RIGHT AND FAR LEFT, ARE OPERATING IN FOREIGN CITIES AND

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ARE SPONSORING THE DESTRUCTION OF THIS COUNTRY IN ORDER TO REBUILD IT ACCORDING TO THEIR BLUEPRINT WHEN ITS RUIN IS TOTAL.

14. HOW SHOULD THE UNITED STATES PROCEED IN THE FACE OF THE SUCCESS THIS LAST WEEK OF THE MODERATE FORCES IN EL SALVADOR AGAINST THE LEFTIST FINAL OFFENSIVE AND LAST MONTH AGAINST A THIRD RIGGT-WING COUP ATTEMPT? WHY HAVE RIGHTIST TERROR AND LEFTIST INSURRECTION FAILED TO DESTROY THE JRG? WE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THE COMPLEX EQUATION THAT OPERATES IN THIS COUNTRY HAS SEVERAL POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE COMPONENTS, NAMELY THE FAR RIGHT AND FAR LEFT. EL SALVADOR'S MODERATE CIVILIAN/MILITARY LEADERSHIP MUST BE SUPPORTED IN ITS ATTEMPT
TO CONTROL EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES AND DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES TRYING TO HELP THE JRG SHOULD LIMIT THEIR INSIDE PARTICIPATION AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO REINFORCE THE MODERATE TENDENCIES OF THE JRG. THE MODERATES ARE SUCCEEDING IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WITHOUT A CIVIL WAR. WE HAVE DENIED THE JRG MILITARY ASISTANCE ON ANY IMPORTANT SCALE FOR THE EXCELLENT REASON THAT WITHOUT FIRM MODERATE CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF REPRESSION IT WOULD LIKELY BE USED IN CONDEMNABLE EXCESSES THAT WOULD BRING OUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS THEIRS INTO DISREPUTE. ONLY ABOUT HALF OF THE NON-LETHAL ASSISTANCE IN COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT PROGRAMMED FOR LAST FISCAL YEAR HAS EVEN REACHED THIS COUNTRY. NEW LETHAL ASSISTANCE HAS JUST BEGUN TO ARRIVE IN RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECISION OF JANUARY 16TH. THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES ARE COMPLETELY TRUTHFUL. THEREFORE, IN ANNOUNCING TO THE PEOPLE THAT THEY HAVE PUT DOWN A FOREIGN-SPONSORED, TRAINED, DIRECTED AND SUPPLIED COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE USING ONLY THEIR OWN RESOURCES. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT NATIONALIST CONSIDERATION. THE REINFORCEMENT WE ARE NOW PROVIDING WILL REPLACE SALVADORAN AMMUNITION AND MATERIEL USED IN DEFEATING THE LEFTISTS OVER ONE LAST WEEK. WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT IT NOT BE USED IN A GENERAL CAMPAIGN TO ERADICATE THE LEFT WHI

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BY HARSH "SEARCH AND DESTROY" MEASURES.

15. THE MATANZA (MASSACRE) SO EARNESTLY SOUGHT BY THE FAR RIGHT MUST BE AVOIDED FOR IT WOULD SURELY BRING ULTIMATE VICTORY TO THE FAR LEFT GUERRILLAS WHO ARE NOW IN DEFEAT BECAUSE THE PEOPLE HAVE ABANDONED
THEIR CAUSE. TO BRING BACK
THE PATRONS OF RIGHT-WING TERRORISM FROM THEIR SELF-IMPOSED EXILE, TO ATTEMPT TO INSTALL THEM IN POWER ONCE AGAIN OR TO ABET THEIR CAMPAIGN TO DISMANTLE THE JRG'S REFORM PROGRAM B INSTALLING A MILITARY DICTATOR UNDER THEIR TUTELAGE, WOULD FOLLY ON OUR PART. SOONER OR LATER, PROBABLY AFTER A BLOODY REGIONAL WAR, THE LEFT WOULD WIN BECAUSE CENTRAL AMERICA'S ANACHRONISTIC STRUCTURE OF DECADES PAST CANNOT BE REIMPOSED HERE BY ANY NUMBER OF TROOPS, FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC. EL SALVA WAS ON THE VERGE OF FALLING TO MARXISTS-LENINISTS A YEAR AGO BECAUSE INSURRECTION SEEMED T ONLY HOPE FOR CHANGE AND PROGRESS. A SMALL, WILFUL GROUP OF AMORAL OLIGARCHS AND TERRORIST ACCOMPLICES IN THE SECURITY FORCES HAD STAVED OFF CHANGE HERE FOR DECADES AT THE COST OF MOUNTING SOCIAL TENS THAT FINALLY THREATENED TO BLOW THE SOCIETY APART. MARXIST REVOLUTION WAS JUST ABOUT TO TAKE POWER LAST YEAR FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT IT SEEMED THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO THE MALFEASANCE AND CRUELTY OF THE SMALL GROUP WHICH CONTROLLED THIS COUNTRY. WHEN A GROUP OF MODERATE MILITARY OFFICERS AND PROGRESSIVE CIVILIANS SEIZED POWER IN OCTOBER 1979, THE FORMER OWNERS OF THIS COUNTRY FLED IN UNDIGNIFIED HASTE TO GUATEMALA AND MIAMI. FROM THERE THEY HAVE SPONSORE AND DIRECTED A TERRORIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MODERATE

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CENTRIST FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY. THAT CAMPAIGN HAS CLAIMED THOUSANDS OF LIVES. THEIR ROLE IS WELL KNOWN HERE.

16. OVER THE INTERVENING TEN MONTHS, THROUGH SWEEPING

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REFORMS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AN ESSENTIALLY MIDDLE CLASS GROUP OF OFFICERS AND CIVILIANS, AT GREAT RISK TO THEIR OWN LIVES, HAS FOUGHT TO DRAW THE PEOPLE BACK. THEY HAVE FOUGHT TO DETACH THE MASSES FROM A MARXIST MOVEMENT THAT, IN THE FACE OF DWINDLING PUBLIC SUPPORT, HAS RESORTED TO TERRORISM AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, AND, INCREASINGLY, AGAINST THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. THE TERRORISTS OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT HAVE MURDERED AND ALIENATED THE POPULATION OF THIS COUNTRY. UNLESS ONE OR THE OTHER OF THESE EXTREMIST FACTIONS SEEMS ON THE POINT OF GAINING POWER, THE JRG WILL CONTINUE TO EXPAND ITS BASE AMOUNG THE POPULATION AND WILL REBUILD THE SHATTERED STRUCTURE OF SALVADORAN SOCIETY ON A NEW FOUNDATION.

17. U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN THIS EFFORT IS VITAL AND SHOULD BE EXPANDED RAPIDLY IN ALL PRODUCTIVE SECTORS OF THIS ECONOMY. MILITARY ASSISTANCE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE KEYED TO IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE IN ORDER NOT TO STRENGTHEN THE REPRESSIVE TENDENCIES OF THOSE STILL IN THE SECURITY FORCES WHO RESPOND TO DIRECTION FROM RIGHTIST TERRORISTS. I WOULD ASK THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO GIVE THE MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THESE CONCERNS AND CALIBRATE FURTHER U.S. ASSISTANCE POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC, AS DELICATELY AS POSSIBLE IN ORDRE TO ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIC, MODERATE AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY TO SAVE IT AND THE REGION FROM TYRANNY OF THE LEFT OR RIGHT.

18. THE LEFT HERE HAS BEEN DEFEATED. NOT ONE AMERICAN CARTRIDGE WAS FIRED AND NOT ONE CENT OF LETHAL AMERICAN ASSISTANCE WAS USED. THE LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM THE LAST YEAR IN EL SALVADOR IS THAT IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO PROVIDE MILLIONS IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE, THAT IT IS COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO BRING IN DOZENS OF MILITARY ADVISORS, THAT DIRTY TRICKS ARE NOT NEEDED AND THAT IN CENTRAL AMERICA ALL THAT IS NECESSARY TO DEFEAT THE MARXIST-LENINISTS IS TO BACK

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GOOD GOVERNMENT WITH EFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY, AN EMBASSY SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE AND AN AID PROGRAM THAT PROVIDES A GOVERNMENT THE TOOLS IT NEEDS TO BETTER THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE. THIS IS THE DEMOCRATIC WAY TO COUNTER COMMUNISM. AND IT WORKS.
WHITE UNQUOTE HAIG

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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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E.O. 12065: GDS 1/26/87
TAGS: PINS PINT ES
SUBJECT: [redacted] AFTER THE OFFENSIVE

1. [redacted]
2. ON JAN. 23 LABOR ATTACHE MET WITH TWO MODERATE LEFTISTS TO DISCUSS THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF EL SALVADOR AFTER THE LEFTIST OFFENSIVE. BOTH EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT THE GUERRILLAS' DEFEAT AND THE RESUMPTION OF U.S. MILITARY AID. ONE COMMENTED THAT THE PROBLEM NOW IS TO GET THE STRUGGLE OUT OF THE MILITARY AND BACK TO THE POLITICAL ARENA.

3. BOTH BELIEVED THAT MANY OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL SOCIALIST PARTY (MNR) MEMBERS ARE NOW READY TO CONSIDER LEAVING THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT (FDR). THE PROCESS WOULD HAVE TO BE A GRADUAL ONE WHICH WOULD AVOID AN ABRUPT BREAK. THEY STRESSED, BUT MANY OF THEIR MNR CONTACTS

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WERE VERY UNHAPPY WITH THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AND WANTED A CHANGE. ONE SUGGESTED THAT EL SALVADOR'S AMBASSADOR TO ITALY, MNR MEMBER IVO PRIMO ALVARENGA, COULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SEPARATING THE MNR FROM THE FDR AND GUILLERMO UNGO.

4. ONE OF THE SOURCES REPORTED THAT HECTOR OQUELI, AN MNR MEMBER WHO WORKS FOR THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, BROKE WITH GUILLERMO UNGO WHEN THE LATTER ACCEPTED PRESIDENCY

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OF THE FDR. (COMMENT: WE HAVE NOT HEARD THIS STORY BEFORE, BUT NEITHER HAVE WE SEEN ANY REFERENCE TO OQUELI'S ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE FDR SINCE UNGO BECAME PRESIDENT.)
WHITE

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E.O. 12065: GDS 1/26/87

TAGS: MX, PEPR, PINS, ES

SUBJECT: U.S.-MEXICAN CONSULTATIONS ON EL SALVADOR -- MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR HARGAIN

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY

AMBASSADOR HARGAIN AND ACOSTA CALLED ON BUSHNELL AND BRIGGS ON JANUARY 26 TO DISCUSS SALVADOR. BUSHNELL COVERED RECENT U.S. ACTIONS AND SAID THEY WERE TAKEN IN RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR NO LONGER CAN PROPERLY BE VIEWED AS STRICTLY A DONESTIC SALVADORAN PROBLEM. HARGAIN PASSED ALONG UNGO'S REQUEST TO CASTANEDA FOR DIRECT, HIGH-LEVEL TALKS WITH USG. BUSHNELL EXPLAINED THAT THIS MIGHT BE UNDESIRABLE SINCE IT WOULD PUT THE U.S. IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SALVADORAN DISPUTE. HARGAIN [redacted]

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PAGE 02 STATE 020457

AGREED IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE SALVADORAN LEADERS

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TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH ONE ANOTHER. END SUMMARY.

3. MEXICAN AMBASSADOR MARGAIN, ACCOMPANIED BY MINISTER COUNSELOR ACOSTA, AT OURSUGGESTIONCALLEDTODAY ON ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUSHNELL AND COUNTRY

DIRECTOR BRIGGS FOR A REVIEW OF THE SALVADORAN SITUATION. BUSHNELL EXPLAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE REVIEW WAS TO GIVE EFFECT TO BOTH SIDES' STATED INTENTION TO CONSULT CLOSELY ON EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

4. BUSHNELL BEGAN BY SAYING THAT U.S. POLICY TOWARD EL SALVADOR WAS UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. THE VIEWS HE WOULD EXPRESS WERE THEREFORE PRELIMINARY TO A COMPLETION OF THAT REVIEW. THE PURPOSE OF CONSULTING WITH MEXICO WAS TO GIVE EFFECT TO THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO AND THEN PRESIDENT-ELECT REAGAN WHEN THEY MET IN JUAREZ, THAT WE SHOULD KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH ON EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

5. BUSHNELL SAID THERE WERE TWO WAYS TO LOOK AT EL SALVADOR: AS AN INTERNAL PROBLEM OR AS AN INTERNATIONAL TROUBLE SPOT. UNTIL RECENTLY BOTH MEXICO AND THE U.S. HAD FOCUSED MORE ON THE FORMER. THE FACT OF LARGE-SCALE EXTERNAL SUPPORT TO THE GUERRILLAS HAD FORCED US TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK, AND TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY THE IMPLICATIONS FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION.

6. THE CURRENT SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR IS REMINISCENT

PAGE 03 STATE 020457

OF WHAT HAPPENED IN MAY-JUNE 1979, WHEN CUBA OPENED A MAJOR, DIRECT SUPPLY LINE TO NICARAGUA. MATERIEL IS NOW BEING FUNNELED TO EL SALVADOR BY AIR, SEA, AND ACROSS HONDURAS. THE GUERRILLAS ARE INCREASINGLY USING SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS, SOME OF RUSSIAN MANUFACTURE (WHICH NEVER OCCURRED IN NICARAGUA). MOST, HOWEVER, ARE AMERICAN, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN TRACED TO WHAT WE LEFT BEHIND IN VIETNAM. THIS EQUIPMENT INCLUDES ITEMS THE SALVADORAN MILITARY NEVER HAD, AND RAISES THE QUESTION: WHEN THERE IS INTERVENTION,

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WHAT SHOULD THE U.S. DO?

7. BUSHNELL SAID THAT WE HAD ONLY DELIVERED A VERY SMALL AMOUNT OF EQUIPMENT TO SALVADOR IN THE RECENT PAST, PRINCIPALLY $1 MILLION WORTH OF COMMUNICATIONS GEAR AND A MILLION OR SO WORTH OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND PERSONAL EQUIPMENT. IN 1980 $5 MILLION WERE OBLIGATED, OF WHICH HALF WAS FOR TRUCKS (ONLY NOW ABOUT TO BE DELIVERED). THE POINT WAS THAT THE SALVADORAN MILITARY ON THEIR OWN HAD SUCCEEDED IN BLOCKING THE LEFTIST OFFENSIVE, BUT ESCALATION BY THEGUERRILLAS THANKS TO EXTERNAL SUPPORT LEFT THE JRG IN NEED OF ADDITIONAL SUPPLIES. HENCE THE CARTER

ADMINISTRATION HAD DECIDED TO PROVIDE CERTAIN LETHAL WEAPONS ($3-4 MILLION IN M-16S, AMMUNITION, GRENADES AND LAUNCHERS) PLUS SIX HELICOPTERS -- DELIVERED BY AIR QUICKLY TO BALANCE THE EQUATION.

8. BUSHNELL SAID NO ONE IN THE USG WANTS TO BE IN THE POSITION OF -- OR TO BE SEEN AS -- WAGING A PROXY WAR. WHAT WE WANT IS FOR EXTERNAL SUPPORT TO SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS TO CEASE. TO DATE THIS HAS NOT HAPPENED. THE HONDURANS HAD JUST DISCOVERED A HUGE CACHE OF WEAPONS, DESTINED FOR THE GUERRILLAS. PERHAPS MEXICO'S INTELLIGENCE ALREADY KNEW THESE

THINGS.

9. AS FAR AS THE USG KNOWS, NEITHER GUATEMALA NOR HONDURAS HAVE INTERVENED TO DATE. THE GOG IS TRYING TO CURTAIL THE USE OF ITS TERRITORY BY REBEL GROUPS; AND ALTHOUGH THE SUPPOSITION IS THAT GUATEMALAN REBELS MAY BE IN EL SALVADOR FOR ON THE JOB TRAINING, THERE IS NO FIRM PROOF OF THIS.

10. REGARDING THE INTERNAL SITUATION, BUSHNELL REVIEWED THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE 1979 MILITARY COUP LED BY YOUNGER OFFICERS WHO DID NOT WANT TO SEE A REPEAT OF NICARAGUA, WHO THEN SOUGHT CIVILIAN PARTNERSHIP, WHICH PARTNERSHIP BROKE DOWN BECAUSE OF PERSONAL ANIMOSITIES AND AMBITIONS, WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS EVENTUALLY ASSUMING A LEADERSHIP

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ROLE WITH THE MILITARY. HE EXPLAINED THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN DETAIL (WITH ACOSTA TAKING CAREFUL NOTE AND MARGAIN EXPRESSING WONDER).

11. MARGAIN THANKED BUSHNELL FOR THE BRIEFING. HE RECALLED THAT AT JUAREZ PRESIDENT-ELECT REAGAN AND LOPEZ PORTILLO HAD AGREED TO KEEP IN TOUCH ON THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. BOTH HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THAT BOTH THE U.S. AND MEXICO SHOULD SUPPORT PEACE, SELF-DETERMINATION AND NON-INTERVENTION IN THE REGION. A WEEK AGO, HE SAID, FOR LEADERS AND UNGO HAD CALLED ON FOREIGN SECRETARY CASTANEDA AND ASKED HIM TO CONVEY THEIR INTEREST IN MEETING ANYWHERE, ANYTIME AND WITH ANYONE FROM THE USG TO TRY TO RESOLVE THE SALVADORAN CRISIS. MARGAIN SAID HE HAD MENTIONED THIS TO NSC ADVISER RICHARD ALLEN DURING THE INAUGURATION. ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN

PAGE 05 STATE 020457

NO REPLY, ACCORDING TO THE PRESS THE USG POSITION WAS TO REFUSE SUCH CONTACTS.

12. MARGAIN SAID THAT CASTANEDA BELIEVES THE JUNTA HAS NO POPULAR SUPPORT. FURTHER, HE DOES NOT CONSIDER UNGO AND HIS ASSOCIATES TO BE MARXISTS. IN ANY EVENT, MEXICO'S POSITION IS TO LET THE SALVADORANS WORK OUT THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM ABROAD. THIS WAS MEXICO'S EXPERIENCE DURING ITS OWN REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. (BUSHNELL INTERJECTED: YOU MEXICANS DIDN'T HAVE THE CUBANS TRYING TO DETERMINE THE OUTCOME.) THE LAST THING MEXICO WANTS IS FOR ANY DIFFERENCES TO ARISE WITH THE U.S. OVER EL SALVADOR. "WE HAVE ENOUGH BILATERAL PROBLEMS ALREADY," HE SAID.

13. REGARDING A MEETING WITH UNGO, BUSHNELL SAID THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT, SINCE THE U.S. POSITION IS THAT TALKS SHOULD TAKE PLACE DIRECTLY BETWEEN THE SALVADORANS THEMSELVES. THE U.S. CANNOT BE IN THE MIDDLE. THE JRG HAS SOUGHT PRECISELY SUCH A DIALOGUE, FOR WHICH THE CHURCH HAS OFFERED ITS GOOD OFFICES. SO FAR THE FDR HAS REFUSED. ONE OF THE PROBLEMS IS THAT SO MANY OF THE FDR LEADERS

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ARE OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY, IN MEXICO, PANAMA AND ELSEWHERE. THOSE STILL IN SALVADOR ARE MORE APT TO BE MARXISTS, AND THERE IS NO WAY TO JUDGE HOW MUCH INFLUENCE UNGO AND ASSOCIATES MIGHT BE ABLE TO WIELD INSIDE SALVADOR. WHILE WE MIGHT POSSIBLY BE WILLING AT SOME TIME TO SIT DOWN WITH UNGO AND OTHER FDR LEADERS TO HEAR WHAT THEY HAVE TO SAY, WE OULD WANT THIS TO HAVE THE JRG'S PRIOR APPROVAL. WE WILL REVIEW THIS QUESTION.

14. MARGAIN SAID HE AGREED ENTIRELY WITH THE U.S.

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POSITION, AS BUSHNELL HAD STATED IT. THE GOH HAD FELT OBLIGED TO TRANSMIT UNGO'S MESSAGE TO THE U.S., BUT IN FACT THE GOH HAD MADE EXACTLY THE SAME POINTS TO UNGO ABOUT ENTERING INTO DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH DUARTE. BUSHNELL SAID THAT EFFORTS WERE BEING MADE BY OTHERS -- VENEZUELA AND COSTA RICA -- TO BRING ABOUT DIRECT DISCUSSIONS. THE U.S. WAS CONSCIOUSLY TRYING NOT TO GET IN THE WAY OF SUCH EFFORTS.
15. BUSHNELL MADE THE POINT THAT WE HAVE HAD CONTACTS WITH THE FDR ALL ALONG, THROUGH OUR EMBASSY IN SAN SALVADOR AND IN MEXICO WHERE AN EMBASSY OFFICER KEEPS IN TOUCH WITH THEM. WHAT THE FDR SEEMS TO WANT, HOWEVER, ARE HIGHLY VISIBLE CONTACTS WITH HIGH-LEVEL USG OFFICIALS. THE FDR IS FAR AHEAD OF THE JRG ON PROPAGANDA, IS VERY ADEPT AT MANIPULATING THE MEDIA, AND DOES NOT LACK ARTICULATE SPOKESMEN AROUND THE WORLD. IT HAS THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA APPARATUS AT ITS COMMAND.

16. BUSHNELL SAID OUR PREFERENCE WOULD BE TO LET EL SALVADOR SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS, BUT WE CANNOT SIMPLY STAND ASIDE AND LET OTHERS INTERVENE. THOSE SUPPORTING THE GUERRILLAS HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING ABLE TO DO SO COVERTLY, WHEREAS ANYTHING WE DO HAS TO BE DONE OPENLY.

17. BEFORE DEPARTING MARGAIN ASKED FOR BUSHNELL'S ASSESSMENT OF NICARAGUA. HE ASKED IF THE MARXISTS ARE GAINING GROUND. BUSHNELL SAID THEY ARE NOT, POLITICALLY SPEAKING, BUT THAT THEY ARE BUILDING

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SUCH A "HUGE" ARMY THAT THEY MIGHT IN EFFECT ATTEMPT
A MILITARY COUP. HE REFERRED HARGAIN TO A STATEMENT

BY ONE OF THE ORTEGA BROTHERS TO THE EFFECT THAT
THE CURRENT NICARAGUAN ARMY (30,000 MEN) IS INSUFFICIENT
TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY: ORTEGA HAD SAID NICARAGUA
NEEDS AN ARMY OF 200,000 MEN. BUSHNELL COMMENTED
THAT SOMOZA GOT ALONG WITH ONLY 12,000. HAIG

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EL SALVADOR

on the threshold of a Democratic Revolutionary Victory

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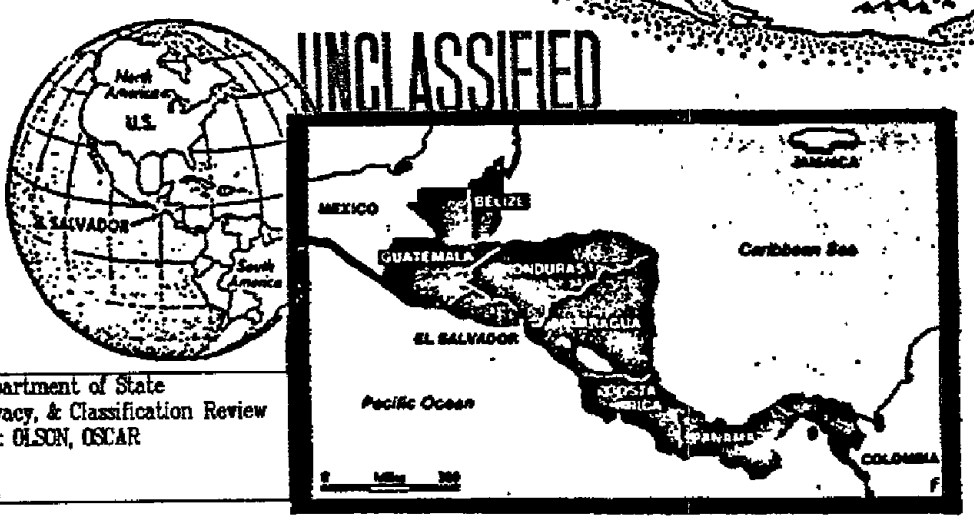

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Special Project (1993)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION..... 1 -

1. Facts about El Salvador.....
   1.1. The Political Process in El Salvador (1930-1979)..... 4
   1.2 Characteristics of the Salvadorean Socio-Economic Situation..... 8
   1.3 Human Rights Violations and the War of Extermination.. 13

2. Organizations in the Struggle for Democracy.....
   2.1 The Democratic Revolutionary Front (F.D.R.)..... 16
   2.2 The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (F.M.L.N.)..... 19
   2.3 The Joint FMLN-FDR Political-Diplomatic Commission.... 22

3. Characteristics and Objectives of the Future Government..... 25

4. Support from the Salvadorean and North American Churches.... 26

5. Support from the United Nations..... 30

6. Support from the Socialist International..... 31

7. Reality of the Current Military-"Civilian" Government..... 32

8. Current Stage of the Struggle of the Salvadorean People..... 40

9. Foreign Military Intervention to Support the Junta..... 43

10. Willingness of the FMLN-FDR to initiate dialogue with the U. S. government..... 45

11. Petitions from the FMLN-FDR to the governments and people of the world..... 48

APPENDICES

1. Programatic Platform of the Democratic Revolutionary Government..... 49

2. Communique from the Bishop, Apostolic Administrator, Priests and Nuns of the Archdiocese of El Salvador..... 56

3. Chronology of Persecution against the Church..... 59

4. Christians and the Insurrection of the Salvadorean People... 64

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE

5. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 35/192, December 15, 1980..... 69

6. Resolution from the 15th Post War Congress of the Socialist International (November 1980, Madrid)..... 72

7. Resolution on El Salvador from the 11th Women's Conference of the Socialist International (November 1980, Madrid)..... 75

8. Statement by Jorge Alberto Villacorta, El Salvador's Under Secretary of Agriculture, January-March, 1980..... 76

9. Justification for the resignation of the Salvadorean Ambassador to Nicaragua..... 78

10. Statement of Archbishop Roach on the restoration of military aid to El Salvador..... 80

11. A call by the General Command of the FMLN to initiate the general offensive..... 82

12. Evaluation by the General Command of the FMLN upon the first phase of the general offensive..... 84

13. Map zones under control by FMLN January 1981..... 89

14. Statement from the Democratic Revolutionary Front to stop U. S. military aid to the government of El Salvador (January 19, 1981)..... 90

15. Declaration by the FMLN on the agressive attitude adopted by the government of the United States..... 93

16. Communique from the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR concerning statements made by U. S. Ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White..... 96

17. Petition signed by North American personalities asking for the suspension of military aid to the government of El Salvador..... 98

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INTRODUCTION

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

INTRODUCTION

The democratic and revolutionary movement of El Salvador, organized through the alliance between the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN-FDR), extends its respectful and patriotic greetings to the governments and peoples of all the world.

The FMLN-FDR feels that some government who sympathize with noble causes and who respect the deep-rooted principles of non-intervention and national sovereignty do not have complete and truthful information about "The Case of El Salvador." Certain forces which contribute to the preservation of an unjust social order are interested in distorting the truth and have orchestrated an international press campaign aimed at spreading the news that El Salvador has a "moderate reformist" government which, unfortunately, finds itself beseiged by two hard-line extremes which, for their own motives, do not want a democratic moderate government to become consolidated.

In addition, these same forces are trying to give the false impression that the military offensive launched by the FMLN has been completely defeated.

The FMLN-FDR feels that in these times of important political, diplomatic, and military battles over the Salvadorean situation, it is vital that the governments of all the world concern themselves with studying and carefully analyzing the facts. It is certain that after such an analysis their decision will be to support the fundamental principles of respect for self-determination and legitimate insurrection of the people and for non-intervention in the internal affairs of El Salvador.

For this reason the FMLN-FDR has prepared this document which contains a brief report on El Salvador, its political process, human rights violations and the war of extermination, the composition of the Democratic Revolutionary Front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, as well as the basic principles of the future democratic revolutionary government that we intend to establish in the near future.

This report also includes some important statements by the North-american and Salvadorean Churches, by the United Nations, and by the Socialist International in support of the struggle of the Salvadorean people.

In addition, a brief description of the reality of the current military government, the present state of the struggle of the Salvadorean people, and information about the growing military assistance received by the tottering "Christian-democratic" military government, appear in this report.

The document ends with a petition from the FMLN-FDR to the governments to obtain their support.

San Salvador, January 31, 1981

FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL
LIBERATION FRONT (FMLN)

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY
FRONT (FDR)

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1. BACKGROUND ON EL SALVADOR

1.1 The political process in El Salvador

With the uprising of 1932, in which more than 30,000 workers and peasants were massacred, the military dictatorship in El Salvador consolidated itself. Since then, the political power has been taken over by the Army, alternatively placing military men at the head of the government through coups or fraudulent elections. The dictator Martinez is overthrown by the military after 13 years in power. In 1948 the so-called "young military officers" entered the scene for the first time by means of a coup, and they proceeded to establish a "democratic" program of government and decreed a new constitution. The principal objectives of this program were: a) to encourage a capitalistic economy in order to permit the economic development of industrialization, basically to facilitate an increase in investments; b) to absorb the economic gains generated by the favorable situation of the international coffee market; c) modernize the political system to accomodate it to "the democratic standards of the western world."

Subsequently, two presidential elections took place which brought to power two military officers, who combined democracy with repression in order to mitigate political activity. This reformist formula reached a crisis at the end of the '50's, provoking a new coup. A new civilian military junta with modernizing concepts was established. This brought about a few months later another coup which brought to power military men who were absolutely loyal to the oligarchy. To "legalize" the new presidency of one of the participants in the coup, they called for a new electoral farce.

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In the '60's, with the inspiring triumph of the Cuban Revolution, the U. S. government was forced to encourage democratic participation, thus encouraging the formation of opposition parties, with electoral politics; like the Christian Democratic Party (P.D.C.) and the Reforming Action Party (P.A.R.) which became part of the democratic game. During this time in the same way, the trade union organizations experienced a strong development.

The elections were always taken by the Salvadorean people as opportunities to get rid of the military presidents, despite the fact that the opposition parties never presented real alternative solutions to the great national problems. Nevertheless, broad sectors of the population expressed their repudiation by giving their majority vote to the opposition party. This political activity of democratic participation and the development of union organizing were answered by the oligarchy with increased repression which by the middle of the decade reached alarming proportions, with murders and crimes at every election whether it was for president, assemblyman, or mayor. The military dictatorship increased its forms of repression by creating the first para-military organization, the Democratic Nationalist Organization (ORDEN), with the task of obstructing political education in the rural areas by means of terrorism.

In this context of tampered elections in which our people's blood has always been shed, we entered the seventies. During these years, the military dictatorship tried to show a better democratic appearance, manipulating the denunciation of the terrible social and economic conditions and offering to carry out reforms that would favor the Salvadorean people. At times this policy of reform gave the appearance of conflict between the military and the oligarchy. Actually, there reformist attempts were

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only a piece of rhetoric in the ramblings of the military and their laws never got off the paper. Meanwhile, the opposition parties attempted to gain political strength by forming a coalition called UNO (the National Opposition Union). This coalition, composed of the D. C. (Christian Democrats), the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) and the UDN (National Democratic Union), defeated the official party again and again without coming to power.

Repression and political crime intensified again, on the pretext of fighting the "communist menace", which included the same candidates of the Christian Democracy. The people's discontent with the chronic situation of misery, unemployment, and the police state, developed in broad sectors a higher state of consciousness about the country's social and political reality, creating the democratic and revolutionary organizations that proposed structural changes. The Salvadorean people, after a long chain of sorrowful experiences, realized that it was necessary to use the only language their murderers and exploiters understood: the language of armed struggle.

Simultaneously, the electoral opposition parties continued participating in a legal struggle with such fraudulent results that in 1974 and 1977 people took to the streets to express their indignation. The response didn't take too long, passing from selective to massive repression, as in the slaughter of 1977. The secret para-military organizations proliferated, created and directed by the armed forces, while the people enlisted in the ranks of the revolutionary organizations and the political parties decided not to participate in the electoral process again.

The U. S. Government considered it difficult to continue backing

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this policy of generalized repression due to the international loss of prestige. Consequently the State Department decided to organize a coup which took place October 15, 1979, where once more the young military officers came to power, with a supposedly democratic platform and with civilian participation. This plan failed again due to the structural impossibility of bringing about the smallest amount of change in the exploitive system and the fascist character of the army.

Due to the evident failure of this renewed reformist program, the military dictatorship, the oligarchy and the U. S. Government decided to wage a war of extermination against the Salvadorean people as the only alternative for maintaining the privileged status of the transnationals and the oligarchy. The systematic extermination of a whole people shows the nonexistence of even the minimum respect for human life, with this continued violation of human rights, the justice of the liberation struggle of our people distinguishes itself. It is a struggle where the right of the Salvadorean people to self-determination must be defended by all those who love independence and liberty. All the people of the world must condemn the flagrant violation of the most basic rights of the Salvadorean men, women and children. The Christian-Democratic Junta and its most recent invention - the civilian "President" Napoleon Duarte must be held responsible and charged with genocide. The revolutionary struggle of the people of El Salvador is the only real alternative that will make possible the dreams of peace, independence and liberty for all those who have offered their lives for these ideals.

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1.2 Characterization of the Salvadorean social-economic situation

El Salvador is a country with an area of approximately 8,000 square miles, bordered on the northwest by Guatemala, on the northeast by Honduras; on the east by the Gulf of Fonseca, a point of intersection for El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua; and on the south by the Pacific Ocean. The estimated population, as of 1980, is 4,800,000 inhabitants. The population density is the highest in Latin America, with 600 inhabitants per square mile.

Since the Central American colonies became independent, El Salvador has been characterized by a mono-producing and mono-exporting agrarian economy, characteristics which have to lead to the formation of an agrarian oligarchy and a specific pattern of accumulation, with the wealth concentrated in the hands of a small minority and the exclusion of the general population from the satisfaction of basic needs. This same oligarchy holds the power and control over the agricultural, financial, commercial and industrial means of production, profiting on a large scale from its products.

Salvadorean society has experienced permanent social-political crises throughout this century, which have been constantly pacified or mediated by the joint action of the military dictatorship, the oligarchy, and the United States of America.

The system of exploitation which our people suffer has brought the Salvadorean people to a desperate, where they are not able to satisfy their most basic needs for health, nourishment, education, housing, clothing, employment, and not able to exercise their right to participate in the political decisions over their destiny. This situation can be

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illustrated by the following figures, although the cold data in itself may not clearly show the inhuman conditions under which our people live. The state of privilege enjoyed by the exploiting minority is shielded by principles which have a demagogical impact on our people, such as: democracy, liberty, equality, and private property, and which up until now have only meant social and economic marginalization.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

Less than 2000 families control 50% of the national income, while 998,000 families receive the other 50% of the national income.*

1980 Population:	4,800,000
Population density:	250 per sq. kilo.
Rate of population increase:	3.5% per year
Under 15 years old:	40% of population
Over 64 years old:	5% of population
Economically active:	49% of population
Population distribution:	60% rural 40% urban

HEALTH

General mortality Index:	8,600 inhabitants
Infant mortality rate:	85.3 per 100 in urban areas 120.0 per 1000 in rural areas

Human resources in the health sector:

1 doctor for each 3,650 inhabitants
1 dentist for each 10,000 inhabitants
1 nurse for each 3,800 inhabitants
67% of the doctors work in San Salvador, a city which accounts for 17% of the population.

* Based on an average family having 5 members.

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NUTRITION*

Calorie consumption deficit:	26%
Protein consumption deficit:	47%
Infant malnutrition index:	72%

EDUCATION

>40% of the total population is illiterate.
66% of the population of school age (7-15 years) attend public or private institutions of education.
>85% of the country's teachers work in urban areas.

HOUSING

Urban area:

Total Housing need:	270,580 units-100%
Dwelling in acceptable conditions:	133,447 units-49.3%
Deficit:	137,103 units-50.7%

Rural area:

Total Housing need:	384,540 units-100%
Existing dwellings:	73,868 units-19.2%
Deficit:	310,672 units-80.8%

Total Housing deficit: 447,775 units-68.3%

In San Salvador, 0.27% of the people live at a population density of 10 inhabitants per hectare, while the rest of the population lives at a population density of 500 inhabitants per hectare.

* Taking as a base the minimum diet recommended by international nutritional institutions. These are average indexes which worsen if we take into account the buying power of the different social strata.

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In the countryside, besides a housing density of 80%:

Houses without indoor water:	79.5%
Houses without potable water:	100%
Houses without latrines:	80%
Houses with earth floors:	85%
Houses without baths:	32%
Houses without electricity:	92%

LAND OWNERSHIP AND DISTRIBUTION

0.02% of the population owns 39.5% of the land.
1.9% owns 57.5% of the land.
91.4% owns 22% of the land.

EMPLOYMENT

Economically active population in the rural area: 47%

Of this 47%:

37% employed year round
14% employed 9 months of the year
19% employed 6 months
30% employed 2 months

Median expectancy of employment: 141 days.

Rural unemployment in 1975: 54.3%.

93% of the rural population participates in capitalist relations of production.

1 active worker for every 6 inactive members of the population.

PUBLIC FINANCE
FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY

Of the total income of the government in 1974:

76% came from taxes.
1% came from public enterprises.
50% of tax income is generated by indirect taxes.

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37% of expenditures are used to maintain a bureaucracy at the service of the oligarchic sectors.
27% of expenditures are assigned to investments which promote the conditions of exploitation of "cheap" available labor power.

The financial system channels 50% of credit in order to finance agricultural exportation activities in the hands of the oligarchy.

EXTERIOR COMMERCE

50% of income generated by exportation comes from coffee and cotton. Its production and exploitation are in the hands of the oligarchy.

Distribution of imports are as follows:

28% consumer goods
50% intermediate goods
22% capital goods

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1.3 Violation of Human Rights and War of Extermination

The history of our people can be condensed in terms of repression, murder, torture, prison, exile, and social marginalization. The Salvadorean has been forced to live under shameful and unjust conditions, which are brought about in a context of elemental survival. Because of this experience, and not necessarily as a result of ideological conceptions, the Salvadorean people have come to understand that the revolutionary struggle is the only alternative remaining to reach a human way of life. In the face of this vital necessity, no ideological concept has the right to offer opposition, much less foreign interests or those of a minority whose modus vivendi has been the exploitation of the Salvadorean people. Nevertheless, foreign interests back the military dictatorship, whose only purpose is to perpetuate the status quo. During the last year, El Salvador has experienced levels of repression such as those reached only during the 1932 massacre, with the added difference that the present repression is carried out by more "perfected" methods of human vexation, and in times in which modern society concerns itself with the violation of human rights. Before the world we are denouncing, one more time, the degree of institutionalized violence which our people are suffering, criminality which is justified in the United Nations by countries that pretend to be the most civilized defenders of human rights. While they espouse this rethoric openly, they supply military equipment, advisors and economic aid at the same time to support one of the most criminal and inhuman governments which has ever existed. We can summarize all of the above analysis in the following statistics, which bring to light the

cruel manhunt conducted against a people who struggle for self-determination, who love to live in peace, to enjoy the respect of human rights, and to end for ever the inhuman society in which Salvadoreans have had to live in until now.

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TABLE NO. 1

ASSASSINATIONS

Persons from the popular and progressive sectors assassinated for political motives.

Period: January to October, 1980

Persons responsible: National Army, military security forces, and paramilitary organizations endorsed by the military junta.

Profession	Jan. - Oct.
Peasants	3,075*
Students	432
Workers	242
Teachers	67
Professionals	35
Slum Dwellers	37
Public Employees	146
Clergy	5
Opposition Mayors	2
Small Businessmen	78
Profession Unknown	1,677
Truck and Bus Drivers	10
Total:	5,806

Note: There exists data indicating a larger number of persons assassinated, but it is impossible to verify in some areas of the country.

* On May 14 and 15 there was a massacre of peasants near the Sumpul River, which forms the border with Honduras. At least 600 peasants [illegible] by the Army, Guard and ORDEN

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TABLE NO. 2

Security forces responsible for the assassination during June, July, August and October.

Security Forces Responsible	Number
Soldiers of the National Army combined with national security forces:	1,208
National Police	82
National Guard	195
Special Police	62
Operations of the Army	222
ORDEN (Democratic National Organization)	165
Death Squadron	319
Secret Anti-Communist Army	107
Rural police and other groups	190

TABLE NO. 3

Number of persons captured by the Army and national security forces and later "disappeared" January through October 1980.

Month	Number of Persons Disappeared	
January	10	
February	14	
March	15	
April	13	
May	22	
June	35	
July	22	
August	81	
September	75	
October	20	
Total	316	Persons disappeared for political reasons.

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2. ORGANIZATIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

2.1 The Democratic Revolutionary Front (F.D.R.)

A long list of repressive acts against the people, the crisis of a military tyranny and oligarchy, the failure of the first Junta (which was an attempt to make possible a democratic option for the country based on the support of the armed forces without any substantial modification of them), and the organized popular democratic struggle - all these culminated on April 18, 1980 in a united movement of all revolutionary and democratic organizations: THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT (F.D.R.).

The Front (as it is known) is the broadest alliance of progressive forces in the whole history of El Salvador. It includes three political parties: the Social Democratic Party, the National Revolutionary Movement, the Popular Social Christian Movement, organized by leaders of the Christian Democratic Party who refused to accept Napoleon Duarte's and six other party members' civilian cloaking of the military tyranny, and the Democratic Nationalist Union. Besides these political organizations, the Front includes the principal union organizations which gather together more than 90% of the organized working class. Also forming part of the Front are an association of professional workers, the two most important universities in El Salvador (the National and Jesuit universities) and five popular mass organizations which unite thousands of workers, peasants, teachers, students, slumdwellers, public service employees, women market-sellers, etc.

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The breadth and plurality of the FDR is also evident in the fact that its members come from a wide range of social sectors: workers, peasants, intellectuals, professionals, students, merchants and other people of the businessworld. The Front's first president, Enrique Alvarez Cordoba, cruelly assassinated on the 27th of November, 1980, by government forces, was a member of the oligarchy and had been a member of the cabinet in previous regimes. The current president, Guillermo Ungo is a university professor with lengthy political experience who was a member of the Junta which replaced the tyrant general Carlos Romero.

Within the Front there are people of the most varied political and religious creeds possible, most of the members being Christians.

This social, political and ideological plurality makes the Front the authentic representative of majority concerns and makes it at this time the only viable political alternative for the country, since it is, as its first public declaration declares, a "...political instrument of the Salvadorean people to press forward their liberation struggle and to build a new, just and humane society, free of corruption, of continual violations to human rights, and of every exploitation of one human being by another; a society in which the human person will be both the departure point and the center of economic and social development."

The following is a list of organizations and institutions which form part of the Democratic Revolutionary Front:

- The Revolutionary Coordinator of Masses (CRM) made up of the People's Revolutionary Block (BPR), the Popular Unified Front (FAPU), the Popular Leagues "28th of February" (LP-28), the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN), and the Movement of Popular Liberation (MLP)

- The General Association of Salvadorean University Students (AGEUS)
- The Association of Salvadorean Bus Owners (AEAS)
- The National Union Federation of Salvadorean Workers (FENASTRAS)
- The Federation of Workers' Unions in the Food, Clothing, Textile and Related Industries of El Salvador (FESTIAVTSCES)
- The Revolutionary Union Federation (FSR)
- The Unitary Salvadorean Union Federation (FUSS)
- The Independent Movement of Professionals and Technicians of El Salvador (MIPTES)
- The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)
- The Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC)
- The Union of the Institute of Salvadorean Social Security Workers (STISS)
- The Textile Union of United Industries, Inc. (STIUSA)
- The Central American Jose Simeon Canas (Catholic-Jesuit) University (UCA)
- The University of El Salvador (UES)

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2.2 The Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (F.M.L.N.)

At the beginning of October 1980 political-military revolutionary organizations announced the establishment of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation.

Since 1970, the Salvadorean people, oppressed by tyranny and conscienticized by circumstances, entered a stage of intense organization which resulted in the setting up and development of political-military organizations which, by constant and heroic struggle together with permanent contact with the needs of the people, consolidated their existence, and became through their actions the vanguard of the revolutionary process, giving the Salvadorean people a patriotic and revolutionary people's army which, with the popular militia and in alliance with the progressive forces of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, will inaugurate a Democratic and Revolutionary Government.

Having passed through various stages of an admirable process toward unity, the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation is presently formed by:

- The "Farabundo Marti" Popular Liberation Forces (FPL)
- The People's Revolutionary Army (ERP)
- The Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN)
- The Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL), armed branch of the Salvadorean Communist Party
- The Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC-El Salvador)

The members of these organizations are for the most part courageous and honest working men and peasants who joined these organizations with

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the desire to build a just and humanitarian society in their country. Besides these, there are members of other social sectors as well; for example, it is public knowledge that Father Ernesto Barrera Moto and Protestant Pastor Augusto Coto, both fallen during the liberation process, were committed to these organizations; and that presently university professors and former public officials are among their members - such as Lic. Salvador Samayoa, who was Minister of Education under the governmental junta which replaced the dictator General Romero.

Due to the intense campaign to distort the news internationally, it is easy for people who do not know the Salvadorean situation personally to imagine that the FMLN is a terrorist movement seeking violence for violence's sake.

Nevertheless, the facts prove that in El Salvador the only terrorist forces are the government ones. These are clearly the forces that, with their horrendous crimes against priests, religious, teachers, FDR leaders, children, pregnant women, etc., have provoked people's indignation and condemnation throughout the world.

Whoever has lived in El Salvador for a time must have noticed how workers, peasants, women market-sellers, slum dwellers, teachers, etc. become frightened and rush off when they see the wrongly named "security forces". On the other hand, they feel secure and uplifted when the militia, guerrillas or popular Army fighters - the different groups which make up the FMLN - live among them.

There is no doubt that the FMLN is an eminently popular movement: its members are the people; they live among the people and are fully identified with the people.

So far, there has been not a single human rights institution condemning

the Salvadorean revolutionary movement as terrorist or as a systematic violator of human rights. But there have been innumerable international organizations repeating time and time again their condemnation of the Salvadorean government and military forces. For example: the Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States, the United Nations General Assembly, etc.

We repeat once again that the FMLN loves peace and democracy. It has been obliged to fight simply because that is the only way left open to it by the oligarchy and the Salvadorean Army to achieve peace and build an authentic democracy in El Salvador.

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2.3 The Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR

The Salvadorean people's organizations struggling for democracy - the FMLN and FDR - have set up a commission of distinguished leaders to establish dialogue with the various governments of the world and to make concrete the formation of the new Democratic Revolutionary Government which will be established very soon. The following people are members of the Commission:

GUILLERMO MANUEL UNGO, 49, married with three children; lawyer and university professor; General Secretary of the National Revolutionary Movement; party member of the Socialist International and the Latin American Permanent Conference of Political Parties (COPPAL); ex-member of the Salvadorean governmental junta from October through December of 1979; candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Republic in 1972 for the United National Opposition; ex-president of the Center for Legal Studies; ex-director of the Research Institute at the Jesuit Central American University "Jose Simeon Canas"; ex-director of the Department for Due Process at the University of El Salvador; at this time President of the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

RUBEN ZAMORA, 38, married with four children, lawyer. He has taught at the Universities of El Salvador, at the San Carlos University in Guatemala, and Essex University in England; cabinet minister from October to December of 1979; member of the El Salvador National Justice and Peace Commission, a Catholic entity which seeks to protect human rights and has national branches throughout the world; Secretary of the External Commission of the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

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FABIO CASTILLO, 59, married with four children, Doctor and university Professor; ex-professor of Physiology; ex-Dean of Sciences and Humanities and ex-president of the University of El Salvador; member of El Salvador's governmental junta from 1960 to 1961.

JOSE RODRIGUEZ RUIZ, 49, married with four children, lawyer, Professor of Law, ex-Dean of the Humanities Faculty, ex-Vice President and presently President of the University of El Salvador.

ANA GUADALUPE MARTINEZ, 28, single, studied Medicine at the University of El Salvador. In 1974 she became a militant in the political-military revolutionary movement. She was imprisoned and tortured by the military tyranny. After obtaining her freedom, she wrote the book: "Clandestine Prisons of El Salvador" which won her the position of finalist in the Casa de las Americas awards in 1979.

MARIO AGUINADA, 38, married with four children, Accountant and Journalist. Ex-student leader at the High School level and ex-union leader; General Secretary of the Democratic Nationalist Union Party, UDN; former director of the progressive papers "Tribuna Popular" and "Voz Popular" (People's Tribune and Voice of the People). Congressional Candidate for the United National Opposition, UNO, from 1972 to 1974.

SALVADOR SAMAYOA, 30, single, philosopher. Professor at the Jesuit Central American University, "Jose Simeon Canas", of El Salvador. Minister of Education from October through December of 1979. He became a member of the political-military revolutionary movement when he became convinced that there was no other alternative to achieve freedom and

democracy in El Salvador. He was captured by the Security Forces and later freed-due to popular pressure both nationally and internationally.

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3. CHARACTERISTICS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT

The FMLN-FDR now struggles that the Salvadorean People may take power and establish a Democratic Revolutionary Government which will undertake, as leader of its people, the construction of a new society. The Government will be pluralistic, democratic, revolutionary, a non-alligned government respectful of people's fundamental human rights.

The Democratic Revolutionary Government will be constituted by representatives of the popular and revolutionary movements and democratic political parties. The programatic platform of the future Government will be based on the following six basic points:

1) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will guarantee sovereignty and national independence while assuring and defending the self-determination of the salvadorean people.

2) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will guarantee the Salvadorean People the peace, freedom, welfare and progress for which political, economic and social reforms are carried out, assuring a just distribution of wealth, the enjoyment of culture and health benefits and the effective working out of the majority's democratic rights.

3) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will carry out a policy of peace and non-allignment internationally.

4) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will guarantee the democratic representation of all the democratic, popular and revolutionary sectors which have contributed actively to the unseating of the military dictatorship.

5) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will create an army of a new type, the Revolutionary People's Army, made up of soldiers from the FMLN and honest, patriotic people who are now among the troops, classes, and officers of the present army.

6) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will support all those private businessmen who cooperate and press for the economic development of the country and the carrying out of its governmental program (See in Annex #1 the Programatic Platform of the Democratic Revolutionary Government).

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4. THE SUPPORT OF THE SALVADOREAN AND UNITED STATES CHURCHES

The support of the Salvadorean Church, above all of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, has been shown in several ways: denouncing and condemning the systematic violation of human rights; the holding responsible of the present government for the repression and most cruel persecution of the people; defending the people's right to rise up and protesting the foreign involvement by way of military aid sent by the U. S. government to the Salvadorean government.

The heroic work of denunciation carried out by San Salvador's martyred Archbishop, Mons. Oscar A. Romero, is known throughout the world.

Besides this, during December 1980 his successor, Bishop Arturo Rivera y Damas, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, delivered a communique on "the cruel occurences against the Church" of El Salvador. (See Annex #2: Communique from the Bishop-Apostolic Administrator, Priests, and Religious of the Archdiocese of San Salvador - December, 1980).

The Communique, besides condemning the assassination of Srs. Maura and Ita of the Maryknoll Congregation, of Sr. Dorothy of the Cleveland diocese' Ursuline Congregation, and of Lay Missionary Ms. Jean Donovan, all of them United States citizens, explicitly denounces the fact that "...in the almost four years of persecution which the Church has suffered, it has been evident the majority of the persecution against the Church has been carried out by members of the security forces and Para-military Organizations." At another point the same communique declares: "... we hold Security Forces and extreme-rightist squads responsible for the

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persecution of the Church and specifically for the assassinations both of priests and Pastoral Agents.

And as a consequence, we also hold responsible the Governmental Junta which, by exercizing supreme command of the Armed Forces, is responsible for the actions of its members."

The persecution of the Church during the last four years, as mentioned in Bishop Rivera y Damas' communique, has been cruel and merciless. As a proof of this, we need but read a November, 1980 document from the San Salvador Archdiocesan Legal Aid Office, entitled: "CHRONOLOGY OF PERSECUTION AGAINST THE CHURCH" (See Annex #3). In this document we find listed, month by month, the kidnappings, assassinations, raids, rapings, invasions of private homes, and other abuses committed by the military tyranny which describes itself as "Christian Democrat."

All this persecution has happened because the Church has stood by the side of the People; but the persecution's effect has been to deepen the religious' identification with their People, preparing them to recognize with objectivity from the Christian point of view the legitimacy of the armed struggle led by the FMLN.

On January 1, 1981 a document was published entitled "CHRISTIANS FACING THE INSURRECTION OF THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE" (See Annex #4). In this document it is said that the Salvadorean People are resolved to free themselves from oppression and are deciding their destiny and future as a people. The Christians who sign the document say that they have opted to "...accompany the people at this time, to recognize the justice of their cause and their struggle, and to acknowldege their right to rise

Salvadoran Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

up in arms" since "for fifty years the Salvadorean people have lived under the yoke of gravely unjust economic, social and political oppression which has in no way sought the common good but rather has fostered privileges and the dominion of the few."

The document is signed by:

1) The Archdiocesan Charities

2) The Committee of Pastoral Health Agents (CAPS)

3) The National Confederation of Religious Men & Women in El Salvador (CONFRES)

4) The Federation of Catholic Centers of Learning

5) The Archdiocesan Pastoral Council

6) The National Justice and Peace Commission

7) The "Faith & Joy" Organization

8) The Christian Life Communities

9) The Foundation of Cooperative Promotors (FUNPROCOOP)

10) The Federation of Agricultural Production Cooperatives of El Salvador

11) The Baptist Assembly

12) The Christian Student Movement (MEC)

As to the U. S. government's military aid, Bishop Rivera y Damas above mentioned communique points out that "we demand the U. S. government, as did our prophetic martyred-Archbishop Romero, that it stop sending military aid to our government. For in spite of statements about its purpose, military aid only heightens repression against the people and persecution of the Church."

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

The U. S. Church time after time has shown its solidarity with the Salvadorean Church in this matter, begging the U. S. government not to send military aid to the Salvadorean government. On January 14th of this year, Archbishop Roach, President of the U. S. Catholic Conference, sent out a communique protesting the renewal of U. S. government military aid to the Salvadorean tyranny. In one of its paragraphs the communique says: "The renewal of military assistance, from our point of view, intensifies the possibility of more violence from the Salvadorean security forces and associated the United States with acts of oppression against the majority of the Salvadorean people. A striking form which this oppression takes - a form which worries us deeply - is that of persecution against the Church in that country."

In the last paragraph Archbishop Roach says, "Finally, we are afraid that the type of military aid now being envisioned will increase the possibility of direct U. S. involvement in the Salvadorean conflict in the coming months. Because of all this we consider the giving of military aid a costly game which we cannot support." (See Annex #10: ARCHBISHOP ROACH'S STATEMENT ON THE RENEWAL OF MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR).

5. SUPPORT FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

From the beginning of the U. N. General Assembly's thirty-fifth session, Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora, and other leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front and members of the FMLN-FDR's Political-Diplomatic Commission, were there at the U. N.'s New York headquarters to make present the real situation of military tyranny called "Christian Democrat" and to make known the justice of the Salvadorean people's struggle, highlighting the need for international solidarity in the Salvadorean people's struggle for democracy.

In a corageous resolution -#35/192 - the U. N. General Assembly declared its position on December 15, 1980, moved by the violations against human rights, the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the persecution of the Church and the assassination of the Democratic Revolutionary Front's President, Enrique Alvarez Cordoba.

At the heart of the U. N.'s General Assembly resolution was a call for "governments to abstain from the sending of arms and other forms of military aid to El Salvador during the present situation."

Representatives of 137 countries were present at the time of voting for the resolution. The only nations who voted against it were the following: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador (the military regime), the Philippines, Guatemala, Morroco, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

6. THE SUPPORT OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

In November 1980 the Congress of the Socialist International was held in Madrid, Spain, with the active participation of statesmen such as West Germany's Willy Brandt, Spain's Felipe Gonzalez, Venezuela's Carlos Andres Perez, Sweden's Olaf Palme, Costa Rica's Daniel Oduber, and others of similar political and moral status. At this Congress the Socialist International urged the U. S. government to cut off its political and military support for the present Junta and to declare support for the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

The resolution added: "We reject the thesis that the Salvadorean problem is that of a Junta fighting the extreme right and extreme left. On the contrary this is despotic regime whose activities have led to a state of civil war. Our deep hope and active solidarity are with the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador in which our member party, the National Revolutionary Movement, is an integral part." (See Annex #6: RESOLUTION OF THE 15TH POSTWAR CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, NOVEMBER 1980, MADRID, SPAIN).

Also in November in Madrid the 11th Women's Congress of the Socialist International was held in Madrid which made a declaration to the same effect, stating that "U.S. aid to the Salvadorean Junta has added to the violent and repressive policies of the Salvadorean military government forces", declaring as well "its support for the Democratic Revolutionary Front", calling for all its members to defend the liberation process of that country." (See Annex #7: RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR FROM THE 11TH WOMEN'S CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, NOVEMBER 1980, MADRID, SPAIN).

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

7. REALITY OF THE ACTUAL "CIVIL" MILITARY GOVERNMENT

On October 15, 1979 a military coup d'etat overthrew dictator, General Carlos H. Romero and attempted to install a government that would allow a democratic solution to the crisis facing Salvadorean society without substantially modifying its Armed Forces. For this, the "golpista" militarymen assembled some honest politicians and formed with them the first government Junta which relied on the support of various political and trade-union organizations.

Regardless of the presence of these honest politicians, the repressive nature of the regime was conserved and even increased. The obstacles to carry forth these economic reforms appeared from the first within the new government itself, thanks to the determinative support of the most reactionary officials of the Army and of the Salvadorean oligarchy. Ten weeks after the first Junta was installed, its two civilian members, Guillermo M. Ungo and Roman Mayorga resigned their posts because they did not want to conceal nor be accomplices of the repressive escalade unleashed by the Armed Forces against the people and its popular organizations. The same was done by all the Ministers and Vice-Ministers with one exception: Colonel Garcia, Defense Minister, hence becoming one of the most important representatives of oligarchic interests and of the fascist tendency of the Army that try to conserve a repressive regime installed for fifty years to prolong a socioeconomic structure, each time more unjust.

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

With this total failure of the First Junta, whatever possibility there was to find a viable political solution based on the actual institution of the Armed Forces remained definitively closed; it was historically demonstrated that in El Salvador the necessary and urgent socioeconomic transformations cannot be effected without counting on the active participation of the democratic and revolutionary organizations.

It is because of this, that from January 1980 a process has been notable accelerated that on the one hand has been deepening the division of the Armed Forces and the Government provoking its constant disintegration, and on the other has been overcoming the differences that existed between the revolutionary organizations, and it has joined them with the democratic sectors to form the FDR-FMLN which defend the same project of a democratic revolutionary government.

The political parties like the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN) and the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and also the more important trade-union Federations FENASTRAS, FUSS and FESTIAVSCES that in October, 1979 supported or formed part of the government now are members of the FDR.

Enrique Alvarez Cordova who during the first Junta was Minister of Agriculture came to be President of the FDR; Guillermo Ungo, member of that Junta, is now President of the FDR; Salvador Samayoa and Ruben Zamora, Ministers of Education and of the Presidency respectively now form part of the political diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR; Hector Oqueli who was then Vice-Minister of Foreign Relations is at this moment Chief of Protocol of the Commission.

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El Salvador. Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

The Christian-Democrat is the only political party that after the failure of the first Junta has accepted being part of the government together with the Armed Forces. It is the only party that has lent itself to conceal and be an accomplice of the most cruel genocide that there has been in the history of El Salvador since 1932.

With the object being that the alliance of the Christian-Democrat with the military would not appear to be a betrayal or surrender of its democratic principles, the Christian-Democrat published a series of conditions that was supposedly put forth to the Army to form part of the government. It asked, among other things: to form a pluralistic government; initiate a constructive dialogue with all the popular organizations to incorporate them in its project or at least achieve that they accept a peaceful co-existence; to make a popular and anti-oligarchic project; that the Junta and not the Armed Forces be the ones that really govern; to bring about that these respect human rights, etc. All these conditions obviously have not been complied with. The military-demochristian Junta is just the opposite. For this reason the majority of leaders and members of the Christian-Democrat have preferred being faithful to their partisan principles and to the people, renouncing their government positions and/or leaving the Party to later form the Popular Social Christian Movement which forms a part of the FDR. The Christian-Democrat has been thus disintegrating, until being reduced to a small clique dominated by Engineer, Napoleon Duarte.

Among the leaders who renounced the Christian-Democrat are: Hector Dada who was a member of the second Junta; Ruben Zamora, Alberto Arene,

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Jorge Alberto Villacorta, etc. who form a part of the Cabinet.

The Armed Forces also are subject to this general process of disintegration which is a consequence of its rightward swing. At this moment the majority of the military that conceived and realized the coup d'etat of the 15th of October, 1979 have either been disregarded, as in the case of Colonel Majano who was expelled from the Junta, or consequently those that bravely deserted the Army to incorporate themselves in the FMLN or FDR, as was done by Colonel Bruno Navarrete, Lieutenant-Colonel Vladimir Cruz and Captain Francisco Mena, etc.

One of the methods that the actual government has utilized to mislead public opinion and conceal its emminently repressive character is to present itself as a promoter of agrarian reform, of the nationalization of Banking and external commerce. The real malice of these reforms has already been discovered and denounced by different sectors.

Monsignor Romero did not hesitate in condemning them, qualifying them as "reforms with repression", "reforms stained with blood."

Various Salvadorean and foreign experts after studying the reality of these reform have demonstrated their enviability, have discovered the grave corruption that exists among many of those responsible for putting these projects into effect. The majority has been in agreement in defining them as unsucessfuly directed political means to gain a popular base in favor of the government, instead of being authentic and effective economic transformations intended to resolve the disproportionate distribution of resources.

Perhaps the most eloquent denunciations are those of its various

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El Salvador. Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

principal promoters who have also resigned their post for not wanting to stain themselves with blood and deceive the people with these apparent reforms that try to conceal the systematic antipopular repression. For this reason, Engineer Jorge Alberto Villacorta who was Vice-Minister of Agriculture (see Appendix #8), Carlos Federico Paredes, Vice-Minister of Planning resigned; Nelson Romero until recently President of the National Institute of Coffee, in charge of exportation of this product, etc.

After the cruel and unjustified assassination of the six leaders of the FDR and of the four North American nuns that revealed the repressive character of the military demochristian Junta and provoked its condemnation at the national and international level, the members of the Salvadorean government felt the necessity to reorganize themselves once more to try to recover their moderate image that "justifies" the support of the government of the United States and of Venezuela.

The modifications they achieved culminated the right-ward process of the Army; nevertheless they are trying to present them as a transcendental step for the democratization of the country: in reality Colonel Majano was expelled from the Junta, who was the representative of the moderate sector of the Army, and Colonel Gutierrez consolidated his power, who is known worldwide as a conservative and fascist. He remained as the only Commanding Officer of the Armed Forces and Vice-President of the Junta. This expulsion that finishes with the small sign of pluralism that existed within the Junta have tried to disguise it with the appointment of Engineer Napoleon Duarte as President of the Junta. With that the impression

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

is given that he is now a civilian (the first since close to fifty years) that presides over the country. It is a mere impression because it is evident that Engineer Duarte is not the one that actually govern, as none of the civilian members of the Junta that have governed El Salvador have done not even Roman Mayorga and Guillermo Ungo were able to do it during the first Junta when there were better conditions that now to hope that the civilians would have more weight in the governmental decisions now that the commands of the Army were in more moderate hands than now and the civilians relied on the support of political and trade-union organizations.

What this apparent modification clearly shows is that deep down there is no real attitude on the part of the government to want to finish with its repressive character. And precisely, since that attitude does not exist, they have not been able to find more people or institutions, real or apparently honest, that lend themselves to form a part of the government to give them credibility and a better image. It's because of this that "substantial" changes diminished to a designation of merely nominal positions to the interior of the Junta.

The following acts demonstrate that the governmental changes were only supperficial: after Engineer Duarte was named President of the Junta, the level of repression and systematic violation of human rights continued becoming acute.-

A few days ago the government forcibly eliminated the only two informative media opposed to the regime that were left in El Salvador: API and the newspaper "El Independiente".

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Also, those voices that were raised denouncing the human rights violations and condemning the terrorism of the Salvadorean government have continued to be silenced: the day after the documentary "El Salvador: Another Vietnam?" was televised in the Washington, D. C. area, Mr. Victor Medrano, Administrative Secretary of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, was captured in San Salvador, who appeared, in this film, valiantly denouncing the Salvadorean regime. Since then he has "disappeared". Days after, the same security forces assaulted the house of Lic. Marianella Garcia, President of said Commission, she too had made important declarations against the government in the documentary.

At the same time, starting from January 11, 1981, the military demochristian Junta declared martial law and curfew. This repressive measure according to Church opinion, has only served the Security Forces and other paramilitary bodies to commit more flagrantly its crimes against the unorganized civilian population.

In this new reorganization of the government, Colonel Rafael Flores Lima was named Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces who was the Secretary of Information of the Presidency, with rank of Minister, during the government of General Romero. For being so identified with him, he was removed from his office after the military coup of October 15.

In conclusion, the actual reality of the military demochristian government continues being one of a government in decadence and decomposition that in order to subsist it has to abuse its military power and depend fully and openly on the economic,political and military support of the government of the United States, lacking a base and popular representation and having to confront a democratic revolutionary movement headed by the

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

FMLN-FDR each time more powerful and pluralistic which expresses the will of the majority of the Salvadorean people.

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El Salvador. Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

8. CURRENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE

On Saturday, January 10, 1981, the General Command of the FMLN called to initiate the general offensive. (See Appendix #11 A call by the General Command of the FMLN to initiate the general offensive).

From this date, the first phase of the general offensive began, concluding with favorable results. (See Appendix #12, Communique of the FMLN, January 21, 1981).

Among the principle achievements of this offensive is the FMLN's attack on the Air Force. This attack was of such breadth that the Air Force was put completely out of commission either definitively or at least temporarily.

The fatal blow was not as devastating as it might have been due to the prompt military aid of the U. S. government who replace the units that have been destroyed and increased the total military hardware.

It is also important to point out the FMLN's attack on the San Francisco Gotera military post, on that of San Vicente, Chalatenango and the Second Infantry Brigade in Santa Ana, which are the government's best equipped counter-insurgency centers outside of the capital.

During the attack on the Second Infantry Brigade, a company of soldiers headed by two officials rose up and, after setting the base's munitions supply on fire, joined ranks with the people, fighting on the side of the FMLN.

In every military action carried out in the FMLN's four fronts during the first phase of the general offensive, the high level of military capability of the regular units, guerrillas and militia of the

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

popular revolutionary army, stood out. They were able to act simultaneously throughout the country, striking strategic locations of the Military Junta's army and consolidating political and military control in vital areas of the national territory. (See Appendix #13 , Map).

As for the call for a general strike, the General Command of the FMLN recognizes that the most conscientious workers did respond with great courage to this call, but that the strike did not reach a high level.

With the exception of the attack on the Central Air Force base, the FMLN did not manage to exert the other powerful military blows in the capital which would have been necessary for working people to join the insurrectional strike.

It must be taken into account that these military blows within the capital are indispensable, since it is in the capital that the most powerful and repressive government forces are found, and so it is there that of late they have carried out the greatest number of massacres against the defenseless civilian population.

Besides this political and military offensive, the FMLN-FDR, has also engaged through its political - diplomatic Commission, in intense diplomatic activity with very good results: several governments have received members of this Commission officially or semi-officially and have expressed their categorical condemnation of U. S. military aid, their concern that this aid will prolong and internationalize the struggle, and their solidarity with the Salvadorean people and their vanguard, the FMLN-FDR.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

In the face of these achievements of the democratic revolutionary struggle,-the military Christian-Democratic government has intensified its criminal actions against the civilian population, declaring "martial law" and curfew since the first day of the offensive, and unleashing a propaganda campaign in an effort to deceive the public, leading people to believe that the offensive has been definitively destroyed. However, the facts have proven the contrary. Days later the U. S. Government had to come to the rescue of the failing military Christian-Democratic tyranny by sending additional aid.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

9. FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION FROM ABROAD TO SUPPORT THE JUNTA AND ITS MEANING

After the first successful phase of the FMLN-FDR's general offensive in which the Salvadorean Army was hit at strategic points, the U. S. government reacted quickly to lift its suspension on military aid and increased that aid substantially. (See Appendix #15, "FMLN's Statement on the agressive attitude adopted by the U. S. government"). This decision was adopted without taking into account Resolution #35/192 of the United Nations General Assembly, and without complying with the causes of the suspension as Ambassador White stated.

Such a reaction by the U. S. government is on the one hand a recognition of the FMLN's military capacity - it weakened in a few days the Salvadorean Army so much that its allies had to come to its aid at the spur of the moment with more than Ten Million Dollars in arms, ammunition and military advisors. However on the other hand, taken with the statements of U. S. government personnel working on El Salvador, this U. S. government more expresses a dangerous and irresponsible tendency to impose an interventionist military solution to the Salvadorean crisis.

The consequences of this posture taken by the U. S. government may be that of prolonging unnecesarily the conflict, raising its cost in terms of human lives and addit to its chances of internationalization of the conflict.

The FMLN sent out last January a statement about this which in one of its paragraphs declared:

"The United States agressive conduct and military imposition will have

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

unforeseen consequences in Central America, since the war can spread to Honduras, although we wish not, if they try to crush us within its boundaries. The U. S. attitude also places in danger the carrying out of the Panama Canal Treaty, an agreement reached after a long struggle by the Panamenian people. Belice will see its independence delayed. The Costa Rican people will undoubtedly become caught up in solidarity work, changing with a mood of unrest their country which is already in great tension. The Guatemalan people whose unified vanguard is headed by a growing guerrilla struggle, will help its Salvadorean brothers and sisters and double its efforts to defend itself against bloodthirsty enemies at home in the service of U. S. agression. Nicaragua and its people will have to defend themselves against the agression and we are sure that unified and strengthened by their victorious revolution, they will know how to do that under the wise and proven leadership of the FSLN.

To sum up, this provocation by the United States is an incendiary measure which endangers the peace of the region and of the world, the peace of the United States itself where our struggle enjoys widespread sympathy and support among the people, ever nearer and in greater solidarity with our own people.

(See Appendix #17, Statement which appeared in the New York Times February 3, 1981).

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

10. WILLINGNESS OF THE FMLN-FDR TO INITIATE DIALOGUE WITH THE U. S. GOVERNMENT

The agressive posture of the U. S. government commented on in the previous paragraph was adopted just as the FMLN-FDR, responding to overtures of that same government, had decided to begin a constructive dialogue with the U. S. government.

A communique of the FMLN reads:

"In fact, before taking this line toward a military solution to the Salvadorean crisis, the government of the United States established six points for discussion in order to initiate a dialogue with us. These points were:

1. Ceasefire.
2. Total reorganization of the government.
3. Disbanding of the repressive corps.
4. Reorganization of the Army.
5. Reforms.
6. Elections.

On January 14, a direct emmissary of the FMLN and the FDR, by mutual agreement, visited the U. S. Ambassador in Honduras to communicate our willingness to initiate the dialogue whenever the U. S. terminated all forms of military "aid" to the Genocidal Junta and makes a commitment not to militarily invade our country with either its own or other troops.

The State Department's response was to close all avenues of dialogue with us, to blackmail against Nicaragua and to increase supplies and military advisory teams to the murderous Junta.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)
46

(See Appendix #15, Declaration of the FMLN on the agressive attitude adopted by the government of the United States).

In spite of the fact that the U. S. government has closed off all posibility for opening constructive dialogue toward the resolution of the Salvadorean crisis, the FMLN-FDR maintains a flexible, realistic and open position with reference to carrying on a dialogue with the United States, a position based on its strong and unwavering decision to lead our people to its definitive liberation.

After the successful first phase of the FMLN-FDR's general offensive in which the Salvadorean Army was hit at strategic points, the U. S. government reacted quickly, lifting the suspension of military aid and quantitatively increasing that aid (See Appendix #14, Statement from the Democratic Revolutionary Front to stop U. S. military aid to the government of El Salvador (January 19, 1981).

This decision was adopted without taking into account Resolution 35/192 of the United Nations General Assembly and without satisfactorily completing the conditions given for suspending the aid in the first place, as stated by Ambassador White.

> Such a reaction from the United States government is, on the one hand a recognition of the FMLN's military capability that in a few days weakened the Salvadorean Army so much that its allies had to rush to its aid with more than TEN MILLION DOLLARS in arms, ammunitions and military advisors. On the other hand, coupled with declarations by U. S. government officials regarding El Salvador, it expresses a dangerous and irresponsible tendency to impose an interventionist military solution to the Salvadorean crisis.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

The consequences of this attitude by the U. S. government may be the unnecessary prolonging of the conflict, raising its cost in terms of human lives and adding chances of internationalization.

The FMLN sent out a declaration on this subject in January which, in one of its paragraphs, said the following:

"The agressive behaviour of military imposition by the U. S. will have unforeseen consequences in Central America, since the war could be extended into Honduras if we are compressed against its borders, which we do not want. It puts into jeopardy the compliance with the Panama Canal Treaties, won through long struggle by the people of Panama. Belice's will see its independence postponed. It will cause, without a doubt, solidarity actions on the part of the people of Costa Rica, changing their already tense environment with violence. The Guatemalan people, whose unified vanguard is leading a growing guerrilla struggle, will come to the aid to their Salvadorean brothers and sisters, they will defend themselves redoubling their armed struggle, from their blood-thirsty internal enemies, unconditional instrument of U. S. agression. Nicaragua and their people will have to defend themselves and will under the wise and proven leadership of the FSLN, doubtlessly acquit themselves in an exemplary manner.

This provocation on the part of the U. S. is an incendiary measure, that puts into jeopardy regional and world peace, also peace in the United States. A country where our struggle enjoys extensive sympathy and support among the people, growing closer and more solidary with our people. The responsibility for these consequences falls, beginning today, on the government of the United States which refuses to carry on a dialogue with the FMLN and puts fire to the prairie. (See Appendix # 15, Declaration of the FMLN on the agressive attitude adopted by the government of the U. S.).

11. PETITIONS FROM THE FMLN-FDR TO THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

Through this document to the governments and people of the world, the FMLN-FDR intends to offer full information so that they will support the following petitions with full knowledge of the facts.

The FMLN-FDR with great respect petitions the peaceful, democratic and justice-loving governments and people of the world:

1. To remind the government of the United States that the Thirty-Fifth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations agreed in the Resolution 95/192 the following: "calls on governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance" to the Junta of El Salvador.
2. To declare themselves in favor of the right of self-determination of the people of El Salvador.
3. To oppose to any kind of intervention that violates this right.
4. To recognize the legitimacy of the struggle that is actually impelled by the people of El Salvador under the direction of the FMLN-FDR to install a Revolutionary Democratic Government.
5. Do not be deceived by the misinformation campaign that is presenting the FMLN-FDR as opposed to constructive dialogue and as a movement that seeks to establish a totalitarian regime.

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project

APPENDIX #1

PROGRAMATIC PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PROGRAMATIC PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

The economic and social structures of our country-which have served to guarantee the disproportionate enrichment of an oligarchic minority and the exploitation of our people by U. S. imperialism- are in deep and insoluble crisis.

The military dictatorship is also in crisis, and with it the entire legal and ideological order that the oligarchic interests and the U. S. imperialists have defended and continue to defend, oppressing the Salvadorean people for half a century. Victims of their own contradictions, the dominant classes have failed due to the decisive and heoric action of the people's movement. It has been impossible to stave off this failure, even with the more and more brazen intervention of the United Sates in support of such efforts against the people.

Unswerving commitment to the interests and aspirations of the Salvadorean people by the revolutionary organizations has led to the deepening and strengthening of their roots among the vast toiling majority and the middle sectors. Being so rooted in the people, the revolutionary movement is now indestructible. It constitutes the only alternative for the Salvadorean people, who can be neither stopped nor diverted from their struggle to gain a Free Homeland in which their vital desires will be made real...

The revolution that is on the march is not, nor can it be, the work of a group of conspirators. To the contrary, it is the fruit of the struggle of the entire people-of the workers, the peasants, the middle layers in general, and all sectors and individuals that are honestly democratic and patriotic.

The most conscious and organized ranks of the Salvadorean people, now multitudinous, are fighting in a more and more broad and united way. The worker and peasant alliance - through its combativity, level of consciousness, daring, organization, and spirit of sacrifice for the sake of the people's triumph - has proven to be the most solid basis for guaranteeing the firmness and consistency of the entire Liberation movement. Expressing the unity of the entire people, this movement unites the revolutionary forces and the democratic forces - the two great torrents generated by the long struggle carried out by the Salvadorean people.

The decisive task of the revolution on which completion of all its objectives depends is the conquest of power and the installation of a democratic revolutionary government, which at the head of the people will launch the construction of a new society.

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TASKS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE REVOLUTION

The tasks and objectives of the revolution in El Salvador are the following:

1. To overthrow the reactionary military dictatorship of the oligarchic and U. S. imperialism, imposed and sustained against the will of the Salvadorean people for fifty years; to destroy its criminal political-military machine; and to establish a democratic revolutionary government, founded on the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces in the People's Army and the Salvadorean people.

2. To put an end to the overall political, economic and social power of the great lords of land and capital.

3. To liquidate once and for all the economic, political, and military dependence of our country on U. S. imperialism.

4. To assure democratic rights and freedoms for the entire people - particularly for the working masses, who are the ones who have least enjoyed such freedoms.

5. To transfer to the people, through nationalizations and the creation of collective and socialized enterprises: the fundamental means of production and distribution that are now hoarded by the oligarchy and the U. S. monopolies, the land held in the power of the big landlords, the enterprises that produce and distribute electricity and other monopolized services, foreign trade, banking, and large transportation enterprises. None of this will affect small or medium-sized private businesses, which will be given every kind of stimulus and support in the various branches of the national economy.

6. To raise the cultural and material living standards of the population.

7. To create a new army for our country, one that will arise fundamentally on the basis of the People's Army to be built in the course of the revolutionary process. Those healthy, patriotic, and worthy elements that belong to the current army can also be incorporated.

8. To encourage all forms of organization of the people, at all levels and in all sectors, thus guaranteeing their active, creative, and democratic involvement in the revolutionary process and securing the closest identification between the people and their government.

9. To orient the foreign policy and international relations of our country around the principles of independence and self-determination, solidarity, peaceful coexistence, equal rights, and mutual respect between states.

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10. Through all these measures, to assure our country peace, freedom, the well-being of our people, and future social progress.

THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT-ITS COMPOSITION AND PLATFORM OF SOCIAL, STRUCTURAL,AND POLITICAL CHANGES

The democratic revolutionary government will be made up of representatives of the revolutionary and people's movement, as well as of the democratic parties, organizations, sectors, and individuals who are willing to participate in the carrying out of this programmatic platform.

This government will rest on a broad political and social base, formed above all by the working class, the peasantry, and the advanced middle layers. Intimately united to the latter forces will be all the social sectors that are willing to carry out this platform - small and medium-sized industrialists, merchants, artisans, and farmers (small and medium-sized coffee planters and those involved in other areas of agriculture or cattle raising). Also involved will be honest professionals, the progressive clergy, democratic parties such as the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario - Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), advanced sectors of the Christian Democracy, worthy and honest officers of the army who are willing to serve the interests of the people, and any other sectors, groups, or individuals that uphold broad democracy for the popular masses, independent development, and people's liberation.

All these forces are now coming together to make up a revolutionary and democratic alliance in which the political and/or religious beliefs of all are respected. The organized form to be taken by this voluntary alliance at the service of the Salvadorean people will be the result of consultations among all those who make it up.

IMMEDIATE POLITICAL MEASURES

1. A halt to all forms of repression against the people and release of all political prisoners.

2. Clarification of the situation of those captured and disappeared since 1972; punishment of those responsible (be the military or civilian) for crimes against the people.

3. Disarming and permanent dissolution of the repressive bodies - ANSESAL, ORDEN, National Guard, National Police, Treasury Police, and Customs Police, along with their respective "Special Sections;" of the Gotera "Counterinsurgency School" and the so-called Armed Forces Engineering Training Center in Zacatecoluca; of the cantonal and suburban

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military patrols; of the oligarchy's private paramilitary bands; and of all other kinds of real or nominal organizations dedicated to criminal action or slander against the people and their organizations. The current misnamed security bodies will be replaced by a civilian police force.

4. Dissolution of the existing state powers (executive, legislative, and judicial); abrogation of the Political Constitution and all decrees that have modified or added to it.

The democratic revolutionary government will decree a constitutional law and will organize the state and its activities with the aim of guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the people and of achieving the other objectives and tasks of the revolution. In doing so, the democratic revolutionary government will adhere to the United Nations "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The constitutional law referred to above will remain in force while the Salvadorean people prepare a new Political Constitution that faithfully reflects their interest.

5. Municipal government will be restructured so as to be an organ of broad participation by the masses in managing the state, so as to be a real organ of the new people's power.

6. The democratic revolutionary government will carry out an intense effort of liberating education, of cultural exposition and organization among the broadest masses, in order to promote their conscious incorporation into the development, strengthening, and defense of the revolutionary process.

7. The People's Army will be strengthened and developed. It will include the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers, and chiefs of the current army who conduct themselves honestly, reject foreign intervention against the revolutionary process, and support the liberation struggle of our people.

The new army will be the true armed wing of the people. It will be at their service and absolutely faithful to their interests and their revolution. The armed forces will be truly patriotic, the defenders of national sovereignty and self-determination, and committed partisans of peaceful coexistence among peoples.

8. Our country will withdraw from CONDECA (Central American Defense Council), from TIAR (Rio de Janeiro Inter-American Defense Treaty), and from any other military or police organizations that might be the instruments of interventionism.

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9. The democratic revolutionary government will establish diplomatic and trade relations with other countries without discrimination on the basis of differing social systems, on the basis of equal rights, coexistence, and respect for self-determination. Special attention will be paid to the development of friendly relations with the other countries of Central America (including Panama and Belize), with the aim of strengthening peace and upholding the principle of nonintervention. Close fraternal relations with Nicaragua will especially be sought, as the expression of the community of ideals and interest between our revolution and the Sandinist revolution.

Our country will become a member of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and will develop a steadfast policy toward the defense of world peace and in favor of detente.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES

The democratic revolutionary government will:

1. Nationalize the entire banking and financial system. This measure will not affect the deposits and other interests of the public.

2. Nationalize foreign trade.

3. Nationalize the system of electricity distribution, along with the enterprises for its production that are in private hands.

4. Nationalize the refining of petroleum.

5. Carry out the expropriation, in accord with the national interest, of the monopolistic enterprises in industry, trade, and services.

6. Carry out a thorough agrarian reform which will put the land that is now in the hands of the big landlords at the disposal of the broad masses who work it. This will be done according to an effective plan to benefit the great majority of poor and middle peasants and agricultural wage workers and to promote the development of agriculture and cattle raising.

The agrarian reform will not affect small and medium landholders, who will receive stimuli and support for continued improvements in production on their plots.

7. Carry out an urban reform to benefit the great majority, without affecting small and medium owners of real state.

8. Thoroughly transform the tax system, so that tax payments no longer fall upon the workers. Indirect taxes on widely consumed goods will be reduced. This will be possible not only through reform of the tax system, but also because the state will receive substantial income from the activity of the nationalized sector of the economy.

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9. Establish effective mechanisms for credit, economic aid, and technical assistance for small and medium-sized private businesses in all branches of the country's economy.

10. Establish a system for effective planning of the national economy, which will make it possible to encourage balanced development.

SOCIAL MEASURES

The democratic revolutionary government will direct its efforts in the social arena toward the following objectives:

1. Create sufficient sources of jobs, so as to eliminate unemployment in the briefest possible time.

2. Bring into effect a just wage policy, based on:

   a. Regulation of wages, taking into account the cost of living.
   b. An energetic policy of control and reduction of the prices charged for basic goods and services.
   c. A substantial increase in social services for the popular masses (Social Security, education, recreation, health care, etc.).

3. Put into action a massive plan for construction of low cost housing.

4. Create a Unified National Health System, which will guarantee efficient medical service to the entire population (urban and rural). Preventative care will be the principal aim.

5. Carry out a literacy campaign that will put an end to the social defect of illiteracy in the shortest possible time.

6. Develop the national education system so as to assure primary education to the entire population of school age and substantially broaden secondary and university education. Quality and scientific-technical diversification will be increased at all levels, and free education will be progressively introduced.

7. Promote cultural activity on a broad scale, effectively supporting and stimulating national artists and writers, recovering and developing the cultural heritage of the nation, and incorporating into the cultural assets of the broad popular masses the best of universal culture.

It is the unanimous opinion of the popular and democratic forces that only through realization of the measures contained in this platform can the profound structural and political crises of our country be resolved in favor of the Salvadorean people.

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Only the oligarchy, U. S. imperialism, and those who serve their anti-patriotic interests are opposed to and are conspiring against these changes. Since October 15, 1979, various parties and sectors have vainly attempted to use the government to carry out a large part of the measures we propose without first overthrowing the old reactionary and repressive power and without installing a truly revolutionary and popular power. This experience has confirmed with full clarity that only the united revolutionary movement in alliance with all the democratic forces can carry out such a work of transformation.

The moment is approaching for this historic and liberating victory, for which the Salvadorean people have struggled and heroically shed so much of their blood. Nothing and no one will be able to prevent it.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES!!

TOWARD THE CONQUEST OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT!!

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APPENDIX #2

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE BISHOP, APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR, PRIESTS AND NUNS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF EL SALVADOR

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STATEMENT FROM THE BISHOP, APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR, PRIESTS AND WOMEN RELIGIOUS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SAN SALVADOR

The Bishop, priests and women religious wish to say to all Christians, to the Salvadorean people, and to all men and women of good will throughout the world a clear and strong word on recent, cruel acts against the Church in this country. As teachers, we feel obliged to tell the truth. As pastors, we have the obligation to accompany, orient and encourage the People of God, who feel themselves terrorized and powerless at this time in the face of so much barbarity. We speak with the responsibility commended to us by God, and by the pain and suffering of the Salvadorean people. We have no other interest than to fulfill our obligation as pastors.

1. In the first place, we want to shed light on the most recent and cruel acts of persecution against the Church. We denounce and strongly condemn the dissapearance on November 28th of Father Marcial Serrano, pastor of Olocuilta, who, from all appearances, has been assassinated. Father Serrano was returning to his parish after having celebrated a mass in the village of Chaltipa. But instead of celebrating mass in his parish, eye-witnesses saw him retrace his steps in the company of members of the Army. Since then, the Father has not reappeared. His pick-up truck was found in the National Guard Post with the license plate changed in San Miguel Tepezontes. Members of the National Guard stated that they had picked up the abandoned truck at a given location. Nevertheless, eye-witnesses contradict this version, as they did not see the pick-up truck at that location; nor did they see the National Guard going to get the vehicle.

We denounce and energetically condemn the kidnapping, torture and very probable raping of three of the victims in the assassination of Sisters Maura and Ita of the Maryknoll Congregation; Sister Dorothy, Ursuline from the Cleveland diocese; and Ms. Jean Donovan, lay missionary. On 2 December, Sister Dorothy and Ms. Donovan, who worked in the La Libertad parish, went to the airport to meet the two other sisters. On their return trip to La Libertad, the four were kidnapped. Shortly thereafter, when attempts were made to find them, their car was found completely burned--at kilometer 41, a short distance from the spot where, just hours earlier, a control point of the Security Forces had stopped two vehicles whose passangers included priests and sisters.

We denounce and condemn the November 23rd disappearance of Father Ernesto Abrego, as he returned to the country from Guatemala in a car with several relatives. Their whereabouts are still unknown to this day. Everything leads us to the conclusion that he also has been an assassination victim.

2. These criminal acts of persecution against the Church are the culmination of four years of persecution, which has grown in frequency and cruelty during 1980, a time period that coincides with the new political leadership of the country by the military and the Christian Democratic party. The victims of assassination this year have included Mgr. Oscar Romero, pastor and prophet of the Church and of the Salvadorean people; two priests, Frs. Spessotto and Manuel Reyes; a seminarian close to ordination; and a great number of catechists, delegates of the Word, and faithful Christians. This year, the various pastoral agents--priests, sisters and religious catechists--have been threatened with death; arrested, kidnapped; their

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residences searched, machine-gunned or attacked with explosives. These same attacks have occurred in Catholic schools and in offices under the authority of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, such at the CRITERIO print-shop, the YSAX radio station and the Archdiocese Legal Aid Office (Socorro Juridico). This year, churches have been profaned, been subjected to gunfire, their occupants at times assassinated, and even reaching the point of having their Blessed Sacrament profaned. In summary, so far this year, the Church has been attacked through all its manifestations...in its pastoral agents, its educational institutions and its communications media. The Church has been the object of a cruel and systematic persecution which despite the Government's promises, far from diminishing, has increased, as the most recent events demonstrate.

3. As we witness these acts, horrified and powerless, we confirm that in the commercial media, in the official statements of the Armed Forces and the Government Junta, very often these facts and their interpretation are silenced, twisted or falsified. On the other hand, the communications media of the Church are silenced with bombs and assassinations, the most striking case being that of the YSAX radio station. Given this situation, we have the sacred obligation to state the truth about the persecution and those responsible for it.

The Church is persecuted because it speaks the truth...truth which irritates the powerful. The Church is persecuted because it has taken a preferential option for this country's poor, who for centuries have been oppressed by unjust structures and who today continue being oppressed with virulence bordering on the unbelievable.

Although those directly responsible would like to avoid accountability by conveniently pointing to violence from the left and violence from the right or to a prepotent political-military apparatus, it has nevertheless been evident during the nearly four years of persecution suffered by the Church that the majority of these acts perpetrated against the Church have been carried out by members of the security forces and para-military organizations. Therefore, we reject interpretations that place blame on other social groups, as has been the assertion of Government members in certain instances.

4. Therefore we hold the Security Forces and ultra-rightist groups responsible for the persecution against the Church and specifically for the assassination of priests and lay pastoral workers. We therefore also hold responsible the Government Junta, which given its ultimate authority over the Armed Forces is responsible for actions by members of the military. We lament the fact that past Governments and the present Government Junta itself have not fulfilled their promise to clarify the criminal assassinations of Mgr. Romero, Priests, Sisters and Lay Pastoral Workers.

Therefore, their statements lose credibility. We can no longer accept the customary excuses, after the fact; nor can we accept promises of investigations.

Only an immediate and effective end to the repression and persecution could demonstrate the clear will to stop such acts; only this could exonerate the Junta, at least to some degree, from its responsibility. And only an

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immediate end to the repression and persecution would give credibility to the repeated offers of dialogue for bringing peace to the country. In any other case, all possibilities for finding a true peace in the country through non-violent means will be strangled.

5. In the recent assassinations, we have the situation, in addition, that the victims have been three sisters and a lay missionary, all North Americans. These Sisters, who came to the country to giver their lives with selflessness and generosity, deserve our tribute of admiration and gratitude, and show us the true greatness, solidarity and help of many Christians in our neighboring country, the United States. But these events also show us in what the U. S. Government assistance should not consist. Therefore, we demand, as did our Martyred Archbishop, Mgr. Romero, in a prophetic gesture, that the United States Government not provide military aid to our Government. Because, in spite of statements as to its use, the military aid facilitates repression against the people and facilitates persecution against the Church.

6. This is our word of truth. But we want to given an encouraging and hopeful word to Christians and to the people who suffer a cruel persecution, as well as a word of solidarity to our Pastoral agents so that they not feel abandoned by their pastors during such hard trials.

Persecution is a sign of the authenticity of the Church, because such persecution brings the Church closer to its Divine Founder, Jesus Christ, who also was persecuted for speaking the truth and opting for the poor, and also because thus the Church becomes part of the pain and suffering of the poor people. For these reasons, we must not grow weak. A persecuted Church is today like Christ, the Servant of God, which takes upon itself the sin of the world, the sin of injustice and of repression. That Church always is crucified, and many Christians today are led to the cross.

But by our faith we know that that cross leads to the glory of the resurrection by Jesus Christ and to historic liberation, which will redound in a more just and fraternal society, in which there will be true peace, in which fear and terror will give way to fellowship and joy.

As Christians, we believe that the bodies of Ita, Maura, Jean and Dorothy, four Christians women who gave their lives for the poor, will be a pledge of hope and Christian strength, of justice for the poor and of the long sought-after peace for the Salvadorean people.

We are in Advent, a time of waiting and hope. We trust in God; let us be faithful to our preferential option for the poor; let us share their suffering. One day soon, this hope will become a reality, and there will be justice and peace for the poor. In the meantime, may we remember the foundation of our hope: "Do not be afraid," says Christ. "I have overcome the world."

Arturo Rivera Damas
Bishop, Apostolic Administrator
of the Archdiocese of San Salvador

December 5, 1980

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APPENDIX # 3

Chronology of Persecution Against the Church

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ORIENTACION, San Salvador, Oct. 26, 1980

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH
January-October, 1980

PART I
JANUARY:

5 In San Salvador the UGB machine-gunned the school Externado de San Jose.

10 Unidentified persons gunned, in the middle of the night, the facade of the Church of Corazon de Maria.

12 In Arcatao, the National Guard captured the religious: Giovanni Lerda and Nicolasa Ramirez. In the Guard post,they threatened to execute them. They were freed 24 hours later.

12 The National Guard captured the religious Beatriz Velasquez Ortega, when she was traveling by car. In the Guard post in Arcatae she was threatened with execution. She was freed on the following day.

22 In San Salvador, the National Police machine-gunned the Church El Rosario where 308 refugees were being housed.

22 The OLC dinamited the installations of the Archdiocese.

28 Members of the National Guard and ORDEN emptied the Church of Ilobasco and shot four of its occupants.

29 Maria Ercilia Martinez, and Ana Coralia Martinez were kidnapped, tortured and assassinated. They were active collaborators in the Parish of Aguilares (Rutilio Grande's).

Agents in civilian clothing attacked the Church of San Francisco in San Miguel and four persons died.

The Cathedral of Santa Ana was machine gunned and the Churches of Ahuachapan, Ilobasco and Sta. Rosa de Lima.

The door of the Convent of the Church of Divina Providencia was forced open, and the house was raided (that of the priests) in the Colonia Atlacatl in San Salvador.

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FEBRUARY

2 Unidentified persons machine gunned the Church of El Rosario in San Salvador.

3 Three deaths and 18 wounded were the results of the machine gunning of the persons who visited an exposition in the front of the Church of El Rosario in San Salvador.

16 Machine-gunned the residence of the Jesuit Fathers. The impact of the bullets could be heard and 100 shells were found.

18 Agents of the National Guard machine-gunned the Parish Church of Nejapa at 3:30 a.m.

Two bombs of high power exploded destroying the transmiters of the radio station of the Archdiocese completely.

A bomb destroyed a part of the Central American University's Library (Jesuits).

19 The Church of Tonacatepeque was machine-gunned.

Unidentified persons machine gunned the School of the Sacred Heart.

MARCH

1 Sharpshooters fired on the Church of San Miguel.

3 Jose Trinidad Canales, professor of the Externado San Jose is shot to death.

7 In San Miguel, 7 tortured dead appear. Among them is a catechist.

8 The Catechist, Ruben Benitez of the Parish of La Union is found assassinated. On March fifth he was questioned in his house.

JUNE

1 The community of religious is withdrawn from Citala for security reasons.

4 Professor Mauricio Flores Cardona, of the School of La Divina Providencia in San Salvador is assassinated in front of his students.

7 A military patrol attacks two seminarians when they were doing pastoral work in Tamanique, Department of La Libertad.

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8 Reunions of the Christian Communities of Potonico, Los Ranchos and Reubicacion are brutally raided by security forces.

9 Sr. Ismael Enrique Pineda disappears, he is the promotor of Charitas in the Archdiocese along with another member of the National Office of Charitas. Both had been going with food to the mother-infant program in the Canton Miraflores, in the jurisdiction of Cojutepeque, in a vehicle belonging to the Archdiocese.

12 The National Police raid the sister home (Oblates) in Sacred Heart Parish in San Salvador.

12 Members in uniform raid the residence of the Secular Institute of Zacamil in San Salvador.

12 A military operation interrupts the funeral of an assassinated peasant in the canton of Usulutan.

12 A catequist is captured in the canton of San Pedro of Usulutan, tortured and the joints of his fingers are destroyed.

14 Father Cosme Spezzotto, Franciscan, Italian, 57 years of age is assassinated. He was the Pastor of San Juan Nonualco, during 27 years. At the moment of his assassination he was praying his Breaviary in the Church.

19 The Combined Forces of the National Police, the National Guard and the Army searched the Holy Family School, robbing property belonging to the religious and destroying a photo of Msgr. Romero.

19 During the search of Holy Family School one religious and five employees were detained.

21 The Anticommunist Brigades "Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez" machine-gunned the Holy Family School.

25 The Army Brutally raided the Parish in Aguilares.

29 Two bombs of high power exploded in the area of the Central American University destroying a large part of the university print shop.

JULY

5 Members of the Armed Forces raid the Catholic School "Externado San Jose". Soldiers posted in the street stopped the Rector and the Administrator from entering the school.

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5 Security Forces and the Army occupied and sacked the office of Socorro Juridico of the Archdiocese of San Salvador (An office which is the legal aid office of the El Salvadorean Church).

5 The Anticommunist Salvadorean Army EAS many times blocked the programs of YSAX the Catholic radio station.

6 A member of ORDEN tried to assassinate Sister Dionisia in Rosario de Mora, Department of San Salvador, wounding her with a machete.

13 Msgr. Rivera y Damas denounced in his Homily, the threats received against the Archdiocesan Radio Station, YSAX.

25 The combined Forces strengthened by members of ORDEN assassinated the seminarian Jose Othmaro Caceres and 12 persons more in a military operation realized in the villages of Los Leones of the canton Platanares, Department of Cuscatlan. The seminarian Caceres died from various bullet wounds in the chest, afterwards they destroyed his head with a machete.

25 Leaders of the Christian Communities are persecuted by the combined Forces in the Canton of La Nueva Encarnacion in San Juan Opico.

26 Combined Forces and members of ORDEN capture 3 priests while they are on their way to celebrate a mass in the canton of Jicaro y Las Minas, in the Deartment of Chalatenango. Their vehicle was atacked and they were brought to the barracks of Chalatenango.

26 Combined Forces machine gunned the Cathedral of San Salvador.

29 Elements of the Army searched and sacked the convent of San Antonio Los Ranchos, Chalatenango. They burned a shipment of Bibles and Catechisms.

29 A Brigade of the Army raided and sacked the Church of San Antonio de los Ranchos. They opened the tabernacle leaving the Ciborium on the floor, destroying the consacrated hosts.

30 Two professors of the Catholic School "Externado de San Jose" were assassinated in the door of the school.

OCTOBER

6 Security forces searched the house of the priest Manuel Antonio Reyes Monico, they carried him out of his house violently and on the following day his assassinated body was found.

6 Military Cantonal Patrols searched the store room of the Archdiocesan Caritas in Aguilares.

6 A Cantonal Patrol invaded the Entrance of the Church of Aguilares and shot their guns in the air.

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APPENDIX #4

CHRISTIANS AND THE INSURRECTION OF THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE

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The people of El Salvador is living a critical and decisive hour of its history. It is deciding its future and destiny as a people. It is deciding to liberate itself from oppression, to regain its dignity, and to organize a society that will be fraternal and just for the poor majorities. In these moments the Salvadorean people is preparing itself for an insurrection as a last resort to obtain that justice and peace for which it has so yearned and which have so many times been denied it.

We as Christians, men and women religious, clergy, who work in the diverse areas of pastoral ministry, education, social development, and humanitarian aid, want also to accompany the people in these moments, acknowledge the justice of its cause and its struggle, and recognize the legitimate right which moves it to insurrection.

For years we have been close to the suffering people, to the poor and oppressed; we have experienced their misery but also their hope and their decision for authentic liberation. We have attempted to serve them according to the Gospel, but they also have showed us the ultimate truth of the Gospel -- the love of God as the good news of the kingdom for the poor. In this hour of insurrection, full of suffering and hope, we want to be with the poor, we want to explain our option, and we want to see in the insurrection of the people the very signs of the times, the word that God addresses us as Christians.

1. For fifty years the Salvadorean people has lived under the oppression of gravely unjust economic, social and political structures, which in no wise have promoted the common good of the poor majorities but rather have fostered the privileges and the domination of a few. At every level of life -- health, nutrition, housing, employment, education, etc. -- the horrible reality described by Puebla -- "the distance between the many who have little and the few who have much" -- has existed.

Human rights have been systematically violated under military regimes of national security. Freedom of expression, the right to vote, constitutional guarantees have all been violated. The legislative system and the administration of justice have been corrupted. The successive regimes have repressed the people, used illegal arrests and torture, murdered and brought about the disappearance of many of the poor of El Salvador and of many of those who have been in solidarity with their cause.

This long course of oppression and repression has in no way changed but rather worsened, even to the limits of genocide, with the present government born of the pact between military and the Democratic Christian Party. Despite repeated democratic words and deceptive promises of reform, 1980 has witnessed the increase of misery and unemployment and above all the greatest repressive barbarity against the people. More than 10,000 Salvadoreans have been assassinated by security forces,

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members of the army, and paramilitary groups. Peasants, laborers, union members, students, teachers, professionals, doctors, hut dwellers have been murdered in horrifying numbers and with a cruelty unparalleled in the history of the country. El Salvador has turned, as Archbishop Romero used to say, into the empire of hell.

The Church has also been persecuted as never before during this year. The assassination of Archbishop Romero has been the most significative crime, the most repugnant and provocative, giving the measure of the cruelty of the current system. And along with him this year have been assassinated four priests, bringing to eleven the martyrs of the Salvadorean clergy, three women religious and one social worker from North America, numerous catechists, and a large number of the Christian faithful. In addition, the quarters of the archdiocese, the Legal Aid office, the church shelters, the radio station, the Catholic presses and libraries, the Christian educational institutions, the dwellings of priests and women and men religious and even churches have frequently been searched, machine-gunned and dynamited.

If we want to inject human warmth into these brief summaries, we have to recall the faces of mothers and wives who go from jail to jail looking for disappeared sons and husbands and whose last hope is to find their corpses in clandestine cemeteries. We have to recall the corpses dumped into garbage trucks, the beheaded corpses with members amputated, skinned corpses. We have to recall the peasants who for months sleep out in the brush for fear that the security forces will come; the peasants who flee terrorized from their settlements and are pursued and machine-gunned from helicopters; the peasants of the Sumpul River who have to choose between dying machine-gunned by the guard or drowning in the river or living in incredible misery if they succeed in crossing the frontier alive. We have to recall the little corpses of children thrown into the air as shooting targets of the guard or discovered in the nets of a fisher of the Sumpul.

This is the true situation of our country. This is the result of the politics of the current regime. Monsenor Romero denounced its intentios as reforms with repression. In the course of this year we have seen not the effectiveness of reforms but the horror of the repression. And despite the fact that the government has wanted to evade its responsibility in the repression by interpreting the deaths as a result of confrontations between extremist groups of different characters, both Monsenor Romero and Monsenor Rivera have dennounced those who are truly responsible: the security corps, some factions of the army, the rightwing paramilitary groups, and in the final analysis the governing junta.

This government, consequently, is not legitimate. It does not seek nor secure the common good but is drowning the country in blood. It has the support only of the oligarchy, the security forces, some military and the government of the United States. The salvadorean people repudiates

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it and has banded into democratic, popular, and revolutionary organizations to put an end to the barbarity and secure a lasting justice and peace.

2. The Salvadorean people has not chosen armed conflict; but rather conflict has been imposed on it. Over the years it has sought peaceful solutions in elections and used social and political pressure to achieve its aspirations. Everything has proved futile. Elections have been systematically fraudulent and political organizations and parties have been systematically harrassed and threatened with annihilation.

The coup of October 15, which might have been a last peaceful resort to bring about a solution, soon betrayed its ineffectiveness. All the civilian and some of the honest military men have gradually abandoned the successive juntas and their governments. All of them have cited the same reasons: the impossibility of carrying out a genuine policy favoring the people and the impossibility of stopping the repression, decidedly promoted by those entrenched in the armed forces, the government, and the junta.

If the common good does not exist in El Salvador, if peaceful avenues have been continually closed, then we are in that situation in which the church admits the right of legitimate insurrection, "in the case of clear and prolonged tyranny which gravely menaces the fundamental rights of the person and injures the common good of the country" (Paul VI, Populorum Progressio, n. 31; Medellin, Peace, n. 19).

As Salvadoreans and Christians we are conscious of the tragedy of a war, of the human and material costs it brings with it. We are conscious of the fruitfulness of peace and we have worked for it. But we repeat, with Monsenor Romero, that if this is not possible "then it is a case of insurrection, which the church admits when all peaceful means have been exhausted" (Interview in the Caracas Diario, March 19, 1980).

The Salvadorean people has, besides, the right not only to its internal liberation but to its external independence. It has the right to decide its own destiny without the intervention of foreign powers to defend what they term their vital interests. For that reason we repeat what Monsenor Rivera recently affirmed and Monsenor Romero clearly expressed in a letter to President Carter: the United States is not supported by any right to interfere in the destiny of El Salvador in order to determine its future and still less to support militarily the current government. "It would be unjust and deplorable if, because of the interference of foreign powers, the Salvadorean people were to be frustrated, were to be repressed and prevented from deciding autonomously the economic and political course which our nation must follow. It would suppose the violation of a right which we Latin American Bishops, gathered in Puebla, publicly acknowledged when we cited 'the legitimate self-determination of our peoples which will allow them to organize themselves according to their proper genius and the march of their history' (Puebla, 505) (Letter to President Carter, February 17, 1980).

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For that reason we joint with the many voices from the entire world and, especially, with the declarations of bishops, priests, religious, and Christians of the United States, to demand of their government not to interfere-in El Salvador.

3. An insurrection for the liberation of a people is not only a legitimate historical reality, but, for Christians, it is also a sign of the times through which God speaks to and calls us. The first thing that a just uprising tells us is that God's patience has run out. The experience of Israel in Egypt is being repeated: "I have seen the affliction of my people, I have heard their cry of complaint against their oppressors; I know well what they are suffering. Therefore, I have come down to liberate them" (Ex 3, 7-8). The God of life, of justice and of liberation is once again present in the rebellion of a people against the sin of society. God is present defending the poor against the oppressors.

In this situation, an uprising speaks to us of Christian resurrection. An oppressed people, crucified like Christ, like the servant of Yahweh, sheds once again its blood for the life of the poor masses. And, like the cross of Christ, this fruitful and salvific. Though in a tragic way, it does produce anew the paschal cycle of death and life, of suffering and hope.

There is sorrow because of the cost in human lives, in the disruption of social life, and in material destruction. We pray, therefore, as Christians, that the uprising be as human as possible and that it not degenerate into a dynamic that is destructive. We pray, as did Monsenor Rivera, that it not become dehumanized, that all respect the laws of war, the rights of civilian people and the combatants, the immunity of churches, hospitals and shelters, and that, even in the midst of armed struggle, no one commit acts of terrorism nor assassinations out of vengeance. We pray that those who struggle for a just cause, struggle with nobility and that those who continue to defend a cause that is against the people stop shooting their own brothers and sisters.

In an insurrection there is, above all, hope. Christian hope clearly, does not reside in arms, even though these may be necessary and legitimate. Christian hope resides in the justice of a people's cause, in the generosity of their gift of self, in the nobility of their struggle. Hope is present when the heroism and valor characteristic of the armed struggle are afterwards transformed into generosity and commitment to the reconstruction of the country as expressed by Isaiah: that swords be turned into plowshares, that the wolf and the lamb shall graze together, that the poor shall live in the houses they build and eat the fruit of the fields they till (Is. 2:4; 65:21-25). Christian hope, finally, resides in there issuing from the uprising the real resurrection of the poor of El Salvador.

As Christians we ask God that the great amount of blood that has been spilled will bear fruit in life, that life given up generously will turn us toward the one God who is love and commitment to the poor, and toward his shon Jesus Christ who came to bring life, life in abundance. We ask God to keep us resolutely with the people in their moments of sorrow and working joyfully in the task of reconstruction.

With faith in God and in the blood shed by so many Salvadorean martyrs, we would like to end with the prophetic words of Monsenor Romero that we may not falter: "The cry of liberation of this people is a cry that reaches up to God and one that nothing and no one can stop." Over these ruins the glory of the Lord will shine.

San Salvador, January 1, 1980

Archdiocesan CARITAS
Committee of Animators of Health Ministry (CAPS)
Conference of Men and Women Religious of El Salvador (CONFRES)
Federation of Centers of Catholic Education
Archdiocesan Pastoral Council
National Commission of Justice and Peace
Faith and Joy
Christian Life Communities
Foundation of Promoters of Cooperatives (FUNPROCOOP)
Federation of Cooperative Associations of Agricultural/Livestock Production of El Salvador
Baptist Assembly
Christian Student Movement (MEC)

(Translated from Spanish by Ann Gormley, SND and Lora Ann Quinonez, CDP)

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APPENDIX #5

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 35/192

DECEMBER 15, 1980

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Special Project (1993)

UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Thirty-fifth session
THIRD COMMITTEE
Agenda item 2

A/C.3/35/L.71/Rev.2
1 December 1980
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/
SPANISH

The situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador

49. At the same meeting, the Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.3/35L.71/Rev.2, as revised, by a recorded vote of 63 to 13, with 48 abstentions.

46. The revised draft resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Noting that all Governments have an obligation to respect and promote human rights in accordance with the responsibilities they have undertaken under various international instruments,

"Bearing in mind resolution 19 of 30 July 1980 of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women,

"Dismayed by reports of human rights violations in El Salvador and especially by the death of thousands of persons and the climate of repression and insecurity prevailing in the country,

"Deeply shocked by the vile assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, a prestigious personality, outstanding for his defense of the human rights of the Salvadorean people, and by the persecution of religious figures, and other prominent persons,

"Gravely concerned about the unknown fate of many persons detained by the authorities,

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"Considering that the supply of arms and other military assistance, will serve to aggravate the situation in that country,

"1. Expresses its deep concern for the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador;

"2. Deplores the murders, disappearances and other violations of human rights reported in El Salvador;

"3. Urges the Salvadorean Government to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in that country;

"4. Appeals for a cessation of violence and for the establishment of full respect for human rights in El Salvador;

"5. Calls on Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance in the current circumstances;

"6. Requests the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in El Salvador."

47. A draft resolution (A/C.3/35/L.71/Rev. 2) was introduced on behalf of Angola, Benin, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Iraq, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama and Sao Tome and Principe, subsequently joined by Algeria, Mexico, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

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Y	AFGHANISTAN		DEM. KAMPUCHEA	Y	IRELAND	Y	NORWAY		THAILAND
	ALBANIA	Y	DEM. YEMEN		A ISRAEL		A OMAN		A TOGO
Y	ALGERIA	Y	DENMARK		A ITALY		A PAKISTAN		A TRINIDAD-TOBAG
Y	ANGOLA		DJIBOUTI		A IVORY COAST	Y	PANAMA		A TUNISIA
N	ARGENTINA		DOMINICA	Y	JAMAICA		A PAPUA N GUINEA	Y	TURKEY
A	AUSTRALIA		DOMINICAN REP.		A JAPAN	N	PARAGUAY	Y	UGANDA
Y	AUSTRIA	Y	ECUADOR		A JORDAN		A PERU	Y	UKRANINIAN SSR
A	BAHAMAS		EGYPT	Y	KENYA	N	PHILIPPINES	Y	U.S.S.R.
A	BAHRAIN	N	EL SALVADOR		A KUWAIT	Y	POLAND		A U. A. EMIRATES
A	BANGLADESH	A	EQUAT. GUINEA	Y	LAO P.D.R.		A PORTUGAL		A UNITED KINGDOM
Y	BARBADOS	Y	ETHIOPIA		LEBANON		A QATAR		A U.R.CAMEROON
Y	BELGIUM		FIJI		A LESOTHO		ROMANIA	Y	U.R.TANZANIA
Y	BENIN	Y	FINLAND		LIBERIA	Y	RWANDA	N	UNITED STATES
A	BUTHAN		FRANCE	Y	LIBYAN A.J.		SAINT LUCIA		UPPER VOLTA
N	BOLIVIA		GABON	Y	LUXEMBOURG		ST. VINCENT-GREN	N	URUGUAY
	BOTSWANA		GAMBIA	Y	MADAGASCAR		SAMOA		A VENEZUELA
N	BRAZIL	Y	GERMAN D.R.		A MALAWI	Y	SAO TOME/PRINC.		
Y	BULGARIA		GERMANY, F.R.		A MALAYSIA		A SAUDI ARABIA	Y	VIET NAM
	BURMA	Y	GHANA		A MALDIVES	Y	SENEGAL		YEMEN
A	BURUNDI	Y	GREECE		A MALI	Y	SEYCHELLES	Y	YUGOSLAVIA
Y	BYELORUSSIANSSR	Y	GRENADA		MALTA		SIERRA LEONE		A ZAIRE
Y	CANADA	N	GUATEMALA	Y	MAURITANIA		A SINGAPORE		
Y	CAPE VERDE	Y	GUINEA		MAURITIUS		SOLOMON ISLANDS	Y	ZAMBIA
A	CENTR. AFRIC. REP.	Y	GUINEA-BISSAU	Y	MEXICO		SOMALIA	Y	ZIMBABWE
A	CHAD	Y	GUYANA	Y	MONGOLIA		SOUTH AFRICA		
N	CHILE		HAITI		MOROCCO		SPAIN		
	CHINA		HONDURAS	Y	MOZAMBIQUE		SRI LANKA		
N	COLOMBIA	Y	HUNGARY		A NEPAL		SUDAN		
N	COMOROS	Y	ICELAND	Y	NETHERLANDS		A SURINAME		
Y	CONGO	A	INDIA	Y	NEW ZEALAND		A SWAZILAND		
N	COSTA RICA	A	INDONESIA	Y	NICARAGUA	Y	SWEDEN		
Y	CYPRUS	Y	IRAN		A NIGER	Y	SYRIAN A. R.		
Y	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Y	IRAQ		NIGERIA				

DAY-MONTH: 83-12 AGENDA ITEMS: 000-112 VOTE NO: 04 ROLL CALL RECORDED NON RECORDED

ADOPTED 063 YES (Y) 013 NO (N) 048 ABSTAIN (A)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIRTY-FIFTH REGULAR SESSION .....PLENARY MEETING 80TH MEETING OF THIRD COMMITTEE

VOTE SUBJECT: A/C.3/35/L.71/REV. 2
VOTE TIME: 21:14

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APPENDIX NO. 6

RESOLUTION FROM THE 15th POST WAR CONGRESS
OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

November 1980, Madrid

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LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

The Socialist International reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Latin America and the Caribeean in their struggle for freedom, democracy and social justice.

The 1980's will be a crucial decade in proving the viability of democratic socialist development in Third World nations as an alternative to military dictatorships or traditional oligarchic regimes.

For the Socialist International this is especially true in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We express our satisfaction for the process of democratisation which is taking place in some countries of the region, and we maintair our committment to defend their achievements gained through the hard struggles of their people. This is the case in the Dominican Republic and Ecuador.

We believe that the victory and the achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution reflect the hopes for social change in the whole region. We reiterate our support for the Sandinista Front for National Liberation.

In the Southern Cone and several Central American countries, however, violations of human rights and political repression have heightened. We pledge our support to the progressive forces in these countries -- fighting for democracy and freedom. The Socialist International warns in the strongest terms against any attempt by foreign powers to intervene in the internal affairs of Latin American and Caribbean countries.

In our view, Michael Manley and the People's National Government of Jamaica made a decisive contribution to democratic socialism and to the New International Economic Order, not only in the Caribbean but to developing nations around the world: It is clear that external factors inherent in the existing economic order, and its institutions, led to the deterioration of the economic and social situation in Jamaica and had an influence in the outcome of the recent elections.

We will always stand by the PNP.

The Socialist International expresses solidarity with the people of Grenada and our new member party, the New Jewel Movement. The International will not accept foreign intervention in Grenada's affairs, military or economic.

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The Socialist International, concerned about the human rights situation in Guyana, expresses its solidarity with the people of that country and calls upon the government to ensure that the coming elections, unlike the last, are free and fair. We salute the Working People's Alliance and its presence at our Congress.

The Socialist International supports the people of Haiti in their struggle against the repressive Duvalier dictatorship.

The Socialist International aks the United States Government to end its political and military support for the present Junta in El Salvador and recognize that this has failed to prevent further bloodshed. We reject the thesis that the Salvadorean problem is one of a Junta fighting the extreme Right or Left. It is rather a despotic regime whose activities have led to a state of civil war.

Our deepest hopes and active solidarity are with the Frente Democratico Revolucionario in El Salvador, of which our member party MNR is a part.

In Guatemala, we are behind the Frente Democratico Contra la Represion as representatives of their people's democratic struggle to end murder, bloodshed and repression.

Belize must be granted its independence from colonial rule, secure within its present borders, as it wishes.

We declare once again our support for the Panama Canal Treaties which are the best proof that in Latin America a negotiated settlement is possible between big countries and small ones to fight wrongs and make possible a relaxation of tensions, to bring peace to the region.

We express our solidarity with the Union Democratica y Popular and the National Unity Government of Bolivia, led by Hernan Siles Suazo and Jaime Paz Samora, in its struggle to restore the democratic process brutally interrupted by a vicious military dictatorship. We plead with all parties concerned to deny recognition and to maintain the isolation of this regime. We express our horror at the murder of socialist leader Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz at the hands of the military Junta.

We join with the people of Chile in their ongoing reistance to the military Junta. We support the people's rejection of an oppressive "constitution" imposed following the false referendum.

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In the same terms we denounce the "constitutional referendum" scheduled for November 13th, 1980, in Uruguay as a fraud. We support the Uruguayan people's rejection of this false democratisation programme ("cronograma"). We stand behind the Convergencia Democratica de Uruguay.

Equally, we support the struggle of the Paraguayan people against dictatorship through the instrument of the Acuerdo Nacional whose socialist component is the Partido Revolucionario Febrerista.

We offer our solidarity to the democratic forces in Argentina fighting against repression. We confirm our wholehearted solidarity with the "Madres de Plaza de Mayo" and demand that the Argentine regime be held to account for the fate of the missing people with particular reference to the missing children.

We welcome the statement of the September 13th, 1980 Caracas meeting of the fraternal parties in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We were disturbed by some of the comments on Latin America made by the then Republican candidate for the presidency of the United States -- especially his expressions of support for the dictatorial regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala, and his attacks upon Grenada and Nicaragua. We hope that our fears will not be realized. We will await policies of the new Administration before making our judgments. But we will regard the new Administration's attitude towards Latin America and the Caribbean as a signal of its posture in the whole world. In the 1980's, the growth of further dictatorship, or of democracy, social justice and respect for human rights in the region will be significantly affected by the United States. But the attitude of the United States itself will be determined to a large extent by the pressure of international public opinion.

At the same time we remind our European members that their countries' participation in the economic life of the region should not help to legitimize military dictatorships, as has often been the case.

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APPENDIX NO. 7

RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR FROM THE
11th WOMEN'S CONFERENCE OF THE
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

November 1980, Madrid

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Special Project (1993)

RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR

The Socialist International Women adopt the resolution approved by the Socialist International at the Oslo meeting in June of the current year, in which it is clearly asserted that the continued support by the United States to the present repressive and unstable government Junta is not a viable solution to the situation under which this country is living.

The Socialist International Women also add that the United States' support has contributed to the violent and repressive policies of the military forces of the Salvadorean Government, and has driven the country to a state of civil war.

The Socialist International Women reiterate their support to the Democratic Revolutionary Front's struggle and call upon all the membership to defend El Salvador's liberation process.

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APPENDIX #8

STATEMENT BY JORGE ALBERTO VILLACORTA

EL SALVADOR'S UNDER SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

JANUARY-MARCH 1980

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STATEMENT BY JORGE ALBERTO VILLACORTA

FORMER UNDER-SECRETARY FOR AGRICULTURE OF EL SALVADOR

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I, Jorge Alberto Villacorta, was Under-Secretary of Agriculture of El Salvador from January to March 1980; my principal activity was the development of the Basic Law on Agrarian Reform and its corresponding application. After March 6, I participated directly in the process of the take-over of the properties of persons who owned more than 850 acres of land in El Salvador.

This governmental action--undertaken with the direct participation of the Army--was part of the commitment that the Armed Forces made to the P.D.C. (Christian Democrat Party) and the people on 9 January. The reform was aimed at generating a new model of rural development, based on the direct participation of peasants and unsalaried agricultural workers in agricultural production and using self-managed enterprises the fundamental nucleus.

In my opinion, it is important to point out that this agrarian reform law, so essential to El Salvador in resolving the basic problems of our society, has been rendered completely useless by the climate of political violence in which it has been promulgated. The Agrarian Reform had, as a basic political objective, the intention to pacify the country and to channel development within a model of participatory democracy. None of these objectives has been achieved, nor can it be predicted that they can be achieved, due to the repressive action that the very government is carrying out with its security forces and the army.

I resigned from my position on March 26, 1980, because I believed that it was useless to continue in a government not only incapable of putting an end to the violence, but a government which itself is generating the political violence through repression. My remaining in the government was related to compliance with the agreement on 9 January, but these agreements have not been kept. The repressive process has not been stopped. That is an indispensable condition for moving ahead with political reform. Further, the popular sectors have not been incorporated into the provisions of the reform.

In reality, from the first moment that the implementation of the agrarian reform began, what we saw was a sharp increase in official violence against the very peasants who were the supposed "beneficiaries" of the process. With growing concern, I saw how each day the reports that reached us from the countryside clearly indicated increase in the repression against the peasants. This happened at the same time in which we were taking actions to convert these same peasants into subjects of the agrarian reform process.

There exists clear evidence that during the month of March, while I served as Under-Secretary, recently-elected directors of the agricultural enterprises were killed by gunfire. In the first days of the reform, to cite one case, five directors and two presidents of the new peasant management organizations were killed. It can be clearly established that

every day this repressive process has become stronger. Recently, in one of the large estates taken over by the agrarian reform, uniformed members of the security forces accompanied by a masked person brought together all the workers; the masked person pointed out the directors of the self-management group and then these individuals were shot in front of their co-workers.

I can also verify that many other presidents and directors had their lives threatened or have experienced attempts to kill them; this has led many of them to resign or simply not accept the position once elected.

In the last three months, a great number of peasants belonging to the agrarian reform sector have been killed; likewise, several technicians of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Institute of Agrarian Transformation, who are advisors and co-managers in these properties, have fallen victim to the repression.

These bloody acts have been carried out by uniformed men of the National Guard and Treasury Police, accompanied by civilians of ORDEN, all heavily armed; they have been accompanied by armoured trucks and heavy arms; furthermore, I gathered testimonies from peasants and workers belonging to Christian organizations against whom many crimes were carried out by heavily-armed civilians acting with total impunity.

Within this framework of reform with repression, it is impossible to implement and complete an agrarian reform program that aims to redistribute income, increase production and productivity, diversify production, generate employment, and transfer power over the land to the dispossessed majorities. All this on the basis of a plan of democratic and free participation. A non-totalitarian and non-state-controlled model can only be carried out with the real participation of the peasants and this cannot be achieved when those supposedly favored are assassinated. In the present situation, perhaps an agrarian reform model of a totalitarian state-controlled nature might be applied, but never a democratic one, as long as there is not a stop to the repression which strikes down the peasants.

My resignation was based on the fact that it is impossible for the agrarian reform to gain popular participation. On the contrary, what one saw was that day-to-day government increasingly distanced itself from the people and established a closer relationship with rightest sectors, whose criminal action is strengthened and stimulated by the complacency of the security forces.

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APPENDIX #9

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESIGNATION OF
THE SALVADOREAN AMBASSADOR TO
NICARAGUA

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JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESIGNATION OF THE SALVADOREAN AMBASSADOR TO NICARAGUA

Press Communique from the Salvadorean Ambassador to the Countries of Central America and the World

When I was called to occupy the post of El Salvador's Ambassador to Nicaragua, we talked-among many doubts and reflections of a program of reforms and nationalizations. Program that I believed had already been sincerely initiated, as something indispensable and necessary to get our country out of its horrendous misery. I acepted with the honest desire to help my people.

As time went by (approximately six long months) I began to realize that the minds of those who govern our country were guided not only by greed and the stubornessof the powerful, but also by an insatiable thirst for blood, with torture and crime already as a part of the government programs.

As Ambassador I thought I could represent with justice the 5 million hungry and thirsty Christians of El Salvador, and I must not, and can not, continue sponsoring horrendous crimes. Crimes such as the ones perpetrated against the exemplary lives of the six leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, the crimes against the North American nuns, and the assassinations of Salvadorean priests.

You can not persecute the Church, because, among other reasons, in our case, you would be persecuting a whole Christian people. I now understand that a fight between the ultra-left and ultra-right has never existed, as the Salvadorean government and the most obscure imperialist forces want to make it appear.

In El Salvador there is a war of all the people against a group of military assassins, fascists and the small group of ambitious, christian-democrats that is left.

I have deliberately delayed my resignation until this time, because I have been serving as intermediary to save the lives of some political prisoners; but the ambition for power of the darkest sector of the acting government has condemned these prisoners to certain death.

I leave disgusted with this government. I am not a rat that is abandoning the ship; I simply cannot continue to navigate in a ship commanded by rats.

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I call on all colleages that are already members of the diverse diplomatic delegations of El Salvador to abandon their delegations with dignity and serve our people, the sole directors of our actions, and whom we cannot abandon or betray.

Managua, January 16, 1981.

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Special Project (1993)

APPENDIX NO. 10

STATEMENT OF ARCHBISHOP ROACH
ON THE RESTORATION OF
MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR

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Special Project (1993)

The U.S. government has today announced the resumption of military assistance to the Junta in El Salvador. For several months now, and with particular intensity in the last four weeks, the U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC) has presented to the Carter Administration its position of opposing any military assistance to El Salvador. These discussions with the Administration have been frank and frequent; the President and the Secretary of State have provided us many opportunities to set forth our views, and they are aware of our position, the reasons why we hold it and the popular support the position has among members of the Church in the United States and in El Salvador.

In formulating and expressing our position the USCC has been conscious of the complexity of the situation in El Salvador. We have taken our orientation from the Church in El Salvador, a community of faith which has committed itself to the pastoral task of accompanying the people, specially the poor and the oppressed, in their daily suffering and in their struggle for justice and freedom. That struggle has produced martyrs for the Church in El Salvador: Archbishop Romero, several priests, countless numbers of lay leaders, and most recently the four American women missionaries who selflessly gave their lives in service to the poor. The social struggle for dignity, for justice, for land has resulted in the death of ten thousand Salvadorans during the last year. While many factors are at work in a conflict of this magnitude, we remain convinced that the principal perpetrators of the violence have been the forces of the extreme right, the security forces which continue to function without control and their allies.

In the face of this human and political tragedy, we were aware that any decision made by the United States on military assistance would be a controverted and agonizing one. That decision has now been taken.

While recognizing the factors that were carefully considered in making it, I must frankly express the USCC's profound disappointment and disagreement with the decision to renew military aid to El Salvador.

Our opposition to renewed military aid is based on the conviction that no real evidence exists that the government of El Salvador has brought the security forces under control. The murder last week of three people associated with the land reform program. two of them American citizens, is an illustration of the violence from the right which daily afflicts the citizens of El Salvador. The restoration of military assistance, in our view, enhances the possibility of more violence from the security forces and associates the United States with acts of oppression which can only alienate the majority of the people of El Salvador. A principal form of this oppression which deeply concerns us is the persecution of the Church in that country.

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Providing military aid conveys an image of the United States which contradicts the best aspects of our human rights policy. It contributes to a view that we are prepared to support policies abroad that we would never sanction at home.

Finally, we fear that the kind of military aid now proposed will increase the possibility of further direct American involvement in the conflict with El Salvador in the months ahead. For all these reasons we find the provision of military aid a costly gamble which we cannot support.

January 14, 1981

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Special Project (1993)

APPENDIX #11

A CALL BY THE GENERAL COMMAND OF THE FMLN TO INITIATE THE GENERAL OFFENSIVE

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

A CALL BY THE GENERAL COMMAND OF THE FMLN TO INITIATE THE GENERAL OFFENSIVE

The United Revolutionary Directorate of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation, (FMLN- which has taken the General Command of all the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the five Organizations that make up the FMLN), addresses itself to all the Heroic People of El Salvador: Workers and Peasants, Revolutionary Men and Women, Democrats and Patriots:

The decisive hour has come to initiate the decisive military and insurrectional battles for the seizure of power by the People and the constitution of the Revolutionary Democratic Government.

Decades of suffering, more than 50 years of military dictatorship, are at the point of being destroyed for ever by the upsurge of the popular struggle.

In this crucial and historic moment in the destinies of the Salvadorean and Central American Peoples, the Unified Revolutionary Directorate of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation, which is the General Command, calls upon all the People, on the Workers, Peasants, Students, Teachers, Employees, Democratic Sectors, Soldiers and Progressive Officers; Religious Sectors, to all: men and women - to the Struggles of the Regular and Guerrilla Revolutionary Units to, the Militias of the Revolution and to the Fighting Masses, to immediately initiate the military actions of the Popular Insurrection to win the victory of the Revolution.

We call upon all the people to rise up as one man with all the means of combat, under the orders of their immediate leaders, in all the war fronts and throughout the length and breadth of the national territory, to fight valiently for the definitive overthrow of the regime of repression and genocide of the criolla oligarchy and of imperialism.

EVERYONE TO THE STRUGGLE!!

We call upon all the patriotic and progressive officers and soldiers to join the ranks of the People.

This is the moment to place yourselves with your brothers, the workers!

Turn your arms against the cruel and bloody chiefs of the high command and commanders of the counter-revolutionary army!

The hour of the Revolution has arrived! The hour of Liberation has arrived!

The definitive triumph is in the hands of this Heroic and Valient People, who have shed their blood for so many years to win the right to be free, to partake of Democracy, true Independence, Social Progress, Sovereignty and Self-Determination!

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In this historic moment, in which the entire people is rising up to win its Liberty, we can verify that the Salvadorean People are not alone, that all our Central American and Latin American brothers are with us.

THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE WITH US!!

FORWARD, HEROIC PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR! TO TOTAL COMBAT!!

UNTIL WE WIN THE FINAL VICTORY!!

TO THE DEMOLISHING MILITARY BATTLES!!

TO THE POPULAR INSURRECTIONS!!

PREPARE THE GENERAL STRIKE!!

TO VICTORY!!

UNITED IN THE STRUGGLE TO THE FINAL VICTORY!!

REVOLUTION OR DEATH, WE SHALL WIN!!

The General Command of the DRU, El Salvador, January 10, 1981

(Read by Comandante Salvador Cayetano Carpio).

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

APPENDIX #12

EVALUATION BY THE GENERAL COMMAND OF THE FMLN UPON THE FIRST PHASE OF THE GENERAL OFFENSIVE

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

FARABUNDO MARTI FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

TO THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE

TO THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE WORLD

The General Command of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN) declares to all its sister peoples -- those of Central America and of all the world-- that the great operation comprised in the plan for the launching of the general revolutionary offensive, begun on the 10th of January, was carried out with success by the regular units, guerrilla and militia units of our popular revolutionary army.

Since the 10th of January, when this General Command of the FMLN issued the orders for the offensive 1 and 2, the revolutionary armed forces carried out the following actions.

IN THE CENTRAL FRONT - MODESTO RAMIREZ

- Seige of the barracks of Chalatenango and the capture of the city during the 10, 11 and 12th days of January.
- Seige of the barracks of Paraiso and control of the access routes between this point and the city of Chalatenango during the 10th, 11th and 12th days of January.
- Attacks at enemy garrisons in the towns of San Antonio La Cruz, Arcatao, La Palma Patanera, San Francisco Morazan, San Antonio Los Ranchos, all in the province of Chalatenango.
- Taking of Suchitoto and seige of the enemy garrison on January 11 and 12.
- Capture of the city of Apopa on the 10th of January.
- Control of the communication routes between the Troncal del Norte highway and the towns of Aguilares, Suchitoto and San Jose Guayabal.

IN SAN SALVADOR

- The capture of three radio stations on the 11th of January.
- Attack on the Air Force. The Air Force was unable to take off for several days.
- The taking of Soyapango, Mejicanos, Cuscatancingo, and fighting in Ciudad Delgado, Tonacatepeque.

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- Control of the highways of San Marcos, Santo Tomas and Comalapa.
- Harassment of the barracks of the National Guard and of the Rural Police.

WESTERN FRONT - JOSE FELICIANO AMAS

- Attack against the 2nd Infantry Brigade in the city of Santa Ana, a unit in which a company of soldiers led by two officers rose up and went over to fight with the people and the FMLN on the 10th of January, after burning the arsenal of the garrison.
- Attacks against the barracks of the National Police, the National Guard and the Rural Police, on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January in Santa Ana.
- Attack on the enemy garrisons in Metapan, in the province of Santa Ana, and the capture of the city on the 12th and 13th of January.
- Attack on the enemy barracks and popular insurrection in the city of Chalchuapa, the second largest in the province of Santa Ana; attacks on the enemy garrisons in San Julian, Armenia, Acajutla, Sonsonate, Cara Sucia and Bola de Monte.
- Attack on the Border Police, the 10th of January in Santa Ana.

IN THE NEARCENTRAL FRONT - ANASTACIO AQUINO

- Attack and harassment of the National Guard barracks of Villa Victoria.
- Capture and annihilation of enemy military units in Cinquera in the province of Cabanas on January 12th.
- Harassment of enemy forces in Jutiapa the 14th of January.
- Capture of Santa Clara, on January 11th.
- Continuous attacks in Tecoluca between the 10th and 15th of January.
- Harassing actions against the barracks of the city of San Vicente from the 11th of January on.
- Control of the Pan American Highway, from San Rafael Cedros to Apastepeque.
- Control of the coastal highway from Puente de Oro to Zacatecoluca.

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EASTERN FRONT - FRANCISCO SANCHEZ

- Occupation of the city of Perquin and assault on the enemy garrison on the 11th of January, in the province of Morazan.

- Occupation of the city of Osicala, Morazan on January 13th.

- Occupation of the cities of El Rosario, Corinto, Nueva Esparta Santa Rosa de Lima on the 12th of January (provinces of Morazan and La Union).

- Seige and assault on the barracks at Gotera during the 13, 14 and 15 of January.

- Ambush at the top of Rio Seco of a powerful column of reinforcements marching to Gotera from the Central Barracks of the Infantry Brigade stationed in San Miguel. This column, which included armored vehicles and artillery, was stopped and in large part disorganized.

- Ambush of reinforcements that were going from La Leona to the city of Puerto de La Union.

- Diversionary actions were carried out in the city of San Miguel.

- Control of the highways between San Miguel and Gotera, between San Miguel and Usulutan and El Delirio.

The high degree of coordination of those actions in the four war fronts, the strength of the attacks, the high moral of our fighters-- demonstrate clearly the high military capacity of our forces.

During several days, they managed to annihilate numerous positions, lay seige to and contain strategic military units of the genocidal Junta, stop its communications and supplies, intercept the reinforcements that were sent in the majority of the few cases where the enemy high command was able to move troops in the national territory.

The impact of the initial phase of the general offensive on the ranks of the puppet and assassin army, managed to draw from its ranks patriotic officers and soldiers of our people who are today fighting with their brothers, directing their arms against the real enemies of our people, a valient attitude that is a vibrant call to those decent officers and soldiers who still remain within the structures of the fascist command.

Today, the Salvadorean workers, the entire people, can have proof that their vanguard, the FMLN, has known how to forge the instruments that will bring about a total revolutionary victory.

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In San Salvador, where the elite strategic forces of the enemy are concentrated and where the massacre that the fascist dictatorship has carried out for several years reached its highest volume in 1980, the working masses most conscious carried out with great valor the call for the strike. The FMLN recognizes that, except for the attack on the central base of the Air Force, it did not manage to strike the forceful military blows in the capital that were needed to sustain the full development of the strike and to set off the popular insurrection.

The genocidal government has tried to take advantage of this fact through its delirious and lying propaganda. Other voices have also been heard making superficial judgements about the supposed refusal of the popular masses in the capital to take the road of revolution. We are absolutely certain that the heroic and combative people of San Salvador will give full lie to such speculations and we call upon them to prepare for the coming battles, at the same time that we call upon the ranks of our member organizations of the FMLN and their revolutionary armed forces to organize in all details the coming great revolutionary actions in San Salvador.

The Junta has had no recourse but to seek the support of mercenaries and launch a lying campaign of propaganda, backing itself with the muzzling of the means of communications, including permanently tying together all the radio stations.

But this will not permit it to make up for its losses, nor recover the initiative in the war. Our forces, within the context of the general offensive, are now carrying out a necessary and previously planned movement that guarantees the continuation of the offensive to new and higher phases.

The military-Christian Democratic Junta and its murderous armed forces were rocked by the energetic initiation of our general offensive. Desperately, they seized upon the intensification of the repressive terror against an unarmed population as other rotten dictatorships had done as their end approached. They established the curfew and the Martial Law with this end to this end.

The government of the United States rushed to facilitate and increase the sending of military advisors, arms and ammunition to help the Junta maintain itself and extend the massacre against our people. At the same time, the imperialists are threatening the Nicaraguan people and, with the new interventionist steps they have taken, are shaping up the serious danger of the extension of the conflict to all of Central America, thus threatening the peace of the world.

The FMLN, at the head of the heroic Salvadorean people, will continue advancing in its struggle to the final liberation of our people, without taking fright before the stubborn imperialist intervention.

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The people of Sandino, who opened the future of Central America, will not kneel before the imperialists. The people of Central America, who are now living in the most important hour of their history, will close ranks to prevent the sad mourderous designes of imperialism from coming to pass.

Nine of every ten U. S. made bullets that come into the hands of the Junta go directly to spill the blood of the unarmed population, and are designed to kill children, women and the elderly. Each new step that imperialism takes in its military escalation against the Salvadorean people, increases the threat against the Nicaraguan revolution and against peace in Central America and the Caribbean, and threatens the peace of the world.

We are sure that the peoples of the world and the governments that love peace and defend the principles of self-determination, will raise their powerful voices and set in motion their actions of solidarity to hold back the military escalation of U. S. imperialism against the Salvadorean people.

Forward fighters, forward guerrillas and militias, forward companeros workers and patriotic soldiers, continue the battles that will bring peace, justice, liberty and true independence to our native country.

UNITED IN THE FIGHT TO THE FINAL VICTORY!

REVOLUTION OR DEATH, WE WILL WIN!

SALVADOR CAYETANO CARPIO (MARCIAL)

SCHAFIK JORGE HANDAL

ROBERTO ROCA

IN REPRESENTATION OF JOAQUIN VILLALOBOS - JUAN RAMON MEDRANO

FERMAN CIENFUEGOS

January 21, 1981

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APPENDIX #13

MAP ZONES UNDER CONTROL BY FMLN JANUARY 1981

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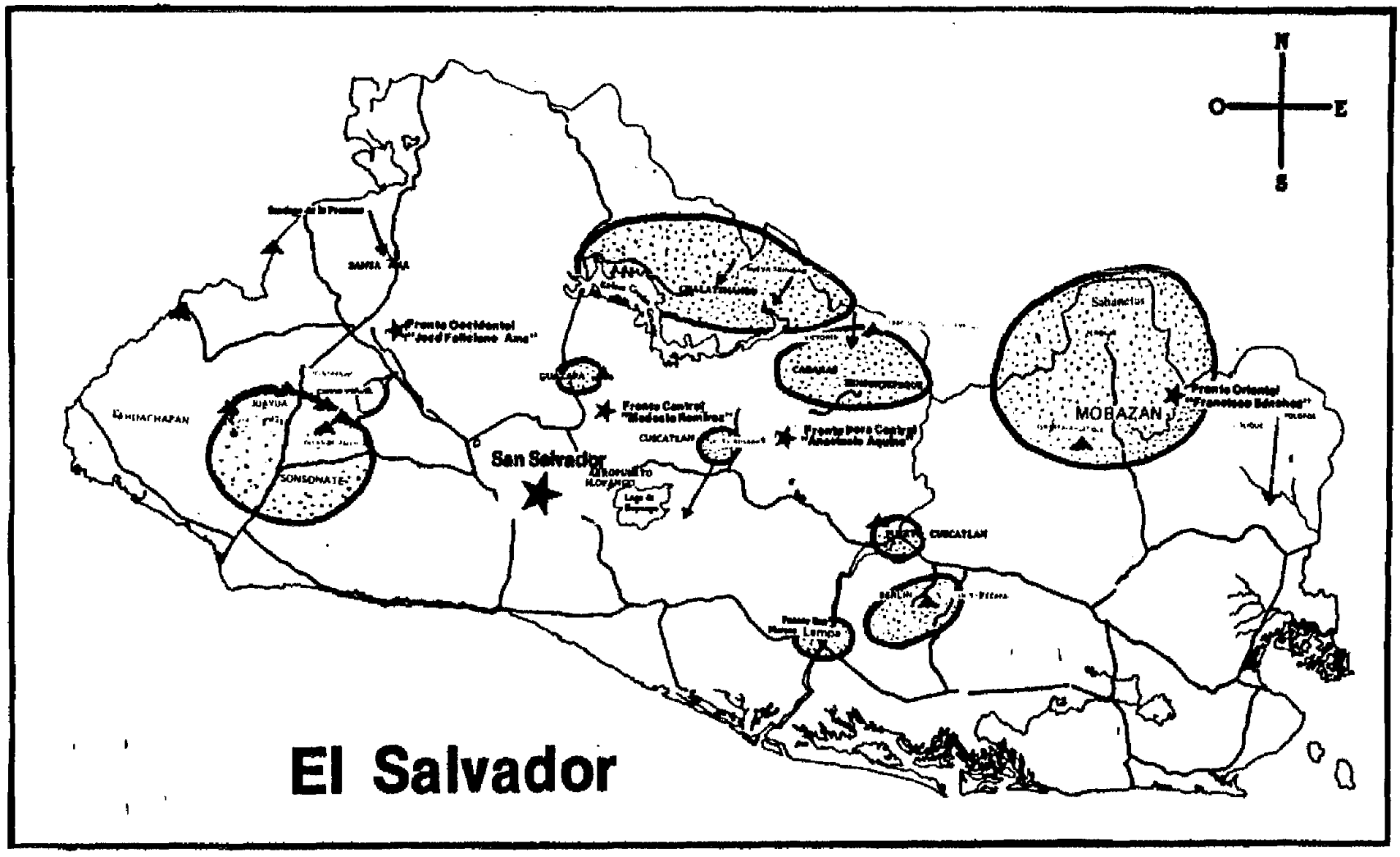

zonas bajo control del FMLN ENERO 1981
zones under control by FMLN JANUARY 1981

APPENDIX #14

STATEMENT FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT TO STOP U.S. MILITARY AID TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR (JANUARY 19, 1981)

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Special Project (1993)

January 19, 1981

STOP MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR

The Representation in the United States of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) of El Salvador warmly greets the people of the United States and thanks them for the growing and innumerable gestures of sympathy and solidarity that they have made on behalf of the Salvadorean people who are fighting for their liberation.

We also respectfully call upon the Churches, the trade unions, professionals, students, minority groups, humanitarian and political organizations, the anti-draft movement, solidarity committees and all justice- and peace-loving people to stop the Reagan government from continuing the rapidly-growing military aid that the Carter administration is sending to the military/Christian-Democrat dictatorship in El Salvador, for the following reasons.

1. It is against the majority opinion of the North American people, who in different ways have demanded from the U. S. government that it cease its continuing support for the military Christian Democrat dictatorship.

2. It goes against the recently-approved resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, that "Calls on Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance to El Salvador in the present circumstances," considering that it would contribute to the worsening of the situation in that country.

3. It is an underhanded military intervention that violates the right to self-determination of the Salvadorean people.

4. It makes the government of the United States an accomplice of the cruelest genocide that the Salvadorean people have suffered, a genocide that is affecting all of the social sectors, even the Church, and that unfortunately has reached even the people of the United States themselves with the cruel assassination of the three North American nuns and one lay worker.

5. There is a danger in the rapid and aggressive manner that aid is being escalated of precipitating in a short time the direct intervention of military troops, as happened in the Viet Nam war. This painful experience is one that neither the Salvadorean nor the North American people want repeated.

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The Representation in the United Sates of the Democratic Revolutionary Front trusts that the North American people will react energetically against military aid to the Salvadorean government, and that they will demand of President Reagan, from the first days of his administration, to suspend it once and for all, respecting the right to self-determination of the Salvadorean people.

See attached for a detailed listing of the military aid.

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U. S. MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR 1979-1980

QUANTITY-AND ITEM	ACCEPTANCE DATE	AMOUNT $U. S.
1,000 M17A1 Protective Masks	Nov. 1979	116,541 credit
N.A. Safety and Rescue Equipment	Nov. 1979	89,000 credit
1 Mobile Training Team for Training in internal security	Nov. 1979	7,176 cash
250 AN/PRC-77 Radio Sets and spares	April 1980.....	403,456
6,250 BA-4386 Batteries	April 1980	
120 M17 Protective Masks	April 1980	
N.A. Weapons Parts, Safety and Rescue Equipment	April 1980.....	20,352 credit
120 M17 Protective Masks	May 1980	
N.A. Safety and Rescue Equipment Weapons Spares, components and accesories	..... May 1980	318,804 credit
20 1.5 KW Gasoline Engine Generators sets and spare parts	May 1980	
7,500 CS Gas Grenades and 40mm. Cartridges	May 1980	29,798 credit
3 AN/USQ-46 A RF Monitor sets	May 1980	
10 Antenna	May 1980.....	1,032,125 credit
40 AN/VRC-12 Radio sets	May 1980	
700 Body Armor	June 1980	33,250 credit
21 Truck, Ambulance, Front line 1/4 ton. 4x4, M718AI Transport Vehicles	June 1980	373,325 credit
N.A. Surgical Dressing	Sept. 1980	11,775 credit
	TOTAL	2,469,904

U. S. MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR 1981

6 Commercial Trucks 2 1/2 ton.	Jan.14 1981	161,416 credit
15,000 Uniforms and Individual Equipment sets	Jan.14 1981	1,191,845 credit
N.A. Logistics and Maintenance	Jan.14 1981	237,312 credit
10,000 Smoke Granades	Jan.14 1981	210,000 credit
N.A. Helicopter Support, return, repair refurbish package	Jan.14 1981	2,720,000 credit
3 Commercial Wreckers	Jan.14 1981	280,000 credit
10 Jeep Wagoneers	Jan.14 1981	199,427 credit
2 HUEY Helicopters	Jan.14 1981	On lease
1 Team for Helicopter Training and Maintenance	Jan.14 1981	IMET credit
1 Two Men Team of Helicopter Specialists	Jan.14 1981	IMET credit
1 Five to Six Men Military Team for Counter-Insurgency Command Control Headquarters	Jan.14 1981	IMET credit
***** The continuance of the IMET Program which was never suspended under the Dec. 5th State Department directive	.....	420,000
N.A. M-16 Automatic Rifles	Jan.17 1981	
N.A. Grenades Launchers	Jan.17 1981	
N.A. Grenades		
N.A. Ammunition		
N.A. Steel Helmets		
N.A. Flack Jackets		
4 HUEY-type Helicopters (On lease)		
	TOTAL	10,420,000 PLUS

APPENDIX #15

DECLARATION BY THE FMLN ON THE AGRESSIVE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

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FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR, C.A.

DECLARATIONS BY THE FMLN ON THE AGRESSIVE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The decision by the United States government to intensify its intervention in El Salvador by increasing its "aid" in advisors, arms, helicopter gunships and other war materials, the agressive and false statements made in the last few days by Robert White - the Ambassador to San Salvador, statements made by U. S. present State Department spokeperson Trattner concerning an invented invasion of Nicaraguan guerrillas into the eastern section of our country, together with the refusal of the U. S. government to carry on a dialogue with the FMLN present clear evidence that the imperialists have taken the path of imposing a military solution on the national crisis and impeding, by force, our people's inalienable right to self-determination.

This decision by the U. S. government is condemned to failure, sooner or later. The heroic salvadorean people and their recognized revolutionary vanguard, the FMLN will never kneel. Together with fellow Central American peoples, whose struggles are more and more profoundly interlaced in a multifaceted manner and with inexhaustible international solidarity, we have the capacity to win and we will win.

On the other hand, the decision by the government of the United States to impose a military solution, constitutes a grave threat to the sovereignty and security of the Nicaraguan people who are being openly blackmailed, this constitutes a threat to the right to self-determination of other fellow Central American peoples and causes imminent danger of regionalizing the war.

The General Command of the FMLN considers it a duty to inform the peoples and governments of our region and worldwide public opinion, that the government of the United States has adopted this adventuristic and agressive decision. Decision made at a time when, giving attention to the situation we have communicated our inclination to carry on a constructive dialogue with them.

In fact, before taking this line toward a military solution to the Salvadorean crisis, the government of the United States established six points for discussion in order to initiate a dialogue with us. These points were:

1. Ceasefire.
2. Total reorganization of the government.
3. Disbanding of the repressive corps.
4. Reorganization of the Army.

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5. Reforms.
6. Elections.

On January 14, a direct emmissary of the FMLN and the FDR, by mutual agreement, visited the U. S. Ambassador in Honduras to communicate our willingness to initiate the dialogue whenever the U. S. terminated all forms of military "aid" to the Genocidal Junta and makes a commitment not to militarily invade our country with either its own or other troops.

The State Department's response was to close all avenues of dialogue with us, to blackmail against Nicaragua and to increase supplies and military advisory teams to the murderous Junta.

The agressive behaviour of military imposition by the U. S. will have unforseen consequences in Central America, since the war could be extended into Honduras if we are compressed against its borders, which we do not want. It puts into jeopardy the compliance with the Panama Canal Treaties, won through long struggle by the people of Panama. Belice's will see its independence postponed. It will cause, without a doubt, solidarity actions on the part of the people of Costa Rica, changing their already tense environment with violence. The Guatemalan people, whose unified vanguard is leading a growing guerrilla struggle, will come to the aid to their Salvadorean brothers and sisters, they will defend themselves redoubling their armed struggle, from their-thirsty internal enemies, unconditional instruments of U. S. agression. Nicaragua and their people will have to defend themselves and will under the wise and proven leadership of the FSLN, doubtlessly acquit themselves in an exemplary manner.

This provocation on the part of the U. S. is an incendiary measure, that puts into jeopardy regional and world peace, also peace in the United States. A country where our struggle enjoys extensive sympathy and support among the people, growing closer and more solidary with our people. The responsibility for these consequences falls, beginning today, on the government of the United States which refuses to carry on a dialogue with the FMLN and puts fire to the prairie.

We have been and continue to be respectful of the self-determination of Central American peoples and, feeling profound solidarity with their struggles, have abstained from artificial maneuvers which would bring our conflict to their soil.

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We categorically reject Duarte's scandalous statement that Nicaraguan guerrillas entered our country. It is an absurd invention by a traitor to the Salvadorean people, in order to divert attention from his shameful public call to Reagan to invade our country. It is a resort by the Imperialist propaganda to justify the agressive line of military escalation, taken by the United States government against our people and Central America.

The FMLN, has declared on numerous occassions and reiterates today that it maintains a flexible, realistic position, open to dialogue with the U. S. government, based upon the FMLN's firm and undeniable decision to lead our people to definitive liberation.

The U. S. must withdraw, immediately, military aid to the murderous Junta and behave in a civilized manner. This will be the best for all. But they should also be aware that their threats and their weapons do not frighten us, we will defeat them today, tomorrow or later. The world is with us and imperialism moves against the current of history.

UNITED IN COMBAT, UNTIL FINAL VICTORY!!!

REVOLUTION OR DEATH, WE WILL TRIUMPH!!!

- GENERAL COMMAND OF THE FMLN

SALVADOR CAYETANO CARPIO (MARCIAL)

SCHAFIK JORGE HANDAL

ROBERTO ROCA

JUAN RAMON MEDRANO (ON BEHALF OF JOAQUIN VILLALOBOS)

FERMAN CIENFUEGOS

EL SALVADOR, JANUARY 16, 1981

YEAR OF LIBERATION

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APPENDIX #16

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC COMMISSION OF THE FMLN-FDR CONCERNING STATEMENTS MADE BY U.S. AMBASSADOR TO EL SALVADOR, ROBERT WHITE

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COMMUNIQUE FROM THE POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC COMMISSION OF THE FMLN-FDR CONCERNING STATEMENTS MADE BY U. S. AMBASSADOR TO EL SALVADOR, ROBERT WHITE

The Joint Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, (FMLN) and the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), in compliance with the functions given it by the people of El Salvador through their unified fronts - the FMLN and the FDR - expresses to the people of the world its position with respect to statements made by the United States Ambassador to El Salvador, Mr. Robert White.

1. The statements made by Ambassador White to the effect that his country will not permit the installation of a Marxist-Leninist government in El Salvador not only reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of the struggle of the Salvadorean people, but also a lamentable intrusion on the part of the United States representative into the internal affairs of El Salvador. This intrusion violates the most basic norms of international relations between sovereign nations approved by the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

   Only the 5 million people of El Salvador can and must decide their own destiny. It is not up to the government of the United States or any other government.

2. Over the past decades, the U. S. government, according to its own desires and interests, has seen liberation movements as a pretext to intervene directly or indirectly in Latin America. This was demonstrated in Guatemala in 1954, in the Dominican Republic in 1965, and in Chile in 1973. Again it is being demonstrated in El Salvador where they are attempting to use the same sad, tired arguments.

3. By speaking of the installation of a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship in El Salvador, Ambassador White outlined a simplistic and misleading description of the type of society the Salvadorean people will be constructing immediately following the overthrow of the military-christian democratic tyranny in El Salvador.

   In essence, Ambassador White pretends to ignore what the FMLN and the FDR have repeatedly undertaken to defend for the Salvadorean people and before all governments and peoples of the world: political pluralism, respect for private industry willing to participate in reconstructing the country and a [illegible]

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defense of the principles of non-alignment in foreign policy.

4. The Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador is surprised by White's statements because they constitute a forceful response to our open position and willingness to carry on a dialogue with the United States government and all governments and political forces which do not try to distort the destiny chosen by the Salvadorean people.

5. The Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR hopes that Mr. White's declarations, which imply underhanded interventionism, are reflective more of personal criteria than of the official position of the United States government.

By the Political-Diplomatic Commission FMLN-FDR:

GUILLERMO MANUEL UNGO

RUBEN ZAMORA

FABIO CASTILLO

JOSE NAPOLEON RODRIGUEZ

ANA GUADALUPE MARTINEZ

MARIO AGUINADA

SALVADOR SAMAYOA

January 16th, 1981

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APPENDIX #17

PETITION SIGNED BY NORTH AMERICAN PERSONALITIES ASKING FOR THE SUSPENSION OF MILITARY AID TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR

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COMPLETE TEXT NOT IN FILE

Department of State

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EXCISE

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AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA 5
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN/
INTAFF

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9-23-93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy (X), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 0962

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 2/3/00
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJ: (C) A VIGNETTE OF SALVADORAN PROBLEMS OF REPRESSION

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. [redacted] VISITED FMBASSY FEBRUARY 2 AND TOLD THIS STORY. [redacted] IN AMATEPEQUE, A POOR SUBURB OF SANTA ANA.

3. LAST TUESDAY SOME TIME AROUND ELEVEN O'CLOCK -- WELL AFTER CURFEW -- SEVEN HEAVILY ARMED MEN DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES RAIDED TWO HOUSES NEAR THE [redacted] THE MEN ARE BELIEVED BY ALL THE NEIGHBORS TO HAVE BEEN -- AND ALMOST CERTAINLY ARE -- MEMBERS OF ONE OF THE "DEATH SQUADS" OPERATING IN THE TOWN, WITH THE APPROVAL OF, IF NOT THE PARTICIPATION OF, MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL SECURITY FORCES. IN BOTH HOUSES THE FAMILIES [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00962 041657Z

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HAD GONE TO BED, IN ONE PLACE AFTER HAVING WATCHED THE [redacted]

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[redacted]

LAST TELEVISION SERIAL OF THE EVENING.

4. AN 18-YEAR OLD SON WAS TAKEN FROM ONE HOUSE, AND A 16-YEAR OLD SON FROM ANOTHER. THERE WERE SEVERAL YOUNG ADULTS IN ONE OF THE FAMILIES, LEADING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE TWO PEOPLE TAKEN HAD BEEN FINGERED WITH PRECISION BY "OREJAS" (GOVERNMENT SPIES) OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD. THE TWO YOUNG MEN WERE TAKEN A SHORT DISTANCE DOWN THE STREET AND KILLED -- ENOUGH THAT THE FAMILIES OF BOTH HEARD THE SHOTS, ALTHOUGH BECAUSE OF THE CURFEW THEY COULD NOT GO OUT UNTIL FIVE O'CLOCK THE NEXT MORNING TO RECOVER THE BODIES.

5. BOTH YOUNG MEN HAD BEEN WORKING FOR SOME TIME IN MEXICO, AND RETURNED TO EL SALVADOR FOR THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS GAINST THE ADVICE OF THEIR FAMILIES. THEY RETURNED "WELL FED AND HAPPY BECAUSE OF THE GOOD JOBS THEY HAD FOUND," AND BOTH PLANNED TO LEAVE AGAIN FOR MEXICO ON FEBRUARY 3.

6. THIS SAVAGE EVENT WELL ILLUSTRATES THE UNCERTAINTY AND FEAR IN WHICH MUCH OF THIS COUNTRY LIVES. THE ABDUCTIONS TOOK PLACE FROM A NIEGHBORHOOD THAT WAS SEVERELY DAMAGED WHEN IT WAS SHELLED BY GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES DURING THE "FINAL OFFENSIVE" IN EFFORT TO DESTROY A NEST OF GUERRILLAS. SEVERAL PEOPLE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD DIED.

7. NO ONE WILL KNOW FOR SURE WHY THE YOUNG MEN WERE HUNTED AND GUNNED DOWN. PERHAPS THIS WAS THE RESULT OF A GRUDGE OR A RUMOR. PERHAPS THEY WERE MEMBERS OF A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION -- THEIR HAPPY CIRCUMSTANCES IN MEXICO SEEM UNUSUAL; AND INSISTENCE ON RETURNING TO [redacted]

EL SALVADOR AND REMAINING THROUGH THE "OFFENSIVE" RAISES SUSPICION. ALL THAT IS CERTAIN IS THE LEGACY OF RAGE AND SADNESS THAT KEEPS BUILDING IN THIS COUNTRY.
DION

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[redacted]

PRESS STATEMENT UNCLASSIFIED February 20, 1981

NA062 E.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ✓ Excise ____ I
Declassify: In Part ____ In F
Exemption(s) ____

CHILE: RESUMPTION OF EX-IM FINANCING

In keeping with the intent of legislation that EX-IM financing not be restricted except when denial would "clearly and importantly advance U.S. policy," the prohibition on Ex-Im financing for U.S. exports to Chile has been lifted. As a result, American businesses will be able to compete more effectively with other exporters in Chile's rapidly expanding market. Chile also is being invited to participate in the UNITAS exercise this year. It was not invited last year. Ex-Im financing was suspended and other actions were taken on November 30, 1979 because of the failure of the Government of Chile to make a serious effort to investigate and prosecute three Chilean ex-intelligence officers indicted by a U.S. court for the assassinations of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt. Our willingness to take steps, which affected U.S. interests as well as those of the Government of Chile, demonstrated the seriousness with which we viewed this matter. The actions taken were not intended to be permanent. We continue to hope the Government of Chile will move to prosecute those implicated in the Letelier/Moffitt case but unlike the 1978-1979 request for extradition, we are not an active party to the investigation in Chile.

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PRESS GUIDANCE February 20, 1981

CHILE - EX-IM AND UNITAS

Q. The reason given for suspending Ex-Im financing was that it would advance U.S. policy in combatting international terrorism. Secretary Haig has recently stated that combatting international terrorism will be accorded even higher priority by the Reagan administration. How does this action with respect to Chile square with that recent statement?

A. The Letelier/Moffitt assassinations occurred in 1976. The Government of Chile has denied any responsibility but has failed to carry out a full investigation or prosecute those implicated. Our actions in response to Letelier/Moffitt demonstrated that any Government that, in effect, condones acts of international terrorism will incur significant costs in its relations with us.

Q. Does this mean that Ex-IM Bank will resume loans immediately? Are any loans imminent?

A. Decisions on any particular credit or insurance applications will be made by the Export-Import Bank Board of Directors. The Board will now be in a position to consider applications to support U.S. exports to Chile in the same manner as those for other countries.

Under the previous policy, Ex-Im Bank was unable to receive applications for credits or insurance in Chile. We anticipate that once the revised policy is communicated to the U.S. business community, the Bank will receive several applications.

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Q. Will this change in policy benefit the Chilean Government?

A. We believe that the principal beneficiaries of resuming normal Ex-Im Bank operations in Chile will be U.S. businesses and their employees and shareholders.

Q. What about other actions taken in response to Letelier/Moffitt? Are they also being lifted?

A. Other actions stemming from Letelier/Moffitt will be reviewed at an appropriate time.

Q. Why will Chile be invited to participate in UNITAS this year?

A. Chile is an important naval power in South America and its participation enhances the value of the UNITAS exercise and strengthens overall hemispheric defense. The decision to exclude Chile last year because of Letelier/Moffitt was not intended to be continued into 1981.

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Page: 1

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01825 01 OF 03 231606Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	COMP-01	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-07
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-07	PA-02	ED-04	OMB-01	STR-10
	SIL-01	INRE-00	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/152 W	

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O 231555Z FEB 81
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4625
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 01825

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, UNHRC, CI
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION - DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE (AGENDA ITEM 5)

REF: GENEVA 1600

1. FORWARDED BELOW IS THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE (ITEM 5) CO-SPONSORED BY ALGERIA, CUBA, MEXICO AND YUGOSLAVIA. DEBATE ON THIS ITEM COMES UP ON FEB. 25. PLEASE PROVIDE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS. PER REFTEL THE NETHERLANDS IS STILL DISCUSSING POSSIBLE REVISIONS WITH MEXICO.

2. BEGIN TEXT: THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL, AND DETERMINED TO REMAIN VIGILANT WITH REGARD TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER THEY OCCUR,

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01825 01 OF 03 231606Z

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV), WHICH DECIDED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE,

DEPLORING THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR

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AND THAT THEY HAVE FAILED TO TAKE CONCRETE STEPS AS OUTLINED IN ITS RESOLUTION 21(XXXVI),

DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR THAT THE SITUATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE HAS NOT IMPROVED BUT HAS, ON THE CONTRARY, DETERIORATED;

CONSIDERING THAT THE TOTAL LACK OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE PREPARATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED, UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, ON THE FREEDOMS OF ASSEMBLY, ASSOCIATION, EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, DO NOT ENABLE THE RESULT OF THE PLEBISCITE ON THE TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION TO BE REGARDED AS AN AUTHENTIC EXPRESSION OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE'S WILL,

EXPRESSING DEEP CONCERN THAT THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED ARE STILL UNKNOWN AND THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO IGNORE THE REPEATED APPEAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REFLECTED IN VARIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANS AND HAVE FAILED TO TAKE URGENT AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01825 01 OF 03 231606Z

THE FATE OF SUCH PERSONS,

BEARING IN MIND THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THROUGH RESOLUTION 35/188 OF 15 DECEMBER 1980, REQUESTED THE COMMISSION AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION TO STUDY THOROUGHLY THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND CONCLUDED ON THE BASIS OF THIS REPORT THAT ITS CONTINUED VIGILANCE IN RESPECT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE IS WARRANTED AND CONSEQUENTLY INVITED THE COMMISSION TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR,

CONVINCED OF THE NEED FOR THE COMMISSION TO GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE BY MAINTAINING THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR UNTIL THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN CONCRETE STEPS FOR THE FULL RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS;

1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR HIS REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 21 (XXXVI) OF THE COMMISSION;

2. REITERATES ITS INDIGNATION AT THE PERSISTENCE AND FURTHER DETERIORATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, AS CONCLUSIVELY STATED IN THE REPORT, IN PARTICULAR CONCERNING:

(I) THE ALTERATION OF THEIR TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC LEGAL SYSTEM AND ITS INSTITUTIONS BY IMPOSING A NEW CONSTITUTION AND REINFORCING LEGISLATION RESTRICTING THE EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, CREATING
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 01825 01 OF 03 231606Z

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01825 02 OF 03 231610Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	COMP-01	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-07
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-07	PA-02	ED-04	OMB-01	STR-10
	SIL-01	INRE-00	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/152 W	

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4626
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 01825

REPRESSIVE STATES BODIES AND INCREASING THE POWERS OF THE SECURITY AGENCIES;

(II) THE CONTINUATION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF DE-TENTIONS OFTEN FOLLOWED BY DISAPPEARANCES, BANISHMENTS AND CASES OF TORTURE, ILL-TREAT-

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MENT AND UNEXPLAINED DEATHS, AS WELL AS THE PERSECUTION AND INTIMIDATION OF PERSONS AND INSTITUTIONS ENGAGED IN TRADE UNION AND ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH;

(III) THE LIMITATIONS OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, IN PARTICULAR TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, AS WELL AS THE EXTREME POVERTY AND LACK OF PROTECTION, TOGETHER WITH THE THREAT TO INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS OF LOSING THEIR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY;

3. ONCE MORE STRONGLY URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01825 02 OF 03 231610Z

WITH THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING CONCRETE STEPS:

(A) PUT AN END TO THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, UNDER WHICH CONTINUED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OCCUR AND RESTORE THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FORMERLY ENJOYED BY THE CHILEAN PEOPLE;

(B) ENSURE AN IMMEDIATE END TO TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT AND PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH PRACTICES;

(C) RESTORE THE FULL ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, ALLOWING THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND FULLY RESPECTING THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, INFORMATION, ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION, INCLUDING TRADE UNION AND ACADEMIC FREEDOMS;

(D) ENSURE THE JUICIARY THE EMPLOY OF ITS POWERS, ENABLING IT TO FULFILL THOROUGHLY AND WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS ITS DUTY TO PROTECT DETAINEES, IN PARTICULAR UNDER HABEAS CORPUS AND AMPARO;

(E) ALLOW CHILEAN CITIZENS FREELY TO ENTER AND LEAVE AND TO LIVE IN THE COUNTRY, AND RESTORE CHILEAN NATIONALITY TO PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF IT FOR POLITICAL REASONS;

(F) RESPECT THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01825 02 OF 03 231610Z

RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION IN GENERAL, AND OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION IN PARTICULAR;

- (G) ABANDON THE PRACTICE OF BANISHMENTS APPLIED TO THEIR OWN NATIONALS, A PRACTICE WHICH AMOUNTS TO FORCED EXILE AND WHICH OFTEN RESULTS IN THE DISINTEGRATION OF FAMILIES;

4. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN AT THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED, WHICH CONTINUES TO BE A GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS;

5. ONCE MORE URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO INFORM RELATIVES OF THE OUTCOME AND TO INSTITUTE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEARANCES;

6. CALLS UPON THE CHILEAN JUDICIARY TO EMPLOY FULLY AND WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS ITS POWER UNDER HABEAS CORPUS AND AMPARO IN ORDER TO PROTECT INDIVIDUALS FROM ARBITRARY ARREST AND DETENTION THEREBY PREVENTING CASES OF DISAPPEARANCES, TORTURE AND OTHER INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT;

7. AGAIN URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO CO-0PERATE FULLY WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR;

8. CONCLUDES, ON THE BAIS OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, THAT ITS CONTINUED VIGILANCE IN RESPECT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE IS WARRANTED;

9. DECIDES TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 01825 02 OF 03 231610Z

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Case Number: s199900006

PAGE 01 GENEVA 01825 03 OF 03 231610Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	COMP-01	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-07
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03
	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-07	PA-02	ED-04	OMB-01	STR-10
	SIL-01	INRE-00	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/152 W	

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4627
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 01825

RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR AND REQUEST HIM TO
REPORT ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SITUATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AT ITS THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION AND TO THE COMMISSION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHT SESSION;

10. RECOMMENDS TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE
FINANICAL RESOURCES AND STAFF FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION;

11. DECIDES TO CONSIDER AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHT SESSION
AS A MATTER OF HIGH PRIORITY THE QUESTION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE. HELMAN

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01969 01 OF 02 251904Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	AF-10
	CIAE-00	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	NSCE-00	ARA-16
	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	TRSE-00	PM-07	PA-01	INRE-00
	RP-10	ICAE-00	SP-02	SR-04	SPRS-02	/135 W	

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O 251846Z FEB 81
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4736
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 0196

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/26/87 (HELMAN, GERALD B.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, UNHRC, CI
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: CHILE

REF: STATE 46074

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AT WEOG MEETING AM FEBRUARY 25, USDEL PRESENTED U.S. POSITION ON AGENDA ITEM 5, HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AS CONTAINED REFTEL.

3. FIRST COMMENT WAS MADE BY NETHERLANDS REP (VAN DER STOEL) WHO HAS BEEN PLAYING A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN WEOG ON CHILE ISSUE. VAN DER STOEL WAS EMPHATIC IN HIS DISAGREEMENT WITH U.S. POSITION, ARGUING THAT NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO END THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR BECAUSE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE HAS NOT IMPROVED SINCE THE HRC LAST CONSIDERED THE MATTER. VAN DER STOEL FURTHER OBJECTED TO THE SUGGESTION THAT THE CHILE CASE BE CONSIDERED UNDER THE 1503 PROCEDURES. HE SAID IF THE CASE WERE TO BE MOVED TO THE 1503 PROCEDURES, THE HRC WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01969 01 OF 02 251904Z

REDUCED TO PUTTING QUESTIONS BEHIND CLOSED DOORS TO THE CHILEAN REPRESENTATIVE. SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD BE COMPLETELY INEFFECTIVE SINCE ONLY THROUGH PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS IS THE HRC ABLE TO EXERT PRESSURE FOR CHANGE IN SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS. VAN DER STOEL SAID THAT HE WAS MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH THE DELEGATION OF MEXICO WHICH,

TOGETHER WITH THE DELEGATIONS OF ALGERIA, CUBA, AND YUGOSLAVIA, HAD ALREADY TABLED A DRAFT RESOLUTION (TEXT GENEVA 1825). VAN DER STOEL HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED TO THINK THAT THE MEXICAN DELEGATION WOULD BE REVISING THE DRAFT SO AS TO MODERATE ITS PROVISIONS. HE SAID HE WOULD BE REPORTING FURTHER TO THE GROUP ON THE RESULTS OF HIS EFFORTS.

4. VAN DER STOEL'S POSITION WAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF AUSTRALIA AND DENMARK, BOTH OF WHOM ARGUED THAT THE CHILE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HAS NOT SHOWN IMPROVEMENT AND WHAT WAS STILL NEEDED WAS THE EXPOSURE OF THE SITUATION TO THE GLARE OF PUBLICITY THROUGH PUBLIC DEBATE AND ACTION BY THE HRC.

5. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE AGREED WITH THE U.S. POSITION THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO TERMINATE THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, BUT HE FELT THAT FURTHER MEASURES SUCH AS MOVING THE CASE TO THE 1503 PROCEDURES WOULD NOT NOW BE WARRANTED. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF GREECE EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH THE U.S. ARGUMENTS CONCERNING THE SINGULARITY OF THE TREATMENT OF CHILE, BUT HE FELT THAT TO FOLLOW THE POSITION FAVORED BY THE U.S. AT THIS TIME IN THE FACE OF THE LACK OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE WOULD SET A BAD PRECEDENT.

6. SUMMING UP WHAT APPEARED TO HIM TO BE THE GENERAL MOOD OF THE GROUP, THE WEOG CHAIRMAN LORD COLVILLE (UK REP)
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01969 01 OF 02 251904Z

OBSERVED THAT WHILE EVERYONE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE TERMINATION OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S MANDATE, THIS COULD ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED WHEN THE GROUP WAS SATISFIED THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE WAS SUFFICIENTLY IMPROVED. HE SUGGESTED THAT TO ACCOMPLISH THIS OBJECTIVE THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE ABLE TO ASSIST BY PUTTING EXTRA PRESSURE ON THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES.

7. USREP NOVAK THANKED THE GROUP FOR THE FRANK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND EXPRESSED HIS REGRET THAT THE THREE SPECIFIC ARGUMENTS PUT FORWARD BY THE USDEL HAD NOT BEEN DEALT WITH DIRECTLY. NOVAK STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE USG ATTACHES TO MOVING TO A LESS DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF THE CHILE CASE IN COMPARISON TO OTHER CASES WHICH FEATURED EVEN GRAVER HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS. HE NOTED THAT IN THE CASE OF CHILE THERE WAS A TRADITION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND OBSERVANCE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH NEEDED TO BE ENCOURAGED. THE CONSTANT EXERCISE OF PRESSURE THROUGH THE ADOPTION OF HRC RESOLUTIONS COULD BE COUNTER-

PRODUCTIVE AND FORCE THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO ADOPT EVEN HARDER POSITIONS.
8. IN CLOSING THE DISCUSSION THE WEOG CHAIRMAN ASKED THAT THE NETHERLANDS REP CONTINUE TO CONSULT WITH THE MEXICAN REP WITH A VIEW TO FINDING A RESOLUTION TEXT THAT WOULD ATTRACT WIDESPREAD WEO SUPPORT. HE EXPRESSED THE THANKS OF THE GROUP FOR THE EFFORTS WHICH WERE BEING CARRIED ON BY THE NETHERLANDS REP WITH A VIEW TO ACHIEVING MODIFICATIONS IN THE ORIGINAL MEXICAN DRAFT. LORD COLVILLE STRESSED THAT THE INTENTION OF THE GROUP WAS TO FIND A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

9. COMMENT: USDEL HAD EARLIER BEEN INFORMED PRIVATELY

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01969 02 OF 02 251904Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	AF-10
	CIAE-00	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	NSCE-00	ARA-16
	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	TRSE-00	PM-07	PA-01	INRE-00
	RP-10	ICAE-00	SP-02	SR-04	SPRS-02	/135 W	

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4737
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O ~~N F I D E N T~~ I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 01969

THAT THE FRG POSITION WAS ALSO TO OPPOSE EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR. A MEMBER OF THE FRG DELEGATION INFORMED USDEL THAT THE FRG HAD NOT JOINED IN THE DISCUSSION AT THE WEOG MEETING BECAUSE THE DELEGATION HAD ASKED FOR A CHANGE IN ITS INSTRUCTIONS TO ALLOW IT TO VOTE FOR A RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR A ONE-YEAR EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE. HELMAN

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Cummins Engine Company, Inc.

Columbus, Indiana 47201 Telephone: 812 372 7211

February 27, 1981

Mr. William B. Robinson
Director
Office of Munitions Control
Department of State
1701 North Fort Myer Drive
Room 800
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Robinson:

On behalf of Cummins Engine Company, Inc. we file herewith Comments on the Proposed Revision of the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) published in the December 19, 1980 Federal Register (45 F.R., No. 246, at pp. 83970 et seq.)

Sincerely,

R. K. Rawlins by dfm

R. K. Rawlins
Director - Defense
Products

[Enclosure]

By Hand

COMMENTS OF CUMMINS ENGINE COMPANY, INC.
Proposed Revision of the
International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR)
published in the December 19, 1980 Federal Register
(45 F.R., No. 246, at pp. 83970 et seq.)

Cummins Engine Company, Inc., an Indiana corporation having its principal place of business at 1000 Fifth Street, Columbus, Indiana (hereinafter "Cummins") hereby submits its comments on the Proposed Revision of the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) published in the December 19, 1980 Federal Register (45 F.R., No. 246, at pp. 83970 et seq.)

Cummins manufactures and sells high-speed, heavy-duty diesel engines in the 140 to 1600 horsepower range and spare parts for these engines to original equipment manufacturers and distributors on a worldwide basis. In 1980, almost seventy-five percent of CUMMINS' sales were made to commercial truck manufacturers principally in the U.S., United Kingdom, Europe, Mexico and Australia. Approximately twenty-five percent of Cummins' 1980 sales were made to the commercial industrial and construction market for end-use application in marine units, generator sets, rail and locomotive units, stationary power units, agricultural machinery and all types of construction and mining equipment.

Virtually all of Cummins' engine production is sold to the commercial market. A very small part of our standard commercial production does undergo modification for the purpose of those military applications subject to control under ITAR. However, we know that these are modifications of commercial engines and parts, not separate product lines. They are produced in the same plants and on the same assembly lines as are all our products intended for the commercial market.

For example, the U.S. Army's new M2 Infantry Fighting Vehicle is powered by a modified commercial Cummins engine built in the same plant and on the same assembly line with commercial engines. The majority of parts used in its manufacture are common to the commercial versions. Because the few specifically designed parts which adapt this engine to the military vehicle are also designed and manufactured in the commercial facility, identification of the parts and technical data requiring control pose special problems for Cummins and other commercial engine manufacturers who follow similar procedures. We can think of no other items of "significant military equipment" on the U.S. Munitions List which are actually built in mixed process with commercial items out of predominently commercial parts.

We believe it is important to emphasize that in Cummins' case most of the modifications to the standard commercial engine for military applications involve no changes to the basic engine but rather involve relatively superficial modifications which are, for the most part, directed at changes outside the basic engine configuration. These modifications relate for the most part to the need to mount the engine in more confined or unusual locations. These modifications are in no way related to the special design characteristics which are common to traditional military engines. For example, engines specially designed for military application do not use normal commercial alloys because of the importance of weight, are generally air cooled and generally have external oil lines. Cummins' modifications bear no relationship whatsoever to these traditional military design features. The subject Cummins' engine is still water cooled, is made of normal commercial alloys and contains the conventional commercial lubricating system. The modifications which might be made affect none of these features and would typically consist of:

(a) reduction of depth of oil pans;

(b) changing angular orientation of the engine;

(c) relocation of turbochargers (e.g., from top to side);

(d) modifying manifold piping; and,

(e) adjustments for additional horsepower on the ordinary commercial production line.

We would note that this practice of modifying standard commercial engines does provide economic benefits to the United States military when Cummins' standard commercial, slightly modified engines are selected for military applications. Engineering and manufacturing modifications of existing, proven commercial engines eliminate many product development and manufacturing costs that would otherwise be incurred to develop, tool and produce a separate diesel engine solely for military application.

For the above reasons, in promulgating revisions to ITAR, Cummins requests your careful consideration of the special problems in defining technical data and parts subject to ITAR control in a manufacturing situation such as ours. In view of the foregoing, we believe that the public purposes underlying ITAR can be fully achieved while at the same time taking into account our manufacturing practices and the economic benefits they offer to our military and to the taxpayers.

Before commenting on the specific portions of the proposed revisions to ITAR, we would like you to consider a policy issue. We would urge that minor modifications to standard commercial products and the related application engineering should not cause either the product or the technical data generated by the application engineering to come within the scope of ITAR. We stand ready and able to work with the Department in an effort to define the meaning of "minor" modifications. Should the Department disagree with this concept, then Cummins urges that, at the very least, ITAR should make clear that ITAR covers only the technical data which is essential to the creation of the defense articles and, further, that ITAR covers only those components, accessories, attachments and parts which are useable exclusively in defense articles.

We suggest that this approach would be consistent with the purposes of ITAR and the International Security Development Cooperation Act of 1980 (P.L. 96-533) the philosophy of which is removal of items from the Munitions List. While we recognize that section 108(a) of that Act does contemplate that items specially designed, modified, or adapted for military use would not be removed from the Munitions List, we submit that "minor" modificatons should be excluded from the scope of section 108(a). We would further note that removal of the regulatory burden for the products and data which is the subject of this filing would advance the congressional mandate expressed in the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1980 (P.L. 96-511).

Addressing ourselves to the specific ITAR modifications, Cummins proposes the following:

1. There should be a specific provision in the regulations to the effect that "dual-use" items (end-items, parts and components useable interchangeably, without modification, for both military and commercial applications) and related technical data are outside the scope of ITAR. An appropriate modification should be made to proposed section 121.1.

2. In addition, the regulations should provide some benchmark below which items would not be deemed to be "specifically designed or modified" for defense articles (e.g., see proposed section 121.1 (Category VII, subparagrph (g)). Cummins stands ready and willing to work with the

Department to specifically define those design or modification functions which would be deemed sufficiently minor as to cause the end product and related technical data (the "application engineering" therefor) to fall outside the scope of ITAR. Cummins would also note that under the proposed regulations not only would standard commercial engines modified for military application be deemed defense articles within the scope of section 121.21, but also, such engines would be considered "significant military equipment" as defined in section 121.123 and, hence, would be subject to even more stringent restrictions. We submit that this would be a classic case of "overkill" and urge that if the Department were unwilling to remove these items from within the definition of "defense articles" then, at the very least, they should not be deemed to be significant military equipment.

3. If the proposal set forth in paragraph 2 above were for any reason deemed unacceptable by the Department then, at a minimum, consistent with the mandate of P.L. 96-511, the Department should adopt a procedure for "blanket" licensing for exportation to designated countries of these items which consist of no more than minor modificatons to standard commercial products. We are aware of the fact that the Department views favorably license applications for exportations to NATO countries and Australia, New Zealand and Japan and we would urge that a procedure be adopted whereby exportations of these basic commercial products to these and other friendly countries be permitted under such a blanket authorization (with restrictions on re-exportations to other destinations).

4. Technical Data -- Too broad a reading of the proposed ITAR revisions could necessitate export controls on entire engine families and business processes which are, in fact, essentially commercial operations. For example, a broad reading of "relating directly to" in Section 121.315(a) could conceivably control technical data on basic designs and processes developed for commercial application which have simply been incorporated into an engine modified in other ways for military application. (For instance, in the case of a commercial engine adapted for military use through special components and application engineering, too broad a reading of Section 121.315 might suggest that the original design for commercial application is controlled.) The impact on Cummins of this broad reading would be exceedingly costly, necessitating munitions export controls on many of our commercial engines.

But we believe a more specific and restrictive interpretation would be beneficial. The purpose of the proposed regulations is not extensive and irrelevant control of engines and parts unrelated to military application, but prevention of the exportation, production or reproduction of Munitions List items by persons not authorized to do so by the U.S. Government. This control is accomplished, in Cummins' case, by the following:

a. The engine product ready for its intended military use (i.e. the modified engine, not the basic commercial model).

b. Parts, components and accessories specifically designed to modify the engine for military use (i.e. the parts which transform a commercial engine into one suitable for military application).

c. The unique technical data essential for specifically designed items and the modified engines which include them (thus, for example, drawings essential for such special parts would be controlled, but not drawings for standard commercial off-the-shelf items).

We would therefore suggest the following language changes for purposes of clarification:

Section 121.315, page 83976

Change the definition of "technical data" from "unclassified information not in the public domain relating directly to"

to "unclassified information not in the public domain and essential to the creation of"

A similar change is required in Section 121.1, Category XVIII (page 83973).

5. There is included within the definition of "defense articles" as used in section 121.1, specially designed or modified components, parts, accessories, attachments and associated equipment (see, for example, section 121.1, Category VIII). In Cummins' case a not uncommon

"modification" would involve bending an ordinary commercial piece of tubing pipe somewhat differently in order to accommodate different space considerations involved in the military application. It is obviously important that this piece of tubing and similar commercial parts not be deemed to be a "defense article" before they are modified for the military application. In order to accomplish this purpose it is suggested that section 121.26 be changed to make clear that the regulations cover only those "end-items, components, accessories, attachments and parts" which are usable exclusively in "defense articles" as defined in the regulations.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02043 271430Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	OIC-02
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-07	NSCE-00
	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	CSCE-04	TRSE-00	PM-07
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4800
INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS GENEVA 02043

MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, UNHRC, CI
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RESULTS OF VOTE ON
- DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE (E/CN.4/L.1566) AND ON
- FRG-PROPOSED AMENDMENTS (ITEM 5)

REF: (A) GENEVA 1963, (B) STATE 48621

1. AT FEBRUARY 26 MORNING SESSION, HRC PASSED DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE (L.1566) AFTER REJECTING ALL AMENDMENTS. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 9, VOTED ON SEPARATELY, ALSO PASSED. RESULTS, KEYED TO TICKED SUB-PARAGRAPHS OF PARAGRAPH ONE REF A, ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. AMENDMENT TO FOURTH PREAMBULAR PARA: FOR-13(US, WEOG, URUGUAY, FIJI, CYPRUS), AGAINST-17, ABSTAIN-12

B. AMENDMENT TO FIFTH PREAMBULAR PARA: FOR-15(US, WEOG, URUGUAY, PANAMA, COSTA RICA, FIJI, ZAMBIA), AGAINST-16, UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 GENEVA 02043 271430Z

ABSTAIN-12

C. AMENDMENT TO EIGHTH PREAMBULAR PARA: WITHDRAWN BY SPONSOR

D. AMENDMENT TO OPERATIVE PARA 2: FOR-13(WEOG, CYPRUS,

FIJI, PANAMA), AGAINST-18, ABSTAIN-12(US)

E. AMENDMENT TO OPERATIVE PARA 3: FOR-15(SAME AS ABOVE PLUS MOROCCO, COSTA RICA), AGAINST-18, ABSTAIN-10(US)
F. AMENDMENT TO OPERATIVE PARA 11: FOR-12(US, WEOG, CYPRUS, URUGUAY), AGAINST-19, ABSTAIN-12

G. OPERATIVE PARA 9: FOR-30, AGAINST-3(US, BRAZIL, URUGUAY), ABSTAIN-10

2. ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION AS A WHOLE, THE VOTE WAS: FOR-22(NETHERLANDS, DENMARK, GREECE), AGAINST-4(US, BRAZIL, URUGUAY, ARGENTINA), ABSTAIN-17(AUSTRALIA, BURUNDI, CANADA, COSTA RICA, CYPRUS, FIJI, FRANCE, FRG, JORDAN, MOROCCO, NIGERIA, PAKISTAN, PANAMA, PERU, PHILIPPINES, UK, ZAIRE)

3. USDEL GAVE NO EXPLANATION OF VOTE SINCE ALL POINTS HAD BEEN THOROUGHLY COVERED IN USDEL STATEMENT DELIVERED AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING.

4. AT EVENING SESSION ON FEBRUARY 25, MEXICO, SYRIA, USSR, AND CUBA HAD ATTEMPTED TO FORCE AN IMMEDIATE VOTE ON FRG AMENDMENTS, WHICH HAD JUST BEEN TABLED. DENMARK AND AUSTRALIA ADKED FOR DELAY TO PERMIT DELEGATIONS TO CONSIDER FRG PROPOSALS CAREFULLY. FRG FINALLY MOVED ADJOURNMENT UNTIL FEBRUARY 26. MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT PASSED 22-15-4.
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 02043 271430Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01200 01 OF 03 021919Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
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SPRS-02 /058 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO AMEMBASSYPAAMA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9687
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USICA WASHDC

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release N Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1200

JOINT STATE/USICA

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, AR
SUBJ: GENRAL WALTERS' STATEMENT TO THE PRESS UPON DEPARTURE

1. FOLLOWING IS UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF GENERAL WALTERS' STATEMENT TO AND Q & A WITH THE LOCAL PRESS UPON DEPARTURE AT 2300 HOURS FEBRUARY 27, 1981. THIS TRANSLATION HAS NOT BEEN CLEAREE WITH GENERAL WALTERS.

STATEMENT: FIRST, I CAME TO CHILE AS PART OF A PROGRAM OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE MAJOR COUNTRIES OF SOUTHAMERICA AS DETERMINED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN, WHO CONSIDERS IT HIGHLY IMPORTANT THAT WE KEEP INFORMED OUR FRIENDS, OUR ALIES AND THOSE WHO HAVE COMMON INTERESTS WITH US. I CAME HERE A
HAD
THE HONER TO BE RECEIVED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT, AND BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER. MY PRINCIPAL MISSION IN COMING TO

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01200 01 OF 03 021919Z

CHILE WAS TO INFORM OUR HEMISPHERIC NEIGHBORS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN EL SALVADOR WHICH CONCERN US VERY MUCH. WE HAVE EVIDENCE THATALLOWS US TO SEE VERY CLEARLY THAT THERE IS INTERFERENCE FROM OUTSIDE THIS HEMISPHERE IN THE INSURRECTION IN EL SALVADOR. MY MISSION WAS TO INFORM THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE I WENT, OF CERTAIN DOCUMENTS AND TO DEMONSTRATE TO AUTHORITIES THERE THE

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REASONS WHY WE ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THAT COUNTRY. THE UNITED STATES IN NOT WILLING TO ALLOW FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO OVERTHROW ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENTS IN THIS HEMISPHERE BY FORCE. AND IT WAS WITH THIS IDEA THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE SENT ME ON THIS TRIP, WHICH BROUGHT ME TO THE MAJOR COUNTRIES OF THE CONTINENT, TO MAKE THIS INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THESE COUTRIES. I WAS VERY WELL RECEIVED BY THE AUTHORITIES HERE ALONG WITH MY OLD FRIEND, GEORGE LANDAU, A FRIEND OF MANY YEARS, WHO REPRESENTS MY COUNTRY SO WELL IN YOUR OWN. I MET THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE 25 YEARS AGO, SO I WAS NOT RECEIVED BY SOMEONE I DID NOT KNOW. I HAD MET HIM AND HAD SEEN HIM VARIOUS TIMES IN THE INTERIM SINCE THE FIRST TIME I MET HIM ECUADOR,HE BEING A MAJOR IN THE CHILEAN MISSION AND I BEING A LIEUTENANTCOLONEL.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
Q: GENERAL, HOW IS THE UNITED STATES GOING TO RESPOND TO THE FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR?
A. WELL, WE ARE ABOVE ALL TRYING TO REACH A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR. AS I SAID BEFORE, AS ON OLD SOLDIER, I CONSIDER THAT MILITARY SOLUTIONS ARETEMPORARY EXCEPT IN EASTERN EUROPE WHERE THEY ARE PERMANENT. YOU ONLY HAVE TO ASK THE POLES OR THE HUNGARIANS THAT. ATLEAST THERE THEY ARE FINAL.
Q: DOES THE FACT THAT YOU VISITED ARGENTINA AND CHILE SIGNIFY A CHANGE INU.S. FOREIGN POLICY?
A: YES, Y WOULD SAY SO.I WOULD SAY THAT WE HAVE A PERHAPS DISTINCT VIEW FROM THAT OF THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION; BUT,
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01200 01 OF 03 021919Z

IN WHAT WAY, WE ARE GONG TO SEE AS THINGS DEVELOP.
Q: IS CUBA IMPLICATED IN THE SHIPMENTS OF ARMS TO THE SALVA-DOREAN GUERRILLAS?
A: YES, CUBA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.
Q: DOES THE UNITED STATES SUPPORT THE CREATION OF....
A: CUBA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF THIS HEMISPHRE. NOT ONLY CUBA. NOT ONLY CUBA, IT'S OTHER COUNTRIES FURTHER AWAY, EUROPEAN, AFRICAN, ASIAN. COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.
Q: IN CENTRAL AMERICAN, INCLUDING NICARAGUA ALSO?
A: WELL YES, INCLUDING NICARAGUA.
Q: WILL THE UNITED STATES SEND MILITARY ADVISERS TO EL SALVADOR?
A: WILL THEUNITED STATES DO WHAT?
1: SEND MILITARY ADVISERS TO EL SALVADOR?
A: WELL I DON'T KNOW WHAT WE ARE GOING TO SEND,BUT I THINK WE ARE GOING TO MAKE A GREAT EFFORT TO SEE THAT THE SOLUTION BE PEACEFUL AND THAT FORCE NOT BE USED THERE. WITHOUT MILITARY FORCE, WE HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING THE PRICE PRETTY HIGT FOR THOSE WHO ARE INTERFERING IN EL SALVADOR. WE HOPE THAT ACERTAIN POINT THEY ARE GOING TO JUDGE THE PRICE TOO HIGH

AND ARE GOING TO STOP WHAT THEY ARE DOING.
Q: GENERAL, INFORMATION COMING FROM WASHINGTON INDICATES THAT TODAY, SPECIFICALLY, AN AMERICAN NAVAL GROUP IS BEING SENT AS ADVSIER TO EL SALVADOR. ARE YOU AWARE OF THIS?
A: NO. I HAVE NO INFORMATION ABOUT THAT. I LEFT WASHINGTON TEN DAYS AGO, BUT IT SEEMETO ME THAT THE DANGER OF EL SALVADOR IS NOT SO MUCH A NAVAL ONE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE DANGER IS IN.....
Q: AN ANALYSIS IN WASHINGTON SAID TODAY THAT THE COUNTRY WHICH HAS RECEIVED YOU BEST IS CHILE, AND THAT THE OTHER COUNTRIES VISITED HAVE NOT RECEIVEDYOU IN THE SAME WAY. THIS ANALYSIS ALSO SAYS THAT YOUR TRIP HAS BEEN A FALURE. WHAT DO YOU HAVE TO SAY TO THAT?

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01200 02 OF 03 021915Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PM-09 PA-02 INRE-00 SP-02
SPRS-02 /058 W
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O 021612Z MAR 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9688
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USICA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1200

JOINT STATE/USICA

A: I HAVE NOT HAD A SENSE OF IT BEING, OF MY TRIP BEING, A FAILURE. BUT I AM NOT VERY OBJECTIVE ABOUT THIS. IN ALL THE COUNTRIES THAT I HAVE VISITED I HAVE BEN VERY WELL RECEIVED, BECAUSE THE ESSENTIAL THING TO REMEMBER ABOUT MY MISSION IS THAT I DIDN'T COME TO ASK ANYONE FOR ANYTHING. I CAME ONLY TO INFORM. AND WHEN ONE INFORMS, IT'S VERY DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO BE RECEIVED BADLY. I HAVE NOT HAD THE SENSE OF BEING RECEIVED BADLY BY ANYONE.
Q: IS THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTING THE CREATION OF A LATIN AMERICAN MILITARY FORCE IN THE STYLE OF NATO?
A: THAT IS MUCH FURTER DOWN THE ROAD. FOR THE MOMENT, WE ARE TRYING TO REACH A PEACEFUL SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE BY DEMOCRATIC

FORCES IN EL SALVADOR.
Q: HAS YOUR COUTRY CONSIDERED THE POSSIBILITY OF A NAVAL BLOCKAGE TO SOLVE THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PROBLEM?
A: I DON'T HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF THAT BUT I THINK THAT MY COUNTRY IS CONSIDERING ALL CONCEIVABLE POSSIBILITIES.... THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT IT IS GOING TO DO SO.
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01200 02 OF 03 021915Z

Q: GENERAL, WHAT WAS THE REACTION OF THOSE COUNTRIES THAT YOU VISITED? WHAT WAS THEIR RESPONSE TO THE INFORMATION?
A: I HAVE BEEN RECEIVED VERY COURTEOUSLY IN ALL THOSE COUNTRIES. AND AS I DIDN'T ASK FOR ANYTHING, MY RECEPTION WAS VERY .....
Q.: MEXICO?
A: I AM HAPPY. KEEPING IN MIND THE DIFFERENCES OF EACH COUNTRY, I AM VERY CONTENT IN THE WAY IN WHICH I WAS RECEIVED IN ALL THOSE COUNTRIES. WE UNDERSTAND PERFECTLY WELL THAT THERE ARE MANY COUNTRIES WHICH DO NOT AGREE WITH US ON ALL POINTS, AND WITHIN OUR SYSTEM THAT'S PERFECTLY ACCEPTABLE. I DIDN'T COME TO REQUEST ACTION ON YOUR PART. I CAME TO TALK ABOUT THE EVIDENCE THAT WE HAVE.
Q: DO YOU BELIEVE THAT YOU SUCCEDED IN CONVINCING GOVERNMENTS WITH THE INFORMATION THAT YOU BROUGHT ABOUT THE DANGER?
A: WELL, ONLY THE GOVERNMENTS TO WHOM I BROUGHT THE INFORMATION CAN JUDGE AND MAKE THEIR DECISIONS.
Q: YOU MET TODAY WITH THE INTENDENTE OF VALPARAISO, REAR ADMIRAL RAUL LOPEZ SILVA. DID YOU DISCUSS THE RENEWAL OF OPRATION UNITAS?
A: NO. THE VISIT TO VALPARAISO WAS FOR TOURISM. I KNEW IT BEFORE.... AND FOR THAT REASON I WANTED TO RETURN TO VALPARAISO AND VINA DEL MAR.
Q: DID YOU SPEAK ABOUT BILATERAL AFFAIRS, ESPECIALLY THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS AGAINST CHILE? DID YOU SPEAK WITH THE PRESIDENT, WITH THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS?
A: IT WOULD BE MORE APPROPRIATE FOR THE PRESDIENT TO SAY, AND NOT ME, WIHAT I DISCUSSED WITH THE PRESIDENT. I AM A GUEST IN THIS COUNTRY AND IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO SPEAK ABOUT THAT.
Q: BUT YOUR OPINION WITH RESPECT TO THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS BY THE UNITED STATES?
A: WELL, THAT IS A DECISON OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE ALREADY MADE CERTAIN DECISIONS. YOU WILL CERTAINLY HAVE
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01200 02 OF 03 021915Z

READ THE SPEECH OF MR. NOVAK IN GENEVA AND YOU BETTER ABLE TO JUDGE THE DIRECTION OF AMERICAN POLICY THAN I.
Q: THE $30 MILLION IN ARMS THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN ANNOUNCED

HE IS SENDING TO EL SALVADOR?
A: UP TO THE 17 OF JANURAY OF THIS YEAR THE UNITED STTES HAD NOT OFFERED ANY MILIATRY AID TO THE SALVADOREAN GOVERNMENT SINCE 1977. THESE DECISIONS COULD HAVE BEEN TAKEN SINCE MY DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON, SO I AM NOT UP TO DATE ON THOSE FIGURES WHICH YOU MENTION. I LEFT WASHINGTON TEN DAYS AGO. BUT I EMPHASIZE THAT DURING TH THREE YEARS BEFORE JANUARY 17, 1981, WE DID NOT OFFER ANY MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR.
Q: GENERAL, HOW WOULD THE UNITED STATES REACT TO THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN AND AN EVENTUAL INVASION OF POLAND?
A: WELL, WE OPPOSE ALL INVASIONS OF ONE COUNTRY BY ANOTHER, AND YOU KNOW WHAT I AM SAYING BECAUSE THE SOVIETS INVADED AFGHANISTAN. AND THE CUBANS ARE BUSY IN OTHER PLACES.
Q: WILL THE NEW POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD CENTRAL AMERICA CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING A SOUTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION?
A: WELL, I HAVE HEARD DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS FOR MANY YEARS, BUT I HAVE NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT THAT. MY MISSION, AND I REPEAT ... MY MISSION HERE IS TO INFORM THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT ABOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN EL SALVADOR. I HAVE NO OTHER MISSION, EXCEPT TO GIVE YOU PERSONAL OPINIONS AND NOTHING MORE.
Q: ARE YOU GOING TO CONTINUE THIS KIND OF TRIP IN LATIN AMERICA?
A: I AM ALMOST AT THE END OF THE TRIP AND I AM RETURNING TO THE UNITED STATES.
Q: WHAT IS YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH GENERAL CONTRERAS?
A: I MET GENERAL CONTRERAS WHEN HE CAME TO WASHINGTON. NO, I MET HIM WHEN I CAME TO CHILE SOME YEARS AGO. HE CAME TO WASHINGTON AS DO ALL CHIEFS OF INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. I WAS WITH HIM ON TWO OCCASIONS THERE. SINCE THEN I HAVE NOT SEEN HIM. SINCE I SPEAK MANY LANGUAGES ALMOST ALWAYS WHEN AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE CHIEF CAME, I HAD CONTACT WITH HIM.
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 01200 02 OF 03 021915Z

Q: IN WHAT YEAR WAS THAT?
A: IT WAS IN 1975 WHEN I SAW HIM THE FIRST TIME.
Q: THE OTHER TIMES?
A: THE OTHER TIME .... SINCE 1975 I HAVE NOT SEEN HIM AGAIN.
Q: IS THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE LETELIER CASE GOING TO CHANGE?
A: THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES ON GOVERNMENT ON WHAT SENSE?

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01200 03 OF 03 021908Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PM-09 PA-02 INRE-00 SP-02
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9689
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USICA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1200

JOINT STATE/USICA

Q: IS THE LETELIER CASE STILL OPEN OR IS IT CLOSED?
A: WELL, I DON'T FULLY UNDERSTAND THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. THERE WAS-A MURDER IN THE UNITED STATES. THAT IS SOMETHING THAT NO SOVEREIGN COUNTRY CAN ACCEPT. WITH REGARD TO THE DETAILS OF THE CASE, I DON'T KNOW. MY NAME WAS MENTIONED IN THE CASE. I NEVER SPOKE OF A LIST WITH GENERAL CONTRERAS, AND ANY COMPILATION OF A LIST OF AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY WOULD BE AN ACT OF TREASON ON MY PART AND AS AN OLD SOLDIER AT THE END OF MY CAREER, I WOULD NOT HAVE DONE THAT. I HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE LETELIER AFFAIR, NO KNOWLEDTE BEFORE OR AFTER. MUCH HAS BEE SPOKEN ABOUT THAT, BUT WHEN THE ASSASSINATION OF AMBASSADOR LETLIER OCCURRED, I HAD BEEN RETIRED FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICE FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. CERTAIN PEOPLE DON'T HAVE THEIR FACTS STRAIGHT.
Q: GENERAL, DOE S THE LIFTING OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON CHILE BY THE UNITED STATES INCLUDE THE POSSIBLITY THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD RESUME SELLING ARMS TO CHILE?
UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01200 03 OF 03 021908Z

A: WELL, YOU KNOW THAT A LAW EXISTS, THE SO CALLED KENNEDY-HUMPHREY LAW, WHICH PROHIBITS THE SALE OF ARMS TO CHILE AND ALSO TO ARGENTINA. AND IN ORDER TO LIFT THIS, A LEGISLATIVE ACT WOULD BE NECESSARY, A VOTE BY THE CONGRESS.
Q: BUT COULD YOUR GOVERNMENT CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING A MOVE TOWARD LIFTING THIS?
A: MY GOVERNMENT COULD MAKE MANY SUGGESTIONS, BUT I HAVE BEEN AWAY FROM WASHGINTON FOR MORE THAN TEN DAYS AND I HAVEN'T KEPT UP WITH THE MATTER. IN ANY CASE, THE SALE OF ARMS

REQUIRES AN ACT OF CONGRESS.
Q: IS A MILITARY SOLUTION BY THE UNITED STATES POSSIBLE IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CRISIS?
A: WELL, I THINK PERSONALLY THAT WE WILL OBTAIN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, BUT AS AN OLD SOLDIER I DON'T THINK THAT IT'S GOOD TO ALWAYS GIVE YOUR PLANS AWAY TO YOUR ADVERSARIES. TO SAY WE ARE OR NOT GOING TO DO SOMETHING. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO FINDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION THAT ALLOWS THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE TO LIVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM.
Q: THAT IS, YOU DON'T DISCOUNT A MILITARY SOLUTION.
A: THEY ARE CALLING ME TO THE PLANE. I AM VERY SORRY. TIME'S UP. I ONLY WANT TO SAY TO ALL OF YOU THAT MY STAY IN CHILE WAS MARVELOUS AND THAT I HOPE TO RETURN TO THIS GREAT AND LOVELY COUNTRY. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01215 022031Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-15	CIAE-00	EB-08	DODE-00
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	PA-02	INRE-00	XMB-04	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/076 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9696
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 1215

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR OVIP (WALTERS, VERNON), CI
SUBJ: PRESS COVERAGE OF WALTERS VISIT

1. THE FEBRUARY 26-27 VISIT OF GENERAL WALTERS RECEIVED EXTENSIVE AND VERY FAVORABLE COVERAGE IN THE MAJOR SANTIAGO DALIES AND BROADCAST MEDIA. WHILE HIS PURPOSE OF CONSULTING ABOUT EL SALVADOR WAS CAREFULLY NOTED, MOST EDITORIAL COMMENT DREW ATTENTION TO THE BROAD POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR US-CHILEAN BILATERAL RELATIONS OF THIS FIRST HIGH-LEVEL VISIT SINCE 1977. FOR EXAMPLE, THE HIGHEST CIRCULATION DAILY "LA TERCERA" SAID THE VISIT REVEALED "A PROFOUND CHANGE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN HILE AND THE US AND PROVIDED EVIDENCE OF AN INTENT BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION TO TREAT FRIENDS AS SUCH." ACCORDING TO "LA TERCERA" THE NEW APPROACH OF "DIRECT DIALOGUE OF FRIENDLY CONSULTATIONS WILL ACHIEVE MORE AND BETTER RESULTS."

2. THE GOC-OWNED "LA NACION" PLACED THE VISIT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF RECENTLY-ANNOUNCED US DECISIONS TO LIFT EXIM BANK RESTRICTIONS AND TO INVITE CHILE TO THIS YEAR'S UNITAS
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01215 022031Z

EXERCISE, PLUS THE US STATEMENT AND VOTE ON THE CHILEAN RESOLUTION IN THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. THE PAPER PRAISED THE "REALISTIC AND PRAGMATIC" APPROACH OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, WHICH WAS RETURNING RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL ALLIES TO THEIR PROPER STATE.

3. PRESTIGIOUS "EL MERCURIO" PROVIDED PERHAPS THE CLEAREST AND MOST BALANCED VIEW OF GENERAL WALTERS' VISIT. THE EDITORIAL TOOK DUE NOTE THAT THE VISIT WAS MADE PRIMARILY TO CONSULT ON FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR AND THE DANGER SUCH INTERVENTION REPRESENTS TO THE HEMISPHERE. BEYOND THAT PURPOSE, HOWEVER, THE RECENT ACTIONS AND DECISIONS SIGNIFY "AN EXCEPTIONAL REVERSAL" IN POLICY; NO ONE IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD REFERRED TO CHILE AS A FRIEND, THE PAPER SAID. THE EDITORIAL NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS CHANGE WOULD NOT SIGNIFY A US RETREAT FROM THE PROMOTION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES BUT RATHER A DEFENSE AGAINST THREATS FROM BOTH EXTREMES OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM; ANTI-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS HENCEFORTH WOULD BE DEALT WITH THROUGH PRIVATE DIPLOMACY INSTEAD OF PUBLIC SERMONS. THE EDITORIAL CLOSED BY LINKING THE WALTERS VISIT AND RECENT USG STATEMENTS ON THE DANGERS OF TERRORISM AS PORTENTS OF THE NEW US POLICY APPROACH TOWARD LATIN AMERICA.

4. ALL MEDIA GAVE SIMILAR EXTENSIVE COVERAGE TO GENERAL WALTERS' STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS PRIOR TO HIS FEBRUARY 27 DEPARATURE FOR PANAMA, PARTICULARLY HIS EXPLANATION THAT HE HAD COME TO INFORM THE GOC, NOTT TO ASK FOR ANYTHING, AND THAT ANY RESUMPTION OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CHILE AND ARGENTINA WOULD REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO CHANGE THE LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS NOW IN EFFECT. (TEXT OF AIRPORT QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION SENT BY SANTIAO 1200.)
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U.S. Strategy in Central America

by Thomas O. Enders

Statement before the Subcommittee on Hemisphere Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on March 1, 1983. Ambassador Enders is Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs.[1]

With your permission, I should like to focus these oral remarks on our strategy in Central America. For 3 years now—and I include the last year of the previous Administration—the United States has been engaged in an effort to stop the advance of communism in Central America by doing what Americans instinctively do best—supporting democracy.

We may have started late, but we have made substantial progress. The reaffirmation of democracy in Costa Rica, the transition from military rule to elected civilian government in Honduras, and the launching of democracy in El Salvador with the successful elections last March prove that we are on the right course. Guatemala has also had time to set a new course, hand insurgents a sharp setback, limit human rights abuses, and bring into the government representatives of the highland Indian communities. Democracy, with free elections, free labor unions, freedom of religion, and respect for the integrity of the individual, is the clear choice of the overwhelming majority of Central Americans.

So the good news is that Marxist revolution is not inevitable in Central America. The bad news is that it cannot yet be ruled out. Despite its success in largely eliminating guerrilla political influence in populated areas, and despite improvements in military armaments and mobility, El Salvador's government has not yet turned the tide decisively against its armed opposition.

The military capability of the guerrillas—and I would like to stress military capability, for we are dealing not with peasant irregulars but with trained, even sometimes uniformed, military forces whose main units are as regular as if they had been conscripted into a national army—has kept progress in land reform and government moderation from being turned into the peace demanded by the people of El Salvador in last March's elections. One reason is that internal frictions and residues of past antidemocratic practices still hinder the government's ability to provide security for all Salvadorans, particularly in outlying areas. But another has been the availability of training, tactical guidance, and military supplies coming into El Salvador from Nicaragua.

You've read in the press about guerrillas recovering rifles from government soldiers, and, indeed, some have been. But tons and tons of munitions are being flown in from Nicaragua. This external lifeline has not only fueled the current guerrilla offensive; it has kept alive the conviction of the most extreme among them that power will ultimately come from the barrels of their guns. Meanwhile the continuing resolution procedure has led to a level of U.S. security assistance for El Salvador for FY 1983 far below that of FY 1982 and below that requested for FY 1984.

That is manifestly not enough, particularly not enough at this critical moment in the struggle for democracy in El Salvador. A constitution is being written, presidential elections are being prepared, and a peace commission was named yesterday with the mandate of finding ways to bring as many Salvadorans as possible into the democratic process. There is never a good time for people whose freedom is under attack to run out of ammunition. But this is assuredly one of the worst. We must allocate new resources in the immediate future to enable the Government of El Salvador to check the guerrillas and consolidate its own forward momentum.

President Reagan and the leadership of this house, including you, Mr. Chairman [Michael D. Barnes], met yesterday to start a process of consultation to develop a solution that will have broad support. Let me take a minute to develop our thinking a bit further, and in a broader context.

Strategy Components

The strategy we are following in Central America has six components.

• The first component is economic assistance to offset in some measure the combined effects of guerrilla sabotage, political uncertainty, and the world recession. Democracies can cope with austerity, but the guerrillas are betting that economic anarchy and collapse would be too much. That is what their strategy of *guerra prolongada* is all about. We must demonstrate that we, too, can persevere.

• The second component of our policy is military assistance to prevent the guerrillas in El Salvador from seizing power by force. No one thinks that the guerrillas have a big popular following. But they are capable of effective military operations. They are dangerous to hope as well as to life, property, and freedom. We must make certain that they do not prevail by default.

• The third component is political and economic reform and control of human rights abuses in El Salvador. Despite the guerrillas, a lot has been done here: 20% of the arable land redistributed, political violence reduced to perhaps a quarter of what it was, democratic institutions launched. It is critical to complete the job.

• The fourth component is the Caribbean Basin initiative. The people in the area need hope for a better economic future. The best way to do that is to assure them fair trading opportunities in the U.S. market. Passage of the full initiative is already overdue. We must act on this in the immediate future.

• The fifth component is to deter escalation. We have tried to tell Cuba and the U.S.S.R. that a very dangerous situation could arise if they were to introduce equipment or forces into Central America that could threaten neighboring countries, or us. We must work to limit the conflict and get the area out of East-West competition.

Democracy, with free elections, free labor unions, freedom of religion, and respect for the integrity of the individual, is the clear choice of the overwhelming majority of Central Americans.

• The sixth component is the search for a peaceful solution. That really has to be on a regional basis. We have made clear our support for a halt to the introduction into Central America of heavy offensive weapons. But how could you, for example, resolve the El Salvador problem as long as Nicaragua actively supports guerrilla warfare in El Salvador? And how could you get the area out of East-West competition, unless you can get the foreign military advisers—all of them—out of the area? A

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Special Project (1993)

number of democratic countries laid out these principles in San Jose in October. And now a regional peace initiative, including all the countries of Central America, is being discussed. We are interested and wish it well.

This strategy can succeed in bringing peace back to Central America. But it will do so only if three conditions are met.

Conditions To Be Met

First, our own effort must be sustained. Too often in the last few years Central Americans have oscillated between two contradictory views: one, that we will support them no matter what they do, because the struggle is important in East-West terms; and the other, that we will withhold further assistance no matter how much they reform because we are an impatient people with no stomach for a long tough struggle. Both views are wrong. Our support is not indiscriminate, but neither will we cut and run just because a situation becomes difficult.

Second, our effort must be principled. We cannot abandon our conviction that legitimate political power can only be gained through competition at the ballot box in free, open, and orderly elections. There will be no stable solution without democracy.

Third, our effort must be cooperative. We joined with Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Canada in the Caribbean Basin initiative, and with others at San Jose last October. We support a regional search for peace. Most important of all, we must listen to the Central Americans themselves and encourage them to take the lead in solving their own problems.

Major national interests of the United States are at stake. In El Salvador, if we allow a government that is reforming itself into a democracy—maybe not fast enough for our taste but, in fact, reforming—to be knocked off by guerrillas who don't have the people with them, then no government in the isthmus will be safe. Nicaragua's Cuban and Soviet-supported "revolution without frontiers" would spread. It would head south across Costa Rica, which has no army, toward the canal. It would head north, putting enormous pressure on Honduras and reviving the guerrilla war in Guatemala and moving toward the Mexican border. So the struggle would go on, but on battlefields where the stakes would be much higher.

We cannot permit that. We need a secure Panama Canal. Half our trade goes through the Caribbean. The United States could not easily accommodate the hundreds of thousands or even millions of people who would flee a disintegrating Central America. We need strong and secure neighbors.

So progress in El Salvador is key to progress in the whole region. If democracy cannot be protected and extended there, the costs of doing so elsewhere will increase precipitously.

Our strategy to prevent a Marxist-Leninist outcome in Central America is political, not military. We have encouraged a process of social, economic, and political reform as the appropriate response to the guerrilla challenge. The military component is ancillary but essential to give the other components time to succeed. It is inconsistent with the logic of a political strategy to expect instantaneous results. We have been engaged in this task but 3 years—surely a short time in the agonized history of Central America. It would be a gross irony—and one cruelly indifferent to the democratic aspirations of the people of El Salvador—to call for a fundamental shift in American policy, not when the reform effort is going badly—because it has not faltered—but when the military struggle appears not to be being "won" fast enough.

What you have in the current budget proposal is what at an earlier point in the budget process seemed needed to do the job. In dollar values, more than three-quarters of the assistance we have requested is economic, much of it in rapidly disbursable economic support funds. This emphasis on economic assistance is the right one. But we are less certain now that the amounts are enough. The immediate military resupply needs are real. This hearing and other contacts this week should help determine what is needed, where, and how to achieve the broad consensus necessary to sustain our effort.

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[1]The complete transcript of the hearings will be published by the committee and will be available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. ■

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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PARM, PEPR, GW, UR, PL

SUBJECT: AGREED BACKGROUND SUMMARY OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TALKS, WASHINGTON, MARCH 9, 1981

1. FOLLOWING PROVIDED FOR EMBASSY'S USE AS APPROPRIATE.

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PAGE 02 STATE 060661

2. AGREED BACKGROUND SUMMARY OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TALKS, WASHINGTON, MARCH 9, 1981:

-- FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER AND SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG MET ON MARCH 9, 1981, IN WASHINGTON FOR EXTENSIVE TALKS ON QUESTIONS OF COMMON INTEREST.

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-- IN THE EVALUATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, THEIR TALKS REVEALED FULL AGREEMENT ONTHEKEY ISSUES WHICH THEIR COUNTRIES JOINTLY FACE. THEY UNDERLINED THE COMMON DESTINY OF THE EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACIES. THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THEPROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.

-- THEY AGREED ON THE NEED OF INTENSIVE AND ENHANCED ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON A BILATERALAND MULTILATERAL BASIS.

-- SECRETARY HAIG AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER AGREED THAT THE CLOSE AND TRUSTING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IS AN ESSENTIAL AND RELIABLE FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND IN WESTERN SECURITY.

-- THEY CONSIDER THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS THE BASIS OF THE COMMON SECURITY OF THEIR COUNTRIES. THE STABILIZATION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE, THE MAINTENANCE AND RESTORATION, WHERE NECESSARY, OF THE MILITARY BALANCE DEPEND ON ALLIANCE COHESION. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY APPRECIATES THE GREAT EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN BY THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION FOR THE COMMON SECURITY AND

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COMMON INTEREST.

-- SECRETARY HAIG RECOGNIZED THE CRUCIAL GERMAN CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE, INCLUDING THE CONTINUING GERMAN ROLE IN MOBILIZING ESSENTIAL INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR TURKEY.

-- NATO SECURITY MUST BE BASED ON AN EQUITABLE SHARING OF THE DEFENSE BURDEN.

-- ECONOMIC STABILITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ARE PRECONDITIONS ENABLING ALLIED COUNTRIES TO MAINTAIN THEIR DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

-- FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TAKES A POSITIVE VIEW OF THE HOST-NATION-SUPPORT CONCEPT. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE SAFEGUARDING OF WESTERN INTERESTS.

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-- BOTH MINISTERS AGREED THAT MEANINGFUL AND VERIFIABLE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS ARE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF SECURITY POLICY. THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY SUPPORT BOTH TRACKS OF THE DECEMBER 12, 1979, NATO DECISION ON THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES. MINISTER GENSCHER WELCOMED SECRETARY HAIG'S ASSURANCES

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THAT THE UNITED STATES INTENDED TO CONTINUE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH ITS ALLIES ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF BOTH TRACKS OF THE DECEMBER 1979 DECISION.

-- FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER WELCOMED THE INTENTION OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROPOSE AN EARLY MEETING OF THE SPECIAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP.

-- BOTH GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT THE US-SOVIET TALKS ON THE LIMITATION OF TNF SHOULD BE CONTINUED. SOVIET

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SUPERIORITY IN THE LRTNF AREA CONTINUES TO GROW AND THEREBY CREATES A GREAT OBSTACLE TO ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT; SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR A MORATORIUM WHICH WOULD SERVE TO LEGITIMIZE THIS SUPERIORITY ARE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE.

-- SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF THE VIEW THAT A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE MUST CONSIDER CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES COVERING ALL OF EUROPE FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS, IN LINE WITH THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE, IS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT AND MAY LEAD TO PROGRESS IN THE DISCUSSIONS IN MADRID.

-- THE TWO MINISTERS SUPPORT A BALANCED OUTCOME OF THE CURRENT CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCE, INCLUDING PROGRESS ON THE IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

-- SECRETARY HAIG EXPLAINED THE ONGOING REVIEW OF US POLICY ON SALT. MINISTER GENSCHER EXPRESSED AGAIN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT FOR THE SALT PROCESS AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE MILITARY BALANCE AND WESTERN SECURITY.

-- RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION MUST BE BASED ON REALISM AND, AS EXPRESSED IN THE US-SOVIET DECLARATION OF 1972, ON MUTUAL RESTRAINT. SOVIET EFFORTS AT EXPANDING THEIR INFLUENCE AND DESTABILIZING OTHER AREAS HAVE CAST A DEEP SHADOW ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN EUROPE. THE INDIVISIBILITY OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY REQUIRES RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-USE OF FORCE, OF THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF STATES AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES. THESE PRINCIPLES ARE LAID DOWN IN

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THE UN CHARTER AND THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI.

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-- THE TWO MINISTERS HAD AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE RECENT MESSAGE OF GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER EXPRESSED A POSITIVE VIEW ON THE IDEA OF PROPERLY PREPARED US-SOVIET SUMMIT TRUSTING THAT, UNTIL SUCH A MEETING WILL COME ABOUT, NO EVENTS WILL OCCUR THAT MIGHT IMPAIR ITS PURPOSE.

-- POLAND MUST BE ALLOWED TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS PEACEFULLY AND WITHOUT EXTERNAL PRESSURE. ANY INTERVENTION WOULD FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE THEENTIRE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

-- THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WILL, WITH OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, CONSIDER FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLAND'S ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STABILITY.

-- BOTH MINISTERS AGREED THAT IT IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE THAT THE CALM SITUATION IN AND AROUND BERLIN, WHICH IS OF CRUCIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY, EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AS A WHOLE, BE MAINTAINED. SECRETARY HAIG REAFFIRMED THE INDISSOLUBLE US COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY AND WELFARE OF BERLIN.

-- BOTH MINISTERS AGREED THAT RECENT EVENTS IN SPAIN DEMONSTRATE THE STRENGTH OF SPAIN'S DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND EXPRESSED THEIR FULL CONFIDENCE IN SPAIN'S FUTURE COURSE.

-- BOTH MINISTERS SUPPORT GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION. STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN INCREASING STABILITY AND PRESERVING THEIR INDEPENDENCE. EFFEC-

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TIVE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS CAN ALSO MAKE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THESE GOALS. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER REFERRED TO THE VIENNA MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TO PREPARE THE NORTH-SOUTH SUMMIT IN MEXICO.

-- BOTH MINISTERS CONDEMN EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF NON-ALIGNED COUTNRIES, IN PARTICULAR AFGHANISTAN, WHERE THE DECISIONS OF THE 26TH SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS GAVE NO HINTS OF A WILLINGNESS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THAT CRISIS BASEDONTHE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS IN CONFORMITY WITH UN AND NON-ALIGNED RSOLUTIONS.

-- POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY OF COUNTRIES IN THE REGION IMMEDIATELY AFFECTED BY THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE INORDERTOALLOW

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THEM TO CONTINUE TO PLAY THEIR ROLE IN SOLVING THE CRISIS. SECRETARY HAIG RECOGNIZED IN PARTICULARTHE IMPORTANCE OF GERMAN ECONOMIC AID TO PAKISTAN. THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION IS STILL UNDER REVIEW.

-- ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION, WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. THE MINISTERS AGREED THAT THEIR EFFORTS ARE COMPLEMENTARY.

-- AN INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTABLE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA IS IN THE INTEREST OF STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. US POLICY IN THIS AREA IS STILL UNDER REVIEW.

-- CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA ARE A CAUSE OF GREAT CONCERN, AND THE TWO MINISTERS CONDEMN [redacted]

THE INTERFERENCE BY COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EL SALVADOR IN PARTICULAR THROUGH THE CLANDESTINE SUPPLY OF ARMS.

-- THE DECISION OF PRESIDENT DUARTE TO INSTITUTE A PROCESS LEADING TOWARD ELECTIONS AND A CONTINUATION OF REFORMS ESTABLISHING POLITICAL STABILITY THROUGH SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THAT COUNTRY SHOULD BE SUPPORTED. BOTH MINISTERS APPEALED TO THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN EL SALVADOR TO COOPERATE TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. STOESSEL

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FOLLOWING GENEVA 2601 DTG 3/12/87, SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO USUN MEXICO SAN SALVADOR THE HAGUE. BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO:

QUOTE: [redacted] GENEVA 02601

E.O. 12065: ODR 3/12/07
TAGS: UNHR, UNHRC, ES
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION ADOPTED - NEGOTIATION BACKGROUND

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. UNHRC ADOPTED AT EVENING SESSION MARCH 11 DUTCH RESOLUTION ON EL SALVADOR, AS SET FORTH BELOW, BY VOTE OF 20 FOR -1 (URUGUAY) AGAINST AND 11 (U.S., BRAZIL, PANAMA, PERU, PHILIPPINES, ARGENTINA, NIGERIA, COSTA RICA, FIJI) ABSTAINING. AFTER VOTE HAD BEEN TAKEN, ALTERNATE REP SCHIFTER DELIVERED, AS EXPLANATION OF VOTE, THE PREVIOUSLY APPROVED STATEMENT, SOMEWHAT ABBREVIATED FOR THE OCCASION. THE FULL STATEMENT, AS SET FORTH IN GENEVA'S 2601, WAS DISTRIBUTED FOLLOWING THE SESSION. SCHIFTER INTRODUCED HIS [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 067917

STATEMENT BY NOTING THAT THE ABSTENTION WAS MOTIVATED BY [redacted] UNITED STATES CONCERN OVER THE IMPLICATIONS OF OPERATIVE PARA 4, WHICH REFERRED TO AN UNSA RESOLUTION OF DECEMBER 1980. SCHIFTER NOTED THAT FINDINGS OF DECEMBER 1980, LIMITED TO "PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES," WERE SUPERSEDED BY EVIDENCE MADE PUBLIC SINCE THEN AS TO CUBAN AND OTHER SOVIET BLOC INVOLVEMENT IN ARMS SHIPMENTS TO EL SALVADOR.

3. EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE OF UK, FRG, AND AUSTRALIA MADE IT CLEAR THAT, IN VOTING FOR THE RESOLUTION, THOSE COUNTRIES UNDERSTOOD OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4 TO BE NOTHING OTHER THAN THE RECITATION OF AN HISTORICAL FACT.

4. IN REVIEWING THE PROCESS LEADING UP TO THE VOTE ON THE DUTCH RESOLUTION, NOTE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE MAJOR ROLE PLAYED BY THE MEXICAN DELEGATION IN ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF THE CUBANS. THE TEXT OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS INITIALLY PASSED AROUND BY THE MEXICAN DELEGATION. IT STRONGLY ATTACKED THE "EL SALVADOR JUNTA" AND CALLED FOR THE CESSATION OF ARMS SHIPMENTS TO EL SALVADOR. CONVERSATIONS IN THE WEO GROUP LED USDEL TO CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS MORE SYMPATHY FOR THE MEXICAN DRAFT WITHIN THAT GROUP THAN WE WOULD HAVE LIKED. WE WERE TOLD BY SEVERAL WEO DELEGATIONS THAT THEY WERE REFLECTING PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. THAT ATTITUDE CAUSED US TO ASK FOR COHEN MISSION TO STOP IN GENEVA. COHEN MISSION, THOUGH HELPFUL, DID NOT CAUSE WEOS DOUBTS ABOUT U.S. POSITION IN EL SALVADOR TO DISSIPATE.

5. IN LIGHT OF THIS SITUATION, USDEL CONTINUEDITS APPEALS TO WEOS TO UNDERSTAND MAJOR IMPORTANCE OF EL SALVADOR TO U.S. AND TO WESTERN INTERESTS. THEREAFTER, MAX VAN DER STOEL, ON BEHALF OF NETHERLANDS DEL, AGREED TO WORK ON [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 067917

DRAFT RESOLUTION AND COORDINATE WITH USDEL. DUTCH DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS SUBMITTED TO DEPARTMENT AND APPROVED. VAN DER STOEL WAS VIGOROUS AND ADROIT AND SUCCEEDED IN FILING HIS DRAFT RESOLUTION PRIOR TO THE FILING OF THE CUBAN DRAFT, WHICH WAS SPONSORED BY MEXICO, ALGERIA, AND YUGOSLAVIA.

6. EARLIER FILING OF THE DUTCH RESOLUTION MEANT THAT IT WOULD BE VOTED ON FIRST AND THAT IF IT PASSED, THE CUBAN RESOLUTION WOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED. SPONSORS OF CUBAN [redacted]

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RESOLUTION. THEREFORE, PREPARED AMENDMENTS TO DUTCH RESOLUTION AND FILED THEM FORMALLY. THEREAFTER, YUGOSLAV DELEGATE APPROACHED VAN DER STOEL TO BASE NEGOTIATION OF COMPROMISE.

7. VAN DER STOEL'S HANDLING OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS VERY IMPORTANT, PARTICULARLY TO UNDERSTAND HIS SUBSEQUENT ANNOYANCE. HE BARGAINED HARD IN REJECTING ANY SUBSTANTIVE DEMANDS WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN UNACCEPTABLE TO USDEL, LIMITING ACCOMMODATION TO WHAT WERE ESSENTIALLY CHANGES IN PHRASEOLOGY. IN DOING SO HE EVIDENTLY DID NOT REVEAL TO OTHER SIDE WHAT HE STATED TO USDEL, NAMELY THAT SOME OF THE AMENDMENTS WHICH HE WAS REJECTING IN HIS NEGOTIATIONS ON BEHALF OF ENTIRE WESTERN GROUP, INCLUDING U.S., HIS DELEGATION WOULD HAVE TO VOTE FOR IF OFFERED ON THE FLOOR OF THE COMMISSION. HE WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN JOINED IN THESE VOTES BY DENMARK AND CANADA, AND PROBABLY GREECE AND PORTUGAL. AUSTRALIA WOULD HAVE ABSTAINED. U.S. COULD BE SURE OF ONLY UK, FRG, AND FRANCE. USDEL WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED OVER VOTE ON AMENDMENT TO OPPOSE ALL PRESENT SHIPMENTS OF MILITARY SUPPLIES TO EL SALVADOR, WHICH MOST LIKELY WOULD HAVE CARRIED, WITH WEOG BADLY DIVIDED. WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT CUBA AND SOVIET BLOC WERE NOT AWARE OF THE TRUE FACTS AS TO WEOG ATTITUDES AND THUS UNDERESTIMATED THEIR VOTING STRENGTH. CUBA APPEARS FINALLY TO HAVE GIVEN IN TO STRONG PRESSURE FROM YUGOSLAVIA AND ALGERIA TO AGREE TO CONSENSUS RESOLU-

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PAGE 04 STATE 067417

TION.

8. WHEN VAN DER STOEL WAS INITIALLY INFORMED THAT U.S. WOULD NOT JOIN CONSENSUS BECAUSE OF LOCATION OF REFERENCE TO DECEMBER 1980 RESOLUTION AMONG OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS RATHER THAN PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS, HE WAS VERY ANGRY BECAUSE HE FELT HE HAD NEGOTIATED A RESOLUTION CLOSER TO U.S. POSITION THAN HIS OWN VIEW OF THE ISSUES AND BELIEVED HE HAD NOT BEEN DEALT WITH FAIRLY. HE SAID IT WAS FAR TOO LATE TO MAKE FURTHER CHANGES. USDEL WAS CONCERNED THAT IF CUBANS WERE NOW TO FIND OUT AS TO THEIR TRUE CHANCES WITH REGARD TO THEIR AMENDMENTS, THEY MIGHT OFFER THEM AFTER ALL AND WOULD PREVAIL. BUT FACT THAT VAN DER STOEL DID NOT DISCLOSE HIS PRIVATE FEELINGS TO DELEGATES OPPOSED TO U.S. POSITION, TOGETHER WITH LATENESS OF THE HOUR AND TIREDNESS OF DELEGATES CONTRIBUTED TO

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RESOLUTION BEING VOTED ON AS PRESENTED BY VAN DER STOEL, WITH ONE MINOR MEXICAN AMENDMENT ADDED THERETO. MEXICAN AMENDMENT, ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 17-1-24(US), ADDED THE WORDS "AS SOON AS APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS ARE ESTABLISHED" TO THE SIXTH OPERATIVE PARA.

9. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DUTCH RESOLUTION.
BEGIN TEXT:

THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS,

CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL,

[redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 067417

NOTING THAT ALL MEMBER STATES HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PROMOTE AND PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS,

RECALLING THAT IN ITS RESOLUTION 35/192 THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY STATED ITS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN EL SALVADOR AND REQUESTED THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXAMINE, AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION, THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT COUNTRY,

DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE CONTINUING REPORTS ABOUT MURDERS, ABDUCTIONS, DISAPPEARANCES, TERRORIST ACTS AND ALL GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN EL SALVADOR,

DEEPLY ALARMED BY THE ARMED CLASHES IN EL SALVADOR AND BY THE CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE AND INSECURITY PREVAILING IN THE COUNTRY,

MINDFUL OF THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, AS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE 3 TO THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS ON THE LAWS OF WAR (1949), WHICH ARE APPLICABLE TO ARMED CONFLICTS NOT OF AN

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INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER AND WHICH REQUIRES THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO APPLY A MINIMUM STANDARD OF PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF HUMANE TREATMENT,

1. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN AT THE GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN EL SALVADOR;

2. DEPLORES THE MURDERS, ABDUCTIONS, DISAPPEARANCES, TERRORIST ACTS AND ALL GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS REPORTED IN EL SALVADOR;

[redacted]

3. CALLS UPON ALL PARTIES TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND TO SEEK AN END TO ACTS OF VIOLENCE IN ORDER TO END THE LOSS OF LIVES AND THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR;

4. RECALLS THAT IN ITS RESOLUTION 35/192 THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLS UPON GOVERNMENTS TO REFRAIN FROM THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES;

5. URGES THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN THE COUNTRY;

6. EMPHASIZES THAT THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR HAVE THE RIGHT, AS SOON AS APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS ARE ESTABLISHED, TO ESTABLISH A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, IN AN ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM INTIMIDATION AND TERROR, AND TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FUTURE, FREE FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE;

7. REQUESTS ITS CHAIRMAN TO APPOINT, AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE BUREAU, A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMISSION WHOSE MANDATE WILL BE:

(A) TO INVESTIGATE THE REPORTS ABOUT MURDERS, ABDUCTIONS, DISAPPEARANCES, TERRORIST ACTS AND ALL GRAVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN EL SALVADOR, BASED ON INFORMATION FROM ALL RELEVANT SOURCES;

(B) TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO WHAT STEPS THE [redacted]

[redacted]

COMMISSION COULD TAKE TO HELP TO SECURE THE ENJOYMENT OF [redacted]

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS;

(C) TO REPORT ON HIS FINDINGS TO THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION;

8. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO GIVE ALL NECESSARY ASSISTANCE TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMISSION;

9. INVITES THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR AS WELL AS ALL OTHER PARTIES CONCERNED TO EXTEND THEIR COOPERATION TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMISSION;

10. REQUESTS THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMISSION TO SUBMIT AN INTERIM REPORT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION;

11. DECIDES TO CONTINUE THE EXAMINATION OF THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR WITH HIGH PRIORITY AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION.

END TEXT. HELMAN UNQUOTE HAIG

[redacted]

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR

Page
198
222
229
235
236
237
238
250

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

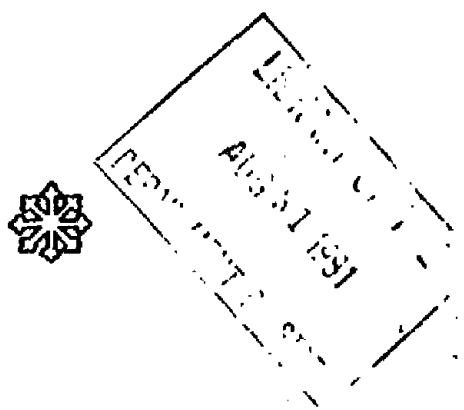
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MARCH 18 AND APRIL 9, 1981

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1981

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:30 p.m. in room 4221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Charles H. Percy (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Percy, Helms, Mathias, Pressler, Pell, Biden, Glenn, Zorinsky, Tsongas, Cranston, and Dodd.

OPENING STATEMENT

The CHAIRMAN. I would ask our witnesses and distinguished guests to take their seats at the witness table, please.

Today the Foreign Relations Committee will explore the situation in El Salvador, the challenge it presents and the appropriate U.S. response. For years, that tiny country has been wracked by political upheaval and violence. It is hard for us to understand that violence and death are a part of everyday life in El Salvador. Over 13,000 people in a country of fewer than 5 million have died by violence during this last year alone.

Control of the economy continues to be in the hands of a relatively small minority. The majority of the population are economically and politically disenfranchised. What is worse, the struggle for change has invited exploitation by radical forces outside the country, further destabilizing an already explosive situation.

What is happening in El Salvador is seen by many of us as just one example of what is likely to happen or what is already happening in neighboring Central American countries. Indeed, the region is seething with unrest.

Because the inequities and abuses of power have existed for so long, often the political situation in these countries has polarized. The tasks of change and compromise are, therefore, more difficult. But surely it is in the U.S interest to encourage moderation and peaceful, equitable change in these countries. The Carter administration believed it and furnished military and economic assistance to back up its belief. And the Reagan administration believes it. Indeed, it is a fundamental principle of American foreign policy.

The administration has presented evidence of a large flow of arms going to Salvadoran leftist guerrillas from other countries in this hemisphere who, in turn, have been supplied by countries and groups outside this hemisphere. They have called for a program of military aid to enable the Duarte government to respond to the threat.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

inevitable. It does not mean we condone the abuses that have been committed by elements in the Salvadoran military. But in a situation in which [illegible] security interests are readily apparent, we should not allow our tragic Vietnam experience to inhibit us from acting to protect those interests.

El Salvador must not escalate to a Vietnam-like involvement of U.S. personnel in massive numbers. What we have learned from the Vietnam experience is that the solution to El Salvador's problems must come essentially from the Government of El Salvador, not from the United States.

But El Salvador is a country in the initial throes of revolution. It is still possible for an enlightened government to win the support of the Salvadoran population by taking the lead in implementing social and economic changes needed to bring about a more equitable distribution of prosperity in that country. It is in the United States' interest to support that process.

Military aid, prudently administered in combination with economic aid, can help bring about a more stable environment for carrying our crucial economic and military reforms. I am gratified that the administration will be seeking a significantly larger amount of economic assistance for El Salvador than military aid. It is vitally important for the Duarte government to strengthen the economy and pursue reforms that will bring hope for the people of his embattled country.

At the same time as we work with the Salvadoran Government to help it broaden its support, I belive it must move to indict and prosecute the murders of the American missionaries. This is important not only to the cause of justice in this particular case, but is an important symbol of the government's intention to curb the abuses which have been committed by certain elements in Salvadoran society.

Archbishop Rivera y Damas, acting Archbishop of San Salvador, recently has stated that he now views the government more sympathetically and that the Left in his country has lost popular support. He said that many of them have been more interested in victory for its own sake than in meeting the needs of the people. He said that there are a great number of people who have not made a choice, and he has praised President Duarte's stated willingness to have a dialog with the opposition.

The Salvadoran Government must try, with our help, to give Archbishop Rivera y Damas and those people in El Salvador who have not made a choice reason to have faith in their government. If, with our support, the forces of moderation can prevail in El Salvador, it will be an important symbol and inspiration to other countries, not only in the region but outside this hemisphere.

Today, we will hear from Under Secretary of State Walter Stoessel, who will testify for the administration. He is accompanied by John Bushnell, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs; General Ernest Graves, Director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency. Also, we have asked Mr. Francis Mullen of the FBI to be here with us today. He is prepared to discuss the investigation of the murdered American missionaries.

[illegible] Senator [illegible] gets visa [illegible] to give a statement.

There are [illegible] concerned that we [illegible] the possible [illegible] reflection that [illegible] to question Mr. Stoessel [illegible] to [illegible] and, at a later date, former Ambassador Robert White, Sister Melinda Roper, president of the Maryknolls and others.

I am particularly concerned about the emphasis our administration has given to a military solution to the complex situation that exists in El Salvador. One cannot solve social and economic problems by throwing guns and soldiers at them.

I do welcome news that an emergency economic assistance package is to be presented. Since the situation in El Salvador erupted into full-scale civil war, I have advocated a political solution that, hopefully, would be arranged with the democratic nations of the region; such as Mexico, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic, acting in concert.

All of these countries have expressed reservations about our conduct. All of these countries know the dynamics of the Salvadoran reality and have relationships with both the opposition Left and the Duarte-led junta. I personally am disappointed that the Duarte government has rejected an OAS offer of mediation conveyed by Costa Rican President Carazo. I would hope to hear the administration's views on this during the course of today's hearing.

Finally, the Salvadoran Government's pursuit of the investigation of the murders of the four American churchwomen—three nuns and a layworker—and just where in priority this issue stands in our Salvadoran policy is a very important factor to the majority of Americans, church leaders, and many Members of Congress.

Last Friday I joined with Senator Zorinsky and Senator Biden in a letter to President Reagan expressing this concern and would ask that that letter be included in the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be included.

Thank you, Senator Pell.

[The letter referred to follows:]

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C., March 13, 1981.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we want to express our grave concern over the Administration's policy regarding the Salvadoran Government's investigation of the murders of the four American Churchwomen in early December. Although Administration and Salvadoran officials contend that such an investigation is proceeding, our attention is called to evidence which leads us to have serious doubts. Information, both publicly and privately conveyed to us, indicates that the Salvadoran Government is not conducting a vigorous investigation and is ignoring the evidence produced by the FBI.

Just as disturbing to us are actions by this Administration and statements of Administation spokesmen which cause us to question whether the U.S. Government still holds the investigation of the murders as a key determinant of our relationship with the government of El Salvador. We strongly feel, especially at this point in time when the Administration is about to embark on an expanded military and economic assistance program for El Salvador, that the investigation be made a priority once again—that the vigorous pursuit of those guilty be an important factor in our relationship with the Salvadoran Government. If this does not happen, we fear that the United States may be in a position of supporting a government which by its stonewalling on the issue of the investigation, supports terrorism committed

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

by its own security forces. And, in this instance, it would be a government-supported terrorism against four American women of the Church who dedicated their lives to helping the people of El Salvador.

Secretary of State Haig has stated that the Administration considers international terrorism its number one priority. We would question whether the present policy in El Salvador is consistent with this objective.

Mr. President, we would appreciate your response to the concerns expressed in this letter. We would like to know how much the United States Government is pressing the Government in El Salvador with regard to the investigation. In that regard, we would like to know in detail, the specifics of the Salvadoran investigation into the murders, including a report on FBI activity in this matter. Finally, we would like to know if the Administration still considers the Salvadoran investigation of this crime important to a close relationship with that Government.

In the hope that you will be able to respond to our concerns expeditiously, we are

Sincerely,

CLAIBORNE PELL,
Ranking Minority Member.
EDWARD ZORINSKY,
Ranking Member,
Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.
JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.,
Ranking Member,
Subcommittee on European Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Secretary Stoessel, we are pleased to have you and your colleagues with us. I understand you have a prepared statement.

STATEMENT OF HON. WALTER J. STOESSEL, JR., UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, ACCOMPANIED BY LT. GEN. ERNEST GRAVES, DIRECTOR, DEFENSE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AGENCY, AND JOHN BUSHNELL, ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Ambassador STOESSEL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am happy to have this opportunity to discuss our views with you concerning the situation in El Salvador and the measures we are taking in that regard.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would propose to make some brief comments and then submit my prepared statement for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Your complete statement will be incorporated in the record.

Ambassador STOESSEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Our actions with regard to El Salvador are being undertaken against the background of Communist-inspired interference in the Caribbean Central American region. Our economic assistance addresses inequities which have made El Salvador vulnerable to exploitation by our adversaries.

Our increased military assistance, which followed a major input of arms by Communist countries, is intended to help right the military balance and the violence and permit the Government of El Salvador to carry out its program of reform and elections.

In carrying out its program, the Government led by Christian Democrat President Duarte, is under attack from extremists of the right and marxist guerrillas on the left, neither of which have large popular support. Both President Reagan and Secretary Haig have made clear their opposition both to Communist interference and to any attempt by the right to take over the government.

Since El Salvador's instability has its roots in domestic inequities, the emphasis of our assistance is economic, not military. We will seek additional economic assistance for El Salvador of about $60 million beyond the $63 million proposed by the Carter administration, for a total which will be over three times larger than our military assistance.

Our military assistance is in response to requests from the Duarte government. We provide this aid cautiously and with the lessons of the past very much in mind. El Salvador is not another Vietnam. We are proceeding in a measured, careful manner. The steps proposed are designed to contribute to a lessening of the violence and instability in El Salvador which threaten the social and political reforms sponsored by the Government.

I hope we will have the support of the Congress and of this committee for our policies.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Ambassador Stoessel's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. WALTER J. STOESSEL, JR.

Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished Committee, I welcome this opportunity to review and discuss with you the measures this Administration is taking with regard to El Salvador. I will summarize their main elements and the rationale for them. Afterwards, my colleagues and I will be happy to respond to your questions and comments.

Our actions with regard to El Salvador have as their goal the reduction of violence and instability in order to facilitate a peaceful transition to an elected government. This is the goal of the Salvadoran people and of their current government, headed by Christian Democratic President Jose Napoleon Duarte, which we strongly support. Having already promulgated a far-reaching agrarian reform and changes in the banking system and export trade, the government last week moved the country closer to elections when President Duarte appointed an Electoral Commission.

These important reforms will contribute to the reduction of violence and political instability in the longer term. In the short-term, however, some landowners availed themselves of traditional ties to local security forces, while Cuban-supported guerrillas attempted to exploit popular resentment of past authorities. Both these extremes sought to undermine the reforms through violence, but for different reasons. The landowners wished to restore the status quo ante; the guerrillas saw that reforms were winning away their popular support and recruitment base.

In recent months, our understanding of the situation in El Salvador has changed with the discovery that large quantities of arms and munitions were being supplied to the guerrillas. Last summer and fall, far away Vietnam, Ethiopia and some Eastern European countries joined Cuba to take the initiative to transform an essentially domestic conflict in Central America into an international confrontation. These outside efforts to impose an unpopular military solution proved unacceptable to the Salvadoran people, who rejected the guerrillas' appeals for support. The Carter Administration acted once it acquired the evidence. We have done likewise.

The United States cannot stand idly by while a reformist government comes under attack by externally advised and armed guerrilla groups that lack popular support. If we fail to make clear that the external encouragement of violence and instability in El Salvador will have serious costs, we ensure that other countries seeking domestic solutions to domestic problems will find their efforts thwarted by guerrilla groups advised and armed from abroad. In turn, our failure to respond adequately to externally supported attempts to overthrow governments committed to reforms and to electoral solutions would cause other friendly countries to doubt our ability to help them resist assaults on their sovereignty.

While the guerrillas in El Salvador are externally supported, they also feed on domestic ills. These include years of repressive and unresponsive governments and inequitable distribution of resources and life opportunities. For this reason, the major emphasis of our assistance program for El Salvador is economic rather than military. The government of El Salvador welcomes this emphasis. Since October 1979, Salvadoran authorities have been committed to leading their country to de-

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[illegible] to develop the Duarte government is today working to carry out basic economic reforms.

We strongly support these efforts. Economically and politically the economic [illegible] provided roughly $25 million in fiscal year 1981 for the government's [illegible] and its programs for the most needy. The Carter Administration had planned to provide about $63 million in fiscal year 1981 to create jobs through public works, to feed the hungry, and to improve health, education, and housing. An intensive interagency study has now established that additional economic aid to El Salvador will be necessary. We will be consulting further with the Congress on this. At this point, it appears likely that additional assistance in the range of $60 million will be needed this year. At that level, economic assistance would be more than three times larger than our military assistance. For fiscal year 1982, we will request the Congress to make available between [illegible] $100 million in economic assistance to ensure the continued viability of the reform process.

Our aid is designed to help the Duarte government eradicate the chronic social and economic ills that have fostered unrest. El Salvador's needs are enormous and pressing. We hope that our allies and other friendly countries—many of whom have themselves urged that socio-economic needs not be neglected—will go beyond exhortations and join us in providing economic assistance to El Salvador. The general climate of violence and the guerrillas' purposeful destruction of foodstuffs, electrical installations, communication lines, vehicle and roads have cut deeply into El Salvador's production and growth. The suffering of the Salvadoran people in this chaotic situation requires a compassionate response from us and from all civilized nations.

Now let me address our security assistance efforts. We are providing the necessary military assistance to the Duarte government in its battle against the externally-supported guerrillas. Let me assure you that we are doing this with the greatest prudence and caution and with the lessons of the past very much in mind. El Salvador is not another Vietnam. Our objectives are limited: to help the government with its problems of training, equipment repair and maintenance, mobility, and resupply. Let me quickly review our assistance effort to date.

Prior to January 16 of this year, the Carter Administration had confined defense aid to El Salvador to nonlethal equipment like trucks and radios. It also had provided training for selected Salvadoran officers and had sent a number of training teams to Salvador. On January 16, after a week of hard fighting initiated by the guerrillas with the aid of externally-supplied arms and munitions, President Carter authorized the provision to El Salvador of some arms and munitions—the first such U.S. shipment since 1977—to replace some of the stocks depleted during the guerrilla offensive. President Carter also provided six helicopters and sent a dozen U.S. military technicians to train Salvadoran helicopter pilots and maintenance specialists.

Since taking office, the Reagan Administration has carefully reviewed and assessed the needs of the Salvadoran armed forces in consultation with President Duarte and his government. We have made a grant of articles and services valued at $20 million and have notified Congress of our intent to reprogram $5 million in additional FMS loan guarantees. This additional assistance includes sending a small number of personnel on temporary duty to help train the Salvadoran army and navy. One six-man team will help with repair of ships and ship-board equipment for coastal patrols; five men have been added to an operations planning assistance team in El Salvador since January; five will supplement the U.S. Military Group in its largely administrative duties; and three teams of five men each will help provide in-garrison training for the Salvadorans' new quick reaction force. These additional training specialists will bring the total number of U.S. military personnel working with Salvadoran forces to 54. Although in a country torn by violence no place is totally safe, all U.S. trainers will work in some of the safest places in El Salvador: military garrisons and regional command centers. For fiscal year 1982, we are requesting $25 million in FMS financing for purchase of weapons and military equipment and $1 million for IMET training. Additional grant military assistance is not contemplated at this time.

We believe that the level of security assistance we are providing is commensurate with the need; it responds in every instance to the Duarte government's requests. While the January offensive was successfully repelled, the guerrillas continue to pose a serious military threat. Estimates of the number of guerrillas are around 4,000 with approximately 5,000 irregulars. The government's regular armed forces—the recipients of our security assistance—total about 9,000. Various police or constabulary forces have a similar combined strength.

It has been alleged that our support goes beyond minimum requirements, that the armed forces of President Duarte are successfully defeating the guerrillas, and hence that no further U.S. assistance is called for. Experience has shown, however, [illegible] that our equipment is needed at once to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS M. MULLEN, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF INVESTIGATIONS, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONS

Mr. MULLEN. I have some very brief remarks, Mr. Chairman.

On December 9, 1980, the FBI, at the request of the Government of El Salvador, through the Department of State, sent the FBI legal attaché responsible for the liaison in Central America to El Salvador to act as a consultant with the commission established by the Government of El Salvador to investigate the deaths of the churchwomen there.

Our representative has acted solely as a consultant and conducted no active investigation, as we have no jurisdiction abroad.

On December 10, 1980, the Salvadoran commission requested FBI assistance in examining and analyzing physical evidence which they had gathered. On December 12, 1980, four representatives of the FBI laboratory arrived in El Salvador to examine the evidence gathered by the commission. In addition, the FBI team examined a burned out vehicle which was being utilized by the churchwomen.

On December 14, 1980, the lab representatives departed El Salvador, taking with them the evidence furnished by the commission, to be examined at the FBI laboratory.

The evidence gathered will not in itself determine the perpetrator or perpetrators of the murders, but can be utilized for technical comparison with additional evidence which may be collected and used as evidence in a trial proceeding.

We have completed the examination of this evidence and the results of our examination have been furnished to the Government of El Salvador by the Department of State.

On January 6, 1980, our legal attaché returned to El Salvador at the request of the Government of El Salvador to discuss with them the progress of the investigation. At their request, he made suggestions concerning future investigative action which would aid in solving the crime. Seventeen suggestions were made in all.

The commission agreed with the investigator's suggestions and indicated they would utilize them in their investigation. To date, we believe that they have done so.

On February 25, 1981, our legal attaché again returned to El Salvador to further discuss the progress of the case. We outlined for the commission the type of physical evidence we would need in order to make necessary comparisons.

On February 26, 1981, a representative of the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador and the legal attaché met with the Salvadoran deputy attorney to discuss progress in this case. At this time, the deputy attorney general advised that he had been directed by President Duarte to assume responsibility for continued investigation as the military commission had completed its mission.

At this time, he also advised that he had sent a team of investigators, including a ballistics expert to the site where the churchwomen had been buried, in order to reexamine the site for additional evidence and to conduct additional interviews in the area.

On March 2, 1981, President Duarte himself furnished the Department of State additional physical evidence which had been found at the gravesite and requested that it be furnished to the FBI for examination. This has been done, and these items currently are being examined by our laboratory.

The FBI also is completing translation from English into Spanish the autopsy reports of the autopsies conducted in the United States, and these will be furnished to the Government of El Salvador.

We will continue to make available our legal attaché for consultation with the Government of El Salvador, should it so request. And we will continue to conduct laboratory examinations of additional physical evidence which may be furnished by the Government of El Salvador.

It is the opinion of our legal attaché who has met with El Salvadoran officials, including President Duarte, that a conscientious effort is being made to solve this crime.

That concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

FULL COOPERATION OF DUARTE GOVERNMENT

I would like to report to the committee about my conversations with Judge Webster, Director of the FBI. He assured me that, outside of the holiday period which traditionally shuts down just about everything in Latin America, the FBI has received the full cooperation of the Duarte government in this investigation.

I have asked for this particular report, because the issue is of particular concern to groups in this country, especially church groups. I am pleased to have your report.

We do not have copies of your statement here. If you could have those made and given to the clerk, I would like every member of the committee to receive a copy of your statement in the event we have further questions for you concerning that statement.

I would say to my colleagues that we will proceed on a 10-minute rule today.

TRANSITION TO ELECTED GOVERNMENT

Secretary Stoessel, I would like first to pick up on a comment that you made in the beginning of your statement. You indicated that you see as the goal of the Duarte government a peaceful transition to an elected government.

Could you give us some indications as to what is being done to expedite this transition to an elected government and if it is at all possible to specify when they may be aiming for such an election? We would like to have that evidence.

Ambassador STOESSEL. Mr. Chairman, President Duarte repeatedly has expressed his interest in proceeding to free elections in El Salvador. He has made clear his willingness to consult with all parties interested in that process. He has taken action to establish an electoral commission to prepare for the elections. Work is proceeding within that commission to that end.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bushnell, did you wish to expand on that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I would just add to that that the time frame which President Duarte has indicated is that he expects the Electoral Commission, which was set up about 10 days ago, to complete its work so that there can be an election for a constitutional

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

assembly which would write a new constitution for the country in 1982, preferably early in 1982, and that would then be followed, after the assembly meets and prepares a constitution, by an election for a new president and a congress according to the revised constitution, in 1983.

WELCOMES PARTICIPATION BY POLITICAL GROUPS

He also has made clear that he welcomes participation by any political group which wishes to participate in discussions with this Electoral Commission which is a group of notable people from various political groups, some of whom are independent - in setting up the conditions for this first election.

There are some major problems because of the need to prepare electoral and things like this in a country where there have not been very good electoral processes, probably ever, in that country's history.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

PRESENT MILITARY SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR

Secretary Stoessel, I would like now to give you an opportunity to elaborate on what the present current military situation is in El Salvador, aided by any of your colleagues whom you would like to have assist you in this answer.

Has the outside arms flow to the guerrillas abated?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes. Our information is that it has abated. There has been a slowdown. We have made very strenuous representations to the government of Nicaragua in this regard, and there has been a response to that.

We are aware that some of the avenues and methods through which the arms were being infiltrated into El Salvador have been shut down. There are indications that arms are still reaching El Salvador through other sources, but I think it is fair to say that the arms flow substantially has subsided.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your feeling that this abatement has been a direct result of the administration's efforts and representations we have made to other governments? Or is it just a natural turn of events?

Ambassador STOESSEL. No. I think this comes about as a result of the efforts which we have undertaken.

ARMS FLOW ABATEMENT

The CHAIRMAN. What do you foresee in the future with respect to arms flow from the outside? Do you have any intelligence or any evidence that you can give us; that is, is it slowing up at the source or is it a temporary abatement?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Well, of course, we hope this is an abatement which will continue and which actually will cease to exist in the future.

We are aware that, within Nicaragua, there are large stocks of arms which we would hope would not pass on into El Salvador. It is hard to be sure of this. We are watching that situation as closely as possible.

There are other possibilities for infiltration through neighboring countries, and we are interested in ways to help the abilities of these countries to maintain surveillance over the infiltration routes and to contribute to stopping the infiltration.

So I think measures are in train to control the infiltration. We cannot say with certainty that it is completely stopped and that there are arms in the area. But we do hope that the slowdown will continue and, as I say, that it will cease entirely.

Perhaps my colleagues would like to add to that response. John?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I think the only thing I would add, to provide some perspective, is that we saw a slowdown before even a stop in the flow, roughly the month of September. And so we have not seen actions that would be definitive in terms of something being stopped permanently. We would hope that we would see those actions, but this process is quite a new one.

We are only 6 or 7 weeks into it, so it is very early and there is a lag in some of our intelligence in this area. I think it is too early to say one way or another how permanent this very substantial slowing is.

ARE WE GETTING INTO ANOTHER VIETNAM?

The CHAIRMAN. Because there has been so much widespread discussion in which people have asked "Are we getting into another Vietnam?", I would like to ask you a couple of questions in this area. I personally do not think there is a comparison between the two. I hope there is not a basis for it. But I would rather hear your direct views on this.

Is there a danger, in your judgment, Secretary Stoessel, that history could repeat itself, that we could be getting into another quagmire like Vietnam in El Salvador and in Central America?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Mr. Chairman, I would say that all of us obviously are aware of this analogy. I agree with you that it is not a correct analogy. But the lessons of the past are very much with us.

As I said in my brief remarks and as I say in my prepared testimony, we are determined that this situation will not develop into another Vietnam. The measures which we have taken and which we have proposed are very modest in nature. We think they are appropriate to the circumstances. We do not foresee the necessity for increasing those. I would say we feel that the situation is containable.

We have referred to the fact that we know where the source of these arms is located. And if the arms flow were to continue, then we would wish to go to the source and stop it. We do not foresee that we will become engaged in a gradual buildup of our effort within El Salvador itself.

EMBASSY SPRAYED WITH BULLETS

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Long was just in El Salvador. Shortly after he left the Embassy, as I understand from the reports, the Embassy was sprayed with bullets. So obviously there are forces inside that will do anything to eliminate an American

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

presence. I don't know whether it is the leftists or the extreme rightists, but there are excesses in both areas.

What would we do if American military personnel were killed while serving in El Salvador?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I would say, first, Mr. Chairman, that we are taking every possible measure to see that this does not happen. The personnel who are on duty there now or who will be sent, of course, will not engage in combat activities. They will be working in guarded areas, in garrisons, in areas where conflict is not taking place.

One cannot say, of course, definitely that there is no risk, because obviously there is a risk. There is a high level of violence in general in the country. So we must constantly be aware of that risk.

I would say, if it happened, that, for example, a member of the training team were to be killed as a result of terrorist activity or guerrilla activity, we would consider this as a result of terrorism. It would not be something which would alter our overall policy or course of action within El Salvador. The same would be true, I think, if a member of our forces were to be captured or kidnapped: We would treat this as a terrorist action and follow our policies which we have with regard to terrorism.

At the same time, we would not see that this would require a change in our overall approach.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Secretary Stoessel.

Senator Pell, do you have any questions?

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

KILLING OF THREE NUNS AND LAYWORKER

I would like to touch on this particularly nagging problem, the killing of three nuns and the layworker.

Mr. Mullen, without compromising the investigative findings, how much more do we really know—and I have looked through your statement carefully—how much more do we really know than we did 3 months ago?

Mr. MULLEN. Do you mean with regard to who the murderers were?

Senator PELL. Yes.

Mr. MULLEN. At this time we do not know who committed the murders.

Senator PELL. Do we know more than we did 3 months ago?

Mr. MULLEN. Yes. We have developed substantial physical evidence. The obvious, of course, is fingerprints. We were able to obtain numerous fingerprints from the burned out vehicle and prints from other areas. We have other physical evidence, where if we obtain similar material from El Salvador, we will be able to make comparisons, and it could lead to a solution in the case. But I would not want to go into that in any specifics at this time.

Senator PELL. When was the last time that you received a report from the Salvadoran Government? As I read your statement, it was about 3 weeks ago; is that correct?

Mr. MULLEN. I am told on the 26th or the 27th of February. However, our legal attaché has been in the country more recently,

and we talked to him as recently as yesterday to be updated on the investigation

SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT DOING ALL IT CAN?

Senator PELL. Does he feel satisfied that the Salvadoran Government is doing all that it can? I understand, as you point out, it has been taken from the hands of the Commission into the deputy attorney general's.

Mr. MULLEN. That's correct. The Commission was established, according to the Commission members themselves, to determine whether or not military personnel were involved. But they had gone as far as they could in that respect, and it was turned over to the deputy attorney general, a civilian authority.

Senator PELL. What is the fingerprint custom? I understand they found fingerprints there. Aren't all members of the security forces automatically fingerprinted?

Mr. MULLEN. That is correct. That was one of the investigative suggestions that we made, that certain members of the military forces be fingerprinted.

You have to realize, as I understand it, that at least five different police or military forces were in action in the area where the murders were committed. So far we have received the fingerprints of five members of the military, but I understand that many more are being fingerprinted. And this will be submitted to the FBI laboratory.

Senator PELL. In other words, you do not have to be fingerprinted when you join the security forces as a matter of procedure?

Mr. MULLEN. I do not know what the procedure is in El Salvador.

Senator PELL. I believe the answer to that is you don't. But I just wanted to have that thought confirmed.

Mr. MULLEN. We do have the identity of individuals who were in the area and who were passively manning a roadblock at the airport. These individuals are being fingerprinted.

Senator PELL. And you have the fingerprints of the murderers available to you at this end?

Mr. MULLEN. Of the murderers?

Senator PELL. Yes.

UNIDENTIFIED FINGERPRINTS

Mr. MULLEN. Well, we do have unidentified latent prints. We do not know at this time whether or not they are the prints of the murderers or not.

Senator PELL. What were these fingerprints on?

Mr. MULLEN. The fingerprints were on the burned-out vehicle, and they were burned right into the vehicle, etched right in there because of the extreme heat. That leads us to believe that these prints were placed there by the perpetrators.

We also have some fingerprints from certain documents.

Senator PELL. When you say "certain documents," does that mean documents that were prepared by the murderers—what are the "certain documents," can you say?

Mr. MULLEN. I would rather not say, Senator, at this time. But in closed session, I would be happy to elaborate.

RELEASED
Salvador: Human Rig
Special Project (199

Senator PELL. Thank you.

Are the people in El Salvador sufficiently confident that they can be protected by the government against any reprisals that might happen to them if they came forward as state's witnesses?

Mr. MULLEN. That is a difficult question for me to answer. However, I can say that some witnesses have been reluctant to cooperate.

Senator PELL. Maybe on the political side, Mr. Bushnell or Ambassador Stoessel may have a reply to that.

TWO STAGES TO INVESTIGATION

Mr. BUSHNELL. Let me say that there have been two stages to this investigation, as the FBI has explained. In the first stage, a special commission was set up. There were a number of people who were reluctant to give testimony. However, now that it has moved into a second stage, which is in the normal legal processes of the country, there seems to be less reluctance to cooperate with that investigation. There is subpena power in effect and that is being used to pursue the investigation.

I really am not in a position to say whether people who might have evidence because they were casually involved in it would come forward or not. But certainly this incident has received a great deal of publicity throughout the country. I believe there have been some cases where people have come forward and volunteered supposed evidence. Some of it has turned out to be helpful, and some of it not.

FEAR OF REPRISAL

Senator PELL. It seems to me there is a certain discrepancy here between your view and that of the FBI. It is my understanding, too, that there is a fear of reprisal on the part of witnesses coming forward.

My question to you was how confident are you that there would be no reprisal against witnesses? Have you received any assurances from the government? Is there any procedure for protection in looking after such people?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Some of the people involved in this have been given protection by the government. At least to may knowledge, that has been effective, since nothing has happened to those people. This sets a precedent for the government giving such protection.

However, as I think is well known, El Salvador is in a state of considerable violence, and certainly one can understand why some people might be reluctant to come forward in this sort of situation.

Senator PELL. But in your view—and you are a man who is very well informed in the area—do you think the average citizen would be worried about reprisals if he or she came forward with evidence?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I think, Senator Pell, in much of Latin America, and maybe even beyond—I am not just speaking about this case, but in any case which has involved violence—there is a great deal of concern by private citizens about coming forward. I think that concern is probably even greater in El Salvador than it is in most other places.

GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGES WITNESSES TO COME FORWARD

Senator PELL. Yes, I think you are right. Sometimes it even occurs in the United States. But I had understood that some action was necessary on the part of the government to encourage witnesses to come forward. Would you think that was necessary?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Let me say that, as the investigation moves to its second stage, there is subpena power and the government can call into court, in effect, any individual witnesses which it may identify as having an interest in this case. That situation, of course, is different from someone whom the government, the investigating authority, may not be aware of who might come forward voluntarily.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

As you can imagine, this is a subject of very real interest to many constituents of members of this committee. I presume, as the newspapers say, that President Duarte is equally strongly against the left as he is against the right. This may perhaps be somewhat of a nonsequitur, but in this connection, do you have any specific evidence or letter from President Duarte saying he wants the military assistance that so far has been rendered to him, the 85 military advisers?

DUARTE REQUESTS MILITARY ASSISTANCE ADVISERS

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, we do have a letter signed by President Duarte and the other members of his government, which supports the request—need for military assistance. I would be glad to provide a copy of that letter to the committee.

This does not detail the specific amounts and items requested. It reflects previous discussions between representatives of the government and representatives of our Government as to the detailed items. I gather that even the approved list is subject to further consultation between the two sides. This letter does provide for a general request based on those consultations.

Senator PELL. Is there any question in your mind but that President Duarte would like up to 85 military advisers?

Ambassador STOESSEL. There is no question in my mind that he has requested and wants the number of advisers specified. I think the number is not 85, however; I think the total gets up to 54.

Senator PELL. I thought there was a top limit of 85 that was projected.

Ambassador STOESSEL. Sir, that is not my understanding.

Mr. BUSHNELL. Maybe I can clarify the numbers here a little bit.

Ambassador STOESSEL. That, I think, involves the duty of the Marines on duty at the Embassy.

Senator PELL. Yes, the Marine guards.

Ambassador STOESSEL. That might bring it up.

MILITARY IN EL SALVADOR PART OF EMBASSY

Mr. BUSHNELL. There are military in El Salvador who are there as part of the U.S. Embassy for our Embassy purposes, such as the Marines who guard the Embassy, defense attachés, and so forth. Those people are there as part of our diplomatic establishment.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

They are there at our initiative, as they are elsewhere in the world.

President Duarte himself went over the request in terms of technicians and trainers. He reviewed what the military people, his and ours, had put together. He went through it man by man. He suggested that some of the proposed people were not needed. He wanted to have the smallest number of Americans in the country, only those absolutely essential, where the job could not be done in any other way.

He has come out with a list which is what we have approved, which when all the people are in country would make 54 Americans concerned with security assistance. This means with the logistics, the helicopters, the ships, and the training function at this time.

These people come for various times and there may be some shifting around among them. But the number of these people who are there because they have been requested by the Government of El Salvador for either a training or logistical type of function is 54 at the moment.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much. My time has expired.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Pell.

Senator Helms.

Senator HELMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

KILLING OF NUNS UNTHINKABLE

Mr. Mullen, the killing of the nuns is unthinkable to me. Now, I am a Baptist, but all my life when I have seen a nun I have had the deepest respect for these women and what they do. It puzzles me as to why this happened.

I recognize that it is not unique for people in the church or people representing the church or people claiming to represent the church to be the victims of violence. Dr. Martin Luther King was a Baptist preacher, but he was not injured, as I understand it, because he was a preacher, but because he was regarded as an activist for a political cause.

In your investigation, have you unearthed any theory or evidence as to why this happened? Were these women involved in something other than church activities? Were they regarded as activists on one side or another? What evidence do you have?

Mr. MULLEN. I do not know the answer to that, Senator. We will not know the reason until we identify the perpetrators.

Senator HELMS. I see.

IDENTIFY EXTREMISTS OF RIGHT

Ambassador Stoessel, you mentioned the extremists of the right. You also mentioned the extremists of the left, the Marxists. Would you identify precisely who are the extremists of the right in El Salvador?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, I think there are various groups in the right. Some of them represent what has been called the oligarchy of the wealthy landowners, the wealthy businessmen who have gone to the right, sometimes have taken up arms or supported groups which have engaged in fighting against the government.

Perhaps Mr. Bushnell could add more detail to that.

Senator HELMS. Are you saying they are mercenaries?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes, some of them are mercenaries.

Mr. BUSHNELL. Maybe I could just add that what is generally referred to as the right—and I think this is a way, perhaps, of distinguishing it from the left, where the groups are Marxist—is really a reflection of the tradition and history of El Salvador.

For many years in El Salvador, there has been a tradition that there are small posts of police or national guard around the rural areas. It was not uncommon that the major landowners of the area supplemented the salaries of these people in various ways. And they maintained law and order. They cooperated in getting people back to work if there was a strike or something like that. That sort of semi-feudal system has existed in El Salvador for a long time.

There was, until after the October 15, 1979, revolution, a group which was called "ORDEN," which consisted of people who had perhaps retired from the security forces or held particular positions and who were associated with this. Now, these people have not gone away. But ORDEN has been disbanded; it no longer operates as an institution.

LARGE FARMS TAKEN OVER BY STATE

Although the largest farms have been taken over by the state and given to cooperatives, the landowners, many of them, although they have left the country, still have influence there.

And so to say the violence which comes from the right, essentially is a shorthand way of saying violence perpetrated by those who were associated with the traditional power structure in El Salvador. And just as for many years that power structure engaged in various violent activities, it has continued them.

There has been a new aspect added. I think, in terms of the number count, which is probably not too significant, but in terms of the high visibility, there is a general belief—although thus far no one has brought a case into court and proved it—but there is a general belief in El Salvador that there are people who are hired to kill particular political figures, such as the mayor of a town, people engaged in land reform, things like this, people who are hired by one or another of these groups associated with the shorthand expression of "the Right."

WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR?

Senator HELMS. I have to confess to you that it is not entirely clear to me exactly what kind of government it is in El Salvador that we propose to support. It has been identified as anti-Marxist, but how socialist is it, Mr. Stoessel? I want to ask you, for example, has foreign trade been nationalized under this government that we are going to support?

Ambassador STOESSEL. John, why don't you take that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Senator Helms, yes, some aspects of foreign trade. The export of the main agricultural crops, such as coffee and cotton, has been nationalized. This was previously in the hands of a group of the main growers. That group has been taken over, in effect, by the state which now purchases from the farmers and does

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

the exporting. Except for these major [illegible] there hasn't been any change in the general private-sector orientation of foreign trade.

BANKS HAVE BEEN NATIONALIZED

Senator HELMS. What about the banks, have they been nationalized?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Yes, sir, the banks have been nationalized.

Senator HELMS. What has happened to the currency down there? What is it worth today vis-a-vis to the American dollar as compared to a year ago?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Well, it is worth the same as it was a year ago.

Senator HELMS. I am sorry, I didn't hear you.

Mr. BUSHNELL. It is worth the same in terms of American dollars. They have, as a result of the violence, had, I think, probably less inflation than we would have expected. Inflation has been about 18 to 20 percent in El Salvador. That is more than in much of the world, but not a great deal more, considering the situation there.

LAND REFORM

Senator HELMS. I have been studying very carefully the document issued on February 23, entitled "Communist Interference in El Salvador." It speaks frequently of land reform. How far along is this land reform?

Mr. BUSHNELL. There are three phases of the land reform. The first phase was to take over and turn into cooperatives all the farms larger than 500 hectares. That has been done. They have been taken over and cooperatives are operating. They have now in most cases harvested their first crop as a cooperative.

There are still many things that need to be done in that phase. One is to divide out the part of these large farms of 500 hectares which owners can retain if they wish to, including their housing and so forth. Another is to arrive at a final agreement on the amount to be compensated and to pay that in a mixture of cash and bonds.

Then there are a lot of problems in terms even of delineating these big estates. So there is still a lot of work to be done in this phase, but the basic takeover has occurred.

"LAND TO THE TILLER"

Let me skip to the third phase of the land reform. I will come back to the second. The third phase is called Land to the Tiller. It is for the government to purchase, mainly for cash, the properties on which there are tenants, people renting the land, and to give them title to the land they have been farming if they have been farming it for a significant period of time.

That program essentially is in its initial stages. They are at about 1,000 titles which have been distributed out of what may be 100,000 in total.

In a great many cases, however, the tenant farmers already are proceeding as though they had possession and full title to the land. There are problems in that area in terms of coming up with the cash in order to purchase the land. Where the amounts of land purchased are fairly small, it is entirely for cash. But bigger properties are partly in bond.

PHASE 2 OF LAND REFORM NOT IMPLEMENTED

Then there is the phase 2 of the land reform which has not yet been implemented and which various government spokesman have indicated will take technically a long time to carry out. This phase is to take those properties between 100 and 500 hectares with the bottom end of that changeable depending as to what kind of farm it is, for example, in the case of a cattle ranch, owners are permitted to hold a bigger size than as the case for a coffee farm. These properties will be turned over also to the workers on these farms, either dividing them up or establishing cooperatives.

That program has not yet started. And there is a great deal of discussion in El Salvador as to whether and when it should be carried out.

Senator HELMS. Well, as a matter of fact, there hasn't been a single title in fee simple issued yet; is that correct?

Mr. BUSHNELL. No, sir, I don't believe that is correct. The last figure that I had about 10 days ago, in phase three, which is "Land to the Tiller," 800 titles have been given. There was a first ceremony in which a couple hundred were given about 3 weeks ago, and they have proceeded to give out titles—and these are final titles—to people under that program. And they are giving some out every week.

Senator HELMS. Under these titles can any peasant convey at will any property distributed to him?

Mr. BUSHNELL. The peasant, the campesino, who receives the title also owes the government, in effect, like a long-term mortgage. The government is buying the land and he gets his title to it, but he has a debt.

My understanding is that the title is transferrable, but, of course, like any other situation, the debt has to be paid off in order to do that.

Senator HELMS. But assuming that it's paid off, can he transfer it?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Yes.

Senator HELMS. You're sure about that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. In part three of the land reform program.

Senator HELMS. All right.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator. Senator Biden.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

NOT AGAINST MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Gentlemen, no one that I know of in the Congress or, for that matter, probably very few of the American public are against stopping the flow of arms from hostile countries into El Salvador. I personally am not against military assistance to El Salvador, per se.

. I can support it, however, only if it is an instrument of some kind of political settlement, which is what we have all been talking

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

about. The United States, it seems to me, should be extending this assistance, military assistance, only as a quid pro quo for El Salvador's willingness to strengthen the so-called "middle" which is now allegedly the Duarte government.

It seems to me that what I would like to hear some more about is the negotiations that are taking place in an attempt to bring together the centrist elements and its underpinnings in El Salvador. I assume this must include moderate elements of the military government.

If a viable government is going to be established and the present government must be both expanded and strengthened, I assume that is a position from which we all are operating. If the United States extends any military assistance to El Salvador without some political requirement, then it seems to me the aid just becomes an instrument for further violence both on the right and the left.

"HAVE WE PICKED A WINNER THIS TIME?"

So, I guess as we in this Congress begin to develop positions on the proposals of the administration, at least those that we have a right to comment on, the first question that a lot of us are asking is, "Have we picked a winner this time? Can we win? Is our side going to prevail, or are we going to mount another horse and ride it gallantly into a swamp and sink with it as we seem to have done so many times in the past in Democratic and Republican administrations?"

With that concern of mine at least in mind—that is, not opposing the military aid going there assuming it is going to bring about some viable government that will have an underpinning in El Salvador beyond that which we give it—I would like to ask some questions about a report that was allegedly made by DOD.

General Graves, you, therefore, may be the one to speak to this. This was reported on February 21 in the New York Times, which quoted a Pentagon assessment based on "reports from Central America" to the effect that the Army of El Salvador is so ill-prepared to fight that it has "no hope" of defeating the insurgents.

The article also says that the assessment said it would be "impossible" for the government to put down the insurgency so long as it had a combat ratio of only 4 to 1. I understand that this committee staff has been seeking a copy of this assessment since shortly after the article appeared, but that, to the best of my knowledge, unless it occurred today or yesterday, they have been unable to get such a copy.

Would you be willing to tell us about such a report if it exists, if it is apocryphal? What is the situation, General?

General Graves. Senator Biden, I am not familiar with the report, unless—I am not familiar with the quotations you read at all.

Senator Biden. Has there been a hard-baked military assessment of whether or not the "good guys" are going to win?

SO-CALLED FINAL OFFENSIVE

General Graves. Let me say that when you evaluate the course of this insurgency over a considerable length of time, when you see the events that occurred in the so-called "final offensive," which began on January 10, when you evaluate the flow of arms and the recent diminution of arms in there, it appears that the present forces of El Salvador should be able to control the situation.

Now, this is not to say that they can completely eliminate all insurgent activity.

However, if you look at the present military situation, certainly over a reasonable period of time, the government is in no jeopardy at this time.

The important point, I think, about analyses that have been done is that the forces of El Salvador could be substantially improved to deal with the insurgency. That is a very desirable political goal in order to provide a climate in which the necessary political change can take place.

WILL 10 TO 1 RATIO ASSURE STABILITY?

Senator Biden. What I think you are implying is to get to that point, to have the climate of stability, would take as 10 to 1 ratio. Can you comment on that?

General Graves. Well, I have heard that number historically.

Senator Biden. "Historically"? What do you mean, "historically"?

General Graves. That is a number that you can read about, and if you read about insurgency for the last 20 years, that is the type of number people have talked about, just on the basis of insurgent history.

Senator Biden. Anywhere?

General Graves. Anywhere. But I don't think that we can pass such a precise judgment, because there are all kinds of things respecting the quality of the effort on both sides.

I think the object of our program of training and equipment support to the El Salvadoran forces is to improve the quality of their efforts so they can deal effectively with the insurgency.

Senator Biden. You understand better than any, General, having gone through the so-called "Vietnam era," that if in fact our efforts do not end in success, you guys are going to take the rap—that is, you guys with the stars on your shoulders. We politicians are going to scurry away and say, "Oh, I was always against it. I didn't mean it." And Reagan will say, "I never meant it. What happended?" And the Democrats will say, "I never thought it." But you guys are going to be sitting there.

So I guess what I want to know is this—and I am going to ask it directly—is it your military judgment that the amount of military assistance that we are supplying to El Salvador will be sufficient to secure the Duarte government and allows it a beach from which to form a broad-gaged government in El Salvador?

General Graves. That is the judgment that has been reached by the U.S. Government, but with the full concurrence and support of the Department of Defense. And I believe it is correct.

Senator Biden. The Department of Defense believes that?

General Graves. Yes, it does.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator BIDEN. Would you be willing to provide this committee a copy of whatever report and assessment has been made with regard to the condition of and the needs of the El Salvadoran military forces, any one that has been conducted since January 1981?

General GRAVES. Sir, certainly we could provide on a classified basis the kind of papers that have been prepared to assess the situation.

[The information referred to follows:]

The assessment referred to in the New York Times article of 21 February 1981 was not contained in any Department of Defense document. However, an official assessment dated 13 February 1981 is being provided on a classified basis under separate cover.

Senator BIDEN. With the chairman's position, I respectfully request that we make such a request by this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We will so make such request. When you mentioned this, Senator Biden, I was not aware at all that such a request had been made by our staff. There is no question but that we should have what we want from the Department of Defense in this area. If it exists, I am sure we will have it.

Senator BIDEN. I am not complaining about it not having come. I just want to make sure we get whatever there is.

General GRAVES. It is just that the phrases that you raise don't ring with any report that I have read, and I was not aware of any request from the committee.

[The following information was subsequently supplied for the record:]

DEFENSE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AGENCY,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1981.

Hon. CHARLES H. PERCY,
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In the hearing on March 18, 1981 concerning El Salvador, the Committee requested a copy of any report or assessment that has been made with regard to the condition of and the needs of the El Salvadoran military forces since January 1981.

The attached document, DIA/JSI-4B, dated February 13, 1981, is an assessment of the Salvadoran military capability following the emergency airlift of $5 million in arms to El Salvador in January 1981, under the provisions of Section 506(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and authorized by Presidential Determination 81-2 of January 16, 1981.

Following a request from the Government of El Salvador which was approved by President Duarte, coordinated through the U.S. Military Group and the American Embassy in El Salvador, and supported by this assessment, a decision was made to provide an additional $5 million in Foreign Military Sales Credit financing and an additional $20 million in security assistance under Section 506(a) of the FAA in fiscal year 1981. The reprogramming action and Presidential Determination 81-4 of March 5, 1981 have been reported.

It was also decided to seek $25 million in FMS credit for El Salvador in fiscal year 1982. This is the amount which, in addition to security assistance provided in fiscal year 1981, is considered the minimum required to bring the El Salvadoran armed forces up to a position wherein they can successfully combat the current insurgency and restore order in El Salvador.

I trust that this information fulfills the Committee's needs.

Sincerely,

ERNEST GRAVES,
Lieutenant General,
Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency.

[illegible] from a military standpoint, you don't see this as having the potential of an endless swamp we're just going to keep sinking into?

MANY COUNTRIES HAVE PROLONGED TERRORISM

General GRAVES. No. But I don't want to imply that the insurgency might not run on for some time. That is not my point. I think, after all, you can look around the world and see countries that are having trouble with terrorism that is prolonged.

But I want to draw a distinction between that type of thing which may continue and a severe danger, which I do not foresee here.

SPECIAL PAY FOR PERSONNEL "SUBJECT TO HOSTILE FIRE"

Senator BIDEN. Let me skip to a completely different subject. Secretary Stoessel, under 37 United States Code 310, the Secretary of Defense may prescribe a montly special pay for duty subject to hostile fire for service personnel who are "subject to hostile fire" or "on duty in an area in which he was in imminent danger of being exposed to hostile fire or mines or are killed, injured, or wounded by hostile fire."

What I would like to know is this: Have any of the U.S. military personnel in El Salvador been designated to receive such pay?

General GRAVES. The action, Senator Biden, is ongoing, but has not been finally approved.

Senator BIDEN. Then if and when it is approved, would such action trigger either the War Powers Act or the sections on involvement in hostilities of the Arms Export Control Act? I would be curious to know what your opinion is if you make the decision that that pay would be paid under that section.

General GRAVES. The answer to that question is, "Not necessarily." And I think I could explain it very quickly. The recommendation to pay hostile-fire pay was based on the kinds of terrorism that have been ongoing in El Salvador since November 1979 and were not associated with recent, more intense activity. They were based on the general hazardous conditions, the terrorist activities, the fact that these people were subject to random acts of terrorism in places they lived, going to and from work and so on, not that they would be the subject of some kind of armed attack or coordinated attack.

This was the reason this was brought forward, because of the general danger of conditions. Therefore, I don't think this hostile-fire pay thing, of itself, would trigger either a War Powers Act determination or a report under 21(c). That would be more in line with the factors contained in the letter which Mr. Carlucci addressed to the chairman. And I believe you already have a copy of that letter, which already has been written to the committee, assessing the situation respecting War Powers.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Biden, your time has expired.

Senator BIDEN. Mr. Chairman, might I have the same indulgence as Senator Helms had, to just finish up with one short question, as he did after the red light went on?

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

The question is: Is anyone from the U.S. military assigned to Turkey getting hostile pay?

General GRAVES. No; they are not.

Senator BIDEN. There is terrorist activity over there, is there not?

General GRAVES. There is also terrorist activity there.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pressler.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

ANY EFFORT TO AVOID MISTAKES OF VIETNAM

Let me ask if there have been any studies or if you are following closely what happended in Vietnam, some analogies, studies of analogies? I think there are some analogies. Having served in the Army in Vietnam, I find very familiar the briefings that we are having these days on El Salvador. Is there an effort to avoid the mistakes of Vietnam? There was Communist insurgency and all that literature to which one of you referred. I would assume that includes Sir Robert Thompson's "Fighting Communist Insurgency."

Throughout all that literature there is the theme that it is a mistake to bring in foreigners who are of a different language, culture, and background. The very arguments, I suppose, that the insurgents in El Salvador are using is that the United States is trying to run the country, that the American banks are trying to control it, or the American military want to control it.

It would seem that we are in a position where we might be almost encouraging or adding fuel to the rebels' arguments. Are we looking carefully at the Vietnam analogy? I know it has been denied that there is one. But I think there is a great analogy between what is happening in El Salvador and what happened in Vietnam.

Is there a systematic effort to take lessons learned from fighting Communist insurgency in Vietnam and the mistakes that we made there and apply them to El Salvador?

WE ALL LEARNED LESSONS FROM VIETNAM

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, I would just say, in general, that all of us are very well aware of history here and what went on in Vietnam. We all learned lessons from it. We are doing our best to insure that a similar situation does not develop in El Salvador with what happened in Vietnam.

As far as the use of our training personnel and their assignments are concerned, I think all of this is done against the background of the experience gained in Vietnam. As we have pointed out, the program is a very modest one. There are very small numbers of personnel involved. They will not be highly visible. They will be working and training in areas which are restricted.

The bulk of the personnel involved in direct training activities will be fluent in the language of the country, and well trained in the activities necessary in the situation, again drawing on lessons learned from the past.

SPECIFIC STEPS BEING TAKEN IN EL SALVADOR

Senator PRESSLER. What specific steps are being taken in El Salvador that are different from those taken in the early days of Vietnam, for example?

General GRAVES. Sir, I think the most important step is that they are being confined strictly to training activities. These are taking place in the most secure areas available. We are not using our people in El Salvador to accompany combat operations or to transport them in combat operations or to engage in combatant activities.

Senator PRESSLER. Well, that differs from Vietnam in the early days.

General GRAVES. In Vietnam, from almost the first, our people were engaged in assisting Vietnamese forces across the board. And this is much more a training mode, and our people are not exercising command and control or anything. They're engaged in a training program and assisting them in maintenance of equipment.

AREAS OF DIFFERENCE FROM VIETNAM

Senator PRESSLER. Are there other areas of difference from the early days of Vietnam? You say they are just engaged in training. That is a distinct difference. But it seems to me, in the early days of Vietnam, that is what our people were doing there also.

General GRAVES. But I think we were also trying to advise the Vietnamese Government and the Vietnamese forces across the board. And our people from quite early in Vietnam were active across the board.

I think Ambassador Stoessel also mentioned another very important difference. These people who are being sent into El Salvador all are fluent in Spanish. They are very much at home, if you will, in associating with the Spanish-speaking people of El Salvador. You don't have the distinction of a Western force coming into an Oriental country. Most of the people are of Latin extraction.

MOST SOLDIERS OF LATIN EXTRACTION

Senator PRESSLER. You mean most of our soldiers who are going down there are of Latin extraction?

General GRAVES. Yes.

Senator PRESSLER. Therefore, you feel they may not be so visible?

General GRAVES. Well, I feel they may not be viewed as an external element so much as a friend with a similar background. I think that is a very important difference.

Senator PRESSLER. As I understand it, the Government of El Salvador rejected the OAS mediation efforts. Did El Salvador consult the United States on this?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Let me explain what happened in this. The President of Costa Rica sent a letter to the Chairman of the OAS suggesting that it might consider playing a role in the situation in El Salvador. There were informal consultations among the ambassadors to the OAS here in Washington.

There were considerable concern in these informal consultations because the OAS generally does not play a role in an internal situation, and the wording of this letter referred not to the passive

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

inflow of arms from outside the area, but to the more po... struggle inside El Salvador.

OAS SHOULD NOT PLAY A ROLE IN INTERNAL SITUATION

While this informal discussion—and without the OAS ever having had a formal meeting on this—was going on, the Government of El Salvador informed its Ambassador and then announced publicly that it did not think the OAS should play a role in the internal situation in El Salvador any more than it would in other internal situations.

This does not mean that it does not think there should be discussions internally. It has indicated that it is ready to sit down to discussions. It has accepted the invitation of the church to have discussions with other political groups. The Electoral Commission which it has now set up has invited various political groups to discuss with it its procedures, and so forth. But the Government of El Salvador rejected OAS mediation in effect before the OAS was able itself to consider this.

Let me say that there is a long tradition in the OAS of not interfering in the internal affairs of its member countries. The OAS deals with issues that are, in effect, cross-border issues, primarily.

I should say, however, that there is a part of the OAS, which is the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, which looks at the human rights situation. This Commission visited El Salvador a couple of years ago. It prepared a report. It has been invited back by the Government of El Salvador to look at the human rights situation. This invitation was extended for March, but it now looks as though the Commission, for its own reason and not because of the Government of El Salvador, will not be able to go for 2 or 3 months and make a visit to review that situation. That part of the OAS deals with internal situations, such as the human rights situation.

The OAS often observes elections. In fact, President Duarte and others in El Salvador have indicated that, when they get to elections in 1982 and 1983, they would invite the OAS and other organizations to be present to see that these are free and fair.

So, in those situations, the OAS would be involved, but not as a mediator or negotiator in the internal situation.

ARE U.S. PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN OAS MISSION

Mr. PRESSLER. Are the U.S. personnel involved in the OAS mission observing the movements of the guerrilla forces? We have also personnel involed in that; is that not correct?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Let me clarify that situation. There was a war between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969. This was a cross-border incident. The OAS was involved. It established an observer OAS mission to deal with the parties at the border between Honduras and El Salvador and to avoid a further outbreak of fighting. That mission, which consists of representatives from several Latin American countries as well as the United States, has from the beginning, or at least from a few years ago, had two helicopters provided by the U.S. military, paid for by Honduras and El Salvador as the means of transportation for these observers.

The observers are not observing the guerrillas. What they are trying to do is make sure there is not a outbreak between the Honduran Armed Forces and the Salvadoran Armed Forces.

Because there are a number of areas on the border between El Salvador and Honduras which are disputed between the two countries, there was agreement that the forces of neither country would go into these areas. Some of these areas have been used as guerrilla stronghold areas for guerrilla training and so forth.

The OAS, in its role of keeping the forces apart, is particularly concerned with these areas. There have been some incidents in which the OAS has had contact with guerrillas on the Honduras-El Salvador border.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Gentlemen, Senator Helms has to take a plane in 30 minutes. But I have a request from him to ask unanimous consent if someone would yield to him for a few questions before he has to leave. He is the chairman of the subcommittee dealing with Latin America. So I would hope someone could yield to him a few minutes. [Pause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do I have an offer?

Senator DODD. I am so far down the line, Mr. Chairman, I will yield to the distinguished gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. I am afraid you would come after the 30 minutes if we go through all of the Senators in turn.

Senator Glenn.

FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD CENTRAL AMERICA

Senator GLENN. Gentlemen, do we have a foreign policy toward Central America? If so, what is it?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, I would say, in general terms, that in that area we would wish to encourage economic and social progress to encourage stability and peaceful change where necessary and where appropriate in the circumstances. We also provide limited security assistance to these ends.

Senator GLENN. I do not ask this facetiously. We are setting a policy, a precedent in what we are doing in El Salvador. If this is our policy, then it is a very big, major decision.

For instance, if we are to send in arms and if Duarte succeeds in holding his government together, it seems to me we would receive little credit. He would say he "had the final offensive under control," and while they "welcome any help, or course," they "don't really need it, they mainly need economic help."

And so we would get no credit or little credit if he succeeds. If he fails, we have made that or we are in the processing of making that a major element of American policy around the world. What we are doing is spotlighted by every nation around the world—riots in Germany, street demonstrations when I was there a few weeks ago—that if it fails, it is an American failure.

So while I supported the sending of arms in to help those people do what they wanted to do on their own, it seems to me that we

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El Salvador: Human Righ
Special Project (1993)

are really assuming a much greater portion of potential blame for what may or may not happen there, and very little credit.

ARMS GOING INTO OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES

That's more a statement than a question. But that's the reason why I wonder if this is to be our Central American policy. I would then ask another question. Can you tell me whether we know of any arms—Soviet, Cuban, or whatever—going into any other Central American countries right now or in the past year or so?

General GRAVES. Yes, Senator Glenn. We do know that some are. I should say, first of all, that many of the arms that have moved from Nicaragua to El Salvador move through Honduras. Some of those arms stayed in Honduras. Some of them—a small part, we believe—went to Guatemala.

There has been a larger inflow of arms—most of the arms that have moved in this route are arms that come from Communist countries but are of Western manufacture. There has been a substantial movement of Communist-bloc arms into Nicaragua for Nicaraguan forces. We haven't seen any evidence that these move on to another country, but they do go to Nicaragua.

So we have seen evidence in terms of arms movements. We have seen even more evidence in terms of people going from all of these countries for training in Cuba and beyond, indicating a long-term or a medium-term concern with supporting violence in some of these other countries, some of which already is under way. For example, in the case of Guatemala, there is a considerable insurgency under way at this moment.

ARMS TO DISSIDENT GROUPS

Senator GLENN. Then will it be our policy, following the El Salvadoran precedent, that we will send arms into those countries if the arms are not just in transit through but remain in those countries? Will we give arms to dissident groups in those countries?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I don't believe we would give arms to dissident groups. We have provided arms to these countries——

Senator GLENN. How about governments then?

Mr. BUSHNELL [continuing]. To some of these countries for many years. We have had a training program in these countries and so forth. And last year, for example, we substantially increased our program in Honduras. We provided them with helicopters under lease arrangements in order that they could better secure their borders. They are at this point a peaceful country without an insurgency, but their territory is being abused, and we have helped them to overcome that.

Our policy has been that we need to see not just that there is an insurgency but that there is a governmental policy to move on basic reforms, as there is in El Salvador, in order for us to cooperate closely with the Government and help them to overcome this. This has not been a problem in Hondura· but it has been a problem in some other countries.

Senator GLENN. I was very interested in Ambassador Stoessel's comments here: Economic and social progress, stability, peaceful

change if appropriate, security assistance. And that's fine. I agree with everyone of those things.

GENERAL POLICY TOWARD REGIONS NEEDED

But I do believe that with regard to Central America we need to spell out what we are going to do with each country in the context of a general policy toward the region.

I don't think that's understood now. I don't understand it as a member of this Foreign Relations Committee. If we have a policy, it has certainly not been enunciated, and I think we would do well in our dealings with those countries to clearly enunciate it.

DOES WAR POWERS RESOLUTION/ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT APPLY

Back to a subject I have asked a lot of questions on before. I have had some answers, yet we still have some disagreements with regard to whether the War Powers resolution and the Arms Export Control Act applies here, whether it should apply.

It seems to come down to whether we consider there are "significant hostilities"—that's the key phrase, "significant hostilities"—in the country. And under the Arms Export Control Act, it just says: "Within 48 hours after the outbreak of significant hostilities involving a country"—it doesn't say what kind—but "involving a country in which United States personnel are performing defense services pursuant to"—et cetera, et cetera—"the President shall submit"—and goes ahead.

Now, I bring this up here, not that I don't think we know what's going on in El Salvador, but I think when we let the administration get by without making reports that are required by law, then we set up a situation where if there are arms in other countries and if we are going in, it could well be done without us knowing anything about it.

12,000 KILLED IN EL SALVADOR

Certainly, Ambassador Stoessel, you would agree that it is significant that 12,000 people were killed in El Salvador last year, in a country of 5 million people. That must be considered significant, and it must be considered that these are hostilities between one group or another within that country.

And it surely must be considered significant to us, that four churchwomen were killed and we can't get to the bottom of it. And it certainly must be considered significant when our Embassy is shot up two times in the last 2 weeks.

And it must be considered as significant that American personnel are being kept in garrisons and we've given them sidearms.

HOSTILE-FIRE PAY RECOMMENDED

And it must be considered significant that we have recommended—and I would like to clarify this, General Graves—that we have recommended that they get hostile-fire pay; is that correct?

General GRAVES. Sir, it has to go through an administrative process.

Senator GLENN. Has it bee[redacted]commended?

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

General GRAVES. By the military commander, Colonel Cummings.

Senator GLENN. So it has been recommended that they get hostile-fire pay, and the people that our American personnel are training are, in turn, going out and killing or being killed—that's the purpose of our training—and yet we say there are no "significant hostilities" within the country. It is rather tortured logic to me.

And then we track through General Haig's statements when he was before us and went through all of the litany about how much he wanted to cooperate with us on doing all of these great things. And his comment was that he wanted "to assure this committee that I intend to live by the letter of the law and the spirit of the War Powers Act, and I see no difficulty in doing so."

SIT IN FRONT OF OPEN WINDOW

It's a little hard for us to believe that that was really meant when we see what is going—just that little list of things that I read here. Surely, if you were in that Embassy, Mr. Ambassador, I don't think you would sit in front of any open windows these days, would you?

Ambassador STOESSEL. That's true, Senator.

Senator GLENN. I wouldn't either. And I think the Marines out in front, they're not in their dress blues out on the street, I don't imagine, today. And it just seems to me that when we see all this going on, and then we somehow say there is nothing significant about all this, "no significant hostilities going on," it's sort of tortured logic to me. And I don't see what's wrong with just to set the precedent and say, "It is hostile," and report to us.

And then what happens? Then what do we do with it? Not a blooming thing, except we have established the precedent that we really truly mean it that we want to be informed when these things go on. And why the administration insists on just refusing to make that statement in such an obvious "significant hostilities" situation, I don't know. But that has been the attitude the administration has taken.

I had the same quarrel with the previous administration, so I am not being partisan with this. I griped at them, too. Didn't get any farther with them than I am getting with this administration. So it's a perfect record so far. This committee is striking out time after time.

But I would like to see us just recognize it so that we have some confidence that when there are hostilities we know you will report to us and we won't think that something is going on in the jungles of some other Central or South American country that we are unaware of. We are partner in this, and we want to be in on the takeoff as well as the potential crash landings.

That's more a statement than a question. Do you have any response to that?

General GRAVES. Senator, I certainly appreciate your comments. I think there is the question of interpretation as to what "significant hostilities" implies. As you indicated, the previous administration did not feel that the situation at that time, when they were in charge, constituted significant hostilities, and they did not report.

Just recently, through the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Mr. Carlucci, we have submitted a report to the chairman which encloses a detailed statement about the situation as we see it. As is stated in that letter, we want to give the committee all of the information that is required and indicated about the situation there as we see it.

Now, whether this comes under the exact definition of "significant hostilities," as stated in the act, is another question. But we certainly want to cooperate and consult with you in a timely way, in the takeoff as well as on the landing.

Senator GLENN. My time is up. I think we are being given information on this. I have not had any complaint about getting information on El Salvador, but to me where it is clearly required in law and where it is significant, it should be done. How can we say that 12,000 people including four churchwomen killed, the Embassy shot up, American people in garrison with sidearms, hostile-fire pay, people getting killed all the time, isn't significant hostilities.

That is just tortured logic to me. I can't see it. And I don't know why we don't declare it as such, report to us, then we have the confidence that we are going to get reports if there are future events like this in other countries.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Mathias.

Senator MATHIAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, a famous Frenchman has said that you can hire a riot, but you can't hire a revolution. I think that is a universal truth, that you can spend a little money and you can agitate some disorders in a country, but unless a revolution has occurred in the minds of the people, it really doesn't takeoff, it doesn't go anywhere.

EMPHASIS OF U.S. AID ECONOMIC—NOT MILITARY

You said in your earlier answer to Senator Pell that the emphasis of U.S. aid was on economic and not military grounds. I think that goes to this very concept that although some outside agitators can hire a riot, a revolution can only occur if the social, political, and economic conditions of the country are so bad that they bring about a revolution.

What is the ratio of military to economic aid in this situation?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I think with the package of economic aid which we will be proposing, it will be about three times the size of the military package. So it would be 3 to 1.

Senator MATHIAS. What would that be in absolute figures?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Well, the military side is $25 million.

Mr. BUSHNELL. $35 million.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Ambassador STOESSEL. Excuse me. It is $35 million for the military side, and on the economic side about $125 million.

Senator MATHIAS. So it is 3 to 1 on economic aid?

Ambassador STOESSEL. [Nods affirmatively.]

Senator MATHIAS. Do I understand that the Senator from North Carolina would like to ask a question at this time?

Senator HELMS. I have a couple of questions, if you could yield to me a couple of minutes. I would appreciate it.

Senator MATHIAS. Let me just ask one followup question now, and then I would be happy to yield to you.

In terms of what has been done in recent months, how does it differ from what was previously planned? And let's be specific about some of the items. How many helicopters was the Carter administration planning to give them?

Mr. BUSHNELL. On January 17, President Carter authorized six helicopters on no-cost lease. In the additional package which President Reagan has authorized there are four more helicopters. These, however, will be turned over to the Salvadorans; they will not be on lease.

Senator MATHIAS. So the order of magnitude goes from 6 to 10. Thank you.

I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Senator PELL. With the understanding that we use up the 10 minutes that Senator Mathias had and then continue with the members on the other side.

Senator HELMS. Thank you Mr. Chairman. And I thank the Senator from Maryland for yielding.

"WE HAVE TO GET TO THE SOURCE"

Mr. Stoessel, if I heard Al Haig say it once, I heard him say it a hundred times, that "We have to get to the source," meaning Cuba.

I have the uneasy feeling that in all of the conversation about El Salvador and Nicaragua we are forgetting Cuba. Now, I don't want us to miss the forest by looking at a tree. Therefore, I have a couple of questions that I will go through fairly rapidly.

They concern Fidel Castro, who is regarded by some as having lived a sort of charmed life in terms of American reaction to all that he has done in Africa, Central America, and elsewhere; here we have in essence an international outlaw. I am receiving repeated inquiries from constituents of mine who want to know whether this is because of a secret agreement betwen Krushchev and President Kennedy? I don't know whether there is a secret agreement. But if there is, I would like for you to describe it. If you can't describe it now, I want to know whether it can be declassified so that the American people can know what was in any confidential agreement between President Kennedy and Mr. Krushchev.

Can the full text and scope of the agreement, if any, be released to the public or at least to this committee? Now, that is a lot of question, I recognize. You may not be able to answer that fully without consuming too much of Senator Mathias' time. But before this hearing is over, I wish you would address yourself to it.

Mr. BUSHNELL. We will take that question. A good many of the details of the agreement have become public. Whether the whole thing can be made available publicly. I have some doubts But we can probably make it available to the committee.

Senator HELMS. But there is an agreement?

Mr. BUSHNELL. There is an agreement.

The CHAIRMAN. That can be made available to the committee?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Yes, sir, on a classified basis.

Senator HELMS. But it has not been released, not even to this committee?

Mr. BUSHNELL. It is an old agreement, sir. I really do not know whether or not it has been released to this committee.

Senator HELMS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Mathias, I appreciate very much your yielding to me. I have to catch a plane.

Senator MATHIAS. Let me say if it hasn't been released to this committee, we will have serious problems under the Case Act. So I think we all would like to be involved in the answer to that question.

Mr. BUSHNELL. I am afraid I am told I misspoke. There is not an agreement. There is a series of understandings.

Senator MATHIAS. Well, that may well amount to the same thing. [General laughter.]

RESPONSE OF EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS

Mr. Secretary, what has been the response of European and Latin American governments briefed by the administration about arms supplies to the leftists? Can you identify the ones that endorse the administration's approach for responding to the threat? Do you get any kind of different or additional steps advocated?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I think the response generally has been favorable to our approach, condemning the infiltration of arms from external sources into El Salvador. We have had consultations in depth with a number of European countries, a number of Latin American countries.

Senator MATHIAS. Is there a categorical difference between European and Latin American countries?

Ambassador STOESSEL. No. I would say they all agree on this. Now, some have stressed more than others the concept of a political solution, political negotiations for broadening the base of the government, or some have suggested mediation efforts and so on. There has been a variation in responses in that regard.

But I think there has been unanimity in condemning the idea of infiltration of arms. And there has been support for our position that this should be stopped.

SOCIALIST COUNTRY INVOLVEMENT IN FLOW OF ARMS

Senator MATHIAS. What about the other sources of arms. The administration's so-called white paper emphasizes socialist country involvement in the flow of arms to the guerrillas, far left. Some believe that the left is also receiving arms from some of the countries, the democratic countries in the immediate vicinity of El Salvador. Do you have any evidence to that effect?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I am not aware of that, Senator.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Mr. BUSHNELL. Some of these arms may move clandestinely through countries such as Honduras, but we have no information of any significant supply of arms from these countries. Some may have been purchased in small amounts from any of the countries in the area with, of course, the exception of Nicaragua, which is involved clearly, as we have indicated in the white paper.

Senator MATHIAS. Nicaragua is the transit point?

Ambassador STOESSEL. The primary transit point.

Senator MATHIAS. But there is no significant evidence of arms shipments from any democratic countries in the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. BUSHNELL. There have been reports that several months ago arms which were in Costa Rica were taken clandestinely from Costa Rica to El Salvador. The Costa Rican authorities are investigating this. In fact, some people, I think, have been indicated on this matter and pilots have lost their licenses and so forth. So there are a few incidents in which other countries in the area—that is, their territory has been used. But so far as we know, they are making reasonable efforts to avoid this sort of thing.

RESPONSE FROM MEXICO

Senator MATHIAS. What about our immediate neighbor to the South, Mexico? What kind of response are we getting from Mexico?

Ambassador STOESSEL. As I said, I think Mexico opposes the infiltration of arms. It opposes intervention in El Salvador. Mexico has been particularly interested in the idea of a broadening of the political base of the mediation between the parties. They have stressed that in their public statements.

Senator MATHIAS. There is no record of any activity which deviates from their public position then?

Ambassador STOESSEL. No, sir.

Senator MATHIAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Zorinsky.

Senator ZORINSKY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am glad that we have the opportunity to discuss U.S. policy in El Salvador with administration officials at this particular point in time. I find it interesting that some members of the administration are trying to push El Salvador off the front page when it did all it could to keep it there by saber rattling and harsh talk to build a case for U.S. military involvement. Now after being told by our closest friends and allies—Canada, West Germany, Mexico, to name only a few—that a military solution, with the use of U.S. assistance, complete with advisers is the wrong approach, it is better to take the heat off and relegate it to the back pages. It is better to mute criticism when more and more nations believe that a political solution has to be reached by the Salvadorans themselves with the help from neighboring democratic countries or by other mediation efforts. It is better to take it off the front pages in the light of criticism of a military policy that reminds too many people of how Vietnam started. In the back pages, the American public will not be as aware that there is a growing list of people, including many in the Congress who are becoming very critical of a policy destined to get us mired in a Central American quagmire if we don't right ourselves soon. Not as many people will read how the Salvadoran Government is stonewalling in its investigation of the murders of the four American churchwomen and how I along with Senators Pell and Biden sent a letter to President Reagan last Friday to express our concerns about that. And the American people, who are being asked to tighten their belts in this era of fiscal austerity, will be less able to focus on the fact that the administration, despite austerity measures, has been able to dredge up $25 million for foreign military aid even though it is not clear that the aid is needed or wanted by the government of El Salvador.

FLOW OF WEAPONS TO GUERRILLAS HAS SLOWED

Now the administration tells us that new intelligence reporting indicates that the flow of weapons to the guerrillas has slowed, and that the press has given entirely too much time to the Salvadoran issue anyway. Well, now I fear that thanks to the approach of the administration on El Salvador, the American public has been aroused about El Salvador and have many, many questions and concerns that are being reflected here by members of this committee today.

My first question, Mr. Chairman, is addressed to Mr. Stoessel and Mr. Bushnell.

In reading our chairman's comments, I noted that he indicated his support of the actions taken by the Government of El Salvador to implement social and economic changes. Our chairman believes such reforms are needed to bring about an equitable distribution of prosperity in that country, and that it is in the Untied States interest to support that process.

AGRARIAN REFORM, BANKING SYSTEM, EXPORT TRADE

Secretary Stoessel, in your statement you said that the Government of El Salvador, having promulgated already a far-reaching agrarian reform and changes in the banking system and export trade, moved the country closer to elections last week. The reforms which currently are being implemented by the junta, the government which we are supporting, are specifically: government control over the export of major crops, nationalization of banks, and the agrarian reform.

My question to you, Secretary Stoessel, and to Mr. Bushnell, is this: In view of your statement about the junta's actions with respect to these three areas and specifically with respect to the agrarian reform program, is it the Reagan administration's policy to endorse and embrace these types of reforms which were initiated during the period of the Carter administration?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, I would say these reforms obviously were initiated by the Salvadoran Government. They were supported by the previous administration, the Carter administration, and, yes, they are supported by the Reagan administration.

We feel that reforms of this kind address some of the root problems of the economic and social system of the country. There should be change. The Government in El Salvador recognizes this and is moving in that direction, and we support them in that.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator ZORINSKY. Thank you. In light of the fact that one of my colleagues, if not more, on this committee views such reforms as being socialist and even tending to be Marxist, I wanted to hear it from your throat that the Reagan administration is supporting these programs. And I especially wanted to hear it because one of the reasons some members of this committee sought the removal of our former Ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, was his support of the agrarian reform package.

ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS REFORMS

Mr. Secretary, we both know there are many internal differences within the State Department itself on this policy. I just wanted to make it clear today in this hearing that it is definitely the view and the policy of the Reagan administration to continue to support those reforms.

Ambassador STOESSEL. [Nods affirmatively.]

Senator ZORINSKY. There is another question I would like to ask. Through the El Salvador white paper and many other documents. The administration has made considerable number of revelations with respect to guerrilla training in other Latin American countries and the export of revolution into El Salvador. Many of the those revelations dealt specifically with Nicaragua.

GUERRILLA TRAINING IN NICARAGUA

There have been comments in the paper and, I think, through our intelligence bureaus that Nicaragua has provided, maybe not with the permission of its government, territory to be used for the training of guerrillas.

Is it your view, General Graves, that this is true, that Nicaragua has provided areas for guerrilla training or allowed some of its territory to be used for the export of revolution?

General GRAVES. There is evidence of such training in Nicaragua.

Senator ZORINSKY. Do we currently recognize the Government of Nicaragua, Secretary Stoessel? Do we have an ambassador and an embassy there? Do we have normal relations with that government?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes, we have an embassy and an ambassador in place.

CUBANS TRAINING NICARAGUANS ON U.S. SOIL

Senator ZORINSKY. All of that having been affirmed by you gentlemen, how can the United States of America request a Nicaraguan Government to comply with the nonexport of revolution when in the Washington Post this past Sunday, there is a gigantic article about U.S. territory being used to foster revolution and terrorism in Nicaragua? According to the newspaper, Cubans are training Nicaraguan exiles, foremost among them Somozistas on U.S. soil.

It is indicated in the article that there are areas in California, Florida, and New Jersey that are currently being used. It is in violation of our U.S. law.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to present for the record articles from the New York Times and the Washington Post substantiating these allegations, together with the citations of our U.S. statutes which are violated by our allowance of terrorist training on U.S. soil.

How do we look when we violate our own laws and say, "Fine, fellas, that's great?" How do we look when there is a nice article in the Washington Post this week about camps down in Florida for the training of guerrillas to go back and take over a country that we recognize, a country that we have an ambassador assigned to?

Now, if we are going to export revolution to countries, then, at least, we ought to withdraw our ambassador and cease to recognize those countries. This is far different from our relationship with Cuba.

WAS ADMINISTRATION AWARE OF TRAINING

And so I would like to have your comment, Mr. Secretary. Were you aware that there was training going on, or were you aware there was an article in the Washington Post? Is the FBI looking into this matter currently with regard to prosecution and elimination of these activities?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, I did indeed read that article and was concerned about its implications. Obviously, this is nothing which the Government of the United States supports. And we would be most concerned at any evidence that there is actual export of arms or armed activity directed at overthrowing any government.

I am sure that we are following these activities closely and that if it can be proven that these activities are taking place and are directed toward such intervention abroad, that appropriate action would be taken to counter them.

Senator ZORINSKY. Well, when I ask for names and activities, I am told that is classified information. It can't be given. And here the Washington Post has names and locations, and you are saying, "if." It's happening. There are people. It's real—in fact, some of these people are bragging about the fact that our territory is being used for terrorist training.

VIOLATION OF U.S. LAW

Mr. MULLEN. Senator, let me add a little to that. If the group is training on private property and not using automatic weapons, they are not in violation of U.S. law. We have had cases and we made recent arrests of a group of six individuals who had put off in a boat for Cuba with explosives and weapons. We made arrests in that case.

When they take some sort of action to commit a criminal act in violation of our neutrality laws, we do investigate and we do take action.

Senator ZORINSKY. Are you telling me that if the Nicaraguans train guerrillas on private property in Nicaragua, then we have no case against them?

Mr. MULLEN. Did you say guerrillas training on Nicaragua? We would have no case against them.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator ZORINSKY. I mean would we have no case against their exporting revolution to El Salvador if their laws are similar to ours?

Mr. MULLEN. The FBI would have no case.

Senator ZORINSKY. I don't mean just the FBI. I am talking politically, morally. What is our right to give advice?

Mr. MULLEN. I understand your point, Senator. But we can only investigate violations of the law. We are not only concerned about the export of this revolution, we are concerned about some domestic groups doing the very same thing. Yes, sir, we are looking into it.

Senator ZORINSKY. Do you know for a fact that private property is involved in this case?

Mr. MULLEN. No, sir, in this particular article I do not know because I do not know where it occurred or who was involved.

Senator ZORINSKY. I see my time is up. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Zorinsky.

[The articles referred to follow:]

[From the New York Times, Mar 17, 1981]

NICARAGUANS TRAIN IN FLORIDA AS GUERRILLAS

(By Jo Thomas)

MIAMI, March 16—Fomer members of the Nicaraguan National Guard are training openly alongside the Cuban exiles in camps in Florida, preparing, they say, for guerrilla attacks on the Sandinists in Nicaragua.

At least one such attack, the exiles say, has already been carried out from a base in Central America, and others are now in preparation.

Although the Cuban exile groups have a long history of such efforts—on April 17, it will be 20 years since the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion—the training of Nicaraguan exiles is a new turn of events. At the same time, the Cuban groups have intensified their efforts.

Both groups, saying that they have been heartened by President Reagan's hard-line anti-Communist position, voice hope that, at the least, the United States Government will lend them moral support.

A separate Cuban group, Alpha 66, says it has carried out 30 sabotage missions inside Cuba in the last six months, including an explosion last week that killed six persons and knocked out the power in a hydroelectric plant in Regla, near Havana. The Cuban Government has not confirmed the nature of that blast.

FBI ARRESTS 7 FROM GROUP

Officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which in January arrrested seven members of Alpha 66 on a boat loaded with machineguns, rifles and explosives, said that they were continuing an investigation into possible violations of the Federal Neutrality Act. The act forbids conspiracies to injure or destroy the property of the government of a nation with which the United States is not at war.

At the same time, sources at the Central Intelligence Agency say, there are still those within the agency who would like to see it work more closely with the exile groups, although there is as yet no specific proposal.

One of the most active training camps is called "Cuba." Administered by Jorge González, who is called "Bombillo"—light bulb—it lies in the brush and swamplands of Miami, just beyond new housing developments and a trash dump. Yesterday two teen-agers with semiautomatic rifles and walkie-talkies were guarding the front entrance.

Inside were about 60 men and a handful of women in camouflage uniforms. One group was listening to a lecture on cleaning weapons, other groups were drilling and two groups were on the firing range. Mr González explained that most members of the paramilitary group, including José Infieta, a Vietnam veteran who is the top officer, were in a camp in Central America on a mission.

A man, who said he could be called "Frank" or "Ronald" and was wearing a Nicaraguan National Guard insignia on his beret, explained that all the Nicaraguans in the camp were former members of the National Guard.

TRAINING CAMPS IN UNITED STATES

The Nicaraguans, he said, have seven training camps, in the United States, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and South American countries that he declined to name. There are approximately 600 Nicaraguans training in the United States, he said.

"We'll fight the Communists with the same means they use—weapons," he said. "They don't use roses." He explained that the former guardsmen had managed to get out of the country with their weapons and were also obtaining arms from South American countries "which have identified with us."

When asked to name these countries, he said he could list only those who had lent moral support: Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.

"The hour of our return is approaching," he said, "but we can't say when."

Another Nicaraguan, wearing civilian clothes and identified as the commander, refused to give his name but spoke at great length with some eloquence. The former guardsmen, he said, do not intend to fight for the interests of the Somoza family or the right wing.

Their purpose, he said, is to "vindicate the rights of Nicaraguans who got rid of a dictatorial regime to get a democratic, representative regime. For this, so many fought and so many people died. And the people were deceived."

The Nicaraguans are a new addition to the camp, which began 18 months ago, according to Mr. González, 48 years old, who said that he was in Cuba during the failed Bay of Pigs invasion and subsequently escaped the country by taking asylum in the Venezuelan Embassy.

There are other guerrilla training camps in Tampa and Okeechobee, Fla., Mr. González said, adding that one is called "Libertad" and another called "Máximo Gómez," after the hero of the Cuban war of independence. There are also camps in New Jersey and in Los Angeles, he said. He refused to give the location of the camp in Central America but did say we've had some actions against the Sandinist Government from that camp."

"We don't want to break the law," he said, referring to the Neutrality Act. "When we understand we might do this, we go outside the country."

Mr. González said his group, mostly Cubans with a few Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, has made sporadic attacks on Cuba in past years, explaining that it was mostly a matter of keeping the rebellious spirit alive.

The exiles, he said, got a major lift from the manifestation of discontent among the 10,800 who sought refuge in the Peruvian Embassy last April and from the election of Ronald Reagan.

"We think that Reagan and the Cabinet are acting as others should have and did not, he said. "The others were weak before the enemy. These are putting respect in Fidel Castro and our common enemy, Russia."

Mr. González said his would-be guerrillas have had no conversations with the C.I.A. but would accept any help offered. "The principal aid we've received," he said, "has been the declarations of the President. It's not weapons we need, but freedom of action.

The wave of refugees from the Port of Mariel brought only a few recruits to the camp in south Florida, Mr. González said. Many of the refugees "are nervous and disoriented," he said.

Alpha 66, on the other hand, has actively recruited among the Mariel refugees and is now housing about 50 refugees to a building near the organization's Miami headquarters.

INFILTRATION AND SABOTAGE

In June 1980, the group announced its Máximo Gómez plan to infiltrate Cuba and commit acts of economic sabotage. Saboteurs, trained in explosives and armed to fight any Cuban ships that might detect them, have been taken to Cuba in small boats landed at night, and are expected to remain there.

For this purpose, said Andrés Nazario Sargen, Secretary General of Alpha 66, the Mariel refugees are ideal because "they know Cuba, and they can survive without being detected."

Roberto Campos, who was one of those who sought asylum in the Peruvian Embassy and left through Mariel, said he was a member of a group called "Rosa Blanca," which, with Alpha 66 and the Group of 52, took responsibility for the last

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

week's blast at the hydroelectric plant, which killed six persons, including Mr. Campos's brother.

Mr. Campos, 29, said he had served nine years in prison, starting at the age of 15, for committing acts of political sabotage.

He is now training with Alpha 66 and asserted: "I'm committed to fighting. Not only in Cuba—we're ready to go anywhere the United States sends us to destroy Communism."

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 15, 1981]

How Latin Guerrillas Train on Our Soil

EXILES REHEARSE FOR THE DAY THEY HOPE WILL COME

(By Eddie Adams)

I could hardly believe my eyes when the two men who came to call for me at the Holiday Inn in Coral Gables, Fla., walked into the lobby wearing U.S. Army-type camouflage uniforms with bayonets and canteens strapped around their waists. They were there to take me to a nearby military camp where Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles are training and practicing to invade their former homelands in a supreme effort to overthrow the leftist regimes that rule them.

Until I encountered my two guides, I had no idea of how openly and extensively these displaced Latins are operating throughout southern Florida, including Miami, the Everglades and the Keys. Some of them use code names, like Condor and Bombillo (Spanish for light bulb), but most make no attempt to conceal their identities—or their purpose. They are determined to liberate their homelands from the Castro regime in Cuba and the Sandinista junta in Nicaragua—or die in the process.

The Nicaraguans are a new element in the invasion-plan picture. Since the replacement of the dictatorial Somoza regime by what they regard as an equally repressive regime of the left, they have swelled the ranks of the anti-Castro Cubans already undergoing training camps in Florida flies a trio of flags at its inner gates—American, Cuban and Nicaraguan.

Says José Francisco Cardenal, who used to be vice president of the Council of State in Nicaragua but is now among the refugees: "In the beginning, 95 percent of my people were for the revolution, but now the reverse is true."

Right now, there are at least 10 paramilitary organizations composed of Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles operating in Florida. Some of them advertise for recruits over Spanish-language Miami radio stations and speak freely about their aims. "We Nicaraguans are back-to-back with Cuba," says Max Vargas. "They confiscated my family's trucking company," he adds bitterly. "I was successful. I made money, a million dollars a month. They told me the people would own the company, but now only the government owns everything. I want Nicaragua to be the way I remember it. We're training people not only here in Florida, but in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica. We have training camps in California, too."

At the camps, the prospective invaders work vigorously at their maneuvers and preparations. The newest base to open is a 68-acre flatland surrounded by 6-foot-high elephant grass and workmen building a new housing development. This guerrilla "boot camp" is about 20 minutes by car from Miami's International Airport. Some of the recruits working out there have enough of an income to enjoy the Miami Beach resorts. Instead, they spend every weekend clad in fatigues, firing automatic weapons or running the obstacle course.

Security is tight at camps like this. Visitors are scrupulously checked out. The guerrillas say they're armed to the teeth with an arsenal of weapons that even includes amphibious assault boats. But they won't say who supplies them. Many members of the groups are U.S. citizens whose pasts are tied to Latin America. Some have families still there.

Alberto Martinez-Echenique, a Bay of Pigs veteran, works for a construction company by day; at night and on weekends, he serves as an officer in the junta Patriotica Cubana, an organization of 206 satellite groups throughout the world. "We have daily contact with the people of Cuba," he says: "The people don't want Castro anymore. They are just waiting for the moment to strike, and that moment is very near."

George Gonzales, a 48-year-old Miami florist whose code name is Bombillo, predicts that "something big will happen inside Cuba this year." Bombillo is leader of one of the larger paramilitary groups, called CUBA. He was a member of Castro's 100,000-man army during the Bay of Pigs invasion, in 1961, he deserted Castro and emigrated to the U.S. to start his battle against communism.

Bombillo's activities in the U.S. have cost him four years behind bars. He spent that time in a federal prison in Atlanta for blowing up 11 commercial ships that were trading with Havana.

"I did $7 million worth of damage," says Bombillo. "Four years of my life was worth it."

The outspoken CUBA leader has no illusions about the eventual invasions. "We'll get killed on the beaches, face a firing squad or have freedom for our people," he says. "It's pretty much a one-way ticket."

Bombillo also is aware that he and his men face possible problems from within. Nearly a year has passed since the "Freedom Flotilla" began transporting 125,000 Cubans from Mariel to Key West. Many of those have joined the paramilitary units, with most going to the group called Alpha 66. Bombillo doesn't think so highly of them. "I have three in my ranks who are Castro agents," he explains. "We know who they are, but they don't know we've detected them. We will use them to our advantage."

Another possible problem is rivalry between groups. The various units have been holding secret meetings with the objective of uniting. Said one of the guerrillas, clad in his battle fatigues, "One of our biggest problems is: Who will be the leader?"

The exiles insist that they don't want direct U.S. intervention. They're not expecting the U.S. Marines or the 101st Airborne to support their liberation mission. But they say they would like a "green light" and possibly some hardware to help them do "the dirty work."

How much U.S. assistance they may actually receive, however, remains problematical. Said one State Department spokesman when asked to comment:

"The new Administration is not going to turn back the clock 21 years in Cuba or 17 months in Nicaragua and support any exile groups. It's illegal. It's a breach of international law. It's also stupid."

Nevertheless, the prospective invaders persist in regarding Ronald Reagan as their possible savior because they think, he is unafraid of armed confrontation.

"With Carter, we knew we couldn't do anything inside Cuba," sums up Bombillo. "Now, maybe. This nation will be saved with the help of God and Reagan."

[From title 18, United States Statutes]

§ 922. Unlawful acts

(a) It shall be unlawful—

(1) for any person, except a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer, to engage in the business of importing, manufacturing, or dealing in firearms or ammunition, or in the course of such business to ship, transport, or receive any firearm or ammunition in interstate or foreign commerce;

(2) for any importer, manufacturer, dealer, or collector licensed under the provisions of this chapter to ship or transport in interstate or foreign commerce any firearm or ammunition to any person other than a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector, except that—

(A) this paragraph and subsection (b)(3) shall not be held to preclude a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector from returning a firearm or replacement firearm of the same kind and type to a person from whom it was received; and this paragraph shall not be held to preclude an individual from mailing a firearm owned in compliance with Federal, State, and local law to a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer for the sole purpose of repair or customizing;

(B) this paragraph shall not be held to preclude a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer from depositing a firearm for conveyance in the mails to any officer, employee, agent, or watchman who, pursuant to the provisions of section 1715 of this title, is eligible to receive through the mails pistols, revolvers, and other firearms capable of being concealed on the person, for use in connection with his official duty; and

(C) nothing in this paragraph shall be construed as applying in any manner in the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or any possession of the United States differently than it would apply if the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or the possession were in fact a State of the United States;

(3) for any person, other than a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector to transport into or receive in the State

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

State where it maintains a place of business) any firearm purchased or otherwise obtained by such person outside that State, except that this paragraph (A) shall not preclude any person who lawfully acquires a firearm by bequest or intestate succession in a State other than his State of residence from transporting the firearm into or receiving it in that State, if it is lawful for such person to purchase or possess such firearm in that State, (B) shall not apply to the transportation or receipt of a rifle or shotgun obtained in conformity with the provisions of subsection (b)(3) of this section, and (C) shall not apply to the transportation of any firearm acquired in any State prior to the effective date of this chapter;

(4) for any person, other than a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector, to transport in interstate or foreign commerce any destructive device, machinegun (as defined in section 5845 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954), short-barreled shotgun, or short-barreled rifle, except as specifically authorized by the Secretary consistent with public safety and necessity;

(5) for any person (other than a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector) to transfer, sell, trade, give, transport, or deliver any firearm to any person (other than a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector) who the transferor knows or has reasonable cause to believe resides in any State other than that in which the transferor resides (or other than that in which its place of business is located if the transferor is a corporation or other business entity); except that this paragraph shall not apply to (A) the transfer, transportation, or delivery of a firearm made to carry out a bequest of a firearm to, or an acquisition by intestate succession of a firearm by, a person who is permitted to acquire or possess a firearm under the laws of the State of his residence, and (B) the loan or rental of a firearm to any person for temporary use for lawful sporting purposes; and

(6) for any person in connection with the acquisition or attempted acquisition of any firearm or ammunition from a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector, knowingly to make any false or fictitious oral or written statement or to furnish or exhibit any false, fictitious, or misrepresented identification, intended or likely to deceive such importer, manufacturer, dealer, or collector with respect to any fact material to the lawfulness of the sale or other disposition of such firearm or ammunition under the provisions of this chapter.

(b) It shall be unlawful for any licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector to sell or deliver—

(1) any firearm or ammunition to any individual who the licensee knows or has reasonable cause to believe is less than eighteen years of age, and, if the firearm, or ammunition is other than a shotgun or rifle, or ammunition for a shotgun or rifle, to any individual who the licensee knows or has reasonable cause to believe is less than twenty-one years of age.

* * * * * * *

(h) It shall be unlawful for any person—

(1) who is under indictment for, or who has been convicted in any court of, a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year;

(2) who is a fugitive from justice;

(3) who is an unlawful user of or addicted to marihuana or any depressant or stimulant drug (as defined in section 201(v) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act) or narcotic drug (as defined in section 4731(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954); or

(4) who has been adjudicated as a mental defective or who has been committed to any mental institution;

to receive any firearm or ammunition which has been shipped or transported in interstate or foreign commerce.

(i) It shall be unlawful for any person to transport or ship in interstate or foreign commerce, any stolen firearm or stolen ammunition, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the firearm or ammunition was stolen.

(j) It shall be unlawful for any person to receive, conceal, store, barter, sell, or dispose of any stolen firearm or stolen ammunition, or pledge or accept as security for a loan any stolen firearm or stolen ammunition, which is moving as, which is a part of, or which constitutes, interstate or foreign commerce, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the firearm or ammunition was stolen.

in interstate or foreign commerce, any firearm which has had the manufacturer's serial number removed, obliterated, or altered

(l) Except as provided in section 925(d) of this chapter, it shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to import or bring into the United States or any possession thereof any firearm or ammunition, and it shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to receive any firearm or ammunition which has been imported or brought into the United States or any possession thereof in violation of the provisions of this chapter.

* * * * * * *

§ 956. Conspiracy to injure property of foreign government

(a) If two or more persons within the jurisdiction of the United States conspire to injure or destroy specific property situated within a foreign country and belonging to a foreign government or to any political subdivision thereof with which the United States is at peace, or any railroad, canal, bridge, or other public utility so situated, and if one or more such persons commits an act within the jurisdiction of the United States to effect the object of the conspiracy, each of the parties to the conspiracy shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.

(b) Any indictment or information under this section shall describe the specific property which it was the object of the conspiracy to injure or destroy.

June 25, 1948, c. 645, 62 Stat. 744.

HISTORICAL AND REVISION NOTES

Reviser's Note. Based on section 234 of Title 22, U.S.C., 1940 ed., Foreign Relations and Intercourse (June 15, 1917, c. 10, Title VIII, § 5, 40 Stat. 226).

Canal Zone. Applicability of section to Canal Zone, see section 14 of this title.

CROSS REFERENCES

Jurisdiction of offenses, see section 3241 of this title.

Letters, writings, etc., in violation of this section as nonmailable, see section 1717 of this title.

* * * * * * *

§ 960. Expedition against friendly nation

Whoever, within the United States, knowingly begins or sets on foot or provides or prepares a means for or furnishes the money for, or takes part in, any military or naval expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States is at peace, shall be fined not more than $3,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.

June 25, 1948, c. 645, 62 Stat. 745.

HISTORICAL AND REVISION NOTES

Reviser's Note. Based on Title 18, U.S.C., 1940 ed., § 25 (Mar. 4, 1909, c. 321, § 13, 35 Stat. 1090; June 15, 1917, c. 30, Title V, § 8, 40 Stat. 223).

Words "within the United States" were substituted for "within the jurisdiction" etc., in view of the definition of United States in section 5 of this title.

Reference to territory or possessions of the United States was omitted as covered by definitive section 5 of this title.

Canal Zone. Applicability of section to Canal Zone, see section 14 of this title.

CROSS REFERENCES

Foreign transients, application of section to, see section 959 of this title.

Jurisdiction of offenses, see section 3241 of this title.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Letters, writings, etc., in violation of this section as nonmailable, see section 1717 of this title.

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§ 401. Illegal exportation of war materials

SEIZURE AND FORFEITURE OF MATERIALS AND CARRIERS

(a) Whenever an attempt is made to export or ship from or take out of the United States any arms or munitions of war or other articles in violation of law, or whenever it is known or there shall be probable cause to believe that any arms or munitions of war or other articles are intended to be or are being or have been exported or removed from the United States in violation of law, the Secretary of the Treasury, or any person duly authorized for the purpose by the President, may seize and detain such arms or munitions of war or other articles and may seize and detain any vessel, vehicle, or aircraft containing the same or which has been or is being used in exporting or attempting to export such arms or munitions of war or other articles. All arms or munitions of war and other articles, vessels, vehicles, and aircraft seized pursuant to this subsection shall be forfeited.

APPLICABILITY OF LAWS RELATING TO SEIZURE, FORFEITURE, AND CONDEMNATION

(b) All provisions of law relating to seizure, summary and judicial forfeiture and condemnation for violation of the customs laws, the disposition of the property forfeited or condemned or the proceeds from the sale thereof; the remission or mitigation of such forfeitures; and the compromise of claims and the award of compensation to informers in respect of such forfeitures shall apply to seizures and forfeitures incurred, or alleged to have been incurred, under the provisions of this section, insofar as applicable and not inconsistent with the provisions hereof. Awards of compensation to informers under this section may be paid only out of funds specifically appropriated therefor.

DISPOSITION OF FORFEITED MATERIALS

(c) Arms and munitions of war forfeited under subsection (b) of this section shall be delivered to the Secretary of Defense for such use or disposition as he may deem in the public interest, or, in the event that the Secretary of Defense refuses to accept such arms and munitions of war, they shall be sold or otherwise disposed of as prescribed under existing law in the case of forfeitures for violation of the customs laws.

June 15, 1917, c. 30, Title VI, § 1, 40 Stat. 223; June 17, 1930, c. 497, Title IV, § 523, 46 Stat. 740; Aug. 13, 1953, c. 434, § 1, 67 Stat. 577.

HISTORICAL NOTE

References in Text. The customs laws, referred to in subsecs. (b) and (c), are classified generally to Title 19, Customs Duties.

1953 Amendment. Act Aug. 13, 1953 provided not only seizure and forfeiture of articles or merchandise which are being, or are intended to be illegally exported, and the vehicle, vessel or aircraft in which exportation is intended to be accomplished, but also for the seizure and forfeiture of articles or merchandise actually illegally exported and the carrier used to effectuate the exportation, provided for applicability of laws relating to seizure, summary and judicial forfeiture and condemnation, and provided for the disposition of seized materials.

1930 Amendment. Act June 17, 1930 substituted "comptrollers of customs" for "Naval officers of customs".

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Act Aug. 13, 1953, see 1953 U.S. Code Cong. and Adm. News, p. 2386.

§ 231. Civil disorders

(a)(1) Whoever teaches or demonstrates to any other person the use, application, or making or any firearm or explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, knowing or having reason to know or intending that the same will be unlawfully employed for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder which may in any way or degree obstruct, delay, or adversely affect commerce or the movement of any article or commodities in commerce or the conduct or performance of any federally protected function; or

(2) Whoever transports or manufactures for transportation in commerce any firearm, or explosive or incendiary device, knowing in commerce any firearm, or explosive or incendiary device, knowing or having reason to know or intending that the same will be used unlawfully in furtherance of a civil disorder; or

(3) Whoever commits or attempts to commit any act to obstruct, impede, or interfere with any firearm or law enforcement officer lawfully engaged in the lawful performance of his official duties incident to and during the commission or a civil disorder which in any way or degree obstructs, delays, or adversely affects commerce or the movement of any article or commodity in commerce or the conduct or performance of any federally protected function—

Shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Nothing contained in this section shall make unlawful any act of any law enforcement officer which is performed in the lawful performance of his official duties.

Added Pub. L. 90-284, Title X, § 1002(a), Apr. 11, 1968, 82 Stat. 90.

HISTORICAL NOTE

Short Title. Section 1001 of Pub. L. 90-284 provided that: "This title [which enacted this chapter] may be cited as the 'Civil Obedience Act of 1968'."

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub. L. 90-284, see 1968 U.S. Code Cong. and Adm. News, p. 1837.

§ 232. Definitions

For purposes of this chapter:

(1) The term "civil disorder" means any public disturbance involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons, which causes an immediate danger of or results in damage or injury to the property or person of any other individual.

(2) The term "commerce" means commerce (A) between any State of the District of Columbia and any place outside thereof; (B) between points within any State or the District of Columbia, but through any place outside thereof; or (C) wholly within the District of Columbia.

(3) The term "federally protected function" means any function, operation, or action carried out, under the laws of the United States, by any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States or by any officer or employee thereof; and such term shall specifically include, but not be limited to, the collection and distribution of the United States mails.

(4) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.

(5) The term "explosive or incendiary device" means (A) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, (B) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile, or similar device, and (C) any incendiary bomb or grenade, fire bomb, or similar device, including any device which (i) consists of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a wick composed of any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (ii) can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.

. . . . . .

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Tsongas.

Senator TSONGAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, the session that we had earlier suggested that much of the training of the Salvadorans that was going on conducted by our people could be done in the United States. Is that still the case?

MORE PRACTICAL TO DO TRAINING IN EL SALVADOR

General GRAVES. If I may address that question, Senator. If you look at the scope of the training, the type of the training and the number of people involved, all of these would say that it is much more practical and effective to do the training in El Salvador than to move large numbers of people from El Salvador to the United States to do this training.

Some of the training, which I would characterize as on-the-job training, clearly would not be practical to do in the United States.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

be practical to move those boats to the United States.

MILITARY ADVISERS SUBJECT TO VIOLENCE

Senator TSONGAS. Does the Pentagon agree that the military advisers there are subject to the violence of the right- and left-wing terrorists?

General GRAVES. I would say that the military advisers there are subject to the same terrorism that our embassy people there are subject to.

Senator TSONGAS. So the answer is "Yes"?

General GRAVES. The same level of violence that all the other American personnel in El Salvador are subject to.

Senator TSONGAS. Well, if we are concerned about our own personnel, would that not dictate that even though it may not be the most practical that we have the training conducted in the United States or outside of El Salvador as much as possible.

General GRAVES. Well, I think our concern is the pursuit of a policy which will help El Salvador to have a secure situation so that El Salvador can reach its economic and political goals. I believe that the decisions made to have people go there to do the training is based on the fact that we think this is the best and most effective way to get the job done.

ARMED SERVICES PERSONNEL EXPECT DANGERS IN CAREER

And I will go further. I think the people that join the armed services expect that there would be some danger in their careers.

Senator TSONGAS. Did Secretary Weinberger recommend the sending of advisers?

General GRAVES. Yes, he did.

Senator TSONGAS. That was his recommendation to the President?

General GRAVES. He joined with Secretary Haig. Now, they were concerned about the safety of these men. And I would say that we have gone to every length possible in terms of the way in which they will conduct their activities, the places in which they will conduct their activities and provide for their safety.

WHICH NATIONS ENDORSE SENDING OUR MILITARY ADVISERS

Senator TSONGAS. Can you tell me which nations have specifically endorsed our sending of military advisers into El Salvador?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Senator, I think we would have to look to see where there are public statements endorsing this particular aspect. A number of nations have endorsed our general program, which includes economic assistance and military assistance, including trainers.

I take your question to be whether they have said something publicly that they endorse the sending of the trainers. I think the neighboring countries of Guatemala and Honduras have endorsed that, as well, of course, as the Government of El Salvador itself.

But we would have to do a little research to find out whether other countries have dealt with this particular point publicly.

ALLIES ARE SUPPORTIVE OF OVERALL POLICY

Mr. BUSHNELL. In general, our allies are supportive of the policy. But whether they have said they support specifically the sending of trainers, I cannot say.

Senator TSONGAS. Has any European head of state said to this administration, "We support the sending of advisers to El Salvador"?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I think, as Mr. Bushnell says, they have not identified the particular question of trainers. They have made statements generally supportive of the overall policy, which includes the trainers.

Senator TSONGAS. Could you look into that and report back to the committee?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes; we would be glad to do that.

[The following information was subsequently supplied for the record:]

Senator TSONGAS. Which nations have specifically endorsed our sending military training personnel to El Salvador, or have otherwise publicly supported our policy?

ANSWER. It is not common practice for governments to endorse the military assistance policies of second countries with regard to a third country. Nevertheless, several government leaders have publicly expressed their understanding of the need for the United States to provide military assistance. These include:

British Foreign Secretary Carrington, who on March 4 stated that President Reagan had no alternative to sending more military trainers and assistance, given Cuban and Soviet involvement in destabilizing Central America.

Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau, who while opposing a "military solution," stated on March 12 that since the other guy's got guns, he could not get "overly incensed" that the United States was providing military aid requested by the Salvadoran Government.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Pereira, who on March 20 expressed understanding that U.S. military assistance responded to a request from the legitimate Duarte Government.

Australian Prime Minister Fraser, who on March 5 condemned weapons deliveries to guerrillas in El Salvador from Communist sources and stated "the United States is entirely right in seeking to cut off that source of disturbance, that source of revolution."

Japanese Foreign Minister Ito, who on March 10 said the Japanese Government believes foreign intervention on behalf of the insurgents should be firmly opposed.

In addition, the Governments of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Argentina, Honduras, Panama, Colombia, Costa Rica and others have publicly condemned interference by Communist states in El Salvador. Many of these governments and others share U.S. policy objectives of support for the Duarte government. Among those governments whose leaders also have publicly supported Duarte's efforts to return El Salvador to a peaceful political process are Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jamaica, Panama, Peru, Portugal and Canada.

A number of governments including Mexico, Sweden, and Denmark have consistently opposed military assistance to either side, while a large number have privately expressed to us their understanding of the need to provide military assistance so that the Duarte government can resist the Communist-supplied guerrillas.

TWO REPORTS REQUESTED

Senator TSONGAS. On the question of reports, Mr. Chairman, when we had our subcommittee meeting on March 2, there were two reports that I requested. One was a report on the money coming from Miami, allegedly, to the right-wing terrorists. And there was no response to that request in this report.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Second, there was a report on the discipline on the military—that is, by those in the military who were engaged in violence. There was discussion with Secretary Bushnell about the 400 courts-martials and how many of those related to acts of violence. That is not in this report either.

I was curious why those two reports specifically requested have not been made yet to the committee.

Mr. BUSHNELL. Maybe I can respond to that, Senator. In the first case, I think, as I said at that time, as far as the investigation of illegal acts in the United States, the State Department is not in a position to report to you on that subject. That is not in our domain.

On the second subject——

Senator TSONGAS. Well who has the jurisdiction? Would it be the FBI?

Mr. MULLEN. Yes, sir; we have jurisdiction, and we are conducting an investigation.

Senator TSONGAS. Did the State Department tell you that we wanted that report?

Mr. MULLEN. Not to my knowledge, sir. They may have notified somebody at a lower level, but I am not aware of any request. I was notified, Senator, before coming in here today that we may go into executive session for a report on this matter, which I am prepared to do.

Senator TSONGAS. I would like to have that.

DOES UNITED STATES SUPPORT OAS MEDIATING THE DISPUTE

Does the United States support the role of the OAS in mediating the dispute? Have we taken an official position on that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. We have taken the position, Senator, that in terms of a role of mediation, we will not pick among the many mediators which have offered their services.

The OAS has not offered its services. It has not put itself in that position. But if the OAS should offer, our position has been that this is something that the various parties in El Salvador have to decide in order for it to work. It is not up to the United States to make that choice.

Senator TSONGAS. Have we indicated to the Government in El Salvador that we believe they should take up the offers made by various parties to mediate the dispute?

Mr. BUSHNELL. What we have indicated to the Government is that we think it is important that they move to a political solution. They have proposed an electoral route to move to that solution. We think it is important that they bring in other groups, that it is up to them to decide what, if any, mediation is appropriate.

Senator TSONGAS. So the answer is, "No, we have not encouraged them to take up any of these offers"?

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is correct.

CUBAN MILITARY PERSONNEL IN GUINEA

Senator TSONGAS. Do we object—and I am referring here to the Department of Defense annual report for fiscal year 1981—did we object to the 200 Cuban military personnel in Guinea?

General GRAVES. I am not familiar with what steps we may have taken actually to object. If you mean raise a formal objection, I think that we deplore what we view as the widespread use of Cubans to encourage insurgencies.

Now, as far as I know, we have not objected specifically, and certainly not formally, to assistance provided when it is clearly requested by the government in power.

Senator TSONGAS. So we deplore the 200 Cuban military personnel in Guinea. Do we also deplore the 150 Cuban military personnel in Equatorial Guinea?

General GRAVES. I am not familiar with the details in that country, Senator Tsongas.

Senator TSONGAS. Would it surprise you if anybody deplored our military personnel in El Salvador?

General GRAVES. It would not surprise me if the Soviet Union or Cuba objected to our resisting their attempt to overthrow the Government of El Salvador.

Senator TSONGAS. What about Germany?

General GRAVES. I would like to defer to the State representatives here to discuss the positions taken by our allies.

Senator TSONGAS. What about France?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I would say on those cases, Senator, Germany and France and other allies, that I would be very surprised if they deplored the presence of military trainers there.

Senator TSONGAS. What about Mexico?

Ambassador STOESSEL. This has not been the position of those governments.

Senator TSONGAS. Did we preconsult with Mexico on this issue?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I am sorry, I didn't hear you.

INFORM MEXICO OF MILITARY ADVISERS

Senator TSONGAS. Did we tell the Mexican Government that we were going to send military advisers in prior to the public announcement?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes, we did.

Senator TSONGAS. What was their response?

Ambassador STOESSEL. They understood the aims of our program.

Senator TSONGAS. Did they support it?

Ambassador STOESSEL. They felt that was a decision for us to make. They made very clear that they condemn the infiltration of arms from outside.

Senator TSONGAS. They raised no objection to the introduction of American military personnel?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Not formally.

Senator TSONGAS. Informally?

OPPOSE INTERVENTION

Ambassador STOESSEL. I think their position is one of opposing intervention from all sides. I think, in that connection, they regard intervention as armed intervention; and they would certainly deplore the introduction of U.S. Armed Forces in a combat role. They have not, to my knowledge, specifically objected to combat trainers.

Senator TSONGAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Tsongas.

Senator Cranston.

Senator CRANSTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I share a number of the concerns that have been expressed by Senators on and off this committee regarding the nature and extent of our involvement in El Salvador. I do applaud the diplomatic initiatives that have been undertaken by the Reagan administration to stop the flow of weapons from certain Communist governments to the El Salvadoran guerrillas. This is an important step in our effort to permit the people there to determine their own future in peace.

I remain troubled by the presence of significant numbers of American advisers in El Salvador. I welcome statements by administration spokesmen that no more advisers will be sent.

ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE CONDITIONED BY COMMITMENTS

I also am troubled by the extension of what appears to be unconditional U.S. military assistance. I believe any such assistance should be conditioned on commitments by the El Salvadoran authorities to continue efforts they are currently making to try to stop rightwing terrorism and to move forward on the political and land reforms that are essential to drying up the indigenous support of the El Salvadoran leftwing and the guerrillas.

I am not prepared at this time to support the initiative undertaken by Senator Tsongas and Senator Kennedy and others in proposing legislation which would cut off all aid to El Salvador until certain conditions are met. However, I might well become a supporter, depending upon what I learn about the administration's policies toward El Salvador and depending upon conditions and developments there.

I do view the Tsongas-Kennedy effort as an important one which could help move forward the debate in Congress and in our country on the proper U.S. role in seeking to help the people of El Salvador achieve peaceful self-determination.

Secretary Stoessel, I have a few questions about U.S. policy toward El Salvador. Some I intended to ask, but they have already been asked, such as regarding the people in Miami and the alleged flow of money down to the rightwing hit squads in El Salvador. Also, several questions have already been asked about the advisers. That covers some of the ground I wanted to cover.

DID EL SALVADOR REQUEST ADVISERS

I would like to ask the following on that subject. Did El Salvador request all the advisers on their own initiative, or did they make the request after the U.S. suggestions that they do so?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Maybe we should say, Senator Cranston, that it is not always clear—that is, the antecedents of these things are not always clear. There were discussions between our military and the military of El Salvador going a long ways back. In fact, we have had mobile training teams in El Salvador for some time.

They discussed this form the point of view of, "Can you help on this?" What would it take? The source of ideas is not. Finally, as a result of these military discussions—and I cannot say categorically that our military did not suggest some positions in response to the problem; others the Salvadorian suggested.

Finally, this proposition was taken to President Duarte, who went through each one, position by position. In some cases, he pointed out to his own military that he didn't think a certain position was essential, it wasn't needed; and those were struck out.

So that the people that we have provided, every single one, have been approved personally by the president of the junta and by the junta and requested of us.

Senator CRANSTON. I would like to ask if you can assure this committee that the statement of the unnamed administration spokesman last week that no more advisers will be sent beyond the number that are down there now, or publicly announced as slated to go there, as an authoritative statement representing administration policy?

[Pause.]

"TRAINERS" BETTER WORD THAN "ADVISERS"

Mr. BUSHNELL. I don't think that a statement was made that was as categoric as what I have just heard you say. Let me go over what the administration position is on these advisers—or "trainers" is a better word, probably, than "advisers." Most of them are advising only in the sense.

The administration believes that the level of instructors, technicians, and administrative personnel, 54 which are approved now, meets El Salvador's current security assistance requirements if the military situation remains basically unchanged.

Within that general level, there could be reductions in the number of personnel assigned to some of the teams as they complete various phases of their mission. Conversely, there could be additions or replacements of some teams with others as Salvadoran requirements change.

POSSIBILITY OF USING CIVILIAN CONTRACTORS

For example, we are reviewing the possibility of using civilian contractors to provide technical support once initial work is completed by some of the U.S. military teams. On the other hand, as logistic problems develop, problems with maintaining certain sorts of equipment, teams may have to be put in to deal with that.

We will, or course, continue to consult with the Congress on our security assistance programs and on the number of people in El Salvador.

Senator CRANSTON. I saw a statement attributed to an unnamed spokesman for the State Department that the present figures amounted to a cap. Am I to take it that that was not a formal statement of policy?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Well, I think Senator, as we have indicated, that we feel some flexibility in this figure, it should be granted there could be changes within that figure. There could be some reductions, particularly if we go to civilian employees. Particular circumstances might require some slight increases in some of the teams.

RELEASE
El Salvador: Human
Special Project (19

We do feel that what we have now is appropriate to the circumstances. We would not anticipate large changes in that.

STEPS TAKEN TO INCREASE SAFETY

Senator CRANSTON. Should one or more Americans be killed in El Salvador, at what point would you recommend that steps be taken to increase their safety, such as sending additional military personnel down to protect those who are there?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I think we would have to look at the circumstances in each case. As I said earlier—and I think we all recognize the level of violence in Salvador is high; terrorist acts occur as they do in other countries; and there is some risk attached even though we are taking every possible means to insure the security of our personnel by keeping them in restricted areas and where there are no hostilities in progress.

If a member of a team is the subject of a terrorist attack, then I think we would have to look at the circumstances of that. I do not think that necessarily such an act would call for additional personnel to be introduced, nor would it affect the overall direction of our program. We would recognize it as an individual and isolated act of terrorism.

Senator CRANSTON. I gather from your answer that it would not necessarily call for an increase in personnel, but that it could call for an increase in personnel?

Ambassador STOESSEL. We would have to look at the circumstances, Senator.

Senator CRANSTON. Can you foresee circumstances whereunder you would consider revising the missions of the U.S. military personnel sent to El Salvador? For example, might they be equipped for combat and used to rescue or protect other American citizens in danger there?

MILITARY PEOPLE IN TRAINING AREAS—NOT COMBAT OPERATIONS

General GRAVES. That would be a totally different policy from the one we are pursuing now. Since we are not using any of the military people to accompany the El Salvadoran forces on combat operations or anthing, we aren't in that type of situation. We are in training areas, and unless one of those were subject to attack, I don't see the kind of situation that you are describing.

Senator CRANSTON. In your judgment, would a guerrilla attack upon U.S. military personnel or the locations where they are stationed bring into play the reporting requirements for the War Powers Resolution.

General GRAVES. I think it would not be the War Powers Resolution, Senator Cranston. But as Mr. Carlucci said in his recent letter to the chairman, if we had an outbreak of significant hostilities, we would report in compliance with section 21(c) of the Arms Export Control Act.

CONDITIONS WITH REGARD TO ASSISTANCE

Senator CRANSTON. Has the administration decided to offer unconditional military and economic aid to El Salvador, or will we hold the El Salvadoran Government to a commitment to efforts trying to stop rightwing terrorism and to achieve land reform?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, we have not made specific conditions with regard to the assistance we are providing to the Government of El Salvador. We have said very clearly we support the program of the Government itself for progress in the economic and social area and for the electoral process, a peaceful transition to an elected democratic government.

That is their program. We would expect that they will live up to it, and we fully support it.

Senator CRANSTON. Well, are we doing more than simply supporting it, but doing our utmost to persuade them that they should carry on that program?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes. We are, of course, recognizing that it is their program and their country. But I think all of our efforts are directed to that end.

Senator CRANSTON. Thank you. My time is up.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Cranston.

Senator Dodd.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Secretary Stoessel, in your paraphrasing of your statement, at one point you said if we are not able to cut off or convince those neighboring countries of El Salvador to stop the supply of arms into that country—if I am quoting you correctly—you said, "We will go to the source." That is not in your prepared statement.

STEPS ADMINISTRATION WOULD TAKE "TO GO TO THE SOURCE"

Putting aside for a moment, if you will, the questions that were raised by Senator Helms, would you be as specific as you can be for this committee in telling us what steps the administration is considering that it would take "to go to the source" to cut off those supplies, and specifically which countries are you talking about?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I would say, Senator, that the primary source, as we know, is Cuba. The other countries in the area are primarily transit points. We have had some success, as we have said earlier, in slowing down the flow of arms into El Salvador through those countries. We hope that that situation will continue and that in the end there will be a complete cessation of such arms infiltration.

Now, if that does not happen, or if there is an increase of the arms flow from Cuba, then we would have to consider steps which could be taken to stop that flow.

I cannot be specific here as to the exact nature of the measures we would take, but I would say we have a wide variety of options from which to choose, including political and economic, and not excluding or necessarily including military.

SPECIFIC PLANS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Senator DODD. Are there specific plans that are under consideration?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes, there are.

Senator DODD. Do these plans include military plans?

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Secretary's response to that question, I would like, as one member of this committee, to request an executive session at some point to hear in greater detail exactly what these plans are. I don't know if that is an appropriate request to make, but I find that response to be new evidence, for me, anyway, and I would like to hear more about it. I think the proper forum might be an executive session rather than an open session.

The CHAIRMAN. I think our witnesses would be prepared to stay on this afternoon. And if we do finish up in an adequate time, we certainly can have an executive session in the backroom.

I have to leave at 6 o'clock. But certainly the next in line, Senator Pell, could chair a closed session or hearing if there are no members of the majority here.

Would you be prepared to stay on, gentlemen? Do any of you have a time deadline?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, I think we have no specific time limits. I would like to suggest, however——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you so request?

Senator DODD. I so request, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador STOESSEL. Mr. Chairman, perhaps it might be better if we could suggest another session, a closed session at another time, in order adequately to prepare for this.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you would prefer adequate time, I am sure Senator Dodd would defer.

Senator DODD. What do we mean by "adequate time"? I would like to be a bit more specific than that. It sounds to me like there are plans. I would be willing to wait until tomorrow in order to give them an opportunity to bring whatever information is necessary. But I would not want to go much beyond that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there enough information that you would like to share in closed session to make it worthwhile, in your judgment? Or do you specifically request, Secretary Stoessel, to go back to the department and confer with the Secretary on this particular issue?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I would wish to do that.

Senator PELL. Or to interrupt for a second, might you quickly declassify the thought that was in your mind and say it to us now in sort of sanitized language?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I would prefer to consult with Secretary Haig about this.

Senator DODD. Well, if the staffs want to discuss the timing, if it is tomorrow, I certainly would be willing to wait until tomorrow, Mr. Chairman. I would rather have the session be meaningful.

The CHAIRMAN. Secretary Haig will be here tomorrow himself. Certainly, you could convey the wishes of the committee that we be briefed either in executive session or in open session.

Ambassador STOESSEL. Fine.

The CHAIRMAN. I think our preference would be to have as much as possible in open session.

Senator DODD. That would be my choice, Mr. Chairman. But I suspect there would be objection.

sometime tomorrow with Secretary Haig to go into executive session if he would be prepared then to discuss the question.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me continue, if I may, with my questions.

The letter that our Government has received from Napoleon Duarte, I do not believe has been made a part of the record, and I think it may be appropriate to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

[The letter referred to follows:]

LETTER FROM THE EL SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT REQUESTING U.S. ASSISTANCE

SAN SALVADOR, *February 20, 1981.*

His Excellency the AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

EXCELLENCY: With all respect and by this means, we address you to express the following decisions taken in plenary session by the Revolutionary Governing Junta on the 19th of February:

"To ratify before the Ambassador of the United States that, confronted by the critical situation of the nation, and not unmindful of the economic priorities before us, the high command of the Salvadoran Armed Forces consider necessary technical assistance of the levels and types previously specified that will permit the Armed Forces to protect the Salvadoran people and defend the national territory. It should be noted that the assistance referred to expressly excludes any participation by technical personnel in military actions separate from the training and management of operations and maintenance of equipment and methodologies agreed upon."

With renewed assurances of the highest consideration and esteem.

JOSE NAPOLEON DUARTE.
JAIME ABDUL GUTIERREZ.
JOSE ANTONIO MORALES EHRLICH.
JOSE RAMON AVALOS NAVARETTE.

The CHAIRMAN. Also, let me say that, without objection, the material Senator Zorinsky asked to be inserted in the record will be so inserted at the appropriate place.

Senator ZORINSKY. Mr. Chairman, at the same time, may I make a unanimous consent request that the record of the hearings be printed, and that it be in order for additional questions to be submitted for the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Senator DODD. Mr. Secretary, I would ask you to look with me at this letter which I have a copy of here. There is a quotation, the paragraph in the middle. You are accurate in your description of it that there is no specific request here for a specific number of personnel or equipment.

Mr. Chairman, I would just quote part of it here. It says:

> To ratify before the Ambassador of the United States that confronted by the critical situation of the nation and not unmindful of the economic priorities before us, the high command of the Salvadoran armed forces consider necessary technical assistance of the levels and types previously specified that will permit the armed forces to protect the Salvadoran people and defend the national territories.

That is the pertinent sentence about which I wish to question you.

MILITARY ADVISERS RECOMMENDATION

Is it not a fact that our military advisers recommended some 75 military personnel and, in fact the Salvadoran Government requested 25 specifically in those numbers, a significant number less than we actually recommended?

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Mr. BUSHNELL. Those numbers are not basically correct. The proposal that was put forward by the military of the two countries was greater than the proposal approved, however.

Senator DODD. I am sorry, I am having a hard time hearing you. What was that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. The proposal that was put forward by the military of the two countries, the Salvadoran military and the American military working together, was for more people than was approved.

Senator DODD. Than was requested by President Duarte?

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is right, than was approved by President Duarte. He cut down the request of the military of the two countries.

Now, the 25 figure I think would be at least in the ballpark, taking into account the fact that there were people at this time already in country. The training team with the helicopters, for example, was sent in by President Carter in January when the helicopters were sent in, so there were a number of those teams that were there. There were some teams such as the naval team that subsequently had been approved.

REQUEST FOR 54 MILITARY PEOPLE

At a given point in February when they were reviewing, in effect, add-ons, the add-on was something in the vicinity of 25, bringing the total to the 54.

Senator DODD. What did Napoleon Duarte ask for? What did he recommend? What was his figure?

Mr. BUSHNELL. His figure was to add on those positions to what was in country that would arive at the 54.

Senator DODD. What was his total number?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Fifty-four.

Senator DODD. His request was for 54, specifically 54?

Mr. BUSHNELL. His request was for a list which, if you added them up was 54.

Senator DODD. Fifty-four military advisers?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Trainers and so forth, yes. We don't refer to them as advisers, but 54 military people, yes.

Senator DODD. This is what he talks about when he says that was previously specified?

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is what he previously specified.

Senator DODD. He previously specified the 54 personnel.

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is correct.

MILITARY ADVISERS PRIME TARGET

Senator DODD. In response to questions by Senator Tsongas, General, I think you agreed with the Senator that these military advisers would become the prime targets of the leftist guerrillas and the extreme right-wing groups. Is that correct? Did you agree with that?

General GRAVES. I did not agree with that; no, sir.

Senator DODD. You do not believe that?

General GRAVES. I believe that they are in a terrorist situation and they are subject to essentially the same level of terrorist threat as the rest of the U.S. Embassy is.

Senator DODD. No more?

General GRAVES. No more. I would say that the Ambassador, the Marine guards at the Embassy who were there when it was shot at recently, all U.S. personnel associated with the U.S. Government are potential terrorist targets. As a matter of fact, to the extent that these military people are staying in secure areas and confining their activities to training, they may have less exposure than some of the other Embassy personnel.

Senator DODD. Are they staying in those little garrisons?

General GRAVES. Well, they are staying in garrison areas, training areas, so I don't think it is correct to characterize them as being the prime targets.

10,000–13,000 CIVILIAN DEATHS IN RECENT YEARS

Senator DODD. Mr. Secretary, could you give us some indication—well, I guess the figures are that there have been some 10,000 to 13,000 civilian deaths in recent years in El Salvador. Is that figure generally agreed upon?

Mr. BUSHNELL. In the last years.

Ambassador STOESSEL. [Nods affirmatively.]

Senator DODD. Could you attribute to leftist guerrillas, military forces and right-wing extremist groups these figures? How would you break them down? What percentage of those civilians have been killed as a result of the activities of those three groups? What percentages, if you have any idea.

VARIOUS KINDS OF DEATHS IN EL SALVADOR

Mr. BUSHNELL. In the vast majority of cases we have no basis for saying who is responsible for how many deaths. I should clarify that there are various kinds of deaths in El Salvador, such as those which are caused by the guerrillas and their attacks on the civilians—some of the guerrilla groups themselves claimed to have killed various thousands of people; those that occur in actions in combat between the military and guerrilla groups, and civilians are sometimes killed in that way.

Senator DODD. Can you attribute any numbers at all or percentages?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I think it is very hard to break down and to put any percentages on these sorts of things. I think it is safe to say that the number who are killed by unauthorized activities of the security forces, that is, outside of the combat situation, are certainly not as great as the number that are killed by the forces of the left.

Senator DODD. How do you know that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. As I said, although the Embassy reports information to us weekly in terms of the number of deaths that have come to light, and the circumstances of each incident we do not have any firm way of analyzing this in most cases.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

from within the security forces are less than those caused by the guerrilla source of attack.

REACHED A CONCLUSION

Senator DODD. Now, wait a second. Mr. Chairman, I know my time is up, but you just told me you don't have any numbers, but you have reached a conclusion. I want to know how you have reached that conclusion.

Mr. BUSHNELL. By reading through the Embassy reports of each incident that has come to light, which is not every incident that is reported upon, and looking at the circumstances. One sees cases where the guerrillas throw a grenade into a truck carrying workers, where the guerrillas attack a village and execute a number of people, those one puts on one side.

One sees other cases in which the military going into a village to kill people, where young people suspected of being guerrillas—some of them may have been, some of them may not have been but it was not a combat situation—are taken out and shot.

So simply by going through the reports and looking at this, I have that impression. As I said, there is no way that we can come down with firm figures or percentages, but my impression is the violence originating from within the security forces outside of combat is less than that from the guerrillas.

Senator DODD. Would you still call it significant?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Yes. I would think even if it were quite small numbers, it would still be significant. It is still a major problem. It is the commitment of the government to eliminate that sort of violence over time.

Senator DODD. My time has expired. I will come back to this.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Dodd.

Before beginning the second round of questioning, Secretary Stoessel, I would like to say I checked with the staff to see if the committee at any time has requested the secret documents that were referred to with respect to the 1963 United States-Soviet understandings. They were once mentioned by Senator Stone at a hearing but at no time can I find record that he actually requested them.

COMMITTEE REQUEST FOR DOCUMENTS

I would like, therefore, to make an official request to you on behalf of the committee that we be provided with copies of those and that to the maximum extent possible now, 8 or 9 years later, that those documents be made public. But if they are sensitive and there is no desire to make them public, we request that they be given to us in the classified form that you see fit.

We will give you a written request on that from the committee.

Also, following upon Senator Helms' original question about whether the El Salvador Government had nationalized their export trade, I have some information regarding some other countries. Almost all of Salvador's products are raw materials, worldwide, there are a number of countries that follow such practices.

have government wheat market boards. Oil sales from almost every exporter are controlled by the government. Most coffee exporters—Brazil, Colombia, and the Ivory Coast, for example—have government institutions which regulate prices and exports. Hong Kong sells export quotas to its private manufacturers.

Sometimes, of course, the export is controlled because the government owns the producing company, such as British Steel and Renault autos in France. I think the picture is more complete with this information.

PRESS IS EMPHASIZING EL SALVADOR TOO MUCH

As my first question, I would like to ask you about a matter that has perplexed the press and was of interest to some of us a few days ago. The press had been reporting on what appeared to be conflicting views in the administration as to how the press actually should cover the El Salvador situation. An unnamed "high official" is purported to have said that the press is emphasizing El Salvador too much.

The next day Secretary Haig identified the spokesman as Mr. Bushnell, and he seemed to disagree. You are sort of in between the two, sir. Would you want to clarify this matter in any way, Mr. Secretary?

Perhaps, Mr. Bushnell, you might also wish to clarify the situation.

Ambassador STOESSEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think Secretary Haig, as you indicated, has spoken to this question, particularly in his discussion with the MacNeil-Lehrer television interviews. As I recall, his point was certainly that we do not wish to downplay the seriousness of the situation in El Salvador and what we are doing to try to improve that situation.

EL SALVADOR NOT THE ONLY SERIOUS PROBLEM

At the same time, we should see it in the perspective of many other problems around the world and realize that El Salvador is not the only serious problem with which we are confronted. He mentioned a number of other problems, including Afghanistan and Poland.

So I really do not think there is a disagreement here, but it is a question of putting the whole matter into perspective.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to say, just as one Senator, that El Salvador does not dominate my day. We have so many other issues with which we are dealing. The succession of world leaders coming to see President Reagan have been amazed at how much they are questioned about it, yet they don't spend that much time on it in meetings when they are here.

So it would appear to be somewhat out of perspective. However, I would think the level of public interest even in just these hearings today is evidence that the American people are deeply concerned that this may be another Vietnam. That is why I started out the questioning by trying to point out that there is a vast difference.

Perhaps you could comment as to the differences that you see between Vietnam and this situation.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

We have gone through the Vietnam episode of our history and we know that we don't want to have that happen again; we have that experience to guide us. That is why there have been so many questions of concern, not only by us, but I know members of the Appropriations Committee to whom I have talked are very concerned about how deeply we would get into this.

ATTENTION GIVEN BY THE PUBLIC AND CONGRESS

Ambassador STOESSEL. Yes. Well, we obviously are aware of the great attention which is given by the public and by the Congress to this whole problem. As you say, we all recognize the lessons of Vietnam, and that is very much with us as we look at this situation.

There are quite obvious differences, I think, in terms of geography, if nothing else. I do believe that the situation on the ground in terms of size, the extent of the insurgency, the prospects for a solution with the expenditure of modest and cautious efforts is much higher than was the case with regard to Vietnam.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me raise one question already asked in another way. Is the level of military equipment and support now contemplated by the administration sufficient to counter the military threat posed by the leftists, assuming that the outside supply of arms is essentially halted?

General GRAVES. In our judgment, Mr. Chairman, it is. I might note that the bulk of our support is in areas such as communications, transportation, and the like. We have provided some arms and ammunition, but in fact when you look at it from a dollar standpoint, we are very much emphasizing basic necessities like transportation and communication. If the arms flow is halted, this should be adequate.

WILL THERE BE FURTHER REQUESTS FOR MILITARY AID?

The CHAIRMAN. Is the military assistance we are now discussing essentially the bottom line? This is a concern of many members of the Appropriations Committee in the Senate. Will there be further requests for military aid and, if so, under what circumstances?

General GRAVES. We have developed a program which, of course, reaches into fiscal year 1982. The fiscal year 1982 budget request does include credits for El Salvador, $25 million credits. It includes a follow-on IMET [International Military Education and Training].

So we are talking about sustaining support for these forces in the future years. Again, they are in the areas that I mentioned. As far as a draw-down under Section 506(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act, we don't see the need for that.

LIMITATIONS ON EQUIPMENT REQUESTS

The CHAIRMAN. You have said that the number of advisers to be sent are definitely limited. Are there limitations then specifically also on the equipment requests?

General GRAVES. Well, we have developed a program based upon requirements that the Salvadoran military have stated, particularly to replace old, worn out vehicles, to upgrade their patrol ships, to repair their aircraft, things of this type.

We believe that the level we are at for fiscal year 1982, for example, of the $25 million budget request should be adequate to sustain them. We have worked this out carefully over an extended period of time. Unless there is some major change in the military situation which we don't foresee, this should be adequate.

I would expect there will be requests in fiscal year 1983 and fiscal year 1984 to have sustaining forces.

The CHAIRMAN. Members of the committee have asked that former Ambassador White be brought forward as a witness, so we will schedule a session at which he can testify. How would you respond to his charge that sending military equipment merely strengthens the position of those in El Salvador who have been guilty of committing abuses against the Salvadoran people?

ASSISTANCE PROVIDED WILL LOWER LEVEL OF VIOLENCE

Ambassador STOESSEL. We would take issues with that view of the former Ambassador. The purpose of the assistance is to aid the Government of El Salvador, and it is the declared policy of President Duarte and his associates to lower the level of violence from both left and right.

We feel that the assistance provided to them will help in this effort and indeed is necessary for the effort. So I would say we would approach it from that standpoint and not from a standpoint enunciated by Ambassador White.

Mr. BUSHNELL. I wonder if I might add a point because I think one of the points that is missed is how much the military assistance is an integral part of reducing the violence that originates within the military forces. Remember that within the security forces there is the army, which is about half the force, and then there are the National Guard and the police forces which are the other half and from which it is generally accepted most of this violence comes.

The concept that has been put forward and accepted by the Government of El Salvador is to draw back the small posts of the National Guard and the police to bring them into units that can be better controlled; and instead of having a post out in every village of a half-dozen men to drive off the insurgents should they come, to instead perhaps have a radio so that they could call for help, and then to train in the army with our help this quick reaction force just will use the trucks that we supply and the helicopters that we supply and we are equipping this quick reactor force with the M-16's that we supply.

They then would be able to respond to this so that they would not have the small units of the security forces scattered around the country which have traditionally, not just in the last year but over the last 50 years, been the source of so much violence.

By making this structured change to bring about this sort of real change in what we might generally call the human rights situation as it affects the military, they need equipment to do this. If you are going to have a quick reaction force, you have to have transport, you have to have communications. That is a great bulk of what we are providing in this assistance.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Pell.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

DEATH OF THE NUNS

I would like to return for a moment to the question of the nuns and their murder. Mr. Mullen, are you satisfied with the extent of aid that the Salvadoran Government has extended to your people down there in seeking to find who the murderers are?

Mr. MULLEN. Yes, we are.

Senator PELL. I read your statement. I just wanted to be sure you are completely satisfied they are doing all that they possibly can.

Mr. MULLEN. That is correct. We have made investigative suggestions. They have followed those. We have asked for material for comparison and they are in the process of furnishing that.

Senator PELL. Good.

Then how do you relate that to the statement by Ambassador White a short while ago: "There was no serious investigation into the death of the nuns, and as far as I am concerned, there never has been and I know of no evidence to say that that situation has changed"? Would you say that is an incorrect statement?

Mr. MULLEN. I would have to say it is incorrect based on information I am receiving from our legal attaché, who has visited El Salvador and discussed the case with El Salvadoran officials.

Senator PELL. He feels that the government could not be helping more?

Mr. MULLEN. Yes, sir. Our legal attaché, who has extensive investigative experience, is satisfied that this is being pursued.

Senator PELL. Good.

INVESTIGATION PROCEEDING AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, on that point I wonder if I might add an observation. President Duarte has a statement which is published in the March 16, 1981 issue of U.S. News & World Report on this subject. It might be of interest, if you have not seen it, if I read it.

He says, "I, Napolean Duarte, stress that the investigation is proceeding as quickly as possible. The bullets that killed the four women have been sent to a laboratory in the United States for analysis. The autopsies have been finished. We are in the process of checking fingerprints. When guilt is established, I promise that the guilty will be punished, even if they are members of the security forces. But first we need proof."

Senator PELL. Thank you very much. That is very helpful.

WHAT EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE TO ACHIEVE DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION?

Now, Ambassador Stoessel, I would like to get to the question of what efforts we are making to achieve a diplomatic solution to the problem. I think we all agree the problem is economic, it is not a military problem there. What efforts are we making with the neighboring states? What is the reason for the OAS demarche to be rejected by Mr. Duarte, and what can be done to push along such an approach?

has a huge stake in that part of the world, is so negative toward helping the regime as it appears to be in the circumstances?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Senator, I think on the question of the OAS, as I understand it, and Mr. Bushnell has addressed this earlier in more detail, there was not a formal OAS suggestion or request for action. There had been a suggestion by the President of Costa Rica that this be taken up by the OAS.

My understanding is that President Duarte and his colleagues did not wish to go in this direction feeling that at least at the present time it was preferable to address their own problems internally to discuss bilaterally with the neighboring countries the questions at issue involving infiltration and so on.

They have reserved the right themselves to raise it in OAS but do not feel that it is appropriate at the present time.

ARE WE GOING IT ALONE?

Senator PELL. Since we have taken the position, really, of being big brother and supporting the regime there, are we making any efforts of a diplomatic nature to get a concert of nations working with us in this regard? Are we going it alone or are we going it with others?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I think we are not going alone on this. As you know, we have consulted with a number of countries about the situation and about the measures we have planned to take. We do feel that the political situation within El Salvador is something for the Salvadorans to address themselves to.

President Duarte himself has said that he is prepared to consult with all parties in connection with the electoral process and building toward free elections and the participation of all interested in that. He has offered amnesty to the guerrilla forces who participate in this process.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS TO OTHER COUNTRIES

Senator PELL. Have we made any specific proposals to Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, or the other countries in the area to have a conference to try to resolve this collectively rather than individually?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I think maybe we should distinguish two parts of the problem. One part of the problem deals with what countries, particularly outside the area, are doing outside of El Salvador putting in weapons and so on. We have made our case, I think, publicly and diplomatically around the world, and I think there have been public statements of opposition to this activity by the Germans, the French, the United Kingdom, the Belgians, the Venezuelans, the Costa Ricans, and the Mexicans. All publicly have deplored the putting in of large amounts of arms by the worldwide Communist network.

Fortunately, as we have said, this activity as regards El Salvador has greatly diminished over the last 6 weeks. That is what we like to see, and perhaps nothing more needs to be done. Let's hope that would be the case. But we obviously will have to watch it very carefully and be very concerned about it to see that this is a

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

permanent change, but the direction of the change is certainly the direction we want to see.

SALVADORANS MUST SOLVE OWN POLITICAL PROBLEM

The second part of the problem, which is much talked about, is resolving politically the situation inside El Salvador. Our view is that this is above all a Salvadoran problem, that the Salvadorans themselves have to work this out. This does not require a solution made in Bonn or made in Washington; it is going to have to be made in El Salvador if it is going to be workable.

The Government has called for elections. We think elections are a very good way to work political problems. There should be honest elections, free elections. Details should be worked out. The Government has accepted the church as a mediator in talking with other groups. It has not necessarily excluded other groups as a mediator. We think it up to Salvadorans to make this decision.

The FDR, the party at the left, has not accepted the church but instead has called on international figures to become involved. It even called on some international figures to negotiate with us first. We hardly think that is appropriate. So that we have not taken an initiative in trying to put together a discussion inside El Salvador because, frankly, we haven't seen that as being necessary.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAM INCLUDES ELECTION

The Government has announced a political program which includes elections. They have said that, with the church as mediator, they are prepared to talk. The Electoral Commission which has been set up has said they recognize particularly five political parties, including the Communist Party of El Salvador, which they invite to come and talk about elections.

This process is open and available. We have not, on the other hand, excluded that, if some friendly country, whether it be European or Latin American, can offer a role which the various parties in El Salvador find helpful, then the United States certainly is not opposed to that; but we are not pushing either a mediator or the Salvadorans to do that.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to follow up on that last point, both for you, Mr. Bushnell, and Secretary Stoessel, General Graves, any one of you who wishes to comment on it.

I think you fellows are right that we may in the press and the public be overdrawing the analogy to Vietnam, but I wonder if you all have figured out why that has happened. One of the reasons why it is happening is because it is coming from both the supporters and opponents of the cold war in Vietnam.

VIETNAM VETERANS COMMENTS

Let me give you an example. I met with a group of Vietnam veterans who came in to talk to me about cuts in the budget. They were referring to veterans' benefits. They started to discuss with

me El Salvador and we got into that. I won't quote them exactly but will paraphrase their comments.

One fellow said: I will be darned if I will see my son ever go to El Salvador, and he is old enough to do it now and he is in a military school, not in active service, so he will be getting there. I asked him why, and he said: Because you damn politicians are doing the same thing all over again; you don't have the guts to let us win; you are going to send us down there and let us hang out to dry. The President went on television and said we are not going to protect those 54 advisers. Well, he didn't say the number, he said we are not going to protect them. You know, if they get shot, they get shot. The President said he is not going to commit combat troops, and you politicians are doing the same thing you did before.

Then you hear on the left, well, you know what, there is no popular government down there. I don't suggest you, Mr. Bushnell, or anyone else has suggested that Duarte has the popular support of the people of El Salvador. He is better than the others, but there is no base, there is no middle to build on. We are hoping we can start from this guy Duarte and company and build something, but right now it is not there.

Then you have folks saying, well, we are going to go to the source, the President of the United States, and we will find out big nations are bluffing again. Does that mean if we find out the weapons are coming from Cuba and we find out that there is a Cuban patrol boat running guns or weapons into Nicaragua or any place else in Latin America, that we are going to blow it out of the water? Is that our policy?

Then you have the folks on the left say, hey, wait, if that is our policy, we had better know it because that means we may end up in a shooting war with somebody other than 5 million people down in there who can't really hurt us a whole bunch.

"DENIED PERMISSION TO WIN"

So here we are, wondering why we are making these analogies to Vietnam. Well, we have no really popular government in that nation. We haven't committed that we would support our military people who are being sent there. We have not made a decision that we would let the military win. As President Reagan said when he bestowed the Congressional Medal of Honor belatedly to a not-so-young man any more, I believe the quote at the time that he made regarding Vietnam was that American military had failed to win in Vietnam only because "it had been denied permission to win."

I don't know whether you all have given them permission to win. I don't know whether or not you really mean you are going to go to the source. I don't know whether or not that means you will blow Russian vessels out of the water, Cuban vessels out of the water, if we find out that is the source.

I don't know as a U.S. Senator whether there is a government down there that represents anybody. And most of all, I am perplexed by what you fellows keep saying here today, that we are not going to tell the Salvadorans what to do, who to negotiate with. Why the hell don't we get tough and flat out tell them. It we want to be tough, let's get tough. Let's have a President who says we are tough: Now listen, Duar[illegible]get your act in gear, this [illegible]hat you

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ge., x number of advisers, x numbers of dollars, x number of military hardware, and you do the following.

I for one am so sick and tired of us being pushed around, of not having a policy, of having weak-kneed administrations and not knowing what we are going to do. I am one of those Vietnam era guys who was labeled a liberal who wants to see you all get tough, but please tell us what the tough policy is.

FOUR QUESTIONS

I have four questions. Why won't we tell Duarte whom to negotiate with? We know who we want. If we don't know, we shouldn't be there. Two, why don't we protect our military if we send them? Three, are we going to go to the source even if it means Cuba? And No. 4, how far are we willing to go if, in fact, Duarte can't hold the seam, can't cut it, even if there is no massive infusion of outside weaponry. If you cut off the source and Duarte still can't cut it, what do we do then?

I sure would like to know the answers to those four questions because I want to get tough. I want to be a Reaganite. [Laughter.]

No, I am serious. These are serious questions. I am not kidding at all. Why don't we protect our military men? What are we sending them down there to hang out to dry for?

General GRAVES. Well, I would say with respect to protecting our military men, that they are being protected.

Senator BIDEN. If they get shot and killed, are we going to go in there and find the folks who did it?

General GRAVES. El Salvador is a sovereign country.

Senator BIDEN. But they are our men. They are Americans. They have my blood running in their veins. I don't want them shot unless we are ready to go and protect them.

General GRAVES. I understand your point, but I have trouble with it.

Senator BIDEN. Why?

OUR PEOPLE UNDER PROTECTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

General GRAVES. Because we have tens of thousands around the world in other sovereign countries, and the general practice is that our people in those countries are under the protection of the governments in the countries where they are located.

Senator BIDEN. But we know this government can't cut it.

General GRAVES. I don't agree with that point.

Senator BIDEN. You don't. Oh, OK. So you think Duarte is pretty stable, then?

General GRAVES. I think he is doing pretty well.

Senator BIDEN. Stable enough to protect our American people, our American military people in that country?

General GRAVES. That is the basic point.

Senator BIDEN. What happens if you are wrong? What do we do then: Pull out the rest, or go in and do it?

General GRAVES. I don't believe that this country wants to go in and "do it." I think our goal in that country is a viable government, a viable society, a viable economy. I think we are in there assisting that government because we believe that we can achieve that there and that the Duarte government is the best point of departure for doing that.

I think we have a reasonable confidence in the security that will be provided our trainers who are down there and that that is the reason we have done it.

Senator BIDEN. But if you are wrong, if the Duarte government falls or you can't protect the 54 military who are there, I assume that any administration would have thought of a contingency plan. What do we do then? General, the American people, me included, are so sick and tired of being sent to be involved in military actions during which their hands are tied and they are not clearly defined why we are there and we don't know quite who we are backing, we don't know whether or not we are going to win.

Why don't we just go down and do it?

General GRAVES. I don't think that the object is to make El Salvador the 51st state, Senator Biden.

DO WHATEVER IT TAKES TO MEET OBJECTIVES

Senator BIDEN. Well, I will tell you what. Isn't the object to make sure that El Salvador is clearly out of the hands of and influence of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the other Communists you refer to in your opening statement? That is in our interest, isn't it? If I can find your statement, I think that is what we talked about, Communist infiltration. That is the objective, isn't it?

I see you nodding your head, Mr. Secretary, and if that is the objective, we should do whatever it takes to meet that objective. Right or wrong?

Ambassador STOESSEL. I would say, Senator, that we feel the course we have embarked on is the best way to accomplish that objective.

Senator BIDEN. What do you mean by go to the source, then? Are we prepared, if need be, to invade Cuba?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Well, that is something that I do not feel at liberty to address here.

Senator BIDEN. I can understand that. I am getting a big sign saying my time is up. But can you understand why that is a question, because my people say, hey, Joe, what are you doing down there; are we really going to do it? I mean if we find out those guns are coming from Cuba, does the President mean we are going to invade Cuba? Is that what he means?

CLEARER POLICY NEEDED

I would like to know those little details. You know, they are not inconsequential, because you guys are asking us to vote for money for the military, and you are asking us, in my opinion, to look a little bit away concerning the war powers and technicalities that may or may not exist here.

I just think we had better have a lot more clear policy. I am for you if you can win, General. I ain't going to be any part of sending down another generation of Americans, whether they are advisers or whatever you want to call them, and make sure that they ain't got the full faith and credit of the United States of America behind them.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

I will let President Reagan and you explain that one, not me. I don't care what international opinion is.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Glenn.

INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS OF SUPPORT IN MILITARY

Senator GLENN. Can you report to us in open session concerning what intelligence assessments we may have of support within the military, the national guard and the internal police forces as to what their status is, how dedicated they are to the Government there, or is that something we should save for a closed session?

Mr. BUSHNELL. There are certain things I can't say, but I think I can say about the experience to date, including the fact that, unlike a number of other places, very few weapons for example, are procured by the guerrillas from the security forces. In the offensive of January 10, their fighting acquitted them quite will, by all the accounts of people on the scene. They have a considerable cohesion among these forces.

Now, that does not mean that they have sophisticated logistics or things like that, because they don't. They are a fairly elementary force, but I think their loyalty to their country, to their military establishment and to the civilians of the junta is a strong one.

Senator GLENN. To the current government?

Mr. BUSHNELL. To the current government.

SIGN OF MILITARY COHESION

Senator GLENN. Your assessment is that these disparate groups which came together to form this government really are a solid, cohesive government now operating in unison?

Mr. BUSHNELL. There are only really two major groups in the Government. There is the Christian Democratic Party, which has been a coherent group and the largest party in the country for a long time, and the military. Although the military have different forces, there is only one officer corps in El Salvador. Officers are traded around among the services.

I think there are many signs that they have cohesion. They are led by the people who accomplished the coup in October of 1979 and committed themselves to a program of getting closer to the people and carrying out reforms.

Senator GLENN. Do you feel that they are all loyal and in agreement with the stated political and economic reform goals of the Government?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I don't suppose I could say all because in the January offensives there were a few desertions. There are some people who are probably opposed to these reforms, but the overwhelming bulk of them are with them.

Senator GLENN. In the summary of the jobs to be done by the U.S. Security Assistance personnel in El Salvador that we have received from the Defense Department, the operation planning assistance team [OPAT] augmentation has five people. Their stated job, is to extend the training of the national level OPAT to the five military zones in order to establish a functional nationwide joint command and control system utilizing locally available assets to

employ appropriately all Salvadoran forces, equipment and other resources.

It seems to me when we are in that kind of situation we are also getting back into the War Powers and the Arms Export Control Act. Wouldn't you think it gets into that area?

ESTABLISH EFFICIENT COMMAND AND CONTROL SETUP

General GRAVES. Senator Glenn, what we are trying to help the El Salvadoran forces do is to establish an efficient command and control setup. The original team of five men was to do that at the national level, but they also need command posts at the provincial level. The object is to help train their staff officers in how you set up an efficient command post and use communications to assess the situation and direct the operations of your forces.

Senator GLENN. Under that War Powers Resolution it states under 8(c), for purposes of this joint resolution the term "introduction of U.S. Armed Forces includes the assignment of members of such armed forces to command, coordinate, participate in the movement of or accompany the regular or irregular military forces of any foreign country or government when such military forces are engaged or there exists an imminent threat that such forces will become engaged in hostilities."

General GRAVES. Well, our people are not exercising command. They are not directing the movement of forces and they are not accompanying such forces. They are training staff officers of the Salvadoran forces to perform these functions.

Senator GLENN. OK. That may be a gray area. But in the Arms Export Control Act, it states:

> Personnel performing defense services sold under this Act may not perform any duties of a combatant nature, including any duties relating to training and advising that may engage United States personnel in combat activities outside the United States in connection with performing some of those defense services.

General GRAVES. Well, we do not believe that the activities of training these staff officers in these command posts which are in extremely secure areas will cause them to be engaged in combat.

TORTURED LOGIC

Senator GLENN. Even presuming all that, we still come back to how we define significant hostilities. We are back to the bottom line. It is very difficult to see how when we have such things as 12,000 people killed last year in a nation of 5 million, 4 churchwomen killed, our Embassy shot up twice in the last 2 weeks, American personnel kept in garrisons with enough danger that they are authorized to carry sidearms and we have proposed giving them hostile fire pay, the people they are training are going out killing others and being killed, we say there are no significant hostilities going on.

I will repeat my term. That is just tortured logic. I did want to repeat this because it is incomprehensible to me how the United States of America in any administration, this one or the last one, can conceive that there are not significant hostilities going on. That is the reason we have people there, because there are significant hostilities going on in that country.

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El Salvador: Human Right.
Special Project (1993)

[illegible] report [illegible] to the Congress under the Arms Export Control Act is to me just not logical.

General GRAVES. Sir, I would like to comment very briefly. I really don't want to try to improve on the letter of the Deputy Secretary of Defense on the subject.

Senator GLENN. Well, you go ahead and try to improve on it, because it sure left some big gaps.

SECTION 21(C)

General GRAVES. But I would like to draw a distinction between that section of 21(c)(2) concerning reporting, which I believe is your main area of comment, and the first part of 21(c), which gets to the activities in which these people are engaged.

I believe that experts would agree that their activities are consistent with the requirements of section 21(c) and in particular are very consistent with the table of activities permitted and activities barred, which was the guidance of Congress on this subject in the conference report last year.

Senator GLENN. Are you talking about section 21(c)(2)?

General GRAVES. This is section 21(c)(1), sir, which is the prohibition.

Senator GLENN. Go down to section 21(c)(2). That is what I am referring to.

General GRAVES. Section 21(c)(2) is the reporting one.

Senator GLENN. It says after the outbreak of significant hostilities.

General GRAVES. Well, section 21(c)(2) is the requirement for a 48-hour report.

Senator GLENN. OK, let's go back to section 21(c)(1), then.

General GRAVES. Section 21(c)(1) is the guidance on the activities in which they may engage.

MAY NOT PERFORM DUTIES OF A COMBATANT NATURE

Senator GLENN. It says performing defense services sold under this act. They may not perform any duties of a combatant nature, including any duties related to training and advising that may engage U.S. personnel in combat activities outside the United States. It says including duties related to training and advising. That is exactly what they are doing.

General GRAVES. My point, sir, is that these duties they are performing are not going to engage them in combat activities; and furthermore, they are the activities permitted under the guidance established in the conference report of last year's bill.

Senator GLENN. I don't look at section 21(c)(2) as being subordinate to section 21(c)(1). I think it stands completely on its own.

General GRAVES. It is completely separate. I am not trying to link them. That was not my point. I think they are two separate points.

Senator GLENN. How the administration can look at this and say there are not significant hostilities when that is the reason we are there just doesn't hold together to me.

[illegible] arms. [illegible] These people do their thing. But once we become involved with our personnel, it is a whole different operation, it seems to me. And before the whole world—this whole thing has been spotlighted all over the world—we now are going to assume a much larger role for what happens there.

DUARTE REQUESTED ECONOMIC RATHER THAN MILITARY AID

If Duarte prevails, the little help we send will probably not be credited. In fact, he said himself that he really didn't care much whether we sent military help or not. Then he changed his statement later on when asked about this and said what he really wanted was economic help, that he didn't really need our help militarily.

So it seems to me we are not going to get much credit if he prevails; but if he fails, the big, giant United States, the most powerful nation in the world, will have failed in the little country of El Salvador, in our own hemisphere, a few hundred miles from our own shores. I think we will be looked at as sort of the helpless giant. I just hope we are not trending down that particular road.

Now, I support the shipment of arms, but I certainly wish the administration would reconsider once again this business of whether you have to report to us or not. It just makes us suspicious of what may be going on in other countries and you may not be reporting to us again. I said the same thing to the last administration too, so this isn't anything partisan, I just think it is a drastic error. We ought to either make you live up to this thing or change the law, and I don't want to change the law.

General GRAVES. I would ask one question, sir. Would it have been your view that the last administration should have reported the day the President signed the bill into law?

Senator GLENN. Which bill are you talking about?

General GRAVES. Well, the section 21(c)(2) reporting requirement was in a bill which was enacted on December 16, 1980. Would it have been your view that the administration should——

Senator GLENN. I would have to look at that. I think I probably would answer yes because we want to be reported to. We want to know what is going on.

General GRAVES. I guess my point is that I believe I correctly paraphrased Mr. Carlucci's letter. If in fact there should have been a report within 48 hours after enactment of the bill, that probably is the appropriate time for the report. Or you are suggesting that the present administration should send it in late.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to move along.

Senator GLENN. When President Carter took his action before, in mid-January, I absolutely thought it should be reported here. I couldn't imagine why we were doing it if there were no significant hostilities, and I still feel that way. Now we are expanding our presence and to me it becomes even more important. And now I am really way over my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Glenn.

Senator Zorinsky.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator ZORINSKY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to follow up on Senator Glenn's comments about hostilities.

HAZARDS ASSOCIATED WITH ORDINARY FLOW OF ADVICE

In training exercises of this nature and under the conditions present in El Salvador, accidents, many of them, happen. So to say there is no hazard above and beyond that associated with the ordinary flow of military advice is being less than honest.

For instance, General, can you corroborate the report of a helicopter accident which was recently published in the paper? As a Salvadoran trainee exited the helicopter, he grabbed the control stick. The American adviser, to compensate, grabbed the control stick back, tilting the pitch of the propellers and decapitating two Salvadorans already on the ground.

General GRAVES. Sir, I have heard that report. I don't have the official report. I would be glad to provide more information. But I heard the same report that you did.

Senator ZORINSKY. I would appreciate that.

[The information referred to follows:]

The accident in question reportedly occurred in January 1981 before the arrival of the U.S. helicopters or helicopter training personnel. No U.S. personnel were involved. We do not have any official confirmation of the accident or any details concerning it.

ACTIVITIES ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

Senator ZORINSKY. Let me ask this question of Mr. Mullen. You said that activities on private property evade your jurisdiction. That is different then from a bank robbery, isn't it? Even though the bank is privately owned, you have jurisdiction by law.

Mr. MULLEN. Senator, I was speaking to training, to using firearms, and what they tell us. Now, when you see an article in the paper such as you displayed and someone puts a mask on and they talk to a reporter and say that they are going to invade Cuba or something like that, it is not the same as what they tell us. I am sure that the reporter would not disclose the location of the people where these pictures were taken.

If they say they are training to invade Cuba or El Salvador, then yes, we do have a basis for investigating. I did want to clarify that point to you.

Senator ZORINSKY. Which they do say in the article.

Mr. MULLEN. If they identify themselves and we know, there will be an investigation.

Senator ZORINSKY. OK. Is there an investigation being made?

Mr. MULLEN. Of the specific case?

Senator ZORINSKY. Yes.

Mr. MULLEN. I do not know.

Senator ZORINSKY. Let me read to you title 18, United States Code, section 960 because if this does not enable you to investigate, I would like to introduce legislation which will enable you to investigate. I believe this matter is serious enough for you to have jurisdiction in the area.

TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 960

It reads:

Whoever, within the United States, knowingly begins or sets on foot or provides or prepares a means for, or furnishes the money for, or takes part in, any military or naval expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people with whom the United States is at peace shall be fined not more than $3,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.

Do you feel that such activities are within your jurisdiction?

Mr. MULLEN. Yes, sir, we are conducting investigations, and if someone commits an overt act in furtherance of an invasion or takes some sort of action, it will be investigated and hopefully he will be arrested.

Senator ZORINSKY. Thank you.

General, correct me if I am wrong. In the supply of arms to the Government of El Salvador, is it true that we can give military aid only to the military of the Government and not to police, not to right-wing groups, and not to paramilitary people or any group or organization like that?

General GRAVES. Yes, sir, our criterion is that we would not give to these police forces.

Senator ZORINSKY. OK. What ability do you have to control, and can you assure me that steps are being taken to avoid the transfer of U.S. arms to paramilitary groups which are not under the direct jurisdiction of the present Government of El Salvador?

TYPE OF ARMS CONTROL IN EL SALVADOR

I have talked to several Salvadorans. They have an uncle over here and a nephew over there and they are in different military groups. And the brother is serving here and another brother is serving there on different sides of the conflict. I know we can't control sometimes the weapons in our own armories in the United States because some of them are missing right now. I wonder what type of controls there are in El Salvador.

General GRAVES. The forces to whom we are supplying these arms have their own supply program. The arms that we are supplying now are different from the arms which these police forces have had in the past, so I think to the extent that we have a significant presence there, that is people who are operating in a training mode, we are able to observe if some of these weapons show up in other places. But no, the supply operation is by the Salvadoran forces and we have their assurance that they need the weapons for their own use, but we can't be absolutely certain that some might not find their way into other hands.

Senator ZORINSKY. I would like to make part of the record an article which appeared in the Los Angeles Times dated March 1, 1981, beginning:

On January 16th, as editor and publisher of the El Independiente in San Salvador, I was to wire an article that the Los Angeles Times had requested giving my views of the events in El Salvador.

First I had a telephone conversation with an editor at the Times. An hour later the military came looking for me at the nearby office of the Independent Associated Press, of which I am also director, and arrested the staff. My newspaper again established phone contact with Los Angeles to report that the article could not be transmitted because the building was being surrounded by troops.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

home and threatened my wife and 3-year-old son with death. Later we gathered at a friend's home. Meanwhile, troops returned in force to my newspaper and smashed all the equipment.

Learning that the military wanted me "dead or alive," I took my family to the Mexican Embassy, where we were granted political asylum. Now I find myself an exile in Mexico.

It continues.

I would like to have this made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so inserted without objection.

[The articles referred to follow:]

[From the New York Times, Mar. 6, 1981]

SPREADING BRUSHFIRE TO THE SOUTH

(By Flora Lewis)

The policies now being adopted by President Reagan on El Salvador were essentially already decided by the Carter Administration before last year's elections. And they were already being challenged by insiders on the grounds that they would boomerang against the U.S.

This emerges clearly from a "dissent paper" drawn by people from the National Security Council, the State and Defense Departments and the C.I.A., dated Nov. 6, 1980. The paper has been circulated inside the Government in the manner prescribed when a policy has been established, but serious doubts remain among an important group of knowledgeable officials about the wisdom and effectiveness of the decisions.

They make some serious charges, including one that an energetic but mainly covert U.S. intervention took place last year "to prevent the crisis in El Salvador from climaxing prior to the elections." Events have developed further since then, but the arguments and insights remain valid. Most important is the charge that vital intelligence contradicting the dominant view, which urges intervention, has been suppressed "within various bureaucracies," not just one.

Already last year, the paper said, the U.S. was training Salvadorans at its bases in Panama in the largest training program it has ever sponsored for any Latin American country in a single year. Argentina had become the second-largest trainer of Salvadoran officers. Chile and Uruguay, where the U.S. ran a highly controversial and nasty counterinsurgency program in the 1960's, were also providing advisers on intelligence, logistics and urban and rural counterinsurgency.

The President of Panama objected publicly to the scope of the program on his territory. Nobody paid attention. Other governments in the region have expressed sharp concern about U.S. action. However, the paper says, right-wing Guatamalan military officers have been talking about their own intervention in Salvador, while opposition guerrillas in both countries have increased cooperation and gained ground.

U.S. intelligence knows about a paramilitary strike force in Guatemala, the report goes on, made up of foreign members of Somoza's Nicaraguan National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries.

Rather waspishly, the dissenting officials note that they haven't substantiated charges that the C.I.A. is promoting this force. But they say its movements and connections with Miami "could not be maintained without tacit consent—or practical incompetence—of several U.S. Government agencies including the C.I.A., F.B.I., and the Immigration and Customs Services."

Guatemala, it should be remembered, was one of those rather spectacular "wins" in what are now considered the golden days of U.S. strength and dominion. A pro-communist Government was ousted in 1954 by a C.I.A.-sponsored attack that cost a total of two lives.

But ever since, defeat has been nibbling away at the supposed victory because nothing was done to respond to social grievances. Twenty-seven years and a great many deaths later, Guatemala is again a fragile, dangerous country with mounting insurgency. Even when winning seemed easy, it wasn't enough to settle the underlying issue.

The report also cites intelligence that a hard-line majority in the Honduran military establishment, with which the U.S. Defense Department works closely, encourages Nicaraguan exiles to operate against their own country from Honduran territory and "believes if could win a military confrontation with Nicaragua." The event of war with Nicaragua.

The dry, unemotional paper goes on and on, showing how many pitfalls have been overlooked in the U.S. reaction to Salvador's awesomely bloody civil war, the links and implications for the region as a whole, and the grave danger that the policy Reagan is now pressing forward will produce the opposite of desired results.

Nothing is more likely to weaken the U.S. and draw in far more substantial Cuban and Soviet involvement than American military intervention, the report concludes. Instead, it recommends negotiations, if possible without the U.S., and a clear reversal of signals to right-wing extremists throughout the region.

Its recommendations foreshadowed last weekend's proposal by Latin American Socialist parties to mediate, and West Germany's offer to help.

The key point, argued with solid facts and cool analysis, is that U.S. involvement in Salvador's war will almost surely spread the fighting to other countries and bring more, not less, intervention from Communist regimes. Negotiation will be even harder now than last year, and it is much more necessary.

The Reagan Administration would do well to listen to the paper's authors before the chance of talks is lost, and then make sure Salvador's ruling junta knows that the U.S. seeks a political and not a military settlement.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Mar. 1, 1981]

A HALF-CENTURY OF UNKEPT PROMISES IN EL SALVADOR

(By Jorge Pinto)

On Jan. 16, as editor and publisher of *El Independiente* in San Salvador, I was to wire an article that the Los Angeles Times had requested, giving my views of the events in El Salvador. First, I had a telephone conversation with an editor at the Times. An hour later, the military came looking for me at the nearby office of the Independent Associated Press (API), of which I am also director, and arrested the staff. My newspaper again established phone contact with Los Angeles, to report that the article could not be transmitted because the building was being surrounded by troops. My wire operator speculated that "they don't like us to call the L.A. Times because Reagan reads that newspaper." Simultaneously, the military went to my home and threatened my wife and three-year-old son with death. Later we gathered at a friend's home. Meanwhile, troops returned in force to my newspaper and smashed all the equipment.

Learning that the military wanted me "dead or alive," I took my family to the Mexican Embassy, where we were granted political asylum. Now I find myself in exile in Mexico.

There was nothing else to do. My presses were smashed; El Independiente's voice could not be heard anymore. I left not because of lack of the Salvadoran people's support for idealistic journalism, but because, after the takeover of my office and machinery, after the capture of my employees and perhaps even the eventual disappearance of my family and myself, there would be absolute silence about the facts. The army would use our office as they wished, and make the classic charge that we are communists; the truth would be camouflaged by the government's propagandists; the outrage committed against us would have the weight of 50 years of lying to satiate an unquenchable thrist for power which maintains a regime that has wrapped our country in a whirlwind of violence.

As I write these lines, I am convinced that our Lord God cannot allow these atrocities to continue against his 5 million children in El Salvador, who are dying like chickens in a slaughterhouse. And so again I will resume the message that I set out to deliver on Jan. 16, and within the limits of this space, answer the question, "What is happening in El Salvador, and why?"

For 50 years, the military has acted as a political party. For 50 years they have promised free elections and reforms. Today through token civilian President Jose Napoleon Duarte, the military dictatorship once again promises elections and the participation of all sectors. Nobody can believe that after 50 years of lies.

My newspaper has been confiscated, in express violation of my country's constitution, because of our weapon: words. Words are also the weapon in an electoral campaign. How can the government orchestrate a dialogue when it is suffocating all ideas? To attack a newspaper is to attack the democratic present and future of a country. The military's takeover of El Independiente proves the lack of sincerity on the part of my country's government, in terms of allowing free circulation of all political ideologies at all times

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Personally, I don't want a Stalin in my country, but neither do I want a Napoleon Duarte as a benevolent mask for the murdering military. The Salvadoran people today know of no other system than that of torture and brainwashing, like that attributed to Lavrenti Beria, who did the dirty work for Stalin.

The Salvadoran people are fighting an army that has always oppressed them, and their right to insurrection is backed by the Salvadoran Constitution. The people of the United States would have been up in arms long ago if they had experienced the horrors that the Salvadorans have suffered for 50 years.

I have been a journalist for more than 20 years, as were my father and grandfather. I have fought for the principles of Western democracy in my country. I have fought for a social justice that would bring peace and tranquility to my country. Now I am convinced that justice cannot exist while an army also exists to carry out a policy of extermination. (I wish to note that democracy has flourished in Costa Rica, where there is no army.)

Now the forces of reason and democracy increasingly are giving their political support to those who have taken up arms, regardless of what their label might be. The guerrilla forces include Christians and non-Christians, but all are courageous people who, one way or another, do not want a dictatorship based on assassination, fraud, lies and corruption. The political support behind those in arms is broad-based, comprising Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, priests, even honest military people, such as Col. Ernesto Claramont. He won the vote in 1977, and if it had not been for electoral fraud, he would be the legitimate president of El Salvador today. Taking into account all these types of people who are opposing the current regime, it is ridiculous to call them leftist. They represent the spirit of the whole country.

Dictatorship or participatory democracy—there is no other option for the Salvadoran people. If they are not supported, there will be a radicalization of the crisis and the social cost will be high.

If the army were the cause of so many frauds and assassinations in the great democracy of the United States, the chasm would be as wide as the one that led to the Civil War to liberate the slaves and restore the Union. How can the United States support the military in El Salvador, after having spent thousands of lives in the fight against military fascism in Europe? The medals my journalist grandfather won for supporting the Allies during World War II would be fit only for the garbage heap if I were to fight fascism abroad and remain speechless before the fascism our country has experienced for 50 years.

It must be understood that the governing army in El Salvador is neither the right nor the left, let alone the middle. It is a group of murderers and thieves corrupted by lust for power.

When the right-wing government of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero was overthrown in October 1979, the new junta cited the murders and disappearances that had been carried out during his regime. The junta proclaimed that justice would be done for the families of those people. But justice never arrived. The criminals and torturers of Romero's regime remained in the army. A year and a half later, nothing has been done. The process that began in 1932 remains intact.

In that year, a military junta took power, and 3,000 "campesinos" launched an insurrection and were massacred. (It was said that they were led by the words of Karl Marx. That is not true; they were led by their empty stomachs.) The junta then handed power over to Gen. Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez, father of the present regime.

Never once in 50 years has there been even a brief interlude for democracy in my country. Is it any wonder that the people of El Salvador are convinced that they cannot find the path of their own destiny by way of elections?

Now the people see the instrument of their repression for 50 years armed by the U.S. government. Now the sum of 50 years of hoodwinking and murderous banditry gives credence to the words of those who contend that it is necessary to fight force with force. Now, out of the shadows of night, come the people who would end this dictatorship, and every day they grow in number and strength. Thousands and thousands of millions of dollars cannot silence the voice of people who, after 50 years, once again ask for justice.

ALLEGATIONS ABOUT U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Senator ZORINSKY. I would like to ask about a March 6 New York Times article by Flora Lewis. It is a report on a so-called dissent paper which made some serious allegations about U.S. policy in Central America.

Ms. Lewis subsequently retracted her statement that the dissent paper was official, but noted that many of the facts did check out.

Would you respond to the following charges from that article? One, vital intelligence contradicting the dominant view, which urges intervention in El Salvador, has been suppressed within several Federal agencies. Would any of you gentlemen like to comment on that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Senator, I think that is absolutely untrue. All of the intelligence on this has been circulated in the usual ways, and I think there has been no case of suppressing any intelligence. This dissent paper, which I think is quite a professional job, is a fraud. It was not in the dissent channel of the State Department. It was made to appear that it was in the dissent channel of the State Department, but it was an unsigned document. It was very widely circulated all over the world. It was a very well-written document making various scurrilous charges.

SALVADORANS TRAINED AT U.S. BASES IN PANAMA

Senator ZORINSKY. How about the charge that under the Carter administration the United States was training Salvadorans at *United States bases in Panama*?

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is true, we were. We are training people for most Latin American countries at U.S. bases in Panama.

Senator ZORINSKY. Then why can't we train Salvadoran troops now in Panama, or elsewhere? If it was good then, why do our advisers have to perform their jobs in El Salvador now? I am talking about communications advisers and other instructors who physically do not have to be in a given area in order to perform their job?

Mr. BUSHNELL. We are doing it. We have continued the training program for technicians and so forth in the U.S. schools in the United States and in Panama.

Senator ZORINSKY. Do you mean all 54 advisers must, of necessity, conduct their training in El Salvador?

Mr. BUSHNELL. By the nature of the job to be done.

Senator ZORINSKY. That is not the answer I received the last time I had a briefing.

Mr. BUSHNELL. Well, we could go through it case by case.

Senator ZORINSKY. Mr. Bushnell, you answered it differently the last time I talked to you about this matter in another session. How about U.S. officials—excuse me. I see that my time has expired.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Zorinsky.

Senator Dodd.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIAN POPULATION

I would like to just pick up from about an hour ago, if you can recall, when I was chatting with you about the level of violence against the civilian population that was caused by the military or right-wing groups. Mr. Bushnell, you may recall that you agreed with me that it would be significant without attributing any significant numbers to it.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

significant." I think that is another example of where significance comes in; but that subject area has been exhausted fairly well. I would like to move to something else.

In your statement, Secretary Stoessel, you go through most of your statement and pretty much address your remarks to the threat posed by leftist guerrillas. In your prepared text, there is this sentence. You said there are three alternatives in El Salvador today: Forces of the extreme right, forces of the extreme left, and the present Government. Of these, the Duarte government is the only one that promises to lead a transition to full constitutional order. Should it come to power, the extreme left probably would create a government modeled like Cuba's on the Soviet Union. There is no discussion here of what happens should the third option occur.

I would like to ask you whether or not you think under the present circumstances there is a greater or lesser likelihood, given their potential power, that the extreme right actually is a greater threat to the Duarte government than the extreme left. I am speaking presently——

Ambassador STOESSEL. I would say, Senator, that the danger is from both sides, as pointed out, left and right.

Senator DODD. Who has greater firepower and a stronger military position?

LEFT GROUP HAS MORE FIREPOWER

Ambassador STOESSEL. My understanding would be that the left group has the most firepower, the highest degree of organization, more sophisticated weapons, more sophisticated communications, and are generally more active throughout the country than is the case with the rightist forces. Did you wish to add to that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. I think that certainly is true. The rightists do not have forces in the same sense that there are guerrilla forces, meaning organized, armed units. What the right has is people who are, perhaps, mainly moonlighting from other occupations and engage in violence, in killing, not in attacks on towns and these sorts of activities.

So the threats are not comparable threats. The threat of the left is the threat to take over by a guerrilla insurgency sort of action. The threat of the right is to take over by subverting a sufficient number of the military leaders that they would carry out a coup.

Senator DODD. You are now anticipating my next question. Given that, what assurances have we received, if any, from the military in light of our current military assistance, either from General Garcia or others, that there will not be a coup? Have we insisted upon that? Have we been told anything at all? Are we in direct communication? What have been the reponses?

SENIOR MILITARY COMMANDERS SUPPORT DUARTE GOVERNMENT

Mr. BUSHNELL. We have been told by the senior military commanders, both individually and as a group, that they support the Duarte government and do not support a coup. We have been told the last 2 weeks.

Senator DODD. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Senator Dodd.

Senator DODD. Mr. Chairman, I have no additional questions, but I wonder if we can reach some understanding as to from whom and when we will be hearing with regard to the request I made earlier about going to the source.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the understanding is that Secretary Stoessel would advise Secretary Haig tonight of the request and hopefully he could respond to us tomorrow as much as possible in open session, and whatever cannot be in open session can be done in executive session, providing he agrees tomorrow that he is prepared at that time to go into executive session.

We can decide tomorrow when we have that answer whether we will go in at the beginning of the session or sometime during the course of the morning.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I just have a few questions left and then I will turn the chair over to Senator Biden to complete the hearings as I will have to leave.

Mr. Mullen, are we far enough along in this investigation to be able to narrow it down to one particular security group?

DUARTE WILL INDICT AND PROSECUTE GUILTY INDIVIDUALS WHEN IDENTIFIED

We certainly have on record the fact that President Duarte will indict and prosecute as soon as the guilty individuals are identified, but has it been determined that Government forces, security forces were involved? If so, can you tell us what security forces?

Mr. MULLEN. No, sir; we are not far enough along to make that determination.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me?

Mr. MULLEN. We are not far enough along to make that determination. The determination cannot be made at this time, sir. There is not adequate evidence to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. But didn't we know what security forces were around the bus at that particular time?

Mr. MULLEN. We do know which security forces did have a roadblock, but that doesn't mean that they were the perpetrators of the crime, that it occurred at that location.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, just as soon as you do narrow it down, I would appreciate your keeping us advised on that point.

Finally on the same subject, I think it was a Time magazine story that discussed this issue. It stated, and I quote, "that the Salvadoran Government is 'stonewalling' the situation." They said further that it is unlikely that the United State will apply any further pressure to find the killers.

As I said before, this is such a big symbol for so many people in this country and around the world of whether this Government cares about an atrocity of that kind. When you have a publication with such a wide circulation making those statements, I would like to give you another chance to respond and I would ask Secretary

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Stoessel whether we are using all of our influence that we can; certainly I have used all the influence that I can on the Department to indicate how important it is that they follow through in good faith as rapidly as possible.

Mr. MULLEN. Senator, we have not found any stonewalling. If the case were different, I certainly would say so. Should that ever occur, I would so advise you.

Ambassador STOESSEL. Certainly we continue to impress on the Salvadoran Government the importance of a speedy resolution of this case. They are aware of the interest of the American public and wish to settle this as quickly as we do. We have encouraged them in this.

The CHAIRMAN. General Graves, we have discussed the concern about what our advisers are doing and how close they get to combat situations. A statement has been made that they are being kept in the most secure areas right now.

I ask unanimous consent to incorporate in the record an article from this morning's Washington Post entitled "U.S. Presence Grows in El Salvador," which discusses in detail the Green Berets who are being sent down there, now scheduled at the U.S. Army School of the Americas at Ft. Gulick in Panama, to train 1,000 or more men who can use helicopters to move quickly and effectively against concentrations of guerrillas in a new rapid reaction unit.

[The article referred to follows:]

[From the Washington Post, Mar 18, 1981]

U.S. PRESENCE GROWS IN EL SALVADOR—ADVISERS, TALK OF BODY COUNTS CONJURE UP VIETNAM GHOSTS

(By Christopher Dickey)

SAN SALVADOR, March 17.—No single element in the Salvadoran war more surely conjures up the ghosts of Vietnam than the small but growing presence of U.S. military advisers here.

According to the U.S. Embassy there are currently 42 advisers and support personnel. Soon there will be 56, including a contingent of 15 from the Special Forces to instruct Salvadoran infantry units.

These figures do not include more than a dozen Marine guards at the U.S. Embassy or the military attaché and his office.

The advisers themselves find fears of another Vietnam difficult to understand. Some believe that the analogy is only being raised as a leftist tactic to weaken American resolve.

"There is simply no comparison between Vietnam and here," said an American veteran of Southeast Asia teaching helicopter maintenance. He said the Salvadoran troops have a level of resolve and ingenuity he never saw among the Vietnamese.

In the field, however, there are parallels that are obvious and are admitted by U.S. officials. The guerrillas are elusive and the Salvadoran armed forces are ill-trained and ill-equipped to fight them. Although the left does not have the popular support to mount a massive insurrection, it has at least enough popular tolerance to continue its war for some time.

At the moment, the Salvadoran troops are trying to establish control of all villages and towns in the country. Essentially these are becoming what used to be called in Vietnam strategic hamlets.

The body counting that became so notorious in Vietnam has already begun here. The Salvadoran Army claims that it has lost only about 150 men while killing 2,200 guerrillas since Jan. 10. Yet in only one village, Aguacayo, north of the capital, soldiers said that five of their 120-man company had been killed in the last 12 days. They said they had also killed "many" guerrillas, but of several soldiers questioned not one had actually seen a guerrilla body.

Asked about all this, one U.S. soldier here said there are basically very few ways to fight a guerrilla war. "We're going to do it better," he said of the effort that would be made here.

Informed Western sources are saying that it may not be possible to defeat the guerrillas militarily. The United States is encouraging the Salvadoran government to continue with reforms and planned elections so the government will "eventually be able to win without destroying the enemy," according to one authoritative source.

But the agrarian reform is constantly undercut by guerrilla attacks and harassment, and it is hard to envision significant elections if the guerrillas can maintain their current level of activity in the countryside where 60 percent of the Salvadoran population lives.

As one Western source who has studied the fighting closely put it, "This is going to be a long war."

The risk that one or more American advisers will die here grows every day. They take security precautions but remain obvious targets for political assassins. They vary the route from their quarters to their assignments every day, and when not on duty they carry pistols and dress in civilian clothes.

But some have already had their pictures published, and as they continue their six-month tours here their habits and whereabouts inevitably will become known.

Aside from the threat of assassination, there is a considerable possibility that some advisers will encounter combat despite their orders and intention to avoid it.

Already one member of the U.S. Embassy's Military Group has been under fire. He was visiting the Salvadoran military airfield just outside the capital when it was attacked Jan. 10 at the beginning of the guerrillas' offensive. He remained there through more than an hour of fighting.

There is also a risk of serious accidents in this volatile environment. One adviser was walking out of a San Salvador restaurant earlier this month when his friend dropped a loaded pistol, which went off and shot him through the foot. The injury was not serious, and the man is expected to return to duty this week, according to a U.S. Embassy spokesman.

The advisers try to minimize their significance.

"When you bring in a piece of equipment like a Huey [the American UH1H helicopters now being supplied to the Salvadoran government] you have to bring in the technical assistance. It's just like a nut or a bolt, we're like wrenches . . . if something happens to us it's an industrial accident."

It is slowly dawning on the advisers, however, just how closely and with what concern the people of the United States are watching them, because they hear it reflected in their telephone conversations with their families.

"My wife is pretty concerned," said one veteran mechanic, a Hispanic-American with a round, sunburned face. "For some reason she's taken this tour pretty seriously, even more than Vietnam.

"My son is 10 years old," he continued. "He's getting very interested in the news, and he's asking lots of questions of my wife that she can't answer because I can't tell her what it's like over the telephone."

"It tells you something," said another adviser, "when your 5-year-old son asks 'Is Daddy going to get dead?'"

So what are these young Americans risking their lives to do here?

Five of them are in the Military Group of the embassy. Here for more than a year, this group basically acts as liaison with the Salvadoran Army and coordinates the U.S. presence as well as gathering military intelligence. The chief of the group, a colonel, is the highest ranking U.S. officer here and commands the rest of the advisers.

Another group of seven advisers deals with overall administration, logistics and command problems, all of which have proved to be serious difficulties for the Salvadoran Army.

One informed source said that attempts earlier in the year to sweep guerrillas out of the northern sections of the country were not successful, because the Army attempted to do too much in too large an area with too little command and control.

A group of eight advisers, with two more on the way, is involved with planning specific operations. Some of them were originally brought here for a few months last fall to work out a plan for protecting agricultural production known as Operation Golden Harvest. Now they are dealing with more offensive operations.

There are 19 advisers currently instructing the Salvadorans in the use and maintenance of the six new helicopters and the Salvadoran Navy's handful of patrol boats in the Gulf of Fonseca.

The advisers in closest contact with fighting troops will be the members of three five-man "small unit training teams." Three members of these teams are already here. The remaining 12 are expected within a week.

These are Special Forces personnel, popularly known as Green Berets, scheduled to come here from the U.S. Army S[illegible] of the Americas at Ft. Gulick i[illegible]rama,

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[illegible] be [illegible] a new [illegible] south of the capital. [illegible] the U.S. helicopters [illegible] [illegible] radius.

There's a lot of work to be done. The Salvadoran armed forces were never trained to fight a large scale modern war. They are unfamiliar with the sophisticated equipment.

In one recent action a Bell helicopter dropped out of a helicopter grabbed the control stick. When the pilot tried to compensate, the helicopter blade angled down and decapitated two soldiers already on the ground.

In areas of heavy fighting such as Suchitoto, patrols with as many as 30 soldiers often go out loaded on a flatbed truck that is easy prey for guerrilla mines, rockets and machine guns.

Rather than wiping out the guerrillas, the most they expect to accomplish for at the moment is to make them use up precious ammunition and hope that the U.S. training, equipment and diplomatic pressure can keep the guerrillas from getting more.

TEACH AND TRAIN

The CHAIRMAN. Does that fit within the definition put forth in a letter to me from Deputy Defense Secretary Carlucci that the purpose of the U.S. advisers is to "teach and train"?

General GRAVES. I want to convey, Mr. Chairman, that that is precisely the case. We are sending three five-man, small unit training teams. It is true that most of the members of these teams were selected from Special Forces units because of their qualifications. The purpose is to train this reaction force about which Ambassador Bushnell spoke earlier.

That training will be done in secure areas, and there is no intent that the members of the small unit training teams—in fact, they are forbidden to accompany the reaction force on any operation.

The CHAIRMAN. Are all the personnel selected ordered to go down, or is there some consultation with them as to whether they would volunteer for such duty?

General GRAVES. I think in the case of the people from the Special Forces units, most have been volunteers. I know that at the beginning, when we were first organizing units, we did make a selection of what we thought were the best people, but it is my understanding as it has progressed that we are looking for volunteers.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is advisable. I would think you would have plenty of volunteers. I would think that would also remove some element of concern.

EXTENT OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT

Secretary Stoessel, in your testimony there is no direct mention of the Soviet Union. In a letter to me of March 13, Deputy Secretary of Defense Carlucci stated, "The involvement of the Soviet Union and other countries is a matter of the gravest concern."

That is from the Department of Defense. Does the Department of State also share that concern that the Soviet Union is involved directly or indirectly, and if so, could you state to what extent they are involved?

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

As you know, what we present in the budget is not completely firm. There will be a lot of discussions to work out precisely what those funds will go for between now and a year and a half from now. We certainly would involve him in those discussions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Biden, if you wait long enough, the minority becomes the majority.

Senator BIDEN. That is right, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I pass the gavel to you. Do you have any idea how many more questions you have?

Senator BIDEN. Not more than 3 or 4 hours. [Laughter.]

Of course I am kidding, but you notice the witnesses blanched when you said you were leaving. I don't expect to be another 10 or 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be fine. Then I take it we will adjourn by 6:30. I thank you very much, and I pass the gavel to you.

Thank you very much indeed, gentlemen. We are most grateful for your appearance here today. You have been very patient. This has been a very productive and helpful session.

Senator BIDEN [presiding]. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

DOES PRESIDENT DUARTE HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT?

Gentlemen, let me go back to a bit of discussion about Duarte and really how much power he has and how much popular support he has to get to my first concern, which is, is there a government to back that is likely to have the broad consensus?

Let me ask you this question, and I guess I ask this of you, Mr. Secretary, but anyone whom you designate may answer. How much popular support would you say the Duarte government has, not relative to left and right but just in absolute terms? How much popular support would you say the Duarte government has now?

Ambassador STOESSEL. Why don't you take that, John?

Mr. BUSHNELL. We have very little to go by. Let me say that in the 1972 elections almost everybody believes that the ticket headed by Duarte won the greatest number of votes. The military then threw over that election.

Senator BIDEN. But the fellow with him, whose name slips my mind now.

Mr. BUSHNELL. Ungo was the vice presidential candidate.

Senator BIDEN. Yes; Ungo was the vice president.

Mr. BUSHNELL. However, the Christian Democratic Party, which is a nationwide party in El Salvador, has branches of the party in the small towns, villages, and so forth, it was weakened after the 1972 elections. Duarte went into exile. He spent 8 years in Venezuela. He obviously lost support duing that time when he was not able to be fully active.

The party is now trying as a political party, to restore its own support at the grassroots level. I think I would say that probably the overwhelming majority of people in El Salvador at this moment do not support anybody. They do not support the left or the right or the government. They really just wish that this whole situation would go away.

Now, certainly the scheme of the government is to bring about a more peaceful situation to bring about these reforms and to increase its support. We are already seeing this happen in areas where the agrarian reform is going forward. This is the area where there is strong popular support for Duarte.

But I will say that when he goes out, as he does—he and other members of the junta do go out almost every week to the smaller towns, without a great deal of security they meet with the people, they talk with them, they ask them their problems. It is a fairly standard sort of political activity. The crowds are friendly and supportive of him. The security risk obviously has not become too dangerous in doing this.

So this shows, I suppose, that some of the people who come to these rallies may not support him but they are certainly not actively against him.

Senator BIDEN. I appreciate your candid answer. At every briefing I have gotten from within the administration straight through to outsiders from the think tanks in this town, left and right, they have said what you said, that there is no group, left, right or Duarte, that has at this point the popular support.

DUARTE'S ABILITY LIMITED BY THE MILITARY

Now, the second question I have with regard to Duarte is this, and I will indicate first what I have been told and I would appreciate your comments on it, correcting it, if you must, altering it, giving it a different view if you have a different view.

I understand that Duarte's ability and flexibility is severely limited by the military, who in fact are fairly split among themselves as to the propriety of even being involved in a government that includes Duarte and any civilians, and that as a consequence of that, Duarte has a lack of flexibility in terms of implementing programs, land reform or otherwise, because of the split in the military. To overstate it slightly, they are his keeper, and without the military support, Duarte does not stand; he has nothing.

What about that?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Well, without the military support he doesn't have any guns because his popular support in the Christian Democrats, after all, are not guerrillas, they are just civilians.

Senator BIDEN. But we have established there is not much popular support for him, and now I want to find out and establish whether or not there is much support within the military for Duarte and how that breaks down in order to try to figure out whether or not this horse can cross the finish line.

Mr. BUSHNELL. Well, I think the key factor on this is that the military and Duarte have been together for a tough year. I think during that time we have seen a growing process which I think is very interesting, of the relationship with the military. About a year ago when this process began there were a number of killings of Christian Democratic mayors around the countryside. This grew to such an extent that the Christian Democratic Party came to a point where it was concerned whether it could even stay in the government if its mayors were being killed, it thought in cases, by the security force.

This was raised in the most strong terms, as you can imagine, with the military. A campaign was set up where the mayors began to work much closer with the local military commanders. The

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

killings of Christian Democrats ended. We have seen from the conversations people in the Embassy have with the mayors from all around the country that this now tends to be a much more cooperative relationship, the mayors working with the military, the military getting into more of what we would call civic action sort of activities, the level of violence being reduced.

SUPPORT AT GRASS ROOTS LEVEL GROWS STRONGER

The nature of the support at that grassroots level between the military and the government represented by the mayors—and I might comment that some of these mayors are Social Democrats and Independents—has grown, I think, considerably stronger.

There have been a number of crises this year in which the nature of the junta, the continuation of the Christian Democrats has been at question. In each case the military has made concessions. It has been willing to pay a price for keeping Duarte in the government. I think that is a very positive sign.

Clearly, however, as in most governments in developing countries, the military has the preponderance of power and there has to be a negotiation in things that are dominantly military. These fall more to the military than to Duarte.

JUNTA EXISTS AT THE PLEASURE OF THE MILITARY

Senator BIDEN. It is obvious to you and to anyone who is listening to this line of questioning where it is leading. Everything you have said has been consistent with everything anyone has said to me about El Salvador, and that is really that the junta exists at the pleasure of the military and that the military has been more accommodating for a number of reasons, some more ethereal and asthetic than others, others just practical necessity.

But the fact remains that that is where the power is right now among those who we are supporting, which would lead me to the conclusion that really the place where we can accomplish the most is with the military, we the United States, by our friendly persuasion, our diplomatic intervention and our indications of what our preferences are.

I compliment President Reagan and the Secretary for stating immediately after the assertion from the major in the military that this country would look favorably on a coup from the right, which is synonymous with the military, elements within the military, that this Government immediately spoke out and said no, you are reading the wrong signals, that is not what we think.

Isn't that correct? Isn't that what we said?

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is correct. This was actually a retired major who was no longer in the military, but he did represent that trend of thinking.

Senator BIDEN. Is it D'Aubuisson? Is that the fellow we are talking about?

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is right.

Senator BIDEN. That pretty well, at least temporarily, brought an end to that. Again, I am just trying to figure out the players here and the scorecard. We pretty well established that our key to success is to achieve our objective and our objective is to keep El

Salvador, to steal a phrase, for the El Salvadorans and not to have El Salvador dominated by the Soviet Union, by Cuba or by a distinctly minority Communist faction within that country and to not have a country of El Salvador with a distinctly anti-American cast which would be in such a position that they could act against our self-interest as Cuba does, in my opinion and, I suspect, of the opinion of all of you gentlemen.

That is our objective. I think it is a laudable one. Now, I, like Senator Glenn, was not all that much concerned when you are talking about stopping weapons moving in, not all that much more concerned when you talked about sending weapons down; but the character, it seems, is beginning to change, at least it seems to some of us.

MILITARY MUST BE COOPERATIVE

Now, having said all of that, if we are looking at a need for a stable government to achieve our objectives, it is given that we must have a cooperative military in El Salavador; right?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Yes, I think we do have a cooperative military.

Senator BIDEN. Well, let me put it this way. We must maintain a cooperative military, correct?

General GRAVES. [Nods affirmatively.]

Mr. BUSHNELL. I think I would just differ on the "we must maintain." Much of what goes on with El Salvador will respond to their dynamics. It is important that the military be cooperative.

Senator BIDEN. Fine. But if the military is not cooperative, our objective and the reason for our involvement would no longer be within the control or even able to be influenced by our actions. I am not trying to trap you and I don't want to get into a semantic argument. I want to establish for me who I as a U.S. Senator am going to be voting dollars and cents to support and what policy I am, at least by my acquiescence, going to be underscoring.

So again, we are talking about this. Although I know as diplomats you must say the El Salvadorans must make that judgment, but we in the United States would, I hope, or at least I would assume, begin to make different judgments about the degree to which we would be involved and the ability of our involvement to effect the end we are attempting to accomplish, which I stated earlier, if in fact the military was not a cooperative element in that whole scheme of things. Right?

MILITARY PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION

Mr. BUSHNELL. In cooperation toward what end? I think it is very significant in this regard that the military have put themselves squarely on record on being in favor of elections. That is the way they think the political future of the country ought to be decided. In fact, they have even said that in order to make sure that the elections are honest, not ones which the military has rigged, which is an accusation which has been made in the past, that they were prepared to say that no military people should participate in the election as candidates and the military people should not even vote.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator BIDEN. Well, I would not disagree with that, but let me be a little more Macchiavellian about it. I might sound a little bit like Mrs. Kirkpatrick or Governor Reagan. I don't care much about free elections in El Salvador if they don't bring about stability. I am looking for stability.

I have been lectured by the right for the last 4 years in this political environment in this country about how we come down too hard on right-wing governments who may be our friends. Well, I am looking for a friend. I am looking for a friend who is strong enough to stand up and carry his own water, and by carrying that water that he can protect U.S. interests in an indirect way.

So again the assumption here is that underlying our whole policy, it seems, is (*a*) and reform will bring about popular support, and (*b*) free elections will culminate in a popularly supported government that no longer will require much outside propping up as long as there is not outside interference from the other team.

ELECTION MUST BRING ABOUT STABILITY

There are two propositions. I want to be sure I have them firmly established in my mind. You know, I don't care much about the election if it doesn't bring about stability. Is it the State Department's assumption—well, presumption is a better word—that the way to bring about stability in El Salvador would be (*a*) first to keep out outside intervention, which means hardware, (*b*) to implement and carry off a land reform program, and (*c*) to have free elections.

Mr. BUSHNELL. That is right. The reform program in general; not just the land reform but the other reforms as well, and to have this process of elections that has been laid out.

Senator BIDEN. If those things happen, we are assuming that El Salvador will be able to right itself in the sense that it will be stable, that it will be a stable government, right?

Ambassador STOESSEL. [Nods affirmatively.]

WHO ARE WE BACKING AND WHY

Senator BIDEN. OK. If that is not the case, then we get back to the question of who are we backing and why? That is the reason I am pursuing this line of questoning.

There is another point I would like to raise. The security forces as opposed to the left-wing guerrilla forces—and I might note parenthetically the left wing are not all Communist, isn't that correct? I mean Ungo is part of that left wing, isn't he?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Well, there are those who are engaged in guerrilla activities. These are hard core Marxist groups.

Senator BIDEN. Right.

Mr. BUSHNELL. There are others, not an awful lot, but others who have associated in what we might call a political front organization, the FDR, which includes the Social Democrats, which is a small party, some labor unions and some others which are not Marxist.

Senator BIDEN. Are there any non-Communists engaged in guerrilla activity that we have identified?

GUERRILLA LEADERSHIP CLEARLY MARXIST

Mr. BUSHNELL. The leadership of all of the groups engaged in guerrilla activity clearly is Marxist. Now, there may be some people who are in these as privates, but it would be hard to say.

Senator BIDEN. Fine. Are the security forces, because of their historical role as cited by one of you witnesses earlier, more easily identifiable and able to locate than the guerrilla forces? In other words, do they still march around the compounds outside what few places are left that are estates? Do we know where they are? Are they hiding up in the hills, too?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Do you mean by the security force generally the army, the police, or the national guard, or do you mean the groups that used to make up ORDEN, their regulars?

Senator BIDEN. The far right is what I am talking about. Now, the far right, I assume, are the old security forces that you explained some are left over that are still directed from some outside the country, some inside. I assume the right, the far right. We talk about extreme right and extreme left. I am trying to get my definitions down here.

But also on the far right besides some of the old security force folks, there are present military people; right?

Mr. BUSHNELL. People from the present military forces.

Senator BIDEN. People from the present security forces, to whom we also refer as the military right, or is that wrong.

DISTINGUISH ARMY FROM OTHER SECURITY FORCES

Mr. BUSHNELL. Well, we try to distinguish the army from the other security forces such as the police and the national guard.

Senator BIDEN. OK, let's take the army. There are some far right elements within the army, although they are not prevailing now. The more moderate elements are prevailing. But there are some far right elements within the army who are active army now, aren't there?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Probably not very many. There may be some. I certainly wouldn't rule out that there are some. But remember that of the top command, there are 700 or 800 officers in the Salvadoran forces——

Senator BIDEN. What do you mean by forces: the army?

Mr. BUSHNELL. The army, the police, and the national guard. The whole business. There is one officer corps for that of 700 or 800 members. Eighty were separated from the forces at the time of the October 15, 1979 coup, including all of the generals and most of the colonels.

Senator BIDEN. Were those folks on the far right?

Mr. BUSHNELL. The general belief is that they were participating in the continued monopolization of control of the country by the traditional economic groups that did that.

Senator BIDEN. But they are the folks that we have been calling the far right, aren't they?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Most of them, probably, but I am not saying every individual one.

Senator BIDEN. I don't mean [redacted]ybody.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Mr. BUSHNELL. In general those people who were associated with the previous government, which was considered on the right, they are now out.

Senator BIDEN. Most of them are purged—excuse me—gone.

Mr. BUSHNELL. That 80 is out of the forces. Some have left the country, some are still there.

Senator BIDEN. So how about the national guard? Are their far right elements in the national guard? I am just trying to identify who the far right is.

Mr. BUSHNELL. Well, as I said to Senator Helms earlier, the concept of right becomes a fuzzy concept. That assumes a lot of things.

Senator BIDEN. Especially when you are talking to Senator Helms. [Laughter.]

Mr. BUSHNELL. Maybe when I am talking with you, too. [Laughter.]

But there are these groups. There is the violence that comes about from the post of the police or the national guard which has been in a village, maybe the same people there for a number of years, which has built up various animosities and so forth. They are the same people under this government as they were under the government 5 or 10 years ago.

Now, violence originates from them. Whether you really call them right in the same way you would call right a hired assassin paid by an ex-landlord, it is a little different sort of phenomenon. But we bulk all of that together in this phenomenon that we call the right.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN TERRORIST AND GUERRILLA

Senator BIDEN. Just as on the left we lump together terrorist groups, guerrilla groups. Notice we use those terms interchangeably, and I wanted to get into that with the general as to whether there was a distinction between a terrorist and a guerrilla, and we bulk the Communist hard core and we also lump some of the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, that is, some of them who end up on the left.

Again, I am not trying to trap anybody here. I just want to make sure I know the players that we are talking about.

Gentlemen, I am really taking you beyond your time but please let me pursue this point a little longer. There is an obvious concern of the overthrow of the existing junta headed by Duarte from the left as a consequence of outside intervention, training, materiel, et cetera, and we are concerned that if the continued flow of arms moved into the left, the left could potentially overthrow Duarte. I believe the phrase in the statement was establish a Marxist state not unlike Cuba, or something to that effect.

TO WHAT DEGREE IS THREAT REAL?

Now, let me talk for a moment about what concerns we would have if we allowed the situation to deteriorate to the point that we had an unbridled right, whatever that right is. Isn't there also a concern that there are elements within El Salvador and outside of El Salvador that would like to see the old oligarchy reestablished, the land reforms that have taken place turned around, and the land reforms that are planned not occur, and free elections be a thing—well, they weren't ever a thing of the past, but for free elections not to occur?

Now, obviously that is a concern to us also. To what degree is that threat real, or is it just a group of a dozen or so folks or a handful who really, absent our intervention to help Duarte, he could thwart, he could hold off? Or if we were not in there at all, would Duarte being susceptible to being overthrown from the right also?

Mr. BUSHNELL. Let me say two things on that. First of all, I think perhaps the most significant thing that happened in El Salvador in history was the coup of October 15, 1979, when the more junior officers of the military took over and turned to the civilians. Why did they do this?

STRONGER MILITARY DEFEATED

I believe anyway that one of the decisive factors was they saw what had happened in Nicaragua. They saw that what they considered to be a stronger military was defeated. People ended up in jail or exiled or dead, and they saw that was the route that they were on in El Salvador, and it wasn't a route that the captains and majors and lieutenants liked.

They said: What are we going to do about it? Obviously, being associated with the right is the route to disaster for us. What we need to do is have a program that gets closer to the people, improves the socioeconomic structure. So they threw out their own leadership, 80 of their own leadership. They invited civilians into the government and they supported and backed and pushed for this program of reform. That they have done essentially as an officer corps. There has been a great deal of communication among them. They have done it clearly in their own self-interest.

Now, I don't see anything that would suggest that self-interest has changed.

Senator BIDEN. I am not suggesting that.

Mr. BUSHNELL. So, as long as that officer corps maintains its cohesion and stays on the track that it established on October 1, 1979, then I don't think that the threat from the right is a very large threat because they would have to make significant inroads in that officer corps.

Now, the danger is that there is a problem that can arise because clearly there are people in the society who would like to go back to the status quo ante and to work for that in any number of ways, including violent ways.

RIGHT MOVEMENT NOT COMING FROM PEASANTS

Senator BIDEN. Some of those, not all, but some of these are the most powerful economic interests in that country. I mean that right movement is not coming from the peasants as much as it is, to the degree to which it exists, from the powerful economic interests within the country. Is that correct?

Mr. BUSHNELL. From those that were economically powerful.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator BIDEN. Well, they are not all dead. They may be gone in terms of their financial interests because they no longer control them, but they are not all dead. Those 80 colonels and generals have not been shot. They are all still roaming around somewhere in Latin America, the United States or El Salvador. Those businessmen and women who own the hotels and own the various business establishments and who handle the exports, et cetera are not dead. Well, of course, some of them are, but they are still around, most of them.

So three is a stated desire. All you have to do is turn on the television and you will see one of them talking from somewhere with some reporter talking to them saying we hope that we will be able to overthrow the Duarte government, it shouldn't be supported, et cetera.

So they are out there somewhere. Your assessment is, however, that is not a very serious threat?

THREAT DEPENDS ON COHESION OF MILITARY OFFICER CORPS

Mr. BUSHNELL. I am saying that threat is there, but the seriousness of that threat depends very much on the cohesion of the military officer corps. As long as that corps is together and backing the reforms, there is little concern but they can create a lot of problems, they can kill people, they can do things, but I don't see that it is a very major threat.

If the progress of the situation is such that the officer corps begins to come apart, when I think that opens up all sorts of opportunities for this group from the right, and that is another reason why our support, both our materiel support and our training, is so important. The more professional the military becomes, the more confident in their own abilities, the more they are able to control modern arms, the more they will have solidity within themselves and the less they will be susceptible to this threat from the right.

Senator BIDEN. And the less they will have to face that unholy option of choosing the left or the right, because what is going to happen if that doesn't happen, I assume, is if they don't reach that point, they are going to be losing ground to the left if they were not able to maintain that military edge, and that would mean that logic would dictate they would turn to any alliance they can and they would move them to the right. They don't want to fight both sides.

MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID FROM U.S. NEEDED

That leads me to my final point, which is this. It seems to me that we are in a very influential position with regard to those folks in the military who right now want to have this more moderate course for their country to follow because—and I agree with you—because they saw what happened in Nicaragua, were worried about what was happening with them, and in order to maintain the momentum that they began in October or November of 1979, whenever it was, that they know they need the military and economic aid the United States is going to bring forward.

So I would hope since we know they know that, and I would hope since we know there is a need for a moderate military and civilian component, that we would make it crystal clear as we go along and not be very bashful about it, at least privately, what our view of the situation is, what we would like to see them do.

Notwithstanding our reluctance to interfere in the sovereign affairs of other nations, I would hope we would be a little Macchiavellian about what we do. They need us? Well, we need them. But it seems to me they need us a little more than we need them in terms of whether or not we are going to have that component, a moderate military and a modern civilian regime that is going to bring about eventually free elections.

That is the only point that I was trying to make. I am not sure that it was worth all the time. Do you disagree with that?

OPPOSED TO A MOVE FROM THE RIGHT

Mr. BUSHNELL. No; I think it is very clear. It was only last week that the Secretary of State walked out, I think, of a meeting here in this building and made it very clear in front of all the cameras how strongly we were opposed to a move from the right. I think that word spread very quickly in the military establishment of El Salvador.

Senator BIDEN. Right, and it had its effect. I could not agree with you more.

I have three questions that do not need long explanations. They are not very long questions. We have military personnel in place, training El Salvadoran military people, because it is the most economical way, in every sense of that word, in which to put them in a position to be able to maintain their military establishment and their objectives.

How long will it take for us to train a sufficient number of them so that they from that point on can do the training?

TRAINING COULD BE DONE IN MONTHS—AT MOST 1 YEAR

General GRAVES. The programs that we have launched now, most of them, these MTT's, have gone in there with the idea that the jobs could be done in months or at most 1 year. We would expect that after this period, when they have raised this new reaction force and got it going, that they would revert to what they were doing before, which is, they were sending a substantial number of their officers and NCO's out of the country to our schools.

Senator BIDEN. Here or in Panama or wherever.

General GRAVES. But, right now while they are trying simultaneously to increase their forces and operate against the insurgents also, that is just not practical.

Senator BIDEN. That answer makes me feel much better, General, because obviously, then, the reasons, or our objective, at least, barring other contingencies that could occur, is to have the U.S. military personnel there, as long as it takes to put them on their feet, not as long as it takes to establish a regime in El Salvador that is stable. They are two different things.

General GRAVES. I would agree with that point, although I think you will see not training so [illegible]h as we are doing now, but [illegible] will

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

see technica support continuing. There are U.S. systems there so you will see some kind of maintenance support, but you won't see the kind of training that we have now, at least not to the same extent.

Senator BIDEN. All right. At a future hearing, or if not at a hearing, then by sending up a communication to this committee—and since I am once again in the majority, I remember what the old days used to be like. [Laughter.]

HOW MANY PEOPLE NEEDED TO MAINTAIN SYSTEMS AS OPPOSED TO TRAINING

All kidding aside, I will ask the chairman tomorrow whether he would go along with this request. I would request that the military, the Pentagon thinks would be roughly the number of people that we would need to keep in place indefinitely to maintain systems as opposed to training. I would guess you probably have thought about that a little bit. I don't mean whether it is 31 or 19, but if it is going to be 10, 20, 30 people, give me the broad numbers.

Also, how many pounds of military equipment have we shipped since January, if that is not a classified number, and if it is—well, first, is it classified?

General GRAVES. No; it is not classified, but I don't know what the answer is.

Senator BIDEN. Would you be able to provide that for the committee?

General GRAVES. Yes, sir.

[The information referred to follows:]

We have shipped 343.2 short tons of military items to El Salvador since January 1981, of which 265.3 short tons were arms and ammunition; 24 short tons were helicopters and spares, and 53.9 short tons were nonlethal items, mainly individual equipment.

Senator BIDEN. Tomorrow I will save my other three questions which I raised and we didn't discuss for my favorite person to question, Secretary Haig. He is probably so tired of having me question him after his 5 days up here that he doesn't know what to do, but I will pursue those.

I am just going through my list of scribblings to see if there are a few other relatively short questions that I should ask you today.

There are so many things, I guess I had better not.

Let me make one last point, Mr. Secretary. I know of no one who is a more seasoned or accomplished diplomat than you, and I mean that sincerely. I would sincerely hope that you would take the message back to the State Department that not only me but, I truly believe, a representative at least minority on both sides of the aisle think that we should be less reticent to suggest a negotiating forum than we have been thus far, assuming that we have a preference.

REASON WE DON'T ENCOURAGE THE OAS

Maybe the reason why we don't suggest or encourage the OAS or any other of the various outside interests who have expressed a desire to mediate, maybe the reason we don't do that is because we don't think any of them will work and we don't want to be involved in it because they are doomed to failure.

That is one thing, but if we really do have a preference, I would hope we would not be reluctant to make that known to Mr. Duarte and the military, and if they refuse to do it, I suggest that we have a fairly tough Secretary of State and a fairly tough President who I am sure could communicate the point fairly rapidly.

AMERICAN PRESTIGE ON THE LINE

In closing I just want to reiterate that I share the concern of Senator Glenn, and that is that I am so concerned that with the presence, regardless of the fact that it is only 54 people, that we have put American prestige on the line in a way that is fundamentally different than we did before.

I realize the Carter administration talked about this. It is not a judgment that one administration is any worse than any other, but I think it is a very serious mistake unless we are awfully damn sure that the result we seek is going to occur, because the fallout, not internationally but just nationally in terms of our self-image when we were just trying to climb out of the Vietnam syndrome that we have been a victim of, in my opinion, for the past 10 years, if we in fact cannot work our will in a little country like El Salvador in the Western Hemisphere, far away from the Soviet Union, I think we are going to do irreparable damage in this country about how we in this country view ourselves and our capabilities and what we are going to be willing to do when the really important showdown comes.

As one of our mutual friends from Germany said, if you want to get tough, there is a place called Poland. You know, there are plenty of places around where we could get tough if we really want to be tough tough. Now, I am not suggesting that. I think that you are wise to follow the course you have now.

In any case, that is the end of my little comments. Thank you very much for your indulgence, gentlemen, and I look forward to seeing the Secretary tomorrow.

This hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:50 p.m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02099 191914Z
ACTION DCT-02

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-15 CIAE-00 ICA-11
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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 7-
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy (X), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2099

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 3/18/01
TAGS: SHUM, ES, PINS, CIVS
SUBJ: (C) TORTURE OF AND ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AGAINST [redacted] PP

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT, PREPARED BY THE VISA OFFICER WHO INTERVIEWED [redacted] OFFERS A VALUABLE INSIGHT INTO PP THE WORLD OF TERROR IN WHICH MANY SALVADORANS LIVE. IT REACHED US ONLY THROUGH THE EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES OF [redacted] ESCAPING DEATH AT THE HANDS OF PEOPLE WHO CLEARLY PP

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02099 191914Z

WERE OUT TO MURDER HIM. THE COMMON OCCURRENCE IS THAT

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]

BODIES ARE SIMPLY LEFT AT ROADSIDE TO BE DISCOVERED OR TO DE-COMPOSE. [redacted] ATTRIBUTES THE TORTURE AND ATTEMPTED MURDER TO THE LEFT. PP

3. [redacted] APPEARED AT THE EMBASSY TODAY (3/18) TO REQUEST VISITOR'S VISAS FOR HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY. [redacted] APPEARED AGITATED. WHEN ASKED, HE DISCUSSED THE PERSECUTION HE HAS SUFEERED FOR THE PAST EVERAL MONTHS. ALTHOUGH UNABLE--OR UNWILLING--TO MAKE SPECIFIC IDENTIFICATIONS, HE ALLEGES THAT THE ACTS DESCRIBED BELOW, AS WELL AS THE CONTINUING THREATS AGAINST HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY, COME FROM THE LEFT. PP PP

4. YESTERDAY HIS HOUSE WAS MACHINEGUNNED. HE DISCONNECTED HIS TELEPHONE BECAUSE HE WAS COSTANTLY RECEIVING THREATS. HE HAS TWO YOUNG SONS. BOTH HAVE BEEN THREATENED WITH KIDNAPPING AND DEATH. ABOUT TWO MONTHS AGO WHILE WALKING IN A PARK WITH HIS SON, HE WAS ATTACKED BY TWO YOUNG BEARDED MEN. THEY CARRIED HIM TO A CAR, LEAVIIG HIS SON BEHIND. THEY TOOK HIM TO A SECLUDED SPOT OUTSIDE THE CITY WHERE THEY BEAT HIM SEVERELY AND RIPPED OUT THE MIDDLE FINGERNAIL OF HIS LEFT HAND WITH A PAIR OF METAL-WORKING TONGS. THEY THEN SHOT HIM IN THE FACE AND, ASSUMING HE WAS DEAD, DUMPED HIM OUTSIDE HIS HOME. HIS WIFE DISCOVERED HIM AND CARRIED HIM TO A HOSPITAL.

5. WHEN HE CAME TO THE EMBASSY HE CARRIED WITH HIM X-RAYS SHOWING WHERE THE BULLET FIRED INTO HIS FACE BROKE HIS JAW AND LODGED IN HIS NECK NEXT TO THE JUGLAR VEIN. THE VEIN WAS NOT SEVERED, BUT OWING TO ITS PROXIMITY, SALVADORAN DOCTORS DID NOT REMOVE THE BULLET. HE HOPES IT CAN BE [redacted]

EXTRACTED IN THE U.S.

6. CONOFF SPOKE TO [redacted] AT LENGTH AND OBSERVED HIS FACIAL SCARS AND INFECTED FINGER WHERE THE NAIL WAS TORN OUT. DESPITE HIS EXPERIENCES AND THE TRAGIC ATHOSPHERE IN WHICH HE AND HIS FAMILY LIVE, [redacted] EMBODIES THE GREAT STRENGTH AND COURAGE OF SO MANY SALVADORANS IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES. HE CONTINUES HIS WORK AND INSISTS HE WILL RETURN HERE AND NOT BE DRIVEN OUT OF HIS COUNTRY. PP PP
CHAPIN

[redacted] DECLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WASHINGTON POST Tuesday, March 24, 1981

A Vermont Town Plays the Tune, But Reagan Isn't Listening

The citizens of Weston, Vt., population 650, tried to show their leaders the way by voting a cutoff of military aid to El Salvador at their March 1 town meeting.

Local Republicans were mortified at this new repudiation of President Reagan's foreign policy. Last year Weston voted unanimously for the nuclear freeze.

El Salvador's ambassador, Ernesto Rivas-Gallont, pleaded for and was granted an emergency hearing in a special town meeting last Friday night.

He was heeded most courteously and given a standing ovation, but the vote stood.

It is perhaps too much to hope that Congress will act so bravely in dealing with Reagan's request for $110 million for military aid, although it knows that there is no popular support for more of the same in El Salvador.

Reagan's rhetoric has grown increasingly apocalyptic and intimidating as the government situation deteriorates.

Our national security is at stake, Reagan said.

Mary McGrory

MORE

The Rev. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, is of like mind. He told his flock in Lynchburg that "If we do not fight them in El Salvador, we will have to fight them in Texas."

If Reagan is truly alarmed by the threat posed by those ragged forces fighting in the hills, he should be asking 10 times more in money and arms for the tottering regime. He should be mobilizing the 82nd Airborne. He should revive the draft.

Instead, he bids us be thankful that he is not sending American troops.

That, to him, is proof positive that there is no comparison between El Salvador and Vietnam.

While insisting there are no parallels, administration spokesmen continually invite them, by talking about "dominos." Never mind that one of the countries said to be slated for domino-doom, Mexico, is in the forefront of Salvadoran neighbors calling for negotiations.

You would think that if the example of Weston and 12 other Vermont towns whose citizens advised the central government to be done with it in El Salvador could not stiffen Congress, a study of the statistics might.

Thirty thousand non-combatants have been killed in El Salvador since the onset of the civil war, which Reagan sees as a Communist aggression fueled by Moscow and Havana.

Of these murders, none has been solved. Not a single member of the security forces or the "death squads" has ever been convicted.

Most recently, in the case of the four American churchwomen who were killed in December, 1980, an appeals court ruled that there is "insufficient evidence" to bring to trial five Salvadoran national guardsmen who were indicted more than a year ago.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

dence" for justice to be done. Salvadoran law is a rickety structure, and, with the ex-bounding of the danger of provoking the government, no judge is willing to pass judgment on a member of the security forces.

This has not prevented the Reagan administration from continuing to certify El Salvador's "progress" in human rights. Fewer murders are cited, without regard to the fact that there simply are fewer people to be murdered each year.

But Congress has a problem that small towns in Vermont do not have. It has a fear of being asked, "Who lost El Salvador?" Those who do not believe that the Soviets are coming, who blanch at subsidizing slaughter, are nervous about political reprisal.

Reagan obviously will fight to the last peasant. If Congress balks on aid, he will accuse them of expediting a Marxist takeover—which might be averted if he would agree to negotiations now.

Rep. Michael D. Barnes (D-Md.), chairman of the Hemispheric Affairs subcommittee, told the Council on Foreign Relations Sunday night that if the president wants $60 million he should come to Congress and ask for it in the regular fashion, instead of the back-door approach—reminiscent of Vietnam—a "reprogramming" from other funds. Barnes' subcommittee must act on the "supplemental" request for the other $50 million.

One member of the House Appropriations subcommittee that must pass on the reprogramming said he will vote "no" unless he gets definite assurances that a political solution will be sought. Rep. Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.) said, "Without a clear promise of negotiations and some specific steps as to how they could be arranged, I will vote against any military aid."

McHugh pointed out that further military aid simply strengthens the extremists in the military and muzzles moderates in the government who might be able to come to terms with the moderates in the political leadership of the guerrillas.

But most of the common sense about El Salvador seems to lie beyond the Beltway.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Senator LEAHY. As you know, the Ambassador from El Salvador went to Vermont to discuss this issue with the people of Vermont.

Mr. Secretary, I would like to follow up a little bit on what Senator Johnston and Senator D'Amato have been saying. But I concur with you that sometimes lawyers can move slowly. I point out, however, that you have four or five former prosecutors on this panel alone. I cannot imagine one of us who would have ever let an open and shut case like the one developed in the nuns' case sit around for 2 years.

But in your statement as to the important elements in El Salvador, you described the protection of human rights as necessary to insure the success of the overall strategy, and I certainly agree with you on that. When we talk about human rights we are not talking about some kind of an abstract notion of people being nice to one another; we are talking about in this case the regime's ability to get the support of its own people and their trust.

You state, and again I agree, that democracy cannot flourish in the presence of extreme inequalities and absence of access to land, opportunities, and justice. You are optimistic in your statement, saying progress has been steady and democracy and reconciliation have made major advances this year.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

I cannot state share that optimism, Mr. Secretary. I do not think there is any real law and order in El Salvador. I think if we try to give a different implication, we do injustice both to our policy and to this committee, and we are going to have to see the reality as it is.

We talked about the case of the four murdered Catholic nuns, but they are only four out of thousands and thousands of people that have been murdered in El Salvador. Let me talk about some of the recent reports that say to me that officials in that country are afraid, are actually afraid to bring the guilty to justice.

When you were before this committee in February, we had just gotten reports of a massacre of 18 Indian peasants, and this report was confirmed by Mr. Alemán, a member of the Human Rights Commission. Now, it is encouraging, I think, that the Human Rights Commission looked into that massacre, but I see the news article in this case states:

"Mr. Alemán realizes it will be difficult to punish any soldiers responsible for the murder of the 18 peasants. 'Even I am afraid to be investigating this, even though I have the authority of the Ministry of Defense.'"

Military units which have been mentioned as responsible for the murder of 17 men and 1 child were apparently stationed at an army base where 10 American advisers are training soldiers.

The head of a local Indian organization said the members of his cooperative were killed because a local landowner whose request to build a road across their property had been denied and friends of the army probably identified the farmers as subversives.

We saw in the papers the tragic case of a 21-month-old baby, an American citizen, whose parents were killed in front of his eyes, and then the soldiers debating over whether to kill the child, too. Our American consul in San Salvador said he had used his informal contacts, his informal contacts in the national guard, to locate the baby. He did not go formally because, "We did not want to jeopardize the life of this child."

Now, I see local human rights officials afraid to investigate. Our troops are training people who apparently are engaging in massacres. You know, I could go on and on. A friend of mine, a former bishop of the Episcopal Church in Vermont, wrote me about a case of decapitation by a contingent of the armed forces in LePlura, seven peasants killed in a church, and on and on.

I do not see—and I know the difficulty that you have when you are faced with the certification process that the Congress requires. I sure as heck do not see any improvement in civil rights.

Let us talk about one other area, the military situation, so we can see what is going on. Here is a state that is smaller than Vermont. It is even smaller than New Hampshire, for that matter, the country down there.

Senator RUDMAN. Vermont is smaller than New Hampshire.

Senator LEAHY. New Hampshire is 100 square miles smaller than Vermont.

Secretary SHULTZ. Be careful. My wife is from New Hampshire.

Senator LEAHY. Both states are bigger than Massachusetts, Mr. Secretary, so let us look at it that way.

But let me take a look at this map.

[The map follows:]

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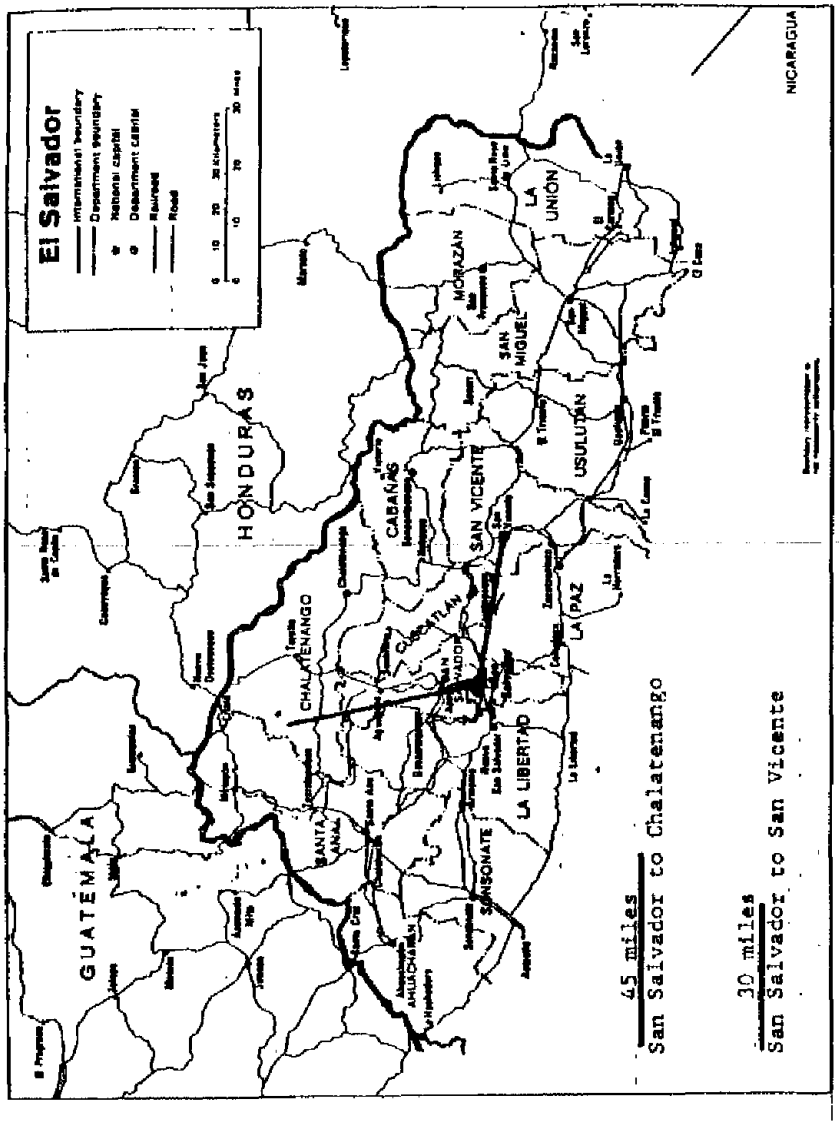
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)



RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

U.S. TRAINING OF MILITARY

Senator LEAHY. Let me bring this over here. This might give you a better idea of what we are talking about. We have been training, we have been training these people down there for 20 years now, the Salvadoran military.

Here is San Salvador and here is where some of the biggest fighting is going on. This one out by the volcano, 30 miles away. Up here, 45 miles, and so on. I mean, these are short, short distances. We have got a 9-to-5 army down there, trained by the United States, heavily supplied by us.

Close to $1 billion has gone to that country in the last 4 years, not all for military, but certainly to try to prop up this regime. We have been training them for 20 to 30 years, and we cannot even get them to go down the road 30 miles to get rid of a guerrilla base, or 45 miles or any of these other distances.

Is anything really going to improve? We have got a total armed forces of 25,000. How many people are actually fighting out of the 25,000? How many are out in the field?

Secretary SHULTZ. No doubt the performance of this armed force, most armed forces, can be criticized. They are engaged in a program of defending static positions. They are trying to defend the infrastructure which has been targeted by the guerrillas. They have fought to the point where they have sustained casualties that are heavy by standards of warfare.

So they are not cowardly. They can fight, have fought, and will fight. But if you say, is the picture really great and ideal, I would have to say no. But I think the evidence is, as I understand it, that those battalions that have received U.S. training have done significantly better, both in terms of military performance and in terms of the so-called civic action elements of their duties.

SIZE OF TOTAL ARMED FORCES

Senator LEAHY. How big is the total armed forces?

Secretary SHULTZ. 31,000, I am informed.

Senator LEAHY. How many are actually out fighting of the 31,000? How many actually go out in the field?

Secretary SHULTZ. You mean how many are——

Senator LEAHY. How many do the guerrillas really have to fear that they might be up against, might come after them?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, presumably they are all able to, but in any army some people are in the rear.

I do not know. Do you know what the field unit component that is?

Senator LEAHY. One gets the impression that they have probably got the most effective rear guard in this army of any.

But seriously, how many actually go out? My report is around 5,000, Mr. Secretary. Does that square?

Secretary SHULTZ. Pardon?

Senator LEAHY. My report is about 5,000 actually go out. Does that square with yours?

Secretary SHULTZ. I am not informed enough about the actual military operation to feel confident in giving you a number. I know that the battalions that have true mobility are limited to two, that

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

is, able to really get around with proper means of moving themselves.

Senator LEAHY. Do you think if we give the $25 million or $24 million, which is one of the compromise proposals to the full $60 million, that it is going to really make a significant difference either in the effectiveness of the fighting force or in the human rights situation in El Salvador?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I think if you reduce the President's request from $60 million to $24 million one of the things you will do is practically eliminate the prospect of out-of-country training. No doubt the funds would have to be concentrated on the things most immediately useful in meeting immediate military needs.

Senator LEAHY. Let me follow up on that. We have heard some rather apocalyptic statements by Secretary Weinberger and Mr. Fred Ikle about how El Salvador is connected to NATO's security. I had to get my maps out to fully understand this, but evidently, according to him, if we do not win in El Salvador, we are going to have to withdraw troops from Europe and even from the Far East.

Are we really in that kind of situation, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary SHULTZ. No, sir, we are not.

THE PEACE COMMISSION

Senator LEAHY. Thank you.

One more question, if I still have time. A great deal has been made of the Peace Commission in El Salvador. It was announced about 1 year ago. How many members have they now on the commission?

Secretary SHULTZ. I think there are three.

Senator LEAHY. It took 1 year to get that three. Will they be able to propose legislative changes?

Secretary SHULTZ. Yes, sir, I think they have proposed legislative changes. As a matter of fact, there is an amnesty proposal on the table now. It is to President Magana. It is not on the table in the legislature.

Senator LEAHY. If one of the political parties does not agree to one of the Peace Commission's recommendations, what happens then?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, they have to consider it in their political process, and I think that they are very much on the spot. I do not think that any party would have veto power.

Senator LEAHY. I see my time has expired. I will wait until the next go-round, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KASTEN. Thank you.

Mr. Secretary, let me say before we go to the next question that it is now 10:55. I understand that you have a meeting with the members of the House Appropriations Committee. It would be our hope that we could continue and go through 10 minutes each, and we will try to do everything we can to make it possible for you to leave here at 11:45.

I would also like to say that you have been sitting here under the hot lights now since 9 o'clock, almost 2 hours straight. We would be more than happy to suggest a 3-minute break to give you a chance to stretch your legs if you would like, or we can go. Whatever you would prefer.

Secretary SHULTZ. I am doing all right. I do not mind the lights as much as, as I learned from Senator Leahy, that I am confronting five prosecuting attorneys. [Laughter.]

Senator KASTEN. Maybe we need more than 5 minutes.

Senator LEAHY. That is really five, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KASTEN. Senator Rudman?

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

Senator RUDMAN. Mr. Secretary, let me switch the area of questioning, if I may, for a moment. I think any fair person listening to both sides of this argument would have to say that, you know, you come up here, and you fence with these issues of human rights. But I think we could probably make a finding here that human rights are probably pretty miserable right now in El Salvador, probably improving but still probably pretty miserable.

Secretary SHULTZ. I agree with that.

Senator RUDMAN. You would agree with that, and I am sure you do. I can tell that from your testimony. You have not ever said anything to the contrary.

But what is the alternative for the people of El Salvador today? Let us assume that because of this situation we say that we have really had it there with military assistance, the shield that Senator Jackson spoke of. We are just going to remove that shield, and that is that.

What is the alternative, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary SHULTZ. I think we can see the nature of the alternative. I mean, you look at the Soviet system, or look at Poland, or look at Nicaragua, for that matter, Cuba. It is not a very pretty picture for them, and not for us either.

Senator RUDMAN. I mean, the fact is we do not really have much choice except to some extent to continue to put up this shield, because the alternative for the people, in terms of human rights, is probably worse than it is today.

Secretary SHULTZ. That is right. But I think that we have to keep pounding away on the human rights issue.

REGIONAL COOPERATION

Senator RUDMAN. I do not disagree with that. But you know, we carry on this human rights debate, and I share the concerns as deeply as anyone on this committee, but I just do not know what the alternatives are, and that is what we are facing, the alternatives.

I want to just direct my question to page 8 of your testimony, which I think has not been discussed at all, and that might be the most important thing you said today. I just want to go to the paragraph on page 8 that says.

"Discussion now centers on the possibility of a meeting of foreign ministers of the five Central American countries, along with the other five regional countries as observers."

To the extent that you can, Mr. Secretary, we would be interested in hearing what the word "discussions" means and at what level

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

they are taking place, and then what timetable you are establishing generally, without setting deadlines. Essentially, what is going on that the public might like to know?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, first of all, we are not directly involved, so we are not setting timetables or trying to manage it. This is an initiative that has emerged in the area, and we support an effort to bring about peace in the area, thinking about it on a regional basis.

It aspires to include Nicaragua. It remains to be seen whether Nicaragua will come and talk about reasonable things, such as ceasing fomenting guerrilla activity in other countries and shipping arms to other countries. But we hope that they will. They have been invited.

I think it is significant that the Central American countries involved expect to be observed, so to speak, by surrounding countries that have a democratic tradition, and so I think that is all to good and suggests the spirit of this effort.

As to content, I would expect the San Jose principles that I referred to in my testimony to be an important part of the content, but that basically the appeal to everybody is a greater measure of peace than now obtains in the region. What I sought to point out was that the President has supported negotiations for peace, negotiations among countries to bring that about, and also negotiations to insure insofar as possible a true democratic process in selecting government.

Senator RUDMAN. Mr. Secretary, I have read your testimony and your letter to the chairman of the full committee, as well as the statement from the Senator from Hawaii, and it appears to me that what he is talking about and what you are talking about are not really that different.

I think the difference is that many of us would feel more confident about what we are doing here if the role of the administration in arranging these activities to take place by the parties in the area were somehow more active than we perceive it to be.

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, we have been very active. At the same time, I think there is a sense of a Latin and Central American initiative, and if they can bring that off we are in favor of it. We are seeking to help it in every way that we can, but you cannot manage other people all the time, or you should not be doing it too much of the time. So there is a limit to what the United States can do. But we are very active there on all of these matters that we have been discussing, including giving encouragement to trying to bring about a regional peaceful solution.

FUTURE ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR

Senator RUDMAN. My final question, Mr. Secretary. Just looking at the past history around the world and the models that we have for this activity now going on in El Salvador, is it reasonable to assume that over the long term it is going to be probably a very long time before we will be able to withdraw military and economic support from that government, and as a practical matter, the guerrilla movement in that country will probably not come to the table for a very long time?

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, that very well may be. If we are able to provide a reasonable and sustained amount of aid of the types that are being discussed and that works sufficiently, both in the sense of exhibiting a military incapacity of the guerrillas to win and a democratic economic prospect, it is conceivable that people will come into the electoral process, at least many of them. It would be conceivable, then, that there would be an election before the end of the year, and I do not rule out the possibility that we might just get somewhere.

I think that the provision of economic aid is foreshadowed, certainly, by the conditions. You say, is it inevitable that we will go on and on forever with this? I say, no, it is not inevitable. I think there is this other prospect. Our strategy is trying to bring it about, but I do not say it will come about. There are all sorts of reasons why.

Senator Hatfield was asking about conditions under which people come into an electoral process. I do not know quite how as a matter of fact somebody stands for an election and goes around New Hampshire saying. "Look what I did for you, I blew up 55 bridges, I wrecked all the power stations, I caused your electrical shortages and made it impossible for you to have work and jobs, so elect me."

I do not think it is a very good platform, and I do not think they deserve a vote.

DEMOCRACY IN EL SALVADOR

Senator RUDMAN. Well, Mr. Secretary, it seems to me that at some point, hopefully in the not too distant future, you are going to have to come again before this committee and answer our questions regarding the democratic structure of the government of El Salvador differently than you have honestly and candidly answered them this morning. But simply saying, the facts now indicate that that structure in that country is now very much worth supporting. Because if you cannot get to that point the question arises whether it is worth supporting at all.

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I think that there is a democratic structure there, and it seems to me that even we must be a little humble in the light of an 80-percent turnout, despite armed efforts to prevent it. When have we had that kind of a turnout in the United States of eligible voters?

So it is not all bad, and in many respects that was inspiring. I know many of the members of Congress went and observed and came back, and we were very impressed with what took place.

So this land reform program is a big thing. Imagine, 20 percent of the land redistributed. That is a huge undertaking. So it is not as though nothing is going on there.

Senator RUDMAN. Thank you.

Senator KASTEN. Senator DeConcini?

SOURCE OF GUERRILLA MATERIAL

Senator DECONCINI. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Mr. Secretary, I find your testimony very candid and open, and certainly your response to Senators Leahy and Rudman and others who have spent some time here on the human rights issue to be

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

most forwa[illegible] and I thank you for that. [illegible] you know, I want to ask a question, and I think you pretty well intimate that the source of the materiel and advisors for the guerrillas come from Cuba and Nicaragua. Is that what our intelligence tells us, and is that factual in your understanding?

Secretary SHULTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator DECONCINI. Are you at liberty to discuss with us here today whether or not there are any efforts on behalf of our Government to attempt to slow down or curtail that flow of materiel and advisors that are constantly pouring into the rebels' hands?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, as I understand it, those matters are discussed regularly with various intelligence committees, and I think I will let it go at that.

Senator DECONCINI. OK. Well, in that case, may I ask you this question? If that is the source of the problem, do we not really have to address that source if we are looking for some kind of a lasting curtailment of this, what appears to me to be an advancing guerrilla success on the ground, at least, and disruption of that present regime and government that is there?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, if we can deny the supply of arms and other materiel, command and control materiel in particular, of course, that is a great advantage to us. And there are various ways, of course, in which that might be done, and one of them is that if you can find out where it is coming to in El Salvador, maybe you can find out something about it.

GLOBAL MAGNITUDE OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE

Senator DECONCINI. Well, I would only suggest that if we are looking for a long-range solution here, and I share the frustration the Senator from New Hampshire has, I may very well support the administration's request, because I do not know of any other alternative, but I share the frustrations here that this is going to continue to go on and on as long as that source can act with no curtailment and impunity to supply this type of material as well as the propaganda, and the consultants and personnel that are there.

I think, in this Senator's judgment, that unless we address this big problem in the Caribbean and in Central America, and unless we do it openly, in our process, and unless the administration will indeed make an effort to declassify some of the information that a few of us have had and those on the Intelligence Committee have had greater access to, I do not think we are going to find a solution there, and that we will indeed, whatever the amount of dollars we authorize and appropriate here, they will be sopped up in the sponge of the problems there, and you will be here next year once again asking for more, with the same proposal, just a let us do it again, gentlemen and ladies, and we will find a solution.

I just hope that the administration and your leadership might come to the conclusion that I have come to over the last couple of years, that we have got to address the source of this problem or it is not going to go away, I do not care how much money we pour in there, and I wonder what your reaction to that possibility of the administration addressing the source rather than what I consider more of a bandaid approach.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Secretary SHULTZ. I [illegible]e with the inference made [illegible]he direct statement of your comment that the problem is far broader than a Central American problem. It is a problem of our contest with the Soviet system, with Soviet military power, and with the exertion of that power. It is connected with the fact that there are Cuban troops in Angola. It is connected with the fact that the Soviets are in Afghanistan. It is connected with the conditions that we see in Poland. It is connected with what has happened in Vietnam, or what Vietnam has done to what we used to call Cambodia. Now everybody calls it Kampuchea.

It is connected with the fact that there does seem to be very little regard in the Soviet Union for the Helsinki Accords as we talk about human rights problems. It is connected, in other words, with a very broad development of Soviet power that is causing us to spend large amounts of money on our defense, which I support completely. You must do it. All of these things are of a piece. To a degree, I think people around the world watch, and they say, the United States cannot maintain freedom and democracy in its own neighborhood and maintain the willpower to do it. How can it aspire to defend its own interests and help allies defend theirs in a global sense?

I think your point is well taken.

U.S. RESPONSE

Senator DECONCINI. But what are we going to do about it except increase our defense expenditures by 10 percent? We have no policy except another $60 million of reprograming for El Salvador. It seems to me we do not have a Caribbean policy other than some additional foreign assistance of going to the source of this problem, and I think we know where it is. You mentioned Cuba, of course. You did not mention Nicaragua, but I presume that is part of the plan, too.

We do not have a policy. Now, maybe it is an assessment by the administration, and you would like to comment that the American people would not tolerate a strong, forceful position by this country to bring about the elimination of that kind of infiltration and direct military advisors' availability to rebel sources, but I would like to know what your opinions are.

Are we prepared to do that? Is it under consideration? Or do you think that we should take a stronger position outside the sphere of only El Salvador and the aid we are discussing this morning?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I have the impression that it is difficult enough to get this committee to go along with 55 trainers, let alone one military advisor, let alone a commitment of American troops. So I do not sense any great political mood for us to commit armed U.S. forces there, but I do think it is essential to make this broad connection that your question brought out, and I think it brings out the importance of looking to our defenses. It brings out the importance of being realistic about what is going on in the world. It brings out the importance as we agonize over the human rights record in this country that we are trying to help that we look at the inconceivable bestiality of what has happened in Cambodia, and we consider these things as part of a piece.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator DECONCINI. Well, Mr. Secretary, I think the point I want to get across is the fact that the administration may assess that it is hard to get 55 military advisors approved, or trainers. Certainly, it would be difficult to get ground troops or more forceful decisions or a blockade of Cuba or something, but is that not the leadership responsibility, to bring out the facts to the public of just how severe this is, where this aid is coming from, and to declassify some of the information the administration has available so we can indeed have a public discussion of the severity of this cancer that is growing there?

I am not chastising you for it. I am only suggesting that there are going to be more problems with getting 55 trainers there as no real progress seems to come forward. Indeed, the what I consider oversensitiveness by the administration, and it was the past administration the same way, of the dissemination of materiel and advisors and propaganda from the sources there continues, and I see a hopeless case, and though I may continue to support you, sooner or later this Senator is going to fall off the wagon, too, I am afraid, as other staunch supporters, particularly the Senator from Hawaii, who has been one of the most responsible of all Senators in my judgment of assessing this, regardless of political effects, and many other members here, too.

When you see the drift, it is because it seems to me we do not have the leadership to tell the public and to expose this material. I just want to leave that with you as one concerned Senator, that we are not getting to the problem, discussing $60 million.

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I agree with you, and I would say that the President has been using his utmost efforts to draw forcefully to the attention of the American people and to the attention of the Congress the severe military situation that obtains, and Secretary Weinberger has been doing likewise, and all have, and I think there has been basically a very good congressional response, although right now there seems to be a lot of debate about the maintenance of a proper defense effort.

I think we should be bringing the facts out, and doing it as forcefully and frequently and vividly, and of course always trying to and being sure that we stick with the facts, but bring those out to the American people so that everybody sees what is going on. I agree completely.

Senator DECONCINI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

U.S. STRATEGY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Secretary SHULTZ. I do think that I would differ with you in your comment that we do not have any strategy. We do have a strategy. A strategy with respect to Central America has strands that I tried to bring out in my testimony, and with respect to the Caribbean, there is a definite initiative that the President has taken. The financial side of that was passed by the Congress. The trade and tax incentive sides have not been addressed by the Congress, but I think it very important to carry the strategy through.

Senator DECONCINI. Is that going to get to the source of the problem of the supplies and the material there, the Caribbean proposal? I submit that it would not.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KASTEN. Senator Specter?

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

POSSIBLE AREAS OF NEGOTIATION

Mr. Secretary, there are a couple of lines I would like to pursue with you this morning. The subject of negotiations is one which is troublesome, and we discussed this at some length when you were nice enough to invite a few of us for breakfast last week, and I note in your statement, and I may be reading more into it than is present, but at least a slight difference of emphasis when you say on page 7, "We will not support negotiations that short circuit the democratic process and carve up power behind the people's back, but that still leaves a fair range of negotiable subjects besides the electoral process itself."

When you had asked Senator Hatfield what lines he might suggest, I would have some specific suggestions for you. Would it be appropriate to discuss the judicial system, which is a very troublesome aspect? Would it not be appropriate to discuss the economic development, a subject that you touch upon in your statement, a very important one on job opportunities? Or discuss the subject of land reform.

This is not in the context of saying that you are going to accept what the insurgents say, but only that there are subjects which can be discussed beyond the electoral system itself, and that it is conceivable that if somebody has a chance to raise an issue with inputs, and even if they do not like the conclusion, that that might be an advance, or at least it would put us in the position of saying we are not foreclosing important areas of discussion, that we will be willing to negotiate on something beyond just the electoral process itself.

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I suppose if you take something like the judicial system, that has to do with the prospects for safety of a person who accepts an amnesty and comes into the electoral process. So, how is that going to work? That is, I think, a natural subject that people would tend to discuss.

There are other matters, it seems to me, anyway, that are questions that a legitimate government addresses itself to, like land reform as an example, and those who are the legitimate government properly deal with a subject like that, and they are dealing with that, and there is lots of information around about it, but I do not see any particular room for negotiating with guerrillas about a subject like land reform.

But I think you get into a discussion with people about how you provide for safety, access to media, a secure ballot box, observation of results, and so forth, and you have got to talk about a wide range of things. There is no doubt about it.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Secretary, why rule out something like land reform or economic development? In a sense, the Government in the United States and we Senators negotiate with our constituents all the time, and sometimes the meetings which are held in rooms just like this one look a lot like insurgents, a lot of shouting and a lot of [illegible]

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

necessarily do what they say, but we talk to them, and there is utility in having them express themselves, and we are the government, and we have the responsibility to make the votes and the decisions.

But we talk, and we do not say when you come into a room, we will not talk to you about certain subjects. Just think, it would be so much healthier if the El Salvadoran Government would say, well, we will talk to you. We may not agree with you or do anything, but we will talk to you. Then if it is negotiation, so be it. You are not shooting your way into our government. We are just willing to discuss matters with you.

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, people will talk and probably may talk endlessly. I think there must be a purpose to the talk. The purpose is to so construct an environment that is conducive to deciding what the legitimate government is. There is a legitimate government there now, and there is going to be an elected head of that government, and so what is the right process? That is, the object.

So, if I am sitting with you in a hearing like this to discuss a particular subject, and nobody will discuss it, they all want to discuss something else, we are not going to get anywhere with what it is we are trying to establish, and we have the prospect of an election coming up, not too far away. So I think you have to give some credence to the discussion if it is going to be purposeful.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PROCEDURAL DELAYS IN JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Secretary, when you were reading over that list of procedural snarls in the case of the four nuns, that outdoes anything but the most hypertechnical defense lawyers do in the United States of America, which up to that case was far in the lead, and in the recent remand by the appellate court in El Salvador of that case, they have gone far afield.

I have reviewed the evidence to the extent that the State Department has it to make available, and there are ballistic tests, there are fingerprints, palm prints, and confessions, and I have seen a lot of murder cases, and there is plenty of evidence to go forward with a murder case, plenty of evidence to go forward with a theft case, and the procedural safeguards allegedly that the Salvadoran Government is imposing are really absurdities. It would make the Warren court look like a lynch mob in terms of where they are heading.

There is just no rationality behind it. The Justice Department issued a statement on the decision and said, we do not ask the Government of El Salvador to violate its judicial process. We do expect justice. But there may come a point where you do condition aid on a timely trial. Certainly, in this country, as we prosecuting attorneys can tell you, if you do not try a case within the 90 days under the Speedy Trial Act or State procedure, the case is turned out of court, and that there are penalties imposed for not bringing a case to trial.

Secretary SHULTZ. You cannot defend what has happened under the judicial system of El Salvador. I will not do it. I do not do it. I do not think it is defensible. I think, in the case of the nuns, in that case, as I describe it to you, those charged, the charges have not been removed, and they are still apprehended, but I do not—and I might say it is hard for me to defend lawyers, although as they say, some of my best friends are lawyers.

Look at the things we do in this country. My God. The *IBM* case dragged on and on and on. I do not know how many millions of dollars were spent before they dismissed it. It was a lawyers' paradise. It was a disgrace.

Senator SPECTER. It was also improperly dismissed. It was dismissed on the same afternoon that the *AT&T* case was dismissed, coincidentally, on a Friday afternoon. The case was dismissed over the objection of the judge. The lawyers' fault there may have been with the Justice Department.

Secretary SHULTZ. The lawyers were just playing games with each other.

Senator SPECTER. So do, perhaps, Secretaries and Senators.

Secretary SHULTZ. Could be.

Senator SPECTER. But back to the subject, I was not asking you to defend the El Salvadoran justice system. I understand you will not, and I am pleased that you do not. I was asking you the question as a remedy. What is wrong with saying, if you do not bring a case to trial within *X* days, or if you do not bring the case of the nuns to trial by June 1, we are going to cut off aid?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I think it imposes a deadline in an unwarranted way on something like that. Of course, we are very concerned about that case, and naturally so, because Americans were involved, but I think there is something in a way not too good about being so mainly concerned about the cases that involve our citizens and seemingly therefore not to be worried about the many more Salvadorans involved. I would like to work with the situation.

As I said to you, I have told them, and I believe it is true, in spite of my sharing completely Senator Rudman's view that in the end, if they do not clean up this act, the support is going to dry up. They have been told that. They know that, and it will happen.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Secretary, is the United States, the CIA, or otherwise giving any aid to the exiles fighting in Nicaragua?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, this is a subject, to the extent it is discussed, as I understand it, it is discussed with the Intelligence Committees, and I do not want to comment on it.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Secretary, my time is up. I would just like to say in conclusion that my instinct is to support the administration here because really of the quality of your testimony and the candor that you come forward with, and I think there is a significant positioning that you have made where you make the statement that the American people may not be willing to support aid for El Salvador indefinitely, and I think you have seen the process, and it is a useful thing.

It seems curious to me in a sense that this confrontation exists over $110 million in reprograming, whether it is going to go to El Salvador or whether, as I understand it, it is going to go to Morocco, which is where it is coming from, and I do agree with you that we are involved with one interwoven process, and my own sense is that there are a great many more troublesome issues on arms reduction, or the issue of Ambassador Adelman, or the defense budget, where these similar lines of confrontation are drawn.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

But you have taken over a very difficult job, and I think you have made progress and improvements, and I very much applaud your January 21 report where you made the certification, because you all but said that there was no progress being made. It was very tentative, but you came to a different judgment on the facts, and we discussed this when you were here 2 weeks ago, and I think that kind of candor is for me one confidence in what you are doing.

But Senator DeConcini said there comes a time when all of us will fall off the wagon. Senator Inouye did this month, and it will be a few more months for some of the rest of us. Senator Rudman and I are just debating how long it will be for him.

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

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Secretary SHULTZ. May I make one more comment, Mr. Chairman? In the case of Morocco, we consider that those funds are needed and necessary and important, that in this immediate situation if we reprogram we will be asking you in the supplemental, so to speak, to replace those funds. So I do not want any inference that our concern and support for Morocco has changed.

Senator KASTEN. I would next like to call on Senator Stennis. I would like to say to the Senator from Mississippi that we are very pleased to have you join us today. I also want to say to you that as the ranking member of the full committee I was not sure where in the process you ought to speak. It is not my habit to have the distinguished Senator from Mississippi to speak or participate in a hearing last. But I was told this is correct that as you are an ex officio member—you know, Senator Hatfield is a member of this subcommittee.

But we are very, very pleased to have the Senator from Mississippi with us, and I would like now to call on the Senator from Mississippi, Senator Stennis.

Senator STENNIS. Mr. Chairman, you have done an excellent job. You put me right in the place where I belong, right at the tail end.

Senator KASTEN. Well, that is not true.

Senator STENNIS. Mr. Secretary, I want to commend you highly, and we barely know each other personally. We have not had a chance to know each other well. I commend you very highly for your testimony here. It is frank, open, clear, right to the point, and very illuminating.

This is the reason I am emphasizing that. I look around here, and I see I am the only survivor of the beginning of the war in Vietnam. I think that people are associating this problem to a great extent, a great extent, with that problem as it turned out to be. Even though there are some similarities, the differences are tremendous, and you have made that very clear, I think, coming from this open testimony here. Your very positive way is going to go a long, long way to clearing this up on the facts; not the problem altogether, of course.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

REVIEW OF MONEY AMOUNTS

Now, what about the money? You got only $23 million last year when you asked for $60 million and had been getting $60 million? Is that right, $60 million? I dwell on that very briefly.

Secretary SHULTZ. Yes, sir, this year we are operating under the continuing resolution which allowed $25 million.

Senator STENNIS. What are you asking for now?

Secretary SHULTZ. We are asking for a reprograming so that we have another $60 million available in fiscal 1983.

Senator STENNIS. For the total 12 months?

Secretary SHULTZ. I think that is added to what is in the second continuing resolution.

BASIC THOUGHTS

Senator STENNIS. Well, I do not know how to add that up, but I made up my mind here this morning that up to what you have been getting, $60 million, that I would support that amount. I had been quite doubtful about whether I would.

You have made very clear here, I think, the real problem. You cannot cure all the details. $60 million is not going to be a cure. It is just interim. But it has got to be contended with, it has got to be carried on. I understand the arms are being smuggled in there even by France. That is according to press reports. But anyway, they are getting in there from some source.

That will go further than anything else, almost, in stopping it or being the start of stopping it, a beginning. We are going to have these cases, people are going to get killed and we regret it.

I believe that if you could put an embargo or a blockade, a blockade at least of some kind there to start off and stop that arms flow, I believe that would be the best step that you could take.

I want to emphasize the great difference between this situation and Vietnam. For 10 years I heard the testimony about the war in Vietnam, and there is such a tremendous difference here in this case in location, the people, the proximity to us, and the supplies that I have just mentioned, and the long-range plan that you have mentioned with reference to other countries of communistic type and trend using, wherever they can, Salvador or wherever they can, to plant their seed, develop their ideas. That is the problem of the future, and we have got to live with it.

Well, I thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I came here with the information that you were going to testify in open session and you were really going to tell the facts, and that is what you have done. I have been highly rewarded.

Thank you again, very much.

Secretary SHULTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KASTEN. Thank you, Senator Stennis.

What we will now do is switch to a 3-minute time period. Hopefully we can get through at least one round, possibly more, to work within the requirements of the Secretary's time.

Senator Inouye.

Senator INOUYE. Mr. Secretary, in a curious twist of history, the

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

sassinat[redacted] of El Salvador's most elo[redacted]nt spokesman for peace, Archbishop Romero.

El Salvador is a small country, as pointed out by my colleague from New Hampshire, and I doubt if more than 70 percent, or for that matter, 30 percent of Americans know where it is. Yet, I am certain you will agree with me, the prestige and the majesty of the Government of the United States are at stake.

Whether true or not, the widely accepted perception, especially in the capitals of the world, is that El Salvador is an American client, if not a puppet. It is perceived that the United States is the patron and that the United States is the supporter. In fact, none of our allies is providing any support for our policy.

Moreover, I believe the evidence indicates that some of our democratic allies are providing assistance to the other side. We condemn corruption, as you have pronounced your condemnation here. We have condemned political repression. We have condemned political assassinations. We have condemned political violence, and we have condemned denial of human rights.

But the evidence suggests to us that these abominations still persist. Because they continue to persist, this violence, this repression, this denial of human rights, I believe that many people perceive the United States as at the least tolerating, if not approving, these activities.

Mr. Secretary, instead of acting as El Salvador's major apologist, why do we not lower the boom? We have already put in over $1 billion into El Salvador, and, as a former President used to say, there is a light on the other side of the tunnel. In this case I do not even see the light.

We speak of Cuba, Mr. Secretary, and I am convinced that history should have taught us that we played a part, maybe not a major part but a part, in the creation and the establishment of Fidel Castro. We were well aware of the utter corruption of Fulgencio Batista. We knew of his repression, we knew of his violence. But because he said he was against communism we supported him throughout.

The same thing happened with Anastasio Somoza's Nicaragua. I am afraid that by persisting in carrying out this policy we may be creating another Castro there. I think we are inviting revolutions. I think the time has come for us to support those who are being repressed, those who are victims of violence, those who are being slaughtered.

I think we are on the wrong path in El Salvador. The least we should do is to refuse to become apologists for these people and not only condemn them but to say to them: "If you want American dollars, as some of my colleagues here have suggested, this is what you are going to have to do."

That is all I have to say, sir.

Senator KASTEN. Mr. Secretary, would you like to reply?

Secretary SHULTZ. Yes, sir, I would.

Senator, I do not consider myself an apologist for anybody, not El Salvador, not the United States, not anybody. I try as best I can to state the facts as I see them, whether I am describing problems that my own country has or problems somebody else has.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

I fully recognize the [redacted]ver of your comments and t[redacted]difficulties we all have with some of the behavior that is documented. We can argue about numbers and so forth, but that argument is not to the point. The point is that there are a great many things that we would classify as atrocities.

Now, at the same time I have a quite different judgment than you express. I think we are trying to support as best we can those who seek better human rights, those who seek a better economic performance, those who seek a democratic process. If we pull the rug out from under those people by ceasing our support, all we do is tend to support those whose track record around the world is just awful. I do not mean just in terms or particularly in terms of economic achievements, but the way in which people are treated in the countries represented in the Soviet sphere is not tolerable by us.

So I do not want to see countries anywhere, let alone countries in our neighborhood, turned over to that influence. So I share your concern about the practices you describe. I see on the scales other practices that I regard as more positive, and looking at it on balance, it is my judgment that we simply must, in our interest and in the interest of the human values we support, continue to continue our aid.

In doing that I do not put myself in the position of an apologist, trying to give lame excuses for some of these abuses. I do not believe I have done that, or tried to describe the situation other than it is, as I see it.

Senator KASTEN. I will not ask 3 minutes of questions, but will call on Senator D'Amato at this time. Senator D'Amato?

Senator D'AMATO. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, first of all let me indicate for the record that I find your testimony to be candid and forthright, and I am certainly convinced of your deep sincerity in dealing with this problem, a very complex problem, a commitment that you sincerely believe, that we have no other alternative than to continue our aid and to encourage a democratic process or a building of a democratic process in El Salvador.

I agree with Senator DeConcini that we have to build up public confidence, that that is important, that some of the information, for example, in terms of the kind of aid and assistance and the flow of weapons and where it comes from, that may be classified, that we should find a way in which to make this information available to the American public, so that our position, your position, you see, is one they can accept—it will gain more acceptance by the American public.

I also believe that we have certain alternatives, without saying that we are simply going to let the Communists or the rebels be successful, as we attempt to aid, I think, the government there. That is to indicate to them that we will not tolerate the present government, we will not tolerate the kinds of things that have taken place, and that they will face the loss of support traditionally that has come from this committee and other areas of the Congress unless they heed us.

We are paying, the American taxpayers, the freight, so to speak. So we have a right to condition our aid on very legitimate objec-

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

tives. the prosecution of those who would murder and who would plunder. They have to understand that those are going to be more than just words and lip service, and that there will come a time that if this kind of thing continues that the Congress, I believe, will not be willing to continue to give the kind of support that we have in the past.

So this is a very difficult task, understandably, to balance, because once again I do not recognize what the rebels stand for, the guerrillas, as the alternative that we should accept, but in fact, if we are about to see the light at the end of the tunnel, as Senator Inouye has said, where is that light?

I say, do you believe that by the reprograming of this money and the training of additional troops, that that will give us the light that, at least militarily out on the field, that we will be able to stop the guerrillas from the kind of harassment that wrought economic havoc to the region? Do you think that will be the case 3 months from now or 6 months from now?

Secretary SHULTZ. I believe this will help. We also have some money in the supplemental, $50 million, and beyond that, as many members of the committee have brought out, we attach a tremendous amount of importance to the economic dimensions, the political dimensions of this. There is a military-shield dimension, but if we are going to be successful we have to be successful in the other spheres as well. Otherwise, we will not satisfy our own sense, not only of a relative standard of progress, but of an absolute standard of condition that we find agreeable.

Senator D'AMATO. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Senator KASTEN. Senator Johnston?

Senator JOHNSTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

CONDITIONS ON AID TO EL SALVADOR

Mr. Secretary, it is my tentative intention to vote for, and indeed to propose if no one else has a better formulation, that we make further aid dependent upon success of the Salvadorans in prosecuting, first of all, the case of the four nuns. Second, I would like to get some other formulations that progress on human rights be more specific, considerably more specific than I have seen.

My question to you is, if the Congress did put those kind of conditions on aid to El Salvador, can you give me a suggestion of how much time you think would be proper to allow the Salvadorans to bring those cases to trial?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, having blown off steam about lawyers, I recognize your superior wisdom on things of this kind and just what these procedural matters amount to, if anything, I am not too sure. I see by my fact sheet that the attorney general of El Salvador has said that the case should be brought to trial between 6 weeks and 3 months from now. So that is one attorney's opinion.

I suspect it is less a matter of procedure and more a matter of willpower, but that is a nonlawyer's view of it.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think that is a very, very good answer, and that is exactly the way I see it. It is a question of willpower, and if

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Now, if you have to certify, if we made some kind of fail-safe on that condition that said, unless the Secretary of State certifies that adequate progress is being made, you could not so certify at this time, could you?

Secretary SHULTZ. I am sorry. Could you say the beginning of that?

Senator JOHNSTON. If we made some kind of fail-safe condition that said, all aid shall be suspended after a certain date unless the Secretary certifies that with all deliberate speed and all due enthusiasm the Government of El Salvador is prosecuting the case, you could not make that kind of certification at this time, could you, or would you?

What I am contemplating in my mind is whether we should put a fail-safe on there, and frankly, could we properly trust you to include such a fail-safe—or to interpret such a fail-safe?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I think I would have to look at it carefully and satisfy myself about these various explanations which Senator Specter as a prosecuting attorney and you have great skepticism, and I guess Senator Leahy has skepticism as well. I do not pretend to be able to pass a judgment on that at this point.

I will tell you this——

Senator JOHNSTON. I will tell you, as a layman I share that skepticism.

Secretary SHULTZ. I will tell you, as a Government official both now and in my previous tour here, I am a deep believer that it is my job to administer the laws as the Congress has given them to me, even if I do not like them. If I do not like them, I come to you and argue that you should change them.

I am reluctant to see you lay down a condition which says that if you do not do something with the judiciary by this point in time, then the rug is going to be pulled out, for a variety of reasons. One, I do not have a very good sense of what is the proper time.

But more fundamentally, what we are trying to do is help the Salvadorans build a judicial system, and the case is important as such; over the long run it is the system and the willpower and the validity to it that is the answer to the sort of question that Senator Inouye had put up to us. So I think it is the system that we need to concentrate on, and it is sort of denigrating in a way to throw that sort of condition on there.

But at any rate, naturally, to the extent that we can provide insights we will. We have, I think, supplied the chairman with some thoughts on how judicial reform ought to move, and also in some of the other areas.

Senator JOHNSTON. I agree with you. Just to say, Mr. Secretary, that this particular example is so egregious that almost nothing else can proceed, in my view, until this problem is solved, because it is the symbol, the guiding light for all the Salvadorans who see this lack of justice, lack of trial, as being the symbol that they could count on the government not to prosecute them if they do the same thing.

Secretary SHULTZ. I think it is a bad show. I think the fact that Lieutenant Lopez Subrian is not in jail is similar, and so you can

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Senator KASTEN. I would like to remind the members and also the Secretary that we are running up against a time limit. So we will try to be short with our questions. Hopefully, you can be short with your answers.

Senator Rudman.

Senator RUDMAN. Mr. Secretary, let me say, if you had the benefit of a legal education you might have answered my friend from Florida with the old adage that tough cases make bad law. I do not agree with that suggestion at all, and I would oppose it, not because I do not think the case is not a landmark case, not because I do not think it stands for everything that the Senator from Florida says that it stands for, but——

Senator JOHNSTON. Louisiana.

Senator RUDMAN [continuing]. When this Congress—oh, Louisiana, excuse me.

But when this Congress starts to micromanage foreign policy with that kind of footnote, no matter how laudatory it is, then it seems to me that we are starting to do your job. Quite frankly, I do not think we ought to.

Secretary SHULTZ. Thank you, Senator. I appreciate your comment.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

LAND REFORM STIPULATIONS

Senator RUDMAN. Let me ask you one question. The Congress has established in the Helms amendment, I believe, conditions on our aid in terms of how it cannot be used for land reform acquisition. Would you be better off in terms of what you are trying to do, in terms of what we are all talking about today, if those restrictions did not apply?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, Mr. McPherson has testified to some of the difficulties there. Sometimes I think it is well not to have authority to do certain kinds of things, but I do not want to speak about that particular case.

Maybe you can comment on the land reform restriction, Peter, whether you think we would benefit from having it removed.

Mr. MCPHERSON. A year ago the administration had asked for some money in connection with compensation for land reform, and in effect it asked that the restriction be waived or changed. There is some problem with compensation at this time.

It is true, however, that the land reform program is going forward really quite well, in fact quite remarkably. In the last 5 months there has been a 71-percent increase in applications under the Land to the Tiller program. In addition, the current moneys that we are asking for on the economic side have been really very carefully calculated and spoken for. So in that sense, we do not really have room under the current package for compensation.

Senator RUDMAN. I just want to apologize to my friend from Louisiana. He and my friend from Florida are both so handsome and athletic looking that I sometimes confuse the two of them. [Laughter.]

Senator JOHNSTON. Thank you.

Secretary SHULTZ. Senator, if I could interject a comment, not about the Senator from Louisiana. That is your problem.

Senator RUDMAN. It certainly is.

Secretary SHULTZ. I think there is quite a difference between the Congress saying, here is some money and we do not want you to use any of it for this purpose, on the one hand and saying, here is some money and unless somebody does *X* that we want them to do, we are going to take money away. Those are very different instructions.

Senator RUDMAN. A very important distinction.

Senator KASTEN. Senator Leahy?

Senator LEAHY. Mr. Secretary, you have discussed your general disdain of lawyers, at least in the context of what we are discussing today.

Secretary SHULTZ. I hope the lawyers of the world did not take me too seriously.

THE CASE OF THE MURDERED CHURCHWOMEN

Senator LEAHY. I am not here as a spokesman for any bar association. I had to put up with enough delaying tactics when I was a prosecutor.

But let us get this thing into context. When you compare this nuns' case, for example, with the *IBM* case, or compare the nuns' case with the *ITT* case, that is not really criticizing lawyers; that is detracting from your high office. I think it is demeaning to this committee, quite frankly.

It throws me back in my mind to some of the statements of your predecessor, who did not come in with some of the calm reasoning that you have in the Central American thing when he suggested that the nuns were perhaps killed running a road block, something difficult to do considering the fact that they were bound hand and feet.

If the facts are there, a murder case is the most easy case to prove. I have tried enough of them myself, as others here have. Either there is a murder or there was not a murder. You either have a suspect or you do not. If you do, you either have the facts to prove it or you do not.

In this case, the facts are there. I have seen the facts. I have gone over the review. I have seen what the FBI provided. It is an open and shut case. If it is not being prosecuted then El Salvador is thumbing their nose at us. They are saying, give us $1 billion and go to hell. That is exactly what they are saying. They took a case as well publicized as this and say, we do not care what you say, we do not care about your certification, we do not care about the restrictions; just give us your money, we will do what we want.

I think quite frankly, Mr. Secretary, if we were to put some restrictions on there such as those suggested by the Senator from Louisiana or by anybody else, it would make no difference whatsoever. If we said your next certification had to be specifically on that, it would make no difference whatsoever. They still will not try it.

I will tell you one of the reasons they will not do it. They are just afraid that if they got those people in there, some of them are going to start squealing on each other, and then we are going to find more and more and more of the government officials who had

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

been involved in murder, rape, torture, extortion, and everything else, in the same way it might have been on the other side. But they are afraid to open a can of worms, and that is why tens of thousands of murders go unprosecuted in El Salvador.

I say, quite frankly, there is not a thing we can do about it. So we should make up our mind what the American policy is going to be. If we want to send money down there, then let us not even have any holds on it. Let that actually be our policy. We will do away with certification, because it is going to be a rubber-stamping review. We are going to do it anyway, this is going to be our policy.

If we want to say we want to stop arms from Cuba, then what is our policy on that? Shall we blockade it, shall we invade it?

It has been stated on the floor of the Senate by two members of the Senate in the past few days that arms have increased substantially in Cuba, that they have Soviet bombers down there in violation of the Kennedy-Khruschev agreement. Is that a fact? If it is, should we be pointing at that?

Why do we not state exactly what we are going to get out of this? How are we going to guarantee anything down there? How are we going to guarantee change in the judicial system? How are we going to guarantee stopping arms shipments in there?

Not one word has been said of what we can do that will actually make them follow what we want them to do. Certainly putting conditions on the money has not done it in the past.

Do you know of anything we can do to stop the arms coming from Cuba?

Secretary SHULTZ. Well, I have tried to suggest some things in my testimony and comments this morning, and they go to a broad-ranging strategy. So I have done the best I can, Senator.

As far as my comments on lawyers are concerned, I will stand corrected. I will never criticize a lawyer again. [Laughter.]

Senator LEAHY. Oh, no, Mr. Secretary, I have been very critical of them, too. As a matter of fact, I am one of the few people here that has actually sent lawyers to prison. So I do not have any problem with criticizing the bar.

What I am saying is this. Let us not mix apples and oranges in this thing. We have an open and shut case down there. They are ignoring us, and what does that say of our policy, what does that say of our restriction? That is my concern.

CLOSING REMARKS

Senator KASTEN. Thank you, Senator.

As a former shoe manufacturer from Gainesville, Wis., I agree with your comments about attorneys.

Mr. Secretary, thank you very much for your testimony. My hope is, as it was several weeks ago, that we can still develop a consensus in our subcommittee based on our concerns and frankly on the agreements we share. I would like to think that we could get all members of this subcommittee participating in that consensus, and that still may be possible.

It is my intention to confer with members of the subcommittee and our staff throughout the afternoon and possibly into the evening. I want to let the subcommittee members know that possibly,

after we have gone through a process of conferring, we may try t gather after a vote, either this afternoon, tonight, or tomorro morning in one of the rooms of The Capitol, and just see where w are.

I believe that anything we do is going to have to incorporate number of the elements that have been talked about today, that w are going to have to address the questions of advisers and trainer that we probably are going to have to in one way or another ad dress the problems of the judicial system, and specifically the con cerns of the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Lou siana.

I also think that we are going to want to address and somehov try to encourage free, fair, and safe democratic elections. I ar hopeful that we can go forward, and that we can meet most of th requirements of the administration's request for reprograming.

I thank you very much for your testimony.

ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE CHARTS

Before we recess the hearing, I will submit 3 charts by the com mittee on the economic and military assistance program.

[The charts follow:]

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Special Project (1993)

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Special Project (1993)

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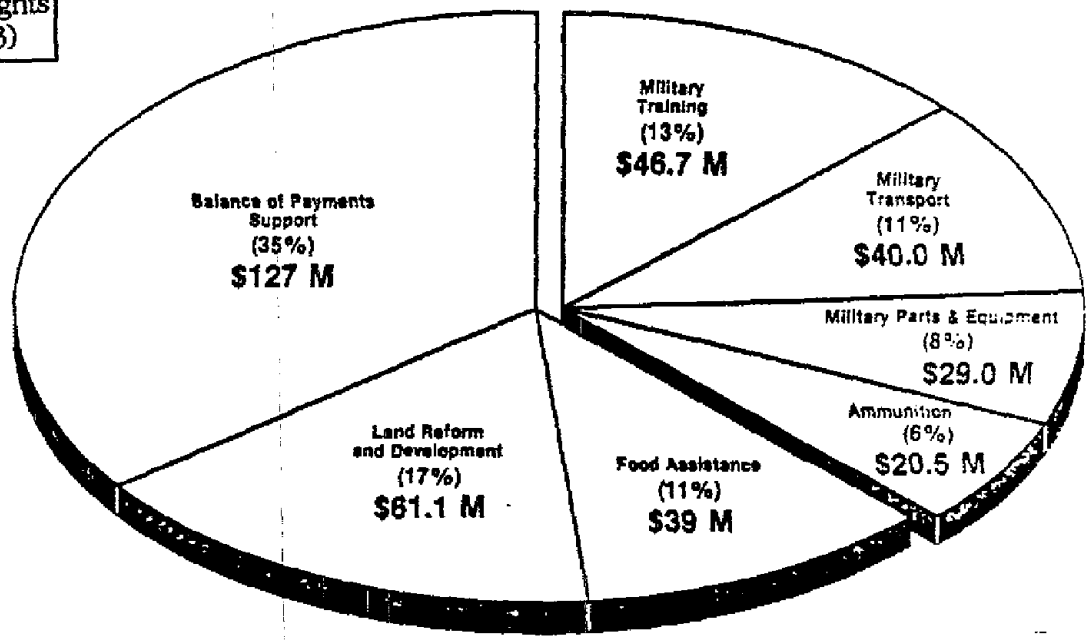
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

FY 1983 Economic and Military Assistance Requests for El Salvador



Total: $363.3 Million

*Includes: Continuing Resolution Funds (spent) plus $66 million Reprogramming plus revised supplemental requests.
Note: Pie adds up to 101% due to rounding.

Economic and Military Assistance to El Salvador

	FY 1982 (Actual)	FY 1983 (CR Levels)	FY 1983 (Reprogramming)	FY 1983 (Supplemental)	FY 1983 (Total Proposed
506 (a) Drawdown	55.0	—	—	—	—
Foreign Military Credit Sales	16.5	16.5	60.0	—	76.5
Military Assistance Program (Grant)	8.5	8.5	—	50.0	58.5
International Military Education and Training	2.0	1.3	—	—	1.3
Subtotal Military Assistance	$ 82.0 (30.6%)	$ 26.3 (14.9%)	$ 60.0 (43.8%)	$50.0	
Economic Support Fund	115.0	95.0	45.0	—	140.0
Development Assistance	36.2	25.0	23.1	—	48.1
P.L. 480	34.9	30.0	9.0	—	39.0
Subtotal Economic Assistance	$186.1 (69.4%)	$150.0 (85.1%)	$ 77.1 (56.2%)	—	
Total Economic and Military Assistance	$268.1	$176.3	$137.1	$50.0	

Economic and Military Assistance to El Salvador FY 1978 — FY 1984

	FY 1978 (Actual)	FY 1979 (Actual)	FY 1980 (Actual)	FY 1981 (Actual)	FY 1982 (Actual)	FY 1983 (Estimate)	FY 1984 (Proposed)	FY 1978-1984 (Cumulative)
506 (a) Drawdown	—	—	—	25.0	55.0	—	—	80.0
Foreign Military Credit Sales	—	—	5.7	10.0	16.5	76.5	30.0	138.7
Military Assistance Program (Grant)	—	—	—	—	8.5	58.5	55.0	122.0
International Military Education and Training	—	—	0.2	0.5	2.0	1.3	1.3	5.3
Subtotal Military Assistance	—	—	$ 5.9 (6.2%)	$ 35.5 (23.7%)	$ 82.0 (50.6%)	$136.3 (97.7%)	$ 86.3 ([illegible])	$ 346.0
Economic Support Fund	—	—	9.1	44.9	115.0	140.0	120.0	429.0
Development Assistance	8.0	6.9	43.2	33.4	36.2	48.1	38.0	213.8
Peace Corps	1.2	1.6	0.5	0.4	—	—	—	3.7
P.L. 480	1.7	2.9	5.5	35.3	34.9	39.0	37.5	156.8
Subtotal Economic Assistance	$10.9 (100%)	$11.4 (100%)	$58.3 (93.8%)	$114.0 (76.3%)	$186.1 (69.4%)	$227.1 (62.3%)	$195.5 ([illegible])	$ [illegible]
Total Economic and Military Assistance	$10.9	$11.4	$64.2	$149.5	$268.1	$363.4	$281.8	$1,145.[illegible]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02293 280812Z 1625
ACTION ARA-16

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ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/25/87 (HALLMAN, WILLIAM H) OR-P
TAGS: PINS ES
SUBJECT: ANNIVERSARY OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S DEATH PASSES QUIETLY

1. (U) THE MARCH 24 FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ROMERO'S MURDER PASSED QUIETLY IN SAN SALVADOR AND, SO FAR AS WE CAN ESTABLISH, THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE CLANDESTINE GUERRILLA "RADIO VENCEREMOS" HAD EARLIER GIVEN NOTICE OF A 24-HOUR CEASE FIRE "EXCEPT WHERE NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE SECURITY OF OUR POSITIONS," AND HAD CALLED ON SUPPORTERS TO JOIN RELIGIOUS COMMEMORATIONS TO BE HELD IN CHURCHES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE "OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP" PLACED NEWSPAPER ANNOUNCEMENTS MARCH 23 INVITING THE FAITHFUL TO ATTEND PARISH CHURCH AND CATHEDRAL MEMORIAL SERVICES "TO PRAY FOR PEACE AND THE SOUL OF THE LATE ARCHBISHOP" (THEREBY ANNOUNCING AS WELL THE HIERARCHY'S UNWILLINGNESS TO SPONSOR MORE DRAMATIC MANIFESTATIONS). APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR RIVERA Y DAMAS IS, OF COURSE, AWAY FROM THE COUNTRY ON HIS TRIP TO CHILE, THE U.S., GERMANY AND ITALY.

2. (U) PRESS REPORTS THIS MORNING (3/25) SHOWED PICTURES OF THE ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER STATIONED IN THE SQUARE IN FRONT OF THE SAN SALVADOR CATHEDRAL AND OF SECURITY TROOPS (A U.S. REPORTER SAID THERE WERE ABOUT 75 OF THEM) THERE TO "PREVENT DISORDER."

3. (C) COMMENT: THE GUERRILLA LEFT'S CHOICE OF TACTICS WAS PROBABLY DICTATED BY A WISH TO WARM UP THE HIERARCHY'S INCREASINGLY OUTSPOKEN COOLNESS TOWARD THEM, AND THE CERTAINTY THAT ANY BIG CALL FOR STRIKE ACTION OR DEMONSTRATIONS WAS DOOMED TO GO UNHEEDED.
CHAPIN

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/12/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (✓) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81SAN SA002351

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02351 272352Z
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2351

E.O. [redacted]
TAGS: SREF PINS ES HO
SUBJ: ALLEGED REFUGEE MASSACRE

REF TEGUCIGALPA 2042

1. (U) "LA PRENSA GRAFICA" MARCH 26 CARRIED A SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES DENIAL OF WHAT WAS TERMED THE "SUPPOSED

MASSACRE" ACROSS THE RIO LEMPA FRONTIER IN HONDURAS. THE DENIAL CRITICIZED BY NAME THE SAN DIEGO UNION JOURNALIST WHO PUBLISHED THE STORY.

2. (U) THE DENIAL WENT ON TO SUGGEST THAT "MANY FOREIGN JOURNALISTS DECEIVE THEIR READERS, RADIO LISTENERS AND [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02351 272352Z

TELEVIZION WATCHERS IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY THEIR REMAINING IN EL SALVADOR." THE DENIAL ENDED SAYING THAT ANY MILITARY PARTICIPATION BY HONDURAN FORCES WOULD BE "UNUSUAL AND UNNECESSARY."

3. [redacted] THE AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE OAS OBSERVER TEAM BASED IN SAN SALVADOR HAS TOLD US HE VISITED LA VIRTUD ON MARCH 25 AND SAW EVIDENCE OF A NEW INFLUX OF REFUGEES WHICH HE BELIEVED RESULTED FROM A SWEEP NORTHWARDS FROM

PAGE NO. 1

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81SAN SA

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portions withheld: classified (X); (
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ),
not relevant to El S

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9-13-93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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Department of State **TELEGRA**

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EXCISE

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02376 3018262
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 DIC-02 CIAE-00 ICA-11
DODE-00 H-01 IO-14 NSC-00 NSAE-00 SY-05 HA-06
PM-09 PA-01 SP-02 SPAS-02 /100 W
----------I20674 3106062 /13
R 301632Z MAR 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3058
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSOUTHARMY MIG PM//INTAFF
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2376

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/27/87
TAGS: PINS CVIS SNUN ES
SUBJ: SECURITY SITUATION IN SOYAPANGO, SUBURB OF SAN SALVADOR

(E[redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THE STORY AND VIEWPOINTS REPRESENTED BELOW ARE A GLIMPSE INTO THE LIVES OF A POOR FAMILY RESIDING ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF SAN SALVADOR. IN MANY WAYS THEIR EXPERIENCES, THEIR OPINIONS, AND THEIR TREMENDOUS FEAR CAN BE CONSIDERED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MASS OF URBAN SALVADORANS WHO HAVE NO DIRECT STAKE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THEIR COUNTRY, BUT WHO ARE CAUGHT IN ITS TRAGEDY. IT IS FROM THEM THAT THE PARTICIPANTS IN A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WILL HAVE TO SEEK SUPPORT. THEY HAVE MADE NO UNIT WITH EITHER THE EXTREME RIGHT OR [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02376 3018262

THE LEFT. TO THE CONTRARY, THEY LOOK TO ANY SOLUTION THAT WILL PROVIDE THEM ESCAPE FROM VIOLENCE.

3. [redacted] EIGHTEEN YEARS OLD, APPEARED AT THE CONSULATE WITH HIS MOTHER TODAY (MARCH 26) TO APPLY FOR A VISITOR'S VISA. HIS PARENTS WISH HIM TO STAY WITH U.S. RESIDENT RELATIVES FOR A NUMBER OF MONTHS BECAUSE [redacted] THE FAMILY LIVES IN COLONIA FLORENCIA, ONE OF THE POOREST NEIGHBORHOODS OF SOYAPANGO. SOYAPANGO IS A LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS DISTRICT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF SAN SALVADOR. THE NUMBERS OF EXTREMELY POOR FAMILIES LIVING THERE IN SHACKS SCAVANGED FROM CAST OFF MATERIALS WITHOUT SERVICES OF ANY KIND MAKE THIS A TRUE "ZONA MARGINAL", OR MARGINAL ZONE. IT IS HERE THAT THE LEFT MAINTAINS ITS STRONGEST HOLD OVER THE URBAN POPULATION AND DRAWS YOUNG RECRUITS FOR ITS SUBVERSIVE OPERATIONS.

4. [redacted] HAS BEEN TARGETED AS AN INFORMER BECAUSE HIS FATHER IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE POLICE. THREE NIGHTS AGO THE FPL ENTERED HIS HOUSE, THEY WOKE HIM AND HIS MOTHER AND TOLD HIM HE HAD ONE WEEK TO JOIN THE LOCAL BRIGADE OR BE SHOT.

5. HE ATTENDS A PRIVATE SCHOOL WHERE MOST OF THE STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS OPPOSE THE LEFT. IT IS ON THE STREET CORNERS AND IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, WHERE THE PROFESSORS ARE UNABLE TO PREVENT THEIR ENTRY, THAT THE LEFT DOES ITS HEAVIEST RECRUITING. THE FPL IS STRONG IN THIS [redacted] AND THE NEIGHBORING ONE, 22ND OF APRIL. THE [redacted] GUESS THEY HAVE BETWEEN 100 AND 200 CORE MEMBERS. THE FPL BASE CAMP IS HIDDEN CLOSE BY IN A FOLD OF CERRO SAN JACINTO, WHICH OVERLOOKS THE CITY. ATTEMPTS BY THE SECURITY FORCES TO [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 02376 3018262

ROUT THE GUERRILLAS IN JANUARY WERE NOT ENTIRELY SUCCESSFUL, ALTHOUGH MANY ACTIVISTS WERE KILLED.

6. THE ARMY AND GUARDIA PATROL HEAVILY AT NIGHT, SETTING UP THEIR POSITIOS BEFORE DARK TO AVOID AMBUSHES, WHICH ARE FREQUENT. THE POPULATION IN GENERAL REMAINS INDOORS. LEFTIST PATROLS FOLLOW THE MILITARY VEHCILES AND MOVE VIRTUALLY AT WILL. IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COLONIA THE MILITARY WILL NOT ENTER AT ALL, EXCEPT IN LARGE NUMBERS. THE LEFT MAKES FREQUENT FORAYS DURING THE DAY AS WELL. [redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

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THEY COLLECT WAR TAXES, OFTEN IN THE FORM OF FOOD OR CLOTHING, FROM LOCAL MERCHANTS, AND MOUNT STREET DEMONSTRATIONS. ONLY WHEN SECURITY FORCES SEND IN LARGE NUMBERS OF TROOPS IS THE AREA SECURED. AS SOON AS THEY LEAVE THE COLONIA RETURNS TO THIS STATE OF SEMI-ANARCHY.

7. [redacted] WHO ARE VERY POOR BUT DECENT LONG-TIME RESIDENTS OF COLONIA FLORENCIA, THE PEOPLE OF SOYAPANGO AS A WHOLE DO NOT SYMPATHIZE WITH THE SUBVERSIVE LEFT. IN THE TIGHTLY KNIT NEIGHBORHOODS THAT CONSTITUTE THIS ZONE, THE OLDER GUERRILLA LEADERS OF THE BRIGADES APPEAR WELL-ARMED AND UNIFORMED BY OUTSIDE SOURCES. TO THE COLONIA, MANY ARE INTRUDERS AND SUBVERSIVES. THEIR CLAIM TO SERVE THE PEOPLE WINS THEM FEW ADHERENTS BECAUSE THEIR MAJOR ACTIVITIES ARE TO ROB STORES AND [redacted] TEENAGERS. ALTHOUGH THIS IS ONLY ONE EXAMPLE, [redacted] CLAIM THAT PEOPLE DO LOOK TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR SUPPORT, BUT THAT SUPPORT IS SIMPLY INADEQUATE. THEY ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE SLIGHT REDUCTION IN VIOLENCE THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH. (THE EXTREME RIGHT IS ACTIVE IN THIS AREA AS WELL, BUT IS NOT AS CONSISTENTLY PROMINENT AS THE LEFT.) THEY EXTEND THEIR MORE PERSONALLY ORIENTED VIEWS--DOMINATED BY FEAR--TO THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR AS A WHOLE. FROM RELATIVES THEY HAVE HEARD NICARAGUA IS BECOMING A FEARFUL PLACE TO LIVE, AND THEY [redacted] WANT TO SEE A LEFTIST VICTORY HERE. NEITHER DO [redacted]

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THEY WANT TO SEE A GOVERNMENT DOMINATED BY "THE ESQUADRON DE LA MUERTE" (MEANING THE EXTREME RIGHT.) WHAT THEY HOPE FOR MOST OF ALL IS AN END TO THE VIOLENCE.
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VOL. 19, I

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Special Project (1993)

Did Salvador killing stifle evidence on slain women?

By PAT WILLIAMS
Special to the National Catholic Reporter
Washington

In a 32-day period from Dec. 2, 1980, to Jan. 3, 1981, eight U.S. citizens were murdered — shot to death — in El Salvador. Circumstances in all the cases suggest involvement of Salvadoran security forces in the executions, the cover-up or both.

And for seven of the victims — Maryknoll Sisters Ita Ford and Maura Clarke, Ursuline Sister Dorothy Kazel, lay missioner Jean Donovan, labor leaders Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman, and freelance journalist John Sullivan — an outcry was raised in the U.S. press and Congress that continues in muted form today.

But for one victim, a 46-year-old former Nevada police officer, Thomas Bracken, who died midway into the slaughter Dec. 17, 1980, there was and still is virtual silence.

No family protested. No Congress member raised his name in public hearings about El Salvador during the past two years. No FBI or embassy official questioned the circumstances surrounding his death. No media gave in-depth coverage to his story. All this is particularly curious because Bracken himself claimed to be a linchpin in the churchwomen's case, in possession of information that would implicate the Salvadoran military in the rapes and murders of the churchwomen.

"No Congress member raised his name. . . . No FBI or embassy official questioned the circumstances surrounding his death. . . . All this is particularly curious because Bracken claimed to be the linchpin in the four slain churchwomen's case. . . ."

In hearings before the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White testified in February 1982 that Bracken, who was living and working in San Salvador, came to the U.S. embassy and ". . . explained that he had important evidence relating to the death of the missionaries." Later White said Bracken's information related to the involvement of Salvadoran military in the killings.

When Bracken first approached the embassy with his story in mid-December 1980, U.S. military and FBI officials investigating the churchwomen's case interviewed him. They reported that Bracken did not have anything substantial to say and that his motivation was to involve himself with the U.S. embassy to gain clemency in respect to charges pending against him in the United States. (In March 1980, a warrant had been issued through the Houston, Texas, office of the U.S. Justice Department's Division of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms charging Bracken with transporting guns from Las Vegas to Texas, then across the Texas border into Mexico. Bracken, who reportedly con-

MEAD during arrest

Terri M

At 79, o demons

By BILL KENKELEN
Special Report Writer
Oakland, Calif.

TERRI MEAD'S frame is small, b
about her as a giant in the San F

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El Salvador: Human Right
Special Project (1993)

El Salvador: Were deaths linked?

(Continued from page 1)

of Bracken's two conversations with U.S. officials have proved futile thus far. In July 1982, the families sued the State Department, the FBI and the Defense Intelligence Agency to gain release of a large number of classified documents including cables, memos and reports relevant to Bracken. The three cases are pending before Judge Robert Sweet of United States district court in New York.

In any event, on Dec. 16, 1980, after completing the second of two clandestine meetings with military and FBI officials, Bracken left the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, his information apparently discounted as inconsequential. The next day, Dec. 17, Bracken was shot and killed.

On the afternoon of his death, the Salvadoran military press service, COPREFA, issued the following bulletin: Bracken was an employee — a private consultant — of the Salvadoran National Police. Early on the afternoon of Dec. 17, 1980, he had been with a security force patrol in a working-class neighborhood of San Salvador trying to track down a kidnapped Salvadoran businessman. The patrol entered a house and Bracken was shot dead by a "wounded subversive." No one was apprehended in the case.

The following morning, Dec. 18, a San Salvador newspaper, *El Diario de Hoy*, ran this unsigned account of Bracken's death, quoting "judicial authorities" as the source of information. Bracken, an employee of the National Police, was in the company of several police detectives driving in a station wagon toward a working-class neighborhood of San Salvador. Approaching in the opposite direction was an armored jeep in which junta member Jose Antonio Morales Ehrlich was traveling. As the two vehicles were about to pass each other, a grenade went off nearby. Ehrlich's bodyguards, thinking shots had come from the station wagon, fired on it and killed Bracken. No one else in Bracken's vehicle was injured.

National Police subsequently denied this account and said the COPREFA version of the incident was the correct one.

State Department spokesman John Caulfield said recently that the U.S. embassy sought no investigation in the case because the facts as presented by the Salvadoran military were self-explanatory. "In times of military conflict," Caulfield said, "it is not unusual for someone to be caught in a crossfire." That, said Caulfield, happened to Bracken, and U.S. officials felt "there were no further questions to be asked." Bracken had no connection with the U.S. government, Caulfield said.

A member of the U.S. embassy staff at the time of Bracken's death said a first reaction at the embassy on learning of the ambush was, "How many others in Bracken's patrol were wounded or killed?" When the answer was "none," it seemed to this individual that Bracken had been "set up."

In retrospect, and under ordinary conditions, aspects of the case could have borne further investigation, says Robert White. But in the context of the times — having just had the murders of the four churchwomen, the slaying of five Salvadoran political leaders, the incoming Reagan administration's signal of strong support for the Salvadoran military and the lack of any pressure from Bracken's family, the case did not command particular attention, White said. By the end of December 1980, the case of Thomas Bracken was effectively closed.

It is something of a fluke that no U.S. media followed the case beyond the initial December 1980 reports. This may be explained, in part, by the fact that Bracken's death occurred rather quietly between the two more spectacular killings of the churchwomen and the labor leaders.

For members of Bracken's family, who have maintained a stony silence about the death since they were first informed of it by then-U.S. Consul Patricia Lasbury, the private reality has been painful and frustrating. One of the more vexing aspects of that reality is that no family member ever saw Bracken's body or was present at his interment. The family questions what did happen to Bracken and why. But they refuse to discuss their misgivings publicly.

Reportedly, at the time of the murder, Terry Bracken, Bracken's widow, could not raise the funds — approximately $2,000 — to bring the body home. So Bracken was apparently buried in San Salvador shortly after he died. No date of burial is available from the U.S. State Department, according to spokesman Caulfield. Neither Caulfield nor former Consul Lasbury could say if any U.S. official had witnessed interment, although Caulfield said a "junio had gone to identify the body passport photo for comparison.

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"In South America they have to bury practically before sundown because they don't have embalming," Lasbury explained. "I believe at that time he was an employee of the National Police and was buried by them." Until recently, Terry White was under the impression that Bracken's body had been shipped to the United States. "I thought it had been sent to Texas," White said.

Bracken's hometown friends in Texas share the family's disquietude about the circumstances surrounding Bracken's death. "We don't draw any conclusions on that deal," said Assistant Chief Detective Thomas Fay of the North Las Vegas Police Department, where Bracken worked for 20 years, beginning as a patrolman in 1956 and retiring as a detective in 1976. "There are too many variables, too many unanswered questions," Fay said of Bracken's death. "There was some wild story about how he was shot down in San Salvador and there's no body to bury — who's to say? The fact that he was down there in Mexico — I know that — I went down there (following Bracken's death) to talk to officials," Fay said. Family members would not confirm or deny a meeting with U.S. or Salvadoran officials.

Concerning the gunrunning charges against Bracken, Fay said Bracken was apprehended in Brownsville, Texas, at one point, but that authorities could not hold him. "They had him and he escaped. He was a good cop. He would have been a good CIA man or something like that," he concluded.

Roy Daines, a former North Las Vegas mayor and a onetime member of the police force, said at the time of Bracken's death that Bracken had visited Las Vegas even after the March 1980 warrant for his arrest was issued and that he was not hiding from anyone.

According to sources, another mysterious aspect of Bracken's death for his family is that after two years, they are still writing letters to the State Department inquiring about all of Bracken's belongings. Specifically, sources say that $1,200 that was listed as on Bracken's body at the time of his death has not been returned to his widow. In February 1983, Caulfield said his records indicated that all Bracken's effects had been returned.

In light of the contradictions and unanswered questions, why has Bracken's family been silent about the case? Is it conflicting loyalties at work — an unwillingness to criticize U.S. officials and policies pitted against a need for personal closure and peace of mind? Was Bracken simply an American citizen who somehow

Bread and Salt
A Cassette Catechism
James Burtchaell
This introduction to the Catholic

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According to sources, another troubling aspect of Bracken's death for his family is that after two years, they are still writing letters to the State Department to reclaim all of Bracken's belongings. Specifically, sources say that $1,200 that was listed as on Bracken's body at the time of his death had not been returned to his widow as of January 1983. Caulfield said his records show that all Bracken's effects had been returned.

In light of the contradictions and unanswered questions, why has Bracken's family been silent about the case? Are conflicting loyalties at work — an unwilling-

— Don Carlton

BRACKEN

based in Texas, Bracken became part of that organization. Within a year, Bracken was laid off. At that point, in 1977, he joined a group of about 10 other Las Vegans to form a corporation called "Guardmaster Security Group." The corporation's stated purpose was to provide security expertise and to manufacture armored cars for Salvadoran businesses threatened by subversives. Bracken's role would be to go to El Salvador to get the company started there. He left in 1977.

Bracken maintained a combination home-office in San Salvador from 1977 to 1980, returning at frequent intervals to visit his wife and family in Las Vegas. During that time, Guardmaster Security never manufactured a single vehicle. According to Rex Smith, a business associate of Bracken's, the company folded in 1979 when U.S. banks refused to lend money against letters of credit Bracken had received from Salvadoran businesses. Bracken remained in El Salvador after the business failed, Smith said, to try to "start it up again." During this period, in 1978, Bracken allegedly was running guns to the Salvadoran military.

On the day of Bracken's murder, Dec. 17, 1980, the U.S. embassy in San Salvador said it had become aware of Bracken's presence in El Salvador only a week or so earlier, presumably when he first came to offer his information about the churchwomen's murders. Yet at that time, Bracken had been living and working in San Salvador for three years, both as a businessman and as a consultant to the National Police. Also, a nine-month-old warrant was outstanding against Bracken on the gunrunning charges.

Is it possible that neither civilian nor military personnel attached to the U.S. embassy in San Salvador were aware of Bracken's activities in support of Salvadoran businesses and security forces from 1977 to 1980? Is it possible that U.S. officials did not know of Bracken's employment as a trainer and consultant to the Salvadoran National Police?

"What was Thomas Bracken doing in El Salvador, what did he know and what happened to him?"

nd Salt

Catechism

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In light of the contradictions and unanswered questions, why has Bracken's family been silent about the case? Are conflicting loyalties at work — an unwillingness to criticize U.S. officials and agencies pitted against a need for personal justice and peace of mind? Was Bracken simply an American citizen who somehow got mired in international politics and undercover dealings with El Salvador? Or was he something more? In any event, why was so little official interest shown in what he had to say *and in what happened to him?*

"It's too painful to discuss," said Bracken's widow, Terry. "Maybe it's wrong, but I just want to escape from it now," she explained recently.

Sergeant Eugene Tucker, another member of the North Las Vegas Police Department, said recently that he had been a close friend of Bracken's for 10 years. He recalled Bracken as a family man, a "good cop," who was politically active in the community. During 1976, Tucker said, Bracken had successfully managed the election campaign of conservative candidate Daines for mayor. But after the election, possibly disheartened by the slow rate of change in city government, and by the slow rate of advancement of his own police career, Bracken retired from the force and took a

"What was Thomas Bracken doing in El Salvador, what did he know and what happened to him?"

ınd Salt
Catechism

ıs by Steve Moriarty

organization. Within a year, Bracken was laid off. At that point, in 1977, he joined a group of about 10 other Las Vegans to form a corporation called "Guardmaster Security Group." The corporation's stated purpose was to provide security expertise and to manufacture armored cars for Salvadoran businesses threatened by subversives. Bracken's role would be to go to El Salvador to get the company started there. He left in 1977.

Bracken maintained a combination home-office in San Salvador from 1977 to 1980, returning at frequent intervals to visit his wife and family in Las Vegas. During that time, Guardmaster Security never manufactured a single vehicle. According to Rex Smith, a business associate of Bracken's, the company folded in 1979 when U.S. banks refused to lend money against letters of credit Bracken had received from Salvadoran businesses. Bracken remained in El Salvador after the business failed, Smith said, to try to "start it up again." During this period, in 1978, Bracken allegedly was running guns to the Salvadoran military.

On the day of Bracken's murder, Dec. 17, 1980, the U.S. embassy in San Salvador said it had become aware of Bracken's presence in El Salvador only a week or so earlier, presumably when he first came to offer his information about the churchwomen's murders. Yet at that time, Bracken had been living and working in San Salvador for three years, both as a businessman and as a consultant to the National Police. Also, a nine-month-old warrant was outstanding against Bracken on the gunrunning charges.

Is it possible that neither civilian nor military personnel attached to the U.S. embassy in San Salvador were aware of Bracken's activities in support of Salvadoran businesses and security forces from 1977 to 1980? Is it possible that U.S. officials did not know of Bracken's employment as a trainer and consultant to the Salvadoran National Police?

And why did Bracken, a professional police officer and detective for 23 years, offer to trade "insubstantial" information with U.S. officials about the churchwomen's murder? Did he misjudge the importance of his evidence? Or was he so desperate to obtain clemency on the gunrunning charges that he would risk his life and betray his Salvadoran colleagues with barely a chance of success?

Was Bracken seeking justice for the women? Or was he a zealous anti-communist seeking to use information about the murders to undermine some Salvadoran military elements, e.g., Defense Minister Guillermo Garcia, in order to promote others, e.g., right-wing leader Roberto d'Aubuisson? And did Bracken literally and figuratively get caught in a multi-sided, undercover crossfire?

In the final analysis, what was Thomas Bracken doing in El Salvador, what did he know and what happened to him? The questions are politically charged and compelling. And they have yet to be addressed

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Special Project (1993)

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UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 2668

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DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO OTHER ARA AND EUR POSTS AS REQUIRED

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: SOYAPANGO KILLINGS

REF: SAN SALVADOR 2658

1. AFTERNOON PAPER "EL MUNDO" LISTS THE NAMES AND AGES
OF 21 OF THE AT LEAST 23 PEOPLE KILLED EARLY APRIL 7
IN SOYAPANGO. FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE ADDED TO
STORIES GIVEN REPORTERS EARLIER OF HOW PEOPLE IN THEIR FAMILY
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 02668 0823462

WERE TAKEN FROM THEIR HOMES AND KILLED. THE LIST OF

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IDENTIFIED DEAD IS AS FOLLOWS: LUIS ALONSO QUINT
PERDOMO, 48, MASO, AND HIS SONS JORGE ALBERTO AL
ALSONSO SANCHEZ QUINTANILLA, 19 AND 17 RESPECTI
SISTER AND TWO BROTHERS OLIMPIA ESTELA, NELSON
Y CANDIDO ISMAEL GARCIA, 16, 18 AND 24 RESPECTI
THE FIRST LISTED AS A STUDENT AND THE SECOND TW
WORKERS: ABRAHAM RAMIREZ, 20, 29%(3%: MARIA ANA
ANDRADE LOPEZ, 33, BAKER: JULIO CESAR CARRIGOL,
OSCAR BALTAZAR RIVAS CRUZ, 17, STUDENT: JOSE AN
HUACIA, 32, EMPLOYEE: FRANCISCO RIVAS RODRIGUEZ.
CZILDA ELIZABETH ROSALES ME
CANDEZ, 20, DOMESTIC EMPLOYEE:
DAVID ANTONIO ROSALES, 20, STUDENT: JULIO ANTON
22, STUDENT: CRISTINA ENRIQUETA MARQUEZ CONTRER
DOMESTIC EMPLOYEE: JOSE ARGUINIDES MORENO HENRI
EMPLOYEE: MARIO MEJIA HERNANDEZ, 34, TAXI DRIVE
NELSON GARCIA, 22, STUDENT: JOSE CORNELIO HUNTA
AND JORGE ZELAYA LOPEZ, 13, STUDENT.
CHAPIN

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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Department of State TELEGR

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (Y) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

[redacted] AN: DB10173-0932

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02756 1120492
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 AOS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 ES-15 OIC-02 CIAE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3332
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY ROME
-S,NSR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 232
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN/INTAFF
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2756

DEPT PASS OTHER ARA AND EUR POSTS AS REQUIRED

E. O. 12065: GDS 4-11-87
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SNUM, ES, HO
SUBJ: NO EVIDENCE OF CAVE KILLING

REF: A. FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PN 4873
B. FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PN 9664
C. TEGUCIGALPA 2507

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 02756 1120492Z

1. (U) REFS CONTAIN ALLEGATIONS MADE BY HONDURAN [redacted] REYNALDO HERAZO THAT 1,500 SALVADORAN PEASANTS WERE KILLED BY BEING SEALED IN A CAVE. THE CAVE WAS REPORTEDLY IN SALVADORAN TERRITORY, NEAR THE HONDURAN BORDER AND BETWEEN THE TOWNS OF SANTA ELENA AND YARUTELA OR (THE MUSCOVY SPELLING) YARUTELA. SO FAR, WE CANNOT TURN UP EVIDENCE THAT ANY SUCH EVEN TOOK PLACE, NOR DISCOVER WHAT MIGHT HAVE SERVED AS THE BASIS FOR THESE REPORTS.

2. (C) DATT COMMENTS THAT THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF ANY ACTION BY THE SALVADORAN MILITARY THAT MIGHT BE LINKED TO THE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN THE FBIS GRAMS. CAVES THERE ARE, CAVES WHICH ARE FREQUENTLY USED BY SMALL GROUPS OF GUERRILLAS AS SAFEHAVENS, LOOK-OUT POSTS, SNIPER SITES, ETC. HOWEVER, THE POSSIBILITY THAT ANY ONE SUCH CAVE COULD CONTAIN 1600 PEOPLE IS REMOTE; THE POSSIBILITY THAT 1600 PEOPLE WOULD ENTER SUCH A CAVE AND THEN BE BLOWN UP INSIDE IT SEEMS INCREDIBLE.

3. (U) ANOTHER PROBLEM WE ENCOUNTERED WAS IN TRYING TO LOCATE WHERE SUCH AN EVENT MIGHT HAVE TAKEN PLACE. IN THE "INDEX TO THE GEOGRAPHIC DICTIONARY OF EL SALVADOR" (MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, 1978) THERE ARE TWENTY-SEVEN SANTA ELENAS LISTED. TWENTY-THREE OF THOSE ARE IN DEPARTMENTS THAT HAVE NO BORDER WITH HONDURAS. FOUR ARE LOCATED IN SANTA ANA DEPARTMENT WHICH TOUCHES HONDURAS AT ONE TINY GEOGRAPHICAL POINT--NONE OF THE FOUR ARE LOCATED NEAR THAT POINT. THERE ARE, IN SUM, NO SANTA ELENAS NEAR THE HONDURAN BORDER. FURTHERMORE, NO YARUTELA OR YARUTELA WAS LISTED IN THE REFERENCED VOLUME--THERE IS NO DEPARTMENT, COUNTY, CITY, TOWN, VILLAGE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 02756 1120492

OR HAMLET BY THAT NAME IN EL SALVADOR. JUST HAVING SEEN TEGUCIGALPA 2507, WE WONDER WHETHER PLACE NAMED IN THAT REGIONAL MIGHT BE KNOWN DIFFERNTLY BY SALVADORANS AND HONDURANS. WE CAN ACCOUNT IN NO OTHER WAY FOR THIS APPARENT CONFUSION. THE GEOGRAPHIC INDEX WE ARE USING DOES MENTION A "YARULA" HAMELT IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF "PASAQUINA" IN LA UNION DEPARTMENT, BUT THIS IS NOWHERE NEAR THE "SABANETAS" BOLSON. IN THE INDEX'S LIST OF CAVES NO "CHIVA PINTADA" APPEARS.

3. (C) EMBASSY COMMENT: IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE [redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

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PROPAGANDISTS OF "MASSACRES" ARE BECOMING MORE SOPHISTICATED. LAST YEAR IT WAS MIO SUMPUL. UNFORTUNATELY, THAT WELL-PUBLICIZED "MASSACRE" WAS NOT THE COMPLETE SUCCESS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SINCE U.S. JOURNALISTS WENT TO THE SITE OF THE SUPPOSED KILLING AND DISCOVERD NO BODIES, NO EVIDENCE, NO MASSACRE. IT IS POSSIBLE TO THEORIZE THAT, LEARNING FROM THEIR MISTAKES, THE LEFT NOW COMES UP WITH "AN IMPROVED MASSACRE." THERE SEEMS TO US AT THIS POINT SOME FUDGING ON WHERE THE ALLEGED SLAUGHTER TOOK PLACE. FOR GOOD MEASURE, NO BODES WERE CITED ABOVE GROUND WHERE THEIR ABSENCE CAN BE NOTICED. WHAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK IS SOME BASIS IN FACT FROM WHICH THIS STORY COULD HAVE GROWN. UNTIL WE DO, IT MAY BE SAFE TO ASSIGN TO THE WHOLE STORY THE CREDIBILITY DUE THE MOSCOW REPORT, WHICH GOES ON TO ADD THAT ACCORDING TO AN FMLN SPOKESMAN "U.S. GREEN BERET ARE EXERCISING PRACTICALLY FULL CONTROL OVER THE ENTIRE ARMY OF THE JUNTA." CHAPIN

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 02612 01 OF 02 222231Z
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 EUR-08 H-03 NSC-06 ARA-10
----------154171 222242Z /63
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~~C O N F I D E N T I~~ A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN JOSE 2612

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/22/87 (SKOL, MICHAEL) OR-P
TAGS: OREP (EAGLETON, SEN. THOMAS), PEPR, PGOV, PINS, CS, NU, MX, VE, CU
SUBJECT: (U) CODEL EAGLETON/BARNES/ CONVERSATION WITH ODUB

1. (C) SUMMARY. DURING CONVERSATION APRIL 20 WITH SENATORS AND DODD AND CONGRESSMAN BARNES, FORMER PRESIDENT ODUBER N DIFFICULTIES IN WAY OF POLITICAL SOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR B SUGGESTED THAT, ONCE INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN AND SOCIAL DE AGREED ON A FORMULA -- AND WITH HELP FROM VENEZUELA AND ESPECIALLY MEXICO -- SOME FORWARD MOVMENT COULD BE ACHIEVE AGREED WITH LIMITED US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO JRG BUT NOT WITH PRESENCE OF US MILITARY ADVISERS. RE NICARAGUA, ODUBE THOUGH US AID SUSPENSION A MISTAKE AND RECOMMENDED INSTEAC

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02612 01 OF 02 222231Z

US LINE ON CUBA, INCLUDING POSSIBLE INTERDICTION OF ARMS S

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HE RECOMMENDED THAT USG BE TOUGH WITH GUATEMALAN REGIME AS WI
THE FAR LEFT. ODUBER ALSO UNDERSCORED IMPORTANCE IN REGION OF
CHURCH AND SAID HE WASOPTIMISTIC ABOUT PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCR
IN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THIS CABLE WAS NOT RPT NOT CLEARED WITH CODEL.

3. (LOU) MEMBERS AND STAFF OF CODEL EAGLETON/DODD/BARNES, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AND EMBOFFS, BEGAN SERIES OF CALLS MORNING APRIL 20 WITH EX-PRESIDENT DANIEL ODUBER AT HIS HOME. CONVERSATION CENTERED ON EL SALVADOR, NICARAGUA AND CUBA. SUBSTANCE OF OTHER TALKS (WITH PRESIDENT CARAZO AND FOREIGN MINISTER NIEHAUS, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES CALDERON AND ECHANC AND LIBERATION PARTY LEADERS, BEING REPORTED SEPTEL).

4. (C) ODUBER BEGAN BY REFERRING BRIEFLY TO THE PREVIOUS MULT NATION ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE POLITICALLY THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR (BASED ON THE 'REINA MEMORANDU.'), REJECTED BY THE GUERRILLAS -- AT THE URGING OF CUBA AND NICARAGUA -- IN FAVOR OF THE DISASTROUS -- TO THE GUERRILLAS -- "FINAL OFFENSIVE'. THE SITUATION NOW IN THAT COUNTRY, HE THOUGH, MADE ANY KIND OF POLITICAL RESOLUTION VERY DIFFICULT: "DUARTE DOESN'T CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT, AND UNGO DOESN'T CONTROLE THE OPPOSIT THE LATTER IN FACT IS VERY WEAK VIS-A-VIS THE COMMUNISTS. HE WAS CONVINECED THAT THE JRG WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE DEFEATED BY LEFT BUT FEARED THAT THE FAR RIGHT COULD MOVE TO TAKE OVER THE GOVERNMENT AT ANY TIME. ODUBER NOTED THAT HE AND OTHERS IN THE LIBERATION PARTY, ALONG WITH THE PANAMANIANS, MEXICANS VENEZUELANS AND THE GERMANS WERE STILL THINKINGABOUT SOME KIND OF POLITICAL FORMULA, BUT WOULD NOT MOVE UNTIL THERE WAS A MODUS VIVENDI BETWEEN THE WORLD CHRISTIAN AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS. "WE WILL N LONGER PLAY THE FOOL'S GAME

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PAGE 03 SAN JO 02612 01 OF 02 222231Z

WITH THE SOCIALIST INTENATIONAL ALONE."

5. (C) KEY TO ANY PROGRESS ON SALVADOR, HE INSISTED, WOULD BE THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF BOTH VENEZUELA (WHOM THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS COULD TRUST) AND MEXICO (ON WHOME THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS COULD RELY). ASKED IF THE MEXICANS COUL BE EXPECTED TO TAKE PART IN SUCH AN EFFORT, DOUBER SAID HE T IT POSSIBLE, THOUGH THEY WERE STILL RELUCTANT AND THE REPLAC OF CARBAJAL ("A TRUE INTERNATIONALIST") AS HEAD OF THE PRI MADE PROSPECTS "WORSE." HE EXPLAINED THAT, IN HIS OPINION,

DESPITE THE MEXICAN SLOGANEERING ABOUT THE US, THEY TOO WERE AFRAID OF CASTRO AND COULD THEREFORE BE PERSUADED TO ENTER INTO AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT WITH REGARD TO EL SALVADOR. (LA ASKED BY SENATOR DODD WHAT ADVICE HE MIGHT WANT TO PASS ON TO WASHINGTON, ODUBER SUGGESTED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN, WHEN HE G TO MEXICO, "PUSH MEXICO TO TAKE THE LEAD IN CENTRAL AMERICA").

6. (C) RE THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS TO SALVADORAN INSURGENTS, ODUBER SAID HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE FLOW THROUGH NICARAGU HAD PRACTICALLY STOPPED BUT THAT IT CONTINUES THROUGH COSTA R HE THOUGH IN FACT THAT THE AGGREGATE ARMS MOVEMENT VIA COSTA RICA MAY HAVE BEEN GREATER THAN THAT THROUGH NICARAGUA ALONE; (HE POINTED OUT THAT HIS FINCA WAS NEAR THE NICARAGUAN BORDER AND THAT HELPED HIM GET GOOD INFORMATION). SENATOR DODD ASKED ODUBER'S OPINION ON US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE JRG. THE EX-PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT HE HAD NO PROBLEM WITH LIMITED MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM THE US BUT BELIEVED STRONGL THAT THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN MILITARY ADVISERS WAS A "MISTAKE", A FALLING OF THE USG INTO THE "CUBAN TRAP", WHERE THE CUBANS AND THEIR SOVIET MENTORS HOPED TO DRAW THE US INT A SELF-DEFEATING INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 02612 02 OF 02 222238Z
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 EUR-08 H-03 NSC-06 ARA-10 /
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN JOSE 2612

7. (C) TURNING TO NICARAGUA, ODUBER SAID THAT HE WAVERED SHARPLY BETWEEN OTIMISM AND PESSIMISM. THE NICARAGUAN LEADERS WERE "SHOWING OFF", ARROGANTLY TRYING TO ANNOY THE US; IT IS A "JUVENILE" APPROACH, BUT ONE THAT WOULD NOT EASILY BE CHANG ODUBER SAID HE THOUGH THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION ON ASSISTANCE TO NICARAGUA WAS PROBABLY A MISTAKE AND SUGGESTED THAT, RATHER THAN TRYING TO PRESSURE NICARAGUA, THE USG SHOUL BE BEALING WITH "THE SOURCE OF THEPROBLEM -- CUBA". THE US, HE ADVISED, AS HE HAS BEFORE, SHOULD TAKE A HARD LINE WITH CASTRO; "THE TOUGHER YOU GET WITH CUBA THE BETTER FOR EVERYBC INCLUDING NICARAGUA." SENATOR DODD: "HOW DO YOU GET TOUGH WITH CUBA?" ODUBER: "FIRST, YOU WARN THEM THAT ARMS SHIPMENTS FROM CUBA TO CENTRAL AMERICA WILL BE INTERDICTED, THEN IF THERE IS NO CHANGE, YOU TAKE DIRECT ACTION TO STOP THOSE
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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02612 02 OF 02 222238Z

SHIPMENTS". HE ADDED THAT "THE US HAS NO 'CUBAN PROBLEM'; COSTA RICA AND CENTRAL AMERICA ARE THE ONES WITH A CUBAN

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PROBLEM. THE USIS STRONG.ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH CASTRO."

8. (C) SENATOR DODD ASKED ODUBER WHAT HE WOULD SUGGEST THE CODEL SAY THE NEXT DAY TO NICARAGUAN LEADERS IN MANAGUA. ODUBER RECOMMENDED SPECIFIC QUESTIONS TO TEST THE SANDINISTAS' PUBLIC COMMITMENTS: WHAT IS YOUR ELECTORAL CALENDAR? WHAT SPECIFIC PROGRAMS, AS FOR EXAMPLE IN SUPPORT OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, WILL BE UNDERTAKEN; WHY ARE YOU BUYING SO MANY WEAPONS WHENTHE COUNTRY DESPERATELY NEEDS FOOD FOR ITS PEOPLE?

9. (C) ASKED BY SENATOR EAGLETON ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CENTRAL AMERICA, ODUBER SAID HE THOUGHT IT THE IDEAL MEDIATOR, ESPECIALLY DURING THE COMPLIANCE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSIONOF A POLITICAL AGREEMENT, AS IN EL SALVADOR. HE ADMITTED THAT CERTAIN OF THE RELIGIOUS COULD BE RADICAL BUT CONCLUDED THAT "IN THE LONG TERM I'LL TRUST THE CHURCH". THE OUTSTANDING EXCEPTION IN HISOPINION IS THE ARCHBISHOP OF GUATEMALA, AN "ALLY OF THE REPRESSIVE FORCES THERE, A TERRIBLE MISTAKE OF THE CHURCH".

10. (C) FINALLY, TOURING THE HEMISPHERIC HORIZON, ODUBER COMMENTED ON GUATEMALA: "YOU SHOULD BE AS HARD ON THE GUATEM RIGHT AS YOU ARE ON THE CUBAN-INSPIRED LEFT". ON HONDURAS: "GOING WELL, WITH IMPORTANT HELP FROM THE TRADE UNION MOVEME WITH ALF-CIO ASSISTANCE; I WISH COSTA RICA HAD UNIONS LIKE THAT". AND ON BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA (NOTING THAT HE WOULD SOON BE TRAVELING TO LATTER AT JOINT INVITATION OF GOA AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES): "OPTIMISTIC" ABOUT PROGRESS IN DEMOCRATIZATION IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 02652 01 OF 02 232111Z
ACTION H-03

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AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN JOSE 2652

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/23/87 (CURRY, JOHN H.) OR-E
TAGS: OREP (EAGLETON, SEN. THOMAS), CS, GU, ES, NU, MX
SUBJECT: (U) CODEL EAGLETON/BARNES: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARAZ

REF: SAN JOSE 2612

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT CARAZO GAVE CODEL BRIEF ANALYSIS OF EACH CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRY AND SAID OVER GENERALIZING ABOUT THE RE HAD LED TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS OVER THE YEARS. HE FAVORED US ASSISTANCE TO NICARAGUA AND WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NICARAGUA COULD EVOLVE IN A MODERATE DIRECTION OVER THE DECADE AHEAD. HE FAVORED LOTS OF ECONOMIC AND SOME MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR, BUT OPPOSED SENDING US MILITARY ADVISERS. HE REFERRED TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY DECLINE IN THE TERMS OF TRADE AND THE IMPACT ON CENTRAL AMERICA. HE EXPLAINED COSTA RICA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS AND HOPED FOR IMF UNDERSTANDING AND US ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

3. PRESIDENT CARAZO TOLD CODEL US HAD GIVEN INSUFFICIENT

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02652 01 OF 02 232111Z

ATTENTION TO CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE PAST. THERE ARE NEW

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INGREDIENTS IN THE CURRENT SITUATION BUT PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING FOR YEARS. HE MENTIONED FOUR FACTORS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE: 1) PROFOUND MISERY WHICH PRODUCES INSTABILITY; 2) RULE, IN MOST COUNTRIES, OF THE OLIGARCHY THAT WANTS TO CONTROL THESE COUNTRIES AND PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO. THIS FOMENTS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE AMJORITY AND THE MINORITY AND PERMANENT CONFLICT OFTER ARISES; 3) THE DECLINE IN THE TERMS OF TRADE HAVE WORSENED THE ECONOMIC SITUATION; AND 4) CENTRAL AMERICA, TRADITIONALLY WITHIN THE US SPHERE OF INTEREST, IS NOW BEING PENETRATED BY THE USSR.

4. FIVE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES SHARE SOME TRAITS BUT ALSO HAVE PROFOUND DIFFERENCES. OVER GENERALIZING ABOUT CENTRAL AMERICA, ESPECIALLY BY THE US PRESS, HAS CAUSED MANY ERRORS IN JUDGMENT. IN GUATEMALA THE MILITARY DOMINATES AND VIOLENCE HAS BEEN ENDEMIC FOR DECADES; IN SALVADOR THE ECONOMICALLY POWERFUL GROUPS DOMINATE A COUNTRY WITH SERIOUS POPULATION PROBLEMS; IN HONDURAS THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR, SUPPORTED BY THE MILITARY, DOMINATES; IN NICARAGUAN A DYNASTIC FAMILY USED TO RULE THE COUNTRY. IN COSTA RICA THERE HAVE BEEN DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AT REGULAR 4-YEAR INTERVALS. THERE IS A LARGE INDIAN POPULATION IN GUATEMALA AND A NEGLIGIBLE ONE IN COSTA RICA. ECONOMIC BENEFITS FROM THE CACM HAVE ACCRUED MAINLY TO GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR AND COSTA RICA.

5. EXPANDING FUTHER ON THIS THEME, CARAZO SAID EL SALVADOR IS PRESENTLY THE SCENE OF A BITTER STRUGGLE. HE BELIEVES THAT, SADLY, ALTERNATIVES DO NOT EXIST; THE ONLY SOLUTION IS TO SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN THE JUNTA OR POLARIZATION WILL LEAD TO AN ARMY COUP AND

CONFIDENTIAL

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REOPEN THE DOOR TO THE NOW WEAKENED EXTREME LEFT GUERRILLAS. CIVILIANS ON THE JUNTA OFFER CRITICALLY IMPORTANT BALANCE AND THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE FMLN SEEMS TO HAVE SWITCHED TO PROTRACTED WARFARE AND GIVEN UP, FOR THE MOMENT, THE IDEA OF A MILITARY VICTORY. UNLIKE NICARAGUA, WHERE THE PEOPLE WERE UNITED AGAINST THE SMOZA GOVENMENT, IN EL SALVADOR THE PEOPLE GENERALLY DO NOT HATE THE JUNTA. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS A FAIRLY WIDESPREAD RESPONSE TO THE CALL TO STRIKE LAST AGUST, A SIMILAR CALL IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR

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FLOPPED ENTIRELY. DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES MUST JOINT TOGETHER TO PROTECT AND FOSTER A CONSTITUTIONAL ANSWER AND ELECTIONS IN SALVADOR. OTHERWISE THE MILITARY MAY BE TEMPTED TO THROW OUT THE CIVILIANS. CARAZO ADMITTED NICARAGUA HAS SWUNG RAPIDLY FROM THE FAR RIGHT TO THE FAR LEFT. HOWEVER, HE IS OPTIMISTIC THE GRN CAN BE SLOWLY WEANED AWAY FROM CUBAN DOMINANCE. HE FELT RECENT USG POLICY STATEMENTS WERE EXCELLENT. IN REGARD TO COSTA RICA, CARAZO SAID THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN 1981 IS LIKE 'WALKING A TIGHT ROPE OVER NIAGARA FALLS'. HE SAID COSTA RICA CAN NOT GET EXTERNAL FINANCING UNTIL REACHES AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF. THERE ARE NO RESERVES AND FINANCING OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE ARREARS ("PRESA") HAS BEEN A PROBLEM. THIS CAUSED THE EXCHANGE RATE TO INCREASE DRAMATICALLY. DECLINE IN THE TERMS OF TRADE HE ADDED, HAVE CAUSED PROBLEMS FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS WHO ARE NOW PROTESTING THE MOST. CARAZO SAID COSTA RICA'S FRIENDS MUST HELP IT MOVE AHEAD WITH ITS PROBLEMS AND REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF. THE NEXT 60-90 DAYS ARE CRUCIAL. ONCE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF IS REACHED, COSTA RICA CAN MOVE AHEAD, AND HE BELIEVES MOST COSTA RICANS HAVE COME TO ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT MANY SACRIFICES WILL HAVE TO BE MADE.

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 02652 02 OF 02 232204Z
ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 NSC-06 ARA-10 /035 W
----------215064 241252Z /14
R 232029Z APR 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4078
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN JOSE 2652

6. PRESIDENT CARAZO SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME DISCUSSING NICARAGUA IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR EAGLETON'S QUESTION SUGGESTING CARAZO SEEMED CONSIDERABLY MORE OPTIMISTIC THANOTHERS. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE IS OPTIMISTIC THAT NICARAGUA WILL NOT FOLLOW THE CUBAN PATH IF THE US AND OTHERS STAY ACTIVE. GOCR HAS KEPT CLOSE TIES TO THE GRN ESPECIALLY AS OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS ARE SEEN AS ENEMIES BY THE GRN. LOCDL POLITICAL GROUPS IN COSTA RICA HAVE TRIED TO USE THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. UNFORTUNATELY THE GRN, PERHAPS DUE TO SOME STILL LATENT PARANOIA, BELIEVES THAT IF AN INDIVIDUAL POLITICAN IN ANOTHER COUNTRY ATTACKS THE GRN THIS SOMEHOW REPRESENTS OFFICIAL POSITION. THIS WILL NOW HAPPEN IN COSTA RICA AS THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN HEATS UP. NONETHELESS COSTA RICA MUST BE FRIENDLY TO COUNTER CUBAN INFLUENCE. THE GRN IS SOFTENING TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR RECENTLY DUE TO TWO BAD HARVESTS; THE COUNTRY CANNOT WITHSTAND THE IMPACT OF A THIRD. NOW IS THE TIME FOR US AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES TO GET CLOSER TO THE GRN AND OFFER

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02652 02 OF 02 232204Z

SUPPORT. THIS WILL HELP SOLVE DOMESTIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND, WITH THE ACQUIRED POLITICAL LEVERAGE,

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WILL ASSIST IN SOLVING THE PROBLEM IN EL SALVADOR. THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION IN NICARAGUA CANNOT BE SUSTAINED AND THE CURRENT OPENING MAY ALLOW OTHER NICARAGUAN GROUPS TO EFFECT CHANGE. IF NOT, NICARAGUA WILL RADICALIZE. CARAZO EMPHASIZED NICARAGUA WILL NOT BE LIKE COSTA RICA, AS IT HAS HAD 160 YEARS OF POLITICAL TURMOIL, BUT MODERATE POLITICAL EVOLUTION MAY BE ACHIEVED OVER THE LONG TERM. FIDEL CASTRO HAS TOLD THE FSLN *TO AVOID THE ISOLATION OF CUBA. CARAZO REFERRED TO APRIL 10 SPEECH BY DANIEL ORTEGA WHICH WAS* SIGNIFICANTLY LESS HARSH IN TONE THAN EARLIER SPEECHES. THE CHANGE IN TONE, HE BELIEVES IS DIRECTLY DUE TO THE FIRM YET SENSIBLE AND CLEAR STATEMENT MADE BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN EARLY APRIL REGARDING AID TO NICARAUGA (ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT WAS THE CONCILIATORY APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF WHEAT SHIPMENTS).

7. PRESIDENT CARAZO TOLD CONGRESSMAN BARNES THAT GUATEMALA DOES NOT NEED US MILITARY ASSISTANCE. HE SAID EL SALVADOR NEEDS JUST ENOUGH TO KEEP POLITICAL BALANCE BUT THAT NO MILITARY ADVISERS SHOULD BE SENT BECAUSE THE POLITICAL COST IN ALL OF CENTRAL AMERICA IS TOO HIGH. ANY TRAINING OF SALVADORAN SOLDIERS SHOULD TAKE PLACE OUTSIDE THAT COUNTRY. COSTA RICA HAS ASKED FOR A FEW BULLETS FOR ITS M-1 RIFLES. IN CONTRAST, HE SAID, ECONOMIC AID IS ALWAYS JUSTIFIED. COSTA RICA CAN BE AN EXAMPLE OF SUCCESSFUL US ASSISTANCE IN SUCH AREAS AS SMALL INDUSTRIES, PEACE CORPS, BASIC SERVICES,

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AND FOOD. CARAZO RECOMMENDED MORE PUBLICITY FOR OUR ASSISTANCE EFFORTS. HE ADDED THAT FOOD AID TO NICARAGUA AND SALVADOR SHOULD NOT BE CHANNELLED THROUGH THE RED CROSS BUT GIVEN DIRECTLY AND WITH PROPER ACKNOWLEDGEMENT TO THE US TAXPAYER.

8. CARAZO, RESPONDING TO A QUESTION BY SENATOR DODD, RECOMMENDED THAT THE CODEL SPEAK IN A FRIENDLY BUT FRANK MANNER WITH POLITICAL LEADERS IN NICARAGUA. HE URGED CODEL TO TALK ABOUT GRN-US RELATIONSHIP, WHAT HAS BOTHERED THE GRN, AND TO ASK WHAT THEY

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HAD GOTTEN FROMOTHERS. NOW IS A CRUCIAL TIME FOR WORKING OUT USG-GRN RELATIONSHIP. FSLN CAME TO POWER WITH ARMS AND NOT THROUGH ELECTIONS AND THEREFORE, DOES NOT UNDERSTAND INSTITUTIONAL LIMITS ON ITS POWER. IT IS LEARNING THESE LIMITS THE HARD WAY. CARAZO RECOMMENDED INTERVIEWS WITH THE ORTEGA BROTHRS, SERGIO RAMIREZ, AND JAIME WHEELOCK. HE ALSO RECOMMENDED TALKING WITH BAYARDO ARCE AS THE MOST RADICAL. HE SUGGESTED TALKING ABOUT THE RCENT STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT. HE BELIEVES SUSPENDING WHEAT SALES WAS AN ERROR BUT THAT OTHER ELEMENTS WERE CORRECT, INCLUDING SUSPENDING DOLS 15,000,000. PRESIDENT CARAZO SAID IN SPITE OF DRAMATIC POLITICAL RISKS, HE HAS ASKED DANIEL ORTEGA TO MEET WITH HIM MONTHLY. HE CONTRASTED THIS WITH EASY ACCESS TO THE GRN-FSLN BY FIDEL CASTRO. (IT IS NOW AN ARTICLE OF FAITH IN COSTA RICA THAT CASTRO HAS MADE MANY SECRET VISITS TO NICARAGUA). HE SAID THE GRN-FSLN WILL RAISE CONCERNS ABOUT ALLEGED USG SUPPORT FOR A COUNTERREVOLUTION, REPORTED TRAINING CAMPS IN FLORIDA,, ETC. HE SAID THE GRN-FSLN FEELS IT IS RECEIVING TENDER TREATMENT ONLY FROM CUBA AND NO ONE ELSE.
MCNEIL

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[redacted] 4/30/1

Current Class: [redacted] Page: 1
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1981BUENOS03144 Channel: n/a

Q37

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[redacted]

PAGE 01 BUENOS 03144 301434Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 H-01 HA-06 /024 W
----------367151 301525Z /52

P 301411Z APR 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9358

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3144

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
[redacted] ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: STATUS OF PRISONER - EDUARDO JOZAMI

REF: STATE 109383

1. OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT YAZBECK JOZAMI IS STILL IN DETENTION.

DECONTROL

2. WE WILL AGAIN FIND AN OPPORTUNITY TO MENTION THE CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THE CASE. WHILE IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT THE GOA ACTIONS IN SUCH MATTERS, WE ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT HE WILL BE A CANDIDATE FOR EARLY RELEASE, EVEN TAKING INTO ACCOUNT HIS REPORTED MEDICAL PROBLEMS. JOZAMI WAS SENTENCED TO EIGHT YEARS IN PRISON IN MARCH, 1978.

3. WE HAVE RECENTLY FOUND SEVERAL OLD PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE CHARGES ON WHICH HE WAS TRIED AND SENTENCED. HE WAS REPORTEDLY ARRESTED SEPTEMBER, 1975 WHEN THE CAR HE WAS DRIVING WAS STOPPED AT A CHECKPOINT THE POLICE HAD ESTABLISHED ON A BUENOS AIRES STREET. ACCORDING TO THE POLICE, JOZAMI AND HIS COMPANION IN THE CAR, ANGEL HORACIO GARCIA, TRIED TO FLEE BUT WERE ARRESTED. JOZAMI REPORTEDLY DISPLAYED FALSE DOCUMENTS TO THE POLICE. THE CAR THAT JOZAMI WAS DRIVING WAS STOLEN
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03144 301434Z

AND INSIDE IT THE POLICE FOUND A SUITCASE CONTAINING "MUNITIONS" AS WELL AS "QUERRILLA ORDERS." JOZAMI'S DEFENSE, REPORTEDLY, WAS THAT HE DID NOT KNOW THE

Current Class: [redacted] Page: 1

CAR WAS STOLEN. A FRIEND HAD LOANED IT TO HIM, HE SAID.
WHILE DRIVING HE HAD PICKED UP, AS A HITCHHIKER,, GARCIA WHOM,
HE SAID, HE DID NOT KNOW. HE ARGUED THAT HE AND GARCIA WERE NOTE
ATTEMPTING TO FLEE BUT RATHER ENTERING A BAR FOR A
DRINK WHEN THEY WERE ARRESTED. HE ALSO STATED THAT
HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS IN THE BAG THAT ALLEGEDLY
CONTAINED MUNITIONS. THE ACCOUNT WE HAVE OF THE TRIAL DOES
NOT EXPLAIN HOW JOZAMI DEALT WITH THE CHARGE THAT HE WAS
USING FALSE IDENTITY DOCUMENTS. REPORTEDLY, A LOWER COURT JUDGE
AND AN APPEALS COURT BOTH REJECTED JOZAMI'S
DEFENSE.

4. WE NOTE THAT MRS. JOZAMI CALLED AT THE DEPARTMENT. MRS. JOZAMI
WAS LISTED AMONG THE DISAPPEARED FROM MID-1977 UNTIL MID-1980, AND
AS SUCH WAS THE OBJECT OF CONSIDERABLE INTERNATIONAL
INTEREST UNTIL SHE SUDDENLY REAPPEARED IN MEXICO.
WE SELDOM GET AN OPPORTUNITY TO INTERVIEW A FORMER
DISAPPEARED AND THUS IF SHE CALLS AGAIN AT THE
DEPARTMENT, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SEE WHAT SHE CAN
TELL US ABOUT WHERE SHE WAS.

5. COMMENT: WE HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN FAMILIAR
WITH THE BACKGROUND OF JAZAMI'S DETENTION, SINCE IT IS
NEVER DESCRIBED IN THE MANY REQUESTS WE GET SEEKING
THAT WE ASSIST HIM. CONGRESSMEN MAY BE IN THE
DARK ON THIS MATTER AND THE DEPARTMENT MIGHT WISH TO
SHARE IT WITH THEM.
SHLAUDEMAN

[redacted]

NVVZCZ

EA062A

P 86

Dear Mr. Dornan:

Thank you for your letter of January 19 on behalf of your constituent, [redacted] concerning the human rights situation in Argentina, and particularly the case of Abraham Hochman. B6

Although we have been encouraged by continuing improvements in the human rights situation in Argentina, the United States remains concerned about persistent human rights problems such as continuing disappearances and lack of judicial guarantees in cases of persons suspected of subversion.

Concerning the welfare of Abraham Hochman, the Foreign Office's Working Group on Human rights has responded to our Embassy in Buenos Aires's inquiries that the Argentine Government has no record of his detention, nor any information regarding his whereabouts.

The U.S. Congressional interest in this matter has been communicated to the Foreign Office. Our Embassy will continue to seek information on this case and will keep you informed of any further developments.

Sincerely,

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Walter L. Cutler
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

The Honorable
Robert K. Dornan,
House of Representatives.

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

cc: American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

4/30, R

Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1981BUENOS03182

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

Q38

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 03182 302139Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-06 PM-09 PA-01
INRE-00 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /070 W
----------375653 302143Z /52

O R 302049Z APR 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9375
INFO AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS
USCINCLANT FORFOLK

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 3182

CINCSO FOR INTAFF, CINCLANT FOR POLAD

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO - APRIL 30 DEMONSTRATION

REF: BUENOS AIRES 2995

1. APRIL 30 DEMONSTRATION BY THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO WENT PEACEFULLY. ACCORDING TO EYEWITNESSES, ABOUT 1000 DEMONSTRATORS GATHERED IN THE SQUARE AND MARCHED AROUND THE MONUMENT THERE FOR ABOUT 45 MINUTES. A DISCREET POLICE PRESENCE, MADE UP LARGELY OF WOMEN, KEPT ITS DISTANCE. THE MARCHERS DISPERSED WITHOUT INTERFERENCE.

2. COMMENT: A PRESS SOURCE TELLS US THAT, ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT CONTACTS, UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE HARDLINERS IN THE GOVERNMENT WHO INSISTED ON BREAKING UP THE DEMONSTRATION WERE CARRYING THE DAY. FINALLY, MORE MODERATE FORCES PREVAILED SHORTLY BEFORE THE DEMONSTRATION TOOK PLACE. THIS STORY WOULD SEEM TO FIT WITH THE
[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 03182 302139Z

REITERATION OF THE FEDERAL POLICE APRIL 29 THAT THE MOTHERS' DEMONSTRATION WAS NOT AUTHORIZED.
HLAUDEMAN

Current Class: [redacted]

Page: 1

DECONTROL
ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
[redacted]: ( ) In Part (X) In Full DECONTROL
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
JULY 1973 EDITION
GSA FPMR 141 CFR) 101-11.6

UNCLASSIFIED 5/6/81 2) File 300.11

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

[redacted] DG025

TO : POL Files

DATE: May 6, 1981

FROM : POL - Townsend B. Friedman

SUBJECT: Follow-Up On the Romano Case

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

(Background. Angel Romano disappeared for 7 days, March 27-April 3. We were informed of his disappearance by human rights activists and subsequently took it up with both the Foreign Office here and the Argentine Embassy in Washington. Romano was surfaced in custody. We were told by the Foreign Office he was arrested on common criminal charges. The Chief of Police of Buenos Aires Province reiterated this in a public declaration.)

Emilio Mignone and Augusto Conte Macdonell denied today the truth of the GOA's statement that Romano was arrested on common criminal charges. They note that as soon as Romano appeared before a criminal court judge he was let go by the latter who ruled that there were no grounds to hold him. The two human rights activists also state that while the Police Chief's statement said that Romano was arrested as part of an investigation of robberies at the Upjohn plant by employees there in 1979, Romano had quit the Upjohn job in 1976. They also state that Romano alleges that he was severely tortured while in police custody. Conte Macdonell observed that Romano is very closed-mouthed about his political affiliations but he and others believe that Romano was associated with the banned Socialist Labor Party engaging in labor and political activities on its behalf.

Cleared:POLCOUNS:JFKing

cc: POL - V. Blocker
AMB
DCM
ARA/SC
HA

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84F116
By 3/52

[redacted]

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EA0816

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to
Date Declassify on Reason

Lausanne, May 11th. 1981

Dear friends,

I was so glad to receive Paul Stabile's letter, which was adressed to Eduardo, my husband.

It's so long since I'm trying to establish contacts with you, and thanks to this lettre it could finally be possible.

Eduardo studied at Saint Meinrad Seminary (class 1968); he is in prison in Rawson (Argentina) since 6 years.

After that all my family was persecuted by the Argentine Army. With our three children : Federico (9 years), Cecilia (8 years) and Liliana (6 years), I had to flee in 1977, and now we are in Switzerland.

Eduardo was imprisoned on May 8th. 1975, in San Luis (Argentina), and judged for having marxist bibliography.

His penalty is finished, but he continues beeing a prisoner and he is at the National Executive Power's disposition.
In the prison where he stays, at the extreme south of the country, a very hard climate, the authorities of the place are extremely severe, and his health is worsing very fastly.

Morally he is very strong, never complains about his pains, and he expresses a very deep conviction and christian hope.

Since he is in prison, he endures chronic sinusitis and gastro-enteritis, and troubles on the spinal column.
Since december 1980 he suffers of pleurisy, and he had to be placed in the prison's hospital; the only attendance he received were sedatives.

Since Easters, his health conditions are getting worse, to pleurisy there was chronical bronchitis added, with heart complications.

Seeing this situation, many doctors and church people from several countries, who share his sufferings, are writing letters to the following adresses :

1) Señor Ministro del Interior
General Horacio Tomas Liendo
Balcarce 50
CAPITAL FEDERAL - Argentina -

2) Señor Comandante del Ser. Cuerpo del Ejercito
General Antonio Domingo Buzzi
Santa Rosa 657
5000 CORDOBA - Argentina -

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In those letters we ask for :

1) Eduardo's transfer to a prison in Buenos Aires.

2) Adequate medical care, continius and regularly.

3) The permission of leaving the country, using of the so called "option right". He could come to Switzerland, as this goverment gave him a visa to enter, two years ago.

Besides, Eduardo is recognized and sponsored by Amnesty International, and the Grcup 109 from Västeras (Sweden).

Maybe you had news from us trough the american deaconess Gloria Perez, who works in Mexico.

I supplicate you to help us, writing letters to Argentina, its an urgent action, Eduardo's life is in danger.

Thank you so much for everything you'll do.

Yours gratefully.

Estela Lloss

Estela Lloss

I include a photocopy of an article that appeared in a protestant newspaper.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81SAN SA004040

ADP912
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04040 272303Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-05 HA-06 PM-09
PA-01 DCT-02 INRE-00 OCS-06 CA-01 ICAE-00 SYE-00
SP-02 SPRS-02 /089 W
----------307561 272317Z /65

O P 272235Z MAY 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4012
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY HRYE
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN/INTAFF PRIORITY

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 4040

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/27/87
TAGS: CASC, PINS, ES
SUBJECT: THREAT AGAINST MARYKNOLL ORDER MEMBERS

REF: (A) SAN SALVADOR 3990; (B) IR 6829030681

1. (C) WE HAVE HEARD FROM A PROBABLY RELIABLE SOURCE OF A RIGHT WING PLAN TO ASSASSINATE ANY MEMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYKNOLL ORDER WHO RETURN TO EL SALVADOR AND POSSIBLY EVEN TO BOAST OF THIS ONCE ACCOMPLISHED. WE CAN NOT GO INTO GREATER DETAIL, BUT BELIEVE THAT THIS MUCH SHOULD BE PASSED ON IN CONFIDENCE TO MARYKNOLL'S SUPERIORS IN THE UNITED STATES.

2. (U) DAO WAS PASSED UNCLASSIFIED MEMORANDUM TODAY 5/27 BY ARMED FORCES GENERAL STAFF GIVING SUBSTANCE OF REF B
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04040 272303Z

(SEE IR 6 829 0308 81).
BLEAKLEY

[redacted]

Department of State

6/15/81

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AQ094 7218 R

PAGE 01 STATE 156137
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 H-01 NSAE-00 HA-00
L-03 INRE-00 /036 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/SC:RESERVICE:MAS
APPROVED BY ARA/SC:RESERVICE

----------011340 152003Z /70

O 151850Z JUN 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 156137

E.O. 12065: GDS 6-15-87 (SERVICE, R.E.)

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: ACCOUNTING FOR THE DISAPPEARED

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO BUENOS AIRES, JAMES LUCIER, AIDE TO SENATOR HELMS, DISCUSSED PROBLEM OF ACCOUNTING FOR THE DISAPPEARED WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS. LUCIER TOLD AMBASSADOR ENDERS JUNE 12 THAT FRANCISCO MOLINAS SALAS AND ENRIQUE CANDIOTI SAID IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO DO ANYTHING FOR THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1979, BUT THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE AN ACCOUNTING FOR THE LAST TWO YEARS. IT WAS NOT CLEAR FROM THE CONVERSATION WHETHER THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WAS ACTIVELY WORKING ON SUCH AN ACCOUNTING. EMBASSY MAY WISH TO FOLLOW UP THE LUCIER CONVERSATION WITH MOLINAS OR CANDIOTI. AS EMBASSY IS WELL AWARE, ANY PROGRESS ON ACCOUNTING FOR THE DISAPPEARED WILL BE HELPFUL WITH RESPECT TO REPEAL OF HUMPHREY-KENNEDY AMENDMENT. STOESSEL

It would be useful for you to be plugged in to these types of telegrams pjs 6/16.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _____ ( ) Extend as _____ ( ) Downgrade to _____
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

Lot 82D275
Box 3541
(2/17)

[redacted]

Committee of Concerned Scientists, Inc.

9 East 40 Street
New York, N.Y. 10016
Tel. (212) 686-8862

6/15/81

AQ097A

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BIOLOGY
Robert Goldberger
National Institutes of Health
CHEMISTRY
Thomas Spiro
Princeton University
COMPUTER SCIENCE
Jack Minker
University of Maryland
DENTAL SCIENCES
Robert Gerber
Los Angeles, Calif.
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Cornell University
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Martin Schwaber
Yeshiva University
Charles Townes
University of California, Berkeley
George Wald
Harvard University
Oscar Zariski
Harvard University
Affiliation for identification purposes only.

June 15, 1981

Dorothy Hirsch
Executive Director

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

President Roberto Viola
Casa Rosada
Balcare 50
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear President Viola:

We speak on behalf of the Committee of Concerned Scientists which represents 4,000 American scientists dedicated to the protection of human and scientific rights for colleagues throughout the world. Our members are dismayed at the summary dismissal of Dr. Nicolas G. Bazan from his posts as Professor at the National Southern University and Director of its Biochemical Research Institute. We find it deplorable that Dr. Bazan, a world renowned physiologist who has received international acclaim for his work in epilepsy, is barred from teaching at universities in his own country on the basis of an arbitrary government order.

Such treatment violates specific provisions of international agreements to which Argentina is a party. As scientists, we also protest the ouster of our colleague, Dr. Bazan, whose prolific research has significantly advanced scientific scholarship. Denying him the opportunity to conduct his research and teach his findings is a hindrance to scientific progress and an impediment to scientific cooperation between our two countries.

We urge you to reinstate Dr. Bazan to his posts at the National Southern University. Such an action would conform to Argentina's pledge to honor human rights as enunciated in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We look forward to your favorable action in this case.

Sincerely,

Max Gottesman
Cochairman

Mark Kac
Cochairman

Joel Lebowitz
Cochairman

J. Joseph Blum
Medical Sciences
Vice-chairman

George Wald
Nobel Laureate

cc: Minister of Education Juan Rafael Llerena Amadeo
Ricardo Bara, Dean of National Southern University
Ambassador Jorge Aja Espil

Lot 82D275
Box 3541
(2/17)

[redacted]

Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

AQ095

PAGE 01 BUENOS 04488 1628452 1566 6/16/81 BUENOS 04488 1628452

ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 H-01 NSCE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9921

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 4488

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/16/87 (KING, J.F.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (C) ACCOUNTING FOR THE DISAPPEARED

REFS: A) STATE 156137, B) BA 4054, C) BA 0380, D) BA 1085, E) BA 0566

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. EMBOFF SPOKE JUNE 16 WITH FONMIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS CHIEF MOLINA SALAS WHO CONFIRMED IN GENERAL TERMS SUBSTANCE OF DISCUSSION HE AND CANDIOTTI HAD LATE IN MAY WITH MR. LUCIER (REF A). HE SAID LUCIER WAS TOLD THAT A FULL ACCOUNTING FOR THE DISAPPEARED WAS "ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE" AND THE ANSWER TO ANY REQUEST FOR SUCH AN UNDERTAKING WOULD HAVE TO BE A FLAT NO. WHAT IS POSSIBLE, MOLINA SAID LUCIER WAS TOLD, IS THAT "A LINE COULD BE DRAWN" IN TIME, THAT IS TO SAY FROM THE RECENT PAST TO THE PRESENT, WHICH COULD BE THE STARTING POINT FOR A REVIEW AND CLARIFICATION, IF ONLY PARTIAL, OF THE STATUS OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS. MILINA SAID HE DOES NOT RECALL STATING THAT THIS DIVIDING LINE COULD BE FROM 1979 ON, BUT DID NOT ARGUE THE POINT; ONCE A CUT-OFF DATE WAS DETERMINED, HE SAID, "IT WOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT TO PRODUCE AN ACCOUNTING."

3. ASKED IF THE FONMIN WAS ENGAGED IN SUCH A REVIEW, MOLINA MADE IT CLEAR THIS IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AN INTERMINISTERIAL COMMITTEE MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE ARMED SERVICES (REF B). WHILE NOMINALLY PRESIDED OVER BY MININT, HE HAS NO VOTE, THE FONMIN HAS A FORM OF OBSERVER STATUS ON THE COMMITTEE IN THE PERSON OF ITS OFFICER IN CHARGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS, AND ALSO IS VOTELESS.

4. MOLINA SALAS NOTED THAT INTERMINISTERIAL COMMITTEE PRESENTLY IS REVIEWING LIST PROVIDED EARLIER BY EMBASSY OF TEN PRISONERS IN WHICH THERE IS CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST. HE SAID GOOD PROGRESS IS BEING MADE AND THAT HE EXPECTED DECISIONS SOON, MENTIONING IN THIS CONNECTION JORGE ENRIQUE TAINA (SEN. CRANSTON, REP. BURTON INTERESTED) IS CANDIDATE FOR EARLY RELEASE; EMBASSY HAS BEEN TOLD ABOUT 18 CONGRESSIONAL-INTEREST CASES NOW BEING REVIEWED BY I-M COMMITTEE.

5. WITH RESPECT TO THE COMMITTEE TAKING UP QUESTION OF THE DISAPPEARED, MOLINA SAID HE DID NOT KNOW IF THE ARMED FORCES OR ANY OTHER ELEMENT IN THE GOVERNMENT WERE LOOKING INTO AN INITIATIVE. THE IMPLICATION WAS CLEAR THAT HIS MINISTRY, AT LEAST, IS NOT PUSHING IT; MOLINA EMPHASIZED HE WAS IN NO POSITION TO MAKE COMMITMENTS ON THIS SCORE TO MR. LUCIER OR ANYONE ELSE. HE ONLY REPEATED AN ACCOUNTING ON THE TERMS SUGGESTED SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO DO.

6. COMMENT: DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL OBDURATE RESISTANCE FROM HIGHEST-LEVEL GOA REPS, EXPRESSED DURING VISITS HERE OF CODELS ZABLOCKI (REF C) AND COCHRAN (REF D), TO VERY IDEA OF ANY KIND OF ACCOUNTING; PRESIDENT VIOLA'S INSISTENCE TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO RENDER ONE WOULD IMMEDIATELY "DESTABILIZE" HIS GOVERNMENT (REF E) ALSO WILL BE RECALLED. WE ARE NOT AWARE THAT MILITARY ATTITUDES ON THIS EXPLOSIVE ISSUE HAVE CHANGED IN ANY MATERIAL WAY OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS; IF NOTHING, THEY HAVE HARDENED AS THE POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE STEPPED UP THE RHETORIC ON THE NEED FOR A POLITICAL "OPENING." WE THEREFORE MUST DISCOUNT THE PROSPECTS OF THE CIVILIAN SIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT MOVING INTO THE MINEFIELD OF THE DISAPPEARED, ALTHOUGH WE DO KNOW THEY ARE URGING, PROBABLY GENTLY, FASTER ACTION ON PEN PRISONER RELEASES.
RUSER

R

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full.
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Lot 82D275
Box 3541
(2/17)

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Committee of Concerned Scientists, Inc.

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9 East 40 Street
New York, N.Y. 10016
Tel. (212) 686-8862

6/17/81 Argentina

AQ096 P B3N

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University of Chicago
Harold Scheraga
Cornell University
Julius Schwieber
Columbia University
Charles Townes
University of California, Berkeley
George Wald
Harvard University
Oscar Zariski
Harvard University

Affiliation for identification purposes only

June 17, 1981

Mr. Raymond Jorgenson
Human Rights Officer for Latin America
Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs
Department of State, Room 7802
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Jorgenson:

We are enclosing a copy of a letter we have sent to Argentinian officials on behalf of Dr. Nicolas G. Bazan. The ouster of this eminent physiologist from his posts at the National Southern University deeply disturbs many American scientists concerned with the human rights and scientific freedoms of their colleagues throughout the world.

We respectfully suggest that our government also intervene on Dr. Bazan's behalf. If you require additional information, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Please apprise us of any action you initiate concerning this matter so that we may monitor the efforts undertaken on Dr. Bazan's behalf.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Hirsch

Dorothy Hirsch
Executive Director

Enclosure

X B3(NA)

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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KR-40

EXCISE

(U) CHILE'S COMMUNIST PARTY OPTS FOR REVOLUTION WITH MOSCOW'S BLESSING

(U) A review of the statements made by Chilean Communist Party (PCCH) leader Luis Corvalan since late 1977 reveals a decided shift in emphasis from mass political struggle to espousal of armed revolution and collaboration with extremist groups engaging in terrorism in order to overthrow the ruling junta led by Maj. Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. The fact that Soviet broadcasting facilities are disseminating the new party line and urging the cause of armed action indicates that Moscow has implicitly endorsed this shift.

Traditional Policy: Peaceful Revolution

(U) When the PCCH met in Prague in late 1977 to hold its first Central Committee session since the fall of the Chilean Popular Unity government in 1973, Luis Corvalan delivered a report on party policy (published in Rude Pravo) asserting that:

—revolutionary change could be accomplished through non-violent means;

—the PCCH "line" was at all times correct and did not need to be replaced with a new line;

—a new political situation, favorable to the goals of the PCCH, was emerging as the power of the junta crumbled;

—the possibility for revolutionary change rested with the workers (mass struggle), particularly through political action;

--the PCCH "call to struggle" was not an encouragement to rush into action and fall victim to fascist brutality;

BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

ASSESSMENTS AND RESEARCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE • USA • STATE OF AMERICA

Chile Project (#S19990030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ____ Excise X Deny ____
Declassify: In Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s): b(1) b(3)

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
( ) Classify as (✓) Extend as (S) Downgrade to ____
Date 1/30/01 Declassify on ____ Reason 1.5(d)

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RDS-2 6/23/01 (Multiple sources)

WARNING NOTICE
INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

Report 167-AR
June 23, 1981

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--the unity of the Communist, Christian Democrat, and Popular Unity Parties was essential to the struggle.

(U) Although the report did not specifically mention the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) or other leftwing extremist organizations, it implicitly condemned such groups by castigating attacks by "left-wing forces" against the former Popular Unity government and by excluding these groups from a list of parties envisioned in a future coalition.

(C) In January 1979, Corvalan told German Democratic Republic leader Erich Honecker in East Berlin that the PCCH was preparing an "antifascist plan of action" based on a unified opposition composed of "parties of all lines of opinion." The General German Press Agency report of that Honecker-Corvalan meeting did not list the parties Corvalan envisaged in the coalition, but by the end of 1979, according to reports, the PCCH leaders were actively seeking the cooperation of the Chilean Socialist Party for a unified opposition to Pinochet.

(U) New Trend: Armed Insurrection

In any event, during the Cuban Party Congress (also in December 1980), Corvalan delivered a speech in which he enunciated the basic elements of a new party line which called for armed struggle to overthrow the Chilean Government:

--unity is the key to victory;

--unity is molded by combat, as in Nicaragua;

--sectarianism is harmful;

--coordination of efforts by all parties, including the extreme left, is necessary; and

--active struggle creates the conditions for an overthrow; the opposition cannot wait for the "correct conditions."

The break with the earlier PCCH policy (which rejected links with terrorist organizations such as MIR) became especially clear when Corvalan in January 1981 stated that the PCCH was willing not only to talk with MIR representatives but to sign agreements with the group. He also commended MIR terrorist activities as "helpful" but suggested that better "marksmanship" was necessary. Several days after this proclamation, Corvalan signed a unification agreement with seven other leftist political organizations, including MIR. The representatives from the eight parties stated their willingness and intention to hold further meetings to develop "concrete" strategy for the struggle.

Until January 1981, when the new PCCH policy evidently had been ironed out and validated by the agreement for a broad opposition coalition, Corvalan's statements were issued from such places as Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Cuba, and Peru--but never from Moscow. Within two weeks of the agreement, however, Moscow began broadcasting (in Spanish to Latin America and Chile in particular) PCCH explanations of the new policy and calls for armed insurgency.

Volodia Teitelboim, a longtime Central Committee member and PCCH spokesman, announced in a broadcast from Moscow during January 1981 that:

--the party's line remains unchanged; only its "implementation" would be new for Chile;

--the "right to rebel" was a latent element of party ideology; it had been activated as an "everyday attitude";

--new types of action were not only legitimate but necessary;

--the new action would consist of guerrilla warfare followed by a massive uprising (revolution); and

--mass resistance and terrorism would overthrow Pinochet.

Corvalan's February address to the 26th CPSU Congress, which was subsequently synopsized and broadcast from Moscow to Latin America, reiterated these basic elements of the new policy, calling for rebellion and the creation of a single front. According to Corvalan, the Chilean people were becoming more "combat-minded."

Demonstrating the new acceptance by the PCCH of "activist" (terrorist) organizations, Teitelboim announced in Mexico City in March the existence of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Command (a Marxist group) and reported on sabotage it had allegedly carried out against the Pinochet government. In a March Radio Moscow report, Pedro Correa (identified only as a "communist commentator") claimed that Luis Corvalan had given the PCCH the green light for initiating armed struggle in Chile.

Further confirmation that Moscow at least implicitly endorsed the change in the PCCH line came with a Spanish-language broadcast to Chile from Moscow, also in March, by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Command itself. The 10-minute broadcast amounted to a call for popular rebellion and advertised some of the group's less violent actions, such as causing a widespread blackout in Chile in November 1980.

Both Corvalan and Teitelboim have since repeatedly asserted that the new policy is not new at all but merely a change in tactics, the revival of a latent concept. According to their rationale, it was the September 1980 plebiscite in Chile which necessitated the new "tactic," because it eliminated the possibility of political struggle and legalized Pinochet's rule for the next eight years. But activation of a "latent" party concept, i.e., the right to rebel, is quite clearly such a qualitative change in tactics as to constitute a new policy "line" for the PCCH. It must also be weighed in the context of a regional strategy, formulated and supported by the Cubans, to advance "revolutionary" activity by uniting diverse opposition forces--under communist party leadership, if possible. In the case of the PCCH and Chile, the approval of the Soviet Union is at least implicit in the time donated by Soviet communications media to the dissemination of the new line.

Presumably, the realization that the Chilean junta's power was not waning, as Corvalan had predicted in 1977, was a primary factor in the adoption of the new line by the PCCH, with destabilization of the Pinochet regime through sustained guerrilla activity seen as the only promising course for creating a "revolutionary" environment. At the same time, the Nicaraguan example evidently convinced the Cubans and the Chilean party of the need to unify all opposition forces (including those previously rejected) in order to obtain final victory over any regional government. But the PCCH appears to believe that its acceptance of (and participation in) terrorist/guerrilla activity is a sine qua non for attaining leadership of the insurgency over such groups as the MIR and eventual control of a post-revolutionary situation.

Prepared by Norma R. Harms
x29201

Approved by M. Mautner
x29536

DECAPTIONED

IC113 24 June 81
Page: 1
IC III
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PAGE 01 STATE 166715
ORIGIN INR-10

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AMCONSUL ZAGREB
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS STATE 166715

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: CI, PINT, UR

SUBJECT: CHILE'S COMMUNIST PARTY OPTS FOR REVOLUTION WITH MOSCOW'S BLESSING

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 166715

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF A RECENTLY PUBLISHED INR ASSESSMENTS AND RESEARCH INTELLIGENCE REPORT, DRAFTED BY NORMA R. HARMS, INR/SEE. THE FULL REPORT WILL BE SENT TO YOU BY POUCH.

2. A REVIEW OF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCCH) LEADER LUIS CORVALAN SINCE LATE 1977 REVEALS A DECIDED SHIFT IN EMPHASIS FROM MASS POLITICAL STRUGGLE TO ESPOUSAL OF ARMED REVOLUTION AND COLLABORATION WITH EXTREMIST GROUPS ENGAGING IN TERRORISM IN ORDER TO OVERTHROW THE

RULING JUNTA LED BY MAJ. GEN. AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE. THE FACT THAT SOVIET BROADCASTING FACILITIES ARE DISSEMINATING THE NEW PARTY LINE AND URGING THE CAUSE OF ARMED ACTION INDICATES THAT MOSCOW HAS IMPLICITLY ENDORSED THISSHIFT. STOESSEL

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6/24/81

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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F2002-1024

S. I. HAYAKAWA
CALIFORNIA

DEMP PRAT, PH. D
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

COMMITTEES
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
FOREIGN RELATIONS
SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 24, 1981

Mr. Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Fairbanks:

Enclosure from: Bay Area Ecumenical Committee of Concern for Chile
444 Market Street
San Francisco, CA 94102

RE: The Committee wrote to me about the arrest and "disappearance" of Mr.Carlos Montes Cisternas in Chile. I'm enclosing a copy of the Committee's correspondence for your information. Please provide any infomation or assistance you are able to give.

Please review the attached matter and provide me with a complete report, in duplicate and with the return of the enclosures, to the attention of:

Larry Pascal
Office of Senator S. I. Hayakawa
1390 Market Street, Suite 820
San Francisco, California 94102

If you need more information, or if you have any questions, please contact him at (415) 556-8686.

I would appreciate either a written interim or a final reply within two weeks. Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

S. I. Hayakawa

S. I. Hayakawa

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03787 252112Z **DECONTROL**
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 NSC-05
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Exemption(s) ____

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BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, CI
SUBJ: EXTREMIST KILLED IN BANK SHOOTOUT IDENTIFIED AS MIR MEMBER

REF: SANTIAGO 3713

1. THE CHILEAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (CNI) ISSUED A PRESS STATEMENT JUNE 24 IDENTIFYING THE MAN KILLED IN THE SHOOTOUT AT THE BANK HOLDUP ON JUNE 22 (REFTEL) AS CHARLES DANUNCIO RAMIREZ CALDERA, BORN MAY 30, 1956. THE STATEMENT ADDED THAT RAMIREZ WAS CHIEF OF A COMBAT GROUP OF THE "CENTRAL FORCE" OF THE MILITARY ARM OF THE MIR.

2. "EL MERCURIO" OF JUNE 25 SAID THAT THE IDENTIFICATION OF RAMIREZ HAD BEEN MADE POSSIBLE THROUGH THE PHOTO USED IN THE FALSE ID CARD WHICH HAD BEEN TRACED BACK TO A PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO WHERE HE HAD HAD THE PICTURE TAKEN SOME TEN DAYS BEFORE THE ATTACK AND WHERE HE HAD GIVEN HIS REAL NAME. THE SAME STORY INDICATED THAT RAMIREZ WAS SUSPECTED OF HAVING TAKEN PART IN PREVIOUS EXTREMIST ATTACKS INCLUDING
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 03787 252112Z

A TRIPLE BANK ASSAULT AT THE END OF LAST YEAR DURING WHICH TWO CARABINEROS AND A WATCHMAN WERE KILLED. PRESS ACCOUNTS ALSO INDICATED THAT THE 40-50 PEOPLE HELD FOR QUESTIONING IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ATTACKS HAVE ALL BEEN RELEASED AND THERE IS NO OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT ANY SUSPECTS HAVE BEEN DETAINED. THERE CONTINUES TO BE LIVELY INTEREST IN THE ORIGIN OF THE LAW WEAPON USED

UNCLASSIFIED

IN THE ATTACK AND THE CONCERN THAT THE TERRORISTS HAD TWO OTHERS WITH THEM.

3. COMMENT: RAMIREZ" AGE (25) AND THE SUSPICION THAT HE MAY HAVE BEEN OUT OF CHILE FOR SOME TIME ILLUSTRATE THE DIFFICULTY THAT THE CHILEAN SECURITY FORCES FACE IN DEALING WITH A NEW GENERATION OF EXTREMISTS OF WHOM THEY HAVE LITTLE OR NO RECORD. THE USE OF THE ANTI-TANK WEAPON REINFORCES THE CONCERN ABOUT FOREIGN TRAINING AND SUPPLIES FOR THE EXTREMISTS.
LANDAU

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03792 252153Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0577

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U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part_____ In Full X
Exemption(s)_____

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ENDERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/25/87 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, EFIN, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: US POSITION ON IFI LOANS TO CHILE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. I HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT A DECISION HAS BEEN REACHED THAT THE US SHOULD ABSTAIN ON UP-COMING IFI LOANS TO CHILE. I BELIEVE THAT THIS DECISION WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH US POLICY, HARMFUL TO IMPROVING BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO OUR INTERESTS ON CAPITOL HILL.

3. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON, WAS TOLD BY VICE PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY HAIG, THAT THE US INTENDED TO TREAT FRIENDLY COUNTRIES AS FRIENDS. AFTER ACCOMPANYING HIM AT THE MEETINGS AND RETURNING ON THE PLANE WITH HIM TO SANTIAGO, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THERE IS NO CREDIBLE WAY TO EXPLAIN HOW SUCH A US VOTE WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HE WAS TOLD OF US POLICY TOWARDS CHILE.

4. THE GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC REACTION HERE TO SUCH A VOTE WOULD BE VERY NEGATIVE BECAUSE OUR ACTION WOULD BE VIEWED AS EITHER A NEW POLICY SHIFT AND THUS EVIDENCE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03792 252153Z

OF UNRELIABILITY OR AS EVIDENCE THAT WE DID NOT MEAN WHAT WAS OUTLINED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS COUNTRY. WE WOULD THUS UNDERCUT OUR INFLUENCE AND ACCESS WITH NO GAIN TO OUR INTERESTS HERE.

5. RATHER THAN SOFTENING CONGRESSIONAL RESISTANCE TO

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THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY INITIATIVES WITH REGARD TO SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES, A DECISION TO ABSTAIN ON IFI LOANDS WOULD MORE LIKELY BE INTERPRETED AS A LACK OF RESOLVE ON THE PART OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND THUS WHET APPETITES ON THE HILL TO IMPOSE MORE OR STIFFER CONDITIONS.

6. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, I STRONGLY URGE THAT YOU SEEK RECONSIDERATION OF THIS DECISION SO THAT THE US CAN VOTE IN FAVOR OF LOANS TO CHILE, WHICH WILL BE APPROVED IN ANY EVENT.
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6/25/81

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DEPT COPY

STROM THURMOND, S.C., CHAIRMAN
[illegible] MATHIAS, JR., MD.
[illegible], NEV.
[illegible]ATCH, UTAH
[illegible], KANS.
[illegible]SIMPSON, WYO.
[illegible], N.C.
CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA
JEREMIAH DENTON, ALA.
ARLEN SPECTER, PA.
JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DEL.
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS.
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HOWARD M. METZENBAUM, OHIO
DENNIS DECONCINI, ARIZ.
PATRICK J. LEAHY, VT.
MAX BAUCUS, MONT.
HOWELL HEFLIN, ALA.
Victor DeVane Lide, Chief Counsel
Quentin Crommelin, Jr., Staff Director

[illegible]91-1732

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 25, 1981

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

The Honorable Alexander Haig
Secretary
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
2201 C Street
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

As you know, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has reported the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981. Senate consideration of this measure is expected following the recess for the observance of Independence Day.

Section 708 of the Act would repeal the current prohibition on providing security assistance to Argentina. While I favor repeal of this prohibition, I am deeply concerned over the consequences of removing the restrictions on security assistance to Argentina without taking similar action with respect to Chile.

I would appreciate your advising me of the Administration's position regarding any amendments that may be offered to remove the restrictions on providing security assistance to Chile. I would also appreciate your office providing me with a report on the progress made by the governments of Argentina and Chile in complying with internationally recognized principles of human rights, the Beagle Channel boundary dispute, the importance of Argentina and Chile to U.S. security, and the controversy surrounding the killing of Orlando Letelier.

Thank you for your kind and prompt attention to this most important matter.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Strom Thurmond

Strom Thurmond

ST/ed

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03786 252059Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-15 CIAE-00 ICA-11
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P R 252011Z JUN 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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C ~~O N F I D E N T~~ I A L SANTIAGO 3786

BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 6/25/91, (LANDAU, G.W.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI, NO
SUBJ: (C) NORWAY T ACCEPT ASYLUM SEEKERS IN SWEDISH EMBASSY RESIDENCE

REF: SANTIAGO 3293 (NOTAL)

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. THE NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR (NILSEN) INFORMED ME IN CONFIDENCE TODAY (25 JUNE) THAT THE TWO ASYLUM SEEKERS PRESENTLY LIVING IN A SWEDISH EMBASSY RESIDENCE WILL LEAVE FOR NORWAY THIS COMING WEEKEND, WITHOUT PUBLICITY. THE COUPLE, CHILEAN SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERS WLADIMIR GIUSEEPE VALDIVIA AND GLORIA PALMA CARRASCO, HAVE BEEN "GUESTS" OF THE SWEDES SINCE APRIL 28; BUT THEIR HOSTS HAVE PROVIDED LITTLE OTHER ASSISTANCE, BELIEVING THAT THE TWO HAD CONSCIOUSLY CHOSEN TO VIOLATE ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT WITH OPPOSITION GROUPS FOR PEOPLE SEEKING
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 03786 252059Z

ASYLUM.

3. NILSEN SAID THAT HE WAS ACTING IN RESPONSE TO AN "INDIRECT" REQUEST FROM THE GOC TO HELP OUT AND THAT HE IN TURN HAD GOTTEN THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON MIGRATION (ICM) TO COMPLETE THE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS

WITH INFORMAL GOVERNMENT CLEARANCE. WHILE THE COUPLE HAS ALREADY BEEN GRANTED PERMANENT RESIDENCY IN NORWAY, THEY APPARENTLY STILL INTEND TO SEEK VISAS FOR EAST GERMANY WHILE IN OSLO. FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST THERE ARE NO OTHER PENDING CASES OF ASYLUM SEEKERS ENSCONCED IN LOCAL EMBASSIES.
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

June 26, 1981

Dear Senator Durenberger:

In response to your letter of June 4, we have again asked our Embassy in Santiago to check on the status of Mr. Jorge Rodriguez Gallegos. Persons sentenced to internal banishment are able to move about freely in the towns to which they are sent and can receive visitors. In the case of Mr. Rodriguez, we are told that he has been visited by members of his family and by Church representatives and that he has received some medical attention.

I hope this information is of assistance to you in responding to your constituent.

Sincerely,

Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Dave Durenberger,
United States Senate.

PDW

Drafted:ARA/SC:PDWhitney/REService:ms
6/23/81 Ext. 22575 812935 (82-1439)

Clearances:ARA/SC:REService
H:JMcBride
ARA/CHP:MNudell

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[redacted] Senate

MK 060a

June 26, 1981

The Honorable Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary
Office of Congressional Relations
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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Dear Mr. Fairbanks:

I have been contacted by several of my constituents regarding the cases of Father Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa of Romania and Luis Martinez Delaport of Chile.

As you may know, Father Dumitreasa is a Romanian Orthodox priest who has been sentenced to ten years in prison. Mr. Delaport was an employee of Codelco in Antofagasta, Chile and was arrested on May 24, 1981. I am interested in the status of these prisoners and the efforts the State Department is making on their behalf. I will then provide my constituents with this information.

If you need further details or have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Bruce Mintz of my staff.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senator

JBJ:bmq

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 03805 261713Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-15	CIAE-00	EB-08
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 580
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, PGOV, CI
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT PINOCHET COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH THE US

1. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM THE PRESS ON JUNE 25, PRESIDENT PINOCHET SAID THAT THE VISIT OF FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS TO THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN A FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT IN US-CHILEAN RELATIONS, SAYING "UP TO NOW WE HAVE A GOOD RAPPROCHEMENT WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE EVEN BETTER". WITH RESPECT TO POSSIBLE LIFTING OR MODIFICATION OF THE KENNEDY AMENDMENT ON MILITARY SALES OR ASSISTANCE TO CHILE, THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS WAS A MATTER WHICH CONCERNED ONLY THE UNITED STATES. IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER QUESTION ABOUT A POSSIBLE TRIP TO THE US HE SAID SIMPLY "I AM NOT MOVING FROM CHILE."

2. COMMENT: AS IS HIS WONT, THE PRESIDENT GAVE SHORT SHIFT TO LEADING QUESTIONS FROM REPORTERS WHO ARE FASCINATED BY THE THOUGHT OF PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL.
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International

International Secretariat, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF, England
Telephone: 01-836 7788 Telegrams: Amnesty London Telex: 28502

EXTERNAL (for general circulation)
Chile Project (#8199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____
DATE: 13/11/81
DISTR: CO

ARGENTINA/CHILE
Date: July 1981

ACTION CIRCULAR FOR TWO CHILEANS WHO "DISAPPEARED" IN ARGENTINA

Amnesty International has received reports of the arrest and subsequent disappearance of two chilean citizens on 19 February 1981 near the Argentine town of Junin de los Andes, in the Province of Neuquen.

According to two eye-witnesses, José Alejandro Campos Cifuentes and Luis Quinchavil Suarez, were arrested by a group of fifteen mounted members of the Argentine Gendarmaria.

The two Chileans, who had both been living in Europe as refugees, were returning clandestinely to Chile. They were travelling with false documents and passports, José Campos in the name of Jorge Fortunato Herrera and Luis Quinchavil in the name of Elias Santibarne Ortiz.

The "disappearance" of the two men has been reported to various international organizations, including the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the U.N. Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. Inquiries have also been made within Argentina but to date there has been no reply from the Argentine authorities nor has any information been published about the case within Argentina.

APPEALS TO:

Sr. Ministro del Interior
General de Division Tomas Horacio Liendo
Casa de Gobierno 50
Buenos Aires C.F.

Sr. Ministro de Defensa Nacional
Contraalmirante (RE) Norberto Couto
Ministerio de Defensa Nacional
Paseo Colon 255
Buenos Aires C.F.

Sr. Interventor de la Provincia
de Neuquen
General de brigada (RE) Domingo Manuel Trimarco

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BONN 13214 01 OF 06 091932Z
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WHITE HOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12065: RDS-1 07/09/2001 (BURNS, ARTHUR F.) OR-M
TAGS: PINT, GE
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR BURNS' CALL ON WILLY BRANDT
-
-
1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY. I CALLED ON WILLY BRANDT, THURSDAY, JULY 9. HE OFFERED SOME INTERESTING AND PERCEPTIVE COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV'S STATUS AND THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT PLANNING TO TAKE ANY IMMEDIATE ACTION IN POLAND (PARAGRAPH 10). ON AFGHANISTAN, THE SOVIETS OUTLINED CONDITIONS FOR A TROOP WITHDRAWAL, WHICH BRANDT INTERPRETED AS SIGNS OF A SOFTENING IN THEIR POSITION (PARAGRAPHS 12 AND 13). ON TNF, BRANDT DESCRIBED WHAT HE CALLED A "SLIGHTLY CHANGED MORATORIUMPROPOSAL" (PARAGRAPH 16). HE EXPRESSED GREAT RETICENCE WHEN I ASKED HIM WHETHER HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT ANYTHING OF REAL SIGNIFICANCE HAD EMERGED IN THE COURSE OF HIS MOSCOW VISIT, BUT HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE STILL TO PROVIDE INTERPRETATIONS THAT THEY PROMISED WITHIN TWO WEEKS. MY OVERALL IMPRESSION OF THE MAN AND HIS POLITICS WAS [redacted]

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3. I TOLD BRANDT I WAS DELIGHTED TO BE IN HIS COUNTRY, AND NOTED THAT I HAD RECENTLY VISITED HIS FAVORITE CITY OF BERLIN: IT REMAINED A BEAUTIFUL PLACE. BRANDT AGREED, BUT SAID THERE WERE PROBLEMS WITH YOUNG PEOPLE AND FOREIGNERS, ESPECIALLY TURKS. INTEGRATION WAS PROVIDING DIFFICULTIES DUE TO TURKISH CULTURE AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD ONE GROUP WAS IN FAVOR OF THE PRESENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND ANOTHER WAS OPPOSED, AND THAT THEY WERE FIGHTING IT OUT ON GERMAN SOIL. TURNING TO THE SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN, I SAID I WAS TERRIBLY DISTURBED OVER EVENTS THERE. WE IN THE U.S. HAD HAD SIMILAR PROBLEMS IN THE LATE 1960'S AND EARLY 1970'S. WE HAD OVERCOME THEM AND HOPED THEY WOULD NOT RETURN. IN SPITE OF THE EXAGGERATIONS OF RHETORIC, WE NOW HAVE SOCIAL EQUALITY. BRANDT AGREED.

4. I EXPLAINED THAT I WAS ABOUT TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON. I HAD BECOME AN AMBASSADOR VERY SUDDENLY. IT WAS NOT THE KIND OF CAREER I HAD ANTICIPATED. I NOW HAD TO PUT MY PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL AFFAIRS IN ORDER AND COMPLETE SOME WRITING. I NOTED THAT MY GOVERNMENT WAS VERY INTERESTED IN A FIRSTHAND REPORT ON BRANDT'S RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW. THERE WERE ALL KINDS OF REPORTS IN THE PRESS, BUT PRESIDENT REAGAN AND SECRETARY HAIG WOULD LIKE THE INFORMATION DIRECTLY FROM BRANDT. IT WOULD GIVE ME PLEASURE TO PASS IT ALONG, WHEN I RETURN TO WASHINGTON. I ADDED THAT IT ALSO GAVE ME PLEASURE TO MEET BRANDT.

[redacted]

I HAD BEEN ONE OF BRANDT'S ADMIRERS OVER THE PAST YEARS. HE HAD PLAYED AN HISTORIC ROLE IN BERLIN. I TOLD HIM HE HAD MANY FRIENDS IN OUR COUNTRY. BRANDT RESPONDED THAT HE WAS VISITED THE U.S. MORE OFTEN THAN THE SOVIET UNION. I ASKED HIM HIS IMPRESSIONS OF MOSCOW ON HIS LAST TRIP. HE SAID HE SAW A GOOD DEAL OF HOUSING CONSTRUCTION. HE HAD SPOKEN WITH THE CITY'S MAYOR: THERE WAS [illegible] POPULATION INCREASE, WHICH WAS NOT [illegible]

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TO THE CONSTANT NEED FOR WORKERS, MARRIAGES WITH PEOPLE FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE, AND THE LIKE. MOSCOW'S POPULATION, BRANDT SAID, HAS NOW REACHED EIGHT MILLION.

5. I TOLD BRANDT I HAD VISITED MOSCOW TWICE, FIRST IN 1963 AS AN EXCHANGE PROFESSOR AND THEN AGAIN IN 1974. BRANDT AND I CHATTED FOR A WHILE ABOUT SOVIET ART AND SCULPTURE, THEN HE TURNED TO HIS IMPRESSIONS OF BREZHNEV.

6. BRANDT SAID HE HAD FOUND BREZHNEV IN SLIGHTLY BETTER PHYSICAL CONDITION THAN DURING HIS 1978 BONN VISIT. BREZHNEV WAS NOW 74. I OBSERVED THAT BY MY STANDARDS HE WAS A YOUNG MAN. BRANDT SAID THAT BREZHNEV STUCK TO HIS PAPERS THIS TIME MORE CLOSELY THAN HE USED TO. AT THEIR FIRST MEETING DURING THE RECENT VISIT, IN THE KREMLIN, BREZHNEV READ FOR ONE HOUR. BRANDT THEN RESPONDED FOR ONE HOUR, FOLLOWING WHICH BREZHNEV IMMEDIATELY

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PAGE 01 BONN 13214 02 OF 06 091934Z
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READ ANOTHER PREPARED TEXT THANKING BRANDT FOR HIS STATEMENT. I ASKED BRANDT HOW BREZHNEV COULD KNOW IN ADVANCE WHAT BRANDT WAS GOING TO SAY. BRANDT REPLIED THAT BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT OF THANKS HAD BEEN PREPARED WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT BRANDT WOULD SAY. RELATIVELY INFORMAL DISCUSSION ONLY BEGAN THE FOLLOWING DAY WITH SOME OF BREZHNEV'S ADVISERS AND COLLEAGUES. SOME EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WAS POSSIBLE THEN.

7. BRANDT SAID HE GAINED THE IMPRESSION AT THE DINNER THE FIRST EVENING THAT BREZHNEV NOW DISLIKED THIS KIND OF OBLIGATION. BRANDT RECALLED THAT BREZHNEV PREVIOUSLY ENJOYED SUCH FUNCTIONS. I AGREED. I RECALLED HAVING SEEN BREZHNEV AT A WASHINGTON DINNER, WHERE HE WAS CLEARLY ENJOYED HIMSELF. BRANDTSAID THAT THIS WAS NO LONGER THE CASE. NOW BREZHNEV ONLY TOOK A SPOON VODKA AND A LITTLE SOUP. TOWARD THE END OF DINNER, BREZHNEV TOOK SOME COFFEE AND MADE A FEW BRIEF REMARKS.

8. BRANDT SAID HE SAW BREZHNEV AGAIN FOR FORTY-FIVE MINUTES ON THE WAY TO THE AIRPORT. THEY TALK [illegible]

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PAGE 02 BONN 13214 02 OF 06 091934Z

A FEW REMARKS ON PC AND ARC FRANCE.

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9. I ASKED WHETHER THAT SUGGESTED TO BRANDT THAT BREZHNEV WAS NO LONGER THE ARCHITECT OF SOVIET POLICY. BRANDT REPLIED, YES AND NO. IN 1974, WHEN HE AND BRANDT HAD SIGNED A TREATY, BREZHNEV ALSO HAD A PREPARED STATEMENT BUT WOULD OCCASIONALLY PARAPHRASE IT. NOW HE JUST READ IT. BRANDT SAID THAT HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT SINCE 1975 OR 1976 AT THE LATEST, A "KIND OF FIRM" WAS FUNCTIONING IN MOSCOW WHICH USED THE NAME BREZHNEV AND PREPARED HIS TEXTS. WE SIMPLY DO NOT KNOW WHAT RESULTS FROM POLITBURO DECISIONS AND WHAT RESULTS FROM BREZHNEV'S PERSONAL APPARATUS.

10. BRANDT SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE THREE "PERIPHERAL OBSERVATIONS:"

-- POLAND: FIRST, HE HAD THE FEELING THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT IN A MOOD TO TAKE ANY IMMEDIATE ACTION VIS-A-VIS POLAND. HOWEVER, THERE WAS A LATENT CRISIS THERE, AND IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INVASION LATER ON. AT THE DINNER, BRANDT HAD ASKED BREZHNEV WHETHER "HIS FRIEND SUSLOV" -- WHO WAS SITTING NEARBY -- WOULD GO TO THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS. THE WAY BREZHNEV AND SUSLOV JOKED IN RESPONSE GAVE BRANDT THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE WERE NO PREPARATIONS *TO INVADE POLAND. ON THE WAY TO THE AIRPORT BRANDT* HAD ASKED BREZHNEV WHETHER HE KNEW KANIA. BREZHNEV RESPONDED, "NO, BUT I KNOW JARUSELSKI AND LIKE HIM." BRANDT RECALLED THAT BREZHNEV HAD KNOWN JARUSELSKI AS DEFENSE MINISTER, A PORTFOLIO WHICH AS PRIME MINISTER [redacted]

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JARUSELSKI CONTINUES TO HOLD.

-- NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES: BRANDT NOTED THAT HE HAD BEEN IN DISAGREEMENT WITH HIS OWN GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF ASKING THE SOVIETS TO PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCES ON NORTH-SOUTH MATTERS. HE BELIEVED A NEGATIVE STANCE WAS OVERHASTY. THE INTERESTS OF THE HUNGARIANS AND BULGARIANS, FOR EXAMPLE, WERE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION. BRANDT BELIEVED THAT THE FUTURE OF TRADE, ENERGY AND THE WORLD MONETARY SYSTEM MUST BE

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OF INTEREST TO THEM. THE RUSSIANS HAD NOT MOVED THAT FAR. SOME EXPERTS HAD, BUT NOT THE LEADERS. AT A MOSCOW CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY THE SOVIET INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (IMEMO) WHICH BRANDT HAD ATTENDED PREVIOUSLY, SOME OF THE SOVIET PARTICIPANTS HAD RAISED INTELLIGENT ISSUES AND HAD AGREED WITH BRANDT'S OBSERVATION THAT "WORLD-BRIDGING PROBLEMS," SUCH AS THE POPULATION EXPLOSION AND THE ENVIRONMENT, WENT BEYOND THE SOCIAL ORDER UNDER WHICH ONE LIVED. BRANDT SAID THAT TO HIS SURPRISE, BREZHNEV HAD RAISED THE NORTH-SOUTH ISSUE. BREZHNEV SAID HE WANTED TO REPEAT THE SOVIET "POSITION OF PRINCIPLE:" THEY DID NOT FEEL RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF COLONIALISM." (BRANDT SAID HE HAD NOT RESPONDED, BUT IF HE HAD, HE WOULD HAVE SAID THIS WAS A QUESTION BETTER LEFT TO HISTORIANS.) APART FROM THAT, BREZHNEV CONTINUED, THE WEST WAS WORKING WITH THE WRONG FIGURES; BREZHNEV WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE AID TO CUBA, VIET NAM AND OTHER COUNTRIES. BUT, BREZHNEV SAID, "WE DON'T EXCLUDE THAT WE WILL FIND A WAY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EFFORTS OF THE MEXICO SUMMIT." BRANDT DREW THE CONCLUSION THAT

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PAGE 01 BONN 13214 03 OF 06 091935Z
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BREZHNEV WOULD NOT PLAN TO GO, BUT WOULD PERHAPS SEND SOME HIGH-LEVEL OBSERVER. THIS WAS AGAINST THE RULES, AND THE MEXICANS WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE. BREZHNEV CRITICIZED "THE NORTH-SOUTH" TERMINOLOGY. BRANDT IN TURN REPLIED THAT HE HAD PROBLEMS WITH IT TOO. THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, DID NOT SUGGEST ANY ALTERNATIVE TERMINOLOGY.

-- AFGHANISTAN: BRANDT SAID THAT BREZHNEV, IN HIS FIRST PRESENTATION, HAD SOME REMARKS ABOUT MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES. BRANDT LISTENED, THEN SAID, "SINCE WE ARE DISCUSSING THAT PART OF THE WORLD, WHAT ABOUT AFGHANISTAN?" BRANDT RECALLED *TO BREZHNEV THE CONTINUING DISPLEASURE WITH SOVIET* ACTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN ON THE PART OF "HIS THIRD WORLD FRIENDS." BREZHNEV RESPONDED RATHER DEFENSIVELY THAT IF THE AMERICANS HAD THOUSANDS OF ADVISERS IN IRAN, NO ONE WOULD THINK ANYTHING WAS WRONG; BUT WHEN THE SOVIETS SENT FORCES INTO AFGHANISTAN, THERE WAS A WORLDWIDE OUTCRY.

11. THE FOLLOWING DAY, BRANDT SAID, HE HAD TALKED WITH [redacted] AGLADIN, WHO WAS "VERY ABLE." BRANDT IDENTIFIED FELA

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BONN 13214 03 OF 06 091935Z

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PEOPLE IN THE "MAFIA" SURROUNDING BAIDMAR.

-- FALIN, THE FORMER SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN BONN.

[redacted]

[redacted]

-- ZAGLADIN, PARTY EXPERT ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS;

-- ARBATOV, THE HEAD OF THE INSTITUTE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA;

-- INOZEMTSOV, HEAD OF THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (IMEMO).

THE FOUR MEMBERS OF BREZHNEV'S "MAFIA," BRANDT SAID, HAD ALL BEEN AT UNIVERSITY TOGETHER AND TOOK THEIR DEGREES THE SAME YEAR.

12. BRANDT HAD ALSO SPOKEN WITH PONOMAREV, ACCOMPANIED BY ZAGLADIN. HE CHARACTERIZED PONOMAREV AS OLD-FASHIONED AND A LONG-TIME POLITBURO CANDIDATE. PONOMAREV MADE THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC REMARKS ON AFGHANISTAN:

-- IF GUARANTEES COULD BE OFFERED AGAINST INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN FROM PAKISTAN AND IRAN, AND IF SECURITY COULD BE ESTABLISHED ALONG THE 2,400-KILOMETER-LONG BORDER, AND IF AFGHANISTAN'S NON-ALIGNED STATUS COULD BE CONFIRMED (BRANDT SAID HE HAD INTERJECTED AT THIS POINT THAT THAT STATUS HAD NEVER CHANGED), THEN THE SOVIETS WOULD "WITH PLEASURE" BE PREPARED TO WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS. BRANDT SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD NOT BEEN WILLING TO DISCUSS THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE AFGHANISTAN GOVERNMENT, AND WERE OBVIOUSLY NOT PREPARED *TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF MILLIONS OF REFUGEES*

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RETURNING WITHOUT BEING PUNISHED. BUT THE SETTLEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE GUARANTEED BY THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES.

13. I ASKED BRANDT IF HE COULD CLARIFY THE WORD "GUARANTEE." HE RESPONDED THAT IT MEANT A TREATY PLUS "PERHAPS SOMETHING ALONG THE TWO BORDERS." HE CONTINUED THAT THIS WAS A DIFFERENT SOVIET APPROACH FROM THAT OF SIX MONTHS AGO. THEY WERE NOT EXCLUDING DISCUSSIONS NOW. SIX MONTHS AGO, BRANDT OBSERVED, THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE SAID,

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"THIS IS OUR BUSINESS; YOU ARE FAR AWAY."
THIS WAS ALSO TRUE OF THE CARRINGTON VISIT.
GROMYKO HAD SAID THAT THE EC PROPOSAL WAS
"NOT REALISTIC," BUT HE HAD NOT TOLD CARRINGTON
TO "GO TO HELL," AND HE INDICATED THEY COULD MEET
IN NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER. BRANDT SAID HE DID NOT
KNOW HOW FAR THE SOVIETS WERE WILLING TO GO, BUT
THEY WERE AWARE THAT THEIR POSITION WAS NOT STRONG.

14. THESE WERE THE PERIPHERAL THINGS, BRANDT SAID. NOW
HE WISHED TO TURN TO SERIOUS THINGS. HE HAD HEARD A GOOD
DEAL OF TALK IN MOSCOW THAT THE SOVIETS WANTED TO
NEGOTIATE, BUT THAT THEY DOUBTED THE UNITED STATES WANTED
TO. IN RESPONSE, BRANDT HAD POINTED TO CHANCELLOR
SCHMIDT'S STATEMENT ON RETURNING FROM THE UNITED STATES
AND TO THE NATO COUNCIL'S ROME STATEMENT. THERE WAS
SOME POLEMIC ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS DURING THE MOSCOW
TALKS, BUT NOT VERY MUCH.

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PAGE 01 BONN 13214 04 OF 06 091937Z
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[redacted] SECTION 04 OF 06 BONN 13214

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15. BRANDT SAID HE ASKED THE SOVIETS, "IF YOU DO NOT LIKE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST PART OF THE DOUBLE DECISION, WHAT ARE YOU PREPARED TO DO?" SUBSEQUENTLY, THE SOVIETS SEEMED TO HAVE HAD A DISCUSSION. THEY HAD SENT AN ADVISOR TO THE GUEST HOUSE TO ASK WHAT BRANDT HAD MEANT BY A "ZERO SOLUTION." BRANDT RESPONDED THAT YHE SOVIETS SHOULD LOOK AGAIN AT THE NATO DOUBLE DECISION AND THE DECISION TAKEN AT THE DECEMBER 1979 SPD BERLIN CONVENTION, WHICH INDICATED PREPAREDNESS TO DEPLOY NATO TNF IF NEGOTIATIONS PROVED UNSATISFACTORY. THE SOVIETS HAD ANOTHER INTERPRETATION, BRANDT SAID. FOR THEM, THE ZERO SOLUTION MUST INCLUDE ALL REPEAT ALL MEDIUM-RANGE WEAPONS IN EUROPE. AT THE FIRST BRANDT-BREZHNEV MEETING, THEY ALREADY INSISTED THAT FBS BE INCLUDED. (IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, BRANDT CLARIFIED "FBS" TO MEAN PRINCIPALLY U.S. AIRCRAFT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.) THE SOVIETS POINTED OUT THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE GERMANS SHOULD KNOW THAT WHEN THE SOVIETS PRESENTED FIGURES, THEY WOULD INCLUDE BRITISH AND FRENCH SYSTEMS, WHATEVER THESE SYSTEMS' STATUS WAS.

16. BRANDT RECALLED THAT IN HIS DINNER SPEECH HE SAID THAT HE WHO WISHES TO PREVENT ARMS MODERNI-

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PAGE 02 BONN 13214 04 OF 06 091937Z

ZATION (NACHRUESTUNG) MUST DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF ARMS DEPLOYMENT TO WHICH THAT MODERNIZATION IS A

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RESPONSE (VORRUESTUNG). IN HIS DINNER REMARKS, BREZHNEV RESPONDED WITH A SLIGHTLY CHANGED MORATORIUM PROPOSAL, OF WHICH BRANDT SAID HE THOUGHT THE UNITED STATES WAS ALREADY AWARE:

-- THE PROPOSAL CONCENTRATED PURELY ON DEPLOYMENT AND DID NOT INCLUDE PRODUCTION OF TNF WEAPONS OR INFRASTRUCTURE PREPARATION;

-- THE PROPOSAL ALSO STIPULATED THAT SS-20 DEPLOYMENT WOULD STOP "AS SOON AS NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN." THIS WOULD MEAN MORE THAN PERIPHERAL TALKS IN NEW YORK. THE SOVIETS WOULD EXPECT THE AMERICANS TO LET THE SOVIETS KNOW THAT THEY AGREED WITH THE SOVIET CONCEPT. IN OTHER WORDS, BRANDT SAID, IF THE UNITED STATES FOUND THE CONCEPT AGREEABLE, WE WOULD MERELY HAVE TO FIND SOMEONE TO CARRY THE MESSAGE.

17. BRANDT AND HIS COLLEAGUES POSED OTHER QUESTIONS RELATED TO TNF, E.G.,: HOW MANY SS-20'S WOULD BE DISMANTLED; THE NUMBER OF AND PLANS FOR THE SS-4'S AND SS-5'S; HOW MANY SS-20'S WERE TARGETED ON CHINA; WHAT PLANS THE SOVIETS HAD TO CONTINUE THEIR BUILD-UP OF WEAPONS. SUBSEQUENTLY, A RESPONSE ARRIVED. THERE HAD BEEN A POLITBURO MEETING AT WHICH THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MINISTRIES HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED *TO PREPARE A REPLY TO BRANDT'S QUESTION. THE SOVIETS* WOULD LET US KNOW, BRANDT WAS TOLD.

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18. I ASKED BRANDT WHETHER BREZHNEV HAD FURNISHED COPIES OF THE TWO MEMOS HE HAD READ FROM. BRANDT SAID THAT HE HAD NOT. THOSE WERE PAPERS PREPARED FOR BREZHNEV'S DELIVERY.

19 BRANDT WAS ASTONISHED BY THE "FANTASTIC DIFFERENCE" BETWEEN THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FIGURES BREZHNEV CITED AND WESTERN FIGURES. AT BRANDT'S REQUEST, WISCHNEWSKI PRODUCED THE WESTERN FIGURES AND [illegible] THAT "THEY WERE SO FAR FROM EACH OTHER THAT IT

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BE WORTHWHILE TO HAVE NEGOTIATIONS IF ONLY FOR THIS REASON." THE SOVIETS, BRANDT ADDED, HAD A RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE GERMAN DEFENSE MINISTRY'S PUBLICATION ON TNF, AND CLAIMED THAT THE FACTS CONTAINED THEREIN WERE NOT CORRECT.

20. BRANDT SAID THE SOVIETS WERE INTERESTED IN THE FRENCH SITUATION. THEY FELT INSUFFICIENTLY INFORMED AND ASKED HIM FOR HIS VIEWS, SINCE HE "WAS A FRIEND OF MITTERRAND." BRANDT SAID HE RESPONDED FRANKLY THAT MITTERRAND WAS RATHER GAULLIST, BUT THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD FIND HIM A SOLID PARTNER. BRANDT OPINED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE CONCERNED BECAUSE THEY HAD MADE IT CLEAR BEFORE THE ELECTION THAT THEY PREFERRED GISCARD.

21. BRANDT CONFIRMED THAT BREZHNEV WANTED TO COME TO BONN IN NOVEMBER. BRANDT SAID HE ASKED SCHMIDT BEFORE LEAVING FOR MOSCOW, AND THAT THE CHANCELLOR HAD BEEN IN FAVOR OF A BREZHNEV VISIT. THERE WERE A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES OUTSTANDING,

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PAGE 01 BONN 13214 05 OF 06 0920082
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[redacted] SECTION 05 OF 06 BONN 13214

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AND A SCHMIDT-BREZHNEV DISCUSSION WOULD ALSO PROVIDE USEFUL INFORMATION TO SHARE WITH THE ALLIES.

22. BRANDT SAID HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAD TOUGH WORDS IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET ATTACKS ON THE FRG. BRANDT TOLD THE SOVIETS HE APPRECIATED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JUNE 22 AS THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN INVASION OF THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THAT SOME SOVIET ATTACKS ON THE FRG WERE UNACCEPTABLE. AS AN ILLUSTRATION, BRANDT NOTED THAT IN A TELEVISED DISCUSSION WITH A POLISH POLITBURO HARDLINER, THE ALLEGATION HAD BEEN MADE THAT WEST GERMAN "REVANCHISTS" WERE INVOLVED IN POLAND. BRANDT SAID HE ALSO TOLD THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN BONN THAT IT WAS BETTER TO HAVE FACTS THAN ACCUSATIONS.

23. I SAID I FOUND BRANDT'S REMARKS FASCINATING, NOTING THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN HIS GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE *SUBSTANCE OF THE CONVERSATIONS. I ASKED BRANDT IF HE HAD CARRIED AWAY THE IMPRESSION THAT SOME-*THING OF REAL SIGNIFICANCE HAD EMERGED IN THE COURSE OF HIS VISIT.

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PAGE 02 BONN 13214 05 OF 06 0920102

24. BRANDT SAID THAT THAT WAS A DIFFICULT QUESTION.

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IF HE ATTEMPTED TO ANALYZE HIMSELF, HE WOULD HAVE TO ADMIT THAT HE TRIED TO "RUN AWAY" FROM ANSWERING THAT QUESTION. THE SOVIETS HAD SAID THEY WOULD PROVIDE INTERPRETATIONS: THEY STILL HAD TWO WEEKS TO DO THAT. HIS PRESENT FEELING WAS THAT THERE WERE SHADES OF DIFFERING OPINIONS WITHIN THE TOP SOVIET LEADERSHIP "WHICH YOU CAN SMELL," ALTHOUGH AS YET NO PROOF OF THIS EXISTED.

25. COMPARED WITH HIS EARLIER VISITS, BROBSERVED, THE RECEPTION THIS TIME WAS EXTREMELY COOL AND FORMAL. THE FIFTEEN ACCOMPANYING JOURNALISTS WERE PRACTICALLY ISOLATED FROM THE TIME OF THE GROUP'S ARRIVAL MONDAY MORNING UNTIL WEDNESDAY. NORMALLY THE SOVIETS CONTACTED JOURNALISTS: THEY DID NOT DO SO THIS TIME. WHEN THE SOVIETS ASKED BRANDT WHOM HE WISHED TO SEE, HE HAD REPLIED GROMYKO AND FALIN. HE WAS NOT ABLE TO SEE FALIN PRIVATELY, HE MET HIM ONLY AT THE GERMAN EMBASSY RECEPTION WEDNESDAY EVENING.

26. BRANDT WENT ON TO SY THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME CHANGE IN THE CLIMATE AT THAT POINT. THAT NIGHT, THE SOVIET COURIER SAID TO HIM, "THE POLITBURO WILL MEET TOMORROW MORNING. YOU CAN TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT BREZHNEV WILL SEE YOU BEFORE YOU LEAVE." THE COURIER ALSO SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD "COME TO A POSITIVE CONCLUSION" ON BRANDT'S VISIT. IT WAS REMARKABLE, BRANDT OBSERVED, THAT THEY NEEDED A MEETING TO DO SOMETHING AS SIMPLE AS THAT. THEY HAD OBVIOUSLY DECIDED THAT "THE OLD MAN" WOULD COME TO THE AIRPORT. GROMYKO AND PONOMAREV WERE WAITING [redacted]

THERE.

27. SUSLOV ALSO PARTICIPATED AT THE DINNER, BUT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE TALKS. HE WAS FRIENDLY. ALTHOUGH HE IS OLDER THAN BREZHNEV, HE LOOKED YOUNGER. A HARDLINER IN THE PAST, HE WAS RELAXED ON THIS OCCASION.

28. BRANDT SAID HE WAS ALMOST SURE THAT THERE WAS A LINE OF THINKING WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP

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TO THE EFFECT THAT "WHATEVER THE SOVIETS DO, CRUISE MISSILES AND PERSHING II WILL BE DEPLOYED. THEREFORE, THE SOVIETS HAD BETTER START PREPARING THEIR RESPONSE." PERHAPS, BRANDT SPECULATED, THERE WERE ALSO THOSE WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WHO WOULD NOT AGREE WITH THIS LINE, AND WHO STILL EXPECTED SOMETHING POSITIVE FROM NEGOTIATIONS. BREZHNEV SAID THAT IF THE UNITED STATES THOUGHT IT COULD FORCE THE SOVIETS INTO SUBMISSION BY FURTHER ARMING, IT WOULD FAIL. BREZHNEV TRACED IS CONNECTION HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE EXPLOSION OF THE FIRST NUCLEAR BOMB.

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29. BRANDT EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT ACCEPT THE THESIS THAT, AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, TECHNOLOGY MIGHT DRIVE POLICY. THEY GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT EVERYTHING WAS THE RESULT OF POLICY DECISIONS -- WHICH, BRANDT SAID, HE DID NOT BELIEVE. TO ILLUSTRATE, BRANDT SAID HE DOUBTED THAT THE LEADERSHIP KNEW TEN YEARS AGO WHAT THE SS-20 WOULD

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PAGE 01 BONN 13214 06 OF 06 091942Z
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[redacted] SECTION 06 OF 06 BONN 13214

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MEAN, "BUT THEIR GENERALS KNEW."

30. AS AN ASIDE, BRANDT SAID HE HAD SEEN IN THE NEWS THAT HIS FRIEND HORST EHMKE WAS IN WASHINGTON. BRANDT SAID THERE WERE REPORTS THAT HE HAD ASKED EHMKE TO TRANSMIT INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESULTS OF HIS VISIT. THIS WAS "A MISUNDERSTANDING." BRANDT AND EHMKE HAD HAD A VERY SHORT CONVERSATION, BEFORE BRANDT HAD PRODUCED A WRITTEN REPORT. HOWEVER, BRANDT ADDED, HE HAD GIVEN EHMKE SOME OF HIS GENERAL IMPRESSIONS.

31. I EXPRESSED MY GRATITUDE TO BRANDT FOR HIS THOROUGHNESS AND GREAT CANDOR. BRANDT SAID THAT HE AND HIS STAFF STOOD READY TO SUPPLY FURTHER INFORMATION, "EVEN THE EXACT WORDING." I ASKED WHETHER BRANDT WOULD BE VISITING THE UNITED STATES. BRANDT SAID HE HAD NO SPECIFIC PLANS APART FROM A SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT BEFORE THE B'NAI BRITH IN NEW YORK EARLY IN OCTOBER, WHICH HE WOULD BE COMBINING WITH U.N. NORTH-SOUTH ACTIVITIES. THE GERMANS HAD THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH ISRAEL, BRANDT OBSERVED, AND HE BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE MORE; IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN TOUCH.

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PAGE 02 BONN 13214 06 OF 06 091942Z

32. COMMENT: I FORMED THE IMPRESSION THAT BRANDT WAS

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ENTIRELY FRANK WITH ME AND THAT HE APPROACHED THE SUBJECT OF HIS CONVERSATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION WITH GREAT CARE. THERE WAS A TOUCH OF HUMILITY IN HIS REPORT ON THE CONVERSATIONS. I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT HE SPOKE AS ONE MIGHT EXPECT A FRIEND TO SPEAK. WHEN I ASKED HIM AT THE END OF HIS COMMENTS WHAT HIS CONCLUSIONS WERE ON THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONVERSATIONS, HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS STILL SEARCHING HIS MIND AND WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO GIVE A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE. HE HOPED TO DO SO LATER ON. MY FEELING IS THAT IF BRANDT HAD ACTUALLY FOUND SOMETHING OF OUTSTANDING SIGNIFICANCE, IT WOULD HAVE IMPRESSED ITSELF CLEARLY ON HIS MIND, AND SINCE HE APPARENTLY SPOKE HONESTLY TO ME, HE WOULD HAVE INDICATED AS MUCH TO ME. THERE WAS CERTAINLY NO FLAMBOYANCE ON HIS PART. NOR DID HE GIVE ANY INDICATION OF ATTEMPTING *TO PLAY AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY ROLE. END COMMENT.*
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PAGE 01 MANAGU 03013 01 OF 02 111823Z
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AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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E.O. 12065 GDS 7/10/87 (BRAYSHAW, CHARLES H) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, PINS, OREP (SOLARZ, REP. STEPHEN), NU
SUBJECT: (U) CODEL SOLARZ: MEETING WITH DANIEL ORTEGA

1. (C-ENTIRE EXT).

2. SUMMARY: IN A TWO HOUR MEETING WITH JUNTA COORDINATOR DANIEL ORTEGA, REP. SOLARZ RAISED KEY ISSUES OF U.S.-NICARAGU RELATIONS: MILITARIZATION, NICARAGUA'S TIES TO THE SOVIET UNION, EL SALVADOR AND THE FUTURE OF PLURALIS. AND MILED ECONOMY IN NICARAGUA. ORTEGA SAID GRN IS EXERCISING RIGHT TO ARM AND PROTECT ITSELF AND HAS RESORTED TO CURRENT SUPPLIERS
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PAGE 02 MANAGU 03013 01 OF 02 111823Z

OF ARMS BECAUSE OF NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF WESTERN COUNTRIES.

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HE INSISTED THAT NICARAGUA'S FOREIGN POLICY IS NON-ALIGNED AND DISSEMBLED IN DENYING THAT NICARAGUA HAS SUPPLIED ARMS TO GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR. ORTEGA DEFINED PLURALISM TO MEAN THAT SANDINISTAS CAN CRITICIZE THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS FROM WITHIN BUT THEY MUST ACCEPT THE CHANGE IN THE "ESSENCE OF POWER" THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE. ON MIXED ECONOMY, ORTEGA SAID PRIVATE SECTORS PHTTDING ACK#AND IE THEREFORE RESPONSIBLE FOR EROSION OF BASIS FOR MIXED ECONOMY. HE ALSO SPECULATED THAT U.S. IS INTENTIONALLY PRECIPITATING A RADICALIZATION IN NICARAGUA IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY A TOUGH POLICY GK GUATEMALA AND SALVADOR.
IN RESPONSE TO REP. SOLARZ SUGGESTION THAT THE U.S., CUBA AND NICARAGUA
BVINTLY#PLEDGE TO STOP ARMS SHIPMENTS TO EL SALVADOR AND ACTIVEL COURAGE JRG-FDR BSALOGUE, ORTEGA SHOWED INTEREST BUT WAS NON-COMMITTAL. END SUMMARY.

3. REP. SOLARZ, ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. NOLARZ, MR. FRIEDMAN, AMBASSADOR AND EMBOFFS, MET FOR TWO HOURS ON JULY 7 WITH GRN JUNTA COORDINATOR DANIEL ORTEGA. ORTEGA HAD FOREIGN MINISTER MIRAEB OWJESCOTO AND MINISTRY NORTH
AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR
RITA DELIA CASCO WITH HIM. IN OPENING REKARKS, ORTEGA SAID THAT GRN HOPES THAT THERE
IS BASIS FOR COEXISTENCE BETWEEN U.S. AND
NICARAGUA BUT SAID GRN IS DISTURBED THAT THE GREAT POSSIBILITIES OPENED BY THE CARTER AMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN SUPPLANTED BY THE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WHICH IS SEEKING WAYS TO DESTABILIZE NICARAGUA. REP. SOLARZ REPLIED THAT AS LONG AS THERE IS A FEELING IN WASHINGTON THAT NICARAGUA FEELS OBLIGED TO CONSISTENTLY OPPOSE THE U.S., IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP.
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HE ASKED FOR ORTEGA'S VIEWS ON KEY AREAS OF CONCERN TO THE U.S.

4. EL SALVADOR: ORTEGA SAID GRN BACKS AND SUPPORTS THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR SINCE IT OFFERS THE HOPE OF BRINGING THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL CHANGES THE COUNTRY NEEDS. NICARAGUA WOULD LIKE TO SUPPLY THE SALVADORAN REVOLUTIONARIES WITH ARMS SINCE THEY ARE STRUGGLING FOR A JUST CAUSE, BUT NICARAGUA MUST ACT RESPONSIBLY AND UNDERSTANDS THAT THE BEST WAY TO HELP THE SALVADORAN REVOLUTION IS TO STRENGTHEN THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION -- AND NOT TO

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PROVIDE ANY PRETEXTS FOR U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION ON A GREATER SCALE THAN NOW EXISTS. ORTEGA DENIED THAT NICARAGUA HAS SUPPLIED OR IS SUPPLYING ARMS TO EL SALVADOR. HE ADMITTED THAT NICARAGUAN TERRITORY COULD BE USED TO TRANSSHIP ARMS CONTRARY TO THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY -- AS ALSO HAPPENS IN THE U.

5. REP. SOLARZ ASKED ORTEGA WHAT GRN'S ATTITUDE WOULD BE TOWARD A JOINT PLEDGE BY THE U.S., CUBA, AND NICARAGUA NOT TO SUPPLY ARMS TO EL SALVADOR. ORTEGA SAID THIS SOUNDS LIKE AN EXCELLENT IDEA, BUT SINCE NICARAGUA IS NOT SUPPLYING ARMS, IT WOULD BE UP TO THE U.S TO TAKE ACTION IN STOPPING ITS ARMS SUPPLY TO THE URG. REP. SOLARZ THEN SUGGESTED THAT NICARAGUA -- IN LEAGUE WITH THE U.S., VENEZUELA, CUBA, AND MEXICO -- MIGHT PRESSURE THE TWO MAIN PARTIES IN THE SALVADORAN PROBLEM --THE JRG AND FSR -- TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE THAT THEY WOULD NEVER UNDERTAKE ON THEIR OWN. ORTEGA SAID THAT NICARAGUA WOULD NOT HAVE TO TRY VERY HARD SINCE THE FOR HAS ALREADY SAID IT IS WILLING, BUT NOTED THAT THE U.S. IS NOW OPPOSED TO THIS WHILE ITS MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS STRENGTHENING HARDLINE ELEMENTS IN THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES. REP. SOLARZ SUGGESTED A FORMULA FOR A SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD BEGIN WITH A CEASE FIRE AND LEAD TO ELECTIONS BUT WOULD ALSO PERMIT ENTRY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DRU INTO THE GOVERNMENT. ORTEGA SAID THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF SUCH A FRAMEWORK WOULD BE SECURITY, BUT INDICATED THAT THE GRN WOULD HAVE

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TO CONSIDER THIS IDEA CAREFULLY.

NOTE BY OC/T: MANAGUA 3014/01. *TEXT AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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PAGE 01 MANAGU 03013 02 OF 02 111820Z
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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
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AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSOQUARRY HTS PN
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SECDEF WASHDC
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 MANAGUA 3013

6. TIES WITH SOVIETS: NOTING THAT NO ONE CAN EXPECT NICARAGUA *TO AGREE WITH THE U.S. IN ALL THINGS, REP.SOLARZ ASKED IF GRN* FEELS THAT U.S.-NICARAGUAN TENSIONS ARE SO SEVERE THAT NICARAGUA CANNOT RISK ALIENATING THE SOVIET UNION BY ACTING IN WAYS THAT ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH SOVIET INTERESTS. ORTEGA REPLIED THAT NICARAGUA'S FOREIGN POLICY IS ONE OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND THAT THIS IS THE FACTOR THAT IS MOST TROUBLING TO CERTAIN SECTORS IN THE U.S. AND CENTRAL AMERICA. HE, WITH D'ESCOTO JOINING IN, ASSERTED THAT NICARAGUA'S POSITION ON AFGHANISTAN WAS ACTUALLY MORE CRITICAL OF THE SOVIETS THAN THE UN RESOLUTION, BUT GRN DID NOT WANT TO LEND ITSELF TO LOP-SIDED CONDEMNATIONS OF THE USSR. D'ESCOTO SAID THAT GRN'S VIEWS ON
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PAGE 02 MANAGU 03013 02 OF 02 111820Z

KAMPUCHEA WERE STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY NICARAGUA'S EXPERIENCE WITH PEACEKEEPING FORCES, WHICH HE CALLED REPUGNANT. ASKED IF

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NICARAGUA COULD CONDEMN A SOVIET INVASION OF POLAND, ORTEGA SAID GRN COULD NOT APPLAUD SUCH AN ACTION AND ITS POLICY WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH ITS NON-ALIGNED POSITION.

7. MILITARIZATION: ASKED IF NICARAGUA SAW ANY WAY TO PROTECT ITSELF WITHOUT MASSIVE MILITARY BUILD-UP, ORTEGA SAID GRN DOES NOT WANT TO BE FATALISTIC BUT IT SEES THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REGION CONVULSED BY POPULAR DEMANDS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE AND XBELS PRESSURE FROM GUATEMALAN, SALVADORAN, AND HONDURAN MILITARY. HE SAID GRN DOES NOT WANT AN ARMS RACE BUT IT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE BLOC OF COUNTRIES TO THE NORTH. ORTEGA SAID THAT GRN TRIED TO GET ARMS FROM THE US., SPAIN, THE FRG, AND FRANCE BUT WAS NOT SUCCESSFUL AND CANNOT SIT AROUND AND WAIT. HE SAID THAT THE COUNTRIES THAT GIVE NICARAGUA ARMS GET THEM FROM THE USSR BUT THEY DO NOT COME DIRECTLY. HE ADDED THAT GRN OBJECTIVE IS TO DIVERSIFY SOURCES OF ARMS.

8. PLURALISM, MIXED ECONOMY: REP. SOLARZ ASKED IF PLURALISM MEANS THAT OTHER PARTIES WILL HAVE CHANCE TO CONTEST FOR POWER OR DOES FSLN FEEL THAT INTEGRITY OF THE REVOLUTION REQUIRES SANDINISTAS TO MAINTAIN A MONOPOLY OF POWER. ORTEGA REPLIED THAT U.S. MUST UNDERSTAND THAT REVOLUTION'S VICTORY IN AN ARMED STRUGGLE BROUGHT A CHANGE IN THE ESSENCE F POWER AND ESTABLISHED A POPULAR DEMOCRACY. PLURALISM CAN FUNCTION WITHIN THAT REALITY BUT THERE CAN BE NO CHANGE IN THE ESSENCE OF POPULAR DEMOCRACY. OTHER PARTIES CAN PARTICIPATE IN THE REVOLUTION AND CRITICIZE THE PROESS FROM WITHIN. THE NATURE OF ELECTIONS IN NICARAGUA IS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION AND WILL BE DEALT WITH BY THE COUNCIL OF STATE. REP. SOLARZ SAID THAT SAME WORDS HAVE DIFFERENT MEANINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE, NOTING THAT SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CALL THEMSELVES "POPULAR

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DEMOCRACIES" WHILE WESTERN EUROPEANS LAUGH AT SUCH PRETENSIONS HE ASKED ORTEGA IF HE THOUGHT CUBA OR MEXICO WERE PLURALISTIC SOCIETIES. PAUSING, AND LOWERING HIS VOICE, ORTEGA SAID THAT PLURALISM DOES NOT EXIST IN CUBA. RETURNING TO HIS NORMAL TONE ORTEGA SAID THAT TMSRE ARE MORE EXPRESSIONS OF PLURALISM IN ME

9. ORTEGA STATE THAT THE U.S. HAS A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MANNER IN WHICH THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IS DEVELOPING I NICARAGUA. HE SAID THAT THE U.S. IS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO T FORCES THAT OPPOSE THE REVOLUTION AND ENCOURAGES THEM NOT TO ACCEPT THE FUNDAMEHVAL CHANGES IN SOCIETY. THESE GROUPS ARE

NOT HAPPY WITH THE LOSS OF THE POSITIONS THEY HAD UNDER SOMOZA AND THEY ARE REACTING NOW BY DECAPITALIZING AND DESTABILIZING. ORTEGA SAID THAT SANDINISTAS KNOW THE U.S. IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SOVIET PRESENCE, TANKS, AND PLANES, BUT IT IS NOT REACTING IN THE CORRECT MANNER. INDEED, U.S. ACTIONS LEAD THE SANDINISTA *TO BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. WANTS THE PROCESS TO RADICALIZE AND* MOVE TO THE SOCIALIST CAMP SO THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE JUSTIFICATION FOR TAKING A TOUGH STAND IN SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA.

10. ORTEGA SAID THE FSLN WANTS TO RETAIN THE PRIVATE SECTOR SINCE IT CANNOT ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL OF THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR PERFORMS. THE RELUCTANCE OF SOME POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECTORS, HOWEVER, TO SETTLE DOWN AND PRODUCE COULD LEAD TO A CONFRONTATION AND CRUSHING OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. ASKED BY REP. SOLARZ IF THE FSLN IS MARXIST, ORTEGA REPLIED THAT IT IS "ANTI-IMPERIALIST," IDENTIFIED WITH THE POPULARISTS AND THE HISTORICAL DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE. HE SAID THAT SOME PEOPLE IN THE FSLN WANT TO PUT A LABEL ON THE MOVEMENT, BUT

ZTYN#WANTS TO BE OPEN TO UNIVERSAL
THOUGHT.

11. DESIRE FOR DIALOGUE WITH U.S. ORTEGA SAID THAT THE
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GRN WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN ABLE *TO BEGIN A HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S. SINCE THE* REAGAN ADMINISTRATION TOOK OFFICE. HE RECOUNTED THEIR FRUSTRATION AT NOT OBTAINING AN APPOINTMENT FOR D'ESCOTO *TO MEET WITH SECRETARY HAIG. REP. SOLARZ SAID THAT AS ONE* MEMBER OF CONGRESS HE WOULD DO ALL WITHIN HIS POWER TO ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND NICARAGUA. PEZZULLO

NOTE BY OC/T: MANAGUA 3013/02. #TEXT AS RECEIVED PARA 10, LAST LINE OF TEXT. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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PAGE 01 STATE 191864
ORIGIN IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	NSCE-00	ARA-16
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FOR DAS NICHOLAS PLATT

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/21/87 (LEVITSKY, MELVYN)

TAGS: UNHRC, SHUM

SUBJECT: UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: FINAL
- REPORT ON THE THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION

- FOLLOWING IS COPY OF USDEL'S WRAP-UP ON UNHRC'S ACTIONS OF SPECIAL INTEREST, AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH FROM WRAP-UP CABLE SUMMARIZING USDEL'S IMPRESSIONS:

---------- FOLLOWING

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise_X_ Deny____
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Exemption(s) Rac

1 1 2

F. HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE -- THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE HAS BEEN CONSIDERED AT EACH SESSION OF THE COMMISSION SINCE 1974. IT CENTERED THIS TIME ON A DRAFT RESOLUTION COSPONSORED ONCE AGAIN BY THE LEADING ACTIVISTS ON THE ISSUE, ALGERIA, CUBA, MEXICO, AND YUGOSLAVIA. IN WEO CONSULTATIONS, USDEL MADE CLEAR ITS VIEWPOINT THAT THE UNEQUAL TREATMENT WHICH HAD BEEN METED OUT TO CHILE BY THE COMMISSION SINCE 1975 SHOULD END, AND THAT THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR SHOULD NOT BE RENEWED. THIS VIEWPOINT FOUND SOME SYMPATHY WITHIN THE GROUP, PARTICULARLY ON THE PART OF THE FRG AND FRANCE. A FURTHER USDEL ARGUMENT THAT THE CHILE CASE HENCEFORTH BE PURSUED UNDER THE CONFIDENTIAL 1503 PROCEDURES DID NOT, HOWEVER, FIND ANY SUPPORT IN THEGROUP. IN THE VOTING ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, THE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 06 STATE 191864

UNITED STATES SIGNALED ITS CHANGE IN POLICY BY, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE CHILE ISSUE HAD BEEN CONSIDERED IN THE COMMISSION OR IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, VOTING AGAINST. THE TREND IN THE COMMISSION TOWARDS A MORE MODERATE STAND ON CHILE WAS REFLECTED IN THE FACT THAT IN ADDITION TO THE FOUR NEGATIVE VOTES, THERE WERE 17 ABSTENTIONS SO THAT ONLY A BARE MAJORITY OF THE COMMISSION VOTED IN FAVOR. HOWEVER, MUCH WEO SUPPORT FOR THE RESOLUTION WAS LOST IN REACTION TO THE NARROW DEFEAT OF A SERIES OF FRG AMENDMENTS DESIGNED TO BRING THE PROPOSAL IN LINE WITH THE MORE MODERATE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND TO ELIMINATE

THE SPECIAL "CHILE ITEM" FROM THE COMMISSION'S AGENDA.

UNDER A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM, ;HE COMMISSION APPROVED AND SENT TO ECOSOC A PROPOSAL TO REPLACE THE CHILE TRUST FUND BY A UN VOLUNTARY FUND FOR VICTIMS OF TORTURE. THE NEW FUND WOULD NOT BE COUNTRY-SPECIFIC. APPROVAL OF THE NEW FUND CAME AFTER THE COMMISSION DEFEATED A SERIES OF SOVIET AMENDMENTS DESIGNED TO GUT THE PROPOSAL AND/OR POSTPONEACTIONINDEFINITELY.

Case Number: [illegible]9900006

6. THE FOREGOING SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS REACHED WITH RESPECT TO THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS ON THE AGENDA OF THE 37TH SESSION OF THE COMMISSION FEATURESANUMBEROF SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN LINE WITH UNITESTATES OBJECTIVES. IN A NUMBER OF CASES, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION WAS IN A MINORITY POSITION, EXTENDING IN THREE CASES TO ISOLATION. MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE TALLY SHEET OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AND VOTES RECORDED MUST BE THE IMPRESSION MADE BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION SPEAKING FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. OUR DAILY CONTACTS WITH THE WEO DELEGATIONS AND LESS SYSTEMATIZED CONTACTS WITH DELEGATIONS OF OTHER REGIONS ASSURED KNOWLEDGE OF AND, WE BELIEVE, A GROWING UNDER-STANDING OF OUR NEW APPROACHES AND THE NEW POINTS OF EMPHASIS. THE USDEL HAD THE PRINCIPAL TASK OF CONTINUING THE TRADITIONAL U.S. EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WHILE EXECUTING SMOOTHLY A NEW ADMINISTRATION'S UNIQUE SENSE OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS. THE CHANGE IN STRATEGIC FOCUS BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION CONSISTED IN ADVOCATING THREE MAIN SUBSTANTIVE POINTS: (1) NO MORE DOUBLE STANDARDS IN THE COMMISSION; (2) HUMAN RIGHTS EXIST IN MEDIATING INSTITUTIONS OF DUE PROCESS AND IN CONSTITU-
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 13 STATE 191864

ENCIES COMMITTED TO MODERATION AND LAW IN MAKING SUCH INSTITUTIONS WORK; AND (3) THE SPECIAL THREAT TO HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS POSED BY THE NEW INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. WITH RESPECT TO VOTING PATTERNS, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION MAINTAINED OVERALL CONSISTENCY WITH PAST U.S. POSITIONS; THE MOST STRIKING DIFFERENCES OCCURRED IN CHANGED STRATEGY AND TACTICS FOR IMPROVING

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA.
UNQTE. CLARK

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FAIM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 24, 1981

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dear Senator Johnston:

Thank you for your letter of June 26 on behalf of several of your constituents concerning the treatment of Father Gheorghe Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox priest serving a prison sentence in Romania, and Luis Martinez Delaport of Chile.

We do not as yet have any information on the case of Luis Martinez Delaport. We are checking with our embassy in Santiago, and will keep you informed of any developments.

Sincerely,

Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

The Honorable
J. Bennett Johnston,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

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DRAFTED:HA/HR:HSimon:fdg :HA/RR:RErgenson
7-21-81
Ext. 22550

CONCURRENCES:HA:TTull
EUR/AE:RBeck
H:CWilliams

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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

3618 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94118 (415 563-3733)
International Secretariat, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF England

URGENT ACTION

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

July 28, 1981

New information on the Chilean Trade Unionists appeal which was sent to you on July 16, 1981.

On July 7, 1981, 10 members of the Executive Committee of the Coordinadora Nacional Sindical were arrested in Santiago. AI has now learned that eight of those have now been freed on bail. The other two, Manuel Bustos and Almiro Guzman, are still in prison. Please continue your appeals on behalf of these two unionists.

Letters and telegrams expressing concern at their arrest and requesting their immediate and unconditional release could be sent to:

Sr. Sergio Fernandez Fernandez
Ministro del Interior
Edificio Diego Portales
Santiago Chile

and

Sr. Miguel Kast Rist
Ministro de Trabajo y
Previsión Social
Huerfanos 1273
Santiago Chile

done - 3 letters

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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amnesty international

U.S.A. GROUP 30

ARGENTINE DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGE OR TRIAL

Sr. Pascual Angel REYES is an Argentinian worker who has been imprisoned in Buenos Aires Province since 1974 but was never charged with a specific crime. He was arrested in July 1974 at his parents' home by a group of armed men in civilian clothes who took him to the Buenos Aires Police Headquarters, where he was severely beaten.

Sr. Reyes was a worker who specialized in plumbing and upholstery. He had joined the Mechanics' Union in 1971 but was never active. There is no evidence to suggest that Sr. Reyes was ever engaged in direct political activities; he claims to be a member of the Peronist Party but has held no offices and has not participated in any activities. Indeed, at age 26 (as of January 1981), he has never voted.

Sr. Reyes is detained under Article 23 of the Argentinian Constitution. Argentinian jurists have always argued that administrative detention under Article 23 was envisaged as a temporary measure, but since the military coup d'état in March 1976 and the subsequent state of siege, prisoners so held have faced lengthy and indefinite periods of confinement. Many of the prisoners held under this P.E.N. (Spanish-language acronym for "National Executive Power") have not been informed of the reason for their arrest, nor have they been asked to make a formal statement; Sr. Reyes has been held without charge or trial.

Prisoners held under P.E.N. are allowed to opt for exile rather than face lengthy imprisonment under Article 23. This right of option ("derecho de opción") was suspended in 1976 but was reintroduced in a restricted form on September 1, 1977, subject to the government's approval. Sr. Reyes was offered this right of option, but it was withdrawn from him after he tried to exercise it.

Amnesty International considers Pascual Angel Reyes to be a prisoner of conscience who is imprisoned as a result of his political beliefs, and it urges that Sr. Reyes, and all others similarly situated, should be released.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is an independent, non-partisan, non-violent organization which has consultative status with the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the Organization of American States and the Organization of African Unity. It endeavors to ensure the right for everyone to hold and express his beliefs.

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ACTION MEMORANDUM

NOFORN

July 30, 1981

TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: P - Ambassador Stoessel

FROM: NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes NAV(ac)

SUBJECT: Plan of Action for the Lebanese-Israeli Situation

ISSUE FOR DECISION

Whether to approve the attached plan of action for dealing with the Lebanese-Israeli situation, building on the present ceasefire achieved through the Habib Mission.

DISCUSSION

Earlier this week you asked for a matrix--a plan--to follow up on the achievements of the Habib Mission. The ceasefire is of course fragile and will not last unless other conditions are changed significantly. The attached plan of action outlines a conceptual approach to change these conditions and briefly describes specific steps. It reflects Habib's views and was prepared by Morrie Draper in close consultations with him.

Meanwhile, we have already taken steps to reinforce the ceasefire and to forestall negative Security Council actions. You talked to the Mexican Foreign Minister. Habib today, July 30, has had extensive discussions in New York with Waldheim, the Lebanese Foreign Minister, Prince Saud, and the Permanent Representatives of the UK, France, Niger, Spain, and Japan. Further instructions have gone to Beirut and Jidda aimed at circumventing the Arab group's desire to have another debate on Lebanon and on Israeli actions. Draper talked to the French Embassy Counselor today. You will be talking to Cheysson in Cancun about follow-up steps.

They will join more w/UNIFIL - if asked & after others agree to strengthen it.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you authorize me to proceed with the carrying out of the attached plan, subject to adjustments as developments warrant, and in close cooperation with USUN, IO, other interested offices, and the NSC.

Approve OK per my memo attached Disapprove _____

Attachment:
Plan of Action

OK per my memo attached

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NSC 3.4 7/30/81

Drafted:NEA:MDraperlcf
7/30/81:x29464

Clearance:IO:MLevitsky

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Date Printed: 09/27/1996 DOC NUMBER: 81USUNN02523 CHANNEL: n/a

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02523 01 OF 03 312356Z
ACTION SS-30

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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
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CARACAS FOR AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK

E.O.12065: RDS-4 7/31/01 (LICHENSTEIN, C.) OR-M
TAGS: PORG, US, XF, LE
SUBJECT: LEBANON: HABIB'S MEETINGS IN NEW YORK

1. [redacted] ~~ENTIRE TEXT~~).

[redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 02523 01 OF 03 312356Z

2. AMB. HABIB SPENT FRUITFUL DAY IN NEW YORK JULY 30, MEETING WITH WESTERN PERMRPTS, SC PRESIDENT (NIGER), LEBANESE AND SAUDI FONMINS AND WALDHEIM.

3. HABIB HAD MEETING FIRST WITH UK AMB. PARSONS AND FRENCH CHARGE, BRIEFING THEM ON HIS MISSION AND SUMMARIZING FOR THEM HIS VIEW OF NEXT STEPS WHICH, HE EMPHASIZED, SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED ON (A) HOW TO MAKE THE CEASEFIRE WORK (E.G.,

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EXPANDED UNIFIL PRESENCE, PERHAPS MORE FRENCH INVOLVEMENT) AND (B) HOW TO BUILD ON IT INSIDE AND OUT OF THE UN SYSTEM (E.G., GREATER UNIFIL AND/OR LEBANESE PRESENCE IN TYRE POCKET, BEAUFORT AREA AND THE GAP BETWEEN THE NIGERIAN AND GHANIAN/NIGERIAN BATTALIONS). HABIB PROVIDED LESS CONFIDENTIAL BRIEFING TO SPANISH AND JAPANESE PERMREPS WHO JOINED THE MEETING LATER.

4. OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN HABIB'S ADVICE AS TO THE LEAST DANGEROUS RESOLUTION WE COULD DRAFT IF IT SHOULD BECOME NECESSARY TO PREEMPT A HOSTILE NON-ALIGNED DRAFOLUTION DESTRUCTIVE OF THE CEASEFIRE. UK AMBASSADOR WAS ALSO PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FIND SUFFICIENT POLITICAL TRADE-OFF TO PERSUADE THE PLO TO REMOVE THEMSELVES FROM THEIR MILITARY HEARTLAND ALONG THE TYRE, BEAUFORT, HASBAYYAH LINES, POINTING OUT THAT THE EXISTENCE OF THESE POSITIONS IS IMPORTANT FOR THE PLO LEADERSHIP IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE "ARMED STRUGGLE" REALLY EXISTS.

5. PARSONS ALSO NOTED THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO CONSIDER EXPANSION OF UN PRESENCE ON THE GROUND IN TERMS OF BEEFING UP UNTSO PRESENCE, SINCE DISPATCH OF UNTSO OFFICERS, INCLUDING THOSE SECONDED TO UNIFIL (OGL), IS NOT SUBJECT TO

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02523 01 OF 03 312356Z

RESTRICTIONS CONTAINED IN THE UNIFIL MANDATE.

6. SPANISH AMBASSADOR MADE TWO POINTS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST. FIRST, HE RECALLED THAT AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE, WHICH HE FULLY UNDERSTANDS IS NOT COVERED BY THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT, IS A VIOLATION OF RESOLUTION 490, IN THAT THE OVERFLIGHTS VIOLATE LEBANESE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY -- THIS COULD GIVE US PROBLEMS IN WORKING OUT A PRE-EMPTIVE DRAFT RESOLUTION SHOULD WE HAVE TO DO SO.

7. SECOND, SPANISH AMBASSADOR MADE INSTRUCTIVE AND ACCURATE OBSERVATION THAT THE AFRICANS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN PRE-EMPTION. ACCORDINGLY, THEY EXERT CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON SC'S AFRICAN MEMBERS TO EXPRESS AFRICAN DISTASTE FOR PRE-EMPTION IN ANY AVAILABLE FORM--ISRAELI POLICY PROVIDES AN IDEAL VEHICLE FOR THIS EXPRESSION OF AFRICAN CONCERN.

8. IN HIS MEETING WITH AMB. OUMAROU OF NIGER, HABIB WAS ABLE TO EXPRESS OUR GENUINE GRATITUDE FOR HIS RESPONSIBLE GUIDANCE OF THE COUNCIL'S WORK AND THE HELP WHICH THE SC PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT HAD AFFORDED TO HABIB. OUMAROU WAS OPENLY SYMPATHETIC TO HABIB'S OBSERVATION THAT ANY ACTIVITY IN THE COUNCIL NOW WILL JEOPARDIZE THE FRAGILE CEASEFIRE AND OPEN DOORS FOR THOSE WHO SEEK THE KIND OOLITICAL CONFRONTATI

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WHICH WOULD RENEW THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. SIGNIFICANTLY, OUMAROU EMPHASIZED HIS OWN BELIEF THAT LEBANON MUST PLAY THE PRIMARY ROLE IN DECIDING WHAT THE COUNCIL'S NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE, IMPLYING THAT AS PRESIDENT, HE WOULD NOT ACT UNLESS REQUESTED TO DO SO BY LEBANON.

9. HABIB'S MEETING WITH LEBANON FONMIN BOUTROS WAS REPORTED BY SEPTEL (USUN 2489 NOTAL), AS WAS HIS CONVERSATION WITH PRINCE SAUD (USUN 2497 NOTAL).

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02523 02 OF 03 312358Z
ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7202
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
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EXDIS

10. HABIB, ACCOMPANIED BY AMB. LICHENSTEIN, WAS WALDHEIM'S GUEST FOR LUNCH. URQUHART WAS ALSO PRESENT. IN A WIDE-RANGING TWO-PLUS HOUR DISCUSSION, HABIB REITERATED THE MAJOR THEMES OF HIS EARLIER CONVERSATIONS WITH THE WESTERN PERMREPS AND THE SC PRESIDENT -- THE UNWRITTEN, UNCONDITIONAL, AND GENERALLY-UNDERSTOOD TERMS OF THE CEASEFIRE; ITS FRAGILITY; THE NEED ABOVE ALL TO GIVE IT

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02523 02 OF 03 312358Z

TIME TO TAKE FIRM HOLD, IN A CONTEXT FREE OF EXAGGERATED RHETORIC (IDEALLY, THEREFORE, IN THE ABSENCE OF FORMAL RESUMPTION OF THE SC DEBATE ON BLAME-ASSESSMENT AND THE HARSH ANTI-ISRAEL TEXT OF THE ORIGINAL LEBANESE DRAFT, NOW FURTHER "IMPROVED" BY THE NONALIGNED), CHARGE AND COUNTER-CHARGE; AND THE AVOIDANCE OF PUBLIC DEBATE THAT WOULD, AMONG OTHER RESULTS, UNDERCUT U.S. CREDIBILITY AMONG ARAB NATIONS. SYG AND URQUHART AGREED WITH HABIB IN EVERY DETAIL. THEY THEN EXCHANGED WARM COMPLIMENTS ON US AND UN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SUCCESS ACHIEVED SO FAR --

PARALLEL EFFORTS ON STEP ONE OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE REGION.

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11. URQUHART RAISED THE ISSUE OF "PROVOCATIVE" ISRAELI OVERFLIGHTS AND WONDERED ALOUD IF THERE WERE ANY WAY TO CUT DOWN ON T HABIB RESPONDED (A) BY REITERATING THAT SUCH FLIGHTS WERE IN NO WAY LIMITED BY THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS, BUT THAT (B) HE HAD ALREADY MADE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS TO THE ISRAELIS ON THIS ISSUE, BASING THEM ON THE PROPOSITION THAT AT VERY LEAST THE SITUATION IN LEBANON SHOULD REVERT TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE AND THUS TO A LESS "PROVOCATIVE" LEVEL OF OVERFLIGHTS.

12. THE CONVERSATION THEN TURNED TO NEXT STEPS, AND GOT DOWN TO HARD, PRACTICAL CASES. HABIB REPEATED TO SYG AND URQUHART WHAT HE HAD SAID EARLIER ABOUT EVADING DISCUSSION OF CEASEFIRE PRECONDITIONS BY STRESSING INSTEAD THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH THE CEASEFIRE MIGHT BE BOLSTERED--SOME OF THEM WITHIN UNIFIL'S PRESENT MANDATE. THE DISCUSSION WAS PRECISE AND SPECIFIC AS TO THE UPGRADING OF UN FORCES, THE EXPANSION OF UN AREAS OF INFLUENCE AND/OR CONTROL, THE THINNING OUT OF ISRAELI FORCES (ADVISORY, LIAISON, AND COMBAT) AND ISRAELI HEAVY EQUIPMENT WITHIN THE ENCLAVE,

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THE DRAWING BACK OF PLO ELEMENTS, AND THE EVENTUAL SUBSTITUTION OF GOL PRESENCE FOR UN FORCES. URQUHART RESPONDED WITH TACTICAL JUDGMENTS AS TO POSSIBILITIES AND HARD CASES. SYG BECAME QUITE EVASIVE--FULL AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE, BUT THE PRACTICAL OBSTACLES WERE MANY AND SUBSTANTIAL--AND AT THE SAME TIME VERY CANDID ABOUT THE LIMITS WITHIN WHICH THE SECRETARIAT MUST OPERATE, THE DANGER OF PUSHING THESE LIMITS BY EXPLICIT EXPANSION OF THE MANDATE, AND THE EQUAL DANGER OF OPENING DEBATE ON SUCH EXPANSION, A DEBATE THAT COULD GO OFF ON UNPREDICTABLE, UNPROFITABLE TANGENTS AND CREATE OPPORTUNITIES FOR DELIBERATE "MISCHIEF" BY CERTAIN SC MEMBERS. HABIB DID NOT DISAGREE. HE URGED, HOWEVER, THAT NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY STUDIED AND READILY AGREED TO URQUHART'S SUGGESTION THAT HE, DRAPER AND USUN BEGIN SHARING IDEAS, INFORMATION, AND FUTURE PLANNING AS AN AD HOC "WORKING GROUP."

13. COMMENTBIB'S VISIT WAS UNUSUALLY USEFUL FOR SEVERAL REASONS. THROUGH HIS VARIOUS MEETINGS, WE CAN BE SURE THE WORD WILL GET OUT THAT THE USG IS NOT PLANNING TO CEASE ITS DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, HAVING ACHIEVED THE CEASEFIRE WE HAVE GIVEN CONSIDERABLE IMPETUS TO THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR DETERMINATION TO CONSOLIDATE AND BUILD UPON THE CEASEFIRE. SECOND, BY MEETING WITH SC PRESIDENT (WHO IS NON-ALIGNED, MOSLEM AND AFRICAN), WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT WE TAKE THE COUNCIL SERIOUSLY, WHICH WILL HELP IN FUTURE DEALINGS WITH PRICKLY NON-ALIGNED SC MEMBERS. THIRD, OUR ALLIES WERE

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GRATEFUL TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS TACTICS IN THE COUNCIL AS WELL AS TO DISCUSS THE PRACTICALITIES OF POSSIBLE UNIFIL/UNTSO STEPS IN SOUTH LEBANON. FINALLY, AND MOST IMPORTANT, HABIB WAS IN A UNIQUE POSITION TO ENLIST PRINCE SAUD AND BOUTROS IN A CRITICAL EFFORT TO PERSUADE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT NOT TO PRESS ITS COMPLAINT IN THE COUNCIL. END

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ADP066 [redacted]

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02523 03 OF 03 312359Z
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7203
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02523

EXDIS

COMMENT.

14. BEIRUT 5181 JUST RECEIVED. WE (AND OUR UK COLLEAGUES) ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT SARKIS BELIEVES HE CANNOT GO DIRECTLY TO THE SAUDIS FOR HELP BUT THAT THE USG AND PERHAPS WALDHEIM MIGHT WORK ON THEM. IN OUR VIEW, HABIB DID EXACTLY WHAT WAS APPROPRIATE WITH THE SAUDIS, AND

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02523 03 OF 03 312359Z

ENSURED THAT THE MESSAGE WOULD GET TO FAHD. SAUD HAS NOW LEFT NEW YORK AND THERE IS NO MORE WE CAN DO HERE, NOR DOES WALDHEIM HAVE ANY LEVERAGE. PERHAPS SARKIS IS SIMPLY COVERING HIMSELF AND HE HAS ALREADY PASSED A MESSAGE TO SAUD -- WE KNOW BOUTROS SPOKE TO SAUD JULY 30, BUT WE HAD ASSUMED IT WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS. HOPEFULLY, ON REFLECTION, SARKIS WILL REEVALUATE THE POLITICAL DANGER TO HIM AND HIS GOVERNMENT OF MAKING A DIRECT APPROACH TO THE SAUDIS. WE REALIZE THAT THE 'ID WILL MAKE CONVERSATIONS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE NEXT FOUR DAYS, BUT IF THE LEBANESE ARE UNABLE TO BRING THEMSELVES TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE SAUDIS BEFORE THE END OF THE 'ID, A SC MEETING MID-WEEK SEEMS TO US ALMOST CERTAIN.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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...ment of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/93
...er EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
...reasons cited: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
...w enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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AN: DBIONIS-0313

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06620 0316552
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-15 OIC-02
CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00
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O 0315512 AUG 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5421
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
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[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6620

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E. O. 12065: GDS 8/28/87
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: MORE ON ALLEGATIONS BY POLITICAL PRISONERS THAT THEIR FAMILIES HAVE BEEN THREATENED OR HARMED

REF: (A) SS 6416 (B) SS 6417

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. WHEN EMBOFF VISITED SANTA TECLA PRISON AUGUST 13 HE WAS HANDED A PHOTOCOPY OF TWO TYPED PAGES DESCRIBING HARM OR THREATS THE PRISONERS SAY THEIR FAMILIES HAVE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06620 0316552

SUFFERED. A SUMMARY OF THE THIRTEEN INCIDENTS CITED FOLLOWS.

3. ALL OF THE ALLEGED INCIDENTS VICTIMS HAD VISITED THEIR RELAT SANTA TECLA PRISON. FIVE OF THE DISAPPEARANCES. THEY ARE:

A) THE 9/18/80 DISAPPEARANCE OF PRISONER, ALLEGEDLY EFFECTED BY
B) THE 12/13/80 KIDNAPPING AND BROTHER OF A PRISONER, ALLEGEDL
C) THE 2/10/81 CAPTURE AND DISA OF A PRISONER BY MEMBERS OF THE
D) THE 2/27/81 KIDNAPPING AND D BROTHER OF A PRISONER, ALLEGEDL ARMY.
E) THE 6/22/81 KIDNAPPING AND D FATHER AND TWO BROTHERS OF A PR T.E POLICIA DE HACIENDA.

FOUR MURDERS WERE AMONG THE REP ARE:

A) THE 1/19/81 MURDER BY "SECUR COMMON-LAW WIFE OF A PRISONER.
B) THE 6/12/81 MURDER OF THE DA IMPRISONED CEL (ELECTRIC COMPAN BY MEMBERS OF THE ARMY.
C) THE 7/5/81 MURDER OF THE FAT DEATH SQUADRON.
D) THE 7/19/81 MURDER OF THE FA ALLEGEDLY BY PRO-SOMOZA MERCENA

YET ANOTHER INCIDENT WAS THE 2/ THE HOUSE OF ONE OF THE PRISONE [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06620 0

CASUALTIES.

4. THREE FURTHER INCIDENTS REPO WITHIN OR NEAR THE PRECINCTS OF
A) THE 5/24/81 DETENTION OF THE PRISONER BY THE PRISON GARRISON. STRIPPED OF THEIR IDENTITY DOCU DEATH.
B) THE 6/21/81 DETENTION OF THE BY THE NATIONAL POLICE. THE MAN [redacted]

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WITH DEATH.
C) THE 6/24/81 ABDUCTION AND RAPE OF THE COMMON-LAW WIFE OF A PRISONER BY MEMBERS OF THE POLICIA NACIONAL PRISON GARRISON.

5. WE ARE POUCHING TODAY 9/3 TO ARA/CEN COPY OF THE ENTIRE INFORMATION SHEET THAT WE RECEIVED. IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE ISSUE HERE IS NOT WHETHER THESE EVENTS TOOK PLACE -- EVEN IN TODAY'S CONDITIONS HERE THESE ALLEGATIONS ARE VERIFIABLE -- BUT RATHER WHETHER THESE DISAPPEARANCES, ETC., TOOK PLACE JUST BECAUSE THESE VICTIMS WERE IDENTIFIED AND TARGETTED AFTER THEIR VISITS TO RELATIVES HELD AT SANTA TECLA. IN TODAY'S SITUATION OF VIOLENCE ALMOST ANYONE CAN BE KILLED OR HARMED AT ANY TIME, AND IT SEEMS POSSIBLE TO US THAT SEPARATE REASONS MAY HAVE BEEN BEHIND THE DEATHS AND OTHER PROBLEMS OF THESE PRISONERS' FAMILY MEMBERS.
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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

2010 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94118 (415 563-3733)
International Secretariat, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF England

URGENT ACTION

August 4, 1981 UA 184/81 TORTURE/LEGAL CONCERN

UNCLASSIFIED

CHILE: Juan Ailio Rigoberto Aguilera
Jorge Ulloa Maria Ulloa

On July 13, 1981 unidentified security agents, believed to be members of the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI - Chilean Secret Police), raided the home of Maria Ulloa and her brother Jorge Ulloa in Temuco. Maria Ulloa had been active in various human rights committees in Temuco, including the Comito Proretorno de Exiliados (Committee for the Return of Exiles). Maria and Jorge Ulloa and three Dutch people who were staying with them, as well as Juan Ailio, a Mapuche Indian, and Rigoberto Aguilera, a student, who had been visiting them that afternoon, were all taken away at different times during the day to a place called Coniripe. There they were held in a house until the following day when the Dutch people, Maria and Jorge Ulloa were released. The other two men remained in detention in Coniripe and there has been no news of them since then. The others returned to Temuco but found their house still guarded by the CNI. That evening Maria and Jorge Ulloa and the Dutch people were again taken away, blindfolded and handcuffed, by security agents, this time to Panguipulli in the mountains where they were held in a schoolroom for two days and questioned. On July 16 the three Dutch people were taken back to Temuco and after several days in detention were allowed to leave the country. Maria Ulloa is now reported to be in the women's prison in Temuco and Jorge Ulloa in the men's prison. It is not known how long they were held in Panguipulli or whether they are still being held incommunicado. At the time of their arrest, an intense military operation was being carried out in the mountains near Valdivia in search of guerrilla hideouts. One such camp was reportedly found near Panguipulli. Jorge and Maria Ulloa have reportedly been accused of supplying food to guerrillas.

Amnesty International is concerned that Juan Ailio and Rigoberto Aguilera may be held in incommunicado detention and tortured. According to Transitory Provision 24 of the new Chilean constitution, individuals may be held for up to five days in incommunicado detention and in cases of terrorist activities with serious consequences up to 20 days. Torture usually takes place during this period.

Although it is not yet known whether these people are prisoners of conscience, it is thought that they have been arrested for political reasons and because Maria Ulloa had been active in the defence of human rights.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Telegrams/airmail letters requesting clarification of the whereabouts and legal situation of Juan Ailio and Rigoberto Aguilera and urging that they be humanely treated while in detention. Please also request clarification of the legal situation of Maria and Jorge Ulloa.

APPEALS TO:

Sr. Sergio Fernandez Fernandez
Ministro del Interior
Ministerio del Interior
Edificio Diego Portales
Santiago, Chile

General de Brigada
Ivan Dobud Urqueta
Intendente de las Regiones IX y X
Chile

COPIES TO:

El Mercurio (newspaper)
Compania 1214
Santiago, Chile

Comision Chilona de Derechos Humanos
Casa de Los Derechos Humanos
Alameda Bernardo O'Higgins 1584
Santiago, Chile

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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and to the Chilean Embassy, 1736 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 05966 122212Z
ACTION ARA-16

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 614
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
/USCINCLANT NORVA
USSMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1778
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L BUENOS AIRES 5966

CINCSO FOR INTAFF, CINCLANT FOR POLAD

BRIDGETOWN FOR AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK'S PARTY

EO 12065: GDS 8/12/87 (FRIENDMAN, T.B.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT PINS SHUM CI AR
SUBJECT: EXPULSION OF CHILEANS

REF: SANTIAGO 4720 (NOTAL)

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE CHILEAN EMBASSY ADVISES US THAT THE FOUR EXPELLED CHILEAN, AFTER PASSING THE NIGHT AT A MILITARY FACILITY, HAVE BEEN ADMITTED TO ARGENTINA FOR A STAY OF UP TO FIFTEEN DAYS. OUR SOURCE SAID THAT HE EXPECTED THAT TWO OF THE FOUR WOULD TRAVEL TO VENEZUELA AND TWO TO MEXICO. HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE GOA WOULD NOT GRANT ASYLUM FOR ANY OF THE FOUR. HE EXPRESSED SOME CURIOSITY AT THE NEWS
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 05966 122212Z

REPORT THAT THE FOUR ARRIVED IN ARGENTINA WITHOUT ANY DOCUMENTATION SINCE NONE OF THEM HAS YET APPROACHED THE CHILEAN CONSULATE IN MENDOZA FOR ASSISTANCE IN OBTAINING IDENTITY PAPERS. SHLAUDEMAN

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04845 01 OF 02 172215Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-15	OIC-02	CIAE-00	ICA-11
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 983
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Exemption(s) ____

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: REACTIONS TO EXPULSION OF HEAD OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND 3 OTHERS

REF: SANTIAGO 4720

1. SUMMARY: WHILE THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC REACTION TO THE EXPULSIONS OF AUGUST 11, IT HAS BEEN CONFINED TO THE NEWSPAPERS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TWO SMALL, PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS. THE GOC HAS KEPT A LOW PROFILE SINCE THE EXPULSIONS, MAKING NO NEW PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ARRESTING ONLY ONE DEMONSTRATOR. NONETHELESS, THE FUROR HAS CONTINUED ALMOST UNABATED IN THE LOCAL PRESS WITH A SERIES OF ARTICLES ANNOUNCING THE SOLIDARITY OF VARIOUS CHILEAN AND INTERNATIONAL GROUPS WITH THE EXPELLED FOUR. MORE RECENTLY, EDITORIALS VOICING MUTED CRITICISM OF THE ARBITRARY ACTION OF THE GOC AS WELL AS MILD CALLS FOR INCREASED LIBERALIZATION HAVE BEGUN TO APPEAR, INCLUDING IN THE RESPECTED EL MERCURIO. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE THE AUGUST 11 EXPULSION OF CASTILLO, JEREZ,
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CANTUARIAS AND BRIONES -- ALLEGEDLY FOR VIOLATING THEIR COMMITMENTS TO OBSERVE THE POLITICAL RECESS (REFTEL) -- A NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS HAVE SHOWN THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE FOUR. THE FIRST GROUP TO REQUEST GOVERNMENT SUSPENSION OF THE EXPULSION DECREE (AUGUST 12) WAS, PREDICTABLY ENOUGH, THE CHILEAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, WHOSE PRESIDENT, JAIME CASTILLO, WAS ONE OF THOSE EXPELLED. LATER

THE SAME DAY, FIFTY LAWYERS SUBSCRIBED TO A STATEMENT REQUESTING THAT THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE COLLEGE OF LAWYERS INTERCEDE WITH THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR ON BEHALF OF THE EXPELLED. PROTESTS WERE ALSO VOICED BY THE CNS AND THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.

3. BY AUGUST 13, INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS WERE APPEARING IN LOCAL NEWSPAPERS, WITH OFFERS OF VISAS FOR THE FOUR FROM VENEZUELA, SPAIN AND MEXICO, AS WELL AS OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, HELP FROM LOCAL UN OFFICIALS AND REPORTS OF A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY THE FOUR IN MENDOZA, ARGENTINA, IN WHICH THEY DENIED EVER SIGNING A PLEDGE OR OTHERWISE AGREEING TO ABSTAIN FROM POLITICS. THE US STATEMENT ON THE EXPULSIONS WAS ALSO PUBLISHED ON AUGUST 13 AND ACCOMPANYING STORIES REPORTED THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD INVITED THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO SEE HIM TO GIVE HIM FURTHER EXPLANATIONS FOR THE STEPS TAKEN. ON AUGUST 14, EX-PRESIDENT EDUARDO FREI STRONGLY CRITIZED THE GOVERNMENT ACTION AND EXPRESSED HIS SOLIDARITY WITH THE FOUR EXPELLED POLITICAL LEADERS, COMMENTING THAT "NO MATTER WHAT THEIR IDEAS, NONE OF THEM MERITED THE PENALTY PLACED ON THEM." HE FURTHER NOTED THAT NONE OF THE FOUR WERE EXTREMISTS, NONE HAD COMMITTED ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND NONE OF THEM HAD BEEN BROUGHT BEFORE A TRIBUNAL OF JUSTICE.

4. BY AUGUST 15, EDITORIAL COMMENTS WERE BEGINNING TO
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 04845 01 OF 02 172215Z

APPEAR. LAS ULTIMAS NOTICIAS TOOK THE LINE THAT, WHILE IT DID NOT WANT TO DISCUSS THE LEGALITY OF THE EXPULSIONS, IT WAS A "GREAT PITY" THAT THIS ACTION HAD BEEN TAKEN JUST AFTER THE VISIT OF AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK, WHO HAD LEFT WITH A GOOD IMPRESSION OF CHILE. ON THE SAME DAY, FORTY-EIGHT LEADERS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS DENOUNCED THE EXPULSIONS AS "ARBITRARY ACTS...DESIGNED TO DISTRACT PUBLIC ATTENTION FROM THE PROFOUND MORAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CRISES WHICH AFFLICT THE COUNTRY." THE STATEMENT, WHICH WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A SUPPORTING CABLE FROM MARIANO RUMOR, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION, ALSO CALLED UPON THE GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW THE RETURN OF OTHER EXILED CHILEANS.

5. ALSO, ON AUGUST 15, THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF THE CHRUCH ISSUED A PUBLIC STATEMENT DECLARING THE PENALTY DISPROPORTIONATE TO THE OFFENSE AND LINKING THE CAUSE OF THE EXPELLED WITH THE LARGER ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN CHILE; IN A REFERENCE TO RECENT ATTACKS ON POLICE OFFICERS, THE BISHOPS SAID THAT "THE

COUNTRY DOES NOT WANT VIOLENCE, NEITHER PRIVATE NOR PUBLIC, NEITHER SUBVERSIVE OR REPRESSIVE." THE SAME DAY THERE WERE MESSAGES OF SUPPORT FOR THE FOUR FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE LABOR UNIONS AND FROM LECH WALESA OF POLISH SOLIDARITY.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04845 02 OF 02 172227Z
ACTION ARA-16

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 984
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

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6. INFLUENTIAL AND GENERALLY PRO-GOC EL MERCURIO WEIGHED IN ON AUGUST 16 WITH ITS WIDELY-READ "SEMANA POLITICA," WHICH BEGAN BY CRITICIZING THE EXPULSIONS AS BASED ON DUBIOUS EVIDENCE AND AN ARBITRARY SELECTION FROM THOSE WHO SPOKE UP FOR THE COORDINADORA LEADERS. THE EDITORIAL, WHILE ADMITTING THE CONSIDERABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PINOCHET REGIME, NOTED THE DESIRE OF MANY PEOPLE FOR A "CHIEF OF STATE AND A REGIME LESS TOUGH, MORE ACCOMMODATING OF DIFFERENCES, MORE EXPLANATORY OF ITS DECISIONS." THE PAPER SAW CHILE AS BEING "...IN AN EMERGENCY SITUATION..." IN WHICH IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO REALIZE THAT "...VIOLENCE BRINGS VIOLENCE AND THAT EXTREME SEVERITY WITH ADVERSARIES IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE." THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT "THE REGIME SIMPLY DEFENDS ITSELF, ACCORDING TO ITS OWN METHOD," WHILE WHAT IS NEEDED FOR THE TRANSITION IS A CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT OF "NATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL SOLIDITY."

7. DESPITE THE VERBAL FUROR IN THE PRESS, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE ACCOMPANYING ACTION. THE EMBASSY KNOWS OF ONLY TWO SMALL DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE PAST WEEK, ONE OF LAW STUDENTS IN FRONT OF THE SUPREME COURT AND THE OTHER A CHURCH VIGIL
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04845 02 OF 02 172227Z

ORGANIZED BY YOUNG CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS -- BOTH OF WHICH WERE PEACEFUL. THROUGHOUT THE WEEK, THE GOC ISSUED NO STATEMENTS AND MADE ONLY ONE ARREST (A LAW STUDENT WHO DEMONSTRATED BEFORE THE COURT BUILDING).

8. COMMENT: THERE ARE AMPLE SIGNS THAT THE TOUGH GOVERNMENT LINE HAS DISCOMFITTED MANY GROUPS WHICH GENERALLY SUPPORT THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AS A NECESSARY EVIL. BUT THE TUT-TUTTING OF EL MERCURIO AND THE PRIVATE DOUBTS THAT MAY BE VOICED BY SOME GOVERNMENT INSIDERS ARE NOT LIKELY TO CHANGE THE OUTCOME IN THIS CASE. PRESIDENT PINOCHET AND HIS HARDLINE SUPPORTERS DO NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN SHADES OF OPPOSITION BEHAVIOR BUT PUT SECURITY MATTERS FIRST. BUT THE EXTENSIVE REACTIONS TO THE EXPULSIONS BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE CHILE MAY GIVE THEM PAUSE WHEN THEY CONSIDER TAKING ACTION IN THE NEXT CASE OF DISSENT BEYOND THE NARROW LIMITS THEY ARE PREPARED TO TOLERATE.
LANDAU

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AUG 19 1981

UNCLASSIFIED

Tucson, Ariz 8-17-81

Congressman
Morris Udall
235 Office Bldg
Washington DC 20515

EXCISE
MK0760
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Dear representative:

I am one of your constituents from Pima County that you can help. [redacted] the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

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State Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State P810117-0284
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August 7, 1981

Dear Senator Mathias:

Thank you for your letter of July 30, in which you enclose a photocopy of a letter sent by your constituent, Nancy J. Atkinson, to the Chilean Embassy, concerning the status of the imprisonment of Manuel Almeyda, Pedro Castillo and Patricio Arroyo.

The doctors were charged with illegal political activity by the Government of Chile. Two of them, Manuel Almeyda and Pedro Castillo, were released on July 14 after the Santiago Appellate Court upheld a Valparaiso Judge's ruling because the Government's case "lacked merit." Reportedly, the Chilean Government will appeal to the Supreme Court. The third doctor, Patricio Arroyo, was released on bail but his case continues before the courts.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

The Honorable
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.,
United States Senate.

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 STATE 219543
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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, CI

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY ON HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS

1. AS FOLLOW-UP TO TESTIMONY JULY 21 ON U.S. VOTES IN THE MDBS FOR LOANS TO ARGENTINA, CHILE, PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY, REPRESENTATIVE PATTERSON HAS REQUESTED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND OR RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS. DEPARTMENT REQUESTS EMBASSY'S ASSISTANCE ON URGENT BASIS IN REPLYING TO FOLLOWING REQUEST: WOULD THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE PLEASE SUPPLY THIS COMMITTEE WITH A LIST OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN CHILE SINCE JANUARY 1981 AND THE NUMBER OF ARRESTS ASSOCIATED WITH THOSE INCIDENTS."

2. IF AT ALL POSSIBLE DEPARTMENT REQU'STS LISTING OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS BY AUGUST 20. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ARRESTS ASSOCIATED WITH THOSE INCIDENTS MAY BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN OR DETERMINE. NEVERTHELESS, BEST ESTIMATES FOR PARTICULAR INCIDENTS OR, AT A MINIMUM, A GLOBAL ESTIMATE FOR THE FIRST EIGHT MONTHS WOULD BE HELPFUL. CLARK
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PAGE 02 STATE 219543

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 04883 191908Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-15	CIAE-00	EB-08
	ICA-15	DODE-00	H-01	NSC-05	ARA-16	NSAE-00	COME-00
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P R 191604Z AUG 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 997
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 4883

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, OVIP, CI
SUBJ: PRESIDENT PINOCHET COMMENTS ON VISIT BY AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK AND ON RECENT EXPULSATIONS

1. IN COMMENTS TO LOCAL REPORTERS AT A WORKING BREAKFAST ON AUGUST 18, AND IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT VISIT TO CHILE BY AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK, PRESIDENT PINOCHET COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS: "SHE DID NOT COME TO ASK US ANYTHING, NOT WOULD I HAVE ACCEPTED THAT, BECAUSE CHILE IS NOT A COLONY BUT A SOVEREIGN NATION. WE CONVERSED. I EXPLAINED TO HER FULLY THE PLANS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, WHICH SHE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT. APPARENTLY THEY HAD TOLD HER THAT WE WERE NOT DOING ANYTHING IN THIS AREA. SHE WAS VERY IMPRESSED. SHE ALSO SPOKE WITH MY ASSOCIATES ABOUT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, WITH WHICH SHE WAS FAMILIAR."

2. EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW THE PRESIDENT HAD VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION IN EXPELLING FOUR OPPOSITIONISTS ON AUGUST 11, SAYING THAT "WHILE THERE ARE SOME WHO HAVE SAID THE EXPULSIONS WERE INHUMAN, I REPLY THAT IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE INHUMAN IF THE COMMUNIST RETURNED TO POWER IN CHILE." HE ALSO SAID WITH REFERENCE TO UNSPECIFIED CRITICISM
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 04883 191908Z

OF THE EXPULSIONS FROM OUTSIDE CHILE, "I AM MORE INTERESTED IN HAVING TRANQUILITY WITHIN THE COUNTRY THAN LACK OF TRANQUILITY OUTSIDE."
LANDAU

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05167 031341Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-15	CIAE-00	ICA-11	DODE-00
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	SYE-00	SP-02	SR-04	SPRS-02	/091 W		

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P R 022156Z SEP 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1104
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF//

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 5167

UNCLASSIFIED

BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/2/87 (HARRINGTON, D B) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: ACCUSED MAPU LEADER CARLOS MONTES CISTERNA TO BE EXILED

REF: SANTIAGO 0533

1. SUMMARY: ALLEGED MAPU LEADER CARLOS MONTES CISTERNA SENTENCED TO 541 DAYS OF TEMPORARY EXILE IN COUNTRY OF HIS CHOICE. HE IS CURRENTLY APPEALING CASE WHILE LOCAL ICM REPRESENTATIVE SEEKS ASYLUM VISA FOR HIM IN MEXICO. CASE PARTICULARLY INTERESTING IN VIEW OF SCALED-DOWN CHARGE HE WAS CONVICTED ON AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT METED OUT. END SUMMARY.

2. ON AUGUST 27, CARLOS MONTES CISTERNA, ALLEGED SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PROSCRIBED MAPU, WAS CONVICTED OF ATTENDING A "MEETING IN ORDER TO CONSPIRE AGAINST THE STABILITY OF THE CONSTITUTED GOVERNMENT." HIS ATTORNEY IMMEDIATELY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05167 031341Z

ANNOUNCED HE WOULD APPEAL THE SENTENCE OF "TEMPORARY EXPULSION" FOR 541 DAYS TO A PLACE OF HIS CHOICE. IF THAT APPEAL IS UNSUCCESSFUL, HE INDICATED HE WOULD APPEAL FOR A REDUCTION OF THE SENTENCE EQUIVALENT TO THE TIME SERVED WHILE AWAITING TRIAL (APPROXIMATELY 240 DAYS). THE SANTIAGO COURT OF APPEALS IS EXPECTED TO HEAR THE

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APPEAL EARLY IN THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 7. MEANWHILE, MONTES IS BEING HELD IN PRISON PENDING THE OUTCOME OF HIS APPEAL.

3. THE LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR MIGRATION (ICM) IS SEEKING TO OBTAIN A VISA FOR HIM SHOULD THE APPEAL BE REJECTED. IF HIS APPEALS ARE REJECTED, AS WE EXPECT, THE LOCAL ICM REPRESENTATIVE EXPECTS TO BE ABLE TO GET HIM A VISA. IN FACT, SEVERAL COUNTRIES HAVE EXPRESSED A WILLINGNESS TO GRANT ASYLUM BUT MONTES WANTS TO GO TO MEXICO. THE PROBLEM IS THAT, WHILE MEXICO IS WILLING TO GRANT A VISA, IT MAY TAKE UP TO ONE MONTH AND MEANWHILE MONTES WILL HAVE TO REMAIN IN JAIL UNLESS A TEMPORARY TRANSIT VISA TO SOMEWHERE ELSE CAN BE ARRANGED (ICM IS THINKING IN TERMS OF PERU AT THE MOMENT). PERSONAL OPINION OF ICM REPRESENTATIVE IS THAT MONTES WILL NOT BE ALLOWED BACK IN CHILE AFTER HIS EXILE IS OVER.

4. COMMENT: THE CASE OF CARLOS MONTES HAS SEVERAL INTERESTING FEATURES. FIRST, THERE IS THE SCALING-DOWN OF THE ACCUSATIONS. MONTES WAS ORIGINALLY INDICTED ON JANUARY 20 FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW BY CONSPIRING TO CREATE A CLIMATE OF SUBVERSIVE UNREST. A WEEK LATER, THE INTERIOR MINISTRY REQUESTED AN EXPANSION OF THE CHARGES TO INCLUDE: BREAKING THE POLITICAL BAN; TAKING PART IN CONSPIRATORIAL CLANDESTINE MEETINGS; PROMOTING TERRORIST ACTIONS; DISRUPTING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05167 031341Z

PUBLIC ORDER; AND OTHER UNDISCLOSED CHARGES WHICH CENTERED ON DOCUMENTS, ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN FOUND IN HIS POSSESSION, DETAILING THE SO-CALLED "MARCH PLAN" OF COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, CHRISTIAN LEFTISTS AND MAPU ELEMENTS TO DISRUPT THE CONSTITUTIONAL REGIME BEING ESTABLISHED ON MARCH 11. AFTER ALL THIS, HIS CONVICTION FOR WHAT AMOUNTS TO ATTENDING AN ILLEGAL POLITICAL MEETING SUGGESTS THE EVIDENCE AGAINST HIM WAS NOT VERY STRONG. FURTHER, THE PUNISHMENT, 541 DAYS OF TEMPORARY EXILE TO A COUNTRY OF HIS CHOICE--A PENALTY NOT INVOKED IN RECENT MEMORY--RATHER THAN THE MORE COMMONLY USED CHOICES OF PRISON OR RELEGATION RAISES THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT HE WILL BE ALLOWED TO RETURN, A POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT QUESTION SINCE HIS APPEALS SUGGEST A DESIRE TO REMAIN IN CHILE, A POSSI-BILITY SUPPORTED BY OPINION OF LOCAL ICM REPRESENTATIVE. LANDAU

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Department of State

RELEASED
OUTGOING
TELEGRAM
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 STATE 236278 4119

ORIGIN ARA-16

RELEASE

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 SY-05 HA-06
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APPROVED BY

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TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 236278

E.O. 12065GDS 09/02/87 (JOHNSTONE, L. CRAIG)
TAGS9 SHUM, ME, ES

SUBJ LETTER ON CHURCHWOMEN' S MURDER

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. FOLLOWING ANONYMOUS LETTER WAS RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON DATED JULY 21, 1981:

SENORES DEL CONGRESO DE LOS USA. YO LOS SALUDO CON UN CORDIAL SALUDO Y LES COMUNICO QUE EL ANO PASADO OCURRIO UN HOMICIDIO EN EL SALVADOR FUE EN NOVIEMBRE. YO SALAVORENO NO DIGO MI NOMBRE POR SEGURIDAD PER YO SOY TESTIGO DE EL ASESINATO DE LAS MONJAS Y DE LAS SOCIAL WORK. YO SOY EL UNICO TESTIGO QUE SE QUIEN FUERON Y VIOLARON Y MATARON A SANGRE FRIA A LAS MONJAS Y LAS SOCIAL WORK. NO LES DIGO MI NOMBRE PORQUE ME VAN A MATAR SI LES DIGO MY NOMBRE, QUIERO QUE ME AVISEN SI QUIEREN QUE LES DIGA QUIEN FUERON AVISEN EN LOS PERIODICOS DE MEXICO QUE ME QUIEREN VER EN EL CONSULADO DE USA. NO SOY COMUNISTA. SOY IMPERIALISTA, PERO TAL COMO YO LES DIJE YO SOY EL UNICO TESTIGO QUE VIO LA VERDAD CON LASMONJAS Y LAS SOCIAL WORK
GRACIAS X UNICO TESTIGO DEL HECHO X.

2. EMBASSY SHOULD PLACE AD IN LEADING MEXICO CITY NEWSPAPERS AS REQUESTED IN THE LETTER, ON THE OFF CHANCE THAT THE LETTER IS GENUINE. ADVISE DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR ANY RESPONSES RECEIVED. WHILE WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE CHANCES ARE SLIM THAT ANY RESPONSE WILL BE RECEIVED, WE WISH TO PURSUE EVERY POSSIBLE LEAD IN THIS IMPORTANT CASE. HAIG

Order
Translate please
RJ.

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/92
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

X20275, 17

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RELEASE

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Bob- Translation complicated by fact that the writer appeaks uneducated. The Spanish is fractured so, this is literal...

Gentlemen of the Congress of the USA, I greet you with a cordial greeting and communicate with you that last year a homicide occurred in El Salvador it was in November. I, Salvadoran, do not tell you my name for security but I am a witness of the murder of the nums and the social work (sic). I am the only witness that knows who they were and raped and killed the nuns and the social work in cold blood. I don't tell you my name because they are going to kill me if I tell you my name. I want you to advise me if you want that I tell you who they were. Advertise in the newspapers of Mexico that you want to see me in the Consulate of the USA. I am not a communist I am an imperialist, but as I told you I am the only witness that saw the truth with the nuns and the social work. Thanks X Only witness of the deedX

Department of State RS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 4/21/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ); statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

9/4/81

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Current Class: [redacted]
Current Handling: [redacted]
Document Number: 1981BUENOS06526

Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 06526 01 OF 02 042201Z
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 845
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B1
Declassify: (X) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ (X) Extend as 5 ( ) Downgrade to
Date 5/23/01 Declassify on 5/23/11 Reason 25X6

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 6526

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E.O. 12065: XDS-4 9/4/2001 (FRIEDMAN, T.B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM AR
SUBJECT: REPORTED KIDNAPPINGS

1. [redacted] SUMMARY. TWO LEFT-WING PERONISTS WERE KIDNAPPED IN BUENOS AIRES SEPTEMBER 2 BY A GROUP OF ARMED MEN WHO REPORTEDLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL POLICE. THE FEDERAL POLICE HAVE DENIED PARTICIPATION IN THE REPORTED KIDNAPPINGS AND DECLARED THAT THEY ARE INVESTIGATING IT. THE POLICE ALSO HINTED THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT SOUGHT MAXIMUM POSSIBLE PUBLICITY. IT IS VERY UNLIKELY THAT THIS OPERATION WAS ORDERED BY THE VIOLA GOVERNMENT, WHICH CAN ONLY BE DEEPLY EMBARRASSED BY IT. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) ON SEPTEMBER 2 A GROUP OF MORE THAN TEN ARMED MEN SEIZED FORMER PERONIST DEPUTY JULIO BARBARO AND HIS ASSOCIATE JUAN GALLEGO FROM BARBARO'S OFFICE IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES. OTHERS PRESENT IN THE OFFICE REPORTEDLY CLAIM THAT THE MEN STATED THAT THEY WERE TAKING THE TWO FOR A MEETING WITH COL. ARIAS DUVAL,
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 06526 01 OF 02 042201Z

WHO HEADS THE SECURITY DECTION OF THE ARGENTINE FEDERAL POLICE. SUBSEQUENTLY, RELATIVES WERE UNABLE TMILOCATE

BARBARO AND GALLEGO IN ANY PLACE OF DETENTION. HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS FOR THE TWO MEN WERE FILED SEPTEMBER 3. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS BEGAN TO ALERT THE LOCAL PRESS AND GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY ABOUT THIS REPORTED KIDNAPPING SEPTEMBER 3. MOST OF THE BUENOS AIRES PRESS REPORTED IT AS HEADLINE NEWS SEPTEMBER 4.

3. (U) THE FEDERAL POLICE USSUED TWO COMMUNIQUES SEPTEMBER 3. THE FIRST ANNOUNCED THAT THE POLICE WERE INVESTIGATING THEALLEGED KIDNAPPING. IT ALSO STATED THAT RELATIVES OF THE MEN WHO WERE PRESENT WHEN THE KIDNAPPING TOOK PLACE HEARD THE KIDNAPPERS STATE THAT (1) THERE SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO CONTACT THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR FOR TWO HOURS, (2) THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE CONTACTED LATER, (3) A HABEAS CORPUS SHOULD BE FILED FOR THE TWO MEN. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE POLICE ISSUED ANOTHER, SHORTER

STATEMENT WHICH REITERATED THAT THE POLICE WERE INVESTIGATING, ADDED THAT DECLARATIONS HAD BEEN TAKEN WHICH CONFIRMED THE STATEMENTS MADE BY THE PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE AND ADDED THAT THE BUENOS AIRES PROVINCIAL POLICE WERE COOPERATING IN THE INVESTIGATION.

4. (U) ALSO ON SEPTEMBER 4, THE INTRANSIGENT PERONIST MOVEMENT WHICH BARBARO HELPED FOUND HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE TO PROTEST THE KIDNAPPINGS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, SPOKESMAN FOR THE MIP DENIED THAT THE KIDNAPPERS HAD GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS OF ANY KIND TO THOSE WHO WITNESSED THE SEIZURE, ADDING THAT RELATIVES [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 06526 01 OF 02 042201Z

OF EITHER MAN WERE PRESENT WHEN THEY WERE SEIZED.

5. [redacted] COMMENT: A GENERAL CONSENSUS, WHICH WE SHARE, HAS QUICKLY DEVELOPED HERE THAT THE MEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS KIDNAPPING WERE OPERATING WITHOUT THE CONSENT OR ORDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS ALSO BELIEVE RESPONSIBLE GOA OFFICIALS ARE INNOCENT OF INVOLVEMENT IN THIS MATTER. MOST PROBABLY, THE AUTHORS ARE MEMBERS OF ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE SECURITY SERVICES -- IT IS VIRTUALLY INPOSSIBLE TODAY FOR ANYBODY ELSE TO PUT OVER TEN ARMED MEN WITH WALKIE TALKIES ON THE STREETS OF BUENOS AIRES.

6. [redacted] THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS VERY CLEARLY IMPLIED TO US THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND OTHER HIGH-RANKING GOA AUTHORITIES ARE PERSONALLY SEEKING

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 06526 02 OF 02 042134Z
ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0846
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
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[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 6526

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CLARIFICATION OF THIS CASE. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAVE TOLD US THE POLICE ARE ALSO INVESTIGATING WITH SEEMING VIGOR AND ENTHUSIASM.

7. [redacted] BARBARO WAS THE GUIDING SPIRIT BEHIND THE MIP, WHICH OPPOSES ANY POLITICAL COMPROMISE WITH THE MILITARY AND WANTS A RAPID RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE. UNLIKE OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS HERE, IT ALSO SEEKS TO MAKE HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE DISAPPEARED AN ISSUE. MIP VIRTUALLLY CONSTITUTES THE LEFT WING OF PERONISM -- ITS LEADER IS FORMER SENATOR VICENTE SAADI, AND ONE OF ITS PROMINENT LIGHTS IS FORMER DEPUTY NILDA GARRE, THE WIDOW OF ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT TERRORISTS OF THE 1970'S, ABAL MEDINA.

8. [redacted] C

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[redacted]

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9. [redacted] REPORTEDLY, A MIP DECLARATION WHICH BARBARO HELPED PREPARE WAS PRINTED AND ENDORSED BY THE MONTONEROS IN MEXICO. BARBARO SUBSEQUENTLY DENOUNCED FIRMENICH AND THE MONTONEROS. HOWEVER, THERE IS SOME SPECULATION THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF MIP, COULPLED WITH THIS SEEMING ENDORSEMENT OF THE MONTONEROS, MAY HAVE SERIOUSLY COMPROMISED BARBARO IN THE EYES OF SOME SECURITY SERVICE. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT ANY RESPONSIBLE OFFICIAL WHO WAS LOYAL TO PRESIDENT VIOLA COULD HAVE AUTHORIZED THESE KIDNAPPINGS. MOREOVER, WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CAMILION STILL IN THE UNITED STATES AND GENERAL WALTERS JUST HAVING LEFT ARGENTINA AT THE TIME OF THE SEIZURES, THE AUTHORS OF THIS ACT WOULD SEEM TO HAVE HAD LITTLE CONCERN FOR US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS.

10. [redacted] WHATEVER THE MOTIVATION OF THE MEN WHO ORDERED THE KIDNAPPINGS, THE INEVITABLE RESULT IT TO EMBARRASS PRESIDENT VIOLA UNLESS THIS UNFORTUNATE EVENT IS CLEARED UP IN A SATISFACTORY MANNER. SHLAUDEMAN

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SAN JO 05713 042045Z
ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SS-15 NSC-06 ARA-10 /035 W
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6084
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USINT HAVANA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9202043 FPC/CDR Date: 9-5-96
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
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FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
MR Cases Only:
EO Citations
TS authority to
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SAN JOSE 5713

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/4/87 (SKIL, M) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, OREP (PETRI, THOMAS), CS, NU, CU
SUBJECT: (C) CARAZO TO INVITE FOUR FSLN COMANDANTES TO SAN JOSE FOLLOWING CBI MEETING

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. DURING MEETING SEPTEMBER 3 WITH CODEL PETRI, PRESIDENT CARAZO STRONGLY REITERATED HIS BELIEF THAT "ALL IS NOT RPT NOT LOST" IN NICARAGUA AND THAT IN FACT THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE "BALANCING FORCES," ESPECIALLY MSGR. OBANDO AND LA PRENSA, HAD ACTUALLY INCREASED OVER THE LAST SIX MONTHS. CONTINUED CONTACT AND PERSUASION, HE INSISTED, REMAINED THE ONLY USEFUL COURSE.

3. AS AN EXAMPLE OF HIS OWN EFFORTS WITH REGARD TO NICARAGUA, CARAZO NOTED THAT HE WAS INVITING "FOUR OF THE SANDINISTA COMANDANTES, INCLUDING THE MOST AGRESSIVE OF THEM

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PAGE 02 SAN JO 05713 042045Z

ALL -- BAYARDO ARCE" TO MEET WITH HIM IN SAN JOSE, ON

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SEPTEMBER 9, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE MEETING. WHY? "I WANT TO TELL THEM ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED ON MONDAY AND TUESDAY BEFORE FIDEL HAS A CHANCE" TO GIVE THEM HIS VERSION. MCNEIL

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 06538 081658Z
ACTION MCT-02

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
ARA-16 NSAE-00 SY-05 PM-09 /063 W
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R 081602Z SEP 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0852
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USCINCLANT/NORVA

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 6538

[redacted]

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

EO 12065: RDS-2 9/08/01 (FRIEDMAN, T.B.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, PINS, AR
SUBJECT: [redacted] CONCERN ABOUT TERRORIST THREAT

1. [redacted] THERE HAS BEEN A STIRRING OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE POSSIBLE REAPPEARANCE IN ARGENTINA OF TERRORISTS. ON SEPTEMBER 6 A LOCALLY-RESPECTED, LEADING NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST REPORTED THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF MONTONEROS HAVE MANAGED TO RE-INFILTRATE THE COUNTRY. THE COLUMNIST LINKED THIS INFORMATION WITH THE STORY THAT 400 TERRORISTS HAD ENTERED CHILE RECENTLY, "ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL ARGENTINE ESTIMATES." THE COLUMNIST ALSO WOVE INTO HIS COLUMN PRESS REPORTS THAT ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 4 THE AUDIO PORTION OF A TV PROGRAM IN SOME WORKING CLASS BUENOS AIRES NEIGHBORHOODS WAS BRIEFLY INTERRUPTED BY A CLANDESTINE BROADCAST OF PERONIST SONGS AND SLOGANS. IN THE PAST SUCH CLANDESTINE BROADCASTS WERE CARRIED OUT BY MONTONEROS.

2. [redacted] COMMENT: WE ARE SKEPTICAL OF

[redacted]

THE REPORTS OF RENEWED MONTONERO ACTIVITY. ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES HAVE REPEATEDLY OVER THE LAST YEAR

ASSERTED TO US THAT THE TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED FROM ARGENTINA. AS RECENTLY AS LAST AUGUST, BOTH ARMY INTELLIGENCE AND THE PRESIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIDE) REPORTED THAT THOSE REMNANTS OF TERRORISTS WHO EXISTED IN ARGENTINA IN EARLY 1980 HAD BEEN DETECTED AND NEUTRALIZED. THERE IS NO RELAIBLE INFORMATION TO CONTRADICT THESE AIONS.

3. [redacted] THE ORIGINS OF THE CLANDESTINE RADIO BROADCASTS, AS WELL AS MONTONERO WALL PAINTINGS WHICH AN EMBOFF SAW ON A VISIT TO MENDOZA, MAY WELL BE TRACED TO THE SECURITY FORCES. THE MOST BENIGN INTERPRETATION IS THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES ARE DESIGNED TO HELP THE GOA FEND OFF THE RISING DEMANDS FOR AN END TO THE STATE OF SEIGE BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE SECURITY THREAT STILL EXISTS. ANOTHER EXPLANATION FOR THE RAISING OF THE TERRORIST SPECTER IS THAT ELEMENTS IN THE SECURITY FORCES, ACTING ON THEIR OWN, ARE TRYING TO IMPEDE THE POLITICAL OPENING NOW BEING NEGOTIATED BY PRESIDENT VIOLA. SHLAUDEMAN

[redacted]

SEP 15 19

EA111A

[ ] 9th of September, 1981. B6

Representative Harold E Ford,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C. 20515,
U.S.A.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Dear Friend,

Dagmar Hagelin, a 17 year old girl of dual Argentine/Swedish nationality, was seized on the morning of 27 January 1977 in the Buenos Aires suburb of El Palomar by a regular security force and taken to the prison camp at the Naval Engineering School in Buenos Aires. Those who are responsible for imprisoning Dagmar Hagelin and for her later fate are known to the Argentine government.

I urgently appeal to You to do everything within Your power to establish the whereabouts of Dagmar Hagelin.

Youre respectfully,

Lars Jönsson,

[ ] B6

Current Class: UNCLASSIFIED
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1981BUENOS06693

Page: 1
Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 06693 141911Z
ACTION HCRE-00

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 H-01 VOE-00 /002 W
----------174116 150354Z /17
R 141800Z SEP 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0935
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 6693

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CGEN, SHUM, AR, PA
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE:
PARAGUAYANS ANTONIO MAIDANA AND EMILIO ROA

H PASS: THE HONORABLE HOWARD M. METZENBAUM
U.S. SENATOR

DEAR SENATOR METZENBAUM:

I AM WRITING IN RESPONSE TO YOUR LETTER OF AUG 25, 1981 CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF PARAGUAYANS ANTONIO MAIDANA AND EMILIO ROA. THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN AWARE OF THE REPORT OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THESE MEN FROM BUENOS AIRES FOR SOME TIME. THE ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES HAVE DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGEHJNSTHE CIRCUMSNTANCES SURROUNDING THEIR REPORTED DISAPPEARANCE ON AUG 27, 1980 FROM BUENOS AIRES. AS YOU KNOW BOTH WERE LEADERS OF THE PARAGUAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY. WHILE ROA WAS REPORTEDLY A LONG-TIME RESIDENT OF ARGENTINA, MAIDANA --IT WAS REPORTED AT THE TIME -- HAD ENTERED ARGENTINA WITH FALSE DOCUMENTATION NOT LONG BEFORE HE WAS REPORTED TO HAVE DISAPPEARED. BEYOND THAT, WE HAVE NO FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE WHEREABOUTS OR WELFARE OF THE TWO MEN. PLEASE BE ASSURED, HOWEVER, THAT THE EMBASSY WILL BE ALERT TO ANY NEW INFORMATION AND I WILL LET YOU KNOW IMMEDIATELY SHOULD WE LEARN
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PAGE 02 BUENOS 06693 141911Z

ANYTHING MORE. SINCERELY, HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN,
AMBASSADOR.

SHLAUDEMAN

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R

VOLUNTEERS FOR EDUCATIONAL & SOCIAL SERVICES

located on the St. Edward's University campus

Sept. 15, 1981

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
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( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

General Roberto Viola
Presidente de la Republica Argentina
Casa Rosada, Balcarce 50
Buenos Aires, ARGENTINA

Your Excellency:

Reports from International press and other sources have mentioned repeatedly of cases of persons disappearing after arrests by armed police and other security forces of your nation. It has been reported recently that on September 2nd armed men of the federal police in civilian clothes took away Julio Barbaro and Juan Carlos Gallegos after a political meeting held at Calle Libertad 434 in Buenos Aires. Although a writ of habeas corpus has been filed for Mr. Barbaro, the police refuse to acknowledge the retention of these men.

Please ask the police to grant the above mentioned men their right to access to lawyers and visitations by their families. Your assistance is also needed to protect them from physical abuse or other harm by the police.

I request that your government comply with the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights and follow the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights' recommendations. Such action would gain a new prestige for Argentina in the international community.

Your time and attention are appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

Archie L. Gross

cc: Sr. Comandante en Jefe del Ejercito
Casa Rosada, Balcarce 50
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Embassy of Argentina
1600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

The Honorable Lloyd Bentsen,
U.S. Senator
300 E. Eighth
Austin, TX. 78701

3001 SOUTH CONGRESS/ AUSTIN, TEXAS 78704/ 512-447-6144

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
JULY 1973 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

1/1- File X SOC 11-2

D 6082 R

TO : POL Files
Amembassy Buenos Aires

DATE: September 17, 1981

FROM : POL - Townsend B. Friedman

SUBJECT: Conversation with Admiral Girling

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as _____ ( ) Extend as _____ ( ) Downgrade to _____
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

Last night at the UNITAS reception, I had a long talk with Admiral Eduardo M. Girling, Chief of Argentine Naval Intelligence. Among the subjects of interest were:

-- After small talk, Girling turned the talk to the current political scene. He offered the opinion that perhaps things were quiet superficially but that appearances could be misleading. He said he was particularly worried about the current economic situation and its ultimate political impact. It soon emerged that he was not talking about the reaction of politicians and labor but about the reaction of the Army. He is concerned that the Army may react by upsetting either the "process" or Viola or both, it would seem. He was clear that his understanding of what goes on in the Army is, at best, clouded. "I don't know what happens in the Army. They keep their secrets." However, he did offer the opinion that whatever else can be said about the Army, it is today united behind Galtieri -- and it seemed clear from his remarks that Galtieri is the man he expects to do something if anything is done.

-- Girling said that the "multipartidaria" is through as a political force. It has lost the initiative and cannot agree even within itself how to behave towards the government. He said that the military itself does not have any quick solutions for the present economic situation but neither do the politicians. In effect, there is no reasonable alternative to the military. In this situation, he does not expect any change through a civilian challenge to military leadership. He did agree that Balbin's funeral was an anti-military rally, but did not seem too worried about the implications -- here he may have been whistling in the dark, given his great concern about the seriousness of the economic situation.

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-- He said that there indeed is a small number of Montoneros operating in the country, including those who interrupted TV audio earlier this month. These Montoneros, "we know," are operating on orders to engage in agitation but not to carry out terrorist acts. They present no security threat. He described the instrument they used to break into TV broadcasts as quite small and capable of being transported and hidden in a car -- its range is no more than four blocks. I asked in this context what would happen to them if they were caught. Would they disappear? He said that he believed that "such things belong to the past." He also said terrorism in Argentina is down to the level it was at in about 1967-68.

-- The Bárbaro kidnapping. Bárbaro's name came up in the discussion of the Peronist Intransigent Movement (MIP). Girling said that many people refuse to see the facts of the MIP -- it is closely tied to both foreign and domestic communists. Saadi's ties to the communists go back to the mid-fifties. On one of his trips to Europe recently he had contact with exiled Argentine terrorists as well. Girling said that despite the stories at the time, the Navy had absolutely nothing to do with Bárbaro's kidnapping. Once it happened, "we learned a lot about it," he said. Somewhat delphicly, he stated that Bárbaro was taken as a result of a disagreement between "two elements" (presumably of the security services). Bárbaro's interrogation, he said, focused heavily on the ties of the MIP with the communists and others. Girling added that his MIP partners may have known that Bárbaro answered all these questions as truthfully as he could when they expelled him from MIP after he was freed. Girling said that he did not think that the perpetrators of the kidnapping thought about the political reaction that would follow it both inside and outside Argentina. In this context, he said that he had worked very hard to try to minimize the negative reaction outside Argentina. It seems from his remarks that he is highly sensitized to foreign opinion.

Cleared:POLCOUNS:JFKing

cc: AMB
DCM
POL-4
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ARA/SC/Argentina
INR/IAA/SA
INR/OIL/B

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
JULY 1973 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101.

UNITED STATE

Memor

TO : POL File
Amembassy

FROM : POL - Tow

SUBJECT: The Bárba

Agusto Cc
Bárbaro k

RELEASE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

8127265

RECEIVED IN EXA SEP 21 1981

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

SEP 19 1981

[redacted] (entire text)

TO: P - Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.

FROM: ARA - Tom Enders

SUBJECT: Your Luncheon for President Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador, 12:30 pm, September 21, at the State Department - Scope Paper

RELEASE

SUMMARY

You have agreed to host, as Acting Secretary, a luncheon for President Duarte and members of his delegation following his call on President Reagan. Immediately before the luncheon you will meet privately with Duarte for fifteen minutes. We intend the luncheon to be an opportunity for a frank, informal dialogue. We wish to use the occasion to reassure Duarte of our support for his government and to discuss a few points of mutual interest.

During his four-day stay in Washington, most of Duarte's time will be spent with Congress and the media to build support for his government. A copy of his schedule is attached.

I. OBJECTIVES

1. To reassure Duarte of our firm support for his government and the electoral process he has initiated.

2. To encourage Duarte to broaden support for the civilian-military government, domestically and internationally.

3. To discuss how we can best help the Salvadoran government pursue the war against the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas.

4. To impress upon Duarte the importance of taking firm steps to control acts of violence against non-combatants.

[redacted]
GDS 9/18/87

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SF Date 9/20/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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II. PARTICIPANTS

Pre-Luncheon Meeting

US	EL SALVADOR
Acting Secretary Stoessel	President Jose Napoleon Duarte
ARA Deputy Assistant Secretary Stephen Bosworth	Foreign Minister Fidel Chavez Mena
ARA/CEN Deputy Director Arthur Giese	Ambassador Ernesto Rivas Gallont
P, Ken Brill	

Luncheon

(see attached list)

III. SETTING

This is Duarte's first visit to the US since he became President of El Salvador's Revolutionary Governing Junta in December 1980.

IV. DISCUSSION OF OBJECTIVES

1. To reassure Duarte of our firm support for his government and the electoral process it has initiated.

We strongly support the Duarte government as the best, indeed probably the only hope, for a peaceful moderate solution to El Salvador's political problems. President Duarte has announced plans for election of a Constituent Assembly in March 1982. This is a key step in enhancing the government's legitimacy and undermining support for the guerrillas. Duarte has invited all groups to participate in elections, but will not negotiate with groups engaged in armed struggle. There are many pitfalls ahead. The guerrillas remain committed to derailing the elections by force and intimidation. The economy is in its third straight year of sharp decline.

TALKING POINTS

-- COMPLIMENT DUARTE ON HIS SUPERB HANDLING OF A VERY DIFFICULT AND PERSONALLY DANGEROUS ROLE.

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-- WE UNDERSTAND YOUR COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE POSED BY THE GUERRILLAS AND WILL BE AS HELPFUL AS WE CAN WITHIN OUR OWN BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS.

-- WE STRONGLY SUPPORT YOUR ELECTION INITIATIVE. IT IS WITHOUT DOUBT THE BEST WAY TO ISOLATE THE GUERRILLAS, BOTH IN EL SALVADOR AND INTERNATIONALLY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THE ELECTIONS A SUCCESS, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF YOUR RECENT CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT.

2. To encourage Duarte to broaden support for the civilian-military government, domestically and internationally.

The Salvadoran government needs to broaden its base, both at home and abroad. The upcoming elections present the best opportunity for the Salvadorans to isolate the insurgents. Domestically, Duarte's Christian Democratic Party has been engaged in a dialogue with business leaders in bringing the private sector into the government. Internationally, the Salvadoran government receives mixed support. The recent French-Mexican communique recognizing the FMLN-FDR as a legitimate political force is not helpful, although it has been overwhelmingly rejected by the Latin Americans. The FMLN-FDR is now lobbying its international supporters to use the French-Mexican communique as a lever to raise the El Salvador issue in the UN.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE HOPE THE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR WILL CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF WORKING OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES.

-- LATIN AMERICAN REBUTTAL TO THE FRENCH-MEXICAN COMMUNIQUE WAS ENCOURAGING. WE EXPRESSED OUR DISPLEASURE PRIVATELY TO FRANCE AND MEXICO IN STRONG TERMS.

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-- HOW CAN WE WORK TOGETHER TO HEAD OFF EFFORTS TO RAISE THIS ISSUE IN THE UN? SHOULD WE PURSUE OAS INITIATIVE TO PREEMPT UNGA CONSIDERATION?

3. To discuss how we can best help the Salvadoran government pursue the war against the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas.

In the past several weeks, the Salvadoran guerrillas have mounted an intensified offensive, complicating the already precarious situation of the Duarte government. The guerrillas' new strategy has focused on sabotaging vulnerable economic targets and engaging in harassment attacks against carefully selected targets to minimize their own losses. The guerrillas have taxed the government's ability to restore and maintain electrical power, particularly in the eastern third of the country. Ambushes along the main roads have increased government casualties. In addition, the guerrillas succeeded in occupying the Salvadoran town of Perquin near the Honduras border for more than a week before being driven out by government troops. These tactics have enabled the guerrillas to further damage the already crippled Salvadoran economy, weaken military morale, and enhance their international and domestic prestige. While these developments are troublesome, the guerrilla-military balance of strength does not appear to have changed, with neither side having the capacity for military victory.

We responded quickly to the Salvadoran government's request for emergency help by sending four additional helicopters and forty-seven portable generators. We are examining how we can help the Salvadorans repair quickly the 200 electrical towers sabotaged by the guerrillas. We have also sent a military strategy assessment team to San Salvador to examine how we can be more helpful over the longer term.

TALKING POINTS

-- ASK DUARTE'S ASSESSMENT OF HOW THE WAR IS GOING.

-- ASK WHAT PRIORITY ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED.

4. To impress upon Duarte the importance of taking firm steps to control acts of violence against non-combatants.

Right wing extremist elements opposed to reforms are conducting a campaign of indiscriminate terrorism to undermine

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Special Project (1993)

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the government. Accounts of atrocities committed against non-combatants by right wing "death squads" and elements of the security forces continue to sap the government's domestic and international support. Two cases of particular importance are:

-- the murders in December 1980 of four American churchwomen. Six National Guardsmen suspects have been under detention since May. The evidence against them is compelling.

-- the murders of two American AIFLD advisors and a Salvadoran land reform official in January 1981. Two suspects are under detention. Salvadoran businessman Ricardo Sol Mesa is being held in El Salvador. His alleged accomplice, Hans Christ, is being held in Miami awaiting a hearing on El Salvador's extradition request. A Salvadoran judge has recommended to the Supreme Court that Sol Mesa be freed and the Christ extradition request be dropped for lack of evidence.

The release of the suspects in either of these cases will generate serious concern in the US and erode political support for our El Salvador policy. Duarte is aware of the problem (he himself was once a victim of torture by the military), but thus far has been ineffective in confronting the armed forces or curtailing their excess. The Commander of the National Guard, Colonel Vides Casanova, will be attending the luncheon. Since the National Guard is suspected of perpetrating a number of offenses, it will be useful to raise this issue in his presence.

TALKING POINTS

-- ACCOUNTS OF ATROCITIES GENERATE AN INTENSE REACTION IN THE US PRESS AND CONGRESS. THIS SERIOUSLY THREATENS PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT.

-- THERE ARE PARTICULARLY STRONG EMOTIONS AMONG US CHURCH AND LABOR GROUPS ON THE CHURCHWOMEN AND AIFLD MURDERS.

-- TO PROTECT YOUR OWN INTERESTS YOU MUST CRACK DOWN ON THESE FORMS OF VIOLENCE, BRINGING THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO JUSTICE.

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Attachments:

1. Luncheon Guest List
2. Luncheon Scenario
3. Suggested Luncheon Toast
4. Duarte Schedule
5. Biographies of Salvadoran Officials

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81MEXICO012464

ADP223
[redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12464 222341Z
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5041
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

[redacted] MEXICO 12464

EXDIS

DEPT. FOR L. CRAIG JOHNSTONE

E.O. 12065: RDS 9/22/91
TAGS: SHUM, MX, ES
SUBJ: LETTER ON CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: STATE 236278

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. EMBASSY ARRANGED FOR ADS TO BE PLACED IN SEVERAL LEADING NEWSPAPERS PER REFTEL REQUEST. AD IS CONTINUING TO RUN THROUGH OCT. 4, BUT WE HAVE RECEIVED ONE POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT RESPONSE.

3. A MR. MORAN (NFI) CONTACTED US THROUGH THE NUMBER INDICATED IN THE AD AND STATED HE KNOWS THE PERSON WHO DROVE THE TRUCK USED BY THE ASSASSINS OF THE CHURCHWOMEN. ACCORDING TO MORAN, THIS INDIVIDUAL IS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THE U.S. ILLEGALLY AND UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME. MORAN CLAIMS TO HAVE A LETTER FROM THIS INDIVIDUAL GIVING DETAILS ON THE ASSASSINATIONS. MORAN SAID HE HELPED THE DRIVER GET TO THE U.S. AND BELIEVES HE CAN ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH HIM.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12464 222341Z

4. MORAN ALSO STATED THAT HE, MORAN, TOLD HIS STORY TO THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CONGRESSWOMAN PAT SCHROEDER (D-COL). MORAN IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS A SALVADORAN AND AS A "FOUNDING MEMBER" OF THE PDC.

5. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON FURTHER ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY EMBASSY. (DRAFTER: J. RICHARD THURMAN) GAVIN

9/23/81 P B6

UNCLASSIFIED EXCISE MK076

MORRIS K. UDALL
SECOND DISTRICT, ARIZONA
2ER CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
202/225-4065
DISTRICT OFFICES
300 NORTH MAIN AVENUE
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85705
602/792-6404

8610133-0843
0354

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
CHAIRMAN
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

ACTION
is assigned to
R&P

Mr. Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Fairbanks:

[redacted] has written me on two separate occasions regarding her concerns about various prisoners of conscience that are allegedly being held in Chile and in Argentina.

I would greatly appreciate your review of the enclosed copies of correspondence from [redacted] and please provide both she and I with comments directed to her concerns. Thank you for your time and consideration and I eagerly await your response.

Sincerely,

Morris K. Udall

Encls.

ave

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1981 SEP 30 PM 10 11
FADRC
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Re: Edgardo A. Morales Chaparro, Bautista Von Schowen Yasey, Muriel Dinkendorf and others.

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(11)

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05565 242231Z
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INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-15	CIAE-00	ICA-11	DODE-00
	H-01	NSC-05	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06	L-03	PM-09
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1250
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U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

E O 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS CI
SUBJEC: INTERNAL SECURITY WRAP UP

1. SUMMARY GOC CLAIMS SEVEN EXTREMISTS KILLED IN CONFRONTATATIONS WITH SECURITY FORCES IN NELTUME; INTERIOR MINISTRY TO STUDY PETITION OF EXPELLED FORMER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS; BODY OF EXTREMIST LINKED TO FORMER CUBAN EMBASSY AND SUSPECTED OF ARMED ASSAULTS FOUND IN CHURCH DOORWAY; ARMED PROPAGANDA INCIDENTS CONTINUE; PROPAGANDA BROADCAST TRANSMITTED OVER LOCAL TELEVISION WAVE LENGTH; UPDATE ON COURT CASES. END SUMMARY.

2. TERORISTS KILLED IN NELTUME; AFTER TWO DAYS OF MEDIA SPECULATION A GOC COMMUNIQUE REPORTED SEVEN TERRORISTS KILLED IN ARMED CONFRONTATIONS WITH SECURITY FORCES IN THE RUGGED NELTUME REGION NEAR VALDIVIA. THE EXTREMISTS, WHO WERE IDENTIFIED AS MEMBERS OF THE PROSCRIBED MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR), ARE; RAUL OBREGON TORRES, 31; PEDRO YANEZ PALACIOS, 31; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05565 242231Z

PROSPERO GUZMAN SOTO, 27; PATRICIO CALFUQUIR HENRIQUEZ, 28; JOSE MONSALVE SANDOVAL, 27; RENE BRAVO AGUILERA, 25; AND JULIO RIFFO FIGUEROA , 31. ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE, THE 7 WERE KILLED SEPTEMBER 13, 16, 17, 20, & 21, IN FIVE SEPARATE CONFRONTATIONS WITH SECURITY FORCES IN THE NELTUME AND LIQUINE REGIONS OF PANGUIPULLI, WHERE GOVERNMENT FORCES DISCOVERED A GUERRILLA TRAINING BASE IN JULY (SANTIAGO 4058). SIX OF THE

SEVEN HAD BEEN CONVICTED OF VIOLATIONS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW IN 1973, AND WERE EXILEDIN 1977 AFTER THEIR SENTENCES WERE COMMUTED. THEY REENTERED THE COUNTRY CLANDESTINELY, APPARENTLY ACCROSS THE ARGENTINE BORDER. CALFUQUIR WAS CONVICTED AS A UNIDAD POPULAR SYMPATHIZER IN COUNCIL OF WAR PROCEEDINGS IN 1974, AND WAS FREED UPON COMPLETION OF SENTENCE. ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL REPORT, THE GUERRILLAS WORE FATIGUE STYLE UNIFORMS; SEVERAL CARRIED BELGIAN-MADE "FAL" RFLES AND AUTOMATIC PISTOLS. SECURITY FORCES CLAIM TO HAVE DISCOVERED RFLES, SMALL ARMS, AMPLE AMMUNITION, EQUIPMENT, AND PROVISIONS AT THE CAMPS. NO EXTREMISTS WERE DETAINED AND NO GOVERNMENT CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED.

3. INTERIOR MINISTRY TO STUDY PETITION OF EXPELLED FORMER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS: ON SEPT 16, ATTORNEYS FOR EXPELLED PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION JAIME CASTILLO VELASCO PRESENTED A MOTION TO RECONSIDER CASTILLO'S EXPULSION UNDER TRANSITORY ARTICLE 24 OF THE CONSTITUTION. (COMMENT: ARTICLE 24 GRANTS EXTRAORDINARY POWERS WITH NO RECOURSE TO THE JUDICIARY). CASTILLO AND THREE OTHER FORMER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS WERE EXPELLED FOR VIOLATING THE POLITICAL RECESS ON AUG 11 (SANTIAGO 4720). IN A RACIO INTERVIEW ON SEPT 16, INTERIOR MINISTER SERGIO FERNANDEZ SAID THAT THE MINISTRY WOULD STUDY THE MOTION AND SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS BUT DID NOT SAY WHEN A DECISION WOULD BE RENDERED. MEANWHILE, CASTILLO SENT AN AFFIDAVIT IN SUPPORT OF THE MOTION THROUGH CHILEAN CONSULAR OFFICIALS IN CARACAS TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05565 242231Z

MINISTER FERNANDEZ. IN THE STATEMENT, ASTILLO ARGUES THAT THE EXPULSION ORDER VIOLATES THE 1980 CONSTITUTION, IS BASED ON UNCLEAR CHARGES, AND IS WITHOUT LEGAL BASIS UNDER PROVISIONAL ARTICLE 24. A SIMILAR PETITION FOR RECONSIDERATION HAS BEEN FILED ON BEHALF OF FORMER SENATOR ALBERTO JEREZ HORTA.

4. BODY OF EXTREMIST FOUND AT CHURCH DOOR: ON THE MORNING OF SEPT 13, A PARISH PRIEST IN THE PUDAHUEL SECTION OF SANTIAGO FOUND A CORPSE IN THE CHURCH DOORWAY. THE BODY WAS LATER IDENTIFIED BY POLICE ALLEGED AS THAT OF MIRISTA JUAN LARA MUNOZ. LARA WAS ORIGINALLY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN WOUNDED IN A SHOOT OUT WITH A CARABINERO GUARD AUG 11 DURING A TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE HOME OF COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE EFREN ARAYA (SANTIAGO 4873). LATER POLICE REPORTS REJECTED THIS THEORY AND INSTEAD CLAIMED PARTICIPATION IN THE JUNE 22 ASSAULT AGAINST THE APOQUINDO BRANCH OFFICE OF THE BANCO DEL ESTADO (SANTIAGO 3713). LARA SERVED AS A DRIVER AND BODYGUARD TO FORMER CUBAN AMBASSADOR MARIO GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI BETWEEN Q 1971 AND 1973. HE WENT UNDERGROUND AFTER THE SEPT 1973 COUP, RECEIVING GUERRILLA TRAINING IN CUBA BEFORE HIS CLANDESTINE RETURN TO CHILE IN 1979.

ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL POLICE SOURCES, LARA SERVED AS A LIEUTENANT TO MIR SECOND IN COMMAND HERNAN AGUILO. UNOFFICIAL SOURCES CLAIM THAT LRA COMMANDED "OPERATIONAL" MIR CELLS.

5. ARMED PROPAGANDA INCIDENTS CONTINUE: A. FIVE UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS KIDNAPPED A TAXI DRIVER AT GUNPOINT IN THE MORNING HOURS OF SEPT 14 AND USED THE TAXI TO DISTRIBUTE PAMPHLETS CARRYING ANTI-GOC PROPAGANDA. THE VEHICLE WAS ABANDONED TWO HOURS LATER AND THE FIVE ESCAPED UNDETECTED. B. PROPAGANDA BROADCAST: A THREE MINUTE PROPAGANDA BROADCAST WAS TRANSMITTED ON SEPT 11 OVER THE WAVELENGTH OF THE NATIONAL TELEVISION CHANNEL DURING THE POPULAR NEWS PROGRAM "60 MINUTES". STYLING ITSELF "RADIO LIBERACION", THE CLANDESTINE TRANSMISSION CALLED FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE MILITARY GOVERN-MENT. TAPES CONTAINING A SIMILAR MESSAGE WERE MAILED TO SEVERAL RADIO STATIONS.(COMMENT: THIS BROADCAST IS SIMILAR IN STYLE TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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A 12 MINUTE FM BROADCAST RECEIVED BY SOME LISTENERS IN SANTIAGO IN APRIL 1980. ONE LOCAL PRESS REPORT ALLEGED THAT A SIMILAR BROADCAST WAS MADE SEVERAL WEEKS AGO IN ARGENTINA BY A GROUP CALLING ITSELF "RADIO LIBERACION DE LA AGRUPACION MONTONEROS". END COMMENT).

6. UPDATE ON COURT CASES: A) THE COURT OF APPEALS UPHELD THE CONVICTION AND SENTENCE OF CARLOS MONTES CISTERNAS, FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PROSCRIBED MAPU, ON SETP 15. MONTES WAS SENTENCED TO 541 DAYS OF FOREIGN EXILE FOR VIOLATING THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW (SANTIAGO 5167) . MONTES AND HIS FAMILY WILL TRAVEL TO MEXICO ON OR ABOUT SEPT 26, HAVING OBTAINED MEXICAN VISAS THROUGH CIME. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE SENTENCE IS LIMITED TO 541 DAYS OF EXILE IN A COUNTRY OF HIS CHOOSING, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT MONTES WILL BE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO CHILE AFTER COMPLETING IT. THE FACT THAT HE IS TRAVELING WITH HIS FAMILY IS A STRONG INDICATION THAT HE DOES NOT ANTICIPATE AN EARLY RETURN, END COMMENT). B) TWO STUDENTS DETAINED IN VALPARAISO FOR VIOLATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW ON SEPT 11 WERE RELEASED WITHOUT CHARGES ON SEPT 18. C). FOUR STUDENTS ARRESTED SEPT 4 FOR INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS (SANTIAGO 5348) WERE ORDERED RELEASED FROM CUSTODY UNDER $1000 PESOS BOND EACH ON SEPT 17. THE ORDER WAS IMMEDIATELY APPEALED BY THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR AND THE FOUR REMAIN IN JAIL. THE APPEAL WAS SUSTAINED ON SEPT 24 BY THE COURTOF APPEALS AND THE FOUR WILL REMAIN IN CUSTODY UNTIL THE JUDICIAL INVESTI-GATION IS COMPLETE.
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U.S. POLICY OPTIONS IN EL SALVADOR

HEARING AND MARKUP

United States Congress House. BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AND ITS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Con. Res. 197; H. Con. Res. 212

SEPTEMBER 24, NOVEMBER 5, AND 19, 1981

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STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS O. ENDERS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Mr. ENDERS. Thank you for your welcome and your kind words.

The situation I think is relatively well known in El Salvador, Mr. Chairman.

I have basically three points that I wish to make, and if I could have your patience I would make a couple more in which our own estimation of the situation differs somewhat from the one that you gave in your opening remarks.

MILITARY SITUATION

The first point I would like to make concerns the military situation in El Salvador.

We have a situation in which there have been two insurgent offensives since the start of the year, the so-called final offensive in January and a regional one in August in which a major effort was made to establish a liberated zone, particularly in the town of Perquin.

You will recall in the January offensive the insurgents hoped there would be a general uprising. In fact, there was no such thing. There was no support from the population. The initiative could not be sustained more than for a few days, and the army quickly reestablished control in all parts of the country.

In the course of August the effort was to get ahold of an individual piece of territory. Indeed, the insurgents did conquer a village in the mountains called Perquin. They overran a small National Guard detachment there, and they captured a handful of National Guardsmen as they did so.

The army responded and within 9 days was able to recapture the town and push the guerrillas out in some disorder.

Now, since that incident, the level of military activity in the country has dropped off very substantially, again, as it did after the first offensive.

I think the point that is to be drawn from this is that the insurgents are not able to prevail against the Army of El Salvador nor are they indeed able to seriously push it in a military sense.

However, I think it is true that the tactic adopted by the guerrillas this summer of attacking the economic structure of the country has had some serious implications.

There have been efforts in the course of August to destroy bridges, to mine roads, bomb businesses, and destroy the electric grid.

In mid-August, at the worst point, some 13 percent of the pylons in the electricity distribution system had been destroyed and a very difficult situation developed, Mr. Chairman. Power was lost in hospitals; incubators, iron lungs, X-ray equipment, and operating rooms were shut down. And most of the public water systems in El Salvador, depending on electric pumps, were threatened and many were cut off and a very difficult situation ensued.

This situation has been to a substantial degree corrected by now, in considerable part by the activity of the Salvadorans themselves to string alternative powerlines on poles rather than pylons and reroute power, but also in considerable part as a result of the United States providing [illegible] 17 generators to be used in the

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hospitals, for critical water pumps and so forth. We are close to

CONCLUSIONS

Looking at this military situation and the request for military assistance that we will shortly make to the Congress, as it is before the Congress in a congressional presentation, we come to the following conclusions:

We think the government down there has, with limited assistance from us, done quite well.

We think that there are likely to be other guerrilla offensives and we can't be certain additional assistance over and above those amounts presented in the congressional presentation will not be required. But for the moment we don't anticipate asking the Congress for more than the $25 million in military assistance which is now before you.

Now, as regards military trainers, American military trainers in El Salvador, we promised you earlier that they would be used only as required absolutely.

At one time, some 56, I think, at the highest point, were in the country. You will recall there was a lot of discussion about whether that number would go up. It actually has tended to fluctuate downward. There are somewhat less than 30 in the country at the moment. In the course of the winter that number will go back up again, but on current projections there seems to be no reason that it will go beyond the roughly 55 that it was before.

Looking at the balance of this situation, we think that if there is a point of need, a weak point in our current program in El Salvador is on the economic side.

Should the attacks that have been made on the economic infrastructure continue we may need indeed to have more assistance, and we are looking at those requirements now, and that is a possible area in which we will come back to.

POLITICAL SOLUTION

Mr. Chairman, my second point concerns the political solution that you alluded to.

It is not an accurate rendering of this administration's policy, as I thought I heard, that the United States is seeking a military solution to the conflict. We are seeking a political solution to the conflict and we believe that that political solution involves inevitably a number of elements.

It involves contacts among legally constituted parties. It involves an opportunity for current opposition groups to constitute themselves as legally constituted parties. It involves an opportunity for all such parties, from the left and from the right, to participate in the structure of the new institutions of El Salvador, and it involves ultimately the participation of all who are willing and who renounce violence in a free and open electoral process in that country.

Now, if you look at what the main opposition group, the Frente Democratico Revolucionario, has said, you will have to conclude that it has made no proposal for negotiation. It is said that it is for negotiations, but it has said at the same time that for negotiations

to occur—unspecified negotiations—two conditions will have to be met. The army will have to be restructured and the government will have to be substituted by an unspecified new order.

No one knows what negotiations proposals they have, if any.

You may recall, Mr. Chairman, that the respected West German Socialist leader Wischnewsky went down to El Salvador in May in order to see whether he could encourage a political solution. He was given a document purportedly of the Frente which said that the Frente should pretend to participate in a negotiating process as a means of gathering international support and deceiving the government, but it should not engage in it because indeed only a military solution could achieve the goals of the Frente itself.

Mr. Wischnewsky took that document to Fidel Castro, who looked at it and is reported to have said that it sounds like a revolutionary document but we are unwise to put all that on paper. Then he took it to the Frente itself and the Frente said, after some hesitation, yes, it was a document that they had developed but it was only one of several documents, and it was not a position that they had retained.

They didn't say at that time what their position was, and it remains very uncertain now as to whether they actually have negotiating proposals. On the other hand, Mr. Duarte in a speech on September 15 outlined the position of his government of how he proposes to reach a political solution through a democratic electoral process. He invited all political parties and groups, including the Frente if it wished to join, including the Social Democrats who are part of the Frente, including the Communist Party which is also part of the Frente, to participate in the elections and to join now in talks on all aspects of the process leading to them.

In other words, he invited the opposition parties to come and talk about how power could be divided in El Salvador.

He invited foreign observers to come to El Salvador, beginning now, to witness for themselves the process, the conditions in which elections will be carried out, and to talk to any political party or group, talk to the Central Elections Commission and others to encourage the widest possible participation in the elections, and in the process leading up to them.

Now as recently as September 17, a spokesman for the Frente rejected this invitation by Duarte for a dialog on the election process, quoting, or making a statement, and I quote, "* * * as long as the existing conditions which prevent a free election are maintained."

The Frente's position remains, as far as we can tell, that they want first to obtain what they have been unable to win on the battlefield and what they are unwilling to compete for at the polls. They want to have first their conditions met by a reordering of society and a restructuring of the army. And then afterward, they will say what it is they are negotiating for.

We continue to hope, Mr. Chairman, that some elements of the Frente, or the Frente itself, may yet be willing to come forward and negotiate in good faith about political processes in El Salvador.

But it is time for them to put something on the table.

We recognize that the process of elections is an exceptionally difficult task in El Salvador

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think that we can help with it, and that others can help with it. We intend to accept the invitation that President Duarte held out to us.

As a first step, we plan to send a small group down from the State Department to begin the talks with the parties involved that he suggests.

Later, in coordination with other governments and with the President, we may send a team of technical experts as observers.

VIOLENCE

The third point I would like to make concerns violence.

I think President Duarte was honest and indeed courageous in recognizing that one of the major problems that his country faces as it moves toward elections and a political solution, is the serious level of violence in the country.

That violence we know comes from both left and right.

From the left it serves as a vehicle to impose the guerrillas' revolutionary philosophy on a people who so far have given no evidence of being willing to accept it.

For the FMLN, the guerrillas' front, violence is a means to achieve its ends, and the FMLN makes no apologies whatsoever for the deaths of men, women, and children that result from its use of terror as a political instrument.

It is true also that the right has had its strategy of violence, has targeted Christian Democrats and officials and others, and an attack on the government itself and on the reforms that have been carried out.

What I would like to underline, Mr. Chairman, is that the Salvadoran Government accepts responsibility to bring that violence to an end or diminish it, as President Duarte committed himself so eloquently to do this week. And I would also note that to judge from the limited information that we have available to us, the level of violence has apparently decreased over recent months, we believe, in part due to the effort of the Government to end the abuses that have occurred in that country.

The average weekly toll of deaths, as far as we can tell—deaths caused by violence—has dropped by almost half since the beginning of the year.

Now, reduced violence is clearly one sign that the foundations, the elements for an improved future, may be present.

Another is the willingness of other Salvadorans, despite the threats of the guerrillas, to reject intimidation and go on with their normal lives and political activities. I referred to Mr. Duarte's speech on September 15, and there was a real striking example of what can be possible in political terms in that country.

There was the threat, of course, by the guerrillas to disrupt the National Day ceremonies, but 25,000 Salvadorans turned out to hear the President's speech and it went off in peace.

Earlier in the year, large groups have also met, the Union of Salvadoran Campesinos had a rally of more than 10,000 people in June. Clearly, large-scale political activity of a kind that would be required in an election campaign can be undertaken.

We have [illegible] of our [illegible] El Salvador [illegible] and a very deeply troubled country. We are well aware of the fact that only Salvadorans can resolve those differences and divisions.

DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION

We think that this is the fundamental argument for getting on with the establishment of democratic practices and institutions in that country, because only a pluralistic system can permit the Salvadorans, so deeply divided as they are, to live with each other without violence and to gradually resolve their differences.

In our view, President Duarte has proposed such a solution. We think he needs, we think he deserves, our support in his struggle to bring democracy to El Salvador.

If I could, Mr. Chairman, I would just like to remark briefly on the suggestion that you quoted in your opening remarks that somehow military aid being channeled to the military is giving them a trump card over the President.

The military aid that is being given to El Salvador is being given at the request of its President, the President of the so-called governing junta, a temporary institution which will be replaced by an elected government beginning in 1983.

This aid is being given, as I say, at its request and to the government.

Administratively, it is, of course, being given to the army, incidentally, not to the Guardia Nacional, or to the police services, but to the army, as indeed is only possible.

After all, you need an institution to receive it, but the nature of that program, the decisions which are made concerning it, are decisions which are discussed and decided with the Salvadoran Government, and not with a single part of it.

I think that the suggestion cited really lacks reality and tends to suggest that differences and tensions exist in a way that they do not.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that it is important that we all have as clear a view as possible of the reality in El Salvador, but the remarks cited from your opening remarks from the Washington Post don't seem to remember to reflect that at all clearly.

Thank you very much.

[Mr. Enders' prepared statement follows:]

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Special Project (1993)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS O. ENDERS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Mr. Chairman:

I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss with you the situation in El Salvador, and our policy. Before responding to your questions there are only a few points I would like to make.

I.

Since the beginning of the year the Government of El Salvador has repulsed the two military offensives by the guerrillas.

In the January offensive, the guerrillas sought a mass uprising of the population against President Duarte's government. They attacked in urban areas around the country but were unable to sustain their initiative. The population did not support them; the army responded quickly to the challenge.

In the recent offensive their aim was to secure a small piece of territory near the Honduran border. The guerrillas managed to seize the village of Perquin and capture the small National Guard garrison located there. The army responded to this surprise attack by fighting its way back up a mountain road in rugged terrain. Perquin was retaken under these difficult circumstances within a week. Since that time the level of guerrilla military activity has dropped significantly.

The guerrillas have since turned their activity to the systematic destruction of the economic infrastructure of the country. They have destroyed bridges, mined roads, and bombed businesses to bleed the country economically. In mid-August, they destroyed about 13% of the pylons in the electricity distribution grid. Urban areas suddenly lost power in hospitals, where incubators, iron lungs, x-ray equipment and operating rooms were shut down. Most of the public water systems in El Salvador depend on electric pumps. The water was cut off by these attacks, causing immediate hardship and the risk of serious public health problems over the longer term.

Nevertheless, the electric power authority responded with initiative and flexibility to this challenge. The U.S. has made available 47 generators to help keep hospitals and water systems functioning.

The government has husbanded its limited military assistance from the United States carefully. I am sure there will be other guerrilla offensives, but we do not anticipate requesting additional military assistance

over and above what you have before you in the FY 82 Congressional presentation. Of course we will be prepared to come back to you should this situation change. We have, as we promised the Congress, used only the U.S. military trainers in El Salvador that are absolutely required. Currently the number of trainers is around 30. We expect to continue to send trainers to El Salvador to meet particular needs that may arise. Numbers will increase again but we do not anticipate that the numbers will grow beyond the high mark of our effort this year.

The callous attack on the economic infrastructure, however, points to the need El Salvador genuinely has for international economic assistance. We are looking at those requirements now and we intend to make available our conclusions to the Congress in the near future. We need to do our part.

II.

At the same time the Frente has made no proposals for negotiation. All it has said is that there are preconditions to negotiation that have to be met -- restructuring of the army and reordering of the government. No one knows what its negotiating proposals are, if indeed there are any.

President Duarte, on the other hand, outlined in detail in his speech of September 15, the steps his government will take to reach a political solution through a democratic electoral process.

He invited all political parties and groups, including the FDR, the MNR (social democrats) and UDN (communist) to participate in the elections and to join now in talks on all aspects of the process leading to them. He invited foreign observers to El Salvador -- beginning now --to witness for themselves the process and conditions in which the elections will be carried out and to talk to political parties or groups, Central Elections Commission, and others to encourage the widest participation in the elections.

As recently as September 17, 1981, a spokesman for the Frente rejected Duarte's invitation for a dialogue on the elections process "as long as the existing conditions, which prevent a free election, are maintained."

In other words they still want first what they have been unable to win on the battlefield and are unwilling to seek at the polls. We hope that some elements of the FDR might yet be willing to come to negotiate in

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Special Project (1994)

good faith about the electoral process. But it is time for them to put something on the table.

We have faith that open and fair elections can be held in El Salvador. We believe there is a helpful role for us to play -- with others -- and intend to accept President Duarte's invitation. Initially, we plan to send a small group from the State Department to begin talks as he suggests. Later, in coordination with other governments and President Duarte, we may send a team of technical experts as observers.

III.

Clearly one of the major problems President Duarte faces in moving to elections is the serious violence in the country.

The violence comes from both the left and the right. From the left, violence serves as a vehicle to impose the guerrillas' revolutionary philosophy on a people who thus far have given no evidence of embracing it. For the FMLN, violence is a tactic to achieve its ends; the FMLN makes no apologies for the deaths of untold men, women and children resulting from its cold, calculated use of terror as a political instrument.

The right also has had its strategy of violence and targeted Christian Democrats and officials in an attack on the government itself and on reforms it has carried out.

The government has accepted its responsibility to bring this violence to an end, as President Duarte has so eloquently stated this week. And the level of violence apparently has decreased over recent months, in part due to the Salvadoran government's effort to end security force abuses. The average weekly toll of deaths caused by violence, as best our Embassy can monitor it, has dropped by almost half since the beginning of the year.

IV.

Reduced violence is one sign that the foundations for an improved future may be present. Another is the willingness of ordinary Salvadorans -- despite threats by the guerrilla left -- to reject intimidation and go on with their normal lives. On September 15, El Salvador's National Day, a stunning example of this occurred. Ignoring threats by guerrillas to disrupt National Day ceremonies, over 25,000 Salvadorans turned out to hear President Duarte's speech in which he appealed to the violent opposition to lay down their arms and join negotiations on the electoral process. There should be no illusions, however. El Salvador remains a deeply divided country.

Only Salvadorans can resolve these divisions. Neither we nor any other foreign country can do so. It is, therefore, critical that the Salvadoran Government and people attempt to overcome these divisions by establishing a more democratic system. We wholeheartedly support this objective. Not out of blind sentiment, not out of a desire to reproduce everywhere a political system that has served Americans so extraordinarily well, and certainly not because we under-estimate the difficulties involved. Rather we believe that the solution must be democratic because only a genuinely pluralistic approach can enable a profoundly divided society to live with itself without violent convulsions, gradually overcoming its differences.

President Duarte has proposed such a solution. He needs and deserves our support in his struggle to restore democracy to El Salvador.

Mr. BARNES. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

If your policy works, and if everything goes well in the next 12 months, what would you think the situation would be a year from now? What is your expectation and your hope as to the progress that will be made over the next 12 months?

Mr. ENDERS. The most important political event which is coming up in that period is the Constituent Assembly elections, and then the formation of the Constituent Assembly next spring. That is clearly a decisive moment in establishing the legitimacy of a new society in El Salvador, and in beginning to work out the basis on which power will be divided in the country.

I think that the way in which those elections are held, the response of Salvadorans to them, and the work of the Constituent Assembly subsequently, is a very important element.

Let me say that the level of violence from the insurgents in the country between now and then will be very much a function of the degree to which arms trafficking continues through Nicaragua and through other places, from Cuba and other sources, and it is impossible for me at this point to predict what that will be.

Should the arms flow tend to move down and a lower level of violence occur, one could expect that security conditions would indeed improve as our own programs continue.

But nobody knows how much Cuba, how much Nicaragua, how much the states behind them, including the Soviet Union, would pump in in that period, and that is a crucial variable.

MILITARY SITUATION

Mr. BARNES. You challenged in your opening statement the rather pessimistic assessment of the military situation that I quoted, and Mr. Lagomarsino challenged it as well noting that it was something we couldn't discuss. But there was a report just within the last week or so in the Miami Herald to the effect that

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U.S. officers at the U.S. Southern Command in Panama are saying that the junta in El Salvador appears now to be slowly losing the fight against the guerrillas. If in fact the report is correct, that that is what the U.S. military personnel are saying down in Panama, are they just wrong, or what is your reaction to these reports?

Mr. ENDERS. I am not aware of the report, and certainly not aware of the opinions alleged to be held in the report.

As I say, I think the situation is one in which the insurgents have not been able to damage the government forces militarily. They clearly have been able to do substantial economic damage which is of much concern to us.

I would add to that, we have very little evidence that the insurgents are gaining ground politically in the country. Indeed, as a result of the land reforms and the prospect of elections, it would seem to be the contrary. But the insurgents also have significant sympathies internationally, so that you find a mixed picture, Mr. Chairman.

But the notion that you cite is not one that squares with the information available to us.

Mr. BARNES. Well, everyone on this side of the table, Mr. Secretary, has had experience with press reports that were not all that we would have hoped for in terms of confirming our own judgments of reality.

Unless there is objection, I will include in the record the story from the Miami Herald of September 17, entitled "El Salvador Junta Seeks More U.S. Aid," which includes the alleged statement by U.S. military officers stationed at the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, and a similar article from the September 10 Christian Science Monitor entitled "Salvadoran Guerrillas Get Upper Hand—With Cuban Aid?"

[The information referred to follows:]

[From the Miami Herald, Sept. 17, 1981]

SALVADOR JUNTA SEEKS MORE U.S. AID

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR—El Salvador's guerrilla-plagued junta has asked for increased U.S. military aid but will not accept more U.S. military advisers, Defense Minister Col. Jose Guillermo Garcia said Wednesday.

Garcia said junta President Jose Napoleon Duarte and military officers will travel to Washington, soon to personally deliver the request for more military arms aid.

"We have asked and are asking for more military aid because it is necessary," the defense minister, considered by some to be the most powerful man in El Salvador, told a news conference.

Garcia said he was asking for more U.S.-made UH1H "Huey" helicopters, but would not comment on the other items and stressed that he does not want more U.S. military advisers sent to El Salvador to train junta troops.

Washington has sent 56 military advisers and $35 million in military hardware, including 14 Hueys, to help the military-civilian junta battle four Marxist-led guerrilla groups.

But despite the U.S. weaponry, the junta appears to be slowly losing the fight against guerrillas, say U.S. military officers stationed at the U.S. Southern Command in Panama. Garcia repeated Wednesday claims by Salvadoran and U.S. officials that Cuba is the primary source of arms for the rebels, saying: "The evidence is clear, the arms do not come from South America or any other country, but from . . . Cuba."

Earlier in the day, Army spokesmen denied that guerrillas overran a military outpost and captured 20 soldiers in the northern town of San Ignacio but said the town had been taken briefly while undefended.

The spokesmen in San Salvador said between 20 and 40 guerrillas walked into the town unopposed Tuesday evening, ransacked the town hall and raised their flag over the building before fleeing into the surrounding countryside.

"At one point they had the local commander in front of a meeting of the local population and threatened to shoot him, but they relented," they said.

The spokesmen said San Ignacio does not have a permanent military garrison, unusual for a town of 7,500 people two miles south of the tightly controlled northern border with Honduras.

Guerrilla spokesmen in Costa Rica reported early Wednesday that the rebels captured at least 20 soldiers in the San Ignacio attack.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Thursday, Sept. 10, 1981]

SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS GET UPPER HAND—WITH CUBAN AID?

(By James Nelson Goodsell, Latin American correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor)

The bitter struggle in El Salvador between government forces and leftist guerrillas is suddenly going badly for the government.

Battlefield reports indicate that the guerrillas, who hold sizable portions of the countryside, are now increasing their control over much of the western part of the country—and that the Salvadoran Army has been unable in recent weeks to dislodge the guerrillas or to make any significant inroads against them.

The battlefield reverses for the Salvadoran military are sounding alarm bells in Washington.

There are also hints that Cuban advisers may be on the scene assisting the guerrillas. It has been assumed all along that the guerrillas were receiving military equipment from Cuba, and the Cubans have indirectly substantiated this assumption.

Now, however, if Cuban advisers are on the scene, the whole struggle takes on a new coloration.

The Reagan administration is deeply worried about the ability of President José Napoleón Duarte's government to hold on to power. The United States, which has been the Salvadoran government's major support for the past two years, has supplied its own advisers to the Salvadoran military as well as sending in sizable quantities of military equipment.

The guerrilla resurgence is a sharp reversal of the situation six months ago, when it appeared that a stalemate in the five-year struggle was developing. Neither side appeared able to defeat the other.

Indeed, it was felt in some quarters that President Duarte's shaky military-civilian coalition government might be able to get its act together enough to win support from El Salvador's beleaugered populace and even to begin making inroads against the guerrillas.

U.S. military assistance, which was resumed in the twilight days of the Carter administration and has continued under President Reagan, was expected to help improve President Duarte's situation.

Ironically, however, President Duarte's most encouraging days were in January during the height of a guerrilla offensive that eventually fizzled. That was before renewed U.S. aid began arriving in significant quantities to have an effect on the battlefield.

Since then, as the struggle has worn on without any major breakthrough for either side, Salvadoran military units have been accused of an increasing wave of violence against civilians, many of them suspected guerrilla sympathizers. This situation has brought down considerable worldwide criticism on the Duarte government.

President Duarte's refusal to enter into a negotiated settlement with the guerrillas' political arm has also been sharply criticized.

The surprise Mexican and French decision in late August to recognize two leftist guerrilla groups as a "representative political force" is widely viewed as an effort to get the Duarte government to the negotiating table.

But the Mexican-French action has clearly cheered the guerrillas, although the recognition was roundly criticized by the governments of Colombia and Venezuela, which accuse Mexico and France of interfering in Salvadoran internal affairs.

It was noted in Mexico City, however, that the joint Mexican-French document is not as strong a statement of support as the Salvadoran guerrillas would like.

The document does not recognize that a "state of belligerency" exists in El Salvador, something that Mexico and several other Latin American governments recognized in the case of Nicaragua.

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Special Project (1983)

...recognition gave significant legitimacy to the Sandinista guerrillas during ...ution there.

...tion. Mexico continues to recognize the Duarte government and continues ...supply it with some of its petroleum.

...is also not overlooked that Mexico, like the U.S. is deeply worried that the ...ran struggle will spill over into Guatemala, where leftist guerrillas are ...ely locked in a serious battle with the government.

...Many Mexicans are deeply worried about the consequences for them of a worsen... ...tion in Guatemala, with which they share a border.

...the Mexicans do feel that the guerrillas are likely to emerge the winners in ...lvador eventually, some observers think the Mexican government would prefer ...hem do their winning at the negotiation table rather than on the battle ...field.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD CUBA

Mr. BARNES. You mentioned the role of Cuba, which is clearly a key component of the problems that we confront in the region—in Central America generally, not only in El Salvador. There has been a great deal of talk over the last 9 months about going to the source, or in some way confronting Cuban activism in the region. Yesterday you announced a new policy with respect to radio broadcasts.

Is that how we are going to go to the source? What is your policy regarding Cuban activities in El Salvador and elsewhere?

Mr. ENDERS. We think the Cuban Government should be made fully conscious of the fact that its continued offensive in Central America, an offensive that has lasted since 1979 and included almost all of the countries around the rim of the Caribbean, that its offensive, if continued, will result in increasing costs at home.

A number of actions have been taken or promised in this regard, one of which you mentioned. The other actions are, we have begun preparation to make sure that we are able to cope with a new Mariel boatlift, should that appeal to the Cubans for use against the United States again. We are tightening the embargo, but I would have to say, Mr. Chairman, that other options, other matters or other actions that could be taken by the United States continue to be under active study.

Mr. BARNES. I won't try to pursue that because I know I won't get anywhere with it.

I call on the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Yatron.

THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. YATRON. Secretary Enders, during the first 6 months of this year we became accustomed to the cold war rhetoric emanating from the State Department with respect to Central America.

However, in your speech on El Salvador to the World Affairs Council on July 16, you made no reference to the Soviet Union or to an East-West confrontation.

Do you have any reason to believe that the Soviet Union has reduced its support of the guerrilla movement in El Salvador?

Mr. ENDERS. We think some of the arms which were used in the final offensive may have come from the Soviet Union or been as a result of Soviet good offices in making them available, but we are concerned about other parts of the Communist or radical network as the most active and immediate agents for this.

I think [illegible]t this is a somewhat artifici[illegible]istinction, really.

Here you have, in fact, Shafik Handal requesting assistance from the Soviet Union, before the final offensive assistance for example and getting assistance from Vietnam, some of which was actually of American origin. You have the Cubans shipping in arms and organizing the political leadership of the El Salvadorans' insurrection.

These are all different ways in which these countries cooperate together, and I certainly did not mean to leave out of consideration or suggest a shift by not mentioning the Soviet Union, although I think the most active country has been Cuba and the most serious problem.

ELECTORAL PROCESS

Mr. YATRON. What independent monitoring groups have been consulted to insure full participation by the various political parties in the upcoming elections?

Mr. ENDERS. Well, we are constituting, as I say, a group that we hope will be down there very shortly, and a number of other countries have been suggested by the Government of El Salvador. I think I ought to leave it to them to make known whom they are contacting, and whom they think they will have.

Their expectation is that there will be quite a number of countries which will be involved, not only in monitoring elections, but in monitoring, observing, and encouraging the whole process leading up to it, and I put the emphasis on the process, because I think it is the contacts among parties, the debate over the political future of the country which, in the first instance, is really important.

Mr. YATRON. Doesn't the violent climate in El Salvador make it nearly impossible for the various political parties to campaign in a safe manner, and if so, wouldn't this factor give the Christian Democratic Party a considerable advantage over their opposition?

Mr. ENDERS. Obviously one of the things the parties must talk about is how do you create a climate of security in which the election campaign and the elections themselves can be held in a serious and authoritative manner. We expect that that is one of the things they would be talking about.

I mentioned to you, though, that large-scale political rallies are indeed quite possible, and do occur, and I think the question would be as to how to make sure that that possibility is open to all of the parties involved in it.

Mr. YATRON. Are you through, Mr. Secretary, with that question?

Mr. ENDERS. It has been pointed out to me here, of course, the media are an important instrument of campaign. There is television as well as radio, and that is one way of assuring that kind of outreach.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Mr. YATRON. Is the administration planning on increasing military assistance, or the amount of military advisers in El Salvador as the election day approaches?

Mr. ENDERS. We have no such plans. Obviously, if a new situation develops in El Salvad[illegible]e would review our policy [illegible] make sure it is adequate. But for the moment, as I said earlier, we don't

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ElSalvador Human Rights Committee

expect to exceed roughly the mid-50's in terms of our trainers. Excuse me, sir, for emphasizing the word "trainer" over adviser. A lot of people said that there is no distinction. There is a distinction which I would like to recall to the committee, although I know it is familiar to you. It is important.

These American trainers train units in cities or in base camps. They do not go out with any units involved on military operations. That is a very important difference, and that is why we tend to insist on the word "trainer."

On the number of military trainers, I don't think present plans will increase over the number I have stated, but clearly if a new situation arises, we would have to have another look at it.

The same goes for the level of military assistance we are talking about.

We think that there is provided for in congressional authorities the possibility of using so-called 506 authority, should an emergency develop. This has certain limits on it, certain procedures attached to it, and provides an opportunity to respond to unexpected situations should they occur.

For the moment we expect to stand with the amounts we have asked for in the congressional presentations.

Mr. YATRON. Does the church in El Salvador favor a negotiated settlement among the warring factions in order to bring about a political solution?

Mr. ENDERS. The church definitely favors a political solution and would favor all means of reaching that political solution, and it of course, has not defined detailed negotiating proposals of its own.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Studds.

Oh, I am sorry, the gentleman from California. There are still Republicans in Congress.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Only one here today.

Mr. BARNES. Forgive me.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. I know it was not intentional.

FRENCH-MEXICAN DECLARATION

Mr. Secretary, let us talk about the French-Mexican joint statement.

What exactly did that joint statement by the Governments of France and Mexico say, not in all detail, but generally?

Mr. ENDERS. Well, it expressed concern over the situation in El Salvador. It expressed belief that free elections should be held in El Salvador as a way of overcoming the political situation, political and military situation, in that country. They were both points with which we strongly agreed.

In addition, a point with which we strongly disagree, it recognized the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front and the FDR, the political arm of the insurgents. It recognized them as representative political forces, and called for a restructuring of the order of the country and a restructuring of the army as possible goals.

Let me say that this statement made by two outside countries resulted in a vigorous rejection by a large number of Latin American countries. Seven countries joined Venezuela and Colombia in condemning this as interference in the affairs of El Salvador, and five other Latin American countries issued statements independently rejecting the statement.

The result is that among other Latin American countries, all together, only Cuba and Nicaragua allied themselves clearly on the side of Mexico and France in this regard.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Just to nail that down so people will know who we are talking about, isn't it true that these countries either joined in the opposition statement or had their own: Venezuela, Costa Rica, Peru, Colombia and Jamaica; all democracies?

Mr. ENDERS. The communique that was proposed by Venezuela and Colombia also was joined in by Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, as well as Venezuela.

In addition to that, Peru and Ecuador, parliamentary democracies, and two others, Costa Rica, and Jamaica, I believe, issued separate statements.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman, I lost some of that. I am sure it is my fault. Tell us again clearly who came down with Mexico and France and who came down with separate statements and who came down against Mexico.

Mr. ENDERS. Cuba and Nicaragua supported the Mexican-French statement. Venezuela and Colombia and seven other countries rejected the same statement as interference.

Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Jamaica issued separate statements of their own rejecting the Franco-Mexican communique.

EFFECTS OF THE DECLARATION

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Could you describe for us what effect the joint statement has had on the internal situation in El Salvador?

Mr. ENDERS. It was very soundly rejected by the Salvadoran Bishops. They issued a statement condemning it.

It is worth noting that the statement came out, whether by coincidence or not, at the time of the effort to establish in Perquin a liberated zone. The failure of that effort, I think, also is linked to the attitude that Salvadorans have over it altogether.

We see no evidence of any response of the kind that perhaps the authors of the statement hoped for.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. My impression has been in talking to some of the Salvadorans who were here is that, if anything, the joint statement might have coalesced more support for the government than was the case before the statement was made.

Is this a correct assessment, do you think?

Mr. ENDERS. Certainly consistent with the facts as we know them.

It has not led to any swing towards the insurgents, anything you suggest the other way.

It was universally condemned by Salvadorans as interference in their internal affairs.

As in all of the countries of Latin America, but particularly in the smaller countries of Latin America, concern over foreign involvement is very great.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. One more question, Mr. Chairman?

You mentioned the September 15 event that occurred in El Salvador and frankly, although I read FBIS every morning, it is

[illegible] by the time it gets here, I have not read anything about that in the local press.

It would seem to me that was a rather significant thing, if it is as you describe it.

Was it considered to be a unique event in El Salvador?

Mr. ENDERS. A very major demonstration of the support that the government and President Duarte personally enjoy but, as I mentioned earlier, it is not unknown for there to be large political rallies of this kind.

I would point out also, though, a lot of people did not know that the two leading democracies, Colombia and Venezuela, issued a rejection of the Franco-Mexican statement.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. I wonder if I might have unanimous consent to insert in the record an article from the Baltimore Sun regarding the reaction of Latin American nations to the France-Mexico statement.

Mr. BARNES. Without objection, it will be included in the record.

[The newspaper article follows:]

[From the Baltimore Sun, Sept. 8, 1981]

MOST OF LATIN AMERICA FLOCKS TO SUPPORT OF U.S. POSITION AFTER FRANCE AND MEXICO RECOGNIZE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS

Caracas, Venezuela (Reuter)—The recognition of Salvadoran guerrillas by France and Mexico has sent almost all of Latin America scurrying into the U.S. camp on the issue and triggered a crisis between the two countries and Venezuela.

Less than three years after Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua won widespread Latin American support for their struggle against the late dictator Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle, El Salvador's leftist guerrillas have found they are out on a limb.

Last week nine countries—led by longstanding democracies Venezuela and Colombia, which strongly supported the Sandinistas through the Andean Pact organization—protested the move by France and Mexico to regard as a legitimate political force guerrillas fighting to overthrow the Salvadoran civilian-military junta.

Besides Venezuela and Colombia, the protest was signed by the traditionally conservative southern military governments, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Bolivia, and by Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, which has its own leftist guerrilla problems. Ecuador, Uruguay, Peru and Costa Rica joined the protest later.

The U.S. State Department welcomed the protest.

"We are very gratified that a significant number of countries with direct hemispheric interest in Salvadoran developments have taken the initiative, which appears to be in accord with our position," spokesman Dean Fischer said.

Only Nicaragua has so far pronounced itself in favor of the Franco-Mexican declaration "on humanitarian grounds."

Brazil, which did not sign the protest, called it "a dangerous precedent."

The action by France and Mexico recognized the alliance of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) as a "representative political force" with the legitimacy to enter negotiations with the government to find a political solution to the crisis.

The communique called for a new internal order in the country, the restructuring of the armed forces and the creation of necessary conditions for holding free elections.

The FDR, an umbrella grouping of dissidents, has said that elections to be held in El Salvador in March cannot possibly be free because of the dangers opposition parties will be exposed to.

The signers of the protest condemned the communique as an aggravation of the conflict in which about 25,000 people have been killed in the last 20 months, and Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins criticized it as interfering in the country's internal affairs.

Mr. Herrera, despite coming under fire from opposition parties, has remained firm in his condemnation, and Interior Minister Rafael Montes de Oca canceled a scheduled trip to Paris this month.

Former Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez said, "The sensible thing for Venezuela to do would be to seek understandings with other countries . . . and not to complicate it by giving support to the southern cone dictatorships which have military missions in El Salvador."

The protest has polarized Mexico and Venezuela, two countries fast emerging as important political and economic influences in the region, diplomatic sources said.

Relations between the two nations had shown steady improvement over the last few years, culminating in agreements this year to hold foreign policy consultations and to jointly supply Central American and Caribbean countries with oil under special credit arrangements.

Diplomatic sources dismissed the possibility that the oil agreement would be affected by the political crisis, and Venezuelan Energy and Mines Minister Humberto Calderon Berti confirmed that he will attend a meeting in Mexico this week of the Latin American Energy Organization to discuss the terms with Mexican oil representatives.

Economic relations with France were also likely to be strained, following what Venezuela sees as extra-hemispheric interference from that quarter.

The French company Elf-Aquitaine has been negotiating with the Venezuelan state oil industry for more than a year to establish a special refinery in France to upgrade heavy Venezuelan crude oil under a long-term supply contract.

France has also come under heavy attack from El Salvador's president, Jose Napoleon Duarte, who has said "the hand of Fidel Castro" is behind the two countries' declaration.

"We cannot forget who the French president's policy adviser on Latin America is, Regis Debray," he said. "Cuba is at both ends of this declaration."

Mr. Debray, a one-time theorist of Latin American revolution, won world fame in the 1960s for spending several weeks in the Bolivian jungles with Argentine-born former Cuban government minister Ernesto "Che" Guevara, who was seeking to foment a rebellion by peasants against the country's government.

President Duarte said the declaration was a direct result of a meeting between Cuban President Fidel Castro and Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo in Cozumel, Mexico, after the two countries' foreign ministers held a preparatory meeting for the October North-South summit in Cancun.

Analysts said then that the timing of Mr. Castro's visit was a gesture by Mexico to soothe Cuba's feelings, ruffled by its exclusion from the summit talks.

They added that it was also aimed at reasserting Mexico's independent, nonaligned foreign policy.

Mr. BARNES. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

PRESIDENT DUARTE'S VISIT TO CONGRESS

Mr. STUDDS. Mr. Enders, as you well know, we have talked many times before about private enemies and unreal settings. You and I come from different places, and I am going to try to resist the temptation to give a lengthy explanation of my own feelings, and go almost immediately to the questions.

Washington, at least from my perspective, is always an unreal place, and congressional hearings are uniquely unreal, both in their format and the impressions that they give of what is happening in the world that exists beyond the beltway. Of all the settings and subjects in which that unreality hits me hardest is a discussion such as this on topics such as this.

With the visit of President Duarte this week we all did our diplomatic best, regardless of our own personal positions, and everybody went out of their way to be a model of diplomacy.

I think we may have overreacted. If he were to base his judgment of American public opinion solely on what he heard and encountered with the House of Representatives' Members, he would go home a very happy man indeed, thinking there was no very serious concern, or questioning of the administration's policy with respect to El Salvador, and it must be said this is not the case.

Regardless of whether one supports or opposes that policy it is an extreme to say it is one held by the American people.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Projects

I must say that I think the administration has been about as successful in convincing the people of this country it knows what it is doing in El Salvador as it has been successful in convincing Wall Street it knows what it is doing with respect to the economy. I must say also that I think there are other analogies between the policies both economic and in Central America. They share the characteristics of being, in my judgment, illogical, unjust, and unworkable. I think that we are seeing more and more of the kind, or the emperor—I am not sure which yet—without any clothes. Let me acknowledge, as you would, that we are not going to get anywhere arguing with one another. Let us see if we can go to questions.

ELECTIONS

The heart of the position of the Government in El Salvador, which, as is usual, is indistinguishable from the heart of the U.S. position in this matter, is that elections are the way to go. You yourself once again testified to that fact. The head of the Salvadoran Election Commission as you know has said free elections cannot occur in El Salvador as long as the state of siege is maintained. Do we agree with that assessment?

Mr. ENDERS. The way in which we handle the state of siege is obviously one of the important questions which will have to be decided in a dialog among parties which should now begin, a dialog among the parties and with the government. It is indistinguishable from the question of how you assure security in the course of the campaigning and actual voting. It is not for us to take a view on that, Mr. Studds.

Mr. STUDDS. We seem to take one on almost everything else.

Mr. ENDERS. It is for the Government to decide that question after dialog.

Mr. STUDDS. That is the type of answer which I might have anticipated.

Let me ask you—if this is not too much of a challenge for anybody in the U.S. Department of State today—to try to put yourself in the position of someone on the left. I notice Mr. Duarte, like Mr. Haig—Mr. Haig's language appears to be contagious—is talking about geopolitics. I thought that went out with Secretary Kissinger. Put yourself if you can—without jeopardizing your career—in the position of someone on the left in opposition to the Government of El Salvador. Realistically, how could you be assured that you could renounce violence and participate in this Government's and this military's version of elections under which they decide what the elections will be; they decide what the ground rules will be; they probably decide who can even participate in the elections? Could you take their word that you would not be killed, that you would be allowed to present your views fairly and openly and freely with access to people in the country? In the unlikely event that under the current circumstances you were not killed and you were allowed to convey your views, what if you won the election? Would a military, which was unwilling to even let Mr. Duarte take power, let someone take power who they—and you—believe represent the extreme left and the forces of international communism? Do you really think you could convince someone on the left that is a realistic scenario that they ought to participate in?

Mr. ENDERS. I think the point, Mr. Studds, is that those are questions that the parties of the left, of the extreme left—and possibly the Frente, which is a grouping of parties—should ask of the other parties and of the government.

In other words, why should there not be talks about precisely those questions? Why is it you have to assume that there is an answer which will already be provided? Find out, ask the question, talk about it, possibly negotiate about it.

The second point—this is a set of issues on which the foreign governments and foreign countries concerned can be helpful. The United States has already indicated that it would be willing to provide its good offices if desired. We now see that it is desired by the Salvadoran Government. We would provide our good offices for contacts among parties if in fact there was a radical lack of confidence or unwillingness to have direct contacts, which I think would be one of the kinds of conditions that you are talking about or implying in your remarks.

Other countries, we hope, will be willing to do this, too. The involvement of the United States and other countries could help assure that the outcomes which your hypothetical leftists would fear would not occur.

NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. STUDDS. I know my time is up. I would just observe I cannot conceive—no matter how hypothetical—of anybody in opposition to this Government on the left who would be very reassured by what you said. The way you expressed yourself, if I heard you correctly, sounds perilously close to the Mexican-French position with which we have pronounced ourselves singularly displeased. As I understand it, the United States will not tolerate the suggestion that there ought to be negotiations about whether or not there ought to be elections at this point or anything else. We insist that the concept of elections as envisioned by this Government and by ourselves be accepted and that they, of course, may be talked about. But whether or not there might be some other approach as suggested by the French and the Mexicans—that the parties ought to negotiate—is precisely, as I have heard you and others in the past say, something which is unacceptable to the United States. Why it is acceptable or unacceptable or relevant to the United States eludes me. Leave that aside for the moment. It is something we have been highly critical of France and Mexico for suggesting.

Mr. ENDERS. No. We ourselves associate with the criticism others have made. We have been critical of the recognition of a violent opposition to the Salvador Government within Salvador.

Mr. STUDDS. The recognition of a violent government does not bother us very much.

Mr. ENDERS. The recognition of a violent opposition to the Government of El Salvador.

No, we have said it before very clearly, that in our view we are prepared to assist others in talking about the way in which elections could be held, and we have made that quite clear. The French-Mexican communique and indeed the left opposition to the Government is not talking about that. It is talking about restruc-

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El Salvador: Human Rights Legal Project (HRLP)

turing the Government, restructuring the military as a prelude to unspecified negotiations.

Mr. STUDDS. As you said earlier, what business is that of ours? I know my time is up, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BARNES. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. Gejdenson.

MILITARY SOLUTION

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I guess one of the problems that some of us have who are getting more pessimistic about the situation in El Salvador is that we are applying a military solution to everyone in opposition, from center to the left. It seems that we are making no real efforts, aside from President Duarte's statement on September 15, to try to take away some of what has developed as a hard left opposition to the Duarte government. I do not say that with a real hope we can accomplish a great deal at this point in El Salvador, but in looking at Guatemala, I see we have a similar set of circumstances. If our response is the same, it will merely weld that group of opposition forces together even tighter. I am looking for signs that our Government is making significant efforts in some way to demonstrate that we are really concerned, that we desire to broaden the range of people involved in the political process in El Salvador, in Guatemala, or anywhere else. I think that you yourself on some occasions have talked about Cubans grabbing a section of the political spectrum far beyond what they traditionally would ally themselves with to gain their initial goals. I think that a response that will work, or at least has a much better chance of working, is if we can create a situation that lets us work for the forces of change—and let us reach out to a much broader spectrum of the society.

Mr. ENDERS. Well, I am a little reluctant to disagree with my own Congressman, but may I in some part do so.

I think you are not allowing for what is being done. You talk about being concerned for social change. This is a government which has started—it has not carried through, but it has started—the most ambitious, broadest land reform that has been attempted in Latin America, and in which we are behind and will stay behind.

You talk about not allowing for broadening of the spectrum of political participation. Yet we are supporting a government there which is calling for parties of the left, the Social Democrats and the Communist Party, which is offering to the grouping of the left—the Frente—to participate in its political process.

You know, you can only do so much. You cannot in the end be responsible for the acts of all concerned, but there are very substantial opportunities now for parties associated with the left to enter the political process if they so choose. I see no evidence that so far they are prepared to choose that. I do not see how you can go beyond that. After all, they make their own decisions.

Mr. GEJDENSON. I guess where the Congressman and the Congressman's constituent part company is in looking at what has happened historically—and I guess I join my colleague from Massachusetts in this respect. It is difficult to assume that in looking at everything that has happened in El Salvador, or in a country like Guatemala, that just because at some point those in power start asking that everyone participate in the election process, that that in itself will break them away from a guerrilla front.

If I had been a Christian Democrat or Social Democrat working for democratic change for 50 years and then saw the bloodshed of the last several years and the almost uncontrolled murder by the military—if I were in Guatemala seeing Christian Democrats shot almost on a daily basis for a while when the Government suddenly said to me, "Come, it is time for us to go to elections together," I think I would feel like a writer in China during the period of 100 flowers. Everybody was encouraged to speak out freely, but at the end of that period things do not work out so well.

I think we need to do more than simply—if we are part of this, and I think America is clearly identified with the Duarte government—to simply say OK, it is time for elections, you can all come out of the hills now and join in the electoral process.

DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

Mr. ENDERS. Obviously there is a lot more involved in it than that. I hope we never get this country to a point where we lose faith in democratic processes as the ultimate solution to political problems. We have no doubt about the difficulties involved in applying that to a country like El Salvador; but I think there cannot be any other solution to a deeply divided country than democratic institutions. You cannot lose that from sight. We have to move toward it.

Mr. GEJDENSON. I do not think you will get an argument on that. The argument could be made that the Soviet Union claims it has a democratic process for electing its leaders. If I were in the opposition or in the center opposition to the present government in El Salvador, I would feel that the offers of an election in that country are very similar to the offers and the continuous elections in the Soviet Union, that I frankly would not have a great deal of faith that my life or my political fortunes would be protected in the process.

I think that is the anxiety that has to be overcome.

Mr. ENDERS. Well, I think the Government has indicated that it would like to enter into conversations with the parties concerned in order to deal with this and all other issues involved in the process. We think those who are in touch with the left should be in a position of encouraging that to occur rather than of simply saying it is impossible, it will never happen, it cannot possibly work. Why is it that the people who believe most strongly in the democratic process in this country seem to have often so little faith in it as a hope in other countries?

I do not know. I do not understand that.

Mr. GEJDENSON. I think I can explain it, but I will not take up any more time of the subcommittee.

Mr. BARNES. The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Would it be a correct statement to say that the Duarte regime is heavily dependent on U.S. assistance at this stage, if not totally dependent?

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights and Project (Part 2)

Mr. ENDERS. I think there is no question that the situation in El Salvador would be much worse without the economic and military assistance of the United States, much worse.

ELECTORAL PROGRAM

Mr. MICA. I would like to follow up on the question by my colleague, Mr. Studds, because I think that possibly we as a nation could give a stronger assurance based on that leverage. What is wrong with us saying that we as a nation will make one of our top priorities assurances of a fair and free election as a pressure contingent—make our support contingent and make this very broadly and widely known? It seems to me that the weight of the American Government, the support that we give, the situation of the Duarte government and its dependency, all totaled together, could have allowed you to have given him a much stronger answer in that regard.

Mr. ENDERS. Obviously El Salvador is a sovereign country. The Government of El Salvador is very concerned about the exercise of that sovereignty; quite properly so.

The electoral program that has been put forward by the Salvadoran Government is not our electoral program, it is theirs. The way in which they intend to carry it out must be in the end theirs. We as Americans cannot attempt to dictate or to manipulate those solutions. We can hope to support, sustain what they attempt to do, and I think that indeed the presence of American observers at the very start of this process and all the way through the process is one of the reasons why there is some hope and expectation that the process will work in the end; but let me emphasize it has got to be a Salvadoran process.

Mr. MICA. I understand that. You used the terms "dictate to them." I would tend to think what I had in mind more was an affirmative action program. We use affirmative action amongst our own people when we want American citizens, businessmen, to comply with governmental regulations. We have a government down there that will comply in some way with the goals and aims of America; maybe we could have a little stronger affirmative action.

Mr. ENDERS. I like that. We will take affirmative action.

MILITARY SOLUTION

Mr. MICA. All right. Let me ask this. We did have differing views between you and the chairman as we started out today as to whether the war is getting worse or not. Is there a criterion, a list of functions of war—whatever you might call it, casualties, attacks, bombings, deaths, arms supply—that can be measured in an objective sense, say, from now and 6 months ago we could look at as a committee? Does the State Department do that? Does the Pentagon do it?

Mr. ENDERS. We would be glad to provide you from the point of view of the Government as a whole, including intelligence agencies, as I think sometimes you do with very detailed briefings that would address all of those factors.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman, if I may request, I would just like to see for my own edification what could be put together. I do not know how you would term it—a list of qualifiers—as to where we stand now and where we stood 6 months ago. I would like to include in that casualties, terrorist attacks, information on arms flow, and the like.

Mr. ENDERS. We would be delighted to provide that, Mr. Chairman.

[The information referred to follows:]

MILITARY, SECURITY AND NONCOMBATANT CASUALTY FIGURES

It is difficult to obtain definitive casualty figures in the El Salvador conflict. Our best estimate is that from January 1 to October 15, 1981, GOES military and security personnel casualties were about 2,300, including approximately 760 killed in action. From October 15, 1979 through September 1980, about 230 military and security personnel were killed.

As best we can determine, there has been a 40 percent reduction in non-combatant casualties since September 1981. They were running from an average of 150 per week in late 1980, to 120 per week in September 1981. They have been down to approximately 70 per week since September 1981.

ARMS FLOW TO GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR

Guerrilla stock of arms and equipment were reduced during the August offensive. Resupply has been hampered by the increasing success in interdicting some of the land routes through Honduras operated by the guerrillas. However, the guerrillas continue to undertake offensive, harassing actions against Salvador security forces throughout Salvador. The interdiction of some of the supply lines through Honduras has prompted the guerrillas to seek to open alternate routes. Shipments to the guerrillas continue to flow through Nicaragua.

LEFTIST TERRORISM IN EL SALVADOR

During the period October 1979 to the present, the five guerrilla groups which now comprise the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), whose actions are coordinated by an executive board called the United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), have been responsible for thousands of violent deaths in El Salvador. Not only have they killed members of El Salvador's army and security forces, but they have killed bus drivers, businessmen, civilian government officials and foreign diplomats. Since the failure of their "final offensive" in January 1981 they have sought to destroy the country's infrastructure by bombing electrical installations, bridges and communications facilities.

The following 1981 list is a compilation of specifically attributable violent acts carried out by the left primarily against the non-combatant civilian population. It is illustrative, rather than comprehensive, but it clearly is representative of the violence that characterizes leftist subversion in El Salvador today. In cases where a specific group has claimed "credit" for the action or otherwise was identifiable the group is identified.

1981 CHRONOLOGY OF TERRORIST ATTACKS IN EL SALVADOR

January 12—South African reporter Ian Mates was killed and two Americans were wounded when their car struck a leftist land mine near Aguilares, north of the capital.

January 31—A bomb was rolled down a corridor of the Apopa (San Salvador) City Hall; the subsequent explosion injured three municipal police and damaged the building.

February 20—A group of terrorists fleeing from a failed attempt to destroy an electrical installation entered the Tinetti Market, killed one vendor and injured several others.

February 27—At least five people were killed when a bomb exploded at the Ministry of Labor in San Salvador.

March 1—A truck carrying water to Suchitoto (Cuscatlan) was attacked by guerrillas; the driver of the truck was killed in the incident.

March 15—FMLN members reportedly took over the Ana Guerra de Jesus neighborhood in San Vicente and held a meeting during which they warned residents

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

that they would be executed if they did not participate in a takeover of San Vicente planned for the end of the month.

March 17—Guerrillas machinegunned a small truck near Tecapan (Usulutan), killing the driver.

March 23—Guerrillas dressed in olive drab were engaged in stopping buses near San Lorenzo and San Esteban Catarina (San Vicente). They exacted "voluntary contributions" from the passengers and kidnapped a National Guardsman who was on board one bus.

March 25—Six people were injured when a bomb exploded in a Santa Ana roller skating rink.

March 25—Guerrillas attacked a group of peasants working near Canton Coyolito (Cuscatlan). One soldier defending the peasants was injured.

March 26—A car containing bombs and arms in addition to three people exploded on a San Salvador street, killing the three plus a fourth man who was riding past on a motorcycle.

March 27—A powerful bomb exploded in the San Benito section of San Salvador killing two women who were waiting for a bus and injuring several others. Reportedly the bomb was intended to kill JRG President Duarte, whose car was soon to pass that point.

March 28—Guerrillas dressed in olive drab were engaged in stopping and robbing the occupants of vehicles on the coast ("Litoral") highway near Tepecoyo (La Paz).

March 30—Guerrillas exploded a bomb on a road near Sensuntepeque (Cabanas) and then machinegunned a truck, killing one fourteen year old.

March 30—Guerrillas entered the town of Nuevo Eden de San Juan (San Miguel) and shot the postmaster.

April 6—A bomb exploded at the home of a Justice of the Supreme Court, Rafael Rodriguez.

April 8—Guerrillas killed the owner and injured the driver of a fuel tanker truck near La Riena (Chalatenango).

April 11—Two people were injured when terrorists blew up the Astor Theater.

April 12—Guerrillas took Caserio Guarnecia near Texistepeque (Santa Ana) and shot one resident who refused to cooperate in giving them food and funds.

April 12—Guerrillas reportedly attacked a civil defense patrol in Canton El Chile, San Juan Nonualco (La Paz) and killed five patrol members.

April 12—Guerrillas reportedly killed two members of the civil defense group in Canton La Esperanza (San Vicente).

April 27—The clandestine Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) today claimed responsibility for the deaths of nine civilian patrol members, the destruction of the communications office and the garrison and the occupation of the Village of Nuevo Eden de San Juan, east of San Salvador.

April 28—Guerrillas invaded Canton Potrero Batres, San Isidro (Cabanas), killed three inhabitants and injured three others.

April 28—Guerrillas assassinate Dr. Carlos Alberto Hidalgo, President of National Lottery and labor leader. Guerrillas stopped his car and shot him four times in chest.

April 29—Carlos Hidalgo Cuellar, the President of the National Lottery, was assassinated in Mejicanos (San Salvador). The FPL claimed responsibility for the crime, justifying it on the basis that Hidalgo was a dissident Marxist.

April 29—A Treasury Police (PH) post guarding an electrical substation in Soyapango (San Salvador) was attacked by guerrillas. The interpreter for a U.S. journalist who decided to enter the fray was killed; the journalist and a Salvadoran colleague were injured.

April 29—Machine gun toting assailants stole a taxi from its driver near the San Salvador Civic Center. The driver called for assistance from nearby colleagues; their pursuit ended when the assailant machine gunned them, killing one.

April 29—Guerrillas engaged stopping and robbing motorist on the road to Verapaz (San Vicente), shot and killed one victim who refused to cooperate.

April 30—Assailants set fire to the Prensa Grafica newspaper distributorship in Santa Ana. Two people (including one arsonist) suffered gasoline burns and one man was shot by the departing visitors.

April 30—A San Salvador supermarket was bombed.

April 30—One member of the Civil Defense Committee in Canton El Chile, Zacatecoluca was killed by a group of guerrilla attackers.

May 1—Seven people were killed and four injured by a terrorist bomb explosion on the road linking Cinquera (Cuscatlan) and Suchitoto (Cabanas). The dead and injured were part of a group which had refused to join the guerrillas.

May 3—Jose Ernesto Medrano, son of retired General Jose Medrano, was gunned down by [illegible]ist terrorist as he was entering [illegible]aptist Church in San Salvador.

May 3—Two people were killed when guerrillas attacked a group of farm workers on the Guajoyo Hacienda in San Vicente.

May 5—A 73-year old lawyer, Jose Valentino, Jaimes, was shot to death by hooded men in his office in San Salvador. He was a former judge and legal adviser of the security forces.

May 5—Antonio Fausto Nativi, Justice of the Peace of San Jorge, was shot to death while at home with his family. A group comprised of about 15 or 20 hooded and heavily armed men arrived in his house demanding that Nativi give them his weapons and cash.

May 6—One bomb exploded inside a car near the University of El Salvador and killed three people, two of whom have been identified.

May 6—Three people were wounded in a shootout and a bomb explosion in Independiente Avenue in San Salvador.

May 7—Individuals in a taxi shot to death Hector Manuel Tovar Duque, a 36-year old bus driver, in front of the San Salvador maternity hospital.

May 7—In Santa Ana, 24-year old businesswomen Maria Luisa Quintana was shot to death while alone at home.

May 7—Guerrillas assassinated two peasants and injured three others in Canton El Paraiso near Jiquilisco (Usulutan).

May 8—Carlos Roberto Martinez Guerra was shot to death near Santa Elena after being taken off a bus on the road to Jucuapa by several unidentified men.

May 8—Five individuals who identified themselves as members of a subversive organization killed Ignacio Fuentes, Mayor of Dulce Nombre de Maria, in Chalatenango.

May 10—FMLN guerrillas occupied San Emilio Canton in Tecoluca and held a meeting to ask the townspeople to join their ranks. Afterwards, they kidnapped two members of the town's Civil Defense Force from their homes.

May 11—The body of Carlos Barrientos, a well-known Santa Ana businessman, was found 8 days after his kidnapping.

May 11—Several youths were hanged by terrorists in San Jose, Las Flores, Chalatenango.

May 12—Guerrillas stopped a bus near San Sebastian (San Vicente), robbed the passengers, and kidnapped one lady bus rider.

May 13—Leftist Farbundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas continue harassing the Salvadoran Civil Defense members in different places.

May 13—In a Villa Victoria town, a group of civilian patrolmen who were patrolling the area clashed with guerrillas from nearby camps. In the clash, one woman who assisted the patrolmen was seriously wounded and four patrolmen were killed.

May 13—In Verapaz, San Vicente, the Civil Defense Headquarters was attacked by the guerrillas and two patrolmen were killed.

May 14—Elvira Guadalupe Campos Guerra, a social worker, was kidnapped by unidentified persons who forcibly removed her from her place of work in the Atlacatl neighborhood. The victim is the sister of Col. Napoleon Armando Guerra, who is Salvadoran Ambassador to Israel.

May 14—The Governor's secretary, 40-year old Miguel Monge, and five other persons were shot to death by unidentified attackers in Chalatenango.

May 14—Jesus Macario Salazar, a messenger of the National Telecommunications Office, was shot by individuals who, it is believed, identified themselves as members of the subversive organizations.

May 20—48-year old Mariano de Jesus Arevalo and his 21-year old son were kidnapped on May 16 from their home by heavily armed men and their bullet-ridden bodies were found on May 18. The two worked for the Agrarian Reform Institute.

May 21—A bomb exploded at a Santa Ana savings bank. The FMLN took credit for the attack.

May 22—Defenders of the Central Hacienda near Suchitoto battled guerrillas intent on taking the farm.

May 26—A watchman was shot to death in Ciudad Delgado, and a San Miguel resident was shot dead in front of his home.

June 2—Three Antel employees were shot while attempting to repair lines downed by guerrillas near Santa Cruz Porrillo.

June 2—A bomb was thrown against a truck carrying passengers near Canton San Cristobal, Tecoluca, (San Vincente). Several of the passengers were injured by the blast.

June 5—A truck carrying numerou[illegible]assengers was machinegunned by g[illegible]illas near Canton Sayulapa, Ilobasco.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project

...ne ...arabunco Marti Nations. Liberation Front (FMLN) attacked a Green Cross ambulance carrying a wounded woman from Cinquera. Green Cross personnel wounded in the attack said the guerrillas openly admitted they attacked the ambulance because the Green Cross is cooperating with the National Guard in giving aid to the refugees in this town, some 60 KM north of San Salvador. Besides wounding three Green Cross members, the guerrillas stripped the uniforms from other Green Cross personnel travelling in the ambulance.

On June 13 in Canton San Jacinto, Santa Ana, a bomb destroyed an electrical transmission tower.

On June 17 in San Salvador an electrical substation was destroyed by a bomb.

On June 21, near El Transito, San Miguel, two electric transmission towers were dynamited, leaving the department without power for 16 hours.

On June 21, near Jucuapa, Usulutan, an electrical transmission tower was destroyed leaving a wide area without power.

On June 24, in Metapan, Santa Ana, a passenger train was damaged when a bomb was detonated below the engine.

On July 8 an antel (telephone) installation was damaged by a bomb in Soyapango.

On July 8, in San Salvador an electrical tower was demolished by terrorists leaving some areas of the capital without power.

On July 10 near Tecoluca, San Vicente, a train was dynamited and derailed.

On July 14 near Tierra Blanca, Usulutan, six electrical towers were cut down with hachets.

On July 14, near San Cedros, Cuscatlan several electrical towers were dynamited leaving the eastern parts of the country in darkness.

On July 14 four terrorists killed a bus driver and then burned the bus and the driver's body after he resisted the attempted hijacking.

On July 15 in Santa Ana a bomb caused severe damage to a sugar warehouse.

On July 16 near Jiquilisco, Usulutan, several electrical towers were destroyed by bombs leaving some areas of Usulutan without power.

On July 17 the cooperative "La Nueva Esperanza", located near San Juan Opico, La Libertad was invaded by 50 men who beat up the employees and burned a food warehouse.

On July 19 the town of Santa Elena, Usulutan was attacked by about 35 terrorists who destroyed the city hall and three electrical towers.

On July 19 near Canton El Nino, San Miguel, two electrical towers were destroyed, leaving the cities of San Miguel and La Union without power.

On July 19 in Santa Ana, detonation of bombs at the offices of the water and electrical companies.

On July 19 in Santa Ana, a bomb destroyed a supermarket.

On July 20 near Suchitoto, Cuscatlan the main building of the historic La Bermuda Hacienda were burned by a group of terrorists.

On July 20 in San Salvador bombs destroyed a pharmacy and a supermarket.

On July 21 near San Juan Opico, La Libertad, the Las Grandillas Hacienda was attacked by guerrillas who burned a number of buildings.

On July 21 in San Salvador, a bomb destroyed a business that rented catering equipment and provided waiters. Radio Venceremos claimed credit.

On July 22 in San Salvador, the house of a magistrate was bombed, causing only material damage. Radio Venceremos took credit for this attack.

On July 23 in San Salvador, the central office of the Banco Cuscatlan was bombed Radio Venceremos reported.

On July 23 two other branches of Banco Cuscatlan were bombed. The FMLN took credit.

On July 24 a part of the city of San Salvador was for a time without power due to the destruction of electrical towers.

Radio Venceremos claimed credit for the destruction on July 19 of a power line from Cerron Grande Dam to Soyapango; the sabotage of sewage facilities in San Salvador on July 20; the destruction on July 21 of an electrical tower between Ahuachapan and Santa Ana.

On July 25 near Suchitoto, Cuscatlan, several electrical towers were damaged or destroyed by dynamite.

On July 26 near Canton La Bermuda, Cuscatlan, the pipeline serving the town of Suchitoto was dynamited leaving the municipality without a supply of fresh water.

On July 26 near Canton Santa Ozaya, Cabanas, guerrillas opened fire on a bus, wounding four passengers.

On July 27 in the suburb of Sacamil, a stolen American Embassy vehicle was destroyed by dynamite.

On July 28 near Tecoluca, San Vicente, guerrillas fired upon a passing bus, killing three passengers and wounding 15 more.

On July 28 in San Salvador the destruction of two electrical towers.

On July 29 near the city of La Union, a train was derailed by guerrillas who dynamited the right of way.

On July 29 in Santa Ana the offices of the Banco De Fomento Agripecuraio were destroyed by a bomb.

On July 29 in Santa Ana a bomb destroyed a supermarket wounding four persons.

On July 31, near Tahuilapa, Santa Ana, a bus was attacked by terrorists, leaving eight persons wounded.

Radio Venceremos claimed the July 28 bombing of the two stores in Santa Ana; the July 29 destruction of the electric transmission towers near El Transito, San Miguel; the August 1 dynamiting of a bridge in Canton Trinidad, Morazan.

On August 1 in San Salvador a bomb destroyed a supermarket.

On August 3 in Santo Domingo, San Vicente, a bomb severely damaged an electrical substation.

On August 4 in Istepeque, San Vicente an electrical generating plant was destroyed.

On August 4 in San Salvador another electrical substation was attacked by an armed group which, upon being repulsed by soldiers, vented their frustration by detonating a bomb in the adjoining neighborhood.

On August 8 FMLN took responsibility for the sabotage of telephone and power lines near Santa Rosa, San Vicente.

On August 8 near Canton Pedregalban San Vicente, guerrillas discharged a bomb on a bridge on the Pan-American Highway.

On August 9 near Canton La Zorra an electrical substation was demolished by guerrillas.

On August 10 near Chalpetique, San Miguel, a bomb thrown into a private home wounded 4 persons.

On August 10 near Canton La Trinidad, San Miguel a highway bridge was dynamited by terrorists.

On August 10 near Santa Rosa de Lima, La Union several passengers were wounded when a bus was attacked by guerrillas.

On August 10 in Jiquilisco Usulutan a group of terrorists opened fire from a pick up killing one passerby.

August 15–22, a leftist terrorist attack on a bus in Usulutan Department claimed 20 lives.

On August 16 in San Salvador bombs destroyed two telephone switching boxes in separate areas of the capital.

On August 16 Radio Venceremos claimed responsibility for the destruction of brigades outside San Francisco Gotera, Morazan.

On August 16 near San Miguel a highway bridge was destroyed by dynamite, blocking access to the city along that route.

On August 17 in and around San Salvador at least 8 electrical towers were destroyed by terrorists, leaving large stretches of the capital without power and water for us to three days.

On August 17 destruction of a bridge outside and the subsequent blocking of railroad tracks near Talpetates, San Miguel.

On August 18 in San Salvador a bomb exploded in the Barrion Lourdes neighborhood, wounding 4 persons.

On August 20 partial destruction on Las Quebradas Bridge in La Paz.

On August 20 destruction of the electrical towers near Zacatecoluca, La Paz.

On August 20 damage afflicted to railroad tracks and a power plant in San Vicente.

Radio Venceremos said on August 21 guerrilla commands sabotaged the power substation on South Avenue, destroying part of the substation and cutting power in a sector of the capital.

On August 24 a commando group sabotaged the Trananational Tropigas, located on 8th Avenue South and Oriente Street, destroying shop installations and part of the stadium installation nearby.

On August 24, explosion of a bomb within the National Police Headquarters in downtown San Salvador.

On August 25 near Villa Dolores, Cabanas a bus was machine gunned by subversives. One person was killed and three wounded in the attack.

On August 25 a commando group sabotaged a high-tension tower at Cerron Grande which provides electricity for San Salvador. This action took place at Tonacatepeque Jurisdiction. The tower was destroyed and power was cut off in a large sector of the capital throughout the day.

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On August 25, three utility poles were destroyed in various points of the capital, two on the northern main highway near FM 4, cutting off power in a large sector of the northern part of San Salvador.

Radio Venceremos said that on August 25, an FMLN sabotage squad destroyed six utility poles that transmit electricity from Santa Ana to Coatepeque and El Congo.

On Wednesday, August 26, a utility pole of the power plant of Santa Ana, which supplies electricity to an area of this city, was also destroyed.

On August 26 several FMLN commands exploded bombs in the homes and commercial establishments including two automobile agencies on Roosevelt Avenue.

Sabotage was carried out against the residences of Guillermo Machon de Paz, Jose Ortiga Sandoval in El Roble Development, University Boulevard.

On August 26 in San Salvador a bomb destroyed an electrical transformer near the government center leaving a portion of the capital without power.

On August 26 in San Miguel a gasoline station was bombed and machine gunned. Radio Venceremos claimed credit in which one attendant was wounded.

On August 26 in the capital suburbs of Soyapango a bomb brought down an electrical tower, plunging a large area of the capital into darkness.

On August 26 the destruction of two electrical towers near San Carlos Zelamate, San Miguel.

On August 27 a guerrilla offensive against the Cobalry's electrical power grid left areas of the capital and its environs without power and water for the better part of three days.

On August 28 in Santa Ana two electrical posts were destroyed cutting power in some areas.

Radio Venceremos said on August 28 the storehouse of a foreign chemical company was sabotaged with grenades.

On August 28, the tanks of the Tropigas Company were sabotaged.

On August 29, the residence of Wilfredo Navarrete, was sabotaged.

On August 31 at 1915, the residence of Juan Martinez Domingues was sabotaged.

On September 2 at 1910, three bombs were placed at the Selectos supermarkets and two others at the Salvadoran bank, near the Flor Blanca Stadium.

On September 2 in San Salvador two bombs installed in a shopping center destroyed a supermarket, bank, and six cars. The explosions also doused the lights just before a soccer game in a nearby stadium. The capacity crowd remained in the dark for an hour until the power returned and the game could be started.

Radio Venceremos on September 9, took credit for a command of FMLN which laid a charge of explosives in the home of Dr. Dina Castro de Callejas, the Under Secretary of Justice.

On Wednesday, September 9, a command of FMLN laid a charge of explosives in the home of Dr. Jose Hernandez Colocho.

On September 11, over 40 relatives of National Guard members living in Jucuapa and San Jose de las Flores Cantons, in Usulutan and Chalatenango Departments respectively, were shot to death.

On September 16 near San Rafeal Cedros, Cuscatlan a highway bridge was destroyed by dynamite.

U.S. POSITION ON NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. MICA. The last question: To be very specific, what is the U.S. position with regard to discussions for negotiations as opposed to involvement with the Mexican-Franco bloc proclamation? It was my understanding in the questioning here there was some misunderstanding or it was not clear as to what our position was with regard to how we enter negotiations. Are you saying, in effect, that we are saying we want a peaceful solution and we would like to have discussions about how those negotiations should take place, or are you saying for us to say that would be interference?

Mr. ENDERS. No. Let me be very clear about this. We think that the election process, all parts of it, provide a framework in which the basic political questions of El Salvador can be debated first and ultimately decided through the design of the institutions which has

to be done and then elections of parties and people to man those institutions.

We very much support the call of President Duarte to have all current registered parties, both of the right and the left, and of the center, participate in that process, and his call to have other parties or groupings like the Frente participate in them.

We think that that offers an opportunity for the fundamental questions of the country to be addressed by all concerned. There are plenty of opportunities for discussion process. There are plenty of opportunities for negotiations among the parties with the Government within that process. We think it is a question not of opportunity, it is a question of will. We do not see that there is any will of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front to participate in that process. We do not see that the will has so far been expressed by the Frente, the political arm.

THE DUARTE GOVERNMENT

Mr. MICA. I know my time has expired. If you could answer this: With Duarte considered somewhat in the center between the extreme right and the extreme left, is there anyone who thinks that either of those two groups—the left or the right—would have a more compassionate or freer form of government than what Duarte is pushing?

Mr. ENDERS. I do not think I should speculate on alternative forms of government in El Salvador. The whole purpose of this process is to have that ultimately put up to an election, first for the constituent assembly and then for the Presidency itself. The Christian Democrats led by Duarte are one grouping to contest that, but they are not the only one.

Mr. MICA. Let me rephrase that. I have not heard of a Member of Congress, of either the House or Senate, who feels that way. Is there anyone in our Government who feels that if Duarte were to withdraw or we were to withdraw and he was subsequently toppled, that one of those two extremes that are involved in this matter would provide the people of El Salvador with a better chance to express themselves in a more democratic environment?

Mr. ENDERS. We have made very clear that an effort by the left or the right to overturn the existing transition Government would not be an effort that would receive the support of the United States. Let me reaffirm that very clearly here.

What ultimately emerges from this institutional election process is to be decided by the Salvadoran people, certainly not by the outside.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Secretary, some of my colleagues have a couple of further questions. Let me just pursue, if I may, a couple of points that the gentleman from Florida just addressed.

One is the data with respect to casualties and incidents of violence and what not. It would be helpful if you could, in conjunction with your colleagues in the other relevant agencies, provide that to the subcommittee.

We had a statement the other morning from the head of the National Guard, Colonel Ca[redacted]ova—who met with some [redacted]us—

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

that a very high proportion of his men have been wounded or killed. I wonder if we might get those casualty rates as well. [The information requested follows:]

CASUALTY RATES FOR SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES

According to the Salvadoran Armed Forces High Command, in the first six months of 1981 the armed forces sustained more than 1,300 casualties, including over 350 killed in action.

NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. BARNES. Pursuing one other aspect of the question that Mr. Erica was asking just one step further, in your opening statement you said, if I understood correctly, that the left has made no proposals for negotiations, that a lot of people are calling for negotiations but they have made no proposals, they have not put anything out that they say they are prepared to negotiate about. The implication was that it is time for them to do that. If in fact they did that, is the United States prepared to seriously consider proposals for negotiations?

Mr. ENDERS. Well, you have a very clear position by the United States, as well as by the Government, of discussions and contacts about matters related to the electoral process. We are, indeed, prepared to support it in that framework.

Mr. BARNES. Let me read you a statement from one of the witnesses who is going to follow you this afternoon, Mr. Leiken. He proposes a concrete step that he believes our Government should consider taking in order to promote a genuine political solution in El Salvador. On page 40 of his testimony he says:

> The first such concrete step is that the United States Congress declare its support for a negotiated settlement in El Salvador which would bring together all of the parties in the conflict. Parliaments in other countries have addressed this question. Now it is time that ours do the same.

What would be the administration's reaction to a congressional initiative urging a negotiated settlement to the crisis in El Salvador?

Mr. ENDERS. I think that the appropriate thing would be for the administration, the Congress, others concerned, to urge a political settlement and that the exact form and way in which that would be arrived at is not up for us to attempt to describe in great detail.

Why would not the thing at this point be for some proposals to be made by the opposition to the Government and to have them then presented—through intermediaries—to the Government itself down in El Salvador? Is not that the correct way to proceed?

Mr. BARNES. You lost me in that last sentence. What was the right way for them to proceed?

Mr. ENDERS. Here you have a statement by President Duarte calling for the political arm of the insurrection to come in and renounce violence, come and join. Maybe there should be talks about that or any other conditions that the Frente would propose. Why does not the Frente respond to that in some form? If they do not agree with it, why do they not tell them what their views are, what they are prepared to do?

Mr. BARNES. I understand the point you are making. I can understand, as expressed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, why some people who are engaged in the war down there have some qualms about renouncing anything in return for nothing that has been arranged in advance. But let me call upon the gentleman from California.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I heard a report on the radio I guess the night before last, or a report of a report, and then the report was attacked. That is kind of a common procedure around here, I guess. The report was that the Reagan administration had come out in support of the idea of a negotiated settlement, and the implication, anyway, from the way it was being discussed was that that would mean that the guerrillas would be somehow taken into the Government at this point. At least that was the criticism of what it was reported the Reagan administration had said it wanted. You are telling us that we would support negotiations toward working for the election that has been proposed? Is that really what we are talking about here?

Mr. ENDERS. Yes; let me make absolutely clear, if I can, about this. The United States, for its part, does not believe the Salvadoran Government, for its part, would support or propose a negotiation about sharing power in the junta or in some transitional government. This kind of negotiation which has sometimes been suggested by the opposition to the junta we think is neither justified on its merits or realistic. But look at the political process which is opening up in front of you. You are going to have a constituent assembly that will design institutions. You will have discussions in an election commission beforehand about how to hold elections for that constituent assembly. Then you will have a presidential election after that. So you have all kinds of issues of the political process which are now open for discussion and debate and conceivably among the parties and with the governments for something that would look very much like negotiations. Why is that not happening?

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. You know one thing, too, I must say the way some people around this place talk, it is as if nothing at all has happened in the last 50 years, that the situation was completely the same, that the oligarchy runs the country, that the military are their tools, and that nothing at all has changed. Is it not true there was a revolution that threw out a military dictatorship, and was not that revolution led by many of the military who were still in power at this point in time?

Mr. ENDERS. Yes, it is true. That supposedly oligarchical government was the one that expropriated the large land properties as well as determined that sharecroppers and small tenant farmers should receive in full property the land that they till. That is hardly the description of a reactionary government.

ARMS SUPPLY TO GUERRILLAS

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. What is the current level of arms smuggling to the guerrillas?

Mr. ENDERS. During the summer it has not been at the high levels of last winter, but to the best of our knowledge it has continued at substantial levels in the course of the spring and summer, levels which would be consistent with relatively substantial sustained operations by insurgents over the long period

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (CIA)

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Can you tell us what the type or nature of the weapons being supplied is now compared to what is being used by the Government of El Salvador?

Mr. ENDERS. They are small arms and munitions and also explosives and machine guns, some recoilless rifles as well. There has been a distinct tendency toward upgrading the mix.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. There have been some reports in the press that the El Salvadorans were saying that Cubans or Nicaraguans were being used in El Salvador as advisers or combatants.

Mr. ENDERS. We heard reports of that kind. We cannot verify them at this time. We cannot exclude that, but cannot confirm it.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Let me ask you one other question. We have heard all kinds of reports about the economic situation in El Salvador. One of the things that I have heard—and I would like to know if it is accurate—it is kind of hard to believe that it would be—is that the level of employment or at least the level of people continuing to work and do whatever their daily job is is very high. Is that correct?

I say it is hard to believe if what we hear about the war situation is accurate.

Mr. ENDERS. There has been a decline in economic activity from its high point in 1978 of perhaps 10 percent which, of course, is serious because the population continues to grow, per capita incomes are down substantially more.

As a result there has been a higher level of unemployment in that society than there was before. In addition as a result of military action in various parts of the country, there have been refugees within the country, many of whom have gone to the larger cities, and—above all—to San Salvador. There are obvious social ills, but the country continues to operate at a level of economic activity which is relatively high, some 90 percent perhaps of its high point.

The attack on the power system was an obvious effort to put it on much lower levels of economic activity. That succeeded for a short time, but power has now been to a large degree restored.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Thank you.

Mr. BARNES. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

FOREIGN TRAINERS

Mr. STUDDS. I want to get on some other subjects but I want to try—in vain, I am sure—one more time on the subject being pursued by the gentleman from Maryland. Did I understand you to say in response to Mr. Lagomarsino that the only foreign nationals we are able to verify unequivocally at this point either training or advising in El Salvador are our own?

Mr. ENDERS. I did not say that. The United States has some 25-plus foreign trainers in the country at the moment.

Mr. STUDDS. Other than that, we have not verified any others; is that correct?

Mr. ENDERS. We do know, Mr. Studds, that a relatively large number of the insurgents have been trained in Cuba, and some may be trained in Nicaragua.

NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. STUDDS. Let me try one more run around this, then we will give up. Would the United States have any objection of any kind to totally unconditional face-to-face discussions between the Duarte government and the Frente designed to find a solution to the violence?

Mr. ENDERS. Look, Mr. Studds——

Mr. STUDDS. It is a fairly simple question.

Mr. ENDERS. One can imagine hundreds of negotiating scenarios.

Mr. STUDDS. I did not ask you for any of them.

Mr. ENDERS. The point is that a series of proposals have been made which remain without any response. There is no point in trying to negotiate with yourself in order to see whether you can imagine something which might appeal to oneself. You talk about reality. The reality down there is that the violent left does not wish to pick up the opportunities for discussions and talks open to it. There is no point in making hundreds of hypothetical questions.

Mr. STUDDS. I did not ask any, much less hundreds. I asked a simple, straightforward question. The record will reflect that you are unwilling to answer it. But the question is, would the United States have any objection to totally unconditional face-to-face discussions between the Government and the Frente? If so, on what conceivable basis?

Mr. ENDERS. If the proposal were made by the authorities of El Salvador, that would be on their responsibility. We are not going to make additional proposals for this——

Mr. STUDDS. I did not ask for any proposals. I said would you object to their talking unconditionally.

Mr. ENDERS. They have plenty of opportunity to talk now. Indeed, if I am not mistaken——

Mr. STUDDS. Let the record reflect your unwillingness to answer the question, if you are not going to. It did not seem to me to be a trap, particularly. I cannot imagine the United States unwillingness to answer such a question. I am compelled to attempt to imagine it by your unwillingness to answer it.

MURDERED CHURCHWOMEN

Let me try some questions with respect to the four murdered churchwomen. On two recent occasions Ambassador Hinton has been quoted as follows, first of all in the Washington Post on the 20th of August, as saying, "If the six national guardsmen are released because the jury or judge find them innocent for some reason, I will regret that, but clearly it has to be accepted." By the UPI on the 28th of last month as saying, "I have concluded that it is not impossible that these fellows will be found guilty in a civilian court for murder, but it is not probable in my judgment."

My question is, do not such statements send a signal to the security forces in El Salvador that the United States is willing to accept a failure of the investigation? In fact, that we think it is

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

probable—to use our ambassador's own words—and that we would be willing to attribute that failure not to a coverup or to unprofessional investigative activity on the part of the Government but to the so-called difficulty of obtaining good evidence under the quaintness of Salvadoran justice?

Mr. ENDERS. We do not view the investigations into those murders as being over. We intend to pursue them with every means open to us. We do not expect at this point that the outcomes speculated on by Ambassador Hinton are going to result.

Mr. STUDDS. Let me ask you a couple of specifics, if I can. From the information we have about the case so far, and in a letter that you wrote to the brother of one of the murdered women, you said, "We believe, based on the information available to us at this time, that the Salvadoran authorities are on the right track."

Do you believe the murders were premeditated?

Mr. ENDERS. You have got me on to speculative ground here, Mr. Studds, that I am not sure I have enough information, or anybody would have enough information.

Mr. STUDDS. I will respect your inability to answer any question like that.

Mr. ENDERS. Some evidence has been developed in the cases. It is so far essentially circumstantial evidence. It is very hard to go from circumstantial evidence to clear views as to the motives of the possible killers.

Mr. STUDDS. Do you believe they were perpetrated by members of the security forces of El Salvador?

Mr. ENDERS. Well, six members of the Guardia Nacional have been detained in connection with the murders of the four churchwomen. I do not know, I am not morally certain, I cannot say who did those murders. I can only say that there is circumstantial evidence which would implicate the six, but we do not know yet.

FATHER ROTHER

Mr. STUDDS. I have a series of other questions to which I will get the same response. I will not press those.

Let me do a quick aside on the same tragic topic with respect to another country. Has the Government of Guatemala been conducting a satisfactory investigation into the killing of Father Stanley Rother?

Mr. ENDERS. An investigation has been conducted on it, but that investigation has not, to our knowledge, resulted in an explanation of the killing which would be fully satisfactory either, I believe, to the authorities in Guatemala or to those friends concerned with the killing or to the United States.

Mr. STUDDS. Are we satisfied with the effort of the Government of Guatemala to pursue that investigation?

Mr. ENDERS. I do not think we can ever be satisfied with any effort until it results, beyond any reasonable doubt, in the identification of the killer and justice being done for that. I think the same is true of El Salvador.

Mr. Studds, could I comment on this only to say that it is very easy, as Americans talking about somebody else's country—particularly a country in which a lot of violence has occurred, such as El Salvador—to reach conclusions that would seem plausible on what we know, or think we know, about the general climate and framework in the country. I think that while not giving up in any way, we should at the same time not just jump to conclusions and consider people guilty simply because there may be some evidence against them.

Somebody is guilty. That person has got to be found, but we should not on our part, I think, do what we would not do in our own country and consider people guilty before they are tried.

INQUIRIES TO STATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. STUDDS. Of course not. The odds are we might have charged someone by now. President Duarte in his visit here this week got himself into some difficulty. In all fairness, some of it may have been a language difficulty in trying to respond to questions regarding those murders. He did anything but clear up the questions. Another hopelessly inadequate response has been that of the Department of State with regard to a series of inquiries by this committee.

On March 13, this subcommittee forwarded a request from me for access to all cables concerning the investigation between our embassy in San Salvador and the Department of State. On May 28 I was denied access to those cables, as was the chairman of the subcommittee. It was granted solely to Mr. Zablocki and Mr. Broomfield. In early June, Mr. Barnes and Mr. Gilman requested they be granted access to those cables. I do not believe there has been an answer to that yet. On June 17, Congressman Bonker sent a letter to you with a set of specific questions. He received an "interim reply" on July 30 promising an answer to his questions. He has not heard again since. It is almost October.

One cannot put together this absolutely nonresponsive behavior by the Department of State and the fumbling by the President of El Salvador in response to questions by Congresswoman Oakar this week. It seems increasingly this investigation is not going anywhere, and that your refusal to share even the most elementary information with the Members of the Congress stems more from political calculation than from any concern about protecting people's rights in the pursuit of justice. It seems to me that the very least you might do is respond to the request of the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs and to Congressman Gilman, who is the ranking minority member, to have access to the cables. I am not even asking on behalf of myself or other members of the subcommittee. It also seems to me Members of Congress ought to have the courtesy of a response in less than half a year to written questions.

To give you a chance to at least partially redeem yourself, I will submit a new series of written questions at this time.

[The information follows:]

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Special Project (1993)

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED IN WRITING BY REPRESENTATIVE GERRY E. STUDDS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE THOMAS O. ENDERS AND RESPONSES THERETO

Are the six Salvadoran National Guardsmen who were arrested in May still in jail? Have they been released at any point, even if only for a day or for a weekend?

The six remain in detention at National Guard Headquarters. They have not to our knowledge been released from detention at any point.

2. Does the US know the names of the individuals who are being detained? If so, what are the names? What ranks do they hold within the Salvadoran National Guard?

The USG can neither confirm the authenticity of the three names which have been made public nor provide any other names and still respect the confidence in which the Government of El Salvador expects the USG to maintain government to government exchanges. President Duarte explained the reason for this when he met with the families of the murdered women in Washington. In essence, the Government of El Salvador maintains that unless and until these men are remanded to a court for trial they have a right to anonymity. The USG abides by that determination.

3. Have these individuals been formally charged or indicted for any crime? Is it anticipated they will be charged in the near future? Who makes the decision whether or not to bring charges? Whether or not to release the detainees?

The six detainees have not been formally charged with the commission of the murder of the four US women. Under

Salvadoran law a member of the Armed Forces on active duty is subject only to the jurisdiction of the military justice system which includes only a limited number offenses and specifically does not include murder. Murder is a crime which is strictly the purview of the civilian courts. Therefore, in order to be tried for murder a soldier or security forces member must first be dismissed from the armed forces -- whereupon he becomes subject to indictment for a crime which is outside the purview of the military justice system. At such time as the Salvadoran Government believes that the evidence available is sufficient the six detained guardsmen would be expelled from the National Guard and indicted for the murder of the US women.

4. Has any date or location been set for a trial?

No.

5. Is the FBI still actively involved in the case, either in an advisory or an investigative capacity? If not, when did the Bureau's active participation in the case cease? Please provide the Subcommittee with a copy of any written documents prepared by the FBI -- or prepared by the Department of State from information provided by the FBI -- which has a connection to this case.

The FBI has already furnished the GOES ballistics and fingerprint assistance. We anticipate continued cooperation between the FBI and GOES authorities, including polygraph administration and analysis. We will try to meet every

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

appropriate request for assistance in this case. The details of the most recent GOES request are still being coordinated. The request for documents should be directed to the FBI.

Is an active police investigation still underway in this case, or has the case more or less been turned over entirely to the Judiciary?

There has been a national police investigation in this case. The National Guard is also investigating. Both organizations are part of the Salvadoran Armed Forces. Some evidence has been developed and suspects have been detained. Progress on the investigation has slowed, however. We believe that this should change upon arrival of US technical advisors.

7. Why has the State Department not issued any chronologies in the case dated more recently than May 9?

Public developments in the case have simply not warranted issuance of periodic chronologies. We will continue to advise the families, Congress and other interested persons of events as appropriate.

8. There have been suggestions made that the investigation cannot go forward -- or that a trial cannot be held -- unless the family members of the churchwomen bring charges in El Salvador. What role is required of "aggrieved parties" under Salvadoran law in order to facilitate a full investigation and/or trial? What factors limit the ability of the families to obtain meaningful, competent, and affordable legal representation in El Salvador?

It is incorrect that the investigation or the trial cannot be held unless the family members of the churchwomen bring charges in El Salvador. No role is required of the "aggrieved parties" either to pursue the investigation or to try the case. However, Salvadoran law allows the aggrieved parties to name legal counsel to work with the designated prosecutor. Limiting the ability to obtain legal counsel is the practical fact that in El Salvador anybody actively involved investigating a crime of violence places his own life in great danger.

For example, both the President of the Supreme Court and the Attorney General have been the objectives of assassination attempts during the last month.

9. Have investigators identified the security forces personnel who were present in the area where the women were killed, at the time they were killed? How many individuals have been so identified? Have all such individuals had their fingerprints matched against those taken from the women's van? Have ballistics tests been made matching the bullets against the weapons of each of these individuals?

Apart from the airport National Guardsmen -- that is, the six who are the focus of the investigation plus three others who apparently were not participants in the crime -- 92 National Guard, National Police, Treasury Police and army and civil defense members have been identified who were posted over a broad area in the general vicinity

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

of the airport on December 2, 1980. Of these 101 men, the fingerprints of 11 have been taken and compared by the FBI against those found on the vehicle which the US women were driving. Nine of those fingerprints sets belonged to airport National Guard personnel and two belonged to guardsmen who were at the site of the interment of the bodies of the American women on December 3. Ballistics comparisons have been made with the weapons which belonged to the six detained airport guardsmen. A bullet fragment identified as having been from the rifle of one of the guardsmen was discovered at the murder site

10. It has been widely reported that a radio transmission was intercepted between two security force units at or near the airport just prior to the arrival of Sisters Clarke and Ford the night of the murders. The transmission included the statement "No, she didn't arrive on that flight. We'll have to wait for the next." Sisters Clarke and Ford had, in fact, missed their intended flight and arrived on the succeeding one.

(a) Does the US believe this radio transmission occurred?
(b) Was this transmission the subject of investigation?
(c) Did this transmission have any role in the decision to arrest the individuals who are now being detained?
(d) Does the US believe there is a strong possibility that the killings were premeditated, and aimed specifically at the particular women who were murdered?

Embassy officers have heard from a Salvadoran Government official that there were communications between unidentified individuals at the airport (presumably security force personnel) on the day of the murders about the arrival and departure of certain people (also unidentified but presumably

the US churchwomen). The official reported that he heard from a source whom he did not name that the conversation included the question "Have they arrived" and the answer "Yes, and we missed them." This conversation reportedly occurred at approximately 4:00 pm on December 2 -- that is, at about the time that Jean Donovan and Dorothy Kazel met Sisters Madeline Dempsey and Teresa Alexander at the airport. This alleged conversation was reported to the Department of State on December 16, 1980. The Salvadoran official subsequently mentioned the incident again to officers of our Embassy in San Salvador -- this time specifying that the conversation was over radio. This information was reported to Washington on December 19. With that as background we address the specific questions.

(a) We believe that these communications could have occurred. To date, however, no evidence has appeared to provide that they in fact took place. We have at this point only the second hand testimony of an unidentified person of unknown reliability. Efforts have been made by our Embassy through an intermediary to obtain the agreement of the unidentified original source of the information to come forward with what he knows. Those efforts have not yet been successful.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

(b) The failure of the only source to come forward has thus far prevented any significant investigation of the alleged radio conversations. Until the source is willing to give testimony on the matter it will be difficult, if not impossible, to establish that such conversations occurred.

(c) Nothing that we have seen would indicate that the alleged radio messages had anything to do with the arrest of the six National Guardsmen.

(d) If it can be established that radio communications concerning the US women actually occurred this would suggest planning but it would still fall to investigators to determine the degree of planning and the level of premeditation of the crime.

11. Have investigators discussed with the priest Efrain Lopez, a co-worker of the murdered women, his contention that he had been shown a death list on the night of the murder which included the nuns and then told that the murders would begin that night? If true, would not this contention also lend credence to the notion that this was a premeditated, politically motivated, crime?

The USG knows of two threats against religious workers in Chalatenango in the area where Ita Ford and Maura Clarke worked. The USG is also aware of an allegation of a third such threat.

During early November 1980 a note was tacked onto the door of the convent in Chalatenango occupied by Maryknoll Sisters which stated that all who entered would be killed. The threat was signed by an organization calling itself the Mauricio Borgonovo anti-communist brigade. On December 2, 1980, the priest with whom the women worked received a confused but obviously threatening letter from someone who signed the name Roberto Fogelbach Perez.

Following is a text of that letter:

Estimados Sacerdotes:

Ustedes y la mayoria del pueblo Salvadoreno sabemos que inocentemente se han inmiscuido con la subversion, pues, inicialmente han estado pensando en el bienestar de las mayorias, cosa que es loable, pero los metodos que estan empleando son inadecuados aparte de ilegales y contrarios a las ensenanzas Cristianas. La teologia de la liberacion tenia muy buenos intenciones aunque era explotada por los curas materialistas, recuerde pueblo, vean que vuestro Santo Papa, viene de un pais comunista y conoce los estragos.

En Chalatenango es bastante la zana que han metido y son muchos los muertos provocados por ustedes, no se porque no actuan los jefes encargados, eliminando a los verdaderos jefes, sera que estan en conviviencia con ustedes, pues el comunismo es sutil y embriagador.

Creo que para bien del pais tendremos que distraer nuestros efectivos especializados para proteger la patria en ese department, por favor retirense de sus actividades nefastas y dediquense en otro lugar a su verdadero apostolado o emigren hacia Cuba, pues en ese lugar ya no podran estar.

Both of the above-mentioned threats were collective threats which did not mention anyone in particular who would be victimized.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

threat. It is alleged by the parish priest in Chalatenango that he knows someone who on December 2, 1980, was shown a list of people who were to be killed. Included on that list, according to the priest was the name of Ita Ford. The priest claims that the person who saw the list was told that killing would begin that very evening. Our Embassy in San Salvador is continuing efforts to locate the person who saw the list in order to determine the accuracy of this allegation. It is clear that the work that the priest and the American Sisters were doing in Chalatenango was the object of suspicion and hostility among extreme rightist elements in the area. What is not clear is whether there is a connection between those who made the threats and those who killed the US women. The connection may eventually be made but, as a matter of fact, it has not yet been made.

Mr. STUDDS. I do think you owe an explanation to this subcommittee and to the chairman as to your unwillingness to share with them cable traffic which in the normal course of events Members of Congress with any reasonable interest—which surely one would grant to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs—would share.

Mr. ENDERS. Apparently in some of these cases sensitive information is involved. I think that an offer has been made—certainly I will repeat it here—to make this information available to the leadership of the full committee.

Mr. STUDDS. It is not the leadership of the full committee that is pressing you to see it, Mr. Enders.

Mr. ENDERS. I think there is a longstanding tradition between the Congress and the Executive on this issue of how particularly sensitive items should be handled. I think you put me at a disadvantage because we get involved in discussions between leadership of the subcommittees and leadership of the full committee, which is obviously for you to decide.

Let me repeat that offer, and obviously if so directed or suggested by the leadership of the full committee that other disposition would be made to it, we would consider that.

Mr. STUDDS. Do you think you can do a little better in answering congressional correspondence?

Mr. ENDERS. I suspect that this one as if we have outstanding correspondence, you will have answers to it.

Mr. STUDDS. Let me say if the chairman of the committee, Mr. Zablocki, should give permission to either Mr. Barnes, the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Gilman, or myself, in that event is it all right with the Department of State?

Mr. ENDERS. This is obviously a matter we would be glad to discuss and decide with Mr. Zablocki.

Mr. STUDDS. It is subject to negotiation, I see. I am going to find a question you are willing to answer one of these days.

Mr. BARNES. The time of the gentleman has long since expired.

Mr. STUDDS. As has the gentleman.

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Gejdenson?

LATIN AMERICAN POSITION ON U.S. MILITARY AID

Mr. GEJDENSON. Just one quick question. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Earlier in your testimony you talked about countries in Latin America making a statement against the declaration by France and Mexico. Some of those countries I know earlier in the year were opposed to American military aid to El Salvador. Have those countries changed their positions?

Mr. ENDERS. They did not take a stand on military assistance in the course of the statement, but the statement was unequivocal in expressing its support for El Salvador, and obviously it represents a new level of solidarity on the part of other Latin American republics for El Salvador.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Have there been any changes in their position on American military aid?

Mr. ENDERS. I am not aware that any of those countries are currently suggesting that the United States should not be assisting El Salvador.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you.

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Secretary, thank you very much.

Mr. ENDERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BARNES. We will now hear from a panel of four witnesses: Mr. Robert S. Leiken, Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University; Mr. Richard Millett, professor of history, University of Southern Illinois; Mr. Robert A. Pastor, guest scholar at the Brookings Institution and a former official with the National Security Council; and Mr. Max Singer, deputy director for the Hudson Institute.

Welcome to the subcommittee. We appreciate your willingness to appear this afternoon and present your testimony.

In order to expedite the proceedings, your prepared statements will be entered in the record in full, and I would urge that you summarize to the extent possible so that we can get on to some questions. If I may, let me ask Mr. Pastor to lead off. We will hear all of the testimony from each of the witnesses before proceeding to questions.

Welcome, Mr. Pastor.

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Argentina

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 09472 01 OF 02 241709Z 9786
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-15 OIC-02 AF-10
CIAE-00 EA-10 ICA-11 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSC-05
ARA-16 NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03 PM-09 PA-01 SP-02
SPRS-02 /137 W

113576 241713Z /52

P 241703Z SEP 81
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1264
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 09472

E.O. 12065: RDS 9/23/87 (ELLER, DON C.)OR-M
TAGS: UNHRC, SHUM, ES, GT, AR, IO, IR, MT, CI
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT).

2. LORD COLVILLE, UK REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND CHAIRMAN OF ITS WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES, BRIEFED WESTERN MISSION OFFICERS ON SEPTEMBER 18 ON THE WORKING GROUP'S SEPTEMBER 14-18 MEETING. AS WITH EARLIER WG MEETINGS, THIS SESSION WAS PRIVATE, I.E., ATTENDANCE WAS LIMITED TO PERSONS INVITED BY THE WORKING GROUP OR WHO HAD MADE PREVIOUS ARRANGEMENTS TO APPEAR BEFORE IT. COLVILLE ASKED, THEREFORE, THAT HIS REMARKS BE TREATED WITH DISCRETION.

4. ARGENTINA: TURNING TO ARGENTINA, COLVILLE SAID HE IS BEGINNING TO SEE SIGNS OF A MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE GOA. CAUTIONING THAT THE GOA-WORKING GROUP RELATIONSHIP IS NASCENT AND "VERY FRAGILE", COLVILLE URGED THAT HIS REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE. ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR MARTINEZ AND AN OFFICIAL OF THE ARGENTINE INTERIOR MINISTRY APPEARED BEFORE THE WG. THEY SAID THE GOA IS INVESTIGATING THE CASES, SUBMITTED EARLIER BY THE WG, OF 48 CHILDREN REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN BORN IN CAPTIVITY. THEY ALSO SAID THE GOA WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH FAMILY MEMBERS THE POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION OF SOME TWO THOUSAND HITHERTO UNIDENTIFIED BODIES BURIED IN ARGENTINA. [illegible] SAID THE AUTHORITIES HAVE FRAGMENTARY INFORMATION ON [illegible]ME OF THEM AND WOULD BE WILLING TO COMPARE NOTES [illegible]TH RELATIVES. COLVILLE ALSO SAID THE GOA HAS [illegible]OVIDED INFORMATION CONCERNING REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES [illegible]CURRING IN 1980 AND 1981, BUT NOT EARLIER.

MEXICO:

6. CASES OF CIFUENTES AND SUAREZ: COLVILLE SAID THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT HAD RESPONDED QUICKLY TO THE WORKING GROUP'S INQUIRY ABOUT MESSRS. CIFUENTES AND SUAREZ. THE TWO CHILEANS RETURNED TO CHILE BY ARGENTINE BORDER AUTHORITIES FOR PRESENTING FALSE TRAVEL DOCUMENTS. COLVILLE SAID THE GOC HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEY ARE IN OFFICIAL CUSTODY AND THAT THEY WILL BE SUBJECT TO THE NORMAL JUDICIAL PROCEDURES APPLICABLE TO THE CASE.

7. THE LEAST COOPERATIVE COUNTRIES:

8. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE HRC:

NR

NR

NR

NR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): NR
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 09472 02 OF 02 241711Z 9790
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-15	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	EA-10	ICA-11	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	NSC-05
	ARA-16	NSAE-00	HA-06	L-03	PM-09	PA-01	SP-02
	SPRS-02	/137 W					

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1265
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 09472

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9. NEXT MEETING.

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RELEASE

TELEGRAM

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

RX

FROM: AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

12065
E.O. ~~11652~~
TAGS:
SUBJECT:

GDS 9/24/87 (GETTINGER, Carl) OR-P
PINS, PINT, CDES, ES
LETTER ON CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR _____

AMB
DCM

EXDIS

REF: MEXICO 12464

1. (C-entire text.)

2. We were intrigued by reftel. We make the following observations:

-- The mention of "a truck used by the assassins of the churchwomen" is intriguing. We know that the guardsmen who committed the murders had a vehicle (very likely a pickup truck) which they were forced to abandon after mistakenly putting diesel fuel into it instead of gasoline. They were forced to use the victims' vehicle because of that mistake. We do not know at what point the killers' vehicle stalled; we believe that the likeliest scenario is that fuel was

Declassified under [illegible]
portions withheld: classified ( ); law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), etc.
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:CGettinger:gw	9/24/87	305	CHARGE BLEASLEY

CLEARANCES:
POL:WHHallman

[redacted] CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

hastily put into the vehicle at the airport and that the ill effects on the engine were felt at about the time the four women were taken. There is no question, however, that the vehicle in which the women were taken to the site where they were killed was their own Toyota "Hiace" van. Our question is this: Which "truck" does Moran refer to, the murdered women's van or the murderers' stalled vehicle? If the latter then we are on to something here.

— But we have trouble placing a seventh participant in the murders. We believe that we have the crime reconstructed rather well. We know the names of six National Guardsmen who participated in the murders and we know in good to fair detail how the crime was committed. Also, fingerprint evidence suggests that it was the Sub-Sergeant who directed the operation who drove the murdered women's vehicle. A seventh participant of whom we have never heard, Mr. Moran's correspondent, is a piece which does not fit neatly into the puzzle that we have constructed. That is not to say, obviously, that such a person could not have existed. We simply doubt it.

— We wonder who Mr. Moran is. Christian Democrats here say that they know of no exiled PDC people by that name and are certain that there are no Morans who were

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OPTIONAL FORM 153A
(Formerly FS-413A)
January 1975
Dept. of State

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El Salvador: Human Rights Specialist (1993)

founding members of the party. To us, a founding member of the PDC who lives in Mexico and could have spoken with Congresswoman Pat Schroeder sounds like Roberto Lara Velado.

3. Our suggestion is that this lead be actively pursued. It would certainly be a fine thing if there is someone in the U.S. who has first-hand information on the murders and could give testimony. But, while believing that every effort should be made to determine what truth there is to the Moran ~~kkk~~ tale, our assumption is that the chances of it being truthful are not high.

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El Salvador: Human Rights 00
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81SAN SA007212

ADP809 [redacted]

RELEASE

PAGE 01 SAN SA 07212 242305Z
ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5796
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 7212

EXDIS

E. O. 12065: GDS 9/24/87 (GETTINGER, CARL) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PINT, CDES, ES
SUBJ: LETTER OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: MEXICO 12464

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. WE WERE INTRIGUED BY REFTEL. WE MAKE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS:
--THE MENTION OF "A TRUCK USED BY THE ASSASSINS OF THE CHURCHWOMEN" IS OF INTEREST. WE KNOW THAT THE GUARDSMEN WHO COMMITTED THE MURDERS HAD A VEHICLE (VERY LIKELY A PICKUP TRUCK) WHICH THEY WERE FORCED TO ABANDON AFTER MISTAKENLY PUTTING DIESEL FUEL INTO IT INSTEAD OF GASOLINE. THEY WERE FORCED TO USE THE VICTIMS' VEHICLE BECAUSE OF THAT MISTAKE. WE DO NOT KNOW AT WHAT POINT THE KILLERS' VEHICLE STALLED; WE BELIEVE THAT THE LIKELIEST SCENARIO IS THAT FUEL WAS HASTILY PUT INTO THE VEHICLE AT THE AIRPORT AND THAT THE ILL EFFECTS ON THE ENGINE WERE FELT AT ABOUT THE TIME THE FOUR WOMEN WERE TAKEN. THERE IS NO QUESTION, HOWEVER, THAT THE VEHICLE IN WHICH THE WOMEN WERE TAKEN TO THE SITE WHERE THEY WERE KILLED WAS THEIR OWN [redacted]

Department of State IG/PPO/CDR El Salvador SF Date 7/23/93

PAGE 02 SAN SA 07212 242305Z

TOYOTA "HIACE" VAN. OUR QUESTION IS THIS: WHICH "TRUCK" DOES MORAN REFER TO, THE MURDERED WOMEN'S VAN OR THE MURDERERS' STALLED VEHICLE? IF THE LATTER THEN WE ARE ON TO SOMETHING HERE.
--BUT WE HAVE TROUBLE PLACING A SEVENTH PARTICIPANT IN THE MURDERS. WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE THE CRIME RE-CONSTRUCTED RATHER WELL. WE KNOW THE NAMES OF SIX NATIONAL GUARDSMEN WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MURDERS AND WE KNOW IN GOOD TO FAIR DETAIL HOW THE CRIME WAS

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)200

TEXT OF TELEGRAM B1SAN SA007212

COMMITTED. ALSO, FINGERPRINT EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT IT WAS THE SUB-SERGEANT WHO DIRECTED THE OPERATION WHO DROVE THE MURDERED WOMEN'S VEHICLE. A SEVENTH PARTICIPANT OF WHOM WE HAVE NEVER HEARD, MR. MORAN'S CORRESPONDENT, IS A PIECE WHICH DOES NOT FIT NEATLY INTO THE PUZZLE THAT WE HAVE CONSTRUCTED. THAT IS NOT TO SAY, OBVIOUSLY, THAT SUCH A PERSON COULD NOT HAVE EXISTED. WE SIMPLY DOUBT IT.

-- WE WONDER WHO MR. MORAN IS. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HERE SAY THAT THEY KNOW OF NO EXILED PDC PEOPLE BY THAT NAME AND ARE CERTAIN THAT THERE ARE NO MORANS WHO WERE FOUNDING MEMBERS OF THE PARTY. TO US, A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE PDC WHO LIVES IN MEXICO AND COULD HAVE SPOKEN WITH CONGRESSWOMEN PAT SCHROEDER SOUNDS LIKE PROBERTO LARA VELADO.

3. OUR SUGGESTION IS THAT THIS LEAD BE ACTIVELY PURSUED. IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE A FINE THING IF THERE IS SOMEONE IN THE U.S. WHO HAS FIRST-HAND INFOMRATION ON THE MURDERS AND COULD GIVE TESTIMONY. BUT, WHILE BELIEVING THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO DETERMINE WHAT TRUTH THERE IS TO THE MORAN TALE, OUR ASSUMPTION IS THAT THE CHANCES OF IT BEING TRUTHFUL ARE NOT HIGH.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 07212 242305Z

BLEAKLEY

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81STATE 258017

ADP661 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 258017
ORIGIN L-03

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 ARA-16 NSAE-00 HA-06
FBIE-00 /035 R

----------172027 261433Z /45

P R 261021Z SEP 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] STATE 258017

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 9/25/9

TAGS: SHUM, MX, EX

SUBJECT: LETTER ON CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: MEXICO 12465

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. LEGATT SHOULD ATTEMPT TO INTERVIEW MR. MORAN, IN PERSON IF POSSIBLE OR ON PHONE, TO FLESH OUT INFORMATION MR. MORAN POSSESSES AND HOW HE CAME BY IT. LEGATT SHOULD PREPARE BRIEF, INFORMAL REPORT FOR TRANSMISSION TO EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR WHICH WOULD SERVE AS BASIS FOR ANY RECOMMENDATION TO GOES THAT IT FOLLOW UP THIS LEAD. THIS REPORT IS INTENDED FOR INTERNAL AND INFORMAL USE ONLY AND IS NOT A DEPOSITION OR OTHER FORMAL PROCESS.

3. LEGATT SHOULD DETERMINE WHETHER MORAN WILL COOPERATE [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 258017

WITH GOES LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES IN MEXICO CITY TO INTRODUCE WHATEVER HE MAY KNOW INTO GOES INVESTIGATION PROCESS.

4. UPON RECEIPT OF THIS INFORMATION, AND AFTER CONSULTATION WITH DEPARTMENT, EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR SHOULD AS APPROPRIATE CONVEY SUBSTANCE TO GOES WITH ENCOURAGEMENT TO FOLLOW UP. USG PREPARED IF REQUIRED TO FACILITATE GOES TAKING FORMAL DEPOSITION OR MAKING OTHER CONTACT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81MEXICO12811

ADP426 [redacted]

RELEASE

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12811 301919Z
ACTION L-03

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 ARA-16 NSAE-00 SSO-00
HA-06 INRE-00 FBIE-00 /036 W
----------305413 301924Z /46

O 301918Z SEP 81
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5228
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

[redacted] MEXICO 12811

E.O. 12065GDS 09/30/01 (MC GINLEY, GORDON W.)
TAGS: SHUM, MX, EX
SUBJECT: LETTER ON CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER.

REF: ~~STATE~~ 236278; ~~STATE~~ 258017

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. INGENIERO JUAN JOSE MORAN, FORMER GERENTE DE SERVICIOS (CITY MANAGER), SAN SALVADOR, WAS INTERVIEWED BY LEGAL ATTACHE AND ASSISTANT OUTSIDE EMBASSY AT HIS REQUEST. MORAN IS ADAMANT THAT HIS IDENTITY BE PROTECTED TO PREVENT REPRISALS AGAINST FAMILY MEMBERS STILL IN EL SALVADOR.

3. MORAN STATED HE HAS NO PERSONAL INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE MURDERS AND IS NOT A WITNESS. HE IDENTIFIED THE AUTHOR OF THE LETTER TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS (TEXT IN REF STATE 236278) AS CESAR CORTEZ, A CHAUFFEUR OR DRIVER WORKING FOR HANS KRIST, WHO MORAN STATED WAS GENERALLY KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN IMPLICATED IN THE ASSASSINATIONS. CORTEZ FLED EL SALVADOR AND PASSED THROUGH MEXICO ABOUT THREE MONTHS AGO, STAYING IN MEXICO CITY LESS THAN 24 HOURS. DURING HIS BRIEF SOJOURN IN MEXICO CITY, MORAN WAS ABLE TO PUT CORTEZ IN TOUCH WITH AN ALIEN SMUGGLER TO EFFECT HIS ENTRY INTO THE UNITED [redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12811 301919Z

STATES UNDER ANOTHER NAME. MORAN DOES NOT KNOW WHAT NAME WAS USED. MORAN AGREED TO REPLY TO ANY AD PLACED BY THE EMBASSY ON BEHALF OF CORTEZ. CORTEZ PROMISED TO CONTACT MORAN AFTER HE WAS SETTLED, BUT MORAN STATES HE HAS HEARD NOTHING FURTHER.

4. IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC INQUIRY, MORAN DENIED HAVING PREVIOUSLY STATED THAT HE HAS EVER HAD ANY LETTER OR MEMORANDUM FROM CORTEZ DETAILING CORTEZ' PERSONAL

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador EP Date 4/21/93
Declassified under EO 12356 [redacted] in full, ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81MEXICO12811

KNOWLEDGE OF THE MURDERS.

5. MORAN WILL NOT MEET OR COOPERATE WITH EL SALVADOR AUTHORITIES IN MEXICO CITY NO DOES NOT DESIRE HIS MEETING WITH UNITED STATES PERSONNEL HERE TO BE KNOWN. HE HAS NO SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW CORTEZ MAY BE LOCATED IN THE UNITED STATES. MORAN QUESTIONED THE SINCERITY OF THE DUARTE GOVERNMENT IN ITS EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THESE MURDERS AND FEELS THAT BOTH HE AND CORTEZ AND THEIR FAMILIES WOULD BE IN DANGER OF ACTS OF REPRISAL POSSIBLY SANCTIONED BY DUARTE IF THEIR ACTIONS WERE MADE KNOWN. GAVIN

[redacted]

N VVZCZ

INDIVIDUAL	CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST	STATUS
ASBERT SILVEYRA, Enrique Mario	Sen. Baker, Sen. Huddleston, Sen. Tsongas, Cong. Hyde, Cong. Kindness, Cong. McClory, Cong. Moffett	Embassy issued last certificate 6/80; habeas corpus presented 12/80. Under PEN.
BEGNARDI, Rodolfo Juan	Sen. Cranston, Sen. Hayakawa, Sen. Kennedy, Sen. Sarbanes, Sen. Mathias, Cong. Bonker, Cong. Dyson Cong. Mikulski, Sen. Armstrong, Cong. Kogovsek	Embassy issued last certificate 8/80. GOA denied option 2/18/81.
~~BENCHOAM, Esther Debora~~ option 11/4/81	~~Sen. Boschwitz, Sen. Bradley, Sen. D'Amato, Sen. Moynihan, Sen. Williams, Cong. Archer, Cong. Fenwick, Cong. Gilman, Sen. Armstrong, Cong. Kogovsek~~	~~Under PEN. Option to Israel denied 6/19/80; US Embassy has interviewed and INS has approved.~~
++~~GABRAL, Esther~~	~~Sen. Cranston~~	
~~CANO, Raúl Héctor~~	~~Sen. Cranston, Sen. Kennedy~~	~~Detained under PEN. No further information~~.
ELIZAGA CALABRO, Hugo Raúl	Cong. Brown, Cong. Dan Bonker	Certificate issued 1/81.
FELICETTI DE ANGELI, Roberto	Cong. Collins, Cong. Pickle	Sentence ends 3/7/81. Never been interviewed.
~~PERREYRA BELTRAN~~, Alejandro Enrique	Cong. Dellums	Sentenced to 18 years (2/20/79).
FORESTI, Norberto Hugo	Cong. Drinan*	Certificate issued 6/80; approved. ? Under sentence. (no date)

++ New Congressional interest.

* No longer in Congress.

DEOM

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

GASPARINI, Osvaldo César	Cong. Burton, Cong. Moffett, Cong. Studds	Sentence ended 11/11/77. Under PEN. Option pending to Switzerland.
GELSTEIN, Isidoro	Sen. Riegle, Cong. Dingell, Cong. Nedzi*	Under sentence, expires 10/3/87. (75-87)
CONZALEZ, Américo	Sen. Jackson, Cong. Lowry, Cong. Pritchard	Option pending; last certificate issued 4/81.
~~GUEVARA, Juan Martín~~	Sen. Mathias, Sen. Sarbanes	Sentence expires 2/27/85. (not 3/3)
GUTIERREZ DANSEY, Francisco	Cong. Conte	Option denied 10/80. Under PEN. Conditionally approved 7/81 by INS.
HAYES, Leonardo Raúl	Sen. Byrd	Under PEN. Option requested to Germany 4/80.
~~REIMONDEZ, Pablo Ernesto~~ (11/2/81)	~~Sen. Cranston, Sen. Kennedy, Cong. Young~~	~~Under PEN. No further information.~~
LLOSA, Eduardo Federico	Sen. Lugar, Sen. Quayle	Under PEN. Option requested to U.S. Sentence completed 5/81. Never been interviewed.
LOTO, María de las Esperanzas Beltramino	Sen. Cranston, Sen. Kennedy, Cong. Foley	Serving sentence. Under PEN. Last option denied 1/12/81. (Cno date)
~~MATOSO, Horacio René~~ (L.V. 10/31/81)	~~Sen. Cranston, Sen. Kennedy, Cong. O'Neill, Jr., Cong. Studds~~	~~US inactive. GOA reported option initiated 3/4/81 to UK.~~
(Mygatt) MERCURI, Enrique José	(State Department list does not specify.)	Option pending to U.S, presented to GOA 3/27/81.
PITURA ROZAPAMERA, Antonio	Sen. Hayakawa, Sen. Levin, Cong. Pursell, Sen. Cranston	Certificate issued 1/30/81. Sentence expired 11/1/78.
~~PORCEL, Eduardo José~~ (L.V. 10/31/81)	~~Cong. McKinney~~	~~Detained - La Plata. Ineligible -- 212(a)(28)(F)~~
~~PROL Montemar, Luis Adolfo~~ (L.V. 10/22/87)	~~Sen. Javits*, Sen. Ribicoff* Sen. Weicker, Jr.~~	~~Certificate issued~~ 3/31/81. ~~Under PEN.~~

QUIROGA, Raúl Alberto	Cong. Conte	Certificate issued 4/80.
RIPODAS, Cristanto	Sen. Boschwitz, Sen. Durenberger, Sen. Mathias, Sen. Sarbanes	Under sentence.
RIPODAS, Ricardo	Sen. Cranston, Sen. Mathias, Sen. Sarbanes	Sentence expired 9/28/80. Embassy has interviewed. Certificate issued 7/81.
RODRIGUEZ, Juan Carlos	Cong. Dellums	Judicial charges pending. Option requested. Interview requested and denied.
SAIN, Francisco Hernan	Sen. Cranston, Cong. Fazio	GOA denied interview 5/11/81. Option to Sweden denied.
SALINAS, Juan Carlos	Sen. Cranston, Sen. Schweicker*, Cong. Rousselot	Requested status - no answer. Inact.
TAIANA, Jorge Enrique	Sen. Cranston, Cong. Burton	Inactive. Appealed sentence. Option to France expired 6/26/80.
VOGLER, Liliana	Sen. Cranston, Sen. Garn, Sen. Hatch, Sen. Hayakawa, Cong. Green, Cong. McKay*, Cong. Marriott, Cong. Miller	Sentence expires 6/23/84.
WESTERKAMP, Gustavo	Sen. Cranston, Sen. Kennedy, Cong. Gilman	Option denied to US 5/81. GOA denied interview 5/81.
WIELAND, Alicia	Cong. Jacobs	Sentence expires 11/11/82. Option denied to Austria.
YAZBECK JOZAMI, Eduardo	Sen. Byrd, Sen. Scott, Cong. Bonker, Cong. Gilman, Cong. Pease, Cong. Fisher*	Sentence expires 9/11/83.
ZARECEANSKY, Mario	Sen. Cranston, Sen. D'Amato, Sen. Dixon, Sen. Levin, Sen. Moynihan, Cong. Weiss, Sen. Hayakawa	Option to U.S. denied 7/80; new certificate issued 4/81. Under PEN.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RDC

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81STATE 263152

RELEASE

ADP429 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 263152
ORIGIN L-03

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 ARA-16 NSAE-00 HA-06
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APPROVED BY

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P 011702Z OCT 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 263152

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 10/1/91 (GUDGEON, K. SCOTT)

TAGS: SHUM, MX, EX

SUBJECT: LETTER OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: MEXICO 12811

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DEPT. APPRECIATES REPORT REFTEL. IF MORAN DOES NOT TAKE INITIATIVE TO CONTACT EMBASSY, EMBASSY SHOULD REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH HIM TO SEE IF HE HAS HEARD FROM CORTEZ.

3. WHILE INFORMATION THAT CORTEZ MAY ULTIMATELY PROVIDE IF WE CAN LOCATE HIM MAY NEVER BE USUABLE FOR PURPOSES OF PROSECUTION GIVEN CONSTRAINTS PARA 5 REFTEL, EVEN WITHOUT ATTRIBUTION IT MAY ASSIST INVESTIGATIVE EFFORTS. ANY LEADS AS TO SOURCE'S WHEREABOUTS WILL BE FOLLOWED UP TO ATTEMPT TO CONTACT HIM. HAIG

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 263152

Department of State (S/PPC/CDR, El Salvador) Date 7/23/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

10/81 DE046 R

CASES WITHOUT INS APPROVAL

Detainees	U.S. interest	National Executive Power PEN	SENTENCE
CARULLO, Carlos Arturo	Cousin in U.S.A.	?	Completed on Jan.24,1982
OCARIZ, Jorge Enrique	Two cousins ins U.S.A.	PEN only	Acquitted
SALINAS POBLETE, Walter	U.S. Citizen Sister	Not at PEN's disposition	8 years sentence. End:Aug. 1982
MELUL, Natalio David	Anti.Def. League	?	?
PLAZZA AMENDOLARA, Ruben Orlando	A.I.	?	Completed 1981
RODRIGUEZ, Juan Carlos (dob:2-22-48)	A.I.; U.S.citizen;Sen: Dellums, Sen: Cranston; Wife and son travelled to US	PEN	Acquitted
SANTUCHO, Graciela Noemi	U.S.Citizen; Cong:McCloskey Jr.	PEN	Completed
TAINA, Jorge Enrique (dob: 5-31-50)	A.I.;Sen: Cranston,Burton, WOLA		Apparently completed
VOGLER, Liliana Graciela	A.I.; Sen: Hatch, Hayakawa, Garn Cranston. , Cong:Green, McKay, Miller,Marriott		Sentenced to 9 years.Ends: June 1984. 2/3 completed on June 1981.
GELSTEIN, Isidoro	U.S.Citizen Brother, Sen:Riegle Cong: Nedzi, Dingell		Apparently under sentence
GELSTEIN nee BARETIC, Emilia Carolina	" " "	No longer under PEN	?
LLANOS ALMAZAN, Juan	A.I.; Bar Assoc.of NYC	No longer under PEN	?
BOCLES, Alberto Adrian	Three USCitizen cousins		Sentenced to 8 years. Ends: Feb.1983
FELICETTI DE ANGELI, Roberto	Cong: Collins, J.Pickle		Sentenced to 8 years Ends: March 1983

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2000000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Reason ___
Declassify on ___
Date ___

85F48
5/214

CASES WITHOUT INS APPROVAL

	U.S. Interest	PEN	SENTENCE
FERRACINI, Daniel Enrique	W.O.L.A.	Under a "Consejo de Guerra" Military Court	Completed 2 years pending under Federal Judge. Sentenced to 20 years.
PITES, Alberto Americo	Department of State	Under a Consejo de Guerra" Military Court	Sentenced to 16 years.

CASES CONDITIONALLY APPROVED BY INS officer (waiting to receive Court Records)

GUTIERREZ DANSEY, Francisco Virgilio	A.I.; Cong: Silvio Conte	?	?
CORREGIDOR, Ramon Rosa	A.I.	PEN only	Completed

10/81

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Detainees	U.S. Interest	P.E.N.	SENTENCE
ANDRADA, Humberto Luis	A.I.	PEN	
ASBERT SILVEYRA, Enrique Mario	A.I.; Sen:Tsongas, Baker Jr., Cong: Kindness, Moffett, Pillsbury, Huddleston, Hyde, McClory	PEN	
BIGNARDI, Rodolfo Juan (Wife and son in U.S.A.)	A.I.; Cong: Mikulski,Dyson,Don Bonker, Kogovsek. Sen: Cranston, Hayakawa, Armstrong, Kennedy, Mathias, Sarbanes.	PEN	
CARRIL nee ALBORNOZ, Ramona Florentina	A.I.(Norway); University Lutheran Church & Stanford Lutheran Center	PEN	
CELAONE, Hugo Santiago	A.I.	PEN	
ELIZAGA CALABRO, Hugo Raul	A.I.; Cong: George Brown Jr, Don Bonker. Chairman Sub. Com. H. Rights.	PEN	
FORESTI, Norberto Hugo	A.I.; Cong: Drinan; Bar Assoc. of NYCity,	PEN	Completed
GARCIA, Horacio (dob:9-9-38)	A.I.	?	?
GASPARINI, Osvaldo César	A.I.; Cong:Burton, Studds,Moffett	PEN	Completed
GONZALEZ, Americo	Brother in US; USCitizen; Cong: Pritchard, Lowry. Sen: Jackson.	PEN	
GUASTAVINO, Pedro Guillermo Angel	Relatives in USA	PEN	
GUASTAVINO nee RIOS, Liliana Maria	" " "	PEN	
HAYES, Leonardo Raul	Sen: Byrd	PEN	

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S2000000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as ___ ( ) Extend as ___ ( ) Downgrade to ___
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

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5/214

CASES APPROVED BY INS Officer

LLOSA, Eduardo Federico	Sen:Quayle, R.Lugar. College of School & Theology Saint M. Seminary	PEN	Sentence Completed.
LOTO nee BELTRAMINO, Maria de las Esperanzas	A.I.; Cong: Foley	PEN only	
MAGIDE, Jorge Manuel	Nat. Women's Studies Assoc. San Jose, California	PEN	
MAROTTA, Gabriel Oscar	AI(Italy); AI (NYC) Sen:D'Amato	PEN	
MASTRANGELO, Valentin Daniel	Relatives	PEN	Completed
MASTRANGELO nee SARRAMEA, Monica Isabel	"	PEN	Completed.
MERCURI, Enrique Jose	State Department	PEN	Apparently completed.
OTTURA ROZAPAMERA, Antonio Miguel	AI; Sen: Cranston, Hayakawa, Levin Pursell	PEN	Completed
PUERTA, Guillermo Rolando	University Lutheran Church & Stanford Lutheran Center	PEN	
QUIROGA, Raul Alberto	Cong: Conte	PEN	
REPETTO, Santiago Lazaro Julio	Anti Cancer Congress	PEN	
REYES, Pascual Angel	AI; Sen:Cranston; Church World Service.	PEN	?
RIPODAS, Crisanto	AI; Sen: Cranston, Mathias, Sarbanes, Durenberger, Boschwitz	PEN	Completed
RIPODAS, Ricardo	AI; Sen: Mathias, Cranston, Sarbanes	PEN	Completed
SAIN, Francisco Hernan	Cong: VicFazio; Sen: Cranston. AI.	PEN only	Completed

CASES APPROVED BY INS Officer

SORIA nee ELOOYHEN, Elsa Margarita	Office of Roman Catholic Vicariate of the South Bronx	PEN
WESTERKAMP, Gustavo	AI; Cong: B. Gilman	PEN
ZARECEANSKY, Mario Jaime	AI; Sen: Dixon, Cranston, D'Amato, Levin, Weiss, Moynihan, Hayakawa	PEN

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81MEXICO13214

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

208 RDC

ADP220 [redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 13214 081608Z
ACTION L-03

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 ARA-16 NSAE-00 HA-06
FBIE-00 /036 W
153607 081727Z /45

P 081605Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5404
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] MEXICO 13214

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/06/87
TAGS: SHUM, MX, EX
SUBJECT: LETTER OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: STATE 263152

1. MORAN TOLD US OCTOBER 6 THAT HE HEARD FROM CORTEZ. MORAN SAID CORTEZ WROTE HIM FROM CHICAGO BUT THAT HE, CORTEZ, STILL DID NOT HAVE AN ADDRESS FOR HIM. WE WILL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH MORAN ON THIS. GAVIN

[redacted]

N VVZCZ

Department of State IS/FOIA/CDR El Salvador SF Date 1/12/93
Declassified under EO 12356 [illegible]
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ); security ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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n/a

8 Oct 81 IC192 IC189

Case Number: s199900006

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

DECONTROL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 05925 01 OF 02 082153Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
ARA-16 NSAE-00 PM-09 MCT-02 SYE-00 SP-02 /065 W
----------162326 090939Z /72

P 082119Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1368
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 5925

BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

CINCLANT FOR POLAD

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

E O 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS CI
SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY WRAP UP

1. SUMMARY: BOMBINGS IN SANTIAGO AND ELSEWHERE; RESCHEDULED COUNCIL OF WAR TO TRY ALLEGED EXTREMIST; AFTERMATH OF NELTUME OPERATION; FOLKSONG GROUP DENIED ENTRY ON SECURITY GROUNDS; ALLEGED MIRISTA SAFE HOUSE DISCOVERED; UPDATE ON COURT CASES. DESPITE OCCASIONAL INCIDENTS, DAILY LIFE IN CHILE GOES ON QUIELTY. WITH LITTLE APPARENT EFFECT. END SUMMARY.

2. BOMBINGS IN SANTIAGO AND ELSEWHERE: THE EXPLOSION OF PART OF AN EXXON PIPELINE LINKING CONCON AND SANTIAGO CAUSED ONE DEATH AND SOME PROPERTY DAMAGE OCTOBER 6. THE EXPLOSION OF LIQUID PROPANE, WHICH OCCURRED AT 1:15 AM LOCAL TIME, FORCED POLICE TO CLOSE ONE SECTION OF THE MAIN HIGHWAY BETWEEN SANTIAGO AND THE PORT OF VALPARAISO. A TRUCK DRIVER WAS SERIOUSLY BURNED BY THE EXPLOSION AND DIED OCTOBER 7
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~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 05925 01 OF 02 082153Z

IN A SANTIAGO HOSPITAL.AFTER INITIAL RPORTS SUGGESTED THE BLAST WAS CAUSED BY A GAS LEAK, SUBSEQUENT NEWS REPORTS BLAMED UNKNOWN THIRD PARTIES WHO "MAY HAVE PLACED EXPLOSIVE CHARGES AT THE JUNCTION OF THE PIPES OR FIRED A PROJECTILE AT THE PIPELINE FROM A DISTANCE." EXXON COMPANY SOURCES ALSO BELIEVE THE PIPELINE WAS BOMBED, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL EXPLANATION ISSUED AS YET. (COMMENT: DECREE

n/a
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LAW 1.577, PROMULGATED OCT 2, PROHIBITS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA FROM PUBLISHING INFORMATION RELVEALING THE IDENTITY OF PARTICIPANTS IN TERRORIST OR SUBVERSIVE ACTS, PROCLAMATIONS OR COMMUNIQUES BY SUBVERSIVE GROUPS, OR THE IDENTITY OF WITNESSES OR PERSONS PROVIDING INFORMATION TO AUTHORITIES ABOUT TERRORIST ACTS. BILLED BY THE GOC AS A MEASURE DESIGNED TO DEPRIVE EXTREMIST GROUPS OF THE PUBLICITY THEY SEEK AND TO PROTECT WITNESSES AND INFORMANTS, THIS NEW LAW WILL MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO QUICLY DISTINGUISH VIOLENT ACTS WITH POLITICAL OVERTONES FROM REGULAR STREET CRIMES OR ACCIDENTS. HOW STRICTLY LOCAL NEWS MEDIA WILL COMPLY WITH THE LAW, AND HOW MUCH LATITUDE WILL BE TOLERATED BY THE GOC, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. END COMMENT).

B) MINOR EXPLOSIONS OCCURRED IN TWO DIFFERENCE AREAS OF SANTIAGO IN THE EARLY MORNING OF OCTOBER 7. THE FIRST BOMB WENT OFF APPROXIMATELY 3:45 AM LOCAL TIME, CAUSING MINOR DAMAGE TO A MOVIE THEATRE IN THE FASHIONABLE LOS CONDES SUBURB. APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR LATER, ANTOEHR BOMB EXPLODED IN A SUPERMARKET NEAR THE ESTACION CENTRAL SUBWAY STATION DOWNTOWN. FIRES CAUSED BY BOTH BOMBS WERE QUICKLY EXTINGUISHED BY EMPLOYEES AND SECURITY GUARDS. C) ALLEGED EXTREMISTS KIDNAPPTED A TAXI DRIVER AND ASSAULTED GASOLINE STORAGE TANKS WITH HOMEMADE ROCKETS IN THE LAS SALINAS SECTION OF VINA DEL MAR SEPTEMBER29. THE PROJECTILES DID NOT REACH THEIR TARGET: 10,000 LITER GASOLINE STORAGE TANK BELONGING TO SHELL CHILE.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05925 01 OF 02 082153Z

NO DAMAGE WAS CAUSED, AND THE ATTACKERS ESCAPED.

3. RESCHEDULED COUNCIL OF WAR: COUNCIL OF WAR PROCEEDINGS ARE SCHEDULED TO BEGIN OCTOBER 9 TO TRY ACCUSED MIRISTA GUILLERMO RODRIGUEZ MORALES FOR THE MURDER OF A CNI EMPLOYEE, VIOLATSIONS OF THE ARMS CONTROL LAWS, AND VIOLATIONS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW (SANTIAGO 5528 AND PREVIOUS). A GROUP OF HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS PUBLISHED A PUBLIC STATEMENT OCTOBER 7, ASKING THAT THE PROCEEDING BE SUSPENDED ON THE GROUNDS THAT CHILE IS NOT AT WAR, AND THEREFORE THE EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDINGS ARE NOT MORALLY JUSTIFIED, THAT NON-LAWYERS WILL TRY AND SENTENCE THE ACCUSED, AND THAT THE DEFENSE LAWYERS HAVE NOT HAD SSUF-FICIENT TIME TO PREPARE AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE. RODRIGUE' DEFENSE ATTORNEY FILED A WRIT OF AMPARO ON OCT 7, REQUESTING THE TRANSFER ON SIMILAR GROUNDS. (COMMENT: AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED (SANTIAGO 5528), THE PROCEEDINGS WERE POSTPONED SEPT 23, AFTER TWO CO-DEFENDANTS WERE REMOVED FROM THE JURISDICTION OF THE MILITARY PANEL. THE NEW HABEAS CORPUS PETITION MAY FORCE POSTPONEMENT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAIN. END COMMENT) IN RELATED NEWS, ONE OF THE ORIGINAL CO-DEFENDANTS, ADALBERTO MUNOZ JARA, WAS FORMALLY

CHARGED BEFORE A REGULAR MILITARY COURT OF VIOLATIONS OF THE ARMS CONTROL LAW. THE OTHR CO-DEFENDANT, ENRIQUE PIZARRO PINA, FILED A WRIT OF PROTECITION SEPTEMBER 23 IN THE COURT OF APPEALS, AFTER RECEIVING NUMEROUS THREATENING TELEPHONE CALLS AND BEING FOLLOWED BY UNKNOWN PERSONS. NO FURTHER ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN IN EITHER CASE.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05925 02 OF 02 091226Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
ARA-16 NSAE-00 PM-09 MCT-02 SYE-00 SP-02 /065 W
----------200575 091228Z /45

P 082119Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1369
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA

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4. FOLKLORE GROUP DENIED ENTRY: POPULAR SINGING GROUP "ILLAPU" WAS DENIED ENTRY INTO CHILE UPON ARRIVAL AT THE SANTIAGO AIRPORT ON OCTOBER 7 THE GROUP, WHICH WAS TO HAVE PERFORMED THE SAME EVENING ON A LOCAL TELEVISION PROGRAM, WAS ACCUSED IN AN OFFICIAL GOC DECLARATION OF "CLEAR MARXIST ORIENTATION" IN THEIR MUSIC AND PARTICIPATION IN THE "INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT CHILE" DURING THEIR 18 MONTH ABSENCE ABROAD. THE SIX MEMBER GROUP RETURNED TO LONDON ON THE SAME FLIGHT.

5. AFTERMATH OF NELTUME OPERATION: INFORMATION AND INCIDENTS RELATED TO THE ANTI-GUERRILLA OPERATION BY SECURITY FORCES IN THE NELTUME REGION NEAR VALDIVIA CONTINUED TO SURFACE IN THE WEEK AFTER THE OFFICIAL GOC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE OPERATION (SANTIAGO 5565). GOC OFFICIALS CLAIMED THAT IDENTITY DOCUMENTS HAD BEEN FOUND FOR SEVEN OTHER ALLEGED EXTREMISTS. A COMMUNIQUE FROM THE SELF-STYLED "AGENCIA INFORMATIVE DE LA RESISTENCIA" ACKNOWLEDGED THE DEATHS OF THE ORIGINAL SEVEN "COMRADES" IN ARMED CONFRONTATIONS WITH SECURITY FORCES, BUT CLAIMED THAT THE FOURTH ARMY DIVISION SUFFERED NUMEROUS CASUALTIES, CINCLUDING DEATHS, DURING THE ARMED EXCHANGES. GOC SOURCES QUICKLY DENIED THIS VERSION OF
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05925 02 OF 02 091226Z

EVENTS. IN RELATED ACTIVITY, POLICE IN TEMUCO ARRESTED TWO MEN AND A WOMAN OCTOBER 3, CHARGING THEM WITH COLLABORATION WITH THE NELTUME GUERRILLA BAND. EDINSON CHIHUAILAF ARRIAGADA, JOSE CUEVAS REYES, AND IRNALDO JIMENEZ VERGARA WERE DETAINED AND JAILED AFTER THEIR NAMES WERE REPORTEDLY FOUND ON LISTS OF COLLABORATORS TAKEN FROM GUERRILLA ENCAMPMENTS DURING THE SEARCH FOR ALLEGED EXTREMISTS. NO FURTHER ACTION ON THEIR CASES HAVE BEEN REPORTED.

6. MIR "SAFE HOUSE" FOUND. POLICE IN SANTIAGO DISCOVERED AND SEARCHED A PRIVATE RESIDENCE ALLEGEDLY USED AS A "SAFE HOUSE" BY MIR MEMBERS OCTOBER 1. POLICE SOURCES CLAIM TO HAVE FOUND WEAPONS, MATERIALS FOR MAKING BOMBS, MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT, AND LEFTIST PROPAGANDA INSIDE THE HOUSE. NO ARRESTS HAVE BEEN MADE.

7. UPDATE ON COURT CASES: (A) FORMER MAPU SECRETARY GENERAL CARLOS MONTES CISTERNAS TRAVELLED TO MEXICO SEPTEMBER 27 TO BEGIN SERVING THE 541 DAY SENTENCE OF EXPULSION UPHELD BY THE COURT OF APPEALS SEPTEMBER 15 (SANTIAGO 5565 AND 5167). (B) A SANTIAGO CRIMINAL COURT JUDGE SUSPENDED THE JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE JULY, 1980 DEATH OF ALLEGED MIRISTA HUGO RIVEROS GOMEZ. THE COURT FAILED TO FIND EVIDENCE INDICATING THE IDENTITY OF THE PERPETRATORS, AND CLOSED THE INVESTIGATION UNTIL NEW EVIDENCE COMES TO LIGHT. THE DECISION WAS IMMEDIATELY APPEALED BY COUNSEL FOR THE VICTIM'S WIDOW. RIVEROS'S BODY WAS FOUND IN THE CAJON DEL MAIPO NEAR SANTIAGO ON JULY 8, 1980, WHILE HE WAS FREE ON BAIL FROM CHARGES OF ILLICIT ASSOCIATION WITH A MIR CELL.

8. COMMENT: DESPITE THE BOMBINGS REPORTED ABOVE AND THE RIPPLES FROM NELTUME, THERE HAS NOT BEEN A MAJOR TERRORIST INCIDENT IN SEVERAL WEEKS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER,
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 05925 02 OF 02 091226Z

DAILY LIFE IN SANTIAGO AND OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IS MUCH MORE INFLUENCED BY SIGNS OF ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN THAN BY POLITICAL AGITATION OR BY TERRORIST VIOLENCE.
LANDAU

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 05937 091823Z
ACTION OCS-06

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 H-01 ARA-16 L-03 CA-01 /028 W
----------222140 100638Z /71

R 091553Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1374

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 5937

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: CARR
SUBJ: W/W: [redacted]

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise_X_ Deny____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s)_____B6_____

REF: A) SANTIAGO 5683 B) SANTIAGO 5821

FOLLOW-UP REPORT
3. DPOB: AUG. 9, 1950, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
5. [redacted]
7. NORMAL
10. ACCUSED OF TWO CRIMES: ONE (DRUG TRAFFICKING) A CIVIL, THE OTHER (WEAPONS POSSESSION) A MILITARY OFFENSE.
12. WEAPONS CHARGE: 61 DAYS/10 YEARS
DRUG TRAFFICKING: 5 YRS. 1 DAY/15 YRS. FINE DOLLARS 250/DOLLARS 3,000
13. [redacted] OBTAINED BY SUBJECT.
14. YES: ONLY FOR THOSE LISTED IN ITEM 24.
15. [redacted] NO ADDRESS- NO PHONE. CLAIMS NOT TO HAVE SEEN FAMILY IN 10 YRS.
17. PERSONAL VISIT BY CONSULAR OFFICER MADE OCT. 1, 1981. DATE OF 1ST VISIT: 10/1/81. DATE OF MOST RECENT VISIT: 10/1/81. TOTAL NUMBER OF VISITS TO DATE: ONE.
19. ALLEGES ELECTRIC TREATMENT DURING INTERROGATION BY CIVIL AUTHORITIES.
20. 60 FT. YATCH - CLOTHING, SAILS, COOKING UTENSILS,
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05937 091823Z

BOOKS, MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES. CONSULAR SECTION HAS DETAILED INVENTORY.
21. MILITARY CHARGE: INVESTIGATIVE, PRE-TRIAL STAGE.
CIVIL CHARGE: INVESTIGATIVE-, PRE-TRIAL STAGE.
22. N/A
23. SUBJECT IN GOOD HEALTH AND SPIRITS. SEE REFTEL

B FOR FURTHER INFO ON ALLEGED MISTREATMENT.

24. [redacted]

POST HAS NOT MADE NOTIFICATION. REQUEST DEPARTMENT DO SO.
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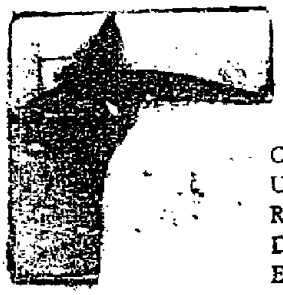

UNCLASSIFIED EXCISE

10/9/81 P B6 NR

MR080 FAIM

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State [redacted]
Release_____ Excise_X__ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6, NR

October 9, 1981

Dear Mr. Udall:

Thank you for your letter of September 23 on behalf of your constituent, [redacted] concerning several persons allegedly abducted in Chile and Argentina. B6

The Department of State has no information concerning Rosalee Chaparro, Bautista Van Schouwen Vasey, Muriel Dockendorf Navarrete, Jose Campos, Hugo Jorge and Maria Silva, the six Chileans mentioned in [redacted] letter. B6 We will pass the information on to our Embassy in Santiago and ask them to inquire into the situation.

NR

Yours sincerely,

Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Morris K. Udall,
House of Representatives.

cc: Ambassy Santiago
Ambassy Buenos Aires

Drafted:ARA/SC:MAsheimas
10-6-81 X29166 #81-4811
(Disc #8) #133-0843

Clearances:ARA/SC:FAIrbanks
ARA:MNudell

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10 Oct 81 ~~EC194~~ EC191 R

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DECONTROL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 05957 101616Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-15	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00
	PM-09	PA-01	INRE-00	ACDA-12	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02
	/085 W						

----------232461 101618Z /50

O 101502Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE IWASHDC IMMEDIATE 1378
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ SANTIAGO 5957

E O 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS SHUM CI
SUBJECT: COUNSEL OF WAR FINDS RODRIGUEZ GUILTY, SENTENCES HIM TO LIFE TERM

REFS: SANTIAGO 5528 AND PREVISOUS

1. THE RESCHEDULED COUNCIL OF WAR CONVENED THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 9, TO TRY ACCUSED MIRISTA LEADER GUILLERMO RODRIGUEZ MORALES FOR THE MURDER OF CNI EMPLOYEE CARLOS TAPIA; SOME FIFTEEN HOURS LATER, THE COUNCIL ANNOUNCED THAT RODRIGUEZ HAD BEEN FOUND GUILTY AND SENTENCED HIM TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT, AS RECOMMENDED BY THE PROSECUTOR (FISCAL MILITAR). THE CASE NOW GOES TO BGEN OSVALDO HERNANDEZ FOR REVIEW AND APPROVAL OR MODIFICATION WITH THE DECISION EXPECTED IN A FEW DAYS.

2. THE PROCEEDINGS WERE ATTENDED BY ABOUT 35 PEOPLE, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF RODRIGUEZ' FAMILY, LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS, REPORTERS, HANS RAU OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, AND A THIRD SECRETARY OF THE CANADIAN EMBASSY; REPORTERS COULD NOT USE CAMERAS OR TAPE RECORDERS BUT WERE ALLOWED TO TAKE FULL NOTES. ALL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 05957 101616Z

PAPERS GAVE PROMINENT COVERAGE TO THE EVENT, INCLUDING QUESTIONING OF RODRIGUEZ BY MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL IN WHICH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD GIVEN THE ORDER TO KILL TAPIA TO SUBORDINATES OF HIS MIR CELL WHOM HE HAD EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE WOULD CARRY OUT THE ORDER. THE DEFENSE ATTORNEY ARGUED THAT, FIRST, RODRIGUEZ SHOULD NOT BE TRIED BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF WAR BECAUSE TAPIA WAS NOT A MEMBER OF THE ARMED FORCES OR FORCES OF

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ORDER AS DEFINED IN THE CONSTITUTION, AND SECOND THAT HE WAS NOT THE DIRECT AUTHOR OF THE MURDER BUT HAD SIMPLY SERVED AS A CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION FROM HIGHER LEVEL LEADERS TO THE ACTUAL HIT MEN.

3. MIR PAMPHLETS URGING DEMONSTRATIONS TO SUPPORT "OUR FIGHTERS" HAVE BEEEN DISTRIBUTED IN SOME PARTS OF SANTIAGO BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN OF ANY PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OR REACTIONS SO FAR. THE TIMING OF THE CASE, JUST BEFORE A LONG HOLIDAY WEEKEND, REDUCES THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANY PROTESTS, ASSUMING THERE ARE VERY MANY CHILEANS WHO WOULD FEEL MOVED TO DEFEND A CONFESSED TERRORIST. THE STRONGEST REACTIONS CAN BE EXPECTED ABROAD FROM GROUPS WHO REJECT THE VALIDITY OF MILITARY TRIBUNALS IN TIME OF PEACE, BUT THERE WILL RELATIVELY FEW ECHOES WITHIN CHILE ITSELF.

4. ONCE THE SENTENCE IS CONFIRMED, THE NEXT LIKELY MOVES WILL BE EFFORTS TO HAVE THE JAIL TERM COMMUTED TO EXILE, THOUGH THE GOVERNMENT MAY WANT TO KEEP HIM IN JAIL FOR A WHILE AS AN EXAMPLE TO OTHERS.
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n/a

[redacted]

Department of State

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 07750 142215Z 3565

ACTION L-03

RELEASE

(1 Col Salvador)

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 ARA-16 NSAE-00
SSO-00 HA-06 /051 W

----------331370 151049Z /71

R 141812Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6073

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 7750

E. O. 12065: GDS 10/14/87 (BLEAKLEY, KENNETH W.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, MX, ES
SUBJ: LETTER OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: MEXICO 13214

REQUEST THAT FUTURE CABLES ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH INCLUDE NAMES OR SUBSTANTIVE INFORMATION BE CAPTIONED EXDIS.
HINTON

Department of State [illegible] 9/23/93

[redacted]

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NUNS

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

MIAMI HERALD

15 October 1981

Slain nuns suspected of running messages?

From Herald Wire Services

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — A captured national guardsman claimed in a broadcast over a guerrilla-run radio that four American women missionaries were killed by guardsmen because two of them were suspected of running messages between leftists in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The women — three nuns and a lay religious worker — were slain Dec. 2, 1980, allegedly by six guardsmen now under arrest. The women had been en route from the international airport to San Salvador.

Ita Ford, Maura Clarke, Dorothy Kazel, and lay worker Jean Donovan were killed because the first two had just arrived from Nicaragua, the captured guardsman said in an interview broadcast by the rebels' Radio Venceremos.

The guardsman, identified as Isidoro Guevara, 25, said on the radio he took part in a guard meeting this summer in which a major informed the troops that the six suspects knew the women had arrived from Nicaragua and could have been carrying messages between leftists in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

News Briefs

discussed unspecified international problems, said the Granma report distributed by the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina and monitored in Mexico City.

Berlinguer, accompanied by Italian Communist officials Antonio Rubbi, Renato Sandri and Georgio Oldrini, arrived in Cuba last Saturday on a Latin American tour that includes stops in Mexico and Nicaragua.

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PAGE 01 STATE 279248
ORIGIN SS-30

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /030 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/CEN:AMGIESE
APPROVED BY ARA/GAGLILESPIE
ARA/CEN:CATHOMAS
S/S-O:SHERMAN
S/S:CEMCMANAWAY

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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O 201439Z OCT 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 279248

[redacted] MEXICO CITY FOR LEGAT

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/19/87 (GILLESPIE, C.A.)

TAGS: PINT, ES

SUBJECT: MC AWARD LETTER ON MORAN

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ARA/CEN DEPUTY DIRECTOR GIESE RECEIVED FOLLOWING LETTER FROM JOHN MC AWARD, UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST SERVICE COMMITTEE. THE LETTER, WHICH WAS RECEIVED OCTOBER 15, IS DATED OCTOBER 8, 1981. CONTENTS FOLLOW:

"DEAR ART:

"I SPOKE TO AMBASSADOR HINTON BY PHONE LAST WEEK. THE AMBASSADOR WANTED ME TO SHARE WITH YOU DATA ON THE NUNS' DEATHS THAT WE BOTH HAVE PIECES OF, SO THAT YOU CAN COM-

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 279248

MUNICATE IT TO HIM ON THE SECURE CHANNEL.

"WHEN I WAS IN MEXICO CITY RECENTLY WITH REPRESENTATIVES PETRI AND SCHROEDER, I MET PRIVATELY WITH AND THEN HAD THE DELEGATION MEET WITH [JUAN JOSE MORAN. A COMPUTER ENGINEER AND A GRADUATE OF [LA SALLE COLLEGE IN CHICAGO,] HE AND NAPOLEAN DUARTE BECAME FAST FRIENDS WHILE DUARTE WAS STUDYING AT [NEARBY] NOTRE DAME. [ACCORDING TO MORAN, HE WAS A CO-FOUNDER WITH DUARTE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.] UNTIL JUNE '80 HE HELD A HIGH POSITION IN [THE

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF SAN SALVADOR. HE FLED TO MEXICO AT THAT TIME BECAUSE HE COULD NO LONGER WORK IN THE COUNTRY IN THE FACE OF SO MANY ASSASSINATIONS BY THE SECURITY FORCES.

"ONE INCIDENT HE DESCRIBED HAD HIM SITTING IN A BAR IN EARLY 1980 IN LA LIBERTAD WHEN THE OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD IN THAT PORT CITY, HALF DRUNK, CAME INTO THE BAR WITH STAINS ON HIS UNIFORM AND BRAGGED TO MORAN THAT HE HAD JUST KILLED 3GUERRILLAS. AS MORAN RELATES THE STORY, HE TOLD HIM THAT HE WAS SHOOTING OFF AT THE MOUTH, HE WAS DRUNK, TO SHUT UP AND SIT DOWN. THE OFFICER CHALLENGED HIM TO COME TO THE NATIONAL GUARD BARRACKS TO SEE FOR HIMSELF. HE DID AND FOUND THE BODIES OF THREE YOUNG PEOPLE WITH THEIR THROATS SLIT LYING ON THE FLOOR.

"A SHORT WHILE LATER IN JUNE, THE LEFT CALLED A GENERAL STRIKE. MORAN TOLD 5 MUNICIPAL CHAUFFEURS TO COME TO WORK BUT NOT TO LEAVE THE BUILDING THAT DAY IN THEIR VEHICLES. THIS ACT BROUGHT THE WRATH OF THE TREASURY POLICE WHO CONSIDERED THEIR ACTIONS AS SUPPORTING THE STRIKE AND AR-

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 279248

RESTED THE FIVE. MORAN WENT TO COLONEL MORAN, WHO IS HIS BASTARD COUSIN. THE COLONEL ADMITTED THAT THE 5 WERE HELD BUT TOLD JUAN JOSE NOT TO WORRY--THEY WOULD BE RELEASED IN THE MORNING. WHEN HE WENT TO PICK THEM UP IN THE MORNING, HE FOUND THEIR BODIES. HE SHARED THESE STORIES WITH DUARTE AS HE TELLS IT AND DUARTE TOLD HIM "THE MILITARY TAKES CARE OF THE WAR AND WE TAKE CARE OF THE POLITICS. KEEP YOUR NOSE OUT OF IT." HE FLED THE COUNTRY SHORTLY THEREAFTER.

MORAN IS ALSO THE PERSON, TOGETHER WITH ALEJANDRO DUARTE, NAPOLEON'S BROTHER, WHO BRIBED AN OFFICIAL AT THE WATERWORKS (ANDA) IN FEBRUARY 1977 IN ORDER TO DISCOVER THE SHORT WAVE BAND WHICH THE MILITARY STATIONED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE WOULD USE TO BROADCAST INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR GOONS AT THE POLLING PLACES IN ORDER TO TILT THE ELECTION RESULTS IN THE FAVOR OF THE RULING MILITARY PARTY. I HAVE THESE TAPE RECORDINGS IN MY OFFICE BUT I'M SURE THAT STATE HAS A COPY AS WELL. I SHARE THIS WITH YOU TO DEMONSTRATE HIS CREDIBILITY. FURTHERMORE, IT HAS TAKEN SO LONG FOR HIM TO COME FORWARD WITH THE STORY BECAUSE HE FEARS FOR THE LIFE OF HIS SON, AN ENGINEER, WHO STILL RESIDES WITH HIS FAMILY IN EL SALVADOR.

"THE STORY THAT IS THE REASON FOR THIS LETTER FOLLOWS: A MAN WHO WAS RAISED BY THE MORAN FAMILY (THE FATHER OF JUAN JOSE) AS AN "HIJO DE LA CASA" ARRIVED IN MEXICO CITY IN JUNE OF THIS YEAR ON HIS WAY TO ILLEGAL STATUS IN THE UNITED STATES. FEARING FOR HIS LIFE, CESAR CORTEZ LOOKED

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UP [JUAN JOSE] AND RELATED THE FOLLOWING STORY. HE WAS A CHAUFFEUR FOR THE KRIST FAMILY. (THE SAME KRIST IMPLICATED IN THE DEATHS OF THE AIFLD ADVISORS AND RODOLFO VIERA.) ON DECEMBER 1, 1980 HE WAS TOLD BY KRIST THAT THE NEXT DAY HE WAS TO TAKE THE PICKUP TRUCK FROM THE HACIENDA WITH TWO HACIENDA GUARDS, PROCEED TO LA LIBERTAD, COLLECT 3 NATIONAL GUARDSMEN AND GO TO THE AIRPORT TO DO A JOB. THE JOB IT

[redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

TURNED OUT WAS TO INTERCEPT THE FOUR AMERICAN RELIGIOUS WORKERS. HE DISCLAIMS ANY PARTICIPATION IN THE RAPING OR MURDERS BUT CLAIMS TO HAVE WITNESSED THE EVENTS. HE PROMISED MORAN THAT HE WOULD NOTIFY HIM WITH HIS ADDRESS WHEN HE GOT SETTLED IN THE UNITED STATES. AS OF SEVERAL DAYS AGO, HE HAD NOT DONE SO. I CONFIRMED THIS BY TALKING DIRECTLY WITH [MORAN] BY PHONE IN MEXICO CITY.

"I UNDERSTAND THAT THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDING TO A LETTER, PLACED AN AD IN A MEXICAN NEWSPAPER AND OUR MEXICAN EMBASSY HAS AT LEAST SOME OF THE DETAILS AS I HAVE RELATED THEM TO YOU.

"THERE IS ONE ADDITIONAL PART OF THE STORY WHICH IMPLICATES AN AMERICAN IN THESE GRIZZLEY EVENTS. HOWEVER, I AM UNCOMFORTABLE SHARING THIS WITH ANYONE UNTIL WE HAVE ACCESS TO CORTEZ. I DON'T WANT THE RUMOR CIRCULATING AT THIS TIME BECAUSE I KNOW THE PERSON INVOLVED AND DON'T GIVE THE RUMOR MUCH CREDIBILITY.

"I AM TRYING TO GET INFORMATION TO WEST COAST NETWORKS TO SEE WHETHER SOMEONE MIGHT KNOW [CESAR CORTEZ] AND BE ABLE TO CONVINCE HIM TO COME FORWARD WITH HIS STORY THAT COULD NOT ONLY BRING TO JUSTICE THE KILLERS OF THE AMERICAN WOMEN, BUT IF PROPERLY HANDLED, COULD IMPLICATE SOME HIGH LEVEL GOVERNMENT OR POWERFUL PRIVATE SECTOR INTERESTS.

"LET'S KEEP IN TOUCH.

"SINCERELY,

/S/
"JOHN MC AWARD

[redacted]

[redacted]

"ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
"INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

"JM:ML
"CC REPRESENTATIVE PATRICIA SCHROEDER

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El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1993)

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [redacted]
*** Current Classification ***

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81STATE 280216

212

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ADP580
[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 280216
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03
FBIE-00 /035 R

----------124316 211420Z /45

R 210511Z OCT 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR 4897

[redacted] STATE 280216

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/20/81

TAGS: SHUM, ES

SUBJECT: LETTER ON CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: A) TELCON LASBURY/GETINGER 10/19/81, B) STATE 263152

1. (C-ENTIRETEXT.:

2. REGARDING WHEREABOUTS OF CORTEZ SEE MEXICO 13214.
CLARK

[redacted]

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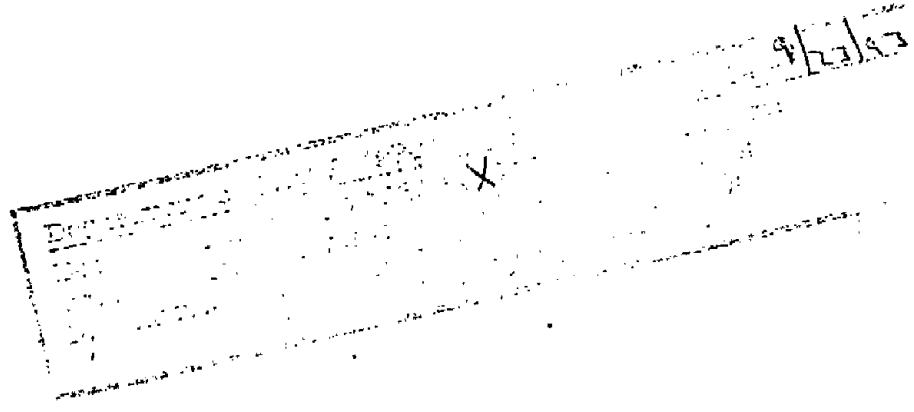

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM- 81MEXICO014053

ADP874 [redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 14053 232251Z
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-02 ADS-00 SSO-00 /032 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5772
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] MEXICO 14053

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E.O. 12065: GDS 10/23/8
TAGS: SHUM, MX, EX
SUBJECT: LETTER OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: MEXICO 13214

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON 20 OCTOBER 1981 JUAN JOSE MORAN INFORMED EMBASSY OFFICER THAT CESAR CORTES IS NOW RESIDING IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. CORTES HAS CALLED MORAN TWICE FROM CHICAGO. MORAN TOLD CORTES OF USG INTEREST IN TALKING TO HIM REGARDING THE MURDERS. MORAN SAYS CORTES IS NOT WILLING TO TALK TO ANYONE UNLESS MORAN CAN CONVINCE HIM THAT TO DO SO WOULD NOT ENDANGER HIS LIFE OR HIS STAYING IN THE U.S. CORTES IS IN THE U.S. ILLEGALLY AND USING AN ASSUMED NAME. HE WANTS TO KNOW WHAT GUARANTEES HE WILL BE GIVEN, SUCH AS NOT BEING DEPORTED OR FORCED TO TESTIFY IN EL SALVADOR. HE ALSO WANTS MORAN PRESENT IF HE TALKS TO U.S. AUTHORITIES. MORAN HAS MEANS TO CONTACT CORTES.
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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** ONLY

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DOC_NBR= 81CAPET04926

FILM= N810008-0572

DATE= 27 OCT 81

TYPE= TE

FROM= CAPE TOWN
OR-M

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NODS

TO= STATE
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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/4/99 Exemption

CHANNEL= n/a

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ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

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EO= R1 20011027 CROCKER, CHESTER

SUBJECT= NAMIBIA: DISCUSSIONS WITH SWAPO AND ANGOLAN - GOVERNMENT IN LUANDA

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, CONSTITUTION, CAT-B, MEETING REPORTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS, LIBERATION FRONTS

TAGS= PORG, PDEV, PEPR, SF, WA, US, AO, UNSC, SWAPO, (CROCKER, CHESTER A)

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PAGE 01 CAPE T 04926 01 OF 02 272249Z
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NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY FROM CROCKER

FROM EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 10/27/01 (CROCKER, CHESTER) OR-M
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: DISCUSSIONS WITH SWAPO AND ANGOLAN
- GOVERNMENT IN LUANDA

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. THE CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSIONS IN LUANDA WITH SWAPO AND THE ANGOLANS WENT WELL. SWAPO WAS NON-COMMITTAL (RATHER THAN NEGATIVE) ON OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS WHICH I FEEL IS THE BEST WE CAN EXPECT AT THIS STAGE. THE ANGOLANS TOOK A CONSTRUCTIVE INITIAL STANCE TO OUR APPROACH WHICH I BELIEVE REFLECTS THEIR ANALYSIS THAT NO OTHER SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE. AFTER THE CG SESSION WITH PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS, I HAD A USEFUL BI-LATERAL MEETING WITH PAULO JORGE IN WHICH WE ESTABLISHED A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE FRAMEWORK FOR THE PERIODIC DIS-CUSSIONS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE PROCESS.

3. OUR CG MEETING WITH SAM NUJOMA AND ASSORTED SWAPO CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS WENT AS WELL AS CAN BE EXPECTED

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PAGE 02 CAPE T 04926 01 OF 02 272249Z

AT THIS STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATION. READING FROM A PRE-PARED STATEMENT, NUJOMA (WHO WAS RELAXED AND FRIENDLY) SAID THAT OUR PROPOSALS HAD BEEN REFERRED TO SWAPO'S LEGAL DEPARTMENT. HE WOULD NOT COMMENT FURTHER AND DECLINED TO BE DRAWN OUT, DESPITE AT TIMES FAWNING EFFORTS OF SOME OF MY CG COLLEAGUES TO ELICIT A PRELIMINARY POSITIVE VIEW. SAM'S NON-COMMITTAL STANCE IS IN LINE WITH THE APPARENTLY PREDETERMINED FRONT LINE/SWAPO LINE THAT, AFTER OUR CG ROAD SHOW, THEY WILL GATHER AND DEFINE A COMMON POSITION.

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4. PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS WAS OPEN AND CONSTRUCTIVE IN RESPONDING TO OUR CG PROPOSALS ON A PROCESS FOR RESOLVING ISSUES AND OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES. WHAT SHOWN THROUGH IN HIS APPROACH WAS A DESIRE AND DETERMINATION TO GET ON WITH A SETTLEMENT, WHATEVER THAT MIGHT TAKE. NOTABLY LACKING WAS ANY MENTION OF THE CUBAN/ANGOLAN TRACK OF OUR APPROACH (MUCH TO THE RELIEF OF OUR CG PARTNERS), NOR DID DOS SANTOS ENGAGE IN THE SOCIALIST RHETORIC WE AND THE OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS HAVE ENCOUNTERED BEFORE. I FOUND DOS SANTOS TO BE A BRIGHT, ENGAGING FELLOW.

5. THE PRESIDENT WAS THE PRINCIPAL INTERLOCUTOR ON THE ANGOLAN SIDE, AND HIS FOCUS WAS DEFINITELY ON GETTING TO THE END OF THE NAMIBIA TUNNEL. HE WENT ON AT SOME LENGTH TO LAY BLAME FOR THE LACK OF A SETTLEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA, BUT STRESSED HIS DESIRE TO END THE FIGHTING WHICH HE ADMITTED WREAKS HAVOC ON HIS OWN COUNTRY AND INVOLVES AFRICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN LOSS OF LIFE. HIS COMMENTS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES WERE BRIEF, BUT HE PREDICTABLY ASKED FOR MORE PRECISION ON THE PHASING PROCESS, WHICH WE READILY SUPPLIED.

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I ALSO TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO SET FORTH OUR APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA WHICH DOS SANTOS DID NOT DISPUTE. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS MEETING, OUR FIRST WITH THE ANGOLAN HEAD OF STATE, WAS PURELY POLITICAL AND SYMBOLIC, AND AUGURS WELL FOR OUR TWO TRACK POLICY. PRE-EMINENT IN HIS MIND ARE THE DIFFICULT DECISIONS HIS GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO TAKE IN THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS. MOREOVER, SWAPO AND NAMIBIA NOW BECOME CLEARLY FOR THEM ANCILLARY TO THEIR MAJOR PREOCCUPATIONS.

6. IN MY PRE-DEPARTURE ONE-ON-ONE WITH PAULO JORGE, I AIMED TO ESTABLISH A DISCREET CHANNEL TO DISCUSS CONCRETE PROPOSALS WITH THE ANGOLANS FOLLOWING UPON YOUR USEFUL MEETING WITH HIM IN NEW YORK. JORGE ONCE AGAIN TRUNDLED OUT THE "ANGOLA IS SOVEREIGN AND CHOOSES ITS OWN FRIENDS" ARGUMENT, BUT CHANGED HIS TUNE CONSIDERABLY WHEN I SAID WE MUST LOOK AT THE POLITICAL REALITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND PROCEED TO PUT SOME MEAT ON THE BONES OF OUR SECOND TRACK. JORGE SUGGESTED THAT WE WORK THROUGH HIS PERMREP IN NEW YORK, TO WHICH I RESPONDED THAT WE NEEDED A MORE DIRECT, POLICY LEVEL INTERLOCUTOR SUCH AS HIMSELF. I TOLD JORGE THAT OUR TALKS IN THE FUTURE WOULD BE MORE SPECIFIC THAN OUR PAST CONVERSATIONS, AND SHOULD BEGIN IMMEDIATELY. HE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD CONTACT HIM ABOUT A PROPOSED DATE IN NOVEMBER, WHEN HE WOULD BE AT HOME FOR PARTY MEETINGS AND

ON VISITS TO BRAZIL AND MEXICO. HIS REMARKS LEAD ME TO BELIEVE THAT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT HAS MADE A DECISION AT THE LEAST TO TALK TO US ON THE CUBAN ISSUE. MY BELIEF WAS CORROBORATED BY THE REMARKS

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OF A HIGH MPLA PARTY OFFICIAL WHO TOLD ME OVER LUNCH THAT THE SITUATION HAD DETERIORATED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO THE POINT THAT ONLY THE U.S. COULD BRING ABOUT THE PEACE AND SECURITY SO DESPERATELY NEEDED. OTHERWISE, HE SAID, ANGOLA WOULD HAVE TO TAKE OTHER (UNSPECIFIED) MEASURES. WALKER

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1515

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 7 SANTIAGO 6321

E O 12065: GDS 10/28/87 (DURKEE, M.L.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM CI
SUBJECT: DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT

REFS: A. STATE 218557 B. 80 STATE 224684 C. STATE 215288
D. STATE 219819

1. ~~P~~ENTIRE TEXT.

2. IN PARAGRAPHS THAT FOLLOW, POST SUBMITS THE DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON CHILE REQUESTED BY REF A. THE DRAFT IS CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL TO AVOID DAMAGE TO FOREIGN RELATIONS THROUGH RELEASE IN UNCLEARED FORM.

~~3. DRAFT REPORT ON CHILE:~~

INTRODUCTION:

CHILEAN DEMOCRACY CAME UNDER INCREASING STRAINS FROM THE 1950'S ONWARDS AS THE RESULT OF RAPID GROWTH IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, SLOW ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ENDEMIC INFLATION. THE SEVERE ECONOMIC DISLOCATION AND INCREASING VIOLENCE OF THE LAST PART OF SALVADOR ALLENDE'S GOVERNMENT (1970-1973) PRODUCED WIDE SUPPORT FOR THE MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SEPTEMBER 1973. THE UPHEAVALS OF THAT PERIOD AND THE PERCEPTION THAT ALLENDE'S POLICIES WERE LEADING TO A MARXIST STATE CONTINUE TO INFLUENCE THE ATTITUDES OF MANY CHILEANS TOWARDS THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

RATHER THAN RETURNING POWER TO CIVILIANS AFTER THE COUP, THE MILITARY, LED BY GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET, EMBARKED ON A WIDE-RANGING EFFORT TO CHANGE THE CHILEAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. THE REGIME UNDERTOOK TO CONSOLIDATE ITS CONTROL THROUGH A SERIES OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES, PARTICULARLY EVIDENT THROUGH 1977. THESE INCLUDED MASS ARRESTS, TORTURE, EXILE AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HUNDREDS OF PERSONS. THIS EARLY PERIOD ALSO SAW THE BANNING OF POLITICAL PARTIES, THE SUSPENSION OF MOST LABOR RIGHTS, THE CLOSING OF MANY NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO STATIONS, AND THE PURGING OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER AND SEVERITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS SINCE 1977. NO CONFIRMED "DISAPPEARANCES" HAVE OCCURRED SINCE OCTOBER OF THAT YEAR, AND TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AND GENERAL POLICE PROCEDURES HAVE IMPROVED. HOWEVER, ARRESTS AND EXPULSIONS FOR NON-VIOLENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND DOCUMENTED REPORTS OF TORTURE CONTINUED TO OCCUR IN 1981. ~~BUT AT DIMINISHED RATE.~~ POLITICAL PARTIES REMAIN FORMALLY DISSOLVED, AND BASIC FREEDOMS OF SPEECH AND ASSEMBLY ARE RESTRICTED, ALTHOUGH SOME POLITICAL ACTIVITY, CRITICISM AND LIMITED PRESS DISCUSSION ~~ARE~~ TOLERATED. LABOR UNION ACTIVITY CONTINUES TO BE UNDER SOME RESTRAINTS, BUT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND A LIMITED RIGHT TO STRIKE WERE RESTORED IN 1979 UNDER A NEW LABOR LAW. THE CONTINUING "STATE OF EMERGENCY", WHICH CREATES A SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT UNDER A "STATE OF SIEGE", IS EXTENDED REGULARLY EVERY SIX MONTHS AND GIVES THE GOVERNMENT EXTRAORDINARY AUTHORITY TO DEAL WITH A PERCEIVED EXTREMIST THREAT. THE RIGHT TO DUE PROCESS WAS WEAKENED FURTHER IN 1981 BY CERTAIN TRANSITORY PROVISIONS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH ENTERED INTO FORCE ON MARCH 11. UNDER THESE PROVISIONS, PARTICULARLY ARTICLE 24, THE PRESIDENT HAS EXECUTIVE POWER TO ORDER INDIVIDUALS INTO INTERNAL EXILE FOR PERIODS OF UP TO THREE MONTHS; ARREST PEOPLE WITHOUT JUDICIAL WARRANT; EXTEND THE AUTHORIZED PERIOD OF DETENTION WITHOUT FORMAL CHARGES FROM FIVE TO TWENTY DAYS IN CASES OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES ~~WITH GRAVE CONSEQUENCES~~; AND RESTRICT THE RIGHTS OF ASSEMBLY AND FREEDOM OF INFORMATION. THESE MEASURES ARE NOT SUBJECT TO JUDICIAL REVERSAL. IN SEVERAL INSTANCES, HOWEVER, THE COURTS AND PRESS HAVE TAKEN POSITIONS DEFENDING HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE MARCH 1981 CONSTITUTION, APPROVED IN THE CONTROVERSIAL 1980 PLEBISCITE BY A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY, PROVIDES FOR A TRANSITION PERIOD OF EIGHT YEARS UNDER MILITARY GOVERNMENT WITH PRESIDENT AUGUSTO PINOCHET REMAINING POWER. THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS SPELLED OUT IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS DIMINISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE POWERS IN THE TRANSITORY PROVISIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE. FURTHER, SOME CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS, INCLUDING ELECTIONS FOR THE SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, WILL TAKE EFFECT AFTER THE END OF THE EIGHT-YEAR TRANSITION. IN THE MEANTIME, THE MILITARY JUNTA EXERCISES THE LEGISLATIVE POWER OF THE STATE.

FOLLOWING TWO YEARS OF RELATIVE CALM, CHILE SUFFERED A MODERATE INCREASE IN EXTREMIST VIOLENCE DURING 1980 AND EARLY 1981. INCLUDING ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS, ARMED ROBBERIES, ATTACKS AND BOMBINGS, RESULTING IN THE DEATH OR WOUNDING OF AT LEAST NINE ~~SEC~~ SECURITY PERSONNEL. MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR), ~~ENEMA~~, SOME OF ~~WHOM~~ HAVE REPORTEDLY RECEIVED CUBAN TRAINING, HAVE CLAIMED CREDIT FOR MANY OF THESE INCIDENTS, BUT THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN OTHERS HAS NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED. RECENT POLICE SUCCESSES APPEAR TO HAVE DIMINISHED EXTREMIST VIOLENCE SINCE MID-1981.

WITH RESPECT TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS EMBARKED ON A PROGRAM TO REDUCE THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT, TO OPEN THE ECONOMY TO WORLD MARKET COMPETITION AND TO REFORM FISCAL POLICY. THE PERSISTENCE OF HIGH INFLATION, INCLUDING THE HYPERINFLATION OF MORE THAN 600 PERCENT IN 1973,

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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AND THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES BROUGHT ON BY INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS OF THE MID-1970'S (HIGH OIL AND LOW COPPER PRICES), FORCED GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN 1975 TO IMPLEMENT A SERIES OF AUSTERITY MEASURES WHICH ACCELERATED THE TRANSITION TO A FREE MARKET ECONOMY. AFTER THE INITIAL, SHARP DECLINE IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, BEGINNING IN 1976, GNP GROWTH HAS AVERAGED MORE THAN 7 PERCENT IN REAL TERMS; INFLATION ~~HAS~~ DECLINED TO ABOUT 18 PERCENT FOR 1981; AND OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT ~~HAS~~ DECLINED TO 9 PERCENT BY MID-1981. HIGH GROWTH RATES AND BETTER TAX COLLECTION HAVE ENABLED THE GOVERNMENT TO INCREASE SOCIAL SPENDING BOTH AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE BUDGET AND BY COMPARISON (IN REAL TERMS) WITH PREVIOUS PERIODS IN CHILEAN HISTORY. SOCIAL SPENDING IS NOW MORE CAREFULLY FOCUSED ON POORER SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION. IMPORTANT EFFORTS IN HEALTH AND NUTRITION PROGRAMS HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY CUT INFANT MORTALITY OVER THE DECADE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS INCREASED REAL SPENDING ON EDUCATION BUT, IN LINE WITH THE EFFORT TO TARGET SOCIAL SPENDING ON THE MORE NEEDY, THE PERCENTAGE ALLOCATED TO PRE-PRIMARY, PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE LEVELS HAS BEEN INCREASED RELATIVE TO HIGHER EDUCATION.

1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

A. TORTURE

ARTICLE 19 OF THE 1981 CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS "USE OF ALL ILLEGAL PRESSURE" AND "GUARANTEES TO ALL PERSONS THE RIGHT TO LIFE AND TO THE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHIC INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL." HIGH-LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY DENY THAT THE USE OF TORTURE BY GOVERNMENT AGENTS IS AUTHORIZED. IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981, 46 PERSONS (COMPARED TO 87 FOR THE SAME PERIOD IN 1980) FILED COMPLAINTS WITH THE COURTS ALLEGING TORTURE -- WITH MOST INDIVIDUALS ALLEGING PSYCHOLOGICAL DURESS, BEATINGS AND THE USE OF ELECTRIC SHOCK DURING INTERROGATIONS. WHILE THE POLITICAL BACKGROUNDS OF SOME OF THESE ALLEGING TORTURE REFLECT SUFFICIENT ANTI-GOVERNMENT SENTIMENT TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE VALIDITY OF THE ALLEGATIONS, IN OTHER CASES THERE IS NO APPARENT REASON FOR THE INDIVIDUALS TO MAKE FALSE CLAIMS. MOST COMPLAINTS OF TORTURE WERE AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL INFORMATION CENTER (CNI).

MANY INDIVIDUALS HAVE SOUGHT AID FROM CHURCH LEGAL OFFICES IN THE PREPARATION AND FILING OF SWORN COMPLAINTS WHICH, IN THEIR SIMILARITY AND SPECIFICITY, ENHANCE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE. ACCORDING TO SUCH ACCOUNTS, TORTURE USUALLY OCCURRED IN THE FIRST OR SECOND DAY OF DETENTION TO ALLOW SUFFICIENT TIME FOR HEALING OR RECOVERY BY THE TIME OF RELEASE. LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO EXPRESS CONCERN THAT THE LENGTHENING OF THE PERIOD OF EXECUTIVE DETENTION FROM FIVE TO ~~TWENTY~~ 20 DAYS IN INTERNAL SECURITY LAW VIOLATIONS INVOLVING MURDER, INJURY, OR KIDNAPPING COULD FACILITATE MORE SUSTAINED PHYSICAL ABUSE. ~~BUT NO FIRM EVIDENCE HAS BEEN PRODUCED TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS CONCERN.~~

B. CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

HUMAN RIGHTS SOURCES REPORT A NUMBER OF CASES OF SERIOUS MISTREATMENT, INCLUDING TORTURE, DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981. WHILE MOST DETAINEES REPORT CORRECT TREATMENT, SOME PERSONS DETAINED DURING PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS ~~OR AT DISTANCE TICKETS~~ OR ON SUSPICION OF PROSCRIBED POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, HAVE COMPLAINED OF BEATINGS AND BEING FORCED TO REMAIN UNCLOTHED FOR EXTENDED PERIODS OF TIME.

UNTIL JANUARY 1981, PERSONS DETAINED IN PRISON FOR POLITICAL OR TERRORIST ACTIVITIES WERE NORMALLY SEPARATED BY CELL BLOCKS FROM COMMON CRIMINALS IN KEEPING WITH AN INFORMAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ~~GOC~~ AND AN AD-HOC ~~HR~~ GROUP. SINCE JANUARY 1981 IN KEEPING WITH A ~~GOC~~ POSITION THAT THERE ARE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CHILE, ALL PRISONERS HAVE BEEN TREATED EQUALLY, WITH RIGHTS OF VISITATION AND COMMUNICATION WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS, LEGAL COUNSEL AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS. ~~HOWEVER~~

C. DISAPPEARANCES

THE LAST REPORTED "DISAPPEARANCES" OCCURRED IN 1977. ABOUT 635 CASES FROM THE PERIOD 1973-1977 REMAIN UNRESOLVED. ALTHOUGH THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT APPOINTED SPECIAL JUDGES IN 1979 TO INVESTIGATE MANY OF THESE DISAPPEARANCES, ~~NO DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS HAVE BEEN REACHED.~~ THE INVESTIGATIONS CONTINUE IN SOME CASES, ACTION HAS BEEN SUSPENDED IN NUMEROUS OTHERS, AND STILL OTHERS HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO MILITARY JUSTICE WHEN THE MILITARY OR POLICE ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED. SOME FAMILIES OF THE DISAPPEARED HAVE APPEALED THE SUSPENSION OR REFERRAL TO THE MILITARY COURTS. TO DATE, THE APPEALS HAVE HAD LITTLE EFFECT IN RESOLVING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THEIR RELATIVES.

D. ARBITRARY ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT

WHEN PEOPLE ARE DETAINED FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, FRIENDS OR RELATIVES NORMALLY REPORT THE DETENTIONS, THE PRESS PUBLICIZES THEM AND THE GOVERNMENT EVENTUALLY ACKNOWLEDGES THEM. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT DENIES HOLDING POLITICAL PRISONERS, 205 PERSONS ARE IN THE JUDICIAL PROCESS CHARGED WITH SEDITIOUS ACTIVITY; 136 ARE IN JAIL AND 69 ARE OUT ON BAIL. MOST ARE ACCUSED OF VIOLATING EITHER THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW OR THE ARMS CONTROL LAW, OR BOTH. ~~IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER,~~ THAT OF 427 SECURITY ARRESTS IN SANTIAGO IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981, 309 WERE RELEASED WITHOUT CHARGES FOR LACK OF SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE, ALTHOUGH 53 WERE HELD MORE THAN THE SPECIFIED FIVE DAYS.

WHILE THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ~~(CNI)~~ HAS ONLY LIMITED LEGAL AUTHORITY TO ARREST PEOPLE ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE, IN PRACTICE IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN VAGUELY-WORDED WARRANTS WHICH PROVIDE CONSIDERABLE LATITUDE IN MAKING SEARCHES OR ARRESTS. PUBLIC CONCERN HAS, HOWEVER, LED TO GREATER CARE BY SECURITY AGENTS TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AND TO SHOW WARRANTS WHEN DETAINING PEOPLE.

PEOPLE DETAINED FOR PARTICIPATING IN BANNED PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS OR ILLEGAL MEETINGS ARE OFTEN HELD FOR THE FULL FIVE DAYS PERMITTED UNDER EXECUTIVE DISCRETION AND THEN MAY BE RELEASED (THE LARGE MAJORITY OF CASES), SENT INTO INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL EXILE, OR CHARGED WITH INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS. IN THOSE CASES REACHING THE COURTS, THE INVESTIGATING JUDGES MAY TAKE UP TO FIVE MORE DAYS TO DELIBERATE BUT, IN PRACTICE, HAVE RARELY ISSUED INDICTMENTS.

IN THEORY, THE RIGHT OF HABEAS CORPUS (WRIT OF AMPARO) EXISTS; AND, SINCE THE MARCH CONSTITUTION, THE COURTS HAVE BECOME FIRMER IN DEMANDING A PROMPT ACCOUNTING FROM THE GOVERNMENT. IN MAY THE COURTS BEGAN REQUESTING COPIES OF ARREST WARRANTS AND TO INSIST THAT ONLY THEY HAD THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT A CASE SHOULD PROCEED. ALTHOUGH THE GAINS SO FAR HAVE BEEN MAINLY THEORETICAL, IN THAT THE COURTS NORMALLY UPHOLD GOVERNMENT ARRESTS OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS, THEY DO MARK A GREATER ASSERTIVENESS ON THE PART OF THE COURTS.

E. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

CHILE'S CIVILIAN JUDGES ARE CAREER OFFICIALS AND MOST HAVE SERVED IN THE JUDICIARY SINCE BEFORE THE PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT TOOK POWER IN 1973. SINCE 1978, MOST VIOLATIONS OF THE ~~POLITICAL ACCESS~~ present Decree AND MOST CASES RELATING TO ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES HAVE BEEN HANDLED IN THE CIVILIAN COURT SYSTEM. FIRST INSTANCE JURISDICTION FOR THE PROSECUTION OF PROSCRIBED POLITICAL ACTIVITIES LIES WITH REGULAR LOWER LEVEL CRIMINAL COURTS WHOSE PROCEEDINGS ARE CONDUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHILE'S CIVIL CODE TRADITION. THERE IS NO TRIAL BY JURY; RELIANCE IS PLACED ON THE WRITTEN RECORD. IN THE CRIMINAL COURTS OF FIRST INSTANCE, A JUDGE SERVES MULTIPLE FUNCTIONS: AS PROSECUTOR; AS DEFENSE ATTORNEY, AT TIMES; AND, ULTIMATELY, AS THE ONE WHO DECIDES THE INNOCENCE OR GUILT OF THE ACCUSED. THESE DECISIONS MAY BE APPEALED UP TO THE SUPREME COURT.

ARMS CONTROL VIOLATIONS GO BEFORE A MILITARY PROSECUTOR; HE CARRIES OUT THE INVESTIGATION AND THEN MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS TO A MILITARY JUDGE, WHO ISSUES THE DECISION. APPEALS MAY BE MADE TO A MILITARY COURT OF TWO CIVILIAN JUDGES AND THREE PROFESSIONAL MILITARY JUDGES AND, IN THE LAST RESORT, TO THE SUPREME COURT. DEFENDANTS HAVE THE RIGHTS OF ANY CHILEAN CITIZEN BEFORE THE LAW, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO LEGAL COUNSEL. ~~THE MOST NOTEWORTHY CASE IN 1981 WAS THE TRIAL OF SELF-DESCRIBED MIR TERRORIST GUILLERMO RODRIGUEZ MORALES, ACCUSED OF ORDERING THE KILLING OF A CNI EMPLOYEE, BEFORE A MILITARY COUNCIL OF WAR ACTING UNDER WARTIME PROCEDURES WHICH LIMIT RIGHTS OF DEFENDANTS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH A DECREE OF FEBRUARY 1981 REQUIRING A COUNCIL OF WAR IN CASE OF ATTACK ON GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL. HE WAS SENTENCED~~

~~TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT BUT HAS APPEALED THE PROCEDURES UNDER WHICH THE COUNCIL OF WAR WAS HELD TO THE SUPREME COURT.~~ the Supreme Court the legality of

CRITICISMS OF THE FUNCTIONING OF THE COURTS FOCUS NOT ON THE PROCEDURES, BUT RATHER ON THE GENERAL UNWILLINGNESS OF JUDGES TO ASSERT A VIGOROUSLY INDEPENDENT ROLE OR, WITH RARE EXCEPTIONS, ~~TO~~ EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGE THE LEGALITY OF ACTIONS BY THE EXECUTIVE UNDER EMERGENCY POWERS.

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F. INVASION OF THE HOME

THE 1981 CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS SEARCHES OF THE HOME AND INTERCEPTION OF PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS AND DOCUMENTS EXCEPT AS DETERMINED BY LAW. PROVISIONS IN THE PENAL CODE REQUIRE SEARCH WARRANTS ISSUED BY EITHER A JUDGE OR MILITARY PROSECUTOR FOR SPECIFIC LOCATIONS. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, SUCH SEARCHES ARE CARRIED OUT UNDER A GENERAL ORDER ISSUED BY THE JUDGE OR PROSECUTOR. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS REPORT THAT IN A NUMBER OF SEARCHES LEGAL ~~FORMALITIES~~, SUCH AS THE DISPLAY OF A WARRANT, HAVE NOT BEEN OBSERVED BY THE AUTHORITIES.

II. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING:

A. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, RELIGION AND ASSEMBLY

ARTICLE 8 OF THE 1981 CONSTITUTION STATES THAT: "ANY ACTION BY AN INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP INTENDED TO PROPAGATE DOCTRINES WHICH ARE ANTAGONISTIC TO THE FAMILY, OR WHICH ADVOCATE VIOLENCE OR A CONCEPT OF SOCIETY, THE STATE OR THE JUDICIAL ORDER, OF A TOTALITARIAN CHARACTER OR BASED ON CLASS WARFARE, IS ILLEGAL AND CONTRARY TO THE INSTITUTIONAL LEGAL CODE OF THE REPUBLIC." IN CURBING DISSENT, THE GOVERNMENT USUALLY CITES OTHER MORE SPECIFIC LEGAL PROVISIONS AND DECREES OUTLAWING MARXISM AND THE ADVOCACY OF VIOLENT REVOLUTION.

ARTICLE 24 OF THE TRANSITORY PROVISIONS OF THE 1981 CONSTITUTION GIVES THE PRESIDENT AUTHORITY TO exiled INTERNALLY ~~EXILE~~ PERSONS FOR UP TO THREE MONTHS WITHOUT CHARGES, COURT REVIEW OR THE RIGHT OF APPEAL. IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981, 52 INDIVIDUALS WERE INTERNALLY EXILED (COMPARED TO 79 FOR THE SAME PERIOD IN 1980), MOST TO DISTANT VILLAGES, FOR ILLEGAL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

II REVIEW FOR UPDATE

The government issued a decree in February 1981 requiring a military council of war acting under wartime procedures limiting the rights of defendants in cases of attacks on government personnel. The decree was invoked in the case of self-described MIR terrorist Guillermo Rodriguez Morales, accused of ordering the killing of an intelligence service employee.

PAGE 01 SANTIA 06321 04 OF 07 291757Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 /023 W
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P 291534Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1518

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 4 OF 7 SANTIAGO 6321

VIRTUALLY ALL PUBLIC MEETINGS REQUIRE PRIOR APPROVAL OF THE LOCAL MILITARY ZONE COMMANDER. IN PRACTICE, PERMISSION IS REGULARLY DENIED WHEN THE SUBJECT IS POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ALTHOUGH SMALL OPPOSITION PARTY MEETINGS HAVE GENERALLY BEEN TOLERATED.

THE MEDIA ARE TECHNICALLY FREE FROM OFFICIAL PRIOR CENSORSHIP, BUT, IN PRACTICE, THE GOVERNMENT INFORMALLY AND REGULARLY TELLS PUBLICATIONS AND BROADCASTERS WHEN THEY ARE CONSIDERED OUT OF LINE WITH GOC POLICY. THUS, SELF-CENSORSHIP IS WIDELY PRACTICED, WITH MOST EDITORS CAREFUL ABOUT THE CONTENT OF MATERIAL, [redacted], ALTHOUGH ARTICLES WHICH ARE CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT APPEAR REGULARLY IN SEVERAL LEADING PUBLICATIONS. USING THE BROAD EXECUTIVE POWERS OF TRANSITIONAL ARTICLE 24 OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION, THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR CAN RESTRICT COVERAGE OF ACTS OF TERRORISM AND OF INTERNAL SECURITY CASES, FORBID PUBLICITY OF NON-OFFICIAL ACTIVITIES OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND PREVENT THE PUBLICATION OR DISTRIBUTION OF NEW PERIODICALS.

THE GOVERNMENT OWNS THE ONLY NATION-WIDE TELEVISION NETWORK. OTHER STATIONS ARE OPERATED BY UNIVERSITIES AND COVER SUBSTANTIAL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. WHILE THE DIRECTORS OF THESE TV STATIONS THEORETICALLY HAVE AUTONOMY, THEY USE CONSIDERABLE DISCRETION AND DO NOT PERMIT CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT. THERE ARE SEVERAL PERIODICALS AND AT LEAST TWO RADIO STATIONS CRITICAL OF THE REGIME; THESE GIVE MAJOR VOICE TO THE OPPOSITION VIEWPOINT. "NON-MARXIST" BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE PERMITTED FREE CIRCULATION. ALTHOUGH ARRESTS OF INDIVIDUALS FOR DISTRIBUTING "SUBVERSIVE" (I.E. MARXIST) LITERATURE OCCUR.

THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION CONTINUES TO NOTE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN IMPROVEMENTS IN PRESS FREEDOM IN CHILE, BUT POINTS OUT THAT RESTRICTIONS ON NEW PUBLICATIONS AND ON PUBLICITY FOR TERRORIST ACTS ARE INCONSISTENT WITH FULL PRESS FREEDOM.

CHILE, PREDOMINANTLY A CATHOLIC COUNTRY, RESPECTS FREEDOM OF RELIGION. A NUMBER OF PROTESTANT AND OTHER SECTS ARE ACTIVE. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY REPORTS FULL TOLERANCE. [redacted]

IN 1979 THE RIGHT TO ELECT STUDENT GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES WAS RESTORED AT THE UNIVERSITIES. MOST RECTORS OF THE UNIVERSITIES ARE MILITARY MEN. VICE RECTORS ARE UNIVERSITY PROFESSIONALS.

B. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL, EMIGRATION AND REPATRIATION

CHILEANS ARE FREE TO LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY. SOME ONE MILLION CHILEANS LIVE ABROAD, PRINCIPALLY FOR ECONOMIC REASONS. OVER HALF THIS NUMBER HAVE RESIDED FOR MANY YEARS IN ARGENTINA (MAINLY PATAGONIA) WHERE THEY PROVIDE THE BASIC LABOR POOL. IN THE JUDGMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH REFUGEES, THE VOLUME OF SKILLED AND UNSKILLED WORKERS RETURNING TO CHILE NOW SLIGHTLY EXCEEDS THE NUMBER LEAVING -- A REFLECTION OF THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE CHILEAN ECONOMY.

MANY THOUSANDS FLED CHILE WHEN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT TOOK POWER; HUNDREDS SOUGHT ASYLUM IN FOREIGN EMBASSIES,

MANY OTHERS WERE CONVICTED OF INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS AND HAD JAIL SENTENCES COMMUTED TO EXILE. THE GOVERNMENT WAS EVENTUALLY WILLING TO GRANT SAFE CONDUCT PASSES TO PEOPLE who left to avoid arrest - leave C

GOVERNMENT DECREES REQUIRE THOSE WHO ARE CONSIDERED TO HAVE LEFT CHILE ILLEGALLY TO FILE A PETITION WITH A CHILEAN CONSUL IF THEY SEEK TO RETURN AND TO PROMISE TO REFRAIN FROM POLITICAL ACTIVITY. THE INTERIOR MINISTRY REVIEWS ALL PETITIONS AND REJECTS THOSE FROM PEOPLE WHO ARE CONSIDERED TO HAVE ENGAGED IN ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES ABROAD. THE GOVERNMENT HAS RELEASED NO CURRENT FIGURES ON PETITIONS RECEIVED, REJECTED, APPROVED OR PENDING BUT LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATIONS ESTIMATE THE [redacted] NUMBER OF RETURNEES AT 800-1000 PERSONS PER YEAR. IN MOST CASES THE COURTS HAVE UPHELD INTERIOR MINISTRY DECISIONS BARRING INDIVIDUALS FROM RETURNING. IN A SMALL NUMBER OF CASES, THE GOVERNMENT HAS PERMITTED BARRED INDIVIDUALS TO RETURN, GENERALLY FOR SHORT PERIODS AND ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS.

CHILE HAS ACCEPTED A FEW REFUGEES IN RECENT YEARS AND MAKES REGULAR MODEST FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AIDING REFUGEES.

C. FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS BANNED. IN 1973 THE GOVERNMENT DISSOLVED THE PARTIES FORMING THE UNIDAD POPULAR POLITICAL FRONT AND ALL OTHER MARXIST PARTIES. A 1977 DECREE LAW DISSOLVED ALL REMAINING PARTIES. THERE WAS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THE SEPTEMBER 1980 PLEBISCITE (VOTING IS REQUIRED BY LAW), WHICH RESULTED IN APPROVAL OF THE MARCH 1981 CONSTITUTION AS DRAFTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CONTINUATION OF PINOCHET AS PRESIDENT FOR EIGHT ADDITIONAL YEARS. OPPOSITION ELEMENTS, HOWEVER, CRITICIZED THE ABSENCE OF ELECTORAL REGISTERS OR OTHER ACCEPTABLE SAFEGUARDS.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE FORMAL BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, THE NON-MARXIST PARTIES ARE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO OPERATE ON A LIMITED BUT OPEN BASIS. SOME SOCIALISTS AND SPLINTER LEFTIST GROUPS MANUEVER AMONG THEMSELVES WITH TACIT GOVERNMENT ACQUIESCENCE. COMMUNISTS WHO ARE FOUND ENGAGING IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE GENERALLY DETAINED FOR VIOLATING THE INTERNAL SECURITY CODE OR THE 1973 LAW PROHIBITING MARXIST ACTIVITY.

PAGE 01 SANTIA 06321 05 OF 07 291843Z 0671 SANTIA 06321 05 OF 07 291843Z
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 HA-06 /023 W
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P 291534Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1519

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 5 OF 7 SANTIAGO 6321

~~EXCLUSION UNIONS~~

MOST TRADE UNION RIGHTS, SUSPENDED AFTER THE MILITARY TAKEOVER IN 1973, WERE LEGALIZED ~~AGAIN~~ IN JULY 1979 BY THE "LABOR PLAN" (A SERIES OF DECREE LAWS FORMING A LABOR CODE), OR ITS SUBSEQUENT TECHNICAL ADDITIONS AND REVISIONS, ALTHOUGH IN MANY INSTANCES THESE RIGHTS ARE LIMITED. THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT HAD NO PRACTICAL INPUT INTO THE FORMULATION OF THE LABOR PLAN OR INTO SUBSEQUENT TECHNICAL REVISIONS OF IT.

TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS CAN NORMALLY ELECT THEIR LEADERS INSTEAD OF HAVING THEM APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT. IN INDIVIDUAL UNIONS, HOWEVER, ELECTIONS ARE NOT OBLIGATORY, AND THERE ARE SOME INSTANCES WHERE APPOINTED LEADERS HAVE MANAGED TO HOLD OFF HAVING ELECTIONS DESPITE RANK AND FILE SENTIMENT TO THE CONTRARY. AS ELECTIONS CONTINUE TO BE HELD, THE NUMBER OF APPOINTED LEADERS IS ~~DISAPPEARING~~ diminishing.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING HAS RESUMED FOR THE LARGE MAJORITY OF PRIVATE SECTOR WORKERS--ALBEIT IN A SOMEWHAT RESTRICTED FASHION. THE SCOPE OF WHAT CAN BE BARGAINED HAS NARROWED CONSIDERABLY TO INCLUDE ONLY WAGES, BENEFITS PAID IN CASH OR IN KIND, AND CERTAIN COMMON CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT, SUCH AS SAFETY. WORKERS ARE GUARANTEED THEIR EXISTING WAGE AND BENEFIT PACKAGE, PLUS ANY INCREASE IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX. FOR 1981, THE PROJECTED AVERAGE REAL INCREASE SHOULD BE ABOUT NINE PERCENT.

ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS, THE CIVIL SERVICE WILL BE ALLOWED TO FORM ONLY ASSOCIATIONS RATHER THAN UNIONS AND WILL NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY OR TO STRIKE. THE MARITIME SECTOR, INITIALLY EXCLUDED FROM THE "LABOR PLAN," WAS INCLUDED IN IT WITH THE PROMULGATION OF SPECIAL LAWS IN JUNE AND SEPTEMBER 1981 (SEAMEN AND DOCK WORKERS, RESPECTIVELY). IN THE LATTER CASE, THE DOCK WORKERS UNIONS, AS PREVIOUSLY CONSTITUTED, WILL DISAPPEAR BY MARCH 1982, PERHAPS TO BE REPLACED BY UNIONS OF PRIVATE COMPANIES WHICH WILL CONTRACT SKIP HANDLING SERVICES.

EACH YEAR, THE GOVERNMENT MUST PUBLISH A LIST OF THOSE ENTITIES WHICH CAN BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY BUT ARE CLASSIFIED AS "STRATEGIC". APPROXIMATELY THIRTY WERE LISTED IN 1980 AND 1981. MOST ARE PUBLIC UTILITIES, ~~GAS, WATER AND ELECTRIC COMPANIES;~~ THE ONLY MAJOR EXCEPTION BEING THE GIANT CHUQUICAMATA COPPER MINE, ~~ONE OF THE LARGEST MINES IN THE WORLD.~~ FOR THESE COMPANIES, FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT DURING NEGOTIATIONS LEADS TO BINDING ARBITRATION.

FOR WORKERS WHO CAN BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY AND CAN STRIKE, THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IS LIMITED ~~IN SEVERAL WAYS~~ STRICTLY; AFTER THE 60TH DAY OF A STRIKE, ALL STRIKING WORKERS ARE CONSIDERED TO HAVE RESIGNED THEIR JOBS AND CAN BE PERMANENTLY REPLACED BY THE EMPLOYER. ALSO LEGAL FOR THE FIRST TIME IN CHILE IS MANAGEMENT'S ABILITY TO HIRE STRIKEBREAKERS, AN EFFECTIVE STRIKE DETERRENT GIVEN THE PRESENT HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE.

THERE IS NO SPECIAL GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE SYSTEM IN CHILE AND, WITH THE 1981 ABOLITION OF THE LABOR COURTS, LABOR CASES ARE NOW HANDLED BY CIVIL COURTS. STRIKES CANNOT RESULT FROM AN INDIVIDUAL GRIEVANCE; THEY ARE ONLY PERMITTED IN THE CASE OF A FAILED COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATION.

III. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE AND RECORD REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE GOVERNMENT ~~SET A PRECEDENT~~ IN JULY 1978 ~~WHEN IT~~ ALLOWED MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (UNHRC) TO CONDUCT A LONG-DELAYED VISIT TO CHILE. ALTHOUGH THE GROUP SUBSEQUENTLY DISBANDED, A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR WAS TASKED TO SUBMIT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ON CHILE TO THE COMMISSION AND THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (UNGA). ~~ANNUAL~~ HIS REPORT WAS, HOWEVER, DENOUNCED BY THE GOVERNMENT. ~~THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT~~ HAS OFFICIALLY COMMUNICATED YEARLY TO ~~THE~~ AUTHORITIES SINCE 1979 ITS OBJECTION TO, AND REFUSAL TO, COOPERATE WITH, CONTINUING SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF CHILE BY AD HOC PROCEDURES, SUCH AS THE USE OF A RAPPORTEUR, CONTENDING THAT THESE MEASURES HAVE NO LEGAL OR MORAL VALIDITY.

AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS, THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE IS ON THE 1981 AGENDA OF THE UNGA AND THE UNHRC. IT IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE VOTED ON UNTIL LATER THIS YEAR.

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR MIGRATION ~~(ICEM)~~ HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN CHILE, CONDUCTING A PROGRAM PERMITTING CONVICTED POLITICAL PRISONERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE OUT THEIR SENTENCES IN EXILE. THE GOVERNMENT COOPERATED IN MAKING THIS PROGRAM POSSIBLE. COUNTING ALL CATEGORIES OF REFUGEES, THE COMMITTEE HAS MOVED SOME 20,000 PEOPLE OUT OF CHILE SINCE THE COUP. 1973

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, THE LAWYER'S COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE EXPRESSED SPECIAL CONCERN OVER CHILE. DURING 1981, THE FIRST TWO ORGANIZATIONS ISSUED REPORTS ALLEGING A RELATIVE INCREASE IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHILE AND CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS FAILURE TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF DETAINEES OR PEOPLE WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE REPORTS PRODUCED BY THESE FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS EXAGGERATE THE SCOPE AND VOLUME OF ABUSES, IT HAS PERMITTED VISITS BY THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, ALONG WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SEVERAL OTHERRELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN DEFENDING HUMAN RIGHTS AND IMPLEMENTING SOCIAL ACTION PROGRAMS. THIS HAS RESULTED IN VISIBLE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH, AND DISAGREEMENT OVER THE CHURCH POSITION BY MORE CONSERVATIVE CATHOLICS. CHURCH ACTIVISTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS HAVE BEEN ANONYMOUSLY THREATENED.

THE CHILEAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, NOW THREE YEARS OLD, HAS ALSO PUBLICIZED ABUSES AND SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY AGAINST THEM. IT AND THE OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS OPERATE OPENLY, ALBEIT CAUTIOUSLY, IN CHILE; SOME OF THEIR MEMBERS HAVE EXPERIENCED HARRASSMENT IN THE FORM OF ARRESTS AND SEARCHES AND, IN AUGUST 1981, ITS PRESIDENT, JAIME CASTILLO, WAS EXPELLED FROM CHILE FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

P 291534Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1528

IV. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INDICATORS.

		1960	1970	MOST RECENT	
A.	GNP	528.0	868.0	1698.0	(1979)
B.	LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH	56.8	63.2	66.9	(1979)
C.	INFANT MORTALITY RATE	188.0	79.3	31.9	(1980)
D.	ADULT LITERACY RATE	84.8	88.0	N/A	
E.	POPULATION GROWTH RATE	2.2	2.1	1.7	(1980)
F.	TOTAL FERTILITY RATE	N/A	N/A	2.8	(1979)
G.	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION WITH ACCESS TO SAFE WATER	54.2	N/A	84.0	(1979)
H.	ADJUSTED PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATIO:				
	TOTAL	109.0	107.0	118.0	(1978)
	MALE	111.0	107.0	118.0	(1978)
	FEMALE	107.0	108.0	118.0	(1978)
I.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS HOUSED PER ROOM:				
	TOTAL	1.7	1.4	N/A	
	URBAN	1.6	1.3	N/A	
	RURAL	2.0	1.7	N/A	
J.	CALORIE SUPPLY AVAILABLE FOR CONSUMPTION	N/A	N/A	2656	(1977)

FOR OVER FORTY YEARS PRIOR TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, CHILE ~~[illegible]~~ ATTEMPTED TO INDUCE DOMESTIC INDUSTRIALIZATION AND TO INSULATE THE ECONOMY FROM FOREIGN ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS THROUGH TRADE PROTECTIONISM AND EXTENSIVE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY. SUCH MEASURES, HOWEVER, PREVENTED THE ECONOMY FROM BEING STRUCTURED ALONG THE LINES OF ITS COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE, EXCEPT IN THE NOTABLE CASE OF COPPER, UPON WHICH CHILE BECAME EXCESSIVELY DEPENDENT FOR EXPORT EARNINGS. WITHOUT AN EFFICIENT ECONOMIC BASE, THE ECONOMY GREW SLOWLY, SUFFERED ENDEMIC INFLATION, AND EXPERIENCED CHRONIC BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DIFFICULTIES.

THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY REACHED A PEAK DURING THE ALLENDE YEARS (1971-73) WITH DISASTROUS ECONOMIC RESULTS THAT HELPED BRING ABOUT ~~THE~~ MILITARY INTERVENTION. THE MAJOR ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES IMPLEMENTED BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT INCLUDED OPENING UP THE ECONOMY TO FOREIGN COMPETITION BY LOWERING TARIFFS IN STEPS TO A BASIC LEVEL OF 10 PERCENT; SELLING HUNDREDS OF NATIONALIZED COMPANIES TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND REQUIRING THOSE COMPANIES REMAINING UNDER STATE CONTROL TO OPERATE COMPETITIVELY WITHOUT SUBSIDIES; ENDING PRICE CONTROLS AND MANY CUMBERSOME GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS; ELIMINATING THE FISCAL DEFICIT; OVERHAULING THE TAX SYSTEM; LIBERALIZING CAPITAL FLOWS; AND WELCOMING FOREIGN INVESTMENT BY GRANTING IT THE SAME TREATMENT AS DOMESTIC CAPITAL AND PERMITTING LIBERAL PROFIT REMITTANCES.

THESE NEW POLICIES ARE OFTEN BLAMED BY CRITICS FOR THE SHARP RECESSION OF 1975 WHICH SAW GNP DECLINE 13 PERCENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RISE TO NEARLY 20 PERCENT. IT MAY ALSO BE ARGUED THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT POLICIES HAD BEEN IN EFFECT IN 1975, CHILE WOULD HAVE EXPERIENCED A SEVERE RECESSION. IN 1975, WHEN MOST OF THE NEW POLICIES FOR THE ECONOMY WERE ESTABLISHED, COPPER PRICES HAD JUST DECLINED BY HALF, OIL PRICES HAD COMPLETED THEIR LARGE JUMP AS A RESULT OF THE OPEC CARTEL ACTIONS, AND

CHILE HAD ONE OF ITS LOWEST CREDIT RATINGS EVER.

THE SEVERE ECONOMIC DECLINE BOTTOMED OUT IN EARLY 1976. SUBSEQUENTLY THE ECONOMY HAS EXPANDED AT HISTORICALLY UNPRECEDENTED RATES. FROM 1976 TO 1980, REAL GDP GROWTH AVERAGED MORE THAN 7 PERCENT PER YEAR, CONSIDERABLY ABOVE THE HISTORICAL AVERAGE. IN 1981, REAL GROWTH IS EXPECTED TO BE IN THE 4 TO 6 PERCENT RANGE, DESPITE THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN. AT THE SAME TIME, INFLATION HAS BEEN BROUGHT DOWN TO WHAT IS ESTIMATED TO BE ABOUT 18 PERCENT FOR 1981. BY THE END OF 1980, REAL WAGES HAD MORE THAN DOUBLED FROM THE LOW AVERAGE OF 1973. THE OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, OF ABOUT 9 PERCENT IN SANTIAGO BY MID-1981, IS DOWN FROM 19.6 AT THE BOTTOM OF THE DEPRESSION IN EARLY 1976.

CHILE'S FREE MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC POLICIES ESTABLISH A SUBSIDIARY ROLE FOR THE STATE. NONETHELESS, AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT RETAINS A RESPONSIBILITY TO ALLEVIATE THE CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND TO PROMOTE MORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY THROUGH BETTER ACCESS TO BASIC EDUCATION, NUTRITION AND HEALTH PROGRAMS. SOCIAL PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN FOCUSED MORE ON THE POOR IN RECENT YEARS AND THE ELIMINATION OF "EXTREME POVERTY" HAS BEEN DECLARED TO BE A PRIMARY SOCIO-ECONOMIC OBJECTIVE. A GREATER EFFORT IS REQUIRED IN RURAL AREAS WHERE THE DISPERSION OF THE EXTREMELY NEEDY LIMITS ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS.

THE GOAL OF ELIMINATING EXTREME POVERTY WAS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY THE AUSTERITY MEASURES REQUIRED IN 1975 AND BY THE GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR. WHILE THE PERCENTAGE OF THE BUDGET DESIGNATED FOR SOCIAL PROGRAMS REMAINED HIGH, ABSOLUTE SPENDING LEVELS DROPPED OFF UNDER THE AUSTERITY PROGRAM. SINCE THEN, THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL EXPENDITURES HAS RECOVERED. IN 1980, 53.4 PERCENT OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE WAS DEVOTED TO SOCIAL PROGRAMS WHICH AMOUNTED TO $268 PER CAPITA, THE HIGHEST FIGURE (IN CONSTANT DOLLARS) IN CHILEAN HISTORY. THE PERCENTAGE OF THE 1981 BUDGET ALLOCATED TO SOCIAL PROGRAMS REMAINS IN EXCESS OF 50 PERCENT. EFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS IS SUBJECT TO INTERPRETATION AND ESTIMATES OF CHILEANS LIVING UNDER CONDITIONS OF EXTREME POVERTY RANGE FROM 13.6 TO 23 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION.

OTHER INDICATIONS OF PROGRESS ARE LESS CONTROVERSIAL. HEALTH AND NUTRITION PROGRAMS HAVE LED TO REDUCTIONS IN THE INCIDENCE OF MALNUTRITION IN THE INFANTILE POPULATION TREATED UNDER THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE (SOME ONE MILLION CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE) FROM 15.4 PERCENT IN 1975 TO 12.2 PERCENT IN 1979 AND IN THE INCIDENCE OF ADVANCED MALNUTRITION

FROM 8.7 TO 8.2 PERCENT. THIS IMPROVEMENT STEMS, IN PART FROM GOVERNMENT FOOD PROGRAMS, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW NURSERY SCHOOLS AND NUTRITION CLASSES FOR PARENTS. THERE ALSO HAVE BEEN STEADY DECLINES IN INFANT MORTALITY, FROM 78.3 PER THOUSAND LIVE BIRTHS IN 1970 TO 31.9 IN 1980, AND IN MATERNAL MORTALITY AT CHILDBIRTH FROM 1.68 TO .73 PER THOUSAND LIVE BIRTHS OVER THE PERIOD 1978-79. FROM 1970 TO 1979, THE OVERALL DEATH RATE PER THOUSAND DECLINED FROM 8.9 TO 6.8, AND AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY INCREASED FROM 63.2 TO 66.9 YEARS. THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH ESTIMATES THAT THE HEALTH NEEDS OF 95 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION ARE NOW BEING MET, PARTICULARLY AS A RESULT OF THE EXTENSIVE NETWORK OF ~~220~~ HOSPITALS, ~~350~~ CLINICS AND ~~1,200~~ EMERGENCY HEALTH UNITS.

IN 1981 THE GOVERNMENT ~~OF CHILE~~ INSTITUTED A MAJOR OVERHAUL OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM WHICH WAS, BY ALL ACCOUNTS, INEQUITABLE. THIS INVOLVED THE RESTRUCTURING OF SOCIAL SECURITY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE VARIOUS SEMI-PUBLIC PENSION FUNDS TO CONFORM TO BENEFITS RECEIVED, AND THE INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PENSION AND HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS. PARTICPANTS UNDER THE NEW, PRIVATE PLAN--WHICH BECOMES COMPULSORY FOR NEW ENTRANTS TO THE LABOR FORCE AFTER 1982-- PAY 17 PERCENT OF GROSS SALARY TOWARD PENSION (10 PERCENT) HEALTH (4 PERCENT) AND DISABILITY AND SURVIVOR INSURANCE (3PERCENT). WHILE THE EMPLOYER IS NO LONGER REQUIRED TO PAY FROM 17 TO 31 PERCENT OF SALARY DIRECTLY FOR SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS, HE MUST INCREASE THE SALARY OF EMPLOYEES WHO CHOSE THE NEW SYSTEM BY 6 TO 17 PERCENT. THE PENSION CONTRIBUTION IS PAID TO A PRIVATE, GOVERNMENT REGULATED PENSION FUND ADMINISTRATOR WHO INVESTS THE CAPITAL ON BEHALF OF THE INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTOR. THE GOVERNMENT REQUIRES THAT EACH PENSION FUND ADMINISTRATOR PAY NO LESS THAN 2 PERCENTAGE POINTS BELOW THE AVERAGE MONTHLY RETURN ON INVESTED FUNDS PROVIDED BY ALL ADMINISTRATORS. THIS REQUIREMENT AND THE SECURITY OF THE PENSION FUNDS ARE ULTIMATELY BACKED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN RESOURCES, IN THE EVENT AN INDIVIDUAL PENSION FUND ADMINISTRATOR DEFAULTS. THE GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, DOES NOT GUARANTEE AGAINST LOSSES DUE TO POOR AVERAGE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF THE SYSTEM. THUS, EXCEPT FOR A MINIMUM PENSION (CURRENTLY ABOUT $95/MONTH) GUARANTEED BY THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, PENSION BENEFITS ARE ULTIMATELY TIED TO OVERALL ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE. AN INDIVIDUAL'S CONTRIBUTION FOR HEALTH SERVICES MAY BE MADE TO A PRIVATE INSTITUTION (A GROUP HEALTH PLAN OR A MEDICAL INSURANCE FUND) OR THE GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICE. THE GOVERNMENT MAINTAINS THAT THE ELEMENT OF CHOICE INSURES MEDICAL SERVICES AS GOOD AS OR BETTER THAN AVAILABLE THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICES.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS INCREASED FUNDING SUPPORT TO ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION, PARTICULARLY TO PRE-PRIMARY, PRIMARY, AND INTERMEDIATE LEVELS. ALTHOUGH UNIVERSITIES STILL RECEIVE BY FAR THE GREATER SUBSIDY PER STUDENT, CURRENT POLICY IS DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE EXTENT OF SUBSIDIZATION FOR THE SMALL, GENERALLY LESS NEEDY UNIVERSITY SEGMENT OF THE POPULATION. A GOVERNMENT LOAN PROGRAM WAS INSTITUTED IN 1981, TO HELP FINANCE INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS' UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

DESPITE CHILE'S HIGH LITERACY RATE AND HIGH PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATIOS, THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOL ATTENDED IS 4.7. BESIDES IMPROVING THE AVAILABILITY OF PRE-PRIMARY AND BASIC EDUCATION, GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE THIS AVERAGE BY LINKING SPECIAL FAMILY WELFARE PAYMENTS FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR TO THEIR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE. PROGRAMS FOR ADULT EDUCATION HAVE BEEN AUGMENTED WITH PARTICULAR

EMPHASIS BEING PLACED ON LITERACY. IN 1980 A NEW LITERACY CAMPAIGN WAS INSTITUTED TO BENEFIT THE URBAN AND RURAL POOR. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE PROGRAM IS TO REDUCE ILLITERACY THROUGH A SYSTEM OF SIX MONTH COURSES OFFERED TO 400,000 PERSONS OVER A FIVE YEAR PERIOD. ANOTHER 150,000 ADULTS ARE TO BE PROVIDED ADDITIONAL PRIMARY EDUCATION.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IS NOW BEING DECENTRALIZED THROUGH THE TRANSFER OF FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS. AT THE SAME TIME TUITION FREE PRIVATE (MOSTLY CATHOLIC) SCHOOLS HAVE RECEIVED INCREASED GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

~~RECENT FIGURES FOR AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS HOUSED PER ROOM WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL A NEW CENSUS IS UNDERTAKEN BUT~~ CHILE'S HOUSING NEEDS ARE KNOWN TO BE ACUTE. ALTHOUGH CONSTRUCTION REACHED A HIGH POINT OF 58,000 UNITS ANNUALLY IN 1980, IT WILL HAVE TO RISE CONSIDERABLY IF THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF 900,000 UNITS BY THE TURN OF THE DECADE IS TO BE MET.

THE BULK OF THE BURDEN WILL BE LEFT TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR BUT GOVERNMENT HOUSING SUBSIDIES SHOULD PROVIDE SOME HELP. THE FORMERLY COSTLY AND INEFFICIENT SYSTEM OF LOAN SUBSIDIES, WHICH BENEFITED MIDDLE INCOME GROUPS MORE THAN THE POOR, HAS BEEN REPLACED BY A SYSTEM OF DIRECT SUBSIDIES, INVERSELY RELATED TO THE VALUE OF THE DWELLING, INTENDED TO HELP LOW INCOME BENEFICIARIES TO PURCHASE HOMES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THE 1981 BUDGET ALLOWS FOR 17,800 HOUSING AND SUBSIDIES: 10,000 ALLOCATED TO URBAN AREAS, AND 2,800 TO RURAL AREAS FOR BENEFICIARIES WITH SOME PRIOR SAVINGS TO COVER DOWN PAYMENTS AND ANOTHER 15,000 WITHOUT A REQUIREMENT OF PRIOR SAVINGS. MODEST AMOUNTS OF ADDITIONAL FUNDS CONTINUE TO BE SPENT PROVIDING PUBLIC SERVICES TO POOR AREAS.

THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES ON LOWER INCOME PORTIONS OF THE POPULATION REMAINS A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE IN CHILE. ON THE ONE HAND, IT IS ARGUED THAT THE PRESENT ECONOMIC POLICIES HAVE NOT BROUGHT UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN TO A LOW ENOUGH LEVEL AND HAVE NOT INCREASED THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE POOR RAPIDLY ENOUGH. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS ARGUED THAT CHILE'S ENDEMIC INFLATION AND HYPERINFLATION OF THE EARLY 1970'S HAD THE MOST SEVERE IMPACT ON LOW INCOME CATEGORIES AND THAT THE RECENT LOWERING OF INFLATION HAS THEREFORE HELPED THE LOWEST INCOME GROUPS. WHILE THE PRESENT REGIME IS MAKING A DETERMINED EFFORT TO CHANNEL MORE RESOURCES TO POORER SECTORS, THERE REMAINS A SIGNIFICANT BREACH BETWEEN RESOURCES AND NEEDS.

~~LANDAU~~

SECTION IV SHOULD BE SHORTENED, WITH THE STATISTICS FOLDED INTO THE NARRATIVE

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81STATE 290505

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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ADP672 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 290505
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TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 290505

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/30/87

TAGS: SHUM, MX, ES

SUBJECT: LETTER OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

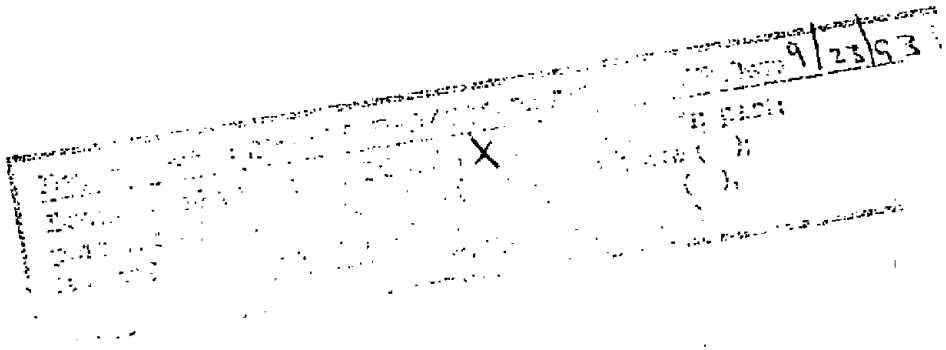
REF: MEXICO 14053

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE ARE PURSUING THE CORTEZ LEAD THROUGH CHURCH OFFICIALS IN CHICAGO. ARA OFFICER PAT LASBURY, ACCOMPANIED BY AN "L" LAWYER, WILL MEET WITH CHURCH AUTHORITIES IN CHICAGO NOVEMBER 4 TO REQUEST CHURCH'S HELP IN LOCATING CORTEZ.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 290505

3. YOU SHOULD, FOR THE MOMENT, NOT INFORM MORAN OF OUR EFFORTS TO CONTACT CORTEZ. IF LASBURY EFFORT IS NOT FRUITFUL, WE MAY WISH TO MAKE USE OF MORAN IN FURTHER EFFORTS TO CONTACT CORTEZ AND TO INFLUENCE HIM TO PROVIDE THE INFORMATION HE IS ALLEGED TO HAVE. HAIG



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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DOC_NBR= 81AITTA05943

FILM= D810516-0713

DATE= 31 OCT 81

TYPE= TE

FROM= AIT TAIPEI

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION EA

TO= AIT WASHDC
CINCPAC
HONG KONG

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED

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EO= N/A

SUBJECT= REPORT FOR PERIOD OCTOBER 21 - 27, 1981 MORE COMMENT ON PRC I
PROPOSAL -- CENTRAL DAILY NEWS WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9500143 IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 3/30/98
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( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
( ) DENY IN PART
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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TS authority to

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ENCLOSURE= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRESS COMMENTS, TERRITORIAL REVERSION, PUBLIC CORRESPONDENC
TEACHERS, COMMUNIST DOCTRINE, PEACE PLANS

TAGS= SOPN, PBOR, MPOL, (CHIANG CHING-KUO), (METZER, THOMAS A)

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PAGE 01 AIT TA 05943 01 OF 04 310310Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 PM-09 AIT-02 /034 W
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INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 TAIPEI 05943

PASS USICA WASHDC FOR EA, PGM/R
PASS SECSTATE WASHDC FOR EA
CINCPAC FOR USICA ADVISOR

E.O. 12065: N/A
SUBJECT: REPORT FOR PERIOD OCTOBER 21 - 27, 1981

MORE COMMENT ON PRC TALKS PROPOSAL

— CENTRAL DAILY NEWS WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
WANG TZU-YU REPORTED OCTOBER 21 PROFESSOR
THOMAS A. METZER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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AT SAN DIEGO WROTE A LETTER TO THE EDITOR TO THE NEW YORK TIMES ON OCTOBER 20 WHICH SAID THE U.S. SHOULD SUPPORT TAIPEI'S VIEW THAT THE CONTINUANCE OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN CHINA AND CHINESE REUNIFICATION ARE INCOMPATIBLE. HE SAID IT WAS SURPRISING THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAD MADE AN IMPLICITLY POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE PRC PROPOSAL.

-- THE CHINA TIMES REPORTED OCTOBER 24 SENATOR PAULA HAWKINS (R.-FLORIDA), IN REMARKS IN THE SENATE ON OCTOBER 21,SAID SHE FULLY SUPPORTED TAIWAN'S REFUSAL TO ENTER INTO

"PEACE TALKS" WITH THE PRC. SHE SAID SHE WOULD HAVE PRESIDENT CHIANG CHING-KUO'S REMARKS OF OCTOBER 7 ON THE PRC PROPOSAL INSERTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

CHEN WEN-CHENG CASE

-- THE UNITED DAILY NEWS AND CHINA TIMES PRINTED EXTENSIVE EXCERPTS OCTOBER 22 FROM THE 19 PAGE REPORT OF PROFESSOR MORRIS DEGROOT ON HIS SEPTEMBER VISIT TO TAIWAN WITH PATHOLOGIST CYRIL WECHT TO INVESTIGATE THE DEATH OF CHEN WEN-CHENG. SOME MAJOR POINTS OF THE REPORT WERE:

-- -- THE TWO PROFESSORS WERE WELCOMED BY MAO KAO-WEN, PRESIDENT OF TSING HUA UNIVERSITY, SHEN CHUN-SHAN, A PROFESSOR AT TSING HUA, AND LLOYD RICHARDSON OF AIT, TAIPEI;

-- -- THE FOLLOWING MORNING (SEPTEMBER 22) THEY MET WITH THOMAS S. BROOKS, STANLEY R. IFSHIN,

MARK S. PRATT AND JOSEPH W. MOYLE OF AIT, TAIPEI AND THEN WERE BRIEFED BY GENERAL WANG CHIN-HSI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TGGH;

-- -- GENERAL WANG SAID CHEN WAS INTERVIEWED BECAUSE RECORDS CONNECTED WITH THE KAOHSIUNG INCIDENT REVEALED HE CONTRIBUTED FUNDS TO FORMOSA MAGAZINE, THE PAPERS SAID;

-- -- ON THE NIGHT OF SEPTEMBER 22 THEY MET PROFESSOR TENG WEI-HSIANG WHO EMPHASIZED

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THAT CHEN WAS NOT SUICIDAL;

-- -- ON SEPTEMBER 23 THEY EXAMINED CHEN'S INTERNAL ORGANS;

-- -- AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 23 THEY CALLED ON PREMIER SUN YUN-SUAN;

-- -- THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THAT CHEN WAS TORTURED;

-- -- CHEN WAS POSSIBLY DRUGGED AND WHILE UNCONSCIOUS WAS DROPPED FROM THE TOP OF A FIRE ESCAPE TO THE CEMENT SURFACE BELOW;

-- -- CHEN'S DEATH WAS A HOMOCIDE; AND

-- -- THAT ALL INFORMATION INCLUDING THE RECORDINGS OF THE TGGH'S INTERVIEW OF CHEN BE MADE PUBLIC, THAT AN INDEPENDENT NON-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE SHOULD BE FORMED TO INVESTIGATE THE CASE, THAT THE TGGH SHOULD ALLOW A LAWYER TO BE PRESENT DURING FUTURE INTERVIEWS AND THAT THE TAIWAN GOVERNMENT

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SHOULD FINANCIALLY AID CHEN'S WIDOW.

– THE UNITED DAILY NEWS COMMENTED OCTOBER 22 THAT THE DEGROOT REPORT SAID THE PROFESSORS MADE A "THOROUGH, DETAILED, AND COMPLETE EXAMINATION" OF CHEN'S BODY BUT THAT THE WORD "AUTOPSY", WAS NOT USED.

– THE CHINA TIMES CARRIED AN INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL WANG CHIN-HSI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

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INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 TAIPEI 05943

OF THE TGGH, OCTOBER 23 IN WHICH HE SAID THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES WILL RELEASE THE TRANSCRIPTS AND RECORDINGS OF THE INTERVIEW OF CHEN WHEN THE INVESTIGATION REACHES A CERTAIN STAGE. HE SAID THE SUGGESTIONS IN THE DEGROOT REPORT ABOUT THE TGGH WILL BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED. HE SAID THE SUGGESTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE THAT THE OPINIONS

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OF TAIWAN CITIZENS EXPRESSED IN THE U.S. NOT CAUSE THEIR FREEDOM TO RETURN TO OR LEAVE TAIWAN TO BE JEOPARDIZED WAS UNNECESSARY SINCE THIS GUARANTEE ALREADY EXISTS.

-- CHINA TIMES CORRESPONDENT CHOU TIEN-JUI REPORTED OCTOBER 23 THAT DEGROOT SAID IN AN INTERVIEW THAT HE WROTE A SCIENTIFIC REPORT AND DID NOT USE THE PHRASE "GOVERNMENT CONNECTED" (WITH REGARD TO CHEN'S DEATH) BECAUSE HE DID NOT KNOW WHICH DEPARTMENT, UNIT OR PERSONS OF THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED. HE SAID HE AVOIDED THE SENSITIVE WORD "AUTOPSY" ALTHOUGH WHAT HE AND WECHT HAD DONE COULD BE CALLED A "SECOND AUTOPSY" SINCE THEY HAD MADE INCISIONS.

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-- THE INDEPENDENCE EVENING POST REPORTED OCTOBER 23 CHEN CHUN-NAN, TAIPEI DISTRICT COURT PROSECUTOR, SAID HE HAD LISTENED TO THE TAPE RECORDING OF THE TGGH INTERVIEW OF CHEN AND FOUND NOTHING RELEVANT TO THE CAUSE OF HIS DEATH.

-- THE CHINA TIMES REPORTED OCTOBER 24 THE POLICE REVIEW OF THE ALLEGATION IN THE DEGROOT REPORT THAT CHEN WEN-CHENG WAS MURDERED CENTERS ON THE "WEAK POINT" OF THE DISTANCE BETWEEN CHEN'S BODY AND THE NTU LIBRARY. A FORMER POLICE OFFICIAL SAID THAT THE OUTCOME OF TESTS ALREADY UNDERTAKEN RELATING TO THE DISTANCE OF THE BODY FROM THE NTU LIBRARY WOULD IMPORTANTLY INFLUENCE THE DETERMINATION OF WHETHER THE DEATH WAS AN ACCIDENT, SUICIDE OR HOMOCIDE.

– MOST MAJOR PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 24 THAT HAN LIH-WU, CHAIRMAN OF THE CHINESE ASSOCIATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, SAID ON OCTOBER 23 THAT PROFESSOR DEGROOT'S PROPOSAL THAT AN INDEPENDENT NON-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE CHEN CASE BE FORMED WAS AN AMERICAN PRACTICE WHICH WAS NOT COINCIDENT WITH THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CONDITIONS OF THE ORIENT.

– THE UNITED DAILY NEWS REPORTED OCTOBER 24 SHIH MING-CHIANG, CHIEF PROSECUTOR OF THE TAIPEI DISTRICT COURT, SAID OCTOBER 23 THAT MUCH EVIDENCE AND THE TAPE RECORDING OF CHEN'S

INTERVIEW AT THE TGGH CANNOT BE MADE PUBLIC BECAUSE THE INVESTIGATION IS STILL IN PROGRESS.

– THE UNITED DAILY NEWS REPORTED OCTOBER 24 THE TGGH SAID OCTOBER 23 THAT THE TAPE RECORDING OF CHEN'S INTERVIEW COULD NOT YET BE MADE PUBLIC BECAUSE IT INVOLVED OTHER AFFAIRS AND PERSONS, SOME OF WHOM ARE ABROAD AND MIGHT BE UNNECESSARILY DAMAGED BY THE TAPE'S CONTENT.

COMMENTS ON THE CHEN CASE

– THE CHINA TIMES REPORTED OCTOBER 23 PROFESSOR YANG KUO-SHU SAID THE PEOPLE'S LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT GROWS WHEN THE GOVERNMENT FAILS TO PRACTICE WHAT IT PREACHES. PROFESSOR CHU HAI-YUAN OF NTU SAID THE CASE INFLUENCED INTELLECTUALS THE MOST, BECAUSE THEY THINK INFORMATION FROM ABROAD IS MORE RELIABLE AND CREDIBLE THAN LOCAL REPORTS. PROFESSOR RUDOLF CHU SAID TO BUILD CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT IS A TOP PRIORITY TODAY.

HE SAID PEOPLE DID NOT BELIEVE IN THE AUTOPSY UNTIL IT WAS PROVED CORRECT BY OUTSIDERS.

-- THE UNITED DAILY NEWS SAID IN AN EDITORIAL OCTOBER 23 THE DEGROOT REPORT BASICALLY SUPPORTS THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE TAIPEI DISTRICT PROSECUTOR AND HAS CLARIFIED CERTAIN DOUBTS AND RUMORS. HOWEVER, IT SAID, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD CONTINUE THE EFFORT TO BE HONEST WITH THE PUBLIC.

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PAGE 01 AIT TA 05943 03 OF 04 310324Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 PM-09 AIT-02 /034 W
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 TAIPEI 05943

JAMES SOONG CONTROVERSY

-- THE INDEPENDENCE EVENING POST REPORTED OCTOBER 22 FOUR LEGISLATORS SAID THEY FELT THE APOLOGY BY JAMES SOONG, GIO DIRECTOR-GENERAL FOR HIS "SLIP OF TONGUE" DURING HIS

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RECENT ANSWER OF AN INTERPELLATION AT THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN TO KMT MEMBERS OF THE YUAN WAS INSUFFICIENT. THEY SAID SOONG SHOULD HAVE MADE AN APOLOGY TO ALL LEGISLATORS BECAUSE THE YUAN DOES NOT BELONG EITHER TO KANG NING-HSIANG OR KMT LEGISLATORS.

-- THE INDEPENDENCE EVENING POST OF OCTOBER 20 REPORTED THE GIO HAS FIRMLY DENIED THAT IT HAD THE PAGES OF THE LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN THAT CONTAIN THE RECENT VERBAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN GIO DIRECTOR-GENERAL JAMES SOONG AND LEGISLATOR KANG NING-HSIANG EXCISED. IT SAID THEY WERE MISSING BECAUSE OF A BINDING ERROR.

U.S.-PRC RELATIONS

-- ALL PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 22 THAT A HIGH AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAID THAT PRESIDENT

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REAGAN IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PRC PRIMER ZHAO ZIYANG WEDNESDAY IN CANCUN, MEXICO, SAID THE U.S. STILL HAS AN OBLIGATION TO SELL DEFENSIVE WEAPONS TO TAIWAN AND THAT HE HOPED THIS WOULD NOT DAMAGE RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND BEIJING.

-- THE CHINA TIMES COMMENTED OCTOBER 24 IN AN EDITORIAL THAT THE PRC FOREIGN MINISTRY ANNOUNCEMENT THAT A RENEWAL OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON THE PROLONGED BORDER DISPUTE WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION WAS MEANT TO SIGNAL THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION THAT THE PRC IS DISCONTENTED WITH U.S. HANDLING OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION, PARTICULARLY ARMS SALES. THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS ALSO DESIGNED TO SHOW DISSATISFACTION WITH THE ADMINISTRATION

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POSITION THAT THE TAIWAN QUESTION SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY THE CHINESE THEMSELVES, THE PAPER SAID. ALL OF THIS IS IN VAIN, HOWEVER, IT SAID, AS PRESIDENT REAGAN RECENTLY TOLD ZHAO ZIYANG AT THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE IN MEXICO THAT THE U.S. HAS AN OBLIGATION TO SELL DEFENSIVE WEAPONS TO TAIWAN.

U.S.-TAIWAN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

-- SOME PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 24 THAT ECONOMIC VICE MINISTER WONG YI-TING WHO LED A TAIWAN TRADE NEGOTIATION DELEGATION TO THE U.S. TOLD REPORTERS ON OCTOBER 18 IN WASHINGTON D.C. THAT NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED AND THAT THE TALKS WOULD RESUME IN

THE NEAR FUTURE.

-- SOME PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 23 THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE ANNOUNCED THAT A TAIWAN FISHING CONCERN WHICH ESTABLISHED A DUMMY COMPANY IN THE U.S. HAD BEEN INDICTED BY A FEDERAL COURT OF TAMPA, FLORIDA.

LOCAL POLITICS

-- THE TAIWAN DAILY NEWS REPORTED OCTOBER 23 CLEMENT C.P. CHANG, PRESIDENT OF TAMKANG UNIVERSITY AND A CANDIDATE FOR THE TAIPEI CITY COUNCIL, HAD ALREADY BEEN SELECTED BY THE KMT AS FUTURE SPEAKER OF THE TAIPEI CITY COUNCIL.

-- THE UNITED DAILY NEWS AND CHINA TIMES COMMENTED OCTOBER 26 THAT ALTHOUGH FORMAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY HAD NOT YET BEEN ALLOWED MANY NONPARTISANS WERE HOLDING "BIRTHDAY

CELEBRATIONS" OR "TEA PARTIES" AND WERE FOUNDING MAGAZINES OR SERVICE CENTERS. LEGISLATOR KANG NING-HSIANG AND CONTROL YUAN MEMBER YU CHING AND OTHER WELL-KNOWN NONPARTISANS WERE ALMOST ALWAYS PRESENT AT THE ACTIVITIES WHICH, STRICTLY SPEAKING, WERE IN VIOLATION OF THE ELECTION AND RECALL LAW, THE PAPERS SAID.

FORMOSA MAGAZINE PRISONERS

-- THE CHINA TIMES REPORTED OCTOBER 23 THAT TGGH CHIEF WANG CHIN-HSI, IN ANSWERING QUERIES BY 23 LEGISLATORS WHO VISITED HIM, SAID THE

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PAGE 01 AIT TA 05943 04 OF 04 310328Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 PM-09 AIT-02 /034 W
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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 04 TAIPEI 05943

CONVICTS OF THE "FORMOSA" MAGAZINE CASE WERE BEING HELD IN A MILITARY DETENTION BARRACKS RATHER THAN AN ORDINARY PRISON BECAUSE THE TGGH CANNOT AFFORD TO "MAKE ANY MISTAKES."

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

-- ALL PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 25 TEXACO OIL COMPANY HAD AGREED TO SUPPLY TAIWAN WITH 10,000 BARRELS OF SAUDI ARABIAN CRUDE OIL A DAY AT A PRICE OF US$31 PER BARREL. THE CONTRACT RUNS FROM OCTOBER 1, 1981, TO DECEMBER 31, 1982.

SISTERHOOD TIES

-- SOME MAJOR PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 22 ARKANSAS GOVERNOR FRANK D. WHITE (R.), WHEN RECEIVING A TAIWAN TRADE DELEGATION OCTOBER 20, SAID THAT THE PEOPLE OF ARKANSAS HOPE GOVERNOR LIN YANG-KANG WILL VISIT ARKANSAS EARLY NEXT YEAR TO SIGN A SISTERHOOD AGREEMENT.

-- SEVERAL PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 21 A THREE-MEMBER DELEGATION, LED BY C.C. LU, DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE BOFT, ARRIVED
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IN LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, ON OCTOBER 19 TO ATTEND A "TRADE WITH TAIWAN" SEMINAR SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE IN TAIWAN. HUANG CHUAN-LI, DIRECTOR OF THE CCNAA OFFICE IN HOUSTON, ALSO ATTENDED.

RESEARCH COOPERATION

-- THE SHIN SHENG DAILY NEWS REPORTED OCTOBER 21 THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA SAID IT WILL CONDUCT A RESEARCH PROGRAM ON ATMOSPHERIC PHYSICS WITH TAIWAN'S NATIONAL CENTRAL UNIVERSITY.

- VISITORS

– SEVERAL PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 23 THAT ARTHUR HAMILTON, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF MOTION PICTURE ARTS AND SCIENCES, TOGETHER WITH A MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY'S MUSIC DEPARTMENT WOULD ARRIVE ON OCTOBER 28 TO ATTEND THE GOLDEN HORSE AWARD CEREMONIES.

– SEVERAL PAPERS REPORTED OCTOBER 26 JOAQUIN ALONSO GUEVARA MORAN, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE OF THE REPUBLIC OF EL SALVADOR, ARRIVED IN TAIPEI ON OCTOBER 26 FOR A SEVEN-DAY VISIT.

– SEVERAL PAPERS SAID OCTOBER 26 HOLLYWOOD DIRECTOR GEORGE CUKOR WOULD ARRIVE IN TAIWAN AT THE INVITATION OF THE GIO ON OCTOBER 28 TO ATTEND THE GOLDEN HORSE AWARDS CEREMONY.

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– THE CHINA TIMES REPORTED OCTOBER 25 CHRIS MITCHUM, SON OF ACTOR ROBERT MITCHUM, AND HIS WIFE WOULD ARRIVE IN TAIWAN ON OCTOBER 28 TO ATTEND THE 18TH GOLDEN HORSE AWARD CEREMONY AT THE INVITATION OF THE GIO. BROOKS

ACTION: POL

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TELEGRAM

INCOMING: SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] Classification

RELEASE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ACTION COPY

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E.O. 12065: GDS 11/2/87 (BOLTEN, JOSHUA B.)

TAGS: SUM, ES

SUBJECT: EVIDENCE IN MURDER CASES

REFS A. STATE 290505 B. MEXICO 14053
1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. 'IT; RESPECT TO REFTELS AND OTHER POSSIBLE LEADS IN MURDER CASES, DEPARTMENT WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT FORM EVIDENCE GIVEN BY PERSONS PRESENT IN US CAN AND SHOULD TAKE IN ORDER TO BE COGNI,ABLE IN INVESTIGATION AND PRO-SEC'TION IN EL SALVADOR.

,. CONSULTATION WITH LOCAL EMBASSY LEGAL ADVISER WOULD PROBABLY BE HELPFUL ON THIS POINT. PLEASE RESPOND BY COB TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

4. SAN SALVADOR 8210 PROVIDES HELPFUL INFORMATION BUT IS NOT COMPLETE ENOUGH WIT; RE;,ECT TO PERSONS IN THE US. HAIG
BT

Department of State (E/PPO/CDR) [illegible] Date 9/23/93
Declassified under E.O. 12065 (X) in full;
portions withheld: classified ( ), [illegible] ( );
law enforcement ( ), privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

[redacted]

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81SAN SA009220

ADP823 [redacted]

RELEASE

PAGE 01 SAN SA 09220 031931Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-15
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6873
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 9220

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: MEMORIAL MASS FOR THE MURDERED AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN

1. APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR RIVERA Y DAMAS CONDUCTED A MEMORIAL MASS ON 12/2/81 ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATHS OF THE FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN IN EL SALVADOR. APPROXIMATELY 400 PERSONS ATTENDED. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS WAS VERY MUCH IN EVIDENCE. THE MASS WAS NON-POLITICAL AND UNEVENTFUL.

2. RIVERA Y DAMAS DELIVERED A 20 MINUTE HOMILY WHICH TOUCHED NO SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL TOPICS. IT WAS ESSENTIAL A PASTORAL MESSAGE. RIVERA Y DAMAS DESCRIBED THE SERVICES WORK THAT THE FOUR MARYKNOLL CHURCHWOMEN PERFOMED PRIOR TO THEIR MURDERS. HE NOTED THAT THEY DEDICATED THEIR LIVES TO THE COMMUNITY SERVICE. HE CALLED UPON [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 09220 031931Z

HIS LISTENERS TO FOLLOW THIS EXAMPLE OF SELFLESS DEDICATION.

3. NO ESPECIAL INVITATION WERE ISSIED FOR THIS MASS. THE EMBASSY WAS REPRESENTED BY POLOFF. HE SAW NO OTHER DIPLOMATIC OR GOVERMENT OFFICIALS.
BLEAKLEY

PAGE NO. 1

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08413 0421347
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00 NSC-05
NSAE-00 HA-06 PM-09 SP-02 SPRS-02 /073 W
----------213046 042138Z /63
P R 042025Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6463
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN/INTAFF

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/6/12 Exemption _____

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 8413

E. O. 12065: XDS-4 11/3/2001 (GETTINGER, H. CARL) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: COMMENTS OF A PRIEST

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: ON NOVEMBER 2 FATHER RFAEL URRUTIA TOLD POLOFF THAT ON NOVEMBER 13 TWO REPRESENTATIVES OF CARDINAL COOKE WILL ARRIVE HERE PROBABLY ON A MISSION RELATED TO THE CHURCHWOMEN MURDERS INVESTIGAION. URRUTIA IS ATTEMPTING TO LOCATE FRANCISCO SERRANO AND WILL ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE FATHER BRITO TO TALK WITH EMBOFFS ABOUT THE STOP AND SEARCH OUTSIDE THE AIRPORT ON DECEMBER 2, 1980. URRUTIA SEES SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN DEPOLITICIZING THE CHURCH. END SUMMARY.

3. ON NOVEMBER 2 POLOFF SPOKE WITH FAHER RAFAEL URRUTIA, ONE OF THE TWO SECRETARIES ("CANCILLERES") OF THE SAN

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08413 0421347

SALVADOR ARCHDIOCESE. URRUTIA IS IN CHARGE OF THE ARCH-

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RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

DIOCESE SEMINARY AND IS ONE OF APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR RIVERA'S PRINCIPAL ADVISORS. SOME OF HIS COMMENTS FOLLOWS.

4. URRUTIA TOLD POLOFF THAT MARIO PAREDES OF THE NEW YORK ARCHDIOCESE WOULD ARIVE IN SAN SALVADOR ON NOVEMBER 13 ACCOMPANYING AN EMISSARY OF CARDINL COOKE. URRUTIA SAID--IN STRICT CONFIDENCE--THAT HE BELIEVES THAT THE TWO MEN HAVE SOMETHING SIGNIFICANT RELATIVE TO THE CHURCHWOMEN MURDERS WHICH THEY WISH TO DISCUSS WITH BISHOP RIVERA. HE ADDED THAT PARHAS REQUESTED A MEETING WITH EMBOFFS AND ASKED, IF POSSIBLE, FOR USG TRANSPORATION BETWEEN THE AIRPORT AND SAN SALVADOR.

5. POLOFF RENEWED A REQUEST FOR URRUTIA'S ASSISTANCE IN LOCATING FRANCISCO SERRANO, THE SACRISTAN WHO CLAIMS TO HAVE SEEN A LIST OF PEOPLE MARKED FOR DEATH WHICH INCLUDED THE NAMES OF ITA FORD AND MAURA CLARKS. URRUTIA SAID HE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE SERRANO LOCATED IN ANOTHER WEEK. POLOFF ALSO ASKED URRUTIA TO CONVINCE FATHER BRITO TO SPEAK ITH EMBOFFS ABOUT THE STOP AND SEARCH OF THE VEHICLE HE WAS DRIVING FROM THE AIRPORT ON DECEMBER 2, 1980. URRUTIA EXPLAINED THAT FATHER BRITTO IS AN EXTREMELY FEARFUL MAN AND THUS UNWILLING TO TALK ABOUT HIS DECEMBER EXPERIENCE. NEVERTHELESS, URRUTIA CONSIDERED THAT HE COULD CONVINCE HIS COLLEAGUE TO SPEAK WITH POLOFF ABOUT THE INCIDENT.

6. URRUTIA ALSO SUD THAT THE CHURCH IS SUCCESSFULLY DEPOLITICIZING ITSELF UNDER BISHOP RIVERA'S LEADERSHIP. FOR THE MOST PART, HE SAID, PRIESTS WHO WERE INVOLVED IN REVOLUTION HAVE LEFT. HE ADDED THAT THOSE WHO OPPOSED THEM AND ARE STILL HERE ARE THE ONES WHO ARE PAYING THE PRICE FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTED REVOLUTIONARIES BUT, DESPITE THE,

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 08413 0421342

PROBLEMS--THREATENING LEAFLETS AND TELPHONE CALLS FOLLOWING THE PELLECER DECLARATIONS, FOR INSTATNCE--THINGS, SAID URRUTIA, ARE GETTING BETTER. THERE ARE TWICE AS MANY APPLICANTS AS THERE ARE PLACES FOR THE NEXT ENTERING CLASS OF SEMINARIANS, A NEW AND POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, HU SAID. ANOTHER POSITIVE ELEMENT, URRUTIA ADDED, IS THAT THE APPLICANTS SEEM TO BE LESS INCLINED TOWARD REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS AND MORE TOWARD SINCERE RELIGIOUS WORK THAN APPLICANTS IN THE PAST.

7. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT CONTACT CARDINAL COOKE'S

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]

OFFICE TO CONFIRM PAREDES TRIP. WE CAN PROVIDE EMBASSY TRANSPORTATION FROM THE AIRPORT IF WE HAVE HIS TRAVEL PLANS.
HINTON

[redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)
221

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81SAN SA008501

ADP080

[redacted]

RELEASE

PAGE 01 SAN SA 08501 071202Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-02 ADS-00 SSO-00 /027 W
----------317315 071214Z /10

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6506

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 08501

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/06/87 (HINTON, DEANE R.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM MX ES
SUBJECT: LETTER OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER

REF: (A) STATE 290505; (B) MEXICO 14053

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. APPRECIATE EFFORTS UNDERWAY TO LOCATE CORTEZ, BUT SHOULD NOT THE FBI BE BROUGHT INTO THIS EFFORT? IN MY VIEW, WE NEED ALL THE PROFESSIONAL HELP WE CAN GET AND PRESIDENT DUARTE'S LETTER OF NOVEMBER 3 CAN BE CONSTRUED AS GIVING FBI GREEN LIGHT ON CASE, AT LEAST IN U.S.

3. ADVISE.
HINTON

[redacted]

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Department of State IR/PPG/CLA by [illegible] date 9/23/93
Declassified under EO 12958 (X) [illegible]
portions withheld: classified ( ); [illegible] ( );
law enforcement ( ) [illegible] ( ) [illegible] ( );
not relevant to the [illegible] ( ).

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El Salvador: Human Rigl
Special Project (1

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81STATE 299022

ADP509 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 299022
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /025 R

----------356157 092055Z /60

O 092016Z NOV 81
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

[redacted]STATE 299022

EXDIS FOR LEGATT

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/6/87

TAGS: SHUM, ES, MX

SUBJECT: CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER: MORAN LEAD

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ALTHOUGH CHURCH OFFICIALS SHOW EVERY INDICATION OF COOPERATING IN THE CHICAGO AREA, WE HAVE NOT YET LOCATED CORTEZ. IN REVIEWING THIS CASE, IT HAS OCCURRED TO US THAT PERHAPS MORAN AND CORTEZ ARE INDEED THE SAME PERSON. MORAN MIGHT BE USING THE CORTEZ STORY AS A MEANS TO LEVERAGE EITHER SANCTUARY IN THE U.S. OR SOME OTHER REWARD, KEEPING HIS OWN OPTIONS OPEN.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 299022

3. YOU SHOULD APPROACH MORAN AND INDICATE TO HIM WE NOW HAVE ANOTHER SUSPECT ON THE WEST COAST WHO IS OFFERING TO PROVIDE EVIDENCE IN THE NUNS' CASE. IT WOULD BE PRUDENT FOR MORAN TO CONTACT CORTEZ AND ADVISE HIM THAT IF HE IS NOT WILLING TO COME FORWARD QUICKLY TO PROVIDE THE EVIDENCE HE HAS, HE MAY FIND

THAT HE IS IMPLICATED IN THE CASE BY ANOTHER WITNESS.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 81STATE 299022

AT THAT POINT HE MIGHT BECOME A SUSPECT RATHER THAN
A MATERIAL WITNESS. IT WOULD BE TO CORTEZ' ADVANTAGE
TO COME FORWARD ASQUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. HE MAY EITHER
APPROACH THE FBI IN CHICAGO OR CONTACT THE HUMAN RIGHTS
COORDINATOR FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC CHICAGO ARCHDIOCESE,
MR. SEGUNDINO AT 848-8581 OR 427-2533. HAIG

[redacted]

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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11/13/81

OTHER ACTIVITIES

11/3/21
IAE review
JZ004
R

Chile: Terrorism's Mounting Toll (C)

The President of the Chilean Supreme Court, Dr. Israel Borquez, was seriously wounded in a well-coordinated assasination attempt on November 6. Four days later a car carrying four men who apparently were planning a similar attack on Foreign Minister Rene Rojas was fired upon in front of Rojas' home by security guards and exploded, killing the occupants.

Those responsible for the attempt on Borquez's life and the aborted attack on the Foreign Minister, as well as numerous other attacks on government personnel, bombings, sabotage and bank robberies in the past year, probably are members of the outlawed Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). Their ultimate objective is to provoke President Pinochet to carry out a harsh crackdown. Such action, they hope, would trigger a spontaneous popular rising to overthrow the regime that has dominated Chile since 1973. Frustrated by the glacial progress toward democratic rule and the restraints on political activity and dissent, the small radical left in Chile considers violence the only effective vehicle of political expression.

Their hope of sparking a revolt against Pinochet, however, is a chimera. The economic recovery and political stability that military rule has brought to Chile, after the chaos of the Allende years, have turned most Chileans into passive supporters of the status quo. The government, moreover, has skillfully balanced incentives and repression. The current wave of terrorism probably will not provoke the security forces to resort to extreme measures that could play into the hands of the radical left.

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06667 132017Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-15	NSC-05	NSAE-00	HA-06	L-03	PM-09
	PA-01	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/088 W		

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1648
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 6667

E O 12065: GDS 11/13/87 (HARRINGTON, D.B) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM PINT CI
SUBJECT: CHILEAN MINISTER OF INTERIOR TURNS DOWN CASTILLO'S REQUEST TO RETURN TO CHILE

REF: SANTIAGO 6600

1. (U) ON NOVEMBER 12, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR SERGIO FERNANDEZ REJECTED JAIME CASTILLO'S REQUEST TO RETURN TO CHILE, AS WELL AS THE REQUEST OF ALBERTO JEREZ WHO WAS EXPELLED WITH CASTILLO ON AUGUST 11, 1981. IN A LETTER TO MAXIMO PACHECO (CASTILLO'S REPRESENTATIVE AND HIS INTERIM REPLACEMENT AS HEAD OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION), FERNANDEZ STATED THAT THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR WAS RESOLVED TO "MAINTAIN, FOR NOW, THE EXPULSION" OF CASTILLO, BASED ON DECREES OF AGUSST 10, AND SEPTEMBER 11.

2. (C) COMMENT: IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE PHRASING OF FERNANDEZ' LETTER WAS INTENDED TO LEAVE THE DOOR SLIGHTLY AJAR BY SUGGESTING THAT THE DECISION COULD BE CHANGED LATER. MAXIMO PACHECO HAS HAD ANOTHER INTERVIEW WITH FERNANDEZ AND WILL STUDY THE DECREES TO SEE IF THEIR LANGUAGE OFFERS ANOTHER AVENUE TO TRY. FOR THE MOMENT, HE PROFESSED NOT TO HAVE ABANDONED
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06667 132017Z

HOPE, AND IS THEREFORE COUNSELING CASTILLO TO BE PATIENT AND NOT TO TAKE ANY RASH STEPS.
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Case Number: s199900006

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04041 01 OF 02 131837Z
ACTION IO-06

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-05	EUR-08	SS-10	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	NSCE-00	ARA-10	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-02	L-01	TRSE-00
	INRE-00	ICAE-00	SP-02	/047 W			

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O 131814Z NOV 81
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9189
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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Exemption(s) ____

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LIMDIS

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E.O. 12065: GDS 11/13/87 (SORZANO, JOSE) OR-M
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM
SUBJECT: 36TH UNGA: THIRD COMMITTEE: DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE

1. USUN HAS OBTAINED ADVANCE TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE TO BE TABLED 11/20 UNDER ITEM 12 BY DENMARK, NETHERLANDS, AND OTHERS. (IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THERE WILL ALSO BE A SECOND, MORE CRITICAL RESOLUTION ON CHILE DRAFTED BY MEXICO AND CUBA). THE RESOLUTION DRAFTED BY DENMARK AND NETHERLANDS IS GENERALLY STRONGER AND MORE DETAILED THAN THAT ADOPTED BY THE 35TH UNGA (RES 35/188, ON WHICH THE US VOTED IN FAVOR). THE DRAFTERS EXPLAIN THAT THEY STRENGTHENED THE TEXT IN KEEPING WITH THE TONE OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN FEBRUARY 1981 (RES 9 (XXXVII)), ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 22-~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 USUN N 04041 01 OF 02 131837Z

4-17, WITH THE US OPPOSED). THE US EXPLAINED ITS OPPOSITION TO THIS RESOLUTION IN A STATEMENT DELIVERED BY MICHAEL NOVAK, WHO CITED AS REASONS THE EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, THE SINGLING OUT OF CHILE AND THE NEED FOR EVENHANDED JUSTICE, AND THE NEED TO TRY A NEW METHOD WITH REGARD TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS

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ABUSES IN CHILE WHICH WITHOUT QUESTION HAVE TAKEN PLACE AND WHICH THE US DOES NOT CONDONE.

2. CHILE IS SEEKING SPONSORS FOR A PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION WHICH IT HOPES COULD BE SUBSTITUTED FOR THIS WHICH WOULD REFER THE QUESTION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION. CHILE WOULD PREFER THIS BECAUSE IT IS LESS POLITICIZED AND PUBLIC (REPORTS ARE MADE CONFIDENTIALLY TO GOVERNMENTS) AND BECAUSE A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES' HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS ARE ALSO REVIEWED THERE. COLOMBIA OR COSTA RICA ARE CONSIDERING ACTING AS SPONSORS.

3. USUN'S INITIAL INCLINATION IS TO SUPPORT CHILE'S EFFORT TO SUBSTITUTE A PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION. IF THIS FAILS, USUN RECOMMENDS VOTING AGAINST THE DANISH/DUTCH DRAFT AND DELIVERING AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE ALONG THE LINES OF THAT GIVEN BY MICHAEL NOVAK IN FEBRUARY. SPECIFIC EXAMPLES WHICH COULD BE CITED IN IMPROVEMENT OF THE SITUATION IN CHILE SINCE LAST FEBRUARY WOULD BE HELPFUL.

DRAFT RESOLUTION AGENDA ITEM 12: ECOSOC REPORT

PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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PAGE 03 USUN N 04041 01 OF 02 131837Z

(1) REAFFIRMING ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL;

(2) UNDERLNING THE OBLIGATION GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS;

(3) DETERMINED TO REMAIN VIGILANT WITH REGARD TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER THEY OCCUR AND TO TAKE MEASURES IN ORDER TO RESTORE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS;

(4) RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 31/124 OF 16 DECEMBER 1976, 32/118 OF 16 DECEMBER 1977, 33/175 OF 20 DECEMBER 1978, 34/179 OF 17 DECEMBER 1979 AND 35/188 OF 15 DECEMBER 1980 ON THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND 33/173 OF 20 DECEMBER 1978 ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS;

(5) RECALLING ALSO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF 6 MARCH 1979 ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, IN WHICH THE COMMISSION, INTER ALIA, DECIDED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND RESOLUTION 9 (XXXVII) IN WHICH IT DECIDED TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR;

(6) DISTURBED BY THE FACT THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY REFUSED TO COOPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS;

(7) CONCERNED BY REPORTS, SUCH AS THE REPORT BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE HAS NOT IMPROVED AND THAT IN CERTAIN RESPECTS IT HAS, ON THE CONTRARY, DETERIORATED;
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PAGE 04 USUN N 04041 01 OF 02 131837Z

(8) EXPRESSING DEEP CONCERN THAT THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED OVER THE PAST

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04041 02 OF 02 131844Z
ACTION IO-06

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-05	EUR-08	SS-10	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	NSCE-00	ARA-10	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-02	L-01	TRSE-00
	INRE-00	ICAE-00	SP-02	/047 W			

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9190
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 04041

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YEARS ARE STILL UNKNOWN AND THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO FAIL TO TAKE URGENT AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED;

(9) NOTING WITH GRAVE CONCERN THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN FORCE IN CHILE AS FROM 11 MARCH 1981 DOES NOT GUARANTEE THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE;

1) COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR HIS REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION 9 (XXXVII) OF 26 FEBRUARY 1981;

2) REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS 38TH SESSION TO STUDY THOROUGHLY THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR;

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PAGE 02 USUN N 04041 02 OF 02 131844Z

3) EXPRESSES ITS GREAT CONCERN AT THE FACT THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, IN RESPECT OF BOTH THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, AND THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, HAS NOT IMPROVED IN COMPARISON WITH THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR AND IN PARTICULAR AT THE FACT THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES SYSTEMATICALLY REFUSE TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO LIBERTY, AND SECURITY OF PERSON AS WELL AS THOSE WHO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS AND CRITICIZE VIOLATION THEREOF;

4) EXPRESSES ALSO GREAT CONCERN AT THE FACT THAT THE REMEDIES OF HABEAS CORPUS AND AMPARO PROVE TO BE NOT EFFECTIVE DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE JUDICIARY IN CHILE EXERCISES ITS POWERS IN THAT RESPECT WITH THE UTMOST RESTRICTIONS;

5) URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING CONCRETE STEPS THAT WOULD ENABLE THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONSIDER TERMINATING THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR:

(A) TO PUT AN END TO ARBITRARY DETENTIONS, PHYSICAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL INTIMIDATION AND PROSECUTION OF PERSONS WHO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OPINION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO PETITION;

(B) TO SEPARATE PERSONS DETAINED FOR POLITICAL REASONS FROM THOSE DETAINED FOR CRIMINAL OFFENCES;

(C) TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT AND TO
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PAGE 03 USUN N 04041 02 OF 02 131844Z

PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH PRACTICES;

(D) TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO ARE CLAIMED TO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO INFORM THE RELATIVES OF THOSE PERSONS OF THE OUTCOME OF THE INVESTIGATION AND TO PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEARANCES;

(E) TO RESTORE FULLY TRADE UNION RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY THE FREEDOM TO FORM TRADE UNIONS WHICH CAN OPERATE FREELY WITHOUT GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL AND CAN EXERCISE FULLY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE;

(F) TO GUARANTEE THE FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION, AND THE FREEDOM OF CHILEAN CITIZENS FREELY TO ENTER AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY, AND TO END THE PRACTICE OF BANISHMENTS APPLIED TO NATIONAL, WHICH PRACTICE AMOUNTS TO FORCED EXILE FROM THE COUNTRY;
6) URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO COOPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR;

7) INVITES THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR AND REQUESTS THE COMMISSION TO REPORT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS 37TH SESSION.
KIRKPATRICK

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06696 162029Z
ACTION IO-06

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-10	OIC-02	CIAE-00	H-01
	NSCE-00	ARA-10	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-02	L-01	INRE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1663
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 6696

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/16/87 (DURKEE, MICHAEL L.) OR-P
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: 36TH UNGA: THIRD COMMITTEE: DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE

REF: USUN 4041

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT, COURSE OF ACTION SUGGESTED IN PARA 3 OF REFTEL SEEMS SENSIBLE. MOVING AWAY FROM THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND INTO REGULAR UN HUMAN RIGHTS CHANNELS IS THE MOST LIKELY WAY TO GET CHILE TO COOPERATE WITH THE UN. VOTING FOR THE PROPOSED PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION WOULD THUS CONTRIBUTE MORE TO PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS THAN THE TRADITIONAL AND INEFFECTIVE CONDEMNATIONS OF CHILE. IF THIS EFFORT IS NOT SUCCESSFUL, IT WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR POSITION IN THE UNHRC IN FEBRUARY TO VOTE AGAINST THE DANISH/DUTCH DRAFT OR ANY OTHER RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD EXTEND THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.

3. IN DISCUSSING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, IT IS PROBABLY MORE PERSUASIVE TO ARGUE THAT THERE HAS BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06696 162029Z

SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT SINCE 1977 AND THAT THE UN REPORTS AND RESOLUTIONS HAVE FAILED TO RECOGNIZE SUCH PROGRESS, RATHER THAN TO SEEK TO SHOW SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS IN 1981. THE RECORD FOR 1981 IS MIXED, WITH SOME FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS AND OTHERS LESS SO. ON THE FAVORABLE SIDE, REPORTS OF TORTURE ARE AT A LOWER RATE THAN 1980, AS ARE CASES

UNCLASSIFIED

OF INTERNAL EXILE.
LANDAU

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 ROME 26666 161626Z
ACTION SIL-01

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	NSC-05	ARA-16	NSAE-00	COME-00
	HA-06	L-03	CSCE-04	LAB-04	DOE-10	TRSE-00	PM-09
	PA-01	CEA-01	ED-04	OMB-01	STR-11	FRB-03	AGR-01
	OES-09	ACDA-12	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/154 W	

157706 170228Z /63

R 161621Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9928
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12065:N/A
TAGS: ELAB, PEPR, SHUM, IT, CI, US
SUBJECT: CISL LETTER TO AMBASSADOR ON TRADE UNION SITUATION IN CHILE

REF: COPENHAGEN 4383

1. ON NOVEMBER 13, PIERRE CARNITI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CISL (LEFT CATHOLIC/CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC) LABOR CONFEDERATION SENT A PERSONAL LETTER TO THE AMBASSADOR ENCLOSING AN OFFICIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) POSITION PAPER ON THE TRADE UNION SITUATION IN CHILE.

2. NOTING THAT CISL SHARES THE ICFTU POSITION, CARNITI REQUESTED THAT AMBASSADOR FORWARD THE ICFTU DOCUMENT (WRITTEN IN ENGLISH) TO USGOVERNMENT. GOAL
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PAGE 02 ROME 26666 161626Z

OF THIS EFFORT, ACCORDING TO CARNITI, IS TO LAUNCH A "POSITIVE INITIATIVE" ON BEHALF OF THE RIGHTS OF CHILEAN WORKERS AND ESPECIALLY OF IMPRISONED TRADE UNION LEADERS. CARNITI ADDS HIS OWN CONCERN ABOUT THE POSSIBLE "NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES" WHICH RESUMPTION OF U.S. MILITARY AID TO CHILE COULD HAVE UPON CHILEAN WORKERS, BECAUSE -- CHILEAN DECLARATIONS TO THE

[redacted] n/a

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CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING -- HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO RESPECT THE HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS WHICH ARE THE "FUNDAMENTAL PATRIMONY OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES WHICH REALLY BELIEVE IN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY."

3. ICFTU POSITION PAPER, DATED OCTOBER 1981, IS A 7-PAGE DOCUMENT WHICH ENDEAVORS TO PRESENT AN OVERVIEW OF THE LABOR SITUATION IN CHILE SINCE 1973. IT DENOUNCES THE CURRENT CHILEAN GOVERNMENT FOR SEEKING TO PROMOTE RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH "WHATEVER ITS SOCIAL COST" -- I.E., AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKERS. PAPER DISCUSSES THE CREATION AND PROGRAM OF THE COORDINACION NACIONAL SINDICAL (CNS) AND THE TRIAL AND IMPRISONMENT OF MANUEL BUSTOS, ALAMIRO GUZMAN AND OTHER CNS LEADERS. IT CONCLUDES THAT RECENT ACTIONS AGAINST CNS CONSTITUTE "A NEW ATTACK ON CHILEAN WORKERS."

4. COMMENT. CARNITI'S ENCLOSURE IS PRESUMABLY ONE OF THE ICFTU STUDY PAPERS REFERRED TO IN REFTEL, WHOSE AIM INTER ALIA IS TO PRESSURE GOVERNMENTS OF INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES INTO DESISTING FROM PROVIDING MILITARY/ECONOMIC AND/OR POLITICAL COOPERATION TO MILITARY REGIMES. END COMMENT.

5. EMBASSY POUCHING COPIES OF DOCUMENT TO DEPARTMENT,
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PAGE 03 ROME 26666 161626Z

SANTIAGO AND USEC.
RABB

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06732 172048Z
ACTION ARA-16

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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-15
NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03 PA-02 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02
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P R 172030Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Exemption(s)

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 6732

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, CI
SUBJ: NEW LETTER FROM JAIME CASTILLO REQUESTING RECONSIDERATION OF HIS EXPULSION

REF: SANTIAGO 6667

1. ON NOVEMBER 16, A NEW PUBLIC LETTER, SENT FROM CARACAS BY JAIME CASTILLO, WAS PUBLISHED IN SANTIAGO NEWSPAPERS. IN THE LETTER, CASTILLO STATED HE WILL SEND A NEW PETITION TO CHILEAN AUTHORITIES REQUESTING RECONSIDERATION OF HIS EXPULSION. HE ALSO CLAIMED THAT THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR'S REJECTION ON NOVEMBER 12 OF HIS PETITION FOR READMISSION TO CHILE (REFTEL) DID NOT DIRECTLY RESPOND TO HIS PREVIOUS LETTERS TO THE MINISTRY. FINALLY, HE INSISTED AGAIN THAT PROFESSIONAL DUTIES (I.E., THE LETELIER CASE PRESENTLY BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT) REQUIRED HIS PRESENCE IN CHILE.

2. ALL SANTIAGO NEWSPAPERS QUOTED EXTENSIVELY FROM CASTILLO'S LETTER, INCLUDING HIS COMPLAINT THAT THE NEW DECREE OF EXPULSION SIGNED ON SEPTEMBER 11 "DOES NOT COMPLY WITH THE LETTER OR THE SPIRIT OF THE

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06732 172048Z

CONSTITUTION OF 1980, SINCE TRANSITORY ARTICLE 24 DOES NOT GIVE THE EXECUTIVE POWER THE AUTHORITY TO PRESUME A CITIZEN IS DANGEROUS OUTSIDE OF CONCRETE REALITY AND FOR AN INDEFINITE TIME" BECAUSE IT WOULD NEGATE THE RIGHTS OF THE PERSON. HE ALSO NOTED THAT "THE REITERATION OF INJUSTICE DOES NOT CONVERT IT INTO

JUSTICE," AND CLOSED BY STATING THAT HE "WILL SOLICIT RECONSIDERATION OF THE MEASURE (IMPEDIMENT TO REENTERING THE COUNTRY) AND WILL EMPLOY ALL NON-VIOLENT MEANS THAT ARE AT MY COMMAND."
LANDAU

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

TO : The Ambassador

DATE: November 17, 1981

FROM : POL -- Don Harrington

SUBJECT: November 16 Article on "disguised executions" in Miami Herald

On November 17, I spoke with Alejandro Gonzalez of the Vic about the above article. He said it did not represent the public, official view of the Vic and, if challenged by the government, would be denied as unauthorized. Speaking more personally, however, he said that, while Caucoto (a collaborator and not a full-time lawyer of the Vic) and Lopez may have acted imprudently in publicly stating their ideas, they were merely saying what was the moral but unprovable conviction of the Vic. In the case of Sandoval, for example, there were witnesses to the "execution" but Gonzalez feared they would not stand up to government pressure. In partial support of the above, he gave me the attached internal communication of the Vicaria (see marked passages).

Gonzalez also showed me a printed version of the article which had been given him by William Long prior to its publication and he spoke of Long as a newspaperman with whom he had had previous relations and in whom he had confidence.

Clear: POL:RLCraven
POL:JFoarde

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 15470 181752Z
ACTION SIL-01

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	NSC-05	ARA-16	NSAE-00	COME-00
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R 181756Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2396
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 15470

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E.O. 12065: GDS 11/18/87 (MATTSON, JAMES A.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, PEPR, SHUM, ICFTU, IT, CI, US
SUBJECT: ICFTU AND CHILE

REF: (A) ROME 2665 (NOTAL), (B) BRUSSELS 15130

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)
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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 15470 181752Z

2. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) PAPER SENT BY CISL SECRETARY GENERAL CARNITI TO AMBASSADOR RABB (REFTEL B) WAS DOCUMENT PREPARED BY ICFTU SECRETARIAT FOR RECENT EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING. AS SUCH, IT REFLECTED LONGSTANDING ICFTU CONCERN OVER LABOR AND HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES OF PINOCHET REGIME AND ICFTU POSITION OF SUPPORT

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(UNDER STRONG PRESSURES FROM SEVERAL EUROPEAN AFFILIATES) FOR LEFTIST CNS. BOARD HOWEVER NEITHER TOOK ANY SPECIFIC DECISION NOR ADOPTED ANY NEW RESOLUTION ON CHILE ON BASIS OF THIS PAPER AT ITS NOVEMBER 5-6 MEETING (REFTEL B).

3. AS FURTHER BACKGROUND ON INITIATIVE BY CARNITI (AND POSSIBLE SIMILAR INITIATIVES BY SOME OTHER ICFTU AFFILIATES), WE WOULD NOTE THAT RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION SITUATION IN SOUTH AMERICA ADOPTED BY EXECUTIVE BOARD AT ITS MEETING ON JULY 1981, INVITED "ALL AFFILIATES, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, TO PUT PRESSURE ON THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS TO ENSURE THAT ALL FORMS OF AID, WHETHER MILITARY OR ECONOMIC, AND OF POLITICAL COLLABORATION ARE DISCONTINUED" WITH MILITARY REGIMES OF SOUTHERN CONE, INCLUDING CHILE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT, AT SEPTEMBER 4 MEETING OF ICFTU COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA, SOME PARTICIPANTS ADVOCATED EXTENSION OF SUCH ACTIONS BY AFFILIATES TO INCLUDE APPROACHES TO USG. THIS DISCUSSION MAY WELL HAVE BEEN CATALYST FOR ITALIANS AND SOME OTHERS EVEN THOUGH COMMITTEE DID NOT DECIDE TO MOUNT ANY SUCH FULLBLOWN CAMPAIGN. ICFTU HQS. AS WELL HAS NO PLANS TO ORCHESTRATE SUCH A CAMPAIGN ALTHOUGH IT IS OCCASIONALLY PUBLICIZING ACTIONS BY AFFILIATES IN CONTEXT OF JULY RESOLUTION. (FOR EXAMPLE, NOVEMBER 16 ICFTU FORTNIGHTLY BULLETIN CARRIES ITEM ABOUT RECENT BRITISH TUC C~~ONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 15470 181752Z

STATEMENT DEPLORING PROPOSED SALE OF TWO BRITISH NAVAL SHIPS TO CHILE AND URGING HMG TO RECONSIDER ITS POLICIES OF "GIVING ASSISTANCE AND COMFORT" TO PINOCHET REGIME.)

4. WE WOULD FINALLY NOTE THAT ICFTU AMERICAS DEPARTMENT HEAD ENZO FRISO PLANS, AFTER ATTENDING ORIT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING ON NOVEMBER 20 IN NEW YORK, TO MAKE TRIP WITH ORIT GENERAL SECRETARY DEL PINO TO A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN LATIN AMERICA, NOTABLY INCLUDING CHILE AND ARGENTINA. FRESH PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER ICFTU ACTIONS RE CHILE COULD CONCEIVABLY RESULT FROM TRIP. LAMB

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18 Nov 81

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Page: 1

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06763 182012Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	DODE-00
	H-01	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-06
	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	MCT-02	INRE-00	ANAE-00
	ACDA-12	USSS-00	ICAE-00	SYE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/087 W

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O R 182002Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1700
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN//INTAFF

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L SANTIAGO 6763

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BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/19/87 (HARRINGTON, D.B.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, CI
SUBJ: EXTREMIST ATTACK NEAR HOMES OF HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS KILLS THREE MEMBERS OF INVESTIGATIVE POLICE

REF: A) SANTIAGO 6522, B) SANTIAGO 6603

1. (U) AT 07:20 ON NOVEMBER 18, FOUR EXTREMISTS FIRING AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FROM A CHEVROLET PICK-UP TRUCK SHOT AND KILLED THREE MEMBERS OF THE INVESTIGATIVE POLICE IN A PARKED PATROL CAR ON A RESIDENTIAL STREET IN SANTIAGO. THE EXTREMISTS MADE GOOD THEIR ESCAPE DESPITE AN INTENSIVE SEARCH OF THE AREA. THE STOLEN TRUCK WAS LATER FOUND ABANDONED BY POLICE.

2. (C) EMBASSY COMMENT: OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUES, THUS FAR, HAVE AVOIDED MENTIONING THE POSSIBILITY THIS WAS AN ATTACK ON A HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL. UNOFFICIAL RADIO AND NEWSPAPER SOURCES HAVE, HOWEVER, POINTED OUT THAT THE HOMES OF BOTH GENERAL FERNANDO PAREDES (DIRECTOR ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06763 182012Z

GENERAL OF INVESTIGACIONES) AND GENERAL SANTIAGO SINCLAIR (MINISTER/CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE PRESIDENT), AS WELL AS OTHERS, ARE NEARBY AND THAT THE CAR CONTAINING THE THREE POLICEMEN WAS A SPECIAL PATROL CAR FOR THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD.

3. (C) THE IMPACT OF THE RECENT GOVERNMENT CRACKDOWN

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ON THE DAILY NEWSPAPER ULTIMAS NOTICIAS FOR PUBLICIZINERRORIST ACTS IS APPARENT IN THAT ONE OPPOSITION RADIO
STATION TOLD US IT HAD MORE INFORMATION THAN THE GOVERNMENT HANDOUT BUT WAS AFRAID TO BROADCAST IT. AS THE DAY CONTINUED, GOC ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL THE NEWS LED TO A BURGEONING OF OFTEN CONFLICTING RUMORS.

4. (C) THIS MAY BE THE THIRD EXTREMIST ATTACK ON IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WITHIN THE PAST TWO WEEKS. JUST YESTERDAY, THE COMMAND "POLITICAL PRISONERS/DISAPPEARED" CLAIMED CREDIT FOR THE ATTACK ON AND WOUNDING OF ISRAEL BORQUEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT (REF. A), AND TWO OF THE FOUR KILLED IN THE FRUSTRATED ATTEMPT ON FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS' HOME (REF. B) HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN IDENTIFIED AS MIR ACTIVISTS (SEPTEL).
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n/a

Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 CARACA 10885 201328Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-15 NSAE-00
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R 192119Z NOV 81
FM AMEMASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8584
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part In Full X
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L CARACAS 10885

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/18/87 (MURRAY, LEWIS) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, CI , VE
SUBJECT: CHILEAN EXILE JAIME CASTILLO'S MEETING WITH CHARGE

REF: SANTIAGO 6732

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CHILEAN EXILE JAIME CASTILLO, AT HIS REQUEST, MET WITH THE CHARGE ON NOVEMBER 17 TO REVIEW HIS RECENT ATTEMPTS TO RETURN CHILE.

3. CASTILLO SAID THAT WHILE IN EUROPE TO ATTEND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S MADRID CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, HE DISCUSSED HIS CASE AND THE NEBULOUS STATUS OF OTHER "TEMPORARY EXILES" WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, PARLIAMENTARIANS, PARTY LEADERS FROM FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY.

4. CASTILLO TOLD THE CHARGE THAT HE HAD LEARNED FROM HIS REPRESENTATIVE IN SANTIAGO, MAXIMO PACHECO, THAT THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR HAD JUST RECENTLY ISSUED -- AND BACKDATED TO SEPTEMBER 11 -- A SECOND DECREE OF EXPULSION
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PAGE 02 CARACA 10885 201328Z

FORM HIM. THE DECREE UNDER WHICH HE WAS ORIGINALLY EXILED APPARENTLY EXPIRED ON THAT DATE. CASTILLO BELIEVED THAT THIS ACTION VINDICATED THE LEGALISTIC ARGUMENTS THAT HE HAS BEEN MAKING AND THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTER'S ACTION CONSTITUTED A MORAL, ALBEIT INTANGIBLE, RECOGNITION OF THE CORRECTNESS OF CASTILLO'S ARGUMENTS, I.E. THAT HIS

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EXPULSION COULD NOT LEGALLY BE MAINTAINED BEYOND THE PERIOD OF VALIDITY OF THE DECREE UPON WHICH IT WAS BASED. CASTILLO THEN REVIEWED FOR THE CHARGE HIS ARGUMENT THAT THE NEW DECREE IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL BECAUSE:
-- EXPULSION ORDER ONLY BE ISSUED IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC ACTS COMMITED ON CHILEAN SOIL, AND
-- THE VALIDITY OF THESE ORDERS EXPIRES ALONG WITH THE STATE OF EMERGENCY UNDER WHICH THEY WERE ISSUED.
ACCORDING TO CASTILLO, THE CHILEAN CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS THE INDEFINITE RENEWAL OF SUCH ORDERS AND FOR THE SECOND EXPULSION ORDER AGAINST HIM TO BE BALID HE WOULD HAVE HAD TO HAVE COMMITTED A NEW EXPELLABLE ACT ON CHILEAN SOIL AFTER SEPTEMBER 11 -- WHICH HE HAS NOT DONE.

5. CASTILLO REQUESTED THAT THE EMBASSY FORWARD TO AMBASSADORS SORZANO AND ABRAMS A LETTER FROM HIM AND OTHER CHILEAN EXILES DETAILING THEIR POSITION. (LETTERS WILL BE AIRPOUCHED WITH COPIES TO INFORMATION ADDRESSEES WHEN RECEIVED.)

6. CASTILLO ARRIVED FOR HIS MEETING WITH THE CHARGE IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING A LUNCHEON WITH THE VENEZUELAN MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM. HE CANDIDLY STATED THAT HIS CURRENT STRATEGY IS TO MAINTAIN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PRESSURE ON THE GOC UNTIL IT ACCEDES TO HIS REQUEST TO BE ALLOWED TO RETURN.
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PAGE 03 CARACA 10885 201328Z

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For the Durkee 11-23-81

7C063 PPINS

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November 23, 1981

TO: Mr. Grover

FROM: Peter D. Whitney

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

SUBJECT: Terrorist Activity

Per your request this morning that I put this message in writing, here it is.

A close friend in the business community told me on Sunday that his security people said that they had heard that those responsible for the attempted assassinations of prominent GOC officials had received instructions to make an attempt on a head of a multinational corporation or on a diplomat. The same source said that his security people were led to believe that the orders for the previous, and possible future, terrorists activities come from outside Chile, and some specifically come from East Germany. In response to my friend's question about what we knew in the Embassy, I responded that we had understood that a few months ago terrorist groups had decided or had been instructed to make assassination attempts only on prominent GOC officials.

I am not in a position to evaluate the probable accuracy of the report from my friend but I can say that he does not have an alarmist-type personality and has been exposed to terrorist threats in at least one country in which the terrorist threat was probably greater than at present in Chile.

I delivered this message personally to Ambassador Landau yesterday.

cc: AMMIN - Mr. McCunnigle
POL - Mr. Lawler
POL - Mr. Durkee
DAO - Captain Taylor

ECON:PDWhitney:pkm

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23 Nov 81

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Case Number: s199900006

~~Page: 1~~

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06849 01 OF 06 231321Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	CIAE-00	EB-08
	DODE-00	IO-15	NSAE-00	COME-00	LAB-04	TRSE-00	ITC-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1753
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 6 SANTIAGO 6849

DEPT ALSO FOR ARA LABOR ADVISOR POVENMIRE AND S/IL

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/17/87 (CRAVEN, R.L.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, ECRP, CI
SUBJECT: CERP 0005 - ANNUAL LABOR REPORT

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THIS REPORT PROVIDES INFORMATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SO-CALLED LABOR PLAN, NEW FEATURES THAT HAVE BEEN ADDED TO IT DURING THE LAST YEAR, ITS RESULTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S POINT OF VIEW, AND ITS EFFECTS ON CHILE'S TRADITIONAL UNIONS (WITH EMPHASIS ON PUBLIC SECTOR, CAMPESINO AND PORT WORKER UNIONS, PLUS NATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS). ALSO DISCUSSED ARE TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE, ESPECIALLY THE REDUCTION IN SIZE AND IMPORTANCE OF ORGANIZED LABOR, THE POLARIZATION OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO THE MAINTAINANCE OF A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SECTOR IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, A SHORT, MORE TECHNICAL
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 06849 01 OF 06 231321Z

LOOK AT THE LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT/UNEMPLOYMENT IS ALSO INCLUDED. END SUMMARY:

I. BACKGROUND
A. DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOR PLAN
REACTING IN LATE 1978 EARLY 1979 TO A THREAT BY THE ORIT

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AND THE AFL-CIO TO BOYCOTT CHILEAN VESSELS AND GOODS DURING THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF THE EXPORT OF THE AGRICULTURAL HARVEST, THE GOC PROMOSED TO COME UP WITH A LAW THAT WOULD REINSTATE WITHIN SIX MONTHS A NUMBER OF TRADITIONAL TRADE UNION FREEDOMS SUCH AS, INTER ALIA, THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN CHILE (ALMOST ALL TRADE UNION ACTIVITY HAD BEEN MADE ILLEGAL BY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT SHORTLY AFTER THE SEPTEMBER 1973 COUP. AND, IN JULY, 1979, A SERIES OF DECREE LAWS WAS PROMULGATED CALLED THE LABOR PLAN (LP). THESE DECREE LAWS AND SUBSEQUENT MODIFICATIONS AND ADDITIONS, ALONG WITH A 1978 LAW REVISING THE MANDATORY INDIVIDUAL LABOR CONTRACT, FORMED THE BASIS FOR A NEW LABOR CODE COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FROM ANYTHING THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY EXISTED IN CHILE SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ORIGINAL LABOR CODE IN 1924, THE FIRST IN LATIN AMERICA.

THE GOC'S PUBLICLY STATED DOMESTIC PURPOSE FOR THE LP WAS TWO-FOLD: TO "DEPOLITICIZE" THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, CREATING A "NEW TYPE" OF CHILEAN UNION AND CHILEAN WORKER; AND TO PARTIALLY REINSTATE TRADITIONAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES, BUT NOT TO THE EXTENT THAT A RENEWAL OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING MIGHT JEOPARDIZE THE GOC'S PREVAILING FREE MARKET ECONOMIC POLICIES. AT THE SAME TIME, OF COURSE, THE NEW LABOR LAWS HAD TO DEFUSE THE ABOVE MENTIONED BOYCOTT THREAT.

THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS OF THE LP INCLUDED: PLACING A FLOOR ON WAGES AND BENEFITS TO BE NEGOTIATED AT THE EXISTING LEVEL PLUS ANY INCREASE IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX SINCE THE LAST ADJUSTMENT; ALLOWING MANAGEMENT TO CHANGE THE WAGE-BENEFIT MIX AS LONG AS THE TOTAL PACKAGE WAS NOT REDUCED (A PARTICULAR

BENEFIT, SUCH AS FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR A MEDICAL CLINIC, COULD BE REDUCED OR ELIMINATED AS LONG AS ITS NOMINAL VALUE WAS STIPULATED AND MADE UP SOMEWHERE ELSE IN THE CONTRACT); LIMITING COLLECTIVE BARGAINING TO THE PLANT OR INDIVIDUAL WORKER LEVEL, WHILE EXPLICITLY PROHIBITING FROM PARTICIPATING DIRECTLY IN BARGAINING THE NATIONAL FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS; NARROWING CONSIDERABLY THE SCOPE OF WHAT COULD BE LEGALLY BARGAINED; LIMITING A STRIKE TO 60 DAYS, AFTER WHICH TIME ALL STRIKING WORKERS ARE CONSIDERED TO HAVE VOLUNTARILY RESIGNED THEIR JOBS; PERMITTING, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN CHILE, MANAGEMENT TO HIRE "STRIKE BREAKERS"; PROHIBITING TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS, DESPITE AN ALMOST SIMULTANEOUS CHILEAN VOTE AT THE ILO (1979) RECOGNIZING THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES TO FORM UNIONS; AND PROHIBITING THE CLOSED OR UNION SHIP WHILE PERMITTING THE FORMATION OF MULTIPLE UNION ORGANIZATIONS (OR NO UNIONS)AT ALL LEVELS.

B. NEW FEATURES OF THE LP IN 1980-1981

MARITIME SECTOR TRADE UNIONS WERE INITIALLY EXEMPTED

FROM INCLUSION IN THE LP. ACCORDING TO A SURPRISINGLY FRANK ADMISSION TO LABATT BY A RANKING LABOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL, THE REASONS FOR THIS WERE THAT THE SECTOR IS TECHNICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE REST, AND THAT THE GOC WAS AFRAID OF THE POWER AND INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS OF THE SECTOR'S OPPOSITION UNION LEADERS.

LAW 18011 OF JUNE 1981 INCORPORATED SHIP'S CREW AND OFFICERS INTO THE LP. THE NEW LAW REMOVED THE SEAMAN'S OR OFFICER'S CARD AS A REQUIREMENT FOR EMPLOYMENT ON BOARD A SHIP AND GAVE ALMOST TOTAL FREEDOM TO SHIPPING COMPANIES, TO USE NON-CHILEAN CREWS AND OFFICERS (EVEN ON CHILEAN FLAG VESSELS) AND TO USE FLAGS OF CONVENIENCE.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06849 02 OF 06 231338Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	IO-15	NSAE-00	COME-00	LAB-04	TRSE-00
	ITC-01	OPIC-07	CEA-01	SIL-01	HHS-04	FRB-03	AGR-01
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R 231000Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1754
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 6 SANTIAGO 6849

NOT SURPRISINGLY, THERE HAVE BEEN A FEW INSTANCES OF COMAPNIES CUTTING DOWN ON THE USE OF LOCAL FLAG VESSELS, AND IMPORTING INDIAN AND PHILLIPPINE NATIONALS AS CREW.

LAW 18032 OF SEPTEMBER 1981 INCORPORATED THE REST OF THE SECTOR, I.E., THOSE WHO WORK IN ANY OF THE SEVERAL UNIONS INVOLVED IN THE VARIOUS FACETS OF WORK ON THE DOCKS. IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE, HOWEVER, THE GOC EFFECTIVELY DESTROYED THE EXISTING UNION ORGANIZATIONS AND IN SO DOING UNDERMINED SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND OUTSPOKEN OPPOSITION UNION LEADERS IN THE SECTOR. ALL COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS WERE VOIDED EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY; UNION CARDS (MTRICULA) ARE NO LONGER VALID OR MANDATORY FOR DOCK WORK AND ARE REPLACED BY A "PERMIT" TO WORK IN THE PORT, AVAILABLE TO ANYBODY WITHOUT A PHYSICAL HANDICAP OR CRIMINAL RECORD; AND THE UNION "HIRING HALL" CONCEPT WILL BE

REPLACED BY CONTRACT SHIP HANDLING COMPANIES OR BY INDIVIDUAL WORKER CONTRACTS WITH SHIPPING COMPANIES, WHICH, BY LAW, CAN HAVE A DURATION OF NOW MORE THAN 20 DAYS. THUS, ALMOST ALL WHO WANT TO ARE NOW ELIGIBLE TO WORK IN THE PORTS, NOT JUST UNION MEMBERS; THEY WILL ALSO WORK FOR WHATEVER ARRANGEMENT THE WORKER
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06849 02 OF 06 231338Z

AND MANAGEMENT CAN AGREE ON, IN REALITY, WHAT MANAGEMENT WILL GIVM. MANAGEMENT, ON THE OTHER HAND, NO LONGER HAS TO ABIDE BY THE RELATIVELY HIGHWAGES AND RESTRICTIVE CONDITIONS OF THE PREVIOUS COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS (COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL FREEDOM THEY ARE NOW GIVEN), AND HAS TOTAL AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE THE SIZE OF THE WORK CREWS IT HIRES AND THE NUMBER OF SHIFTS WORKED. IN ADDITION, THE NEW SYSTEM WILL ELIMINATE A NOTORIOUS ABUSE OF THE PREVIOUS SYSTEM, WHEREIN THE HOLDER OF THE "MATRICULA" COULD, IN EFFECT, RENT OUT HIS MATRICULA FOR A FEW (USUALLY TO FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS OR RELATIVES), THUS EARNING A REASONABLE AMOUNT OF MONEY WITHOUT LIFTING A FINGER IF HE DID NOT WANT TO (THE MATRICULA WAS VALID FOR THE BEARER, NOT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL NAMED ON IT, WHICH MADE IT ALL POSSIBLE).

ANOTHER LAW (LAW 18018 OF JULY 1981,) WHICH BECAME PART OF THE LP RECENTLY, REVISED AND MADE UNIFORM DOZENS OF SPECIAL BENEFITS AND CONDITIONS WHICH HAD EXISTED FOR DIFFERENT GROUPS, SOME OF WHICH HAD EXISTED FOR DECADES. WHILE THIS LAW GENERALLY DEALT WITH THINGS SUCH AS EXTRA VACATION FOR CERTAIN DIFFICULT OCCUPATIONS OR FOR PERSONS WORKING IN REMOTE AREAS OF CHILE, SOME PROVISIONS OF IT WARRANT SPECIFIC MENTION. ONE IS THE REMOVAL OF THE "LEGAL TIP" OF 10 PERCENT OF THE BILL IN ANY ESTABLISHMENT THAT SERVED FOOD AND DRINK. PREVIOUSLY, MOST OF THE SALARIES OF WAITERS AND WAITRESSES CAME FROM THIS 10 PERCENT, WHILE RESTAURANT OWNERS PAID PRACTICALLY NOTHING FROM THEIR OWN POCKETS. THE GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVE IS TO REQUIRE THAT INDIVIDUAL CONTRACTS BETWEEN THE WORKERS IN THESE ESTABLISHMENTS AND THE OWNERS BE NEGOTIATED, BUT ON A BASIS THAT LEGALLY INCLUDES THE FORMER 10 PERCENT TIP. EXTRAS IN THE FORM OF TIPS WILL DEPEND UPON VOLUNTARY COMPENSATION FOR SERVICE, WHICH WILL REQUIRE CHANGES IN THE CUSTOMARY PRACTICE IN CHILE. A SECOND PROVISION OF INTEREST DEALS WITH LARGE LAYOFFS OF EMPLOYEES, EITHER AS A RESULT OF A REDUCTION IN PERSONNEL OR
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06849 02 OF 06 231338Z

THE CLOSING OF THE FIRM. PREVIOUSLY, LAYING OFF MORE THAN NINE EMPLOYEES IN ANY MONTH REQUIRED AN INVESTIGATION AND APPROVAL BY THE MINISTRY OF LABOR. NOW, EMPLOYEES CAN BE LAID OFF IN ANY NUMBER BY THE EMPLOYER WITHOUT HAVING TO RESORT

TO PERMISSION FROM THE LABOR MINISTRY. AS WAS TO BE EXPECTED, EMPLOYERS WHO WERE THINKING OF LAYOFFS HAVE BEEN QUICK TO PICK UP ON THIS AND THE PRESS GENERALLY REPORTS LAYOFFS ALMOST DAILY. RECENT TRIPS BY THE LABOR ATTACHE THROUGHOUT CHILE SEEM TO INDICATE THAT LAYOFFS ARE UBIQUITOUS AND NOT CONFINED TO ANY ONE SECTOR. AS MANY, IF NOT MORE, CAMPESINO WORKERS HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THIS PROVISION THAN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. ONE OTHER PROVISION OF LAW 18018 WAS TO REMOVE WORKERS OVER 65 AND UNDER 21 FROM COVERAGE UNDER THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW, WHICH ITSELF MAY IDSSAPPEAR IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE. THE IDEA WAS TO BOOST EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THESE SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION AND TO LOWER THE EMPLOYERS' LABOR COSTS. TO DATE, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE NOTICEABLE EFFECT, BUT ONE RESULT IN THE RURAL SOUTHERN PART OF CHILE, THE COUNTRY'S BREADBASKET, HS BEEN THE LAYING OFF OF MATURE FARM WORKERS AND THE HIRING OF EXPERIENCED TEENAGERS IN THEIR PLACE.

WHILE NOT TECHNICALLY PART OF THE LP, ANOTHER RECENT LAW WHICH AFFECTED ALL WORKERS WAS THE MARCH 10, 1981, DECREE LAW WHICH DISSOLVED CHILE'S LABOR COURTS. THESE SPECIAL TRIBUNALS DEALING ONLY WITH LABOR MATTERS WERE HIGHLY ESTEEMED BY WORKERS AS IT WAS FELT THAT THEY WERE GENERALLLY SYMPATHETIC TO THEM. THE LAW CREATED SEVERAL NEW CIVIL COURTS TO REPLACE THE LABOR COURTS AND SPECIFIED THAT ALL LABOR MATTERS WHICH COME BEFORE THE COURTS WILL BE HANDLED BY CIVIL COURTS WITH CIVIL JUDGES. SOME LABOR COURT JUDGES PASSED OVER INTO THE NEW SYSTEM AS CIVIL JUDGES, BUT SEVERAL OTHERS RESIGNED OR RETIRED BECAUSE THEY DID NOT MEET THE QUALIFICATIONS FOR A CIVIL JUDGE. ORGANIZED LABOR STRONGLYICIZED THE MOVE, LCAINING

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06849 03 OF 06 231324Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	IO-15	NSAE-00	COME-00	LAB-04	TRSE-00
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R 231000Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1755
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 3 OF 6 SANTIAGO 06849

THAT THEY WOULD LOSE WHATEVER DEGREE OF PROTECTION THE OLD LABOR COURST HAD GIVEN THEM, THAT THE CIVIL COURTS WERE HOPELESSLY BACKLOGGED SO THAT DECISIONS THAT WERE NEEDED IN DAYS (AN INTERPRETATION OF A POINT OF LAW DURING A COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATION, FOR EXAMPLE) WOULD NOW TAKE SEVERAL MONTHS, AND THAT MOST OF THE JUDGES WHO WOULD NOW HANDLE LABOR MATTERS HAD NO TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE WHATEVER IN LABOR LAW. PARALLEL TO THE ELIMINATION OF THE LABOR COURTS, THE GOC, AS PART OF ITS REDUCTION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S SIZE AND ITS DESIRE TO REDUCE ITS ROLE IN CHILEAN LIFE, REDUCED TO A SMALL FRACTION OF ITS FORMER SIZE THE STAFF OF THE DIRECTORATE OF LABOR IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOR, WHICH HAS GENERAL OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITIES INCLUDING (PREVIOUSLY) PROVIDING QUICK INTERPRETATIONS OF LAWS, REGULATIONS AND CONTRACT PROVISIONS. IT HAS THUS BECOME IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO ANSWER ALL THE REQUESTS FOR THEIR SERVICES WHICH, IN TURN, HAS LED UNIONS TO DESIST FROM MAKING FORMAL COMPLAINTS OR PRESSING CHARGES AGAINST
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06849 03 OF 06 231324Z

A COMPANY FOR ALLEGED ABUSES, SINCE THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE NOW IS THE LENGTHY AND COSTLY PROCEDURE OF GOING TO COURT.

THE GOC, CONSCIOUS OF THE SENSITIVITY OF EXECUTIVE DECISIONS AFFECTING THE JUDICIARY, PROMULGATED THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE LABOR COURTS ON MARCH 10, 1981, THE DAY BEFORE THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION APPROVED IN A NATIONWIDE VOTE ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1980. ACCORDING TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION, BEGINNING MARCH 11, 1981, ANY PROPOSED REFORM TO THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM REQUIRES THE PRIOR APPROVAL OF THE SUPREME COURT, SOMETHING WHICH MAY NOT HAVE HAPPENED WITHOUT LONG AND PROTRACTED BARGAINING. THUS, A DECREE LAW ON THE LAST DAY THAT THE MILITARY JUNTA COULD DIRECTLY RE-ORGANIZE THE JUDICIAL BRANCH.

II. CURRENT SITUATION

A. RESULTS OF THE LP FOR THE GOC

FROM ANY POINT OF VIEW, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LP HAS BEEN A SUCCESS FOR THE GOC. THE LP'S PARTIAL REINSTATEMENT OF TRADITIONAL LABOR FREEDOMS NOT ONLY AVERTED THE BOYCOTT THREAT, BUT ALSO PUTS LABOR PRACTICES IN LINE WITH THE GOC'S BASIC ECONOMIC POLICIES. MEANINGFUL PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, OTHER THAN IN A GENERAL ANTI-GOC VEIN, HAS ALMOST DISAPPEARED FROM THE UNION MOVEMENT. MOST UNIONS AND THEIR LEADERS ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES, SUCH AS AVOIDING THE REDUCTION OR ELIMINATION OF SPECIFIC BENEFITS THAT THEY MAY NOT WANT TO SACRIFICE IN RETURN FOR

INCREASED COMPENSATION, AS THE LP PROVIDES. THEY ARE ALSO MORE CONCERNED WITH MAINTAINING THE EXISTENCE OF THE UNION ORGANIZATION IN THE FACE OF THE BEGINNING OF AN ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN, RISING UNEMPLOYMENT, AND MANAGEMENT'S UNPRECEDENTED (FOR CHILE) ABILITY TO LAY OFF WORKERS
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06849 03 OF 06 231324Z

AS IT CHOOSES WITHOUT THE NEED TO SHOW CAUSE.

THE GOC HAS ALSO BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN DRASTICALLY REDUCING THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZED LABOR, ESPECIALLY IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR. ALMOST THE ONLY AREA WHERE THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT HAD MUCH SUCCESS IS IN THE ELECTION OF LABOR LEADERS PARTISAN TO IT IN THE VARIOUS LARGE AND IMPORTANT UNION ORGANIZATIONS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A FEW WHO HAVE OBTAINED MINORITY POSITIONS. ALL OF THE LARGE INDUSTRIAL UNION ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE HAD ELECTIONS SINCE JULY 1979 EITHER ARE COMPLETELY CONTROLLED BY LEADERS IN OPPOSITION TO THE GOC OR HAVE AN OPPOSITION CONTROLLING MAJORITY. THE ONLY EXCEPTIONS TO THIS ARE THE COPPER WORKERS CONFEDERATION, WHOSE LEADERS PRESENTLY ARE APPOINTED BY THE GOC, BUT WHO APPARENTLY WILL FINALLY HAVE ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER; AND THE EL TENIENTE COPPER MINE WHERE THE RANK AND FILE IS STRONGLY ANTI-GOC, BUT WHERE THE LEADERSHIP IS A MIXED BAG OF BOTH PRO- AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT TYPES. IN THIS LATTER CASE, THE MARXIST LEFT, WHICH HAS HISTORICALLY HAD A MAJORITY AMONGST EL TENIENTE'S RANK AND FILE, DECIDED TO ELECT SEVERAL PRO-GOVERNMENT LEADERS, ESPECIALLY IN THE MINERS UNION AT SEWELL Y MINA, TO TAKE THE HEAT FOR WHAT WOULD PROBABLY BE DIFFICULT COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATION SOON AFTER THE ELECTIONS. THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT HAPPENED AS THE UNIONS COULD GET NOTHING NEAR WHAT THEY WANTED, WENT ON STRIKE DESPITE THE BEST EFFORTS OF THE PRO-GOVERNMENT LEADERS TO GET ACCEPTANCE OF MANAGEMENT'S OFFER, AND AFTER ALMOST 2 MONTHS, LOST THE STRIKE, RETURNING TO WORK UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF MANAGEMENT'S LAST PRE-STRIKE OFFER. IN THE CASE OF THE COPPER WORKERS CONFEDERATION, THE EXISTING PRO-GOVERNMENT DIRECTORATE, KNOWING IT HAS NO CHANCE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS, HAS ALREADY ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL NOT RUN FOR ELECTION.

IN SUM, ECONOMICALLY THE LP HAS CAUSED NARY A RIPPLE; POLITICALLY, A THREAT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION ACTION AGAINST CHILE WAS AVERTED AND SHOWS NO
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 06849 03 OF 06 231324Z

SIGNS OF RAISING ITS HEAD IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, AND

LEADING TRADE UNIONISTS HAVE HAD THEIR INFLUENCE REDUCED OR ELIMINATED BY DIRECT OR INDIRECT GOVERNMENT ACTION.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06849 04 OF 06 231415Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	IO-15	NSAE-00	COME-00	LAB-04	TRSE-00
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R 231000Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1756
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 4 OF 6 SANTIAGO 6849

II. B. RESULTS OF THE LP FOR ORGANIZED LABOR
1. NATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS

WHILE THE GOC CAN CLAIM THAT, THE LP IS A SUCCESS, ALL OF ORGANIZED LABOR, ALBEIT SOME LESS VEHEMENTLY THAN OTHERS, VIEWS THE LP AS HOSTILE TO IT. TIS IS NOT SURPRISING SINCE THE LP REPRESENTS A CHANGE FROM PAST LABOR LAW AND PRACTICE IN CHILE. PREVIOUSLY, THE MOST POWERFUL LABOR ORGANIZATION WAS THE NATIONAL LABOR CENTRAL, CUT; MULTI-SECTORAL LABOR CENTRALS OF ANY KIND ARE NOW SPECIFICALLY OUTLAWED. PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS AND THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SECTOR CENTRAL (ANEF), USED TO BE AMONG THE LARGEST AND MOST POWERFUL IN CHILE; NOW, FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THEY ONLY HAVE A SHADOW EXISTENCE--THEY EXIST LEGALLY AS ASSOCIATIONS BUT CANNOT INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN ANY OF THE TRADITIONAL TYPES OF UNION ACTIVITIES. IN ADDITION, PUBLIC SECTOR UNION LEADERS IN OPPOSITION TO THE GOC HAVE ALMOST ALL LOST THEIR JOBS, USUALLY UNDER THE REAL OR IMAGINARY GUISE OF DEPARTMENTAL RESTRUCTURING.

IN MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL SECTORS, BARGAINING TRADITIONALLY TOOK PLACE ON A REGIONAL AND/OR NATIONAL BASIS WITH THE BULK
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06849 04 OF 06 231415Z

OF THE BARGAINING DONE BY THE NATIONAL FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS. NOW, BARGAINING BEYOND THE PLANT LEVEL AND BARGAINING BY FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS IS EXPLICITLY PROHOBITED. HOWEVER, IN MANY NEGOTIATIONS THE FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS HAVE PROVIDED ASSISTANCE AND CONSULTATION TO INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING UNITS. DESPITE THIS, THE LP HAS RENDERED MOST NATIONAL LEVEL UNION ORGANIZATIONS RELATIVELY POWERLESS AND LESS ABLE TO ASSIST AFFILIATES OR TO EXERCISE ANY KIND OF INFLUENCE ON LABOR PROBLEMS AND POLICIES. (*-:5, LABOR ORGANIZATIONS HAVE HAD ALMOST NO INPUT WHATEVER IN THE FORMULATION OF THE LP OR IN THE GOC'S ECONOMIC POLICIES AS THEY RELATE TO WORKER ORGANIZATIONS, A FACT THAT EVEN THE MOST DIEHARD GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT HAVE RECOGNIZED AND LAMENTED).

IIB. 2. CAMPESINO ORGANIZATIONS

WITH THE PASSAGE OF THE 1967 LAW ALLOWING THE FORMATION OF FARM WORKERS UNIONS, SOME OF CHILE'S LARGEST AND MOST SUCCESSFUL UNION ORGANIZATIONS WERE THE CAMPESINO UNION CONFEDERATIONS, AT LEAST TWO OF WHICH COULD CLAIM MORE THAN 200,000 MEMBERS EACH. THE LP HAS EFFECTIVELY ELIMINATED THE CAMPESINO UNION MOVEMENT BY ESTABLISHING LEGAL MINIMUMS FOR THE FORMATION OF A UNION ON A FARM (USUALLY EIGHT WORKERS) AND PROHIBITING BARGAINING BEYOND THE INDIVIDUAL FARM LEVEL. SINCE OVER 95 PERCENT OF CHILE'S FARMS HAVE FEWER THAN EIGHT WORKERS, FEW UNIONS AND LITTLE OR NO BARGAINING EXIST. THE FEW REGIONAL CAMPESION ORGANIZATIONS STILL FUNCTIONING TO SOME DEGREE HAVE DESISTED IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE OR TO BARGAIN WITH THE OWNERS OF THE RELATIVELY FEW LARGE FARMS WITH MORE THAN EIGHT WORKERS. THEIR RECENT EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN THAT, IN A NUMBER OF CASES, IF APPROACHED TO BARGAIN, MANAGEMENT ON FARMS WITH EIGHT TO FIFTEEN WORKERS HAVE LAID OFF ENOUGH WORKERS TO BRING THEIR NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES DOWN TO SEVEN; THUS, NO BARGAINING AND MORE EMPLOYMENT. THESE ORGANIZATIONS HAVE THERE-

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06849 04 OF 06 231415Z

FORE ADVISED THEIR REMAINING AFFILIATES NOT TO EVEN ATTEMPT TO BARGAIN, A TACTIC THAT MANY OTHER, NON-CAMPESINO ORGANIZATIONS ARE TURNING TO IN INCREASING NUMBERS.

WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT NO LONGER GIVING SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS TO PRODUCE CROPS, MANY FARMERS IN THE RURAL SOUTH ARE CONVERTING FROM CROP FARMING TO LIVESTOCK RAISING TO MAKE ENDS MEET AS THIS REQUIRES ONLY ABOUT ONE-FOURTH THE MANPOWER NEEDED FOR CROP AGRICULTURE. THIS, COMBINED PRINCIPALLY WITH THE EFFECTS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE PROVISIONS OF LAW 18018 ALLOWING EMPLOYERS TO DISMISS ANY NUMBER OF WORKERS, HAS CONTRIBUTED TO HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THOSE REGIONS, AND HAS LED MANY CAMPESINOS TO MIGRATE TO THE CITIES, SINCE THE MAJORITY OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS LIVE ON THE FARMS ON WHICH THEY WORK, AND IN DWELLINGS PROVIDED BY THE FARM OWNERS. THUS, WHEN THEY

LOSE THEIR JOBS THEY ALSO LOSE THE ROOF OVER THEIR HEADS. THEY THEN AVE NO CHOICE, SINCE THERE IS NO WORK ON OTHER FARMS, BUT TO MOVE TO THE CITIES, STAY WITH FRIENDS OR RELATIVES, AND, IF THEY CANNOT FIND WORK (OFTEN THE CASE), TO WORK ON THE GOC'S MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (PEM), IF THEY CAN (THE PEM PAYS ABOUT $US 40 PER WEEK, A BIT LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE MINIMUM WAGE). THE ATTITUDE OF GOC ECONOMIC AUTHORITIES, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS THAT THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IS GOING THROUGH A NECESSARY STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT THAT WILL REQUIRE ADDITIONAL REDUCTIONS IN THE POPULATION DEDICATED TO TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE.

II. B. 3. PORT WORKER UNIONS

AS MENTIONED EARLIER, THE TRADITIONAL PORT WORKER UNIONS, ALWAYS RELATIVELY STRONG AND OFTEN IN OPPOSITION TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, HAVE EFFECTIVELY CEASED TO EXIST WITH THE PUBLICATION OF LAW 18032. THUS, THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT TRADE UNION SECTOR IN CHILE AFTER THE COPPER WORKERS, AS PREVIOUSLY CONSTITUTED, WILL NO LONGER POSE A THREAT TO EITHER THE GOC OF CHILE'S RAPIDLY INCREASING FOREIGN TRADE, IMPORTANT IN A COUNTRY WHICH IS PRACTICALLY A FREE MARKET FOR IMPORTS AND WHICH STRONGLY PUSHES ITS EXPORTS, ESPECIALLY NON-TRADITIONAL

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 06849 04 OF 06 231415Z

AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS (THESE TEND TO BE PERISHABLE AND THEREFORE SUBJECT TO PRESSURE ON THE PART OF UNIONS WHO MAY DECIDE TO STRIKE

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06849 05 OF 06 231500Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	IO-15	NSAE-00	COME-00	LAB-04	TRSE-00
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R 231000Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1757
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 06 SANTIAGO 6849

DURING THE HARVEST EXPORT SEASON.)
IN SUM, FROM THE TRADE UNION POINT OF VIEW, THE LP HAS BEEN A GIANT STEP BACKWARDS WITH UNIONS INCREASINGLY STRUGGLING TO MAINTAIN WHAT THEY HAVE, RATHER THAN TRYING TO IMPROVE ON THAT BASE. SOME SECTORS HAVE DISAPPEARED ALTOGETHER, IN EFFECT, SUCH AS THE CAMPESINOS, THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR (VERY FEW STORES HAVE MORE THAN EIGHT EMPLOYEES), AND THE TRADITIONAL MARITIME UNIONS (WHICH ARE BEING REPLACED IN APRT BY UNIONS OF SOME OF THE TO-BE-CREATED, LARGER SHIP HANDLING COMPANIES, BUT ALMOST CERTAINLY WITHOUT THE INFLUENCE OR EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PREVIOUS UNIONS).

III. TRENDS, IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE
A. REDUCTIONS IN SIZE AND ROLE OF ORGANIZED LABOR
WITH A DECLINE IN THE INFLUENCE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, COUPLED WITH ITS RELATIVE INABILITY TO MAINTAIN WHAT IT HAD BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN OVER THE YEARS IN THE WAY OF BENEFITS, THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THERE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06849 05 OF 06 231500Z

HAS BEEN AND PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A DECLINE IN THE PERCENTAGE OF THE WORKFORCE THAT IS ORGANIZED (ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE VAST NUMBERS OF COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS WHO WERE ONCE UNIONIZED AND ARE NOW, FOR THE MOST PART, UNABLE TO FORM UNIONS). SINCE THIS DIRECTLY IMPLIES INDIVIDUAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH EMPLOYERS, IT ALSO MEANS THAT CHILEAN UNIONIZED WORKERS WILL NOT BE GETTING AS MUCH IN THE WAY OF WAGES AND BENEFITS AS THEY MIGHT UNDER THE PRE-LP LABOR CODE AND SYSTEM OF LABOR RELATIONS. THIS, THE GOC ARGUES, MUST BE BALANCED WITH THE PROSPECT OF HIGHER DEMAND FOR LABOR IN A MORE FLEXIBLE MARKET, WHICH IS ONE OF THE ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES OF THE LP.

III. B. POLARIZATION OF THE LABOR MOVEMENTS
ONE OF THE MAJOR EFFECTS OF THE LP HAS BEEN TO POLARIZE INCREASINGLY THE LABOR MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE VERY SMALL PRO-GOVERNMENT SECTOR ON THE RIGHT AND AN INCREASINGLY LEFTIST ORIENTED OPPOSITION. THE ORIGINAL, RELATIVELY MODERATE NON-MARXIST CENTER OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT (AND STILL THE LARGEST SEGMENT OF IT) HAS BEEN REPRESENTED BY THE UNION DEMOCRATICA DE TRABAJADORES (UDT), DOMINATED BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS BUT ALSO WITH A FEW INFLUENTIAL AND MODERATE RADICAL PARTY PUBLIC SECTOR UNION LEADERS. CAUGHT BETWEEN THE ACTIVE HOSTILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT ON ONE HAND (ALL OF THE

MAJOR UDT LEADERS HAVE NOW LOST THEIR JOBS THROUGH DIRECT OR INDIRECT GOC ACTION) AND THE MARXIST DOMINATED COORDINADORA NACIONAL SINDICAL (CNS) ON THE OTHER, THE UDT HAS BEEN FORCED GRADUALLY TO WORK CLOSER WITH THE CNS BECAUSE OF LACK OF FUNDS. THE ORIT AND THE AFL-CIO, LONG-TIME SUPPORTERS OF THE UDT, HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO PROVIDE SUFFICIENT ASSISTANCE TO MAINTAIN
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06849 05 OF 06 231500Z

A VIABLE UDT ON A NATIONAL LEVEL, WHILE THE VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND SEVERAL OF THE EUROPEAN FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NOT TIED TO THE INCLUSION OF THE COMMUNISTS AND OTHER LEFTISTS. THIS HAS CAUSED A GRADUAL DIMINUTION OF UDT ACTIVITIES AND THE WOOING AND OUTRIGHT PIRATING OF UDT SYMPATHIZERS BY THE CNS. THE END RESULT HAS BEEN A GRADUAL MOVE TOWARD ACCOMMODATION WITH THE LEFT IN THE HOPE OF BEING ABLE TO ATTRACT SOME OF ITS LIQUIDITY WITHOUT BECOMING DOMINATED BY IT. THIS TENDENCY WILL PROBABLY BE ACCELERATED AS A RESULT OF THE FAILURE OF THE MARITIME SECTOR UNIONS TO RECEIVE ANY OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE IN THEIR ILL-FATED ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT A PORT STOPPAGE AND RESULTING CHANGES IN LAW 18032.

THIS PROBABLE LEFTWARD SHIFT IN TURN, WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY MEAN THAT THE EMBASSY AND AIFLD WILL HAVE LESS AND LESS CONTACT AND INFLUENCE WITH THE UDT, ALTHOUGH CONTACT WILL NEVER BE CUT OFF COMPLETELY BECAUSE OF THE UDT'S FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION. IT COULD BE WORRISOME IN THE LONG RUN WHEN DEMOCRACY RETURNS TO CHILE SINCE THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT HAS ALWAYS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC ROLE IN CHILE, MORE SO THAN IN MOST COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA.

UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THIS MIGHT HAPPEN, HOWEVER, THE OUTLOOK IS CLOUDED FOR CHILE'S TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. IN FACT, THE GOC'S POLICIES TOWARD THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT MAY LEAD TO THE VERY THING OVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE OFTEN SAID THEY ARE TRYING TO PREVENT WITH THOSE SAME POLICIES -- A POLARIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS, LEADING TO INCREASING POLITICIZATION AND A CORRESPONDING RISE IN THE INFLUENCE OF, IF NOT OUTRIGHT DOMINATION BY, MARXIST ELEMENTS, HISTORICALLY (AND STILL) STRONG, ORGANIZED, AND VERY ACTIVE SEMI-CLANDESTINELY TODAY AMONG CHILE'S WORKERS, ESPECIALLY IN THE MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL SECTORS, SUCH AS MINING.
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 06849 05 OF 06 231500Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06849 06 OF 06 231451Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	OIC-02	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	IO-15	NSAE-00	COME-00	LAB-04	TRSE-00
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 06 OF 06 SANTIAGO 6849

III. C. IMPORTANCE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
AN INTERESTING POSSIBILITY WHICH MAY ALTER THE SOMEWHAT BLEAK PICTURE PAINTED ABOVE HAS COME TO OUR ATTENTION. THE KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG IN GERMANY RECENTLY APPEARS TO HAVE DECIDED TO INCREASE SUBSTANTIALLY ITS PRESENCE IN LATIN AMERICA, PARTICULARLY WITHIN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. THERE IS ALSO SOME INDICATION THAT, IN CHILE AT ANY RATE, THEY WILL BYPASS THE CLAT, THE LATIN AMERICAN ARM OF THE SMALL, CHRISTIAN WORLD LABOR CENTRAL. THE CLAT, NOTORIOUSLY LEFTIST AND ANTI-AMERICAN, HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE FUNNEL THROUGH WHICH THE ADENAUER STIFTUNG PROVIDED ASSISTANCE TO WORKER ORGANIZATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA. HOWEVER, THE CLAT AFFILIATE IN CHILE, THE FUT, IS MINISCULE AND PRACTICALLY MORIBUND. THE ADENAUER APPARENTLY WANTS TO DEAL WITH A NON-MARXIST ORGANIZATION OF SOME MEANING AND SEEMS TO BE CONSIDERING THE UDT. WHAT WE UNDERSTAND MAY HAPPEN IS THAT, SIMILAR TO THE RECENT START-UP OF ADENAUER OPERATIONS IN ARGENTINA, A SPECIAL INSTITUTE FOR TRADE UNION STUDIES AND ASSISTANCE MAY BE SET UP IN CHILE IN THE NEAR FUTURE, IN
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06849 06 OF 06 231451Z

CHILE'S PARTICULAR CASE THROUGH THE TRADE UNION WING OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC- THE ADENAUER HAS PROVIDED MOST OF THE MONEY FOR PDC POLITICAL ACTIVITIES FOR SEVERAL YEARS

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THROUGH SIMILAR INSTITUTES). IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE IN THIS REGARD THAT THE TREASURER OF THE UDT IS ALSO THE PRESIDENT OF THE PDC'S TRADE UNION DEPARTMENT AND ONLY LAST MONTH TRAVELED TO GERMANY AS A GUEST OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ON A GRANT SIMILAR TO THE DEPARTMENT'S IV GRANTS.

IF SUCH ASSISTANCE, SUPPLEMENTED BY THE USEFUL BUT MUCH MORE MODEST ASSISTANCE FROM AIFLD, DOES IN FACT MATERIALIZE IN CHILE, IT COULD HAVE IMPORTANT LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LARGE MODERATE CENTER OF CHILE'S TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, PRESUMING OF COURSE THAT UDT MODERATES CAN MANAGE TO INFLUENCE THE PROPOSED INSTITUTE. IT PERHAPS WOULD ALLOW THEM TO FORTIFY THEMSELVES ON A NATIONAL LEVE); TO KEEP ACTIVE THE EXPERIENCED LEADERSHIP, CURRENTLY IN DANGER OF LEAVING THE SCENE FOR GOOD; PERMIT THEM TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES IN THE PROVINCES; TO DEVELOP AND TRAIN NEW, YOUNGER LEADERS FOR THE FUTRE; AND , WITH A FUTURE RETURN OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, ALLOW FOR A REASONABLE AND RELATIVELY ATTRACTIVE ALTERNATIVE FOR CHILE'S WORKERS TO THE MORE POLITICIZED MARXIST ALTERNATIVE OF CLASS STRUGGLE, ALL DEFINITELY POSITIVE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF U S NATIONAL INTERESTS.

IV. LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

AS IN MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON THE WORK FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN CHILE IS RELATIVELY SCARCE AND QUESTIONS ARISE AS TO THEIR ACCURACY. THERE ARE TWO SOURCES OF THESE STATISTICS IN CHILE, THE GOC'S NATIONAL STATISTICS INSTITUTE (INE) AND SURVEYS CONDUCTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE (UC) FOR THE CENTRAL BANK. STATISTICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO ASIDE, THEY REFLECT REASONABLY WELL THE GENERAL TRENDS IN CHILE'S UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, IF NOT THE

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06849 06 OF 06 231451Z

EXACT DEGREE.

THE UC STUDY IS THE ONLY ONE THAT HAS RELEASED RECENT FIGURES AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL; BOTH DO DETAILED SURVEYS OF THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN AREA WHICH CONTAINS MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE COUNTRY'S POPULATION AND WORK FORCE. THE UC'S LATEST NATIONAL LOOK AT THE WORK FORCE (MARCH 1981) SHOWS A WORK FORCE (THOSE OVER THE AGE OF 14 WHO WANT TO WORK) OF 3,815,400 PERSONS OF WHOM 420,400 ARE UNEMPLOYED, OR 11 PERCENT. UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGHEST IN THE AGRICULTURAL (13.1 PERCENT), INDUSTRIAL (21.5), CONSTRUCTION (15.5), COMMERCIAL (12.7) AND PERSONAL SERVICES (13.1) SECTORS, AND IS LOWEST IN MINING(2.8), GOVERNMENT (6.2), TRANSPORT-COMMUNICATIONS-PUBLIC UTILITIES (7.5), AND SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES (6.9).

FOR THE GREATER SANTIAGO AREA, THE UC SHOWS AN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (MARCH 1981) OF 11.3 PERCENT. INTERESTINGLY, THE INE STUDIES REPORTED AN 8.3 PERCENT SANTIAGO UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR THE THREE MONTH PERIOD ENDING IN MARCH 1981. NEITHER OF THE TWO

STUDIES TAKE INTO ACCOUNT AS UNEMPLOYED THOSE PERSONS WHO WORK FOR THE PEM AT A FRACTION OF THE MINIMUM WAGE (AS NOTED EARLIER). IF THESE MEMBERS OF THE LABOR FORCE WERE COUNTED AS UNEMPLOYED, THE RATE FOR THE SANTIAGO AREA WOULD BE ABOUT TWO PERCENT HIGHER THAN THAT REPORTED, WHILE THE RATE FOR THE PROVINCES WOULD BE ABOUT FIVE PERCENT HIGHER. INTERESTINGLY, THE UC STUDY SHOWS A SLIGHTLY HIGHER RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT FOR THE SANTIAGO AREA THAN FOR CHILE AS A WHOLE. HOWEVER, AS NOTED IN SANTIAGO 4100, SINCE THE PEM PROGRAM NATIONWIDE IS TWICE THE LEVEL OF THE SANTIAGO PROGRAM, THERE IS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS LOWER THAN SANTIAGO'S. RECENT VISITS TO MOST OF CHILE BY THE LABOR ATTACHE SEEM TO BEAR THIS OUT. THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION WAS THAT ACTIVITY WAS AT A LOW LEVEL IN THE CITIES, AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN THR RURAL AREAS WAS VERY HIGH, CONTRIBUTING TO BOTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE NEARBY CITIES AND THE SIZE OF THE LOCAL PEM.

CHILE'S UNEMPLOYMENT RATE HAS BEEN GRADUALLY DECREASING FROM THE VERY HIGH LEVELS EXPERIENCED AFTER THE 1975

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 06849 06 OF 06 231451Z

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESENT FREE MARKET ECONOMIC POLICIES. BY EARLY 1981, THE RATE WAS STILL SOMEWHAT HIGH BY HISTORICAL STANDARDS, BUT THE LONG, GRADUAL DROP IN THE RATE WAS BEGINNING TO BE AFFECTED BY THE BEGINNINGS OF AN ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06898 242039Z
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1768
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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UNCLAS SANTIAGO 6898

USICA

FOR AR; STATE FOR A/SY/OPS/FO; BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

E.O. 12065: NA

SUBJECT: BNC BOMB THREAT

BNC-SANTIAGO RECEIVED THREE TELEPHONED BOMB THREATS NOV 23.
NO. 1: 11:40 AM ADULT MALE VOICE SAID QUOTE THERE IS A BOMB IN A SHOE BOX IN THE LIBRARY. UNQUOTE. INVESTIGATORS FOUND SMALL BOX CONTAINING ROCKS.
NO. 2: 6:40 PM YOUNG WOMAN'S VOICE. QUOTE. BOMB WILL EXPLODE AT 8:00. UNQUOTE. NOTHING WAS FOUND.
NO. 3: 8:25 PM. ADULT WOMAN'S VOICE. QUOTE A BOMB WILL EXPLODE AT 9:00. THIS THIRD ONE WILL REALLY GO OFF. UNQUOTE. NOTHING FOUND. IN ALL CASES, BNC EVACUATED BUILDINGS AND CONDUCTED SEARCHES UNDER SUPERVISION OF LOCAL POLICE AND EMBASSY SECURITY PERSONNEL. OF SPECIAL INTEREST, ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF A DIRECT RELATIONSHIP, WAS HIGHLY PUBLICIZED PRESENCE IN SANTIAGO OF EX-SECSTATE HENRY KISSINGER.
FRIEDMANN

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11/24/81

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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November 24, 1981

Dear Mr. Hollenbeck:

Thank you for your letter of November 3 which transmitted a letter from [redacted] condemning U.S. support for the Government of Chile. [redacted] apparently bases his objections to current U.S. policy toward Chile on a lecture given by Isabel Letelier, widow of Orlando Letelier, at his college.

The U.S. Government places a high priority on human rights observance by the governments of all nations throughout the world. Our ability to promote this observance depends in large measure on our ability to influence particular governments through our bilateral relations. In the case of Chile, as the enclosed copy of the Department's 1980 report on human rights in Chile will show, the situation has improved significantly. Economic conditions have also improved markedly since 1976, and this may be one of the factors contributing to the substantial internal support that the military government maintains.

I hope the above information will be of use to [redacted]

Sincerely,

Richard Fairbanks
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosures:
1. Correspondence returned.
2. Human rights report.

The Honorable
Harold C. Cap Hollenbeck,
House of Representatives.

Clearances:ARA/SC:REService
ARA/RPP:PLasbury
HA:RJorgenson
H:SBartlett
H:CWilliams

Drafted:ARA/SC/CH:MNudell:ms
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Case Number: s199900006
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PAGE 01 STATE 313148
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APPROVED BY HA:SPALMER
ARA - D. KEMP
HA - P. SARRO

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E.O. 12065 N/A

TAGS: SHUM, CI PINS, PINT
SUBJECT: STATUS OF CASE OF CHILEAN PRISONER JOSE MIGUEL BENADO MEDVINSKY

1. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED FROM AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE REQUEST FOR STATUS REPORT ON SUBJECT AND EMBASSY INTERVENTION TO OBTAIN HIS FREEDOM OR EXPULSION FROM CHILE. ACCORDING TO INQUIRY, BENADO IS CHARGED WITH MILITARY SEDITION, ILLEGAL POSSESSION OF ARMS, AND ENTERING COUNTRY ILLEGALLY IN 1978 AFTER EXILE IN SWEDEN. COURT DECISION APPEARS IMMINENT.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY UPDATE OF CASE. HAIG

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11/25/81

For November 30 Luncheon MTG

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

BUREAU OF HUMAN RIGHTS
AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

November 25, 1981

Update Recent Human Rights Country Report

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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MEMORANDUM

TO: HA - Elliott Abrams, Designate

THROUGH: HA - Steve Palmer, Acting

FROM: HA/HR - Ray Jorgenson

SUBJECT: Your Meetings with Ambassador Designate Theberge (11:45 a.m., November 27), and Chilean Minister-Counselor de Costa Nora (lunch, November 30)

Chile continues to present us problems on human rights questions. Since January 20, we have taken steps to return our relations to a more constructive basis, including: the lifting of the ban on Ex-Im Bank financing; inviting Chile to participate in the UNITAS exercise this year; voting against continuation of a Special Rapporteur for Chile in the UNHRC; positive votes for Chile in the MDBs. These actions have had a high cost in terms of perception of our global human rights policies. In return, the GOC has generally supported the U. S. on important world and hemispheric issues. Nevertheless, it is difficult to articulate a credible statement of what specific interests have been served by closer relations. Unlike other Southern Cone countries (notably Uruguay and Argentina) Chile has shown little sensitivity to the Administration's need to be able to identify positive human rights trends. If anything, the GOC's human rights performance over the past year has probably deteriorated, rather than improved. The draft submission for the Annual Human Rights Report (copy attached) is an honest effort at candor. It does pose a problem in that a comparison of this year's report with last year's will belie our public statements about "significant" improvements.

A report of the U. N. Special Rapporteur issued November 18 states that it is not possible to report any improvement in the human rights situation in Chile. "None of the appeals by the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights has been heard, nor is it possible to report the adoption of any measures conducive to restoring the exercise of human rights." The report

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charges that torture continued to be routinely practiced during police interrogations and the report expresses concern "at the presence of professional torturers in the institutional structures of society..."

While the human rights situation is significantly improved over what it was in 1976, the bulk of those improvements occurred through 1979. It is very difficult to point to significant advances during the past two years. Critics of our Chile policy are able to cite government actions or policies that either represent or appear to represent a deterioration in the human rights picture. The fact that some of these measures were prompted by renewed terrorist activities is not persuasive to critics on the Hill. Other incidents, entirely unrelated to terrorism, for example the August expulsion of four political leaders (following Ambassador Kirkpatrick's visit) and the refusal to permit a Christian Democratic leader to return to Chile have been particularly damaging. The increased use of internal exile, without recourse to judicial review, is frequently cited as a major deterioration in the human rights picture.

We presently have at least four separate real or potential issues before the Bureau with respect to Chile.

1. Repeal of Kennedy Amendment

Senate action October 22 to repeal the arms sales/assistance ban on Chile (Kennedy Amendment) was only the first step toward eventual repeal. The final senate vote of 86-0 was misleading. The Kennedy motion to table attracted 30 supporters (30-57). Many of the Senators supporting the Kennedy motion subsequently voted for repeal because they anticipate that the administration will have a difficult case to argue regarding human rights improvements and the issue of aiding or abetting international terrorism. A colloquy between Senators Percy and Kennedy during the floor debate made clear that there will be Senate hearings at such time as a Presidential certification is sent forward.

We do not have a good reading as yet on whether the House will adopt the Senate formula for repeal. There is strong sentiment against such action in the lower body and it is conceivable that the House will take no action on the Kennedy Amendment. If it follows the Senate lead, we also anticipate House hearings on the certification.

In order to strengthen the prospects for successful repeal of the Kennedy Amendment, it is essential to make clear to the GOC that the human rights situation in Chile remains a matter of serious concern in the U. S. Congress and that final repeal, including the certification, will be assisted by and may depend on actions that the GOC takes in the coming weeks and months.

2. Chilean Complaint Against the IAHRC

Chile potentially could question the IAHRC's role while at Saint Lucia. There are others which might resent IAHRC criticisms. So far soundings with the Chileans reveal no inclination to initiate a controversy -- although Chile seems firmly set on its position of non-cooperation with the IAHRC. (Following IAHRC Chairman Tom Farer's February published attack on the Reagan administration, Argentina and Chile, the Chileans had questioned the propriety of Farer's essay, announced that Chile would do no further business with the Commission until it corrected abuses of its mandate, and indicated that Chile would seek a full-fledged debate on this subject at the XI OASGA.)

3. Submission to Congress of Proposed FY-83 Security Assistance for Chile

We have a pending disagreement with ARA and PM over whether to send to Congress in January a proposed Security Assistance Program for Chile. The proposed FY-83 program consists of international military education and training (IMET). In addition, Chile is expected to seek to purchase other training, spare parts and support for U. S. equipment acquired previously, and perhaps limited amounts of new U. S. equipment through FMS cash and/or commercial procedures. We have taken the position that given the present prohibition on security assistance, it is inappropriate, and probably counterproductive to the Administration's effort to repeal the Kennedy Amendment, to inform Congress of our intent to provide assistance.

The Senate voted repeal of the Kennedy Amendment, subject to Presidential certification that there has been significant human rights progress, that it is in the U. S. national interest and that the GOC is not aiding international terrorism. Senators Kennedy and Pell made clear they do not think Chile satisfies these conditions and Percy is committed to holding hearings if a certification goes forward. It is doubtful the House will take action; repeal will then depend on what happens in conference.

Submission of security assistance program at this time could be antagonistic to Congress and imply that we are already prepared to submit the Presidential certification. HA has taken the position that we should not submit a proposal to Congress but reprogram funds if and when we are prepared to make the Presidential certification. The amount requested for Chile is modest, probably about $50,000.

4. Crime Control Equipment

HA has refused to concur in issuance of an export license for the sale of 100 handcuffs to a private importer for resale to private agencies for bank security. This is not a major issue but is fairly representative of some of the daily skirmishes we have with ARA over import licenses.

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The following talking points were prepared for General Walters' use in conversation with Chilean officials but apparently not cleared within ARA. I understand he may have used them in somewhat modified form during his visit to Chile earlier this month.

TALKING POINTS

-- The Administration is pleased by the Senate action to repeal the Kennedy Amendment. We supported and worked toward that outcome.

-- The 86-0 final vote should not be misunderstood; 30 Senators voted to table the repeal legislation; there will be Senate hearings when the Presidential certification goes forward and we expect strong opposition on both human rights and Letelier/Moffitt grounds.

-- We will work for repeal in the House but expect even stronger opposition than was true in the Senate. We expect that there will also be House hearings on the Presidential certification.

-- In our view there has been significant human rights improvements in Chile since 1976 but very little improvement during the past two years. In some respects, the situation is less favorable and the opponents of Kennedy Amendment repeal focus on the most recent period.

-- I am sure your government is fully aware of which policies and actions have attracted the strongest criticism.

-- GOC efforts during the coming weeks and months to offset or overcome the negative image of human rights performance during the past two years will greatly assist and may be critical to repeal of the Kennedy Amendment during this session of Congress.

DRAFTED:HA/HR:RJorgenson:fdg
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PAGE 01 USUN N 04301 01 OF 04 252358Z
ACTION IO-15

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SF, WA, PARM, SHUM, ILC, PDEV, CI
SUBJECT: USUN DAILY UNCLASSIFIED SUMMARY, 11/24/81
TABLE OF CONTENTS

NR

(III) SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE: REFUGEE INITIATIVE AND APARTHEID HEARING.

(A) AM MEETING: FRG REFUGEE INITIATIVE

(B) PM MEETING: CHILEAN EXILE DISRUPTS APARTHEID HEARING

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(A) AM MEETING: FRG REFUGEE INITIATIVE

FRG PERMREP VAN WELL OPENED DEBATE ON ITEM 66, "INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO AVERT NEW FLOWS OF REFUGEES" WITH A STATEMENT NOTING THE SERIOUSNESS AND URGENCY OF THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE PROBLEM AND CALLING FOR SOLUTIONS AT THE UN LEVEL ON A CONSENSUS BASIS.

R.

(B) PM MEETING: CHILEAN EXILE DISRUPTS APARTHEID HEARING THE WORK OF THE SPC, WHICH WAS HEARING PETITIONERS ON THE APARTHEID ITEM, WAS DISRUPTED WHEN A PETITIONER REPRESENTING THE CHILE DEMOCRATICO STRAYED FROM THE SUBJECT TO ATTACK THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN HIS HOME COUNTRY. HE WAS INTERRUPTED ON A POINT OF ORDER BY THE DELEGATE FROM CHILE, WHO ARGUED THAT IT WAS IMPROPER TO ADMIT THE CD SPEAKER, WHO HAD NO CONNECTION WITH OR EXPERTISE ON APARTHEID, AND WHO OBVIOUSLY ONLY WANTED TO USE THE FORUM TO GENERATE PUBLICITY FOR HIS OWN CAUSE. AFTER A SUSPENSION TO CONSULT UN LEGAL COUNSEL, THE

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PAGE 04 USUN N 04301 02 OF 04 252358Z

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ALLOWED THE CD REPRESENTATIVE TO CONTINUE, BUT INSTRUCTED HIM TO LIMIT HIS REMARKS TO THE SUBJECT AT HAND. THE US DELEGATE SPOKE IN SUPPORT OF

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04301 03 OF 04 252359Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	OIC-02	AF-10
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 04301

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CHILE'S CONTENTION THAT IT WAS AN ABUSE OF THE COMMITTEE'S GOOD WILL TO ADMIT THE CD ON THIS SUBJECT. WE ARGUED THAT IF THE UN WERE TO ADMIT EVERY OPPOSITION POLITICIAN WHO WANTED TO USE THIS FORUM TO AIR HIS PARTY'S VIEWS, THE UNGA WOULD BE PARALYZED AND UNABLE TO DO ITS ASSIGNED TASKS. THE US AND CHILE EACH INTERVENED SEVERAL TIMES ON POINTS OF ORDER WHEN, CONTRARY TO THE RULING FROM THE CHAIR, THE CD REPRESENTATIVE DID NOT STICK TO THE SUBJECT OF APARTHEID. FINALLY, SEEING THAT HE HAD EXPLOITED THE SITUATION AS FAR AS POSSIBLE THE SPEAKER CUT HIS TALK SHORT AND SAT DOWN. NEVER ONCE DID THE CHAIR RULE HIM OUT OF ORDER. FOLLOWING THE INCIDENT, THE CHILEANS EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION FOR OUR COOPERATION. THE TIME CONSUMED BY
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04301 03 OF 04 252359Z

THE DISRUPTION RESULTED IN CHAIRMAN SCHEDULING THE LAST FOUR PETITIONERS TO SPEAK ON NOVEMBER 25 PRIOR TO RESUMPTION OF DEBATE ON ITEM 64.

NR

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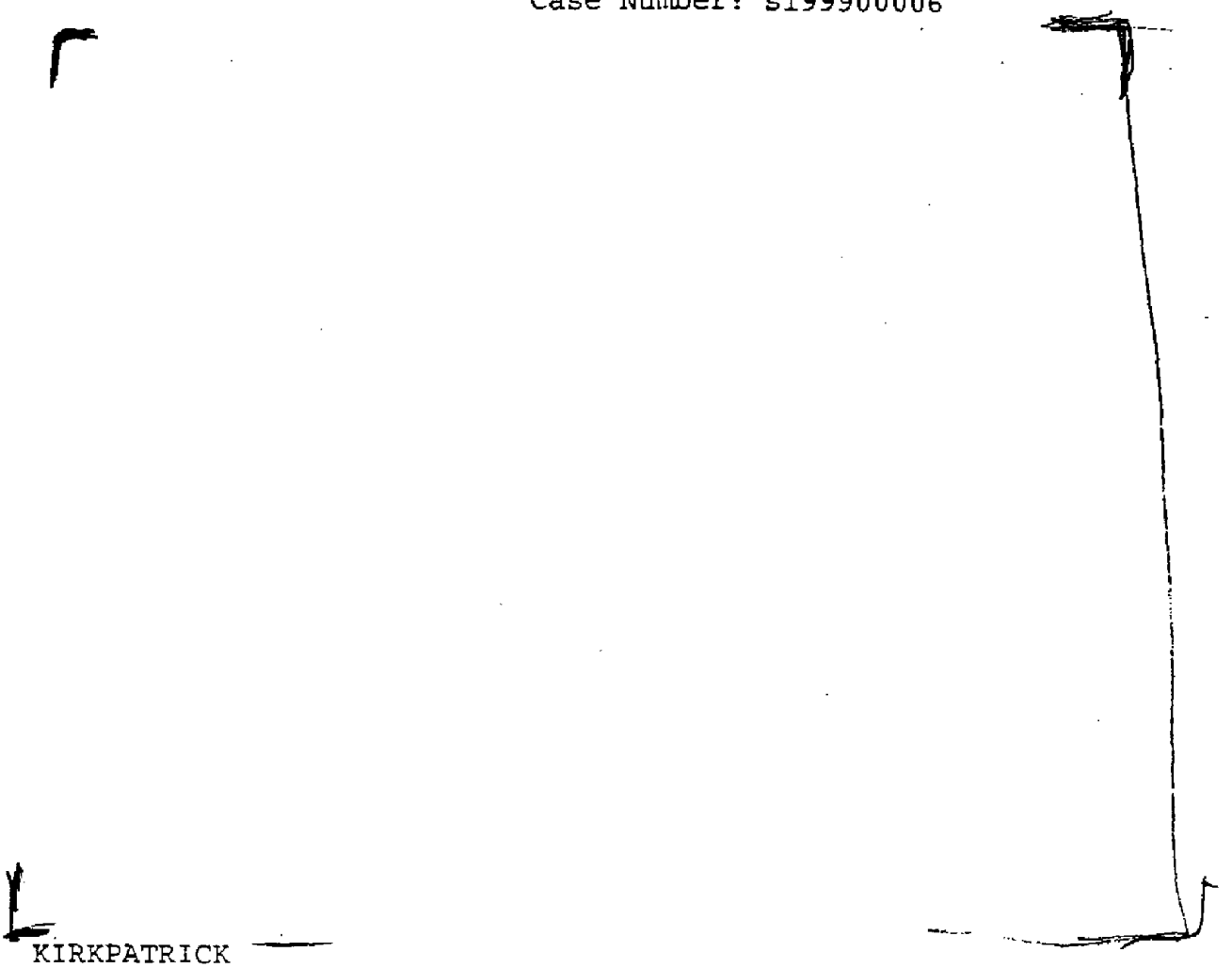

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IC 238
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Case Number: F-1999-00046
Page: 1
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PAGE 01 USUN N 04326 01 OF 02 261822Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00	L-03	LAB-04	PM-09
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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Exemption(s) R NR

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC
E.O. 12065: GDS 11-26-87 (MOOSE, GEORGE) OR-P
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, LY, PARM, SHUM, CI, ES, SY, TU, PEPR, IS

SUBJECT: USUN CLASSIFIED DAILY SUMMARY, 11-25-81

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I

II. (U) THIRD COMMITTEE ITEMS
A)
B) (U) HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE. USUN 4323.
C)
D)
E)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

III.

IV.

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL
Page: 1

B. (U) HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE.

(C) WEOG THIRD COMMITTEE GROUP DISCUSSED TWO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, ONE SPONSORED BY THE NETHERLANDS (L.64) AND ANOTHER BY ALGERIA, CUBA, MEXICO AND YUGOSLAVIA (L.60). NETHERLANDS WISHED TO APPROACH MEXICO TO MERGE THE TWO TEXTS. USUN NOTES THAT CHILE DOES NOT WANT ANYONE TO INTRODUCE ANY AMENDMENTS TO THESE RESOLUTIONS. USUN'S PRELIMINARY REACTION IS THAT WE PLAN TO VOTE NO ON WHICHEVER RESOLUTION IS PUT TO VOTE. WE WOULD EXPLAIN THAT TEXT IS UNBALANCED AND IGNORES MODEST IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE. THE RESOLUTION JUDGES CHILE BY STANDARDS THAT THE COSPONORS THEMSELVES DO NOT MEET IN SOME AREAS. WE WOULD ALSO POINT OUT OUR OBJECTIONTO CONCENTRATING ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN LATIN AMERICA.

Pages 3 - 5 have been eliminated because they are entirely irrelevant.

26 NOV 81
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IC 234

Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04323 01 OF 05 260558Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-10
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9630
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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E.O. 12065: GDS 11/25/87 (GERSHMAN, CARL) OR-M
TAGS: UNGA, PORG, SHUM
SUBJECT: 36TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12: CHILE'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

REF: USUN 4041

1. WEOG THIRD COMMITTEE GROUP DEVOTED MEETING OF 11/25 TO RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS IN EL SALVADOR AND CHILE (TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS FOLLOW).
2. THERE ARE TWO DRAFT TEXTS ON CHILE, L.60 SPONSORED BY ALGERIA, CUBA, MEXICO, AND YUGOSLAVIA, AND L.64, SPONSORED BY THE NETHERLANDS. AUSTRALIA SUMMARIZED THE OPTIONS FOR DEALING WITH THESE TWO RESOLUTIONS UNDER THE SAME ITEM AS FOLLOWS: (1) NETHERLANDS COULD APPROACH MEXICANS TO MERGE THE TWO TEXTS; (2) LEAVE THE TWO TEXTS SEPARATE, AS THEY STAND AND ALLOW L.60, THE MORE UNBALANCED TEXT, TO BE VOTED ON FIRST;
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04323 01 OF 05 260558Z

(3) LEAVE THE TWO TEXTS SEPARATE AND CALL FOR A PRIORITY VOTE WHICH, IF SUCCESSFUL WOULD ALLOW THE NETHERLANDS' LESS UNBALANCED TEXT TO BE VOTED FIRST (BUT WEOGS MIGHT WELL LOSE ON A MOTION FOR A PRIORITY VOTE).

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3. NETHERLANDS WISHED TO APPROACH MEXICO TO MERGE THE TWO TEXTS IF WEOGS SUPPORTED THIS IDEA, ON THE BASIS THAT THE MEXICAN TEXT OFFENDED MANY WEOGS BUT NONETHELESS SOME WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF A RESOLUTION CONCERNED WITH CHILE'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION NO MATTER HOW BAD ITS TEXT. UK EXPRESSED HORROR AT THIS IDEA, AND INSISTED THAT IT COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY STRONGER NETHERLANDS TEXT. SOME OTHER WEOGS SEEMED TO AGREE WITH THIS, APART FROM SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

4. SWEDEN NOTED THAT HE WOULD NOT SUPPORT ANY REQUEST FOR A PRIORITY VOTE. SWEDEN WOULD VOTE IN FAVOR OF WHICHEVER TEXT THIRD COMMITTEE CONSIDERS FIRST. SWEDEN WOULD ALSO SUPPORT THE SECOND TEXT AND ANY MOTION CALLING FOR MERGING THE TEXTS. DENMARK NOTED THAT IN THE CASE OF A PRIORITY VOTE HE'D VOTE FOR THE NETHERLANDS DRAFT, BUT THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT DENMARK WOULD VOTE AGAINST MEXICO. US DEL SPECULATES THAT OTHERS SUCH AS IRELAND, FINLAND AND FRANCE MIGHT ALSO SUPPORT MEXICO'S TEXT.

5. THERE WAS NO TIME FOR OTHER WEOGS TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON THESE RESOLUTIONS, BUT AUSTRALIA SUMMED UP THE GENERAL FEELING THAT NETHERLANDS SHOULD NOT AT PRESENT INITIATE ANY MERGING OF THE TEXTS,AND THAT THERE WAS UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE TACTIC OF CALLING FOR A PRIORITY CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 04323 01 OF 05 260558Z

VOTE.

6. US DEL POINTED OUT THAT EVEN THE NETHERLANDS DRAFT IN PARTICULAR JUDGES CHILE BY FAR HARSHER STANDARDS THAN THOSE ENJOYED BY SOME OF THE CITIZENS OF THE SPONSORS OF THE OTHER DRAFT, SUCH AS FULL RESTRICTION OF RIGHTS FOR TRADE UNIONS (OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 5 (F) OF L.64.

7. COMMENT: USUN NOTES THAT CHILE DOES NOT WANT ANYONE TO INTRODUCE ANY AMENDMENTS TO THESE RESOLUTION USUN'S PRELIMINARY REACTION IS THAT WE WOULD PLAN TO VOTE NO ON WHICHEVER RESOLUTION IS PUT TO VOTE. WE WOULD EXPLAIN THAT TEXT IS UNBALANCED AND IGNORES MODEST IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE. THE RESOLUTION JUDGES CHILE BY STANDARDS THAT THE CO-SPONSORS THEMSELVES DO NOT MEET IN SOME AREAS. WE WOULD ALSO POINT OUT OUR OBJECTION TO CONCENTRATING ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN LATIN

AMERICA. MEXICAN RESOLUTION IS MORE OBJECTIONABLE OF THE TWO AND WAS TABLED FIRST. THEREFORE IT WILL PROBABLY *BE VOTED UPON FIRST. UNLESS THE TWO TEXTS ARE MERGED,* WHICH APPEARS TO BE THE MOST LIKELY OUTCOME.

QUOTE

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL, AND DETERMINED TO REMAIN VIGILANT WITH REGARD TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER THEY OCCUR,
NOTING THAT GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO RESPECT, PROTECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE ASSUMED UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,
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PAGE 04 USUN N 04323 01 OF 05 260558Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04323 02 OF 05 260600Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-10
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9631
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 USUN NEW YORK 04323

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 31/124, 32/118, 33/175, 34/179 AND 35/188, WHICH RELATE TOHE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AND RESOLUTION 33/173 ON PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED,

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RECALLING ALSO RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, IN WHICH IT WAS DECIDED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR TO INVESTIGATE THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE,

DEEPLY ALARMED AT THE FACT THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES NOT ONLY CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO CO-OPERATE IN UNITED NATIONS PROCEEDINGS RELATING TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, IN PARTICULAR WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, BUT HAVE NOW ANNOUNCED THEIR DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY WAY IN THE EFFORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AIMED AT PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN GENERAL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PERSISTENCE AND, IN
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04323 02 OF 05 260600Z

SOME RESPECTS, THE DETERIORATION OF SITUATIONS AFFECTING THE ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN CHILE, AS EVIDENT FROM THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT A/36/594;

NOTING WITH GROWING CONCERN THAT THE WHEREABOUTS OF NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED ARE STILL UNKNOWN AND THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO IGNORE THE REPEATED APPEALS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, MADE IN VARIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANS, AND HAVE FAILED TO TAKE URGENT AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF SUCH PERSONS,

1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR HIS REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 9 (XXXVII) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS;

2. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO STUDY THOROUGHLY THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHT SESSION;

3. EXPRESSES ITS GRAVE CONCERN AT THE PERSISTENCE AND, IN SOME RESPECTS, THE DETERIORATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, AS STATED BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AND PARTICULARLY:

(I) THE SUBVERSION OF THE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC LEGAL ORDER AND ITS INSTITUTIONS THROUGH THE MAINTENANCE AND EXTENSION OF THE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION

AND THE PROMULGATION OF A CONSTITUTION THAT FAILS TO
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PAGE 03 USUN N 04323 02 OF 05 260600Z

REFLECT A FREELY EXPRESSED POPULAR WILL, THE PROVISIONS OF WHICH CLEARLY PREJUDICE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE AND ESTABLISH NEW MECHANISMS OF STATE REPRESSION;

(II) THE CONTINUATION AND INTENSIFICATION OF THE PRACTICE OF ARBITRARY DETENTION AND CONFINEMENT IN SECRET PLACES, OFTEN ACCOMPANIES BY TORTURE AND INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT WHICH, ON OCCASION, RESULT IN UNEXPLAINED DEATHS;

(III) THE PERSECUTIDN, INTIMIDATION AND IMPRISONMENT, AS WELL AS THE BANISHMENT AND EXILING, OF PERSONS WHO PARTICIPATE IN TRADE UNION, ACADEMIC, CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES;

(IV) THE EXTREME POVERTY AND LACK OF PROTECTION OF VAST SECTORS OF THE POPULATION AND THEIR IGNORANCE OF THEIR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS;

4. SEVERELY CONDEMNS THE FORCED EXILE OF VARIOUS CHILEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS AND LEADERS, INCLUDING THE RECENT VIOLENT EXPULSION OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN ACTIVITIES OF AN UNMISTAKABLY HUMANITARIAN CHARACTER, AS IN THE CASE OF SENATOR ALBERTO JEREZ, JUDGE JAIME CASTILLO VELASCO, PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN COMMISSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CARLOS BRIONES AND ORLANDO CANTUARIAS;

5. ONCE MORE STRONGLY URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO TAKE THE CONCRETE STEPS SET FORTH IN RESOLUTION 9 (XXXVII) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS;

6. CONCLUDES THAT, GIVEN THE DISDAIN EXPRESSLY SHOWN
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PAGE 04 USUN N 04323 02 OF 05 260600Z

BY THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES FOR ALL THAT RELATES TO THE

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04323 03 OF 05 260602Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-10
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9632
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 USUN NEW YORK 04323

PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ON THE BASIS OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, CONTINUED VIGILANCE WITH REGARD TO THE GRAVE SITUATION PREVAILING IN CHILE IS ESSENTIAL;

7. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN AT THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED OR DIED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, A SITUATION WHICH CONTINUES TO BE A GROSS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ONCE MORE URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF SUCH PERSONS, TO INFORM RELATIVES OF THE OUTCOME OF THEIR INVESTIGATION AND TO PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISAPPEARANCES AND DEATHS;

8. ONCE MORE CALLS UPON THE MEMBERS OF THE CHILEAN JUDICIARY, IN PURSUANCE OF THEIR DUTY TO AFFORD LEGAL PROTECTION TO CITIZENS, TO ASSUME THEIR OBLIGATIONS FULLY AND PERFORM THEIR FUNCTIONS HONOURABLY, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO THE REMEDIES OF HABEAS CORPUS AND
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04323 03 OF 05 260602Z

AMPARO OR PROTECTION, SO AS PUT AN END TO A SITUATION IN WHICH PERSONS HAVE NO DEFENCE AGAINST FREQUENT MEASURES OF REPRESSION, IN THE FORM OF ARBITRARY DETENTION AND IMPRISONMENT, AND SO AS TO PREVENT DISAPPEARANCES, TORTURE AND OTHER INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT;

9. DEMANDS THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES CO-OPERATE FULLY WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND ABANDON THEIR UNWARRANTED ATTITUDE OF CONTEMPT FOR INTERNATIONAL MECHANISMS FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AN ATTITUDE WHICH PLACES THEM OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS TO WHICH CHILE IS A PARTY;

10. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR AND TO REPORT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION.

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THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

(1) REAFFIRMING ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL,

(2) UNDERLINING THE OBLIGATION GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT RESPONSIBILITIES
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PAGE 03 USUN N 04323 03 OF 05 260602Z

THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,

(3) DETERMINED TO REMAIN VIGILANT WITH REGARD TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER THEY OCCUR AND TO TAKE MEASURES IN ORDER TO RESTORE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS,

(4) RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 31/124 OF 16 DECEMBER 1976, 32/118 OF 16 DECEMBER 1977, 33/175 OF 20 DECEMBER 1978, 34/179 OF 17 DECEMBER 1979 AND 35/188 OF 15 DECEMBER 1980 ON THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND 33/173 OF 20 DECEMBER 1978 ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS,

(5) RECALLING ALSO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF 6 MARCH 1979 ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, IN WHICH THE COMMISSION, INTER ALIA, DECIDED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND RESOLUTION 9 (XXXVII) IN WHICH IT DECIDED TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR,

(6) DISTURBED BY THE FACT THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY REFUSED TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

(7) CONCERNED BY THE REFUSAL OF THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE IN ORDER TO FULFIL THEIR REPORTING OBLIGATION UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS,

(8) DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PERSISTENCE AND, IN CERTAIN RESPECTS, IN COMPARISON WITH LAST YEAR, THE DETERIORATION OF SITUATIONS WHICH AFFECT THE ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN CHILE, AS STATED IN THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR

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PAGE 04 USUN N 04323 03 OF 05 260602Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04323 04 OF 05 260603Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-10
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 05 USUN NEW YORK 04323

(A/36/594),

(9) EXPRESSING DEEP CONCERN THAT THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE NUMEROUS PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED OVER THE PAST YEARS ARE STILL UNKNOWN AND THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO FAIL TO TAKE URGENT AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED,

(10) NOTING WITH GRAVE CONCERN THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN FORCE IN CHILE AS FROM 11 MARCH 1981, WHICH HAS BEEN PREPARED WITH A LACK OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION, DOES NOT FULLY GUARANTEE THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS,

1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR HIS REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION 9 (XXXVII) OF 26 FEBRUARY 1981;

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PAGE 02 USUN N 04323 04 OF 05 260603Z

2. REQUESTS THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHT SESSION TO STUDY THOROUGHLY THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR;

3. ONCE MORE EXPRESSES ITS GRAVE CONCERN AT THE PERSISTENCE OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AS REPORTED BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND AT THE DETERIORATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CERTAIN RESPECTS, IN COMPARISON WITH THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR, PARTICULARLY THE INTENSIFICATION OF ARBITRARY DETENTION AND THE EXPULSION FROM THE COUNTRY OF PERSONS WHO PARTICIPATE IN TRADE UNIONS, ACADEMIC, CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES;

4. EXPRESSES ALSO GREAT CONCERN AT THE FACT THAT THE REMEDIES OF HABEAS CORPUS AND AMPARO PROVE TO BE NOT EFFECTIVE DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE JUDICIARY IN CHILE EXERCISES ITS POWERS IN THAT RESPECT WITH THE UTMOST RESTRICTIONS;

5. URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING CONCRETE STEPS THAT WOULD ENABLE THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONSIDER TERMINATING THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR:

(A) TO PUT AN END TO THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, UNDER WHICH CONTINUED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OCCUR AND RESTORE THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FORMERLY ENJOYED BY THE CHLEAN CHILEAN PEOPLE;

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PAGE 03 USUN N 04323 04 OF 05 260603Z

(B) TO PUT AN END TO ARBITRARY DETENTIONS, PHYSICAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL INTIMIDATION AND PROSECUTION OF PERSONS WHO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OPINION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO PETITION;

(C) TO SEPARATE PERSONS DETAINED FOR POLITICAL REASONS FROM THOSE DETAINED FOR CRIMINAL OFFENCES;

(D) TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT AND TO PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH PRACTICES;

(E) TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS WHOARE CLAIMED TO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO INFORM THE RELATIVES OF THOSE PERSONS OF THE OUTCOME OF THE INVESTIGATION AND TO PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEARANCES;

(F) TO RESTORE FULLY TRADE UNION RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY THE FREEDOM TO FORM TRADE UNIONS WHICH CAN OPERATE FREELY WITHOUT GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL AND CAN EXERCISE FULLY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE;

(G) TO GUARANTEE THE FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION, AND THE FREEDOM OF CHILEAN CITIZENS FREELY TO ENTER AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY, AND TO END THE PRACTICE OF BANISHMENTS APPLIED TO NATIONALS, WHICH PRACTICE AMOUNTS TO FORCED EXILE FROM THE COUNTRY;

6. URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND TO COMPLY WITH THEIR REPORTING OBLIGATONS UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS;

7. INVITES THE COMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXTEND THE
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PAGE 04 USUN N 04323 04 OF 05 260603Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04323 05 OF 05 260603Z
ACTION IO-15

Case Number: s199900006

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	AF-10	CIAE-00	EA-10
	NEA-06	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03	INRE-00
	/088 W						

----------117630 260608Z /10

O 260544Z NOV 81
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9634
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 USUN NEW YORK 04323

MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR ANOTHER YEAR AND REQUESTS TO COMMISSION TO REPORT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, THROUGHTHE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION.

UNQUOTE
KIRKPATRICK

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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27 Nov 81
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n/a

Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06952 271909Z
ACTION HA-06

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-15 ARA-16
NSAE-00 TRSE-00 PA-01 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /052 W
----------153423 271912Z /53

P R 271804Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1794
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLASSIFIED
~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L SANTIAGO 6952

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/26/87 (HARRINGTON, D.B.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, CI, PINS, PINT
SUBJECT: STATUS OF CASE OF CHILEAN PRISONER JOSE MIGUEL BENADO MEDVINSKY

REF: STATE 313148

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ACCORDING TO LOCAL LEGAL SOURCES WHO SPOKE TO JOSE MIGUEL BENADO MEDVINSKY'S LAWYER ON NOVEMBER 24, THE CASE IS AWAITING THE DECISION OF THE MILITARY JUDGE, EXPECTED WITHIN 15 DAYS. THE PROSECUTION IS REQUESTING A SENTENCE OF 43 YEARS ON THREE CHARGES: A) 15 YEARS FOR ILLEGAL RE-ENTRY INTO CHILE; B) 20 YEARS FOR MILITARY SEDITION; AND C) 8 YEARS FOR VIOLATION OF THE LAW TO CONTROL FIREARMS AND EXPLOSIVES. ALL DEFENSE EFFORTS TO HAVE THESE CHARGES DROPPED OR TRIED UNDER LESS STRICT MEASURES THAN DECREE LAW 81 (WHICH INCLUDES ALL ILLEGAL RE-ENTRIES THROUGH 1978) HAVE BEEN DENIED. SHOULD BENADO BE CONVICTED, HE HAS THE RIGHT OF APPEAL TO THE CORTE MARCIAL; IF DECLARED INNOCENT, HE STILL FACES A CHARGE OF FALSIFYING AN IDENTITY CARD BEFORE A CIVIL COURT. MEANWHILE, HE IS BEING HELD IN THE PUBLIC PRISON PEUMO, SOUTH OF RANCAGUA.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06952 271909Z

3. ON AUGUST 31, BENADO'S CASE WAS RAISED IN A CALL BY CONGESSMAN WILLIAM LEHMAN AND AMBASSADOR LANDAU ON FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS, WHO PROMISED TO LOOK INTO IT AND IMPLIED THAT AN EVENTUAL SENTENCE MIGHT BE COMMUTED TO EXILE. THE AMBASSADOR RAISED IT AGAIN WITH DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AMBASSADOR ZEGERS ON NOVEMBER 20, AFTER

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SHOWING HIM A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE REPORTING ON THE RELEASE OF A JEWISH PRISONER IN BUESNOS AIRES ON WHOSE BEHALF CONGRESSMAN LEHMAN HAD INTERVENED WITH THE GOA. THERE WOULD BE NO POINT TO FURTHER EFFORTS UNTIL THE CASE HAS BEEN COMPLETED IN THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.
LANDAU

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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UNCLASSIFIED 27 Nov 81

NC065

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

FROM THE DCM

Nov. 27, 1981

TO: POL - Messrs. Harrington and Foarde

Thank you for showing me Mayer's letter. I think he is being a little disingenuous but maybe we aren't being explicit enough. I assume the mere expulsions are the bush league variety or those for whom there is no current linkage with the movement. Subject to Mike's views, of course, you might respond to Mayer with a clarifying Official-Informal, adding more specificity in this area of our wrap-ups in the future.

aq

Attachment: Meyer's letter

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06954 271954Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
NSC-05 NSAE-00 HA-06 PA-01 ICAE-00 /063 W
----------154755 271955Z /41

P 271917Z NOV 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1796
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

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E.O. 12065: NA
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, CI
SUBJECT: KISSINGER VISIT TO CHILE

1. FROM BEGINNING TO END (NOVEMBER 22-25) DR. HENRY KISSINGER'S VISIT TO SANTIAGO, CHILE WAS WELL RECEIVED AND POSITIVE. THERE WERE NO DEMONSTRATIONS AND, IN FACT, THE VISIT WAS SO PEACEFUL THAT DR. KISSINGER WAS ABLE TO STROLL THROUGH THE STREETS UNMOLESTED TO SEVERAL OF HIS APPOINTMENTS. IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS, AS WELL AS IN HIS PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH HIGH CHILEAN OFFICIALS, DR. KISSINGER UNIFORMLY SUPPORTED THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ON GLOBAL ISSUES AND ITS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE US-CHILEAN RELATIONS, AND MADE CAUTIOUSLY POSITIVE STATEMENTS ON ISSUES OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO CHILE.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS: DR. KISSINGER ENCOURAGED CHILEAN OFFICIALS ON THE NEED TO BE MINDFUL OF "FUNDAMENTAL US VALUES" AND OUR SENSITIVITY ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IN SUMMARIZING HIS VIEWS IN A FINAL PRESS CONFERENCE, HE SAID: "BOTH SIDES SHOULD RESPECT THE SPECIAL SENSITIVITIES OF THE OTHER. IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE IS SPECIAL CONCERN IN THE US AND ALSO THAT THERE ARE SPECIAL CONDITIONS IN CHILE. MY IMPRESSION
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 06954 271954Z

IS THAT CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE HERE SINCE MY LAST VISIT IN 1976".

3. CHILEAN ECONOMY: IN A LENGTHY INTERVIEW WITH ECONOMICS MINISTER SERGIO DE CASTRO, DR. KISSINGER EXPRESSED A GENERALLY UPBEAT OPINION OF CHILEAN ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND THE VIRTUES OF A FREE ECONOMIC SYSTEM. HIS COMMENT TO THE

PRESS FOLLOWING THE MEETING WAS: "I AM IMPRESSED BY THE SUCCESS OF ALL COUNTRIES WHICH, LIKE OURS, HAVE A FREE MARKET POLICY."

4.C PAPAL MEDIATION ON CHILEAN-ARGENTINIAN BORDER DISPUTE: FOLLOWING BREAKFAST WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET ON NOVEMBER 23 AND A MEETING LATER THE SAME MORNING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS, DR. KISSINGER WAS QUOTED AS HAVING SAID THAT: "I THINK YOU SHOULD SEEK A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION." THIS STATEMENT CAUSED THE ONLY CONTROVERSY OF THE VISIT, WHEN IT WAS NOTED DISAPPROVINGLY BY "EL MERCUIRO", WHICH ESPOUSED THE CHILEAN LEGALIST VIEWPOINT, INSISTING ON THE SANCTITY OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND LAW OVER NEGOTIATIONS AND COMPROMISE. TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT, DR. KISSINGER SMOOTHED OVER THE MINOR CONTROVERSY IN HIS FINAL INTERVIEW WHERE HE EXPRESSED THE GENERAL HOPE THAT THE PAPAL MEDIATION WOULD "HAVE SUCCESS IN FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM".
LANDAU

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27 Nov 81 PINS

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Santiago

R

DECONTROL

November 27, 1981

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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OFFICIAL/INFORMAL

Mayer Nudell, Esq.
Office of Southern Cone Affairs (ARA/SC)
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mayer:

In response to your letter of November 20, 1981, I hope the discussion below will clear up your questions on recent court sentences for MIR members convicted of internal security violations.

Normally, persons accused of violations of one or more sections of the internal security law are tried by a civil court judge attached to the Court of Appeals. An accused may be tried concurrently or separately by a military court for offenses in which military personnel or targets are attacked (for fuller discussion of council of war proceedings see Santiago 1101 and 5199) or for violations of the arms control laws. The judge investigates the alleged acts constituting the offense and closes the investigation (sumario) when sufficient evidence is at hand to render a decision. He issues a written decision after studying the evidence, the briefs of the government and the defense, and the applicable law. This decision may be appealed by either the government or the accused to the full Court of Appeals and then to the Supreme Court. An appeal to the full Court of Appeals is normal in internal security cases, though few cases are elevated to the Supreme Court.

Normally, conviction on an internal security violation carries a sentence of imprisonment for varying lengths of time, depending on the seriousness of the offense. The court may also sentence an accused to internal exile (relegación). Since 1977, the GOC has commuted a number of prison sentences of convicted extremists to external exile to a country of the prisoner's choice. Human rights organizations, such as UNHRC, ICM, FASIC and the Vicariate of

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Solidarity, often arrange for visas and facilitate the departure of such prisoners.

The unusual features of the cases of the 11 MIRistas recently expelled, which triggered Santiago 6525 and 6780, were the sentence of expulsion in lieu of imprisonment and the absence of appeals by the accused. A Vicariate of Solidarity source told us that the 11 chose expulsion out of fear of meeting the same fate as one of their number, Hugo Riveros Gomez, who was murdered while out on bail by unknown persons. Technically, once the 11 individuals serve their sentences abroad, they could be readmitted to Chile. As a practical matter, however, we think it unlikely that they will be allowed to return. Presumably, the Interior Ministry will issue an appropriate decree barring their re-entry when the time comes.

This type of sentence does not necessarily indicate insufficient GOC evidence to prosecute the eleven, but rather, shows that the charges against them were not serious enough to warrant a council of war proceeding (reserved for attacks on government personnel) or a prison term. The eleven were accused of illegal occupation of churches and land, forming an illicit organization, and holding armed meetings; they were not charged with armed attacks on persons or property, which might have altered both the judicial process and type of sentence considerably.

The logic of expelling convicted MIRistas is hard to grasp, but, in our view, it demonstrates the GOC's desire to eliminate political nuisances, cut administrative headaches, and cultivate a more lenient international image while satisfying its own public pledge to rid Chile of the "cancer of marxism" once and for all.

I hope this discussion makes the picture a bit clearer. Please let me know if we can clarify other related issues for you.

Sincerely,

Donald B. Harrington

Draft: POL:JJFoarde:eb

Clear: POL:MLDurkee (draft)

DCM:CWGrover

IC 239

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07022 021129Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 EB-08 NSAE-00 COME-00
LAB-04 STR-00 SIL-01 /039 W
----------276601 021156Z /10

P 012027Z DEC 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1817

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 7022

DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR S/IL

E O 12065: GDS 12/2/87 (CRAVEN, R.L.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB CI
SUBJECT: GOC DISSOLVES LABOR FEDERATION

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

REF: SANTIAGO 6931 AND PREVIOUS

1. (LOU) IN WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE DENOUEMENT OF THE RECENT MARITIME SECTOR DISPUTE, THE LABOR MINISTRY HAS PETITIONED THE APPELLATE COURT IN VALPARAISO FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BAY EMPLOYEES FEDERATION AND HAS EMBARGOED THE PROPERTY OF ITS LEADERS. AFTER THE DOCK WORKERS ENDED THEIR STOP WORK ACTION (SANTIAGO 6931AND PREVIOUS) THE LABOR MINISTRY ORDERED AN AUDIT OF THE BOOKS OF SEVERAL MARITIME UNION ORGANIZATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE BAY EMPLOYEES FEDERATION HEADED BY EDUARDO RIOS, THE LEADING OPPOSITION TRADE UNIONIST IN CHILE AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNION DEMOCRATICA DE TRABAJADORES. A VERY EFFECTIVE AND VOCAL OPPONENT, RIOS HAD OFTEN BEEN THE SUBJECT OF VERBAL ATTACKS AND OTHER FORMS OF HARRASSMENT BY THE GOC (SEVERAL YEARS AGO HE WAS REMOVED BY FIAT BY THE GOC FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE MARITIME CONFEDERATION, EFFECTIVELY DESTROYING THE ORGANIZATION), AND IT IS AN OPEN SECRET THAT THE GOVERNMENT DELAYED THE REORGANIZATION OF THE MARITIME SECTOR'S UNIONS MORE THAN TWO YEARS AFTER ALMOST ALL OTHER UNIONS WERE RECOGNIZED BY THE 1979 LABOR PLAN
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07022 021129Z

BECAUSE OF RIOS' CONTACTS WITH THE ITF AND THE AFL-CIO.

2. (LOU) REPORTEDLY PIQUED BY RIOS' ROLE IN THE MARITIME WORKERS ACTIONS TO HAVE LAW 18032 REVOKED (THE LAW EFFECTIVELY ENDED THE EXISTENCE OF THE TRADITIONAL UNIONS IN THE SECTOR), THE GOC ORDERED THE AUDIT OF ALL THE SECTOR'S UNION

ORGANIZATIONS, BUT WAS PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO FIND EVENTUAL EVIDENCE OF WRONGDOING ON THE PART OF THE BAY EMPLOYEES, WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE GOC TO REMOVE THE ORGANIZATION'S OFFICERS, POSSIBLY PLACE CRIMINAL CHARGES AGAINST THEM, AND PERHAPS TO SEIZE THE FEDERATION'S NOT INCONSIDERABLE ASSETS. RIOS IMMEDIATELY CHALLENGED IN COURT THE LEGALITY OF THE AUDIT ITSELF AND, INTER ALIA, THE LABOR MINISTRY'S ORDER THAT THE FEDERATION PAY FOR THE AUDIT, THE COST OF WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE FEDERATION, COULD BE AS HIGH AS US$15,000. IN RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE, THE LABOR MINISTRY THEN ORDERED THE FEDERATION DISSOLVED AND THE OFFICERS' ASSETS ATTACHED, CHARGING THEM, IN EFFECT, WITH INSUBORDINATION.

3. (C) COMMENT: THE GOC HAS LONG WANTED TO GET AT RIOS, ESPECIALLY SINCE 1979 WHEN THE ORIT AND THE AFL-CIO THREATENED A BOYCOTT OF CHILEAN VESSELS AND GOODS. WITH THE FAILURE OF THE RIOS-LED MARITIME PROTEST AGAINST THE NEW LAW, THE GOC MAY WELL HAVE DECIDED TO GET RID OF HIM ONCE AND FOR ALL; THUS THE AUDIT WITH ITS CONDITIONS AND THE REACTION TO THE FEDERATION'S CHALLENGE OF IT. WHILE POSSIBLE, IT IS UNLIKELY IN OUR VIEW THAT RIOS WILL WIN THE COURT CHALLENGE. THE GOC GENERALLY GETS ITS WAY WHEN IT REALLY WANTS TO WITH CHILE'S INDEPENDENT COURT SYSTEM. IF RIOS GOES, THE LAST OF CHILE'S MAJOR DEMOCRATIC UNION LEADERS WILL HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM A POSITION OF INFLUENCE WITHIN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07022 021129Z

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)
9220

TELEGRAM

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INDICATE
☐ COLLEC
☐ CHARGE

FROM: AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

12065
E.O. XXXXXX
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: PINS, PINT, ES
MEMORIAL MASS FOR THE MURDERED AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO: AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

POL(2)
AMB
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ECON(R&W
DATT
MILGP
USICA
USAID
CHRON
RF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 9220

1. Apostolic Administrator Rivera y Damas conducted a memorial mass on 12/2/81 on the anniversary of the deaths of th four American churchwomen in El Salvador. Approximately 400 persons attended. The international press was very much in evidence. The mass was non-political and uneventful.

2. Rivera y Damas delivered a 20 minute homily which

DRAFTED BY: [illegible]
CLEARING: [illegible]
DRAFTING DATE: 12/2/81
TEL. EXT.: 305
CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

[redacted] CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

50153-101

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]
Classification

touched upon no significant political topics. It was essentially a pastoral message. Rivera y Damas described the service work that the four Maryknoll churchwomen performed prior to their murders. He noted that they dedicated their lives to community service. He called upon his listeners to follow this example of selfless dedication.

3. No special invitations were issued for this mass. The Embassy was represented by PolOff. He saw no other diplomatic or government officials.

BLEAKLEY

[redacted]
Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s) NR

USOAS:PJOHNSON
12/3/81 X 25347
ARA:TENDERS

S/S:AADAMS
S/S-O:

ARA/SC:RESERVICE

IMMEDIATE SANTIAGO

ROUTINE BUENOS AIRES, LA PAZ, ROME

DECAPTIONED

EXDIS - ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 11652: GDS 12-3-87 (TENDERS,T)

TAGS: OVIP (HAIG, ALEXANDER M., JR.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY HAIG/CHILE FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS BILATERAL AT THE OASGA

TE
PJ
AA
RE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR THE ATTITUDE OF THE USG TOWARD CHILE. BOTH AGREED THAT RELATIONS ARE CONSTANTLY IMPROVING AND THAT MAJOR OPPORTUNITIES EXIST FOR COOPERATION IN THE HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE AND ECONOMIC AREAS.

NR

THE SECRETARY ASSURED THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE USG FULL COMMITMENT TO REPEAL OF THE KENNEDY AMENDMENT AND HIS HOPE THAT CHILE WOULD CONTINUE TO HELP IN THIS EFFORT. END SUMMARY.

3. GREETING FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED HIS PLEASURE AT MEETING WITH HIM AGAIN AND HIS PLEASURE AND SATISFACTION WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILE

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UNCLASSIFIED

AND THE IMPORTANT IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AS THINGS CHANGE SO RAPIDLY AND IN THE OPPORTUNITES FOR COOPERATION IN MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS SAID THAT CHILE ALSO SEES RELATIONS AT THE OPTIMUM, ON A CONSTANT UPWARD MOVE. HE EXPRESSED CHILE'S GREAT GRATITUDE FOR THE ATTITUDES OF THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY, AND NOW THE HAPPINESS OF CHILE WITH THE US'S SENDING IN AMBASSADOR THEBERGE, SUCH A WELL-QUALIFIED REPLACEMENT FOR AMBASSADOR LANDAU. HE SAID THAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE US PERMITS HIM TO SAY THAT THE US AND CHILE ARE INDEED ALLIES.

5. FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS THEN ASKED IF HE MIGHT RAISE THREE POINTS, WHICH HE ALREADY HAD INFORMED AMBASSADOR LANDAU THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO BRING UP.

6. FIRST, THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE AND THE POPE'S MEDIATION EFFORT: [

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Page 3 has been eliminated because it is entirely irrelevant

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C

NR

11. IN RESPONSE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S QUESTION ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE REPEAL OF THE KENNEDY AMENDMENT, THE SECRETARY SAID THE ADMINISTRATION IS BASICALLY OPTIMISTIC BUT THAT ALL THE HELP CHILE CAN PROVIDE IS NEEDED TO CONTINUE PROGRESS. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE SOONER THE U.S. CAN GET THAT HELP, THE BETTER. HE SAID THE ADMINISTRATION WILL MOVE IN JANUARY AS SOON AS CONGRESS IS BACK IN SESSION. C

NR

12. MR. ENDERS SAID THAT WE THINK WE HAVE A GOOD CASE, THAT THE BEST PROSPECTS WILL BE IN THE HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE: THAT THE TASK WILL NOT BE EASY BUT THAT IT IS VITAL AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL WORK VIGOROUSLY. THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS TOTALLY, AND WITHOUT RESERVATION , DEDICATED TO THE EFFORT AND IT HAS THE PRESIDENT'S FULL SUPPORT.

C

NR

NR

16. ..IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM MR. ENDERS ABOUT CHILE'S MIRISTA PROBLEM THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT WHAT CHILE FACES IS A PROBLEM THAT IS NOT SERIOUS IN TERMS OF VOLUME OR QUANTITY BUT THAT IS SERIOUS IN TERMS OF THE SPECTACULAR NATURE OF THE OPERATIONS (HE HAD BEEN AN ASSASSINATION TARGET) AND THE SELECTIVITY OF THE MIRISTAS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO NOTED THE CIR-CULAR ROUTE THESE TERRORISTS ARE FOLLOWING--CHILE TO CUBA TO FRANCE FOR FALSE DOCUMENTATION TO SPAIN TO ARGENTINA, BUENOS AIRES OR MENDOZA. FROM THERE THE TERRORISTS RE-ENTER CHILE EITHER WITH THEIR FALSE PAPERS OR THROUGH THE MOUNTAIN PASSES.

17. THE FOREIGN MINISTER CLOSED BY THANKING THE SECRETARY FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE SUCH A LONG AND INTERESTING TALK AND BY EXPRESSING HIS PLEASURE AT SEEING SO MANY POINTS OF AGREEMENT WHICH BODE WELL FOR FUTURE RELATIONS. ##

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IC ~~8354~~ 240

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07085 01 OF 02 041125Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	NSC-05	ARA-16	NSAE-00	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00
	PM-09	PA-01	MCT-02	SAL-01	ICAE-00	SYE-00	SP-02
	SPRS-02	/080 W					

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P 032023Z DEC 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1845
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIES
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C~~ONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 7085

BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO

CINCLANT FOR POLAD

E O 12065: GDS 12/3/87 (FOARDE, JOHN J.L OR-P
TAGS: PINS CI
SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY WRAP-UP

REF: SANTIAGO 6780 AND PREVIOUS

1. (U) SUMMARY: GOC REPORTS ANOTHER EXTREMIST KILLED IN NELTUME; MISSING TAXI DRIVER TENTATIVELY IDENTIFIED AS ONE OF THE FOUR KILLED IN INCIDENT NEAR FONMIN'S HOME; LEFTIST ARRESTED AFTER SEARCH UNCOVERS PRINTING PRESS, WEAPONS CACHE; ALLEGED MIRISTA DETAINED, TWO OTHERS CONVICTED; SEVEN COMMUNISTS CONVICTED OF INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS; FORMER ALLENDE INFORMATION MINISTER DETAINED, THEN RELEASED; UPDATE ON COURT CASES. END SUMMARY

2.KU) ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL GOC STATEMENT, SECURITY FORCES SHOT AND KILLED ANOTHER PRESUMED EXTREMIST EARLY

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07085 01 OF 02 041125Z

NOVEMBER 28 IN A GUN BATTLE WITH GUERRILLAS IN THE NELTUME REGION EAST OF VALDIVIA, WHERE GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE BEEN PURSUING THE REMAINDER OF A TERRORIST GROUP ORIGINALLY DISCOVERED IN SEPTEMBER (SANTIAGO 5525). THE ALLEGED EXTREMIST WAS IDENTIFIED AS JUAN OJEDA AGUAYO, WHO REPORTEDLY SERVED THE BAND AS A MEDIC.

OJEDA, CONVICTED IN 1974 OF PARTICIPATING IN AN ARMED ASSAULT ON THE NELTUNE CARABINEROS HEADQUARTERS ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1973, HAD BEEN LIVING IN HOLLAND AFTER HIS PRISON SENTENCE WAS COMMUTED TO EXILE IN 1978 AND PRESUMABLY RETURNED TO CHILE SECRETELY. THE GOC COMMUNIQUE ALSO SAID THAT ISAIAS AGUAYO MARQUEZ WAS DETAINED BY SECURITY FORCES DURING THE CONFRONTATION. HIS PAST AND PRESENT LINKS TO SUBVERSIVE GROUPS ARE BEING INVESTIGATED BY SECURITY AGENTS. NO GOVERNMENT CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED.

3. (C) FAMILY MEMBERS ALLEGED IN A NOVEMBER 21 PRESS STATEMENT THAT ONE OF THE TWO UNIDENTIFIED BODIES BURNED IN AN EXPLOSION DURING A NOVEMBER 10 SHOOTOUT WITH SECURITY AGENTS NEAR THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S RESIDENCE (SANTIAGO 6603) IS THAT OF JUAN SOTO CERDA, A 30 YEAR-OLD CAB DRIVER MISSING SINCE THE EVENING BEFORE THE CONFRONTATION. SOTO HAD LUNCHED AT HOME ON NOVEMBER 9, ACCORDING TO HIS WIFE, BUT DID NOT RETURN AS USUAL FOR DINNER THAT EVENING. SHE SPENT THE DAY NOVEMBER 10 SEEKING INFORMATION ON HIS WHEREABOUTS AT A NUMBER OF POLICE STATIONS, FINALLY FILING A WRIT OF AMPARO WITH A SANTIAGO MILITARY COURT ON NOVEMBER 11. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR REPLIED TO THE COURT ON NOVEMBER 12, SAYING SOTO WAS NEITHER IN CUSTODY NOR THE SUBJECT OF AN ARREST WARRANT. THE FAMILY THEN ASKED PERMISSION TO VIEW THE REMAINS OF THE TWO UNIDENTIFIED BODIES HELD AT THE MEDICAL-LEGAL INSTITUTE PENDING INVESTIGATION OF THE PUTATIVE ATTACK ON THE FOREIGN
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07085 01 OF 02 041125Z

MINISTER. A FAMILY DENTIST IDENTIFIED DENTAL WORK ON ONE OF THE CORPSES AS WORK HE HAD DONE ON SOTO AND FILED A DETAILED REPORT WITH THE MILITARY COURT. ACCORDING TO A VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY ATTORNEY INVOLVED IN THE CASE INTERVIEWED IN THE OPPOSITION NEWSWEEKLY HOY (DECEMBER 2), THE BODY IS SOTO'S "BEYOND THE SHODOW OF A DOUBT," ALTHOUGH NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT HAS BEEN ISSUED BY THE GOC CONFIRMING THE IDENTIFICATION. (COMMENT: THE MYSTERY SURROUNDING THE SOTO CASE SUPPORTS THE WIDELY-CIRCULATED RUMOR THAT CNO AGENTS STAGED THE INCIDENT NEAR THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S HOME FOR PURPOSES OF THEIR OWN. THE HOY INTERVIEW SUGGESTS THAT SOTO WAS A MMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY DURING HIS LAW STUDIES PRIOR TO 1975, BUT THE FAMILY CLAIMS THAT HE HAD NO INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS SINCE THAT TIME. SOTO'S APPARENT LACK OF TIES TO THE VIOLENT LEFT AND THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO PROVIDE MORE CONVINCING EVIDENCE THAT PREVIOUSLY-IDENTIFIED JAIME CUEVAS CUEVAS WAS TRULY A MEMBER OF THE MIR ONLY SERVES TO FUEL SPECULATION ABOUT THE FACTS BEHIND

THE INCIDENT. ALTHOUGH THE OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION CONTINUES, THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY MAY CAUSE EMBARRASSING FACTS TO COME TO LIGHT. END COMMENT)

4. (U) THE GOC ANNOUNCED DECEMBER 1 THAT SECURITY AGENTS ARRESTED TWO ALLEGED MILITANTS OF THE PROSCRIBED IZQUIERDA CRISTIANA PARTY AFTER A WEEKEND SEARCH OF SEVERAL PRIVATE HOMES AND A BUSINESS UNCOVERED A CLANDESTINE PRESS AND AN ARMS CACHE. THE TWO MEN WERE IDENTIFIED AS RAUL REYES SUSARTE AND RAMON PINA VARGAS, BOTH ACCUSED OF ENGAGING IN LIASON AND PROPAGANDA COORDINATION FOR THE PARTY. BOTH HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH VIOLATIONS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL LAWS, WHILE POLICE CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION. POLICE CLAIM TO HAVE CONFISCATED AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, PISTOLS, AMMUNITION AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES, AS WELL AS A PRINTING PRESS.
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PAGE 04 SANTIA 07085 01 OF 02 041125Z

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07085 02 OF 02 041226Z
ACTION SY-05

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	NSC-05	ARA-16	NSAE-00	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00
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P 032023Z DEC 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1846
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 7085

BUENOS AIRES FOR RSO
CINCLANT FOR POLAD

5. (U) MIRISTAS DETAINED AND CONVICTED: (A) A SANTIAGO MAN DETAINED NOVEMBER 7 BY CNI AGENTS WAS BOUND OVER TO A MILITARY COURT ON NOVEMBER 24, ACCUSED OF ARMS CONTROL

AND INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS. FRANCISCO ASTORGA GUAJARDO, 37, ALLEGEDLY A WELL-KNOWN COMMUNIST MILITANT DURING THE ALLENDE YEARS, REPORTEDLY RETURNED TO CHILE SECRETLY IN 1976, REMAINING IN HIDING UNTIL EARLIER THIS YEAR. HE IS CHARGED WITH JOINING A MIR CELL LAST APRIL AND CONDUCTING PARAMILITARY INSTRUCTION AND POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION FOR THE GROUP. HE ALSO ALLEGEDLY PLANNED AND PARTICIPATED IN A FRUSTRATED SEPTEMBER 25 BOMB ATTACK ON THE STORAGE LOT OF A SANTIAGO AUTOMOBILE WHOLESALER. (B) A SANTIAGO MILITARY COURT SENTENCED CONVICTED MIRISTA ULISES GOMEZ NAVARRO TO A TOTAL OF 11 YEARS, 3 MONTHS IMPRISONMENT FOR INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS. GOMEZ IS CURRENTLY SERVING TIME FOR ARMS CONTROL INFRACTIONS. HE WAS ARRESTED IN OCTOBER, 1979 IN AN APRTMENT IN THE LA FLORIDA SECTION OF SANTIAGO, WHERE HE WAS FOUND PREPARING

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COPIES OF THE MIR NEWSPAPER EL REBELDE FOR DISTRIBUTION. POLICE ALSO ALLEGEDLY FOUND EXPLOSIVES HIDDEN IN THE APARTMENT. (C) A MILITARY APPEALS PANEL UPHELD THE DECISION OF THE MILITARY JUDGE FOR SANTIAGO SENTENCING ACCUSED MIRISTA RAUL LOPEZ PERALTA TO THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR ASSOCIATION WITH A PARAMILITARY GROUP. LOPEZ WAS ARRESTED IN MID-1979 AFTER HE AND AN ACCOMPLICE PLACED A BOMB UNDERNEATH A POLICE VEHICLE PARKED IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO. THE BLAST DESTROYED THE VEHICLE, BUT CAUSED NO INJURIES. THE SAME DECISION COMMUTED THE SENTENCE OF HIS ACCOMPLICE, VICTOR CORNEJO ALFARO, TO TIME SERVED. A THIRD ACCUSED, LUISA GATICA CHAVEZ, WAS ACQUITTED OF CHARGES STEMMING FROM THE SAME INCIDENT.

6. (U) THE COURT OF APPEALS AGREED TO HEAR THE APPEALS OF SEVEN MEN CONVICTED NOVEMBER 27 OF VIOLATIONS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY LAW AND DECREE LAW 77 GOVERNING ILLICIT ASSOCIATION. A LOWER COURT JUDGE SENTENCED THE SEVEN, ALLEGEDLY MEMBERS OF A COMMUNIST PARTY CELL, TO INTERNAL EXILE IN VARIOUS LOCATIONS FOR 1,082 DAYS EACH. THE SEVEN ARE: JORGE VALDES SEPULVEDA, HECTOR NUNEZ FERRADA, JOSE ESPERGUEL VERA, MILTON FLORES MAHUIDA, VICTOR ARIAS VEGA, TEOBALDO BRAVO GONZALEZ, AND OMAR ROSALES CHAVEZ.

7. (U) PLAINCLOTHES OFFICIALS SEARCHED THE HOME OF FORMER ALLENDE INFORMATION MINISTER JUAN IBANEZ, DETAINING HIM AND HIS FAMILY FOR 10 HOURS ON NOVEMBER 23. ALL WERE LATER RELEASED WITHOUT CHARGE. IBANEZ, WHO SITS ON THE METROPLITAN COUNCIL OF THE COLEGIO DE PERIODISTAS, ALLEGED THAT THE SEARCHERS COMBED HIS LIBRARY AND PERSONAL PAPERS, LATER SEARCHING THE HOUSE FOR A HIDDEN BASEMENT. SEVERAL OTHER PERSONS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD WERE ALSO

DETAINED AND RELEASED LATER. NO EXPLANATION WAS GIVEN
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07085 02 OF 02 041226Z

FOR THE ACTION, AND THE COLEGIO DE PERIODISTAS DECIDED AGAINST LODGING A FORMAL PROTEST AFTER IBANEZ WAS RELEASED.

8. (U) UPDATE ON COURT CASES: (A) ON NOVEMBER 25, THE SUPREME COURT RULED IN FAVOR OF THE THREE STUDENTS CHARGED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE (SANTIAGO 6123 AND PREVIOUS). MARIA BRAVO MERCHANT, FERNANDO LEMICH BETANCOURT, AND GREGORY COHEN MUNOZ WERE RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY AFTER THE COURT FOUND THAT THE COURT OF APPEALS DECISION BRANDING THE THREE AS "DANGEROUS TO SOCIETY" AND DENYING THEM BAIL WAS NOT WARRANTED BY THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED IN THE CASE. A FOURTH STUDENT, MARIA VILLAVICENCIO GONZALEZ, WAS RELEASED PREVIOUSLY AFTER A SIMILAR COURT RULING (SANTIAGO 6780). (B) A MILITARY COURT DISMISSED ALL REMAINING CHARGES AGAINST AIDA CERRO SAAVEDRA AND LUIS RODRIGUEZ ALVAREZ, WHO HAD ALLEGED IN CIVIL COURT PROCEEDINGS THAT THEY WERE THREATENED BY AN UNEXECUTED ORDER OF DETENTION FOR SECURITY REASONS BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR (SANTIAGO 6780 AND PREVIOUS). (C) IN AN UNUSUAL DECISION HANDED DOWN NOVEMBER 20, THE COURT OF APPEALS MODIFIED A LOWER COURT DECISION SENTENCING FORMER STUDENT EUGENIO RIVAS MANCILLA TO 541 DAYS OF INTERNAL EXILE (SANTIAGO 6525). THE COURT'S 2-1 VOTE CHANGED THE SENTENCE TO IMPRISONMENT FOR AN EQUAL PERIOD. RIVAS WAS ARRESTED JULY 17 AFTER A VIOLENT STREET DEMONSTRATION. LAWYERS FOR THE ACCUSED IMMEDIATELY FILED A WRIT OF COMPLAINT IN THE SUPREME COURT, ALLEGING ABUSE OF LEGAL PROCESS.
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PAGE 01 STATE 319897
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INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	OIC-02	AF-10	CIAE-00
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APPROVED BY IO:NPLATT
IO/HR:WEHEWITT
ARA/SC:RSERVICE
HA:RJOYNER

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS STATE 319897

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, CI

SUBJECT: 36TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12, CHILE'S - HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

REF: USUN 4323

1. USDEL IS INSTRUCTED TO VOTE AGAINST DRAFT TEXTS L.60 SPONSORED BY ALGERIA, CUBA, MEXICO AND YUGOSLAVIA, AND L.64 SPONSORED BY THE NETHERLANDS.

2. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED TEXT FOR EXPLANATION OF VOTE:

MR. CHAIRMAN:

MY GOVERNMENT HAS VOTED AGAINST THE RESOLUTIONS ON HUMAN
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PAGE 02 STATE 319897

RIGHTS IN CHILE AFTER THOUGHTFUL REVIEW OF CHILE'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF THIS COMMITTEE. WE DO SO FOR THE SAME REASONS EXPRESSED BY OUR REPRESENTATIVE AT THE LAST SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN FEBRUARY.

WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN CHILE, WHEN COMPARED WITH THE SITUATION EXISTING PRIOR TO 1977 OR BY COMPARISON WITH MANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD,

JUSTIFY CONTINUATION OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR PROCEDURE. IT IS IMPORTANT TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THIS BODY THAT WE APPLY EVENHANDED TREATMENT TO THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

WE WOULD BE THE LAST TO ARGUE THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE IS PERFECT. ON THE CONTRARY, THE RECENT EXPULSIONS OF FOUR CHILEANS, ONE OF WHOM WAS THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, WAS CONTRARY TO THE BASIC RIGHTS OF PEACEFUL POLITICAL DISSENT. NEVERTHELESS, THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS IN CHILE SINCE 1977. I WOULD NOTE PARTICULARLY THE END TO INDEFINITE DETENTIONS WITHOUT TRIAL IN 1976, THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO DISAPPEARANCES SINCE OCTOBER 1977, THE RELEASE OF MOST POLITICAL PRISONERS BY EARLY 1978, AND THE FACT THAT, ALTHOUGH STILL CIRCUMSCRIBED, OPPOSITION VIEWPOINTS DO HAVE MEDIA ACCESS. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT CHILE PERMITTED A VISIT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON CHILE IN JULY 1978, AND THAT NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS YET PERMITTED A SIMILAR VISIT BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

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PAGE 03 STATE 319897

THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR HAVE GIVEN RELATIVELY LITTLE ATTENTION TO THESE AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS, CONCENTRATING INSTEAD ON THOSE AREAS WHERE THERE HAS BEEN LIMITED PROGRESS OR WHERE THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN GOVERNMENT POWERS NOT SUBJECT TO JUDICIAL REVIEW.

THE UNITED STATES YIELDS TO NO COUNTRY IN SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE. BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT CONTINUING TO SINGLE OUT CHILE FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT BY THIS BODY IS THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THEM. WE HOPE THAT THE UNHRC AT ITS NEXT SESSION WILL CAREFULLY EXAMINE ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES FOR HANDLING ITS EXAMINATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD WHERE THERE ARE SIMILAR OR MORE SEVERE PROBLEMS. STOESSEL

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DECONTROL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 07103 041934Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 SY-05
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R 041852Z DEC 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1851
INFO USICA WASHDC 124

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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Exemption(s) ____

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E O 12065: NA
TAGS: PINS, PINT, PROP, CI
SUBJECT: GOC CONTROL OF THE MEDIA

REF: SANTIAGO 6039 AND PREVIOUS

1. SUMMARY: IN ADDITION TO THREE RECENT DECREES DESIGNED TO CONTROL THE MEDIA, THE GOC ALSO INITIATED TWO COURT CASES (REFTEL). IN ONE CASE, THE INVESTIGATING JUDGE RULED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S CHARGE THAT "LAS ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" HAD VIOLATED THE LAW FORBIDDING PUBLICIZING TERRORIST ACTS. IN THE OTHER, STRANGELY CONFLICTING TESTIMONY LED TO A SUPREME COURT DECISION WHICH, FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST, LEFT APSI FREE TO PUBLISH BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS. NEVERTHELESS, THE CASES MAY HAVE SERVED THE GOVERNMENT'S PURPOSE IN THAT THE MEDIA ARE BEHAVING MORE CAUTIOUSLY, ALTHOUGH FAR FROM MUZZLED. END SUMMARY.

2. USING THE WIDE-RANGING EXECUTIVE POWERS GRANTED BY ARTICLE 24 OF THE TRANSITORY PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE GOC HAS ATTEMPTED TO EXTEND ITS CONTROL OVER DISSEMINATION OF NEWS IN CHILE BY PROMULGATING PRESS LAWS WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, GRANTED THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR SOLE POWER TO AUTHORIZE NEW PUBLICATIONS AND REQUIRED THE MEDIA TO REFRAIN FROM

PROMINENTLY PUBLICIZING TERRORIST ACTS. USING THESE POWERS, THE GOC MOVED ON AUGUST 7 TO PROHIBIT THE MAGAZINE "APSI" FROM PUBLISHING NATIONAL AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL NEWS AND ON OCTOBER 9 TO PUNISH THE DAILY NEWSPAPER "LAS ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" FOR PUBLISHING REPORTS ON TERRORIST ACTIVITIES (FOR FULLER DESCRIPTION OF PRESS LAWS AND THE TWO CASES CITED ABOVE, SEE SANTIAGO 6039).

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3. "LAS ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" CASE: ON NOVEMBER 16, THE INVESTIGATING JUDGE NAMED BY THE SANTIAGO COURT OF APPEALS DECIDED NEWS PUBLISHED BY NEWSPAPER DID NOT CONSITTUTE A VIOLATION OF PRESS LAWS AS GOVERNMENT HAD CLAIMED. LATER IN THE MONTH, ON NOVEMBER 27, THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED IT WOULD NOT APPEAL THE JUDGE'S DECISION. THIS EFFECTIVELY ABSOLVES "LAS ULTIMAS NOTICIAS" AND ITS EDITOR OF ALL CHARGES.

4. "APSI CASE": ON NOVEMBER 23, THE CHILEAN SUPREME COURT VOTED 5-0 TO DENY A WRIT OF PROTECTION FILED AGAINST THE GOC BY THE NEWS MAGAZINE APSI. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE COURT'S DECISION WERE AS TANGLED AS THE BACKGROUND OF THE CASE ITSELF (SEE REFTEL). FOLLOWING DENIALS OF THE SRIT OF PROTECTION IN LOWER COURTS, APSI APPEALED THE CASE TO THE SUPREME COURT. THERE, IT LOST ITS APPEAL BATTLE BUT WON ITS WAR. DURING TESTIMONY BEFORE THE INVESTIGATING JUDGE, THE EDITOR OF APSI TESTIFIED HE HAD RECEIVED VERBAL, BUT NOT WRITTEN ORDERS FROM DINACOS TO STOP PUBLISHING NATIONAL NEWS ON THE GROUNDS THAT APSI HAD NEVER RECEIVED WRITTEN AUTHORIZATION TO PUBLISH NATIONAL NEWS. THE DIRECTOR OF DINACOS DENIED ORDERING APSI TO STOP PUBLICATION OF NATIONAL NEWS, DESPITE A SERIES OF NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWS HE GAVE IN AUGUST WHICH ESSENTIALLY AGREEED WITH THE TESTIMONY OF THE APSI EDITOR. GIVEN THIS TESTIMONY, THE SUPREME COURT DENIED THE WRIT OF PROTECTION ON THE GROUNDS IT WAS UNNECESSARY.

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07103 041934Z

5. BASED ON THE TESTIMONY OF THE DIRECTOR OF DINACOS AND THE SUPREME COURT DECISION, APSI ANNOUNCED IT WILL RESUME PUBLICATION OF BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS BUT DID NOT SPECIFY A DATE. SINCE DINACOS REMAINS FREE TO INITIATE ACTION AGAINST APSI, THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE CASE IS STILL SOMEWHAT DOUBTFUL. ADDITIONALLY, THE EDITOR OF APSI TOLD EMBASSY THE MAGAZINE IS IN VERY BAD SHAPE ECONOMICALLY (ITS NORMAL PRE-CRISIS CIRCULATION WAS ONLY ABOUT 2,000 WHICH ROSE TO NEARLY 8,000 DURING THE CONTROVERSY, BUT HE MAGAZINE HAS NOT BEEN PUBLISHED AT ALL SINCE EARLY AUGUST).

6. EMBASSY COMMENT: IN LIGHT OF RECENT COURT DECISIONS, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT THE GOC WILL DO ABOUT ITS OWN INCREASINGLY STRINGENT PRESS LAWS. IN ONE SENSE, HOWEVER, IT HAS ALREADY GAINED PART OF ITS OBJECTIVE, THE RESTRICTION DYGDTWN
OF NEWS ABOUT TERRORIST ACTIVITIES, IN THAT THE CHILEAN MEDIA APPEAR TO BE SOMEWHAT MORE CAUTIOUS THAN BEFORE, ALTHOUGH BY NO MEANS MUZZLED.
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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04489 01 OF 03 040206Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02	AF-10
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9901
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ✓
Exemption(s) ____

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 04489

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 12065:N/A
TAGS: UNGA, PORG, SHUM
SUBJECT: 36TH UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12, AMENDED RESOLUTION L.60, STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

REF: (A) STATE 319897, (B) USUN 4323

1. ON DECEMBER 3, THIRD COMMITTEE ADOPTED AMENDED RESOLUTION L.64, STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, BY A VOTE OF 83-20-36. THE US VOTED AGAINST, JOINED BY ALL OF THE LATIN NATIONS EXCEPT FOR PERU, ECUADOR, AND DOMINICAN REPUBLIC WHO ABSTAINED, AND VENEZUELA, WHO VOTED IN FAVOR.

2. ALGERIA, CUBA, DENMARK, FRANCE, GREECE, MEXICO, SWEDEN, YUGOSLAVIA, AND NICARAGUA JOINED NETHERLANDS IN SPONSORING THE AMENDED L.64 (REPORTED REF B). MEXICO'S L.60 WAS WITHDRAWN, AND THE ORIGINAL L.64 WAS STRENGTHENED ACCORDINGLY. AMENDMENTS FOLLOW:
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04489 01 OF 03 040206Z

--PREAMBULAR 6: "DISTURBED BY" REPLACED BY "DEPLORING;" ADDED TO END: "AND WITH OTHER UN BODIES IN THE FIELD OF *HUMAN RIGHTS*"

--PREAMBULAR 7 DELETED

--PREAMBULAR 10, CHANGED TO PREAMBULAR 9: ADDED TO END: "NOT ONLY FAILS TO GUARANTEE FULLY, BUT IN CERTAIN RESPECTS, ALLOWS INTERFERENCES WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS."

--MADE OLD OPERATIVE PARA 2 NEW OPERATIVE PARA 6

--AMENDED OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 (FORMERLY 3):

- 2. REITERATES ITS GRAVE CONCERN AT THE PERSISTENCE AND, IN SOME RESPECTS, THE DETERIORATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, AS STATED BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AND PARTICULARLY:

- (I) THE DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC
- LEGAL ORDER AND ITS INSTITUTIONS BY
- MAINTAINING AND EXPANDING THE EMERGENCY
- LEGISLATION AND THE PROMULGATION OF A
- CONSTITUTION THAT FAILS TO REFLECT A FREELY
- HAMPERS THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL
- FREEDOMS OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE AND ALLOWS
- INTERFERENCES WITH SUCH RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS,
- (II) THE INTENSIFICATION OF PRACTICES SUCH AS
- ARBITRARY DETENTION AND CONFINEMENT IN SECRET
- PLACES, OFTEN ACCOMPANIED BY TORTURE AND
- INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT WHICH, ON

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PAGE 03 USUN N 04489 01 OF 03 040206Z

- OCCASION, RESULT IN UNEXPLAINED DEATHS,
- (III) THE PERSECUTION, INTIMIDATION AND
- IMPRISONMENT, AS WELL AS THE
- BANISHMENT AND FORCED EXILE OF A NUMBER OF
- PERSONS WHO PARTICIPATE IN TRADE UNION,
- ACADEMIC, CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN
- ACTIVITIES

--OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 3 (FORMERLY 4) ADDED BETWEEN JUDICIARY AND PERFORMS: "DOES NOT FULLY EXERCISE ITS POWERS IN THIS RESPECT"

--OPERATIVE PARA 4 (D) (FORMERLY 5 (D)): ADDED BETWEEN TREATMENT AND PROSECUTE: "RESULTING, INTERALIA, IN UNEXPLAINED DEATHS AND TO"

--OPERATIVE PARA 5 (FORMERLY 6): AFTER "URGES", ADDED "ONCE MORE;" REPLACED "INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS" WITH "VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS"

3. FOLLOWING IS US EXPLANATION OF VOTE:
MR. CHAIRMAN:

MY GOVERNMENT WILL VOTE AGAINST RESOLUTION L.64 REV 1 ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AFTER THOUGHTFUL REVIEW OF CHILE'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF THIS COMMITTEE. WE DO SO FOR THE SAME REASONS EXPRESSED BY OUR REPRESENTATIVE AT THE LAST SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN FEBURARY.

WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN CHILE, WHEN COMPARED WITH THE SITUATION EXISTING PRIOR TO 1977 OR BY COMPARISON WITH MANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, JUSTIFY CONTINUATION OF THE SPECIAL

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PAGE 04 USUN N 04489 01 OF 03 040206Z

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04489 02 OF 03 040208Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02	AF-10
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9902
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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 04489

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS

RAPPORTEUR PROCEDURE.

WE WOULD BE THE LAST TO ARGUE THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE IS PERFECT. NEVERTHELESS, THERE

HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS IN CHILE SINCE 1977. I WOULD NOTE PARTICULARLY THE END TO INDEFINITE DETENTIONS WITHOUT TRIAL IN 1976, THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO DISAPPEARANCES SINCE OCTOBER 1977, THE RELEASE OF MOST POLITICAL PRISONERS BY EARLY 1978, AND THE FACT THAT, ALTHOUGH STILL CIRCUMSCRIBED, OPPOSITION VIEWPOINTS DO HAVE MEDIA ACCESS. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT CHILE PERMITTED A VISIT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON CHILE IN JULY 1978, AND THAT NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS YET PERMITTED A SIMILAR VISIT BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR HAVE GIVEN INADEQUATE
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04489 02 OF 03 040208Z

ATTENTION TO THESE AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS, CONCERNTRATING INSTEAD ON THOSE AREAS WHERE THERE HAS BEEN LIMITED PROGRESS OR WHERE THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN GOVERNMENT POWERS NOT SUBJECT TO JUDICIAL REVIEW.

THIS RESOLUTION PROPOSES FOR CHILE STANDARDS AND TERMS NO OTHER NATION IS ASKED TO MEET. IT CONSTITUTES ONE MORE EXAMPLE OF THE UNFAIR APPLICATION TO THE NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA OF STANDARDS NOT APPLIED TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

THIS UNBALANCED TREATMENT OF NON-COMMUNIST LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS DOES NOT ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ANYWHERE. INSTEAD, IT MERELY CREATES CYNICISM ABOUT U.N. JUDGEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE RESOLUTION LISTS A NUMBER OF CONCRETE STEPS THAT THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES MUST TAKE BEFORE THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR WILL BE REMOVED. MANY COUNTRIES, PERHAPS A MAJORITY, COULD NOT MEET THESE STANDARDS. FOR EXAMPLE, IT URGES "AN END TO ARBITRARY DETENTIONS, PHYSICAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL INTIMIDATION AND PROSECUTION OF PERSONS WHO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OPINION. YET IN A REPORT ISSUED JUST LAST MONTH BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT ABOUT HALF THE MEMBERS COUNTRIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ARE BELIEVED TO HOLD PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE. ARE WE TO HAVE A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES?

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PAGE 03 USUN N 04489 02 OF 03 040208Z

RAPPORTEUR IS THAT FULL RESTORATION"OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY THE FREEDOM TO JOIN TRADE UNIONS WHICH CAN OPERATE FREELY WITHOUT GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND CAN EXERCISE FULLY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE."

AGAIN, MR. CHAIRMAN, HOW MANY MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS RESPECT THE RIGHT OF FREE ASSOCIATION AND PERMIT THE EXISTENCE OF FREE TRADE UNIONS? RECENTLY, IN ONE LARGE COUNTRY THAT MOUTHS THE RHETORIC OF PROLITARIANISM, EVEN AS IT IMPOSES ON WORKERS STATE CONTROLLED LABOR FRONTS, A HANDFUL OF WORKERS WHO TRIED TO START A FREE TRADE UNION WERE THROWN INTO JAIL OR SENT TO PSYCHIATRIC PRISONS. SHOULDN'T WE ALSO HAVE A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR THIS COUNTRY AND FOR ALL THE OTHERS WHICH DENY THE RIGHT TO FORM FREE TRADE UNIONS?

MR. CHAIRMAN, CHILE CANNOT BE CHARACTERIZED AS A FREE SOCIETY. BUT ACCORDING TO THE CAREFULLY *DOCUMENTED REPORT OF FREEDOM HOUSE ON THE STATE* OF FREEDOM IN THE WORLD, CHILE IS LESS UNFREE THAN 56 COUNTRIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING 2 SPONSORS OF THE RESOLUTION NOW BEFORE US. THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM IS THE SAME AS IN 9 OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING 1 SPONSOR OF THE RESOLUTION. SHOULDN'T WE HAVE A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR EACH OF THESE 65 COUNTRIES? AND IF WE DO NOT, IS NOT THE UNITED NATIONS GUILTY OF HAVING A DOUBLE STANDARD ON HUMAN RIGHTS? MR. CHAIRMAN, THE UNITED STATES YIELDS TO NO COUNTRY IN SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, OR IN ITS SEARCH FOR INSTITUTIONS WHICH WILL PRESERVE AND EXPAND FREEDOM, LAW, DEMOCRACY, AND DEVELOPMENT.

BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT CONTINUING TO
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PAGE 04 USUN N 04489 02 OF 03 040208Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04489 03 OF 03 040208Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-07	NSCE-00	ARA-16
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 04489

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS

SINGLE OUT CHILE FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT BY THIS BODY IS THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THEM. WE HOPE THAT THE UNHRC AT ITS NEXT SESSION WILL CAREFULLY EXAMINE ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES FOR HANDLING ITS EXAMINATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD WHERE THERE ARE SIMILAR OR MORE SEVERE PROBLEMS.

WE BELIEVE IN FAIRNESS IN THE APPLICATION OF STANDARDS AND FIRMLY OPPOSE THEIR ARBITRARY INVOCATION.

BECAUSE WE TAKE HUMAN RIGHTS SERIOUSLY, WE BELIEVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARD MUST NEVER BE CHEAPENED BY USE AS A POLITICAL WEAPON. WE WILL THEREFORE VOTE AGAINST THIS MISNAMED RESOLUTION "PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE."

END TEXT OF US EXPLANATION OF VOTE.
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04489 03 OF 03 040208Z

4. FURTHER ANALYSIS WILL FOLLOW SEPTEL.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA
ACTION ARA-16

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1877
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4. GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, HOWEVER, SERIOUSLY LIMIT THE FORMATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN THE PROVINCES. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF THE PSD, WHICH, AS THE NEWEST AND SMALLEST OF THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION PARTIES, SCARCELY EXISTS OUTSIDE OF SANTIAGO.

5. HISTORY: THE PSD BEGAN AS S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC REACTION AGAINST THE GROWING LEFTIST TOTALITARIANISM OF ALLENDE'S UNIDAD POPULAR (UP) COALITION. IT GREW OUT OF THE MODERATE WING OF THE OLD RADICAL PARTY AND ORGINALLY CALLED ITSELF THE PARTIDO DE IZQUIERDA RADICAL (PIR - LEFT RADICAL PARTY). DESPITE ITS ORIGINAL NAME, THE PARTY WAS AND IS COMPOSED MAINLY OF PROFESS-IONALS WITH A SMATTERING OF SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND TEACHERS, MOST OF WHOM HAVE THEIR ROOTS IN THE OLD RADICAL PARTY.

6. PARTY ORGANIZATION: THE PSD HAS VERY LITTLE IN THE WAY OF A FORMAL PARTY ORGANIZATION AND EVEN LESS EXPERIENCE AS A PARTY, SINCE IT HAS TAKEN PART IN ONLY ONE ELECTION, THE MARCH 1973 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. RATHER, IT IS A GROUP OF LIKE-MINDED INDIVIDUALS WHO HOPE TO BUILD, FIRST, AN INFLUENTIAL CURRENT OF OPINION AND EVENTUALLY A GENUINE POLITICAL PARTY, OUT OF THE MODERATE REMNANTS OF THE SPLINTERED RADICAL PARTY. THE PSD IS CENTERED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN SANTIAGO, MAINTAINING ONLY A SKELETAL MEMBERSHIP IN OTHER CITIES. OUTSIDE OF SANTIAGO, THERE IS ALMOST NOTHING IN THE

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PAGE [redacted] SANTIA 07140 01 OF 02 091550Z

WAY OF A PARTY ORGANIZATION AND, EVEN IN SANTIAGO, PARTY ORGANIZATION TENDS TO BE INFORMAL AND MEETINGS IRREGULAR. THE FURTHER AWAY FROM SANTIAGO ONE GOES, THE WEAKER THE PARTY BECOMES. AS A RESULT, WHAT MEETINGS THERE ARE CONSIST OF 5-6 MEMBERS MEETING IN THE HOME OF ONE ANOTHER AND DISCUSSING THE ISSUES OF THE DAY. OUTSIDE OF SUCH MEETINGS, WHICH ARE MORE IN THE NATURE OF DISCUSSION GROUPS THAN OF POLITICAL PARTY MEETINGS, THE PARTY IS HELD TOGETHER LARGELY BY A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER AND LIMITED PERSONAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE LEADERS IN SANTIAGO AND MEMBERS IN THE PROVINCES.

7. IN SANTIAGO, THE PARTY LEADERS ARE RENE ABELIUK, EX-RADICAL PARTY FUNCTIONARY AND PRESIDENT SINCE HE TOOK OVER FROM LUIS BOSSAY IN 1980; ARTURO VENEGAS, PIR CANDIDATE FOR DEPUTY IN MARCH 1973 AND PROBABLY THE PARTY'S LEADING IDEOLOGIST; AND MARIO PAPI, EX-YOUTH LEADER AND STILL THE PARTY'S MAIN LINK TO YOUTH GROUPS. MUCH CAN BE UNDERSTOOD ABOUT THE PARTY ORGANIZA-TION WHENONE REALIZES THAT THE THREE ARE PART OF THE SAME LAW FIRM IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO. MOST OF THEIR ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP THROUGH-OUT CHILE IS ALSO MADE UP OF LAWYERS AND EX-RADICAL PARTY MEMBERS.

8. IDEOLOGY: IDEOLOGICALLY, THE PSD CONTINUES THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LINE OF ITS MODERATE RADICAL PARTY ANCESTRY. THEY SEE THEMSELVES AS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN THE EUROPEAN SENSE (THEY RECEIVE SOME LIMITED HELP FROM SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE), ALTHOUGH THAT IS COMBINED WITH CONSIDERABLE TRADITIONAL CHILEAN POPULISM. THEY WANT A MIXED ECONOMY WITH MORE PROTECTIONISM, GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES FOR INDUSTRY, AND INCREASED SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFITS THAN EXIST TODAY IN CHILE'S COMPETITIVE FREE MARKET SYSTEM. FOR INSPIRATION, THEY HARKEN BACK TO A MODIFIED VERSION OF THE RADICAL PARTY ECONOMIC PROGRAM WHICH INDUSTRIALIZED CHILE IN THE 1940'S.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07140 02 OF 02 091706Z
ACTION ARA-16

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9. IN GENERAL, THEY VIEW THEMSELVES AS PROVIDING A NECESSARY, SLIGHTLY LEFT-OF-CENTER ALTERNATIVE TO THE PDC. THEY HOPE TO DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES FROM THE PDC BY PLAYING UPON THEIR: A) SECULARITY, AS OPPOSED TO PDC-CHURCH TIES, ALTHOUGH THEY PERCEIVE THAT THE ANTI-CLERICALISM OF THE 1930'S AND 1940'S IS DEAD AS A POLITICAL ISSUE IN CHILE; B). LACK OF A POLITICAL PAST ,COMPARED TO THE COMPROMISES AND MISTAKES MADE OVER THE YEARS BY THE PDCV C) SELF-PERCEPTION AS HAVING A BETTER DEFINED AND MORE UNIFIED PARTY IDEOLOGY, AS COMPARED TO PDC ATTEMPTS TO ACCOMMODATE WIDELY DIVERGENT OPINIONS; AND D) OFFER OF A MILD BRAND OF POPULISM/SOCIALISM AS THE ANSWER TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF CHILE. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, THE PDC HAS MADE SOME ATTEMPTS, IN THE NAME OF RESTORING DEMOCRACY, TO AID PSD DEVELOPMENT. PDC LEADERS MAY SEE SOME VALUE IN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AS A KIND OF FIRE BREAK AGAINST THE ORTHODOX MARXISTS.

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10. THEIR ILD BRAND OF POPULISM/SOCIALISM SHOULD NOT HOWEVER, BE MISUNDERSTOOD. THEIR ANTI-COMMUNISM YIELDS NOTHING TO THAT OF THE PDC. IN FACT, THEY ARE WILLING TO SAY PRIVATELY
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07140 02 OF 02 091706Z

THAT, IN A CHOICE BETWEEN A MILITARY AND A COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP, THE PREFER THE MILITARY VARIETY. IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THEIR PRIMARY EMPHASIS IS ALWAYS AND CLEARLY PLACED ON DEMOCRACY.

11. IDEOLOGICALLY, THE PSC BELONGS IN THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL BUT IT HAS NEVER OFFICIALLY APPLIED BECAUSE: A) THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONTINUES TO RECOGNIZE THE NOW-DEFUNCT RADICAL PARTY IN EXILE; B) MEMBERSHIP MIGHT BRAND THE PSD AS DANGEROUS LEFTISTS IN CHILE'S CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE; C) PSD ORGANIZATION WEAKNESSES ARE SO GLARING AT THE PRESENT TIME THAT BOTH THE PSD AND THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MIGHT BE EMBARRASED BY A REJECTED APPLICATION; AND D) THE PSD FEELS SI MEMBERSHIP WILL FOLLOW NATURALLY AS THE PARTY DEVELOPS.

12. ONE INTERESGING IDEOLOGICAL SIDELIGHT OF PSD IDEOLOGY IS ITS CONTINUING LINKS WITH THE MASONICS LODGES IN CHILE. THESE LINKS GO BACK TO THE 1930'S AND WERE ORIGINALLY BASED ON A CONFLUENCE OF LIBERALISM AND SECULARIS. ALTHOUGH THE IDEOLOGICAL LINKS ARE PRETTY MUCH PASSE TODAY, THE PSD CONTINUES TO USE THE LODGES AS A SUBTERFUGE FOR HOLDING SMALL-SCALE POLITICAL MEETINGS WHICH ARE OFFICIALLY FORBIDDEN.

13. PSD YOUTH: IN CHILE, THE PROBLEM OF WHAT TO DO WITH THE POLITICAL YOUTH GROUPS IS LIKE THAT OF THE WEATHER: EVERYONE TALKS ABOUT THEM BUT NO ONE DOES MUCH OF ANYTHING, ONE DIFFICULTY IS THAT WHATEVER PROBLEMS THE PSD HAS, THEIR YOUTH HAVE THEM IN RE-DOUBLED FORM--OVER CENTRALIZATION IN SANTIAGO, SHORTAGE OF FUNDS, LACK OF EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, LACK OF COMMUNICATION, APATHY, ETC. AS A RESULT, EXCEPT IN SANTIAGO AND VALPARAISO PSD YOUTH GROUPS ARE NON-EXISTENT. IN ADDITION TO THE SAME GENERAL PROBLEMS WHICH AFFLICT ALL YOUTH GROUPS, THE PSD ALSO SUFFERS FROM A PAUCITY OF YOUTH-OREINTED LITERATURE AND THE
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07140 02 OF 02 091706Z

LACK OF A LARGER ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE CHURCH OR THE MASONS TO COVER THEIR ACTIVITIES.

14. DESPITE THESE PROBLEMS, MOST OBSERVERS SEE A RISE IN

GENERAL STUDENT INTEREST AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE PAST YEAR OR TWO, USUALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE SEPTEMBER 1980 PLEBISCITE, LACK OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES, UNIVERSITY STUDENT REFORMS AND THE RISING COSTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION. IN THE LONG RUN, THIS MAY BENEFIT THE PSD IN ITS YOUTH ACTIVITIES. EVEN SO, POLITICAL ACTIVITY PROBABLY DIRECTLY INVOLVES LESS THAN FIVE PERCENT OF THE UNIVERSITY STUDENT POPULATION AND MANY BELIEVE IT HAS ALREADY PEAKED AND IS NOW LEVELING OFF.

15. CONCLUSIONS: THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHILE MIGHT BEST BE DESCRIBED AS A STATE OF SUSPENDED ANIMATION CAPABLE OF RAPID REVIVAL ONCE ARTIFICCIAL RESTRAINTS ARE REMOVED. RELATIVELY LITTLE IS BEING DONE, HOWEVER, TO REMOVE THOSE RESTRAINTS. MOST POLITICAL ACTIVISTS ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THEY CAN DO VERY LITTLE AGAINST THE POWER OF THE MILITARY GOVERN-MENT AND INSTEAD ARE BIDING THEIR TIME AND HUSBANDING THEIR SCANTY RESOURCES FOR THE PROMISED LAND OF FREE ELECTIONS IN 1989 AND AFTER.

16. THE HOPE AND THE POTENTIAL OF THE PSD IS THAT ONCE THE RESTRAINTS ARE OFF, THE PARTY WILL BENEFIT FROM A MASSIVE INFLUX OF POLITICAL SUPPORTERS, LEFT OVER FROM RADICAL PARTY DAYS, FOR A SECULAR, CENTER, POPULIST PARTY. SUCH CONSTITUENCY WOULD MAKE THE PSD THE LOGICAL DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE TO THE PDC AND, AT THE SAME TIME A NATURAL BULWARK AGAINST MORE RADICAL LEFTISTS. IN THE MEANTIME, THEY CARRY ON THEIR LIMITED ACTIVITIES, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WINKS AT AS LONG AS A LOW PROFILE IS MAINTAINED AND NO SIGNIFICANT THREAT IS PERCEIVED. IF THE PROFILE BECOMES TOO HIGH OR A THREAT IS PERCEIVED, THE GOVERNMENT ACTS, OFTEN BY EXPELLING A FEW LEADING INDIVIDUALS AS IN THE CASE OF EUGENIO VELASCO, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PSD, IN 1976.

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 07140 02 OF 02 091706Z

16. TO REALIZE ITS POTENTIAL AND TAKE A PLACE OF IMPORTANCE ON THE POLITICAL STAGE, THE PSD MUST SURMOUNT THREE MAJOR PROBLEMS IN THE DECADE AHEAD. THESEMIGHT BE SUMMED UP AS GROWHT, GOVERNMENT AND ALLENDE. THE PSD, WHICH IS BARELY A PARTY NOW, MUST GROWN IF IT IS TO BECOME A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL FORCE BY 1989 AND AFTER. TO DO SO, IT MUST NOT ONLY FIND BETTER KNOWN, MORE CHARISMATIC LEADERS, CLARIFY ITS PROGRAM TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CURRENT ECONOMIC MALAISE IN CHILE, AND ENLARGE ITS BASE OF SUPPORTAV IT MUST, AT THE SAME TIME AVOID PROVOKING RENEWED GOVERNMENT REPRESSION. WHILE DOING ALL THIS, IT MUST OVERCOME THE LINKAGE WHICH EXISTS IN THE MINDS OF MANY CHILEANS BETWEEN THE CATAS-TROPHE OF THE ALLENDE YEARS, PARTY POLITICS AND SOCIALISM-IN ALL OF WHICH THE PSD'S PREDECESSOR, THE RADICAL PARTY, WAS DDEEPLY INVOLVED. TO DO ALL OF THESE THINGS SUCCESSFULLY AND

SIMULTANEOUSLY WILL REQUIRE THAT THE PSD TRAVEL A VERY NARROW AND DIFFICULT PATH.
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07139 01 OF 02 081430Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 7139

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TAGS: SHUM CI
SUBJECT: WORLDWIDE STATUS AND RIGHTS OF WOMEN

REFS: (A) STATE 263288; (B) 79 SANTIAGO 4535

1. SUMMARY: IN SPINTE OF THE RELATIVE ABSENCE OF AN ORGANIZED WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CHILE, THE LOT OF CHILEAN WOMEN IS STEADILY IMPROVING, BOTH IN AND OUTSIDE THE HOME. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND PRACTICES, ESPECIALLY IN THEWORKPLACE, WOMEN IN CHILE PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AS MORE "LIBERATED" THAN IN THE PAST. WHILE THERE HAVE BEEN NO GIGANTIC LEAPS CAUSING IMPROVEMENTS IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS, MORE OPPORTUNITIES NOW EXIST FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN AREAS FORMERLY RESERVED TO MEN, THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE CURRENT STATUS OF CHILEAN WOMEN, APPENDING THEREAFTER SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE EMBASSY'S POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN CHILE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE CONSTITUTIOVN OF 1980 PROVIDES FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR CHILEAN MEN AND WOMEN, AND CHILEAN LAW GENERALLY PERMITS WOMEN TO ENTER THE WORK FORCE ON EQUAL TERMS WITH MEN. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, THERE ARE SUBTLE DIFFERENCES IN TREATMENT OF WORKING MEN AND
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07139 01 OF 02 081430Z

WOMEN, ALTHOUGH WOMEN ARE ENTERING THE WORK FORCE IN FAR GREATER NUMBERS THAN BEFORE, ENTRY-LEVEL SALARIES FOR WOMEN ARE GENERALLY LOWER AND WOMEN OFTEN ARE LIMITED TO FIELDS TRADITIONALLY RESERVED FOR WOMEN, SUCH AS TEACHING, NURSING, OR CLERICAL WORK. MOST EMPLOYERS REMAIN RELUCTANT TO CONSIDER WOMEN FOR JOBS

FOR WHICH SIMILARLY QUALIFIED MALES HAVE APPLIED. THE FOREGOING NOTWITHSTANDING, WHAVE BEEN ENTITLED BY LAW TO KEEP AND DISPOSE OF THEIR OWN SALARIES SINCE 1952. FURTHERMOR, THE WORKING MOTHER IS GIVEN BENEFITS WHICH FAR EXCEED THOSE NORMALLY PROVIDED IN THE UNITED STATES. FOR EXAMPLE, A WORKING MOTHER-TO-BE MUST BE PAID HER FULL SALARY DURING THE MATERNITY LEAVE PERIOD OF SIX WEEKS PRIOR TO DELIVERY AND TWELVE WEEKS POST-PARTUM. MOREOVER, IF THE EXPECTANT MOTHER'S WORKPLACE IS DETERMINED HAZARDOUS TO HERHEALTH, THE EMPLOYER IS REQUIRED BY LAW TO TRANSFER HER TOA JOB WHICH DOES NOT JEOPARDIZE HER HEALTH. THE EMPLOYER MUST PROVIDE DAY CARE FOR PRE-SCHOOLERS, EITHER ON PREMISES OR ELSEWHERE, IF HE EMPLOYS MORE THAN TWENTY WORKING MOTHERS.

3. IN OTHER MATTERS, THE CURRENT PICTURE IS LESS ENCOURAGING, ALTHOUGH SOME IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE. CHILEAN WOMEN HAVE HAD THE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT SINCE 1949, AND ENJOY EQUAL ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN ALL PROFESSIONAL FIELDS. MOST REMAINING LEGAL DISCRIMINATION OCCURS IN THE FIELD OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LAWS. PRIOR TO CHANGES INTHE LAWS AROUND 15 YEARS AGO, GOVERNING ALIENATION OF MARITAL PROPERTY, THE MALE SPOUSE COULD SELL OR ENCUMBER JOINTLY HELD PROPERTY AT WILL. NOW, WHERE THERE IS NO "SEPARATION" OF PROPERTY AT THE TIME OF MARRIAGE, THE CONSENT OF BOTH
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SPOUSES IS REQUIRED. MOST COUPLES FROM MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS FAMILIES CHOOSE TO INCLUDE A "SEPARATION OF PROPERTY" CLAUSE IN THE MARRIAGE AGREEMENT, THUS AVOIDING THE NEED FOR THE SPOUSE'S CONSENT TO DISPOSE OF REAL PROPERTY. CHILEAN LAW DOES NOT PERMIT DIVORCE, OR RECOGNIZE FOREIGN DIVORCES; THUS MARRIED COUPLES WISHING TO DISSOLVE THEIR RELATIONSHIP MUST RESORT TO EITHER ANNULMENT, USUALLY BY ONE OR MORE LEGAL SUBTERFUGES, OR PERMANENT LEGAL SEPARATION. IN BOTH CASES, THE LAW TENDS TO AFFECT THE WOMAN NEGATIVELY. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE CASE OF AN ANNULLED MARRIAGE, THE MALE SPOUSE IS NOALLY REQUIRED TO SUPPORT THE FEMALE FORMER SPOUSE, ALTHOUGH HE IS OBLIGATED TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR ANY CHILDREN OF THE MARRIAGE. FURTHER, UNLESS THE WOMAN OBTAINS A COURT ORDER GRANTING HER CUSTODY OF THE CHILDREN, THE FATHER RETAINS LEGAL CUSTODY OF BOTH MALE AND FEMALE CHILDREN UNTIL AGE 16, AND OF MALE OFFSPRING THEREAFTER UNTIL THEY RACL MAJORITY. WHETHER THE PARENTS ARE

MARRIED OR SEPARATED, TH FATHER MUST LEGALLY CONSENT IN WRITING TO THE TRAVEL OF MINOR CHILDREN OUTSIDE CHILE, EVEN IF THE MOTHER HAS CUSTODY. THE REVERSE IS NOT THE CASE, HOWEVER, UNLESS THE MOTHER HAS A COURT ORDER RESTRAINING THE FATHER FROM TAKING THE CHILDREN OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07139 02 OF 02 091534Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 7139

4. ALTHOUGH WIDESPREAD EMPLOYMENT OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS AMONG MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS FAMILIES ENABLES MANY CHILEAN WOMEN TO WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME, CHILEAN WOMEN REMAIN THE DOMINANT FIGURES IN THE HOME. THE GROWING INCIDENCE OF TWO-INCOME FAMILIES COUPLED WITH THE PROFESSIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF CHILEAN WORKING WOMEN, HAS PRECIPITATED AN EMERGING PATTERN OF CHANGE IN CERTAIN SOCIAL ROLES. HUSBANDS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE MORE LIKELY THAN IN THE PAST TO SHARE DOMESTIC CHORES SUCH AS SHOPPING, CHILD CARE, AND HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT WITH THEIR WORKING WIVES. OTHER TRADITIONAL SOCIAL TABOOS SEEM TO BE ERODING AS WELL; FOR EXAMPLE, UNESCORTED WOMEN ARE SEEN MORE OFTEN IN RESTAURANTS AND OTHER PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, WHEREAS IN THE PAST, SUCH BEHAVIOR WAS ACTIVELY DISCOURAGED.

3. RECOGNIZING THE POTENTIAL POLITICAL POWER OF CHILEAN WOMEN, AS WELL AS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NATION'S WOMEN AS WELL AS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NATION'S WOMEN AS A HUMAN RESOURCE, THE PINOCHET REGIME HAS APPOINTED WOMEN TO HIGH LEVEL GOVERNMENT POSITIONS, A WOMAN ATTORNEY SITS ON A LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION, AND TWO OTHERS SERVE ON AN ADVISORY PANEL DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO THE PRESIDENT. IN ADDITION, THE GOVERNMENT HAS APPOINTED WOMEN AS AMBASSADORS AND MAYORS. IN MAY 1981, A WOMAN WAS APPOINTED MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO TO HEAD A NEW MINISTRY OF THE FAMILY. THE REGIME ALSO CONSITTUTED A SECRETARIAT FOR WOMEN IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT. IN ADDITION, A WOMAN SERVES AS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF ONE CABINET MINISTRY, AND ANOTHER IS DIRECTOR OF TOURISM.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07139 02 OF 02 091534Z

A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF WOMEN ARE JUDGES IN THE CHILEAN COURT SYSTEM, AND MANY WOMEN SERVE THE GOVERNMENT AS PHYSICIANS AND MEDICAL SPECIALISTS.

6. SPECIAL MENTION SHOULD BE MADE OF THE WELFARE OF CHILEAN WOMEN IN DOMESTIC SERVICE, TRADITIONALLY A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF WORKING WOMEN IN THE LOWER ECONOMIC CLASSES. DOMESTICS EARN MORE TODAY IN REAL TERMS THAN EVER BEFORE, AND ENJOY LIBERAL HEALTH AND PENSION PLANS UNDER CURRENT SOCIAL SECURITY LAWS. IN ADDITION, A SPECIAL WORKER'S COURT HEARS LEGAL AND EQUITABLE COMPLAINTS BY DOMESTICS WHO BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN WRONGED BY THEIR EMPLOYERS. WHILE WAGES ARE STILL RELATIVELY LOW FOR DOMESTICS, THERE APPEARS TO BE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN WORKING CONDITIONS, AS YOUNGER MIDDLE CLASS COUPLES TEND TO VIEW THEIR HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS LESS FEUDALLY AND MORE AS PART OF THE FAMILY.

7. THE EMBASSY'S ROLE IN ADVANCING THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CHILE IS A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF THE DIRECTIONS ORIGINALLY CHARTED IN REF (B). WE MUST CONTINUE TO INSURE THAT ALL AMERICAN AND CHILEAN SUPERVISORS ARE REQUIRED TO ADHERE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY HIRING PRINCIPLES AND FAIR TREATMENT FOR FEMALE EMPLOYEES. IN THIS REGARD, WE NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT, SINCE OUR LAST REPORT, TWO MORE AMERICAN WOMEN OCCUPY PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS ON THE STAFF, AND THAT A FEMALE AIR FORCE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER SERVES IN DAO. OUR FEMALE BUDGET AND FISCAL OFFICER HAS SERVED PERIODICALLY
AS ACTING COUNSELOR FOR ADMINISTRATION. THE NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED ON OUR NATIONAL STAFF HAS INCREASED TWO PERCENT SINCE 1979, AND THE NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN GRADES 8-10 HAS DOUBLED DURING THHE SAME PERIOD. IN ADDITION A FEMALE FSO IS IN TRANSIT TO SANTIAGO TO SERVE AS A VISA OFFICER IN THE CONSULAR SECTION. THE EMBASSY IS STUDYING A NUMBER OF SUGGESTIONS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE COMMUNICATION AMONG WOMEN IN THE MISSION.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07139 02 OF 02 091534Z

THEY IMCLUDE: PERIODIC DISCUSSION MEETINGS OPEN TO ALL EMBASSY WOMEN UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE FWP COORDINATOR, INCLUDING MORE CHILEAN PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN INVITATIONS TO EMBASSY REPRESENTATIONAL FUNCTIONS, GREATER IDENTIFICATION OF SUITABLE WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR IVP GRANTS, ENLARGING THE MANDATE OF THE FWP COORDINATOR TO INCLUDE OFFERING ASSISTANCE TO CHILEAN WOMEN IN THE EMBASSY, ENCOURAGING ALL EMBASSY WOMEN TO JOIN AND PARTICIPATE IN ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN CHILE (SUCH AS THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN), AND PERSUADING THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF CHILE AND THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION TO HOLD SOME OF THEIR MEETINGS AFTER WORKING HOURS, SO THAT WORKING WOMEN CAN PARTICIPATE MORE FULLY

IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS. FINALLY, THE EMBASSY HOPES TO CONTINUE EFFORTS, BEGUN EARLIER IN THE YEAR, TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE GOC PERMITTING SPOUSES OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS TO ACCEPT EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE MISSION. WE NOTE, IN THIS REGARD, THAT SPOUSES OF CHILEAN DIPLOMATS ASSIGNED TO THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WORK SINCE MARCH 1981, WHEN THE SUBJECT WAS FIRST BROACHED IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS.
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 09582 152358Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 OIC-02 AF-1
CIAE-00 EA-10 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSCE-00 ARA-16
NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-06 L-03 PM-09 PA-01 INRE-00
ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /115 W
------------------372231 1600122 /65
O 152316Z DEC 81
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7967
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELLS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBURG IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 9582

E. O. 12065: GDS 12/15/87
TAGS: UNGA, PORG, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: EL SALVADOR VOTE AT UN

REF: A) STATE 336912; B) STATE 330385; C) STATE 321485

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. IN ANALYZING THE VOTE ON SALVADOR IN THE UN THIRD COMMITTEE (REF C), EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR NOTES THE ALMOST PERFECT CORRELATION BETWEEN THE WAY NATIONS CAST THEIR VOTES AND THE LEVEL OF THEIR DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION HERE, AS FOLLOWS:
--FAVORING NATIONS WITH AMBASSADORS RESIDENT IN SALVADOR EQUAL 4.6 PERCENT;
--FAVORING NATIONS WITH ANY DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES EQUAL [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 09582 152358Z

9.2 PCT;

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[redacted]

FAVORING NATIONS WITHOUT DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION EQUAL 86.2 PERCENT;
-- OPPOSING NATIONS WITH AMBASSADORS RESIDENT EQUAL 52.4 PERCENT.

3. WE RECOGNIZE THAT SOME OF THIS PHENOMENA CAN BE EXPLAINED BY THE SOLIDARITY OF THE LATIN NATIONS WITH CORRESPONDING DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION HERE AND ALSO THAT THERE WOULD BE A NATURAL TENDENCY FOR NATIONS FRIENDLY TO THE GOES TO DEMONSTRATE IT BY MAINTAINING DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION. NONETHELESS, THE OVERWHELMING CONCLUSION MUST BE THAT THE 86 PCT OF THE NATIONS WHO VOTED FOR THIS RESOLUTION DID SO WITHOUT ANY FIRST HAND PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SALVADOR. BY CONTRAST, THE MAJORITY OF NATIONS WITH THEIR OWN REPRESENTATIVES HERE VOTED AGAINST THE RESOLUTION. IN MAKING LAST MINUTE ARGUMENTS WITH DELEGATIONS FAVORING THE RESOLUTION, IT MAY BE USEFUL TO URGE THEM TO ABSTAIN ON A MATTER OF SUCH IMPORTANCE ON WHICH THEIR OWN INFORMATION, BASED PERHAPS ON BIASED THIRD SOURCES, MUST NECESSARILY BE INACCURATES. LIKEWISE IT MAY PROVE EFFECTIVE IN SOME CASES TO URGE THESE COUNTRIES WHO HAVE EXPRESED THEMSELVES SO FORCEFULLY ON SALVADOR'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS TO SEND DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION TO GAIN FIRST HAND INFORMATION ON A REGULAR BASIS; OR, AT THE VERY LEAST, TO ACCEPT PRESIDENT DUARTE'S INVITATION OF SEPTEMBER 15 TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO OBSERVE THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

4. THE COMPARISON OF UN THIRD COMMITTEE VOTING PATTERNS ON THE EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION WITH DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN EL SALVADOR IS AS FOLLOWS:
NATIONS VOTING IN FAVOR OF MEXICO'S EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION:
65
3 HAVE AMBASSADORS IN RESIDENT IN SAN SALVADOR
[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 09582 152358Z

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (RECENTLY RETURNED AND DEPARTED)
ITALY (VIRTUALLY UNSEEN ON THE DIPLOMATIC CIRCUIT)
PANAMA
3 HAVE LOW LEVEL CHARGES IN RESIDENCE
FRANCE
MEXICO
NICARAGUA
TOTAL WITH DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION: 6
NATIONS VOTING AGAINST MEXICO'S EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION: 21
11 HAVE AMBASSADORS RESIDENT IN SALVADOR
[redacted]

ARGENTINA
BOLIVIA
CHILE
COLOMBIA
COSTA RICA
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
PARAGUAY
UNITED STATES
URUGUAY

[redacted]

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/97
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
Postclassified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA000088

ADP [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 00088 061909Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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R 061850Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7309
INFO USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 0088

EXDIS

E. O. 12065: GDS 1/6/88 (HINTON, DEANE R.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, CU, PN, ES
SUBJECT: (S) CUBAN OVERTURE TO EL SALVADOR

REF: A) 81 CARACAS 11949; B) 81 SS 9144; C) 81 STATE 315947;
D) 81 SS 9020

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER FIDEL CHAVEZ MENA TOLD DCM AND MYSELF JANUARY 5 THAT JUST PRIOR TO CHRISTMAS BREAK PANAMANIAN AMBASSADOR DAVID PERE UNDER INSTRUCTION AGAIN APPROACHED GOES TO URGE THIS TIME THAT AT LEAST SENIOR SALVADORAN MILITARY MEET SECRETLY IN PANAMA WITH SENIOR CUBANS. AMBASSADOR PERE ALLEGEDLY SAID COL. NORIEGA WOULD MAKE ALL NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS AND THEN HE ADDED NEW ELEMENT TO PROPOSAL WHEN HE REPORTEDLY INDICATED THAT CUBAN APPROACH WAS DIRECT OUTCOME OF SECRETARY HAIG'S MEXICO CITY CONVERSATION WITH CUBAN VICE FONMIN RODRIGUEZ.

3. I TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO THANK FIDEL FOR HIS INFORMATION, TO REITERATE OUR COUNSEL OF CAUTION AND TO MAKE CLEAR THAT DECISION WAS, OF COURSE, FOR GOES TO TAKE AND THAT WE WOULD SUPPORT THEM [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00088 061909Z

IN WHATEVER THEY DID.

4. SUBSEQUENTLY IN CONVERSATION WITH DEFENSE MINISTER GEN. GARCIA I ASKED WHAT HIS VIEW WAS OF THE TWO PANAMANIAN OVERTURES WITH WHICH I AM FAMILIAR: 1) THAT SALVADORAN MILITARY MEET WITH FMLN LEADERS FOR DISCUSSIONS, AND 2) THAT THEY MEET WITH CUBANS. GARCIA SAID NEITHER PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTABLE. IN FACT, HE SAID, IF HE OR ANYONE ELSE FROM THE HIGH COMMAND WERE TO SIT DOWN WITH EITHER THE FMLN OR THE CUBANS THEY HAD BETTER NOT

PAGE NO. 1

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400034A

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RETURN TO EL SALVADOR SINCE THE OFFICER CORPS IN GENERAL WOULD
HAVE THEIR HEADS AS TRAITORS FOR HAVING DONE SO.
HINTON

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PAGE 01 STATE 003406
ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15	NEA-07	NSC-05
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APPROVED BY ACDA/CPA:JDLEHMAN
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TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
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TS authority to
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PARM, SOPN

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PAGE 02 STATE 003406

SUBJECT: JANUARY 6 ROUNDUP: PRESS ITEMS OF ARMS CONTROL INTEREST

1. PHILIP J. HILTS OF THE WASHINGTON POST REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT AND ACADEMIC PANELISTS AT ANNUAL MEETING OF AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE THE UNITED STATES STANDS AT BRINK OF NEW ARMS RACE -- RACE TO MAKE AND STOCKPILE NEW CHEMICAL WEAPONS OF WAR. HILTS QUOTED ROBERT MIKULAK, PHYSICAL SCIENCE OFFICER WITH THE FEDERAL ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY, AS SAYING "YES,

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THERE IS A REAL RISK NOW OF A CHEMICAL ARMS RACE," AND NOTED MIKULAK BLAMED POSSIBLE ARMS RACE ON SOVIET UNION. MIKULAK ADDED, SAID HILTS, WHAT MAY TRIGGER CHEMICAL ARMS RACE IS FAILURE OF FIVE YEARS OF U.S.-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON A TREATY. ACCORDING TO MIKULAK MAJOR OBSTACLE TO THAT TREATY WAS SOVIET UNWILLINGNESS TO ALLOW AMERICAN OR NEUTRAL VERIFICATION OF THEIR CHEMICAL WAR STOCKS.

2. GEORGE C. WILSON OF WASHINGTON POST REPORTED THAT ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SAID REAGAN HAS APPROVED 245 BILLION DOLLAR DEFENSE BUDGET FOR COMING FISCAL YEAR, INCREASE OF 15 PERCENT OVER THIS YEAR'S LEVEL. WILSON OBSERVED THAT BESIDES COSTS OF FINANCING ARMY'S BIGGEST MODERNIZATION SINCE WORLD WAR II, DEFENSE BUDGET WAS DRIVEN UP BY REAGAN'S PLANS TO BUILD TOWARD 600-SHIP NAVY; MODERNIZE AIR FORCE THROUGH BIG PURCHASES OF F15 AND F16 FIGHTERS; FULFILL MARINES' REQUEST FOR MORE SHIPS AND FOR AV8B HARRIER JUMP JET; AND UPGRADE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES BY SETTING ASIDE BILLIONS FOR FIRST SEVEN B1 BOMBERS, MX LAND-BASED MISSILE, AND CRUISE MISSILES. SOME SPECIFIC WEAPONS REQUESTED WITHIN REAGAN'S FISCAL 1983 BUDGET, SAID WILSON, INCLUDE: AIRCRAFT CARRIERS: NAVY WOULD GET 1.3 BILLION DOLLARS TOWARD TWO MORE OF UNCLASSIFIED

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NIMITZ CLASS, IN ADDITION TO THREE ALREADY BUILT AND ONE UNDER CONSTRUCTION; SUBMARINES: TWO MORE LOS ANGELES CLASS NUCLEAR ATTACK SUBMARINES COSTING ABOUT 600 MILLION DOLLARS EACH AND ANOTHER TRIDENT WITH A PRICE OF ABOUT 2 BILLION DOLLARS; AND AIRLIFT: ADMINISTRATION WILL AGAIN TRY TO CONVINCE CONGRESS TO APPROVE BUILDING OF NEW LONG-DISTANCE CX MILITARY CARGO PLANE. BETWEEN 150 MILLION DOLLARS AND 200 MILLION DOLLARS WOULD GO TOWARD BUYING C17, WINNER OF AIR FORCE CX COMPETITION.

3. MICHAEL GETLER OF WASHINGTON POST REPORTED SCHMIDT, "UNDER PRESSURE FROM REAGAN ADMINISTRATION," FOR FIRST TIME JOINED PRESIDENT IN PUBLICLY CHARGING MOSCOW WITH "RESPONSIBILITY", FOR CRISIS IN POLAND. GETLER SAID THAT IN JOINT STATEMENT TWO LEADERS "NOTED THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND AND EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SERIOUS PRESSURE IT IS BRING-ING TO BEAR AGAINST POLISH EFFORTS FOR RENEWAL. THEY INSIST POLAND BE ALLOWED TO RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE." STATEMENT ADDED, OBSERVED GETLER, THAT CRISIS "DEMONSTRATES ONCE AGAIN THE OBVIOUS INABILITY OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM TO ACCEPT THOSE CHANGES NECESSARY TO MEET THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF THEIR PEOPLES."

4. N.Y. TIMES CARRIED FULL TEXT OF REAGAN-SCHMIDT JOINT STATEMENT WHICH CONTAINED FOLLOWING: ON CSCE, "IN VIEW

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I hereby certify that I have examined the information behind this page and determined that it is unclassified.

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WILLIAM MCKNIGHT

Date Printed: 03/18/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 82STATE006099 CHANNEL: n/a

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PAGE 01 STATE 006099
ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 EUR-12 AF-10 EA-12 DODE-00 IO-15
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APPROVED BY ACDA/CPA:JDLEHMAN
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TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PARM, SOPN

SUBJECT: JANUARY 8 ROUNDUP: PRESS ITEMS OF ARMS CONTROL INTEREST
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PAGE 02 STATE 006099

1. WILLIAM BE"CHER OF BOSTON GLOBE REPORTED THAT, ACCORDING TO "HIGH ADMINISTRATION SOURCES," U.S., DESPITE CRISIS IN POLAND, IS HOPING TO OFFER A SPECIFIC DRAFT TREATY ON REDUCING MISSILES IN EUROPE WHEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION RESUME. SOURCES ADDED, SAID 0EECHER, DETERMINED EFFORT IS BEING MADE THIS WEEK TO RESOLVE FEW REMAINING ISSUES IN AMERICAN NEGOTIATING POSITION ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES SO THAT DRAFT TREATY MAY BE PRESENTED AT SECONDROUND OF TALKS NEXT WEEK. ACCORDING TO BEECHER'S

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"WELL PLACED SOURCES" PRINCIPAL ISSUES STILL BEING DEBATED WITHIN ADMINISTRATION ARE: HOW TO PROVIDE NUMERICAL LIMITS ON SOMEWHAT SHORTER-RANGE SOVIET MISSILES SUCH AS SS12, SS22 AND SS23 SOSOVIETS COULD NOT COMPENSATE FOR LOSS OF LONGER-RANGE SYSTEMS BYDEPLOYING HUNDREDS MORE OF OTHERS WHICH, FROM EASTERN EUROPE, COULD COVER TARGETS THROUGHOUT WESTERN EUROPE; HOW TO WORK OUT FOOL-PROOF VERIFICATION PROCEDURES TO ENSURE IN EVENT OF AGREEMENT, THAT INTER-MEDIATE-RANGE SOVIET MISSILES WERE ACTUALLY DESTROYED; AND WHETHER PROPOSAL SHOULD COVER ONLY MISSILES WITH NUCLEAR WARHEADS OR ALSO SAME TYPES ARMED WITH NON-NUCLEAR WARHEADS THEUS,OBSERVED BEECHER, HAS DEVELOPED CONVENTIONAL WARHEADS FOR ITS CRUISE MISSILES AND PREFERS THAT SUCH WEAPONS NOT BE CONSTRAINED IN A NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT.

2. GEORGE C. WILSON OF WASHINGTON POST REPORTED RICHARD D. DELAUER, HEAD OF WEAPONS RESEARCH AND PROCUREMENT FOR DOD, WARNED PENTAGON EXECUTIVES THAT REAGAN'S PLAN TO REARM AMERICA, AS INTERPRETED BY JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, COULD COST UP TO 7.5 BILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN ADMINISTRATION HAS MARKED OVER NEXT FIVE YEARS. ACCORDING TO WILSON, WARNING, WHICH CAME IN SECRET SESSION OF DEFENSE RESOURCES BOARD, UNCLASSIFIED

IS MOST DRAMATIC EVIDENCE YET THAT REAGAN'S PENTAGON TEAM FEARS THAT DEFENSE SPENDING THREATENS TO RUN OUT OF CONTROL IN FUTURE, SOARING ABOVE EVEN 1.5 TRILLION DOLLARS PROJECTED FOR FISCAL 1984 THROUGH 1988. WILSON ALSO RE-PORTED PENTAGON'S OWN REAPPRAISAL IS EXPECTED TO INTENSIFY CONGRESSIONAL SCRUTINY OF COST OF REAGAN'S REARMAMENT PRO-GRAM. SEN. SAM NUNN (D-GA.) OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEENOTED WILSON, HAS SAID, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THERE IS NO WAY NATION CAN AFFORD TO BUY 600-SHIP NAVY, GTVEN HIGH PRICE OF WARSHIPS AND LIMITED DOLLARS AVAILABLE EVEN UNDER CURRENTLY RECORD HIGH PEACETIME DEFENSE BUDGETS.

3.. BERNARD GWERTZMAN OF N.Y. TIMES REPORTED THAT STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAID THAT POLISH CRISIS HAD PROMPTED NEW CONSIDERATION WITHIN ADMINISTRATION OF POSSIBLE MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND LEONID I. BREZHNEV. OFFICIALS ADDED, SAID GWERTZMAN, THAT WHILE THERE HAD BEEN NO DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET UNION ABOUT SUCH MEETING SINCE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND ON DEC. 13. THEY SAID SUBJECT WAS LIKELY TO BE RAISED IF, AS EXPECTFD, HAIG MEETS IN GENEVA ON JAN. 27 WITH GROMYKO. GWERTZMAN NOTED, HOW-EVER, STATE OFFICIALS CAUTIONED AGAINST ASSUMING A MEETING WAS IMMINENT. ACCORDING TO WEST GERMAN OFFTCIALS, SAID GWERTZMAN, SCHMIDT TOLD REAGAN THAT PRESIDENT WOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE STRONG IMPRESSION ON BREZHNEV, AND WEST GERMAN OFFICIALS SAID MR. REAGAN SEEMED INTERESTED BUT DID NOT

INDICATE THAT HE WAS PLANNING ANY IMMINENT MEETING WITH SOVIET LEADER.

4. JIM HOAGLAND OF WASHINGTON POST REPORTED THAT FRENCH GOVERNMENT DISCLOSED DETAILS OF ITS NEW DEFENSE BUDGET. HOAGLAND QUOTED DEFENSE MINISTER HERNU AS SAYING FRANCE WAS ATTEMPTING TO MODERNIZE ITS NUCLEAR FORCE "TO SOLVE OUR DEFENSE PROBLEM OF TIME." UNITED STATES, EXPLAINED HERNU, AND SOVIET UNION CAN HAVE MILITARY CONCEPTS OF DEFENDING SPACE, SINCE THEY ARE NOT ON EACH OTHERS BORDERS.
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PAGE 04 STATE 006099

BUT IN EUROPE, WHERE FRONTIERS ARE SO CLOSE, THAT CONCEPT DOESN'T EXIST. WE HAVE TO THINK IN TERMS OF SPEED OF RESPONSE, OF MEASURING OUR DEFENSE IN TIME. THUS WE ARE BUDGETING FOR EVERYTHING THAT CAN GAIN US TIME." HERNU'S BUDGET, OBSERVED HOAGLAND, CONTAINED FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NEW GROUND-TO-GROUND MOBILE BALLISTIC MISSILE, AND FOR SHORT-RANGE HADES MISSILE, WHICH COULD TRANSPORT NEUTRON WARHEAD IF FRANCE DECIDES TO DEPLOY ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPONS. ALTHOUGH FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT HAS TESTED NEUTRON WARHEAD, HERNU, NOTED HOAGLAND, SAID "AS FAR AS STUDY AND TESTS GO WE ARE READY. AS FAR AS PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT GO, THE PRESIDENT IS STILL STUDYING THE FILE. THE ONLY DECISION THAT HAS BEEN TAKEN IS TO CONTINUE THE STUDIES AND THE TESTS. TECHNICALLY, WE KNOW WE CAN PRODUCE THEM. BUT THAT DECISION HAS YET TO PE MADE." HOAGLAND ALSO REPORTED HERNU DISCLOSED THAT FRANCE HAS INITIATED MODEST MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP WITH NICARAGUA AT TIME WHEN UNITED STATES IS SEEKING TO PUSH REVOLUTIONARY SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT DEEP INTO ISOLATATION AND TO HALT WHAT WASHINGTON ASSERTS IS DANGEROUS ARMS BUILDUP IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE STATE DEPARTMENT, SAID HOAGLAND, HAD NO IMMEDIATE REACTION TO ANNOUNCEMENT IN PARIS OF 15.8 MILLION DOLLAR CONTRACT SIGNED IN DECEMBER, BUT APPEARED TO REPRESENT NEW POTENTIAL FLASH POINT OF CONFLICT BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND THE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT OF MITTERAND, WHICH HAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S TOUGH APPROACH TO SOVIET UNION BUT JUST AS STRONGLY DISSENTED FROM AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE THIRD WORLD.

5. ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORTED FROM MOSCOW THAT SOVTET COMMUNIST PARTY DAILY PRAVDA CALLED ON UNITED STATES TO AGREE ON JOINT BAN ON CRUISE MISSILES, DESCRIBING THEM AS DANGEROUSLY DESTABLIZING. AP SAID PRAVDA SUGGESTED THAT
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PAGE 05 STATE 006099

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PUTTING LIMITS ON DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES WO'LD BE PRIORITY GOAL FOR KREMLIN IF MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION. HAIG

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00171 01 OF 02 131357Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O 121923Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2139
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
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Exemption(s) NR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0171

EXDIS **DECAPTIONED**

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER SANTIAGO SERVICE 0001S)
MEXICO FOR CODELBAKER

E O 12065: RDS-1 01/12/02 (LANDAU, GEORGE W) OR-M
TAGS: OREP PEPR PBOR CI
SUBJECT: VISIT TO SANTIAGO BY CODEL BAKER

1 C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SENATORS BAKER , LAXALT AND HOLLINGS HAD WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS WITH A BROAD CROSS SECTION OF CHILEAN LEADERSHIP. PRESIDENT PINOCHET MADE CLEAR THAT NO POLITICAL OPENING WAS PLANNED FOR THE NEXT SEVEN YEARS. DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS CONFIRMED THE CONVERGENCE BETWEEN CHILEAN AND U S VIEWS ON CENTRAL AMERICA AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. DISCUSSIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS AND LATER WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS PRODUCED SHARPLY DIVERGENT ASSESSMENTS OF THE EXTENT OF IMPROVEMENTS. PRESS PLAY WAS PROMINENT AND VERY FAVORABLE. END SUMMARY.
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00171 01 OF 02 131357Z

3. DURING THE FIRST SENATORIAL VISIT TO SANTIAGO IN SEVERAL YEARS, SENATORS BAKER, LAXALT AND HOLLINGS HAD EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH SENIOR GOC OFFICIALS, OPPOSITION LEADERS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS SPOKESMEN. IMMEDIATELY AFTER ARRIVAL ON JANUARY 8, THE SENATORS ACCOMPANIED BY THE AMBASSADOR, WERE HELICOPTERED DOWN TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S

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SUMMER OFFICE AT VINA DEL MAR, WHERE THEY LUNCHED WITH THE PRESIDENT, INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ, ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER COVARRUBIAS (ROJAS IS ILL), FINANCE MINISTER DE CASTRO, SECRETARY GENERAL OF GOVERNMENT BRAVO, AND NATIONAL PLANNING DIRECTOR DANUS. AFTER RETURNING TO SANTIAGO, THEY ATTENDED A WORKING SESSION AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY LED BY COVARRUBIAS AND ACTING UNDER SECRETARY ZEGERS. THE AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL RECEPTION PROVIDED EXPOSURE TO A WIDE RANGE OF PROMINENT CHILEANS, RANGING FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER LUCIA TO THE LEADERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION GROUPS, AS WELL AS BUSINESS, FINANCIAL AND CULTURAL LEADERS. A MEETING WITH MAXIMO PACHECO, ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, ROUNDED OUT THE VISIT. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL LUNCH AND A SYNTHESIS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE OTHER DISCUSSIONS.

4. MEETING WITH PINOCHET: DURING THE LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE PRESIDENT [redacted] NR

[redacted] DURING THE REST OF THE DISCUSSION PINOCHET OUTLINED HIS VIEWS ON THE CHILEAN SITUATION PAST AND PRESENT, MAKING CLEAR THAT HE PLANNED O RELAXATION OF HIS AUTHORITARIAN RULE DURING THE REMAINING SEVEN YEARS OF THE TRANSITION PRIODD. HE DID NOT PLAN TO PERMIT ANY POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITY, NOT EVEN BY THE NON-MARXIST DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION. HE CONSIDERED THE UNIVERSITIES AS POSSIBILE CENTERS OF AGITATION AND THEREFORE PLANNED TO KEEP MILITARY RECTORS IN CHARGE INDEFINITELY.

5. SUBSTANTIVE HIGHLIGHTS:
A. CENTRAL AMERICA/POLANT: [redacted] NR

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PAGE 04 SANTIA 00171 01 OF 02 131357Z

ZEGERS EXPRESSED FULL SUPPORT FOR THE U S POSITION.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00171 02 OF 02 131401Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0171

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER SANTIAGO SERVICE 0001S)

MEXICO FOR CODEL BAKER

B. ARGENTINA AND THE BEAGLE MEDIATION:

[redacted]

NR

C. HUMAN RIGHTS AND LIFTINGOF KENNEDY AMENDMENT:
(1) SENATOR HOLLINGS POINTED OUT IN THE FOREIGNMINISTRY
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00171 02 OF 02 131401Z

DISCUSSIONS THAT RELATIONS WITH CHILE AROUSED CONTROVERSY IN THE U S BECAUSE OF CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE LETELIER/ MOFFIT CASE AND ASKED FOR CHILEAN VIEWS OF THESE MATTERS. ZEGSPEAKING FOR COVARRUBIAS, REPLIED BY RECALLING THAT THE U S PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE TO CERTIFY, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT THERE HAD BEEN A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION; THE GOC BELIEVED THAT THIS WAS EVIDENT. THERE HAD BEEN GREAT IMPROVEMENT FROM 1973, FROM THE CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC CHAOS AND UNDECLARED CIVIL WAR WHICH HAD PREVAILED THEN, AND CHILE WAS NOW EMBARKED ON A POLITICAL TRANSITION, APPROVED BY THE PLEBISCITE, TOWARD FULL DEMOCRACY. ZEGERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE POLITICAL RECESS DID NOT CONFORM TO THE U S EXPERIENCE, BUT THE COUNTRY NEEDED TO ESTABLISH AN ADEQUATE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BASE BEFORE POLITICAL FREEDOMS COULD BE COMPLETELY RESTORED. ON THE LETELIER/MOFFIT CASE, ZEGERS NOTED THAT THE SUPREME COURT WAS NOW CONSIDERING IT AND IT WAS THEREFORE STILL OPEN. IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER QUESTION FROM SENATOR HOLLINGS ABOUT GOC POLICY *ON EXPULSIONS, ZEGERS SAIS THAT THE PRESIDENT USED HIS* CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO EXPEL PEOPLE ONLY WHEN THEY RE-PRESENTED A DANGER TO THE COUNTRY; THE EXPULSION OF JAIME CASTILLO WAS DUE TO CASTILLO'S SUPPORT FOR A CHALLENGE MOUNTED BY A MARXIST LABOR GROUP. SENATOR LAXALT THEN ASKED WHETHER THE GOC BELIEVED THE CONDITIONS IMPOSED FOR RESUMING MILITARY SALES WERE MET, TO WHICH ZEGERS SAID YES, RECALLING THAT CHILE WAS THE ONLY COUNTRY TO PERMIT A VISIT FROM THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

(2) THE JANUARY 9 MEETING WITH MAXIMO PACHECO OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OBVIOUSLY TOOK A DIFFERENT TACK. PACHECO OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY NOTING THAT JAIME CASTILLO, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION, HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM CHILE AND THAT

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TWO OTHERS OF THE STAFF, GERMAN MOLINA AND PABLO FUENZALIDA, WERE STILL IN JAIL, ACCUSED OF ILLEGAL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. PACHECO THEN WENT ON TO ARGUE THAT REPRESSIVE PRACTICES HAD BEEN ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00171 02 OF 02 131401Z

INSTITUTIONALIZED BY THE TRANSITORY PROVS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION, WHICH WENT SO FAR AS TO SET ASIDE THE RIGHT OF HABEUS CORPUS IN CASES INVOLVING EXECUTIVE DECISIONS UNDER THE CONSTANTLY RENEWED STATE OF EMERGENCY. HE URGED THAT THE U S, IN CONSIDERING ANY REQUESTS FROM THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT, CONDITION THE RESPONSE ON CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THE GOC ON HUMAN RIGHTS; HE INSISTED THAT HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING U S INTERVENTION IN CHILEAN AFFAIRS OR THAT THE U S ADOPT ANY SPECIFIC MEASURES, BUT HOPED INSTEAD THAT THE SENATORS WOULD HELP STRENGTHEN HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, SUCH AS POLAND OR CUBA, WHERE THOSE RIGHTS WERE DENIED. THE SENUUUTORS SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER CAREFULLY THE DOCUMENT PROVIDED BY PACHECO (COPY POUCHED TO ARA/SC) AND ASKED THAT THEY BE INFORMED, THROUGH THE EMBASSY, OF FUTURE SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING POSSIBLE REPRISALS AGAINST PACHECO AND HIS COMMISSION ASSOCIATES BECAUSE OF THIS MEETING.

6. PRESS PLAY: USICA HAS REPORTED THE JANUARY 10, PRESS CONFERENCE AND THE COVERAGE GIVEN THE VISIT IN SEPARATE MESSAGES (SANTIAGO 0131 AND 0128.) WORTH NOTING, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE MAJOR PAPERS WERE CAREFUL TO ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE IN THE STATEMENT AND SUBSEQUENT COMMENTS BY SENATOR BAKER, THUS GIVING LESS ATTENTION TO HIS STATEMENT THAT THE PROBLEMS REMAINING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT PINOCHET AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. "LA SEGUNDA", THE AFTERNOON PAPER OF THE GENERALLY PRO-GOVERNMENT "EL MERCURIO" CHAIN, CARRIED A BRIEF ITEM ON JANUARY 11 EXPLAINING THAT THE "PROBLEMS" WERE RELATED TO THE REQUIREMENT FOR RESUMPTION OF MILITARY SALES THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN CERTIFY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND LACK OF CHILEA N INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATION TERRORISM.
LANDAU

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Nd. 0119

Santiago, January 13, 1982

Mr. Melvin Price
Chairman of the Delegation of the
Armed Forces Committee of the
House of Representatives of the
United States
Santaigo

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Dear Mr. Price:

The National Group of Families of Detained-Disappeared thinks it timely and necessary to send a letter to you, before the end of your visit, in order to clarify for the delegation the critical situation of our people in the area of Human Rights.

Chief among the many questions raised throughout these years, is (the desire) to know the resting place of our family members detained by the security organs of the Government. On repeated occasions, we have written to the Ambassador, Mr. Landau, to the former President (of the United States) and to the representative for Human Rights of the United Nations, and have asked them to demand the answer awaited by the Chilean people.

This problem of the Detained-Disappeared is one more example of those outrageous acts of violence against the fundamental rights of the person occurring daily in our country. The systematic application of repressive policies in order to control social unrest caused by the grave economic, labor, social and political crisis into which our country is plunged means, for each man and women: unemployment, with only minimal benefits or none at all, lack of medical attention and other health benefits, lack of adequate rentals, lack of education and, in general, all that which is required to cover the most basic necessities. It has resulted in painful and dramatic social costs for our people, which are practically unimaginable in their magnitude and future consequences.

The form of control in such a desperate situation has been repression through security organisms created and endowed with the best technology available in order to carry out their ends with the greatest efficiency. Certainly, this situation is abhorrent to the temperament and history of our country, as may be seen in the fact that, in the more than eight years since its inception, thousands of arrested persons have passed through the jails of the country, hundreds of relegated have been sent to inhospitable places in the national territory, hundreds of persons have been assassinated, thousands and thousands of exiles have been forced to move all over the world with their families--including your country which received a large number of them--and hundreds have been detained-disappeared, with respect to whom the highest authorities of the Government maintain an impenetrable silence.

The interest of your delegation in learning the Chilean reality is, in our opinion, extremely limited, since your meetings have been only with those unlawfully retaining the full economic, political and military power of the country. It is objectively clear that you do not have the least interest in meeting those who suffer the consequences of the ruling power, those who would have given you a truer picture of the Chilean situation. There exists no better way for learning about the national anguish than to relate it to the social sectors (workers, intellectuals, etc.), who search for means to return to a system of respect for Human Rights.

The lack of interest about Human Rights affairs demonstrated by the delegation presided over by Mrs. Jeanne Kirkpatrick has not changed in the U.S. delegations which have followed. That is why we think it necessary to make it known that the security of the entire region, or of any region of the world, is possible, in our view, only when there exists respect at the highest levels for the fundamental rights of persons, of liberty, in sum, of all the national interests.

The National Group of Families of Detained-Disappeared, appeals to all the above, with all our moral force, to overcome one of the most anguishing things that can confront any human being--which is to have a loved one detained-disappeared by the action of the repressive forces of the Government. We suffer the consequences of a repressive method that has been applied at the continental level with a rare coincidence of form, orientation and finality. For all, there exists a continental responsibility for the problem, one which is not foreign to the government you represent.

For that reason, please permit us, through your intermediation, to demand that the Chilean Government immediately answer the question of what has happened to each one of our detained-disappeared family members. Without this answer, one cannot say that the situation of Human Rights has improved in Chile when there are hundreds of persons of whom nothing is known since their detention by the subordinant security services of the Government.

With our complements,

/Signed/

NATIONAL GROUP OF FAMILIES OF
THE DETAINED-DISAPPEARED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DISSEMINATION FORM

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E	M	SALG	DOE	LOC	XMB
EA	MC	STP	DOD 14	NAS	
EB	M/DDP	S/S 10	DOT	NASA	
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNCLASSIFIED AIRGRAM P820011-2132

HANDLING	CLASSIFICATION	RESPONSE REFERENCE NO.
	[redacted]	A-036

TO: Department of State

INFO: GUATEMALA, MANAGUA, MEXICO, PANAMA, SAN JOSE, TEGUCIGALPA, USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF DEPT.

FROM: AmEmbassy San Salvador
DATE: 15 Jan. '82
12065
E.O. 11652: GDS 12/4/87
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SNAR, ES
SUBJECT: A STATISTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR

REF: 36

(A) SS 0962 (B) SS 2812 (C) SS 5203 (D) SS 5413
(E) SS 5666 (F) SS 5786 (G) SS 6086 (H) SS 6253
(I) SS 7115 (J) SS 9012 (80)

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(U) SUMMARY: A survey of one year of violence reporting by the Embassy and Salvadoran institutions, as well as a study of historical antecedents, provide insights into El Salvador's present crisis. El Salvador has long been a country where violence is routine. The breakdown of the country's social and political systems and the onset of civil war exacerbated the march toward a society where violence is the central factor of daily life. Nonetheless, our study indicates that political violence has decreased in the one year period of the survey. However encouraging the decrease, this is a society which cannot forever endure continuing political murder and terrorist violence. The Salvadoran Government has proposed elections as a significant first step in the reconstruction of an ordered society. It is a crucial first step but only the beginning of a long process of social pacification. END SUMMARY.

(U) INTRODUCTION: The Embassy has kept systematic records on public reports of violence in El Salvador since September 16, 1980. What follows is an examination of the trends that emerge from a close look at the weekly violence reports assembled by the Embassy over a twelve month

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period. Each of the violence reports has been forwarded with caveats. The Embassy has attempted to organize its statistical record utilizing the information contained in the Salvadoran media. We are fully aware of the inadequacy of a method which submits data to the vagaries of the Salvadoran press. However, considering the nature of the problem, this seemed the most reasonable course.

PART I - POLITICAL MURDER

NUMBERS OF KILLED Nowhere is the confusion inherent in a statistical survey of violence here more apparent than in a determination of the numbers of killed. The San Salvador dailies only report deaths in areas where they momentarily have correspondents or in areas into which correspondents do not fear to enter. There is extensive reporting from areas such as Santa Ana department which, precisely because it is relatively safe and well policed, permits travel, communication, and newspaper coverage. This results in a high number of dead reported during the 52-week period under study: 1,449. The same is true of San Salvador, the capital and department together, where 2,297 people were reported killed. By contrast the battleground departments of Chalatenango and Morazan have been reported at 247 and 47 dead respectively. This is certainly an under-reporting of events, even considering the lower population density of those departments. Nevertheless, the Embassy believes that the statistics have value. We can only estimate the accuracy of the reporting (we believe it may be within 30% of the actual total), but trends and patterns can be discerned. We present first the monthly totals of deaths by political murder as reported by the Embassy. (N.B. for greater accuracy essentially military casualties have been culled from our figures. The monthly and yearly totals are, therefore, somewhat lower than the accumulated totals of the Embassy's weekly "grim-grams").

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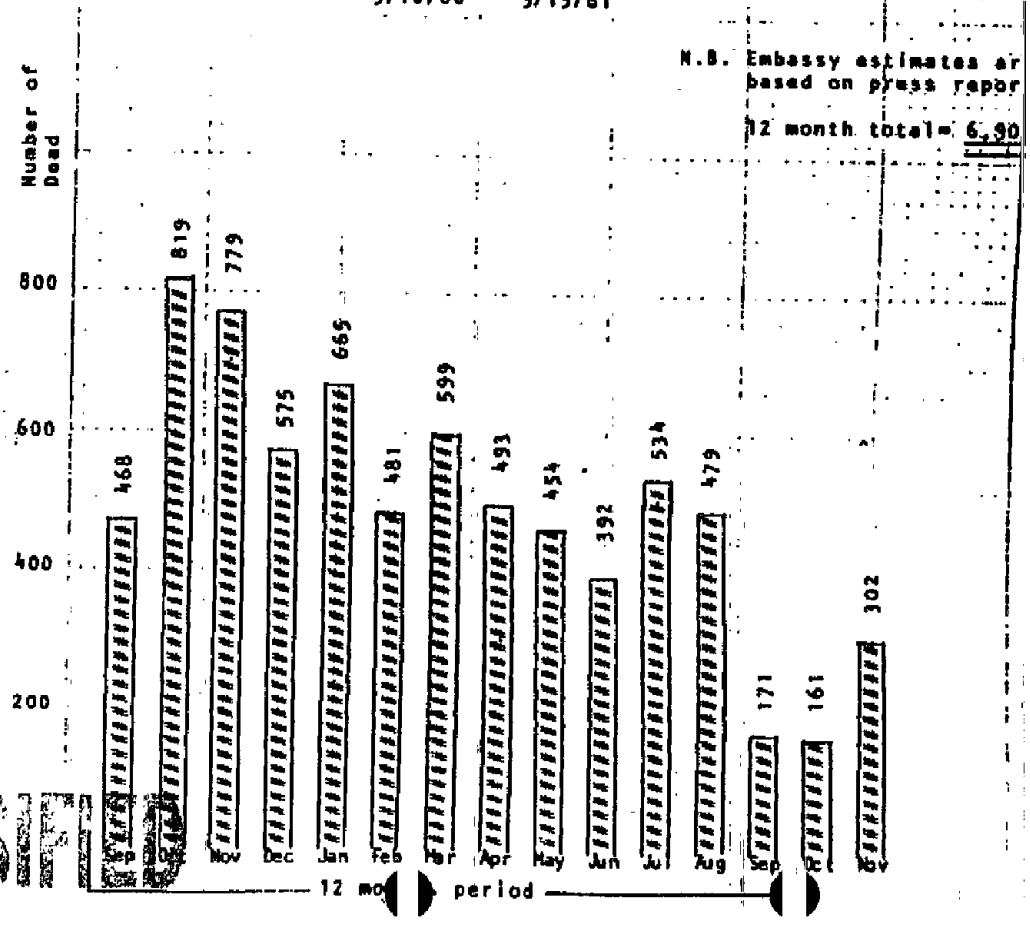
Chart No. 1
POLITICAL MURDERS
9/16/80 - 9/15/81



N.B. Embassy estimates ar
based on press repor

12 month total= 6,90

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(U) GEOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF THE DEAD: An approximate geographic distribution of the victims of political murder can be drawn from our source. The survey must be approximate as it is believed that many of the persons found dead in one department were residents of or were killed in other departments. In the period from 9/16/80 to 9/15/81 the following murders can be fixed by department.

Chart No. 2
NUMBER OF KILLED BY DEPARTMENT

	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	TOTAL
Santa Ana	88	196	144	109	113	83	131	93	96	97	138	125	36	1,449
Ahuchapan	2	9	11	8	1	8	9	17	3	3	3	6	0	80
Sonsonate	24	70	26	22	14	25	17	13	6	11	10	26	7	271
La Libertad	37	61	49	28	35	28	25	31	27	17	46	43	18	445
Chalatenango	4	39	18	35	17	7	24	12	17	17	73	0	0	247
Capital	99	157	233	204	331	151	181	112	77	70	74	70	16	1,775
San Salvador	20	55	50	29	7	41	33	63	73	62	44	38	7	522
La Paz	71	19	48	18	24	9	13	11	24	14	19	38	19	327
Cabañas	19	62	23	3	9	1	36	6	37	17	10	12	12	247
Cuscatlán	5	8	21	7	4	37	7	12	18	0	16	12	5	152
San Vicente	29	67	58	19	12	20	28	18	16	20	38	34	3	362
Usulutan	16	9	7	10	27	23	15	16	13	13	13	35	30	227
San Miguel	51	59	79	58	44	46	72	83	42	47	39	40	17	677
La Union	0	3	7	6	2	1	3	0	3	2	8	0	1	36
Morazan	1	4	4	14	7	1	5	6	2	0	3	0	0	47
Unknown	2	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	11
TOTAL	468	819	779	575	665	481	599	493	454	392	534	479	171	6,909

The foregoing may seem to indicate a concentration of political murder in the departments of San Salvador and Santa Ana. As mentioned, this is illusory due to the under-reporting of our source. Also, the bodies of the dead are not always immediately found. In what we do not believe

[redacted]

to be a unique case San Salvador 5012 (Ref J) reported on the discovery of a well in which were found a large number of bodies in various states of decomposition. Thus, any figures are imprecise at best.

(U) AGE BREAKDOWN OF THE DEAD: The chart below is a schematic of the various age groups who have fallen victim to violence. Without question it is the young who are the principal victims here. This is a judgment considerably reinforced by the fact that the majority of bodies characterized as of unknown age are physically young in appearance.

Chart No.3
DEATHS FROM 9/16/80 TO 9/15/81

1.	Age 17 and under	370
2.	Ages 18-25	1,483
3.	Ages 26-35	995
4.	Ages 36-50	624
5.	Ages 51 and over	262
6.	Unknown	3,175
7.	TOTAL	6,909

(U) THE NUMBERS TALK: An unexpected result of the statistical depiction of political murders month by month is the conclusion that violence in El Salvador has diminished during the period under study, or that at least is in a state of remission. This appears to be true despite the fact that July and August of 1981 were commonly regarded as extremely violent months because the capital was subjected to power outages and scores of decapitated bodies were found in Santa Ana department. Subsequent mention of this phenomenon of statistically lower violence, however, was not surprising to at least one Salvadoran minister who, through his contacts in all the departments of the country, keeps a close, though subjective and not statistical, watch on violent events here. In brief our finding is that from our starting point in September, 1980 there were overall gains in violence as the guerrilla "final offensive" built up followed by patterns of diminution. The monthly breakdown of deaths bears this out.

(U) RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE KILLING: Elusive as the dead themselves may be in El Salvador, the killers of the majority are in fact the true phantoms of this struggle. Responsibility for the overwhelming number of deaths that occur here is never legally determined nor usually ever accounted for by reasonably clear and coherent published evidence. Reports of leftist terrorists committing murder garbed in stolen military uniforms have circulated. Murders committed by rightist death squads may be marked by placards blaming their opposite numbers on the left. In some

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es depredations may be carried out by the security forces under the se of, or in active participation with, rightist forces. Therefore ures in the following categories must be viewed as guarded:

Chart No. 4

1. Reported total of political murders:	6,909
2. Murders believed committed by security forces	922
3. Murders believed committed by leftist terrorists:	952
4. Murders believed committed by rightist terrorists:	136
5. Murders committed by unknown assailants:	4,889

uncertainty involved here can be seen in the fact that responsibility not be fixed in the majority of cases. We note, however, that it is erally believed in El Salvador that a large number of the unexplained llings are carried out by the security forces, officially or unoffi-lly. The Embassy is aware of dramatic claims that have been made by interest group or another in which the security forces figure as the imary agents of murder here. El Salvador's tangled web of attack and ngeance, traditional criminal violence and political mayhem make this impossible charge to sustain. In saying this, however, we make no tempt to lighten the responsibility for the deaths of many hundreds, d perhaps thousands, which can be attributed to the security forces. ese forces have responded with the terrible ferocity which guerrilla ctics provoke among marginally-trained forces and upon which guerrilla ements depend to carry forward their cause.

TURE OF THE KILLING: Perhaps more important than the number of peo- killed or the authors of the murders are the motivations for their aths. Without question the ongoing civil war has left a mark upon lvadoran society. This is characterized by a nearly complete break-wn of a belief and value system which was tenuous at best. El Salva-r is a society long plagued by high rates of violence. According to atistics published by the Ministry of Economy's Department of Statis-cs, homicide was in 1976 (one of the last normal years here) the third st common cause of death--after intestinal infections and gastric seases. Homicides total 1,279 for that year, surpassing accidental aths which total 1,153.

ditionally, El Salvador's system of criminal justice has for several ars now been awash in a sea of violence. It is now completely normal r someone to exact his own vengeance outside any formal system of stice. Revenge cannot help but set off its own countereffect under ese conditions. We feel that not all the deaths reported as "political violence" should be classified within that category. However, such crimes of passion and vengeance have the same hallmarks--machete blows, torture, decapitation, etc.--, and it is impossible to eliminate such crimes from the statistics.

For comparison purposes the Embassy examined three representative months before the present troubles in El Salvador began and used the same methods employed today to effect a comparison. The findings are as follows:

Chart No. 5

October 1974:	52 reported deaths by violence
October 1980:	819 reported deaths by violence
February 1975:	44 reported deaths by violence
February 1981:	481 reported deaths by violence
May 1975:	63 reported deaths by violence
May 1981:	454 reported deaths by violence

An examination of the circumstances of the deaths reported for 1974-1975 indicates that most of the dead were the victims of crime. The absence of circumstances pointing towards "normal" crime in our study period is striking.

From an examination of the historical record, we believe that Salvadorans who speak of their country's violent cultural heritage are not engaging in a post-facto rationalization. The blend of this heritage and the politics of civil war have resulted in a descent into ad-hoc summary justice and unimaginable savagery. The historical problems pushing the security forces towards the commission of abuses has already been discussed in San Salvador 6253 (Ref H). The recently revealed (August 1981) and subsequently denied mass killing in Armenia emphasizes the gravity of the problem. These same problems and the unravelling of social order have resulted in other violent anomalies. For example, the scope of the present struggle and the inadequacy of security force resources has led to the creation of the "patrulleros", armed civilians who ostensibly form part of the state's security net. They have, however, become a law unto themselves in many areas, operating within loosely defined boundaries, and often becoming a "third force" with which the populace must contend. (see Ref D, San Salvador 5413). It should be noted that "patrulleros" are judged responsible for a fair share of anonymous murders, including many marked by torture.

Patrulleros, nonetheless, form part of the official security structure here. San Salvador 5666 (Ref E) and San Salvador 5786 (Ref F) reported on one of the more shadowy elements of the violent scene here, the death squad. Existence of these groups has long been disputed, but not by many Salvadorans. San Salvador 5203 (Ref C) described the attitude of the

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citizens of Metapan, [redacted] tern El Salvador, towards their local death squads as one of acceptance tempered with disquiet at the severity of their methods and the odiousness of their task. Who constitutes the deaths squads is yet another difficult question. We do not believe that these squads exist as permanent formations but rather as ad-hoc vigilante groups that coalesce according to perceived need. Membership is also uncertain, but in addition to civilians we believe that both on and off-duty members of the security forces are participants. This was unofficially confirmed by right-wing spokesmen Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson who stated in an interview in early 1981 that security force members utilize the guise of the death squad when a potentially embarrassing or odious task needs to be performed.

In addition to the seemingly senseless killing which denotes contemporary El Salvador, assassination as a strategic weapon is also widespread. These actions, carried out by both the left and the right, are, we believe, designed to cripple or reverse the cause represented by the victims. These murders appear to use killers selected for this particular purpose. The list of such strategic slayings is long; we number among them the Hammer-Pearlman-Viera killings, the murder of South African Ambassador Archibald Dunn, the murders of four American churchwomen, the slayings of five members of the FDR directorate, and killings such as those of the Director of International Fair and the head of the Salvadoran Demographic Association. Other murders, and kidnappings as well, all apparently designed to paralyze various sectors of society, have ranged from officials of the government and security forces, to labor leaders, teachers, and members of organizations such as the Red Cross.

(U) ALTERNATE STATISTICAL DATA: There are two other organizations in El Salvador that regularly keep data on violence here, the Central American University (UCA) and the Legal Aid Office of the Salvadoran Archbishopric (Socorro Juridico). Unfortunately, the data tabulated by these two organizations has bases at least as distorting as those built into the Embassy tabulations and also reflects the motivations of and the pressure within those organizations. Socorro Juridico, for example, issued a January through June, 1981 report entitled "Balance Sheet on the Repression in El Salvador", which in keeping with its purpose in detailing only one side of the conflict ("repression" as opposed to "generalized violence") found that 2,644 people had been killed during the January "final offensive" month. None of the victims were members of the armed or security forces. Similarly, the report indicates that all 2,644 victims were killed by official security-military forces (1,933) or para-military forces (711) and not one by leftist guerrillas or terrorist organizations. Until Socorro Juridico publishes its sources and methodology its total figures remain suspect, however competent the organization may be in documenting individual cases of disappearances and the unquestionably savage acts of the security forces.

(Ref. I describes the publishing by Socorro Juridico of a list of more than 800 people whose disappearances have been reported to that organization since October 1979. This does not appear to the Embassy to be a far-fetched or exaggerated number. Verifiable names and circumstances of these disappearances are given.)

Similarly, figures kept by the Central American University (UCA) appear to be skewed by the force of ideological necessity or wishful thinking. The University's "Centro Universitario de Documentación e Información" publishes a "Balance Estadistico" which details by month the depredations of the government forces and the achievements of the guerrillas. These publications are plagued by formats and commentaries that betray a strong ideological bias. In its issue for the month of August 1980, UCA claims the deaths in actions of 2,259 members of the armed forces during the June-August quarter with a further 540 wounded.

This is contrasted with the casualties of the "Combatants of the Political-Military Organizations"(read guerrillas) who lost only 351 dead and had 16 wounded. Estimates of army casualties in 1981, even if inaccurate, have been more in keeping with the scope of the present war. Elsewhere, UCA's own figures, registering a drop in the number of civilian deaths from July to August 1980, elicits the comment that "decrease in the number of deaths in the civil population during the month of August does not necessarily reflect a decrease in the repression". In another table is found a linkage which betrays the UCA's ideological slant. A tally of the dead for the month of August lists four categories grouped in pairs. The first pair links deaths in the "Civil Population" with those of "Combatants of the Political-Military Organizations". The second pair joins "Members of the Military Forces" to "Ajusticiados" (i.e. those presumably "legally" executed by the left). Presentation of statistics in this form proceeds from the assumption that there is natural solidarity between the civil population and the guerrillas, and that deaths among the "civil population" are the exclusive result of action by military or para-military forces or by unknowns. None are committed by leftist groups. It should be noted that "ajusticiamientos" are here listed and continue to be listed by UCA as "military actions". (Note: 109 such "ajusticiamientos" were reported for October 1980 including that of the South African Ambassador Archibald Dunn. Credit for his death was claimed by the Fuerzas Populares de Liberación (FPL). In assigning responsibility for the murder, the "Balance Estadistico" quotes, without comment, the FPL communique blaming the governments of El Salvador and South Africa which refused to negotiate with the FPL to spare Dunn. Dignifying this particular act of savagery by labeling it a military action appears to us to be exceedingly cynical.)

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A STATISTICAL COMPARISON: Having in mind the likely distortions and inaccuracies of the three sets of figures, we present below the readily available UCA and Socorro Jurfdico figures alongside those of the Embassy for the months January through June 1981. (N.B. UCA and Socorro Jurfdico have not yet released their formal tabulations for months following June 1981.)

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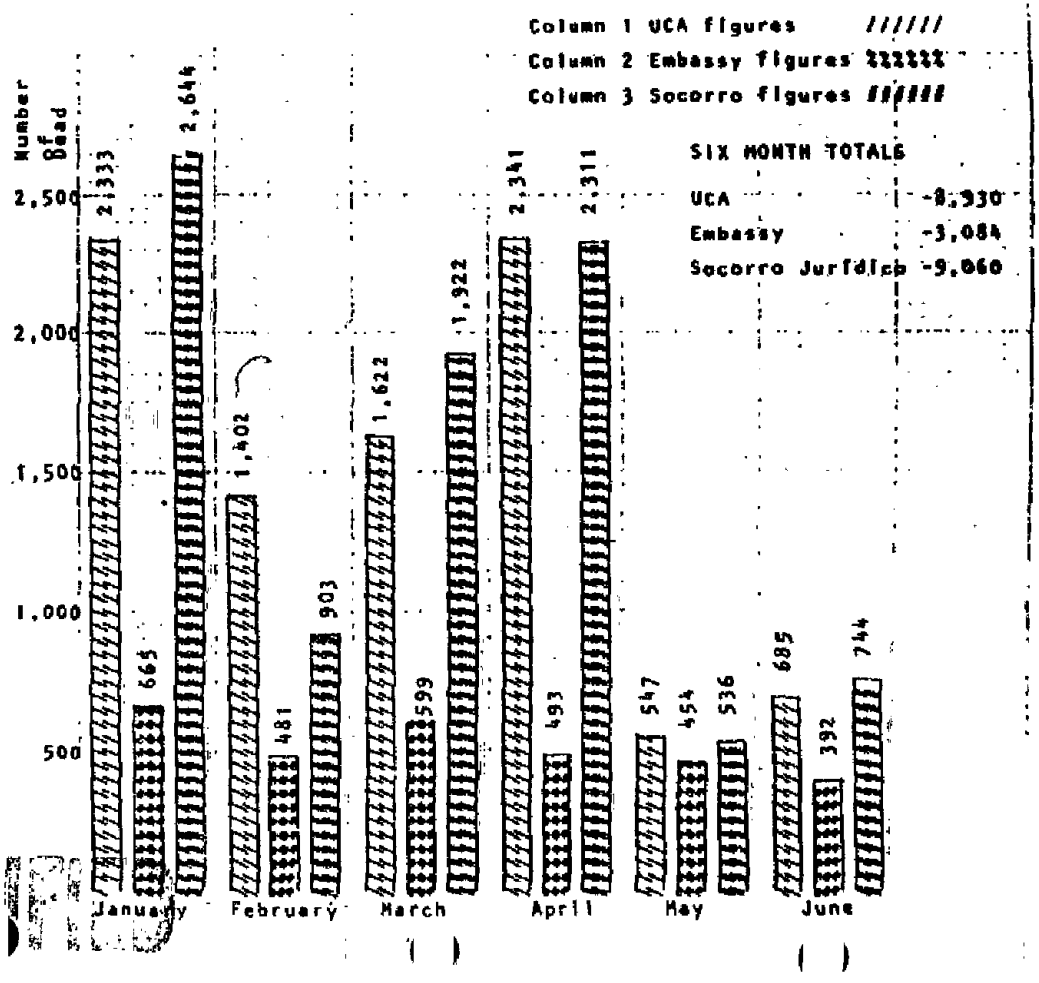
Chart No. 6
Comparative Murder figures
January-June 1981



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(C) FURTHER CAVEATS: Weekly Embassy reporting has routinely included military deaths when these were announced publicly in the "condolence notices" published in the capital's newspapers or when (and this also occurs) there were estimates of military casualties made in published sources. As indicated, for greater reliability these numbers have been culled from the Embassy monthly totals reported here. For an accurate picture of military casualties in El Salvador, the available official figures through September 15, 1981 from the Salvadoran Ministry of Defense are reported below.

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Chart No. 7
Salvadoran Military Casualties

Killed in Action - ////
Wounded in Action- ////

Totals for reported period.

Killed - 727
Wounded- 1,411

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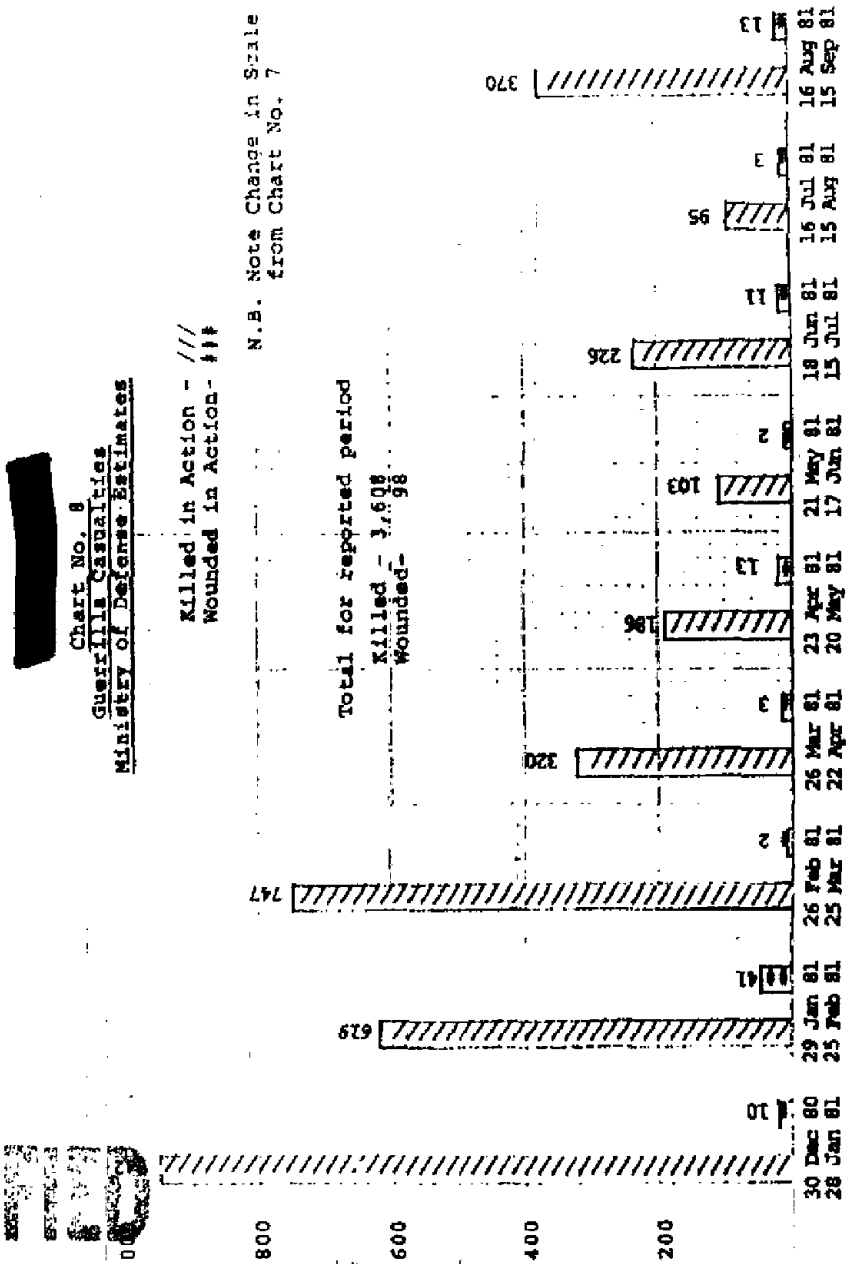
orts of guerrillas killed by the security forces during
"pitched battle" confrontations and skirmishes are
liable even when they form part of official reporting.
become even more unreliable, or altogether missing,
eporting in the media. With the necessary caution
it inflated casualty figures in a guerrilla war, we
sent the following estimates from Salvadoran military
ces.



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(U) 2. ATTACKS ON CIVIL MILITARY GOVERNMENT FACILITIES

This related category is also broad and encompasses, first of all, guerrilla assaults on military facilities by large or small groups of leftists (even if the result of the assault is further open combat). Next in consideration are attacks on security posts without an accompanying assault designed either to inflict damage or simply to harass. Attempts to assassinate public officials or to blow up their homes, and bombings of civil government offices are also tallied. It should be noted that only offices are included here; facilities such as electrical grids and water systems are included in the next category.

(U) 3. ECONOMIC ATTACKS

This category covers all attacks construed as directed against the economic foundation of the country. Included are attacks on the basic economic infrastructure (power, water, highways), as well as attacks on individual industrial and commercial establishments, the banking system, and attacks such as bus burnings, considered to be economic even if deaths result from the action.

(U) 4. MISCELLANEOUS ATTACKS

This is a collection of unrelated acts which may or may not be of terrorist origin (terrorist authorship of such acts is assumed in most news accounts). The tally includes seizures of radio stations to force broadcasts of messages supporting the cause, robberies whose modus operandi suggests guerrilla initiative, and crimes such as arson which may or may not be construed as the work of terrorists.

(U) 5. RIGHTIST TERROR

This is the most elusive of all categories. Nonetheless, we believe it to be a significant factor of the violence in El Salvador. Bombings are the overt form of rightist terror, with the targets serving as effective means for our judging the attack the work of the right. Killing, however, appears to be the preferred medium for rightist terrorists and their shadowy efforts have been dealt with in the preceding section. The absence of rightist attacks from the charts which follow should in no way be construed as evidencing an absence of rightist terrorist violence.

(U) PART II - VIOLENT INCIDENTS

The unreliability which makes the evidence regarding deaths in El Sal questionable extends also to the reporting of violent incidents. To uniform standards for the coverage of both deaths and violent incider Embassy has relied on information in the Salvadoran media. Built-i tortions are inevitable. Much as in the case of deaths, the traditi "battleground" departments here (Morazán, Chalatenango, Cabañas, and Vicente) are believed to be under-reported, particularly with regard skirmishes between government and guerrilla troops. In these departr as well as in the rest of the country, the guerrillas' clandestine R. Venceremos proclaims achievements beyond those reported in the press is strongly indicative of a wider scope to guerrilla operations. Ra ceremos has been broadcasting, however, only since March of 1981 and the air for short periods. An additional problem arises when the lo and Radio Venceremos use different geographical points of reference cribing an incident. A single incident may be duplicated when the p of reference cannot be reconciled. The UCA "Balance Estadístico" al sents a summary of leftist activities which far exceeds that reporte the press (see below). Confirmation of the majority of the acts rep by these two sources is also lacking.

To characterize the different types of violent incidents here is an tional difficulty. Often reports differ as to the circumstances and sults of a particular event. At times an interpretation of an event its motivations is necessary in order to classify it. To prevent a ing of incident categories, five broad areas have been defined, eac which embraces a variety of activities. With necessary caveats, the as follows:

(U) 1. GUERRILLA CONFRONTATIONS AND TERRORIST ATTACKS

This is the broadest category and takes account of most types of act involving direct guerrilla participation. Five types of events are ed headed by confrontations between guerrilla units and government forces. These confrontations range in size from combat between smal of men to the full-scale battles between groups numbering in the hun which characterized the guerrilla "final offensive" in January 1981. types of guerrilla activity included here are staged ambushes on go ment military convoys, guerrilla seizures of isolated small towns wi without opposition from the local defenders, guerrilla attacks on r where the result, if not the intention, is the death of farm workers similar attacks on interurban buses for the purpose of killing suspe enemies or sowing terror. A few additional numbers report Salvadoran tary sweeps which the press reported as having resulted in significa tacts with the guerrilla forces.

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BERS OF INCIDENTS

chart below is a breakdown by department of the five categories of lent incidents in the one year period 9/16/80-9/15/81.

rt No. 9

AKDOWN BY DEPARTMENT OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS BY CATEGORY

Guerrilla Confrontations	Civil-Military Attacks	Economic Attacks	Miscellaneous Attacks	Rightist Attacks	TOTAL
53	14	32	16	0	115
2	4	2	1	0	9
8	1	6	1	0	16
13	5	7	1	0	26
66	8	16	2	0	92
89	65	172	30	12	368
29	18	16	6	0	69
34	3	13	2	0	52
54	3	4	2	0	63
41	7	9	4	0	61
99	7	25	11	0	142
37	8	11	5	1	62
29	7	18	11	0	65
15	4	2	3	0	24
24	3	3	2	0	32
593	157	336	97	13	1,196

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A breakdown of the five categories according to month and department follows below:

Chart No. 10

MONTHLY BREAKDOWN OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS (ALL TYPES)

AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS

	(15 days) Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	(15 days) Sep	TOTAL
Santa Ana	6	16	14	7	9	4	9	8	8	9	13	6	6	115
Ahuachapán	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	9
Sonsonate	0	4	5	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	16
La Libertad	0	2	3	0	4	1	0	1	6	0	4	5	0	26
Chalatenango	6	10	3	8	6	10	13	13	8	12	0	1	2	92
Capital	11	50	41	30	35	33	28	30	16	22	25	23	23	368
San Salvador	8	5	7	4	11	14	6	8	1	1	2	2	1	69
La Paz	1	6	3	7	7	3	5	6	4	6	1	1	2	52
Cabañas	2	5	4	4	3	2	3	12	4	10	5	7	2	63
Cuscatlán	0	4	5	3	5	2	5	6	6	6	9	7	3	61
San Vicente	2	9	9	5	7	14	17	13	15	13	14	20	4	142
Usulután	2	2	2	3	9	3	5	7	4	4	9	8	4	62
San Miguel	7	12	3	4	5	5	3	5	1	3	6	8	3	65
La Unión	0	2	2	1	2	5	0	0	4	2	3	3	0	24
Morazán	2	3	0	1	5	0	4	3	0	2	6	6	0	32
TOTAL	47	132	102	78	111	99	99	113	78	91	98	97	41	1,196

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(U) ALTERNATIVE DATA:

Alternative data on the number and variety of terrorist incidents is readily available in the monthly "Balance Estadfstico" published by the Central American University (UCA). However, the UCA does not independently confirm the incidents reported and uses criteria different from our own. For example, included in their tally are actions by so-called mass organizations which have an alleged military aspect. What constitutes that aspect is not revealed. In addition, UCA's categorization is different. Economic attacks are grouped with assaults on government civil facilities as "Acts of Sabotage". "Military Actions" includes not only activities included in our "Guerrilla Confrontations" category, but "Ajusticiamientos" (i.e. "legal" leftist murder) as well. Remaining categories in the UCA lexicon are "Seizures of Town and Cities" and a miscellaneous category analogous to our own. To effect a comparison we have carefully rearranged the incidents reported by UCA to conform with our categorization. The exception is the concept of "Ajusticiamientos" which merits a separate listing. Paralleling Chart No.9, the UCA figures for terrorist incidents are as follows:

Chart No. 11

VIOLENT INCIDENTS BY CATEGORY - UCA Figures, Sept. 1980- June 1981

	Guerrilla Confrontations	Civil-Military Attacks	Economic Attacks	Miscellaneous	"Ajusticiamientos"	TOTAL
September (30 days)	274	111	194	53	133	765
October	136	78	78	40	109	441
November	110	63	102	42	55	372
December	84	75	140	47	64	410
January	374	126	100	101	25	726
February	243	104	94	65	49	555
March	192	23	57	22	21	315
April	104	95	52	40	33	324
May	127	92	28	16	33	296
June	149	84	76	36	10	355
TOTAL	1,793	851	917	462	532	4,559

From the UCA figures it is also possible to develop a mont down of terrorist incidents of all types. The following c parallels Chart No.10.

Chart No. 12

MONTHLY BREAKDOWN OF TERRORISTS ACTS (ALL TYPES) AVAILABL

	(30 days) Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	UCA Total
Santa Ana	62	55	42	33	31	47	14	19	31	18	352
Ahuachapán	4	5	3	0	9	0	0	0	2	0	23
Sonsonate	13	9	9	7	17	3	2	3	4	4	71
La Libertad	20	12	8	22	18	14	5	4	12	4	119
Chalatenango	23	24	18	81	82	49	52	45	26	77	477
Capital	178	128	145	141	125	95	69	58	38	59	1,036
San Salvador	53	29	43	33	41	71	6	11	15	5	307
La Paz	51	30	16	28	48	17	10	19	13	4	227
Cabañas	22	23	21	5	34	12	26	41	25	31	240
Cuscatlán	36	22	25	12	62	77	39	31	29	23	356
San Vicente	101	53	27	44	72	76	46	42	30	71	562
Usulután	18	20	3	17	33	44	10	14	30	12	201
San Miguel	39	38	19	17	23	25	10	9	7	5	192
La Unión	5	10	8	4	24	17	3	3	11	1	86
Morazán	60	13	5	16	87	23	30	36	31	18	319
Unknown	21	15	14	3	14	13	5	1	1	0	87
TOTAL	706	486	412	463	720	583	327	336	305	332	4,655

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MBERS TALK:

mination of the preceding charts reveals a surprising parallel n the categories of figures reported in the press (our source) ose reported by UCA. Though the UCA figures generally exceed n by fourfold in most categories, the parallels endure. In both "Guerrilla Confrontations" are predominant, followed by attacks economic system. Thus, it appears that the two sources here ccurately reported the thrust of guerrilla activity, irregardless cors as to its scope. Another parallel appears when the monthly s are compared. Assuming error regarding scope, both Chart No. 10 hart No. 12 reflect a gradual buildup through the last months of to the January 1981 "final offensive" and a slackening thereafter. the January figure of Chart No. 10, though not significantly high- epresents large-scale combat; details reported in the press were unclear and many of these battles could be considered multiple ements).

TION OF THE TERROR:

errilla Confrontations. After the January 1981 "Final Offen- failed the insurgents adopted a strategy of prolonged classic lla warfare. They focused their attacks on the country's in- ucture by attacking power lines and telephone switching boxes. ontinually ambush and harass the Armed Forces. Their purpose undermine the economy, wear down the Armed Forces morale and dually diminish the will to resist of the country as a whole. their attacks may appear erratic, their purpose seems to fit in with this strategy.

vil-Military Attacks. The frequency of attacks in this category for guerrilla conviction that the governmental civil-military ure can be systematically weakened. However, with regard to mil- sites, the frequency of attacks may be a reflection of the nature war and the Salvadoran military's conduct of it so far. Apart eriodic sweeps through the countryside, Salvadoran military policy s many troops to fixed locations. Much of this is unavoidable; ed to guard strategic facilities, choke-points, and population s cannot be ignored. Salvadoran policy, though, has been ive with many troops confined to barracks and cuartels. Routine ls to match the guerrillas in terms of movement do not often occur. ed to fixed points, the troops become easy targets for attacks taken at guerrilla initiative.

ks on the civil sector of the Salvadoran Government appear to us

to be a wan hope of destroying a functioning government. Some partial guerrilla successes can be noted however. The frequent burning of village and town halls over the past year have encumbered, but by no means crippled the daily administration of government. Terrorism in the countryside did force the government to abandon the planned decennial census. It should be noted that a proportion of the attacks on government facilities can be attributed to rightist forces. We believe that many attacks on government sites involved with the land reform program, including the October 1980 bombing of the Ministry of Agriculture can be attributed to the right.

(U) 3. Economic Attacks. In keeping with the guerrilla strategy of prolonged warfare the insurgents have attacked the country's economic infrastructure. The most recent campaigns have been against the electric transmission system and the telephone system. The attacks against the power grid take place in the countryside where the guerrillas blow up transmission towers and poles; the government doggedly replaces the poles as they fall. The attacks against the telephone system are targetted on the switching boxes in the cities. The effect is two fold: It disrupts the telephone system if only momentarily and it creates an atmosphere of insecurity. In 1980 the guerrillas also tried to disrupt agricultural harvests by burning parts of the nation's cash crops, coffee, cotton and sugar.

During the past several months the guerrillas have made several probing attacks against the Cerron Grande and 5 de Noviembre hydroelectric dams. To date they have not mounted a full scale attack on these facilities which provide a lion's share of the electrical power in El Salvador. To disrupt the transportation system, the guerrillas have destroyed many highway bridges; their major success was the destruction of the Puente de Oro bridge on October 14, 1981. The national railroads have also suffered considerably at the hands of the insurgents. In all these cases the objective is the same: undermine the will to resist by attacking the economic base of the country.

(U) 4. Miscellaneous Attacks. As we have said, many of the activities covered by this category may or may not be the result of "official" terrorist action. Those which we are certain are leftist activities are the takeovers of various radio stations to broadcast tapes extolling one leftist group or another. This type of action has declined precipitously over the year from September 1980 and now (for whatever reason) does not often occur.

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5. Rightist Terror. We emphasize again the murky nature of right-wing terrorist actions in El Salvador. Though specific activity by the right appears infrequent (much rightist terror belongs to the faceless category of political murder), the effect of terror from this sector is palpable to many Salvadorans. Reftels (A), (B), and (G) provide an insight into this particular brand of horror.

As the reported incidents of rightist terror are infrequent, we feel it advantageous to list those incidents we believe originated with the right. The major criterion for the judgment is the identity of the victims. Month by month these acts are as follows:

Sept. 1980

1. the murder of several peasants in Usulután department by BAGO (Brigada Anti-Guerrillera del Oriente).
2. the shooting and wounding of Agrarian Reform director Rodolfo Viera in San Salvador.
3. the machine-gun killing of several teachers of the San Salvador Jesuit High School while waiting for a bus.

October 1980

1. the bombing of a Jesuit residence in San Antonio Abad.
2. the bombing of the Ministry of Agriculture building in the capital.

November 1980

1. the bombing of a residence for Belgian priests in San Salvador.
2. the murders of five leaders of the FDR in San Salvador.

December 1980

1. the murders of four American religious workers in La Paz department.

January 1981

1. the murders of Rodolfo Viera, Mark Pearlman, and Michael Hammer in San Salvador.
2. the bombing of the Nicaraguan Embassy in San Salvador.

March 1981

1. a strafing of the American Embassy in San Salvador.

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2. a rocket attack on the Nicaraguan Embassy in San Salvador.

June 1981

1. the murder of Col. Benjamín Mejía in Cuscatlán department.

July 1981

1. the murders of ten clowns and circus workers in Santa Ana.

Outside the scope of this one year survey can be added the October 8 bombing of the offices of the Chief Justice of the Salvadoran Supreme Court.

(U) SUMMING UP.

The present situation in El Salvador is the result of a long-term evolutionary process. It is obvious to us that the roots of violence here are not solely political; historical, sociological, and cultural factors are essential elements as well. A survey of but one year of this long term process does provide some valuable insights.

Our research indicates that El Salvador is a traditionally violent society. It is one in which the number and nature of violent crimes are matched by a high level of tolerance for the violent solution. Starting some five years ago, the delicate social balance, of which these attitudes are indicative, began to break down under the strains of profound social change, the frustration of normal political aspirations, and the radicalization of the means of political expression. For many parties the violent alternative became the sole and preferred means of action. We believe that Salvadoran institutions were unable to stem the crescendo of violence because of factors which impelled the society to violence. The active participation of significant Salvadoran institutions in actions which hastened the march toward violence was a sign of the general descent into literally bloody rebellion. The institutions became a reflection of their times. The subsequent swamping of the Salvadoran judicial system has resulted in a multiplication of the violence which legal impunity inspires.

Despite our emphasis on the unreliability of evidence here, we believe the data leads to some conclusions about the violence and killing in El Salvador. First, we began compiling our data when the violence and killing were reaching a climax. The climax was the January 1981 "final offensive". Ever since that time all sets of data show a decline month by month. Many people in El Salvador claim that violence will increase

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:he election process unfolds. We believe that both the left
the right could react violently to the elections. At this
it it is too early to say.

ally, the nature of violence has changed this unhappy land.
being an exceptional -- extraordinary -- political
on, it has become ordinary. At this point a stasis
exist; neither side appears likely to overcome the other
ugh terror. This is a state of affairs which no nation
long endure. The country must find an escape from the
mitting horror. The Junta has proposed elections as
means to begin the return to normal political behaviour.
e elections are a crucial first step. We must not deceive
elves into thinking they are a final solution. If
essful, they can begin laying the foundations for an
itutional system that can cope while relieving the
rmous political tensions which caused the violence in the
st place. Still we look for gradual, not rapid, improve-
t over a period of years. Violence is too engrained in
s society to expect more.

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TAGS= SCUL, PGOV, SHUM, CASC, GT, US

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 00414 01 OF 02 201638Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 NSC-05 NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03 PM-09 PA-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7370
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCOS QUARRY HEIGHTS PN

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 GUATEMALA 0414

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/19/88 (GRAHAM, RICHARD C.) OR-P
TAGS: SCUL, PGOV, SHUM, CASC, GT
SUBJ: (U) EMBASSY OFFICERS MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF US BASED RELIGIOUS ORDERS WORKING IN GUATEMALA

REF: (A) GUATEMALA 0350, (B) GUATEMALA 0318, (C) GUATEMALA 0315, (D) GUATEMALA 0285 (NOTAL), (E) GUATEMALA 0276, (F) GUATEMALA 0158, (G) GUATEMALA 0137, (H) GUATEMALA 0110

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2. SUMMARY. JANUARY 15 AMBASSADOR AND EMBASSY OFFICERS MET WITH 24 USCIT MEMBERS OF VARIOUS ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ORDERS WORKING IN GUATEMALA. MANY OF THE PRIESTS AND NUNS HAD ASKED FOR A MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR, EXPRESSING THEIR CONCERN ABOUT GOG PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH AND ESPECIALLY FOREIGN CLERGY. TAPE RECORDING OF CHIEF OF STAFF BENEDICTO LUCAS'

[redacted]

[redacted]

Date 6/25/9

PAGE 02 GUATEM 00414 01 OF 02 201638Z

TS authority
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DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
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STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS CONCERNING INVOLVEMENT OF CLERGY IN GUERRILLA MOVEMENT WAS PLAYED FOR THE GROUP. DISCUSSION OF STATEMENT FOLLOWED. EMBOFFS STRESSED THE NEED FOR ALERTNESS ON THE PART OF THE CLERGY DURING THESE TIMES OF INCREASED ARMY/GUERRILLA CLASHES AND OBVIOUS GOG SENSITIVITY. END SUMMARY.

3. ON JANUARY 15 AMBASSADOR AND EMBOFFS MET FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF WITH 24 REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS USCIT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES WORKING IN GUATEMALA. NUNS FROM THE FOLLOWING ORDERS WERE REPRESENTED: NOTRE DAME SISTERS, DOMINICANS, BENEDICTINES, SISTERS OF CHARITY, INCARNATE WORD SISTERS, AND MARYKNOLL SISTERS. PRIESTS AND BROTHERS FROM THE FOLLOWING ORDERS ALSO ATTENDED: BENEDICTINES, CHRISTIAN BROTHERS, MARYKNOLL PRIESTS AND VARIOUS US SECULAR PRIESTS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH ANY ORDER. IN THE MEMORY OF MANY OF THE CLERGY WHO HAVE BEEN IN GUATEMALA MORE THAN TEN YEARS, THIS TYPE OF FORMAL MEETING AT THE EMBASSY HAD NEVER OCCURRED. VIRTUALLY EVERY RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY CONTACTED BY EMBASSY FROM AS FAR AWAY AS THE PETEN AND HUEHUETENANGO ATTENDED THE MEETING.

4. THE AMBASSADOR BEGAN THE MEETING BY PLAYING FOR THE GROUP THE TAPE RECORDED STATEMENT OF CHIEF OF STAFF BENEDICTO LUCAS IN WHICH HE ACCUSED THE CLERGY, ESPECIALLY FOREIGNERS SUCH AS JESUITS, MARYKNOLL PRIESTS AND SISTERS OF CHARITY OF ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES (REF A). AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT PRESIDENT LUCAS HIMSELF WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR TELLING HIS BROTHER QTE THAT THE MAJORITY OF AMERICAN, CANADIAN AND BELGIAN RELIGIOUS WORKERS WERE ENGAGED IN SUBVERSION END QTE (REF B). THE AMBASSADOR ALSO READ TO THE GROUP STATEMENTS TAKEN FROM HOMILIES ALLEGEDLY GIVEN BY THE ABDUCTED BELGIAN

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PRIEST PAUL SCHILDERMAN WHO WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED (REF C). REACTION BY THE GROUP TO GENERAL LUCAS' STATEMENT WAS ONE OF INCREDULITY AT THE GENERAL'S OBVIOUS EXAGGERATION FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE. NO ONE INDICATED THAT THE BELGIAN'S HARD-HITTING PRO-PEASANT HOMILIES COULD NOT HAVE BEEN DELIVERED. MANY PRIESTS HAD NOTED ARMY OBSERVERS ATTENDING THEIR SERVICES AND LEAVING THE MASS AFTER THE SERMON HAD BEEN GIVEN. IN THE PAST IT HAS BEEN REPORTED TO THE EMBASSY THAT TAPE RECORDERS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT INTO CHURCHES (REF D).

5. WHEN ASKED BY THE RELIGIOUS WORKERS WHY THE GOG WAS

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STEPPING UP ITS ATTACKS ON THE CHURCH, EMBOFFS RESPONDED THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE A GREAT DEAL OF CONCERN IN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS ONLY FED BY HOMILIES SUCH AS THAT ATTRIBUTED TO THE BELGIAN PRIEST. THE MARYKNOLL SUPERIOR NOTED THAT SEVERAL MONTHS AGO WHEN BENEDICTO LUCAS HAD BEEN IN CHARGE OF THE MILITARY POST IN EL PETEN HE HAD INDICATED TO THE BISHOP OF THAT DIOCESE THAT THE MARYKNOLL PRIESTS IN THAT AREA SEEMED TO BE ACTING WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF MISSIONARY BEHAVIOR. IN FACT THE MARYKNOLL SUPERIOR POINTED OUT THAT LUCAS WAS OFTEN A VISITOR AT THEIR PARISH HOUSES IN EL PETEN. ANOTHER PRIEST POINTED OUT THAT PRESIDENT LUCAS HAD INVITED US PRIESTS AND NUNS PARTICIPATING IN HIS LITERACY PROGRAM TO THE NATIONAL PALACE NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS AGO TO THANK THEM FOR THEIR FINE WORK.

6. MEMBERS OF THE GROUP ASKED IF ANY SPECIFIC CHARGES HAD BEEN MADE AGAINST INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN RELIGIOUS WORKERS. WE RESPONDED THAT NONE HAD BEEN MADE, BUT THAT PRESIDENT LUCAS SAID HE HAD EVIDENCE OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY AND WOULD SUPPLY IT TO THE EMBASSY. IT WAS NOTED BY EMBOFFS THAT LEADERS OF THE CHURCH HIERARCHY HAD EVIDENCE THAT SOME CLERGY WERE COOPERATING EXTENSIVELY WITH ELEMENTS

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OF THE GUERRILLA FORCES. CHURCH WORKERS ASKED IF THEY WOULD BE NOTIFIED IF CHARGES WERE MADE AGAINST THEM. EMBOFFS RESPONDED THAT DEFINITELY THEY WOULD BE NOTIFIED IF SUCH INFORMATION BECAME AVAILABLE TO US AS OUR PURPOSE WAS TO PROTECT USCITS AND, HOPEFULLY, ALLOW FOR DUE PROCESS OF LAW, THOUGH IT WAS NOTED THAT THE RULE OF LAW DOES NOT ALWAYS APPLY IN GUATEMALA.

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 00414 02 OF 02 201557Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 NSC-05 NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03 PM-09 PA-01
OCS-06 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /078 W
————————264661 210517Z /21
R 192206Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7371
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 GUATEMALA 0414

7. THERE WAS A GENERAL CONSENSUS AMONG THE RELIGIOUS GROUP AND EMBOFFS THAT THE NATIONAL PALACE (READ

PRESIDENT LUCAS) DOES NOT HAVE FULL CONTROL OVER SMALL MILITARY GROUPS IN RURAL AREAS. LOCAL MILITARY LEADERS ARE KINGS. IT WAS GENERALLY FELT THAT MANY ACCUSATIONS (DENUNCIAS) CAME FROM LOCAL MILITARY SPIES WHO MIGHT HAVE PERSONAL GRUDGES AGAINST CERTAIN RELIGIOUS WORKERS. RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP WERE THAT ALL ACTIVITIES IN ONE'S PARISH SHOULD BE MADE KNOWN TO LOCAL GOG OFFICIALS, AND THAT EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO ESTABLISH GOOD RELATIONS WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

8. IN REGARD TO THE JESUIT FATHER PELLECER'S REVELATIONS, SOME RELIGIOUS WORKERS SUGGESTED THAT HE MISINTERPRETED CHURCH DOCTRINE AND HAD PAINTED EVERYONE IN MISSIONARY WORK WITH THE SAME BRUSH. THE MARYKNOLL SUPERIOR NOTED THAT ONLY

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ONE OF HIS PRIESTS HAD EVER HAD CONTACT WITH PELLECER AND THAT HAD OCCURRED AT A LARGE GENERAL MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN RELIGIOUS WORKERS IN GUATEMALA (CONFREGUA). AS A RESULT OF THE PELLECER STATEMENTS AN INVESTIGATION OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS HAD BEGUN. SOME HAD ALREADY BEEN VISITED BUT NOTHING OUT OF THE ORDINARY HAD BEEN FOUND. MARYKNOLL SISTERS HAD ASKED THAT THEIR LAWYER AND A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE NUNCIO'S OFFICE BE PRESENT. THE INVESTIGATION HAD BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL FEBRUARY. SOME SCHOOLS NOTED THAT THEY HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING DIPLOMAS FOR THEIR GRADUATIONS STUDENTS FROM THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. THEY FELT THIS WAS MINOR HARRASSMENT.

9. THE GROUP ASKED IF A CLEAR STATEMENT OF THEIR WORK AND PROGRAMS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EMBASSY OR THE GOG. EMBOFFS RESPONDED THAT THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL IN THE CASE OF ANY EMERGENCY, BUT THAT IT WAS NO GUARANTEE OF PROTECTION. (NOTE: EMBASSY HAS ALREADY RECEIVED FROM THE MARYKNOLL SUPERIOR A STATEMENT DATED DECEMBER 9, 1982 (PROBABLY JAN. 9), IN WHICH THE WORK AND FUNCTIONS OF THE MARYKNOLL ORDER ARE SET FORTH. IT NOTES THAT THE ORDER IS HERE WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE GOG AND SHOULD THE AUTHORITIES HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF ANY MARYKNOLL MEMBER IT SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE BISHOP OR PAPAL NUNCIO.)

10. COMMENT: THE MEETING WAS WELL-RECEIVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE CLERGY. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION FOR THE CONCERN SHOWN BY THE EMBASSY AND WERE VERY

RECEPTIVE TO THE REGISTRATION PROGRAM SET UP BY THE CONSULAR SECTION. THEY NOTED THAT THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS OF GUATEMALA HAD DECLARED THAT QTE THE CHURCH

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WAS UNDER PERSECUTION IN THIS COUNTRY END QTE, BUT THAT THEY WOULD ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE THEIR WORK WITHOUT INCURRING THE WRATH OF GOG OFFICIALS. THE MOST OBVIOUS REACTION EXPRESSED AT THE MEETING WAS OVER THE STATEMENTS MADE BY CHIEF OF STAFF LUCAS. THE GROUP AGREED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE EMBASSY. MANY IN THE GROUP COME TO THE EMBASSY REGULARLY TO REPORT EVENTS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE PARISHES. END COMMENT.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO000769

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 00769 192248Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO DCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
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ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /065 W
----------243761 201430Z /43

R 192246Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7592
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted]MEXICO 00769

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: MX, EL, SHUM
SUBJECT: EL SALVADOR: LETTER FROM FMLN/FDR

1. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED FOLLOWING LETTER, ADDRESSED TO AMBASSADOR GAVIN, AND SIGNED BY LIC. SALVADOR SAMAYOA AND DR. HECTOR OQUELI, AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC COMMISSION OF THE FMLN/FDR. BEGIN TEXT:

ON JULY 11 THIS YEAR, IN THE CITY OF SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR, UNIFORMED MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL POLICE TOOK OVER THE BUSINESS OF MR. LUIS VILLALOBOS LOPEZ BY FORCE. MR. VILLALOBOS LOPEZ WAS KIDNAPPED BY THE POLICE IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS FAMILY AND HIS WHEREABOUTS ARE UNKNOWN UP TO THIS TIME.

MR. LUIS VILLALOBOS LOPEZ IS THE FATHER OF JOAQUIN VILLALOBOS, A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMANDER'S OFFICE OF THE MARTI FARABUNDO FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, FMLN.

IN CONSIDERATION OF THE HABITUAL CONDUCT OF THE SECURITY FORCES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR, WE HAVE MORE THAN SUFFICIENT REASONS TO FEAR FOR THE LIFE OF MR. VILLALOBOS [redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 00769 192248Z

LOPEZ.

FOR THIS REASON WE ARE RESPECTFULLY REQUESTING THOSE GOVERNMENTS WHO PROCLAIM THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO INTERCEDE BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR TO OBTAIN THE IMMEDIATE LIBERATION AND RESPECT FOR THE PHYSICAL AND MORAL INTEGRITY OF MR. LUIS VILLALOBOS LOPEZ.

WE ARE SURE THAT THE STEPS WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT MIGHT

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: 9940034A

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TAKE IN THIS RESPECT WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE IN THIS CASE.

WE SHALL GREATLY APPRECIATE THE ATTENTION WHICH YOU MAY GIVE TO OUR REQUEST. END TEXT.
2. EMBASSY DOES NOT PLAN TO REPLY TO LETTER, UNLESS OTHERSIDE INSTRUCTED. IF DEPARTMENT WISHES TO REPLY, PLEASE PROVIDE GUIDANCE. (DRAFTER: T.S. WILKINSON) FERCH

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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA000567

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00567 251512Z
ACTION ARA-16

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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
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SPRS-02 /065 W
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R 251418Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7858
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF
USICA WASHDC 096

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 0567

E. O. 12065: GDS 1/21/88 OR-O
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJ: (C) ERP COMMANDER JOSE RAMON MEDRANO PRAISES ATLACATL BATTALION IN INTERVIEW WITH AMERICAN JOURNALIST

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. A RELIABLE AMERICAN JOURNALIST TOLD AMBASSADOR AND PAO JANUARY 19 ABOUT HIS VISIT THIS WEEK TO A GUERRILLA CAMP IN THE DEPARTMENT OF USULUTAN AND HIS INTERVIEW WITH ERP LEADER JOSE RAMON MEDRANO. ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE, THE MEETING WAS EXTREMELY EASY TO ARRANGE. SEVERAL EUROPEAN JOURNALISTS HAD BEEN TO THE CAMP BEFORE HIM. AS HE PUT IT, "ALL OF A SUDDEN YOU'RE IN THEIR TERRITORY." HE WOULD PIN-POINT THE EXACT LOCATION NO FURTHER, HOWEVER STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO MEDRANO WOULD PLACE THE CAMP IN [redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00567 251512Z

THE S.E. CORNER OF USULUTAN.

3. MEDRANO, WHOSE NOM DE GUERRE IS COMMANDER BALTHASAR, WAS DESCRIBED AS RELAXED BUT OBVIOUSLY VERY TIRED. HE CLAIMED TO BE 31, A FORMER SOCIOLOGY STUDENT IN THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, A MILITANT OF THE ERP, THOUGH HIS TROOPS WERE A MIXTURE FROM SEVERAL GUERRILLA GROUPS, AND THE COMMANDER OF THE SOUTHEASTERN SECTOR FOR THE FMLN.

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940034A

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4. THE REPORTER WAS IMPRESSED BY THE AIR OF PERMANENCY OF THE CAMP. THE GUERRILLAS WERE LIVING IN HOUSES, THERE WAS A SCHOOL, OFFICE, INFIRMARY, ETC. ACCORDING TO MEDRANO, THE GUERRILLAS HAD OCCUPIED THE SAME CAMP SINCE MAY OF 1981 AND HAD ONLY BEEN FORCED TO VACATE IT FOR TWO WEEKS IN EARLY OCTOBER DURING AN ARMY SWEEP OF THE AREA. MEDRANO REMEMBERED THAT HE WAS LYING IN HIS HAMMOCK LISTENING TO THE DANILE ORTEGA U.N. SPEECH ON SHORTWAVE WHEN THE ARMY ATTACKED THE CAMP. (ORTEGA SPOKE TO THE UNGA OCTO ER 7.) HE MENTIONED CERRO EL MONO AS BEING THE OBJECTIVE OF THE ARMY SWEEP.

5. THE JOURNALIST WAS SURPRISED WHEN COMMANDER BALTHASAR VOLUNTEERED HIGH PRAISE FOR THE SALVADORAN ARMY'S QUCK REACTION BATTALION, THE ATLACATL BATALLION TRAINED BY A U.S. MOBILE TRAINING TEAM. ACCORDING TO THE GUERRILLA COMMANDER, THE ATLACATL BATTALION WAS BY FAR THE BEST ARMY OUTFIT THE GUERRILLAS UNDER HIS COMMAND HAD FACED IN BATTLE. HIS RESPECT FOR THEM WAS BASED NOT ONLY ON THEIR SUPERIOR PERFORMANCE UNDER FIRE, BUT THEIR ENLIGHTENED TREATMENT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. HE PRAISED THEM FOR THEIR DISCIPLINE IN CARRYING OUT SMALL UNIT TACTICS IN THE FIELD AND IN GENERAL GAVE THEM HIGH MARKS AS THE MOST FORMIDABLE OPPONENT HIS MEN HAD FACTED TO DATE.

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6. ON A STRICTLY POLITICAL MATTER, MEDRANO STRESSTED TO THE REPORTED WHAT HE, MEDRANO, CHARACTEREIZED AS A NEW FMLN NEGOTIATING POSITION. CLAIMING TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE FMLN, HE PROPOSED THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GOES UNDER THE CONDITION THAT ONLY THE SECURITY FORCES WERE RESTRUCTURED, LEAVING THE ARMY INTACT. THE AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED TO THE JOURNALIST THAT THE SECURITY FORCES REPRESENTED THE PRINCIPAL BONE OF CONTENTION WITH TME FOR-FMLN AND THAT LEAVINT THE ARMY INTACT DID NOT REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE GUERRILLA POSITION. THE REPORTER ACCEPTED THE AMBASSADOR'S ASSESSMENT, BUT STILL INTENDS TO INCLUDE MEDRANO'S PROPOSAL IN HIS STORY.

7. A SECOND GUERRILLA OFFICER, ROLANDO JULIAN, WHO SEEMED TO BE THE POLITICAL OR PROPAGANDA OFFICER, WAS PRESENT DURING THE INTERVIEW. THE REPORTER REMEMBERED HIM WELL BECAUSE ALTHOGH HE REPRESENTED HIMSELF AS A MEDICAL DOCTOR, HE WAS GROSSLY OVERWEIGHT AND, IN FACT, THE ONLY OBESE INDIVIDUAL OBSERVED AT THE CAMP. (COMMENT: WHILE THE MBASSY HAS RECEIVED SEVERAL COMPARATIVELY GOOD REPORTS FROM JOURNALISTS AND OTHERS AS TO THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ATLACATL BATTALION, THIS IS THE FIRST ENDORSEMENT TO COME FROM A COMMANDER OF THE ENEMY FORCES. REPORTS OF SIMILAR INTERVIEWS WITH MEDRANO CAN BE EXPECTED TO APPEAR AROUND THE WORLD FROM SUCH MEDIA OUTLETS AS UPI, GERMAN RADIO AND PRESS,

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DUTCH RADIO AND TV, AND WASHINGTON POST AND SPANISH PRESS
AND TV.
END COMMENT.)

6. AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: NOTE THAT REPORTED PRAISE FOR AN ELITE ARMY UNIT IS COMPATIBLE WITH POLITICAL POSITION THAT FMLN ASKING PRICE FOR NEOGTIATIONS HAS BEEN LOWERED TO CONCENTRATE ON SECURITY FORCES. IN FACT, POSITION IS APPROACHING "SELF PURGE" CONCEPT SURFACED ELSEWHERE. SECOND, IF COMMANDER BALTHASAR IS IDENTIFIED IN PRESS REPORTS AS PRAISING

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 00567 2515122

ANY ARMY UNIT, I WOULD EXPECT IT WOULD HEIGHTEN TENSIONS WE BELIEVE ALREADY EXIST BETWEEN FPL AND ERP.
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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00565 01 OF 02 251348Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 H-01 NSCE-00
NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-05 HA-06 L-03 PM-09 PA-01
MCT-02 INRE-00 SAL-01 SYE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /068 W
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O 251315Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7554
USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 994
DOD WASHDC IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 0565

E. O. 12065: GDS 1/23/88
TAGS: SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: (U) NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE ON ALLEGED TORTURE INCIDENT

REF: STATE 5833

1. (C) SUMMARY: NEW YORK TIMES PUBLISHED JAN 11, 1982 A TOTALLY FALSE ARTICLE ALLEGING US PARTICIPATION INA TORTURE INCIDENT. NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE BY NYT TO VERIFY STORY HERE. RADIO MOSCOW BEGAN PLAYING SAME TUNE ALMOST IMMEDIATELY. THIS MESSAGE OUTLINES MULTIPLE FACTUAL DISCREPENCIES WHICH ARE, AND WERE, EASILY VERIFIABLE.

ACTION REQEUST: THAT WASHINGTON FOCUS WIDEST POSSIBLE ATTENTION ON THIS BLATANT EXAMPLE OF INACCURATE NEWS REPORTING ON SALVADOR AND ITS USE BY THE LEFT TO ATTEMPT TO ASSOCIATE US ASSISTANCE WITH OFFICIAL TERRORISM AND REPRESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THE ALLEGATIONS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE OF JAN. 11, 1982 THAT U.S. PERSONNEL WITNESSED SO-CALLED "TORTURE CLASSES" ARE TOTALLY FALSE. FURTHERMORE, OUR INVESTIGATION HAS [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00565 01 OF 02 251348Z

DISCOVERED SEVERAL DISCREPANCIES IN THE NEW YORK

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Declassified/Released US Dept of State EO 12356 Sec 3.5/NSC/CIA/DOS/FBI/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part; portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( ); law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( ); not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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TIMES ARTICLE WHICH TEND TO CAST DOUBT ON CARLOS MONTANO'S ENTIRE ACCOUNT ON THE ALLEGED INCIDENT.

3. (C) EVEN A CURSORY READING OF THE JANUARY 11 ARTICLE RAISES TWO QUESTIONS. HOW COULD THE NYT PUBLISH SO PROMINENTLY SUCH A CONDEMNATORY ARTICLE BY A SALVADORAN ARMY DESERTER WITHOUT CHEKCING OUT THE FACTS ON THE GROUND? A SECOND AND EVEN MORE SERIOUS QUESTION HAS TO DO WITH THE TIMING OF THE RELEASE OF THE STORY WHICH ITSELF IS NOT DATED. WE HAVE LEARNED THROUGH JOURNALISTS THAT A GROUP OF SALVADORAN EXILES IN MEXICO, INCLUDING DISSIDENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT HECTOR DADA HIREZI AND EX-OWNER OF THE SAN SALVADOR LEFTIST DAILY EL INDEPENDIENTE, JORGE PINTO, OFFERED GOMEZ' TALE SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE ITS JAN. 11 PUBLICATION, TO SEVERAL AMERICAN JOURNALISTS IN MEXICO CITY, NONE OF WHO WOULD TOUCH IT FOR ITS OBVIOUS LACK OF CREDIBILITY. THE NYT NOT ONLY ACCEPTED THE STORY BUT HELD IT UNTIL THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF SALVADORAN MILITARY ARRIVED FOR TRAINING IN NORTH CAROLINA. THE TIMES THEN RAN THE STORY IN AN EXTREMELY PROMINENT POSITION ON PAGE FOUR ALONG WITH A PHOTO OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY.

4. (C) WE SHOULD NOT ALSO THAT MOSCOW RADIO IN SPANISH TO LATIN AMERICAN (FBIS BY 182200) USED THE STORY THE FOLLOWING DAY, JAN 12, TO LAUNCH A PARTICULARLY VICIOUS ATTACK AGAINST THE US. IT MADE A SIMILAR LINK BETWEEN ACCUSATION OF WIDESPREAD INSTRUCTION IN TORTURE BY THE US AND THE ARRIVAL OF SALVADORAN MILITARY TRAINEES IN THE US.

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A. HE CLAIMS HIS PARENTS WERE MASSACRED BY THE NATIONAL GUARD IN MAY 1981. COMMENT: ACCORDING TO RELATIVES IN ZACATECOLUCA, DEPARTMENT OF LA PAZ, HIS PARENTS DIED SEPARATELY OF NATURAL CAUSES LONG BEFORE THAT DATE. B. GOMEZ HAS NOT BEEN CONSISTENT IN DESCRIBING HIS FAMILY TO DIFFERENT REPORTERS. THE NUMBER OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS VARIES FROM INTERVIEW TO INTERVIEW.

7. (U) THE ONLY VERIFIABLE FACT IN GOMEZ' STORY THAT CHECKS OUT IS THAT HE WAS A PARATROOPER AND DESERTED AT ABOUT THE TIME HE ALLEGED. HOWEVER, HE CLAIMS TO HAVE ESCAPED FROM THE STOCKADE AT ILOPANGO WHILE MILITARY RECORDS INDICATE THAT HE SIMPLY FAILED TO RETURN FROM A 48 HOUR PASS.

8. (U) ASIDE FROM THE DISCREPANCIES IN GOMEZ' STORY, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT EIGHT U.S. SERVICE MEMBERS WOULD WATCH A 13-YEAR OLD GIRL BEING TORTURED WITHOUT TAKING ACTION, OR AT THE VERY LEAST, REPORT IT TO THEIR SUPERIOR OFFICER. MORAL CONSIDERATIONS ASIDE, THEY ARE TRAINED TO REPORT SUCH INCIDENTS. THERE HAVE BEEN NO REPORTS, NOT EVEN ANY RUMORS OF SUCH AN INCIDENT.

9. (U) THIS MESSAGE, ALONG WITH THE TESTIMONY OF ALL THE INSTRUCTORS PRESENT AT THE TIME, WHICH THE DOD IS COLLECTING SHOULD PROVIDE SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO COUNTER THE GOMEZ' STORY, THOUGH UNFORTUNATELY THE STORY WILL REMAIN IN THE FILES OF THOSE WHO WOULD DISCREDIT AMERICAN POLICY IN EL SALVADOR. ONCE SUCH A STORY IS CIRCULATED IN A MAJOR PUBLICATION, IT ASSUMES

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A LIFE OF ITS OWN NO MATTER IF IT IS LATER PROVEN FALSE.
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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

NODIS REVIEW
Cat. A - Caption removed, transferred to O.
Cat. B - Transferred to O. with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C - Caption and custody retained by S/S
Reviewed by: Elijah Kelly Jr
Date: 3/12/87 19

Subject: Haig-Gromyko Conversation

Date: January 26, 1982

Time: 2:00 to 7:00 P.M.

Place: Soviet Mission, Geneva

Participants:

US	USSR
Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig	Foreign Minister Andrey A. Gromyko
D. Arensburger, Interpreter	V. Sukhodrev Interpreter

INF and SALT

Foreign Minister Gromyko did not know whether Secretary Haig had anything to add on the question of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe. If the Secretary had nothing to add, then there was nothing further that Gromyko could say on that subject. Accordingly, he proposed to move on. Though Gromyko did not know the Secretary's possibilities, he, Gromyko, wanted to address briefly the matter of strategic arms and to listen to the Secretary's views on that subject. Lately there had been speculations galore in the press, including speculations to the effect that the Secretary did not want to discuss this issue at the current meeting. There were even press suggestions that the Secretary's intention was to displease the Soviet Union. Gromyko wanted to think that the situation was different, that such reports were incorrect and that they misinterpreted the views of the Secretary and the US Administration. This was a serious issue. The Soviet Union thought that now that discussions were underway on medium-range nuclear arms, the two states should deal with this question as well. After all, time was marching on and by force of circumstances it would be necessary to deal with the subject. But the more time elapsed, the more difficult it would become to deal with the subject, and the more difficult it would be to find appropriate solutions. Gromyko wanted to believe that the Secretary was prepared to exchange views on this matter, at least briefly. If so, Gromyko, too, was prepared to address it.

Drafted by:
DArensburger

Cleared by:
S:AMHaig

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RELEASE
EXCISE
DENY
( )
FOIA exemptions
PA Exemptions
( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART

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The Secretary replied that in the spirit of the principle of equal security he wanted to comment very briefly on some observations made this morning by Gromyko on the INF topic. Gromyko had really touched on three areas, and during lunch the Secretary had an opportunity to consider Gromyko's comments regarding the written proposal he had read. The Secretary considered it important to reiterate again the basic observation he had made regarding the Geneva discussions thus far. What was involved was a basic difference in approach in assessing data, threats and arms, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Gromyko had made the point very vigorously that the arms in Western Europe were strategic for the Soviet Union. That, of course, was also true with respect to our Western European allies, especially in the case of the SS-20. Furthermore, Gromyko had raised the question of global versus regional. The Secretary wanted to assure Gromyko that our problem involved mobile application of these systems, especially medium-range missiles, the capability of shifting and moving them.

It was necessary to deal with this matter at the ongoing negotiations in such a way that all sides would be confident that the picture was balanced. Certain statements had been made in Geneva to the effect that aircraft carriers and aircraft on them, the A-6s and the A-7s, which were never deployed here, even FB-111s which were in the United States, were included in Soviet force balances. Accordingly, it was a very difficult problem to be sure that we viewed the threats to each country in a common perspective.

The US saw a number of flaws in the Soviet presentation of the balance of capability. The Soviet position presented thus far in Geneva obscured the fact that the Soviet side had a greater number of nuclear systems, including land-based missiles which have great precision and involve greater accuracy, and also have numerous delivery capabilities. The Soviet position presented in Geneva ignored warheads and focused only on launchers, although a more significant measure of capability involves the question of warheads. The Soviet side insisted on including the arms of the United Kingdom and France, in the balance, overlooking the fact that these were strategic systems of sovereign states outside US control.

Gromyko had focused earlier on FB-111s, A-6s and A-7s, but the Soviet side wanted to exclude several Soviet aircraft with ranges comparable to those of US systems which allegedly constituted a threat to the Soviet Union. It was necessary to have a balance in the figures and to resolve the differences in that regard. Until that occurred, it would be very difficult

to make meaningful proposals on reductions. For example, the Secretary did not know how to tabulate the balances, even including allied systems. The Soviet inventory was overwhelmingly superior. The 580 SS-20s, SS-5s and SS-4s were associated with over 1,140 warheads, and using the approach the Soviet side had applied with regard to US nuclear-capable aircraft, the Soviet inventory involved 8,500 systems. On the other hand, F-111s, F-16s and F-4s added up to only 1,800. While the Secretary did not want to take the time now to discuss these numbers, because this should be left to experts, he had listed them in order to point out that this is where the problem started. He thought that, generally speaking, we should work toward resolving these approaches.

The Secretary said that the second area he wished to raise involved Gromyko's rationale regarding Soviet deployment of SS-20s. The Secretary knew the facts because he had much experience with NATO and with military forces, and had witnessed the evolution of the threat to NATO Europe. He also knew very clearly the situation regarding development and deployment of SS-20s, because at that time -- that is, in the late '60s and early '70s -- he had been Dr. Kissinger's Deputy in Washington. In this connection, it was necessary to take into account other dramatic changes in the Soviet posture, such as an increase in troop strength by one-third, a thickening of the combat echelons, a buildup in tank divisions and in mobile divisions, along with greater fire power. There had also been the most dramatic buildup in aircraft of modern times. The entire character of the Soviet Air Force had changed with respect to Western Europe during the period 1970 to 1978/79. It had gone from air defensive capabilities to long-range, dual-capable offensive capabilities. Manpower advantages had gone to a two-to-one ratio, the advantage in tanks to a three-to-one ratio. In the course of this, the number of nuclear warheads had increased six-to-one. All that had occurred simultaneously with the deployment of the SS-20s.

No objective observer could attribute SS-20 deployment to a reaction to Western modernization at a time when more than 1,000 warheads were withdrawn on our side. The Secretary was familiar with that withdrawal because he had fought that decision, but it was nevertheless carried out. It was important to get a clear picture on where we were with respect to SS-20s and how we got there, because only from that standpoint would it be possible to establish some basis for reductions which were in order. The Secretary had presented the above to be sure the record was clear in light of what Gromyko had said this morning, and so that the Soviet side would understand our concern.

The Secretary continued that, with respect to the question raised by Gromyko about SALT/START, we, too, had read all about that. It was true that we were not prepared, as we might have been in the absence of events, to move forward to discussing this subject now. Gromyko would know that we had worked intensively, as the Secretary had noted in September, to prepare our position. He hoped that we could initiate START negotiations at the earliest possible time. Those preparations were continuing, but at this time the Secretary was not prepared to engage in a substantive or procedural discussion, such as on the time of resuming these negotiations, and would not be prepared until the climate was right. When the climate was right, he knew that the President would make this very evident through diplomatic channels. The Secretary hoped that this would occur in the not too distant future.

Gromyko would know that, as the President said in November, the latter was anxious to resume the dialogue on this subject and was seeking substantial reductions in strategic arms. He thought that it was evident from the current INF discussions that there was a strong and clear interrelationship between the two topics, and that progress would be produced simultaneously with regard to INF, as well as strategic systems. The Secretary wanted to underline the relationship between the two. Therefore, we would always approach INF from the standpoint of negotiations on strategic systems, even though there would be different venues and different delegations. The Secretary had wanted to make this observation, as Gromyko had done with regard to the areas he wanted to discuss, because in his view it had been important for him to respond so that there be no question about the area of strategic arms. We were here to listen to each other, not to raise fences to communications on questions of major significance to our overall relationship.

Gromyko replied that he had little to add to what he had said this morning with regard to medium-range nuclear arms in Europe. He wanted to emphasize that, of course, he could not accept the statement that the SS-20 deployment was not caused by corresponding actions by the NATO bloc. It was precisely NATO activities--and NATO was constantly modernizing its corresponding nuclear arms--which had forced the Soviet Union to deploy the SS-20s, even though this had not resolved the problem by a long shot, that is, the problem caused by NATO in upsetting the balance of nuclear arms in Europe. Failure by the Secretary to recognize that the factors with respect to the Soviet Union were justified showed that the US position was not objective, and the Soviet Union could not accept the Secretary's views of the US position or the Soviet position.

In trying to reverse the ratio between US and Soviet arms in Europe, the Secretary was ignoring one simple fact, namely that with respect to nuclear-capable aircraft, for example, the count proposed by NATO and US representatives involved understating the combat radius of US aircraft and artificially exaggerating the combat radius of Soviet aircraft. The Soviet Delegation had partly noted this already; it had cited specific types of aircraft, that is, aircraft with a range of "X". The US side on the other hand, without offering any proof had contested this data, claiming that the range was "X plus Y". The US side pretended that it knew more about Soviet systems than the Soviet side, and was engaging in this practice in order to fit the figures to its preconceived notion. The Soviet side had encountered this more than once, and the Soviet Union could not accept that kind of approach. The US side's failure to accept Soviet data involved certain preconceived notions. This was being done artificially, intentionally. Gromyko did not want to attribute these actions to the Secretary personally, he did not know who was responsible, but he was asking the Secretary to sort out the figures objectively and if the Secretary did this he would see an entirely different picture. The force relationship cited by US representatives was incorrect, it was a total invention.

Of course, the Secretary could respond, "no, we are correct." If the Secretary were to say that, Gromyko could not but express his regrets that the US position involved such an absence of seriousness. The question arises, what individuals, what organizations supply such data which are at odds with reality. For example, some Soviet aircraft which played no significant role in Europe and posed no threat in the European arena were claimed to be strategic. In this connection, Gromyko wanted to cite the example of Cuba where the US side was making absurd assertions about certain aircraft being nuclear-delivery vehicles, though in fact these aircraft are of no significance to the region involved. Nevertheless, the US was perceiving them as a threat. Gromyko had mentioned Cuba because the analogy could not be escaped. He did not wish to call this matter by its proper name, it was best to refrain from such words. There had been at least a minimum amount of objectivity during preparation of the SALT I and SALT II Agreements, and as a result we had moved forward. If that principle were not adhered to now, if it were crossed out, it would be very difficult to make any progress.

Gromyko, turning to strategic arms, said that he was very sorry to hear the Secretary say that he was unable at this time to talk about resumption of the strategic arms negotiations, to hear him say that this entire topic had to await a better

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climate, presumably not only in Soviet-US relations, but also internationally. This was a fallacious conception which did not promise anything good. The US will gain nothing from this. If the US regarded this as a way of applying pressure, Gromyko would point out that the Soviet Union did not recognize such pressure. This was contrary to conducting relations between states and such a tactic did not work when major powers were involved.

The Soviet Union, of course, would try to make it clear that it did not bear the responsibility for failure to resume strategic arms talks, for failure even to obtain clarity regarding the time for such a resumption. Gromyko thought that it would not be difficult to make this clear to the general public. After all, there can only be two alternatives: either one is in favor of such talks or one is opposed to them. The Soviet Union was very much in favor of them, while the US was opposed to them, was putting them off. That should be clear to anyone. As Gromyko had said earlier, he could only express regret concerning this position of the US Administration.

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Southern Africa, Cuba and Nicaragua

Gromyko said that since the Secretary had already touched the problem of Cuba, he, Gromyko, would expand on this matter by setting forth the Soviet Union's standpoint regarding the complex of problems involving Cuba, Angola and Namibia. He wanted to express some considerations and present some Soviet views on how the US and USSR should act in order to facilitate and promote a resolution of this complex of problems. The Soviet Union had studied these matters in detail and had come to the conclusion that a comprehensive approach could facilitate a solution. The Soviet Union was convinced that this was a constructive and objective standpoint. At our New York meeting the Secretary had spoken very sharply on the question of Cuba. Subsequently, the US Administration and the Secretary himself had made very sharp statements, and more than once. The Soviet Union knew that the US was consciously exacerbating the situation with regard to Cuba. Gromyko did not mean to blame the Secretary personally, he was referring to the US Administration. But Cuba did not merit such treatment. Cuba is being painted as having incredible capabilities and as posing an unbelievable threat, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In fact, the arms supplied by the Soviet Union in the past and at present were of infinitesimal quantities. They did not constitute a threat to the US and were not intended for that. Cuba, whether it had such arms or not, did not pose a threat now and had not posed a threat in the past. The US was trying

to blame Cuba for situations in other Latin American countries, notably in El Salvador. Clearly, there was no justification for making such changes. But, the US evidently needed this to maintain the fires in Latin America. What was the reason for this? When Castro directly asked the US to furnish proof and facts in support of US allegations, the US did not cite any evidence, it did not even make an effort to cite such evidence. The reason was that there were no facts in support of US charges about Cuban complicity.

Gromyko continued that what he had said about Cuba also applied to Nicaragua. In New York, the Secretary had referred to his meeting with the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua. Gromyko had also spoken to him, and the Foreign Minister had given him an overall account of his meeting with the Secretary. Of course, Gromyko did not know whether he had been told everything or not. Incidentally, the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua had said that his country wanted good relations with the US. He had said this during a visit to Moscow several weeks ago. Cuba certainly did not pose a thrat to El Salvador, and neither did Nicaragua. Yet the US side refers to such a threat here and elsewhere. Accordingly, the Soviet Union has concluded that the underlying reason was US dislike for the social system in Cuba. Gromyko recalled that he had told this to the Secretary during the New York meeting. But the Secretary should understand very well that the form of government should not be imposed on others. That was an internal matter, a result of social development.

At the last meeting, the Secretary had raised questions regarding Cuban activities in Ethiopia and Angola. It was true that there were Cuban troops in Angola. The Secretary had virtually claimed that the Cubans ran the show in Angola, he had for all intents and purposes suggested that through its military forces Cuba was calling the tune in some areas of Africa. But Gromyko knew the real intentions of the Cubans, and the Secretary would recognize that Gromyko was sure of his facts. Thus, Gromyko could say that neither now nor in the past had Cuba done anything evil in rendering aid to Ethiopia and Angola. Cuba was acting legally, consistent with the UN Charter and at the request of the Governments of Angola and Ethiopia. Accordingly, there were no grounds for reproaching Cuba for anything. After all, US troops were stationed in dozens and dozens of countries. And what about other Western countries? France has repeatedly introduced its forces into a number of countries, notably in Africa. Nor is Great Britain innocent, although at present its abilities have declined; history has played a role in this. Why was the US singling out Cuba? Could anyone really believe that Fidel Castro has decided to take over all of Africa. Gromyko was sure that the Secretary did not believe this.

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Turning to Namibia, Gromyko said that this issue was in fact separate from the issue of Cuban forces in Angola and Ethiopia. Namibia should be granted independence in line with the UN resolution. With Washington's blessings, South African troops were occupying Namibia. The "group of five," which included US representatives, was operating under the wings of the South African occupation forces. Today South Africa had grabbed a piece of Namibian territory for a military base, probably with US agreement, though the Secretary should know this better than Gromyko. South Africa has carried out aggression against Angola, carried out bombing raids against that country, and at this very moment when we were talking, was maintaining several battalions of troops there.

Surely the Secretary could not believe that Angola had no right to ask for assistance to defend itself. Moveover, there was the question of Unita and all manner of other bands opposing the government. Naturally, the Secretary could say that such bands were an internal matter. Indeed, most of the personnel were Angolans, but a large part of the commanders were white mercenaries from other countries, including the US. They were operating with the tacit approval of their governments. Gromyko was not familiar with the number of these mercenaries or who they were, but the Soviet Union was studying the matter and would have an answer. Gromyko did not know the number of mercenaries in Savimbi's bands, though the US could help with this information. But whether the US did or did not help, the Soviet Union would know the answer soon. One could not divorce Cuban activities in Southern Africa from what was being done there by the US and other states. In order to alter the situation it was necessary to cease assistance to Savimbi, to stop South Africa's aggression against Angola and to permit Namibia to become a truly sovereign state.

Gromyko said he now wanted to formulate what he would call a constructive solution to this complex of problems. The Namibian issue was a separate one, but it so happened that it had become linked in time because South African aggression against Angola is related to South African aggression against Namibia. Gromyko wanted to present for the Secretary's consideration a Cuban plan, which Gromyko was presenting with Cuba's knowledge. To begin with, he wanted to outline the Soviet Union's position on this question, after which he would address the outline of the Cuban plan. Inasmuch as this was a concentrated program, he wanted to dispense with a Russian language presentation and asked his interpreted to read from a prepared statement:

-- First, settlement of the Namibian problem should be carried out in strict conformity with UN resolutions which provide for the granting to Namibia of full independence with the preservation of its territorial integrity, including the region of Walvis Bay. South African troops must be completely withdrawn from Namibia. Any international understanding on that question must be acceptable to the independent African states and SWAPO. The US, for its part, also should propose precisely such a solution of the Namibian problem. The Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the Security Council, also has in mind to play an active part in the Namibian settlement.

-- Second, there must be an end to all aggressive activities by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, whether directly or through support for Unita actions. The United States and other Western powers, along with South Africa, must cease all support for Unita and other anti-government groupings in Angola, whose hostile activities against the Angolan Government are directed from the outside, i.e., with regard to the territorial integrity and security of Angola, including its inalienable part, the Cabinda Province, must be secured.

-- Third, the presence of Cuban forces in Angola and the question of their possible withdrawal therefrom is, of course, a bilateral matter between Cuba and Angola. The objective reasons why Cuban forces were sent to, and are in Angolan territory, involve the defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola against aggression by South Africa, as well as against the bandit formations of Unita, which are armed by and whose activity is directed from, the outside.

-- Fourth. Therefore, withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola can be carried out when the threat to the security of the People's Republic of Angola is removed and when the Government of Angola takes such a decision by virtue of its sovereignty.

-- Fifth. As is known, as far back as April 1976 the Governments of Angola and Cuba agreed on a plan for the gradual withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, and less than one year thereafter the numerical strength of the Cuban military contingent was reduced by more than one-third. But subsequently, at the request of the Angolan leadership, implementation of this plan was suspended in connection with the intensified aggressive activities of South African racists and mounting support by them and the US for formations hostile to the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

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-- Sixth, resolution of the Namibian problems along the lines described above, and a guaranteed cessation of all forms of aggressive activities against the People's Republic of Angola, will enable the Governments of Angola and Cuba to return to the implementation of the previously agreed plan for the gradual withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

Gromyko said that he had wanted to say all the above by way of summarizing the views of the Soviet Union. Cuba had also provided the Soviet Union with its own assessment of the situation. Gromyko wanted to inform the Secretary of this assessment and in order to save time asked his interpreter to read the Cuban text, which he then handed over (attached). In reply to the Secretary's question, Gromyko answered that this text had not been released elsewhere, that it was prepared for the Secretary's benefit. Gromyko wanted to add that the Soviet Union viewed this plan by way of a solution to the entire complex of problems which were linked in the US view, that is, regarding Cuba, Angola, Namibia and South Africa. Of course, in the Soviet view the relationship was different, but since there is a relationship in time, these issues could be grouped together. Gromyko had already emphasized that Namibia and Angola involved different questions, but South Africa, through its aggression, had tied everything into one knot. The Soviet Union saw a possibility for resolving these problems, provided the US approached them with understanding. Gromyko thought that this would also be useful from the standpoint of Soviet-US relations and that perhaps it would cast a ray of light on the overall international situation.

The Secretary responded that he had listened with great care. He had looked for and listened for the gleam of light of a possible solution within the dense jungle of propaganda statements. He wanted to deal with these statements first, and noted that he seemed to have discerned more of a glimmer of light in the Soviet articulation than in the Cuban one. With regard to Cuba, he wanted to remark sharply about Cuba's inflation of tensions. As Gromyko knew, the Secretary had discussed this issue in Mexico with the Cuban Vice President and had further discussed it with him in New York in terms of future relations between the two countries. Asked by Gromyko when this discussion had taken place, the Secretary replied that it had occurred some three or four weeks ago. We were carefully assessing the most recent intelligence information regarding Soviet shipments to Cuba, which we did not regard as purely symbolic. We will make our decision on this in the days and weeks ahead. Even in the discussions with the Cuban Vice President it had been clear, and the latter admitted, that Cuba was sponsoring revolution in Colombia and that the Cuban presence in Nicaragua at this time was in excess of 4,000.

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Gromyko interrupted that these were teachers and physicians.

The Secretary noted that at least 1,500 of them were military personnel. There was one Cuban for every twenty Nicaraguan soldiers. These were not advisors, this was command and control.

Gromyko repeated that they were doctors.

The Secretary noted again that there were at least 1,500 military personnel. We were also well aware of the direction from Nicaragua of so-called guerrillas in El Salvador. We were listening to radio broadcasts and monitoring the shipment of arms by air. This week the Secretary had spoken to a Canadian journalist who had been invited to join the guerrilla groups in El Salvador in order to write a story supporting Nicaraguan forces. There was no question on this. We were listening daily and hourly to radio transmissions. The Secretary thought that it was essential to make note of the unsatisfactory character of these activities, which must be understood by all.

Secondly, the Secretary, too, like Gromyko, had spoken to the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister in Santa Lucia. Incidentally, the Secretary agreed that that regime wanted good relations with the US. It was very unpopular. Just last week there were riots during which Sandinista forces had fired tear gas. The level of dissatisfaction among the people of Nicaragua was growing daily because of its police state tactics, internment without due process, suspension of civil liberties, destruction of the private sector and militarization of the regime. The Foreign Minister had told the Secretary that there would be no delivery of MiG aircraft. We took this assurance very seriously and expected that it would be adhered to.

The Secretary recalled telling Gromyko in New York that the social systems of Nicaragua and Cuba were of no concern to the US. What is of concern to us, however, is the illegal infiltration elsewhere by both governments. Cuba, by its own admission, has been engaged in this over a long period of time, whereas Nicaragua has initiated this kind of activity against neighboring states more recently. The Secretary thought that Gromyko should be as impressed by this as we, because the concern with regard to Nicaragua was generating pressure towards concerted action which we would support if it develops.

The Secretary noted that we have not terminated all assistance to that regime, but we did not understand why it needed 200,000 troops. This was similar to Cuba, which had 50,000 troops in Africa and in the Middle East. We did not believe that this was conducive to international peace and

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stability, or consistent with UN norms. The Secretary wanted to repeat that the US was not threatening the character of the government of any state; that was up to the people of each country. But, if illegal means were used, as Nicaragua was doing today, then it does concern us, as it should concern the Soviet Union.

The Secretary wanted to say a word about Namibia. Gromyko had labeled his and the Cuban statements as constructive and had referred to US support for South Africa and Unita. The US is prohibited by law from supporting Unita and has not supported what Gromyko had called "bandits." We have not supported it directly or indirectly, through arms supply or funds, since 1976. Prior to that, the history is clear. Unita had as much right to inherit power in Angola as did the MPLA. It was not a question of legality, but of de facto military support from the outside, including support by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

As for South Africa, both the Soviet Union and Cuba knew that US relations with South Africa were such as to encourage an opening of that society, of eliminating apartheid policies and of engaging South Africa in constructive actions in Southern Africa, including the independence of Namibia. Unlike the previous US Administration, the US had now ascertained that during the past three years the situation had deteriorated and the likelihood of Namibian independence was growing more distant every day. In good faith, therefore, we had tried a new approach, consistent with UN Resolution 435, in concert with the Contact Group, the Front Line States, SWAPO and the South African Government, in moving forward with a three-phased program. In six months we achieved more progress than in the previous four years of failed effort. This progress was becoming increasingly more clear because South Africa can never be forced to withdraw from Namibia in accordance with Resolution 435, unless its legitimate security concerns are taken into account by the Contact Group and the Front Line States. Sometimes conflicting evidence is heard here.

When South Africa moved into Angola, we were opposed to this action but did not condemn it because of Soviet involvement. Some Soviet personnel had been captured, others had been killed. There was physical proof in this regard, including documents, plans and statements by captured Soviet personnel indicating heavy Soviet involvement in overall SWAPO operations. The Secretary would ask if Gromyko could cite similar evidence regarding US involvement with Unita. If Gromyko could find such evidence, the Secretary would gladly consider it. We know of no such evidence because we do not provide any such support. The Soviet Union could not say the same about SWAPO.

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Gromyko interjected that there was no point to this discussion. The Secretary underscored that what he had just said was fully documented -- indeed, South Africa had obtained a great deal of evidence. Gromyko insisted that the Soviet Union was helping Angola, not SWAPO. The Secretary noted that among other things, Soviet advisors had been encountered with SWAPO forces and had admitted their presence there for two years.

Gromyko asked why the US was protecting South Africa. The Secretary cited the large amounts of Soviet weapons captured by South Africa, which went beyond token quantities and involved large caches, and noted that SWAPO personnel had been guarding these stocks.

The Secretary went on to say that he hoped to clear the air with regard to some of the rhetoric in order that Gromyko understand the picture we have with respect to the Soviet Union and Cuba on this problem. However, we wanted to find a solution to this problem. That was our goal, and it would improve our relations. Gromyko had referred to taking small steps on our way back to a more normal relationship. The Secretary thought that it would be a big step if we could achieve peace and stability in Southern Africa. We should disengage super-power competition from this area and let the people in the area find their own solutions. He hoped that the Soviet proposal would arrive at the same reality. However, the Secretary was fully confident that we will succeed with or without Soviet cooperation. We were substantially at the end of the first phase with the Front Line States. We have the agreement of South Africa to the constitutional framework and the enthusiastic support of the Contact Group.

In response to Gromyko's question about the position of SWAPO, the Secretary replied that we have received their comments which, along with other comments from Namibia and the Front Line States, were basically very positive. The Secretary wanted to add that we had also been in touch with the Angolan Government, which clearly wants the Cuban troops to depart. Angola wanted peace and help from its neighbors. Gromyko questioned the Secretary's information and asked who could stop Angola if that was its desire. The Secretary said that he was confident of what he was saying. Gromyko suggested that the Secretary read the Cuban position, which was a fresh presentation of its views.

The Secretary said that the real question involved development of simultaneous assurances with regard to Angolan borders and agreed international conditions for resolving the problem of minority rights in Angola. He was referring to

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tribal considerations, that is, Unita. He was confident that this was possible, if the sides were left to their own independent choice. With all the talk about South African withdrawal from Namibia and a separate Cuban withdrawal from Angola, he thought that these circumstances could be provided.

Gromyko responded that the Soviet Union was in favor of this, as was evident in the plan he had presented. What Gromyko had told the Secretary was true. The Secretary said that accordingly he was optimistic that we could solve the problem. Gromyko remarked that this was so if we worked in the same direction, that is, if South African aggression against Angola was stopped -- aggression which was open, occurring daily for all the world to see -- and if Namibia was granted independence. He wanted to emphasize that Namibia should be granted independence in line with the resolutions of the UN and without outside interference.

The Secretary remarked that he had spoken to Savimbi. Gromyko said that he was incredulous why the Secretary had received him, why he had deemed this to be appropriate after the discussions between Gromyko and the Secretary.

The Secretary replied that we had to know where Savimbi stood and what his position was in order to know whether our proposals were achievable. Savimbi clearly was not an ally of South Africa and was not receiving any support from South Africa. He was receiving support from other countries in the region, but not from South Africa or the US.

After again registering his disagreement with US recognition of Savimbi, Gromyko inquired about the process that was envisaged. The Secretary responded that the process involved understanding each other. We were not explicitly linking Cuban withdrawal from Angola with the independence of Namibia; the objective was an empirical outcome. It was necessary to provide for security guarantees for the Angolan Government, which would permit simultaneous withdrawals. The two were not linked, but were empirically related, along the lines of a phased withdrawal of Cuban forces, with physical guarantees for Angola, while Namibia would obtain real independence.

The Secretary added that there was a separate question involving Walvis Bay. This involved an independent history, was controversial since the very beginning, and was separate from all the other concerns.

Gromyko remarked that there should also be agreement with SWAPO.

The Secretary replied that this pertained to whomever was elected. We were not prepared to designate SWAPO as the government in advance. All sides involved thought that progress was being made. We were finishing the discussions with the Contact Group regarding the first phase and would be reporting about the constituent assembly. At present, work was beginning with regard to the modalities of the second phase. There was a small difference with regard to Resolution 435 and the South African attitude to the UN presence, but pressure was being exerted on South Africa and the Secretary thought that this matter could be resolved. At the same time, this question was being discussed with Angola. It was for this reason that we had talked to Savimbi, in order to learn his objectives. The Secretary believed that this was a manageable problem as far as the Angolan Government was concerned, perhaps with the use of some peacekeeping force from the African continent, that is through the OAS. We were continuing our work and the Secretary had apprised Gromyko of our progress. He thought that this would constitute a major assistance to our joint goal.

Gromyko replied that if all this were done more directly -- and we had addressed this subject with Cuban consent -- then the Soviet Union would go along. Of course, much would depend on the US position as well. The Secretary assured Gromyko that we were intent on resolving the problem, thereby letting the nations of Southern Africa determine their own future -- keeping the super-power relationship out of Southern Africa. Otherwise, South Africa would commit further agression and would do it successfully, going deeper and deeper into Angola. The Cuban forces would become more involved and both the Soviet Union and the US would become increasingly concerned. Gromyko responded that neither Cuba nor the Soviet Union wanted this.

The Secretary said that, Angola aside, the problem of Cuba had to be resolved quickly. Gromyko must be aware that this situation was serious and that the President would not stand by and let Castro disturb the peace in the Western Hemisphere.

Gromyko said that the Secretary was again returning to the same story. Nothing would shake the Soviet Union in its view that this campaign against Cuba was the result of falsifications and tendentious inventions. Why would Nicaragua, which was not yet standing firmly on its legs, be ramming an alien regime down the throat of others, against their will. This was the same story as with Cuba. The Cubans wanted to live in peace in their own house. Moreover, Cuba wanted good relations with the US, but the US was turning its back.

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Gromyko asked whether, upon his return to Moscow, he could inform the Soviet leadership and President Brezhnev that the Secretary and Gromyko had concluded that the two sides could act in a common direction with respect to Cuba, Angola, Namibia and South Africa. Could he report that there was agreement between the two countries regarding the way to solve this problem, namely by ensuring the security of Angola and providing for the independence of Namibia. Could he also report that with regard to the question of Cuban forces, the possibility was crystallizing of Soviet-US cooperation in the solution of this question as well? The Secretary said that, on the basis of today's exchange, he could make such a report.

Gromyko expressed the view that we should make use of this possibility, because this was a major issue which required a major effort. We ought to agree that in the event of slight hitches along the way, we would not act like young ladies of a certain age, who lose their temper and display impatience. We should remain calm and should persevere in working towards implementation of this plan and this objective. Gromyko thought that this would be beneficial to both countries and, generally speaking, for Africa and the world as well. He thought that we could end our discussion on this.

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Chemical and Toxic Weapons

Gromyko said that he wanted to react to something the Secretary had said this morning. First, the Secretary had hinted at some instances of Soviet use of chemical and toxic weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. In this connection, he wanted to say that it was time to cease spreading false rumors containing allegations to the effect that the Soviet Union either had undertaken some steps involving the use of chemical or toxic weapons, or intended to do so. This was a fabrication from start to finish. It was an invention of Washington, though Gromyko did not know who was responsible for this. But then, the situation in Washington was so complex that it was difficult to sort things out. The Soviet Union has not used such weapons, and was categorically opposed to the use of these cursed weapons. There had been discussions regarding their total ban, but an accord was not concluded. What were the reasons? It was the Soviet Union's impression that when the US had started this rumor involving the Soviet Union, it had concluded that it needed a cover for the production of its own chemical and toxic weapons. Gromyko did not know for how long the US would be able to maintain this position and keep this rumor going. No one in the world believed the US. In Washington people were trying to convince each other. Gromyko wanted to repeat that the Soviet Union resolutely condemns anyone who should use chemical or toxic weapons. We should

sit down at a table and work out and sign an agreement on banning these weapons. It was the US position which was responsible for failure to complete this work. Gromyko was asking the Secretary to tell the President and the entire Cabinet that the Soviet Union did not use chemical or toxic weapons anywhere and did not intend to use them. The Soviet Union had no such intent and was opposed to any country having chemical or toxic weapons in their arsenals. The Soviet Union was for banning these weapons, for negotiating, concluding and signing an agreement to that effect. That was the Soviet position.

The Secretary said he wished to give Gromyko a prepared fact sheet on this subject. Surely Gromyko would understand that the Secretary would never make a public statement, as he had, if there had not been overwhelming evidence concerning the facts of the use of such weapons. We had films, first-hand reports, blood tests and chemical samples, and not just from government sources, but also from independent sources. It was perhaps conceivable that the regimes with which the USSR associated might have somehow developed this capability, but there was a very clear tie to Soviet advisors and Soviet military personnel. The Secretary wanted to hand over the fact sheet in order that Gromyko understand that we had facts and evidence.

Gromyko replied that as a sign of his indignation regarding this falsified information, he did not wish to take this document. He inquired whether this document had been released. The Secretary said that the fact sheet had been prepared for Gromyko and no one else. The Secretary went on to say that he wanted to reiterate that the information presented to him and to the President was absolutely multi-sourced, that it included films, laboratory tests and independent opinions, not just the opinions of government agencies. Clearly, there was a problem -- a problem that would not go away.

Poland

Gromyko now wanted to turn to the matter of Poland. He had no intention of discussing the internal affairs of the Polish people with anyone. Other Soviet officials also had no such intention. However, he did want to say that the Soviet Union was resolutely opposed to interference in Poland and objected to the insinuations emanating from Washington and some other NATO capitals. What has not been attributed to the Soviet Union? Allegations were being made

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that Soviet troops were massing on the Polish border, that they were about to intervene, that the Soviet Union was already intervening. From time to time the Soviet Union denied these allegations, yet new versions of an alleged Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Poland surfaced again and again. The fact was that the Soviet Union had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Poland. Incidentally, the decree on the imposition of martial law was strictly constitutional, and both the Soviet Union and Poland had been saying that this was a national decision.

Had the Soviet Union been involved when Poland took the step, it would be impossible to conceal that from history. The Soviet Union as well as Poland had assured the US that the USSR was not involved in that decision. The question arose why was an effort made to accuse the Soviet Union? In the Soviet opinion -- and the Secretary would probably not agree -- the explanation was that Washington needed to accuse the Soviet Union in order to cover up longstanding US interference. The US was not alone, but the US was playing the first fiddle. Evidently, the US believed that an accusation against the Soviet Union would act as a shock absorber. Gromyko recognized that some Americans fell for this line, but that was because most Americans read only US statements in US propaganda publications. The US was simply disregarding Soviet statements by failing to publish them. Gromyko said that this was not merely a reproach, but an accusation against the US Government. Gromyko did not need to apologize on behalf of the Soviet Union, because the latter was not interfering in the internal affairs of Poland. No one had the right to such interference, which was of a political and economic nature.

The new dance -- sanctions -- is again appearing. In Europe there were provocative radio stations which Gromyko occasionally had to listen to in the line of his duties, though he could not tolerate such broadcasts for very long. These stations were giving the Poles lessons on how to arrange their affairs. Thus, they were saying that the Poles should turn over one-third of the power to the Church, and another third to Solidarity, or rather the reactionary wing of Solidarity; better yet, they should turn over all power to the latter. Why should Washington be engaged in handing out power, why should it be saying who should receive power and who should lose it?

Did the U.S. expect the Soviet Union to interfere in a backward way to turn power over to the Church and

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Solidarity? That was absolute fantasy. The Poles should be permitted to live and make their own decisions. Of course, like decent people, the Soviet Union wanted to help. If the US wanted to render honest assistance it, too, could do so. The Soviet Union was providing much assistance; The US could do the same, but it acted otherwise, it chose to exacerbate the situation. Gromyko did not want to discuss Polish affairs, and he would not have addressed the matter if the Secretary had not touched on it. Though, come to think of it, perhaps he would in any case have said, "stop interfering in Polish affairs."

The Secretary responded that he saw no useful purpose in debating the issues Gromyko had raised. It would serve a useful purpose if both of us recognized that the Polish situation had now become extremely dangerous for the world at large and for our future relationship. As categorically as Gromyko insisted that the Soviet Union was not involved, the Secretary also would insist that there was no US interference in Poland and that there could be no such interference.

The Secretary did know, however, that our own estimate of the situation was fairly accurate and he thought that it did not depart much from the Soviet estimate, namely that the situation in Poland was deteriorating. This should concern everyone. It was not a matter of meddling in the affairs of the Polish people, it was a matter of a threat to international peace. We had made very clear that we wanted to help. Last year we had provided more than one billion dollars by way of credits and food. The same was true of other Western European countries. Today Poland is drifting either toward total anarchy or toward violence.

We were convinced that the ultimate outcome must be a compromise. Something had to be said publicly on this score because this matter involved all the signatories of the Helsinki Accords which, in their essence, sanctified territorial integrity and noninterference, but also contained fundamental obligations with respect to human rights. The Secretary thought that Gromyko would understand why the strongest forces in the US and in Western Europe with respect to the Polish situation involved unions and working people. The Secretary had looked for some hopeful sign in Gromyko's comments. Frankly, he had found only propaganda. He was not saying this to add still more propaganda to the discussion, but because this problem was pivotal for the world at large and for the US-Soviet relationship in particular.

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We were not here to pressure or to preach, but we could suggest that there ought to be some formula that would be perceived by the world at large as suggesting a moderating approach in all of the following three areas: the release of prisoners, the lifting of martial law and the institution of a dialogue. The above suggestions came from Western Europe, and the US agreed with them. He would refer Gromyko to the statements made in a number of capitals -- including Bonn -- which mentioned these three conditions. It was the Secretary's great concern, and it should be Gromyko's concern too, that if this situation was permitted to drift, it would lead to deterioration in terms of the economy and in terms of law and order, and would heighten the strains. He thought that everyone understood the paramount need for safety valves to relieve the pressures generated by the situation in Poland.

Our standpoint was that the situation was extremely unsatisfactory, very dangerous, and concerned the entire world, not only Europe or the US, and could lead to a very dire outcome. The Secretary believed that it was in the interest of each of us to seek remedies which would bring Poland back on the road of economic and social recovery. The Secretary had listened carefully to Gromyko's statement that this is what mattered for the Soviet Union. But history belied that. Previously in history the Soviet Union at times had acted in ways which we very much opposed. The Secretary thought that credible, demonstrable moderation was in everyone's interest; he did not believe this would entail risks that were unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

Gromyko responded that the Secretary's information was totally incorrect. The situation was improving and improving quite successfully. No one should hamper this process and the Secretary's gloomy information was inaccurate.

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Afghanistan

Gromyko wanted to turn to Asia, specifically Afghanistan. The Secretary would recall that during our New York discussion of the situation in and around Afghanistan mention had been made of a possible meeting between US and Soviet experts. The Soviet Union had mentioned this on several occasions, but the US was not interested and thus no meetings had been held. Gromyko was not saying this by way of a reproach, for it was the Secretary's business how he intended to discuss this question and with whom. At this time, Gromyko wanted to repeat briefly the Soviet position in case the Secretary was unclear about any parts of it. The Soviet Union had come to Afghanistan to provide assistance against outside aggression. This outside aggression was being committed by individual bands, sometimes numbering ten individuals, sometimes a bit more. Of course, whoever is sending them in is trying to coordinate this activity, but bands are bands. They are engaged in terrorism and were killing peasants, teachers and even school children. They were not active everywhere, only in some provinces. It would seem that those governments which stood behind these bands should recognize that the situation in Afghanistan was irreversible, that the Afghanistan government was firmly in power and would remain so. This was a fact, whether anyone liked it or not. Blood was being spilled needlessly because these bands were treated as they deserved to be treated, that is, they were considered aggressors. Of course, whoever stood behind them did not care about the spilling of Afghan blood. The Soviet Union for its part was, of course, doing its duty and would continue to do so. Accordingly, it would seem that a solution was possible only in one way -- by ceasing outside aggression. These bands had to be withdrawn or they had to lay down their arms. All power had to be held by the legal authorities.

Internationally, Afghanistan should have a nonaligned status and there ought to be no question on that score, whether on the US side or on the Soviet side. Let it remain nonaligned. If everyone was in favor of that and against spilling blood, against aggression, if everyone favored the independence and nonaligned status of Afghanistan, then this should be formalized. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan saw no other way to achieve this than to hold a meeting between the representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan, with a view to reaching an understanding on whatever matters were at issue.

The Soviet Union thought that Pakistan was uneasy about its border, for example, there was an area called Baluchistan. Gromyko had told the Secretary during their last meeting that a resolution of this matter was possible between the current

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Afghanistan government and Pakistan. Gromyko believed that this would provide certain benefits to Pakistan, because the latter was concerned about its borders. This would also be advantageous for Afghanistan, for it would end the shedding of blood. Let there be such a meeting. Why should that be unacceptable to Washington? Why did the US not say a good word in favor of this?

As for Pakistan, sometimes it seems to be in favor of such an approach, sometimes it seems to make an about-face, at other times it seems to lack interest. Sometimes the Pakistanis speak of bilateral discussions, sometimes they refuse to engage in discussions without the US friend Iran. But the situation with Iran was at a different level of development. It could participate in such a meeting when the time came, but at this time the main thing was a meeting between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Perhaps this could be accomplished with the assistance of the Secretary General of the UN or one of his deputies. It should not be impossible to organize such a meeting. What was diplomacy for? If diplomats could not find a way to set up such a meeting, they should be wrapped up in a package and sent into outer space, beyond our galaxy. Such a meeting could be of a formal or informal nature, it could be governmental or nongovernmental. But if this was done, and if the aggression ceased, then the Soviet troops would be withdrawn. The US did not like the presence of Soviet personnel in Afghanistan, but did the Secretary think that the Soviet Union was happy with this? Soviet forces would stay as long as they have to, they would carry out their duty, but would not stay any longer.

If the US was truly in favor of a relaxation of tension, it could use its influence with Pakistan with respect to such a meeting. If this were to occur, Gromyko thought that it would also reduce tensions between India and Pakistan. As for Soviet-Pakistani relations, the Soviet Union had no claims against Pakistan and did not need anything from Pakistan, all it wanted was to develop its relations with that country. Furthermore, this would also be beneficial for the general atmosphere of the entire area, an important area. This would be true not only from the standpoint of the countries in that area, but also, the Soviet Union believed, would serve the interests of the US and the USSR, as well as other states. This would act as a kind of fresh breath of air, Gromyko hesitated calling it a warm breath. He asked the Secretary to consider all of this. The Soviet Union had gained the impression that the US was not concerned very much about improving the sitation. It would almost seem as if the US liked the presence of Soviet personnel there.

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The Secretary said it seemed to him that something had been forgotten between September and now. We had discussed this matter actively in September and Ambassador Hartman had been instructed to discuss the question further in Moscow. But it seems that there was a serious difference on one of the three elements required for a solution. That was the obstacle. Gromyko would recall the Secretary saying in September that as soon as Soviet troops were withdrawn the present leadership would be finished within a matter of days. The elements discussed included guaranteed borders and a timetable for Soviet troop withdrawal. The third area we discussed was the formula regarding self-determination, that is, the matter of a leadership which could preside over national recovery. Historically, we had no direct and vital interest in Afghanistan, except for its nonaligned status, and Gromyko has said the same with respect to the Soviet Union. We had been comfortable with the many years of Afghanistan's nonalignment. But the Secretary could not but fail to note Gromyko's statement that the present government was irreversible. The present government would ever be able to survive without a Soviet presence. Surely we could imagine a solution to this issue. The US had raised this question with Pakistan after September, but, like us, they view the Kabul regime as an inherent contradiction, which would collapse as soon as Soviet forces were withdrawn. Neither could we condone a circumvention of an accord. The Secretary added that we were not interested in seeing Soviet troops bogged down in Afghanistan. Gromyko remarked that he had said that jokingly, in view of US behavior.

The Secretary said that we had made a conscious effort to find a solution, but self-determination is an essential factor without which there could be no solution. He wanted to assure Gromyko that we were prepared to deal with this question constructively. We had our own views with regard to Pakistan. On all these questions Gromyko had really confirmed to the Secretary that if some of the fundamental questions were to be resolved, this would facilitate resolution of the specific problems. The US remained prepared to seek solutions to the fundamental questions.

Secretary Haig's Summary and Bilateral Relations

The Secretary had to tell Gromyko that in whatever statement was subsequently made to the press, he would have to say that the Polish question was an overhanging cloud, that this cloud remained and inevitably affected everything we had spoken of. He would also have to say that objectively the reaction to Poland did not involve Poland alone. The Polish situation was seen in the context of Afghanistan, the Soviet

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arms buildup, as well as Soviet activities and perceptions thereof on the African continent. All of these things over the years made this problem qualitatively different, both in the US and in Europe. He thought that this made the situation of Poland a most serious issue. Therefore, it affected all other solutions and future developments to a greater extent than if this had been an independent problem.

The Secretary noted that we had not talked about bilateral relations. He was never satisfied with respect to matters of human rights. He would note that Jewish emigration had gone down from 50,000 to 10,000, that there were a number of unresolved family reunification cases involving about ten US citizens. A very unsatisfactory situation had developed in our Embassy in Moscow, which was now at a crisis stage, because it seemed that doctors would need to evacuate the people who are starving themselves.

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Afghanistan

Gromyko remarked that evidently the US position on Afghanistan had not improved, and the US contention that there should be interference in the internal affairs of that country -- i.e., with respect to its leadership -- was hopeless. Gromyko suggested that the Secretary once again weigh US policies and give some further thought to them. Perhaps he would reach more hopeful conclusions.

Near East

Gromyko wanted to say a few words about the Near East. Of course, the Secretary knew the Soviet position in that regard. The Soviet side was in favor of Israel vacating all Arab territories. The Soviet Union was also in favor of the independence of Israel and had said this many times as well, specifically to the Israeli Foreign Minister at the UNGA. The Soviet Union, like a mountain, defended the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, inluding their right to the creation of an independent, albeit small, Palestinian state, headed by the PLO. The Soviet Union had resolutely denounced Camp David which had brought everything to an impasse. Gromyko recognized that the Secretary was trying to paint the prospects in brighter colors, but these prospects were not encouraging.

The developments in the Sinai involving the US and other countries, chiefly US allies, were not promising either. With time this would produce a hatred for everyone who brought military units to the Sinai. The Secretary could not be unaware that the Sinai deal was not the last such deal. This area must be genuinely liberted. A genuine solution, including the

solution to the Sinai problem, was possible only through a radical resolution of the entire Middle East problem.

Gromyko wanted to ask why the US had found it necessary to conclude a strategic agreement with Israel. After all, Israel was a US military and political base anyway. Yet the US evidently wanted to demonstrate to the world and to the Arabs that Israel and the US were enemies of the Arabs, and to do so graphically. The Soviet Union viewed this as an anti-Soviet action.

In conclusion, he wanted to say that the situation had worsened since our last meeting, despite US efforts to sweeten the Middle East situation with sugar. The Soviet Union was in favor of solutions. The Soviet Union condemned most seriously Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights. If the Secretary was planning to say that the US had been opposed to this, he should not depart with the impression that his argument had been convincing. Israel would not have taken this step without US participation. This annexation of foreign land is aggression, pure and simple. The only thing beyond it would have been open warfare. Thus, emotions were building and the situation was being exacerbated. There has been no explosion yet, but it could come any time. The Soviet Union was not in favor of exacerbating the situation. There was a time in the past when it seemed as if there might be some improvement, but then came "Mr." Camp David and crushed everything.

Accordingly, the Soviet Union had a very negative view of the situation. The situation was complex and dangerous and required the attention of the US and the USSR. Gromyko would welcome it if we could find some joint language on this problem or aspects of this problem. The Soviet Union believed that all countries in this area should be permitted to develop under conditions of peace, and this included Israel. Of course, there were some extremist elements in the Arab World and if there were to appear a front aimed at the annihilation of Israel, the Soviet Union would resolutely oppose this. Yet, Israel did not even have a kind word for the Soviet Union.

Humanitarian Issues

Gromyko asked rhetorically what he could say about humanitarian issues. Was it the Soviet Union which had created these problems? Everyone had to honor the laws of their lands. Americans had to observe US laws, while Soviet citizens and everyone who was on Soviet territory had to respect Soviet laws. The Secretary had raised the question with regard to certain individuals who were Soviet citizens. They had to abide by Soviet laws. Here was a minor matter, but the

Secretary may have heard, for example, about the case of the Polovchak boy. The issue arose when he was 12, though he was 14 now. He was not permitted to return to his family, he was forced to stay behind. Even when a US court had issued a favorable ruling, the US Secretary of Justice had said that court or no court, the boy would stay. Perhaps the Secretary was too close to the situation. Thus, he suggested that the Secretary take a look at the political clothing of the US. In any event, the matter of human rights was a question that could be discussed, but Washington abuses it.

CSCE

Gromyko said that it would be good if the current Madrid meeting could be brought to a close with some resolution on holding a conference about CBMs and disarmament issues. There was a draft text on the table, which had been proposed by the neutral countries. Even though in the Soviet view this draft required some modifications, the Soviet Union was prepared to discuss it and thought that such a discussion would be useful. Gromyko did not want to say anything about possible US efforts to complicate this meeting. The Soviet Union was opposed to such an approach. We ought to conclude this session on some positive note. That would be useful and would serve the interests of the USSR and the US, and would have a favorable impact upon the situation in Europe. Yet, the US was actively inflamming the situation. Thus, Gromyko suggested that the Secretary take a look at this question in terms of the forthcoming Madrid session. Perhaps, for a change, the meeting could end on a positive note. After all, the only thing involved is the forum for a follow-on meeting. The problems as such would be solved in the forum itself. He thought that we might talk briefly about the need for a future forum without getting into any details in Madrid.

The Secretary said that, considering the views he was hearing from Western Eruope, Madrid would inevitably develop into a platform for expressing concern over Poland. We had studied the draft mentioned by Gromyko and had found that the first part of it involved a major problem. The others seemed a good deal less troublesome. In any event, we had no fundamental problem with the CSCE process, which should continue.

Middle East

The Secretaty said that with respect to the Middle East and value judgments about Camp David, we saw no viable alternative to keeping it in force. We had no other way to ensure Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. We were continuing

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to seek solutions pursuant to Camp David because we could not permit ourselves the luxury of not trying. We condemned the Golan annexation, and since Israel did not act in accordance with Resolution 242, we look upon this as a non-event which was without standing. The situation was dangerous, especially if Israel should move into Lebanon to clean out the PLO. We have restrained them in the past, but if there should be a provocation before an Israeli pull-out from the Sinai, the Secretary thought that Israel might seize on this quickly, because there was a major proclivity to settle problems by force of arms. Thus, he considered the situation dangerous.

Press Contacts

Gromyko said that evidently there would be no joint statement regarding our meeting. Did the Secretary expect to make some statement? If so, in what form did he plan to describe or assess this meeting, that is, in what spirit did he plan to do so. The Secretary replied that clearly the Soviet side would be asked whether we had discussed Poland. Frankly, from the Secretary's standpoint, Poland cast a shadow on our discussions. But he was not looking for a basis for further polemics.

Gromyko replied that it would be incredible if the Secretary or his Washington colleagues should refrain from polemics. The Secretary reminded Gromyko that the US had abided very carefully to the agreed line following the New York meeting. Gromyko agreed.

Gromyko suggested that we could now terminate our discussion. He thought that this meeting had been necessary and useful and remarked that we had exchanged views on many issues, all of which were important. This exchange was necessary and useful. At the beginning of his summary he would have to say, of course, that at a meeting such as this one a special place should have been assigned to strategic arms limitations, and that for reasons which the Soviet Union could not accept, the US side had found it impossible to discuss this subject even in terms of setting the date for resuming these negotiations. That left an imprint on our relations.

The Secretary noted that he had anticipated that Gromyko would deal with that subject and he was prepared to do the same. As for Gromyko's summary sheet on INF questions, the Secretary thought that this should not be a topic for discussion with the press. But if Gromyko intended to discuss it, the Secretary wanted to know ahead of time, because he would have to do the same. Gromyko replied that at this time he had no intention of publicizing it. It would be a different

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matter if it became necessary to do so in the course of subsequent negotiations. He added that the Soviet delegation would table a corresponding proposal. The Secretary noted that he was pleased with the public relations in general, with respect to INF. He thought that if public relations dealt with the substance, this could be counterproductive.

Gromyko said that he would see how the Secretary and his representatives in Washington reacted to this meeting. Of course, if the need arose to make a special statement regarding our discussions, the Soviet side would certainly do so. Presumably the Secretary would act likewise. He could only say that he hardly expect the Secretary or his colleagues to refrain from making statements. The Secretary said that he expected to make a statement this evening; this was necessary. But generally he intended to follow the line just discussed. Gromyko remarked that the Secretary would be speaking on his own behalf and if his comments required a response, the Soviet side would provide one. If a response was not necessary, it would not be made. The Secretary noted that it had always been so.

Attachment:

Cuban Paper on Angola, Namibia and South Africa

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Attachment

Cuban Paper on Angola, Namibia and South Africa

As learned through diplomatic channels and inferred in statements by various US officials, Reagan's Administration intends to make the solution of the independence of Namibia conditional on withdrawal of the Cuban troops stationed in the People's Republic of Angola.

In the face of that intention, the Government of Cuba abides firmly by the following principled positions.

First: The presence and withdrawal of the Cuban troops stationed in Angola is a bilateral matter between sovereign States -- the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba -- and complies with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

Second: The purpose for which they went, at the request of President Neto, and the reason for which the troops remain in Angola, at the request of that nation's Government, is to cooperate with the People's Liberation Armed Forces of Angola (PLAF) in defense of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola, threatened by the South African racists, imperialism and its puppet bands.

Third: On April 21-22, 1976, scarcely one month after the expulsion of the South African racists on March 27, the Governments of Angola and Cuba had agreed on a program for the gradual reduction of the troops.

The implementation of the said program was stopped when the so-called "Shaba War" broke out, in March 1977, due to the presence of hostile foreign troops near the Angolan border. During that period of time, -- less than one year -- the Cuban military contingent was reduced by one third.

The brutal south African aggression against Kasinga, 250 kilometers from the PRA's southern border and other points further south, took place in May the following year. The second "Shaba War" began a few days later, this time not only with the interference of Morocaan troops as in the first, but also with paratroopers from two NATO member nations.

The extent and depth of South Africa's aggression and the threatening presence of those forces near its eastern border meant a serious danger to Angola and made the Cuban military presence -- with all necessary forces and means -- ever more indispensable in order to guarantee, together with the PLAF, the security of that young nation.

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PAGE 01 BONN 02045 01 OF 02 281626Z
ACTION ARA-16

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E.O. 12065: GDS 01-28-88 [illegible]
TAGS: PEPR, ES, GE
SUBJECT: "DER SPIEGEL" ARTICLE ALLEGING MASSACRE IN EL SALVADOR

REFS: (A) SAN SALVADOR 1829
(B) BONN 527

1. [redacted] IN ACCORDANCE WITH REF B, PARA 7, WE ARE SENDING BELOW A TRANSLATION OF SIGNIFICANT PARTS OF AN ARTICLE IN THE JANUARY 11 EDITION OF THE NEWS MAGAZINE "DER SPIEGEL" ALLEGING THAT SALVADORAN TROOPS MASSACRED CIVILIANS IN THE PROVINCE OF MORAZAN LAST DECEMBER. COMMENT AND A REQUEST FOR ACTION FOLLOWS IN PARA 3

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PAGE 02 BONN 02045 01 OF 02 281626Z

OF THIS MESSAGE.

[redacted]

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador [illegible]
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full: ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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3. (U) BEGIN TEXT:

SCORCHED EARTH.

(SUBHEADING): IN THE PROVINCE OF MORAZAN, GOVERNMENT TROOPS MURDERED SOME NINE HUNDRED CIVILIANS. BUT THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO MAKE AN IMPRESSION ON THE GUERRILLAS.

(BODY): THEY WERE PROTESTANTS AND BELIEVED THEMSELVES SAFE. FOR AS MEMBERS OF THE 75,000 STRONG EVANGELICAL COMMUNITY OF EL SALVADOR, THE INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF MOZOTES CONSIDERED THEMSELVES NEUTRAL.

BUT THE CIVIL WAR IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COFFEE REPUBLIC, WHICH CLAIMED THE LIVES OF 12,000 VICTIMS LAST YEAR, NO LONGER PERMITS NEUTRALITY.

THE PEASANTS OF MOZOTES LEARNED THAT TOO LATE. GOVERNMENT TROOPS RETURNING FROM AN UNSUCCESSFUL HUNT FOR GUERRILLAS IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE PROVINCE OF MORAZAN, SUDDENLY ATTACKED THE CIVILIAN POPULATION.

THREE VILLAGES -- EL MOZOTE, POZA HONDA AND CERRO PANDO -- WERE WIPED OUT. RETURNING GUERRILLAS COUNTED 472 CORPSES IN EL MOZOTE ALONE. TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED SO FAR. OF THESE, ALMOST HALF ARE CHILDREN UNDER 14. SURVIVORS REPORTED THAT FEMALE VICTIMS -- INCLUDING 12-YEAR OLD GIRLS -- WERE RAPED BEFORE BEING MURDERED.

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HOWEVER, SOLDIERS WHO WERE CAPTURED BY THE REBELS SWEAR THAT THEY WERE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE.

"A MILITARY OPERATION CANNOT CAUSE SO MANY CIVILIAN DEATHS," SAID FORMER JUNTA MEMBER COLONEL ADOLFO MAJANO TO "DER SPIEGEL" IN HIS MEXICAN EXILE. "I AM CERTAIN THE MAJORITY OF THE OFFICER CORPS DISAPPROVES OF SUCH DEEDS. THE REGIME IS MISUSING THE ARMY."

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CLEARLY, HOWEVER, SPECIAL UNITS NOW USE SYSTEMATIC TERROR TO DRIVE AWAY OR EXTERMINATE THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN ORDER TO UNDERMINE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE GUERRILLAS. "THEY WANT TO TAKE THE WATER AWAY FROM THE FISH," SAYS HECTOR OQUELI OF THE OPPOSITION "FRENTE DEMOCRATICO REVOLUCIONARIO."

FOR UP TO NOW, THE SEARCH-AND-DESTROY ACTIONS OF THE ARMY HAVE HAD LITTLE SUCCESS. EVEN THE SPECIAL UNIT "~~BRIGADA ATL~~ACATL," TRAINED AND ADVISED BY U.S. SPECIAL FORCES, HAS UP TO NOW HAD NO DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE REBELS. END TEXT.

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THE ARTICLE THEN DEVOTES SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS TO DESCRIBING THE ALLEGEDLY FUTILE EFFORTS OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY.

RESUME TEXT:

"OUR GREATEST ACTIONS AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARIES," AN ANTI-GUERRILLA EXPERT SAYS, "HAVE HARDLY DONE

NOTE BY OC/T: BOTH REFERENCES APPEAR TO BE INCORRECT.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-
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P 2816192 JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3600
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
INFO EC COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 02045

THEM ANY HARM. THE ARMY HAS JUST PUSHED THEM BACK AND FORTH."

THIS IS JUST WHAT HAPPENED IN DECEMBER IN MORAZAN. WITH 5000 MEN THE ARMY SOUGHT TO FORCE FMLN UNITS *TO THE HONDURAN BORDER TO THE NORTH. THERE* SOLDIERS STOOD READY FOR A PINCER OPERATION.

THE GUERRILLAS ESCAPED UNEXPECTEDLY TO THE SOUTH, INTO THE CENTER OF THE COUNTRY. THE VENGEANCE OF THE ARMY WAS DIRECTED AGAINST THE CIVIL POPULATION. THIS SCORCHED-EARTH POLICY IS CLEARLY THE LAST MILITARY CARD OF THE SALVADORAN JUNTA. IT IS DETERMINED TO WIN THE WAR BEFORE THE ELECTIONS PLANNED FOR MARCH 28--USING ALL MEANS.

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"A SMALL GROUP SURROUNDING MINISTER OF DEFENSE JOSE

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GUILLERMO GARCIA, JUNTA MEMBER JAIME ABDUL GUTIERREZ, AND PRESIDENT NAPOLEON DUARTE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HORROR," COLONEL MAJANO JUDGES.

AND FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY IN MEXICO CAME GLOOMY TONES LAST WEEK: "THERE WILL BE A BLOODBATH BEFORE THE ELECTIONS -- IF THE ELECTIONS EVEN TAKE PLACE." ("ES WIRD VOR DEN WAHLEN NOCH EIN BLUTBAD GEBEN WENN ES UEBERHAUPT ZU WAHLEN KOMMT.")

3. (C) COMMENT AND REQUEST FOR ACTION: THE ABOVE ARTICLE, AND ANOTHER IN THE SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG ALLEGING THAT CIVILIANS ARE BEING HERDED INTO REFUGEE CAMPS BY THE SALVADORAN AUTHORITIES, SUGGEST THAT THE FDR-FMLN PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN MENTIONED REF A IS BEARING SOME FRUIT. PERHAPS SIGNIFICANTLY, THE OFFICE OF EL SALVADOR'S HONORARY CONSUL IN COLOGNE WAS BOMBED RECENTLY (CAUSING NO INJURIES BUT SOME DAMAGE). WE WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE INFORMATION WITH WHICH TO COUNTER THE FDR-FMLN'S PROPAGANDA. BURNS

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 82STATE022125

FILM= D820047-0683

DATE= 28 JAN 82

TYPE= TE

FROM= STATE

DRAFTER= PC:SPS:FHESS

OFFICE= ORIGIN PA

TO= SECRETARY

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SUBJECT= CBS DAN RATHER INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN - JANUARY 27, 1982
FOLLOWING ARE FURTHER COMMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY F

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRESIDENT, TOSEC, ALLIANCE, CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, PRESS CONFERENCES, POLITICAL SITUATION

TAGS= SOPN, OVIP, US, NATO, (REAGAN, RONALD), (RATHER, DAN)

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PAGE 01 STATE 022125 TOSEC 020138
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PASS TO DEAN FISCHER

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: SOPN

SUBJECT: CBS DAN RATHER INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN - JANUARY 27, 1982

FOLLOWING ARE FURTHER COMMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY FROM REAGAN-RATHER INTERVIEW:

A: WHAT WILL TRIGGER YOUR NEXT STEPS(ON POLAND)?

Q: I CAN'T SPECIFY SPECIFIC THINGS. BUT IF WE REACH A POINT IN WATCHING THEM THAT WE DON'T THINK ANY PROGRESS IS BEING MADE THEN WE ARE GOING TO FACE THE DECISION OF THE FURTHER ACTIONS WE CAN TAKE. IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE WORKING HARD TO PERSUADE OTHERS IN THE WORLD TO JOIN US IN THIS, OTHERS WHO HAVE FAR HIGHER PORTIONS OF TRADE WITH THOSE COUNTRIES THEN WE DO.

Q: THERE'S ABOUT AS MUCH CHANCE OF THE WEST GERMANS, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STATE 022125 TOSEC 020138

FRENCH AND OUR OTHER NATO ALLIES GETTING TOGETHER ON THIS GRAND DESIGN AS THERE IS OF A MULE FLYING, ISN'T THERE?

A: WE HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS AND THEIR STATEMENTS RECENTLY HAVE INDICATED THAT,INCLUDING THE STATEMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT UNDERCUT SANCTIONS THAT WE HAVE TAKEN. I THINK WE HAVE BEEN MORE UNITED ON THIS SUBJECT WITH OUR ALLIES THEN WE HAVE ON ANY CRISIS IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS.

Q: WHERE DO WE GO ON ARMS CONTROL. IS THAT PHYSICALLY DEAD NOW UNTIL AND UNLESS THE POLISH SITUATION IMPROVES?

A: NO, WE ARE PRESENTLY CONTINUING OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR FORCES IN GENEVA AND WE ARE GOING TO PURSUE THEM AS FAR AS WE CAN TOWARDS THAT ZERO CONCEPT. WE ARE CONTINUING OUR STUDYING AND OUR PLANNING FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON OTHER NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ON THE STRATEGIC OR INTERCONTINENT MISSILES. WE HAVE NOT SET A DATE FOR THOSE AND I THINK ALSO BEFORE YOU SET A DATE YOU WANT TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE GLOBAL SITUATION.

Q: I GATHER YOU DO PLAN A TRIP TO MAINLAND CHINA THIS YEAR?

A: NO, I HAVE NO SUCH PLAN.

Q: IS (THE CUBAN MILITARY BUILDUP) THIS THE REASON THAT SECRETARY HAIG MET SECRETLY WITH THE CUBAN VICE PRESIDENT WHEN MR. HAIG WAS IN MEXICO?

A: THIS WAS EARLIER THEN THE SIZE OF THE BUILDUP WAS APPARENT, BUT IT WAS ALSO IN RESPONSE TO CERTAIN QUERIES UNCLASSIFIED

THAT HAD COME FROM CUBA, INDICATIONS THAT MAYBE THEY HAD SOMETHING THEY WANTED TO SAY.

Q: DID THEY SAY IT?

A: NOT LOUD ENOUGH.

Q: WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE LIBYAN HIT SQUAD?

A: WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT THERE HAS BEEN ANY CHANGE WITH REGARD TO THAT.

Q: WHAT ARE THE CHANCES THAT THE LIBYAN HIT SQUAD STORIES WERE NOT TRUE?

A: NO, WE HAD TOO MUCH INFORMATION FROM TOO MANY SOURCES AND WE HAD OUR FACTS STRAIGHT.

Q: IS THERE ANY CHANCE YOU WILL CHANGE THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA?

A: THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT OUR REPUGNANCE FOR APARTHEID. IT IS COMPLICATED TODAY BY THE NAMIBIA SITUATION. YOU CANNOT SETTLE THE MATTER OF NAMIBIA WITHOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S COOPERATION. WHEN WE TOOK OFFICE THE WHOLE EFFORT AT A FREE NAMIBIA WAS STALLED TOTALLY. WE HAVE THAT IN ACTION AGAIN. WE ARE GETTING COOPERATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL AS FROM THE FRONTLINE AFRICAN STATES AND FROM OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES. AND WE THINK WE ARE MAKING AND HAVE MADE PROGRESS TOWARDS A FREE NAMIBIA. MY OWN FEELING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA IS THAT MAYBE YOU CAN HAVE A FAR BETTER EFFECT IF YOU TRY AS A FRIEND TO HELP THEM RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS RATHER THEN JUST TURNING YOUR BACK ON A COUNTRY THAT HAS BEEN AN ALLY. STOESSEL

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM

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AN: 0820051-0677

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 01300 2915402
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
IO-15 NSC-05 NSAE-00 HA-06 PM-09 PA-01 ICAE-00
SP-02 SPRS-02 /088 W
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P 2915397 JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7848
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
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AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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PARIS FOR OECD

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E.O. 12065: GDS 1/28/88 [redacted] OR-P

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 01300 2915402

TAGS: PEPR, ES, GE

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/16/93
Declassified under EO 12356 ( ) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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DECLASSIFIED

[redacted]

SUBJECT: "DER SPIEGEL" ARTICLE ALLEGING MASSACRE IN EL SALVADOR

REF: BONN 2945

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE ARE MYSTIFIED BY QUOTATION ATTRIBUTED TO EMBASSY MEXICO IN LAST PARAGRAPH OF DER SPIEGEL ARTICLE IN REFTEL. OBVIOUSLY THE QUOTATION DOES NOT COME OUT OF ANY PUBLIC RELEASE, AND NO ONE IN U.S. EMBASSY HAS MET WITH REPRESENTATIVE FROM DER SPIEGEL IN RECENT MEMORY.
3. REMAINING REMOTE POSSIBILITY IS THAT QUOTATION COULD BE BASED ON SOMETHING THAT MAJANO TOLD DER SPIEGEL. EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER ON INSTRUCTIONS MET TWICE WITH MAJANO AND AN ASSOCIATE HERE ON DECEMBER 19 AND JANUARY 7. EMBOFF DEFENDED U.S. SUPPORT OF EL SALVADOR ELECTION PROCESS, AND OFFERED NO PERSONAL JUDGMENTS ON SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. MOREOVER, MAJANO HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY BREACHED CONFIDENTIALITY OF OUR CONVERSATIONS AND APPEARS TO DESIRE TO KEEP OPEN CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH U.S. THUS WE CONCLUDE THAT DER SPIEGEL QUOTATION IS FICTITIOUS.

4. IN CONTRAST, QUOTATIONS DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTED TO MAJANO ARE GENERALLY CONSISTENT WITH THE VIEWS HE EXPRESSED TO EMBOFF HERE, AND WITH HIS STATEMENTS TO LOCAL PRESS. [redacted] / GAVIN

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO01443

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 01443 0200272
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
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R 0123422 FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7920
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] MEXICO 01443

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: ES
SUBJECT: FDR/FMLN ANNOUNCES OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

1. (U) LUIS PACHECO, DIRECTOR OF FDR/FMLN INFORMATION OFFICE IN MEXICO CITY, ANNOUNCED ON JANUARY 28 THAT FDR/FMLN HAD SENT A LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN ON JANUARY 18. TEXT WAS ALLEGEDLY ALSO RELEASED IN SAN SALVADOR ON JANUARY 28. THE LETTER, AS REPORTED IN THE MEXICO CITY PRESS, REITERATED THE FMLN'S OFFER FOR "UNCONDITIONAL" NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT EXCORIATED UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR AND DEFENDED THE FMLN'S DECISION TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE SALVADOREAN JUNTA.

2. [redacted] COMMENT: THE LETTER APPEARS TO CONTAIN NO NEW PROPOSALS FROM THE FMLN. THE MEXICO CITY PRESS HAS ALSO FOUND THE LETTER TO BE LESS THAN NEWSWORTHY. SINCE THE INITIAL-INNER-PAGE STORIES REPORTING ON ITS RELEASE, THERE HAVE BEEN NO FOLLOW-UP STORIES OR EDITORIAL COMMENTS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPERS.
GAVIN

[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940034A

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State IR/PPC/CDR El Salvador EP Date 9/23/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

ACTION: AMB

INFO:
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DEPARTAMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

INCOMING SAN SALVADOR CONTROL: DCM

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DE RUEHZP #1143 0352042
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O 052042Z FEB 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY PANAMA
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR NIACT IMMEDIATE 4312
BT
[redacted] PANAMA 01143

FROM LEGATT

SAN SALVADOR FOR AMBASSADOR HINTON ONLY

E.O. 12065: CIE BY 2058
2 & 3: DRD FEBRUARY 5, 2002.
TAGS: ASEC
SUBJECT: MURDERS OF FOUR CHURCHWOMEN.

REASONS DC

1. ENTIRE TEXT - SECRET.

2. FOR INFORMATION, U. S. EMBASSY, MEXICO CITY, RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS LETTER DATED JULY 21, 1981, DIRECTED TO THE U.S. CONGRESS. THE WRITER CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN A WITNESS TO THE KILLING OF THE CHURCHWOMEN AND STATED THAT IF THE CONGRESS WAS INTERESTED IN THE IDENTITY OF THE KILLERS, AN ADVERTISEMENT SHOULD BE PLACED IN SEVERAL MEXICAN NEWSPAPERS. THIS LETTER WAS RECEIVED BY AMEMBASSY MEXICO ON SEPTEMBER 3, 1981, AND ADS WERE PLACED. A MR. MORAN CONTACTED THE EMBASSY AND STATED HE KNEW THE WRITER OF THE LETTER AND LEGAT, MEXICO CITY (ORDERED TO HANDLE MATTER BY SECSTATE), INTERVIEWED MORAN OUTSIDE THE EMBASSY. MORAN IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS JUNA JOSE MORAN AND DISPLAYED CREDENTIAL IDENTIFYING HIMSELF AS OTE JEFE DE SERVICIOS UNOTE FOR SAN SALVADOR. MORAN WAS ADEMANT THAT HIS CONTACT WITH EMBASSY NOT BE MADE KNOWN TO DUARTE GOVERNMENT AS HE FEARED REPRISALS. MORAN IDENTIFIED THE WRITER OF THE LETTER TO CONGRESS AS CESAR CORTEZ WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS A CHAUFFEUR FOR HANS CHRIST WHOM HE ADVISED IS GENERALLY KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN IMPLICATED IN THESE MURDERS. HE INECCATED THAT CORTEZ HAD BEEN PPECED IN THE HANDS OF AN ALIEN SMUGGLER TO EXIT MEXICO AND THAT HE WAS NOT AWARE OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF CORTEZ. CORTEZ WAS TO CONTACT MORAN AT A LATER DATE.

3. MORAN ADVISED THAT HE FEELS THE PERSON ULTIMATELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDERS IS COLONEL VIDES CASANOVA. HE IS CERTAIN THAT VIDES WAS WELL AWARE OF AND HAD PROBABLY GIVEN TACIT APPROVAL FOR THIS EXECUTION. MORAN NOTED THAT VIDES OTE IS A CLOSE FRIEND OF COLONEL (FIRST NAME UNKNOWN) OTE BUSH UNOTE, DESCRIBED BY MORAN AS THE DEFENSE ATTACHE OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY, SAN SALVADOR. MORAN FEELS THAT BUSH IS PROBABLY GIVING A GREAT DEAL OF ENCOURGEMENT TO VIDES BY EITHER AFFIRMATIVELY OR TACITLY LEADING VIDES TO BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NO REAL OBJECTION TO SUCH KILLINGS. MORAN EVEN SPECULATED THAT BUSH MAY HAVE BEEN AWARE THAT VIDES ISSUED ORDERS FOR THESE MURDERS UNOTE.

4. AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR WAS ADVISED PREVIOUSLY OF MORAN'S STATEMENTS CONCERNING CORTEZ, HOWEVER, NOT FURNISHED STATEANI REGARDING OTE BUSH UNOTE WHOM IT IS BELIEVED TO REFER TO COLONEL JAMES BOSCH, FORMER DATT YOUR EMBASSY. FBI HAS CONDUCTED EXTENSIVE SEARCH FOR CORTEZ AND HE HAS NOT BEEN LOCATED.

5. LEGAT RESPONDED TO LEGAT, MEXICO CITY, ON OCTOBER 5, 1981, THAT LITTLE CREDENCE SHOULD BE PLACED ON MORAN'S STATEMENTS CONCERNING BOSCH AND THE KILLINGS, AS THE [redacted]

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[redacted]

INFORMATION DID NOT FIT IN TO THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED. IN ADDITION, LEGAT PIMENTEL HAS KNOWN BOSCH SINCE 1972 AND CONSIDERS HIM TO BE VERY PROFESSIONAL DATT WHO WOULD NOT BECOME EMBROILED IN SUCH A SITUATION. ALSO, LEGAT CONTACTED BOSCH ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS DURING THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE INVESTIGATION AND HE NEVER DEMONSTRATED ANY KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING THE MURDERS, AND THEREFORE, STATEMENTS CONCERNING HIS ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT WERE NEVER TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

6. THE ABOVE PARAGRAPHS, 3, 4, AND 5, ARE BEING FURNISHED TO YOU, INASMUCH AS CONGRESSWOMEN OAKAR HAS APPARENTLY BEEN PLACED IN CONTACT WITH MORAN THROUGH JOHN MC ALWARD IN BOSTON, AND MORAN HAS APPARENTLY TOLD OAKAR OF BOSCH'S ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT. FBIHQ HAS ADVISED ME THIS AFTERNOON, THAT IT IS BELIEVED THAT OAKAR WILL GO PUBLIC WITH BOSCH'S ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT THIS WEEKEND, TOGETHER WITH OTHER STATEMENTS MADE BY MORAN.

7. DEPARTMENT IS NOT AWARE OF MORAN'S STATEMENTS ON BOSCH. BLAKE
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El Salvador: Human Rights
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Date: MAR 5 1996
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UNCLASSIFIED

AN ACTION PLAN FOR THE LEBANESE-ISRAELI ARENA

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Conceptual Approach:

Our objective will be to change basic conditions in the Lebanese-Israeli arena so as to forestall or minimize the chances of future major military confrontations. We want to set the stage for a more stable security situation within Lebanon which, among other things, would reduce the threats to Israel over time. The highest initial priority must go to reinforcing the ceasefire. There will be, however, other elements in our approach, including those with immediate, short-term, and medium-term target dates. All components will be complementary and will have to mesh with one another at various stages in the process.

Broadly outlined, our strategy would encompass the following:

Reinforcing the Ceasefire (immediate objectives):

The immediate short-term goal is to prevent or ameliorate:

-- Palestinian or Lebanese leftist wildcat shelling or rocketing of either the Haddad area or northern Israel. (This will require continuing efforts with the Saudis and Syrians on our part, and UN and Saudi efforts vis-a-vis Arafat. The Israelis should be kept fully informed of what we are doing to provide reassurance.)

-- Challenges and confrontations in the air stemming from Israeli aerial reconnaissance activities. (We are making continuing strong demarches to the Israelis to refrain from provocative and unnecessary flights, such as the daily schedule causing sonic booms over Beirut and the refugee camps.)

-- Security Council actions criticizing Israeli actions or throwing roadblocks in the path of what we are trying to achieve. (This will require strong efforts to mobilize our supporters and potential supporters while seeking to neutralize negative voices, such as from Uganda and Mexico. The Lebanese must be encouraged to resist radical pressures. Waldheim and Urquhart should be fully consulted as our strategy unfolds.)

Expanding the Role of UNIFIL:

-- We should seek amendment of UNIFIL's basic mandate (Resolution 426, and associated administrative decisions by the UN Secretariat) in order to give UNIFIL more authority and flexibility. We should also seek some expansion of UNIFIL's manpower strength from its present figure of 6,000 men to 9,000 men.

-- This change in the mandate would be intended to make it possible--if the opportunity presents itself--for UNIFIL to put a major presence into the city of Tyre, to take over control of the bridges across the Litani, and to occupy the Beaufort Castle area, replacing the Palestinians at this strategic location which dominates militarily much of Haddad's area and the northern Israeli panhandle. The occupation of these key areas (perhaps in conjunction with Lebanese army units) will require a major diplomatic effort, with a first step ensuring that UNIFIL will have the authority and manpower to do the job.

-- UNIFIL (and UNTSO) already monitor and report ceasefire violations. Our objective, however, should aim at resolving--more quickly and efficiently than is presently the case--ceasefire violations, whether from Haddad or the Palestinians. Such UNIFIL (and UNTSO) functions must be made more acceptable to the Israelis and to Haddad so that they can operate more efficiently as an intermediary with the PLO and the Lebanese leftists. Formulations to take into account Israeli sensitivities could be advanced by the U.S. as well as the UN.

-- The rules of engagement for all the national battalions in the UNIFIL area should be revised and strengthened to parallel those now followed by the Dutch and Fijian battalions. The purpose would be to make UNIFIL as a whole more effective in deterring and forestalling infiltration, whether from the Palestinians and Lebanese leftists or from Haddad's forces and the IDF.

-- Support from the UN Secretariat and key countries, including the UNIFIL contributor states and the Europeans, should be mobilized to bring about

the elimination or reduction of the Palestinian military presence within the UNIFIL area, such as in the "iron triangle." (This would be an objective whose handling would have to be meshed carefully with some Israeli concessions, such as those described below, as well as with longer range Lebanese government efforts. Through the Bayt-ad-Din process, the Lebanese want to introduce a stronger official Lebanese presence in southern Lebanon and supersede the so-called Cairo and other accords institutionalizing the Palestinian presence below the Litani River.)

-- UNIFIL should be assisted to recover control over the territorial encroachments made by Haddad and to establish improved security around the UNIFIL headquarters. In addition, Haddad should be persuaded to allow UNTSO to perform its duties without harassment. These steps will improve UNIFIL's (UNTSO's) credibility with the Palestinians and allow trade-offs.

Actions Required of the Israelis (which, if the Israelis are cooperative, could be employed in other negotiations to gain parallel commitments and concessions from the Palestinian and Lebanese leftists):

-- All Israeli military equipment in South Lebanon of U.S. origin subject to U.S. law or to the 1952 U.S.-Israeli agreement must be withdrawn. A second stage would see the total withdrawal of IDF combat personnel from South Lebanon, along with all Israeli military equipment used by those personnel, whether subject to U.S. law or not.

-- Equally important, the Israelis must exert effective control over the activities of Haddad, to prevent the kind of reckless shelling which has led to wider and more serious exchanges of fire. It would be at least implicitly understood, however, that efforts to alter Haddad's status in southern Lebanon or his area of control would be held in abeyance for the indefinite future. The ultimate solution to this problem will require the long-range strengthening of the Lebanese army so that it could control a buffer zone in southern Lebanon which would satisfy most Israeli security concerns.

-- Israel should do its part in persuading Haddad to cooperate with UNIFIL and UNTSO (see above).

Strengthening the Lebanese Government's Military and Civil Role:

-- The Bayt-ad-Din process has laid the "Arab" political framework for a restructuring and expansion of the Lebanese army. Putting a strengthened Lebanese army into "hot spots" in Beirut and elsewhere in central Lebanon (e.g., the Sannin ridgeline) may have to occupy a high priority from our perspective, since these units would be replacing Syrian forces and would thereby contribute to a broad easing of tensions.

-- To the degree it can be done, however, additional Lebanese forces should be sent to southern Lebanon and the UNIFIL area to join the 1500 men already there. The present practice of incorporating engineering and construction troops to assist in civic programs should be encouraged. The basic objective of the additional Lebanese troops, supplemented by those already there, would be to join with UNIFIL in occupying the city of Tyre, the Litani bridges, and the Beaufort Castle, if the Palestinians can be persuaded to cooperate.

The Strategic "Gap" in Southern Lebanon:

Closing the so-called "gap" in the UNIFIL area--by placing UNIFIL troops there--might be one of the more attractive changes in the status quo from the perspective of the Syrians in particular. As it is, the Syrians are concerned that the Israelis could move forces rapidly through this gap to attack Syrian forces in the Bekaa Valley, without having to overrun UNIFIL forces. Occupying this gap should be sought in conjunction with parallel efforts to reduce the Palestinian military presence within the UNIFIL zone, in Tyre, at the Litani bridges, and at Beaufort Castle.

Reducing the Flow of Heavy Weaponry:

While we have already tried to enlist Crown Prince Fahd's support for stopping or at least reducing the flow of heavy weaponry for the Palestinian forces in Lebanon, ultimately the most promising means may be through the strengthening of the Bayt-ad-Din process, since this process calls for a strengthening of Lebanese authority and Lebanese institutions. For all practical purposes, the Libyans and Syrians are the principal suppliers. Those arms acquired by the Palestinians from Eastern Europe or the USSR usually are delivered via the Syrians.

-- In this case, direct approaches to the Syrians by the French, British, and others, as well as the U.S.--supplementing the Saudi efforts--could be employed.

-- The greater problem, however, could be Libya. While many Libyan armed shipments to the Palestinians go through Syria and require Syrian cooperation, a certain amount can get through directly to Palestinian forces through the port of Sidon, which the Palestinians control for the most part. If the French decide in the end to woo Qadhafi and release military shipment to him, we should urge the French to secure a quid pro quo in the form of a reduction in the flow of heavy Libyan military equipment to the Palestinians.

Moving Heavy Weaponry in Lebanon Further Away from the Israeli Border:

The Israelis would be far more comfortable if heavy weaponry (artillery and Katusha rockets) in the hands of the Palestinians and Lebanese leftists were emplaced further north, preferably out of range of Israeli territory. Given the smallness of Lebanon, and the range of present artillery (27 km) held by the Palestinians, this would be an extraordinarily difficult undertaking. Some amelioration of the threat, however, could be accomplished if the Beaufort Castle area were occupied by UNIFIL and the Lebanese army. Over the longer term, the only realistic possibility for Palestinian cooperation in withdrawing their heavy weaponry would lie in a tit-for-tat arrangement whereby Haddad would return his heavy weaponry to Israel. We should hold open this option for a propitious moment.

Withdrawing the Syrian Missiles from Lebanon:

Crown Prince Fahd has promised to continue working for the the withdrawal of Syrian missiles from the Bekaa at a propitious moment, ideally following a period of military quiet and an absence of public Israeli statements on the matter. We have explored with him and Lebanese leaders the idea of setting a time for the withdrawal of at least one of the three SAM batteries to begin with, in conjunction with an appropriate milestone in the Bayt-ad-Din process. This still seems the most promising avenue, and we would pursue it in appropriate ways and possibly in conjunction with Israeli restraint as regards highly provocative aerial reconnaissance activities.

Movement on the missile question must go hand-in-hand with efforts to forestall Israeli-Syrian confrontations in the air over Lebanon. We should make efforts to reinforce Syria's present inclination not to fire--either missiles or antiaircraft artillery--at Israeli reconnaissance flights showing non-hostile intent. We would continue our urgings that Israel avoid highly provocative aerial reconnaissance activity and be prepared to return to the lowered scope and intensity of flights taking place before April 27, 1981.

Withdrawal of Syrian Forces from Lebanon:

Since it is also an objective of the Lebanese Government, we should coordinate our diplomatic efforts so as to encourage a major withdrawal of Syrian forces in Lebanon before August of 1982, at the time when the next Lebanese President is scheduled to be elected and inaugurated. Total Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon is probably unrealistic, since the Syrians consider defense of the Bekaa Valley as a strategic military necessity. Withdrawal of the Syrian forces elsewhere--particularly from Beirut, the Sanniin ridge, and other locations--is, however, feasible, as long as the Bayt-ad-Din process continues with some vigor.

It will be our task--and that of like-minded governments--to encourage the Bayt-ad-Din process without destroying its basically "Arab" character, which has made possible the successes so far. At the same time, however, it will be necessary for us to conduct policy in such a way as to allow the Syrians to save face. It may be necessary, moreover, to make it clear that we would not tolerate Syria insisting on unacceptable political concessions from the Lebanese in return for withdrawal of their forces (e.g., a mutual security pact allowing Syrian forces to return at will to Lebanon).

Supporting the Bayt-ad-Din Process:

The key strategy will be to keep the Saudis and the Kuwaitis engaged. This must be done in a way that does not hurt the concept of "Arabization" that the Saudis brought to bear on the problems of Lebanon. This means inter alia that the U.S. must use its influence within Lebanon--particularly with the Phalange--in ways that will contribute to the on-going process.

Equally important, we--plus other governments such as France--should make it clear--publicly and privately--that we intend to stay actively engaged with the Lebanon problem

for the long run. This will keep the Saudis engaged. This also means that the U.S. should be seen as moving forward on the general peace process in the Middle East, which is the only way the Palestinian dimension of the Lebanese problem will ever be dealt with effectively.

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PAGE 01 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048
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SUBJECT: MORNING PRESS SUMMARY

NO. 8

I. NEW YORK TIMES
(1) HEADLINE "HAIG SEEKS BONN'S HELP AT MADRID TALKS'
(PAGE NO. 3)

BYLINE: JAMES M. MARKHAM

LEAD: "SECRETARY OF STATE ALEXANDER M. HAIG JR. AND FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER OF WEST GERMANY MET TODAY TO TRY TO RECONCILE DIFFERING APPROACHES TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY, WHICH RECONVENES TUESDAY IN A SESSION THAT THE WEST HOPES TO USE TO DENOUNCE THE MILITARY CRACKDOWN IN POLAND."

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PAGE 02 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

MAJOR POINTS: AFTER THE MEETING, AN OFFICIAL IN HAIG'S PARTY SAID THAT ONE GOAL HAD BEEN "TO COORDINATE THEIR RESPECTIVE STRATEGIES" AT MADRID AND THAT "THE COORDINATION WAS EFFECTIVE." A HIGH-RANKING WEST GERMAN DIPLOMAT SAID TWO MEN HAD AGREED THAT GIVEN THE FLUIDITY OF THE SITUATION AT THE CONFERENCE HERE IT "WOULD BE UNWISE TO DECIDE ON ANYTHING AS TO THE FUTURE PROCEDURE."

--UPON ARRIVING IN MADRID SUNDAY NIGHT, MR. HAIG DECLARED THAT IT WAS "ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL" FOR THE 35 DELEGATIONS

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TO THE TALKS "TO VIEW THE SITUATION IN POLAND AS A FUNDAMENTAL, AND PERHAPS FATAL THREAT TO THE ENTIRE HELSINKI PROCESS.".

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--MAX M. KAMPELMAN HAS UNDERSCORED WASHINGTON'S TOUGH POSITION BY NOT BRINGING WITH HIM ANY OF HIS SPECIALIZED NEGOTIATORS ON EUROPEAN MILITARY SECURITY QUESTIONS OR HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT HE IS KNOWN TO BELIEVE THAT THE MEETING WILL CONTINUE AT LEAST UNTIL NEXT WEEK BEFORE BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT STRATEGIES ARE CLARIFIED.

--CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY SURROUNDS TUESDAY'S SESSION. UNDER A SYSTEM OF ROTATION, THE CHAIRMAN SHOULD BE POLAND'S REPRESENTATIVE, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JOZEF WIEJACZ.

--LATE TONIGHT, THE POLISH DELEGATION, DIPLOMATS IN THE SPANISH-RUN SECRETARIAT OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE DUTCH WERE NEGOTIATING TO AC-OMMODATE AT LEAST 14 WESTERN NATIONS THAT HAVE SOUGHT TO SPEAK TUESDAY AND SEVEN WARSAW PACT NATIONS ADDED BY MR. WIEJACZ AT THE LAST MINUTE.

--HAIG'S POSITION IN THE SPEAKING ORDER APPEARED TO HAVE
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DROPPED FROM 9TH TO 14TH AS A RESULT OF THESE LAST-MINUTE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HAD THE GOAL OF AVOIDING A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC DISPUTE TUESDAY.

(2) HEADLINE: "POLAND OUTLINES ECONOMIC PROGRAM" (PAGE 3)

BYLINE: JOHN DARNTON

LEAD: "THE GOVERNMENT ISSUED THE OUTLINE OF A PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES TODAY INTENDED TO MAKE POLAND ECONOMICALLY INDEPENDENT FROM THE WEST AND SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD PRODUCTION."

MAJOR POINTS: CALLS FOR THE PLANNING COMMISSION AND VARIOUS MINISTRIES TO SUBMIT PLANS IN FEBRUARY, MARCH AND APRIL FOR OVERCOMING THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS.

--ONLY THE OVERALL GOALS WERE ANNOUNCED TODAY. THEY INCLUDE EXPANSION OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH OTHER SOVIET-BLOC COUNTRIES, A REORIENTATION OF INDUSTRIAL

PRODUCTION FOR AGRICULTURE, A MOVE TO LESSEN THE DEPENDENCE OF THE ECONOMY ON IMPORTS FROM THE WEST, AND WAGE AND PENSION REFORM.

--THE PROGRAM WAS A FURTHER REFINEMENT OF THE LINE LAID

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DOWN BY GEN. JARUZELSKI IN A SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT ON JAN. 25. THE CABINET MEETING ON FRIDAY AND THE PUBLICITY GIVEN IT TODAY WERE DESIGNED TO SUGGEST THAT THE MARTIAL-LAW REGIME WAS WORKING ON THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS.

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--A MAJOR ISSUE, WITH SOLIDARITY WILL BE THE FUTURE SHAPE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

--UNIONS, THE DOCUMENT SAID, ARE TO BE "AUTHENTIC, INDEPENDENT AND SELF-GOVERNING REPRESENTATIVES" OF THE
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

WORKERS, BUT IT ADDED THAT THEY MUST BE "HARMONIOUSLY INTEGRATED" INTO THE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE OF "CONSOLIDATING THE STATE AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY."

--TODAY A NEW SERIES CALLED "WE ACCUSE" BEGAN OVER THE RADIO. IT IS A COMPENDIUM OF QUOTATIONS FROM SOLIDARITY LEADERS AND INTERPRETATIONS DESIGNED TO SUBSTANTIATE THE NOTION THAT THE UNION HAD BEEN AFTER NOTHING LESS THAN AN OVERTHROW OF COMMUNISM.

--NEWSPAPERS HAVE BEGUN PUBLISHING ARTICLES TRYING TO SHOW THAT SOLIDARITY LEADERS WERE UNDEMOCRATIC AND LOOSE WITH UNION FUNDS. CHARGES OF EMBEZZLEMENT HAVE BEEN RAISED.

--THE DOCUMENTS CALLED FOR A SWITCH IN PRODUCTION TO GOODS THAT CAN BE MANUFACTURED WITH DOMESTIC RAW MATERIALS AND ALSO FOR EXPANDED COOPERATION WITH COMECON, THE SOVIET BLOC'S ECONOMIC ALLIANCE.

--ZLOTY DEVALUED WITHIN SOVIET BLOC

--AS A SIGN OF FURTHER EASING IN TENSIONS, POLICEMEN IN FRONT OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY PERMITTED POLES TO ENTER TO APPLY FOR VISAS FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE MARTIAL LAW WAS IMPOSED DEC. 13. AND TRAVEL CURBS WERE EASED FOR WESTERN DIPLOMATS, WHO MAY NOW TRAVEL WITHIN POLAND AFTER NOTIFYING THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THEIR PLANS..

(3) HEADLINE: "GOAL IN SALVADOR IS NOT MILITARY, STATE DEPT. SAYS"

BYLINE: BARBARA CROSSETTE (PAGE NO. 1)
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

UNCLASSIFIED

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LEAD: "THE ADMINISTRATION DECLARED ONCE AGAIN TODAY THAT IT WAS NOT SEEKING A MILITARY SOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR BUT THAT FURTHER MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID WERE NEEDED THERE."

MAJOR POINTS: "OUR GOAL IS NOT A MILITARY VICTORY," ENDERS TOLDSFRC. "WE WANT TO HELP THE SALVADORANS PREVENT THE INSURGENTS FROM DISRUPTING THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS THAT ARE NOT UNDER WAY."

--A POLITICAL RESOLUTION IS THE ONLY SOLUTION FOR EL SALVADOR, SAID MR. ENDERS.

--HOWEVER, HE SAID, "WE ARE GOING FOR A LARGER AMOUNT OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND A LARGER AMOUNT OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE."

--PERCY SAID IN INTRODUCTORY REMARKS THAT CONGRESS WAS UNDER STRONG PUBLIC PRESSURE TO REJECT THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECLARATION THAT EL SALVADOR WAS MAKING PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

--PELL ADDED THAT PUBLIC OPINION WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY INFLAMED ON THE ISSUE.

--MR ENDERS WAS SHARPLY QUESTIONED TODAY BY THREE DEMOCRATIC SENATORS, TSONGAS, DODD AND ZORINSKY, BUT HE WOULD NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON RECENT STATEMENTS BY HAIG THAT UNITED STATES MILITARY ACTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA WAS STILL A POLICY OPTION.

--"NOTHING HAS BEEN RULED OUT, BUT NOTHING HAS BEEN RULED IN," HE SAID.

--PRESSED FOR PROOF THAT EL SALVADOR HAD REDUCED THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE, AND QUESTIONED ON HOW THE UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES EMBASSY THERE HAD COLLECTED ITS EVIDENCE, ENDERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT EL SALVADOR'S LEGAL SYSTEM "HAD VERY LARGELY BROKEN DOWN," THAT ITS JUDICIAL SYSTEM WAS "LARGELY INOPERATIVE" AND THAT ITS PROSECUTORS WERE SLOW IN PURSUING CASES.

--BUT HE REJECTED SUGGESTIONS THAT THE JUNTA SHOULD NEGOTIATE A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE GUERRILLAS WOULD TAKE PART. HE SAID THAT WOULD BE TO "HAND OVER" THE COUNTRY TO THE INSUR;ENTS.

--"WE ARE NOT SAYING THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN THE COUNTRY HAVE BEEN RESOLVED," MR. ENDERS SAID. "ON THE

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CONTRARY, WE BELIEVE THAT MASSIVE PROBLEMS REMAIN."

--MR. ENDERS AND ELLIOTT ABRAMS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, WHO ALSO TESTIFIED, SAID THAT THE ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING HIGHER FIGURES WOULD NOT SAY WHERE THEIR INFORMATION CAME FROM.

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--"WE ARE NOT SEEKING A LOW BODY COUNT," MR. ABRAMS SAID, "WE ARE SEEKING AN ACCURATE BODY COUNT."

4. HEADLINE: "STUDY BY BONN FORESEES TROUBLE FOR THE MILITARY"
BYLINE: JOHN VINOCUR, P. 12, BONN, 2/8

LEAD: "THE WEST GERMAN ARMED FORCES, GENERALLY REGARDED AS THE STRONGEST COMPONENT IN WESTERN DEFENSE OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES, HAVE ENTERED A PERIOD OF DIFFICULTY AND POSSIBLE DECLINE, ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL STUDY PREPARED FOR DEFENSE MINISTER HANS APEL.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 07 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

-- IT WARNS THAT A WEB OF FINANCIAL, PERSONNEL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS HAS CREATED CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH IT IS INCREASINGLY QUESTIONABLE IF WEST GERMANY CAN FULLY MAINTAIN OVER THE NEXT DECADES ITS COMMITMENTS TO NATO, ITS FORCE LEVELS AND THE ADVANCED TECHNOLOGICAL STATUS OF ITS FIGHTING UNITS.

-- THE OFFICIALLY STATES GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE WAS OFFERED LAST MONTH BY MR. APEL AS PARLIAMENT APPROVED A 1982 MILITARY BUDGET THAT MAKES A DECREASE IN REAL MILITARY SPENDING IN THE YEAR A VIRTUAL CERTAINTY.

-- THE EXTENT OF THE DIFFICULTIES IS SUBJECT TO INTERPRETATION.

THESE ARE SOME STATMENTS FROM THE DEFENSE MINISTRY STUDY:

"DEVELOPMENTS THAT ARE ALREADY APPARENT TODAY WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN THE HIGH LEVEL OF PERFORMANCE REQUIRED FOR SECURITY POLICY."

"THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE NOW HARDLY REALIZABLE."

"REAL GROWTH RATES FOR THE DEFENSE BUDGET ARE NOT TO BE EXPECTED."

"THE NATO 3 GOAL (AN INCREASE IN REAL SPENDING OF 3 PER YEAR) HAS NO CHANCE."

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"WE ARE, IN FACT, NOT SECURED AGAINST ALL RISKS." UNCLASSIFIED

-- IN GENERAL, FINANCIAL DIFICULTIES ARE NOT ONLY A RE-
SULT OF NEW MONEY SHORTAGES
BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF GROWTH
IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE CONTINUING EXPANSION OF
SOCIAL COSTS, BUT ARE ALSO A RESULT OF LONGER-TERM DEVEL-
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

OPMENTS IN WHICH MILITARY SPENDING LOST OUT TO OTHER MORE
POLITICALLY PALATABLE OR SEEMINGLY URGENT SECTORS OF
GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT, SUCH AS DEVELOPMENT AID OR SOCIAL

COSTS OR SERVICING THE NATIONAL DEBT.

-- THE PROBLEM TAKES IN ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES, AND NOT
JUST THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND FREE DEMOCRATIC COALITION
OF THE LAST 12 YEARS.

-- THE REPORT ALSO SAYS THAT THE PART OF MILITARY OUTLAYS
GOING TO RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING FELL IN THE PAST
10 YEARS TO LOWER LEVELS THAN THOSE OF THE U.S., FRANCE
AND BRITAIN.

-- IF, THEORETICALLY, NEW FUNDS COULD SLOW SOME OF THE
TRENDS, MONEY STILL CANNOT COMPENSATE FOR THE COMING DE-
CADES OF PERSONNEL SHORTAGES.

-- STARTING NEXT YEAR, THE NUMBER OF POTENTIAL RECRUITS
FOR THECONSCRIPT ARMY WILL BEGIN TO SINK AS A RESULT OF A
FALL IN THE BIRTH RATE THAT ACCOMPANIED THE INTRODUCTION
OF BIRTH CONTROL PILLS HERE A GENERATION AGO.

-- IN 1988, THE AVAILABLE POOL WILL SINK BELOW 252,000 FOR
THE FIRST TIME, 1994 TO A LEVEL WHERE IT IS ESTIMATED THAT
THERE WILL BE A SHORTAGE OF 109,000 RECRUITS.

NUMBER TRYING TO AVOID MILITARY SERVICE HAS GROWN, GOING
FROM 45,000 IN 1979 TO 58,000 LAST YEAR.

-- THE INTERNAL REPORT WENT SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT PROMO-
TION PROBLEM "CAN DIRECTLY AFFECT THE FIGHTING CAPABILITY
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

OF THE FORCES" BECAUSE OF THE AGE GAP BETWEEEN MANY
OFFICERS IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE TROOPS. THE REPORT

ALSO NOTED THAT SOME SPECIFIC JOBS WERE INCREASINGLY BEING HANDLED BY LESS THAN FULLY QUALIFIED PERSONNEL.

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5. HEADLINE: "U.S. AND BONN AGREE ON A COMBAT-SUPPORT ACCORD"
BYLINE: BONN, 2/8, P. 13
LEAD: "AFTER MORE THAN TWO YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS, THE U.S AND WEST GERMANY HAVE AGREED ON A PROGRAM AIMED AT INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AMERICAN UNITS THAT WOULD BE FLOWN HERE AT A TIME OF CRISIS OR WAR."

-- THE AGREEMENT ON HOST NATION SUPPORT PROVIDES FOR THE ACTIVATION OF 90,000 WEST GERMAN RESERVISTS TO BACK UP THE "SIX ARMORED, MECHANIZED AND INFANTRY DIVISIONS AND ASSOCIATED FLYING SQUADRONS" THAT WOULD BE DISPATCHED HERE TO REINFORCE THE 4 AMERICAN DIVISIONS AND AIR FORCE SQUADRONS STATIONED IN WEST GERMANY.
THE AGREEMNT MUST STILL BE SIGNED BY BOTH SIDES. A DRAFT TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT WAS CIRCULATED TODAY AMONG MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT PREPARATORY TO ITS DISCUSSION ON WEDNESDAY BY THE BUNESTAG'S DEFENSE COMMISSION.

-- TRANSFERS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LOGISTICAL TASKS FROM AMERICAN UNITS TO WEST GERMAN ARMED FORCES. THIS WOULD ALLOW THE AMERICANS TO CONCENTRATE ON PROVIDING COMBAT TROOPS IN THE REINFORCEMENT PLAN.

-- THE AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR BOTH WEST GERMAN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SUPPORT.

-- APEL ESTIMATED THE COST OF SETTING UP THE PROGRAM WOULD BE $325 MILLION, TO BE PAID EQUALLY BY THE 2 COUNTRIES OVER A 7 YEAR PERIOD. HE SAID THE ANNUAL OPERATIONAL COSTS THEREAFTER WOULD BE IN THE ORDER OF $24 MILLION A YEAR.
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

THE PROGRAM WILL BE STAFFED BY 1,200 WEST GERMAN TROOPS IN PEACE TIME. WHERE THE 90,000 RESERVISTS NEEDED FOR THE PLAN WILL COME FROM IS NOT CLEAR AND APPEARS TO BE A POTENTIAL ELEMENT FOR SOME POLITICAL DIFFICULTY.

6. HEADLINE: "INDONESIA EXPELS SOVIET AIDE AND ARRESTS AEROFLOT OFFICIAL"
BYLINE: JAKARTA, INDIA, 2/8, (AP), P. 13

LEAD: "INDONESIA ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT IT HAD EXPELLED A SOVIET DIPLOMAT AND ARRESTED A SOVIET AIRLINE EXECUTIVE ON CHARGES OF ESPIONAGE."

IT WAS THE FIRST EXPULSION OF A SOVIET DIPLOMAT BY INDONE-

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SIA, OFFICIALS SAID.

S.P. YERGOROV, AN ASSISTANT MILITARY ATTACHE, WAS DECLARED PERSONA NON GRATA ON FRIDAY AND ORDERED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY WITHIN 24 HOURS. HE WAS SAID TO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED THURSDAY AT A RESTAURANT WHILE RECEIVING AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT FROM AN UNIDENTIFIED INDONESIAN MILITARY OFFICIAL.

-- THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SAID ALEKSANDR FINENKO, WHO HEADS THE JAKARTA AEROFLOT WAS ARRESTED SATURDAY WHILE SEEING MR. YEGOROV OFF AT THE AIRPORT. IT SAID MR. FINENKO'S AEROFLOT POST WAS A COVER FOR HIS ROLE IN THE K.G.B.

-- SEVERAL SOVIET DIPLOMATS ASSAULTED INDONESIAL SECURITY OFFICERS AT MR. FINENKO'S ARREST, THE MINISTRY SAID.

7. HEADLINE: "SAUDIS SAY DIFFERENCES MAR TALKS WITH WEIN-

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BERGER"
BYLINE: RICHARD HALLORAN, P. 5, DHAHRAN, SAUDI ARABIA, 2/8

LEAD: "SEC. OF DEFENSE WEINBERGER ENDED 2 DAYS OF TALKS WITH SAUDI ARABIAN LEADERS TONIGHT WITH SAUDI OFFICIALS SUGGESTING THAT THE DISCUSSIONS HAD BEEN TROUBLED BY FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES."

-- AMERICAN OFFICIALS DECLINED TO COMMENT.

-- ALTHOUGH DECLINING TO DISCUSS THE NATURE OF THE TALKS, AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID THAT, BARRING LAST-MINUTE CHANGES, WEINBERGER HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL IN PERSUADING PRINCE FAHD TO VISIT THE U.S. SO AS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON AND IN COMPLETING THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER LETTERS OF AGREEMENT UNDER WHICH THE $8.5 BILLION SALE OF AWACS RADAR WARNING PLANES WOULD MOVE FORWARD.

-- THE AMERICAN OFFICIALS FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT WEINBERGER'S OFFER OF SUPPORT TO THE NEWLY FORMED GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL AND HIS SUGGESTION THAT THE U.S. WOULD BE FORTHCOMING ON A PROPOSAL TO HELP BUILD A REGIONAL ARMS INDUSTRY HERE FELL ON DEAF EARS.

-- THE OFFICIALS ASSERTED THAT THE U.S. SALE OF AWACS RADAR PLANES AND F-15 FIGHTERS TO SAUDI ARABIAL CONTRIBUTED LITTLE TO A POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS. "YOU ARE JUST ARMS SALESMEN," SAID A GENERAL, "AND WE PAY CASH."

-- THOSE OFFICIALS DIFFERED IN THEIR VIEWS OF THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE THAT THE U.S. HAS BEEN BUILDING UP TO

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HELP DETER A SOVIET THREAT TO THE REGION. A MILITARY OF-
FICER SAID THE DEPLOYMENT FORCE WOULD BE INVITED IN ONLY
AS A LAST RESORT. "WE DON'T WANT YOUR R.D.F.," HE SAID.
THE SAUDI OFFICIALS SCORNED THE CAMP DAVID PEACE PROCESS.
-- AFTER ONE CONVERSATION, A SENIOR INFORMATION OFFICIAL
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

WAS ASKED WHETHER ANYTHING GOOD AT ALL HAD COME FROM THE CAMP DAVID EFFORT. "ONLY THE DEATH OF SADAT," HE REPLIED.

8. HEADLINE: "CHINESE TRY TO QUELL RUMORS THAT DENG'S POWER IS FADING"
BYLINE: CHRISTOPHER S. WREN, P. 4, PEKING, 2/8

LEAD: "SEVERAL CHINESE OFFICIALS AND EDITORS SOUGHT TODAY TO DAMPEN SPECULATION THAT CHINA'S 77 YEAR OLD LEADER, DENG XIAOPING, HAD LOST AUTHORITY THROUGH AN INTERNAL POWER STRUGGLE."

-- ONE EDITOR OBSERVED TODAY THAT MR. DENG HAD BEEN PULL-

ING BACK FROM DAY-TO-DAY RESPONSIBILITIES FOR SOME TIME.

-- THIS EVENING, ZENG TAO, THE DIRECTOR OF THE NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY, TOLD CORRESPONDENTS AT A RECEPTION THAT THERE HAD BEEN "NO CHANGE IN THE DECISIONS" OF THAT SESSION, AT WHICH MR. DENG RETAINEDHIS POST AS A DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY. DENG ALSO ASSUMED THE IMPORTANT POSITON OF CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY'S MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION, WHICH CONTROLS THE ARMY.

-- CHINESE OFFICIALS HAVE SAID PRIVATELY IN THE 4 WEEKS SINCE HE HAS BEEN OUT OF THE PUBLIC EYE THAT DENG HAS BEEN TRAVELING IN THE SOUTH. REPORTS FROM HONG KONG OVER THE WEEKEND PLACED HIM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN CANTON ON A TRIP BELIEVED TO BE CONNECTED WITH AN EXPECTED PURGE OF CORRUPT AND INCOMPETENT BUREAUCRATS.

-- THE GENERAL VIEW HERE IS THAT DENG WANT TO AVOID BEING DRAINED BY DAILY COMMITMENTS AND MEETINGS SO THAT HE CAN
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

DEVOTE HIS STRENGTH TO LARGER ISSUES, INCLUDING THE UNFIN-
ISHED 5-YEAR PLAN AND THE OVERHAUL OF THE BUREAUCRACY.

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-- CHINESE OFFICIALS WHO HAS SUGGESTED THAT MR. DENG WAS IN THE SOUTH WOULD NOT CONFIRM THE HONG KONG REPORTS THAT HE

WAS IN CANTON.

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-- HIS REPORTED PRESENCE THERE SUGGESTS, DIPLOMATS BELIEVE THAT HE IS STILL PLAYING A LEADING ROLE IN CHINESE POLITICS. HIS ABSENCE FROM PUBLIC VIEW HAS HAD NO APPARENT EFFECT ON THE OPERATION OF THE CHINESE GOVERMENT.

-- SOME RECENT ARRESTS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE CLEANUP ANNOUNCED LAST DECEMBER BY PRIME MINISTER ZHAO ZIYANG IS STARTING WITH CORRUPT OFFICIALS BEFORE TRYING TO ROOT OUT AGING OR INCOMPETENT OFFICE-HOLDERS AND RADICALS LEFT OVER FROM MAO'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION. IT APPEARS THAT THE CRACK DOWN WILL BE LAUNCHED IN THE PROVINCES BEFORE MOVING TO PEKING.

9. "AROUND THE WORLD", 2/9/82, P. A9

A. HEADLINE: "PENTECOSTALS IN SOVIET GET 2ND ROOM AT EMBASSY"
BYLINE: MOSCOW, 2/8, UPI
LEAD: PENTECOSTALISTS MOVED INTO A SECOND ROOM TODAY DOUBLING THEIR LIVING SPACE.

PYOTR VASHCHENKO SHOWED GUESTS INTO A 15 BY 9 FOOT ROOM THAT WAS FORMERLY THE EMBASSY'S BARBER SHOP. VASHCHENKO,

HIS WIFE, AVGUSTINA, AND THEIR DAUGHTERS LYUBA AND LILIYA WILL MOVE INTO THE CARPETED ROOM.

MARIYA CHMYKHALOV AND HER SON TIMOFEI WILL REMAIN IN THE ROOM NEXT DOOR.
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 14 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

AN EMBASSY SPOKESMAN SAID THE DECISION TO GIVE THE PENTECOSTALS MORE LIVING SPACE WAS MADE BY AMBASSADOR ARTHUR A. HARTMAN.

B. "U.S. WARHEAD DEFUSED IN WEST GERMAN BARN"
BYLINE: SCHRAMBERG, WEST GERMANY, 2/8, REUTERS
UNITED STATES DEMOLITION EXPERTS DEFUSED THE DAMAGED WARHEAD OF A SIDEWINDER MISSILE TODAY THAT WAS LOST A WEEK AGO FROM AN F-15 JET FIGHTER.

THE POLICE SAID THE AIR-TO-AIR MISSILE, WHICH CRASHED THROUGH THE BARN'S ROOF AND WENT 6 FEET INTO THE GROUND, WAS DEFUSED AFTER 2 DAYS WORK.

C. HEADLINE: "MOROCCO REJECTS PLEA TO TALK WITH REBELS"
BYLINE: NAIROBI, KENYA, 2/8

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LEAD: "MOROCCO REJECTED A RECOMMENDATION TONIGHT BY AFRICAN LEADERS PARTICIPATING IN A SPECIAL MEETING HERE THAT IT NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF WESTERN SAHARA.

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THE REJECTION WAS A REITERATION OF MOROCCO'S POSITION THAT SINCE THE GUERRILLAS ARE SUPPORTED BY ALGERIA, ANY TALKS ABOUT THE 7 YEAR OLD DISPUTE OVER WESTERN SAHARA SHOUDL BE BETWEEN
MOROCCO AND ALGERIA. THE ALGERIANS SAY THAT ONLY THE POLISARIO FRONT AND MOROCCO SHOULD NEGOTIATE.

MOROCCO'S REJECTION OF THE RECOOMENDATION CAME ON THE OPENING DAY OF A MEETING OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, WHICH WAS CALLED TO DISCUSS THE WESTERN SAHARA AND THE SITUATION IN CHAD.
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 15 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

D. HEADLINE: "5 IRISH NATIONLS ARE ARRESTED BY U.S."
BYLINE: BUFFALO, NY, 2/8, UPI
LEAD: IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS SAID TODAY THAT 5 IRISH NATIONALS WERE ARRESTED OVER THE WEEKEND FOR ATTEMPTING TO ENTER THE U.S. FROM CANADA TO PURCHASE WEAPONS.

OFFICALS DECLINED TO IDENTIFY THE 5 BUT SAID ADDITIONAL DETAILS WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE LATER.

E. HEADLINE: "MEXICAN TO VISIT NICARAGUA"
BYLINE: MEXICO CITY, 2/8, REUTERS

LEAD: PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO OF MEXICO WILL PAY A ONE-DAY VISIT TO NICARAGUA FEB. 21, THE MEXICAN FOREIGN MINISTRY SAID TODAY. A MINISTRY STATEMENT SAID HE WOULD BE GIVEN NICARAGUA'S HIGHEST DECORATION, THE ORDER OF GENERAL AUGUSTO SANDINO.
COPTERING SALVADOR

SUMMARY

CAYETANO CARPIO IS THE SENIOR LEADER OF THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS. HE HEADS THE POPULAR FORCES OF LIBERATION, ONE OF THE LARGEST ORGANIZATIONS OF THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. THIS STATEMENT IS EXCERPTED FROM A TALK IN EL SALVADOR WITH ROGER BOYER - THIS IS A PSEUDONYM, REQUESTED BY T'L INTERVIEWER, WHO FEARS BEING DENIED READMISSION TO EL SALVADOR - FOR THE INTERLINK PRESS SERVICE, WHICH DISTRIBUTES THIRD-WORLD NEWS.

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THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ALREADY HAS A COMBAT ROLE IN EL SALVADOR.

ONE OF THE BIGGEST DANGERS OF THE ELECTIONS PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT JOSE NAPOLEON DUARTE AND SUPPORTED BY THE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 16 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS THAT THEY WILL SERVE AS A SMOKESCREEN FOR A STEPPED-UP OFFENSIVE AND FOR ASKING FOR INCREASED LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FROM THE PENTAGON.

THE HELICOPTERS SUPPLIED BY THE UNITED STATES PROVIDE ESSENTIAL SUPPORT FOR ALL OF THE JUNTA'S MILITARY OPERATIONS. THIS EXPLAINS WHY REAGAN IS CONSTANTLY INSISTING THAT THE UNITED STATES PROVIDE MORE HELICOPTERS. PEOPLE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE CRIMINAL NATURE OF THIS WEAPON.

BUT WEAPONS ARE NOT THE ONLY FACTOR IN THIS CONFLICT. IF IT WERE ONLY A TECHNICAL QUESTION OF ONE MILITARY UNIT AGAINST ANOTHER, WE COULD MAKE A PREDICTION IN MILITARY TERMS. BUT YOU CAN'T MAKE SUCH CALCULATIONS IN A POPULAR WAR THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR OVER 10 YEARS, PUTTING THE ARMY AGAINST THE PEOPLE, AND ENGULFING THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

THE POPULAR WAR IN ELSALVADOR IS BY NATURE SPREADING THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

OUR PROGRAM IS FOR A DEMOCRATIC, REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, NOT FOR A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. THE PROGRAM FOR THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IS VERY BROAD-BROADER THAN THAT OF MANY OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE.

THE POPULAR MOVEMENT IS MADE UP OF A WIDE RANGE OF FORCES WITH DIFFERENT WAYS OF THINKING, WHO HAVE JOINED TOGETHER IN THIS BROAD PROGRAM. THIS COALITION WILL HELP THE COUNTRY FIND SOLUTIONS TO ITS PROBLEMS AND WILL GIVE THE PEOPLE THE POLITICAL FREEDOM NECESSARY TO ORGANIZE
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 17 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

AND CARRY FORWARD THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROGRAM THAT INCLUDES DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND INDEPENDENCE. THE MARXISTS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE AGREED TO SUPPORT THIS PROGRAM BECAUSE EVERYBODY MUST BE REALISTIC, AND BEING A MARXIST IS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH BEING UNREALISTIC.

THERE IS NO TRUTH TO THE CLAIM THAT ALL THE DIFFERENT

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FORCES THAT SUPPORT THIS PROGRAM WILL HAVE TO GIVE UP THEIR PARTICULAR VIEWPOINTS.

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THIS IS WHY THE CAMPAIGN BY REAGAN'S PROPAGANDA OFFICE AND BY THE PENTAGON AND THE C.I.A. ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF A MARXIST GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR IS SO FALLACIOUS. THEY ARE PERFECTLY WELL AWARE OF OUR DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM FOR A NEW GOVERNMENT.

BESIDES, HOW CAN THEY SAY THAT CUBA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR WHEN WE WERE FIGHTING TO CHANGE THE SITUATION LONG BEFORE CUBA ITSELF WAS LIBERATED? OUR REVOLUTION IS ROOTED IN THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY. THE REAL SOURCE OF THE CRISIS IS EXTREME SOCIAL INJUSTICE - THE ENORMOUS GAP BETWEEN THE FEW WHO DOMINATE AND OWN EVERYTHING AND THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE.

THE NORTH AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO HAVE SUCH DEEP HUMANISTIC VALUES, DO NOT DESERVE TO BE LED ALONG A MILITARISTIC AND AGGRESSIVE PATH.

THE REAGAN GOVERNMENT IS ACTUALLY DISCREDITING ITS PEOPLE. I HAVE SEEN CHILDREN OF 4,6,8 YEARS OLD SHOT DOWN BY BULLETS FROM HELICOPTERS WITH NORTH AMERICAN ADVISERS IN THEM. THE NORTH AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT DESERVE THIS IMAGE. THIS IS PERHAPS ONE OF THE GREATEST CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE REAGAN GOVERNMENT IN SUPPORTING THIS KIND OF WAR.
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ONSLAUGHT AND PARANOIA

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF CLOSER RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE NUDGING THAT COUNTRY NEARER TO PERMITTING INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA. BUT COZYING UP THE AFRIKANERS WITH "QUIET DIPLOMACY" HAS DONE NOTHING

TO IMPROVE THEIR RACIST, REPRESSIVE REGIME.

IT'S NOT EVEN CLEAR THAT REAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. SOUTH AFRICA HAS RESISTED INDEPENDENCE SO LONG AND SO ADAMANTLY THAT NO ONE SHOULD BE SURPRISED IF PRETORIA'S LATEST MOVE TURNS OUT TO BE ANOTHER EXERCISE IN MENDACITY.

FOR THE MOMENT, SOUTH AFRICA HAS TERMED "POSITIVE" -WITHOUT FINALLY ACCEPTING-THE REVISED WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR POST-INDEPENDENCE NAMIBIA.

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BUT MANY STUDENTS OF PRETORIA'S PARANOID WORLD VIEW DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER P.W. BOTHA, WHICH REGARDS SWAPO AS A PUPPET OF MOSCOW, INTENDS EVER TO PERMIT A SWAPO GOVERNMENT ON ITS BORDER. IN THIS VIEW, SOUTH AFRICA'S RELUCTANT NEGOTIATION OF INDEPENDENCE PROCEDURES IS NOT DESIGNED MERELY TO LIMIT SOME FUTURE SWAPO GOVERNMENT SO MUCH AS TO CONTINUE DELAYING INDEPENDENCE ITSELF, PERHAPS INDEFINITELY - HENCE PREVENTING THE ELECTION OF ANY SWAPO GOVERNMENT AT ALL.

SO THE POSSIBILITY CANNOT 0E DISCOUNTED THAT AFTER HAVING WRUNG ALL THE CONCESSIONS IT CAN FROM THE WEST, AND UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 19 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

POSSIBLY HAVING DELAYED A RESOLUTION FOR YEARS, SOUTH AFRICA AGAIN WILL FIND SOME PRETEXT FOR REJECTING WHAT IT HAS APPEARED TO ACCEPT. PRETORIA HAS DONE IT BEFORE, AND NO ONE-NOT EVEN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WITH ITS PENCHANT FOR EMBRACING "AUTHORITARIAN" BUT ANTI-COMMUNIST REGIMES-SHOULD UNDERESTIMATE THE WILL AND CAPACITY OF THE AFRIKANERS TO GO THEIR OWN WAY.

NOTHING SUGGESTS, MOREOVER, THAT MR. REAGAN'S PROFFERED HAND HAS MADE SO MUCH AS A DENT IN APARTHEID OR REPRES-SION.

NOW A JUDICIAL COMMISSION HAS REPORTED TO PARLIAMENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA FACES A "TOTAL ONSLAUGHT" FROM EAST AND WEST, DIRECTED PRIMARILY BY THE SOVIET UNION AND TAKING THE FORM OF A WHITE-BLACK POWER STRUGGLE. MOSCOW'S "PROXY" INSTRUMENTS IN FOMENTING IT WOULD BE THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, "BLACK THEOLOGY" (MEANING BISHOP DESMOND TUTU, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES), THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

THE PRESS SAID THE COMMISSION MUST BE RESTRICTED AND

THE PROPOSED LIMITS WOULD EFFECTIVELY SILENCE CRITI-CISM IN BLACK AND ENGLIS -LANGUAGE WHITE NEWSPAPERS. THE NATION'S TOUGH BANNING AND DETENTION LAWS, NOT TO MENTION APARTHEID ITSELF, WOULD HAVE TO BE CONTINUED-WITH A FEW COSMETIC ADJUSTMENTS SUGGESTED.

SINCE THE END OF NOVEMBER, THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE REPORTS, 17 SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION, STUDENT AND CLERICAL LEADERS HAVE BEEN DETAINED; A FOURTH "INDEPENDENT" BLACK HOMELAND, CISKEI, HAS BEEN CREATED, WITH A POPULATION OF 660,000 OF WHOM 150,000 HAVE BEEN DEPORTED FRON SOUTH AFRICA PROPER AND STRIPPED OF SOUTH

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AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP.

AND IN A SPECTACULAR DEMONSTRATION OF CONTEMPT AND ABSURDITY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS JUST INTRODUCED TELEVISION APARTHEID-A SEPARATE CHANNEL FOR THE NATION'S 24 MILLION BLACKS, BROADCAST IN FIVE AFRICAN LANGUAGES. UNLIKE THE CHANNEL FOR THE FIVE MILLION WHITES, APARTHEID TV WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO CLOSE ITS BROADCAST DAY WITH THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

I. WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLES

"HAIG HOLDS TALKS WITH EUROPEANS ON POLISH CRISIS," P. 35

"U.S. TO DEMAND SUSPENSION OF MADRID CONFERENCE TO PROTEST REPRESSION"

"U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE ALEXANDER HAIG MET WITH OTHER WESTERN FOREIGN MINISTERS IN AN EFFORT TO KEEP WORLD ATTENTION FOCUSED ON U.S. CHARGES OF SOVIET-SPONSORED REPRESSION IN POLAND."

--HAIG WAS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK TODAY AT THE RESUMING CSCE.

--U.S. OFFICIALS SAID MR. HAIG "WOULDN'T STAND FOR IT" IF THE EAST BLOC TRIED TO PREVENT HIS SPEECH ACCUSING POLAND AND SOVIETS OF VIOLATING THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. IF THE SPEECH WAS BLOCKED, THE OFFICIALS SAID, HAIG PROBABLY WOULD WALK OUT.

--AFTER HAIG SPOKE YESTERDAY WITH WEST GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER, AMERICAN SOURCES SAID BONN SHARES WASHINGTON'S GENERAL POSITION ON POLAND
UNCLASSIFIED

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BUT DOESN'T WANT "TO GO ALL THE WAY" IN CALLING FOR A PROMPT END TO THE CONFERENCE.

--SWITZERLAND AND SOME OTHER NEUTRAL STATES FAVOR AN EARLY SUSPENSION OF THE MADRID TALKS, BUT FOR DIFFERENT REASONS FROM THOSE VOICED BY WASHINGTON.

--THE NEUTRALS ARGUE THAT CONTINUATION OF THE CONFERENCE AT THIS JUNCTURE COULD LEAD TO A DETERIORATION AND POSSIBLE TOTAL DISINTEGRATION OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS.

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THEY SAY THERE SHOULD BE A BREAK TO ALLOW THE POLISH SITUTATION TO IMPROVE, AT WHICH TIME THERE WOULD BE A CONSENSUS ON FIXING THE DATE FOR ANOTHER REVIEW CONFERENCE.

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--U.S. POSITION MAY SOFTEN SOMEWHAT ONCE PROCEEDINGS GET UNDERWAY, WITH WASHINGTON AGREEING TO TWO OR THREE WEEKS OF DISCUSSION BEFORE INSISTING ON SUSPENSION.

--TASS YESTERDAY SAID THE U.S. WOULD STAND IN "GROSS VIOLATION" OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS IF IT TRIED TO TURN THE CONFERENCE INTO A DEBATE ON POLAND.

--KORNILOV, SAID T
HE U.S. WAS USING POLAND "AS A PRE-
TEXT TO UPSET THE NORMAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORUM, TO

MAKE IT INTO A VEHICLE FOR INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES AND TO REVIVE THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE COLD WAR. "

II. WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLES

"U.S. WEIGHS TRADE ACTIONS AGAINST JAPAN,"

"DISSATISFACTION IS EXPRESSED; POSSIBLE MOVES INCLUDE SANCTIONS, GATT PROBE"
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 22 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

"THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, DISSATISFIED WITH JAPAN'S LATEST EFFORTS TO LOWER ITS TRADE BARRIERS, IS CONSIDERING TOUGH MEASURES TO INTENSIFY PRESSURE ON THE JAPANESE." BROCK IS EXPECTED MAKE PUBLIC THE ADMINISTRATION'S RESPONSE LATER THIS WEEK.

--AT THE SAME TIME, TRADE OFFICIALS DISCLOSED THEY ARE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING A BROAD RANGE OF POSSIBLE U.S. ACTIONS TO PROD JAPAN FURTHER. THE MEASURES BEING DISCUSSED RANGE FROM IMPOSING SOME TRADE SANCTIONS TO BRINGING JAPAN BEFORE THE GENEVA-BASED GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE.

--OFFICIALS EMPHASIZED THAT THE QUESTION OF WHAT FURTHER STEPS TO TAKE STILL IS IN PRELIMINARY STAGES OF DISCUSSION AREN'T EXPECTED FOR SEVERAL MORE WEEKS. HOWEVER, THEY SAID THE U.S. DEFINITELY WON'T ACCEPT THE JAPANESE EFFORT AS FINAL.

--THE COMMON MARKET, IS CONSIDERING NEW MEASURES OF ITS OWN. THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION IS SCHEDULED TO DISCUSS

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A SERIES OF NEW STEPS NEXT WEEK AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS LATE THIS MONTH.

--U.S. STRATEGISTS CONTEND RESENTMENT OF JAPAN'S WORLD-WIDE EXPORT DRIVE IS SO STRONG THAT TOKYO WOULD BE ALMOST CERTAIN TO LOSE ANY VOTE IN GATT COUNCILS. "THEY WOULDN'T HAVE A SINGLE FRIEND IN THE WHOLE GATT," ONE OFFICIAL HERE SAID. A DECISION AGAINST JAPAN IN GENEVA COULD PAVE THE WAS FOR OTHER NATIONS TO IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS ON JAPANESE IMPORTS LEGALLY, WITHOUT VIOLATING INTERNATIONAL TRADE RULES.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 23 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

III. THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

(1) HEADLINE: "MADRID MEETING ON HUMAN RIGHTS ICY OVER POLAND" (PAGE NO. 4)

BYLINE: ANA WESTLEY

SUMMARY: MADRID, MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND VIRTUALLY GUARANTEES THAT CSCE WILL REOPEN IN COLD-WAR ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL ACCUSATIONS.

--WESTERN NATIONS HAVE STARTED MOVING CLOSER TOGETHER TO ALIGN THEIR POLISH STRATEGY.

--"EUROPEAN THESIS," OR AT LEAST PART OF THE EUROPEAN DELEGATION, HAD OPTED FOR SAVING THE CONFERENCE.

--SOME OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, SUCH AS BELGIUM, WEST GERMANY, AND FRANCE, FEEL THAT THE CONFERENCE NEED NOT BE SUSPENDED OVER THE POLAND ISSUE AS AN EAST-WEST FORUM AVAILABLE FOR DIALOGUE.

--WITH THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE SOURED BY POLAND, NO PROGRESS ON OTHER HUMAN-RIGHTS ISSUES OR ON DISARMAMENT IS EXPECTED. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY, AS A RESULT, THAT AFTER THE SPEECHES OF THE 15 WESTERN-BLOC FOREIGN MINISTERS, THE CONFERENCE MIGHT BE SUSPENDED AT THE INSTIGATION OF ONE OR MORE NONALIGNED OR NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

(2) HEADLINE: "MODERATE ARABS WARM TO MUBARAK", "STRESS ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS PUTS EGYPT'S FOOT IN ARAB DOOR"

BYLINE: JOHN YEMMA (PAGE NO. 1)

LEAD: "AMMAN, JORDAN, EGYPT MAY BE ON THE VERGE OF A RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE ARAB WORLD THAT SPURNED IT THREE
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 24 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

UNCLASSIFIED

YEARS AGO FOR SIGNING THE CAMP DAVID PEACE ACCORDS."

MAJOR POINTS: THE DRIFT BACK HAS NOW BEEN ACCELERATED BY THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT'S RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

--MAINSTREAM ARAB STATES, GRATIFIED BY MR. MUBARAK'S STRESS ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS DURING HIS WASHINGTON STAY, NOW APPEAR RECEPTIVE TO THE IDEA OF RECONCILIATION.

--THE EFFECT OF AN EGYPT-ARAB WORLD RAPPROCHEMENT, EVEN IF IT DOES NOT IMMEDIATELY MEAN A RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, WOULD BE TO:

-- STRENGTHEN THE ARAB BARGAINING POSITION VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL BY CREATING A STRONG, MODERATE BLOC.

-- INDUCE FRINGE MODERATES SUCH AS IRAQ TO BE LESS BELLICOSE TOWARD ISRAEL, AND THEREBY IMPROVE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE ARAB WORLD.

-- OPEN THE DOOR TO FINANCIAL AID FOR EGYPT FROM THE OIL-RICH CONSERVATIVES IN EXCHANGE FOR MORE EGYPTIAN AID IN THE MILITARY AREA.

--ARAB INTELLECTUALS AND WESTERN DIPLOMATS VOICE CONCERN, HOWEVER, THAT THE RAPPROCHEMENT COULD BE SEVERELY TESTED IF ISRAEL MAKES A PROVOCATIVE MILITARY MOVE--SUCH AS ONE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON--BEFORE COMPLETING ITS APRIL 25 WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI.

--ISRAEL IS ALREADY UPSET WITH MR. MUBARAK'S DIPLOMATIC POSTURE.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 25 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

--WHAT HE APPEARS TO BE DOING, ESSENTIALLY, IS BRINGING EGYPT'S GOVERNMENTAL POLICY INTO LINE WITH THE EXTENSIVE DE-FACTO CONTACT THAT EGYPT AND THE REST OF THE ARAB WORLD HAVE TODAY. AND THE RESPONSE HAS BEEN POSITIVE.

(3) HEADLINE: "EXPANDING ARMS SHIPMENTS: A DANGEROUS POLICY" (OP-ED PAGE)

BYLINE: WILLIAM HARTUNG

--IN ITS FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS MOVED RAPIDLY TO DISTINGUISH ITS POLICY ON THE TRANS-

UNCLASSIFIED

FER OF UNITED STATES ARMS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES FROM THE PREVIOUS CARTER ADMINISTRATION POLICY.

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--UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE REAGAN POLICY TEAM HAS A HEALTHY RESPECT FOR THE DANGERS INHERENT IN A COMMITMENT TO EXPANDED ARMS SHIPMENTS BY A NATION WHICH IS ALREADY THE WORLD'S DOMINANT SUPPLIER.

--THE ADMINISTRATION'S CATALOG OF "ACHIEVEMENTS" IN ARMS TRANSFER POLICY IS SUBSTANTIAL:

-- IT HAS EFFECTIVELY ELIMINATED LEGISLATIVE BANS ON MILITARY AID TO CHILE AND ARGENTIAN, DESPITE THEIR CONTINUING SYSTEMATIC VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THEIR OWN CITIZENS.

-- IT HAS ARRANGED THE EXEMPTION OF PAKISTAN FROM LEGISLATION MANDATING THAT COUNTRIES SUSPECTED OF DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS BE DENIED US MILITARY AID. THE EXEMPTION CLEARS THE WAY FOR A PROPOSED MULTIYEAR, DOLS. 3.2 BILLION MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID PLAN AND THE SALE OF 40 F-16S.

-- IT HAS WON A HARD-FOUGHT VICTORY OVER CONGRESSIONAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 26 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

OPPONENTS OF THE DOLS. 8.5 BILLION SAUDI AWACS DEAL, A RECORD OFFER TO A COUNTRY WHICH ALREADY HAD OVER DOLS. 20 BILLION IN BACK ORDERS UNDER THE US GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM.

-- IT HAS PUSHED THROUGH OVER DOLS. 50 MILLION IN MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR, TWICE THE VALUE OF ALL US MILITARY SHIPMENTS TO THAT NATION SINCE 1950. THE RECENTLY INITIATED TRAINING OF 1,500 SALVADORAN MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE US WILL RESULT IN ADDITIONAL AID REQUESTS BEFORE NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET GOES THROUGH.

--IN ADDITION, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MOVED TO ENSURE A MORE ACTIVE GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE MARKETING OF US ARMS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REPEALED THE SO-CALLED "LEPROSY LETTER," WHICH HAD PROHIBITED US GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL FROM ACTIVELY PROMOTING THE SALE OF US ARMS OVERSEAS. THE NEW REAGAN ARMS TRANSFER GUIDELINES ACTIVELY ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW US WEAPONS SOLELY FOR EXPORT.

--CONGRESS HAS AUTHORIZED THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSED SPECIAL DEFENSE ACQUISITION FUND, WHICH WILL STOCKPILE COMMONLY ORDERED WEAPONS IN ORDER TO ASSURE FASTER DELIVERY TIMES TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. AT A TIME WHEN

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MOST CIVILIAN PROGRAMS ARE BEING CUT BACK, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS PUSHED THROUGH SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN US MILITARY LOANS AND GRANTS SO THAT FINANCIALLY STRAPPED DEVELOPING NATIONS CAN AFFORD TO BUY US AIRCRAFT, MISSILES, TANKS, AND HELICOPTERS.

ALL THESE ACTIONS SUGGEST A DANGEROUS TENDENCY TO RELY ON MILITARY SOLUTIONS TO COMPLEX SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 27 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

FAR FROM AIMING TO MAINTAIN AN ABSTRACT "BALANCE OF POWER" IN REGIONS OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT, MANY OF THE ACCELERATED U.S. ARMS SHIPMENTS ARE BEING USED IN COMBAT. THE USE OF U.S. HELICOPTERS AGAINST REFUGEES IN EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS AND U.S. AIRCRAFT IN MOROCCO'S MILITARY OCCUPATION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA ARE ONLY THE MOST BLATANT EXAMPLES OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPANDED ARMS TRANSFERS.

MORE GENERALLY, THE FREE FLOW OF WEAPONRY TO UNREPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENTS LIKE THE SAUDI MONARCHY AND THE ZIA UL-HAQ DICTATORSHIP IN PAKISTAN RAISES SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT FURTHER COMMITMENTS MIGHT BE MADE TO SUCH REGIMES IN THE NAME OF "STABILITY." PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS SAID THAT HE WILL NOT ALLOW SAUDI ARABIA TO BECOME ANOTHER IRAN, BUT THE SHAH'S FALL PROVED THAT NO AMOUNT OF ADVANCED U.S. WEAPONRY CAN KEEP AN UNPOPULAR REGIME IN POWER INDEFINITELY.

DOMESTICALLY, REAGAN POLICYMAKERS HAVE OVERLOOKED THE DANGERS TO THE U.S. ECONOMY OF GROWING DEPENDENCE ON ARMS SALES. THE MOST RECENT FIGURES FROM THE U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY SHOW THAT CLOSE TO 5 OF THE TOTAL U.S. EXPORTS CONSISTS OF WEAPONS. PARTICULAR COMPANIES ARE ESPECIALLY EXPORT-DEPENDENT: NORTHROP RECEIVED OVER HALF OF ITS BUSINESS IN FISCAL YEAR 1980 FROM FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CONTRACTS AND CHRYSLERS'S PRODUCTION LINE FOR THE M-60 TANK IS SOLELY DEPENDENT ON SALES TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA FOR ITS CONTINUED OPERATION. THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR EXPORTS AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE, AN ARMS INDUSTRY LOBBYING GROUP WHICH SUPPORTS THE EASING OF ARMS EXPORT CONTROLS "TO ASSIST U.S. EXPORTERS AND PROVIDE AMERICAN JOBS," HAS SEEN MANY OF ITS RECOMMENDATIONS TRANSLATED INTO POLICY DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REAGAN TERM.

WHAT IS GOOD FOR A SMALL GROUP OF ARMS EXPORTING FIRMS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 28 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

IS NOT NECESSARILY GOOD FOR THE ECONOMY AS A WHOLE. ARMS EXPORTS CREATE FEWER JOBS PER DOLLAR SPENT THAN MOST CIVILIAN ENTERPRISES. AT THE SAME TIME, AGGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR EXPANDED ARMS SALES IS PRACTICALLY AN ADMISSION OF DEFEAT IN THE AREAS OF CIVILIAN PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT WHICH COULD BE BENEFITING FROM THE RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING TALENT CURRENTLY DEVOTED TO PRODUCING WEAPONS FOR EXPORT.

MOST IMPORTANT, A GROWING MARKET FOR ARMS EXPORTS DEPENDS ON CONTINUING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT, LEAVING WORKERS IN

THE ARMS EXPORT SECTOR IN THE UNEVIABLE POSITION OF DEPENDING ON INCREASING WORLD TENSIONS FOR THEIR LIVELIHOODS.

AFTER A Y
EAR IN PRACTICE, THE NEW REAGAN ARMS TRANSFER POLICY HARDLY LOOKS LIKE A LONG-TERM PRESCRIPTION FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY.
WILLIAM HARTUNG IS MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ANALYST FOR THE NEW YORK BASED COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC PRIORITIES, AND AUTHOR OF THE COUNCIL'S REPORT "WEAPONS FOR THE WORLD -- 1982."

IV. THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES ARE FROM THE BALTIMORE SUN:

1. HEADLINE: "BONN WAN'S MADRID TALKS MAINTAINED"
NO BYLINE; P. 4, MADRID
LEAD: "WEST GERMANY LAST NIGHT URGED THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET BLOC AT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE DESPITE THE POLISH CRISIS."

MAJOR POINTS:
-- GENSCHER TOLD HAIG THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO BREAK
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 29 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

OFF TALKS ON DETENTE, A WEST GERMAN SPOKESMAN SAID.

-- WHILE THE U.S. IS KEEPING ITS OPTIONS OPEN ON CONTINUING THE MARATHON CONFERENCE, SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE KNOWN TO FAVOR A COOLING-OFF PERIOD UNTIL THE FALL AS A RESULT OF THE MILITARY CRACKDOWN IN POLAND.

-- GENSCHER TOLD HAIG SUCH A MOVE WOULD "NOT BE SENSIBLE" DESPITE TENSIONS CREATED BY THE POLISH CRISIS, THE BONN SPOKESMAN SAID.

-- A U.S. OFFICIAL SAID HAIG AND GENS"HER HAD A BROAD DISCUSSION ON THE POLISH SITUATION AND ON CONFERENCE TACTICS "DESIGNED TO COORDINATE THEIR RESPECTIVE STRATEGIES."

-- THE COORDINATION "WAS EFFECTIVE," THE AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAID.

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-- THE GERMAN SPOKESMAN SAID THE 2 AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO DECIDE ON FUTURE TACTICS AT THE 15 MONTH CONFERENCE UNTIL AFTER TODAY'S SESSION AND THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL FRIDAY'S SESSION.

-- BOTH THE WEST AND THE NEUTRAL NATIONS AGREE THAT PROGRESS ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES SUCH AS DISARMAMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE IN THE PRESENT ATMOSPHERE.

2. HEADLINE: "U.S. READY TO PRODUCE NERVE GAS, REAGAN SAYS"
NO BYLINE, P. 8, WASHINGTON

LEAD: "PRESIDENT REAGAN NOTIFIED CONGRESS YESTERDAY THAT HE PLANS TO RESUME PRODUCTION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN AMERICA FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1979 TO DETER RUSSIA'S USE OF ITS STOCKPILE AND TO BE ABLE TO RETALIATE IF DETERRENCE FAILS."
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PAGE 30 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

PRODUCTION WILL REQUIRE A FURTHER APPROPRIATION OF $123 MILLION SOUGHT IN THE FISCAL 1983 BUDGET.

-- REAGAN'S NOTIFICATION WAS REQUIRED BY LAW TO SET THE STAGE FOR PRODUCTION. HE CERTIFIED THAT THE STEP "IS ESSENTIAL TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST."

THE DEFENSE DEPT. SAID PRODUCTION OF TWO TYPES OF THE LETHAL CHEMICAL WEAPONS IS PLANNED -- A "BUGEYE BOMB" CARRYING THE NERVE AGENC VX AND A 155 MILLIMETER ARTILLERY SHELL THAT DELIVERS A NERVE AGENT CALLED GB.

-- THE PENTAGON REAFFIRMED AMERICAN COMMITMENT NOT TO USE SUCH WEAPONS FIRST AND ALSO REITERATED STANDING POLICY AGAINST EVEN THE POSSESSION OF BIOLOGICAL OR TOXIN WEAPONS.

-- THE PENTAGON, SUPPORTING THE PRODUCTION DECISION, SAID DEFENSIVE MEASURE ALONE MIGHT NOT BE ENOUGH TO PREVENT SOVIET USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

ARTICLE NO. 3- BALTIMORE SUN

"2 SENATORS URGE SALVADOR TALKS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT, REBELS"

"TWO DEMOCRATIC SENATORS YESTERDAY URGED NEGOTIATIONS

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BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND INSURGENTS IN EL SALVADOR, A STEP THE ADMINISTRATION CLAIMED WOULD LEAD, IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, TOWARD COMMUNIST RULE."

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THE TWO ARGUMENTS WERE DIRECTED AT THE SAME GOAL: FREEDOM AND AN END TO BLOODLETTING IN EL SALVADOR.
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PAGE 31 STATE 034429 TOSEC 030048

"WE FEEL THAT IS THE WAY OUT, " MR. TSONGAS TOLD ADMINISTRATION WITNESSES. THEIR RESPONSE WAS THE ONE THEY HAVE GIVEN BEFORE: THE WAY OUT IS THROUGH THE FREE ELECTIONS PROMISED BY THE JUNTA, WHICH THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS.

THOMAS O. ENDERS; THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, CAREFULLY DEFINED THE ADMINISTRATION VIEW TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS.

--"OUR GOAL IS EFFECTIVENESS IN A VIOLENT AND BITTERLY DIVIDED AREA OF THE WORLD. I WOULD NEVER ARGUE THAT ALL THOSE OPPOSED TO THE REGIME ARE COMMUNISTS. I DO ARGUE, HOWEVER, THAT THE EXTREMISTS WOULD EMERGE WHICH WOULD IMPOSE A COMMUNIST DITATORSHIP."

--UNDER QUESTIONING BY TSONGAS, ENDERS SAID NO ONE HAS TRIED TO DEFINE WHAT THE ULTIMATE FINANCIAL COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MAY BE.

--THEN THE ANSWER WAS A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, TSONGAS SAID, AND IT HAD TO COME THIS YEAR. MR. ENDERS ANSWERED WITH A QUESTION, "YOU MEAN JUST HAND IT OVER?"

--WOULD THAT MEAN JUST HANDING IT OVER? TSONGAS ASKED. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, ENDERS REPLIED, YES.

--BUT THE ALTERNATIV, TSONGAS SAID, WAS AN ENDLESS DRAIN ON THE TREASURY AND ULTIMATELY A DECISION WHETHER TO COMMIT U.S. TROOPS.

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Department of State
Declassified under E.O. 12356
portions withheld (
law enforcement ( ); [illegible]
not relevant

9/23/93

FOR URGENT CLEARANCE

[redacted] (entire text)

TO: The Acting Secretary

FROM: ARA - Tom Enders

SUBJECT: Your Luncheon for President Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador, 12:30 pm, September 21 at the State Department - Scope Paper

SUMMARY

You have agreed to host, as Acting Secretary, a luncheon for President Duarte and members of his delegation following his call on President Reagan. Immediately before the luncheon you will meet privately with Duarte for fifteen minutes. We intend the luncheon to be an opportunity for a frank, informal dialogue. We wish to use the occasion to reassure Duarte of our support for his government and to discuss a few points of mutual interst.

During Duarte's four-day stay in Washington, most of Duarte's time will be spent in Congress and the media to build support for his government, which is threatened from both the left and the right. A copy of his schedule is attached..

I. OBJECTIVES

1. To reassure Duarte of our firm support for his government and the electoral process he has initiated..

2. To encourage Duarte to broaden support for the civilian-military government, domestically and internationally.

3. To discuss how we can best help the Salvadoran government pursue the war against the Marxist-Leninist guerrrillas.

4. To impress upon Duarte the importance of taking firm steps to control acts of violence against non-combatants.

[redacted] GDS 9/18/87

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II. PARTICIPANTS

Pre-Luncheon Meeting

US	EL SALVADOR
Acting Secretary Stoessel	President Jose Napoleon Duarte
ARA Deputy Assistant Secretary Stephen Bosworth	Foreign Minister Fidel Chavez Mena
ARA/CEN Deputy Director Arthur Giese	Ambassador Ernesto Rivas Gallont
P, Ken Brill	

Luncheon

(see attached list)

III. SETTING

This is Duarte's first visit to the US since he became President of El Salvador's Revolutionary Governing Junta in December 1980.

IV. DISCUSSION OF OBJECTIVES

1. To reassure Duarte of our firm support for his government and the electoral process it has initiated.

We strongly support the Duarte government as the best, indeed probably the only hope, for a peaceful moderate solution to El Salvador's political problems. President Duarte has announced plans for elections of a Constituent Assembly in March 1982. This is a key step in enhancing the government's legitimacy and undermining support for the guerrillas. Duarte has invited all groups to participate in elections, but will not negotiate with groups engaged in armed struggle.

There are many pitfalls ahead. The guerrillas remain committed to derailing the elections by force and intimidation. ~~They have stepped up their campaign to sabotage the economy and wear down government forces with hit-and-run attacks. They have blown up 200 electric towers, taxing the government's ability to restore and maintain power, particularly in the eastern third of the country. We have responded by sending emergency generators to El Salvador and are examining how to help with the electrical tower repair problem. We sent four additional UH1H helicopters on short notice. A military strategy assessment team is in~~ The economy is in its third straight year of decline

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Special Project (1993)

~~San Salvador now studying how we may best help pursue the war against the guerrillas.~~

TALKING POINTS

-- COMPLIMENT DUARTE ON HIS SUPERB HANDLING OF A VERY DIFFICULT AND PERSONALLY DANGEROUS ROLE.

~~-- WE~~ This administration is committed to being as helpful as possible within our budgetary restraints.

~~-- HE HAS OUR STRONG SUPPORT AND GOOD WISHES FOR SUCCESS.~~

2. To encourage Duarte to broaden support for the civilian-military government, domestically and internationally.

The Salvadoran government needs to broaden its base, both at home and abroad. The upcoming elections present the best opportunity for the Salvadorans to isolate the insurgents. Domestically, Duarte's Christian Democratic Party has been engaged in a dialogue with business leaders in bringing the private sector into the government. Internationally, the Salvadoran government receives mixed support. The recent French-Mexican communique recognizing the radical leftists FMLN-FDR as a legitimate political force is not helpful, although it has been overwhelming rejected by the Latin Americans. The FMLN-FDR is now lobbying its international supporters to use the French-Mexican communique as a lever to raise the El Salvador issue in the UN.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE HOPE THE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR WILL CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF WORKING OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES.

-- LATIN AMERICAN REBUTTAL TO THE FRENCH-MEXICAN COMMUNIQUE WAS ENCOURAGING. WE EXPRESSED OUR DISPLEASURE PRIVATELY TO FRANCE AND MEXICO IN STRONG TERMS.

-- HOW CAN ~~BE~~ WE WORK TOGETHER TO HEAD OFF EFFORTS TO RAISE THIS ISSUE IN THE UN? SHOULD WE PURSUE OAS INITIATIVE TO PREEMPT UNGA CONSIDERATION?

3. To discuss how we can best help the Salvadoran government pursue the war against the Marxist-Leninist guerrrillas.

In the past several weeks, the Salvadoran guerrillas have mounted an intensified offensive, complicating the already precarious situation of the Duarte government. The guerrillas' new strategy has focused on sabotaging vulnerable economic targets

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Special Project (1993)

and engaging in harassment attacks against carefully selected targets to minimize their own losses. The guerrillas succeeded in temporarily blacking out much of the country and have taxed the government's ability to restore and maintain electrical power, particularly in the eastern third of the country. Ambushes along the main roads have increased government casualties. In addition, the guerrillas succeeded in occupying the Salvadoran town of Perquin near the Honduras border for more than a week before being driven out by government troops. These tactics have enabled the guerrillas to further damage the already crippled Salvadoran economy, weaken military morale, and enhance their international and domestic prestige. While these developments are troublesome, the guerrilla-military balance of strength does not appear to have changed, with neither side having the capacity for military victory.

We responded quickly to the Salvadoran military's request for emergency help by sending four additional helicopters and a number of portable generators. We are also examining how we can help the Salvadorans repair quickly the 200 electrical towers sabotaged by the guerrillas. We have sent a military strategy assessment team to San Salvador to examine how we can be more helpful.

TALKING POINTS

-- ASK DUARTE'S ASSESSMENT OF HOW THE WAR IS GOING.

-- ASK WHAT PRIORITY ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED.

4. To impress upon Duarte the importance of taking firm steps to control acts of violence against non-combatants.

Right wing extremist elements opposed to reforms are conducting a campaign of indiscriminate terrorism to undermine the government. Accounts of atrocities committed against non-combatants by right wing "death squads" and elements of the security forces continue to sap the government's domestic and international support. Two cases of particular importance are:

-- the murders in December 1980 of four American churchwomen. Six National Guardsmen suspects have been under detention since May. The evidence against them is compelling.

-- the murders of two American AIFLD advisors and a Salvadoran land reform official in January 1981. Two suspects are under detention. Salvadoran businessman Ricardo Sol Mesa is being held in El Salvador. His alleged accomplice, Hans Christ, is

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

being held in Miami awaiting a hearing on El Salvador's extradition request. A Salvadoran judge has recommended to the Supreme Court that Sol Mesa be freed and the Christ extradition request be dropped for lack of evidence.

The release of the suspects in either of these cases will generate serious concerns in the US and erode political support for our El Salvador policy.

Duarte is aware of the problem (he was once a victim of torture by the military), but thus far has been ineffective in confronting the armed forces or curtailing their excess. The Commander of the National Guard, Colonel Vides Casanova, will be attending the luncheon. Since the National Guard is suspected of perpetrating a number of offenses, it will be useful to raise this issue in his presence.

TALKING POINTS

-- ACCOUNTS OF ATROCITIES GENERATE AN INTENSE REACTION IN THE US PRESS AND CONGRESS. THIS SERIOUSLY THREATENS PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT.

-- THERE ARE PARTICULARLY STRONG EMOTIONS AMONG US CHURCH AND LABOR GROUPS ON THE CHURCHWOMEN AND AIFLD MURDERS.

-- TO PROTECT YOUR OWN INTERESTS YOU MUST CRACK DOWN ON THESE FORMS OF VIOLENCE BRINGING THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO JUSTICE.

Attachments:

1. Luncheon Guest List
2. Luncheon Scenario
3. Biographies of Salvadoran Officials
4. Suggested Luncheon Toast
5. Duarte Scenario

Drafted
Cleared

[redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 825AN JO000990

ADP012 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN JO 00990 111532Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03 PM-09 PA-01 SP-02
SPRS-02 /061 W
----------303124 111536Z /44

P R 111513Z FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8410
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USICA WASHDC 332

[redacted] SAN JOSE 0990

E.O: 12065: GDS 2/11/88 OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, PINS, CS, ES
SUBJECT: (C) LETTER FROM FDR/FMLN TO COSTA RICAN SUPREME ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL

REF: (A) SAN JOSE 0988, (B) SAN JOSE 0987

1. [redacted] ~ ENTIRE TEXT).

2. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF JANUARY 29 LETTER FROM FMLN/FDR TO COSTA RICA'S SUPREME ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL (REFTELS).

3. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR SIRS:

WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE SUPREME ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN JO 00990 111532Z

HAS TAKEN THE DECISION TO SEND OBSERVERS TO THE UPCOMING "ELECTORAL PROCESS" BEING MOUNTED IN EL SALVADOR BY THE MILITARY DEMO-CHRISTIAN JUNTA. OUR SURPRISE AT THIS NEWS IS SUBSTANTIAL, ABOVE ALL AS IT COMES FROM THE SENIOR INSTITUTION ON ELECTORAL MATTERS OF COSTA RICA. WE BELIEVE IT USEFUL TO PRESENT TO YOU OUR ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTORAL MASQUERADE WHICH, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE GENERAL TERROR COMING FROM THE ARMED FORCES, IS TO BE ATTEMPTED IN OUR COUNTRY.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940034A

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN J0000990

WE WANT YOU TO NOTE THAT AS WE SALVADORAN CITIZENS ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE FARCES AND FRAUDS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN EL SALVADOR, WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN THESE ELECTIONS AS A WAY TO RESOLVE THE INTERNAL CONFLICT WHICH WE FACE.

ATTACHED YOU WILL FIND INFORMATIVE MATERIAL ABOUT THE CURRENT REALITY IN OUR COUNTRY; YOU WILL SEE THAT THEY REFLECT MANY OF THE REASONS WHICH LOGICALLY POINT TO THE NON-EXISTENCE OF CONDITIONS TO CARRY OUT THE "ELECTORAL" CONSULTATION.

APART FROM THE SAD HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS WHICH ELECTIONS HAVE HAD IN OUR COUNTRY, THERE IS ALSO THE GREAT INTEREST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS IN THE CARRYING OUT OF SUCH ELECTIONS. THIS LEVEL OF INTEREST COULD NOT COME FREE; ITS INTENTION IS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE IN VARIOUS WAYS OF THE ELECTORAL RESULTS, NO MATTER WHAT IT IS, TO INITIATE THE MECHANISM OF A MASSIVE AND DIRECT INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR AGAINST OUR PEOPLE.

WE ASSUME THAT YOU HAVE IN THE CURRENT ELECTORAL PROCESS IN COSTA RICA A MODEL OF HOW ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD BENEATH BANNERS AND NOT BULLETS. (COMPLEMENTARY CLOSE, SIGNED [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN JO 00990 111532Z

ALFREDO MARTINEZ D., REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FMLN-FDR IN COSTA RICA).
MCNEIL

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 825AN J0000987

ADD814 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN JO 00987 111506Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 /036 W
----------302220 111509Z /53

P 111346Z FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8408
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USICA WASHDC 330

[redacted] SAN JOSE 0987

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/10/88 DR-P
TAGS: PEPR, PINS, CS, ES
SUBJ: (C) LETTER FROM FDR/FMLN TO COSTA RICAN SUPREME ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL

REF: SAN JOSE 0888

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT).

2. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF LETTER, DATED JANUARY 29, ADDRESSED TO THE SUPREME ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL. LETTER IS ON LETTERHEAD OF THE FMLN AND FDR (WITH FORMER GIVEN TOP BILLING) AND IS SIGNED BY ALFREDO MARTINEZ O., "REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FMLN-FDR IN COSTA RICA." A COLLECTION OF STANDARD PROPAGANDA MATERIAL WAS ATTACHED. TSE PRESIDENT FRANCISCO SAENZ, WHO GAVE COPY OF LETTER TO POL COUNSELOR, INDICATED THAT HE WOULD PROBABLY NOT RPT NOT ANSWER LETTER. IN ANY EVENT HE AND OTHER TSE OFFICERS WOULD STILL TRAVEL TO EL SALVADOR TO OBSERVE ELECTIONS. COPY BEING POUCHED [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN JO 00987 111506Z

TO DEPARTMENT (ARA/CEN). OUR TRANSLATION FOLLOWS SEPTEL.

3. BEGIN TEXT. SENORES TRIBUNAL SUPREMO DE ELECCIONES.
SAN JOSE, PRESENTES.
ESTIMADOS SENORES:
HEMOS SIDO INFORMADOS QUE EL TRIBUNAL SUPREMO DE ELECCIONES HA TOMADO LA DECISION DE ENVIAR OBSERVADORES AL PROXIMO "PROCESSO ELECTORAL" A REALIZARSE EN EL SALVADOR POR LA JUNTA MILITAR DEMO-CRISTIANA.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority:
Date: 05/17/94
Case ID: S940034A

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ES GRANDE NUESTRA SORPRESA ANTI LA NOTICIA, SOBRE TODO CUANDO PROVIENE DEL MAXIMO ORGANISMO EN MATERIAL ELECTORAL DE COSTA RICA. ESTIMAMOS MUY CONVENIENTE INFORMARLES SOBRE NUESTRAS CONSIDERACIONES EN TORNO A LA MASCARADA ELECTORAL QUE BAJO EL TERROR GENERALIZADO, PROVENIENTE DE LA FUERZA ARMADA, SE INTENTARAN REALIZAR EN NUESTRO PAIS.
LES HACEMOS NOTAR QUE LOS CIUDADANOS SALVADORENOS, QUE CONOCEMOS LA CANTIDAD DE FARSAS Y FRAUDES QUE HAN ACONTECIDO EN EL SALVADOR, NO CREEMOS EN ESTAS ELECCIONES COMO FORMA DE RESOLVER EL CONFLICTO INTERNO QUE AFRONTAMOS.
ANEXO A LA PRESENTE ENCONTRARAN MATERIAL INFORMATIVO SOBRE LA REALIDAD ACTUAL EN NUESTRO PAIS, EN ELLOS VERAN REFLEJADO MUCHOS DE LOS RAZONAMIENTOS QUE DE MANERA LOGICA INCIDEN SOBRE LA NO EXISTENCIA DE CONDICIONES PARA LA REALIZACION DE LA CONSULTA "ELECTORAL".
FUERA DEL NEFASTO ANTICEDENTE HISTORICO QUE TIENEN LAS ELECCIONES DE NUESTRO PAIS, EXISTE EN LA ACTUALIDAD EL GRAN INTERES QUE EL GOBIERNO DE ESTADOS UNIDOS TIENE EN LA REALIZACION DE TALES ELECCIONES. ESTE GRADO DE INTERES NO PUEDE SER GRATUITO. TIENE LA INTENCION DE APROVECHAR DE DIVERSAS MANERAS EL RESULTADO ELECTRAL (SIC).
CUALQUIERA QUE FUERE, PARA INICIAR EL MECANISMO DE INTERVENCION MASIVA Y DIRECTA EN EL SALVADOR, EN CONTRA DE NUESTRO PUEBLO.

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PAGE 03 SAN JO 00987 1115062

ESPERAMOS QUE UDS. TENGAN EN EL ACTUAL PROCESO ELECTORAL DE COSTA RICA, UN MODELO DE QUE LAS ELECCIONES DEBEN HACERSE BAJO LAS BANDERAS Y NO BAJO LAS BALAS. CON NUESTRA MAYOR CONSIDERACION, APROVECHAMOS LA PRESENTE PARA SALUDARLO.
CORDIALMENTE, (SIGNED ALFREDO MARTINEZ D.) POR REPRESENTENTE DEL FMLN-FDR EN COSTA RICA.
ANEXO: INFORMES VARIOS. END TEXT.
MCNEIL

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Special Project (1993)

1289

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

	FROM	CLASSIFICATION
	AmEmbassy San Salvador	[redacted]

12065:
E.O. XXXXX
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: PINS, PINT, ES
HOMILY FOR FEBRUARY 14

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RELEASE

INFO: AmEmbassy Caracas

AmEmbassy Guatemala
AmEmbassy Managua
AmEmbassy Mexico
AmEmbassy Panama
POL - 2 AmEmbassy San Jose
AmEmbassy Tegucigalpa
AMB XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
AMEMBASSY ROME
DCM
[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1289
ECON XXXXX ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE
ECON/R 1. SUMMARY: In the February 14 homily, Bishop Rivera y Damas expressed both approval and doubt about the investigation results of the murder of American nuns. He lamented the continuing war and admonished the political parties to seriously address the nation's problems. He also advised all sectors and contending parties in the society of their various obligations. In a post-~~mise~~ mass interview, Rivera implied that inexact guidelines had given the arrested Guardsmen the freedom to act as they had. He also hoped that real
ICA
RF

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:STOMCHUS:jap	2-15-82	301	DCM:BLEAKLEY

CLEARANCES:
POL:RSDriscoll

[redacted]
CLASSIFICATION

50153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept of State

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Special Project (1993)

justice was planned and not an arrangement to continue U.S. aid. Rivera re-affirmed the obligations of Salvadoran Catholics to vote and said that increased guerrilla activity in Usulutan stemmed from the approaching elections. END SUMMARY.

2. Apostolic Administrator Bishop Arturo Rivera y Damas delivered the February 14 homily at San Salvador's Metropolitan Cathedral. He also spoke with the press following the Mass. Some of his commentary from both events follows.

3. Rivera's reaction to the announcement of impending trials in the case of the murdered American religious workers was a mixture of approval and doubt. In the homily he called the results of the special investigation of the nuns' case a positive sign though he tempered this judgment by using the phrase: "When they want to, they can". He reiterated his belief that justice is vital to a nation in search of peace. He further stressed his hope that the results of the investigation would be the beginning of the application of impartial justice and not an action undertaken to insure continued American aid.

[redacted]

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4. Rivera also addressed the present situation in El Salvador. He noted that the situation "continues to be difficult because the armed struggle has become routine, but sad and bloody. It is a struggle beyond the decisions of Salvadorans, where foreign countries, in their hegemonic zeal, provide the weapons and the Salvadoran people provide the dead and the quota of suffering. The tension continues: on the one hand sabotage, combat, ambushes, and crimes continue; on the other hand military operations, indiscriminate captures, outrages, torture and murder continue. These acts, unfortunately, are a constant in our country, where the people are the victims. We have no standard by which we can say that when some do it, it is a violation of human rights and when others do it, it is justice. The destruction of a single life constitutes an irremedial loss."

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

~~provide the weapons and the Salvadoran people provide the dead." He listed the types of actions carried out by both sides in the conflict and affirmed that the Church "has no standard by which it can say that when some do it (use violence) it is a violation of human rights and when others do it, it is justice". The destruction of a single life, affirmed the Bishop, was an irreplaceable loss.~~

5. The Bishop also spoke of the ongoing political campaign. He noted that political propaganda had ranged from the honorable to the insulting, but that no party had defined a clear political platform. Such programs were indispensable so that the electorate would know what to expect from its constituent assembly. Rivera also noted that fear existed in some sectors of the electorate and that this did not favor the pre-electoral climate. In a process which could be the beginning of a solution for the nation, said Rivera, the people must feel free to express themselves.

6. Rivera concluded the homily with a series of requests and admonitions. He asked priests to remember their ecclesiastical roles in society, adding that the Church supported no political party. He reminded the political parties not to involve the Church in the campaign and admonished them to develop political platforms so that the people would know what they are voting for. He urged the

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Special Project (1993)

Armed Forces and the guerrillas to respect prisoners, the wounded, and the civil population. Finally, Rivera said that he would never tire of repeating the need for a reasonable solution, "a dialogue if it were possible", to the costly war.

7. RIVERA MEETS THE PRESS: After the Mass Bishop Rivera answered questions posed by several reporters. The topics covered were as follows:

A. THE NUNS' MURDERS: To a question about his reaction to the resolution of the case, Rivera repeated the substance of his homily commentary. He hoped that the announced result was real justice and not an attempt to ensure continued U.S. aid. A second reporter asked: "Are you satisfied, like the President (Duarte), that no one higher up is involved?" Rivera's response was as follows: "I believe that the act itself may not be (so) linked. But there is one thing which concerns me and it is how a sergeant could give orders if, beforehand, at least in a general way, the road to take decisions of this type had not been opened to them. That is what I think in this particular case."

NOTE: The Spanish text of this exchange is as follows:

Reporter: "El caso de las monjas esta satisfecho usted como el presidente que no esta vinculado algo mas arriba?"

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Rivera: "Yo creo que el hecho como tal podria no estar vinculado, pero hay una cosa que sí a mi me preocupa y es como un sargento puede dar ordenes si antes al menos en forma general no se les ha abierto el camino para que tomen decisiones de ese tipo. Eso es lo que yo pienso en este caso particular."

B. GUERRILLA ACTIVITY: Another reporter asked about guerrilla activity in the country. Rivera devoted his answer to the increased combat in Usulutan. He said that "this signifies that there is more activity for the moment, very probably because of the approaching elections."

C. ELECTIONS: One reporter asked the Bishop if elections presented a possible solution for El Salvador. Rivera was only able to say that some rejected them; he began to speak about ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ a "large percentage" when the same reporter interrupted to ask about the Church (meaning unclear). Rivera then said that he could not "make a judgment out of thin air, we have to be aware of our position." Finally, to a question about the moral duty of Christians to vote, Rivera said that the Christian must confront reality. He concluded as follows: "But certainly, in our situation, where one searches for the peaceful solution, the few possibilities that there are, such as dialogue or elections, can not be ignored."

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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM

AH031

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01102 01 OF 02 261628Z 4411
ACTION ARA-16

2/26/82

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-15	NSC-01	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06	L-03
	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	SAL-01	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02
	/089 W						

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P R 2612172 FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2568
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 1102

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 2/25/2002 (FRIEDMAN, T.B.) OR-P
TAGS: AR, SHUM
SUBJECT: ARMY LEADER LASHES OUT AT HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

1. [redacted] SUMMARY: ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF VAQUERO HAS CONDEMNED ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AS WITTINGLY OR UNWITTINGLY AIDING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. HIS COMMENTS, THE HARSHEST PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS THAT WE CAN RECALL, REFLECTS A WELL DEVELOPED POINT OF VIEW WITHIN ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY, PARTICULARLY THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. THEY ARE ALSO CONNECTED TO THE MILITARY'S FRUSTRATION AT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS IN KEEPING THE ISSUE OF THE DISAPPEARED ALIVE. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAVE A VARIETY OF MOTIVATIONS BUT ONE OF THEM IS TO BRING THE MILITARY TO ACCOUNTS FOR THE WAY THEY CONDUCTED THE "DIRTY WAR". SUCH AN ACCOUNTING CAN ONLY COME, AS THEY AND THE ARMED FORCES KNOW, IF THE ARMED FORCES HOLD ON THE GOVERNMENT IS DECISIVELY BROKEN. DESPITE VAQUERO'S HARSHNESS, OTHERS CLOSE TO PRESIDENT GALTIERI HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE IMPORTANT CONSTITUENTS ABROAD, INCLUDING IN THE UNITED STATES. THUS, THOUGH SOME IN THE MILITARY MAY BE PRESSING FOR A CRACKDOWN, WE DO NOT SEE ONE COMING IN THE NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) ARGENTINE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF MGEN JOSE ANTONIO VAQUERO HAS PUBLICLY AND HARSHLY ATTACKED ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS.

3. (U) SPEAKING AT A CEREMONY IN WHICH HE AWARDED A MEDAL TO HIS SALVADORAN COLLEAGUE, COL. RAFEAL FLORES LEMA, VAQUERO STATED THAT ON THE ONE HAND THEE ARE THOSE WHO COMBAT "ARMED SUBVERSION" WHILE ON THE "OTHER EXTREME" THERE ARE THE "SO CALLED SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATIONS (A REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS). THE LATTER, HE SAID, "APPEAR TO BE INDEPENDENT ENTITIES. BUT LET US NOT BE NAIVE, THEY ARE SERVING, WITTINGLY OR NOT, THE CURRENT STRATEGY OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM". "THESE ORGANIZATIONS", VAQUERO SAID, "HAVE PROLIFERATED IN ARGENTINA PROTECTED BY THE LIBERTY THEY SURELY HOPE TO DESTROY".

4. [redacted] COMMENT: VAQUERO'S COMMENTS REFLECT A WELL DEVELOPED ANALYSIS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS PREVALENT AMONG MANY MILITARY OFFICERS--AND ESPECIALLY IN ARMY INTELLIGENCE. ACCOURDING TO THIS ANALYSIS, THE TERRORISTS, DEFEATED IN A TEST OF ARMS, ARE NOW TRYING TO DESTROY THE GOVERNMENT POLITICALLY USING THE ISSUE OF PAST AND PRESENT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE ISSUE OF THE DISAPPEARED. DEMONSTRATIONS IN PARIS, CONDEMNATIONS IN THE UN, HUMAN RIGHTS PROTESTS IN ARGENTINA ARE ALL SEEN AS PART OF WHAT THE PROPONENTS OF THIS ANLYSIS, LIKE VAQUERO, SEE AS A LARGE INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY. TO BE SURE, THESE PROPONENTS SAY, THERE ARE SOME UNWITTING INNOCENTS INVOLVED--BUT THE DIRING FORCE COMES FROM INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE CONSCIOUSLY PART OF A LARGER PLOT, DRIVEN BY COMMUNISTS, AND ULTIMATELY THE SOVIET UNION.

5. [redacted] AS IN SO MUCH ELSE HERE, THE ISSUE OF THE DISAPPEARED IS CENTRAL TO THIS WHOLE CONSPIRACY THEORY. THE MILITARY ONCE HOPED THAT THE ISSUE WOULD FADE WITH TIME. INSTEAD, IT HAS CONTINUED TO TORMENT ARGENTINA ABROAD AND IS GETTING INCREASING ATTENTION AT HOME. THE MILITARY, UNDERSTANDABLY, FEEL VULNERABLE. THEY ALSO IDENTIFY ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS EXILED LEFTISTS AND TERRORISTS, WHO ARE ACTIVE IN EUROPE AND MEXICO, AS HAVING KEPT THE ISSUE ALIVE AND INFLAMED. THEY ARE LESS ABLE TO SEE THAT WESTERN VALUES MADE IT NATURAL FOR MANY OTHERS TO REJECT THE LEGITIMACY OF DISAPPEARANCE AND TO CONDEMN ANY GOVERNMET WHICH PRACTICES IT.

6. [redacted] THERE ARE NOW SEVEN ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. FOLLOWING ARE THEIR NAMES AND A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF EACH:
A) THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (PAHR) FOUNDED IN THE MID-1978'S THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY BROUGHT TOGETHER COMMUNISTS, NON-COMMUNISTS AND EVEN ANTI-COMMUNISTS. THE COMMON CONCERN AMONG THEM WAS THE MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THEN TAKING PLACE. MANY OF THE ORGANIZERS HAD RELATIVES AMONG THE DISAPPEARED OR DETAINED. PAHR CENTERED ITS ACTIVITIES ON THE PROBLEM OF THE DISAPPEARED, COLLECTING THE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01102 02 OF 02 261552Z 4414
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-15	NSC-01	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06	L-03
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P R 2612172 FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2569
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 1102

BEST AND MOST COMPLETE DOCUMENTATION ON THIS PRACTICE AND PRESENTING HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS ON BEHALF OF THE VICTIMS. THOUGHT THEY DID NOT AND PROBABLY STILL DO NOT CONTROL THE ORGANIZATION, THE ARGENTINE COMMUNISTS HAVE A MAJOR VOICE IN ITS OPERATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER OF THE PAHR IS A COMMUNIST. IN RECENT MONTHS THE PAHR HAS EXPANDED ITS ACTIVITIES TO ATTACK THE GOVERNMENT'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES;

B) THE CENTERL FOR LEGAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES (CELS): FOUNDED IN 1980, CELS IS THE MOST PROGESSIONAL, RELIABLE AND AGGRESSIVE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. ITS FOUNDERS, INCLUDING EMILIO MIGNONE AND AUGUESTO CONTE MACDONALD, WERE AND ARE ACTIVE IN THE PAHR (MIGNONE AND CONTE EACH HAS A DISAPPEARED CHILD). HOWEVER, TODAY MOST OF THEIR TIME IS TAKEN UP IN CELS--THEY HAVE NEVER TOLD US BUT WE BELIEVE THEY WERE UNHAPPY WITH THE COMMUNIST ROLE IN THE PAHR. IN KEEPING WITH THE MODUS VIVENTI BETWEEN THE GOA AND THE LOCAL PARTY, COMMUNISTS IN THE PAHR WERE OFTEN OPPOSED TO THE TACTICS AND STRATEGY OF THE CELS FOUNDER WHO WANTED THE ASSEMBLY TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE. MOST OF THE LEADERS IN CELS ARE ALSO ACTIVE POLITICIANS: MIGNONE IS ALIGNED WITH THE "INSTRANSIGENT" LEFT WING OF PERONISM, CONTE MACDONALD IS A LEADER OF THE MODERATE LEFTIST WING OF THE CHIRSTIAN DEMOCRATS. (BOTH MEN, WE NOTE, HAVE PUBLICLY CONDEMNED EVENTS IN POLAND AND AFGANISTAN).

C) THE ARGENTINE LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (THE LIGA): FOUNDED IN THE 1930'S THE ORGANIZATION IS A COMMUNIST FRONT, AND IS SO RECOGNIZED EVEN AMONG OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. PEOPLE AT CELS, FOR EXAMPLE, PRIVATELY POKE FUN AT THE LIGA FOR ITS UNDENIABLE ALIGNMENT.

D) THE PEACE AND JUSTICE SERVICE: THIS IS THE ORGANIZATION HEADED BY 1980 NOBEL PEACE PRISE WINNER ADOLFO PEREZ ESQUIVEL, PEACE AND JUSTICE'S CHIEF ORNAMENT. THE NOBEL PEACE AWARD TO THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS LEADER ENDOWED HIM WITH AN IMPORTANCE THAT HE HAD NOT EARNED THROUGH HIS EFFORTS IN ARGENTINA, WHERE THE MOVEMENT HAS FEW MEMBERS OR ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA WHERE IT REPORTED HAS EVEN FEWER. LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITS AND THE GOVERNMENT WERE FOR ONCE UNITED--IN SURPRISE--WHEN THE NOBEL COMMITTEE TAPPED PEREZ. THE HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS WERE DELIGHTED TO HAVE SUCH A VISIBLE SYMBOL. THE GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, QUICKLY CONCLUDED THAT SINCE PEREZ WAS SUCH A RELATIVE NON-ENTITY OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE HIS DESIGNATION COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY TO GET ARGENTINA. FOR MANY MILITARY, PEREZ--WITH HIS INTERNATIONAL WANDERINGS--IS NOW THE EMBODIMENT THE CONSPIRACY THAT THEY ARE CONVINCED SURROUNDS THEM AND THAT VAQUERO DENOUNCED.

E) THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO: FOUNDED IN 1976 BY MOTHERS WHOSE CHILDREN DESAPPEARED, THE MOTHERS ARE A SINGLE ISSUE ORGANIZATION. OFTEN UNRELIABLE AS TO FACTS, BUT INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED POLITICALLY, THEY MORE THAN ANY OTHER BODY KEEP ALIVE THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF THE PROBLEM THAT SO INVOLVES THEM.

F) THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (EMHR): THIS BODY IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CHURCHMEN. ITS ACTIVITIES DEAL MOSTLY WITH HELPING THE FAMILIES OF THE DETAINED AND RECENTLY RELEASED PRISONERS. IT IS RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT.

G) THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE DISAPPEARED AND DETAINED FOR POLITICAL REASONS: RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT. THIS BODY MAKES ITS HOME IN QUARTERS PROVIDED IT BY THE LIGA. IT IS NOT SUPPOSED TO BE UNDER COMMUNIST CONTROL, THOUGH WE CANNOT ATTEST ONE WAY OR ANOTHER ON THIS. IT DEVOTES MOST OF ITS ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION OF THE DETAINED.

7. [redacted] GIVEN THIER VARIETY, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ATTRIBUTE A SINGLE MOTIVE TO THE LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS BODIES. HOWEVER, MANY OF THOSE INVOLVED ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE THE MILITARY ANSWER FOR ITS TACTICS IN THE "DIRTY WAR." MOREOVER, ALL ARE HIGHLY POLITICIZED--RECOGNIZING THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES, IF THEY ARE TO BE ACHIEFED AT ALL, CAN ONLY COME THROUGH THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

8. [redacted] VAQUERO'S COMMENTS REFLECT VERY CONSIDERABLE SENTIMENTS WITHIN THE MILITARY. HOWEVER, OTHERS--SOME OF THEM CLOSE TO PRESIDENT GALTIERI--HAVE RECENTLY TOLD US THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE IMPORTANT CONSTITUENCES ABROAD. SUB-SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR MENDEZ'S UNPRECEDENTED RECEPTION OF A CELS DELEGATION PROTESTING THE DISAPPEARANCE/MURDER OF ANA MARIA MARTINEZ ACKNOWLEDGED THE GOVERNMENT'S ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF CELS. THUS, THOUGH WE SUSPECT THAT SOME IN THE ARMED FORCES MAY PRESS FOR SOME SORT OF CRACKDOWN ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, WE DO NOT EXPECT THEM TO CARRY THE DAY, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST. SHLAUDEMAN

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PAGE 01 MANAGU 00746 191758Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 NSCE-0
NSAE-00 SSO-00 TRSE-00 PA-02 INRE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02
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P R 191645Z FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2196
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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JCS WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
USICA WASHDC 253

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9202083 IS/FPC/CDR Date: 9-5-96
(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
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FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
MR Cases Only:
EO Citations
TS authority to:
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EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, NU
SUBJ: GRN REACTION TO CODELS

1. GRN JUNTA MEMBER SERGIO RAMIREZ TOLD FSLN DAILY BARRICADA THAT THERE IS A CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF RECENT U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS. PREVIOUSLY CONGRESSMEN WERE CONCERNED ABOUT NICARAGUAN INTERFERENCE IN SALVADOR. NOW THEY ARE CONCERNED MORE ABOUT U.S. INTERFERENCE IN SALVADOR AND IN CENTRAL AMERICA. HE DESCRIBED THE CONVERSATIONS WITH RECENT CONGRESSIONAL VISITORS AS VERY RESPECTFUL AND VERY CLEAR. THEY HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED WITH THE OPENNESS THEY FIND HERE AND GRN HAS BEEN ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THEM THE JUSTICE OF ITS
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PAGE 02 MANAGU 00746 191758Z

SUPPORT FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN SALVADOR.

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2. COMMENTING ON THE WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE ALLEGING THAT THE CIA HAS A $19 MILLION PLAN TO INTERVENE IN CENTRAL AMERICA, RAMIREZ SAID THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THIS PLAN HAS BEEN APPROVED AND CITED THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ATTACKS FROM BASES IN HONDURAS. HE SAID THE AMERICAN POLICY WOULD BE TO CREATE TENSIONS BETWEEN NICARAGUA AND OTHER COUNTRIES BUT AVOID DIRECT AMERICAN PARTICIPATIONS.

RAMIREZ ADDED THAT, IF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAD INDEED APPROVED A $19 MILLION DESTABILIZATION PLAN TO HELP OPPOSITION GROUPS, IT WAS A MUCH MORE DELICATE SITUATION, PROVING THE USG'S DETERMINATION TO CONFRONT THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION. THE SANDINISTAS IN TURN WOULD BE OBLIGATED TO USE ALL POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC FORCES TO DISSUADE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FROM TAKING THAT POSITION. RAMIREZ REITERATED THE FAMILIAR LITANY THAT THE GRN INSISTS THAT THE U.S. DISMANTLE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY TRAINING CAMPS IN FLORIDA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE U.S., NOT SUPPORT COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY GROUPS IN HONDURAS, THAT A JOINT HONDURAN- NICARAGUAN BORDER PATROL BE ESTABLISHED, AND FINALLY, THE U.S. SHOULD DESIST FROM OPPOSING TO LOANS TO NICARAGUA, IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCING INSTITUTIONS.
GAMBLE

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Special Project (1993)

ADP619 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 045527
ORIGIN ARA-16

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E.O. 12065: GDS 2/19/88

TAGS: PINT, PINR, ES

SUBJECT: CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER CASE

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ASSISTANT SECRETARY ENDERS, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ARA/CEN AND L/LEI, MET WITH THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE MURDERED CHURCHWOMEN FOR FOUR AND ONE-HALF HOURS ON FEBRUARY 17 TO BRIEF THEM ON THE STATUS OF THE CASE. CONGRESSWOMAN MARY ROSEOAKAR, CHURCH OFFICIALS AND OTHER FAMILY ADVISORS WERE ALSO PRESENT.

3. AFTER REVIEWING THE DOCUMENT SUBMITTED TO THE JUDGE, THE FAMILY MEMBERS RAISED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT ASPECTS OF THE INVESTIGATION THEY BELIEVE HAVE NOT BEEN ADEQUATELY PURSUED. THE INVESTIGATIVE WORKING GROUP MAY ALREADY HAVE ANSWERS TO SOME OF THE QUESTIONS; OTHERS ARE CLEARLY NEW AREAS OF POTENTIAL INVESTIGATION.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 045527

EMBASSY, IN CONSULTATION WITH SALVADORAN INVESTIGATORS, SHOULD ADVISE US HOW TO RESPOND TO EACH QUESTION AND SHOULD PURSUE NEW LINES OF INVESTIGATION WHEREVER POSSIBLE AND APPROPRIATE. EMBASSY SHOULD FORWARD ANSWERS TO INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONS AS SOON AS AVAILABLE RATHER THAN WAIT

UNTIL ALL QUESTIONS CAN BE ANSWERED. WE HAVE PASSED SAME LIST OF QUESTIONS TO FBI FOR ITS ASSISTANCE.

Declassified in Part - Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2013/12/17 : CIA-RDP90M00165R000100020001-3
Declassified/Released under E.O. 12356, Department of State IR/PRS/CDR, El Salvador 82 Date 2/1/13
[illegible] (X) in full ( ) in part
[illegible] classified ( ) deliberative ( ) statutory ( ).
[illegible] to El Salvador ( ).

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 045527

4. QUESTIONS FOLLOW:

(1) WASN'T THERE A RED PAINT SMEAR ON THE VAN? HAS IT BEEN ANALYZED?

(2) HOW MANY FINGERPRINTS WERE TAKEN OF THE GUARDS? THE FAMILIES ALLEGED THAT THE FBI HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD THEM THAT THEY WOULD FINGERPRINT APPROXIMATELY 85 GUARDS WHO WERE PRESENT AROUND THE AIRPORT THE NIGHT OF THE MURDER. ALSO, HOW MANY OF THESE FINGERPRINTS MATCH FINGEPRINTS FOUND ON THE VAN. HOW MANY WEAPONS WERE TEST FIRED?

(3) WHAT ARE THE NAMES OF THE SIX GUARDSMEN WHO WERE ORIGINALLY ARRESTED? HAS THERE BEEN ANY ATTEMPT TO LINK THE SHERATON MURDER CASE WITH THE MURDER CASE OF THE NUNS?

(4) DID THE FBI INTERVIEW HANS KRIST AND ASK HIM WHAT HE KNEW ABOUT THE MURDER OF THE NUNS?

(5) WILL THE FBI RELEASE THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE POLYGRAPH EXAMINATIONS?

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 045527

(6) THE NEW YORK TIMES REPORTS ON SUNDAY THAT THE JUDGE COULD NOT BE LOCATED ON SATURDAY FEBRUARY 13. WHERE WAS HE?

(7) AN EMBASSY OFFICER HAD TOLD THE FAMILIES SOME TIME AGO THAT THE NUNS WERE ARRESTED AT THE AIRPORT; WHERE DID THE OFFICER GET THIS INFORMATION AND WHY ISN'T THAT IN THE CHARGE?

(8)WHAT QUESTIONS WAS COLINDRES ASKED WHILE ON THE CIALS? HAVE WE MADE A DIPLOMATIC APPROACH TO PRESIDENT DUARTE ABOUT HIS STATEMENT IN THE PRESS OVER THE PAST WEEKEND THAT NO SENIOR OFFICIALS WERE INVOLVED? (THE ALLEGATION HERE IS THAT DUARTE IS INTERFERRING IN THE PROCESS OF JUSTICE.)

(9) WAS COLINDRES' COMMANDING OFFICER QUESTIONED? WAS HE QUESTIONED ON THE POLYGRAPH? IF NOT, WHY NOT?

(10) CAN WE PROVIDE A LIST OF THOSE PERSONS WHO WERE POLYGRAPHED? ARE STATEMENTS FROM ALL OF THE PERSONS WHO WERE POLYGRAPHED INCLUDED IN THE PACKAGE GIVEN TO THE FAMILIES?

(11) WAS RIVERA FRANCO POLYGRAPHED AGAIN AFTER HE CONFESSED? IF NOT, WHY NOT?

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(;2) WERE THERE OTHER POLICE ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED IN THE AIRPORT ON THE EVENING OF THE KILLING AND HAVE THEY BEEN QUESTIONED?

(13) WHO HAS THE AUTHORITY TO GIVE AN ORDER TO STOP AND SEARCH TRAFFIC LEAVING THE AIRPORT? IS THIS THE USUAL PRACTICE?

(14) IS THERE ANY INDICATION THAT THE GUARDS INVOLVED [redacted]

IN THE KILLING HAD WORKED PRIVATELY FOR THE OLIGARCHY?

(15) WHERE ARE THE VARIOUS TELEPHONES LOCATED IN THE AIRPORT THAT ARE THE SUBJECT OF THE INVESTIGATION, I.E., THE TELEPHONE OF THE GUARD HOUSE, ETC?

(16) WHEN COLINDRES LEFT THE AIRPORT, HOW MANY GUARDS WERE LEFT BEHIND? WAS THE AIRPORT LEFT UNGUARDED?

(;7) WHAT ABOUT THE MISSING WITNESS? ON FEBRUARY 11, THE WASHINGTON POST REPORTED THAT JULIO CESAR VALLE IS ALLEGED TO HAVE DRIVEN THE BLUE PICKUP TRUCK OUT TO PICKUP THE SOLDIERS AND IS NOW MISSING. IS THIS TRUE?

(18) DID HANS KRIST HAVE ANY EMPLOYEES WHO LEFT EL SALVADOR WITH HIM? DID A MAN NAMED CESAR CORTEZ EVER WORK FOR HANS KRIST?

(19) IN RESPONSE TO A LENGTHY QUESTION FROM MR. FORD, CAN WE INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE WAS ANY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN US OFFICERS COL. CRUZ, COL. CUMMINGS AND COL. BOSCH AND MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OR THE OLIGARCHY CONCERNING THE CHURCHWOMEN? MR. FORD REPORTS THAT HE HAD BEEN GIVEN A RUMOR THAT HANS KRIST GOT A COMMUNICATION FROM AN AMERICAN COLONEL THAT THE CHURCHWOMEN WERE COMING AND WOULD BE INTERFERED WITH. THE SOURCE IS THE MAN NAMED CORTEZ WHOM WE HAVE ATTEMPTED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO CONTACT THROUGH MORAN. CORTEZ SUPPOSEDLY WAS AN EMPLOYEE OF HANS KRIST. CORTEZ ALSO IS ALLEGED TO HAVE DRIVEN THE VAN TO PICKUP THE SOLDIERS TO CARRY OUT THE DEED. TO THEM CORTEZ SOUNDS LIKE THE MISSING WITNESS. MORAN REPORTEDLY HAS A SON WHO IS NOW IN [redacted]

EL SALVADOR BUT HAS SOUGHT ASYLUM IN MEXICO. THE FAMILIES ASKED US IF WE WOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO

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GET MORAN'S TWO CHILDREN OUT OF EL SALVADOR BEFORE HE TALKS WITH US. MR. ENDERS UNDERTOOK TO HAVE OUR LEGATT IN MEXICO INTERVIEW MORAN ONCE AGAIN BUT SUGGESTED THAT THE FAMILIES CONTACT MORAN FIRST THROUGH THEIR CHANNELS. MR. ENDERS READ MEXICO 12811 TO THE FAMILIES.

(20) TWO OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS SAID THAT THEIR SISTERS, JEAN DONOVAN AND DOROTHY KAZEL, HAD REPORTED BEING FOLLOWED BY A HUEY HELICOPTER. ONE OF THEM WAS BEING FOLLOWED WHILE ON THE ROAD BETWEEN SANTA ROSA AND LA LIBERTAD. THIS TOOK PLACE APPROXIMATELY THREE WEEKS PRIOR TO THE KILLING. WE SAID WE WOULD LOOK INTO IT, INCLUDING ATTEMPTING TO CHECK FLIGHT LOGS OF US-MANNED OAS HELOS, BUT IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT WE WOULD HAVE MUCH LUCK.

(21) WHAT WE HAD DONE TO CHECK OUT THE THREATS MADE TO THE FAMILIES SHORTLY BEFORE THEY MURDERS?

(22) DID ANYONE TALK WITH A MAN NAMED CARLOS PAREDES, WHO IS ALLEGED TO HAVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE MURDERS?

(23) SISTER MARIE RUCKELMANS HAS REPORTED THAT SECURITY PERSONNEL BOARDED HER FLIGHT EARLIER THE SAME DAY AS MURDERS. IS IT USUAL FOR SECURITY PERSONNEL TO BOARD FLIGHTS? HAVE THE SECURITY PERSONNEL WHO BOARDED SISTER RUCKELMANS' FLIGHT BEEN LOCATED AND INTERVIEWED?

5. CONGRESSWOMAN OAKAR ASKED THAT THE DEPARTMENT REPLY TO TEN QUESTIONS SHE PLACED IN THE FEBRUARY 10 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. WE WILL CABLE THESE QUESTIONS TO POST VIA SEPTEL.

[redacted]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
JULY 1973 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

EXCISED UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

S1640

TO : Robert Driscoll

DATE: 2/25/82

FROM : Gordon F. Ellison

SUBJECT: Sheraton Murder Case

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9
Classified under EO 12356 ( ) in full; (X) in part;
Sections withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy (X), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( )

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On this date PolOff Gettinger and I met with Mauricio Morales Ehrlich to further discuss captioned matter. The following additional information developed:

Re Julio Osmin Carrillo Sarmiento

Carrillo is now assigned to guard Enrique Sol, father of Ricardo Sol Meza, and he is very upset about this. Carrillo doesn't like the old man and wants to leave his current employment. Carrillo contacted Morales E. to see whether there had been any further developments on possible employment with the Embassy. Carrillo advises he has a friend on the Guard force at the Embassy who might be able to help him get a job. Carrillo advises his wife has recently lost her job and he is in the process of buying a new house. He has sold or traded his motorcycle.

Regarding his arrest, he was actually picked up by two friends of his from the National Police. He was subjected to a hard interview and not even his brother who works in the intelligence division, National Police, knew he had been arrested. The Sol family had planned to let him

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/18/98 Exemption

5010-116

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El Salvador Human Rights
Specialist (Cont'd)

go but changed their mind after the arrest in April. Morales E. is of opinion Carrillo can be convinced to cooperate.

Re Ismael Hercules

This individual was previously referred to as Ismael last name unknown. He is the regular companion of Carrillo and believed to be a former member of the National Guard. He is similar in description to Carrillo but is more muscular and somewhat older. Hercules carries an Ingram sub machinegun in his brief case and while he looks and acts tough is basically a weak person. Morales E. of opinion he can be broken. It is noted this is likely the person described by Alejandro Presa as Carrillo's companion at scene of crime.

Re SECORPI Guard Service

SECORPI was founded by Oscar Burbano Chavez, a Colombian and former Capitan de Fragat. Burbano was recommended to Sols and others by International Security Company out of Miami. Several large Salvadoran companies paid SECORPI Colones 14000 per month for guard service. This specifically included Coca Cola company. For Coca Cola service Burbano paid Major Moran and Lt. Lopez Sibrian by check and they furnished National Guard G-2 staff and "friends" as sub contractors to handle the work at about Colones 500 per month. Burbano left San Salvador in late January, 1981 and went to Miami, leaving SECORPI in hands of First Name Unknown (FNU) Rivas and FNU Flores. Flores is currently head of security at the Cartonera (box factory) and he is poorly disposed toward Burbano and Rivas. Flores may be cooperative. Burbano is currently in

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Miami and can be located through International Security company or through Jack Barber, chief of Security at the Miami airport. Barber is well acquainted with the Sol family.

Re Rodolfo Isidro Lopez Sibrian:

Lt. Lopez is currently in Paraguay and may be working as a military advisor. Even though he has ostensibly been discharged from the National Guard it is believed he is still directly associated in some way. Source noted that a group of Salvadoran cadets from the military school recently went to Paraguay. Lopez told source he had been ambushed in La Union and felt he had been set up. Regarding Sheraton situation, it is likely that Major Moran called Lt. Lopez on his portable radio and instructed him to bring the Guardsmen to kill Viera. The G-2 apparently has a separate radio frequency and both Moran and Lopez carried radios.

Re Ricardo Sol Meza and family

Ricardo Sol Meza is currently in Chiapas, Mexico doing nothing and still very much afraid of being prosecuted.

Eugenia Sol, wife of Ricardo, invested $200,000 in the purchase of stock in the Coca Cola plant in San Jose, Costa Rica. This money was lost in the steep devaluation in Costa Rica.

Heavy legal fees were paid to Jorge Vitelio Luna in behalf of Ricardo by his father, Enrique Sol.

Recommendation:

Discuss best way to utilize Julio Carrillo with Embassy counsel?

Case Number: s199900006

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 01197 261719Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	DODE-00
	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	SY-05	HA-06
	L-03	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	MCT-02	STR-13
	SIL-01	INRE-00	ANAE-00	ICAE-00	SYE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02
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O R 261640Z FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2622
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 1197

USEEC BRUSSELS FOR LABATT

E.O. 12065: GDS 02/26/88 (CRAVEN, ROBERT L.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, PINS, CI
SUBJ: LABOR LEADER TUCAPEL JIMENEZ MURDERED

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. FAMILY MEMBERS AND FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS CONFIRMED TO LABATT DURING THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF FEBRUARY 26 THAT TUCAPEL JIMENEZ, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION DEMOCRATICA DE TRABAJADORES AND PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION, HAD BEEN FOUND MURDERED IN HIS CAR EARLY THE PREVIOUS EVENING. JIMENEZ WAS A PROMINENT LABOR LEADER WHO HAD OPPOSED ALLENDE AND HAD ALSO OPPOSED PINOCHET IN DEFENSE OF WHAT HE SAW AS WORKERS' RIGHTS; HE WAS ALSO A LONG-TIME EMBASSY CONTACT.

2. ACCORDING TO FAMILY AND UNION SOURCES, JIMENEZ LEFT HOME IN HIS CAR (A TAXI BUT NOT USED AS SUCH) SHORTLY BEFORE 0930
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01197 261719Z

FEBRUARY 25 TO GO TO HIS UNION OFFICE WHERE HE HAD A MEETING SCHEDULED AT THAT HOUR. HE MISSED THAT MEETING AS WELL AS OTHERS SCHEDULED AT NOON AND AT APPROXIMATELY 1600. THE FAMILY THEN BEGAN TO SEARCH LOCAL HOSPITAL EMERGENCY WARDS WITHOUT SUCCESS AND, AT APPROXIMATELY 2200, REPORTED HIM (TO THE PRESS) AS MISSING AND POSSIBLY DETAINED BY SECURITY

POLICE. JUST AFTER MIDNIGHT, A TV NEWS REPORT STATED THAT A BODY WITH ITS THROAT CUT HAD BEEN FOUND IN A CAR IN AN ISOLATED RURAL AREA ABOUT 25 MILES NORTH OF SANTIAGO. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE CAR AND THE LICENSE PLATE MATCHED THAT OF JIMENEZ' CAR; THE BODY WAS POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED AT APPROXIMATELY 0500 ON FEBRUARY 26.

3. MORNING PRESS OF FEBRUARY 26 CARRIED THE STORY OF THE UNIDENTIFIED BODY FOUND IN THE TAXI BEFORE IT WAS KNOWN THAT IT WAS JIMENEZ. "LA TERCERA", WHICH CARRIED WHAT APPEARED TO BE THE LATEST AND MOST COMPLETE INFORMATION, SAID THAT LOCAL POLICE HAD BEEN CALLED TO THE SCENE BY VILLAGERS BECAUSE THE CAR HAD BEEN SEEN PARKED FOR SEVERAL HOURS AND THEY HAD BECOME SUSPICIOUS. POLICE REPORTEDLY FIXED THE TIME OF DEATH AT ABOUT 1100 ON FEBRUARY 25, LESS THAN TWO HOURS AFTER JIMENEZ LEFT HOME, MEANING THAT HE MUST HAVE BEEN INTERCEPTED EN ROUTE TO HIS UNION OFFICE ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER HE LEFT HOME. THE ARTICLE ALSO SEEMED TO RULE OUT ROBBERY AS A MOTIVE AS, ALTHOUGH THE TAXI'S METER AND TITLE AND JIMENEZ' PERSONAL DOCUMENTS HAD BEEN STOLEN, THE CASH HE WAS CARRYING (ABOUT US$30) HAD NOT. HE WAS ALLEGEDLY KILLED ALMOST INSTANTANEOUSLY BY TWO DEEP STAB WOUNDS AND A SEVERE SLASH, ALL IN THE THROAT.

4. COMMENT: WHILE DETAILS OF THE MURDER ARE STILL SKETCHY, WE ARE ALREADY HEARING SUSPICIONS FROM FAMILY AND ASSOCIATES THAT JIMENEZ WAS KILLED BY GOC AGENTS, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE ~~CONFIDENTIA~~AL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01197 261719Z

OF HIS LONG-STANDING OPPOSITION TO THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT AND IN PARTICULAR BECAUSE OF HIS RECENT PUBLIC CALLS FOR THE VARIOUS SEPARATE SECTORS OF THE CHILEAN UNION MOVEMENT TO MERGE INTO A SINGLE ORGANIZATION. THIS PERCEPTION IS NOT SURPRISING, GIVEN CHILE'S RECENT PAST AND THE CONTINUED TENSIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS OPPONENTS, AND IT WILL BE SHARED BY MANY OUTSIDE CHILE AS WELL. WE WILL LOOK CAREFULLY FOR WHATEVER EVIDENCE MAY BE BROUGHT TO LIGHT, BUT FOR NOW ARE DOUBTFUL THAT THE GOC WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT MOTIVATION TO TAKE SUCH A DRAMATIC AND RISKY STEP AGAINST A PROMINENT MEMBER OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND NON-VIOLENT OPPOSITION. FURTHER, ATTACKS ON TAXI DRIVERS ARE REASONABLY COMMON IN SANTIAGO, THOUGH LESS COMMON IN THE MORNING SINCE THE DRIVERS HAVE LESS FARE MONEY THAN LATER IN THE DAY. WHATEVER THE FACTS, HOWEVER, THE PERCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT WILL HAVE A LIFE OF ITS OWN, AND FEELINGS WILL BE RUNNING HIGH BEFORE AND AFTER THE FUNERAL, EXPECTED TO BE FEBRUARY 27. A LATE RADIO REPORT STATES THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET,

CURRENTLY TOURING CHILE'S FAR SOUTH WITH SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, HAS ORDERED INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDEZ TO RETURN TO SANTIAGO AND TAKE PERSONAL CHARGE OF THE INVESTIGATION INTO JIMENEZ' DEATH.
GROVER

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2/28 02 ID0049

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02366 01 OF 02 261142Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03	PM-09
	PA-01	INRE-00	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/130 W	

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O 261123Z FEB 82
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5934
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 02366

E.O. 12065: GDS 2-26-88 (SCHIFTER, RICHARD)
TAGS: UNHRC, SHUM
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION - CHILE RESOLUTION-ITEM 5

1. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE CHILE RESOLUTION WHICH WILL BE INTRODUCED BY DENMARK, MEXICO, AND THE NETHERLANDS.
BEGIN TEXT:

THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

(1) CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOUR
- AGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS
- FOR ALL, AND DETERMINED TO REMAIN VIGILANT WITH
- REGARD TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER THEY
- OCCUR,

(2) RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 11 (XXXV) OF 6 MARCH 1979,
- 21 (XXXVI) OF 29 FEBRUARY 1980, 9 (XXXVII) OF 26
- FEBRUARY 1981 AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 36/157
- OF 16 DECEMBER 1981 AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02366 01 OF 02 261142Z

- 33/173 ON MISSING PERSONS, WHICH RESOLUTIONS BEAR
- WITNESS OF THE CONCERN WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE
- ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE,

(3) REALIZING THAT THE DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE PAST YEAR
- STILL WARRANT THE ATTENTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- IN THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

(4) DISTURBED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR
- THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO REPORT ANY IMPROVEMENT IN
- THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE BUT THAT ON THE
- CONTRARY THE SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED IN CERTAIN
- RESPECTS AND THAT NONE OF THE APPEALS BY THE
- GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
- HAVE BEEN HEEDED,

(5) CONVINCED THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN FORCE IN
- CHILE AS FROM 11TH MARCH 1981 WHICH WAS PREPARED WITH
- A LACK OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION, NOT ONLY FAILS TO
- GUARANTEE FULLY, BUT IN CERTAIN RESPECT ALLOWS
- INTERFERENCES WITH, HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREE
- DOMS,

(6) HAVING TAKEN NOTE OF THE REPORTS BY THE SPECIAL
- RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE
- CONTAINED THE DOCUMENTS A/36/594 AND E/CN.4/1484,
1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON HIS REPORTS PRE-
- PARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN
- RIGHTS RESOLUTION 9 (XXXVII) ON 26 FEBRUARY 1981;

2. REITERATES ITS SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE PERSISTENCE
- AND IN CERTAIN RESPECTS THE DETERIORATION OF THE
- SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AS INDICATED BY
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 02366 01 OF 02 261142Z

- THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AND PARTICULARLY

- A. THE DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC
- LEGAL ORDER AND ITS INSTITUTIONS BY MAINTENANCE
- AND EXPANSION OF THE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION AND
- THE PROMULGATION OF A CONSTITUTION THAT FAILS
- TO REFLECT A FREELY EXPRESSED POPULAR WILL, AND
- WHOSE PROVISIONS WAIVE, SUSPEND OR RESTRICT THE
- ENJOYMENT OR THE EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND
- FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS;

- B. THE INTENSIFICATION OF PRACTICES SUCH AS ARBI-
- TRARY DETENTION AND CONFINEMENT IN SECRET PLACES
- OFTEN ACCOMPANIED BY TORTURE AND INHUMAN OR
- DEGRADING TREATMENT WHICH, ON OCCASION, RESULT
- IN UNEXPLAINED DEATHS;

- C. THE PERSECURTION, INTIMIDATION AND IMPRISONMENT,
- AS WELL AS THE BANISHMENT AND FORCED EXILE OF

- A NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO PARTICIPATE IN TRADE
- UNION, ACADEMIC, CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN
- ACTIVITIES;

3. REITERATES ALSO ITS GREAT CONCERN AT THE FACT THAT THE
- REMEDIES OF HABEAS CORPUS OR AMPARO PROVE TO BE NOT
- EFFECTIVE OWING TO THE FACT THAT THE JUDICIARY IN
- CHILE DOES NOT FULLY EXERCISE ITS POWERS IN THIS
- RESPECT AND PERFORMS ITS FUNCTIONS WITH UTMOST RE-
- STRICTIONS AS WELL AS AT THE RECENT DISMISSAL OF
- LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE UNIFORMED
- SERVICES ACCUSED OF THE DEATH AND DISAPPEARANCE OF
- PERSONS;

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02366 02 OF 02 261145Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03	PM-09
	PA-01	INRE-00	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/130 W	

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5935
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 02366

4. REPEATS ITS URGENT APPEAL TO THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES
- TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE
- WITH THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL
- INSTRUMENTS, AND IN PARTICULAR, TO TAKE THE FOLLOW-
- ING CONCRETE STEPS THAT COULD ENABLE THE COMMISSION
- ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONSIDER TERMINATING THE MANDATE
- OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR:

- A. TO PUT AN END TO THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, UNDER
- WHICH CONTINUED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OCCUR
- AND TO RESTORE THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND
- CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES FORMERLY ENJOYED BY
- THE CHILEAN PEOPLE;

- B. TO PUT AN END TO ARBITRARY DETENTIONS, PHYSICAL
- OR PSYCHOLOGICAL INTIMIDATIONS AND PROSECUTION
- OF PERSONS WHO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO FREEDOM

- OF EXPRESSION AND OPINION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT
- TO PETITION;

- C. TO RESPECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF PERSONS DETAINED
- FOR POLITICAL REASONS AND TO SEPARATE THEM FROM
- THOSE DETAINED FOR CRIMINAL OFFENCES;

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02366 02 OF 02 261145Z

- D. TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO GUARANTEE THE
- RIGHT TO LIFE AND TO PREVENT PERSECUTION AND
- INTIMIDATION AS WELL AS TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS
- OF CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT RESULT-
- ING, INTER ALIA, IN UNEXPLAINED DEATHS AND TO
- PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH
- PRACTICES;

- E. TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF PERSONS
- WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO
- INFORM THE RELATIVES OF THOSE PERSONS OF THE
- OUTCOME OF THE INVESTIGATION AND TO PROSECUTE
- AND PUNSIH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEAR-
- ANCES;

- F. TO RESTORE FULLY TRADE UNION RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY
- THE FREEDOM TO FORM TRADE UNIONS WHICH CAN
- OPERATE FREELY WITHOUT GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL AND
- CAN EXERCISE FULLY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE;

- G. TO RE-ESTABLISH THE FULL ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE
- OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS AND
- TO GUARANTEE THE FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND
- ASSOCIATION, AND THE FREEDOM OF CHILEAN CITIZENS
- TO RESIDE IN AND FREELY TO ENTER AND LEAVE THE
- COUNTRY, AND TO END THE PRACTICE OF BANISHMENTS
- APPLIED TO NATIONALS, A PRACTICE WHICH AMOUNTS
- TO FORCED EXILE FROM THE COUNTRY;

5. REJECTS THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES BY
- NOT COOPERATING WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND BY
- NOT COMPLYING WITH CHILE'S OBLIGATIONS UNDER VARIOUS

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 02366 02 OF 02 261145Z

- INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS;

6. DECIDES TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL
- RAPPORTEUR FOR ONE YEAR AND REQUESTS HIM TO REPORT
- ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SITUATION OF HUMAN
- RIGHTS IN CHILE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS 37TH
- SESSION AND THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS
- 39TH SESSION;

7. RECOMMENDS TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL TO MAKE
- ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE FINANCIAL
- RESOURCES AND STAFF FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
- PRESENT RESOLUTION;

8. DECIDES TO CONSIDER AT ITS 39TH SESSION, AS A MATTER
- OF HIGH PRIORITY, THE QUESTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS
- SITUATION IN CHILE. SWAEBE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 052954

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PAGE 01 STATE 052954
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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 EUR-12 ARA-16 SIG-03 /037 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

UNCLAS STATE 052954

FOLLOWING SAN SALVADOR 1565 DTD 25 FEB 82 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO CARACAS GUATEMALA MANAGUA MEXICO PANAMA SAN JOSE ROME TEGUCIGALPA USCINCSO USICA, IS REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO

QUOTE:

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 1565

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

USICA FOR PGM/PPL

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: THE HOMILY FOR FEBRUARY 21

1. SUMMARY. ON FEBRUARY 21 BISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS CONDEMNED ABUSES BY THE SALVADORAN MILITARY ALONG WITH THE DESTRUCTION PERPETRATED BY THE GUERRILLAS. RIVERA ALSO REITERATED HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH THE FEBRUARY 17 STATEMENT BY THE BISHOPS CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF ELECTIONS. THE BISHOP
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PAGE 02 STATE 052954

DECRIED THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE SALVADORAN CONFLICT AND ACCUSED THE GREAT POWERS OF LOOKING AFTER THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND IGNORING THE SUFFERING OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE. RIVERA BLAMED THE COUNTRY'S CONDITION IN PART ON THE LONG HISTORY OF VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE. END SUMMARY.

2. APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR ARTURO RIVERA Y DAMAS GAVE THE FEBRUARY 21 HOMILY AT SAN SALVADOR'S METROPOLITAN CATHEDRAL.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400034A

SOME OF HIS COMMENTS FOLLOW.

3. VIOLENCE.
BISHOP RIVERA AGAIN CONDEMNED ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE "FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF MAN." HE SPOKE OUT AGAINST SEIZURES OF CITIZENS SIMPLY ON THE BASIS OF SUSPICIONS OR DENUNCIATIONS BY PEOPLE LINKED TO LOCAL MILITARY AUTHORITIES. THE CHURCH, HE SAID, IS A WITNESS TO AND A VICTIM OF THE USE OF VIOLENT ABUSE BY THE ARMED FORCES. THESE ABUSES, HE ADDED, MAY BE BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE HIGH COMMAND BUT THEY, NEVERTHELESS, DETRACT FROM THE PROFESSIONALISM OF THE ARMED FORCES. THE BISHOP ADDED A CONDEMNATION OF THE GUERRILLAS' ACTIONS, SPECIFICALLY ATTACKS USING DYNAMITE, BURNING OF BUSES AND ABUSE OF THE CITIZENRY INCLUDING THE DESTRUCTION OF PERSONAL DOCUMENTS. EACH SIDE, RIVERA CONCLUDED, GIVES ITS EXPLANATIONS; UNFORTUNATELY THE ACTIONS OF THE ONE ARE THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE OTHER. IN THAT WAY THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE CONTINUES WITH THE PUBLIC CONTINUING TO BE THE VICTIM.

4. ELECTIONS.
RIVERA REITERATED HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH THE BISHOPS CONFERENCE STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 17. HE SUMMARIZED
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PAGE 03 STATE 052954

THE BISHOPS' STATEMENT IN A SENTENCE: THE ELECTIONS MAY NOT BE THE SOLUTION BUT THEY CAN BE THE BEGINNING OF A SOLUTION. WITH ITS STATEMENTS THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE HAS IDENTIFIED A HOPE AMIDST THE CHAOS AND DARKNESS, HE SAID. RIVERA SAID THAT THAT HOPE WILL BE REALIZED IF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, HOPEFULLY THE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, WIELDS REAL POWER AND IS CAPABLE OF FINDING AND ENFORCING A JURIDICAL AND POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT. THE ASSEMBLY, SAID RIVERA, SHOULD BE A FORCE CAPABLE OF CALLING A DIALOG. THE ASSEMBLY'S ABILITY TO PROVIDE SUCH A POLITICAL SOLUTION WILL DEPEND ON THE CAPACITY OF THE PARTIES WHICH FORM IT. IT WILL ALSO DEPEND ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE MILITARY, TO WHICH OTHER POWERS IN THE COUNTRY HAVE TO DATE BEEN SUBORDINATE.

5. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT.
RIVERA CONDEMNED INTERFERE IN SALVADORAN AFFAIRS BY OUTSIDERS. INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE IN THE MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FIELDS, HE SAID, IS REMOVING FROM OUR HANDS SOLUTIONS WHICH SHOULD BE SALVADORAN. THE BISHOP SAID THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE GREAT POWERS STRUGGLING FOR WORLD HEGEMONY AND THEIR SATELITES ARE INVOLVED IN THIS CONFLICT. THEY APPEAR TO BE, HE SAID, UNINTERESTED IN THE SUFFERING OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE.

6. HEART OF THE PROBLEM.
BISHOP RIVERA IDENTIFIED A ROOT CAUSE OF THE CONFLICT.
THE PROBLEM HAS NOT BEEN, HE SAID, THE ABSENCE OF LAWS
OR CONSTITUTION BUT THE VIOLATION AND DISREGATD OF THOSE
LAWS. IF NO WAY IS FOUND TO END ONCE AND FOR ALL THIS
SYSTEMATIC VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS THE DISCONTENT OF A
GREAT PART OF THE PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE AND THE GROUND
WILL REMAIN FERTILE FOR NEW REBELLIONS. THE SOLUTION,
THEN, IS A REAFFIRMATION OF VALUES AND OF AUTHENTIC
JUSTICE.
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PAGE 04 STATE 052954

7. IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE.
DURING A SHORT QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION WITH REPORTERS
AFTER THE MASS RIVERA MADE SEVERAL NOTEWORTHY COMMENTS.
HE SAID THAT THE BISHOPS' STATEMENT'S MENTION OF THE FMLN'S
RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE INCREASE IN VIOLENCE WAS A RECOGNI-
TION OF THE FACT THAT THE LEVEL OF ACTIVITY BY THE GUERRILLAS
HAS INCREASED AND THAT IT HAS NO OTHER MOTIVATION. RIVERA
ALSO SAID THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WOULD BE IN A
POSITION TO INITIATE A DIALOGUE WITH THE GUERRILLAS.
THE CHURCH, HE SAID, IS WILLING TO ACT AS A MEDIATOR
BUT IS HAS NOT BEEN FORMALLY ASKED TO DO SO. THE
POSITION OF THE HIGH COMMAND HAS, SAID THE BISHOP, SO
FAR BEEN ONE WHICH IS NOT OPEN TO DIALOGUE. ABOUT THE
POSSIBLE REOPENING OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER
OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO RIVERA SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT IT
WAS NOT SIMPLY A PROPAGANDISTIC PLOY.
HINTONUNQUOTE HAIG.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 052981

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PAGE 01 STATE 052981
ORIGIN IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02	AF-10
	CIAE-00	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	NSCE-00	ARA-16
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	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/118 R			

DRAFTED BY IO/HR:MGDAVISON:BKM
APPROVED BY IO:PWILCOX
EUR:CTHOMAS
HA:PSARROS

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BANJUL IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY LIMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LOME IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANILA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IS/FPC/CDR MR Date: 2/12/97
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART
( ) DENY
( ) DELETE Non-Responsive Info
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
MR Cases Only:
EO Citations
TS authority to:
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

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PAGE 02 STATE 052981

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SALISBURY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SUVA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 052981

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] STATE 052981

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/27/88 (WILCOX, PHILIP)

TAGS: ;NHRC, SHUM, PL

SUBJECT:38TH UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RESOLUTION ON
- POLAND (ITEM 12)--REQUEST FOR DEMARCHES IN
- SELECTED CAPITALS BY RESOLUTION'S CO-SPONSORS

REF: (A) GENEVA 2435, (B) GENEVA 2349, (C) GENEVA 2290,
- (D) GENEVA 2107

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AS REPORTED REF (C), DENMARK, FRG, ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS HAVE TABLED THE RESOLUTION ON POLAND, TEXT CARRIED REF (D), AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. DEPT IS CURRENTLY PREPARING REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL DEMARCHES IN SELECTED CAPITALS. A NUMBER [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 052981

OF OUR POSTS IN THESE COUNTRIES HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE EUROPEAN CO-SPONSORS OF THIS RESOLUTION ALSO ENGAGE IN DEMARCHES IN CAPITALS. WE BELIEVE THIS TO BE AN EXCELLENT STRATEGY AS IT IS OUR EXPERIENCE THAT, ON ISSUES WITH SUCH STRONG POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS, VERY FEW DELEGATIONS OPERATE WITH AUTONOMY IN GENEVA. ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO MAKE SUCH DEMARCHES.

3. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED IN REF (A) SHOULD BE SHARED WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS OF ACTION ADDRESSEES. HOST GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE IMMEDIATE APPROACHES IN AS MANY COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE, BASED ON INFORMATION CONTAINED REF (A). WE ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN THOSE COUNTRIES MENTIONED IN PARAS 6 AND 9 OF REF (A).

4. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IN RECENT REPORTING CABLES, BOTH SALISBURY AND BELGRADE HAVE REQUESTED THAT SUCH DEMARCHES BE MADE BY THE EUROPEAN CO-SPONSORS IN THEIR HOST COUNTRIES. HAIG

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TELEGRAM

file 2/3/0

03/600TMMRXE

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Enders

FROM: Amembassy BUENOS AIRES [redacted]

CLASSIFICATION: [redacted]

12065
E.O. ~~11652~~:
TAGS:
SUBJECT: Travel of Assistant Secretary Enders--Overview of Argentina

DE017

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: Amembassy CARACAS PRIORITY

[redacted] BUENOS AIRES 1225

CARACAS FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ENDERS

GDS 3/3/88 (Ruser, C.W.) OR-M

OTRA, OVIP, AR

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20080044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (☒ In Full
Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
___ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

AMB
DCM
POL-2
ECON
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Chron

1. [redacted] entire text

2. Summary: The two major topics Argentine officials will wish to discuss are the situation in Central America and Bolivia, which they see as threatening Argentina's own security, and the Alemann economic program on which the Galtieri government's future so heavily depends. Galtieri and his collaborators seek close cooperation with the United States, especially in the security area and are philosophically inclined toward the West. But the GOA continues in the NAM impelled by the need for protection on human rights in international fora and by the search for support on the Malvinas/Falklands and Beagle problems. Our principal difference is in the nuclear field. Other factors in our relationship are human

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
M:CWRuser/AMB:HWShlaudeman: daj	3/3/82	202	AMB:HWShlaudeman

CLEARANCES:

by: CWR

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5/214

[redacted]
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OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

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rights, differences on Law of the Sea, occasionally conflicting interests in UN fora and various economic issues such as sugar and our graduation policy in the MDBs. Involvement in Central America carries a political price for the GOA domestically. The GOA also remains sensitive to attitudes and reactions of the Soviet Union, Argentina's principal export market and supporter on human rights issues.

3. Galtieri's vigorous style of leadership has dissipated the atmosphere of paralysis and drift that shrouded his predecessor's incumbency. He continues the policy of liberalization and/greater respect for human rights. The deep recession and the draconian economic measures, after six years of military rule, are raising social tensions, give strong encouragement to the civilian opposition, now more vocal than ever, and leave the regime isolated. The success of the economic program, expressing a conservative-liberal philosophy, remains uncertain. As of now, Galtieri appears to have the full support of his senior Army commanders and the other two branches Navy but if economic recovery does not begin later in the year, growing social tension could bring out latent differences in the armed services. Our own approach to the GOA should take into account the domestic and external constraints under which the Galtieri government operates,

OPTIONAL FORM 153A
(Formerly FS-413A)
January 1975
Dept. of State

0153-201

UNCLASSIFIED

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its domestic vulnerabilities and at least the possibility of further political changes within the next two years. End summary.

OPTIONAL FORM 153A
(Formerly FS-413A)
January 1975
Dept. of State

50153-201

4.

/Assistant Secretary Enders will be visiting Argentina during a period of uncertainty about future economic and political events--and a time of pervasive pessimism among Argentines generally about the future of their country. President Galtieri and his collaborators seek close cooperation with the United States. Especially in the area of Hemispheric security--Central America and, to some extent, Bolivia--they define Argentina's interests in terms similar to ours. His government, however, faces an exceedingly difficult situation domestically. Despite Galtieri's forceful leadership and the presence of several able ministers in the Cabinet, it remains to be seen whether his government's policies--especially its economic program, on which its fortunes so heavily depend--will be effective.

5. Our own approach must take into account the domestic and external constraints under which the Galtieri government operates, its domestic vulnerabilities and--while we foresee no early changes in Argentina's basic power structure--at least the possibility of further political changes over the next year or two.

6. Thus there are two major topics ~~in~~ which Argentine interlocutors will be interested in discussing:

-- Western security interests in the Hemisphere,

especially current developments in Central America; and

-- The Argentine economy, including the Alemann economic program, and the outlook for the US economy.

I. The Domestic Situation

7. The basic problem is the economy. In 1976, when they took power, the armed services resolved to liquidate the Peronist/corporatist heritage and create a modern, open-market system. Some basic reforms were undertaken, such as giving free play to market forces, improving the finances of public-sector enterprises and opening the economy. But the failure of two ministers of the economy--Martinez de Hoz (1976-80) and then Sigaut (1986)--to set the country on a path of stable economic growth--there has been little growth in the last six years--has produced deep dissatisfaction in the society. If the present conservative government should fail with its economic program, this would mean the end of liberal market economics in Argentina and the country would turn back toward a more dirigist course. It also would eliminate most of the political influence conservatives now exercise on the Armed Forces and, through the Armed Forces, on the government.

8. The Argentine economy is now in a deep depression. Unemployment (including workers on short hours) may be 10 percent and is rising; utilization of industrial

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capacity, on the average, is some 50-60 percent. The one sector that is doing well is agriculture which continues to produce record crops and provides some two-thirds or more of Argentina's export earnings. Argentina's GNP last year declined by 6 percent.

9. More important than the low level of business activity is the general nervousness, which last year produced massive outflows of funds, successive devaluations, high interest rates and sharp decline in the level of private investment. Its origins are the progressive overvaluation of the peso under Martinez de Hoz between 1978 and 1981 (resulting from a crawling peg system coupled with continuing large public-sector deficits) and the subsequent collapse of the peso after the first 10 percent devaluation (allegedly undertaken by Martinez de Hoz at the urging of the incoming Minister, Sigaut) in February 1981. The Viola government, which took office in March, sought to reflate the economy while also seeking to stabilize the foreign exchange market; it never succeeded in restoring the confidence lost in the February devaluation. Inflation, which had been declining, increased sharply after March 1982 under the continued effect of the devaluations and progressively larger public-sector deficits. Inflation in 1980 1981

? We've just begun to March!

OPTIONAL FORM 153A
(Formerly FS-413A)
January 1975
Dept. of State

3153-201

UNCLASSIFIED

reached 130 percent (PI) and 180 percent (WPI).

10. When the Galtieri government took office in December, its first priority in the economic area was to control inflation and restore confidence. To do so, the new Minister of the Economy, Roberto Alemann, opted for a "shock approach"--severe austerity in the public sector (including a freeze on salaries and retirement benefits) with the goal of reducing the public deficit dramatically by mid-year--and reform of the exchange market, i.e., the unification of the commercial and financial exchange rates in a single floating rate. Reactivation of the economy was not an explicit objective; rather, Alemann's working hypothesis and prediction is that once inflation has been brought under control and confidence been restored, interest rates will come down and business activity will revive. Foreign investment is expected to resume, especially in energy and minerals.

11. Alemann has had some initial successes--some export earnings are beginning to be repatriated, inflationary expectations are declining and the exchange market has been stable. But the large sums--export revenues and short-term money--held by Argentines abroad are not yet

OPTIONAL FORM 153A (Formerly FS-413A) January 1975 Dept. of State

0153-201

UNCLASSIFIED

being repatriated, the recession is deepening and the government is encountering difficulties reaching its monetary targets because of falling tax revenues. Forecasters generally agree that this will be a year without growth, with inflation declining significantly but remaining somewhere in the area of 60 percent plus. In fact, growth could well be negative.

12. Galtieri, we are told, is resolutely committed to Alemann, but the draconian measures of the Alemann program come after six years of military rule, during a period of--by Argentine standards--high unemployment. The austerity program has given strong encouragement to civilian opposition leaders, now more active than ever, is fostering new efforts for unity in the labor movement and has left the government more isolated than ever--despite Galtieri's efforts to civilianize the government, through the appointment of civilians to the national government and the provincial governorships. Alemann and other conservatives believe that there is now much broader support in the Armed Forces for reform and austerity than during the tenure of Martinez de Hoz. The lesson, they say, that broad reforms are needed to revive the Argentine economy has finally been learned. But many observers sympathetic to the conservative doctrine wonder whether

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

the program does not come too late in the current cycle of military rule. The Galtieri government itself expects growing social tension and political unrest but obviously hopes to ride out the storm until the economy begins to recover. There will be considerable soul-searching in the government about its course if the expected recovery does not develop.

13. Galtieri's vigorous ~~his~~ style of leadership has dissipated the atmosphere of paralysis and drift that shrouded his predecessor's incumbency. As of now, Galtieri appears to have the full support of his senior Army commanders as well as--as far as we can tell--that of Navy Commander Anaya--the key elements in Argentina's power structure. The three services have given the Galtieri government a surprising degree of authority. Galtieri normally should retire from his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in November of this year. He reportedly wants to find a formula that will permit him to continue in a dual capacity. This is likely to emerge as the key political question in the months ahead.

14. Galtieri continues the policy of gradual liberalization--witness the easing of remaining censorship and the government's prompt action in recent anti-Semitic incidents.

OPTIONAL FORM 153A
(Formerly FS-413A)
January 1975
Dept. of State

50153-201

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He is appointing civilians to strengthen the conservative political forces. His political strategy remains at this time that of a gradual opening of the political process, with a party reorganization law as the next step and full resumption of legal party activity afterwards. But the mood in the country could force a quicker pace. On the other hand Galtieri wishes to find a formula that will permit him to continue in the Presidency beyond 1984--although apparently this formula entails a search for the trappings of broader civilian support.

15. In the Armed Forces, growing social tensions could bring out latent differences. There have been reports that the Alemann program is not popular in parts of the military and Galtieri's desire to continue in his dual capacity beyond November could cause problems. Reportedly Navy Commander Anaya, concerned over the institutional integrity of his service, would favor an early withdrawal of the military from the government. There are others, in the Navy and Air Force, who would like to begin serious discussions with the major parties on how to bring about gradual disengagement before the country becomes more polarized politically. (Such a process would extend over a period of years.)

OPTIONAL FORM 153A
(Formerly FS-413A)
January 1975
Dept of State

3153-201

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16.

To increase pressure on the government, the five principal parties have formed a body of senior notables that issues statements and criticisms on national policy. The parties themselves are not highly regarded by the public which recall the poor record of civilian government but they are gaining new adherents and support as dissatisfaction with the military regime increases. There have been various instances where Peronist salutes and songs were used in public and these incidents are becoming more frequent. Despite their rhetoric, the two major parties--the Peronists and the Radicals--would be prepared to come to terms with the military. They are outmoded, riven by factions (especially the Peronists), hold vague nationalist doctrines and lack specific programs. They are largely opposed to the economic and administrative reforms, which the military have pursued over the last six years, and advocate a greater role for the state and more nationalist, protectionist policies. The Peronists remain dependent on labor and would probably return to more populist policies--one of the principal causes of Argentina's economic stagnation over the last generation. In their present form, there is serious doubt whether, without the military, either party could constitute an effective government. In any case, the principal obstacle to democratization remains

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the problem of the thousands of persons who disappeared during the military's war against Marxist subversion.

II. Foreign Policy Issues

17. Notwithstanding the hopes and fears of last December, the Galtieri regime has as yet produced no significant change in Argentina's foreign policy. The GOA continues in the NAM, impelled by the need for protection on human rights in international fora and by the search for support on the Malvinas/Falklands and Beagle problems. Relations with the Soviet Union remain correct on the diplomatic level and active on the commercial side. We have reported indications of a possible chill in relations with Cuba, but that seems to be the result of a Cuban rather than an Argentine decision. Elsewhere in Latin America the relationship with Mexico is poor (a result of the Abel Medina asylum case); Argentine interest in the Andean Pact has waned as that group's political activism has vanished; and Foreign Minister Costa Mendez carries on his predecessor's efforts to build a strong relationship with Brazil.

18. Good relations with the US are a high priority for the Galtieri administration, as they were for its predecessor. We still have our differences on law of the-sea

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and in the nuclear field, along with occasionally conflicting interests in UN fora (as in the case of Poland in the UNHRC) and a few minor trade problems. But Galtieri is anxious to cooperate with us on the Hemisphere's more pressing problems, particularly those in Bolivia and Central America. Involvement in the latter carries a political price for the GOA, as demonstrated by the continuing clamor over purported Argentine military presences there, actual or prospective, and the denunciations of the visit here of Salvadoran Colonel Flores Lima (ref B.A. 1128). The major political parties, without necessarily taking either side in Central America, remain attached to the country's traditional "independent" and non-interventionist policy. The GOA's association with reputedly repressive military regimes also provides a convenient opportunity to attack the nature of Argentina's own government.

19. The GOA to date has not outwardly appeared overly concerned by background noise of this kind. Costa Mendez does respond with vehement denials to questions from the press about Argentine military and/or political activities in Central America and even Army Chief of Staff Vaquero felt the need to repeat the commitment to non-interference in El Salvador's internal affairs on the occasion of decorating Flores Lima. But the latter's

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visit was given a high public profile, the Salvadorans were promised credits for military purchases here, and the Foreign Ministry went so far as to complain to us that President Reagan had failed to mention Argentina as a donor country in his CBI speech. (Foreign aid, bound to be highly unpopular with the Argentine public, is not normally publicized by the GOA.) However, behind the scenes the Foreign Ministry is increasingly uncomfortable with the high Argentine profile on Central America. Costa Mendez seems to be searching for a context more compatible with this country's traditional foreign policy in which better to present Argentina's active interest in Central America. This might take the form of a move in the OAS (ref B.A. 1184).

20. Other factors in our bilateral relations include human rights, the controversy over privatization of the economy and the pace of democratization. As we have been reporting, the GOA is gradually but steadily liberalizing its controls over the society. Pen prisoners continue to be released and the government's sharp reaction to the recent desecration of Jewish graves in Mar del Plata was most gratifying. But with the end of current human rights abuses, the issue of the past disappeared has come increasingly into sharper focus and now threatens to

OPTIONAL FORM 153A
(Formerly FS-413A)
January 1975
Dept. of State

7153-201

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dominate the future politics of this country. Internationally it feeds the GOA's fears of isolation; internally it blocks the way to democratization. There is little if anything outsiders including the USG can do to help; the military's absolute opposition to any review of the "dirty war" simply cannot at this time be reconciled with the growing civilian demand for an accounting.

21. The GOA is intent on reducing the size of the public sector, taking the government out of economic activities it should not be in, selling off various government enterprises and providing increased incentives for private exploitation of the country's natural resources. Ex-President Ilia, among others, has asserted that the government's intentions amount to a sell-out to the "multi-nationals". Some of our well-meaning but poorly-informed Argentine friends have been warning us that US interests will suffer as our corporations are seen as devouring the national patrimony. In fact, there is little discernible foreign investment interest in Argentina outside the hydrocarbons field. There the GOA does not contemplate turning over sub-soil rights to private companies, contrary to press and other reports. There will be an effort to improve incentives

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for exploration and production and to get the notoriously inefficient state oil company YPF out of drilling and producing.

22. The political parties and human rights groups attach great importance to the USG's position on democratization in Argentina. They believe it critical that the GOA perceive its future relationship with the US as being conditioned by unmistakable movement toward a return to constitutional government. Former Foreign Minister Camilion publicly and privately asserted that to be the case after each of his visits to the US. We have taken the line here that the USG will be gratified to see a return to democracy but how and when that is to be accomplished is for the Argentines to decide. The principal element in this problem is not, of course, the attitude of the USG, but rather the issue of the disappeared.

23. The Malvinas/Falklands and Beagle problems do not concern us directly, but one or both could ultimately have a considerably greater impact on the bilateral relationship than any of the issues previously discussed. In the wake of another futile round with the British in New York, the Foreign Ministry has just issued a rather threatening statement on the Malvinas/Falklands/~~(sovereignty)~~ (ref B.A. [illegible] 1197). The purpose

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may have been no more than to satisfy domestic public opinion, but we cannot be certain. Clearly, a resolution of this ancient dispute is as far off as ever and the local jingoes are speculating again about an armed Argentine landing in the islands. We have reported previously on indications that the Argentines might like to enlist our support in getting the British to cede. From here the Pope's Beagle mediation appears stalemated with little realistic possibility for a breakthrough. At some point before the end of the year the Chileans will presumably take their case to The Hague, effectively putting an end to the mediation. How the dispute will evolve from then on is difficult to predict, but it seems likely that we will find ourselves involved, like it or not.

24. As a result of Argentina's free-market philosophy, there have been few problems in our economic relationship. The GOA is concerned over the effect of the Caribbean Basin initiative on its own sugar exports, one of its largest export items to the US market. There has been a running dispute over an Argentine export tax on raw hides, with the possibility of US retaliatory action in the next few months. A Section 301 petition has been filed alleging subsidized exports of certain metal products (carbon wire rods).

The GOA is concerned over the US policy on graduation in the MDB; financing for its large hydro-electric power projects is at stake. Our biggest issue in the commercial area is, of course, the interest of Allis-Chalmers and Westinghouse in contracts for the Yacyreta hydro-electric power project on the Parana river. And, finally, there is Argentine concern over our CCC credit sales and, more importantly, the concerns both countries share over the EEC's export policy. The Argentines argue that these export policies to third-country markets and the enlargement of the EEC are the cause of their heavy dependence on the Soviet market.

SHLAUDEMAN

by: E.W.R

AH037

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CHIEF OF STAFF

Congress of the United States

Committee on Foreign Affairs

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

March 3, 1982

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

General Leopoldo Galtieri
President
Buenos Aires, Argentina
South America

Dear Mr. President:

It is my earnest hope that Argentina has entered a new era where respect for human rights will characterize your government's activities. Any improvements in this area will be supported and welcomed by the United States Congress.

I believe that the healing process could be enormously enhanced if the government would account for the thousands of Argentine citizens who have disappeared over the last six years. The following cases have been brought to my attention. I would like to request a report on the circumstances of these disappearances, the present whereabouts, and the well-being of these individuals.

Jose Francisco Schiller (#6,654,426) was kidnapped on June 14, 1976. His companion was informed that he was going to be sent to another country. Jose Antonio Claudio Lepore, (# 12,926,376) was returning home from work and disappeared. Mauricio Fabian Weinstein (O.A.S. case number 3807) was taken from his home in Buenos Aires on April 18, 1978 and has been disappeared ever since. There is some indication that he may be in Jail #9 in La Plata. Daniel Agustin Baquero was kidnapped on April 8, 1977. His case is registered before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights as case number 2595. Daniel Eduardo Bendersky disappeared on September 16, 1978. He was a nuclear physicist at the National Commission of Atomic Energy. Carlos Enrique Hodl was kidnapped from his home in Buenos Aires on February 2, 1977. Hugo Jose Agosti disappeared from Buenos Aires on November 7th, 1976. His I.D. number is 10,969,078. Delfor Santos Soto was taken from his home on August 21, 1976 by the military police. His identification number is 4,848,537. Jorge Alberto Burgart (#7,627,215) was kidnapped from his home on September 30, 1976 by individuals identifying themselves as the Federal Police. Alberto Senar (# 5,994,641) disappeared on September 15, 1976 when his home was broken into by heavily armed individuals. Pablo Armando Lepiscopo (# 7,524,175) was kidnapped on August 5, 1979 in Buenos Aires. Juan Carlos, Jorge Arturo and Daniel Alberto Daroqui (# 4,976,813, 10,077,056, and 11,163,815) disappeared on September 12, 1977. Jorge Luis Badillo, a scientist from the University of Buenos Aires (# 6,369,602) was kidnapped on July 8, 1977. Guillermo Carlos Boitano (#6,423,950) was kidnapped from

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Buenos Aires on April 26, 1977. Miguel Sergio Arcuschin and Noemi Josefina Jansenson de Arcuschin were kidnapped from Buenos Aires on September 13, 1976. Their document numbers are 12,046,733 and 8,011,651. Jorge Luis Molina (#10,558,334) disappeared on May 17, 1977. Claudio Noberto Braverman (#7,651,196) was kidnapped on October 30, 1976 from Buenos Aires. Enrique Lorenzo Espulgas Ferradini (#7,700,008) was kidnapped on October 29, 1976. Oscar Miranda was kidnapped from Buenos Aires on February 15, 1977. Viviana Ercilia Micucci and Daniel Bernardo Micucci have been missing since November 11, 1976. Their document numbers are 6,582,294 and 7,184,096. Eduardo Pablo Emilio Michaud disappeared from Buenos Aires on October 27, 1976. His identification number is 6,714,089. Francisco Bartucci disappeared from Buenos Aires on July 29, 1976. Federico Eduardo Alvarez Rojas (#6,015,717) has been missing since October 1, 1976.

Any information that your government can provide on any one of these cases would be greatly appreciated. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Respectfully,

Don Bonker, Chairman
Subcommittee on Human Rights
and International Organizations

DB/hbs

cc: ✓Honorable Alexander Haig
His Excellency Esteban Takacs
Honorable Harry Shlaudeman

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E2075

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001788

ADP169 [redacted]

RELEASED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01788 032157Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00
NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-05 HA-06 PM-09 NCT-02 INRE-00
SP-02 /060 W
----------222562 032159Z /61

O 032130Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE 8259
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1788

E.O. 12065: NODS 3/2/88 OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (C) SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF SANDINISTA GUERRILLA

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FONMIN DIRECTOR FOR EXTERNAL POLICY TOLD DCM MARCH 2 THAT THE ARMED FORCES HAD RECENTLY CAPTURED A NICARAGUAN OPERATING WITH THE SALVADORAN INSURGENTS. HE SAID THE NICARAGUAN HAD GIVEN AN EXTENSIVE DECLARATION IDENTIFYING HIMSELF AS HAVING BEEN SENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA TO PARTICIPATE WITH THE FMLN. THE NICARAGUAN'S CONTACT IN SALVADOR WAS A MEMBER OF THE MEXICAN EMBASSY HERE. WHEN THE NATIONAL POLICE TOOK THE NICARAGUAN TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY TO IDENTIFY HIS CONTACT, THE MEXICANS OPENED THE DOOR, GRABBED THE NICARAGUAN, SLAMMED THE DOOR AND LEFT THE SALVADORAN POLICE STANDING OUTSIDE. THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT IS NOW ATTEMPTING TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE INCIDENT.

3. THE MEXICANS HAVE GRANTED ASYLUM TO THE NICARAGUAN AS WELL AS TWO SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01788 032157Z

SERIOUSLY WOUNDED IN RECENT FIGHTING. THE GOES WOULD LIKE TO GET THEIR NICARAGUAN BACK SO THAT THEY COULD PRESENT HIM AND HIS CONFESSION TO THE PUBLIC.

4. DAO WILL ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN FURTHER DETAILS.
HINTON

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

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(2076)

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RELEASED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001830

ADP370

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01830 042226Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 NSCE-00 NSAE-00
SSO-00 SY-05 HA-06 PM-09 MCT-02 SVC-00 INRE-00
SYE-00 SP-02 /060 W
----------267556 042251Z /73-62

O 042141Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8286
DIA WASHDC/JSI-7/DB-3E/DC-4A/OS-1/JSI-4B
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1830

E. O.. (#) OR-A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SBUEJCT: (C) SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF SANDINISTA GUERRILLA

REF: SAN SALVADOR 1788

1[redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE FOLLOWING IS AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICE NOTE SENT TO THE SALVADORAN FOREIGN MINISTRY REGARDING THE CASE OF THE CAPTURED SANDINISTA GUERRILLA:

BEGIN QUOTE:

I. THE FACTS. THE INDIVIDUAL, OF NICARAGUAN NATIONALITY, LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, WAS UNDER SALVADORAN AUTHORITIES' POWER AT THE ORDER OF THE NATIONAL POLICE GENERAL DIRECTORY DUE TO HIS ILLEGAL ENTRY INTO THE COUNTRY TO PARTICIPATE IN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR. THE SUSPECT HAD CONFESSED THAT HE WAS A MILITANT OF THE FSLN OF NICARAGUA, UNDER WHOSE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01830 042226Z

INSTRUCTIONS HE HAD TRAVELLED TO MEXICO WHERE HE RECEIVED TRAINING AND PREPARATION FOR GUERRILLA WAR, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CUBAN AND NICARAGUAN ADVISORS WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE INSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (PRI). AT THE END OF HIS TRAINING, HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO COME TO OUR COUNTRY WITH THE PURPOSE OF JOINING THE ARMED FIGHT BEING WAGED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR BY THE DIFFERENT OPPOSITION ARMED MOVEMENTS GROUPED UNDER THE FDR-FMLN. ONCE IN OUR COUNTRY, HE WAS INSTRUCTED

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9940034A

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001830

WHO THE POLICE BELIEVE IS THE MEXICAN CONTACT "JORGE"--IS AN IDENTICAL LIKENESS (ACCORDING TO THE POLICE) OF THE MEXICAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, MR. CARLOS EDUARDO AMEZQUITA MARTINEZ.

4. THE EMBASSY IS IN POSSESSION OF COPIES OF ALL POLICE DOCUMENTS REGARDING THIS CASE. WE ARE PRESENTLY TRANSLATING THE CONFESSION MADE BY THE CAPTURED SANDINISTA AND WILL FORWARD THE TRANSLATION BY CABLE.

5. AS ADDITIONAL DETAILS BECOME AVAILABLE, DEPT WILL BE [redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 01830 042226Z

ADVISED.
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NOTE BY OC/T: (#) SAN SALVADOR 1830. OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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TO CONTACT AN INDIVIDUAL KNOWN AS "JORGE", WHO WORKED AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY FROM WHOM HE WOULD RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS AND ASSISTANCE IN JOINING THE SUBVERSIVE GROUPS. ON MARCH 1, AT APPROXIMATELY 0900, THE SUBJECT, GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, ACCOMPANIED BY NATIONAL POLICE AGENTS, WAS IN FRONT OF THE MEXICAN EMBASSY, LOCATED AT 3832 PASEO GENERAL ESCALON IN THIS CITY, IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY THE ABOVE MENTIONED "JORGE". WHEN THE EMBASSY GATE WAS OPENED FOR A VEHICLE TO COME OUT, THE MENTIONED GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, ASKED ONE OF THE PERSONS INSIDE, "WHO IS JORGE?" AND IMMEDIATELY ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL, IN A VIOLENT MANNER, GRABBED HIS (GUTIERREZ) BY THE ARM AND PULLED HIM INTO THE EMBASSY. WHEN THE NATIONAL AGENTS TRIED TO TAKE HIM AWAY, THE SAID INDIVIDUAL INFORMED THEM THAT THEY WERE NOT ABLE TO ENTER THE EMBASSY PREMISES AS IT IS CONSIDERED MEXICAN TERRITORY. AT THAT SAME MOMENT, TWO OTHER INDIVIDUALS ARRIVED AND TOOK HIM (GUTIERREZ) INSIDE; IT IS PRESUMED THAT THE INDIVIDUAL WHO GRABBED GUTIERREZ'S ARM IS THE SAME "JORGE", BECUASE ALTHOUGH THE AGENTS IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CARNETS, HE DID NOT RELEASE THE SUBJECT.

ON THE FIRST OF THIS MONTH, MR. CARLOS EDUARDO AMEZQUITA MARTINEZ, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF MEXICO IN EL SALVADOR, OFFICIALLY PRESENTED TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

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A REQUEST FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR THE ABOVE MENTIONED GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA AS WELL AS FOR TWO OTHER SALVADORANS, JOSE ANICETO NOVOA AND JAIME ANTONIO GOMEZ PALACIOS ALONG WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE SAFE CONDUCT PASSES.

II. THE PROOF. THE PROOF WHICH (DEMONSTRATES) THE PARTICIPATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA IN THE FRENTE SANDINISTA DE LIBERACION NACIONAL, HIS TRAINING IN GUERRILLA WAR IN MEXICO AND HIS COMING TO EL SALVADOR TO JOIN THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS, AND THAT HIS CONTACT "JORGE" WORKED AT THE MEXICAN EMBASSY, IS BASED ON HIS EXTRAJUDICIAL CONFESSION TO THE NATIONAL POLICE. THE DECLARATION MADE BY THE ACCUSED AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS IS SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT AND CONTRADICTS THE ONE FORMULATED BY HIM AT THE EMBASSY OF MEXICO. ACCORDING TO THE LATTER, THE INDIVIDUAL GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA WAS BEING FOLLOWED BY THE AUTHORITIES AND ACCORDINGLY ENTERED THE MEXICAN EMBASSY HURRIEDLY TO SEEK REFUGE. HE HAS ALSO AFFIRMED BEFORE MEXICAN OFFICIALS THAT HE WAS FORCED BY THE NATIONAL POLICE TO MAKE STATEMENTS THAT DEMOSTRATE HIS INVOLVEMENT WITH THE GUERRILLAS AND HAS STATED THAT HE IS A STUDENT IN MONTERREY. END QUOTE.

3. THE COMPOSITE PICTURE WHICH THE POLICE PUT TOGETHER OF THE PERSON WHO GRABBED GUTIERREZ BY THE ARM AT THE EMBASSY -- AND

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3-5-82

Case Number: s199900006 Chile Project (#S199900030)

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EXCISE

U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full X
Exemption(s) B6

P

B-6

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01391 051949Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	DODE-00
	H-01	NSC-01	NSAE-00	COME-00	SY-05	HA-06	L-03
	LAB-04	PM-09	PA-01	MCT-02	STR-13	SIL-01	ICAE-00
	SYE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/094 W			

----------324437 051953Z /41

P R 051909Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2689
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 1391

USEEC FOR LABATT

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/5/88 (CRAVEN, R.L.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON JIMENEZ MURDER

REF: SANTIAGO 1221

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. NO VISIBLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN RESOLVING THE JIMENEZ MURDER SINCE REFTEL. LATE ON MARCH 1 SERGIO VALENZUELA WAS DESIGNATED BY THE SANTIAGO COURT OF APPEALS AS THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE JUDGE FOR THE CASE.

B-6

3. LAWYERS FOR THE FAMILY AND FOR JIMENEZ' UNION ORGANIZATION HAVE ANNOUNCED PLANS TO ACCEPT THE OFFERS OF THE CHILEAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION AND OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO CONDUCT A SECOND AUTOPSY WITH THE

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PARTICIPATION OF FOREIGN EXPERT OBSERVERS. THE SECOND AUTOPSY WOULD NOT ACTUALLY BE REQUESTED UNTIL THE FAMILY OBTAINS THE FIRST AUTOPSY REPORT AND DETERMINED WHETHER IT IS ACCEPTABLE.

4. THE CASE CONTINUES TO RECEIVE PROMINENT PRESS PLAY. PRESIDENT PINOCHET WAS Q EARLIER IN THE WEEK BY ALL THE PRESS TO THE EFFECT THAT JIMENEZ WAS ASSASSINATED BY COMMUNISTS. HE CLARIFIED HIS STATEMENT ON MARCH 4, CLAIMING THAT HE HAD BEEN MISQUOTED OR MISUNDERSTOOD AND THAT WHAT HE REALLY SAID WAS THAT THE MURDER COULD BENEFIT ONLY THE COMMUNISTS AND OTHER OPPONENTS OF THE GOC. SECRETARY GENERL OF GOVERNMENT, GEN. JULIO BRAVO, SAID THAT THE MURDER WAS BEING USED FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES BY OPPONENTS OF THE GOC AND WARNED THEM OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF DOING SO. THE HEAD OF THE CHILEAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY, ROBERTO THIEME, MADE THE INTERESTING STATEMENT THAT HE HAD NO DOUBT THAT THE MURDER WAS THE ACTION OF THE EQUIVALENT OF A "DEATH SQUAD." FORMER JUNTA MEMBER, GEN. GUSTAVO LEIGH TOLD THE MEDIA THAT IT WAS "A POLITICAL CRIME."

5. THE LETTER FROM AFL-CIO PRESIDENT KIRKLAND TO PRESIDENT REAGAN WAS ALSO REPORTED, ALTHOUGH NOT PROMINENTLY, AND IN A SANITIZED VERSION, I.E., THE LAST PARAGRAPH REQUESTING THE ADMINISTRATION TO HALT THE CERTIFICATION PROCESS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CHILE WAS NOT PRINTED.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 01391 051949Z

HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL SOURCES WERE PRIVATELY CRITICAL OF KIRKLAND'S LETTER, SAYING THAT "IT WENT TOO FAR" IN ASKING FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST THE GOC AND IMPLYING THAT THE GOC MIGHT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED BEFORE EVIDENCE IS AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT SUCH A CONCLUSION. GROVER

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001850

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 01850 051856Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
	DODE-00	H-01	NSC-01	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06	L-03
	PM-09	PA-02	MCT-02	SAL-01	ACDA-12	ICAE-00	SP-02
	SPRS-02	/101 W					

----------325586 052031Z /53

R 051545Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8298
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 1850

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: FMLN THREATS AGAINST VOTERS IN SALVADORAN ELECTIONS

1. SUMMARY: CONTRARY TO UNGO'S STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES TO THE EFFECT THAT THE GUERRILLAS WILL NOT THREATEN SALVADORAN VOTERS, THE FMLN RECENTLY BROADCAST STATEMENTS SAYING PRECISELY THAT OVER REBEL RADIO. THERE IS CLEARLY A DIVERGENCE BETWEEN WHAT THE FDR IS SAYING IN ITS PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AND WHAT THE FMLN IS

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 01850 051856Z

SAYING IN ITS MILITARY CAMPAIGN. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY NOTES THAT IN RECENT DAYS, FDR PRESIDENT GUILLERMO UNGO HAS GIVEN SEVERAL INTERVIEWS TO THE US TELEVISION AND NEWSPAPER PRESS. IN AT LEAST ONE INSTANCE, UNGO REPORTEDLY STATED THAT THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS WOULD NOT THREATEN OR ATTACK VOTERS IN ORDER TO PREVENT THEM FROM VOTING IN THE ELECTIONS. THIS STATEMENT IS CONTRADICTED BY A TRANSMISSION

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9940034A

ON 3/1/82 BY REBEL RADIO FARABUNDO MARTI. THE BROADCAST WAS AN INTERVIEW WITH "COMMANDER SALVADOR GUERRA, CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE FMLN NORTHERN FRONT." THE PERTINENT PORTIONS OF THE INTERVIEW ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW.

3. THE INTERVIEWER (UNIDENTIFIED) ASKS COMMANDER GUERRA HOW "OUR PEOPLE" ARE TO PROMOTE A BOYCOTT AGAINST THE ELECTIONS IN THE CITY AND THE COUNTRYSIDE. IN HIS RESPONSE, THE FMLN COMMANDER MAKES THE FOLLOWING POINTS:
--THE PEOPLE ARE TO BUILD BARRICADES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE TO PREVENT FREE MOVEMENT.
--THE PEOPLE "MUST" REMAIN AT HOME.
--THE PEOPLE ARE NOT TO TRAVEL ON ELECTION DAY. THE GUERRILLA LEADER WARNS THAT HIS FORCES WILL ATTACK ALL ARMY AND OFFICIAL VEHICLES AND WILL MINE THE ROADS.
--THE PEOPLE ARE WARNED NOT TO TOUCH BARRICADES, BECAUSE THEY WILL BE MINED.
--THOSE PEOPLE WHO LIVE NEAR MILITARY GARRISONS ARE WARNED TO MOVE SO AS NOT TO BE INJURED WHEN THE GUERRILLAS ATTACK THE GARRISONS.

4. COMMENT: THERE ARE OBVIOUS DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE FDR LEADER'S STATEMENT THAT THE GUERRILLAS WILL NOT
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 01850 051856Z

THREATEN THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE WHO WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS AND THE FMLN LEADER'S WARNINGS THAT THE PEOPLE ARE NOT TO TRAVEL, NOT TO CROSS BARRICADES, NOT TO LEAVE HOME, AND NOT TO REMAIN NEAR MILITARY GARRISONS ON ELECTION DAY. TWO LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS MAY BE DRAWN FROM THESE DISCREPANCIES:
(1) GUILLERMO UNGO AND THE FDR DO NOT SPEAK FOR THE GUERRILLAS AND THE FMLN.
(2) GUILLERMO UNGO AND THE FDR ARE INTENTIONALLY MISSTATING THE POLICY OF THE FMLN AS PART OF AN ORGANIZED PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN.
EITHER CONCLUSION SUGGESTS THAT THE STATEMENTS OF THE FDR SHOULD BE ANALIZED WITH SOME SKEPTICISM BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND THOSE GOVERNMENTS THAT DEAL WITH THE FDR.

5. ONE ADDITIONAL POINT SEEMS TO BE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED BY THE FMLN RADIO INTERVIEW OF 3/1/82 -- THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IS USING THREAT AND INTIMIDATION TO PREVENT SALVADORANS FROM VOTING IN THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS ON MARCH 28. WHETHER THE GUERRILLAS WILL CARRY OUT THOSE THREATS ON ELECTION DAY REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THERE ARE MANY INDICATIONS WHICH SUGGEST THAT THEY WILL.

6. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO TRANSMIT THIS MESSAGE TO OTHER POSTS WHOSE GOVERNMENTS ARE STILL CONSIDERING WHETHER

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001850

TO SEND ELECTION OBSERVERS.
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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001886

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 01886 01 OF 04 060145Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 SSO-00 INRE-00 /036 W
----------335164 060157Z /62

O 060015Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8318
DIA WASHDC/JSI-7/DB-3E/DC-4A/OS-1/JSI-4B
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 4 SAN SALVADOR 1886

E. O. 12065: GDS 3/5/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (C) SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF SANDINISTA GUERRILLA

REF: (A) SAN SALVADOR 1788
(B) SAN SALVADOR 1830

1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE FOLLOWING IS THE STATEMENT GIVEN BY THE SANDINISTA GUERRILLA TO THE NATIONAL POLICE. THE STATEMENT TAKEN IN LONGHAND BY NATIONAL POLICE DETECTIVES IS UNSIGNED.
THE NATIONAL POLICE HAVE ASKED THAT WE DO NOT RELEASE THIS INFORMATION UNTIL THEY GIVE US PERMISSION TO DO SO. SUMMARY OF CURRENT CASE TO FOLLOW SEPTEL.

QUOTE: MI NOMBRE REAL ES LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOSA, DE NACIONALIDAD NICARAGUENSE, ORIGINARIO DE MANAGUA CD EN EL DEPARTMENTO DE MANAGUA.
PERTENECI A LA ORGANIZACION O SEA QUE ME INICIE EN LA ORGXFIZACION ESTUDIANTIL "A.E.S." ASOCIACION DE ESTUDIANTES DE SECUNDARIA, NUESTRA MISION ERA DE REPARTIR LOS COMUNICADOS QUE MANDABA EL "F.S.L.N.", LA DE ORGANIZAR A MAS ESTUDIANTES PARA APOYAR CON LAS TOMAS DE ESCUELAS E IGLESIAS LA LUCHA QUE ESTABA LLEVANDO EL FRENTE.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01886 01 OF 04 060145Z

TODO ESTO SUCEDIO EN LOS MESES DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1978.
ESTANDO EN ESTA ORGANIZACION PARTICIPE EN DIVERSAS ACTIVIDADES DE AGITAMIENTO, COMO LANZAMIENTO DE BOMBAS, QUEMAS DE LLANTAS EN LA CIUDAD.
LUEGO QUE CAMO LA REVOLUCION, SEGUI ESTUDIANDO, LUEGO QUE VINO LA ALFABETIZACION EL 24 DE MARZO AL 13 DE AGOSTO ME AFILIARON A LA JUVENTUD SANDINISTA YA QUE SI NO LO HACIA NO PODIA TITULARME, PARA ESTA CAMPANA PASE A FORMAR PARTE DE UNA CELULA,(/5 BRIGADISTAS, POR MI DISCIPLINA ME DIERON EL CARGO DE JEFE DE CELULA.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001886

ESTANDO EN LA JUVENTUD PARTICIPE EN UN CURSO DE ADIESTRANIENTO
ANTES DE LA ALFABETIZACION YA QUE POR LOS HOSTIGAMIETOS DE LOS
CONTRAREVOLUCIONARIOS, TENIAMOS QUE SABER EL MANEJO DE LAS ARMAS.
EN ESTE PRIMER CURSO DE ADIESTRAMIENTO APRENDI EL MANEJO DEL GALIL.
F.A.M., M-16, AR-15, SUBAMETRALLADORA UZI, GARAND FUSIL. ESTE LO
LLEVAMOS A CABO EN DICIEMBRE EN EL DEPARTAMENTO DE CARAZO.
EL OTRO CURSO AL QUE ME SOMETI FUE A UN CURSO DE ADIESTRAMIENTO
TACTICO, QUE INCLUIA ARRASTRE, SALTO DE OBSTACULOS, Y
FORNACIONES DE PATIO, Y L
 PREPARCION DE ARTEFACTOS EXPLOSIVOS.
ESTE CURSO LO IMPARTO UN INDIVIDUO DE SEUDONINO "OTATTO" QUIEN
HABIA LUCHASVI
N EL FRENTE SUR Y ESTABA A CARGO DE UNA CELULA
COMO INSTRUCTOR.
LUEGO WILMER RAMIREZ, RESPONSABLE DE LA JUVENTUD SANDINISTA
EN NICARAGUA ME ORDENO QUE TENIA QUE HIR A MEXICO A ESPECIALI-
ZARME EN TACTICA DE GUERRILLAS Y EXPLOSIVOS, QUE YA ESTANDO
EN MEXICO TENIA QUE HACER CONTACTO CON WILLIAM EN SALTILLO
COAHUILA MEXICO, ESTE VIAJE LO HICE VIA AEREA. "LANICA" ESTE
CURSO DE ANTERIOR ME DIJERON QUE ME IBA A PREPARAR PARA LUEGO VENIR
A LUCHAR AIVEL SALVADOR.
JUNTAMENTE CONMIGO VINIERON A MEXICO, LUIS ROMAN, DE
JINOTEPE, JAIME PEREZ, OSCAR ESTATEGEN, DURARDO LAU, EDUARDO
ZUNIGA, ARNOLDO CONTRERAS, WILLISM SIU, MARIO BOANERGE, EDUARDO
[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 01886 01 OF 04 060145Z

QUINTEROS, JUAN ROMERO. PARA ESTE VIAJE TENIAMOS UN PRESUPUESTO
DE $200.00 DOLARES. PARA EL VIAJE DE NICARAGUA A MEXICO NOS DIERON
$700.00 DOLARES.
LOS ESTUDIOS ESTAN FINANCIADOS POR LA JUVENTUD SANDINISTA O SEA
QUE ESTA ES LA QUE NOS PAGA LOS ESTUDIOS EN MEXICO.
YA ESTANDO EN MEXICO HICE CONTACTO CON "WILLIAM" EN EL INSTITUTO
DE SALTILLO EN COHAUILA, MEXICO PERO SOLO YO ME QUEDE EN ESTE
LUGAR LOS OTROS QUE FUERON PARA DIFERENTES ESTADOS DE MEXICO YA
QUE ESTA ERA UNA ORDEN DIRECTA DE NICARAGUA.
ESTE INDIVIDUO DE SEUDONIMO DE
VZWILLIAM" TENIA EL GRADO DE
COMANDANTE DE ESCUADRA EN EL FRENTE SUR CUANDO LA REVOLUCION Y
A LA VEZ ERA EL ENCARGADO DE LOS QUE VENIAN A ESE LUGAR EN MEXICO.MG
EN
 ESTE INSTITUTO DE SALTILLO EN COHAUILA MEXICO, LLEGUE A
FORMAR PARTE DIRECTAMENTE DE UNA ESCUELA DE ENTRENAMIENTO PARA
LA LIBERACION LA CUAL ESTABA FORMADA POR 30 INDIVIDUOS QUE SE
PREPARABAN PARA LA LUCHA ARMADA.
EN ESTE LUGAR RECIBI EL ENTRENAMIENTO DE ARME Y DESARME DE
DIFERENTES ARMAS, OKCTICAS DE GUERRILLA QUE INCLUIAN, POSICIONES,
DE TIRO, CAMUFLAGE, MOVIMIENTOS, COMO PREPARAR BUZONES,
ESTO CONSISTE EH HACER AGUJEROS PARA GUARDAR ARMAS Y MEDICIANAS
PARA QUE NO SE DETERIORE, TAMBIEN LO QUE SE RELACIONA CON APOYO
LOGISTICO, TACTICAS DE COMBATE, Y EL USO DE EXPLOSIVOS COMO NITRO-
GLICERINA, ALGODON EN POLVORA Y OTROS.
LOS INSTRUCTORES QUE TENIAMOS EN ESTA ESCUELA ERAN "WILLIAM" DE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 825AN SA001886

NACIONALIDAD NICARAGUENSE, "SAMBA" DE NACIONALIDAD CUBANA Y "ROSCO" DE NACIONALIDAD NICARAGUENSE. ESTE CURSO LO COMENCE EL 20 DE FEBRERO 81 Y LO TERMINAMOS EN SEPTIEMBRE/81. TODA ESTA PREPARACION LA RECIBI EN DICHO INSTITUTO VARIANDO LA HORA POR MOTIVO DE EL HORARIO DE LASE QUE ESTE LLEVABA YA QUE NO LO PODW
#-:34 - 643 3,:8- $3
)9 $3.- -)7.,9 .
EN LO QUE SE REFIERE A POLITICA Z5- ,9)- $-?-, 3, +94.- $3
:9,:83,56"-:89, 6- ,9 HACIAN VER Y NOS RECALCABAN PARA QUE SE ESTABA LLEVANDO A CABO TODOS NUESTROS ESFUERZOS.

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 01886 01 OF 04 060145Z

EL SEUDONIMO POR EL QUE ERA RECONOCIDO EN ESTE LUGAR ERA EL DE "LUIS" ESTE YO LO ESCOGI EN MEMORIA DE UN COMPANERO QUE TUBE EN JINOTEPE Y QUE MURIO CUANDO HACIAMOS HOSTIGAMIENTOS PARA LA REVOLUCION EN NICARAGUA.
LUEGO QUE TERMINAMOS EL ADIESTRAMIENTO ME DIJERON QUE ME

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001886

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 01886 02 OF 04 060224Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 SSO-00 INRE-00 /036 W
----------335656 060226Z /60

O 060015Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8319
DIA WASHDC/JSI-7/DB-3E/DC-4A/DS-1/JSI-4B
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 4 SAN SALVADOR 1886

QUEDARA PENDIENTE YA QUE LUEGO ME IBAN A DAR NUEVAS ORDENES
PERO QUE SIENPRE SIGUIERA REPASANDO TODO LO QUE ME HABIAN DADO
ANOTADO.
EN ENERO DE ESTE ANO, WILLIAM, ME DIJO QUE TENIA QUE VENIR A
EL SALVADOR CON LA MISION DE PREPARACION O COMO UN ASESOR DE LA
GUERRILLA DE ESTE PAIS, DEBIDO A QUE ESTABAN METIENDO MUCHA GENTE
INEXPERTA A LA GUERRILLA, Y QUE YO ME IBA A ENCARGAR DE PREPARAR
A ESTA GENTE Y DE ENSENARLE TODOS LOS CONOCIMIENTOS QUE YO
HABIA APRENDIDO, QUE COMPRENDIA, ARME Y DESARME, TACTICA DE GUERRILLA
.
APOYO LOGISTICO, EN ENSENAR QUE LUGARES ERAN PROPICIOS PARA QUE
NOS PUEDAN LANZAR PROVISIONES, ARMAS, MUNICIONES, CONOCER LA
FUERZA DE VIENTO DEL TERRENO Y HACER LUGARES PARA POSIBLES ATERRI-
ZAJES DE AVIONES.
EN ESTE VIAJE A EL SALVADOR VENIAN 2 INDIVIDUOS MAS DE SEUDONIMO
JOSE JUAN Y PEDRO PERO NO ENTRARIAMOS JUNTOS SI NO QUE CON 2 DIAS
DE DIFERENCIA. ESTOS YA TENIAN SU ESPECIALIDAD Y SU GRADO YA QUE
ELLOS TENIAN GRADOS DE COMANDANTES EN LA MATERIA DE
CONCIENTIZACION POLITICA Y ARMAS PESADAS YA QUE ESTOS HABIAN
ESTADO ADIESTRANDOSE EN MONTERREY, MEXICO.
SUPE ESTANDO EN MEXICO, QUE A PARTIR DEL 10 DE MARZO SE IBA A
LLEVAR A CABO UNA NUEVA OFENSIVA EN EL SALVADOR, QUE BIEN ESTA
PODIA SER UNA OFENSIVA FINAL O DE DESGASTE A LA FUERZA ARMADA DE
DICHO PAIS.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01886 02 OF 04 060224Z

PARTI PARA EL SALVADOR EL MARTES 16 DE FEBRERO DEL CORRIENTE
JUTAMENTE CON 10 ORGANIZADOS MAS, PERO 7 QUEDARIAN PREPARANDO
LA GUERRILLA DE GUATEMALA Y NOSOTROS LOS SOBRANTES TENIAMOS QUE
ENTRAR AL SALVADOR. LOS OTROS TENIAN PASAPORTE MEXICANO, CUANDO
INICIE EL VIAJE "WILLIAM" ME DIO 600.00 PESOS MEXICANOS PARA EL
VIAJE, QUE YA ZUTRANDO EN ESTE PAIS, ME IBA A REUNIR CON UN
INDIVIDUO DE SEUDONIMO "DAVID" QUE ME IBA A ESPERA EN EL CURCE
DEL DESVIO DE APANECA, QUE ALLI ME IBAN A ESPERAR DESDE LAS 11:00
DE LA MARANA HASTA LAS 6:00 DE LA TARDE, QUE LA SENA TENIA QUE SER

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LA MOCHILA VERDE QUE YO CARGABA, QUE AL VERME ESTE EL ME IBA A PREGUNTAR SI YO ERA "LUIS" YO TENIA QUE DECIR QUE SI EL ERA DAVID. LUEGO ESTE ME IBA A LLEVAR PARA EL LUGAR DE MI DESTINO QUE ERA EL VOLCAN DE SAN VICENTE. TAMBIEN ESTE ME DIO UN CASETTE QUE CONTENIA UNA MISA CAMPESIAN Y TAMBIEN UN PAPEL DONDE VENIA UN MENSAJE EN CLAVE EL CUAL TENIA QUE ENTREGAR A ESTE INDIVIDUO LLAMADO DAVID. EL FIELDO QUE TENIA ADJUDICADO PARA COBRAR EN EL SLAVADOR ERA DE $300.00 DOLARES MENSUALES, QUE AQUI ME LO IBAN A DAR PERO NO ME DIJERON SU NOMBRE.
EN CASO DE QUE EL DIA DOMINGO NO ESTUVIERA "DAVID" EN EL LUGAR INDICADO O YO ME RETRASARE POR ALGUN MOTIVO, HARIAMOS EL CONTACTO EL DIA LUNES EN HORAS DE LA MARANA USANDO LAS MISMAS INDICACIONES PARA EL CONTACTO. EN CASO DE QUE YO NO PODRIA ENCONTRAR A DAVID PARA HACER EL CONTACTO ME DEVOLVERIA PARA MEXICO. ESTA ERA INICIATIVA MIA PERO LA ORDEN ERA SEGUIR HASTA SER LOCALIZADO POR DAVID O OTRA PERSONAL POR LA MOCHILA VERDE QUE TRAIA QUE ERA BIEN RECONOCIBLE.
EN NOVIEMBRE DEL 81 WILLIAM ME DIJO QUE YO TENIA QUE VENIR AL SALVADOR A COMBATIR CON LA GUERRILLA Y QUE MI MADRE ESTABA PRESA EN NICARAGUA Y PARA LA LIBERACION DE MI MADRE YO TENIA QUE ACCEDER CON LO QUE SE ME PEDIA.
YO CONSTATE QUE MI MADRE ESTABA PRESA EN NICARAGUA EN EL MES DE NOVIEMBRE DEL 81 CUANDO HICE UNA LLAMADA A DONDE UNA VECINA DE NOMBRE YOLANDA Y ME DIJO QUE ERA VERIDICO QUE MI MADRE ESTABA

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DETENIDA, HASTA LA FECHA IGNORO SI ESTA DETENIDA O NO.
EL OBJETIVO DE VENIR A EL SALVADOR NO ES VOLUNTARIO SI NO QUE UN COMPROMISO QUE TENIA CON MI JEFE PORQUE EL ME DIJO QUE EL TIEMPO QUE YO IBA A PASAR EN EL SALVADOR ERA POCO Y DESPUES DE ESTO NADIE MAS ME IBA A MOLESTAR Y YO PODRIA ESTUDIAR SIN PROBLEMAS Y MI FAMILIA NADIE ME LA IBA A MOLESTAR MAS.
LO QUE YO VENIA A HACER AL SALVADOR ERA NO MAS UNA OBLIGACION DE CAPACITAR GENTE DE ESTE PAIS PARA QUE SIGAN LUCHANDO POR SU LIBERACION, MI OBLIGACION ES IMPARTIR MIS CONOCIMIENTOS COMO UN TECNICO EN EXPLOSIVOS, ARMAMENTO, TACTICA DE GUERRILLA, APOYO LOGISTICO Y OTROS ESPECIALIDADES.
YO NO TRAIA TIEMPO DETERMINADO PARA PERMANECER EN EL PAIS, LO QUE SE ME ENCOMENDO POR WILLIAM FUE EL TIEMPO QUE ME TARDARA PARA QUE LA GENTE ASIMILARA LOS CONOCIMIENTOS QUE YO IBA A IMPARTIR, DESPUES ME IBA A REGRESAR PARA MEXICO A SEGUIR ESTUDIANO EN MI CARRERA.
DURANTE EL TIEMPO QUE PERMANECI EN MEXICO TUBE CONOCIMIENTO QUE UN PARTIDO DE MEXICO NOS ESTABA PROPORCIONANDO AYUNDA Y ES EL P.R.I. PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO INSTITUCIONAL, QUE ES EL QUE ACTUALMENTE ESTA EN EL PODER.
LA AYUDA QUE TENIAMOS ERA DE PROPORCIONARNOS UN INSTITUTO DE GOBIERNO PARA RECIBIR NUESTROS CURSOS.
A LA ORGANIZACION QUE VENIA DESIGNADO ERA PARA EL F.M.L.N. PORQUE DAVID ES DE ESTE MISMO PARTIDO EXTREMISTA.
EL CARGO QUE TENDRIA AL UNIRME A LA GUERRILLA EN EL SALVADOR ERA DE SEGUNDO JEFE EN UN CAMPAMENTO.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001886

ADP770
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01886 03 OF 04 060236Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 SSO-00 INRE-00 /036 W
----------335765 060305Z /60

O 060015Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8320
DIA WASHDC/JSI-7/DB-3E/DC-4A/OS-1/JSI-4B
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 4 SAN SALVADOR 1886

SUSPENDIDO

POLICIA NACIONAL

INTERROGATORIO NO. 2
PRACTICADO A: LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA
DIA Y FECHA: SAN SALVADOR, VIERNES 26 DE FEBERERO DE 1982
LUGAR: SECRETO
HORA: DE 10:00 A 19:30 HORAS

RESUMEN

MI NOMBRE REASL ES LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, ORIGINARIO DE MANAGUA, REPUBLICA DE NICARAGUA YHKAPTURADO EN LA FRONTERA DE LAS CHINANAS,DEPARTMENT DE AHUACHAPAN, ENTRE EL SALVADOR Y LA REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA.
BUENO YO ME INCORPORE AL A.E.S. ASOCIACION DE ESTUDIANTES DE SECUNDARIA EN EL MES DE JULIO DEL ANO DE 9178, CUANDO ME ENCONTRABA REALIZANDO MI BACHILLERATO EN EL COLEGIO: MADRE DEL DIVINO PASTOR QUE QUEDA EN LA CIUDAD DE RIAMBA, DEPARTMENTO DE CARAZO A VZ KILOMETROS DE LA CIUDAD DE JINOTEPE.
Y QUIEN ME RECLUTO A MI PARA QUE ME INCORPORAR A ESA ORGANIZACION FUE UN COMPANERO MIO DE ESTUDIOS DE NOMBRE LUIS RODRIGUEZ QUE YA MURIO EN UN ENFRENETANIENTO ARMADO CON LAS FUERZAS SOMOCISTAS
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01886 03 OF 04 060236Z

EN LA TOMA DE LA CIUDAD DE JINOTEPE, EL 5 DE JULIO DE 1979.
BUENO, CON LUIS RODRIGUES ERA MI JEFE CUANDO ANDUVE COMBATIENDO CON EL USAMOS LAS ARMAS SIGUIENTES: PISTOLAS 9 MM. 45, 32, FUSIL 22, PISTOLAS 22 Y BOMBAS DE CONTACTO, ESTO COMO LES DIGO QUE FUE AL PRINCIPIO CUANDO ME ORGANICE, PERO COMO LUIS RODRUIGUEZ YA MURIO, VINE YO Y ME PUSE CON SEUDONIMO LUIS, PORQUE YO CON LUIS RODRIGUEZ ERAMOS MUY BUENOS AMIGOS, POR ESA RASON USO DE SEUDONIMO EL NOMBRE DE EL LUIS.
PERO LLEGANDO A LO ANTERIOR CUANDO MI JEFE, LUIS RODRIGUEZ

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ESTABA EN VIDA, LO MANDARON PARA DIRIAMBA A REFORZAR
EL APOYO EN LA TOMA DE ESA CIUDAD EN EL MES DE JUNIO DEL 79,
QUIEN LO MANDO LO IGNORO, PERO LO MANDO UNSUPERIOR MAS QUE EL
PERO AL REGRESO DESPUES QUE SE HABIAN TOMADO (LA CIUDAD DE
DIRIAMBA) A LA CIUDAD DE JINOTEPE QUE FUE EL 5 DE JULION DEL 79,
PERO YA MI JEFE EN ESE ENTONCES YA ERA OTRO COMPANERO
ESTUDIANTE DE SEUCONIMO (JAIME) QUE JUNTAMENTE CON ESTE CON OTRAS
ORGANIZACIONES COMBINADAD NOS ESTABAMOS TOMANDO LA CIUDAD DE
JINOTEPE, PORQUE COMOHPB COMBATIA EN ESA CIUDAD, FUE ENTONCES
CUANDO ESTE (LUIS LLEGO A REFORZANOS A NOSOTROS A APOYAR LA
TOMA DE ESA CIUDAD Y ALLI FUE EN DONDE LO MATARON A (LUIS RODRIGUEZ).
PARA DESPUES QUE NOS TOMAMOS LA CIUDAD DE JINOTEPE, PASE YO A
FORMAR PARTE DE LA C.D.C. COMITE DE DEFENSA CIVIL EN EL BARRIO SAN
FELIPE DE LA CIUDAD DE JINOTEPE, PORQUE EN ESE BARRIO YA NO HABIAN
GUARDIAS SOMOCISTAS, PUES YA QUE EN ESE BARRIO HABIA UN PUESTO DE
GUARDIAS SOMOCISTAS FORNADO UNICAMENTE POR 8 GUARDIAS Y A CARGO DE
SOLAMENTE ESE BARRIO SAN FELIPE HABPUN 250 COMBATIENTES SANDINISTAS
CON QUIENES ELIMINAMOS POR COMPLETO TODO ESE PUESTO QUE SE ENCON-
TRABA EN ESE BARRIO O SEA QUE LOS MATAMOS A TODOS LOS GUARDIAS.
PUES POSTERIORNENTE PASAMOS A HACER CENSOS DE CASA POR
CASA DEL BARRIO SAN FELIPE, TOMANDO NOTA DE QUE CUANTOS HABITABAN EN
CADA CAS,,SEXOS, EDADES Y QUE SI QUERIAN PARTICIPAR EN LA LUCHA
LOS JOVENES DE CADA FAMILIA O CUALQUIER MANERA DE COLABORAR EN
EN NUESTRA LUCHA ARMADA SANDINISTA Y ABRIENDOETAMBIEN TUNELES EN
[redacted]

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 01886 03 OF 04 060236Z

LA TIERRA ENTRE LAS DIVISIONES DE LAS CASA PARA UNA FUGA POR
SI LAS FUERZAS SOMOCISTAS FUERAN MAYORES A LA DE N
SOTROS, EN
UN DADO CASO LLEGARAN A RECUPERAR EL LUGAR QUE NOS HABIAMOS
TOMADO TENDRIAMOS UNA SALIDA DE ESCAPE POR MEDIO DE LOS TUNELES
ABIERTOS.
BUENO PUES COMO LA CIUDAD DE JINOTEPE ESTABA COMPUESTA POR 7 BARRIOS
QUE ERAN: BARRIO SAN FELIPE, BARRIO EL CALVARIO, BARRIO SAN ANTONIO,
BARRIO LOS MAMEY, BARRIO LOS AGUACATES, BARRIO EL CHORIZO Y
BARRIO EL CEMENTERIO, PUES PARA LA TOMA DE DICHA CIUDAD DE JINOTEPE
CONTABAMOS APROXIMADAMENTE CON 1000 HOMBRES COMBATIENTES SANDINIS-
TAS Y LAS TOMAS A DICHA CIUDAD LAS IBAMOS HACIENDO POR BARRIOS EN
UNA FORMA COMBINADA, HABIENDONOS TOMADO PRIMERO EL BARRIO SAN FELIPE
QUE ERA EN DONDEHYO VIVIA EN ESE ENTJCES CON MIS ABUELOS, QUIENES
MI ABUELA YA MURIO DESPUES DE LA INSURRECCION Y MIPEBUELO VIVE EN
NANAGUA CAPITAL DE NICARAGUA.
PUES A TODO ESTO YO YA ERA DE OTRA ORGANIZACION
JUNTAMENTE CON LUIS RODRIGUEZ Y ERA DEL M.E.S. MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL
DE SECUNDARIA Y LA FECHA EN QUE PASE A DICHA ORGANIZACION EN EL MES
DE ENERO DE 1979 TODAVIA ERA MI JEFE LUIS RODRIGUEZ QUIEN YA MURIO
EN UN ENFRENTAMIENTO CON LOS GUARDIAS SOMOCISTAS.
BUENO CUANDO YA HABIA TRIUNFADO EL FRENTE SANDINISTA PARA LA
LIBERACION NACIONAL EN NICARAGUA POR COMPLETO EL 24 DE MARZO DE 1980
COMENZO LA ALFABETIZACION A NEVEL GE
ERAL EN TODO NICARAGUA
Y A TODOS LOS ESTUDIANTES EN CUENTA YO FUIMOS MANDADOS A LA

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001886

C
WNIENTIZACION DE ENSENANZAS POLITICAS Y ENSENANZAS PEDAGOGICAS
Y DICHA ALFABETIZACION TUVO UNA DURACION DE 5 MESES HABIENDO
TERMINADO EN EL MES DE AGOSTO DEL ANO 80. FUE ENTONCES CUANDO A
MI ME SACARON DEL COLEGIO MADRE DIVINO PASTOR Y ME PASE A ESTUDIAR
A LA U.C.A. UNIVERSIDADRFENTROAMERICANA
RO ESTO FUE OPCION DE
MIS PADRES QUE YO PASARA A ESTUDIAR A DICHO CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS
PRIVADOS.
PUES YA ESTANDO YO ESTUDIANDO EN LA U.C.A. A TODOS LOS ESTUDIANTES
[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 01886 03 OF 04 060236Z

UNIVERSITARIOS POR PARTE DEL ESTADO SANDINISTA LOS MANDARON A LOS
CORTES DE ALGODON, CAFE Y CANA DE AZUCAR, PUES YA QUE ESO ERA UNA
OBLIGACION PORQUE EL QUE NO IBA A LAS CORTAS PERDIA UN SEMESTRE
DE ESTUDIOS Y 2 SEMESTRES MAS Y QUEDABA FICHADO TAMBIEN. ESTO FUE EN
EL
MES DE SEPTIEMBRE, OCTUBRE, NOVIEMBRE Y DICIEMBRE DEL 80.
PUES COMO YO VIAJE PARA MEXICO EL 15 DE FEBRERO DE 1981, Y
QUIEN ME MANDO PARA MEXICO FUE WILMER GARCIA JEFE DE LA JUVENTUD
SANDINISTA A NIVEL ZONAL EN NICARAGUA, PUES YO SALI EN AVION PARA
MEXICO EN DONDE ME IBA A CONTACTAR CON WILLIAM, SEUDONIMO EN SALTILLO,
COAHUILA MEXIOC PUES Y QUE ASI ES EL NOMBRE DEL INSTITUTO
COAHUILA EN DONDE YO RECIBI MI ENTRENAMIENTO DE ARME Y
DESARME, CONCIENTIZACION POLITICA, APOYO LOGISTICO Y CIERTOS TIPOS
DE EXPLOSIVOYON COMO FABRICAR LAS BOMBAS DE CONTACTO, BOMBAS MOLOTOV,
PUES PARA FABRICAR LAS BOMBAS DE CONTACTO EPEX CLORATO DE POTASIO,
ALUMINIO NEGRO, POLVORA, AZUFRE, HIERRO EN PEDAZOS, TODA CLASE DE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001886

ADP991 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01886 04 OF 04 060541Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 SSO-00 INRE-00 /036 W
----------340767 060547Z /11

O 060015Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8321
DIA WASHDC/JSI-7/DB-3E/DC-4A/OS-1/JSI-4B
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 4 SAN SALVADOR 1886

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FRAGMENTOS, YLAS DE MOLOTOV, SE USA GASOLINA ACEITE Y LA MEZCLA NADA MAS.
PUES EL APOYO LOGISTICO SE SABE DE ZONAS DE ATERRIZAJE CAMUFLAJES REFUGIOS, TACTICAS DE GUERILLAS, SON TRES: TACTICAS DE DESGASTE, TACTICAS DE ACORRALAMIENTOS, TACTICA DE DESTRUCCION DE FUERZAS Y TACTICAS DE HOSTIGAMIENTO Y LOS MOVIMIENTOS DE DESTRUCION TOTAL.
PERO A MI WILLIAM ME DIJO QUE HABIAN OTROS LUGARES DE ENTRENAMIENTO EN MEXICO WUE SON: JALISCO ZACATECAS Y DURANGO Y CHIAPAS. EN ESOS LUGARES HAY CAMPOS DE ENTRENAMIENTO PARA ESPECIALIZARSE Y VENIR A LUCHAR A EL SALVADOR PERO IGNORO LA CANTIDAD DE GENETE ESTABAN ENTRENANDO EN ESOS LUGARES, PUES YA EN EL QUE YO ESTABA HABIA 40 HOMBERS, PERO EN ESE INSTITUTO EN DONDE TO ESTABA EN MEXICO, ENTRE TODOS HABIAN COMO 20 SALVADORENOS, COMO 6 MEXICANOS Y EL RESTO ERAMOS NICARAGUENCES PREPARANDONES PARA VENIR APOYAR LA LUCHA AQUI EN SAL SALVADOR.
BUENO EN NICARAGUA SE ENCUENTRAN APROSIMADAMENTE COMO 3000 CUBANOS QUE SE ENCARGAN DE DARLES ENTRENAMIENTO A TODOS LOS COMBATIENTES EN LAS REGIONES DE LA COSTA ATLANTICA, REGION DE RIVAS, REGION DE LA LAGUNA, REGION DE PERLAS, RIO DE SAN JUAN, REGION DE BONANZAS Y LA REGION COMPRENDIDA DEL RIO RAMOS EN NICARAGUA Y SE ENCUENTRAN COMO 5000 COMBATIENTES ENTRE ELLOS: RUSOS, CUBANOS, PANAMENOS, NICARAGUENSES, SALVADORENOS, MEXICANOS, APARTE DE LA JUVENTUD SANDINISTA QUE SON LOS QUE SE ENCARGAN DE IMPARTIR LA [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01886 04 OF 04 060541Z

CLASE DE LAFABETIZACION POLITICA PERO AHORA YA NO SE LLAMA JUVENTUD SANDINISTA SI NO QUE FRENTE SANDINISTA PORQUE YA PASARON A LAS MILICIAS POPULARES A COMBATIR.
PUES TODA ESA GENTE QUE SE ESTAN ENTRENANDO EN LOS LUGARES QUE LE MENCIONE, UNA PARTE LA VAN A MANDAR A COMBATIR AQUI A EL SALVADOR, IGNORO LA FECHA QUE VAN A MANDAR ESA GENTE A LUCHAR A ESTE PAIS, POR RAZONES DE QUE ESO ES UN SECRETO PORQUE ESOS LUGARES SON AISLADOS, QUE EL QUE LLEGA ALLI NO SABW PORQUE SON CAMPOS MILITARES DE ENTRENAMIENTOS PORQUE CASI POR LO GENERAL

PAGE NO. 10

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SOLAMENTE LLEGAN GENTE CLANDESITINAS DE OTROS PAISES PORQUE ES UN LUGAR MONTANOSO SECRETO.
PUES LA OTRA PARTE DE COMBATIENTES LA VAN A OCUPAR PARA LUCHAR EN LA INVASION DE LOS GUARDIS SOMOCISTAS QUE SE ESTAN ENTRENANDO EN HONDURAS CON APOYO DE LOS EE. UU. Y SE TIREN A UNA RECONTRAREVOLUCION EN NICARAGUA PARA ESO SE TIENE ESA PARTE DE COMBATIENTES Y LA OTRA PARTE SE MANDARA ACA A EL SALVADOR A COMBATIR.
PUES COMO EN MEXICO ESTABA CONMIGO UN CHANACO DE SEUDONIMO JORGE QUE ERBIEL SUPERVISOR DE TODS LOS CAMPOS DE ENTRENAMIENTO EN MEXICO COMO: COHAUILA, ZACATECAS, JALISCO, DURANGO Y CHIAPAS.
Y EN EL MES DE ENRO DE ESTE ANO 82 SE VINO PARA ACA EL SALVADOR.
QUE EL CARGO DE EL AQUI ES JEFE DE LA RESISTENCIA URBANA, PERO ESTE JORGE ES DE NACIONALIDAD NICRAGUENSE Y TODOS LOS DOCUMENTOS QUE PORTA SON FALSOS PORQUE ME IMAGINO QUE EL GOBIERNO MEXICANO SE LO EXTENDIO Y COMO EL FRENTE SANDINISTA ESTA EN CONTACTO CON EL GOBIERNO MEXICANO Y TRABAJA
ESTE JORGE EN LA EMBAJADA DE MEXICO AQUI EN EL SALVADOR, EL CARGO LO IGNORO, PERO CREO QUE ES UNO DE COLABORADORES DEL EMBAJADOR MEXICANO Y ESTE JORGE ES EL QUE CONTACTA O SEA QUE EL QUE COORDINA LOS MOVIMIENTOS DE LA GUERRILLA DOTRE EL SALVADOR Y MEXICO Y EU EL QUE TIENE TODOS LOS CONTACTOS CON TODOS LOS GRUPOS GUERRILLEROS QUE OPERABAN EN ESTE PAIS, EL TINE TODOS LOS CONTACTOS Y CONOCE TODAS LAS CASAS DE SEGURIDAD DONDE ESTAN TODOS LOS BUZONES Y DAVID ES EL 2DO JEFE DE JORGE Y ES EL QUE SE ENCARGA

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DE MOVERSE PARA QUE TODO SE COORDINE BIEN MIENTRAS JORGE COORDINA LOS MOVIMIENTOS PARA MEXICO EN ARREGLAR PASAPORTES A GENTE QUE ES MANDADA PARA LOS LUGARES DE ADIESTRAMIENTO EN MEXICO PERO LOS SALVADORENOS NADA MAS Y LOS QUE MANDAN DE NICARAGUA LOS MANDADN POR AVIO O EMBARCADOS PARA MEXICO.
BUENO YO SALI EL MARTES 16 DE FEBRERO DE MEXICO PARA ACA A EL SALVADOR Y ERA MANDADO POR WILLIAN EN DONDE ESTE ME DIJO QUE AL LLEGAR A EL SALVADOR EN EL DESVIO A APANECA DEPT. DE AHUACHAPAN ME IBA A ESTAR ESPERANDO DAVID EL DIA DOMINGO O LUNES PASADO Y LA SENA PARA CONOCERLOS IBA A SER LA MOCHILA QUE PORTABA. PERO YO YA TRAIA NOMBRADO MI CARGO DE MEXICO ACA A EL SALVADOR QUE ERA DE 2DO JEFE DE UN CAMPAMENTO Y ADEMAS ASESOR TECNICO EN ARMAS, NOGISTICA
EXPLOSIVOS Y POLITICA. PORQUE IABA ADIESTRAR GENTE EN ESE CAMPAMENTO QUE LO IGNORO A DONDE QUEDE PORQUE QUIEN ME IBA A LLEVAR ERA DAVID A DICHO CAMPAMENTO PORO QUE QUEDABA EN LA ZONA ORIENTAL
ME DIJO WILLIAM EN MEXICO CUANDO PARTI. PERO COMO ME CAPTURARON EL DIA SABADO PERDU EL CONTACTO CON DAVDD.
PERO DE TODOS MODOS ME DIJO WILLIAM QUE SI PERDIA EL CONTACTO YO CON DAVID EN LA FRONTERA, QUE ME FUERA PARA SAN SALVADOR, EN LA EMBAJADA DE MEXICO QUE ALLI IBA A ESTAR JORGE QUE ES EL PROPRIO JEFE Y TAMBIEN IBA A ESTAR DAVID PORQUE ES EL SEGUNDO JEFE DE JORGUE. PORQUE ESTE JORGE ES EMPLEADO DE LA EMBAJADA DE MEXICO AQUI EN EL SALVADOR.
PUES A MI ME MANDARON PARA ACA A EL SALVADOR FUE CON EL PROPOSITO DE ADIESTRAR GENETE COMBATIENTE Y PREPARARLA PARA EL MES DE MARZO

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001886

SEGUN COMENTARIOS QUE OI EN MEXICO DE QUE IBA HABER
UNA OFENSIVA FINAL PERO LA FECHA LA IGNORO PERO CON ESE
PROPOSITO VENIA ACA A EL SALVADOR.
BUENO YO ESTUBE PRESTANDO SERVICIO MILITAR EN NICARAGUA PERO SOLAMENT
E
HICE 4 DIAS DE SERVICIO MILIRAR PUES YO ESTUBE CON JOSE RUIZ, COMPA-
NERO DE ESTUDIO HIJO DEL COMANDANTE CORONEL PACO RUIZ, COMANDANTE
DEL EJERCITO EN GRANADA, PERO ESAPARECIERON Y CREO QUE ESTAN EN
GUATEMALA PORQUE EL FRENTE SANDINISTA YA SE ESTABA TOMANDO LA CAPITAL
DE MANAGUA Y COMO ELLOS ERAN MILITARES DECIDIERON IRSE PARA GUATEMALA
[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 01886 04 OF 04 060541Z

PUES YO TENGO EL CONTACTO CON JORGE EN LA EMBAJADA DE MEXICO EL DIA
LUNES DE 8 A 9 DE LA MANANA EN CURSO.
HINTON

[redacted]

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E-2081

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001890

ADP711 [redacted]

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 01890 061449Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-15
NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-05 PM-09 MCT-02 INRE-00
SYE-00 SP-02 /069 W
----------347462 061508Z /52

O 061410Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8327
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY NIACT IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1890

USUN FOR SECRETARY

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF SANDINISTA GUERRILLA

REF: SAN SALVADOR 1889

1. AS INDICATED IN REFTEL, POST REQUEST SPECIFIC INFORMATION NECESSARY TO THIS CASE AS FOLLOWS:

FOR MEXICO

2. GUTIERREZ STATED THAT HE ARRIVED IN MEXICO ON FEBRUARY 15, 1981 IN THE COMPANY OF: (1) LUIS ROMAN (2) JAIME PEREZ (3) OSCAR ESTATAGEN (4) EDUARDO LAU (5) EDUARDO ZUNICA (6) ARNALDO CONTERAS (7) WILLIAM SIU (8) MARIO BEANORGE (9) EDUARDO QUINTEROS (10) JUAN ROMERO. REQUEST EMBASSY CHECK WITH IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS TO ASCERTAIN IF NICARAGUAN INDIVIDUALS [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01890 061449Z

DID ARRIVE ON FEBRUARY 15, 1981.

3. GUTIERREZ STATED HE ATTENDED EL INSTITUTO DE SALTILLO FOR GUERRILLA TRAINING WHICH IS LOCATED IN COAHUILA, MEXICO. REQUEST EMBASSY ATTEMPT TO VERIFY IF EL INSTITUTO DE SALTILLO DOES EXIST.

4. AT THAT INSTITUTE, SUBJECT STATES THAT HE HAD AN INSTRUCTOR NAMED WILLINA (NICARAGUAN). ALSO INSTRUCTTOR NAMED ROSCO

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

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(NICARAGUAN) AND ONE NAMED SAMBA (CUBAN). IF THIS INSTITUTE EXISTS, PLEASE ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN IF THERE ARE INSTRUCTORS NAMED AS DESCRIBED.

5. PLEASE ASCERTAIN IF SANDINISTA GUTIERREZ DID OR DOES RESIDE AT VISTA IDEAL NO. 517, COLONIA LINDA VISTA, GUADALUPE, MONTERREY, NUEVO LEON.

6. PLEASE ASCERTAIN IF GUTIERREZ IS OR WAS A STUDENT AT ESTUDIANTE DE FACULTAD DE FISICA IN MONTERREY.

7. PLEASE CHECK VISA FILES FOR GUTIERREZ' VISA APPLICATION, FORM 156, AND OBTAIN INFORMATION ON APPLICATION.

FOR MANAGUA

8. SUBJECT CLAIMS HE WAS BORN IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA ON NOVEMBER 10, 1962. HIS MOTHER'S NAME IS MARIA AUXILIADORA ESPINOZA; FATHER'S NAME IS CARLOS IVAN GUTIERREZ F. PLEASE VERIFY DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH.

9. SUBJECT CLAIMS HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE SANDINISTA MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL SECUNDARIO FROM JULY 1978 TO JANUARY 1979. PLEASE ATTEMPT TO VERIFY SUBJECT'S MEMBER-

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 01890 061449Z

SHIP IN THE SANDINISTA MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL SECONDARIO.

10. SUBJECT STATES THAT THE CHIEF OF THE SANDINISTA YOUTH MOVEMENT FOR HIS ZONE WAS A MAN NAMED WILMER GARCIA, LATER REFERRED TO IN HIS STATEMENT AS WILMER RAMIREZ. PLEASE ATTEMPT TO VERIFY IF THERE IS A WILMER GARCIA OR WILMER RAMIREZ INVOLVED WITH THE SANDINISTA YOUTH MOVEMENT.

FOR GUATEMALA

11. PLEASE CHECK WITH GUATEMALAN IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES AT TALISMAN L CARMEN, SAN MARCOS AND OBTAIN AS MUCH INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE FROM SUBJECT'S IMMIGRATION APPLICATION DATED FEBRUARY 19, I.E. REASON FOR ENTRY, ADDRESS WHILE IN GUATEMALA, ETC. ALSO OBTAIN SAME INFORMATION IF POSSIBLE FROM IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES AT VALLE NUEVO WHERE SUBJECT DEPARTED GUATEMALA FOR EL SALVADOR ON FEBRUARY 20.

12. SUBJECT CLAIMS THAT HE WAS TRAVELLING WITH A GROUP OF NINE OTHER GUERRILLAS CARRYING MEXICAN PASSPORTS AND DOCUMENTS. IF SUBJECT'S IMMIGRATION APPLICATION IS LOCATED, ATTEMPT TO VERIFY IF NINE OTHER PERSONS TRAVELLING WITH MEXICAN PASSPORTS ARRIVED WITH HIM ON THE SAME DATE. ON THE DEPARTURE, TWO OF THE NINE WHO HAD ENTERED DEPARTED GUATEMALA AT VALLE NUEVO ALONG WITH SUBJECT AND

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ENTERED SAN SALVADOR. ANY AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON THE OTHER NINE GUERRILLAS COULD BE VERY IMPORTANT.

13. ADDRESSEE POST SHOULD NOTIFY THE DEPARTMENT AND THIS POST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH ALL REQUESTED INFORMATION. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN THIS CASE.
HINTON

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E2080

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 825AN SA001889

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RELEASED

ADP271 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01889 01 OF 02 060738Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
IO-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-05 HA-06 L-03
PM-09 PA-01 MCT-02 INRE-00 ICAE-00 SYE-00 SP-02
SPRS-02 /082 W
----------342463 060748Z /10

O 060600Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8325
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIAC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 1889

USUN FOR SECRETARY

E.O. 23065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF SANDINISTA GUERRILLA

REF: (A) SAN SALVADOR 1788 (NOTAL)
(B) SAN SALVADOR 1830 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS A DESCRIPTION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE CAPTURE AND SUBSEQUENT ESCAPE OF THE SANDINISTA GUERRILLA, LIGDANIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, A LIST OF DOCUMENTS NOW IN POSSESSION OF GOES POLICE, A SUMMARY OF GUTIERREZ' CONFESSION MADE TO THE NATIONAL POLICE.

2. CIRCUMSTANCES: ON FEBRUARY 22, A SANDINISTA GUERRILLA, LIGDANIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, WAS CAPTURED BY THE SALVADORAN MILITARY IN THE TWON OF LAS CHINAMAS IN THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01889 01 OF 02 060738Z

DEPARTMENT OF AHUACHAPAN, APPROXIMATELY 5 KMS FROM THE GUATEMALAN BORDER. THIS INDIVIDUAL WAS TURNED OVER TO THE NATIONAL POLICE FOR INTERROGATION ON FEBRUARY 22 GUTIERREZ WAS INTERROGATED BY THE NATIONAL POLICE DETECTIVES UP UNTIL FEBRUARY 25. THEN ON MARCH TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL POLICE AGENTS TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY HIS (GUTIERREZ') CONTACT BY THE NAME OF JORGE, WHO WAS SUPPOSEDLY AN EMPLOYEE OF THE MEXICAN EMBASSY. ACCORDING TO THE POLICE REPORT, WHEN THE POLICE AGENTS AND GUTIERREZ ARRIVED AT THE

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9940034A

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EMBASSY, THE EMBASSY GATE WAS BEING OPEN TO ALLOW A VEHICLE TO DEPART. AT THAT TIME GUTIERREZ ASKED ONE OF THE PERSONS INSIDE THE COMPOUND, "WHO IS JORGE?" IMMEDIATELY ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL, IN A VIOLENT MANNER, GRABBED GUTIERREZ BY THE ARM AND PULLED HIM INTO THE EMBASSY. WHEN THE NATIONA POLICE AGENTS TRIED TO TAKE HIM AWAY, THE SAID INDIVIDUAL INFORMED THEM THAT THEY WERE NOT ABLE TO ENTER THE EMBASSY PREMISES AS IT IS CONSIDERED MEXICAN TERRITORY. AT THE SAME MOMENT, TWO OTHER INDIVIDUALS ARRIVED AND TOOK GUTIERREZ INTO THE EMBASSY BUILDING. IT IS PRESUMED BY THE POLICE THAT THE INDIVIDUAL WHO GRABBED GUTIERREZ' ARM IS THE INDIIVIDUAL KNOWN AS JORGE BECAUSE, ALTHOUGH THE AGENTS IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS NATIONAL POLICE USING THEIR POLICE IDENTIFICATION, THEY DID NOT RELEASE GUTIERREZ. LATER THE SAME DAY, MR. CARLOS EDUARDO AMEZQUITA MARTINEZ, MEXICAN CHARGE D' AFFAIRES, ASKED FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR GUTIERREZ AND TWO SALVADORANS ALONG WITH SAFE CONDUCT PASSES FOR THE THREE INDIVIDUALS. THE NATIONAL POLICEMEN WHO ACCOMPANIED GUTIERREZ TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY MADE A COMSPOSITE OF THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAD GRABBED GUTIERREZ AND PULLED HIM INTO THE COMPAOUND. THE COMPOSITE IS AN IDENTICAL LIKENESS OF THE MEXICAN CHARGE D' AFFAIRES. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE CAPTURED SANDINISTA GUTIERREZ IS STILL LOCATED IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY AWAITING GOES DECISION REGARDING THE [redacted]

MEXICAN REQUEST FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM AND SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

3. DOCUMENTATION IN THE POSSESSION OF THE GOES AUTHORITIES:

A. CAPTURED SANDINISTA GUTIERREZ' NICARAGUAN PASSPORT WICH DOES NOT BEAR AN ENTRY STAMP FOR EL SALVADOR.

B. STATEMENT MADE TO THE GOES AUTHORITIES BY GUTIERREZ THAT HE RESIDED AT VISTA IDEAL NO. 517, COLONIA LINDA VISTA, GUADALUPE, MONTERRY, NUEVO LEON.

C. GUTIERREZ' STATEMENT TO THE GOES AUTHORITIES THAT HE IS A STUDENT AT ESTUDIANTE DE FACULTAD DE FISICA IN MONTERREY.

D. GUTIERREZ' NICARAGUAN PASSPORT SHOWS THAT HE APPLIED FOR A US VISA AT THE US CONGEN AT MONTERREY ON MAY 20, 1981. HIS PASSPORT ALSO SHOWS THAT HE RECEIVED A MEXICAN TOURIST VISA NO. 721 ON JANUARY 30, 1981 FOR 90 DAYS. HIS PASSPORT ALSO SHOWS AN ENTRY STAMP INTO GUATEMALA ON FEBRUARY 19, 1982 AT TALISMAN L CARMEN, SAN MARCOS AND A STAMP SHOWING DEPARTURE FROM GUATEMALA ON FEBRUARY 20, 1982 AT VALLE NUEVO, JUTIAPA.

E. STANDARD POLICE PHOTOS AND FINGERPRINTS OF THE CAPTURED SANDINISTA GUTIERREZ,

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4. SUMMARY OF GUTIERREZ' CONFESION MADE TO NATIONAL POLICE
THE STATEMENT WAS GIVEN BELOW TO THE NATIONAL POLICE ON 2/25/82. IT IS SUMMARIZED BELOW. THE ORDER IN WHICH HE MADE HIS DECLARATIONS HAS BEEN ALTERED IN ORDER TO GIVE THE STATEMENT CHRONOLOGICAL SENSE.

5. QUOTE OF GUTIERREZ' STATEMENT:

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 01889 01 OF 02 060738Z

THE DECLARANT REPORTS THAT HIS FULL NAME IS LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA. HE WAS BORN IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA. SINCE JULY 1978 (AT ANOTHER POINT HE SAYS JANUARY 1979), HE WAS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE SANDINISTA MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL SECONDARIO (HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT MOVEMENT). HE FOUGHT WITH THE FSLN IN THE SEISURE OF THE NICARAGUAN TWON OF JINOTEPE

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ADR30E [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01889 02 OF 02 060816Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
ID-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-05 HA-08 L-03
PM-09 PA-01 MCT-02 INRE-00 ICAE-00 SYE-00 SP-02
SPRS-02 /082 W
----------342763 060817Z /10

O O 060600Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8326
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIAC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 1889

ON 7/5/79. AFTER TAKING THE TOWN, GUTIERREZ JOINED THE CIVIL DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF JINOTEPE AND CONTINUED TO ASSIST THE FSLN WAS EFFORT. AFTER THE SANDINISTA VICTORY ON 3/24/80 (DATE AS STATED), GUTIERREZ REPORTS THAT HE SPENT FIVE MONTHS TEACHING SANDINISTA POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY. HE THEN RERURNED TO SCHOOL UNTIL JANUARY 1981.

6. IN JANUARY 1981, THE CHIEF OF THE SANDINISTA YOUTH FOR GUTIERREZ' ZONE -- WILMER GARCIA (LATER CALLED WILMER RAMIREZ BY THE DECLARANT) -- ORDERED GUTIERREZ TO ATTEND A GUERRILLA TRAINING SCHOOL IN MEXICO. GUTIERREZ IDENTIFIES THE SCHOOL AS "EL INSTITUTO DE SALTILLO" LOCATED IN COAHUILA, MEXICO. HE TRAVELED TO MEXICO ON 2/15/81 IN THE COMPANY OF TEN OTHER NICARAGUANS: LUIS ROMON, JAIME PEREZ, OSCAR ESTTAGEN, EDUARDO LAU, EDUARDO ZUNICA, ARNOLDO CONTRERAS, WILLIAM SIU, MARIO BOANORGE, EDUARDO [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 01889 02 OF 02 060816Z

QUINTEROS, AND JUAN ROMERO. ONCE IN MEXICO, THE GROUP CONTACTED A NICARAGUAN NAMED "WILLIAM", WHOM GUTIERREZ IDENTIFIES AS THE FORMER FSLN COMMANDER OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT DURING THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. GUTIERREZ REMAINDED AT THE GUERRILLA TRAINING SCHOOL IN MEXICO FROM 2/20/81 UNTIL SPETEMBER 1981. HE REPORTS THAT THERE WERE APPROXIAMTELY 40 TRAINEES AT THE INSTITUTE. TWENTY WERE SALVADORANS, SIX WERE MEXCIANS, AND THE REMAINDER WERE NICARAGUANS. THERE

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WERE THREE INSTRUCTORS -- TWO NICARAGUANS AND ONE CUBAN. THE STUDENTS WERE THAUGHT SOPHISTICATED GUERRILLA TACTICS, INSTRUCTED IN THE USE OF VARIOUS WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES, AND TRAINED IN GUERRILLA LOGISTICS. HE DESCRIBES THE COURSE AS AN ADVANCED GUERRILL TRAINING COURSE. GUTIERREZ LEARNED THAT THERE WERE SIMILAR GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMPS IN JALISCO, ZACATECAS, DURANGO, AND CHIAPAS -- ALL IN MEXICO. HE REPORTS AS WELL THAT THEY WERE RECEIVING HELP FROM THE PRI.

7. IN JANUARY, 1982, GUTIERREZ WAS INFORMED BY HIS CHIEF INSTRUCTOR "WILLIAM" THAT HE WAS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO EL SALVADOR. HE WAS TO BECOME THE SECOND-IN-COMMAND AT A GUERRILLA CAMP SOMEWHERE IN EASTERN EL SALVADOR. HIS PRIMARY FUNCTION WOULD BE THE TRAINING OF THE INEXPERIENCED SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS. GUTIERREZ DEPARTED FOR EL SALVADOR ON 2/16/82. HE TRAVELED WITH A GROUP OF NINE OTHER GUERRILAS. THE OTHERS CARRIED MEXICAN PASSPORTS AND DOCUMENTATION. SEVEN MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP WERE TO REMAIN IN GUATEMALA TO ASSIST THE GUATEMALAN GUERRILLA MOVEMENT. GUTIERREZ AND TWO OTHER WERE TO CONTINUE ON TO EL SALVADOR. HE WAS GIVEN A SMALL SUM OF MEXICAN PEOS AND TOLD [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 01689 02 OF 02 060816Z

THAT HIS MONTHLY SALARY WOULD BE 300 U.S. DOLLARS. GUTIERREZ CLAIMS THAT HE THOUGHT THAT HE WOULD REMAIN IN EL SALVADOR FOR ONLY A SHORT TIME. HE WAS TO STAY ONLY SO LONG AS IT TOOK HIM TO TRAIN HIS GUERRILLA UNIT. HE WAS GIVEN TO BELIEVE THAT THE FMLN WOULD LAUNCH A MAJOR OFFENSIVE IN EL SALVADOR ON 3/10/82.

8. GUTIERREZ' ODERS STATED THAT HE WAS TO MEET A CONTACT CODE-NAMED "DAVID" OUTSIDE THE TOWN OF APANECA, AHUACHAPAN DEPARTMENT, EL SALVADOR ON 2/21/82. DAVID, IN TURN, WAS TO GUIDE HIM TO HIS GUERRILLA UNIT. NOTE: AT THE BEGINNING OG HIS STATEMENT, GUTIERREZ SAID THAT HIS GUERRILLA CAMP WAS LOCATED ON THE SAN VICENTE VOLCANO. AT THE END OF HIS STATEMENT, HE CLAIMS THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW WHERE HE WAS TO SERVE.

9. GUTIERREZ PROVIDES CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ABOUT HIS SUPPOSED CONTACTS IN EL SALVADOR. "DAVID", HIS SUPPOSED GUIDE IN WESTERN EL SALVADOR, IS THE DEPUTY TO A MAN CODE-.NAMED "JORGE". JORGE WORKS IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN SAN SALVADOR. MR. GUTIERREZ BELEIVES THAT JORGE IS A NICARAGUAN, ALTHOUGH HE IS THE LIAISON OFFICER BETWEEN THE GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMPS IN MEXICO AND THE GUERRILA MOVEMENT IN EL

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SALVADOR. HE HAS BEEN IN EL SALVADOR SINCE JANUARY 1982. HE HANDLES THE PASSPORTS AND DOCUMENTS FOR THE FOREING GUERRILLAS WHO ARE PASSED INTO AND OUT OF EL SALVADOR. GUTIERREZ IS UNCLEAR ABOUT WHETHER HE HAS ACTUALLY MET EITHER "JORGE" OR "DAVID". HE WAS CAPTURED AT LAS CHINAMAS, AHUACHAPAN DEPARTMENT, EL SALVADOR ON 2/20/82 -- ONE DAY BEFORE HIS SCHEDULED RENDEZVOUS. END QUOTE.

10. THE STATEMENT IS TAKEN IN LONGHAND. IT IS NOT [redacted]

SIGNED.

11. PRESIDENT DUARTE WILL ISSUE A STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT MORNING OF MARCH 6.

12. ACTION REQUESTED: BY SEPTEL, POST IS REQUESTING AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA, AMEMBASSY MANAGUA, AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY AND AMCONSUL MONTERREY TO FURNISH SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS OUTLINED TO DEPARTMENT AND THIS EMBASSY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN THIS CASE. HINTON

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA001909

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01909 061800Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00	H-01
	IO-15	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00
	PM-09	PA-02	CCO-00	INRE-00	SAL-01	ICAE-00	SP-02
	OC-06	SPRS-02	/063 W				

----------350443 061805Z /50

Z O 061740Z MAR 82 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 8338
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK FLASH
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PN/INTAFF

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 1909

USUN FOR SECRETARY

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PPHS, PINT, SOPN, ES
SUBJECT: DUARTE STATEMENT ON CAPTURE OF NICARAGUAN IN SALVADOR

1. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY IS ISSUING THE FOLLOWING WRITTEN STATEMENT AS OF 1130 LOCAL SAN SALVADOR.

2. "STATEMENT OF JOSE NAPOLEON DUARTE, PRESIDENTOF THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR IN THE CASE OF NICARAGUAN CITIZEN LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA.

3. "LE ME CONFIRM THE INFORMATION GIVEN BY SPOKESMEN FOR THE ARMED FORCES RELATIVE TO THE CAPTURE OF MR. LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA WHICH TOOK PLACE
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 01909 061800Z

FEBRUARY 22, 1982 NEAR THE CUSTOMS POST IN LAS CHINAMAS, DEPARTMENT OF AHUACHAPAN.

4. "MR. GUTIERREZ CONFESSED BEFORE NATIONAL POLICE DETECTIVES THAT HE HAD FOUGHT IN THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION, HAD BEEN RECRUITED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA TO RECEIVE FURTHER TRAINING IN MODERN WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES AND HAD BEEN SENT TO MEXICO ALONG WITH OTHER NICARAGUANS FOR SPECIAL TRAINING

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

IN GUERRILLA WARFARE. HIS INSTRUCTORS WERE TWO
NICARAGUANS AND ONE CUBAN. AT THE END OF THIS
TTRAINING, HE WAS SENT TO SALVADOR FROM MEXICO BY
HIS NICARAGUAN INSTRUCTOR CODE-NAMED "WILLIAM"
FOR THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF SHARING HIS TRAINING
WITH INEXPERIENCED SUBVERSIVES IN EASTERN EL SALVADOR.
HIS CONTACTS IN SALVADOR WERE TO INCLUDE TWO
INDIVIDUALS, ONE CODE-NAMED "JOREGE" WITHIN
THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN SALPY
OR AND THE OTHER CODE-
NAMED "DAVID"

5. "THE NATIONAL POLICE HAVE WRITTEN A REPORT
WITH ALL THE INFORMATION INCLUDING THE DOCUMENTATION
OF THE ARRZET, THE CONFESSION IN DETAIL GIVEN ON
TWO SEPARATE OCCASIONS, HIS PASSPORT, AND SPOKEN
PORTRAIT OF THE PERSON WITH THE PSEUDONYM "JORGE".
ONLY A SUMMARY OF THE INFORMATION BASED ON THE ORIGINAL
REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATION HAS BEEN RELEASED TO THE
PRESS. THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE INVESTIGATIVE
REPORT IS AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS FOR CONSULTATION.

6. "MR. GUTIERREZ WAS BROUGHT BY THE NATIONAL POLICE
TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY ON MARCH 1, 1982 TO ATTEMPT
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 01909 061600Z

TO IDENTIFY "JORGE". WHEN MR. GUTIERREZ USED THE
COZO-WORD "JORGE" AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE MEXICAN
EMBASSY, HE WAS FORCIBLY SEIZD BY A MAN AND BROUGHT
INTO A HOUSE OCCUPIED BY THE DIPLOMATIC MISSION.
THE PERSON WHO TOOK THIS ACTION STIPULATING DIPLOMATIC
INVIOLABILITY AND THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM FOR MR.
GUTIERREZ WAS LATER IDENTIFIED AS THE MEXICAN
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.

7. "MR. GUTIERREZ' CONFESSION AND OTHER EVIDENCE IN
POSSESSION OF THE SALVADORAN NATIONAL POLICE ESTABLISH
BEYOND ANY DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT HE IS AN AGENT
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA, TRAINED IN MEXICO
TO ASSIST IN THE EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED ATTEMPT TO
OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR THROUGH
TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE. THIS PROVES ONCE AGAIN
THE INTERVENTION OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND FORCES
CRIMINALLY SUPPORTING SEDITION AND TERRORISM WHICH
HARMS THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE.
HINTON

Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Human Rights 7/7/82
File
DE018

INTRODUCTION

The report that follows is an attempt to outline in a brief and objective manner the principal violations of fundamental human rights committed by the military regime of Argentina between November 1980 and February 1982.

This paper is a continuation of the document published in November 1980 by the Center for Legal and Social Studies (CELS), which covers events of the same type produced in the period from October 1979 to October 1980. The first of these dates corresponds to the conclusion of the period analyzed by the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights (IACHR) of the Organization of American States (OAS) in its Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Argentina. (Washington, D.C., April 11, 1980, document OEA/Ser. L/V/11.49 - doc. 19).

To a certain extent, these two publications of CELS update the analysis accomplished by the IACHR and offer an up-to-date overview of the Argentine problem.

The sequence of the material follows, in general, the order established by the Inter-American Commission in its Report, which in turn is based on the Inter-American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man.

In preparing this report, we used the archives of the program of Documentation, Investigation and Publications

of CELS, which includes newspapers clippings, brochures, magazines, books, declarations, and first-hand testimonies. Prominent among this material is the Noticiero, published monthly by the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights; and the List of Detained-Disappeared Persons Registered in the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, printed in 1981 by that institution. Also included are accounts provided by the other movements and organizations devoted to the defense of human rights in the country and accounts derived from meetings of relatives of victims of repression.

THE SITUATION

The Republic of Argentina continues to be governed by a de facto military regime. Its only authority derives from the act of force by the armed forces on March 24, 1976. On this occasion the commanders of the three forces constituted a military Junta, sanctioned a so-called Statute of the Process of National Reorganization which explicitly amends fundamental clauses of the national Constitution and takes precedence over it. The military Junta has taken over the entirety of the State's powers, without limitations of any kind, even though it delegates administration to a President of the Nation, who exercises legislative and executive powers. However, the President does not have jurisdiction over the armed forces; they respond to their

respective Commanders-in-Chief. Moreover, to a certain extent, the President does not have jurisdiction over the security forces, as they are subordinates of the Army.

In addition to this Statute -- characteristic of absolute military dictatorships -- a very substantial body of emergency laws has been promulgated. This is outlined in the previous reports. In addition, a state of siege, as provided for in Article 23 of the national Constitution for cases of "internal commotion or external attack," is in effect and has been prolonged indefinitely, without justification.

The consequence is that the people of Argentina have been deprived of any form of participation or influence in managing their destiny and are subject to the dictates of the de facto government. Political and trade union activity is legally suspended; the unions and political factions function openly, although always subject to irrationally imposed penalty or harassment.

The judiciary is seriously hampered in exercising its functions, not only because its members lack tenure and must swear to uphold the so-called Statute of the Process, but also because it is denied any cooperation from other public authorities or from the security forces in investigating the cases that involve the repressive system. In addition, the political identification of many magistrates

with the ideology of the military regime, and the weakness or fearfulness of others, severely limits judicial independence and the capacity of the judiciary to guarantee constitutional rights.

Two aspects of the situation in Argentina, however, further darken the situation. The first is the permanence of a secret code promulgated by the commanders of the armed forces in the second half of 1975 and fully enforced since the military coup of March 24, 1976.

This code, the content of which can be inferred from the events since then and from many statements by high officers of the three armed forces, established the character of the repression to be carried out. The nature of the operations arising from this secret code is confirmed by the testimony of people who were imprisoned for long or short periods in secret detention centers where they were interrogated and tortured and, for various reasons, subsequently transferred to public prisons or released.

According to what is known, the key provision in this doctrine of war against subversion provides for the arrest of suspects and political opponents by armed groups without identification -- although official vehicles and uniformed support personnel have frequently been used for this purpose -- and the subsequent disappearance sine die of the detainees.

It is presumed that the vast majority of detained-disappeared persons have been secretly killed, their bodies cremated or buried in common graves, or thrown from planes into the sea or into the Río de la Plata. This system of repression also includes the systematic use of torture; the distribution as war booty of the property of the disappeared; the absolute impunity of those responsible for disappearances; and governmental silence.

The operative structure organized for these ends remains intact and the secret legislation which authorizes those acts has not been abolished. This is the most serious aspect of the Argentine human rights situation. Its continuing significance is illustrated at the time of this writing by the detention, disappearance, and discovery of the body of Ana María Martínez, a socialist activist.

The second matter that characterizes the present Argentine picture is the refusal of the armed forces to furnish information about the thousands of detained-disappeared persons -- and the open effort of the armed forces to prohibit any investigation, even by the judiciary. The armed forces demand that the political parties go along with this as a prerequisite for the restoration of the constitutional system.

It is necessary to also note the continuing confinement of approximately 600 prisoners held without trial

at the disposition of the national Executive Power, most of whom have already been held for five or more years; the constant insecurity and censorship caused by the periodic repetition of violent assaults that are never explained; the restriction of political, trade union and cultural liberties, and of freedom of expression; the lack of independence of the judiciary; and the political and economic insecurity that has brought recession, inflation, bankruptcy of the productive structure, and large-scale unemployment.

It is important to note, however, as a positive development, the evident but gradual reaction of the Argentine society against this state of affairs, facilitated in part by the exhaustion and collapse of the military regime. This reaction is marked by greater popular awareness of crimes of repression and by frequent public demonstrations -- previously limited to the mothers of the disappeared in the Plaza de Mayo. There is greater press coverage of violations of human rights, and a critical spirit has developed in editorials, commentaries, speeches, statements, and in the growing activity of organizations dedicated to the defense of constitutional liberties and human dignity.

It would seem difficult, given the advanced and accelerated deterioration of the military regime and the

renewed activity in civilian life, that this situation might again regress. It is evident that the leadership of the armed forces is attempting a negotiated exit, while retaining significant power, and seeking a guarantee that there will be no review of the repressive system. Time will tell whether these objectives will be achieved or whether a new period of Argentine history will begin with full restoration of the sovereignty of the people and of constitutional rights. In any event, the possibility of a new wave of repression should not be ignored, perhaps with different methods from those with which we are familiar.

Finally, we note the continuing confinement of those condemned by military tribunals to serve long sentences, based either on confessions obtained through torture, or simply through arbitrary trials without any right to a defense.

1. Disappearances and Deaths

Gerardo María Brugo Marcó. In November 1981 CELS learned that, on the previous March 23, Brugo had been arrested in Buenos Aires. From the time of his arrest, nothing has been heard of him. The father of the victim had reported the disappearance to the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights and on August 18, 1981, had filed a petition of habeas corpus with the courts, with negative results. Gerardo Brugo had been politically involved

in the Peronist movement in the province of Santa Cruz during the last constitutional government and, since 1976, had worked as a taxi-driver in Buenos Aires.

In spite of the publication on January 6, 1982, of a statement by several organizations for the defense of human rights, the military regime has maintained absolute silence on this incident.

Héctor Orlando Piñón and Jorge Magrino. During the second week of January 1981, the workers Piñón and Magrino were arrested at their homes, located respectively in Haedo and Hurlingham in the province of Buenos Aires, on the outskirts of the federal capital.

For many days there was no information about them. The authorities responded to the petition of habeas corpus presented to the court by asserting that the two men had not been detained. Several institutions for the defense of human rights condemned the episode, and the two men were freed three days later on a public thoroughfare after having been interrogated and tortured. Both were union officials in the factories where they worked.

Oscar Alberto Guida and Estela María de la Canal de Guida. On March 27, 1981, they were arrested by uniformed men on the street in La Plata. Because of the lack of news about them, a public complaint was formulated and, on the 29th of March, the police of the province of Buenos Aires

acknowledged that the couple had been arrested at the order of the federal judge of La Plata for a violation of Law 21.323, which prohibits the publication of political views.

Angel Romano. He was arrested on March 27, 1981, at his home in the suburban city of Quilmes by three heavily armed plainclothesmen. The habeas corpus petition presented to the court was unsuccessful. However, after a public statement by several organizations for the protection of human rights was reported by the newspapers on April 2, 1981, results were obtained. On April 3, the chief of police of Buenos Aires, General Oscar Guerrero, acknowledged that Angel Romano was arrested for illicit association, multiple robberies and failure to disclose crimes.

The judge ordered the definite dismissal of charges against Romano and his release for insufficient evidence. Upon being freed, Romano disclosed that his interrogation, which was accompanied by severe torture, was of a political nature. He reported that this treatment ended on the date that the statement by the human rights organizations was published. It is evident that the accusation of robbery was a pretext to justify the arrest. At any rate, there was an obvious violation of basic rights, depriving Romano of his liberty without informing his family, and suppression

of information on the matter until the magistrate responded to the habeas corpus petition. Romano was also an active union member.

Horacio Alberto Castro. Castro was arrested in his home at Calle Federico Cantoni 1773 of the El Retiro neighborhood in the city and province of San Juan, on April 22, 1981, at about 5:00 p.m. In charge of the procedure, which took several hours, was an armed group that claimed to belong to the federal police. The arrest was carried out in the presence of the victim's mother and sister.

The authorities denied that the arrest had taken place and announced that they would investigate. The same response was given to the petition of habeas corpus.

On April 26, the police made it known that Castro's body had been found in the vicinity of En Encón in the neighboring province of San Luis, in a solitary place near national route 147 and at a distance of 160 kilometers from San Juan. Castro had been killed by 36 gunshots. His body showed signs of torture and of having been handcuffed.

The alleged investigation of this matter has apparently been forgotten by the authorities; no results have been reported. The mother of the murdered victim held a press conference on May 21, 1981, in CELS headquarters. It was well covered by newspapers from the entire country.

Horacio Castro, 35 years old, was affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party and had participated some months before in a peaceful strike by the Union of Automotive and Tramway Workers in the city of San Juan.

Miguel Sarangelo. Miguel Sarangelo, an artist, was arrested at 9:00 p.m. by an armed group in his home at Estados Unidos 1614, in the federal capital. Near midnight, another group similarly dressed in civilian clothes broke into Sarangelo's home and searched it thoroughly, knocking pictures and sculptures to the floor. Faced with a lack of news, his family filed an habeas corpus petition and made public statements that appeared in the newspapers on July 24. On or about July 28, the federal police made it known that Sarangelo had been detained in police precinct number 40 for an infraction of Law 20.771 dealing with possession and trafficking of drugs.

This is another arrest that, although it appears to involve a legally punishable offense, was not disclosed for a period of 11 days. Accordingly, it is a case of disappearance and a violation of the fundamental rule of the Code of Criminal Procedures.

Isabel Beatriz Angel. On July 30, 1981, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights announced the disappearance in Córdoba of Ms. Angel, a member of a leftist political

party. This was based on information provided by her family. A few days later, Third Army Corps headquarters in Córdoba responded that Isabel Angel had been at the house of a friend without giving notice to her parents. Actually, according to the information subsequently obtained by the Permanent Assembly, Ms. Angel had suffered a sudden illness and had been admitted to a hospital, without disclosing her identity to the authorities and without communicating her whereabouts to her family.

The alarm raised by her temporary disappearance, and the fact that an habeas corpus action was filed, reflect a persisting climate of insecurity in the country, whereby relatives presume the involvement of security forces which may end in the disappearance of the victim, as in so many thousands of earlier cases.

Bruno Daniel Vetere. On August 3, 1981, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights announced the arrest and disappearance of Bruno Daniel Vetere, imprisoned by a squad of the federal police in San Miguel, a suburb of Buenos Aires on July 29, 1981, around 5:00 p.m. This incident took place in the presence of the victim's father, who was in the waiting room of a doctor's office. Heavily armed plainclothesmen burst in and forced Mr. Vetere to take them to Daniel, who was waiting for his father in the

family car. When they saw him, they ran toward him threatening him with a high-caliber machine gun, and arrested him.

On the same day, the Vetere home in the suburb of José C. Paz was broken into by an armed group that searched Bruno Daniel's room, taking documents and personal belongings. Both procedures were carried out with great violence and display of weapons, in spite of the total lack of resistance by the victim and his relatives.

After this incident was reported in the newspapers on August 4, the federal police and the Third Army Corps disclosed the following day that Vetere had been arrested and prosecuted for an alleged homicide on July 26, in the city of Córdoba, where he resided.

Once again, for five days no one informed the family about the place of detention of one of its members, a situation that surely would have been prolonged if it had not been given public attention, and had not the human rights institutions intervened with an habeas corpus petition.

Fernando Olguín Figueroa. The national press reported on May 24, 1981, that the remains of Corporal Olguín of the Argentine air force had been buried in the cemetery of the city of Mendoza. The circumstances of his death were not revealed. The family received the body with orders not to open the coffin and to bury the

body immediately. The air force did not disclose the cause of death, thereby raising obvious questions.

Corporal Olguín Figueroa had deserted a few weeks previously together with a companion, Omar Juárez Gómez, both non-commissioned officers of the Air Force. The two had taken refuge in Chilean territory. They were returned by Chilean authorities to Argentine officials.

Nothing is known of the original charges against Olguín Figueroa and his companion Juárez Gómez nor of the punishment that Juárez Gómez may have received.

Eloy Fidel Santander. During the first days of November 1981, the family of the soldier Eloy Santander, a draftee based in Mendoza, received his sealed coffin, with instructions to bury him without opening it. The day before, the father of the victim had gone to the General Espejo military school, where his son was performing his military service, and discovered there that his son had died. He was told that his son had committed suicide.

Mr. Santander opened the coffin and, contrary to the version he had been given that the youth had slit his wrists and then shot himself in the head, he found that the bullet hole was situated in the neck.

On November 4, Colonel Nemesio Schrch, director of the military school, published an account with a different version. It stated that Eloy killed himself by pressing a rifle against his jawbone on the right side and shooting.

We are faced with another case of a mysterious death in a military unit.

Antonio Rubén Albornoz. The newspapers of September 25, 1981, related an episode, confirmed later by military authorities, which clearly shows a violation of fundamental human rights of citizens performing their legal duty to serve in the military.

In the air force barracks in the city of Córdoba, after a theft of cigarettes, draftees were interrogated to discover who was responsible. Since the draftees refused to accuse anyone, police officials and three junior officers ordered a punishment of prolonged violent exercise. Two draftees, Leonardo Abregu and Antonio Rubén Albornoz, collapsed from exhaustion. Both suffered acute cardiac arrest, of which Albornoz died.

This event was kept quiet until it was reported in the press, which elicited an official communiqué indicating that the responsible officials were being indicted. However, the names of those involved have not been made public and there is no news, so far, of the results of the investigation nor of any penalties having been imposed.

Julio Bárbaro and Juan Carlos Gallego. On September 2, 1981, around 5:30 p.m., a group of armed men who identified themselves as belonging to the federal police, arrested two

leaders of the Partido Justicialista at Calle Libertad 434, in the capital. This took place with great display of men, arms and cars, creating considerable alarm. Human rights organizations and political parties issued strongly-worded statements about the incident. The authorities denied their participation and reaffirmed this denial before the judge at the habeas corpus hearing. One of the participants in the breaking and entry had said at the time that he was acting on orders from Colonel Arias Duval, head of the Security Division of the Federal Police.

The event gained national and international notoriety, giving rise to a number of protests. Finally, after 55 hours, Bárbaro and Gallego were released on a street. In a press conference called by the Permanent Assembly of Human Rights, they explained that they had been interrogated, while blindfolded, about their political activities and those of the party to which they belong. They were also questioned about many issues of national interest.

The victims were transported by automobile for several hours. They not know where they had been held during the kidnapping.

In spite of emphatic official statements about finding and punishing the individuals responsible for this serious episode -- who were apparently connected with an intelligence agency -- no information has yet been disclosed.

Ana María Martínez. The victim was arrested on February 4, 1982, at 8:30 p.m. in her home in the Villa de Mayo neighborhood in the district of General Sarmiento, province of Buenos Aires, in the presence of several neighbors. A man and a woman, both armed, ordered her to get into a Ford Falcon automobile and drove away with her.

The news produced a rapid mobilization of human rights organizations and political parties. As usual, the authorities denied their participation. The police of the province of Buenos Aires furnished false information to lawyers acting for Ana María, and the Undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior, Col. Bernardo Menéndez, stated on February 14th that he had no information to provide. The habeas corpus petition was rejected. However, on February 17th, Col. Menéndez's own office made it known that Ana María's body had been found on the 11th or 12th of February. Thursday, February 18th, at a press conference in the headquarters of the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, several political leaders demanded an investigation of the murder, and the punishment of those responsible, who are presumed to be part of the security forces, judging from the available evidence.

In order to avoid the repetition of these events, and to demand an effective enforcement of the law, a committee of lawyers was formed to investigate the kidnapping and

murder of this young socialist activist. CELS staff attorneys are members of this committee, which has met with and provided evidence to the judge in charge of the case, Judge Carlos Rodríguez Varela, of Criminal Court No. 1 in San Martín.

The authorities persist in denying that they had any part in the matter, insinuating that the responsibility lies with extreme leftist groups and maintaining that they will investigate.

The national media gave broad coverage to the matter, and continues to publish information and opinions about it, thereby pressuring the authorities to conduct their investigation. So far, however, no results of it have been made known.

To summarize, we find: one unexplained disappearance, that of Brugo Marcó; two arrests and disappearances resulting in murder, those of Horacio Alberto Castro and Ana María Martínez; four cases of unexplained kidnapping and release, Piñón, Magrino, Bárbaro and Gallego; a corporal of the air force, Olguín Figueroa, and a draftee of the same force, Albornoz, dead from excessively harsh punishment, and the health of another air force draftee seriously affected; five missing persons, Guida and his wife, Romano, Sarangelo and Vetere, who turned out to be under arrest and prosecution; and one false alarm, Isabel Angel, caused by the existing climate of insecurity. In

all therefore, including the Abregu case, there were 17 deaths in official custody and disappearances.

2. Threats to Freedom of Expression and Religious Worship; and Antisemitism

Jehovah's Witnesses. In a decision published in the newspapers on May 14, 1981, the federal Supreme Court of Justice dismissed the case of two Jehovah's Witnesses who had asked for an exemption from military service as "conscientious objectors." The lower courts had decided that such exemptions are not permissible.

Panel E of the federal Court of Appeals in Civil Matters, in Buenos Aires, denied a woman the custody of her two young daughters, 11 and 12 years old. The woman, according to the court decision, had attempted to educate her daughters in accordance with the beliefs of the Jehovah's Witnesses. This woman is divorced; her former husband is an Army officer. Under an earlier divorce settlement, the father has custody of their two sons and the woman had custody of the two daughters. By this decision, however, her custody of her two daughters has been revoked.

Antisemitism. A television program broadcast on October 27, 1980, by the commentator Enrique Llamas de Madariaga, brother of a general who was then Secretary of Public Information, provoked widespread protest and

deeply offended the Jewish community. Even though the broadcast was on a state-owned television station, there was no official reaction.

The Jewish newspaper Di Presse made it known on September 18, 1981, that in the vicinity of Villa Allende, in the province of Córdoba, a group called "Juventudes Hitleristas Argentinas" (Argentine Youths for Hitler) holds meetings with impunity.

On February 27, 1982, newspapers reported the desecration of tombs in the Jewish section of the cemetery in Mar del Plata, as well as the painting of swastikas on its walls. Public opinion and local authorities condemned the incident, but no investigation was announced.

Violations of Freedom of the Press and Expression. On numerous occasions -- January 2, February 7, February 25, June 30, September 23, December 11, 1981 -- the authorities have prohibited publication of newspapers and books, preventing their entrance into the country or their circulation within the country. It would consume far too much space to enumerate these titles here, but it should be noted that they include significant works in the fields of scientific thought and world literature. Details can be found in the archives of CELS.

On June 22, 1981, the journalist Manfred Schonfeld, well-known columnist for La Prensa, which has published

critical reports on government policy, was attacked in front of his home. Mr. Schonfeld received serious injuries to the face from brass knuckles. This act of violence, which attracted a lot of attention, has not been resolved.

Another columnist from the same newspaper, Mr. Jesús Iglesias Rouco, was prosecuted on July 3, 1981, on orders of the Executive branch, for publishing a supposedly confidential document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Beagle Channel problem. The judge dismissed the charges in February of 1982.

Two important printing companies were intentionally burned down in the night, obvious acts of intimidation. The two companies were the COGTAL Cooperative, located at Calle Rivadavia 763, in the middle of downtown Buenos Aires, and Editorial Palermo, located at Calle Erézcano 3158, in the Parque de los Patricios district of Buenos Aires. The first incident took place on March 22, 1981, after a group of armed men bound and beat the night watchman. The second happened on May 16, 1981, and involved the placement of three powerful explosives. Neither of these attacks have been solved. The printing houses were working together and they had been engaged in printing periodicals that severely criticized the military regime.

Several theaters that gave shows disliked by the dictatorship, or that employed actors or actresses known for holding views opposed to the government, have suffered attacks. On May 17, 1981, toxic fumes were used to interrupt a show in the Liceo theater. On May 19, a bomb exploded in a theater in General Roca, Río Negro, that was staging a show with actor Luis Brandoni. Similar incidents happened in the Sala Planeta and Lorena theaters of Buenos Aires on May 21 and 22, 1981. Finally, in the best-known episode, an intentional fire burned down the Teatro Abierto in early August, 1981. This event prompted a widespread response aimed at helping the shows to continue in another building.

Joan Baez, the American singer who visited Argentina in May 1981, was not able to perform because entrepreneurs and theaters refused to organize concerts for her, on account of official threats they had received. Ms. Baez was constantly followed by police cars, and the owners of the hotel in which she stayed were pressured into requesting her to leave.

During the period covered by this report, there have been many statements by artistic, cultural and theatrical organizations against censorship in the communications media, in the motion picture industry, in the theater, and in the publication of books and magazines. This reaction

signals a growth in collective awareness regarding the curtailment of freedom of expression in the country since 1976.

There are still violations of the legitimate exercise of the right to address petitions to the authorities, provided for in Article 14 of the Constitution, especially in educational matters. For example, La Prensa reported on August 1, 1981, that on May 26th a large number of medical students at the University of Buenos Aires had been punished for having signed a petition against the imposition of tuition fees. Apparently the police, with the permission of the Dean, interrupted a physiology class and searched the students. They confiscated a copy of the petition and threatened the students with "more definite sanctions." The Ministry of Culture and Education promised to investigate the incident, but has not released information about its investigation yet.

On October 22, 1981, FUBA, the student federation of the University of Buenos Aires, attempted to demonstrate in opposition to the imposition of tuition charges. Some 300 students gathered before the Ministry of Education at Paraguay 1690, Buenos Aires, for a peaceful demonstration. The federal police, using excessive force, broke up the gathering. The indiscriminate violence also affected the media: a photographer who was attacked was hospitalized

with multiple wounds (Diario Popular, October 23, 1981). The incidents were so widely reported that General Juan Sasiaiñ, then chief of the federal police, was forced to offer "his most formal apologies" to the media.

3. Limitations on Political Rights

The nonexistence of the fundamental political rights established by the Constitution (that is to say, election of the government by the people), was marked during 1981 by acts of aggression against certain political activities. We will merely note a few examples here.

On February 17th, in Rosario, province of Santa Fe, 14 activists from the "Frente de Izquierda Popular" (Popular Leftist Front) were detained. On May 2nd, the police arrested 15 key members of the Peronistas. On May 30th, 30 more leaders of this group were detained in the province of Santa Fe. One hundred sixty people affiliated with the Peronista Party were taken to Precinct 27 of the Federal Police on June 5th for participating in a gathering at the Cátulo Castillo cultural center in Buenos Aires. Eighty of them were charged. On June 24th, 64 people who attended a round-table discussion at the Crillon Hotel in Buenos Aires were arrested and held for several hours for identification. Among them were the radical leader Luis León, Vicente Saadi, Alejandro Díaz Bialet, Julio Bárbaro, Nilda Garre, and Alicia Oliveira (Peronistas); Christian

Democrats Augusto Conte and Néstor Vicente; Communists Fernando Nadra and Roberto Villarino; and other individuals active with human rights organizations such as CELS. The police did not allow the round-table discussion to be held.

Complaints about the prohibition of political events, marches, meetings, luncheon discussions, etc., were constant during this year.

In November 1981, the Commander of the Third Army Corps based in Córdoba, General Cristino Nicolaides, attempted to bring a criminal prosecution against the leaders of the Unión Cívica Radical (the second largest policital party) for an alleged violation of the Law of Security of the State, in that the UCR leaders had criticized the economic policies of the armed forces.

The law that the authorities have announced for 1982 concerning political parties will contain a clause prohibiting the parties from declaring themselves in favor of the investigation and punishment of those who engage in repression. It will even prohibit criticism of the repressive acts engaged in by the military.

4. Persecution of Institutions for the Defense of Human Rights

On December 10, 1980, on the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 24 demonstrators were arrested in the Plaza de Mayo and punished with a

15-day sentence by the head of the Federal Police, General Juan Bautista Sasiaiñ. The demonstrators were among many thousands of citizens who demanded information about the detained-disappeared.

On November 29, 1981, the president of CELS, Dr. Emilio Fermín Mignone, filed a preventive habeas corpus petition against the constant surveillance of his home.

On the night of February 27, 1981, the headquarters of CELS, then located at Calle Viamonte 1365, were broken into. The same thing happened to the residence of the organization's president, Dr. Mignone, and the new offices at Calle Sarmiento 1562, 5C, which were as yet unoccupied. All the documentation gathered by CELS and some of Dr. Mignone's books and papers were taken to the headquarters of the Security Division of the Federal Police. Nine people were arrested that night, among them six members of CELS who were held incommunicado and prosecuted on charges of violating Article 227 of the Penal Code. The CELS members arrested were Mrs. Lapacó and Messrs. Mignone, Conte McDonell, Pasik, Westerkamp, and Parrilli. After seven days they were released. Their trial went on for several weeks until, eventually, the judge and later the Court of Appeals dismissed all charges and returned the documents that had been seized.

This incident had wide repercussions inside and outside the country, and the favorable outcome is attributable to the attention it received. The obvious intent of the arrests and the seizure of documents was to interrupt indefinitely the work of CELS and to keep its leaders in prison. Dr. Alicia Oliveira and Dr. Alfredo Galletti of CELS, as well as Dr. Vicente Saadi, were also harassed because of their association with CELS.

On March 16, 1981, the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, held a press conference to disclose the many threats he had suffered which drove him to file a petition for amparo (seeking an order to cease and desist).

The Federal Police prohibited the April 30, 1981, march of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. However, the Mothers insisted on going ahead with their march and the security forces surrounding the area did not take action. This event exemplifies both the resolve of the families affected by repression to maintain their struggle, as well as the weakness of the military regime when faced with an action that aims to obtain truth and justice. On June 15, one of the Mothers, Ms. Nelida Fiordeliza de Chidichimo, filed a preventive petition of habeas corpus because she was subjected to repeated anonymous phone threats.

On June 8, 1981, María Adela Gard de Antokoletz and Hebe Bonafini, respectively vice-president and president of the Movement of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, were briefly detained in the Ezeiza airport on their return from the United States. The military police confiscated some of the documents that they were carrying. The documents were subsequently returned.

On the 19th of September 1981, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights denounced a series of intimidating actions against many of its leaders, in particular Ms. Graciela Fernández Meijide. On September 20, Mr. Adolfo Pérez Esquivel disclosed that he had been refused a passport to travel abroad.

On October 26, 1981, the Bishop of Neuquén, Jaime Francisco de Nevares, accused the police of having impeded the celebration of a mass dedicated to the preservation of human rights, by not preventing the placement of toxic gas bombs. On November 5th, the cathedral of Neuquén was attacked by shots fired from the street by unidentified people.

5. The Situation of Political Prisoners

On January 2, 1981, the national press published a communiqué from the Ministry of the Interior, announcing that there were 900 people being held in custody without charges, at the disposition of the Executive power. This

number slowly diminished during the year. On October 30, 1981, the Argentine ambassador to the O.A.S., Raúl Quijano, reported to that organization that the number of such prisoners was about 840. At the end of 1981, it is estimated that 650 remained in this situation.

During the year, relatives of political prisoners have repeated their protests regarding maltreatment in the jails and poor conditions of confinement. The Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, and the Commission of Families of Persons Detained and Disappeared for Political Reasons, have made continual efforts to secure improved conditions, with little result except that they did achieve the right to have visits with the prisoners which include limited physical contact.

In December 1981, there was wide publicity given statements formulated in the city of Rawson, province of Chubut, about the situation of the prisoners in jail in that area. "The U-6 is a national disgrace," said Dr. José Federico Westerkamp, well-known human rights leader and father of a prisoner who has been confined at the disposition of the Executive power without charges for more more than six years. For this statement, Dr. Westerkamp has been charged with contempt by the federal judge of Rawson.

6. Judicial Proceedings

The Supreme Court has continued to ignore the repressive clandestine actions of the State and has continued to uphold the restrictions on liberty based on the legislation of exception.

On March 4, 1981, the metropolitan newspapers published a decision by this highest tribunal upholding the validity of the Special War Councils established by laws 21.264, 21.268, and 21.272. The Court thus ratified the conviction of Marcelo Mario de la Torre, who had been sentenced to eight years imprisonment by a War Council of the Second Army Corps.

On October 29, 1981, the high Court upheld the denial of three habeas corpus petitions for Celia Machado, Jorge Lucio Rebori, and Humberto Rebori, who were detained by armed groups on February 1 and 2, 1977, and who have since disappeared. In its decision, the Court maintains that the lower court judges must investigate the facts in a petition for habeas corpus. However, for reasons explained in the introduction to this report, this statement has no practical effect.

In June 1981, a conflict arose between the Supreme Court and the Executive branch over a May 26th decision by by which the Court ordered that the Executive branch authorize for Benito Moya either limited freedom or the

option to leave the country. He had been in prison for six years without charges, and without any legal proceedings. After a tense exchange of confidential opinions, the two branches reached an agreement. The Executive ordered restricted freedom for Benito Moya -- implying, however, that this did not establish any precedent as this action was limited to the circumstances of this particular case. This incident demonstrates the limited scope of possible judicial intervention at present. Moreover, the two most recent appointments to the Court, those of Drs. Black and Renom, show that the government has every intention of naming lawyers to the Court who are ideologically sympathetic to the repressive policies of the military.

Several appellate courts, in particular the Federal Court of Appeals of Buenos Aires, Criminal and Correctional Panel, are known for handing down decisions that accept unquestioningly the validity of exceptional legislation and the primacy of the so-called Statute of the Process of National Reorganization. They uphold the indefinite confinement of prisoners under the state of siege without charges at the will of the Executive branch.

Finally, the Supreme Court of Justice, in a decision of a few lines, in February 1982 denied a petition by

relatives of disappeared people, ruling it "out of order." This petition called on the judiciary to make the Executive branch hand over all existing information in their archives about the disappeared. With this decision, the high Court ended any hope stirred by the famous Pérez de Smith, Ana María, et al. cases of 1978.

It is appropriate to mention here that in 1981, there were numerous comments by different organizations and political parties calling for a repeal of the state of siege and the dismantling of exceptional tribunals. This is extraordinary because some of these organizations had remained silent on these issues in the past. On June 18, 1981, the Federación Argentina de Colegios de Abogados (FACA) (Argentine Federation of Associations of Lawyers), demanded an end to exceptional tribunals. In previous statements, they had called for the elimination of the state of siege.

7. Restriction on Trade Union Activity

The majority of the trade unions remain controlled. Restrictions against union activity are also numerous. We note only some of the cases.

The General Confederation of Labor has received many warnings to limit its activities. In July 1981, five of its national leaders were jailed for several days. In the

country's interior, the prohibition of trade union activities is frequent.

On November 7, 1981, during a march at the San Cayetano Church in Buenos Aires to protest growing unemployment, the police surrounded the area, blocking off all access. A group of marchers was arrested and held for several hours.

According to Saúl Ubaldini, Secretary General of the General Confederation of Labor, 1.65 million workers are now unemployed (Clarín, September 5, 1981). He called this an offense to the rights of workers. Layoffs are constant, both in the public and the private sectors. Because of the regressive politics of President Galtieri and Minister Alemann, a serious worsening of the employment situation is is anticipated.

Dismissals for political reasons are frequent. A notable example is the case of Dr. Nicolás G. Bazán, an internationally known scientist with the National University of the South. He was fired without explanation on December 31, 1980. On March 24, 1981, the Minister of Culture and Education, Juan Llerena Amadeo, argued that the decision to fire Bazán was justified for reasons of "security," refusing to elaborate.

This incident demonstrates that the intelligence services of the military are almighty in such cases and

that the ministers of the Executive branch are obliged to carry out the instructions of the intelligence services. Worse yet, the ministers may not even known the reasons, as in the case of Dr. Llerena.

8. Education

One of the basic difficulties the Argentine educational system faces, according to official sources, is the increasing number of school dropouts. This situation, caused by socio-economic problems and by budgetary and ideological restrictions on the schools, constitutes in itself a deprivation of the right to education.

On April 28, 1981, the newspaper La Prensa reported that the Minister of Education and Culture of the Province of Buenos Aires, Julio A. Lascano, had said that the percentage of school dropouts in this, the most populous and wealthy province, had reached 33 percent. The day before, on April 27, the same newspaper had revealed that, according to the Minister of Culture and Education of the Province of Santa Fe, the percentage of dropouts in that province had reached 42 percent. On June 29, 1981, the president of the National Council of Technical Education, engineer Valentín Jaime, declared in a meeting in the city of Córdoba that the percentage of dropouts in technical schools is 75 percent (Diario Popular, June 30, 1981).

In general, the financial resources set aside for educational support have been cut back to a minimal level. Specialists in this subject believe that the federal educational budget, in relative terms as a proportion of the total federal expenditure and Gross National Product, is at its lowest since 1862.

The lack of teachers, buildings, textbooks and teaching materials is substantial in all regions of the country. At the same time, the ideological controls on the schools limit the freedom and creativity of lectures and discussion. Although there have been no new regulations, those promulgated since 1976 are strictly enforced, and the access of new teachers to teaching jobs is tightly controlled.

Finally, restrictions on access to the universities continue, and entrance quotas have become even more restrictive in most graduate and post-graduate programs. Practically all university professors lack tenure because no formal searches to hire new professors have been conducted since 1976. In addition, the military regime has enacted a Law of National Universities that establishes political and ideological restrictions that would create serious difficulties if the moment were to come for new professors to be selected.

9. Official Declarations

In the period covered by this report, several official statements were issued, on the one hand emphatically denying that violations of human rights were committed by the military government and, on the other hand, insisting that there should be no investigation of repressive actions.

This obvious contradiction is brought into sharpest focus in considering the serious problem of the disappeared. Each day that passes, instead of receding in memory or being relegated to secondary significance, this issue gets more attention. One only has to read the newspaper to notice the constant references to this question from diverse sources: official comments and declarations; statements by civilian leaders; protests, demonstrations, and petitions to the judiciary; editorials; foreign repercussions; etc.

There is no doubt that this distressing situation is the one that most troubles the national community. Certainly, it will be the focus of bitter political debate in Argentina in the months and years to come.

In Washington, D.C., on July 13, 1981, former president Viola emphatically stated that no one was detained in the course of repression without notification of their families. He also said that there is no one

being secretly detained in Argentina. He added that the only deaths attributable to the military involved those of people who were armed and who were killed as a result of armed encounters (La Nación, July 14, 1981).

Such statements fly in the face of the fact of the disappearance of thousands of people arrested since 1976 by agents of the security forces, and whose fate is unknown.

An editorial printed in La Nación on February 7, 1982, analyzes the polarization over this question within the upper echelons of the military. According to political observers, this is the most difficult problem the government will have to face if it wants to restore democratic institutions. The editorial alludes to a statement by the former Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, Admiral Emilio Massera, in January 1982, and supported by his primary assistant in the Party for Social Democracy, Vice-Admiral Eduardo Fracassi. Massera stated that, during the period that he was a member of the military Junta, he proposed the publication of a list of the disappeared. This was opposed by the Commanders of the other armed forces, Videla and Agosti. Massera's assertion was subsequently modified in further statements, in which the emphasis was placed on his role in the struggle against subversion.

These statements precipitated a strong reaction in the upper echelons of the military.

General Suárez Mason, former Commander of the First Army Corps and former Chief of Staff of the Army, conferred immediately with President Galtieri, and immediately thereafter asserted that such lists did not exist and that they would be impossible to assemble. "Surely," he added, "the admiral must have such a list. If there is one, I do not know of it." La Nación pointed out that, "Suárez Mason speaks for the Army." Suárez Mason added, again reflecting the position of the Army, that "during the anti-subversion struggle, information was given each time the casualties were identified."

Also participating in the controversy is General Ramón Camps, who served as chief of police in the province of Buenos Aires during the years of the more intense anti-subversion fight. In an interview in Gente magazine in the first week of February 1982, Camps said that he had the greatest respect for Massera and Fracassi, but he added that both should say what their part in that struggle had been "before speaking of the responsibility of others."

General Luciano Benjamín Menéndez, who was forced to retire after an aborted coup d'état attempt against the

Videla government in Córdoba in September of 1979, reaffirmed an old official decision to "forget" the problem. He maintained that "the disappeared have disappeared and no one knows where they are" and he concurred that it was "impossible" for the regime to publish a list, "because there is none" (Clarín, January 25, 1982).

In the same issue of Clarín, there was a story covering a speech given by the present Chief of Staff of the Army, General Antonio Vaquero, during a visit by Salvadoran General Rafael Flores Lima. After assuring Lima of Argentine military assistance, Vaquero issued a harsh attack against the human rights organizations: "... the subtleties and artifices of the so-call solidarity organizations which, in our country, appear to be independent, but -- let us not be naïve -- which serve, either consciously or unwittingly, the present strategy of native and international terrorism. These associations have mushroomed in Argentina, under the protection of the freedom they ultimately seek to destroy."

On January 26, 1982, the Archbishop of Santa Fe and Second Vice-President of the Argentine Episcopal Conference, Vicente Zazpe, demanded "that the truth be discovered about the disappeared," arguing that this is "the only road that could take us to an authentic reconciliation."

Earlier, in its document called "Church and National Community," issued in July 1981, the Episcopal Conference had discussed the topic at length. In a section called "Problems and Negative Factors," the bishops say that, "The illegitimate repression also put the Fatherland in mourning. Even though, in an emergency, human rights can be restricted, they are never cancelled, and it is the authority's duty, recognizing the basis of all rights, to use all efforts to restore them to full effectiveness. It is not by trusting that time will heal all wounds that we will begin to shape the future of our country now." And in a clear reference to the magnitude of the problem, the bishops add their concern for "the anguish of the relatives of the disappeared, a concern we repeat today." The Catholic Church bases its hopes for national reconciliation on the solution to these matters, since "reconciliation is grounded in charity and exercised in liberty, but can only endure if it is built in justice and truth."

For his part, Mr. Deolindo Bittel, acting chairman of the Partido Justicialista, on February 5th addressed to the military rulers, "one of the sharpest warnings in a long time about this thorny topic," acording to La Nación. Bittel said, "... this is an open and bloody sore. The military government should take responsibility, and realize that the fate of the citizens cannot be ignored. No civilian

government," he asserted, "can take power if the military does not resolve the situation beforehand, because, while now 1,500 mothers go to the Plaza de Mayo to cry for their children, under a civilian government the number will rise to 10,000, and later will cover the entire plaza."

Outside the country, the problem is equally a subject of ever more intense comment. The leaders of all the Italian democratic parties signed a strong petition on the matter, which appeared in the Buenos Aires newspaper Clarín. This prompted a formal protest by the Argentine military regime. In France, statements and demonstrations on this problem are frequent. In the Report of the State Department to the Congress of the United States about the situation of human rights in Argentina, it is asserted that, in its judgment, the situation has improved, but that the greatest obstacle to progress remains the lack of information on the disappeared.

Amidst the wide-ranging criticism of the military regime and demands for the restoration of the constitutional system, although they do not appear linked with the matters discussed above, public statements by César Luis Menotti, the coach of the national select soccer team, are worth noting. They have provoked a sharp debate and alarmed the military Junta. The writer Ernesto Sabatini has also spoken out on the

matter on various occasions and particularly in his capacity as president of the national commission formed to investigate the fate of the children missing during the repression.

10. Information About the Murder of Detained-Disappeared Persons

On three occasions, it has been learned that the bodies of detained-disappeared persons were discovered a few hours after their arrest. In these three cases the pertinent legal authorities were informed, but the judges did not publicly disclose the discoveries, nor did they inform the immediate relatives of the deceased.

Roberto Daniel Rigoni was kidnapped on April 16, 1977, in the Buenos Aires suburb of Isidro Casanova, district of La Matanza. Four years later, in April 1981, his parents learned through a petition of habeas corpus that his body had been found and identified on April 25, 1977, although he had been buried as an unknown.

The same occurred with the case of another detained-disappeared person, Miguel Angel Sosa, kidnapped on May 25, 1976, from his home in Buenos Aires. Since that date, his whereabouts were unknown until late in 1981, when his father was called to the Ministry of the Interior and notified that his son had been the victim of a homicide, under

investigation by a criminal judge of San Martín. After examining the court documents, it was established that Miguel Angel was killed the same day of his arrest. The following are the facts of the case:

a) On May 25, 1976, the police of the Province of Buenos Aires, precinct of Bella Vista, received a radio communication from the Army, that a corpse had been found in an area of tall grass near the Reconquista River.

b) Photographs were taken of the body and the surrounding area, and the body was taken for an autopsy, which revealed that death was caused by a blow to the head; the body showed signs of torture (marks made by an electric prod, lesions from blows, toe-nails torn off).

c) Fingerprints were taken and sent to the federal and provincial police for identification.

d) Two months later, the federal police reported to the court that the body was that of Miguel Angel Sosa, and furnished his address and records.

e) The judge ordered the family to come to the court, and, without waiting for them to arrive, sent the file to the archives. The notification of this appointment was never served on the family. It can be asserted that the Ministry of Interior knew about Sosa's death as early as two months after his detention and disappearance; it

obviously hid that information from his family and from public opinion until late last year.

Lastly, in mid-1981 the Ministry of Interior also disclosed to the mother of María Teresa Cerviño, that María, who had been detained at her home in Lomas de Zamora on April 18, 1976, had died. All inquiries by her family to locate her had been fruitless. María Teresa's mother had made several appearances before the Ministry of the Interior and had interviewed several members of the armed forces to the same effect -- without ever obtaining any result.

In mid-1981, Mrs. Cerviño was called by the Ministry of the Interior, where she was informed that her daughter had been the victim of a homicide and that Criminal Court No. 2 of Lomas de Zamora was investigating it. In the court files, it is established that on April 18, 1976 -- the same day of her disappearance -- the police precinct of that city received an anonymous telephone call reporting that a corpse was hanging from the bridge of a nearby highway. At the bridge, the police found that the body was that of a young woman, with her head wrapped in a plastic bag and a sign hanging from her neck that said: "I was a Montonera, follow me." Her eyes were covered with adhesive tape and her hands were tied behind her back. A grenade

made by the military was attached to the body; the police defused it. There was also a bag that the police feared might contain explosives, so they shot at it. On the same day, through fingerprints, the federal police identified her as María Teresa Cerviño, and furnished her ID card number and the address she had shared with her parents to the provincial police.

An irregular autopsy was conducted, which nevertheless determined death to have been caused by asphyxiation by hanging. It was ordered that the body be buried in the public cemetery of Avellaneda. A report of these proceedings was sent to the judge, who provisionally dismissed charges, without ever notifying the relatives.

With this information, the mother went to the cemetery and was told that there was no grave there, but only a large stone. With the legal assistance of Dr. Emilio Mignone, she came before the court and requested the anullment of the decision to dismiss, on the grounds that the investigation had not been completed and on account of the irregularities arising from the file itself. The judge did not rule favorably, but did in fact reopen the case. He called in all the police officers for questioning, but was unable to locate the only civilian witness named, as the witness did not live at the address given. Later,

the relatives requested an investigation as to why they had not been notified and insisted on being shown the clothes and personal belongings of the victim. In a private meeting, the judge told Mrs. Cerviño and her lawyer that those items were not in his offices.

It is obvious that the disappearance and death of María Teresa Cerviño was known to the federal police on the very day of the event, and that they did not disclose it to the family until mid-1981.

11. Right of Asylum

Since 1976, Juan Manuel Abal Medina has remained in asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Buenos Aires. He is a former member of the constitutional government. His situation still has not been resolved.

The military regime, despite Mexican insistence, refuses to guarantee safe-conduct, in open violation of inter-American treaties and common international law. On September 17, 1981, a spokesman for the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Relations denied that negotiations were under way to resolve this delicate matter (Clarín, September 18, 1981).

Buenos Aires March 4, 1982

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM B2MANAGU001016

ADP864
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PAGE 01 MANAGU 01016 082057Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 OIC-02 CIAE-00 H-01
IO-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-05 HA-06 L-03
PM-09 PA-02 MCT-02 INRE-00 SYE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02
/085 W
----------004574 082117Z /60

O R 081750Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC 2370
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
JCS WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
USICA WASHDC 313

UNCLAS MANAGUA 1016

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, NU,ES
SUBJ: SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF SANDINISTA

REF: A) MANAGUA 0995 (NOTAL), B) SAN SALVADOR 1890

1. SANDINISTA MEDIA HAVE PUBLISHED PICTURE OF LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA AND DESCRIBED HIM AS AN 18 YEAR OLD NICARAGUAN STUDYING IN MEXICO. THE PRESS QUOTES HIS MOTHER, MARIA AUXILIADORA ESPINOZA, A NURSE, SAYING THAT: SHE BELIEVES IT STRANGE HE IS ACCUSED OF BEING A GUERRILLA SINCE HE HAS NEVER
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MANAGU 01016 082057Z

BEEN FOND OF POLITICAL ISSUES BUT DEDICATED TO HIS STUDIES; PARTICIPATION IN THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN WAS HIS ONLY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY; HE DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE INSURRECTION SINCE HE WAS ONLY 16 AT THE TIME AND AN INTROVERTED YOUTH DEDICATED TO HIS STUDIES, AND HE WENT TO MEXICO IN FEBRUARY 1981 TO STUDY PHYSICS AT THE UNIVERSIDED DE NUEVA LEON WHERE HE IS BEING SUPPORTED BY HIS UNCLE LEON ESPINOZA.

2. FSLN DAILY BARRICADA REPORTED THAT LIGDAMIS WAS ARRESTED

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400034A

WHEN HE WAS HITCHHIKING BACK TO NICARAGUA AND HE HAD BEEN TORTURED AND FORCED TO IDENTIFY SUPPOSED CONTACT IN MEXICAN EMBASSY. BARRICADA CHARACTERIZED THE PUBLICITY GIVEN THE ARREST OF LIGDAMIS AS THE SECOND TIME RECENTLY THAT SECRETARY HAIG HAS BEEN FOUND IN A RIDICULOUS POSITION TRYING TO PRESENT PROOF OF NICARAGUAN INVOLVEMENT IN SALVADOR. (OTHER INCIDENT MENTIONED BY BARRICADA WAS THE LE FIGARO PHOTOGRAPH OF BODIES BEING BURNED.
GAMBLE

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E2086

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 060541

ADP738
[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 060541
ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /010 R

66011

----------376360 081714Z /53

O 081650Z MAR 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 060541

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR ENDERS

FOLLOWING REPEAT SAN SALVADOR 1915, ACTION SECSTATE USUN NEW YORK MAR 6:

QUOTE [redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1915

EXDIS

E. O. 12065: RDS-1 3/8/02 (HINTON, DEANE R.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS PINT XM NU ES
SUBJECT: (C) DUARTE ON MEXICO

1. [redacted]ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. LATE LAST NIGHT (MARCH 5) IN DISCUSSING HIS PROPOSED STATEMENT ON NICARAGUAN GUERRILLA TRAINER WITH DCM AND MYSELF, PRESIDENT DUARTE MANIFESTED CONSIDERABLE CAUTION ABOUT MEXICAN ANGLE. HE TOLD US, "I WANT TO KEEP MEXICANS ON DEFENSIVE, BUT GIVE THEM ABSOLUTE MINIMUM PRETEXT FOR BREAK IN RELATIONS."

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 060541

3. THIS COMMENT SURFACED AS HIS REASON FOR REJECTING OUR SUGGESTION THAT HE MIGHT LIKE TO ANNOUNCE GOES WAS ASKING MEXICO TO SURRENDER NICARAGUAN FOR TRIAL. NOR DID HE WISH TO NAME MEXICAN CHARGE HERE AS INVOLVED.

4. BE THIS AS IT MAY, SCOPE OF MEXICAN INVOLVEMENT, E.G. CLANDESTINE TRAINING IN MEXICO, GUERRRILLA SUPPORT HERE, IS EXPLOSIVE ANGLE OF THIS INCIDENT. HINTON UNQUOTE. HAIG

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United States Department of State
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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

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(E2087)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 061315

ADP558 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 061315
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /025 R

----------015433 090248Z /67

O P 0823022 MAR 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY

[redacted] STATE 061315

EXDIS -- S.A. FOR AMBASSADOR ENDERS ONLY

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 3/8/02
TAGS: PINT, ES, CS
SUBJECT: ODUBER PLAN FOR POST-ELECTION NEGOTIATIONS IN EL SALVADOR

1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.

2. IN MEETING MARCH 5 WITH DAS BRIGGS AND DEPTOFFS COSTA RICA'S EX-PRESIDENT DANIEL ODUBER OUTLINED HIS SCENARIO FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE SALVADORAN PROBLEM, AFTER THE MARCH 28 ELECTION. SCENARIO IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THE NEXT GOES IS CONTROLLED BY THE PDC, AND THAT SALVADORAN MILITARY [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 061315

OPPONENTS OF NEGOTIATION (READ GARCIA) CAN BE NEUTRALIZED. ODUBER ALSO SEEMS TO ENVISAGE A ROLE FOR MAJANO IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

3. A COALITION OF CHRISTIAN AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FROM THE REGION, INCLUDING ODUBER, MONGE, CAP, HERRERA CAMPINS, SUAZO CORDOVA, ARIAS CALDERON AND OTHERS (HE MENTIONED ROYO, BUT EXPRESSED WORRY OVER CURRENT PANAMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS) WOULD INVITE

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

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UNGO, AS PRESIDENT OF THE FDR, TO MEET UNDER THEIR AEGIS WITH THE NEW GOES. THIS MEETING, WHICH WOULD BE FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING HOW TO BRING THE "DEMOCRATIC LEFT" BACK INTO THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE NATION, WOULD FACE UNGO WITH A CHOICE OF EITHER TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR GETTING THE FMLN TO AGREE TO STOP FIGHTING, OR ADMITTING ONCE AND FOR ALL THAT HE DOES NOT CONTROL HIS MARXIST ALLIES. IN THE LATTER CASE HE WOULD BE PRESSURED INTO DITCHING THE FMLN OR LOSING HIS INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT.

4. ODUBER SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO HAVE SUCH A PLAN READY TO ROLL AS SOON AS THE NEW GOES IS FORMED, SO AS TO PREEMPT OTHERS (MEXICO? CUBA?) FROM TAKING THE LEAD, OR TO AVOID POSITIONS INSIDE EL SALVADOR FROM HARDENING AGAINST ANY SORT OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. HE SAID HE IS IN TOUCH WITH PUTATIVE CO-SPONSORS.

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5. ODUBER ALSO COMMENTED THAT HE HAD JUST SEEN UNGO ("AN OLD, CLOSE PERSONAL FRIEND") AND FOUND HIM VERY DISCOURAGED ABOUT THE FDR'S AND HIS OWN FUTURE, AND FULLY AWARE OF HIS CURRENT INABILITY TO INFLUENCE EVENTS OR COUNTER THE FMLN'S DOMINANT ROLE.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 061315

6. ODUBER INDICATED THAT DUARTE AND CHAVEZ MENA ARE AWARE OF HIS THINKING, AND IMPLIED THEY SUPPORT IT ALTHOUGH NOTHING CAN BE SAID BEFORE THE ELECTION.

7. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION LATER IN THE DAY, ARIAS CALDERON CONFIRMED HE HAS BEEN WORKING WITH ODUBER ON DEVELOPING A CHRISTIAN-SOCIAL DEMOCRAT COALITION TO ADDRESS A VARIETY OF AREA PROBLEMS, INCLUDING EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA. HAIG

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M 2/9/84

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

DE020

(R)

TO: US Embassy

Date: March 9, 1982

Rdtt

The Anti-Defamation League has been asked by friends and/or family members of the individual whose name appears below, to assist in locating and/or securing his/her release. We are forwarding this information to you with the request that you take such action as may be within your power and inform us of action taken and results received.

NAME: Martinez Lagrava, Atilio Cesar AGE: Sept. 10, 1953

COUNTRY WHERE INCIDENT OCCURRED: Argentina NATIONALITY: Argentine

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION: L.E. No. 10.725.288, student of Anthropology
OAS # 4020

Mother: Mercedes L. Vda. de Martinez
4-1082
(1900) La Plata

DATE AND PLACE OF INCIDENT: June 21, 1977 in La Plata

DESCRIPTION OF INCIDENT: Atilio was serving in the Army. On June 22, 1977 he failed to return home as it was his custom. His mother was told that the previous day he was sent on a mission which was to deliver an envelope. That was done but Atilio never returned to the barracks. Five months later, his mother received an anonymous phone call. The person who called claimed to have been in the same detention place where Atilio was being held. All efforts to locate him have been to no avail.

Habeas corpus - negative

Date information received - February 9, 1982

~~ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)~~
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
~~Margaret P. Grafeld, Director~~
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
~~Exemption(s):~~
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
~~( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to~~
Date ____ Declassify on ____ Reason ____
85F48
5/214

EB624

3/9/82

FAIM

P820030-0300

P B6

March 9, 1982

Dear Senator Danforth:

Thank you for your letter of February 12 on behalf of [redacted] and [redacted] concerning the disappearance in Argentina of numerous individuals. B6

Those persons mentioned by [redacted] and [redacted], namely: Dr. Adolfo Ruben Moldavsky, Jorge Luis Molina, Claudio Norberto Braverman, Miguel Sergio Arcuschin , Noemi Josefina Jansenson de Arcuschin, Carlos Boitano, Jorge Luis Badillo, Juan Carlos, Jorge Arturo and Daniel Alberto Daroqui, Francisco Bartucci, Hugo Jose Agosti, Carlos Enrique Hodl, Federico Eduardo Alvarez Rojas, Enrique Lorenzo Espulgas, and Oscar Miranda, are among the many who have disappeared and about whom our Embassy in Buenos Aires has been unable to obtain any information. We will ask our Embassy to remain alert to any information that may become available concerning these individuals. B6

Accounting for the disappeared is one of the most difficult human rights problems facing the Argentine Government and one which we hope the Argentines will eventually resolve. At the same time, we will continue to use our influence directly and in international fora to encourage Argentine officials to make whatever information they may have available to the families of missing persons.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): B6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
John Danforth,
United States Senate.

cc: American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Drafted:ARA/SC:SKO'Connell:mas
3-5-82 20166 #82-0914
(Disc. [illegible] 320-1277

Clearances:ARA/SC:RLServic
ARA:ECoolidge
S:SBarnett

E2089

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 825AN SA001974 770

ADP414
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01974 091919Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03 PM-09 PA-02 ICAE-00
SP-02 SPRS-02 /062 W
----------047426 092059Z /67

R 091635Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8380
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 1974

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: THE LEFT'S MISSED OPPORTUNITY

REF: SAN SALVADOR 1675

1. THE PARTIES MAKING UP THE FMLN HAVE CONSISTENTLY CLAIMED THEY COULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTION PROCESS FOR FEAR THEY WOULD BE KILLED. ADDRESSEES MAY WANT TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING IN REFUTING THESE CHARGES.
-- TWO OF THE PARTIES IN THE FMLN, THE MNR AND UDN, ARE REGISTERED PARTIES IN EL SALVADOR.
-- TO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTIONS ALL THEY NEED HAVE DONE WAS TO SEND (FROM ABROAD IF THEY DESIRED) TO THE CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION (CCE) A LIST OF THEIR BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND PROVIDE A COPY OF THEIR STATUTES. THE FDR IS NOT A REGISTERED PARTY. IT WOULD HAVE HAD TO OBTAIN 3000 SIGNATURES AND
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 01974 091919Z

THEN REQUESTED REGISTRATION BY THE CCE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE AND PLEDGING TO ABIDE BY DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES.

2. IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING A CALL TO ELECTIONS ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1981, JUNTA PRESIDENT DUARTE AND CCE PRESIDENT BUSTAMANTE CALLED ON THE MNR, THE UDN, AND THE FDR TO JOIN IN THE ELCTORAL PROCESS. THEY WERE URGED TO INITIATE CONTACT WITH THE CCE TO THIS END. THE MNR AND UDN COULD HAVE PARTICIPATED IN LAST FALL'S POLITICAL FORUM. THE FDR COULD HAVE AS WELL IF

PAGE NO. 1

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400034A

IT HAD INITIATED THE REGISTRATION PROCESS. THEY COULD H REGISTERED OR RENEWED THEIR REGISTRATION UP UNTIL FEBRUARY 26, 1982. INSTEAD, THEY HAVE ATTACKED THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AT EVERY STAGE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT INTERNALLY OVER THEIR CLANDESTINE RADIO STATIONS AND INTERNATIONALLY WHEREVER THEY COULD FIND A FORUM. THE FACT IS THE JRG AND THE CCE GAVE THEM EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE; THEY DECIDED NOT TO.

3. THE LIBERAL ACCESS TO THE MEDIA EXPLAINED IN REFTEL WOULD HAVE ALLOWED THOSE LEFTIST PARTIES TO MOUNT A CAMPAIGN FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY IF THEY DESIRED. IT COULD HAVE PREPARED RADIO, TV AND ADVERTISING OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY FOR PRESENTATION IN EL SALVADOR. NO PARTY LEADER NEED HAVE RISKED ENTERING THE COUNTRY.

4. THE ONLY CRITERIA THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN APPLIED TO THEIR ELECTION PROPAGANDA WERE THOSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND GOOD TASTE. THE CCE HAS ALREADY TAKEN ACTION AGAINST ARENA, POC AND PCN FOR EXCEEDING THESE BOUNDS. NATURALLY, A CAMPAIGN RUN BY "REMOTE CONTROL" IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE VOTING POPULATION. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, ALL OF THE PARTIES HAVE HAD TO RELY MORE ON ADVERTISING THAN TRADITIONAL FLESH PRESSING. PARTIES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE VIOLENT LEFT, TAKE THESE
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 01974 091919Z

RISKS. THE LEFT ON THE OTHER HAND MERELY TALKS ABOUT DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, ABSENTS ITSELF FROM THE COUNTRY AND ATTEMPTS BY ALL MEANS TO DERAIL THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 823AN SA001997

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 01997 092335Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	NSC-01	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00
	PM-09	PA-02	MCT-02	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/076 W

----------064350 100031Z /82

R 092206Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8390
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF
DIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 1997

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: VIOLENCE WEEK IN REVIEW FEBRUARY 27 MARCH 5

1. SUMMARY: VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR CLAIMED AT LEAST 59 NEW VICTIMS LAST WEEK. IN ADDITION, UNCONFIRMED REPORTS OF COMBAT INDICATED THAT 22 SOLDIERS AND SOME 128 GUERRILLAS DIED IN ACTION. GUERRILLA ACTIVITY WAS REPORTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE CAPITAL. GUERRILLAS BURNED ANOTHER TOWN HALL AND ITS RECORDS AND THREATENED BUS DRIVERS WITH DEATH IF THEY PERSISTED IN TRAVEL ALONG GUERRILLA CONTESTED HIGHWAYS. VIOLENCE WAS ALSO DIRECTED AGAINST POLITICAL WORKERS BY UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS. END SUMMARY.

2. DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES: AN APPROXIMATE TOTAL OF 59 PERSONS FELL VICTIM TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN EL

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 01997 092335Z

SALVADOR LAST WEEK. EIGHT OF THESE DEATHS WERE ATTRIBUTED BY THE PRESS TO LEFTIST FORCES. WHILE THE KILLERS OF THE REMAINING 51 INDIVIDUALS COULD NOT BE DETERMINED. IN ADDITION TO THOSE KILLED, SIX PERSONS WERE REPORTED DISAPPEARED. ONE OF THE DISAPPEARANCES WAS ATTRIBUTTED TO LEFTIST GUERRILLAS, WHILE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE REMAINDER COULD NOT BE ASCERTAINED. FINALLY, INCOMPLETE AND UNCONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS INDICATED THAT 22 SOLDIERS AND 128 GUERRILLAS DIED IN ONGOING FIGHTING.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

3. SOME STATISTICS: THE BODIES OF THE 59 INDIVIDUALS BELIEVED TO BE VICTIMS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE WERE DISCOVERED IN THE FOLLOWING DEPARTMENTS:

SAN SALVADOR (DEPARTMENT)	4	LA LIBERTAD	6
SAN SALVADOR (CITY)	16	SAN VICENTE	1
USULUTAN	6	SAN MIGUEL	7
SANTA ANA	19	TOTAL	59

AN AGE BREAKDOWN OF THE DEAD YIELDS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

A. AGES 18 AND UNDER	2
B. AGES 18-25	16
C. AGES 26-35	7
D. AGES 36-50	6
E. AGES 51 AND UP	6
F. UNKNOWN	20
TOTAL	59

A BREAKDOWN BY OCCUPATION PROVIDES THE FOLLOWING STATISTICS:

RETIRED COLONEL	1	FORMER MAYOR	1
LABORERS	3	CAMPESINO	1
MERCHANTS	2	CIVIL DEFENSEMEN	3
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STUDENTS	2	UNKNOWN	45
FARMER	1	TOTAL	59

4. INCIDENTS: THE WEEK WAS DOMINATED BY THE SALVADORAN MILITARY ASSAULT ON GUERRILLA POSITIONS ON GUAZAPA VOLCANO. THE SALVADORAN PRESS AND HIGH COMMAND PRONOUNCED THE ATTACK A SUCCESS. TRADITIONAL GUERRILLA ACTIVITY (AMBUSHES, HARASSING ATTACKS, THE COLLECTION OF WAR TAXES, ETC.) OCCURRED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE EXCEPTION WAS THE CAPITAL IN WHICH NO ACTIVITY WAS REPORTED.

5. THREATS AGAINST THE ELECTIONS: LEFTIST INTIMIDATION CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE WEEK, PARTICULARLY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF USULUTAN. NEAR SAN MARCOS LEMPA, GUERRILLAS THREATENED TO BURN NOT ONLY BUSES BUT BUS DRIVERS AS WELL SHOULD THEY CONTINUE TRAVELING TO EASTERN EL SALVADOR. THE TWON HALL OF SAN AGUSTIN WAS BURNED IN A GUERRILLA ATTACK, COMPLICATING THE ISSUEANCE OF CEDULAS FOR VOTING. IN ADDITION, VIOLENCE FROM UNKNOWN QUARTERS STALKED PARTICIPANTS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. ARENA LEADER, MAJOR D'AUBUISSON, WAS WOUNDED BY AN UNKNOWN GUNMAN ON 2/27, WHILE THE EX-MAJOR OF PANCHIMALCO, A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT ACTIVIST, AND ANOTHER PARTY WORKER WERE KILLED BY UNKNOWN GUNMEN.
HINTON

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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RELEASE

AN: 0820127-0332

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PAGE 01 LONDON 05320 0918452
ACTION HA-06

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 NSC-01 NSAE-00 SY-05 TRSE-00 PM-09 PA-02
MCT-02 RP-10 ICAE-00 SP-02 SR-04 SPRS-02 /082 W
------------------047275 0920317 /53
R 0918432 MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7600
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

UNCLAS LONDON 05320

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORTS SALVADORAN ATROCITIES

1. AN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL MARCH 9 NEWS RELEASE REPORTS A CATALOGUE OF ATROCITIES ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED BY GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES IN EL SALVADOR. THE REPORT, A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MONTHLY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER, IS A COMPILATION OF "EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS" COLLECTED BY AN AI FACT-FINDING MISSION WHICH VISITED REFUGEE CAMPS IN MEXICO, HONDURAS, AND COSTA RICA LAST YEAR.

2. ALTHOUGH THE ACCOUNTS COLLECTED BY THE MISSION COVER ONLY THE PERIOD THROUGH AUGUST 1981, THE NEWSLETTER ASSERTS THAT THE ATROCITIES ARE CONTINUING, AND THAT MOST ARE BEING COMMITTED BY THE SECURITY FORCES AGAINST NON-COMBATANT CIVILIANS NOT INVOLVED IN GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES.

3. TEXT IS BEING POUCHED. LOUIS

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NUNS

10 March 1982

Bill Brownfield - POL

Churchwomen's Murder Case

RELEASE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

DATT: Col. Duggan

MILGRP: Col. Hayes

THRU: POL:RSDriscoll

Attached is a copy of a State Department cable with a series of questions concerning the murders of the four American churchwomen in 1980. The State Department has asked us to provide answers. I need whatever help you can give me on questions 19 and 20.

19. Obviously, this is an insulting question for Cols. Cruz, Cummings, and Bosch. AmEmbassy Mexico has tried to interview Moran and we are convinced here that his story is nonsense. Nevertheless, the families are not going to let go on this question until we have a definitive answer. Would it be possible to get statements from Cols. Cruz, Cummings, and Bosch (written or oral) to the effect that they did not communicate with Hans Christ tendthe effect that these women were coming and would be interfered with? Could you do this through your communications channels?

20. I have been told that El Salvador did not have Hueys in December, 1980. Is that correct? Would it be possible to check flight logs for GOES helicopters for the period 11/16/80 - 12/1/80? Would these logs indicate where the helicopter was flying? If not, let me know and I will answer the question accordingly.

Thakhs.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 062771

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PAGE 01 STATE 062771
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 /016 R

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R 100301Z MAR 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PN 0000

[redacted] STATE 062771

FOLLWONG SAN SALVADOR 1889 DTD MAR 060600Z SENT ACTION STATE USUN NY GUATEMALA MANAGUA MEXICO MONTERRY BEING REPEATED TO YOU FOR YOUR INFO:

QUOTE: [redacted] SAN SALVADOR 1889
USUN FOR SECRETARY
E.O. 23065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF SANDINISTA GUERRILLA
REF: (A) SAN SALVADOR 1788 (NOTAL)
(B) SAN SALVADOR 1830 (NOTAL)
1. SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS A DESCRIPTION OF THE CICUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE CAPTURE AND SUBSEQUENT ESCAPE OF THE SANDINISTA GUERRILLA, LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, A LIST OF DOCUMENTS NOW IN POSSESSION OF GOES POLICE, A SUMMARY OF GUTIERREZ' CONFESSION MADE TO THE NATIONAL POLICE.
2. CIRCUMSTANCES: ON FEBRUARY 22, A SANDINISTA GUERRILLA, LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA, WAS CAPTURED BY THE SALVADORAN MILITARY IN THE TWON OF LAS CHINAMAS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AHUACHAPAN, APPROXIMATELY 5 KMS FROM THE GUATEMALAN BORDER. THIS INDIVIDUAL WAS TURNED OVER TO THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 062771

NATIONAL POLICE FOR INTERROGATION ON FEBRUARY 22
GUTIERREZ WAS INTERROGATED BY THE NATIONAL POLICE DETECTIVES UP UNTIL FEBRUARY 25. THEN ON MARCH TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL POLICE AGENTS TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY HIS (GUTIERREZ') CONTACT BY THE NAME OF JORGE, WHO WAS SUPPOSEDLY AN EMPLOYEE OF THE MEXICAN EMBASSY. ACCORDING TO THE POLICE REPORT, WHEN THE POLICE AGENTS AND GUTIERREZ ARRIVED AT THE EMBASSY, THE EMBASSY GATE WAS BEING OPEN TO ALLOW A VEHICLE TO DEPART. AT THAT TIME GUTIERREZ ASKED ONE OF THE PERSONS

United States Department of State
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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9940034A

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INSIDE THE COMPOUND, "WHO IS JORGE?" IMMEDIATELY ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL, IN A VIOLENT MANNER, GRABBED GUTIERREZ BY THE ARM AND PULLED HIM INTO THE EMBASSY. WHEN THE NATIONA POLICE AGENTS TRIED TO TAKE HIM AWAY, THE SAID INDIVIDUAL INFORMED THEM THAT THEY WERE NOT ABLE TO ENTER THE EMBASSY PREMISES AS IT IS CONSIDERED MEXICAN TERRITORY. AT THE SAME MOMENT, TWO OTHER INDIVIDUALS ARRIVED AND TOOK GUTIERREZ INTO THE EMBASSY BUILDING. IT IS PRESUMED BY THE POLICE THAT THE INDIVIDUAL WHO GRABBED GUTIERREZ' ARM IS THE INDIIVIDUAL KNOWN AS JORGE BECAUSE, ALTHOUGH THE AGENTS IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS NATIONAL POLICE USING THEIR POLICE IDENTIFICATION, THEY DID NOT RELEASE GUTIERREZ. LATER THE SAME DAY, MR. CARLOS EDUARDO AMEZQUITA MARTINEZ, MEXICAN CHARGE D' AFFAIRES, ASKED FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR GUTIERREZ AND TWO SALVADORANS ALONG WITH SAFE CONDUCT PASSES FOR THE THREE INDIVIDUALS. THE NATIONAL POLICEMEN WHO ACCOMPANIED GUTIERREZ TO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY MADE A COMSPOSITE OF THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAD GRABBED GUTIERREZ AND PULLED HIM INTO THE COMPAOUND. THE COMPOSITE IS AN IDENTICAL LIKENESS OF THE MEXICAN CHARGE D' AFFAIRES. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE CAPTURED SANDINISTA GUTIERREZ IS STILL LOCATED IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY AWAITING GOES DECISION REGARDING THE MEXICAN REQUEST FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM AND SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 062771

3. DOCUMENTATION IN THE POSSESSION OF THE GOES AUTHORITIES:

A. CAPTURED SANDINISTA GUTIERREZ' NICARAGUAN PASSPORT WICH DOES NOT BEAR AN ENTRY STAMP FOR EL SALVADOR.

B. STATEMENT MADE TO THE GOES AUTHORITIES BY GUTIERREZ THAT HE RESIDED AT VISTA IDEAL NO. 517, COLONIA LINDA VISTA, GUADALUPE, MONTERRY, NUEVO LEON.

C. GUTIERREZ' STATEMENT TO THE GOES AUTHORITIES THAT HE IS A STUDENT AT ESTUDIANTE DE FACULTAD DE FISICA IN MONTERREY.

D. GUTIERREZ' NICARAGUAN PASSPORT SHOWS THAT HE APPLIED FOR A US VISA AT THE US CONGEN AT MONTERREY ON MAY 20, 1981. HIS PASSPORT ALSO SHOWS THAT HE RECEIVED A MEXICAN TOURIST VISA NO. 721 ON JANUARY 30, 1981 FOR 90 DAYS. HIS PASSPORT ALSO SHOWS AN ENTRY STAMP INTO GUATEMALA ON FEBRUARY 19, 1982 AT TALISMAN L CARMEN, SAN MARCOS AND A STAMP SHOWING DEPARTURE FROM GUATEMALA ON FEBRUARY 20, 1982 AT VALLE NUEVO, JUTIAPA.

E. STANDARD POLICE PHOTOS AND FINGERPRINTS OF THE CAPTURED SANDINISTA GUTIERREZ.

4. SUMMARY OF GUTIERREZ' CONFESION MADE TO NATIONAL

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POLICE
THE STATEMENT WAS GIVEN BELOW TO THE NATIONAL POLICE ON 2/25/82. IT IS SUMMARIZED BELOW. THE ORDER IN WHICH HE MADE HIS DECLARATIONS HAS BEEN ALTERED IN ORDER TO GIVE THE STATEMENT CHRONOLOGICAL SENSE.

5. QUOTE OF GUTIERREZ' STATEMENT:

THE DECLARANT REPORTS THAT HIS FULL NAME IS LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ ESPINOZA. HE WAS BORN IN MANAGUA, [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 062771

NICARAGUA. SINCE JULY 1978 (AT ANOTHER POINT HE SAYS JANUARY 1979), HE WAS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE SANDINISTA MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL SECONDARIO (HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT MOVEMENT). HE FOUGHT WITH THE FSLN IN THE SEISURE OF THE NICARAGUAN TWON OF JINOTE ON 7/5/79. AFTER TAKING THE TOWN, GUTIERREZ JOINED THE CIVIL DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF JINOTEPE AND CONTINUED TO ASSIST THE FSLN WAS EFFORT. AFTER THE SANDINISTA VICTORY ON 3/24/80 (DATE AS STATED), GUTIERREZ REPORTS THAT HE SPENT FIVE MONTHS TEACHING SANDINISTA POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY. HE THEN RERURNED TO SCHOOL UNTIL JANUARY 1981.

6. IN JANUARY 1981, THE CHIEF OF THE SANDINISTA YOUTH FOR GUTIERREZ' ZONE -- WILMER GARCIA (LATER CALLED WILMER RAMIREZ BY THE DECLARANT) -- ORDERED GUTIERREZ TO ATTEND A GUERRILLA TRAINING SCHOOL IN MEXICO. GUTIERREZ IDENTIFIES THE SCHOOL AS "EL INSTITUTO DE SALTILLO" LOCATED IN COAHUILA, MEXICO. HE TRAVELED TO MEXICO ON 2/15/81 IN THE COMPANY OF TEN OTHER NICARAGUANS: LUIS ROMON, JAIME PEREZ, OSCAR ESTTAGEN, EDUARDO LAU, EDUARDO ZUNICA, ARNOLDO CONTRERAS, WILLIAM SIU, MARIO BOANORGE, EDUARDO QUINTEROS, AND JUAN ROMERO. ONCE IN MEXICO, THE GROUP CONTACTED A NICARAGUAN NAMED "WILLIAM", WHOM GUTIERREZ IDENTIFIES AS THE FORMER FSLN COMMANDER OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT DURING THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. GUTIERREZ REMAINDED AT THE GUERRILLA TRAINING SCHOOL IN MEXICO FROM 2/20/81 UNTIL SPETEMBER 1981. HE REPORTS THAT THERE WERE APPROXIAMTELY 40 TRAINEES AT THE INSTITUTE. TWENTY WERE SALVADORANS, SIX WERE MEXCIANS, AND THE REMAINDER WERE NICARAGUANS. THERE WERE THREE INSTRUCTORS -- TWO NICARAGUANS AND ONE CUBAN. THE STUDENTS WERE THAUGHT SOPHISTICATED [redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 062771

GUERRILLA TACTICS, INSTRUCTED IN THE USE OF VARIOUS WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES, AND TRAINED IN GUERRILLA

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LOGISTICS. HE DESCRIBES THE COURSE AS AN ADVANCED GUERRILL TRAINING COURSE. GUTIERREZ LEARNED THAT THERE WERE SIMILAR GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMPS IN JALISCO, ZACATECAS, DURANGO, AND CHIAPAS -- ALL IN MEXICO. HE REPORTS AS WELL THAT THEY WERE RECEIVING HELP FROM THE PRI.

7. IN JANUARY, 1982, GUTIERREZ WAS INFORMED BY HIS CHIEF INSTRUCTOR "WILLIAM" THAT HE WAS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO EL SALVADOR. HE WAS TO BECOME THE SECOND-IN-COMMAND AT A GUERRILLA CAMP SOMEWHERE IN EASTERN EL SALVADOR. HIS PRIMARY FUNCTION WOULD BE THE TRAINING OF THE INEXPERIENCED SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS. GUTIERREZ DEPARTED FOR EL SALVADOR ON 2/16/82. HE TRAVELED WITH A GROUP OF NINE OTHER GUERRILAS. THE OTHERS CARRIED MEXICAN PASSPORTS AND DOCUMENTATION. SEVEN MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP WERE TO REMAIN IN GUATEMALA TO ASSIST THE GUATEMALAN GUERRILLA MOVEMENT. GUTIERREZ AND TWO OTHER WERE TO CONTINUE ON TO EL SALVADOR. HE WAS GIVEN A SMALL SUM OF MEXICAN PEOS AND TOLD THAT HIS MONTHLY SALARY WOULD BE 300 U.S. DOLLARS. GUTIERREZ CLAIMS THAT HE THOUGHT THAT HE WOULD REMAIN IN EL SALVADOR FOR ONLY A SHORT TIME. HE WAS TO STAY ONLY SO LONG AS IT TOOK HIM TO TRAIN HIS GUERRILLA UNIT. HE WAS GIVEN TO BELIEVE THAT THE FMLN WOULD LAUNCH A MAJOR OFFENSIVE IN EL SALVADOR ON 3/10/82.

8. GUTIERREZ' ODERS STATED THAT HE WAS TO MEET A CONTACT CODE-NAMED "DAVID" OUTSIDE THE TOWN OF APANECA, AHUACHAPAN DEPARTMENT, EL SALVADOR ON 2/21/82. DAVID, IN TURN, WAS TO GUIDE HIM TO HIS GUERRILLA UNIT. NOTE: AT THE BEGINNING OG HIS STATEMENT, GUTIERREZ SAID THAT HIS GUERRILLA CAMP

[redacted]

PAGE 06 STATE 062771

WAS LOCATED ON THE SAN VICENTE VOLCANO, AT THE END OF HIS STATEMENT, HE CLAIMS THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW WHERE HE WAS TO SERVE.

9. GUTIERREZ PROVIDES CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ABOUT HIS SUPPOSED CONTACTS IN EL SALVADOR. "DAVID", HIS SUPPOSED GUIDE IN WESTERN EL SALVADOR, IS THE DEPUTY TO A MAN CODE-.NAMED "JORGE". JORGE WORKS IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN SAN SALVADOR. MR. GUTIERREZ BELEIVES THAT JORGE IS A NICARAGUAN, ALTHOUGH HE IS THE LIAISON OFFICER BETWEEN THE GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMPS IN MEXICO AND THE GUERRILA MOVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR. HE HAS BEEN IN EL SALVADOR SINCE JANUARY 1982. HE HANDLES THE PASSPORTS AND DOCUMENTS FOR THE FOREING GUERRILLAS WHO ARE PASSED INTO AND OUT OF EL SALVADOR. GUTIERREZ IS UNCLEAR ABOUT WHETHER

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HE HAS ACTUALLY MET EITHER "JORGE" OR "DAVID". HE WAS CAPTURED AT LAS CHINAMAS, AHUACHAPAN DEPARTMENT, EL SALVADOR ON 2/20/82 -- ONE DAY BEFORE HIS SCHEDULED RENDEZVOUS. END QUOTE.

10. THE STATEMENT IS TAKEN IN LONGHAND. IT IS NOT SIGNED.

11. PRESIDENT DUARTE WILL ISSUE A STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT MORNING OF MARCH 6.

12. ACTION REQUESTED: BY SEPTEL, POST IS REQUESTING AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA, AMEMBASSY MANAGUA, AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY AND AMCONSUL MONTERREY TO FURNISH SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS OUTLINED TO DEPARTMENT AND THIS EMBASSY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN THIS CASE. HINTON UNQUOTE HAIG

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revised version of the handbook was issued on 10 March 1982 and reiterates that one of the prime objectives of the operations carried out by the National Police is that of "ensuring respect for the laws, moral principles and the inviolability of human rights". The Special Representative also wishes to draw attention to the instructions issued in October 1982 by General José Guillermo García, Minister of Defence, that all members of the armed and security forces must respect human rights and must not commit abuses of authority for any reason. 15/

15/ Information bulletin of the Government of El Salvador, Seinform, 8 October 1982.

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Special Project (1993)

II. CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF EL SALVADOR

22. In his final report to the Commission on Human Rights of 18 January 1982, 16/ the Special Representative described the main events which shaped the political situation in the Republic of El Salvador during 1979, 1980 and 1981. With respect to 1982, as has been generally reported, the situation of armed confrontation and widespread violence in the country has continued.

23. A political event of prime importance was the holding of the planned elections to the Constituent Assembly on 28 March 1982. In his previous report the Special Representative referred to the plan for these elections, and made some comments on the conditions for holding them. 17/

24. According to the Permanent Mission of El Salvador to the United Nations at Geneva, 18/ "the elections were observed by delegations from governments and international organizations, as well as by representatives of electoral bodies, trade union, civic and political organizations, representatives of the International Federation of Human Rights, members of the European Parliament and specially invited political figures". The following information concerning the nationality and number of visiting observers is given in the same document: "Venezuela, 24 persons; United Kingdom, 2 persons; Honduras, 10 persons; Colombia, 4 persons; Panama, 7 persons; Guatemala, 7 persons; China, 2 persons; Federal Republic of Germany, 10 persons; Argentina, 2 persons; Uruguay, 2 persons; United States, 34 persons; Paraguay, 5 persons; Brazil, 2 persons; Antigua and Barbuda, 2 persons; Dominican Republic, 3 persons; Italy, 7 persons; Belgium, 1 person; Chile, 4 persons; Peru, 9 persons; Jamaica, 1 person; Mexico, 3 persons; New Zealand, 1 person; Spain, 4 persons; Austria, 1 person; Canada, 4 persons; Costa Rica, 7 persons; Japan, 2 persons; Egypt, 1 person; France, 2 persons". The document also mentions "the presence of the Organization of American States", and adds that "in all, 742 journalists covered the event". The Special Representative notes the various reactions to the elections.

25. According to reports which appeared in the international press, 19/ on the day of the elections, at least 18 persons died as a result of the attacks launched by the guerrilla movement in the Mejicanos, San Antonio Abad, Cuzcatancingo and Apopa suburbs of the capital. The guerrillas are also said to have carried out harassment in the towns of Usulatán, San Vicente and San Francisco Gotera, as a result of which there was no public transport in the eastern part of El Salvador. According to the same source, at some polling stations in San Salvador the line of voters stretched for over half a mile, while sporadic shots and explosions were heard and bombs exploded near two markets. The same sources also reported that voting was suspended at Apopa, some 17 km from San Salvador, and that apparently the fiercest fighting occurred in Usulatán, 66 miles south-east of San Salvador. Some shooting was also reported in San Miguel, the largest town in eastern El Salvador.

16/ E/CN.4/1502.

17/ Ibid., paras. 132-136.

18/ Information bulletin of the Government of El Salvador, Seinform, "El proceso electoral en El Salvador", 1 April 1982, made available to the Special Representative by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador to the United Nations at Geneva.

19/ International Herald Tribune, 29 March 1982; The Times, 30 March 1982.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

26. The official results given by the Central Council for Elections have been transmitted to the Centre for Human Rights by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador at Geneva. They are as follows: total number of valid votes: 1,362,339; spoiled ballots: 131,498; abstentions: 51,438; contested ballots: 6,412. 20/ The Christian Democratic Party obtained 40.7 per cent of the votes and won 24 of the total of 60 seats in the Assembly; the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) obtained 29.8 per cent of the votes and won 19 seats; the National Conciliation Party (PCN) obtained 18.3 per cent of the votes, winning 14 seats; the Democratic Action Party won 7.7 per cent of the votes and two seats; and the other two parties received the remaining 3.5 per cent of the votes. According to the information provided by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador to the United Nations at Geneva, the Salvadorian People's Party won one seat. 21/

27. As was reported in the world press, 22/ on Thursday, 22 April Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the ARENA party, was elected President of the Constituent Assembly. He obtained 36 of the 39 votes of the parties considered to be more right wing; 22 of the 24 members of the Christian Democratic Party voted against, and 2 abstained.

28. At the end of April 1982, 23/ Mr. Alvaro Magaña, Director of the Banco Hipotecario was elected Provisional President of El Salvador by the Constituent Assembly by a vote of 36 in favour, 17 against and 7 abstentions. Three Vice-Presidents took office with Mr. Magaña: Mr. Raúl Molina Martínez, of the National Conciliation Party; Mr. Mauricio Gutiérrez Castro, of ARENA; and Mr. Pablo Mauricio Albergue, of the Christian Democratic Party. 24/ In early May 1982 the formation of the new Government was announced, composed as follows: four Ministers - those for Foreign Affairs, Labour, Education and Planning - from the Christian Democratic Party; four Ministers - those for Economic Affairs, Foreign Trade, Agriculture and Public Health - from the ARENA party; and three Ministers - those for Justice, Public Works and the Office of the President - from the National Conciliation Party. The President himself appointed the Ministers of the Interior and of Finance, and decided that General José Guillermo Garcia should continue as Minister of Defence. 25/

29. On 3 August 1982, the President of the Republic and the leaders of four political parties signed the "Apaneca Pact" adopting the basic Government platform. The platform "establishes the basic principles of the Government of National Unity, summed up in the following objectives: pacification, democratization, full respect for human rights. economic recovery, consolidation of reforms, confidence-building and international security and reinforcement". The Apaneca Pact recognized the need to set up a

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20/ Central Council for Elections, San Salvador, Cifras Oficiales del Consejo Central de Elecciones sobre Elecciones, 14 April 1982, p. 1.

21/ Information bulletin of the Government of El Salvador, op.cit.

22/ Le Monde, The Guardian and International Herald Tribune, 24 April 1982.

23/ Newsweek and International Herald Tribune, 3 May 1982.

24/ International Herald Tribune, 4 May 1982.

25/ The Guardian and International Herald Tribune, 6 May 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Political Commission, a Peace Commission and a Human Rights Commission. 26/ The Minister for Foreign Affairs fully informed the Special Representative of the significance of the Apaneca Pact and particularly of the agreement to set up the Human Rights Commission, an agreement which reflects the determination of the country's authorities to improve the human rights situation.

30. According to subsequent press reports, 27/ on 2 December 1982 the President of the Republic appointed the seven members of the Human Rights Commission set up under the Apaneca Pact. These were: Colonel López Nuilla, Director of the National Police; Monsignor Freddy Delgado, of the diocese of El Salvador; Mr. Cristobal Alemán Alas, a member of the Democratic People's Union, a peasant organization; Mr. Jorge Ernesto Campos, engineer; Mr. Mario Ruiz Velasco, lawyer and financier; Mrs. Flor de María Villacorta de Hasbún, lawyer; and Mr. Manuel Laínez Méndez, lawyer. The same source attributes to the President of the Republic a statement to the effect that the Government is preparing citizens' amnesty and rehabilitation laws for members of the guerrilla forces prepared to lay down their arms, and the immediate establishment of the Peace Commission.

31. The Special Representative has received information about the activities of the Human Rights Commission. According to the world press, 28/ this Commission in December 1982 was instrumental in obtaining the release of a person who had been illegally detained by the police on 24 September 1981 and since then had not been formally charged or placed at the disposal of the judicial authorities. In addition, according to information supplied by the Government of El Salvador, 29/ one of the members of the Commission, Monsignor Freddy Delgado, said that of the 32 cases dealt with by the Commission, six had been successfully concluded.

32. According to information from the Government of El Salvador, 30/ the Political Commission set up under the Apaneca Pact has already drawn up a political time-table in accordance with which the presidential and municipal elections are to be held in 1984; 28 March is given as the deadline for the elections.

33. However, Mr. Guillermo Ungo, President of the FDR, takes a very different view of the Apaneca Pact, for he personally told the Special Representative that the Pact merely recorded the points of divergence among the various political parties and sought to improve the current image of the Salvadorian regime.

34. Mr. Guillermo Ungo and Mr. Rafael Moreno, a representative of the Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FDR-FLNFM, told the Special Representative that what was going on at present was "diplomatic guerrilla warfare", by which they meant that the various proposals put forward by the opposition for dialogue and negotiation with the Government of El Salvador, while apparently being welcomed by the Government, never actually came to anything, with the result that the genuine pacification of the country was being put off.

26/ Statement issued by the Information Bureau of the Office of the President of the Republic, San Salvador, El Salvador, dated 27 and 28 August 1982.

27/ New York Times, 3 December 1982.

28/ The Times, 13 December 1982.

29/ Information bulletin, Seinform, 12 January 1983.

30/ Ibid., 30 September 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

35. According to a document dated 5 October 1982, 31/ the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) proposed the initiation of an unconditional direct dialogue with the Executive of El Salvador, the Constituent Assembly and the armed forces "with a view to finding ways of establishing peace and social justice in El Salvador and contributing to détente in the Central American region". The document goes on to suggest that a "good offices group" should be set up to organize and pave the way for such a dialogue, which should be held in the presence of reliable witnesses. The world press 32/ recorded the news of the proposals. According to the same source, 33/ however, Mr. D'Aubuisson, President of the Constituent Assembly of El Salvador, said that he would never allow discussions with criminal groups, while the Archbishop, Monsignor Rivera y Damas, described the proposal as timely and the Christian Democrat Party said it would be prepared to take part in the negotiations.

36. At the end of December 1982, President Magaña called on all the members of the Cabinet to resign so that it could be reorganized and fresh impetus given to government activity. 34/ All the Ministers and Under-Secretaries complied by offering their resignation, and following the relevant consultations, the President appointed a new Foreign Trade Minister, Under-Secretary for Culture, Youth and Sport, and Under-Secretary for Agriculture and Stock-breeding; he did not accept the resignations of the other members of the Cabinet. 35/

37. Early in January 1983, Lieutenant-Colonel Ochoa Pérez, Military Commander of the Department of Cabañas refused to obey an order from the President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces appointing him military attaché in the Embassy of El Salvador in Uruguay. 36/ Referring to these events, General José Guillermo García, Minister of Defence, stated that the only official who could ask him to resign was the President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, and that "manipulation by certain political leaders was apparent" 37/ in the course events had taken. Finally, Lieutenant-Colonel Ochoa agreed to resign his post, 38/ although he was sent not to Uruguay but to Washington as delegate to the Inter-American Defence Board. 39/

31/ Proposal for a dialogue between the FDR and the FMLN, El Salvador, 5 October 1982.

32/ El País, 26 and 27 October 1982; The Guardian and Le Monde, 27 October 1982.

33/ El País, International Herald Tribune and Le Monde, 28 October 1982.

34/ El País, 24 December 1982.

35/ Information bulletin of the Government of El Salvador, Seinform, 4 January 1983.

36/ Le Monde and The Guardian, 1 January 1983, International Herald Tribune, 8 and 9 January 1983.

37/ Information bulletin of the Government of El Salvador, Seinform, 11 January 1983.

38/ El País, 13 January 1983.

39/ Journal de Genève, 14 January 1983.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

III. SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE EXERCISE OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

38. In his previous report to the Commission on Human Rights, 40/ the Special Representative assembled a variety of information on the situation with respect to economic, social and cultural rights in El Salvador, and in this report he would like to add the following.

39. According to document E/1982/75 of the Economic and Social Council of 19 May 1982, 41/ there was a negative growth of 9.5 per cent in El Salvador in 1981, due, among other things, to "internal factors, especially those deriving from continued and widespread civil strife". On the other hand, according to the same source, there was a considerable decline in inflation, from 19 per cent to 12 per cent.

40. As the ECLA survey 42/ states, the severe crisis in which the country is plunged has caused, among other things, such extensive physical damage that its effects will last at least throughout the medium term and perhaps longer. The survey adds that "although it is too early to calculate exactly the financial cost of economic reactivation and recovery, and the restoration of the road, power communications and transport infrastructure, and in general the restoration of production capacity and housing, it must amount to hundreds of millions of dollars by any estimate". The survey also states that "once again internal factors - primarily the armed strife - and external factors combined to produce the critical economic situation".

41. With regard more specifically to employment and unemployment trends, the survey states that "some partial data confirm the increasing decline in employment levels. The above-mentioned survey by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of El Salvador indicates that between January 1980 and August 1981 employment fell by 27 per cent in manufacturing branches, 56 per cent in construction, 25 per cent in trade, 33 per cent in transport and 16 per cent in other services. This partial information refers basically to the situation in the towns, where unemployment figures were sometimes higher than in rural areas".

42. In his previous report, the Special Representative referred at some length to the agrarian reform undertaken by the Revolutionary Government Junta. 43/ The agrarian reform comprised three phases, concerning each of which the Special Representative now wishes to add the following information.

43. With regard to the first phase, affecting farms of over 500 hectares, the competent authorities of the Republic of El Salvador informed the Special Representative during his visit to the country that implementation of that phase was continuing despite the financial and other difficulties which had arisen.

40/ E/CN.4/1502, op.cit.

41/ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Economic survey of Latin America, 1981. Summary. E/1982/75, 19 May 1982.

42/ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Economic Commission for Latin America, El Salvador, Notas para el Estudio Economico de América Latina, 1981, (E/CEPAL/MEX/1982/L.22, 4 June 1982) pp. 1, 3, 24 and 25.

43/ E/CN.4/1502, op.cit.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights Special Project (1993)

Thus, 287 peasant co-operatives are managing expropriated farms on which 7 per cent of the rural population are working and living, and the National Bank for Agricultural Development is granting credit to those co-operatives for the agricultural year 1982/1983. In addition, according to the international press, 44/ on 27 July 1982 12 peasant co-operatives with a total membership of 10,000 persons received deeds of ownership of expropriated farms under the first phase of the reform, a total of 107 claims having been approved.

44. The second phase of the land reform affects farms of over 100 or 150 hectares - depending on the quality of the land - but less than 500 hectares. According to the explanations given to the Special Representative in El Salvador by the competent authorities, its implementation has been postponed on account of the widespread violence, the lack of skilled personnel to provide the potential beneficiaries with the necessary technical assistance, the severe economic crisis through which the country is passing and the lack of capital to pay compensation to landowners. Nevertheless, nearly 100 farms have been voluntarily offered for sale to the Salvadorian Agrarian Reform Institute, which has so far bought 64 of them, incorporating them in the process of implementation of the first phase.

45. The third phase of the agrarian reform is set out in Decree No. 207 of 18 April 1980 of the Revolutionary Government Junta and affects farms subject to the land-leasing and share-cropping system. With regard to this phase, the Constituent Assembly on 18 May 1982 adopted Decree No. 6 which instituted a temporary suspension of Decree No. 207. Subsequently, however, the Constituent Assembly issued a Decree giving an authoritative interpretation of Decree No. 6, which indicated that the latter provided for the temporary suspension of Decree No. 207 only for the duration of the cycles of cultivation of cotton, sugarcane and cereals and cattle-raising activities, that the rights stemming from the leases had to be respected, and that when Decree No. 6 came into force the rights of the beneficiaries of Decree No. 207 of the Revolutionary Government Junta would be recognized. 45/ The Special Representative has been informed that on 9 June 1982 the President of the Republic delivered final deeds of ownership to former tenant-holders in the Department of San Salvador; that on 5 June in the town of Usulatán he handed over deeds of ownership to peasants of 18 communities in that department; that on Thursday 17 June Vice-President Molina and other officials delivered deeds of ownership in the town of Unión; and that these deliveries of deeds are part of a plan for the transfer of 800 titles of ownership, 100 of them final and 700 provisional. 46/ According to information supplied by the Government in January 1983, the Financiera Nacional de Tierras Agrícolas (National Financing Office for Agricultural Land - FINATA) will deliver in the course of the year 9,000 permanent deeds of ownership to peasants under Decree No. 207. The peasants benefiting from this aspect of the agrarian reform have easy access to credit. For the same purpose, a plan will be implemented with the Banco de Fomento Agropecuario for the purpose of granting loans to more than

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44/ International Herald Tribune, 29 July 1982; The Times, 24 and 29 July 1982.

45/ Document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador, Department of Foreign Policy, circular No. 225 of 30 June 1982, made available to the Centre for Human Rights by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador in Geneva.

46/ Ibid.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

13,000 peasants, either individually or as members of co-operatives or solidarity groups. This plan will come into force in the first fortnight of March. 47/

46. However, the Special Representative has also received different reports, as well as criticisms of the present state of the agrarian reform in El Salvador. In Martin Diskin's recent study 48/ the following comments are made:

> "The resulting situation reflects a serious lack of planning. The rapid initial act of intervention led to the formation of co-operatives whose new leadership did not reflect the working population prior to intervention. Farm managers, overseers, mechanics, and even book-keepers are overrepresented on many co-operatives. Had the physical intervention been done quickly, as it was, but with a period allowed for the formation of a co-operative directorate chosen to be more representative, the subsequent operation of the enterprise might have gone more smoothly. The slow pace of the titling, compounded by the constant difficulty in receiving credit, supplies and extension services, has lowered output and efficiency on many phase 1 farms. The chilling effect of violence, which is known to the military and the police and often perpetrated by them, has further impeded the implementation of this phase. A list of 184 murders committed between March and October 1980 was made public by Rodolfo Viera, the head of ISTA, who was himself assassinated in January 1981. Aside from 50 killings labelled unknown, they were all committed by military, security forces or the paramilitary.
>
> "Using the quantitative results from the monthly reports, we may say that the impact of the reform has been as follows. All the land in phase 1 - about 15 per cent of El Salvador's farm land - has been expropriated, benefiting perhaps 25,000 families. Only seven co-operatives have been issued titles.
>
> "In terms of production, 12.8 per cent of El Salvador's coffee-producing land, 38.2 per cent of the cotton land and 53.4 per cent of the sugar acreage were contained in phase 1."

47. Again with regard to the first phase of the land reform, Professor Roy L. Prosterman has said 49/ the following: "It may be said that the legal status of phase I has not changed ... but its practical status has, I believe, changed adversely, as a result of the appointment of hostile administrators, and the apparently widespread dismissal of favourably-disposed officials, non-granting of credit to many co-ops and weakening of important support services".

47/ Government of El Salvador, Information bulletin, Seinform, No. 11, 13 January 1983.

48/ Diskin, Martin, contained in El Salvador land reform 1980-1981, Impact audit, "1982 Supplement", (OXFAM America, Boston, Massachusetts, 1982), pp. 30-32.

49/ Prepared statement of Roy L. Prosterman, Professor of Law, University of Washington, before the Sub-Committee on Inter-American Affairs to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3 August 1982, p. 19.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

48. With regard to the second phase of the land reform, Martin Diskin has said: 50/

> "The second phase of the reform, long held in suspension, has now been legally extinguished by the Constituent Assembly elected in March. In addition to the real administrative and technical problems of implementation, it has been subjected to a constant barrage of criticism from those who stand to lose most from it. These people are now a dominant force in the Government and they have succeeded in undoing the single most important phase of the entire reform".

49. With regard to the third phase of the land reform in El Salvador, Martin Diskin has written the following: 51/

> "The 'Land-to-the-tiller programme', though flawed in concept, might at least have given - assurance to some of the poorest of the rural population. With even the distant promise of a land title, smallholders could begin to use their own creativity to devise ways to improve their lot with government financial and technical help. Now even that promise has succumbed to violence, intimidation, corruption, and most recently, to Decree No. 6, 'approved by the Assembly upon the initiative of the President of the Republic'."

50. Also in relation to the third phase of the land reform, the Special Representative read in a San Salvador newspaper 52/ a communiqué from the Christian Democrat Party stating: "From the day after the elections, from 28 March to date, more than 7,000 beneficiaries under Decree No. 207 have been dispossessed by ex-owners, with uninhibited use of force and intimidation and absolute disregard for laws and authorities". Further information is supplied by The New York Times, 53/ which says that according to the Democratic People's Union, a federation of peasants' and workers' organizations aligned with the Christian Democrats, 9,600 peasant families have been dispossessed of the land they had rented since the Assembly began to dismantle the agrarian reform programme, and a further 60,000 families have been threatened with dispossession.

51. Lastly, a working paper published by the Catholic University of El Salvador, 54/ which gives an overall assessment of the current process of reforms in El Salvador - land, banking and foreign trade reforms, states that "the reform programme decreed in 1980 seems to have encountered its first failure as a result of its lack of breadth and depth", adding that "the lack of depth and breadth of the reforms is not only understandable but in fact seems inevitable, seeing how many powerful forces there were waiting to frustrate the positive possibilities of the process". To conclude, the report states: "These conclusions do not represent any attempt to underestimate the importance of the three reforms planned; they are certainly the most ambitious changes put forward in the country's contemporary history. However, our analysis also leads to the conclusion that without exception the reforms have been and still are being badly administered, deeply affected by the war and subject to heavy pressure from the oligarchy which seeks to ensure - at this moment - that the reforms will ultimately be and will operate in its interests".

50/ Diskin, 1982 Supplement, op.cit., p. 42.

51/ Ibid.

52/ La Prensa Gráfica, 19 May 1982.

53/ The New York Times, 24 May 1982.

54/ Catholic University of El Salvador. Evaluación Económica de las Reformas, Documento de Trabajo, Boletín de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, No. 8/7/82-004.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

IV. SITUATION WITH REGARD TO RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

52. For the reasons he explained in greater detail in his previous report to the Commission on Human Rights, 55/ the Special Representative considered that in view of the consistent pattern of gross violations of civil and political rights of all kinds in El Salvador, it was inappropriate to conduct a detailed review of the information received in the light of the specific provisions of the domestic and international legal instruments which are binding on the Republic of El Salvador in this area. He decided that it would be preferable to adopt a classification which takes into account the actual circumstances in which such violations take place. This classification, which does not imply any rigid distinction between the various categories, is as follows: (a) murders; (b) abductions and disappearances; (c) political prisoners; (d) other terrorist acts; and (e) general attitude of the Salvadorian judiciary.

1. Murders

53. The Special Representative has continued to receive a great deal of information concerning political murders of civilian non-combatants in El Salvador. The Special Representative is fully aware of the difficulty of accurately determining the exact number of crimes of this kind and considers that this difficulty is due to a variety of causes. The first is the very magnitude of the figures involved. The second is that, in many cases, information on murders comes to light only when bodies are found and it is thus very difficult to determine how they were committed and even whether they were really politically motivated or simply ordinary murders. There is also the fact that the regular army and a guerrilla organization are engaged in armed conflict and it may sometimes be difficult to determine whether those killed are combatants or not. The Special Representative considers that this is an area in which figures must be handled with caution, since there is no way of being really sure that reported figures on political murders of civilians are reliable. The Special Representative nevertheless wishes to point out that the various sources of information he has used basically agree on rises and falls in the total number of murders.

54. Thus, according to the University Documentation and Information Centre, 56/ 1,837 civilians were murdered between January and April 1982. Newsweek 57/ credits that source with information to the effect that 2,658 non-combatants were murdered in the first six months of 1982. According to the information handed over to the Special Representative by the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador 3,095 civilians were murdered between 1 January and 30 June 1982. According to information given directly to the Special Representative by "Christian Legal Aid of El Salvador", 58/ "a total of 3,039 persons were unlawfully executed in the first half of 1982". The figures may be broken down as follows: 566 in January; 532 in February; 526 in March; 505 in April; 375 in May; and 355 in June. According to the same source, 59/ 198 persons were killed in July and 351 in August. Thus, in the first

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55/ E/CN.4/1502, paras. 62 and 63.

56/ University Documentation and Information Centre, weekly news-sheet, El Salvador, Proceso, year No. 3, No. 68, special issue, February-April 1982.

57/ Newsweek, 27 July 1982.

58/ Christian Legal Aid of El Salvador, El Salvador, Informe sobre violación de derechos humanos, San Salvador, 15 July 1982.

59/ Ibid., Víctimas de la violencia en El Salvador, de enero a agosto de 1982, muertes fuera de combate.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

eight months of 1982, the total number of political murders of non-combatants reported by Christian Legal Aid was 3,608. According to subsequent information furnished by Christian Legal Aid, 60/ 474 political murders were committed among the civilian population in September 1982, 122 in the fortnight 2-15 October, 61/ 359 in the fortnight 16-29 October, 62/ 123 between 30 October and 12 November, 63/ and 86 in the period 12-25 November 1982. 64/ This gives a total of 1,169 murders between 1 September and 25 November 1982 which, added to the figures for the first eight months of the year, gives an overall figure of 4,777 during the first eleven months of the year. The information in question also states that the executions were nearly all the result of action by government agents (the Army, the National Guard, the National Police and the Rural Police) against unarmed Salvadorian civilians not involved in military combat. With regard to the reliability of this source, the Christian Legal Aid bulletin of 26 May 1982 quotes Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, as saying that the information provided by Legal Aid was not false, it was simply one-sided because it focused on only one aspect of the problem. Monsignor Rivera y Damas confirmed these words personally to the Special Representative, adding that the one-sidedness of the information was the result of the fact that the complaints received by Christian Legal Aid related only to government agents and extreme right-wing paramilitary organizations.

55. According to the statement by Monsignor Gregorio Rose Chávez, Suffragan Bishop of San Salvador, as reported in Le Monde, 65/ violence caused over 5,000 deaths in El Salvador in 1982.

56. According to a United States Department of State document based on press reports, 66/ the number of deaths may be broken down as follows: 279 in January; 361 in February; 450 in March; 194 in April; 301 in May; 189 in June; 165 in July; 196 in August; and 112 in the first two weeks of September. Thus, according to that source, a total of 2,335 persons were killed between 1 January and 15 September 1982. Responsibility is not attributed to specific sectors or persons.

57. The Special Representative also received information from the Government of El Salvador 67/ on murders committed by the armed opposition in the period 1968-1982 (up to 21 July 1982 only). According to this information, 4,678 civilians and members of various State agencies were murdered by subversive elements during that period, but separate figures for each year are not given.

58. Since nearly 12,000 political murders of non-combatants were reported for 1981 1981, 68/ there seems to have been a drop of about 50 per cent in 1982.

60/ Solidaridad No. 3, Epoca III, first half of October 1982.

61/ Solidaridad No. 4, Epoca III, second half of October 1982.

62/ Ibid., No. 5, Epoca III, first half of November 1982.

63/ Ibid., No. 7, Epoca III, first half of December 1982.

64/ Ibid.

65/ Le Monde, 28 December 1982.

66/ United States Department of State, Deaths attributable to political violence, document made available to the Special Representative by officials of the United States Department of State.

67/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos estadísticos sobre asesinatos por la subversión, San Salvador, 21 September 1982.

68/ E/CN.4/1502, para. 66.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

59. The Salvadorian press also reports on mass murders committed in El Salvador and the Special Representative wishes to put this information forward as further evidence in this respect. For example, El Diario de Hoy 69/ which is published in San Salvador, reports, in the edition of 8 March 1982, that seven persons were taken from their homes by several unknown armed persons and that their bodies were subsequently found in La Libertad district; that Mr. Juan Antonio Silezia was found dead in the street in San Salvador, but those responsible were not identified; that an employee was found dead on the railway line in Colonia Santa Isabel, but those responsible were not identified; that Mr. Cortés Parada was murdered by subversive elements in the place known as El Playón. The 15 March 1982 edition reports that two brothers, Félix José and Federico Rafael Charlaix, were abducted and then killed by unknown persons; that a National Police officer was killed by a terrorist group; that five mutilated bodies were found in Metapán (Santa Ana), but those responsible were not identified; that another six decapitated bodies were found in the same place, but those responsible were not identified; that the body of a young man was found in San Miguel and those responsible were also not identified; and that Mr. Abraham Wilfredo Aguilar García was abducted and decapitated in Santa Ana, but those responsible were not identified. The 20 March 1982 edition reports that the members of the San Agustín y Buenavista cantonal patrol are accused of murdering 24 people; that two farmers who had served in the army were murdered by unknown persons; that Dr. Juan Garzona was shot dead in Santa Ana after receiving threats from extremists; and that the Justice of the Peace of Santa Ana identified two bodies, but those responsible were not identified. The edition 70/ of 29 March 1982 reports that a domestic employee was killed by an unknown person in a Santa Ana restaurant. The edition 71/ of 1 April 1982 reports that Armando Turcios Yescas, a worker, was found dead in Anchico canton, but those responsible were not identified; that Alberto Campos and his wife were found dead in La Cruz canton, but those responsible were not identified; and that the bodies of three young men were found strangled and with bullet wounds in El Rosario canton, but those responsible were not identified. The edition 72/ of 3 April 1982 reports that Raúl Coto, a Salvadorian Green Cross relief worker, was killed by three unknown hooded individuals; and that the body of Mr. José Roberto Argueta was found with bullet wounds in Monte Grande canton, but those responsible were not identified. The edition 73/ of 19 April 1982 reports that two motorists were found murdered, but those responsible were not identified. The edition 74/ of 23 April 1982 reports that the officiating judge identified five bodies, but those responsible were not identified, and that four men were killed in a house by four armed individuals. The edition 75/ of 27 April 1982 states that Ricardo Antonio Manzariego, a mechanic, was shot dead with seven bullets in a hotel in Zacatecoluca by four unknown persons and that Mr. José Manuel Mejía Castillo was killed by unknown persons in San Vicente. The edition 76/ of 28 April 1982 states that the Justice of the Peace identified four bodies, but those responsible were not identified. The edition 77/ of 29 April 1982 reports that Luis Alonso Martínez Escobar, a watchman, was killed by unidentified persons. The edition 78/ of 30 April 1982 reports that the Justice of the Peace identified the

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69/ El Diario de Hoy, 8, 15 and 20 March 1982.

70/ Ibid., 29 March 1982.

71/ Ibid., 1 April 1982.

72/ Ibid., 3 April 1982.

73/ Ibid., 19 April 1982.

74/ Ibid., 23 April 1982.

75/ Ibid., 27 April 1982.

76/ Ibid., 28 April 1982.

77/ Ibid., 29 April 1982

78/ Ibid., 30 April 1982

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

bodies of three young men, one of whom was a soldier; it is therefore believed that the killings were carried out by subversive elements. The edition 79/ of 1 May 1982 reports that Milton Ernesto Alvayero, a worker, was shot dead by unknown persons in the Candelaria district of San Salvador. The edition 80/ of 3 May 1982 describes the discovery of two bodies in Mejicanos, one decapitated and the other with a knife wound in the head, with no identification of those responsible. The edition 81/ of 4 May 1982 reports that, in Mejicanos, the bodies of two persons were found with their hands tied behind their backs by the thumbs, but with no identification of those responsible; that Delia del Carmen Vargas Maravilla, a teacher, was killed by unknown persons and that she was the fiancée of an army officer and the sister of another officer; that three individuals were shot dead in the Candelaria district of San Salvador by unidentified persons; and that an employee was shot dead in the courtyard of his house in Usulatán canton by eight heavily armed individuals. The edition 82/ of 31 May 1982 reports that Francisco Alfredo Romero, an employee of the Ministry of Public Health, was shot in the chest in Zacatecoluca by unidentified persons. The Special Representative believes that some of these cases may be ordinary crimes.

60. As in his previous report, 83/ the Special Representative wishes to refer in particular to information concerning especially serious and blatant cases of murders, such as mass killings of peasants, political leaders, journalists and other persons.

61. In fact, according to the information received by the Special Representative, mass killings continued in 1982. Thus, according to information provided by the University Documentation and Information Centre, 84/ there were 24 reports of massacres between January and April, with a total of 547 persons killed; two of the massacres were the result of FMLN attacks on military objectives in Chalatenango, with a total of 60 dead.

62. Legal Aid 85/ reported that a massacre had taken place on 18 April 1982, between 5 and 6 a.m., in Barrios village, Divisadero district, Department of Morazán, and that 48 people had been killed. According to the same source, the murders were committed by uniformed army soldiers after the villagers had shut themselves up in their homes following a sharp clash with guerrilla fighters. The Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (non-governmental) 86/ gives a similar version of what happened, stating that 22 children, 8 adolescents, 15 adults and 4 old people were killed, giving their names and ages. According to the

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79/ Ibid., 1 May 1982.

80/ Ibid., 3 May 1982.

81/ Ibid., 4 May 1982.

82/ Ibid., 31 May 1982.

83/ E/CN.4/1502.

84/ University Documentation and Information Centre, El Salvador, Proceso, op. cit.

85/ Legal Aid Service of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, Informa las violaciones a los derechos humanos cometidas contra la población civil salvadoreña entre el 17 al 23 de abril de 1982, San Salvador, 5 May 1982 (in June 1982, the Legal Aid Service of the Archdiocese of San Salvador was reorganized and is now known as "Archbishop Oscar Romero' Christian Legal Aid").

86/ Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, Boletín Semanal No. 1, May 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

international press, 87/ approximately 50 men, women and children were killed in Barrios and the murders were committed as a reprisal for the ambushing of 100 soldiers by guerrilla fighters. The Government of El Salvador told the Special Representative that it had no knowledge of any such events, that the report contained no eye-witness accounts or evidence and that was part of the disinformation campaign designed to discredit the Government.

63. According to information furnished to the Special Representative by the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (non-governmental), 88/ in the city of Santa Ana members of the so-called Death Squad made a violent attack on the San Juan district, killing four young men and women aged between 12 and 20; the name and age of each victim is given. According to the international press, 89/ seven Salvadorian peasants belonging to a rural community maintained by Swiss Protestant Aid were killed by members of the Salvadorian Army on 21 November 1981.

64. With regard to the murders of political leaders, El Diario de Hoy of San Salvador 90/ reports on the murder of Mrs. Yolanda Cárcamo, the Christian Democratic Party candidate as deputy for San Salvador. According to Le Monde, 91/ the bodies of six militant members of the Christian Democratic Party were found on 27 May in El Playón, near San Salvador, and their deaths were attributed to the extreme right. According to the International Herald Tribune, 92/ Angélica García de López, mayoress of the town of San Francisco Chinameca, and her 18-year-old daughter were killed on 28 May 1982. The same newspaper quotes a spokesman for the Christian Democratic Party as saying that one of the killers was a civilian but the others were connected with the National Guard. The same source also reports that the Salvadorian authorities arrested the three persons responsible. El Diario de Hoy of San Salvador, on the other hand, reports that National Guard officers captured the persons who killed Evangelina García and that according to the Christian Democratic Party they were members of the Chinamequite civil defence organization and the Candelaria cantonal patrol. 93/

65. With regard to journalists, it was reported in the world press 94/ that four Dutch television reporters were killed by army elements on 17 March 1982 near the town of El Paraiso, 36 miles north of San Salvador. According to the same sources, the Minister of Defence of El Salvador stated that the deaths of the four reporters took place when troops opened fire on guerrillas, while President Duarte said that the reporters died when they were moving around in the guerrilla zone, with the protection of the guerrillas, but that the Government was unaware that they were

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87/ Le Monde, The Times and International Herald Tribune, 22 April 1982.

88/ Telex from Mexico, dated 5 January 1983.

89/ Le Monde, 8 December 1982.

90/ El Diario de Hoy, 13 May 1982.

91/ Le Monde, 29 May 1982.

92/ International Herald Tribune, 1 June 1982.

93/ El Diario de Hoy, 31 May 1982.

94/ International Herald Tribune, 19, 20 and 21 March 1982; Le Monde, 20 March 1982; The Guardian, 20 and 25 March 1982; The Times, 20 March 1982; Tribune de Genève, 22 March 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

in the area of hostilities. However, the report of 13 April 1982 commissioned by the Government of the Netherlands 95/ states that "The official Salvadorian versions are not entirely credible and are debatable. The fact that some preliminary statements were later changed means that they cannot be accepted unconditionally". The conclusions of the Netherlands report are as follows: (1) it has been established that the four members of the IKON team were shot dead by soldiers of the Salvadorian regular army ...; (2) the IKON team either met the army patrol by chance or fell into an ambush set up by the patrol; (3) since, on the one hand, the reporters were obviously under suspicion and since, on the other, their arrival could very easily have been announced by radio to the army patrol while they were on their way to the place at which they met, so that the patrol would have been able to set up an ambush, an organized attack on the reporters cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the army did not conceal the bodies and, on its own initiative, took them together with the body of the guerrilla leader, Oscar, to San Salvador.

66. Subsequently, on 28 May 1982, the Government of the Netherlands issued an additional report 96/ containing the following conclusions: (1) conclusion (1) of the report of 13 April 1982 remains valid; (2) although, theoretically, it cannot be ruled out that the patrol was warned by radio of the arrival of the IKON reporters from the military camp, the additional inquiry has provided no indications that could lead to the conclusion that there was any premeditated intention of luring the IKON reporters into an ambush. Nor has any convincing proof been found of the thesis that the clash between the military patrol and the guerrilla fighters accompanying the IKON team was the result of chance.

67. In connection with the deaths of the Dutch reporters, the Special Representative had a conversation, in Mexico, with Mrs. Ana María Rumayor, the widow of the reporter, Jacobs Kolster, one of the members of the IKON team. Mrs. Rumayor showed the Special Rapporteur a photocopy of a report drawn up at the office of the Rural Police which showed that Mr. Kolster had been questioned there on 11 March 1982 because they had found on a guerrilla fighter a note giving Kolster's name, address and telephone number. The photocopy of the report - whose authenticity the Special Representative can vouch for because he saw the original document in San Salvador - indicates that the reporter and his companions were at no time coerced or physically or mentally ill-treated. The report is signed by the Director of the Rural Police and by Mr. Kolster. Jacobs Kolster's widow gave the Special Representative a photocopy of the document sent to the Attorney-General of the Republic of El Salvador requesting the appointment of a prosecutor for the criminal investigation into her husband's death. With regard to the death of Mr. Johannes Jan Willemsen, another of the Dutch reporters who was killed, the Special Representative noted that similar legal proceedings had been instituted before the Attorney-General of the Republic of El Salvador on 13 October 1982 by Miss Yachiyo Matsuzaki, Mr. Willemsen's companion, and by his father, Mr. Gerrit Jan Willemsen. The Special Representative also received a letter from Miss Jacqueline Bouma, fiancée of Mr. Hans Lodewijkter Laag, another of the Dutch reporters killed, with a photocopy of the request submitted to the Attorney-General for the appointment of a prosecutor for the case. The request is dated 20 October 1982.

95/ Rapport van het onderzoek naar de toedracht van de gebeurtenissen die hebben geleid tot de dood van devier nederlandse journalisten op 17 maart 1982 in El Salvador (Government of the Netherlands, Report on the inquiry into the circumstances which led to the deaths of four Dutch reporters on 17 March 1982 in El Salvador), The Hague, 13 April 1982.

96/ Aan vullend rapport van het onderzoek naar de toedracht van de debeurtenissen die hebben geleid tot de dood van de vier Nederlandse journalisten op 17 maart 1982 in El Salvador (Government of the Netherlands, Additional report on the inquiry into the circumstances which led to the deaths of four Dutch reporters on 17 March 1982 in El Salvador), The Hague, 28 May 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

2. Abductions and disappearances

68. The Special Representative wishes to provide various types of information on cases of alleged abductions and disappearances, but it must be pointed out that, in this connection again, figures must be treated with the greatest caution. That is in the first place because, after abductions, the bodies of the persons abducted are sometimes found, and such cases are counted as murders. In other cases, it is discovered that the persons abducted are being held in detention centres belonging to the armed forces or the security bodies, and these are counted as political prisoners. In still other cases, the persons abducted are released. There are, lastly, the cases in which the persons who have been abducted are not found, presumably because they have been murdered and their bodies have been hidden; only then can reference properly be made to disappearances. The Special Representative considered it necessary to give these explanations before providing information on figures concerning abductions and disappearances, which, in many cases, overlap with figures concerning murders and political prisoners.

69. According to information handed to the Special Representative by the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, there were 244 cases of persons who disappeared between 1 January and 30 June 1982. Amnesty International 97/ gives a list of 50 persons who were arrested and who disappeared between late March and early May 1982. The same source 98/ reports six other cases of disappearances.

70. According to information provided by the Legal Protection Office of the Archbishopric, Archdiocesan Commission on Justice and Peace, 99/ during the month of May 1982 the Office received reports of 68 persons arrested and of that number five were found dead, six were located in security prisons and seven had been sent to ordinary prisons, but nothing was known about the other 50 persons.

71. According to the same source, 100/ 15 arrests were reported between 12 and 18 June, 19 between 19 and 25 June, 101/ 13 between 26 June and 1 July, 102/ 23 between 9 and 15 July, 103/ 18 between 16 and 22 July, 104/ 11 between 23 and 29 July, 105/ 27 between 30 July and 3 August and between 9 August and 12 August, 106/ 9 between 20 and 26 August, 107/ and 31 between 27 August and 2 September. 108/

97/ Amnesty International, Political Prisoners in El Salvador, AMR/29/48/82, 11 June 1982.

98/ Ibid., Central America Special Action, El Salvador, AMR/29/55/82, 8 July 1982.

99/ Legal Protection Office of the Archbishopric, Archdiocesan Commission on Justice and Peace, Denuncia de personas capturadas recibida en esta oficina, San Salvador, June 1982.

100/ Ibid., 19 June 1982.

101/ Ibid., 26 June 1982.

102/ Ibid., 2 July 1982.

103/ Ibid., 16 July 1982.

104/ Ibid., 23 July 1982.

105/ Ibid., 30 July 1982.

106/ Ibid., 13 August 1982.

107/ Ibid., 27 August 1982.

108/ Ibid., 3 September 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

72. In Mexico, Christian Legal Aid gave the Special Representative more complete lists containing information on alleged disappearances. According to the first partial list, 109/ 402 persons were arrested by security or government agents in the period from November 1981 to July 1982; 40 of these were brought before the courts. Another partial list 110/ refers to the arrests by government agents of 44 minors between November 1981 and July 1982. A third partial list 111/ refers to 16 citizens arrested during the same period by the Civil Defence Committee. A fourth 112/ refers to 39 citizens who were arrested and subsequently executed by their captors during the same period; their cases have also probably been counted as murders.

73. The Special Representative continued to receive information about arrests. Thus, according to Christian Legal Aid, 113/ in the week 8-14 October 1982 there were 12 reported arrests; in the fortnight 15-28 October 1982 there were 23 reported arrests; 114/ in the fortnight 30 October-12 November 1982 23 persons were reportedly arrested. 115/ All these arrests were carried out by members of the Army or the security forces.

74. The Special Representative considers it appropriate to mention the information received from the International Commission of Jurists 116/ concerning the arrest of the following persons in a House in the El Satélite district on the outskirts of San Salvador on 20 August 1982: Mr. Raúl Villalba, lawyer; Mrs. América Fernando Perdomo, member of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (non-governmental); Mrs. María Elena Martínez de Recinos, member of the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Persons Detained, Missing or Murdered for Political Reasons; her daughter, Miss Carla Recinos, aged 13, and a maid; witnesses say these arrests were made by the Rural Police. The Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (non-governmental) has furnished similar information on the same events.

75. The Director-General of the El Salvador National Police made available to the Special Representative a document 117/ indicating that guerrilla organizations had carried out a total of 25 abductions up to 21 September 1982.

109/ Christian Legal Aid, Desaparecimientos forzados. Listado parcial de personas que, habiendo sido capturadas por organismos de seguridad o agentes gubernamentales, no son presentadas ante tribunales o puestas en libertad, November 1981 to July 1982.

110/ Ibid., Listado parcial de capturas realizadas por agentes gubernamentales a menores de edad, November 1981 to July 1982.

111/ Ibid., Listado parcial de ciudadanos capturados por el Comité de la Defensa Civil, November 1981 to July 1982.

112/ Christian Legal Aid, Listado parcial de ciudadanos aprehendidos y posteriormente ejecutados por sus captores, November 1981 to July 1982.

113/ Solidaridad, No. 4, Epoca III, second half of October 1982.

114/ Ibid., No. 5, Epoca III, first half of November 1982.

115/ Ibid., No. 7, Epoca III, first half of December 1982.

116/ Letter dated 2 December 1982 addressed to the Director of the United Nations Centre for Human Rights, with a copy to the Special Representative.

117/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos estadísticos sobre los secuestros realizados por las diversas agrupaciones subversivas en El Salvador, San Salvador, 21 September 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

3. Political prisoners

76. According to information made available to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador, 118/ 2,478 persons were arrested between 15 October 1979 and 13 July 1982 for involvement in terrorist activities. Of these 1,254 were released; 575 were brought before military examining magistrates; 156 were brought before ordinary judges; 16 were brought before minors' judges; one was taken to a guidance centre; 21 were brought before the Director General of Migration; 72 were brought before various military authorities; 357 were brought before the special police judge; one fled, one committed suicide and 54 cases are pending. Another document from the same source 119/ states that 839 persons were arrested for involvement in terrorist activities between 1 January and 22 September 1982.

77. According to information communicated orally to the Special Representative by the Minister of Justice of El Salvador, the number of political prisoners under his Ministry's authority on 18 September 1982 was 629, of whom 561 were men who were being held in Mariona prison and 61 were women being held in Ilopango prison. On 23 September 1982, 36 prisoners were being held in the San Salvador National Police prison, according to information handed over to the Special Representative by the Colonel in charge of the National Police; those persons had been detained between 19 August and 22 September 1982.

78. According to Amnesty International, 120/ there are at present several hundred political prisoners in San Salvador, but their number is relatively small compared with the number of persons arrested, for reports continue to indicate that persons arrested either disappear soon after their arrest or are released, and that many are being held in military establishments or at secret detention centres.

79. According to information provided by the International Committee of the Red Cross, 121/ delegates of that humanitarian organization made 172 visits to places of detention in March 1982; there were 157 new cases of persons arrested for security reasons and the persons visited were under the authority either of the Ministry of Justice, or of the security forces or the army. The report of the International Committee of the Red Cross 122/ also indicates that, in March 1982, its Search Offices in San Salvador, Santa Ana and San Miguel continued to receive information from persons looking for relatives who had either disappeared or been abducted. During that period, approximately 1,400 persons called the office in the capital and 261 requests for searches were received; in March, 61 cases were solved.

80. For the rest, according to documentation handed over to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador during his visit to the country, delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross are still being allowed to visit detention centres. 123/ There has also been a restructuring of the Auxiliary Control Commission, a Government body which investigates particularly

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118/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos estadísticos sobre personas detenidas por vincularseles con acciones terroristas, período 15 de octubre 1979 al 5 julio de 1982, San Salvador, 13 July 1982.

119/ Ibid., 22 September 1982.

120/ Amnesty International, AMR/29/48/82.

121/ Red Cross, SALVREP, No. 3, 21 April 1982.

122/ Ibid., Situation Report No. 3, April 1982.

123/ E/CN.4/1502, para. 91.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

serious cases of the ill-treatment of prisoners. An office of public information on persons arrested by National Police officers has, moreover, been set up in an annex to the National Police headquarters in San Salvador. The San Salvador newspaper La Prensa Gráfica of 29 October 1981 reported the opening of that office. The Special Representative visited the premises and examined the documentation that is available to the public.

81. Specifically with regard to the situation of political prisoners in El Salvador, the Special Representative received a report which was prepared by two former political prisoners, Mr. José Antonio Morales Carbonell and Mr. Juan José García Cañas, and annexed to a letter sent from Mexico City on 12 July 1982. 124/ The report states that "To date, most political prisoners do not officially know why they are being detained or whether there is any decision or warrant ordering their detention; they do not even know whether there are any proceedings against them ...; many prisoners have been held for years without officially knowing why they are being detained". The report also states that Decree No. 507 of the Revolutionary Government Junta is not being complied with, "for there are prisoners who have been detained for up to 204 days in security prisons without being brought before the competent courts ...; 166 (33.5 per cent) were remanded within the legal time-limit, but 330 (66.5 per cent) were remanded after the time-limit stipulated in the Decree". The report also states that there are several prisoners who were notified over a year ago that their cases were being brought before the National Court, but that they still do not know what stage has been reached in the proceedings, which is another violation of their rights. The report also says that, with a view to obtaining unofficial statements, "political prisoners are brutally beaten, injured and burned with acid; electric shocks are applied to the most sensitive parts of their bodies: the genitals, armpits, soles of the feet, head, tongue, ears, eyes, etc. They are subjected to asphyxia in the most brutal manner ... They are strung up in various ways, for lengthy periods of time, and beaten and kicked in various parts of their bodies. After being tortured, they are forced to sign blank pieces of paper ... or coerced into signing with their eyes blindfolded". In this connection, the report provides the following information obtained since May 1982: among 331 prisoners, 132 were physically tortured, 27 were psychologically tortured, 6 were not tortured and there were 496 instances of torture altogether. The report also indicates that there are now 54 minors aged 14 years or older who are being kept in prison indefinitely together with adults, even though the time-limit for corrective detention (120 days) laid down in the Decree has expired". It also reports five cases of military raids on prisons and indicates that prisoners "are crowded into very small cells, in deplorable sanitary conditions, and lack medicine and proper medical care. The food they receive is extremely inadequate, primarily consisting of a diet of tortillas and beans. The daily food budget for each prisoner is one colon, 25 centazos, i.e. $.50 per day ...". The lack of water, electricity and other conveniences makes the prisoners' lives very difficult, all the more so because their basic needs are not being met. In the statements they made to the Special Representative in Mexico City, Mr. Morales Carbonell and Mr. García Cañas confirmed what they had said in their letter.

82. The Special Representative received information concerning an armed attack on a prison. Thus, according to information from Legal Aid, 125/ combined forces from the National Guard and the Rural Police arrived at Mariona Detention Centre, near San Salvador, on 18 March 1982 at 8.30 a.m. and used a megaphone to order the

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124/ García Cañas, Juan José and Morales Carbonell, José Antonio, Informe sobre presos políticos, annexed to a letter to the Special Representative, 12 July 1982.

125/ Legal Aid, press release, 19 March 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

prisoners out of the cell blocks. When they came out, they were forced to lie face down on the ground and were kept in that position in the sun until 11.30 a.m., while the officers threw water and stones at them or stamped on them. All the prisoners were interrogated and particular attention was given to the cases of the youth, Antonio Morales Carbonell, and Hector Bernabé Recinos. Young Morales was given drugs to make him talk, but since he would not he was beaten and had several veins slashed with a razor blade, so that he had to be taken to a medical centre. Mr. Recinos had a hood placed over his head several times and then they beat him so badly that he cannot walk. According to the same information, the other prisoners, some 550 in all, where whipped, insulted and robbed and ended up with bad sunburns on their backs. The Guardian 126/ of 24 March 1982 reports that Dr. Morales Erlich, who is a member of the Revolutionary Government Junta and the father of young Morales Carbonell, requested an investigation of the matter. Information from the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Central America 127/ and the Amnesty International report 128/ give substantially similar accounts of what allegedly happened, as does the statement made to the Special Representative by Mr. Morales Carbonell. According to the San Salvador newspaper El Diario de Hoy, 129/ Mr. Morales Carbonell had to be treated in a private clinic.

83. However, the Government of El Salvador gave the Special Representative a different version of the events, stating that when prisoner Antonio Morales Carbonell saw the soldiers, "he panicked, his blood pressure dropped and he was helped by prison nurses and later taken to the San Salvador Polyclinic for treatment". The Government also states that "the staff does not physically assault prisoners". 130/

84. During his stay in El Salvador, the Special Representative visited Mariona prison where he saw the dormitories, workshops, kitchens and dining-rooms of the prison which generally seemed adequate. He was able to talk freely with the political prisoners who are the leaders of COPPLS (Committee of Political Prisoners of El Salvador), namely, Mr. Mario Vigil, Mr. Bernabé Recinos, Mr. Dagoberto Sosa, Mr. José Antonio Valencia, Mr. Oscar Garza and Mr. Francisco Arévalo, who said that they had been detained for 19, 25, 11, 25, 24 and 19 months respectively. They also said that the time-limits laid down in Decree No. 507 of the Revolutionary Government Junta 131/ were not being respected and that they did not know when they would be brought to trial. Bernabé Recinos also said that his wife and 13-year-old daughter had disappeared on 20 August 1982 and José Antonio Valencia stated that his 16-year-old daughter had been killed. The prisoners who were interviewed also said that what was stated in the above-mentioned letter from Mr. Morales Carbonell and Mr. García Cañas was true.

126/ The Guardian, 24 March 1982.

127/ Letter dated 26 March 1982 from the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Central America to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

128/ Amnesty International, Central America Special Action (CASA), AMR/29/24/82, 18 April 1982.

129/ El Diario de Hoy, 20 March 1982.

130/ Document by the El Salvador army, General Staff, 23 March 1982, made available to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador.

131/ E/CN.4/1502, paras. 25 and 109.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

85. In connection with Mariona Prison, the Special Representative read in the San Salvador press 132/ an account of the various activities planned for the prison, including the extension of the workshops, the sale of articles made by prisoners, the possibility for prisoners to help their families financially, cultural activities, etc.

4. Other terrorist acts

86. In 1982, violent acts of sabotage against the Salvadorian economy continued to be carried out by the guerrilla opposition. Thus, according to information supplied by the University Documentation and Information Centre, 133/ "between February and April 1982, a total of 439 acts of sabotage were carried out, mostly in the central region and in particular in San Salvador, the department in which most of the country's non-agricultural productive sources are concentrated. In other regions, the departments that were most affected were Usulután, San Vicente and San Miguel, which are of strategic importance because of their cotton and sugar-cane crops but are also the areas in which violent military clashes have frequently occurred ... Statistics show that sabotage has been carried out mainly against means of transport (46 per cent) and the electric power distribution and supply systems (23.7 per cent), thereby affecting two basic elements of the economic cycle: the circulation of distribution of goods and services and their protection. Although fewer in number (5.7 per cent), cases of sabotage of means of communication have had an enormous impact on communications in the country and on the national economy". According to the same source, 134/ FMLN forces destroyed or damaged the following bridges during the first quarter of 1982: four in Santa Ana; one in San Salvador; three in Usulután; two in San Miguel and one in Morazán".

87. According to the International Herald Tribune, 135/ guerrillas attacked a large ANTEL (National Telephone Company) installation, destroying some telephone communications in the capital; according to the same source, guerrillas also set fire to the town hall of Tecapán, which is some 50 km south-east of San Salvador. According to the same newspaper, 136/ the guerrilla radio announced that, in the town of San Miguel, the building and some of the lorries of a construction company had been set on fire. The same newspaper reported 137/ that guerrillas had set fire to 17 buses in different parts of San Salvador on Sunday, 22 March 1982, and had set fire to at least 5 buses in Chalatenango. According to The Guardian, 138/ guerrillas blew up electric power plants and lines on 20 and 21 March 1982 in the departments of Usulután, San Miguel, Morazán and La Unión, leaving those areas without electricity for three days; according to the same source, guerrillas also attacked electric power lines in the town of El Triunfo. The International Herald Tribune 139/ reported that guerrillas blew up a bridge in San Francisco Gotera and cut off two roads and telephone lines to nine towns. According to The Guardian, 140/ guerrillas blew up

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132/ El Diario de Hoy, 18 September 1982.

133/ University Documentation and Information Centre, Proceso, op.cit.

134/ Ibid.

135/ International Herald Tribune, 17 March 1982.

136/ Ibid., 18 March 1982.

137/ Ibid., 24 March 1982.

138/ The Guardian, 25 March 1982.

139/ International Herald Tribune, 8 April 1982.

140/ The Guardian, 13 April 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

electric power pylons in three provinces of El Salvador. Le Monde 141/ and The Times 142/ reported that guerrillas attacked a goods train near San Vicente and sabotaged electric power lines in that town and in the town of Quezaltepeque.

88. Subsequent reports in the international press 143/ stated that the opposition radio station "Radio Venceremos" issued a communiqué prohibiting road traffic throughout the country. The same sources reported that, on 30 June and 1 July 1982, more than 20 vehicles, mainly cars and lorries, were burned or dynamited by FMLN members. According to Le Monde, 144/ the situation is especially critical in the eastern part of the country, where the bus service between towns and villages has been almost completely halted by the systematic campaign to destroy means of transport. According to The Times, 145/ 50 per cent of El Salvador's transport system has been paralysed. The Times 146/ and Le Monde 147/ also report that guerrillas have apparently cut off water and electricity supplies in much of San Salvador.

89. Guerrilla attacks of this kind continued during the month of August and, according to the international press, 148/ four eastern provinces were in their fifth day without electricity after guerrillas had dynamited electric power lines; it was also reported that many communities were unable to obtain water from electric-powered pumps. In the international press there have been further reports of activities of this kind. Thus on 15 October 1982 a number of bomb explosions caused electricity cuts in San Salvador 149/ and on about the same date FMLN guerrillas attacked the hydroelectric dam at San Lorenzo. 150/

90. Documentation handed to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador during his visit to the country 151/ indicates that, in the period between 1 January and 20 September 1982, there were 151 cases of sabotage with dynamite in the land transport sector; 50 in the industrial, commercial, banking and agricultural sectors; and 351 in the sector of State-owned facilities.

141/ Le Monde, 25 May 1982.

142/ The Times, 24 May 1982.

143/ The Guardian, 24 June 1982; The Times, 24 June and 6 July 1982; International Herald Tribune, 24 June 1982; Le Monde, 26 June and 3 and 10 July 1982.

144/ Le Monde, 6 and 10 July 1982.

145/ The Times, 6 July 1982.

146/ Ibid., 1 July 1982.

147/ Le Monde, 6 July 1982.

148/ International Herald Tribune and The Times, 10 August 1982.

149/ International Herald Tribune, 18 October 1982.

150/ El País, Madrid, 18 October 1982.

151/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos estadísticos sobre atentados dinamiteros, incendiarios y sabotajes diversos realizados por las diversas agrupaciones terroristas con el fin de destruir la economía nacional, San Salvador, 22 September 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

According to the same information, there were 157 cases of incendiary sabotage in the land transport sector; 46 in the industrial, commercial, banking and agricultural sectors; 16 in other sectors: and 61 in the sector of State-owned facilities. According to the information received, there were 561 other acts of sabotage, making an over-all total of 34,379 cases. Damage to the economy resulting from attacks carried out between 1 January and 22 September 1982 is estimated at 90.5 million colones.

91. Subsequent to the completion of the interim report, the Special Representative continued to receive information concerning terrorist acts. In this connection various bombing incidents and other acts of sabotage were reported in the international press. On 15 October in San Salvador a number of bombings disrupted electricity supplies, 152/ in San Lorenzo guerrillas attacked a hydroelectric plant, 153/ and on 28 October eight bombs exploded in San Salvador and guerrillas were reported to have burnt, dynamited or shot up at least three vehicles on highways. 154/ According to the International Herald Tribune, guerrillas attacked and damaged two trains north and east of San Salvador. 155/ On 14 November The Guardian reported that the guerrillas attacked the country's largest hydroelectric dam, the Cinco de Noviembre, 48 miles north-east of San Salvador, and blacked out the eastern half of El Salvador in a separate bombing of a power transmission pylon. 156/ In November, witnesses reported that 13 trucks were burnt by guerrillas on the coastal highway, and that eight vehicles were blown up in San Salvador. 157/ According to another source, in Aguilares, 35 km north of the capital, guerrillas attacked a sugar plantation with mortars and gunfire. 158/ The Times reported that on 22 November the northern part of San Salvador province was without electricity after two pylons were dynamited. There was a similar incident in the eastern province of San Miguel. In the east, rebels stopped cars and demanded contributions of 10 colones (just under £2) from passengers. 159/ And an article in the Salvadorian newspaper El Mundo reported the suspension of rail traffic to the eastern part of the country following the dynamiting of the El Burro bridge by terrorists. The same article reported that terrorists have thus far destroyed about 10 railway bridges. It noted that a total of eight engines have also been destroyed by terrorist groups, causing losses of some 8 million colones. 160/ According to El Mercurio, leftist rebels killed 24 passengers and 3 soldiers in a surprise attack on a stopping train in the eastern province of Usulután. 161/ And in December, an article in the International Herald Tribune referred to the shooting down by the guerrillas of three crop-dusting planes in Usulután in order to halt the cotton harvest. The article also reported downed power lines, and burned-out trucks and buses on the roadside. 162/

152/ International Herald Tribune, 18 October 1982.

153/ El País, 10 October 1982.

154/ The Times, 29 October 1982.

155/ International Herald Tribune, 1 November 1982.

156/ The Guardian, 11 November 1982.

157/ Tribune de Genève, 15 November 1982.

158/ El Mercurio, 16 November 1982.

159/ The Times, 24 November 1982.

160/ El Mundo, San Salvador, 1 November 1982.

161/ El Mercurio, 1 December 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

92. According to reports in the international press 163/ FMLN guerrillas attacked a sports stadium in the town of San Sebastián and captured two football teams (22 persons) and about 120 spectators. The FMLN denied reports that it had forcibly enlisted more than 200 young persons: 93 young persons reportedly joined the guerrilla forces of their own accord while the rest returned freely to San Sebastián. 164/

93. According to information supplied by the Government of El Salvador, 165/ 1,200 manzanas of sugar cane were burnt by extremists in the northern part of the country on 1 January. This action not only affected the producers, but also caused unemployment among cane-cutters and transport personnel working in the sugar industry. The International Herald Tribune reported that on 13 January guerrillas planted about 25 bombs under highway construction equipment in the southern part of San Salvador, where the Government is building a divided highway to the airport. The bombs seriously damaged the equipment and set fire to at least 14 lorries and 5 tractors. 166/ In accordance with government sources in El Salvador, the attack has left about 100 people jobless, including drivers, mechanics, surveyors and various skilled workers, and it will be impossible to complete the final stretch of the highway. 167/

5. General attitude of the Salvadorian judiciary

94. In his previous report to the Commission on Human Rights, 168/ the Special Representative referred to the general attitude of inactivity and passivity of the Salvadorian judiciary towards violations of human rights, although he acknowledged the difficulties impeding the normal functioning of the courts and noted certain attempts to apply legal sanctions to such violations. The Special Representative believes that this situation remains largely unchanged at present, for although he has received information on certain other proceedings instituted in respect of violations of human rights, the number of criminal violations reported bears little relation to the number of criminal proceedings brought to his attention. At all events, the Special Representatives notes signs of a slight increase in the activity of the judiciary, although this is extraordinarily slow since there is no record of any of the criminal proceedings instituted for human rights violations having resulted in a sentence.

95. The Special Representative's general impression of the attitude of the Salvadorian judiciary is confirmed by other sources. Thus, according to Amnesty International, 169/ "the judicial system in El Salvador has all but ceased to function". Moreover, a report prepared by the Lawyers' Committee for International Human Rights concerning the murder of four American nuns on 4 December 1980 170/

163/ The New York Times, 7 December 1982; Le Monde, 13 December 1982.

164/ Le Monde, 13 December 1982; International Herald Tribune, 14 December 1982.

165/ Government of El Salvador, Information bulletin, Soinform, No. 6.

166/ International Herald Tribune, 15-16 January 1983.

167/ Information bulletin, Soinform, No. 12, 14 January 1983.

168/ E/CN.4/1502, paras. 110-113 and 129.

169/ Amnesty International, op.cit., AMR/29/48/92, 11 June 1982.

170/ Lawyers' Committee for International Human Rights, Justice in El Salvador: A Case Study, "A report on the investigation into the killing of four US churchwomen in El Salvador", 20 July 1982.

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El Salvador Human Rights Proj.

refers to the "general breakdown in the judicial powers in El Salvador" as one of the obstacles to serious progress in that case. Similarly, the report of 20 September 1982 of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 171/ states that "at present, it is clear that there are no penal sanctions for most of the people who commit such horrible crimes". And according to press reports, 172/ Monsignor Rivera y Damas in his homily on 7 November 1982 that the judiciary "is not acting as it should".

96. The Attorney-General of the Republic explained to the Special Representative some of the difficulties at present affecting the administration of justice in El Salvador. According to those explanations, the Salvadorian judicial system is organized for normal, peaceful conditions and has no means of dealing with the present situation of widespread violence. The Attorney-General also stated that in most cases it is extremely difficult to find out who committed murders, either because there are no witnesses or because witnesses are afraid to testify. Nearly all murder cases, the Attorney-General stated, lead to the institution of criminal proceedings, but, in view of such difficulties, the proceedings immediately come to a standstill and are classified as "pending investigation". In addition, according to a document made available to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador, 173/ between 16 June 1980 and 28 June 1982 35 members of the Salvadorian judiciary were murdered by terrorists and a further 9 were subjected to threats from the same source.

97. In some cases, however, there has been some resumption of the activity of the Salvadorian criminal justice system. Thus, in the case of the murder of the four American nuns on 4 December 1980, the proceedings are in the investigation stage, according to what the Attorney-General told the Special Representative. According to information supplied subsequently by the Government of El Salvador, 174/ the trial began in November 1982. In the case of the murder of Mr. Viera and two American advisers, the Attorney-General said that the day before two accused persons had been brought before the Fifth Criminal Court. Subsequent reports reaching the Special Representative concerning this case 175/ state that at the end of November 1982 the judicial reconstruction of events took place and two former corporals in the National Guard confessed to having committed the murder, although they added that they had acted under the orders of two officers and with the assistance of a businessman. At the beginning of December 1982, the judge ordered the commencement of the trial stage. 176/ This decision was appealed against by the Attorney-General, who opposed the dismissal of proceedings in respect of one officer who was suspected of being an instigator, and was also appealed against by the defence counsel of the two accused. 177/ With regard to the proceedings in the case of the murder of Monsignor Romero, the Attorney-General said that, like so many other proceedings, they were at a standstill because of the lack of witnesses.

171/ Organization of American States, Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 1981-1982, OEA/Ser.L/V/II-57, 20 September 1982.

172/ Excelsior, 8 November 1982.

173/ Memorandum from the President of the Supreme Court of Justice to the Under-Secretary for External Affairs, San Salvador, 23 July 1982.

174/ Information bulletin, Seinforma, 17 November 1982.

175/ New York Times, 28 November 1982.

176/ Information bulletin, Seinforma, 3 December 1982.

177/ Ibid., 1 December 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

98. The Special Representative received some information concerning action taken against members of the army and security forces accused of violations of human rights. Thus, according to The Guardian, 178/ 18 guardsmen were arrested in connection with the deaths of four leaders and eight other members of the Christian Democratic Party and the mass killing of 22 persons. According to the same newspaper, 179/ the United States Embassy in El Salvador confirmed that, since January 1982, 147 members of the armed forces and at least 10 members of the civil defence organization had been arrested for gross abuse of authority; 20 of them were also under arrest for murder. According to the same source, General García, Minister of Defence, issued instructions in March to all military personnel, warning that violations of the Code of Military Conduct would be punished.

99. More specific information in this connection is to be found in the documentation handed to the Special Representative by the Director-General of the National Police, 180/ which states that retired Army Major Guillermo Antonio Roeder and other persons were remanded on 2 February 1982 to a criminal court for taking part in the abduction of an engineer and using the services of a security company founded by Major Roeder himself. The Special Representative does not know what stage has been reached in the judicial proceedings. According to other documentation passed on by the Director-General of the National Police, 181/ 11 members of the Military Guard of the cantons of San Agustín and Buena Vista were remanded to a court on 18 March 1982 for taking part, on 4 March 1982, in the murder of 19 persons, 14 of whom were minors. The Special Representative again does not know what stage has been reached in the judicial investigation of this matter.

100. The Director-General of the National Police also gave the Special Representative a list 182/ of 303 persons discharged from the National Police between 15 October 1979 and 22 September 1982: 13 persons were discharged for attempted rape; 42 for assault; 11 for extortion; 39 for rape; 20 for misappropriation; 38 for homicide; 14 for theft; 11 for bribery; 6 for receiving unlawful payments; 34 for injury; 17 for robbery; 4 for abduction; 2 for attempted robbery; and others for various reasons. The documentation states that, in many cases, the accused have been placed at the disposal of the competent criminal courts, but the Special Representative does not know what stage has been reached in the proceedings.

101. The Director-General of the Rural Police also handed to the Special Representative, during his visit to the country, a report on rural police officers remanded to ordinary courts since 15 October 1979. 183/ The list includes 18 cases involving a larger number of members of that police force. The Special Representative wishes to

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178/ The Guardian, 3 June 1982.

179/ Ibid., 29 July 1982.

180/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Caso Mayor y Lic. Guillermo Antonio Roeder E.

181/ Ibid., Caso asesinato de 19 personas en el sector de San Pedro Perulapan.

182/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Resumen de la bajas habidas en este cuerpo, a partir del 15 de octubre de 1979 a la fecha, por delitos comunes y otros, San Salvador, 22 September 1982.

183/ Rural Police, Informe estadístico del personal de la Policía de Hacienda dado de baja por distintas causas, consignado a los tribunales por delitos comunes y por expulsión definitiva, durante el período de octubre 1979 hasta el 22 de septiembre de 1982, San Salvador, 22 September 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

draw attention to the following cases in particular: one for the murder of a woman in June 1981; another for the rape of a minor in June 1981; another for assault and robbery of a civilian in August 1981; another for the murder of a civilian in August 1981; another for assault and the robbery of a jewellery store in September 1981; another for the murder of several persons in March 1982; another for assault and armed robbery in April 1982; another for homicide in May 1982; another for the same offence in May 1982; another for assault and the robbery of a petrol station in August 1982; and another for assault in August 1982. The Special Representative does not know what stage has been reached in the criminal investigation of these cases.

102. In addition the Director-General of the Rural Police gave the Special Representative a list of 39 cases of expulsion of members: 184/ 5 between 15 October and 31 December 1979; 2 in 1980; 20 in 1981; and 12 between 1 January and 22 September 1982. Many of these cases related to disciplinary offences, such as drunkenness and failure to observe working hours. In 1982, one of the cases involved the murder of several civilians.

103. Lastly, the Special Representative found that the authorities of the Republic of El Salvador displayed concern to give some impetus to the functioning of the criminal justice system as part of a policy to improve the situation of human rights in the country. The Special Representative expresses the fervent hope that this concern will produce satisfactory results as soon as possible.

184/ Ibid.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

V. SITUATION OF REFUGEES AND OTHER PERSONS DISPLACED AS A RESULT OF CURRENT EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR

104. In his previous report 185/ the Special Representative stated: "The events in El Salvador are forcing many people to leave their homes and normal places of residence and to move to other parts of the country or to seek refuge in neighbouring countries". This situation continued in 1982, and as far as refugees are concerned the figures received show that their numbers increased during the year.

105. According to information from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 186/ on 1 June 1982 there were estimated to be between 175,000 and 295,000 Salvadorian refugees in various Latin American countries, distributed as follows: 7,000 in Belize; 10,000 in Costa Rica; between 50,000 and 100,000 in Guatemala; 15,000 in Honduras; between 70,000 and 140,000 in Mexico; 22,000 in Nicaragua; and 1,000 in Panama. Of these 34,030 are assisted by UNHCR.

106. As regards displaced persons, according to information supplied to the Special Representative during his visit to the country by CONADES (National Committee for Aid to Displaced Persons), 187/ as at 31 August 1982, 226,744 Salvadorians had been displaced from their places of residence and were being given various forms of assistance by that body: food and health assistance, clothing, promotion of the reincorporation of displaced persons in the economic life of the country by means of work as needed in the communities. 188/

107. The Special Representative nevertheless wishes to refer to the telex sent from Mexico on 17 December 1982 by the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (non-governmental) stating that some 5,000 Salvadorian refugees in Sabanetas (Department of Morazán) were starving to death after a group of persons trying to bring them food had been detained by the army.

185/ E/CN.4/1502, para. 115.

186/ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR Information, Central America, June 1982, No. 5.

187/ National Commission for Assistance to Displaced Persons, San Salvador, Cuadro Resumen de la Población Desplazada a nivel nacional por Departamento al 31 de agosto (Summary of displaced persons at the national level, by departments at 31 August).

188/ CONADES, report to the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 26 July 1982.

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

VI. SITUATION WITH REGARD TO COMPLIANCE WITH THE INTERNATIONAL RULES OF HUMANITARIAN LAW APPLICABLE IN ARMED CONFLICTS

108. With regard to respect for human rights in the armed conflicts taking place in El Salvador between the regular army and the opposition guerrilla forces, the Special Representative received less information for this report than for the previous one.

109. However, the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of 20 September 1982 189/ states that the Commission is aware that serious violations of human rights have been taking place on both sides, in violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Furthermore, some of the reports on mass killings of the civil population by regular military forces and guerrilla groups contained in part IV of this report would appear to indicate a failure to comply with the minimum rules of humanitarian law applicable in all types of conflict.

110. Nevertheless, the Special Representative received some reports indicating that in certain cases both of the contending parties have spared the lives of combatants captured in the course of the fighting and have even released them.

111. In this connection, the Special Representative wishes to point out that the Ambassador of El Salvador to the United Nations Office at Geneva made available to him a document of the general staff of the armed forces dated 9 December 1980 entitled "Normal procedure to be followed with regard to persons captured by the armed forces of El Salvador". The instructions contained in this document state that during the interrogation of prisoners members of the armed forces must always respect their person and treat them courteously but firmly; they must be given food and the minimum necessary attention; women must be given special treatment and be separated from men. The document also contains instructions about terrorists and collaborators who voluntarily give themselves up: such persons must without exception be given a returnee's card and proceedings against them must be initiated in any case in which they have demonstrably played a leading role in, or been responsible for, the physical and moral destruction of the Republic.

112. In addition, the Special Representative received reports of cases of armed left-wing opponents who availed themselves of the amnesty: 8 in Chalatenango; 190/ 2 others at Usulután; 191/ 20 more on 31 December 1982 near Cerrón Grande Dam; 4 more on the same date in the town of San Vicente; 192/ and 3 more at Ilobasco. 193/

189/ Organization of American States, Annual Report, op. cit.

190/ El Diario de Hoy, 9 September 1982.

191/ Ibid., 7 September 1982.

192/ Information bulletin, Seinform, 7 January 1983.

193/ Ibid., 14 January 1983.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

113. The Special Representative was also able to speak to a former guerrilla fighter who had been captured in combat. He was imprisoned but after some time was released and was even able to go to Mexico. Some Salvadorian authorities told the Special Representative of cases in which captured guerrillas had received humanitarian treatment and medical assistance. In addition, according to statements by Monsignor Rivera y Damas made in September 1982, 194/ within the chaotic framework of violence existing in El Salvador, "there have been signs of humanization in recent weeks when persons have been taken prisoner and placed at the disposal of a judge, and when 40 soldiers taken prisoner by the guerrilla forces have been handed over to the International Red Cross".

114. The Special Representative also read in an information bulletin published by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) 195/ that delegates of the Committee paid three visits to three officers and 56 soldiers captured by the FMLN; according to the same source, 40 of these soldiers were released under the auspices of ICRC on 31 August, and handed over by that humanitarian body to the competent military authority at the regional barracks of San Francisco Gotera (Morazán). According to explanations given to the Special Representative by Mr. Rafael Moreno, a representative of the Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FDR-FMLN, 10 of the captured soldiers preferred to join the guerrillas. In addition, the Special Representative read in the press 196/ statements by some journalists who had been held by guerrilla forces and later released; they said that the insurgents were treating prisoners well.

115. The Special Representative subsequently received reports on the release by the FMLN of captured members of the regular army of El Salvador. Thus, according to press reports, 197/ the FMLN handed over to ICRC 40 members of the army and 4 members of the National Guard. According to an ICRC bulletin, 198/ on three occasions FMLN forces handed over to ICRC a total of 55 members of the Salvadorian armed forces captured during hostilities; ICRC in turn transferred them to the nearest military garrisons.

194/ El País, 13 September 1982.

195/ Red Cross, Salvrep, No. 8, 22 August 1982.

196/ Diario de las Américas, 1 July 1982.

197/ Los Angeles Times, 20 October 1982; Diario de las Américas, 23 October 1982.

198/ Red Cross, Salvrep, No. 10, 24 November 1982.

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

VII. CONCLUSIONS

116. After examining and conscientiously evaluating the information summarized in the foregoing pages, the Special Representative is in a position to offer some conclusions which reflect his personal convictions. It must be said, however, that owing to the particular nature of the Special Representative's mandate and of the investigation made in order to discharge it, these convictions do not relate to specific acts or events but to the general situation of human rights in El Salvador during 1982. The Special Representative in fact, considers that the massive character of violations of human rights in El Salvador prevents him from undertaking the necessary investigations to ascertain the facts of each of the cases about which he has received information.

117. With regard to economic, social and cultural rights, the Special Representative considers that, generally speaking, the situation he described in his previous report to the Commission on Human Rights remains unchanged. 199/ In this context the Special Representative takes into account the difficulties stemming from the economic crisis through which the country is passing and the fact that there can be no substantive improvement in those rights from one day to the next, but only through a gradual process of reforms, including agrarian reform, which requires, among other things, a genuine climate of social peace. The Special Representative considers, however, that the Salvadorian people still do not enjoy economic, social and cultural rights of any particular significance. In the same context, he wishes to add that the attacks on the country's economy carried out systematically by the guerrilla opposition, although presented as aimed at military targets, seriously compromise the future enjoyment by the people of El Salvador of very important economic, social and cultural rights.

118. With regard to civil and political rights, the Special Representative is morally convinced that during 1982 serious, massive and persistent violations of human rights have continued in the country and in many cases have ended tragically in attacks on human lives, precisely because of the continuing serious civil conflict taking place in El Salvador. While it is true that the information received shows that the number of assassinations has dropped to approximately half what it was in 1981, nevertheless the size of the figures given for 1982 clearly indicates that the situation with regard to respect for human life is still very serious. In the opinion of the Special Representative, responsibility for the violations of civil and political rights lies both with members of the State apparatus and violent groups of the extreme right, which seem to have acted in collusion with or been tolerated by the former, and with armed groups of the extreme left, although there are indications that the violations of human rights involving attacks on the life, physical integrity, liberty and security of persons are in the majority - but not solely - perpetrated by members of the State apparatus and violent groups of the extreme right, while terrorist acts against public and private property are mainly due to guerrilla groups.

199/ E/CN.4/1502.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

119. With regard to the activity of the judiciary in El Salvador, the Special Representative considers that the situation is still unsatisfactory and that it calls for considerable improvement. Although he has observed signs of a slight increase in the punishment of violations of human rights, he has not heard that any of the proceedings initiated have resulted in a sentence. The Special Representative realizes, however, how difficult it is for the Salvadorian judicial system properly to investigate and to punish such a large number of offences as are at present being committed in the country in the prevailing atmosphere of generalized violence, and he notes the concern of the authorities of the Republic to encourage the activity of the judiciary.

120. With regard to the continued armed clashes between the regular army of El Salvador and the guerrilla forces, the Special Representative believes that the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the 1977 Protocols are still not being properly complied with, notwithstanding certain cases in which both sides have given humanitarian treatment to, and even released, persons captured in combat. In his interim report to the General Assembly, the Special Representative stated 200/ that he "is not in a position to determine the numbers of such cases with respect to either of the contending sides". Bearing in mind information received subsequently, there are signs that the cases of humanitarian treatment of persons captured by the guerrilla forces are nevertheless more numerous. The Special Rapporteur expresses his fervent hope that the humanitarian treatment of persons captured in combat and more generally of all those participating in combat will soon become general practice.

121. While it is true that under both the 1962 Constitution - declared to be in force by Decree No. 3 of the Constituent Assembly - and the international instruments on human rights applicable in El Salvador, the authorities of that country have an undeniable right to adopt emergency measures to deal with the situation of violence and armed confrontation existing in the country, nevertheless neither those instruments nor the most elementary moral principles inherent in any normal conscience would justify the use of emergency measures to violate fundamental and inalienable human rights including, first and foremost, the right of every person to life.

122. The Special Representative again notes the concern which he has observed in high Government spheres in the Republic of El Salvador for the protection of human rights but, while very pleased to see this concern, he wishes to express his hope and his fervent desire that it should speedily and effectively be reflected in the facts of the situation, especially as regards respect for the basic right of every person, which is the right to life.

200/ A/37/611, "Situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador", Interim report transmitted to the General Assembly by Professor José Antonio Pastor Ridruejo in fulfilment of the mandate conferred under resolution 1982/28 of the Commission on Human Rights, 22 November 1982.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

123. In view of the concern which the Government of El Salvador and other interested sectors have expressed regarding the violation of human rights and bearing in mind in particular the quintessential nature of the right to life and that violations of that right are irreparable, the Special Representative recommends most emphatically that both sides should immediately take steps to end the attacks on human lives.

124. The Special Representative likewise considers that the restoration of civil peace is a vital prerequisite for respect for civil and political rights and for the gradual enhancement of economic, social and cultural rights. It is therefore necessary once again to urge the Government of El Salvador and other interested parties to take whatever measures are necessary in order to bring peace to the country. In this connection, the Government should constructively consider the possibility of a dialogue with all the political forces of the country, including those of the left-wing opposition, with a view to putting an end to the armed confrontation.

125. In addition, the Government and authorities of El Salvador should be recommended to adopt the following measures, in particular:

(1) The repeal of all legal enactments and other measures that are incompatible with the principles contained in the international instruments binding on the Republic of El Salvador in respect of human rights, and in particular the repeal of Decree No. 507 of 3 December 1980 containing the special law on procedures applicable to the offences referred to in article 177 of the Political Constitution;

(2) The institution of real and effective control by the Government over all the members and units of the armed forces and security forces and over all types of armed organizations and individuals in order to ensure that they behave in accordance with the principles laid down in the international instruments that are binding on the Republic of El Salvador in the matter of human rights, including the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the 1977 Protocols;

(3) The adoption by the Salvadorian governmental and judicial authorities of all the legal measures necessary to prevent and speedily and effectively punish violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the possible dismissal from their posts of officials of the civil administration and the heads, officers and other subordinate members of the armed and security forces who have been responsible for such violations;

(4) The organization at all levels, including schools and the mass media, of mass campaigns to promote respect for human rights;

(5) The continuation and extension, on a genuine human, social and democratic basis, of the necessary administrative and social reforms, including agrarian reform, so that the people of El Salvador may enjoy to the fullest extent possible the economic, social and cultural rights set forth in the international instruments binding on the Republic of El Salvador.

NUNS

10 March 1982

Bill Brownfield - POL

Churchwomen's Murder Case

RELEASE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

DATT: Col. Duggan

MILGRP: Col. Hayes

THRU: POL:RSDriscoll

Attached is a copy of a State Department cable with a series of questions concerning the murders of the four American churchwomen in 1980. The State Department has asked us to provide answers. I need whatever help you can give me on questions 19 and 20.

19. Obviously, this is an insulting question for Cols. Cruz, Cummings, and Bosch. AmEmbassy Mexico has tried to interview Moran and we are convinced here that his story is nonsense. Nevertheless, the families are not going to let go on this question until we have a definitive answer. Would it be possible to get statements from Cols. Cruz, Cummings, and Bosch (written or oral) to the effect that they did not communicate with Hans Christ tendhsayffect that these women were coming and would be interfered with? Could you do this through your communications channels?

20. I have been told that El Salvador did not have Hueys in December, 1980. Is that correct? Would it be possible to check flight logs for GOES helicopters for the period 11/16/80 - 12/1/80? Would these logs indicate where the helicopter was flying? If not, let me know and I will answer the question accordingly.

Thahks.

WRB/wrb

86F85 #1845

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MONTER00279

UNCLASSIFIED

ADP898

[redacted]

PAGE 01 MONTER 00279 112049Z
ACTION ARA-16

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PA-01 MCT-02 INRE-00 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /063 W
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O 111610Z MAR 82
FM AMCONSUL MONTERREY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6024
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY PRIORITY

[redacted] MONTERREY 0279

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS PINT MX NU ES
SUBJECT: LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ-ESPINOSA

REF: SAN SALVADOR 1889, MONTERREY 0264

1. EL NORTE CARRIES STORY ON NEWS REPORTER'S INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS AT THE FACULTY OF PHYSICS AT THE AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF NUEVO LEON, WHO WERE ACQUAINTED WITH SUBJECT. THEY CONFIRMED HIS REGULAR ATTENDANCE LAST SEMESTER AND DESCRIBED HIM AS A SERIOUS GOOD STUDENT WITH VERY FEW FRIENDS. ONE MENTIONED THAT HE HAD BEEN LIVING WITH RELATIVES IN COLONIA LINDA VISTA. ANOTHER STATED THAT GUTIERREZ HAD GIVEN SOME SANDINISTA POSTERS TO FACULTY EMPLOYEES AND THAT GUTIERREZ HAD SAID THAT HE HAD DONE "SOCIAL WORK" DURING THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION.

2. THE REPORTER ALSO CONTACTED HONORARY NICARAGUAN CONSUL, RAMON AVILES, WHO SAID THAT HE KNEW GUTIERREZ. AVILES DENIED ACCUSATIONS THAT HAD BEEN MADE AGAINST STUDENT, AND SAID THAT GUTIERREZ ARRIVED IN MONTERREY A LITTLE BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1981

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MONTER 00279 112049Z

TO ENROLL IN THE FIRST SEMESTER OF THE FACULTY OF PHYSICS.

TUCKER

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

DECONTROLLED/UNCLASSIFIED

3/11/22 ID065

Case Number: s199900006

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02964 111829Z
ACTION IO-15

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	ARA-16	NSAE-00	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-02
	SVC-00	SAL-01	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/128 W	

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6562
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

R

UNCLAS GENEVA 02964

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: UNHRC, SHUM
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC) - RESOLUTION ON
- HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

REFS: GENEVA (A) 2366 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 50896

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, (TEXT REF A) COSPONSORED BY ALGERIA, CUBA, DENMARK, FRANCE, GREECE, MEXICO, NETHERLANDS AND YUGOSLAVIA, ADOPTED BY HRC MARCH 9 BY VOTE OF 28-6(ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, PAKISTAN, PHILIPPINES, U.S., URUGUAY)-8(CHINA, COSTA RICA, FIJI, JAPAN, JORDAN, PANAMA, PERU, ZAIRE). AN AMENDMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF URUGUAY TO ADD LANGUAGE SPECIFYING THAT AT NEXT YEAR'S HRC SESSION THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE WOULD BE CONSIDERED UNDER THE GENERAL AGENDA ITEM COVERING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD (INSTEAD OF A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM) WAS REJECTED BY VOTE OF 13(US, ARGENTINA, AUSTRALIA, BRAZIL, CANADA, FIJI, FRG, JAPAN, JORDAN, PAKISTAN, PANAMA, PHILIPPINES, URUGUAY AWWAU(#)(CHINA, COSTA RICA, INDIA, ITALY, PERU, UK, ZAIRE).
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02964 111829Z

NOTE BY OC/T: (#) TEXT GARBLED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002056

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02056 111734Z
ACTION SS-25

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NSAE-00 INRE-00) W
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O 111533Z MAR 82
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8432
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2056

EXDIS

E. O. 12065: GDS 3/10/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: [redacted] SALVADORAN CAPTURE OF NICARAGUAN GUERRILLA

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FONMIN CHAVEZ MENA TOLD AMBASSADOR AND DCM AT BREAKFAST MARCH 9 THAT HE WAS CONTEMPLATING WHAT TO ABOUT THE MEXICAN CHARGE'S ROLE IN THE CASE OF THE ESCAPED NICARAGUAN, GUTIERREZ. HE SAID HE WAS TROUBLED ABOUT THE VULNERABILITY OF THE CONFESSION OF THE NICARAGUAN TO CRITICISM. WITHOUT HASTE, IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT WOULD GRANT GUTIERREZ SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF SALVADOR. IN THE MEANTIME, HE SAW THE FOLLOWING POSSIBILITIES WITH REGARD TO DEALING WITH THE MEXICAN CHARGE:

1) DECLARE HIM PERSONAL NON GRATA;
2) SUGGEST QUIETLY TO THE MEXICANS THAT THEY REMOVE THE CHARGE AND PERHAPS OTHERS FOR THEIR OWN SECURITY.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02056 111734Z

CHAVEZ MENA FAVORED THE LATTER COURSE SO AS NOT TO HAVE AN UNDUE IMPACT ON RELATIONS WITH MEXICO AND HE WAS TRYING TO DECIDE HOW BEST TO CARRY IT OUT. HE WAS CONSIDERING THE IDEA OF CALLING CASTANEDA AND DIPLOMATICALLY DISCUSSING ISSUE. HE HAD DISCARDED USING HIS CHARE IN MEXICO (WHO HAPPENS TO BE THE BROTHER OF NATIONAL POLICE DIRECTOR LOPEZ NUILA). HE MIGHT STILL SEND A SUBORDINATE SUCH AS FOREIGN POLICY DIRECTOR CASTRO TO MEXICO TO TALK TO

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400034A

PAGE NO.

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THE FOREIGN OFFICE THERE ABOUT REMOVING THEIR CURRENT REPRESENTATIVES FOR THEIR OWN SAFETY. IN ANY EVENT, A NEW MEXICAN CHARGE, CURRENTLY SERVING IN COLOMBIA, IS DUE IN SALVADOR SOON.

3. CHAVEZ OBVIOUSLY WOULD LIKE TO WIPE HIS HANDS OF THIS WHOLE CASE IN THE NEATEST WAY POSSIBLE.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002156

ADP580
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02156 131615Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
IO-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-08
PA-01 INRE-00 SAL-01 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /078 W
------------------240676 131617Z /50

O R 121552Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8483
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2156

E. O. 12065: GDS 3-13-88
TAGS: PINR, ES
SUBJ: [redacted] NICARAGUAN CAPTURED IN EL SALVADOR

REF: STATE 66713

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY TELEPHONE FROM THE DEPARTMENT THAT ORLANDO JOSE TARDENCILLA ESPINOZA WILL DEPART THE U.S. MARCH 13 FOR MEXICO AND, ULTIMATELY, NICARAGUA. DCM RECEIVED TELEPHONE CALL FROM ICRC LOCAL DIRECTOR MENGOTTI MORNING OF MARCH 13 ASKING THAT HE BE NOTIFIED IF THERE WERE ANY PLANS TO RETURN TARDENCILLA TO EL SALVADOR, SINCE "HIS PERFORMANCE IN THE U.S. WOULD NOT GO DOWN WELL WITH CERTAIN SECTORS HERE." DCM INFORMED HIM THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT TARDENCILLA WOULD NOT BE RETURNING TO SALVADOR. HE ALSO PLEDGED THAT IF THERE WERE ANY INFORMATION INDICATING THAT TARDENCILLA WOULD BE COMING HERE THAT THE EMBASSY WOULD PROMPTLY NOTIFY THE ICRC.

3. ACTION REQUESTED: IF THERE ISANY POSSIBILITY OF TARDENCILLA RETURNING TO EL SALVADOR, NOTIFY THIS MISSION
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02156 131615Z

BY NIACT IMMEDIATE CABLE. IN ANY EVENT ADVISE US OF DISPOSITION OF CASE.
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Special Project (1993)

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9400034A

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002156

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ADPB60

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02156 131615Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
10-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-06 L-03 PM-09
PA-01 INRE-00 SAL-01 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /076 W
------------240676 131617Z /50

O R 131552Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8483
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2156

E. O. 12065: GDS 3-13-88
TAGS: PINR, ES
SUBJ: (C) NICARAGUAN CAPTURED IN EL SALVADOR

REF: STATE 66713

1. [redacted]ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY TELEPHONE FROM THE DEPARTMENT THAT ORLANDO JOSE TARDENCILLA ESPINOZA WILL DEPART THE U.S. MARCH 13 FOR MEXICO AND, ULTIMATELY, NICARAGUA. DCM RECEIVED TELEPHONE CALL FROM ICRC LOCAL DIRECTOR MENGOTTI MORNING OF MARCH 13 ASKING THAT HE BE NOTIFIED IF THERE WERE ANY PLANS TO RETURN TARDENCILLA TO EL SALVADOR, SINCE "HIS PERFORMANCE IN THE U.S. WOULD NOT GO DOWN WELL WITH CERTAIN SECTORS HERE." DCM INFORMED HIM THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT TARDENCILLA WOULD NOT BE RETURNING TO SALVADOR. HE ALSO PLEDGED THAT IF THERE WERE ANY INFORMATION INDICATING THAT TARDENCILLA WOULD BE COMING HERE THAT THE EMBASSY WOULD PROMPTLY NOTIFY THE ICRC.

3. ACTION REQUESTED: IF THERE ISANY POSSIBILITY OF TARDENCILLA RETURNING TO EL SALVADOR, NOTIFY THIS MISSION [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02156 131615Z

BY NIACT IMMEDIATE CABLE. IN ANY EVENT ADVISE US OF DISPOSITION OF CASE.
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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002048

ADP733

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02048 111430Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
DODE-00 NSC-01 NSAE-00 COME-00 SY-05 LAB-04 PM-09
MCT-02 STR-13 SIL-01 ICAE-00 SP-02 /068 W
------------------143077 111511Z /45

R 131125Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8424
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
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[redacted]AN SALVADOR 2048

BRUSSELS, MEXICO, AND CARACAS FOR LABATT

E. O. 12065: GDS 3/10/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (U) CONVERSATION WITH CTS SECRETARY GENERAL

REF: (A) STATE 053863; (B) STATE 060675

1. [redacted]ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THE CTS SECRETARY GENERAL CONFIRMED THAT SEVEN CLAT-AFFILIATED LABOR ORGANIZATIONS HAVE AGREED TO SEND AT LEAST 12 OBSERVERS TO THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS. REPORTED THAT THE UPD WILL HOLD ANOTHER MASS DEMONSTRATION ON 3/13/82 IN SUPPORT OF THE ELECTION PROCESS AND AGRARIAN REFORM, AND PROMISED TO CHECK WITHIN HIS ORGANIZATION TO DETERMINE WHETHER ANY OF HIS ORGANIZATION'S MEMBERS WHO WERE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02048 111430Z

TRAINED IN NICARAGUA AS SUBVERSIVES WOULD BE WILLING TO SPEAK WITH THE PRESS. END SUMMARY.

3. ON 3/9/82, LABOFF MET WITH JOSE LUIS GRANDE PRESA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CLAT-AFFILIATED CENTRAL DE TRABAJADORES SALVADORENOS (CTS). GRANDE HAD JUST RETURNED THE PREVIOUS DAY FROM A FOUR DAY MEETING OF CLAT LEADERS IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA. HE RAISED THREE ISSUES IN THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9940034A

PAGE NO

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002048

4. CLAT MEETING: THE MEETING OF CLAT LEADERS FROM 3/4/82-3/6/82 CONCENTRATED UPON THE SALVADORAN SITUATION. GRANDE REPORTS THAT THE CLAT AFFILIATES FROM THE FOLLOWING NATIONS AGREED TO SEND OBSERVERS TO THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS: COSTA RICA, PANAMA, NICARAGUA, GUATMALA, VENEZUELA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND ECUADOR. A TOTAL OF 12 OBSERVERS WERE COMMITTED. GRANDE IS UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW THE ORIT AFFILIATES HAVE DECIDED ON THE OBSERVER ISSUE. HE CONFIRMS THAT THE ICFTY HAS DECIDED NOT TO SEND OBSERVERS AND SHOWED LABOFF A COPY OF THE TELEGRAM SENT BY ICFTU SECRETARY GENERAL OTTO KERSTEN TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN LABOR CONFEDERATION (CETECA) TO THAT EFFECT (REF A).

5. UPD DEMONSTRATION: GRANDE REPORTS THAT THE UNIDAD POPULAR DEMOCRATICA (UPD) HAS SCHEDULED A MASS DEMONSTRATION FOR 3/13/82. THE DEMONSTRATION IS TO STRESS TWO CENTRAL THEMES:
--SUPPORT FOR THE ELECTIONS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.
--SUPPORT FOR THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM.
GRANDE STATES THAT ALL UPD AFFILIATES HAVE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MASS DEMONSTRATION WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE CAMPESINO ORGANIZATION UCS HE IS UNCERTAIN [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 02048 111430Z

WHETHER THE UCS WILL JOIN THE DEMONSTRATION OR HOLD A SEPARATE RALLY LATER.

6. SALVADORANS TRAINED IN NICARAGUA: LABOFF ASKED GRANDE ABOUT STATEMENTS THAT HE MADE TO THE PRESS DURING HIS RECENT TRIP TO WASHINGTON (REF B) ALLEGING CTS MEMBERS WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY TRAINED AS GUERRILLAS IN NICARAGUA. GRANDE CONFIRMED THAT THERE ARE SUCH MEN IN THE CTS. HE WAS RELUCTANT TO IDENTIFY THEM FOR THE PRESS OR FOR THE EMBASSY UNTIL SUCH TIME AS HE CLEARS THE MATTER WITH THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED. GRANDE PROMISED TO LET THE EMBASSY KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHETHER ANY OF THESE MEN ARE WILLING TO SPEAK TO THE PRESS.

7. COMMENT: GRANDE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE CLAT AFFILIATES HAVE DEVELOPED FIRM PLANS FOR SENDING OBSERVERS TO THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS. THE STATUS OF THE POTENTIAL ORIT OBSERVERS IS STILL UNCLEAR. LABOFF WILL SPEAK TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORIT-AFFILIATED FESINCONSTRANS ON THIS MATTER ON 3/10/82.
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El Salvador: Human Rights
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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[redacted]

AN: 0820135-0378

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 12/16/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (✓ in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

PAGE 01 STATE 067327
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 /016 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/CEN:
APPROVED BY ARA/CEN:
----------234253 1309347 /23
R 1307327 MAR 82 ZEX
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL OECD CAPITALS
ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION GENEVA
INFO USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HEIGHTS PA 0000
XMT AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] STATE 067327

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/23/88 [redacted]

TAGS: SHUM, ES

SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE ON ALLEGED TORTURE INCIDENT

FOLLOWING IS A REPEAT
QUOTE SAN SALVADOR 00565
O 251315Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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E.O. 12065: GDS 1/23/88 (BLEAKLEY, KENNETH W.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: (U) NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE ON ALLEGED TORTURE INCIDENT
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 067327

REF: STATE 5833

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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1. (C) SUMMARY: NEW YORK TIMES PUBLISHED JAN 11, 1982 A TOTALLY FALSE ARTICLE ALLEGING US PARTICIPATION IN A TORTURE INCIDENT. NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE BY NYT TO VERIFY STORY HERE. RADIO MOSCOW BEGAN PLAYING SAME TUNE ALMOST IMMEDIATELY. THIS MESSAGE OUTLINES MULTIPLE FACTUAL

DISCREPENCIES WHICH ARE, AND WERE, EASILY VERIFIABLE. ACTION REQUEST: THAT WASHINGTON FOCUS WIDEST POSSIBLE ATTENTION ON THIS BLATANT EXAMPLE OF INACCURATE NEWS-- REPORTING ON SALVADOR AND ITS USE BY THE LEFT TO ATTEMPT TO ASSOCIATE US ASSISTANCE WITH OFFICIAL TERRORISM AND REPRESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THE ALLEGATIONS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE OF JAN. 11, 1982 THAT U.S. PERSONNEL WITNESS SO-CALLED "TORTURE CLASSES" ARI TO ALLY FALSE. FURTHERMORE, OUR INVESTIGATION HAS DISCOVERED -- SEVERAL DISCREPANCIES IN THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE- WHICH TEND TO CAST DOUBT ON CARLOS MONTANO'S ENTIRE ACCOUNT ON THE ALLEGED INCIDENT.

3. (C) EVEN A CURSORY READING OF THE JANUARY 11 ARTICLE RAISES TWO QUESTIONS. HOW WOULD THE NYT PUBL SH SO -- PROMINENTLY SUCH A CONDEMNATORY ARTICLE BY A SALVADORAN ARMY DESERTER WITHOUT CHECKING OUT THE FACTS ON-THE GROUND? A SECOND AND EVEN MORE SERIOUS QUESTION HAS TO DO WITH THE TIMING OF THE RELEASE OF THESTORY WHICH ITSELF IS NOT DATED. WE HAVE LEARNED THROUGH JOURNALISTS THAT A GROUP OF SALVADORAN EXILES IN MEXICO, INCLUDING DISSIDENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT HECTOR DADA HIREZI AND EX-OWNER OF THE SAN SALVADOR LEFTIST DAILY EL INDEPEN-

[redacted]

DIENTE, JORGE PINTO, OFFERED GOMEZ' TALE SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE ITS JAN. 11 PUBLICTION, TO SEVERAL AMERICAN JOURNALISTS IN MEXICO CITY. NONE OF WHOM WOULD TOUCH IT FOR ITS OBVIOUS LACK OF CREDIBILITY. THE NYT NOT ONLY ACCEPTED THE STORY BUT HELD IT UNTIL THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF SALVADORAN MILITARY ARRIVED FOR TRAINING IN NORTH CAROLINA. THE TIMES THEN RAN THE STORY IN AN EXTREMELY PROMINENT POSITION ON PAGE FOUR ALONG WITH A PHOTO OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY.

4. (C) WE SHOULD NOTE ALSO THAT MOSCOW RADIO IN SPANISH

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Special Project (1993)

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TO LATIN AMERICAN (FBIS BY 182200) USED THE STORY THE FOLLOWING DAY, JAN 12, TO LAUNCH A PARTICULARLY VICIOUS ATTACK AGAINST THE US. IT MADE A SIMILAR LINK BETWEEN ACCUSATION OF WIDESPREAD INSTRUCTION IN TORTURE BY THE US AND THE ARRIVAL OF SALVADORAN MILITARY TRAINEES IN THE US.

5. (U) AS FOR THE STORY ITSELF, THE FOLLOWING DISCREPANCIES WERE CONFIRMED BY THE MILGROUP COMMANDER:
A. GOMEZ STATED THAT SOME OF THE U.S. PERSONNEL WHO OBSERVED THE INCIDENT WERE DRESSED IN JUNGLE CAMOUFLAGE FATIGUES. COMMENT: NO U.S. ARMY PERSONNEL HAS CAMOUFLAGE

FATIGUES IN EL SALVADOR. THEY WERE PROHIBITED FROM THE BEGINNING.
B. GOMEZ SAID SOME WORE GREEN BERETS WHEN THEY ARRIVED AT ILOPANGO AIRPORT. COMMENT: U.S. PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN PROHIBITED FROM BRINGING GREEN BERETS INTO EL SLVADOR FROM THE START. FURTHERMORE, ONLY TWO OF THE 19-PERSONNEL IN THE COUNTRY IN JANUARY 1982 WERE FROM THE SPECIAL FORCES, AND THEY DID NOT WORK AT THE AIR BASE. THOSE AT THE ILOPANGO AIR BASE WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN FAMILIAR TO GOMEZ WERE HELICOPTER MAINTENANCE MEN AND PILOT TRAINERS WHO NORMALLY WORE GREEN OVERALLS OR FLIGHT SUITS.
C. GOMEZ SAID THAT HIS PARACHUTE UNIT RECEIVED TRAINING

[redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 067327

FROM TWO U.S. ADVISORS. COMMENT: NO U.S. TRAINERS HAVE EVER WORKED WITH THE PARACHUTE UNIT. NOT EVEN FOR A SHORT TIME.

6. (U) IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE, A SEPARATE INVEST GATION CONDUCTED BY ABC UNCOVERED THE FOLLOWING ABOUT GOMEZ:
A. HE CLAIMS HIS PARENTS WERE MASSACRED BY THE NATIONL GUARD IN MAY 1981. COMMENT: ACCORDING TO RELATIVES IN ZACATECOLUCA, DEPARTMENT OF LA PA,, HIS PARENTSDIED SEPARATELY OF NATURAL CAUSES LONG BEFORE THAT DATE.
B.GOMEZ HAS NOT BEEN CONSISTNENT IN DESCRIBING HIS FAMILY TO DIFFERENT REPORTERS. THE NUMBEROF BROTHERS AND SISTERS VARIES FROM INTERVIEW TO INTERVIEW.
7. (U) THE ONLY VERIFIABLE FACT IN GOMEZ' STORY THAT CHECKS OUT IS THAT HE WAS A PARATROOPER AND DESERTED AT ABOUT THE TIME HE ALLEGED. HOWEVER, HE CLAIMS TO HAVE ESCAPED FROM STOCKADE AT ILOPANGO WHILE MILITARY

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RECORDS INDICATE THAT HE SIMPLY FAILED TO RETURN FROM A 48 HOUR PASS.

8. (U) ASIDE FROM THE DISCREPANCIES IN GOMEZ' STORY, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT EIGHT U.S. SERVICE MEMBERS WOULD WATCH A 13-YEAR OLD GIRL BEING TORTURED-WITHOUT TAKING ACTION, OR AT THE VERY LEAST, REPORT IT TO THEIR SUPERIOR OFFICER. MORAL CONSIDERATIONS ASIDE, THEY ARE TRAINED TO REPORT SUCH INCIDENTS. THERE-HAVE -BEEN NO REPORTS, NOT EVEN ANY RUMORS OF SUCH AN INCIDENT.-

9. (U) THIS MESSAGE, ALONG WITH THE TESTIMONY OF ALL THE INSTRUCTORS PRESENT AT THE TIME, WHICH THE DOD- S COLLECTING SHOULD PROVIDE SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO COUNTER THE GOMEZ' STORY, THOUGH UNFORTUNATELY THE STORY WILL - REMAIN IN THE FILES OF THOSE WHO WOULD DISCREDIT AMERICAN [redacted]

POLICY IN EL SALVADOR. ONCE SUCH A STORY IS CIRCULATED IN A MAJOR PUBLICATION, IT ASSUMES A LIFE OF ITS OWN NO MATTER IF IT IS LATER PROVEN FLSE. HINTON. UNQUOTE.HAIG

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U.S. Department of State
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Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01575 152228Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	~~CIAE-00~~	~~NSC-01~~
	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06	LAB-04	PA-01	MCT-02	SIL-01
	SYE-00	/068 W					

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P R 152205Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2765
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SANTIAGO 1575

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/15/88 (CRAVEN, R.L.) OR-P
TAGS: ELAB, PINS, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: *MORE ON THE TUCAPEL JIMENEZ MURDER*

REF: SANTIAGO 1391

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. ALDO SIGNORELLI, LAWYER FOR JIMENEZ' LABOR ORGANIZATION, THE ANEF (NATIONAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION), CALLED LABATT LATER AFTERNOON OF MARCH 13 AND SAID THAT THE ANEF AND THE JIMENEZ FAMILY HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING PERMISSION FOR A SECOND AUTOPSY, AND THAT IT HAD TAKEN PLACE EARLIER THAT DAY.

3. THE AUTOPSY WAS PERFORMED BY TWO DOCTORS SELECTED BY THE INVESTIGATING MAGISTRATE FROM A LIST PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE CHILEAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (WHO HAD EARLIER OFFERED THEIR SERVICES TO THE FAMILY IN CONDUCTING AN INDEPENDENT AUTOPSY IF THE FAMILY SO SESIRED). ALSO PRESENT WERE A DOCTOR CHOSEN BY THE FAMILY, THE JUDGE, SIGNORELLI, THE DOCTOR WHO PERFORMED THE ORIGINAL STATE-ORDERED AUTOPSY, AND THE SUPERIOR OF THE LATTER
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 01575 152228Z

(NO FOREIGN EXPERT WAS PRESENT). SIGNORELLI SAID THAT ALL WERE AGREED AFTER THE SECOND AUTOPSY THAT JIMENEZ WAS NOT MISTREATED BY BEATINGS OR TORTURE IN ANY WAY PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION. THE TIME OF DEATH WAS REPORTEDLY CONFIRMED AS MID- TO LATE-MORNING, SHORTLY AFTER HE WAS ABDUCTED WHILE ON HIS WAY TO HIS UNION OFFICE. IT WAS ALSO DETERMINED

THAT JIMENEZ DIED FROM HAVING HIS THROAT CUT, AND THAT SUBSEQUENT TO THAT, AND PERHAPS EVEN BEFORE HE WAS ACTUALLY DEAD, HE HAD BEEN SHOT IN THE HEAD FIVE TIMES, INSTEAD OF THE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED TWICE, WITH A SMALL CALIBRE GUN, PROBABLY A .22.

4. EARLIER ON MARCH 13, JIMENEZ' WIDOW ANNOUNCED THAT THE FAMILY WOULD BE TRAVELLING TO SWEDEN TO TAKE UP RESIDENCE THERE, ACCEPTING THE OFFER OF THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT TO THAT EFFECT. THE NEXT DAY, A MARRIED DAUGHTER ARRIVED FROM SWEDEN, WHERE SHE HAS LIVED FOR SOME YEARS, TO ASSIST THE FAMILY WITH THE ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS. MRS. JIMENEZ' COMMENTS WERE MADE DURING A TRIP TO THE CONCEPCION AREA WHERE SHE ADDRESSED A LARGE MEETING CELEBRATING THE CREATION IN THAT AREA OF A UNITED "TUCAPEL JIMENEZ" LABOR FRONT; ELEMENTS FROM ALL SECTORS OF OPPOSITION ORGANIZED LABOR, INCLUDING THE FAR LEFT, WERE PRESENT AS WELL AS INVITEES OF NATIONAL REKNOWN FROM SANTIAGO. WE WILL BE REPORTING BY SEPTEL SHORTLY ON THE SUBJECT OF THE JIMENEZ DEATH AND THE PROSPECTS THAT THIS SHOCKING EVENT COULD SERVE AS A CLARION CALL FOR UNITING ALL OPPOSITION SEGMENTS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO03609

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 03609 162030Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 IO-15 /031 W
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P 162026Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8954
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMCONSUL MONTERREY

[redacted] MEXICO 03609

E.O. 12065: GDS 03/15/88
TGS: PINT, PINS, MX, ES
SUBJECT: LIGDAMIS ANAXIS GUTIERREZ-ESPINOSA

REF: (A) MEXICO 3172

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: MEXICAN FOREIGN OFFICE SOURCES SEEM UNWILLING TO PROVIDE INFORMATION BEYOND WHAT IS GIVEN IN REFTEL ON GUTIERREZ'S CASE, AND MAY THEMSELVES BE A BIT UNCERTAIN ABOUT WHAT GUTIERREZ WAS DOING IN MEXICO. END SUMMARY.

3. DURING A MEETING WITH EMBOFF ON MARCH 9, FONOFF LA AFFAIRS DIRECTOR ZORILLA VOLUNTEERED THAT FONOFF HAD SOME INFORMATION BEYOND WHAT APPEARED IN PRESS STATEMENT IN REFTEL. ZORILLA SAID, FOR INSTANCE, THAT GOM HAD LEARNED THE TELEPHONE NUMBER OF GUTIERREZ' "NOVIA" IN MONTERREY, AND HAD CHECKED HIS STORY OUT WITH HER. ZORILLA ALSO SAID THAT GUTIERREZ HAD TOLD SALVADORANS THAT HIS CONTACT IN SAN SALVADOR WAS "IN THE VICINITY OF THE MEXICAN EMBASSY", NOT "IN THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 03609 162030Z

MEXICAN EMBSSY". WHEN SALVADOR OFFICIALS TOOK THEIR PRISONER TO THE AREA WHERE THE EMBASSY IS LOCATED, ZORILLA SAID THAT GUTIERREZ ASKED WHICH BUILDING WAS THE MEXICAN EMBASSY, THEN MADE A DASH FOR IT, PURSUED BY HIS CUSTODIANS.

4. GIVEN THAT FONOFF APPEARED TO HAVE MORE INFORMATION THAN IT IS GIVING OUT PUBLICLY, POLCOUNS AND EMBOFF BROUGHT THIS MATTER UP IN A MEETING WITH BILATERAL

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9940034A

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AFFAIRS DIRGEN VALDES ON MARCH 15. SPECIFICALLY, WE ASKED VALDES WHETHER THE "INSTITUTE" IN SALTILLO REFERRED TO BY GUTIERREZ IN FACT EXISTED; WHETHER THERE ARE IMMIGRATION RECORDANY OF THE OTHER NICARAGUANS THAT GUTIERREZ CLAIMED HAD ENTERED WITH '" HIM IN 1981; WHETHER THE OTHERS HAD LEFT MEXICO; AND WHETHER THERE WAS ANY BASIS TO GUTIERREZ'S CLAIMS OF GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMPS IN OTHER STATES. WE NOTED THAT CLARIFICATION OF THESE REMAINING POINTS WOULD SEEM TO BE IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF U.S. AND MEXICO, IN ORDER TO CLEAR THE AIR.

5. VALDES RESPONDED DEFENSIVELY. INSTEAD OF ANSWERING SPECIFIC QUESTIONS, HE STATED THAT WE COULD BE SURE THAT THE ENTIRE STORY THAT GUTIERREZ GAVE TO THE SALVADORANS WAS A FABRICATION, ADEPTLY INVENTED BY GUTIERREZ ON THE SCENE TO AVOID PROLONGED DETENTION OR WORSE. THERE WAS NO NEED FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF GUTIERREZ'S ALLEGATIONS ABOUT MEXICO. IN CONTRAST, THE SALVADORAN AUTHORITIES WERE ACTING IRRESPONSIBLY IN CONTINUING TO HOLD UP GUTIERREZ'S SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO MEXICO. INTERESTINGLY, VALDES ADDED AT THE END THAT MEXICAN AUTHORITIES WOULD WANT TO INTERVIEW GUTIERREZ THOROUGHLY WHEN HE ARRIVES IN MEXICO.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 MEXICO 03609 162030Z

6. COMMENT: WE WOULD BE SURPRISED IF WE LEARN ANYTHING MORE FROM VALDES, ALTHOUGH WE LEFT OUR QUESTIONS WITH HIM IN WRITING. OUR TENTATIVE CONCLUSION IS THAT THE GOM ITSELF IS STILL UNCERTAIN WHETHER THERE IS ANY BASIS FOR GUTIERREZ'S ALLEGATIONS, AND WANTS TO INVESTIGATE THE MATTER FURTHER BEFORE DRAWING ANY FINAL CONCLUSIONS. (DRAFTED: THEODORE S. WILKINSON) FERCH

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82TEGUCI002177

ADP569 [redacted]

PAGE 01 TEGUCI 02177 171849Z

ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-15	NSC-01	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06	L-03
	PM-09	PA-01	MCT-02	SAL-01	RP-10	ICAE-00	SYE-00
	SP-02	SR-04	SPRS-02	/105 W			

------------------000263 171940Z /52

P R 171820Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7116
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USMISSION GENEVA

[redacted] TEGUCIGALPA 2177

EO 12065: NA
TAGS: SHUM HO ES
SUBJ: SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS CLAIM RECRUITMENT FROM REFUGEES IN HONDURAS

REF: FBIS CHIVA CHIVA 142055Z MAR 82

1. (U) REFERENCE IS AN ITEM MONITORED FROM CLANDESTINE GUERRILLA RADIO BROADCAST LAST SUNDAY. IN IT, CLAIM IS MADE THAT "OVER 125" SALVADORAN REFUGEES IN HONDURAS HAD RETURNED TO ES AND JOINED VARIOUS GUERRILLA COMMANDS DURING PAST MONTH. ALSO, "DOZENS" OF RESIDENTS OF THE MESA GRANDE RELOCATION CENTER ARE SAID TO HAVE RETURNED TO TERRITORY UNDER GUERRILLA CONTROL, AND [redacted]

PAGE 02 TEGUCI 02177 171849Z

30 (OTHERWISE UNIDENTIFIED) REFUGEES TO HAVE "JOINED THE GUERRILLA FORCES IN CHALATENANGO DEPARTMENT."

2. (U) BRIEF ITEM CLOSED WITH FOLLOWING THEMES: "GROWING REPRESSION" OF REFUGEES IN HONDURAS; CALL TO "ALL SALVADORAN REFUGEES TO RETURN TO THE TERRITORY HELD BY OUR PEOPLE"; AND DEMAND FOR A STOP TO REFUGEE RELOCATION TO MESA GRANDE.

3. [redacted] COMMENT: THIS PIECE OFFERS INTERESTING (IF UNINTENDED)

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034A

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COMMENT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUERRILLA FORCES AND THE REFUGEES. THIS IS THE FIRST CONFIRMATION OF A LONG-SUSPECTED PHENOMENON: I.E., GUERRILCRUITMENT FROM THE RANKS OF THE REFUGEES, INCLUDING FROM WITHIN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. IN ADDITION, THE CALL TO RETURN HOME, COUPLED WITH CONTINUING OUTRAGE AT THE REFUGEE RELOCATION, CONFIRMS THAT THE MOVE TO MESA GRANDE IS REMOVING AN IMPORTANT SUPPORT ASSET FOR THE GUERRILLAS. A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF REFUGEES HAVE APPARENTLY ALREADY RETURNED TO EL SALVADOR RATHER THAN ACCEPT RELOCATION TO MESA GRANDE. APPROXIMATELY 2500 ARE UNACCOUNTED FOR AND MOST ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE LEFT HONDURAS.
NEGROPONTE

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UNCLASSIFIED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

ADP752

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02430 01 OF 05 221611Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 L-03 ONY-00 /019 W
----------155366 221930Z /52 41 R
R 221502Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8564
INFP RUEHZP/AMEMBASSY PANAMA 9008

[redacted] SECTION 1 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 2430

PANAMA FOR LEGATT

E. O. 12065: GDS 3/15/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJ: (U) CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDER CASE

REF: STATE 46527

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. EMBASSY HAS DEVELOPED ANSWERS TO ALL OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED IN REFTEL ALTHOUGH SOME WILL REQUIRE FOLLOW-UP BY THE DEPARTMENT, FBI OR DEFENSE DEPARTMENT. WE SUGGEST THAT YOU DRAWN UPON THE FOLLOWING IN RESPONDING TO THE 23 QUESTIONS POSED BY THE FAMILIES OF THE FOUR MURDERED VICTIMS.

3. RED PAINT SMEAR. THE EMBASSY'S FILES INDICATE THAT A PAINT SCRAPING WAS OBTAINED BY THE FBI TEAM INVESTIGATING THESE MURDERS IN DECEMBER 1980. EMBASSY FILES DO NOT INDICATE WHERE THE SCRAPING WAS OBTAINED. THE SCRAPING WAS SUBMITTED TO THE FBI LABORATORY FOR ANALYSIS ON 1/781. THE LABORATORY CONDLUDED THAT THE SCRAPING WAS COMPOSED OF THREE LAYERS:
--THE FIRST LAYER WAS A RED, ACRYLIC LACQUER (THIN AND GLOSSY).
--THE SECOND LAYER WAS A MEDIUM GREY NITROCELLULOSE

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02430 01 OF 05 221611Z

(THIN).
--THE THIRD LAYER WAS A RED NITROCELLULOSE LACQUER (THIN).

THE FBI COULD NOT DETERMINE THE SOURCE OF THE PAINT SCRAPING. THE SCRAPING'S COMPONENTS ARE NOT SIMILAR TO THE ORIGINAL PAINT FINISH SYSTEM USED ON ANY MOTOR VEHICILES KNOWN TO THE FBI LABORATORY. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON WHERE THE SCRAPING WAS OBTAINED MAY BE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

AVAILABLE FROM THE FBI. FBI FILE NUMBER IS 163-49105.
LAB NUMBER IS 10107002 S/D TN TS RC. THE SCRAPING IS
SPECIMEN NUMBER Q32.

4. FINGERPRINTS. EMBASSY FILES INDICATE THAT FINGERPRINTS
WERE TAKEN OF SIX NATIONAL GUARDSMEN FROM THE AIRPORT
DETACHMENT. THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO THE
EMBASSY INDICATES THAT AT NO TIME ON THE NIGHT OF 12/2/80
WERE THERE 85 GUARDSMEN PRESENT AROUND THE AIRPORT. THE
TOTAL AIRPORT DETACHMENT OF THE NATIONAL GUARD
COMPRISED 24 MEN. THE NUMBER 85 PERHAPS DEVELOPED FROM
THE PARTIAL LIST PROVIDED BY THE GOES OF SECURITY FORCE
PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO TOWNS IN THE AREA OF THE CRIME SITE.
THESE LISTS WERE COMPILED IN THE SECOND WEEK OF
DECEMBER 1980. THE FBI LABORATORY IDENTIFIED
ONE OF THE FINGERPRINTS LIFTED FROM THE VAN AS BEING THE RIGHT
THUMBPRINT OF FORMER SUB-SGT LUIS ANTONIO COLINDRES ALEMAN. THIS
PRINT WAS LIFTED FROM NEAR THE DOOT
HANDLE OF THE DRIVER'S SIDE DOOR OF THE VAN. A TOTAL
OF 14 PRINTS WERE LIFTED
FROM THE VAN. NONE OF THE OTHERS MATCHED ANY OF THE
FINGERPRINTS AVAILABLE TO THE FBI LABORATORY. EMBASSY IS
TRYING TO OBTAIN THE FINGERPRINTS OF
GUARDSMEN CARLOS JOAQUIN CONTRERAS PALACIOS AND
[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 02430 01 OF 05 221611Z

SALVADOR RIVERA FRANCO. THESE TWO GUARDSMEN WERE ARRESTED
IN JANUARY 1982. WHEN WE OBTAIN THEIR FINGERPRINTS, WE WILL
FORWARD THEM TO THE FBI FOR FURTHER
TESTS.
A TOTAL OF SIX WEAPONS WERE TEST-FIRED BY THE FBI.
EACH WEAPONS WAS A G-3, THE STANDARD ISSUE RIFLE OF THE
NATIONAL GUAFD. ONE CARTRIDOGE FOUND AT THE CRIME SITE
WAS CERTIFIED AS FIRED FROM THE WEAPONS
LISTEDAS ISSUED TO GUARDSMAN JOSE ROBERTO MORENO CANJURA. THE
FBI LABORATORY FOUND THAT ALL OTHER CARTRIDGES AND SPENT
BULLETS RECOVERED FROM THE CRIME SITE DID NOT OFFER
ENOUGH MICROSCOPIC CHARACTERISTICS TO PERMIT ANY
CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN.

5. GUARDSMEN'S NAMES. THE SIX FOLLOWING GUARDSMEN WERE
CONFINED TO BARRACKS BY THE DIRDCTOR GENERAL OF THE
NATIONAL GUARD IN APRIL 1981:
--SUB-SGT LUIS ANTONIO COLINDRES ALEMAN.
--FRANCISCO ORLANDO CONTRERAS RECINOS.
--JOSE ROBERTO MORENO CANJURA.
--DANIEL CANALES RAMIREZ.
--JOSE ELIAS SANCHEZ GUZMAN.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

ADP753 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02430 02 OF 05 221659Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 L-03 ONY-00 /019 W
----------157634 221930Z /52 R

R 221502Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8655
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

[redacted] SECTION 2 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 2430

PANAMA FOR LEGATT

--ADRIAN RAMIREZ PALACIOS.
ALL EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO THE EMBASSY AT THIS TIME SUGGESTS THAT THE LAST TWO INDIVIDUALS ON THIS LIST PLAYED NO ROLE IN THE MURDERS OF THE FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN. THEY HAVE SINCE BEEN RELEASED FROM CONFINEMENT. THE GOES HOPE THAT THEIR LEGAL RIGHTS TO PRIVACY AND PROTECTION FROM FALS ACCUSATION WILL BE RESPECTED. TWO ADDITIONAL GUARDSMEN ERE ARRESED IN JANUARY 1982:
--CARLOS JOAQUIN CONTRERAS PALACIOS.
--SALVADOR RIVERA FRANCO.
EMBASSY, AIFLD INVESTIGATOR, AND SOME GOES INVESTIGATORS HAVE LOOKED INTO THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE SHERATON MURDERS AND THE CHURCHWOMEN MURDERS. SO FAR, NO SUBTAINTIATING EVIDENCE HAS BEEN FOUND, BUT AS BEST WE CAN, WE WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE LEADS WHICH SUGGEST A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TWO CASS.

6. HANS CHRIST. THE FBI HAS NOT INTERVIEWED HANS CHRIST, THE FBI HAS PROVIDED ONLY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE SHERATON MURDERS INVESTIGATION.
HANS CHRIST PROVIDED FORMAL DECLARATIONS TO THE US DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA IN CONNECTION WITH THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT'S EXTRADITION REQUEST.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02430 02 OF 05 221659Z

EMBASSY SUGGESTS THAT THE DEPARTMENT CONSULT WITH THE FBI ON THIS MATTER AND RECOMMENDS A FORMAL INTERVIEW WITH HANS CHRIST.

7. POLYGRAPH EXAMINATIONY. THERE IS NO TRANSCRIPT AVAILABLE OF THE POLYGRAPH EXAMINATIONS. THE POLY-GRAPH EXAMINER CONDUCTED HIS EXAMINATION FROM A WORK SHEET. MOST OF THE QUESTIONS FROM THE WORK SHEET ARE CONTROL QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO RELAX THE EXAMINEE AND

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

PROVIDE A SCIENTIFIC BASIS UPON WHICH TO COMPARE HIS PHYSICAL REACTIONS TO THE SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS, LEGATT PANAMA REPORTS THAT THE POLYGRAPH EXAMINTER DOES NOT RELEASE HIS WORK SHEET. THE EXAMINER PREPARED A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION REPORT FOR EACH EXAMINATION. THIS REPORT INCLUDES THE EXAMINER'S GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT WHETHER THE SUBJECT WAS LYING. IN THE CASE OF COLINDRES ALEMAN, THE REPORT ALSO PROVIDES THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES IN WHICH THE EXAMINTER NOTED DECEPTION. IF FBI RULES PERMIT, THESE POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION REPORTS MAY BE RELEASED. COPIES ARE AVAILABLE AT THIS EMBASSY.

8. JUDGE'S WHEREABOUTS. DR. BERNARDO RAUDA MURCIA IS THE PRESIDING JUDGE OVER THE FIFTH CRIMINAL COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE. RAUDA LIVES IN SAN SALVADOR AND COMMUTES APPROXIMATELY 30 MILES A DAY TO HIS COURT IN ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT. AS BEST AS THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE, JUDGE RAUDA DROVER TO ZACATECOLUCA AROUND 0900 HOURS ON SATURDAY, 2/13/82. HE REPORTS THAT HE CONSIDERED THE CASE FOR APPROXIMATELY 90 MINUTES IN THE PRIVACY OF HIS CHAMBERS AND THEN PREPARED THE ORDER COMMITTING THE FIVE GUARDSMEN TO FURTHER DETENTION. HE DID NOT CONDUCT ANY PUBLIC BUSINESS THAT MORNING. AFTER SIGNING

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 02430 02 OF 05 221659Z

THE ORDER OF COMMITMENT AND DELIVERING IT TO HIS CLERK, HE CLAIMS THAT HE RETURNED HOME TO SAN SALVAOR. HE DID NOT ENGAGE IN ANY FURTHER BUSINESS THAT SATURDAY.

9. ARREST REPORT. THE EMAASSY WAS UNAWARE THAT ANY OF ITS OFFICERS REPORTED THAT THE CHURCHWOMEN WERE ARRESTED AT THE AIRPORT. ALL OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO THE EMBASSY SUGGESTS THAT THE CHURCHWOMEN WERE NOT ARRESTED AT THE AIRPORT. THE CHURCHWOMEN'S VAN WAS STOPPED APPROXIMATELY TWO MILES FROM THE AIRPORT TERMINAL AS BEST WE CAN DETERMINE. AT THAT TIME THEY WERE TAKEN INTO EFFECTIVE CUSTODY, THOUGH NOT FORMALLY ARRESTED. NO MENTION WAS MADE OF ARREST IN THE CHARGES AGAINST THE FIVE GUARDSMEN BECAUSE THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF SUCH ARRESTS.

10. POLYGRAPH QUESTION. THE FOLLOWING QUESTION WAS ASKED OF COLINDRES ALEMAN WHILE HE WAS ON THE POLYGRAPH: (ENGLISH TRANSLATION) "DID YOU RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS OR ORDERS TO ATTACK (ATENTARA) THOSE WOMEN?" COLINDRES ALEMAN RESPONDED "NO." NO DECEPTION WAS NOTED ON THE POLYGRAPH MACHINE. ON ALL OTHER SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS PUT TO COLINDRES ALEMAN CONCERNING HIS PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE CRIME, HIS NEGATIVE ANSWERS DID INDICATE DECEPTION ON THE POLYGRAPH. THE EMBASSY HAS NOT MADE A FORMAL DIPLOMATIC

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

APPROACH TO PRESIDENT DUARTE CONCERNING HIS STATEMENT
TO THE PRESS ABOUT NO INVOLVEMENT BY SENIOR OFFICIALS.
DUARTE MADE THIS STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO A DIRECT
QUESTION ON THIS MATTER BY A MEMBER OF THE PRESS. HIS
RESPONSE WAS APPARENTLY BASED UPON HIS PERSONAL ASSESS-
MENT OF ALL OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME.
THE EMBASSY HAS NO EVIDENCE INDICATING THAT PRESIDENT
DUARTE HAS ATTEMPTED AT ANY TIME IN THE COURSE OF THIS
INVESTIGATIO TO INTERFERE WITH THE PROCESS OF JUSTICE.
IN FACT, GIVEN THE DOMINANT ROLE WHICH JUDGES ARE SUPPOSED TO

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 02430 02 OF 05 221659Z

PLAY IN THE SALVADORAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND THE NATURE OF
SALVADORAN SOCIETY TODAY, IT IS VERY UNLIKELY THAT A SIMPLE, PUBLIC
STATEMENT BY DUARTE WOULD HAVE MUCH IF ANY EFFECT ON
A CRIMINAL CASE.

11. COLINDRES' COMMANDING OFFICER. COLINDRES ALEMAN
REPORTED DIRECTLY TO A SENIOR SERGEANT STATIONED IN
THE TOWN OF LA HERRADUA, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT. THIS
SERGEATN RETIRED FROM THE NATIONAL GUARD
ON 12/31/80 AND HAS
SINCED MOVED TO THE TO THE UNITED STATES. HE WAS INTERVIEWED
BY THE FBI ON 2/10/82. AT THAT INTERVIEW, HE ADMITTED
THAT COLINDRES HAD CONFESSED TO THE MURDERS AFTER THE
:5.
THE INTERVIEWED SERGEANT DID NOT SAY THAT HE HAD
ANY PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF THE MURDERS. THIS
FORMER SERGEANT WAS NOT SUBMITTED TO POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION,
PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THE INTERVIEWING OFFICIAL FELT THAT THE
SERGEANT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

ADP758
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02430 03 OF 05 221718Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 L-03 ONY-00 /019 W
----------160044 221931Z /52 R
R 221502Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8656
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA
[redacted] SECTION 3 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 2430

PANAMA FOR LEGATT

HAD CONFESSED AND THAT A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION WAS UNNECESSARY. HE IS STILL AVAILABLE FOR FURTHER INTERVIEWING IF NECESSARY.
THE OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE DISTRICT WHICH INCLUDED THE AIRPORT IN DECEMBER 1980 WAS NATIONAL GUARD LT. DANIEL MEJIA. HE WAS STATIONED AT ZACATECOLUCA, APPROXIMATELY 14 MILES (20 MILES BY ROAD) FROM THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. TO THE BEST OF THE EMBASSY'S KNOWLEDGE, MEJIA HAS NOT BEEN INTERVIEWED BY GOES INVESTIGATORS SINCE LT. MEJIA APPARENTLY NEITHER HAD DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE CASE NOR WAS IT EVEN SUGGESTED BY ANY LEAD THAT HE DID.
12. LIST OF PERSONS POLYGRAPHED. THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS WERE SUBMITTED TO POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION IN EL SALVADOR CONCERNING THE CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDERS:
--LUIS ANTONIO COLINDRES ALEMAN.
--SALVADOR RIVERA FRANCO.
--JOSE ELIAS SANCHEZ GUZMAN.
--DANILE CANALES RAMIREZ.
--JOSE ROBERTO MORENO CANJURA.
--FRANCISCO ORLANDO CONTRERAS RECINOS.
--MARAGARITO PEREZ NIETO.
STATEMENTS BY ALL OF THESE INDIVIDUALS APPEAR IN THE PACKAGE OF REPORTS SENT TO THE DEPARTMENT FOR TRANSLATION.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02430 03 OF 05 221718Z

13. RIVERA FRANCO REEXAMINATION. RIVERA FRANCO WAS NOT SUBMITTD TO ANOTHER POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION AFTER HIS CONFESSION. THE POLYGRAPH EXAMINATIONS WERE TOOLS TO ASSIT THE INVESTIGATION AND TO ENCOURAGE CONFESSIONS. ONCE RIVERA FRANCO CONFESSED, THE INVESTIGATORS CONCLUDED THAT FURTHER POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION WOULD NOT BE PRODUCTIVE. THEY FELT THAT TO CONTINUE WITH FURTHER POLYGRAPH EXAMINATIONS WOULD ONLY RISK TAINTING A

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

VALUABLE CON-FESSION WITH LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF THE POLYGRAPH RESULTS BEING ADMISSIBLE IN COURT ANYWAY.

14. OTHER POLICE ORGANIZATIONS. THE POLICIA DE ADUANA (CUSTOMS POLICE) WAS THE ONLY OTHER POLICE ORGANIZATION REPRESENTED AT THE AIRPORT ON 12/2/80. THE COMMANDER OF THE DETACHMENT (JUAN DE DIOS BARRERA) AND THE DUTY DRIVER (VICTOR MELGAR GARAY) WERE BOTH QUESTIONED ABOUT THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT OF 12/2/80. BOTH STATEMENTS APPEAR IN THE PACKAGE OF REPORTS WHICH THE FORWARDED TO THE DEPARTMENT.

15. AUTHORITY TO STOP TRAFFIC. ACCORDING TO A NATIONAL GUARD SOURCE, ANY SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL WITH THE RANK OF CORPORAL OR ABOVE HAS LEGAL AUTHORITY TO STOP AND SEARCH TRAFFICE. A PRIVATE IS AUTHORIZED TO STOP AND SEARCH IF HE IS PART OF A PATROL WHICH INCLUDES AT LEAST ONE OTHER PRIVATE. ANY MEMBER OF THE UNIFORMED SECURITY FORCES IF AUTHORIZED TO STOP AND SEARCH IF HE HAS BEEN ORDERED TO DO SO BY A SUPERIOR OFFICER OR NCO. IN THE REALITY OF PRESENT DAY EL SALVADR, ANY ARMED MEMBER OF THE SECURITY FORCES CAN AND OFTEN DOES STOP AND SEARCH TRAFFICE WITH OR WITHOUT ORDERS, SUPERIOR RANK, OR BEING ACCOMPANIED BY A PATROL.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 02430 03 OF 05 221718Z

16. OLIGARCHY. EMBASSY HAS SEEN NO EVIDENCE INDICATING THAT ANY OF THE FIVE MEN CHARGED WITH THE MURDERS EVER WORKED PRIVATELY FOR THE SALVADORAN "OLIGARCY." EACH OF THESE MEN HAD WORKED THEIR ENTIRE ADULT LIVES FOR THE NATIONAL GUARD. AT NO TIME DURING THE COURSE OF THE INVESTIGATION DID THE EMBASSY ENCOUNTER EVIDENCE THAT THESE MEN HAD EVERN WORKED ON A PRIVATE BASIS FOR ANYONE ELSE. THE EMBASSY IS NOT UNAWARE THAT IN THE PAST SECURITY PERSONNEL HAVE OFTEN BEEN EMPLOYED IN A PRIVATE CAPACITY BY WEALTHY INDIVIDUALS.

17. AIRPORT TELEPHONES. THERE ARE EIGHT PAY TELEPHONES LOCAED IN THE AIRPORT TERMINAL BUILDING. FOUR ARE LOCATED IN THE DOWNSTAIRS LOBBY AND FOUR ARE LOCATED UP-TD STAIRS IN THE IMMIGRATION AREA. EACH OF THE AIRLINES HAS A PRIVATE LINE LOCATED IN THE OFFICE BEHIND ITS COUNTER. IN ADDITION, THE IMMIGRATION SERVICE HAS A PRIVATE LINE LOCATED IN ITS OFFICE UPSTAIRS AND THE SALVADORAN CUSTOMS SERVICE HAS A PRIVATE LINE IN ITS OFFICE AT THE GROUND FLOOR CUSTOMS AREA. THE AIRPORT ADMINISTRATION AND FLIGHT CONTROL TOWER HAVE OUTSIDE LINES AS WELL, BUT AIRPORT SOURCES REPORT THAT THE NATIONAL GUARD PERSONNEL RARELY ENTER THOSE SECTIONS OF THE TERMINAL BUILDING.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

THE NATIONAL GUARD AIRPORT COMMAND POST IS LOCATED NEARLY ONE MILE NORTH OF THE TERMINAL BUILDING. THE NATIONAL GUARD AIRPORT COMMAND POST IS LOCATED NEARLY ONE MILE NORTH OF THE TERMINAL BUILDING. THE BUILDING IS AT THE PERIMETER OF THE AIRPORT GROUNDS. THE COMMAND POST TELEPHONE IS LOCATED IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE. EMBASSY CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT THE TELEPHONES WERE LOCATED AT THESE SAME PLACES IN DECMEBER 1980. AIRPORT SOURCES STATE THAT THEY BELIEVE THAT THE PHONE LOCATIONS HAVE NOT CHANGED SINCE 1980.

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 02430 03 OF 05 221718Z

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

ADP859 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02430 04 OF 05 221834Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 L-03 ONY-00 /019 W
----------161112 221948Z /52 R

R 221502Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8657
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

[redacted] SECTION 4 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 2430

PANAMA FOR LEGATT

18. NUMBER OF AIRPORT GUARDS. IN DECEMBER 1980, THERE WERE 24 MEN IN THE NATIONAL GUARD AIRPORT DETACHMENT. WHEN COLINDRES LEFT THE AIRPORT WITH FIVE GUARDSMEN, AT LEAST 18 MORE MEN WERE AVAILABLE FOR DUTY AT THE AIRPORT. NATIONAL GUARD DUTY LOGS (FOUND ON PAGES 7-11 OF THE DEPARTMENT'S TRANSLATED REPORTS FROM THE GOES) INDICATE THAT AT LEAST THREE GUARDSMEN WERE ASSIGNED DUTY FROM 1900 ON 12/2/80 UNTIL 0100 ON 12/3/80 AND SIX MEN WERE ON DUTY FROM 0100 TO 0600 ON 12/3/80. THERE IS EVIDENCE WHICH SUGGESTS THAT COLINDRES ALEMAN ASSIGNED THREE ADDITIONAL MEN TO DUTY AT THE AIRPORT ROAD TRAFFIC CONTROL POST SHORTLY BEFORE 1900 HOURS ON 12/2/80, ALTHOUGH THE ASSIGNMENT DOES NOT APPEAR IN THE OFFICIAL DUTY LOGS. NATIONAL GUARD SOURCES REPORT THAT IT WAS CUSTOMARY FOR THE AIRPORT GUARDS TO BE DISTRIBUTED AS FOLLOWS: ONE UPSTAIRS IN THE IMMIGRATION AREA OF THE AIRPORT, ONE DOWNSTAIRS IN THE CUSTOMS AREA, AND ONE OUTSIDE IN THE LOBBY AND PARKING LOT. ADDITIONAL GUARDS WOULD MAN THE TRAFFIC CONTROL POST AT THE SERGEANT'S DISCRETION.

19. MISSING WITNESS. CUSTOMS POLICE DUTY DRIVER VICTOR MELGAR GARAY TESTIFIED THAT HE DROVE THE BLUE PICK-UP TRUCK WHICH WAS SENT TO EL ROSARIO TO PICK UP THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02430 04 OF 05 221834Z

SIX GUARDSMEN. HE STATES IN HIS DECLARATION THAT A GUARDSMAN WHOM HE IS ONLY ABLE TO IDENTIFY AS "VALLE" ACCOMPANIED HIM TO EL ROSARIO AND THROUGH ALL OF THE EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED AFTER MEETING WITH THE GUARDSMEN. THE ONLY"VALLE" LISTED IN THE AIRPORT NATIONAL GUARD ROSTER FOR 12/2/80 IS JULIO CESAR VALLE. EMBASSY SURMISES THAT THIS IS THE "VALLE" TO WHOM MELGAR GARAY REFERS. NO OTHER WITNESS HAS MENTIONED OR CONFIRMED HIS PRESENCE, HOWEVER. AT LAST REPORT, JULIO CESAR VALLE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

HAD LEFT THE NATIONAL GUARD AND WAS BELIEVED TO BE IN GUATEMALA.

20. HANS CHRIST EMPLOYEES. EMBASY HAS NO REPORTS OF ANY EMPLOYEES WHO MAY HAVE LEFT EL SALVADOR WITH HANS CHRIST ON HIS LAST DEPARTURE FROM THE COUNTRY. ACCORDING TO CHRIST'S TESTIMONY GIVEN AT HIS BAIL HEARING IN MIAMI, HE LEFT EL SALVADOR IN ORDER TO MEET BUSINESS ASSOCIATES IN GUATEMALA CITY AND MIAMI. EMBASSY HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF A MAN NAMED CESAR CORTEZ EVER HAVING WORKED FOR HANS CHRIST. EFFORTS HERE TO CHECK ON EMPLOYEES OF HANS CHRIST -- PARTICULARLY CORTEZ -- HAVE BEEN UNAVAILING.

21. US OFFICERS. NONE OF THE THREE OF THE US MILITARY OFFICERS MENTIONED IN THIS QUESTION IS ANY LONGER STATIONED IN EL SALVADOR. COL. CUMMINGS HAS RETIRED, WORKS FOR DOD/ISA, AND NOW RESIDES IN THE WASHINGTON, DC AREA. COL. BOSCH IS STILL ON ACTIVE DUTY AT DOD/DIA. MAJOR CRUZ WAS RECENTLY ASSIGNED TO THE U.S. MISSION IN GUATEMALA. THEY CAN BE REACHED THROUGH DEFENSE DEPARTMENT CHANNELS. WE NOTE THAT IF "CORTEZ", THE MISSING WITNESS, IS REALLY JULIO CESAR VALLE, THEN THE EVIDENCE THAT WE HAVE DEVELOPED SO FAR INDICATES [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 02430 04 OF 05 221834Z

THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE TESTIMONY ONLY ON EVENTS THAT TRANSPIRED AFTER THE GUARDSMEN WERE PICKED UP AT EL ROSARIO. NO WITNESS HAS PLACED HIM WITH THE GUARDSMEN IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO OR DURING THE MURDERS.

FOR DEPARTMENT'S INFORMATION, WE KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THE CHILDREN OF MR. MORAN. IF EMBASSY IS TO BE OF ANY FURTHER ASSISTANCE ON THE MORAN LEAD, PLEASE PROVIDE FURTHER DETAILS ON THE FAMILY FROM AMEMBASSY MEXICO AND DEPARTMENT.

22. FOLLOWING HELICOPTER. THE GOES HAD NO HUEY HELICOPTERS IN EL SALVADOR UNTIL JANUARY 1981. THERE WAS ONE US-MANNED OAS HUEY HELICOPTER IN EL SALVADOR IN NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1980. FOR THE MOST PART, THIS HELICOPTER PATROLLED THE NORTHERN BORDER WITH HONDURAS IN CHALATENANGO AND CABANAS DEPARTMENTS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A HELICOPTER WOULD FOLLOW EITHER OF THE TWO MAIN ROADS BY WHICH ONE WOULD TRAVEL FROM SANTA ROSA TO LA LIBERTAD FOR SOME DISTANCE WHILE RETURNING FROM CHALATENANGO TO ILOPANGO AIR BASE. HELICOPTER LOGS FOR EL SALVADOR DO NOT INDICATE ROUTES FOLLOWED. THEY INDICATE ONLY PLACE OF DEPARTURE, PLACES OF ALL INTERMEDIATE LANDINGS, AND PLACE OF FINAL LANDING FOR THE DAY.

23. THREATS TO FAMILIES. EMBASSY IS UNAWARE OF ANY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

THREATS MADE TO THE FAMILIES OF THE FOUR CHURCHWOMEN BEFORE THEIR MURDERS. IF THE QUESTION REFERS TO THREATS MADE AGAINST THE CHURCHWOMEN PRIOR TO THEIR MURDERS, EMBASSY HAS TAKEN THE FOLLOWING STEPS IN CHECKING THEM OUT:
--AN EMBASSY OFFICER SPOKE WITH PARISH PRIEST EFRAIN LOPEZ ABOUT THE THREATS.
--EMBASSY ALERTED GOES AUTHORITIES TO THE THREATS.
--EMBASSY OBTAINED THE THREATENING SIGN WHICH HAD BEEN HUNG AT ITA FORD'S HOUSE IN CHALATENANGO AND THE

[redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 02430 04 OF 05 221834Z

THREATENING LETTER ADDRESSED TO PARISH PRIEST EFRAIN LOPEZ.
--FBI INVESTIGATORS LIFTED FINGERPRINTS FROM THE SIGN AND THE LETTER FOR A PRINT CHECK AT THE FBI LAB.
NONE OF THE ABOVE EFFORTS HAVE LED TO ANY SUBSTANTIAL, MATERIAL EVIDENCE. EMBASSY STILL HAS THE ORIGINAL THREATENING SIGN AND LETTER.

[redacted]

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002430

ADP001
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02430 05 OF 05 222019Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 L-03 ONY-00 /019 W
----------162101 222032Z /52 R
R 221502Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8658
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

[redacted] SECTION 5 OF 5 SAN SALVADOR 2430

PANAMA FOR LEGATT

24. CARLOS PAREDES. NO ONE FROM THE EMBASSY HAS SPOKEN WITH CARLOS PAREDES ABOUT THE MURDERS. EMBOFFS HACP CHECKED FOR BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CARLOS PAREDES. HE LEFT HIS POST IN THE GOES AS SUB-SECRETARY OF PLANNING IN JANUARY 1981. HE IS REPORTED TO BE RESIDING IN MEXICO. EMBASSY HAS HEARD RUMORS THAT PAREDES IS NOW WORKING WITH THE FDR. DEPT MAY WISH TO CONFIRM THESE RUMORS AND AMPLIFY THIS ANSWER ACCORDINGLY.

25. BOARDED AIRPLANE. A NATIONAL GUARD SOURCE REPORTS UNOFFICIALLY THAT IN LATE 1980-EARLY 1981 IT WAS "NOT UNUSUAL" FOR SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL TO BOARD TRANSITTING AIRCRAFT AT THE AIRPORT. THIS WAS SAID TO BE PARTICULARLY SO WITH FLIGHTS FROM NICARAGUA. THE SAME SOURCE REPORTS THAT DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN DECEMBER 1980, THE SECURITY FORCES WERE ESPECIALLY SUSPICIOUS OF FDR SYMPATHIZERS WHO MIGHT BE ENTERING THE COUNTRY TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL OF THE SIX FDR LEADERS SLAIN IN LATE NOVEMBER. THE NATIONAL GUARD SOURCE CLAIMS THAT OFTEN THE SECURITY FORCES BOARDED THE PLANES IN RESPONSE TO TIPS FROM DEPLANING PASSENGERS. EMBASSY HAS NOT YET IDENTIFIED SPECIFICALLY WHO BOARDED SISTER RUCKELMAN'S FLIGHT ON 12/2/80.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02430 05 OF 05 222019Z

BTYM OBSERVATION. EMBASSY HAS NOT RECEIVED PROMISED SEPTEL LISTING TEN QUESTIONS WHICH CONGRESSWOMAN OAKAR PLACED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON FEBRUARY 10. EVEN IF DEPARTMENT DOES NOT WANT EFOASSY INPUT INTO THOSE ANSWERS, SEND COPIES OF THE QUESTIONS ANYWAY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE FOR POST'S FILES.

27. COMMENT. IT IS CLEAR FROM THE TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF MANY OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE FAMILIES THAT THEY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE GOES CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS NO HIGHER LEVEL INVOLVEMENT IN THESE MURDERS. THEIR SUSPICIONS ARE COMPLETELY UNDERSTANDABLE. A FAMILY WHOSE LOVED ONE HAS BEEN BRUTALLY MURDERED CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO VIEW THE SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATION IN AN OBJECTIVE, DISPASSIONATE MANNER. NEVERTHELESS, BECAUSE OF OUR STEADY PRESSURE, THIS MURDER CASE HAS PERHAPS BEEN MORE COMPLETELY INVESTIGATED THAN ANY CASE IN SALVADORAN LEGAL HISTORY. WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE HAD ACCESS TO THE INVESTIGATION RESULTS. THE TEVIDENCE WHICH WAS DEVELOPED SUPPORTS A FINDING THAT FIVE GUARDSMENT COMMITTED AN ACT OF INCREDIBLE BESTIALITY. IT DOES NOT SUPPORT A FINDING THAT THE ACT WAS ORDERED OR ASSISTED BY OTHERS. THERE COULD CONCEIVABLY BE MORE EVIDENCE OUT THERE REMAINING TO BE DISCOVERED. WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW SENSIBLE LEADS WHICH SUGGEST INVOLVEMENT BY OTHERS IN TFKECN MURDERS. WE MAY HAVE TO ADMIT AT SOME POINT, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO PROVE THAT AN INDIVIDUAL DID NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF A PARTICULAR EVENT AT A PARTICULAR TIME.

THE ABOVE ANSWERS PROVIDE THE BEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE EMBASSY RIGHT NOW. WE DO NOT CLAIM THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY CORRECT OR ALL-INCLUSIVE. WE CANNOT VOUCH FOR THAT INFORMATION WHICH, BY ITS VERY NATURE, COMES

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 02430 05 OF 05 222019Z

FROM SOURCES OUTSIDE THE USG. STILL, TO BE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, THESE ANSWERS ARE CORRECT.

EMBASSY REMINDS DEPARTMENT THAT THERE ARE THREE ACTION REQUESTS PENDING AT THIS TIME:

--FIRST, AMB. HINTO ASKED MONTHS AGO FOR A COPY OF THE MEMO CONCERNING MEETING HELD IN THE DEPARTMENT AND APPARENTLY AT WHICH TWICE AN FBI SPOKESMAN REPORTEDLY SPOKE OF A PLAN TO TAKE FINGERPRINTS OF THE SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE VICINITY OF THE AIRPORT ON THE NIGHT OF 12/2/80.

--SECOND, EMBASSY ALSO ASKED SEVERAL MONTHS AGO FOR A COPY OF THE MEMCON PREPARED ON SECRETARY MUSKIE'S CONMARSATION WITH SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILIES OF THE CHRUCHWOMEN. THIS MEMCON ALLEGEDLY DETAILS THE HELICOPTER REPORT.

--THIRD, EMBASSY IS STILL WAITING FOR THE TEN QUESTIONS PREPARED BY CONGRESSWOMAN OAKAR. HINTON

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

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LS No.
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TRANSLATOR'S SUMMARY OF COMMUNICATION

Language: Spanish

Date of Communication: March 22, 1982

Addressed to: Secretary Haig

Name and address of writer: Mr. Carlos Diaz S.
42 Maple St.
Meriden, Conn. 06450

Substance of writer's statement: Mr. Diaz feels that U.S. television and press are discrediting the President's economic plan and providing support for the guerrillas in the Americas. He does not think that Salvadoran and Nicaraguan communists should be allowed to air their opinions in the United States. The guerrillas in El Salvador want to overthrow the government and establish a communist regime. President Lopez Portillo of Mexico is, in Mr. Diaz' opinion, very closely involved in events in Nicaragua and El Salvador and his dedication to communist causes should be evident from his close ties with Castro. Russia, Cuba, and Mexico want to establish another communist dictatorship in the Americas and cause problems for the United States.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034B

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002506

ADP024
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02506 232320Z
ACTION S5-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SS0-00 /025 W
------------------227114 232321Z /63

O 232229Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8697

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 2506

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/23/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (C) NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FDR-FMLN

REF: STATE 074488

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. IN MEETING MARCH 23 I ASKED FIDEL CHAVEZ MENA IF THERSSWAS ANYTHING NEW ON THIS SUBJECT.

3. HE REPLIED YES THERE WAS. THE FDR-FMLN ENVOY, WHOEVER HE MAY BE, "CAME FROM TEGUCIGALPA YESTERDAY TO SEE ME." ACCORDING TO FIDEL, HE TOLD HIM THAT NEGOTIATIONS, EVEN OF AN EXPLORATORY NATURE, WERE COMPLETELY IMPOSSIBLE NOW BUT AFTER ELECTIONS IF HE WERE STILL IN GOVERNMENT THEY WOULD BE DESIRABLE.

4. ENVOY ALLEGEDLY PUSHED AGAIN FOR EXPLORATORY TALKS NOW, SAYING THREE GUERRILLA COMMANDANTES AND WTO POLITICAL LEADERS WERE READY TO MEET IN TOTAL SECRECY WITH GOES TEAM. FIDEL SAID THANKS BUT NO THANKS, BUT HE TELLS ME HE URGED ENVOY TO IMPRESS UPON HIS PRINCIPALS THAT IF THEY WERE SERIOUS THEY SHOULD NOW EASE OFF THEIR PRESSURE ON THE ELECTORAL PROCESS HERE.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02506 232320Z

5. I ASKED FIDEL IF HE KNEW WHO THE THREE COMMANDANTES WERE. HE SAID NO AND HE HAD NOT ASKED BECAUSE HE DID NOT WISH TO GET FURTHER INVOLVED AT THIS TIME. HE ADDED THAT HE THOUGHT HANDEL, SALVADORAN COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF, WAS INVOLVED IN APPROACHES.

6 FINALLY, HE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD TENTATIVELY AGREED TO MEET WITH THE SAME ENVOY ON APRIL 2ND TO CONSIDER SITU-

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034B

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ATION IN LIGHT OF ELECTORAL RESULTS.

7. RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, I HAVE BEEN HESITANT TO ASK FIDEL TO IDENTIFY THIS MYSTERIOUS ENVOY AND HE CERTAINLY HASN'T VOLUNTEERED A NAME. FROM WHAT HE HAS SAID, I JUDGE IT IS SOMEONE HE KNOWS, BUT NOT WELL, A BUSINESSMAN WHO SOMEHOW HAS A LINK WITH SHAFIK HANDEL THROUGH TEGUCIGALPA.

8. ACTION REQUEST: TOM ENDERS MIGHT WISH, IN COURSE OF UPCOMING CADC TALKS IN WASHINGTON, TOASK CASUALLY WHO ENVOY IS.

9. HE MIGHT ALSO WISH TO INQUIRE IF FIDEL HAS RECENTLY VISITED MEXICO--WHICH I DOUBT-- BUT WHO KNOWS.

10. IF DEPARTMENT LEARNS SOMETHING ABOUT THESE QUESTIONS, PLEASE ADVISE ME. HINTON

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 079395

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ADP243 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 079395
ORIGIN INR-10

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SS-10 CIAE-00 NSCE-00 ARA-16 NSAE-00
SSO-00 INRE-00 /036 R

----------317727 2517042 /43

O 251654Z MAR 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 079395

E.O. 12065: GDS-3/25/88
TAGS: MX, GT, ES, HO, PINT, PINS
SUBJECT: ASSISTANCE TO INSURGENTS IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA FROM MEXICAN TERRITORY

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY'S OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH MEXICAN TERRITORY MIGHT NOW BE USED TO SUPPLY ARMS, MONEY, TRAINING, AND OTHER SUPPORT TO INSURGENTS IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA AND ELSEWHERE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IS EMBASSY'S EVALUATION OF THE EXTENT, AND AT WHAT LEVELS, ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO INSURGENTS MIGHT RECEIVE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OR ACQUIESCENCE. EMBASSY IS ENCOURAGED TO SPECULATE, IN LIGHT OF ITS KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORKINGS OF THE MEXICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM AND SOCIETY, ON THE POSSIBILITY THAT SUCH ASSISTANCE FROM ANY SOURCE IN MEXICO COULD EVADE [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 079395

KNOWLEDGE OF THE HIGHEST POLICYMAKERS.

2. INTERROGATION REPORTS BY SALVADORAN AUTHORITIES OF CAPTURED NICARAGUAN, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT ESCAPE INTO THE MEXICAN EMBASSY IN SAN SALVADOR, RAISE AGAIN QUESTION OF MEXICAN OFFICIAL COOPERATION WITH GUERRILLAS. OTHER

REPORTS SUGGEST A DISTURBING LEVEL OF MEXICAN OFFICIAL ACCOMMODATION TO GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS, DESPITE MEXICAN

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400348

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ARMY'S APPARENT DESIRE TO CLAMP DOWN. DEPARTMENT ASSUMES THAT WITHIN MEXICAN PLURALISTIC POLITICAL STRUCTURE VARIOUS CENTERS EXIST FOR SUPPORT OR FACILIATION OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES. WE ASSUME MEMBERS OF THE LEFTWING OF THE PRI ASSIST GUERRILLAS; IS THIS ASSUMPTION VALID? WE ARE UNCLEAR, HOWEVER, ABOUT HOW SUCH AID MIGHT BE EXTENDED, BY WHOM AND TO WHAT EXTENT THE MAGNITUDE OF ASSISTANCE IS KNOWN TO THE MORE CONSERVATIVE WING OF THE PRI AND TO THE PRESIDENT'S CLOSEST COLLABORATORS. SIMILARLY, INFORMATION ON WHETHER NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OF LEFTIST BENT MIGHT ASSIST GUERRILLAS WITHOUT TOP-LEVEL KNOWLEDGE IS OF INTEREST. EMBASSY COMMENTS MIGHT TOUCH ON DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND UNIVERSITY SYSTEM AS SOURCES OF GUERRILLA SUPPORT.

4. WE REALIZE THAT HARD INFORMATION ON THIS SUBJECT IS DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN. NEVERTHELESS, EMBASSY EVALUATION IS NEEDED IN ORDER TO PUT IN CONTEXT OCCASIONAL, DISTURBING REPORTS THAT DOCUMENT MEXICAN OFFICIAL ATTITUDE TOWARD GUERRILLA SUPPORT ACTIVITIES IN MEXICO. HAIG

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002574

ADP766
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PAGE 01 SAN SA 02574 01 OF 02 251622Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /025 W
----------323551 251906Z /46

R 251459Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8741
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 2574

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/18/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (C) COMMENTS ON COL. MAJANO

REF: MEXICO 03093 (NOTAL)

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: WHILE WE FOUND THE REFTEL FASCINATING READING, WE CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT COL. MAJANO IS EITHER BADLY INFORMED OR DISSEMBLING OR BOTH. COL. MAJANO GROSSLY OVERESTIMATES HIS SUPPORT IN THE ARMED FORCES. HE APPARENTLY HAS NO UNDERSTANDING OF HOW THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE SO-CALLED "CONSERVATIVE SECTOR" FEELS ABOUT NEGOTIATING WITH THE LEFT. HE IS EQUALLY UNINFORMED OR DISSEMBLING ABOUT THE FMLN/FDR'S NEGOTIATING POSITION. MAJANO'S COMMENTS ON THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE INACCURATE. ON GENERAL GARCIA, THE STATUS OF THE ARMED FORCES AND [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02574 01 OF 02 251622Z

ARMS SUPPLIES TO THE INSURGENTS HE IS BETTER INFORMED. MAJANO APPEARS TO BE A MAN WITHOUT A CONSTITUENCY LOOKING FOR A WAY TO RETURN TO HIS FORMER POSITION. END SUMMARY.

3. MAJANO'S REMARKS ABOUT THE INAPPROPRIATENESS OF THE ELECTIONS BECAUSE THEY FALL BETWEEN THE ANNIVERSARY OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO'S DEATH AND THE INCIDENT WHICH TOOK PLACE AT HIS FUNERAL IS, IN OUR OPINION, GRASPING AT STRAWS.

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034B

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4. MAJANO'S UNDERSTANDING OF HOW THE ARMED FORCES AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES VIEW ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GUERRILLAS IS FAULTY. THE JRG, WITH THE MILITARY'S AGREEMENT, HAS BEEN PREPARED EVER SINCE ELECTIONS WERE ANNOUNCED ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1981, TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE LEFT ABOUT THEIR PARTICIPATING IN ELECTIONS. NO PARTY PRESENTLY IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE POWER WITH THE LEFT. THUS, IT IS NOT ONLY THE HIGH COMMAND THAT OPPOSES THE KIND OF DIALOGUE THAT MAJANO IS TALKING ABOUT.

5. MAJANO'S COMMENTS ON THE MECHANICS OF NEGOTIATIONS ARE FUZZY. WE DO NOT KNOW ALL THE PEOPLE "ON THE RIGHT" HE MENTIONS, SO WE CANNOT SAY WHAT THEIR POSITION MIGHT BE WITH RESPECT TO NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THE IDEA OF HAVING INFORMAL - AND NECESSARILY CONFIDENTIAL - CONVERSATIONS ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS IN THE HOT HOUSE ATMOSPHERE OF EL SALVADOR IS NEXT TO A PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY. MAJANO ALSO IGNORES THE FMLN/FDR NEGOTIATING POSITION. FMLN/FDR TALK ABOUT A PLEBISCITE TO CONFIRM THE GOVERNMENT THAT EMERGES FROM NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN SIX MONTHS, IS SOMETHING QUITE DIFFERENT THAN ELECTING A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THE FMLN/FDR HAS SAID NOTHING, THAT WE KNOW OF, ABOUT STARTING WITH AN INTERNATIONALLY GUARANTEED

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CEASE FIRE. THEIR POSITION IS THAT A CEASE FIRE WOULD BE DISCUSSED AFTER NEGOTIATIONS START AND ONLY IF, IN THERI JUDGEMENT, THEY WERE PROCEEDING SATISFACTORILY. THUS, AFTER ADMITTING THAT BRINGING THE ARMED FORCES AROUND TO HIS SCHEME WOULD BE DIFICULT, MAJANO DOES NOT EXPLAIN HOW HE WOULD BRING THE OFTENTIMES DIVERGENT GROUPS IN THE FMLN/FDR TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE. IF HE DOES REFINE HIS IDEAS, WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEM. RIGHT NOW THESE IDEAS DO NOT LOOK VERY PRACTICAL TO US.

6. WHILE MAJOR D'AUBUISSON'S ARENA PARTY APPEALS TO SOME MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, WE SEE AN INCREASING AVOWED AWARENESS ON THE PART OF THE HIGH COMMAND, INCLUDING GENERAL GARCIA, THAT AN ARENA VICTORY COULD BE AN INTERNATIONAL DISASTER FOR EL SALVADOR. MAJANO'S COMMENT ABOUT POP IS COMPLETELY OFF THE MARK. POP IS AN OLD PARTY THAT EX-NATIONAL GUARD DIRECTOR MEDRANO TOOK OVER AS HIS PERSONAL VEHICLE. IN OUR JUDGEMENT, POP IS GOING TO DO VERY BADLY IN THE ELECTIONS, AS IS THE PPS. THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL BE ZERO OR CLOSE TO IT. MAJANO'S COMMENT ABOUT THE AD CAMPAIGN IS EXACTLY BACKWARDS. AD STARTED SLOW BUT ITS CAMPAIGN APPEARS TO BE PICKING UP STEAM AS MARCH 28 APPROACHES. MAJANO'S COMMENT ABOUT PAR IS CORRECT.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002574

AD2035 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02574 02 OF 02 251736Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /025 W
----------325704 252018Z /41

R 251459Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8742
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 2574

EXDIS

7. MAJANO SEEMS TO HAVE FAIRLY WELL SUMMED-UP GENERAL GARCIA'S POLITICAL AMBITIONS AND CHARACTER. MAJANO'S ANALYSIS OF THE GARCIA-GUTIERREZ DISPUTE IS SHALLOW. IT IS MORE THAN A SIMPLE DISPUTE OVER POWER. THEIR VIEW OF SALVADORAN SOCIETY DIFFERS WIDELY, WITH GUTIERREZ COMING DOWN ON THE MORE "PROGRESSIVE" SIDE OF THE FENCE.

8. INSURGENT CAPABILITIES COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO IMPROVE OVER A PERIOD OF TIME IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN EXPERIENCE IS A GOOD TEACHER. THE PRESENCE OF A CUBAN-TRAINED CADRE AMONG THE INSURGENTS AND PROVISION OF MORE ADVANCED WEAPONRY HAS ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO AN IMPROVEMENT.

9. MORALE IN THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES VARIES FROM UNIT TO UNIT. IT IS TO A LESSER DEGREE A FUNCTION OF THE MILITARY SITUATION, BUT GENERALLY IT CANNOT BE CLASSIFIED AS POOR. THE EMBASSY HAS NO EVIDENCE THAT MILITARY [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02574 02 OF 02 251736Z

GARRISONS FAIL TO STAND DUTY. THE UNAUTHORIZED LIBERTY STORY SEEMS A BIT FAR-FETCHED, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF RECENT UNSUCCESSFUL SUBVERSIVE ATTACKS ON GARRISONS IN SAN MIGUEL, SAN VICENTE, USULUTAN, AND SANTA ANA.

10. MAJANO IS ACCURATE ABOUT THE STATUS OF HIS REFORMIST MINDED ASSOCIATES STILL IN THE MILITARY. THE EMBASSY IS AWARE OF SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES STILL IN EL SALVADOR, AND THEY APPEAR TO BE FOLLOWING THE DIRECTIONS

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MAJANO MENTIONS IN REFTEL. HOWEVER, THERE ARE VERY FEW OF THEM LEFT IN SALVADOR.

11. MAJANO'S COMMENTS ON ARMS SUPPLIES TO INSURGENTS ARE ALSO BETTER INFORMED THAN HIS COMMENTS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION. WHAT HE GLOSSES OVER, AND WHAT IS JUST AS IMPORTANT AS THE SUPPLY OF ARMS, IS THE LOGISTICS SUPPORT THE INSURGENTS RECEIVE FROM NICARAGUA. FURTHER, HIS REMARKS FLY IN THE FACE OF OTHER INFORMATION WHICH ESTABLISHES THAT CLANDESTINE SHIPMENTS TO THE INSURGENTS FROM NICARAGUA ARE AT THEIR HIGHEST POINT SINCE THE GUERRILLA WAR BEGAN.

12. COMMENT: COL. MAJANO APPEARS TO BE A MAN WITHOUT A CONSTITUENCY CASTING ABOUT FOR WAYS TO RETURN TO HIS FORMER POSITION. HE HAS VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE IN THE MILITARY. WHEN THE ARMED FORCES FINALLY VOTED ON HIS OUSTER IN DECEMBER 1980, HE RECEIVED ONLY THREE VOTES OUT OF MORE THAN 500 CAST. (SOME SAY FOUR VOTES.) MAYBE ANOTHER 15-20 OFFICERS SYMPATHIZED WITH HIS POINT OF VIEW. BASED ON HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE FMLN/FDR POSITION ON NEGOTIATING, WE WONDER IF HE HAS ANY INFLUENCE IN THAT QUARTER OR WHETHER HE IS ALLOWING HIMSELF TO BE USED. GENERAL GARCIA'S ASSESSMENT OF MAJANO IS TELLING.

[redacted]

GARCIA ONCE TOLD US THAT PEOPLE RESPOND TO POWER THE WAY THEY RESPOND TO ALCOHOL. SOME CAN HANDLE IT; OTHERS CANNOT; MAJANO, WHEN HE WAS ON THE JUNTA, COULD NOT.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 079556

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PAGE 01 STATE 079556
ORIGIN PA-02

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	DODE-00	H-01
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	HA-06	L-03	PM-09	INRE-00
	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/061 R			

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 079556

FOR NSC STAFF MEMBER JERRY O'LEARY

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SOPN
SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS OF TV NEWSCASTS ON EL SALVADOR, MARCH 24 (EVENING) AND MARCH 25 (MORNING)

ABC WORLD NEWS TONIGHT - MARCH 24

- THE CAPITAL OF SAN SALVADOR WOKE UP THIS MORNING TO THE SOUND OF GUNSHOTS. SOLDIERS AND GUARDSMEN IN THE EASTERN SUBURBS EXCHANGED FIRE FOR SEVERAL HOURS WITH WHAT THEY THOUGHT WERE GUERRILLAS; BUT NONE WAS EVER SIGHTED. AND SOME SOLDIERS REPORTEDLY FIRED ON EACH OTHER. WITH A PROMISED GUERRILLA OFFENSIVE JUST DAYS AWAY, PEOPLE IN THE CAPITAL HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY JITTERY. NATIONAL GUARD PATROLS WERE VISIBLE EVERYWHERE IN THE CITY'S NEARLY EMPTY STREETS. SECURITY HAS BEEN BEEFED UP. PRESIDENT DUARTE HELD HIS LAST NEWS CONFERENCE BEFORE THE ELECTIONS. HE DENIED THE VOTE WOULD BE UNFAIR BECAUSE THE LEFT WAS NOT
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PAGE 02 STATE 079556

TAKING PART. THE LEFT WAS (TAKING PART), HE SAID. IT HAD SIMPLY CHOSEN GUNS INSTEAD OF BALLOTS. DUARTE REPEATED HIS WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GUERRILLAS IF THEY WOULD LAY DOWN THEIR GUNS. (FOOTAGE OF DUARTE STATEMENT: IF THEY ACCEPT THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY; IF THEY ACCEPT THE RULES OF DEMOCRACY; IF THEY ACCEPT THAT THIS COUNTRY IS GOING IN THE DIRECTION OF DEMOCRACY; IF THEY WANT TO

INCORPORATE ON THAT, THEY CAN DO IT. AND THEN IF THEY

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Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400348

WANT TO TALK, I'LL BE READY TO TALK NOW OR AFTER ELECTIONS.") THE CAMPAIGNING ENDS TONIGHT AND THE MILITARY HAS NOW BEGUN A SHOW OF FORCE TO KEEP THE GUERRILLAS AWAY FROM SUNDAY'S ELECTIONS. HOW EFFECTIVE THE MILITARY IS WILL BE A KEY TO HOW WELL THOSE ELECTIONS ARE CONDUCTED. (JACK SMITH)

- THE U.S. WANTS TO SEE HOW THE ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR COME OUT BEFORE COMMITTING ITSELF TO SPECIFIC TALKS WITH NICARAGUA. HOWEVER, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH ABC'S TOM SCHELL IN MEXICO CITY TODAY, MEXICO'S FOREIGN MINISTER CASTANEDA SAID A TOP-LEVEL MEETING IS VIRTUALLY ALL SET. (FOOTAGE OF CASTANEDA STATEMENT: "THEY HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE -- THAT IS TO SAY EACH ONE HAS TOLD US THAT THEY AGREE TO MEET THE OTHER SIDE IN MEXICO NEXT MONTH -- AND THAT'S IT.") EARLIER, THE ADMINISTRATION, BOTH AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WAS MUCH MORE CIRCUMSPECT, SAYING IN EFFECT, "THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MEXICO, BUT WE'LL TALK WITH THE NICARAGUANS ALONE WHEN WE WANT TO." IT IS THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS WHICH THE U.S. IS FOCUSING ON NOW. IF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS DO WELL, THE U.S. HAND WILL BE STRENGTHENED. BUT IF THE EXTREME RIGHT-WING OF ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON WINS, THAT WILL MAKE WASHINGTON MUCH MORE INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATIONS.
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PAGE 03 STATE 079556

MEANWHILE, THE NICARAGUANS ARRIVED IN NEW YORK TODAY TO SET THE SCENE FOR TOMORROW'S U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IN WHICH THEY WILL CLAIM THE U.S. HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING TO SUBVERT THEIR REVOLUTION. AND FINALLY, IT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED THAT SPECIAL AMBASSADOR GENERAL VERNON WALTERS MET SECRETLY WITH FIDEL CASTRO RECENTLY TO SEE WHAT, IF ANYTHING, CAN BE DONE TO IMPROVE U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS. IF THERE IS A THEME TO ALL OF THIS, ONE MIGHT SAY THAT WHILE THE U.S. IS NOT EXACTLY SOFTENING ITS POSITION, IT APPEARS TO BE GIVING THE IDEA OF DIPLOMACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA A SECOND AND CLOSER LOOK. (BARRIE DUNSMORE)

NBC NIGHTLY NEWS DID NOT HAVE AN ITEM ON EL SALVADOR ON MARCH 24.

CBS EVENING NEWS - MARCH 24

- CAMPAIGNING FOR THE EL SALVADOR ELECTIONS ENDS AT MIDNIGHT, AND SIGNS ARE EMERGING THAT THE U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS CHANGING. YESTERDAY THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO EL SALVADOR SUGGESTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS ELECTED CONSIDER NEGOTIATING WITH THE REBELS. ELECTION ACTIVITY IN EL SALVADOR IS TAPERING OFF, BUT MILITARY ACTIVITY IS INCREASING. IN THE CAPITAL

CITY, SOLDIERS ARE ON CONSTANT PATROL AND SAY THEY ARE

READY FOR ANY ELECTION DISRUPTION THE REBELS MIGHT BE PLANNING. (DAN RATHER)

- THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS NOW SENDING OUT SIGNALS INDICATING IT FAVORS NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE EL SALVADOR GOVERNMENT AND THE REBELS FOLLOWING NEXT SUNDAY'S ELECTIONS. AS PART OF THIS SHIFT IN ADMINISTRATION STRATEGY, CBS NEWS HAS LEARNED THAT SECRETARY HAIG SENT HIS PERSONAL EMISSARY, GENERAL VERNON WALTERS, TO CUBA EARLIER THIS MONTH FOR TALKS WITH CUBAN OFFICIALS. THE CUBAN
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PAGE 04 STATE 079556

CONNECTION IS AIMED AT GETTING CASTRO TO DROP HIS SUPPORT FOR SALVADORAN REBELS AS PART OF AN OVERALL EFFORT TO COOL THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. ANOTHER SIGN OF THAT EFFORT CAME TODAY FROM A STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN. (FOOTAGE OF DEAN FISCHER STATEMENT: "WE HOPE THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS WILL IMPROVE THE CLIMATE FOR TALKS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE EXTREME LEFT, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO BRINGING AT LEAST SOME ELEMENTS OF THE EXTREME LEFT BACK INTO THE POLITICAL MAINSTREAM.") OFFICIALS HERE DENY THAT THEY WILL PRESSURE THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTIONS TO SHARE POWER WITH THE REBELS, BUT MEXICO, FRANCE, AND SEVERAL OTHER NATIONS HAVE INDICATED THAT IS THE KIND OF SETTLEMENT THEY ARE ADVOCATING, AND NOW WASHINGTON APPEARS TO BE LEANING TOWARD THAT SOLUTION. (ROBERT PIERPOINT)

- SALVADORAN IMMIGRANTS: A NETWORK OF CHURCHES ANNOUNCED PLANS TODAY TO SHELTER FLEETING SALVADORAN ALIENS, IN DEFIANCE OF FEDERAL LAW. U.S. OFFICIALS SAY THE SALVADORANS ARE USUALLY FLEEING POVERTY, NOT MURDER, AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE CLASSED AS REFUGEES. MANY COME HERE VIA AN UNDERGROUND RAILROAD FROM EL SALVADOR TO TUCSON. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE REPORTS THAT U.S. OFFICIALS MAY BE SOFTENING THEIR POLICY TOWARD SALVADORAN ALIENS, THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD NO COMMENT ON TODAY'S CHALLENGE BY CHURCH GROUPS. (LINDA DOUGLAS)

ABC GOOD MORNING AMERICA - MARCH 25

- THIS IS THE LAST DAY OF CAMPAIGNING BEFORE SUNDAY'S ELECTIONS. GOVERNMENT TROOPS HAVE STEPPED UP PATROLS IN SAN SALVADOR TO GUARD AGAINST POSSIBLE DISRUPTIONS BY LEFTIST GUERRILLAS. (STEVE BELL)
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PAGE 05 STATE 079556

NBC TODAY SHOW - MARCH 25

- ON CLOSE UP, BRYANT GUMBEL OUTLINED THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE CANDIDATES IN TH :SALVADORAN ELECTIONS. THERE WERE

NO FOREIGN POLICY IMPLICATIONS.

- CHRIS WALLACE INTERVIEWED SEN. NANCY KASSEBAUM, WHO WILL BE HEADING THE OBSERVER TEAM GOING TO EL SALVADOR. SEN. KASSEBAUM SAID THE AMERICAN DELEGATION WILL BE SPLITTING UP AND TRYING TO VISIT AS MANY POLLING AREAS AS POSSIBLE TO ANALYZE THE PROCEDURES, THE PARTICIPATION, TO GET A FEEL FOR WHETHER THE PEOPLE GOING TO THE POLLS FEAR RETALIATION. SHE SAID SHE KNOWS THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR HAS WORKED VERY HARD TO TRY TO ASSURE THAT THE ELECTIONS WILL BE FAIR -- THEY ARE USING INVISIBLE INK TO MARK THE HANDS OF VOTERS, THEY ARE NOT STAMPING THE VOTING SCHEDULE WITH THE VOTE MARK SO THAT THERE COULD BE ANY FEAR OF HAVING SHOWN THAT, THAT THERE WOULD BE REPRISAL. SHE SAID INTIMIDATION HAS BEEN BUILDING UP, PRIOR TO THE ELECTION, FROM BOTH REBELS AND GOVERNMENT. SHE THINKS IN REALITY, THE INTIMIDATION IS THERE. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE AMERICANS TO MAKE A FULL ASSESSMENT ON ELECTION DAY BECAUSE THEY WILL HAVE A HARD TIME GETTING INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE, BUT SHE THINKS WITH THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WILL BE THERE, FROM OTHER NATIONS AS WELL, THAT IT WILL LEND SOME SCOPE TO THE ABILITY TO ANALYZE WHAT'S GOING ON. SHE SAID THE ELECTIONS WILL NOT BE THE END OF THE PROBLEMS IN EL SALVADOR. IT'S AN IMPORTANT STEP, AND MANY ARE HOPEFUL THAT IT WILL BE A CLEAR ELECTION AND SOMEONE WILL BE A WINNER WITH A SIZABLE VOTE. SHE AGREES WITH THE U.S. POSITION THAT WHOEVER WINS THE ELECTION IS THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR. IF EL SALVADOR ELECTS SOMEONE WHOSE POLICIES THE U.S. OPPOSES, WE WOULDN'T NECESSARILY BE
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PAGE 06 STATE 079558

SUPPORTING THE REGIME, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD STILL RECOGNIZE HIM AS THE WINNER OF THE ELECTION. SHE SAID THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SAID THAT WE WOULD RECONSIDER OUR POLICIES ON GIVING AID IF THE WINNER OF THE ELECTION HAS POLICIES WE DON'T SUPPORT. SHE SAID THERE IS A STRONG CONSENSUS ON THE HILL THAT AFTER THE ELECTION WE WILL BE THINKING ABOUT POLICY ALTERNATIVES; IT DEPENDS ON HOW THE ELECTIONS TURN OUT. THERE'S A BELIEF THAT IT CAN'T JUST STALEMATE -- THAT THERE HAS TO BE SOME CONVERSATION, AND SECRETARY HAIG HAS BEEN OF COURSE DISCUSSING WITH PRIME MINISTER CASTANEDA OF MEXICO SOME OPTIONS, PARTICULARLY REGARDING NICARAGUA, AND SHE THINKS ALL OF THOSE CONVERSATIONS WILL BE IMPORTANT. ON WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE REBELS, SHE SAID SHE HAS LONG SUPPORTED THE CONVERSATIONS THAT SHE FEELS ARE IMPORTANT BETWEEN CONTENDING FORCES. SHE SAID SHE IS NOT CONCERNED ABOUT HER

PERSONAL SAFETY -- THERE WILL BE INCREASED SECURITY, AND HER TEAM WILL NOT BE GOING INTO AREAS WHERE THERE MIGHT BE AN INCIDENT.

CBS MORNING NEWS - MARCH 25

- IN A LIVE REPORT, ROBERT PIERPOINT REPEATED THE THEME OF HIS COVERAGE LAST NIGHT, I.E., THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS BECOMING MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS. HE ADDED THAT THE ATTITUDE IS CHANGING BECAUSE IT NOW SEEMS THE ELECTIONS WILL INDEED BE HELD AND IT IS TIME TO LOOK BEYOND THEM, ESPECIALLY DUE TO PRESSURE FROM CONGRESS AND OUR ALLIES FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

- THE STATE DEPARTMENT WILL NEITHER CONFIRM NOR DENY THAT GENERAL VERNON WALTERS RECENTLY HELD TALKS WITH FIDEL CASTRO IN CUBA. WALTERS TRIED TO GET CUBA TO

STOP SUPPORTING THE LEFTIST REBELS IN EL SALVADOR.
(BILL CURTIS) HAIG

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 082377

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PAGE 01 STATE 082377
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FOLLOWING CARACAS 2318 DTD 3/23/82 SENT STATE SAN SALVADOR MEXICO BELIZE GUATEMALA TEGUCIGALPA MANAGUA SAN JOSE PANAMA USCINCSO COMUSFORCARIB BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO

QUOTE S E C R E T CARACAS 2318

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 3/23/02
TAGS: PEPR ES CE
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT HERRERA REVEALS LETTER FROM SALVADORAN FMLN

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT

2. IN A TELEVISED PRESS CONFERENCE MARCH 22 PRESIDENT HERRERA CAMPINS REITERATED HIS SUPPORT FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN EL SALVADOR MARCH 28, HIS STRONG BACKING FOR PRESIDENT DUARTE AND "DUARTE'S DESIRE TO ACHIEVE AN END TO VI
LENCE BY MEANS OF THE ELECTION," HIS CONDEMNATION OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM, HIS OPPOSITION TO MARXISM "IN ALL ITS FORMS," AND HIS READINESS TO COOPERATE IN ALL SERIOUS AND SINCERE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE, PARTICIPATIVE DEMOCRACY AND [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 082377

LIBERTY. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THESE QUALITIES HAD BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE LEADERS OF EL SALVAD
R'S FMLN
GUERRILLAS WHO, HE SAID, HAD MAINTAINED IN A LETTER SENT TO HIM THAT HIS, HERRERA'S, CONTRIBUTION COULD BE DECISIVE IN ACHIEVING PEACE IN EL SALVAD
R. THE
PRESIDENT THEN READ THE LAST PAGE OF THIS LETTER TO THE ASSEMBLED REPORTERS.

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Case ID: S9400348

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3. OUR INFORMAL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:
THE FMLN HAS PLEDGED ITSELF TO BRING ABOUT AN END
TO THE WAR, TO PROMOTE PEACE AND LIFE FOR OUR PEOPLE SO
THAT THE CENTRAL AMERICA REGION MAY BE STABILIZED AND NO
LONGER BE A SOURCE OF WORLD TENSION. IT SEEKS TO ACHIEVE
THE FORMATION OF A DEMOCRATIC PLURALISTIC GOVERNMENT OF
BROAD NATIONAL PARTICIPATION AND POPULAR SUPPORT WHICH
WOULD BRING ABOUT THE DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE EFFECTIVE
TRANSFORMATION OF THE AREA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE,
ESSENTIAL MEASURES TO ASSURE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.
WE HAVE DEDICATED OURSELVES ON THE NATIONAL, REGIONAL
AND WORLD LEVELS TO THESE OBJECTIVES AND IT IS OUR
CONVICTION THAT YOU SHARE THEM WITH US. OUR PROPOSAL FOR
A POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR
IS A CONCRETE EXPRESSION OF THESE OBJECTIVES. OUR
PROPOSAL CONTEMPLATES A NEGOTIATION OF A GLOBAL
CHARACTER THAT WE ARE DISPOSED TO INITIATE AT ANY MOMENT
WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS SET FOR ANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS.
IT CONTEMPLATES THE ELABORATION OF AN AGENDA FOR DIS-
CUSSION REACHED BY MUTUAL ACCORD, THE PRESENCE OF
REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENTS AS WITNESSES, AND THE
PROVISION OF INFORMATION TO THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE ABOUT
THE PROGRESS OF THIS POLITICAL SOLUTION. IN OUR PROPOSAL

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WE CONSIDER THE CARRYING OUT OF ELECTIONS AS AN INTEGRAL
PART OF THIS GLOBAL SOLUTION.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE FMLN IS CONVINCED THAT YOUR
CONTRIBUTION TO A JUST POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE SALVADORAN
CRISIS COULD BE GREAT AND EVEN DECISIVE. WE STAND AT A
CRUCIAL MOMENT IN WHICH THE DANGER OF A FOREIGN MILITARY
INTERVENTION COULD ENFLAME CENTRAL AMERICA, PROLONG IN-
DEFINITELY THE WAR, MULTIPLY A THOUSAND-FOLD ITS DES-
TRUCTION AND THE LOSS OF INNOCENT HUMAN LIVES, AND ENDANGER
WORLD PEACE. IT IS IN THIS MOMENT THAT ALL THOSE OF
GOODWILL SHOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES TO RESCURING PEACE. TO
WAIT COULD BE FATAL AND FRUSTRATE THE CONSTRUCTIVE
POSSIBILITIES THAT NOW EXIST. MR. PRESIDENT, WE DIRMLY
DESIRE THAT YOU JOIN WITH US IN THIS HISTORIC MOMENT
IN SEARCH FOR PEACE, LIBERTY AND THE INDEPENDENCE WHICH
ARE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE BOLIVARIAN IDEA.
SINCERELY,
GENERAL COMMAND OF THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL
LIBERATION FRONT
SALVAD
R CAYATAND CARPIO
SAFIC JORGE ANDAL
JOAQUIN VILLALOBOS
ROBERTO ROCA
GERMAN CIENFUGOS
END TEXT.

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4. FOREIGN MINISTER ZAMBRANO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR, SUBSEQUENT TO THE PRESS CONFERENCE, THAT THIS LETTER FROM THE FMLN TO PRESIDENT HERRERA HAD BEEN NEGOTIATED WITH SALVADORAN GUERRILLA LEADERS IN MANAGUA BY VENEZUELA'S DAS AMBASSADOR HILARION CARDOZO DURING HIS VISIT TO NICARAGUA THIS PAST WEEKEND. ACCORDING TO ZAMBRANO, SALVADORAN JUNTA PRESIDENT NAPOLEON DUARTE HAS BEEN KEPT FULLY INFORMED OF CARDOZO'S TALKS WITH THE GUERRILLAS

[redacted]

AND OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS INITIATIVE. ZAMBRANO ADDED THAT THE GOV EXPECTS, TODAY OR TOMORROW, SOME POSITIVE FMLN REACTION TO HERRERA'S HAVING PUBLICIZED THEIR LETTER.

5. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT TOOK CARE TO INTRODUCE THE FMLN'S LETTER WITH A STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF DUARTE AND OF THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS, CARDOZO'S DIRECT OFFICIAL CONTACT WITH SALVADORAN GUERRILLA LEADERS APPEARS TO REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURE FROM PREVIOUS GOV IOLICY. WE WOULD WANT TO HAVE EMBASSY EL SALVADOR'S VIEWS ON HOW TO INTERPRET THE FMLN'S STATEMENT AND, IN PARTICULAR, ITS REFERENCE TO THE ELECTIONS "AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF A SOLUTION." IT WOULD APPEAR TO US HERE, HOWEVERJN THAT THIS OPENING OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE GOV AND THE FMLN (WITH, AS ZAMBRANO ASSURES US, DUARTE'S FULL KNOWLEDGE) MAY REPRESENT A POSITIVE SIGN THAT VENEZUELA IS READY TO PUSH QUICKLY TO PROBE THE LEFT IN EL SALVADOR AS SOON AS THE ELECTIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

6. AMBASSADOR ASKED TO SEE ZAMBRANO ON THURSDAY (AFTER DEPARTURE OF ECUADOREAN PRESIDENT HURTADO) TO DISCUSS FURTHER WHAT THE VENEEUELANS HAVE IN MIND. WE REQUEST DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE AND REACTIONS PRIOR TO THURSDAY. LUERS UNQOTE HAIG

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EXCISE

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PAGE 01 STATE 082809
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AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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E.O. 12065:RDS-1 3/31/2002
TAGS:OVIP, GE, US
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PAGE 02 STATE 082809

SUBJECT SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH SCHLESWIG HOLSTE N MINISTER-PRESIDENT GERHARD STOLTENBERG (CDU); MARCH 23, 1992 -- SECRETARY'S OFFICE

1. [redacted] -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SECRETARY HAIG RECEIVED STOLTENBERG ON MARCH 23 FOR A BROAD RANGING DISCUSSION OF CURRENT ISSUES. MAJOR TOPICS COVERED DURING THE MEETING

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INCLUDED GERMAN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND U.S.-FRG RELATIONS; EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN POLAND; ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, AND DEVELOPMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA. STOLTENBERG

3. OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING WERE FRG AMBASSADOR PETER HERMES, EUR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY THOMAS NILES, AND EUR/CE DIRECTOR JOHNKORNBLUM. END SUMMARY

GERMAN DOMESTIC POLITICS

[redacted]

4. THE SECRETARY OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY REFERRING TO THE LOWER SAXONY ELECTION AND ASKED STOLTENBERG FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE DOMESTIC POLITICALSITUATION IN THE FRG. STOLTENBERG SAID

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ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS

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7. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO LINK THE START NEGOTIATIONS TO POLISH SANCTIONS. ARMS CONTROL WAS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE IN ITS OWN RIGHT. THE IMPORTANT GOAL NOW WAS TO PUT TOGETHER A NEGOTIATING POSITION WHICH WAS SUBSTANTIVELY SOUND AND OBJECTIVELY FAIR. IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS FOR THE U.S. TO MAKE PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO GET THE NEGOTIATIONS MOVING RAPIDLY, BUT WHICH COULD NOT WIN LONG TERM SUPPORT IN THE U.S. THE SECRETARY SAID HE TOLD ALL HIS FRIENDS FROM EUROPE THAT THE WORST THING THE U.S. COULD DO WOULD BE TO PUT TOGETHER A POSITION WHICH NEITHER THE ALLIES, THE SOVIETS NOR THE U.S. CONGRESS COULD ACCEPT. SINCE THE ISSUES INVOLVED WERE SO COMPLICATED, THIS MEANT THAT PREPARATIONS MUST PROCEED SLOWLY AND CAREFULLY.

8. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE SECRETARY DID NOT BELIEVE THE U.S. HAD LOST TIME BY NOT ANNOUNCING BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN JANUARY. CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES HAD ALSO NOT YET BEGUN. IT WAS, HOWEVER, TRUE THAT THE INF NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA SEEMED TO BE STALLING OUT OVER THE SUBJECT OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON INF UNTIL THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INF AND START BECAME CLEAR TO THEM. FOR THIS REASON, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO BEGIN START SOON. ONE WORD OF CAUTION CONCERNED THE SITUATION IN POLAND. THE U.S. COULD NOT AGREE TO COMMENCEMENT [redacted]

OF THE TALKS IF THE SITUATION IN POLAND WORSENED NOTICEABLY. UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS, THE START TALKS WOULD IN FACT BECOME HOSTAGE TO THE SITUATION IN POLAND. THUS, THE TIMING OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT ON START WAS DIFFICULT, BUT THE SECRETARY BELIEVED IT WOULD COME SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.

BUCKLEY MISSION

9. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM STOLTENBERG, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT UNDER SECRETARY BUCKLEY'S ASSESSMENT OF HIS RECENT MISSION HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE GROUP HAD ENCOUNTERED MORE PROBLEMS IN BONN THAN ANYWHERE ELSE. THE NEXT GREATEST PROBLEMS HAD COME IN PARIS, WHILE TALKS IN LONDON AND ROME HAD BEEN

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GENERALLY SATISFACTORY. THE SECRETARY BELIEVED THESE DIFFICULTIES HAD BEEN MORE PROCEDURAL THAN SUBSTANTIVE.

HE PERSONALLY HAD DISCUSSED THE ISSUES WITH GENSCHER BEFORE DEPARTURE OF THE BUCKLEY MISSION. THE FOREIGN MINISTER UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED AND AGREED THAT ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD BEEN GUILTY OF SUBSIDIZING SOVIET ECONOMIC AND MILITARY GROWTH THROUGH EXTENSION OF CREDITS AT FAVORABLE TERMS. THE PROBLEM WAS THAT RESTRAINT MUST BE MUTUAL. THERE COULD BE NO COOPERATION UNLESS THE WEST ESTABLISHED A MECHANISM FOR COMPARING CREDIT POLICIES.

[redacted]

THE SECRETARY AGREED, SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT PROPOSING ECONOMIC WARFARE WITH THE USSR. HOWEVER, AN EXPERT ON EAST-WEST TRADE HAD TOLD HIM RECENTLY THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD BE FORCED TO WRITE OFF AS MUCH AS 60 BILLION DOLLARS IN DEBT TO EASTERN BORROWERS. THIS WAS DEBT WHICH WOULD NEVER BE REPAID.

10. STOLTENBER[illegible]

THE SECRETARY AGREED WITH THIS ANALYSIS. HE SAID A MAJOR PROBLEM WAS THAT THE PRESS EACH DAY CREATED "FACTS" WHICH USUALLY HAD NO RELATIONSHIP WITH REALITY.

11. AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE PROBLEMS BEING ENCOUNTERED, STOLTENBERG

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[redacted]

12. AMBASSADOR HERMES SAID HE WAS SURPRISED BY THE SECRETARY'S COMMENT THAT THE BUCKLEY MISSION HAD ENCOUNTERED MOST DIFFICULTIES IN BONN. HE ALSO KNEW THAT GENSCHER HAD BEEN SURPRISED WHEN HE HAD HEARD THIS JUDGMENT. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD CALLED GENSCHER LATE IN THE EVENING AFTER BUCKLEY HAD LEFT BONN TO MENTION HIS CONCERN ABOUT PRESS VERSIONS OF THE GERMAN REACTION TO BUCKLEY'S PRESENTATION. GENSCHER HAD ASSURED HIM THAT THESE REPORTS WERE NOT CORRECT AND HAD PROMISED TO STRAIGHTEN THEM OUT. NILES ADDED THAT THE DISCUSSIONS IN BONN HAD INDEED BEEN DIFFICULT. HERMES REPEATED HIS SURPRISE AT SUCH A REACTION. WHAT DIFFICULTIES COULD THERE HAVE BEEN WHEN THE FRG DID NOT PROVIDE STATE SUBSIDIZED CREDITS AND AGREED ON THE NEED FOR CLOSER COORDINATION? NILES SUGGESTED THAT OTHER ALLIES WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO REDUCE THEIR SUBSIDIES IF THE FRG DID NOT AGREE TO LIMIT GUARANTEES IN SOME FASHION.

13. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WISHED TO STRESS AGAIN THAT WE WERE INITIATING A DISCUSSION OF CREDITS, BECAUSE WE FELT THAT TIGHTER CONTROLS WERE IN WESTERN SELF-INTEREST. U.S. ARGUMENTS WERE NOT BASED ON THE PIPELINE PROJECT, POLAND OR ANYTHING ELSE THE SOVIETS HAD DONE. WE BELIEVED THAT THE ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF THE WEST WERE BEING AFFECTED ADVERSELY BY THE CURRENT UNCONTROLLED FLOW OF CREDITS TO THE EAST. SUCH A DISCUSSION

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PRESENTED NEW ISSUES AND NEW PROBLEMS IN COORDINATION. WE COULD SUCCEED ONLY IF ALL PARTNERS FACED THESE ISSUES WITH PATIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING. THE CONTINUING STRENGTH OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WAS ITS ABILITY TO SORT OUT SUCH PROBLEMS TOGETHER.

14. AS FOR THE DURATION OF THE DISCUSSIONS, THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NO TIMETABLE FOR COMPLETION OF THE PROCESS. HOWEVER, THE PROCESS

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WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE AFFECTED BY THE OVERALL STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. IF THE SITUATION IN POLAND DETERIORATED SIGNIFICANTLY, THERE WOULD BE ADDITIONAL INTERNAL PRESSURES FOR STRONG U.S. COUNTERACTIONS. STOLTENBERG ASKED IF THIS MEANT THE U.S. MIGHT CONSIDER UNILATERAL STEPS. THE SECRETARY SAID HE STRONGLY BELIEVED THAT THE WEST MUST STAY TOGETHER.

15. THE SECRETARY ALSO ASSURED STOLTENBERG THAT THE U.S. WOULD NOT ABANDON THE SEARCH FOR WESTERN AGREEMENT ON THE CREDIT QUESTION. HE NOTED THAT THERE WOULD BE A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT DURING THE NEXT WEEK AND THAT AFTERWARDS, THE U.S. WOULD AGAIN BE IN TOUCH WITH THE ALLIES. HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED THAT AGREEMENT WAS POSSIBLE AND THAT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD WORK FIRST TO ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES. THIS FRAMEWORK COULD BE USED FOR A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO THE LONGER TERM PROBLEMS. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT AFTER THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, HE WOULD COMMUNICATE PERSONALLY WITH EUROPEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS AND PRESENT THEM WITH PROPOSALS FOR NEXT STEPS IN THE PROCESS.

SITUATION IN POLAND

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16. STOLTENBERG ASKED FOR THE SECRETARY'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND. THE SECRETARY SAID HE BELIEVED THAT SOMETHING MUST HAPPEN WITHIN THE NEXT 3 TO 4 WEEKS. EITHER THERE WOULD BE AN UPHEAVAL, ACCOMPANIED BY VIOLENCE, OR THE SOVIETS AND THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WOULD LOOSEN MARTIAL LAW CONTROLS. THE IMPORTANT NEED NOW WAS TO GET THE PEOPLE BACK TO WORK. POLES WOULD NOT WORK IF REPRESSION CONTINUED. IF CONTROLS WERE NOT LOOSENED, A REACTION COULD COME IN MANY AREAS -- YOUNG PEOPLE, WORKERS, STUDENTS, ALL WERE RESTLESS. THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH WAS ALSO NOT YET CLEAR. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY WAS SHOCKED THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAD NOT YET RELEASED WALESA AND THAT THEY HAD NOT AGREED TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE. COMMENCEMENT OF A DIALOGUE WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP.

CENTRAL AMERICA

17. STOLTENBERG ASKED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS. THE SECRETARY BELIEVED THAT THE ELECTIONS WOULD BE CREDIBLE, DESPITE EFFORTS OF

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THE GUERRILLAS. DURING THE PAST THREE WEEKS, THE SALVADORAN ARMY HAD BEEN PERFORMING MUCH BETTER AND THE GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE IN THE COUNTRY. THE ELECTIONS WOULD PROBABLY NOT RESULT IN A MAJORITY FOR ANY OF THE CANDIDATES, BUT THE U.S. HOPED THAT DUARTE WOULD OBTAIN ENOUGH VOTES TO EMERGE AS THE STRONGEST CANDIDATE. THE RIGHT WAS ALSO STRONG, ESPECIALLY AMONG A POPULATION WHICH WAS TERRIFIED BY THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT AND WHICH WAS LOOKING FOR STRONG [redacted]

LEADERSHIP. NOTING THE COUP IN GUATEMALA, THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT PROBLEMS IN CENTRAL AMERICA WOULD NOT GO AWAY. THE CUBAN ROLE WAS BECOMING CLEARER EACH DAY, AND MEXICO WAS ALSO BECOMING CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION ON ITS SOUTHERN BORDER.

18. STOLTENBERG SAID HE THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT'S CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE HAD BEEN A GOOD RESPONSE TO THE SITUATION. HE NOTED THAT IT HAD ALSO BEEN WELL RECEIVED IN EUROPE. THE SECRETARY AGREED, NOTING THAT HE HAD ALSO OBTAINED ENCOURAGING SUPPORT FROM MEXICO, VENEZUELA AND COLOMBIA DURING A RECENT MEETING IN NEW YORK. HE ADDED THAT THE U.S. ALSO HOPED FOR SUPPORT FROM THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. HAIG

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO04326

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 04326 01 OF 03 302301Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 SVC-00 /025 W
----------110635 302321Z /61

O 302253Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9294
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 03 MEXICO 04326

EXDIS

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/29/88
TAGS: MX GT, ES, HO, PINT, PINS
SUBJECT: ASSISTANCE TO INSURGENTS IN EL SALVADOR AND
- GUATEMALA FROM MEXICAN TERRITORY

REF: STATE 79395

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN MEXICO CITY THE GOM PERMITS AND ASSISTS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF OFFICES REPRESENTING EXILES AND INSURGENT GROUPS, PARTICULARLY SALVADORANS. WE SUSPECT BUT CANNOT PROVE THAT PRI/COPPPAL MAY FURNISH SOME FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. GOM MAY LOOK THE OTHER WAY WHEN INSURGENTS USE THE CAPITAL FOR OPERATIONAL NEEDS, POSSIBLY EVEN ACQUIRING ARMS. WE NOTE THAT PUBLIC DISCLOSURES OF ANY SUCH TRANSACTIONS, HOWEVER, WOULD BE A SERIOUS EMBARRASSMENT TO THE GOM. IN THE BORDER AREAS, THERE IS MORE EVIDENCE OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE TO INSURGENTS, PARTICULARLY GUATEMALANS. HERE, HOWEVER, GOM MAY NOT BE FULLY AWARE OF SUPPORT ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL LEFTIST GROUPS AND CLERGY, AND IN REMOTE AREAS MAY NOT EVEN BE ABLE TO CONTROL THE
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 04326 01 OF 03 302301Z

BORDER. IN THE MORE POPULATED AREAS THE ARMY COULD DO A BETTER JOB OF PATROLING, DESPITE CONCERN ABOUT BORDER EXPRESSED PRIVATELY BY MEXICAN SECDEF. GOM ASSOCIATION WITH LEFTIST INSURGENTS MAY DECLINE UNDER DE LA MADRID, ESPECIALLY IF THE LEFT PROSPERS EITHER IN GUATEMALA OR EL SALVADOR. BUT LONG-STANDING MEXICAN SYMPATHY FOR LEFTIST CAUSES IN LATIN AMERICA WILL CONTINUE. FURTHER REPORT ON SOUTHERN BORDER REGION WILL BE SUBMITTED LATER THIS WEEK ON COMPLETION OF FIELD TRIP BY TWO EMBOFFS.

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Date: 05/2
Case ID: 89

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END SUMMARY.
3. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

MEXICO IS DIVIDED ON SUPPORT TO INSURGENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE POLITICAL LEFT AND SOME CHURCH LEADERS FAVOR ASSISTANCE AND EVEN ENGAGE IN IT MORE OR LESS OVERTLY. THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND AT LEAST THE MAJORITY OF THE MILITARY LEADERS OPPOSE ASSISTANCE AND ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT ON MEXICO OF THE RADICALIZATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA. THE PRI AND THE GOM TRADITIONALLY SEEK THE MIDDLE WAY BETWEEN SUCH POLITICAL POLES, AND IN THIS CASE HAVE NOT SURPRISINGLY ADOPTED AN AMBIGUOUS STANCE. ON THE ONE HAND, FOLLOWING THE GOSPEL OF "NON-INTERFERENCE," THE GOM PROCLAIMS AN OFFICIAL POLICY OF ALLOWING POLITICAL REFUGEES TO ENTER MEXICO, BUT ONLY IF THEY ARE DISARMED AND DO NOT OPENLY USE MEXICAN TERRITORY TO ORGANIZE MILITARY ACTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF CENTRAL AMERICA. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOM HAS BENIGNLY ENCOURAGED PRO-INSURGENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ON ITS TERRITORY, AND IN A FEW CASES MAY EVEN HAVE TURNED A BLIND EYE TO OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY.

4. AS THE DEPARTMENT NOTES, OUR ESTIMATES ON MORE SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES AND WHAT FACTIONS MAY BE INVOLVED ($) [redacted]

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BASED ON RELATIVELY FEW PIECES OF HARD INFORMATION, HOWEVER, THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS BY REGION MAY HELP THE DEPARTMENT FORM AN OVERALL IMPRESSION.

5. SITUATION IN THE CAPITAL

PRO-INSURGENT ACTIVITY IN MEXICO CITY IS PROBABLY MORE SIGNIFICANT FROM A POLITICAL STANDPOINT THAN ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY. HERE THE FMLN/FDR MAINTAINS A LARGE AND WELL-ORGANIZED POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC LOBBYING ORGANIZATION. IN AN EFFORT TO GENERATE MEXICAN PUDLIC SUPPORT AND INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY, THE ORGANIZATION OPENLY ADVERTISES, PROMOTES COLLOQUIUMS AND PARTICIPATES IN DEMONSTRATIONS. THE GOM AND PRI OVERTLY FACILITATE THESE ACTIVITIES BY THE SALVADORAN OPPOSITION. GUATEMALAN GROUPS IN MEXICO CITY HAVE SO FAR BEEN FRACTIONALIZED AND LESS VISIBLE THAN THE FMLN/FDR, BUT THE GOM IS CERTAINLY AWARE OF GUATEMALAN OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES. WE SUSPECT BUT CANNOT PROVE THAT PRI/COPPPAL MAY PROVIDE SOME FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF BOTH SALVADORAN AND GUATEMALAN REPRESENTATIVES. THERE IS ALSO EVIDENCE THAT PRI/GOM OFFICIALS HAVE INTERVENED ON BEHALF OF VARIOUS REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS WHO HAVE RUN AFOUL OF MEXICAN AUTHORITIES. THERE ARE FREQUENT AND OPEN CONTACTS BETWEEN SALVADORAN AND GUATEMALAN INSURGENT REPRESENTATIVES AND

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO004326

MEXICO CITY'S VERY LARGE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY. SIMILARLY, THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS ON CONTACT BETWEEN THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND INSURGENT REPRESENTATIVES. WE ASSUME THAT FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE LEFT ALSO PASSES THROUGH THESE CHANNELS.

NOTE BY OC/T: ($) TEXT GARBLED; CORRECTIONS TO FOLLOW.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO04326

ADP478 [redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 04326 02 OF 03 302304Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /025 W
----------110857 302323Z /62

O 302253Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9295
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 MEXICO 04326

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6. WE HAVE LITTLE INFORMATION ON ACTUAL OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THE MEXICO CITY AREA. WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF EITHER GUATEMALAN OR SALVADORAN INSURGENTS HAVE SAFEHOUSES IN THE MEXICO CITY AREA, ALTHOUGH SECDEF GALVAN TOLD DEFATT ON MARCH 4 THAT ARMY HAD ACTED ON PAST ALLEGATIONS AND FAILED TO TURN ANYTHING UP. IT IS EVEN POSSIBLE THAT SOME LIGHT ARMS MAY CHANGE HANDS IN THE CAPITAL OR NEARBY. MEXICAN AUTHORITIES HAVE REACTED WHEN TIPPED OFF BY OTHERS ABOUT POSSIBLE ARMS TRANSACTIONS, BUT WE SEE LITTLE EVIDENCE OF SELF-GENERATED MEXICAN EFFORTS TO PRECLUDE THEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, FOREIGN MINISTER CASTANEDA HAS PUBLICLY INSISTED THAT MEXICO PROVIDES NO ARMS TO ANY GOVERNMENT OR FACTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE LOPEZ PORTILLO GOVERNMENT WOULD BE SERIOUSLY EMBARRASSED IF THIS ASSERTION WERE PUBLICLY DISPROVEN. DESPITE GUATEMALAN OFFICIAL ASSERTIONS, WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF ANY TRAINING CAMPS IN THE MEXICO CITY AREA. THE ONLY REPORT WE HAVE OF TRAINING CAMPS ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY IS FROM GUTIERREZ ESPINOSA'S CONFESSION TO SALVADORAN SECURITY OFFICIALS. FOR THE MOMENT, WE ARE RESERVING JUDGMENT ON THAT REPORT.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 04326 02 OF 03 302304Z

7. SITUATION ON THE BORDER

THE SITUATION IN THE MEXICAN-GUATEMALAN BORDER REGION IS MORE COMPLEX, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IN OUR VIEW OF LESS SIGNIFICANCE POLITICALLY AS AN INDICATOR OF GOM POLICY. (I.E., THERE MAY BE ISOLATED LOCAL ACTIVITIES THAT ARE UNKNOWN TO MEXICAN CENTRAL AUTHORITIES OR THAT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTROL EVEN IF KNOWN.) IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CROSS-BORDER

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INSURGENT ACTIVITY IN CHIAPAS. THE PAN-AMERICAN HIGHWAY ALONG THE COAST IS HEAVILY TRAVELED, AND LIMITED AMOUNTS OF SMALL ARMS OR AMMUNITION DESTINED EITHER FOR GUATEMALA OR EL SALVADOR MAY WELL CROSS THE BORDER HERE, WITH THE PAYMENT OF A "MORDIDA" TO THE CUSTOMS INSPECTOR. WE HAVE HAD A FEW REPORTS OF SUCH SHIPMENTS, BUT OUR REPORTS DO NOT SUGGEST GOM PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL. THERE ARE STRONGER INDICATIONS OF SAFEHOUSES AND/OR SUPPLY OPERATIONS IN CHIAPAS FOR GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS, AND WE SUSPECT THAT SOME MEXICAN CLERGY AND/OR LEFTIST GROUPS IN THE AREA ARE ACTIVELY COLLABORATING WITH INSURGENT LEADERS. HOWEVER, IN THE RELATIVELY OPEN, WELL-POPULATED AREA OF CHIAPAS BETWEEN TAPACHULA AND COMITAN, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THERE ARE ANY IMPORTANT SANCTUARIES FOR GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS. SOME 50,000 TO 100,000 MIGRANT SEASONAL COFFEE AND COTTON PICKERS HAVE NOW LARGELY RETURNED OR ARE RETURNING TO GUATEMALA; APPROXIMATELY 5,000 GUATEMALAN INDIAN REFUGEES REMAIN IN TEMPORARY SETTLEMENTS WITHIN A KILOMETER OR TWO OV THE BORDER, LIVING ON SUBSISTENCE SUPPLIES FURNISHED BY THE GOM COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES. THESE INDIANS ARE ALSO EXPECTED TO RETURN TO GUATEMALA SOON IN TIME TO PLANT THEIR ANNUAL CORN CROPS. WE ARE INCLINED TO ACCEPT THE GOM VIEW THAT THESE MOVEMENTS ARE CYCLICAL, WITH THE NUM-

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BERS OF GUATEMALANS PERHAPS SLIGHTLY AUGMENTED BY TENSIONS IN GUATEMALA, AND THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE ANY MAJOR POLITICAL/MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE. (IN OTHER WORDS, NEITHER THE MIGRANT WORKERS NOR THE REFUGEES ARE BEING EXPLOITED IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY BY GUATEMALAN INSURGENTS FOR SAFEHAVEN OR SOURCES OF SUPPLY.) TWO EMBASSY OFFICERS ARE CURRENTLY COMPLETING A FIELD TRIP WHICH COVERED THIS BORDER AREA. WE WILL SUBMIT THEIR SUPPLEMENTARY FINDINGS LATER THIS WEEK.

8. FURTHER EAST IN CHIAPAS, THE COMBINATION OF HEAVY JUNGLE AND MOUNTAINOUS TERRAIN MEANS THAT THE AREA IS VIRTUALLY INACCESSIBLE FROM THE MEXICAN SIDE. WE DO NOT DOUBT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN INCURSIONS INTO THE PICO DE ORO AREA IN SOUTHEAST CHIAPAS BY GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS AND PURSUING CONTINGENTS OF GUAMEMALAN SECURITY FORCES. (OFFICIALS IN CIUDAD PEMEX CONFIRMED TO THE REPORTING OFFICER ON MARCH 23 THAT THE PEMEX EXPLORATION TEAM IN THIS REMOTE AREA WAS RECENTLY PULLED OUT, SUPPOSEDLY BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY RISKS.) AS FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE BORDER AREA (IN TABASCO, CAMPECHE, AND QUINTANA ROO), THIS POST HAS HEARD NO MORE THAN OCCASIONAL RUMORS THAT ARMS ARE CROSSING THE FRONTIER, WITHOUT ANY SPECIFICS. THE LONG AND HAZARDOUS HAUL THROUGH THE SWAMPS OF THE PETEN REGION OF GUATEMALA TO THE WESTERN GUATEMALAN AREAS OF GOG-GUERRILLA CONFRONTATION WOULD MAKE THIS

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ROUTE A LESS LIKELY ONE FOR INSURGENT SUPPLIES THAN THE ROUTE THROUGH CHIAPAS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ROUTE WOULD BE LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO OBSERVATION AND THEREFORE MORE SUITABLE FOR CLANDESTINE SHIPMENTS OF MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT PROPORTIONS. "

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO04326

ADP480
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 04326 03 OF 03 302305Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /025 W
----------110666 302323Z /61

O 302253Z MAR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9296
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 MEXICO 04326

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9. ROLE OF MEXICAN ARMY

FROM THE ABOVE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE GOM WOULD BE AT PAINS TO PUT A COMPLETE STOP TO ALL ILLEGAL SUPPORT TO CENTRAL AMERICAN INSURGENCIES FROM THE MEXICAN BORDER REGION, WHATEVER THE OFFICIAL POLICIES AND ATTITUDES OF THE MEN AT THE TOP. THE QUESTION REMAINS, ARE THE MEXICAN SECURITY FORCES DOING EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO CURTAIL SUCH SUPPORT? OUR ANSWER IS PROBABLY NOT. THE COMMENTS OF REFUGEE COORDINATOR ORTIZ MONASTERIOS TO THE REPORTING OFFICER ON MARCH 17 ARE ILLUSTRATIVE: "WE (THE GOM) ARE TRYING TO AVOID OVERREACTING TO THE SITUATION ON THE GUATEMALAN BORDER, SO WE DON'T CREATE MORE TENSIONS THAN ACTUALLY EXIST." DESPITE THE CONCERN EXPRESSED PRIVATELY BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE GALVAN TO DEFATT ABOUT THE SITUATION ON THE BORDER IN EARLY MARCH, GALVAN HAS BEEN SAYING TO OTHERS THAT THE BORDER AREA IS STABLE. ECHOING THISSLINE, TABASCO ZONE COMMANDER MURILLO TOLD COUNTRY DIRECTOR CRIGLER AND REPORTING OFFICER ON MARCH 23 THAT "YOU WILL SEE WITH YOUR OWN EYES THERE IS NOTHING HERE TO WORRY ABOUT." IN SHORT, THE SECURITY FORCES ARE GETTING POLITICAL DIRECTION TO "COOL IT." AS A RESULT, THE
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 04326 03 OF 03 302305Z

MILITARY IN THE AREA SEEM TO BE STAYING PRETTY MUCH IN THEIR GARRISONS. SEVERAL RECENT OBSERVERS HAVE SEEN NO SIGNS OF BORDER PATROL ACTIVITY.

10. WHILE THE MEXICAN ARMY APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CAUTIOUS ABOUT POLICING THE BORDER AREA, WE HAVE NEVERTHELESS NOTED A CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT IN ITS CAPABILITY TO DO SO. UNITS OF REGIMENTAL/BATTALION SIZE HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN COMITAN (SOUTHERN CHIAPAS), TENOSIQUE (EASTERN TABASCO)

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AND ESCARCEGA (SOUTHERN COMPECHE) IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE YEARS. MANNING LEVELS OF ALL UNITS IN THE BORDER MILITARY ZONES ARE AT LEAST AT FULL STRENGTH AND POSSIBLY ABOVE. AND, AS HAS BEEN NOTED IN EARLIER REPORTING, THE PRI NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR OF CHIAPAS (GENERAL CASTELLANOS) IS A HIGHLY RESPECTED FORMER 31ST MILITARY ZONE COMMANDER. (SEE ALSO SEPTEL ON SITUATION IN CHIAPAS BEING SENT BY DAO IN DEFENSE CHANNELS.)

11. PROJECTION

IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, ANY SHIFT IN THE GOM'S CAUTIOUS AND AMBIGUOUS POLICY ON ASSISTANCE TO GUATEMALAN AND SALVADORAN INSURGENTS WILL DEPEND ON THE DIRECTION TAKEN BY THE NEW GUATEMALAN JUNTA AND ON POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS IN EL SALVADOR. GIVEN MOVEMENT TOWARDS ACCOMMODATIONS WITH THE LEFT IN EITHER OR BOTH OF THESE COUNTRIES, THE GOM MAY BE MORE INCLINED TO REDUCE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF INSURGENT REPRESENTATIVES IN MEXICO CITY, AND/OR TO SHOW A FIRMER MILITARY HAND ON THE BORDER. EVEN IF THERE IS NO SUCH MOVEMENT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS IN CENTRAL AMERICA, WE HAVE REPORTED RECENT SIGNS THAT DE LA MADRID MAY BE MORE CONSERVATIVE ABOUT ASSOCIATING THE GOM WITH CENTRAL AMERICAN RADICALS. (SEE MEXICO 3447.)

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HOWEVER, THERE SHOULD BE NO EXPECTATION THAT THE MAINSTREAM OF GOM/PRI THINKING WILL SHIFT MORE THAN A DEGREE OR TWO TO THE RIGHT. IN HIS MOST RECENT FOREIGN POLICY REMARKS (MARCH 26) DE LA MADRID STRESSED THAT MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES WILL NOT CHANGE. THUS, WE SHOULD NOT HARBOR THE ILLUSION THAT MEXICAN COOPERATION WITH LEFTIST CAUSES IN CENTRAL AMERICA, OR FOR THAT MATTER ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA, IS MERELY A PASSING PHENOMENON THAT WE NEED NOT CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT. WE ARE PLACING THIS PHENOMENON IN PERSPECTIVE IN A SEPARATE REPORT TO BE FORWARED SHORTLY ON HISTORICAL TRENDS IN MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

12. EMBASSY WOULD WELCOME COMMENTS OF INFO POSTS. (DRAFTER: T. S. WILKINSON) GAVIN

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 086357

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PAGE 01 STATE 086357
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS FOR AMB JEANE J KIRKPATRICK

FOLLOWING REPEAT MEXICO 4326 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO GUATEMALA SAN SALVADOR TEGUCIGALPA DT MAR 30

QUOTE [redacted] MEXICO 4326

EXDIS
E.O. 12065: GDS 3/29/88
TAGS: MX GT, ES, HO, PINT, PINS
SUBJECT: ASSISTANCE TO INSURGENTS IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA FROM MEXICAN TERRITORY
REF: STATE 79395
1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. IN MEXICO CITY THE GOM PERMITS AND ASSISTS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF OFFICES REPRESENTING EXILES AND INSURGENT GROUPS, PARTICULARLY SALVADORANS. WE SUSPECT BUT CANNOT PROVE THAT PRI/COPPPAL MAY FURNISH SOME FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. GOM MAY LOOK THE OTHER WAY WHEN INSURGENTS USE THE CAPITAL FOR OPERATIONAL NEEDS, POSSIBLY EVEN ACQUIRING ARMS. WE NOTE THAT PUBLIC DISCLOSURES OF ANY
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PAGE 02 STATE 086357

SUCH TRANSACTIONS, HOWEVER, WOULD BE A SERIOUS EMBARRASSMENT TO THE GOM. IN THE BORDER AREAS, THERE IS MORE EVIDENCE OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE TO INSURGENTS, PARTICULARLY GUATEMALANS. HERE, HOWEVER, GOM MAY NOT BE FULLY AWARE OF SUPPORT ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL LEFTIST GROUPS AND CLERGY, AND IN REMOTE AREAS MAY NOT EVEN BE ABLE TO CONTROL THE

BORDER. IN THE MORE POPULATED AREAS THE ARMY COULD DO A BETTER JOB OF PATROLING, DESPITE CONCERN ABOUT BORDER

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: 9940034B

EXPRESSED PRIVATELY BY MEXICAN SECDEF. GOM ASSOCIATION WITH LEFTIST INSURGENTS MAY DECLINE UNDER DE LA MADRID, ESPECIALLY IF THE LEFT PROSPERS EITHER IN GUATEMALA OR EL SALVADOR. BUT LONG-STANDING MEXICANATHY FOR LEFTIST CAUSES IN LATIN AMERICA WILL CONTINUE. FURTHER REPORT ON SOUTHERN BORDER REGION WILL BE SUBMITTED LATER THIS WEEK ON COMPLETION OF FIELD TRIP BY TWO EMBOFFS.
END SUMMARY.
3. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS
MEXICO IS DIVIDED ON SUPPORT TO INSURGENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE POLITICAL LEFT AND SOME CHURCH LEADERS FAVOR ASSISTANCE AND EVEN ENGAGE IN IT MORE OR LESS OVERTLY. THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND AT LEAST THE MAJORITY OF THE MILITARY LEADERS OPPOSE ASSISTANCE AND ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT ON MEXICO OF THE RADICALIZATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA. THE PR AND THE GOM TRADITIONALLY SEEK THE MIDDLE WAY BETWEEN SUCH POLITICAL POLES, AND IN THIS CASE HAVE NOT SURPRISINGLY ADOPTED AN AMBIGUOUS STANCE. ON THE ONE HAND, FOLLOWING THE GOSPEL OF "NON-INTERFERENCE," THE GOM PROCLAIMS AN OFFICIAL POLICY OF ALLOWING POLITICAL REFUGEES TO ENTER MEXICO, BUT ONLY IF THEY ARE DISARMED AND DO NOT OPENLY USE MEXICAN TERRITORY TO ORGANIZE MILITARY ACTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF CENTRAL AMERICA. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOM HAS BENIGNLY EN-

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COURAGED PRO-INSURGENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ON ITS TERRITORY, AND IN A FEW CASES MAY EVEN HAVE TURNED A BLIND EYE TO OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY.

4. AS THE DEPARTMENT NOTES, OUR ESTIMATES ON MORE SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES AND WHAT FACTIONS MAY BE INVOLVED ARE NECESSARILY BASED ON RELATIVELY FEW PIECES OF HARD INFORMATION. HOWEVER, THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS BY REGION MAY HELP THE DEPARTMENT FORM AN OVERALL IMPRESSION.
5. SITUATION IN THE CAPITAL
PRO-INSURGENT ACTIVITY IN MEXICO CITY IS PROBABLY MORE SIGNIFICANT FROM A POLITICAL STANDPOINT THAN ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY. HERE THE FMLN/FDR MAINTAINS A LARGE AND WELL-ORGANIZED POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC LOBBYING ORGANIZATION. IN AN EFFORT TO GENERATE MEXICAN PUBLIC SUPPORT AND INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY, THE ORGANIZATION OPENLY ADVERTISES, PROMOTES COLLOQUIUMS AND PARTICIPIN DEMONSTRATIONS. THE GOM AND PRI OVERTLY FACILITATE THESE ACTIVITIES BY THE SALVADORAN OPPOSITION. GUATEMALAN GROUPS IN MEXICO CITY HAVE SO FAR BEEN FRACTIONALIZED AND LESS VISIBLE THAN THE FMLN/FDR, BUT THE GOM IS CERTAINLY AWARE OF GUATEMALAN
OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES. WE SUSPECT
BUT CANNOT PROVE THAT PRI/COPPPAL MAY PROVIDE SOME FINANCIAL ASISTANCE TO THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF BOTH SALVADORAN AND GUATEMALAN REPRESENTATIVES. THERE IS ALSO EVIDENCE

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THAT PRI/GOM OFFICIALS HAVE INTERVENED ON BEHALF OF VARIOUS REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS WHO HAVE RUN AFOUL OF MEXICAN AUTHORITIES. THERE ARE FREQUENT AND OPEN CONTACTS BETWEEN SALVADORAN AND GUATEMALAN INSURGENT REPRESENTATIVES AND MEXICO CITY'S VERY LARGE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY. SIMILARLY, THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS ON CONTACT BETWEEN THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND INSURGENT REPRESENTATIVES. WE ASSUME THAT FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE LEFT ALSO PASSES THROUGH THESE CHANNELS.

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PAGE 04 STATE 086357

6. WE HAVE LITTLE INFORMATION ON ACTUAL OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THE MEXICO CITY AREA. WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF EITHER GUATEMALAN OR SALVADORAN INSURGENTS HAVE SAFEHOUSES IN THE MEXICO CITY AREA, ALTHOUGH SECDEF GALVAN TOLD DEFATT ON MARCH 4 THAT ARMY HAD ACTED ON PAST ALLEGATIONS AND FAILED TO TURN ANYTHING UP. IT IS EVEN POSSIBLE THAT SOME LIGHT ARMS MAY CHANGE HANDS IN THE CAPITAL OR NEARBY. MEXICAN AUTHORITIES HAVE REACTED WHEN TIPPED OFF BY OTHERS ABOUT POSSIBLE ARMS TRANSACTIONS, BUT WE SEE LITTLE EVIDENCE OF SELF-GENERATED MEXICAN EFFORTS TO PRECLUDE THEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, FOREIGN MINISTER CASTANEDA HAS PUBLICLY INSISTED THAT MEXICO PROVIDES NO ARMS TO ANY GOVERNMENT OR FACTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE LOPEZ PORTILLO GOVERNMENT WOULD BE SERIOUSLY EMBARRASSED IF THIS ASSERTION WERE PUBLICLY DISPROVEN. DESPITE GUATEMALAN OFFICIAL ASSERTIONS, WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF ANY TRAINING CAMPS IN THE MEXITY AREA. THE ONLY REPORT WE HAVE OF TRAINING CAMPS ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY IS FROM GUTIERREZ ESPINOSA'S CONFESSION TO SALVADORAN SECURITY OFFICIALS. FOR THE MOMENT, WE ARE RESERVING JUDGMENT ON THAT REPORT.

7. SITUATION ON THE BORDER

THE SITUATION IN THE MEXICAN-GUATEMALAN BORDER REGION IS MORE COMPLEX, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IN OUR VIEW OF LESS SIGNIFICANCE POLITICALLY AS AN INDICATOR OF GOM POLICY. (I.E., THERE MAY BE ISOLATED LOCAL ACTIVITIES THAT ARE UNKNOWN TO MEXICAN CENTRAL AUTHORITIES OR THAT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTROL EVEN IF KNOWN.) IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CROSS-BORDER INSURGENT ACTIVITY IN CHIAPAS. THE PAN-AMERICAN HIGHWAY ALONG THE COAST IS HEAVILY TRAVELED, AND LIMITED AMOUNTS OF SMALL ARMS OR AMMUNITION DESTINED EITHER FOR

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PAGE 05 STATE 086357

GUATEMALA OR EL SALVADOR MAY WELL CROSS THE BORDER HERE, WITH THE PAYMENT OF A "MORDIDA" TO THE CUSTOMS INSPECTOR.

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WE HAVE HAD A FEW REPORTS OF SUCH SHIPMENTS, BUT OUR REPORTS DO NOT SUGGEST GOM PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL. THERE ARE STRONGER INDICATIONS OF SAFEHOUSES AND/OR SUPPLY OPERATIONS IN CHIAPAS FOR GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS, AND WE SUSPECT THAT SOME MEXICAN CLERGY AND/OR LEFTIST GROUPS IN THE AREA ARE ACTIVELY COLLABORATING WITH INSURGENT LEADERS. HOWEVER, IN THE RELATIVELY OPEN, WELL-POPULATED AREA OF CHIAPAS BETWEEN TAPACHULA AND COMITAN, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THERE ARE ANY IMPORTANT SANCTUARIES FOR GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS. SOME 50,000 TO 100,000 MIGRANT SEASONAL COFFEE AND COTTON PICKERS HAVE NOW LARGELY RETURNED OR ARE RETURNING TO GUATEMALA; APPROXIMATELY 5,000 GUATEMALAN INDIAN REFUGEES REMAIN IN TEMPORARY SETTLEMENTS WITHIN A KILOMETER OR TWO OV THE BORDER, LIVING ON SUBSISTENCE SUPPLIES FURNISHED BY THE GOM COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES. THESE INDIANS ARE ALSO EXPECTED TO RETURN TO GUATEMALA SOON IN TIME TO PLANT THEIR ANNUAL CORN CROPS. E INCLINED TO ACCEPT THE GOM VIEW THAT THESE MOVEMENTS ARE CYCLICAL, WITH THE NUMBERS OF GUATEMALANS PERHAPS SLIGHTLY AUGMENTED BY TENSIONS IN GUATEMALA, AND THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE ANY MAJOR POLITICAL/MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE. (IN OTHER WORDS, NEITHER THE MIGRANT WORKERS NOR THE REFUGEES ARE BEING EXPLOITED IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY BY GUATEMALAN INSURGENTS FOR SAFEHAVEN OR SOURCES OF SUPPLY.) TWO EMBASSY OFFICERS ARE CURRENTLY COMPLETING A FIELD TRIP WHICH COVERED THIS BORDER AREA. WE WILL SUBMIT THEIR SUPPLEMENTARY FINDINGS LATER THIS WEEK.

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B. FURTHER EAST IN CHIAPAS, THE COMBINATION OF HEAVY JUNGLE AND MOUNTAINOUS TERRAIN MEANS THAT THE AREA IS VIRTUALLY INACCESSIBLE FROM THE MEXICAN SIDE. WE DO NOT DOUBT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN INCURSIONS INTO THE PICO DE ORO AREA IN SOUTHEAST CHIAPAS BY GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS [redacted]

AND PURSUING CONTINGENTS OF GUATEMALAN SECURITY FORCES. (OFFICIALS IN CIUDAD PEMEX CONFIRMED TO THE REPORTING OFFICER ON MARCH 23 THAT THE PEMEX EXPLORATION TEAM IN THIS REMOTE AREA WAS RECENTLY PULLED OUT, SUPPOSEDLY BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY RISKS.) AS FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE BORDER AREA (IN TABASCO, CAMPECHE, AND QUINTANA ROO), THIS POST HAS HEARD NO MORE THAN OCCASIONAL RUMORS THAT ARMS ARE CROSSING THE FRONTIER, WITHOUT ANY SPECIFICS. THE LONG AND HAZARDOUS HAUL THROUGH THE SWAMPS OF THE PETEN REGION OF GUATEMALA TO THE WESTERN GUATEMALAN AREAS OF GOG-GUERRILLA CONFRONTATION WOULD MAKE THIS ROUTE A LESS LIKELY ONE FOR INSURGENT SUPPLIES THAN THE ROUTE THROUGH CHIAPAS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ROUTE WOULD BE LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO OBSERVATION AND THEREFORE MORE SUITABLE FOR CLANDESTINE SHIPMENTS OF MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT PROPRTIONS.

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9. ROLE OF MEXICAN ARMY

FROM THE ABOVE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE GOM WOULD BE AT PAINS TO PUT A COMPLETE STOP TO ALL ILLEGAL SUPPORT TO CENTRAL AMERICAN INSURGENCIES FROM THE MEXICAN BOREGION, WHATEVER THE OFFICIAL POLICIES AND ATTITUDES OF THE MEN AT THE TOP. THE QUESTION REMAINS, ARE THE MEXICAN SECURITY FORCES DOING EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO CURTAIL SUCH SUPPORT? OUR ANSWER IS PROBABLY NOT. THE COMMENTS OF REFUGEE COORDINATOR ORTIZ MONASTERIOS TO THE REPORTING OFFICER ON MARCH 17 ARE ILLUSTRATIVE: "WE (THE GOM) ARE TRYING TO AVOID OVERREACTING TO THE SITUATION ON THE GUATEMALAN BORDER, SO WE DON'T CREATE MORE TENSIONS THAN ACTUALLY EXIST." DESPITE THE CONCERN EXPRESSED PRIVATELY BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE GALVAN TO DEFATT ABOUT THE SITUATION ON THE BORDER IN EARLY MARCH, GALVAN HAS BEEN SAYING TO [redacted]

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OTHERS THAT THE BORDER AREA IS STABLE. ECHOING THISSLINE, TABASCO ZONE COMMANDER MURILLO TOLD COUNTRY DIRECTOR CRIGLER AND REPORTING OFFICER ON MARCH 23 THAT "YOU WILL SEE WITH YOUR OWN EYES THERE IS NOTHING HERE TO WORRY ABOUT." IN SHORT, THE SECURITY FORCES ARE GETTING POLITICAL DIRECTION TO "COOL IT." AS A RESULT, THE MILITARY IN THE AREA SEEM TO BE STAYING PRETTY MUCH IN THEIR GARRISONS. SEVERAL RECENT OBSERVERS HAVE SEEN NO SIGNS OF BORDER PATROL ACTIVITY.

10. WHILE THE MEXICAN ARMY APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CAUTIOUS ABOUT POLICING THE BORDER AREA, WE HAVE NEVERTHELESS NOTED A CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT IN ITS CAPABILITY TO DO SO. UNITS OF REGIMENTAL/BATTALION SIZE HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN COMITAN (SOUTHERN CHIAPAS), TENOSIQUE (EASTERN TABASCO) AND ESCARCEGA (SOUTHERN COMPECHE) IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE YEARS. MANNING LEVELS OF ALL UNITS IN THE BORDER MILITARY ZONES ARE AT LEAST AT FULL STRENGTH AND POSSIBLY ABOVE. AND, AS HAS BEEN NOTED IN EARLIER REPORTING, THE PRI NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR OF CHIAPAS (GENERAL CASTELLANOS) IS A HIGHLY RESPECTED FORMER 31ST MILITARY ZONE COMMANDER. (SEE ALSO SEPTEL ON SITUATION IN CHIAPAS BEING SENT BY DAO IN DEFENSE CHANNELS.)

11. PROJECTION

IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, ANY SHIFTHE GOM'S CAUTIOUS AND AMBIGUOUS POLICY ON ASSISTANCE TO GUATEMALAN AND SALVADORAN INSURGENTS WILL DEPEND ON THE DIRECTION TAKEN BY THE NEW GUATEMALAN JUNTA AND ON POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS IN EL SALVADOR. GIVEN MOVEMENT TOWARDS ACCOMMODATIONS WITH THE LEFT IN EITHER OR BOTH OF THESE COUNTRIES, THE GOM MAY BE MORE INCLINED TO REDUCE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF INSURGENT REPRESENTATIVES IN MEXICO CITY, AND/OR TO SHOW A FIRMER MILITARY HAND ON THE BORDER.

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EVEN IF THERE IS NO SUCH MOVEMENT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS

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IN CENTRAL AMERICA, WE HAVE REPORTED RECENT SIGNS THAT DE LA MADRID MAY BE MORE CONSERVATIVE ABOUT ASSOCIATING THE GOM WITH CENTRAL AMERICAN RADICALS. (SEE MEXICO 3447.) HOWEVER, THERE SHOULD BE NO EXPECTATION THAT THE MAINSTREAM OF GOM/PRI THINKING WILL SHIFT MORE THAN A DEGREE OR TWO TO THE RIGHT. IN HIS MOST RECENT FOREIGN POLICY REMARKS (MARCH 26) DE LA MADRID STRESSED THAT MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES WILL NOT CHANGE. THUS, WE SHOULD NOT HARBOR THE ILLUSION THAT MEXICAN COOPERATION WITH LEFTIST CAUSES IN CENTRAL AMERICA, OR FOR THAT MATTER ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA, IS MERELY A PASSING PHENOMENON THAT WE NEED NOT CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT. WE ARE PLACING THIS PHENOMENON IN PERSPECTIVE IN A SEPARTE REPORT TO BE FORWARED SHORTLY ON HISTORICAL TRENDS IN MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

12. EMBASSY WOULD WELCOME COMMENTS OF INFO POSTS.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82BONN 007411

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PAGE 01 BONN 07411 01 OF 04 021640Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	AF-10	CIAE-00	EA-10
	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00
	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	INRE-00	SAL-01
	ACDA-12	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/111 W		

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O 021633Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5674
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE — IS/FPC/CDR [redacted] Date: 2/12/97

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( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) DENY IN PART
( ) DELETE Non-Responsive Info
FOIA Exemptions
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MR Cases Only:
EO Citations
TS authority to:
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 07411

PAGE 02 BONN 07411 01 OF 04 021640Z

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, GE, ES
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL PRESIDIUM MEETING IN BONN
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1. SUMMARY. IN A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT THE END OF ITS TWO-DAY MEETING IN BONN APRIL 1-2, THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL'S PRESIDIUM ANNOUNCED THAT ITS DELIBERA-

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TIONS HAD COVERED CENTRAL AMERICA, EAST-WEST ISSUES, INCLUDING ARMS CONTROL AND POLAND, AND NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS. THE PRESIDIUM ISSUED A DECLARATION ON CENTRAL AMERICA, THE TEXT OF WHICH WE ARE SENDING SEPTEL. THE DECLARATIDN STATED THAT THE "SO-CALLED" ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR HAD NOT BROUGHT PEACE NEARER, AND CALLED FOR A "NEGOTIATED SOLUTION"; IT AFFIRMED THE SI'S SUPPORT OF THE SANDINISTAS' "COMMITMENT TO PLURALISM, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, TO DEMOCRACY AND NON-ALIGNMENT," AND WARNED AGAINST ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN NICARAGUA'S AFFAIRS; IT EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN GUATEMALA AND GRENADA, AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR REGIONAL SECURITY, PEACE AND COOPERATION BASED ON PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED BY MEXICAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO. IT IS CLEAR THE SI WAS DETERMINED TO PRESENT A UNITED FRONT TO THE PRESS ON CENTRAL AMERICA. THE REALITY MAY BE MORE COMPLICATED. ON EAST-WEST ISSUES, THE PRESIDIUM DECLARED ITS STRONG INTEREST IN A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE "START" AND INF TALKS AND EXPRESSED ITS "DEEP CONCERN" REGARDING THE SITUATION IN POLAND, STATING THAT PRACTICAL MEASURES TO HELP THE POLISH PEOPLE WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE NEXT SI MEETING IN HELSINKI. THE PRESIDIUM REFUSED TO GIVE THE PRESS ANY DETAILS OF ITS DISCUSSION OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 03 BONN 07411 01 OF 04 021640Z

2. CENTRAL AMERICA: THE PRESIDIUM'S DECLARATION

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHED A DECLARATION APRIL 2 ON CENTRAL AMERICA, WHICH WE ARE SENDING SEPTEL. THE DECLARATION WAS ANNOUNCED TO BE PRIMARILY THE WORK OF CARLOS ANDREAS PEREZ, FELIPE GONZALEZ, UNGO AND CARLOS FLORES.

3. THE DECLARATION DEALT ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS WITH EL SALVADOR, NICARAGUA, GUATEMALA AND GRENADA, AND CONCLUDED WITH A STATEMENT ON THE NEED TO ESTABLISH "PEACE, SECURITY AND COOPERATION" IN THE REGION.

4. THE DECLARATION SPOKE OF "SO-CALLED ELECTIONS" WHICH, IT MAINTAINED, HAD BROUGHT A SOLUTION TO THE "TERRIBLE RAVAGES" IN THAT COUNTRY NO NEARER. ONLY A "NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT INVOLVING ALL THE POLITICAL SECTORS WHICH WILL ACCEPT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS" -- INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY THE FDR/FMLN -- CAN SOLVE THE SALVADORAN PROBLEM.

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5. ON NICARAGUA, THE DECLARATION STATED THAT THE SI SUPPORTED THE COMMITMENT OF THE SANDINISTAS "TO PLURALISM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, TO DEMOCRACY AND NON-ALIGNMENT" AND

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OPPOSED ANY ATTEMPTS "FROM WHATEVER SOURCE" TO DESTABILIZE NICARAGUA OR INTERFERE WITH ITS SOVEREIGNTY."

6. THE DECLARATION EXPRESSED THE SI'S SUPPORT OF GUATEMALA'S DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY, AND OF THE EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GRENADA TO ORGANIZE ELECTIONS. IT CONCLUDED BY UNDERLINING THE NEED FOR "OVERALL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT" IN

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BONN 07411 02 OF 04 021642Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	AF-10	CIAE-00	EA-10
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	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	INRE-00	SAL-01
	ACDA-12	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/111 W		

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O 021633Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5675
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY LISBON
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 04 BONN 07411

PAGE 02 BONN 07411 02 OF 04 021642Z

UNCLASSIFIED

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. THIS WOULD REQUIRE INCREASED OUTSIDE ECONOMIC AID AND AN END TO ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE REGION, "AND THE CESSATION OF ANY INTERFERENCE BY ONE COUNTRY INTO THE AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER."

7. THESE GOALS COULD BEST BE ATTAINED, THE DECLARATION STATED, BY A "COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL TREATY EMBRACING ALL

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THE NATIONS OF THE REGION, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA." THE SI, THE DECLARATION SAID, WAS CONVINCED THAT THE PROPOSALS OFFERED BY MEXICAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO AND OTHER REGIONAL LEADERS SHOULD BE THE BASIS OF A SOLUTION PROVIDING "REGIONAL SECURITY, PEACE AND CO-OPERATION."

8. CENTRAL AMERICA: ELABORATIONS BY BRANDT AND OTHERS

IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTER'S QUESTION, SI CHAIRMAN BRANDT CONFIRMED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THE ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR WERE "REAL ELECTIONS", ALTHOUGH HE AVOIDED USING THE TERM "FARCE" TO DESCRIBE THEM WHEN A REPORTER ASKED IF THIS WAS HOW HE REGARDED THEM. WHEN A REPORTER ASKED HIM HOW THE SI COULD OFFER ITS SUPPORT TO NICARAGUA WHEN CERTAIN SANDINISTAS WERE OPENLY DECLARING THEMSELVES TO BE MARXIST-LENINISTS, BRANDT SAID THE SI FELT IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO REMIND THE SANDINISTAS OF THE COMMITMENT TO PLURALISM, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND NON-ALIGNMENT "WHICH THEY THEMSELVES MADE THE BASIS OF THEIR REVOLUTION." ON THE SUBJECT OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, BRANDT SAID THE SI WAS OPPOSED TO SUCH INTERVENTION "WHETHER IT CAME FROM THE U.S., CUBA, OR WHEREVER." ASKED IF THE SI [redacted]

WOULD INVITE THE SANDINISTAS TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO ITS NEXT MEETINGS, BRANDT SAID IT WOULD INVITE THE SANDINISTAS TO ATTEND MEETINGS WHICH DEALT WITH CENTRAL AMERICA "SINCE ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NOT SI MEMBERS, THEY ARE AN IMPORTANT FORCE IN THE REGION." BRANDT FINESSED A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THERE WAS ANY CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE DECLARATION'S DENUNCIATION OF ARMS DELIVERIES TO CENTRAL AMERICA AND FRANCE'S DECISION TOLL ARMS TO NICARAGUA. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE SI "SUPPORTS THE GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR," BRANDT WAS EQUALLY EVASIVE, REPLYING AFTER SOME SECONDS' SILENCE, THAT HE WAS OPPOSED TO "TERROR FROM THE RIGHT" AND HOPED THAT SUCH TERROR COULD BE ELIMINATED.

9. GUILLERMO UNGO, WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE, SAID THE CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR WERE "SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND LACK OF FREEDOM", AND STRESSED THAT HE HOPED FOR A "NEGOTIATED SOLUTION."

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10. CENTRAL AMERICA: HOW MUCH REAL AGREEMENT?

COMMENT: ALL THE PRESIDIUM MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO STRESS THE

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COMPLETE UNITY OF VIEWS WHICH PREVAILED IN THE PRESIDIUM MEETING ON THE SUBJECT OF CENTRAL AMERICA. IN RESPONSE TO REPORTERS' QUESTIONS SEEKING TO PROBE BEHIND THE COMMON FRONT, UNGO, CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ (CAP), MARIO SOARES AND FELIPE GONZALES ALL EMPHASIZED THAT ANY DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE SUBJECT OF CENTRAL AMERICA WERE MINIMAL. CAP, FOR INSTANCE, SAID THERE "WERE NO DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, ONLY SLIGHT NUANCES AT MOST,"

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82BONN 007411

ADP508

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PAGE 01 BONN 07411 03 OF 04 021643Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	AF-10	CIAE-00	EA-10
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O 021633Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5676
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
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AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 04 BONN 07411

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PAGE 02 BONN 07411 03 OF 04 021643Z

UNCLASSIFIED

DESPITE THE FACT THAT HIS PARTY HAD FORCED THE CALLING OFF OF THE PLANNED CARACAS SI MEETING OVER THE ISSUE OF SANDINISTA ATTENDANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, A CONTACT OF OURS WHO WORKS FOR A FOREIGN PRESS AGENCY AND WHO SUCCEEDED IN INTERVIEWING GONZALES AND THE LATIN AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES TOLD US SHE WAS OF THE OPINION THAT "THEY ARE NOT REALLY VERY MUCH IN AGREEMENT."

11. WHILE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE ON THE BASIS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE FOR US TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THERE WAS ANY WASHING OF DIRTY LINEN TO BE DONE ON CENTRAL AMERICA, IT IS CLEAR THAT IF THERE WAS, A VERY FIRM DECISION WAS TAKEN IN ADVANCE NOT TO LET THE PUBLIC INTO THE LAUNDRY. THIS DOUBTLESS REFLECTS THE FACT THAT THE BONN PRESIDIUM MEETING WAS HELD IN ORDER TO REPLACE AN SI CONFERENCE -- THAT PLANNED FOR CARACAS -- WHICH HAD TO BE CALLED OFF WHEN UNITY BROKE DOWN. WHETHER BRANDT'S STATEMENT THAT SANDINISTAS WOULD BE INVITED TO FUTURE SI GATHERINGS AS APPROPRIATE REFLECTS A REAL AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION, OR WAS INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE IMAGE OF UNITY IS SOMETHING TO BE PURSUED IN OUR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS ON THE SI PRESIDIUM MEETING. END COMMENT

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12. ARMS CONTROL

BRANDT SAID THE PRESIDIUM AGREED THE SI SHOULD "UNDERLINE IN THE STRONGEST WORDS" THE IMPORTANCE IT ATTRIBUTES TO THE UPCOMING START TALKS AND THE GENEVA INF NEGOTIATIONS. THESE TALKS, THE SI FEELS, "MAY BE [redacted]

DECISIVE TO AVOID A CATASTROPHE FOR MANKIND." AT THE NEXT BUREAU MEETING IN HELSINKI, BRANDT SAID, THE SI WOULD FOLLOW UP THE REPORTS MADE BY THE FINNISH PRIME MINISTER ON HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON LAST YEAR, AND BY SI MEMBERS WHO HAD VISITED MOSCOW EARLY THIS YEAR. IN ADDITION, THE SI HOPED THAT AT HELSINKI IT WOULD BE ABLE TO GET MORE INFORMATION "FROM SOMEONE WHO REPRESENTS THE U.S. MOVEMENT FOR DISARMAMENT AND DETENTE." (COMMENT: IT WAS UNCLEAR FROM BRANDT'S STATEMENT WHETHER THE SI HAD SUCH AN INDIVIDUAL IN MIND, OR WAS LOOKING FOR ONE WHO COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE HELSINKI MEETING. END COMMENT)

13. POLAND

THE SI EXPRESSED ITS "DEEP CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE," BRANDT SAID, AND "ESPECIALLY UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH FREE TRADE UNIONS WILL HAVE FOR THAT FUTURE." BRITISH LABOR PARTY LEADER MICHAEL FOOTE ALSO EXPRESSED HIS "DEEP CONCERN" REGARDING POLAND IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION. BRANDT TOLD THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT THE MAIN RAPPORTEUR ON POLAND HAD BEEN AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR KREISKY, WHO DID NOT ATTEND THE PRESS CONFERENCE. IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTER'S QUESTION, BRANDT CONCEDED THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN HIS SPD AND THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY ON POLAND, BUT HE INDICATED -- WITHOUT GOING

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INTO DETAILS -- THAT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN BRINGING THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO PARTIES CLOSER TOGETHER. POSSIBLE CONCRETE STEPS TO "HELP THE POLISH PEOPLE" WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN HELSINKI, BRANDT SAID.

14. A FINAL COMMENT

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM S2BONN 007411

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PAGE 01 BONN 07411 04 OF 04 021643Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	AF-10	CIAE-00	EA-10
	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00
	HA-06	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	INRE-00	SAL-01
	ACDA-12	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/111 W		

244451 021707Z /42

O 021633Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5677
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

[redacted] SECTION 04 OF 04 BONN 07411

PAGE 02 BONN 07411 04 OF 04 021643Z

AS INDICATED ABOVE REGARDING CENTRAL AMERICA, THE PRESIDIUM WAS CLEARLY AT PAINS TO STRESS ITS UNITY. THEREFORE, CAUTION IS IN ORDER IN INTERPRETING THE STATEMENTS MADE AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE. THE UNWILLINGNESS TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE NORTH-SOUTH PART OF THE DISCUSSIONS SUGGESTS THERE MAY HAVE BEEN DISAGREEMENTS ON THAT ISSUE, AND EVEN BRANDT DID NOT GO SO FAR

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AS TO SUGGEST THAT COMPLETE IDENTITY OF VIEWS PREVAILED YET BETWEEN THE SPD AND THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS ON THE SUBJECT OF POLAND. WHETHER THERE REALLY WERE ANY MAJOR CRACKS IN THE FACADE OF AGREEMENT, AND JUST HOW MUCH WALLPAPER MAY HAVE HAD TO BE USED, IS SOMETHING WE WILL BE PURSUING WITH OUR SI CONTACTS. BURNS

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA002943

ADP435 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 02943 051706Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-05 EUR-08 SS-10 CIAE-00 NSCE-00
NSAE-00 SSO-00 L-01 PM-03 INRE-00 SAL-01 SP-02
/040 W
----------324107 051709Z /51

O 051600Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8989
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

[redacted]SAN SALVADOR 2943

LIMDIS

E. O. 12065: GDS 4/5/02
TAGS: PEPR, PINS, ES
SUBJECT: PSDI SUGGESTION THAT EMBASSY MEET WITH FDR LEADER UNGO

REF: ROME 08330

1. [redacted]ENTIRE TEXT).

2. EMBASSY AGREES WITH FINAL ASSESSMENT IN REFTEL THAT EMBASSY ROME IS NOT THE LOGICAL CHANNEL FOR AN APPROACH TO UNGO. THIS IS AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TIME IN TERMS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR RIGHT NOW.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 02943 051706Z

WE EXPECT ANY USG CONTACT WITH UNGO TO BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLIEDGE IN EL SALVADOR WITHIN DAYS OF ITS OCCURRENCE. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS AGAINST ANY APPROACH TO UNGO IN ROME OR ELSEWHERE AND BELIEVES CONTACTS WITH OTHER SENIOR FDR-FMLN OFFICIAL SHOULD BE HANDLED THROUGH THE DEPT. WE HOPE THAT AMEMBASSY ROME WILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN A REPORT FROM PSDI SECRETARY PEITRO LONGO ON THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH UNGO.
HINTON

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034B

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN J0002407

ADP158
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PAGE 01 SAN JO 02407 072117Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 DIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 IO-15 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-09
PA-02 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /019 W
----------033471 072126Z /69

P R 071838Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9374
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USICA WASHDC 0585
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SAN JOSE 2407

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, ES, CS
SUBJECT: FABIO CASTILLO DENIGRATES SALVADORAN ELECTIONS; SAYS PDC DEFEATED, URGES REFORM AND END OF U.S. INTERVENTION

1. IN A POST-ELECTION INTERVIEW (PUBLISHED IN THE 2 TO 8 APRIL "LA NACION INTERNACIONAL"), FDR-FMLN POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEMBER DR. FABIO CASTILLO FIGUEROA, DENIGRATING THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS, STATED THAT "LESS THAN HALF" OF THE SALVADORANS VOTED. HE CHARGED THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS VOTED BECAUSE OF THE THREAT THAT IF THEIR CEDULAS (IDENTIFY CARDS) WERE NOT MARKET THAT THEY HAD VOTED, THERE WOULD BE "SANCTIONS, PERSECUTIONS BY THE REPRESSIVE FORCES." CASTILLO ALSO QUESTIONED THE NUMBER OF ANNOUNCED VOTERS SAYING, "IN EL SALVADOR, THERE HAS BEEN FRAUD IN ELECTIONS FOR THE LAST FIFTY YEARS."
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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02407 072117Z

2. CASTILLO SAID THE "RIGHT" HAS WON THE ELECTIONS BECAUSE THE "LEFT OR DEMOCRATIC"SECTORS DID NOT VOTE AND REFERRED TO THE LARGE ABSTENTION, NULLIFIED BALLOTS AND BLANK BOLLOTS, THE LATTER OF WHICH HE ALLEGED REACHED SOME 250 THOUSAND.

3. COMMENTING ON FORMER COSTA RICAN PRESIDENT JOSE FIGUERES' STATEMENT THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE A DEFEAT FOR

PAGE NO. 1

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034B

THE GUERRILLAS, CASTILLO BLUSTERED THAT FIGUERES HAD NOT BEEN "AN ENEMY OF THE DICTATORSHIPS OF THE CONTINENT... FIGUERES IS AN ADVOCATE OF THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE." CASTILLO SAID THE GUERRILLAS COULD NOT HAVE SURVIVED WITHOUT POPULAR SUPPORT AND, ON THE CONTRARY, THAT THEY HAVE ADVANCED "POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY DURING THE LAST FIFTEEN MONTHS."

4. CONCERNING NEGOTIATIONS, CASTILLOS AFFIRMED THAT THE FDR AND FMLN HAD ALWAYS AGREED TO NEGOTIATIONS AND SAID THAT THE DUARTE GOVERNMENT HAD NEVER ACCEPTED THEM, PREFERING, WITH THE U.S., A "MILITARY SOLUTION." HE CHARGED THAT VENEZUELA HAD ENDORSED NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS BECAUSE IT ASSUMED THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WOULD TRIUMPH. HE STATED, "IT IS OBVIOUS, THEN, THAT WE MUST INCREASE OUR POLITICAL AND MILITARY PRESSURES. (THE JRG) WILL ATTEMPT A MILITARY SOLUTION, THEN WE MUST STRIKE MILITARILY." HE CONCLUDED THAT "THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITHOUT SOME KIND OF PRESSURE. WE KNOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT NEGOTIATIONS IF WE FORCE IT TO." CASTILLO SAID THE JRG WAS STRONG ONLY BECAUSE OF U.S. BACKING AND OPINED THAT THE SALVADORAN ARMY AND GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN WORN DOWN BY THE GUERRILLA FORCES.

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PAGE 03 SAN J0 02407 072117Z

5. ACCORDING TO CASTILLO, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAD BEEN DEFEATED AND NOW CALLS FOR A PLURALISTIC GOVERNMENT IN ORDER "TO SAVE ITSELF."

6. CONCERNING REFORMS, HE STATED THAT THE PURPOSE OF AGRARIAN REFORM WAS TO FIGHT THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND "WAS NOT A SERIOUS PROJECT." NOTING THAT THE PROPERTY OF LESS THAN 500 HECTARS WAS NOT AFFECTED, AND THAT SOME LAND HAD BEEN RETURNED TO THE OWNERS. HE CLAIMED THAT ONLY THREE OR FOUR PERCENT OF THE COFFEE PRODUCING LAND HAD BEEN AFFECTED BY THE AGRARIAN PROGRAM. CASTILLOS ARGUED THAT THE FDR AND FMLN WOULD RESPECT THE SMALL AND MEDIUM LAND HOLDERS BUT THAT NOTIONALIZATION WAS NECESSARY TO "RATIONAILY USE RESOURCES."

7. CASTILLO SAID THE U.S. IS IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION AND ATTRIBUTED GROWING OPPOSITION TO U.S. MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR AMONG THE ARMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS TO THE FACT THAT THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT WOULD INCLUDE "THE PERSON (ROBERTO D'ABUISSON) WHO HAS BEEN POINTED-OUT BY EX-AMBASSADOR ROBERT WHITE AS THE MURDERED OF MONSIGNOR ROMERO."

8. DISCARDING ANY COMPARISON TO A PROLONGED CONFLICT AS IN LEBANON, CASTILLOS SAID THAT THE CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR WOULD END IF IT WERE NOT FOR U.S. INTERVENTION. HE

SAID PROLONGATION OF THE CONFLICT WAS A THREAT TO THE REST OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND COMPARED EL SALVADOR TO "A FIRE HURLING SPARKS TO ITS NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES."

9. COPIES OF INTERVIEW WILL BE POUCHED TO ARA/CEN AND AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA003075

ADP962

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03075 081640Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15	NSC-01	NSAE-00	SY-05	HA-06
	L-03	PM-09	PA-01	MCT-02	SAL-01	ICAE-00	SP-02
	SPRS-02	/103 W					

105346 090546Z /12

R 081413Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WAASHDC 9058
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY TUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SANJOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3075

E. O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, PEPR, ES, NU
SUBJ: EL SALVADOR RESPONDS TO NICARAGUAN CRICICISM OF MARCH 28 ELECTIONS

1. ON APRIL 5 THE SALVADORANFOREIGN MINISTRY ISSUED A STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO THE MARCH 30 NICARAGUAN FOREIGN MINISTRY COMMUNIQUE CRITICIZING THE RECENT STATEMENT CONDEMNS NICARAGUA'S FRAGMENTED, TENDENTIOUS, AND DIS RESPECTFUL" CRICICISM AS NOTHING MORE THAN DISINFORMATION INTENDED TO JUSTIFY NICARAGUA'S SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADRAN GUERRILLAS (SO SOUNDLY REJECTED IN THE ELECTIONS) AND ITS SUPPRESSION OF NATIONAL DEMO-

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 03075 081640Z

CRATIC TENDENCIES IN FAVOR OF "TOTALITARIAN TENDENCIES" ARE BOTH VIOLATIONS OF THE OAS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL CHARTERS.

2. FOR MANAGUA OR WASHINGTON: ORIGINAL NICARAGUAN STATEMENT WAS NOT PUBLISHED IN EL SALVADOR, AND DUE TO HOLY WEEK CLOSING IS NOT AVAILABLE FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. POST WOULD APPRECIATE TRANSMITTAL OF STATEMENT OR SUMMARY.

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Date: 06/20/94
Case ID: 9940034B

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DECLASSIFIED IN PART

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A5

TEXT OF TELEGRAM B2MEXICO04858

ADP02S [redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 04858 01 OF 02 0823022
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-01
NSAE-00 SY-05 PM-09 MCT-02 SP-02 /055 W
120021 0914262 /43

R 0822472 APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 9555
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

SECRET, OADR

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 04858

E.O. 12065: GDS 04/08/88
TAGS: AR, MX, PROP, UR, GU, ES
SUBJECT: LEFTIST CONFERENCES IN MEXICO

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 2011, (B) STATE 335811 (NOTAL)

1. [redacted] SUMMARY. TWO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS WERE RECENTLY HELD IN MEXICO. THE FIRST TOOK PLACE WITH MEXICAN GOVERNMENT SUPPORT IN CUERNAVACA MARCH 19-21, AND INCLUDED RADICAL LEFTISTS (AND APPARENTLY SOME TERRORISTS) FROM LATIN AMERICA, PRIMARILY THE SOUTHERN CONE. THE SECOND OCCURRED IN MEXICO CITY IN LATE MARCH AND RESULTED IN THE FORMATION OF THE "WORLD FRONT FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE." AT LEAST SOME OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE FIRST MEETING REMAINED IN MEXICO TO ATTEND THE SECOND. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) MEXICO CITY'S LEADING DAILY "EXCELSIOR" OF MARCH 24, 1982 REPORTED THAT "POPULAR POLITICAL" ORGANIZATIONS OF ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, CHILE, PERU AND URUGUAY ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF THE "UNITY OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN CONE" ON MARCH 23 [redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 04858 01 OF 02 0823022

FOLLOWING A MEETING IN CUERNAVACA MARCH 19-21, ACCORDING TO "EXCELSIOR" THE POPULAR FRONT WILL SEEK TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY AND ELIMINATE ALL FORMS OF REPRESSION IN THESE COUNTRIES. THE SOUTHERN CONE OPPOSITION LEADERS, IN THEIR CUERNAVACA DECLARATION, EXPRESSED SOLIDARITY WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA AND THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA, GRANADA AND CUBA, AND FOR THE FRANCO-MEXICAN ACCORD ON EL SALVADOR. THE POPULAR

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S940034B

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FRONT CONDEMNED THE DICTATORSHIPS IN ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, CHILE, PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY, AND DENOUNCED MILITARY COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF ARGENTINA AND THE U.S.

3. (U) PARTICIPANTS IN THE CUERNAVACA MEETING INCLUDED JUAN FERREYRA, LEADER OF THE CONVERGENCIA DEMOCRATICA DE URUGUAY; MARIO EDUARDO FIRMENICH, OF THE MOVIMIENTO PERONISTA MONTONERO; ALFONSO BARRANTES, PRESIDENT OF THE IZQUIERDA UNIDA OF PERU; CARLOS ROCA, DIRECTOR OF THE APRA OF PERU; ANSELMO SULE CANDIA OF CHILE; FELIX ROSTIGLIOSI, HERNAN SILES SUAZO AND JAVIER TORRES GOITIA FROM BOLIVIA.

4. (U) MEXICO CITY LEFTIST DAILY "UNOMASUNO" OF MARCH 28 REPORTED IN TWO ARTICLES THE FORMATION IN MEXICO CITY ON MARCH 27 OF THE "WORLD FRONT FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE." ONE ARTICLE STATED THAT 210 ORGANIZATIONS, 84 OF THEM FOREIGN, ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE TO CREATE THE FRONT. U.S. CITIZEN BILL ZIMMERMAN, WHO WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE FRONT, TOLD REPORTERS THAT THE ORGANIZATION'S FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES WERE "PROVISION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, CHANNELIZATION OF SOLIDARITY,

[redacted]

PAGE 03 MEXICO 04858 01 OF 02 082302Z

MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES, AND ECONOMIC AND PRESS CAMPAIGNS." ZIMMERMAN ALSO DECLARED SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO IN ITS SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR. SALVADORAN FMLN/FDR REPRESENTATIVE IN MEXICO ENRIQUE GUATEMALA STATED THAT IT WAS OBVIOUS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD PULLED OUT ALL STOPS IN LAUNCHING A CAMPAIGN TO LEGITIMIZE THE ELECTORAL FARCE IN EL SALVADOR.

5. (U) THE SECOND "UNOMASUNO" ARTICLE STATED THAT THE "WORLD FRONT FOR SOLIDARITY WITH EL SALVADOR" WAS FORMED BY 42 DELEGATIONS FROM 24 COUNTRIES WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING U.S. INTERVENTION AND FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR.

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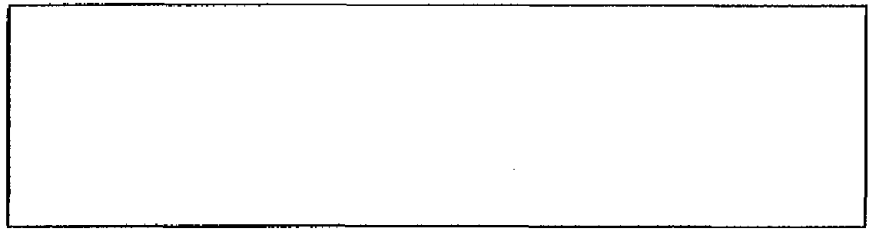

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO04858

ADP035 [redacted]

PAGE 01 MEXICO 04858 02 OF 02 082302Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-01
NSAE-00 SY-05 PM-09 MCT-02 SP-02 /055 W
------------------120020 091427Z /43

R 082247Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 9556
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 04858

DAVID T. SAMSON) FERCH

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E2132

850

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN J0002582

ADP481
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PAGE 01 SAN JO 02582 161553Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 IO-15 NSC-01 NSAE-00 SY-05 HA-06 L-03
PM-09 PA-02 MCT-02 ACDA-12 SYE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02
/108 W
----------361140 161603Z /52

P R 161348Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9483
INFO USICA WASHDC PRIORITY 0615
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMAL
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USINT HAVANA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SAN JOSE 2582

USICA FOR AR AND VOA; ROME ALSO FOR VOLO

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PINT, SOPN, CS, ES
SUBJECT: FIGUERES CALLS ON SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS

1. EX-PRESIDENT JOSE FIGUERES (WHO IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE SI-AFFILIATED NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY) HAS CALLED ON THE GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR, "HAVING LOST THE ELECTIONS", TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS,
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PAGE 02 SAN JO 02582 161553Z

IN A SIGNED ARTICLE, "A NEW INTER-AMERICAN POLICY", WRITTEN 11 APRIL AND PUBLISHED THE 15TH IN 'LA PRENSA LIBRE', DON PEPE ALSO PRAISED THE U.S. ROLE IN SALVADOR AND CALLED ON THE POC AND THE RIGHTIST PARTIES TO OVERCOME NARROW IDEO-LOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND TO BE "GENEROUS WITH THE AD-VERSARY."

2. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF RELEVANT PARTS OF ARTICLE:

PAGE NO. 1

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/27/94
Case ID: 9940034B

QTE. IT IS A PLEASANT DUTY TO RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, THE MOST FREE ELECTIONS IN SALVADORAN HISTORY HAVE TAKEN PLACE. WHOM ARE THOSE WHO DENY IT TRYING TO FOOL?
WHAT IS MORE, THE U.S. DISAPPROVES OF THE ATTEMPT BY FIVE RIGHTIST GROUPS TO SHUNT ASIDE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHICH OBTAINED 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTES CAST. "INTERVENTION" IS WELCOME IF IT IS EVEN-HANDED AND RESPECTFUL. IF IT IS INSPIRED BY A PHILOSOPHY WHICH THE MAJORITY OF WE CENTRAL AMERICANS SHARE. PERHAPS NOT ALL, BUT DEFINITELY THE MAJORITY...
...IT SAY RESPECTFULLY THAT IS IS THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS, EVIDENTLY HAVING LOST THE ELECTIONS, AND BEING IN PART THE UNINTENTIONAL CAUSE OF NICARAGUAN-U.S. TENSION, WHO SHOULD NOW MAKE A GENUINELY GRAND GESTURE AND LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. DO NOT BELIEVE THAT YOUR EFFORT HAS BEEN IN VAIN. THEY DO NOT DIE IN VAIN WHO DIE IN A JUST CAUSE. NEITHER IS IT TOO MUCH TO ASK THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND EVEN TH MORE RIGHTIST GROUPS TO ACT MAGNANIMOUSLY, TO ABANDON IDEOLOGIES AND SECTARIANISMS, TO BE GENEROUS WITH THE ADVERSARY -- MORE THAN WOULD SEEM EMOTIONALLY POSSIBLE, TO NOT IMPEDE INDIRECTLY THE BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND LIBERTY FOR THE SUFFERING PEOPLES OF EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA. END QTE.
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PAGE 03 SAN JO 02582 161553Z

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 103989

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 103989
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 /016 R

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O 170720Z APR 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 103989

FOR AMBASSADOR ENDERS

FOLLOWING RPT SAN JOSE 2582 DTD 4/16/82 SENT STATE USICA BOGOTA BONN BRUSSELS GUATEMALA AMANAGUA MEXICO OTTAWA ROME SAN SALVADOR TEGUCIGALPA USCINCSO USINT USUN BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO

QUOTE UNCLAS SAN JOSE 2582

USICA FOR AR AND VOA; ROME ALSO FOR VOLO

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PINT, SOPN, CS, ES
SUBJECT: FIGUERES CALLS ON SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS

1. EX-PRESIDENT JOSE FIGUERES (WHO IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE SI-AFFILIATED NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY) HAS CALLED ON THE GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR, "HAVING LOST THE ELECTIONS", TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS, IN A SIGNED ARTICLE, "A NEW INTER-AMERICAN POLICY". WRITTEN 11 APRIL AND PUBLISHED THE 15TH IN 'LA PRENSA LIBRE', DON PEPE ALSO PRAISED THE U.S. ROLE IN SALVADOR AND CALLED ON THE PDC AND THE RIGHTIST PARTIES TO OVERCOME NARROW IDEO-LOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND TO BE "GENEROUS WITH THE AD-
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 103989

VERSARY."

2. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF RELEVANT PARTS OF ARTICLE:
QTE. IT IS A PLEASANT DUTY TO RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, THE MOST FREE ELECTIONS IN SALVADORAN HISTORY HAVE TAKEN PLACE. WHOM ARE THOSE WHO DENY IT TRYING TO FOOL?
WHAT IS MORE, THE U.S. DISAPPROVES OF THE ATTEMPT BY FIVE

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400348

RIGHTIST GROUPS TO SHUNT ASIDE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHICH OBTAINED 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTES CAST. "INTERVENTION" IS WELCOME IF IT IS EVEN-HANDED AND RESPECTFUL. IF IT IS INSPIRED BY A PHILOSOPHY WHICH THE MAJORITY OF WE CENTRAL AMERICANS SHARE. PERHAPS NOT ALL, BUT DEFINITELY THE MAJORITY...
...IT SAY RESPECTFULLY THAT IS IS THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS, EVIDENTLY HAVING LOST THE ELECTIONS, AND BEING IN PART THE UNINTENTIONAL CAUSE OF NICARAGUAN-U.S. TENSION, WHO SHOULD NOW MAKE A GENUINELY GRAND GESTURE AND LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. DO NOT BELIEVE THAT YOUR EFFORT HAS BEEN IN VAIN. THEY DO NOT DIE IN VAIN WHO DIE IN A JUST CAUSE. NEITHER IS IT TOO MUCH TO ASK THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND EVEN TH MORE RIGHTIST GROUPS TO ACT MAGNANIMOUSLY, TO ABANDON IDEOLOGIES AND SECTARIANISMS, TO BE GENEROUS WITH THE ADVERSARY -- MORE THAN WOULD SEEM EMOTIONALLY POSSIBLE, TO NOT IMPEDE INDIRECTLY THE BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND LIBERTY FOR THE SUFFERING PEOPLES OF EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA. END OTE.

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 04817 01 OF 02 211556Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	OIC-02	CIAE-00	D[illegible]E-00
	H-01	IO-15	NEA-06	NSC-01	NSAE-00	HA-06	L-03
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	SP-02	SPRS-02	/094 W				

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P 211551Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3945
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL

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PA Exemptions
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 04817

9302603

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 4/21/02 (HARTMAN, ARTHUR) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, UR, US, AF, PL
SUBJECT: CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBER DEMICHEV ON POLAND, AFGHANISTAN, AND START

REF: MOSCOW 4671

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: DURING AN APRIL 19 MEETING WITH SOVIET MINISTER OF CULTURE AND CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBER PETR DEMICHEV, THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF SOVIET ACTIONS ON POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN IN CREATING THE NEGATIVE CLIMATE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. DEMICHEV RESPONDED BY SAYING WE SHOULD NOT "WASTE TIME AND POLEMICS ON THIRD-RATE PROBLEMS" SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND TO THE DETRIMENT OF ARMS CONTROL. HE REPEATED THE SOVIET LINE THAT MARTIAL LAW HAD SAVED POLAND FROM A CIVIL WAR AND THAT STATEMENTS OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN THAT COUNTRY'S AFFAIRS WERE ABSURD. HE DEFINED THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 04817 01 OF 02 211556Z

SOVIET INTEREST IN AFGHANISTAN AS "SOVIET SECURITY," DESCRIBED THE EFFORT THERE AS "COSTLY," AND SAID THAT SOVIET TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AS SOON AS THERE WERE GUARANTEES OF BORDER SECURITY FROM PAKISTAN AND IRAN THAT HALTED CROSS-BORDER ACTIONS AGAINST THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT. DURING THE CONVERSATION, DEMICHEV SHOWED HIMSELF TO BE A SPRIGHTLY CONVERSATIONALIST WHO SEEMED TO ENJOY THE EXCHANGE, BUT HIS STANDARD RESPONSES DID NOT SUGGEST HE CARRIED MUCH WEIGHT IN THE POLICY PROCESS.

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END SUMMARY.

3. IN ADDITION TO THE BRIEF REMARKS NOTED REFTEL ON A REAGAN-BREZHNEV SUMMIT AND A DISCUSSION ON CULTURAL ISSUES (SEPTEL), DEMICHEV USED THE AMBASSADOR'S COURTESY CALL AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED TO DEMICHEV THE IMPORTANCE OF SOVIET ACTIONS AND THEIR EFFECT ON U.S. PUBLIC OPINION IN THE FORMATION OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. HE NOTED IN PARTICULAR THAT THERE WAS A GENUINE FEELING OF ANGER AND DISILLUSIONMENT IN THE U.S. ABOUT SOVIET ACTIONS IN POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN. HE SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD NOT CREATED THESE PROBLEMS, THE SOVIETS HAD, AND WE NEEDED TO TALK ABOUT THESE ISSUES TO SEE IF A WAY COULD BE FOUND TO ALLOW THE POLES AND THE AFGHANS TO RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

4. DEMICHEV RESPONDED THAT THE WEST SHOULD LOOK DEEPLY INTO THE SITUATION IN POLAND. IF IT DID SO, IT WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW WHICH SAVED THE COUNTRY FROM A CIVIL WAR THAT COULD HAVE DEVELOPED INTO A EUROPEAN AND WORLDWIDE CONFRONTATION. HE ARGUED THAT LABELLING SOVIET PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON [redacted]

THE POLISH SITUATION AS "INTERFERENCE" WAS ABSURD. THE SOVIETS, HE AVERRED, DID NOT ENDANGER THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP OVER DIFFERENCES ON U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM, NOR DID IT CHARGE PRESIDENT REAGAN WITH INTERFERENCE IN MEXICAN AFFAIRS WHEN HE MET WITH LOPEZ PORTILLO OR ATTACK SECRETARY HAIG FOR HIS CURRENT ROUND OF VISITS TO LONDON AND BUENOS AIRES. HE SAID THAT THE WEST WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT IT WAS CONTRARY TO ITS INTERESTS TO CUT OFF ECONOMIC AID TO POLAND SINCE THIS WOULD ONLY EMBITTER THE POLES. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD BEEN IN SCANDINAVIA SHORTLY BEFORE DECEMBER 13 AND THE ONLY CONCERN THAT HE HAD HEARD WAS THAT SOVIET TROOPS SHOULD NOT ENTER POLAND, WHICH OF COURSE, THEY HAD NOT.

5. ON AFGHANISTAN, DEMICHEV SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS AS SOON AS GUARANTEES OF BORDER SECURITY WITH PAKISTAN AND IRAN WERE IN PLACE TO ENSURE THAT THE CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS AGAINST THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT FROM THESE COUNTRIES WAS STOPPED. THE ISSUE AT STAKE, HE CONTINUED, IS SOVIET SECURITY AND THAT IS THE ONLY ISSUE. THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF ANY OTHER SOVIET INTEREST IN AFGHANISTAN, A SMALL AND POOR COUNTRY WITHOUT RESOURCES. HE ADDED THAT THE SOVIET EFFORT THERE IS COSTLY AND THE USSR DERIVES NO

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ECONOMIC BENEFIT FROM IT.

6. NEITHER POLAND NOR AFGHANISTAN, HE SAID, SHOULD STAND IN THE WAY OF RESOLVING LARGER PROBLEMS SUCH AS THAT OF STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION. IT WAS FOOLISH TO WASTE TIME AND POLEMICS ON THIRD-RATE PROBLEMS SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE MOST

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ADP312 [redacted]

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 04817 02 OF 02 211557Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-10	OIC-02	CIAE-00	DODE-00
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P 211551Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3946
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 04817

IMPORTANT PROBLEM OF ARMS CONTROL. DOING SO WOULD RESULT IN OUR NOT SOLVING THE MAIN PROBLEM AND ALSO FAILING TO DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE WHOLE RANGE OF SMALLER PROBLEMS DIVIDING OUR TWO COUNTRIES. DEMICHEV CONTINUED THAT IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THAT PEOPLE IN THE U.S. WERE NOW REEXAMINING THE SALT-II AGREEMENT, WHICH HAD AMONG OTHER THINGS CALLED FOR LOWER ARMS LEVELS. THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE ELEMENT OF THE SALT-II TREATY THAT WAS NOT BENEFICIAL TO THE U.S. IT WAS THE UNDERSTANDING FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SALT TALKS, HE CLAIMED, THAT THE PROCESS WOULD BE INCREMENTAL. THE QUESTIONS OF LOWER LEVELS WOULD BE EXAMINED IN THE SALT-III NEGOTIATIONS, AFTER SALT-II HAD BEEN CONCLUDED AND RATIFIED. HOWEVER, THE SOVIET UNION HAS REPEATEDLY MADE KNOWN ITS WILLINGNESS TO SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE ANY ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL, AS THE U.S. WAS WELL AWARE.

7. AMBASSADOR HARTMAN REPLIED THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THE U.S. WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON START AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO EUROPE IN JUNE, [redacted]

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 04817 02 OF 02 211557Z

WHEN HE WILL HAVE THE CHANCE TO CONSULT WITH OUR ALLIES. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT MUST HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR ALL OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY, NOT JUST FOR ONE ELEMENT OF IT LIKE ARMS CONTROL. THUS, ISSUES SUCH AS POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED PARALLEL TO AND IN RELATION WITH ARMS CONTROL.

8. FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSION OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL

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ISSUES, DISCUSSION TURNED TO A GENERAL, PHILOSOPHICAL TREATMENT OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND ITS IMPACT ON WORLD EVENTS. DEMICHEV SHOWED A BRISK INTEREST, AND AT LEAST SUPERFICIAL KNOWLEDGE, ON SUCH VARIED SUBJECTS AS ROBOTICS, AUTOMATION, THE WORK OF AMERICAN FUTUROLOGISTS, THE PROBLEMS OF UNDER-DEVELOPMENT, AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN WESTERN EUROPE. HE SPOKE WITH PLEASURE ABOUT HIS LAST VISIT TO THE U.S. AND IN SOME DETAIL ABOUT HIS MEETING WITH ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI AT A DINNER HOSTED BY DOBRYNIN. SEVERAL TIMES HE USED BRZEZINSKI'S NEOLOGISM "TECHNETRONIC." AND HE SAID HE HAD ANSWERED A QUESTION BY BRZEZINSKI ON SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS BY SAYING THAT ULTIMATELY THE BORDER BETWEEN THEM WOULD DISAPPEAR AND THERE WOULD THEN BE NO PROBLEM.

9. COMMENT: DEMICHEV APPEARED HEALTHY, ANIMATED, AND IN GOOD FORM. HIS REMARKS WERE STANDARD, BUT HE SHOWED A SPRIGHTLINESS OF INTELLECT RARE WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. HE SPOKE THROUGH AN INTERPRETER, BUT HE DEMONSTRATED AT LEAST SOME KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH, AT ONE POINT USING THE WORD "NONSENSE." DEMICHEV SEEMED TO ENJOY THE CONVERSATION, AND PROLONGED IT LONG AFTER IT HAD GOTTEN BEYOND THE PURVIEW OF HIS MINISTRY'S [redacted]

RESPONSIBILITY. IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL WHETHER THIS BROAD RANGE OF INTERESTS SUGGESTS ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN THE POLITBURO OR WHETHER IT MEANS HE SIMPLY DOESN'T HAVE ENOUGH TO DO. WE WOULD GUESS THAT THE LATTER INTERPRETATION IS CLOSER TO THE TRUTH.
HARTMAN

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INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO

[redacted] CARACAS 3237

EXDIS

E.O.12065: GDS 4/24/88 - LUERS, WILLIAM H. OR-M
TAGS: VE, ES
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT HERRERA'S CONTACTS WITH THE FMLN

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. A SENIOR FOREIGN MINISTRY ADVISOR, RODRIGUEZ ITURBE, TOLD ME LAST WEEK THAT THEY HAD RECEIVED A QUERY FROM THE FMLN IN PANAMA SEEKING INFORMATION ON WHEN PRESIDENT HERRER MIGHT REPLY TO THEIR LETTER. RODRIGUEZ ITURBE SAID THE QUERY WAS LITTLE MORE THAN "A KNOCK AT THE DOOR" BUT SUGGEST AT LEAST SOME FLMN MEMBERS ARE SEEKING SOME ANSWERS. RODRIGUEZ ITURBE BELIEVES THAT DIVISIONS WITHIN THE FMLN ARE INCREASING. HE DID NOT THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT FOR THE TIME BEING IS CONSIDERING A REPLY TO THE FMLN, BUT THOUGH THAT IT MIGHT HAPPEN SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE AFTER THE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR.
LUERS

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/20/94
Case ID: S9400348

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Special Project (1993)

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03491 241611Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3491

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: VISIT TO EL PLAYON BODY DUMP

1. SUMMARY. RESPONDING TO APPARENT PRESS INTEREST, EMBOFFS VISITED THE PLAYONG BODY DUMP. THEY FOUND NO FRESH BODIES, BUT AT LEAST 12 SKELETONS AND 15 SPENT CARTRIDGES. WE CONCLUDE THAT EL PLAYON IS STILL BEING USED AS A CLANDESTINE BODY DUMP, BUT THAT THE SITUATION IS NO WORSE TODAY THAN DURING OUR LAST VISIT IN NOVEMBER, 1981. END SUMMARY.

2. IN RECENT DAYS, THE PAO LEARNED THAT AT LEAST ONE U.S. JOURNALIST PLANS TO FILE A STORY ON THE CLANDESTINE BODY DUMP AT EL PLAYON. EL PLAYON IS A LAVA FIELD LOCATED APPROXIMATELY 20 MILES NORTHWEST OF SAN SALVADOR. IT HAS BEEN [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 03491 241611Z

MENTIONED IN MANY PAST PRESS ACCOUNTS AS A PLACE WHERE [redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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UNKOWN ASSASAINS KILL OR DUMP THE CORPSES OF VICTIMS OF POLITICAL MURDERS. IN AN EFFORT TO PROVIDE THE DEPT. WITH ADVANCE INFORMATION, THE PAO, CAO AND POLOFF VISTED THE SITE ON 4/21/82.

3. EMBOFFS FOUND NO FRESH CORPSES AT THE SITE. THEY FOUND TWELVE SKULLS AND SACTTERED BONES OF AT LEAST THAT MANY SKELETONS. IT SI IMPOSSIBLE FOR OBSERVERS WITHOUT FORENSIC TRAINING TO ESTIMATE HOW LONG THE SKELETONS HAD BEEN THERE. WE ESTIMATE THAT THE BUZZARDS AND DOGS PICK A SKELETON CLEAN WITHIN ONE WEEK. SOME OF THE SKULLS STILL HAD HAIR ATTACHED. THEY WERE UNDOUBTEDLY MORE RECENT THAN THOSE THAT WERE BLEACHED WHITE. WE CANNOT ESTIMATE HOW MANY MORE SKELETONS WERE BURIED BENEATH THE ROCKS. MANY BONES WERE OBSERVED PARTIALLY CONCEEALED BY THE LAVA ROCKS. AT TWO SEPARATE LOCATIONS, EMBOFFS FOUND A TOTAL OF 15 SPENT 5.56 MILIMETER CARTRIDGES. NO SKELETAL REMAINS WERE FOUND WITHIN TEN METERS OF THE SPENT
SHELL. EMBOFFS TOOK PHOTOGRAPHS OF SEVERAL OF THE SKELETONS AT THE SITE.

4. CONCLUSIONS. EMBOFFS CONCLUDED THAT EL PLAYON IS STILL BEING USED AS A CLANDESTINE BODY DUMP. ITS CONDICITION WAS NO WORSE THAN DURING EMBOFFS' LAST TRIP TO THE SITE (11/14/81). IN FACT, THERE WERE FEWER CORPSES AND SKELETONS THAN BEFORE. EMBOFFS BELIEVE THAT NO BODIES WERE DUMPED AT THE SITE WITHIN 24 HOURS OF THE MORNING OF 4/21/82. IT IS POINTLESS TO ATTEMPT TO KEEP TRACK OF THE BODIES WITHOUT VISITING THE SITE ON A DAILY BASIS. EMBASSY WILL RAISE AGAIN THE ISSUE OF EL PLAYON WITH NEW GOES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
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AN: D820231-0044

PAGE 01 SAN SA 03712 031903Z
ACTION ARA-16

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P R 031805Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9440
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGQU
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF//

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 3712

EO 12:65: RDS 5/3/2002
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJ: (C) APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR SERVES NOTICE ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT

2. ACCORDING TO [redacted] (PROTECT), APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR BISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS TOLD SOCORRO JURIDICO AND THE COMISION DE DERECHOS HUMANOS TO VACATE THEIR OFFICERS IN THE ARCHBISHOPRIC BY MAY 18. THE TWO GROUPS ARE COMPETING HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS LINKED TO THE SALVADORAN LEFT. ONLY THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH THE CHURCH HAS KETP THE MILITARY FROM SHUTTING THEM DOWN.

3. [redacted] SAID THAT THE BISHOP WAS FIRM IN HIS ORDER.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 03712 031903Z

HE ALSO TOLD SOCORRO TO STOP REFERRING TO ITSELF AS

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador BP Date 9-23-93
Declassified under EO 12356 ( ) in full; (X) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy (X); statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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Special Project (1993)

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SOCORRO JURIDICO "DEL ARZOBISPADE." [redacted] SAID
THAT SOCORRO MEMBERS SPECULATED THAT THE BISHOP WAS RE-
SPONDING TO PRESSURE FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AND
THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT. [redacted] SAID HE DID NOT KNOW
WHAT WOULD BECOME OF THE COMISION DE DERECHOS HUMANOS
BECAUSE THEIR LINKS WITH THE CHURCH WERE NOT STRONG,
BUT THOUGHT THAT SOCORRO JURIDICO WOULD PROBABLY MOVE
TO THE JESUIT-RUN EXTERNADO SAN JOSE HIGH SCHOOL.

4. COMMENT RIVERA'S APPARENT DECISION TO EVICT THE
HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS COMES AFTER A PERIOD OF TENSION IN
WHICH THE CHURCH HAS TRIED TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM
THEIR ACTIVITIES. BOTH GROUPS HAVE LONG ADVOCATED HUMAN
RIGHTS ONLY IN NAME, SERVING INSTEAD AS PROPAGANDA
VEHICLES FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT
THE BISHOP'S DECISION WAS PRECIPATED BY THE EVOLV-
ING POLITICAL SITUATION, AND BOTH GROUPS CONTINUED IM-
PRUDENCE IN MANAGING THEIR SEMI-UNDERGROUND LINKS TO
THE LEFT. ACCORDING TO [redacted] NATIONAL POLICE
DIRECTOR COL. LOPEZ NUILA TOLD RIVERA LAST WEEK THAT
HE HAD ARRESTED TWO SALVADORANS WHO HAD JUST ENTERED THE
COUNTRY CLANDESTINELY FROM CUBA, FOLLOWING A
MEETING HELD IN THE SOCORRO JURIDICO OFFICES.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA003806

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03806 01 OF 02 052328Z
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R 052151Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9487
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 3806

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, ES
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MAGANA'S FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE

1. SUMMARY. DURING HIS FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE AS PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT, ALVARO MAGANA DISCUSSED THE NATION'S ECONOMY, RELATIONS WITH THE GUERRILLAS, THE POLITICAL SITUATION, SALVADORAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES. END SUMMARY.

2. ON MAY 3, 1982, PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT ALVARO MAGANA GAVE HIS FIRST NATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE. FLANKED BY HIS THREE VICE PRESIDENTS, THE PRESIDENT ANSWERED QUESTIONS FROM THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORPS.
THE CONFERENCE WAS CARRIED OVER LOCAL TELEVISION AND RADIO.
HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 03806 01 OF 02 052328Z

3. ECONOMIC ISSUES.
-- A DEVALUATION OF THE COLON IS NOT NECESSARY BECAUSE THE NATION HAS ALREADY PASSED THROUGH THE MOST DIFFICULT TIMES. LAST YEAR, THERE WERE SERIOUS PROBLEMS. (BUT) IN ORDER TO DEVALUE THE CURRENCY, YOU HAVE TO TAKE A SERIES OF MEASURES AND, IF YOU TAKE THEM BEFOREHAND, IT MEANS IN PRACTICAL TERMS THAT YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DEVALUE. THERE IS NO REASON OR SENSE IN A DEVALUATION. AS A (FORMER) DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/23/94
Case ID: S940034B

BANK, MAGANA IS AWARE OF THE NATION'S MONETARY SITUATION, AND HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT A DEVALUATION WILL TAKE PLACE.
-- THERE IS NO SPECIFIC ECONOMIC MODEL TO DETERMINE (GOVERNMENT) ACTIVITIES IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. EL SALVADOR IS A CAPITALIST, FREE ENTERPRISE NATION. MAGANA DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE WILL BE A MAJOR CHANGE IN THIS. IN ORDER TO MOTIVATE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE OTHER THAN THAT THEY SEEK PROFIST FROM THEIR INVESTMENTS.
-- THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRIVATE/SECTOR WIL BE A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF HIS GOVERNMENT.
-- THE MAGANA GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE MAXIMUM ECONOMIC USE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE.

4. GUERRILLAS.
-- THE NEW GOES SEES NOTHING THAT IT MIGHT NEGOTIATE WITH THE FMLN-FDR THAT WAS NOT ALREADY DECIDED BY THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS. MAGANA LEAVES OPEN THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "NEGOTIATION" AND "DIALOGUE". ANY DIALOGUE, HOWEVER, WILL INCLUDE THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND OTHER SECTORS OF THE SALVADORAN NATION. THE NEW GOES WILL CONTINUE TO SEARCH FOR
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 03806 01 OF 02 052328Z

PEACE WITHOUT NEGOTIATIONS.

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03806 02 OF 02 052332Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-06 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-08 PA-02
OMB-01 SAL-01 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /064 W
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R 052151Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9488
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 3806

-- MAGANA IS CONSIDERING AN AMNESTY PROGRAM AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT IN HIS GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM FOR PEACE IN EL SALVADOR.

6. POLITICS.
-- MAGANA HAS NO HARD FEELINGS AGAINST THE ARENA PARTY OR ANY OTHER GROUP WHICH OPPOSED HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE PRESIDENCY. HE WANTS A GENUINE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WHICH REPRESENTS ALL SECTORS OF DEMOCRATIC SALVADORAN SOCIETY.
-- RESPONDING TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE FUNCTIONS OF HIS THREE VICE PRESIDENTS, MAGANA HOPES THAT THEY WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE GOVERNMENT. HE WILL NOT OPPOSE WHATEVER POWERS THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DECIDES TO GRANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL OFFICES. HE REFUSES TO SPECIFY THE POWERS HE HOPES THE VICE PRESIDENTS WIPT BE GRANTED. MAGANA NOTES THAT HE HAS'
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 03806 02 OF 02 052332Z

ALREADY DEVELOPED A GOOD WORKING RAPPORT WITH THE THREE MEN.

7. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
-- MAGANA SUPPORTS THE ARGENTINA POSITION ON THE FALKLAND ISLANDS DISPUTE.
-- THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES THAT RELATIONS WITH MEXICO ARE STRAINED; THE FAULT FOR THE STRAIN LIES WITH MEXICO; AND THE RELATIONS WILL REMAIN STRAINED

UNTIL MEXICO ALTERS ITS ATTITUDE AND POSITION TOWARDS EL SALVADOR.

7. MILITARY.
MAGANA NOTES THAT PURSUANT TO THE 1982 SALVADORAN CONSTITUTION (REENACTED BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WITH SOME MODIFICATION ON 4/26/82), HE IS NOW THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES.

8. COMMENT. MAGANA'S FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE WAS DESIGNED MORE FOR INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION THAN EXTERNAL CONSUMPTION. HIS STATEMENT ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FMLN, ROLES FOR THE VICE PRESIDENTS, AND DESIRE TO FORGET PAST POLITICAL ANTAGONISM IN ORDER TO CONSTRUCT A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY SHOULD APPEAL TO THOSE SECTORS WHICH OPPOSED MAGANA'S CANDIDACY. THIS EFFORT WAS EVEN CLEARER IN HIS STATEMENTS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. MAGANA ADDRESSED DEVALUATION BECAUSE OF PERSISTENT TUMORS THAT THE COLON WOULD BE DEPRECIATED AND BECAUSE OF SUPPORT FOR DEVALUATION AMONG SOME ELEMENTS OF THE PRICATE SECTOR, ESPECIALLY THOSE ACTIVE IN TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS. THE STATEMENT REGARDING HIS ECONOMIC MODEL AROSE BECAUSE OF WIDESPREAD SPECULATION THAT, AS AN ALUMNUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
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PAGE 03 SAN SA 03806 02 OF 02 052332Z

HE WILL PURSUE THE POLICIES OF THE "CHICAGO BOYS" IN CHILE. MAGANA'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COMMENTS SHOULD HELP TO REASSURE THOSE POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELEMENTS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHICH OPPOSED HIS ELECTION BECAUSE OF SUSPECTED LEFT-OF-CENTER LEANINGS.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA003815

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03815 061755Z
ACTION ARA-16

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R 061337Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 3815

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: ARMED FORCES PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO ATTRACT GUERRILLA DEFECTIONS

1. SINCE THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS, THE ARMED FORCES HAVE ENGAGED IN A VIGOROUS RADIO, TELEVISION, AND NEWSPAPER CAMPAIGN TO ATTRACT DEFECTIONS FROM THE GUERRILLA RANKS. THE ADS IN THE ELECTRONIC AND NEWSPAPER MEDIA HAMMER HOME THE SAME THEME. THEY STRESS THE MASSIVE VOTER TURNOUT ON ELECTION DAY. THEY CONTRAST THIS MASSIVE TURNOUT OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE FOR DEMOCRACY WITH THE SOLITARY STATE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIELD. "GUERRILLA, YOU ARE ALONE." THE CLEAR IMPLICATION IS THAT THE GUERRILLAS DO NOT HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE. EACH AD, FROM WHATEVER SOURCE, CLOSES WITH THE SAME MESSAGE -- "GUERRILLA, REJOIN YOUR NATION." THESE ADS HAVE APPEARED DAILY IN THE SALVADORAN COMMUNI-
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 03815 061755Z

CATIONS MEDIA SINCE THE WEEK FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS.

2. COMMENT. THE AMERICAN MIND, THE ARMED FORCES ARE CONDUCTING AN EFFECTIVE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN. THE ADS GIVE MAXIMUM EMPHASIS TO THE MASSIVE ELECTIONS TURNOUT. THEY CONCENTRATE ON THIS SINGLE THEME WITHOUT WASTING TIME AND SPACE ON SIDE ISSUES. THIS PROPAGANDA IS NOT PART OF A NEW AMNESTY CAMPAIGN BY THE GOES. THE CENTRAL MESSAGE IS "GO HOME" RATHER THAN "TURN YOURSELF IN." THE EMBASSY DOES NOT

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: LANDFAIR, WILLIAM E.
Date: 05/27/94
Case ID: S9400348

YET HAVE A SUBSTANTIVE READ-OUT ON THE SUCCESS OF THE CAMPAIGN. SINCE IT IS NOT PART OF A MAJOR AMNESTY CAMPAIGN, IT MAY BE IMPOSSIBLE TO DEVELOP RELIABLE FIGURES ON DEFECTIONS. EVEN IF THIS CAMPAIGN IS NOT ATTRACTING GUERRILLA DEFECTIONS IN DROVES, HOWEVER, IT SHOULD LAY AN EFFECTIVE GROUNDWORK FOR ANY NEW AMNESTY PROGRAM THAT THE NEW GOES MIGHT CONSIDER. HINTON

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Department of State **TELEGR**

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 03991 121901Z
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R 121515Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO AMEMBASSY OSLO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 9583
USICA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 3991

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, ES, NO
SUBJECT: PRESS REPORT OF ALLEGED SALVADORAN MASSACRE

REF: OSLO 2406

1. EMBASSY HAS HEARD NO RECENT REPORTS OF AN ALLEGED MASSACRE INVOLVING 1,500 REFUGEES IN A CAVE IN MORAZAN PROVINCE. NEITHER THE SALVADORAN PRESS, REBEL RADIO, THE ARMED FORCES, NOR ANY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE CIRCULATED SUCH REPORTS. EMBASSY CANNOT LOCATE A PLACE NAMED "LA SENTADA" ON ANY MAP. THIS STORY SOUNDS SUSPICIOUSLY SIMILAR TO THE STORY OF A CAVE MASSACRE WHICH BEGAN TO CIRCULATE IN APRIL, 1981. THAT STORY ORIGINATED WITH REBEL RADIO VENCEREMOS AND WAS FURTHER CIRCULATED BY RADIO HAVANA AND TASS. IT WAS DETERMINED THAT THERE ARE NO KNOWN CAVES IN THE NORTHERN MORAZAN AREA CAPABLE OF HOUSING 1,500 PEOPLE. THE STORY FINALLY DIED DUE TO COMPLETE LACK OF CONFIRMATION.

2. THE LAST MAJOR MILITARY OPERATION IN MORAZAN PROVINCE OCCURRED IN LATE APRIL-EARLY MAY, 1982. THE OPERATION
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 03991 121901Z

RECEIVED EXTENSIVE COMMENTARY ON REBEL RADIO BROADCASTS.

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Special Project (1993)

AT NO TIME DID THE BROADCASTS MENTION A MASSACRE OF 1,500 CIVILIANS.

3. ALL EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO US SUGGESTS THAT THESE TWO MASSACRES STORIES ARE COMPLETE FABRICATIONS.
HINTON

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RUSMGIP/NAVSECGRUACT GALETA ISLAND PN
RUTWSDF/FBIS KEY WEST FL
RUCLFOA/CCCD-7 MIAMI FL
FBPA
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COPY TO ELAD

MEXICO: D'AUBUISSON REPORTEDLY PLANNED BISHOP'S MURDER

PA141349

PARIS AFP IN SPANISH 1613 GMT 13 MAY 82

((TEXT)) MEXICO CITY, 13 MAY (AFP) -- MAJ ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, PRESIDENT OF THE SALVADORAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, ORDERED SALVADORAN ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO AND OTHER PERSONS KILLED, ACCORDING TO AN AGENDA BELONGING TO D'AUBUISSON WHICH WS REVEALED HERE TODAY.

MANUEL BUENDIA, WELL-KNOWN COLUMNIST OF THE NEWSPAPER EXCELSIOR, PUBLISHED SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS OF 30 PAGES OF THAT AGENDA, WHICH WAS FOUND ON 7 MAY 1980 IN D'AUBUISSON'S BRIEFCASE IN TODAY'S EDITION.

BUENDIA EXPLAINED THAT ON THAT DAY, WHEN COL ADOLFO MAJANO WAS STILL A MEMBER OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT JUNTA, HE RECEIVED A REPORT THAT A CLANDESTINE MEETING WAS BEING HELD BY A GROUP OF ARMED INDIVIDUALS HEADED BY D'AUBUISSON ON A FARM IN SANTA TECLA, NEAR SAN SALVADOR.

MAJANO SENT TROOPS TO THE FARM, WHICH CAPTURED THE RIGHTIST LEADER AND 22 OTHER PERSONS, INCLUDING SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS, AND SEIZED D'AUBUISSON'S PERSONAL BRIEFCASE CONTAINING THE AGENDA.

ONE OF THE PAGES STATES: "EQUIPMENT. OPERATION PINEAPPLE. 1 STARLIGHT. (illegible) ROBERT'S. 4 AUTOMATICS. GRANADES. 1 DRIVER. 1 MARKSMAN. 4 SECURITY ((GUARDS -- FBIS))."

"INVESTIGATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE AND STATEMENTS FROM WITNESSES COINCIDE EXACTLY WITH THE DATA LISTED ON THAT PAGE CONCERNING THE EQUIPMENT, THE MEN, THE WEAPONS AND THE CAR USED IN THE BRUTAL MURDEUOF THE BISHOP," SAID BUENDIA.

THE WORD "STARLIGHT" REFERS TO A SNIPERSCOPE USED FOR NIGHT SHOOTING.

THE COLUMNIST ADDED THAT "ACCORDING TO MAJANO, THE AUTOPSY PERFORMED ON MONSIGNOR ROMERO REVEALED THAT HE WAS HIT BY A PROJECTILE OF A WEAPON WITH THE PRECISE CHARACTERISTICS AS THE TYPE MENTIONED IN THE AGENDA."

BUENDIA ADDED THAT THE AGENDA CONTAINS NOTES WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE SAME TECHNICAL INTERPRETATION, CORRESPOND PRECISELY WITH OTHER MURDERS," AS FOR EXAMPLE THAT OF MARIO ZAMORA, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE POOR AND MEMBER OF THE SALVADORAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.

(ENDALL) 131618 WJS/GRIMSLEY/CEB 14/1538Z MAY

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: S940031C

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC //FOR ARA/CEN/ES//
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RUTWSDF/FBIS KEY WEST FL
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COPY TO ELAD

MEXICO: D'AUBUISSON REPORTEDLY PLANNED BISHOP'S MURDER

PA1413049

PARIS AFP IN SPANISH 1618 GMT 13 MAY 82

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Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: COX, DAVID
Date: 04/26/94
Case ID: 9940031C

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06698 02 OF 03 171637Z
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INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 MEXICO 06698

THE AGENDA CONTAINS NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO "VEGA" OR SIMPLY "V." SUPPOSEDLY THESE REFER TO CAPTAIN VEGA VALENCIA. EX-MILITARY ATTACHE OF THE EMBASSY OF EL SALVADOR IN MEXICO AND A FAMOUS TORTURER.

ANY NORMAL PERSON READING THIS AGENDA FOR THE FIRST TIME WITHOUT HAVING ANY PRECONCEIVED IDEAS WITH REFERENCE TO ITS CONTENTS, MIGHT EASILY CONCLUDE THAT IT IS DEALING WITH THE "COCKPIT" OF A LARGE BAND OF ASSASSINS WHO HAVE AN UNLIMITED PROVISION OF ECONOMIC RESOURCES.

THE MAJORITY OF THE PAGES CONTAIN REFERENCES TO THE ACQUISITION OF VARIOUS ARMS. DOZENS OF SHOTGUNS AND PISTOLS; RIFLES OF DIFFERENT CALIBERS, SOME OF THEM WITH THE SPECIFICATION THAT THEY BE PROVIDED WITH SILENCERS, THOUSANDS OF SHELLS, SCORES OF BULLETPROOF VESTS AND DIFFERENT EQUIPMENT FOR ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION.

AS IS KNOWN ALL OVER THE WORLD, ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON MADE FASHIONABLE THE "SQUADRONS OF DEATH" TO ASSASSINATE, *TO DATE, WITH TOTAL IMPUNITY, PERHAPS THOUSANDS OF HIS* COMPATRIOTS, MANY OF THEM IN THE STREETS AND IN THE HOUSES OF THE CAPITAL.

MONEY IN THE AMOUNT OF TENS OF MILLIONS OF COLONES WAS

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06698 02 OF 03 171637Z

HANDLED; AT THAT TIME THE COLON WAS WORTH TWO AND A HALF PER DOLLAR.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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ONE OF THE NOTES REFERS TO TWO AMOUNTS OF 40 AND 30 THOUSAND COLONES WITH THIS EXPLANATION: "CONTRIBUTIONS TO NICARAGUANS". THIS DATA, TOGETHER WITH THE MENTION OF NUMEROUS TRIPS TO GUATEMALA AND TO PLACES WHERE EX-SOMOZISTAS ARE LOCATED, CLEARLY SHOWS THE TIES WHICH D'AUBUISSON AND HIS BAND OF ASSASSINS HAD WITH THE REGIME PRESIDED OVER BY GENERAL LUCAS GARCIA, AND WITH THE THUGS WHICH HARASS THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF THE UNITED STATES.

DETAILED PUBLICATION OF THIS CATALOG OF HORRORS, PERPETRATED BY THE MAN WHO ACTUALLY OCCUPIES THE PRESIDENCY OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF EL SALVADOR, AND WHO, IN THE JUDGMENT OF GENERAL HAIG, FORMS A PART OF THE GUARANTEES WHICH SINCERE LIBERALS OF THE WORLD HAVE OF THE RESTORATION IN EL SALVADOR OF ONE OF THE MOST BRILLIANT WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, WOULD OCCUPY SPACE WHICH THIS COLUMN DOES NOT HAVE AVAILABLE.

D'AUBUISSON'S SECRET DIARY INCLUDES MORE THAN A HUNDRED NAMES OF PERSONS LINKED WITH HIS CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES. IN A LIST PRECEDING "OPERATION PINA" ARE THE NAMES OF BUSINESSMEN SUCH AS NETO GUTIERREZ, OWNER OF AN AR TAXI COMPANY; ORLANDO LLOVERA, OWNER OF A FURNITURE FACTORY; THE RICH REAL ESTATE MAN AND OWNER OF THE BANCO DE COMERCIO; CHICO QUIROLA, AND ALFONSO SALAVERRIA, FINANCIER OF D'AUBUISSON'S POLITICAL CAMPAIGN, WHO IS PRESENTLY RESIDING IN MIAMI. ALSO LISTED IS RICARDO SOL MEZA, WHO WAS BLAMED FOR THE ASSASSINATION IN EL SALVADOR OF TWO AGRICULTURAL ADVISERS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

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THE LAST PAGES OF THE DIARY LIST NAMES AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BAND, SUCH AS DR. MIGUEL HASBUN, DR. ALEJANDRO SAMAYOA AND "CHELE" ROEDER, WHO IS PRESENTLY IMPRISONED BECAUSE HE COMMITTED THE MISTAKE OF NOT SHARING THE PROFITS FROM SOME OF THE KIDNAPPINGS HE PERPETRATED, WHEN HE TRIED TO ESTABLISH HIMSELF IN BUSINESS FOR HIMSELF. END QUOTE.

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3. (C) COMMENT. MAJANO HAS BEEN STAYING IN TOUCH WITH EMBOFF IN INTERVALS BETWEEN HIS TRAVELS TO MEET GOVERNMENT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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LEADERS AND ACADEMICS WHO APPEAR TO BE INTERESTED IN HIS POINTS OF VIEW (IN LAST TWO WEEKS TO VENEZUELA, PANAMA, AND SAN FRANCISCO UNIVERSITIES; IN FORTHCOMING WEEK, *TO BONN AND ROME). HE WAS INITIALLY SKEPTICAL* ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS BECAUSE OF THE COALESCENCE OF RIGHTIST ELECTED ASSEMBLY MEMBERS AGAINST THE PDC, BUT WITH THE SUCCESSFUL FORMATION OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT HE NOW SEEMS MORE OPTIMISTIC. IN HIS VIEW, CRITICAL QUESTION IS WHETHER ARMED FORCES WILL CONTINUE *TO SUPPORT CENTRIST VIEWS LIKE THOSE OF PDC AND ACCION* DEMOCRATICA (FOR WHICH HE SAYS HE WOULD HAVE VOTED DESPITE HIS DOUBTS ABOUT THE PARTY'S EFFECTIVENESS AT THE POLLS); OR WHETHER ARENA SUPPORTERS IN THE ARMED FORCES WILL GAIN THE UPPER HAND AND WORK TO BLOCK POLITICAL REFORM AND A GENUINE AMNESTY. MAJANO HAS MENTIONED TO US SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE HAS DOCUMENTS THAT INCRIMINATE ARENA MEMBERS ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED BY BUENDIA. BUENDIA MAY HAVE GOTTEN "SECRET DIARY" DIRECTLY FROM MAJANO, BUT IT IS EQUALLY POSSIBLE THAT MAJANO GAVE IT

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06698 03 OF 03 171637Z
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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 MEXICO 06698

CONFIDENTIALLY TO SOMEONE AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WHO THEN LEAKED IT TO BUENDIA.

4. (C) IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE DOCUMENTS ARE A FABRICATION. BUENDIA IS WIDELY CONSIDERED TO BE A CUBAN AGENT, AND PROBABLY WOULD NOT HESITATE TO USE UNVERIFIED DATA THAT EMBARRASS THE U.S. AND/OR THE SALVADORAN RIGHT.
ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT MAJANO WOULD NOT KNOWINGLY ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH A "DISINFORMATION" CAMPAIGN.

5. (C) WE HAVE NOT ASKED MAJANO FOR COPIES OF HIS DOCUMENTS, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THEY MAY BE AVAILABLE *TO THE USG ELSEWHERE. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO REASON NOT TO ASK IF THE DEPARTMENT SO DESIRES. REQUEST GUIDANCE.*
END COMMENT. GAVIN

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 06698 01 OF 03 171635Z
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 03 MEXICO 06698

E. O. 12065: GDS 5/14/88
TAGS: MX, ES
SUBJECT: MEXICAN COLUMNIST ON D'AUBUISSON DIARY

1. (C) SUMMARY. MEXICAN COLUMNIST BUENDIA ON MAY 13 PUBLISHED INFORMATION FROM A "SECRET DIARY" LINKING D'AUBUISSON AND OTHERS TO EL SALVADOR ASSASSINATIONS. INFORMATION WAS ALLEGEDLY OBTAINED FROM COLONEL MAJANO. MAJANO HAS MENTIONED HAVING SUCH DOCUMENTS TO US, BUT WE HAVE NEVER ASKED FOR COPIES. REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS WHETHER WE SHOULD DO SO. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF MANUEL BUENDIA'S COLUMN "RED PRIVADA" FROM MAY 13 MEXICO CITY DAILY EXCELSIOR, ENTITLED "TALKING MURDERER/DEMOCRATIC GLORY":

BEGIN QUOTE.

WE HAVE OBTAINED 30 PAGES FROM A SECRET DIARY WHICH WAS FOUND IN THE FILES OF THE PERSON WHO NOW HEADS THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN THAT COUNTRY WHERE, ACCORDING TO GENERAL ALEXANDER HAIG, THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN EXEMPLARY

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 06698 01 OF 03 171635Z

DEMOCRACY IS PROCEEDING.

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/1/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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Special Project (1993)

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FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW, THIS DOCUMENT MIGHT BE ENTITLED: "DIARY OF A MURDERER."

IN EFFECT, THE DIARY CONTAINS EVIDENCE THAT COLONEL ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON ORDERED THE MURDER OF BISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO AND THAT HE STILL HEADS ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST MERCILESS CRIMINAL BANDS WHICH WE CAN RECALL IN ALL THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DOCUMENT MADE BY QUALIFIED PERSONS WITH KNOWLEDGE OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR LEAD TO THIS EXTREME CONCLUSION. AMONG THESE PERSONS IS COLONEL ADOLFO MAJANO, DISSIDENT OF THE MILITARY JUNTA.

ON MAY 7, 1980, WHEN COL. MAJANO WAS STILL A MEMBER OF THE JUNTA, HE RECEIVED INFORMATION TO THE EFFECT THAT A CLANDESTINE MEETING OF ARMED INDIVIDUALS WAS TAKING PLACE AT THE SANTA TECLA HACIENDA. HE SENT TROOPS WHO APPREHENDED 23 PERSONS, AMONG THEM MILITARY PERSONNEL AND BUSINESSMEN. THE GROUP, JUDGED TO BE "THE CREAM OF THE MOST EXTREME RIGHT IN EL SALVADOR," WAS HEADED BY COL. ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, WHO HAD BEEN DROPPED FROM THE ARMY RIGHT AFTER THE 1979 COUP.

(SOME MONTHS LATER, WHEN GIVING TESTIMONY BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, AMBASSADOR ROBERT WHITE DESCRIBED D'AUBUISSON AS A "PATHOLOGICAL ASSASSIN.")

COL. ADOLFO MAJANO KEPT THE PERSONAL FILES OF D'AUBUISSON EXTRACTING FROM THEM THE DIARY OF WHICH WE HAVE RECEIVED PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES OF ITS 30 PAGES.

[redacted]

AFTER EXPERTS HAD ANALYZED THIS DOCUMENT, MAJANO WAS CONVINCED THAT ONE OF ITS PAGES DESCRIBED THE OPERATION FOR ASSASSINATING MSGR. ROMERO. THE CRIME TOOK PLACE ON MARCH 24, 1980 AND TO DATE HAS REMAINED UNPUNISHED.

ONE READS ON THAT SINISTER PAGE: "EQUIPMENT. OPERATION PINA. 1 STARLIGHT. 1,257 ROBERT'S. 4 AUTOMATICS. GRENADES. A DRIVER. 1 SHARPSHOOTER. 4 SAFETY."
THE WORD "STARLIGHT" REFERS TO A LUMINOUS SIGHT FOR NIGHT

[redacted]

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SHOOTING. ACCORDING TO MAJANO, DATA ON THE AUTOPSY MADE ON MONSEIGNEUR ROMERO REVEALED THAT HE HAD BEEN WOUNDED BY A RIFLE HAVING PRECISELY THE CHARACTERISTICS MENTIONED IN THE DIARY. FURTHERMORE, THE INVESTIGATION WHICH WAS CARRIED OUT, AS WELL AS STATEMENTS OF WITNESSES, COINCIDE EXACTLY WITH THE DATA NOTED ON THAT PAGE WITH RESPECT TO THE EQUIPMENT, MEN, ARMS AND THE VEHICLE USED FOR THE BRUTAL ASSASSINATION OF THE BISHOP.

THE DIARY CONTAINS NOTES WHICH, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SAME INTERPRETATION BY SPECIALIST, CORRESPOND WITH PRECISION TO OTHER MURDERS.

FOR EXAMPLE, UNDER ONE OF THE DATES ONE READS: "TWO SHOTGUNS. 1 SUBMACHINEGUN, TWO RAMRODS. 1 GRENADA EACH ONE. 45 PISTOL. VEST. DRIVER (EQUIPMENT)."

THE EXPERTS FOUND THAT ALL OF THIS EQUIPMENT WAS THAT USED FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF MR. MARIO ZAMORA, EX-ATTORNEY FOR THE POOR, A MEMBER OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, CONSIDERED A "COMMUNIST" BY THE SALVADORAN EXTREME RIGHT. ZAMORA WAS MURDERED IN HIS HOME, A SHORT TIME BEFORE MSGR. ROMERO.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF THE CASE HAVE NOT BEEN ADEQUATELY INVESTIGATED. PLEASE RESPOND TO THESE POINTS:

1. Investigation of those who might have had access to information concerning the travel arrangements of the two Maryknoll Sisters, by way of exit or re-entry permits, airline passenger lists, ticket purchases, customs and immigration check points, intelligence reports, etc

2. Interrogation of witnesses who observed the women in the airport or in the vicinity the day of the murders.

3. Interrogation and polygraph of Colindres Aleman's senior sergeant, now residing in the U.S.; of the senior district officer Lt. Daniel Mejia; and of any other officers who may have had knowledge of or been involved in the crime. (e.g. General Garcia, Colonel Pena-Arbaiza of Chalatenango, and the major who reported to his troops that the women were killed because "they could have been carrying messages from leftists in Nicaragua" - UPI report, 10-14-81)

4. Interrogation and polygraph of Hans Christ, those known to be in his employ at the time of the murders, and American and Salvadoran military officers known to be acquainted with him.

5. Investigation and identification of the source of the large amounts of U.S. currency known to be in possession of some of the accused in the days immediately following the murders.

6. A more satisfactory investigation of the threats on the churchwomen prior to the murders, of individuals who may have been negatively disposed toward them.

7. Interrogation and polygraph of Mr. Moran, now residing in Mexico, concerning the so-called witness, "Cesar Cortez."

8. More detailed information on the accused guardsmen. What were the locations of their regular posts? Who were their local friends? Could they have had prior acquaintance with the missionaries and/or knowledge of their movements?

9. Request and conduct a thorough assessment of fingerprints of all guardsmen, police, security forces, and officers who were in the general area the night of the murders. (At an interview with an FBI representative in March 1981, we were informed that there were approximately 85 military or security personnel assigned to the vicinity the day of the murders.)

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Special Project (1993)

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Special Project (1993)

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Special Project (1993)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA004515

ADP135 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04515 290046Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 H-01 NSC-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9877
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 4515

12065: GDS 5/28/88
TAGS: CDES, PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJ: CHURCHWOMEN MURDER: LETTERS FROM CONGRESSWOMAN OAKER

1. (LOU) ON 5/26/82, AMBASSADOR HINTON RECEIVED COPIESOF THREE LETTERS FROM CONGRESSWOMAN MARY ROSE OAKAR OF OHIO. ONE IS ADDRESSED TO SECRETARY HAIG, ONE TO FBI DIRECTOR WEBSTER, AND ONE TO SALVADORAN PRESIDENT ALVARO MAGANA. IN SUMMARY, EACH LETTER STATES THAT ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION REMAINS TO BE COMPLETED IN THE CURHCHWOMEN MURDER CASE. SPECIFICALLY, EACH LETTER ASKS FOR ASSISTANCE IN RESPONDING TO A SERIES OF REQUESTS ANNEXED TO THE LETTER. THESE ARE QUOTED BELOW.

2. (LOU) REQUESTS FOR SECRETARY HAIG, FBI DIRECTOR WEBSTER, AND PRESIDENT MAGANA.

(1) INVESITAGION OF THOSE WHO MIGHT HAVE HAD ACCESS TO INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE TWO MARYKNOLL SISTERS, BY WAY OF EXIT OR RE-ENTRY PERMITS, AIRLINE PASSENGER LISTS, TICKET PURCHASES, CUSTOMS AND IMMIGRATION CHECK POINTS, INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, ETC.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04515 290046Z

(2) INTERROGATION OF WITNESSES WHO OBSERVED THE WOMEN IN THE AIRPORT OR IN THE VICINITY THE DAY OF THE MURDERS.

(3) INTERROGATION AND POLYGRAPH OF COLINDRES ALEMAN'S SENIOR SERGEANT, NOW RESIDING IN THE U.S.; OF THE SENIOR DISTRICT OFFICER, LT. DANIEL MEJIA; AND OF ANY OTHER OFFICERS WHO MAY HAVE HAD KNOWLEDGE OF OUR BEEN INVOLVED IN THE CRIME. (E.G. GENERAL GARCIA, COLONEL PENA-ARBIZA OF CHALTENANGO, AND THE MAJOR WHO REPORTED TO HIS

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/27/93
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not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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TROOPS THAT THE WOMEN WERE KILLED BECAUSE "THEY COULD HAVE BEEN CARRYING MESSAGES FROM LEFTISTS IN NICARAGUA" - UPI REPORT, 10-14-81)

(4) INTERROGATION AND POLYGRAPH OF HANS CHRIST, THOSE KNOWN TO BE IN HIS EMPLOY AT THE TIME OF THE MURDERS, AND AMERICAN AND SALVADORAN MILITARY OFFICERS KNOWN TO BE ACQUAINTED WITH HIM.

(5) INVESTIAGION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE SOURCE OF THE LARGE AMOUNTS OF U.S. CURRENCY KNOWN TO BE IN POSSESSION OF SOME OF THE ACCUSED IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE MURDERS.

(6) A MORE SATISFACTORY INVESTIGATION OF THE THREATS ON THE CHURCHWOMEN PRIOR TO THE MURDERS, OF INDIVDIUALS WHO MAY HAVE BEEN NEGATIVELY DISPOSED TOWARD THEM.

(7) INTERROGATIO AND POLYGRAPH OF MR. MORAN, NOW RESIDING IN MEXICO, CONCERNING THE SO-CALLED WITNESS, "CESAR CORTEZ."

(8) MORE DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE ACCUSED GUARDW-MENT. WHAT WERE THE LOCATIONS OF THEIR REGULAR POSTS? WHO WERE THEIR LOCAL FRIENDS? COULD THEY HAVE HAD [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 04515 290046Z

PRIOR ACQUANTANCE WITH THE MISSIONARIES AND/OR KNOWLEDGE OF THEI MOVEMENTS?

(9). REQUEST AND CONDUCT A THOROUGH ASSESSMENT OF FINGER-PRINTS OF ALL RPT ALL GUARDSMEN, POLICE, SECURITY FORCES, AND OFFICERS WHO WERE IN THE GENERAL AREA THE NIGHT OF THE MURDERS. (AT AN INTERVIEW WITH AN FBI REPRESENTA-TIVE IN MARCH, 1981, WE WERE INFORMED THAT THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY 85 MILITARY OR SECURITY PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO THE VICINITY THE DAY OF THE MURDERS.)

3. (LOU) REQUEST FOR SECRETARY HAIG AND PRESIDENT MAGANA CONCERNING THE TRIAL.

(1) HAS A TRIAL DATE BEEN SET?
(2) WHERE WILL THE CASE BE TRIED? WHO WILL BE THE PRESIDING JUDGE? WHO WILL BE THE ATTORNEYS FOR THE ACCUSED? WILL THERE BE A JURY SELECTION? WHAT IS THE PROCEDURE?
(3) IN THE PRE-TRIAL HEARING OF THE WITNESSES BEFORE THE ATTORNEYS OF THE ACCUSED, WILL THE FAMILIES, (NEXT-OF-KIN AND COMMUNITIES) OF THE VICTIMS BE PERMITTED TO HAVE THEIR "PRIVATE PROSECUTOR" (ATTORNEY) PRESENT? WILL THEY BE PERMITTED TO HAVE THEIR PERSONAL OBSERVE(S) PRESENT?
(4) AT WHICH PARTS OF THE TRIAL WILL THE FAMILIES AND/OR THEIR OBSERVERS BE ALLOWED TO BE PRESENT? WILL THEIR "PRI-VATE PROSECUTOR" HAVE ACCESS TO ALL EVIDENTIARY DOCUMENTS

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Special Project (1993)

AND MATERIALS, AND TO ALL PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRIAL?
(5) (TO SECRETARY HAIG ONLY) WILL THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT PAY THE COST OF THE "PRIVATE PROSECUTOR" TO REPRESENT THE U.S. FAMILIES?

4. (LOU) PLEASE ADVISE US AS TO THOSE REQUESTS AND QUESTIONS ON WHICH YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE EMBASSY INPUT. FYI: WE NOTE THAT IN PARAGRAPH TWO, QUESTION NINE, ABOVE, COUVBEGITH AN FBI REPRESENTATIVE IN WHICH SHE WAS INFORMED THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY 85 MILITARY OR SECURITY [redacted]

PAGE 04 SAN SA 04515 290046Z

FORCE PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO THE VICINITY ON THE DAY OF THE MURDERS. EMBASSY HAS NO RECORD OF THIS CONVERSATION. IF THERE IS A MEMCON ON FILE CONCERNING THIS CONVERSATION, PLEASE POUCH TO US.

(5) (C) COMMENT. THE DECISION AS TO HOW BEST TO RESPOND TO TO CONGRESSWOMAN OAKAR RESTS WITH DEPARTMENT. WE WOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, MOST OF INVESTIGATIVE REQUESTS ARE VERY GENERAL IN NATURE WITH LITTLE FOUNDATION IN EVIDENCE THAT HAS BEEN DEVELOPED IN THIS CASE. PURSUING THEM ALL WOULD REQUIRE GOES TO REOPEN INVESTIGATION ON MASSIVE SCALE. EVIDENCE WHICH WE NOW HAVE BEFORE US SUGGESTS INVESTIGATION WOULD NOT PRODUCE SIGNIFICANT NEW INSIGHTS. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER THIS WHEN RESPONDING TO CONGRESSWOMAN OAKAR.

6. (LOU) WE ARE POUCHING COPIES OF LETTERS TO ARA/CEN.
BLEAKLEY

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 STATE 155747
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APPROVED BY ARA/PPC:RBMORLEY
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

[redacted] STATE 155747

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/7/88 (MORLEY, ROBERT B.)
TAGS: GT, PINS, PINT
SUBJECT: GUATEMALAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT'S MEETING

REF: LISBON 3812

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT

2. RIGOBERTA MENCHU TUM AND FRANK LA RUE OF THE GUATEMALAN PATRIOTIC UNITY COMMITTEE (GCUP) MADE A JUNE 2 CALL ON GUATEMALA DESK OFFICER BLOHM. THE TWO TOOK COMMON POSITION THAT NOTHING SUBSTANTIAL HAD CHANGED UNDER THE RIOS MONTT GOVERNMENT, THAT ARMY REPRESSION CONTINUED IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, AND THAT ONLY A FUNDAMENTAL REVOLUTION [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 155747

WOULD CORRECT GUATEMALA'S PROBLEMS. SAME TWO PLUS CARLOS GALLARDO FLORES OF GUATEMALAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY GAVE WASHINGTON PRESS CONFERENCE JUNE 2 CHARGING GOG WITH TERROR AND VIOLENCE AGAINST CAMPESINOS. GCUP URGED END TO CURRENT ECONOMIC AID TO GUATEMALA AND NO RENEWAL OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE. GALLARDO DID CONCEDE THERE WAS A SOMEWHAT MORE OPEN POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN THE CAPITAL.

3. ARA/PPC OFFICER (SULLIVAN) INVITED GALLARDO TO CALL SEPARATELY MENTIONING MATEUS' REQUEST. GALLARDO CAME

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ACCOMPANIED BY AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE NETWORK IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF GUATEMALA AND MADE PRESENTATION STRICTLY IN KEEPING WITH CGUP LINE:

-- ONLY THE ARMY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR VIOLENCE. (DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE GUATEMALAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCE RECENTLY BLAMED CONTINUING VIOLENCE ON THE FAR RIGHT AND GUERRILLAS.)

-- THE POLITICAL ELEMENTS OF THE CGUP AND THE GUERRILLAS SHARE COMMON GOALS AND OBJECTIVES INCLUDING RESTRUCTURING OF THE ARMY AND A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION ENCOMPASSING ALL IDEOLOGIES.

-- THE US SHOULD NOT PROVIDE MILITARY AID TO THE GUATEMALAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL FALL WITHOUT ASSISTANCE.

-- THE NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO FULFILL THE COMPROMISES TO PLURALISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT IT MADE BEFORE COMING TO POWER.

[redacted]

4. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT KNOW THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE PRESENCE OF HIS CGUP AND AMERICAN COLLEAGUES MIGHT HAVE INHIBITED GALLARDO, WE SAW NO HINT OF -PRAGMATISM OR DIFFERENTIATION FROM HIS HARD-LINE COLLEAGUES. ASKED HOW THE POLITICAL ELEMENTS PROPOSED TO MAINTAIN INFLUENCE OVER THEIR ARMED GUERRILLA COLLEAGUES, GALLARDO COULD ONLY RESPOND THAT IT WOULD BE BASED ON THE HISTORY OF TRUST ESTABLISHED WITH THE GUERRILLAS.

5. YOU MAY PASS THE ABOVE TO MATEUS. STOESSEL

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portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
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not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS, 6/18/88
TAGS:SHUM, ES, MX
SUBJECT: CHURCHWOMEN'S CASE: MORAN LEAD
REF: 81 MEXICO 14053, ET AL
1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. IN A LETTER OF MAY 19, CONGRESSWOMAN MARY ROSE OAKAR, ON BEHALF OF FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE FOUR CHURCHWOMEN MURDERED IN EL SALVADOR, REQUESTS "THE INTERROGATION AND POLYGRAPH OF MR. MORAN, NOW RESIDING IN MEXICO, CONCERNING THE SO-CALLED WITNESS, CESAR CORTEZ."

3. UNLESS IT PERCEIVES OBJECTION, EMBASSY SHOULD IMMEDIATELY CONTACT JUAN JOSE MORAN, SALVADORAN CITIZEN NOW LIVING IN MEXICO, TO ASK IF HE WILL VOLUNTARILY SUBMIT TO [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 169638

POLYGRAPH TEST REGARDING HIS ALLEGATIONS ABOUT CESAR

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CORTEZ AND THE CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDERS. (DEPARTMENT HAS DISCUSSED THIS INFORMALLY WITH THE FBI AND BELIEVES THAT, IF MORAN AGREES, THE FBI WILL BE WILLING TO SEND POLYGRAP EXPERTS TO ADMINISTER TEST.) MORAN SHOULD BE-INFORMED THAT THE TEST WOULD BE PERFORMED IN THE U.S. EMBASSY. WE ASSUME LEGATT MEXICO WOULD OBTAIN CONCURRENCE OF APPROPRIATE MEXICAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE POLYGRAPH TEST IS ADMINISTERED.

4. INFORM DEPARTMENT OF MORAN'S RESPONSE ASAP. IF MORA REPLIES THAT HE WILL ONLY SUBMIT TO POLYGRAPH TEST IN TH U.S. AFTER BEING GRANTED ASYLUM, YOU SHOULD INFORM HIM THAT YOU WILL REPORT HIS RESPONSE TO THE DEPARTMENT AND AWAIT FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

5. THIS MESSAGE SHOULD BE SHARED WITH LEGATT.
EAGLEBURGER

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Special Project (1993)

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INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 169638

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS, 6/18/88
TAGS:SHUM, ES, MX
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REF: 81 MEXICO 14053, ET AL
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PAGE 02 STATE 169638

POLYGRAPH TEST REGARDING HIS ALLEGATIONS ABOUT CESAR

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CORTEZ AND THE CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDERS. (DEPARTMENT HAS DISCUSSED THIS INFORMALLY WITH THE FBI AND BELIEVES THAT, IF MORAN AGREES, THE FBI WILL BE WILLING TO SEND POLYGRAPH EXPERTS TO ADMINISTER TEST.) MORAN SHOULD BE-INFORMED THAT THE TEST WOULD BE PERFORMED IN THE U.S. EMBASSY. WE ASSUME LEGATT MEXICO WOULD OBTAIN CONCURRENCE OF APPROPRIATE MEXICAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE POLYGRAPH TEST IS ADMINISTERED.

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Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05161 01 OF 02 212107Z
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INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 05161

EO 12065: GDS 6/21/88 [redacted] OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJ: (C) CONVERSATION WITH NATIONAL POLICE DIRECTOR

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: ARA/CEN DIRECTOR JOHNSTONE AND S/P MEMBER JON GLASSMAN MET JUNE 17 WITH NATIONAL POLICE DIRECTOR LOPEZ NUILA. THE CONVERSATION COVERED INCREASING INSURGENT ACTIVITIES, WHICH LOPEZ SAID WOULD INCREASE OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. ALSO COVERED WERE THE CONTROL OF PRISONER ABUSES, WHICH LOPEZ MINIMIZED. HE ALSO POINTED OUT STRICT COOPERATION WITH ICRC AND CODES OF CONDUCT FOR MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL POLICE. FINALLY, LOPEZ NUILA SAID HE WOULD KEEP US INFORMED ON THE PROGRESS OF THE REGULATORY COMMISSION FOR DECREE 207 OF WHICH IS A MEMBER. END SUMMARY.

[redacted]

Department of State 18/FPC/CDR El Salvador 8P Date 8/16/93
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portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

PAGE 02 SAN SA 05161 01 OF 02 212107Z

3. ARA/CEN DIRECTOR CRAIG JOHNSTONE AND S/P STAFF MEMBER

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El Salvador Human Rights
Archival Project (1993)

JON GLASSMAN MET WITH NATIONAL POLICE DIRECTOR COLONEL CARLOS REYNALDO LOPEZ NUILA, JUNE 17. THE CONVERSATION STARTED WITH A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES SINCE THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS. LOPEZ NUILA SAID THAT AFTER THE ELECTIONS, THE TERRORISTS' ACTIVITY PRACTICALLY CEASED. STARTING JUNE 5, HOWEVER, ACTIVITY HAS ONCE AGAIN PICKED UP. FIRST CAME THE UCA ARTICLE QUESTIONING THE ELECTIONS AND THEN THE ATTACK ON PERQUIN. LOPZ NUILA SAW THESE AS RELATED INCIDENTS WHICH CAME AT THE END OF A SEVEN-WEEK PERIOD DURING WHICH THE INSURGENTS RE-EVALUATED THEIR STRATEGY. LOPEZ NUILA SAID HE EXPECTS GREATLY INCREASED INSURGENT ACTIVITY DURING THE MONTHS OF JUNE AND JULY, ESPECIALLY BEFORE JULY 28 WHEN PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS TO RECERTIFY U.S. ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR. AT THE SAME TIME THE INSURGENTS ARE TRYING TO REBUILD THEIR POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE URBAN CENTERS, ACCORDING TO SALVADORAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. IF THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL, LOPEZ NUILA LOOKS TO AN INCREASE IN URBAN TERRORISM ALONG WITH THE INCREASE IN GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES.

4. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ON VIOLENCE, LOPEZ NUILA SAID THE VIOLENCE DECLINED REMARKABLY AFTER THE ELECTIONS. STARTING IN JUNE, HOWEVER, IT PICKED UP ONCE AGAIN. THE EXCEPTION IS SAN SALVADOR, WHICH HAS REMAINED A GREAT DEAL QUIETER THAN IT WAS BEFORE THE ELECTIONS.

5. LOPEZ NUILA POINTED OUT THAT IN THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS OF 1982 THERE HAD BEEN ABOUT AS MANY KIDNAPPINGS -- 18 (COMPARED TO 23) THAN IN ALL OF 1981. IN HIS OPINION, THE INSURGENTS ARE TRYING TO RAISE MONEY BY KIDNAPPINGS, WHICH MAY ALSO MEAN THAT THE INSURGENT'S NEED FUNDS. REINFORCING THIS OPINION, HE SAID, WERE THE RECURRING REPORTS THAT THE GUERRILLAS WERE [redacted]

SUFFERING SEVERE FOOD SHORTAGES.

6. GLASSMAN ASKED LOPEZ NUILA TO COMMENT ON THE INTELLIGENCE FUNCTION IN THE ARMED FORCES. LOPEZ NUILA REPLIED THAT THE INTELLIGENCE FUNCTION HERE STILL LACKS ORGANIZATION AND TRAINED PEOPLE. CENTRAL AMERICA AND EL SALVADOR USED TO HAVE MUCH BETTER INTELLIGENCE WHEN THE U.S. GAVE ITS SUPPORT TO THIS ACTIVITY. UNDER PRESIDENT CARTER THE U.S. CUT THIS SUPPORT AND AS A RESULT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES HAVE SUFFERED. EL SALVADOR SHOULD DO TWO THINGS:

-- IT SHOULD MERGE THE NOW SEPARATE INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1995)

OF THE VARIOUS MILITARY AND POLICE CORPS, FORMING A SINGLE BODY WITH OVERALL SUPERVISION AND COORDINATION RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTELLIGENCE.
-- THIS BODY SHOULD HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTEGRATING INFORMATION FROM OVERSEAS SOURCES INTO THE INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM. THE PROBLEM TODAY IS THAT EVERY SERVICE HAS ITS OWN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION AND THERE IS NO LATERAL MOVEMENT OF INFORMATION AMONG THESE SERVICES.

GLASSMAN ASKED IF IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO INTEGRATE ALL INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONS UNDER THE ARMY. LOPEZ NUILA SAID IT COULD BE DONE.

7. JOHNSTONE ASKED LOPEZ NUILA WHAT HIS FORCE WAS DOING TO CONTROL ABUSES OF AUTHORITY. HE POINTED OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS CONTROL FOR THE CERTIFICATION WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAS TO MAKE BY JULY 28. LOPEZ NUILA SHOWED JOHNSTONE A RESUME' AND A LIST OF NATIONAL POLICEMENT REMANED TO COURTS FOR SERIOUS CRIMES, 198 SINCE OCTOBER 15, 1979. JOHNSTONE ASKED LOPEZ NUILA ABOUT PRISONER ABUSE. HE SAID THERE WAS LESS THAN IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS WHERE EIGHT ARGENTINE PRISONERS HAD DIED. LOPEZ NUILA THEN SHOWED JOHNSTONE A STATISTICAL RESUME' WHICH INDICATED THAT THE NATIONAL POLICE HAD ARRESTED 2288 PEOPLE FOR SUBVERSION SINCE OCTOBER 15,

[redacted]

1979. OF THESE, SOME 1200 HAVE BEEN RELEASED AFTER QUESTIONING. LOPEZ NUILA ALSO POINTED OUT THE DIFFICULTY OF CONVICTING ANYBODY FOR ANY SERIOUS CRIME IN EL SALVADOR. HE SAID HE

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Special Project (1993)

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ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 05161

WOULD FAVOR A SYSTEM OF MILITARY JUSTICE TO COPE WITH SUBVERSION BUT HAD NO OBJECTION TO CIVILIAN COURTS IF THEY COULD DO THE JOB. LOPEZ NUILA ADDED THAT EL SALVADOR HAD TO WORK VERY HARD NOW ON COMPLETELY REFORMING ITS JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

8. LOPEZ NUILA SAID THAT THE NATIONAL POLICE HAD GIVEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) COMPLETE ACCESS TO ALL NATIONAL POLICE INSTALLATIONS. THE ICRC VISITS THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTES FROM TWO TO THREE TIMES A WEEK, AND HEADQUARTERS IN OTHER CITIES SOMEWHAT LESS FREQUENTLY. IN THE PERIOD FROM APRIL 16 TO MAY 21, 1982 ICRC DELEGATES MADE 22 VISITS NATIONALLY TO NATIONAL POLICE INSTALLATIONS.

9. LOPEZ NUILA GAVE JOHNSTONE AND GLASSMAN A COPY OF THE NATIONAL POLICE CODE OF CONDUCT. IT IS CLASSIFIED SECRET

[redacted]

AND AVAILABLE ONLY TO THE OFFICERS IN THE NATIONAL POLICE. SIMPLIFIED VERSIONS OF THIS CODE ARE GIVEN TO REMAINING OF-

[redacted]

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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FICERS IN THE FORCE. THE ENLISTED MEN RECEIVE A STILL SIMPLER VERSION. NEITHER OF THE LATTER TWO VERSIONS ARE CLASSIFIED. HE INDICATED THAT AN UNCLASSIFIED VERSION MIGHT BE PUBLISHED.

10. LOPEZ NUILA CONFIRMED THAT HE HAS BEEN NAMED TO THE COMMISSION WHICH WILL REVIEW AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE PHASE 3 LAND REFORM UNDER DECREE 207. THE COMMISSION MET FOR THE FIRST TIME DURING THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 17 AND WILL MEET AT LENGTH DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO GET THIS EFFORT WELL UNDERWAY. MR. JOHNSTONE NOTED THE IMPORTANCE U.S. CONGRESS ATTACHES TO DECREE 207 AND ASKED LOPEZ NUILA TO KEEP US INFORMED ON THE COMMISSION'S WORK. LOPEZ NUILA SAID HE WOULD DO SO.

11. COMMENT: LOPEZ NUILA PROJECTS HIMSELF AS THE GOOD GUY TRYING TO DO A JOB UNDER VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. HE WAS FULL AWARE OF THE CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS AND DID HIS BEST *TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTIONS JOHNSTONE AND GLASSMAN ASKED WITH* THESE REQUIREMENTS IN MIND. THE NATIONAL POLICE IS STILL FAR FROM BEING AN ORGANIZATION OF SAINTS, BUT IS IS A VASTLY IMPROVED ORGANIZATION THANKS TO THE EFFORTS OF THIS LAWYER-COLONEL. END COMMENT.

12. CRAIG JOHNSTONE AND JON GLASSMAN APPROVED THIS CABLE IN DRAFT BEFORE DEPARTING SAN SALVADOR.
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INFO RUESAL/AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE 0631
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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 06/22/88 OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, ES, MX
SUBJECT: CHURCHWOMEN'S CASE: MORAN LEAD

REF: (A) STATE 169638

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY: LEGATT TALKED TO MORAN JUNE 21. MORAN REFUSES TO TAKE POLYGRAPH TEST. HE FEARS FOR HIS LIFE AND INTENDS TO SEEK POLITICAL ASYLUM IN CANADA. HE PLANS TO VISIT HOUSTON, TEXAS IN JULY. FBI HEADQUARTERS HAS REPORT OF CONVERSATION WITH MORAN AND WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH DEPARTMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. LEGATT TALKED TO MORAN IN MEXICO CITY ON JUNE 21 AND ASKED HIM IF HE WOULD TAKE A POLYGRAPH TEST, IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS IN REFTEL. MORAN REFUSED. HE SAID HE FEARS FOR HIS LIFE AND THAT HE HAS RECEIVED NUMEROUS ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE THREATS.

4. MORAN SAID HE MAY BE IN HOUSTON, TEXAS IN EARLY JULY, BUT THAT HE WOULD NOT TAKE A POLYGRAPH THERE EITHER, AND THAT HE WOLD RETURN IMMEDIATELY TO MEXICO IF HE WERE APPROACHED BY USG OFFICIALS.

5. MORAN TOLD LEGATT HE INTENDS TO PETITION CANADIAN GOVERNMENT FOR POLITICAL EXILE STATUS.

6. LEGATT HAS REPORTED HIS CONVERSATION IN GREATER DETAIL TO FBI HEADQUARTERS WITH THE REQUEST THAT THEY BE IN TOUCH WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT. GAVIN
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Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Date 9/23/93
Declassified under the terms of (X) No Exemptions; ( ) Class; ( ) Exempt;
marginal withholds applied ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not releasable to El Salvador ( ).

RELEASE

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

5. Q: Will the FBI release the transcript of the polygraph examinations?

A: There is no transcript available of the polygraph examinations. The polygraph examiner conducted his examination from a work sheet. Most of the questions from the work sheet are control questions designed to relax the examinee and provide a scientific basis upon which to compare his physical reactions to the substantive questions. In the case of the suspects in the churchwomen's case, the FBI examiner prepared a polygraph report for each examination. This report includes the examiner's general conclusion about whether the subject was lying. In the case of Colindres Aleman, the report also provides the specific questions and responses in which the examiner noted deception. The FBI has informed us that it will not release these polygraph reports.

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Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

8. Q: What questions was Colindres asked while on the polygraph about the involvement of other higher officials? Have we made a diplomatic approach to President Duarte about his statement in the press over the past weekend that no senior officials were involved?

A: The following question was asked of Colindres Aleman while he was on the polygraph: (English translation) "Did you receive instructions or orders to attack (atentara) those women?"

Colindres Aleman responded "No." No deception was noted on the polygraph machine. The polygraph examination was administered by experienced FBI examiners, with standard control procedures. It was clear to the interviewers that Colindres Aleman fully understood what the question implied. On all other substantive questions put to Colindres Aleman concerning his personal involvement in the crime, his negative answers did indicate deception on the polygraph.

The Embassy has not made a formal diplomatic approach to former President Duarte concerning his statement to the press about no involvement by senior officials. Duarte made this statement in response to a direct question on this matter by a member of the press. His response was apparently based upon his personal assessment of all of the evidence. There is no indications that President Duarte attempted at any time in the course of this investigation to interfere with the process of justice. In fact, given the dominant role which judges are supposed to play in the Salvadoran judicial system and the nature of Salvadoran society today, it is very unlikely that a simple, public statement by Duarte would have much if any effect on a criminal case.

15. Q: Where are the various telephones located in the airport that are the subject of the investigation, i.e., the telephone of the guard house, etc.?

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

A: There are eight pay telephones located in the airport terminal building. Four are located in the downstairs lobby and four are located upstairs in the immigration area. Each of the airlines has a private line located in the office behind its counter. In addition, the immigration service has a private line located in its office upstairs, and the Salvadoran Customs Service has a private line in its office at the ground floor customs area. The airport administration and the flight control tower have outside lines as well, but airport sources report that the National Guard personnel rarely enter those sections of the terminal building.

The National Guard airport command post is located nearly one mile north of the terminal building. The building is at the perimeter of the airport grounds. The command post telephone is located in the Administrative office in the command post building. Our Embassy cannot guarantee that the telephones were located at these same places in December 1980. Airport sources state that they believe that the phone location have not changed since 1980. Airport sources have informed our Embassy, however, that they believe that the phone locations have not changed since 1980.

19. Q: Can we investigate whether there was any communication between US officers Col. Cruz, Col. Cummings and Col. Bosch and members of the government or the oligarchy concerning the churchwomen? Mr. Ford reports that he had been given a rumor that Hans Krist got a communication from an American colonel that the churchwomen were coming and would be interfered with. The source reportedly is the man named Cortez whom we have attempted unsuccessfully to contact through Moran. Cortez supposedly was an employee of Hans Krist. Cortez also is alleged to have driven the van to pick up the soldiers to carry out the deed. Could Cortez be the missing witness? Moran reportedly has a son who is now in El Salvador but has sought asylum in Mexico. Could we make arrangements to get Moran's two children out of El Salvador before he talks with us?

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

A: None of the three military officers named in the question held any discussion of the churchwomen, by name or in general, with Salvadoran government officials or members of the "oligarchy" prior to the murders. After the murders the three served on occasion as liaison between those in the Embassy working directly on the case and the Salvadoran military. They did so with the full approval and coordination of Embassy officers as part of our ongoing effort to urge the Salvadoran government to pursue the investigation vigorously.

The Legal Attache at the Embassy in Mexico City contacted Juan Moran on June 21, 1982. Moran was asked if he would voluntarily submit to a polygraph examination concerning his allegations about the connection of a man named Cesar Cortez with the murders of the churchwomen. Moran failed to cooperate with USG officials. He stated that under no circumstances would he submit to a polygraph examination. He further warned that if he were contacted by USG officials during a planned trip to Houston, Texas in July that he would immediately leave the country.

Moran continues to maintain that he does not know the whereabouts of Cesar Cortez. Unfortunately, we have not been able to locate Mr. Cortez or determine if indeed Cortez exists.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

20. Q: Two of the family members said that their sisters had reported being followed by a Huey helicopter. One of them was being followed while on the road between Santa Rosa and La Libertad. This took place approximately three weeks prior to the killing. Has this been investigated?

A: The Salvadoran government had no Huey helicopters until January 1981. There was one US-manned OAS Huey helicopter in El Salvador in November-December 1980. For the most part, this helicopter patrolled the northern border with Honduras in Chalatenango and Cabanas Departments. It is possible that a helicopter would follow either of the two main roads by which one would travel from Santa Rosa to La Libertad for some distance while returning from Chalatenango to Ilopango Air Base. Helicopter logs for El Salvador do not indicate routes followed. They indicate only place of departure, places of all intermediate landings, and place of final landing for the day. Our Embassy is attempting, nevertheless, to obtain copies of the logs.

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D. Kemp KF084

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CERTIFICATION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 2, 1982

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: ARA - Ambassador Bosworth

FROM: ARA/SC - Robert E. Service RS

SUBJECT: Chile Certification -- Letelier/Moffitt Language

The attached represents an agreed State/Justice version of the International Terrorism portion of the certification report -- subject to review by higher levels in both Departments. Apart from a few nits that we or they may raise, there is only one major issue. Justice is very reluctant to state in the report that the Chilean Government did cooperate with the US, even if such cooperation is clearly defined. The paragraph at issue begins on the bottom of page 9, and really it is only the first sentence. I have insisted it stay in; we need at least that much handle to make a positive recommendation.

ARA/SC will send copies of this latest version to Justice on Tuesday. By early the following week Shaw or Dave Kemp should check with Rene Zavala to see where she has come out in her discussions with Jeff Harris and Giuliani. It may then be necessary for you or Tom to weigh in.

cc. ARA/SC - Mr. Smith
Mr. Kemp

*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 82SANSA05531

FILM= D820346-0081

DATE= 02 JUL 82

TYPE= TE

FROM= SAN SALVADOR
OR-P

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION ARA

TO= STATE
BOGOTA

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

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ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= GS 19880702 DRISCOLL, ROBERT S

SUBJECT= (C) RADIO VENCEREMOS CLAIMS OF MASSACRE

REFERENCE= 82 STATE 158431

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= ALLEGATIONS, MASSACRES, COMBAT OPERATIONS, RADIO BROADCASTING, VITAL

TAGS= PINS, PINT, SOPN, ES

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 05531 021506Z
ACTION ARA-16

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SAN SALVADOR 5531

E.O. 12065: GDS 07/01/88 (DRISCOLL, ROBERT S.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (C) RADIO VENCEREMOS CLAIMS OF MASSACRE

REF: STATE 158431

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. MILGRP COMMANDER CONTACTED CHIEF OF STAFF COL. RAFAEL FLORES LIMA ABOUT THE ALLEGATIONS OF MASSACRE IN CHALATENANGO IN JUNE. HE DENIED IT OUT OF HAND. BOTH MILGRP COMMANDER AND DAO HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO SPEAK DIRECTLY WITH THE COMMANDERS OF THE ATLACATL, ATONAL AND RAMON BELLOSO BATTALIONS. ALL THREE HAVE BEEN ON EXTENDED OPERATION IN MORAZAN AND HAVE NOT RETURNED TO SAN SALVADOR.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 05531 021506Z

3. CHRISTOPHER DICKEY RAN A STORY IN THE JUNE 11 EDITION OF THE MIAMI HERALD ABOUT THE CHALATENANGO OPERATION DURING WHICH THE MASSACRE WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE

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TAKEN PLACE. DICKEY QUOTED ATLACATL COMMANDER LT. COL. DOMINGO MONTERROSA AS SAYING, "SO IN THE CLASHES AND THE DISTINCT OPERATIONS THAT WE CARRIED OUT ABOUT HERE (REFERRING TO A MAP), IT'S NATURAL THAT THERE WERE A SERIES OF PEOPLE KILLED, SOME WITHOUT WEAPONS, INCLUDING SOME WOMEN, AND I UNDERSTAND SOME CHILDREN IN THE CROSSFIRE BETWEEN THEM AND US." HOWEVER, MONTERROSA FIRST POINTS OUT THAT THESE CIVILIANS WERE SUPPORTERS OF THE GUERRILLAS AND TRAVELED WITH THEM.

4. DICKEY TOLD POLCOUNS JUNE 16 THAT HE SUSPECTED THAT THE GUERRILLAS WERE TRYING TO MOVE THEIR CIVILIAN SUPPORTERS AWAY FROM THE ADVANCING ARMY FORCES UNDER ARMED ESCORT. WHEN APARTY WOULD WALK INTO AN ARMY UNIT, A FIRE FIGHT WOULD BREAK OUT. THE CIVILIANS WERE THE VICTIMS OF THE RESULTING CROSSFIRE. DICKEY, WHO HAS TRAVELED WITH THE GUERRILLAS, SAID THAT WHEN THEY MOVED HIM FROM PLACE TO PLACE, THEY USED JUST THIS SYSTEM. IF HIS ESCORTS HAD RUN INTO GOVERNMENT FORCES, HE COULD HAVE EASILY BECOME ANOTHER VICTIM OF EL SALVADOR'S WAR. DICKEY DID NOT FEEL THAT ANY MASSACRE WAS INTENDED NOR TOOK PLACE. RATHER, CIVILIANS BECAME VICTIMS OF WARFARE BETWEEN TWO ARMED GROUPS.

5. COMMENT: AS THE DEPARTMENT HAS PROBABLY NOTICED, EVERY ARMED FORCES OPERATION ALMOST INEVITABLY PRODUCES NEW MASSACRE ALLEGATIONS FROM RADIO VENCEREMOS. WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRIZED IF THE GUERRILLAS MAKE FURTHER ALLEGATIONS ONCE THEPRESENT OPERATION IN MORAZAN WINDS DOWN. THIS TIME, THE CHARGES WILL PROBABLY BE DIRECTED

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AGAINST THE A-37 AIRCRAFT WHICH HAVE RECENTLY ARRIVED IN EL SALVADOR. FURTHER, AS THE JULY 28 DATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATION OF ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR APPROACHES, WE EXPECT MORE MASSACRE STOREIS FROM RADIO VENCEREMOS. THESE STORIES WOULD BE PART OF THE FMLN'S EFFORT TO BLOCK CERTIFICATION. THE TRUTH, IN OUR OPINION, CONCERNING THE "MASSACRE" IN CHALATENANGO IS THAT SOME OF THE 135 PEOPLE THE ARMY CLAIMS TO HAVE KILLED WERE INDEED WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THEY WERE PART OF THE GUERRILLA VAN, AND THEY DIED IN A FIRE FIGHT BETWEEN THEIR GUERRILLA ESCORTS AND THE ARMY. WHAT HAPPENED, WHILE TRAGIC, WAS HARDLY A MASSACRE.

6. WE HAD NOT REPLIED TO THE REFTEL ON THE HOPE THAT WE COULD OBTAIN FURTHER DETAILS FROM THE UNIT COMMAN-

DERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE CHALATENANGO OPERATION. BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT RETURNED FROM MORAZAN, AND WE DO NOT KNOW WHEN THEY WILL. WE ARE REPORTING WHAT WE KNOW NOW. WE SHALL FOLLOW-UP WITH THESE OFFICERS UPON THEIR RETURN.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82STATE 169638

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PAGE 01 STATE 169638
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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS, 6/18/88
TAGS:SHUM, ES, MX
SUBJECT: CHURCHWOMEN'S CASE: MORAN LEAD
REF: 81 MEXICO 14053, ET AL
1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. IN A LETTER OF MAY 19, CONGRESSWOMAN MARY ROSE OAKAR, ON BEHALF OF FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE FOUR CHURCHWOMEN MURDERED IN EL SALVADOR, REQUESTS "THE INTERROGATION AND POLYGRAPH OF MR. MORAN, NOW RESIDING IN MEXICO, CONCERNING THE SO-CALLED WITNESS, CESAR CORTEZ."

3. UNLESS IT PERCEIVES OBJECTION, EMBASSY SHOULD IMMEDIATELY CONTACT JUAN JOSE MORAN, SALVADORAN CITIZEN NOW LIVING IN MEXICO, TO ASK IF HE WILL VOLUNTARILY SUBMIT TO
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 169638

POLYGRAPH TEST REGARDING HIS ALLEGATIONS ABOUT CESAR CORTEZ AND THE CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDERS. (DEPARTMENT HAS DISCUSSED THIS IMFORMALLY WITH THE FBI AND BELIEVES THAT, IF MORAN AGREES, THE FBI WILL BE WILLING TO SEND POLYGRAPH EXPERTS TO ADMINISTER TEST.) MORAN SHOULD BE-INFORMED THAT THE TEST WOULD BE PERFORMED IN THE U.S. EMBASSY. WE ASSUME LEGATT MEXICO WOULD OBTAIN CONCURRENCE OF APPROPRIATE MEXICAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE POLYGRAPH TEST IS ADMINISTERED.

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/22/03
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

KF084c

SC

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PB

MEMORANDUM

July 20, 1982

TO: ARA - Ambassador Bosworth

FROM: ARA/SC - N. Shaw Smith NSS

SUBJECT: Letelier Paper

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Renee Szybala called this afternoon with Giuliani's proposed revisions on the operative section of the Letelier/Moffitt paper, as shown in red on the attached. It strikes me as a good faith effort to meet our concerns and keep Barcella on board. But it takes away considerably from our draft. Of his proposed changes I recommend (1) that we do not accept the insertion of "any" on page 10. This is the most damaging single change; (2) that we accept the deletion of "appropriately" but in return argue for our "by expelling..." language, which makes it a generic assertion -- whereas, "to the extent of expelling..." clearly limits it to these two actions. Either you or Tom should probably raise this with Giuliani on the telephone.

With this resolved and the two largely technical changes proposed by Barcella (see memo attached) Justice is prepared to send us a letter saying that it supports the statement and vouches for its accuracy.

August 24

Amb Enders:

Since preparing this for Steve last month, I have reviewed further the Committee Report on certification (attached) and believe we are on weak grounds if we agree to eliminate "appropriately" since that is key word in certification requirement.

Shaw Smith

UNCLASSIFIED

Williams proposed changes pp 9-10
KF0847 12/14/82

In January 1981, the military judge investigating the conduct of Contreras, Espinoza, and Fernandez ruled to close the case on grounds that there was insufficient admissible evidence to bring charges against them. By a 3 to 1 vote, a four-judge appeals court, consisting of three military officers and one civilian approved closing the case. The Letelier family appealed the decision to the Supreme Court.

On January 14, 1982, the Supreme Court review panel decided unanimously to deny final closure of the case, finding that the "innocence of the accused had not been clearly established." Instead, the case is left pending and can be reopened if new evidence is brought forward. Lawyers for the Letelier family have said publicly that they are gathering additional information and will seek to have the military investigation resumed.

The Chilean Government, albeit under pressure, did [~~appropriately~~] cooperate with American law enforcement officials in the Letelier/Moffitt case to the extent of by expelling Michael Townley and releasing him from the relevant DINA oath of secrecy. It is doubtful that we could have obtained the indictments of August 1978 or the convictions at the first trial without such [~~cooperation~~] action. within

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

Chile the matter has been handled through legal channels and procedures, first by the Supreme Court in the extradition request, and subsequently through the military court system and up to the Supreme Court on the investigation of the three Chileans. That investigation has not resulted in indictments.

In assessing the extent of Chilean cooperation in investigating the Letelier/Moffitt assassinations, it is clear that there has at all times been strong opposition and attempts to undercut any cooperative efforts by Contreras, his supporters, and others within the Government, some of whom still occupy significant positions. More generally, there has been a pervasive desire among many Chileans, within and outside the government, to find a legally based rationale for not having to confront the central issue of DINA responsibility.

The principal rationale for the decision of the Supreme Court was that plea-bargained testimony, which is admissible in the U.S., is not admissible in a Chilean court. In using that argument to rule against extradition, the Chilean Supreme Court went against the predominant international practice that the rules of evidence in the requesting country should normally govern in determining

Department of State/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/93
... 552 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
... classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

[redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

AN: 0820382-018 [redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06116 2221022
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
M-01 IO-15 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-09
PA-01 MCT-02 ACDA-12 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /093 W
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R 2220002 JUL 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 793
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6116

E. O. 12065: GDS 07/21/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (C) ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS MEETS WITH DEFMIN GARCIA

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS, THE AMBASSADOR, AND POLOFF MET WITH DEFMIN GARCIA AT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE ON 7/20/82. THE 90 MINUTE CONVERSATION FOCUSED UPON THE ROLE OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY IN THE ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE REFORMS, AND THE PRESIDENT'S CERTIFICATION BEFORE CONGRESS. THE CONVERSATION IS HIGHLIGHTED BELOW.

2. PRISONERS
ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS NOTED THAT THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES DO NOT SEEM TO TAKE MANY PRISONERS IN COMBAT.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06116 2221022

GARCIA AGREED. HE RAISED THE ISSUE WITH HIS DEPART-

[redacted]

MENTAL COMMANDERS AT A MEETING
HIS FORCES HAVE MADE A SPECIAL
SONERS AND A NUMBER WERE CAPTU
IN THE PAST WEEK. A COMMISSION
WITH PRISONER PROBLEMS, AND A
WITH PRECISE DATA WILL BE FORT

3. VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS
GARCIA ASSERTED THAT THE BIGGE
ARMED FORCES CONCERNING VIOLE
ABUSES IS THE CIVIL DEFENSE OR
MILITIA UNITS ARE NOT WELL-TRA
WITHOUT UNIFORMS, AND OFTEN DO
ARMS. NEVERTHELESS, GARCIA CL
DUCING HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY
FORCES PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN DI
ABUSES IN THE LAST YEAR. GARCI
TINUING ABUSES RESULT PRIMARI
TROL PROBLEMS. HIS SENIOR OFF
TO PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS.
SUBORDINATES ARE NOT.

4. ICRC
THE DEFENSE MINISTER RECOGNIZ
ICRC TO THE NATION'S HUMAN RI
NATIONAL IMAGE. HE CLAIMED TH
TIVES HAD COMPLETE ACCESS TO
THIS WAS TRUE IN SPITE OF GOE
TACTS WITH AND VISITS TO GUER
EXPRESSED HIS COMPLETE CONFID
AND NEUTRALITY OF THE ICRC IN
5. DISAPPEARANCES.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06116

GARCIA ARGUED THAT MANY REPOR
ARE NOT AUTHENTIC AND MOST OT
SECURITY FORCES. HE FELT THAT
WERE ENGINEERED OR FABRICATED
ISTS. HE NOTED AS WELL THAT
SALVADORANS TO OBTAIN INFORMA
TIVES FROM THE GOES. IF THEY

6. AGRARIAN REFORM
ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS CO

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PUBLIC POSITION THAT THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES HAVE TAKEN WITH REGARD TO THE AGRARIAN REFORMS. GARICA CONFIRMED ONCE AGAIN THAT THE ARMED FORCES ARE COMMITTED TO THE REFORMS.

7. IN CLOSING, ABRAMS ASKED THE DEFENSE MINISTER TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE REFORMS. HE NOTED THAT THE GOES MUST PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF CONTINUED PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS. THEY MUST NOT TAKE CERTIFICATION FOR GRANTED. AS THE GROUP WAS LEAVING, THE AMBASSADOR ASKED THE MINISTER WHETHER A N'W SUB-SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WAS ABOUT TO BE APPOINTED. GARCIA RESPONDED THAT A PERMANENT SUB-SECRETARY WILL NOT BE NAMED, BUT THAT AN INTERIM OFFICIAL WILL SOON BE DESIGNATED.

8. THIS REPORT WAS PREPARED AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS FROM EL SALVADOR.
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[redacted]

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDB El Salvador SP Date 7/27/9
D: Classified per EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
[illegible] classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

[redacted]

[redacted] AN: D820385-0722

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06141 2323102
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 IO-15 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-09
PA-01 MCT-02 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /081 W
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R 2314162 JUL 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 810
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted] AN SALVADOR 6141

E. O. 12065: GDS 7/22/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: (U) ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS MEETS THE CAMPESINO LEADERS

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY. DURING A MEETING WITH ASSTSEC ABRAMS, UPD CAMPESINO LEADERS ARGUED THAT THE PHASE ONE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM CONTINUES AND THE REPORT OF THE DECREE 207 REVIEW COMMISSION WILL BE POSITIVE. THEY NOTED THAT CAMPESINO EVICTIONS CONTINUE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. THEY FAVORED THE CONTINUATION OF U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR WITH FURTHER CONDITIONS ATTACHED. THE CAMPESINO LEADERS REPORTED THAT VIOLENCE REMAINS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, BUT THAT THE ARMED FORCES ARE UNJUSTLY CHARGED WITH MANY ABUSES FOR WHICH THEY ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE. END SUMMARY.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06141 2323102

3. HUMAN AFFAIRS ASSTSEC ELLIOTT ABRAMS AND LABOFF MET [redacted] WITH UPD CAMPESINO LEADERS AND LOCAL AIFLD OFFICIALS AT THE AIFLD RESIDENCE IN SAN SALVADOR ON 7/20/82. SAMUEL MALDONADO (UCS), RAMON ARISTIDES MENDOZA (UCS), JORGE RUIZ CAMACHO (ACOPAI), AND SIMON PARADA (ACOPAI) REPRESENTED THE UPD CAMPESINO ORGANIZATIONS. ROBERTO TORRES, RUPERT SCHOFIELD, AND GORDON ELLISON REPRESENTED AIFLD. ASSTSEC ABRAMS DISCUSSED WITH THE CAMPESINO LEADERS THE PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS IN AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

4. AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRESS.
MR. ABRAMS ASKED THE CAMPESINOS HOW AGRARIAN REFORM HAD PROGRESSED SINCE THE ELECTION. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, THE UCS' MALDONADO ANSWERED THAT THE PHASE ONE PROGRAM CONTINUES. FURTHERMORE, THE UPD WAS PLEASED WITH THE INITIAL RESULTS OF THE DECREEE 207 REVIEW COMMISSION APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT MAGANA IN JUNE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THIS REPORT WOULD CONSTITUTE REAL PROGRESS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DECREE 207 IF IT WERE NOT ALTERED SUBSEQUENTLY.

5. AGRARIAN REFORM PROBLEMS.
ALL OF THE CAMPESINO LEADERS AGREED THAT EVICTIONS OF DECREE 207 BENEFICIARIES CONTINUE. SOME ARE ORDERED BY LOCAL MILITARY OFFICIAS, SOME BY THE LANDOWNERS, AND SOME BY FINATA ITSELF. MALDONADO NOTED THAT MORE UCS MEMBERS WERE EVICTED IN JUNE THAN WERE EVICTED IN MAY. THE CAMPESINOS AGREED THAT THE ARMEY IS MAKING A GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO RESTORE EVICTED CAMPESINOS TO THEIR LANDS. OFTEN, HOWEVER, CAMPESINOS ARE TRANSFERRED TO INFERIOR LAND OR ARE EXPELLED AGAIN SHORTLY AFTER THEIR RESTORATIONS. ACOPAI'S CAMACHO AND UCS' MALDONADO ARE CONVINCED THAT THE AGRARIAN REFORM [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06141 2323102

INSTITUTES OF ISTA AND FINATA ARE NOW COMPLETELY INFILTRATED BY RIGHT-WING OPPONENTS OF THE REFORMS. THEY BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT PERSONNEL CHANGES WILL CAUSE CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN THE FUTURE FOR THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM.

6. CONTINUED U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR.
THE CAMPESOIO LEADERS AGREED UNANIMOUSLY THAT CONTINUED U.S. ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID IS IN THE BEST INTEREST OF EL SALVADOR AND THEIR OWN MEMBERSHIP. MALDONADO ARGUED THAT IT SHOULD BE FURTHER CONDITIONED TO PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE AGRARIAN REFORMS. PROGRESS IN THE AGRARIAN REFORMS SHOULD [redacted]

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INCLUDE A REQUIREMENT FOR PROGRESS IN PHASE TWO OF THE PROGRAM.

7. HUMAN RIGHTS STITATION.
ASSTSEC ABRAMS ASKED FOR THE CAMPESINOS' OPINIONS ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS AND VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. ALL AGREED THAT THE PROBLEMS CONTINUE WITH LITTLE CHANGE. CAMACHO QUOTED A FIGURE OF 431 UPD MEMBERS KILLED SINCE MAY 1982. MALDONADO SUGGESTED THAT THE CIVIL DEFENSE UNITS (LOCAL MILITIA) WERE REPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE EXCESSES ATTRIBUTED TO THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES. CAMACHO WENT ON TO NOTE THAT THE ARMED FORCES ARE CHARGED WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANY ABUSES FOR WHICH THEY ARE NOT AT FAULT. ACCORDING TO CAMACHO, THERE IS USUALLY SOME REASON OR JUSTIFICATION BEHIND MOST VIOLENT INCIDENTS. INNOCENT BYSTANDERS ARE CAUGHT IN CROSS FIRES. INEXPERIENCED SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL PURSUE LEGITIMATE LEADS TOO ENTHUSIASTICALLY. CAMACHO SUGGESTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND MOST INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS IN EL SALVADOR DO NOT PROVIDE OBJECTIVE REPORTING ON THE REAL HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR.

8. COMMENT. THE CAMPESINO LEADERS MADE AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO BALANCE THEIR COMMENTS ON AGRARIAN REFORM AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS WAS ESPECIALLY NOTICEABLE IN CAMACHO'S REMARKS CONCERNING VIOLENCE BY THE ARMED FORCES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

[redacted]

THIS EFFORT TO ACHIEVE BALANCE AUGURS WELL FOR THE NEXT UPD VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

9. THIS REPORT WAS PREPARED AFTER ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS' DEPARTURE FROM EL SALVADOR.
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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006184

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06184 2615012
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 NSC-01 NSAE-00 SY-05 HA-08 L-03
PM-09 PA-01 MCT-02 SAL-01 ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02
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R 2613312 JUL 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 832
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF//

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6184

EO 12065: RDS-4 7/21/02 OC-P
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJ: (C) PAR SECRETACY GENERAL APPROACHES EMBASSY ABOUT DIALOGUE WITH THE FMLN

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. ON JULY 20 POLOFF WAS VISITED BY ERNESTO OYARBIDE, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARTIDO ACCION RENOVADORA (PAR), A LEFT OF CENTER POLITICAL PARTY. HE SAID THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FMLN ASKED HIM TO APPROACH AMBASSADOR HINTON ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING A DIALOGUE. THE FMLN WOULD FIRST LIKE TO SPEAK WITH AMBASSADOR HINTON. THEN, IF SECURITY GUARANTEES COULD BE ARRANGED, THE FMLN WOULD SPEAK DIRECTLY WITH GOES.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06184 2615012

POLOFF RESPONDED THAT GOES OFFICIALS HAVE PUBLICLY STATED THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE POWER WITH THE GUERRILLAS. THEY MAY, HOWEVER, BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THE LEFT'S ENTRY INTO AND PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. OYARBIDE SAID THAT HE FEELS THE GUERRILLAS MAY BE READY TO ACCEPT THIS POSSIBILITY. OYARBIDE HAS HEARD TALK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE LEFT'S USING THE UNION DEMOCRATICA NACIONAL (UDN) AS A FRONT GROUP FOR THE SALVADORAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCS) POLITICAL

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: S9400034C

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VEHICLE TO REENTER THE POLITICAL ARENA.

3. OYARBIDE SAID THAT THE PEOPLE WHO APPROACHED HIM WERE LABOR ACTIVISTS HE HAS KNOWN FOR YEARS. HE FEELS THEY REALLY REPRESENT THE FMLN, ALTHOUGH PERHPAS NOT ALL OF THE GROUPS THAT FORM THAT ORGANIZATION.

4. OYARBIDE HAS MET WITH INTERMEDIARIES OF THE FMLN IN CHALATENANGO AND SUCHITLAN (SIC). HE SAID THE GUERRILLAS ARE QUITE STRONG. HE DOUBTS THAT AN AMNESTY PROGRAM WOULD HAVE MUCH EFFECT AS IT WOULD BE NO MORE THAN AN OFFER TO SURRENDER. ALSO, VERY FEW GUERRILLAS ARE LIKELY TO PLACE MUCH TRUST IN THE PROGRAM. ACCORDING TO OYARBIDE THE GUERRILLAS ARE INTERESTED IN A DIALOGUE BECAUSE THEY FEEL THE ARMY AND THE GOES ARE TIRED OF THE WAR AND READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS.

5. OYARBIDE SAID THAT HE STILL HAS HIS PARTY DIRECTORATE ORGANIZED AND OPERATING. THEY ARE THINKING OF TALKING TO COL. MAJANO ABOUT RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT UNDER THEIR BANNER IN THE NEXT ELECTIONS.

6. COMMENT: NO ONE TAKES OYARBIDE VERY SERIOUSLY AND THE EMBASSY IS NO EXCEPTION. THE IDENTITY OF PAR'S [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06184 281501Z

PARTY DIRECTORATE IS ONE OF THE BEST KEPT SECRETS IN EL SALVADOR. MANY KNOWLEDGEABLE OBSERVERS SUGGEST THAT IT CONSTITUTES ONE INDIVIDUAL -- ERNESTO OYARBIDE. EMBASSY DOES NOT PROPOSE TO TAKE ANY FURTHER ACTION ON THIS EXCEPT TO SUGGEST TO OYARBIDE THAT HE RELAY FUTURE APPROACHES DIRECTLY TO THE GOES. EMBASSY ALSO NOTES THAT THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME EE HAVE HEARD THAT ELEMENTS OF THE FMLN WANT TO TALK. IF TIME EVER COMES TO TALK, WE WOULD NOT WANT OYARBIDE IN ACT.
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Undated 5/1/81

DS

Communications received by the Motta family from Toni Agatina Motta

AH011

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade t
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _

Mid-February, 1980	Toni Agatina Motta left Italy.
March 20, 1980	Card received from Madrid.
April 8, 1980	Card received from Mexico.
April 13, 1980	Letter received from Mexico.
May 5, 1980	Letter received from Mexico, saying that the same night at 3:00 A.M. they were to take a plane to Lima, Peru. After three or four days, they were going to Ascencion,Paraguay. After two days or so, they would then take the bus to Buenos Aires, Argentina, and would stay there three weeks.
May 9, 1980	Short letter received from Peru, saying that they were leaving the next day for Ascencion, Paraguay.
May 9, 1980	Card received from Lima, Peru.
June 4, 1980	Letter received from Bogota, Colombia, saying that they spent three weeks in Buenos Aires.
Phone Calls	Received from various places along their trip The last call was the only call received from Argentina.
August, 1980	Only phone call from Argentina. They were supposed to take the plane that same night to either Paraguay or Uruguay. Phone call was unexpectedly short, and Mrs. Motta (who received the call) realized from the nature of the call that Toni was in a state of fear or imminent danger.

Since the last call in August, we have not heard from her, nor have we received any mail.

On April 1, 1981, the Motta family made contact with the American Comsulate in Palermo, Sicily. The Consulate contacted the American Embassies in the various Latin American countries, asking if there was any information about this american citizen there. The Consulate received negative answers from all, and said therefore that they could not do anything else.

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TONI AGATINA MOTTA

Toni Agatina Motta left Brooklyn for Sicily, Italy in November, 1962. She finished high school in the Stephen Decatur school of Siganella, at the American NATO base in Sicily. She worked for four years as the chief sales person for an american store in Sigonella. She went to Rome to continue her education at John Cabot's University. While she was in Rome, she also worked for the Daily American newspaper. When that newspaper closed, she went to work for the International Daily News.

Toni met Salvatore Privitera and became very involved with him. They were going to get married. She left with him for South America knowing that Salvatore was already in an Argentine prison from 1975 to 1979 under executive powers (PEN), and that he was helped by the Italian government to obtain his release with the agreement that he would not be able to return to Argentina.

Identification:

Toni Agatina Motta
Born October 23, 1948
Jewish Hospital, Brooklyn, New York
Lived in Brooklyn at 1011 P Avenue.
U.S. Citizen
Passport No. Z-2811942

P820122-2056

FAIM/IAP
Keith White

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BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

ASSESSMENTS AND RESEARCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CMR Date 12/5/97
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FOIA Exemptions
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(U) TRENDS IN ENERGY USE IN BRAZIL, INDIA, KOREA, AND MEXICO[1]

Summary

Analysis of commercial energy forecasts in India, the Republic of Korea, Brazil, and Mexico--which now account for about 40 percent of developing-country energy consumption--leads to two conclusions:

--In all four cases the rates of increase in aggregate commercial energy consumption are lower than in the recent past. In India, energy consumption, which rose by 4.7 percent annually between 1973 and 1979, is projected to rise by only 4.0 percent annually over the next 20 years. Korean energy consumption growth rates are projected to drop to between 5 and 8 percent over the next decade compared with 11 percent before 1979. The same trend is forecast for Brazil and even Mexico, which is emerging as a major energy producer.

--Despite this downward adjustment, these projections may well be too high. "Alternative" estimates suggest that rates of increase in energy consumption in India over the next 20 years will be 3.5 percent annually in place of the 4.0 percent projected in the Indian Energy Group report, and in Mexico 5.5 percent in place of the 6.6 percent projected by the Comision Nacional de Energia. In Korea and

1/ This assessment is based on a study titled "Future Energy Consumption in India, Brazil, Republic of Korea and Mexico," prepared by Joy Dunkerley, Resources for the Future, for the Office of Long-Range Assessments and Research (INR/LAR). A limited number of copies of the full study are available from William J. Trainor, INR/LAR, 632-0805.

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Report 441-AR
August 3, 1982

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Brazil, rates of increase are likely to be at the lower end of the wide range projected by several government and private organizations.

Because these four countries account for 40 percent of total developing-country energy consumption, any change in their projected rates of consumption will strongly affect the total. Thus if their share of the total remains constant, total developing-country commercial consumption could be somewhat lower, say between 4 to 5 percent annually, than the 6 percent currently forecast for the next 10 years.

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Background

Gross national product (GNP) varies substantially among Brazil, India, Korea, and Mexico, from a low of $56 billion in Korea to more than $200 billion in Brazil (see table 1, appended). Per capita GNP in the three newly industrializing countries (NICs)--Brazil, Korea, and Mexico--varies by only 10 percent. They are among the world's richest developing countries in both absolute and per capita terms. India, on the other hand, despite the size of its economy, is one of the poorest, with a per capita income only one-eighth that of the other three.

Various other indicators show that Brazil, Korea, and Mexico are at a comparable level of development in contrast to India. For example, only 22 percent of India's population lives in urban centers, whereas 55 to 67 percent of the three richer NICs' population is urban-based. Moreover, only about 40 percent of Brazil's, Korea's, and Mexico's labor force is still employed in agriculture, whereas almost three-quarters of India's labor force rely on agricultural employment. India is also far behind the other countries in such social indicators as adult literacy, access to safe drinking water, and life expectancy.

Aggregate Commercial Energy Consumption

The combined commercial energy consumption of these four countries is a significant part of the LDC total (table 2). In the 1950-73 period their percentage share of the total declined rather steadily from 44.3 percent to 36.3 percent. Following the 1973-74 oil price rise, however, their aggregate commercial demand grew steadily until 1979, when it again reached 39 percent of total LDC energy consumption.

Over the 1950-73 period, the combined commercial energy consumption of these four countries rose by about 6 percent a year--just below the average for all developing countries (7 percent) and above the world average of 5 percent (table 2). After 1973 their energy consumption rose at 7 percent--more rapidly than in the other groups.

There was considerable variation among the four countries. Indian energy consumption rose steadily and slowly at 4 percent a year. Mexico's energy consumption rose more rapidly (around 7 percent), also without much variation. In Brazil and Korea the rates

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of consumption were more irregular. The average Brazilian rate of increase before 1973 was 8 percent. Between 1973 and 1974, consumption shot up to 12 percent before falling back to a 6-percent rate between 1974 and 1979. In Korea, high average consumption increases (16 percent) before 1973 gave place to a small increase in 1974 before rising again to more than 12 percent per year in the 1974-79 period. The interesting point here is that in all countries, whether net oil exporters like Mexico, or importers like the other three, energy consumption rates remained high even after the sharp oil price increase of 1973-74.

Per capita energy consumption also varied considerably among these countries (table 3). In 1979 Korea and Mexico consumed about 1 million tons oil equivalent (MTOE), which was not far below the world's average and three times higher than the LDC average. Per capita consumption in Brazil was about 0.5 MTOE, still above the LDC average. Indian per capita consumption at 0.1 MTOE was less than 10 percent of world consumption and only one-third of LDC average consumption. These averages, however, mask social and regional differences. For example, in Brazil the industrial and wealthy Southeast (including Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo) consumes four times the energy per capita of any other region and more than six times the per capita electricity use of Brazil's North and Northeast regions.

Sectoral Commercial Energy Consumption

Industry is the major energy consumer in these countries, accounting for between 30 and 50 percent of the total (table 4). Transportation is also a major demand sector, accounting for 20 percent or more. The transportation sector is of particular importance because it relies almost exclusively on petroleum products; it may use up to 40 percent of all petroleum products consumed in developing countries. The household sector accounts for a relatively small part (about 10 percent) of total consumption of commercial fuels. The inclusion of noncommercial fuels, used mainly for cooking, would, in countries with large rural populations, make the residential sector the largest end user. The electricity sector, comprised primarily of thermal electric generation, accounts for about 20 percent of total commercial energy consumption.

These proportions vary from country to country. In Brazil, for example, transportation accounts for an exceptionally large part (35 percent) of total energy consumption. In Korea both the household and the electricity-generating sectors account for an atypically large part of total consumption. Even rural households in Korea use commercial fuels, and the relatively low level of hydroelectric power implies a larger role for thermal generation.

Both before and after 1973, commercial energy consumption in the three main consuming sectors--industry, transport, and household--rose in all four countries (table 5). Prior to 1973, the rate of increase in most sectors was almost the same as the rise in aggregate energy consumption. All sectors contributed proportionately to the increase in total consumption. After 1973, growth rates in the various sectors showed more divergence. Though it is difficult to generalize, the rate of growth appears to have fallen most sharply in the transportation sectors.

The rapid expansion of the electricity sector was a major feature in all developing countries (table 6). From 1950 to 1973, growth rates of 10 percent per year and more were experienced. After 1973, growth rates hardly faltered--indeed, in Brazil they accelerated. Such high rates--admittedly from a very low base--might have been even higher if additional supplies had been available. Many countries had unsatisfied demand.

Commercial Energy Resources and Supplies

The four countries differ considerably in their commercial energy endowments and therefore in their reliance on imported supplies (table 7). All have significant production of some commercial fuels--coal in Korea and India, oil and gas in Mexico, hydroelectricity in all. Korea and India already have nuclear generating capacity. These four countries account for more than one-half of total primary electricity (hydro and nuclear) generated in developing countries.

Except for Mexico, domestic energy production has been insufficient to meet local consumption in recent years. Brazil and Korea imported about 70 percent of their total energy needs in 1979, up from two-thirds in 1973. India imports 13 percent of its energy supplies. Mexico, on the other hand, by virtue of rapid oil and gas development in the 1970s, was in 1979 a major net exporter, exporting more than 30 percent of its total domestic energy production.

For three of the four countries, import dependence for oil is much higher than for any other fuel source. Korea imports all of its oil, Brazil about 80 percent, and India about 50 percent. The three account for 27 percent of total LDC crude oil imports. The cost of oil imports, especially in the wake of the 1979-80 oil price increase, is of major concern to these countries. Oil imports acount for a substantial part of their total imports; consequently, price increases of the magnitude of 1973-74 and 1979 put serious strain on their external finances. In 1980, oil imports accounted for about nearly one-half the import bill of both India and Brazil, and 27 percent of Korea's.

Growth in Gross National Product

The record of these countries testifies to a close association between economic growth and energy consumption (table 8). Before and after the oil price increase of 1973, both energy consumption and income rose in all four countries. Further, the rate of energy demand growth in these periods was closely related to the rate of economic growth. Those countries with the fastest rates of economic growth before 1973--Brazil, Mexico, and Korea--also experienced the fastest rates of growth in energy demand. India, which had a much slower rate of economic growth, experienced the slowest rate of growth in energy consumption. Since 1973, both GNP and energy consumption have continued to rise in all four countries, and again higher rates of economic growth have been associated with higher energy consumption.

Despite their close relationship, rates of economic growth and of energy consumption do not usually rise by the same percentage. Sometimes one is higher, sometimes the other. Prior to 1973, energy consumption was growing faster than output in Mexico and Korea, at about the same rate in Brazil, and slower in India. After 1973, despite high oil prices the growth rate of commercial energy was faster than that of GNP in all four countries.

Traditional Fuels

Traditional fuels play a major role in the rural energy balance of these countries and are used extensively in the modern industrial sector. For example, charcoal is used to produce one-half of Brazil's crude steel.

The share of traditional fuels in total energy consumption varies considerably (table 9), from about 5 percent in Mexico and Korea to one-third in Brazil and one-quarter in India. In all cases it declined over the 1970-77 period and certainly before. In Korea and Mexico the substitution of commercial for traditional energy may be coming to an end, but in India and Brazil further substitution potential may raise the rates of increase in commercial fuels consumption. Of course, a reverse substitution could take place, stimulated by price increases for commercial fuels.

Energy Prices

The 1970s witnessed a reversal in the historic trends of declining energy prices. Specifically, prices of imported petroleum, which declined during much of the sixties, began rising steadily in the early seventies, resulting in a fivefold increase in real prices over 10 years.

The dramatic increases in crude oil prices have perhaps diverted attention from trends in the prices of petroleum

products--gasoline, kerosine, light and heating oils--paid by consumers. Because of the large margin of costs for refining and distributing petroleum products and a large tax element in many countries, the price of crude oil is frequently a relatively small part of the price of petroleum products to consumers. Rises in crude oil prices are therefore much diluted at the retail level. In addition, typically high rates of inflation in many countries have reduced the rate of increase in real prices of petroleum products. Finally, government policies frequently have been devoted to controlling price increases of such fuels as kerosine and heating oil.

From available data for these countries (table 10) and from observations in other comparable countries it appears that gasoline and industrial fuel oil prices may have doubled in real terms in the 1970s. The actual increase varied from country to country depending on inflation and movement of the local currency in relation to the US dollar, in which the price of internationally traded oil is denominated. Prices of kerosine, a politically sensitive and frequently subsidized fuel used for cooking and for lighting in areas lacking electricity, have risen by much less, about 50 percent. In Mexico, the only net oil exporter of our group, kerosine prices have declined sharply in real terms, while gasoline prices, though changing from year to year, were no higher at the end of the seventies than at the beginning.

Of the other energy sources, the wholesale price of coal either remained stable or increased moderately. Often this was the result of government policies designed to encourage coal usage over imported petroleum products. Prices (wholesale) of electricity fell in all cases, in some cases as much as 20 percent. In most of these countries (Korea is the main exception), much of the electricity generating capacity is hydroelectric. Consequently, the oil price increases did not directly affect the average level of electricity tariffs. A composite of energy prices, including all sources of energy and the 1979-80 increase in oil prices, might have shown a 100-percent increase in real terms over the 10-year period. These are historically high rates of increase, but substantially less than the more-often discussed rates in crude oil prices.

There is a widespread perception that energy consumption in developing countries is not sensitive to energy price increases. This perception seems at first to be confirmed by the above discussion of energy consumption which indicates very little change in trends before and after 1973. There are a number of reasons for the lack of change:

--Energy prices to consumers, though rising in most cases, did not rise as much as might have been deduced from the dramatic increase in oil prices.

--Sufficient time may not have elapsed to permit the installation of new, more energy-efficient equipment appropriate to higher energy prices, especially as in many operations energy costs are a small part of total costs. Estimates for both India and Korea indicate that fuel costs--prior to the last crude-oil price hike--accounted for about 7 percent of total industrial production costs.

--Rates of economic growth continued to be high after 1973; and under any reasonable assumptions of income and price elasticities of demand for energy in the developing countries, the influence of income growth will outweigh the effect of higher energy prices. This does not mean that the effect of prices is not important. Rather, it means that given the rates of economic growth anticipated in developing countries--they are necessary if living standards of large populations are to be improved--the rate of growth in energy consumption will continue to be high. The effect of higher energy prices will be to moderate the rate of increase.

On a more disaggregated level, there is some evidence of a considerable degree of responsiveness of energy consumption to energy prices (table 11). In all four countries, gasoline consumption rose by 5 to 10 percent prior to 1973, when real prices were constant, and even were declining in Brazil and Mexico. After 1973, the sharp rise in real prices was associated with a marked reduction in overall gasoline consumption.

Future Consumption

What accounts for the variations between past experience and alternative views of the future as outlined in the summary and table 12? In general terms, these differences can be said to stem from assumptions--sometimes explicit but often implicit--about rates of economic growth, future movements in energy prices, and government energy policies. Thus an increase in economic growth rates would lead (other things being equal) to an increase in energy consumption, though it is not clear by how much. In developing countries, energy consumption typically increases by more than the economic growth rate, reflecting the change from low-energy intensive agriculture to higher-energy intensive industry which is the essence ~~of~~ the development process. Though this relationship (the income elasticity of demand) has not been satisfactorily estimated for developing countries, many studies use an elasticity of 1.3, which means that a 10-percent increase in economic growth would be associated with a 13-percent increase in energy consumption.

But over the last decade especially, "other things" have not been equal. Energy prices have risen sharply, thus moderating the

strong upward trend in energy consumption stemming from the economic development process. Two aspects of energy prices should be considered: the extent of the energy price increase, and the responsiveness of energy consumption to that increase (the price elasticity of demand for energy). Like income elasticity, price elasticity has not been satisfactorily estimated for developing countries, though there is a consensus that it is quite low, around -0.3. This means that a 10-percent increase in energy prices would lead to a 3-percent decline in energy consumption.

In addition to these price- and income-related factors, government policies can encourage or discourage energy use through a variety of such measures as the imposition of standards governing energy efficiency in buildings, industry, or transport, and rationing. Government policies with regard to subsidies and taxation of energy products are of course more directly reflected in energy prices.

Assumptions about these factors are not always made clear in projections, and therefore have to be deduced. Usually, however, assumptions about the rate of economic growth are cited. Table 12 indicates that despite the downward revision in energy consumption growth rates from the 1973-79 period forecast in the latest projections, economic growth rates in three out of four cases were not projected to decline. In India economic growth rates were forecast to rise from 3.7 percent in 1973-79 to 5.6 percent between 1980 and 2000; in Mexico, from 4.6 percent to 8 percent. The rate was projected to remain constant in Brazil. Only in Korea was the rate projected to decline--from 10 percent to 8 percent.

Many of the gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate forecasts upon which the latest estimates are based now seem rather high. The second oil shock in 1979-80, stagnation in the industrial countries, low levels of foreign assistance, and high interest rates suggest that economic growth rates will be significantly lower than was thought reasonable a couple of years ago. Nowhere is this tendency illustrated more dramatically than in the case of Korea, where an unrivaled record of growth was halted, at least temporarily, in 1980.

The future ~~of oil~~ prices is critical to any view of future energy prices, and here the consensus is that oil prices will remain stable or decline in real terms to the mid-1980s and then rise by about 3 percent a year. Assuming, as in the past, that a 10-percent increase in crude oil prices is associated with a 4-percent increase in overall energy prices in oil-importing countries, then the oil-induced price rise could cause the general level of energy prices to rise by 20 percent over the next 20 years. This would not be a large increase compared with the last

decade, nor sufficient to reduce significantly rates of energy consumption growth.

In several countries, however, there are moves to increase prices by much more than the oil-induced price rise by removing or phasing out subsidies. Mexico plans to bring its currently very low energy prices more into line with international prices; and Korea plans to remove the subsidies on coal briquets, the major form of heating fuel in its household sector. As oil bills rise, the Indian Government will feel increased pressures to remove price controls on domestically produced oil and coal. Similar pressures on the oil-importing countries may encourage tax increases on energy products. High interest rates will lead to higher costs in the expanding electricity sectors of these countries, in turn leading to sharply higher electricity tariffs. Furthermore, because the full effect of rising energy prices takes some time, energy consumption will continue to be affected by past price rises, especially those that took place in the wake of the 1979-80 oil price increase, thus reinforcing the responsiveness of energy consumption to rising energy prices.

The analysis of commercial energy consumption forecasts for these countries indicates a consistent tendency to lower projections. The later the date on which a forecast was made for any given year, the lower the forecast level of energy consumption. This result is in sharp contrast to projections made by a number of institutions for the entire group of developing countries. Typically in these studies, the later the date on which the projection was made, the higher the energy consumption levels. The main reason for this is that the more recent forecasts were able to incorporate the unexpectedly rapid rate of increase in energy consumption that took place in the non-oil developing countries over the last decade despite the initial rise in oil prices.

It is of course possible that in the 1980s and 1990s, as in the 1970s, energy growth rates and energy consumption will continue to rise rapidly despite oil price increases. But this is unlikely. The external environment now is not as encouraging to growth as in the 1970s, and high external deficits probably will oblige governments to take stronger measures with regard to oil imports. If this assessment of the situation is correct, many current projections of energy consumption for the oil-importing developing countries as a group may be too high. The four countries analyzed here account for about 40 percent of total energy consumption in the developing countries. Their rate of increase in energy consumption is typically higher than that of the group as a whole. If energy consumption growth rates in these major consumers fall to 5.0 percent a year compared with between 6 and 7 percent over the last 30 years, growth in energy consumption for the LDC group

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as a whole will be lower--nearer 4.5 percent--than current estimates of 6 percent.

Supply Projections

Recent supply estimates of these countries reflect two aims. The first is to keep down oil imports. In Korea, oil imports can be kept to current levels if other energy imports--coal and liquid natural gas--and the electricity sector develop as planned. India's oil imports will double. As oil currently has a small share in the Indian economy, and is used mainly in sectors like transportation where there are no alternative fuels, imports will have to increase to meet the growth needs of these sectors. The Brazilian projections give a range of oil imports from somewhat lower to somewhat higher than present import levels.

At present, these three countries account for about 30 percent of the oil imports of developing countries. If they continue to account for 30 percent, then oil imports to the developing countries could amount to about 10 million barrels per day in the year 2000, compared with about 6 million barrels per day now. The oil-importing developing countries will be the major expanding market over the next 20 years.

The second aim on the supply side of the energy projections is to continue the rapid expansion of electricity which has been taking place in all four countries over the last 30 years. The 1973-74 increase in oil prices appeared to have little effect on the electricity sector. And although the rate of increase will be somewhat slower than in the past, it will, in all cases, be more rapid than the increase in total energy consumption. This means that the share of electricity in total consumption will rise.

Several uncertainties are associated with these developments in the electricity sector:

--Insofar as they depend, as in Korea, on the rapid development of nuclear generation, they must be interpreted with some caution. Rapid development of nuclear generation implies equally rapid development in financial, engineering, and planning capabilities. Given the many uncertainties facing nuclear development, it may not be possible to complete ambitious programs in the planned time frame.

--High interest rates will add disproportionately to the cost of such capital-intensive investments as nuclear and hydro-generation facilities.

--In some countries, by the end of the century a large share of total energy will be provided by electricity--more than

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30 percent in Korea and 40 percent in Brazil. Such a major change in the composition of energy supplies toward electricity will raise the average cost of energy used. It may also involve very high complementary investments. Given the large investments which will be made in the electricity sector, it is essential to know more about possible markets for this electricity in developing countries.

Conclusion

The latest energy projections from these countries indicate a marked slowing in energy consumption growth from the very high rates of the pre-1973 and even pre-1979 periods. Examination of these projections suggests that a further downward scaling is realistic, based on generally lower economic growth rates, a continued rise in energy prices, and these countries' determination to constrain oil imports.

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Table 1. Selection of Economic and Social Indicators

	Brazil	India	Korea	Mexico
1979 gross national product (billion US$)	207.3	126.0	55.9	107.6
1979 population (million)	122.9	658.3	37.3	67.6
GNP per capita (US$)	1,690	190	1,500	1,590
1980 urban population as percentage of total	65	22	55	67
1979 percentage of labor force in				
agriculture	40	71	36	37
industry	22	11	30	26
services	38	18	34	37
Adult literacy (percent)	76	36	93	82
Access to safe water (percent)	77	33	71	62
Life expectancy (years)	63	52	63	66

Sources: World Bank, 1980 World Bank Atlas (Washington, D.C., World Bank, 1981), and World Bank, World Development Report 1981 (Washington, D.C., World Bank, 1981).

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Table 2. Total Commercial Energy Consumption
(million metric tons oil equivalent)

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1973	1974	1979	Annual Growth Rates (percent) 1950-73	1973-74	1974-79
Brazil	7.0	11.3	15.9	20.2	28.6	40.8	45.8	62.6	8.0	12.2	6.4
India 1/	24.1	30.0	41.9	57.1	52.5	60.8	62.9	79.9	4.1	3.5	4.9
Korea 1/	0.7	2.0	4.4	8.4	14.4	20.3	20.9	37.1	15.7	3.0	12.2
Mexico	10.1	13.1	18.9	22.4	36.8	45.4	49.5	71.2	6.8	9.0	7.5
Total	41.9	56.4	81.1	108.1	132.3	167.3	179.1	250.8	6.2	7.1	7.0
Total LDCs	94.5	138.0	194.5	264.5	356.6	454.9	478.9	641.8	7.1	5.3	6.0
(Percent of total LDCs:	(44.3)	(40.9)	(41.7)	(40.9)	(37.1)	(36.8)	(37.4)	(39.1)			
World	1,695.2	2,205.2	2,885.2	3,544.2	4,478.8	5,115.1	5,138.4	5,987.6	4.9	0.5	3.1

Sources: United Nations, World Energy Supplies 1950-1974 (New York, UN, 1976) and United Nations, 1979 Yearbook of World Energy Statistics (New York, UN, 1981).

1/ Data for 1950-1965 not strictly comparable with 1970-1979 series.

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Table 3. Per Capita Commercial Energy Consumption
(kg oil equivalent per capita)

	1960	1965	1970	1973	1974	1975	1979
Brazil	226	250	309	406	444	460	527
India[1/]	97	118	97	105	107	114	123
Korea[1/]	175	296	445	595	601	651	986
Mexico	524	541	726	809	851	844	1,026
Total LDCs	145	180	208	247	253	261	300
World	941	1,062	1,225	1,324	1,306	1,292	1,389

Source: United Nations, World Energy Supplies 1950-1974 (New York, UN, 1976) and United Nations. 1979 Yearbook of World Energy Statistics (New York, UN, 1981).

1/ Data for 1960 and 1965 not strictly comparable with 1970-1979 series.

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Table 4. Sectoral Energy Use
(million metric tons oil equivalent)

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Commercial Fuels

	Total	Industry	Transportation	Household[1/]	Non-Energy	Transformation Losses[2/] and Undistributed
Brazil (1976)	60.5	20.2	21.3	8.2	4.1	6.7
	(100)	(33)	(35)	(14)	(7)	(11)
India (1975-76)	80.7	35.5	19.4	9.2	3.0[3/]	13.6
	(100)	(44)	(24)	(11)	(4)	(17)
Korea (1979)	38.4	15.1	4.3	12.0	[4/]	7.4
	(100)	(39)	(11)	(31)	--	(19)
Mexico (1977)	71.7	34.3	15.9	6.0	2.0	13.5
	(100)	(48)	(22)	(8)	(3)	(19)

Note: Parentheses following country refer to year of consumption, and parentheses below consumption data refer to the sector's share of total energy demand.

Sources: Brazil and Mexico data from International Energy Agency/Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Workshop on Energy Data of Developing Countries (Paris, IEA/OECD, 1979); Korea data from Ho Tak Kim, Korea's Energy Experience in the '70's and Short- to Medium-Term Options Open to Korea (Seoul, Korea Energy Research Institute, September 1980) and Economic Planning Board, Major Statistics of Korean Economy (Seoul, EPB, 1980); India data derived from Planning Commission, Government of India, Report of the Working Group on Energy Policy (New Delhi, 1979).

1/ Includes energy use in household agriculture, commercial, and public services.

2/ Does not include estimates of theoretical input losses for nuclear and hydro electricity. Rather, includes primarily refinery and thermal generated electricity losses.

3/ Includes .3 million tons oil equivalent of natural gas not included in Planning Commission data cited above.

4/ Non-energy sector use not available, but probably included in industry totals.

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Table 5. Average Annual Commercial Energy Growth Rates, by Sector

	Pre-1973[1/]	Post-1973[2/]
Brazil		
Total	12.0	8.1
Industrial	13.3	9.9
Transportation	10.8	8.1
Residential	12.2	8.6
India		
Total	4.1	3.0
Industrial	5.3	1.7
Transportation	2.4	0.4
Residential	3.4	7.7
Korea		
Total	15.0	8.9
Industrial	14.4	16.0
Transportation	23.3	3.6
Residential	13.2	4.6
Mexico		
Total	6.5	8.4
Industrial	8.0	11.4
Transportation	9.0	4.2
Residential	8.1	4.1

Sources: International Energy Agency/Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Workshop on Energy Data of Developing Countries (Paris, IEA/OECD, 1979); Planning Commission, Government of India, Report of the Working Group on Energy Policy (New Delhi, 1979); Ho Tak Kim, Korea's Energy Experience in the '70s and Short- to Medium-Term Options Open to Korea (Seoul, Korea Energy Research Institute, September 1980).

1/ Growth rates for Brazil, 1967-73; for India, 1965-75; for Korea, 1965-73; and for Mexico, 1967-73.

2/ Growth rates for Brazil, 1973-76; for India, 1975-78; for Korea, 1973-79; and for Mexico, 1973-77.

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Table 6. Electricity Consumption: Growth Rates (Average Annual Percent)
(thousand million kWh)

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1973	1974	1979	Growth Rates: Average Annual Percent 1950-73	1973-79
Brazil	8.2	13.7	22.9	30.1	45.4	64.7	72.4	122.9	9.4	11.3
India	7.1	10.9	20.1	36.8	61.2	72.8	76.7	113.0	10.6	7.6
Korea	0.4	0.9	1.8	3.5	9.6	15.2	17.9	37.8	17.1	16.4
Mexico	4.5	7.2	11.3	17.4	28.9	37.5	41.1	59.4	9.7	8.0
Total	20.2	32.7	56.1	87.8	145.1	190.2	208.1	333.1	10.2	9.8
Total LDCs	46.7	78.6	130.9	211.4	350.3	469.4	503.1	768.7	10.6	8.6
(Percent of total LDCs)	(43)	(42)	(43)	(41)	(41)	(41)	(41)	(43)		
World	959.2	1,543.2	2,301.0	3,380.8	4,955.0	6,128.6	6,313.8	7,973.6	8.4	4.5

Sources: United Nations, World Energy Supplies, 1950-74 (New York, UN, 1976) and United Nations, 1979 Yearbook of World Energy Statistics (New York, UN, 1981).

Table 7. Production, Consumption, and Imports of Commercial Energy, 1973 and 1979
(million metric tons oil equivalent)

	1973					1979				
	Coal	Oil	Gas	Primary[1]	Total	Coal	Oil	Gas	Primary[1]	Total
Brazil										
Production	1.4	8.4	0.2	4.9	15.0	2.3	8.2	0.9	9.1	20.5
Consumption	2.7	32.9	0.2	4.9	40.8	5.6	47.0	0.9	9.1	62.6
Imports	1.3	24.5	--	--	25.8	3.3	38.8	--	--	42.1
	(48)	(74)			(63)	(59)	(83)			(67)
India										
Production	39.0	7.2	0.6	2.7	49.4	51.6	12.8	1.3	4.0	69.5
Consumption	39.4	18.1	0.6	2.7	60.8	50.7	24.0	1.3	3.9	79.9
Imports	--	10.9	--	--	11.4	-0.9	11.2	--	-0.1	10.2
		(60)			(19)	(x)	(47)			(13)
Korea										
Production	7.1	--	--	0.1	7.2	9.5	--	--	0.5	9.9
Consumption	7.8	12.4	--	0.1	20.3	13.5	23.1	--	0.5	37.1
Imports	0.7	12.4	--	--	13.1	4.0	23.1	--	--	27.2
	(9)	(100)			(65)	(30)	(100)			(73)
Mexico										
Production	2.1	25.8	11.8	1.4	41.1	3.4	79.6	18.0	2.0	103.0
Consumption	2.3	29.6	12.1	1.4	45.4	3.6	47.5	18.1	2.0	71.2
Imports	0.2	3.8	0.3	--	4.3	0.2	-32.1	--	--	-31.8
	(9)	(13)	(2)		(9)	(6)	(x)			(x)

Note: Parentheses beneath energy data refer to percentage of fuels imported. "x" denotes net exports. Negative import data imply exports. Detail does not always add to totals because of rounding and stock changes.

Source: United Nations, 1979 Yearbook of World Energy Statistics (New York, UN, 1981).

1/ Includes nuclear and hydro electric . . Data do not include theoretical losses associated with similar thermal-generated electricity.

Table 8. Rates of Commercial Energy and GNP Growth and Resulting Energy Coefficients

	Annual Percentage Rates of Growth				Energy Coefficients 1/	
	GNP		Energy			
	1960-73	1973-79	1960-73	1973-79	1960-73	1973-79
Brazil	7.6	6.6	7.5	7.4	0.99	1.12
India	3.5	3.7	2.9	4.7	0.83	1.27
Korea	8.7	10.0	12.5	10.6	1.44	1.06
Mexico	6.7	4.6	7.0	7.8	1.04	1.70

Sources: United Nations, 1979 Yearbook of World Energy Statistics (New York, UN, 1981) and United Nations, World Energy Supplies, 1950-74 (New York, UN, 1976); gross national product (GNP) data from World Bank, data services (Washington, D.C.).

1/ Energy coefficients, which express the relationship between energy consumption and economic activity, are derived by dividing the percentage rate of growth of energy consumption by the percentage rate of growth of GNP. For example, an energy coefficient of 0.5 indicates that energy consumption has grown at half of the rate of GNP, while a coefficient of 2 means consumption has grown at twice the pace of GNP.

Table 9. Noncommercial Energy Consumption[1/] as Percent of Total Energy End Use

	1967	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Brazil	51.6	37.9	34.9	34.0	33.6	33.8	32.5
India[2/]	33.4	31.1	30.9	30.8	30.9	30.7	23.5
Korea	17.8	11.4	11.5	8.7	7.8	7.6	6.7
Mexico	8.9	6.8	6.2	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.4

Source: International Energy Agency/Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Workshop on Energy Data of Developing Countries, Vol. II (Paris, IEA/OECD, 1979).

1/ Includes charcoal, firewood, and bagasse.

2/ Data presented from other sources indicate that these percentages of noncommercial energy use may be greatly underestimated.

Table 10. Real Energy Prices[1/] and Price Trends

	1960	1962	1968	1970	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Brazil											
Kerosine (cruz. per gallon)	--	--	4.7	3.9	2.7	3.7	5.8	5.7	5.8	5.3	5.9
Gasoline (cruz. per gallon)	--	--	5.3	4.4	2.9	5.3	9.0	11.4	10.5	9.7	9.7
India											
Kerosine (rupee per gallon)	--	--	--	3.6	3.2	4.8	4.5	5.4	4.8	5.0	5.4
Gasoline (rupee per gallon)	--	--	--	7.0	7.4	15.0	13.4	13.9	12.5	13.5	14.7
Fuel and light (1970=100)	--	--	--	100.0	126.9	170.1	187.4	195.6	201.2	215.0	--
Wholesale prices (1973=100)											
Coal	--	--	119	115	100	95	114	--	--	--	--
Petroleum	--	--	--	40	100	170	164	184	--	--	--
Electricity	--	--	123	120	100	95	107	--	--	--	--
Korea											
Fuel and light (1970=100)	--	--	86.8	100.0	125.9	173.7	199.6	208.0	243.7	306.8	--
Wholesale prices (1973=100)											
Anthracite	--	--	119	93	100	98	--	102	--	--	--
Electricity	--	--	81	100	100	96	97	94	--	--	--
Light oil				69	100	154	143	130	--	121	--
Bunker	--	--	83	66	100	211	264	254	--	245	--
Mexico											
Kerosine (pesos per gallon)	--	--	2.2	2.1	1.8	2.2	0.9	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.0
Gasoline (pesos per gallon)	--	--	5.3	5.3	4.3	6.1	8.0	8.7	7.0	6.1	5.2
Wholesale prices (1970=100)											
Residential L.P gas	136	--	109	100	266	214	187	178	137	--	--
Auto gasoline	116	--	109	100	142	172	150	173	134	--	--
Auto diesel	136	--	108	100	129	103	88	97	75	--	--
Industrial natural gas	123	--	108	100	123	98	85	103	80	--	--
Industrial fuel oil	137	--	108	100	141	113	97	106	82	--	--
Electricity prices (1970 pesos/kWh)											
Residential	--	51.1	46.1	42.4	35.4	34.5	32.3	29.9	28.6	--	--
Commercial	--	51.7	44.6	41.1	34.7	33.3	31.5	32.2	30.1	--	--
Industrial	--	24.8	21.6	20.2	17.1	14.5	13.6	14.4	16.1	--	--

Sources: US Department of Energy, International Petroleum Annual (Washington, D.C., DOE, various issues); International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics (Washington, D.C., IMF, various issues); International Labor Office, Yearbook of Labor Statistics (Geneva, ILO, 1978 and 1979); Bank of Kor[illegible]onomics Statistical Yearbook (Seoul, Bank of Korea, 1979); Secretaría de Patrimonio y Fomento Industrial, El sector de energéti[illegible] estadísticas básicas y balances de energía, 1970-77 (Mexico, 1978); India Statistical Abstract (New Delhi, 1975); Statistical Ou[illegible]e of India (New Delhi, 1978).

1/ Kerosine and gasoline prices deflated by the respective countries' consumer price indices where 1975=100.

Table 11. Comparison Between Growth Rates of Consumption and Real Retail Prices for Kerosine and Motor Gasoline
(percentage)

	Gasoline				Kerosine			
	1970-73		1973-79		1970-73		1973-79	
	Consumption	Price	Consumption	Price	Consumption	Price	Consumption	Price
Brazil	10	-13	0.3	23	13	-12	-1	14
India	4	2	-1	13	2	-4	3	9
Korea	6	n.a.	5	n.a.	---	n.a.	20	n.a.
Mexico	9	-7	4	3	-2	-8	3	-9

Note: n.a. = not available
-- = negligible increase

Source: US Department of Energy, International Petroleum Annual (Washington, D.C., DOE, various issues); International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics (Washington, D.C., IMF, various issues); United Nations, 1979 Yearbook of World Energy Statistics (New York, UN, 1981).

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Table 12. Comparison of Energy Projections

	India	Korea[1/]	Brazil	Mexico
Average annual increase in energy consumption (percent)				
1973-79[2/]	4.7	10.6	7.4	7.8
1980-2000 original projection	4.0	5.2-7.9	5.3-7.2	6.6
1980-2000 alternative projection	3.5	5.4	6.0	5.5
Average annual increase in GDP (percent)				
1973-79	3.7	10.0	6.6	4.6
1980-2000 original projection	5.6	8.0	6.7	8.0
1980-2000 alternative projection	5.0	6.5	6.2	6.0
Energy/GDP coefficient				
1973-79	1.27	1.06	1.12	1.70
1980-2000 original projection	0.71	0.65-1.00	0.79-1.07	0.83
1980-2000 alternative projection	0.70	0.83	0.97	0.92

1/ 1980-1991.

2/ Commercial fuels only. For India and Brazil, total consumption increase lower.

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

TESTIMONY WITH REGARD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATION

OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO

EL SALVADOR

BY MICHAEL R. DONOVAN
BROTHER OF JEAN DONOVAN,
AN AMERICAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARY
KILLED IN EL SALVADOR
ON DECEMBER 2, 1980

AUGUST 3, 1982

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Special Project (1993)

The Presidential Certification issued on July 28 states:

"...five suspects were dismissed from the National Guard and placed under arrest on February 8, 1982. A sixth man who had previously left the National Guard was arrested at the same time. On February 10, jurisdiction over the six men was transferred to civilian Judge Bernardo Rauda Murcia. The National Guard delivered to the court its report on the investigation of the case, as well as physical evidence obtained during the investigation. On February 13, Judge Rauda charged five of the six men with aggravated homicide."

Under Salvadoran law, as explained to us by the Department of State; On February 10, when juridiction over the six men was transferred to Judge Rauda, the Judge was required to bring an indictment against the suspects within 72 hours, or to release them without recourse. Since civilian authorities are no allowed to investigate members of the military, Judge Ruada could not have begun an independant investigation prior to their dismissal from the National Guard on February 8, and he was required to complete any investigation by February 13. For all practical purposes, the Judge was forced to accept the report of the National Guard for purposes of bringing indictments against any of these men. Further, we were told, Salvadoran law prohibits the civil authorities from investigating matters outside of the scope of the indictment document. Since the State Department has stated that the U.S. Government can not conduct an independant investagation, and the Salvadoran Government has no precluded itself from investigating further, the National Guard has effectivel closed the book on the investigation of the involvement of its officers and officials of the Salvadoran Government.

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Special Project (1993)

From the statements of Carlos Paredes, a former Salvadoran government minister, we know that one month before their murders, the MaryKnoll nuns were violently denounced at the Presidential palace by General Jose Garcia, the head of the army. It is not unreasonable to assume that this may be directly connected to the events of December 2, 1980. In a letter to me last week, Mr. L. Craig Johnstone, of the State Department, indicated that the Department is trying to locate Mr. Paredes "...who we beleive to be living in Mexico." Why do they wait twenty months?! I have spoken to Mr. Paredes on several occassions, merely by calling him o the telephone - yet the Government of the United State claims that it can not find this man!

On several occasions, during the month before her death, Jean was followed by helicopter, as she rode her motorbike on a mountain road. Jean reported that the helicopter followed her for several hours at a time, at tree top level. Ita Ford also reported being followed by a helicopter during this period. All of us who have followed the situation in El Salvador know how few helicopters that country has, and how important that government considers these helicopters to be. Accordingly, the use of such a rare and valuable resource must be controlled only at the highest levels of authority. The use of the helicopters in this case indicates the gravity with which those in authority held the contemplation of the murder of American citizens. They were quite willing to commit extensive resources to an effort to find a justification for the murder of these women, correctly anticipating the serious repercussions of such an action. Such decisions could not possibly have been made at the level of enlisted men, or even at the level of junior officers.

A sign was posted on the door of the house where Ita Ford and Maura Clarke lived in Chalatanango, which warned that all who live here will be killed. Even in a country so violent as El Salvador, it is highly unlikely that such a threat would be received on the day of one's murder from a source unconected with the murder, yet the State Department's explaination is unable to explain these coincidences.

Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White has testified that one of his contacts intercepted a military radio message which said "she's not on the first flight we'll have to wait for the next one." Mr. White stated that the message was clearly refering to Ita Ford. This is totally inconsistant with the State Department's official explaination of the crime. Ita Ford was still out of the country during the afternoon when the guardsman saw the women in the airport building. Also, the women were supposedly "two white women...who apparantly were not Salvadoran Nationals"; which would indicate that the murderers were not aware of the exact identities of their victims. Yet, the radio message clearly refered to the fact that Ita Ford's scheduled flight was overbooked, and that she had to take a later plane.

Sister Maria Rickelman, of the MaryKnoll order, was on board the plane which brought Ita Ford and Maura Clarke to El Salvador on December 2, 1980. Maria was remaining on the plane for the continuation of the flight to Miami. During the layover in San Salvador, national guardsmen boarded the plane, and questioned Maria about her identity. The national guardsmen were looking for Ita Ford! This incident, together with the intercepted military radio trafic, clearly indicates a serious and organized effort on the part of the Salvadoran National Guard to locate Ita Ford in the hours prior to her death. If the

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Special Project (1993)

guardsmen were looking for Ita Ford for a reason other than to kill her, it i extremely unlikely that she would be able to elude their search, then enter a van which is then stopped by the National Guard for totally unrelated reasons and finally be killed by the national guardsmen who are suposed to be looking for her. Through all of the five hours from the kidnapping of the women and their van until the final killings, the five guardsmen did not recognize that the object of their search was the woman they were murdering. Yet, this is what Mr. Enders would have all of us believe. It is far more probable that ti national guardsmen were searching for Ita Ford for the purpose of killing her, she did not elude their search, and they accomplished their task.

On page 27 of the testimony provided to us by the State Department, witness Vidal Cruz Piche, a national guardsman testified that guardsman Daniel Canales Ramirez, one of those accused in this crime, had five thousand dollars during the days immediately following the murders. On page 31 of the testimony Jose Luis Monterrosa, a national guardsman, testified that sub sargent Colindres Aleman "appeared with lots of money, and purchased luxury goods..." the testimony goes on to state that Colindres Aleman obtained a television set, living room furniture and a tape recobder. He also stated that Canales Ramire had $5,000. At our meeting of February 17, 1982, I pointed out to Secretary Enders that the $5,000 in the possession of Canales Ramirez, and an unknown bu substantial sum of money in the possession of Colindres Aleman were inconsistant with a theory that these men acted alone. On the contrary, the money would indicate that the men were acting on orders from higher authorities, and that they were well paid for following orders. Mr. Enders replied to me that the investigators have not found any connection between the cash and any other aspect of this case. I submitted then, and I submit now that their can be no other explaination than a pay off. These men were totally incapable of performing any service for which they would be so compensated, other than murder.

We have since learned, from the State Department, that a second seargant was attached to the unit from which the five arrested guardsmen came. This second seargant has stated to the FBI that he knew of the crime from Colindres Aleman within twenty four hours of its commission. This seargant claims that Colindres Aleman sought to enlist his help in covering up the crime. The seargant retired from the National Guard one week later, and moved to California where he has been living ever since, under the protection of the FBI. With his retirement and relocation to the United States coming so close to this crime, it is losical to suspect that this seargant may well have received a windfall similar to the $5,000 received by each of the arrested guardsmen. The refusal of the FBI to question the seargant on this point, and its further refusal to allow anyone else access to this man constitutes an obstruction of justice by the FBI.

On the day after the murders, the home of Jean and Dorothy was ransacked by persons unknown. The items taken, however, were not of the type that would interest the average theif; they were diaries and letters written by my sister. Further indication that she was eliminated for reasons of policy rather that reasons of lust or greed.

The third point made by Mr. Enders is that the motive for the murders were the suspicions of the guardsmen who initally saw Jean and Dorothy in the airport

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

baggage claim area.

Corporal Perez Nieto testified that he had seen Jean and Dorothy in the airport terminal earlier in the day, and had reported to Colindres Aleman that "...he considered their manner suspicious because he noticed they might also be carrying firearms in their handbags." In a letter to me dated April 20, 1982, Mr. Enders states "Colindres Aleman ordered the murders...he acted on the basi of suspicions generated by the national guardsman who initially spotted the churchwomen at the airport." Clearly, then, the State Department is relying o this testimony of Perez Nieto for its theory of motive. In that same testimony, Perez Nieto stated that he identified Jean and Dorothy to Colindres Aleman over the telephone, as "...two white women...who apparently were not Salvadoran Nationals." clearly then, Colindres Aleman was aware that the wome were not Salvadoran (and probably American).

Several of the guardsmen on duty that night testified that upon returning to the barracks on the night of December 2, 1980, Colindres Aleman refered to the women as "subversive nuns." Since none of the women were dressed as nuns, nor did they have nuns habits amoung their belongings, Colindres Aleman would not have known that any of women were nuns. Colindres Aleman's knowledge that the women were nuns is inconsistant with the State Department's large handbag theory in that his knowledge of the women was supposed to be entirely from their physical appearance.

A period of five hours passed between the capture of the women at the airport at dusk, and the fatal gun shots which were heard at about 11:30 PM. What happened during this five hour period? Mr. Enders told us, at our February 17 meeting that most of this time was spent in the town of Zacatecoluca, the site of the regional National Guard headquarters. According to Mr. Enders, the five national guardsmen went into and out of the regional headquarters at various times, but they never took the women inside. the women, according to Mr. Enders, were kept outside in the parked van. It seems far more likely that the women were taken into the regional headquarters for interrogation. The guardsmen would not have spent so many hours within walking distance of their superiors, while hiding from them the fact that four American women were in their custody. Had they sought to hide this from their superiors, they would have avoided Zacatecoluca, if possible. They would have remained there for a minimum length of time - far less than four hours - had it been impossible to avoid going to the headquarters! A more reasonable explanation is that those in command at the regional headquarters were directing the activities of these five men on the night of December 2, 1980.

III. Unanswered questions.

There are a number of questions which I feel should have been answered by any competant investigator. In this case, however, most of these questions have never been asked:

1. What were the orders under which Perez Nieto was operating on the afternoon of December 2, 1980, which caused him to become concerned about the size of women's handbags? Answered

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

2. When Jean and Dorothy left the national airport the first time, was their van searched. If so, what was found? If not, why not - especially given the suspicions reported by guardsman Perez Nieto? No search

3. Who bradcast the radio message, and why? Who was the intended recipient of the message. Who was monitoring arriving passengers at the airport, and why? What were his orders that day? Where are the military transmitters located at the airport? Who has access to them? Who has custody of them? Known

4. Who were the national guardsmen who boarded the plane? What were their orders? Why were they looking for Ita Ford? How often do national guardsmen board international flights? —

5. Was it common for the gate guards to control traffic so as to isolate one vehicle on the exit road? How often is this done? No

6. What officers were on duty, on the night of December 2, 1980, at the regional headquarters? To whom does each of these officers report? What were their orders on that night? Not regional H.Q.

7. Where did the guardsmen get the large sums of money? Who paid the money? Unconfirmed.

8. Why did General Garcia denounce the nuns at the presidential palace? Who was present at the palace on that day - especially who from the National Guard? —

9 Why has the FBI laboratory not determined the source of the red paint smear on the side of the women's van? What pressures have been brought to bear on the FBI, in this case, which would influence them to do less than a professional job? Analyzed

10. Why have only six of 85 original suspects, on duty that night been checked for fingerprints? Why have two of the five men now held on charges not been fingerprinted? Not 85. In process.

11. Why have only six of (85) guardsmen's weapons been test fired for ballistics tests? Suspects.

12 Why has Hans Christ - presently living in Miami - not been questioned concerning this case? Why has the Lieutenant, to whom the accussed men reported, not been questioned in this investigation? Why has the other sargeant attached to this unit - who now lives in the U.S. - never been questioned? Christ — obvious. Others have.

13. Why has the FBI never questioned Maria Rickelman, John Spain, Christine Rody (Jean and Dorothy's roommate), or Carlos Paredes?

14. Why has no attempt been made to determine the identity of the fingerprints found on the sign attached to the home of the MaryKnoll Sisters? Efforts were made.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 01 OF 08 041838Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
NSC-01 NSAE-00 PM-09 MCT-02 SAL-01 SP-02 /060 W
----------000057 050118Z /73

R 041730Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1023
DOD WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 6485

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E. O. 12356: DECL: 8/4/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, MILI, ES
SUBJECT: (S) EL SALVADOR MILITARY ASSESSMENT

REF: SAN SALVADOR 2327

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: AT PRESENT, 29,218 MILITARY OF THE ARMED FORCES OF SALVADOR FACE AN ENEMY OF ABOUT 4,000 FULL-TIME ARMED INSURGENTS. THIS REPRESENTS A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN THE LAST THREE MONTHS OF ARMED FORCES STRENGTH AND, IN OUR ESTIMATION, A SLIGHT DECREASE IN SUBVERSIVE NUMBERS DUE TO DESERTIONS AND CASUALTIES. BOTH SIDES
[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 01 OF 08 041838Z

COUNT SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF FOLLOWERS IN VARIOUS STATES OF READINESS AND ARMAMENT. THIRD COUNTRY ASSISTANCE TO THE ARMED FORCES IS EXPANDING SLIGHTLY AND TO INSURGENTS THROUGH CUBA AND NICARAGUA IS REMAINING STABLE.

3. THE SALVADORAN ECONOMY CONTINUES IN DECLINE ABETTED BY CUMULATIVE SUBVERSIVE DESTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC ASSETS EXCEEDING $100 MILLION. SUBVERSIVES WERE ABLE TO

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: S940034C

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PREVENT VOTING IN LESS THAN FIVE PERCENT OF THE VOTING PLACES OF SALVADOR AND ONLY TWO OF 261 MUNICIPALITIES ARE IN THEIR HANDS AT PRESENT. ALL INDICES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIANS ARE DOWN IN 1982. HOWEVER, CIVILIANS CONTINUE TO LEAVE EL SALVADOR IN RECORD NUMBERS.

4. THE MORALE OF THE ARMED FORCES REMAINS HIGH WITH OCCASIONAL RUMBLINGS OF DISCONTENT ABOUT SPECIFIC POLICIES AND LEADERS. HALF OF THE CADET LIEUTENANTS TRAINED IN THE U.S. ARE BEING UTILIZED WHILE THE REMAINDER UNDERGO FURTHER TRAINING. THE OPERATION IN MORAZAN IN JUNE ILLUSTRATED BOTH LONG STANDING WEAKNESSES IN THE COMMAND AND CONTROL SYSTEMS AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE THREE U.S. -TRAINED BATTALIONS. THE ARMED FORCES REMAIN UNITED BEHIND PRESIDENT MAGAN WITH IMPORTANT ELEMENTS WARY OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CONSTITUTENT ASSEMBLY. DESPITE THIS WARINESS GENERATED BY PERCEIVED THREATS TO U.S. AND CIVILIAN SUPPORT AND SOME DIS-SATISFACTION WITH THE HIGH COMMAND, POSSIBILITIES OF A GOLPE APPEAR SLIM. PROGRESS IS BEING MADE, ALBEIT SLOWLY ON CONTROL OF ABUSES. ARMED FORCES INABILITY TO DEMONSTRATE ITS INCREASING PROFESSIONALISM THROUGH EFFECTIVE PUBLIC RELATIONS REMAINS A PROBLEM.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06485 01 OF 08 041838Z

5. ALL ELEMENTS OF THE COUNTRY TEAM CONTRIBUTED TO THIS QUARTERLY MILITARY ASSESSMENT--THE FIRST SINCE THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS (REFTEL). END SUMMARY.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND PROGNOSIS: WHILE THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS AND THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY REPRESENT BOTH A POLITICAL AND A MILITARY VICTORY FOR THE GOES, THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS REMAINS FRAGILE. NONETHELESS, AS OF NOW THE TRENDES ARE TOWARD EVENTUAL SUCCESS FOR THE GOES AND FOR LONG-RANGE U.S. POLICIES.
--SUBVERSIVES DEMONSTRATED DURING THE ELECTIONS, IN AN EARLY MAY OFFENSIVE, AND AGAIN DURING THE MORAZAN OPERATION IN JUNE THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THEIR STRENGTH.
--THE ARMED FORCES CONTINUE TO GROW IN NUMBERS, PROFESSIONALISM AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED FOR CIVILIAN AND U.S. SUPPORT.
--REGIONAL COOPERATION THROUGH THE CENTRAL AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY IS GROWNING.
--A PLURALISTIC CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT HAS WEATHERED IT FIRST TUMULTUOUS 60 DAYS AND IS SETTLING IN TO AN HISTORICALLY UNPRECENDENTED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MILITARY.
--THE ECONOMY, TARGET OF THE GUERRILLA PROLONGED WAR, HAS SURVIVED THE WORST BLOWS AGAINST IT DEMON-STRATING A RESILIENCY WHICH LEAVES IT POISED FOR REVOVERY IF SUFFICIENT EXTERNAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN 5A006485

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

ADP705
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 02 OF 08 042044Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
NSC-01 NSAE-00 PM-09 MCT-02 SAL-01 SP-02 /060 W
----------002644 050118Z /73

R 041730Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO C/SECSTATE WASHDC 1024
DOD WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA 8
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted]SECTION 02 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 6485

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7. PROGRESS ON THE MILITARY FRONT IN THE NEXT THREE MONTHS IN ESTABLISHING LONGER TERM TRENDS WILL BE MEASURED BY:
--THE ABILITY OF THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND TO UNDERTAKE STRATEGIC PLANNING TO USE ITS EXPANDED RESOURCES TO TAKE AND HOLD OBJECTIVES SELECTED FOR THEIR IMPORTANCE RATHER THAN AS REACTIONS TO SUBVERSIVE INTIIATIVES. WE EXPECT ONLY LIMITED PROGRESS.
--THE SUCCESS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN IDENTIFYING NATIONAL OBJECTIVES TO WHICH THE DIVERGENT POLITICAL INTERESTS CAN SUBSCRIBE. WE SEE SOME SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING SUCH A POLITICAL AGENDA.
--DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL PLAN FOR PEACE INCLUDING A MEANINGTUL AMNESTY PROGRAM, SOME MECHANISM FOR RECONCILIATION AND EXPANDED POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, AND AN INSTITUTIONAL
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 02 OF 08 042044Z

BASE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ADVANCES. WE EXPECT SUCH A PLAN TO EMERGE THOUGH FLAWED BY REALITIES OF PRESENT DAY EL SALVADOR. ELEMENTS BOTH OF THE LESS COMMITTED ARMED INSURGENTS AND THE MORE MODERATE POLITICAL LEFT COULD BE ATTRACTED BY IT.
--DELIVERY OF CONTINUED U.S. ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE SUFFICIENT TO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT FOR THE ABOVE. WE SEE CONTINUING VULNERABILITY TO A CURTAILMENT OF EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE WHICH WOULD DEVASTATE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

THE ECONOMY AND UNLEASH LATENT DESTRUCTIE FORCES WITHIN THE MILITARY AS A CONTINUING DANGER. RISING ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING AS A RESULT OF INEQUITIES IN U.S. CONGRESSIONAL CONDITIONS ON ASSISTANCE TO EL SLAVADOR COMPOUND THIS PROBLEM. EN CONCLUSIONS.

8. PART I - CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION

A. LOCATION, SIZE, LOGISTIC SITUATION OF FREINDLY FORCES

AS OF JUNE 1982 THE COMBINED STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES AND PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES WAS 29,218. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE PERHAPS AS MANY AS 80,000 PARA-MILITARY FORCES CONSISTING OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE UNITS, TERRITORIAL FORCES AND OTHER GROUPS IN VARYING STAGES OF READINESS. THE ARMY CONSISTS OF 17,691 PEOPLE ORGANIZED IN 19 DIFFERENT BATTALION-SIZED MANEUVER UNITS, ONE ARTILLERY BRIGADE AND A CAVALRY REGIMENT. THERE ARE 423 NAVY, 754 AIR FORCE, 3,447 NATIONAL GUARD, 4,887 NATIONAL POLICE, AND 2,016 TREASURY POLICE. THE COUNTRY IS DIVIDED INTO SIX MILITARY ZONES. WHILE CRITICAL SHORTAGES OF FIREARMS, SUPPLIES AND MUNITIONS CONTINUE TO PLAGUE THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES, THE ONLY KNOWN CRITICAL SHORTAGE WHICH COULD AFFECT

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06485 02 OF 08 042044Z

SHORT-TERM MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY IS FUEL. THIS PROBLEM WAS CAUSED BY THE RECENT INSURGENT INTERDICTION OF THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM AND COULD BE REMEDIED BY CONVOYING GASOLINE TRUCKS UNDER MILITARY ESCORT.

B. INSURGENTS

THE ARMED FORCES GENERAL STAFF POSTULATES APPROXIMATELY 10,000 GUERRILLAS NOT ALL OF WHOM ARE ARMED AND PUTS TOTAL POTENTIAL SUBVERSIVES, INCLUDING PART-TIME MILITIA AND MASSES OR FOLLOWERS,AT 50,000 PLUS. WE BELIEVE A CASE CAN BE MADE THAT TERE ARE ABOUT 4,000 COMBATANTS AND 5,000 TO 10,000 MILITIA WITH AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS. THIS MAY BE SLIGHTLY LOWER THAN THE FIGURE WE UNDERSTAND THE WASHINGTON ANALYTICAL INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE HAS ADOPTED OF FOUR TO FIVE THOUSAND ARMED COMBATANTS AND 8,000-13,000 MILITIA. OUR PRIMARY REASON FOR A LOWER FIGURES IS THAT GUERRILLA OPERATIONS DO NOT INDICATE HIGHER FIGURES. WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE MORAZAN FIGHTING IN THE FIRST PART OF JULY, BATTLEFIELD COMMANDERS REPORT DECREASING MILITARY EXPERIENCE AMONG THE SUBVERSIVES. PARTICULARLY MENTIONED ARE POOR MOVEMENT AND MANEUVER TECHNIQUES, LACK OF FIRE DISCIPLINE AND INCREASING NUMBERS OF FEMALES AND YOUNG PEOPLE. IT WAS SIGNIFICANT THAT

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WHILE FIVE TO SIX THOUSAND OF THE BEST TRAINED SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES WERE TIED DOWN IN MORAZAN, SUBVERSIVES WERE UNABLE TO MOUNT A SUSTAINED MILITARY CAMPAIGN ELSEWHERE. THEY CONCENTRATED ON THE SOFTEST OF TARGETS--INTERDICTING HIGHWAYS, BOMBING BUSES, AND ATTACKS ON THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM.

SUBVERSIVES ARE LOCATED THROUGHTOUT THE COUNTRY BUT ARE CONCENTRATED IN THE CENTRAL AND NORTHERN SECTORS PRIMARILY WITHIN THE DEPARTMENTS OF USULUTAN, SAN VICENTE, CUSCATLAN, CHALATENANGO, AND MORAZAN.

[redacted]

OUR REDUCED ESTIMATE OF FORCE LEVELS IS BASED ON A VIEW THAT OVERALL STRENGTH HAS DECLINED SOMEWHAT IN THE LAST THREE MOTHS DUE TO CASUALTIES AND DESERTIONS. HOWEVER, THE EVIDENCE IS NOT CONCLUSIVE.

C. THIRD COUNTRY ASSISTANCE TO ARMED FORCES OF SALVADOR
THIRD COUNTRY ASSISTANCE OTHER THAN EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING HAS BEEN PROVIDED ALMOST ENTIRELY BY HONDURAS IN THE FORM OF INTERDICTION OF INFILTRATION FROM NICARAGUA ACROSSS THE GULF OF FONSECA AND THE HONDURAS/EL SALVADOR BORDER. RECENTLY, THIS COOPERATION INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY WHEN MULTI-BATTALION HONDURAN FORCES WERE DEPLOYED IN BLOCKING POSITIONS ALONG THE BORDER WITH MORAZAN PROVINCE TO SUPPORT A SALVADORAN OPERATION. DURING THIS OPERATION, HONDURAN AIRCRAFT FLEW RECONNAISSANCE AND STRIKE MISSIONS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER.

OTHER THIRD COUNTRY ASSISTANCE IS AS FOLLOWS:

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 03 OF 08 042135Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
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R 041730Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1025
DOD WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 6485

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1 NATIONALIST CHINA HAS OFFERED AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF SCHOOL QUOTAS AT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE COURSE.
2) VENEZUELA HAS OFFERED 50 QUOTAS FOR CADETS/JUNIOR OFFICERS TO ATTEND THE "CAZADORES" SCHOOL. AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF MEDICS ARE ALSO TO BE TRAINED IN VENEZUELA. THERE ARE CURRENTLY FIVE SALVADORAN CADETS IN VENEZUELAN MILITARY ACADEMIES.
VENEZUELA IS EXPECTED TO SEND A MOBILE TRAINING TEAM FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE TO EL SALVADOR IN JULY.
VENEZUELA HAS DEPLOYED TWO MOBILE TRAINING TEAMS IN SALVADOR WITH APPROXIMATELY 30 INSTRUCTORS TO TRAIN TWO "CAZADORES" LIGHT BATTALIONS AND AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF SALVADORANS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS. THIS IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE AN INCREASE IN END STRENGTH, BUT RATHER TRAINING FOR PERSONNEL/UNITS ALREADY IN SERVICE. WHETHER THESE UNITS WILL RECEIVE ANY EQUIPMENT IS UNKNOWN.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 03 OF 08 042135Z

ALTHOUGH A SMALL NUMBER OF FAL RIFLES HAVE BEEN INTRODUCRED IN TO EL SALVADOR FROM VENEZUELA.
3) COLOMBIA IS PROVIDING FOUR OR FIVE QUOTAS FOR LANCERO SCHOOL THIS YEAR.
4) ARGENTINA WILL SELL EL SALVADOR AN UNDETERMINED QUANTITY OF 9MM BROWNING PISTOLS, MACHINE PISTOLS, 9MM AMMUNITION, AND.38 CALIBER AMMUNITION. ARGENTINA HAS OFFERED EL SALVADOR ONE HUNDRED MILLION U.S. DOLLARS IN DEFENSE LOANS. EL SALVADOR IS EXPECTED TO DECLINE THIS LOAN DUE TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. FIVE SALVADORANS ARE ATTENDING

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AN INTELLIGENCE COURSE IN ARGENTINA.
5) CHILE IS CURRENTLY TRAINING THIRTY-TWO SALVADORANS IN A VARIETY OF SCHOOLS.
6) THERE IS ONE SALVADORAN CADET AT THE PERUVIAN AIR FORCE ACADEMY.
7) THERE ARE SIX SALVADORANS ATTENDING VARIOUS MILITARY SCHOOLS IN PARAGUAY.
8) THERE IS ONE SALVADORAN OFFICER AT THE MILITARY ENGINEERING SCHOOL IN MEXICO.
9) THERE ARE NO KNOWN SIGNIFICANT TRANSFERS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THIRD COUNTRIES TO EL SALVADOR.

D. THIRD COUNTRY ASSISTANCE TO SUBVERSIVES
THIRD COUNTRY RESUPPLY ASSISTANCE TO THE SUBVERSIVE ELEMENT IN EL SALVADOR DESPITE THE TWO-MONTH LULL FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS HAS SHOWN THE FOLLOWING CHARACTERISTICS:
--THERE HAS NOT BEEN A DECREASE IN THE LEVEL OF RESUPPLY ACTIVITY.
--THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MAINLINE GUERRILLAS WITH M-16, FAL AND G-3 RIFLES.
--THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF MONEY NEEDED TO RUN GUERRILLA CAMP SYSTEMS.
--THERE HAS BEEN A SEASONAL CHANGE FROM MAILY SEA TO MAINLY AIR DELIVERIES ALONG WITH A SLIGHT INCREASE IN LAND RESUPPLY.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06485 03 OF 08 042135Z

--THERE IS A POSSIBLE CONNECTION WITH CUBAN AIR DELIVERY TO NICARAGUA, ILLUSTRATED BY THE INCREASED CUBAN DELIVERIES IN THE WEEKS PRECEDING THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS, AND THE LEVEL OF ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE SALVADORAN INSURGENCY. THIS OBSERVATION WAS AGAIN MADE DURING THE INCREASED GUERRILLA ACTIVITY AT THE END OF JUNE/BEGINNING OF JULY.

THIRD COUNTRY RESUPPLY ASSISTANCE TO THE GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR IS STILL BEING CHANNELED THROUGH CUBA AND NICARAGUA. SOVIET, CUBAN, VIETNAMESE AND NORTH KOREAN RESUPPLY ASSISTANCE IS NEVER DEIRCELY DELIVERED. RATHER, MATERIEL, ARMAMENTS, FOOD, MEDICINE, AND MONEY IS LAUNDRED EITHER THROUGH CUBA OR INCARAGUA OR, UPON OCCASION,MEXICO. (NOTE: MOST DELIVERIES THROUGH MEXICO ARE DESTINED FOR GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS.)

THIRD COUNTRY RESUPPLY METHODS STILL INVOLVE ALL THREE ROUTES, CONSISTING OF AIR, SEA AND LAND. A PATTERN OF EBB AND FLOW OF RESUPPLY DELIVEREIES APPEARS PRIMARILY TO BE TIED TO WEATHER CONDITIONS AND SECONDLY, TO AVAILABILITY OF TRANSPORT VEHICLES. BUT, AN UPSURGE OF DELIVERIES HAS BEEN NOTED ON OCCASION DUE TO PSYCHOLOGICAL REVERSES ON THE SIDE OF THE GUERRILLAS. HUMAINT REPORTING FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR DID DISCUSS NICARAGUAN, CUBAN AND SOVIET REEVALUATION OF RESUPPLY AND SUPPORT EFFORTS FOR THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS AND ITS ATTENDANT GAIN. HOWEVER, HEAVY

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PRESS COVERAGE REGARDING ARMS DELIVERIES TO NICARAGUA MAY HAVE HAD THIS EFFECT. SINCE THE END OF MAY/BEGINNING OF JUNE, RESUPPLY EFFORTS APPEAR TO HAVE RESUMED AT PREVIOUSL LEVELS. DELIVERY PERIODS APPEAR TO BE APRIL THROUGH OCTOBER LARGELY BY AIR, AUGUST THROUGH JANUARY LARGELY BY LAND, JANUARY THROUGH MARCH LARGELY BY SEA. IT MUST BE NOTED THAT AT ANY GIVEN TIME ALL THREE ALL THREE METHODS OF LAND, SEA AND AIR APPEAR TO BE USED IN CONTINUOUS CONSORT. A "WHATEVER IS POSSIBLE/ ATTITUDE SEEMS TO PREVAIL; BUT THE PLANNING FOR WHAT IS AVAILABLE IS DONE TWO TO THREE MONTHS BEFORE

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06485 03 OF 08 042135Z

THE SYSTEM IS CHANGED.

NO NEW LEVEL OF WEAPONRY SOPHISTICATION HAS BEEN INTRODUCED THIS QUARTER. HOWEVER, A RAID ON A SUBVERSIVE SAFE HOUSE IN SAN SALVADOR IN EARLY JULY NETTED WEAPONS OF RUSSIAN ORIGIN AMONG OTHERS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A FEW RUSSIAN GRENADES, FUSES AND RPG-2'S FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA, ALL WEAPONRY PREVIOUSLY HAND BEEN OF WESTERN MANUFACTURE.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 04 OF 08 042159Z
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R 041730Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted]SECTION 04 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 6485

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THIRD COUNTRY TRAINING OF SALVADORAN INSURGENTS OUTSIDE EL SALVADOR HAS REMAINED AT THE SAME HIGH LEVEL. TRAINING IS PROVIDED IN NICARAGUA, CUBA, MEXICO AND POSSIBLY VIETNAM. TRAINING WITHIN EL SALVADOR, WITHIN THE LAST QUARTER, HAS INCREASED AS INDICATED BY THE EXPANSION OF THE TRAINING CAMPS AND TRAINING FACILITIES: E.G., MORAZAN. THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASED SPECIALIZATION WITHIN THE FPL TO INCLUDE VANGUARD UNITS AND SPECIAL FORCES UNITS.

THIRD COUNTRY DELIVERIES ARE NOT LARGE. THE DELIVERIES USUALLY AVERAGE BETWEEN FIVE TO EIGHT THOUSAND POUNDS. IF THE MATERIAL IS PARA-DROPPED, IT USUALLY IS IN 100-POUND LOADS. IF THE MATERIAL IS LANDED BY PLANE, IT IS UNKNOWN HOW THE MATERIAL IS

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 04 OF 08 042159Z

PACKAGED. AIR DELIVEREIS ARE PROBABLY LANDED VERSUS AIR DROPPED. IF THE MATERIAL IS DELIVERED BY BOAT, DELIVERIES CAN BE AS LARGE AS 10,000 POUNDS, BUT IT IS UNKNOWN AS TO THE NUMBER OF BOATS, PANGAS AND FISHING BOATS NEEDED FOR SUCH A DELIVERY. LAND DELIVERIES SINCE THE CRACKDOWN LAST NOVEMBER HAVE BEEN IN EXTREMELLY SMALL AMOUNTS; I.E., 7-10 RIFLES.

CURRENTLY, GUERRILLLA NEEDS APPEAR TO BE AMMUNITION FOR RIFLES, MORTARS AND THE RPG-2 ROCKET

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

LAUNCHERS; MATERIAL TO BUILD EXPLOSIVES, CHLORATE AND COPPER TUBING; SHOES AND MEDICINE. MEDICINE, HOWEVER, IS USUALLY PURCHASED IN SAN SALVADOR. MOST OF THE MAINLINE GUERRILLAS APPEAR TO HAVE M-16, FAL, OR G-3 RIFLES IN FAIR CONDITION. ONLY 45-50 PERCENT OF THE MILITIA APPEAR TO HAVE ANY KIND OF WEAPON AND IT IS USUALLY IN WORN CONDITION. EACH 150-MAN UNIT TRIES TO HAVE A LEAST ONE 81MM MORTAR AND TWO RPG-2 ROCKET LAUNCHERS PER 25 MEN AND ONE SNIPER PER 25 MEN, DEPENDING ON EQUIPMENT AVAILABILITY. THIS INDICATES A SOMEWHAT INADEQUATE TO&E FOR MAINLINE UNITS.

DUE TO FAILED INSURGENT OPERATIONS DURING THE ELECTIONS AND DEPLETED SUPPLIES, THERE WAS AN INCREASE IN APRIL AND THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF MAY IN DESERTIONS AND A RISE IN MORALE PROBLEMS AND INCREASED FRICTION BETWEEN FACTIONS. NEW PLANS AND RESUPPLY DELIVERIES WERE MADE TO OVERCOME THESE PROBLEMS. EVIDENTLY, BY THE BEGINNING OF JUNE, ADEQUATE RESUPPLY FOR ALL AREAS WAS ACCOMPLISHED AND MORALE AND UNREST WITHIN THE VARIOUS FACTIONS SUBSIDED. THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CURRENT RESUPPLY APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY AIR AND ONE-QUARTER BY LAND. THERE WAS A DISTINCT DROP IN SEA DELIVERIES AFTER APRIL. HOWEVER, A FEW HAVE BEEN NOTED. [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 06485 04 OF 08 042159Z

GUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN JUNE INDICATE ADEQUATE SUPPLY LEVELS TO SUPPORT THE ERP TARGETS OF PARALYZING LOCAL TRANSPORTATION AND THE FPL TARGETS OF GOVERNMENT ELECTRICAL, TELEPHONE AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS. ADEQUATE SUPPLIES ALSO APPEAR TO BE ABLE TO SUPPORT NEW GUERRILLA TACTICS OF ATTACKING AND MANEUVERING RATHER THAN ATTACKING AND WITHDRAWING. IF THE GUERRILLAS CANNOT MAINTAIN THESE SUPPLY LEVELS, THEN THEY PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO REVERT BACK TO THEIR PREVIOUS TACTICS.

9. PART II - IMPACT OF MILITARY SITUATION ON CIVILIAN ACTIVITY
A. THE ECONOMY
ATTACKS ON THE ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE HAVE BEEN MOST SEVERE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SAN VICENTE AND THE AREA EAST OF THE LEMPA RIVER. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE AREAS ACCOUNT FOR ALMOST HALF OF THE SALVADORAN TERRITORY BUT LESS THAN A QUARTER OF THE NATION'S ECONOMY. IN RECENT WEEKS, SAN SALVADOR HAS ALSO SEEN A RENEWAL OF URBAN TERRORISM, DIRECTED CHIEFLY AGAINST THE TRANSPORTTION SYSTEM AND THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM. ATTACKS DURING THIS PERIOD HAVE BEEN, ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY, HARASSING ACTIONS IN WHICH ONLY THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF MANY PINPRICKS IS IMPORTANT.

NATIONWIDE, FROM APRIL 1 TO JUNE 30, SOME 77 ELECTRICAL FACILITIES WERE DAMAGED OR DESTROYED, INCLUDING 58 ELECTRICAL TOWERS WHICH COST SLIGHTLY

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

MORE THAN $600,000 TO REPAIR ON A PROVISIONAL BASIS. SINCE AUGUST 1980, SOME 348 ELECTRICAL TOWERS HAVE BEEN DAMAGED OR DESTROYED, WITH AN ESTIMATED COST OF $4.7 MILLION TO RETURN THEM TO SERVICE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, AS ATTACKS ON THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM ISOLATE AREAS FROM THE PRIMARY GENERATING SOURCE, SECONDARY GENERATING FACILITIES MUST BE UTILIZED. WHILE THE PRIMARY GENERATING SOURCES ARE HYORDELCTRIC OR GEOTHERMAL, THE SECONDARY SOURCES ARE PETROLEUM BASED. FROM APRIL 1 TO JUNE 30, RELIANCE ON PETROLEUM-BASED ELECTRICITY

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06485 04 OF 08 0421592

INCREASED THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE ENERGY COST TO EL SALVADOR BY $1.7 MILLION. SINCE AUGUST 1980, RELIANCE ON OTHERWISE UNNECESSARY PETROLEUM-BASED ENERGY HAS INCRESED EL SALVADOR'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE COSTS BY $8.5 MILLION. INCLUDING THE INDIRECT COST OF UTILIZING PETROLEUM-BASED ENERGY, THE PRICE TAG FOR LEFTIST DESTRUCTION OF THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM FROM APRIL 1ST TO JUNE 30TH WAS $2.6 MILLION; CUMULATIVELY FROM AUGUST 1980, THE PRICE TAG WAS $13.6 MILLION, NOT INCLUDING THE COST OF PERMANENT REPAIR OF TOWERS WHICH HAVE BEEN RESTORED TO SERVICE ON A PROVISIONAL BASIS ONLY.

THE CHIEF IMPACT OF ATTACKS ON THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM IS NOT THE HIGH COST OF REPAIR. IT IS THE INDIRECT INTERRUPTION OF PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES IN MAJOR PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. THE DEPARTMENT OF SAN MIGUEL, HOME OF THE NATION'S THIRD LARGEST CITY AND

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 05 OF 08 042245Z
ACTION ARA-16

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R 041730Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1027
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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
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[redacted] SECTION 05 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 6485

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A CENTER FOR COTTON, LIVESTOCK, DAIRY PRODUCTS, AND LIGHT INDUSTRY, WAS WITHOUT POWER FOR 126 DAYS IN 1981. AS OF JULY 7, SAN MIGUEL HAD BEEN WITHOUT POWER FOR 63 DAYS IN 1982. THE DEPARTMENTS OF USULUTAN AND LA UNION, CENTERS FOR COTTON GROWING, FISHING, AND LIGHT INDUSTRY, SUFFERED SIMILAR PROBLEMS.

LEFTIST ATTACKS ON THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM TAKE ON AN ADDED SIGNIFICANCE WHEN VIEWED AGAINST THE BACK-GROUND OF THEIR OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY URBAN TRANSPORTATION IN SAN SALVADOR AND INTERDEPARTMENTAL TRANSPORTATION IN THE EASTERN SECTION OF THE COUNTRY. THE GUERRILLAS' CAPACITY TO CONTROL THE FLOW OF TRAFFIC AND INTERRUPT IT ALMOST AT WILL HAS ALLOWED THEM TO CUT OFF ALMOST COMPLETELY THE FLOW OF PTEROLEUM PRODUCTS, ESPECIALLY

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 05 OF 08 042245Z

FUEL OIL, TO THE EAST. THUS, TEMPORARY GENERATORS, ALWAYS A SECOND BEST SOLUTION, HAVE BEEN EVEN LESS ABLE TO MAKE UP FOR THE INTERRUPTIONS IN ELECTRICAL FLOW THROUGH THE MAIN POWER GRID. THIS HAS BEEN EXPECIALLY CRITICAL FOR HOSPITALS AND WATER PUMPING STATIONS, AS WELL AS FOR FACTORIES, DAIRIES, COTTON AND COFFEE PROCESSING PLANTS, COLD STORAGE FACILITIES FOR SEAFOOD PRODUCTS, AND LIGHT INDUSTRY.

DURING THE APRIL TO JUNE QUARTER, SOME 33 BUSES

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AND EIGHT OTHER VEHICLES WERE DESTROYED OR DAMAGED WITHIN THE CITY LIMITS OF SAN SALVADOR. NATIONWIDE, DURING THAT SAME PERIOD, AND ADDITIONAL 74 BUSES WERE DESTROYED OR DAMAGED. THE HAZARDS OF TRAVEL TO THE EAST HAVE CAUSED MAJOR TRANSPORT COMPANIES VIRTUALLY TO SUSPEND OPERATIONS IN THAT AREA, WITH ADVERSE RESULTS FOR ALL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY THERE, ESPECIALLY IN THE SUPPLY OF PETROLEUM AND THE SHIPMENT OF SEAFOOD PRODUCTS BY LAND TO GUATEMALAN PORTS ON THE CARIBBEAN.

ARMED LEFTIST ACTIVITY CONTINUES TO TAKE A HEAVY TOLL ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. ESPECIALLY IN THE COTTON GROWING AREA OF USULUTAN AND THE COFFEE GROWING AREAS OF SAN VICENTE AND SAN MIGUEL, TERRORIST ACTIVITY HAS FORCED A MAJOR REDUCTION, AND IN SOME CASES A COMPLETE HALT, TO PRODUCTION. FORTY PHASE I COOPS, AMONG THE LARGEST AND POTENTIALLY MOST PRODUCTIVE FARMS IN THE COUNTRY, STILL ARE UNABLE TO RESUME OPERATIONS BECAUSE OF THEIR INABILITY TO BRING IN INPUTS AND TECHNICAL ADVISORS, BECAUSE THEY CANNOT FREELY TRANSPORT THEIR OUTPUT, AND BECAUSE LOCAL GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY THREATEN WORK IN THE FIELDS.

ESTIMATES OF TOTAL LEFTIST DAMAGE TO THE ECONOMY, INCLUDING DIRECT DAMAGE TO ECONOMIC ASSETS AND THE [redacted]

INDIRECT DAMAGE OF IMPEDING PRODUCTION, ARE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. CUMULATIVE LEFTIST DESTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC ASSETS EXCEEDS $100 MILLION. COMBINING LEFTIST DESTRUCTION OF ASSETS, NORMAL DEPRECIATION, AND THE LOW LEVEL OF INVESTMENT CAUSED BY UNCERTAINTY AS TO THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE COURSE AND THE SECURITY OF PRODUCTIVE OPERATIONS, EL SALVADOR HAS HAD A NEGATIVE REAL NET INVESTMENT. THAT IS, THE PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF THE NATION HAS DECLINED SHARPLY IN ABSOLUTE TERMS OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS.

B. MUNICIPALITIES IN CONFLICT

THE ESAF'S CURRENT CONCEPT FOR DEFENDING ITS POPULATION CALLS FOR A STATIC DEFENSE WITH LOCAL PATROLLING IN SELECTED CITIES, TOWN AND VILLAGES. ALTHOUGH APPROXIMATELY 50 PERCENT OF THE ARMED FORCES IS TIED UP IN THIS TASK, THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH TROOPS TO SPREAD AROUND IN EVERY SMALL RURAL TOWN. THEREFORE, IN THE COUNTRYSIDE THE DETACHMENTS TEND TO BE SMALL, AND THE GUERRILLAS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OVERRUN AND SEIZE A PARTICULAR TOWN FOR SHORT PERIODS OF TIME. COMMITMENT OF SUFFICIENT ESAF TROOPS HAS ALWAYS RESULTED IN THE TOWN BEING RECAPTURED. RECENT EXAMPLES INCLUDE PERQUIN AND SAN FERNANDO IN MORAZAN. EL CARRIZAL AND OJOS DE AGUA, TWO OTHER TOWNS CAPTURED IN JUNE, ARE STILL UNDER GUERRILLA CONTROL SIMPLY BECAUSE THE ESAF HAS NOT YET COMMITTED ASSETS TO RESEIZE THEM.

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URBAN TERRORISM. INCIDENTS IN THE LARGER CITIES (E.G., SAN SALVADOR, SAN MIGUEL, ETC.) HAVE BEEN PRIMARILY DIRECTED AT THE INFRASTRUCTURE: PUBLIC TRANSPORTATIO, HIGH TENSION CABLES, AND THE TELEPHONE BOXES, THROUGH POLICE HAVE RECENTLY BECOME TARGETS. ASSASSINATIONS OF UNPROMINENT INDIVIDUALS ARE ALSO A COMMON OCCURENCE. RECENTLY THERE HAVE BEEN UNCONFIRMED INTELLIGENCE REPORTS THAT THE INSURGENTS INTEND TO RENEW URBAN INSURGENCY ON A LARGE SCALE.

THE ONLY SYSTEMATIC TEST OF GOVERNMENT VS. INSURGENT CONTROL THROUGHOUT SALVADOR TOOK PLACE

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AT THE TIME OF THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS WHIC THE GUERRILLAS MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO PREVENT. AT THAT TIME, THE GOVERNMENT WAS ABLE TO MAINTAIN SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY SO THAT VOTING TOOK PLACE IN ALL BUT APPROXIMATELY 20 OF THE MORE THAN 500 VOTING PLACES IN EL SALVADOR.

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 06 OF 06 042318Z
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
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[redacted] SECTION 06 OF 06 SAN SALVADOR 6485

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C. VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIANS
ALL INDICES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIANS HAVE SHOWED A DOWNWARD TREND SINCE THE BEGINNING OF 1982 THOUGH THE PATTERN HAS BEEN ERRATIC. THERE HAS TENDED TO BE AN UPSURGE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIAN AT TIMES OF HEAVY INSURGENT ACTIVITY, PARTICULARLY PRIOR TO THE ELECTION. PRESS REPORTS OF VIOLENT CIVLIAN DEATHS NOW AVERAGE APPROXIMATELY 50 PER WEEK AS COMPARED TO 100 AT THE END OF 1981 AND AS MANY AS 200 EARLIER IN 1981.
URBAN TERRORISM HAS NOT BEEN DIRECTED TOWARD INFLICTING CIVILIAN CASUALTIES. FOR EXAMPLE, SINCE JULY 1981 THERE HAVE BEEN 234 BOMB EXPLOSIONS WITHIN THE CITY OF SAN SALVADOR. THESE ARE BROKEN DOWN AS
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 06 OF 08 042318Z

FOLLOWS: 83 BUSES, SEVEN ELECTRICAL SYSTEMS, 44 COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS AND 100 BUSINESSES OR PRIVATE PROPERTIES. OUT OF THESE 234 INCIDENTS ONLY TEN DEATHS WERE REPORTED, INCLUDING THREE POLICEMEN.
FOREIGNERS HAVE NOT BEEN THE OBJECTS OF SPECIFIC ATTACKS DURING THE CURRENT WAVE OF URBAN TERRORISM THOUGH THE PARAGUAYAN AMBASSADOR'S VEHICLE WAS BOMBED ON JUNE 30, 1982. INFORMATION REGARDING THIS BOMBING INCICATE IT WAS ONE OF OPPORTUNITY RATHER THAN A

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PLANNED ATTACK. THE ONLY OTHER INCIDENT WAS THE THROWING OF A GRENADE INTO THE GARDEN OF THE VENEZUELAN EMBASSY IN FEBRUARY.

9. POPULATION TRENDS
VISA FIGURES INDICATE SALVADORANS HAVE BEEN LEAVING THE COUNTRY IN RECORD NUMBERS. WE PROCESSED 8,688 IMMIGRANT VISAS CASES IN FY 81 AND EXPECT AT LEAST 11,000 IN FY 82. IN FY 81, 43,786 NON-IMMIGRANT VISA APPLICATIONS WERE PROCESSED, AND WE EXPECT 50,000 IN FY 82. WE ARE SEEING AN INCREASING NUMBER OF ADJUSTMENTS OF STATUS AS NIV HOLDERS OPT TO STAY IN THE U.S. RATHER THAN RETURN TO EL SALVADOR. ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION CONTINUES AT HIGH LEVELS WITH PERHAPS ONE-HALF MILLION SALVADORANS LIVING IN THE U.S. WHILE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE THE OVERALL REFUGEE POPULATION OUTSIDE OF EL SALVADOR, IT MAY TOTAL AS MANY AS 800,000. THERE HAS BEEN A STEADY INCREASE IN PERSONS APPLYING FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE U.S. DURING FY 82. ON THE OTHER HAND, RECENT FIGURES PROVIDED BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR INDICATE THAT THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT IS NOW ISSUING FEWER PASSPORTS THAN DURING 1981.
THE GOES POPULATION PROJECTION FOR 1982 IS 4.8

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 06485 06 OF 06 0423182

MILLION. LIMITED VITAL STATISTICS WOULD INDICATE THAT THERE AHS BEEN A SLIGHT DECLINE IN POPULATION GROWTH RATE OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS. THE DISPLACED PERSONS ESTIMATE FOR JUNE 1982 IS 182,000, DOWN FROM A HIGH OF 225,000 IN APRIL AND FROM 212,000 AT THE END OF 1981. THIS IS A RESULT OF REFINED CENSUS TECHNIQUES AND A REDUCTION IN THE OVERALL CONFLICTIVE AREAS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE ALLOWING THE RETURN OF SOME DISPLACED PERSONS TO THEIR PLACE OF ORIGIN. THE U.S. CITIZEN POPULATION SHOWED AN INCREASE TO 1200 DURING FY 81 AFTER SHOWING A DECREASE FOR TWO YEARS RUNNING.

10. PART III- PROFESSION OF ARMED FORCES
A. LEADERSHIP, COHESIVENESS OF OFFICER CORPS, ABSORPTION OF U.S.-TRAINED OFFICERS
THE MORAG OF (#)
VGRADE AND JUNIOR OFFICERS HIGHLY MOTIVATED AND PREPARED FOR THE LONG HAUL.
DURING THE LATTER WEEKS OF THE QUARTER SOME RUMBLINGS OF DISCONTENT HAVE BEEN SURFACING. AS THE EUPHORIA OF THE SUCCESSFUL MARCH 1982 ELECTIONS WEARS OFF, MANY OFFICERS AT ALL LEVEL ARE CONCERNED ABOUT TTHE JULY CERTIFICATION AND BEYOND. THE QUESTION IS: WILL EL SALVADOR BECOME ANOTHER NICARAGUA, ABANDONED BY THE U.S. AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE?
A BRIEF SURGE OF DISCONTENT SURFACED IN JUNE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

WHEN IN THE FACE OF THE LOSS OF A BRIGADE COMMANDER AND THE SUB-SECRETARY OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, MANY OFFICERS, IN THEIR FRUSTRATION, BLAMED THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE WHO WAS VIEWED AS TOO PREOCCUPIED WITH POLITICAL MANEUVERING TO PROSECUTE THE WAR. WITH THE WIND-DOWN OF OPERATIONS RESCATE THIS CRITICISM HAS SUBSIDED, HOWEVER.
INSOFAR AS THE ABSORPTION OF U.S. TRAINED OFFICERS IS CONCERNED, THER ARE NO PROBLEMS AT ALL

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06485 08 OF 08 042318Z

WITH THOSE ASSIGNED TO THE THREE QUICK-REACTION BATTALIONS. THEY CONTINUE TO DO WELL IN THE FIELD AND ARE HIGHLY PRIZED BY THEIR COMMANDERS. HOWEVER, HALF OF THE CADET LIEUTENANTS ARE SERVING IN ALL DEPARTMENTS IN ALL THREE SERVICES, WHILE THE REMAINDER RECEIVE ADDITIIONAL TRAINING AT THE MILITARY SCHOOL. EVENTUALLY BOTH GROUPS WILL ROTATE. THE PROBLEM LIES IN THE FIELD. IN AN ARMY SORELY LACKING IN JUNIOR OFFICER LEADERSHIP, DEPARTMENTAL AND DETACHMENT COMMANDERS HAVE NOT ALWAYS USED THESE HIGHLY-TRAINED ASSETS WELL. IN SOME INSTANCES THEY ARE USED TO TRAIN RECRUITS, WHILE IN OTHERS THEY RUN GUARD DETAILS. SOME RESENTMENT OF THESE

NOTE BY OC/T: (#) GARBLE/OMISSION PARA 10. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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ANALYSIS OF OPERATION RESCATE IN MORAZAN FROM JUNE 5 UNTIL JULY 2, 1982. U.S. TRAINERS WORKING SPECIFICALLY WITH THE ARMED FORCES DIRECTORATES OF INTELLIGENCE AND OF OPERATIONS BELIEVE MANY OF THESE PROBLEMS HAVE WORKABLE SOLUTIONS AND HAVE FOUND A WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF STAFF OFFICERS TO ADDRESS THEM. ALTHOUGH MUCH REMAINS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED AT THE ARMED FORCES GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, THE SIGNIFICANT COMMAND CONTROL AND COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS APPEAR TO BE AT THE BRIGADE LEVEL AND WILL REQUIRE FURTHER ATTENTION.

C. UTILIZATION OF U.S. EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING, INCLUDING PERFORMANCE OF U.S.-TRAINED RAPID REACTION FORCES

LACK OF AN ADEQUATE TRAINING BASE, THE RAPID EXPANSION OF THE ARMED FORCES, A SHORTAGE OF TRAINED OFFICERS AT BRIGADE AND BATTALION STAFF LEVEL, AND DAILY OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS CONTINUE TO HAMPER THE EFFECTIVE INTEGRATION AND UTILIZATION OF U.S.-PROVIDED EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING. THESE WEAKNESSES ARE RECOGNIZED BY THE ARMED FORCES GENERAL STAFF, AND THE D-3 IS ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION. CONSIDERABLE EFFORT IS BEING EXPENDED TO REPRODUCE THE TRAINING MATERIAL, MANUALS, ETC. THAT HAVE BEEN PROVIDED TO THE [redacted]

U.S. TRAINED UNITS AND PERSONNEL. THIS INFORMATION IS BEING DISSEMINATED TO THE REMAINDER OF THE ARMED FORCES. MEANWHILE, THE NON-U.S. TRAINED UNITS WILL REMAIN WEAK IN THE AREAS OF SMALL UNIT TACTICS, PATROLLING, AIRMOBILE AND NIGHT OPERATIONS, WEAPONS TRAINING AND THE EFFECTIVE USE OF TACTICAL COMMUNICATIONS. THE D-3 VIEWS CONTINUED U.S. TRAINING, BOTH IN AND OUT OF COUNTRY, AS THE LONG TERM SOLUTION.

THE U.S.-TRAINED UNITS ARE PERFORMING WELL. THE THREE RAPID REACTION BATTALIONS, ATLACATL, BELLOSO AND ATONAL, CARRY THE MAJRO LOAD IN THE OPERATIONS THEY PARTICIPATE IN. DURING SIX OF THE LAST SEVEN WEEKS, THESE UNITS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN ALMOST CONSTANT COMBAT OPERATIONS WITH HEAVY FIGHTING INVOLVED. THEIR MORALE AND COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS REMAINS HIGH. DURING THE RECENT OPERATION IN NORTHERN MORAZAN PROVINCE, THE GOVERNMENT WAS ABLE TO TURN THE TIDE AN GAIN THE INITIATIVE ONLY AS A RESULT OF THE COORDINATED ACTIONS OF THE THREE BATTALIONS. LEADERSHIP, COMMAND AND CONTROL, AND TACTICAL TECHNIQUES IN THSE THREE UNITS GREATLY SURPASSES THAT FOUND IN OTHER UNITS. DURING THE MORAZAN OPERATION, AIR GROUND OPERATIONS WERE CONDUCTED WITH SOME EFFECTIVENESS, AND THE A-37 PACKAGE WAS EMPLOYED IN A ROLE SIMILAR TO THAT USED BY U.S. FORCES.

A MAJOR WEAKNESS THAT RMEAINS IS THE FAILURE TO UTILIZE THE LIMITED AIRMOBILE CAPABILITY TO AIRLIFT

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 07 OF 08 042343Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
NSC-01 NSAE-00 PM-09 MCT-02 SAL-01 SP-02 /060 W
----------010064 050120Z /73

R 041730Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1029
DOD WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted]SECTION 07 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 6485

"GRINGO-TRAINED HOTSHOTS" HAS BEEN RECEIVED AS WELL.

B. FUNCTIONING OF COMMAND AND CONTROL SYSTEM
THE ARMED FORCES GENERAL HEADQUARTERS COMMAND CAPABILITY CONTINUES TO IMPROVE (ALBEIT AT TIMES SLOWLY) AND, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, THEY REMAIN OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS AND CHANGE. THEIR GREATEST SHORTCOMING STILL LIES IN THEIR TENDENCY TO REACT TO INSURGENT INITIATIVES RATHER THAN TAKE THE OFFENSIVE. THE LATES EPISODES IN CHALATENANGO AND MORAZAN WHERE AMPLE EVIDENCE OF THE FOREGOING. A MAJOR SHORTCOMING LIES BETWEEN HEADQUARTES AND THE SIX BRIGADE COMMANDERS. THE BRIGADE COMMANDERS PLAN AND EXCUTE OPERATIONS OFTEN WITHOUT PRECOGNIZANCE BY THE HIGH COMMAND. THIS FAILURE HAS CREASTED SITUATIONS WHERE THE HIGH COMMAND MUST ATTEMPT TO "CATCH UP" TO THE OPERATIONS IN TERMS OF TACTICAL SUPPORT, LOGISTICS, AND INTELLIGENCE.
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 07 OF 08 042343Z

THE PROPENSITY FOR THE BRIGADE COMMANDERS TO TAKE UNILATERAL ACTION THAT ULTIMATELY IMPACTS ELSEWHERE HAS RESULTED IN POORLY PLANNED, EXECUTED AND SUPPORTED OPERATIONS, HAS DIRECTLY CONTRIBUTED TO INCREASED COMBAT CASUALTIES AND EQUIPMENT LOSS, AND PROVIDED THE INSURGENT WITH A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE. WE HAVE PROVIDED BY SEPTEL A DETAILED CRITIQUE OF WHAT WE CONSIDER TO BE AREAS FOR POTENTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE ARMED FORCES AS WLL AS A BRIEF

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TROOPS DIRECTLY INTO COMBAT OPERATIONS. BRIGADE COMMANDERS AND THEIR STAFFS PLAN AND CONDUCT ALL COMBAT OPERATIONS IN THEIR ESPECTIVE AREAS. THEY USE THE AIR-MOBILE ASSETS PIECEMEAL, AND MAINLY FOR RESUPPLY AND MEDICAL EVACUATION PURPOSES. ALSO CONTRIBUTING TO THE PROBLEM IS THE FACT THAT THE EXISTING HELICOPTERS ARE NOT AVAILABLE IN SUFFICIENT NUMBERS ON A DAILY BASIS TO AIRLIFT MORE THAN A PLOTOON AT A TIME. IN JULY 1982 THERE WERE AN AVERAGE OF 32 MILITARY TRAINERS IN COUNTRY. THE AVERAGE OVER THE PAST THREE MONTHS HAS BEEN 40. WE FIND THESE

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NUMBERS ADEQUATE THOUGH OCCASIONAL TEMPORARY SURGES PRESS AGAINST THE CEILING OF 55. THERE WOULD BE FEWER OPERATING PROBLEMS IF THE CEILING WERE OBSERVED ON A BASIS OF AVERAGES RATHER THAN ON AN ABSOLUTE BASIS.

D. CIVILIAN/MILITARY RELATIONSHIP

THE ARMED FORCES IS THE TRADITIONAL PIVOTAL ELEMENT IN SALVADORAN POLITICS. THROUGH THREAT OR ACTUAL USE OF FORCE, THE MILITARY HAS HISTORICALLY DETERMINED DEGREE OF CIVILIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE OUTCOME OF TRANSITIONS IN NATIONAL POLITICS. THIS WAS PROVEN ONCE AGAIN BOTH IN THEIR DECISION NOT TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE MARCH ELECTIONS AND LATER TO INTERVENE DECISIVELY IN DETERMINING THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW PROVISIONAL

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006485

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 06485 08 OF 08 050003Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
NSC-01 NSAE-00 PM-09 MCT-02 SAL-01 SP-02 /060 W
----------010311 050120Z /73

R 041730Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1030
DOD WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PAN/INTAFF

[redacted]SECTION 08 OF 08 SAN SALVADOR 6485

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GOVERNMENT. THE HIGH COMMAND HAS CONTINUED TO ACT UNEQUIVOCABLY WHEN IT SAW ITS OWN INTERESTS THREATENED. THEY BOTH PUBLICLY COUNTERED THE ACTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ON AGRARIAN REFORM THROUGH A MAJOR SHOW OF SUPPORT FOR IT AND PRIVATELY AND QUIETLY SCUTTLED D'AUBUISSON'S AMNESTY PROPOSAL. RECENT TRIPS BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT TO PANAMA AND ALLEGATIONS THAT D'AUBUISSON HAS ENTERED INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FMLN AND CUBA HAVE MADE THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND EVEN MORE WARY OF HIM AND DETERMINED TO EXERCISE CONTROL. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY HAVE MAINTAINED AN EXCELLENT RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT MAGANA AND CONTINUE TO GIVE HIM THEIR SUPPORT. ANXIETY ABOUT THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT IS MOST FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED BY THE REFORMIST OFFICERS CENTERED AROUND

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 06485 08 OF 08 050003Z

THE MILITARY SCHOOL CLASSES OF 1963 AND 1964. THEY EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE OBJECTIVES OF THE REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER 1979 WILL BE THWARTED BY A RIGHTIST ASSEMBLY AN AN INEFFECTUAL EXECUTIVE. HOWEVER, THE ABILITY TO TURN DISATISFACTION INTO A GOLPE DE ESTADO IS LIMITED. THEY HAVE BEEN THE STRONGEST ADVOCATES FOR KEEPING THE MILITARY OUT OF POLITICS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS. THEREFORE, KNOWING FULL WELL THE IMPACT A MOVE AGAINST THE

PAGE 03 23 DECLASSIFIED

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY LEADERSHIP WOULD HAVE ON WORLD OPINION, THEIR ABILITY TO MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION IS SUBSCRIBED. LIKEWISE, THEIR RESPECT FOR PRESIDENT MAGANA, IN LIEU OF A CIVILIAN ALTERNATIVE TO HIM, COMPELS THEM TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE CIVLIAN LEADER PUT FORWARD BY THE VOTE OF THE MILITARY COMMANDERS THEMSELVES. THEIR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF THE HIGH COMMAND COULD POTENTIALLY LEADE TO A MOVE AGAINST GENERAL GARCIA BUT THERE IS NOT INDICATION THAT THEIR DISSATISFACTION IS SUCH THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO RALLY AROUND AN ALTERNATIVE TO HIM UNLESS, PERHAPS, COL. FLORES LIMA SHOULD SHIFT HIS POSTURE CONSIDERABLY.

THE ANALYSIS CONTAINED IN THE DEPARTMENT'S PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATION FOR JULY 1982 DEMONSTRATES THAT THE MILITARY HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS ON HALTING ABUSES ABAINST CIVILIANS, BOTH REDUCING THE NUMBER OF VIOLATIONS AND SUBMITTING EVER MORE OF THEIR OWN, INCLUDING OFFICERS, TO CIVILIAN JUSTICE. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT THIS CHANGED ATTITUDE HAS EXTENDED TO A REDUCTION OF CORRUPTION WHICH ACTUALLY APPEARS TO BE ON THE RISE AMONG THE MILITARY. EFFORTS TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE U.S., THE CHURCH, THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS, AND THE ICRC ARE SUBJECT TO A CRUCIAL

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LIMITATION--THE PRESSURES THEY BRING TO BEAR ARE EXTERNAL TO THE ARMED FORCES ITSELF. THERE IS NO WAY OF BEING CERTAIN TO WHAT DEGREE PERSUASION OR COERCION HAVE IN REALITY CHANGED THE ORIENTATION OF THE MILITARY TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES VIS-A-VIS ELIMINATION OF THE ENEMY. HOWEVER, TO AN INCREASING DEGREE THE MILITARY ZONE COMMANDERS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PROSECUTING THE WAR TALK AND, TO A LIMITED EXTENT, ACT AS IF THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THEY MUST WIN THE SUPPORT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IF THEY ARE TO WIN THE WAR.

E. ARMED FORCES PUBLIC RELATIONS

THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES PUBLIC RELATIONS APPARATUS, PARTICULARLY THE PRESS COMMITTEE OF THE ARMED FORCES, IS TERRIBLE. THE GOOD NEWS GETS OUT SLOWLY AND IN PIECEMEAL FASHION, AND THE BAD NEWS IS ALMOST NEVER REVEALED THROUGH OFFICIAL SOURCES--THUS GIVING AN INVESTIGATIVE (I.E., SENSATIONALIST) CAST TO COVERAGE OF UNFAVORABLE EVENTS. THE MILITARY HAS GIVEN LITTLE PRIORITY TO SETTING UP AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM FOR DEALING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS. COPREFA (THE ARMED FORCES PRESS COMMITTEE) IS CURRENTLY WELL SUITED TO RECEIVE INFOMRATION TO DISTRIBUTE, TO DENY REQUESTS OF VARIOUS SORTS, AND TO KEEP THE PRESS AWAY FROM THE "REAL ARMY." THERE IS NOT INDICATION THAT

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 825AN SA006485

COPREFA KNOWS MORE THAN IT SAYS, IS ASKED ITS OPINION ON HOW TO HANDLE A SITUATION, VIEWS THE PRESS AS ANYTHING BUT AN ADVERSARY TO BE CONTAINED, OR HAS ANYTHING MORE THAN A CURSORY KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE OR TECHNICAL NEEDS OF A FOREIGN JOURNALIST. THE COMBINATION OF THEIR HANDLING OF THE PRESS ALONG WITH THE GENUINE FAILINGS OF THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES CONTINUE TO PLAGUE EFFORTS TO WIN WORLD SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORAN POSITION. ONLY PROGRESS IN BRINGING ABOUT THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES IS

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PAGE 04 SAN SA 06485 08 OF 08 050003Z

LIKELY TO HAVE ANY REAL IMPACT ON RESOLVING THIS PROBLEM BUT INCREASING ATTENTION MUST BE PLACED ON PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE INFORMATION EFFORT ALONG WITH THE OTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES PERFORMANCE.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10705 01 OF 02 062117Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	
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	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	PM-09	
	OPIC-07	PA-02	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	FRB-01	
	JUS-01	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/127 W			

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O 062115Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2273
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 10705

DUBLIN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR GAVIN
DEPARTMENT PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFIN, AFSP
SUBJECT: GOM ESTABLISHES DUAL PARITY SYSTEM; BANK
-- OF MEXICO WITHDRAWS FROM FOREIGN EXCHANGE
-- MARKET - AGAIN

REF: MEXICO 10658

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 5 TREASURY SECRETARY SILVA-HERZOG ANNOUNCED A NEW AND "TEMPORARY" DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM. EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY, THERE WILL BE AN OFFICIAL OR "PREFERENTIAL" EXCHANGE RATE MANAGED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO OF BETWEEN 49-50 PESOS TO THE DOLLAR AT THIS TIME FOR THE IMPORT OF "BASIC GOODS" AND PAYMENT OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR'S DEBT. THE OTHER WILL BE A "GENERAL" OR "FREELY FLOATING" MARKET RATE FOR TOURISM AND IMPORTS OF

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 10705 01 OF 02 062117Z

SUPERFLUOUS GOODS. TO ESTABLISH THIS LATTER RATE THE BANK OF MEXICO HAS "WITHDRAWN FROM THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET." OPENING QUOTES FOR THE "GENERAL" RATE ON AUGUST 6 AT 10:30 A.M. FROM THE EMBASSY'S CITIBANK BRANCH WERE 65.73 PESOS TO THE DOLLAR FOR BUYING PESOS. FOLLOWING SILVA-HERZOG'S SPEECH, BANK OF MEXICO DIRECTOR GENERAL MANCERA READ HIS CIRCULAR TO ALL BANKS. THIS PROVIDED MORE DETAILED INFORMATION ON HOW THE DUAL SYSTEM WILL FUNCTION. AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THIS CIRCULAR WILL FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY BY SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CB/RR Date: 10/27/97
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2. TREASURY SECRETARY JESUS SILVA-HERZOG ADDRESSED THE NATION FROM THE OFFICES OF THE TREASURY IN THE NATIONAL PALACE AT 8:00 P.M. ON AUGUST 5. HE READ A PREPARED TEXT WHICH BEGAN WITH A REVIEW OF MEXICO'S LARGE-SCALE ENTRY INTO THE INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL MARKETS AND FOLLOWED WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE CIRCUM-STANCES (OPEC BALANCE OF PAYMENTS REVERSAL PRIMARILY) WHICH LED TO A REVERSAL OF THE "PRIVILEGED POSITION WHICH MEXICO HAD" IN INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL MARKETS. HE SAID THESE CIRCUMSTANCES "LED TO THE DEVALUATION IN FEBRUARY" BUT THAT IT WAS "INSUFFICIENT TO CAUSE THE REQUIRED ADJUSTMENT OF THE MEXICAN ECONOMY."

3. BEFORE GOING INTO THE ACTUAL EVENTS WHICH PRECIPITATED THE DECISION TO ADOPT A DUAL PARITY SYSTEM, SILVA-HERZOG REVIEWED THE PROGRESS OF THE 17-POINT ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM. HE SAID THAT THERE WAS A SURPLUS IN THE TRADE BALANCE OF $704 MILLION DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1982, IN CONTRAST TO A $1,202 MILLION DEFICIT IN THE SAME PERIOD OF 1981. HE SAID THE 1982 FIRST-HALF CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT WAS $4,208 MILLION,
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MORE OR LESS HALF OF THE $8-9 BILLION DEFICIT FORECAST FOR 1982. HE REVISED THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT FOR 1981 FROM THE $11.7 BILLION ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO TO "ALMOST" $13 BILLION."

4. THE PREFERENTIAL RATE: REGARDING THE PURPOSE OF HIS ADDRESS HE SAID THAT (BEGIN QUOTE) "UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES, I.E., THE LIMITED AMOUNT OF INTERNATIONAL CREDIT AVAILABLE TO MEXICO, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO FINANCE THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT THE ECONOMY IS CURRENTLY GENERATING, WHICH HAD IN TURN BEEN TRANSLATED INTO A CONSIDERABLE DEMAND FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE WITHIN MEXICO. SINCE THE EXCESSIVE DEMAND FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE COULD NOT BE MATCHED WITH A SUPPLY OF EQUAL MAGNITUDE, THE EXCHANGE RATES CORRESPONDING TO THE CURRENT (RATES OF) SLIPPAGE WERE INDEFENSIBLE" (END OF QUOTE). HE NEXT DESCRIBED THE "FORMULA" WHICH HAD BEEN ADOPTED "TO ATTEND TO THE HIGHEST PRIORITY REQUIREMENTS FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE WITH A PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE." THIS, HE SAID "WOULD RESULT IN A CONTINUATION OF THE SLIPPAGE FOR THE PREFERENTIAL RATE WHICH WOULD BE ACCELERATED IF NECESSARY." THE PREFERENTIAL RATE WILL APPLY TO "THE IMPORTATION OF THE MOST INDISPENABLE GOODS, SUCH AS FOOD, SOME SUPPLIES REQUIRED FOR PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES AND CERTAIN CAPITAL GOODS." ALSO THE PREFERENTIAL RATE WILL APPLY TO "OBLIGATIONS CORRESPONDING TO THE PUBLIC EXTERNAL DEBT, AS WELL AS THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE MEXICAN BANKING SYSTEM WHETHER THEY BE IN FAVOR OF NATIONALS OR FOREIGNERS."

5. THE GENERAL RATE: ALL OTHER TRANSACTIONS REQUIRING FOREIGN EXCHANGE WILL BE "AT AN EXCHANGE RATE WHICH RESULTS FROM AN INTERACTION OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. THIS IMPLIES THAT THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL NOT INTERVENE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10705 02 OF 02 062118Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
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	OPIC-07	PA-02	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	FRB-01
	JUS-01	ICAE-00	SP-02	SPRS-02	/127 W		

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O 062115Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2274
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 10705

DUBLIN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR GAVIN
DEPARTMENT PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

IN THIS MARKET AND THERE WILL BE MAINTAINED, INALTERABLY, FREE CONVERTIBILITY."

6. NEW SYSTEM TEMPORARY: SILVA-HERZOG SAID THAT THE DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM WAS TEMPORARY: "THE SYSTEM WILL BE IN FORCE TEMPORARILY, UNTIL THE 17-POINT ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM PRODUCES ALL OF ITS EFFECTS. IT IS HOPED THAT, WHEN THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED, THERE WILL BE A CONVERGENCE OF THE TWO EXCHANGE RATES AND THUS IT WILL BE UNNECESSARY TO MAINTAIN TWO EXCHANGE MARKETS." HE ADDED THAT "IT IS NECESSARY TO NOTE THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT (OF THE DUAL SYSTEM) WAS FORCED BY RECENT PRESSURES OF A HIGHLY SPECULATIVE CHARACTER ON THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET."

7. TRADE-RELATED MEASURES: SILVA-HERZOG ALSO ANNOUNCED

THAT THE GOM WILL ADOPT "MEASURES OF A COMPLEMENTARY
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 10705 02 OF 02 062118Z

CHARACTER" TO AVOID MALADJUSTMENT OF BOTH THE INTERNAL PRICES AND THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE NATION'S COMPANIES." THE COMPANIES WILL BE HELPED THROUGH FISCAL MEASURES, THAT WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT INFLATION. ALSO, "TARIFFS WILL BE REDUCED WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF AVOIDING ADDITIONAL INFLATIONARY PRESSURES AND TO FACILITATE THE AVAILABILITY OF IMPORTED SUPPLIES." ALSO, "SOME FISCAL STIMULI FOR EXPORTS WILL BE ELIMINATED, THE NEW EXCHANGE CONDITIONS WILL MAKE SUCH COMPLEMENTARY SUPPORTS UNNECESSARY, WHICH IN ANY EVENT ARE OF CONSIDERABLE BUDGETARY COST AND ADD TO THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT."

8. "THE ONLY APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE": SILVA-HERZOG CLOSED HIS ADDRESS BY SAYING THAT "THE MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED WERE INSPIRED BY THE CONVICTION THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION HAD TO BE PLACED BEFORE INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS, THEY ARE THE ONLY APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE IN THESE MOMENTS OF A HARD TEST. THE CURRENT CHALLENGES OUGHT TO SERVE TO CREATE NATIONAL UNITY". SILVA-HERZOG TOOK NO QUESTIONS FOLLOWING HIS SPEECH, WHICH WAS FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY BANK OF MEXICO DIRECTOR GENERAL MIGUEL MANCERA (REPORTING SEPTEL). SILVA-HERZOG AND MANCERA WERE FLANKED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTOR BANKS AND INDUSTRIAL FIRMS AND THE FULL ECONOMIC CABINET MADE A BRIEF APPEARANCE. DRAFTED BY B.J.GRIFFITHS. SHANKLE

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 10496 01 OF 03 090556Z

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ACTION EA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
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R 061345Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASY NEW DELHI O
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AIT TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
ARMY COLLEGE CARLISLE PA
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 03 BEIJING 10496

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 10496 01 OF 03 090556Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: 8/4/92
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, CH
SUBJ: NEW TRENDS IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR [redacted] Date: 1/4/98
(✓) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY
( ) EXCISE ( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART
( ) DENY
EO Citations

TS authority
FOIA Exemptions ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
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RECENT TACTICAL CHANGES IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY ARE RELATED TO SINO-AMERICAN STRAINS OVER THE TAIWAN ISSUE, DOMESTIC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN CHINA, AND CHANGES IN THE DYNAMICS OF SOVIET AND U.S. POLICIES AS PERCEIVED IN BEIJING. THE SHIFT IN CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL STANCE ALSO REPRESENTS A LONG-TERM EFFORT TO HEIGHTEN CHINA'S INDEPENDENT WORLD ROLE, BUT REFLECTS PRAGMATIC AND NON-IDEOLOGICAL CALCULATIONS THAT HAVE NOT AFFECTED CHINA'S POLICIES ON MAJOR ISSUES OR ITS STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES.

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3. THE NEW CHINESE POSTURE IS MORE SOPHISTICATED THAT CHINA'S ANTI-SUPERPOWER LINE OF THE EARLY 1970S. CHINA'S MOVES OVER THE PAST YEAR CAN IN FACT BE SEEN AS A FURTHER STEP IN THE RATIONALIZATION OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY. THIS INVOLVES AN EFFORT TO UNDERSCORE CHINA'S CONCERN WITH PEACE, TO APPEAR LESS OBSESSED WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND TO GAIN A BIT MORE MANEUVERING ROOM BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. THE SOVIET UNION, HOWEVER, IS STILL PERCEIVED AND PORTRAYED AS THE MAJOR THREAT TO AN EQUILIBRIUM OF WORLD POWER AS WELL AS TO CHINA'S OWN SECURTY. CHINA'S DEVELOPING TWO-TRACK APPROACH TOWARD ITS RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW IS ALSO IN LINE WITH CHINA'S LONG TERM GOAL OF REWAXING TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS ALONG

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OR NEAR ITS BORDERS TO THE EXTENT VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS ALLOW. BUT BEIJING IS EVIDENTLY SERIOUS WHEN IT PROCLAIMS THAT ONLY BASIC CHANGES IN SOVIET POLICY CAN BRING ABOUT ANY FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.

4. MEANWHILE, CHINA CONTINUES TO REAFFIRM ITS STRATEGIC INTEREST IN STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND IN THE VIABILITY OF THE U.S-JAPAN ALLIANCE AND OF NATO. THER IS NO INDICATION THAT BEIJING'S DOUBLE HEGEMONY RHETORIC IS SEROUSLY AIMED AT WEAKENING THE TIES OF ANY COUNTRY TO THE U.S. THE SHIFT IN CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL STANCE IS PRIMARILY ONE OF IMAGE AND RHETORIC. DESPITE ITS BALLYHOO OVER THE THIRD WORLD, CHINA HAS NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, INCREASED ITS MATERIAL INVESTMENTS IN ITS THIRD WORLD DIPLOMACY. OVERALL, CHINA'S MORE INDEPENDENT POSTURE IS NOT THREATENING TO U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS, AND TO THE EXTENT IT ENHANCES CHINA'S INFLUENCE IN THE THIRD WORLD, IT MAY ACTUALLY SERVE THOSE INTERESTS BECAUSE BEIJING'S THIRD WORLD GOALS REMAIN THE PROMOTION OF STABILITY AND THE WEAKENING OF SOVIET INFLUENCE. CONSEQUENTLY, WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO OVER-REACT PUBLICLY TO CHINA'S ANTI-SUPERPOWER RHETORIC. END SUMMARY.

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5. OVER THE PAST YEAR THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL IMPORTANT TACTICAL CHANGES IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY. THESE HAVE INCLUDED:

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-- A RENEWED EMPHASIS ON CHINA'S IDENTIFICATION WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND ON THE ANTI-SUPERPOWER SHIBOLETH,

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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 10496 02 OF 03 090322Z
ACTION EA-12

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	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15	NEA-06	NSC-01	NSAE-00
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AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AIT TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 BEIJING 10496

-- INCREASED CRITICISM OF THE U.S., AND A DIMINISHING OF THE IMAGE OF U.S.- CHINA STRATEGIC COOPERATION AS [redacted]

REFLECTED IN THE FADING OF ANTI-SOVIET INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT THEME, AND

-- EXPANSION OF NON-POLITICAL TIES WITH MOSCOW.

THESE TACTICAL SHIFTS ARE TO SOME EXTENT RELATED TO STRAINS WITH THE U.S. OVER THE TAIWAN ISSUE AS WELL AS TO CHINESE DOMESTIC POLITICS.

6. IF U.S.-CHINA STRAINS OVER TAIWAN ARE AMELIORATED AND THE DENGISTS CONSOLIDATE THEIR POSITION AT THE UPCOMING 12TH PARTY CONGRESS, THERE WILL PROBABLY BE SOME SLOWING OR MODIFICATION OF THE RECENT TRENDS IN CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL STANCE.

7. BUT THE TACTICAL SHIFTS WE HAVE SEEN OVER THE PAST YEAR HAVE A MORE BASIC AND LONGER TERM RATIONALE, SPRINGING FROM BEIJING'S PERCEPTION OF IMPORTANT CHANGES IN WORLD POLITICS AND CHINA'S INSTINCTIVE DRIVE TO MAXIMIZE ITS INDEPENDENT STANCE. THE PERCEIVED CHANGES INCLUDE REDUCTION IN THE IMMEDIATE INTENSITY OF THE SOVIET THREAT TO CHINA AND IN SOVIET ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME, A SIGNIFICANT U.S-SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT SEEMS TO THE CHINESE MUCH LESS LIKELY THAN IN THE 1970S.

8. THE WORSENING OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH OUR BEST EUROPEAN AND JAPANESE ALLIES AS WELL AS WITH THE THIRD WORLD HAS ALSO INFLUENCED CHINA'S DECISION TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM THE U.S. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CHINESE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT RECENT PEACE MOVEMENTS IN THE WEST HAVE A SIGNIFICANT POPULAR BASE AND THAT THERE [redacted]

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IS A NEW WAVE OF RESENTMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD AGAINST THE "SUPERPOWERS". CHINA HAS TRIED TO GET ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THESE TRENDS BY EXPRESSING UNDERSTANDING FOR THE POSITIONS OF THE U.S. ALLIES IN THEIR DISPUTES WITH THE U.S., DISPLAYING SYMPATHY FOR CONCERNS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT ALTHOUGH NOT ITS SPECIFIC GOALS, INCREASING ITS CRITICISM OF SUPERPOWER HEGEMONY, ESCALATING ITS ATTENTION TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, AND IN GENERAL, SUPPORTING THIRD WORLD POSITIONS WHEREVER THEY OPPOSE THOSE OF ONE OR BOTH OF THE SUPERPOWERS.

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9. THE NEW CHINESE POSTURE IS MUCH MORE SOPHISTICATED THAN ITS ANTI-SUPERPOWER LINE OF THE EARLY 1970S. ONE NEW FEATURE IS A MAJOR EFFORT TO UNDERSCORE CHINA'S CONCERN WITH PEACE. BEIJING NO LONGER ASSERTS THAT WAR IN INEVITABLE, AND IT HAS MODERATED ITS OPPOSITION TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DETENTE. IN PRINCIPLE, IT NOW SUPPORTS ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS, EVEN INCLUDING U.S.-SOVIET START NEGOTIATIONS. CHINA HAS ALSO COME FORWARD WITH ITS FIRST SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON ARMS CONTROL, WHICH INCLUDE EVENTUAL REDUCTION OF CHINA'S OWN TOKEN NUCLEAR FORCES. AS ANOTHER ELEMENT IN THEIR NEW IMAGE, THE CHINESE ALSO WANT TO APPEAR LESS OBSESSED WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND TO SHOW THAT THEY CAN SHARPLY CRITICIZE BOTH SUPERPOWERS WHILE DEALING WITH BOTH ON A PRACTICAL BASIS.

10. IN SOME WAYS, CHINA'S NEW INTERNATIONAL STANCE MOVES THE PRC IN THE DIRECTION OF YUGOSLAVIA'S FOREIGN POLICY. AS A CONTINENTAL, NUCLEAR POWER, CHINA OBVOUSLY CAN NEVER FIT INTO A YUGOSLAV IMAGE. BUT SOME OF THE FEATURES OF BELGRADE'S FOREIGN POLICY SEEM APPEALING TO MANY CHINESE LEADERS. YUGOSLAVIA'S MAJOR SECURITY CONCERN IS ALSO THE SOVIET UNION AND IT HAS HAD COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. YET THE

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YUGOSLAVS BY THEIR POSITIONS ON WORLD ISSUE AND THROUGH THEIR PROMINENT ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT HAVE MAINTAINED A BALANCE IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND THE STRONG IMAGE OF AN INDEPENDENT ACTOR.

11. CHINA'S NEW POSTURE, HOWEVER, HAS NOT INVOLVED ANY SHIFT IN ITS BASIC STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES OR ITS STAND WITH THE MODERATE WING OF THE THIRD WORLD ON MAJOR WORTLD ISSUES SUCH AS THOSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND CENTRAL AMERICA, AS WELL AS ON MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS LIKE LOS AND GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL PERCEIVED AND PORTRAYED AS THE MAJOR

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THREAT TO AN EQUILIBRIUM OF WORLD POWER AS WELL AS TO CHINA'S SECURITY. CHINA CLEARLY SEES A VITAL NATIONAL INTEREST IN COUNTERING THE SOVIETS AND VIETNAMESE IN AFGHANISTAN AND KAMPUCHEA, BACKING THE SECURITY OF PAKISTAN AND THAILAND, AND MAINTAINING PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. IT ALSO CONTINUES TO REAFFIRM ITS STRATEGIC INTEREST IN THE CONTINUED VIABILIT
Y OF THE
U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE AND OF NATO.

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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 10496 03 OF 03 090253Z
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AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AIT TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
ARMY COLLEGE CARLISLE PA
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU

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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 BEIJING 10496

12. THE CURRENT CHINESE LEADERSHIP ALSO CLEARLY ATTACHES STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO ITS RELATIONS WITH [redacted]

PAGE 02 BEIJIN 10496 03 OF 03 090253Z

THE U.S., AND EVEN IF STRONGER CRITICISM OF THE U.S. PERSISTS, THE BASIC COMMONOLITY OF SINO-AMERICAN STRATEGIC INTERESTS WILL CONTINUE. THIS WILL BE SO EVEN IF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS ARE DOWNGRADED OVER THE TAIWAN ISSUE, ALTHOUGH SUCH AN EVENT COULD SERIOUSLY DAMPEN THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTION OF A SINO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF STRATEGIC INTERESTS.

13. THUS, THE SHIFT IN CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL STANCE IS PRIMARILY ONE OF IMAGE AND OF RHETORIC. DESPITE THE BALLLYHOO ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THIRD WORLD, CHINA HAS NOT INCREASED ITS AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. MOREOVER, WHILE EXPOUNDING THIRD WORLD UNITY AND PROFESSING NEUTRALITY IN SUCH INTERNECINE THIRD WORLD CONFLICTS AS THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, CHINA HAS SOLD AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF WEAPONS TO IRAQ FOR FINANCIAL GAINS BUT ALSO FOR GEO-POLITICAL OBJECTIVES THAT COINCIDE WITH OUR OWN. LIKEWISE, THEIR CONTINUED AND COSTLY SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN -- ITS MAJOR COMMITMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD -- HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THIRD WORLD UNITY.

14. CHINA'S EFFORTS TO ENHANCE ITS PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE BY STRESSING ITS CONCERN FOR PEACE AND BY ABANDONING A STARK INTI-SOVIET APPROACH TO BUILDING RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD CAN BE SEEN AS FURTHER STEPS IN THE RATIONALIZATION OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY BY PRAGMATIC POLICYMAKERS. WHILE THE CHINESE CLEARLY HOPE TO WEAN STATES LIKE IRAQ AND ANGOLA AWAY FROM

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MOSCOW, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT BEIJING'S DOUBLE HEGEMONY RHETORIC IS SERIOUSLY AIMED AT WEAKENING THE TIES OF ANY COUNTRY TO THE U.S.

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15. SO FAR, CHINA HAS BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF MODERATE THIRD WORLD STATES IN ITS CRITICISMS OF THE U.S. ON REGIONAL ISSUES, AND IT HAS BEEN MOST CAUTIOUS ABOUT ITS CRITICISMS OF THE U.S. IN EUROPE AND EVEN MORE SO IN JAPAN. IN THE ASEAN STATES AND SOUTH ASIA, BEIJING ALSO DISPLAYS NO DESIRE TO UNDERMINE U.S. INFLUENCE; ON THE CONTRARY, IT HAS ENCOURAGED GREATER U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THESE AREAS AND WOULD, FOR EXAMPLE, CLEARLY WELCOME AN IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-INDIAN RELATIONS. IN LATIN AMERICA, CHINA'S PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POSITIONS REMAIN IN LINE WITH THOSE OF MODERATE STATES SUCH AS VENEZUELA AND MEXICO.

16. THE RELAXATION OF NON-POLITICAL TIES WITH MOSCOW HAS MORE SUBSTANCE, BUT IT ALSO REPRESENTS NO BASIC CHANGE IN CHINA'S STRATEGIC VIEW OF THE SOVIET UNION. RECENT MOVES WITH THE USSR ARE INTENDED TO GIVE CHINA MORE FLEXIBILITY IN ITS DIPLOMACY AND ENHANCE ITS NEW, MORE INDEPENDENT IMAGE WHILE GAINING A BIT MORE MANEUVERING ROOM BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS.

17. CHINA'S DEVELOPING TWO TRACK APPROACH TOWARD ITS RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW, IS ALSO IN LINE WITH CHINA'S RESOURCES ON ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION AND, TO THE EXTENT VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS ALLOW, RELAXING TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS ALONG AND NEAR ITS BORDERS. BUT BEIJING IS EVIDENTLY SERIOUS WHEN IT PROCLAIMS THAT ONLY BASIC CHANGES IN SOVIET POLICIES AFFECTING CHINA'S VITAL INTERESTS CAN BRING ABOUT ANY FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.

18. CHINA'S ANTI-SUPERPOWER RHETORIC IS, OF COURSE, IRRITATING, AND ITS OCCASIONAL APPLICATION OF THE HEGEMONIC LABEL TO THE U.S. FLIES IN THE FACE OF FACT AND REASON. WE WILL CONTINUE TO TELL THE CHINESE THIS AND TO CAUTION THEM THAT WHILE WE FULLY EXPECT SHARP

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CRITICISM FROM BEIJING ON MANY ISSUES, QUESTIONING OF U.S. FUNDAMENTAL MOTIVES CAN ONLY ERODE SUPPORT WITHIN THE U.S. FOR OUR RELATIONSHIP.

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19. BUT, OVERALL, CHINA'S NEW, MORE INDEPENDENT POSTURE IS NOT THREATENING TO OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS AND TO THE EXTENT IT ENHANCES CHINA'S INFLUENCE IN THE THIRD WORLD IT MAY ACTUALLY SERVE THOSE INTERSTS. THIS IS BECAUSE BEIJING'S DIPLOMACY IN THE THIRD WORLD IS STILL DIRECTED PRIMARILY AT COUNTERING AND WEAKENING SOVIET INFLUENCE. THE MORE SUBTLE APPROACH THAT BEIJING IS NOW EMPLOYING BY DOWNPLAYING THE ANTI-SOVIET BASIS OF ITS DIPLOMACY -- FOR EXAMPLE WITH LIBYA AND SYRIA -- SHOULD MAKE THEIR EFFORTS MORE EFFECTIVE. MOREOVER, CHINA'S GENERAL GOAL IN THE THIRD WORLD CONTINUES TO BE STABILITY, AND WHILE IT SIDES WITH THE THIRD WORLD ON ISSUES OF TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, IT FOLLOWS THE LEAD OF MIANSTREAM AND MODERATE REGIONAL FORCES IN DOING SO.

2. CONSEQUENTLY, WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO OVER-REACT PUBLICLY TO CHINA'S ANTI-SUPERPOWER RHETORIC. TO DO SO WOULD GIVE IT A DIGNITY IT DOES NOT DESERVE, AND PROVOKE A POLEMATICAL EXCHANGE, WHICH WOULD SERVE NEITHER OUR INTERESTS NOR THOSE OF THE REALPOLITIK PRACTIONERS IN BEIJING.

21. WE CAN EXPECT THAT CHINA'S IDENTIFICATION WITH AND CRITICISM OF THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO VARY OVER THE YEARS DEPENDING ON BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DEVELOP-MENTS, INCLUDING THE HANDLING OF THE ENOTIONAL TAIWAN ISSUE. CHINESE CONSERVATIVES (MEANING NEO-MAOISTS AND STALINISTS) ARE UNCOMFORTABLE WITH CLOSE RELATION [redacted]

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WITH THE U.S. AND WILL TEND TO PUSH FOR PUTTING MORE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. BUT THEY ARE ALSO LIKELY TO BE GUIDED BY GEO-POLITICAL REALITIES, AND WHEN AND IF THE PERCEIVED WILL TEND TO LEAN TOWARD THE U.S. BUT ANY CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL SEEK TO MAXIMIZE CHINA'S INDEPENDENT WORLD ROLE AND TO THE EXTENT THAT OBJECTIVE REALITIES PERMIT, AND WE SHOULD SEE THIS AS A NATURAL DEVELOPMENT. HUMMEL

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Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 STATE 221330
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TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: DECL OADR
TAGS: PINS, PINT, CSES, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: VISIT BY N.Y. LAWYER REPRESENTING FAMILIES OF SLAIN CHURCHWOMEN

1. PER TELCON WITH SCOTT GREATHEAD, CHAIRMAN OF SECTION ON INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND LAWYER TO FAMILIES OF SLAIN CHURCHWOMEN, DEPARTMENT WISHES TO INFORM EMBASSY OF HIS ITINERARY: ARRIVES SAN SALVADOR ON LACSA FLIGHT FROM MEXICO CITY AT 0955 HOURS ON 8/16. HE WILL BE STAYING AT CAMINO REAL HOTEL FOR NIGHTS OF 8/16 AND 8/17 (HAS CONFIRMED RESERVATIONS). GREATHEAD IS SCHEDULED TO LEAVE SAN SALVADOR ON 8/18 AT 15:30 HOURS ON AEROMEXICO FLIGHT TO MEXICO CITY.

2. GREATHEAD WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO PICK HIM UP AT AIRPORT ON 8/16. ALSO ASKS EMBASSY TO ARRANGE MEETING WITH CHARGE BLAKELY, LOCAL BAR ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT, AND EMBASSY'S LAWYER. HE WILL MAKE OWN ARRANGEMENTS TO MEET PEOPLE IN ARCHBISHOP'S OFFICE.

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PAGE 02 STATE 221330

3. IN ADDITION TO MEETING THE ABOVE OFFICIALS, GREATHEAD INTERESTED IN INVESTIGATING POSSIBILITY OF FAMILY HIRING AN ACUSADOR AND CHECKING ON STATUS OF CASE.

4. DEPT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY CONFIRMING ABOVE REQUESTS BY RETURN CABLE.
SHULTZ

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/22/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10909 01 OF 04 102319Z
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 04 MEXICO 10909

DEPARTMENT PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD
DEPARTMENT PASS EXPORT IMPORT BANK
DUBLIN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR GAVIN

E.O. 12356: DGN: LI 8/9/88
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX, AFIN, AFSP, ALOW
SUBJECT: REASONS FOR AND IMPLICATIONS OF DUAL EXCHANGE -- RATE SYSTEM

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2. SUMMARY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM AND THE ACCOMPANYING DEVALUATION OF THE PESO REFLECTS (1) THE INTERNATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM'S RELUCTANCE TO LEND TO MEXICO, (2) LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT, AND (3) (MORE IMMEDIATELY) THE INCREASE IN PRICES OF TORTILLAS, GASOLINE, ETC., ANNOUNCED AUGUST 1. THE DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM IS A REACTION TO A CRISIS RATHER THAN A

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 10909 01 OF 04 102319Z

CONCERTED AND THOUGHTFUL ACTION TO HEAD OFF A CRISIS. THE DECISION TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL CREDIT STANDING RATHER THAN OPT FOR A "SIEGE ECONOMY" THAT WOULD INCLUDE A FORMAL DEBT RESCHEDULING IS ENCOURAGING. ALSO, THE APPARENT DECISION TO REMOVE EXPORT INCENTIVES WILL EASE OUR TRADE RELATIONS. WHILE AN EXCHANGE RATE DETERMINED BY MARKET FORCES AND FREE FROM CENTRAL BANK INTERVENTION MAY BE ENOUGH TO STOP THE FLIGHT FROM THE PESO, IT MAY NOT BY ITSELF INDUCE CAPITAL REFLOWS. THE PUBLIC MAY WELL VIEW THIS AS ANOTHER RATCHETING-UP OF THE INFLATIONARY SPIRAL THAT IS BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE GOM OR

ITS INSTITUTIONS. THE MEXICAN CRISIS IS FAR FROM OVER, BUT THERE IS A VERY SLIGHT POSSIBILITY THAT THE MOST RECENT MEASURES COULD CONSTITUTE THE PEAK OF THE CRISIS. IF NOTHING ELSE, THIS CONTINUING CRISIS SHOULD CURE MEXICANS OF USING INFLATIONARY POLICIES TO STIMULATE GROWTH. END SUMMARY.

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3. THE DUAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM/DEVALUATION IS IN SOME PART A RESULT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANKERS' RELUCTANCE TO INCREASE LENDING TO MEXICO. THIS MEANT THAT THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT FORESEEN IN THE ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM OF APRIL 21 WAS NOT FINANCIABLE AND THAT ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO REDUCE THE EXTERNAL BORROWING REQUIREMENT WERE NECESSARY. MEXICANS PROBABLY WERE SENSING THIS AND ANTICIPATION OF ANOTHER DEVALUATION WAS GROWING. THE RUN FROM THE PESO THAT FORCED THE GOM'S HAND BEGAN FOLLOWING THE AUGUST 1 ANNOUNCEMENT OF PRICE INCREASES OF TORTILLAS, BREAD, GASOLINE AND ELECTRICITY. WHILE LEADERS OF VARIOUS SECTORS MADE FAVORABLE PUBLIC STATEMENTS, A NUMBER OF MEXICANS MUST HAVE BELIEVED

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THAT THE PRICE INCREASES WOULD SET OFF ANOTHER INFLATIONARY SPIRAL. FEW PEOPLE UNDERSTOOD THAT THESE PRICE INCREASES WERE PART OF THE APRIL 21 PROGRAM AND WERE INCLUDED IN THE FORECASTS OF A 60-65 PERCENT CONSUMER PRICE INDEX INCREASE DURING 1982. THE RESULT WAS A MORE OR LESS SILENT RUN ON THE BANKS. WE DID NOT GET REPORTS OF THIS RUN AS IT OCCURRED NOR DO WE KNOW WHO THE DOLLAR-BUYERS WERE. THIS MAY INDICATE THAT PEOPLE WERE ACTING INDIVIDUALLY AND NOT IN RESPONSE TO SPREADING RUMORS OF A DEVALUATION. THERE ARE NO DATA ON THE MAGNITUDE OF THE RUN, BUT IT MUST HAVE BEEN SIMILAR TO THAT PRIOR TO THE FEBRUARY DEVALUATION. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID, THE BANK OF MEXICO WAS CLOSE TO RUNNING OUT OF RESERVES.

4. ANOTHER FACTOR IS THE CONTINUING LACK OF CONFIDENCE ON THE PART OF MEXICANS IN THEIR LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS HARD TO RECONCILE WITH THE LARGE VOTER TURNOUT AND SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT PARTY AT THE JULY 4 ELECTIONS. THE NEW DEVALUATION WILL FURTHER REDUCE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT. PUT ANOTHER WAY, THE GOM WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FINANCE AN $8 BILLION CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT THIS YEAR, BUT IT CANNOT FINANCE THIS, PLUS CAPITAL FLIGHTS THAT COULD REACH A SIMILAR MAGNITUDE.

5. FACED WITH THE PRESUMABLY IMMINENT EXHAUSTION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES, GOM FINANCIAL OFFICIALS OPTED FOR A DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM THAT IS GEARED LARGELY TO PROTECT MEXICO'S RELATIONS WITH THE

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INTERNATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM. IN ORDER TO REDUCE THE BURDEN ON THE PUBLIC SECTOR BUDGET AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR, MOST INTEREST PAYMENTS WILL BE ELIGIBLE FOR TRANSFER AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE. FOREIGN EXCHANGE BEING SOLD AT THIS RATE WILL COME

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10909 02 OF 04 102321Z
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O 102309Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2385
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 04 MEXICO 10909

DEPARTMENT PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD
DEPARTMENT PASS EXPORT IMPORT BANK
DUBLIN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR GAVIN

FROM PEMEX'S EXPORTS WHICH WILL BE $14-15 BILLION THIS YEAR. INTEREST PAYMENTS WILL BE OVER $12 BILLION. THIS DOES NOT LEAVE MUCH ROOM FOR "PRIORITY" IMPORTS. THE OTHER SOURCE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE, PUBLIC SECTOR EXTERNAL BORROWINGS, MAY NOT BE VERY LARGE IN THE BALANCE OF THE YEAR. IN ANY CASE, THE BULK OF THIS BORROWING WILL BE TO RENEW MATURING DEBT. MEXICO'S PRIVATE SECTOR MUST BE GRATEFUL FOR THE INCLUSION OF PRIVATE SECTOR INTEREST PAYMENTS AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE.

6. GOM OFFICIALS DO NOT BELIEVE THE PESO IS OVERVALUED IN TERMS OF PURCHASING POWER PARITY WHICH IS THE DOMINANT THEORY USED IN MEXICO TO EXPLAIN AND JUSTIFY CHANGES IN EXCHANGE RATES. THUS, THEY BELIEVE

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 10909 02 OF 04 102321Z

THE 49 PESOS PER DOLLAR RATE IS APPROPRIATE AND PREFER TO IGNORE THE REDUCED ABILITY OR WILLINGNESS OF BANKS ET.AL. TO LEND TO MEXICO. AS ONE GOM FINANCIAL OFFICIAL TOLD THE WRITER AS WE WERE CHECKING ON QUOTES IN A BANK, "MEXICO MUST HAVE THE WORLD'S MOST UNDERVALUED CURRENCY." GOM OFFICIALS WERE RELUCTANT TO CHANGE THE RATE PER SE BECAUSE SUCH ACTION DID NOT SEEM JUSTIFIED BY THE ECONOMICS OF PURCHASING POWER PARITY.

7. THE DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM IS PREFERABLE TO SOME OF THE ALTERNATIVES THAT MAY BEST BE DESCRIBED

AS VARIANTS OF A "SIEGE ECONOMY." THESE INCLUDE A FREEZING OF DOLLAR AND/OR PESO TIME DEPOSITS, A MORATORIUM ON PRINCIPAL REPAYMENTS, OR A BROADER USE OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS. NEVERTHELESS, THE DUAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM IS HARDLY ATTRACTIVE. IT IS A FORM OF EXCHANGE CONTROL. IT WILL, MORE LIKELY THAN NOT, AGGRAVATE MEXICO'S CORRUPTION PROBLEMS. ALSO, MAINTAINING A UNITARY RATE WOULD SHARE THE ADJUSTMENT BURDEN MORE EQUITABLY.

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8. WE ARE STILL NOT CERTAIN HOW THE SYSTEM WILL WORK. THE PREFERENTIAL RATE CHANGED 4 CENTAVOS ON FRIDAY AND MONDAY. THIS RATE WILL BE CONTROLLED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO AND THE SLIDE IS LIKELY TO ACCELERATE. THE "COST" OF FEEDING DOLLARS TO THE PREFERENTIAL MARKET WILL BE BORNE BY PEMEX AND THE TREASURY. AS THE TAX RATE ON PEMEX'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS IS ROUGHLY 50 PERCENT, TREASURY WILL SHARE MORE OR LESS EQUALLY IN THE LOSS OF POTENTIAL PESO REVENUE. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT PUBLIC SECTOR PRINCIPAL REPAYMENTS WILL BE MADE

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AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE AND THAT PROCEEDS FROM PUBLIC SECTOR EXTERNAL BORROWING WILL BE CONVERTED TO PESOS AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE. THE TREASURY HAS NEVER BEEN ABLE TO EXERCISE COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE BORROWING ACTIVITIES OF PUBLIC SECTOR ENTITIES. THE DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM WILL OPEN UP NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR ILLEGAL GAIN. THE NEW SYSTEM REQUIRES PRIVATE SECTOR EXTERNAL PRINCIPAL REPAYMENTS TO BE MADE AT THE "GENERAL" RATE. THIS WILL ENCOURAGE THE MEXICAN BANKS AND PRIVATE FIRMS TO PETITION THEIR FOREIGN CREDITORS TO ROLL-OVER ALL MATURING DEBT. THE TECHNICAL REASON FOR DIVIDING TRANSACTIONS IN THIS WAY IS THEORETICALLY BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED AVAILABILITY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE, BUT A RESULT IS TO ENCOURAGE AN INFORMAL MORATORIUM ON PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS. IF THE PRIVATE SECTOR WAS HARD PRESSED TO KEEP CURRENT AT 49:1, IT WILL BE IN MUCH WORSE SHAPE AT RATES IN EXCESS OF 70 PESOS PER DOLLAR. FURTHER, THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS LIKELY TO DELAY ALL INTEREST PAYMENTS UNTIL IT CAN BE DETERMINED WHETHER OR NOT SUCH PAYMENTS CAN BE MADE AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE.

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9. WE PRESUME THAT THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL NOT SUPPLY FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO THE "GENERAL" MARKET, BUT THAT IT WILL BUY FREIGN EXCHANGE FROM BANKS WHEN THIS IS IN EXCESS SUPPLY. MEXICAN BANKS MAY NOT BE ABLE TO RUN A TRULY FREE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET. THE BANK OF MEXICO HAS ALWAYS (EXCEPT FOR A SHORT PERIOD IN 1976) BEEN THE FINAL PURCHASER

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OR SELLER OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE. FURTHER, BANKS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO TAKE A POSITION IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE. THIS PLUS A SMALLER VOLUME OF TRANSACTIONS MAY MAKE THE RATE FLUCTUATE SHARPLY IN THE GENERAL MARKET.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10909 03 OF 04 102323Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	
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O 102309Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2386
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 04 MEXICO 10909

DEPARTMENT PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD
DEPARTMENT PASS EXPORT IMPORT BANK
DUBLIN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR GAVIN

10. MEXICO'S ECONOMIC FUTURE--SPEAKING OF THE NEXT FEW MONTHS--IS VERY UNCERTAIN. WE SEE DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN A RANGE BETWEEN TWO SCENARIOS. THE FIRST AND OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO IS THAT CAPITAL FLIGHT CEASES, THERE IS NO GENERAL WAGE INCREASE, THE DECEMBER-DECEMBER CPI INCREASE IS 75 PERCENT RATHER THAN 65 PERCENT, AND THE YEAR-END EXCHANGE RATE IS 75 PESOS PER DOLLAR. THE SECOND AND MORE PESSIMISTIC SCENARIO IS THAT WAGES ARE INCREASED, PRICE INCREASES ACCELERATE, THE DEMAND FOR DOLLARS TO GET OUT OF PESOS IS STRONG CAUSING THE RATE TO DEPRECIATE TO 100:1 BY YEAR-END. THIS WOULD IMPLY A DECEMBER-DECEMBER CPI INCREASE OF ROUGHLY 85 PERCENT, WITH NO DECREASE IN INFLATION IN SIGHT.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 10909 03 OF 04 102323Z

11. WE BELIEVE DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE BALANCE OF THIS YEAR WILL LEAD TO ECONOMIC RESULTS SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THOSE NOTED. AT THIS POINT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT WHERE IN THE RANGE. IF A VOTE WERE TAKEN WE BELIEVE THE MORE PESSIMISTIC SCENARIO WOULD WIN. AT LEAST THIS IS HOW WE JUDGE THE PUBLIC MOOD. TO KEEP CLOSER TO THE OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO, THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO CONVINCE THE POPULATION AND INTERNATIONAL BANKERS THAT IT HAS A COHERENT ECONOMIC PACKAGE. ALSO, IT WILL HAVE TO MAKE PESO FINANCIAL ASSETS TRULY ATTRACTIVE. THIS MEANS NOT ONLY A COSTLY

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DOLLAR (OR CHEAP PESO) BUT ALSO PESO DEPOSIT INTEREST RATES THAT ARE REAL. THE ONE TO TWO PERCENTAGE POINTS INCREASE IN PESO INTEREST RATES EFFECTIVE AUGUST 9 ARE NOT ADEQUATE. AN INCREASE OF TWENTY POINTS AT LEAST IS NECESSARY.

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12. A FAILURE TO ACT MORE DECISIVELY WILL LEAD TO A CHAOTIC THREE AND A HALF MONTHS. THE PRESIDENT'S SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, PERFORMANCE (REPORTED SEPTEL) IS HARDLY ENCOURAGING. REASONS FOR HOPING (AND THAT IS THE APPROPRIATE WORD) THAT DEVELOPMENTS WILL TRACK THE MORE OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING: (1) IF THE BANK OF MEXICO IS TRULY OUT OF THE MARKET, NO RESERVES WILL BE SPENT PROTECTING THE VALUE OF THE PESO; A "HIGH" RATE WILL REDUCE DEMAND FOR DOLLARS FOR CAPITAL FLIGHT; (2) UNEMPLOYMENT IS INCREASING WHICH SHOULD MAKE LABOR RELUCTANT TO PRESS FOR A GENERAL WAGE INCREASE; ALSO, THERE IS WIDESPREAD RECOGNITION THAT THE 10-20-30 PERCENT WAGE INCREASE GUIDELINES OF MID-MARCH WERE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE; AND (3) THE CONSTRAINT IN AGGREGATE DEMAND EXISTING OVER RECENT MONTHS MAY CAUSE BUSINESSES,

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BOTH LARGE AND SMALL, TO EXERCISE MORE RESTRAINT ON PRICE INCREASES THAN WAS THE CASE FOLLOWING THE INITIAL DEVALUATION IN MID-FEBRUARY.

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13. THE DEMAND FOR CHANGE IS GROWING. LOPEZ PORTILLO RECOGNIZES THIS AND ADMITTED AS MUCH IN HIS AUGUST 7 REMARKS. DE LA MADRID WILL HAVE TO PROVIDE CHANGE OR AT LEAST THE IMPRESSION THEREOF. THIS IS UNFORTUNATE FOR PEOPLE SUCH AS SILVA-HERZOG AND MANCERA WHO ARE NOT TO BLAME FOR THIS CRISIS, BUT WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE SACRIFICED. THE NAMES OF POSSIBLE REPLACEMENTS THAT ONE HEARS ARE OF A CONSERVATIVE BENT, IN PARTICULAR EX-BANK OF MEXICO DIRECTOR GENERAL ERNESTO FERNANDEZ HURTADO WHO WAS KICKED OUT BY LOPEZ PORTILLO AND WHO IS A CLOSE RELATIVE OF MIGUEL DE LA MADRID HURTADO.

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14. IF NOTHING ELSE, MEXICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS THIS YEAR HAVE PROVED THE DANGER OF PURSUING INFLATIONARY POLICIES. LOPEZ PORTILLO ABONDONED THE EFFORTS TO REDUCE INFLATION TO U.S. LEVELS SOMETIME IN 1979. HE THOUGHT HE COULD INCREASE OUTPUT ENOUGH TO BRING INFLATION DOWN IN THE MEDIUM-TERM. THIS WAS PROBABLY NEVER A POSSIBILITY, BUT MADE EVEN LESS SO BY CHANGES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY. THE NEXT PRESIDENT IS GOING TO BE INCREASINGLY COMMITTED TO BRINGING INFLATION DOWN TO U.S. LEVELS. WHILE WE ARE GOING TO HEAR MANY PROPOSALS TO ACHIEVE THIS FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT, WE BELIEVE THAT DE LA MADRID WILL ADOPT A CONSERVATIVE APPROACH.

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15. THE DUAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM WILL RESULT IN A LOWER-THAN-PROJECTED CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT. THE DEMAND FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE WILL SLOW. THE MUCH HIGHER EXCHANGE RATE, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT, WILL DISCOURAGE SPENDING FOR DISCRETIONAL INVISIBLES SUCH AS TOURISM. DEMAND FOR IMPORTS WILL BE REDUCED NOT

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	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09
	OPIC-07	PA-01	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00
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O 102309Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2387
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

[redacted] SECTION 04 OF 04 MEXICO 10909

DEPARTMENT PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD
DEPARTMENT PASS EXPORT IMPORT BANK
DUBLIN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR GAVIN

ONLY BY THE MORE EXPENSIVE DOLLAR BUT ALSO BY UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHICH COMMODITIES WILL BE ON THE PRIORITY LIST. THERE WILL BE AN INFORMAL MORATORIUM ON ALL DEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS UNTIL THE NEW SYSTEM IS CLARIFIED. PUBLIC SECTOR DEBT SERVICE SHOULD RESUME VERY QUICKLY, BUT IT WILL TAKE LONGER FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR BECAUSE OF THE NEED TO REGISTER THE PRIVATE DEBT AND DETERMINE WHICH WILL BE ELIGIBLE FOR THE PREFERENTIAL RATE. THIS PROCESS WILL TAKE A MATTER OF WEEKS AND WE ARE FAIRLY CERTAIN THAT PRIVATE BORROWERS WILL ASK THEIR EXTERNAL CREDITORS TO BEAR WITH THEM UNTIL THE REGISTRATION IS SECURED. ALSO, PRINCIPAL REPAYMENTS ARE LIKELY TO BE DELAYED OR ROLLED-OVER. WE BELIEVE THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT COULD DROP FROM $8.0-8.5 BILLION TO $7 BILLION OR LESS. ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

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IS ALSO LIKELY TO DECLINE. A ZERO OR NEGATIVE GROWTH RATE CANNOT BE RULED OUT.

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16. THE MONETARY PHENOMENON SHOULD BE WATCHED. THE MEXICAN PRIVATE BANKS' LIABILITIES WERE SPLIT ROUGHTLY 60-40 BETWEEN PESO AND DOLLAR LIABILITIES PRIOR TO THIS DEVALUATION. NOW THEY WILL BE MUCH CLOSER TO 50-50. PUT ANOTHER WAY, THIS MEANS THAT THE MONETARY AGGREGATES WHICH INCLUDE DOLLAR-DENOMINATED LIABILITIES WILL INCREASE SHARPLY. WHILE THIS INVOLVES BALANCES OR STOCKS RATHER THAN FLOWS, WE SUSPECT

THAT THIS WILL ADD TO INFLATIONARY PRESSURES MORE THAN WOULD BE THE CASE IN AN ECONOMY WITH LESS OF A DUAL CURRENCY SYSTEM. THERE MAY BE OTHER ECONOMIES WITH DUAL CURRENCY SYSTEMS, BUT WE VERY MUCH DOUBT IF ANY HAVE HAD TO ADJUST THEIR OWN CURRENCY VIS A VIS THE OTHER CURRENCY TO THE SAME DEGREE AS MEXICO HAS DONE THIS YEAR. AT A RATE OF 75:1, THE PESO HAS BEEN DEVALUED BY 65 PERCENT SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR. DRAFTED BY L.P.PASCOE. SHANKLE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10977 01 OF 02 112312Z

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ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-09	OPIC-07	PA-01
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P 112306Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2420

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 10977

E.O. 12356: DECL: 8/11/88
TAGS: PINT, MX
SUBJECT: POLITICAL REACTIONS TO LATEST MEXICAN DEVALUATION

REF: (A) MEXICO 10799, (B) MEXICO 10909

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S WEEKEND EXPLANATION FOR THE AUGUST 5 DEVALUATION FELL SHORT OF RESTORING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE GOM. NEVERTHELESS, LABOR REMAINS CALM. IN FORTHCOMING WEEKS, MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE ABILITY OF CTM PRESIDENT FIDEL VELAZQUEZ TO KEEP WAGE DEMANDS IN CHECK, AT LEAST UNTIL THE FULL IMPACT OF AUSTERITY BECOMES CLEARER, AND ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S RESPONSE TO COMMERCE SECRETARY DE LA VEGA'S CALL FOR PRICE RESTRAINT. THE DEVALUATION BROUGHT EXPECTED CRITICISM FROM ALL THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, AND HAS LED SOME LEFTIST PARTIES TO CALL FOR GREATER LEFTIST UNITY. END SUMMARY.

2. FLANKED BY HIS CABINET AND KEY MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE MEDIA, LOPEZ PORTILLO ADDRESSED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 10977 01 OF 02 112312Z

MEXICANS ON TV ON AUGUST 7 TO EXPLAIN THE COUNTRY'S SECOND MAJOR DEVALUATION IN SIX MONTHS (REF A). THE PRESIDENT'S APPEARANCE IN THIS MANNER CLEARLY RESPONDED TO ADVICE THAT SOME DRAMATIC STEP WAS NEEDED TO RESTORE THE PUBLIC'S SLIPPING CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT. THE SPEECH FELL SHORT OF ITS DESIRED IMPACT. PUBLIC REACTIONS CONTINUE TO SHOW DISENCHANTMENT, ANGER, AND FRUSTRATION. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, WE HAVE EVEN HEARD ILL-CONSIDERED (AND CONSTITUTIONALLY IMPOSSIBLE) SUGGESTIONS THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD RESIGN AND TURN THE REINS GOVERNMENT OVER TO DE LA MADRID BEFORE HIS TERM ENDS DECEMBER 1.

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3. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, LOPEZ PORTILLO'S ONLY SAVING GRACE MAY BE THAT HE IS SEEN BY SOME TO BE TAKING THE HEAT FOR DRASTIC ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE (SOMEWHAT) DE LA MADRID'S TRANSITION, AND INSTILL HOPE THAT "THINGS WILL BE BETTER IN THE NEXT SEXENNIO." LOPEZ PORTILLO HIMSELF STATED THAT HE IS ATTEMPTING TO DO WHAT IS BEST SO THAT DE LA MADRID SHOULD NOT BE FACED WITH TOO MANY PROBLEMS. WE ARE NOT YET CERTAIN THAT, IN THE FOUR MONTHS BEFORE INAUGURATION, THE MERE PROSPECT OF A CHANGE IN THE PRESIDENCY WILL BE ENOUGH TO MAINTAIN DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, ESPECIALLY IF THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE, BUT AS OF NOW WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY DISTURBANCES, AND THE COUNTRY, BOTH IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, APPEARS CALM.

4. ONE KEY STABILIZING FACTOR IN THE SENSE OF DISCIPLINE THAT STILL PREVAILS IS THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRI, WHICH HAS INCREASINGLY COME UNDER DE LA MADRID'S CONTROL (IN CONTRAST TO EARLIER TRANSITION PERIODS, WHEN THE INCUMBENTS HELD THE REINS TO THE END). DLM TOOK OVER

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DE FACTO CONTROL WHEN JLP ALLOWED HIM TO SUPERVISE NOMINATION OF SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTY CANDIDATES FOR THE JULY 4 ELECTIONS. DLM HAS ALREADY NAMED THE NEXT LEADERS OF THE SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES AS WELL AS THE NEXT GOVERNOR OF TABASCO. IN ADDITION TO THIS AND NORMAL PARTY DISCIPLINE, HE RETAINS THE LEVERAGE OF CONTROLLING FUTURE APPOINTMENTS TO CABINET AND SUBCABINET POSITIONS. THUS THE PRI HIERARCHY CAN BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE UNDER DLM'S DIRECTION; TO DEFEND THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISIONS, BE THEY RIGHT OR WRONG; AND TO ENCOURAGE SIMILAR STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FROM LEADERS OF OTHER SECTORS WHO ARE IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER BEHOLDEN TO THE PRI AND GOVERNMENT. (THIS IN PART MAY EXPLAIN THE RASH OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS LAST WEEK IN SUPPORT OF RISES IN SUBSIDIZED PRICES, AT THE SAME TIME AS A SILENT RUN ON THE PESO WAS GOING ON. SEE REF B.)

5. EQUALLY CRITICAL FOR CONTINUED CALM WILL BE THE ATTITUDE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AND PARTICULARLY THE ROLE OF FIDEL VELAZQUEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATION OF MEXICAN WORKERS (CTM). PRIVATELY, FIDEL ASSURED AIFLD REP AND OTHERS JUST BEFORE DEVALUATION THAT HE HAD BEEN CONSULTED ON ALL STEPS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S AUSTERITY PROGRAM. LABOR, HE SAID, WOULD EXPECT RESTITUTION OF ITS LOSS OF PURCHASING POWER, BUT WOULD MAKE NO DEMANDS UNTIL THE ENTIRE PROGRAM HAD BEEN PUT INTO EFFECT. IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS SINCE THEN, FIDEL HAS ATTEMPTED TO SOUND SOMEWHAT MORE SYMPATHETIC TO HIS CONSTITUENCY. ON AUGUST 5 HE STATED THAT LABOR WOULD NOT SEEK SALARY INCREASES IF AT THE SAME TIME PRE-

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AUGUST 1 PRICES OF TORTILLAS, BREAD, GASOLINE, ETC. WERE RESTORED, AND OTHER BASIC PRICES WERE FROZEN. FURTHERMORE, VELAZQUEZ STATED THAT ALL MEMBER UNIONS OF THE CTM WOULD ABSTAIN FROM SEEKING WAGE INCREASES

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10977 02 OF 02 112314Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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P 112306Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2421

[redacted]ECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 10977

UNLESS THE LABOR CONGRESS DECIDES OTHERWISE. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT ALL UNIONS AFFILIATED TO THE CTM SHOULD EVENTUALLY PREPARE THEIR DEMANDS FOR SALARY INCREASES ON THE BASIS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF LOSS OF THEIR WORKERS' BUYING POWER. AT THE SAME TIME, FIDEL REITERATED SUPPORT OF THE MEASURES UNDERTAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO DATE, INCLUDING DEVALUATION BECAUSE, AS HE SAID, THEY ARE "CORRECT."

6. WITH LABOR RESTRAINT PROMISED, AS LONG AS FIDEL EXERCISES FIRM CONTROL, THE QUESTION REMAINS HOW MUCH RESTRAINT CAN BE EXPECTED FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN PRICES. SCARE HEADLINES OF SCATTERED DOUBLING OR TRIPLING OF PRICES OF COMMODITIES WITH HIGH IMPORT CONTENT WERE SEEN IN AUGUST 9 AND 10 NEWSPAPERS, BUT THESE ARE NOT INDICATIVE OF GENERAL PRICE LEVELS. SECRETARY OF COMMERCE DE LA VEGA ANNOUNCED AUGUST 9, AFTER MEETING WITH PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERS, THAT HE ADVOCATES THE CONTINUATION OF CURRENT PRICE CONTROLS ON BASIC COMMODITIES. THE PRIVATE SECTOR REMAINS EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT PRICE CONTROLS, WHILE FACED WITH RISING COSTS.

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7. IN CONTRAST TO THE PRI AND KEY SECTOR LEADERS, THE OPPOSITION HAS FELT NO CONSTRAINTS ON ITS REACTION. BOTH PAN AND THE PARTIES OF THE LEFT HAMMERED ON THE THEMES THAT THE DEVALUATION WOULD NOT SOLVE THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THAT THE PEOPLE ARE BEING FORCED TO PAY FOR THE MISTAKES OF THE GOVERNMENT. PAN STATED THAT THE DEVALUATION WILL HURT THE AVERAGE PERSON AND THAT THE COUNTRY'S LEADERS SACRIFICED THE NATIONAL INTEREST TO PROTECT THEIR OWN. PSUM, WARNING OF THE NEED TO PREVENT FURTHER CAPITAL FLIGHT AND SPECULATION IN DOLLARS, CALLED FOR TIGHTER EXCHANGE CONTROLS; THE PDM STATED THAT THE ABUSE OF POWER ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT CREATED A CRISIS, FROM WHICH NOW THERE IS NO WAY OUT. HEBERTO CASTILLO, PRESIDENT OF THE PMT (PARTIDO MEXICANO DE LOS TRABAJADORES) STATED THAT IN THE FACE OF THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION IT IS URGENT THAT THE LEFT UNIFY, OR FAILING THAT, THAT IT AT LEAST UNDERTAKE JOINT EFFORTS AIMED AT "DIRECTING THE POPULACE AGAINST THE NATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY." HE ALSO SAID THAT THE PMT HAS MADE OVERTURES TO THE PSUM CONCERNING POSSIBLE UNIFICATION, BUT THAT HE IS STILL AWAITING A RESPONSE. IN A SEPARATE BUT RELATED DEVELOPMENT, PEDRO PENALOZA, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BOARD OF THE PRT (PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DE LOS TRABAJADORES) STATED THAT INSPITE OF THE DIVISIONS THAT CHARACTERIZE THE LEFT, THE PRT WOULD CONTINUE ITS CALL FOR UNITY OF LEFTIST FORCES IN ORDER TO CONFRONT THE GOVERNMENT.

8. COMMENT: THE LAST FEW DAYS HAVE BEEN SOBERING FOR MEXICO. MEXICO'S SECOND 1982 DEVALUATION HAS FURTHER ERODED LOPEZ PORTILLO'S ALREADY TARNISHED PRESTIGE. HIS WEEKEND TV APPEARANCE WAS INTENDED TO SHOW OUTWARD

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UNITY UNDER HIS CONTINUING LEADERSHIP, BUT PRIVATE REACTIONS SHOW THAT HIS CREDIBILITY HAS REACHED A NEW LOW. THE TASK OF MAINTAINING DISCIPLINE THROUGH THE PRI IS PASSING INCREASINGLY TO DE LA MADRID. THE QUESTION FOR THE NEXT FOUR MONTHS IS WHETHER "AUTHORITY" IN MEXICO--JLP'S GOVERNMENT, DE LA MADRID AND THE PRI, FIDEL VELAZQUEZ, AND KEY LEADERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR--CAN SUCCEED IN IMPOSING REAL AUSTERITY, WHICH WILL MEAN LOST PURCHASING POWER FOR WORKERS AND NO DOUBT A NUMBER OF BUSINESS FAILURES. IF THEY CAN, DE LA MADRID WILL BEGIN HIS ADMINISTRATION ON AN UPSWING. IF NOT, DE LA MADRID WILL INHERIT CHAOS AND WILL HAVE TO INSTITUTE

MORE DRASTIC MEASURES THAN JLP
HAS TAKEN TO DATE. THE
CONSEQUENCE COULD BE THE SEVEREST TEST THAT THE PRI AND
THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT SYSTEM HAS HAD TO FACE TO DATE.
(DRAFTED: ROMAN POPADIUK/GABRIEL GUERRA-MONDRAGON/
THEODORE S. WILKINSON) SHANKLE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10987 01 OF 02 112337Z
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INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 10987

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, PEPR, MX
SUBJECT: "EXCELSIOR" COLUMNIST BUENDIA "EXPOSES" STATE DEPARTMENT MEMO ON MEXICO

1. (U) SUMMARY: IN AUGUST 11 "EXCELSIOR," COLUMNIST MANUEL BUENDIA CLAIMS TO HAVE OBTAINED A JUNE 26 "ENDERS MEMORANDUM" WHICH ALLEGEDLY PROVES U.S. GOVERNMENT COMPLICITY IN RECENT SERIES OF U.S. MEDIA CRITIQUES OF MEXICO. BUENDIA CITES PORTIONS OF MEMO PAINTING A BLEAK PICTURE OF THE CURRENT MEXICAN ECONOMIC SITUATION AND CONCLUDING THAT MEXICO IN NEAR FUTURE MAY BE MORE INCLINED TO ACCOMMODATE THE U.S. ON VARIOUS BILATERAL ISSUES.

2. (U) IN HIS AUGUST 11 COLUMN IN "EXCELSIOR" (TEXT POUCHED), MANUEL BUENDIA STATES THAT HE OBTAINED A MEMORANDUM WITH IDENTIFYING NUMBERS OF 6-26-82-29894, SHOWING ASSISTANT SECRETARY ENDERS' NAME, WHICH "PROVES" THAT THE U.S.G. INSTIGATED THE WAVE OF ANTI-MEXICO ATTACKS UNDERTAKEN BY RECENT U.S. MAGAZINE ARTICLES AND ABC TELEVISION ON MEXICO. BUENDIA CLAIMS THAT THE MEMO WAS WRITTEN TOWARDS THE END OF JUNE AND CIRCULATED AS A "BRIEFING PAPER" TO OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON AND

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 10987 01 OF 02 112337Z

JOURNALISTS. IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS, BUENDIA OBSERVES, ANTI-MEXICO ARTICLES STARTED APPEARING IN THE U.S. PRESS, AND CULMINATED IN THE ABC TV PROGRAM ON MEXICO. THE FORMAT OF THE ABC PROGRAM, HE CONTINUES, IS SIMILAR TO THE "ENDERS MEMO", WHICH PAINTS A BLEAK PICTURE OF THE MEXICAN ECONOMIC SITUATION AND SUGGESTS THAT THE COUNTRY IS "THREATENED BY CONFLAGRATION." THE INSINUATION IS, BUENDIA MAINTAINS, THAT THE U.S. MUST PREPARE ITSELF TO INTERVENE IN MEXICO.

3. (U) ACCORDING TO BUENDIA, THE MEMO IS NOW BEING STUDIED BY "MEMBERS OF THE DE LA MADRID TEAM." ONE

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MEXICAN OFFICIAL IS SAID TO HAVE CHARACTERIZED AS "INSOLENT" A CONTENTION IN THE MEMO THAT, DUE TO ITS OWN CRISIS, MEXICO "WOULD BE LESS ADVENTUROUS IN ITS EXTERNAL POLITICS AND LESS CRITICAL OF OUR OWN (U.S.).

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4. (U) ADDITIONAL POINTS ALLEGEDLY EXTRACTED FROM THE ENDERS MEMO (IN ORDER CITED BY BUENDIA):

-- THE U.S. WILL LOAN SOME BILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO THE GOM. EVEN THOUGH THE SUM IS SMALL WITH RESPECT TO THE NEEDS OF MEXICO, THE LOAN COULD HELP SIGNAL TO MEXICO THE PATH IT MUST TAKE IN ITS INTERNAL POLITICS.

-- ALTHOUGH MEXICO IS LIKE "A BOAT WITH NO WIND IN ITS SAILS," IT IS NOT YET READY TO COMPROMISE ANY OF ITS "PRECIOUS" INDEPENDENCE.

-- DESPITE CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT OVER THE PAST 18 MONTHS, U.S.-MEXICAN RELATIONS FACE ENDURING TESTS IN THE AREAS OF COMMERCE, FINANCE AND IMMIGRATION, AT A TIME WHEN MEXICO IS CONFRONTED WITH A SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS.

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-- WITH ITS INCREASED OIL CAPACITY, MEXICO HAS STARTED TO UNDERTAKE A POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ROLE, ACTING BOLDLY AND NOT ALWAYS TO THE BENEFIT OF THE U.S., E.G. IN THE UNITED NATIONS, CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN REGIONS.
-- WITH REGARD TO THE ECONOMY, "THE PARTY IS OVER." THE GOM HAS LOST THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THE CONSEQUENCE IS GALLOPING INFLATION, ZERO GROWTH, AND RISING UNEMPLOYMENT.

-- ACCORDINGLY, ON DECEMBER 1 THERE WILL BE A "DELICATE" TRANSFER OF POWER.
-- AFTER THE ELECTIONS (JULY 4) MEXICO WOULD NEED TO UNDERTAKE A PROGRAM OF DOMESTIC ECONOMIC STABILIZATION, WITH HIGH DOSES OF AUSTERITY, INCREASES IN THE PRICES OF BASIC PRODUCTS, REDUCED GOVERNMENT SPENDING, ALL AIMED AT RESTORING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANKING COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, FOR POLITICAL REASONS, MEXICO WAS RESISTING ANY APPROACH TO THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) OR OTHER GOVERNMENTS FOR ASSISTANCE.

-- MEXICO WOULD NEED TO ACCOMMODATE MORE TO THE U.S. WITH REGARD TO OIL PRICES, FOREIGN INVESTMENT, TARIFFS, FOREIGN POLICY, ETC., BUT ALWAYS WITH AN EYE TO RETAINING ITS INDEPENDENCE.

5. (U) BUENDIA ALSO TAKES THE OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW HIS PERSONAL VENDETTA AGAINST AMBASSADOR GAVIN. AMONG OTHER ALLEGATIONS, BUENDIA CLAIMS THAT AMBASSADOR GAVIN TRIED SEVERAL TIMES WITHOUT SUCCESS TO PERSUADE PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO TO BE INTERVIEWED FOR THE ABC

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PROGRAM ON MEXICO.

6. (LOU) COMMENT: THE IDENTIFYING NUMBERS BUENDIA CITES ARE, IRONICALLY, A DATE AND THE PHONE EXTENSION

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 10987 02 OF 02 112338Z
ACTION ARA-16

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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 10987

OF ARA/MEX, WHICH SUGGESTS THAT THE COLUMN MAY BE A MIXTURE OF FACT AND FANTASY. EMBASSY PLANS TO MAKE NO COMMENT AT ALL ON THIS LATEST BUENDIA FABRICATION, UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED. WE REGRET TO HAVE TO REPORT ALSO THAT MANUEL BUENDIA WAS AMONG THE 131 OTHERWISE GENERALLY DISTINGUISHED NAMES ANNOUNCED LATE LAST WEEK AS MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S STUDY GROUP ON "THE MORAL RENOVATION OF SOCIETY" (ONE OF THE FIVE STUDY GROUPS OUT OF 27 WHOSE MEMBERSHIPS HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED TO DATE -- NAMES POUCHED). (DRAFTED: ROMAN POPADIUK/THEODORE S. WILKINSON) SHANKLE

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SUPPLEMENT TO REMARKS OF MICHAEL R. DONOVAN - AUGUST 3, 1982

The following is a summary of specific points of disagreement between the facts, as I know them, and the official version of the investigation as it has been presented to me. This summary was prepared prior to meeting with Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Thomas O. Enders. That meeting took Place on Wednesday, July 28, 1982.

I. The Official Version.

On February 17, 1982, I met with Assistant Secretary Thomas Enders in his office, together with represenatives of the families of the other women who were murdered. At that meeting, Mr. Enders presented to us, the State Department's version of murder of my sister:

First, the murder was committed by five national guardsmen; a sub-sargeant, Luis Antonio Colindres Aleman, and four privates.

Second, the five were acting entirely on their own initiative, without direction, supervision, or even encouragement from their superiors.

Third, the motive for the murder was that the guardsmen suspected the women of possibly being subversive, because they (Jean and Dorothy) carried large handbags, which could conceal weapons or explosives.

Fourth, the men who perpetrated the murder were the only ones to cover-up what they had done.

II. Inconsistancies In The State Department Version.

From all that I know, it would appear that the five guardsmen currently under arrest, are indeed the perpetrators of the crime. I am not convinced that they were the only perpetrators, however.

The other guardsmen on duty at the airport on the night of December 2, 1980, testified that the five guardsmen currently under arrest were dressed in civilian clothes, but carried their government issue G-3 rifles, and no other firearms. Father John Spain of MaryKnoll, was the only American present in the examining room when the Salvadoran medical examiner examned the four bodies. According to John Spain, the wounds of Jean and Dorothy were quite different from the wounds of Ita and Maura. John told us that he remarked about this to the doctor, who told him that Jean and Dorothy's wounds were typical of the government issue G-3 rifle, while the much smaller wounds of Ita and Maura were typical of a 22 caliber pistol. Latter, according to John, when the doctor examined the backs of the heads of Ita and Maura, he told John that the murder weapon had in fact been a 22 magnum. When John asked the doctor what the significance of a 22 magnum was, the doctor replied that the "death squad" uses 22 magnum, and for that reason, he would not be indicating in his report what type of weapon was used.

The second point made by Mr. Enders, that the five guardsmen were acting entirely on their own intiative without influence from their superiors, is even more suspect.

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From the statements of Carlos Paredes, a former Salvadoran government minister, we know that one month before their murders, the MaryKnoll nuns were violently denounced at the Presidential Palace by General Jose Garcia, the head of the army. It is not unreasonable to assume that this may be directly connected to the events of December 2, 1980. In a letter to me last week, Mr. L. Craig Johnstone, of the State Department, indicated that the Department is trying to locate Mr. Paredes "...who we believe to be living in Mexico." Why do they wait twenty months?! I have spoken to Mr. Paredes on several occassions, merely by calling him o the telephone - yet the Government of the United State claims that it can not find this man!

On several occasions, during the month before her death, Jean was followed by a helicopter, as she rode her motorbike on a mountain road. Jean reported that the helicopter followed her for several hours at a time, at tree top level. Ita Ford also reported being followed by a helicopter during this period. All of us who have followed the situation in El Salvador know how few helicopters that country has, and how important that government considers these helicopters to be. Accordingly, the use of such a rare and valuable resource must be controlled only at the highest levels of authority. The use of the helicopters in this case indicates the gravity with which those in authority held the contemplation of the murder of American citizens. They were quite willing to commit extensive resources to an effort to find a justification for the murder of these women, correctly anticipating the serious repercussions of such an action. Such decisions could not possibly have been made at the level of enlisted men, or even at the level of junior officers.

A sign was posted on the door of the house where Ita Ford and Maura Clarke lived in Chalatenango, which warned that all who live here will be killed. Even in a country so violent as El Salvador, it is highly unlikely that such a threat would be received on the day of one's murder from a source unconected with the murder, yet the State Department's explaination is unable to explain these coincidences.

Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White has testified that one of his contacts intercepted a military radio message which said "she's not on the first flight we'll have to wait for the next one." Mr. White stated that the message was clearly refering to Ita Ford. This is totally inconsistant with the State Department's official explaination of the crime. Ita Ford was still out of the country during the afternoon when the guardsman saw the women in the airport building. Also, the women were supposedly "two white women...who apparently were not Salvadoran Nationals"; which would indicate that the murderers were not aware of the exact identities of their victims. Yet, the radio message clearly refered to the fact that Ita Ford's scheduled flight was overbooked, and that she had to take a later plane.

Sister Maria Rickelman, of the MaryKnoll order, was on board the plane which brought Ita Ford and Maura Clarke to El Salvador on December 2, 1980. Maria was remaining on the plane for the continuation of the flight to Miami. During the layover in San Salvador, national guardsmen boarded the plane, and questioned Maria about her identity. The national guardsmen were looking for Ita Ford! This incident, together with the intercepted military radio trafic, clearly indicates a serious and organized effort on the part of the Salvadoran National Guard to locate Ita Ford in the hours prior to her death. If the

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guardsmen were looking for Ita Ford for a reason other than to kill her, it is extremely unlikely that she would be able to elude their search, then enter a van which is then stopped by the National Guard for totally unrelated reasons, and finally be killed by the national guardsmen who are supposed to be looking for her. Through all of the five hours from the kidnapping of the women and their van until the final killings, the five guardsmen did not recognize that the object of their search was the woman they were murdering. Yet, this is what Mr. Enders would have all of us believe. It is far more probable that the national guardsmen were searching for Ita Ford for the purpose of killing her, she did not elude their search, and they accomplished their task.

On page 27 of the testimony provided to us by the State Department, witness Vidal Cruz Piche, a national guardsman testified that guardsman Daniel Canales Ramirez, one of those accused in this crime, had five thousand dollars during the days immediately following the murders. On page 31 of the testimony Jose Luis Monterrosa, a national guardsman, testified that sub sargent Colindres Aleman "appeared with lots of money, and purchased luxury goods..." the testimony goes on to state that Colindres Aleman obtained a television set, living room furniture and a tape recorder. He also stated that Canales Ramirez had $5,000. At our meeting of February 17, 1982, I pointed out to Secretary Enders that the $5,000 in the possession of Canales Ramirez, and an unknown but substantial sum of money in the possession of Colindres Aleman were inconsistant with a theory that these men acted alone. On the contrary, the money would indicate that the men were acting on orders from higher authorities, and that they were well paid for following orders. Mr. Enders replied to me that the investigators have not found any connection between the cash and any other aspect of this case. I submitted then, and I submit now that their can be no other explaination than a pay off. These men were totally incapable of performing any service for which they would be so compensated, other than murder.

We have since learned, from the State Department, that a second sergeant was attached to the unit from which the five arrested guardsmen came. This second sergeant has stated to the FBI that he knew of the crime from Colindres Aleman within twenty four hours of its commission. This sergeant claims that Colindres Aleman sought to enlist his help in covering up the crime. The sergeant retired from the National Guard one week later, and moved to California where he has been living ever since, under the protection of the FBI. With his retirement and relocation to the United States coming so close to this crime, it is logical to suspect that this sergeant may well have received a windfall similar to the $5,000 received by each of the arrested guardsmen. The refusal of the FBI to question the sergeant on this point, and its further refusal to allow anyone else access to this man constitutes an obstruction of justice by the FBI.

On the day after the murders, the home of Jean and Dorothy was ransacked by persons unknown. The items taken, however, were not of the type that would interest the average theif; they were diaries and letters written by my sister. Further indication that she was eliminated for reasons of policy rather than reasons of lust or greed.

The third point made by Mr. Enders is that the motive for the murders were the suspicions of the guardsmen who initally saw Jean and Dorothy in the airport

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

baggage claim area.

Corporal Perez Nieto testified that he had seen Jean and Dorothy in the airport terminal earlier in the day, and had reported to Colindres Aleman that "...he considered their manner suspicious because he noticed they might also be carrying firearms in their handbags." In a letter to me dated April 20, 1982, Mr. Enders states "Colindres Aleman ordered the murders...he acted on the basis of suspicions generated by the national guardsman who initially spotted the churchwomen at the airport." Clearly, then, the State Department is relying on this testimony of Perez Nieto for its theory of motive. In that same testimony, Perez Nieto stated that he identified Jean and Dorothy to Colindres Aleman over the telephone, as "...two white women...who apparently were not Salvadoran Nationals." clearly then, Colindres Aleman was aware that the women were not Salvadoran (and probably American).

Several of the guardsmen on duty that night testified that upon returning to the barracks on the night of December 2, 1980, Colindres Aleman refered to the women as "subversive nuns." Since none of the women were dressed as nuns, nor did they have nuns habits amoung their belongings, Colindres Aleman would not have known that any of women were nuns. Colindres Aleman's knowledge that the women were nuns is inconsistant with the State Department's large handbag theory in that his knowledge of the women was supposed to be entirely from their physical appearance.

A period of five hours passed between the capture of the women at the airport at dusk, and the fatal gun shots which were heard at about 11:30 PM. What happened during this five hour period? Mr. Enders told us, at our February 17 meeting that most of this time was spent in the town of Zacatecoluca, the site of the regional National Guard headquarters. According to Mr. Enders, the five national guardsmen went into and out of the regional headquarters at various times, but they never took the women inside. the women, according to Mr. Enders, were kept outside in the parked van. It seems far more likely that the women were taken into the regional headquarters for interrogation. The guardsmen would not have spent so many hours within walking distance of their superiors, while hiding from them the fact that four American women were in their custody. Had they sought to hide this from their superiors, they would have avoided Zacatecoluca, if possible. They would have remained there for a minimum length of time - far less than four hours - had it been impossible to avoid going to the headquarters! A more reasonable explaination is that those in command at the regional headquarters were directing the activities of these five men on the night of December 2, 1980.

III. Unanswered questions.

There are a number of questions which I feel should have been answered by any competant investigator. In this case, however, most of these questions have never been asked:

1. What were the orders under which Perez Nieto was operating on the afternoon of December 2, 1980, which caused him to become concerned about the size of women's handbags?

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

2. When Jean and Dorothy left the national airport the first time, was their van searched. If so, what was found? If not, why not - especially given the suspicions reported by guardsman Perez Nieto?

3. Who bradcast the radio message, and why? Who was the intended recipient of the message. Who was monitoring arriving passengers at the airport, and why? What were his orders that day? Where are the military transmitters located at the airport? Who has access to them? Who has custody of them?

4. Who were the national guardsmen who boarded the plane? What were their orders? Why were they looking for Ita Ford? How often do national guardsmen board international flights?

5. Was it common for the gate guards to control traffic so as to isolate one vehicle on the exit road? How often is this done?

6. What officers were on duty, on the night of December 2, 1980, at the regional headquarters? To whom does each of these officers report? What were their orders on that night?

7. Where did the guardsmen get the large sums of money? Who paid the money?

8. Why did General Garcia denounce the nuns at the presidential palace? Who was present at the palace on that day - especially who from the National Guard?

9 Why has the FBI laboratory not determined the source of the red paint smear on the side of the women's van? What pressures have been brought to bear on the FBI, in this case, which would influence them to do less than a professional job?

10. Why have only six of 85 original suspects, on duty that night been checked for fingerprints? Why have two of the five men now held on charges not been fingerprinted?

11. Why have only six of 85 guardsmen's weapons been test fired for ballistics tests?

12 Why has Hans Christ - presently living in Miami - not been questioned concerning this case? Why has the Lieutenant, to whom the accussed men reported, not been questioned in this investigation? Why has the other sargeant attached to this unit - who now lives in the U.S. - never been questioned?

13. Why has the FBI never questioned Maria Rickelman, John Spain, Christine Rody (Jean and Dorothy's roommate), or Carlos Paredes?

14. Why has no attempt been made to determine the identity of the fingerprints found on the sign attached to the home of the Maryknoll Sisters?

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

15. Why has our government withheld facts from the families of the women who were slain? How can these documents impact on national security, unless they indicate the involvement of officials of the Salvadoran Government? Why does our government continually make public statements, concerning this case, which they know to be incorrect and misleading?

0800 hours

PROPOSED SCHEDULE

Scott Greathead: Attorney representing families of slain churchwomen.

MONDAY, 8/16/82

1955 Arrival at airport.
LACSA flight from Mexico City.
POL:Brownfield to meet.

2100 Check into Camino Real.

1400 Meeting with Chargé:Ken Bleakley.
Embassy.

Meeting with Dr. Benjamin Cestoni.
Administrative Director, Attorney General's Office.
Dr. Cestoni's office.
POL:Brownfield to accompany.

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TUESDAY, 8/17/82

0900 Meeting with Dr. Nelson García.
President, Federación de Abogados.
Universidad José Matías Delgado.
POL:Brownfield to accompany.

WEDNESDAY, 8/18/82

1400 Depart Camino Real for airport.

1530 Aeromexico flight departs for Mexico City.

NOTE: The remainder of the schedule is left blank to permit Mr. Greathead to arrange whatever additional appointments that he wants.

The Embassy legal adviser is recovering from an emergency operation in New York. He will not be available for consultation.

WRB:hmn:08/16/82

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11243 171839Z
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UNCLAS MEXICO 11243

DEPARTMENT PASS TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 17, 1982

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1. THIS IS THE FIRST OF A DAILY SERIES OF CABLE REPORTS SUMMARIZING THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN MEXICO CITY'S DAILY PRESS.

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2. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) PAGE 1 HEADLINE IS "IMF SUPPORT: REMOTE AND SMALL." BASED ON A REUTERS REPORT, THE PAPER REPORTS THAT EUROPEAN BANKERS CONSIDER IMF SUPPORT "DIFFICULT" FOR MEXICO TO OBTAIN IN THE SHORT TERM DUE TO MEXICO'S LARGE EXTERNAL DEBT. THE ARTICLE ALSO CITES THE WALL STREET JOURNAL STORY NOTING THAT MEXICAN CONTACTS WITH THE IMF ARE "AGAINST THE WILL OF JLP, WHO HAS PERSONAL REASONS FOR AVOIDING THIS TYPE OF AGREEMENT."
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11243 171839Z

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OTHER ARTICLES:

PAGE 1. BLACK MARKET PRICE FOR DOLLARS AT 100 TO 1.

PAGE 10. PERSISTENT UNCERTAINTY DUE TO LACK OF OFFICIAL INFORMATION.

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3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) PAGE 1 HEADLINE STATES, "MEXICO NEGOTIATES SUPPORT FROM THE IMF, LP HAS NOT DECIDED." THE ARTICLE REPORTS THAT $4.1 BILLION

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COULD BE AVAILABLE OVER 3 YEARS. ALSO REPORTS ON CONDITIONS OF AN IMF PROGRAM INCLUDING "DRASTIC BUDGET CUTS" AND A "LIMIT ON NEW EXTERNAL DEBT". ALSO REPORTS THAT INDUSTRIALISTS ARE DEMANDING A RENEGOTIATION OF THEIR DEBT AND BROADER ACCESS TO THE EXCHANGE MARKET FOR DOLLARS.

-- OTHER ARTICLES:

PAGE 8. REPORTS THAT MONDAY THERE WAS AN INCREASE IN REQUESTS TO WITHDRAW SAVINGS DEPOSITS AND TIME DEPOSITS NOT ONLY IN DOLLARS BUT ALSO IN PESOS.

4. EL HERALDO: (CONSERVATIVE) PAGE 1 HEADLINE IS "MEXICO NEEDS TO RESORT TO IMF TO SOLVE ITS CRISIS." REPORTS INNUMERABLE ACCOUNT HOLDERS TRIED TO WITHDRAW THEIR MONEY BUT IN MANY CASES WERE UNABLE TO DO SO BECAUSE OF THE REFUSAL OF BANK EMPLOYEES WHO CLAIMED THEY DID NOT HAVE THE FUNDS.

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5. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST, NATIONALISTIC) THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES WERE ALL ON PAGE 1:

-- REPEATS NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY CLYDE FARNSWORTH ENTITLED "MEXICO TAKES STEPS TO OBTAIN IMF CREDIT."

-- REPEATS OTHER STORIES THAT MANY PEOPLE HAVE DECIDED TO WITHDRAW THEIR DEPOSITS IN BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN CURRENCY BECAUSE OF THE DISORIENTATION AND CONFUSION.

-- UNDER A COMMON HEADLINE: "INDUSTRY WILL HAVE TO RENEGOTIATE ITS DEBTS", THERE ARE TWO STORIES. ONE STORY REPORTS THE COMMENTS OF THE HEAD OF THE BUSINESS GROUP CONACINTRA, WHO SAID THAT CREDIT INSTITUTIONS, BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT A RENEGOTIATION OF PESO AND EXTERNAL DEBT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. HE ALSO SAID THAT NATIONAL PRODUCTION WOULD BE PARALIZED IF THE RULES FOR ACCESS TO THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE WERE NOT ANNOUNCED SOON. THE SECOND STORY SAID THAT "WHATEVER AGREEMENT THE GOM MAKES WITH THE IMF, THE PPS (POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY) AND PSUM (COALITION INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY) WILL BE AGAINST IT.

6. NOVEDADES (MODERATE); PAGE 1 HEADLINE STATES: "MEXICO REQUESTS SUPPORT FROM THE IMF." STORY REPORTS THAT "MEXICO DECIDED LAST NIGHT TO REQUEST IMF SUPPORT TO SOLVE, IN THE IMMEDIATE TERM, ITS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS." THE ARTICLE ALSO SAYS THAT THE EXCHANGE MARKETS WILL OPEN IN "ONE OR TWO DAYS" AND THAT "AT ANY

MOMENT TREASURY SECRETARY SILVA-HERZOG WILL ANNOUNCE A NEW PACKAGE OF ANTI-INFLATIONARY MEASURES AND SUPPORT FOR SMALL- AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES." THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO SAY "ON THE OTHER HAND, (EVENTS OF) YESTERDAY APPEARED TO CONFIRM THAT OUR COUNTRY IS DISPOSED TO
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PAGE 04 MEXICO 11243 171839Z

STUDY AN EVENTUAL RESTRUCTURING OF EXTERNAL DEBT.
DRAFTED BY B.J.GRIFFITHS. GAVIN

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UNCLAS MEXICO 11338

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPDRT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 18, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11243

1. THIS IS THE SECOND OF A DAILY SERIES OF CABLE REPORTS SUMMARIZING THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN MEXICO CITY'S DAILY PRESS.

2. ALL THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS IN MEXICO CITY GAVE BANNER HEADLINES TO SILVA-HERZOG'S LIVE TELEVISION SPEECH LAST NIGHT. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THESE AND RELATED STORIES IS REPORTED BELOW, CATEGORIZED BY PROMINANT MEXICAN DAILIES.

3. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE ON PAGE 1: REACTION TO IMF INTERVENTION
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11338 182006Z

RANGES FROM REJECTION TO RESIGNATION. THIS ARTICLE EMPHASIZED THE LABOR MOVEMENT'S OPEN HOSTILITY TO IMF FINANCIAL SUPPORT. FEARING THE TOUGH AUSTERITY MEASURES THAT WOULD ACCOMPANY SUCH SUPPORT, ORGANIZED LABOR TENDS TO VIEW THE IMF AS AN "IMPERIALISTIC ORGANISM THAT WORKS AGAINST THE INTEREST OF WORKING CLASSES." THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY ADOPTED A MORE MODERATE LINE CHARACTERIZING IMF ASSISTANCE AS "PAINFUL BUT NECESSARY." THE ARTICLE ALSO SAYS MANY BUSINESSMEN HAVE NOTED THAT IMF NEGOTIATIONSARE THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR ISLVED

ONLY AT THE MARGIN. ANOTHER HEADLINE ON PAGE 1 ANNOUNCED THE REOPENING OF THE EXCHANGE MARKET TOMORROW. FEW DETAILS WERE CITED BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT DECREES REGULARIZING THIS MARKET WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED UNTIL LATER TODAY.

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4. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC): CARRIED A PAGE 1 HEADLINE ON BUSINESS SUPPORT FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT MEASURES. IN AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "CANACINTRA: FIRM AND CONFIDENT", THE PRESIDENT OF THIS KEY INDUSTRIAL GROUPING IS QUOTED AS BEING CONVINCED SILVA-HERZOG'S MEASURES WILL RESTORE CONFIDENCE AND OPTIMISM TO THE AILING ECONOMY. NEVERTHELESS, THIS SAME ARTICLE POINTS OUT THE APPARENT IMPLACABLE LABOR OPPOSITION TO IMF INTERVENTION.

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5. HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) HAD THE FOLLOWING PAGE 1 HEADLINE: "THE PROBLEM IS SERIOUS, BUT THE FUTURE SHOULD BE VIEWED WITH OPTIMISM." THIS ARTICLE DESCRIBED SILVA-HERZOG'S SPEECH IN DETAIL. THE EDITORIAL CARTOON ON PAGE 7 SHOWED SILVA-HERZOG TRYING TO UNCLASSIFIED

UNEARTH WITH A SMALL SHOVEL A LANDMINE LABELED FINANCIAL CRISIS. AN ACCOMPANYING EDITORIAL HEADLINE STATED "THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF A COUNTRY AND UNHAPPINESS OF A PEOPLE."

6. NOVEDADES (MODERATE) HEADLINE ON PAGE 1 STATES "HELP FROM IMF IS HEALTHY, COMMENTS THE PRIVATE SECTOR," AND "EXCHANGE MARKET WILL OPEN TOMORROW: 3 EXCHANGE RATES." THE LEAD ARTICLE ABOUT THE IMF UNDERSCORED BUSINESS SUPPORT FOR THE ECONOMIC DECISIONS THE GOVERNMENT IS MAKING. AN ACCOMPANYING STORY PRAISED SILVA-HERZOG FOR PRESENTING THE FACTS WITH "CLARITY" AND CANDOR. AN ARTICLE ON NEW EXCHANGE RATE SAID SUCH MEASURES ARE NECESSARY TO SOLVE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS.

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7. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST, NATIONALISTIC): HEADLINED "FIRST: NATIONAL LIQUIDITY." THIS ARTICLE AFFIRMED BUSINESS SUPPORT FOR AN IMF AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD ALSO HELP THE PRIVATE SECTOR RENEGOTIATE ITS EXTERNAL DEBT. LEADERS OF THE MAJOR LABOR UNION, THE CTABOR CONGRESS, DIRECTED MOST OF THEIR IMMEDIATE REMARKS TO THE MEASURES FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR ANNOUNCED BY SILVA-HERZOG. THEY SAID THEY WOULD WEIGH THE MEASURES BUT WERE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOR OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THEY ADDED THAT "TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD AVOID GOING TO THE IMF." HOWEVER, THEY WENT ON TO VOICE SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY IN THE FACE OF CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. AN ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE ALSO APPEARED ON THE NEW EXCHANGE RATE POLICY ENTITLED: "FINANCE MINISTRY

ANNOUNCES EXCHANGE MARKET REOPENS TOMORROW."
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11483 01 OF 02 202111Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11483

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 20, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11412

1. THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN MEXICO CITY'S DAILY PRESS ON AUGUST 20, 1982.

2. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING PAGE 1 HEADLINE: "MARKET FLUCTUATES: DOLLAR GOES TO 115 PESOS; UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS." THIS ARTICLE DESCRIBES YESTERDAY'S REOPENING OF THE EXCHANGE MARKET AS THE MOST "ERRATIC AND UNEASY" IN RECENT MEMORY. IT REPORTED "NERVOUSNESS AND IMPATIENCE" IN THE EXCHANGE LINES, AND THAT THE EXCHANGE QUOTE CHANGED "TWELVE TIMES" BEFORE

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11483 01 OF 02 202111Z

ENDING AT 112 TO BUY PESOS AND 115 TO BUY DOLLARS. A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTED LABOR LEADERS JORGE DE REGIL AND WILFRIDO CASTILLO SANCHEZ MEJORADA AS SAYING AUSTERITY MEASURES WOULD LEAD TO ABOUT 500,000 LAYOFFS THIS YEAR IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY. THIS ARTICLE WENT ON TO REPORT THE APPEAL OF LABOR CONGRESS PRESIDENT DORANTES SEGOVIA TO BUSINESS SECTOR NOT "TO CLOSE ENTERPRISES" BUT "TO ESTABLISH NEW SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT." OTHER HEADLINES FROM LEAD ARTICLES WERE: 1) "EXTENDED PAYMENT SCHEDULE NEGOTIATED IN NEW YORK; 2) "MEXICO'S ECONOMIC HEALTH VITAL

TO U.S.: EDWARD KENNEDY"; 3) "CTM: TOTAL CONTROL OF EXCHANGE NECESSARY".
3. NOVEDADES (MODERATE) RAN THIS HEADLINE ON PAGE 1: "DOLLAR CLOSES AT 110 FOR 1 IN THE FREE MARKET." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED "AN ERRATIC QUOTATION"OF THE PESO AGAINST THE DOLLAR YESTERDAY WITHIN A 20 PESO BAND. CARLOS ABEDROP, PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION, SAID THE REOPENING OF THE MARKET WAS "CALM, WITHOUT PANIC BUYING AND EXCESSIVE OPPORTUNISTIC SELLING." ANOTHER PAGE 1 HEADLINE READ: "SILVA-HERZOG LOOKS TO RENEGOTIATE OUR EXTERNAL DEBT IN NEW YORK." THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT MEXICO WOULD TODAY ASK ITS 300 CREDITOR BANKS TO RESTRUCTURE UP TO $60 BILLION OF ITS EXTERNAL DEBT. ON PAGE 9, AN ARTICLE RAN ENTITLED: "E. KENNEDY DEFENDS MEXICO'S INTERESTS: THE U.S. SENATE ANALYZES THE ECONOMY OF OUR COUNTRY."
4. HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE ON PAGE 1: "SILVA-HERZOG RENEGOTIATES CREDITS: THE DOLLAR GOES TO 112
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PESOS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED "GREAT FLUCTUATION" IN THE PESO'S VALUE. IT QUOTED DIVERSE SPECIALISTS AS SAYING "THERE WAS CONFUSION AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FREE AND PREFERENTIAL DOLLAR." IT ALSO NOTED THAT SOME BANK AUTHORITIES LIMITED DOLLAR SALES TO "ONE THOUSAND PER PERSON." THE ACCOMPANYING PHOTOGRAPH ON PAGE 1 SHOWED LONG LINES OF TRAVELERS AT THE AIRPORT CHANGING THEIR DOLLARS FOR PESOS AT 120 TO 1. ANOTHER LEAD ARTICLE REPORTED SILVA-HERZOG'S MEETINGS WITH NEW YORK BANKERS TO RESCHEDULE MEXICO'S COMMERCIAL DEBT.
5. THE PAGE 1 HEADLINE OF EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) WAS: "DOLLAR CLOSES AT 112 PESOS: LITTLE DEMAND AND CONFUSION." THIS ARTICLE CLAIMED THAT STRONG PUBLIC OFFERING OF DOLLARS CAUSED YESTERDAY'S 8 PERCENT APPRECIATION OF THE PESO AGAINST THE DOLLAR. THE PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICO BANKERS' ASSOCIATION, CARLOS ABEDROP, SAID THE CURRENT EXCHANGE QUOTE OF 110 PESOS/$1 WAS "VERY HIGH" AND PREDICTED "A FUTURE DECLINING TREND." ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE LABOR CONGRESS (CT) WILL "DEMAND A RESTORATION OF PURCHASING POWER." THE CT PRESIDENT WAS QUOTED AS SAYING LABOR WOULD ASK FOR A WAGE INCREASE BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1, 1982. OTHER LEAD HEADLINES ON PAGE 1 INCLUDED: "THE EXTERNAL DEBT BEING RENEGOTIATED" AND "E. KENNEDY: REAGAN'S POLICY EXACERBATES MEXICO'S ECONOMIC CRISIS."
6. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS OF UNO MAS UNO, NOVEDADES, AND EXCELSIOR FILED

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STORIES ON SENATOR KENNEDY'S SPEECH IN THE SENATE
YESTERDAY. UNO MAS UNO SAID THE SENATOR CITED
MEXICO'S IMPORTANCE AS A FRIEND, TRADING PARTNER,

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11483 02 OF 02 202111Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11483

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

AND THIRD WORLD LEADER AS REASONS WHY BILATERAL
RELATIONS WITH THE GOM WERE OF "MAXIMUM PRIORITY."
NOVEDADES REPORTED THAT THE SENATOR REVIEWED
THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS STATISTICS AND RECENT
AUSTERITY MEASURES OF MEXICO WHILE STRESSING
THAT INTERNATIONAL FORCES HAD CONTRIBUTED
GREATLY TO ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.
EXCELSIOR REPORTED THAT THE SENATOR STRONGLY
CRITICIZED THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FOR TRYING
"TO TAKE ADVANTAGE" OF MEXICO'S DIFFICULTIES.
HE IS FURTHER QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE U.S.
AND MEXICO "SHOULD LOOK FOR LONG TERM JOINT
SOLUTIONSTOTHE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BOTH
COUNTRIES." (DRAFTED BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY)
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11447 01 OF 05 200057Z
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AMEMBASSY BELIZE IMMEDIATE
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 05 MEXICO 11447

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICAN DECREE ON RULES PERTINANT TO
-- REQUESTS FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE
-- SPECIAL RATES OF EXCHANGE.

REF: MEXICO 11322

1. THIS CABLE TRANSMITS EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE SUBJECT DECREE. A SECOND DECREE, DEALING WITH THE EXCHANGE RATE FOR CONVERSION OF DOLLAR LIABILITIES
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11447 01 OF 05 200057Z

TO PESOS IS BEING TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY.

2. BEGIN TRANSLATION. JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO, CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES, IN EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT CONFERRED UPON ME BY SECTION I OF ARTICLE 89 OF THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES, AND WITH BASIS IN THE ARTICLES 10, SECTION II AND 30 OF THE REGLAMENTARY LAW OF THE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE 131 OF THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES; 90 OF THE LAW ON ATTRIBUTIONS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

IN ECONOMIC MATTERS; 50., 90., 31, 34 AND 51
OF THE ORGANIC LAW OF THE PUBLIC FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION;
40. SECTION IV 23, 27, AND 28 OF THE GENERAL
LAW OF THE PUBLIC DEBT; 24 AND 43 OF THE ORGANIC
LAW OF THE BANK OF MEXICO; 10. OF THE ORGANIC
LAW OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT,
AND CONSIDERING:
-- THAT OUR COUNTRY CURRENTLY FACES GRAVE PROBLEMS
BASICALLY OF A FINANCIAL NATURE, AMONG OTHER
CAUSES, BECAUSE OF AN IMPORTANT CONTRACTION IN
THE MARKETS FOR OUR PRINCIPAL EXPORT PRODUCTS
INCLUDING PETROLEUM, AND BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED
AVAILABILITY AND HIGHER COST OF EXTERNAL CREDIT;
-- THAT THIS SITUATION AND PARTICULARLY THE EXISTING
ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES RELATIVE TO OBTAINING INTERNATIONAL
CREDIT FOR THE COUNTRY, PRESENTS SIGNIFICANT LIMITATIONS
FOR THE FINANCING OF THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT
THAT THE MEXICAN ECONOMY IS CURRENTLY GENERATING
THAT TRANSLATES INTO CONSIDERABLE DEMAND IN THE NATIONAL
FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET;
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-- THAT FOR THESE PURPOSES IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE
NATIONAL INTEREST THAT THE INFLUX OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE
DERIVED FROM PETROLEUM EXPORTS AND ARISING FROM PUBLIC
SECTOR EXTERNAL INDEBTEDNESS, BE ALLOTTED, WITH THE
APPROPRIATE PRIORITIES, TO THE PAYMENT OF EXTERNAL DEBT,
CONTRACTED IN FAVOR OF CREDIT INSTITUTIONS OF THE
COUNTRY, THE OBLIGATIONS CARRIED BY THE MEXICAN BANKING
SYSTEM AND THE IMPORTATION OF ESSENTIAL GOODS SUCH AS
FOOD, SOME REQUIRED INPUTS FOR PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY AND
CERTAIN CAPITAL GOODS; SO AS TO AVOID THAT THE INTER-
NATIONAL RESERVES OF THE BANK OF MEXICO ARE AFFECTED
WITH THE MOTIVE OF SPECULATIVE OPERATIONS OR THOSE
THAT CONFLICT WITH PUBLIC INTEREST;
-
-- THAT ALL THIS MAKES IT IMPERATIVE TO ADOPT TEMPORARILY
IN REGARD TO CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM
OF ECONOMIC POLICY FOR 1982, PUBLISHED IN THE OFFICIAL
DAILY OF THE FEDERATION ON APRIL 21 OF THE PRESENT
YEAR, AND THAT ALLOWS US TO USE SPECIAL EXCHANGE
RATES FOR CERTAIN FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS SO
THAT THE NEW EXCHANGE SITUATION THAT WE INEXORABLY
HAVE TO FACE IMPLIES THE LOWEST SOCIAL COST POSSBILE
AND PROPITIATES . PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT; I WILLINGLY
DECREE THE FOLLOWING:
-
-- ARTICLE 1. THE DEPENDENCIES OF THE FEDERAL PUBLIC
PUBLIC CENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATION, THE DEPARTMENT
OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT, THE PARASTATAL ENTITIES
LISTED IN THE ANNEX OF THIS DECREE AND THE OTHER
ENTITIES OF THE PUBLIC FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION POINTED

OUT BY THE SECRETARY OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT, SHOULD DEPOSIT IN THE BANK OF MEXICO, THROUGH TRANSFER OF FOREIGN FUNDS, ALL FOREIGN EXCHANGE THAT THEY HAVE, INCLUDING ALL ARISING FROM CREDITS AND OTHER

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11447 02 OF 05 200057Z
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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELIZE IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 05 MEXICO 11447

FINANCING OBTAINED OR FROM RESIDENTS ABROAD, SUCH AS THAT RECEIVED BY WAY OF EXPORTS.
-
-- THE DEPOSITS TO WHICH THIS ARTICLE REFERS SHOULD BE MADE PRECISELY THE DAY THAT THIS FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS RECEIVED. THE INVESTMENTS NOW HELD IN FOREIGN CURRENCY IN DIFFERENT ENTITIES OTHER THAN THE BANK OF MEXICO CANNOT BE RENEWED AT THEIR MATURITY, EXCEPT WITH PRIOR AUTHORIZATION OF THE SECRETARY OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11447 02 OF 05 200057Z

-- THE DEPENDENCIES AND ENTITIES MENTIONED CAN MAINTAIN DEPOSITS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN INSTITUTIONS OTHER THAN THE BANK OF MEXICO, ONLY WHEN THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT GRANTS THEM APPROVAL. FOR SUCH APPROVAL WRITTEN REASONS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED JUSTIFYING THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING THESE DEPOSITS IN OTHER INSTITUTIONS, AND INFORMING THIS SECRETARIAT AND SAID BANK, WITH THE TIMING DETERMINED BY THEM, OF THE MOVEMENTS REGISTERED BY THE RESPECTIVE ACCOUNTS, INCLUDING THOSE THAT RESULT FROM THE INTEREST GENERATED BY THE DEPOSITS, AS WELL AS THE INTENDED USE OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THEIR COMMAND.

-- IN THE CONTRACTS WHICH DOCUMENT THE DEPOSITS REFERRED TO IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH, IT IS INTENDED THAT THE RESTITUTION OF SUCH DEPOSITS WILL BE MADE THROUGH THE TRANSFER OF FUNDS HELD ABROAD.

-- ARTICLE 2. ALL REVENUE THAT PETROLEOS MEXICANOS (PEMEX) RECEIVES IN PAYMENT FOR EXPORTS, AS WELL AS THAT OBTAINED BY NEGOTIATING SALES CONTRACTS OF THEIR PRODUCTS, MUST BE DEPOSITED IN THE BANK OF MEXICO, IN A SPECIAL ACCOUNT, ON THE SAME DAY THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS RECEIVED, THROUGH TRANSFER OF FUNDS HELD ABROAD.

-- PETROLEOS MEXICANOS WILL ONLY BE ABLE TO USE . THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE DEPOSITED IN THE SPECIAL ACCOUNT MENTIONED IN THE PREVIOUS PARAGRAPH IN ACCORD TO THE FOLLOWING RULES:

-- A) TO PAY THE INTEREST AND EXPENSES OF OBLIGATIONS
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 11447 02 OF 05 200057Z

RELATED TO BORROWINGS IN FOREIGN CURRENCY TO RESIDENTS ABROAD, AS WELL AS TO PAY FOR IMPORTS IN LINE WITH THE CONDITIONS REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE 8. THESE TRANSACTIONS WILL BE CARRIED OUT THROUGH PAYMENT ORDERS THAT THE BANK OF MEXICO PROCESSES CHARGED TO THE CORRESPONDING DEPOSIT, AFTER DELIVERY TO THIS INSTITUTION OF THE RESPECTIVE APPROVAL ISSUED BY THE SECRETARY OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT THAT CERTIFIES THAT THE TRANSACTION IS FOR INTEREST OR OTHER COSTS RELATED TO REGISTERED CREDITS, OR THE CORRESPONDING CERTIFICATION OF THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, WHEN IT DEALS WITH IMPORTS.

--
-- B) TO SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO THE BANK OF MEXICO AT PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE NOTED BELOW IN ARTICLE 3.
-- ARTICLE 3. THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL SELL TO THE DEPENDENCIES AND ENTITIES REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE 1, THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE THAT THEY NEED TO PAY INTEREST AND OTHER EXPENSES OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY , AND TO THE ACCOUNT OF FINANCIAL ENTITIES ABROAD, ALWAYS AND WHEN THE ENTITY INVOLVED VERIFIES TO SAID BANK THE DESTINATION OF THESE PAYMENTS THROUGH GUIDANCE FOR THIS PURPOSE ISSUED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT.
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-- THESE SALES WILL BE MADE AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE FIXED DAILY BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.
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-- ARTICLE 4. THE NATIONAL CREDIT INSTITUTIONS WILL HAVE TO DEPOSIT IN THE BANK OF MEXICO ALL OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE THEY POSSESS OR MANAGE, AND THEY CAN ONLY MAINTAIN FOREIGN EXCHANGE DEPOSITS IN OTHER INSTITUTIONS WITH THE PREVIOUS AUTHORIZATION

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11447 03 OF 05 200059Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2678
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELIZE IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 05 MEXICO 11447

OF THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT, IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS IN THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH OF THE ARTICLE.

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-- THE ACT OF MAKING DEPOSITS IN THE BANK OF MEXICO REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE, AS WELL AS THE PAYMENT OF THE SAME, WILL BE MADE THROUGH FUNDS HELD ABROAD.

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-- ARTICLE 5. THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT WILL ESTABLISH IN THE DIRECTION (OFFICE) OF PUBLIC DEBT, A REGISTRY TO RECORD UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11447 03 OF 05 200059Z

CREDITS BY FOREIGN FINANCIAL ENTITIES TO THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISES ESTABLISHED IN MEXICO. ONLY CREDITS CONTRACTED BEFORE THE DATE THAT THIS DECREE ENTERS INTO FORCE CAN BE REGISTERED, UP TO THE UNPAID BALANCE THAT AT THAT SAME DATE IS REPORTED ON SUCH CREDITS. ALSO, NEW CREDITS BY FOREIGN FINANCIAL ENTITIES AND TO THE ACCOUNT OF ENTERPRISES THAT ALREADY HAVE REGISTERED CREDITS CAN BE REGISTERED ALWAYS AND WHEN THE VALUE OF THE NEW CREDITS ADDED TO THE UNPAID BALANCE OF THE CREDITS ALREADY REGISTERED, DOES NOT EXCEED, AT THE DATE OF THE NEW REGISTRATION, THE QUANTITY ORIGINALLY REGISTERED.

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-- ARTICLE 6. THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DIRECTION OF PUBLIC DEBT, AT THE REQUEST OF THE COMPANIES, WILL ISSUE EVIDENCE OF THE REGISTRATION, IN ORDER THAT THESE CAN OBTAIN FROM THE BANK OF MEXXICO, THROUGH THE SELECTED INSTITUTION OF CREDIT AND BY THE DELIVERY OF SAID EVIDENCE, THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIRED FOR TIMELY PAYMENT OF THE ORDINARY INTERESTS OF DEBTS INVOLVED, AT THE PREFERENCIAL EXCHANGE RATE MENTIONED IN ARTICLE 3.

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-- THE CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION THAT IS GRANTED TO COMPANIES THATHAVE FOREIGN CURRENCY DEBT INSTRUEMNTS IN THEIR FAVOR AND TO THE ACCOUNT OF RESIDENTS OF MEXICO, WILL REMAIN CONDITIONAL TO THE OBLIGATION OF THESE FIRMS TO TRANSFER THE ENTIRE BENEFIT TO THEM OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE ACQUIRED AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE, TO THE DEBTORS.

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-- ARTICLE 7. THE ISSUANCE OF THE EVIDENCE OF
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 11447 03 OF 05 200059Z

REGISTRY REFERRED IN ARTICLE 6, RELATIVE TO THE CREDITS CONTRACTED AFTER THE DATE IN WHICH THE DECREE ENTERS FORCE, CAN ONLY BE MADE AFTER THE RETURN TO THE DIRECTION OF PUBLIC DEBT OF THE EVIDENCE OF REGISTRY THE CORRESPONDING TO CREDITS CONTRACTED BEFORE THAT DATE.
-
-- ARTICLE 8. THE BANK OF MEXICO, THROUGH THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, WILL SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PMEFERRED EXCHANGE RATE SET IN ARTICLE 3, FOR THE PAYMENT OF AUTHORIZED IMPORTATIONS OF BASIC FOOD STUFFS, OF INPUTS NECESSARY FOR PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY AND OF CAPITAL GOODS, ALWAYS THAT SAID IMPORTS ARE ESSENTIAL FOR THE COUNTRY. THESE SALES WILL BE CARRIED OUT WHEN THE CORRESPONDING MERCHANDISE HAS BEEN LEGALLY INTRODUCED INTO NATIONAL TERRITORY.
-
-- TO SUCH EFFECT THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE WITHIN THE AMOUNTS SET PERIODICALLY BY THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT AND CONFORMING TO THE PRIORITIES THAT THAT SECRETARIAT ESTABLISHES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NATIONAL INTEREST, WILL ISSUE THE AUTHORIZATIONS NOTED IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THIS ARTICLE; THE SAME MUST BE PRESENTED TO THE FINANCE SECRETARIAT BY THE INTERESTED PARTIES AS SOON AS THE CORRESPONDING MERCHANDISE HAS BEEN LEGALLY INTRODUCED INTO NATIONAL TERRITORY, AT WHICH TIME THE CERTIFICATION THAT VERIFIES COMPLIANCE WITH THE REQUISITE OF TRADE AND INDICATES THE SUM OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE THAT THE INTERESTED PARTY CAN ACQUIRE AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE WILL BE ISSUED.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11447 04 OF 05 200101Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2679
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 05 MEXICO 11447

-- ARTICLE 9. THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL SELL TO THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE, FOR THE VALUE OF THE INTERESTS CORRESPONDING TO CREDITS IN FOREIGN CURRENCY, GRANTED BEFORE AUGUST 5, 1982, THAT ARE PAID TO THEM IN NATIONAL CURRENCY AT THE CITED PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE, UNDER CONDITIONS THAT THE BANK OF MEXICO DETERMINES.

-- THIS ARTICLE ALSO WILL APPLY WITH RESPECT TO THE CREDITS GRANTED BEFORE AUGUST 5, 1982,
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11447 04 OF 05 200101Z

THAT ARE RENEWED, IN THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IF THE RENEWAL INCREASES THE VALUE OF THE CREDIT, THE INTERESTS CORRESPONDING TO THE SURPLUS WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO THIS RULE.

ARTICLE 10. THE BANK OF MEXICO, TO THE DEGREE THAT ITS RESOURCES PERMIT AND IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE GENERAL RULES WHICH IT ISSUES IN THAT CONNECTION, WILL SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE RATE OF EXCHANGE DISCUSSED IN ARTICLE ONE OF THE OTHER PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ISSUED TODAY TO THE FOLLOWING PERSONS AND UNDER THE FOLLOWING

CONDITIONS:
-
- A) TO FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED IN MEXICO, UP TO THE AMOUNT REQUIRED TO COVER BALANCES AND INTEREST ON LOANS CONTRACTED PRIOR TO AUGUST 12, 1982, AND PAYABLE ABROAD, PROVIDED THAT IT IS AUTHENTICATED THAT THOSE CREDITS CORRESPOND TO LIABILITIES DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY PAYABLE BY MEXICAN RESIDENTS AND PAYABLE IN MEXICO.
-
- B) TO THE HOLDERS OF BANK DEPOSITS WHICH WERE MADE TO TRUSTS WHICH GUARANTEE PAYMENT THROUGH FIDUCIARY GUARANTEE, SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, THOSE PERSONS WHO MADE DEPOSITS (O OPERACIONES DE REPORTO) WITH MEXICAN CREDIT INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO OBTAIN ACCESS TO THE SPECIAL FINANCING PROGRAM (PROGRAMA ESPECIAL DE FINANCIAMIENTO) OF THE BANK OF MEXICO; PROVIDED THAT SUCH PERSONS AUTHENTICATE THAT THE FUNDS THAT APPLY TO THOSE OPERATIONS ORIGINATE FROM CREDITS TO THEIR
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ACCOUNT BY MEANS OF FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE PAYABLE ABROAD TO THESE INSTITUTIONS.
-
- C) TO THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE CONSIDERS SIMILAR, SUCH AS EMBASSIES ESTABLISHED IN MEXICO AND FOREIGN CITIZENS EMPLOYED IN SUCH AGENCIES, INSTITUTIONS AND EMBASSIES UP TO THE AMOUNT OF THE BANK ACCOUNTS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY WHICH THEY HELD ON AUGUST 12, 1982.
-
- D) TO FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, UP TO THE AMOUNT OF THE BANK ACCOUNTS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY THAT THEY HELD ON AUGUST 12, 1982, PROVIDED THAT SUCH DEPOSITS ARE PAYABLE IN MEXICO.
-
THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL MAKE THE SALES REFERRED TO IN CLAUSES B), C), AND D) THROUGH THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS OF MEXICO.

ARTICLE 11. THE REGISTRATION AUTHORIZED IN ARTICLE 5 AND THE AUTHORIZATIONS AND CERTIFICATIONS REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE 8, WILL BE REVOKED SHOULD THE BENEFICIARY BE GUILTY OF FALSE STATEMENTS OR OMISSIONS, OR MAKE FALSE USE OF CORRESPONDING EVIDENCE OR AUTHORIZATIONS, OR COMMIT ANY OTHER VIOLATION OF THE REGULATIONS IN THIS DECREE.
-
THE ABOVE APPLIES WITHOUT DETRIMENT TO THE IMPOSITION OF THE SANCTIONS AND REQUIREMENTS

WHICH MIGHT APPLY.

ARTICLE 12. THE COORDINATING AGENCIES WILL

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11447 05 OF 05 200102Z
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AMEMBASSY BELIZE IMMEDIATE
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 MEXICO 11447

INSTRUCT THE ADJUDICATING AND ADMINISTRATING ENTITIES UNDER THEIR AUTHORITY TO ADOPT THE MEASURES NECESSARY FOR COMPLIANCE WITH THE REGULATIONS ISSUED IN THIS DECREE AND WILL MONITOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THOSE REGULATIONS.

ARTICLE 13. THE SECRETARIATS OF FINANCE AND COMMERCE, EACH IN ITS OWN AREA OF AUTHORITY, WILL ISSUE THE IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS REQUIRED FOR THE EXACT FULFILLMENT OF THIS DECREE; THE

SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE HAVING THE RESPONSIBILITY
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11447 05 OF 05 200102Z

TO DESIGNATE THE REQUISITES AND CHARACTERISTICS
RELATIVE TO THE REGISTRY AND THE DOCUMENTATION
IT WILL ISSUE, AND THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE
BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR DESIGNATING THE AUTHORIZATIONS
REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE.
BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

ONE: THIS DECREE WILL ENTER INTO FORCE THE
DAY AFTER ITS PUBLICATION IN THE DIARIO OF
ICIAL.

TWO: THE APPLICATIONS TO REGISTER THE CREDITS
REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE 5, CONTRACTED PRIOR
TO THE ENTERING INTO FORCE OF THIS DECREE,
WILL BE PRESENTED WITHIN A PERIOD OF TIME TO
BE SPECIFIED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE.

THREE: THE SALE OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE REFERRED
TO IN ARTICLE 8, WILL BEGIN ON THE DATE WHEN
THE BANK OF MEXICO HAS SUFFICIENT FOREIGN EXCHANGE
FOR SUCH SALE AND WILL BE SOLD UP TO THE LIMIT
DETERMINED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE.

THE DECREE IS ISSUED IN MEXICO CITY, AUGUST 16, 1982.

SIGNED: JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO
- JESUS SILVA-HERZOG - FINANCE
- RAMON AGUIRRE - PROGRAMMING AND BUDGET
- JORGE DE LA BEGA - COMMERCE
- JOSE ANDRES OTEYZA - PATRIMONY
- SERGIO GARCIA RAMIREZ - LABOR
END TRANSLATION.

3. THE ANNEX REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE 1, LISTS 60-ODD
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 11447 05 OF 05 200102Z

PARASTATAL FIRMS. SHANKLE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11522 01 OF 02 210030Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2722
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11522

E.O. 12356: DECL: 08/20/88
TAGS: PINT, EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICO REMAINS CALM IN SPITE OF ECONOMIC CRISIS

REF: (A) MEXICO 10977

1. SUMMARY. SINCE REFTEL SURFACE CALM HAS CONTINUED TO PREVAIL THROUGHOUT COUNTRY IN SPITE OF ECONOMIC CRISIS, WITH SECTOR LEADERS STILL EXPRESSING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT ACTIONS. GOM MAY HAVE UNDERTAKEN SOME PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST POSSIBLE DISTURBANCES, BUT THERE ARE NO OVERT SIGNS OF TROUBLE. PRIVATE CITIZENS ARE REELING FROM FINANCIAL SHOCK, BUT MOST ACCEPT NEED FOR GOM MEASURES, HOWEVER PAINFUL. POLITICAL LEFT HAS THROWN FULL SUPPORT BEHIND EXCHANGE CONTROLS, BUT IS PREDICTABLY CRITICIZING RESORT TO INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF). END SUMMARY.

2. DESPITE THE FINANCIAL ANGUISH OF THE LAST TWO WEEKS' EVENTS FOR THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS AND FOR BORDER RESIDENTS, THE COUNTRY REMAINS STABLE AND CALM, WITH ALL LEADING SECTORS OF SOCIETY CALLING FOR NATIONAL UNITY IN SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE

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MEXICO'S FINANCIAL CRISIS. RECENTLY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS JOINED THE CHORUS OF SUPPORTERS. THE REVEREND FRANCISCO RAMIREZ MEZA, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE EPISCOPAL COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL COMMUNICATION, STATED THAT THROUGH UNITY MEXICANS CAN OVERCOME THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS, AND CALLED ON THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA NOT TO DEAL IN RUMORS. EVEN LEFT-LEANING BISHOP MENDEZ ARCEO OF CUERNAVACA REFRAINED FROM CRITICIZING MEXICO'S "ESTABLISHMENT" FOR THE CRISIS, STRESSING ONLY THAT ALL SHOULD JOIN IN EFFORTS TO OVERCOME ITS TERRIBLE EFFECTS.

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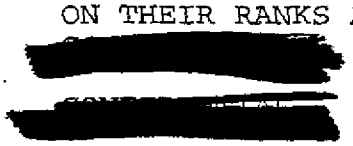
3. ALL MEXICANS ARE UPSET WITH THE IMPACT THE GOM MEASURES WILL HAVE ON THEIR LIVES. SOME CLEVER SPECULATORS MAY HAVE PROFITED FROM EXCHANGE MANIPULATION. MANY OTHERS, HOWEVER, HAVE SUFFERED SEVERELY. THE LATTER GROUP IS REELING FROM COMBINED IMPACT OF DEVALUATION AND THE EFFECTIVE 40-50 PERCENT LOSS THEY HAVE JUST SUSTAINED ON THE DOLLAR ACCOUNTS THAT MANY OF THEM KEPT FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES; E.G., TRAVEL. ONE CONTACT COMPARED THE SITUATION TO THE BREAKING OF A FLOOD GATE: PEOPLE ARE FROZEN WITH SHOCK, BUT DON'T YET KNOW WHICH WAY TO RUN. OTHERS HAVE REACTED WITH GRIM IRONY, COMPARING "MEX-DOLLARS" TO MONOPOLY MONEY, ETC. ALL REMAIN INCENSED AT THE ADMINISTRATION'S PATCHWORK MISHANDLING OF THE ECONOMY, BUT SOME SHOW CLEAR RELIEF THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW (FINALLY) GONE TO THE IMF, AND ADMIT THAT THEY THEMSELVES MUST FACE SOME RETRENCHMENT AFTER LIVING "PRETTY WELL" OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS. WE ARE STILL NOT AWARE OF ANY TALK OF EXTRA-CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTIONS.

4. LABOR LEADERS ARE ALSO CONTINUING TO IMPOSE RESTRAINT ON THEIR RANKS AND TO SUPPORT GOVERNMENT MEASURES. CALLS



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FOR WAGE INCREASES, SOONER OR LATER, HAVE BEEN COUCHED IN COMPROMISING TERMS RATHER THAN BEING EXPRESSED AS OUTRIGHT DEMANDS. VICTOR CERVERA PACHECO, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF CAMPESINOS (CNC) STATED THAT THE GOM'S ECONOMIC MEASURES, FAR FROM PROVOKING VIOLENCE IN THE RURAL AREAS, HAVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE CAMPESINO SECTOR. HE CONTINUED THAT CNC MEMBERS SHOULD NOT SUFFER FROM THE RECENT MONETARY ACTIONS, AND A PROJECTED UPWARD REVISION OF PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS ON OCTOBER 2 SHOULD HELP AVOID A FALL IN THE REAL WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONFEDERATION OF MEXICAN WORKERS (CTM) STATED THAT A TOTAL CONTROL OF EXCHANGE RATES WAS NEEDED, AND EXPRESSED SUPPORT OF THE IDEA OF CREATING WITHIN THE NATIONAL BANK OF MEXICO A BRANCH IN CHARGE OF REGULATING THE FLOW OF DOLLARS.

5. LABOR MAY SOON SEEK SOME RELIEF, HOWEVER. THE LABOR CONGRESS (CT) ANNOUNCED THAT ORGANIZED LABOR WOULD SEEK A PROMPT WAGE INCREASE OF AT LEAST 9 PERCENT, BECAUSE THIS IS THE PERCENTAGE BY WHICH THE WORKERS' BUYING POWER WAS AFFECTED DUE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S AUGUST 1 PRICE INCREASES. FURTHER, THE CONGRESS MAINTAINED THAT THE EFFECTS OF THE LATEST DEVALUATION WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS ANNOUNCED, AFTER A MEETING WITH FIDEL VELAZQUEZ (CTM), WITH ANGEL OLIVO SOLIS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS CONFEDERATION (COR), AND WITH NAPOLEON GOMEZ SADA OF THE METALLURGICAL MINERS UNION, THAT THE SALARY ADJUSTMENT WOULD NOT BE AN OUTRIGHT LABOR DEMAND. RATHER, IT SHOULD BE ARRIVED AT THROUGH AN ACCORD BETWEEN LABOR AND BUSINESS

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AND THE EXEUCTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD SUGGEST THAT NO IMMEDIATE WAGERISE IS IN THE OFFING.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11522 02 OF 02 210024Z
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SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11522

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6. ACCORDING TO ONE LOW-LEVEL REPORT, POLICE IN MEXICO CITY HAVE BEEN GATHERING UP A FEW POSSIBLE TROUBLEMAKERS, AN ACTION WHICH APPEARS TO BE TAKING PLACE MORE AS A PREVENTIVE MEASURE RATHER THAN AS A RESPONSE TO IMPENDING ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY. THE RELATIVE ALERTNESS OF LOCAL POLICE WAS ALSO EVIDENT BY A QUICK, UNSOLICITED RESPONSE TO A SMALL (100 PLUS) ANTI-ISRAELI DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF EMBASSY LATE ON AUGUST 19. IT HAS ALSO BEEN SUGGESTED THAT RECENT MEXICAN TROOP MOVEMENTS IN THE NORTH MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO THWART ANY SIGNS OF POSSIBLE DISAFFECTION IN PAN STRONGHOLDS (AS WELL AS POSSIBLE EARLY REDEPLOYMENTS FOR SEPTEMBER 16 CELEBRATIONS). WHETHER OR NOT DETERRENCE WAS NECESSARY TO KEEP FULL CIVIL ORDER, CONGEN REPORTS INDICATE THAT REACTIONS IN MONTERREY HAVE BEEN A CAUTIOUS, WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE, AS IN MEXICO.

-

7. ALTHOUGH THE LEFT HAS GENERALLY SUPPORTED EXCHANGE CONTROLS, IT HAS LEVELLED SHARP CRITICISM AGAINST THE GOM'S APPROACH TO THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF). THE LEFT HAS CHARACTERIZED THE MOVE VARIOUSLY AS A

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SELL-OUT OF MEXICAN SOVEREIGNTY TO U.S. "IMPERIALISM," AS

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A BURDEN TO WORKERS (SINCE BOTH WAGES AND PRICES CAN BE AFFECTED THROUGH IMF CONTROLS), AND/OR AS UNNECESSARY, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE CRISIS CAN BE CONTROLLED THROUGH DOMESTIC FINANCIAL MEASURES. PAN HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO CALL FOR THE RESIGNATION OF THE CABINET, CLAIMING THAT IT HAS FAILED TO CONDUCT THE AFFAIRS OF THE COUNTRY PROPERLY. (DRAFTED: ROMAN POPADIUK/THEODORE S. WILKINSON) SHANKLE

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006880

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[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 6880

EO 12356: DECL: 8/20/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJ: DUARTE CLARIFIES REPORTED STATEMENTS ON D'AUBUISSON

1. () SAN SALVADOR'S AFTERNOON DAILY "DIARIO LATINO" OF 8/18/82 REPORTS SOME RECENT REMARKS BY FORMER PROVISONAL PRESIDENT DUARTE. DUARTE RESPONDS TO INQUIRIES CONCERNING REPORTS THAT DURING HIS RECENT TRIP TO EUROPE, HE ACCUSED ARENA PARTY LEADER ROBERTO D'AUBUISSION OF PARTICIPATING IN THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. DUARTE NOTES THAT THERE IS A MASSIVE DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AGAINST EL SALVADOR. JOURNALISTS FROM EVERY COUNTRY THAT HE VISITED ASKED HIM ABOUT D'AUBUISSON'S POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT IN THE MURDERS. DUARTE ASSERTS THAT HE ALWAYS ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS BY SAYING THAT THERE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 06880 212020Z

WAS NO PROOF OF ANY INVOLVEMENT. DUARTE CONFIRMS THAT THERE EXISTS A DOCUMENT WHICH MANY OVERSEAS CRITICS BELIEVE SUPPORTS THE CHARGE THAT D'AUBUISSON WAS INVOLVED. DUARTE REPORTS THAT HE RECEIVED AND STUDIED THE DOCUMENT WHILE HAS WAS A MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNING JUNTA. THE DOCUMENT WAS THE BASIS FOR THE ARREST OF D'AUBUISSON IN MAY 1980. HOWEVER, DUARTE NOTES THAT THE DOCUMENT OFFERS NO PROOF OF D'AUBUISSON'S INVOLVEMENT OR THAT OF ANYONE ELSE IN THE MURDER.

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA006880

DUARTE BELIEVES THAT THIS DOCUMENT WAS TAKE ABROAD BY COL. MAJANO AFTER HE LOST HIS SEAT ON THE JUNTA.

2. (C) COMMENT: DUARTE'S CAPSULIZED SUMMARY OF THE OFT-MENTIONED BY SELDOME QUOTED DOCUMENT AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS DISTRIBUTION OVERSEAS APPEARS TO BE ACCURATE. ON THE OTHER HAND, HIS STATEMENT CONCERNING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON'S ARREST IN MAY 1980 IS NOT ACCURATE AS WE UNDERSTAND THE FACTS OF THE CASE. DUARTE SEEMS TO IMPLY THAT D'AUBUISSON WAS ARRESTED FOR SUSPECTED PARTICIPATION IN THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO OR AT THE VERY LEAST, FOR HIS POSSESSION OF THE INCRIMINATING DOCUMENTS. IN FACT, WE UNDERSTAND THAT ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON WAS ARRESTED FOR SUSPECTED PLOTTING TO OVERTHROW THE GOES.
BLEAKLEY

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador EP Date 9-22-93
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portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ); confidentiality ( );
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11559 01 OF 02 232258Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11559

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFST, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 23, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11483

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE MOST IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED ARTICLES THAT APPEARED IN THE DAILY MEXICO CITY PRESS DURING AUGUST 20-23, 1982.

2. NOT BEING PUBLISHED ON THE WEEKENDS, EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE AUGUST 23: "NOT EVEN ONE SOFT DOLLAR FOR ENTREPRENEURS." IN THIS ARTICLE A MEXICAN ECONOMIC CONSULTANT CLAIMS THE PRIVATE SECTOR WILL RECEIVE NONE OF MEXICO'S ESTIMATED "PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS" THIS YEAR BECAUSE GOM NEEDS ALL OF THEM TO MEET ITS "OBLIGATIONS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11559 01 OF 02 232258Z

AND IMPORTS." HAVING TO PAY THEIR EXTERNAL DEBT AND IMPORT BILLS IN "HARD DOLLARS" WILL MAKE "CONDITIONS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT" FOR THESE COMPANIES THAN THEY ALREADY FACE ACCORDING TO THE CONSULTANT. ANOTHER LEAD STORY IS ENTITLED: "IMF CONDEMNS TEMPTATION OF MONETARY EXPANSION TO STIMULATE DECLINING ECONOMIES." THIS ARTICLE SUMMARIZES RECENTLY RELEASED ANNUAL REPORT OF THE WASHINGTON-BASED FUND. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY QUOTES PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF NATIONAL MERCHANDISE EXECUTIVES AS SAYING "THE INFLOW OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT INTO MEXICO HAS ABRUPTLY STOPPED DUE TO THE ECONOMIC SITUATION." FINALLY ANOTHER

IMPORTANT ARTICLE RAN UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "PRICES WILL HAVE TO BE LIBERATED BECAUSE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS NOT A PUBLIC CHARITY: CLOUTHIER." IN IT, MANUEL J. CLOUTHIER (PRESIDENT OF BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS) CLAIMS THAT SOME GRADUAL PRICE INCREASES ARE NECESSARY TO AVOID "BANKRUPTCY" AMONG THE "MAJORITY OF PRODUCTIVE PLANTS IN THE COUNTRY."

3. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) RAN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ECONOMIC STORIES DURING AUGUST 21-23 PERIOD. THE LEAD STORY ON SATURDAY WAS ENTITLED: "THE WORLD'S BANKS GRANT MEXICO A 90-DAY EXTENSION." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT DURING THE NEXT THREE MONTHS MEXICO WILL HAVE TO PAY ONLY INTEREST CHARGES ON ITS $80 BILLION EXTERNAL DEBT BECAUSE OF THE RESCHEDULING AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN THE GOM AND 115 COMMERCIAL BANKS. MEANWHILE MEXICO WILL PREPARE A PROGRAM TO RESCHEDULE ITS FOREIGN DEBT ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE. A COMPANION ARTICLE CALLED THIS RAPID RESPONSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL COMMUNITY A "TESTIMONY OF THE GRAVITY
UNCLASSIFIED

OF THE SITUATION" CAUSED BY MEXICO'S FINANCIAL CRISIS FOR WORLD MONETARY SYSTEM. THE SUNDAY EXCELSIOR CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD STORY: "SALARY ADJUSTMENT WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WITHOUT GOVERNMENT ARBITRAGE: THE LABOR CONGRESS." IN THIS ARTICLE KEY LABOR LEADERS CALLED FOR AN "OPEN DIALOGUE BETWEEN WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT" WITHOUT GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE. ONE LABOR LEADER IS QUOTED AS SAYING SUCH DIRECT TALKS WILL LEAD TO SMALLER WAGE INCREASES THAN THOSE ADOPTED AFTER THE PREVIOUS DEVALUATION. ANOTHER ARTICLE NOTES THAT THE VALUE OF THE PESO HAS SLOWLY RATCHETED UPWARD RELATIVE TO THE DOLLAR SINCE THE EXCHANGE MARKET WAS REOPENED. THE LEAD HEADLINE ON AUGUST 23 READS: "IMMORALITY AND CORRUPTION SAP CONFIDENCE: QUINTERO." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS ON YESTERDAY'S SPEECH OF CARLOS QUINTERO ARCE IN WHICH THIS HERMOSILLO ARCHBISHOP WARNS THAT THE "ECONOMIC CRISIS CAN LEAD TO A SOCIAL CRISIS" IF CORRUPTION IS NOT ABATED. A COMPANION ARTICLE IS ENTITLED: "THE FOOD DEFICIT WILL WORSEN." FINALLY ANOTHER ARTICLE IS HEADLINED: "CANACINTRA AGREES WITH SALARY INCREASES." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT CANACINTRA, A BUSINESS GROUP, WILL SUPPORT THE PROPOSAL OF THE LABOR CONGRESS "TO INCREASE SALARIES ACCORDING TO THE MEANS OF ENTERPRISES."

4. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE ON AUGUST 21: "EXTENSION OF 90 DAYS FOR MEXICAN DEBT." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED SILVA-HERZOG AS SAYING THIS EXTENSION GRANTED BY COMMERCIAL BANKS WAS "CONSTRUCTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE."

IT REPORTED THIS AGREEMENT INCLUDED: (1) A 90-DAY "GRACE PERIOD" FOR PAYMENTS OF CAPITAL ON PUBLIC EXTERNAL DEBT; (2) CONTINUATION OF SYNDICATED LOANS TO EASE MEXICO'S LIQUIDITY CRISIS; AND (3) ACCEPTANCE OF MEXICAN PROPOSAL TO PREPARE AN UNCLASSIFIED

EXTERNAL DEBT RESCHEDULING PROGRAM OVER NEXT THREE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11559 02 OF 02 232259Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2753
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1304
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11559

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

MONTHS. A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED THE RECENT GOVERNMENT DECISION TO EXTEND PRICE CONTROLS ON 5000 ITEMS UNTIL THE END OF THIS YEAR. THE HEADLINE THE FOLLOWING DAY, SUNDAY, AUGUST 22, READS: "THERE IS A WORLD CRISIS BECAUSE OF INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED CONCLUSIONS OF ANNUAL REPORT OF IMF. ANOTHER ARTICLE THIS SAME DAY WAS ENTITLED: "PRICE INCREASES FOR SCHOOL SUPPLIES MORE THAN 100 PERCENT." FINALLY A REPORT ON EXCHANGE ACTIVITY OVER THE WEEKEND NOTED THAT "DOLLAR OFFERINGS CONTINUE: QUOTES RANGE FROM 97 TO 100 PESOS." THE AUGUST 23 EDITION OF UNO MAS UNO RAN THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "$1.5 MILLION A DAY, TO BANKS IN EL PASO." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES DONALD CHUFFSTEL OF EL PASO'S STATE NATIONAL BANK AS SAYING THE RATE OF DOLLAR INFLUX FROM MEXICO "HAS INCREASED" SINCE THE REOPENING OF ITS EXCHANGE
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11559 02 OF 02 232259Z

MARKET BECAUSE OF A "LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN MEXICAN BANKS." ANOTHER ARTICLE SAYS DOLLAR STABILIZING BETWEEN 97 AND 100 PESOS.

5. NOVEDADES (MODERATE) REPORTS ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, "MORATORIUM OF THREE MONTHS ON PAYMENT OF EXTERNAL DEBT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT 130 COMMERCIAL BANKS GRANTED A 90-DAY EXTENSION TO MEXICO ON ITS PAYMENTS OF PRINCIPAL. THIS AGREEMENT WAS REPORTEDLY REACHED THE PREVIOUS DAY IN A MEETING AT THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK ATTENDED BY ITS PRESIDENT ANTHONY SOLOMAN, SILVA-HERZOG

AND COMMERCIAL BANKERS. ANOTHER SATURDAY ARTICLE REPORTS "DECLINE IN DEMAND FOR DOLLARS" IN THE EXCHANGE MARKET. THE ONLY NOTEWORTHY ARICLE IN SUNDAY'S NOVEDADES WAS ENTITLED: "THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION FAVORS INTERNATIONAL TOURISM." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED A UNIVERSITY AUTHORITY ON TOURISM AS SAYING THAT RECENT CHANGES IN THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM WILL PERSUADE 1.5 MILLION MEXICANS TO VACATION AT HOME RATHER THAN ABROAD NEXT YEAR. TODAY'S NOVEDADES CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "IMF ANTICIPATES OTHER EVILS FOR NATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THE CONCLUSION OF THE IMF ANNUAL REPORT THAT "PROTECTIONISTIC MEASURES AMONG INDUSTRIAL NATIONS TO REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT WILL SEVERLY AFFECT" DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ANOTHER PAGE 1 HEADLINE REPORTS: "FOREIGN EXCHANGE INFLOW TO DOUBLE: MOYA P." THIS REPORT QUOTES MARIO MOYA PALENCIA (DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL FUND TO PROMOTE TOURISM) AS PREDICTING THAT TOURIST RECEIPTS WILL DOUBLE NEXT YEAR "AS A RESULT OF GREATER AFFLUENCE AMONG VISITORS TO OUR
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COUNTRY, PROVIDED BY THE NEW EXCHANGE RATE."
(DRAFTED BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY) SHANKLE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11598 01 OF 02 242013Z
ACTION ARA-16

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11598

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 24, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11559

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS ON AUGUST 24, 1982.

2. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "INCOME TAX REDUCTIONS MISLEADING." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED THE MEXICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS (IMCP) AS CONCLUDING "THAT THE REDUCTIONS IMPOSED ON PEOPLE RANGE FROM 14 TO 17 PERCENT AND IN NO CASE REACH 35 PERCENT" AS CLAIMED BY FINANCE

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11598 01 OF 02 242013Z

MINISTER SILVA-HERZOG. THE PRESIDENT OF THE IMCP STATES THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE "CHANNELED THIS STIMULUS TO ENTERPRISES THAT SHOW THEY HAVE LIQUIDATED THEIR CONTRACTED EXTERNAL DEBTS." ANOTHER PAGE 1 STORY IS ENTITLED: " THE LABOR CONGRESS ASKS FOR DIRECT SALARY TALKS WITH MANAGEMENT: BUSINESSMEN DISAGREE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT LABOR AND MANGEMENT HAVE DECIDED TO SEEK A WAGE ADJUSTMENT THAT WILL NOT "DAMAGE" THE ECONOMY. SEVERAL BUSINESS LEADERS ARE QUOTED, HOWEVER, AS SAYING THEY THINK THEIR COMPANIES LACK THE "LIQUIDITY"

TO GRANT SALARY INCREASES AT THIS TIME. OTHER IMPORTANT ECONOMIC STORIES ARE ENTITLED: (1) "THE HARD DOLLAR MARKET SEMISTABLIIZES: 100 TO SELL; 90 TO BUY", (2) "LET THERE BE NO SOFT DOLLARS FOR UNPRODUCTIVE PARASTATALS", AND (3) "BANKS IN U.S. UNIFY THE PRIME RATE: 13.5 PERCENT".

3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) RAN THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO RADICALIZE: LABOR CONGRESS; CLOSURES IF THERE ARE INCREASES: BUSINESS CONFEDERATION." UNDER THIS DUAL TITLE APPEARED THREE ARTICLES. THE FIRST QUOTED A LABOR LEADER AS SAYING "IT IS BETTER TO ALLOW A DETERIORATION IN WAGES THAN HAVE FACTORY CLOSURES." AT THE SAME TIME HE WARNED THAT "WORKERS ARE NOT INCLINED TO PROTECT THE EMPLOYERS OF THE COUNTRY." A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTED JOSE MARIA BASAGOTI, PRESIDENT OF THE BUSINESS CONFEDERATION (COPARMEX) AS SAYING "THE ENTERPRISE SECTOR UNCLASSIFIED

IS IN NO SHAPE TO INCREASE SALARIES BECAUSE THIS WOULD ENDANGER EMPLOYMENT. BASAGOTI ALSO STATES THAT MEASURES LIKELY TO BE RECOMMENDED BY THE IMF ARE "ECONOMICALLY REALISTIC AND NECESSARY TO EMERGE FROM THE CRISIS." A THIRD ARTICLE UNDER THIS BANNER HEADLINE IS ENTITLED: "THE DOLLAR IS MAINTAINED BETWEEN 97 AND 100 PESOS." FINALLY AN EDITORIAL COLUMN ON PAGE 2 IS ENTITLED: "EXTENSION OR RENEGOTIATION." THIS ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT THE 90-DAY "GRACE PERIOD" RECENTLY GRANTED TO MEXICO BY ITS COMMERCIAL BANKERS REPRESENTS A PAYMENT "DEFERRAL" RATHER THAN A "RENEGOTIATION" OF EXTERNAL DEBT.

4. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "THE RURAL SECTOR IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CRISIS: JLP." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO AS SAYING YESTERDAY AT A MEETING OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SMALL PRIVATE FARMERS, THAT "THE GRAINERIES ARE FULL AS NEVER BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY." THE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO APPEAL FOR "SOLIDARITY AND LOYALTY" AMONG SMALL PROPERTY OWNERS. THE PRESIDENT OF THIS FARMERS' ORGANIZATION RESPONDED BY SAYING MEMBERS SUPPORTED JLP THROUGH "GOOD AND BAD." ANOTHER LEAD STORY IS ENTITLED: "IF PRICE INCREASES DON'T STOP WE WILL ASK FOR CONFISCATION OF MERCHANDISE: LABOR CONGRESS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED LABOR LEADER DORANTES SEGOVIA AS MAKING THIS DEMAND BECAUSE MANY MIDDLEMEN ARE NOT "RESPECTING" THE RECENT

EXTENSION OF PRICE CONTROLS. FINALLY ANOTHER IMPORTANT LEAD STORY RAN WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "MEASURES TO INCREASE THE BANKING ASSETS." THIS ARTICLE NOTED RECENT GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE BANKING SECTOR SUCH AS
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ELIMINATION OF MINIMUM BALANCE REQUIREMENTS FOR TERM DEPOSITS. THIS IS BEING REPORTED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11598 02 OF 02 242014Z
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11598

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

SEPARATELY.

5. NOVEDADES (MODERATE) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "IN HIS SIXTH REPORT, JLP WILL TELL US WHAT WE SHOULD DO." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S SPEECH TO FARMERS YESTERDAY IN WHICH HE DESCRIBED THE CURRENT CRISIS AS "CURIOUS" WITH "THE GRANERIES FILLED" AS NEVER BEFORE. IN A SEPARATE SPEECH THE PRESIDNET OF THIS RURAL ORGANIZATION PLEDGED THAT HIS GROUP WOULD CONTINUE STRIVING TOWARD FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND WORK UNITED BECAUSE "THIS IS THE PATH TO SOLUTION IN THE DIFFICULT MOMENTS THAT THREATEN US." ANOTHER LEAD ARTICLE QUOTED TOURISM SECRETARY ROSA LUZ ALEGRIA AS SAYING THAT MAINTAINING GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11598 02 OF 02 242014Z

IS VITAL TO MEXICO'S TOURIST INDUSTRY AND ECONOMY. ALEGRIA IS ALSO REPORTED AS SAYING THAT MEXICO IS GOING TO AUTHORIZE THE BUILDING OF CASINOS IN ITS TERRITORY TO ATTRACT U.S. TOURISTS.

6. THE LEAD STORY IN HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) WAS ENTITLED: "ALMOST $4 BILLION TO BE REQUESTED FROM IMF." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS ON A PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE BANK OF MEXICO ALFREDO PHILLIPS, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE GENERAL DIRECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AT THE TREASURY, SALVADOR ARRIOLA. THE PURPOSE WAS TO DISCUSS THE UPCOMING IMF/IBRD ANNUAL MEETINGS. WE WILL REPORT FURTHER IN A SEPARATE CABLE. ANOTHER ARTICLE WAS ENTITLED: "THE WORKER KNOWS EXCESSIVE DEMANDS WILL AGGRAVATE CRISIS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED BUSINESS CONFEDERATION LEADER BASAGOTI AS SAYING THAT CURRENT "ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MUST BE RESOLVED WITH ECONOMIC REALISM AND NOT MIXED UP WITH POLITICAL ILLUSIONS." GAVIN

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11651 251822Z
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UNCLAS MEXICO 11651

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: GOM OFFICIALS DISCUSS MEXICAN POSITION
-- AT IMF/IBRD ANNUAL MEETINGS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. SALVADOR ARRIOLA, DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL AFFAIRS IN THE TREASURY, AND ALFREDO PHILLIPS, SUBDIRECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT THE BANK OF MEXICO, HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY, AUGUST 23 TO DISCUSS MEXICO'S POSITION AT THE IMF/IBRD ANNUAL MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

2. ACCORDING TO PHILLIPS AND ARRIOLA, MEXICO PLANS TO PROPOSE "BROADER ACCESS TO THE IMF FOR LDC'S FACING SEVERE NEGATIVE BALANCES IN THEIR ECONOMIES." THEY SAID MEXICO WILL PROPOSE, AMONG OTHER MEASURES, THE FOLLOWING:

-- THE CREATION OF A FINANCING MECHANISM TO LESSEN THE BURDEN OF EXTERNAL AND ABNORMAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS HIGH INTERNATIONAL INTEREST RATES. PHILLIPS NOTED THE LDC'S HAVE $500 BILLION OF INTERNATIONAL DEBT AND EVERY PERCENTAGE POINT OF INTEREST "MEANS

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11651 251822Z

SOME $5 BILLION MORE IN THE COMBINED CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT OF THESE COUNTRIES."

-- MEXICO WILL PUSH FOR A 120 PERCENT INCREASE IN QUOTAS. PHILLIPS AND ARRIOLA NOTED THAT MOST INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES "WILL NOT WANT A QUOTA INCREASE ABOVE 40-50 PERCENT." THEY ALSO NOTED THAT MEXICO'S CURRENT QUOTA IS 802 MILLION SDR'S AND THAT QUOTAS DETERMINE VOTING POWER, ACCESS TO RESOURCES, AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF SDR'S.

-- MEXICO WILL SUPPORT THE POSITION OF THE G-24

COUNTRIES REGARDING THE INCREASE IN THE SHARE OF TOTAL QUOTAS BY THE LDC'S FROM 37 TO 45 PERCENT.

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-- ANOTHER "THEME WHICH THE MEXICAN DELEGATION WILL PUSH FOR" RELATES TO THE ALLOCATION OF SDR'S. MEXICO WANTS AN ANNUAL ALLOCATION OF SDR'S THAT WILL REACH 12 BILLION SDR'S.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11684 01 OF 02 252255Z
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2829
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11684

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 25, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11598

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR AUGUST 25, 1982.

2. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "CAR AND TEXTILE MAKERS GROAN." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT THE GENERAL MOTORS PLANT IN COAHUILA WILL CLOSE FOR TWO MONTHS, STARTING SEPTEMBER 5, LAYING OFF 1200 WORKERS BECAUSE OF THE "ECONOMIC CRISIS." FOR THE SAME REASON THE ARTICLE SAYS FORD LAID OFF
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11684 01 OF 02 252255Z

1100 WORKERS LAST WEEK WHILE WARNING ANOTHER 500 THEIR JOBS WERE IN JEOPARDY. THE ARTICLE ALSO REPORTS THAT THIS SATURDAY TEXTILE PRODUCERS WILL MEET TO DECIDE WHETHER TO STAGE A NATIONAL WORK STOPPAGE FOR THE PURPOSE OF PRESSURING THE GOVERNMENT "TO GRANT THEM PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS AND INCREASE THEIR ECONOMIC SUPPORTS FOR ACQUIRING INPUTS, WHICH HAVE INCREASED IN PRICE AS MUCH AS 300 PERCENT." ANOTHER PAGE 1 ARTICLE IS ENTITLED: "FINANCE ADMITS THAT INCOME TAX CUT REACHES ONLY 15 PERCENT." THE ARTICLE QUOTES THE FINANCE MINISTRY AS SAYING YESTERDAY THAT INCOME TAXES

WILL BE CUT 35 PERCENT "FOR THE MONTHS OF AUGUST TO DECEMBER, WHICH REDUCES THE TAX TAKE BY 15 PERCENT ON AVERAGE." A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTS THE "ANGRY REACTIONS" OF LABOR, BUSINESS, AND OPPOSITION PARTIES TO THIS DISCLOSURE THAT THE AVERAGE TAX CUT IS LESS THAN HALF OF THE 35 PERCENT REDUCTION PROMISED BY SILVA-HERZOG LAST WEEK. FINALLY, ANOTHER LEAD ARTICLE RAN THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "ANXIETY RELATING TO THE HARD DOLLAR:QUOTED BETWEEN 91 AND 99.5 PESOS."

3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) RAN A LEAD STORY ENTITLED: "MEXICO WILL SELL 110,000 MORE BARRELS A DAY TO U.S." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOM AND THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY. THE ARTICLE SAYS THAT MEXICO WILL SELL 60,000 BARRELS PER DAY (B/D) OF CRUDE TO U.S. BETWEEN OCTOBER AND DECEMBER 1982; 120,000 B/D BETWEEN JANUARY AND MARCH 1983; 140,000 B/D FROM APRIL TO JUNE 1983; AND 120,000 B/D BETWEEN JULY AND SEPTEMBER 1983. THE ARTICLE REPORTS THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

PRICE OF THIS ISTHMUS CRUDE "WILL BE FIXED ACCORDING TO WORLD MARKET CONDITIONS, BUT CANNOT BE GREATER THAN $35 PER BARREL NOR LESS THAN $25 PER BARREL." ANOTHER PAGE 1 ARTICLE CARRIES HEADLINE: "BUSINESS GROUP (COPARMEX) ASKS MANAGERS TO AVOID LAY-OFFS." THIS REPORT QUOTES COPARMEX LEADER BASAGOTI AS ASKING MANAGERS TO "LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN TO DEFEND EMPLOYMENT." ANOTHER PAGE 1 ARTICLE IS ENTITLED: "THE FRONTIER FEARS REACTION FROM U.S." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES BUSINESS LEADERS OF NUEVO LAREDO AND CIUDAD JUAREZ AS SAYING THEY WERE CONCERNED ABOUT GROWING INDEBTEDNESS TO U.S. AND IMMINENT "COMMERCIAL ATTACK FROM EL PASO TO TRY AND RECOVER THE FRONTIER MARKET."A FINAL IMPORTANT LEAD STORY QUOTES MEXICAN AMBASSADOR TO U.S., BERNARDO SIPULVEDA, AS SAYING HIS COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC CRISIS WILL NOT CHANGE MEXICO'S "ATTITUDE ON CENTRAL AMERICA."

4. NOVEDADES (MODERATE) LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "MEXICO SIGNS PETROLEUM PACT WITH U.S." THIS ARTICLE NOTES THAT MEXICO WILL SELL AN AVERAGE OF 110,000 B/D OF CRUDE OIL TO U.S. OVER NEXT YEAR IN EXCHANGE FOR AN ESTIMATED $1 BILLION ADVANCE PAYMENT. THIS AGREEMENT WAS REPORTED AS THE RESULT OF SILVA-HERZOG'S DISCUSSIONS LAST WEEK WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY IN WASHINGTON. ANOTHER LEAD ARTICLE QUOTES IMPORTANT BUSINESS GROUP (COPARMEX) AS SAYING MEXICO "WILL HAVE UNEMPLOYMENT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT IN A RECENT DIRECTIVE THIS GROUP APPEALED TO MANAGERS TO PRESERVE JOBS WHILE ASKING LABOR TO SEEK "REALISTIC SALARIES."

5. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN THE EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) READS: "IT IS ESSENTIAL TO LAY A FOUNDATION FOR COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH U.S.: RUBIO." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES THE PRESIDENT OF
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THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, ERNESTO

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11684 02 OF 02 252256Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-00	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	OPIC-07	PA-02	CEA-01
	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	FRB-01	JUS-01	SP-02
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O 252249Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2830
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1319
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11684

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

RUBIO DEL CUETO, AS SAYING THAT EVEN THOUGH THE U.S. "UNDERSTANDS" MEXICO'S CRISIS IT IS STILL NECESSARY TO SEEK A BILATERAL COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. THAT WILL BE "BALANCED AND JUST, SIMILAR TO THAT REACHED WITH FOREIGN BANKS." RUBIO IS ALSO QUOTED AS REQUESTING GREATER GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR MANUFACTURING EXPORTERS SO THEY CAN "ATTRACT FOREIGN EXCHANGE." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE QUOTES A GOVERNMENT NUTRITION EXPERT AS SAYING THE GOM SHOULD NATIONALIZE "THE PRODUCTION OF FOOD." OTHER LEAD HEADLINES READ: (1) "EXPORTATION OF ISTHMUS PETROLEUM TO U.S. INCREASES 39,600,000 BARRELS"; (2) "A SOCIAL PACT TO MAINTAIN EMPLOYMENT, CLAIMS BUSINESS GROUP"; AND (3) "THE ECONOMIC CRISIS DOESN'T DAMAGE SOVEREIGNTY." UNDER THE THIRD HEADLINE THE LABOR CONGRESS REPORTEDLY PROPOSES WAGE INCREASES
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11684 02 OF 02 252256Z

"THAT ARE MINIMAL TO AVOID BANKRUPTCIES OF BUSINESSES AND NOT AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY."

6. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) READS: "THE POLICY TOWARD CENTRAL AMERICA WON'T CHANGE BECAUSE OF THE CRISIS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES MEXICO'S AMBASSADOR TO U.S. (BERNARDO SEPULVEDA AMOR) AS SAYING "THE ECONOMIC DETERIORATION WILL NOT AFFECT (MEXICO'S) INDEPENDENCE." HE IS QUOTED AS SAYING RECENT FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. DO NOT IMPLY CONCESSIONS TO WASHINGTON. A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTES THE

SPOKESMAN FOR THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE AS SAYING THAT THE U.S. IS "SATISFIED WITH EFFORTS MEXICO IS MAKING TO STABILIZE ITS ECONOMY." ANOTHER STORY QUOTES A LEADER OF THE LABOR CONGRESS AS SAYING IF PRICES ARE FROZEN "THERE WILL BE NO REASON TO DEMAND HIGHER SALARIES." ANOTHER ARTICLE QUOTES A BUSINESS GROUP (COPARMEX) AS SAYING INDUSTRY CANNOT "SUPPORT HIGHER COSTS OF PRODUCTION." A FRONT PAGE HEADLINE READS: "CONTRACT WITH U.S. TO SELL 110,000 B/D OF CRUDE." (DRAFTED BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY)GAVIN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12107 01 OF 05 030233Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
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O 030214Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3046
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12107 01 OF 05 030233Z

AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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AMEMBASSY BELIZE

AMEMBASSY BERN
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 05 MEXICO 12107

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW AFSP, AFIN
SUBJECT: GOM DECREE NATIONALIZING THE PRIVATE BANKS
-
1. EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE DECREE OF SEPTEMBER 1,
NATIONALIZING THE PRIVATE BANKS FOLLOWS:
-
2. BEGIN QUOTE:
-
PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NATIONALIZING THE BANKS

JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO, CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICO, IN EXERCISE OF
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THE FACULTY THAT IS GIVEN TO THE EXECUTIVE BY THE
FRACTION I OF ARTICLE 89 OF THE GENERAL CONSTITUTION
OF THE REPUBLIC, AND BASED ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARTICLE 27
AND ARTICLES 1, FACTIONS I, V, VIII AND IX, 2ND,
3RD, 4TH, 8TH, 10TH AND 20TH OF THE ORGANIC LAW
OF THE FEDERAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, 1ST AND OTHERS
RELATED TO THE CENTRAL LAW OF CREDIT INSTITUTIONS
AND AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS; AND
-
- CONSIDERING
THAT THE PUBLIC SERVICE RELATING TO BANKING AND
CREDIT HAS BEEN GIVEN IN CONCESSION BY THE FEDERAL
EXECUTIVE, BY ADMINISTRATIVE CONTRACTS TO MORAL
PERSONS CONSTITUTED IN THE FORM OF STOCK COMPANIES,
IN ORDER TO CONTRIBUTE IN PROVIDING SERVICES THAT
THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT PROVIDE WHOLLY;
-
THAT THE CONCESSION, BY ITS OWN NATURE, IS TEMPORARY,
SINCE IT CAN ONLY EXIST WHILE THE STATE, FOR ECONOMICAL,
ADMINISTRATIVE OR SOCIAL REASONS, CANNOT DIRECTLY
BE IN CHARGE OF PROVIDING THE PUBLIC SERVICE;

THAT THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISES TO WHOM THE SERVICE
OF BANKING AND CREDIT HAS BEEN GIVEN AS CONCESSIONS,
IN GENERAL HAVE OBTAINED EXCESSIVE GAINS BY EXPLOITING
THE SERVICE, CREATING IN ADDITION, IN ACCORDANCE
TO THEIR INTERESTS, MONOPOLISTIC PHENOMENA WITH
THE MONEY BROUGHT BY THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL, WHICH
HAS TO BE AVOIDED IN ORDER TO MANAGE THE BANKING
SYSTEM'S ASSETS WITH CRITERIA OF GENERAL INTEREST
AND OF SOCIAL DIVERSIFICATION OF CREDIT, IN ORDER

TO REACH THE MAJORITY OF THE PRODUCTIVE POPULATION
AND TO AVOID CONTINUING CONCENTRATION OF CREDIT
IN THE MORE PRIVILEGED LAYERS OF THE SOCIETY;

THAT THE EXECUTIVE IN MY CHARGE CONSIDERS THAT
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12107 02 OF 05 030235Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
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O 030214Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3047
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
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USINT BAGHDAD
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12107 02 OF 05 030235Z

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AMEMBASSY BELIZE

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 05 MEXICO 12107

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

IN THE PRESENT MOMENTS, THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION HAS SUFFICIENT ABILITY AND EXPERIENCE TO PROVIDE ENTIRELY THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF BANKING AND CREDIT, CONSIDERING THAT THE FUNDS COME FROM THE MEXICAN PEOPLE, INVESTORS AND SAVERS, TO WHOM IT IS NECESSARY TO FACILITATE ACCESS TO CREDIT;

-

THAT THE LACK OF DIVERSIFICATION OF CREDIT HAS NOT RESULTED SO MUCH FROM NOT HAVING GRANTED AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE CREDIT TO ANY ONE OR DETERMINED PERSONS BUT FROM A LACK OF TIMELY AND CHEAP CREDIT TO THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION, WHICH CAN BE AMENDED WITH THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BANKING SYSTEM'S EMPLOYEES
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AND WITH THE CONFIDENCE OF THE INVESTING AND SAVING PUBLIC;

-

THAT THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO, WHO HAVE GIVEN THEIR MONEY AND VALUABLES TO THE BANKS FOR THEIR MANAGEMENT OR CUSTODY, AND WHO HAVE GENERATED THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE THAT THESE PRESENTLY HAVE, ARE NOT ADVERSELY AFFECTED AND CAN CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THIS IMPORTANT PUBLIC SERVICE AND IN ORDER THAT THEIR RIGHTS ARE NOT AT ALL DIMINISHED, IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO EXPROPRIATE FOR CAUSES OF PUBLIC NEED, THE POSSESSIONS OF THE PRIVATE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS;

-

THAT THE ECONOMIC CRISIS THAT MEXICO IS CURRENTLY FACING, WHICH IN LARGE PART HAS BEEN AGGRAVATED BY THE LACK OF DIRECT CONTROL OVER THE WHOLE CREDIT SYSTEM, ALSO FORCES THIS EXPROPRIATION IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE PUBLIC PEACE AND TO ADOPT THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO CORRECT INTERNAL DISORDERS RESULTING FROM THE APPLICATION OF A CREDIT POLICY THAT HAS HURT THE INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY;

THAT THE FIRM AND SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT WHICH THE COUNTRY NEEDS AND WHICH IS BASED IN LARGE PART ON DEMOCRATIC AND PARTICIPATIVE NATIONAL PLANNING, REQUIRES THAT DEVELOPMENT FINANCING AS WELL AS EXPENSES AND PUBLIC INVESTMENT, SUCH AS CREDIT, BE SERVED OR ADMINISTERED BY THE STATE, IN ORDER TO BE CONSISTENT WITH THE SOCIAL INTEREST AND PUBLIC ORDER, SO THAT DEVELOPMENT FINANCING AND PUBLIC INVESTMENT ARE MANAGED ACCORDING TO A STRATEGY OF DISTRIBUTION

AND ORIENTATION OF THE PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES OF THE
COUNTRY WHICH IS IN FAVOR OF THE GRAND MAJORITY
OF THE PEOPLE;

THAT THE MEASURE DOES NOT HARM IN ANY CASE THE CREDITORS
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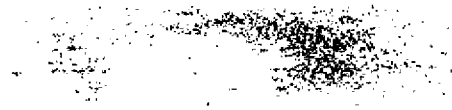

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12107 03 OF 05 030237Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
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O 030214Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3048
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12107 03 OF 05 030237Z

AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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AMEMBASSY BERN
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 05 MEXICO 12107

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

OF THE EXPROPRIATED CREDIT INSTITUTIONS, BECAUSE
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, WHEN REASSUMING THE RESPONSIBILITY
OF THE PROVISION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE, GUARANTEES
THE AMORTIZATION OF OPERATIONS CO
NTRACTED BY THE
SAID INSTITUTIONS;
-
THAT WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE BANKING LEGISLATION,
THE EXECUTIVE, THROUGH THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE
AND PUBLIC CREDIT, WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTIONS
FOR THE PROPER ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONING OF THE
NEW SCHEME OF THE CREDIT SERVICE, SO THAT THE LENDING
ACTIVITIES WILL NOT BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED, AND THAT
THE BANKING EMPLOYEES AS WELL AS THE USERS OF THE
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12107 03 OF 05 030237Z

SERVICE AND THE CREDITORS OF THE INSTITUTIONS MAINTAIN
THEIR PRESENT RIGHTS WITHOUT ANY DETERIORATION;
-
THAT THE MEASURE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TAKES
HAS THE OBJECTIVE OF FOSTERING A RECOVERY FROM THE
ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH THE NATION IS FACING AND,
ABOVE ALL, TO ENSURE AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT
ALLOWS US TO REACH, WITH EFFICIENCY AND EQUITY,
THE GOALS THAT HAVE BEEN SET IN THE DEVELOPMENT
PLANS; HAS HAD TO ISSUE THE FOLLOWING
-
- DECREE

ARTICLE FIRST. - DUE TO PUBLIC NECESSITY THE
FOLLOWING PROPERTY OF THE PRIVATE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS,
TO WHOM CONCESSIONS HAD BEEN GRANTED FOR THE OFFERING
OF BANKING AND CREDIT SERVICES, HAVE BEEN EXPROPRIATED
IN FAVOR OF THE NATION: THE INSTALLATIONS, BUILDINGS,
FURNITURE, EQUIPMENT, ASSETS, CASH, VAULTS, BRANCHES,
AGENCIES, OFFICES, INVESTMENTS, SHARES OR PARTICIPATIONS
THAT THEY HAVE IN OTHER ENTERPRISES, VALUES OF
THEIR PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND ALL OTHER FURNITURE
AND BUILDINGS, AS SOON AS NECESSARY AS JUDGED BY
THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT.
-
ARTICLE SECOND. - THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE, THROUGH
THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT, PRIOR
TO RECEIVING SHARES AND COUPONS FROM THE SHAREHOLDERS
OF THE INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH FIRST ARTICLE REFERS
TO, WILL PAY THE CORRESPONDING INDEMNIFICATION WITHIN

A PERIOD THAT WILL NOT EXCEED 10 YEARS.

ARTICLE THIRD. - THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT AND THE BANK OF MEXICO, WITH THE SUPERVISION FROM THE SECRETARIATS OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND PUBLIC WORKS AND COMMERCE, WILL
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12107 04 OF 05 030238Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
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	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00	FRB-01	JUS-01
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3049
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12107 04 OF 05 030238Z

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AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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AMEMBASSY BERN
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 05 MEXICO 12107

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

TAKE IMMEDIATE POSSESSION OF THE EXPROPRIATED CREDIT INSTITUTIONS AND OF THEIR GOODS, SUBSTITUTING THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATIVE AND DIRECTIVE BODIES, AS WELL AS THE REPRESENTATIVES THAT THESE INSTITUTIONS HAVE IN ANY ASSOCIATION, INSTITUTION, ADMINISTRATION ORGAN OR TECHNICAL COMMITTEE, AND WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTS SO THAT THE MIDDLE LEVEL OFFICERS AND, IN GENERAL, THE BANK EMPLOYEES, KEEP THE RIGHTS THAT THEY PRESENTLY HAVE, WITHOUT SUFFERING ANY ADVERSE EFFECTS FROM THE EXPROPRIATION THAT IS BEING DECREED.

-

ARTICLE FOURTH. - THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE WILL GUARANTEE
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12107 04 OF 05 030238Z

THE PAYMENT OF EACH AND EVERY CREDIT OBLIGATION THAT THE INSTITUTIONS REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE HAVE.

-

ARTICLE FIFTH. - IT IS NOT THE OBJECT OF THIS EXPROPRIATION TO ATTACH THE MONEY AND VALUABLE PROPERTY BELONGING TO USERS OF THE SERVICES OFFERED BY THE BANKS OR IN SAFE BOXES, NOR THE FUNDS OR TRUSTS MANAGED BY THE BANKS, NOR THE REAL ESTATE AND FURNITURE WHICH IN GENERAL ARE NOT UNDER THE PROPERTY OR THE CONTROL OF THE INSTITUTIONS REFERRED TO IN FIRST ARTICLE; NOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF CREDIT, THE AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS OF CREDIT, NOR THE MIXED BANKS, NOR THE WORKERS BANK, NOR CITIBANK, N.A., NOR THE BRANCHES OF FOREIGN BANKS OF FIRST ORDER.

-

ARTICLE SIXTH. - THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT WILL ENSURE THAT THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF BANKING AND CREDIT BE MAINTAINED CONVENIENTLY AND THAT IT CONTINUES UNDER THE SAME ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES THAT WILL BECOME ENTITIES OF THE FEDERAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, WHICH WILL HAVE TITLE TO THE CONCESSIONS, WITHOUT ANY VARIATION. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE SECRETARIAT WILL RELY ON THE HELP OF A TECHNICAL CONSULTIVE COMMITTEE, CONSISTING OF REPRESENTATIVES DESIGNATED BY THE HEADS OF THE SECRETARIATS OF PROGRAMMING AND BUDGET, NATIONAL RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, LABOR, COMMERCE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND PUBLIC

WORKS, AS WELL AS THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE
AND PUBLIC CREDIT AND THE BANK OF MEXICO.

ARTICLE SEVENTH. - THIS NOTIFICATION TO THE REPRESENT-
ATIVES OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF CREDIT CITED IN
THIS DECREE IS TO BE PUBLISHED TWICE IN THE OFFICIAL
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12107 05 OF 05 030240Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
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	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00	FRB-01	JUS-01
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O 030214Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3050
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12107 05 OF 05 030240Z

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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 MEXICO 12107

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

JOURNAL OF THE FEDERATION, WHICH WILL SERVE AS NOTIFICATION IN CASE THE INFORMATION HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVED AT THE RESIDENCES OF THE INTERESTED PEOPLE.
-
- TRANSITORY ARTICLES

FIRST. - THE PRESENT DECREE WILL ENTER INTO EFFECT ON THE DAY OF ITS PUBLICATION IN THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE FEDERATION.
-

SECOND. - BANKING AND CREDIT SERVICES WILL BE SUSPENDED FOR UP TO TWO WORKING DAYS FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED

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EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS DECREE IN ORDER TO ORGANIZE CONVENIENTLY WITH DUE ATTENTION TO THE USERS.
-
DONE AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE POWER, IN THE CITY OF MEXICO, FEDERAL DISTRICT, THE FIRST DAY OF THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER OF ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED EIGHTY TWO.
-
SIGNED BY THE ENTIRE CABINET, THE MAYOR OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT, AND THE NEW DIRECTOR OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, CARLOS TELLO. END QUOTE.

DRAFTED BY B.J.GRIFFITHS. GAVIN

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EXCISE

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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PRB

August 25, 1982

The Honorable Howard Metzenbaum
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Metzenbaum:

I note in the July/August issue of Latin America Update that the Chilean government has appointed Brig. Gen. Christian Ackernecht as a military attache for its embassy in Washington. According to the article, Gen. Ackernecht was asked to leave a similar post in Bonn because of allegations in Der Spiegel accusing him of torture. I believe that such an appointment in this country should not be accepted until our State Department has held an independent investigation of these allegations.

To accept his presence without investigations is to condone such atrocities perpetuated by the Chilean government and the Pinochet regime.

Thank you for your listening ear.

Sincerely.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11732 01 OF 02 262251Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11732

DEPT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 26, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11684

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES THAT APPEARED IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS ON AUGUST 26, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "BEGS FIDEL: PACT WITH MANAGERS, NO." LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ IS REPORTED AS ASKING FOR STATE ACTION TO SET BETTER SALARIES. VELAZQUEZ IS ALSO QUOTED AS WARNING: "IF THE MANAGERS REFUSE TO RESTORE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS, THIS COULD INTENSIFY
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11732 01 OF 02 262251Z

THE STRUGGLE AND PROVOKE A WORKER-MANAGEMENT CONFRONTATION OF GRAVE CONSEQUENCES." HE GOES ON TO ACCUSE BUSINESS CONFEDERATION LEADER BASAGOITI OF "FALSIFYING THE FACTS AND ATTEMPTING TO MISLEAD PUBLIC OPINION "IN THE LATTER'S CONTENTION THAT INDUSTRY IS IN NO POSITION TO GRANT WAGE INCREASES. ANOTHER ARTICLE RAN THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "NOT EVEN ONE SOFT DOLLAR FOR IMPORTS ALREADY AUTHORIZED." THIS REPORT EXPLAINS THAT ONLY YESTERDAY QUALIFIED IMPORTERS BECAME ELIGIBLE FOR PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS ACCORDING TO THE TRADE MINISTRY. THE ARTICLE FURTHER NOTES THAT THESE

DOLLARS ARE EARMARKED ONLY FOR THE IMPORTATION OF BASIC FOODS/INPUTS AND CAPITAL GOODS WHEN THESE PURCHASES MEET "PRIORITIES OF THE COUNTRY." OTHER LEAD ARTICLES ARE ENTITLED: (1) "MORE ERRORS IN TAX CUT OFFERED BY SILVA-HERZOG; IT ONLY REACHES 11.87 PERCENT: COLLEGE OF ACCOUNTANTS", (2) "MASSIVE LAY-OFFS ANNOUNCED BY PRODUCERS OF TIRES", AND (3) "QUOTATION OF HARD DOLLAR RECOVERS: BETWEEN 99 AND 107 PESOS".

3. THE FIRST PAGE OF UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) WAS REPLETE WITH ECONOMIC HEADLINES. ONE STORY WAS ENTITLED: "PROCESSING OF BASIC ARTICLES LACKS INVESTMENT." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES AN ECONOMIC ADVISER TO PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO AS SAYING "$1 BILLION IS NEEDED TO INCREASE PRODUCTION OF BASIC FOODS AND SATISFY THEIR POPULAR DEMAND." A COMPANION STORY REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT OF THE BUSINESS CONFEDERATION, JOSE MARIA BASAGOITI, WANTS THE GOVERNMENT TO "SELL ARTICLE QUOTES AN ECONOMIC ADVISER TO
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UNPRODUCTIVE PARASTATALS" BECAUSE THEY ARE A "NATIONAL BURDEN" THAT HAVE "CARRIED MEXICO TO RUIN." HE FURTHER NOTES THAT "UNPRODUCTIVE WORK" WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY IS A "GIGANTIC PHENOMENON." ANOTHER ARTICLE IS ENTITLED: "AGREEMENT, NOT STRIKE ADVOCATES FIDEL VELAZQUEZ." LABOR LEADER VELAZQUEZ IS QUOTED AS SAYING HIS FOLLOWERS WANT "A SOLUTION TO THE LOSS OF PURCHASING POWER" WHICH WILL NOT HARM "THE INTERESTS OF MANAGERS NOR WORKERS." HE GOES ON TO SAY THAT: "WE DO NOT WANT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM BY WAY OF GENERAL STRIKE; WE DO NOT EVEN WANT TO CONSIDER THAT." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY QUOTES PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO AS SAYING THE SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS "PRODUCTION, PRODUCTIVITY AND WORK." OTHER IMPORTANT ECONOMIC ARTICLES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "AUTOMOBILE SALES DECLINE 50 PERCENT; ANOTHER 15,000 UNEMPLOYED", (2) "THE DOLLAR GOES UP 7.5 TO CLOSE AT 107 PESOS", AND (3) "SURPLUS IN RICE AND BEANS; SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN CORN AND WHEAT".

4. NOVEDADES (MODERATE) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "NEW FISCAL SUPPORTS FOR THE TAX PAYERS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE YESTERDAY ANNOUNCED NEW FISCAL INCENTIVES "TO RESTORE LIQUIDITY TO INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS." THESE INCENTIVES ARE SAID TO INCLUDE: (1) EXTENSION OF TAX DEFERRALS PROMISED LAST WEEK BY SILVA-HERZOG FROM THE MONTHS OF AUGUST, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER OF 1982 UNTIL JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH OF 1983; (2) REDUCTION

IN PERSONAL INCOME TAX WITHHOLDING; AND (3) AN IMMEDIATE 50 PERCENT TAX CUT ON "INVESTMENTS". THE HEADLINE OF ANOTHER LEAD ARTICLE READS: "LET'S PRODUCE WITHOUT GRIPING: JLP." IN THIS REPORT THE MEXICAN PRESIDENT STATES THAT ONLY
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"PRODUCTIVITY" AND NOT "COMPLAINING" WILL SOLVE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11732 02 OF 02 262252Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11732

DEPT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. SPEAKING TO A GROUP OF
BUSINESSMEN AND BUREAUCRATS, HE ALSO PROMISED
"SUFFICIENT INPUTS" AND "ADEQUATE PRICES". A
COMPANION STORY QUOTES TWO BUSINESS LEADERS AS
STATING THE PRIVATE SECTOR WANTS TO AVOID
"FRICTIONS" WITH LABOR BY DEFENDING JOBS.
NEVERTHELESS, ONE OF THEM IS QUOTED AS SAYING:
"FOR HAVING TRIED TO WORK AND CREATE A BETTER
MEXICO AND NOT TAKE DOLLARS FROM THE COUNTRY,
AS THE POLITICIANS HAVE DONE, THE PRIVATE SECTOR
IS RUINED..." ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTS LABOR
LEADER VELAZQUEZ "DEMANDS HARMONY AND REJECTS THE
GENERAL STRIKE". FINALLY, ANOTHER LEAD STORY
HAD THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "THE U.S. WILL NOT
FREEZE MEXICAN ACCOUNTS, SAYS GAVIN." THIS
REPORT QUOTES U.S. AMBASSADOR GAVIN AS SAYING
IN A COMMUNIQUE YESTERDAY THAT RUMORS TO THIS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11732 02 OF 02 262252Z

EFFECT ARE"COMPLETELY FALSE." THIS ARTICLE ALSO
MENTIONS THE APPRECIATION OF THE DOLLAR VIS-A-VIS
THE PESO IN WEDNESDAY'S EXCHANGE MARKET TRANSACTION.

5. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST
NATIONALISTIC) READ: "CONFRONTING THE CRISIS,
WORK AND PRODUCTION, NOT COMPLAINING: JLP."
THIS STORY REPORTS ON PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S
SPEECH YESTERDAY TO REPRESENTATIVES OF BUSINESS
AND GOVERNMENT IN WHICH HE SAYS "STERILE CRITICISM
SOLVES NOTHING." IN THIS SAME MEETING FRANCISCO
CANO ESCALANTE, COORDINATOR OF BASIC PRODUCTS

FOR THE PRESIDENT, IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT PRODUCERS OF BASIC GOODS IN MEXICO HAVE THE "CAPACITY TO RESOLVE" THEIR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING $$ BILLION IN INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT IS NEEDED TO MEET THE ANTICIPATED DEMAND FOR "BASIC GOODS" BY 1985. LEADERS OF THE BUSINESS CONFEDERATION ARE ALSO QUOTED AS STATING MEXICO FACES ITS "GRAVEST" ECONOMIC CRISIS EVER. A COMPANION ARTICLE SAYS LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELASQUEZ WANTS A "FRIENDLY PACT" WITH MANAGEMENT. HE IS ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE "IMPOSSIBLE" FOR LABOR TO ACCEPT "A RESTRICTION OF SALARIES" IN EECHANGE FOR "PRESERVING JOBS." A RELATED FRONT PAGE ARTICLE QUOTES PRIVATE SECTOR SOURCES AS SAYING "THE GREAT MAJORITY OF ENTERPRISES DO NOT HAVE THE MEANS TO INCREASE SALARIES EVEN BY MINIMAL PROPORTIONS." ANOTHER STORY REPORTS THAT THE CONFEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE (CONCANACO) HAS ASKED THE GOM TO DEVELOP A PROGRAM TO HELP MERCHANTS ALONG THE BORDER ADJUST TO NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
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WITH "TRAAQUILITY AND SECURITY." OTHER IMPORTANT HEADLINES READ: (1) "FALSE, CONTENTION THAT U.S. INTENDS TO FREEZE MEXICAN ACCOUNTS: GAVIN; (2) "THE PREFERENTIAL DOLLAR-IS FOR PRIORITY IMPORTS: MINISTRY OF COMMERCE," AND (3) "UNEXPECTED DEMAND FOR DOLLARS: SALE AT 107 PESOS."

6. THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO CARRIED THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "LET'S NOT SUBMERGE OURSELVES IN SHOUTS AND FEARS: JLP." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES MEXICO'S PRESIDENT IN A SPEECH YESTERDAY AS SAYING "PRODUCTIVITY AND NOT STERILE CRITICISM" WILL PROVIDE SOLUTIONS TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTS THAT THE STRONG DEMAND FOR DOLLARS YESTERDAY BY FOREIGN ENTERPRISES IN MEXICO ALMOST EXHAUSTED HARD DOLLAR RESERVES IN THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET. THIS ARTICLE ALSO NOTED THAT THE FREE MARKET DOLLAR GAINED SEVEN PESOS YESTERDAY CLOSING AT 99 TO 1. ANOTHER KEY STORY WAS ENTITLED: "THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY TO OBTAIN PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF TRADE THERE IS ONLY ENOUGH FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE YEAR TO IMPORT BASIC FOODS/INPUTS AND CAPITAL GOODS. OTHER IMPORTS, ACCORDING TO THIS ARTICLE, WILL HAVE TO BE FINANCED THROUGH THE "FREE EXCHANGE MARKET". (DRAFTE
D BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11798 01 OF 02 272329Z UNCLASSIFIED
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E.O. 12356: DECL: 8/27/88
TAGS: ELAB, MX, EFIN, PGOV
SUBJECT: FIDEL VELAZQUEZ TALKS ABOUT LABOR-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION IN FACE OF CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS

REF: (A) MEXICO 11682

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11798 01 OF 02 272329Z

2. SUMMARY: CTM LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ TOLD LABATT ON AUG 27 THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE BETWEEN LABOR AND MANAGEMENT TO SEEK A PARTIAL ALLEVIATION TO THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS. THEY ARE AIMED AT HOLDING DOWN PRICE INCREASES, ATTEMPTING TO STABILIZE EMPLOYMENT AND PROVIDING A LIMITED WAGE INCREASE TO PRIVATE SECTOR WORKERS. HE SAID NOTHING WOULD COME FORTH UNTIL AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S SEPT. 1 REPORT TO THE NATION. IN THAT REPORT, HE SAID THE PRESIDENT WILL PROBABLY ANNOUNCE THE PAYMENT OF THE RETROACTIVE PORTION OF APRIL'S 30-20-10 PERCENT WAGE INCREASE FOR PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES AS WELL AS SOME SMALL REVISION OF

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PUBLIC SECTOR WAGES. FIDEL ALSO SAID THAT GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES DO NOT HAVE TO RECEIVE THE SAME WAGE INCREASES AS THOSE GRANTED BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THEREFORE THE GOM WOULD SUPPORT ANY ARRANGEMENT WORKED OUT BY LABOR AND MANAGEMENT. HE EXPRESSED GREAT FAITH IN MEXICO'S INSTITUTIONS AND SAID THAT MEXICO WILL OVERCOME HER PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. END SUMMARY.

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3. IN LONG MEETING WITH LABATT, CTM SECRETARY GENERAL FIDEL VELAZQUEZ SPOKE OF LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY IN THE FACE OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS AND OF THE ATTEMPTS OF LABOR AND MANAGEMENT TO WORK OUT AA AGREEMENT WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS. DON FIDEL BEGAN BY STATING THAT THE SITUATION IS SERIOUS BUT ADDED THAT MEXICO HAS FACED SERIOUS CRISES BEFORE, FREQUENTLY WITH FEWER RESOURCES AT ITS DISPOSITION THAN NOW, AND HAS OVERCOME THEM. HE SAID THAT THE LABOR LEADERSHIP HAS HELD A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERS AND THEY ARE ON THEIR WAY TOWARD AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD HELP EASE THE CRISIS, AT LEAST UNTIL LATE IN THE YEAR WHEN THE DE LA MADRID ADMINISTRA-

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TION TAKES OFFICE.

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4. VELAZQUEZ SAID THAT THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EMPLOYER GROUPS ARE TAKING PLACE ALONG THE LINES OF THOSE REPORTED IN REFTEL. HE SAID THAT LABOR WAS WELL OFF WHEN IT RECEIVED ITS 30-20-10 PERCENT WAGES ADJUSTMENT FOLLOWING THE FEBRUARY DEVALUATION BUT THAT WORKERS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY LOST PURCHASING POWER WHEN THE PRICES OF TORTILLAS, BREAD, GAS, ELECTRICITY AND OTHER ITEMS WERE RAISED IN EARLY AUGUST. NOW, HE SAID, WE ARE TRYING TO GET EMPLOYERS TO HOLD DOWN THE EXTENT OF FUTURE PRICE INCREASES AND TO KEEP AS MANY WORKERS ON THE PAYROLLS AS POSSIBLE. IN EXCHANGE, LABOR WILL ACCEPT "A REASONABLE WAGE INCREASE WHICH WILL RESTORE THE PURCHASING POWER WE RECENTLY LOST." DON FIDEL SAID THE TALKS HAD NOT YET REACHED THE POINT OF NEGOTIATING A WAGE INCREASE PERCENTAGE BUT MENTIONED THE "AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE" ON THESE POINTS WHICH WAS ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY JOINTLY BY THE SECRETARIES OF LABOR AND OF COMMERCE.

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5. NO AGREEMENT WILL BE REACHED PRIOR TO THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO THE NATION ON SEPTEMBER 1, VELAZQUEZ SAID. HE ALSO SAID THAT PUBLIC EMPLOYEES DO NOT HAVE TO RECEIVE THE SAME WAGE INCREASES AS TOSE EVENTUALLY NEGOTIATED BY LABOR AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR. HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL SHORTLY ANNOUNCE THAT IT WILL PAY THE RETROACTIVE PORTIONS OF THE RECENT 30-20-10 PERCENT INCREASES TO PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AND IT WILL REVIEW PUBLIC SECTOR SALARIES AND MAKE SOME WAGE ADJUSTMENTS. BUT, HE REPEATED, THEY DON'T HAVE TO GET THE SAME WAGE

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INCREASES THAT OUR PRIVATE SECTOR WORKERS DO.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11798 02 OF 02 272330Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2885
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
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6. DON FIDEL TALKED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF HAVING ELECTED A PRESIDENT WHO CANNOT TAKE OFFICE FOR FIVE TO SIX MONTHS AFTER HIS ELECTION. HE SAID THAT THE LOPEZ PORTILLO REGIME HAD LOST SO MUCH OF ITS PRESTIGE AND STATUS. HE SAID THAT SOME PEOPLE ARE CLAMORING FOR A CHANGE IN PRESIDENTS TODAY, BUT THAT WILL NOT SOLVE MEXICO'S PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT MEXICO'S INSTITUTIONS ARE SOLIDLY ENTRENCHED AND WILL NOT BE ALTERED BY THIS

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CRISIS. FIDEL THEN LAUGHINGLY SPOKE OF THE WILD RUMORS

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FLOATING AROUND, CITING THE FALSE TALES OF THE ASSASINATIONS OF LOPEZ PORTILLO AND GARCIA PANIAGUA. HE ADDED THAT HIS WIFE, WHO IS VACATIONING IN MIAMI, CALLED HIM AT HOME BECAUSE SHE HEARD THAT HE (FIDEL) HAD ALSO BEEN ASSASINATED.

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7. VELAZQUEZ TALKED A GREAT DEAL ABOUT MEXICO'S HISTORY, ITS INSTITUTIONS AND ITS STABILITY. HE SAID THAT IN LAST NIGHT'S MEETING OF THE CONGRESO DEL TRABAJO, MEXICO'S UMBRELLA GROUPING OF UNIONS, "EVEN THE RADICALS, THE ELECTRICIANS AND THE NUCLEAR WORKERS, FELL INTO LINE WITH OUR DECISIONS." HE ADDED THAT THERE ARE NO PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS THESE DAYS, THERE ARE VIRTUALLY NO STRIKES, THERE ARE NO GUERRILLAS IN MEXICO AND EVEN EVERYDAY CRIMES LIKE ROBBERY, MURDER AND KIDNAPPING ARE DOWN. HE REPEATED THAT MEXICO HAD OVERCOME OTHER CRISES AND WOULD OVERCOME THIS ONE, EVEN THOUGH THIS ONE IS VERY DIFFICULT AND WILL NOT BE RESOLVED OVERNIGHT.

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8. DON FIDEL SAID THAT HE HAD HAD TO CANCEL THE PROPOSED TRIP OF FOUR CTM LEADERS TO THE U.S. ON IV GRANTS BECAUSE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. WE NEED ALL THE HELP WE CAN GET, HE SAID. WE HAVE OVER 800 MEMBERS OF THE CTM WORKING ON COMMISSIONS OF VARIOUS TYPES AND WE COULD NOT LET OUR PEOPLE GO OUT OF THE COUNTRY AT THIS TIME. HE SAID THAT THERE WERE NO OTHER UNDERLYING REASONS FOR THE CANCELLATION AND THUS HE WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE SITUATION AFTER DE LA MADRID'S INAUGURATION. TO ADD EMPHASIS TO HIS STATEMENT, HE TOLD LABATT THAT HE HAD JUST SIGNED A TELEGRAM DECLINING AN INVITATION FROM LANE KIRKLAND, PRESIDENT OF THE AFL-CIO, TO ATTEND A LABOR DAY INAUGURATION OF A SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL. "I, NOR ANYONE ELSE FROM THE

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CTM, CAN BE AWAY FROM MEXICO AT THIS TIME," HE SAID.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11801 01 OF 02 280011Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11801

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 27, 1982

1. THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN MEXICO CITY'S DAILY PRESS ON AUGUST 27, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DIALY) READ: "PRIORITY ONE: DEFUSE THE CRISIS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT BUSINESS CONFEDERATION (COPARMEX) LEADER BASAGOITI YESTERDAY "APPEALED FOR CONFIDENCE" TO OVERCOME THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. HE NOTED: "YOU CANNOT HAVE SOME BEING FIREMEN WHILE OTHERS START THE FIRE." SPEAKING TO A GROUP OF SALES EXECUTIVES HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HIS GROUP WOULD INSIST THAT PRIVATE INDUSTRIES WITH THE MOST SEVERE

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11801 01 OF 02 280011Z

LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS BE GIVEN ACCESS TO "SOFT DOLLARS." A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTS THAT: "WORKERS AND MANAGERS ACCEPT GOVERNMENT MEDIATION TO READJUST SALARIES." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT IN RECENT DAYS THE MINISTRIES OF LABOR, SOCIAL SECURITY, AND COMMERCE HAVE HOSTED SALARY TALKS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR AND PRIVATE INDUSTRY CONDUCTED IN A SPIRIT OF "MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND MODERATION OF EXPECTATIONS." OTHER PAGE 1 ARTICLES ARE ENTITLED: (1) "TO AVOID LAY-OFFS, NATIONAL DIESEL (DINA) REDUCES WORKING DAY", (2) "ANOTHER RETREAT IN FRONT OF HARD DOLLAR CARRIES QUOTATION TO 103-110 PESOS", AND (3) "INTERNATIONAL

CREDIT CARDS, SUSPENDED."
3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "FRONTIER RESIDENTS WILL ASK DE LA MADRID (DLM) FOR HELP: THEY DEMAND THAT GOVERNMENT INVITES MORE U.S. COMPANIES TO ESTABLISH BORDER INDUSTRIES (MAQUILADORAS)." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT YESTERDAY 350 COMMERCE REPRESENTATIVES FORM THE BORDER AREA PRESENTED PRESIDENT-ELECT DLM WITH AN INTEGRATED SUPPORT PROGRAM THAT INCLUDED: "SUPPLY, CREDITS, PAYMENTS OF DOLLAR DEBT AND FISCAL INCENTIVES." ANOTHER ARTICLE NOTES THAT MEXICO'S FINANCIAL CRISIS HAS "SEMIPARALYZED FREIGHT SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL FEDERAL RAILROAD. THIS STORY SAYS THAT THE ECONOMIC DOWNTURN HAS IDLED "5000 FREIGHT CARS" WHILE BUDGET CUTS HAVE FORCED THE CANCELLATION OF PURCHASES OF 21 LOCOMOTIVES AND OTHER ROLLING STOCK. A COMPANION STORY REPORTS THAT: "WORKERS AND MANAGERS HAVE AGREED TO AVOID CONFRONTATION." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT IN RECENT DAYS THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN MEDIATING MEETINGS OF
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"ANALYSIS AND CONSULTATION" BETWEEN LABOR AND MANAGEMENT. ANOTHER LEAD HEADLINE READ: (1) "SUPPLY OF BASIC GRAINS GUARANTEED".
4. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) RAN THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "THE WORLD BANK OFFERS TO SUPPORT HEALTHIER ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT THE WORLD BANK (WB) IS PREPARING A NEW MEXICAN CREDIT BETWEEN $50-100 MILLION "FOR DISTRIBUTION AND SALE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN URBAN AREAS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES A WB OFFICIAL AS SAYING THIS CREDIT "COULD NEUTRALIZE THE EFFECT OF AN IMF REQUIREMENT THAT THE GOM REDUCE OR ELIMINATE SUBSIDIES TO AGRI-CULTURE." OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES ARE HEADLINED: (1) "THE DOLLAR QUOTE CLIMBS TO 110 PESOS; DEMAND GROWS" AND (2) "MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND MODERATION IN THE SALARY TALKS: MINISTRY OF LABORR.
5. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES CARRIED THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "LATIN AMERICA SUFFERS THE WORST CRISIS IN 4 DECADES." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO A WORLD BANK STUDY "LATIN AMERICA SUFFERED IN 1981 ITS WORST ECONOMIC YEAR IN FOUR DECADES AS A RESULT OF THE INTERNATIONAL RECESSION AND WAS FORCED TO MAKE PAINFUL AUSTERITY ADJUSTMENTS IN 1982." THE ARTICLE ALSO QUOTES WORLD BANK OFFICIALS AS SAYING "THE LIQUIDITY CRISIS SUFFERED BY MEXICO COULD REPEAT ITSELF IN OTHER GREAT DEBTORS OF LATIN AMERICA LIKE BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA..." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY IS ENTITLED: "PRIVATE SECTOR TAPPED TO SELL AND PRODUCE CONFIDENCE:

BUSINESS CONFEDERATION (COPARMEX)." THIS STORY SAYS COPARMEX LEADER BASAGOITI "EXHORTED" SALES EXECUTIVES YESTERDAY TO "ATTACK THE (ECONOMIC) PROBLEMS WITHOUT DECEIT NOR DEMAGOGIC PHASES."

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11801 02 OF 02 280012Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2889
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11801

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

OTHER IMPORTANT HEADLINES INCLUDED: (1) "WORKER-MANAGEMENT TALKS FRIENDLY AND COMPREHENSIVE" AND (2) "NATIONAL DIESEL (DINA) REDUCES PRODUCTION BY 30 PERCENT."
6. THE HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) LEAD WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "DEVASTATING EFFECTS BECAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL RECESSION: WORLD BANK." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS ON A RECENT WORLD BANK STUDY THAT SAYS "LATIN AMERICA HAS BEEN FORCED TO MAKE PAINFUL AUSTERITY ADJUSTMENTS" AND "MANY NATIONS HAVE REACHED THEIR CREDIT LIMITS" BECAUSE OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. A COMPANION ARTICLE IS ENTITLED: "THE PESO DROPS MORE: DOLLAR TO 110." THIS ARTICLE ATTRIBUTES DOLLAR REBOUND TO "CONTINUING DEMAND FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE." A COMPANION STORY REPORTS THAT THE GOM HAS DECIDED

TO IMPORT FOOD TO RESTOCK DEPLETED INVENTORIES
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ALONG THE BORDER ZONE. STILL ANOTHER ARTICLE STATES THAT NATIONAL DIESEL (DINA) HAS REDUCED ITS WORK DAY BECAUSE OF THE DWINDLING DEMAND IN THE TRUCK MARKET. A FINAL LEAD STORY IS ENTITLED: "WORKERS, PRIVATE SECTOR AND GOVERNMENT AGREE TO AVOID CONFRONTATIONS OVER SALARY."
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11880 01 OF 02 302345Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11880

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, AFIN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 30, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11801

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE AVAILABLE MEXICO CITY PRESS FOR AUGUST 28-30, 1982.

2. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) PUBLISHES NO WEEKEND EDITIONS. THE LEAD HEADLINE TODAY (AUGUST 30) READ: "THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL NO LONGER GIVE FREE DOLLARS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT STARTING SEPTEMBER 2 COMMERCIAL BANKS WILL HAVE TO OBTAIN ALL THEIR DOLLARS IN THE FREE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET. THE SUSPENSION OF DOLLAR ALLOTMENTS BY THE BANK OF
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11880 01 OF 02 302345Z

MEXICO TO PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS WILL ALLOW THE FREE DOLLAR "QUOTATION TO BE DETERMINED EXCLUSIVELY BY THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND" ACCORDING TO THIS ARTICLE. ANOTHER LEAD STORY WAS ENTITLED: "PRESUMABLY THIS WEEK THE RULES TO RESTRUCTURE THE EXTERNAL DEBT WILL BE SETTLED." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT THE MEETINGS BETWEEN MEXICAN OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMERCIAL BANKS AND THE IMF TO RESCHEDULE AN ESTIMATED $10 BILLION IN SHORT-TERM DEBT WILL BE CONCLUDED THIS WEEK. DURING THIS SAME PERIOD THE REPORT ALSO STATES MEXICO WOULD LIKE TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN $1.85 BILLION CREDIT FROM EUROPEAN, AMERICAN, CANADIAN,

AND JAPANESE BANKS. ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO THE LABOR CONGRESS "PRIVATE INDUSTRY WILL RECEIVE $400,000 IN SUBSIDIES" BETWEEN NOW AND YEAR'S END FROM GOM TO "GENERATE EMPLOYMENT." OTHER LEAD HEADLINES INCLUDED: (1) "BANK LOANS ENDED TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISES" AND (2) "ALARM IN THE FRONTIER CAUSED BY NEW WITHDRAWAL OF BANK OF MEXICO".

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3. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) FOR SUNDAY, AUGUST 29, READ: "DE LA MADRID OFFERS COMMERCIAL SUPPORT TO THE FRONTIER." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH RECENT GOVERNMENT MEASURES TEND TO RESOLVE THE "PROBLEMS OF SUPPLY" ALONG THE BORDER, THEY WILL NOT ELIMINATE BANK-RUPTCIES "WHICH CAN INDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT AND GENERATE SOCIAL TENSIONS." ANOTHER ARTICLE QUOTES PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO AS SAYING BEFORE A MEETING OF RURAL LEADERS THAT IT IS TIME "THE PRIVILEGED TIGHTENED THEIR BELTS." THE FOLLOWING DAY, AUGUST 30, UNO MAS UNO CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "WE WILL OVERCOME THE CRISIS, FIDEL VELAZQUEZ WILL SAY
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TODAY." THIS ARTICLE GIVES A PREVIEW OF THIS LABOR LEADER'S ANNUAL ADDRESS BEFORE HIS ASSEMBLY GENERAL IN WHICH HE WILL REPORTEDLY SAY: "WE WILL MOVE FORWARD FROM THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS, LOOKING FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE WORKING CLASS, PERHAPS THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PHENOMENON...WILL LEAD TO A GREAT STEP TOWARD A NEW SOCIETY, MORE JUST, FREE AND DEMOCRATIC." A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTES THE CONFEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCES (CONCANACO) AS SAYING "IT IS UNACCEPTABLE" THAT IRRATIONAL RUMORS BE SPREAD "DUE TO INSUFFICIENT OFFICIAL INFORMATION" ABOUT "THE GRAVEST (ECONOMIC) CRISIS THE COUNTRY HAS EVER FACED IN ITS CONTEMPORARY HISTORY."

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4. THE LEFTIST, NATIONALISTIC EXCELSIOR RAN THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE ON SATURDAY (AUGUST 28): "THE ATTEMPT TO DISUNITE THE COUNTRY WILL COMPLETELY FAIL: OLIVARES SANTANA." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES THE SECRETARY OF GOVERNMENT SANTANA AS SAYING, THE EFFORT TO CREATE DISUNITY AMONG MEXICANS THROUGH THE "STRUGGLE OF GREAT POWERS" WILL NOT SUCCEED. HE ADDED: "IN MOMENTS OF TRIAL WE CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE TRANSITORY TO BECOME PERMANENT; AHEAD OF THE SELFISHNESS OF A FEW COMES THE SOLIDARITY OF THE GREAT MAJORITY..." ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTS ON THE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND MEXICO TO NORMALIZE THE BORDER ECONOMY. THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT STARTING SEPTEMBER 1, U.S. CITIZENS ON 1-DAY SHOPPING SPREES IN MEXICO WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO BUY SUGAR, FLOUR,

TORTILLAS, COOKIES, VEGETABLE OIL, MILK, EGGS, SALT, RICE, AND OTHER BASIC FOODS. AT THE SAME TIME MEXICAN AUTHORITIES REPORTEDLY HAVE AGREED TO PREVENT THE SMUGGLING OF THESE ITEMS INTO THE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11880 02 OF 02 302347Z
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2924
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1349
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11880

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

U.S. PRESIDENT REAGAN IS ALSO SAID TO HAVE AGREED TO PROVIDE "FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO U.S. BUSINESSES ALONG THE BORDER THAT HAVE BEEN HARD HIT BY THE RECENT MEXICAN DEVALUATION. TODAY'S (AUGUST 30) EXCELSIOR LED WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "WE WON'T MAKE THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM A SOCIAL CRISIS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES THE PRESIDENT OF THE BUSINESS GROUP CONCANACO AS SAYING: "THOSE WHO DESIRE THE PROSCRIPTION OF THE SOCIAL PACT...KNOW WELL THAT THIS IS THE ROAD BY WHICH THEY CAN INCREASE THEIR INFLUENCE IN MEXICAN SOCIETY. THESE VERY FEW WHO WANT TO TOPPLE THE MEXICO SOCIAL ORDER ARE THE AUTHORS OF THE (ECONOMIC) RUMORS."

5. ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 29, THE LEAD HEADLINE OF NOVEDADES (MODERATE) WAS: "WHAT HAS TO BE DONE

WILL BE SAID SEPTEMBER 1: JLP." THIS ARTICLE
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PREVIEWS THE PENDING PRESIDENTIAL STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS WHILE QUOTING LOPEZ PORTILLO AS SAYING: "WE STILL HAVE THREE FRUITFUL MONTHS AHEAD OF NATIONAL DIGNITY AND HARD WORK TO CONTINUE BUILDING A MEXICO TO PROTECT US..." TODAY, AUGUST 30, NOVEDADES RAN THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "MERCHANTS REJECT IRRESPONSIBLE RUMORS." THE LEADER OF BUSINESS GROUP IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT UNFOUNDED RUMORS ABOUT THE MEXICAN ECONOMY "CONSTITUTE A WEAPON IN THE POLITICAL FIGHT AND ARE USED BY SOME NATIONS TO DESTABILIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF OTHERS." ANOTHER IMPORTANT ARTICLE STATED THAT THE BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS HAS AGREED TO GRANT THE BANK OF MEXICO A CREDIT EQUAL TO $925 MILLION. THIS LOAN REPORTEDLY WILL BE DISPERSED IN THREE INSTALLMENTS TIED TO "PROGRESS AND ACHIEVEMENTS" WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A STABILIZATION PROGRAM BETWEEN THE GOM AND THE IMF.

6. ONLY TODAY'S EDITION OF THE HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) WAS AVAILABLE. ITS LEAD HEADLINE READ: "WE WILL NOT CAUSE A SOCIAL CRISIS WITH IRRATIONAL RUMORS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS AS SAYING GRATUITOUS RUMORS CAN CREATE "UNREST THAT AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION" AND "DESTABILIZE" THE COUNTRY. A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTES A RECENT BUSINESS SECTOR STUDY AS SAYING: "PRICE INCREASES ARE IRRATIONALLY CONVERTED INTO INFLATION BUT NEVER A REDUCTION IN DEMAND..."

(DRAFTED BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11952 01 OF 02 310007Z
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USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1353
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 11952

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS; AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, AUGUST 31, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11880

1. THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN MEXICO CITY'S DAILY PRESS ON AUGUST 31, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "NO TOTAL EXCHANGE CONTROL: BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL (CCE)." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES CCE LEADER MANUEL J. CLOUTHIER AS SAYING THAT FULL EXCHANGE CONTROLS "WOULD BE VERY DAMAGING TO THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND WOULD REPRESENT A SEVERE LIMIT ON THE EXERCISE OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS." UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 11952 01 OF 02 310007Z

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ARTICLE STATES THAT "ACADEMIC INVESTIGATORS" FAVOR SUCH CONTROLS "TO CONFRONT" SPECULATION AND CAPITAL FLIGHT." A COMPANION ARTICLE WAS ENTITLED: "JLP URGES RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY AND LABOR CONFEDERATION (CTM) DEMANDS DECLARATION OF ECONOMIC EMERGENCY." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT AT CTM GENERAL ASSEMBLY YESTERDAY PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO ASKED WORKERS FOR "VIGILENCE" AND "SUPPORT." AT THE SAME MEETING THE CTM PRESENTED ITS ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM THAT INCLUDED "THE IMMEDIATE IMPOSITION OF INTEGRAL AND PERMANENT EXCHANGE CONTROLS" AND A DECLARATION

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OF "ECONOMIC EMERGENCY." OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "NATIONAL OFFICE FURNITURE, ROCKWELL REDUCE WORK DAY; FORD-CUAUTITLAN: TEMPORARY CLOSURE;" (2) "AS USUAL VIS-A-VIS THE HARD DOLLAR: 100-108 PESOS;" AND (3) "URGENT MEETINGS OF TEXTILE AND COTTON PRODUCERS."

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3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) LEAD WITH STORY ENTITLED: "RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY WITH WORKERS AND PEASANTS: PRESIDENT JLP TO WORKERS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS ON THE NINETY-SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CONFEDERATION OF WORKERS (CTM) INAUGURATED BY PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO. IT SAYS THAT THE REPORT APPROVED BY THE CTM ASSEMBLY CALLS UPON THE GOVERNMENT TO: (1) EXERCISE GREATER BUDGETARY RESTRAINT; (2) IMPOSE FULL EXCHANGE CONTROLS; (3) INCREASE INTERVENTION IN BANKING AND SOCIAL SECTORS; AND (4) ESTABLISH LEGAL MEASURES TO PROTECT EMPLOYMENT. A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTES THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE GALVAN LOPEZ AS SAYING "TODAY IS A TIME FOR SOCIAL HARMONY RATHER THAN

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RUMORS." FINALLY, ANOTHER PAGE 1 STORY REPORTS THAT "UNEMPLOYMENT HAS DOUBLED ALONG THE FRONTIER" AND THE BANKS IN NUEVO LAREDO HAVE SUSPENDED SALES OF DOLLARS INDUCING "GROWING SPECULATION." THIS REPORT ALSO NOTES THE AMBITIOUS ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS OF U.S. BORDER MERCHANTS THROUGH RADIO AND TELEVISION TO "ATTRACT MEXICAN CONSUMERS."

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4. THE LEAD HEADLINE OF THE EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) THIS MORNING READ: "BE ALERT; WE SHOULD RECONSTRUCT THE COUNTRY, AFFIRMS JLP." THE ARTICLE REPORTS PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S SHORT SPEECH YESTERDAY IN FRONT OF THE CTM GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN WHICH JLP CALLED ON WORKERS TO HELP "RESCUE THE NATIONAL DIGNITY." ANOTHER SPEAKER, SENATOR FILIBERTO VIQUERAS LAZARO, IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID: "NEVER BEFORE HAVE THE PITFALLS BEEN SO THREATENING AND CLOSE, ALSO NEVER BEFORE HAS SUCH A FAVORABLE OPPORTUNITY EXISTED TO TRANSFORM SOCIETY AND TO BROADEN ITS EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE." ANOTHER PAGE 1 ARTICLE CARRIED FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "WE ARE CONFIDENT THE ADDRESS WILL CLEAR UP DOUBTS: MEXICO CITY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (CANACO)." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THE HEAD OF CANACO, FERNANCO MARINA JANET, BELIEVES THE PRESIDENT'S SIXTH ANNUAL ADDRESS WILL CLARIFY "DISINFORMATION" ABOUT THE ECONOMY. UNDER THIS HEADLINE OPPOSITION LEADERS WARNED THAT SUCH DISINFORMATION "LEAVES ROOM FOR MANIPULATION" WHILE JLP CALLS FOR "A NATIONALFRONTTO FIGHT RESOLUTELY AGAINST RUMORS." ANOTHER ARTICLE

REPORTS THAT YESTERDAY LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ VETOED A MOTION BY THE CTM GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGAINST "THOSE WHO SEND DOLLARS OUT OF THE COUNTRY." VELAZQUEZ REPORTEDLY OPPOSED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 11952 02 OF 02 310008Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 11952

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

THIS MOTION BECAUSE IT WAS "AGAINST THE THESIS" OF THE CTM.

5. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "RECONSTRUCT THE COUNTRY AND RESCUE DIGNITY." THIS MESSAGE WAS DELIVERED TO THE CTM GENERAL ASSEMBLY YESTERDAY BY PRESIDENT JLP ACCORDING TO ABOVE ARTICLE. A COMPANION STORY REPORTS THAT YESTERDAY "THE WAVE OF RUMORS THAT SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WAS CONDEMNED BY ALL POLITICAL PARTIES BECAUSE IT CAN LEAD TO ANARCHY AND DICTATORSHIP..." AN OPPOSITION PARTY SPOKESMAN, HOWEVER, CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT "TO SPEAK THE TRUTH."

6. THE HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) RAN THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "MEXICO ATTRACTS A $1.85 BILLION CREDIT."

THIS STORY REPORTS ON THE RECENT LOAN AGREEMENT
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BETWEEN THE GOM AND THE BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS (BIS) ACTING ON BEHALF OF CENTRAL BANKS OF 11 INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. THE ARTICLE FURTHER REPORTS THAT THIS IS THE FIRST TIME "THE BIS ALONG WITH A GROUP OF COUNTRIES OF THIS TYPE HAVE GRANTED A CREDIT OF SUCH IMPORTANCE AND MAGNITUDE TO A COUNTRY IN DEVELOPMENT." ANOTHER LEAD ARTICLE WAS HEADLINED: "PRESIDENT JLP WARNS WORKERS TO BE ALERT." UNDER THIS HEADLINE RAN SEVERAL STORES. THE FIRST QUOTED A CTM GENERAL ASSEMBLY REPORT RELEASED YESTERDAY AS "PREDICTING CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT." THIS SAME REPORT CALLS FOR FULL EXCHANGE CONTROLS BECAUSE PARTIAL CONTROL OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE HAS FAILED TO STOP CAPITAL FLIGHT. COMPANION ARTICLES REAFFIRM THE MILITARY'S SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND QUOTE PRESIDENT JLP AS ENCOURAGING WORKERS "TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NEXT THREE MONTHS TO RESCUE NATIONAL DIGNITY."
(DRAFTED BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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ALL POSTS PASS PAOS

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SOPN
SUBJECT: ARA NEWS ITEMS OF SEPTEMBER 2, 1982

1. SUMMARY OF NEWSPAPERS:

--WASHINGTON POST--

MEXICO: CHRISTOPHER DICKEY FRONT PAGE FROM MEXICO CITY (MEXICO TAKES CONTROL OF PRIVATE BANKS) WRITES OF GOM'S DECISION TO NATIONALIZE MEXICAN BANKS AND IMPOSE STRICT CURRENCY CONTROLS FOR THE FIRST TIME UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STATE 247927

IN THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY, "AS PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO SOUGHT TO STEM A GROWING ECONOMIC CRISIS THAT IS RAPIDLY ASSUMING COMPLEX INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS." LOPEZ PORTILLO MADE ANNOUNCEMENT IN HIS LAST ANNUAL STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS TO THE MEXICAN CONGRESS. HE PLACED PRIMARY BLAME FOR MEXICO'S NEAR-BANKRUPTCY ON SPECULATORS AND CAPITAL FLIGHT, ENCOURAGED, HE SAID, BY PRIVATE BANKS. "THE MEXICAN ANNOUNCEMENT WAS A SURPRISE TO US OFFICIALS AND BANKERS...AS HAS OFTEN HAPPENED IN THE PAST WHEN MEXICO CONFRONTS ITS ECONOMICALLY

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ONE-SIDED MEXICO: CHRISTOPHER DICKEY FRONT PAGE FROM MEXICO CITY (MEXICO TAKES CONTROL OF PRIVATE BANKS) WRITES OF GOM'S DECISION TO NATIONALIZE MEXICAN BANKS AND IMPOSE STRICT CURRENCY CONTROLS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY, "AS PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO SOUGHT TO STEM A GROWING ECONOMIC CRISIS THAT IS RAPIDLY ASSUMING COMPLEX INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS." LOPEZ PORTILLO MADE ANNOUNCEMENT IN HIS LAST ANNUAL STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS TO THE MEXICAN CONGRESS. HE PLACED PRIMARY BLAME FOR MEXICO'S NEAR-BANKRUPTCY ON SPECULATORS AND CAPITAL FLIGHT, ENCOURAGED, HE SAID, BY PRIVATE BANKS. "THE MEXICAN ANNOUNCEMENT WAS A SURPRISE TO US OFFICIALS AND BANKERS...AS HAS OFTEN HAPPENED IN THE PAST WHEN MEXICO CONFRONTS ITS ECONOMICALLY ONE-SIDED RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH, LOPEZ PORTILLO TOOK PAINS TO UNDERLINE MEXICO'S FIERCE NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE. THE MEXICAN PRESIDENT VEHEMENTLY REAFFIRMED HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION OVER POLICY TOWARD CENTRAL AMERICA. IN SOME OF THE TOUGHEST LANGUAGE
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HE HAS USED TO DATE, HE CALLED ON THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION TO LEAVE NICARAGUA ALONE, TO STOP US ATTEMPTS TO ISOLATE CUBA AND TO NEGOTIATE A SOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR." LOPEZ PORTILLO NOTED THAT IN OVERALL TERMS, RELATIONS WITH THE US ARE "POSITIVE," BUT THAT THE US SOMETIMES TREATS MEXICO AS IF IT WERE AN UNDERDEVELOPED ECONOMY. LOPEZ PORTILLO ALSO SAID A MEETING BETWEEN THE MEXICAN AND US CONGRESSES MIGHT BE "ADVISABLE," NOTING THAT THE PROBLEM OF CAPITAL FLIGHT IS "A GRAVE, A MUCH MORE GRAVE PROBLEM FOR US THAN THE DRUG TRAFFIC IS FOR THEM," A REFERENCE TO A COOPERATIVE NARCOTICS ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM MEXICO CONDUCTS WITH THE US.

MEXICO: CAROLINE ATKINSON AND JAMES ROWE JR. PAGE C13 IN BUSINESS SECTION (MEXICO SURPRISED US WITH NATIONALIZATION) SAY THAT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S ANNOUNCEMENT CAUGHT US OFFICIALS AND BANKERS BY SURPRISE, "DESPITE THEIR CLOSE INVOLVEMENT IN AN INTERNATIONAL RESCUE PACKAGE TO BAIL OUT THE NEARLY BANKRUPT COUNTRY. TREASURY SECRETARY REGAN TOLD REPORTERS, 'WE WERE NOT ADVISED IN ADVANCE.' SENIOR FEDERAL RESERVE OFFICIALS ALSO SAID THE DECISION CAME AS A COMPLETE SURPRISE TO THEM...SOME US BANKERS SUGGESTED YESTERDAY THAT THE BANK NATIONALIZATION, ALTHOUGH PRESENTED AS A MOVE TO PUNISH BANKS FOR AIDING SPECULATION AGAINST THE CURRENCY, MAY HAVE BEEN TRIGGERED PARTLY BY THE FEAR THAT MEXICO'S COMMERCIAL BANKS WERE NEAR FAILURE....MEXICO'S

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12057 021904Z UNCLASSIFIED
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DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/2/88
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX, AFIN, AFSP, ALOW
SUBJECT: NEW DIRECTOR GENERAL OF BANK OF MEXICO

1. [redacted]

2. SUMMARY. CARLOS TELLO REPLACED MIGUEL MANCERA AS DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE BANK OF MEXICO ON SEPTEMBER 1. TELLO IS A LONG TIME ASSOCIATE OF LOPEZ PORTILLO AND IS SAID TO BE ONE OF THE KEY AUTHORS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM TO NATIONALIZE BANKS AND GENERALIZE EXCHANGE CONTROLS. HE IS CONSIDERED TO BE LEFTIST AND TO FAVOR ECONOMIC POLICIES AIMED AT ACHIEVING A HIGH GROWTH RATE WITHOUT CONSIDERATION OF THE FINANCIAL CONSEQUENCES. END SUMMARY.

3. MIGUEL MANCERA'S RESIGNATION AS DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE BANK OF MEXICO IS NO SURPRISE. HE CAME OUT STRONGLY AGAINST EXCHANGE CONTROLS IN APRIL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12057 021904Z

AND IS REPORTED TO HAVE TRIED TO RESIGN IN EARLY AUGUST AS THE GOM BEGAN TO IMPLEMENT EXCHANGE CONTROLS. MANCERA APPARENTLY FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO SIGN THE DECREES ON BANK NATIONALIZATION AND EXCHANGE CONTROLS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE TOLD HIS CLOSE ASSOCIATES OF HIS RESIGNATION IN THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 1. WE BELIEVE JLP'S MEASURES CAME AS A SURPRISE TO HIM.

4. CARLOS TELLO IS IN HIS MID-FORTIES. HE IS THE SON OF A FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. AND FOREIGN SECRETARY. HIS BROTHER, MANUEL, IS UNDER-

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SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. TELLO STUDIED AT GEORGETOWN, COLUMBIA AND CAMBRIDGE. HIS ASSOCIATION WITH LOPEZ PORTILLO DATES TO THE MID-60'S. HE SERVED UNDER MIGUEL DE LA MADRID AT THE TREASURY IN THE EARLY 70'S. THEN-TREASURY SECRETARY LOPEZ PORTILLO NAMED HIM UNDER-SECRETARY FOR TAXATION IN EARLY-1975. AT THE BEGINNING OF THELOPEZ PORTILLO ADMINISTRATION, TELLO WAS NAMED THE FIRST SECRETARY FOR BUDGET AND PLANNING. HE AND THE TREASURY SECRETARY, MOCTEZUMA CID, HAD A FALLING OUT THAT REFLECTED PERSONAL AND POLICY DIFFERENCES. THE LATTER WERE OVER MEXICO'S RELATIONS WITH THE IMF AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE STABILIZATION PROGRAM. TELLO HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN EXPANSIONIST WHO BELIEVES THAT FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS SHOULD BE IGNORED. AFTER LOPEZ PORTILLO SACKED BOTH TELLO AND MOCTEZUMA, TELLO BECAME HEAD OF THE NATIONAL SUGAR BANK. TELLO HAS BEEN WORKING CLOSELY WZTH CLARK REYNOLDS OF STANFORD ON A MEXICAN PROJECT.

5. TELLO IS REPORTEDLY ONE OF THE AUTHORS OF THE

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BANK NATIONALIZATION PROGRAM. HE IS WIDELY BELIEVED TO BE LEFTIST IN HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC THINKING. HIS NEW POSITION MAY VERY WELL MAKE SILVA-HERZOG'S POSITION AT TREASURY UNTENABLE. SILVA-HERZOG HAD BEEN PUSHING FOR ORTHODOX STABILIZATION MEASURES THAT TELLO WOULD BE LIKELY TO OPPOSE. THERE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE FRICTION BETWEEN TELLO AND HIS NEW COLLEAGUES AT THE BANK OF MEXICO. WE CAN EXPECT FURTHER PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THIS INSTITUTION.

6. TELLO IS CONSIDERED TO BE AN HONEST CIVIL SERVANT AND IS AUSTERE IN HIS PERSONAL LIFE. HE SPEAKS EXCELLENT ENGLISH AND WAS ALWAYS PLEASANT AND REASONABLY OPEN IN THE DEALINGS THE REPORTING OFFICER HAD WITH HIM SOME YEARS AGO. WE BELIEVE THAT TELLO IS NOT CLOSE TO DE LA MADRID. THEY HAVE HAD POLICY DIFFERENCES IN THE PAST. TELLO DID PARTICIPATE IN THE DE LA MADRID CAMPAIGN, THOUGH NOT IN A MAJOR ROLE. DRAFTED BY L.P.PASCOE. GAVIN

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12109 01 OF 07 030459Z

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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 07 MEXICO 12109

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: DECL:9/2/88
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, AFIN, PINT
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S LAST INFORME - AN ANALYSIS

REF: MEXICO 12108 (NOTAL)

1. [redacted]

2. SUMAMRY. THIS ANALYSIS COVERS THE MAJOR PORTIONS OF LOPEZ PORTILLO'S SIXTH STATE OF THE [redacted]

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UNION MESSAGE. BY NATIONALIZING THE DOMESTIC, PRIVATE BANKS AND BY GENERALIZING EXCHANGE CONTROLS,JLP HAS TAKEN MEXICO SHARPLY TO THE LEFT. HE REPEATED HIS WELL-KNOWN DIFFERENCES WITH U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA. END SUMMARY.

3. ECONOMIC. LOPEZ PORTILLO'S NATIONALIZATION OF THE BANKS AND THE GENERALIZATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS CONSTITUTE A SHARP TURN TO THE LEFT. THIS ISAMOVE AWAY FROM A MARKET-ORIENTED AND OPEN ECONOMY TO A CLOSED AND MORE SOCIALISTIC ECONOMY. LOPEZ PORTILLO MIGHT WANT TO RENEGOTIATE WITH THE IMF OR COULD POSSIBLY TRY TO COPE WITH MEXICO'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITHOUT IMF ASSISTANCE. HIS UNDERSTANDING WITH USG OFFICIALS MAY REQUIRE RECONSIDERATION.

4. THE BULK OF THE INFORME WAS DEVOTED TO A RATIONALIZATION OF HIS ECONOMIC POLICIES TO SET-UP HIS AUDIENCE FOR THE BOMBSHELLS WHICH WERE TO COME. IN DOING THIS, THE PRESIDENT DID NOT HESITATE TO BLAME EXTERNAL FACTORS SUCH AS HIGHER INTEREST RATES (FROM 6 PERCENT IN 1978 TO AS MUCH AS 20 PERCENT IN 1981) AND A SHARP DETERIORATION IN PRICES FOR MANY BASIC AND "CLASSIC" EXPORTS SUCH AS OIL, COFFEE, SILVER, COPPER, AND COTTON. AT THE SAME TIME, LOPEZ PORTILLO DEFENDED HIS OWN POLICIES ("WE HAVE NOT SINNED"), SUCH AS PUBLIC SECTOR SPENDING, INVESTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT-OWNED COMPANIES TO

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SPUR DEVELOPMENT, AND THE GENERAL WAGE INCREASE GRANTED IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR.

5. WHILE ADMITTING TO SOME DEFICIENCIES IN INTERNAL POLICIES, LOPEZ PORTILLO PLACED THE

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BLAME FOR THE CURRENT MESS ON DISORDER IN THE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12109 02 OF 07 030501Z
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12109 02 OF 07 030501Z

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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 07 MEXICO 12109

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND, IN ESSENCE, ON CAPITAL FLIGHT BY MEXICAN FIRMS AND INDIVIDUALS, AND ESPECIALLY THE PRIVATE BANKS. THE LATTER WAS AN ABUSE THAT COULD ONLY BE CORRECTED BY THE STATE TAKING OVER THE CONTROL OF THE NATION'S CREDIT APPARATUS AND BY MONOPOLIZING, IN THE STATE'S HANDS, FOREIGN EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS. HE IMPLIED THAT THE STATE CAN DO A BETTER JOB OF ALLOCATING CREDIT AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE THAN THE MARKET PLACE. ALSO IMPLICIT IS THAT THE STATE'S ACTION WILL RESULT IN GREATER RESOURCES

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FOR INVESTMENT THAN WOULD OTHERWISE BE THE CASE. JLP SAID SPECULATION AND THE LIVING OFF CAPITAL (RENTISMO) ENRICH A FEW AND PRODUCE NOTHING.

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6. OTHER THAN THE NATIONALIZATION AND EXCHANGE CONTROLS, LOPEZ PORTILLO HAD LITTLE TO OFFER IN THE WAY OF COMPLEMENTARY ECONOMIC POLICIES. HE REFERRED VAGUELY TO THE FOUR-POINT PACKAGE NEGOTIATED IN WASHINGTON OVER THE AUGUST 14-15 WEEKEND. IN THIS CONTEXT HE SAID MEXICANS HAD "INITIATED TALKS WITH THE IMF" BUT GAVE NO CURRENT STATUS REPORT. THIS APPEARS TO BE A VERY WEAK PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO CONCLUDING AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF. HE DID NOT MENTION THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD OR TREASURY BY NAME. HE REFERRED TO THE APRIL 1982 ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM AS "WORKING", WHICH IT CLEARLY IS NOT. HE DID NOT MENTION WAGE POLICY, BUT ANNOUNCED THAT BANK EMPLOYEES WILL BE PERMITTEDTOUNIONIZE. THE FEW SPECIFICS INCLUDED A CALL TO THE MEXICAN CONGRESS TO WORK WITH THE U.S. CONGRESS TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM WHEREBY MEXICAN CAPITAL FLIGHT CAN BE STOPPED, MORE OR LESS AS A QUID PRO QUO FOR GOM EFFORTS TO SLOW EXPORTS OF DRUGS AND ILLEGAL WORKERS. IN THIS REGARD, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD LISTS PRESUMABLY OF MEXICANS WHO INVESTED ABROAD. SOME FEAR THE GOM MIGHT UNDERTAKE A WITCH-HUNT.

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7. THE PLANS TO NATIONALIZE MEXICAN PRIVATE

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BANKS AND INSTITUTE GENERALIZED EXCHANGE CONTROLS
REPRESENT A DRAMATIC TURN IN GOM POLICY FOR
WHICH THERE IS NO EASY EXPLANATION. THROUGHOUT
THE LOPEZ PORTILLO ADMINISTRATION THE "ORTHODOX"
AND "EXPANSIONIST" ECONOMIC ADIVSORS HAVE FOUGHT

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12109 03 OF 07 030503Z UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12109 03 OF 07 030503Z

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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 07 MEXICO 12109

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

EACH OTHER TO GAIN THE PRESIDENT'S EAR. THE APRIL 20 ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM WAS INTERPRETED AS A VICTORY FOR THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL CENTERED IN THE BANK OF MEXICO AND THE TREASURY. THE SEPTEMBER 1 ANNOUNCEMENT IS CLEARLY A VICTORY FOR THE EXPANSIONIST IDEAS OF WHICH CARLOS TELLO, NOW DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, IS ONE OF THE STRONGEST PROPONENTS.

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8. THE PRESIDENT'S DECLARATIONS UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECT HIS OWN PERSONAL CONCERNS. RATHER THAN

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GO INTO MEXICAN HISTORY AS THE PRESIDENT WHO RUINED THE NATION'S ECONOMY, HE MAY VIEW HIS ACTION AS AKIN TO THAT OF LAZARO CARDENAS' NATIONALIZATION OF THE FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES IN 1938, HOWEVER DIFFERENT THE CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS AROUSED A GREAT PATRIOTIC FERVOR AND JLP IS HOPING FOR A SIMILAR RESPONSE, HOWEVER DIFFERENT THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

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9. U.S.-MEXICO RELATIONS.

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- JLP SAID MAINTENANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IS "A CORNERSTONE" OF MEXICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. (COMMENT. IF WE RECALL CORRECTLY, HE USED TO CHARACTERIZE IT AS "THE" CORNERSTONE.) TO THE DEGREE THAT THERE HAS BEEN MUTUAL RESPECT, RELATIONS HAD BEEN POSITIVE OVER THE SEXENNIUM; HE CITED AS INSTANCES OF THIS COOPERATION AGAINST DRUG TRAFFICKING AND CONTRABAND.

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- JLP THEN TURNED HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE U.S., ACCUSING US OF WANTING MEXICO TO EXPORT MORE GAS AND PETROLEUM AND FEWER MANUFACTURED GOODS. HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH MEXICO IS ONE OF THE MOST DEVELOPED OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THE U.S. WANTS TO TREAT IT AS AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY.

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- CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP--TUNA, COUNTERVAILING DUTIES, CUSTOMS BARRIERS,

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GATT ACCESSION--HAD BEEN NEGOTIATED, BUT WITHOUT EITHER "GREAT ADVANCES OR SAD DEFEATS."
- THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD UNDERGONE A TRANSFORMATION OF "RADICAL IMPORTANCE," IN THAT THE U.S. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY "SOUGHT" TO DISCUSS

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12109 04 OF 07 030504Z
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12109 04 OF 07 030504Z

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[redacted] SECTION 04 OF 07 MEXICO 12109

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

WITH MEXICO, SUCH NON-BILATERAL MATTERS AS UN SECURITY COUNCIL ISSUES, CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN PROBLEMS, THE FALKLAND CRISIS, AND THE GLOBAL NEGOITATIONS.

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- ON ILLEGAL MIGRANTS, JLP SAID MEXICO WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO RESTRICT THE CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY OF MEXICANS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY AND WILL NEVER AGREE TO PATROL ITS BORDERS.

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10. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

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- JLP, AS IN PAST INFORMES, LAMENTED THE END OF DETENTE, AND PROCLAIMED THAT THE CURRENT PERIOD IS THE MOST DANGEROUS FOR PEACE SINCE THE END OF THE WORLD WAR. HE EXPRESSED HIS "GREAT PRIDE" AT HAVING CHANGED MEXICO'S FOREIGN POLICY ROLE FROM THAT OF A SPECTATOR TO THAT OF AN ACTOR, REFERRING TO HIS TWO MAJOR INITIATIVES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER--THE WORLD ENERGY PLAN AND THE CANCUN SUMMIT.

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- OAS. MEXICO SUPPORTS THE OAS, HE SAID, BECAUSE IT OFFERS LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES A FORUM FOR NEGOTIATING MULTILATERALLY, RATHER THAN BILATERALLY, WITH THE U.S.

- CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA. JLP SAID MEXICO HAS TRIED TO RECONCILE WHAT SEEMS IRRECONCILABLE: ITS SUPPORT FOR THE "NOBLE STRUGGLES" IN THE HEMISPHERE AND ITS MAINTENANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. HE NOTED THAT MEXICAN AID TO THE REGION FROM 1980-82 EQUALLED THE AMOUNT PROPOSED BY THE U.S. FOR THE CBI, AND GIVEN THE DIFFERENCE IN SIZE OF THE ECONOMIES, MEXICO'S DEEDS ARE WHAT GIVES IT "MORAL AUTHORITY" IN FACING THE GREAT POWER.

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- NICARAGUA. HE EMPHASIZED HIS PRIDE AT GOM SUPPORT FOR NICARAGUA AND ASKED THAT NICARAGUA

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BE LEFT TO SETTLE ITS OWN PROBLEMS WITHOUT
THREAT OF ARMED INTERVENTION OR ECONOMIC
PRESSURES. HE POINTEDLY PARAPHRASED ABRAHAM
LINCOLN THAT "NO COUNTRY IS SO GOOD THAT IT
CAN INTERVENE IN ANOTHER WITHOUT CONSENT."
THIS SEGMENT OF HIS SPEECH BROUGHT TWO

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12109 05 OF 07 030506Z
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12109 05 OF 07 030506Z

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[redacted] SECTION 05 OF 07 MEXICO 12109

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

ROUNDS OF APPLAUSE AND THE LARGE CLAQUE OF INVITED SANDINISTAS ROSE AND TOOK A BOW FOR THE TV CAMERAS.

- CUBA. JLP SAID THAT SINCE 1980 HE HAS ATTEMPTED TO END THE "ABSURD SILENCE" BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CUBA. THE "THREATS, OSTRACISM AND UNACCEPTANCE OF 23 YEARS OF REALITY," HE SAID, DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE "BEAUTIFUL TRADITION OF LIBERTY AND TOLERANCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 MEXICO 12109 05 OF 07 030506Z

11. SPECIAL INTERPARLIAMENTARY MEETING.

LATE IN HIS ADDRESS, JLP SAID THAT THE GOM HAS SOME DATA AND LISTS ON MEXICAN INVESTMENTS IN REAL ESTATE AND DEPOSITS IN U.S. FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH HE WAS MAKING AVAILABLE TO THE MEXICAN CONGRESS. HE SUGGESTED TO THEM THE ADVISABILITY OF MEETING WITH U.S. CONGRESSMEN ON THESE INVESTMENTS IN THE U.S. AND NOTED THAT THE PROB LEM "IS MUCH MORE GRAVE FOR US THAN DRUG TRAFFICKING IS FOR THEM." RHETORICALLY HE ASKED, "WHY WOULD WE NOT EXPORT WORKERS, IF THE CAPITAL THAT COULD GIVEN THEM EMPLOYMENT HERE, IS THERE?" WE SEE THIS AS AN IMPLIED THREAT TO DO NOTHING TO COOPERATE WITH US ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION (AND PERHAPS NARCOTICS CONTROL) UNLESS THE U.S. IS WILLING TO DEVISE MEASURES TO INDUCE THE RETURN OF MEXICAN CAPITAL TO THE U.S. AND/OR PROHIBIT FUTURE MEXICAN PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THE U.S. OBVIOUSLY THIS IS UNREALISTIC. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE USG MAKE NO ATTEMPT TO ADDRESS THE REQUEST, BUT WAIT FOR THE MEXICAN CONGRESS TO APPROACH OUR LEGISLATORS, IF THEY DECIDE TO DO SO.

12. LABOR

THE PRESIDENT SAID FAR LESS ON LABOR MATTERS THAN WAS EXPECTED. FROM A LABOR STANDPOINT, HIS MOST SIGNIFICANT MOVE WAS TO CLEAR THE WAY FOR UNIONIZATION OF BANK EMPLOYEES--LONG A GOAL OF ORGANIZED LABOR. THIS WILL NOT PUT ANY MONEY IN THE POCKETS OF THE LABOR FORCE, BUT IT

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HAS GREAT APPEAL TO THE LEFT AND LABOR LEADERSHIP, AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE GENERALLY ENTHUSIASTIC REVIEWS HE RECEIVED IN THE SEPTEMBER 2 PRESS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRESIDENT FOR UNDETERMINED REASONS DID NOT ANNOUNCE WAGE INCREASES FOR THE MILITARY

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OR THE PUBLIC SECTOR AS HAS BEEN THE CUSTOM, AND DID NOT ANNOUNCE ANY NEW WAGE POLICY.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12109 06 OF 07 030508Z
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12109 06 OF 07 030508Z

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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

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[redacted] SECTION 06 OF 07 MEXICO 12109

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

LOPEZ PORTILLO DID REFER FREQUENTLY TO THE CREATION OF JOBS AS A MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. HE CLAIMED TO HAVE CREATED 4.258 MILLION NEW JOBS AND TO HAVE REDUCED UNEMPLOYMENT FROM 8.1 PERCENT AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS ADMINISTRATION TO 4.5 PERCENT (LITTLE DIFFERENCE FROM LAST YEAR'S CLEARLY ARTIFICIAL FIGURE, THE SOURCE AND METHODOLOGY OF WHICH WE HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE).

13. AGRICULTURE

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LOPEZ PORTILLO WAS WRONG IN CLAIMING SUCCESS FOR HIS AGRICULTURE PROGRAM.

HE TOOK CREDIT FOR HAVING ACHIEVED SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN CORN, BEANS, WHEAT AND RICE IN CY 1981. OUR DATA SHOW THAT THIS IS PATENTLY UNTRUE. IN CY 1982, SELF-SUFFICIENCY WAS ACHIEVED FOR BEANS, WHEAT AND RICE - BUT NOT CORN. IN FACT, MEXICO IMPORTED ABOUT 600,000 METRIC TONS OF CORN FROM THE US IN CY 1982 AND STILL HAD TO DRAW DOWN ITS STOCKS TO MEET DEMAND. WE BELIEVE HE OVERSTATED THE CORN, BEAN AND RICE CROPS BY 18, 13 AND 40 PERCENT, RESPECTIVELY.

THE HIGH GUARANTEED PRICES PAID TO FARMERS, AND SUBSIDIZED PRICES FOR FARM INPUTS, HELPED MARKEDLY TO BOOST CROP PRODUCTION IN 1982. BUT NEAR-PERFECT GROWING CONDITIONS - AN UNUSUAL OCCURRENCE IN DROUGHT-PRONE MEXICO - WERE THE REAL DETERMINANTS OF THE GOOD HARVEST THIS YEAR. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE GOM WILL BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO SUBSIDIZE FARM PRODUCTION AT THE SAME HIGH LEVELS FOR AT LEAST TWO OR THREE YEARS.

THE LATEST GUARANTEED PRICES PAID TO FARMERS ARE MORE THAN 20 PERCENT BELOW THE LEVEL THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO COMPENSATE FOR INFLATION. WE HAVE TO CONCLUDE THAT THE LIKELIHOOD OF A DROUGHT IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND SEVERE BUDGETARY RESTRICTIONS WILL VISIBLY CUT BACK PROGRESS TOWARD SELF-SUFFICIENCY. CONSEQUENTLY, MEXICO WILL CONTINUE TO BE HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON U.S. FARM CROPS AND LIVESTOCK TO FEED ITS PEOPLE.

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14. PRESS COVERAGE

AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, ALL MEXICAN DAILIES--INCLUDING CONSERVATIVE EL HERALDO AND NOVEDADES--CARRIED EDITORIALS PRAISING THE ACTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT. LESS EXPECTED WAS THE PROMINENT NEWS COVERAGE GIVEN DISSENTING REMARKS BY [redacted]

CARLOS ABEDROP DAVILA, PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN BANKERS' ASSOCIATION, MANUEL CLOUTHIER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BUSINESS-

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12109 07 OF 07 030510Z
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12109 07 OF 07 030510Z

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[redacted] SECTION 07 OF 07 MEXICO 12109

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

MENS' COORDINATING COUNCIL, AND LEADERS OF THE PAN AND PDM. A NUMBER OF CRITICAL RESPONSES BY COLUMNISTS ALSO APPEARED, MOST NOTAB LY A DETAILED DISSENT BY WIDELY-READ BUSINESS WRITER JOSE PEREZ STUART IN EXCELSIOR.

15. PROJECTION

THE GOM'S SHIFT IN ECONOMIC POLICY AND CHANGE OF AT LEAST ONE KEY ADVISOR (TELLO FOR MANCERA), WITH OTHER CHANGES LIKELY, MAY WELL LEAD TO A REVISION OF OTHER ASPECTS OF MEXICO'S ECONOMIC STRATEGY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE GOM MAY WANT

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TO RE-EXAMINE WHATEVER AGREEMENT IT WAS CLOSE TO REACHING WITH THE IMF. THE SWAPS WITH THE BIS AND THE USG MAY BE IN JEOPARDY.

16. LOPEZ PORTILLO'S NEW POLICIES ARE UNLIKELY TO HELP THE ECONOMY. SPECULATION AND DISINVESTMENT WILL INCREASE. EMPLOYMENT WILL DECLINE; MIGRATION OF SKILLED WORKERS (AS WELL AS THE UNSKILLED) WILL RISE. THE RISK OF GOM OFFICIALS MOVING EVEN FURTHER TO A CLOSED, "SEIGE" ECONOMY WILL ALSO INCREASE. CORRUPTION WILL WORSEN. DEFAULT ON THE EXTERNAL DEBT COULD BE ONE RESULT.

17. THE UNHAPPY IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S DECISIONS FOR DE LA MADRID'S ADMINISTRATION ARE COVERED IN REFTEL. WE ARE TOLD THAT MMH LEARNED OF THE DECISIONS ONLY A FEW HOURS BEFORE IT WAS ANNOUNCED, AND THAT HE DID NOT SUPPORT THEM. THE PRESIDENT'S MOVE RUNS DIRECTLY COUNTER TO MMH'S EXPRESSED INTEREST IN DIVESTING THE GOM OF SOME PARASTATAL INSTITUTIONS AND MAKING HIS GOVERNMENT MORE EFFICIENT. MOREOVER, MMH IN HIS EARLIER YEARS AS A CABINET MEMBER ALWAYS TENDED TO SIDE WITH THE MORE CONSERVATIVE GROUP AND LOOK WITH SKEPTICISM AT THE POPULIST PROPOSALS OF THOSE WHO PUT "SOCIAL JUSTICE" AS THE COUNTRY'S NUMBER 1 PRIORITY. HE ATTENDED THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS AND APPLAUDED POLITELY, THOUGH WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM. SUBSEQUENT TO THE SPEECH, MMH AVOIDED DIRECT ASSOCIATION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S DECISIONS, BUT EXPRESSED HIS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR ANY MEASURES THAT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO LEAD THE COUNTRY OUT OF

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ECONOMIC "CHAOS." WHATEVER HIS PRIVATE VIEWS MAY HAVE BEEN, MMH WILL NOT FIND IT EASY TO REVISE JLP'S LAST MINUTE MOVES, NOR TO RESTORE THE SHATTERED CONFIDENCE IN MEXICO OF THE FINANCIAL WORLD. (DRAFTED BY:POL: WILKINSON, POL:THURMAN, ECON:PASCOE, AGR:MONTEL, USIS:ZUCKERMAN) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 01 OF 09 030204Z
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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 01 OF 09 030204Z

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: TEXT OF DECREE ESTABLISHING EXCHANGE CONTROLS

REF: (A) MEXICO 12041, (B) MEXICO 2047

1. EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE DECREE OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1982 ESTABLISHING FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS IS AS FOLLOWS:

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BEGIN QUOTE

CONSIDERING:

THAT THE CONGRESS HAS ESTABLISHED BY LAW THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 MEXICO 12105 01 OF 09 030204Z

BANK OF MEXICO, AS THE CENTRAL AXIS OF THE MEXICAN BANKING SYSTEM IN ADDITION TO THE EMISSION AND CIRCULATION OF CURRENCY, IS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR REGULATING FOREIGN EXCHANGE;

-

THAT THE CONGRESS HAS ESTABLISHED IN THE MONETARY LAW, THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS NOT LEGAL TENDER WITHIN MEXICO AND THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE OBLIGATIONS, CONTRACTED WITHIN OR OUTSIDE THE REPUBLIC, IN ORDER TO BE SETTLED WITHIN THE REPUBLIC, WILL BE SETTLED BY PAYING AN EQUIVALENT AMOUNT OF MEXICAN CURRENCY, AT THE EXCHANGE RATE IN EFFECT AT THE TIME AND PLACE OF PAYMENT, THIS BEING A LEGAL CONDITION FOR WHICH THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE, IN ITS ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY, SHOULD ASSURE STRICT OBSERVANCE;

-

THAT THE IMPORTATION AND THE EXPORTATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE, LIKE THAT OF ANY OTHER GOOD, REQUIRES REGULATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEEDS OF THE NATION, THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL PLANNING SYSTEM AND THE PRIORITIES REQUIRED BY OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, CREATING AND PERFECTING THE INSTRUMENTS REQUIRED IN ORDER TO FACE THE NEW CHALLENGES OF THE WORLD TODAY;

-

THAT OUR COUNTRY CURRENTLY FACES SERIOUS FINANCIAL PROBLEMS, STEMMING, AMONG OTHER CAUSES, FROM THE WORLD ECONOMIC RECESSION, WHICH HAS SEVERELY CONTRACTED THE MARKET FOR OUR EXPORTS, AND HAS ALSO MADE EXTERNAL FINANCING SCARCE AND LESS AVAILABLE;

THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC HAS HAD TO ESTABLISH A SERIES OF AUSTERITY MEASURES AND ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT POLICIES, WHOSE OBJECTIVES HAVE NOT BEEN FULLY REACHED, PRIMARILY BECAUSE
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OF EXCESSIVE CAPITAL FLIGHT, WITH A RESULTANT

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 02 OF 09 030206Z
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 02 OF 09 030206Z

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

HEAVY DEMAND (FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE) FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN FOR IMPORTS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN AND INCREASE EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY, OR FOR PAYMENT OR SERVICE OF PUBLIC OR PRIVATE DEBT, CAUSING INJURY TO THE POPULACE AND THE ECONOMY, AS EVERYONE KNOWS;
-
THAT THE NATION HAS BEEN NEGATIVELY AFFECTED BY THE REDUCTION, BEYOND ANY REASONABLE MEASURE, IN THE VALUE OF OUR CURRENCY IN THE EXCHANGE MARKETS, PUTTING AT RISK THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE NATION AND THE BUYING POWER OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULACE;
-
THAT IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE THE SUCCESSFUL FUNCTIONING
UNCLASSIFIED

OF THE SYSTEM, AVOIDING EXCESSIVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE FLUCTUATIONS, SPECULATIVE TRANSACTIONS WHOSE PURPOSE IS TO TRANSFER FUNDS ABROAD FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS AND SERVICES OR TO MAKE CREDIT PAYMENTS, SHOULD BE ELIMINATED;
-
THAT AT THE SAME TIME IN ORDER TO AVOID NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES, NORMS FOR THE RATIONAL USE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED, ESTABLISHING PREFERENCES FOR THE USE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE WHICH CONFORM TO NATIONAL PRIORITIES;
THAT IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE PRIORITIES, IT IS NECESSARY TO EXTEND THE SYSTEM OF NATIONAL PLANNING TO THE EXTERNAL SECTOR BY BUDGETING FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MACROECONOMIC AND SECTORIAL GOALS ESTABLISHED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PLANS AND PROGRAMS;
THAT TO ASSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THIS DECREE AND TO ACHIEVE COORDINATION AMONG THE VARIOUS AGENCIES CONCERNED, AN INTER SECRETARIAL COMMISSION IS NEEDED TO MONITOR COMPLIANCE AND TO PROVIDE NECESSARY SUPPORT SO THAT THE NECESSARY IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS CAN BE ISSUED WITH ALL DUE SPEED;
I HEREBY DECREE THE FOLLOWING:

- ARTICLE ONE: THE EXPORTATION AND IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE MAY BE DONE ONLY BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR BY ACCOUNT AND ORDER OF THAT BANK;

- ARTICLE TWO: ANY EXPORTATION OR IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE NOT CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO

ARTICLE ONE, WILL BE CONSIDERED CONTRABAND AND
THE INFRACTORS WILL BE ACCORDINGLY SANCTIONED;
-
- ARTICLE THREE: FOREIGN EXCHANGE WILL NOT BE
LEGAL TENDER IN MEXICO. FOREIGN CURRENCY OBLIGA-
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PAGE 04 MEXICO 12105 02 OF 09 030206Z

TIONS, CONTRACTED INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE REPUBLIC,

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 03 OF 09 030207Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
	EXIM-06	NEA-07	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08
	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09	OPIC-07	PA-02	CEA-01
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	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/181 W		

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3037
INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY RABAT
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UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 03 OF 09 030207Z

AMEMBASSY SANAA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

TO BE PAID WITHIN THE REPUBLIC, WILL BE PAID WITH NATIONAL CURRENCY AT THE RATE OF EXCHANGE IN EFFECT AT THE TIME AND PLACE THE PAYMENT IS MADE, IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE ORDERS OF THE BANK OF MEXICO.

-

- ARTICLE FOUR: THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND THE BANK OF MEXICO, WILL MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE NATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM DOES NOT ATTRACT SAVINGS OR INVESTMENT DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCEPT IN THOSE CASES REFERRED TO IN ARTIC
LE TWELVE OF THIS DECREE, NOR GRANT FOREIGN EXCHANGE CREDITS.

-

- ARTICLE FIVE: FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL BE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

EXCHANGED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR BY THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IT DESIGNATES, FOR LEGAL TENDER AT THE RATE INDICATED BY THAT BANK.

THE BANK OF MEXICO, DIRECTLY OR THROUGH THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM OR THROUGH THE ENTITIES REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE, WILL BUY AND SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE DAILY RATE, FIXED IN ACCORDANCE WITH PERTINENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

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ALL FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNED ABROAD BY INDIVIDUALS OR LEGALLY ESTABLISHED COMPANIES OF MEXICAN OR FOREIGN NATIONALITY WHO ARE RESIDENT IN MEXICO, IRREGARDLESS OF THE MEANS BY WHICH SUCH FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS EARNED, MUST DEPOSIT FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS IN THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR IN THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS DESIGNATED BY THAT BANK, AT THE EXCHANGE RATE DESIGNATED BY THAT BANK.

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- ARTICLE SIX: THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES SO THAT CREDIT CARDS ISSUED IN MEXICO, BE VALID ONLY FOR PESO DENOMINATED TRANSACTIONS AND BE VALID ONLY WITHIN THE NATIONAL TERRITORY.

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- ARTICLE SEVEN: THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL DETERMINE, ACCORDING TO THE PRIORITIES SET FORTH IN THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE, WHICH CASES WILL RECEIVE THE PREFERENTIAL RATE AND WHICH CASES WILL RECEIVE THE GENERAL RATE, AS WELL AS DETERMINING ANY SPECIAL RATES THAT MAY

BE REQUIRED TO MEET EITHER TRANSITORY OR PERMANENT SITUATIONS.

-

IN ALL CASES, THE BANK OF MEXICO OR THE BANKING INSTITUTIONS AUTHORIZED TO ACT ON ITS BEHALF WILL REQUIRE THAT THE FEDERAL TAX IDENTITY CARD BE UNCLASSIFIED

PRESENTED BY THE APPLICANT IN EACH FOREIGN EXCHANGE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 04 OF 09 030209Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
	EXIM-06	NEA-07	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3038
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 04 OF 09 030209Z

AMEMBASSY SANAA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

OPERATION AND WILL KEEP A RECORD OF EACH OPERATION IN A SPECIAL REGISTER.

- ARTICLE EIGHT: THE BANK OF MEXICO EITHER ON ITS OWN ACCOUNT, OR THROUGH THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM, MAY SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE ONLY AFTER THE DEMAND FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE HAS BEEN SATISFIED ACCORDING TO THE PRIORITIES REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE.

- THE SALE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL, SPECIAL AND GENERAL EXCHANGE RATES SET BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REGULATIONS ISSUED BY THAT INSTITUTION AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING FOREIGN OBLIGATIONS, IN THE ORDER INDICATED BELOW:

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- I. OBLIGATIONS OF THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT;

- II. OBLIGATIONS OF THE PARASTATAL ENTITIES, IN THE ORDER OF PRIORITY DESIGNATED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE;

- III. THE QUOTAS OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF PERSONNEL OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN SERVICE;

- IV. OBLIGATIONS OF BANKING AND AUXILIARY CREDIT INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING INSURANCE COMPANIES AND FINANCE COMPANIES;

- V. OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM AUTHORIZED IMPORTATIONS OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS FOR POPULAR CONSUMPTION, OR FOR INTERMEDIATE GOODS OR CAPITAL GOODS TO MEET BASIC NEEDS;

- VI. OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM THE IMPORTATION OF INTERMEDIATE AND CAPITAL GOODS, REQUIRED FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF EXISTING INDUSTRY, IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE OBJECTIVES, PRIORITIES, AND GOALS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS (IN THE FOLLOWING SECTORS:) INDUSTRIAL, COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT, TOURISM, AS WELL AS THE ENERGY PROGRAM.

- VII. OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM THE IMPORTATION

OF INTERMEDIATE AND CAPITAL GOODS REQUIRED FOR THE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF THE COUNTRY IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE OBJECTIVES, PRIORITIES AND GOALS REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING SECTION;

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VII. OBLIGATIONS OF PRIVATE FIRMS CONTRACTED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 05 OF 09 030211Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
	EXIM-06	NEA-07	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3039
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AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 05 OF 09 030211Z

AMEMBASSY SANAA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

WITH FOREIGN BANKING INSTITUTIONS PRIOR TO THE DATE ON WHICH THIS DECREE ENTERS INTO FORCE;

- IX. OBLIGATIONS CONSIDERED NECESSARY IN BORDER AREAS AND DUTY FREE ZONES;

- X. ROYALTY PAYMENTS AND FOREIGN OBLIGATIONS OF NATIONAL FIRMS WITH FOREIGN PARTICIPATION OR FOREIGN FIRMS OPERATING IN MEXICO, UP TO THE AMOUNTS DETERMINED BY THE NATIONAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT COMMISSION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEREGULATIONSTHAT IT ISSUES IN THIS REGARD;
- XI. TRAVEL EXPENSES OF INDIVIDUALS REQUIRED TO TRAVEL ABROAD FOR REASONS OF BUSINESS, EMPLOYMENT, OR HEALTH;
UNCLASSIFIED

- XII. TRAVEL EXPENSES OF PERSONS WHO WISH TO TRAVEL ABROAD FOR PURPOSES OF TOURISM OR RECREATION.

ARTICLE NINE: INDIVIDUALS OR COMPANIES IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE PREFERENTIAL OR SPECIAL RATE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF THE PRECEDING SECTION, MUST COMPLY WITH THE REGULATIONS ISSUED JOINTLY TO THAT EFFECT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE TREASURY AND THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- THE PAYMENTS WILL BE MADE THROUGH THE BANK OF MEXICO, WHICH WILL MAKE THE FOREIGN PAYMENT DIRECTLY, OR IN THE FORM STIPULATED BY THE BANK.

- ARTICLE TEN: THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE BANKING SYSTEM AND AUXILIARY INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS INSURANCE AND FINANCE COMPANIES WITH CONCESSIONS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SHALL ABSTAIN FROM BUYING AND SELLING FOREIGN CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE, AND SHALL TRANSFER FOREIGN EXCHANGE CURRENTLY IN THEIR POSSESSION AS WELL AS WHATEVER FOREIGN EXCHANGE MAY COME INTO THEIR POSSESSION IN THE FUTURE, NO MATTER WHAT ITS SOURCE OR ORIGIN, TO THE BANK OF MEXICO WHICH, IN ALL CASES AND ON REQUEST, WILL MAKE THE CORRESPONDING PAYMENTS ABROAD, IN THE CORRESPONDING PRIORITY ORDER SO THAT THE NATION MAY MEET ITS FOREIGN OBLIGATIONS.

- THE DEPOSITS REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE MUST BE MADE ON THE SAME DAY THAT THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS

RECEIVED.

- ARTICLE ELEVEN: PERSONS AND COMPANIES ENGAGED IN TOURISM SERVICES, COMPANIES SUBJECT TO THE LAW OF GENERAL ROUTES OF COMMUNICATIONS, DULY AUTHORIZED EXCHANGE HOUSES, COMPANIES WHICH IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF THEIR UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTIVITIES REALIZE ACTIVITIES ABROAD, AS WELL AS COMPANIES

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 06 OF 09 030213Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
	EXIM-06	NEA-07	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08
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UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 06 OF 09 030213Z

AMEMBASSY SANAA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

WHICH LEGALLY OPERATE IN BORDER AREAS OR DUTY FREE ZONES, MAY RECEIVE FOREIGN CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE AT THE GENERAL RATE FIXED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, AND MUST IMMEDIATELY DEPOSIT IT IN THE BANK OF MEXICOOR IN THE AUTHORIZED BRANCHES OR AGENCIES OF THE NATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REGULATIONS ISSUED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- IN NO CASE, MAY INDIVIDUALS OR COMPANIES SELL FOREIGN CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE.

- ARTICLE TWELVE: THE BRANCHES, AGENCIES OR OFFICES OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR IN ITS ABSENCE, THE BANKS WHICH OPERATE IN BORDER AREAS, MAY OPEN SPECIAL ACCOUNTS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY FOR THE IN-BOND BORDER UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12105 06 OF 09 030213Z

INDUSTRIES (MAQUILADORAS), WHICH ARE REGISTERED WITH THE SECRETARIAT OF PATRIMONY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, SO THAT ALL THEIR INCOME, ON A QUARTERLY BASIS, MAY BE DEPOSITED IN THOSE ACCOUNTS, AGAINST WHICH PAYMENTS FOR SALARIES, EXPENSES AND VOSTS, MAY BE MADE IN NATIONAL CURRENCY AT THE GENERAL EXCHANGE RATE, AND AGAINST WHICH PAYMENT IN FOREIGN CURRENCY MAY BE MADE FOR THE REMISSION OF THE INVESTORS' PROFIT.

- THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONVERTED INTO NATIONAL CURRENCY TO MAKETHEPAYMENTS REFERRED TO, MUST BE IMMEDIATELY DEPOSITED BY THE BANKING INSTITUTION CONCERNED IN THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- IN-BOND INDUSTRIES LOCATED OUTSIDE THE BORDER AREA ARE ALSO SUBJECT TO THE ARRANGEMENTS DELINEATED IN THIS ARTICLE.

- THE NATIONAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT COMMISSION WILL ISSUE THE REGULATIONS IMPLEMENTING THIS ARTICLE.

- DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENTS ACCREDITED IN MEXICO, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, MAY HOLD SPECIAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE ACCOUNTS IN THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- ARTICLE THIRTEEN: RESIDENTS OF THE BORDER AREAS AND FREE ZONES, WHO CAN VOUCH FOR THEIR NEED, WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO ACQUIRE A MONTHLY

QUOTA OF FOREIGN CURRENCY PER PERSON, UPON PRESENTATION OF THEIR FEDERAL TAX IDENTITY CARD, PROOF OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE APPLICANT AND REGISTRATION IN THE CORRESPONDING REGISTER OF THE RESPECTIVE CREDIT INSTITUTION, WHICH WILL ACT ON BEHALF OF THE BANCO DE MEXICO.

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THE MINIMUM (SIC?) MONTHLY QUOTA WILL BE EQUIVALENT TO THE THIRD PART OF THE GENERAL MINIMUM WAGE OF

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 07 OF 09 030214Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-12	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15
	EXIM-06	NEA-07	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08
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	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/181 W		

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UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 07 OF 09 030214Z

AMEMBASSY SANAA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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AMEMBASSY BELIZE
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UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

THE ZONE, AND WILL BE SOLD AT THE EXCHANGE RATE FIXED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- ARTICLE FOURTEEN: THE PERSONS WITH RESIDENCE IN MEXICO, WHO FOR ANY REASON WISH OR NEED TO TRAVEL ABROAD, CAN BUY A MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF FOREIGN CURRENCY PER PERSON IN ONE YEAR THAT WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE GENERAL REGULATIONS OF THE BANCO DE MEXICO. IN ALL CASES THE SALE OF FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL BE AT THE GENERAL EXCHANGE RATE.

RESIDENTS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES WHO WISH TO ENTER THE COUNTRY, WILL DECLARE TO CUSTOMS THE FOREIGN CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE THAT THEY BRING WITH THEM AND WILL ACQUIRE IN EXCHANGE LEGAL TENDER IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL TERRITORY, AND WILL BE ISSUED A CORRESPONDING CERTIFICATE WHICH, WHEN LEAVING THE COUNTRY, HAS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES, SO THAT FOREIGN CURRENCY CAN BE GIVEN TO THEM IN EXCHANGE FOR THE NATIONAL CURRENCY NOT SPENT. IN ANY CASE THE RECEPTION AND RETURN OF FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL BE MADE AT THE GENERAL EXCHANGE RATE IN EFFECT AT THE TIME OF THE TRANSACTION.

THE BANK OF MEXICO MAY STIPULATE OTHER MEANS TO OBTAIN FROM OR SELL FOREIGN CURRENCY TO FOREIGNERS IN ORDER TO COMPLY WITH THE DIRECTIONS OF THIS DECREE.

- ARTICLE FIFTEEN: IN ORDER TO COORDINATE RELEVANT ACTION AND TO ASSURE STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THIS DECREE, TO COORDINATE THE IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS, AND TO FACILITATE THE DRAWING UP OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGETS, AN INTERSECRETARIAL COMMISSION WILL BE CREATED, MADE UP OF THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE, WHICH WILL PRESIDE, AS WELL AS THE SECRETARIATS OF PLANNING AND BUDGET, FOREIGN RELATIONS, PATRIMONY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE AND WATER RESOURCES, COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION, AND TOURISM.

THE DIRECTOR OF THE BANK OF MEXICO AND THE PRESIDENT

OF THE NATIONAL BANKING AND INSURANCE COMMISSION WILL BE INVITED TO JOIN THIS COMMISSION.

- ARTICLE SIXTEEN: THE COORDINATING AGENCIES OF THE VARIOUS SECTORS WILL INSTRUCT THE EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES GROUPED WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE SECTORS TO ADOPT THE MEASURES NECESSARY

FOR STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THIS DECREE AND WITHIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 08 OF 09 030216Z
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 08 OF 09 030216Z

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UNCLAS SECTION 08 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

THEIR AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY WILL MONITOR ITS STRICT OBSERVANCE.

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- ARTICLE SEVENTEEN: ANY INDIVIDUAL OR COMPANY THAT RECEIVES FOREIGN EXCHANGE BY THE ACCOUNT OR ORDER OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, AND FAILS TO DELIVER IT ON THE SAME DAY OR ON THE FOLLOWING BUSINESS DAY, WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR COVERING MORATORY INTERESTS, AS WELL AS THE DAMAGES AND INJURIES THAT HIS ACTION MAY HAVE CAUSED, AND HIS CORRESPONDING PERMISSION OR AUTHORIZATION MAY ALSO BE WITHDRAWN AND RELEVANT PENALTIES INVOKED.

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- ARTICLE EIGHTEEN: THE REGISTRATIONS AND UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12105 08 OF 09 030216Z

THE AUTHORIZATIONS REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE WILL BE REVOKED SHOULD THE BENEFICIARY ENGAGE IN FALSEHOODS OR OMISSIONS, MAKE UNAUTHORIZED USE OF THE AUTHORIZATIONS CONCERNED OR COMMIT ANY VIOLATION OF THIS DECREE.

THE FOREGOING APPLIES WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE IMPOSITION OF THE PENALTIES AND THE ASSESSMENT OF RESPONSIBILITIES THAT MAY ENSUE.

-

TRANSITORY ARTICLES:

ONE: THE PRESENT DECREE WILL ENTER INTO FORCE ON THE DATE OF ITS PUBLICATION IN THE DIARIO OFICIAL (SEPTEMBER 1, 1982).

TWO: THE DECREES OF AUGUST 18, 1982 RELATING TO FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THE REGULATIONS GOVERNING BANK ACCOUNTS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY PUBLISHED AUGUST 13, 1982 AND ANY OTHER MEASURES IN CONFLICT WITH THE PRESENT DECREE ARE HEREBY ABROGATED.

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THREE: BANKING INSTITUTIONS WHICH MAY HAVE RECEIVED FOREIGN
CURRENCY DENOMINATED DEPOSITS, PAYING THEIR EQUIVALENT IN NATIONAL CURRENCY AT THE RATE SPECIFIED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, SHOULD NOT BE PAID BY MEANS OF TRANSACTIONS ABROAD OR THROUGH

BRANCHES OR AGENCIES ABROAD OR OTHER FOREIGN
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.
-
AT MATURITY ALL FOREIGN CURRENCY DENOMINATED BANK
DEPOSITS WILL BE ELIMINATED, SUCH DEPOSITS WILL
BE LIQUIDATED AT THE EXCHANGE RATE FIXED ON
THAT DATE BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

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ALL CREDITS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12105 09 OF 09 030217Z
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INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12105 09 OF 09 030217Z

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UNCLAS SECTION 09 OF 09 MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

ALSO BE ELIMINATED AT MATURITY, INTEREST PAYMENTS ACCRUING IN NATIONAL CURRENCY, AND LIQUIDATION BEING MADE AT THE RATE OF EXCHANGE FIXED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

FOUR: PAYMENTS OR BALANCES STEMMING FROM CREDIT CARD TRANSACTIONS MADE BEFORE THE ENTERING INTO FORCE OF THIS DECREE WILL BE SETTLED ACCORDING TO THE GENERAL REGULATIONS ISSUED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

FIVE: THE CABINET SECRETARIATS AND THE BANK OF MEXICO, IN THEIR DIFFERENT AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY, WILL ISSUE THE GENERAL REGULATIONS REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE WITHIN A PERIOD NOT TO EXCEED 10
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WORKING DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THE PUBLICATION OF THIS DECREE IN THE DIARIO OFICIAL.

DURING THIS PERIOD, THE BANKING INSTITUTIONS WILL ESTABLISH THE REGISTERS REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE, ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTIONS TO BE ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL BANKING AND INSURANCE COMMITTEE.

ISSUED IN MEXICO CITY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1982.

SIGNED BY THE 18 CABINET MEMBERS.

END TEXT. (DRAFTED BY: ECON:HBLANE) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12106 01 OF 02 030219Z
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INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1366
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12106

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11952

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 2, 1982.

2. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "NATIONALIZATION OF BANKING AND ABSOLUTE CONTROL OF EXCHANGE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THE GENERALLY NEGATIVE REACTION OF THE NATIONAL BANKING COMMUNITY TO PRESIDENT JLP'S SPEECH YESTERDAY IN WHICH HE NATIONALIZED PRIVATELY-OWNED BANKS IN MEXICO. THE HEAD OF THE

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12106 01 OF 02 030219Z

BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF MEXICO, CARLOS ABEDROP DAVILA, WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT: "THE NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS AND GENERAL CONTROL OF EXCHANGE WILL AGGRAVATE THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF THE COUNTRY AND NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOLVING OF A SINGLE ESSENTIAL PROBLEM." A FOREIGN BANK REPRESENTATIVE STATED THAT ALTHOUGH HIS ORGANIZATION REMAINED "CALM" AND CONTINUED TO "SUPPORT" THE COUNTRY, IT DID NOT "EXPECT" THIS MEASURE. A COMPANION ARTICLE, CITING BANKING SOURCES IN U.S., STATED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS WOULD HAVE LITTLE EFFECT ON FOREIGN BANKS. ANOTHER ARITCLE REPORTED: "SUPPORT FROM DE LA

MADRID AND ECHEVERRIA; PSUM REJOICES; PAN INDIGNANT; TOTAL REJECTION FROM BUSINESS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA MADRID'S STATEMENT THAT NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS AND IMPOSITION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS "ARE MEASURES THAT RESPOND TO THE CRITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES" WHILE EX-PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA COMPARED THESE ACTIONS TO THE 1938 NATIONALIZATION OF PETROLEUM. ALL OPPOSITION PARTIES, EXCEPT THE CONSERVATIVE PAN, APPLAUDED THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENTS. MEANWHILE THE ARTICLE QUOTED THE LEADER OF THE BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL, MANUEL J. CLOUTHIER, AS STATING THAT EVERY TIME MEXICO HAS A PROBLEM IT SEEKS SOLUTIONS THROUGH "STATISM," "PATERNALISM," AND "INFANTILISM."

3. AS WITH FINANCIERO, THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH DOMINATED HEADLINES IN TODAY'S EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC). ITS LEAD STORY WAS ENTITLED: "NATIONALIZATION OF BANKING AND TOTAL EXCHANGE CONTROL: JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPEATED THE PRESIDENT'S CONTENTION THAT PRIVATE BANKS HAD UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12106 01 OF 02 030219Z

BEEN BEHIND THE SPECULATION AND CAPITAL FLIGHT IN LAST 2-3 YEARS THAT HAD RESULTED IN AN ESTIMATED "$22 BILLION" LEAVING THE COUNTRY. IT ALSO REPORTED THAT ONLY THE OWNERS OF THE BANKS WOULD BE CHANGED "BECAUSE THEY BETRAYED US" WHILE RIGHTS OF DEPOSITORS AND BANK EMPLOYEES WOULD BE RESPECTED. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED A "SURPRISED AND DISGUSTED" REACTION FROM BUSINESS LEADERS. BANKER CARLOS ABEDROP DAVILA STATED THAT PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS "WILL NOT SOLVE A SINGLE ESSENTIAL PROBLEM," WHILE BUSINESS LEADER GOICOECHEA REMARKED THAT INVESTOR CONFIDENCE "HAS FALLEN." THE ARTICLE ALSO SAYS THE BUSINESS SECTOR WILL ASK FOR A PLEBISCITE ON BANK NATIONALIZATION BECAUSE THIS DECISION "CANNOT BE MADE BY ONE MAN." ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTS "TOTAL SUPPORT" FROM THE LEFT BECAUSE PRESIDENT'S DECISIONS "DISARMS THE SPECULATORS" AND HAS HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE "SIMILAR" TO THE 1938 NATIONALIZATION OF PETROLEUM INDUSTRY. ANOTHER REPORT STATES THAT ACCORDING TO EX-PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA, THE U.S. WILL "RESPECT" THESE "VALIANT" MEASURES BECAUSE IT IS "INTELLIGENT." ALSO, A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMF HAVE BEEN "COMPLICATED" BECAUSE TO QUALIFY FORA$4 BILLION STANDBY LOAN THE GOM WILL "HAVE TO SET A TIME" FOR THE REESTABLISHMENT OF FREE FOREIGN EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

4. HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) LEAD WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "JLP NATIONALIZES BANKING: MONEY OF SAVERS SAFE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT

BLAMES THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ON THOSE WHO SEND THEIR DOLLARS ABROAD. IT ALSO NOTES THE THREAT IN JPL'S SPEECH TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST "DENATIONALIZED" MEXICANS WHO DO NOT PROVE THEIR LOYALTY DURING

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12106 02 OF 02 030221Z
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INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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INFO TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12106

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER BY REPATRIATING THEIR DOLLARS. OTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLES GENERALLY REPORT PUBLIC REACTION TO SPEECH. ONE ARTICLE STATES THAT PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA MADRID SUPPORTS JLP'S ACTIONS BECAUSE THESE ARE MOMENTS OF "SOLIDARITY, SERENITY, AND INTEGRITY." ANOTHER REPORT NOTES THAT THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY WANTS A NATIONAL PLEBISCITE ON BANK NATIONALIZATION. A LEADING BANKER IS QUOTED AS SAYING MEXICO "WILL CONTINUE ON COURSE DESPITE ITS MISTAKES." ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTS THE SURPRISED REACTION OF WASHINGTON TO MEXICO'S BANK NATIONALIZATION. HEADLINES OF OTHER KEY STORIES ARE AS FOLLOWS: (1) "CARLOS TELLO MACIAS NAMED DIRECTOR OF BANK OF MEXICO;" (2) "FOREIGN EXCHANGE OPERATIONS OUTSIDE BANK OF MEXICO CONSIDERED CONTRABAND;" AND (3) "INJUSTICES DECLARED;

WE ARE PATRIOTS AND PARTNERS: BANKING COMMUNITY."
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12106 02 OF 02 030221Z

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5. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES RAN THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "PRIVATE BANKS EXPROPRIATED AND EXCHANGE CONTROLS INCREASE." UNDER THIS HEADING WERE TWO ARTICLES. THE FIRST EXPLAINED THAT THESE DECREES ENTERED FORCE YESTERDAY AFTER BEING APPROVED BY THE CABINET. ANOTHER ARTICLE REVIEWED THE TEN MOST IMPORTANT POINTS OF THE SPEECH WHICH INCLUDED: (1) NATIONALIZATION OF PRIVATE BANKS AND ADOPTION OF FULL FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS; (2) CALL TO THOSE WHO HAVE SENT MONEY ABROAD TO RETURN IT DURING MONTH OF SEPTEMBER; (3) THE FOREIGN DEBT IN JULY OF THIS YEAR REACHED $76 BILLION, 80 PERCENT OF WHICH CORRESPONDED TO PUBLIC SECTOR AND 20 PERCENT TO PRIVATE SECTOR; AND (4) OVER 4 MILLION JOBS WERE CREATED IN LAST 4 YEARS. ANOTHER ARTICLE QUOTED PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA MADRID AS ASKING FOR "SOLIDARITY, SERENITY, AND INTEGRITY." A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTS THAT U.S. BANKERS ARE CONFIDENT THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT ACTIONS WILL NOT "AFFECT" FOREIGN BANKS. OTHER LEAD STORIES ARE HEADLINED: (1) "THE SUPPORT OF THE IMF HAS NOT BEEN ALTERED;" AND (2) "CARLOS TELLO MACIAS IS DIRECTOR OF BANK IN MEXICO."
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6. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "NATIONALIZATION OF BANKING AND TOTAL CONTROL OF EXCHANGE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT THESE ACTIONS WILL NOT AFFECT THE "MONEY OR AMOUNTS" OF DEPOSITORS. IT ALSO REPEATS JLP'S ASSERTION THAT PRIVATE BANKERS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SPECULATION AND CAPITAL FLIGHT OF RECENT YEARS. A COM-
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12106 02 OF 02 030221Z

PANION ARTICLE REPORTS BANKING COMMUNITY REACTION THAT IT IS NOT A "TRAITOR." STILL ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY EDITORIALIZES THAT THE "HISTORIC" MEASURES ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY BY JLP DESERVE THE "FULL AND WARM SOLIDARITY" OF THE NATION. OTHER IMPORTANT ARTICLES ARE HEADLINED: (1) "THE STATE CANNOT PERMIT CHAOTIC SITUATIONS: DE LA MADRID;" (2) "NATIONALIZATION UNANIMOUSLY SUPPORTED BY WORKER MOVEMENT;" AND (3) "BEHOLD ANOTHER MEXICO BEGINS." (DRAFTED BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12167 01 OF 02 040026Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12167

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12106

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 3, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE OF EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "FLOOD OF ENTERPRISES TO STATE." THE ARTICLE REPORTS THAT BY NATIONALIZING BANKS THE GOVERNMENT HAS BECOME A PARTNER IN "HUNDREDS" OF THE COUNTRY'S LEADING COMPANIES RANGING FROM CAPITAL GOODS PRODUCERS TO RESTAURANTS AND HOTELS. ANOTHER UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12167 01 OF 02 040026Z

FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTS: "THIS IS SOCIALIZATION CLAIM MANAGERS: UNION AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS PLAINLY DENY THIS." ACCORDING TO THIS ARTICLE BUSINESS LEADERS CRITICIZED BANK NATIONALIZATION AND FULL EXCHANGE CONTROLS AS "MEASURES TENDING TO SOCIALIZE THE ECONOMY." MEANWHILE, THE PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN BUSINESS CENTER (ERNESTO AMTMANN) STATED THAT NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES PREVENT A LOAN AGREEMENT WITH IMF. ON THE OTHER HAND, LABOR AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SAID THESE ACTIONS WERE NECESSARY TO HALT "SPECULATION" AND "RUMORS" AND PUT BANKING "AT THE SERVICE OF THE NATION." OTHER

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KEY STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "WITH BANKS CLOSED, THE BLACK (MARKET) DOLLAR SHOT UP TO 250 PESOS;" (2) "REACTIONS OF INTERNATION PRESS VARIES WIDELY;" (3)"MEXICO PROPOSES CARTEL OF DEBTOR COUNTRIES TO CONFRONT IMF;"AND (4) "HAPPY WITH NATIONALIZATION, LABOR CONFEDERATION PUTS OFF DEMANDS."

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3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) LEAD WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "SEVEN PARTIES IN FAVOR; CONSERVATIVE PAN AND PDM OPPOSED." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT LEFTIST PARTIES SUPPORT RECENT ECONOMIC MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY PRI-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THEY WILL PERMIT "MORE HEALTHY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT." A SPOKESMAN FOR THE RIGHT-WING PDM, HOWEVER, STATED THESE DECISIONS WOULD "AGGRAVATE" THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND COULD LEAD TO "DICTATORIAL" AND "TOTALITARIAN" FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE HEADLINE READ: "NATIONALIZATION WAS NECESSARY: WASHINGTON POST." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES A RECENT POST EDITORIAL JUSTIFY-
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ING BANK NATIONALIZATION TO COUNTERACT FINANCIAL PANIC BEING CAUSED BY EXODUS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTS THAT WORKERS WILL DEMONSTRATE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT TODAY ACCORDING TO FIDEL VELASQUEZ. THIS LABOR LEADER IS REPORTED CALLING FOR SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN WITH GOVERNMENT TO COUNTER OPPONENTS OF NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES STARTING TODAY WITH LABOR RALLY AT THE SQUARE FRONTING ON THE NATIONAL PALACE. A COMPANION STORY QUOTES SECRETARY OF DEFENSE GALVAN AS SAYING THE ARMY WILL NOT PERMIT "SELF-DESTRUCTION" BECAUSE ITS SOLDIERS ARE "LOYAL." ANOTHER ARTICLE CITES THE TEXT OF A RECENT PRIVATE SECTOR DECLARATION THAT STATES BANK NATIONALIZATION WILL NOT SOLVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND REPRESENTS A STEP TOWARD SOCIALISM WHICH ENDANGERS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS. A FINAL FRONT PAGE STORY WAS ENTITLED: "A CON-CESSIONARY ACTIVITY (BANKING) RESCUED FOR THE NATION."

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4. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONAL-ISTIC) READ: "MEXICO ASKS FOR AN EMERGENCY FUND FOR COUNTRIES IN CRISIS." THIS STORY REPORTS THAT YESTERDAY IN A TORONTO MEETING OF THE GROUP OF 24, MEXICO PROPOSED CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR COUNTRIES WITH DEBT SERVICE PROBLEMS. A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ALTHOUGH NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES ARE CONSIDERED "AN ACT OF INDISPUTABLE SOVEREIGNTY" BY IMF AUTHORITIES, THESE OFFICIALS THINK THEY COULD DAMAGE MEXICO'S "EXTERNAL CREDIT." THE ARTICLE ALSO REPORTS THAT THE IMPOSITION OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS AND NATIONALI-

ZATION OF BANKING WILL MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO
REACH A $4 BILLION LOAN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF.
ANOTHER STORY REPORTS ON THE MILITARY'S PLEDGE
OF SUPPORT TO GOVERNMENT DURING A BREAKFAST

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12167 02 OF 02 040027Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12167

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

CEREMONY WITH PRESIDENT JLP YESTERDAY. ACCOMPANY-
ING PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS PRESIDENT REVIEWING TROOPS
WITH DEFENSE SECRETARY GALVAN FROM MILITARY VEHICLE.
BUSINESS LEADERS CHARACTERIZE RECENT ECONOMIC
CHANGES AS "UNNECESSARY" AND "DAMAGING" IN YET
ANOTHER LEAD STORY. MEANWHILE, ANOTHER REPORT
CARRIES THE PRI CALL FOR "REVOLUTIONARY SUPPORT"
AGAINST CONSERVATIVE PRESSURE. OTHER IMPORTANT
STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "GOVERNMENT WILL
HAVE CONTROLLING INTERESTS IN THOUSAND OF LARGEST
FIRMS;" (2) "MEXICO WILL EXPLAIN REASONS OF
NATIONALIZATION TO WORLD;" AND (3) "LABOR CON-
FEDERATION GIVES DE LA MADRID UNWAVERING SUPPORT."

5. NOVEDADES (MODERATE) CARRIED FOLLOWING LEAD

HEADLINE: "MEXICO PAID ITS QUOTA OF BLOOD IN
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12167 02 OF 02 040027Z

1910: GALVAN." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ARMED FORCES' PLEDGE OF CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT DURING HIS BREAKFAST WITH MILITARY LEADERS YESTERDAY. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY STATES THAT LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELASQUEZ IS NOW COUNSELING HIS FOLLOWERS TO SEEK WAGE INCREASES SMALLER THAN THOSE RECEIVED LAST MARCH. A COMPANION STORY REPORTS THAT RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES HAVE PROVOKED "CAUTION" IN IMF WHICH HAS REFUSED TO "PREDICT" WHEN THE MEXICAN ECONOMY WILL RETURN TO "NORMALITY." THE ARTICLE REPORTS THAT A SOURCE CLOSE TO IMF STATED THAT DESPITE BECOMING "MORE DIFFICULT," MEXICO'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH IMF SHOULD BE SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED BY OCTOBER. OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES ARE HEADLINED: (1) "FRANCE SAYS IT IS A GOOD PRECEDENT." (2) "JLP AUTHORIZES FUND TO INDEMNIFY BANKERS;" (3) "IT IS NOT A STEP TOWARD SOCIALISM: CARLOS TELLO;" AND (4) "THE EXPROPRIATION WAS A POLITICAL SURPRISE."

6. THE BANNER HEADLINE OF HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) READ: "SAVINGS IN HANDS OF THE BUREAUCRACY: PAN; THERE WILL BE NO SOCIALISM: GOVERNMENT." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES THE CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL PARTY PAN AS SAYING RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES "WILL NOT PUNISH THE GUILTY NOR HELP THE NEEDY." THE PAN SPOKESMAN FURTHER STATED THAT MANY PUBLIC OFFICIALS ARE AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE SENT DOLLARS ABROAD. A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTES HEAD OF BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL (MANUEL J. CLOUTHIER) AS SAYING "ECONOMIC POLICY" AND NOT "PRIVATE BANKS" CAUSED THE CURRENT CRISIS. ANOTHER REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO THE NEW HEAD OF THE BANK OF MEXICO,
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12167 02 OF 02 040027Z

CARLOS TELLO, NATIONALIZED BANKS WILL OPERATE NORMALLY THWARTING ANY "PANIC" AMONG SAVERS. ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTS THAT FORMER SECRETARIES OF FINANCE AND AMBASSADORS TO U.S. ANTONIO CARRILO AND HUGO B. MARGAIN WILL RESPECTIVELY HEAD BANCOMER AND BANAMEX. OTHER IMPORTANT HEADLINES INCLUDED: (1) "THE ARMY WILL NOT PERMIT CHALLENGES AGAINST MEXICO;" (2) "JLP ACCEPTS CREATION OF FUND TO PAY INDEMNIFICATION;" AND (3) "PRIVATE BANKS FEAR NATIONALIZATIONS ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA."
(DRAFTED BY:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12173

E.O. 12356: DECL 9/5/88
TAGS: MX, EFIN, EGEN
SUBJECT: NEW EXCHANGE SYSTEM; BANK NATIONALIZATION

1. (C) SUMMARY: NEW BANK OF MEXICO DIRECTOR GENERAL, CARLOS TELLO, ANNOUNCED THAT HENCEFORTH MEXICO WOULD HAVE TWO FIXED EXCHANGE RATES - THE ORDINARY AT 70 PESOS PER DOLLAR AND THE PREFERENTIAL AT 50 PESOS PER DOLLAR. THESE WILL NOT FLUCTUATE. TELLO ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT BOTH LENDING AND DEPOSIT INTEREST RATES WOULD DROP ON SEPTEMBER 6. HEADS OF THE NATIONALIZED BANKS WERE NAMED ON SEPTEMBER 4. ALL ARE FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR. NOTABLY ABSENT ARE ERNESTO FERNANDEZ HURTADO AND MIGUEL MANCERA. THE EXCHANGE RATE AND INTEREST RATE POLICIES WILL NOT ATTRACT ANY CAPITAL REFORMS AND BANK DEPOSITS ARE LIKELY TO DECLINE. THE NEW EXCHANGE SYSTEM RAISES MANY QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) TELLO SAID THE TWO NEW EXCHANGE RATES WOULD BE FIXED AND WOULD NOT FLUCTUATE. THE PREFERENTIAL RATE WILL BE 50 PESOS PER DOLLAR. THIS WILL APPLY TO ALL IMPORTS [redacted]

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AUTHORIZED BY THE COMMERCE SECRETARIAT AS WELL AS TO ALL PAYMENTS - INTEREST, COMMISSIONS AND AMORTIZATION - ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE DENOMINATED DEBT BY "PRODUCTIVE BUSINESSES" OWED TO THE NOW-NATIONALIZED BANKS. ALSO, ALL EXTERNALDEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS BY PUBLIC SECTOR ENTITIES WILL BE AT THIS RATE. THE PURPOSE OF THIS MEASURE IS TO "ELIMINATE THE INFLATIONARY IMPACT OF THE FINANCIAL DISORDERS OF THE MONTH OF AUGUST...THUS, AS A RESULT, THERE IS NO REASON THAT ON MONDAY, PRICES IN THE COUNTRY WILL BE ABOVE WHAT THEY WERE AT THE END OF JULY". HE ALSO NOTED THAT COMPANIES COULD NOW REMOVE FROM THEIR BOOKS THE EXCHANGE LOSSES THEY HAD ACCUMULATED

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IN AUGUST.

3. (U) ALL OTHER TRANSACTIONS WILL OCCUR AT THE ORDINARY RATE OF 70 PESOS PER DOLLAR, TO THE DEGREE THAT DOLLARS ARE AVAILABLE. THESE OTHER TRANSACTIONS INCLUDE ALL EXPORTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES, ALL SERVICE IMPORTS, AND ALL THE INTEREST AND PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS ON THE MEX-DOLLAR DEPOSITS. ALL MEXICANS WHO HAVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE ARE INVITED TO CONVERT TO PESOS AT THE 70.1 RATE AT THE NATIONALIZED BANKS. THESE PEOPLE WILL BE ENGAGING IN ILLEGAL TRANSACTIONS ONLY IF THEY EFFECT SUCH TRANSACTIONS OUTSIDE THE BANKING SYSTEM.

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4. (U) TELLO SAID THE FIXED EXCHANGE RATES WOULD MAKE PLANNING EASIER. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE SPREAD BETWEEN BUY AND SELL RATES WOULD DISAPPEAR.

5. (C) THE NEW EXCHANGE SYSTEM RAISES NUMEROUS QUESTIONS. THE FIRST IS THAT IF ALL EXPORTS ARE AT THE ORDINARY RATE, WHO PAYS THE SUBSIDY FOR IMPORTS AND DEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE. WE HAVE HEARD THAT

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THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX INCREASED ABOUT 11 PERCENT FROM JULY TO AUGUST. A DECLINE OF THIS MAGNITUDE IS UNLIKELY IN AUGUST. A FOREIGN EXCHANGE BLACK MARKET WILL DEVELOP VERY QUICKLY, AND THE GOM IS UNLIKELY TO CAPTURE ALL FOREIGN EXCHANGE REVENUES. THIS WILL MEAN LESS FOREIGN EXCHANGE AVAILABILITIES FOR IMPORTS AND RAISES THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORATORIUM ON INTEREST PAYMENTS ABROAD IN ORDER TO BRING IN "ESSENTIAL" IMPORTS. IN A WORD, THE NEW EXCHANGE SYSTEM WILL BE A MESS.

6. (U) TELLO WENT ON TO DESCRIBE CHANGES IN INTEREST RATES. HE SAID THE BANKS HAD CHARGED EXCESSIVE SPREADS OVER THEIR COST OF FUNDS, SAYING THIS IS ABOUT 18 PERCENT. THIS WILL BE REDUCED BY FIVE PERCENTAGE POINTS BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 6; THAT IS, INTEREST RATES ON LOANS TO "PRODUCTIVE BUSINESSES" WILL DROP FIVE POINTS. IN ADDITION, INTEREST RATES ON FIXED TIME DEPOSITS WILL DECLINE BY AN AVERAGE OF TWO PERCENTAGE POINTS A WEEK FOR THE NEXT FIVE WEEKS, AT WHICH TIME THE SITUATION WILL BE REVIEWED. MORTGAGE RATES ON LOW-COST HOUSING WILL DECLINE TO 11 PERCENT, A REDUCTION OF ABOUT 23 PERCENTAGE POINTS. INTEREST ON OTHER MORTGAGE CREDITS WILL DROP 10 POINTS. MINIMUM BALANCE REQUIREMENTS ON CHECKING ACCOUNTS WILL BE ELIMINATED.

7. TELLO SAID THE GOM DID NOT INTEND TO HOLD ONTO THE VARIOUS COMPANIES OR SHARES IN COMPANIES OWNED BY THE BANKS. THESE WILL BE SOLD THROUGH THE STOCK MARKET IN ORDER TO "DEMOCRATIZE THE PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY." THE PROCEEDS MAY BE USED TO INDEMNIFY THE FORMER OWNERS.

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8. TELLO ALSO SAID THAT BEGINNING ON WEDNESDAY AND UNTIL MORE COMPLETE MEASURES ARE TAKEN, MEXICANS WILL BE ABLE TO BUY UP TO 250 DOLLARS AT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE AT BANK OFFICES WHICH WILL BE SET UP IN THE DEPARTURE AREAS OF INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS. HE SAID THIS SHOULD BE

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ENOUGH TO COVER THE COSTS OF URGENT TRIPS.

9. (U) TELLO'S FINAL PARAGRAPH IS AS FOLLOWS: "THE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12173 02 OF 02 051839Z
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12173

STATE HAS BY THIS ACTION ELIMINATED THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONALISTIC ECONOMIC POLICY. IN THE MEDIUM TERM, THE EXCHANGE CONTROLS WILL PERMIT US TO MAKE INTERNAL FINANCIAL POLICY INDEPENDENT OF THE TYRANNY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONEY AND CAPITAL MARKET. WITH THIS, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO DEAL THOROUGHLY WITH OTHER SECULAR PROBLEMS OF THE MEXICAN ECONOMY."

10. (C) TELLO'S REMARKS ARE EVIDENCE ENOUGH THAT THE MEXICAN ECONOMY IS IN FOR DRAMATIC CHANGES. THE IMPLICATIONS ARE GREAT, AND NOT YET APPARENT. THE "SEIGE ECONOMY" IS MUCH CLOSER.

11. (U) ALSO IN THE NEWS ARE THE NAMES OF THE NEW HEADS OF MEXICAN BANKS. THE TWO LARGEST EX-PRIVATE BANKS WILL BE HEADED BY DAVID IBARRA (BANAMEX) AND ANTONIO CARRILLO FLORES (BANCOMER). IBARRA WAS TREASURY SECRETARY UNTIL MARCH OF THIS YEAR. CARILLO FLORES WAS TREASURY SECRETARY IN THE 1950'S AND HAS A LONG DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVICE CAREER. THERE WERE 59

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12173 02 OF 02 051839Z

APPOINTMENTS MADE, WITH MANY DUPLICATIONS.

12. (C) NOTEWORTHY IS THAT ERNEST FERNANDEZ-HURTADO, EX-HEAD OF BANK OF MEXICO AND CLOSE RELATIVE OF MIGUEL DE LA MADRID, WAS REMOVED FROM HIS JOB AS DIRECTOR GENERAL OF BANCO BCH AND NOT NAMED TO HEAD A BANK AS WAS WIDELY RUMORED. ALSO, MIGUEL MANCERA WHO LEFT THE BANK OF MEXICO ON SEPTEMBER 1 WAS NOT GIVEN A NEW POSITION - OR PERHAPS HE REFUSED ONE. (DRAFTED BY L.P.PASCOE).
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FOR SECRETARY REGAN'S PARTY (JOANNA SHELTON)

FOLLOWING MEXICO 12105 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO TREASURY WASHDC ABU DHABI ALGERS AMMAN BAGHDAD BONN BRUSSELS CAIRO CARACAS DHAHRAN DOHA JAKARTA KHARTOUM KUWAIT LAGOS LIBREVILLE LONDON MANAMA MUSCAT OSLO OTTAWA PARIS QUITO RABAT ROME SANAA TOKYO VIENNA BRASILIA BUENOS AIRES SAN JOSE SAN SALVADOR MANAFGUA GUATEMALA PANAMA TEGUCIGALPA BERN BELIZE SEP 3

QUOTE: UNCLAS MEXICO 12105

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL OECD COLLECTIVES

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: TEXT OF DECREE ESTABLISHING EXCHANGE CONTROLS

REF: (A) MEXICO 12041, (B) MEXICO 2047

1. EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE DECREE OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1982 ESTABLISHING FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS IS AS FOLLOWS:
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PAGE 02 STATE 250347

BEGIN QUOTE

CONSIDERING:

THAT THE CONGRESS HAS ESTABLISHED BY LAW THAT THE BANK OF MEXICO, AS THE CENTRAL AXIS OF THE MEXICAN BANKING SYSTEM IN ADDITION TO THE EMISSION AND CIRCULATION OF CURRENCY, IS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR REGULATING FOREIGN EXCHANGE;

THAT THE CONGRESS HAS ESTABLISHED IN THE MONETARY

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LAW, THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS NOT LEGAL TENDER WITHIN MEXICO AND THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE OBLIGATIONS, CONTRACTED WITHIN OR OUTSIDE THE REPUBLIC, IN ORDER TO BE SETTLED WITHIN THE REPUBLIC, WILL BE SETTLED BY PAYING AN EQUIVALENT AMOUNT OF MEXICAN CURRENCY, AT THE EXCHANGE RATE IN EFFECT AT THE TIME AND PLACE OF PAYMENT, THIS BEING A LEGAL CONDITION FOR WHICH THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE, IN ITS ADMINI-STRATIVE CAPACITY, SHOULD ASSURE STRICT OBSERVANCE;

-

THAT THE IMPORTATION AND THE EXPORTATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE, LIKE THAT OF ANY OTHER GOOD, REQUIRES REGULATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEEDS OF THE NATION, THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL PLANNING SYSTEM AND THE PRIORITIES REQUIRED BY OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, CREATING AND PERFECTING THE INSTRUMENTS REQUIRED IN ORDER TO FACE THE NEW CHALLENGES OF THE WORLD TODAY;

-

THAT OUR COUNTRY CURRENTLY FACES SERIOUS FINANCIAL PROBLEMS, STEMMING, AMONG OTHER CAUSES, FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED

WORLD ECONOMIC RECESSION, WHICH HAS SEVERELY CONTRACTED THE MARKET FOR OUR EXPORTS, AND HAS ALSO MADE EXTERNAL FINANCING SCARCE AND LESS AVAILABLE;

-

THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC HAS HAD TO ESTABLISH A SERIES OF AUSTERITY MEASURES AND ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT POLICIES, WHOSE OBJECTIVES HAVE NOT BEEN FULLY REACHED, VRIMARILY BECAUSE OF EXCESSIVE CAPITAL FLIGHT, WITH A PRSUITANT HEAVY DEMAND (FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE) FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN FOR IMPORTS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN AND INCREASE EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY, OR FOR PAYMENT OR SERVICE OF PUBLIC OR PRIVATE DEBT, CAUSING INJURY TO THE POPULACE AND THE ECONOMY, AS EVERYONE KNOWS;

-

THAT THE NATION HAS BEEN NEGATIVELY AFFECTED BY THE REDUCTION, BEYOND ANY REASONABLE MEASURE, IN THE VALUE OF OUR CURRENCY IN THE EXCHANGE MARKETS, PUTTING AT RISK THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE NATION AND THE BUYING POWER OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULACE;

-

THAT IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE THE SUCCESSFUL FUNCTIONING OF THE SYSTEM, AVOIDING EXCESSIVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE FLUCTUATIONS, SPECULATIVE TRANSACTIONS WHOSE PURPOSE IS TO TRANSFER FUNDS ABROAD FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS AND SERVICES OR TO MAKE CREDIT PAYMENTS, SHOULD BE ELIMINATED;

-

THAT AT THE SAME TIME IN ORDER TO AVOID NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES, NORMS FOR THE RATIONAL USE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED, ESTABLISHING PREFERENCES FOR THE USE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE WHICH CONFORM TO NATIONAL PRIORITIES;
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 250347

THAT IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE PRIORITIES, IT IS NECESSARY TO EXTEND THE SYSTEM OF NATIONAL PLANNING TO THE EXTERNAL SECTOR BY BUDGETING FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MACROECONOMIC AND SECTORIAL GOALS ESTABLISHED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PLANS AND PROGRAMS;
THAT TO ASSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THIS DECREE AND TO ACHIEVE COORDINATION AMONG THE VARIOUS AGENCIES CONCERNED, AN INTER SECRETARIAL COMMISSION IS NEEDED TO MONITOR COMPLIANCE AND TO PROVIDE NECESSARY SUPPORT SO THAT THE NECESSARY IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS CAN BE ISSUED WITH ALL DUE SPEED;
I HEREBY DECREE THE FOLLOWING:

- ARTICLE ONE: THE EXPORTATION AND IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE MAY BE DONE ONLY BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR BY ACCOUNT AND ORDER OF THAT BANK;

- ARTICLE TWO: ANY EXPORTATION OR IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE NOT CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO ARTICLE ONE, WILL BE CONSIDERED CONTRABAND AND THE INFRACTORS WILL BE ACCORDINGLY SANCTIONED;
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- ARTICLE THREE: FOREIGN EXCHANGE WILL NOT BE LEGAL TENDER IN MEXICO. FOREIGN CURRENCY OBLIGATIONS, CONTRACTED INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE REPUBLIC, TO BE PAID WITHIN THE REPUBLIC, WILL BE PAID WITH NATIONAL CURRENCY AT THE RATE OF EXCHANGE IN EFFECT AT THE TIME AND PLACE THE PAYMENT IS MADE, IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE ORDERS OF THE BANK OF MEXICO.
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- ARTICLE FOUR: THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE
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PAGE 05 STATE 250347

AND THE BANK OF MEXICO, WILL MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE NATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM DOES NOT ATTRACT SAVINGS OR INVESTMENT DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCEPT IN THOSE CASES REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE TWELVE OF THIS DECREE, NOR GRANT FOREIGN EXCHANGE CREDITS.
-
- ARTICLE FIVE: FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL BE

EXCHANGED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR BY THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IT DESIGNATES, FOR LEGAL TENDER AT THE RATE INDICATED BY THAT BANK.

THE BANK OF MEXICO, DIRECTLY OR THROUGH THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM OR THROUGH THE ENTITIES REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE, WILL BUY AND SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE DAILY RATE, FIXED IN ACCORDANCE WITH PERTINENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

ALL FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNED ABROAD BY INDIVIDUALS OR LEGALLY ESTABLISHED COMPANIES OF MEXICAN OR FOREIGN NATIONALITY WHO ARE RESIDENT IN MEXICO, IRREGARDLESS OF THE MEANS BY WHICH SUCH FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS EARNED, MUST DEPOSIT FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS IN THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR IN THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS DESIGNATED BY THAT BANK, AT THE EXCHANGE RATE DESIGNATED BY THAT BANK.

- ARTICLE SIX: THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES SO THAT CREDIT CARDS ISSUED IN MEXICO, BE VALID ONLY FOR PESO DENOMINATED TRANSACTIONS AND BE VALID ONLY WITHIN THE NATIONAL TERRITORY.

- ARTICLE SEVEN: THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL DETERMINE, ACCORDING TO THE PRIORITIES SET FORTH IN THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE, WHICH CASES WILL RECEIVE THE PREFERENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

RATE AND WHICH CASES WILL RECEIVE THE GENERAL RATE, AS WELL AS DETERMINING ANY SPECIAL RATES THAT MAY BE REQUIRED TO MEET EITHER TRANSITORY OR PERMANENT SITUATIONS.

IN ALL CASES, THE BANK OF MEXICO OR THE BANKING INSTITUTIONS AUTHORIZED TO ACT ON ITS BEHALF WILL REQUIRE THAT THE FEDERAL TAX IDENTITY CARD BE PRESENTED BY THE APPLICANT IN EACH FOREIGN EXCHANGE OPERATION AND WILL KEEP A RECORD OF EACH OPERATION IN A SPECIAL REGISTER.

- ARTICLE EIGHT: THE BANK OF MEXICO EITHER ON ITS OWN ACCOUNT, OR THROUGH THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM, MAY SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE ONLY AFTER THE DEMAND FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE HAS BEEN SATISFIED ACCORDING TO THE PRIORITIES REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE.

- THE SALE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL, SPECIAL AND GENERAL EXCHANGE RATES SET BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REGULATIONS ISSUED BY THAT INSTITUTION AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING FOREIGN OBLIGATIONS, IN THE ORDER INDICATED BELOW:

- I. OBLIGATIONS OF THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT;

- II. OBLIGATIONS OF THE PARASTATAL ENTITIES, IN THE ORDER OF PRIORITY DESIGNATED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE;
- III. THE QUOTAS OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF PERSONNEL OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN SERVICE;
- IV. OBLIGATIONS OF BANKING AND AUXILIARY CREDIT INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING INSURANCE COMPANIES AND FINANCE COMPANIES;

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PAGE 07 STATE 250347

- V. OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM AUTHORIZED IMPORTATIONS OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS FOR POPULAR CONSUMPTION, OR FOR INTERMEDIATE GOODS OR CAPITAL GOODS TO MEET BASIC NEEDS;
- VI. OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM THE IMPORTATION OF INTERMEDIATE AND CAPITAL GOODS, REQUIRED FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF EXISTING INDUSTRY, IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE OBJECTIVES, PRIORITIES, AND GOALS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS (IN THE FOLLOWING SECTORS:) INDUSTRIAL, COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT, TOURISM, AS WELL AS THE ENERGY PROGRAM.
- VII. OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM THE IMPORTATION OF INTERMEDIATE AND CAPITAL GOODS REQUIRED FOR THE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF THE COUNTRY IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE OBJECTIVES, PRIORITIES AND GOALS REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING SECTION;
-

VII. OBLIGATIONS OF PRIVATE FIRMS CONTRACTED WITH FOREIGN BANKING INSTITUTIONS PRIOR TO THE DATE ON WHICH THIS DECREE ENTERS INTO FORCE;

- IX. OBLIGATIONS CONSIDERED NECESSARY IN BORDER AREAS AND DUTY FREE ZONES;

- X. ROYALTY PAYMENTS AND FOREIGN OBLIGATIONS OF NATIONAL FIRMS WITH FOREIGN PARTICIPATION OR FOREIGN FIRMS OPERATING IN MEXICO, UP TO THE AMOUNTS DETERMINED BY THE NATIONAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT COMMISSION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEREGULATIONSTHAT IT ISSUES IN THIS REGARD;
- XI. TRAVEL EXPENSES OF INDIVIDUALS REQUIRED TO TRAVEL ABROAD FOR REASONS OF BUSINESS, EMPLOYMENT, OR HEALTH;

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PAGE 08 STATE 250347

- XII. TRAVEL EXPENSES OF PERSONS WHO WISH TO TRAVEL ABROAD FOR PURPOSES OF TOURISM OR RECREATION.

ARTICLE NINE: INDIVIDUALS OR COMPANIES IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE PREFERENTIAL OR SPECIAL RATE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF THE PRECEDING SECTION, MUST COMPLY WITH THE REGULATIONS ISSUED JOINTLY TO THAT EFFECT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE TREASURY AND THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- THE PAYMENTS WILL BE MADE THROUGH THE BANK OF MEXICO, WHICH WILL MAKE THE FOREIGN PAYMENT DIRECTLY, OR IN THE FORM STIPULATED BY THE BANK.

- ARTICLE TEN: THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE BANKING SYSTEM AND AUXILIARY INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS INSURANCE AND FINANCE COMPANIES WITH CONCESSIONS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SHALL ABSTAIN FROM BUYING AND SELLING FOREIGN CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE, AND SHALL TRANSFER FOREIGN EXCHANGE CURRENTLY IN THEIR POSSESSION AS WELL AS WHATEVER FOREIGN EXCHANGE MAY COME INTO THEIR POSSESSION IN THE FUTURE, NO MATTER WHAT ITS SOURCE OR ORIGIN, TO THE BANK OF MEXICO WHICH, IN ALL CASES AND ON REQUEST, WILL MAKE THE CORRESPONDING PAYMENTS ABROAD, IN THE CORRESPONDING PRIORITY ORDER SO THAT THE NATION MAY MEET ITS FOREIGN OBLIGATIONS.

- THE DEPOSITS REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE MUST BE MADE ON THE SAME DAY THAT THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS RECEIVED.

- ARTICLE ELEVEN: PERSONS AND COMPANIES ENGAGED IN TOURISM SERVICES, COMPANIES SUBJECT TO THE LAW OF GENERAL UNCLASSIFIED

ROUTES OF COMMUNICATIONS, DULY AUTHORIZED EXCHANGE HOUSES, COMPANIES WHICH IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES REALIZE ACTIVITIES ABROAD, AS WELL AS COMPANIES WHICH LEGALLY OPERATE IN BORDER AREAS OR DUTY FREE ZONES, MAY RECEIVE FOREIGN CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE AT THE GENERAL RATE FIXED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, AND MUST IMMEDIATELY DEPOSIT IT IN THE BANK OF MEXICOOR IN THE AUTHORIZED BRANCHES OR AGENCIES OF THE NATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REGULATIONS ISSUED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- IN NO CASE, MAY INDIVIDUALS OR COMPANIES SELL FOREIGN CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE.

- ARTICLE TWELVE: THE BRANCHES, AGENCIES OR OFFICES OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, OR IN ITS ABSENCE, THE BANKS WHICH OPERATE IN BORDER AREAS, MAY OPEN SPECIAL ACCOUNTS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY FOR THE IN-BOND BORDER INDUSTRIES (MAQUILADORAS), WHICH ARE REGISTERED WITH THE

SECRETARIAT OF PATRIMONY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, SO THAT ALL THEIR INCOME, ON A QUARTERLY BASIS, MAY BE DEPOSITED IN THOSE ACCOUNTS, AGAINST WHICH PAYMENTS FOR SALARIES, EXPENSES AND VOSTS, MAY BE MADE IN NATIONAL CURRENCY AT THE GENERAL EXCHANGE RATE, AND AGAINST WHICH PAYMENT IN FOREIGN CURRENCY MAY BE MADE FOR THE REMISSION OF THE INVESTORS' PROFIT.

- HE FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONVERTED INTO NATIONAL CURRENCY TO MAKETHEPAYMENTS REFERRED TO, MUST BE IMMEDIATELY DEPOSITED BY THE BANKING INSTITUTION CONCERNED IN THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- IN-BOND INDUSTRIES LOCATED OUTSIDE THE BORDER AREA ARE ALSO SUBJECT TO THE ARRANGEMENTS DELINEATED IN THIS ARTICLE.

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- THE NATIONAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT COMMISSION WILL ISSUE THE REGULATIONS IMPLEMENTING THIS ARTICLE,

- DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENTS ACCREDITED IN MEXICO, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, MAY HOLD SPECIAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE ACCOUNTS IN THE BANK OF MEXICO.

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- ARTICLE THIRTEEN: RESIDENTS OF THE BORDER AREAS AND FREE ZONES, AHO CAN VOUCH FOR THEIR NEED, WILL HAVE THE RIG T TO ACQUIRE A MONTHLY QUOTA OF FOREIGN CURRENCY PER PERSON, UPON PRESENTATION OF THEIR FEDERAL TAX IDENTITY CARD, PROOF OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE APPLICANT AND REGISTRATION IN THE CORRESPONDING REGISTER OF THE RESPECTIVE CREDIT INSTITUTION, AHICH WILL ACT ON BEHALF OF THE BANCO DE MEXICO.

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THE MINIMUM (SIC?) MONTHLY QUOTA WILL BE EQUIVALENT TO THE THIRD PART OF THE GENERAL MINIMUM WAGE OF THE ZONE, AND WILL BE SOLD AT THE EXCHANGE RATE FIXDD BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

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- ARTICLE FOURTEEN: THE PERSONS WITH RESIDENCE IN MEXICO, WHO FOR ANY REASON WISH OR NEED TO TRAVEL ABROAD, CAN BUY A MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF FOREIGN CURRENCY PER PERSON IN ONE YEAR THAT WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE GENERAL REGULATIONS OF THE BANCO DE MEXICO. IN ALL CASES THE SALE OF FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL BE AT THE GENERAL EXCHANGE RATE.

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RESIDENTS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES WHO WISH TO ENTER THE COUNTRY, WILL DECLARE TO CUSTOMS THE FOREIGN

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CURRENCY OR EXCHANGE THAT THEY BRING WITH THEM AND WILL ACQUIRE IN EXCHANGE LEGAL TENDER IN THE NATIONAL TERRITORY, AND WILL BE ISSUED A CORRESPONDING CERTIFICATE WHICH, WHEN LEAVING THE COUNTRY, HAS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES, SO THAT FOREIGN CURRENCY CAN BE GIVEN TO THEM IN EXCHANGE FOR THE NATIONAL CURRENCY NOT SPENT. IN ANY CASE THE RECEPTION AND RETURN OF FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL BE MADE AT THE GENERAL EXCHANGE RATE IN EFFECT AT THE TIME OF THE TRANSACTION.

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THE BANK OF MEXICO MAY STIPULATE OTHER MEANS TO OBTAIN FROM OR SELL FOREIGN CURRENCY TO FOREIGNERS IN ORDER TO COMPLY WITH THE DIRECTIONS OF THIS DECREE.

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- ARTICLE FIFTEEN: IN ORDER TO COORDINATE RELEVANT ACTION AND TO ASSURE STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THIS DECREE, TO COORDINATE THE IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS, AND TO FACILITATE THE DRAWING UP OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGETS, AN INTERSECRETARIAL COMMISSION WILL BE CREATED, MADE UP OF THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE, WHICH WILL PRESIDE, AS WELL AS THE SECRETARIATS OF PLANNING AND BUDGET, FOREIGN RELATIONS, PATRIMONY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE AND WATER RESOURCES, COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION, AND TOURISM.

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THE DIRECTOR OF THE BANK OF MEXICO AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL BANKING AND INSURANCE COMMISSION WILL BE INVITED TO JOIN THIS COMMISSION.

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- ARTICLE SIXTEEN: THE COORDINATING AGENCIES OF THE VARIOUS SECTORS WILL INSTRUCT THE EXECUTIVE

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AND ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES GROUPED WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE SECTORS TO ADOPT THE MEASURES NECESSARY FOR STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THIS DECREE AND WITHIN THEIR AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY WILL MONITOR ITS STRICT OBSERVANCE.

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- ARTICLE SEVENTEEN: ANY INDIVIDUAL OR COMPANY THAT RECEIVES FOREIGN EXCHANGE BY THE ACCOUNT OR ORDER OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, AND FAILS TO DELIVER IT ON THE SAME DAY OR ON THE FOLLOWING BUSINESS DAY, WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR COVERING MORATORY INTERESTS, AS WELL AS THE

DAMAGES AND INJURIES THAT HIS ACTION MAY HAVE CAUSED, AND HIS CORRESPONDING PERMISSION OR AUTHORIZATION MAY ALSO BE WITHDRAWN AND RELEVANT PENALTIES INVOKED.

- ARTICLE EIGHTEEN: THE REGISTRATIONS AND THE AUTHORIZATIONS REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE WILL BE REVOKED SHOULD THE BENEFICIARY ENGAGE IN FALSEHOODS OR OMISSIONS, MAKE UNAUTHORIZED USE OF THE AUTHORIZATIONS CONCERNED OR COMMIT ANY VIOLATION OF THIS DECREE.

THE FOREGOING APPLIES WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE IMPOSITION OF THE PENALTIES AND THE ASSESSMENT OF RESPONSIBILITIES THAT MAY ENSUE.

TRANSITORY ARTICLES:

ONE: THE PRESENT DECREE WILL ENTER INTO FORCE ON THE DATE OF ITS PUBLICATION IN THE DIARIO OFICIAL (SEPTEMBER 1, 1982).
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TWO: THE DECREES OF AUGUST 18, 1982 RELATING TO FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THE REGULATIONS GOVERNING BANK ACCOUNTS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY PUBLISHED AUGUST 13, 1982 AND ANY OTHER MEASURES IN CONFLICT WITH THE PRESENT DECREE ARE HEREBY ABROGATED.

THREE: BANKING INSTITUTIONS WHICH MAY HAVE RECEIVED FOREIGN CURRENCY DENOMINATED DEPOSITS, PAYING THEIR EQUIVALENT IN NATIONAL CURRENCY AT THE RATE SPECIFIED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, SHOULD NOT BE PAID BY MEANS OF TRANSACTIONS ABROAD OR THROUGH BRANCHES OR AGENCIES ABROAD OR OTHER FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

AT MATURITY ALL FOREIGN CURRENCY DENOMINATED BANK DEPOSITS WILL BE ELIMINATED, SUCH DEPOSITS WILL BE LIQUIDATED AT THE EXCHANGE RATE FIXED ON THAT DATE BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

ALL CREDITS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL ALSO BE ELIMINATED AT MATURITY, INTEREST PAYMENTS ACCRUING IN NATIONAL CURRENCY, AND LIQUIDATION BEING MADE AT THE RATE OF EXCHANGE FIXED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

FOUR: PAYMENTS OR BALANCES STEMMING FROM CREDIT CARD TRANSACTIONS MADE BEFORE THE ENTERING INTO FORCE OF THIS DECREE WILL BE SETTLED ACCORDING TO THE GENERAL REGULATIONS ISSUED BY THE BANK OF

MEXICO.

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FIVE: THE CABINET SECRETARIATS AND THE BANK OF MEXICO, IN THEIR DIFFERENT AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY, WILL ISSUE THE GENERAL REGULATIONS REFERRED TO

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IN THIS DECREE WITHIN A PERIOD NOT TO EXCEED 10 WORKING DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THE PUBLICATION OF THIS DECREE IN THE DIARIO OFICIAL.

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DURING THIS PERIOD, THE BANKING INSTITUTIONS WILL ESTABLISH THE REGISTERS REFERRED TO IN THIS DECREE, ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTIONS TO BE ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL BANKING AND INSURANCE COMMITTEE.

ISSUED IN MEXICO CITY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1982.

SIGNED BY THE 18 CABINET MEMBERS.

END TEXT. (DRAFTED BS: ECON: BLANE) GAVIN UNQUOTE SHULTZ

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12287 01 OF 02 082344Z
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INFO AMCONSUL TORONTO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12287

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1982
REF: MEXICO 12217

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTMEBER 8, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "RESTRUCTURED DEBT, IN NOVEMBER." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO FINANCE MINISTER SILVA-HERZOG, MEXICO WILL PRESENT TO ITS CREDITORS, BEFORE NOVEMBER 23, A PLAN "TO RESOLVE ITS LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS IN A PERMANENT MANNER." (THE DETAILS OF THIS PLAN ARE BEING REPORTED IN SEPTEL.) IN THIS SAME REPORT A PROMINENT COMMERCIAL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12287 01 OF 02 082344Z

BANKER INDICATED THAT ALTHOUGH HIS COUNTERPARTS ARE INCLINED TO HELP GOM, HE FELT NOTHING "SIGNIFICANT WOULD HAPPEN BEFORE MEXICO COMPLETED AN AGREEMENT" WITH THE IMF. A COMPANION ARTICLE WAS ENTITLED: "THE NATIONALIZATION, A MACHIAVELLIAN PLAN TO CARRY THE COUNTRY TOWARD SOCIALISM: CONFEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE (CANCANACO)." THIS STORY REPORTAT A RECENT CANCANACO STUDY CHARACTERIZES BANK NATIONALIZATION AS BOTH A RESULT OF A "CHAIN OF MISTAKES" AS WELL AS "VERY SPECIFIC PLAN" TO SOCIALIZE COUNTRY THROUGH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS. ANOTHER

FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED THAT LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELASQUEZ WANTS TO SET A TIME LIMIT FOR BUSINESSMEN "TO RESPOND TO DEMAND FOR SALARY INCREASE." OTHER IMPORTANT HEADLINES READ: (1) "CONGRESSMEN HAVEN'T RECEIVED LIST OF DOLLAR-TAKERS YET;" (2)"MANAGERS END LOCKOUTS;" (3) "COMPLETE NORMALITY IN BANKS: SECOND DAY;" AND (4) "ECONOMIC RECOVERY WITHIN TWO YEARS: DIRECTOR OF LATIN AMERICAN MONETARY STUDIES."

3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "PRIVATE SECTOR CEASES LOCKOUTS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT DUE TO LACK OF CONSENSUS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, STARTING TODAY THE PRIVATE SECTOR WILL END WORK STOPPAGES DESIGNED TO PROTEST BANK NATIONALIZATION AND THE GROWING INTERVENTION OF THE STATE IN THE ECONOMY. THE BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL, HOWEVER, HAS CALLED A MEETING OF 16,000 MANAGERS ON SEPTEMBER 24 TO "ANALYZE THE GOVERNMENT MEASURES AND DEFINE A COMMON STRATEGY" IN LIGHT OF NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. ANOTHER FRONT
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PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED THAT WITHIN 90 DAYS MEXICO WILL PROVIDE TO ITS CREDITORS A PLAN TO "REPROGRAM THE PAYMENT OF ITS DEBTS" ACCORDING TO FINANCE MINISTER SILVA-HERZOG. A COMPANION STORY INDICATED THAT MEXICO HAD RESTRICTED EXPORTS OF BASIC FOODS. THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THIS MEASURE WAS TAKEN TO PREVENT U.S. CONSUMERS FROM DEPLETING MEXICO'S BORDER INVENTORY OF FOODSTUFFS WHOSE PRICES HAVE PLUMMETED IN DOLLAR TERMS BECAUSE OF RECENT PESO DEVALUATIONS. OTHER STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "BANK DEPOSITS INCREASE;" (2) "BANK CREDITS WILL BE CHANNELED TO PRIORITY SECTORS: SENATOR HUGO MARGAIN;" AND (3) "EIGHTY PERCENFOOD INDUSTRY IN HANDS OF TRANSNATIONALS."

4. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) READ: "PROTECTIONISM BY GREAT POWERS VIOLATES THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LATIN AMERICA." THIS STORY REPORTED ON SPEECH MADE YESTERDAY BY NICARAGUAN FINANCE MINISTER (JOAQUIN CUADRA) AT IMF/WORLD BANK MEETING IN TORONTO. SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF MEXICO AND THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA, MR. CUADRA ACCUSED THE WORLD FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF "TRYING TO IMPOSE FIXED MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT" ON RECIPIENT COUNTRIES AND CRITICIZED "RICH NATIONS" FOR ABANDONING RECOMMENDATIONS OF CANCUN SUMMIT. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY QUOTED A FOREIGN BANKER AS SAYING: "THE 136 FOREIGN BANK REPRESENTATIVES IN MEXICO WILL CONTINUE THEIR SUPPORT FOR PROGRAMS OF DEVELOPMENT." THIS BANKER FURTHER STATED THAT DESPITE ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS "MEXICO CONTINUES

BEING THE COUNTRY OF BEST CREDIT RATING AMONG DEVELOPING NATIONS." A COMPANION STORY INDICATED THAT BUSINESSMEN DECIDED TO END LOCKOUTS IN ORDER TO AVOID GIVING GOVERNMENT A PRETEXT FOR "CRUMBLING

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12287 02 OF 02 082345Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12287

THE LEGAL ORDER." IN THIS STORY ONE BUSINESS LEADER STATED THAT DIRECTORS OF PRIVATE SECTORS ARE BEING "SUBJECTED TO POLICE HARASSMENT AND CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE, AS IF THEY WERE CRIMINALS." OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "THE NATIONALIZATION WAS REVENGE: CONGRESSMAN CAVAZOS;" (2) "MEXICAN PROGRAM TO ENSURE LIQUIDITY;" AND (3) "THE ERA OF THE BANKS, 1925 - 1982."

5. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "DESERTER CAPITAL BEGINS TO RETURN." THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT ACCORDING TO A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN MEXICANS ARE BEGINNING TO REPATRIATE DOLLARS ONCE DEPOSITED ABROAD THROUGH A SPECIAL ACCOUNT IN THE BANK OF MEXICO. AS AN EXAMPLE, ARTICLE CITES $150 MILLION REPATRIATION BY PROMINENT INDUSTRIALIST FERNANDO MARGRINO URRUTIA OF FUNDS PREVIOUSLY HELD IN CHEMICAL BANK NEW YORK TRUST CO. A

COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO
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FINANCE MINISTER SILVA-HERZOG THE NEXT THREE MONTHS WILL IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK AS MEXICO DEMONSTRATES TO ITS CREDITORS A "CAPACITY" TO REPAY DEBTS. ANOTHER STORY REPORTED THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR WILL CONVENE A STRATEGY SESSI SEPTEMBER 24 DESPITE CLAIMS BY SOME OF ITS LEADERS THAT THEY ARE UNDER "INTENSE PRESSURES" FROM GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON THEIR OPPOSITION TO RECENT ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED THAT YESTERDAY A LEADING COMMERCE GROUP CALLED ON BUSINESSMEN, WORKERS, STUDENTS, AND HOUSEWIVES TO PROTEST BANK NATIONALIZATION BY PLACING "BLACK RIBBONS" IN THEIR BUSINESSES AND HOMES.

6. THE HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) RAN THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT TO POSTPONE THE DEBT, ACCLAIMS SILVA-HERZOG." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON MEXICO'S PLAN TO RESCHEDULE ITS DEBTS. THE ARTICLE ALSO NOTED THAT NEW FOREIGN COMMERCIAL CREDITS MUST AWAIT A LOAN AGREEMENT WITH IMF. ANOTHER STORY REPORTED: "CAPITAL BEGINS TO RETURN; THERE IS CONFIDENCE: TELLO." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED MEXICAN BANK DIRECTOR CARLOS TELLO AS SAYING THAT DURING THEIR FIRST TWO DAYS OF OPERATION NATIONALIZED BANKS HAVE SUFFERED NO "SURPRISING WITHDRAWALS" WHILE PROMPTING THE RETURN OF SOME CAPITAL. OTHER KEY STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "LOCKOUT SUSPENDED TO AVOID VIOLENCE;" (2) "WORKERS' MOVEMENTS TELL. ITS UNIONS NOT TO OCCUPY BUILDINGS;" AND (3) "THERE WILL BE A BANK UNION FOR EACH ONE OF 54 EXPROPRIATED INSTITUTIONS." (DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12217 01 OF 03 080033Z
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AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

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DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12167

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE MOST IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 4-7 OF 1982.

2. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) DOES NOT PUBLISH WEEK-END EDITIONS AND ITS LABOR DAY EDITION WAS UNAVAILABLE. ITS LEAD STORY TODAY (SEPTEMBER 7) WAS ENTITLED: "TOURIST FARES FROZEN." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT PRICES FOR HOTELS, RESTAURANTS, TRAVEL AGENCIES AND TOURIST SERVICES IN

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12217 01 OF 03 080033Z

GENERAL "WILL REMAIN UNCHANGED" UNTIL APRIL ACCORDING TO TOURIST SECRETARY ROSA LUZ ALEGRIA. THIS GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL ADDED THAT THE $250 FOREIGN TRAVEL ALLOWANCE FOR MEXICANS IS A "TEMPORARY MEASURE THAT COULD BE INCREASED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE TOURISM BANK." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE QUOTED BUSINESS LEADER MANUEL J. CLOUTHIER (PRESIDENT OF BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL) AS SAYING HIS SECTOR DID NOT EXPATRIATE DOLLARS BUT RATHER "BROUGHT" THEM INTO COUNTRY THROUGH EXTERNAL BORROWING. HE STATED THIS FOREIGN BORROWING WAS NECESSARY BECAUSE PRIVATE INDUSTRY

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WAS CROWDED OUT OF LOCAL FINANCIAL MARKETS BY FEDERAL BORROWING WHICH LEFT "THE BANKS DRY." OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "JLP SYMBOLICALLY RAISED THE PATRIOTIC FLAG ABOVE ALL BANKS;" (2) "INTERESTS ON CREDIT CARDS AND PERSONAL LOANS UNCHANGED;" (3) "MITTERRAND SUPPORTS NATIONALIZING MEASURES;" AND (4) "TECHNICAL COMMITTEE OF CONSULTATION FOR BANKING SYSTEM."

3. LEAD HEADLINE OF UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) FOR SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, READ: "HALF MILLION PERSONS IN DEMONSTRATION OF SUPPORT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON THE LARGE TURNOUT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL PLAZA OF MAINLY GOVERNMENT AND FACTORY WORKERS SUPPORTING JLP'S NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS AND IMPOSITION OF FULL EXCHANGE CONTROLS. AT THIS MASS RALLY THE PRESIDENT SAID THESE ACTIONS DIVIDED THE COUNTRY INTO "THE MAJORITIES THAT DEMAND JUSTICE" AND "THOSE WHO WANT TO LEAVE (THE COUNTRY) WITH THEIR HEART'S TREASURE." OTHER STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "BASIC GOODS UNCLASSIFIED

BEGIN ARRIVING AT THE FRONTIER;" AND (2) "THE THIRD WORLD ASKS FOR MORE ECONOMIC BACKING." THE FOLLOWING DAY (SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5) THE LEAD HEADLINE READ: "ONLY TWO PARITIES: 50 AND 70 PESOS TO DOLLAR; 20 PERCENT INTEREST TO PERSONAL SAVINGS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS ON NEWS CONFERENCE OF CARLOS TELLO (DIRECTOR OF BANK OF MEXICO) IN WHICH HE ANNOUNCED ELIMINATION OF FREE MARKET EXCHANGE RATE AND MORE THAN QUADRUPLING OF INTEREST RATE ON "PASSBOOK" SAVINGS DEPOSITS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT PRIVATE BANKERS WOULD TURN OVER THEIR INSTITUTIONS TO GOVERNMENT WITH-OUT "RESISTANCE" ACCORDING TO BANKERS' ASSOCIATION OF MEXICO. THE LABOR DAY EDITION OF UNO MAS UNO CARRIED FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "MEXICO WILL PAY ONLY INTEREST UNTIL END OF 1983." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON THE PRESS CONFERENCE OF FINANCE MINISTER SILVA HERZOG IN WHICH HE STATED THAT DURING NEXT 18 MONTHS MEXICO WOULD PAY ONLY THE INTEREST ON ITS FOREIGN DEBT - AN ESTIMATED "$14 BILLION." HE ALSO NOTED THAT $4 BILLION LOAN AGREEMENT WITH IMF HAD BEEN "POSTPONED" AT LEAST SEVERAL WEEKS. TODAY'S EDITION OF UNO MAS UNO LED WITH A STORY REPORTING THE "PEACEFUL WORKING DAY OF BANKS IN IN THE COUNTRY" WITH "NEITHER LARGE WITHDRAWALS NOR ACCOUNT CLOSURES." ANOTHER STORY NOTED THAT THE NATIONAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE (CANCINTRA) HAD DECIDED TO "SUSPEND TEMPORARILY SUPPORT FOR A NATIONAL WORK STOPPAGE" ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR TOMORROW (SEPTEMBER 8). ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE QUOTED LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELASQUEZ AS SAYING

BUSINESSES WHO "OBSTRUCT" RECENT DECREES SHOULD BE NATIONALIZED. ANOTHER IMPORTANT ARTICLE IS ENTITLED: "MEXICO CAN PAY ITS EXTERNAL DEBT: IMF."

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12217 02 OF 03 080035Z
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INFO AMCONSUL TORONTO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 MEXICO 12217

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

4. SATURDAY'S (SEPTEMBER 4) EDITION OF EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "AGAIN THE REVOLUTION MARCHES AND DIVIDES INTO TWO PATHS: JLP." ACCOMPANIED BY AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN FRONT OF THE NATIONAL PALACE, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON THE MASS RALLY TO SUPPORT THE RECENT PRESIDENTIAL DECISIONS ON BANKING AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE SYSTEMS. IN A COMPANION ARTICLE PRESIDENT JLP STATED THAT "ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS WILL LEAD TO DIFFICULT TIMES AHEAD." ANOTHER STORY REPORTED THAT U.S. BANKS HAVE NO MECHANISM FOR REQUIRING THEIR MEXICAN CLIENTS TO REPATRIATE THEIR DEPOSITS. ANOTHER ARTICLE WAS ENTITLED: "OPPOSITION

REQUESTS JAIL FOR DOLLAR-TAKERS." WITH SUNDAY'S
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EDITION UNAVAILABLE, THE BANNER HEADLINE OF EXCELSIOR FOR MONDAY (SEPTEMBER 6) READ: "INFLATION WILL FALL AND THERE WILL BE CHEAP DOLLARS: OPPOSITION PARTIES." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED OPPOSITION OF LEFTIST POLITICAL PARTIES TO POSSIBILITY THAT GOVERNMENT WILL SELL SHARES TO PUBLIC IN BUSINESSES ACQUIRED THROUGH RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION. COMPANION ARTICLES NOTED THAT BANKS WERE REOPENING WITH "SOCIAL ORIENTATION" AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT MANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES WILL ADOPT MEASURES "SIMILAR" TO THOSE TAKEN BY MEXICO TO SOLVE THEIR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. ANOTHER STORY WAS ENTITLED: "MEXICAN DEBTS TOTAL $1 BILLION IN SOUTHERN TEXAS." THE BANNER HEADLINE OF TODAY'S EXCELSIOR READ: "IMF ENDORSES MEXICO IN FRONT OF FINANCIAL COMMUNITY." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT YESTERDAY AT THE BANK/FUND MEETING IN TORONTO, THE IMF DIRECTOR REAFFIRMED MEXICO'S ABILITY TO REPAY ITS FOREIGN DEBTS. A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED THAT AT SAME MEETING WORLD BANK PRESIDENT CLAUSEN WARNED THAT NOW MORE THAN EVER, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES NEED INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO PRESERVE SOCIAL STABILITY. ANOTHER STORY REPORTED "NORMAL BANKING OPERATIONS" WITH AN ACCOMPANYING PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE LINED UP IN FRONT OF LOCAL BANAMEX BRANCH PEACEFULLY AWAITING ITS REOPENING. OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "WE WILL NOT PROMOTE STOPPAGES: BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL;" AND (2) "LABOR CONGRESS LASHES OUT AT BUSINESS SLOWDOWN."

5. SATURDAY'S EDITION OF NOVEDADES (SEPTEMBER 4) LED WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "ONCE AGAIN THE
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REVOLUTION MARCHES FORWARD: JLP." SHOWING A PHOTO OF PRESIDENT IN FRONT OF HUGE CROWD IN ZOCALO SQUARE, THE ARTICLE REPORTS THAT JLP THANKED THEM FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF HIS RECENT ECONOMIC DECISIONS. OTHER ARTICLES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "THE CHANGES WILL LEAD TO PROGRESS SAY GOVERNORS TO PRESIDENT;" (2) "WORLD BANK WILL SUPPORT MEXICO;" AND (3)"FINANCIAL COLLAPSE AVERTED." THE FOLLOWING DAY (SEPTEMBER 5) NOVEDADES' LEAD HEADLINE ANNOUNCED: "FOUR THOUSAND BANK OFFICES RENEW OPERATIONS." THIS REPORT STATED THAT THE "ANXIOUSLY" AWAITED REOPENING OF BANKS

TOOK PLACE IN ATMOSPHERE OF "SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE." ANOTHER STORY REPORTED THAT "PRIVATE BANKS WILL OPERATE WITHOUT SUBSIDIES" AND THIS WILL NOT AFFECT THEIR "SAVERS." TWO OTHER ARTICLES REPORTED THAT MEXICO HAD THE "TOTAL SUPPORT OF FINANCIAL COMMUNITY THROUGH THE IMF" AND WOULD RECEIVE A $471 MILLION LOAN FROM WORLD BANK FOR AGRICULTURE AND CAPITAL GOODS. TODAY'S NOVEDADES (SEPTEMBER 7) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINES: "PRIVATE BANKS REGISTERED BY JLP: THEY OPERATE NORMALLY." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED DAVID IBARRA MUNEZ (DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL BANK OF MEXICO) AS SAYING THAT BANK NATIONALIZATION WAS NECESSARY TO CORRECT "FINANCIAL DISEQUILBRIA." IT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A PHOTO SHOWING THE PRESIDENT RAISING A MEXICAN FLAG IN FRONT OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF MEXICO IN A SYMBOLIC GESTURE OF BANK EXPROPRIATION. OTHER KEYSTOOIEE ENTITLED: (1) "IMF ENDORSES MEXICO'S ABILITY TO MEET OBLIGATIONS;" (2) "MEXICO'S COMMITMENTS WILL NOT BE AFFECTED;" (3) "THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PERMIT BACKSLIDING ON EXPROPRIATION: FIDEL VELASQUEZ;" AND (4) "THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC EQUILIBRIUM OF THE COUNTRY IS

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12217 03 OF 03 080035Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 MEXICO 12217

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

BROKEN: CLOUTHIER (PRESIDENT OF BUSINESS COORDINATION COUNCIL)."

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6. IMPORTANT HEADLINES IN CONSERVATIVE HERALDO OVER LAST FOUR-DAY PERIOD INCLUDED: "GOVERNMENT DOES NOT INTEND TO KEEP BANK-OWNED BUSINESSES: THEIR SHARES ARE TO BE OFFERED FOR SALE." (2) "INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES REJECT WORLDWIDE BANKRUPTCY;" (3) "MEXICAN BANKERS' ASSOCIATION COOPERATES IN THE TRANSFER OF ESTABLISHMENTS;" (4) "THE PRIVATE SECTOR WILL PURSUE A WIDE RANGE OF ACTION;" (5) "WE WILL NOT RENOUNCE ANY OF OUR LIBERTIES: JLP;" (6) "BANK NATIONALIZATION PRESERVES MIXED ECONOMY;" (7) "FEWER RESOURCES OF WORLD BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT;" (8) "DEBT REPAYMENTS POSTPONED 18 MONTHS; THEY WILL ONLY COVER INTERESTS;" UNCLASSIFIED

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(9) "INITIAL OPERATIONS OF NATIONALIZED BANKS CALM;" (10) "SILVA HERZOG NEGOTIATES THE LONG TERM RE-STRUCTURING OF EXTERNAL DEBT;" AND (11) "FIDEL VELASQUEZ WARNS PRIVATE SECTOR: THE SAME CAN HAPPEN TO YOU THAT HAPPENED TO BANKS."
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PLEASE PASS TREAS DEPSEC MCNAMAR

FOLLOWING MEXICO 12195 DTD SEPT 7 SENT ACTION STATE INFO TREASURY ABUD DHABI ALGIERS BAGHDAD BONN BRUSSELS CAIRO CARACAS DHAHRAN DOHA JAKARTA KHARTOUM KUWAIT LAGOS LIBREVILLE LONDON MANAMA MUSCAT OSLO OTTAWA PARIS QUITO RABAT ROME SANAA TOKYO VIENNA BRASILIA BUENOS AIRES SAN SALVADOR SAN JOSE MANAGUA GUATEMALA PANAMA TEGUCIGALPA QBELIZE BERN AND ALL USCONSULATES IN MEXICO, BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION.

QUOTE: UNCLAS MEXICO 12195

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS; EGEN, AFIN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: BANK OF MEXICO ANNOUNCEMENT ON EXCHANGE CONTROLS
BANK OF MEXICO ISSUED A STATEMENT YESTERDAY ENTITLED "ADVICE TO THE PUBLIC" CONCERNING THE IMPOSITION OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS AND THE NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS. THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT
EXCHANGE RATES
EXCHANGE MARKET, BANK DEPOSITS AND CREDITS AND LOANS GRANTED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY.
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/R 98 Date: 10/27/92
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PAGE 02 STATE 251831

- 1. IN ALL OF THE REPUBLIC THERE WILL BE TWO TYPES OF EXCHANGE RATE; THE PREFERENTIAL AT 50 PESOS TO THE DOLLAR AND THE ORDINARY RATE OF 70 PESOS TO THE DOLLAR.
- 2. THE PREFERENTIAL RATE WILL APPLY IN THE FOLLOWING CASES:
- A) PAYMENT ON PRINCIPAL, INTEREST PAYMENTS AND OTHER ASSOCIATED CREDIT CHARGES FOR FIRMS GRANTED LOANS BY CREDIT INSTITUTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PARAGRAPH 3.
- B) THE BUYING AND SELLING OF FOREIGN CURRENCY TO PAY FOR IMPORTS AUTHORIZED BY THE COMMERCE SECRETARIAT

AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES SET OUT BY THE TA-
RIAT.
- C) THE BUYING AND SELLING OF FOREIGN CURRENCY FOR PAYMENT ON THE PRINCIPAL, INTEREST PAYMENTS AND OTHER ASSOCIATED CREDIT CHARGES FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR FIRMS IN DEBT TO FOREIGN CREDIT INSTITUTIONS, EXCEPT WHERE STATED IN POINT 3. THE LOANS MUST BE REGISTERED WITH THE FINANCE SECRETARIAT AND CONFORM WITH THE SECRE-
TARIAT'S REGULATIONS.
- 3. THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE WILL APPLY WHEN CAL-
CULATING THE EQUIVALENT NATIONAL CURRENCY IN ALL CASES NOT COMING UNDER POINT 2. THIS RATE WILL BE USED FOR THE CONVERSION OF BANK DEPOSITS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY TO PESOS.
- THE ORDINARY RATE (70) WILL ALSO APPLY FOR THE PAYMENTS ON CREDITS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN MONEY BY FIRMS IN MEXICO ACTING AS FINANCIAL INTERMEDIARIES.
- 4. UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE, CREDIT INSTITUTIONS WILL REFRAIN FROM SELLING FOREIGN CURRENCY, AND ALSO GOLD OR SILVER IN ANY OF ITS FORMS, NOR SHOULD THEY PUT OUT GOLD COINS WITHOUT NOMINAL VALUE.
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- 5. CREDIT INSTITUTIONS WILL BUY FROM THE PUBLIC ACTING ON BEHALF OF, AND BY ORDER OF THE BANCO DE MEXICO:

- A) FOREIGN CURRENCY, IN BILLS OR DOCUMENTS, AT THE ORDINARY RATE.

- B) GOLD AND SILVER IN ALL ITS FORMS AT THE QUOTATION GIVEN BY THE BANCO DE MEXICO.

- C) THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS MUST KEEP ALL COINS OF GOLD AND SILVER AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE BANCO DE MEXICO.

- 6. THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS WILL NOT RECEIVE DEPOSITS DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY FOR SAVINGS ACCOUNTS, CHECKING ACCOUNTS, WITHDRAWABLE DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS ON PRE-
ESTABLISHED DAYS OR ON FIXED-TERM ACCOUNTS, NOR WILL IT AUTHORIZEANY TYPE OF CREDIT IN FOREIGN MONEY.

- WHEN A BANK DEPOSIT DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY REACHES MATURITY, THE HOLDER CAN ONLY MAINTAIN THE DEPOSIT IN NATIONAL CURRENCY.

- CREDITS AUTHORIZED BY INSTITUTIONS DENOMINATED IN GN CURRENCY CANNOT BE RENEWED IN FOREIGN CURRENCY.

INTEREST RATES

REDUCTIONS IN INTEREST RATES CHARGED BY BANKS FOR CREDIT AND LOANS IN NATIONAL CURRENCY.

- 1. CREDITS GRANTED TO THE PRODUCTIVE AND DISTRIBUTIVE SECTOR OF THE COUNTRY.

- A) CREDIT INSTITUTIONS MUST LOWER THEIR INTEREST RATES BY FIVE PERCENTAGE POINTS ON OUTSTANDING DEBTS OF UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 STATE 251831

THIS CHARACTER.

- B) ON DEBTS OF THIS CHARACTER BEING CONTRACTED OR RENEWED, INTEREST RATES MUST BE FIVE PERCENTAGE POINTS LOWER THAN THOSE OF AUGUST, 1982.

- C) FROM NOW ON, ALL INTEREST RATES CHARGED BY INSTITUTIONS MUST BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE VARIATIONS IN THE PRIME RATE (CPP). FOR THE NEXT THREE MONTHS, THESE RATES WILL ONLY BE ADJUSTED DOWN.

- 2. MORTGAGE LOANS

- A) LOANS OR CREDITS FOR MIDDLE-INCOME HOUSING.
- INTEREST RATES IB THIS TYPE OF LOAN WILL FOLLOW RULES UNDER POINT 1, BUT THE RATES WILL BE REDUCED BY TEN PERCENTAGE POINTS.
- B) LOANS OR CREDITS FOR SOCIAL-INTEREST HOUSING.
- LOANS OR CREDITS FOR ANY KIND OF SOCIAL-INTEREST HOUSING WILL NOT EXCEED 11 PERCENT PER ANNUM.
- THE INTEREST RATES SET FOR LOANS ON THIS KIND OF HOUSING WILL, AS OF SEPTEMBER 6, 1982, BE SUBJECT TO FLUCTUATION AS SET BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.
- 3. CREDITS TO EJIDATARIOS, LOW-INCOME CAMPESINOS, AGROINDUSTRIAL FIRMS, STOCKBROKERS, AND THOSE WHO HAVE ACCESS TO DEVELOPMENT TRUST FUNDS (FOGAIN, FOPROBA, FIRA AND FONEI) WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO THESE REDUCTIONS.
- 4. OTHER CREDITS
- CREDITS AND LOANS NOT INCLUDED IN THE ABOVEMENTIONED POINTS, SUCH AS PERSONAL LOANS, CREDIT CARDS AND CREDIT FOR RESIDENTIAL HOUSES WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO REDUCTIONS.
- INCREASE IN INTEREST RATES ON SAVINGS ACCOUNTS.
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PAGE 05 STATE 251831

AS OF SEPTEMBER 6, 1982, INT PAID ON SAVINGS ACCOUNTS WILL BE INCREASED TO 20 PERCENT PER ANNUM.
- INTEREST RATES ON FIXED-TERM DEPOSITS OR DEPOSITS WITHDRAWABLE ON PRE-ESTABLISHED DAYS.
- THE BANK OF MEXICO, WHICH WILL FIX THE INTEREST RATES ON FIXED-TERM DEPOSITS, WILL REDUCE THE RATES ON AN AVERAGE OF TWO PERCENTAGE POINTS EVERY WEEK. THIS WILL CONTINUE FOR FIVE WEEKS, AFTER WHICH TIME THE SITUATION

WILL BE REVISED.
- RATES ON DEPOSITS WITHDRAWABLE ON PRE-ESABLISHED DAYS WILL BE REDUCED BY THE SAME AVERAGE, REGARDLESS OF WHEN THE DEPOSITS WERE MADE.
CHECKING ACCOUNTS
AS OF YESTERDAY, BY DECREE OF THE FINANCE SECRETA-RIAT, BANKS WILL NO LONGER CHARGE A COMMISSION FOR THE HANDLING OF CHECKING ACCOUNTS, REGARDLESS OF THE AVERAGE AMOUNT HELD IN THE ACCOUNT THROUGHOUT THE MONTH.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12318 01 OF 02 092146Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12318

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12287

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 9, 1982.

2. A LEAD STORY IN ALL FIVE PAPERS SURVEYED REPORTED ON REMARKS MADE YESTERDAY BY U.S. ASSISTANT TREASURY SECRETARY BERYL SPRINKEL AND HIS GERMAN COUNTER-PART HORST SCHULMANN AT IMF/WORLD BANK MEETING IN TORONTO ABOUT NEED FOR MEXICO TO TIGHTEN ITS BELT. IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY), SPRINKEL IS

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12318 01 OF 02 092146Z

QUOTED AS SAYING MEXICO WILL HAVE TO MAKE "SIGNIFICANT ADJUSTMENTS" TO QUALIFY FOR AN IMF PROGRAM AND THAT THE U.S. WANTS THE IMF TO MAINTAIN "STRICT LOAN CONDITIONS." UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) FURTHER REPORTED THAT SPRINKEL STATED THE RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION AND INTRODUCTION OF FULL EXCHANGE CONTROLS BY MEXICO "WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PART OF A PROGRAM THE IMF WOULD HAVE WANTED FOR ITS NEGOTIA-TIONS WITH GOM." THE GERMAN VICE-MINISTER SANN IS QUOTED IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) AS STATING THAT SILVA-HERZOG HAD BEEN GIVEN A GENERAL OUTLINE OF AN IMF STABILIZATION PROGRAM THAT SUGGESTS

"DRACONIAN MEASURES" AND IS "WITHOUT CONCESSIONS." THIS SAME PAPER QUOTED SPRINKEL AS SAYING "ADJUSTMENT" IS THE SOLUTION TO MEXICO'S PROBLEM RATHER THAN "THROWING MORE MONEY TO MEXICO." REACTING TO THESE CALLS FOR GREATER AUSTERITY, EXCELSIOR'S LEAD EDITORIAL CLAIMED THAT MEXICO HAD ALREADY TAKEN "ENERGETIC MEASURES" TO CORRECT ITS FINANCIAL PROBLEMS: BANK NATIONALIZATION AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS. A COMPANION CARTOON SHOWED A BEGGAR WITH A NOOSE AROUND HIS NECK TELLING A WORRIED "IMF" HANGMAN THAT HE WOULDN'T PAY HIS DEBTS WITHOUT A LOAN EXTENSION.

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3. MORE CONSERVATIVE PAPERS ALSO GAVE GENERALLY BROAD COVERAGE TO THIS STORY. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES REPORTED: "IMF HELP FOR MEXICO CONDITIONAL: GERMANY AND U.S. TRY TO FORCE SEVERE MEASURES." MEANWHILE THE LEAD HEADLINE IN THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO READ: "IF MEXICO WANTS A LOAN IT WILL HAVE TO CHANGE ITS ECONOMIC POLICY."

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4. OTHER KEY STORIES BY PAPER ARE REVIEWED BELOW.

5. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) RAN AN ARTICLE ENTITLED: "DON'T EXPECT A DOWNPOUR BUT DRIZZLE, CREDITORS OF MEXICO WARNED BY U.S. PRESS." THIS STORY SUMMARIZED REPORTS IN JOURNAL OF COMMERCE AND WALL STREET JOURNAL STATING THAT MEXICO'S FINANCIAL SITUATION HAD CREATED "DEPRESSION AND DESPERATION" AMONG BANKERS BECAUSE THEY WOULD HAVE TO "SWEAT A LITTLE MORE" BEFORE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF IMF/MEXICO NEGOTIATIONS. ANOTHER COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR HAD ADOPTED A "STRATEGY OF SILENCE" AS FORM OF PROTEST AGAINST RECENT ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES. OTHER KEY REPORTS WERE HEADLINED: (1) "STATE BANKS, A GUARANTEE OF RATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: PATRIMONY MINISTER OTEYZA;" (2) "CRIME TO TAKE OUT OF COUNTRY WITHOUT PERMISSION OF BANK OF MEXICO;" AND (3) "LABOR CONFEDERATION PROPOSES BUYING EXPROPRIATED SHARES."

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6. UNO MAS UNO CARRIED KEY STORY ENTITLED: "THE BANKS WON'T BE SOURCE OF SUBSIDY: PATRIMONY MINISTER OTEYZA." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO MINISTER OTEYZA RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION WILL PERMIT THE STATE TO REORIENT PREVIOUSLY COMMITTED FINANCIAL RESOURCES "TO PRIORITY ACTIVITIES THAT BENEFIT THE MAJORITIES." A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "BANK ENTERPRISES TO THE STATE: LABOR CONGRESS (CT)." THIS ARTICLE NOTED THAT YESTERDAY CT LEADER SEGOVIA REQUESTED

IN MEETING WITH JLP THAT GOM NATIONLIZE THE "INDUSTRIES OF IRON, CEMENT, CELLULOSE, FOOD, AGRICULTURE AND MACHINERY PRODUCTION..." SEGOVIA STATED THE ALTERNATIVE TO SUCH A STATE TAKEOVER

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12318 02 OF 02 092147Z
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INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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INFO AMCONSUL TORONTO IMMEDIATE
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12318

WOULD BE TO SELL THEIR "SHARES" TO WORKERS. ANOTHER STORY REPORTED: "EXPORT OF GOLD SUBJECT TO PRIOR APPROVAL BY MINISTRIES OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDITS." OTHER KEY STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "SUPPLIES NORMAL IN FRONTIER WITHIN 15 DAYS: MINISTRY OF COMMERCE;" AND (2) "CONSTITUTION SHOULD PREVENT REPRIVATIZATION OF THE BANKS: PRI DIRECTOR OJEDA."

7. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) RAN STORY ENTITLED: "THE ECONOMIC REFORM IS UNDERWAY." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR GOVERNMENT TO EXERCISE GREATER CONTROL OVER MONOPOLIES, UTILITIES, TAX EVASION, AND FISCAL POLICY ACCORDING TO OPPOSITION PARTY SPOKESMEN. AT SAME TIME THESE PARTIES CAUTIONED GOM NOT TO ABUSE ITS NEW ECONOMIC POWER THROUGH "CORRUPTION" AND SUPPRESSION OF FREE EX-

PRESSION. OTHER STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1)
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12318 02 OF 02 092147Z

"STATE ENTERPRISES ARE EFFICIENT;" (2) "MEXICO SHOULD GIVE FACILITIES TO THEIR FIRMS SO THEY CAN PAY THEIR U.S. DEBTS: COMMERCIAL BANK OF TEXAS;" (3) "FUND SHOULD NOT BE USED AS LAST RESOURCE: IMF DIRECTOR LAROSIERE;" AND (4) "BANKS CONTROLED NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT."
. A LEAD HEADLINE IN NOVEDADES (MODERATE) READ: "EXCELLENCE EMPHASIZED IN MIXED ECONOMY: JLP." THIS ARTICLE NOTED THAT "EFFICIENT" MANAGEMENT OF PARASTATALS IS IMPORTANT TO GOM ACCORDING TO LOPEZ PORTILLO. AT SAME MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BANCO SOMEX, WHICH HAS LONG BEEN OWNED BY GOM, PATRIMONY SECRETARY OTEYZA STATED THAT "NATIONAL URGENCIES DEMANDED TODAY THE UNFREEZING OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES" TO CREATE "PRIORITY PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES." ANOTHER STORY REPORTED THAT "SEVERE PENALTY" WILL BE IMPOSED ON THOSE THAT SMUGGLE GOLD OUT OF THE COUNTRY. OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "WORKERS CONFRONT DESTABILIZATION ATTEMPTS;" AND () "THE $250 ALLOWANCE IS STARTED FOR FOREIGN TRAVELERS."

9. FINALLY, THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO RAN THE FOLLOWING PROMINENT HEADLINE: WE WILL CONTINUE UNDER THE MIXED ECONOMY REGIME, ASSURES JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON SOMEX BOARD MEETING IN WHICH BANK NATIONALIZATION WAS DESCRIBED AS MEASURE STRENGTHENING GOM AS "RECTOR" OF ECONOMY. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELASQUEZ DENIES A "CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE" EXISTS BETWEEN MANAGEMENT AND WORKERS. HE WENT ON TO WARN THAT WORKERS WOULD RESPOND TO ANY "PROVOCATION" BY THEIR EMPLOYERS WHILE FIGHTING TO PRESERVE RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION. (DRAFTED: ECON: UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12318 02 OF 02 092147Z

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12324 01 OF 02 092215Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12324

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EPET, MX
SUBJECT: LOPEZ PORTILLO'S NATIONAL DAY ADDRESS: REMARKS RELATING TO PETROLEUM SECTOR.

REFS: (A) MEXICO 12041, (B) MEXICO 12109, (C) MEXICO 3914

1. SUMMARY: REFTELS (A) AND (B) TRANSMITTED HIGHLIGHTS AND GENERAL ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO'S SEPTEMBER 1 NATIONAL DAY ADDRESS. THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES THAT PORTION OF HIS REMARKS RELATED TO THE PETROLEUM SECTOR. JLP PROMISED TO CONTINUE AID TO THE CARIBBEAN BASIN UNDER THE SAN JOSE AGREEMENT DESPITE MEXICO'S CURRENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. HE ANNOUNCED AN INCREASE IN PROBABLE RESERVES FROM 80 TO 90 BILLION BARRELS. PROVEN AND POTENTIAL RESERVES ARE UNCHANGED. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12324 01 OF 02 092215Z

2. PETROLEUM SECTOR:

A. IN DISCUSSING NATIONAL STRATEGY DURING HIS SEXENIO, JLP STRESSED THAT PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT WAS THE ONLY OPTION OPEN TO MEXICO FOR GENERATING THE RESOURCES NEEDED TO SOLVE THE NATION'S PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT MEXICO HAD BEEN AWARE THAT IT WAS JOINING A DANGEROUS INTERNATIONAL GAME, BUT THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN STUPID TO PASS UP THE OPPORTUNITY CREATED BY FAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL PETROLEUM PRICES. JLP SAID QUOTE I TOOK THE DECISION TO LAUNCH THE COUNTRY

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FORTH IN ORDER TO ESCAPE THE TRAP, WHICH A HOSTILE WORLD COMMANDED BY POWERFUL COUNTRIES FOR THEIR OWN BENEFIT, HAS PERMANENTLY SET FOR THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTIRES. UNQUOTE.

B. RESERVE FIGURES: THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN RESERVE FIGURES WAS AN INCREASE IN PROBABLE RESERVES FROM THE 80 BILLION BARRELS ANNOUNCED IN MARCH 82 (SEE REFTTL (C) TO 90 BILLION BARRELS. PROVEN RESERVES REMAIN AT 72 BILLION BARRELS AND POTENTIAL RESERVES, WHICH INCLUDE PPOBABLE AND PROVEN RESERVES, REMAIN AT 250 BILLION BARRELS. THE PROVEN AND POTENTIAL FIGURES ARE UNCHANGED SINCE LAST YEAR'S INFORME.

C. THE PUBLISHED TEXT OF THE INFORME INCLUDED A REFERENCE TO THE PRODUCTION LIMITATION OF 2.5 MILLION BARRELS PER DAY (B/D). JLP OMITTED THIS PARAGRAPH IN DELIVERING THE SPEECH. THE OMITTED PARAGRAPH READS QUOTE: ON MARCH 18 OF THIS YEAR UNCLASSIFIED

WE ESTABLISHED A PRODUCTION PLATFORM OF 2.5 MILLION BARRELS A DAY, UNDERSTOOD TO COVER BOTH DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION AND EXPORTS. END QUOTE. EMBASSY COMMENT: THIS PARAGRAPH MAY HAVE BEEN OMITTED BECAUSE IT CONFLICTED WITH THE ANNOUNCED PRODUCTION LEVEL.
D. EXPORTS AND PRODUCTION LEVELS: JLP ANNOUNCED THAT 1982 EXPORTS WOULD AVERAGE ABOUT 1.5 MILLION B/D AND WOULD EARN INCOME OF OVER 14 BILLION DOLLARS. HE SAID THAT PETROLEUM PRODUCTION HAD RISEN FROM 800 THOUSAND B/D IN 1976 TO 2.8 MILLION B/D IN 1982. GAS PRODUCTION INCREASED FROM 2.1 BILLION CUBIC FEET IN 1976 TO 4.3 BILLION CUBIC FEET IN 1982; 98 PERCENT OF THE GAS IS BEING USED AND NONE IS BEING FLARED AS WAS THE CASE FIVE YEARS AGO. PETROCHEMICAL PRODUCTION INCREASED FROM 4 MILLION TONS IN 1976 TO 14 MILLION TONS THIS YEAR.
E. PEMEX INVESTMENTS IN THE PETROLEUM AND PETROCHEMICAL SECTORS DURING THE SEXENIO CAME TO 27 MILLION DOLLARS.

F. THE SAN JOSE AGREEMENT, JLP SAID, HAS WITHSTOOD THE TEST OF TIME AND THE WEIGHT OF THE CURRENT CRISIS. BETWEEN 1980 AND 1982 MEXICO PROVIDED MORE THAN 700 MILLION IN ECONOMIC HELP TO THE CARIBBEAN NATIONS UNDER THIS AGREEMENT. ON AN ANNUAL BASIS HE SAID THIS IS EQUIVALENT TO THE AMOUNT PROPOSED UNDER THE CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES, A NATION WHOSE RESOURCES ARE INCOMPARABLY LARGER. IN SPITE OF THE CURRENT CRISIS JLP SAID THAT MEXICO WOULD KEEP ITS PROMISES AND SET AN EXAMPLE OF HELPING THE WEAK TO DEVELOP WITHOUT

TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THEIR SITUATION AND
WITHOUT THE HUMILIATION OF INTERVENTION OR
IDEOLOGICAL PRECONDITIONS. (DRAFTED BY:HBLANE)

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12324 02 OF 02 092215Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	NSC-01	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-08
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12324

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12421 01 OF 02 102300Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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INFO AMCONSUL TORONTO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12421

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12318

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES THAT APPEARED IN THE MEXICO CITY PRESS ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1982.

2. A BANNER HEADLINE OF EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) READ: "FRUITFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH MEXICO FOR THE PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT: IMF." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED IMF DIRECTOR DE LAROSIERE AS SAYING HE AND FINANCE MINISTER SILVA-HERZOG HAD COMPLETED "WIDE AND INTENSIVE" DISCUSSIONS AND THE IMF IS UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12421 01 OF 02 102300Z

"OBLIGATED" TO HELP A COUNTRY WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED REMARKS MADE BY PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA MADRID (DLM) AFTER BEING RATIFIED BY CONGRESS AS MEXICO'S NEXT PRESIDENT. DURING HIS SPEECH, DLM PLEDGED TO DEFEND A "PLURALISTIC" SOCIETY WITH A "MIXED ECONOMY." COMMENTING ABOUT RECENT ECONOMIC DECISIONS OF JLP GOVERNMENT, HE SAID LOPEZ PORTILLO "FIRMLY CONTROLS THE RUDDER IN THE MIDST OF STORM." ANOTHER STORY QUOTED THE PRESIDENT AS SAYING THAT THE"NEXT THREE MONTHS WILL BE DIFFICULT TIMES." IN YET ANOTHER FRONT PAGE REPORT THE CONFEDERATION OF INDUSTRIAL CHAMBERS IN MEXICO (CONCAMIN) CALLED ON

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THE GOM TO "PUT AN END" TO PRIVATE SECTOR "ANXIETIES" CAUSED BY BANK NATIONALIZATION. CONCAMIN STATED THIS CAN BE DONE ONLY IF GOM CLEARLY DEFINES THE FUTURE OF THOSE BUSINESSES WHICH WERE PARTLY OWNED BY PRIVATE BANKS. AN EDITORIAL ON PAGE SIX ARGUED THAT AN AGREEMENT WITH IMF WAS "PROBABLE" IN PART BECAUSE BOTH SIDES ACCEPT THE NEED FOR AN "ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM." AN ACCOMPANYING CARTOON SHOWS W.C. FIELDS-LIKE CHARACTER WITH IMF ON HIS STOVEPIPE HAT RECKLESSLY HURLING A BOOMERANG LABELED "LOANS."

3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NAITONALISTIC) CARRIED FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "DLM EXPRESSES POLITICAL SOLIDARITY AND AFFECTION FOR JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON DLM'S SPEECH SUPPORTING LOPEZ PORTILLO YESTERDAY AFTER THE CONGRESS DECLARED THE FORMER TO BE MEXICO'S PRESIDENT-ELECT. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT IMF DIRECTOR DE LAROSIERE CONSIDERED HIS RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH SILVA-HERZOG TO BE "FRUITFUL" ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHEN AN AGREEMENT FOR "EXPANDED FACILITY"
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WOULD BE SIGNED BY MEXICO AND THE IMF. BURIED DEEP IN THE PAPER (ON PAGES TWELVE AND THIRTEEN) UNO MAS UNO REPORTED FINANCIAL TIMES EDITORIAL STATING: "JLP HAS WON HIMSELF A PLACE IN MEXICAN HISTORY BY NATIONALIZING THE BANKS." A COMPANION STORY QUOTED WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLE PURPORTEDLY BASED ON LEAKED STATE DEPARTMENT CABLES CHARACTERIZING CARLOS TELLO (PRESIDENT, BANK OF MEXICO) AS A "LEFTIST" AND PREDICTING THAT EXCHANGE CONTROLS "WILL BE A DISASTER." ANOTHER INTERIOR ARTICLE REPORTED ON THE "GENERALIZED REJECTION OF PRESSURES THAT IMF WANTS TO EXERT ON MEXICO" AMONG ORGANIZED LABOR AND OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES. FINALLY, UNO MAS UNO CARRIED A FULL PAGE AD DENOUNCING IMF INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY AND CALLING ON ALL "DEMOCRATIC AND REVOLUTIONARY" ORGANIZATIONS TO RALLY "AGAINST AUSTERITY" TOMORROW AT 10:30 A.M., IN FRONT OF NORMAL SUPERIOR SCHOOL. THIS DECLARATION WAS SIGNED BY OPPOSITION POLITICAL, RURAL, AND STUDENT GROUPS.

4. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES RAN THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "DLM WILL PRACTICE PLURALISM AND MIXED ECONOMICS," ACOMPANIED BY PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING HIM SURROUNDED BY CONGRESSIONAL DEPUTIES. PRESIDENT-ELECT DLM PLEDGED TO FOLLOW THE "PATH OF THE REVOLUTION" WHILE CALLING ON MEXICANS TO CONDEMN "SOCIAL RANCOR AND DISCORD." A COMPANION STORY QUOTED PRESIDENT JLP AS SAYING THE "BANK NATIONALIZATION IS A BANNER FOR THE YOUTH." THIS ARTICLE FURTHER STATED THAT VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS GAVE THE PRESIDENT CASH CONTRIBUTIONS EQUIVALENT TO $160,000

TO PAY OFF THE EXTERNAL DEBT. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED $1.3 BILLION SURPLUS IN THE TRADE BALANCE IN THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS OF 1982 DUE TO "MEASURES ADOPTED AT THE END OF 1981 AND APPLIED IN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12421 02 OF 02 102302Z
ACTION ARA-16

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INFO AMCONSUL TORONTO IMMEDIATE
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12421

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR." MEANWHILE, IMF DIRECTOR DE LAROSIERE IS QUOTED IN ANOTHER STORY AS SAYING "WE ARE WORKING ARDUOUSLY" WITH MEXICO TO FORMULATE A LOAN PROGRAM. THIS SAME ARTICLE STATED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ATMOSPHERE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS "HARSH" BECAUSE OF "SEVERITY OF THE STABILIZATION MEASURES THE IMF WANTS." A WALL STREET JOURNAL EDITORIAL IS REPRINTED IN "BUSINESS AND FINANCE" SECTION ADVOCATING THAT MEXICO ADOPT "FUNDAMENTAL" ECONOMIC CHANGES TO "MOVE AHEAD." RETURNING TO THE FRONT PAGE, TOURISM SECRETARY ROSA LUZ ALEGRIA REQUESTED THAT ANY MEASURES AUTHORIZING "PHYSICAL SEARCHES" BY CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES OF TOURISTS SUSPECTED OF HAVING "UNDECLARED FOREIGN EXCHANGE" BE REVOKED. IN THIS STORY THE SECRETARY ALSO STATED THAT THE $250 FOREIGN TRAVEL ALLOWANCE

FOR MEXICANS IS "INSUFFICIENT."
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12421 02 OF 02 102302Z

5. THE LEAD STORY IN HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) REPORTED: "DE LA MADRID DEMANDS RENUNCIATION OF VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL RANCOR." A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTED VICE PRESIDENT OF MEXICAN CONFEDERATION OF MANAGERS (COPARMEX) AS SAYING "THE BANKS WILL SOON HAVE TO BE SUBSIDIZED." ACCORDING TO THIS PRIVATE SECTOR OFFICIAL, THE BANK NATIONALIZATION "WILL WORSEN" THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WHILE GOM USES "NEBULOUS" TERM OF MIXED ECONOMY TO JUSTIFY ITS "UNINTERRUPTED MARCH" TOWARD "STATE INTERVENTIONISM." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED DENIAL OF LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELASQUEZ THAT MEXICO IS MOVING "TOWARD SOCIALISM." OTHER LEAD STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "THE CONTROL OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE WILL BE IMBROGLIO: GAVIN;" (2) "MEETINGS WITH HERZOG INTENSIVE AND FRUITFUL, ASSERTS IMF;" (3) "TORONTO MEETING CONCLUDED: FISCAL AUSTERITY IS NECESSARY;" AND (4) "DIFFICULT TIMES REMAIN...PRESIDENT DECLARES."

6. FINALLY, EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "I WILL DEFEND THE MIXED ECONONMY: DLM." THIS STORY REPORTED THAT IN HIS SPEECH YESTERDAY, THE PRESIDENT-ELECT STATED: "I WILL BE PRESIDENT OF ALL MEXICANS, WITHOUT FORGETTING THAT I CAME TO POWER THROUGH THE WILL AND SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL MAJORITIES." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "IMF MEETING ENDS; CONCLUSION: A GIGANTIC RESCUE OPERATION FOR MEXICO IS URGENT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE MAIN TOPIC OF BEHIND-THE-SCENES DISCUSSIONS AT THIS IMF-WORLD BANK MEETING WAS MEXICO'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. THIS STORY ALSOSTATEDMEXICO WOULD PRESENT ITS
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12421 02 OF 02 102302Z

CREDITORS WITH A PROGRAM TO RESTRUCTURE ITS DEBTS "IN THE FIRST WEEKS OF NOVEMBER." OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "ACCORDING TO GAVIN, THE SITUATION IN MEXICO IS COMPLETE IMBROGLIO;" (2) "STATE BANKS WILL END UP BEING SUBSIDIZED: MEXICAN CONFEDERATION OF MANAGERS (COPARMEX);" (3) "THE GUARDIAN AND FINANCIAL TIMES PRAISE EXPROPRIATION;" AND (4) "INDUSTRIALISTS AND ECONOMISTS AGAINST IMF PRESSURES." (DRAFTED:DLDUDLEY)
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12522 01 OF 02 141626Z
ACTION ARA-16

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12522

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12318

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES THAT APPEARED IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 11-13, 1982.

2. EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) DOES NOT PUBLISH WEEKEND EDITIONS. ITS BANNER HEADLINE ON MONDAY (SEPTEMBER 13) READ: "FINANCIAL PLATFORM URGENT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL CHAMBER OF INDUSTRY AND TRANSFORMATION (CANACINTRA) IT IS "IMPERATIVE" THAT GOVERNMENT CREATE A "STABLE" FINANCIAL PROGRAM. CANACINTRA ALSO CALLED UPON GOM

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12522 01 OF 02 141626Z

TO "CLARIFY ITS ECONOMIC POLICIES" SO THAT BUSINESSMEN WILL HAVE "SUFFICIENT" INFORMATION TO MAKE "EFFECTIVE DECISIONS." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "WE DIDN'T FULFILL EMPLOYMENT PLANS; ONE MILLION WITHOUT WORK IN FIRST HALF OF YEAR." THIS ARTICLE NOTED THAT ACCORDING TO THE MEXICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SECURITY, JOB DECLINES BY INDUSTRY ARE AS FOLLOWS: 500,000 IN CONSTRUCTION; 80,000 IN SERVICES; 43,000 IN MANUFACTURING; 23,000 IN COMMERCE; AND 10,000 IN HEAVY INDUSTRY. THE CONFEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE BLAMED THESE JOB LOSSES ON "ERRONEOUS" GOVERNMENT

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POLICIES WHICH "PROVOKED" THE FINANCIAL CRISIS. MORE UPBEAT ARTICLE NOTED THAT IN THE NEXT THREE MONTHS THE INTERNATIONAL RESERVES OF THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL GROW BY "$12 BILLION." THE NEW MONEY WILL COME FROM THE RETURN OF MEXICAN-OWNED BANK ACCOUNTS ABROAD. OTHER HEADLINES WERE: (1) "IMPORTS DETAINED FOR LAST SIX WEEKS;" AND (2) "CLOTHING INDUSTRY ON LOOKOUT FOR RECOVERY."

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3. THE SATURDAY (SEPTEMBER 11) EDITION OF EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) RAN THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "NOTHING ILLEGAL IN NATIONALIZATION DECREE: JLP." THIS STORY REPORTED ON SPEECH MADE BY PRESIDENT TO CHEMICAL EXECUTIVES WHO DONATED THE EQUIVALENT OF $170,000 TO FUND FOR PAYMENT OF EXTERNAL DEBT AND INDEMNITY OF EXPROPRIATED BANKS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY STATED THAT "THE MAJORITY OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION" HAS BEEN "SERIOUSLY DISCONCERTED" BY THE RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION AND TREND TOWARD CENTRALIZED ECONOMY IN MEXICO. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED THAT MEXICAN DIPLOMATS ARE STUDYING RECENT WALL STREET UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 MEXICO 12522 01 OF 02 141626Z

JOURNAL ARTICLE PURPORTEDLY BASED ON LEAKED STATE DEPARTMENT CABLES IN WHICH AMBASSADOR GAVIN IS QUOTED AS CRITICIZING NEW GOM ECONOMIC POLICIES. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "TO LEAVE COUNTRY WITH MORE THAN 5000 PESOS WILL REQUIRE PERMISSION OF COMMERCE MINISTRY." THE FOLLOWING DAY (SEPTEMBER 12) THE LEAD HEADLINE READ: "MEXICO DIDN'T HAVE ANOTHER PATH THAN THAT WHICH IT CHOSE: JLP." QUOTING PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN SALTILLO ON SATURDAY, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE NEXT 80 DAYS WILL BE "DIFFICULT" REQUIRING RENEWAL OF "PATRIOTISM" IN ALL MEXICANS. ANOTHER LEAD STORY QUOTED THE MEXICAN DIRECTOR GENERAL OF CUSTOMS AS SAYING PHYSICAL SEARCHES OF FOREIGN TRAVELERS WILL ONLY BE CONDUCTED IN CASES OF "TIP-OFF OR SUSPICION." THE ACCOMPANYING PHOTOGRAPH SHOWED LONG LINES OF TRAVELERS AT AIRPORT X-RAY MACHINES WAITING TO HAVE THEIR LUGGAGE INSPECTED. THE LEAD STORY TODAY (SEPTEMBER 13) REPORTED: "WITHOUT THE HELP OF IMF THERE WILL BE ECONOMIC CHAOS IN LATIN AMERICA: OAS." ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE LABOR CONGRESS HAS CREATED A TEMPORARY COMMISSION TO ORGANIZE BANK EMPLOYEES.

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4. SATURDAY'S HEADLINE OF UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) READ: "JLP TO BUSINESSMEN: SUPPORT THE CHANGE." QUOTING PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO 100 CHEMICAL EXECUTIVES ON FRIDAY, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED JLP'S CALL FOR PRIVATE SECTOR TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN MEXICO'S CURRENT "PROCESS OF CHANGE." A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED BUSINESS LEADER MANUEL CLOUTHIER'S APPEAL TO PUT AN END TO "STERILE" SOCIAL CONFLICTS.

THE FOLLOWING DAY (SEPTEMBER 12) EXCELSIOR'S LEAD STORY WAS ENTITLED: "SOLIDARITY WILL OVERCOME CHALLENGES: JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH IN WHICH JLP STATED THAT TODAY'S

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12522 02 OF 02 141628Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12522

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

WARS ARE WAGED MORE WITH "ECONOMIC POLICIES" THAN "WEAPONS." ANOTHER STORY REPORTED THAT BORDER MERCHANTS IN U.S. HAVE ASKED CONGRESS FOR FINANCIAL HELP TO CUSHION BUSINESS IMPACT OF RECENT PESO DEVALUATIONS. THE LEAD EDITORIAL CARTOON ENTITLED "CONDITIONS" SHOWED AN UNFOLDED, DOLLAR-LADENED WALLET INITIALED "IMF" EQUIPPED WITH MOUSETRAP. TODAY'S EXCELSIOR CARRIED FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "LEFTIST UNION DEFENDS SALARY." THIS STORY REPORTED ON SEPTEMBER 11-12 MEETINGS OF 110 INDEPENDENT UNIONS AND OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES AT NORMAL SUPERIOR SCHOOL. THESE ORGANIZATIONS AGREED TO JOINTLY: (1) DEFEND SALARIES AND EMPLOYMENT; (2) FIGHT SCARCITY; (3) PRESERVE DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES; AND (4) STAGE DEMONSTRATION ON SEPTEMBER 27. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY QUOTED LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELASQUEZ

AS SAYING "WORKERS ARE CAPABLE OF MANAGING BANK-OWNED
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12522 02 OF 02 141628Z

ENTERPRISES." A COMPANION ARTICLE NOTED THAT MEXICANS WHO HAVE FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS CAN NOW REPATRIATE THEIR DOLLARS THROUGH THE NATIONALIZED BANKING SYSTEM AT EXCHANGE RATE OF $1/70 PESOS WITH "CONFIDENTIALITY."

5. THE SATURDAY EDITION (SEPTEMBER 11) OF MODERATE NOVEDADES CARRIED FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "BUSINESS LEADER CLOUTHIER PROPOSES TO JLP AN END TO CONFRONTATIONS." AN ACCOMPANYING PHOTOGRAPH SHOWED BUSINESSMEN DELIVERING SMALL PESO CHECK FOR NATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND TO FINANCE DEBT OBLIGATIONS. A COMPANION ARTICLE CITED PRESIDENT'S CONTENTION THAT BANK NATIONALIZATION WAS NOT DONE "OUTSIDE THE CONSTITUTION." YET ANOTHER STORY QUOTED BANK OF MEXICO OFFICIAL AS SAYING EXCHANGE CONTROL REGULATIONS WOULD BE PUBLISHED NEXT WEEK. ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTED THAT PRIOR AUTHORIZATION IS REQUIRED TO EXPORT MORE THAN 5000 PESOS. ON SUNDAY (SEPTEMBER 12) NOVEDADES LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "JLP WARNS THAT RADICAL CHANGE AWAITS US." REPORTING ON PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH IN SALTILLO, THIS ARTICLE INDICATED THAT TIMES AHEAD WILL BE "TROUBLING AND FULL OF TRIALS." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT "BUSINESSMEN ARE COMMITTED TO REVITALIZE THE ECONOMY." OTHER LEAD STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "EMPLOYEES OF 48 OF THE 54 BANKS FAVOR UNIONIZATION;" AND (2) "WATCHFULNESS REDOUBLED IN AIRPORT INSPECTIONS." TODAY'S NOVEDADES CARRIED THE FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "WE WILL ALL SUFFER AUSTERITY: MERCHANTS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTES LEADER OF MERCHANTS IN MEXICO CITY AS CALLING ON ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY TO SACRIFICE TO AVOID AN "INFLATIONARY SPIRAL OF UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12522 02 OF 02 141628Z

STORY REPORTEDTHATFOR THE LAST MONTH AN IMF MISSION HAS BEEN IN MEXICO GATHERING ECONOMIC DATA. OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "BANK CONFIDENTIALITY FOR REPATRIATED CAPITAL;" AND (2) "BANKERS APPROVE STATUTES; THEIR UNION WILL BE FREE AND DEMOCRATIC." EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWS HOBO SARCASTICALLY TELLING HIS DOG THAT THEIR GREAT GRANDCHILDREN WILL BE BETTER OFF THAN THEY ARE.

6. LEADING HEADLINES IN THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO FOR SEPTEMBER 11-13 PERIOD INCLUDED: (1) "MAXIMUM OF

5000 PESOS IN BILLS AND JEWELRY CAN BE TAKEN OUT OF COUNTRY." (2) "END TO THE CLASS STRUGGLE, DEMAND OF BUSINESSMEN TO JLP;" (3) "AUTHORITIES DECREE BAN ON SPECIAL METAL EXPORTS;" (4) "NATIONALIZATION, FORMULA TO CHANGE STRUCTURE OF COUNTRY;" (5) "RESTRICTION REQUESTED ON FOREIGN TRAVEL;" (6) "COLLAPSE OF METAL SALES; IN TAXCO 1000 WORKSHOPS CLOSED;" (7) "WITH SUBSTITUTION OF INVESTMENT, CAPITAL CAN BE REPATRIATED;" (8) "ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION TO U.S. INCREASES;" AND (9) "CHURCH HOSTS DAY OF PRA
YERS TO EMERGE FROM THE CRISIS." (DRAFTED:ECON: DLDUDLEY) SHANDLE

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12555 01 OF 02 142307Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	OIC-02
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3309
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12555

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AGIN, AGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12522

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 14, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "REGULATIONS TO CONTROL FOREIGN EXCHANGE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT EXCHANGE CONTROLS WILL AFFECT "ALL COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES OF IMPORTATION AND EXPORTATION, AS WELL AS DEPARTURE OF TRAVELERS AND REMITTANCES OF CAPITAL ABROAD." THE REGULATIONS WILL BE SUMMARIZED IN A SEPTEL. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12555 01 OF 02 142307Z

ARTICLE REPORTED: "VAST DROUGHT LOWERS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION; GRAINS AND OILS HARDEST HIT." THIS STORY STATED THAT DRY WEATHER HAS ENDANGERED 30 PERCENT OF THE SPRING-WINTER HARVEST; EQUIVALENT TO NINE MILLION TONS OF IMPORTED BASIC GRAINS. OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "SIGN OF AUSTERITY: NO MISSION TO CELEBRATE INDEPENDENCE DAY ABROAD;" (2) "WITHOUT IMPORTED INPUTS, PLASTIC INDUSTRY IN AGONY;" (3) "DESPERATE SITUATION IN CUSTOMS AGENCIES;" AND (4) "RADICAL DROP IN PASSPORT APPLICATIONS."

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3. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) WAS ENTITLED: "FINANCE ESTABLISHES RULES FOR CONTROL OF EXCHANGE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT LAST NIGHT THE GOM ANNOUNCED ITS "GENERAL EXCHANGE CONTROL RULES." THESE RULES, DESCRIBED IN SEPTEL, WILL BE APPLIED WITH "STRICT VIGILENCE" ACCORDING TO ARTICLE. A COMPANION FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED ON REMARKS MADE YESTERDAY BY LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ. IN CONCILIATORY GESTURE, HE CHARACTERIZED AS A "PATRIOT" THE LEADER OF THE BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL (MANUEL CLOUTHIER) WHO HAS REJECTED BANK NATIONALIZATION. VELAZQUEZ STATED THAT THE PURCHASING POWER OF WORKERS HAS DE-CLINED "53 PERCENT" IN RECENT MONTHS. ANOTHER ARTICLE QUOTED PRESIDENT AS SAYING THAT IT IS UP TO YOUTH TO "STRAIGHTEN" THE PATH OF MEXICO WHILE STATING THAT CONTRIBUTIONS TO VOLUNTARY FUND TO AMORTIZE EXTERNAL DEBT ARE "GROWING." A COMPANION STORY REPORTED THAT THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION HAS ASKED FOR "POLITICAL" RATHER THAN "TECHNICAL" MEASURES TO FORCE THE RE-PATRIATION OF MORE THAN "$30 BILLION" HELD BY MEXICANS ABROAD. MEANWHILE AN INTERIOR ARTICLE
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(PAGE FOUR) WAS ENTITLED: "WORKERS READY TO BUY NATIONALIZED BUSINESSES: LABOR CONGRESS." FINALLY LEAD EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWS RICH, MIDDLE-AGED MEXICAN SITTING IN PALATIAL HOME EQUIPPED WITH MARTINI-CARRYING WAITER, COMPLAINING TO WIFE THAT "JLP NATIONALIZED OUR BANKS WITH JUST HIS SIGNATURE."

4. AS WITH OTHER PAPERS, LEAD STORY IN UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) REPORTED ON NEW FOREIGN EXCHANGE LAWS UNDER TITLE: "ALL IMPORTS, SUBJECT TO PERMIT." A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTED PRESIDENT OF LABOR CONGRESS (JOSE DORANTES SEGOVIA) AS SAYING THE "IMF SHOULD NOT APPLY TO MEXICO ANY TYPE OF CONDITIONS FOR GRANT OF CREDITS." HE ALSO STATED THIS WEEK WORKERS WOULD DEMAND AN "ADJUSTMENT OF SALARIES" EVEN THOUGH THEY KNOW THIS WILL INCREASE THE PRICE OF "BASIC PRODUCTS." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT BECAUSE OF AUSTERITY MEASURES MEXICAN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES IN U.S. RATHER THAN MEXICO CITY-BASED OFFICIALS WILL PARTICIPATE IN INDEPENDENCE DAY FESTIVITIES HELD IN SEVERAL AMERICAN CITIES ON SEPTEMBER 15. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL OF THE MINISTRY OF BUDGET AND PROGRAMMING, WITHIN 30 DAYS MEXICAN INDUSTRY SHOULD BE ABLE TO SATISFY DEMANDS OF FOUR MILLION CONSUMERS IN BORDER ZONE. THIS OFFICIAL ANNOUNCED FISCAL INCENTIVES FOR PRODUCERS OF CONSUMER DURABLES WHO REPLACE IMPORTS BOUND FOR FRONTIER AREAS. FINALLY AN EDITORIAL CARTOON ENTITLED "RECIPROCITY" SHOWED A WELL-DRESSED, PIG-LIKE TRAVELER TELLING THE EXCHANGE DEALER OF

ALL HIS DOLLARS ABROAD HE IS ONLY GOING TO "RETURN"
$250.

5. THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO LED WITH STORY ENTITLED:

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12555 02 OF 02 142308Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	OIC-02
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	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	HHS-06	INRE-00	AGRE-00	FRB-01
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O 142257Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12555

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

"AUTHORIZED QUANTITY OF DOLLARS FOR TRAVEL INCREASED."
ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED THAT 42
APPLICATIONS HAD BEEN RECEIVED BY GOVERNMENT LABOR
COMMISSION TO "REGISTER BANK UNIONS." A COMPANION
STORY REPORTED PRESIDENT'S CALL TO YOUTH YESTERDAY
TO "STRAIGHTEN" MEXICO'S PATH NOW THAT "BASIS HAS
BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR A MORE JUST STRUCTURE OF THE
NATION." ALSO, A LEAD STORY STATED THAT LABOR
LEADERS DO NOT WANT BUSINESSES TO "CLOSE" BECAUSE OF
SHORTAGE OF PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS. PRESIDENT OF
LABOR CONGRESS, JOSE DORANTES SEGOVIA, WAS FURTHER
QUOTED AS SAYING THAT: (1) IMF CANNOT IMPOSE LOAN
CONDITIONS BUT ONLY OFFER "SUGGESTIONS" ON SOLUTION
TO ECONOMIC CRISIS; (2) WAGE INCREASES WILL BE
ADOPTED BY "END OF YEAR;" (3) APPLICATIONS FOR
UNIONIZATION ARE POURING IN FROM NATIONALIZED BANK

EMPLOYEES; AND (4) WORKERS ARE READY TO BUY BANK-
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OWNED BUSINESSES. FINALLY A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE
REPORTED THAT MEETING OF PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERS
SEPTEMBER 24 WILL SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO COUNTRY'S
FINANCIAL PROBLEMS RATHER THAN ATTACK GOVERNMENT
POLICY.

6. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES LEAD WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE:
"FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR TOURISTS, SICK AND BUSINESSMEN."
THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON NEW FOREIGN EXCHANGE LAWS
ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY BY GOM AND REPORTED IN SEPTEL.
A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTED PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT
MILITARY CEREMONY YESTERDAY IN WHICH JLP SAID "SOME
DIFFICULTIES WILL WORSEN" BECAUSE OF "RESENTMENT"
BY THOSE WHO WANT TO IMPEDE THE "PATH OF THE PEOPLE."
ACCOMPANYING PHOTOGRAPH SHOWED PRESIDENT DELIVERING
RAPIER SWORD TO YOUNG ARMY CADET IN COMMEMORATION OF
"CHILD HEROES" OF THE US-MEXICAN WAR. ANOTHER FRONT
PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT RECENT CHANGES IN EXCHANGE
REGULATIONS HAVE GIVEN RISE TO A THRIVING "BLACK
MARKET" IN BORDER ZONE. AS AN EXAMPLE, THIS ARTICLE
CITED MEXICANS PARKED IN TRUCKS IN FRONT OF BORDER
FACTORIES WHO BUY DOLLAR PAYCHECKS FOR EXCHANGE
RATE FLUCTUATING BETWEEN 75 AND 85 PESOS TO $1.
FINALLY THE EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED ABSENT-MINDED
PROFESSOR DENOUNCING "DRACONIAN CONDITIONS" OF
WORLD LEADERS WHILE ADMITTING THAT MEXICANS ARE
"JEALOUS OF HONOR" BUT"UNMINDFUL OF EXPENDITURE."
(DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY) SHANKLE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12588 151755Z UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION SS-25

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DEPARTMENT PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE, AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/13/82
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX, AFIN, AFSP, ALOW
SUBJECT: PRESS RUMORS OF DEBT MORATORIUM

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REFS: (A) STATE 254205, (B) MEXICO 12254

1. [redacted]

2. AS BEST WE CAN DETERMINE, THE SILVA-HERZOG REMARKS ON A 15 MONTH MORATORIUM ON PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS UNROLLED AS FOLLOWS. ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, TREASURY SECRETARY SILVA-HERZOG TOLD MEXICAN JOURNALISTS IN TORONTO THAT MEXICO WOULD NOT MAKE PRINCIPAL REPAYMENTS ON ITS PUBLIC SECTOR DEBT THROUGH THE END OF 1983. THE MEXICAN PRESS GAVE THIS STORY PROMINENT PLAY ON THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 6. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS POSTED IN MEXICO PICKED UP THE STORY AND FIRED OFF REPORTS TO THE MAJOR FINANCIAL CENTERS. THE NEWS CIRCULATED IN THE CORRIDORS OF THE IMF ANNUAL MEETING. PRIVATE BANKERS

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12588 151755Z

WERE UPSET AS COMPLETE AGREEMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN REACHED ON THE NINETY DAY MORATORIUM. PRESUMABLY THE WORD GOT BACK TO SILVA-HERZOG WHO THEN ISSUED THE "CLARIFYING" STATEMENT REPORTED IN REF B. THIS STATED THAT MEXICO WOULD ABIDE BY THE NINETY DAY MORATORIUM DURING WHICH TIME IT HOPED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A LONGER TERM ARRANGEMENT. SILVA-HERZOG DID NOT DENY THE SEPTEMBER 5 STATEMENT, BUT MERELY CLARIFIED IT.

3. WE DO NOW KNOW SILVA-HERZOG'S MOTIVE FOR HIS SEPTEMBER 5 STATEMENT. HE HAD PROPOSED A MORATORIUM

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ON PUBLIC SECTOR PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS THROUGH 1983 IN HIS MEETINGS WITH KEY BANKERS IN NEW YORK ON AUGUST 19-20, BUT THE MAJORITY OF THE BANKS OPPOSED THIS WITH THE RESULT THAT A NINETY-DAY MORATORIUM WAS PROPOSED. MANY BANKERS EXPECT THAT A PRINCIPAL PAYMENT MORATORIUM IS LIKELY, BUT THAT IT SHOULD BE THE RESULT OF A NEGOTIATION.

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4. AS REGARDS THE RELATIVE AUTHORITY OF SILVA-HERZOG, THERE IS A WIDESPREAD VIEW THAT THIS HAS BEEN DIMINISHED BY THE SEPTEMBER 1 MEASURES. IT HAS BEEN WIDELY REPORTED THAT SILVA-HERZOG WAS NOT CONSULTED ON THIS MEASURE AND THAT HE OFFERED HIS RESIGNATION WHICH WAS REPORTEDLY REFUSED BY THE PRESIDENT. THIS LEADS MANY OBSERVERS TO BELIEVE SILVA-HERZOG'S INFLUENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT IS LESS THAN IN APRIL WHEN HE SOLD HIS SEVENTEEN POINT PROGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT. YET, HE RETAINS CONSIDERABLE AUTHORITY. HE CONTINUES TO ENJOY POPULAR SUPPORT AS AN HONEST AND FRANK SPOKESMAN ON THE CURRENT CRISIS. ALSO, HE IS WELL-KNOWN

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TO USG, IMF AND PRIVATE BANK OFFICIALS MAKING HIM VALUABLE FOR THE ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE VARIOUS FOREIGN ELEMENTS. HE IS ALSO, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, THE BOSS OF CARLOS TELLO. WHILE WE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE AUTHORITY OF SILVA-HERZOG, ONE MUST TAKE NOTE OF THE NUMEROUS RUMORS OF A SILVA-HERZOG RESIGNATION OR FIRING.

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5. SILVA-HERZOG REPORTEDLY HAD AN EMERGENCY APPENDECTOMY ON SEPTEMBER 10, AND WILL SPEND THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 13 CONVALESCING. DRAFTED BY L.P.PASCOE. SHANKLE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12666 01 OF 02 152307Z
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	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09	OPIC-07
	PA-02	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3383
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12666

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCEAND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12555

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES THAT APPEARED IN THE MEXICO CITY PRESS ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE OF EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "FICTION ECONOMY ENDS, BUT..." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED CONCERNS OF BUSINESS LEADERS THAT WORSENING INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT WILL PROMPT GOVERNMENT TO ADOPT MORE "POPULIST" MEASURES THAT WILL "STRENGTHEN THE STATE AND PROJECT A NEGATIVE IMAGE OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE." AN INDUSTRIAL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12666 01 OF 02 152307Z

LEADER IS QUOTED THAT IN THE SHORT-RUN HIS SECTOR IS BRACING FOR "INCREASING COSTS, SHORTAGES OF INPUTS AND IMPORTED MACHINERY, AND GREATER CONTROLS OF PRICES AND REDUCTION IN PROFITS." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "EXCHANGE REGULATIONS WELL RECEIVED, DESPITE GAPS AND AMBIGUITIES." THIS STORY NOTED ACCORDING TO INTERVIEWED BUSINESSMEN, ACCOUNTANTS, ECONOMISTS AND ACADEMICS THE NEW FOREIGN EXCHANGE RULES WILL INHIBIT CAPITAL FLIGHT AND DOLLARIZATION OF ECONOMY DESPITE THEIR "INCONGRUENCIES, DEFICIENCIES AND OBSCURITIES." NEVERTHELESS, THESE NON-GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS REQUESTED THAT GOM

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CLARIFY VARIOUS ASPECTS OF NEW EXCHANGE REGIME ESPECIALLY NATURE OF "SANCTIONS" APPLIED AGAINST THOSE CAUGHT VIOLATING THESE REGULATIONS. ANOTHER FIRST PAGE STORY REPORTED STATEMENT MADE YESTERDAY BY PRESIDENT TO RURAL LEADERS THAT WITH TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC "TABOOS" NOW SHATTERED, NEW (BUT UNSPECIFIED) FINANCIAL MEASURES WILL BE ADOPTED. OTHER KEY STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "ENLARGEMENTS AND CLARIFICATIONS OF EXCHANGE REGIME: BANK OF MEXICO;" (2) "HOPES FOR RECOVERY OF TOURISM INTENSIFY;" AND (3) "BANKERS: BEDLAM IN WHITE-COLLAR UNIONS."

3. THE LEAD ECONOMIC STORY IN UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "NATIONALIZATION BECAUSE REVOLUTION WAS BOGGED DOWN." REPORTING ON JLP'S BREAKFAST WITH RURAL LEADERS YESTERDAY, ARTICLE QUOTED PRESIDENT AS SAYING THAT CAPITAL FLIGHT HAD ENABLED "NO MORE THAN 100,000" TO "MONOPOLIZE" MEXICO'S OIL WEALTH. CONCLUDING THAT A HEMORRHAGING OF RESOURCES THREATENED THE REVOLUTION, PRESIDENT SAID HE

DECIDED TO NATIONALIZE BANKS. AFTER MEETING, NATIONAL RURAL CONFIDERATION DONATED THE EQUIVALENT OF MORE THAN $11 MILLION TO THE FUND FOR PAYMENT OF EXTERNAL DEBT AND BANK INDEMNIZATION. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT BUSINESSMEN FEAR INCREASED "BUREAUCRATIZATION" OF ECONOMY AS RESULT OF APPLICATION OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS. THIS STORY REPORTED CONCERN OF PROMINENT BUSINESS LEADERS THAT EXCHANGE CONTROLS ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY MAY PROVE "EXAGGERATED" ESPECIALLY IF THEY IMPEDE NECESSARY IMPORTS LIKE "FOOD, AUTOPARTS AND INDUSTRIAL INPUTS." A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED ON AMERICAN AMBASSADOR GAVIN'S REMARKS YESTERDAY IN NEW YORK TO MEXICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN WHICH HE STRESSED "MUTUAL RESPECT" IN RELATIONS BETWEEN U.S. AND MEXICO. OTHER IMPORTANT FRONT PAGE ARTICLES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "TEN PERCENT OF SAN DIEGO, PROPERTY OF MEXICANS;" AND (2) "SALARY INCREASE TO BUREAUCRATS, SOLDIERS AND TEACHERS." LEAD PHOTOGRAPH SHOWED PRESIDENT JLP ACCOMPANIED BY DEFENSE SECRETARY REVIEWING TROOPS THAT WILL MARCH IN INDEPENDENCE DAY PARADE TOMORROW. AN EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED DISGRUNTLED EX-BANKER MUTTERING TO HIMSELF AS HE TURNS ON T.V.: "ANOTHER SHOUT (GRITO) TONIGHT; THIS TIME AGAINST WHOM?"

4. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "CAPITAL FLIGHT BLACKMAIL EVERY SIX YEARS IS INTOLERABLE: JLP." THIS STORY REPORTED ON PRESIDENT'S MEETING YESTERDAY WITH RURAL LEADERS IN WHICH HE DEFENDED HIS RECENT ECONOMIC DECISIONS

AS ESSENTIAL TO STOP "100,000 MEXICANS" FROM
CAPTURING MOST OIL WEALTH THROUGH CAPITAL FLIGHT.
A COMPANION STORY REPORTED PRESIDENT'S CALL TO

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12666 02 OF 02 152309Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09	OPIC-07
	PA-02	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00
	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/125 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3384
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12666

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

"NATIONALISTIC" BUSINESSMEN TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR "SOLIDARITY" THROUGH EFFICIENT PRODUCTION AND COMPETITION IN WORLD MARKETS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED DENIAL BY SECRETARY OF GOVERNMENT (OLIVARES SANTANA) THAT BANK NATIONALIZATION REPRESENTS A "DESIRE TO CENTRALIZE" OR STEP TOWARD "TOTALITARIANISM." MEANWHILE AN INSIDE ARTICLE (PAGE 4) REPORTED THAT THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL AMPLIFY FOREIGN EXCHANGE REGULATIONS. THE LEAD EDITORIAL ENTITLED "CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH" POINTED OUT THAT IN A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM, WHICH AS A RESULT OF CORRUPTION PRODUCES MILLIONAIRES EVERY SEXENIO, NATIONALIZATION OF BANKING WILL NOT END SKEWED INCOME DISTRIBUTION. THE ACCOMPANYING EDITORIAL CARTOON ENTITLED "SHOUTS" (GRITOS) SHOWED AN AVERAGE MEXICAN WITH LARGE FLAG CHEERING ENTHUSI-

ASTICALLY WHILE HIS UPPER-CLASS COUNTERPART HELD
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12666 02 OF 02 152309Z

A SMALL FLAG AND SCREAMED ANGRILY.

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5. AN EXCELSIOR ARTICLE ON PAGE 18 MERITS SPECIAL ATTENTION. PREPARED BY ITS WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, JOSE MANUEL NAVA, THIS STORY REPORTED: "IMPROBABLE THAT GAVIN'S RECOMMENDATIONS WILL BE FOLLOWED: TREASURY SECRETARY REGAN." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED SOURCE NEAR SECRETARY REGAN AS SAYING: "ALTHOUGH ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT TREASURY WILL INTERCEDE WITH MEXICAN AUTHORITIES TO GAIN THE RESTITUTION OF U.S. MONEY IN THE FORM IN WHICH IT WAS ORIGINALLY DEPOSITED IN MEXICAN BANKS, THIS SEEMS HIGHLY IMPROBABLE." THE ARTICLE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT "FOR THE MOMENT" THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT HAS GIVEN NO OFFICIAL PUBLIC REACTION TO AMBASSADOR GAVIN'S REQUEST THAT IT NEGOTIATE THE RESTITUTION OF $12 BILLION IN MEXICAN BANK ACCOUNTS BELONGING TO U.S. CITIZENS. ARTICLE ALSO STATES THAT SECRETARY REGAN DID NOT BROACH THIS SUBJECT WITH FINANCE MINISTER SILVA-HERZOG IN THEIR RECENT TORONTO MEETING.

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6. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN MODERATE NOVEDADES READ: "MINIMUM CONTROLS IN THE EXCHANGE MARKET." THIS STORY REPORTED ANNOUNCEMENT MADE YESTERDAY BY BANK OF MEXICO THAT APPLICATION OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS WILL BE BASED UPON "TRUST TOWARD THE POPULATION" AND THEREFORE WILL NOT INFERFERE WITH PERSONAL RIGHTS." THE ARTICLE ALSO STATED THAT NEW EXCHANGE REGIME REPRESENTS JUST A "POINT OF DEPARTURE" AND WILL BE "PERFECTED AND IMPROVED" WITH PASSAGE OF TIME. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "THE REVOLUTION WAS BOGGED DOWN, RECOGNIZES JLP
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12666 02 OF 02 152309Z

BEFORE RURAL LEADERS." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED REMARKS MADE BY U.S. AMBASSADOR JOHN GAVIN YESTERDAY OF MEETING OF MEXICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF U.S. IN NEW YORK. STORY SAID THAT MR. GAVIN EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT MEXICO WOULD OVERCOME ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS. OTHER LEAD STORY WAS ENTITLED: "INCREASE OF 1250 PESOS FOR BUREAUCRATS."

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7. THE LEAD STORY IN THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO WAS ENTITLED: "THE ARMY CONFIRMS LOYALTY TO MEXICO, SUPPORT FOR MEASURES OF JLP." THIS ARTICLE WAS

ACCOMPANIED BY COLORED PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING PRESIDENT REVIEWING AIR FORCE EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL AND SEVEN F-5E FIGHTER BOMBERS FLYING IN FORMATION. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "PRESIDENT AWAITS ANSWER FROM NATIONALISTIC BUSINESSMEN." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED PRESIDENT'S MEETING YESTERDAY WITH THE GOVERNOR OF SINALOA AND VEGETABLE PRODUCERS IN WHICH HE SAID THAT COUNTRY'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE SHORTAGE COULD BE SOLVED ONLY THROUGH EXPORTS. OTHER KEY STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "WE BANISH AUTHORI-TARIANISM THAT THREATENS LIBERTIES, AFFIRMS GOVERNMENT SECRETARY O. SANTANA;" (2) "SALARY OF BUREAUCRATS INCREASES 750 PESOS A MONTH;" AND (3) "THE REVOLUTION IS CONSOLIDATED WITH RECENT MEASURES." FINALLY THE EDITORIAL CARTOON ENTITLED "NATIONALISM" SHOWS TWO FLAGS: ONE OF MEXICO AND THE OTHER STRETCHING ENDLESSLY COVERED WITH NUMBERS UNDER RUBRIC OF "EXTERNAL DEBT."
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 01 OF 12 150217Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX, AFIN, ALOW, AFSP
SUBJECT: GENERAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RULES

1. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS A DETAILED SUMMARY
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 01 OF 12 150217Z

OF THE "GENERAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RULES" THAT APPEAR IN THE DIARIO OFICIAL OF SEPTEMBER 14. THE RULES ARE BROKEN INTO 95 PARAGRAPHS DISTRIBUTED IN 14 CHAPTERS.

2. CHAPTER ONE: "GENERAL DISPOSITIONS." PARA ONE SETS THE PREFERENTIAL RATE AT 50 PESOS PER DOLLAR AND THE ORDINARY RATE AT 70 PESOS PER DOLLAR. THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL BE ABLE TO SET "SPECIAL" RATES OF EXCHANGE TO MEET THE "NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY." PARA TWO STATES THE PREFERENTIAL RATE WILL BE USED FOR THE FOLLOWING:

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-- DEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS OF PUBLIC SECTOR ENTITIES OWED TO FOREIGN FINANCIAL ENTITIES AND TO DOMESTIC FINANCIAL ENTITIES WHEN DENOMINATED IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE.
-
-- DEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS OWED TO FOREIGN FINANCIAL ENTITIES BY MEXICAN CREDIT INSTITUTIONS, INSURANCE COMPANIES AND FINANCE COMPANIES.
-
-- IMPORTS AUTHORIZED BY THE COMMERCE SECRETARIAT AS FOLLOWS: (A) BASIC FOODSTUFFS; (B) INTERMEDIATE OR CAPITAL GOODS FOR BASIC INDUSTRIES; (C) INTERMEDIATE AND CAPITAL GOODS NEEDED BY EXISTING INDUSTRY OR FOR EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY.
-
-- CONTRACTS MADE IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 1, SUBJECT TO THEIR REGISTRY AT THE TREASURY SECRETARIAT.
-
-- OTHERS AS DETERMINED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.
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PARA THREE PROVIDES THAT VARIOUS PAYMENTS MADE BY MEXICAN FINANCIAL INTERMEDIARIES WILL BE AT THE ORDINARY RATE WHEN THESE INTERMEDIARIES ARE BEING REPAID AT THE ORDINARY RATE.
-
PARAGRAPH FOUR PROVIDES THAT ALL OTHER PAYMENTS WILL BE MADE AT THE ORDINARY RATE IN THE FOLLOWING PRIORITY:
-
-- OTHER OBLIGATIONS OF PUBLIC SECTOR ENTITIES.
-
-- PAYMENTS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND TO MEXICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL.
-
-- OBLIGATIONS BY MEXICAN CREDIT INSTITUTIONS NOT INCLUDED IN PARA TWO.
-
-- OBLIGATIONS CONSIDERED NECESSARY IN THE BORDER AREAS.
-
-- ROYALTIES AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS OF COMPANIES WITH FOREIGN EQUITY UP TO AMOUNTS APPROVED BY THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT COMMISSION.
-
-- EXPENSES FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL FOR REASONS OF BUSINESS, STUDY, HEALTH AND RECREATION.
-
PARA FIVE STATES THAT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE WILL BE USED FOR THE RESTITUTION OF MEX-DOLLAR ACCOUNTS.

PARA SIX STATES THAT MEXICAN BANKS MAY NO LONGER
RECEIVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE-DENOMINATED DEPOSITS AND
THAT ALL LOANS AND DEPOSITS IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 02 OF 12 150219Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

WILL BE CONVERTED TO PESOS UPON MATURITY.

PARA SEVEN STATES THAT ALL FOREIGN EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS
WILL BE EXECUTED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO OR ANY

CREDIT INSTITUTION SO AUTHORIZED BY THE BANK OF
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 02 OF 12 150219Z

MEXICO.
-
PARA EIGHT STATES THAT ALL FOREIGN EXCHANGE SALES ARE SUBJECT TO THE AVAILABILITY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND TO THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET THAT THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL PREPARE PERIODICALLY.
-
3. CHAPTER II: IMPORTS -
PARA 9: PARAGRAPH NINE REQUIRES THAT ALL IMPORTS HAVE PRIOR IMPORT LICENSES FROM THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE.
-
PARA 10: PRIOR IMPORT LICENSES, INCLUDING THOSE WHICH ANTIDATE THE IMPOSITIONS OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS, ARE VALID ALSO FOR MAKING PAYMENTS FOR THE IMPORT CONCERNED. IN THESE CASES, THE IMPORTOR MAY USE PRIVATELY HELD FOREIGN EXCHANGE WHETHER SUCH EXCHANGE IS HELD IN MEXICO OR ABROAD. IF THE IMPORTER DOES NOT HAVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, HE WILL HAVE TO FOLLOW THE PROCEDURES LISTED BELOW:
-
PARA 11: THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE WILL REVALIDATE OR ISSUE NEW IMPORT LICENSES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AVAILABILITY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE BANK OF MEXICO ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CLASSIFICATIONS:

-- I. IMPORTS ELIGIBLE FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE.
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-- II. OTHER LEGAL IMPORTS.
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-- III. PROHIBITED IMPORTS.
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12570 02 OF 12 150219Z

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PARA 12: THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE WILL ONLY ISSUE AUTHORIZATION TO ACQUIRE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE AND ONLY FOR THOSE IMPORTS REFERRED TO IN PARA 2.
-
PARA 13: THE PREREQUISITES FOR AUTHORIZATION OF PREFERENTIAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE ARE:
-
-- I. PRIOR ISSUANCE OF AN IMPORT LICENSE.
-
-- II. THAT THE IMPORTS BE LISTED IN PARA

2.

-- III. THAT THE IMPORTS BE EVALUATED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FOREIGN TRADE AND TARIFF COMMISSION, AS BEING WITHIN THE TARIFF CATEGORIES PERMITTED UNDER THE GENERAL IMPORT TAX TARIFF (TARIFA DEL IMPUESTO GENERAL DE IMPORTACION), WHICH WILL BE ANNOUNCED BY RESOLUTIONS TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE DIARIO OFICIAL AND WHICH MAY BE MODIFIED IN ACCORDANCE WITHTHE AVAILABILITY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

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-- IV. THAT THE VALUE OF THE IMPORTS NOT EXCEED THE LIMIT FOR THE IMPORT CONCERNED, AS DETERMINED PERIODICALLY BY THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE AND THE BANK OF MEXICO.

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-- V. THAT THE IMPORTS BE OF A PERMANENT NATURE AND THAT THEY BE USED OR CONSUMED WITHIN MEXICO.

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-- VI. THAT THE IMPORT BE USED EXACTLY AS

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 03 OF 12 150221Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

SPECIFIED TO THE COMMERCE SECRETARIAT.
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PARA 14: AUTHORIZATION WILL BE MADE DIRECTLY TO THE IMPORTER, WILL BE VALID FOR 90 CALENDAR DAYS, AND WILL NOT BE RENEWABLE. AUTHORIZATION
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MAY BE ISSUED BY THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN TRADE OR THE DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR FOREIGN TRADE CONTROLS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE SUPERVISION OF THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE.
-
PARA 15: IT OUTLINES THE PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED IN OBTAINING AUTHORIZATION FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE:
-
-- I. APPLICATION MUST BE MADE FOR AN IMPORT PERMIT.
-
-- II. ONCE THE IMPORT PERMIT IS OBTAINED IT MUST BE PRESENTED AT A BANK, AUTHORIZED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO, WHICH WILL NOT INITIATE THE PROCESS UNLESS THE ORIGINAL (COPY) OF THE IMPORT PERMIT IS PRESENTED AND THE IMPORTER CAN SHOW THAT HE HAS FUNDS TO COVER THE COST OF THE IMPORT CONCERNED.
-
-- III. THE BANK WILL REGISTER AND CERTIFY THE PERMIT AND WILL RETAIN A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL TO THE EFFECT THAT PAYMENT WILL BE MADE ONLY THROUGH THAT BANK.
-
-- IV. WHEN THE BANK IS NOTIFIED THAT THE GOODS HAVE ENTERED MEXICO, PAYMENT OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR THE IMPORT WILL BE MADE TO THE (EXPORTER'S) FOREIGN BANK.
-
-- V. THE IMPORTER WILL GIVE THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE A CERTIFIED COPY OF THE IMP
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PERMIT WITHIN 30 DAYS AFTER THE GOODS CONCERNED ENTER THE COUNTRY.
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PARA 16: TO OBTAIN SUBSEQUENT AUTHORIZATIONS THE APPLICANT MUST SHOW THAT IMPORTS FOR WHICH PREVIOUS AUTHORIZATIONS WERE OBTAINED WERE USED FOR THE ENDS PREVIOUSLY SPECIFIED.
-
PARA 17: THE IMPORTATION OF INPUTS FOR EXPORT PRODUCTION WILL BE SUBJECT TO FOREIGN EXCHANGE AUTHORIZATION ACCORDING TO THE CHAPTER FOR OTHER IMPORTS, EVEN WHEN THOSE IMPORTS ARE NOT INCLUDED WITHIN THE TARIFF CATEGORIES REFERRED TO IN PARA 13, SECTION III.
-
-- AUTHORIZATION TO ACQUIRE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE WILL BE AUTHORIZED FOR IMPUTS TO EXPORT PRODUCTION WHICH RESULT IN A NET GENERATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE.
-
PARA 18: FOREIGN EXCHANGE WILL NOT BE AUTHORIZED TO BUY OR RENT CONSTRUCTION MACHINERY OR EQUIPMENT ABROAD UNLESS IT CAN BE DEMONSTRATED THAT SUCH EQUIPMENT CANNOT BE ACQUIRED IN MEXICO. THIS APPLIES TO BOTH GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION.
-
PARA 19: AN ADDITIONAL QUANTITY, TO BE SPECIFIED BY THE MEXICAN FOREIGN TRADE INSTITUTE, OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE MAY BE ACQUIRED TO COVER ASSOCIATED IMPORT COSTS SUCH AS INSURANCE, TRANSPORTATION, ETC. IF GOODS CONCERNED HAVE PRIOR IMPORT LICENSES AND WERE ACQUIRED PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 1, THE ASSOCIATED COSTS WILL BE GIVEN PRIORITY TREATMENT AND WILL NOT HAVE TO AWAIT THE ISSUANCE OF FURTHER IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 04 OF 12 150222Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

PARA 20: THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE WILL NOTIFY THE BANK OF MEXICO ON A DAILY BASIS OF THE PERMITS ISSUED TO IMPORT MERCHANDISE ELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE FOREIGN EXCHANGE.
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 04 OF 12 150222Z

PARA 21: THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE WILL REQUEST WEEKLY REPORTS FROM THE BANK OF MEXICO, THE SECRETARIAT OF FINANCE, AND THE CUSTOMS SERVICE REGARDING THE USE OF THE PERMITS.
-
PARA 22: THE UNAUTHORIZED USE OF PERMITS WILL REQUIRE THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PREFERENTIAL AND THE GENERAL RATE BE RESTORED TO THE BANK OF MEXICO. OTHER SANCTIONS MAY ALSO BE INCURRED.
-
PARA 23: REQUIRES THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE TO PUBLISH MONTHLY A SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

IN REGARD TO PERMITS ISSUED FOR ACQUIRING FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

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4. CHAPTER III: EXPORTS

PARA 24: THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE WILL FACILITATE EXPORTS BUT WILL ESTABLISH CONTROLS IN ORDER TO PREVENT DOMESTIC SCARCITY OF PRODUCTS SUCH AS FOODSTUFFS, BASIC PRODUCTS, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, FOREST PRODUCTS, NATIVE ANIMALS OR MINERALS.

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PARA 25: EXCHANGE EARNED ABROAD BY EXPORTERS SHALL BE RETURNED TO MEXICO AND EXCHANGED AT THE BANK OF MEXICO OR AT BANKING INSTITUTIONS AUTHORIZED TO ACT ON ITS BEHALF AT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE.

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PARA 26: IN ORDER TO COMPLY WITH THE PRECEEDING PARAGRAPH, THE IMPORTER MUST:

-- I. MAKE A SWORN WRITTEN STATEMENT AS TO

THE AMOUNT OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THE DATES WHEN IT WAS RECEIVED. THIS STATEMENT WILL BE ATTACHED TO THE CORRESPONDING EXPORT DOCUMENTS, ISSUED BY THE CUSTOMS OFFICERS, A COPY OF WHICH WILL ALSO BE SENT TO THE BANK OF MEXICO.

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-- II. THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE, IN COORDINATION WITH THE BANK OF MEXICO, WILL DECIDE IN WHICH CASES THE RETURN OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE MUST BE GUARANTEED BY BOND.

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-- III. IF FOR WHATEVER REASON FOREIGN EXCHANGE IS NOT RECEIVED AS ANTICIPATED WHEN THE EXPORT WAS MADE, A WRITTEN DECLARATION MUST BE MADE TO THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE AS TO WHY THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE WAS NOT RECEIVED. SHOULD THIS SITUATION PERSIST, THE WRITTEN DECLARATION REFERRED TO IN THE PREVIOUS SENTENCE MUST BE ATTACHED TO SUBSEQUENT EXPORT DECLARATIONS.

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PARA 28: THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE WILL INFORM THE BANK OF MEXICO OF THE AMOUNT OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE NECESSARY TO COVER ASSOCIATED EXPORT COSTS AS DETERMINED BY THE MEXICAN FOREIGN TRADE INSTITUTE.

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-- AS REGARDS ENGINEERING OR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS BY MEXICAN COMPANIES ABROAD OR TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER PROJECTS OR RELATED PROJECTS APPROVED BY THE SECRETARIATS OF PATRIMONY OR COMMERCE,

FOREIGN EXCHANGE WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO COVER
FOREIGN COSTS INCURRED BEFORE ANY EARNINGS
TAKE PLACE. SUCH AUTHORIZATION WILL BE CONDITIONED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 05 OF 12 150224Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

ON A PROMISE THAT THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO BE
EARNED ABROAD IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROJECT
BE RETURNED TO MEXICO AND EXCHANGED THROUGH
THE BANK OF MEXICO OR ITS AUTHORIZED INSTITUTIONS.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 05 OF 12 150224Z

PARA 29: AUTHORIZES IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADING COMPANIES PROVIDED THAT THEY PRIMARILY PROMOTE THE EXPORTS OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED COMPANIES AND THAT THEY MAKE A POSITIVE NET CONTRIBUTION TO THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE BALANCE.

5. CHAPTER IV: SPECIAL COMPENSATING ACCOUNTS FOR EXPORTERS

PARA 30: THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL ESTABLISH COMPENSATING MECHANISMS AT THE BANCO NACIONAL DE COMERCIO EXTERIOR OR OTHER DESIGNATED INSTITUTIONS, WHEREBY FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNED ABROAD MAY BE USED BY EXPORTERS TO COVER RELATED IMPORTS OR FOREIGN OBLIGATIONS.

-- EXPORTERS WHO USE THE TEMPDRARY IMPORT MECHANISM FOR INPUTS TO EXPORT PRODUCTION MAY OPEN SPECIAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE ACCOUNTS. IN THIS CASE, THE ACCOUNT CAN BE USED ONLY TO COVER TEMPORARY IMPORTS AND RELATED FOREIGN COSTS.

-- V. COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN THE FRONTIER AREAS AND FREE ZONES FOR THE ACQUISITION OF CERTAIN BASIC PRODUCTS AUTHORIZED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE.

-- VI. OTHER INDUSTRIES WHICH THE BANK OF MEXICO MAY AUTHORIZE.

-- FOR THE SECTORS WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS USEFUL, PROVISIONS WILL BE ISSUED FOR THE USE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGETS, WHICH WILL

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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12570 05 OF 12 150224Z

PERMIT THE SELF-FINANCING OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS OF THOSE SECTORS.

-- EXPORTERS MAY REQUEST THE BANK OF MEXICO OR ITS DESIGNATED AGENTS TO PLACE THEM ON THE REGISTER FOR THE OPENING OF THESE SPECIAL ACCOUNTS.

PARA 32: THE SPECIAL COMPENSATING ACCOUNTS FOR EXPORTERS WILL BE CONDITIONED UPON THE GENERATION OF POSITIVE QUARTERLY BALANCES. LONGER ACCOUNTING PERIODS MAY BE AUTHORIZED IN CERTAIN CASES BY THE SECRETARIATS OF COMMERCE AND PATRIMONY UPON

APPLICATION BY THE FIRM CONCERNED. IF A POSITIVE NET BALANCE IS NOT MAINTAINED DURING THE RELEVANT ACCOUNTING PERIOD, THE SPECIAL ACCOUNT WILL BE CLOSED. WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THESE SPECIAL COMPENSATING ACCOUNTS MAY ONLY BE OPENED IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE RULES ISSUED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

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6. CHAPTER 5: PAYMENTS OF FOREIGN FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

- PARA 33: THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL SELL FOREIGN CURRENCY AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE TO DEPENDENCIES AND ENTITIES OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR WHICH REQUIRE FOREIGN CURRENCY TO MAKE PAYMENTS ON INTEREST AND RELATED EXPENSES, AS WELL AS PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS IN CASES WHERE IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO ROLLOVER OR LENGTHEN THE TERM OF THE DEBT, AS WELL AS THE ASSOCIATED EXPENSES DUE FOREIGN BANKS, IF THE PUBLIC SECTOR ENTITY CAN PROVE TO THE BANK OF MEXICO WHERE THE PAYMENTS ORIGINATED.

- PARA 34: THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL SELL FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE TO PRIVATE SECTOR FIRMS WHICH REQUIRE FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO MAKE PAYMENTS ON

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 06 OF 12 150226Z
ACTION ARA-16

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AMCONSUL NUEVO LAREDO
AMCONSUL TIJUANA

UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

INTEREST, RELATED COSTS AND PRINCIPAL, IN THE CASE WHERE IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO ROLLOVER OR LENGTHEN THE TERM OF THE DEBT, OWED TO FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS WHEN THE FOLLOWING REQUIREMENTS OF THE BANK OF MEXICO HAVE BEEN MET:
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- -- THE LOANS MUST HAVE BEEN GRANTED PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 1.

- -- THE LOANS MUST BE REGISTERED WITH THE DIRECTORATE OF PUBLIC DEBT IN THE TREASURY.

THE REGISTER OF LOANS IS ONLY FOR THOSE CONTRACTED BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1 AND UP TO THE AMOUNTS REPORTED IN THE REGISTER, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT A ROLLOVER WILL NOT INCREASE THE PRINCIPAL BEYOND THE AMOUNT OF THE LOAN AS ORIGINALLY REGISTERED. SHOULD THE ROLLOVER OR EXTENSION RESULT IN AN INCREASE IN THE PRINCIPAL OF THE LOAN RELATIVE TO THE PRE-SEPTEMBER 1 AMOUNT, INTEREST PAYMENTS ON THE EXCESS OVER THE ORIGINAL AMOUNT CAN NOT BE MADE AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE.
THE SALE OF PREFERENTIAL CURRENCY REFERRED TO IN THIS PARAGRAPH WILL BE MADE ON A PRIORITY BASIS WITH INTEREST PAYMENTS HAVING THE FIRST PRIORITY. THIS ALSO APPLIES TO INTEREST PAYMENTS ON ROLLOVERS.

- PARA 35: THE DIRECTORATE OF PUBLIC DEBT OF THE TREASURY AT THE REQUEST OF COMPANIES, WILL PROVIDE WRITTEN EVIDENCE FROM THE REGISTER SO THAT THE COMPANIES CAN OBTAIN FROM THE BANK OF MEXICO, THROUGH ITS DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVES, THE REQUIRED FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR THE PAYMENT OF INTEREST AND CAPITAL.

- PARA 36: THE ISSUANCE OF WRITTEN EVIDENCE REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 35 ABOVE, RELATIVE TO LOANS CONTRACTED BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1, CAN ONLY BE MADE AVAILABLE BY THE DIRECTORATE

OFPUBLIC DEBT BASED ON THE RECORDS RELATING TO CONTRACTS IN FORCE BEFORE THAT DATE.
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- PARA 37: THE APPLICATIONS TO REGISTER THE EXTERNAL DEBT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR FIRMS WITH THE DIRECTORATE OF PUBLIC DEBT MUST BE MADE FOR EACH CREDIT LINE AND IN THE APPROVED FORMAT.

-- INTERESTED FIRMS MUST ANNEX THE FOLLOWING TO THE APPLICATIONS:

-- THEIR CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION AND ANY CHANGES WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN MADE TO THE CERTIFICATE.

-- AN AUDITED STATEMENT OF THEIR FINANCIAL POSITION AS OF AUGUST 31, 1982.

-- THE LOAN CONTRACT AND/OR OTHER DOCUMENTATION WHICH SPECIFIES THE TERMS OF AGREEMENT.

-- THE LOAN CONTRACT AND OTHER DOCUMENTATION MUST BE IN SPANISH.

- PARA 38: THE FOREIGN LENDING INSTITUTIONS MUST BE REGISTERED WITH THE TREASURY SECRETARIAT.

- PARA 39: ALL PAYMENTS ABROAD REFERRED TO IN THIS CHAPTER, WILL BE MADE THROUGH THE BANK OF MEXICO OR THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS ACTING ON THE BANK'S BEHALF.

- PARA 40: THE TREASURY CAN REQUIRE, AT ANY TIME, ALL ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IT BELIEVES NECESSARY.

- PARA 41: THE TREASURY AND THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL ISSUE THE GENERAL RULES FOR SALES OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH FOREIGN EXCHANGE OBLIGATIONS CONTRACTED WITH FOREIGN FINANCIAL ENTITIES AFTER SEPTEMBER 1, 1982.

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 07 OF 12 150227Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
COMP-01 EB-08 H-01 EXIM-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00
SSO-00 L-03 LAB-04 DOE-10 OPIC-07 CEA-01 OMB-01
STR-14 SIL-01 INRE-00 AGRE-00 FRB-01 FOE-00 JUS-01
USIE-00 SP-02 DOEE-00 /105 W
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O 150122Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3328
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMCONSUL CIUDAD JUAREZ
AMCONSUL GUADALAJARA
AMCONSUL HERMOSILLO
AMCONSUL MATAMOROS
AMCONSUL MAZATLAN
AMCONSUL MERIDA
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMCONSUL NUEVO LAREDO
AMCONSUL TIJUANA

UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

7. CHAPTER 6: OTHER FOREIGN PAYMENTS

PARA 42: IN ORDER TO MAKE A PAYMENT ABROAD IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE OTHER THAN THOSE NOTED IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER, THE OPERATION MUST BE INSCRIBED IN A REGISTER ESTAB-
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 07 OF 12 150227Z

LISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT WHICH IS RELEVANT TO THE TYPE OF OPERATION.

PARA 43: WHEN THERE IS NO REGISTER FOR LEGAL OR ADMINISTRATION REASONS, A REGISTER WILL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENT ENTITY. INDEPENDENT OF THE ABOVE, ALL COMPANIES THAT MAKE CREDIT CONTRACTS WITH FOREIGN SUPPLIERS AFTER SEPTEMBER 1, 1982, MUST INSCRIBE THESE IN THE REGISTER OF THE COMMERCE SECRETARIAT DR THE SECRETARIAT OF PATRIMONY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, WHICHEVER IS APPROPRIATE.

PARA 44: THE INFORMATION IN THESE REGISTERS MUST BE SENT QUARTERLY TO THE BANK OF MEXICO, THE TREASURY AND THE BUDGET AND PLANNING SECRETARIAT FOR INCORPORATION IN THE OVERALL FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET. THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL DETERMINE THE MEANS FOR MAKING THE PAYMENT IN ACCORD WITH THE AVAILABILITY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

-

8. CHAPTER 7 DEALS WITH THE REPATRIATION OF CAPITAL.

PARAS 45-48: IT IS POSSIBLE TO REPATRIATE FUNDS IN ANY AMOUNTS HELD IN CHECKING ACCOUNTS, SAVINGS AND TIME DEPOSITS AND OTHER "INVESTMENTS OF A FINANCIAL CHARACTER" SUCH AS STOCKS, MONETARY METALS, BONDS, AND MONEY MARKET FUNDS. UPON TRANSFERRING FUNDS TO A MEXICAN BANK, THE BANK MUST EXCHANGE THE DOLLAR VALUE AT THE RATE OF 70 PESOS TO THE DOLLAR.

-

9. CHAPTER 8 DEALS WITH THE FRONTIER AREAS

AND FREE TRADE ZONES.

-

PARA 49: IMPORTS WILL BE SUBJECT TO PREVIOUS IMPORT PERMITS.

-

PARA 50: BASIC CONSUMPTION ITEMS FOR THE "POPULAR CLASSES" CAN BE IMPORTED INTO THESE AREAS ONLY AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE IF THE PRODUCTS CANNOT BE SUPPLIED FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE COUNTRY. THE COORDINATING COMMISSION OF THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR THE FRONTIER AREAS AND FREE TRADE ZONES (CODEF) WILL GIVE TO THE SECRETARIAT OF COMMERCE THE LIST OF PRODUCTS WHICH CAN BE IMPORTED UNDER THESE TERMS.

-

PARA 51: ALL IMPORTED PRODUCTS WILL BE PRICED IN NATIONAL CURRENCY USING THE 70 EXCHANGE RATE.

-

PARA 52: FRONTIER OR FREE ZONE BUSINESSES WHICH RECEIVE FOREIGN CURRENCY MUST EXCHANGE IT AT A BANKING INSTITUTION.

-

PARA 53: FOREIGN CURRENCY WILL BE SOLD IN THE BANKS IN THE CITIES WITHIN 20 KILOMETERS OF THE NORTHERN BORDER OF THE COUNTRY TO ENABLE RESIDENTS TO PAY THEIR FOREIGN CURRENCY OBLIGATIONS. RESIDENTS OF THESE AREAS, ONCE REGISTERED, HAVE A RIGHT TO ACQUIRE DOLLARS EQUAL TO ONE THIRD OF THE MINIMUM SALARY IN EFFECT IN THEIR

ZONE AT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE. THE BANK
OF MEXICO COULD INCREASE THIS QUOTA. THE BANKING
INSTITUTIONS WHICH PROVIDE SERVICES TO SUCH

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 08 OF 12 150229Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	COMP-01	EB-08	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-00	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	OPIC-07	CEA-01	OMB-01
	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00	FRB-01	FOE-00	JUS-01
	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	/105 W			

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O 150122Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3329
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMCONSUL CIUDAD JUAREZ
AMCONSUL GUADALAJARA
AMCONSUL HERMOSILLO
AMCONSUL MATAMOROS
AMCONSUL MAZATLAN
AMCONSUL MERIDA
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMCONSUL NUEVO LAREDO
AMCONSUL TIJUANA

UNCLAS SECTION 08 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

RESIDENTS WILL BIMONTHLY EXCHANGE INFORMATION
TO AVOID DUPLICATIONS.

PARA 54: FOREIGN TOURISTS WHO ENTER THE COUNTRY

BUT DO NOT CROSS BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE FRONTIER
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 08 OF 12 150229Z

OR FREE ZONES, MUST DECLARE TO THE CUSTOMS OFFICE THE AMOUNT OF FOREIGN CURRENCY THEY BRING, AND THEY CAN LEAVE THE COUNTRY WITH THE FOREIGN CURRENCY WHICH THEY DID NOT SPEND. FOREIGN TOURISTS MUST REQUEST THE SPECIAL FORM REFERRED TO EARLIER WHICH SHOWS CURRENCY TRANSACTIONS AND THE RATE AT WHICH ALL CURRENCY WAS EXCHANGED. THESE FORMS MUST BE PRESENTED TO CUSTOMS OFFICES TO ENABLE TOURISTS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. THE CUSTOMS OFFICES WILL SUBMIT ALL SUCH FORMS TO THE BRANCH OR BANK OFFICE INDICATED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

-

10. CHAPTER 9 DEALS WITH IN-BOND INDUSTRIES, I.E., "MAQUILADORAS."

-

PARA 55: MAQUILADORAS REGISTERED WITH THE SECRETARIAT OF PATRIMONY AND WHICH OPERATE IN THE COUNTRY, WILL OPEN A SPECIAL DOLLAR ACCOUNT IN A BRANCH, AGENCY OR OFFICE OF THE COUNTRY'S CREDIT INSTITUTIONS SO THAT ALL OF THEIR INCOME WILL BE DEPOSITED IN SAID ACCOUNTS, AGAINST WHICH THEY CAN ISSUE CHECKS FOR THEIR PESO OBLIGATIONS, AT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE. INCOME FROM MAQUILADORAS CANNOT BE DEPOSITED ABROAD. THE BANKING INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE THE SPECIAL MAQUILADORA ACCOUNTS WILL PRESENT QUARTERLY TO THE BANK OF MEXICO THE AVERAGE BALANCE IN THESE ACCOUNTS, WHICH CANNOT BE LESS THAN THE MAQUILADORA'S WEEKLY OPERATING REQUIREMENTS.

-

PARA 56: ALL DEPOSITS INTO SPECIAL ACCOUNTS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 MEXICO 12570 08 OF 12 150229Z

MUST BE MADE IN FOREIGN CURRENCY.

-

PARA 57. MAQUILADORAS CAN MAINTAIN BALANCES NECESSARY FOR THEIR OPERATING EXPENSES, BUT IN ANY CASE, THEY MUST MAINTAIN MINIMUM BALANCES EQUAL TO ONE WEEK'S OPERATING EXPENSES.

-

PARA 58: MAQUILADORAS CAN REMIT PROFITS EARNED ON THE SHARE OF THE FIRM'S CAPITAL DERIVED FROM FOREIGN INVESTMENT, AFTER ALL OTHER OBLIGATIONS RELATING TO TAXES AND LABOR HAVE BEEN MET.

-

PARA 59: IN THE CASE WHERE MAQUILADORAS ARE
SUBJECT T
O PAYMENTS FORESEEN IN ARTICLE 2 OF
THE LAW ON TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE USE
AND EXPLOITATION OF PATENTS AND TRADEMARKS,
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT
AND TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE SECRETARIAT
OF PATRIMONY WILL VERIFY THE CONTRACTED AMOUNTS.
-
- PARA 60: THE PENALTIES FOR FAILURE TO CONFORM WITH THE
DECREE ESTABLISHING EXCHANGE CONTROLS CAN BE CANCELATION OF
AUTHORIZATION TO OPERATE.

11. THIS CHAPTER DEALS WITH FOREIGN TRAVEL.
-
PARA 61: RESIDENTS IN MEXICO WHO WANT OR NEED
TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE MEXICO HAVE THE RIGHT TO
LEAVE WITH A QUANTITY OF MONEY THAT CANNOT
EXCEED THE FOLLOWING LIMITS PER PERSON:
-
-- FOR TRAVEL FOR HEALTH REASONS: 6,000 U.S.
DOLLARS;
-
-- FOR BUSINESS TRAVEL: 3,000 U.S. DOLLARS;

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 09 OF 12 150231Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	COMP-01	EB-08	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-00	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	OPIC-07	CEA-01	OMB-01
	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00	FRB-01	FOE-00	JUS-01
	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	/105 W			

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O 150122Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3330
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BELIZE

AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMCONSUL CIUDAD JUAREZ
AMCONSUL GUADALAJARA
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AMCONSUL MAZATLAN
AMCONSUL MERIDA
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMCONSUL NUEVO LAREDO
AMCONSUL TIJUANA

UNCLAS SECTION 09 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

-
-- FOR OTHER TYPES OF TRAVEL: 1,500 U.S. DOLLARS.
-
IN DEALING WITH FOREIGN CURRENCY OTHER THAN
U.S. DOLLARS, AN EQUIVALENT AMOUNT WILL BE
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ISSUED. THE FOREGOING LIMITS WILL BE FOR ONE
YEAR, REGARDLESS OF THE TRIPS MADE.
-
PARA 62: DOCUMENTATION WILL BE REQUIRED TO
JUSTIFY TRAVEL FOR HEALTH OR BUSINESS REASONS.
-
PARA 63: PERSONS WISHING TO TRAVEL FOR HEALTH
OR BUSINESS REASONS WHO REQUIRE MORE THAN THE
AMOUNT OF FOREIGN CURRENCY AUTHORIZED MUST
APPLY TO THE BANK OF MEXICO OR ITS REPRESENTATIVES
STATING THEIR REASONS AND ATTACHING DOCUMENTATION
TO DEMONSTRATE A NEED FOR ADDITIONAL FOREIGN
CURRENCY.
-
PARA 64: FOR THE PAYMENT OF FOREIGN STUDY,
THE OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE COUNTRY CAN
SEND UP TO 10,000 U.S. DOLLARS PER ACADEMIC
YEAR FOR THE PAYMENT OF TUITION, FEES, BOOKS,
BOARD AND OTHER RELATED EXPENSES. EXCEPTIONS
CAN BE MADE.
-
PARA 65: THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS WILL RECEIVE
INDICATIONS FROM THE BANK OF MEXICO REGARDING
THE MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS TO FULFILL REQUESTS
UNDER THIS CHAPTER.
-
PARA 66: THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS WILL EXCHANGE
INFORMATION BIMONTHLY TO AVOID DUPLICATIONS
AND FRAUD.
-
PARA 67: RESIDENTS OF THE COUNTRY WITH FOREIGN

CURRENCY CAN GO TO THE BANKING INSTITUTIONS
SO THAT REQUESTS FOR FOREIGN CURRENCY CAN BE
UNCLASSIFIED

EXPIDITED WITH CORRESPONDING PAYMENT ORDERS.
-
PARA 68: RESIDENTS OF THE COUNTRY WHO WISH
OR NEED TO TRAVEL AND WHO DO NOT HAVE FOREIGN
EXCHANGE, CAN PURCHASE FOREIGN EXCHANGE THROUGH
THE NATIONALIZED BANKS, ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING
CONDITIONS AND DEPENDING UPON THE AVAILABILITY
OF FOREIGN CURRENCY:
-
-- UP TO 100 U.S. DOLLARS PER PERSON PER DAY,
WITH A MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF 500 U.S. DOLLARS IN
EVERY CALENDAR YEAR. FOR MINORS, THE AMOUNTS
WILL BE 50 U.S. DOLLARS PER CHILD PER DAY NOT
TO EXCEED 250 U.S. DOLLARS.
-
-- PERSONS TRAVELING FOR HEALTH REASONS CAN
OBTAIN UP TO 3,000 U.S. DOLLARS IN ORDER TO
COVER HOSPITAL AND DOCTORS FEES. DOCUMENTATION
ON THE FOREGOING FEES MUST BE PRESENTED TO
THE BANK WITHIN 10 DAYS OF RETURNING TO THE
COUNTRY.
-
-- FOR FOREIGN STUDY, AMOUNTS AVAILABLE WILL
BE DETERMINED BY UNAM (THE NATIONAL AUTONOMOUS
UNIVERSITY), IPN (THE NATIONAL POLYTECHNICAL
UNIVERSITY) AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS.
-
-- EXCEPT FOR TOURIST TRAVEL EXCEPTIONS CAN
BE MADE.
-
PARA 69: THE SALE OF U.S. DOLLARS FOR THE
FOREGOING PURPOSES WILL BE MADE AT THE ORDINARY
RATE OF EXCHANGE AND UPON PRESENTATION OF A
VALID PASSPORT AND THE DOCUMENTATION REQUIRED

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 10 OF 12 150232Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	COMP-01	EB-08	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-00	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	OPIC-07	CEA-01	OMB-01
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	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	/105 W			

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O 150122Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3331
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMCONSUL CIUDAD JUAREZ
AMCONSUL GUADALAJARA
AMCONSUL HERMOSILLO
AMCONSUL MATAMOROS
AMCONSUL MAZATLAN
AMCONSUL MERIDA
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMCONSUL NUEVO LAREDO
AMCONSUL TIJUANA

UNCLAS SECTION 10 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

TO JUSTIFY THE SALE.
-
PARA 70: THE SECRETARIES OF COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORTATION AND TOURISM WILL MAKE ARRANGEMENTS SO THAT FARES CAN BE PAID IN NATIONAL CURRENCY.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 10 OF 12 150232Z

-
PARA 71: THE FOREGOING RULES ARE NOT APPLICABLE TO RESIDENTS OF THE FRONTIER AND FREE ZONES; RULES FOR THESE RESIDENTS WILL BE ISSUED.
-
12. CHAPTER 11 DEALS WITH RULES FOR ENTERING THE COUNTRY.
-
PARA 72: FOR RESIDENTS OF THE COUNTRY WHO RETURN FROM ABROAD, ONCE THEY PASS THE CUSTOMS OFFCIALS, THEY MUST SELL ALL FOREIGN CURRENCY WHICH THEY HAVE BROUGHT TO TO THE OFFICES OF

THE BANKING INSTITUTIONS LOCATED AT THE BORDERS, PORTS AND AIRPORTS.

-

PARA 73: FOREIGN RESIDENTS WHO WISH TO ENTER THE COUNTRY WIL DECLARE ON SPECIAL FORMS THE FOREIGN CURRENCY WHICH THEY HAVE BROUGHT TO THE CUSTOMS OFFICIALS. UPON LEAVING, THEY CAN PURCHASE UP TO 250 U.S. DOLLARS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT THEY EXCHANGED WHILE IN THE COUNTRY AND WHAT THEY HAVE SPENT. FOREIGN RESIDENTS WHO HAVE TO ENTER THE COUNTRY FOR UP TO 48 HOURS FOR REASONS OF FORCE MAJEURE, WILL DECLARE AT THE TIME OF ENTRY THE FOREIGN CURRENCY THEY HAVE BROUGHT WITH THEM SO THAT AT THE TIME OF DEPARTURE THEY MAY TAKE THE SAID FOREIGN CURRENCY WITH THEM.

-

13. CHAPTER XII: FOREIGN REPRESENTATIONS.

PARA 74 STATES THAT "BANCO INTERNACIONAL", ACTING ON BEHALF OF BANCO DE MEXICO, WILL OPEN UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

SPECIAL DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS IN U.S. DOLLARS, GERMAN MARKS, SWISS FRANCS, FRENCH FRANCS, STERLING POUNDS AND JAPANESE YEN, FOR DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS, AND FOR FOREIGN CITIZENS WORKING FOR THE SAME. THE DEPOSITORS SHOULD BE ACCREDITED WITH THE SECRETARIAT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND HAVE DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES.

-

PARA 75: THE DEPOSITOR CAN ONLY OPEN OR INCREASE HIS DEPOSIT BY MAKING DEPOSITS IN FOREIGN CURRENCY IN DOCUMENTS FROM FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS OR, ONLY ONCE AS EXPLAINED IN PARA 78, THROUGH TRANSFERS FROM OTHER MEXICAN INSTITUTIONS.

-

PARA 76: THESE DEPOSITS WILL BE TERM DEPOSITS AND WILL EARN INTEREST AT A RATE FIXED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

-

PARA 77: THE DEPOSITORS CAN WITHDRAW DEPOSITS BY DRAFTS OR MONEY ORDERS PAYABLE ABROAD OR WITHDRAWALS IN PESOS IN CASH OR FOR DEPOSIT IN PESO CHECKING ACCOUNTS, CALCULATED AT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE. CHECKS IN FOREIGN CURRENCY CANNOT BE DRAWN ON THESE SPECIAL ACCOUNTS.

-

PARA 78: MEXICAN CREDIT INSTITUTIONS SHOULD TRANSFER TO THE SPECIAL ACCOUNTS THE BALANCES REGISTERED AS OF SEPTEMBER 6, 1982 OF FOREIGN CURRENCY ACCOUNTS IN THE NAME OF DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR REPRESENTATIONS, INTERNATIONAL

ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS AND OF FOREIGN
CITIZENS HAVING DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES, ACCORDING

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 11 OF 12 150234Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	COMP-01	EB-08	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-00	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	OPIC-07	CEA-01	OMB-01
	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00	FRB-01	FOE-00	JUS-01
	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	/105 W			

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O 150122Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3332
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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AMCONSUL CIUDAD JUAREZ
AMCONSUL GUADALAJARA
AMCONSUL HERMOSILLO
AMCONSUL MATAMOROS
AMCONSUL MAZATLAN
AMCONSUL MERIDA
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMCONSUL NUEVO LAREDO
AMCONSUL TIJUANA

UNCLAS SECTION 11 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

TO THE FOLLOWING PROCEDURES:
-
-- I. BANKS WILL ISSUE A CASHIER'S CHECK
IN FOREIGN CURRENCY TO BANCO INTERNACIONAL,

REPRESENTING THE BALANCE INDICATED ABOVE AS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 11 OF 12 150234Z

WELL AS THE INTEREST EARNED IN THE ACCOUNT UNTIL THE DATE THE DOCUMENT IS ISSUED. THESE CHECKS SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT FROM THE DEPOSITARY BANK SPECIFYING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DEPOSIT. THE INTERESTED PERSON SHOULD THEN BRING THE CASHIER'S CHECK AND ENCLOSED DOCUMENTS TO THIS BANK.

-- II. BANCO INTERNACIONAL, S.A. WILL RECEIVE THE CORRESPONDING FUNDS AS TERM DEPOSITS BY OPENING NEW TERM DEPOSITS FOR THE SAME NUMBER OF DAYS LEFT FOR THEIR MATURITY AT THE MOMENT OF THE TRANSFER AND WILL APPLY THE SAME INTEREST RATE AS THE ORIGINAL DEPOSIT. FOR SAVING DEPOSITS AND CHECKING ACCOUNTS, BANCO INTERNACIONAL WILL COMPLY WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED FROM THE DEPOSITORS TO INVEST THEIR FUNDS ACCORDING TO THE RULES MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 76 OF THIS CHAPTER OR WITHDRAW THEM ACCORDING TO RULES MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 77.

PARA 79: BANCO INTERNACIONAL AND ALL OTHER CREDIT INSTITUTIONS SHOULD MAKE SURE THAT THE DEPOSITOR FALLS INTO THE CATEGORIES STATED ABOVE AND KEEP IN THEIR FILES THE CORRESPONDING DOCUMENTATION.

14. CHAPTER 13: COMMUNICATIONS

PARA 80: COMMUNICATIONS LINKS - TELEPHONES, AIR TRANSPORT, SHIPPING, RAILROADS AND OTHER GENERAL MEANS OF COMMUNICATIONS - WILL MAINTAIN SPECIAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE ACCOUNTS IN FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 MEXICO 12570 11 OF 12 150234Z

THIS IS TO MEET PREVIOUSLY CONTRACTED INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND THE REQUISITE EXPENDITURES FOR SERVICES REALIZED ABROAD. THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL ESTABLISH THE NECESSARY RULES AND CONDITIONS FOR IMPLEMENATION OF THE ABOVE.

PARA 81: THE SECRETARY OF COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION WILL MAINTAIN A REGISTRY OF OPERATIONS CONSISTENT WITH CONVENTIONS, RECIPROCITY AGREEMENTS THAT REQUIRE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND WILL PREPARE A FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET. IN

ALL CASES, ACTUAL TRANSACTIONS WILL BE THROUGH
AN AUTHORIZED CREDIT INSTITUTION.
-
PARA 82: THOSE RELEVENT SERVICES, WHICH REQUIRE
COMMUNICATIONS TO FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS WILL
BE BILLED FOR SUCH SERVICES IN PESOS AT THE
ORDINARY RATE OF EXCHANGE. WHEN THE DEMAND
FOR A SERVICE IS FROM A FOREIGNER, THE INCOME
OBTAINED WILL BE DEPOSITED IN THE NATIONAL
CREDIT SYSTEM, CONVERTED TO PESOS AT THE ORDINARY
EXCHANGE RATE.
-
PARA 83: THE BANK OF MEXICO DESIGNATES THE
SECRETARIAT OF COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT
TO ISSUE AND RECEIVE TELEGRAPHIC MONEY TRANSFERS,
AT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE, UNDER THE RULES
ESTABLISHED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.
-
15. CHAPTER 14: COMPLEMENTARY MEASURES

- PARA 84: THE BANK OF MEXICO CAN DESIGNATE VARIOUS
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS OR THEIR OFFICES TO CARRY OUT THE
OPERATIONS OF FOREIGN CURRENCY REFERRED TO IN THESE GENE-

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12570 12 OF 12 150236Z
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INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMCONSUL CIUDAD JUAREZ
AMCONSUL GUADALAJARA
AMCONSUL HERMOSILLO
AMCONSUL MATAMOROS
AMCONSUL MAZATLAN
AMCONSUL MERIDA
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
AMCONSUL NUEVO LAREDO
AMCONSUL TIJUANA

UNCLAS SECTION 12 OF 12 MEXICO 12570

RAL RULES.

- PARA 85: THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE WILL BE APPLIED TO PAYMENTS OF RESERVE REQUIREMENTS AND INTEREST ON THE REMAINING FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSITS. INTERBANK OPERATIONS UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12570 12 OF 12 150236Z

WILL ALSO BE LIQUIDATED AT THE ORDINARY EXCHANGE RATE.

- PARA 86: RESIDENTS IN THE COUNTRY OR ABROAD CAN ENTER OR LEAVE MEXICO CARRYING UP TO FIVE THOUSAND PESOS. BANKS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO CARRY OUT ANY OPERATION TRANSFERRING NATIONAL CURRENCY ABROAD.

- PARA 87: EXPORT PERMITS ARE NEEDED FOR EXPORTS OF GOLD, SILVER, FOREIGN AND NATIONAL BILLS OR COINS, ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED BY THE SECRETARIATS OF FINANCE AND COMMERCE.

- PARA 88: FOREIGN CURRENCY CAN ONLY BE SOLD TO THE BANK OF MEXICO AND OTHER BANKS AND PERSONS SO AUTHORIZED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO.

- PARA 89: AUTHORIZED HOTELS AND TRAVEL AGENCIES CAN BUY FOREIGN CURRENCY FROM TOURISTS WHICH THEY WILL HAVE TO DEPOSIT BY THE NEXT DAY IN A BANK DESIGNATED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO. THEY CANNOT SELL FOREIGN CURRENCY TO ANYONE, BUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARA 80 CAN HAVE SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY ACCOUNTS IN BANKS ABROAD. TO PERFORM THESE OPERATIONS, THEY MUST BE REGISTERED FOR THIS PURPOSE WITH THE TOURISM SECRETARIAT.

- PARA 90: EXCHANGE HOUSES AUTHORIZED BY BANK OF MEXICO CAN ONLY BUY FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR NATIONAL CURRENCY. THEY CANNOT RESELL THIS FOREIGN EXCHANGE. THE BANK OF MEXICO CAN REVOKE SUCH AUTHORIZATIONS.

- PARA 91: THE BANK OF MEXICO CAN AUTHORIZE THE

BRANCHES OR AGENCIES ABROAD OF MEXICAN BANKS TO MAINTAIN DEPOSITS OR ACCOUNTS IN FOREIGN CURRENCY TO BE USED FOR
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PAYMENTS OF OBLIGATIONS IN FOREIGN CURRENCIES.

- PARA 92: SUBSCRIPTIONS TO FOREIGN CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS CAN BE PAID IN FOREIGN CURRENCY UP TO FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER YEAR. AUTHORIZATION IS NEEDED FROM THE BANK OF MEXICO FOR TRANSFERS OF HIGHER AMOUNTS.

- PARA 93: THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL ESTABLISH AN OFFICE FOR URGENT CASES WHICH ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THESE GENERAL RULES.

- PARA 94: THE INTERSECRETARIAL COMMISSION CAN CREATE SUBCOMMISSIONS AND COORDINATING PROCEDURES AS CONVENIENT AND NECESSARY FOR THE EFFECTIVE FULFILLMENT OF THE RULES OF THIS INSTRUMENT.

- PARA 95: THE SECRETARY OF FINANCE AND PUBLIC CREDIT AND THE BANK OF MEXICO, WITH APPROPRIATE PARTICIPATION OF THE INTERSECRETARIAL COMMISSION, CAN MODIFY, ADD, OR TOTALLY OR PARTIALLY REPEAL THE GENERAL RULES OF THIS INSTRUMENT, IN RESPONSE TO THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE OR A PARTICULAR REGION OR SECTOR.

16. TRANSITORY ARTICLE: THE PRESENT ARTICLE WILL BECOME EFFECTIVE ON THE DATE FOLLOWING PUBLICATION IN THE OFFICIAL REGISTER. THE TRANSACTIONS AS AUTHORIZED BY THIS DECREE MAY BEGIN ON SEPTEMBER 21. (DRAFTED BY: LPPASCOE, GRIFFITHS, HLANE) SHANKLE

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 06921 01 OF 02 162305Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0939
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 GUATEMALA 06921

E.O. 12356: DECL: 09/16/88
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, SHUM, GT
SUBJECT: (C) MORE ALLEGED GOG ATROCITIES

REF: (A) GUATEMALA 6435
- (B) GUATEMALA 6475
- (C) GUATEMALA 6878

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2. SUMMARY: EMBASSY IS IN RECEIPT OF THE LATEST ALLEGATIONS BY THE COMISION DE DERECHOS HUMANOS DE GUATEMALA (CDHG) CONCERNING SUPPOSED GOG ATROCITIES IN EL QUICHE. THE CRUX OF THE REPORT IS "TESTIMONY" FROM ONE MANUEL SAQUIP, WHO REPORTEDLY FLED FROM NEBAJ, EL QUICHE TO CHIAPAS, [redacted]

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MEXICO; THE REPORT IS DATED JULY 1982. EMBASSY ANALYSIS OF THE SAQUIP TESTIMONY FOLLOWS.
END SUMMARY.
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3. WE NOTE THAT THE ALLEGATIONS ARE VAGUE AS TO THE TIME THESE INCIDENTS ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE OCCURRED. THE ONLY TIME FRAME MENTIONED IS "JANUARY TO JUNE, 1982". WE DO, HOWEVER, UNDERSTAND THAT THE ARMY HAS CALLED FOR THE INHABITANTS OF THE NEBAJ MUNICIPALITY TO COME IN FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE AND RESETTLE TEMPORARILY IN NEBAJ PROPER. WE ALSO HAVE EYEWITNESS REPORTS (REF B) THAT THE GUERRILLAS HARRASSED, THREATENED AND INTIMIDATED THOSE VILLAGERS THAT ATTEMPTED TO HEED THE CALL.

4. WE ALSO NOTE THAT THE ALLEGED EYEWITNESS FLED ON FOOT FROM SALQUIL, NEBAJ, EL QUICHE TO TAPACHULA, CHIAPAS, MEXICO, ROUGHLY A WEST BY SOUTHWEST ROUTE. YET, HE GIVES "EYEWITNESS" TESTIMONY TO ALLEGED ATROCITIES IN SOLOLA AND CHIMALTENANGO; THE LATTER IS SOME 70 KMS. DIRECTLY SOUTHEAST OF SALQUIL. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS EYEWITNESS FLED TO MEXICO BY HEADING IN THE EXACT OPPOSITE DIRECTION, BUT THIS WOULD MAKE NO SENSE IF HE WAS NOT TRAVELING BY BUS OR OTHER VEHICLE. THE SOURCE ALSO GIVES WHAT APPEARS TO BE EYEWITNESS REPORTS OF THE SITUATION ON THE SOUTH COAST, BUT THE REPORT DOES NOT STATE IF HE WAS THERE, IF HE HEARD OF THESE THINGS, OR IF HE SIMPLY INVENTED THEM. A PASSING ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE MOUNTAINOUS GEOGRAPHY AND ISOLATED NATURE OF THE SMALL COMMUNITIES REFERRED TO BY [redacted]

SAQUIP WOULD RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ABILITY OF ANY ONE PERSON TO HAVE COVERED ALL THIS AREA.

5. THE SOURCE STATES THAT "IN OUR VILLAGE" (SALQUIL? NEBAJ PROPER?) AN ENTIRE FAMILY WAS BURNED "BECAUSE THEY WERE FOUND PRAYING". THIS IS AN INCIDENT WORTH NOTING. THE GOG UNDER LUCAS GARCIA DID EXHIBIT ANTI-CLERICALISM, BUT THIS WAS POINTEDLY DIRECTED AT FOREIGNERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE DIRECT AND RELIABLE EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS FROM SALQUIL OF GUERRILLAS THREATENING TO KILL ANYONE WHO SOUGHT SUCCOR FROM RELIGION (REF B). AS TESTIMONY FROM INDIVIDUALS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE AREA SHOULD BE GIVEN DUE CONSIDERATION, THIS LATEST REPORT THAT THE ARMY CAME THROUGH SALQUIL DRESSED AS GUERRILLAS MAY

BE AN ATTEMPT TO BLAME THE MASSACRE OF THE FAMILY AT PRAYER ON THE ARMY.

6. AS PER TAYLOR/BLOHM TELECON, THE ARMY HAS NOT SEARCHED THE LA SALLE COLEGIO IN HUEHUETENANGO SINCE FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR. SAQUIC'S TESTIMONY THAT THIS TOOK PLACE IN JUNE IS CLEARLY MISTAKEN. IN ANY CASE, THIS SEARCH WAS PUBLIC AND CONDUCTED WITH RESTRAINT.

7. COMMENT: IT STRIKES US AS ODD THAT A "PEASANT" FROM NEBAJ WOULD USE LANGUAGE MORE COMMON TO RADIO HAVANA THAN GUATEMALA'S ISOLATED HIGHLANDS ("WHAT CAN A STARVING PEOPLE, A MASSACRED, PERSECUTED, BOMBARDED AND EXTERMINATED PEOPLE DO?"). IN SHORT, IF THIS EYEWITNESS DID NOT EXIST IT WAS CONVENIENT TO INVENT HIM FOR THE

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 06921 02 OF 02 162305Z
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 GUATEMALA 06921

PURPOSE OF THE REPORT.

8. THIS LATEST REPORT FROM CDHG APPEARS TO US AS VAGUE AND INCONSISTENT. HOW AND WHEN THE SOURCE WITNESSED THE ALLEGED ATROCITIES IS ENTIRELY UNCLEAR. THEN AGAIN, THE MOST GENERAL CLAIMS OF ATROCITIES ARE THE MOST DIFFICULT TO REFUTE. WE ARE CURRENTLY PREPARING A FULL REPORT ON OTHER INCIDENTS REPORTED BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND NISGUA, THE FRONT GROUP OPERATING OUT OF WASHINGTON. WE HAVE SENT A LETTER TO THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF LISTING THE MORE NOXIOUS INCIDENTS ALLEGED TO HAVE OCCURRED IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS AND REQUESTED A REPLY. UPON RECEIPT OF THE ARMY'S RESPONSE WE WILL SEND A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF OUR ANALYSIS OF THESE EVENTS. IN GENERAL, WE AGREE THAT THE [redacted]

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CURRENT INUNDATION OF ATROCITY REPORTS NEEDS TO BE COUNTERED WITH ACCURATE REBUTTALS. END COMMENT.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12732 01 OF 02 172323Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12732

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12666

1. THIS ARTICLE SUMMARIZES IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED ARTICLES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 17, 1982. NO PAPERS WERE PUBLISHED YESTERDAY, MEXICO'S NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE DAY.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY)READ: "SECRETARY OF LABOR URGES READJUSTMENT OF SALARIES." THIS STORY REPORTED THAT LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ HAS GIVEN THE PRIVATE SECTOR ONE WEEK TO "SATISFACTORILY RESOLVE" WORKERS' DEMANDS
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12732 01 OF 02 172323Z

FOR WAGE HIKES. OTHERWISE, ACCORDING TO VELAZQUEZ, "THE 30,000 UNIONS THAT COMPOSE THE ORGANIZED WORKERS MOVEMENT WILL START TO STRIKE" NEXT WEEK. VELAZQUEZ IS FURTHER QUOTED THAT THE SEVEN PERCENT WAGE INCREASE RECENTLY GIVEN GOVERNMENT WORKERS IN "NO WAY CAN SERVE AS BASIS" FOR ORGANIZED LABOR'S WAGE ADJUSTMENT BECAUSE PRIVATE INDUSTRY HAS SUFFICIENT LIQUIDITY TO GRANT "JUST INCREASES." A COMPANION STORY NOTED THAT MANAGERS HAVE DECIDED TO NEGOTIATE ONLY ON AN "INDUSTRY-BY-INDUSTRY" BASIS. THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT WHILE PRIVATE SECTOR REPRESENTATIVES RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO "COMPENSATE"

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WORKERS FOR LOST PURCHASING POWER, THEY ARE OPPOSED TO A GENERAL WAGE HIKE LIKE THE 10-20-30 PERCENT FORMULA ADOPTED LAST MARCH. THEY WARN THAT SUCH AN INCREASE WOULD FORCE THE "CLOSURE OF MANY BUSINESSES WITH SERIOUS LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED: "INFLATION HAS PASSED BEYOND PESSIMISM: PRICE INDEX GREW 54.3 PERCENT IN EIGHT MONTHS ACCORDING TO BANK OF MEXICO." FURTHER REPORTING ON THIS DEVELOPMENT CONTAINED IN SEPTEL. OTHER KEY STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "RONALD REAGAN PRAISES MEXICO'S INITIATIVE ON CENTRAL AMERICA;" (2) "PRECARIOUS SITUATION IN CHEMICAL INDUSTRY;" AND (3) "BUSINESSMEN OF PROVINCES DEMAND MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 24."

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3. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC)LED WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "PEOPLE AND ARMY WILL THWART DESTABILIZATION: NAVY SECRETARY CHAZARO." QUOTING SPEECH MADE BY NAVAL COMMANDER AT YESTERDAY'S INDEPENDENCE FESTIVITIES, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED MILITARY'S CONTENTION THAT NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS

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AND ADOPTION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS HAVE "RESTORED CONFIDENCE." CHAZARO FURTHER WARNED THAT NEITHER THE PEOPLE NOR THE ARMED FORCES WOULD PERMIT "THE INJURED MINORITY" TO CAUSE "INSTABILITY." A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "MEXICO, A COUNTRY THAT BELIEVES IN ITSELF: JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON REMARKS MADE BY PRESIDENT AT LOS PINOS YESTERDAY AFTER RECEIVING FROM SEVERAL GROUPS THE EQUIVALENT OF ANOTHER $3 MILLION FOR VOLUNTARY NATIONAL FUND TO PAY EXTERNAL DEBT AND BANK INDEMNIFICCTION. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY WAS HEADLINED: "IMF UNDERSTANDS THAT MEXICAN CRISIS IS TRANSITORY." QUOTING SPECIAL MEXICAN AMBASSADOR FAUSTO ZAPATA, THIS ARTICLE STATED: "I THINK WE ARE REACHING POINTS OF AGREEMENT WITH FOREIGN BANKS AND THE IMF, WITH RESPECT TO THE MEXICAN FINANCIAL CRISIS." THE STORY FURTHER QUOTED ZAPATA (WHO HAS BEEN IN U.S. FOR LAST TWO WEEKS DISCUSSING MEXICO WITH INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL LEADERS) THAT RECENT ECONOMIC MEASURES IN MEXICO WERE ADOPTED FOR "PRAGMATIC" REASONS AND ONCE HIS COUNTRY RECOVERED "SOLVENCY" IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO RETURN TO TRADITIONAL MEXICAN SYSTEM OF FREE EXCHANGE. HE FURTHER OPINED THAT THIS NORMALIZATION PROCESS WOULD TAKE "TWO YEARS." ANOTHER LEAD STORY WAS HEADLINED: "THE NATIONALIZED BANKS PERFORM: BUSINESS LEADER I. BARRAGAN." FINALLY, THE LEAD EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED A PUZZLED SPECTATOR EXAMINING MODERN ART PORTRAIT ENTITLED "RULES FOR CONTROL OF EXCHANGE" CONSISTING OF OVERLAID MECHANICAL DRAWING INSTRUMENTS.

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4. THE LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC UNO MAS UNO CARRIED FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "POPULAR SOLIDARITY IS FORCE FOR MOVING AHEAD: JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON REMARKS MADE YESTERDAY AFTER NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE DAY CEREMONIES IN WHICH PRESIDENT STATED
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12732 02 OF 02 172325Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12732

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

HE FELT HIS PEOPLE WERE "UNITED, CONFIDENT, HAPPY AND ABOVE ALL, SOLIDARY." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT THE FEDERAL TRIBUNAL OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION HAS RECEIVED MORE THAN 40 APPLICATIONS TO FORM UNIONS AMONG BANK EMPLOYEES. OTHER LEAD STORY NOTED INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE OF MEXICAN BISHOPS WHICH CALLED FOR "NATIONAL UNITY TO OVERCOME THE (FINANCIAL) CRISIS." MEANWHILE AN INSIDE ARTICLE REPORTED RECENT STATEMENTS BY LABOR CONFEDERATION LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ THAT NEXT WEEK STRIKES WOULD BEGIN UNLESS EMERGENCY SALARY ADJUSTMENT WAS OBTAINED BEFOREHAND. THE ARTICLE FURTHER NOTED THAT ACCORDING TO ONE BUSINESS LEADER (FORMER PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE) NO BUSINESS IS IN A POSITION TO GRANT WAGE INCREASE BECAUSE OF MOUNTING LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS. THE ACCOMPANYING EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12732 02 OF 02 172325Z

FIDEL VELAZQUEZ TELLING MAFIA-LIKE SUBORDINATES THAT IT IS TIME TO START COMPLAINING SO WORKERS WILL INCREASE THEIR UNION DUES.

5. THE HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "THE INFLATION INDEX INCREASED 54.3 PERCENT IN JANUARY-AUGUST." REPORTED IN GREATER DETAIL IN SEPTEL, STORY POINTED OUT THAT IN AUGUST ALONE GOVERNMENT PRICE HIKES FOR FOOD AND FUEL BOOSTED CONSUMER PRICE INDEX 11.2 PERCENT. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED: "THE COUNTRY IS COMPLETELY CALM; THE ARMY IS MATURE: DEFENSE SECRETARY

GALVAN." THIS STORY REPORTED ON SPEECHES GIVEN AT YESTERDAY'S INDEPENDENCE CEREMONIES BY MILITARY LEADERS STRESSING PROFESSIONALISM AND LOYALTY OF ARMED FORCES. OTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "PRIVATE SECTOR POSTPONES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY UNTIL NOVEMBER." WITHOUT GIVING REASON, ARTICLE STATED THAT THE CONFEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE HAS DECIDED TO PUT OFF FOR TWO MONTHS THEIR ANNUAL ASSEMBLY WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 24. THE PURPOSE OF THIS MEETING WILL BE TO "ANALYZE" THE "GROWING INTERVENTION OF THE STATE IN ALL BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION."

6. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "MEXICO WILL CONTINUE ITS ASCENDING PATH: JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON A SHORT INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT AFTER YESTERDAY'S MILITARY PARADE COMMEMORATING INDEPENDENCE, IN WHICH JLP STRESSED SOVEREIGNTY, LIBERTY AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR MEXICO. ACCOMPANYING PHOTOGRAPH SHOWED PRESIDENT WAVING NATIONAL FLAG FROM BALCONY OF NATIONAL PALACE
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DURING WEDNESDAY NIGHT'S "GRITO" CEREMONIES. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "EMOTIONAL CEREMONY OF MEXICANS IN NEW YORK." OTHER LEAD STORY NOTED: "BUSINESSMEN ARE READY TO GIVE INCREASES." THIS STORY QUOTED BUSINESS LEADER AURELIO TAMEZ THAT ALTHOUGH PRIVATE SECTOR WANTS TO CONTINUE WAGE DIALOGUE WITH WORKERS, "THE IMPERATIVE IN THESE MOMENTS IS TO MAINTAIN PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYEMENT." THIS ARTICLE ALSO REPORTED THAT LABOR LEADER VALAZQUEZ HAS GIVEN EMPLOYERS "EIGHT DAYS" TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THEIR UNION COUNTERPARTS ON "GENERAL INCREASE OF SALARIES" OR FACE STRIKES. HERALDO ALSO RAN TWO INTERESTING EDITORIAL CARTOONS. THIS FIRST ENTITLED "THE SHOUT OF DON FIDEL" SHOWED LABOR LEADER VELAZQUEZ LIFTING THE ARM OF BUSINESS LEADER CLOUTHIER WHILE DECLARING: "CLOUTHIER IS A PATRIOT." CLOUTHIER REPLIED: "THE DOUBT OFFENDS ME." THE OTHER SHOWED LOWER-INCOME MEXICAN WITH HIS DOG JUMPING FOR JOY WHILE SHOUTING: "IN THE PLAN TO REPATRIATE CAPITAL, WE HAD TO REPATRIATE THE CAPITOL OF TEXAS, THAT OF NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, ETC.; CAPITOLS THAT WERE A
LSO OF MEXICO." (DRAFTED:ECON:
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12792 01 OF 03 210004Z
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E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/20/88
TAGS: ETRD, EAGR, EIND, MX
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON GOM EXPORT SUBSIDIES

REF: (A) MEXICO 11708 (B) MEXICO 12332 (C) STATE 109194
(D) USDOC 14747 (E) MEXICO 12731 (F) MEXICO 12570

1. [redacted]

2. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN LIGHT OF GOM REQUEST TO RE-INITIATE TALKS CONCERNING A POSSIBLE PARALLEL COMMITMENT AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. ON SUBSIDIES AND COUNTERVAILING DUTIES, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IT WORTHWHILE TO UPDATE OUR REPORTING ON GOM EXPORT SUBSIDIES, I.E., CEDIS, FOMEX FINANCING, CEPROFIS AND PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE FOR IMPORTS, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF CERTAIN INFORMATION BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION DURING THE USDOC ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW ON LEATHER WEAVING APPAREL AND CERAMIC TILE

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12792 01 OF 03 210004Z

AND IN OTHER MEETINGS WITH GOM OFFICIALS. END SUMMARY.

3. CEDIS:
A. LIC. BASILIO GONZALES, SUBDIRECTOR GENERAL FOR EXPORT INCENTIVES, COMMERCE SECRETARIAT, ADVISED USG OFFICIALS SEPTEMBER 8 THAT APPROXIMATELY 3000 FIRMS RECEIVED CEDIS IN 1981; OF THESE, APPROXIMATELY 130 RECEIVED A 50 PERCENT ADVANCE OF CEDI BENEFIT IN JANUARY, 1982 BY SUBMITTING TO COMMERCE SECRETARIAT A 1982 EXPORT PLAN SHOWING 1982 PROJECTED EXPORTS WOULD BE EQUAL TO OR GREATER THAN 1980 AND/OR 1981 EXPORTS. SINCE SOME FIRMS DID NOT MEET THEIR

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Date: 10/28/97

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PROJECTIONS THROUGH AUGUST 25, -- THE DATE THE LISTINGS OF PRODUCTS ELIGIBLE FOR CEDIS WERE SUSPENDED - THE COMMERCE SECRETARIAT HAS ASKED SEVERAL FIRMS TO RETURN THEIR CEDI CERTIFICATES. ACCORDING TO GONZALES, IF THE FIRMS DO NOT OR REFUSE TO RETURN THESE CERTIFICATES, A CIRCULAR WILL BE ISSUED TO TESORIA (THE TREASURY) STATING CEDI CERTIFICATES WITH CERTAIN NUMBERS ARE NOT TO BE HONORED.

B. AS NOTED IN REF B, THE LISTINGS OF PRODUCTS ELIGIBLE FOR CEDIS WAS SUSPENDED AUGUST 25. ACCORDING TO GONZALES ANY FIRM EXPORTING A PRODUCT ELIGIBLE FOR A CEDI THAT PRESENTS EVIDENCE THAT THE PRODUCT WAS EXPORTED ON OR BEFORE AUGUST 25 HAS 90 DAYS TO APPLY FOR THE CEDI BENEFIT. THUS IN THIS TRANSITIONAL PHASE-OUT PERIOD NOVEMBER 23 IS THE LAST DATE ANY FIRM CAN APPLY FOR CEDI BENEFITS.

C. GONZALES PRODUCED FOR USG OFFICIALS FOR THE FIRST TIME ON SEPTEMBER 8 A MASTER CEDI LIST, I.E., ALPHA-

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BETICAL LISTING OF COMPANIES (WITH CORRESPONDING FEDERAL TAX NUMBER) THAT HAD RECEIVED CEDI BENEFITS FROM SEPTEMBER 1, 1976 TO THE PRESENT, I.E., UNDER THE OLD CEDI SYSTEM AND THE NEW CEDI SYSTEM IN EFFECT SINCE JANUARY 1980.

D. BOTH GONZALES AND LIC. ALMAALFARO, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF MEXICAN EXPORTS, WHO COORDINATES ALL GOM RESPONSES TO USDOC COUNTERVAILING DUTY QUESTIONNAIRES INSISTED ON SEPTEMBER 8 THAT THE BASIC CEDI RATE WAS INCREASED TO 15 PERCENT ON JANUARY 1, 1982 AND THAT THE RATE REMAINED IN EFFECT UNTIL AUGUST 25, 1982, AND ALSO REMAINS FOR THE TRANSITIONAL 90 DAY PERIOD.

E. USG OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, WERE NOT PERMITTED ACCESS TO ANY CEDI COMPUTER PRINTOUTS FOR 1982 WHICH ALLEGEDLY SHOW THE 15 PERCENT RATE AND ALSO ALLEGEDLY SHOW CEDI ADVANCE BENEFITS MADE TO ABOUT 130 MEXICAN FIRMS.

F. [redacted] IN THE LEATHER WEARING APPAREL VERIFICATION IN 1981, I.E., REPEATED DENIAL THAT THE CEDI HAD NOT BEEN INCREASED FROM 5 PERCENT TO 10 PERCENT ON DECEMBER 1, 1980, US IMPORTERS IN 1981 POSTED A BOND EQUIVALENT TO THE 5 PERCENT CVD ASSESSED IN THE FINAL DETERMINATION; AS A RESULT OF JUST-COMPLETED ONE YEAR REVIEW OF THIS CASE, IT WAS DETERMINED THAT THE CEDI RATE IN 1981 WAS ACTUALLY 10 PERCENT. AS A

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CONSEQUENCE US IMPORTERS WILL BE RECEIVING US CUSTOMS BILLS FOR THE BALANCE OF THE 5 PERCENT CVD AND ALSO A SUM WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE FOMEX SUBSIDY ELEMENT.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12792 02 OF 03 210006Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	L-03
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 MEXICO 12792

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G. COMMENT: WE FEEL [redacted] UNCERTAINTY AND INSTABILITY IN U.S.-MEXICAN TRADE RELATIONS BECAUSE US IMPORTERS, DUE TO COST FACTORS, WILL BE LESS INCLINED TO MAKE PURCHASES OF PRODUCTS FROM MEXICO SUBJECT TO CVD INVESTIGATIONS IF THEY ARE UNABLE TO REASONABLY DETERMINE THE REAL ADDITIONAL COSTS RESULTING FROM CVDS. THE NEED FOR GOM CANDOR IN EXPLAINING ITS EXPORT SUBSIDY PROGRAMS AND THE POTENTIAL DETRIMENTAL EFFECT LACK OF CANDOR COULD HAVE ON U.S. IMPORTERS IN LOOKING TO MEXICO AS A SOURCE OF SUPPLY SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED IN UPCOMING TALKS IN DISCUSSION OF ARTICLE 14 OF THE BRACKETED TEXT, I.E., REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON NATURE AND EXTENT OF SUBSIDIES. (REF C).

4. FOMEX:
A. FOMEX OFFICIAL INFORMED EMBOFF GARNER SEPTEMBER 17 THAT FOMEX HAD A PROGRAMMED OPERATING BUDGET

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OF 85,000 MILLION PESOS FOR 1982 AND THAT THROUGH

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MAY, 1982 45,000 MILLION PESOS HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED. SINCE JUNE THE BANK OF MEXICO REPORTEDLY ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS TO FOMEX TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ITS EXPORT FINANCING DUE TO THE FISCAL CRISIS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT FOMEX IS UNDER CURRENT INSTRUCTIONS TO MAKE NO PRE-EXPORT OR EXPORT FINANCING DENOMINATED IN DOLLARS, BUT THAT FINANCING IN PESOS CONTINUES.

B. FOMEX'S 1981 ANNUAL REPORT (JUST RELEASED AS PART OF SPECIAL BOOKLET SUMMARIZING FOMEX'S FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF OPERATION) NOTES THAT IN 1981 FOMEX AUTHORIZED FINANCING FOR EXPORTS AND SUBSTITUTION OF IMPORTS FOR 74,793 MILLION PESOS, A 57.98 PERCENT INCREASE FOR THAT AUTHORIZED FOR 1980, 47,343 MILLIONS OF PESOS. THE 74,793 MILLION OF PESOS WERE AUTHORIZED AS A RESULT OF 19,145 TRANSACTIONS HANDLED BY 38 AUTHORIZING CREDIT INSTITUTIONS (BANKS), WITH 1,611 MEXICAN FIRMS BENEFITING.

C. OF THE 74,793 MILLION PESOS, UTILIZATION WAS AS FOLLOWS: 37,835 MILLION PESOS (ABOUT $US 977.48 MILLION) FOR EXPORT FINANCING (50,59 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL);PRE-EXPORT FINANCING TOTAL 13,321 MILLION PESOS (ABOUT $US 326.5 MILLION; 17.81 OF THE TOTAL); SUBSTITUTION OF CAPITAL GOOD IMPORTS TOTALED 20,855 MILLION PESOS (27.85); SUBSTITUTTON OF CONSUMER GOODS IMPORTS TOTALED 2,688 MILLION PESOS (3.59 PERCENT); AND AUTHORIZATIONS TO FOREIGN TRADE CONSORTIA (EXPORT MARKETING FIRMS) 94 MILLION PESOS (0.12 PERCENT).

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D. FOMEX GUARANTEES IN 1981 TOTALED 3,101 MILLION PESOS, OF WHICH 3,036 MILLION (97.9 PERCENT) WERE FOR EXPORT GUARANTEES FOR 597 TRANSACTIONS, AND 65 MILLION PESOS (2.1 PERCENT) WERE FOR DOMESTIC GUARANTEES. THE 3,036 MILLION PESOS AUTHORIZED FOR EXPORT GUARANTEES RESPRESENTED A 3.55 PERCENT INCREASE OVER THE 2,932 MILLIONS OF PESOS GUARANTEED IN 1980.

E. WHILE THERE ARE VARIOUS INTERNAL BANK OF MEXICO AND FOMEX MEMORANDA LISTING PRODUCTS ELIGIBLE FOR FOMEX FINANCING, LIC. LUIS MALPICA DE LA MADRID ADVISES THAT ANY MANUFACTURED OR SEMI-MANUFACTURED

PRODUCTS, INDUSTRIAL OR PROCESSED AGRICULTURAL, IN WHICH TEN PERCENT OR MORE OF VALUE IS A RESULT OF MANUFACTURING OR PROCESSING, IS ELIGIBLE FOR CONSIDERATION FOR FOMEX FINANCING.

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F. FINALLY, FOMEX HAS JUST ISSUED A 110 PAGE PUBLICATION LISTING THE 1611 FIRMS WHICH RECEIVED EXPORT FINANCING IN 1981; THIS PUBLICATION LISTS THE FIRMS RECEIVING BENEFITS (A) ACCORDING TO 22 SECTORS OR SUB/SECTOR HEADINGS AND ALSO (B) GEOGRAPHICALLY, ACCORDING TO FEDERAL ENTITY (STATE). FOR REFERENCE PURPOSES THE EMBASSY HAS FORWARDED COPIES OF THIS PUBLICATION TO GARY HORLICK, DAS FOR IMPORT ADMINISTRATION, COMMERCE DEPARTMENT; ANNE HUGHES, DAS WESTERN HEMISPHERE, INDUSTRY AND TRADE ADMINISTRATION, COMMERCE DEPARTMENT; AND JOHN ROSENBAUM, ASSISTANT USTR.

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5. CEPROFIS:

A. THE PATRIMONY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SECRETARIAT REFUSED TO COOPERATE WITH USDOC OFFICIALS IN THE VERIFICATIONS FOR THE LEATHER WEARING APPAREL

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12792 03 OF 03 210008Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	L-03
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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 MEXICO 12792

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AND CERAMIC TITLES CASES AND THE JUST-COMPLETED ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR TAX INCENTIVES, HACIENDA SECRETARIAT, WAS USED AS THE FOCUS TO VERIFY HOW DOCUMENTATION CERTIFIED BY PATRIMONY (WHICH HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN) WAS USED BY HACIENDA TO CREATE THE CEPROFIS FOR USE AT TESORIA (THE TREASURY).

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B. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE USDOC CERAMIC TILE VERIFICATION AND ADMISSION BY GOM OFFICIALS THAT THEY HAD NO ADEQUATE CONTROL FOR FRAUD OF RECORDS PRODUCED AT HACIENDA RELATING TO CEPROFIS, HACIENDA HAS CREATED A MASTER LIST OF ALL FIRMS WHICH HAVE RECEIVED CEPROFIS SINCE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN 1979. THIS MASTER LIST WAS SHOWN TO USG OFFICIALS SEPTEMBER 9. THE MASTER LIST, IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER WITH ACCOMPANYING FEDERAL TAX NUMBER, DOES NOT,

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HOWEVER, LIST THE AMOUNT OF CEPROFI AUTHORIZED. THE INDIVIDUAL COMPANY FILE MUST BE CONSULTED TO DETERMINE THIS AMOUNT.

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C. TO DATE COMMERCE SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN UNABLE AND/OR UNWILLING TO DISCUSS THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF DIFFERENTIAL PRICING FOR ENERGY AND/OR PETROCHEMICAL SECTORS. WE WISH TO NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT CELANESE MEXICANA S.A. IN ITS ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1981 (A PUBLIC DOCUMENT) NOTES THAT (PAGE 14) "DURING THE COURSE OF 1981 THE PROGRAM FOR EXPORTS OF CHEMICAL PRODUCTS WAS INITIATED, WITH THE SHIPMENT OF METHYL ACRYLATE TO THE FAR EAST VALUED AT 22 MILLION PESOS (ABOUT $US 319,208). WITH THIS EXPORT OUR COMPANY (CELANESE MEXICANA) BECAME THE FIRST ONE TO OBTAIN DIFFERENTIAL PRICES IN RAW MATERIALS FOR EXPORTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN." (IN ADDITION ON PAGE 8 THE REPORT NOTES THAT "IN 1981 WE (CELANESE MEXICANA) OBTAINED 25.2 MILLION PESOS ($US 617,752) IN CEDI EXPORT SALES). COMMENT: THESE FACTS ARE NOT CONSISTENT WITH GOM POSITION STATED IN PARA 4 OF THE BRACKETED TEXT (REF C).

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D. WHILE THE GOM HAS EMPHASIZED THAT THE CEPROFI IS PURELY A DOMESTIC PROGRAM NOT SUBJECT TO SCRUTINY BY THE USDOC, FOR THE PETROCHEMICAL SECTOR THE CEPROFI DOES HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON EXPORTS AS EVIDENCED BY THE JUST-ANNOUNCED PRELIMINARY CVD DETERMINATION ON POLYPROPELENE OF 5.945 PERCENT, OF WHICH 4.906 WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE CEPROFI.

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6. DIFFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE FOR IMPORTS. GOM OFFICIALS ARE AWARE OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT OF PRE-

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ERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM WITH U.S. SUBSIDY AND COUNTERVAILING DUTY LAW (REF D). REF F TRANSMITTED A DETAILED SUMMARY OF THE GOM EXCHANGE RULES ISSUED SEPTEMBER 14. PARAGRAPH 17 OF THE EXCHANGE RULES SPECIFICALLY STATES THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE CAN BE AUTHORIZED FOR INPUTS TO EXPORT PRODUCTION SO LONG AS IT RESULTS IN A NET GENERATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE. HOWEVER, PARAGRAPH 30 OF THE EXCHANGE RULES ALLOWS EXPORTERS TO SET UP SPECIAL ACCOUNTS WHEREBY THEY MAY USE THEIR EXPORT EARNINGS TO COVER TEMPORARY IMPORTS (INPUTS TO EXPORT PRODUCTION); THIS PRESUMABLY WOULD MEAN THAT THEIR IMPORTED INPUTS WOULD NOT COME IN AT THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE. GIVEN THE CURRENT SCARCITY OF FOREIGN EXCHANGES, MANY EXPORTERS MAY HAVE DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING EXCHANGE AT THE PREFERENTIAL RATE AND FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, WILL HAVE TO USE THE SPECIAL ACCOUNTS MECHANISM. DETAILS OF IMPORT PRODUCTS ELIGIBLE FOR PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE ARE CONTAINED IN REF F AND ENCLOSURE FORWARDED TO ARA/MEX.

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7. PRIOR IMPORT LICENSING: WHILE PARA 17 OF THE BRACKETED TEXT NOTES "ANY IMPORT LICENSING SCHEME OF THE GOM SHALL NOT BE MORE RESTRICTIVE THAN THE PROGRAM IN EFFECT ON JUNE 1, 1981," AS A RESULT OF THE DECREES OF LAST WEEK 100 PERCENT OF ALL IMPORTS ARE CURRENTLY SUBJECT TO THE PRIOR IMPORT LICENSING REQUIREMENT.

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8. BEGIN FYI: THE BANK OF MEXICO USES 24.5140 FOR THE AVERAGE PESOS PER DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE FOR 1981. THIS FIGURE WAS USED IN THE CONVERSIONS TO US DOLLARS BRACKETED IN PARA 4, ABOVE. END FYI. (DRAFTED:ECON: JMGARNER) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12838 01 OF 03 211929Z
ACTION ARA-16

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3484
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 MEXICO 12838

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY SEPTEMBER 20, 1982

REF: 12732

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR PERIOD OF SEPTEMBER 18-20, 1982.

2. LEAD HEADLINE OF EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "FIENDISHLY DIFFICULT: JLP EXPLAINS THE PROBLEMS OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS LIVING NEXT TO U.S." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON YESTERDAY'S SPEECH MADE BY PRESIDENT TO 20,000 BORDER RESIDENTS IN WHICH HE CLAIMED THAT NEW CURRENCY MEASURES WOULD NOT AFFECT LOCAL TRADE OR INDUSTRY DESPITE PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTERING THEM ALONG COMMON FRONTIER WITH U.S. THE STORY ALSO REPORTED
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12838 01 OF 03 211929Z

REQUEST OF BORDER INDUSTRY (MAQUILADORA) LEADER THAT PRESIDENT SUPPORT THIS SECTOR THROUGH JOB CREATION MEASURES. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED: "BUSINESSMEN AGREE TO IMPROVE SALARIES TO AVOID COLLAPSE OF PURCHASING POWER." THIS ARTICLE INDICATED THAT PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERSHIP HAS DECIDED TO NEGOTIATE SALARY INCREASES ON "INDUSTRY-BY-INDUSTRY BASIS;" AN APPROACH REPORTED ACCEPTABLE TO SOME ELEMENTS OF ORGANIZED LABOR. STORY QUOTED LEADER OF LABOR CONGRESS AFFILIATE (UNION OF PAPER INDUSTRY WORKERS) THAT: "NEGOTIATING A SALARY ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMIC CAPACITY

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OF EACH FIRM IS THE ONLY FAIR WAY." NEVERTHELESS, INDEPENDENT UNION SOURCES WERE QUOTED AS SEEKING A MINIMUM SALARY INCREASE OF "500 PESOS DAILY." OTHER LEAD ARTICLE REPORTED THAT IMPOSITION OF EXCHANGE CONTROLS MAKE CREATION OF MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL COMMERCE "UNPOSTPONABLE." OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "NUMBER OF UNDOCUMENTED MEXICANS GOING TO U.S. INCREASES;" (2) "STARTING TODAY MINISTRY OF COMMERCE ACCEPTS IMPORT APPLICATIONS FOR PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS;" AND (3) "ACTIVITIES OF MEXICAN STOCK EXCHANGE RENEWED."

3. SATURDAY'S EDITION OF UNO MAS UNO CARRIED FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "THE NATIONALIZATION MUST BE CONSTITUTIONAL: SENATE AND UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF MEXICO (PSUM)." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT LEADERS OF SENATE AND PSUM WANT TO MAKE BANK NATIONALIZATION "IRREVERSIBLE" BY INCORPORATING IT INTO THE CONSTITUTION. A COMPANION ARTICLE STATED: "FOUR BANK UNIONS CREATED." FINALLY ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED NEXT WAGE ADJUSTMENT WILL BE NEGOTIATED BETWEEN UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT
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WITHOUT STATE FIXING "PERCENTAGE" INCREASE, ACCORDING TO LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ. SUNDAY'S UNO MAS UNO LEAD ARTICLE STATED THAT MIDDLEMAN ACTIVITIES AMONG STREET VENDORS IN FEDERAL DISTRICT HELPED BOOST PRICES "50 PERCENT." OTHER IMPORTANT STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "FIVE MORE BANK UNIONS CREATED;" AND (2) "SPOKESMAN OF FIVE OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIESPROPOSESTHAT MEXICO ENTER OPEC." TODAY'S EDITION OF THIS LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC PAPER LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "WORST CRISIS IN FRONTIER IN DECADES." THIS STORY REPORTED ON JLP'S BORDER SPEECH YESTERDAY IN WHICH PRESIDENT SAID MEXICO WILL SEEK HELP FOR ITS FINANCIAL AND BORDER PROBLEMS THROUGH "NEGOTIATION WITH U.S." THAT WILL NOT HURT AMERICAN TAXPAYERS. FINALLY, ANOTHER INTERIOR ARTICLE REPORTED THAT PEMEX IS NOT STUDYING ENTRY INTO OPEC.

4. SATURDAY'S EDITION OF EXCELSIOR (SEPTEMBER 18) LED WITH FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "MORE CONTROL OF IMPORTS; 3376 PREFERENTIAL ARTICLES." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO MINISTER OF COMMERCE ONLY 3376 ITEMS IN GENERAL (IMPORT) TARIFF SCHEDULE WILL QUALIFY FOR PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE ($1/50 PESOS). STORY STATED THESE IMPORTS WERE DIVIDED INTO THREE CATEGORIES: (1) BASIC FOODS AND THEIR INPUTS; (2) INTERMEDIATE PRODUCTS ESSENTIAL FOR INDUSTRIAL PLANT; AND (3) EQUIPMENT, CAPITAL GOODS AND INTERMEDIATE PRODUCTS REQUIRED FOR INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION. ANOTHER LEAD STORY QUOTED CONCLUSION OF RECENT CATHOLIC CHURCH STUDY THAT GROWING GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR

IN MEXICO MAKES "NATIONAL RECONCILIATION URGENT."
MEANWHILE EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED AVERAGE MEXICAN
IMPALED BY HUGE DAGGER HAPPILY TELLING WIFE: "GOOD

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12838 02 OF 03 211931Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
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TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 MEXICO 12838

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

NEWS HONEY, THE IMF SAID THIS CRISIS IS TRANSITORY."
NO SUNDAY EDITION OF THIS LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC
PAPER WAS AVAILABLE. TODAY'S EXCELSIOR, HOWEVER,
RAN FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "WE AREN'T BEGGARS:
MEXICAN MONEY STRENGTHENS U.S." QUOTING PRESIDENTIAL
SPEECH IN TIJUANA YESTERDAY, ARTICLE STATED THAT BOTH
MEXICO AND U.S. SHOULD SOLVE THE "FRONTIER CRISIS"
WITHOUT "REPROACH OR RANCOR." SPEAKING TO GOVERNORS
OF TEXAS, NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, AND CALIFORNIA, JLP
PROPOSED THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS RESTORE THROUGH
NEGOTIATION THE "SYMBIOSIS" THAT EXISTED BEFORE
MEXICAN EXCHANGE CONTROLS. A COMPANION ARTICLE
REPORTED PRESIDENT'S SUNDAY STATEMENT TO BORDER
RESIDENTS THAT EXCHANGE CONTROLS DO NOT END "FREE
ZONES" AND WERE ADOPTED TO SOLVE "FIENDISH PROBLEM
OF LIVING NEXT TO U.S." FINALLY, AN EDITORIAL CARTOON
(ON PAGE SEVEN) SHOWED THREADBARE BORDER MERCHANTS

FROM U.S. AND MEXICO IN LEG-IRONS COMMISERATING:
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12838 02 OF 03 211931Z

"WE CAN'T TAKE IT ANYMORE."

5. MEANWHILE, A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE IN MONDAY'S EXCELSIOR MERITS SPECIAL ATTENTION. ENTITLED: "POSSIBLE LIBERATION OF MEXDOLLARS IN COMMERCIAL ACCOUNTS OF FRONTIER," THIS STORY REPORTED THERE WERE SOME DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN U.S. AND MEXICO TO SOLVE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF BORDER ZONE. REPORTEDLY UNDER STUDY IS AN "UNFREEZING" OF COMMERCIAL DOLLARS ACCOUNTS OF MEXICAN BORDER RESIDENTS WHO HAVE DEBTS TO U.S. ENTITIES. THIS STORY ALSO STATED THAT OFFICIALS OF THE U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT "HAVE HAD" TALKS WITH THEIR MEXICAN COUNTERPARTS TO SEEK A MECHANISM TO SERVICE DOLLAR DEBT OWED U.S. MERCHANTS BY THEIR CLIENTS ACROSS THE BORDER IN THE POST-EXCHANGE CONTROL PERIOD. MOREOVER, WITHOUT GIVING A REASON, THE ARTICLE INDICATED THAT THE U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT RECENTLY "VETOED" A PROPOSAL BY SEVERAL BORDER CONGRESSMEN TO "ESTABLISH" SOME USG MECHANISM TO PURCHASE PESOS IN THE U.S. AS A MEANS OF PROVIDING FINANCIAL RELIEF TO THEIR BUSINESSMEN CONSTITUENTS ALONG THE BORDER.

6. THE LEAD HEADLINE OF MODERATE NOVEDADES FOR SATURDAY (SEPTEMBER 18) READ: "PREFERENTIAL DOLLAR FOR FOOD AND INDUSTRIES." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT 3376 PRODUCTS (MAINLY BASIC FOODS) CAN BE IMPORTED AT PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE OF 50 PESOS/$1 ACCORDING TO RECENTLY PUBLISHED OFFICIAL DAILY (DIARIO OFICIAL). STORY SAID REMAINING 4424 PRODUCTS IN GENERAL TARIFF SCHEDULE WERE NOT CONSIDERED "INDISPENSABLE" FOR DEVELOPMENT
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 MEXICO 12838 02 OF 03 211931Z

AND THEREFORE NOT ELIGIBLE FOR THE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE RATE. A COMPANION ARTICLE QUOTED PRESIDENT THAT "HUMBLE AND POOR ARE MOST EXEMPLARY MEXICANS" AFTER RECEIVING THE EQUIVALENT OF NEARLY $1 MILLION FROM LEADERS OF FARM COOPERATIVE CONFEDERATION TO AMORTIZE EXTERNAL DEBT AND PRIVATE BANK INDEMNIFICATION. THE LEAD ECONOMIC HEADLINE IN SUNDAY'S EDITION WAS: "PRIORITIZE STATE EXPENDITURES." THIS ARTICLE CITED RECENT STUDY BY PRIVATE INDUSTRY THAT CONCLUDED STATE MUST GIVE GREATER PRIORITY TO EXPANDING "INFRASTRUCTURE" WHOSE DEFICIENCIES CONSTITUTE PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM OF COMING YEARS.

MEANWHILE A COMPANION STORY REPORTED PRESIDENT'S PLEDGE THAT HE WOULD WORK "EVEN HARDER" HIS LAST 80 DAYS AFTER ACCEPTING ANOTHER $29 MILLION FROM EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS FOR NATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND TO PAY OFF GOVERNMENT DEBT OBLIGATIONS. TODAY'S LEAD HEADLINE IN NOVEDADES READ: "THE RESOURCES NEEDED TO OVERCOME OUR CRISIS ARE IN U.S." REPORTING ON JLP'S SUNDAY MEETING WITH GOVERNORS OF FOUR U.S. BORDER STATES, THIS ARTICLE NOTED PRESIDENT'S INTENTION TO NEGOTIATE AN ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WITH GOUS THAT WILL HELP SOLVE MEXICO'S LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "PRICE CONTROL IS ONLY PALLIATIVE: PRIVATE SECTOR." THIS ARTICLE CITED CONCLUSION OF RECENT PRIVATE SECTOR STUDY THAT PRICE CONTROLS SIMPLY POSTPONE MAJ
OR ADJUSTMENTS(LIKEAUGUST PRICE
INCREASES) THAT MUST BE TAKEN "SOONER OR LATER."
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7. THE LEAD HEADLINES OF THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO OVER SEPTEMBER 18-20 PERIOD INCLUDED: (1) "PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS ONLY FOR 3376 BASICS;" (2) "STRIKES SUMMONED FROM SEPTEMBER 27 FOR

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12838 03 OF 03 211932Z
ACTION ARA-16

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3486
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AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 MEXICO 12838

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

SALARY INCREASE;" AND (3) "THE FREE ZONE HASN'T ENDED, ASSURES JLP IN FRONTIER." FINALLY EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED WHAT APPEARED TO BE TWO GOVERNMENT BANKERS SPECULATING THAT THE ONLY WAY OUT OF MEXICO'S "IMBROGLIO" IS THROUGH "NATIONALIZATION OF EXTERNAL DEBT." (DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12924 01 OF 02 222241Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12924

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12838

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 21, 1982.

2. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN EL LINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "CREDITORS, ANXIOUS TO HELL." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON RECENT TALKS IN THE U.S. BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL BANKERS AND JOSE ANGEL GURRIA, DIRECTOR OF EXTERNAL FINANCING AT MEXICAN FINANCE MINISTRY, AND APPEARS BASED ON A CONVERSATION WITH GURRIA. STORY STATED THAT MEXICO HAS ALREADY BEEN GRANTED A 90 DAY SUSPENSION OF PRINCIPAL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12924 01 OF 02 222241Z

PAYMENTS BY ITS FOREIGN CREDITORS. ACCORDING TO GURRIA, SUCH A ROLL-OVER WOULD PREVENT MEXICO FROM DECLARING A MORATORIUM ON ALL ITS EXTERNAL DEBT PAYMENTS, A DEVELOPMENT THAT HE SAID WOULD HAVE "GREAT REPERCUSSIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM." GURRIA CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT FINAL OUTCOME OF HIS NEGOTIATIONS DEPENDED ON AGREEMENTS REACHED WITH IMF AND BANK OF INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "CONFEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE (CONCANACO) SEVERELY QUESTIONS JLP'S GLOBAL POLICY." QUOTING A RECENT PRIVATE SECTOR STUDY, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT "DEFICIENCIES" IN THE JLP ADMINISTRATION HAVE CAUSED

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"FINANCIAL CRISIS" AND "SOCIAL UNREST." THIS CONCANACO REPORT ALSO DENIED THAT GOM HAD ADOPTED STRICT AUSTERITY MEASURES PROJECTING A "NET BUDGET DEFICIT" OF MORE THAN "$14 BILLION" FOR 1982. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED THAT THE RECENTLY RELEASED MEASURES DEFINING "PREFERENCIAL" IMPORTS, HAVE TRIGGERED AN "AVALANCHE" OF APPLICATIONS FROM IMPORTERS SEEKING "SOFT DOLLARS" ($1/50 PESOS). THE ARTICLE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN IF AN ITEM IS INCLUDED IN THE PUBLISHED LIST OF PREFERENTIAL IMPORTS, ITS IMPORT PERMIT AND ALLOCATION OF "SOFT DOLLARS" WILL NOT BE GRANTED "AUTOMATICALLY." OTHER LEAD STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "BULLISH MARKET IN REOPENING OF STOCK EXCHANGE;" AND (2) "EXCHANGE REGULATIONS ENTER FORCE TODAY."

3. THE LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC UNO MAS UNO LED WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "JLP PROMISES SOLUTIONS TO FARMERS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTS SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT YESTERDAY TO 10,000 MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AGRARIAN WORKERS (PST) GATHERED IN FRONT OF THE NATIONAL PALACE. IN HIS REMARKS, JLP PLEDGED TO CONSIDER THE PST REQUEST
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12924 01 OF 02 222241Z

FOR THE TRANSFER OF LARGE UNCULTIVATED ESTATES (LATIFUNDIAS) IN SINALOA, VERACRUZ AND JALISCO. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED: "FOUR GOVERNORS OF U.S. SUPPORT THE NATIONALIZATION." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE GOVERNORS OF ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, NEW MEXICO AND TEXAS EXPRESSED THEIR "UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT" FOR MEXICO'S RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION AND ADOPTION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS AT THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR MEETING YESTERDAY WITH SIX MEXICAN GOVERNORS. THIS STORY ALSO SAID THE 10 BORDER GOVERNORS IN ATTENDANCE (THE FOUR FROM THE U.S. PLUS THE MEXICAN STATE LEADERS OF BAJA CALIFORNIA, SONORA, CHIHUSHUA, COAHUILA, NUEVO LEON AND TAMAULIPAS) DECIDED TO CREATE A COMMISSION TO EXPAND COOPERATION IN ECONOMICS, COMMERCE, TOURISM AND INDUSTRY. (THIS COMMISSION IS TO BE JOINTLY HEADED BY ROBERTO DE LA MADRID OF BAJA CALIFORNIA AND WILLIAM CLEMENTS OF TEXAS.) ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY STATED THAT THE FEDERAL TRIBUNAL OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION WILL ACT WITHIN "10 OR 15 DAYS" ON THE 65 APPLICATIONS FOR UNION REGISTRATION SO FAR RECEIVED FROM BANK EMPLOYEES. ARTICLE ALSO QUOTED LEADER OF UNIONIZED WORKERS AT SERVICE OF STATE (JOSE DORANTES SEVOVIA) THAT 49 OF THESE BANK UNIONS WOULD JOIN HIS ORGANIZATION. FINALLY, AN INTERIOR ARTICLE REPORTED ON THE REOPENING OF THE STOCK MARKET. THIS STORY NOTED THAT DESPITE THE "FREEZING" OF BANK SHARES, THE INDEX OF STOCK PRICE ROSE 19.21 PERCENT.

4. EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "END PROTECTIONISM OF U.S.: SIX MEXICAN GOVERNORS." REPORTING ON THE THIRD MEETING

HELD IN TIJUANA OF SIX MEXICAN AND FOUR AMERICAN GOVERNORS, THIS ARTICLE STATED THE DEMAND OF THE MEXICAN DELEGATION THAT THE U.S. ELIMINATE "PROTECTIONISTIC MEASURES" ON IMPORTS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, PRIMARY METALS AND MANUFACTURES IN GENERAL. THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12924 02 OF 02 222243Z
ACTION ARA-16

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3528
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12924

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

MEXICAN GOVERNORS ALSO EXPRESSED DESIRE TO SELL MORE GAS AND ELECTRICITY TO THE U.S. FOR THEIR PART, THE AMERICAN GOVERNORS FROM ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, NEW MEXICO AND TEXAS "RECOGNIZED" THE NEED FOR EXCHANGE CONTROLS IN MEXICO TO AVOID WORSENING OF PROBLEMS IN BOTH COUNTRIES. A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE TEN GOVERNORS SET UP A JOINT COMMISSION AT TIJUANA MEETING TO HANDLE "FRONTIER MATTERS." THIS SAME STORY QUOTED BAJA CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR ROBERTO DE LA MADRID THAT WITHIN TWO OR THREE DAYS HIS STATE WOULD HAVE ITS OWN "FACILITIES" FOR HANDLING DOLLARS IN-DEPENDENT OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. OTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "NATIONAL CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION (CANACINTRA) AFFIRMS LACK OF PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE." THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT CANACINTRA BELIEVES THAT THE $1.2 BILLION "PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS" BUDGETED FOR IMPORTS THROUGH END OF YEAR, AND
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12924 02 OF 02 222243Z

$5.7 BILLION ALLOCATED FOR 1983, WILL BE "INSUFFICIENT" FOR BUYING "NECESSITIES" OF INDUSTRIAL SECTOR. ANOTHER STORY STATED THAT SHAREHOLDERS OF ONE OF THE EXPRO-PRIATED BANKS (CREDITO MEXICANO) HAVE DECIDED NOT TO CHALLENGE BANK NATIONALIZATION IN COURT. FINALLY AN INTERIOR ARTICLE (PAGE FOUR) WAS ENTITLED: "FOREIGN TRAVELERS WILL HAVE AVAILABLE A MAXIMUM OF 500 DOLLARS."

5. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES RAN FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "USE LAW AGAINST LATIFUNDISM AND CORRUPTION: RURAL WORKERS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON A MEETING YES-

TERDAY BETWEENTHEPRESIDENT AND "5,000" SOCIALIST FARM WORKERS. THESE WORKERS ASKED JLP TO FIGHT CORRUPTION AND LARGE ABSENTEE LANDHOLDING (LATIFUNDISM) THROUGH "LAW AND DEASON" WHILE OFFERING THEIR SUPPORT FOR RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED THAT A COMMISSION HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED BY 10 MEXICAN AND AMERICAN GOVERNORS TO "ANALYZE PROBLEMS OF COMMERCE" ALONG THEIR COMMON BORDER. OTHER FRONT PAGE STORY
REPORTED: "MANAGERS READY TO GRANT MODERATE SALARY INCREASE." QUOTING THE HEAD OF PRIVATE MANAGEMENT GROUP IN NORTHERN MEXICO (FRANCISCO JAVIER BARRIOS), THIS ARTICLE SAID THAT ANY INCREASE IN WAGES OTHER THAN A "MODERATE" ONE WOULD BE "EXTREMELY DANGEROUS" FOR THE ECONOMY. FINALLY THE LEAD EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED DISGRUNTLED MOTHER LECTURING HER SON ON HIS WAY TO SCHOOL: "WHAT WE NEED IN THIS COUNTRY IS MORE CHILDREN THAT BECOME USEFUL PEOPLE AND WORKERS, NOT GOVERNORS AND LEADERS."

6. THE BANNER HEADLINEINTHE CONSERVATIVE EL HERALDO UNCLASSIFIED

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(THE HERALD) READ: "IT IS BLACKMAIL TO DEMAND A SALARY INCREASE AT THIS TIME." QUOTING ARELIO TANEZ, SPOKESMAN FOR LEADING INDUSTRIALISTS, THIS ARTICLE SAID NO PRIVATE OR PUBLIC ENTERPRISE IS PRESENTLY ABLE TO GRANT A SALARY INCREASE. A COMPANION ARTICLE, MEANWHILE, QUOTED LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ THAT A "GENERAL STRIKE" FOR HIGHER WAGES WOULD NOT BE STAGED SINCE EACH UNION WOULD NEGOTIATE SEPARATELY. IN ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY THE SECRETARY OF GOVERNMENT, OLIVARES SANTANA, WAS DESIGNATED TO ADMINISTER THE VOLUNTARY NATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND TO AMORTIZE EXTERNAL DEBT AND BANK INDEMNIFICATION. FINALLY EDITORIAL CARTOON ON PAGE 7 SHOWED MMXICAN BEGGAR EXTENDING HIS UPTURNED SOMBRERO AND SAYING: "ALMS

THAT YOU WANT TO GIVE UNDER OUR CONDITIONS."
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12925 01 OF 02 222248Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3529
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12925

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT AND IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AFIN, EGEN, MX, ALOW, AFSP, EFIN
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12924

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED ARTICLES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 22, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE OF EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "THE NATIONALIZATION, IRREVERSIBLE." THIS STORY REPORTED THAT YESTERDAY THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES RECEIVED THREE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS FROM THE EXECUTIVE. ONE OF THESE, IF APPROVED, WILL INCORPORATE THE BANK NATIONALIZATION INTO THE CONSTITUTION. ANOTHER ONE WOULD MAKE THE BANK OF

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12925 01 OF 02 222248Z

MEXICO A SEMI-AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATION THAT WILL "FULFILL THE FUNCTIONS OF A BANK OF ISSUE, BANKER OF BANKS AND BANK OF THE STATE," ACCORDING TO THIS ARTICLE. (SEE SEPTEL). ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "INTRODUCED IN CHAMBER, ANTI-CORRUPTION BILL AND INFORMATION ABOUT DOLLAR-TAKERS." THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT YESTERDAY THE ADMINISTRATION DELIVERED TO A "SPECIAL COMMISSION" OF DEPUTIES, DOCUMENTATION RELATIVE TO THE EXODUS OF DOLLARS MENTIONED BY JLP IN HIS SIXTH REPORT OF GOVERNMENT. THIS DOCUMENTATION REPORTEDLY INCLUDES "STUDIES" ON FREIGN REAL ESTATE COMPANIES OPERATING IN

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MEXICO AS WELL AS A "SAMPLING" OF PURCHASES MADE BY NATIONALS ABROAD. THE STORY STATED THAT THE OTHER INITIATIVE PROVIDED FINES AND/OR JAIL OF UP TO 12 YEARS FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHO "PREJUDICE THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE NATION" BY USING THEIR OFFICE FOR "PERSONAL GAIN" OR TO BENEFIT RELATIVES OR THIRD PERSONS. THE HEADLINES OF OTHER KEY STORIES WERE: (1) "POSSIBLE INCREASE OF COFFEE EXORTS;" (2) "NOTABLE REBOUND OF STOCK EXCHANGE INDEX: CLIMBED 80 PESOS;" AND (3) "STILL UNDECIDED, THE FUTURE OF EXPROPRIATED SHARES."

3. THE LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC UNO MAS UNO RAN THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS FOR BANK NATIONALIZATION." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT YESTERDAY THE JLP ADMINISTRATION SENT A LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES THAT WOULD INSERT IN THE CONSTITUTION THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF THE STATE TO "MANAGE BANK AND CREDIT SERVICES." A PARALLEL REQUEST WAS ALSO SENT TO CONGRESS THAT WOULD REPORTEDLY CONVERT THE BANK OF MEXICO INTO UNCLASSIFIED

A DECENTRALIZED PUBLIC ORGANIZATION WITH "EXCLUSIVE FACILITIES" TO: (1) VALUE AND MANAGE FOREIGN EX-CHANGE; AND (2) ESTABLISH POLICIES OF THE NEW CREDIT SYSTEM. (MORE DETAILED REPORTING ON THIS MODIFICATION OF THE ORGANIC LAW OF THE BANK OF MEXICO IN SEPTEL.) A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED ON YET ANOTHER LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVE BY THE EXECUTIVE; AN ANTI-CORRUPTION BILL TO PUNISH PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR "IMPROPER CONDUCT." FINALLY AN INTERIOR ARTICLE (PAGE 3) STATED THAT THE MEETING OF PRIVATE SECTOR REPRESENTATIVE ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 24 HAS BEEN "POSTPONED INDEFINITELY." QUOTING THE HEAD OF THE CONFEDERATION OF INDUSTRIES (ALFONSO PANDAL GRAF), THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THIS MEETING WILL NOT BE HELD "UNTIL POSITIVE SENTIMENT MATURES" IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY. THIS STORY ALSO STATED THAT GRAF AND OTHER BUSINESSMEN, DURING A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT YESTERDAY, REQUESTED MORE "AGILE" MANAGEMENT OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE REGULATIONS AS WELL AS "FISCAL INCENTIVES" FOR INDUSTRY SO EMPLOYMENT LEVELS CAN BE MAINTAINED.

4. THE LEAD HEADLINEIN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST NATIONAL-ISTIC) READ: "LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL TO PUNISH DISHONEST OFFICIALS." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON BILL SENT TO CONGRESS YESTERDAY BY THE ADMINISTRATION THAT WOULD PROSECUTE THOSE WHO: (1) CONTRACT "INFLUENCE-PEDDLERS" IN THE GOVERNMENT; (2) DIVERT HUMAN OR MATERIAL RESOURCES OF GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR PERSONAL USE; AND (3) DERIVE UNJUSTIFIABLE ECONOMIC BENEFITS FROM PUBLIC OFFICE. COMPANION STORIES

REPORTED ON OTHER LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES OF THE ADMINISTRATION. ONE NOTED THAT YESTERDAY A NEWLY CREATED "SPECIAL COMMISSION" OF DEPUTIES RECEIVED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12925 02 OF 02 222249Z
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	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/125 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3530
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12925

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

DOCUMENTATION ON PROPERTY HELD BY MEXICANS ABROAD PROMISED TO CONGRESS BY THE PRESIDENT IN HIS SEPTEMBER 1 SPEECH TO THE NATION. OTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "WE WOULD NEVER CONSPIRE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT: INDUSTRIAL CONFEDERATION (CONCAMIN)." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON MEETING YESTERDAY BETWEEN HEAD OF CONCAMIN (ALFONSO PANDAL GRAF) AND THE PRESIDENT IN WHICH THE FORMER STRESSED "NATIONAL UNITY" TO OVERCOME ECONOMIC CRISIS. NEVERTHELESS, GRAF ALSO REPORTEDLY INFORMED THE PRESIDENT THAT THE SHORTAGE OF EXCHANGE AND INPUTS IS POSING A "GRAVE DANGER" TO PRODUCTIVE PLANT. MEANWHILE, OTHER LEAD ARTICLES QUOTED OTHER BUSINESS LEADERS THAT PRIVATE INDUSTRY "DOES NOT HAVE PROFITS" AND "DRACONIAN" EXCHANGE REGULATIONS WILL NOT BRING BACK "$14 BILLION" DEPOSITED ABROAD.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12925 02 OF 02 222249Z

5. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES CARRIED THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "INITIATIVES OF JLP: PUNISH UNDESIRABLE OFFICIALS." THIS STORY REPORTED THAT YESTERDAY THE ADMINISTRATION ASKED CONGRESS TO ENACT A LAW PUNISHING PUBLIC OFFICIALS THAT PRACTICE "CORRUPTION AND NEPOTISM." THE OTHER TWO LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS BY THE EXECUTIVE ARE ALSO MENTIONED IN THIS STORY. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE QUOTED BUSINESS LEADER THAT THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE GOVERNMENT "IS NOT BROKEN." THIS STORY REPORTED THAT BUSINESS LEADERS YESTERDAY IN THEIR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT FRANKLY DISCUSSED THEIR "GRAVE PROBLEMS OF IMPORTATION OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS AND SHORTAGE OF EXCHANGE." ANOTHER STORY QUOTED THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE (FRANCISCO MERINO RABAGO) THAT THE INCREASE IN ACREAGE UNDER CROP ALONG THE BORDER ASSURED MEXICO'S SUPPLY OF "BASIC GRAINS." FINALLY, ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "BANK OF MEXICO STARTS TO SELL $500 PER PERSON MAXIMUM, TO FOREIGN TRAVELERS LEAVING BY AIR."

6. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL HERALDO (CONSERVATIVE) READ: "THE CHAMBER WILL INVESTIGATE PURCHASE OF REAL ESTATE IN THE U.S." THIS STORY REPORTED THAT YESTERDAY THE GOVERNMENT DELIVERED TO A "SPECIAL COMMISSION" OF DEPUTIES THE DOCUMENTATION ON "MEXICAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD" PROMISED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ON SEPTEMBER 1. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED: "FUNDAMENTAL THAT NATIONALIZED BANKS SUSTAIN INDUSTRIAL PLANT." QUOTING REMARKS MADE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SCHOOL OF MECHANICAL AND ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS TO LOPEZ PORTILLO, THIS ARTICLE STATED GOM SHOULD STRENGTHEN CAPITAL GOODS INDUSTRY THROUGH THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 MEXICO 12925 02 OF 02 222249Z

"EFFICIENT" PURCHASE OF FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY. OTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT, ACCORDING TO THE COMMERCE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN TRADE, "$5 MILLION DOLLARS ARE AVAILABLE FOR IMPORTATION." MORE DETAIL IS REPORTED IN SEPTEL. (DRAFTED:ECON: DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12880 01 OF 02 220023Z
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INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY

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DEPARTMENT PASS PRIORITY FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD AND
EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/20/88
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICO: INTEREST RATES AS A TOOL TO GENERATE
-- DOMESTIC SAVINGS
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1. (C) BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS CABLE TRANSMITS THE MOST RECENT PESO INTEREST RATES AND COMMENTS ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT SEPTEMBER 4 BY BANK OF MEXICO DIRECTOR GENERAL CARLOS TELLO THAT, WITH ONE EXCEPTION, INTEREST RATES ON BOTH PESO DEPOSITS AND PESO LOANS WILL DECLINE. THIS LOWERING OF INTEREST RATES APPEARS TO BE PART OF AN EFFORT TO ELIMINATE THE IMPACT OF EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS ON THE MEXICAN ECONOMY. ONE OBJECTIVE IS, THROUGH EXCHANGE CONTROLS, TO ELIMINATE ANY ATTRACTIONS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL MARKETS. THUS, LOWER INTEREST RATES ON PESO DEPOSITS WILL NOT REDUCE SAVINGS AND LOWER RATES ON PESO LOANS WILL REDUCE INFLATION. THESE LOWER RATES WILL GENERATE A STRONG DEMAND FOR LOANS, WHICH WILL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12880 01 OF 02 220023Z

BE GUIDED BY THE STATE THROUGH THE NATIONALIZED BANKING SYSTEM INTO THE "MOST PRODUCTIVE" SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY AND LAY THE BASIS FOR A REKINDLING OF MEEICO'S SUSTAINED, HIGH LEVEL OF ECONOMIC GROWTH. THESE VIEWS ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE CAMBRIDGE SCHOOL OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT RELATING TO DEVELOPMENT THEORY WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE SEVERAL POWERFUL AD8ERENTS IN MEXICO. END SUMMARY.
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2. (U) INTEREST RATES FOR FIXED-TERM TIME DEPOSITS ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20 WERE AS FOLLOWS:

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--	PHYSICAL PERSONS (NET)	COMPANIES (GROSS)
FROM 30-89 DAYS	43.25	46.95
FROM 90-179 DAYS	47.30	47.30
FROM 180-359 DAYS	47.95	47.95

FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMPARISON, INTEREST RATES ON MONDAY, AUGUST 30 WERE AS FOLLOWS:

--	PHYSICAL PERSONS (NET)	COMPANIES (GROSS)
FROM 30-89 DAYS	49.15	53.15
FROM 90-179 DAYS	53.75	53.75
FROM 180-359 DAYS	54.35	54.35

IN ALL CASES, INTEREST RATES ON SEPTEMBER 20 WERE LOWER THAN ON AUGUST 30. THE ONE EXCEPTION TO THE GENERAL LOWERING OF INTEREST RATES WAS THE DECISION TO INCREASE FROM 4.5 PERCENT TO 20 PERCENT

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THE INTEREST PAID ON PASSBOOK TYPE SAVINGS DEPOSITS. THESE HAVE NOT BEEN AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR THE BANKS, ACCOUNTING FOR 7.7 PERCENT OF ALL PESO SAVINGS INSTRUMENTS AT END-APRIL 1982.

3. (C) PESO BORROWING RATES CHARGED BY THE BANKS WERE TO BE LOWERED ON SEPTEMBER 4 BY 5 PERCENTAGE POINTS ON ALL LOANS OUTSTANDING AND SUBSEQUENTLY REDUCED BASED ON THE AVERAGE COST OF FUNDS TO THE BANKS (CPP). CARLOS TELLO STATED THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT THE BANKS PAY FOR FUNDS (I.E., THE CPP RATE) AND WHAT THEY CHARGE BORROWERS IS "ALMOST 18 PERCENTAGE POINTS." THE AVERAGE CPP RATE FOR AUGUST WAS OVER 46 PERCENT WHICH WOULD SUGGEST THAT A PRIME RATE CONCEPT WOULD BE ABOUT 64 PERCENT. WE HAVE NO SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON PAST OR CURRENT BANK LENDING RATES--THEY ARE NOT PUBLISHED AND VARY FROM BANK TO BANK. HOWEVER, WE HEARD FROM A SOURCE IN BANAMEX THAT DAVID IBARRA, THE NEW DIRECTOR OF THE NEWLY-NATIONALIZED BANK, ISSUED ORDERS NOT TO REDUCE LENDING RATES BY THE FIVE PERCENTAGE POINTS. REPRESENTATIVE DEBT INSTRUMENTS SUCH AS CETES (TREASURY BILLS), COMMERCIAL PAPER AND BANKERS ACCEPTANCES ARE TRADING AT THE FOLLOWING RATES (PERCENT):

--	SEPT 10	AUG 30
CETES WITH 90 DAYS TO - - TO MATURITY	56	56.5

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BANKERS ACCEPTANCES WITH 30 55 56.75

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD OR EXPORT IMPORT BANK.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12880 02 OF 02 220024Z
ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3503
TREASURY WASHDC PRIORITY
USDOC WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY

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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12880

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DEPARTMENT PASS PRIORITY FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

- DAYS TO MATURITY

COMMERCIAL PAPER WITH 30 58 59.75
- DAYS TO MATURITY
-

4. (U) ON SEPTEMBER 21 THE BANK OF MEXICO WILL OFFER CETES VALUED AT 32 BILLION PESOS AT RATES TO BE DETERMINED BY THE MARKET. THIS DEPARTS FROM PREVIOUS POLICY WHICH WAS TO FIX AN INTEREST RATE AND ISSUE THE VOLUMM BASED ON DEMAND AT THAT RATE.

-

5. (C) MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RATES THEMSELVES, THE GENERAL REDUCTION IN INTEREST RATES APPEARS TO BE ONE OF A NUMBER OF TOOLS FOR IMPLEMENTING A MARKED SHIFT IN ECONOMIC POLICY. BEST DESCRIBED AS A SHIFT AWAY FROM A FREE MARKET ECONOMY TOWARDS A MORE CENTRALLY-PLANNED ECONOMY. THESE RECENT

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ECONOMIC MEASURES SEEM TO MIRROR THE CAMBRIDGE

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SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT THEORY WHOSE BEST KNOWN PROPONENTS ARE JOAN ROBINSON AND LORD NICHOLAS KALDOR. BOTH SECRETARY OF PATRIMONY OTEYZA AND BANK OF MEXICO DIRECTOR GENERAL TELLO WERE STUDENTS AT CAMBRIDGE AND APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY THIS "EXPANSIONIST" THEORY.

6. (C) THE BANK NATIONALIZATION AND EXCHANGE CONTROLS ARE BOTH CONSISTENT WITH THE EXPANSIONIST POINT OF VIEW, AND BOTH MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO MANIPULATE INTEREST RATES AMONG OTHER THINGS. ON THE ONE HANN, IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO HAVE THE BANKS SERVE AS INSTRUMENTS OF STATE POLICY AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, COMMETITION FOR INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL FLOWS HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. ACCORDING TO EXPANSIONIST THEORY, THE UNDERLYING REASON TO MANIPULATE INTEREST RATES IS TO ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POOL OF DOMESTIC SAVINGS WHICH WILL TAKE THE PLACE OF EXTERNAL BORROWINGS AND, TO SOME EXTENT, FOREIGN INVESTMENT. THIS LARGE AND CHEAP POOL OF DOMESTIC SAVINGS IS TO BE DIRECTED THROUGH THE NATIONALIZED BANKS TO "THE PRODUCTIVE AND DISTRIBUTIVE SECTOR OF THE COUNTRY" WHICH IN TURN WILL ENABLE THE ECONOMY TO GROW AT RAPID AND SUSTAINED RATES. CAALOS TELLO AND LOPEZ PORTILLO HAVE ALSO ARGUED THAT THE HIGH INTEREST RATES CAUSED MEXICO'S INFLATION PROBLEM AND THAT BY LOWERING INTEREST RATES INFLATION WILL ABATE. LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS SPECIFICALLY REJECTED CRITICISM THAT PUBLIC SECTOR SPENDING IS CAUSING INFLATION SINCE THIS WOULD UNDERCUT THE RATIONALE FOR ADDITIONAL GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE ECONOMY.

7. (C) THE EXPANSIONIST VIEW APPEARS TO US TO

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HAVE SEVERAL FLAWS. THE FIRST IS THAT IT DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY THAT A DOMESTIC SAVINGS POOL CAN TAKE THE PLACE OF THE HIGH LEVEL OF EXTERNAL BORROWING WHICH WAS NEEDED TO FINANCE MEXICO'S HIGH ECONOMIC GROWTH RATES OVER THE LAST 4 YEARS. NOR WILL IT BE POSSIBLE FOR AN ECONOMY AS DEPENDENT ON IMPORTS AS MEXICO'S TO ADJUST TO A LOWER LEVEL OF MERCHANDISE IMPORTS. MANY INDUSTRIES ARE NOW PRODUCING FROM INVENTORY SUPPLIES WHICH WILL GRADUALLY RUN OUT, SERIOUSLY AFFECTING UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. A SECOND PROBLEM IS THE VIEW THAT INFLATION IS CAUSED BY HIGH INTEREST RATES

RATHER THAN BY EXCESSIVE GOVERNMENT SPENDING.
A THIRD ISSUE IS WHETHER RELATIVELY CHEAPER BORROWING RATES ALONE CAN GENERATE INVESTMENT AND PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY. PREDICTABILITY OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES, AN ABSENCE OF PRICE CONTROLS AND A HOST OF OTHER FACTORS ARE ALSO FACTORS IN AN INVESTMENT DECISION.
DRAFTED BY B.J.GRIFFITHS. GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12994 01 OF 03 232318Z
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3576
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 MEXICO 12994

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12924

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED ARTICLES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 23, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "TWENTY-ONE BANKERS SEEK COURT INJUNCTION." THIS STORY REPORTED THAT YESTERDAY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF 21 EXPROPRIATED BANKS PETITIONED FOR A COURT HEARING ON THE "CONSTITUTIONALITY" OF THE SEPTEMBER 1 BANK NATIONALIZATION

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12994 01 OF 03 232318Z

DECREE. (FOR FURTHER REPORTING SEE SEPTEL.) ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY WAS HEADLINED: "THE PRODUCTIVE PLANT OF THE COUNTRY AT GRAVE RISK BECAUSE OF EXCHANGE SHORTAGE: WARNS NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF INDUSTRIAL CHAMBERS (CONCAMIN). QUOTING CONCAMIN'S PRESIDENT (ALFONSO PANDAL GRAF), THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT MEXICO'S PRODUCTIVE PLANT IS IN ITS WORST SHAPE IN HISTORY BECAUSE IT LACKS FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR VITAL IMPORTED INPUTS. GRAF FURTHER STATED THAT IF "AUTHORITIES" DO NOT SOON GRANT DS TO HIS INDUSTRIAL MEMBERS "MANY OF THEM WILL HAVE TO HALT PRODUCTION OR GO IRREMEDIABLY BANKRUPT." MEANWHILE

A REPRINTED UPI STORY OUT OF WASHINGTON, D.C. REPORTED THAT THE PRESIDENT OF A U.S. FIRM (CHARLES E. MILLER) WAS FOUND GUILTY YESTERDAY OF "BRIBING" PEMEX WHILE THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FILED CRIMINAL CHARGES FOR SAME OFFENSE AGAINST RUSTER GAS TURBINES OF HOUSTON. ANOTHER STORY REPORTED THAT PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA MADRID HAS THROWN SUPPORT BEHIND LOPEZ PORTILLO'S LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVE TO GIVE THE BANK NATIONALIZATION CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS. OTHER IMPORTANT ARTICLES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "DROUGHT HAS CAUSED SEVERE DAMAGE TO ENTIRE COUNTRY:" (2) "SMALL MERCHANTS ACCUSE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE (CONCANACO) OF TREASON;" AND (3) "CONSUMER COMPLAINTS INCREASE 22.4 PERCENT."

3. THE LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC UNO MAS UNO CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "DE LA MADRID (DLM): THE BANK NATIONALIZATION WILL MAKE ECONOMIC POLICY MORE CONGRUENT." QUOTING A STATMENT MADE LAST NIGHT BY THE PRESIDENT-ELECT, THIS ARTICLE CHARACTERIZED JLP'S LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL TO CONSTITUTIONALZE THE UNCLASSIFIED

RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION AS A "TRANSCENDENTAL ADVANCE" FOR THE BANKING SYSTEM AND THE STATE. HE FURTHER NOTED THAT ELEVATING THE BANK NATIONALIZATION DECREE FROM AN ADMINISTRATIVE TO A CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURE MAKES THIS "ONE STEP MORE IN THE IRREVERSIBLE ADVANCE OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION. MEANWHILE, ANOTHER ARTICLE REPORTED THAT 21 EX-BANK OWNERS HAVE DECIDED TO CHALLENGE THE SEPTEMBER 1 BANK NATIONALIZATION IN COURT. (SEE SEPTEL.) ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE EDITORIALIZES THAT THE RECENT LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES OF PRESIDENT JLP WILL INTEGRATE THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM AND REORGANIZE THE ECONOMY IN A WAY THAT IS LEGALLY AND SOCIALLY JUST. YET ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ACCORDING FINANCE MINISTRY UNDER SECRETARY (SALVADOR TRUEBA), THE BORDER ZONE WILL NOT BE EXEMPTED FROM FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS EVEN THOUGH IT SEEKS A MORE FLEXIBLE APPLICATION OF THESE CONTROLS BECAUSE OF LOCAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT DROUGHT AND EXCESSIVE RAIN IN SEPARATE PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WILL PREVENT MEXICO FROM ACHIEVING SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN BASIC FOOD PRODUCTION THIS YEAR. FINALLY AN EDITORIAL CARTOON ENTITLED"DOLAR-TAKERS" SHOWED A GROUP OF WEALTHY MEXICANS WITH THEIR DEEDS OF TEXAS PROPERTY ON A TABLE IN FRONT OF THEM COMPLAINING: "WE OUGHT TO DEMAND THAT THE PRESIDENT SEND US ANOTHER SANTA ANNA BECAUSE TO REPATRIATE OUR DOLLARS WE HAVE TO SELL TEXAS AGAIN."

4. THE CONSERVATIVE EL HERALDO (THE HERALD) RAN THE

FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "DANGER TO INDUSTRIAL PLANT CAUSED BY DEFERRAL OF EXCHANGE FOR IMPORT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT THE CAPITAL-SHORT PRIVATE SECTOR WANTS THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMF TO BE "PROMPT" AND ARRIVE AT A "HAPPY AND
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12994 02 OF 03 232320Z
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3577
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 MEXICO 12994

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

OPPORTUNE" SOLUTION. THE HEAD OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONFEDERATION CONCAMIN (MR. GRAF) ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT HIS ORGANIZATION IS TO STUDY THE RECENT EXCHANGE CONTROL DECREES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SUGGESTING CHANGES TO THE GOM. A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED: "TWENTY-ONE BANKING INSTITUTIONS ASK FOR AN INJUNCTION AGAINST THE STATIZATION." (SEE SEPTEL.) A RELATED STORY QUOTED A LEGAL STUDY BY THE BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL THAT THE BANK NATIONALIZATION VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTION. MEANWHILE, PRESIDENT-ELECT DLM WAS QUOTED IN FRONT PAGE COLUMN THAT JLP'S DRAFT LEGISLATION TO INCORPORATE THE BANK NATIONALIZATION INTO THE CONSTITUTION WILL MAKE THE BANKING SYSTEM MORE EFFICIENT AND TRUSTWORTHY. OTHER KEY STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "U.S. COMPANY ACCUSED OF BRIBING
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12994 02 OF 03 232320Z

OFFICIALS OF PEMEX;" (2) "MEXICO DOESN'T NEED CYNICS THAT BLACKMAIL THE NATION: JLP;" AND (3) "THE NEXT GOVERNMENT WILL REMAIN INSIDE THE REVOLUTION: DLM." FINALLY, THE EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ RUNNING AROUND WILDLY WITHOUT HIS HEALAIMING: "WE DEMAND AN INCREASE IN SALARIES."

5. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) READ: "TWENTY-ONE BANKS ASK FOR INJUNCTION AGAINST THE NATIONALIZATION." (SEE SEPTEL.) A COMPANION STORY REPORTED ON PRESIDENT-

ELECT DE LA MADRID'S BANK NATIONALIZATION STATEMENT. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED ON A SPEECH GIVEN BY PRESIDENT JLP TO A JAMMED-PACKED STADIUM FULL OF TEACHERS GATHERED IN SUPPORTOFTHE BANK NATIONALIZATION. (MEXICO CITY SCHOOLS WERE CLOSED FOR THE DAY.) IN SEPARATE REMARKS TO UNIONIZED TELEPHONE WORKERS THE PRESIDENT REPORTEDLY CRITICIZED THOSE OF "CYNICAL CONFIDENCE" THAT COMPLAIN BECAUSE THEY CAN NO LONGER "EXPLOIT THE NATION" THROUGH DOLLAR EXPATRIATION. ANOTHER LEAD STORY QUOTED LABOR LEADERS DORANTES AND VELAZQUEZ THAT THE BANK NATIONALIZATION SHOULD BE CONSTITUTIONALIZED AND THAT THE DRAFT ANTI-CORRUPTION LAW SHOULD BE APPLIED WITH "OBJECTIVITY." ANOTHER ARTICLE QUOTED THE MBXICAN PRESIDENT (ANTONIO ORTIZ MENA) OF THE INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK THAT THE WORLD RECESSION GIVES LATIN AMERICA A CHANCE TO "CORRECT" ITS DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. IN THIS STORY ORTIZ MENA ARGUED FOR GREATER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AMONG LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS. OTHER KEY ARTICLES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "CONTROL OF
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EXCHANGE APPLIED WITHOUT EXCEPTIONS; AND (2) "RAINS CUTOFFFOUR STATES; GREAT HARVEST LOSSES."

6. MEANWHILE YESTERDAY'S EDITION OF EXCELSIOR RAN AN ARTICLE WE OVERLOOKED (ON PAGE 18) THAT DESERVES SPECIAL ATTENTION. THIS STORY WAS ENTITLED: "REQUEST IN U.S. SENATE THAT LOANS TO MEXICO BE CONDITIONED ON DENATIONALIZATION OF THE BANKS." PREPARED BY EXCELSIOR'S WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT JOSE MANUEL NAVA, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT SENATOR JESSE HELMS INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION IN THE SENATE ON SEPTEMBER 21 THAT WOULD CONDITION U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO MEXICO ON: (1) ADOPOF A MONETARY POLICY THAT WILL STABILIZE THE VALUE OF THE PESO VIS-A-VIS THAT OF THE DOLLAR; (2) ELIMINATION OF EXCHANGE RATE CONTROLS; AND (3) THE DEVOLUTION OF ALL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS TO THEIR ORIGINAL OWNERS. ARTICLE STATED THAT ACCORDING TO SENATOR HELMS THE MAIN REASON BEHIND THIS NON-BINDING PROPOSED RESOLUTION 466 WAS TO PREVENT USG FROM UNDERWRITING POLICIES THAT HURT THE PEOPLE AND ECONOMY OF MEXICO. THE ARTICLE FURTHER REPORTED THAT THE U.S. FEDERAL RESERVE AND DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY WOULD OPPOSE RESOLUTION 466 BECAUSE THEY DO NOT WANT "THEIR HANDS TIED" IN NEGOTIATIN
G
MEXICAN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. THE STORY CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT SENATOR HELMS HAS LITTLE "SYMPATHY" FOR AMERICAN BANKS THAT HE CLAIMS HAVE LENT TO MEXICO IN "FULL KNOWLEDGE" THAT ITS ECONOMIC

POLICIES WOULD "INEXORABLY"RESULT IN FINANCIAL CRISIS.

7. TODAY'S NOVEDADES (MODERATE) LED WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "THE MEASURES, PEGGED TO OUR NATIONALISM: JLP." THIS REPORTED ON THE PRESIDENT'S

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12994 03 OF 03 232321Z
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INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 MEXICO 12994

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

REMARKS YESTERDAY TO THOUSANDS OF TEACHERS GATHERED IN SUPPORT OF THE RECENT BANK NATIONALIZATION. A COMPANION ARTICLE RAN YESTERDAY'S STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT-ELECT DLM EXPRESSING BACKING FOR JLP'S RECENT LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVE TO MAKE THE BANK NATIONALIZATION A PART OF THE CONSTITUTION. YET ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED: "THE BANKS CHALLENGE THE NATIONALIZATION DECREE." OTHER KEY STORIES WERE ENTITLED: (1) "BAD WEATHER PUNISHES THE ENTIRE COUNTRY; AND (2)"TALKS ON A GENERAL SALARY INCREASE RENEWED BETWEEN LABOR AND MANAGEMENT." FINALLY THE EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED A MAFIA-LIKE CHARACTER WITH DARK SUIT AND GLASSES TELLING A NEWS REPORTER. "I BELIEVE PUBLISHING A LIST OF DOLLAR-TAKERS AND OWNERS OF FOREIGN PROPERTY WOULD SHATTER REVOLUTIONARY
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12994 03 OF 03 232321Z

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12993 01 OF 02 232256Z
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ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 12993

PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BANK

E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/23/88
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: RECENT FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS: SEPTEMBER 23, 1982

REF: MEXICO 11800

1. (C) SUMMARY: GOM GIVES DOCUMENTATION ON MEXICANS' FOREIGN REAL ESTATE HOLDINGS TO THE CONGRESS. A NATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND WAS CREATED TO CHANNEL VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE INDEMNIFICATION OF PRIVATE BANK SHAREHOLDERS. INTEREST RATE ON MOST RECENT TREASURY BILLS ISSUE DROPS 8 POINTS TO 45.9 PERCENT. PRELIMINARY DATA SHOW FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OUTLAYS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1982 UP 68 PERCENT OVER THE YEAR-EARLIER PERIOD WITH THE DEFICIT UP 154 PERCENT. THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BECOME OPERATIVE ON SEPT. 21, BUT THERE DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE BEEN MANY OPERATIONS. THE [redacted]

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12993 01 OF 02 232256Z

BLACK MARKET IS HARD TO SEE, AT LEAST IN MEXICO CITY. THE INDEX OF PRICES OF SHARES TRADED ON THE MEXICAN STOCK EXCHANGE HAS INCREASED SHARPLY. END SUMMARY

2. (C) ON SEPTEMBER 21, THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES CREATED A "SPECIAL COMMISSION" TO STUDY THE DOCUMENTATION REGARDING REAL ESTATE PURCHASES BY MEXICANS ABROAD WHICH PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO RED TO IN HIS 6TH STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS. THE DOCUMENTATION WAS GIVEN TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES BY THE SECRETARIAT OF GOVERNMENT AND REPORTEDLY INCLUDES: METHODOLOGY FOR EXAMINING U.S. REAL ESTATE PURCHASES BY MEXICANS; A STUDY ON FOREIGN

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REAL ESTATE SALES EFFORTS WHICH OPERATE IN MEXICO; A SAMPLING OF REAL ESTATE PURCHASES ABROAD; AND A SAMPLING OF DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THESE SALES. THE INVESTIGATIONS BY THE "SPECIAL COMMISSION" ARE LIKELY TO FRIGHTEN MIDDLE CLASS MEXICANS AND FURTHER AGGRAVATE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE GOM AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

3. (U) THE NATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND WAS CREATED BY PRESIDENTIAL DECREE PUBLISHED IN THE SEPTEMBER 20, DIARIO OFICIAL. THE "VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS" TO THIS FUND WILL BE USED TO AMORTIZE THE PUBLIC DEBT OR TO MAKE INDEMNIFICATION PAYMENTS RELATED TO THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE BANKS. THE FUND WILL BE ADMINISTERED BY A BOARD OF DIRECTORS CHAIRED BY THE SECRETARY FOR GOVERNMENT AND INCLUDING THE SECRETARIES OF FINANCE AND BUDGET. AT A SEPT. 21 PRESS CONFERENCE, ONE OF THE DIRECTORS READ A LETTER FROM A SEVEN YEAR OLD WHO SENT A ONE DOLLAR CONTRIBUTION.

4. (C) SEPTEMBER 21 AUCTION OF CETES: CONTRARY TO EARLIER REPORTS THAT THE GOM WOULD ISSUE 32 BILLION

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PESOS WORTH OF CETES (TREASURY BILLS) ON SEPTEMBER 21, THE GOVERNMENT ISSUED ONLY 17 BILLION PESOS ACCORDING TO LOCAL PRESS REPORTS. THIS ISSUE OF CETES WAS SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE THE GOM PLANNED TO ISSUE A FIXED VOLUME AT WHATEVER RATE THE MARKET WOULD BEAR IN CONTRAST TO EARLIER POLICY WHICH FIXED THE INTEREST RATE AND THE VOLUME ISSUED REFLECTED MARKET DEMAND AT THAT RATE. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS REPORTS, OF THE 27 STOCK BROKERAGE FIRMS THAT OFFERED TO BUY THE 17 BILLION PESO ISSUE, TWO FIRMS ALONE ACCOUNTED FOR 13.4 BILLION PESOS. THE YIELD ON THESE CETES WILL BE 45.90 PERCENT, 8 PERCENTAGE POINWER LOWER THAN PREVIOUS ISSUES. AT ONE POINT, THIS NEW SYSTEM WAS BILLED TO US AS A MEANS TO LET THE MARKET DETERMINE THE INTEREST RATE. THIS MAY BE THE CASE, WITH THE LOWER RATE REFLECTING THE LOWER YIELD ON COMPARABLE FINANCIAL ASSETS (BANK DEPOSITS). ON THE OTHER HAND, THE LARGE SHARE TAKEN BY TWO INSTITUTIONS COULD REFLECT SOME GUIDANCE BY MONETARY AUTHORITIES.

5. (U) GOVERNMENT SPENDING: THE SERETARIAT OF PROGRAMMING AND BUDGET HAS PUBLISHED PRELIMINARY DATA ON FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1982. THE DATA SHOW THAT WHEREAS REVENUE INCREASED BY 41 PERCENT COMPARED TO THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1981, SPENDING WAS UP 68 PERCENT COMPARED TO THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1981. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEFICIT IN JANUARY - MARCH 1982 WAS 172.9 BILLLON PESOS, 154 PERCENT ABOVE THE DEFICIT DURING JANUARY - MARCH OF 1981. NO DATA WERE PUBLISHED ON SPENDING BY THE PARASTATAL ENTITIES, SUCH AS PEMEX, WHICH TOGETHER WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ARE COVERED IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR BUDGET. IN A STUDY ISSUED BY A LOCAL

BUSINESS GROUP, THERE ARE CLAIMS THAT THE 3.3 TRILLION PESO PUBLIC SECTOR BUDGET FOR 1982 APPROVED BY THE CONGRESS IN DECEMBER 1981 WILL ACTUALLY REACH 6.1 TRILLION PESOS AND THAT THE PUBLIC SECTOR BUDGET DEFICIT WILL SURPASS 1.2 TRILLION PESOS COMPARED TO THE .7 TRILLION

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PESO DEFICIT WHICH HAD BEEN FORECAST IN THE BUDGET APPROVED BY CONGRESS.

6. (C) EXCHANGE CONTROLS: THE EXCHANGE CONTROLS WERE

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 12993 02 OF 02 232257Z UNCLASSIFIED
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 12993

PASS FEDERAL RESERVE BANK

TO BECOME OPERATIVE ON SEPTEMBER21.TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, THERE HAVE BEEN NO SALES OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE UNDER THESE RULES. NO FOREIGN EXCHANGE HAS BEEN SOLD FOR PRIVATE SECTOR INTEREST PAYMENTS, WE UNDERSTAND. THE BANK OF MEXICO IS BEING SWMPED BY INDIVIDUALS LOOKING FOR INFORMATION AND MAKING URGENT REQUESTS FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE. THE SENIOR BANK OF MEXICO OFFICIALS ARE ALSO BEING SWAMPED BY CALLS, OFTEN FROM HIGH-LEVEL POLITICIANS, WITH URGENT FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THEM ARE BEING MET. WE WERE ALSO TOLD THAT THE PUBLIC SECTOR IS CURRENT ON ALL INTEREST PAYMENTS; FOREIGN BANKERS CONFIRM THIS, BUT NOTE SOME RELATIVELY MINOR EXCEPTIONS.

7. (C) THE BLACK MARKET EXISTS BUT IS NOT AS NOTICEABLE AS ONE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED. WE UNDERSTAND THAT RATES ALONG THE BORDER ARE AT OR SLIGHTLY BELOW 100 PESOS PER DOLLAR. FINDING A QUOTE IN MEXICO CITY IS NOT EASY.

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 12993 02 OF 02 232257Z

8. (C) THE BOLSA: THE INDEX OF MAJOR STOCKS TRADED IN THE MEXICAN STOCK EXCHANGE (BOLSA) HAS INCREASED OVER 200 POINTS, FROM 546.95 TO 750.75, DURING THE PERIOD FROM SEPTEMBER 20 THROUGHEMBER 22. (STRANGELY, THE PRICE OF ALFA STOCK HAS INCREASED 44 PERCENT DURING THESE THREE DAYS OF TRADING.) TO SOME EXTENT THIS WAS AN EXPECTED DEVELOPMENT DUE TO DECLINING INTEREST RATES ON PESO BANK DEPOSITS. BANK DEPOSIT RATES WERE NEVER REAL IN ECONOMIC TERMS AND ARE NOW INCREASINGLY LESS REAL GIVEN THE DE-CLINING INTEREST RATES AND INCREASING INFLATION RATES. WITH THE LIMITED RANGE OF OTHER LEGAL INVESTMENT OPTIONS,

MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVED THAT INVESTMENT ON THE BOLSA COULD PROVIDE A HEDGE AGAINST INFLATION. HOWEVER, STOCKS TRADED IN THE BOLSA ARE A HIGH RISK INVESTMENT SINCE IT GENERALLY OPERATES WITH LOW TRADING VOLUMES AND IS BELIEVED TO BE HIGHLY SUBJECT TO MANIPULATION. IT IS ALSO DIFFICULT TO ACCOUNT FOR THE RECENT PRICE INCREASES ON THE BOLSA SINCE THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR MEXICAN INDUSTRY IS NOT GOOD. (DRAFTED BY LPASCOE/BGRIFFITHS)
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13063 01 OF 02 242337Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 13063

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1982

REF: MEXICO 12994

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES THAT APPEARED IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (THE FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "THERE CAN BE NO BACKSLIDING: JLP." UPON BEING QUESTIONED ABOUT THE COURT ACTION TAKEN YESTERDAY BY EX-BANKERS, THIS ARTICLE QUOTED THE PRESIDENT THAT THE BANK NATIONALIZATION WAS IRREVERSIBLY "WEAVED" INTO MEXICAN HISTORY. IN THIS SAME STORY THE PRESIDENT SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT CONSIDER AN UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13063 01 OF 02 242337Z

OUT-OF-COURT SETTLEMENT WITH THESE BANKERS THAT COULD INVOLVE "ENTERPRISES IN WHICH THE PRIVATE BANKS HAD PARTICIPATION." A COMPANION STORY REPORTED ON THE STRONG SUPPORT THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS GIVING TO THE INJUNCTION AGAINST THE NATIONALIZATION FILED BY THE EX-BANKERS. THE PRESIDENT OF THE BUSINESS COORDINATING COUNCIL (MANUEL J. CLOUTHIER), DEMANDED THAT THE COURT SHOW "ABSOLUTE RESPECT" FOR THE LAW WHEN HEARING THE CASE. ANOTHER BUSINESS LEADER, JORGE ARRAMBIDE, SAID THE EX-BANKERS' INJUNCTION IS "PERFECTLY VALID." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "AGREEMENT IN TRIPARTITE NEGOTIATION

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TO SET SALARY ADJUSTMENT: FROM 10 TO 15 PERCENT."
THIS ARTICLE CITED SOURCES CLOSE TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS
THAT REPORTED A PROBABLE GENERAL WAGE INCREASE
BETWEEN 10 AND 15 PERCENT. A "PACKAGE" OF PRICE
FREEZES ARE ALSO BEING DISCUSSED TO PREVENT THIS WAGE
INCREASE FROM BEING OFFSET BY INFLATION ACCORDING
TO THE ARTICLE. ANOTHER LEAD STORY CITED A PRIVATE
SECTOR STUDY THAT CHARACTERIZED THE RECENT INTEREST RATE
CUTS AS DE-FACTO "CONTROL OF CREDIT." OTHER LEAD
STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT
FOR DEBTOR COUNTRIES IMPOSSIBLE: WORLD BANK;" (2)
"ALL MUST WAIT TURN TO RECEIVE PREFERENTIAL EXCHANGE;"
AND (3) "BANK RESTRUCTURING, WITHIN SIX MONTHS."

3. UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) CARRIED THE
FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "WE ARE AGAIN ON THE RIGHT
TRACK: JLP." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON THE PRESI-
DENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY IN WHICH HE DIS-
COUNTED THE LEGAL EFFORTS OF EX-BANK OWNERS TO
NULLIFY THEIR NATIONALIZATION SAYING THAT "THE
PEOPLE CONSIDER THIS DECISION ALREADY MADE AND
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 13063 01 OF 02 242337Z

THERE IS NO BACK-STEPPING." A COMPANION ARTICLE
STATED THAT THE COURT INJUNCTION FILED YESTERDAY
AGAINST THE NATIONALIZATION WILL BE "ANNULLED" IF
THE CONGRESS APPROVES THE DRAFT LEGISLATION THAT
GIVES THE STATE AN EXCLUSIVE CONSTITUTIONAL MONOPOLY
OF BANKING SERVICES ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION OF BUSINESS LAWYERS. THIS STORY ALSO
QUOTED CONGRESSMEN OF THE PRI AS WELL AS THOSE OF
TWO LEFTIST POLITICAL PARTIES THAT THE LEGAL
CHALLENGE OF THE EX-BANKERS IS WITHOUT "BASIS."
ANOTHER LEAD ITEM REPORTED THAT THE EFFECTS OF
THE CURRENT DROUGHT AND EXCESSIVE RAINS IN
DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WILL BE FELT
"UNTIL 1984." FINALLY, THE LEAD EDITORIAL
CARTOON SHOWED TWO EX-BANKERS MUMBLING: "WHAT
HAPPENS IF THEY EXPROPRIATE OUR REQUEST FOR AN
INJUNCTION (AGAINST THE BANK NATIONALIZATION)."

4. MEANWHILE THE MODERATE NOVEDADES LED WITH THE
FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "THE INJUNCTION IS LEGAL,
BUT THE ACT IS IRREVERSIBLE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED
THAT IN HIS PRESS INTERVIEW YESTERDAY, LOPEZ
PORTILLO RECOGNIZED THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHT" OF
EX-BANKERS TO LEGALLY CHALLENGE THEIR NATIONALIZATION.
A COMPANION STORY REPORTED ON REMARKS MADE BY
PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA MADRID YESTERDAY TO UNIONIZED
SOCIAL SECURITY WORKERS IN WHICH HE SAID MEXICO WOULD
OVERCOME ITS CRISIS. THIS STORY ALSO STATED THAT
IN HIS INAUGURAL SPEECH ON DECEMBER 1, MR. DE LA
MADRID WILL PRESENT HIS "PLAN OF GOVERNMENT."
ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED THE CALL OF

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BUSINESS LEADER MANUEL J. CLOUTHIER FOR JUDICIAL OBJECTIVITY IN ADJUDICATING THE EX-BANKERS' REQUEST

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13063 02 OF 02 242338Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 13063

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

FOR DENATIONALIZATION. CLOUTHIER IS FURTHER QUOTED THAT WHERE LAWS ARE NOT RIGIDLY OBSERVED POWER BECOMES "ABSOLUTE." MEANWHILE AN INSIDE ARTICLE QUOTED THE HEAD OF THE MEXICAN INSTITUTE OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEEDING, IGNACIO BURGOA, THAT IF CONGRESS CONSTITUTIONALIZES THE BANK NATIONALIZATION AS REQUESTED BY THE EXECUTIVE, EX-BANKERS WILL LOSE THEIR LEGAL FIGHT TO BE DENATIONALIZED. OTHERWISE, ACCORDING TO THIS CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER, THE BANKERS HAVE A STRONG LEGAL BASIS FOR THEIR INJUNCTION. ANOTHER INSIDE ARTICLE QUOTED LABOR LEADER F. ALVA ZAVALA (HEAD OF THE COMMISSION OF ECONOMIC STUDIES FOR THE LABOR CONGRESS) THAT THE COST OF LIVING INDEX HAS INCREASED "70 PERCENT" THIS YEAR, NOT "54.3 PERCENT" AS CLAIMED BY THE BANK OF MEXICO. FINALLY, THE EDITORIAL CARTOON

SHOWED THE LEADER OF THE EX-BANKERS (CARLOS ABEDROP)
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13063 02 OF 02 242338Z

IN SOLEMN PRAYER WITH A BIBLE IN FRONT OF HIM ENTITLED "LAW OF INJUNCTION."

5. THE LEAD STORY IN THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO (HERALD) WAS ENTITLED: "THE BANKERS REQUEST WILL BE TREATED AS MORE THAN AN INJUNCTION." THIS STORY QUOTED VARIOUS LEGISLATIVE LEADERS THAT ALTHOUGH THEY DID NOT EXPECT THE EX-BANKERS' INJUNCTION TO BE UPHELD, THE GOVERNMENT MUST PROTECT THEIR LEGAL RIGHT TO TAKE SUCH AN ACTION. A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED THE CALL OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY FOR THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM TO DEMONSTRATE ITS "INDEPENDENCE" FROM POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THIS MATTER. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED ON JLP'S BREAKFAST WITH JOURNALISTS YESTERDAY IN WHICH HE REITERATED THAT THE BANK NATIONALIZATION WAS "IRREVERSIBLE." THE PRESIDENT WAS ALSO QUOTED THAT ONCE CONGRESS ELEVATES THE BANK NATIONALIZATION TO CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS, THE STATE WILL HAVE A "MONOPOLY" ON BANKING SERVICES. OTHER KEY STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "ON DECEMBER 1 I WILL CLEARLY SPECIFY THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF EACH SECTOR: DE LA MADRID;" (2) "PROCESS AGAINST STATIZATION WILL BE INITIATED WITHIN 8 DAYS;" AND (3) "SALARY ADJUSTMENT WILL BE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT."

6. FINALLY THE EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) LED WITH FOLLOWING BANNER HEADLINE: "OUR REVOLUTION WILL NEVER AGAIN BE BLACKMAILED: JLP." THIS STORY REPORTED REMARKS MADE YESTERDAY TO NEWSMEN BY LOPPZ PORTILLO IN WHICH HE SAID THAT THE "PEOPLE" WOULD BLOCK ATTEMPTS TO REVERSE RECENT ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES SUCH AS THE BANK NATIONALIZATION. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT LOWER
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 13063 02 OF 02 242338Z

INTEREST RATES WOULD REDUCE SAVINGS. A COMPANION STORY, QUOTING THE BANK OF MEXICO, STATED THAT IN THE JANUARY-AUGUST 1982 PERIOD THE ASSETS OF THE THEN PRIVATELY-OWNED BANKS INCREASED 15.5 PERCENT WHILE THEIR LOAN VOLUME GREW ONLY 9.2 PERCENT. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THE REACTION AMONG CONGRESSMEN TOWARD THE LEGAL ATTEMPT BY EX-BANKERS TO REVERSE THEIR NATIONALIZATION. THIS REACTON VARIED FROM ACCUSATIONS BY SOME LEFTIST LEGISLATORS THAT BANAMEX AND BANCOMER WERE MONOPOLIES TO CALLS FROM THEIR MORE CONSERVATIVE COUNTERPARTS FOR JUDICIAL IMPARTI-

ALITY IN THIS MATTER. MEANWHILE, THE LEAD EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED A PROSTRATED BANKER WITH A DAGGER ENTITLED "NATIONALIZATION" IN HIS CHEST WIGGLING ONE FINGER AS AN ONLOOKER EXCLAIMS: "AND YET HE STILL MOVES...? (DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY)
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13130 01 OF 02 272310Z
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 13130

EXDIS

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E.O.12356 DECL:9/24/88
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, MX
SUBJECT: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN MEXICO

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: MEXICO'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS ARE NOW SERIOUSLY REDUCING THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. THE CLOSING OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET HAS DISRUPTED IMPORTS CAUSING INVENTORIES TO BE DRAWN DOWN TO THE POINT WHERE BUSINESS CLOSINGS MAY BEGIN. BUSINESSMEN MAINTAIN THIS IS IMMINENT. ALL THIS TAKES PLACE WHEN PRIVATE SECTOR-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS ARE POOR AND THE SO-CALLED RULES OF THE GAME ARE CONSIDERED TO BE UNCERTAIN. ECONOMIC CONDITONS ARE LIKELY TO WORSEN OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS REGARDLESS OF HOW THE FINANCIAL SITUATION EVOLVES. THE FULL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ARE STILL TO COME AND WILL CONFRONT DE LA MADRID AS HE TAKES OFFICE. END SUMMARY.

3. THE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDEX IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF 1982 (THE LATEST DATA AVAILABLE) WAS 2.9 PERCENT ABOVE THE YEAR-EARLIER PERIOD. A SENIOR GOM OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT INDUSTRIAL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13130 01 OF 02 272310Z

ACTIVITY IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1982 WAS 4-5 PERCENT ABOVE THAT IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1981. THIS SAME OFFICIAL, NATAN WARMAN, UNDER SECRETARY FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT FOR NATIONAL PROPERTIES AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, TOLD US THAT INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1982 IS RUNNING 4 TO 5 PERCENT BELOW YEAR-EARLIER LEVELS. HE MAY BE A BIT OPTIMISTIC ON THE FIRST HALF, BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE HIM EXCESSIVELY PESSIMISTIC ON THE SECOND HALF.

4. OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH BUSINESSMEN TEND TO CONFIRM

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A SIGNIFICANT DECLINE IN THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF REASONS FOR THIS SHARP DECLINE IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. WE SUSPECT THAT THE MONETARY AGGREGATES HAVE NOT INCREASED AS FAST AS THE PRICE DEFLATOR, AND THAT REAL INCOMES HAVE DECLINED LEADING TO A REDUCTION IN CONSUMER DEMAND. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT EMPLOYMENT LEVELS ARE BELOW THOSE OF A YEAR EARLIER. MANY BUSINESSMEN TELL US ABOUU LAY-OFFS, BUT NONE SPEAK OF INCREASING EMPLOYMENT. THE THREAT OF LOSING ONE'S JOB IS VIRTUALLY UNPRECEDENTED IN MEXICO. WE ARE NOT SURE HOW MIDDLE-CLASS MEXICANS ARE REACTING TO THIS NEW PHENOMENON, BUT SUSPECT THAT NON-ESSENTIAL PURCHASES ARE BEING POSTPONED.

5. WE UNDERSTAND THAT DEMAND FOR CONSUMER NON-DURABLES HELD UP THROUGH MID-YEAR, PROBABLY DUE TO THE SPECIAL WAGE INCREASES GRANTED IN MARCH THAT KEPT REAL INCOMES UP FOR SOME GROUPS. DEMAND FOR MOST CONSUMER DURABLES, CARS BEING THE BEST EXAMPLE, HAS BEEN WEAK SINCE MARCH OR APRIL. WE HAVE HEARD THAT SALES OF

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SOME CONSUMERS DURABLES PICKED UP IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER. THIS MAY REFLECT (FOR AUGUST) FEARS OF A RAPID INCREASE IN THE RATE OF INFLATION AND (FOR SEPTEMBER) CONCERN THAT THE VALUE OF FINANCIAL SAVINGS WILL DECLINE IN REAL TERMS DUE TO THE POLICY OF LOWERING BANK DEPOSIT INTEREST RATES.

6. APART FROM LOWER DEMAND, BUSINESSMEN HAVE FACED OTHER PROBLEMS. ONE IS A SHORTAGE OF CREDIT. BUSINESSMEN HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO BORROW DOLLARS FOR OBVIOUS REASONS AND THE CENTRAL BANK HAS NOT PERMITTED PESO CREDIT TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE MARCH.

7. ANOTHER PROBLEM HAS BEEN THE HIGHER COST OF IMPORTS AND, MORE RECENTLY, THE NON-AVAILABILITY OF IMPORTS. WHILE MEXICO IS NOT DEPENDENT ON CONSUMER IMPORTS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF FOOD STUFFS, MOST OF THE DOMESTIC MANUFACTURING SECTOR IS DEPENDENT ON IMPORTS AT SOME STAGE OF THE PRODUCTION CHAIN. WE SUSPECT THAT INVENTORIES OF IMPORTS WERE HIGH PRIOR TO THE FEBRUARY DEVALUATION AND THAT THEY HAVE BEEN GRADUALLY DRAWN DOWN SINCE THEN. THE CONFUSION IN THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET SINCE EARLY AUGUST HAS REDUCED IMPORTS TO A TRICKLE. WE HEAR INNUMERABLE STORIES THAT MANUFACTURING CONCERNS WILL HAVE TO CLOSE SHORTLY BECAUSE OF A LACK OF SOME IMPORTED ITEMS. THUS FAR WE HAVE HEARD OF NO ACTUAL CLOSING FOR THIS PURPOSE, BUT WE DO SUSPECT THAT THE DRAWDOWN AND PERHAPS EXHAUSTION OF INVENTORIES OF IMPORTED GOODS IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR. THE GOM IS AWARE OF THE PROBLEM, BUT MAY NOT BE ABLE TO COPE WITH IT. IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO ALLO

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13130 02 OF 02 272312Z
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 13130

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CATE THE LIMITED FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN A WAY THAT WILL MINIMIZE DISRUPTION OF DOMESTIC PRODUCTION.

8. INVESTMENT, WE ARE FAIRLY CERTAIN, IS DOWN, CONSTRUCTION ACCOUNTS FOR ROUGHLY HALF OF INVESTMENT SPENDING. VIRTUALLY EVERY BUSINESSMAN WE SPEAK TO IN THIS INDUSTRY IS VERY DISCOURAGED. NEW PROJECTS SEEM VERY SCARCE AND WORK ON A NUMBER OF ON-GOING PROJECTS HAS STOPPED. TO THE DEGREE THAT PUBLIC SECTOR SPENDING HAS BEEN CURTAILED, THE BULK OF ANY REDUCTION IS IN INVESTMENT SPENDING.

9. WHILE THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THEMSELVES ARE BAD ENOUGH, THE EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEKS HAVE HAD A FUNDAMENTAL EFFECT ON MEXICAN BUSINESSMEN. BANK NATIONALIZATION AND EXCHANGE CONTROLS HAVE RADICALLY CHANGED THE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE LOCAL BUSINESSMAN FUNCTIONS.THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY PROFESSIONALLY, WHERE THE RULES OF THE GAME HAVE BEEN CHANGED FOR THE WORSE IN AN ALREADY DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SCENE, BUT PERSONALLY, WHERE LIFESTYLES WHICH INCLUDED PREQUENT FOREIGN TRAVEL, FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS AND PROPERTY HOLDINGS ARE THREATENED. BUSINESSMEN ARE ALSO BEING THREATENED EMOTIONALLY WITH

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ATTACKS ON THEIR PATRIOTISM AND BLAME FOR THE CURRENT

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ECONOMIC SITUATION. ONE OF THE RESULTS HAS BEEN TO CREATE A PSYCHOLOGY IN WHICH THE WORST OF RUMORS IS GIVEN CREDIBILITY, WHERE VIRTUALLY ANYTHING IS BELIEVE POSSIBLE. AS REGARDS THE BANK NATIONALIZATION, FOREIGN AS WELL AS MEXICAN BUSINESSMEN FEAR THAT WITH THE STATE ALLOCATING CREDIT, THEIR FIRMS WILL BE DENIED PESO CREDIT IF THE INDUSTRY FAILS TO SATISFY THE STATE DEFINED CONCEPT OF "PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY."

10. THIS ENVIRONMENT HAS BEEN MADE EVEN WORSE, BY REPORTS OF A SERIES OF THINLY-VEILED THREATS FROM SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DIRECTING THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY TO ASSUME A LOW PROFILE AND REFRAIN FROM CRITICAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS. FURTHER FANNING THE FLAMES HAVE BEEN A FEW ANONYMOUS DEATH THREATS DIRECTED AT PROMINENT BUSINESSMEN. SEVERAL HAVE TOLD EMBASSY OFFICERS THAT THEY ARE UNDER SURVILLANCE. FEAR OVER PHYSICAL SAFETY, F
AS WELL AS THEIR ECONOMIC FUTURE, HAS RESULTED IN ISOLATED CASES OF PANIC REACTIONS, WITH, FOR EXAMPLE, SOME BUSINESSMEN ABANDONING EVERYTHING TO FLEE THE COUNTRY.

11. MEXICO'S ECONOMIC SITUATION IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO WORSEN OVER THE BALANCE OF THE YEAR, REGARDLESS OF WHAT HAPPENS IN THE FINANCIAL SECTOR. THAT IS, WITH OR WITHOUT AN IMF AGREEMENT, AND WITH OR WITHOUT MARKET-ORIENTED INTEREST AND EXCHANGE RATES, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS GOING TO DECLINE. THIS MEANS THAT THE FULL IMPACT OF A DEPRESSED ECONOMY IS YET TO HIT. THIS ALSO MEANS THAT THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION, TO TAKE OFFICE DECEMBER 1, WILL FACE AN EVEN MORE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA007995

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 07995 282220Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
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R 282217Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1847
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 07995

E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/28/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE FDR

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. A RELIABLE SOURCE RECENTLY TOLD POLCOUNS THAT HE BELIEVES THAT THE FDR MAY BE EXPERIENCING FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES. THIS SOURCE RECENTLY TRAVELED TO BRUSSELS AND ROME. HE ATTENDED THE UNIVERSITY OF EL SALVADOR WITH MANY YOUNG INTELLECTUALS WHO LATER JOINED THE FDR AND WENT INTO EXILE. OUR SOURCE SAYS THAT THE BASIS OF THIS CONJECTURE IS THAT "MANY" OF THE PEOPLE WORKING FOR THE FDR IN EUROPE ARE NOW LOOKING FOR JOBS TO SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES. HE SPECULATED THAT THE CAUSE OF THIS SEARCH FOR WORK IS THAT EUROPEAN SOCIALIST SUPPORT FOR THE FDR IS DRYING UP. HE ALSO SPECULATED THAT WITH THE MEXICAN ECONOMIC CRISIS THE PRI CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO SUBSIDIZE THE FDR, AT LEAST NOT AT PAST LEVELS.

3. ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION FROM ADDRESSEES THAT WOULD TEND EITHER TO CONFIRM OR TO [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 07995 282220Z

DENY THIS SPECULATION.
HINTON

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: S940034C

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13147 01 OF 02 281703Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00
	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	TRSE-00
	OPIC-07	PA-02	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00
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O 281620Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3664
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 13147

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y DTG (281620 VICE 000029)

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1982

REF: MEXICO 13063

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR THE PERIOD OF SEPTEMBER 25-27, 1982.

2. EL FINANCIERO (FINACIAL DAILY) DOES NOT PUBLISH WEEKEND EDITIONS. ITS BANNER HEADLINE TODAY (SEPTEMBER 27) READ: "DANGER OF MASSIVE BANKRUPTCIES." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT MEXICO'S FINANCIAL CRISIS IS SO CRITICAL THAT ONE OUT OF EVERY SIX PRIVATE BUSINESSES IS ON THE VERGE OF DECLARING BANKRUPTCY ACCORDING TO MANUEL CLOUTHIER, PRESIDENT OF THE BUSINESS COORDINA-

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13147 01 OF 02 281703Z

TING COUNCIL. CLOUTHIER ALSO CITED A RECENT BUSINESS SURVEY IN WHICH 49.5 PERCENT OF THOSE FIRMS CONTACTED SAID THEY PLANNED TO REDUCE THEIR WORK FORCES THIS YEAR; MEANWHILE, 80 PERCENT OF COMPANIES SURVEYED CLAIMED THEY ARE EARNING "MINIMUM PROFITS" OR SUFFERING "LOSSES." UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, CLOUTHIER STATED THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR LACKS THE RESOURCES TO "ADJUST" SALARIES. HE CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT ECONOMIC "RATIONING" WOULD SOON BE NECESSARY AND PREDICTED THAT IT WOULD TAKE FIVE YEARS TO RESOLVE THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. A COMPANION FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "FINANCE (MINISTRY) APPROVES CREDITS OF $714 MILLION

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FOR SMALL AND MEDIUM FIRMS." ACCORDING TO THIS STORY, THESE FUNDS WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE ON SOFT TERMS TO SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED FIRMS THAT HAVE "GRAVE FINANCIAL PROBLEM." ANOTHER STORY REPORTED THAT STARTING TODAY THE CONFEDERATION OF LABOR WILL START SENDING STRIKE NOTICES TO ITS 30,000 UNION AFFILIATES BECAUSE NO AGREEMENT HAS YET BEEN REACHED WITH MANAGEMENT ON WAGE HIKES.

3. SATURDAY'S LEAD HEADLINE IN UNO MAS UNO (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) READ: "ONLY POLITICAL POWER SHOULD EXIST: PRI DIRECTOR OJEDA." THIS STORY REPORTED ON THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ANNUAL PRI MEETING HELD AT THE NATIONAL AUDITORIUM. QUOTING REMARKS MADE BY DIRECTOR OJEDA, THIS STORY STATED THAT NO "NON-POLITICAL" POWER, ECONOMIC OR OTHERWISE, SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO IMPOSE ITSELF ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC. MEANWHILE, INSIDE ARTICLES REPORTED THAT: (1) PRESIDENT JLP FEELS A STUDY ON EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY IS NECESSARY FOR DEVELOPMENT; AND (2) FIDEL VELAZQUEZ WILL DISPATCH STRIKE NOTICES IF UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 MEXICO 13147 01 OF 02 281703Z

AGREEMENT ON A GENERAL WAGE INCREASE IS NOT REACHED BEFORE MONDAY. SUNDAY'S EDITION OF THIS PAPER CARRIED FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "I WILL NOT PERMIT FIGHTS OR HATRED TO WEAKEN MEXICO: DE LA MADRID." ACCORDING TO THIS ARTICLE THE PRESIDENT-ELECT MADE THIS STATEMENT IN SATURDAY'S SESSION OF THE MEETING OF PRI'S NATIONAL COUNCIL. DE LA MADRID FURTHER WARNED THAT MEXICO FACED A NEW PHASE IN ITS NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION THAT WOULD BE FULL OF "RISKS, DANGERS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES." ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED LABOR CONGRESS LEADER ARTURO ROMO SAYING THAT THE BANK NATIONALIZATION WAS A "HISTORIC DEED." MEANWHILE, AN INSIDE STORY REPORTED THAT IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1982 THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT INCREASED $4.4 BILLION COMPARED WITH THE CORRESPONDING 1981 PERIOD.

4. WEEKEND EDITIONS OF EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) WERE UNAVAILABLE, AND THERE WERE NO SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL STORIES ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE SEPT. 27 EDITION. ONE INSIDE STORY REPORTED THAT STRIKE NOTICES WILL BE SENT OUT STARTING TOMORROW IF THERE IS NO WAGE SETTLEMENT. QUOTING SOURCES IN THE LABOR CONGRESS, THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT WAGE INCREASES SHALL BE "RETROACTIVE" TO AUGUST ONE AND IN "ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONDITIONS OF EACH FIRM." A COMPANION STORY REPORTED THAT ON OCTOBER ONE A NEW FISCAL CODE WILL ENTER FORCE THAT WILL CARRY PUNISHMENTS OF FINES AND BACK-TAXES OF UP TO TWO TIMES THE AMOUNT OF FUNDS HELD ABROAD AND/OR JAIL OF UP TO NINE YEARS FOR MEXICANS WHO HAVE TAKEN CAPITAL OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

5. LIKE EXCELSIOR, NO WEEKEND ISSUES FOR NOVEDADES (MODERATE) WERE DELIVERED TO THE EMBASSY. THE SEPT. 27 EDITION CARRIED A FRONT PAGE REPORT THAT ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR INDUSTRY IS BEING WIDENED. TREASURY
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PAGE 04 MEXICO 13147 01 OF 02 281703Z

SECRETARY SILVA-HERZOG ANNOUNCED THAT A PROGRAM TO

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ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
EB-08 DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 EXIM-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00
COME-00 SSO-00 HA-08 L-03 LAB-04 DOE-10 TRSE-00
OPIC-07 PA-02 CEA-01 OMB-01 STR-14 SIL-01 INRE-00
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O 281620Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3665
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 13147

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y DTG (281620 VICE 000029)

PROVIDE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED FIRMS WILL BE INCREASED FROM 30 TO 50 BILLION PESOS, TO BE PROVIDED OVER THE BALANCE OF THE YEAR. THE ASSISTANCE WILL BE GRANTED THROUGH GOM TRUST FUNDS. THE PROGRAM WAS FIRST ANNOUNCED AUGUST 17. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE COLUMN STATED THAT IF WAGE TALKS BETWEEN LABOR AND MANAGEMENT FAIL TO REACH AN AGREEMENT BY MIDNIGHT TONIGHT, THE LABOR CONFEDERATION (CTM) WILL BEGIN ISSUING STRIKE NOTICES TO ITS LOCAL AFFILIATES. THE ARTICLE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS NOTICE WOULD NOT CALL FOR A "GENERAL STRIKE" SINCE EACH CTM MEMBER UNION IS EMPOWERED TO SEEK A WAGE SETTLEMENT FOR ITS INDUSTRY. ANOTHER LEAD STORY, REPORTED "ANARCHY" IN EGG PRICING. THIS ARTICLE NOTED THAT WITH EGG PRODUCTION COSTS RANGING FROM $.79 TO $1.14 PER KILOGRAM, EGGS ARE NO LONGER AVAILABLE AT THE OFFICIALLY CONTROLED PRICES OF $.82
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PER KILOGRAM. FINALLY, THE EDITORIAL DEPICTED TWO LOW-INCOME MEXICANS; ONE SHOWING OFF HIS CRISP, NEW PESO NOTES TO THE OTHER. THE MEXICAN WITHOUT THE MONEY STATED: "YOUR NEW BILLS ARE VERY PRETTY, BUT...THE MORE NEW BILLS THERE ARE THE LESS THEY AND THE OLD BILLS ARE WORTH."

6. NO EDITIONS OF EL HERALDO (THE HERALD) WERE AVAILABLE. IN ITS PLACE, WE REVIEW MONDAY'S ISSUE OF EL SOL DE MEXICO (THE SUN OF MEXICO). IT LED WITH THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "TO SMALL AND MEDIUM INDUSTRY 50 BILLION PESOS." ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT

ACCORDING TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF NATIONAL IMPORTERS AND EXPORTERS (JOSE FLORES RIVERO) MEXICO WILL BE UNABLE TO MAINTAIN ITS FIXED EXCHANGE RATE (70 PESOS/$1) IF INFLATION IS NOT BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL. FLORES' SOLUTION TO MEXICO'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IS TO VIGOROUSLY BEGIN PROMOTING NON-PETROLEUM EXPORTS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY STATED THAT THE "COLLAPSE OF NATIONAL PRODUCTION OF ALL CATEGORIES" HAS IDLED 30 PERCENT OF 14,000 VEHICLES OPERATED BY THE ALLIANCE OF TRUCKERS OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT. MEANWHILE, INSIDE ARTICLES REPORTED THAT: (1)"IF NO SALARY INCREASE IS REACHED TODAY, RAILROAD WORKERS WILL GIVE THEIR NEGOTIATORS 10 MORE DAYS TO REACH A SETTLEMENT;" AND (2)"PEMEX CONTROLS THE FIRE IN CAMPECHE SOUND." FINALLY THE EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED TWO YOUNGSTERS DECIDING TO IGNORE THEIR HOMEWORK BECAUSE SCHOOL CLOSURES IN RECENT WEEKS DUE TO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THEIR TEACHERS HAD TAUGHT THEM TO "WASTE TIME."

7. AN EDITORIAL IN THE GENERALLY-CONSERVATIVE, UNCLASSIFIED

ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER, THE NEWS, BEARS SPECIAL MENTION. THIS COLUMN SPECULATED THAT PRESIDENT JLP MIGHT DECLARE MEXICO "BANKRUPT" BECAUSE OF THE "DINOSAUR IMF-INSTRUMENTED POLITICS OF THE DOLLAR" WHEN HE SPEAKS TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 1, 1982. ALTHOUGH THE EDITOR STRONGLY DISCOURAGED THIS COURSE OF ACTION BECAUSE OF ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE BRETTON WOODS' FINANCIAL SYSGEM, HE NOTES THAT PRESSURES ARE BUILDING FOR MEXICO TO ACT AS A "REDEEMER OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (LDCS) SO DEEPLY IN HOCK TO THE MONEYED NATIONS." THE COLUMN POINTED OUT THAT MEXICO HAS LONG CALLED FOR A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER, AND SUCH A "BANKRUPTCY" DECLARATION WOULD WIN RESOUNDING APPLAUSE FROM OTHER FINANCIALLY-STRAPPED LDCS AND THE SOVIET BLOC. THE COLUMN ALSO NOTES THAT SUCH AN ACTION WOULD CAUSE "OTHER
DEFAULTING DOMINOS" TO FALL POSSIBLY CRUMBLING THE PRESENT "PUNITIVE" INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ORDER. (DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13203 01 OF 02 282333Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
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O 282326Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3703
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 13203

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1982

REF: MEXICO 13147

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 28, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "AGREEMENT WITH IMF IMMINENT." THIS STORY REPORTED ON AN INTERVIEW WITH BANK OF MEXICO DIRECTOR CARLOS TELLO REPORTED IN THE SEPTEMBER 27 WALL STREET JOURNAL IN WHICH HE SAID THE "SOONER" A LOAN SETTLEMENT IS REACHED WITH THE FUND "THE BETTER." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "PARTIAL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13203 01 OF 02 282333Z

ACCEPTANCE OF 10-15 PERCENT (WAGE) ADJUSTMENT BY BUSINESS: FIDEL WITHDRAWS STRIKE NOTICES." THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT BOTH SIDES IN THE WAGE NEGOTIATIONS YESTERDAY MADE CONCESSIONS AS LABOR SUSPENDED ITS ITS STRIKE THREAT AND BUSINESS GIVE SIGNS OF GRANTING WAGE INCREASES BETWEEN 10 AND 15 PERCENT "ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMIC CAPACITY OF THE ENTERPRISES." THE STORY STATED THAT LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ HAS DECIDED NOT TO CALL A STRIKE FOR HIGHER WAGES EVEN THOUGH BUSINESS LEADERS CLAIM SOME FIRMS CANNOT "GRANT ANY (WAGE) INCREASE BECAUSE THIS WOULD MEAN BANKRUPTCY." ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT THE FISCAL CODE

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SCHEDULED TO ENTER FORCE ON OCTOBER 1, 1982, CONTAINS TWO "INADMISSIBLE" ARTICLES THAT MUST BE CHANGED ACCORDING TO FRANCISCO LUNA LOPEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE GROUP OF FISCAL INVESTIGATION. LUNA SAYS ARTICLES 166 AND 172 ARE "UNCONSTITUTIONAL" BECAUSE THEY ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO SEIZE AN ENTERPRISE THAT FALLS BEHIND IN ITS PAYMENTS OF TAXES OR FISCAL CREDITS. OTHER KEY STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "INJUNCTION HEARING FOR BANKERS STILL UNGRANTED;" AND (2) "ARAB FINANCING RECOMMENDED TO AVOID IMF CONDITIONS."

3. THE LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC UNO MAS UNO CARRIED A LEAD ECONOMIC STORY ENTITLED: "SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE: DROUGHT HAS CAUSED MANY LOSSES." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED AGRICULTURE MINISTER MERINO THAT BAD WEATHER THIS YEAR HAS CAUSED "GREAT LOSSES" OF CROPS WHICH HE WILLQUANTIFYWHEN "RELIABLE HARVEST STATISTICS" BECOME AVAILABLE ON OCTOBER 15, 1982. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED; "BANAMEX WILL RENEW STIMULUS TO HOUSING." QUOTING THE NEW UNCLASSIFIED

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DIRECTOR OF BANAMEX, DAVID IBARRA, THE ARTICLE STATED THAT THIS RECENTLY NATIONALIZED BANK WILL SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT'S HOUSING PROGRAM WITH "UNUSUAL" INTENSITY AS A MEANS OF "REDISTRIBUTING INCOME" AND FOMENTING "SOCIAL PEACE." MEANWHILE AN EDITORIAL ON PAGE 2 WARNED THAT THE AUSTERITY CONDITIONS REQUIRED BY THE IMF FOR A NEW STANDBY LOAN WILL BE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF 1977 BECAUSE THE FUND'S "RECIPES" FOR ECONOMIC STABILIZATION HAVE BEEN "THE SAME FOR 50 YEARS, INDEPENDENT COUNTRY CONDITIONS." AN ARTICLE ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE REPORTED: "LABOR DOES NOT SEEK A WAGE INCREASE SIMILAR TO THAT OF FEBRUARY, STATED FIDEL."

4. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) READ: "AGREEMENT DEFINITE WITH THE IMF, WITHIN A WEEK: CARLOS TELLO." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THE WALL STREET JOURNAL INTERVIEW. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "TRUST TO RECOVER INVESTMENTS IN U.S. LAND." THIS STORY STATED THAT THE GOM IS SETTING UP A TRUST THAT WILL BE ABLE TO "IMPORT THE EXCHANGE" GENERATED BY LIQUIDATION OF MEXICANS' FOREIGN REAL ESTATE HOLDINGS AND TRANSFER THESE PROCEEDS TO THEIR MEXICAN OWNERS IN "NATIONAL CURRENCY." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY QUOTED R.T. MCNAMAR, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF TREASURY DEPARTMENT, THAT MEXICO DOES NOT FACE ECONOMIC "COLLAPSE" BECAUSE ITS FINANCIAL SITUATION IS "SELF-CORRECTING." QUOTING REMARKS MADE BY THIS TREASURY OFFICIAL BEFORE THE SENATE YESTERDAY, MCNAMAR CHARACTERIZED MEXICO'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS AS "SERIOUS" BUT "TRANSITORY" AND "MANAGEABLE." NEVERTHELESS, HE STATED THAT THE

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF MEXICO AND OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARE EXERTING "SEVERE PRESSURE" ON THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM. FINALLY, AN ARTICLE ON PAGE 4 REPORTED: "THE PRICE INDEX

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13203 02 OF 02 282334Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09	OPIC-07
	PA-02	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00
	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/125 W

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O 282326Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3704
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 13203

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

FOR THE STOCK EXCHANGE DECLINES."

5. THE MODERATE NOVEDADES CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD STORY: "AGREEMENT BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE IMF." A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "A FUND IS CREATED TO RECOVER FUGITIVE CAPITAL." ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED DECISION BY ORGANIZED LABOR TO SUSPEND STRIKE NOTICES AND INSTEAD COMMIT MANAGEMENT TO INDUSTRY-BY-INDUSTRY DISCUSSIONS WITH LABOR ON SALARY INCREASES. ANOTHER ARTICLE STATED REQUEST MADE YESTERDAY BY ELECTRICAL WORKERS TO PRESIDENT JLP THAT THE ECONOMY BE "REACTIVATED" THROUGH "PRODUCTIVE PUBLIC INVESTMENT." A COMPANION ARTICLE REPORTED DENIAL MADE BY PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA MADRID THAT CABINET MEMBERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED A GAG ORDER RELATIVE TO THE DENATIONALIZATION SUIT

OF EX-BANKERS.
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13203 02 OF 02 282334Z

6. THE CONSERVATIVE EL HERALDO (THE HERALD) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "MECHANISM TO RE-CUPERATE REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS HELD ABROAD." ANOTHER BANNER HEADLINE REPORTED: "MEXICO WILL SIGN AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF, ASSURES CARLOS TELLO." ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO THE PETROLEUM INTELLIGENCE WEEKLY "MEXICO DOES NOT HAVE THE PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY TO FLOOD THE WORLD MARKET WITH ADDITIONAL CRUDE PETROLEUM AS A WAY OF SOLVING ITS FINANCIAL BIND." A COMPANION STORY INDICATED THAT TO PAY FOR FOREIGN "ROYALTIES" IT IS NECESSARY TO REPORT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE PAYMENTS TO THE PATRIMONY MINISTRY. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ARTICLE REPORTED THAT BUSINESS "CANNOT ACCEPT A GENERAL PERCEN-TAGE INCREASE IN SALARIES." QUOTING PRIVATE SECTOR SOURCES, THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT THE DIVERSE LIQUIDITY POSITIONS OF EACH INDUSTRY MADE A GENERAL WAGE INCREASE UNACCEPTABLE. MEANWHILE, A COMPANION STORY REPORTED THAT UNORGANIZED LABOR HAS DECIDED TO SEEK AN INDUSTRY-SPECIFIC WAGE SETTLEMENT "WITHOUT STRIKES." (DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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Congress of the United States

Committee on Foreign Affairs

House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

September 28, 1982

ACTION is assigned to ARA 28

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

The Honorable Thomas O. Enders
Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Tom:

I have received a good deal of mail objecting to the presence of Christian Ackerknecht in the Chilean military mission in Washington. These letters allege that Mr. Ackerknecht has been accused by Chilean exiles of torture and murder, and that he was withdrawn from Chile's West German Embassy, at the request of the Germans, for this reason. Finally, these letters question the propriety of permitting Mr. Ackerknecht's official presence in this country.

So that I can answer these letters properly, I would appreciate knowing the Department's views on this matter, what investigations the Department has conducted concerning Mr. Ackerknecht's past activities and the results of such investigations, and the Department's intentions with respect to Mr. Ackerknecht's continued presence in the United States.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Mike

Michael D. Barnes
Chairman
Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs

MDB:vjn

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13286 01 OF 03 292330Z
ACTION ARA-16

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	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/125 W

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O 292321Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3733
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 MEXICO 13286

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1982

REF: MEXICO 13203

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIES IN THE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 29, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "POLEMICAL, THE AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF: FAVORED BY MANAGEMENT, OPPOSED BY LABOR." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED DENIAL BY ERNESTO AMTMANN OBREGON (PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN BUSINESS CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS) THAT AN IMF LOAN AGREEMENT WOULD COMPROMISE MEXICO'S NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY; UNCLASSIFIED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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FOIA Exemptions
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13286 01 OF 03 292330Z

ON THE CONTRARY, HE STATED THAT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IS NECESSARY TO REACTIVATE THE ECONOMY CURRENTLY "PARALYZED" BY EXCHANGE SHORTAGES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ARTICLE SAID ORGANIZED LABOR OPPOSED AN IMF SETTLEMENT BECAUSE IT WOULD FURTHER ADD TO THE EXTERNAL DEBT WHILE CARRYING CONDITIONS THAT WOULD ALTER MEXICO'S "SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT." MEANWHILE, THE STORY STATED THAT OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE REQUESTED THAT THE GOM PUBLISH ANY IMF LOAN CONDI BEFORE IT SIGNS A FUND AGREEMENT. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED: "DOLLARS FOR DEBT ARE JUST AS ESSENTIAL AS THOSE FOR

IMPORTED INPUTS: ACCOUNTANTS." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED THE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS (WILFREDO CASTILLO SANCHEZ) TO THE EFFECT THAT NON-PAYMENT OF DEBT "CANCELS" EXTERNAL CREDITS WHILE NON-IMPORT OF INPUTS "PARALYZES" PRODUCTION. CASTILLO ALSO CALLED ON THE GOM TO "ABOLISH" THE DUAL-EXCHANGE RATE BECAUSE IT SUBSIDIZES THE PAYMENT OF PRIVATE SECTOR EXTERNAL DEBT. HE CLAIMED THIS SUBSIDY COULD AMOUNT TO AS MUCH AS $7 BILLION OVER TIME ASSUMING THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR WERE GRANTED "PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS" (50 PESOS/$1) TO AMORTIZE ITS ENTIRE $25 BILLION IN FOREIGN DEBT. ANOTHER LEAD STORY REPORTED THE LATEST ULTIMATUM GIVEN INDUSTRY BY LABOR LEADER FIDEL VELAZQUEZ; IT REPORTED VELAZQUEZ SAYING THAT IF A SALARY INCREASE WAS NOT REACHED BY TOMORROW HE WOULD ISSUE STRIKE NOTICES. FINALLY, AN INSIDE ARTICLE (PAGE 17) REPORTED THAT MANY ELECTRONICS ENTERPRISES WILL HAVE TO SHUT DOWN IF THEY DO NOT SOON RECEIVE PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS FOR IMPORTED INPUTS. THE STORY ALSO NOTED THAT THE IMPORTS OF EQUIPMENT
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AND PRIMARY PRODUCTS FOR THIS INDUSTRY STARTED DRYING-UP TWO MONTHS AGO FORCING DRAWDOWNS FROM NOW NEARLY EXHAUSTED INVENTORIES.

3. THE LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC UNO MAS UNO RAN SEVERAL IMPORTANT ECONOMIC STORIES ON THE FRONT PAGE. ONE WAS ENTITLED: "TWO BANKS WITHDRAW FROM INJUNCTION SUIT." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ABOUMRAD AND MULTIBANCO MERCANTIL HAVE DROPPED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL GROUP OF 21 BANKS THAT ARE TRYING TO REVERSE THE BANK NATIONALIZATION CLAIMING THAT SINCE THEIR INJUNCTION WAS FILED THE "JURIDICAL STIUATION HAS CHANGED." A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "MINISTRY OF COMMERCE FORECASTS FOOD IMPORTS FOR 1983-84." THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT BECAUSE OF DROUGHT LOSSTHIS YEAR, MEXICO WILL HAVE IMPORT 83,000 TONS
OF POWDERED MILK, 400,000 TONS OF SUGAR, AND "SIGNIFICANT VOLUMES" OF SORGUM, BEANS, SOYBEANS, VEGETABLE OILS AND BASIC GRAINS IN 1983. THE ARTICLE ALSO STATED THAT MEXICO CURRENTLY HAS A BASIC GRAIN RESERVE OF 9 MILLION TONS, SUFFICIENT TO MEET NATIONAL DEMAND UNTIL MID-1983. AN ADJOINING ARTICLE QUOTED COMMERCE SECRETARY DE LA VEGA THAT "SOLIDARITY, UNDERSTANDING, AND RESPONSIBILITY" ARE ESSENTIAL IF MEXICO IS TO PREVENT ITS FINANCIAL CRISIS FROM BECOMING A "SOCIAL CRISIS." AN INSIDE ARTICLE REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE SET UP TO INVESTIGATE REAL ESTATE HOLDINGS OF MEXICANS IN THE U.S., GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS SHOW THAT THE SALES VALUE OF SUCH PROPERTY IS WORTH UP TO $29

BILLION; $9 BILLION OF WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN PAID AND $20 BILLION THAT IS STILL OWED. FINALLY AN EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE SURROUNDED BY IMPORTED CRATES OF WHEAT, CORN, AND

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13286 02 OF 03 292331Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09	OPIC-07
	PA-02	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00
	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/125 W

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O 292321Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3734
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 MEXICO 13286

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

BEANS DECLARING: "BUT THIS TIME INSTEAD OF IMPORTING FOOD WE ARE GOING TO EXPORT STOMACHS."

4. THE LEAD HEADLINE OF EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST-NTIONALISTIC) READ: "CAPITAL RETURNS IN INDETERMINABLE AMOUNTS; CARLOS TELLO." QUOTING THE DIRECTOR OF THE BANK OF MEXICO, THIS STORY REPORTED THAT CAPITAL IS BEING REPATRIATED BUT THE MAINTENANCE OF "BANKERS' SECRECY" PREVENTED PUBLISHING THE AMOUNT. MR. TELLO ALSO CLAIMED THAT: (1) REDUCTION OF INTEREST RATES AND EXCHANGE CONTROLS ARE NOT "INFLATIONARY;" (2) ACTIONS SIMILAR TO THE BANK NATIONALIZATION WILL NOT BE "NECESSARY;" (3) THE PUBLIC SECTOR DEFICIT AS A SHARE OF GNP WILL DROP TO 10 PERCENT IN 1983; AND (4) AN IMF AGREEMENT WILL MAKE POSSIBLE THE TIMELY

SERVICING OF EXTERNAL DEBT AND IMPORTATION OF
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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13286 02 OF 03 292331Z

ESSENTIAL GOODS. AN ADJOINING ARTICLE REPORTED: "TWO BANKS CEASE THEIR (ANTI-NATIONALIZATION) INJUNCTION." MEANWHILE, ANOTHER FRONT PAGE COLUMN QUOTED BUSINESS LEADER EMILIO GOICOECHEA THAT "DIVERSE MEDIUMS OF COMMUNICATION" IN THE U.S. HAD CREATED A FALSE IMAGE OF SOCIAL CRISIS IN MEXIAT WAS REDUCING NATIONAL TOURIST RECEIPTS. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED REQUEST MADE YESTERDAY BY PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS THAT A SINGLE EXCHANGE RATE (70 PESOS/$1) BE ADOPTED BECAUSE THE GOM CANNOT AFFORD TO PAY FOR IMPORTS WITH PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS (50 PESOS/$1). THIS SAME GROUP ALSO WARNED THAT THE NATIONALIZED BANKING SYSTEM COULD SUFFER "GRAVE CONSEQUENCES" UNLESS IT ELIMINATES "USER SUBSIDIES." MEANWHILE THE LEAD EDITORIAL STATED THAT CARLOS TELLOS' COMMENTS MADE YESTERDAY (REPORTED AT BEGINNING OF THIS PARAGRAPH) WERE A "TONIC OF CONFIDENCE FOR THE (ECONOMIC) RECOVERY OF THE COUNTRY." IT FURTHER STATED THAT BUDGET CUTBACKS NEXT YEAR WOULD HELP SLOW INFLATION. THE ACCOMPANYING EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED A GIANT FISH LABELED "THE IMF" ABOUT TO DEVOUR A MEDIUM-SIZED FISH LABELED "THE BANK OF MEXICO" WHICH IN TURN WAS ABOUT TO SWALLOW A SMALLER FISH REPRESENTING "BANKERS."

5. THE LEAD STORY IN THE MODERATE NOVEDADES WAS HEADLINED: "WORLD BANKRUPTCY IN TWO MORE YEARS: FRANCE." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED ON THE SPEECH MADE YESTERDAY TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY A FRENCH DIPLOMAT. AN ADJOINING ARTICLE STATED: "WE HAVE BASIC GRAINS ONLY FOR SIX MORE MONTHS: JORGE DE LA VEGA." THIS STORY REPORTED ON A
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 13286 02 OF 03 292331Z

SPEECH GIVEN YESTERDAY BY THE COMMERCE MINISTER. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY CARRIED ACCUSATION OF BUSINESS LEADER GOICOECHA THAT A CAMPAIGN HAD BEEN "UNLEASHED" IN THE U.S. AGAINST MEXICAN TOURISM. OTHER LEAD STORIES WERE HEADLINED: (1) "TWO BANKS CEASE DEMAND FOR INJUNCTION;" AND (2) "PASTEURIZED MILK PRICE INCREASES 37 PERCENT." THE EDITORIAL CARTOON DEPICTED A LOWER-INCOME MEXICAN SPECULATING THAT THE SPECIAL TRUST FUND TO RECOVER FOREIGN REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT MAY COST MORE MONEY THAN IT REPATRIATES.

6. FINALLY THE LEAD HEADLINE IN THE CONSERVATIVE HERALDO (HERALD) READ: "PETROLEUM POTENTIAL OF THETRY WILL BE INCREASED: THERE ARE MORE AREAS
OF PRODUCTION." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT BY MID-1983 MEXICO WILL BE PRODUCING 3 MILLION BARRELS PER DAY (BPD). THE STORY FURTHER STATED THAT THE GOM IS READY TO BUY BRAZILIAN CAPITAL GOODS AND REFINE PART OF BRAZIL'S CRUDE REQUIREMENTS. ANOTHER LEAD STORY STATED THAT YESTERDAY A FEDERAL JUDGE RULED THAT THE EX-BANKERS' REQUEST FOR AN ANTI-NATIONALIZATION INJUNCTION WAS "INCOMPLETE" BECAUSE IT DID NOT INCLUDE THE STATE AS A THIRD PARTY. THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THIS RULING, HOWEVER, DOES NOT INVALIDATE THE EX-BANKERS' CASE BUT MERELY DELAYS BY "SEVERAL DAYS" THE INITIATION OF A LEGAL HEARING
ON THIS MATTER. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY QUOTED CONGRESSIONAL SOURCES THAT THE LIST GIVEN THEM OF SO-CALLED "DOLLAR TAKERS" INCLUDES ONLY 79 NAMES, NONE OF WHOM ARE PROMINENT PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECTOR PERSONALITIES. MOREOVER, THE ARTICLE STATED THAT THE SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION SET UP TO RECEIVE THIS DOCUMENTATION ONLY HAS POWER TO MAKE PROPOSALS ON REGULATING PRIVATE MEXICAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13286 03 OF 03 292331Z
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INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/125 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3735
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 MEXICO 13286

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD,
COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

AND NOT TO "INVESTIGATE" DOLLAR-TAKERS. FINALLY THE
EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED A TITANIC-LIKE, HALF-SUBMERGED
SHIP LABELED "PRIVATE INITIATIVE." FROM INSIDE THE
SUNKEN HULL EMERGED THESE COMMENTS: "WELL IF YOU
DON'T INCREASE OUR SALARY WE'RE GOING TO MAKE A
SMALL HOLE." (DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13342 01 OF 02 302358Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09	OPIC-07
	PA-02	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-01
	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/126 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3757
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 13342

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, MX
SUBJECT: FINANCIAL NEWS SUMMARY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1982

REF: MEXICO 13286

1. THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE IMPORTANT FINANCIAL AND RELATED STORIESINTHE MEXICO CITY DAILY PRESS FOR SEPTEMBER 30, 1982.

2. THE BANNER HEADLINE IN EL FINANCIERO (FINANCIAL DAILY) READ: "SIGNING WITH THE IMF, NOTHING CERTAIN." BASED ON AN ARTICLE BY A. CROCKETT IN THE WORLD BANK/ IMF PUBLICATION, FINANCE AND DEVELOPMENT, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT LARGE STANDBY LOANS, SUCH AS THE ONE MEXICO IS SEEKING, USUALLY REQUIRE THE RECIPIENT TO SET CREDIT CEILINGS, MAKE "DRASTIC"
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13342 01 OF 02 302358Z

BUDGET CUTS, AND RAISE TAXES. IF THESE CONDITIONS ARE NOT MET, ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE, THE IMF CAN "SUSPEND" THE LOAN AGREEMENT ALTHOUGH IT TRIES TO BE "FLEXIBLE" IN SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "MEXICAN BUSINESS CENTER FOR INTER-NATIONAL AFFAIRS (CEMAI) FAVORS DEBT MORATORIUM (SIC) AND MODIFICATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW." THIS ARTICLE REPORTED CEMAI PRESIDENT AMTMANN OBREGON SAYING THAT THE GOM MAY BE OBLIGED TO C FOR A MORATORIUM. HE SAID MEXICO MUST ENCOURAGE EXPORTS AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT SUFFICIENT TO SOLVE THE CURRENT LIQUIDITY CRISIS. AMTMANN FURTHER STATED

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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C

THAT THE ECONOMIC CRISIS HAD REDUCED NATIONAL PRIVATE INVESTMENT DURING JANUARY-JUNE 1982 BY 36 PERCENT ($700 MILLION) COMPARED WITH THE CORRESPONDING 1981 PERIOD. AMTMANN ALSO STATED THAT OPENING THE DOOR WIDER TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT COULD OBVIATE THE NEED FOR RAISING CORPORATE TAXES ON THE COUNTRY'S RAPIDLY DETERIORATING PRODUCTIVE PLANT. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO A PRIVATE SECTOR STUDY MEXICO ONLY HAS ENOUGH FOREIGN EXCHANGE THROUGH THE END OF THE YEAR TO COVER 70 PERCENT ($3.5 BILLION) OF ITS PRIORITY IMPORTS. ANOTHER LED STORY NOTED THAT ORGANIZED LABOR HAS ESTABLISHED A MINIMUM SALARY INCREASE OF SEVEN PERCENT FOR ITS INDUSTRY-BY-INDUSTRY NEGOTIATIONS WITH MANAGEMENT. FINALLY ANOTHER STORY WAS ENTITLED: "VARIOUS HOLDERS OF MEXDOLLARS FILE INJUNCTION AGAINST EXCHANGE CONTROLS." THE CLAIMANTS CHALLENGE THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE GOM CONVERSION OF THEIR DOLLAR DEPOSITS INTO PESOS ACCORDING TO THIS STORY.

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3. THE LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC UNO MAS UNO CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD STORY: "FLIGHT OF CAPITAL IN PESOS TO U.S." QUOTING A PROMINENT BORDER BUSINESS LEADER, THIS ARTICLE REPORTED THAT DAILY 70 MILLION PESOS ARE EXPATRIATED TO THE U.S. WHERE THEY ARE CONVERTED INTO DOLLARS AT 85-93 TO $1. THESE FUNDS ARE THEN USED TO AMORTIZE DOLLAR DEBTS. ACCORDING TO A CIUDAD JUAREZ BUSINESSMAN, THIS REPRESENTS THE GREATEST FLIGHT OF CAPITAL FROM THE NORTHERN FRONTIER IN THE HISTORY OF MEXICO" AND HAS GIVEN RISE TO A THRIVING FREE PESO EXCHANGE MARKET IN U.S. BORDER ZONE. A COMPANION STORY REPORTED: "AGRICULTURAL CREDIT SYSTEM SHOULD BE EXPANDED." THIS COLUMN QUOTED CASSIO LUISELLI, COORDINATOR OF THE MEXICAN FOD SYSTEM, THAT THEONALIZED BANKING SYSTEM SHOULD CREATE 4000 NEW LOAN WINDOWS FOR AGRICULTURAL CREDITS. ANOTHER FRONT PAGE ITEM STATED: "THE INCREASE IN MILK OBLIGES AN INCREASE IN SALARY REQUEST: ORGANIZED LABOR." QUOTING SOURCES IN THE CONGRESS AND CONFEDERATION OF LABOR, THIS STORY REPORTED THAT THE 37 PERCENT PRICE INCREASE FOR PASTEURIZED MILK THREATENED THE "TRANQUILITY" OF THE COUNTRY AND FURTHER COMPLICATED WAGE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN LABOR AND MANAGEMENT. IT ALSO NOTED IF THESE TALKS DO NOT MAKE "CONCRETE" PROGRESS TODAY, THEY WILL BE "BROKEN OFF" LEAVING EACH AFFILIATED MEMBER FREE TO SEEK ITS OWN DEAL "ACCORDING TO GUIDELINES OF THE LABOR CONGRESS."

4. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN THE MODERATE NOVEDADES READ: "VERY SOON, THE PRESENT (CRISIS) WILL BE AN

ANECDOTE: JLP." REPORTING ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH YESTERDAY TO TRANSPORT EXECUTIVES, THIS ARTICLE STATED THAT PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE "PARALYZED" OR "STRANGLED IN ANGUISH" BECAUSE MEXICO'S ECONOMIC

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13342 02 OF 02 302359Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	EXIM-06	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	LAB-04	DOE-10	PM-09	OPIC-07
	PA-02	CEA-01	OMB-01	STR-14	SIL-01	INRE-00	AGRE-01
	FRB-01	JUS-01	USIE-00	SP-02	DOEE-00	SPRS-02	/126 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3758
TREASURY WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL MONTERREY
ALL USCONS MEXICO POUCH

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 13342

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, COMMERCE AND EXPORT IMPORT BANK

CRISIS IS TRANSITORY. IN SEPARATE COMMENTS TO HOTEL OPERATORS, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT RECOGNIZED THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE INFLOWS WERE "IMPERATIVE" FOR THE ECONOMY. MEANWHILE, AN ADJOINING STORY REPORTED THAT ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE ONLY A "FEW" WOULD RECEIVE PREFERENTIAL DOLLARS. THIS ARTICLE NOTED THAT FIVE OF THE EIGHT THOUSAND REQUESTS FOR PREFERENTIAL DOLLAR IMPORT PERMITS RECEIVED BY THE GOM SINCE SEPTEMBER 20 HAVE BEEN EITHER "ACCEPTED OR REJECTED." AT THE SAME TIME, THE LEADER OF NATIONAL CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIES (ALFONSO PANDAL GRAF) REPEATED EARLIER PRESS WARNINGS THAT THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE SHORTAGE HAS CREATED "CRITICAL SITUATIONS IN DIVERSE BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION." IN ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY THE SECRETARY OF GOVERNMENT

(OLIVARES SANTANA) APPEALED TO THE "SOCIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13342 02 OF 02 302359Z

CONSCIENCE" OF ALL MEXICANS NOT TO ENGAGE IN MUTUAL RECRIMINATION OVER CULPRITS OF THE ECONOMIC DECLINE. FINALLY, THE EDITORIAL CARTOON DEPICTED WHAT LOOKS LIKE A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL TALKING TO A BUSINESS COUNTERPART. THE OFFICIAL INDICATED THAT THREETERS OF MEXICO'S "PROFESSIONALS" ARE ON THE STATE PAYROLL. TO THIS THE BUSINESSMAN RESPONDED: "THAT EXPLAINS EVERYTHING."

5. THE CONSERVATIVE HERALD (HERALDO) CARRIED THE FOLLOWING LEAD HEADLINE: "THERE WILL BE NO PRODUCTION IN JANUARY IF WE DON'T NEGOTIATE NOW WITH IMF." THIS ARTICLE QUOTED BUSINESS LEADER ERNESTO AMTMANN OBREGON THAT IF MEXICO DOES NOT SOON SIGN AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF AND OBTAIN A MORATORIUM ON EXTERNAL DEBT PAYMENTS OF MORE THAN THREE MONTHS IT WILL SOON BE UNABLE TO AFFORD IMPORTS NECESSARY TO KEEP INDUSTRY RUNNING. AMTMANN CHARACTERIZED EXPORT PROMOTION OF HIGHER INFLOWS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL AS THE "ONLY SOLUTIONS" TO MEXICO'S LIQUIDITY CRISIS. FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF EX-BANKERS, 12 HOLDERS OF MEXDOLLARS FILED AN ANTI-EXCHANGE CONTROL INJUNCTION YESTERDAY ACCORDING TO ANOTHER FRONT PAGE STORY. TWO OTHER COMPANION STORIES REPORTED ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-NATIONALIZATION INJUNCTION FILED ON SEPTEMBER 23 BY FORMER BANKERS. ONE QUOTED THEIR LAWYER THAT HE WILL AMEND THEIR INJUNCTION TO INCLUDE THE STATE AS A THIRD PARTY IN THIS SUIT. THE OTHER, QUOTING PRI LEADER OJEDA PAULLADA, SAID THAT THE SUPREME COURT'S RULING IN THIS CASE WOULD BE "HISTORIC." ANOTHER LEAD COLUMN QUOTED PRESIDENT-ELECT DE LA
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 13342 02 OF 02 302359Z

MADRID'S COMMENTS YESTERDAY THAT DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES PROVE THE "CHARACTER" OF PEOPLE. ANOTHER IMPORTANT STORY WAS ENTITLED: "TODAY LABOR AND MANAGEMENT WILL DETERMINE THE SALARY ADJUSTMENT." FINALLY, THE EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWED PEOPLE OF VIRTUALLY EVERY NATION EXCEPT MEXICO UNDER THE FOLLOWING CAPTION: "THIS IS DEDICATED TO ALL THOSE WHO DID NOT INFLUENCE THE ACTUAL MEXICAN CRISIS."

6. THE LEAD HEADLINE IN EXCELSIOR (LEFTIST-NATIONALISTIC) READ: "WE SHOULDN'T PARALYZE

OURSELVES; JLP ASKS FOR REDOUBLING OF EFFORTS."
THIS STORY REPORTED ON A SPEECH GIVEN YESTE
BY THE PRESIDENT TO A TRUCKING GORUP. ANOTHER
FRONT PAGE STORY STATED THAT MANY MEXICANS
HOLDING REAL ESTATE IN THE U.S. HAVE SOLD THIS
PROPERTY AT A LOSS TO AVOID HAVING IT CONFISCATED
THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF EXCHANGE CONTROL LAWS.
ONE EXAMPLE CITED WAS CONDOMINIUM PURCHASED LAST
YEAR IN HOUSTON FOR $215,000 WHICH IS NOW SELLING
FOR $160,000. A COMPANION STORY REPRINTED THE
PLEAS YESTERDAY OF GOVERNMENT SECRETARY O. SANTANA
FOR GREATER NATIONAL UNITY. (DRAFTED:ECON:DLDUDLEY)
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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 13334 302230Z UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-10 EB-04 L-01 /026 W
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P 302228Z SEP 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3752
INFO USINT HAVANA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

[redacted] MEXICO 13334

LIMDIS

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, CU, MX
SUBJECT: CUBAN DEBT RENEGOTIATIONS- MEXICAN POSITION

REFS: (A) STATE 250336, (B) STATE 257009, (C) STATE 250064

1. [redacted]

2. SUMMARY: MEXICANS ARE VERY RELUNCTANT TO COMMENT ON CUBAN DEBT RELIEF. END SUMMARY.

3. TREASURY ATTACHE INITIALLY RAISED TALKING POINTS (REF A) WITH HACIENDA SECRETARIAT ON SEPTEMBER 14. OFFICIALS TOOK NOTE USG POSITION BUT COMMENTED THEY HAD NOT SEEN THE CUBAN REQUEST.

4. EMBOFFS GARNER AND LANE MADE CALL ON MB AASSADOR CARMEN MORENO, DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, FOREIGN RELATIONS SECRETARIAT, ON SEPTEMBER 21 TO RAISE TALKING POINTS IN REF A. FOLLOWING ORAL PRESENTATION OF USG POSITION, AMBASSADOR MORENO STATED THAT SHE TOOK NOTE OF USG POSITION, BUT COMMENTED THAT HER INITIAL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 13334 302230Z

REACTION WAS THAT THE GOM PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE IN AGREEMENT WITH ALL OUR POINTS, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF MEXICO'S ECONOMIC CRISIS AND PROBLEMS IT IS HAVING RESTRUCTURING ITS DEBT. SHE APPRECIATED EMBASSY AIDE MEMOIRE BASED ON REF A AND COMMENTED SHE WOULD COORDINATE MORE DETAILED RESPONSE WITH HACIENDA.

5. AMBASSADOR MORENO LEFT FOR NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 29 TO BE PART OF MEXICAN DELEGATION FOR PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTTLLO'S SPEECH AT THE UNGA OCTOBER 1. HER ASSISTANT LIC. GUSTAVO ALBIN ADVISED EMBOFF SEPTEMBER 29 THAT HACIENDA HAD NOT COMPLETED ITS REVIEW OF CUBAN DEBT PROBLEM AND THAT HE WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH US EARLY

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(X) RELEASE ( ) DECLASSIFY EO Citations
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FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
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NEXT WEEK OS MATTER. (DRAFTED BY JGARNER/LPPASCOE)
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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

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EXCISE

B6

United States Senate

30 September 1982

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

Respectfully referred to:

CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

2201 C STREET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Because of the desire of this office to be responsive to all inquiries and communications, your consideration of the attached is requested. Your findings and views, in duplicate form, along with return of the enclosure, will be appreciated by

Howard M. Metzenbaum
U.S.S.

347 RSOB
Washington, D.C. 20510
Attn. Alan Casper

Form #2

(2)

Re: Concerned about the Chilean government appointing Brig. Gen. Christian Ackermecht as a military attache for the Chilean Embassy in Washington D.C.

from:

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Department of State

TELEGRA

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

UNCLASSIFIED

AN: 0820506-

RELEASE

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08078 011442Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1908

UNCLAS SAN SALVADOR 08078

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, SOPN, ES
SUBJECT: SOCORRO JURIDICO LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

REF: (A) SAN SALVADOR 7277, (B) SAN SALVADOR 7210

1. POST IS IN RECEIPT OF LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 21 FROM SOCORRO JURIDICO TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. A COPY WAS POUCHED SEPTEMBER 28 TO ARA/CEN; IT IS SUMMARIZED IN PARAGRAPH 2 BELOW.

2. BEGIN SUMMARIZATION:
SOCORRO JURIDICO CRISTIANO SENT ITS LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THROUGH THE EMBASSY, FORWARDING COPIES TO THE CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENTS OF MEXICO AND VENEZUELA, AND THE APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR OF EL SALVADOR. THE LETTER, DATED SEPTEMBER 21, CLAIMS THAT THE SALVADORAN REGIME CONSCIOUSLY LOWERED ITS "QUOTA OF ASSASSINATIONS AND FORCED ARRESTS" IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE JULY 28 PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATION TO CREATE A FALSE IMPRESSION OF AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. IT GOES ON TO CLAIM THAT WITH U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 08078 011442Z

GUARANTEED FOR ANOTHER SIX MONTHS, THE SALVADORAN GOVERN-

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

MENT "LIFTED ITS RESTRICTIONS ON THE DEATH SQUADS," SPARKING A RAPID INCREASE IN REPRESSION. THE LETTER CITES FIGURES TO UPHOLD THIS VIEW, STATING FOR EXAMPLE THAT POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS, WHICH AVERAGED 500 PER MONTH IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF 1982, DROPPED TO 309 PER MONTH DURING MAY THROUGH JULY, BUT ROSE TO 701 IN AUGUST. THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SOCORRO JURIDICO ASSOCIATE AND U.S. CITIZEN PATRICIA CUELLAR IS UNDERLINED AS AN EXAMPLE OF INCREASED DISAPPEARANCES. THE LETTER CONCLUDES BY REQUESTING THE PRESIDENT TO PRESSURE THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT TO END HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ONCE AND FOR ALL, BEFORE AGAIN CERTIFYING THAT THE SITUATION HAS IMPROVED NEXT DECEMBER (SIC). ONCE THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO ENGAGE IN POLITICAL ARTIFICE TO COMPLY WITH THE FORMALITY OF CERTIFICATION. ON THE CONTRARY, THE LETTER CONTINUES, IF THERE IS NO PRESSURE, U.S. ASSISTANCE WILL SERVE ONLY TO FURTHER THE EXTERMINATION OF THE POPULATION AND THE ARBITRARY RULE OF THE GOVERNMENT.
END SUMMARIZATION.

3. COMMENT: NOTING SEPTEMBER 26 UPI SHORT REPORTING LETTER AND SEPTEMBER 27 DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE, WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING COMMENT: SOCORRO JURIDICO CRISTIANO, THE AUTHOR OF THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN, IS NOT "THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH'S LEGAL AID SOCIETY," AS REPORTED BY UPI. THAT ORGANIZATION IS THE ARCHBISHOPRIC COMMISSION OF JUSTICE AND PEACE. SOCORRO JURIDICO'S OFFICE IS LOCATED IN A JESUIT SECONDARY SCHOOL. THAT IS THE EXTENT OF ITS FORMAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE CHURCH. REFTELS REPORT IN DETAIL ON THE BIASED CLAIMS OF SOCORRO JURIDICO AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS THAT
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POLITICAL VIOLENCE HAS INCREASED GREATLY SINCE JULY. WE FIND THE ALLEGATION THAT THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT DECEPTIVELY REDUCED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DURING THE THREE MONTHS PRIOR TO CERTIFICATION, ONLY TO INCREASE REPRESSION ONCE IT HAD BEEN SIGNED, BOTH FACILE AND UNSUBSTANTIATED.
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file: Letelier-Moffitt
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

October 4, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Ambassador Enders
ARA/SC - Mr. Smith

FROM: L/ARA - Joshua B. Bolten

SUBJECT: Line-up of December 1981 Senate Vote on Chile

You asked what the line-up was in the Senate on the December 1981 vote to remove restrictions on military sales and assistance to Chile.

Senator Helms proposed a floor amendment that would simply have removed the restrictions. Senator Kennedy moved to table the Helms proposal, a motion which lost 30-57. Among SFRC members, those favoring tabling the Helms proposal included Senators Biden, Cranston, Glenn, Pell, and Sarbanes; those opposed to tabling: Senators Baker, Boschwitz, Helms, Kassebaum, Lugar, Mathias, Percy, and Zorinsky. (Absent: Senators Dodd, Hayakawa, Tsongas, and Pressler.)

The Senate then passed unanimously (86-0) Senator Percy's amendment adding the certification requirement to the repeal of restrictions. (Note: The Percy amendment had been introduced but not voted on prior to the vote on the tabling motion. Presumably, some Senators opposed tabling Senator Helms's proposal on the understanding that a certification requirement would be added to the repeal of restrictions.)

(Additional note: Senator Percy's amendment referred to Letelier-Moffitt only in "sense of the Congress" terms. That language emerged from Conference as part of the certification requirement.)

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82MEXICO013690

ADP065

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PAGE 01 . MEXICO 13690 0700002
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
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R 062357Z OCT 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3943
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

[redacted] MEXICO 13690

E.O. 12356: DECL: 10/6/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE FDR/FMLN

REF: [redacted] A5
(B) SAN SALVADOR 07995

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. EMBASSY HAS SUBMITTED REPORT ON FDR/FMLN FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES IN SEPARATE CHANNELS (REF A). FROM A SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE FMLN, WE LEARNED OF A SHARP DECLINE IN REVENUES RAISED IN MEXICO. DURING THE YEAR ENDING AUGUST 1982, FMLN RAISED ONLY FIFTY PERCENT OF THE PREVIOUS YEAR'S REVENUES. THE FMLN ATTRIBUTED THE SHARP DECLINE TO: 1) COMPETITION FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS (NAMELY, GUATEMALAN GROUPS AND THE PLO) FOR THE SAME SOURCES OF FUNDS; AND 2) THE DETERIORATING MEXICAN ECONOMY, WHICH REDUCED THE ABILITY OF DONORS TO CONTRIBUTE. IN ADDITION, THE RECENT FREEZING OF U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNTS AND STRICT EXCHANGE CONTROLS IMPOSED BY THE GOM HAVE CAUSED FURTHER DIFFICULTIES.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 MEXICO 13690 0700002

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE WERE TOLD BY A DALLAS TIMES-HERALD REPORTER THAT FDR LEADER GUILLERMO UNGO HAD SAID TO HIM AROUND LATE AUGUST 1982 THAT FDR/FMLN FUND RAISING IN MEXICO FROM ORGANIZED LABOR HAS BEEN SO SUCCESSFUL THAT IT OFFSET FDR/FMLN WORLD WIDE POLITICAL/ DIPLOMATIC EXPENSES.

4. COMMENT. UNGO MAY HAVE BEEN GILDING THE LILY FOR MEDIA

PAGE NO. 1

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: S940034C

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CONSUMPTION. IN ANY EVENT, WE SUSPECT THAT WHATEVER FIGURES HE MAY HAVE HAD IN MIND ARE FROM EARLIER YEARS, NOT THE CURRENT ONE. (DRAFTED: D.ON) GAVIN

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X [illegible] in part:
law enforcement [illegible] ( );
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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08373 01 OF 02 132257Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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R 132253Z OCT 82
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2096
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 08373

E.O. 12356: 10/09/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: GENERAL GARCIA DELIVERS MESSAGE ON POLITICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

REF: SS A-002 IS JAN 82

1. (C) SUMMARY. ON OCTOBER 7 DEFENSE MINISTER GENERAL GARCIA CALLED TOGETHER OVER 200 LOCAL COMMANDERS TO DELIVER MESSAGES THAT THEY ARE TO REMAIN APOLITICAL AND ARE TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS. THE GARCIA STATEMENT WAS UNPRECEDENTED. THE MEETING RECEIVED PRESS COVERAGE. LOCAL COMMANDERS ARE NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS WHO SERVE AS RURAL MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN CHARGE OF PARAMILITARY FORCES. SOME HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR SERIOUS ABUSES OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. GARCIA'S MESSAGE PUTS THEM [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 08373 01 OF 02 132257Z

ON NOTICE THAT THE ARMED FORCES WILL RESPOND TO DENUNCIATIONS AND WILL ENCOURAGE LOCAL POPULATIONS TO DENOUNCE ABUSES. HIS MOVE MAY BE PART OF A MAGANA SPONSORED PACIFICATION INITIATIVE. END SUMMARY.
2. (U) ON OCTOBER 7 DEFENSE MINISTER GENERAL GARCIA CALLED OVER 200 COMMANDANTES LOCALES (LOCAL COMMANDERS) FROM ALL OF THE DEPARTMENTS TO A MEETING AT THE ESTADO MAYOR. MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS ALSO ATTENDED. ACCOMPANYING GARCIA WERE CHIEF OF STAFF COL. FLORES LIMA, COMMANDER OF THE TERRITORAL SERVICE, COL. ROBERTO FABIO LORENZANA, AND DIRECTOR OF THE MILITARY SCHOOL, COL. RAFAEL HUMBERTO LARIOS.

3. (U) GARCIA DELIVERED TO THE COMMANDANTES A CLEAR WARNING TO STAY OUT OF POLITICS AND AN UNPRECEDENTED MESSAGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. GARCIA TOLD THE COMMANDANTES:

--SOME COMMANDANTES ARE NOT PRESENT BECAUSE THEY WERE BEFORE THE COURTS ACCUSED OF ABUSES OF AUTHORITY. THERE ARE NO EXCUSES FOR VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING AGAINST THE ENEMY. COMMANDANTES MUST REFLECT BEFORE ACTING ON THEIR ORDERS TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND COMBAT TERRORISM, THE PEOPLE IN YOUR JURISDICTIONS ANALYZE EVERY ACTION AND EVERY ANOMALY, AND JUDGE THE ARMED FORCES BY YOUR ACTIONS.

--THE HIGH COMMAND HAS NEVER ISSUED YOU AN ORDER TO VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS. "THE TRUST YOU HAVE WITH THE PEOPLE IS LIKE THE TRUST YOU HAVE WITH A WOMAN. HOW DO YOU FEEL WHEN YOUR WOMAN BETRAYS YOUR TRUST? THAT IS HOW THE PEOPLE FEEL IF YOU BETRAY THEIR TRUST." HUMAN [redacted] A FUNDAMENTAL, WORLDWIDE, AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE. EL SALVADOR HAS BEEN A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 08373 01 OF 02 132257Z

SINCE MARCH 28, THEREFORE IT IS OBLIGED TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS.

--THE ARMED FORCES HAS NO POLITICAL COMPROMISES. YOU HAVE NEVER RECEIVED AN ORDER TO TAKE POLITICAL ACTIONS. "IN THE PAST THIS MAY HAVE HAPPENED, AND WE CAN NOT DENY IT, BUT LET IT BE MADE CLEAR THAT TO DO SO TODAY WOULD BE TREASON AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND THE ARMED FORCES." FOLLOWING HIS SPEECH, GARCIA CALLED THE MEETING INTO RECESS TO ALLOW MEMBERS OF THE PRESS TO LEAVE. THE [redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

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SESSION THEN CONTINUED IN PRIVATE FOR SEVERAL HOURS. IT RECEIVED EXTENSIVE PRESS COVERAGE.

4. (C) COMMENT: THE MEETING OF ALL COMMANDANTES LOCALES WAS BILLED AS ROUTINE, BUT IN REALITY IT WAS EXCEPTIONAL. NORMALLY, COORDINATION TAKES PLACE AT THE DEPARTMENT LEVEL. GARCIA'S MESSAGE ON POLITICAL NEUTRALITY REPEATED ORDERS ISSUED PRIOR TO THE MARCH 28 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. THE HUMAN RIGHTS MESSAGE, DELIVERED FORCEFULLY AND IN PERSON BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, WAS UNPRECEDENTED. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT GARCIA WAS JUST GRANDSTANDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS. WHEN THE ARMED FORCES FIRST PUBLISHED ANNOUNCEMENTS EXHORTING THE PUBLIC TO DENOUNCE ABUSES BY COMMANDANTES AND CIVIL DEFENSE IN MARCH 1982, SEVERAL DENUNCIATIONS DID FOLLOW. TO DATE AT LEAST FIVE COMMANDANTES HAVE BEEN JAILED FOR SERIOUS ABUSES, AND AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER REMOVED FROM THEIR POSITIONS. GARCIA'S PUBLIC STATEMENT AGAIN PUTS THE COMMANDANTES ON NOTICE, AND WILL CERTAINLY ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO DENOUNCE ABUSIVE COMMANDANTES. FEAR OF REPRISAL SHOULD THEIR ATTEMPT TO SEEK RECOURSE WITH HIGHER AUTHORITIES FAIL, HAS INHIBITED SUCH DENUNCIATIONS IN THE PAST. THE COMMANDANTE LOCAL IS AN ARMED FORCE

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 08373 02 OF 02 132250Z
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INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 08373

MEMBER, USUALLY A SERGEANT, ASSIGNED TO THE TOWNS TO COORDINATE PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES. IN RURAL AREAS, THE COMMANDANTE IS FREQUENTLY THE DOMINANT AUTHORITY. A GOOD COMMANDANTE CAN BE A UNIFYING FORCE; A BAD ONE CAN BE SUBVERSIVE. SEE REFAIR FOR DETAILED REPORTING ON PARAMILITARY FORCES AND THE COMMANDANTES LOCALES.

5. (C) GARCIA'S MOVE MAY BE AN INITIAL PART OF A MAGANA SPONSORED PACIFICATION INITIATIVE. ON MONDAY THE PRESIDENT AND THE HIGH COMMAND MET WITH APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR RIVERA Y DAMAS AND EL SALVADOR'S OTHER BISHOPS. [redacted] APARACIO, THE BISHOP OF SAN VICENTE, TOLD THE PRESS DURING THE AMBASSADOR'S VISIT TO THAT DEPARTMENT THAT THE MEETING, AMONG OTHER THINGS, DEALT WITH THE CHURCH'S ROLE IN PACIFYING THE COUNTRY (SEPTEL). HE ALSO PUBLICLY DENOUNCED ABUSES OF AUTHORITY BY COMMANDANTES.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 08373 02 OF 02 132250Z

PRIVATELY HE TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THE MEETING WITH MAGANA AND THE HIGH COMMAND WOULD LEAD TO RESULTS. SUBSEQUENTLY,

[redacted]

MAGANA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR HE HAD ARRANGED FIRST MEETING AND ENCOURAGED GARCIA'S FOLLOW UP.
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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 82SUVA03973

FILM= D820541-0558

DATE= 19 OCT 82

TYPE= TE

FROM= SUVA

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION EA

9204597

TO= STATE
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CHANNEL= n/a

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ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= N/A

SUBJECT= CHOGRM COMMUNIQUE: SUVA 14-18 OCT 1982 THERE FOLLOWS FULL TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REGIONAL MEETIN

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= REGIONAL, MEETING AGENDA, PEACE, SECURITY, MILITARY ASSISTANCE, INTERVENTION, FOREIGN RELATIONS, COMMUNIQUES, SUMMIT MEETINGS, MEETING DELEGATIONS

TAGS= OCON, PEPR, FJ, XC, XP, XX, CHOGRM, COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOV REG MTG

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
XX Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify
( ) Exemption
Date 6/18/97

PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 01 OF 09 200230Z
ACTION EA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY SUVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7087
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
USIA WASHDC 556

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 09 SUVA 3973

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 12356: N/A
TAGS: OCON, PEPR, FJ, XC, XP
SUBJECT: CHOGRM COMMUNIQUE: SUVA 14-18 OCT 1982

THERE FOLLOWS FULL TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REGIONAL MEETING (CHOGRM) HELD IN SUVA 14-18 OCTOBER 1982 QTE

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REGIONAL MEETING
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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 01 OF 09 200230Z

SUVA, OCTOBER 1982
FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT FROM THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION MET IN SUVA FROM 14 TO 18 OCTOBER 1982. SEVENTEEN COUNTRIES ATTENDED THE MEETING, NAMELY, AUSTRALIA, BANGLADESH, FIJI, INDIA, KIRIBATI, MALAYSIA, NAURU, NEW ZEALAND, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, SINGAPORE, SOLOMON ISLANDS, SRI LANKA, TONGA, TUVALU, WESTERN SAMOA AND VANUATU. FOURTEEN WERE REPRESENTED BY THEIR PRESIDENTS OR PRIME MINISTERS. THE PRIME MINISTER OF FIJI, RATU SIR KAMISESE

MARA, WAS IN THE CHAIR.

2. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WARMLY WELCOMED TO THE MEETING THE REPUBLIC OF MALDIVES, WHICH HAD BECOME A SPECIAL MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH EARLIER IN THE YEAR.

POLITICAL TRENDS
3. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE DETERIORATION IN THE OVERALL INTERNATIONAL SITUATION HAD CONTINUED SINCE THEIR MEETING IN 1980, AND THAT THIS HAD LED TO A DEEPENING SENSE OF INSECURITY AMONG PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THEY NOTED THAT CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES HAD CLEARLY EXACERBATED POLITICAL ISSUES, NOT ONLY IN REGARD TO EAST-WEST PROBLEMS, BUT IN RELATION TO NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS AS WELL.

4. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THEY DREW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE RELEVANCE OF THE RECENT REPORT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THEY COMMENDED HIS APPEAL FOR A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO REINVEST THE UNITED NATIONS, AND PARTICULARLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WITH THE NECESSARY MEANS AND AUTHORITY TO ENABLE IT TO FULFILL THE TASK OF MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY ENTRUSTED TO IT BY ITS CHARTER. THEY STRONGLY URGED STATES TO GIVE THOROUGH CONSIDERATION AT THE CURRENT ASSEMBLY
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SESSION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S RECOMMENDATION.

5. AS AT THEIR PREVIOUS MEETINGS, HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THE INADMISSABILITY OF THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND OF INTERFERENCE INTHE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES, AND STRESSED THE NEED TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES BY PEACEFUL MEANS BASED ON RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND EQUALITY. THEY RECOGNIZED THAT ADHERENCE TO THESE PRECEPTS AND PROGRESS TOWARDSDISARMAMENT WERE ESSENTIAL AND COMPLEMENTARY ASPECTS TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THEY WERE THEREFORE GREATLY DISTURBED BY THE FAILURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO REACH ANY AGREEMENT ON THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME FOR DISARMAMENT CONSIDERED AT THE RECENT UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT. THEY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE WORLD CAMPAIGN, WHICH HAD BEEN LAUNCHED AT THE SPECIAL SESSION WOULD HELP TO CREATE A CLIMATE OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION THAT WOULD BRING EFFECTIVE PRESSURE TO BEAR ON GOVERNMENTS TO TACKLE DIFFICULT DISARMAMENT ISSUES WITH GREATER DETERMINATION.

6. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WERE GRAVELY CONCERNED THAT THE CONFLICTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST REMAIN UNRESOLVED AND CONTINUE TO THREATEN WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY. THEY STRESSED THE URGENT NEED TO RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMATE AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO A HOMELAND, AND TO SEEK A JUST SETTELMENT OF THE PROBLEM ON THE BASIS OF THE RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS. THEY CONDEMNED ISRAEL FOR ITS INVASION OF LEBANON AND

EXPRESSED THEIR REVULSION AT THE RESULTANT DEATH AND DEVASTATION PARTICULARLY IN BEIRUT. THEY WERE DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES THAT THESE RECENT EVENTS COULD HAVE FOR THE PROSPECTS FOR ANY FUTURE SETTLEMENT. RECOGNISING THAT THE UNTOLD HUMAN MISERY COULD NOT BE UNDONE THEY NEVERTHELESS URGED THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS TO FIND AN URGENT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM, TO ENABLE THE LEBANON AND ALL PEOPLES IN THE AREA TO LIVE IN PEACE.

7. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THEIR TOTAL AND UNQUIVOVAL
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PAGE 04 SUVA 03973 01 OF 09 200230Z

CONDEMNATION OF APARTHEID PERPETUATED BY THE WHITE MINORITY REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA. THEY CONDEMNED THE INCREASINGLY FREQUENT MILITARY INCURSIONS BY SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE NEIGHBORING STATES OF ANGOLA, MOZANBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE IN AN ATTEMPT TO SUBVERT THE PROCESS OF LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN AT SOUTH AFRICA'S DELAYING TACTICS OVER THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE ON THE BASIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435.

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PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 02 OF 09 200240Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
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	SP-02	SPRS-01	/114 W				

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R 192226Z OCT 82
FM AMEMBASSY SUVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7088
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
USIA WASHDC 557

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 09 SUVA 3973

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION
8. IN REAFFIRMING THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE GOAL OF ESTABLISHING A ZONE OF PEACE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED WITH ALARM THE INCREASING BUILD-UP OF THE GREAT POWER MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE AREA WHICH WAS TAKING PLACE AGAINST THE EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE LITTORAL AND HINTERLAND STATES. THEY ENDORSED THE VIEW EXPRESSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT THE PROJECTED UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN WAS A NECESSARY STEP TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE 1971 UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION. THEY CALLED UPON
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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 02 OF 09 200240Z

THE GREAT POWERS TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO REDUCE TENSION IN

THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA AND URGED ALL CONCERNED TO WORK TOWARDS THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

9. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN AT THE SITUATION IN AND AROUND AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS BOTH FOR THE REGION'S PEACE AND STABILITY AND FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THEY REITERATED THEIR URGENT CALL FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS AND FULL RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-ALIGNED STATUS OF AFGHANISTAN AND STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION AND NON-INTERFERENCE. THEY WERE DISTURBED THAT NONE OF THE INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO ASSIST THE AFFECTED PARTIES TO FIND A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION HAD PROVED SUCCESSFUL. THEY AFFIRMED THE RIGHT OF THE AFGHAN REFUGEES TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES IN SAFETY AND HONOUR. THEY URGED ALL CONCERNED TO WORK TOWARDS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD LEAVE THE AFGHAN PEOPLE FREE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE.

10. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN AT THE PERSISTENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION AND INTERFERENCE IN KAMPUCHEA WHICH HAS AGGRAVATED TENSION AND INSTABILITY IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. THEY REITERATED THEIR CONCERN THAT IF THE SITUATION REMAINS UNRESOLVED, IT WOULD ONLY INVITE GREATER INVOLVEMENT BY MAJOR POWERS IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE REGION. THEY REAFFIRMED THE NEED FOR ALL STATES TO STRICTLY ADHERE TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES, RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF STATES AND NON-RECOURSE TO THE USE OR THREAT OF FORCE IN SETTLING DSIPUTES. THEY STRESSED THAT IT WAS IMPERATIVE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SOLUTION TO BE FOUND TO THE KAMPUCHEAN QUESTION ON THE BASIS OF THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM KAMPUCHEA, AND THE RESTORATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND NEUTRALITY OF KAMPUCHEA SO
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AS TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE TO DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE FREE OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. IN THIS REGARD HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED DEVELOPMENTS ON KAMPUCHEA SINCE THEIR LAST DISCU
SSION INCLUDING THE FORMATION OF
THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM OF A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF ITS FORCES FROM KAMPUCHEA AND ITS CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. THEY HOPED THAT THE PROSPECT OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM WOULD BE ENHANCED.

11. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED WITH APPROVAL THE EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND NEUTRALITY (ZOPFAN) IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, AND THEY CALLED UPON ALL STATES TO FULLY SUPPORT THOSE EFFORTS. THEY EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE UNRESOLVED KAMPUCHEAN QUESTION CONTINUES TO POSE A SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO THE REALISATION OF ZOPFAN. THEY THEREFORE URGED THAT EFFORTS TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE KAMPUCHEAN QUESTION BE INTENSIFIED SO AS

TO ACHIEVE LASTING PEACE IN THE REGION.

12. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AGREED THAT THE SOUTH PACIFIC WAS AN AREA OF GREAT ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE AND ENDORSED THE CONCERN EXPRESSED FOR THE SECURITY OF THE AREA. THEY AGREED THAT ANY INTRUSION OF GREAT POWER RIVALRY IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC WOULD INTRODUCE A NEW AND UNDESIRABLE ELEMENT OF INSTABILITY.

13. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WERE CONCERNED AT THE PERSISTENCE OF THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES/ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM INDO-CHINA. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION TO THE COUNTRIES PROVIDING TRANSIT AND FINAL SETTLEMENT. THEY REITERATED THE VIEW THAT THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE TACKLED AT ITS SOURCE AND URGED THE COUNTRIES PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SITUATION TO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE PEOPLES OF INDO-CHINA COULD LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY. THEY HOPED THAT, PENDING A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICTS IN INDO-CHINA WHICH WERE THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE PROBLEM, THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WOULD CONTINUE TO CO-OPERATE BY PREVENTING FURTHER ILLEGAL DEPARTURES AND BY WORKING WITH UNHCR AND RESETTLEMENT COUNTRIES TO IMPLEMENT THE PROGRAMME OF ORDERLY DEPARTURE.
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PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 03 OF 09 200252Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15	NEA-07	NSC-01	NSAE-00
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AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
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USIA WASHDC 558

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 09 SUVA 3973

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

QRM HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS STRONGLY REAFFIRMED THE CONVICTION EXPRESSED IN THE MELBOURNE COMMUNIQUE THE PREVIOUS YEAR, THAT THE PEOPLES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THEY NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE ASSURANCES

WHICH THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE HAD GIVEN EARLIER IN THE YEAR TO THE SPECIAL SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM MISSION LED BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF FIJI. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGED THE EFFORTS OF THE KANAK
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 03 OF 09 200252Z

PEOPLE OF NEW CALEDONIA TOWARDS THE ATTAINMENT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THEY WELCOMED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME FOR REFORMS IN THE TERRITORY AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THESE REFORMS WOULD ASSIST THE KANAKS IN THEIR EFFORTS TOWARDS A SMOOTH AND SPEEDY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE.

15. HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS TOOK NOTE OF THE DESIRE OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLAND STATES TO ESTABLISH THEIR REGION AS A NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONE, RECALLING THE RESOLUTION ALREADY ADOPTED ON THE SUBJECT BY THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1975. THEY AGREED THAT THE CONTINUATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTING IN THE REGION WAS A MATTER FOR DEEP CONCERN. THEY FULLY SUPPORTED THE SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM'S STRONG CONDEMNATION OF FRANCE'S CONTINUED TEST PROGRAMME AS WELL AS ITS FAILURE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THE EFFECTS OF PAST TESTS ON THE HUMAN AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE PACIFIC. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED ANXIETY OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC BECOMING AN INTERNATIONAL DUMPING GROUND FOR NUCLEAR WASTE AND CALLED ON ALL STATES TO DESIST FROM THE STORAGE OR DUMPING OF NUCLEAR WASTES IN THE PACIFIC.

16. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WELCOMED THE ADOPTION IN APRIL 1982, OF THE NEW COMPREHENSIVE CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA, WHICH HAD BEEN THE FRUIT OF NINE YEARS OF PAINSTAKING NEGOTIATIONS AND WHICH WAS OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. AT THE SAME TIME THEY DEEPLY DEPLORED THE DECLARED DECISION BY THE UNITED STATES NOT TO BECOME A PARTY TO THE CONVENTION

OBSERVING THAT A NUMBER OF OTHER DEVELOPED STATES HAD ABSTAINED IN THE VOTE ON ITS ADOPTION, THEY RECOGNIZED THAT THE LACK OF ACTIVE SUPPORT FROM THESE STATES COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN INSTRUMENT THAT WAS DESIGNED TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME FOR THE EQUITABLE AND ORDERLY MANAGEMENT OF THE RESOURCES OF THE SEA TO THE BENEFIT OF DEVELOPED AND
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PAGE 03 SUVA 03973 03 OF 09 200252Z

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ALIKE. THEY THEREFORE STRONGLY URGED ALL STATES TO SIGN THE CONVENTION AT THE FORTHCOMING SIGNING CONFERENCE IN 1982 AND TO PROCEED TO THE RATIFICATION PROCESS WITHOUT UNNECESSARY DELAY.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES
WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

17. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN AT THE CONTINUING DETERIORATION OF THE WORLD ECONOMY AND IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION. INFLATION WAS CONTINUING AT HIGH LEVELS. LIVING STANDARDS WERE DECLINING IN MANY COUNTRIES AND UNEMPLOYMENT, ALREADY HIGH, WAS STILL INCREASING, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE YOUNG. THE DEEPENING ECONOMIC CRISIS HAD DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FABRIC OF SOCIETIES. ITS IMPACT WAS SEVEREST ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. INCREASING NUMBERS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WERE EXPERIENCING DECLINING PER CAPITA INCOMES. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICITS AND DEBT SERVICING BURDENS HAD BECOME DANGEROUSLY HIGH FOR MANY COUNTRIES, AND THIS HAD BEEN EXACERBATED BY HIGH INTEREST RATES AND REDUCED DEMAND IN EXPORT MARKETS. THE SITUATION IN LOW INCOME COUNTRIES WAS PARTICULARLY ACUTE. AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THEIR LIMITED ACCESS TO CAPITAL MARKETS, DETERIORATING EXTERNAL PAYMENTS WERE IMPOSING SEVERE CONTRACTION ON GROWTH RATES THAT WERE ALREADY BE-COMING POLITICALLY EXPLOSIVE IN MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. PROBLEMS OF RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT, THEY STRESSED, NOW REQUIRED IMMEDIATE ACTION IN THE FORM OF APPROPRIATE POLICIES AND MEASURES.

18. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WELCOMED THE RECENT REDUCTIONS IN INFLATION AND INTEREST RATES IN THE MAJOR INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES. THEY UNDERLINED, HOWEVER, THE URGENT NEED FOR POLICIES TO BRING ABOUT NON-INFLATIONARY ECONOMIC GROWTH. THEY REGARDED CONTINUED PROGRESS IN LOWERING INTEREST RATES AS CRUCIAL. THEY AGREED THAT VIGOROUS JOINT AND CO-ORDINATED REMEDIAL INTERNATIONAL ACTION COULD NOT BE FURTHER POSTPONED. BOLD DECISIONS WERE REQUIRED AND IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT THE OPPORTUNITIES PRESENTED BY FORTHCOMING MEETINGS - THE GATT CONTRACTING PARTIES AT MINISTERIAL
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PAGE 04 SUVA 03973 03 OF 09 200252Z

LEVEL IN NOVEMBER 1982, THE IMF INTERIM COMMITTEE IN APRIL 1983 AND UNCTAD VI IN JUNE 1983 - WERE NOT MISSED.

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PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 04 OF 09 200303Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
EB-08 DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NEA-07 NSC-01 NSAE-00
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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 09 SUVA 3973

UNCLASSIFIED

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

19. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED WITH CONCERN THE CONTINUING STALEMATE IN LAUNCHING GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE DIFFERENCES HAD NARROWED, THE IMPASSE HAD CONTINUED. THEY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE POLITICAL RESOLVE EVIDENT AT THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN MELBOURNE AND THE SUMMITS OF CANCUN AND VERSAILLES WOULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR TO CLEAR THE WAY FOR AN EARLY START TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY EMPHASISED THE NEED FOR A SPECIAL EFFORT AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO RESOLVE OUTSTANDING DIFFICULTIES. THEY REITERATED
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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 04 OF 09 200303Z

THE NEED FOR PARALLEL, CONCURRENT, AND IMMEDIATE ACTION IN CRITICAL AREAS SUCH AS TRADE, ENERGY, FOOD AND FINANCE.

20. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WELCOMED THE DECISION OF THE RECENT MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS TO REQUEST THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT TO UNDERTAKE AN OVERALL EXAMINATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PAYMENTS SYSTEM AND IN PARTICULAR THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ACTION ON IMMEDIATEMEASURES. IN VIEW OF THE VAST CHANGES THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS AND OF THE EVIDENT MALFUNCTIONING OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM, THEY AGREED THAT THE TIME WAS MOST OPPORTUNE FOR SUCH AN EXAMINATION. THEY LOOKED FORWARD TO ITS RESULTS WITH GREAT INTEREST. THEY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE STUDT WOULD HELP TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON A COMPREHENSIVE
EXAMINATION
OF THE WORLD'S TRADE AND PAYMENTS SYSTEM.

21. WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS, BUT MINDFUL OF THE EMERGENCY FACING THE WORLD ECONOMY, HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED WITH APPRECIATION THE NEW ZELAND PROPOSAL FOR A REVIEW OF THE BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM. ACKNOWLEDGING THE NEED FOR AN APPROPRIATE REVIEW AND FOR REFORM OF THE WORLD'S TRADING AND PAYMENTS ARRANGEMENTS ON LINES RESPONSIVE TO CONTEMPORARYNEEDS AND REALITIES, THEY AGREED THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS WOULD GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO IT IN THE LIGHT OF THE STUDY COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS HAD COMMISSIONED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT.

22. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THE REPORT ON PROTECTIONISM BY A GROUP OF EXPERTS HEADED BY SIR ALEC CAIRNCROSS. THEY AGREED THAT IT MADE A UNIQUELY IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONSIDERATION OF PROTECTIONISM AS IT AFFECTS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ACCORDINGL
Y
THEY DECIDED THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SHOULD MAKE AVAILABLE
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A COPY OF THE REPORT TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF GATT FOR CIRCULATION AT THE FORTHCOMING GATT MINISTERIAL MEETING. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR COMMONWEALTH MINISTERS ATTENDING THE GATT MEETING TO ENDEAVOR TO SEE THAT THE OUTCOME OF THAT MEETING REFLECTS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE REPORT BY THE GROUP OF EXPERTS.

23. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AGREED THAT TWO CENTRAL ISSUES ON THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AGENDA WERE CREEPING PROTECTIONISM AND GROWIN G
DISORDER IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM. WHILE NOT SEEKING TO POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES, THEY BELIEVED THESE TWO WERE CRUCIAL TO BOTH DEVELOPMENT AND RECOVERY AND REQUIRED IMMEDIATE ATTENTION AND ACTION.

FINANCIAL ISSUES
24. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED THAT THERE HAD BEEN FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES SINCE THE FRAMEWORK FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED AT BRETTON WOODS AND HAVANA. WITHIN THE LAST DECADE, HIGH AND DIFFERENTIAL RATES OF INFLATION AND DISTURBED EXCHANGE RATES, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HAD SLOWED AND BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICITS AND SURPLUSES HAD EMERGED OF A PERSISTENT RATHER THAN CYCLINCAL CHARACTER. WHILE RECOGNISING THAT SOUND DOMESTIC POLICIES TO FOSTER ADJUSTMENTS WERE AMONG THE ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITES TO WORLD ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT, THEY STRESSED THAT FEATURES OF THE PRESENT TRADE AND PAYMENTS SYSTEMS WERE NOT CONDUCIVE TO AN ORDERLY ADJUSTMENT PROCESS.

25. THEY WERE CONCERNED OVER THE MOUNTING DEBT PROBLEMS OF MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THEIR GROWING RELIANCE ON SUCH SHORTER-TERM COMMERCIAL BORROWING AS CANNOT BE SUSTAINED. AGREEING THAT THE IMF, THE IBRD AND ITS ASSOCIATED BODIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY A KEY ROLE, THEY CONSIDERED THAT A REVIEW OF THESE INSTITUTIONS WAS DESIRABLE TO ENABLE THEM TO ADAPT MORE ADEQUATELY TO PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS. THEY SAW THE NEED FOR GREATER
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RESOURCES TO FACILITATE LONGER-TERM FINANCE FOR ADJUSTMENT, AND A MORE REALISTIC APPLICATION OF CONDITIONALITY. THEY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF REACHING AGREEMENT AT THE APRIL MEETING OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE FOR A VERY SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN QUOTAS UNDER THE EIGHTH GENERAL QUOTA REVIEW.

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PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 05 OF 09 200313Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
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R 192226Z OCT 82
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USIA WASHDC 560

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 09 SUVA 3973

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

26. IN VIEW OF THE DESPERATE SITUATION FACING MOST LOW INCOME AND LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, HEADS OF GOVERNMENT VOICED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT AID FLOWS WERE AGAIN DECLINING IN REAL TERMS. THEY CALLED ON ALL DONORS TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORTS TO INCREASE ODA TO MEET INTERNATIONALLY AGREED TARGETS AND TO PROVIDE THE NCESSARY SUPPORT FOR FACILITATING ADJUSTMENTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

27. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RECOGNISED THE SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION THAT IDA HAD MADE IN TRANSFERRING CONCESSIONAL RESOURCES TO LOW-
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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 05 OF 09 200313Z

INCOME COUNTRIES. THEY WELCOMED THE RECENT EFFORTS BY MANY DONORS TO ENSURE THAT IDA FLOWS WERE NOT DISRUPTED BY THE DECISION OF THE UNITED STATES TO STRETCH OUT ITS IDA VI REPLENISHMENT. THEY CALLED FOR EARLY AGREEMENT ON A REPLENISHMENT LEVEL FOR IDA VII WHICH WOULD ENSURE AN INCREASE IN REAL TERMS IN KEEPING WITH PAST TRENDS AND THE URGENCY OF SATISFYING PRESENT NEEDS FOR CONCESSIONAL FINANCE.

28. NOTING THAT THE GROWTH RATE IN WORLD BANK LENDING REMAINED SIGNIFICANTLY BELOW THE TARGET OF 5 PER CENT IN REAL TERMS, HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CALLED FOR SPECIAL EFFORTS TO EXPAND THE BANK'S OPERATIONS. THEY NOTED ITS EFFORTS TO INCREASE CO-FINANCING, BUT STRESSED THAT THE BANK'S DEVELOPMENT ROLE MUST BE PRESERVED AND THAT THIS REQUIRED CONTUNUED EXPANSION OF ITS OWN RESOURCES AND LENDING.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE
29. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THAT PROTECTIONISM POSED A THREAT TO THE MULTILATERAL TRADING SYSTEM, IMPAIRED THE ABILITY OF DEFICIT COUNTRIES TO SERVICE AND REPAY LOANS THROUGH INCREASED EXPORT EARNINGS, AND HAMPERED THE DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. NOTING THAT THE AUSTRALIAN PROPOSALS INITIALLY FOR A STANDSTILL AND SUBSEQUENTLY FOR A PHASED-IN WINDBACK OF ALL FORMS OF PROTECTION HAVING A TRADE DISTORTING EFFECT COULD HELP SIGNIFICANTLY IN REVITALISING THE WORLD ECONOMY, THEY WERE OF THE VIEW THAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR WOULD ASSIST WORLD ECONOMIC RECOVERY TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

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30. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT TO AN OPEN INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM AND VIEWED WITH ALARM THE GROWING DISREGARD FOR BASIC PRINCIPLES AND RULES SUCH AS NON-DISCRIMINATION, TRANSPARENCY AND PREDICTABILITY. THEY FULLY SUPPORTED THE NEED TO REINFORCE THESE RULES.
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PAGE 03 SUVA 03973 05 OF 09 200313Z

31. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AGREED THAT THE GATT MINISTERIAL MEETING MUST BRING ABOUT A COMPLETE STANDSTILL ON PROTECTION AND MUST ESTABLISH ARRANGEMENTS TO FACILITATE THE REDUCTION OF PRO-TECTIONIST BARRIERS. THEY EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF AN EFFECTIVE NON-DISCRIMINATORY SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM UNDER WHICH NEW PROTECTIONIST MEASURES WOULD BE DISCOURAGED AND ORDERLY MARKETING ARRANGEMENTS SUCH AS THE MULTI-FIBRE ARRANGEMENT AND VOLUNTARY EXPORT RESTRAINTS WOULD EVENTUALLY BE PHASED OUT. RECOGNISING THAT LITTLE PROGRESS HAD SO FAR BEEN MADE IN DISMANTLING AGRICULTURAL PROTECTIONISM, THEY URGED THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN APPROACH TO OVERCOME THE OBSTACLES POSED BY THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGRICULTRUAL PROTECTIONISM AND DOMESTIC AGRICULTURAL POLICIES.
THEY AGREED IN THIS CONTEXT THVT AN EARLY START SHOULD BE MADE IN REDUCING EXPORT SUBSIDIES ADOPTED BY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT THEIR AGRICULTURE. THEY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING THE DISPUTES SETTLEMENT PROCEDURES UNDER THE GATT AND OF ALL COUNTRIES ADHERING TO THE DECISIONS AND DISCIPLINES INVOLVED.

COMMODITY PROBLEMS
32. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN AT THE SHARP DECLINE IN COMMODITY PRICES IN RECENT YEARS AND THE DISASTROUS EFFECT THIS WAS HAVING ON THE TERMS OF TRADE OF MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. CURRENT TRENDS DEMONSTRATED THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF COMMODITY PRICE AND EXPORT EARNINGS STABILISATION ARRANGEMENTS AND THE NEED TO REDOUBLE EFFORTS TO SECURE THEIR ESTABLISHMENT. THEY AGREED THAT EARLY RELIEF COULD BE GIVEN BY MORE ADEQUATE PROVISION FOR MEETING EXPORT SHORTFALLS THROUGH THE LIBERAL-ISATION OF ACCESS TO THE IMF COMPENSATORY FINANCING FACILITY. THE SITUATION ALSO CALLED FOR INNOVATIVE APPROACHES INCLUDING INCREASED EMPHASIS ON CO-OPERATION AMONG PRODUCING COUNTRIES TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AGINST THE VAGARIES OF INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY MARKETS.

ENERGY
33. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WERE OF THE VIEW THAT THE PRESENT SOFTNESS OF
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PAGE 04 SUVA 03973 05 OF 09 200313Z

THE OILMARKET SHOULD NOT LULLTHE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY INTO

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INACTION ON THE ENERGY FRONT. THEY STRESSED THAT IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO DEVISING SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS TO MEET THE ENERGY NEEDS OF LOW INCOME AND LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

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PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 06 OF 09 200323Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
	EB-08	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15	NEA-07	NSC-01	NSAE-00
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INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
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CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
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UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 09 SUVA 3973

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

FACING DIFFICULT BALANCE OF PAYMENT PROBLEMS AND TO FACILITATING INCREASED AVAILABILITY OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCING FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR INDOGENOUS ENERGY RESOURCES INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENERGY AFFILIATE OF THE WORLD BANK. THEY WELCOMED THE CONCESSIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PURCHASE OF OIL INTORDUCED BY SEVERAL OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES SUCH AS MEXICO, VENEZUELA, AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN AND C
ARIBBEAN COUNTRIES
AND NIGERIA FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND URGED WIDER APPLICATION OF SIMILAR MEASURES ENCOMPASSING OTHER GEOGRAPHICAL ZONES.
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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 06 OF 09 200323Z

FOOD PROBLEMS
34. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OVER THE CRITICAL AND WORSENING FOOD SITUATION FACED BY MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED FOR A DEPENDABLE SYSTEM OF WORLD FOOD SECURITY. THEY CALLED FOR EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL GRAINS ARRANGEMENT WHICH SHOULD RECOGNISE THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THEY URGED THAT EFFECTIVE STEPS BE TAKEN TO MEET THE FOOD AID TARGET AGREED IN THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPENT STRATEGY FOR THE THIRD UNITED NATIONSL DEVELOPMENT DECADE. THEY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF PROVIDING ADEQUATE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES TO ENHANCE FOOD PRODUCTIONS.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC AND FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

35. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RECOGNISED THAT PROGRAMMES OF PRACTICAL

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CO-OPERATION DESIGNED TO ASSIST THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT WERE AND IMPORTANT PRODUCT OF THEIR DELIBERATIOND AND THEY NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THIS REGARD BY THE CONSULTATIVE/WORKING GROUPS SET UP AT EARLIER MEETINGS. THEY AGREED THAT THE WORK OF THE GROUPS WHOULD BE CONTINUED WITH GREATER EMPHASIS ON A PRACTICAL, ACTION - ORIENTED APPROACH. THEY FURTHER AGREED THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAMMES OF FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION WAS TO ASSIST THE SMALL ISLAND COUNTRIES OF THE REGION TO OVERCOME THEIR SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT.

36. WHILE CALLING FOR AN EXPANSION OF CFTC SUPPORT FOR ALL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, THEY WELCOMED THE ENHANCED PROGRAMMES OF ASSISTANCE TO THE SMALL ISLAND COUNTRIES UNDERTAKEN BY THE CFTC *THROUGH REGIONAL AND FUNCTIONAL PROGRAMMES AND IN COLLABORATION* WITH CHOGRM GROUPS. THEY EXPRESSED PARTICULAR APPRECIATION FOR THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 SUVA 03973 06 OF 09 200323Z

ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE CFTC IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PACIFIC REGIONAL ADVISORY SERVICE WHICH HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE SOUTH PACIFIC BUREAU FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION, AND FOR THE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PLEDGED BY THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE SECRETARIAT TO FACILITATE CHOGRM STATES TO HAVE PERMANENT REPRESENTATION AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

TRADE

37. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING TO PURSUE EFFORTS TO FACILITATE THE LIBERALISATION OF TRADE WITHIN THE REGION AND TO BRING COLLECTIVE PRESSURE TO BEAR ON BARRIERS IN THE MAJOR INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES TO EXPORTS FROM CHOGRM COUNTRIES. THEY RECOGNISED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GSP AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR PROMOTING FURTHER TRADE LIBERALISATION WITHIN THE REGION AND URGED THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN THE REGION TO ACCORD CAREFUL AND SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION TO PROPOSALS AIMED AT ACHIEVING AN EXPANSION OF PRODUCT COVERAGE AND A DEEPENING OF PREFERENCES FOR THE EXPORTS OF DEVELOPING MEMBER COUNTRIES. THEY NOTED THE VIEW OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THAT THE MORE ADVANCED COUNTRIES WITHIN THE REGION COULD PLAY A DYNAMIC ROLE IN INCREASING REGIONAL TRADE BY REDUCING THEIR IMPORT BARRIERS. IN THIS CONTEXT THEY WELCOMED THE INITIATIVE OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND IN ESTABLISHING THE SPARTECA AGREEMENT WHICH PROVIDES FOR DUTY FREE, UNRESTRICTED ACCESS FOR THE FORUM ISLAND COUNTRIES. THEY *DIRECTED THE CHOGRM TRADE GROUP TO CONSIDER THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF* THE VARIOUS STUDIES IT HAD COMMISSIONED WITH A VIEW TO THEIR PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION.

38. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RECOGNISED THAT CONSIDERABLE SCOPE EXISTED FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO INCREASE THEIR EXPORTS TO DESTINATIONS BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE REGION. THEY NOTED HOWEVER, THAT INFRASTRUCTURAL FACILITIES FOR TRADE NEEDED TO BE DEVELOPED OR STRENGTHENED;

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OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRADE HAD TO BE IDENTIFIED AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WAS REQUIRED IF THEY WERE TO BE EXPOLITED. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED THE FACILITIES AVAILABLE WITHIN THE EXPORT
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PAGE 04 SUVA 03973 06 OF 09 200323Z

MARKET DEVELOPMENT DIVISION OF THE SECRETARIAT TO TAKE UP AN EXTENSIVE RANGE OF PROJECTS TO DEVELOP AND

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PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 07 OF 09 200331Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
EB-08 DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NEA-07 NSC-01 NSAE-00
HA-08 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-09 PA-02 ACDA-12 USIE-00
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R 192226Z OCT 82
FM AMEMBASSY SUVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7093
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
USIA WASHDC 562

UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 09 SUVA 3973

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EXPAND THE TRADE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND THE CONSIDERABLE WORK THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN DONE IN THE REGION BY THE DIVISION. THEY ENDORSED THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE TRADE GROUP THAT THE SECRETARIAT SHOULD INCREASE THE LEVEL OF ITS ACTIVITY IN EXPORT DEVELOPMENT IN THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION AND AGREED THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDS SHOULD BE PROVIDED TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE.

39. IN ENDORSING ITS REPORT HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REQUESTED THE TRADE GROUP TO CONTINUE ITS WORK WITHIN ITS PRESENT MANDATE AND
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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 07 OF 09 200331Z

TO TAKE DUE REGARD OF, INTER ALIA, THE DECISION OF THE GATT MINISTERIAL MEETING IN DETERMINING ITS PRIORITIES FOR FUTURE WORK.

ENERGY
40. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ENDORSED THE REPORT OF THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON ENERGY. THEY NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE GROUP WAS NOW ENTERING A NEW PHASE OF ACTIVITIES IN WHICH A CONCRETE PROGRAMME OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS WILL BE UNDERTAKEN. THEY

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WELCOMED THE RECENT INITIATIVES TAKEN IN IDENTIFYING PROJECTS AND SITES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RENEWABLE ENERGY SYSTEMS AND ENERGY CONSERVATION TECHONOLOGIES FOR PURPOSES OF DEMONSTRATION, EVALUATION AND TRAINING.THEY ALSO WELCOMED THE WILLINGNESS OF AUSTRALIA AND INDIA TO SUPPORT THE INSTALLAT ON OF SOME OF THESE SYSTEMS AS PART OF THE PROGRAMME. THEY ALSO NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE GROUP'S ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC WILL IN FUTURE COMPLEMENT AND SUPPLEMENT THE PACIFIC ENERGY PROGRAMME CO-ORDINATED BY SPEC. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THE SERVICES OF CRRERIS BE EXTENDED TO SPEC.

41. NOTING THAT THERE EXISTS SCOPE FOR CO-OPERATION IN RESPECT OF FEASIBILITY STUDIES, CONSULTANCY SERVICES, PROJECT EXECUTION, ETC., HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AGREED THAT THE SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES OF THE GROUP SHOULD BE EXPANDED TO HELP PROMOTE SUCH CO-OPERATION IN COMMERCIAL SCALE ENERGY PROJECTS IN COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.

INDUSTRY
42. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THE REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP ON INDUSTRY AND NOTED WITH APPRECIATION THE THRUST OF ITS WORK IN ASSISTING MEMBER COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY SMALL ISLAND STATES, TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF TANGIBLE RESULTS IN INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS. THEY COMMENDED THE WORK OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT (IDU) OF THE CFTC IN PROVIDING THE NECESSARY TECHNICAL AND
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FIELD SERVICES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROJECTS ON THE GROUND. THEY NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE VIABILITY OF MORE THAN SEVENTY INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS, MAINLY IN THE SMALL SCALE AND AGRO-BASED SECTORS, HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE REGION AND THAT THEIR PROGRESS TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN FACILITATED BY INPUTS OF TECHNOLOGY, ENGINEERING, INFORMATION EXCHANGES, TECHNICAL COLLABORATION, ENTREPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT AND INVESTMENT FLOWS.

43. THEY NOTED THE ARRANGEMENTS EFFECTED BY THE GROUP FOR CO-ORDINATION WITH SPEC AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR THE FINANCIAL AND OTHER PRACTICAL ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRIES. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ALSO APPROVED THE FUTURE PROGRAMME OF WORK AS PROPOSED IN THE GROUP'S REPORT WHICH COULD LEAD TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS.

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PAGE 01 SUVA 03973 08 OF 09 200339Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
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UNCLAS SECTION 08 OF 09 SUVA 3973

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AGRICULTURE
44. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THE REPORT OF THE EXPERT STUDY GROUP ON AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT SET UP BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN RESPONSE TO THEIR REQUEST MADE IN NEW DELHI IN 1980. THEY ENDORSED THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THE REPORT ON THE PRIORITY NEEDS OF MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO THE UPGRADING OF PROFESSIONAL SKILLS; THE EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH MATERIALS BETWEEN MEMBER COUNTRIES; GREATER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION
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THROUGH MORE EFFICIENT UTILISATION OF EXISTING INFORMATION SERVICES; AND THE STRENGTHENING OF PROGRAMMES OF SPECIALIST TRAINING USING EXISTING INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE REGION. THEY AGREED THAT IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A CENTRAL FOCUS FOR THE VARIOUS ACTIVITIES PROPOSED A CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON AGRICULTURE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AND ACCEPTED THE OFFER OF SRI LANKA TO ACT AN CONVENER OF THE GR OUP.

ILLICIT DRUGS
45. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT COMPLIMENTED THE WORKING GROUP ON ILLICIT DRUGS WHOSE WORK HAD CONTRIBUTED TO THE AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DRUG TRAFFICKING AND THE NEED FOR CO-OPERATION AMONG COMMONWEALTH AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. ITS DELIBERATIONS HAD DEMONSTRATED THAT THE PROBLEM OF ILLICIT DURGS CONSTITUTED A THREAT TO THE SECURITY, STABILITY AND SOCIAL ORDER OF A NATION. THEY ENDORSED THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE WORKING GROUP THAT SINCE THE GROUP HAD FULFILLED ITS MANDATE IT SHOULD ONLY MEET IN THE FUTURE AT THE REQUEST OF MEMBER COUNTRIES AS AND WHEN THE NEED AROSE.

MARITIME ISSUES
46. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RECOGNISED THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF MARITIME ISSUES TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE REGION. THEY NOTED, IN PARTICULAR, THE COMPLEXITY, DIVERSITY AND INTERRELATED NATURE OF THESE MATTERS WHICH WERE OF BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE TO GOVERNMENTS. THEY WELCOMED THE SUGGESTION OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL THAT POTENTIAL EXISTS FOR CO-OPERATION AMONG MEMBER GOVERNMENTS IN THIS AREA AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA FOR THE COM-MISSIONING OF A REPORT ON SUCH CO-OPERATION. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT THEREFORE ASKED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AFTER FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS AS APPROPRIATE, TO CONVENE A SMALL GROUP OF EXPERTS FROM MULTIDISCIPLINARY BACKGROUNDS TO PREPARE A REPORT TO BE AVAILABLE AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. THIS REPORT SHOULD ASSESS WHAT
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ACTIVITY IS ALREADY BEING CARRIED OUT ON A REGIONAL, MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL BASIS AND SHOULD IDENTIFY POSSIBLE NEW AREAS WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN UP AND WHETHER SCOPE EXISTS FOR COMPLEMENTING EXISTING PROGRAMMES.

HUMAN RESOURCES

47. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RECOGNISED THAT SHORTAGES OF TRAINED MAN-POWER CONSTITUTED A MAJOR CONSTRAINT ON DEVELOPMENT, PARTICULARLY IN THE SMALL ISLAND COUNTRIES. GAPS IN THE AVAILABILITY OF HUMAN RESOURCES EXISTED IN A WIDE RANGE OF TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL FIELDS THROUGHOUT THE REGION AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT CONSIDERABLE SCOPE EXISTED FOR ADDITIONAL TRAINING FACILITIES AND PROGRAMMES. THEY AGREED THAT EACH OF THE CONSULTATIVE/WORKING GROUPS SHOULD GIVE GREATER EMPHASIS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLS THROUGH TRAINING PROGRAMMES AND SPECIALIST ATTACHMENTS, MAKING MAXIMUM USE OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS WHEREVER RELEVANT.

EMPLOYMENT/LABOUR

48. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WELCOMED THE OUTCOME OF THE FIRST MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH MINISTERS OF EMPLOYMENT/LABOUR, HELD IN GENEVA ON 1 JUNE 1982, WHICH HAD BEEN ARRANGED IN RESPONSE TO THE REQUEST BY COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AT THEIR MEETING IN MELBOURNE IN OCTOBER 1981. THEY EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT GREATER COMMONWEALTH CO-OPERATION ON IMPORTANT EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR ISSUES, INCLUDING EDUCATION AND TRAINING AND MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT, WAS DESIRABLE AND LOOKED FORWARD TO RECEIVING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FROM THE 1983 MEETING OF EMPLOYMENT/LABOUR MINISTERS.

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
USIA WASHDC 564

UNCLAS SECTION 09 OF 09 SUVA 3973

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

FUNDING
49. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, RECOGNISING THAT THE WORK OF THE CONSULTATIVE/ WORKINGGROUPS HAD ENTERED A MORE ACTION-ORIENTED PHASE, TOOK THE VIEW THAT REGIONAL FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION REQUIRED A FIRMER BASIS FOR MOBILISING REGIONAL FINANCIAL RESOURCES. THEY AGREED THAT ADDITIONAL EARMARKED CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MEMBER COUNTRIES, ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, SHOULD, THROUGH A SPECIAL ACCOUNT WITHIN THE CFTC, BE USED TO FINANCE ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN AT THE REQUEST OF THE GROUPS ON TRADE, ENERGY, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE AND TO MEET
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PAGE 02 SUVA 03973 09 OF 09 200343Z

THE COSTS OF THE NEW STUDY GROUP ON MARITIME ISSUES. THE CFTC, IN PURSUANCE OF ITS NORMAL ACITIVITES IN THE REGION WOULD CONTINUE TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE FROM INDIVIDUAL MEMBER GOVERN- *MENTS AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THEY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT* THESE FINANCIAL RESOURCES WOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED FROM OTHER INTERNATIONAL SOURCES INCLUDING THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM.

APPRECIATION AND NEXT MEETING
50. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WELCOMED WITH GREAT PLEASURE THE OPPORTUNITY OF THEIR MEETING IN SUVA AND EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION OF THE EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THE MEETING AND THE WARM AND FRIENDLY HOSPITALITY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF

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FIJI. THEY ACCEPTED WITH PLEASURE THE INVITATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA TO HOLD THEIR NEXT MEETING THERE IN ABOUT TWO YEARS. UNQTE SURBER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

10/26/82

file: Letelier-Moffitt

KF084

R

CONFIDENTIAL

Date

ROUTING AND TRANSMITTAL SLIP 10/26/82

TO: (Name, office symbol, room number, building, Agency/Post)	Initials	Date
1. P - Mr. Gompert		
Chile Project (#S199900030)		
2. U.S. Department of State		
Release X Excise Deny		
3. Declassify: In Part In Full X		
4. Exemption(s)		
5.		

	Action		File		Note and Return
	Approval		For Clearance		Per Conversation
XX	As Requested		For Correction		Prepare Reply
	Circulate		For Your Information		See Me
	Comment		Investigate		Signature
	Coordination		Justify		

REMARKS Re: Letelier-Moffitt Case

Attached is a statement painstakingly negotiated between State and Justice, drafted for possible use in a certification report to describe the extent of Chilean cooperation in bringing to justice those indicted in the Letelier-Moffitt murders. With the exception of some important wording changes on pp. 9-10, Justice is apparently prepared to accept this statement.

As Scott suggested, in lieu of another paper on this subject, we recommend a short briefing for Amb. Eagleburger by ARA/SC, HA and L.

Attachment: A/S

DO NOT use this form as a RECORD of approvals, concurrences, disposals, clearances, and similar actions

FROM: (Name, org. symbol, Agency/Post)	Room No.—Bldg.
Joshua B. Bolten, L/ARA	5527A
	Phone No. 22160

5041-102 CONFIDENTIAL OPTIONAL FORM 41 (Rev. 7-76)

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United States Department of State

UNCLASSIFIED Washington, D.C. 20520

KP#69

October 26, 1982

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

R

Dear Mr. Findley:

Thank you for your letter of September 17, 1982, to Assistant Secretary Enders, regarding the allegations made against Chilean Military Attache, Brigadier General Christian Ackerknecht.

The Department is aware that allegations concerning General Ackerknecht's participation in human rights violations were made in 1977. In that year, several exiled Chileans charged that Ackerknecht, a colonel and military attache to the Federal Republic of Germany, was responsible for the torture and death of political prisoners while serving as military governor of Rancagua, Chile from 1973-75. The bulk of the "evidence" provided came from Carlos Lira Moscoso, a former warden of the Rancagua prison, who had been imprisoned and later exiled from Chile in 1975. Following the appearance of these accusations in the German press in April 1977, an effort was begun in the German Parliament to have the then Colonel Ackerknecht declared persona non grata. The charges were not substantiated and the German Foreign Ministry took no official action. Following adverse public allegations General Ackerknecht's tour of duty in Bonn was curtailed and he returned to Chile.

In view of the previous incident in Germany, the Department of State sought clarification regarding this matter at the time of General Ackerknecht's appointment to his present position. Although the Government of Chile is not required to request prior acceptance of their service attaches and the Department of State is simply notified of their appointment in the same manner as any other diplomatic officers' appointment, we were given categoric assurances by the Government of Chile that the allegations were unfounded. Likewise there have been no allegations or substantiation of the 1977 charges by responsible human rights organizations in Chile.

The Honorable
Paul Findley,
House of Representatives

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In conclusion, we have reviewed the information currently available to us here in Washington and from our embassies in Bonn and Santiago. While the Department will continue to make appropriate inquiries or to consider any additional information relating to the allegations, our review thus far has not substantiated the charges against General Ackerknecht.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

Enclosure - correspondence returned

Drafted: ARA/SC:Walser:jgm
12/20/82 x20655
ARA #82-4641 FAIM #82-1382095

Clearance: ARA/SC:RHoward
HA:RSnyder
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBartlett

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United States Department of State

UNCLASSIFIED Washington, D.C. 20520

KP04 71

October 26, 1982

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

R

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter of September 28, 1982 to Assistant Secretary Thomas O. Enders regarding the allegations made against Chilean Military Attache, Brigadier General Christian Ackerknecht.

The Department is aware that allegations concerning General Ackerknecht's participation in human rights violations were made in 1977. In that year, several exiled Chileans charged that Ackerknecht, a colonel and military attache to the Federal Republic of Germany, was responsible for the torture and death of political prisoners while serving as military governor of Rancagua, Chile from 1973-75. The bulk of the "evidence" provided came from Carlos Lira Moscoso, a former warden of the Rancagua prison, who had been imprisoned and later exiled from Chile in 1975. Following the appearance of these accusations in the German press in April 1977, an effort was begun in the German Parliament to have the then Colonel Ackerknecht declared persona non grata. The charges were not substantiated and the German Foreign Ministry took no official action. Following adverse public allegations General Ackerknecht's tour of duty in Bonn was curtailed and he returned to Chile.

In view of the previous incident in Germany, the Department of State sought clarification regarding this matter at the time of General Ackerknecht's appointment to his present position. Although the Government of Chile is not required to request prior acceptance of their service attaches and the Department of State is simply notified of their appointment in the same manner as any other diplomatic officers' appointment, we were given categoric assurances by the Government of Chile that the allegations were unfounded. Likewise there have been no allegations or substantiation of the 1977 charges by responsible human rights organizations in Chile.

The Honorable
Michael D. Barnes,
Chairman,
Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs,
House of Representatives.

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In conclusion, we have reviewed the information currently available to us here in Washington and from our embassies in Bonn and Santiago. While the Department will continue to make appropriate inquiries or to consider any additional information relating to the allegations, our review thus far has not substantiated the charges against General Ackerknecht.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

Drafted: ARA/SC:RWeaver:jgm
10/22/82 x20655
ARA #82-4772

Clearances: ARA/SC:RBHoward
HA:BSnyder
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBartlett

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10/26/82

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Case Number: s199900006

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06467 01 OF 02 261910Z
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L SECTION 01 OF 02 SANTIAGO 6467

E.O. 12356: DECL: 10/26/88
TAGS: SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: PINOCHET ANNOUNCES FORMATION OF HIGH-LEVEL COMMISSION TO REVIEW ALL EXILE CASES

1. (U) SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 25, PRESIDENT PINOCHET ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A HIGH-LEVEL COMMISSION TO REVIEW THE CASES OF EXILES FROM CHILE. HE STATED THAT THE MEASURE WAS BEING TAKEN TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION AMONG ALL CHILEANS. PINOCHET INDICATED THAT THE REVIEW, TO BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF THE YEAR, WOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD ALLOWING THE RETURN OF ALL CHILEANS IN EXILE WHO ACCEPT THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND WHO RENOUNCE THOSE ACTIVITIES THAT LED TO THEIR EXILE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06467 01 OF 02 261910Z

WAS UNIVERSALLY PRAISED BY BOTH PRO-GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION SECTORS. IF THIS MEASURE IS IMPLEMENTED AS THE PRESIDENT AND INTERIOR MINISTER IMPLIED SO AS TO PERMIT RETURN OF LARGE NUMBERS OF EXILES, INCLUDING SOME POLITICALLY PROMINENT, IT WILL BE A MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS ADVANCE, PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SINCE 1977. END SUMMARY.

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2. (U) PRESIDENT AUGUSTO PINOCHET, ADDRESSING A NATIONAL MEETING OF MUNICIPAL ADVISERS ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS ORDERING THE CREATION OF A HIGH-LEVEL COMMISSION TO STUDY THE CASES OF THOSE CHILEANS WHO ARE PROHIBITED FROM RETURNING TO CHILE. THE COMMISSION WILL "REVIEW THE SITUATION OF ALL OF THOSE WHO, RECOGNIZING THE LEGITIMACY OF THE (CURRENT) GOVERNMENT AND THE 1980 CONSTITUTION, AND HAVING RENOUNCED THOSE ACTIONS THAT LED TO THEIR BEING IMPEDED FROM ENTERING THE COUNTRY, ACCEPT THE OBLIGATION OF WORKING FOR THE CREATION OF THE FREE AND SOLID SOCIETY THAT OUR NEW INSTITUTIONS CONFER." THE PRESIDENT ADDED THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD COMPLETE ITS WORK AND HAVE ITS RECOMMENDATIONS READY FOR HIM BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. QUESTIONED BY THE PRESS, PINOCHET SAID THAT HE HAD NOT YET DECIDED UPON THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION.

3. (U) PINOCHET DISCUSSED THE ISSUE OF EXILE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GOC'S PRIMARY OBLIGATION TO ENSURE A CLIMATE OF TRANQUILITY AND ORDER FOR THE CITIZENRY. "HOWEVER," PINOCHET CONTINUED "THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT UNAWARE THAT THE COUNTRY'S OWN GREATNESS REQUIRES ALL OF HER SONS WHO, SINCERELY AND IN GOOD FAITH, SHARE HER GREAT VALUES AND WISH TO WORK FOR HER." THE PRESIDENT, ASKED IF THE MEASURE REPRESENTED A WEAKENING OR SOFTENING OF THE GOVERNMENT, REPLIED "THIS IS (A MOVE) IN SEARCH

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06467 01 OF 02 261910Z

OF NATIONAL UNITY."

4. (U) AMPLIFYING PINOCHET'S QUALIFICATION THAT THE NEW MEASURE MUST BE BALANCED BY "THE GUARANTY OWED TO THE SOCIAL ORDER TO MAINTAIN IT FREE OF FRACTIOUS, SUBVERSIVE OR TERRORIST ELEMENTS," INTERIOR MINISTER MONTERO CAREFULLY STATED THAT, "(THE MEASURE) DOES NOT MEAN THE EXPRESS OR TACIT RENUNCIATION OF THE LEGAL OR CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS INVESTED TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND PUBLIC TRANQUILITY...." MONTERO WENT ON TO STATE, "I BELIEVE THAT EVERYONE WHO IS DISPOSED TO LIVE IN THIS COUNTRY, AS WE HAVE LIVED THESE NINE YEARS, WILL BE ALLOWED TO RETURN."

5. (U) PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S ANNOUNCEMENT WAS GREETED WITH UNIVERSAL, THOUGH AT TIMES QUALIFIED, ACCLAMATION

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06467 02 OF 02 261924Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08
L-03 PM-09 PA-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06
SPRS-01 /095 W
----------174560 262142Z /62

O R 261831Z OCT 82
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4203
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF//

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L SECTION 02 OF 02 SANTIAGO 6467

BY BOTH PRO-GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION SECTORS (INCLUDING A GOOD NUMBER OF WELL-KNOWN EXILES IN TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS). THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAILED IT AS A POSITIVE STEP FOR CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, AS DID THE CHILEAN AMBASSADOR IN BUENOS AIRES. CHILEAN POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL FIGURES PRAISED THE MOVE AS A HARBINGER OF RECONCILIATION AMONG CHILEANS. MAXIMO PACHECO, PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, PERHAPS GAVE THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE COMMENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT: "(THE MEASURE) IS HIGHLY POSITIVE AND GIVES US GREAT HOPE OF CONSTITUTING THE BEGINNING OF A DIALOGUE THAT MAY PRODUCE A RECONCILIATION AMONG ALL CHILEANS.... WE HOPE THAT THE COMMISSION THAT WILL STUDY THE PROBLEMS OF EXILES WILL BE MADE UP OF
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06467 02 OF 02 261924Z

PEOPLE OF THE HIGHEST LEVEL, AMONG THE MAGISTRATES OF OUR HIGH COURTS OF JUSTICE. (WE HOPE) THAT IT WILL BE PLURALIST AND THAT ITS REPORT WILL BE MADE PUBLIC AND INCLUDE A LIST OF THOSE CHILEANS FORBIDDEN FROM ENTERING THE COUNTRY."

6. (C) COMMENT: THE EMBASSY WAS AWARE OF AN INTERIOR MINISTRY STUDY ON THE EXILE QUESTION TO BE COMPLETED IN THE EARLY PART OF NOVEMBER AND THE AMBASSADOR WAS INFORMED LAS FRIDAY BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD ANNOUNCE AN IMPORTANT MEASURE ON THE EXILES ON MONDAY. THIS MAY INDICATE A GOC CAPACITY FOR RAPID ACTION ON THE ISSUE BY THE YET-TO-BE-FORMED COMMISSION. WHILE INTERIOR MINISTER MONTERO'S COMMENTS ON THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF ALL GOC LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS (INCLUDING ARTICLE 24 THAT ALLOWS EXILE BY ADMINISTRATIVE FIAT) TO DEAL WITH SECURITY THREATS SHOULD NOT BE DISCOUNTED, THE PINOCHET STATEMENT CLEARLY IS A MOST POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE LONG PLACED THE EXILE ISSUE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THEIR CONCERNS AND ARE GREATLY PLEASED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE PROSPECT OF SOME MOVEMENT. SHOULD THIS MEASURE RESULT IN A RETURN OF A LARGE NUMBER OF EXILES, INCLUDING SOME OF THE MORE PROMINENT, IT WILL PROBABLY REPRESENT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE IN HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE IN THE POST-1977 PERIOD. THEBERGE

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P820152-0500 EXCISE

Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900050)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise X Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

October 26, 1982

KP00070

Dear Senator Metzenbaum:

Thank you for your letter of September 30, 1982 on behalf of your constituent, [redacted], regarding the allegations made against Chilean Military Attache, Brigadier General Christian Ackerknecht. B6

The Department is aware that allegations concerning General Ackerknecht's participation in human rights violations were made in 1977. In that year, several exiled Chileans charged that Ackerknecht, a colonel and military attache to the Federal Republic of Germany, was responsible for the torture and death of political prisoners while serving as military governor of Rancagua, Chile from 1973-75. The bulk of the "evidence" provided came from Carlos Lira Moscoso, a former warden of the Rancagua prison, who had been imprisoned and later exiled from Chile in 1975. Following the appearance of these accusations in the German press in April 1977, an effort was begun in the German Parliament to have the then Colonel Ackerknecht declared persona non grata. The charges were not substantiated and the German Foreign Ministry took no official action. Following adverse public allegations General Ackerknecht's tour of duty in Bonn was curtailed and he returned to Chile.

In view of the previous incident in Germany, the Department of State sought clarification regarding this matter at the time of General Ackerknecht's appointment to his present position. Although the Government of Chile is not required to request prior acceptance of their service attaches and the Department of State is simply notified of their appointment in the same manner as any other diplomatic officers' appointment, we were given categoric assurances by the Government of Chile that the allegations were unfounded. Likewise there have been no allegations or substantiation of the 1977 charges by responsible human rights organizations in Chile.

The Honorable
Howard M. Metzenbaum
United States Senate

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In conclusion, we have reviewed the information currently available to us here in Washington and from our embassies in Bonn and Santiago. While the Department will continue to make appropriate inquiries or to consider any additional information relating to the allegations, our review thus far has not substantiated the charges against General Ackerknecht.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

Enclosure - correspondence returned

Drafted: ARA/SC:RWaiser;jgm
10/22/82 x20355
ARA #82-4957 FAIM #1451595

Clearances:
ARA/SC:RBEdgard
HA:BSnyder
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBartlett

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SECRET
LIMDIS
Case Number: s199900006

10/27/82

ID 183

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

PAGE 01 SANTIA 06512 272003Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-10 CIAE-00 H-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4220

~~S E C R E T~~ SANTIAGO 6512

LIMDIS

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E.O. 12365: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS' MESSAGE TO SECRETARY SHULTZ CONCERNING COMMISSION TO REVIEW EXILES RETURN

REF: SANTIAGO 6467

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER RENE ROJAS ASKED ME THIS MORNING (OCTOBER 27) TO CONVEY TO SECRETARY SHULTZ THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE CONCERNING THE RECENT FORMATION OF A HIGH-LEVEL COMMISSION TO STUDY THE RETURN OF CHILEANS NOW PROHIBITED FROM ENTERING CHILE:

- HE CONSIDERS PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S ANNOUNCEMENT ESTABLISHING THE COMMISSION ON EXILES TO BE AN EXTRAORDINARILY IMPORTANT AND POSITIVE STEP TOWARDS NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, TRANQUILITY, AND POLITICAL NORMALIZATION. ONLY THE EXTREMISTS ABROAD WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO RETURN, WHICH OPENS UP THE POSSIBILITY OF THE RETURN OF THE MANY IMPORTANT CHILEANS WHO DO NOT FALL INTO THAT CATEGORY.

-- THE FOREIGN MINISTER ADDED THAT IT DEMONSTRATES

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06512 272003Z

THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT VIEWS ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS THE CHILEAN PEOPLE, AND THE STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE THAT THIS ACTION REPRESENTS. HE PARTICULARLY WISHED TO BRING TO THE SECRETARY'S ATTENTION THE ASSURANCE HE GAVE, DURING THEIR BILATERAL MEETING IN

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Case Number: s199900006

NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 29, THAT THERE WOULD BE MOVEMENT ON THE EXILES.

-- ROJAS EMPHASIZED THAT HE WAS VERY PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO KEEP HIS WORD AND THAT THERE NOW WAS POSITIVE MOVEMENT, WHICH HE WAS HAPPY HAD BEEN WELL-RECEIVED AT HOME AND ABROAD. HE HOPED THAT SECRETARY SHULTZ WOULD UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE THE IMPORTANCE THE GOVERNMENT ATTACHED TO THIS FIRST STEP.

3. WE TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT HIS VIEWS WOULD BE MADE KNOWN IMMEDIATELY TO THE SECRETARY, AND CONGRATULATED HIM ON WHAT WE HOPED WOULD BE THE START OF A SIGNIFICANT LIBERALIZATION OF THE TREATMENT OF CHILEAN EXILES. FROM MY TALK WITH ROJAS IT IS UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET CONSIDERS THE CREATION OF THE COMMISSION TO BE A MAJOR POLITICAL CONCESSION, AND NOT WITHOUT CERTAIN RISKS. THEBERGE

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P820173-2061

A quick reference aid on U.S. foreign relations.
Not a comprehensive policy statement.
Bureau of Public Affairs • Department of State

El Salvador November 1982

Background: The Salvadoran political system was marked by more than 50 years of domination by a wealthy elite, whose interests were protected by the military. Although there was considerable economic progress from 1948 to 1975, the newly emerging middle class did not receive a corresponding share of political power. Marxist groups advocating violent change had long existed, but their numbers increased rapidly after the failure of a democratic alternative in the 1972 presidential elections when Jose Napoleon Duarte, the apparent winner and leader of the Christian Democratic Party, was denied the presidency and exiled. By the late 1970s, the traditional political structure began to disintegrate under a cycle of escalating violence and counterviolence from leftwing and rightwing terrorists.

On October 15, 1979, a group of junior and middle-grade army officers overthrew the government of General Carlos Humberto Romero and issued a manifesto which:

- Denounced abuses of power by government officials;
- Proclaimed a commitment to fundamental social and economic reforms, including land reform; and
- Called for elections and a transition to a democracy.

In January 1980, Duarte returned from exile to become President of the Revolutionary Junta.

Economic reform: The junta embarked upon the most comprehensive land reform program in Latin America. As of October 1982, the program has benefited more than 370,000 peasants whose heads of household have become the owners of the land they previously worked (an estimated total of 19% of all Salvadoran farmland--including 53% of the land devoted to sugarcane, 13% of the coffee land, and 38% of the cotton land). The wealthy were divested of control of the banks to enable the government to provide credit in support of the land reform, and government marketing boards have been established for major export commodities.

Political reform: The junta met its commitment to initiate a democratic electoral process. The first step was the March 28, 1982 Constituent Assembly elections. More than 80% of eligible Salvadorans turned out in a courageous demonstration of the Salvadoran people's desire to end the violence wracking their country. Over 300 foreign observers and 800 journalists attested to the election's fairness. Because no single party won a majority of the seats in the Constituent Assembly, a Government of National Unity, led by independent Alvaro Magana and including representatives of the three major parties in the Assembly, was formed to govern until presidential elections are held. Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the National Republican Alliance (ARENA) which won the second largest number of seats, was elected Speaker of the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly is drafting a new constitution and has set the ground rules and date for presidential elections for March 28, 1984. The soon-to-be-announced Peace

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: THEODORE HEAVNER
Date: 06/09/94
Case ID: S940034C

Commission will formulate recommendations to the president on such issues as amnesty for guerrillas and pacification.

Human rights: Long a violent country, El Salvador suffers from a breakdown of the judicial system. Extremist groups of left and right and elements of the security forces continue to commit human rights abuses. The government, however, is attempting to improve the human rights situation: The military has issued a code of conduct for its personnel; well over 1,000 security personnel have been dismissed or disciplined since October 1979, including 300 in the past year; five former National Guard members have been arrested and are being tried in the case of the four American churchwomen; and other current or former security officers have been arrested in other cases. In our training of Salvadoran troops and officers, we stress that the guerrilla war can best be won through respect for the rights of noncombatants. The result of these efforts has been a decline in civilian deaths attributable to political reasons by 60% from 18 months ago.

The guerrillas: Five Marxist guerrilla groups, trained and armed by Cuba, Nicaragua, and other Communist or radical states and dedicated to seizing power by force, were united under Castro's auspices to form the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. The guerrillas failed in their January 1981 "final offensive" and in their attempt to disrupt the Constituent Assembly elections. Although their civilian allies, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) which operates out of Mexico, refused invitations to participate in the Constituent Assembly elections, the Salvadoran Government hopes that more moderate elements of the FDR can be persuaded to join in the ongoing political process.

Current situation and prospects: Major progress has been made since 1979 in transforming El Salvador from an authoritarian to a democratic and more just society. The Salvadoran military is improving its ability to contain the guerrillas who, as the elections demonstrate, represent only a small minority. The constructive changes now well underway will require years to complete and institutionalize. Progress is being made on human rights, and problems associated with the land reform have been overcome. The reestablishment of a well-functioning judiciary and the development of confidence necessary for economic investment are critical challenges facing the government.

US policy: The US believes it is necessary to build on the major progress already made in achieving the goals cited in the October 1979 manifesto. The US strongly supports efforts to reach a peaceful, equitable, and durable solution to El Salvador's political and economic problems. US assistance to El Salvador (millions of dollars) is:

	1980	1981	1982	1983 request
Economic aid	58.5	104.5	192.5	164.9
Military aid	6.0	35.5	82.0	61.3

US economic aid is being used to overcome balance-of-payments problems, finance labor-intensive employment in public projects, support the land reform program, and provide help for displaced persons. Our military aid helps the Salvadoran armed forces protect the country's vital infrastructure so that the political, social, and economic reforms can proceed and the Salvadoran people themselves can continue to decide their own future.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

[redacted]

[redacted] AN: 0820573-1010

PAGE 01 SAN SA 09029 01 OF 02 041057Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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PM-09 PA-01 USIE-00 SP-02 SPRS-01 /069 W
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INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USDOC WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 09029

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, BGEN, ES
SUBJECT: PUBLIC REACTION TO AMBASSADOR HINTON'S OCTOBER
- *29 SPEECH: THE SALVADORAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE*
- PAGES

REF: SAN SALVADOR 8884

1. NOVEMBER 2 DAILIES CARRY THE FULL PAGE RESPONSE OF THE SALVADORAN CHAMBER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE TO AMBASSADOR HINTON'S OCTOBER 29 SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. THE RESPONSE DOES NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE REACTION OF THE SALVADORAN PRIVATE SECTOR AS A WHOLE TO THE SPEECH, BUT IT DOES PREDICTABLY REFLECT

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 09029 01 OF 02 041057Z

THE EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE AND ANTI-U.S. POLICY OUTLOOK

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[redacted]

OF THE CHAMBER'S DIRECTORS AND MANY OF THEIR EQUALLY CONSERVATIVE COMPATRIOTS.

2. THE STATEMENT MAKES THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- AMBASSADOR HINTON IGNORED ETHICAL AND DIPLOMATIC NORMS TO WOUND SALVADORAN SOVEREIGNTY AND THE DIGNITY OF ITS PEOPLE. TO REMAIN SILENT BEFORE THIS ACT WOULD MAKE THE CHAMBER AN ACCOMPLICE TO "THIS ACT OF PREPOTENT ARROGANCE." THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE THEREFORE DECLARES:

(1) AMBASSADOR HINTON VIOLATED A BASIC PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW BY PUBLICLY INTERVENING IN THE INTERNALFAIRS OF EL SALVADOR. THREATS.

(2) THE AMBASSADOR CENSURED OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM. THE APPROPRIATE SOURCE OF SUCH CRITICISM IS THIS COUNTRY'S ATTORNEYS' ASSOCIATION. "WE RECOGNIZE SHORTCOMINGS AND DEFICIENCIES OF OUR JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION. IT IS NOT OUR INTENTION TO DEFEND IT NOR TO ENDORSE IT AS GOOD." BUT WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE UNWARRANTED AND DEGRADING EFFORTS OF A FOREIGN POWER TO PLACE US ON THE "BENCH OF THE ACCUSED." (A LONG LIST OF REFERENCES TO CORRUPTION AND CRIME IN THE US -- E.G. THE KU KLUX KLAN, THE MAFIA, AND CHAPPAQUIDICK -- FOLLOWS TO PROVE THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAS TURNED A BLIND AND HYPOCRITICAL EYE TO THE U.S.' OWN PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO EXPOSE EL SALVADOR'S PROBLEMS.)

(3) THE AMBASSADOR'S AFFIRMATIONS APPEAR TO BE THOSE OF A "RECENTLY ARRIVED FOREIGN TOURIST, WHO IRRESPONSIBLY [redacted] EARS ON THE STREETS...THIS MOVES

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 09029 01 OF 02 041057Z

US NOT TO LAUGHTER, BUT TO THE SEVEREST OF DENIALS." (NOTE: THE STATEMENT AT THIS POINT IS REFERRING TO THE AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT THAT OUT OF 30,000 MURDERS IN EL SALVADOR SINCE 1979, ONLY 1,500 HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO THE COURTS, AND OF THESE, THERE HAVE BEEN FEWER THAN 200 CONVICTIONS. THIS INFORMATION WAS PROVIDED BY THE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND IS UPHELD BY CASE SPECIFIC EXPERIENCE AND INDEPENDENT OPINIONS.)

(4) THE AMBASSADOR CRITICIZES WHAT HE CONSIDERS CONVENIENT TO CRITICIZE AS OBSOLETE. BUT HE IGNORES OTHER "JUDICIAL

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]

MONSTROSITIES" SUCH AS DECREE 114, WHICH IMPLEMENTS PHASE I OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM.

(5) THE AMBASSADOR'S PUBLIC CRITICISM HAS TWO NEGATIVE EFFECTS:

- (A) IT WOUNDS SALVADORAN SENTIMENTS TO THEIR DEEPEST ROOTS, RECALLING THE "PROCONSULAR" ATTITUDES OF AMBASSADOR WHITE.

- (B) IT PREJUDICES THAT ALREADY DETERIORATED IMAGE OF THE U.S. IN LATIN AMERICA, FOLLOWING THE MALY

(6) THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED THAT THE U.S. IS WILLING TO ASSIST WITH REFORM OF THE SALVADORAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM, BUT THAT AID FROM A LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY WITH A NAPOLEONIC LEGAL TRADITION WOULD BE MORE APPROPRIATE. THE AMBASSADOR IS IGNORANT OF THE SALVADORAN LEGAL SYSTEM, REFERRING TO THE NAPOLEONIC CODE WHICH INCLUDES ONLY THE CIVIL, AND NOT THE PENAL CODE. (NOTE: THE SALVADORAN PENAL CODE IS BASED ON THE SPANISH PENAL CODE, WHICH, STRICTLY SPEAKING, IS DERIVED FROM THE CODIFIED

[redacted]

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 09029 02 OF 02 041857Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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R 041851Z NOV 82
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2588
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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USDOC WASHDC

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 09029

CONTINENTAL, AS OPPOSED TO THE COMMON LAW ANGLO SAXON, LEGAL SYSTEM. THE NAPOLEONIC CODE INFLUENCED THE SPANISH CODE, AND BOTH ARE DERIVED FROM THE SAME CONTINENTAL TRADITION.)

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS, LIKE FRIENDSHIPS BETWEEN PEOPLE, CANNOT BE SUBJECT TO THREATS AND CONDITIONS. RECALLING THE WORDS OF LINCOLN (WHICH IS HOW THE AMBASSADOR ENDED HIS SPEECH), IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES IF YOU ARE ALSO ENCOURAGING HATRED.

3. THIS PAID AD BY THE SALVADORAN CHAMBER WAS SUBJECTED *TO SPIRITED DISCUSSION AT A MEETING OF THE BOARD OF*

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SN SA 09029 02 OF 02 041857Z

DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ON NOVEMBER 3. WHILE THERE WAS SOME SENTIMENT AMONG THE AMCHAM

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted]

DIRECTORS THAT PERHAPS THEY SHOULD RESPOND, THERE WAS NO BROAD AGREEMENT ON WHAT SHOULD BE SAID AND HOW. (MANY AMCHAM MEMBERS ARE SALVADORAN, AND A FEW NO DOUBT SHARE SOME OF THE SALVADORAN CHAMBER'S VIEWS.) IN ANY EVENT, THE BOARD DECIDED TO DO NOTHING, AND REITERATED ITS POSITION THAT WHILE THE AMCHAM MAKES ITS MEETINGS AVAILABLE TO DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS, IT TAKES NO POSITION ON THE OPINIONS WHICH THEY EXPRESS.

HINTON

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11/4/82

Case Number: s199900006

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06688 01 OF 02 041051Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	CIAE-00
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P 040952Z NOV 82
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 SANTIAGO 6688

E O 12356: DECL: 11/3/88
TAGS: SHUM PINS CI
SUBJECT: REACTIONS TO PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT ON EXILE COMMISSION

REF: SANTIAGO 6467

1.(C) SUMMARY: THE GOC HAS DRAWN PRAISE FROM ALMOST ALL SECTORS FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A HIGH LEVEL COMMISSION TO PERMIT THE RETURN OF EXILES (REFTEL). PRESIDENT PINOCHET HAS SINCE CLARIFIED THAT NEITHER EXTREMISTS NOR MIRISTAS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN. MODERATE AND PRO-GOVERNMENT GROUPS HAVE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06688 01 OF 02 041051Z

MEASURE AS A STEP TOWARD RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY AND TOWARD THE RESTORATION OFQYVSS DEMOCRACY, WHILE ALSO DEFENDING THE REASONABLENESS OF EXCLUDING EXTREMISTS. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, CHURCH LEADERS, AND DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION GROUPS HAVE GIVEN PUBLIC SUPPORT TO THE CONCEPT AND OFFERED SUGGESTIONS REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION. THE EXTREME RIGHT

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UNCLASSIFIED

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AND FAR LEFT HAVE BEEN HARD PUT TO FIT THE INITIATIVE INTO THEIR PREFERRED WORLDVIEWS. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE GOC ANNOUNCEMENT OF A HIGH LEVEL COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH EXILE QUESTION HAS PROVOKED INTENSE INTEREST AND COMMENTARY FROM ALL SECTORS WITHIN CHILE. PRESIDENT PINOCHET, ADDRESSING A GOC YOUTH ORGANIZATION ON OCT 26, ELABORATED ON THE SCOPE OF THE FUTURE COMMISSION'S ACTIONS BY SAYING: "...I'M GOING TO DESIGNATE A COMMISSION TO STUDY (THE CASES) OF THOSE WHO WANT TO RETURN TO THE COUNTRY. BUT IT WILL BE,AND YOU CAN BE SURE OF THIS, UNDER PRECISE AND EXACT CONDITIONS. IT'S NOT A MATTER OF OPENING THE DOORS, AS SOME THINK, SO THAT WE AGAIN HAVE TO PUT UP WITH MIRISTAS AND EXTREMISTS. THIS THING HAS TO BE REGULATED AND CONTROLLED. THAT'S HOW WE'RE GOING TO DO IT, FOR OUR TRANQUILITY AND FOR THE TRANQUILITY OF YOUR PARENTS AND YOUR HOMES".

3.(U) BACKSTOPPING THE PRESIDENT'S IMPROMPTU REMARKS WERE EDITORIALS IN THE GOC DAILY "LA NACION" THAT JUSTIFIED LIMITATIONS ON WHO MIGHT RETURN BY CITING THE GOVERNMENTS DUTY TO THE COMMON GOOD, AND ITS OBLIGATION TO KEEP CHILE FREE OF "FRACTIOUS, SUBVERSIVE OR TERRORIST" ELEMENTS. REFERRING TO THE REQUIREMENT THAT ALL WHO RETURN ARE OBLIGED TO RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE GOVERNMENT, "LA NACION" ADDS: "IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT MARXISM-LENINISM ADMITS NO MORALITY NOR VALUES NOR PRINCIPLES AND THAT ANY
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06688 01 OF 02 041051Z

CONDITION MAY BE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF IF IT FAVORS SUBVERSION. A COMMUNIST, FOR EXAMPLE, IS PERFECTLY ABLE TO DECLARE HIS PUBLIC ALLEGIANCE TO THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT AND THE CONSTITUTION AND THEN TO BETRAY HIS WORD BY ACTING AS AN AGITATOR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, ITS ORDER AND INTERNAL PEACE.

4.(U) OPINION IN THE DEMOCRATIC, PRO-GOVERNMENT SECTOR HAS BEEN LAUDATORY OF THE MEASURE WHILE ALSO CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC, NON-VIOLENT EXILES WHO SHOULD BE BENEFICIARIES AND VIOLENT OR TOTALITARIAN EXILES WHO SHOULD NOT. THE PRO-GOVERNMENT "NEW DEMOCRACY" POLITICAL GROUPING ISSUED A STATEMENT ALONG THOSE LINES, AND THE INFLUENTIAL "EL MERCURIO" HAS MADE SIMILAR EDITORIAL COMMENTS. CONSERVATIVE INTELLECTUAL JAIME GUZMAN EXPRESSED THIS LINE OF THOUGHT WELL IN AN INTERVIEW WITH AFTERNOON DAILY "LA SEGUNDA": "MY PERSONAL OPINION IS THAT ALL WHO ARE NOT ACTIVISTS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN...NOR DO I THINK THAT THOSE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHO HAVE VIOLENT OR EXTREMIST RECORDS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN". GUZMAN ADDED, HOWEVER, THIS QUALIFICATION: "THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN ONES OWN COUNTRY IS ONE OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND, AS WITH ALL (FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS) IT MAY ONLY BE ABRIDGED TEMPORARILY TO PRESERVE OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS OF A SUPERIOR NATURE THAT CONFLICT WITH THE RIGHT THAT IS BEING RESTRICTED...LOGICALLY, EXILE CANNOT BE POSTULATED AS A PERMANENT OR HABITUAL SOLUTION..."

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06688 02 OF 02 041246Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 SANTIAGO 6688

5. (C) THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE REACTED QUITE POSITIVELY TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT. JUAN DE CASTRO, THE VICAR OF SOLIDARITY, ISSUED A STATEMENT: "WE CANNOT BUT SINCERELY REJOICE THAT THE DECISION HAS BEEN TAKEN TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM THAT SO PROFOUNDLY AFFECTS MANY CHILEANS..." THE STATEMENT GOES ON TO ADD A CALL FOR PUBLIC PROCEEDING THAT WILL ALLOW AN EXILE TO KNOW THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM, AND GIVE HIM THE RIGHT TO A LEGAL DEFENSE. THE VICAR'S STATEMENT ALSO NOTES THAT NO DECLARATION SHOULD BE REQUIRED OF AN EXILE THAT "VIOLATING HIS FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND OPINION BY BEING DEMANDED AS A CONDITION OF HIS RETURN, WOULD BE MORALLY INVALID." CARDINAL SILVA,

WHEN ASKED HIS OPINION, RESPONDED: "I'M ENTIRELY IN
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06688 02 OF 02 041246Z

AGREEEMENT WITH (DE CASTRO'S) DECLARATION". MAXIMO PACHECO, ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, GAVE A VERY CONCILIATORY NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW (SEPTEL) THAT DIFFERED SOMEWHAT IN TONE AND SUBSTANCE WITH A PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN SEPARATELY BY THREE OF HIS COMMISSION COLLEAGUES. PACHECO REITERATED HIS PREVIOUS QUALIFICATION OF THE MEASURE AS HIGHLY POSITIVE (REFTEL) AND WENT ON TO SUGGEST THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE HAS IMPROVED OVER THE PERIOD OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT (SOMETHING HE HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO SAY IN PUBLIC BEFORE). GERMAN MOLINA, GONZALO TABORGA, AND ANDRES DOMINGUEZ--THREE COMMISSION COLLEAGUES TO THE LEFT OF THE MODERATE PACHECO (AND ONE, MOLINA, OF WHOM IS UNDER JUDICIAL SENTENCE OF EXILE FOR ALLEGED PARTICIPATION IN A PROSCRIBED POLITICAL PARTY)--DID NOT GO ALONG WITH PACHECO'S PUBLIC OPTIMISM. THEIR PRESS CONFERENCE EMPHASIZED THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT TO LIVE IN ONE'S OWN COUNTRY, CALLED FOR A LIST OF THOSE IMPEDED FROM DOING SO, AND CALLED UPON THE GOC TO ALLOW THE RETURN OF ALL WHO HAVE COMPLETED JUDICIAL SENTENCES OF EXILE. THEY ENDED ON A SOMEWHAT SOUR NOTE: "WE ARE IN THE PRESENCE OF A SIMPLE POSITIVE GESTURE, BUT WE ARE FAR FROM BELIEVING THAT THE AUTHORITIES ARE ABOUT TO RESPECT ONES RIGHT TO LIVE IN HIS COUNTRY, EVEN THOUGH OUR DESIRE IS THAT THIS MAY YET COME TO BE SO."

6.(U) THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION HAS ALSO WELCOMED THE PINOCHET ANNOUNCEMENT, AND MARIO PAPI, A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT LEADER, EXPRESSED THE FEELING OF THIS SECTOR REASONABLY WELL: "THOSE OF US WHO'VE FAVORED A RETURN OF THE EXILES CANNOT BUT CONSIDER THIS A HIGHLY POSITIVE ACT THAT WILL AID NATIONAL RECONCILIATION...I ONLY HOPE THAT THEIR RETURN WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS REPUGNANT TO THEIR CONSCIENCES... IDEALLY THE HIGH-LEVEL COMMISSION...SHOULD BE AS BROADLY COMPOSED AS POSSIBLE, REFLECTING THE FEELINGS
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 06688 02 OF 02 041246Z

OF ALL CURRENTS OF OPINION."

7.(U) THE EXTREMES OF RIGHT AND LEFT HAVE BEEN DISCOMFITTED BY THE MOVE, RECOGNIZING THE UNDENIABLE FACT THAT IT IS SUPPORTED BY A LARGE MAJORITY WITHIN CHILE YET UNABLE TO FIT IT NEATLY INTO THEIR WORLDVIEW. FORMER "PATRI Y LIBERTAD"

ACTIVIST PABLO RODRIGUEZ PRAISED THE MEASURE AS "POSITIVE AND HUMANLY GENERAOUS," THEN, AFTER FAVORABLY COMPARING IT WITH COMMUNIST BLOCK REPRESSION, LIMITED ITS PROPER SCOPE FAR BEYOND ANYTHING SAID BY THE GOVERNMENT: "I DON'T BELIEVE WE SHOULD ALLOW THE RETURN OF TERRORISTS, POLITICAL ACTIVISTS OR THOSE WHO HAVE MADE A MOCKERY OF THE POLITICAL RECESS AND WHO HAVE DEDICATEEMSELVES WHILE ABORAD TO DEFAMING CHILE, ITS AUTHORITIES OR ITS INSTITUTIONS". THE FAR LEFT HAS ALSO FOUND THE ISSUE DIFFICULT TO HANDLE. RADIO MOSCOW, IN BORADCASTS TO CHILE, HAS ANONYMOUSLY MENTIONED THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND COMMENTED THAT IT SIMULTANEOUSLY: A) IS A MEASURE TO RECOUP THE REGIMES SAGGING POPULARITY AND B) A TRICK THAT WILL NEVER COME TO FRUITION. RADIO HAVANA SAID THAT THE EXILES' RETURN, WHEN IT FINALLY TAKES PLACE, "WILL BE THE SUCCESSFUL CULMINATION OF THE CHILEANS' TIRELESS STRUGGLE".
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SUBJECT: ARA NEWS ITEMS OF NOVEMBER 8, 1982

1. SUMMARY OF NEWSPAPERS NOVEMBER 8, 1982:

--SUNDAY NEW YORK TIMES--.

EL SALVADOR: BERNARD WEINRAUB FROM SAN SALVADOR PAGE 16 WRITES OF RIVALRY BETWEEN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY CHIEF ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND DEFMIN GARCIA (2 LEADERS VIE FOR POWER IN EL SALVADOR) WEINRAUB SAYS BITTER CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO "HAS FLARED IN RECENT WEEKS AND LEFT AMERICAN OFFICIALS INCREASINGLY COCERNED ABOUT THE STABILITY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM HERE." MAIN ISSUE,

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PAGE 02 STATE 314637

ACCORDING TO WEINRAUB, IS D'AUBUISSON'S ATTEMPTS TO

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Special Project (1993)

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ENCOURAGE OPPOSITION TO GARCIA AMONG ARMY OFFICERS AND THE PUBLIC IN HOPES OF UNSEATING HIM. "SUCH A STEP WOULD CREATE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE US BECAUSE GEN. GARCIA HAS LARGELY SUPPORTED AMERICAN EFFORTS HERE AND HAS PLACED THE SALVADORAN ARMY BEHIND LAND REDISTRIBUTION. D'AUBUISSON...OPPOSES SOCIAL REFORM AND HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF HAVING TIES TO RIGHTIST TERRORISM HERE. WESTERN DIPLOMATS SAY D'AUBUISSON'S EFFORTS TO EXTEND HIS POWER AND DOMINATE THE MILITARY WOULD SEVERELY WEAKEN, PERHAPS CRUSH, US-SUPPORTED EFFORTS TO SHAPE A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. REFLECTING A NEW, HARDER LINE IN US POLICY HERE, AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE SAYING THAT ANY MOVE BY D"AUBUISSON TO REMOVE GEN. GARCIA WOULD VIRTUALLY INSURE AN END TO US MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR." A WESTERN DIPLOMAT DESCRIBES CONFLICT BETWEEN D'AUBUISSON AND GARCIA AS MAINLY PSYCHOLOGICAL SO FAR, BUT FORMER PRESIDENT NAPOLEON DUARTE TOLD WEINRAUB THAT D'AUBUISSON IS SEEKING A "RIGHTIST COUP D'ETAT....D'AUBUISSON SEES GARCIA AS HIS PROBLEM AND WANTS TO GET RID OF HIM. THE ARMY, AT THIS MOMENT IS BEHIND REFORMS. BUT A NEW COMMAND CAN CHANGE MANY THINGS." WEINRAUB NOTES THAT GARCIA KEEPS A CAVALRY UNIT IN THE CAPITAL "AS A GUARANTEE AGAINST A COUP." HE ALSO SAYS THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WHICH WAS DOMINATED BY RIGHTISTS WHEN IT WAS ELECTED, HAS CHANGED BECAUSE OF SPLITS IN RIGHTIST PARTIES, AND IS NOW DIVIDED BETWEEN THE RIGHT AND A "DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE," MAINLY MADE UP OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. ALTHOUGH "WESTERN DIPLOMATS REMAIN WARY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE ITSELF AS WELL AS THE ENTIRE ASSEMBLY," WHICH IS MAKING LITTLE PROGRESS ON THE CONSTITUTION IS IS SUPPOSED TO BE DRAFTING.

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NICARAGUA/HONDURAS: ALAN RIDING PAGE 17 FROM TEGUCIGALPA (NICARAGUA REBELS BUILD UP STRENGTH) SAYS ANTI-SANDINISTA GROUPS ON THE HONDURAN BORDER HAVE BECOME STRONGER RECENTLY BECAUSE OF STEPPED-UP US SUPPORT. HE QUOTES "HONDURAN AND FOREIGN OFFICIALS" AS SAYING THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, "WHILE BECOMING DEEPLY INVOLVED IN TRAINING AND ARMING THE EXILE GROUPS, HAS SO FAR BEEN RELUCTANT TO WORK WITH MORE MODERATE OPPONENTS OF NICARAGUA'S SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT." RIDING SAYS THE OFFICIALS ALSO BELIEVE THE CIA HAS TAKEN OVER FROM

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Special Project (1993)

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ARGENTINE ARMY OFFICERS THE TASK OF ADVISING THE GROUPS. RECRUITMENT OF MISKITO INDIANS WHO FLED NICARAGUA HAS SWELLED THE EXILE FORCE TO 4000, ORGANIZED IN SOME 12 CAMPS, HE SAYS. "ONLY THIS YEAR HAS THE US, WHICH HAS LONG SOUGHT TO SHIELD THIS COUNTRY FROM THE TURMOIL IN SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, BEGUN TO ASSIGN HONDURAS A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN COMBTING REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN THE REGION....THIS POLICY HAS BEEN ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSED BY THE HEAD OF HONDURAS' ARMED FORCES, GEN. GUSTAVO ALVAREZ MARTINEZ, WHO IS SAID BY FRIENDS TO BELIEVE THAT HONDURAS WILL BE SECURE ONLY
WHEN NICARAGUA'S SANDINIST REGIME HAS BEEN TOPPLED AND SALVADORAN REBELS HAVE BEEN CRUSHED. THIS APPROACH HAS STIRRED SOME ALARM IN HONDURAN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY CIRCLES. SOME POLITICIANS HERE MANTAIN THAT THIS LONG-STABLE COUNTRY IS BEING UNNECESSARILY EXPOSED TO TERRORIST REPRISALS FROM EL SALVADOR AND IS BEING LED TOWARD A MILITARY CONFRONTATION WITH NICARAGUA." WITHIN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, SAYS RIDING, SOME OFFICIALS BELIEVE MORE EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO WORK WITH MODERATE ANTI-SANDINISTAS, SUCH AS EDEN PASTORA. HE QUOTES ONE OFFICIAL AS SAYING, "WE'RE BACKING THE WRONG HORSE AGAIN. WE'RE PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE SANDINISTAS BECAUSE IF ANYONE IS HATED IN NICARAGUA, IT'S THE NATIONAL GUARD." RIDING SAYS THAT "IN SEVERAL ATTEMPTS TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH BOTH THE US AND THE HONDURAN ARMY

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EARLIER THIS YEAR, PASTORA AND HIS ALLIES, WHO INCLUDE A FORMER NICARAGUAN JUNTA MEMBER, ALFONSO ROBELO, HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN REBUFFED....BY THE TIME PASTORA PUBLICLY DENOUNCED HIS FORMER SANDINISTA COLLEAGUES IN APRIL THIS YEAR, THE US WAS ALREADY INVOLVED IN A COVERT OPERATION ALONG BROAD LINES REPORTEDLY APPROVED PERSONALLY BY PRESIDENT REAGAN LAST DECEMBER....OFFICIALS HERE SAID THAT RETIRED GEN. VERNON WALTERS, AN AMBASADOR AT LARGE IN THE STATE DEPT. PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN OBTAINING ARGENTINE COLLABORATION IN THE PLAN." SOME OF THE FUNDS WERE SENT TO BA, SAYS RIDING, WHICH THEN SENT 60-100 PARA-MILITARY ADVISORS TO HONDURAS. AFTER THE US BACKED BRITAIN IN THE FALKLANDS DISPUTE, MANY OF THE ARGENTINE ADVISORS WERE WITHDRAWN, "PROMPTING THE US TO ASSUME A MORE DIRECT ROLE IN THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY OPERATION." ACCORDING TO LOCAL OFFICIALS, CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM CASEY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

SECRETLY VISITED HONDURAS IN MAY OTHIS YEAR. SINCE THEN THE SIZE OF THE CIA STATION IN HONDURAS HAS SHARPLY INCREASED, HONDURAN OFFICIALS SAID."

ARGENTINA: EDWARD SCHUMACHER PAGE 18 FROM B.A. (ARGENTINE JOURNALISTS FEARFUL AS REGIME SHUTS 3 MAGAZINES) SAYS ARGENTINE JOURNALISTS BELIEVE THIS WEEK'S DECISION TO SHUT THREE MAGAZINES PERMANENTLY IS PART OF A GROWING CRACKDOWN ON THE PRESS. THE MAGAZINES, "LA SEMANA", "LINEA" AND "QUORUM," , HAD BEEN CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT REYNALDO BIGNONE, "WHO SIGNED THE DECREES CLOSING THE MAGAZINES DESPITE EARLIER PROMISES TO RESPECT PRESS FREEDOM. A MONTH AGO THE GOVERNMENT BANNED THE REPORTING OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES HERE BY TV, AND TWO WEEKS AGO THE RULING THREE-MAN JUNTA WARNED ALL NEWS ORGANIZATIONS IN A COMMUNIQUE THAT IT 'WILL NOT PERMIT, IN ANY WAY, DESTABILIZING OR DIVIDING ACTIONS THAT COULD

BRING BACK SUBVERSION.' BUT THE CRACKDOWN HAS NOT YET APPEARED TO SILENCE THE CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT EMERGING OVER THE LAST YEAR IN THE COUNTRY'S INCREASINGLY BOLD NEWSPAPERS. THE GOVERNMENT OWNS ALL TV AND MANY RADIO STATIONS....IN RECENT WEEKS MORE THAN A HALF-DOZEN JOURNALISTS FOR VARIOUS NEWS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE REPORTED RECEIVING TELEPHONED DEATH THREATS BECAUSE OF ARTICLES CRITICAL OF THE MILITARY."

-- WEEKEND WASHINGTON POST--

CUBA: MARY THORNTON FRONT PAGE SATURDAY POST (FOUR CUBAN OFFICIALS INDICTED IN DRUG SMUGGLING; HAVANA SAID HAVEN FOR COLOMBIA GOODS) NOTES INDICTMENT IN MIAMI OF FOUR HIGH-LEVEL CUBAN OFFICIALS ALONG WITH 10 OTHERS ON CHARGES OF CONSPIRING TO IMPORT MARIJUANA AND METHAQUALONE FROM COLOMBIA TO THE US VIA CUBA. "THE INDICTMENTS MARKED THE FIRST TIME THAT CUBAN OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN FORMALLY ACCUSED OF DRUG SMUGGLING, ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN WIDESPREAD REPORTS THAT THE CASTRO GOVERNMENT WAS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN SMUGGLING DRUGS FROM COLOMBIA TO THE US VIA THE COMMUNIST ISLAND NATION....DEA OFFICIALS SAID THEY DECIDED TO SEEK INDICTMENTS AGAINST THE CUBAN OFFICIALS TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE ROLE OF THE CASTRO GOVERNMENT IN DRUG TRAFFICKING IN THE AMERICAS.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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SOURCES SAID THERE IS LITTLE HOPE OF PROSECUTING THE CUBANS."

GUATEMALA: JOHN GOSHKO PAGE 8 SATURDAY FROM WASHINGTON (GUATEMALA LIKELY WILL GET US HELICOPTER SPARE PARTS) SAYS "THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS NEARING A DECISION TO PROCEED WITH THE LONG-DELAYED SALE OF HELICOPTER SPARE PARTS TO THE MILITARY REGIME OF GUATEMALA), ALTHOUGH THE MOVE WILL TRIGGER MORE CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION AGAINST US MILITARY AID PROGRAMS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. US OFFICIALS PRIVATELY DENIED FRIDAY THAT A FINAL DECISION

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HAS BEEN MADE. BUT THEY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS LEANING TOWARD APPROVAL OF THE DOLS 2 MILLION SALE, AND THAT BRIEINGS GIVEN TO CONGRESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS THIS WEEK WERE INTENDED TO SIGNAL THOSE INTENTIONS." GOSHKO SAYS DAS BOSWORTH BRIEFED SFRC AND HOUSE FRC STAFFS LAST TUESDAY, AND TOLD THEM THE STATE DEPT. BELIEVES THE SALE OF SPARE PARTS IS NECESSARY TO PROTECT GUATEMALA'S RULER, GEN. RIOS MONTT, FROM A COUP THAT WOULD MAKE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT AN IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY IN THAT COUNTRY. "SOURCES AT THE CLOSED MEETINGS SAID BOSWORTH DISPUTED ARGUMENTS THAT RIOS MONTT'S RECORD DOES NOT MERIT US MILITARY AID. THEY SAID HE ALSO DISPUTED CONTENTIONS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD PROMISED TO OBTAIN INFORMAL CONGRESSIONAL CONSENT FOR THE SALE. HE ALSO REFUSED TO GIVE ANY COMMITMENT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL DELAY A DECISION UNTIL CONGRESS RETURNS NOV. 29." BECAUSE THE PROPOSED TRANSACTION INVOLVES A CASH SALE OF EQUIPMENT NOT DESIGNATED SPECIFICALLY AS MILITARY, THE ADMINISTRATION CAN PROCEED WITHOUT FORMAL CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, BUT MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BELIEVE THE STATE. DEPT. AND CONGRESS HAD A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN OUR MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY WITHOUT CONGRESSINAL APPROVAL. THEY PREDICT THAT IF THE SALE PROCEEDS, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL FACE INCREASINGLY STIFFER OPPOSITION TO ITS REQUESTS FOR AID FOR CENTRAL AMERICA. "UNTIL RECENTLY US OFFICIALS, WHILE SAYING THEY BELIEVE RIOS MONTT WANTS TO CONTROL RIGHTS ABUSES, PRIVATELY CONCEDED THAT THE SITUATION THERE HAD NOT IMPROVED SUFFICIENTLY TO JUSTIFY A RESUMPTION OF US MILITARY AID, BROKEN OFF IN 1977.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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HOWEVER, THE SOURCES SAID THAT BOSWORTH, IN HIS BRIEFINGS, ARGUED THAT THE SALE WOULD STRENGTHEN RIOS

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MONTT'S HAND AGAINST HARD-LINE RIGHTISTS IN THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY AND SERVE AS AN INCENTIVE TOWARD FURTHER REFORM. IF HE CANNOT GET HELP FROM THE US, BOSWORTH REPORTEDLY WARNED, RIOS MONTT IS IN DANGER OF OVERTHROW BY THE MOST INTRANSIGIENT ELEMENTS IN THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY."

FALKLANDS: PETER OSNOS FROM LONDON PAGE 19, FRONT PAGE SECOND SECTION SATURDAY POST (THATCHER IS DISAPPOINTED BY US VOTE ON FALKLANDS) CITES PM THATCHER INTERVIEW WITH BBC, EXPRESSING HER DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT OVER US VOTE IN UNGA. THATCHER DISMISSED THE RESOLUTION, AND SAID BRITAIN WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THE ARGENTINES. "WHILE CRITICIZING THE US VOTE, FONMIN PYM IN A SEPARATE INTERVIEW...STRESSED THAT BRITAIN REMAINED GRATEFUL TO THE US FOR ITS SUPPORT DURING THE CONFLICT...PYM AND OTHER OFFICIALS SEEMED EAGER TO MINIMUZE THE STRAIN CAUSED BY WHAT ONE CALLED A 'HICCUP' IN THE OTHERWISE 'EXTREMELY CLOSE' ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP. THATCHER, HOWEVER, HAS MADE THE FALKLANDS CAUSE A POLITICAL CRUSADE, AND THERE WAS NO MISTAKING HER RESENTMENT AGAINST THE US VOTE. 'I FIND IT UNBELIEVABLE,' SHE SAID. 'I CAN'T ACCOUNT FOR IT AT ALL.'"

BOLIVIA: NEWS BRIEF FROM ROME IN AROUND THE WORLD COLUMN PAGE 21 SATURDAY (SUSPECTED BOMBER DIES) SAYS THAT PIERLUIGI PAGLIAI, AN ITALIAN RIGHT-WING EXTREMIST ACCUSED OF TAKING PART IN THE BOLOGNA RAILWAY STATION BOMBING, DIED AFTER THREE WEEKS IN A COMA. PAGLIAI WAS WOUNDED IN A GUNFIGHT WHEN HE WAS CAPTURED IN BOLIVIA LAST MONTH.

BRAZIL/PARAGUAY: SECOND SATURDAY NEWS BRIEF FROM FOZ DO IGUACU (GIANT DAM IN BRAZIL OPENS) NOTES OPENING OF ITAIPU DAM BY PRESIDENTS OF BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY. ITAIPU IS DESTINED TO BE THE WORLD'S LARGEST HYDROELECTRIC

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Special Project (1993)

PROJECT. PRESIDENTS FIGUEIREDO AND STROESSNER PRESSED A LEVER OPENING THE 14 GATES AFTER HAILING THE JOINT PROJECT ON THE TWO NATIONS' PARANA RIVER BORDER AS AN EXAMPLE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. WHEN ITAIPU IS COMPLETED IN 1988, IT WILL HAVE A CAPACITY OF 12,600 MAGAWATTS, ALMOST DOUBLE THAT OF GRAND COULEE.

FALKLANDS: LEAD EDIT SATURDAY (FALKLANDS FEVER STILL) SAYS BRITISH SHOULD UNDERSTAND US VOTE ON UNGA RESOLUTION, TAKING ARGENTINA'S SIDE. "THE ISSUE WAS WHETHER TO SUPPORT A RESOLUTION STARTING FROM THE PREMISE THAT SOVERIGNTY OVER THE ISLANDS IS UNSETTLED AND STATING THAT IT SHOULD BE SETTLED BY NEGOTIATION. THIS IS THE TRADITIONAL AMERICAN POSITION. IT WAS THE BRITISH POSITION UNTIL LAST SPRING, WHEN THE ARGENTINES, COMING TO THE VIEW THAT THEY HAD GOTTEN NOWHERE IN 17 YEARS OF TALKS, LOST THEIR COLLECTIVE HEAD AND INVADED. BUT NOW THE BRITISH, HAVING EXPENDED SEVERAL HUNDRED LIVES AND A BILLION OR TWO DOLLARS TO REGAIN THE ISLANDS, HOLD THAT THE WISHES OF THE ISLANDERS--BRITISH CITIZENS ALL--MUST COME FIRST. THIS IS, WE THINK, AN UNFORTUNATE POSITION. IT COMMITS BRITAIN, ALONE, TO SUBSTANTIAL GARRISON AND DEVELOPMENT EXPENSES. MORE IMPORTANT, IT CASTS IN CONCRETE THE ARGENTINE GRIEVANCE THAT LED TO THE WAR AND PROMISES ONLY TROUBLE AT SOME POINT DOWN THE ROAD. CERTAINLY, BECAUSE OF THE ARGENTINE AGGRESSION, THE BRITISH ARE ENTITLED TO ASK FOR EXTRA GUARANTEES. BUT TO CONTED THAT THE INVASIION ALTERED EITHER THE HISTORICAL OR THE POLITICAL RATIONALE FOR NEGOTIATING THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE IS WRONG. MRS. THATCHER IS EVIDENTLY STILL IN THE GRIP OF FALKLANDS FEVER. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ACTED HONORABLY DURING THE CRISIS LAST SPRING, FIRST BY TRYING TO MEDIATE AND THEN BY CASTING

THE AMERICAN LOT WITH THE BRITISH, VICTIMS OF ARGENTINE AGGRESSION. IN THAT WAY THE ADMINISTRATION FULLY MET IS RESPONSIBILITIES TO PRINCIPLE AND TO AMERICA'S OLDEST ALLY. IT WAS ALWAYS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT AFTER THE WAR, THE US WOULD HAVE TO TAKE STEPS TO RESTORE NORMAL TIES WITH ARGENTINA AND THE MANY OTHER LATIN NATIONS THAT HAD, POLITICALLY, TAKEN ARGENTINA'S SIDE. WHEN THE BRITISH CALM DOWN, THEY WILL SURELY SEE THAT IN THE UN THE US

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

REAFFIRMED THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE--THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES--FOR WHICH THEY WENT TO WAR."

EL SALVADOR: EDWARD CODY FRONT PAGE FROM SAN SALVADOR

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SUNDAY POST REPORTS FROM TOROLA BRIDGE ("REBELS STILL CONTROL PARTS OF EL SALVADOR") THAT THE GUERRILLAS "PROLONGED DOMINION" ALONG THE HONDURAN BORDER AND IN CHALATENANGO PROVINCE "IS A VISIBLE SIGN THAT DESPITE INCREASED US AID AND MILITARY ADVISERS ON THE GOVERNMENT SIDE, EL SALVADOR'S INSURGENT MOVEMENT REMAINS CAPABLE OF CHALLENGING ARMY CONTROL OVER SMALL PARTS OF THE LAND AND OF DISRUPTING ECONOMIC LIFE WITH HIT-AND-RUN ATTACKS ELSEWHERE." CODY REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH SALVADORAN AND US OFFICIALS "INSIST THAT THE OCTOBER OFFENSIVE HAS FALLEN SHORT OF PREVIOUS REBEL EFFORTS LAST SUMMER AND DURING ELECTIONS LAST MARCH", THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT EVEN DIMINISHED REBEL SUCCESSES REMIND THE WORLD THAT THEY'RE STILL THERE. "GARCIA SAID," CODY CONTINUES, "SALVADORAN INTELLIGENCE HAD OBTAINED GUERRILLA PLANS INDICATING THAT THEY TIMED THEIR OFFENSIVE TO GENERATE ATTENTION FOR PEACE PROPOSALS ANNOUNCED OCT. 26 IN MEXICO CITY...."
INSIDE PAGE 16 CONTINUATION ("GUERRILLAS TRY TO UNDERMINE EL SALVADOR'S ECONOMY") NOTES US AND SALVADORAN ESTIMATES THAT HAVOC AGAINST THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY IS THE KEY GUERRILLA OBJECTIVE.

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PAGE 10 STATE 314637

-- WASHINGTON POST (11/8/82) --

BOLIVIA: WALTER PINCUS REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON FRONT PAGE ("AID TO BOLIVIA TIED TO PROGRESS IN COCAINE WAR") THAT "THE UNITED STATES IS OFFERING THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA ABOUT $140 MILLION IN AID TO BE GIVEN AS THE SOUTH AMERICAN NATION CRACKS DOWN ON ITS NARCOTICS PRODUCERS AND TRAFFICKERS, AND TURNS OVER TO AMERICAN AUTHORITIES A BOLIVIAN WHOM US OFFICIALS ALLEGE IS A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL COCAINE DEALER." $30 MILLION IS TIED TO NARCOTICS ENFORCEMENT AND THE REMAINING $110 MILLION IN ECONOMIC AID "IS TIED TO PROGRESS THAT THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT MAKES IN AGREEING TO ECONOMIC REFORMS SOUGHT BY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND THE MAJOR BANKS TO

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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WHOM BOLIVIA OWES MONEY." PINCUS GOES INTO THE DRUG BACKGROUND INCLUDING ROBERTO SUAREZ WHOM "US OFFICIALS WANT FROM THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT." PINCUS WRITES THAT "WASHINGTON'S PRESSURE APPEARS TO BE HAVING SOME SUCCESS. AN ARMY COURT HAS CALLED UPON GARCIA MEZA AND ARCE GOMEZ TO RETURN TO BOLIVIA TO STAND TRIAL BECAUSE THEY HAVE 'STAINED THE HONOR OF THE ARMED FORCES,' ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. NOW, THE OFFICIALS BELIEVE, IT MAY ONLY BE A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE A PLAN IS WORKED OUT TO CAPTURE SURAREZ."

EL SALVADOR: EDWARD CODY REPORTS FROM SAN SALVADOR ("SALVADORAN PRELATE BACKS US CRITICISM" P. 22) THAT

ACTING ARCHBISHOP ARTURO RIVERA Y DAMAS HAS SAID THAT HINTON'S ESTIMATE THAT 30,000 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN MURDERED SINCE THE CIVIL WAR BEGAN IN 1979 "FALLS BELOW THE TRUTH" RATHER THAN EXAGGERATING THE KILLING, AS GOVERNMENT LEADERS HAVE INSISTED. CODY NOTES THAT HIS SUNDAY

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SERMON "MARKED THE FIRST PUBLIC SHOW OF SUPPORT HERE FOR HINTON'S WARNING" IN AN OCT. 29 SPEECH WHICH HAS BEEN CRITICIZED BY THE SALVADORAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, THE SALVADORAN INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION AND THE NATIONAL FREE ENTERPRISE ASSOCITION. "THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WOULD AGREE WITH IT," RIVERA Y DAMAS SAID OF HINTON'S CALL FOR REFORM OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM TO DEAL WITH THE ABUSES. HE MENTIONED THE RECENT ARRESTS OF LEFTIST AND LABOR LEADERS AND EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THEIR NAMES HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS AN INDICATION THAT THEY PROBABLY HAD NOT BEEN MURDERED, BUT SHARPLY CRITICIZED THEIR SECRETIVE ARRESTS. "WE ASK, IF THERE IS A GOOD REASON TO HOLD THESE MEN, WHY DO THE AUTHORITIES TAKE OF~ THEIR UNIFORMS TO PICK THEM UP?" RIVERA Y DAMAS ASKED. "THESE DETESTABLE PRACTICES, WHICH THE CHURCH CONDEMNS IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY...WOULD BE ALLEVIATED IF THE JUDICIAL POWER OF OUR COUNTRY ACTED AS IT SHOULD."

-- NEW YORK TIMES --

EL SALVADOR: BERNARD WEINRAUB REPORTS FROM SAN SALVADOR ("SNAPSHOTS OF EL SALVADOR: G.I'S, JOGGERS AND GRIEF" PAGE 2) A FEATURE STORY IN ALMOST A DIARY-LIKE FASHION

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for Human Rights
Project (1993)

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WITH BRIEF VIGNETTES. "IN RECENT MONTHS," HE WRITES, "THE CAMINO REAL HOTEL, THE HAVEN FOR MOST JOURNALISTS HERE, HAS FALLED ON HARD TIMES. BLAME THE FALKLAND CRISIS, THE LEBANESE WAR, THE UNITED STATES ELECTIONS. BY AND LARGE MOST JOURNALISTS HAVE FLED. ONLY THREE OF THE EIGHT FLOORS HAVE BEEN KEPT OPEN, AND THE BARTENDER GRUMBLED ABOUT THE DECLINE IN BUSINESS....BUT MR. HINTON'S SPEECH -- COUPLED WITH THE LACK OF MAJOR CRISES ELSSEWHERE IN THE WORLD -- HAS BUOYED THE BARTENDER. SUDDENLY TELEVISION CREWS HAVE STREAMED IN, WITH WHAT APPEAR TO BE ENDLESS SUPPLEIS OF EQUIPMENT, AND THE TEMPERATURE -- AND TEMPERAMENT -- HAS SOARED....THE BARTENDER SMILED. 'JUST LIKE OLD TIMES,' HE SAID."

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-- BOLIVIA: AP REPORT FROM LA PAZ ("BOLIVIA'S NEW LEADER ANNOUNCES HARSH STEPS TO COMBAT RECESSION" PAGE 4) NOTES THAT PRES. SILES ZUAZO HAS ANNOUNCED SWEEPING ECONOMIC MEASURES INTENDED TO RESCUE THE NATION FROM A SEVERE RECESSION. THE MEASURES INCLUDE PRICE INCREASES FOR GASOLINE AND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION AND STRICT CONTROLS ON FOREIGN CURRENCY.

-- BALTIMORE SUN --

EL SALVADOR: AP STORY FROM SAN SALVADOR ("SALVADOR'S BISHOP URGES PEACE TALKS" PAGE 2) NOTES THAT BISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS "URGED THE GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY TO OPEN PEACE TALKS WITH LEFTIST REBELS, SAYING PUBLIC PRESSURE IS GROWING TO END THE THREE-YEAR-OLD CONFLICT. 'WE HAVE REACHED THE HOUR FOR DIALOGUE,' ACTING ARCHBISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS SAID IN HIS WEEKLY SERMON." STORY INCLUDES CONDEMNATION OF THE ARRESTS, WITHOUT UNIFORMS, MADE BY GOVERNMENT TROOPS OF THE LEFTIST AND UNION LEADERS.

FALKLANDS: EDIT ("FALKLANDS FALLOUT") STATES THAT "THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE ITSELF, LATIN AMERICA AND EVEN BRITAIN A FAVOR BY VOTING FOR A UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION URGING A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE ANGLO-ARGENTINE DISPUTE OVER THE FALKLAND ISLANDS....ALTHOUGH THE US VOTE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS RESOLUTION LEFT OUR BRITISH ALLY PAINFULY ISOLATED, IT SHOULD CREATE A BETTER ATMOSPHERE FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO BRAZIL, COLOMBIA AND

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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COSTA RICA IN EARLY DECEMBER. THIS IS NEEDED. WHATEVER THEY THOUGHT OF ARGENTINA'S MILITARY JUNTA, LATIN NATIONS LAMENTED THE US SWITCH IN MID-CONFLICT FROM PROFESSED NEUTRALITY TO OUTRIGHT SUPPORT OF BRITAIN. IT CONFIRMED

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THEIR FEARS THAT IN A CRUNCH THEY COULD NOT COUNT UPON WASHINGTON DESPITE ALL THE ALLIANCE RHETORIC OF THE RIO TREATY....THE EMOTIONS OF SIX MONTHS AGO MAY BE SUBSIDING, AND THE SITUATION MAY STILL BE REPARABLE. BUT GESTURES SUCH AS THE US VOTE AT THE UNITED NATIONS WILL HELP. ANOTHER GESTURE LIKELY TO BE WELL RECEIVED IN LATIN AMERICA IS THE CANCELLATION OF JOINT AMERICAN-HONDURAN MILITARY EXERCISES NEAR THE TIME OF THE REAGAN VISIT. IF THESE ARE SIGNALS OF A MORE CAUTIOUS AND DISCIPLINED US POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA NOW THAT GEORGE SHULTZ HAS REPLACED ALEXANDER HAIG AS SECRETARY OF STATE, THE ENTIRE HEMISPHERE CAN APPLAUD."

-- CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR --

NO ARA ITEMS OF INTEREST

-- WALL STREET JOURNAL --

PERU: EVERETT MARTIN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON ("PERU'S 'BUNGLING ALONG' PLEASES BANKERS IN LIGHT OF LATIN AMERICA'S DIRE TROUBLES" P. 32) THAT "BANKERS AREN'T EXACTLY CHEERING PERU'S ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, BUT THEY HAVE COME TO REGARD IT AS A FLICKERING BRIGHT SPOT IN

LATIN AMERICA'S DIM PICTURE....IT ISN'T THAT PERU DOESN'T HAVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS JUST LIKE MOST OTHER LATIN COUNTRIES....YET BANKERS ARE IMPRESSED THAT PERU'S ELECTED CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SO FAR HANDLED ITS CATASTROPHE WITHOUT THE EPIC CRISES THAT WRACK MEXICO, ARGENTINA AND OTHERS." STORY REFERS TO IMF'S HAVING GIVEN PERU A THREE-YEAR STANDBY CREDIT OF $960 MILLION THAT CAN BE DRAWN ON IN QUARTERLY INSTALLMENTS.

-- WALL STREET JOURNAL STAFF REPORTER --

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

HONDURAS AND GUYANA RECEIVE IMF LOANS TOTALING DOLS 111.9 MILLION: THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND APPROVED DOLS 111.9 MILLION IN LOANS TO HONDURAS AND GUYANA.

HONDURAS WILL GET TWO IMF CREDITS TOTALING DOLS 105.6 MILLION TO SUPPORT ECONOMIC-STABILIZATION EFFORTS AND TO HELP OFFSET A DROP IN EXPORT EARNINGS IN THE YEAR ENDED LAST JUNE.

GUYANA WILL RECEIVE A DOLS 6.3 MILLION LOAN TO HELP COVER A DECLINE IN EXPORT EARNINGS ON SUGAR, RICE, BAUXITE AND OTHER COMMODITIES.

THE IMF SAID THE HONDURAN GOVERNMENT WILL REFORM ITS TARIFF SYSTEM AND ELIMINATE IMPORT SURCHARGES. WHILE ITS MONETARY PROGRAM CALLS FOR SLOWING TOTAL CREDIT EXPANSION OF THE BANKING SYSTEM FROM ABOUT 20 PERCENT DURING 1981 TO ABOUT 9 PERCENT BY THE END OF 1983.

-- USA TODAY --

PANAMA FREIGHTER SEIZED IN SUSPECTED DRUG HAUL: THE COAST GUARD SEIZED A PANAMANIAN FREIGHTER ALLEGEDLY HAULING 30 TONS OF MARIJUANA SUNDAY ABOUT 400 MILES SOUTHEAST OF CAPE COD. THE CREW OF THE FREIGHTER BISCAYNE BAY WAS TAKEN INTO CUSTORY AFTER A BRIEF CHASE BY THE COAST GUARD CUTTER DUANE. THE CUTTER ORDERED THE SHIP TO STOP, AND FIRED MACHINE GUN ROUNDS INTO THE WATER WHEN THE FREIGHTER'S CREW REFUSED. A SPOKESMAN SAID HE WAS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER THE FREIGHTER WAS WITHIN THE 200-MILE U.S. TERRITORIAL LIMIT, BUT HE SAID THE COAST GUARD HAS AUTHORITY TO STOP SHIPS BEYOND THE BOUNDARY IF U.S. LAW HAS BEEN VIOLATED.

EL SALVADOR: COVER-UP REVEALED IN NUNS: DEATHE: SAN SALVADOR: A NATIONAL GUARD COMMANDER COVERED UP A SOLDIER'S CONFESSION IN THE DEATHS OF FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN TO PROTECT THE UNIT'S REPUTATION, COURT

DOCUMENTS REVEALED SUNDAY. SGT. LUIS ANTONIO COLINDRES

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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ALEMAN AND FOUR OTHER GUARDSMEN ARE AWAITING TRIAL FOR THE SLAYINGS. ALEMAN CONFESSED SOON AFTER THE DEC. 3, 1980 KILLINGS, BUT HIS COMMANDER URGED HIM TO KEEP QUIET FOR THE GUARD'S SAKE. THE COMMANDER HAS SINCE RETIRED, AND THE SERGEANT WAS ARRESTED SIX MONTHS LATER.

2. HIGHLIGHTS OF NOVEMBER 5 AND 8 T.V. NEWSCASTS AND PROGRAMS.

-- CBS EVENING NEWS NOVEMBER 5, 1982 --

(DAN RATHER) DRUG INDICTMENTS: IN MIAMI TODAY TWO CUBAN DIPLOMATS WERE NAMED IN DRUG CONSPIRACY CHARGES. ALSO, A CUBAN NAVY VICE-ADMIRAL AND THE CUBAN WHO HELPED ORGANIZE THE 1980 BOATLIFT. THEY ARE AMONG FOURTEEN PEOPLE ACCUSED OF USING CUBA AS A WAY STATION BETWEEN PILLS AND POT COMING FROM COLOMBIA TO THE U.S. THE FOUR CUBAN OFFICIALS ARE NOT IN U.S. CUSTODY.

-- NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NOVEMBER 5, 1982 --

(ROGER MUDD) EL SALVADOR: SALVADORAN ARMY CLAIMS TO HAVE KILLED 46 GUERILLAS IN A SERIES OF AMBUSHES ALONG THE HONDURAN BORDER TODAY. IN SAN SALVADOR, RIGHTIST LEADERS URGED PRESIDENT MAGANA NOT TO "GO ON HIS KNEES TO BEG FOR U.S. AID", AND THEY CRITICIZED U.S. AMBASSADOR DEANE HINTON FOR HIS THREAT TO CUT OFF AID BECAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

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-- NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NOVEMBER 6 AND 7 --

(JESSICA SAVITCH) COSTA RICA: THE GOVERNMENT OF COSTA RICA IS WORRIED ABOUT THE VIOLENCE THAT IS MOVING THROUGH CENTRAL AMERICA. GUERILLA FORCES HAVE CAUSED TERROR IN GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND NICARAGUA. THE PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA HAS BEEN TO WASHINGTON TO ASK FOR HELP IN KEEPING HIS BORDER SAFE.

(FRED FRANCES) THE TROUBLED PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA WENT HOME TODAY WITH ASSURANCES FROM SECRETARY SHULTZ THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL ARRANGE MORE LOANS AND AID, AND THAT COSTA RICA WILL NOT HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT ITS

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

SOCIALIST NEIGHBOR NICARAGUA. HE IS WORRIED THAT NICARAGUA SOON WILL BE INVOLVED WITH HONDURAS AND THAT THE WHOLE REGION WILL SUFFER. AN ADMINISTRATION SORUCE SAID THAT THE COSTA RICAN PRESIDENT ASKED SHULTZ TO CURTAIL WHAT HE CALLED "THE UNITED STATES EFFORT TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA." HIS REQUEST WILL

PROBABLY BE IGNORED. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS SUPPORTING A HONDURAN-BASED GUERRILLA MOVEMENT TO DESTABILIZE THE MARXIST REGIME IN MANAGUA. THE CIA IS FINANCING THE OPERATION, AND VIRTUAL STATE OF WAR EXISTS BETWEEN NICARAGUA AND HONDURAS ALONG THAT BORDER. THIS IS THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN. (A PUBLICATION SHOWN ON TAPE) IS PART OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATIONS POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT. IT TELLS HOW MARXIST LEADERS CONTROL NICARAGUA. IT ALSO USES UNSUBTANTIATED INFORMATION, BUT IT IS A POLISHED PIECE OF PROPAGANDA WHICH ONE ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL DESCRIBES AS "ANOTHER DRIP FROM THE FAUCET TO UNDO NICARAGUA." THE NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT HAS PUT OUT A BOOKLET OF ITS OWN.

PROPAGANDA WILL NOT STOP THE CIA-SPONSORED BORDER WAR. ONE CONCERNED ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SAID THAT IF THE PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO AUTHORIZE MONEY AND ARMS TO MILITARIZE HONDURAS, HE MAY SUCCEED IN STABILIZING THAT COUNTRY LONG BEFORE HE CAUSES THE COLLAPSE OF NICARAGUA.

-- NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NOVEMBER 7 --

(JOHN HART) EL SALVADOR: THE ACTING ARCHBISHOP OF EL SALVADOR ARTURO RIVERA PREACHED A POLITICAL SERMON TODAY. HE SAID SERIOUS PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY AGREE WITH THE US AMBASSADOR WHO THREATENED TO WITHDRAW US ASSISTANCE BECAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. RIVERA SAID THE AMBASSADOR'S ESTIMATE OF 30,000 ASSASSINATIONS MAY BE LOW.

(BONNIE ANDERSON IN SAN SALVADOR) IN THE PAST MONTH SEVERAL HUNDRED SOLDIERS AND GUERRILAS HAVE BEEN KILLED OR WOUNDED IN THE STRONGEST AND BOLDEST WAVE OF REBEL ATTACKS SINCE THE MARCH ELECTIONS. THE ISSUE THAT HAS MOST DISTURBED THE ESTABLISHMENT IS AMBASSADOR HINTON'S SPEECH LAST WEEK TO THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. THE SPEECH

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

REFLECTED WHAT IS CONSIDERED TO BE THE ADMINISTRATION'S NEW HARD LINE TOWARD EL SALVADOR. OBJECTING STRONGLY, THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY CHARGED THAT AMBASSADOR HINTON HAD NO RIGHT TO CRITICIZE THE NATION'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SALVADORAN PRESIDENT MAGANA FELT THAT SOME OF HINTON'S CRITICISMS WERE JUSTIFIED, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE AMBASSADOR CRITIZED THE SLOWNESS OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN NOT BRINGING THE KILLERS OF THE US CHURCHWOMEN TO JUSTICE. MAGANA SAID THAT HINTON'S SPEECH DID NOT INDICATE ANY COOLER ATTITUDE FROM WASHINGTON BUT MERELY REFLECTED HINTON'S FRUSTRATION WITH SALVADORAN LEGAL PROCEDURES. IF US AID IS CUT-OFF MAGANA SAID THERE "WILL BE SERIOUS PROBLEMS."

3. PREPARED GUIDANCES FOR BRIEFING NOVEMBER 8, 1982:

-- EL SALVADOR: COUP RUMORS --

Q: REACTION TO REPORTS OF MOUNTING RIVALRY BETWEEN GARCIA AND D'AUBUISSON WITH FEARS OF COUP AND EFFORTS THROUGH A NEW ALLIANCE BETWEEN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND SOME OF THE RIGHTISTS TO HOLD D'AUBUISSON BACK?

A: IT WOULD'NT BE APPROPRIATE FOR US TO COMMENT ON REPORTS OF POLITICAL DISAGREEMENTS AMONG VARIOUS SALVADORAN OFFICIALS. THE U.S. SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR, HEADED BY PRESIDENT MAGANA. THIS GOVERNMENT HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC REFORM, IMPROVED OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE CONTINUED STRENGHTHENING OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

-- EL SALVADOR: COMMENTS BY RIVERA Y DAMMAS (W.POST)

Q: ANY REACTION TO ACTING ARCHBISHOP RIVERA Y. DAMAS' REMARKS ABOUT AMBASSADOR HINTON'S OCTOBER 29 REMARKS?

A: WE HAVE NOTED THE CONCERN OF ACTING ARCHBISHOP RIVERA Y DAMAS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN EL SALVADOR ABOUT THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE THAT HAS CLAIMED THOUSANDS OF LIVES IN THAT UNHAPPY COUNTRY. WE SUPPORT THE ARCHBISHOP'S CALL FOR DIALOGUE, OUR OWN POSITION HAVING LONG URGED POLITICAL RECONCILIATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE

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Special Project (1993)

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS. WE ARE ENCOURGAGED BY PRESIDENT MAGANA'S COMMENTS TO THE PRESS LAST WEEK THAT THE PEACE COMMISSION WILL SOON BE FORMED AND BEGIN ITS WORK ADDRESSING AMNESTY, DIALOGUE AND GENERAL PACIFICATION.

-- BOLVIA --

Q: WHAT DOES THE USG THINK OF THE ECONOMIC MEASURES TAKEN IN BOLIVIA OVER THE WEEKEND?

A: WE HAVE NO COMMENT, EXCEPT TO HOPE THAT THE NEW MEASURES WHICH WE UNDERSTAND THE IMF WAS SEEKING, WILL LEAD TO AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOB AND THE IMF.

-- BOLVIA --

Q: WHAT IS THE STATUS OF OUR AID PROGRAM TO BOLVIA?

A: MOST OF OUR ECONOMIC AID TO BOLVIA WAS SUSPENDED AFTER THE COUP OF JULY 17, 1980. RESUMPTION OF THAT AID PROGRAM IS UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION, BUT NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE YET.

Q: WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE GOB'S ANTI-NARCOTICS EFFORT?

A: PRESIDENT SILES HAS ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY HIS INTENTION TO COMBAT DRUG TRAFFICKING. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THESE REMARKS AND HOPE THAT THE GOB CAN MOUNT EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST BOTH NARCOTICS PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING.

Q: ARE WE TYING OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO THE GOB'S ACTIONS AGAINST NARCOTICS?

A: AS I SAID, RESUMPTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW.

-- GUATEMALA: DEPARTMENT PREPARED TO GO AHEAD WITH

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Special Project (19

HELICOPTER SPARE PARTS SALES --

Q: PRESS REPORTS OVER THE WEEKEND (JGOSHKO/WASHPOST) SUGGEST THAT THE "ADMINISTRATION IS NEARING A DECISION TO PROCEED WITH THE LONG-DELAYED SALE OF HELICOPTER SPARE PARTS" TO GUTEMALA. CAN YOU CONFIRM THIS?

A: FOR SOME MONTHS, WE HAVE BEEN CONSULTING WITH THE CONGRESS ABOUT CONDITIONS IN GUATEMALA, INCLUDING SUCH MATTERS AS HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ECONOMY, AND THE GUERRILLA INSURGENCY. WE HAVE CONSULTED ON IMPROVEMENTS IN CONTRAST WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF REGIMES THAT PRECEDED PRESIDENT RIOS MONTT, ABOUT AREAS NEEDING FURTHER IMPROVEMENT, AND ABOUT THE WAYS IN WHICH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT COULD BEST ENCOURAGE THE IMPROVEMENTS WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MADE. IN THAT CONTEXT, THE QUESTION HAS BEEN RAISED ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT OF GUATEMALA'S REQUEST FOR A CASH SALE PURCHASE OF HELICOPTER SPARE PARTS, AND THE POSSIBILITY AND NATURE OF ANY ASSISTANCE WHICH MIGHT BE PROVIDED THAT COUNTRY. I WILL REPEAT THAT NO FINAL DECISION HAS YET BEEN TAKEN, AND THAT OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE CONGRESS ARE CONTINUING.

Q: PRESS REPORTS SUGGEST THAT BECAUSE THE PROPOSED TRANSACTION INVOLVES A CASH SALE OF EQUIPMENT NOT DESIGNATED SPECIFICALLY AS MILITARY, THAT THE ADMINISTRATION CAN PROCEED WITH FORMAL CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, BUT THAT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BELIEVE THERE WAS "A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN OUR MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY

WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL." WAS THERE SUCH AN AGREEMENT?

A: I HAVE INDICATED THAT WE HAVE BEEN CONSULTING WITH THE CONGRESS AT THEIR REQUEST ON THESE ISSUES, AND AM NOT PREPARED TO GO FURTHER THAN THAT.

Q: IF THE CONGRESS DECIDES TO HOLD FORMAL HEARINGS ON

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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THE ISSUE OF ASSISTANCE TO GUATEMALA, WOULD THE DEPARTMENT SEND WITNESSES TO TESTIFY, AND WOULD THE DEPARTMENT DELAY AN RESUMPTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE UNTIL SUCH HEARINGS ARE HELD?

A: UNTIL SUCH DECISIONS ARE MADE, THAT IS A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION WHICH I'M NOT PREPARED TO ADDRESS IN ITS SPECIFICS. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WE DO OUR BEST TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE CONGRESS AS INDICATED BY THE CONSULTATIONS WHICH ARE UNDER WAY AT THIS TIME.

Q: WHAT IS THE DEPARTMENT'S RATIONALE FOR EVEN CONSIDERING CASH SALES OF HELICOPTER SPARE PARTS TO GUATEMALA IN LIGHT OF RECENT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS?

A: WE HAVE STATED BEFORE THAT THE RIOS MONTT GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES REPRESENT AN IMPROVEMENT OVER THOSE OF ITS PREDECESSOR GOVERNMENTS, A REDUCTION IN URBAN VIOLENCE BEING SIMPLY THE CLEAREST CASE IN POINT, AND THAT WHILE THERE ARE OTHER AREAS IN WHICH WE HOPE TO SEE MORE IMPROVEMENT, THAT OUR POLICIES SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE PROGRESS WHICH HAS BEEN MADE AND PROVIDE ENCOURAGEMENT OF FURTHER PROGRESS.

4. SUMMARY OF BRIEFING NOVEMBER 8, 1982 (HUGHES):

ALMOST THE ENTIRE BRIEFING CONCERNED THE MIDDLE EAST (WEST BANK ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS) OR THE SOVIET UNION (SLAVE LABOR REPORT AND BREZHNEV STATEMENTS ABOUT THE U.S.). FINALLY JIM LEOB ASKED FOR "ANYTHING ON [redacted]

HELICOPTER SPARE PARTS FOR GUATEMALA?" SPOKESMAN USED GUIDANCE' FIRST ANSWER IN TOTAL. THERE WERE NO FOLLOWUPS ON GUATEMALA. LATER SOMEONE ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY RESPONSE TO THE POST STORY TODAY THAT U.S. AID TO BOLIVIA IS BEING TIED TO PROGRESS AGAINST CONCAINE TRAFFICKING. SPOKESMAN SAID HE HAD NONE. HE CITED LAST FRIDAY'S RESPONSE USING THAT DAY'S GUIDANCE ON MRS. PINOCHET'S VISIT IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY TODAY ABOUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HER MEETING WITH MRS. REAGAN. SHULTZ

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 09981 091730Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 OIC-02
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
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E.O. ~~12356~~ DECL: OADR ~~12/9/88~~
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, ES
SUBJECT: (U) MURDER AND LARGE SCALE KIDNAPPING BY FMLN

REF: SAN SALVADOR 09980

WE WISH TO ALERT THE ABOVE ADDRESSEES THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD IT PUBLICALLY REVEAL [redacted] WAS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR OUR REPORT ON THE KIDNAPPING OF 200 INDIVIDUALS IN SAN VICENTE. THE DISCLOSURE OF THIS CONFIDENTIAL CONTACT COULD PREJUDICE THE SECURITY OF [redacted]

Department of State IB/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 7-25-97
Declassified under EO 12356 ( ) in full; (X) in part;
portions withheld: classified (X); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 09981 091730Z

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CONFIDENTIAL
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11/9/82

ID189

Case Number: s199900006

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06814 01 OF 02 092037Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 OIC-02
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 SANTIAGO 6814

E O 12356: DECL: 11/9/88
TAG: SHUM CI
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NAMES MEMBERS OF EXILE COMMISSION

REFS: A) SANTIAGO 6467; (B) SANTIAGO 6688

1.(C) SUMMARY: THE GOC ANNOUNCED THE NAMES OF THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE NEWLY APPOINTED COMMISSION TO STUDY THE RETURN OF EXILES. THEY CONSIST OF THE INTERIOR AND JUSTICE MINISTERS PLUS THREE NOTED JURISTS. HUMAN RIGHTS AND OPPOSITION SOURCES ARE CAUTIOUS IN THEIR INITIAL REACTIONS, EMPHASIZING THE PRO-GOC CONNECTIONS OF ALL, YET CONCEDING THE PRESTIGIOUS NATURE OF THE COMMISSION. ALL RESERVE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06814 01 OF 02 092037Z

JUDGEMENT PENDING CONCRETE RESULTS. FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT OVER LACK OF ATTENTION IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE TO THIS IMPORTANT STEP OF REVIEWING EXILE CASES. END SUMMARY.

2.(U) ON NOVEMBER 8, THE GOC NAMED THE FIVE MEMBERS

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OF THE COMMISSION WHICH WILL STUDY THE RETURN OF EXILES TO CHILE. THE COMMISSION WILL BE PRESIDED OVER BY ENRIQUE MONTERO MARX, MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND WILL INCLUDE: MONICA MADARIAGA, MINISTER OF JUSTICE; MIGUEL SCHWEITZER SPEISKY, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE; EUGENIO VALENZUELA SOMARRIVA, AND RICARDO RIVADENEIRA MONREAL, JURISTS; WITH UNDERSECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR RAMON SUAREZ ACTING AS SECRETARY. THE COMMISSION, ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT PINOCHET ON OCTOBER 25, WAS OFFICIALLY ESTABLISHED BY DECREE 1,456, AND ITS STATED OBJECT WAS TO "STUDY AND PROPOSE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC RESOLUTIONS ABOUT THE SITUATION OF PERSONS WITH TESPECT TO WHOM THERE IS IN PLACE A PROHIBITION TO ENTER THE COUNTRY". ACCORDING TO THE GOC SPOKESMAN, THE COMMISSION WILL MEET IN THE INTERIOR MINISTRY EVERY TUESDAY AND THURSDAY FROM 11:30 TO 13:00. IT HAS ALREADY MET WITH THE PRESIDENT, WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY SET A DEADLINE OF THE END OF 1982 FOR THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

3.(C) FOLLOWING ARE BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON THREE COMMISSION MEMBERS (BIO DATA ON MONTERO AND MADARIAGA, BOTH LAWYERS, WERE PREVIOUSLY SENT AT THE TIME OF THEIR ENTRY INTO THE CABINET:)
--MIGUEL SCHWEITZER SPEISKY WAS BORN IN 1908 IN ANTOFAGASTA. HE RECEIVED HIS LAW DEGREE IN 1981, SERVED AS PROFESSOR OF CRIMINAL LAW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE AND AS GENERAL COUNSEL FOR THE CHILEAN BAR ASSOCIATION. UNDER THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT, HE HAS SERVED AS A DELEGATE TO THE 32ND AND 33RD SESSIONS OF THE UNGA, PERMANENT MEMBER OF ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 SANTIA 06814 01 OF 02 092037Z

THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION, MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION WHICH EDITED THE GENERAL LAW OF THE UNIVERSITIES AND AS MINISTER OF JUSTICE FROM 1975-1977. SINCE FEBRUARY 1981 HE HAS BEEN PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.
--EUGENIO VALENZUELA SOMARRIVA, 47 YEARS OLD, RECEIVED HIS LAW DEGREE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE IN 1959 AND DID POSTGRADUATE WORK IN THE US. HE HAS SERVED IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT AS A MEMBER OF THE STATE DEFENSE COUNCIL, THE JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF THE COPPER INDUSTRY AND IS PRESENTLY SERVING AS LEGAL ADVISOR TO THE MINISTERS OF INTERIOR AND JUSTICE AND ON THE BUSTAMANTE COMMISSION, WHICH IS IN CHARGE OF DRAWING UP COMPLEMENTARY LAWS TO THE CONSTITUTION.
--RICARDO RIVADENEIRA MONREAL RECEIVED HIS LAW DEGREE IN 1950 AND SERVED AS PROFESSOR OF CRIMINAL LAW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE. HE LATER UNDERTOOK POSTGRADUATE STUDIES IN CRIMINAL LAW IN SPAIN. HE ENTERED PUBLIC SERVICE IN 1963, SERVING THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT AS LEGAL ADVISOR TO THE STATE DEFENSE COUNCIL UNTIL 1980 AND PARTICIPANT IN THE BORDR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARGENTINA.

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Case Number: s199900006

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 06814 02 OF 02 092029Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	DODE-00	H-01	IO-15	NSC-01	NSAE-00	SY-06
	HA-08	L-03	PM-09	PA-01	SAL-01	USIE-00	SP-02
	SPRS-01	/099 W					

----------030311 092127Z /63

P 091924Z NOV 82
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4326
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USMISSION GENEVA 796
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 SANTIAGO 06814

SECTION 02 OF 02

4.(C) WHILE GHE FULL RANGE OF REACTIONS IS NOT YET IN, THE EMBASSY HAS CONTACTED A SAMPLING AMONG THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT:

--ALEJANDRO GONZALEZ, LEGAL DIRECTOR OF THE CAHTOLIC CHURCH HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION, VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY, SAID THAT HE KNEW SCHWEITZER AND RIVADENEIRA TO BE RESPECTED AND SERIOUS MEN. WHILE GONZALEZ EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE DECREE ESTABLISHING THE COMMISSION DIDN'T ALSO SPECIFY THE GROUNDS FOR EXCLUSION FROM THE COUNTRY, HE NOTED THAT IT WAS PREMATURE TO READ TOO MUCH INTO THE NAMES OF THE MEMBERS.

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 06814 02 OF 02 092029Z

--RENE ABELIUK, VICE PRESIDENT OFTHE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, NOTED THAT THE COMMISSION IS COMPOSED OF OFFICIALS

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WHO HAD PARTICIPATED IN EXPULSIONS IN THE PAST, AND OF LAWYERS OF A PRONOUNCED PRO-GOC BENT. IT IS NOT AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION AS SOME WOULD HAVE WISHED, ABELIUK WENT ON, BUT STILL IT IS NEIGHER THE BEST NOR THE WORST, AND THE MEMBERS DO LEND IT AN UNDENIABLE PRESTIGE.

--OLAF LIENDO, PRESIDENT OF THE PRO-ALLENDE FACTION OF THE OLD RADICAL PARTY, EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT ALL FIVE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WERE GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES WHO COULD BE COUNTED UPON TO FOLLOW ORDERS FROM ABOVE. AT THE SAME TIME HE SEEMED TO GIVE SOME CREDENCE TO RUMORS HE'D HEARD THAT ALLBUT SEVERAL HUNDRED OF THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL EXILES WOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN.

5.(C) FOREIGN MINISTER ROJAS TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS WERE CONCERNED THAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT ON EXILES HAD NOT BEEN PROPERLY APPRECIATED IN THE U.S. AND IN EUROPE. (THIS CONVERSATION BEING REPORTED MORE FULLY BY SEPTEL.)
THEBERGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA009188

408

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ADP585
[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 09188 101748Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 H-01
NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08 L-03 INRE-00 OCS-06
CA-01 JUSE-00 /056 W
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O 101749Z NOV 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2649
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 09188

PANAMA FOR LEGATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: 11/10/88
TAGS: PINS, PINS, CDES, ES
SUBJECT: (U) TRIAL OF CHURCHWOMEN'S MURDERERS SET FOR
- NOVEMBER 12

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. BENJAMIN CESTONI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, CONFIRMED TO THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR A.M. NOVEMBER 10 THAT THE NATIONAL GUARDSMEN ACCUSED IN THE MURDER OF THE FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN WILL GO TO JURY TRIAL (PLENARIO) NOVEMBER 12.

3. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE FAMILIES AT ONE POINT WERE TALKING WITH EX-ATTORNEY GENERAL ARTURO ARGUMEDO ABOUT SERVING AS THE ACUSADOR PARTICULAR IN THIS CASE. FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCES HAVE CONFIRMED TO US THAT ARGUMEDO HAS ACCEPTED THE POSITION AS CONSUL GENERAL IN THE SALVADORAN EMBASSY IN MEXICO CITY. HE HAS ALREADY TAKEN UP HIS DUTIES THERE.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 09188 101748Z

4. ACTION REQUESTED: WE SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT URGENTLY CONTACT THE FAMILIES AND APPRAISE THEM OF THESE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS. WE ALSO NEED THEIR ADVICE IMMEDIATELY ON AN ACUSADOR PARTICULAR, IF ANY. PLEASE ADVISE.
HINTON

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR, El Salvador SP Date 7/22/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82BONN 001365

UNCLASSIFIED

ADP996
[redacted]

PAGE 01 BONN 01365 211424Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02
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O 101418Z N 82YR
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3375
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
EC COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE — IS/FPC/CDR — Date: 3/13/97
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[redacted] BONN 01365

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 12065: GDS 01-21-88 (BARKLEY, RICHARD C.) OR-P
TAGS: UNHRC, SHUM, PL, GE
SUBJECT: FRG INDICATES SUPPORT FOR U.S. POSITION ON POLAND
- AT UNHRC MEETING
REF: STATE 12523 (NOTAL)
-
-
1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT).

[redacted]

PAGE 02 BONN 01365 211424Z

2. IN RESPONSE TO OUR DEMARCHE ASKING FOR FRG SUPPORT FOR A SEPARATE POLISH AGENDA ITEM AT THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEETING (REFTEL), ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS FINKE-OSIANDER INDICATED ON JANUARY 20 THAT THE FRG WOULD SUPPORT OUR PROPOSAL. SHE SAID THAT THIS QUESTION WOULD BE DISCUSSED WITHIN THE EC IN BRUSSELS ON JANUARY 22, AND THAT THE FRG PLANS TO ABIDE BY THE CONSENSUS REACHED THERE. SHE FELT CONFIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT THE EC-10 WOULD AGREE TO WORK FOR

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A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM ON POLISH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

3. DR. FINKE-OSIANDER WAS NOT SANGUINE ABOUT GETTING THE COMMISSION TO AGREE TO A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM FOR POLAND. POINTING TO TRADITIONAL RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF THIRD-WORLD NATIONS TO TAKE SIDES ON WHAT THEY CONSIDER EAST-WEST ISSUES, SHE DOUBTED WHETHER WE WOULD BE ABLE TO WIN A MAJORITY WITHIN THE COMMISSION. NEVERTHELESS, SHE AGREED THE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE.

4. IF IT FAILS, DR. FINKE-OSIANDER SAID, THE FRG IS CURRENTLY THINKING IN TERMS OF CALLING FOR DISCUSSION OF POLAND UNDER ITEM 12 OF THE AGENDA, REQUESTING EXTENSION OF THE TIME ALLOTTED FOR DISCUSSION, AND ALTERING THE AGENDA SEQUENCE SO POLAND CAN BE ADDRESSED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

5. COMMENT: THE GERMANS WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH US ON THIS ISSUE. MOREOVER, THE FRG DOES NOT NEED TO CREATE ANY MORE PUBLIC QUESTIONS ABOUT ITS RESOLVE ON THE POLISH SITUATION. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THE FRG WILL TRY HARD TO COOPERATE WITH US ON POLAND AT THE COMMISSION MEETING, AS WELL AS IN OTHER UN FORA. BURNS

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Date Printed: 08/11/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 82STATE318367 CHANNEL: n/a
FileName : .../t821170/aaaacemm.tel

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PAGE 01 STATE 318367
ORIGIN EUR-12

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/TPS/CR/TR Date: 9/3/97
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PA Exemptions ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
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DRAFTED BY EUR/SOV:LCNAPPER:ROSE
APPROVED BY EUR:RBLACKWILL
EUR/SOV:TWSIMONS
EUR:MPALMER
S/S:CMCMANAWAY

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 318367

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, UR, US
SUBJECT: STATEMENT'S OF THE PRESIDENT, WHITE HOUSE AND SECRETARY SHULTZ ON THE DEATH OF BREZHNEV

1. (U - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. IN RESPONSE TO THE DEATH OF SOVIET PRESIDENT BREZHNEV THE PRESIDENT HAS SENT HIS PERSONAL MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET V.V. KUZNETSOV (TEXT AT PARA. 3). SECRETARY SHULTZ HAS SENT A MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO (TEXT AT PARA. 4) AND THE WHITE HOUSE HAS ISSUES A STATEMENT (TEXT AT PARA. 5). POSTS MAY DRAW UPON THESE STATEMENTS AS APPROPRIATE.

3. BEGIN TEXT: TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO VASILIY VASILYEVICH KUZNETSOV, FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.
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PAGE 02 STATE 318367

PLEASE ACCEPT MY CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT LEONID IL'ICH BREZHNEV. PRESIDENT BREZHNEV WAS ONE OF

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Date Printed: 08/11/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 82STATE318367 CHANNEL: n/a
FileName : .../t821170/aaaacemm.tel

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THE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT FIGURES FOR NEARLY TWO DECADES. MAY I ASK YOU TO CONVEY OUR SYMPATHIES TO THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO CONVEY THROUGH YOU TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE THE STRONG DESIRE OF THE UNITED STATES TO WORK TOWARD AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONDUCTING RELATIONS WITH THE NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION WITH THE AIM OF EXPANDING THE AREAS WHERE OUR TWO NATIONS CAN COOPERATE TO MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN.

4. BEGIN TEXT: SECRETARY SHULTZ' MESSAGE TO GROMYKO: PLEASE ACCEPT MY CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT LEONID IL'ICH BREZHNEV. I CAN APPRECIATE YOUR SENSE OF LOSS AT THE DEATH OF A COLLEAGUE WHO PLAYED SUCH A LEADING ROLE IN YOUR NATION AND IN RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. WE HOPE TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THESE RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU TOWARD THIS END. SINCERELY, GEORGE SHULTZ. END TEXT.

5. BEGIN TEXT OF WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT:

THE PRESIDENT IS EXPRESSING HIS PERSONAL CONDOLENCES TO MR. KUZNETSOV, FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R., ON THE DEATH OF SOVIET PRESIDENT BREZHNEV. A HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION WILL REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES AT THE MEMORIAL CEREMONIES IN MOSCOW.
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PAGE 03 STATE 318367

AS LEADER OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR NEARLY TWO DECADES, PRESIDENT BREZHNEV WAS ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT FIGURES. PRESIDENT BREZHNEV PLAYED A VERY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE SHAPING OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS DURING HIS PRESIDENCY.

PRESIDENT REAGAN IS CONVEYING TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THE STRONG DESIRE OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND TO MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR SOCIETIES ON ALL IMPORTANT ISSUES. THE PRSIDENT LOOKS FORWARD TO A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE

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Date Printed: 08/11/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 82STATE318367 CHANNEL: n/a
FileName : .../t821170/aaaacemm.tel

SOVIET UNION. END TEXT: SHULTZ

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PAGE 01 STATE 318367
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-10 AF-10 EA-12 MMO-01
IO-15 NEA-07 ARA-16 SSO-00 SIG-03 /087 R

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APPROVED BY EUR:RBLACKWILL
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Date Printed: 08/11/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 82STATE318367 CHANNEL: n/a
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S/S:CMCMANAWAY
EUR:MPALMER
S/S-O:MROBINSON

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TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
XMT AMEMBASSY ANTIGUA
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY NASSAU
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
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PAGE 02 STATE 318367

AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

UNCLAS STATE 318367

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 318367 ACTION AMREP LAGOS NOV 12.
QUOTE:
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV UR US
SUBJECT: STATEMENT'S OF THE PRESIDENT, WHITE HOUSE

UNCLASSIFIED

Date Printed: 08/11/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 82STATE318367 CHANNEL: n/a
FileName : .../t821170/aaaacemm.tel

AND SECRETARY SHULTZ ON THE DEATH OF BREZHNEV

UNCLASSIFIED

1. (U - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. IN RESPONSE TO THE DEATH OF SOVIET PRESIDENT BREZHNEV THE PRESIDENT HAS SENT HIS PERSONAL MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET V.V. KUZNETSOV (TEXT AT PARA. 3). SECRETARY SHULTZ HAS SENT A MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO (TEXT AT PARA. 4) AND THE WHITE HOUSE HAS ISSUES A STATEMENT (TEXT AT PARA. 5). POSTS MAY DRAW UPON THESE STATEMENTS AS APPROPRIATE.

3. BEGIN TEXT: TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO VASILIY VASILYEVICH KUZNETSOV, FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 318367

LEONID IL'ICH BREZHNEV. PRESIDENT BREZHNEV WAS ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT FIGURES FOR NEARLY TWO DECADES. MAY I ASK YOU TO CONVEY OUR SYMPATHIES TO THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO CONVEY THROUGH YOU TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE THE STRONG DESIRE OF THE UNITED STATES TO WORK TOWARD AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONDUCTING RELATIONS WITH THE NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION WITH THE AIM OF EXPANDING THE AREAS WHERE OUR TWO NATIONS CAN COOPERATE TO MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN.

4. BEGIN TEXT: SECRETARY SHULTZ' MESSAGE TO GROMYKO: PLEASE ACCEPT MY CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT LEONID IL'ICH BREZHNEV. I CAN APPRECIATE YOUR SENSE OF LOSS AT THE DEATH OF A COLLEAGUE WHO PLAYED SUCH A LEADING ROLE IN YOUR NATION AND IN RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. WE HOPE TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THESE RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU TOWARD THIS END. SINCERELY, GEORGE SHULTZ. END TEXT.

5. BEGIN TEXT OF WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT:

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Date Printed: 08/11/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 82STATE318367 CHANNEL: n/a
FileName : .../t821170/aaaacemm.tel

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THE PRESIDENT IS EXPRESSING HIS PERSONAL CONDOLENCES TO MR. KUZNETSOV, FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R., ON THE DEATH OF SOVIET PRESIDENT BREZHNEV. A HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION WILL REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES AT THE MEMORIAL CEREMONIES IN MOSCOW.

AS LEADER OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR NEARLY TWO DECADES, PRESIDENT BREZHNEV WAS ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT FIGURES. PRESIDENT BREZHNEV PLAYED A VERY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE SHAPING OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS DURING HIS
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PAGE 04 STATE 318367

PRESIDENCY.

PRESIDENT REAGAN IS CONVEYING TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THE STRONG DESIRE OF THE UNITETES TO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND TO MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR SOCIETIES ON ALL IMPORTANT ISSUES. THE PRSIDENT LOOKS FORWARD TO A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION. END TEXT. SHULTZ
UNQUOTE SHULTZ

NOTE BY OC/T: ORIG. DIST: EUR/ADS,SIG,MMO,PA,SPRS,NSC-$,GREE,SSC, SSO,NSCE,ANAE.

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11/15/82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXDIS

Case Number: s199900086

Chile Project (#S199900080)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 MEXICO 15571 152336Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 (AS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4894
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L MEXICO 15571

EXDIS

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E.O. 12356: DECL: 11/15/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, KPRP, CI, MX
SUBJECT: CHILEAN EXILE VIEWS ON RETURN OF EXILES COMMISSION

REF: SANTIAGO 6814

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY. RADICAL PARTY EXILE LEADERS SULE AND MORALES EXPRESS DOUBTS ABOUT BOTH SINCERITY AND OUTCOME OF THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT FORMATION OF A COMMISSION ON THE RETURN OF EXILES. END SUMMARY.

3. POLCOUNS AND POLOFFS MET NOVEMBER 12 WITH ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 MEXICO 15571 152336Z

EXILED CHILEAN RADICAL PARTY LEADERS ANSELMO SULE AND CARLOS MORALES, WHO EXPRESSED THEIR DOUBTS ABOUT THE SINCERITY OF PINOCHET'S EFFORT. THEY CHARGED THAT THE TIMING OF THE COMMISSION REPORT IS LINKED TO THE UN VOTE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN CHILE AND TO THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL

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CERTIFICATION FOR ASSISTANCE TO CHILE.

4. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE COMMISSION'S COMPOSITION. THEY CHARACTERIZED THE INTERIOR AND JUSTICE MINISTERS AS "FASCISTS" AND THE THREE JURISTS AS "GOC FUNCTIONARIES" WHO WILL "DO AS THEY ARE TOLD".

5. AS EXPRESSED BY OLAF LIENDO IN REFTEL, SULE AND MORALES BELIEVE THE GOC WILL PUBLISH A LIST OF "EXCLUDED" INDIVIDUALS AND WELCOME BACK ALL OTHERS. THEY PREDICT, HOWEVER, THAT FEW WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE INVITATION TO RETURN EITHER FROM DISTRUST OF THE GOC, OR AS A RESULT OF CHILE'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WHICH MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO FIND EMPLOYMENT WERE THEY TO RETURN.

6. IN TERMS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS, MORALES WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE RADICAL PARTY. BOTH ITS EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ELEMENTS ARE NOW ESSENTIALLY UNITED, HE SAID, AND THE PARTY HAD MANAGED TO HOLD A CLANDESTINE CONGRESS IN CHILE. THE INTERNATIONAL WORK OF THE EXILED PR LEADERS WOULD RESULT IN SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE RADICALS ONCE PARTY ACTIVITY IS PERMITTED IN CHILE. (DRAFTED BY:RTHURMAN) GAVIN

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PAGE 01 USUN N 03450 01 OF 02 162134Z
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 03450

ALSO FOR USOAS

E.O. 123[redacted]: DECL:OADR
TAGS: US, OAS, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: STRATEGY ON HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR IN THE 37TH UNGA

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: ONE OF THE MAJOR ISSUES STILL FACING US IN THE UNGA IS A RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. USUN RECOMMENDS THAT, IN THE BILATERALS AT THE MARGIN OF THE OASGA, THE US SEEK THE SUPPORT OF THE LATINS FOR OUR EFFORTS IN THE UNGA AND IN PARTICULAR TRY TO GET A COMMITMENT FROM THEM TO JOIN US IN OPPOSING A ONE-SIDED RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

3. AS LAST YEAR, THERE WILL BE A RESOLUTION IN THE UNGA'S THIRD COMMITTEE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN ANY DRAFT ALTHOUGH THE MEXICANS APPARENTLY HAVE ASSEMBLED A COLLECTION OF POINTS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SWEDES ARE AT PRESENT DISCUSSING

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PAGE 02 USUN N 03450 01 OF 02 162134Z

THIS SUBJECT WITH MEXICO, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF COMING UP WITH A MORE MODERATE DRAFT THAN LAST YEAR. WE REMAIN DUBIOUS, HOWEVER, THAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL BE ACCEPTABLE. OVER-ALL, THE EUROPEANS REMAIN DIFFICULT. THE SWEDES AND THE DUTCH IN PARTICULAR, DO NOT HAVE A HELPFUL ATTITUUE ON THIS ISSUE.

4. IF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION IS UNACCEPTABLE, WE WOULD TRY TO IMPROVE IT THROUGH AMENDMENTS, SUCH AS POSITIVE REFERENCES TO THE ELECTIONS AND LAND REFORM AND TO THE NEED TO CONTINUE PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS AS PART OF THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

OUR STRATEGY THUS WILL BE TO EMPHASIZE THE DESIRABILITY OF A RESOLUTION THAT ENCOURAGES THE CAUSE OF MODERATE REFORM, BY ACKNOWLEDGING THE PROGRESS THE GOES HAS MADE, AND OUR OPPOSITION TO A DRAFT WHICH WEAKENS THE FORCES OF REFORM IN EL SALVADOR BY FAILING TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGE.

5. TO PURSUE THIS STRATEGY EFFECTIVELY WE AND THE SALVADOREANS MUST HAVE THE SUPPPORT OF OTHER LATIN DELEGATIONS. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LATIN UNITY HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED ON THE MALVINAS RESOLUTION. ALSO, WE BELIEVE MOST LATINS WOULD AGREE THAT:

- THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IN LATIN AMERICA
- HAS BEEN EXPLOITED AND MISUSED FOR
- POLITICAL ENDS IN UN FORA: AND,

- HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES HAVE BEEN PURSUED
- SELECTIVELY IN THE UN, PRIMARILY TOWARD
- LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

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PAGE 03 USUN N 03450 01 OF 02 162134Z

6. WE ALREADY HAVE A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP IN THE UNGA'S THIRD COMMITTEE WITH EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, AND COSTA RICA AS WELL AS WITH COLOMBIA, CHILE AND GUATEMALA. WE SEE NO PROBLEM IN CONCERTING STRATEGY WITH THEM. WE ARE LESS CERTAIN, ON THE OTHER HAND, OF THE COOPERATION OF OTHER LATIN AMERICAN STATES WHICH COULD BE EXPECTED TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO OUR POINT OF VIEW, AND BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO RAISE WITH THEM AT A HIGH LEVEL OUR DESIRE FOR COORDINATION OF

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POLICY ON THIS ISSUE. THIS COULD BE DONE IN THE BILATERALS AT THE MARGIN OF THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY -- HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED IN SOME OF THE BILATERALS LAST YEAR -- OR IN CAPITALS. COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO ESTABLISH CLOSER COOPERATION FOR DEALING WITH THE EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION ARE VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, PERU, PANAMA, ECUADOR, JAMAICA, TRINIDAD, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND THE BAHAMAS. IN ADDITION, WE WILL PURSUE THE ISSUE WITH THE SMALLER ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN (ANTIGUA, BARBADOS, DOMINICA, ST. LUCIA AND ST. VINCENT) BUT WOULD SUGGEST THAT EMBASSY BRIDGETOWN BE ALSO REQUESTED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT IN CAPITALS IF THERE IS NOT SUFFICIENT OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS IT DURING

B. ACTION REQUESTED: USUN REQUESTS THAT IN THE BILATERALS AT THE MARGIN OF THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOT RELEVANT TO EL SALVADOR

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PAGE 01 USUN N 03450 02 OF 02 162135Z
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ALSO FOR USOAS

THE TREATMENT OF LATIN AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE UNGA BE RAISED WITH SELECTED LATIN FOREIGN MINISTERS ALONG THE LINES OF PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5. IN PARTICULAR, WE SHOULD SEEK AN UNDERSTANDING FOR CLOSER COORDINATION OF OUR POSITIONS IN THE UNGA'S THIRD COMMITTEE ON A RESOLUTION DEALING WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR TO ENSURE RECOGINITION OF THE PROGRESS MADE SINCE LAST YEAR AND TO PREVENT THE INCLUSION OF EXTRANEOUS POLITICAL MATERIAL (SUCH AS A CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS). SPECIFICALLY, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE:

A) INSTRUCTIONS TO THE DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK *TO COOPERATE WITH US AND THE SALVADOREAN DELEGATION* ON MOVES TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTIVE RESOLUTION THROUGH MUTUALLY AGREED AMENDMENTS (THIS MIGHT REQUIRE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFORMAL WORKING GROUP BY THE LATINS IN WHICH WE WOULD BE INVITED *TO PARTICIPATE*);

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PAGE 02 USUN N 03450 02 OF 02 162135Z

B) A COMMITMENT, IF THESE EFFORTS DO NOT SUCCEED, *TO VOTE NO WITH US ON A RESOLUTION THAT IS*

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ONE-SIDED RATHER THAN MERELY TO ABSTAIN.

9. ALTERNATIVELY, OR TO THE EXTENT THE SUBJECT CANNOT BE COVERED IN THE BILATERALS, WE REQUEST THAT EMBASSIES BE INSTRUCTED TO TAKE UP THE *SUBJECT AT A SUITABLY HIGH LEVEL WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS.*
ADELMAN

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
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E.O. 12356: NA
TAGS: CASC, SHUM, IT (MOTTA, TONI AGATINA)
SUBJECT: W/W: TONI AGATINA MOTTA

REF: A. STATE063189; B. BOGOTA 1227; C. QUITO 0976; D. 81 ROME 08699; E. 81 MEXICO 04648; F. 81 LIMA 3685. G. 81 BUENOS AIRES 2578; H. 81 PALERMO 0397.

1. RE REFTELS, ON NOVEMBER 07 A LOCAL SICILIAN NEWSPAPER (GIORNALE DI SICILIA) RAN AN ARTICLE CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE IN ARGENTINA, OF ITALIAN CITIZEN SALVATORE PRIVITERA AND USC TONI AGATINA MOTTA. (MOTTA IS PRESUMABLY ALSO CITIZEN OF ITALY). ARTICLE STATED THAT MOTTA WAS LAST HEARD BY HER BROTHER, WHO RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL FROM HER DAUGHTER IN ARGENTINA, IN OCTOBER, 1980.
2. CONOFF ATTEMPTED TO TELEPHONE MOTTA AND PRIVITERA FAMILIES WHO RESIDE IN SICILY, TO VERIFY ACCURACY OF GIORNALE DI SICILIA ARTICLE BUT WE UNSUCCESSFULL IN REACHING EITHER FAMILY.
3. ACCORDING TO POST'S PASSPORT RECORDS, TONI AGATINA MOTTA WAS BORN IN NEW YORK CITY ON OCTOBER 23, 1948, AND IS UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 PALERM 01258 171741Z

BEARER OF PASSPORT [redacted] (REFTEL H). JONES

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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PAGE 01 STATE 321612
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ALL POSTS PASS PAOS

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SOPN
SUBJECT: ARA NEWS ITEMS OF NOVEMBER 16, 1982

1. SUMMARY OF NEWSPAPERS

-- WASHINGTON POST--

CUBA: REUTER NEWS BRIEF FROM KUWAIT PAGE 2 (EMIR OF KUWAIT INVITED TO VISIT CUBA) SAYS CASTRO SENT AN INVITATION TO THE EMIR OF KUWAIT FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT. KUWAIT IS THE ONLY PERSIAN GULF COUNTRY THAT HAS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST BLOC.
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PAGE 02 STATE 321612

EL SALVADOR: CHRISTOPHER DICKEY FROM ZACATECOLUCA, EL

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Special Project (1993)

SALVADOR, PAGE 16 (SALVADORAN JUDGE ORDERS TRIAL FOR NUNS' MURDER) SAYS JUDGE BERNARDO RAUDA MURCIA, "IN WHAT HE CALLED 'A MAJOR STEP' TOWARD THE POSSIBLE CONVICTION OF FIVE SALVADORAN NATIONAL GUARDSMEN ACCUSED OF MURDERING THREE AMERICAN NUNS AND A LAY WORKER IN 1980, MADE AN OFFICIAL DETERMINATION THAT THE IMPRISONED GUARDSMEN 'PARTICIPATED IN THE CRIME' OF AGGRAVATED HOMICIDE. UNDER THE SALVADORAN LEGAL SYSTEM, THE RULING...PUTS VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE BURDEN OF PROOF ON THE DEFENDANTS TO ESTABLISH THEIR INNOCENCE THROUGH A PROCESS

OF APPEALS AND FINALLY AN OPEN HEARING BEFORE FIVE JURORS." RAUDA MURCIA'S RULING CAME A DAY AFTER CHARGES BY THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS THAT THE PRICE OF CONVICTING THE FIVE GUARDSMEN MAY BE A "COVERUP" OF ANY INVOLVEMENT BY HIGHER-UPS. IN A LETTER ALLEGEDLY SENT TO THE STATE DEPT., THE NEW YORK-BASED LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SAID, "LAWYERS HAVE WARNED US THAT THE ONLY WAY TO GUARANTEE A CONVICTION OF THE FIVE GUARDSMEN IS TO REFUTE THEIR CLAIM THAT OTHERS WERE INVOLVED. WE REJECT THIS SPECIOUS REASONING. THE FAMILIES INSIST ON A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE CASE NO MATTER WHERE IT LEADS." RAUDA MURCIA SAID THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE IN HIS FILES THAT ESTABLISHED ORDERS FROM SUPERIOR OFFICERS. "US OFFICIALS HERE HAVE SAID PRIVATELY SINCE THE SUSPECTS WERE ARRAIGNED IN FEBRUARY THAT THEY HAD NO CASE FOR ESTABLISHING THE INVOLVEMENT OF SUPERIOR OFFICERS AND HAVE CONCEDED THAT THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE THE CASE WOULD OR COULD BE PURSUED FURTHER." RAUDA MURCIA SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT THE OPEN HEARING, AT WHICH THE DEFENDANTS WOULD APPEAR AND ORAL ARGUMENTS BY

THE PROSECUTION AND DEFENSE WOULD BE HEARD, TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE JANUARY. DICKEY POINTS OUT THAT THE NEXT CERTIFICATION DEADLINE FOR CONTINUED MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR IS JANUARY 28.

BRAZIL: JACKSON DIEHL PAGE 16 FROM RIO DE JANEIRO (BRAZIL HOLDS ELECTIONS FOR LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL OFFICIALS) WRITES OF YESTERDAY'S BRAZILIAN ELECTIONS, IN WHICH "THE VOTING WAS EXPECTED TO TRANSFORM THE CHARACTER OF GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY IN LATIN AMERICA'S LARGEST COUNTRY BY PROPEELLING A HOST OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES TO

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POWERFUL POSITIONS AS STATE GOVERNORS AND FEDERAL CONGRESSMEN. THE RESULTS OF THE VOTE WILL DETERMINE THE BALANCE OF POWER IN A SPECIAL ELECTORAL COLLEGE NOW SCHEDULED TO CHOOSE BRAZIL'S NEXT PRESIDENT IN JANUARY, 1985. THE GOVERNMENT EXPECTS TO CONTROL THAT SELECTION, BUT ITS ASSESSMENT OF TODAY'S ELECTION RESULTS IS LIKELY TO SHAPE THE FUTURE OF BRAZIL'S GRADUAL MOVE TOWARD FULL DEMOCRACY, A PROCESS THAT HAS BEEN WATCHED CLOSELY BY OTHER SOUTH AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS." NO MAJOR DISTURBANCES WERE REPORTED DURING THE VOTING, SAYS DIEHL. COUNTING OF THE PAPER BALLOTS WILL NOT BEGIN UNTIL TUESDAY, AND FINAL RESULTS PROBABLY WILL NOT BE KNOWN FOR AS MUCH AS A WEEK. NEWLY ELECTED OFFICIALS ARE SCHEDULED TO TAKE OFFICE IN MARCH. "VOTING...CAME AFTER A LONG AND TUMULTOUS CAMPAIGN MARKED BY OCCASIONAL VIOLENCE, MASSIVE EXPENDITURES BY BOTH GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION CANDIDATES AND A CARNAVAL OF OPEN AIR RALLIES IN BRAZIL'S MAJOR CITIES LAST WEEK. PRESIDENT JOAO FIGUEIREDO, WHO

HAS LED THE...'ABERTURA', OR OPENING TO DEMOCRACY, MADE 48 CAMPAIGN TRIPS AND 140 STUMP SPEECHES IN SUPPORT OF THE PDS GOVERNMENT PARTY EVEN THOUGH HE IS NOT A CANDIDATE. 'WE'RE GOING TO STUFF THE OPPOSITION WITH DEMOCRACY UNTIL THEY GET INDIGESTION,' HE DECLARED LAST WEEK AT A FINAL RALLY IN...RECIFE."

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OAS: UPI FROM WASHINGTON PAGE 20, BACK PAGE FRONT SECTION ON OPENING OF OASGA MEETING YESTERDAY (LATIN AMERICA SEEN AS PAWN IN EAST-WEST STRUGGLE). UPI CITES SPEECH BY COLOMBIAN FONMIN LLOREDA, IN WHICH HE ACCUSED THE US, THE USSR AND CUBA OF TURNING LATIN AMERICA INTO A MILITARY AND IDEOLOGICAL BATTLEFIELD IN THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT. "THE GREAT POWERS...HAVE AFTER ALL TRANSFERRED THEIR RIVALRY TO THE LATIN AMERICAN STAGE," LLOREDA TOLD HIS FELLOW FOREIGN MINISTERS. "NOTHING, APPARENTLY, WILL STOP CUBA IN ITS EFFORTS TO EXTEND SOVIET INFLUENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. AND NOTHING (WILL STOP) THE US IN ITS EFFORTS TO PREVENT THAT," HE SAID. OAS SECGEN ORFILA OPENED THE CONFERENCE BY CALLING ON THE US NOT TO DEAL WITH LATIN AMERICA ONLY AS PART OF THE EAST-WEST SUPERPOWER STRUGGLE. "LLOREDA SAID THE US HAS WEAKENED THE OAS AS A REGIONAL FORUM BECAUSE IT TENDS TO DEAL WITH

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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ATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN NATIONS ON A BILATERAL BASIS. WITHOUT NAMING THE US, HE INDIRECTLY ACCUSED WASHINGTON OF WEAKENING THE...RIO TREATY, BECAUSE IT SUPPORTED BRITAIN OVER ARGENTINA IN THE FALKLANDS CONFLICT. LLOREDA PROPOSED A REGIONAL COMMISSION TO MONITOR HEMISPHERIC ARMS RACES SIMILAR TO A UN COMMISSION MONITORING WORLDWIDE HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE." UPI SAYS THE OAS CONFERENCE ALSO RELEASED THE TEXT OF A DRAFT ARGENTINE RESOLUTION ON THE FALKLANDS, WHICH THE US SUPPORTS, ACCORDING TO UPI, BECAUSE IT NEITHER MENTIONS THE ISLANDS BY NAME NOR ADDRESSES THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE.

-- WASHINGTON TIMES --

HONDURAS: DAVID SPERLING FROM TEGUCIGALPA PAGE 8 (HONDURAS HITS PORTRAYAL AS VILLAIN BY CRITICS ABROAD)

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PAGE 05 STATE 321612

QUOTES HONDURAN PRESIDENT SUAZO CORDOVA AS SAYING HONDURAS HAS BECOME THE TARGET OF A "TREMENDOUS CAMPAIGN OF DISINFORMATION...ALL OVER THE WORLD, THEY ARE SAYING THAT HONDURAS IS GOING TO ATTACK NICARAGUA...NOTHING COULD BE FARTHER FROM THE TRUTH." SPERLING SAYS GOH OFFICIALS FEEL "A GREAT SENSE OF FRUSTRATION OVER THE WAY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN HONDURAS HAVE BEEN COVERED BY THE FOREIGN PRESS. DESPITE A NUMBER OF REFORMS INSTITUTED BY THE GOH, FOREIGN PRESS COVERAGE "HAS FOCUSED ON HE FLEDGLING

DEMOCRACY'S BLEMISHES OR ALLEGED BLEMISHES: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, MILITARY DOMINATION OF ITS GOVERNMENT AND COVERT US OPERATIONS IN THE COUNTRY. THE RESULT HAS BEEN A WINDFALL PROPAGANDA COUP FOR NICARAGUA," SAYS SPERLING. HE CONTINUES THAT "DESPITE SANDINISTA RHETORIC TO THE CONTRARY, HONDURAN OFFICIALS MAINTAIN THEY HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO PLANS TO ATTACK NICARAGUA," AND THAT WHILE NICARAGUA HAS 25 COMBAT BATTALIONS ALONG THE BORDER, HONDURAS MAINTAINS ONLY FOUR BATTALIONS ALONG THE SAME BORDER. GEN. ALVAREZ, CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES, POINTS OUT THAT TO CONTROL THE FLOW OF REFUGEES ACROSS THE BORDER INTO HONDURAS, 90 PERCENT OF THE ARMY WOULD HAVE TO BE DEPLOYED THERE--IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE HONDURAS ALSO WANTS TO SEAL ITS BORDER WITH EL SALVADOR.VENEZUELA/CUBA: AP FROM CARACAS PAGE 8 (CUBA, VENEZUELA RIFT REMAINS UNSUTURED) SAYS EFFORTS BY DIPLOMATS FROM BOTH COUNTRIES TO IMPROVE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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RELATIONS, A PROCESS BEGUN DURING THE FALKLANDS WAR, HAVE HIT A SNAG--CUBA'S DEMAND THAT VENEZUELA CONDEMN A GROUP OF ANTI-CASTRO ACTIVITSTS ACCUSED OF TERRORISM. THE GROUP CONSISTS OF FOUR MEN, INCLUDING CUBAN EXILE ORLANDO BOSCH, WHO WERE ACQUITTED BY A VENEZUELAN COURT IN 1980 OF PLANTING BOMBS ABOARD A CUBAN AIRLINER WHICH CRASHED OFF BARBADOS IN 1976, KILLING 73. ALTHOUGH THE FOUR REMAIN IN PRISON, PENDING SUPREME COURT ACTION, CUBA WITHDREW MOST OF ITS DIPLOMATS FROM CARACAS AFTER THE VERDICT. VENEZUELA TAKES THE ATTITUDE, SAYS AP, THAT IT CANNOT

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MANIPULATE THE ACTIONS OF A COURT, AND RELATIONS CANNOT DEPEND ON COURT DECISIONS. DURING FALKLANDS WAR, CUBA AND VENEZUELA TALKED OF NEW INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM--BOTH BACKED ARGENTINA. VENEZUELA THOUGHT CUBA WOULD SUPPORT ITS APPLICATION TO BECOME A FULL MEMBER OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS, BUT EVEN THOUGH CUBA PRESIDES OVER THE GROUP, VENEZUELA'S REQUEST WAS REJECTED FOR THE TIME BEING BECAUSE OF THE LOBBYING OF THE SMALL BUT ACTIVE GUYANA DELEGATION.

HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS: BEN MEYER OP-ED COLUMN PAGE 11 (IN SEARCH OF FRIENDS DOWN SOUTH) NOTES RECENT US MOVES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA. HE CITES POSTPONEMENT OF MILITARY EXERCISE WITH HONDURAS, WHICH HAD UPSET NICARAGUA, SUPPORT OF THE ARGENTINE FALKLANDS RESOLUTION IN THE UNGA, AND THE PRESIDENT'S UPCOMING TRIP. "THESE AND OTHER MEASURES WERE TAKEN IN ADVANCE OF THE ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE OAS, AT WHICH SOME NATIONS HAD DISCUSSED THE FORMATION OF AN ANTI-US BLOC....PRESUMABLY THE ADMINISTRATION HOPED THE GESTURES WOULD DIMINISH THE ANTI-US STANCE IN THE OAS NATIONS." ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT CONSIDERED HELPFUL, SAYS MEYER, "WAS ADOPTION OF A COURSE OF LESS CONFRONTATION IN SEEKING TO END TENSIONS IN

CENTRAL AMERICA." ALL LATIN AMERICA, SAYS MEYER, IS IN ECONOMIC TROUBLE, WHICH MAKES THEIR LEADERS HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO ANY ACTIONS BY THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS WHICH MIGHT BE HARMFUL TO THEM. SOME BLAME THE US, BUT OTHERS MAKE CONSTRUCTIVE COMMENTS ON TRADE AND OTHER MATTERS THEY CONSIDER UNWISE OR UNFAIR. "IT MAY WELL BE THAT FRIENDLY SUGGESTIONS FROM LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS LIKE PRESIDENT BELAUNDE OF PERU, PRESIDENT FIGUEIREDO OF BRAZIL

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

AND PRESIDENT MONGE OF COSTA RICA, AND SKEPTICISM IN SOME

COUNTRIES ABOUT US POLICY TOWARD NICARAGUA CONTRIBUTED IN SOME MEASURE TO EFFORTS OF REAGAN TO IMPROVE RELATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA," SAYS MEYER.

-- NEW YORK TIMES --

EL SALVADOR: AP STORY FROM SAN SALVADOR RUNS FRONT PAGE ("SALVADOR TO TRY 5 IN THE DEATHS OF US WOMEN: TRIAL OF EX-GUARDSMEN IS EXPECTED IN JANUARY" CONTINUED PAGE 6) NOTES JUDGE BERNARDO RAUDA MURCIA'S DECISION THAT THERE IS ENOUGH EVIDENCE FOR CASE TO GO TO TRIAL WITH THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE DESCRIBED AS EARLY JANUARY WHEN THE CASE WOULD BE HEARD BY A JURY OF FIVE CITIZENS. STORY INCLUDES WASHINGTON INCLUSION OF STATE DEPARTMENT WHICH WAS "OBVIOUSLY PLEASED" THE CASE AGAINST THE ACCUSED WAS PROGRESSING, AND FAMILY REPRESENTATIVES WHO "DENOUNCED THE PROJECTED TRIAL AS A SHAM, CHARGED THAT HIGHER SALVADORANS WERE CLEARLY INVOLVED AND ACCUSED THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION OF NOT PRESSING HARD ENOUGH FOR WHAT THEY CALLED A FULL INVESTIGATION." THE MARYKNOLL SISTERS ALSO CHARGED IN A STATEMENT THAT "THE INVOLVEMENT OF HIGHER-UPS HAS NOT BEEN VIGOROUSLY INVESTIGATED." THE TRIAL, ACCORDING TO THE STORY, IS EXPECTED TO BE A SPEEDY ONE, WITH THE JUDGE'S SECRETARY SAYING THAT A VERDICT COULD ALSO BE REACHED IN THE EARLY PART OF JANUARY. THIS COMES AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE EQUIVALENT OF A NINE-MONTH GRAND JURY INQUIRY. BACKGROUND ON THE CASE INCLUDES QUOTE IN FEBRUARY FROM DUARTE THAT "I AM CONVINCED THAT NO OTHERS PARTICIPATED", ALONG WITH REFERENCE TO HINTON'S OCT. 29 SPEECH WARNINGS.

CBI: RICHARD MEISLIN REPORTS FROM OCHO RIOS, JAMAICA ("CARIBBEAN GETS BAD NEWS ON AID" P. 4) THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE SAID TODAY THAT CONGRESS "WAS UNLIKELY TO TAKE UP THE REMAINING PARTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CARIBBEAN AID PLAN WHENIT RECONVENES

LATER THIS MONTH, AND WOULD PROBABLY NOT CONSIDER IT FOR

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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[redacted]IX TO EIGHT MONTHS.'" ROSTENKOWSKI (D-ILL.) MADE THE ASSESSMENT AT A PRIVATE LUNCH WITH SEVEN CARIBBEAN HEADS OF STATE AND LATER IN A BRIEFING WITH REPORTERS. STORY

NOTES THAT THE REMAINING PARTS OF THE PROGRAM, THE REDUCTION OF TRADE BARRIERS AND TAX INCENTIVES, ARE VIEWED BY MANY CARIBBEAN LEADERS AS MORE VITAL TO THEIR ECONOMIC FUTURES THAN DIRECT AID. "CARIBBEAN LEADERS," THE STORY CONCLUDES, "HAD HOPED THAT THEY COULD BE APPROVED DURING THE 'LAME DUCK' SESSION, WHEN POLITICIANS' PRE-ELECTION CONCERNS HAD DIMINISHED."

[redacted]BRAZIL: WARREN HOGE REPORTS FROM RIO DE JANEIRO ("BRAZILIANS JAM POLLING PLACES IN FIRST FRE VOTE IN 17 YEARS", P. 8) THAT ALTHOUGH POLLS MAY NOT BE LEGALLY PUBLISHED DURING THE TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE BALLOTING, RESULTS OF THE 11TH-HOUR CANVASSES MADE KNOWN UNOFFICIALLY GAVE THE GOVERNMENT'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY 13 STATES, THE BRAZILIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT 8 AND THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY OF LEONEL BRIZOLA, THE STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. THE GOVERNMENT WAS EXPECTED TO FALL SOME 20 SEATS SHORT OF A MAJORITY IN THE LOWER HOUSE WHILE KEEPING ITS MAJORITY IN THE SENATE. THIS WOULD NOT TAKE AWAY FROM THE GOVERNMENT ITS POWER TO MAINTAIN THE OPTION OF NAMING [redacted]S OWN NEXT PRESIDENT. "THOUGH THE DAY WAS SEEN BY MANY COMMENTATORS AS A VICTORY FOR MR. FIGUEIREDO AND HIS PERSISTENCE IN REASSURING DOUBTERS THAT THE ELECTION WOULD INDEED TAKE PLACE, THE PRESIDENT DECLINED TO MAKE ANY COMMENT TO REPORTERS." THE VOTING SELECTED 22 GOVERNORS, 25 SENATORS, ALL 479 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, 947 STATE ASSEMBLYMEN, 3,857 MAYORS AND SOME 60,000 CITY COUNCILMEN.

[redacted]

[redacted]ARGENTINA: SECOND OF THREE EDITORIALS ("THE 'REAPPEARED' IN ARGENTINA") STATES THAT "AFTER THE FALKLAND WAR, SUN AND SHADOW CONTEND IN ARGENTINA. A DISCREDITED JUNTA IS DOING WHAT IT SHOULD HAVE DONE YEARS AGO: AGREEING TO YIELD POWER TO CIVILIANS. POLITICAL ARGUMENT HAS REVIVED, AND EVEN PERONISTS NO LONGER SEEM SO DEMAGOGIC. ELECTIONS ARE PROMISED FOR MARCH 1984. POLITICAL PARTIES ARE BACK IN THE SUNLIGHT WHERE THEY BELONG.

"BUT SOMETHING ELSE IS ALSO COMING TO THE REVEALING

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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LIGHT OF DAY: SOME 1,500 UNIDENTIFIED BODIES, REMAINS OF A STATE OF SEIGE WHEN AT LEAST 6,000 ARGENTINES 'DISAPPEARED.' THEY ARE THE PRESUMED VICTIMS OF A WAVE OF TERRORISM THAT FOLLOWED THE DOWNFALL OF PRESIDENT ISABEL PERON IN 1976. THE DARKNESS CANNOT TRULY LIFT UNTIL A WAY IS FOUND TO IDENTIFY THE DEAD -- AND THEIR KILLERS.

"THE RULING JUNTA, UNDERSTANDABLY NERVOUS, NOW ASKS POLITICAL LEADERS TO AGREE TO 'GUIDELINES' THAT COULD AMOUNT TO GRANTING THE ARMED FORCES ABSOLUTION IN ADVANCE. THERE IS AN IMPLICIT THREAT: THE MILITARY WON'T

LET GO IF IT FEELS ANY HEADS WILL BE AT RISK. OMINOUSLY, THE JUNTA HAS SUSPENDED THREE MAGAZINES AS A WARNING TO A PRESS THAT IS NOW ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THOSE BODIES.

"SILENCING THE PRESS WON'T SILENCE QUESTION, NOR CAN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT FAIRLY BE BOUND TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY," THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDES. "ARGENTINA PAYS HEAVILY IN WORLD REGARD FOR THE CRIMES WHOSE EVIDENCE IS NOW BEING SHOVELED FROM THE EARTH. THE REDEMPTION OF ARGENTINA'S NAME, AND ITS HOPES FOR A RETURN TO THE RULE OF LAW, HINGE ON A FULL INQUIRY."

-- CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR --

[redacted]

BRAZIL: JAMES NELSON GOODSELL ("BRAZIL'S RACE FROM THIRD WORLD BACKWARDNESS TO FIRST WORLD POWER: NATION'S CAN-DO SPIRIT AKIN TO AMERICAN WEST") REPORTS FRONT PAGE FROM RIO DE JANEIRO THAT "THIS VAST NATION, WHICH TAKES A BIG STEP FROM MILITARY RULE TOWARD DEMOCRACY THIS WEEK, IS A TROUBLED PARADOX: IN MANY WAYS IT HAS LEFT THE THIRD WORLD FAR BEHIND, BUT IT STILL WALLOWS IN MUCH THIRD WORLD BACKWARDNESS. BRAZIL'S 'ECONOMIC MIRACLE' HAS EDGED IT INTO EIGHTH PLACE AMONG THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC GIANTS -- THE FIRST TROPICAL LAND TO BECOME AN ECONOMIC POWER OF CONSEQUENCE. YET TODAY BRAZIL IS SADDLED WITH HUGE INTERNATIONAL DEBTS AND ONE-THIRD OF ITS PEOPLE HAVE NEVER BENEFITED FROM ITS ATTEMPT TO BREAK OUT OF POVERTY." GOODSELL PROVIDES DESCRIPTIVE DATA: SECOND-LARGEST EXPORTER OF FOODSTUFFS, LEADING COFFEE AND SUGAR PRODUCER, AND INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS BEGINNING TO RIVAL WESTERN EUROPE.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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HE TRACES BRAZIL'S EFFORTS TO DEVELOP ENERGY ALTERNATIVES, AND WRITES THAT "THE BRAZILIAN CAPACITY FOR THINKING BIG SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. THERE IS A SENSE OF GIGANTISM HERE, PERHAPS INSPIRED BY THE FACT THAT BRAZIL IS, LAND-WISE, THE FIFTH-LARGEST NATION IN THE WORLD."

-- BALTIMORE SUN --

EL SALVADOR: SUN RUNS INSIDE PAGE 6 ABBREVIATED VERSION OF AP STORY ON CHURCHWOMENS' CASE ("5 SALVADORANS TO BE TRIED FOR SLAYINGS OF US CHURCHWOMEN") NOTING THAT "THE CASE HAS ADDED SIGNIFICANCE BECAUSE OF DEMANDS BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION THAT THIS AND OTHER CASES OF ALLEGED GOVERNMENT BRUTALITY BE STOPPED AS A CONDITION FOR CONTINUED US AID" WITH LATER REFERENCE TO AMB. HINTON'S OCT 29 SPEECH.

[redacted]

-- WALL STREET JOURNAL --

EL SALVADOR/BRAZIL: FRONT PAGE "WHAT'S NEWS" SECTION INCLUDES BRIEF NOTES ON CHURCHWOMENS' CASE TRIAL ORDER "AMID US DEMANDS THAT CASES OF ALLEGED GOVERNMENT BRUTALITY BE STOPPED AS A CONDITION OF CONTINUED US AID" AND NOTE ON "HEAVY VOTING IN BRAZIL" REPORTED IN "WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CALLED THE MOST OPEN ELECTION SINCE THE MILITARY COUP 18 YEARS AGO."

MEXICO: LAWRENCE ROUT REPORTS FRONT PAGE FROM MEXICO CITY ("AT A CROSSROADS: BANK NATIONALIZATION SHIFTS MEXICO TO LEFT, INCREASES ITS INSTABILITY: CURRENCY CONTROLS TO FORCE NEW PRESIDENT TO CHOOSE CLOSED OR OPEN ECONOMY: FOREIGN INVESTORS' RISK RISE") THAT "MORE THAN TWO MONTHS HAVE PASSED SINCE PRESIDENT JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO STUNNED MEXICO BY ANNOUNCING THOSE DECREES IN HIS STATE-OF-THE-UNION MESSAGE SEPT. 1. THOSE MONTHS HAVE BROUGHT POSTPONEMENTS IN DEBT REPAYMENTS, INCREASES IN UNEMPLOYMENT, NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND -- AND A FINANCIAL CRISIS THAT HASN'T LEFT TIME FOR MORE THAN SUPERFICIAL PUBLIC PRAISE OR CONDEMNATION OF THE LOPEZ PORTILLO MOVES." "THE BANK NATIONALIZATION," ROUT CONTIUES, (SAY ECONOMIC ANALYSTS) "IS A GIANT STEP TOWARD AN ECONOMY UNDER GREATER STATE CONTROL. IT DRASTICALLY

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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REDUCES THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND POSSIBLY MAKES THE POLITICAL SYSTEM MORE UNSTABLE. SOME SAY IT CAN HELP REDRESS INEQUALITIES, BUT IT ALREADY HAS STARTED TO FUEL CORRUPTION. AND ALTHOUGH THE DEFINITIONS OF THE POLITICAL LEFT AND RIGHT ARE FUZZY IN MEXICO, THE NATIONALIZATION CLEARLY IMPLIES A SHIFT TO THE LEFT -- IF ONLY BECAUSE THE LEFT APPLAUDS THE MEASURE, WHILE THE RIGHT ASSAILS IT." THE BANK NATIONALIZATIONS ARE SEEN BY ROUT AS AN EXTENSION OF A GENERAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. BEFORE THE NATIONALIZATIONS, GOVERNMENT-OWNED ENTERPRISES ACCOUNTED FOR 40-60 OF THE COUNTRY'S OUTPUT. THE

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NATIONALIZATION, ANALYSTS SAY, INCREASED THAT STAKE BY ABOUT 20 PERCENT.

MEXICO: LAWRENCE ROUT PAGE 36 SECOND SECTION FROM MEXICO CITY (MEXICO REQUESTS DELAY IN MAKING DEBT PAYMENTS) SAYS GOM HAS ASKED ITS BANKS TO AGREE TO A 120 DAY POSTPONEMENT OF PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS ON THE GOVERNMENT'S ESTIMATED $60 BILLION OF FOREIGN DEBT. THE POSTPONEMENT WOULD EXTEND AN AGREEMENT REACHED IN AUGUST, THAT DELAYED PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS UNTIL NOV. 23. ROUT SAYS THE REQUEST FOR A CONTINUED POSTPONEMENT IS NOT A SURPRISE, AND BANKERS ARE EXPECTED TO COMPLY.

BOLIVIA: UNSIGNED ITEM FROM LA PAZ PAGE 36 SECOND SECTION (BOLIVIA TO BEGIN RENEGOTIATIONS ON FOREIGN DEBT)

SAYS BOLIVIA WILL BEGIN THOSE RENEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK, AND PLANS TO MAKE A REQUEST IN FEBRUARY FOR A $300 MILLION, THREE-YEAR EXTENDED FUND FACILITY CREDIT FROM THE IMF. BOLIVIA HOPES TO RESCHEDULE ITS $1 BILLION DEBT NOW OWED TO PRIVATE BANKS. BY THE END OF THIS YEAR, BOLIVIA MUST COME UP WITH $540 MILLION TO MAKE ITS DEBT PAYMENTS TO FOREIGN BANKS, FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

2. HIGHLIGHTS OF NOVEMBER 15 T.V. NEWSCASTS:

-- CBS EVENING NEWS --

(DAN RATHER) EL SALVADOR: FIVE EL SALVADOR NATIONAL GUARDSMEN WERE ORDERED TODAY TO STAND TRIAL FOR THE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

MURDERS ALMOST 2 YEARS AGO OF THREE AMERICAN NUNS AND A
WOMAN CATHOLIC LAY WORKER. A SALVADORAN CRIMINAL COURT
UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

JUDGE WHO CONDUCTED A 9-MONTH LONG INVESTIGATION SAID
THERE IS ENOUGH EVIDENCE AGAINST THE GUARDSMEN FOR A TRIAL.

3. PREPARED PRESS GUIDANCES FOR NOON BRIEFING:

-- BRAZILIAN ELECTIONS ANNOUNCEMENT --

I HAVE A BRIEF COMMENT TO MAKE ABOUT THE ELECTIONS IN
BRAZIL YESTERDAY. A MAJOR EMPHASIS OF THIS
ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE HEMISPHERE HAS BEEN
THAT THE PATH TO POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC
PROGRESS, TO FREEDOM, OPPORTUNITY AND RESPECT FOR
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IS THE DEMOCRATIC PATH. IN OUR
ESTIMATE, THE AMERICAS HAVE REFLECTED A DEFINITE TREND
TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT OVER THE PAST FEW
YEARS -- IN CENTRAL AMERICA, THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES, AND,
MOST RECENTLY, IN SOUTH AMERICA.

A MOST IMPRESSIVE EXAMPLE OF THIS IS BRAZIL'S "ABERTURA",
THE PEACEFUL AND PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE
COUNTRY. YESTERDAY THE ABERTURA ACHIEVED A MAJOR
MILESTONE, ELECTIONS FOR OVER 50,000 MUNICIPAL, STATE AND
CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES, WITH THE LARGEST PARTICIPATION OF
ANY ELECTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF THE REGION. WE APPLAUD
BOTH THE PROCESS AND THE EVENT.

-- GUATEMALA: ILLEGAL U.S. AID CHARGED --

Q: AT THE NOON PRESS BRIEFING YESTERDAY, THE DEPARTMENT
SAID IT WAS CHECKING INTO THE SPECIFIC ALLEGATIONS IN A
NEW YORK TIMES STORY ABOUT ALLEGED ILLEGAL SHIPMENTS OF
AIRPLANE PARTS TO GUATEMALA. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ELSE TO

ADD AT THIS POINT?

A: I'VE GOT A LITTLE MORE I CAN GIVE YOU. THE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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DEPARTMENT'S OFFICE OF MUNITIONS CONTROL WHICH HAS LICENSING RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY SPECIFICALLY MILITARY USE EQUIPMENT ON A CASH SALES BASIS REPORTS NO SUCH LICENSES OVER THE PAST YEAR. IN ADDITION, ANY INFORMATION WHICH WE MIGHT HAVE AS TO POSSIBLE ILLEGAL EXPORTS OF SUCH EQUIPMENT WOULD BE PASSED ON TO THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE.

BASED UPON OUR INFORMATION WHICH INDICATES THE ABSENCE OF ANY LICENSES HAVING BEEN GRANTED, AT THIS POINT WE WOULD HAVE TO CONCLUDE THAT EITHER SUCH ALLEGED EXPORTS WERE ILLEGAL, OR THE FACTUAL BASIS OF THE STORY IS IN QUESTION. I WOULD REFER YOU TO CUSTOMS AS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY ILLEGAL EXPORTS.

-- EL SALVADOR: CHURCHWOMEN'S CASE --

Q: CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT THE TRIAL OF FORMER NATIONAL GUARDSMEN ACCUSED OF THE MURDER OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN WILL BEGIN IN SAN SALVADOR TODAY.

A: IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE CASE HAS BEEN ELEVATED TO THE "PLENARIO" STAGE OF TRIAL ON NOVEMBER 15. THIS IS THE STAGE IN WHICH ALL EVIDENCE IS TURNED OVER TO THE TRIAL JUDGE. WE ARE OF COURSE PLEASED BY THE ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS IS THE TYPE OF ACTION WE'VE BEEN URGING ALL ALONG AND THAT WE EXPECTED THE SALVADORANS TO TAKE.

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE DECISIONS OF THE FAMILIES OF THE MURDERED CHURCHWOMEN TO BOYCOTT THE TRIAL.

A: IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THE FAMILIES HAVE NOT DECIDED TO BOYCOTT THE TRIAL. TO THE CONTRARY THEY HAVE

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INDICATED THEIR DESIRE TO HAVE OBSERVERS PRESENT FOR THE TRIAL. WHAT THEY HAVE DECIDED, IS NOT TO HIRE THEIR OWN PRIVATE PROSECUTOR, AN "ACUSADOR PARTICULAR", TO REPRESENT THEIR INTERESTS AT THE TRIAL. (ONLY THE FAMILY OF A VICTIM MAY HAVE AN ACUSADOR PARTICULAR IN COURT.) WE REGRET THIS DECISION. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE WOULD BE BEST SERVED BY HAVING A PRIVATE PROSECUTOR ACTIVELY SUPPORTING THE PROSECUTION OF THIS CASE AS WELL

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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AS THE INTERESTS OF THE FAMILIES, AS THE SALVADORAN LEGAL SYSTEM PERMITS. WE WILL BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH THE FAMILIES ON THIS ISSUE TO DISCUSS FURTHER THEIR DECISION AND TO EXPLORE ALTERNATIVES.

Q: IS A FAIR TRIAL POSSIBLE WITHOUT AN ACUSADOR PARTICULAR?

A: YES, THERE WILL BE A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR AT THE TRIAL WHO WILL BE CHARGED WITH BRINGING THIS CASE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THROUGH THIS AND THROUGH AN ACTIVE PROSECUTION, THAT JUSTICE WILL BE DONE IN THIS CASE. THIS IS, HOWEVER, A MURDER TRIAL IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY UNDER A LEGAL SYSTEM DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN. WE BELIEVE THE PRESENCE OF A PRIVATE PROSECUTOR WOULD PERMIT THE FAMILIES TO MORE DIRECTLY ADDRESS THEIR CONCERNS.

Q: DO YOU ACCEPT THE ARGUMENT OF THE FAMILIES THAT THE TRIAL IS A SHAM BECAUSE THERE WILL BE NO INVESTIGATION OF HIGHER LEVEL INVOLVEMENT?

A: NO, AS WE HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY, THE EVIDENCE GATHERED TO DATE HAS FAILED TO SHOW HIGHER LEVEL INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMMISSION OF THIS CRIME. EVEN THE POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION SUPPORTS THE VIEW THAT THE CRIME WAS CARRIED OUT WITHOUT HIGHER LEVEL ORDERS. THIS IS IN CONTRAST FOR EXAMPLE, WITH THE CASE OF THE MURDERED AIFLD ADVISORS, IN WHICH THE [redacted]

INVESTIGATION HAS QUITE CLEARLY IMPLICATED HIGHER-UPS. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE UNWILLING TO PURSUE ANY FURTHER LEADS. TO THE CONTRARY, WE HAVE PUBLICLY COMMITTED OURSELVES TO PURSUE ALL CREDIBLE ALLEGATIONS IN THIS CASE, NO MATTER WHERE THEY MAY LAD. SO FAR, NO EVIDENCE HAS BEEN BROUGHT FORWARD SUGGESTING HIGHER LEVEL INVOLVEMENT.

-- ANNOUNCEMENT: CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE --

THERE ARE PRESS REPORTS TODAY QUOTING HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN CONGRESSMAN DAN ROSTENKOWSKI TO THE EFFECT THAT THE REMAINING PORTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE WERE UNLIKELY TO RECEIVE

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Special Project (1993)

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CONGRESSIONAL ACTION FOR SIX TO EIGHT MONTHS. THE FOLLOWING IS A STATEMENT THE DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED FROM OUR EMBASSY IN KINGSTON WHICH WE FEEL MORE ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS IN JAMAICA YESTERDAY:

"THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE IS PRESENTLY ON A FACT FINDING VISIT TO FIVE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES. THE COMMITTEE WILL BE LEAVING JAMAICA ON WEDNESDAY MORNING. IN BRIEF REMARKS TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESS IN JAMAICA ON MONDAY, CHAIRMAN ROSTENKOWSKI REITERATED THAT THE COMMITTEE WOULD TAKE UP THE TRADE ASPECTS OF THE CBI LEGISLATION DURING THE POST-ELECTION SESSION. HE ALSO

POINTED TO OTHER PRIORITY LEGISLATION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE, BUT COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT ENACTMENT WOULD BE ACHIEVED THIS YEAR. HE DID NOT SAY THAT ANY ACTION ON THE CBI WOULD BE DELAYED SIX TO EIGHT MONTHS."

I WOULD REITERATE, FOR OUR PART, THAT THE ENTIRE [redacted]

ADMINISTRATION CBI PROGRAM, INCLUDING THE VITAL TAX, TRADE AND INVESTMENT PORTIONS, REMAINS OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY FOR THIS ADMINISTRATION. THE ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO PUSH FOR EARLY CONSIDERATION AND PASSAGE OF THESE KEY MEASURES.

WE EXPECT THAT THE SESSION OF CONGRESS SCHEDULED TO CONVENE ON NOVEMBER 29 WILL BE CONSIDERING THE REMAINDER OF THE CBI, AND WILL BE ACTING ON IT. WE WILL BE WORKING CLOSELY WITH CONGRESS TO THIS END.

-- OAS: XII REGULAR GENERAL ASSEMBLY --

Q: WOULD YOU COMMENT ON THE SPEECHES GIVEN BY COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER LLOREDA AND SECRETARY GENERAL ORFILA AT THE INAUGURAL SESSION YESTERDAY OF THE XII REGULAR OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

A: BOTH SPEECHES WERE BUT THE FIRST OF A MULTITUDE OF STATEMENTS TO BE MADE BY THOSE AND OTHER OFFICIALS AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OVER THE NEXT FOUR DAYS. WE, THEREFORE, WILL NOT BE COMMENTING ON INDIVIDUAL SPEECHES.

Q: WHAT IS THE U.S. POSITION ON THE DRAFT OF THE [redacted]

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Special Project (1993)

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ARGENTINE RESOLUTION TO BE PRESENTED TO THE MEETING?

A: IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO COMMENT AT THIS TIME ON OUR POSITION REGARDING THIS AND OTHER RESOLUTIONS THAT WILL ARISE AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Q: WHEN WILL SECRETARY SHULTZ BY ADDRESSING THE OAS?

A: THE SECRETARY IS THE SECOND OF THE SPEAKERS SCHEDULED TO ADDRESS THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY TOMORROW, AND WE WOULD EXPECT THIS TO TAKE PLACE LATE TOMORROW MORNING (WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17).

[redacted]

4. SUMMARY OF NOON BRIEFING (ALAN ROMBERG)

THE SPOKESMAN READ THE ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE BRAZILIAN ELECTIONS AND THE CBI, AND ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT SECY. SHULTZ WOULD BE SPEAKING TO THE OAS MEETING ON NOV. 17. THE CBI ANNOUNCEMENT CAUSED SOME FOLLOWUP: DID RCP.

ROSTENKOWSKI'S OFFICE ASK THE EMBASSY IN KINGSTON TO PASS THIS WORD TO THE DEPARTMENT? THE SPOKESMAN SAID HE WAS NOT AWARE THAT THE CONGRESSMAN'S OFFICE HAD MADE THE REQUEST, BUT THAT THEY WERE AWARE OF THE STATEMENT AND HAD CLEARED IT. WHY HAS THE DEPARTMENT DECIDED TO SPEAK FOR REP. ROSTENKOWSKI IN THIS CASE? SPOKESMAN SAID WE HAD SEEN THE PRESS REPORTS, WHICH WE CONSIDERED MISLEADING, AND WANTED TO MAKE OUR VIEW CLEAR. WILL CONGRESS TAKE UP THIS ISSUE THIS YEAR (CHARDY, MIAMI HERALD)? SPOKESMAN REPEATED THE PART OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT WE EXPECT CONGRESS WILL CONSIDER AND ACT ON THE LEGISLATION IN THE NEXT SESSION BEGINNING NOV. 29.

ONLY OTHER ARA QUESTION WAS A REQUEST FOR COMMENT ON THE COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S CHARGE AT THE OAS THAT LATIN AMERICA IS BECOMING AN EAST-WEST BATTLEGROUND. SPOKESMAN USED THE FIRST RESPONSE OF THE GUIDANCE. SHULTZ

[redacted]

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 82PRETOR09216

FILM= D820599-0013

DATE= 18 NOV 82

TYPE= TE

FROM= PRETORIA

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION SS

TO= SECSTATE WASHDC
BONN
DAR ES SALAAM
GABORONE
HARARE
LAGOS
LONDON
LUSAKA

CHANNEL= n/a

DECAPTIONED

ORIGHAND= EXDIS

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= N/A

SUBJECT= CROCKER DEBRIEF OF THE PRETORIA FIVE .

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= TROOP WITHDRAWAL, DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, BRIEFINGS, POLITICAL LEADERS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION

X.253

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
⊠ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/18/99 Exemption ____

TAGS= PARM, MOPS, PINT, SF, WA, US, XA, AO, CU, (CROCKER, CHESTER)

[redacted]

PAGE 01 PRETOR 09216 181533Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------377116 181536Z /52
O 181524Z NOV 82
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6856
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY HARARE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMCONSUL DURBAN PRIORITY
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG PRIORITY

[redacted] PRETORIA 09216

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL 11/18/88
TAGS: SF, WA
SUBJECT: CROCKER DEBRIEF OF THE PRETORIA FIVE

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AF ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER BRIEFED THE PRETORIA FIVE ON NOVEMBER 18 ON THE FIRST HALF OF THE VICE PRESIDENT'S AFRICA TRIP AND ON HIS OWN TALKS WITH THE SAG ON PREPARATIONS FOR PIK BOTHA'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK.

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[redacted]

PAGE 02 PRETOR 09216 181533Z

3. CROCKER DESCRIBED THE VICE PRESIDENT'S TRIP AS BASICALLY A GOODWILL VISIT DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE HIGH-LEVEL ADMINISTRATION INTEREST IN AFRICA. PERHAPS HALF TO A THIRD OF THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AT EACH STOP HAD BEEN

ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND, IN GENERAL THE SHARPEST DICHOTOMY IN HIS EXPERIENCE OF TWENTY YEARS OF AFRICA-WATCHING NOW EXISTS BETWEEN WHAT IS BEING SAID IN PRIVATE AND WHAT IS BEING STATED IN PUBLIC BY AFRICAN LEADERS. WHILE RHETORICALLY CONDEMNING "LINKAGE" OF THE CUBAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL ISSUE TO A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT, EVERYONE URGED US PRIVATELY TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS.

4. CROCKER REPORTED THAT THE NIGERIANS ARE ESPECIALLY ANGUISHED; NEVERTHELESS, THEY AGREED TO A COMMUNIQUE WHICH RECOGNIZES THE NEED TO BUILD REGIONAL SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ENDORSED THE CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS AND URGED CONTINUED US/ANGOLA TALKS. MUGABE TOOK THE MORALISTIC POSITION THAT IT IS WRONG TO DELAY NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE OVER THE CUBAN ISSUE; NONETHELESS, HE DOES NOT WANT US TO CEASE OUR EFFORTS.

5. CROCKER REPORTED THAT PIK HAD INDICATED THAT THE SAG WILL PROBABLY EXTEND UNTIL FEBRUARY THE MANDATE OF THE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA AND THEN DECIDE IN THE LIGHT OF THE STATE OF PLAY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHETHER TO RETURN TO DIRECT SOUTH AFRICAN RULE IN WINDHOEK OR GO FOR NEW INTERNAL ELECTIONS. WE HAD STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE SAG NOT TO COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS VIS-A-

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PAGE 03 PRETOR 09216 181533Z

VIS THE FRONT LINE. THEY TAKE THE POINT BUT SAY THEY WANT SOMEONE WITH SOME ELECTORAL AUTHORITY TO DEAL WITH IN WINDHOEK.

6. ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL FRONT, CROCKER SAID THAT PIK BOTHA BELIEVED THAT THE RECENT NATIONAL PARTY BY-ELECTION SUCCESSES HAD STRENGTHENED THEIR HAND. THEY APPEAR TO FEEL THAT THE NP SLIDE VIS-A-VIS THE RIGHT WING HAS NOW BOTTOMED OUT, ALTHOUGH THERE STILL COULD BE SOME DIFFICULTIES. THEY CLAIM THAT A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT WOULD NOT IMPINGE UPON THEIR PLANS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL CHANGE, OR VICE VERSA.

7. CROCKER CONCLUDED THAT THE SAG NOW SEEMS MORE RELAXED ABOUT THE PACE OF THE NEGOTIATION. THEY ARE IN THE SHORT RUN ON THE HIGH GROUND POLITICALLY AND THEIR MILITARY POSITION VIS-A-VIS SWAPO IS IMPROVED. NONETHELESS, THEY CONTINUE TO APPEAR TO APPRECIATE THAT IN THE LONG RUN THEY NEED A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT, ESPECIALLY IF THEY ARE TO ENGAGE US IN A PROCESS WHICH WOULD

IMPROVE STABILITY OF THE REGION.
NICKEL

[redacted]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL
n/a

11/19/82

ID 191

Case Number: s199900006

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 SANTIA 07038 191344Z
ACTION ARA-16

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~L SANTIAGO 7038

E O 12356: DECL: 11/18/88
TAGS: ELAB PINT CI
SUBJECT: GOC DROPS SLANDER CHARGES AGAINST LABOR LEADER FLORES

REF: SANTIAGO 6849

1. (U) AS ANTICIPATED REFTEL, THE GOC HAS FORMALLY WITHDRAWN THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST PUBLIC EMPLOYEES (ANEF) PRESIDENT HERNOL FLORES. THE GOC HAD ACCUSED FLORES OF SLANDERING THE GOVERNMENT DURING AN OCTOBER 15 PRESS CONFERENCE, IN WHICH FLORES HAD DEPLORED THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE TUCAPEL JIMENEZ MURDER CASE.

2. (C) THE GOC ISSUED A 5-POINT STATEMENT NOVEMBER 16 WITHDRAWING THE CHARGES. MEANWHILE, THE FINAL DECISION OF THE INVESTIGATING JUDGE HAD BEEN EXPECTED MOMENTARILY. FLORES' LAWYERS TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT THE JUDGE HAD INFORMED THEM PRIVATELY HE HAD FOUND THE GOC CASE WEAK AND WOULD HAVE DISMISSED

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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07038 191344Z

THE CHARGES. THUS, THE GOC ACTION MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN ANTICIPATION OF THE JUDGE'S DECISION. FLORES TOLD THE EMBASSY HE HAD LEARNED FROM MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SOURCES THAT PRESIDENT PINOCHET HAD ORDERED THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TO DROP THE CHARGES, WHICH HAD REPORTEDLY BEEN INITIATED BY THE MINISTER ON HIS OWN AUTHORITY.

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3.(U) THE GOC STATEMENT INCLUDES A QUOTE FROM THE JUDGE'S SUMMARY OF THE CASE IN WHICH FLORES SAID "I HAVE ATTENDED THE ILO AND THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND HAVE DEFENDED THE GOVERNMENT, THEREFORE, I COULD NOT HAVE MADE A CHARGE (AGAINST THE GOC) OF THIS NATURE (THE HARSH CRITICISM REPORTED IN THE NEWSPAPER "LA SEGUNDA", WHICH WAS THE BASIS OF THE GOC COMPLAINT.)"

4.(U) FLORES, REACTING TO THE GOC STATEMENT, ISSUED A CLARIFICATION ON NOVEMBER 17, STATING HE HONESTLY BELIEVED AT ONE TIME THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WOULD RESTORE DEMOCRACY AND WOULD RESPECT WORKERS'S RIGHTS. HE NOTED THAT LABOR LEADERS HAD BEEN CALLED UNPATRIOTIC, DEMAGOGUES AND CRACKPOTS BY THE SAME GOVERNMENT THAT NOW DESCRIBES HIM AS HAVING "DEFENDED THIS GOVERNMENT". "I AM CONVINCED THAT FOR THIS GRAVE ERROR I MADE, IN GOOD FAITH, I WILL HAVE TO WAIT HISTORY'S JUDGEMENT". MEANWHILE, HE SAID, HE WOULD CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS AND THE CHILEAN PEOPLE. HE ADDED THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK THE SOLUTION TO THE MURDER OF TUCAPEL JIMENEZ.

5.(U) ANEF'S ANNUAL BIRTHDAY AFFAIR IN HONOR OF ANEF'S FOUNDER, CLOTARIO BEST, NOW 83, WAS HELD NOVEMBER 17. FLORES USED THE OCCASION TO STRESS HIS INTENTION TO CONTINUE THE RIGHT FOR THE REESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY
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UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Distr.
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22 November 1982

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Thirty-seventh session
Agenda item 12

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador

Note by the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit to the members of the General Assembly the interim report on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, prepared by Professor José Antonio Pastor Ridruejo, Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, in accordance with paragraph 9 of Commission resolution 1982/28 of 11 March 1982.

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(5) The continuation and extension, on a genuine human, social and democratic basis, of the necessary administrative and social reforms, including agrarian reform, so that the people of El Salvador may enjoy to the fullest extent possible the economic, social and cultural rights set forth in the international instruments binding on the Republic of El Salvador;

(6) Consideration of the possibility of a dialogue with all the country's political forces, including those of the left wing opposition, with a view to putting an end to the armed confrontation and thus achieving a genuine social peace which will permit the improvement of the economic, social and cultural rights and full respect for the civil and political rights of the people of El Salvador.

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ANNEX

Interim report on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights

CONTENTS

		Paragraphs	Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1 - 13	2
II.	INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEGAL RULES APPLICABLE IN EL SALVADOR IN THE MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS	14 - 18	12
III.	CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF EL SALVADOR	19 - 28	13
IV.	SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE EXERCISE OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR	29 - 41	16
V.	SITUATION WITH REGARD TO RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR	42 - 85	20
VI.	SITUATION OF REFUGEES AND OTHER PERSONS DISPLACED AS THE RESULT OF CURRENT EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR	86 - 88	37
VII.	SITUATION WITH REGARD TO COMPLIANCE WITH THE INTERNATIONAL RULES OF HUMANITARIAN LAW APPLICABLE IN ARMED CONFLICTS	89 - 93	37
VIII.	CONCLUSIONS	94 - 103	38

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Project (1994)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 35/192 on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador on 15 December 1980 by 70 votes to 12, with 55 abstentions. In this resolution, the General Assembly expressed deep concern at the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador and deplored several aspects of the situation of human rights in that country. In addition, it requested the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in El Salvador. The text of the resolution is as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Noting that all Governments have an obligations to respect and promote human rights in accordance with the responsibilities they have undertaken under various international instruments,

"Bearing in mind resolution 19 adopted on 30 July 1980 by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women,

"Dismayed by reports of human rights violations in El Salvador and especially by the death of thousands of persons and the climate of repression and insecurity prevailing in the country, which favours terrorism by paramilitary groups and enables it to be engaged in with impunity,

"Deeply shocked by the vile assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, a prestigious personality, outstanding for his defence of the human rights of the Salvadorian people, and by the persecution of Salvadorian figures such as Monsignor Arturo Rivera Damas, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of San Salvador,

"Gravely concerned about the unknown fate of many persons detained by the authorities,

"Profoundly indignant at the assassination of Mr. Enrique Alvarez Córdova, President of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, as well as of five other members of the Executive Committee of that Front, perpetrated on 27 November 1980 in San Salvador,

"Considering that the supply of arms and other military assistance will serve to aggravate the situation in that country,

"1. Expresses its deep concern at the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador;

"2. Deplores the murders, disappearances and other violations of human rights reported in El Salvador and requests the Salvadorian authorities to take prompt action to curb the reprehensible activities of paramilitary groups;

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"3. Urges the Government of El Salvador to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in that country and to guarantee the safety of Monsignor Arturo Rivera Damas, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, whose life is in danger;

"4. Appeals for a cessation of violence and for the establishment of full respect for human rights in El Salvador;

"5. Calls upon Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance in the current circumstances;

"6. Requests the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in El Salvador."

2. The situation in El Salvador was considered by the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-seventh session under item 13 of the Commission's agenda, entitled "Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories". After the debate on this item, the Commission adopted resolution 32 (XXXVII) on the violation of human rights in El Salvador. In this resolution, the Commission requested its Chairman to appoint, after consultations within the Bureau, a Special Representative of the Commission whose mandate would be to investigate the reports about murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms which had taken place in El Salvador, based on information from all relevant sources and to report on his findings to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-eighth session. It further requested the Special Representative of the Commission to submit an interim report to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. The text of the resolution is as follows:

"The Commission on Human Rights,

"Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Noting that all Member States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and to carry out responsibilities they have undertaken under various international human rights instruments,

"Recalling that in its resolution 35/192 of 15 December 1980, the General Assembly stated its deep concern about the serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador and requested the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in that country,

"Deeply disturbed by the continuing reports about murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador,

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"Deeply alarmed by the armed clashes in El Salvador and by the climate of violence and insecurity prevailing in the country,

"Mindful of the rules of international law, as contained in article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, which are applicable to armed conflicts not of an international character and which require the parties to the conflict to apply a minimum standard of protection of human rights and of humane treatment,

"1. Expresses its deep concern at the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador;

"2. Deplores the murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms reported in El Salvador;

"3. Calls upon all parties to bring about a peaceful settlement and to seek an end to acts of violence in order to end the loss of lives and the suffering of the people of El Salvador;

"4. Recalls that in its resolution 35/192 of 15 December 1980 the General Assembly calls upon Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance in the current circumstances;

"5. Urges the Government of El Salvador to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in the country;

"6. Emphasizes that the people of El Salvador have the right, as soon as appropriate conditions have been established, to establish a democratically elected Government, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror, and to determine their own political, economic and social future, free from outside interference;

"7. Requests its Chairman to appoint, after consultations within the Bureau, a Special Representative of the Commission whose mandate will be:

"(a) To investigate the reports about murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms which have taken place in El Salvador, based on information from all relevant sources;

"(b) To make recommendations as to what steps the Commission could take to help to secure the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including economic, social and cultural rights;

"(c) To report on his findings to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-eighth session;

"8. Requests the Secretary-General to give all necessary assistance to the Special Reporesentative of the Commission;

"9. Invites the Government of El Salvador as well as all other parties concerned to extent their co-operation to the Special Representative of the Commission;

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"10. Requests the Special Representative of the Commission to submit an interim report to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session;

"11. Decides to continue the examination of the situation of human rights in El Salvador with high priority at its thirty-eighth session."

3. In fulfilment of the mandate conferred on him by the Commission on Human Rights, the Special Representative submitted a preliminary report to the General Assembly (document A/36/608). On 16 December 1981, the General Assembly adopted, by 68 votes to 22 with 53 abstentions, resolution 36/155, the text of which is as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recognizing the permanent validity of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and guarantee the maintenance of those principles and to contribute to ensuring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Reiterating once more that all Member States have an obligation to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to fulfil in this respect the obligations they have undertaken through the various international instruments in this field,

"Recalling its resolution 35/192 of 15 December 1980, in which, among other things, it expressed deep concern for violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, especially in view of the death of thousands of people and the climate of repression and insecurity which prevailed in that country and deplored the assassinations, disappearances and other serious violations of human rights in El Salvador,

"Reiterating the appeal made by the General Assembly in that resolution for the cessation of violence and the re-establishment of full respect for human rights in El Salvador and for Governments of all States to refrain from supplying arms and lending other forms of military assistance in the current circumstances,

"Bearing in mind Commission on Human Rights resolution 32 (XXXVII) of 11 March 1981, approved by the Economic and Social Council in May 1981, which notes the persistence of the climate of violence and insecurity which prevails in El Salvador,

"Endorsing the appeal to the Salvadorian parties involved, made by the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 32 (XXXVII), to arrive at a peaceful settlement and put an end to violence in order to prevent further loss of lives and alleviate the suffering of the people of El Salvador,

"Taking note of resolution 10 (XXXIV) adopted by the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, which states that only respect for article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights will assure to the Salvadorian nation, through

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the participation of all its political forces, the full exercise of its fundamental rights in establishing a democratically elected government, but also notes that at the present time these conditions do not exist in El Salvador,

"Having studied the interim report on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador prepared by the Special Representative appointed by the Commission on Human Rights, which confirms the seriousness of the situation prevailing in El Salvador and, among other things, provides evidence on the general attitude of passiveness and inactivity of the present Salvadorian authorities with respect to the constant human rights violations in that country,

"Noting that the situation in El Salvador, as clearly shown in the interim report of the Special Representative, has its root causes in internal political, economic and social factors,

"1. Reiterates its deep concern for the situation prevailing in El Salvador and the suffering of the Salvadorian people;

"2. Requests once more the Salvadorian parties involved to arrive at a negotiated political solution in order to establish, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror, a democratically elected government;

"3. Deeply deplores all acts of violence and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and regrets in particular the persistence of a situation in which governmental paramilitary organizations and other armed groups continue to act with total contempt for the life, security and tranquility of the civilian population;

"4. Draws the attention of all parties concerned to the fact that the rules of international law, as contained in common article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, are applicable to armed conflicts not of an international character and requests the parties involved to apply a minimum standard of protection to the affected population;

"5. Reiterates its appeal to all States to abstain from intervening in the internal situation in El Salvador and to suspend all supplies of arms and any type of military support, so as to allow the political forces in that country to restore peace and security;

"6. Affirms once more that it is incumbent only on the Salvadorian people to exercise its right to determine freely its political status and freely pursue its economic, social and cultural development and to establish the conditions and undertake the changes most adequate to its aspirations as a people and as a nation without external interference of any kind;

"7. Urges the Government of El Salvador to adopt the necessary measures to ensure a full respect for the human rights of its population in all their expressions, primarily by creating conditions which could lead to a political solution to the present crisis through the full participation of all representative political forces in that country.

"8. Urges the parties concerned to co-operate and not interfere with the activities of the humanitarian organizations which are dedicated to alleviating the suffering of the civilian population in El Salvador;

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Special Project (1993)

"9. Requests the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-eighth session thoroughly to examine the situation in El Salvador on the basis of the final report of the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights;

"10. Decides to maintain under consideration, during its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, in order to examine anew this situation in the light of additional elements provided by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council."

4. The Special Representative submitted his final report to the Commission on Human Rights, 1/ presenting it personally to the Commission on 4 March 1982. On 11 March 1982, the Commission adopted, by 25 votes to 5, with 13 abstentions, resolution 1982/28, the text of which is as follows:

> Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories: situation of human rights in El Salvador
>
> The Commission on Human Rights,
>
> Recognizing the permanent validity under all circumstances of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
>
> Reaffirming once again that all Member States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to fulfil the obligations they have undertaken through the various international instruments in this field,
>
> Determined to remain vigilant with regard to violations of human rights wherever they occur and to take measures in order to restore respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,
>
> Recalling that in its resolutions 35/192 of 15 December 1980 and 36/155 of 16 December 1981, the General Assembly expressed its deep concern for the situation of human rights in El Salvador, especially in view of the death of thousands of people and the climate of repression and insecurity prevailing in that country,
>
> Recalling also its own resolution 32 (XXXVII) of 11 March 1981, in which the Commission decided to appoint a Special Representative on the situation of human rights in El Salvador,
>
> Having carefully examined the report of the Special Representative, which confirms the persistence to this date of murders, abductions, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, perpetrated by governmental paramilitary organizations and other armed groups;

1/ E/CN.4/1502, Final report on the situation of human rights in El Salvador submitted by Professor José Antonio Pastor Ridruejo in discharge of the mandate conferred by Commission resolution 32 (XXXVII), 18 January 1982.

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Projects (1993)

Noting in particular that the Special Representative, while noting the difficulties currently standing in the way of a normal functioning of justice in El Salvador, underlines the general attitude of passivity and inactivity on the part of the present Salvadorian authorities with regard to the constant violations of human rights in that country,

Endorsing resolution 10 (XXXIV) of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which states that only respect for article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights will assure to the Salvadorian nation, through the participation of all its political forces, the full exercise of its fundamental rights in establishing a democratically elected government,

Bearing in mind that the situation in El Salvador, as clearly shown in the report of the Special Representative, has its root causes in internal political economic and social factors, and that conditions in El Salvador for the effective exercise of civil and political rights, as contemplated by the Sub-Commission, do not exist at the present time,

Reiterating its appeal to the Salvadorian parties involved, made in its resolution 32 (XXXVII), to reach a peaceful settlement and put an end to violence in order to prevent further loss of lives and alleviate the suffering of the people of El Salvador,

1. Commends the Special Representative for his report on the situation of human rights in El Salvador;

2. Expresses its deepest concern at the deteriorating situation in El Salvador, at the continued violations of human rights and at the resulting suffering of the Salvadorian people, and regrets that the appeals for the cessation of violence made by the General Assembly, the Commission and the international community in general, have not been heeded;

3. Affirms that it is incumbent only on the Salvadorian people to exercise its right to determine freely its political status and freely pursue its economic, social and cultural development and to establish the conditions and undertake the changes most adequate to its aspirations as a people and as a nation without direct or indirect external interference of any kind;

4. Reiterates the appeal made by the General Assembly to the Government of El Salvador to work together with all representative political forces in El Salavdor towards a comprehensive negotiated political solution in order to establish, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror, the appropriate conditions for the establishment of a democratically elected Government;

5. Draws again to the attention of all Salvadorian parties concerned that the rules of international law, as contained in article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 on the laws of war, are applicable to armed conflicts not of an international character and requests all parties to the conflict to apply a minimum standard of protection of human rights and of human treatment to the civilian population;

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

6. Recalls that in its resolution 36/155 the General Assembly reiterated its appeal to all States to abstain from intervening in the internal situation in El Salvador and to suspend all supplies of arms and any type of military support, so as to allow the political forces in that country to restore peace and security;

7. Calls upon all Salvadorian parties concerned to co-operate fully and not to interfere with the activities of humanitarian organizations dedicated to alleviating the suffering of the civilian population in El Salvador;

8. Strongly urges the Government of El Salvador to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in the country;

9. Decides to extend the mandate of the Special Representative for another year and requests him to present his report on further developments in the situation of human rights in El Salvador to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session and to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-ninth session;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to give all necessary assistance to the Special Representative of the Commission;

11. Calls upon the Government of El Salvador as well as all other parties to extend their co-operation to the Special Representative of the Commission;

12. Decides to consider the question of human rights in El Salvador at its thirty-ninth session as a matter of high priority.

5. In view of the fact that in his last report to the Commission the Special Representative referred to the human rights situation in El Salvador during the last quarter of 1979 and the whole of the years 1980 and 1981, this report will deal primarily with the situation prevailing during the months that have so far passed in 1982. The Special Representative wishes to point out, however, that there is a natural continuity between his last report and the present one, which should therefore be considered in the light of the earlier report.

6. In drafting this report, the Special Representative used information furnished by the Government of El Salvador and other Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and other pertinent information concerning the situation of human rights in El Salvador.

7. The Special Representative considered that the continuation of the co-operation given him by the Government of El Salvador in 1981 would also be of great importance to him in carrying out his mandate. The United Nations Centre for Human Rights therefore sought from the Government of El Salvador, through the Ambassador heading that country's Permanent Mission at Geneva, authorization for the Special Representative to visit El Salvador again. On 4 August 1982 the Special Representative was informed that the Government of El Salvador was granting that authorization, although the visit was not considered official because the Government still had reservations of a legal nature concerning his mandate.

Human Rights

8. The Special Representative considers it his duty to state that the co-operation given by the Government of El Salvador has been full and open, both as regards the information supplied to him by the Ambassador to the international organizations at Geneva, and as concerns the facilities and freedom of action accorded him during his visit to the country, the information he was able to obtain, and the frankness of the conversations he had with highly-placed Government authorities. The Special Representative greatly appreciates this co-operation and takes it as a sign of the anxiety of the highest governmental levels in El Salvador to improve the situation concerning human rights of all kinds.

9. In fact, in his interviews with the authorities of the Republic of El Salvador during the third week of September 1982, the Special Representative noted a clear desire gradually to improve respect for human rights of all kinds in the country. The full and open co-operation of the Government in the implementation of the Special Representative's mandate, the assistance and facilities granted him during his visit to the country, the establishment of a Human Rights Commission under the Apaneca Pact, and the efforts to give impetus to the activity of the judiciary are some of the signs of that desire. The Special Representative is also acquainted with the letter sent on 30 September 1982 to the Executive Secretary of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights by the Ambassador of El Salvador to the Organization of American States, inviting that Commission to carry out an on-the-spot investigation. The Special Representative has pleasure in reporting this concern for human rights shown by the Government of El Salvador and fervently hopes that it will be effectively translated into practice as soon as possible, particularly with regard to the basic right of human beings - the right to life.

10. The Special Representative arrived in El Salvador on the afternoon of Sunday, 19 September, and remained in the country until the morning of Saturday, 25 September. During his stay in the country, the Special Representative had interviews with the following authorities: the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Alvaro Magaña; the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Fidel Chávez Mena; the Minister of Defence, General José Guillermo García; the Minister of Justice, Dr. Ramiro Arturo Méndez Azahar; the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Manuel López Sermeño; the President of the Central Council for Elections, Dr. Jorge Bustamante; the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Hugo Carrillo; the Attorney-General of the Republic Dr. Mario Adalberto Rivera; the Deputy Director of the Salvadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform, Mr. Gonzalo Martínez Menendez; the Director of the National Police, Colonel Carlos Reynaldo López Muilla; and the Director of the Rural Police, Colonel Francisco Antonio Morán.

11. In San Salvador, the Special Representative also had interviews with the Apostolic Administrator, Mgr. Rivera y Damas, and with the representative of the National Association of Private Entrepreneurs (ANEP), Mr. Juan Vicente Maldonado. He also interviewed members of trade union organizations affiliated to the People's Democratic Union (UPD), including Mr. Alberto Albanenga Singueza, Mr. Jorge Camacho, Mr. Mario Espinoza and others. He had an interview with the President of the Salvadorian Red Cross, Mr. Ricardo López, and lastly, he had conversations with diplomats accredited in El Salvador and with some Salvadorian private citizens.

12. During his stay in the country the Special Representative had the opportunity to visit the Mariona Prison, where he conversed freely with the leaders of COPPES

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Special Project (1993)

(Committee on Political Prisoners of El Salvador) and other political prisoners not affiliated to that body. He also visited the detention cells of the headquarters of the Rural Police and of the National Police, both of them in San Salvador, where he was able to interview political prisoners freely.

13. In Mexico City, the Special Representative had interviews with representatives of the El Salvador Commission on Human Rights; with representatives of ANDES (National Association of Salvadorian Educators); with representatives of the Federation of Rural Workers; with representatives of the Committees of Mothers and Relatives of Prisoners, Missing Persons and Victims of Political Assassination in El Salvador; with Mr. Luis Alonso Gómez Mena, a former political prisoner, with Mr. José Antonio Morales Carbonell and Mr. Juan José García Cañas, former political prisoners; with Mrs. Ana María Rumayor, widow of the Dutch journalist Jacobo Kolster; and with Mr. Jorge Pinto, former director of the San Salvador newspaper, "El Independiente". In New York, the Special Representative had interviews with Dr. Guillermo Ungo, President of the FDR (Revolutionary Democratic Front) and with Mr. Rafael Moreno, representative of the Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FDR-FMLN. In Washington, he interviewed Mrs. Ingrid Escapini, of the National Revolutionary Movement of El Salvador. Elsewhere, the Special Representative had conversations with Mr. Roberto Cuellar of Legal Aid and Mrs. García Villas of the El Salvador Commission on Human Rights. The Special Representative thanks these bodies and persons for their co-operation and wishes to stress the value of that co-operation and of the interest shown in respect for human rights in El Salvador.

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Special Project (1993)

II. INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEGAL RULES APPLICABLE IN EL SALVADOR IN THE MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS

14. In his last report to the Commission on Human Rights 2/ the Special Representative enumerated the international and national legal rules applicable in El Salvador in the matter of human rights. The information received regarding the main changes in these rules is set out below.

15. As was mentioned in the last report, 3/ the curfew was lifted in El Salvador on 15 October 1981. The state of siege or suspension of constitutional guarantees was lifted during the elections 4/ but decreed for a further 30 days from 20 April 1982 5/ and extended successively from then on. 6/

16. At its meeting on 26 April 1982 the Constituent Assembly recently elected in El Salvador adopted Decree No. 3 which provided that the Constitution of 1962 should remain in force, with certain amendments, until the new Constitution is promulgated. Under that Decree, the Constituent Assembly fully assumes normal legislative functions, and the validity of the legislative, administrative and judicial acts performed under the previous regime is recognised. 7/

17. On 18 May 1982, the Constituent Assembly approved Legislative Decree No. 6 8/ which temporarily suspended the application of Decree No. 207 of the Revolutionary Government Junta. Subsequently, Decree No. 6 was authentically interpreted by Decree No. 11 of the Constituent Assembly, 9/ as will be described in section III of this report.

18. The Special Representative feels that it would be useful to mention at this point the Handbook of Normal Operative Procedure for Counter-subversive Actions Undertaken by the National Police 10/ which he referred to in his last report 11/

2/ E/CN.4/1502, op.cit.

3/ Ibid.

4/ The Times, 30 April 1982.

5/ Diario Oficial del Gobierno de El Salvador, No. 71, Decree 1089, San Salvador, 20 April 1982.

6/ Ibid., No. 92, Decree No. 7, 20 May 1982; No. 113, Decree No. 24, 18 June 1982; No. 118, Decree No. 26, 28 June 1982; No. 140, Decree No. 44, 28 July 1982 and subsequent decrees of the Constituent Assembly.

7/ Ibid., No. 75, 26 April 1982; El Diario de Hoy, San Salvador, 27 April 1982.

8/ Diario Oficial, op.cit., No. 94, 24 May 1982.

9/ Ibid., No. 98, 28 May 1982.

10/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Guía de Procedimiento Operativo Normal de las Acciones Contrasubversivas que realice la Policía Nacional, 1 March 1980, revised version 23 September 1980, revised version 10 March 1982, p.1.

11/ E/CN.4/1502, op.cit., para.26.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1993)

but of which a revised version was issued on 10 March 1982. The latter reiterates that one of the prime objectives of operations carried out by the National Police is that of "ensuring respect for the laws, moral principles and the inviolability of human rights".

III. CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF EL SALVADOR

19. In his final report to the Commission on Human Rights of 18 January 1982, 12/ the Special Representative described the main events which shaped the political situation in the Republic of El Salvador during 1979, 1980 and 1981. With respect to 1982, as has been generally reported, the situation of armed confrontation and widespread violence in the country has continued.

20. A political event of prime importance was the holding of the planned elections to the Constituent Assembly on 28 March 1982. In his previous report the Special Representative referred to the plan for these elections, and made some comments on the conditions for holding them. 13/

21. According to the Permanent Mission of El Salvador to the United Nations at Geneva, 14/ "the elections were observed by delegations from governments and international organizations, as well as by representatives of electoral bodies, trade-union, civic and political organizations, representatives of the International Federation of Human Rights, members of the European Parliament and specially invited political figures". The following information concerning the nationality and number of visiting observers is given in the same document: "Venezuela, 24 persons; United Kingdom, 2 persons; Honduras, 10 persons; Colombia, 4 persons; Panama, 7 persons; Guatemala, 7 persons; China, 2 persons; Federal Republic of Germany, 10 persons; Argentina, 2 persons; Uruguay, 2 persons; United States, 34 persons; Paraguay, 5 persons; Brazil, 2 persons; Antigua and Barbuda, 2 persons; Dominican Republic, 3 persons; Italy, 7 persons, Belgium, 1 person; Chile, 4 persons; Peru, 9 persons; Jamaica, 1 person; Mexico, 3 persons; New Zealand, 1 person; Spain, 4 persons; Austria, 1 person; Canada, 4 persons; Costa Rica, 7 persons; Japan, 2 persons; Egypt, 1 person; France, 2 persons". The document also mentions "the presence of the Organization of American States", and adds that "in all, 742 journalists covered the event". The Special Representative notes the various reactions to the elections.

22. According to reports which appeared in the international press, 15/ on the day of the elections, at least 18 persons died as a result of the attacks launched by the guerrilla movement in the Mejicanos, San Antonio Abad, Cuzcatancingo and Apopa suburbs of the capital. The guerrillas are also said to have carried out

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12/ E/CN.4/1502, op.cit.

13/ Ibid., paras.132-136.

14/ Information Bulletin of the Government of El Salvador, Seinform El proceso electoral en El Salvador, 1 April 1982, made available to the Special Representative by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador to the United Nations at Geneva.

15/ International Herald Tribune, 29 March 1982, and The Times, 30 March 1982.

RELEASED
Inter-American Human Rights

harassment in the towns of Usulatán, San Vicente and San Francisco Gotera, as a result of which there was no public transport in the eastern part of El Salvador. According to the same source, at some polling stations in San Salvador the line of voters stretched for over half a mile, while sporadic shots and explosions were heard and bombs exploded near two markets. The same sources also reported that voting was suspended at Apopa, some 17 km from San Salvador, and that apparently the fiercest fighting occurred in Usulatán, 66 miles south-east of San Salvador. Some shooting was also reported in San Miguel, the largest town in eastern El Salvador.

23. The official results given by the Central Council for Elections have been transmitted to the Centre for Human Rights by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador at Geneva. They are as follows: total number of valid votes: 1,362,339; spoiled ballots: 131,498; abstentions: 51,438; contested ballots: 6,412. 16/ The Christian Democratic Party obtained 40.7 per cent of the votes and won 24 of the total of 60 seats in the Assembly; the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) obtained 29.8 per cent of the votes and won 19 seats; the National Conciliation Party (PCN) obtained 18.3 per cent of the votes, winning 14 seats; the Democratic Action Party won 7.7 per cent of the votes and two seats; and the other two parties received the remaining 3.5 per cent of the votes. According to the information provided by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador to the United Nations at Geneva, the Salvadorian People's Party won one seat. 17/

24. As was reported in the world press, 18/ on Thursday, 22 April Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the ARENA party, was elected President of the Constituent Assembly. He obtained 36 of the 39 votes of the parties considered to be more right-wing; 22 of the 24 members of the Christian Democratic Party voted against, and 2 abstained.

25. At the end of April 1982, 19/ Dr. Alvaro Magaña, Director of the Banco Hipotecario, was elected Provisional President of El Salvador by the Constituent Assembly by a vote of 36 in favour, 17 against and 7 abstentions. Three Vice-Presidents took office with Dr. Magaña: Mr. Raúl Molina Martínez, of the National Conciliation Party; Mr. Mauricio Gutiérrez Castro, of ARENA; and Mr. Pablo Mauricio Albergue, of the Christian Democratic Party. 20/ In early May 1982 the formation of the new Government was announced, composed as follows: three Ministers - those for Foreign Affairs, Labour and ~~Forestry~~ Education - from the Christian Democratic Party; four Ministers - those for the Economy, Foreign Trade, Agriculture and Public Health - from the ARENA party; and three Ministers - those for Justice, Public Works and the Office of the President - from the

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16/ Central Council for Elections, San Salvador, Cifras Oficiales del Consejo Central de Elecciones sobre Elecciones, 14 April 1982, p. 1.

17/ Information Bulletin of the Government of El Salvador, op.cit.

18/ Le Monde, 24 April 1982; The Guardian, 24 April 1982, and International Herald Tribune, 24 April 1982.

19/ Newsweek, 3 May 1982; International Herald Tribune, 3 May 1982.

20/ International Herald Tribune, 4 May 1982.

RELEASED
Commission Human Rights
Session (1994)

National Conciliation Party. The President himself appointed the Ministers of the Interior and of Finance, and decided that General José Guillermo Garcia should continue as Minister of Defence. 21/

26. On 3 August 1982, the President of the Republic and the leaders of four political parties signed the "Apaneca Pact" adopting the basic Government platform. The platform "establishes the basic principles of the Government of National Unity, summed up in the following objectives: pacification, democratization, full respect for human rights, economic recovery, consolidation of reforms, confidence-building and international security and reinforcement". The Apaneca Pact recognized the need to set up a Political Commission, a Peace Commission and a Human Rights Commission. 22/ The Minister for Foreign Affairs fully informed the Special Representative of the significance of the Apaneca Pact and particularly of the agreement to set up the Human Rights Commission, an agreement which reflects the determination of the country's authorities to improve the human rights situation.

27. However, Dr. Guillermo Ungo, President of the FDR, takes a very different view of the Apaneca Pact, for he personally told the Special Representative that the Pact merely recorded the points of divergence among the various political parties and sought to improve the image of the present Salvadorian regime.

28. Dr. Guillermo Ungo and Mr. Rafael Moreno, a representative of the Political and Diplomatic Committee of the FDR-FLNFM, told the Special Representative that what was going on at present was a matter of "diplomatic guerrilla warfare", by which they meant that the various proposals put forward by the opposition for dialogue and negotiation with the Government of El Salvador, while apparently being welcomed by the Government, never actually came to anything, so that the genuine pacification of the country is being put off.

21/ The Guardian, 6 May 1982, and International Herald Tribune, 6 May 1982.

22/ Statement issued by the Information Bureau of the Office of the President of the Republic, San Salvador, El Salvador, dated 27 and 28 August 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

IV. SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE EXERCISE OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

29. In his last report to the Commission on Human Rights, 23/ the Special Representative assembled a variety of information on the situation with respect to economic, social and cultural rights in El Salvador, and in this report he would like to add the following in that connection.

30. According to document E/1982/75 of the Economic and Social Council of 19 May 1982, 24/ there was a negative growth of 9.5 per cent in El Salvador in 1981, due, among other things, to "internal factors, especially those deriving from continued and widespread civil strife". On the other hand, according to the same source, there was a considerable decline in inflation, from 19 per cent to 12 per cent.

31. As the ECLA survey 25/ states, the severe crisis in which the country is plunged has caused, among other things, such extensive physical damage that its effects will last at least throughout the medium term and perhaps longer. The survey adds that "although it is too early to calculate exactly the financial cost of economic reactivation and recovery, and the restoration of the road, power, communications and transport infrastructure, and in general the restoration of production capacity and housing, it must amount to hundreds of millions of dollars by any estimate". The survey also states that "once again internal factors - primarily the armed strife - and external factors combined to produce the critical economic situation".

32. With regard more specifically to employment and unemployment trends, the survey states that "some partial data confirm the increasing decline in employment levels. The above-mentioned survey by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of El Salvador indicates that between January 1980 and August 1981 employment fell by 27 per cent in manufacturing branches, 56 per cent in construction, 25 per cent in trade, 33 per cent in transport and 16 per cent in other services. This partial information refers basically to the situation in the towns, where unemployment figures were perhaps higher than in rural areas".

33. In his previous report, the Special Representative referred at some length to the agrarian reform undertaken by the Revolutionary Government Junta. 26/ The agrarian reform comprised three phases, concerning each of which the Special Representative now wishes to add the following information.

23/ E/CN.4/1502, op.cit.

24/ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Economic Survey of Latin America, 1981. Summary, E/1982/75, 19 May 1982.

25/ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Economic Commission for Latin America, El Salvador, Notas para el Estudio Economico de América Latina, 1981 (E/CEPAL/MEX/1982/L.22, 4 June 1982) pp. 1, 3, 24 and 25.

26/ E/CN.4/1502, op.cit.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1990)

34. With regard to the first phase, affecting farms of over 500 hectares, the competent authorities of the Republic of El Salvador informed the Special Representative during his visit to the country that implementation of that phase was continuing despite the financial and other difficulties which had arisen. Thus, 287 peasant co-operatives are managing expropriated farms on which 7 per cent of the rural population are working and living, and the National Bank for Agricultural Development is granting credit to those co-operatives for the agricultural year 1982/83. In addition, according to the international press, 27/ on 27 July 1982 12 peasant co-operatives with a total membership of 10,000 persons received deeds of ownership of expropriated farms under the first phase of the reform, a total of 107 claims having been approved.

35. The second phase of the land reform affects farms of over 100 or 150 hectares - depending on the quality of the land - but less than 500 hectares. According to the explanations given to the Special Representative in El Salvador by the competent authorities, its implementation has been postponed on account of the widespread violence, the lack of skilled personnel to provide the potential beneficiaries with the necessary technical assistance, the severe economic crisis through which the country is passing and the lack of capital to pay compensation to landowners. Nevertheless, nearly 100 farms have been voluntarily offered for sale to the Salvadorian Agrarian Reform Institute, which has so far bought 64 of them, incorporating them in the process of implementation of the first phase.

36. The third phase of the agrarian reform is set out in Decree No. 207 of 18 April 1980 of the Revolutionary Government Junta and affects farms subject to the land-leasing and share-cropping system. With regard to this phase, the Constituent Assembly on 18 May 1982 adopted Decree No. 6 which instituted a temporary suspension of Decree No. 207. Subsequently, however, the Constituent Assembly issued a Decree giving an authoritative interpretation of Decree No. 6, which indicated that the latter provided for the temporary suspension of Decree No. 207 only for the duration of the cycles of cultivation of cotton, sugarcane and cereals and cattle-raising activities, that the rights stemming from the leases had to be respected, and that when Decree No. 6 came into force the rights of the beneficiaries of Decree No. 207 of the Revolutionary Government Junta would be recognized. 28/ The Special Representative has been informed that on 9 June 1982 the President of the Republic delivered final deeds of ownership to former tenant-holders in the Department of San Salvador; that on 5 June in the town of Usulatán he handed over deeds of ownership to peasants of 18 communities in that department; that on Thursday 17 June Vice-President Molina and other officials delivered deeds of ownership in the town of Union; and that these deliveries of deeds are part of a plan for the transfer of 800 titles of ownership, 100 of them final and 700 provisional. 29/

27/ International Herald Tribune, 29 July 1982; The Times, 24 and 29 July 1982.

28/ Document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador, Department of Foreign Policy, circular No. 225 of 30 June 1982, made available to the Centre for Human Rights by the Permanent Mission of El Salvador at Geneva.

29/ Ibid.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

37. However, the Special Representative has also received critical assessments of the current state of the land reform process taking place in El Salvador. Thus, in Martin Diskin's recent study, 30/ the following comments are made on the first phase:

> "The resulting situation reflects a serious lack of planning. The rapid initial act of intervention led to the formation of cooperatives whose new leadership did not reflect the working population prior to intervention. Farm managers, overseers, mechanics, and even bookkeepers are overrepresented on many cooperatives. Had the physical intervention been done quickly, as it was, but with a period allowed for the formation of a cooperative directorate chosen to be more representative, the subsequent operation of the enterprise might have gone more smoothly. The slow pace of the titling, compounded by the constant difficulty in receiving credit, supplies and extension services, has lowered output and efficiency on many Phase 1 farms. The chilling effect of violence, which is known to the military and the police and often perpetrated by them, has further impeded the implementation of this phase. A list of 184 murders committed between March and October 1980 was made public by Rodolfo Viera, the head of ISTA who was himself assassinated in January 1981. Aside from 50 killings labelled unknown, they were all committed by military, security forces, or the paramilitaries.
>
> By using the quantitative results from the monthly reports, we may say that the impact of the reform has been as follows. All the land in Phase 1 - about 15 per cent of El Salvador's farm land - has been expropriated, benefitting perhaps 25,000 families. Only seven cooperatives have been issued titles.
>
> In terms of production, 12.8 per cent of El Salvador's coffee producing land, 38.2 per cent of the cotton land, and 53.4 per cent of the sugar acreage were contained in Phase 1."

38. Again with regard to the first phase of the land reform, Professor Roy L. Prosterman has said 31/ the following: "It may be said that the legal status of Phase I has not changed ... but its practical status has, I believe, changed adversely, as a result of the appointment of hostile administrators, and the apparently widespread dismissal of favourably-disposed officials, non-granting of credit to many co-ops and weakening of important support services".

39. With regard to the second phase of the land reform, Martin Diskin has said: 32/

> "The second phase of the reform, long held in suspension, has now been legally extinguished by the Constituent Assembly elected in March. In addition to the real administrative and technical problems of implementation, it has been subject to a constant barrage of criticism from those who stand to lose most from it. These people are now a dominant force in the Government and they have succeeded in undoing the single most important phase of the entire reform".

30/ Diskin, Martin, contained in El Salvador Land Reform 1980-1981, Impact Audit. "1982 Supplement" (OXFAM America, Boston, Massachusetts, 1982), pp. 30-32.

31/ Prepared Statement of Roy L. Prosterman, Professor of Law, University of Washington, before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3 August, 1982, p. 19.

32/ Diskin, 1982 Supplement, op.cit., p. 42.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1993)

40. With regard to the third phase of the land reform in El Salvador, Martin Diskin has written the following: 33/

> "The Land-to-the-Tiller program, though flawed in concept, might at least have given a message to some of the poorest of the rural population. With even the distant promise of a land title, smallholders could begin to use their own creativity to devise ways to improve their lot with government financial and technical help. Now even that promise has succumbed to violence, intimidation, corruption, and most recently, to Decree 6. 'approved by the Assembly upon the initiative of the President of the Republic'."

41. Lastly, a working paper published by the Catholic University of El Salvador 34/ which gives an overall assessment of the current process of reforms in El Salvador - land, banking and foreign trade reforms - states that "... the reform programme decreed in 1980 seems to have encountered its first failure as a result of its lack of breadth and depth", adding that "the lack of depth and breadth of the reforms is not only understandable but in fact seems inevitable, seeing how many powerful forces there were waiting to frustrate the positive possibilities of the process". To conclude, the report states: "These conclusions do not represent any attempt to underestimate the importance of the three reforms planned; they are certainly the most ambitious changes put forward in the country's contemporary history. However, our analysis also leads to the conclusion that without exception the reforms have been and still are being badly administered, deeply affected by the war and subject to heavy pressure from the oligarchy which seeks to ensure - at this moment - that the reforms will ultimately be and will operate in its interests".

33/ Ibid.

34/ Catholic University of El Salvador, Evaluación Económica de las Reformas, Documento de Trabajo, Boletín de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, No. 8/7/82-004.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1995)

V. SITUATION WITH REGARD TO RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

42. For the reasons he explained in greater detail in his last report to the Commission on Human Rights, 35/ the Special Representative considered that in view of the consistent pattern of gross violations of civil and political rights of all kinds in El Salvador it was inappropriate to conduct a detailed review of the information received in the light of the specific provisions of the domestic and international legal instruments which are binding on the Republic of El Salvador in this area. He decided that it would be preferable to adopt a classification which takes into account the actual circumstances in which such violations take place. This classification, which does not imply any rigid distinction between the various categories, is as follows: (a) murders; (b) abductions and disappearances; (c) political prisoners; (d) other terrorist acts; and (e) general attitude of the Salvadorian judiciary.

1. Murders

43. The Special Representative has continued to receive a great deal of information concerning political murders of civilian non-combatants in El Salvador. The Special Representative is fully aware of the difficulty of accurately determining the exact number of crimes of this kind and considers that this difficulty is due to a variety of causes. The first is the very magnitude of the figures involved. The second is that, in many cases, information on murders comes to light only when bodies are found and it is thus very difficult to determine how they were committed and even whether they were really politically motivated or simply ordinary murders. There is also the fact that the regular army and a guerrilla organization are engaged in armed conflict and it may sometimes be difficult to determine whether those killed are combatants or not. The Special Representative considers that this is an area in which figures must be handled with caution, since there is no way of being really sure that reported figures on political murders of civilians are reliable. The Special Representative nevertheless wishes to point out that the various sources of information he has used basically agree on rises and falls in the total number of murders.

44. Thus, according to the University Documentation and Information Centre, 36/ 1,837 civilians were murdered between January and April 1982. Newsweek 37/ credits that source with information to the effect that 2,658 non-combatants were murdered in the first six months of 1982. According to the information handed over to the Special Representative by the El Salvador Commission on Human Rights, 3,095 civilians were murdered between 1 January and 30 June 1982. According to information given

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35/ E/CN.4/1502, paras. 62-63.

36/ University Documentation and Information Centre, weekly news-sheet, El Salvador, Proceso, year No. 3, No. 68, special issue, February-April 1982.

37/ Newsweek, 27 July 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

directly to the Special Representative by "Christian Legal Aid of El Salvador", 38/ "a total of 3,059 persons were unlawfully executed in the first half of 1982". The figures may be broken down as follows: 566 in January; 532 in February; 526 in March; 505 in April; 375 in May; and 355 in June. According to the same source, 39/ 198 persons were killed in July and 351 in August. Thus, in the first eight months of 1982, the total number of political murders of non-combatants reported by "Christian Legal Aid" was 3,608. The information in question also states that the executions were nearly all the result of action by Government agents (the Army, the National Guard, the National Police and the Rural Police) against unarmed Salvadorian civilians not involved in military combat. With regard to the reliability of this source, the Christian Legal Aid Bulletin of 26 May 1982 quotes Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, as saying that the information provided by Legal Aid was not false; it was simply one-sided because it focused on only one aspect of the problem. Monsignor Rivera y Damas confirmed these words personally to the Special Representative, adding that the one-sidedness of the information was the result of the fact that the complaints received by Christian Legal Aid related only to Government agents and extreme rightist paramilitary organizations.

45. According to a United States Department of State document based on press reports, 40/ the number of deaths may be broken down as follows: 279 in January; 361 in February; 438 in March; 194 in April; 301 in May; 189 in June; 163 in July; 196 in August; and 112 in the first two weeks of September. Thus, according to that source, a total of 2,333 persons were killed between 1 January and 15 September 1982.

46. The Special Representative also received information from the Government of El Salvador 41/ on murders committed by the armed opposition in the period 1968-1982 (up to 21 July 1982 only). According to this information, 4,678 civilians and members of various State agencies were murdered by subversive elements during that period, but separate figures for each year are not given.

38/ Christian Legal Aid of El Salvador, El Salvador, Informe sobre violación de derechos humanos, San Salvador, 15 July 1982.

39/ Ibid., Víctimas de la violencia en El Salvador, de enero a agosto de 1982, muertes fuera de combate.

40/ United States Department of State, Deaths attributable to political violence, document made available to the Special Representative by officials of the United States Department of State.

41/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos Estadísticos sobre Asesinatos por la Subversión, San Salvador, 21 September 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

identified. The edition 48/ of 23 April 1982 reports that the officiating judge identified five bodies, but those responsible were not identified, and that four men were killed in a house by four armed individuals. The edition 49/ of 27 April 1982 states that Ricardo Antonio Mazariego, a mechanic, was shot dead with seven bullets in a hotel in Zacatecoluca by four unknown persons and that Mr. José Manuel Mejía Castillo was killed by unknown persons in San Vicente. The edition 50/ of 28 April 1982 states that the Justice of the Peace identified four bodies, but those responsible were not identified. The edition 51/ of 29 April 1982 reports that Luis Alonso Martínez Escobar, a watchman, was killed by unidentified persons. The edition 52/ of 30 April 1982 reports that the Justice of the Peace identified the bodies of three young men, one of whom was a soldier; it is therefore believed that the killings were carried out by subversive elements. The edition 53/ of 1 May 1982 reports that Milton Ernesto Alvayero, a worker, was shot to death by unknown persons in the Candelaria district of San Salvador. The edition 54/ of 3 May 1982 describes the discovery of two bodies in Mejicanos, one decapitated and the other with a knife wound in the head, with no identification of those responsible. The edition 55/ of 4 May 1982 reports that, in Mejicanos, the bodies of two persons were found with their hands tied behind their backs by the thumbs, but with no identification of those responsible; that Delia del Carmen Vargas Maravilla, a teacher, was killed by unknown persons and that she was the fiancée of an army officer and the sister of another officer; that three individuals were shot to death in the Candelaria district of San Salvador by unidentified persons; and that an employee was shot to death in the courtyard of his house in Usulatán canton by eight heavily armed individuals. The edition 56/ of 31 May 1982 reports that Francisco Alfredo Romero, an employee of the Ministry of Public Health, was shot in the chest in Zacatecoluca by unidentified persons.

49. As in his previous report, 57/ the Special Representative wishes to refer in particular to information concerning especially serious and blatant cases of murders, such as mass killings of peasants, political leaders, journalists and other persons.

48/ Ibid., 23 April 1982.
49/ Ibid., 27 April 1982.
50/ Ibid., 28 April 1982.
51/ Ibid., 29 April 1982.
52/ Ibid., 30 April 1982.
53/ Ibid., 1 May 1982.
54/ Ibid., 3 May 1982.
55/ Ibid., 4 May 1982.
56/ Ibid., 31 May 1982.
57/ E/CN.4/1502.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

50. In fact, according to the information received by the Special Representative, mass killings continued in 1982. Thus, according to information provided by the University Documentation and Information Centre, 58/ there were 24 reports of massacres between January and April, with a total of 547 persons killed; two of the massacres were the result of FMLN attacks on military objectives in Chalatenango, with a total of 60 dead.

51. Legal Aid 59/ reported that a massacre had taken place on 18 April 1982, between 5 and 6 a.m., in Barrios village, Divisadero district, Department of Morazán, and that 48 people had been killed. According to the same source, the murders were committed by uniformed army soldiers after the villagers had shut themselves up in their homes following a sharp clash with guerrilla fighters. The El Salvador Commission on Human Rights 60/ gives a similar version of what happened, stating that 22 children, 8 adolescents, 15 adults and 4 old people were killed, giving their names and ages. According to the international press, 61/ approximately 50 men, women and children were killed in Barrios and the murders were committed as a reprisal for the ambushing of 100 soldiers by guerrilla fighters. The Government of El Salvador told the Special Representative that it had no knowledge of any such events, that the report contained no eye-witness accounts or evidence and that was part of the disinformation campaign designed to discredit the Government.

52. With regard to the murders of political leaders, El Diario de Hoy of San Salvador 62/ reports on the murder of Mrs. Yolanda Cárcamo, the Christian Democratic Party candidate as deputy for San Salvador. According to Le Monde, 63/ the bodies of six militant members of the Christian Democratic Party were found on 27 May in El Playón, near San Salvador, and their deaths were attributed to the extreme right. According to the International Herald Tribune, 64/ Angélica García de López, mayoress of the town of San Francisco Chinameca, and her 18-year-old daughter were killed on 28 May 1982. The same newspaper quotes a spokesman for the Christian Democratic Party as saying that one of the killers was a civilian but the others were connected with the National Guard. The same source also reports that the Salvadorian authorities arrested the three persons responsible.

58/ University Documentation and Information Centre, El Salvador, Proceso, op. cit.

59/ Legal Aid Service of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, Informa las violaciones a los derechos humanos cometidas contra la población civil salvadoreña entre el 17 al 23 de abril de 1982, San Salvador, 3 May 1982 (in June 1982, the Legal Aid Service of the Archdiocese of San Salvador was reorganized and is now known as "'Archbishop Oscar Romero' Christian Legal Aid").

60/ El Salvador Commission on Human Rights, Boletín Semanal No. 1, May 1982.

61/ Le Monde, The Times, International Herald Tribune, 22 April 1982.

62/ El Diario de Hoy, 13 May 1982.

63/ Le Monde, 29 May 1982.

64/ International Herald Tribune, 1 June 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1993)

El Diario de Hoy of San Salvador, on the other hand, reports that National Guard officers captured the persons who killed Evangelina García and that according to the Christian Democratic Party they were members of the Chinamequita civil defence organization and the Candelaria cantonal patrol. 65/

53. With regard to journalists, it was reported in the world press 66/ that four Dutch television reporters were killed by army elements on 17 March 1982 near the town of El Paraíso, 36 miles north of San Salvador. According to the same sources, the Minister of Defence of El Salvador stated that the deaths of the four reporters took place when troops opened fire on guerrillas, while President Duarte said that the reporters died when they were moving around in the guerrilla zone, with the protection of the guerrillas, but that the Government was unaware that they were in the area of hostilities. However, the report of 13 April 1982 commissioned by the Government of the Netherlands 67/ states that "The official Salvadorian versions are not entirely credible and are debatable. The fact that some preliminary statements were later changed means that they cannot be accepted unconditionally". The conclusions of the Netherlands report are as follows: (1) it has been established that the four members of the IKON team were shot to death by soldiers of the Salvadorian regular army...; (2) the IKON team either met the army patrol by chance or fell into an ambush set up by the patrol; (3) since, on the one hand, the reporters were obviously under suspicion and since, on the other, their arrival could very easily have been announced by radio to the army patrol while they were on their way to the place at which they met, so that the patrol would have been able to set up an ambush, an organized attack on the reporters cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the army did not conceal the bodies and, on its own initiative, took them together with the body of the guerrilla leader, Oscar, to San Salvador.

54. Subsequently, on 28 May 1982, the Government of the Netherlands issued an additional report 68/ containing the following conclusions: (1) conclusion (1) of the report of 13 April 1982 remains valid; (2) although, theoretically, it cannot be ruled out that the patrol was warned by radio of the arrival of the IKON reporters from the military camp, the additional inquiry has provided no indications that could lead to the conclusion that there was any premeditated

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65/ El Diario de Hoy, 31 May 1982.

66/ International Herald Tribune, 19, 20 and 21 March 1982; Le Monde, 20 March 1982; The Guardian, 20 and 25 March 1982; The Times, 20 March 1982; Tribune de Genève, 22 March 1982.

67/ Rapport van het onderzoek naar de toedracht van de gebeurtenissen die hebben geleid tot de dood van dvier nederlandse journalisten op 17 maart 1982 in El Salvador (Government of the Netherlands, Report on the enquiry into the circumstances of the events which led to the deaths of four Dutch reporters on 17 March 1982 in El Salvador), The Hague, 13 April 1982.

68/ Aan vullend rapport van het onderzoek naar de toedracht van de debeurtenissen die hebben geleid tot de dood van de vier Nederlandse journalisten op 17 maart 1982 in El Salvador (Government of the Netherlands, Additional report on the enquiry into the circumstances of the events which led to the deaths of four Dutch reporters on 17 March 1982 in El Salvador), The Hague, 28 May 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

intention of luring the IKON reporters into an ambush. Nor has any convincing proof been found of the thesis that the clash between the military patrol and the guerrilla fighters accompanying the IKON team was the result of chance.

55. In connection with the deaths of the Dutch reporters, the Special Representative had a conversation, in Mexico, with Mrs. Ana María Rumayor, the widow of the reporter, Jacobs Kolster, one of the members of the IKON team. Mrs. Rumayor showed the Special Rapporteur a photocopy of a report drawn up at the office of the Rural Police which showed that Mr. Kolster had been questioned there on 11 March 1982 because they had found on a guerrilla fighter a note giving Kolster's name, address and telephone number. The photocopy of the report - whose authenticity the Special Representative can vouch for because he saw the original document in San Salvador - indicates that the reporter and his companions were at no time coerced or physically or mentally ill-treated. The report is signed by the Director of the Rural Police and by Mr. Kolster. Jacobs Kolster's widow gave the Special Representative a photocopy of the document sent to the Attorney-General of the Republic of El Salvador requesting the appointment of a prosecutor for the criminal investigation into her husband's death. With regard to the death of Mr. Johannes Jan Willemsen, another of the Dutch reporters who was killed, the Special Representative noted that similar legal proceedings had been instituted before the Attorney-General of the Republic of El Salvador on 13 October 1982 by Miss Yachiyo Matsuzaki, Mr. Willemsen's companion, and by his father, Mr. Gerrit Jan Willemsen. The Special Representative also received a letter from Miss Jacqueline Bouma, friend and fiancée of Mr. Hans Lodewijkter Laag, another of the Dutch reporters killed, with a photocopy of the request submitted to the Attorney-General for the appointment of a prosecutor for the case. The request is dated 20 October 1982.

2. Abductions and disappearances

56. The Special Representative wishes to provide various types of information on cases of alleged abductions and disappearances, but it must be pointed out that, in this connection again, figures must be treated with the greatest caution. That is in the first place because, after abductions, the bodies of the persons abducted are sometimes found, and such cases are counted as murders. In other cases, it is discovered that the persons abducted are being held in detention centres belonging to the armed forces or the security bodies, and these are counted as political prisoners. In still other cases, the persons abducted are released. There are, lastly, the cases in which the persons who have been abducted are not found, presumably because they have been murdered and their bodies have been hidden; only then can reference properly be made to disappearances. The Special Representative considered it necessary to give these explanations before providing information on figures concerning abductions and disappearances, which, in many cases, overlap with figures concerning murders and political prisoners.

57. According to information handed over to the Special Representative by the El Salvador Commission on Human Rights, there were 244 cases of persons who disappeared between 1 January and 30 June 1982. Amnesty International 69/ gives

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69/ Amnesty International, Political Prisoners in El Salvador, AMR/29/48/82, 11 June 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

a list of 50 persons who were arrested and who disappeared between late March and early May 1982. The same source 70/ reports six other cases of disappearances.

58. According to information provided by the Legal Protection Office of the Archbishopric, Archdiocesan Commission on Justice and Peace, 71/ during the month of May 1982 the Office received reports of 68 persons arrested and of that number five were found dead, six were located in security prisons and seven had been sent to ordinary prisons, but nothing was known about the other 50 persons.

59. According to the same source, 72/ 15 arrests were reported between 12 and 18 June, 19 between 19 and 25 June, 73/ 13 between 26 June and 1 July, 74/ 23 between 9 and 15 July, 75/ 18 between 16 and 22 July, 76/ 11 between 23 and 29 July, 77/ 27 between 30 July and 3 August and between 9 August and 12 August, 78/ 9 between 20 and 26 August 79/ and 31 between 27 August and 2 September. 80/

60. In Mexico, Christian Legal Aid gave the Special Representative more complete lists containing information on alleged disappearances. According to the first partial list, 81/ 402 persons were arrested by security or Government agents in the period from November 1981 to July 1982; 40 of these were brought before the courts. Another partial list 82/ refers to the arrests by Government agents of

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70/ Ibid., Central America Special Action, El Salvador, AMR/29/55/82, 8 July 1982.

71/ Legal Protection Office of the Archbishopric, Archdiocesan Commission on Justice and Peace, Denuncia de personas capturadas recibida en esta oficina, San Salvador, June 1982.

72/ Ibid., 19 June 1982.

73/ Ibid., 26 June 1982.

74/ Ibid., 2 July 1982.

75/ Ibid., 16 July 1982.

76/ Ibid., 23 July 1982.

77/ Ibid., 30 July 1982.

78/ Ibid., 13 August 1982.

79/ Ibid., 27 August 1982.

80/ Ibid., 3 September 1982.

81/ Christian Legal Aid, Desaparecimientos forzados. Listado parcial de personas que habiendo sido capturadas por organismos de seguridad o agentes gubernamentales, no son presentadas ante tribunales o puestas en libertad, November 1981 to July 1982.

82/ Ibid., Listado parcial de capturas realizadas por agentes gubernamentales a menores de edad, November 1981 to July 1982.

...RELEASED

44 minors between November 1981 and July 1982. Still another partial list 83/ refers to 16 citizens arrested during the same period by the Civil Defence Committee. A fourth partial list 84/ refers to 39 citizens who were arrested and subsequently executed by their captors during the same period; their cases have also probably been counted as murders.

61. The Director-General of the El Salvador National Police made available to the Special Representative a document 85/ indicating that guerrilla organizations had carried out a total of 25 abductions up to 21 September 1982.

3. Political prisoners

62. According to information made available to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador, 86/ 2,478 persons were arrested between 15 October 1979 and 13 July 1982 for involvement in terrorist activities. Of these, 1,254 were released; 575 were brought before military examining magistrates; 156 were brought before ordinary judges; 16 were brought before minors' judges; one was taken to a guidance centre; 21 were brought before the Director General of Migration; 72 were brought before various military authorities; 357 were brought before the special police judge; one fled, one committed suicide and 34 cases are pending. Another document from the same source 87/ states that 839 persons were arrested for involvement in terrorist activities between 1 January and 22 September 1982.

63. According to information communicated orally to the Special Representative by the Minister of Justice of El Salvador, the number of political prisoners under his Ministry's authority on 18 September 1982 was 629, of whom 561 were men who were being held in Mariona prison and 61 were women being held in Ylopango prison. On 23 September 1982, 36 prisoners were being held in the San Salvador National Police prison, according to information handed over to the Special Representative by the Colonel in charge of the National Police; those persons had been detained between 19 August and 22 September 1982.

64. According to Amnesty International, 88/ there are at present several hundred political prisoners in San Salvador, but their number is relatively small compared with the number of persons arrested, for reports continue to indicate that persons arrested either disappear soon after their arrest or are released, and that many are being held in military establishments or at secret detention centres.

83/ Ibid., Listado parcial de ciudadanos capturados por el Comité de la Defensa Civil, November 1981 to July 1982.

84/ Christian Legal Aid, Listado parcial de ciudadanos aprehendidos y posteriormente ejecutados por sus captores, November 1981 to July 1982.

85/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos estadísticos sobre los secuestros realizados por las diversas agrupaciones subversivas en El Salvador, San Salvador, 21 September 1982.

86/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos estadísticos sobre personas detenidas por vincularseles con acciones terroristas, período 15 de octubre 1979 al 5 julio de 1982, San Salvador, 13 July 1982.

87/ Ibid., 22 September 1982.

88/ Amnesty International, AMR/29/48/82.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

65. According to information provided by the International Committee of the Red Cross, 89/ delegates of that humanitarian organization made 172 visits to places of detention in March 1982; there were 157 new cases of persons arrested for security reasons and the persons visited were under the authority either of the Ministry of Justice, or of the security forces or of the army. The report of the International Committee of the Red Cross 90/ also indicates that, in March 1982, its Search Offices in San Salvador, Santa Ana and San Miguel continued to receive information from persons looking for relatives who had either disappeared or been abducted. During that period, approximately 1,400 persons called the office in the capital and 261 requests for searches were received; in March, 61 cases were solved.

66. For the rest, according to documentation handed over to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador during his visit to the country, delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross are still being allowed to visit detention centres. 91/ There has also been a restructuring of the Auxiliary Control Commission, a Government body which investigates particularly serious cases of the ill-treatment of prisoners. An office of public information on persons arrested by National Police officers has, moreover, been set up in an annex to the National Police headquarters in San Salvador. The San Salvador newspaper La Prensa Gráfica of 29 October 1981 reported the opening of that office. The Special Representative visited the premises and examined the documentation that is available to the public.

67. Specifically with regard to the situation of political prisoners in El Salvador, the Special Representative received a report which was prepared by two former political prisoners, Mr. José Antonio Morales Carbonell and Mr. Juan José García Cañas, and annexed to a letter sent from Mexico City on 12 July 1982. 92/ The report states that "To date, most political prisoners do not officially know why they are being detained or whether there is any decision or warrant ordering their detention; they do not even know whether there are any proceedings against them ...; many prisoners have been held for years without officially knowing why they are being detained". The report also states that Decree No. 507 of the Revolutionary Government Junta is not being complied with, "for there are prisoners who have been detained for up to 204 days in security prisons without being brought before the competent courts ...; 166 (33.5 per cent) were remanded within the legal time-limit, but 330 (66.5 per cent) were remanded after the time-limit stipulated in the Decree". The report also states that there are several prisoners who were notified over a year ago that their cases were being brought before the National Court, but that they still do not know what stage has been reached in the proceedings, which is another violation of their rights. The report also says that, with a view to obtaining unofficial statements, "political prisoners are brutally beaten, injured and burned with acid; electric shocks are

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89/ Red Cross, SALVREP, No. 3, 21 April 1982.

90/ Ibid., Situation Report No. 3, April 1982.

91/ E/CN.4/1502, para. 91.

92/ García Cañas, Juan José and Morales Carbonell, José Antonio, Informe sobre presos políticos, annexed to a letter to the Special Representative, 12 July 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1993)

applied to the most sensitive parts of their bodies: the genitals, armpits, soles of the feet, head, tongue, ears, eyes, etc. They are subjected to asphyxia in the most brutal manner ... They are strung up in various ways, for lengthy periods of time, and beaten and kicked in various parts of their bodies. After being tortured, they are forced to sign blank pieces of paper ... or coerced into signing with their eyes blindfolded". In this connection, the report provides the following information obtained since May 1982: among 331 prisoners, 132 were physically tortured, 27 were psychologically tortured, 6 were not tortured and there were 496 instances of torture altogether. The report also indicates that there are now 54 minors 14 years old and up who are being kept in prison indefinitely together with adults, even though the time-limit for corrective detention (120 days) laid down in the Decree has expired". It also reports five cases of military raids on prisons and indicates that prisoners "are crowded into very small cells, in deplorable sanitary conditions, and lack medicine and proper medical care. The food they receive is extremely inadequate, primarily consisting of a diet of tortillas and beans. The daily food budget for each prisoner is one colon, 25 centazos, i.e. $.50 per day ...". The lack of water, electricity and other conveniences makes the prisoners' lives very difficult, all the more so because their basic needs are not being met. In the statements they made to the Special Representative in Mexico City, Mr. Morales Carbonell and Mr. García Cañas confirmed what they had said in their letter.

68. The Special Representative has received information concerning an armed attack on a prison. Thus, according to information from Legal Aid, 93/ combined forces from the National Guard and the Rural Police arrived at Mariona Detention Centre, near San Salvador, on 18 March 1982 at 8.30 a.m. and used a megaphone to order the prisoners out of the cell blocks. When they came out, they were forced to lie face down on the ground and were kept in that position in the sun until 11.30 a.m., while the officers threw water and stones at them or stamped on them. All the prisoners were interrogated and particular attention was given to the cases of the youth, Antonio Morales Carbonell, and Hector Bernabé Recinos. Young Morales was given drugs to make him talk, but since he would not he was beaten and had several veins slashed with a razor blade, so that he had to be taken to a medical centre. Mr. Recinos had a hood placed over his head several times and then they beat him so badly that he cannot walk. According to the same information, the other prisoners, some 550 in all, were whipped, insulted and robbed and ended up with bad sunburns on their backs. The Guardian 94/ of 24 March 1982 reports that Dr. Morales Erlich, who is a member of the Revolutionary Government Junta and the father of young Morales Carbonell, requested an investigation of the matter. Information from the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Central America 95/ and the Amnesty International report 96/ give substantially similar accounts of what allegedly happened, as does the statement made to the Special Representative by Mr. Morales Carbonell. According to the San Salvador newspaper El Diario de Hoy, 97/ Mr. Morales Carbonell had to be treated in a private clinic.

93/ Legal Aid, press release, 19 March 1982.

94/ The Guardian, 24 March 1982.

95/ Letter dated 26 March 1982 from the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Central America to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

96/ Amnesty International, Central America Special Action (CASA), AMR/29/24/82, 18 April 1982.

97/ El Diario de Hoy, 20 March 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

69. However, the Government of El Salvador gave the Special Representative a different version of the facts, stating that when prisoner Antonio Morales Carbonell saw the soldiers, "he panicked, his blood pressure dropped and he was helped by prison nurses and later taken to the San Salvador Polyclinic for treatment". The Government also states that "the staff does not physically assault prisoners". 98/

70. During his stay in El Salvador, the Special Representative visited Mariona prison, where he was able to talk freely with the political prisoners who are the leaders of COPPES (Committee of Political Prisoners of El Salvador), namely, Mr. Mario Vigil, Mr. Bernabé Recinos, Mr. Dagoberto Sosa, Mr. José Antonio Valencia, Mr. Oscar Garza and Mr. Francisco Arévalo, who said that they had been detained for 19, 25, 11, 25, 24 and 19 months respectively. They also said that the time-limits laid down in Decree No. 507 of the Revolutionary Government Junta 99/ were not being respected and that they did not know when they would be brought to trial. Bernabé Recinos also said that his wife and a 13-year-old daughter had disappeared on 20 August 1982 and José Antonio Valencia stated that a 16-year-old daughter of his had been killed. The prisoners who were interviewed also said that what was stated in the above-mentioned letter from Mr. Morales Carbonell and Mr. García Cañas was true.

4. Other terrorist acts

71. In 1982, violent acts of sabotage against the Salvadorian economy continued to be carried out by the guerrilla opposition. Thus, according to information supplied by the University Documentation and Information Centre, 100/ "between February and April 1982, a total of 439 acts of sabotage were carried out, mostly in the central region and in particular in Sal Salvador, the department in which most of the country's non-agricultural productive sources are concentrated. In other regions, the departments that were most affected were Usulután, San Vicente and San Miguel, which are of strategic importance because of their cotton and sugar-cane crops but are also the areas in which violent military clashes have frequently occurred ... Statistics show that sabotage has been carried out mainly against means of transport (46 per cent) and the electric power distribution and supply systems (23.7 per cent), thereby affecting two basic elements of the economic cycle: the circulation or distribution of goods and services and their protection. Although fewer in number (5.7 per cent), cases of sabotage of means of communication have had an enormous impact on communications in the country and on the national economy". According to the same source, 101/ FMLN forces destroyed or damaged the following bridges during the first quarter of 1982: four in Santa Ana; one in San Salvador; three in Usulután; two in San Miguel and one in Morazán".

98/ Document by the El Salvador army, General Staff, 23 March 1982, made available to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador.

99/ E/CN.4/1502, paras. 25 and 109.

100/ University Documentation and Information Centre, Proceso, op. cit.

101/ Ibid.

RELEASED
... Human Rights
... Project (1995)

72. According to the International Herald Tribune, 102/ guerrillas attacked a large ANTEL (National Telephone Company) installation, destroying some telephone communications in the capital; according to the same source, guerrillas also set fire to the town hall of Tecapán, which is some 50 km south-east of San Salvador. According to the same newspaper, 103/ the guerrilla radio announced that, in the town of San Miguel, the building and some of the lorries of a construction company had been set on fire. The same newspaper reported 104/ that guerrillas had set fire to 17 buses in different parts of San Salvador on Sunday, 22 March 1982, and had set fire to at least 5 buses in Chalatenango. According to The Guardian, 105/ guerrillas blew up electric power plants and lines on 20 and 21 March 1982 in the departments of Usulután, San Miguel, Morazán and La Unión, leaving those areas without electricity for three days; according to the same source, guerrillas also attacked electric power lines in the town of El Triunfo. The International Herald Tribune 106/ reported that guerrillas blew up a bridge in San Francisco Gotera and cut off two roads and telephone lines to nine towns. According to The Guardian, 107/ guerrillas blew up electric power pylons in three provinces of El Salvador. Le Monde 108/ and The Times 109/ reported that guerrillas attacked a goods train near San Vicente and sabotaged electric power lines in that town and in the town of Quezaltepeque.

73. Subsequent reports in the international press 110/ stated that the opposition radio station "Radio Venceremos" issued a communiqué prohibiting road traffic throughout the country. The same sources reported that, on 30 June and 1 July 1982, more than 20 vehicles, mainly cars and lorries, were burned or dynamited by FMLN members. According to Le Monde, 111/ the situation is especially critical in the eastern part of the country, where the bus service between towns and villages has been almost completely halted by the systematic

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102/ International Herald Tribune, 17 March 1982.

103/ Ibid., 18 March 1982.

104/ Ibid., 24 March 1982.

105/ The Guardian, 25 March 1982.

106/ International Herald Tribune, 8 April 1982.

107/ The Guardian, 13 April 1982.

108/ Le Monde, 21 May 1982.

109/ The Times, 24 May 1982.

110/ The Guardian, 24 June 1982; The Times, 24 June and 6 July 1982; International Herald Tribune, 24 June 1982; Le Monde, 26 June and 3 and 10 July 1982.

111/ Le Monde, 6 and 10 July 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

campaign to destroy means of transport. According to The Times, 112/ 50 per cent of El Salvador's transport system has been paralysed. The Times 113/ and Le Monde 114/ also report that guerrillas have apparently cut off water and electricity supplies in much of San Salvador.

74. Guerrilla attacks of this kind continued during the month of August and, according to the international press, 115/ four eastern provinces were in their fifth day without electricity after guerrillas had dynamited electric power lines; it was also reported that many communities were unable to obtain water from electric-powered pumps.

75. Documentation handed over to the Special Representative by the Government of El Salvador during his visit to the country 116/ indicates that, in the period between 1 January and 20 September 1982, there were 151 cases of sabotage with dynamite in the land transport sector; 50 in the industrial, commercial, banking and agricultural sectors; and 351 in the sector of State-owned facilities. According to the same information, there were 157 cases of incendiary sabotage in the land transport sector; 46 in the industrial, commercial, banking and agricultural sectors; 16 in other sectors; and 61 in the sector of State-owned facilities. According to the information received, there were 561 other acts of sabotage, making an over-all total of 34,379 cases. Damage to the economy resulting from attacks carried out between 1 January and 22 September 1982 is estimated at 90,500,000 colones.

5. General attitude of the Salvadorian judiciary

76. In his previous report to the Commission on Human Rights, 117/ the Special Representative referred to the general attitude of inactivity and passivity of the Salvadorian judiciary towards violations of human rights, although he acknowledged the difficulties standing in the way of a normal functioning of the courts and noted certain attempts to apply legal sanctions to such violations. The Special Representative believes that this situation remains largely unchanged at the present time, for although he has received information on certain other proceedings instituted in respect of violations of human rights, the number of criminal violations reported bears little relation to the number of criminal proceedings brought to his attention. At all events, the Special Representative notes the signs of a slight increase in the activity of the judiciary.

112/ The Times, 6 July 1982.

113/ Ibid., 1 July 1982.

114/ Le Monde, 6 July 1982.

115/ International Herald Tribune, The Times, 10 August 1982.

116/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Datos estadísticos sobre atentados dinamiteros, incendiarios y sabotajes diversos realizados por las diversas agrupaciones terroristas con el fin de destruir la economía nacional, San Salvador, 22 September 1982.

117/ E/CN.4/1502, paras. 110-113 and 129.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

77. The Special Representative's general impression of the attitude of the Salvadorian judiciary is confirmed by other sources. Thus, according to Amnesty International, 118/ "the judicial system in El Salvador has all but ceased to function". Moreover, a report prepared by the Lawyers' Committee for International Human Rights concerning the murder of four American nuns on 4 December 1980 119/ refers to the "general breakdown in the judicial powers in El Salvador" as one of the obstacles to serious progress in that case. Similarly, the report of 20 September 1982 of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 120/ states that "at present, it is clear that there are no penal sanctions for most of the people who commit such horrible crimes".

78. The Attorney-General of the Republic explained to the Special Representative some of the difficulties at present affecting the administration of justice in El Salvador. According to those explanations, the Salvadorian judicial system is organized for normal, peaceful conditions and has no means of dealing with the present situation of widespread violence. The Attorney-General also stated that in most cases it is extremely difficult to find out who committed murders, either because there are no witnesses or because witnesses are afraid to testify. Nearly all murder cases, the Attorney-General stated, lead to the institution of criminal proceedings, but, in view of such difficulties, the proceedings immediately come to a standstill and are classified as "pending investigation".

79. In some cases, however, there has been some resumption of the activity of the Salvadorian criminal justice system. Thus, in the case of the murder of the four American nuns on 4 December 1980, the proceedings are in the investigation stage and the trial is scheduled to begin shortly, according to what the Attorney-General told the Special Representative. In the case of the murder of Mr. Viera and two American advisers, the Attorney-General said that the day before, two accused persons had been brought before the Fifth Criminal Court. On the other hand, he said that the proceedings in the case of the murder of Monsignor Romero were, like so many others, at a standstill because of the lack of witnesses.

80. The Special Representative received some information concerning action taken against members of the army and security forces accused of violations of human rights. Thus, according to The Guardian, 121/ 18 guardsmen were arrested in connection with the deaths of four leaders of the Christian Democratic Party and eight other members of the party and the mass killing of

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118/ Amnesty International, op.cit., AMR/29/48/92, 11 June 1982.

119/ Lawyers' Committee for International Human Rights, Justice in El Salvador: A Case Study, "A report on the investigation into the killing of four US churchwomen in El Salvador", 20 July 1982.

120/ Organization of American States, Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 1981-1982, OEA/Ser.L/V/II-57, 20 September 1982.

121/ The Guardian, 3 June 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

22 persons and, according to the same newspaper, 122/ the United States Embassy in El Salvador confirmed that, since January 1982, 147 members of the armed forces and at least 10 members of the Civil Defence Organization have been arrested for gross misuse of authority; 20 of them are also under arrest for murder. According to the same source, the Minister of Defence, General García, issued instructions in March to all military personnel, warning that violations of the Code of Military Conduct would be punished.

81. More specific information in this connection is to be found in the documentation handed over to the Special Representative by the Director-General of the National Police, 123/ which states that retired Army Major Guillermo Antonio Roeder and other persons were remanded on 2 February 1982 to a criminal court for taking part in the abduction of an engineer and using the services of a security company founded by Major Roeder himself. The Special Representative does not know what stage has been reached in the judicial proceedings. According to other documentation handed over by the Director-General of the National Police, 124/ 11 members of the Military Guard of the cantons of San Agustín and Buena Vista were remanded to a judge on 18 March 1982 for taking part, on 4 March 1982, in the murder of 19 persons, 14 of whom were minors. The Special Representative again does not know what stage has been reached in the judicial investigation into this matter.

82. The Director-General of the National Police also gave the Special Representative a list 125/ of 303 persons discharged from the National Police between 15 October 1979 and 22 September 1982. Thirteen persons were discharged for attempted rape; 42 for assault; 11 for extortion; 39 for rape; 20 for misappropriation; 38 for homicide; 14 for theft; 11 for bribery; 6 for receiving unlawful payments; 34 for injury; 17 for robbery; 4 for abduction; 2 for attempted robbery; and others for various reasons. The documentation states that, in many cases, the accused have been placed at the disposal of the competent criminal courts, but the Special Representative does not know what stage has been reached in the proceedings.

83. The Director-General of the Rural Police also handed over to the Special Representative, during his visit to the country, a report on rural police officers remanded to ordinary courts since 15 October 1979. 126/ The

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122/ Ibid., 29 July 1982.

123/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Caso Mayor y Lic. Guillermo Antonio Roeder E.

124/ Ibid., Caso Asesinato de 19 personas en el sector de San Pedro Perulapan.

125/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Resumen de la bajas habidas en este cuerpo, a partir del 15 de octubre de 1979 a la fecha, por delitos comunes y otros, San Salvador, 22 September 1982.

126/ Rural Police, Informe estadístico del personal de la Policía de Hacienda dado de baja por distintas causas, consignado a los tribunales por delitos comunes y por expulsión definitiva, durante el período de octubre 1979 hasta el 22 de septiembre de 1982, San Salvador, 22 September 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

list includes 18 cases involving a larger number of members of that police force. The Special Representative wishes to draw attention to the following cases in particular: one for the murder of a woman in June 1981; another for the rape of a minor in June 1981; another for assault and robbery of a civilian in August 1981; another for the murder of a civilian in August 1981; another for assault and the robbery of a jewellery store in September 1981; another for the murder of several persons in March 1982; another for assault and armed robbery in April 1982; another for homicide in May 1982; another for the same offence in May 1982; another for assault and the robbery of a petrol station in August 1982; and another for assault in August 1982. The Special Representative does not know what stage has been reached in the criminal investigation of these cases.

84. The Director-General of the Rural Police also gave the Special Representative a list of 39 cases of expulsions of members: 127/ 5 between 15 October and 31 December 1979; 2 in 1980; 20 in 1981; and 12 between 1 January and 22 September 1982. Many of these cases related to disciplinary offences, such as drunkenness and failure to observe working hours. In 1982, one of the cases involved the murder of several civilians.

85. Lastly, the Special Representative found that the authorities of the Republic of El Salvador displayed concern to give some impetus to the functioning of the criminal justice system as part of a policy to improve the situation of human rights in the country. The Special Representative expresses the fervent hope that this concern will produce satisfactory results as soon as possible.

127/ Ibid.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

VI. SITUATION OF REFUGEES AND OTHER PERSONS DISPLACED AS THE RESULT OF CURRENT EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR

86. In his last report 128/ the Special Representative stated: "The events in El Salvador are forcing many people to leave their homes and normal places of residence and to move to other parts of the country or to seek refuge in neighbouring countries". This situation has continued in 1982, and as far as refugees are concerned the figures received show that their numbers have increased this year.

87. According to information from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 129/ on 1 June 1982 there were estimated to be between 175,000 and 295,000 Salvadorian refugees in various Latin American countries, distributed as follows: 7,000 in Belize; 10,000 in Costa Rica; between 50,000 and 100,000 in Guatemala; 15,000 in Honduras; between 70,000 and 140,000 in Mexico; 22,000 in Nicaragua, and 1,000 in Panama. Of these 34,030 are assisted by UNHCR.

88. As regards displaced persons, according to information supplied to the Special Representative during his visit to the country by CONADES (National Committee for Aid to Displaced Persons) 130/ on 31 August 1982 226,744 Salvadorians had been displaced from their places of residence and were being given various forms of assistance by that body.

VII. SITUATION WITH REGARD TO COMPLIANCE WITH THE INTERNATIONAL RULES OF HUMANITARIAN LAW APPLICABLE IN ARMED CONFLICTS

89. With regard to respect for human rights in the armed conflicts taking place in El Salvador between the regular army and the opposition guerrilla forces, the Special Representative received less information for this report than for the last one.

90. However, the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of 20 September 1982 131/ states that the Commission is aware that serious violations of human rights have been taking place on both sides, in violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Furthermore, some of the reports on mass killings among the civil population by regular military forces and guerrilla groups contained in part IV of this report would indicate a lack of respect for the minimum rules of humanitarian law applicable in all types of conflict.

128/ E/CN.4/1502, op. cit., para. 115.

129/ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR Information, Central America, June 1982, No. 5.

130/ National Commission for Assistance to Displaced Persons, San Salvador, Cuadro Resumen de la Población Desplazada a nivel nacional par Departamento al 31 de agosto (Summary of displaced persons at the national level, by departments at 31 August).

131/ Organization of American States, Annual Report, op. cit.

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

91. Nevertheless, the Special Representative has received some reports indicating that in certain cases both of the contending parties have spared the lives of combatants captured in the course of the fighting and have even released them.

92. The Special Representative was able, for example, to speak to a former guerrilla fighter who had been captured in combat. He was imprisoned but after some time was released and was even able to go to Mexico. Some Salvadorian authorities told the Special Representative of cases in which captured guerrillas had received humanitarian treatment and medical assistance.

93. The Special Representative also read in an information bulletin published by the International Committee of the Red Cross 132/ that delegates of the Committee paid three visits to three officers and 56 soldiers captured by the FMNL; according to the same source on 31 August 40 of these soldiers were released under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross and handed over by that humanitarian body to the competent military authority at the regional barracks of San Francisco Gotera (Morazán). According to explanations given to the Special Representative by Mr. Rafael Moreno, a representative of the Political and Diplomatic Committee of the FDR-FMNL, 10 of the captured soldiers preferred to join the guerrillas.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

94. After examining and conscientiously evaluating the information summarized in the foregoing pages, the Special Representative is in a position to offer some conclusions which reflect his personal convictions. It must be said, however, that owing to the particular nature of the Special Representative's mandate and of the investigation made in order to discharge it, these convictions do not relate to specific acts or events but to the general situation of human rights in El Salvador so far during 1982.

95. With regard to economic, social and cultural rights, the Special Representative considers that, generally speaking, the situation he described in his last report to the Commission on Human Rights remains unchanged. 133/ In this context the Special Representative takes into account the difficulties stemming from the economic crisis through which the country is passing and the fact that there can be no substantive improvement in those rights from one day to the next, but only through a gradual process of reforms, including agrarian reform, which requires, among other things, a genuine climate of social peace. The Special Representative considers, however, that the Salvadorian people still do not enjoy economic, social and cultural rights of any particular significance. In the same context he wishes to add that the attacks on the country's economy carried out systematically by the guerrilla opposition, although presented as aimed at military targets, seriously compromise the future enjoyment by the people of El Salvador of very important economic, social and cultural rights.

132/ Red Cross, Salvrep, No. 8, 22 August 1982.

133/ E/CN.4/1502, op. cit.

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96. With regard to civil and political rights, the Special Representative is morally convinced that during the months that have so far passed in 1982, serious, massive and persistent violations of human rights have continued in the country and in many cases have ended tragically in attacks on human lives, precisely because of the continuing serious civil conflict taking place in El Salvador. While it is true that the information received shows that the number of assassinations has dropped to approximately half what it was in 1981, nevertheless the size of the figures given for this year clearly indicates that the situation with regard to respect for human life is still very serious. In the opinion of the Special Representative, responsibility for the violations of civil and political rights lies both with members of the State apparatus and violent groups of the extreme right, which seem to have acted in collusion with or tolerated by the former, and with armed groups of the extreme left, although there are indications that the violations of human rights involving attempts on life, liberty and security of person are in the majority - but not solely - perpetrated by members of the State apparatus and violent groups of the extreme right, while terrorist acts against public and private property are mainly due to guerrilla groups.

97. With regard to the activity of the judiciary in El Salvador, the Special Representative considers that the situation is still unsatisfactory and that it calls for considerable improvement, even though he has observed signs of a slight increase in the punishment of violations of human rights. The Special Representative realizes, however, how difficult it is for the Salvadorian judicial system properly to investigate and to punish such a large number of offences as are at present being committed in the country in the prevailing atmosphere of generalized violence, and he notes the concern of the authorities of the Republic to encourage the activity of the judiciary.

98. With regard to the continued armed clashes, the Special Representative believes that serious violations of human rights are still being committed by both sides, notwithstanding certain cases in which both the regular army and the guerrilla opposition have given humanitarian treatment to and even released persons captured in combat. The Special Representative is not in a position to determine the numbers of such cases with respect to either of the contending sides, but wishes to express his fervent hope that the humanitarian treatment of persons captured in combat and more generally of all those participating in it will soon become general practice.

99. While it is true that under both the 1962 Constitution - declared to be in force by Decree No. 3 of the Constituent Assembly - and the international instruments on human rights applicable in El Salvador, the authorities of that country have an undeniable right to adopt emergency measures to deal with the situation of violence and armed confrontation existing in the country, nevertheless neither those instruments nor the most elementary moral principles inherent in any normal conscience would justify the use of emergency measures to violate fundamental and indefensible human rights including, first and foremost, the right of every person to life.

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Special Project (1993)

100. The Special Representative again notes the concern which he has observed in high Government spheres in the Republic of El Salvador for the protection of human rights but, while very pleased to see this concern, he wishes to express his hope and his fervent desire that it should speedily and effectively be reflected in the facts of the situation, especially as regards respect for the basic right of every person, which is the right to life.

101. The situation described in the foregoing paragraphs demands, as a matter having priority over all other measures, the full restoration of civil peace, which is the essential prerequisite to respect for civil and political human rights and the gradual improvement of economic, social and cultural rights. It is therefore necessary once again to urge the Government and all those concerned immediately to take whatever measures are necessary to bring peace to the country and to put an end to the serious violations of human rights that are taking place there.

102. In view of the concern which the Government of El Salvador and other interested sectors have expressed regarding the violation of human rights and bearing in mind in particular the quintessential nature of the right to life and that violations of that right are irreparable, the Special Representative recommends most emphatically that both sides should immediately take steps to end the attacks on human lives.

103. For the rest, the Government and authorities of El Salvador should be particularly recommended to adopt the following measures:

(1) The repeal of all legal enactment and other measures that are incompatible with the principles contained in the international instruments that are binding on the Republic of El Salvador in respect of human rights, and in particular the repeal of Decree No. 507 of 3 December 1980 containing the special law on procedures applicable to the offences referred to in article 177 of the Political Constitution;

(2) The institution of real and effective control by the Government over all the members and units of the armed forces and security forces and over all types of armed organizations and individuals in order to ensure that they behave in accordance with the principles laid down in the international instruments that are binding on the Republic of El Salvador in the matter of human rights, including the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the 1977 Protocols;

(3) The adoption by the Salvadorian governmental and judicial authorities of all the legal measures necessary to prevent and speedily and effectively to punish violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the possible dismissal from their posts of officials of the civil administration and the heads, officers and other subordinate members of the armed and security forces who have been responsible for such violations;

(4) The organization at all levels, including schools and the mass media, of mass campaigns in favour of respect for human rights;

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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FOLLOWING REPEAT SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO SAN SALVADOR GUATELAMA SANTIAGO GENEVA NOVEMBER 16.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 03450

ALSO FOR USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: US, OAS, SHUM, OS
SUBJECT: STRATEGY ON HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR IN THE 37TH UNGA

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT).

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PAGE 02 STATE 329262

2. SUMMARY: ONE OF THE [redacted] ISSUES STILL FACING US IN THE UNGA IS A RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. USUN RECOMMENDS THAT, IN THE BILATERALS AT THE MARGIN OF THE OASGA, THE US SEEK THE SUPPORT OF THE LATINS FOR OUR EFFORTS IN THE UNGA AND IN PARTICULAR TRY TO GET A COMMITMENT FROM THEM TO JOIN US IN OPPOSING A ONE-SIDED RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

3. AS LAST YEAR, THERE WILL BE A RESOLUTION IN THE UNGA'S THIRD COMMITTEE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN ANY DRAFT ALTHOUGH THE MEXICANS APPARENTLY HAVE ASSEMBLED A COLLECTION OF POINTS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SWEDES ARE AT PRESENT DISCUSSING THIS SUBJECT WITH MEXICO, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF COMING UP WITH A MORE MODERATE DRAFT THAN LAST YEAR. WE REMAIN DUBIOUS, HOWEVER, THAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL BE ACCEPTABLE. OVER-ALL, THE EUROPEANS REMAIN DIFFICULT. THE SWEDES AND THE DUTCH IN PARTICULAR, DO NOT HAVE A HELPFUL ATTITUDE ON THIS ISSUE.

4. IF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION IS UNACCEPTABLE, WE WOULD TRY TO IMPROVE IT THROUGH AMENDMENTS, SUCH AS POSITIVE REFERENCES TO THE ELECTIONS AND LAND REFORM AND TO THE NEED TO CONTINUE PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS AS PART OF THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

OUR STRATEGY THUS WILL BE TO EMPHASIZE THE DESIRABILITY OF A RESOLUTION THAT ENCOURAGES THE CAUSE OF MODERATE REFORM, BY ACKNOWLEDGING THE PROGRESS THE GOES HAS MADE, AND OUR OPPOSITION TO A DRAFT WHICH WEAKENS THE FORCES OF REFORM IN EL SALVADOR BY FAILING TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGE.

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PAGE 03 STATE 329262

5. DO PURSUE THIS STRATEGY EFFECTIVELY WE AND THE SALVADOREANS MUST HAVE THE SUPPPORT OF OTHER LATIN DELEGATIONS. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LATIN UNITY HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED ON THE MALVINAS RESOLUTION. ALSO, WE BELIEVE MOST LATINS WOULD AGREE THAT:

- THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IN LATIN AMERICA
- HAS BEEN EXPLOITED AND MISUSED FOR
- POLITICAL ENDS IN UN FORA: AND,

- HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES HAVE BEEN PURSUED [redacted]

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- SELECTIVELY IN THE UN, PRIMARILY TOWARD
- LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

6. WE ALREADY HAVE A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP IN THE UNGA'S THIRD COMMITTEE WITH EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, AND COSTA RICA AS WELL AS WITH COLOMBIA, CHILE AND GUATEMALA. WE SEE NO PROBLEM IN CONCERTING STRATEGY WITH THEM. WE ARE LESS CERTAIN, ON THE OTHER HAND, OF THE COOPERATION OF OTHER LATIN AMERICAN STATES WHICH COULD BE EXYECTED TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO OUR POINT OF VIEW, AND BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO RAISE WITH THEM AT A HIGH LEVEL OUR DESIRE FOR COORDINATION OF POLICY ON THIS ISSUE. THIS COULD BE DONE IN THE BILATERALS AT THE MARGIN OF THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY -- HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED IN SOME OF THE BILATERALS LAST YEAR -- OR IN CAPITALS. COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO ESTABLISH CLOSER COOPERATION FOR DEALING WITH THE EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION ARE VENEZUELA, BRAZIL, PERU, PANAMA, ECUADOR, JAMAICA, TRINIDAD, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND THE BAHAMAS. IN ADDITION, WE WILL PURSUE THE ISSUE WITH THE SMALLER ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN (ANTIGUA, BARBADOS, DOMINICA, ST. LUCIA AND ST. VINCENT) BUT WOULD SUGGEST THAT [redacted] BRIDGETOWN BE ALSO REQUESTED TO DISCUSS

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THE SUBJECT IN CAPITALS IF THERE IS NOT SUFFICIENT OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS IT DURING THE OAS MEETING.

:. ACTION REQUESTED: USUN REQUESTS THAT IN THE BILATERALS AT THE MARGIN OF THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

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A) INSTRUCTIONS TO THE DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK TO COOPERATE WITH US AND THE SALVADOREAN DELEGATION ON MOVES TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTIVE RESOLUTION THROUGH MUTUALLY AGREED AMENDMENTS (THIS MIGHT

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REQUIRE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFORMAL WORKING GROUP BY THE LATINS IN WHICH WE WOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE;)

B) A COMMITMENT, IF THESE EFFORTS DO NOT SUCCEED, TO VOTE NO WITH US ON A RESOLUTION THAT IS ONE-SIDED RATHER THAN MERELY TO ABSTAIN.

9. ALTERNATIVELY, OR TO THE EXTENT THE SUBJECT CANNOT BE COVERED IN THE BILATERALS, WE REQUEST THAT EMBASSIES BE INSTRUCTED TO TAKE UP THE SUBJECT AT A SUITABLY HIGH LEVEL WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS. ADELMAN UNQUOTE SHULTZ

NOT RELEVANT TO EL SALVADOR

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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

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FOLLOWING USUN NEW YORK 3595 DTD 24 NOV SENT ACTION STATE
INFO SAN SALVADOR SANTIAGO GUATEMALA CITY PARIS GENEVA
BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO:

QUOTE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ USUN NEW YORK 03595

PARIS FOR SCHIFTER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: UNGA, PORG, SHUM
SUBJECT: 37TH UNGA: HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS ON EL
- SALVADOR, CHILE AND GUATEMALA - REQUEST
- REPRESENTATIONS

REF: A) USUN 3548, B)USUN 3594

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PAGE 02 STATE 330460

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. USUN HAS NOW OBTAINED INFORMALLY THE PROVISIONAL DRAFTS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, CHILE AND GUATEMALA (REFS A AND B), WHICH THE SWEDISH AND DUTCH DELEGATIONS HAVE PREPARED FOR AGENDA ITEM

12 OF THE UNGA'S THIRD COMMITTEE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THESE TEXTS ARE NOW BEING FURTHER DISCUSSED BY THE DRAFTERS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS, ESPECIALLY MEXICO, CUBA AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN GROUP (WEOG). WE CONSIDER ALL THE DRAFTS TO BE OUTRAGEOUSLY ONE-SIDED.

THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE CONTAINS NO REFERENCE TO THE MEASURES TAKEN TO REVIEW THE SITUATION OF THE EXILES.

THE PARTIALITY OF THESE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS IS UNDERLINED BY THE FACT THAT THERE EXIST NO SIMILAR INITIATIVES BY THEIR SPONSORS WITH RESPECT TO THE MANY COUNTRIES WITH A WORSE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD.

3. OUR OWN APPROACH IS TO WORK FOR RESOLUTIONS WHICH ARE FAIR, BALANCED AND ENCOURAGE THE FORCES OF REFORM.

5. IN ADDITION TO OUR EFFORTS HERE, AT THE PERMREP LEVEL AND IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE, USUN REQUESTS

REPRESENTATIONS DIRECTLY IN CAPITALS, TO EMPHASIZE THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF THF PRESENT TEXTS AND CONVEY OUR CONCERN OVER THEIR PARTIALITY, LACK OF BALANCE AND ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE FORCES OF REFORM. WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT OUR VIEWS BE MADE CLEAR AT A HIGH LEVEL IN THE HAGUE AND STOCKHOLM. IN ADDITION, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE ISSUE BE RAISED IN CAPITALS WITH THE UK, THE FRG, DENMARK, ITALY, BELGIUM AND PORTUGAL TO ENLIST THEIR SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE RESOLUTIONS. SINCE DEBATE ON AGENDA ITEM 12 WILL BEGIN IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE ON NOVEMBER 29 AND CONSULTATIONS ON THE RESOLUTIONS ARE NOW UNDER WAY, IT WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE THAT THE REPRESENTATIONS BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.
KIRKPATRICK UNQUOTE SHULTZ

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SOPN
SUBJECT: ARA NEWS ITEMS OF NOVEMBER 26, 1982

1. SUMMARY OF NEWSPAPERS:

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--WASHINGTON POST--

NICARAGUA: NEWS BRIEF FROM MANAGUA IN AROUND THE WORLD COLUMN PAGE 21 SECOND SECTION (NICARAGUAN PAPER CLOSED) NOTES THAT GON ANNOUNCED SUSPENSION OF DAILY LA PRENSA, NICARAGUA'S ONLY OPPOSITION PAPER, FOR THE LAST TWO DAYS BECAUSE OF BREACHES OF CENSORSHIP REGULATIONS. THE

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INTERIOR MINISTRY'S ORDER AGAINST LA PRENSA DID NOT CITE

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Special Project (1993)

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ANY SPECIFIC :MATERIAL IN THE DAILY.

EL SALVADOR: NEWS BRIEF FROM SAN SALVADOR. SAME COLUMN PAGE 21 (SALVADORAN FACES CHARGE) SAYS A FORMER NATIONAL GUARDSMAN, CARLOS JOAQUIN CONTRERAS PALACIOS, WAS FORMALLY CHARGED WITH MURDER AND WILL STAND TRIAL WITH FOUR OTHER MEN FOR THE SLAYINGS OF FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN IN 1980.

--NEW YORK TIMES--

MEXICO: ALAN RIDING FROM MEXICO CITY PAGE 3 (NO "TEARFUL ADIOS" FOR MEXICAN LEADER) SAYS OUTGOING PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS BEEN ACTIVE LAST FEW WEEKS, VISITING ALL STATES OF THE COUNTRY, DEDICATING PUBLIC WORKS, MAKING SPEECHES, ETC. "TO MANY MEXICANS, THE RITUAL IS ALL TOO FAMILIAR. THE POWER OF MEXICAN PRESIDENTS DURING THEIR SIX-YEAR TERMS SEEMS ONLY MATCHED BY THEIR PAIN AT HAVING TO STEP DOWN. AND, AS IF BRACING FOR THE CRITICISM THAT INEVITABLY FOLOWS, THEY FREQUENTLY LEAVE OFFICE WITH PRAISE STILL RINGING IN THEIR EARS." THIS TIME, RIDING SAYS, IS DIFFERENT, HOWEVER. CONTRAST BETWEEN LOPEZ PORTILLO'S SPEECHES AND THE ACUTE ECONOMIC CRISIS COUNTRY FACES HAS CAUSED WIDESPREAD IRRITATION AMONG MEXICANS, INCLUDING AIDES OF INCOMING PRESIDENT DE LA MADRID. "HAVING ENJOYED EXTRAORDINARY POPULARITY AS RECENTLY AS LAST YEAR, LOPEZ PORTILLO IS IN FACT ALREADY THE TARGET OF BITTER RECRIMINATION, WITH MEMORIES OF HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS BURIED BY THE REALITY OF RISING PRICES AND GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT." LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS BEEN TRYING TO SAVE HIS REPUTATION, SAYS RIDING. LOPEZ PORTILLO SAYS HIS GREATEST SUCCESS WAS

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GIVING OPPOSITION PARTIES A VOICE IN CONGRESS. HIS GREATEST FAILURE, HE SAYS, WAS "TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY WITH A SEVERE FINANCIAL PROBLEM." DE LA MADRID PREPARING FOR THE INAUGURATION DEC. 1. INAUGURAL ADDRESS WILL SET THE TONE FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION, RIDING SAYS. OFFICE-SEEKERS BEING SCREENED TO FILL KEY POSTS. AIDES BELIEVE DE LA MADRID'S STRONGEST CARD WILL BE TO OFFER HONEST GOVERNMENT. LOPEZ PORTILLO UNLIKELY TO CAUSE PROBLEMS TO DE LA MADRID BY REMAINING IN POLITICS. RIDING NOTES THAT LOPEZ PORTILLO HAS PLEDGED " TO GROW A BEARD AND DEDICATE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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MYSELF TO PAINTING AND WRITING." THERE IS SPECULATION, HOWEVER, THAT HE MAY BE MEXICO'S NEXT AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN.

EL SALVADOR: UPI NEWS BRIEF PAGE 5 FROM SAN SALVADOR (SALVADORAN INDICTED IN DEATH OF US NUNS) NOTES FORMAL INDICTMENT OF CARLOS JOAQUIN CONTRERAS PALACIOS FOR MURDER IN CHURCHWOMEN'S CASE. FOUR OTHER FORMER NATINAL GUARDSMEN WERE CHRGED WITH AGGRAVATED HOMICIDE IN SEPARATE APPEARANCES IN TWO DIFFERENT COURTS LAST SATURDAY. "CONTRERAS PALACIOS HAS BEEN JAILED SEPARATELY SINCE HE CONFESSED TO HIS ROLE IN THE MURDERS AND NAMED A FORMER GUARD SERGEANT, LUIS COLINDRES ALEMAN, AS LEADER OF THE PATROL THAT KILLED THE WOMEN. THE MEN COULD ALL FACE THE DEATH PENALTY IF CONVICTED."
CENTRAL AMERICA: OP-ED COLUMN BY JOHN OAKES, FORMER SENIOR EDITOR OF THE NYTIMES (CENTRAL AMERICAN FOLLY)

SAYS THAT "IN CENTRAL AMERICA, MORE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE, THIS ADMINISTRATION'S CONFRONTATIONAL ACTIONS ARE TOTALLY CONSISTENT WITH ITS MILITANT RHETORIC." ROOTS OF THIS POLICY GO BACK A HALF-CENTURY OR MORE, OAKES SAYS, SINCE US MARINES FOUGHT SANDINO AND PAVED THE WAY FOR THE SOMOZA REGIME. "BUT PRESIDENT REAGAN AND...ALEXANDER HAIG RAISED IT TO NEW HEIGHTS OF DOCTRINAL FOLLY. THERE IS REASON TO HOPE THAT SECY....SHULTZ WILL MODIFY BOTH WORDS AND DEEDS WHEN HE GETS AROUND TO IT--BUT BY THEN IT

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MAY BE TOO LATE." OAKES CLAIMS THE DANGEROUS BANKRUPTCY OF REAGAN'S RHETORIC AND ACTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS BEOMING CLEARER EVERY DAY. HE LISTS THE COUNTRIES: A NO-WIN SITUATION REMINICENT OF VIETNAM IN EL SALVADOR; ATTEMPTS TO SUBVERT A RADICAL GOVERNMENT WITH WHOM WE REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE EXCEPT ON OUR OWN TERMS IN NICARAGUA; EDGING TOWARD SUPPORT OF ANOTHER RIGHT-WING MILITARY DICTATOR IN GUATEMALA; BUILDING A MILITARY MACHINE AS OUR SURROGATE IN HONDURAS, "THEREBY RUNNING THE RISK OF EMBROILING THESE AND OTHER COUNTRIES (IF NOT OURSELVES) IN AN UNWANTED, UNNECESSARY AND UNCONSCIONABLE WAR." OAKES SAYS REAGAN, IN "STUBBORN ADHERENCE TO HIS CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICY OF STERILE ANTI-COMMUNISM,...SPARES NO EFFORT TO HOODWINK CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC." OAKES SAYS IT IS "GOOD THEATER" WHEN THE WHITE HOUSE THROWS A DAMPER OVER AMB. HINTON'S WORDS ON THE SALVADORAN JUSTICE

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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SYSTEM, WITHOUT REALLY REPUDIATING THEM, JUST AS THE WORDS THEMSELVES WERE "GOOD THEATER" IN THE FIRST PLACE. IT IS ALSO GOOD THEATER WHEN THE FIVE NATINAL GUARDSMEN WERE "INSTANTANEOUSLY DREDGED UP FOR A SPEEDY TRIAL AND, DOUBTLESS, A SPEEDIER CONVICTION." AND, FINALLY, IT WILL BE EVEN BETTER THEATER, SAYS OAKES, WHEN ALL THIS HAPPENS JUST IN TIME FOR REAGAN AND HINTON TO POINT TO THE TRIAL AT CERTIFICATION TIME IN JANUARY. "YET THERE IS STILL NO EVIDENCE THAT SALVADORAN COURTS DARE PROCEED AGAINST THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY HIGHER-UPS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN DAILY MURDERS IN THE STREETS AND ALLEYS." HOW COULD THERE BE, OAKES ASKS, WHEN JUDGES ARE THREATENED. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, HE ASKS, "WILL A CAREFULLY TIMED SHOW TRIAL OF FIVE LOW-RANKING NATIONAL GUARDSMEN IN JANUARY, WITH NO EFFORT TO FOLLOW LEADS TO HIGHER AUTHORITY, DEMONSTRATE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?" OAKES QUOTES FROM LETTER FROM LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN

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RIGHTS ON BEHALF OF THE CHURCHWOMEN'S FAMILIES, SAYING THERE HAS BEEN NO EFFORT TO INVESTIGATE HIGHER-UP INVOLVEMENT IN THE CASE. "NO ANSWER AS YET--NOT EVEN A RHETORICAL ONE--FROM WASHINGTON," SAYS OAKES.

--CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR--

BRAZIL: JAMES NELSON GOODSELL PAGE 7 FROM SALVADOR, BRAZIL (BRAZIL'S NORTHEAST--BIGGER THAN TEXAS--GALLOPS TOWARD PROSPERITY) HAS FEATURE STORY ON GROWTH OF NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL, WITH NEW INDUSTRY ARRIVING, INCLUDING MAMMOTH PETROCHEMICAL COMPLEX IN SALVADOR AND HUGE HYDROELECTRIC FACILITIES. BRAZILIAN ECONOMIST SAYS NORTHEAST IS STILL A PROBLEM CHILD, BUT LESS SO THAN IT WAS 10-15 YEARS AGO. NUMBER OF CITIES, SUCH AS SALVADOR BAHIA, RECIFE AND NATAL, ALL EXPERIENCING A BOOM, GOODSELL SAYS. AND PEOPLE REAPING THE FRUITS OF THIS BOOM ARE FOR MOST PART NORESTINOS THEMSELVES. INDIVIDUAL INCOME, TOURISM UP, UNEMPLOYMENT NOT AS BAD AS ELSEWHERE. --WALL STREET JOURNAL--

NICARAGUA: FRONT PAGE NEWS NOTE IN "WORLD WIDE" COLUMN READS "NICARAGUAN PLANES FLEW MISSIONS ALONG THE HONDURAN BORDER, AND THERE WERE REPORTS OF HEAVY FIGHTING THAT LEFT AT LEAST TWO NICARAGUANS DEAD, MILITARY SOURCES

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RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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SAID. US-HONDURAN MILITARY MANEUVERS REPORTEDLY WERE POSTPONED IN AN EFFORT TO EASE TENSIONS WITH NICARAGUA."

BRAZIL: NEWS BRIEF FROM TOKYO PAGE 17 SECOND SECTION (BRAZIL SEEKS LOAN TOTALING DOLS 7 BILLION, BANK SOURCES SAY) SAYS BRAZIL WANTS A SHORT-TERM LOAN, AND HAS ASKED ABOUT 20 MAJOR WESTERN AND JAPANESE BANKS TO PROVIDE DOLS 100 MILLION EACH TO HELP BRAZIL COVER LIQUIDITY NEEDS UNTIL YEAR-END. SOURCES SAID THE BANKS THAT HAVE BEEN APPROACHED PROBABLY WILL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE LIKLIHOOD THAT BRAZIL WILL SEEK ANOTHER LARGE LOAN NEXT

[redacted]

YEAR AND MAY HAVE TO RESCHEDULE SOME OF ITS DEBT.

COSTA RICA: NEWS BRIEF FROM SAN FRANCISCO PAGE 17 SECOND SECTION (TALKS ON COSTA RICAN DEBT RESTRUCTURING END WITHOUT A CONCLUSION, BANK OF AMERICA SAYS) SAYS TALKS HAVE BROKEN OFF. ANOTHER NEGOTIATING SESSION TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER.

--BALTIMORE SUN--

NO ARA ITEMS OF SIGNIFICANCE.

--WASHINGTON TIMES--

CBI: NEWS BRIEF IN "WORLD" COLUMN PAGE 7 FROM OCHO RIOS, JAMAICA (SEAGA WARNS ON CBI DELAY) SAYS PRO-WESTERN CARIBBEAN LEADERS, FRUSTRATED WITH CONGRESSIONAL DELAYS ON THE TRADE AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES CONTAINED IN THE

CBI, ARE WARNING OF A POTENTIAL BACKLASH. JAMAICAN PM SEAGA SAYS IF THE CONCESSIONS ARE STALLED, "THE US GOVERNMENT WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE THE REST OF THE WORLD OF ITS COMMITMENT TO PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IDEOLOGIES IT STANDS FOR."

PRESIDENT'S TRIP: REUTERS FROM BUENOS AIRES PAGE 8 (REAGAN TRIP TO MEND LATIN AMERICAN TIES) SAYS "LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS VIEW PRESIDENT REAGAN'S WHIRLWIND VISIT TO THE REGION NEXT WEEK AS AN EFFORT TO REPAIR LINKS STRAINED BY THE FALKLANDS WAR AND BOOST HIS CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICIES." OFFICIALS BELIEVE US BACKING FOR

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BRITAIN DURING FALKLANDS CRISIS, AND RECENT SUPPORT OF DIPLOMATIC MOVES TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON THE PROBLEM

[redacted]

ARE SURE TO BE TOPICS OF DISCUSSION DURING THE TRIP. COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT BETANCUR, FOR INSTANCE, FAVORS REVISION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM IN LIGHT OF FALKLANDS PROBLEMS. IN ARGENTINA, "RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON HAVE BEGUN TO IMPROVE FROM AN ALL-TIME LOW AFTER THE WAR AS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE" OF THE UNGA VOTE. ARTICLE ALSO NOTES RELATIONS WITH PERU, WHICH ARE STRAINED AND AT THEIR LOWEST POINT SINCE PRESIDENT BELAUNDE TERRY TOOK OFFICE. "SOME PERUVIAN OFFICIALS SAW THE EXCLUSION OF PERU FROM REAGAN'S ITINERARY AS A REBUFF TO BELAUNDE..."

EL SALVADOR: MELVYN KRAUSS, AUTHOR OF "DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT AID", HAS OP-ED COLUMN ON LAND REFORM (WHO SHOULD FEAR LAND REFORM IN EL SALVADOR). THE ANSWER, HE SAYS, IS EVERYONE, SINCE THE RESULTS FOR BOTH LANDOWNERS AND PEASANTS HAVE BEEN NEGATIVE SUM. COLLECTIVE FARMING REDUCES INCENTIVES, KRAUSS SAYS, AND IN EL SALVADOR, COLLECTIVE FARMS HAVE BEEN "COLLECTIVIZED" UNDER LAND REFORM. CONGRESS HAS AUTHORIZED MORE THAN DOLS 62 MILLION FOR LAND REFORM PROGRAM IN EL SALVADOR, "THAT-HAS NOT WORKED, INDEED COULD NOT WORK," SAYS KRAUSS. HE NOTES THAT US OFFICIALS SEE THE PROGRAM AS A SUCCESS. HE QUOTES PETER ASKIN OF AID IN EL SALVADOR AS SAYING THE PROGRAM HAS BEEN "A POLITICAL SUCCESS." KRAUSS ALSO QUOTES ROY PROSTERMAN, PROFESSOR AT UNVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, AND A LEADING FIGURE IN THE ADOPTION OF THE SALVADOR LAND REFORM SYSTEM, AS SAYING "THE LEFT FEARS LAND REFORM." BUT KRAUSS SAYS THE PROSTERMAN FAILS TO NOTE THAT "AMERICAN TAXPAYERS SHOULD ALSO FEAR LAND REFORM," AS SHOULD SALVADORAN PEASANTS. "LAND REFORM IS A BAD JOKE PLAYED ON THOSE WHO CAN LEAST AFFORD TO LAUGH."

2. HIGHLIGHTS OF T.V. NEWCASTS AND PROGRAMS NOVEMBER 24:

NO ARA ITEMS DISCUSSED.

[redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]

3. PREPARED GUIDANCES FOR BRIEFING NOVEMBER 26:

-- NICARAGUA: LA PRENSA SHUT DOWN AGAIN --

Q: DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY COMMENT ABOUT THE REPORTS THAT THE NICARAGUAN DAILY NEWSPAPER LA PRENSA HAS BEEN CLOSED DOWN FOR TWO DAYS BECAUSE OF "BREACHES OF THE CENSORSHIP REGULATIONS?

A: WE DEPLORE THIS KIND OF PRESS CENSORSHIP, AS WE'VE FREQUENTLY MADE CLEAR IN THE PAST.

-- EL SALVADOR: INDICTMENTS IN CHURCHWOMEN'S CASE --

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE INDICTMENT FOR MURDER OF FORMER NATIONAL GUARDSMAN CARLOS JOAQUIN CONTRERAS PALACIOS IN THE CHURCHWOMEN'S CASE IN EL SALVADOR.

A: THE CASE OF THE FIVE FORMER NATIONAL GUARDSMEN IMPLICATED IN THE SLAYINGS OF THE FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN IS PROCEEDING. FORMAL INDICTMENTS AGAINST THE FIVE MEN ARE NOW BEING HANDED DOWN, AND THE DEFENDENTS WILL NOW BE GIVEN TIME TO PREPARE THEIR DEFENSE, AFTER OBTAINING LEGAL COUNSEL FOR THE UPCOMING TRIAL.

-- NICARAGUA: FIGHTING ON HONDURAN BORDER --

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANY CONFIRMATION OF REPORTS (WALL STREET JOURNAL) THAT THERE HAS BEEN HEAVY FIGHTING ALONG THE NICARAGUAN/HONDURAN BORDER, WITH NICARAGUAN PLANES INVOLVED, AND AT LEAST TWO NICARAGUAN SOLDIERS DEAD?

[redacted]

A: NO, WE'VE SEEN A NEWS REPORT TO THAT EFFECT, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION.

(TAKEN QUESTION FROM NOVEMBER 24 BRIEFING)
-- HONDURAS: JOINT MILITARY EXERCISE --

Q: WHAT DO YOU HAVE ON REPORTS THAT HONDURAS HAS

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[redacted]

"REFUSED" TO BE INVOLVED IN ANY FUTURE JOINT MILITARY MANEUVERS WITH THE U.S.?

A: WE ARE NOT AWARE OF THE SOURCE OF THOSE REPORTS. THERE WAS SOME PLANNING FOR A JOINT EXERCISE IN EARLY DECEMBER, BUT NO DEFINITE DATES WERE SET FOR IT. IT HAS NOT BEEN CANCELED. WE AND THE HONDURANS PLAN TO CONTINUE

OUR LONG-STANDING SERIES OF JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES.

4. SUMMARY OF BRIEFING NOVEMBER 26 (HUGHES):

ONLY ARA QUESTION TO BE RAISED WAS FROM CHARDY OF THE MIAMI HERALD, WHO ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ISSUE OF ARMS SALES TO GUATEMALA. SPOKESMAN SAID HE HAD NOTHING NEW ON THAT.
SHULTZ

[redacted]

[redacted]

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Declassified/Released US Embassy El Salvador SF Date 9/23/94
Document ( ) in part; X ( )
law enforcement ( ) executive ( );
not relevant ( ) mandatory ( );
( ) El Salvador ( ).

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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AM: D820614-0950

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 09628 01 OF 02 2622062Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 09628

E.O. 12356: DECL: 11/24/88
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR LUNCHES WITH PCN LEADERS

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: PCN LEADERS TOLD AMBASSADOR, DCM, AND POLOFF THAT THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS FUNCTIONING IN EL SALVADOR. WHILE THE PCN IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE COUNTRY'S SERIOUS PROBLEMS, IT DOES NOT SHARE THE "IMMINENT CRISIS" VIEW OFTEN EXPOUNDED BY THE PDC AND ARENA. VICE PRESIDENT MOLINA SAID THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE COMMISSIONS WILL BE OFFICIALLY ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 09628 01 OF 02 2622062Z

3. ON NOVEMBER 22 AMBASSADOR, DCM, AND POLOFF LUNCHED WITH PCN LEADERS FIRST VICE PRESIDENT AND PARTY SECGEN RAUL MOLINA, MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY DR. FRANCISCO "CHACHI" GUERRERO, FIRST ASSEMBLY VICE PRESIDENT HUGO CARILLO, THIRD FIRST ASSEMBLY SECRETARY DR. RAFAEL MORAN CASTANEDA, AND SECRETARY OF INFORMATION AT THE CASA PRESIDENCIAL LUIS LAGOS.

4. THE PCN LEADERS EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY PROBLEMS. HUGO CARILLO SUMMED UP THE BASIC PROBLEMS AS CONTINUED ECONOMIC DETERIORATION, LACK OF COHERENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INABILITY OF THE ARMED FORCES TO DEFEAT THE GUERRILLAS DECISIVELY.

5. IN SPITE OF A LACK OF COHERENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT, THE PCN REPRESENTATIVES ENTHUSIASTICALLY NOTED THAT THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS WORKING. THEY BELIEVE THE DISSENSION WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT PROVES THE POINT. THE PCN SEES ITSELF AS PLAYING A MODERATING ROLE BETWEEN THE OTHER TWO MAJOR PARTIES IN AN ATTEMPT TO CREATE MORE UNITY. VICE PRESIDENT RAUL MOLINA SAID THE MODERATING ROLE IS NOT EASY BECAUSE "BOTH SIDES TRAIN THEIR BATTERIES ON US."

6. THE PCN LEADERS BLAMED INTRANSIGENCE BY THE PDC AND ARENA FOR THE LACK OF MORE PROGRESS IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS. HUGO CARILLO ALSO SAID THAT ALL THE PARTIES, INCLUDING THE PCN, SPEND MORE TIME PREPARING FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS THAN SOLVING THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS. VICE PRESIDENT MOLINA VENTURED THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER NOT TO FIX A DATE FOR THE ELECTIONS. THE AMBASSADOR STRONGLY DISAGREED WITH THIS VIEW.

[redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 09628 01 OF 02 2622062Z

7. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, THE PACTO DE APANECA WAS LAUDED AS THE GOVERNMENT'S MOST IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT. PRESIDENT MAGANA'S POLITICAL ABILITY AND DEFT MANEUVERING WERE ALSO HIGHLY PRAISED.

8. VICE PRESIDENT MOLINA SAID WORK ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IS NEARING COMPLETION, AND ITS FORMATION MAY BE ANNOUNCED AT THE END OF THIS WEEK (NOVEMBER 21-27). HE SAID WORK IS ALSO PROGRESSING ON THE PEACE COMMISSION, AND GOES WOULD LIKE TO ANNOUNCE ITS FORMATION AT OR BEFORE

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EETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN.

SED THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE. ALL
REFORM WOULD BE NECESSARY IN ORDER
LEN. THE SHERATON MURDERS WERE ALSO
SSADOR STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE NOT
D PROSECUTING LT. LOPEZ SIBRIAN, BUT

SAID THAT PRESIDENT MAGANA HAS ASKED
DR. FERNANDO BERRIOS ESCOBAR'S RESIG-
HERE WERE PERSONNEL PROBLEMS BETWEEN
T DR. BERRIOS CONSIDERED D'AUBUISSON,
AS HIS PRESIDENT. ARENA WILL BE
E MINISTRY.

TOLD THE GROUP THAT THERE MAY BE
ARDING AID APPROPRIATIONS EVEN BEFORE
ATION. HE POINTED OUT THAT CONGRESS
THE ISSUE WHEN IT RESUMES SESSION AT
.

OUP DISCUSSED THE POSSIBLE REOPENING

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 09628 02 OF 02 262207Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 09628

OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY'S CAMPUS. THE ISSUE UNDER DEBATE IS AUTONOMY. THE UNIVERSITY DEMANDS THE TRADITIONAL LATIN (OR EUROPEAN) AUTONOMY, WHILE THE GOVERNMENT INSISTS ON CONTROLS. THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT THE DECISION MADE IN EL SALVADOR MAY SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE FOR OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION.

13. COMMENT: MOST PCN LEADERS ARE SEASONED POLITICIANS. THEY DO NOT SHARE THE "IMMINENT CRISIS VIEW" OFTEN EXPOUNDED BY THE PDC OR ARENA.
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Appeal Project (1995)

Department of State

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 09654 01 OF 02 271727Z 1763 ARA4213
ACTION ARA-00

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CR-02 ELSA-03 GUAT-02 /018 A2 WH

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 NSC-01
NSAE-00 SY-06 HA-06 PM-05 MCT-02 SP-02 /065 W
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R 271719Z NOV 82
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 09654

E.O. 12356: DECL: 11/26/88
TAGS: PINT, ES, US
SUBJECT: (U) MIAMI OLIGARCHS

REF: SAN SALVADOR 9506

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. POLOFF STOPPED OFF IN MIAMI ON NOVEMBER 7 THROUGH 9, TO MEET WITH ABOUT FIFTEEN MEMBERS OF THE SALVADORAN EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY. MOST WERE SUPPORTERS OF ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND ARENA, BUT APPEAR TO HAVE LOST FAITH DUE TO HIS FAILURE TO REVERSE THE REFORMS AND BRING BACK THE "GOOD OLD DAYS." FEAR OF KIDNAPPING OR WORSE WAS THE PRIMARY REASON FOR THESE INDIVIDUALS' DEPARTURES FROM EL SALVADOR. THEIR FEAR AND LOATHING WAS NOT DIRECTED AT THE LEFT, BUT AT THE ARMED FORCES, WHOM THEY CONSIDER DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY OF THE KIDNAPPINGS. END SUMMARY.

3. POLOFF STOPPED OFF IN MIAMI ON NOVEMBER 7 THROUGH 9 WHILE ON PERSONAL TRAVEL TO MEET WITH ABOUT FIFTEEN MEMBERS OF THE SALVADORAN EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY. IN LONG SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS HELD IN RELAXED SOCIAL SETTINGS, THE SALVADORANS REFLECTED ON THEIR REASONS FOR LEAVING EL SALVADOR AND THEIR PERSPECTIVES TOWARD THE CURRENT SITUATION THERE. ALL FIFTEEN ARE LIVING COMFORTABLY IN UPPER MIDDLE CLASS TO UPPER CLASS SURROUNDINGS. ALL HAVE ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES FINANCIALLY, EITHER BUILDING ON PRIOR INVESTMENTS OR ESTABLISHING NEW ENTERPRISES. SOME TRAVEL FREQUENTLY BETWEEN THE US AND EL SALVADOR; SOME SAY THEY WILL NEVER RETURN. AS MEMBERS OF THE SALVADORAN "OLIGARCHY," THEY REPRESENTED INDUSTRIAL, FINANCIAL, COMMERCIAL, AND AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL. MOST SUFFERED LOSSES IN THE REFORMS. POLITICALLY, THEY RANGED FROM THE MODERATE TO THE EXTREME RIGHT. MOST HAD LOOKED TO ROBERTO D AUBUISSON AND ARENA TO BRING BACK THE GOOD OLD DAYS FOLLOWING THE MARCH 28TH ELECTIONS, AND PROFESSED DISILLUSIONMENT AT HIS FAILURE TO DO SO.

4. THE EXPATRIATES EXPRESSED DEGREES OF BITTERNESS AT THEIR LOSSES TO THE REFORM PROGRAMS, BUT MOST APPEARED RESIGNED TO EVENTS. ALL HAD ONE THING IN COMMON: FEAR OF KIDNAPPING OR WORSE WAS THEIR PRIMARY MOTIVE FOR LEAVING EL SALVADOR. ALL HAD EITHER BEEN KIDNAPPED, SUFFERED A KIDNAP OR ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT, OR HAD SUCH A FATE BEFALL A CLOSE FAMILY MEMBER. THEIR VINDICTIVENESS OVER BEING

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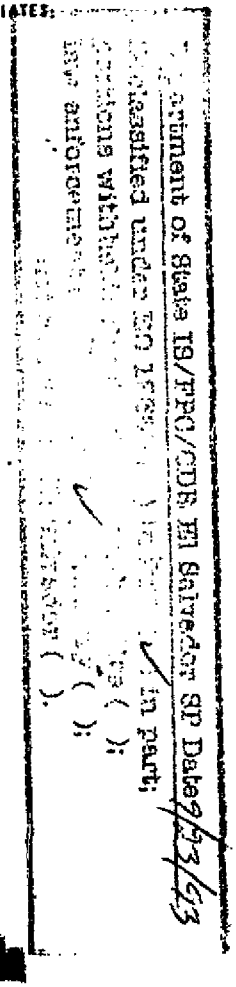
THE VICTIMS OF TERRORISM WAS DIRECTED NOT AT THE LEFT, BUT, TO A PERSON, AT THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES. NONE HELD BACK ON THIS ISSUE. THEY FELT THAT A CORRUPT AND VENAL CLIQUE OF OFFICERS EITHER CONDONED OR PLANNED MOST OF THE THIRTY-ODD MAJOR KIDNAPPINGS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN EL SALVADOR BETWEEN 1972 AND 1981. THEY POINTED TO EX-MAJOR GUILLERMO ROEDER AS THE ONLY PERPETRATOR TO BE UNMASKED, BUT INSISTED THAT HE WAS ONLY ONE OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE. THEY CLAIMED EX-CHIEF OF STAFF CARLOS ALBERTO RODRIGUEZ (JAILED IN 1975 IN NEW YORK FOR ARMS TRAFFICKING), EX-ANSESAL DIRECTOR COL. ROBERTO SANTIVANEZ, CURRENT POLICIA DE HACIENDA DIRECTOR COL. FRANCISCO MORAN, AND CURRENT MINISTER OF DEFENSE GEN. GUILLERMO GARCIA ARE AMONG THOSE WHO EITHER KNEW OF OR PROFITED FROM KIDNAPPINGS. (NOTE: NONE ACKNOWLEDGED THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THEIR FEAR AND DISTRUST OF THESE OFFICERS, AND THEIR SUPPORT FOR EX-MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, WHO WAS/IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH ROEDER, SANTIVANEZ, AND MORAN.) SOME WENT AS FAR AS CLAIMING THAT THE MILITARY COLLABORATED WITH THE LEFT IN SOME KID-NAPPINGS, AND REALLY DOES NOT WANT THE WAR TO END SO THEY CAN CONTINUE TO PROFIT FROM US ASSISTANCE AND OTHER OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION. ONE FALLEN OLIGARCH SUMMED UP WHAT APPEARED TO BE A GENERAL SENTIMENT: "WE WANT TO GO BACK TO OUR COUNTRY MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE. BUT WE CANNOT UNTIL WE ARE REASONABLY CERTAIN WE CAN DO SO WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT IF SOMETHING HAPPENS, WE CAN SEEK RECOURSE. NOW IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW WHO IS YOUR ENEMY." (NOTE: THIS SET OF OPINIONS IS COMMON AMONG MANY MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHO HAVE REMAINED IN EL SALVADOR, INCLUDING PREVIOUS KIDNAP VICTIMS AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS.)

5. THE FOLLOWING ARE PROFILES OF SOME OF THE SALVADORAN EXPATRIATES:



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PAGE 01 SAN SA 09654 02 OF 02 271729Z 1764 ARA4214 44214
ACTION ARA-00

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CR-02 ELSA-03 GUAT-02 /018 A2 WH

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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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COMMITTEE FOR CHILEAN INQUIRY

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

• SOL GORELICK 241-4728 11-27-82
Chairperson

Ruth H. Wilson, Secy.,
415 Grand St., #E.1905,
New York, N.Y. 10002.
Tel. (212) 674-3762

Copy

Senator Daniel Moynihan,
Senate Office Bldg.,
Wash., D.C. 20510.

RE: Diaz, Alejandro Mario
Montes Garcia, Fermin
Chilean prisoners

Dear Senator Moynihan:

We write to ask your intervention in behalf of the above-named "prisoners of conscience" in Chile: a social worker, Alejandro Mario Diaz imprisoned since 4-26-82, and a former social work student, Fermin Montes Garcia, imprisoned for over two years.

As neither the U.S. State Dept. nor the Chilean Minister of Interior have responded to our messages, we ask that you use your good offices to get information about the status of these prisoners and especially to urge their immediate release.

Both young men have been tortured in efforts to extract evidence against them, and Mr. Garcia is in poor health with damaged ankles as a result of this mistreatment. The Chilean government has not been willing to supply medical reports, which should be requested again.

We enclose more information about these two victims of repression in Chile and would also like to talk with you or your aides about what could be done to help them.

Therefore, we would like to send a small delegation to see you or your aide at your New York City office. We will call you after you have received this letter both in Washington and in New York City.

In view of cases of this kind, and the increasing violations of human rights in Chile in 1982, we are urging that the Chilean junta not be certified for further U.S. aid. We hope that you woo will support this position.

Very Truly Yours,

Ruth H. Wilson, Secy.

Sol Gorelick, Ch.

rw
Encl.

Cooperating Groups:
American Orthopsychiatric Association
Association of Puerto Rican Social Service Workers
Emergency Committee to Defend Chilean Health Workers
National Ass'n of Social Workers, N.Y.C. Chapter
Physicians Forum
Radical Alliance of Social Service Workers
Social Service Committee, District 1199, National Union of Hospital Workers
Social Service Employees Union, Local 371, AFSCME
Social Service Workers for Chilean Freedom

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

COMMITTEE FOR CHILEAN INQUIRY

SOL GORELICK
Chairperson

Ruth H. Wilson, Secy.,
415 Grand St., #E.1905,
New York, N.Y. 10002.

ANOTHER IMPRISONED CHILEAN SOCIAL WORKER NEEDS HELP

MONTES GARCIA, FERMIN, age 34 years
was social work student at University of Chile, Santiago
Place of detention: Rancagur prison, Chile
Arrested 10-1-80 List # 54-79

The Chilean Human Rights Commission has informed us of this prisoner who was indicted by the military prosecutor.

He is reported to have a health problem because of torture resulting in difficulty with his ankles.

Montes Garcia had previously been held under the law of the "State of Siege" from April 16th to Nov. 17th, 1976.

It is evident that after 2 years in prison and the usual torture, he needs help now via your protests.

Cooperating Groups:
American Orthopsychiatric Association
Association of Puerto Rican Social Service Workers
Emergency Committee to Defend Chilean Health Workers
National Ass'n of Social Workers, N.Y.C. Chapter
Physicians Forum
Radical Alliance of Social Service Workers
Social Service Committee, District 1199, National Union of Hospital Workers
Social Service Employees Union, Local 371, AFSCME
Social Service Workers for Chilean Freedom

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PAGE 01 GUATEM 08969 291755Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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INFO AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN

[redacted] GUATEMALA 08969

E.O. 12356: DECL: 11/29/88
TAGS: PINR, PINS, PINT, PGOV, SHUM, GT
SUBJECT: GOG DENIES MASSACRE OF 8,000 ALLEGED IN UN CHAPEL PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: FBIS 4032

1. (U) IN A NOVEMBER 27 PRESS RELEASE, THE GOG CALLED TOTALLY FALSE THE ACCUSATION BY ALLEGED QUICHE INDIANS JOSE EFRAIN ROSALES MARROQUIN AND ROBERTA MENCHU IN A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE UNITED NATIONS CHAPEL THAT THE GOG HAS KILLED 8,000 INDIANS.

2. (U) SUBDIRECTOR FOR PRESS RELATIONS RAFAEL [redacted]

[redacted]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
(X) DECLASSIFY
RELEASE
( ) EXCISE
( ) DENY
( ) DECLASSIFY IN PART
IM/PS/CSVR
FOIA Exemptions
PA Exemptions
FOIA Citations
( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C Sec.
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C
TS authority
Date: 3-11-

PAGE 02 GUATEM 08969 291755Z

ESCOBAR MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- ROSALES AND MENCHU ARE TWO PEOPLE SKILLFULLY PREPARED TO PRESENT A FARCE TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MADE UP OF PEOPLE OF GOOD FAITH WHO REACT TO THIS TYPE OF NEWS WITHOUT JUDGING ITS VERACITY;

-- THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT, IN ANY CASE, KILL 8,000 PERSONS WITHOUT THIS FACT COMING TO THE NOTICE OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY, SINCE THIS WOULD MEAN LEAVING A WHOLE MUNICIPALITY, AT THE

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LEAST, WITHOUT INHABITANTS;

-- SUCH A DEED COULD ONLY BE DONE BY PERSONS WITHOUT SCRUPLE OR CONSCIENCE -- PERSONS HARD TO FIND IN GUATEMALA;

-- THE GOVERNMENT OF RIOS MONTT HAS NOT KILLED ONE SINGLE PERSON, MUCH LESS 8,000;

-- ALL THESE ACCUSATIONS OF CRIMES, MASSACRES, HARASSMENTS OF TOWNS, ETC., ARE NOTHING MORE THAN SCENARIOS COOKED UP BY THE SUBVERSION TO MANIPULATE INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SO AS TO BRING DOWN NOTORIETY AND HATRED ON OUR GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE RULE OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY;

-- THE LAST NAMES "ROSALES" AND "MARROQUIN" DO NOT EXIST AMONG THE QUICHE INDIANS.

2. [redacted] COMMENT. THE CLAIM THAT THE GOG HAS NOT [redacted]

KILLED ANYONE -- ONE PRESUMES HERE ESCOBAR MEANS INDIAN NONCOMBATANTS -- IS ABSURD. IN GUERRILLA WARFARE, BOTH SIDES, WHETHER ACCIDENTALLY OR PURPOSEFULLY, INELUCTABLY KILL SOME NON-COMBATANTS. NEVERTHELESS, THE GOG AT LAST SHOWS ITSELF READY TO RESPOND QUICKLY TO EQUALLY ABSURD ACCUSATIONS THAT IT IS ENGAGED IN THE DELIBERATE SLAUGHTER OF THOUSANDS OF INDIANS. COMING JUST BEFORE UNGA CONSIDERATION OF A SWEDISH-DUTCH RESOLUTION ON GOG HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, THE PRESS CONFERENCE BY ROSALES AND MENCHU COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN COINCIDENTAL, OF COURSE -- HIGHLY OPPORTUNE FOR THOSE DESIRING TO DEMONSTRATE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE GOG. CHAPIN

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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RELEASE

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA009771

ADP588

[redacted]

PAGE 01 SAN SA 09771 012004Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 TRSE-00
PM-09 PA-02 OCS-06 SAL-01 CA-01 USIE-00 JUSE-00
SP-02 SPRS-01 /079 W
----------103261 012006Z /50

P 011959Z DEC 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3023
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 09771

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: CLARIFICATION OF PRESS REPORTS ON CHURCHWOMEN
- CASE

REF: (A) BLEAKLEY-GIESE TELCON 11/29/82, (B) STATE 331629

1. RECENT REPORTS (REFS A AND B) FROM THE U.S. SUGGEST THAT THERE IS SOME CONFUSION CONCERNING THE RECENT JUDICIAL DECISION TO SEND THE CHURCHWOMEN MURDER CASE TO TRIAL. SOME PRESS REPORTS APPARENTLY IMPLY THAT THE CASE AGAINST FORMER GUARDSMAN CARLOS JOAQUIN CONTRERAS PALACIOS HAS BEEN SEVERED FROM THE CASE AGAINST THE OTHER FOUR ACCUSED FORMER GUARDSMEN. POLOFF CONSULTED WITH OFFICIALS FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE ON THIS POINT. THEY

[redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 09771 012004Z

OFFER THE FOLLOWING CLARIFICATION.

2. JUDGE RAUDA MURCIA ORDERED ALL FIVE FORMER GUARDSMEN TO STAND TRIAL FOR AGGRAVATED HOMICIDE ON 11/15/82. ALL FIVE WERE "INDICTED" IN THE SAME ORDER. THERE IS TO BE ONLY ONE TRIAL. THE WRITTEN ORDER DID DISTINGUISH BETWEEN CONTRERAS PALACIOS AND THE OTHER FOUR ACCUSED. CONTRERAS PALACIOS WAS "INDICTED" AS AN ACCUSED WHO HAD ALREADY CONFESSED TO THE CRIME. THE OTHER FOUR WERE "INDICTED" ON

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA009771

THE BASIS OF THIRD PARTY TESTIMONY AND EVIDENCE, RATHER THAN CONFESSIONS. ACCORDING TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, ALL FIVE WILL BE TRIED TOGETHER. THEY MAY HAVE SEPARATE DEFENSE ATTORNEYS.

3. THIS EXPLANATION MAY CLARIFY SOME OF THE CONFUSION ON THE MATTER. EMBASSY WILL FORWARD A COPY OF JUDGE RAUDA'S SIGNED ORDER TO ARA/CEN AS SOON AS IT CAN BE OBTAINED.
HINTON

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 82PRETOR09723

FILM= D820627-0023

DATE= 03 DEC 82

TYPE= TE

FROM= PRETORIA

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION IO

9204597

TO= STATE
USUN NEW YORK

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= N/A

SUBJECT= REQUEST FOR SECURITY COUNCIL LETTER

REFERENCE= 82 STATE 192333

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= SECRETARY GENERAL, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

TAGS= PEPR, SF, WA, AO

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify
Date 6/8/99 Exemption

<<<<>>>>
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PAGE 01 PRETOR 09723 031314Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 AF-10 CIAE-00
NSC-01 NSAE-00 L-03 PM-09 SP-02 /061 W
----------212503 031315Z /53
P 031308Z DEC 82
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7045
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

[redacted] PRETORIA 09723

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, SF, WA
SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR SECURITY COUNCIL LETTER

REF: STATE 192333

1. PETER VALE, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, TELEPHONED POLOFF DECEMBER 3 TO REQUEST A COPY OF THE FULL TEXT OF THE JULY 12, 1982 LETTER FROM THE CONTACT GROUP TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL ANNOUNCING THE CONCLUSION OF PHASE ONE OF THE NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT. THE LETTER WAS SAID TO HAVE BEEN CIRCULATED AS SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT S/15287 OF JULY 13, 1982.

2. VALE SAID DFAI COULD NOT LAY THEIR HANDS ON A FULL TEXT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT. (COMMENT: IF TRUE, THIS UNUSUAL DFAI INEFFICIENCY IS STARTLING. END COMMENT.) EMBASSY HAS IN ITS FILES (SEE REFTEL) COPY OF THE JULY 12 LETTER.

3. CAN EMBASSY PRETORIA PROVIDE VALE TEXT OF JULY 12 LETTER? WE WOULD ALSO BE GRATEFUL IF USUN WOULD TRANSMIT TO US S/15287. DOES THIS DOCUMENT CONTAIN
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 PRETOR 09723 031314Z

THE TEXT OF THE REVISED CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES?

4. AN EARLY REPLY WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

NICKEL

[redacted]

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL
n/a

12/7/12 ID209

Case Number: s199900006

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 STATE 339781
ORIGIN IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10
	AF-10	CIAE-00	EB-08	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06
	NSCE-00	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	PM-09
	PA-01	SIL-01	HHS-04	INRE-00	SIG-03	RP-10	USIE-00
	SP-02	SR-06	SPRS-01	/154 R			

DRAFTED BY IO/HR:BZWEIBEN:BKM
APPROVED BY IO:DRTOUSSAINT
IO/HR:WEHEWITT
ARA/SC:DKEMP
HA/MA:ERIDGE
IO/UNP:EBARNETT

----------333271 070648Z /12

O P 070551Z DEC 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MEXICO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 339781

E.O. 12356: DECL: 12/6/88
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, CI
SUBJECT:37TH UNGA, THIRD COMMITTEE: ITEM 12--MEXICAN TEXT
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 STATE 339781

- ON CHILE (L.53)

REF: USUN 3731

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

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n/a

2. DEPT CONCURS IN USUN VIEW REFTEL THAT CURRENT VERSION OF MEXICAN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE LEAVES LITTLE ROOM FOR NEGOTIATION. AS IT IS PRESENTLY DRAFTED, THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO VOTING AGAINST TEXT OF RESOLUTION, WITH A STRONG EXPLANATION OF VOTE. NOTE THAT PRESENT DRAFT RESOLUTION FOLLOWS RESOLUTION OF LAST YEAR, AS DO OUR OBJECTIONS EXPRESSED IN EXPLANATION OF VOTE IN 36TH UNGA.

3. PLEASE ADVISE RE NETHERLANDS INTENTIONS TO TABLE ALTERNATE TEXT, WHICH DEPT ASSUMES WILL PROVIDE A MORE SUITABLE VEHICLE FOR AMENDMENTS THAN CURRENT DRAFT. DAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNN

American Association
for the Advancement of Science

1515 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW, WASHINGTON, D. C., 20005

Phone 467-4400 (Area Code 202) Cable Address: Advancesci, Washington, D. C.

December 8, 1982

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Ambassador Lucio Garcia del Solar
Embassy of Argentina
1600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Your Excellency:

The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), which publishes Science magazine, is both the largest organization of natural and social scientists and the principal association of scientific societies in the United States. The AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility is charged to monitor the policies and actions of the government of the United States and other nations which may restrict scientific freedom and responsibility.

Our committee has received reports of the continued detention of Dr. Alejandro R. Islas, anthropologist. According to the information received by the committee, Dr. Islas was imprisoned on November 14, 1975. In April 1978 the Argentine civil court system reportedly absolved Dr. Islas of all charges brought against him by the military government, yet he continues to be held at the disposition of the National Executive Branch in the state prison in La Plata.

Our committee is concerned by the reports of Dr. Islas' prolonged detention. We would like to call on the services of your good office to enquire into the status of Dr. Islas' present detention. In particular, we are interested in knowing of any possibility of Dr. Islas being released into libertad vigilada as has been done recently in the cases of other Argentine prisoners. We appreciate your consideration in this matter and look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Eric Stover
AAAS Committee on Scientific
Freedom and Responsibility

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178/293

cc:

Daniel Whitney, American Anthropological Association

Bob Schneider, Bureau of Human Rights, Department of State

Ray Walser ~~Sheila Kay O'Connell~~, Desk Officer, Argentina, Dept. of State

Victor Johnson, House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives

~~Harry Schlaudeman, U.S. Embassy, Buenos Aires, Argentina~~

Rec'd 12/20/82

R

(w/s/c)

American Association for the Advancement of Science

1515 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW, WASHINGTON, D. C., 20005

Phone: 467-4400 (Area Code 202) Cable Address: Advancesci, Washington, D. C.

December 9, 1982

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Mr. Harry Shlaudeman
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Enclosed is a letter sent by the AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility to the Argentine ambassador in Washington. We would also like to enquire if the American embassy in Buenos Aires has any further information on the case of Dr. Islas. In particular we are interested finding out his actual status, i.e., what are the possibilities of his receiving a conditional release as was done recently in the Gustavo Westerkamp case. We would appreciate any information that your office can provide the AAAS and its affiliates.

Sincerely,

Kathie McCleskey

Kathie McCleskey
AAAS Clearinghouse on Science
and Human Rights

KM/csh
Enclosure

8F123
178/293

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

RELEASE

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA010009

ADP248
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 10009 01 OF 02 101714Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSC-01 NSAE-00 SY-06 HA-08
L-03 PM-09 PA-02 MCT-02 OCS-06 CA-01 JUSE-00
FBIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 SPRS-01 /099 W
151034 102035Z /46

P 101708Z DEC 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3178
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USIA WASHDC 0706

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 10009

ROME FOR VATICAN

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PINT, ES
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON CHURCHWOMEN MURDER CASE

1. SINCE THE JUDICIAL DECISION TO ORDER THE CHURCHWOMEN MURDER CASE TO TRIAL ON 15 NOVEMBER 1982, THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED A NUMBER OF REQUESTS FOR GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE CASE. THE EMBASSY HAS NOT PREPARED A GENERAL UPDATE ON THE CASE SINCE IT WENT TO COURT IN FEBRUARY 1982. EMBASSY PROPOSES TO USE THE FOLLOWING AS GUIDANCE FOR GENERAL INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE CHURCHWOMEN MURDER CASE.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 10009 01 OF 02 101714Z

2. THE FACTS.

ON 2 DECEMBER 1980, MARYKNOLL SISTERS ITA FORD AND MAURA CLARKE ARRIVED AT EL SALVADOR INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ON A FLIGHT FROM NICARAGUA. THEY WERE MET AT THE AIRPORT BY URSULINE SISTER DOROTHY KAZE AND LAYWORKER JEAN DONOVAN. THE FOUR CHURCHWOMEN DEPARTED IN A VAN FOR THE NEARBY TOWN OF LA LIBERTAD. THEY NEVER REACHED LA LIBERTAD. THE FOLLOWING MORNING, THEIR BURNED OUT VAN WAS LOCATED ON THE

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Special Project (1993)

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HIGHWAY BETWEEN THE AIRPORT AND LA LIBERTAD. ONE DAY LATER (12/4/82), THEIR BODIES WERE IDENTIFIED IN A SHALLOW GRAVE NEAR THE TOWN OF SAN PEDRO NONUALCO, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT.

3. INVESTIGATION.

SHORTLY AFTER THE MURDERS, THE GOES NAMED AN INVESTIGATORY COMMISION COMPOSED OF FOUR SENIOR GOVERNMENT AND ARMED FORCES OFFICIALS. THE COMMISSION EXAMINED PHYSICAL EVIDENCE AND ORDERED INTERNAL INVESTIGATIONS BY THE SECURITY FORCE UNITS IN THE AREA. THE COMMISSION ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED FBI TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF CRIME SITE AND VEHICLE EXAMINATION, FINGERPRINT ANALYSIS, AND BALLISTICS TESTS. IN OCTOBER 1981, THE GOES FORMED A NEW WORKING GROUP TO COMPLETE THE INVESTIGATION. THIS WORKING GROUP RETRACED THE ENTIRE INVESTIGATION, TAKING FORMAL STATEMENTS FROM 26 WITNESSES AND SUSPECTS. AS A RESULT OF THE INVESTIGATION, THE WORKING GROUP'S SUSPICIONS FOCUSED UPON SIX NATIONAL GUARDSMEN. AT THE CLOSE OF THE WORKING GROUP'S INVESTIGATION, THE GOES AGAIN ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED FBI TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF POLYGRAPH EXAMINATIONS.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 10009 01 OF 02 101714Z

4. START OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

ON 10 FEBRUARY 1982, THE GOES REMANDED EIGHT CURRENT OR FORMER NATIONAL GUARDSMEN TO THE CRIMINAL COURT IN ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT FOR SUSPICION OF MURDER OF THE FOUR CHURCHWOMEN. AFTER TAKING STATEMENTS FROM ALL EIGHT SUSPECTS, JUDGE BERNARDO RAUDA MURCIA ORDERED THE RELEASE OF THREE FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE. HE ORDERED THE CONTINUED DETENTION OF THE REMAINING FIVE -- ONE SERGEANT (LUIS ANTONIO COLINDRES ALEMAN) AND FOUR GUARDSMEN (FRANCISCO ORLANDO CONTRERAS RECINOS, JOSE ROBERTO MORENO CANJURA, DANIEL CANALES RAMIREZ, AND CARLOS JOAQUIN CONTRERAS PALACIOS) -- FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION. FOR SECURITY REASONS, THE SUSPECTS WERE HOUSED IN FOUR SEPARATE PENAL INSTITUTIONS.

5. INSTRUCTION PHASE.

FROM 2/13/82 TO 11/15/82, THE COURT CONDUCTED THE "INSTRUCTION PHASE" OF THE PROCEEDINGS. UNDER SALVADORAN CRIMINAL PROCEDURE, VIRTUALLY ALL TESTIMONY MUST BE REPEATED BEFORE A JUDGE IN ORDER TO BE ADMISSIBLE AS EVIDENCE. IN THE NINE MONTHS FOLLOWING HIS DETENTION ORDER, JUDGE RAUDA HEARD THE TESTIMONY OF FIVE SUSPECTS AND AT LEAST 25 WITNESSES. HE ENTERED INTO EVIDENCE A SPARE TIRE AND JACK ALLEGEDLY STOLEN FROM THE CHURCHWOMEN'S

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Special Project (1993)

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 82SAN SA010009

VEHICLE. HE MAY ALSO ENTER INTO THE RECORD AN INCRIMINATING FINGERPRINT IDENTIFICATION AND A BALLISTICS TEST RESULT. OF THE FIVE SUSPECTS, ONE CONFESSED TO FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE MURDERS OF THE FOUR WOMEN. THE OTHER SUSPECTS DENY ANY KNOWLEDGE.

6. THE EVIDENCE.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

ACTION245
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 SAN SA 10009 02 OF 02 101715Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSC-01 NSAE-00 SY-06 HA-08
L-03 PM-09 PA-02 MCT-02 OCS-06 CA-01 JUSE-00
FBIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 SPRS-01 /099 W
151036 102035Z /46

R 101708Z DEC 82
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3179
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USIA WASHDC 0707

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 10009

THE WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE SO FAR PRESENTED BY THE SUSPECTS AND WITNESSES SUGGESTS THE FOLLOWING SCENARIO OF WHAT HAPPENED ON THE NIGHT OF 2 DECEMBER 1980. THE APPEARANCE OF THE CHURCHWOMEN AROUSED THE SUSPICIONS OF A GUARDSMAN ON DUTY AT THE AIRPORT ON 2 DECEMBER 1980. HE INFORMED HIS SERGEANT -- COLINDRES ALEMAN. COLINDRES THEN ORDERED AND ARRANGED THAT THE CHURCHWOMEN'S VAN BE DETAINED AS IT LEFT THE AIRPORT. HE AND AT LEAST FIVE OTHER GUARDSMEN STOPPED THE VAN, BOARDED IT, AND FORCED IT TO DRIVE NORTHEAST. NEAR THE VILLAGE OF SAN PEDRO NONUALCO, THE GUARDSMEN RAPED, ROBBED AND MURDERED THE WOMEN. THEY DROVE THE VAN BACK TO THE LA LIBERTAD HIGHWAY AND BURNED IT. THEY RETURNED TO THE AIRPORT
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 SAN SA 10009 02 OF 02 101715Z

NATIONAL GUARD POST IN A CUSTOMS POLICE VEHICLE. THE OVERWHELMING WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COURT INDICATES THAT THE GUARDSMEN WERE NOT ACTING UNDER ORDERS HIGHER THAN THOSE OF SGT. COLINDRES ALEMAN.

7. INDICTMENT AND TRIAL.

ON 15 NOVEMBER 1982, JUDGE RAUDA SIGNED AN ORDER ELEVATING THE CASE AGAINST THE FIVE FORMER GUARDSMEN TO PLENARY.

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PLENARY IS THE FINAL STAGE IN THE SALVADORAN JUDICIAL PROCESS. IT IS THE TRIAL STAGE. THE JUDGE'S ORDER MEANS THAT ALL FIVE GUARDSMEN WILL BE JUDGED BY A JURY FOR THE MURDERS OF THE CHURCHWOMEN. IN SIMPLIFIED TERMS, THE PLENARY PHASE CONSISTS OF: FINAL SUBMISSION OF EVIDENCE, PREPARATION OF WRITTEN BRIEFS, PREPARATION OF JURY INSTRUCTIONS, JURY SELECTION, ORAL ARGUMENTS, JURY DELIBERATIONS, VERDICT AND SENTENCING. A SALVADORAN JURY IS COMPOSED OF FIVE INDIVIDUALS. VERDICT IS REACHED BY SIMPLE MAJORITY. SALVADORAN LEGAL EXPERTS BELIEVE THE CASE WILL GO BEFORE A JURY IN LATE JANUARY OR EARLY FEBRUARY 1983.
SINCON

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12/10/82

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CZ010

10 Dec 82 14 53

Son más de 120 los uruguayos desaparecidos en Argentina, entre ellos 7 niños y 5 mujeres grávidas.-En su mayoría refugiados de Naciones Unidas que son detenidos y desaparecidos entre los años 1975 y 1979.

Han sido múltiples los recursos de "hábeas" presentados, los trámites que se hicieron y se hacen ante organismos nacionales e internacionales, sin obtener una respuesta sobre su paradero.

A través de la prensa nos llegan los reclamos que gobiernos de distintos países hacen de sus ciudadanos desaparecidos en Argentina, mientras que aquí en Uruguay el tema es casi desconocido. En estos días se publica en un diario que, de América, sólo Venezuela y México han exigido al gobierno de Argentina la aparición de sus ciudadanos.

HOY, CON RENOVADAS FUERZAS, PLANTEAMOS A LAS AUTORIDADES URUGUAYAS QUE HAGAN PUBLICO EL RECLAMO ANTE EL GOBIERNO ARGENTINO DE LOS URUGUAYOS DESAPARECIDOS EN SU TERRITORIO.-

_ _ MADRES DE URUGUAYOS DESAPARECIDOS EN ARGENTINA _

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason: __

84F92
32/48

España y Alemania Reclaman al Régimen de Argentina Por Connacionales Desaparecidos

Descubren 70 Cadáveres no Identificados en Cementerio Suburbano de Buenos Aires

I «desaparecidi italo-uruguayani

ROMA, 10 novembre

Una lista di 37 italiani o persone di origine italiana che vivevano in Uruguay e che sono scomparse in questi anni in America Latina (anche in Argentina e in Paraguay) è stata resa nota ieri dai parenti.

Ecco i nomi degli italo-uruguayani del nuovo elenco: quattro, due adulti (Bernardo Arnone e Raul Gambaro) e due bambini (Mariana Zaffaroni e la figlia di Adriana Gatti) facevano già parte di elenchi precedentemente pubblicati. Gli altri sono: Alfredo Bosco, Daniel Alfaro, Graciela Basaldo, Raul Borelli, Humberto Pellizi, Ruben Candia, Eduardo Chizzola, Julio Cesar D'Elia, Yolanda D'Elia, Edmundo Jose Dossetti, un altro Dossetti, Ricardo Del Fabro, José Maignor Gaetano, Eva Lucia Gandara, Gerardo Gatti, Adriana Gatti, Emilia Islas De Zaffaroni Elena Lerena De' Corchis, Rafael Gonzalez Lerama, Mary Norma Lupi, Winston Mazzucchi, Pablo Recagno, Norma Scopise, Helio Serra, Jorge Zaffaroni, Ary Severo, Beatriz De Leon, Carlos Severo, Beatriz Martha Severo, Hector Giordano, Oscar Tassino, Libertad Mancioro, Eduardo Robatto.

REGGIO CALABRIA — Uccisi a lupara Rosario Zirillo, 55 anni e Giovanni Canturi, 13 anni, nipote del primo. I loro cadaveri sono stati trovati in un campo sull'Aspromonte.

GENOVA — Dodici contrabbandieri sono stati multati per dieci miliardi di lire. La banda era stata arrestata due anni fa con mille chili di sigarette di contrabbando, era seguito, qualche giorno dopo, il sequestro di altri cinquemila chilogrammi.

BONN, MADR... (nuestras agencias). — A... nuncia del gobierno italiano po... Argentina víctimas del régimen mil... des españolas y alemanas se sumaron a lo... mos denunciando desapariciones de sus conna... cionales.

El Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores proporcionó hoy nombres de 41 españoles denunciados como desaparecidos en Argentina entre marzo de 1976 y febrero de 1980, en el marco de la guerra que libraron los militares contra la guerrilla.

Esta nueva denuncia volvió a agitar las noticias sobre la existencia de cadáveres no identificados en varios cementerios de los alrededores de Buenos Aires.

Fuentes del Ministerio español dijeron que después de febrero de 1980 no se habían reportado nuevas desapariciones de sus connacionales.

Denuncia Alemana

Por su... pertenec... de Seguridad ... cia" librada contra ... los últimos años de la de... Reuter un portavoz del grupo de ... nos Centro de Estudios ... (CELS)

También

Reclamó Por Los Desaparecidos

Es el Mayor Problema Que Enfrenta el Régimen Militar

... con doble nacionalidad y ... que origen alemán.

Medios gubernativos mencionaron esta noche la presión que Bonn ejerce desde hace años ante el gobierno argentino para esclarecer lo ocurrido.

... bonaerense aseguró que está dis... esclarecer cada ca...

Revelan Documentos

Entre tanto, la Iglesia Católica argentina reveló hoy que hace cinco años formuló un enérgico reclamo a la Junta Militar en favor de las personas desaparecidas, cuyos severos términos se habían mantenido en secreto.

La posición eclesiástica entregada al gobierno militar en noviembre de 1977, fue conocida a través de documentos del Episcopado Argentino que fue puesto a la venta.

Por otra parte la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU posee pruebas documentadas de la desaparición de un considerable número de latinoamericanos que se encontraba refugiado en Argentina cuando se produjo el golpe de Estado. Sólo Venezuela y México han presentado reclamos al gobierno argentino por ciudadanos de esos países "desaparecidos" en Argentina.

Además de los desaparecidos extranjeros, los grupos locales, denunciaron la desaparición de entre 6 000 y 20 000 ciudadanos argentinos, presun-

Desaparecidos en Argentina: Italia Recurre Ahora a Naciones Unidas

... dos que muchas veces acreditaron per... ... en ese país.

Por qué ...

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EXCISE SECRET UNCLASSIFIED

CHILE

12/16/85

16 DEC 1985

Bureau of Intelligence and Research

Intelligence Brief

December 12, 1985

CHILE: FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM

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Foreign support for Chilean terrorists may have increased in recent months. Cuba, the Soviet Union and Libya are the principal sponsors.

* * * * *

USSR. During Salvador Allende's administration (1970-73), the Chilean Communist party (PCCH) followed the "peaceful" path to socialism. Following Allende's overthrow and a period of self-criticism, the PCCH announced in 1980 a policy of armed struggle. The Soviets have increased support to the PCCH and its armed wing, the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR), which has engaged in bombings of establishment facilities, armed attacks, and arson. In July, ten FPMR revolutionaries reportedly were trained in the USSR, and Moscow promised additional funds, arms, and ammunition.

four Soviet-trained Chilean specialists in light anti-tank weapons and commando tactics arrived in Chile to train FPMR members.

Cuba. Castro has trained members of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and facilitated their clandestine return to Chile. Cuba recently expanded its efforts to overthrow Pinochet and plans to increase funding and logistic support to help MIR overcome setbacks suffered at the hands of the security forces. Cuba has also delivered arms to Chilean leftists, including possibly a rocket used in an unsuccessful attempt against the presidential palace last year.

Libya and others. Tripoli, which formerly provided only modest support, has promised to pay $1 million to the MIR, according to However, Liyba often promises more than it actually delivers.

reported that 15 exiled MIRistas have returned from extensive guerrilla training in Libya and Mozambique and are planning to attack Embassy Santiago to regain their stature as a terrorist group and justify Libyan financial support. Chilean terrorists have also reportedly trained in Nicaragua, Algeria, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia.

Because of Pinochet's standing as an international pariah, the Soviets and Cubans appear to look upon Chile as a relatively cost-free target. Even if they are caught in links with terrorists, they would probably not be censured by the international community. Chilean terrorists do not have the ability to undertake a full-blown conflict with the military to topple President Pinochet. But their terrorist campaign--encouraged from abroad--could tempt Pinochet to react harshly and thereby damage efforts by the democratic opposition to promote peaceful change.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) B1

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

12/19/82

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Internal Security Log, December 13 - 19, 1982

December 13

-- Recursos de amparo were placed for five of six persons detained by police on December 12 for throwing pamphlets, miguelitos, incendiary bombs, etc. Named were: Marciela de las Nieves Barrera Godoy, student; Waldo Gregorio Perez Chavez, nurses' aid; Luis Espinoza Moseno, electricians' helper; Luis Alberto Ibanez Carrido and Jose Manuel Solis Poveda, businessmen. The sixth was Juan Solis Solis.

-- Court of Appeals confirmed temporary suspension of investigation of the "Comunidad Catacumba."

December 14

-- Minister of Interior announced relegation of four arrested for hunger strike at cathedral. They were: Roberto Daniel Trincado Cujetkovic (Baquedano); Elvira del Carmen Morales Fuentes (Tierra Amarilla); Marina Loreto Donoso Rivas (El Salado); and Veronica Hilda Correa Guzman (Mamina). The other eight arrested were released without charges.

-- Court of Appeals confirmed liberty without charges of Maria Pilar Vergara del Rio, student, and Luis Alberto Liberona Sanchez, primary school teacher, who had been detained September 9 on charges of attending an illegal meeting.

-- Major forest fires occurred around Vina del Mar and were allegedly caused intentionally.

-- Supreme Court kept open appeal in APSI case.

-- Fiscal Militar Plass requested five year sentences against Victoria Odano Carreno and Fanny Ayala Valenzuela for "participating in an armed combat group" and three year sentences for Paz Luxoro Vivencio, Alejandra Barrueto Alvarado, Silvia Chrinos Borosi and Adelia Flores Diaz for "aiding group."

December 15

-- Court of Appeals rejected by 2-1 a recurso de ampara for exiled CNS president Manuel Bustos Huerta.

-- According to press and Vicaria reports, 208 persons were arrested during street demonstration in downtown Santiago (recursos de amparo were eventually filed for 143), 40 more were arrested in Concepcion and 28 (4 minors) in Valparaiso for similar demonstrations. About 15 minors were released immediately but the great majority apparently well be held the minimum five days and then released.

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-- Eduardo Diaz denied he had disappeared or was in hiding.

-- Fifth Criminal Court magistrate Alejandro Solis temporarily closed investigation of death of Victor Jara.

-- Judge Raquel Camposano was named by Court of Appeals to investigate alleged "police" violence in demonstration at Plaza de Artesanos on December 2.

December 16

-- On appeal from GOC, Court of Appeals vacated closing of Aconcagua Press case (Fernando Silva Munoz) by ministro sumerante.

-- Electrical sub-station near Concepcion dynamited resulting in 10 minute loss of power to city.

-- Four of approximately 200 demonstrators yesterday in Concepcion turned over to military justice. They were: Luisa Margarita Gonzalez Ruiz (21), student; Pedro Erasmo Toledo Romero (25), worker; Gonzalo Ivan Fuenzalida Navarrete (21), unemployed; and Roberto Alejandro Delgado San Martin (28), mechanical engineer.

-- High tension tower near Talco destroyed by dynamite.

-- Dynamite blast near electrical substation near Valparaiso blacks out city.

December 17

-- Five defense attorneys presented a complaint to the Supreme Court against a National television special on terrorism, which allegedly included CNI video tapes of defendants still undergoing the judicial process.

-- Recursos de amparo were filed on behalf of eight of the persons arrested in December 15 street demonstrations in Valparaiso. Twenty others were released without charges.

-- Union Nacional de Estudiantes Democraticos (UNED) claimed credit for organizing December 15 street demonstrations in Santiago. La Comision Por Derechos Juveniles (CODEJU), La Coordinadora Metropolitana de Pobladores de Pudahuel and the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de Montaje Industrial (SINAMI), while not taking credit as organizers, expressed support for the demonstrations and denounced the detentions.

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December 17 (continued)

-- Two recursos de proteccion were filed against Antonio Bosch Llarena, Customs Director, for denying entry to 2000 copies of a work (Persona Non Grata) by Jorge Edwards.

December 18

-- Dr. Elizabeth Rendic Olate was ordered held incomunicado at the Women's Prison in Santiago by the fiscal militar ad hoc Cristian Plass. She was turned over to the fiscal militar on December 15.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 03982 150134Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-12	SS-10	OIC-02	
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	ARA-16	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5618
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s) NR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ USUN NEW YORK 03982

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, ES, CI
SUBJECT: MEXICAN RESOLUTION ON CHILE - UK AMENDMENT

REF: (A) MEXICO 16730; (B) USUN 3932; (C) USUN 3969.

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. USUN HAS LEARNED THAT MEXICO WILL ATTEMPT TO UNDO THE UK AMENDMENT TO THE CHILE RESOLUTION ON FRIDAY WHEN THE REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE IS CONSIDERED IN PLENARY. THE AMENDMENT DELETED OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 13 OF THE RESOLUTION, WHICH INVITED THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON CHILE, AND CHANGED OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 12 SIMPLY TO REQUEST THE COMMISSION QUOTE TO STUDY IN DEPTH THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AT ITS THIRTY-NINTH SESSION WITH A VIEW TO TAKING THE MOST APPROPRIATE STEPS, AND REPORT ON ITS CONSIDERATION THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS

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PAGE 02 USUN N 03982 150134Z

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION END QUOTE. THE AMENDMENT WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 46(US)-42-42.

3. MEXICAN REP GONZALEZ DE LEON HAS ALREADY APPROACHED UK REP FURSLAND TO NEGOTIATE A CHANGE, IF NOT TO RESTORE THE ORIGINAL TEXT THEN PERHAPS TO INVITE THE COMMISSION TO

QUOTE CONSIDER UNQUOTE THE EXTENSION OF THE RAPPORTEUR'S MANDATE. MEXICO HAS INVITED THE UK TO MEET WITH THE RESOLUTION'S SPONSORS TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT MEXICO WILL OTHERWISE TABLE AN AMENDMENT TO THE PRESENT TEXT. FURSLAND HAS TOLD USUN THAT HE WOULD NOT CONSIDER ANY CHANGE WHICH INCLUDED MENTION OF THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.

4. THE UK, CHILE AND THE US WILL BE LOBBYING COUNTRIES IN NEW YORK IN ANTICIPATION OF A POSSIBLE VOTE, WHICH WOULD BE CLOSE. IF DEPARTMENT AGREES, USUN REQUESTS EMBASSY TO APPROACH MEXICAN GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL WITH A VIEW TOWARD HAVING NO AMENDMENT AT ALL TABLED IN THE PLENARY. THE GOM SHOULD BE URGED TO LET THE COMMITTEE VOTE STAND AND TO FIGHT THE ISSUE, IF THEY SO DESIRE, IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WHICH IS THE APPROPRIATE ARENA ANYWAY. OPENING UP THE ISSUE AGAIN IN PLENARY WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIVISIVE. IF THE MEXICANS SUCCEED, THE ONLY EFFECT WILL BE TO MAKE THE RESOLUTION EVEN MORE UNBALANCED THAN IT ALREADY IS AND ALIENATE LATIN AMERICANS, WHO SAW THE ADOPTION OF THE UK AMENDMENT AS A SMALL YET NECESSARY STEP AWAY FROM THE ANTI-LATIN BIAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE UN. THE ADOPTION OF THE UK AMENDMENT SHOWS THAT THERE IS WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN VIEW AT THE UN AND THAT AN EFFORT TO CHALLENGE THE COMMITTEE'S DECISION WOULD BE NEEDLESSLY OFFENSIVE AND WOULD SERVE NO CONSTRUCTIVE

PAGE 03 USUN N 03982 150134Z

PURPOSE. IF THE MEXICANS WANT TO WORK MORE COOPERATIVELY WITH THE US IN THE FUTURE ON THESE AND RELATED ISSUES, AS SUGGESTED IN REFTEL A, THE TIME TO BEGIN IS NOW AND NOT THE NEXT GA.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04024 161826Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 OIC-02
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ARA-16 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-09 PA-01
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AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) ____

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, ES, CI
SUBJECT: MEXICAN RESOLUTION ON CHILE - UK AMENDMENT

REF: USUN 3982

1. ENTIRE TEXT CONFIDENTIAL

2. IT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED THAT MEXICO WILL, IN FACT, TODAY TABLE AMENDMENTS TO BOTH THE CHILE AND EL SALVADOR RESOLUTIONS WHEN THEY ARE CONSIDERED IN PLENARY OF THE GA ON FRIDAY. THE AMENDMENTS WOULD SEEK TO UNDO THE UK AMENDMENT ADOPTED IN THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE CHILE DRAFT AND THE CANADIAN AMENDMENT ADOPTED ON THE EL SALVADOR DRAFT. WHILE SENTIMENT IN THE WESTERN GROUP IS NOT UNIFIED, THERE IS WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT AMENDMENTS ON POINTS SPECIFICALLY VOTED ON IN COMMITTEE ARE INAPPROPRIATE AND SHOULD BE OPPOSED. BOTH VOTES IN COMMITTEE WERE CLOSE AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT MEXICO COULD SUCCEED IF THEIR AMENDMENTS WERE BROUGHT TO A VOTE. WE URGE ONCE AGAIN, AS IN REFTEL, THAT EMBASSY APPROACH THE GOM AT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 04024 161826Z

HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL TO DISCOURAGE GONZALEZ DE LEON FROM BRINGING THESE AMENDMENTS TO A VOTE.
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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 16808 01 OF 02 171553Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10
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	LAB-04	PM-09	PA-01	STR-14	SIL-01	USIE-00	SP-02
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 16808

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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 16808 01 OF 02 171553Z

USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ELAB, ICFTU, XM, CL, NS, VE
SUBJECT: ICFTU COMMITTEE FOCUSES ON CHILE AND SURINAME LABOR SITUATION

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1. (C) SUMMARY. ICFTU'S LATIN AMERICAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE HELD SPECIAL MEETING ON DECEMBER 15 AT BRUSSELS TO HEAR EXPELLED CHILEAN LABOR LEADER MANUEL BUSTOS AND DISCUSS WAYS TO STEP UP PRESSURE ON PINOCHET REGIME AND AID ORGANIZED LABOR THERE. COMMITTEE FAVORED INITIATION OF AN ICFTU CAMPAIGN USING BUSTOS BY PROGRAMMING HIM ON VISITS AROUND EUROPE AND TO U.S., AND POSSIBLY INCLUDING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SPAIN OR THE U.S. COMMITTEE ALSO DISCUSSED SURINAME, RECOMMENDING THAT ICFTU REQUEST AN URGENT ILO MISSION, ORGANIZE A CONFERENCE ON SURINAME IN BARBADOS NEXT WEEK, AND CALL ON ALL AFFILIATES TO URGE THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO EXERT PRESSURE AGAINST THE MILITARY REGIME IN SURINAME. COMMITTEE FINALLY EXPRESSED SOLIDARITY WITH THE VENEZUELA BANK WORKERS UNION. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) SPECIAL MEETING OF ICFTU'S COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA, CALLED TO DISCUSS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILE, DREW SOME 20 PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF EIGHT EUROPEAN AFFILIATES, A SMATTERING OF OTHER AFFILIATES (INCLUDING AFL-CIO, REPRESENTED BY AIFLD EXECUTIVE SECRETARY WILLIAM DOHERTY), AND THREE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS (FIET, MIF AND PSI).

3. (C) CHILE. FEATURED PARTICIPANTS WERE TWO CHILEANS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 16808 01 OF 02 171553Z

CNS PRESIDENT MANUEL BUSTOS, WHOSE EXPULSION FROM CHILE ON DECEMBER 3 HAD BEEN CATALYST FOR MEETING, AND ANEF PRESIDENT HERNOL FLORES, BELATEDLY INVITED TO ASSURE PARTICIPATION BY A LABOR LEADER ABLE TO RETURN TO CHILE. WE UNDERSTAND FROM PARTICIPANTS THAT BUSTOS LED OFF DISCUSSION WITH AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT CNS ACTIVITIES--SPECIFICALLY NOTING NON-COMMUNIST/COMMUNIST LABOR SPLIT OVER ISSUE OF WHETHER TO SUPPORT POLISH WORKERS AND SOLIDARITY--AND DETAILS OF HIS EXPULSION. COMMITTEE, ECHOING RECOMMENDATION BY OCTOBER ICFTU MISSION TO CHILE, FAVORED CONTINUED SOLIDARITY AID TO CHILEAN TRADE UNIONS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PROMOTE MAXIMUM UNITY. IT ALSO ADVOCATED A STEPPED-UP CAMPAIGN TO SPOTLIGHT THE ANTI-LABOR ACTIONS OF PINOCHET REGIME. IN THIS REGARD, SPANISH UGT REP (SIMON) PROPOSED HOLDING OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILE IN EITHER MADRID OR SOMEWHERE IN U.S. COMMITTEE MEMBERS COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON HIS IDEA AND URGED SECRETARIAT TO STUDY ITS PRACTICABILITY.

4. (C) IN ADDITION, IT WAS DECIDED TO PROGRAM BUSTOS AROUND EUROPE TO SPEAK BEFORE UNION GROUPS, GIVE PRESS INTERVIEWS AND MEET WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS. AFL-CIO REP OFFERED TO ARRANGE COMPARABLE PROGRAM FOR HIM IN U.S. SEVERAL EUROPEANS (FROM ITALIAN CISL AND UIL AND SPANISH UGT) OFFERED TO ARRANGE RESIDENCE FOR BUSTOS IN THEIR COUNTRY; HE INDICATED THAT HE DIDN'T WANT TO BECOME AN EXILE BUT HOPED TO RETURN TO CHILE SOON. IN CONTRAST TO ICFTU'S ASSISTANCE TO A SECOND EXPELLEE (A COMMUNIST LABOR LEADER NAMED HECTOR CUEVAS) ON GROUNDS THAT HE WAS IN DISTRESS, AFL-CIO REP REPORTEDLY TOLD COMMITTEE THAT AFL-CIO WOULD AID ONLY THOSE TRADE UNIONISTS WHO SUPPORT WALESA AND POLISH WORKERS.

5. (C) SURINAME.

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 16808 02 OF 02 171556Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10
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	LAB-04	PM-09	PA-01	STR-14	SIL-01	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	SPRS-01	/142 W				

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 16808

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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 16808 02 OF 02 171556Z

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7. (U) PRESS CONFERENCE. FOLLOWING MEETING, ICFTU-ORGANIZED PRESS CONFERENCE ATTRACTED 14 JOURNALISTS, MOST OF WHOM APPEARED TO SPECIALIZE IN LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS. BUSTOS DESCRIBED THE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS FOR ORGANIZED LABOR IN CHILE AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES

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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 16808 02 OF 02 171556Z

OF HIS EXPULSION. ALTHOUGH IT WAS ANNOUNCED AT THE OUTSET THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD ALSO DISCUSSED SURINAME AND VENEZUELA, NO QUESTIONS WERE POSED ABOUT EITHER.

8. (C) COMMENT: IF MEETING SERVED NOTABLY AS SPRINGBOARD FOR NEW ICFTU CAMPAIGNS ON BEHALF OF TRADE UNIONS IN CHILE AND SURINAME, IT ALSO APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN A HELPFUL FOLLOWUP TO THE RECENT ICFTU MISSIONS IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEETING IN MEXICO IN NARROWING EXISTING DIFFERENCES AND ADVANCING THE INTEGRATION OF THE AFL-CIO IN THE ICFTU'S EGGSHELL-SENSITIVE AREA OF LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS. AFL-CIO REP DOHERTY TOLD LABATT LATER THAT HE HAD BEEN MADE TO FEEL WELCOME BY THE GROUP AND HAD ENCOUNTERED A GENERALLY POSITIVE, UPBEAT ATTITUDE IN THE COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS. HIS FINDING IS A SHARP CONTRAST TO REPORTS OF COMMITTEE SESSIONS IN PAST YEARS (WHEN SOME EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS WERE KNOWN TO HAVE INDULGED IN IDEOLOGICAL AND ANTI-AMERICAN POSTURING), AND PROBABLY REFLECTS AN UPGRADED ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMITTEE'S IMPORTANCE BY ITS EUROPEAN MEMBERS NOW THAT THE AMERICANS ARE PRESENT. THE TEST OF THE NEWFOUND HARMONY IN BRUSSELS ON LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES, HOWEVER, WILL BE THE EXTENT OF ITS RESONANCE IN THE VARIOUS UNION HQS. OF ICFTU AFFILIATES IN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA.
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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

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12/17/82 Letelier

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____
DATE: December 17, 1982

TO : The Ambassador
THRU: The DCM
FROM : POL -- Donald B. Harrington

SUBJECT: Visit to Chile of Eldest Son of Orlando Letelier

In the morning of December 17, Fabiola Letelier de Solar brought her nephew Juan Pablo Letelier Morel (eldest son of Orlando Letelier) to see me. They wanted the Embassy aware of the visit and the fact that Mr. Letelier is a U.S. citizen. He will be staying about one month with his grandparents at Eliodoro Yanez 1049, third floor, Apt. A. As he is the first of Orlando Letelier's four sons to return to Chile, and will be looking into the Letelier case generally, he was concerned that the Embassy be aware of his visit and ready to protect his rights as a U.S. citizen.

Although he claimed to be aware of the limits on Embassy action on his behalf, as well as the fact that his visit should have properly been reported to the Consulate, I carefully explained that Embassy protection of U.S. citizens abroad consisted primarily of helping find a defense lawyer in case of arrest and attempts to insure that U.S. citizens received equal treatment under the laws of the country of detention as nationals did. This was all accepted by nephew and aunt, who reiterated theirs was a somewhat special case and they merely wanted Embassy awareness of the visit.

Mr. Letelier, as a recent graduate of Georgetown University (he is currently doing post-graduate work in international economics at the University of Mexico), also requested a meeting with Ambassador Theberge on the grounds of old school ties. He did not press the request when I told him the Ambassador was out of the city today.

I used the visit to ask Mrs. Letelier about her plans in the Letelier passport fraud case. She said she planned to present further evidence on the case to the fiscal militar in March 1983 and commented that she had found the Labyrinth book useful for her case. She offered no details on the last statement.

Draft:POL:DBHarrington:eb
Clear:POL:JCStephens(draft)

CONFIDENTIAL
DECL: 12/17/88

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 82STATE350272

FILM= D820659-0634, D820654-0653

DATE= 17 DEC 82

TYPE= TE

FROM= SECSTATE WASHDC

DRAFTER= PREAMS

OFFICE= ORIGIN SS

TO= LAGOS

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= EXDIS

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= (OADR)

SUBJECT= MEETING WITH SAM NUJOMA

REFERENCE= 82 LAGOS 12597

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= INDEPENDENCE, DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, LIBERATION FRONTS, NEGOTIATIONS

TAGS= PEPR, PORG, WA, US, NI, SWAPO, (NUJOMA, SAM), (WISNER, FRANK)

[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 350272
ORIGIN SS-25

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DECAPTIONED

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/18/99 Exemption

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S/S-O:RERDMAN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

[redacted] STATE 350272

EXDIS - FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM CROCKER

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS:WA, US, NI, PEPR
SUBJECT:MEETING WITH SAM NUJOMA

REF: LAGOS 12597

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT:

2. WE HAVE, FOR SOME MONTHS, BEEN LOOKING FOR AN APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH SAM NUJOMA FOR A HAND-HOLDING SESSION ON THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE HAS NEVER BEEN IN THE AREA DURING THE SEVERAL VISITS FRANK WISNER AND I HAVE MADE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT OCCURS TO ME THAT HIS PRESENCE IN LAGOS NEXT WEEK (REFTEL) MIGHT PROVIDE THE NECESSARY OPENING, IF YOU COULD OFFER TO MEET WITH HIM ON MY BEHALF FOR WHAT YOU COULD CHARACTERIZE AS A REVIEW OF THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY. I ASSUME THE NECESSARY CONTACT COULD BE MADE THROUGH JOLAOSO.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 350272

3. OUR OBJECTIVE IN SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE TO TRY TO COUNTER THE GLOOM WHICH NOW PERVADES SWAPO'S RULING TIER. WITH THE FOCUS NOW ON THE ANGOLA TRACK, WE HAVE THE STRONG SENSE THAT SWAPO LEADERS FEEL VERY MUCH CUT OFF FROM THE ACTION AND UNCOMFORTABLY DEPENDENT ON THEIR HOSTS IN LUANDA AND THE OTHER FLS CAPITALS.

4. IF SUCH A MEETING APPEARS FEASIBLE TO YOU, AND IF NUJOMA AGREES TO IT, WE WOULD SEND YOU THE NECESSARY TALKING POINTS.
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PAGE 01 MEXICO 17127 01 OF 02 181740Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------106374 181751Z /43

P 181731Z DEC 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5659
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s) NR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 17127

EXDIS **DECAPTIONED**

USUN FOR AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, ES, CI, GT, MX
SUBJECT: MEXICO AND UNGA RESOLUTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
- IN LATIN AMERICA

REF: (A) KIRKPATRICK-GAVIN TELECON, DECEMBER 16,
(B) MEXICO 16730, (C) STATE 345471 (USUN 3932),
(D) USUN 3982, (E) USUN 4005, (F) STATE 350273,
(G) USUN 4024

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING OUR TELECON I DISCUSSED MEXICAN RECORD ON LATIN AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE AND PLENARY WITH POLOFFS AND SPOKE PERSONALLY WITH FONMIN SEPULVEDA. HEREWITH FOLLOW REPORTS OF POLOFFS DISCUSSIONS WITH UNDERSECRETARY FLORES OLEA AND OF MY CONVERSATION WITH SEPULVEDA ON THE MATTER. SEPULVEDA AND I HAVE AGREED THAT A FURTHER MEETING
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TO DISCUSS UN HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WOULD BE VALUABLE. END SUMMARY.

3. PURSUANT TO YOUR TELECON, I ASKED EMBASSY POLOFFS TO BE IN TOUCH FIRST WITH MEXICAN FONOFF ON MATTER YOU RAISED WITH ME (QUESTION OF MEXICAN ACTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES). HERE IS REPORT OF EMBOFF'S

CONVERSATION WITH NEW UNDERSECRETARY FLORES OLEA (EX-AMBASSADOR TO UNESCO) ON MORNING OF DECEMBER 17:

4. EMBOFF SAID THAT OF THE THREE CONTROVERSIAL LATIN AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS REOLUTIONS AT THIS YEAR'S UNGA (CHILE, EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA), MEXICO HAD PLAYED A HIGH-PROFILE ROLE WITH REGARD TO TWO OF THEM. IT HAD SPONSORED THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE AND WAS NOW TRYING TO UNDO A BRITISH AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE THAT WAS SUPPORTED BY U.S. AND MOST OTHER LATINS. C

NR

WE ASKED IF IT WAS REALLY A MATTER OF VITAL MEXICAN INTEREST TO SEEK TO OVERTURN THE THIRD COMMITTEE VOTE AND TO RE-AMEND THE RESOLUTIONS ON CHILE AND EL SALVADOR. WE ADDED THAT GIT SEEMED TO SOME THAT MEXICO WAS IN COMPANY

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WITH CUBA, NICARAGUA AND GRENADA ALONE AMONG THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE COUNTRIES ON THESE ISSUES.

5. FLORES OLEA DEFENDED THE MEXICAN ACTIONS AS BASED ON PRINCIPLE AND AS CONSISTENT WITH MEXICO'S ACTIVITY IN THE UN IN PREVIOUS YEARS. HE SAID THE REAPPOINTMENT OF A UN RAPPORTEUR FOR CHILE WAS NECESSARY TO ASSURE AN OBJECTIVE REPORT NEXT YEAR; THERE WAS NO BIAS IMPLIED IN THIS DECISION. THE PROVISION IN THE MEXICAN RESOLUTION REAPPOINTING A RAPPORTEUR HAD BEEN DELETED ONLY BY A CLOSE AND "MANEUVERED" VOTE. THE U.S. SHOULD NOT BE UPSET THAT MEXICO WAS TRYING TO REVERSE THIS DECISION.

6. WE DISAGREED THAT THERE WAS NO BIAS IN THE REAPPOINTMENT OF A RAPPORTEUR. THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO IMPROVEMENTS IN CHILE. THE U.S. THOUGHT THERE HAD BEEN SOME, FOR EXAMPLE THE DECISION OF THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT TO SEEK A

POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AND RETURN OF EXILES. IT WAS DESIRABLE TO SEND A COUNTERSIGNAL -- AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS. ELIMINATING THE REAPPOINTMENT OF THE RAPPORTEUR WOULD BE SUCH A SIGNAL.

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 17127 02 OF 02 181741Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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P 181731Z DEC 82
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5660
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 17127
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PAGE 01 USUN N 04088 01 OF 02 210127Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	AF-10
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	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-02
	INRE-00	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	SPRS-01	/109 W	

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O 210124Z DEC 82
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5770
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) NR

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 04088

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, ES, GT, CI
SUBJECT: 37TH UNGA: PLENARY ADOPTS HUMAN RIGHTS
- RESOLUTIONS ON EL SALVADOR, CHILE AND
- GUATEMALA

1. SUMMARY.

NR

THE PLENARY ALSO ADOPTED THE RESOLUTIONS ON CHILE AND GUATEMALA BY SUBSTANTIAL MARGINS. MEXICO SUCCEEDED IN WINNING AMENDMENTS TO THE EL SALVADOR AND CHILE RESOLUTIONS, WHICH RESTORED LANGUAGE FROM ITS EARLIER DRAFTS. END SUMMARY.

2. UNGA PLENARY, ON DECEMBER 17, TOOK UP THE RESOLUTIONS
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04088 01 OF 02 210127Z

ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, CHILE AND GUATEMALA. AFTER AMENDMENT FROM THE FLOOR, THE RESOLUTIONS WERE ADOPTED, OVER U.S. OPPOSITION, BY MARGINS ABOUT THE SAME AS LAST YEAR. THERE WERE, HOWEVER, SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE VOTE ON THE EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION.

3. AT THE OPENING OF THE DEBATE, MEXICO OFFERED TWO AMENDMENTS WHICH WERE DESIGNED TO UNDO AMENDMENTS TO THE EL SALVADOR AND CHILE RESOLUTIONS -- ONE CANADIAN AND ONE BRITISH -- THAT HAD EARLIER BEEN ADOPTED BY THE THIRD COMMITTEE.

THE OTHER AMENDMENT (CO-SPONSORED BY ALGERIA, BOLIVIA, CUBA AND YUGOSLAVIA) DEALT WITH THE SITUATION IN CHILE; IN ESSENCE, IT ENDORSED RENEWAL BY THE UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S MANDATE FOR ANOTHER YEAR. THE U.S. AND OTHERS ARGUED THAT THE DECISION ON THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE LEFT IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMISSION. THE AMENDMENT, HOWEVER, CARRIED 62-35(US)-44. (BEFORE THE VOTE A BELGIAN MOTION, ON A POINT OF ORDER, WOULD HAVE SUSPENDED ACTION ON ALL AMENDMENTS; THIS EFFORT ALSO LOST, ALTHOUGH BY A NARROWER MARGIN 53(US)-65-19.)

4. THE RESULTS OF THE VOTING ON THE THREE RESOLUTIONS, AS AMENDED, WERE AS FOLLOWS:
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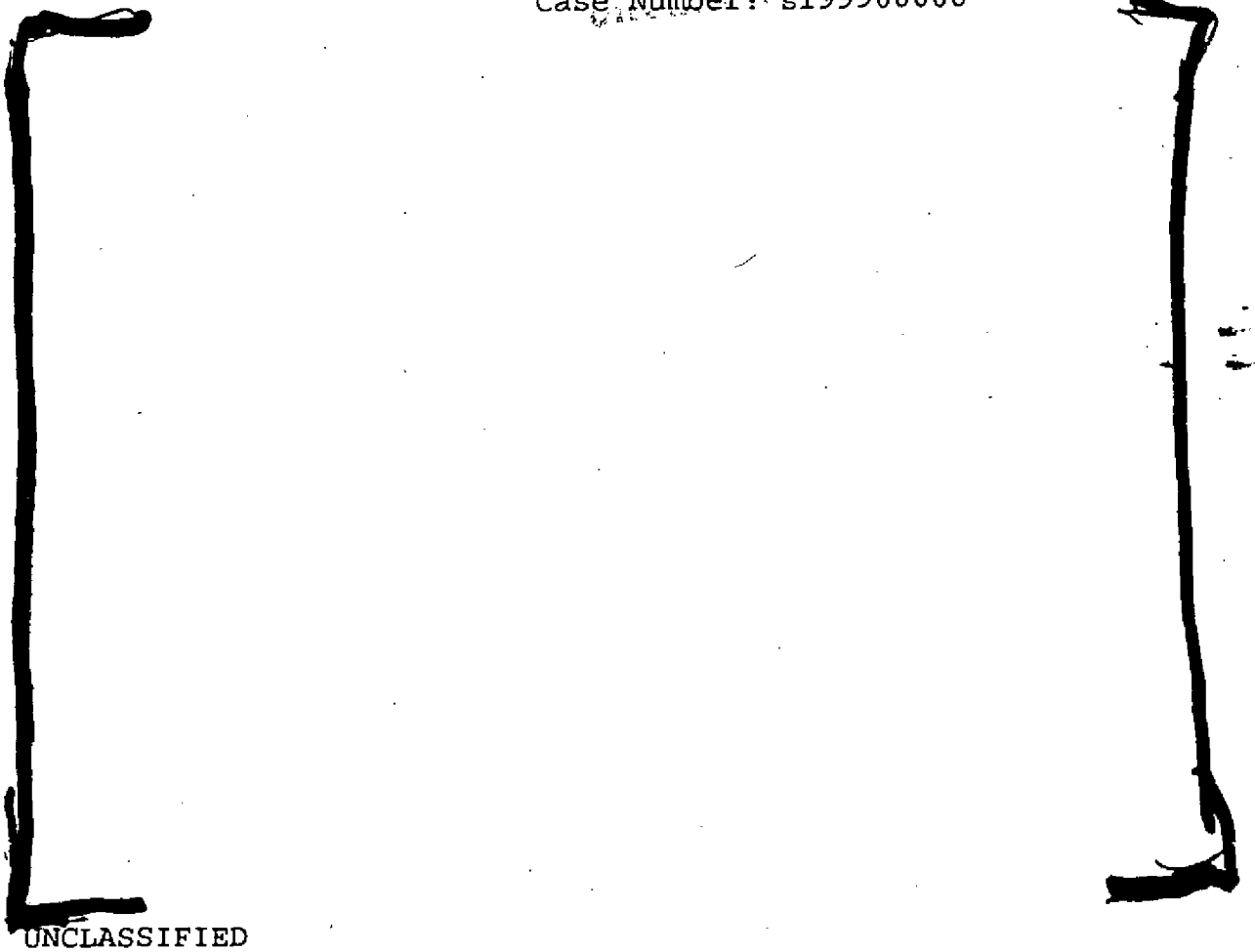
PAGE 03 USUN N 04088 01 OF 02 210127Z

- (A) EL SALVADOR: 71-18(US)-55, WHICH COMPARED WITH 69-22(US)-53 IN LAST YEAR'S PLENARY VOTE;

- (B) CHILE: 85-17(US)-41, AS COMPARED WITH LAST YEAR'S 84-20(US)-42;

- (C) GUATEMALA: 79-16(US)-49.



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PAGE 01 USUN N 04088 02 OF 02 210128Z
ACTION IO-15

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	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-08	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-02
	INRE-00	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	SPRS-01	/109 W	

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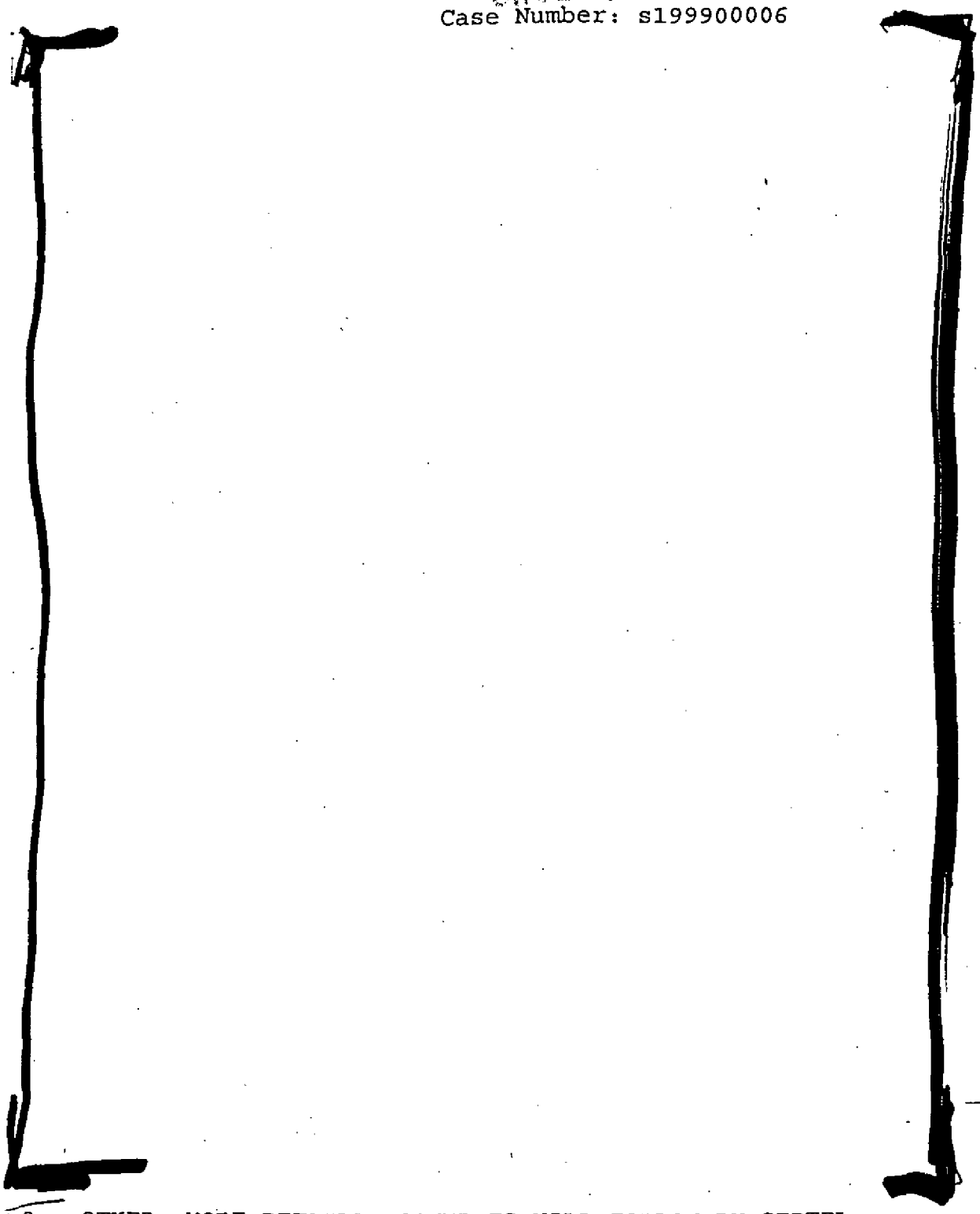
O 210124Z DEC 82
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5771
INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 04088

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS



9. OTHER MORE DETAILED COMMENTS WILL FOLLOW BY SEPTEL. KIRKPATRICK

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04119 01 OF 03 222156Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	AF-10
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	OMB-01	SAL-01	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	SPRS-01	/110 W

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P 222147Z DEC 82
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5817
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s) NR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 04119

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 12356: DECL: 12/21/88
TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, ES, CI, GT
SUBJECT: 37TH UNGA AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS
- ON EL SALVADOR, CHILE AND GUATEMALA - ASSESS-
- MENT

REF: (A) USUN 4088; (B) USUN 3969.

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH THE VOTING MARGINS REMAINED ROUGHLY THE SAME AS LAST YEAR, WE BELIEVE WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS IN WINNING WIDER RECOGNITION OF THE PARTISAN NATURE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS ON EL SALVADOR, CHILE AND GUATEMALA. SWEDEN AND MEXICO WERE THE PRIME MOVERS OF THE RESOLUTIONS; NEITHER MADE MUCH EFFORT TO COORDINATE WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE GROUPS.

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WAS SOME MOVEMENT IN THE WESTERN GROUP TOWARD OUR POSITION, AS REFLECTED IN THE BRITISH AND CANADIAN EFFORTS TO GIVE GREATER BALANCE TO THE CHILE AND EL SALVADOR RESOLUTIONS AND THE INTERVENTIONS AND VOTE OF THE FRG. DEEPLY DIVIDED, THE LATIN AMERICANS, DESPITE THEIR GENERAL DISTASTE FOR THE RESOLUTIONS, FAILED TO ACT

AS A GROUP.

I. INTRODUCTION.
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3. AS REPORTED REF A, THE HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS ON EL SALVADOR AND CHILE WERE ADOPTED, OVER U.S. OPPOSITION, BY THE PLENARY BY ABOUT THE SAME MARGIN AS LAST YEAR:
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PAGE 03 USUN N 04119 01 OF 03 222156Z

71-18(US)-55 FOR EL SALVADOR AND 85-17(US)-41 IN THE CASE OF CHILE. SWEDEN AND MEXICO WERE THE PRIME MOVERS FOR BOTH RESOLUTIONS. CUBA, WHILE KEENLY INTERESTED, STAYED IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE EL SALVADOR RESOLUTION BUT CO-SPONSORED THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE. MEXICO DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE RESOLUTION ON GUATEMALA; THE CO-SPONSORS OF THIS RESOLUTION, ALONG WITH SWEDEN, WERE AUSTRIA, CANADA AND IRELAND. THERE IS EVIDENCE OF CONSIDERABLE CUBAN AND NICARAGUAN LOBBYING IN SUPPORT OF THE THREE RESOLUTIONS. IN ESSENCE, AS SUGGESTED IN REF B (PARA (9), THE RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED BY A COALITION, WHICH INCLUDED A GROUP OF WESTERN COUNTRIES, LED BY SWEDEN AND FRANCE; THE SOVIET-CUBAN BLOC; A FEW OTHER LATINS (MEXICO, BARBADOS AND GUYANA); THE RADICAL NON-ALIGNED; AND A GROUP OF MODERATE COUNTRIES WHOSE SIZE FLUCTUATED WITH THE RESOLUTION IN QUESTION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHILE RESOLUTION DREW SOMEWHAT GREATER SUPPORT THAN THAT ON GUATEMALA, WHICH PASSED 79-16(US)-49.

4. EVEN THOUGH THE MARGINS BY WHICH THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED WERE SIMILAR TO LAST YEAR'S -- IN FACT, A LITTLE HIGHER -- WE DETECT INDICATIONS OF A SLIGHT SOFTENING OF SUPPORI FOR THE RESOLUTIONS. THIS IS INDICATED BY THE FACT THAT A BRITISH AMENDMENT TO THE CHILEAN RESOLUTION WHICH DELETED ENDORSEMENT OF THE EXTENSION OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S MANDATE FROM THE SWEDISH-MEXICAN DRAFT, CARRIED IN THIRD COMMITTEE. FURTHERMORE, A BELGIAN PROCEDURAL MOTION, WHICH WOULD HAVE SUSPENDED FURTHER ACTION ON A MEXICAN AMENDMENT RESTORING THE ENDORSEMENT, WAS DEFEATED BY A RELATIVELY NARROW MARGIN; (IN FACT, THE VOTE WAS TAKEN ON WHETHER THE MOTION WAS IN ORDER RATHER THAN THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MOTION). ON THE OTHER HAND, THESE VOTES ON THE CHILE RESOLUTION MAY LARGELY REFLECT MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.

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PAGE 04 USUN N 04119 01 OF 03 222156Z

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED ALDIP.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04119 02 OF 03 222158Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	AF-10
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	OMB-01	SAL-01	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	SPRS-01	/110 W

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P 222147Z DEC 82
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5818
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 04119

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

II) SOME CONCLUSIONS

5. SOME SPECIFIC CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE VOTE ON THESE RESOLUTIONS AND THE PRECEDING DEBATE CAN BE SUMMED UP AS FOLLOWS:

- A) THE DEBATE INDICATED CONSIDERABLE UNEASE AMONG MANY DELEGATIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS AND FAIRNESS OF THE PRESENT REVIEW PROCEDURES AND OUR CONCERNS -- THE SELECTIVITY, IMBALANCE, AND POLITICAL PARTISANSHIP OF THE COUNTRY-SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS -- WERE ECHOED BY MANY SPEAKERS, NOTABLY THE FRG. THE VENEZUELAN

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REPRESENTATIVE, EXPLAINING HIS COUNTRY'S DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE, CALLED FOR REFORMS, INCLUDING A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION WORLD-WIDE. EVEN THE FINNISH DELEGATE ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED FOR REFORM AND THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE NORDICS WERE DISCOMFORTED WITH THE HARDNESS AND EXTREMISM OF THE SWEDISH POSITION.

- B) THE LINE-UP IN THE WESTERN GROUP (WEOG) SHOWED SHIFTS IN OUR FAVOR.

ON CHILE, THE UK AND THE FRG DECIDED TO ABSTAIN; OTHER WEOG MEMBERS (EXCEPT TURKEY) CONTINUED TO VOTE FOR THE RESOLUTION.

- C) THE LATINS, DEEPLY SPLIT ON THE APPROACH TO THE RESOLUTIONS, FAILED TO ACT AS A GROUP.

Page 5 has been eliminated because it is entirely irrelevant.

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED ALDIP.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04119 03 OF 03 222158Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	AF-10
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5819
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 04119

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PAGE 02 USUN N 04119 03 OF 03 222158Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04146 01 OF 02 232223Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 OIC-02
AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-10 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSC-01
ARA-16 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-09 PA-01 USIE-00
SP-02 SNP-01 SPRS-01 /108 W

3125662 2323142 /66

P 232219Z DEC 82
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5859
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s) NE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 04146

E.O. 12356: DECL: 12/23/88
TAGS: UNGA, XM, CI, SHUM
SUBJECT: 37TH UNGA: CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION

1. (~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AS PART OF USUN'S WRAP-UP, AMB. SORZANO AND CHILEAN PERM REP TRUCCO EXCHANGED VIEWS ON THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE VOTING ON THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION.

3. AMB. SORZANO SAW BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS. A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT WAS THE MOUNTING EVIDENCE THAT THE ARGUMENT CONCERNING THE DOUBLE-STANDARD ON UN HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSIONS SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN ROOT AND THAT AN INCREASING NUMBER OF COUNTRIES ARE UNEASY WITH THE SELECTIVITY WITH WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS ARE DISCUSSED IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE AND IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS INCREASED CONSCIOUSNESS ABOUT DOUBLE-STANDARDS HAS LED A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT WESTERN COUNTRIES, FOR INSTANCE, THE UK, FRG, CANADA, NETHERLANDS, AND EVEN SOME NORDICS, TO CHANGE THEIR POSITION FROM LAST YEAR AND TO BECOME ACTIVE ON BEHALF OF A MORE BALANCED APPROACH..
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 USUN N 04146 01 OF 02 232223Z

THE EUROPEANS AND EVEN THE NORDICS ARE INCREASINGLY UNCOMFORTABLE AND EMBARRASSED BY THE CONTINUED SINGLING OUT OF LATIN AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. ONE EXCEPTION IS SWEDEN WHICH, WHILE INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND DESPITE A NUMBER OF POINTED DISCUSSIONS IN STOCKHOLM, WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK, DOES NOT GIVE SIGNS OF MODIFYING

ITS POSITION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

4. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POSITION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN GROUP HAD DETERIORATED SINCE LAST YEAR. THERE HAD BEEN CHANGES OF GOVERNMENT AS IN BOLIVIA WHICH ARE REFLECTED IN THE VOTING TOTALS. THERE ALSO HAVE BEEN GOVERNMENTS, LIKE VENEZUELA, THAT, ALTHOUGH HARDENING THEIR POSITION IN REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE IN VOTES AS A PROTEST AGAINST THE SINGLING OUT OF LATIN AMERICA, HAD, NEVERTHELESS, BY THEIR NON-PARTICIPATION, REDUCED THE NUMBER OF NEGATIVE VOTES. EVEN SUCH MATTERS AS PERSONALITIES AFFECTED THE LATIN AMERICAN PERFORMANCE ON THIS MATTER BECAUSE SOME STRONG LATIN AMERICAN AMBASSADORS [redacted] HAD COME UP FOR ROTATION IN THE INTERVAL AND HAD BEEN REPLACED BY LESS FORCEFUL SUCCESSORS. THE MEXICAN DELEGATION, HOWEVER, CONTINUED ITS VINDICTIVE AND UNCOMPROMISING ATTITUDE DESPITE A CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION AND OUR HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS IN MEXICO CITY.

MR

5. AMB. TRUCCO SAID THAT HE FULLY SHARED THIS ANALYSIS AND HE ADDED THAT HE WAS MOST ENCOURAGED BY THE DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE EUROPEAN GROUP AND THAT, WHILE IT WAS TRUE THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME QUANTITATIVE LOSSES HE BELIEVED THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME QUALITATIVE GAINS. ON THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT BOLIVIA, FOR INSTANCE, HAD MOVED TO THE YES COLUMN, BUT THE FRG HAD MOVED TO THE

NO COLUMN. HE WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF SOME OF HIS LATIN AMERICAN COLLEAGUES, ESPECIALLY THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AMBASSADOR WHO ABSTAINED DESPITE THE CLOSE COLLABORATION THAT CHILE HAD GIVEN THE DR DURING THE RECENT UNSC RACE. HE SAID THAT IN SANTIAGO THEY MADE TOO MUCH OF THE NARROW VICTORY OF THE BRITISH AMENDMENT IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE (46US-42) BELIEVING THAT VOTE TO BE THE DECISIVE ONE AND HAD BEEN UNPREPARED FOR ITS SUBSEQUENT REVERSAL IN THE PLENARY. SANTIAGO'S REACTION HAS BEEN HARSH AND THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF "STORMY" MEETINGS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT BUT AMB. TRUCCO INDICATED THAT HE HAS RECOMMENDED TO SANTIAGO THAT THEY BEGIN TO FOCUS THEIR ATTENTION ON THE UPCOMING HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEETING IN GENEVA.

6. THE CHILEAN UN MISSION ANALYZED THE LATIN AMERICAN VOTING PATTERN ON THE THREE VOTES TAKEN EVENING OF FRIDAY, DEC. 17, IN THE GA PLENARY. THERE WERE THREE CONSECUTIVE VOTES ON THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION.

THE FIRST VOTE WAS ON THE BELGIAN PROCEDURAL MOTION NOT TO TAKE ACTION ON THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT SEEKING TO REVERSE THE THIRD COMMITTEE'S DECISION. (FYI: THIRD COMMITTEE DECISION WAS THE RESULT OF BRITISH AMENDMENT DROPPING THE RECOMMENDATION THAT THE MANDATE OF CHILE'S SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR BE EXTENDED SO THAT CHILE WOULD RECEIVE SAME TREATMENT AS ANY OTHER MEMBER STATE. COMBINED US-UK HEAD-COUNT INDICATED THAT THE NARROW VICTORY IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED IN THE PLENARY. THEREFORE, BELGIUM MOVED NOT TO TAKE ACTION IN THE EXPECTATION THAT THERE WAS A BETTER CHANCE OF WINNING A PROCEDURAL VOTE THAN A SUBSTANTIVE ONE. END FYI.) SECOND VOTE WAS A SUBSTANTIVE VOTE ON THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT RE-INTRODUCING THE RECOMMENDATION THAT THE MANDATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS RAPPORTEUR FOR CHILE BE EXTENDED. THIRD VOTE WAS ON THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION AS A WHOLE. MOST POSITIVE SEQUENCE OF VOTES FOR CHILE

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PAGE 04 USUN N 04146 01 OF 02 232223Z

WAS "YES" ON THE BELGIAN PROCEDURAL MOTION; "NO" ON

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04146 02 OF 02 232224Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 OIC-02
AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-10 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSC-01
ARA-16 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-09 PA-01 USIE-00
SP-02 SNP-01 SPRS-01 /108 W
----------312606 232317Z /66

P 232219Z DEC 82
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5860
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 04146

THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT AND "NO" ON THE RESOLUTION AS A WHOLE. CONVERSELY, MOST NEGATIVE SEQUENCE OF VOTES WAS "NO" ON THE BELGIAN PROCEDURAL MOTION, "YES" ON THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT AND "YES" ON THE RESOLUTION AS A WHOLE. OF THE 32 LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, 10 COUNTRIES VOTED

IN THE MOST POSITIVE MANNER AND 6 COUNTRIES VOTED IN THE MOST NEGATIVE MANNER. THE REST WERE SPREAD IN NO LESS THAN EIGHT OTHER PATTERNS (REPRODUCED BELOW IN DECREASING ORDER OF DESIRABILITY FROM CHILE'S POINT OF VIEW):
YES, NO, NO - 10 COUNTRIES: ANTIGUA & BARBUDA, ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, CHILE, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HAITI, HONDURAS, PARAGUAY, URUGUAY.

YES, NO, ABSTENTION - 2 COUNTRIES: DOMINICA, ST. LUCIA.

YES, ABSTENTION, ABSTENTION - 4 COUNTRIES: BAHAMAS, BELIZE, COLOMBIA, ST. VINCENT & GRENADINE.

YES, NOT PARTICIPATE, ABSTENTION - 1 COUNTRY: TRINIDAD & TOBAGO.

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ABSTENTION, ABSTENTION, ABSTENTION - 3 COUNTRIES: DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, ECUADOR, PANAMA.

NOT PARTICIPATE, ABSTENTION, ABSTENTION- 1 COUNTRY: SURINAME.

NOT PARTICIPATE, NOT PART., ABSTENTION - 1 COUNTRY: PERU.

NOT PART., NOT PART., NOT PART. - 2 COUNTRIES: COSTA RICA, VENEZUELA.

ABSTENTION, ABSTENTION, YES - 2 COUNTRIES: JAMAICA, BARBADOS.

NO, YES, YES - 6 COUNTRIES: BOLIVIA, CUBA, GRENADA, GUYANA, MEXICO, NICARAGUA.

7. CHILEAN MISSION HAS ALSO ANALYZED LIKELY SUPPORT FOR AN AMENDMENT SIMILAR TO THE BRITISH ONE IN THE FORTH-COMING UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEETING. THEY ESTIMATE THAT THEY HAVE A POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING A MAJORITY FOR SUCH A MOVE IF EVERYTHING WORKS RIGHT. OF THE 43 MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN POSSIBLY OBTAIN 22 VOTES. THEIR ANALYSIS FOLLOWS:

CERTAIN TO VOTE AGAINS AMENDMENT: GAMBIA, GHANA, RWANDA, SENEGAL, TOGO, UGANDA, ZIMBABWE, LIBYA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA, CYPRUS, CUBA, MEXICO, NICARAGUA, IRELAND, BULGARIA, POLAND, YUGOSLAVIA, UKRAINIAN SSR AND USSR.

PROBABLE SUPPORT FOR AMENDMENT: JAPAN, PAKISTAN, PHILIPPINES, FIJI, ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, URUGUAY, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, ITALY, FRG, UK AND US.

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PAGE 03 USUN N 04146 02 OF 02 232224Z

POSSIBLE SUPPORT FOR AMENDMENT: ZAIRE, JORDAN, INDIA, BANGLADESH, COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, FINLAND, FRANCE AND HOLLAND.

CHINA NEVER PARTICIPATES.
ADELMAN

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DECLASSIFIED

12/30/82 ID243

Case Number: s199900030 Chile Project (#S199900030)

U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 07734 301437Z
ACTION SIL-01

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 CIAE-00 EB-08
IO-15 ARA-16 NSAE-00 COME-00 LAB-04 STR-14 /070 W
----------104614 301849Z /44

R 301310Z DEC 82
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4604
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USMISSION GENEVA

~~C O N F I D E N TI A~~ L SATNAIGO 7734

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E O 12356: DECL: 12/29/88
TAGS: ELAB ICFTU CL
SUBJECT: ICFTU LATIN AMERICAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE MEETING ON CHILE

REF: BRUSSELS 16808

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. HERNOL FLORES, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES (ANEF) BRIEFED LABATT DEC 27 ON SUBJECT MEETING. FLORES' ACCOUNT COINCIDED WITH THAT REPORTED PARAS 3 AND 4 REFTEL, BUT HE ADDED SOME DETAILS AN IMPRESSSIONS.

2. FLORES, WHO REPRESENTED THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC WORKERS (UDT) AT THE MEETING, SAID HE WAS VERY SATISFIED THAT THE ICFTU GAVE HIM AND THE UDT A FAIR HEARING--FOR THE FIRST TIME. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THE PRESENCE
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 07734 301437Z

OF AFL-CIO REP DOHERTY. FLORES THOUGHT THAT SOME OF THE ICFTU SOLIDARITY AID (PARA 3 REFTEL) WOULD NOW BE DIRECTED TO THE UDT. IN THIS REGARD, THE UDT WOULD PREPARE A PROGRAM TO BE SUBMITTED TO ORIT (THE INTER-AMERICAN AFFILIATE OF THE ICFTU).

3. FLORES SAID THAT DURING THE ICFTU MEETING AND IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATIONS, MANUEL BUSTOS, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL LABOR COORDINATING (CNS) GROUP, WHOSE EXPULSION DEC 3 FROM CHILE PROMPTED THE ICFTU MEETING, EMPHASIZED THE NECESSITY OF CLOSER COOPERATION AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR SECTORS IN CHILE, AND IN THIS REGARD PLANS TO MEET IN EARLY JANUARY WITH THE DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF THE CNS, PROBABLY IN BUENOS AIRES, TO DEVELOP A STRAGEGY. FLORES WAS NOT CERTAIN WHAT BUSTOS PLANNED, BUT THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE PROPOSALS FOR CERTAIN JOINT UDT/CNS ACTIONS. FLORES DID NOT THINK BUSTOS WAS READY TO BREAK WITH THE COMMUNIST MEMBERS OF THE CNS, ALTHOUGH HE SAID BUSTOS APPEARS TO BE LESS INTERESTED IN WORKING WITH THE COMMUNISTS THAN HE WAS BEFORE HIS EXPULSION.

4. FLORES SAID THAT IN WASHINGTON HE DISCUSSED THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILE (PARA 3 REFTEL) WITH AFL-CIO REPS BROWN AND BOGGS. HE AGREED WITH BROWN THAT JUST ANOTHER LABOR MEETING TO DENOUNCE PINOCHET WOULD BE A WASTE OF TIME. INSTEAD THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE BROAD-BASED, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL THE DEMOCRATIC SECTORS OF CHILE, E.G., POLITICAL PARTIES, BUSINESS, CHURCH, AND LABOR, PLUS CERTAIN CHILEAN EXILES AND WELL-KNOWN INTERNATIONAL FIGURES. THE CONFERENCE SHOULD UNDERSCORE CHILE'S DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND REACH POSITIVE CONCLUSIONS, INCLUDING POSSIBILY A SOCIAL PACT OUTLINING THE ROLE OF LABOR IN A DEMOCRATIC CHILE.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 07734 301437Z

FLORES UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CONFERENCE, IF IT TAKES PLACE AT ALL, WOULD BE HELD DURING THE FIRST PART OF 1983.

5. THE EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION EITHER DEPARTMENT OR BRUSSELS CAN PROVIDE CONCERNING POSSIBLE ICFTU FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE UDT AND ANY ORIT INVOLVEMENT.
THEBERGE

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[illegible] 01-04-83 (KH026C)

[redacted]

U.S.A.

1/4/83

Declassified/Released
U.S. Department of State
EO Systematic Review
By [illegible] NARA Date [illegible]

Contralmirante
Hernan Rivera Calderon
Ministro de Salud Publica
Ministerio de Salud Publica
Monjitas 689
Santiago, CHILE

Señor Ministro:

Muy respetuosamente me dirijo a Usted para solicitarle informacion acerca de la salud y paradero del Sr. Carlos López Vila.

Me he enterado que el Señor López fue arrestado en Antofagasta, Chile, el día 14 de Diciembre de 1981. Hasta ahora no he podido esclarecer el motivo de su arresto ni obtener noticias del Sr. Vila.

Se me ha informado que el Sr. Vila sufrió una fractura de hombro durante su detencion.

Le ruego encarecidamente nos haga llegar toda información que pueda reunir sobre el Sr. Vila.

Quiero expresarle mi agradecimiento por su asistencia y quedo a la espera de la información solicitada.

Sinceramente,

[redacted]

cc:
Hon. Frank Wolfe
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Hon. John Warner
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C.

[illegible]ED

12-22-82 (KH013A) BD

EXCISE

[illegible] Project (#8199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release ____ Excise X Deny
Classify: In Part ____ In Full
Exemption(s) B6

DECLASSIFIED 1983 JAN -6 PM 4:15

P B6

December 22, 1982

USA

General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte
Presidente de la Republica
Palacio la Moneda
Santiago, Chile

Your Excellency,

We are writing to you to express our concern about the arrest and detention of many people recently during demonstrations on December 2, and December 15, 1982 in Santiago, Valparaiso and Conception. We request that these people be humanely treated under Article 9.1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified by your nation in 1972 and under Articles 1 and 9 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

There has been a great deal in the American press recently concerning the denial of certain human rights in Chile, including the right to peaceful assembly, the right to protection under law and the right to humane treatment during detention. It is our impression that popular opinion in the United States is being strongly and negatively affected, especially by the implication of mistreatment during detention. We hope that these prisoners will be given their basic human rights.

Copies to: General Roberto Soto Mackenney
General Carlos Morales Retamal
Embassy of Chile
Fundacion de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas
Senator Robert Kasten
Senator William Proxmire
Rep. Robert Kastenmeier

R

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

X260

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 83NAIROB00534

FILM= D830008-0891

DATE= 06 JAN 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= NAIROBI

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION SS

9204597

TO= SECSTATE WASHDC

CHANNEL= n/a

DECAPTIONED

ORIGHAND= EXDIS

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= (OADR)

SUBJECT= PRESIDENT MOI'S INTEREST IN A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRESIDENT, SETTLEMENT, TROOP WITHDRAWAL, SELFDETERMINATION, ARMED FORCE

TAGS= PNAT, WA, CU, KE, (MOI, DANIEL T ARAP)

[redacted]

PAGE 01 NAIROB 00534 061348Z
ACTION SS-25

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/18/99 Exemption ____

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------306434 061840Z /41

R 061342Z JAN 83
FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0800

[redacted] NAIROBI 00534

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PNAT, WA
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MOI'S INTEREST IN A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. PRESIDENT MOI ASKED AMBASSADOR JANUARY 5 WHAT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE TOWARD NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT WE CONTINUED HARD AT WORK SUPPORTED BY OUR CONTACT GROUP ASSOCIATES. WHEN MOI MENTIONED THE DEPARTURE OF CUBAN TROOPS, AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT NO GOVERNMENT WAS COMFORTABLE WITH FOREIGN TROOPS ON ITS TERRITORY AND WE WERE CONTINUING THE CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH LUANDA ABOUT AN UNDERSTANDING, PROBABLY A PRIVATE ONE, THAT THE CUBANS WOULD BE EASED OUT AS THE SOUTH AFRICANS LEFT. AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT IT WAS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT RES 435 WHEN THE CUBAN TROOP ISSUE WAS SETTLED. MOI EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THE ISSUE WAS MOVING ALONG.

3. AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER WOULD BE IN NAIROBI FOR THE MORNING OF SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, AND WE HOPED TO ARRANGE A CHAT WITH FONMIN OUKO AND/OR CHIEF SECRETARY KIEREINI. KENYANS WILL APPRECIATE A STATUS REPORT OF NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS FROM [redacted]

[redacted]

CROCKER. HARROP

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

<<<***** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER *****>>>

DOC_NBR= 83STATE003893

FILM= D830009-0483

DATE= 06 JAN 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= STATE

DRAFTER= S JSEGARS

OFFICE= ORIGIN SS

TO= MASERU

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= EXDIS

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= DD 19881203

SUBJECT= NAMIBIA-ANGOLA STATE OF PLAY FOR AMB FM CROCKER; LONDON [redacted] FRASUR PARIS ALSO CHESHES

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= VISIT, MEETING, NEGOTIATION, PLAY

TAGS= PORG, PEPR, SF, WA, AO, UNSC, STATE, (BOTHA, PIK)

[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 003893
ORIGIN SS-10

9204597

DECAPTIONED

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/8/99 Exemption _____

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /011 R

66011
DRAFTED BY AF/S JSEGARS
APPROVED BY AF/S: DPASSAGE
S/S-O WMCGUIRE
----------316164 062347Z /60
R 062217Z JAN 83
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY MASERU

[redacted] STATE 003893

EXDIS

FOLLOWING STATE 338591 ORIGINALLY SENT ACTION PARIS LONDON PRETORIA USUN PRAIA BONN OTTAWA LAGOS DAKAR ABIDJAN HAVANA KINSHAS NAIROBI HARARE MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA LISBON MOSCOW 04 DEC THEN REPEATED ACTION BEIJING 16 DEC NOW BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO: QUOTE
[redacted] STATE 338591
EXDIS
E.O. 12356: DECL: 12/3/88
TAGS: PORG, PEPR, UNSC, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA-ANGOLA STATE OF PLAY
FOR AMB FM CROCKER; LONDON ALSO FRASURE; PARIS ALSO CHESHES
1. [redacted]- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. IN THE WAKE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S AFRICA TRIP, PIK 0OTHA'S VISIT TO WASHINGTOM, RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE ANGOLA TRACK, FLS/SWAPO ACTIVITY ON THE EDGE OF THE TRIPOLI NON-SUMMIT, AND MY NEW YORK CONSULTATIONS, I WANT YOU TO HAVE MY SENSE OF HOW THINGS LOOK IN OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORT. THIS MESSAGE DOES NOT CALL FOR US
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 003893

DEMARCHES BUT RATHER AIMS AT PROVIDING A READING OF WHAT IS REALLY GOING ON THAT WILL BETTER ENABLE YOU TO ENGAGE IN DISCUSSION OF THE BIG PICTURE AS AND WHEN THE SUBJECT COMES UP. IT COVERS MOST OF THE GROUND COVERED IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH CG REPS, UN SECRETARY GENERAL PEREZ DE CUELLAR (AND HIS COLLEAGUES BRIAN URQUHART AND MARTI AHTISSARI), TANZANIAN UN PERM REP RUPIAH, AND SWAPO REP BEN GURIAB IN RECENT DAYS.

3. APPEARANCES AND REALITY REMAIN FAR APART. CONTRARY TO PRESS AND OTHER REPORTS, THE VICE PRESIDENT DID NOT TRAVEL TO AFRICA TO SELL LINKAGE AS A DOCTRINE.

PLANNED LONG IN ADVANCE AS A GOODWILL VISIT, HIS AGENDA INCLUDED BILATERAL, AFRICAN AND GLOBAL THEMES. AS THE SUBJECT CAME UP, HE MADE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT SEEK PUBLIC ENDORSEMENTS OF NAMIBIA-ANGOLA LINKAGE. IN FACT, WE UNDERSTAND WHY AFRICAN LEADERS SAY WHAT THEY DO PUBLICY. RATHER, WE SOUGHT - AND GAINED - GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF US GOALS AND MOTIVES. SIMPLY PUT, HE MADE THE POINT THAT WHATEVER ONE'S VIEWS OF LINKAGE AS A MATTER OF LAW OR JUSTICE, THERE IS A PRACTICAL PROBLEM THAT MUST BE SOLVED: THERE WILL BE NO SETTLEMENT UNLESS SOUTH AFRICA IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT IT, AND CUBAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA IS A NECESSARY INGREDIENT FOR THE SAG IN AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT PACKAGE. SECOND, THE VP STRESSED THE THEME THAT WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF AN ONGOING NEGOTIATION, WHATEVER MAY BE SAID PUBLICY. HIS HOSTS IN GENERAL WERE REASSURED TO KNOW THAT THE NEGOTIATION CONTINUES, THAT THE US IS ENGAGED AT A HIGH LEVEL FOR THE LONG HAUL, AND THAT WE ARE ADDRESSING THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF ALL PARTIES AS WE SEEK TO MOVE THE BALL

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 003893

FURTHER DOWN THE FIELD.

4. WE KNOW, DESPITE THESE REALITIES, THAT THERE IS A CONCERN AMONG OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS - EXPLOITED TACTICALLY BY MOSCOW AND ITS CLOSER AFRICA CLIENTS - ABOUT THE SPOTLIGHT THAT IS NOW SHINING ON THE CUBAN ISSUE. IRONICALLY, THEY RESENT THE PRESSURE PLACED ON THE MPLA WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SEEKING REASSURANCE THAT AN ANGOLAN COMMITMENT ON CUBAM WITHDRAWAL IS THE ONLY SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC RESOLUTION 435. YOU SHOULD FEEL FREE TO TAKE THE LINE THAT WE ARE CONFIDENT - AFTER OUR RECENT SAG CONTACTS - THIS IS THE CASE AS SAG PUBLIC STATEMENTS CONFIRM. THE ANGOLANS, NATURALLY, ARE HIGHLY ALLERGIC TO EACH AND EVERY SUGGESTION THAT THEY ARE DELAYING NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. THEIR PRIORITY DIPLOMATIC GOAL, BACKED FOR THEIR OWN REASONS BY THE SOVIETS, CUBANS AND TO SOME DEGREE SWAPO, IS TO DENY BLAME AND TURN THE SPOTLIGHT BACK TO THE US AND THE SAG FOR RAISING "EXTRANEOUS ISSUES." VIRTUALLY ALL AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ARE THUS CAUGHT IN THE WEB OF THESE DIPLOMATIC POSTURES, AND INEVITABLY THEY COME DOWN ON THE SIDE OF "REJECTING LINKAGE" WHILE ENCOURAGING THE CONTINUATION OF US-ANGOLAN TALKS ON CUBAN WITHDRAWAL.

5. WE MUST CONTINUE TO TAKE THE CLEAR AND CONFIDENT LINE THAT WE: A) HAVE NO DESIRE TO PLACE OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS IN A TIGHT SPOT; B) DO NOT ASK ANYONE TO ENDORSE LINKAGE AS A DOCTRINE; AND C) ARE SEEKING TO

SOLVE THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF ACHIEVING SAG AGREEMENT TO A SETTLEMENT IN THE ONLY WAY WE KNOW. WHEN ASKED WHETHER CUBAN WITHDRAWAL WAS INVENTED IN FACT BY THE US RATHER THAN THE SAG, WE ARE TAKING THE CANDID POSITION THAT WE NATURALLY FAVOR A CUBAN DEPARTURE FROM AFRICA - AS INDEED DO VIRTUALLY ALL AFRICANS WE TALK TO - BUT THAT THE REASON WE NEED "PARALLEL MOVEMENT" IS BECAUSE [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 003893

THE SAG WILL NOT SETTLE OTHERWISE. AFRICAN INTERLOCUTORS MAY BE DISMAYED AT THIS FACT AND AT US READINESS TO ACCEPT IT AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE, BUT THEY CAN BE BROUGHT TO RECOGNIZE ITS POSITIVE ASPECTS:

-- HAVING, IN EFFECT, TOLD THE US WHAT IT NEEDS TO SETTLE, THE SAG CAN HARDLY PLAY THE EARLIER GAME OF RAISING ENDLESS NEW ISSUES WHEN WE GET THE CUBAN ISSUE TO MOVE ADEQUATELY. OUR WHOLE APPROACH IS BASED ON THIS LOGIC.

-- IT IS THE PROSPECT OF A NEGOTIATED CUBAN DEPARTURE THAT HAS ENABLED US TO WRAP UP VIRTUALLY ALL THE RESOLUTION 435 NAMIBIA PROBLEMS THAT COULD OTHERWISE HAVE BOGGED US DOWN FOR YEARS.

6. IN MY MEETINGS DECEMBER 2 IN NEW YORK, I CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT DESPITE NERVOUSNESS IN THE AFRICA CAMP AT THE LACK OF PUBLIC ACTIVITY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, NO ONE IS WILLING TO TAKE ACTIONS PRESENTLY WHICH WOULD DAMAGE THE CONTACT GROUP EFFORT, INCLUDING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ANGOLANS. FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES WHO WERE PRESENT IN TRIPOLI ASSURE US THAT THERE WILL BE NO MOVES TO TAKE THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE NEAR TERM. THE FRONT LINE DECISION AT TRIPOLI TO REJECT SWAPO DEMANDS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION RELFLECTS BOTH THE COLLECTIVE DESIRE TO SEE PROGRESS AND THE ANGOLANS' WISH TO HAVE MORE TIME TO DISCUSS CUBAN WITHDRAWAL WITH US. (TEXT OF TRIPOLI DECLARATION ON NAMIBIA TO FOLLOW SEPTEL). AUTHORITATIVE FRONT LINE SOURCES IN NEW YORK INFORM US THAT THERE WILL BE NO MOVE TO THE COUNCIL UNTIL THE END OF MARCH, 1983, WHEN THE FRONT LINE WILL [redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 003893

FEEL COMPELLED TO MAKE WAVES IF THEY HAVE NO PROGRESS TO POINT TO IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE SAME SOURCES CORROBORATE OUR BELIEF THAT THE BEHIND THE SCENES

CAMPAIGN TO CREATE PROBLEMS ON THE LINKAGE ISSUE
ORIGINATES IN MOSCOW, BUT IS LED, WITH EXTREME
HESITANCY, BY SWAPO, WHO APPE

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FILM= D830009-0719

DATE= 07 JAN 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= SECSTATE WASHDC

DRAFTER= DHSIMPSON:LR

OFFICE= ORIGIN SS

TO= LONDON
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CHANNEL= n/a

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SUBJECT= BRITISH AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON CUBANS

REFERENCE= FRASURE/RANNEBERGER TELCON, JANUARY 6

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TAGS: PREL, AO, UK, US
SUBJECT: BRITISH AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON CUBANS

REF: FRASURE/RANNEBERGER TELCON, JANUARY 6

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. CROCKER MEETING WITH BRITISH EMBOFFS JANUARY 6 INCLUDED ONLY GENERAL DISCUSSION OF SOVIET/CUBAN ASPECTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA NEGOTIATIONS PICTURE.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT BRITISH AMBASSADOR HAVANA COULD USE-FULLY MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS ABOUT ANGOLA/NAMIBIA SITUATION, WITHOUT ATTRIBUTING ANY OF HIS REMARKS TO U.S. SOURCE. (FYI: WE FULLY SHARE WHAT WE UNDERSTAND IS BRITISH DESIRE NOT TO BE SPOKESMAN FOR U.S. WITH GOC.)

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PAGE 02 STATE 004378

--(AS BRITISH ARE WELL AWARE) THE US IS VERY SERIOUS IN ITS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE SOUTHERN AFRICA SETTLE-MENT, INCLUDING ANGOLA AS WELL AS NAMIBIA.

--THE U.S. HAS STRESSED THROUGHOUT ITS DIALOGUE WITH THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT ITS FULL RECOGNITION OF THE NEED THAT A SETTLEMENT MEET ANGOLA'S SECURITY CONCERNS AND HAS INDICA-TED A WILLINGNESS TO BE FLEXIBLE IN SEEKING TO AGREE UPON MEASURES TO MEET THOSE CONCERNS.

--AT THE SAME TIME, SOUTH AFRICA HAS MADE IT VERY CLEAR

THAT IT WILL NOT AGREE TO NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT PARALLEL WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN FORCES FROM ANGOLA.

--THE US AND THE UK SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES FROM NAMIBIA AND THE UN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTHERN ANGOLA, OVERSEEING SWAPO BASES, THAT ARE REQUIRED UNDER UNSCR 435 COULD, IN FACT, MEET ANGOLA'S SECURITY CONCERNS.

--THE CUBAN FORCES SENT TO ANGOLA TO MEET THE THREAT TO THAT COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY REPRESENTED BY SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES OPERATING OUT OF NAMIBIA COULD, THUS, NO LONGER BE NECESSARY WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF 435, HAVING ACCOMPLISHED THEIR MISSION, AND COULD, THUS, BE PROGRESSIVELY REMOVED AS IMPLEMENTATION PROCEEDS.

--WE NOTED THAT CUBAN VICE PRESIDENT ALMEIDA HAS BEEN VISITING SOUTHERN AFRICA, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT TRAVEL TO ANGOLA. WHAT IS CUBA'S VIEW OF THE STATE-OF-PLAY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS?

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PAGE 03 STATE 004378

--WE NOTED ALSO THAT FIRST VICE PRESIDENT RAUL CASTRO MET WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND DEFENSE MINISTER USTINOV IN MOSCOW IN LATE DECEMBER AND THAT ONE TOPIC DISCUSSED WAS SOUTHERN AFRICA. COULD YOU TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THOSE TALKS?

4. BRITISH AMBASSADOR MAY WISH TO MAKE CHIEF OF U.S. INTERESTS SECTION FERCH AWARE OF HIS DEMARCHE. SHULTZ

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00217 01 OF 14 0905882
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TAGS: PINS, SNAR, SOCI, ES
SUBJECT: JANUARY, 1993 CONGRESSIONAL CERTIFICATION STATEMENT
REF: STATE 1962

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2. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S SUGGESTED DRAFT OF THE CERTIFICATION STATEMENT.

BEGIN TEXT.

INTRODUCTION.
DURING 1992, EL SALVADOR CHANGED FROM A COUNTRY RULED BY A CIVILIAN-MILITARY JUNTA TO ONE IN TRANSITION TO A MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY. THIS CHANGE WAS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE ELECTION ON MARCH 28 OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN THE COUNTRY'S FIRST TRULY FREE ELECTION IN FIFTY YEARS. THERE ARE RETROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS IN SALVADORAN SOCIETY, HOWEVER, AND THERE CONTINUES A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE FORCES FOR DEMOCRATIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00217 01 OF 14 0905882

THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH ARE ATTEMPTING TO UNDO THE REFORMS [redacted]

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AND RETURN TO THE PAST. WHILE THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES, THERE IS EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT HAS BEEN THE EVOLUTION OF AN AWARENESS OF THE NEED TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL WILL AND MECHANISMS TO CARRY IT OUT. AS U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON EL SALVADOR, JOSE ANTONIO PASTOR RIDRUEJO, NOTED IN HIS NOVEMBER, 1992 PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE COMMISSION, "HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT EXPRESS A MANIFEST CONCERN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ALL HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COUNTRY."

3. DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS, EL SALVADOR WORKED AT CONSOLIDATING THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT BEGUN WITH THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IS WELL INTO DRAFTING A NEW CONSTITUTION. A NEW CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION IS NAMED AND WORKING FOR THE NEXT ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR NO LATER THAN MARCH 28, 1994. MOST IMPORTANT POLITICALLY WAS THE SIGNING OF THE APANECA PACT IN AUGUST. THIS PACT ESTABLISHED SEVEN GOALS FOR THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY: PACIFICATION, DEMOCRATIZATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC RECUPERATION, ECONOMIC REFORMS, CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY, AND INTERNATIONAL STRENGTHENING OF EL SALVADOR'S POSITION IN THE WORLD.

4. ALL THIS ACTIVITY TOOK PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ONGOING INSURGENCY. THE WAR CONTINUES AT A NEAR STALEMATE. THE GUERRILLAS PERIODICALLY OCCUPY SMALL POPULATION CENTERS, ESPECIALLY IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE ARMY TAKES THEM BACK. WHILE THE ARMY LAUNCHES OFFENSIVES FREQUENTLY, THE GUERRILLAS ARE ALSO ACTIVE IN THE FIELD. IN OCTOBER THEY LAUNCHED [redacted]

PAGE 03 SAN SA 00217 01 OF 14 0905882

A FOUR WEEK OFFENSIVE TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH THE FDR DIALOGUE INITIATIVE ANNOUNCED OCTOBER 15 IN MEXICO CITY. THE PURPOSE OF THIS OFFENSIVE, OBVIOUSLY, WAS TO SHOW THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR AND THE WORLD THAT THE FMLN/FDR HAS A CREDIBLE MILITARY FORCE.

5. THE WAR HAD ITS COSTS, BOTH IN LIVES AND IN PROPERTY. DURING THE CERTIFICATION PERIOD, THE ARMED FORCES LOST 397 MEN KILLED IN ACTION AND 729 WOUNDED. GUERRILLA ATTACKS AGAINST THE ELECTRIC POWER GRID AVERAGED 18 A [redacted]

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MONTH IN 1981 AND 20 A MONTH IN 1982. THE ECONOMIC LOSS FROM THESE POWER OUTAGES IS CONSERVATIVELY ESTIMATED AT MORE THAN $60 MILLION. THE ATTACKS WERE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS IN DRIVING THE RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT UP TO NEARLY FORTY PERCENT. MOREOVER, THE ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN EL SALVADOR NOW APPROACHES 250,000 AND THERE HAS BEEN SOME INCREASE IN WAR REFUGEE FLOWS INTO HONDURAS. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE PROGRESS THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS IS ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE. IT IS AN ELOQUENT TESTIMONY TO THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR WHICH SHOWS GREAT RESILIENCE IN ADVERSITY.

I. HUMAN RIGHTS.

SEC. 727(A)(1): "FULL OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS. . ."

- (2): "FULL RESPECT FOR ALL OTHER FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS, THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND OPERATE

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00217 02 OF 14 090557Z
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FREE LABOR UNIONS, AND THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF RELIGION."

1.1 CIVILIAN DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE DID NOT EXCEED 200 PER MONTH IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. THIS REMAINS CONSISTENT WITH THE DOWNWARD TREND IDENTIFIED IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1981, WHEN THE REPORTED NUMBER OF CIVILIAN DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE AVERAGED ABOUT 800 PER MONTH. DATA FROM THE SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ALSO REFLECTS THIS DOWNWARD TREND, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION. THIS SIGNIFICANT DECLINE IS DUE IN PART TO THE EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY AND THE ARMED FORCES TO ARREST VIOLENCE AGAINST NONCOMBATANTS. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, RATE OF DECLINE IN CIVILIAN DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE HAS SLOWED DURING THIS CERTIFICATION PERIOD. (SEE APPENDIX A FOR DETAILED STATISTICS AND INTERPRETATION.)

1.2 THERE IS INCREASING CONCERN IN THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY FOR THE REVITALIZATION AND REFORM OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. THIS CONCERN IS PART OF AN INCREASED AWARENESS OF THE IMPERATIVE OF IMPROVING THE

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00217 02 OF 14 090557Z

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. AS AMBASSADOR HINTON STATED IN HIS SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ON

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OCTOBER 29, "FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUMAN R[illegible] CLIMATE LARGELY RESTS ON THE ABILITY OF MODERATE[illegible] THE GOVERNMENT TO RECONSTRUCT AN HONEST JUDICIAL SYSTEM, FREE OF INTIMIDATION." (APPENDIX B: AMBASSADOR HINTON'S SPEECH.) THIS SPEECH TOUCHED OFF A LIVELY PUBLIC DEBATE, IN WHICH VARIOUS SECTORS OF SALVADORAN SOCIETY AGREED FOR THE MOST PART WITH THE AMBASSADOR'S MESSAGE.

- THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM HAS NOT FUNCTIONED EFFECTIVELY, PARTICULARLY IN PROSECUTING CRIMES ASSOCIATED WITH TERRORISM OF THE VIOLENT RIGHT AND LEFT. TRIALS FOR POLITICAL CRIMES HAVE BEEN RARE. THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM INCLUDE: GENERAL CIVIL STRIFE; ACTS OF TERRORISM AGAINST JUDICIAL PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES; THREATS AND OTHER INTIMIDATION; CORRUPTION OF JUDGES AND JURIES; POORLY TRAINED AND POORLY PAID JUSTICE OFFICIALS, ESPECIALLY AT LOWER LEVELS; INADEQUATE POLICE INVESTIGATIONS; ILLEGAL USE OF PUBLIC LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENTS FOR PRIVATE INTEREST; RULES OF EVIDENCE AND PROCEDURES WHICH TEND TO DISCOURAGE SUCCESSFUL PROSECUTIONS. RECENT STATISTICS INDICATE THAT RATES OF PROSECURITON AND CONVICTION FOR VIOLENT CRIMES AND "CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON" ARE QUITE LOW. COURTS PROSECUTED APPROXIMATELY 300 SUCH CASES DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS, OF WHICH ABOUT 20 PERCENT RESULTED IN CONVICTIONS. OF ABOUT 4,000 PRISONERS IN THE SALVADORAN PENAL SYSTEM (INCLUDING POLITICAL PRISONERS), LESS THAN 300 HAVE BEEN CONVICTED. THE REST ARE AWAITING TRIAL.

1.3 DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS THE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN GREATER CONCERN OVER THE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL [redacted]

PRISONERS AND INDIVIDUALS TEMPORARILY DETAINED FOR SECURITY REASONS. THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE HELD UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF DECREE 507, WHICH ESTABLISHES A SPECIAL LEGAL REGIME FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE (SUCH AS REBELLION) AND ASSOCIATED CRIMES (SUCH AS ACTS OF TERRORISM). DECREE 507 REQUIRES SECURITY FORCES TO NOTIFY THE MILITARY TRIBUNALS WHICH OVERSEE SUCH CASES WITHIN 72 HOURS OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S DETENTION. IT FURTHER REQUIRES THE SECURITY FORCE TO REMAND THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE TRIBUNALS OR TO RELEASE HIM WITHIN 15 DAYS. THE MAJORITY OF THE [redacted]

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[redacted] SEVERAL DOZEN INDIVIDUALS DETAINED MONTHLY ARE RELEASED WITHIN 72 HOURS OR WITHIN TWO WEEKS.

- CURRENTLY 869 INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED UNDER DECREE 507 ARE BEING HELD IN THE MARIONA PENITENTIARY OR THE ILOPANGO WOMEN'S PRISON. THE SIXTEEN MILITARY TRIBUNALS DECREE 507 STIPULATES TO OVERSEE THESE CASES ARE UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE SUPREME COURT. THE COURT CONTINUES TO ORDER THE RELEASE OF DECREE 507 DETAINEES, TOTALLING 196 IN 1992. SEVERAL CASES ARE CURRENTLY UNDER APPEAL BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT AS WELL. 1.4 MOST OF THE INDIVIDUALS AWAITING TRIAL BY TRIBUNAL WERE NOT CAPTURED IN COMBAT, BUT RATHER IN POLICE SWEEPS OF URBAN AREAS. HOWEVER, RECENT MAJOR MILITARY OPERATIONS HAVE RESULTED IN THE CAPTURE OF PRISONERS. WHILE THE NUMBER OF THESE PRISONERS IS NOT LARGE, THERE ARE PLAUSIBLE REASONS ADVANCED BY OBSERVERS TO EXPLAIN THIS PHENOMENON:

--- THE GUERRILLAS HAVE BEEN INDOCRINATED TO FIGHT TO DEATH.

--- THE GUERRILLAS HABITUALLY CARRY OFF THEIR WOUNDED.

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00217 03 OF 14 0906592
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--- GUERRILLAS WHO SURRENDER THEMSELVES TO LOCAL MILITARY AUTHORITIES STAY WITHIN THE LOCAL MILITARY INSTALLATION FOR THEIR OWN PROTECTION AND ARE NOT CLASSIFIED OR REPORTED AS "PRISONERS."

--- OTHER NON-COMBATANT SUPPORTERS OF GUERRILLA FORCES, EVEN THOSE CAPTURED DURING COMBAT OPERATIONS, ARE LIKEWISE NOT CLASSIFIED OR REPORTED AS "PRISONERS." THEY ARE RELEASED AND THEN BECOME PART OF THE DISPLACED PERSON POPULATION IN EL SALVADOR (NOW ESTIMATED AT ABOUT 250,000).

- MOREOVER, SCREENING AND DISPOSITION OF DETAINEES OF ALL TYPES ARE DONE AT THE TACTICAL LEVEL, WITH ONLY SPORADIC AND INCOMPLETE REPORTING TO HIGHER HEADQUARTERS. THUS, CAPTURED GUERRILLAS, THOSE WHO HAVE SURRENDERED, OR SUPPORTERS WHO AGREE TO COOPERATE WITH THE LOCAL MILITARY ARE OFTEN NEITHER REMANDED NOR REPORTED.

1.5 ANOTHER ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT WITH REGARD TO RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OCCURRED ON DECEMBER 2, WHEN SALVADORAN PRESIDENT ALVARO MAGANA INSTALLED THE NEW HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WHICH HAD BEEN AGREED TO UNDER THE MULTI-PARTY PACT OF APANECA. THE COMMISSION WILL

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00217 03 OF 14 0905592

ATTEMPT, IN HIS WORDS, "TO ACHIEVE THE FULL ENFORCEMENT OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE

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MOST COMPLETE SENSE AND TO RENDER THE STATE THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTOR NOT ONLY OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S PHYSICAL SAFETY BUT OF HIS FULL DEVELOPMENT AS WELL." THE COMMISSION WILL EXAMINE THE RANGE OF PROBLEMS AND ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS DIRECTLY TO THE PRESIDENT ON HOW TO REDUCE ABUSES. (APPENDIX C: FUNCTIONS AND MEMBERSHIP OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.)

-- THE COMMISSION IS COMPOSED OF SEVEN MEMBERS, INCLUDING SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCH, THE SECURITY FORCES, THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AND A CAMPESINO/LABOR COALITION. THE DIVERSE BACKGROUNDS FROM WHICH THESE REPRESENTATIVES ARE DRAWN, AND THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, SHOULD ENCOURAGE INDEPENDENT JUDGMENTS BASED ON FACTUAL INFORMATION INTENDED TO FURTHER HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS. THE COMMISSION IS CURRENTLY RECEIVING DENUNCIATIONS OF CAPTURES AND DISAPPEARANCES. OF 32 CASES RECEIVED DURING ITS FIRST WEEK OF OPERATION FIVE WERE RESOLVED WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE SECURITY FORCES. CREATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, ACCORDING TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNHRC, REFLECTS QUOTE THE DETERMINATION OF THE COUNTRY'S TOP AUTHORITIES TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. UNQUOTE.

1.6 PRESIDENT MAGANA IS PREPARING AN AMNESTY BILL FOR GUERRILLAS WILLING TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. HE IS PROCEEDING CAREFULLY TO BUILD A POLITICAL CONSENSUS ON THE CONDITIONS OF THE AMNESTY. IN THE MEANTIME, THE ARMED FORCES HAS GRANTED SAFE CONDUCT PASSES, AND IN SOME CASES HELPED TO RESETTLE, ABOUT 200 EX-GUERRILLAS AND SUPPORTERS WHO HAVE TURNED THEMSELVES IN UNDER AN INFORMAL

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00217 03 OF 14 0906592

AMNESTY PROGRAM. OTHERS REMAIN UNDER MILITARY PROTECTION TO PROTECT THEM FROM REPRISALS.

1.7 DURING THIS PERIOD THERE HAVE BEEN CONTINUED ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES. IN OCTOBER 1982 ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY SEIZED SEVERAL FDR/MNR LEFTIST LEADERS AND HELD THEM INCOMMUNICADO FOR SEVERAL DAYS. THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, HOWEVER, MOVED QUICKLY TO ENSURE THEIR PROTECTION AND RESPECT FOR LEGAL PROCESS. THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE ARMED FORCES PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THE NAMES OF THOSE ARRESTED AND STATED THAT THEY

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WOULD BE HELD UNDER PROCEDURES SET FORTH UNDER DECREE NO. 507. THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS TO HAVE EVIDENCE IMPLICATING SOME OF THE DETAINEES IN SUPPORTING THE GUERRILLA! FOLLOWING THEIR ARREST, GUERRILLA RADIO YENCEREMOS REFERRED TO THEM AS QUOTE FDR LEADERS. UNQUOTE. AT THE VERY LEAST, THEIR CASE SUGGESTS PROGRESS IN GREATER RESPECT OF ESTABLISHED LEGAL PROCEDURES. A YEAR OR TWO AGO, SIMILAR ARRESTS MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED AND THOSE DETAINED WOULD BE LISTED AS DISAPPEARED. IN THIS CASE, FAMILY MEMBERS, AS WELL AS RED CROSS OFFICIALS, HAVE BEEN ABLE TO VISIT THEM IN PRISON. EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE SEEN AND TALKED WITH THEM. THE FDR/MNR LEADERS DID NOT STATE THAT THEY WERE MISTREATED.

1.B AS WITH CIVILIAN DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO POLICAL VIOLENCE, REPORTS OF CIVILIAN DISAPPEARANCES DECLINED IN 1982. THE PRESS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS REPORTED AN AVERAGE OF 43.7 DISAPPEARANCES PER MONTH IN THE SECONI HALF OF 1982. PROMINENT AMONG THESE WERE THE AUGUST DISAPPEARANCES OF EL SALVADOR HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEMBEI AMERICA FERNANDA PERDOMO AND FDR MEMBER SAUL VILLALTA FOLLOWING A PRESS CONFERENCE TO ANNOUNCE AN FDR/FMLN

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PRISONER NEGOTIATION EFFORT, THE ARREST OF 23 ANDES MEMBERS (7 WERE SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED AND 16 OTHERS REMANDED TO PRISON FOR TRIAL), AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PATRICIA AND MAURICIO CUELLAR. IN SOME CASES WHERE PEOPLE THOUGHT TO BE MISSING HAD BEEN DETAINED BY SECURITY FORCES, SUCH AS THE CASE OF THE FDR MEMBERS, THE GOVERNMENT CAME FORWARD AFTER A BRIEF PERIOD TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE DETENTIONS IN COMPLIANCE WITH DECREE 507.

II. THE ARMED FORCES.

SEC. 727(A)(6): "AN END TO EXTREMIST VIOLENCE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIFIED COMMAND AND CONTROL OF ALL GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES IN THIS EFFORT."

(7): "INCREASED PROFESSIONAL CAPABILITY OF THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH A PEACEFUL AND SECURE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES CAN BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED, THEREBY PERMITTING A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF UNITED STATES MILITARY TRAINING AND ADVISORY PERSONNEL AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE."

II.1. SINCE THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WAS FORMED

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FOLLOWING THE MARCH 28 ELECTIONS, THE PLANNING, COORDINATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF GOVERNMENT POLICY BY

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CIVILIAN LEADERS AND MILITARY OFFICERS HAVE IMPROVED. THE PHYSICAL PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF DETACHMENTS OF RURAL SECURITY AND MILITARY FORCES TO REMOTE AREAS OF THE COUNTRY WITH LITTLE OR NO COMMUNICATION WITH HEADQUARTERS, AND OFTEN NEBULOUS COMMAND RELATIONSHIPS, MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE HIGH COMMAND TO MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTROL OVER THESE FORCES. THERE IS EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, OF EFFORTS MADE BY THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP TO REDUCE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES ON THE PART OF THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES.

II.2 FOR EXAMPLE, THE EMBASSY DEVELOPED COMPELLING EVIDENCE THAT THE ARMY'S SIGNALS DETACHMENT IN SAN SALVADOR -- CITFA -- WAS ENGAGED IN WHAT WERE ESSENTIALLY POLICE ACTIVITIES. FURTHER, THE EVIDENCE SUGGESTED ONGOING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE SAME UNIT. THE EMBASSY PRESENTED THIS INFORMATION TO THE HIGH COMMAND AND THEY TOOK ACTION. ALL AVAILABLE EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT CITFA IS NO LONGER IN THE POLICE BUSINESS.

II.3 MINISTER OF DEFENSE GARCIA HAS, ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, DELIVERED STRONGLY WORDED STATEMENTS TO REGULAR MILITARY OFFICERS AND CIVIL DEFENSE COMMANDERS, HOLDING THEM DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR ANY ABUSES BY THEIR SUBORDINATES. ON OCTOBER 7, MINISTER OF DEFENSE GARCIA MET WITH 200 LOCAL DEFENSE COMMANDERS TO DELIVER A MESSAGE THAT THEY WERE TO REMAIN APOLITICAL AND TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS. THESE LOCAL COMMANDERS, WHO ARE NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS, SERVE AS RURAL MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN CHARGE OF LOCAL DEFENSE FORCES WHICH HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR SERIOUS ABUSES OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. GARCIA'S MESSAGE PUTS THEM ON

NOTICE THAT THE ARMED FORCES WILL RESPOND TO DENUNCIATIONS AND WILL ENCOURAGE LOCAL POPULATIONS TO REPORT ABUSES. IN MAY 1982 A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT EXHORTED THE PUBLIC TO REPORT ABUSES BY COMMANDANTES AND CIVIL DEFENSE PERSONNEL; SEVERAL DENUNCIATIONS FOLLOWED. AS OF (INSERT: DATE AND FIGURES STILL ON CALL FROM GOES DEFENSE MINISTRY. WILL BE REPORTED TO DEPARTMENT BY SEPARATE CABLE), COMMANDANTES WERE JAILED FOR SERIOUS ABUSES AND AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER REMOVED FROM THEIR POSITIONS. A TOTAL OF (INSERT: AWAITING RESPONSE FROM DEFENSE MINISTRY. WILL BE REPORTED BY SEPARATE CABLE) CIVIL DEFENSE PERSONNEL ARE BEING DETAINED FOR ABUSES OF AUTHORITY. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN REDUCED, EXCESSES BY PARAMILITARY FORCES DO CONTINUE TO OCCUR. AS REPORTED BY THE EMBASSY, AND ACCORDING TO SEVERAL ACCOUNTS, UNIFORMED MEN ENTERED THE LA FLORIDA COOPERATIVE THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 20. THESE MEN ROUNDED UP ELEVEN CAMPESINOS (FOUR MANAGED TO ESCAPE) AND TORTURED AND KILLED THEM, ALLEGEDLY THREATENING TO RETURN AND KILL ANY LA FLORIDA RESIDENTS THAT WERE NOT NATIVE TO THE AREA. EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE BROUGHT THE INCIDENT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SALVADORAN HIGH COMMAND.

II.4 ALLEGATIONS OF MILITARY MISCONDUCT HAVE ARISEN IN THE DEPARTMENT OF USULUTAN. ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED BY THE EMBASSY, SOLDIERS ENTERED THE TOWN OF SANTA ELENA ON NOVEMBER 22. THESE SOLDIERS ASSEMBLED THE TOWNFOLK IN THE CENTRAL PLAZA AND THROUGH AN INFORMER SELECTED BETWEEN 12 TO 15 YOUNG MEN. THESE YOUNG MEN WERE TAKEN AWAY IN TWO OLIVE DRAB COLORED VEHICLES. THEIR BODIES WERE FOUND ALONG THE ADJACENT HIGHWAY THE NEXT DAY.

II.5 (INSERT: OPENING PARAGRAPH TO FOLLOW BY SEPARATE CABLE CONCERNING MILITARY PERSONNEL ARRESTED OR DETAINED.)

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DENDENTS ARE NOT PUNISHED IN MILITARY COURTS, RATHER THEY ARE HELD UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF VARIOUS CIVILIAN COURTS AROUND THE COUNTRY. MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY ENDS WHEN THE ACCUSED IS TURNED OVER TO A CIVILIAN COURT. PRIOR TO THIS, THE MILITARY DISCHARGES THE ACCUSED FROM THE SERVICE. THEREFORE, WHEN THE ACCUSED ARRIVES AT THE COURT, HE IS A CIVILIAN WITHOUT FURTHER CONNECTION WITH THE ARMED FORCES.

II.6 EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE INTERVIEWED DEFECTORS FROM THE GUERRILLA RANK AND FILE IN FOUR DEPARTMENTS. ALL THE DEFECTORS AFFIRMED THEY HAD RECEIVED GOOD TREATMENT FROM THE GOES. LOCAL MILITARY COMMANDERS, TO WHOM THESE DEFECTORS HAVE SURRENDERED, HAVE MADE EFFORTS TO PROTECT THEM AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS AND, IN SOME CASES, TO RESETTLE THEM IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

II.7 HISTORICALLY, THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES HAVE TAKEN FEW PRISONERS DURING COUNTER-INSURGENCY OPERATIONS. HOWEVER, THIS TREND IS CHANGING. DURING A COMBAT OPERATION IN AUGUST, THE ARMED FORCES REPORTED THE CAPTURE AND HUMANE TREATMENT OF SOME TWO DOZEN GUERRILLAS. IN A SIMILAR OPERATION IN USULUTAN DEPARTMENT IN SEPTEMBER, THE MILITARY AGAIN TOOK PRISONERS. MORE RECENTLY, THE ARMED FORCES TOOK PRISONERS DURING COMBAT AT THE GUAZAPA

VOLCANO. BUT THE GOES IS HAMPERED BY THE FAILURE TO DATE OF THE ARMED FORCES TO ESTABLISH NATIONWIDE PROCEDURES FOR GUERRILLAS CAPTURED IN COMBAT.

-- WRITTEN ORDERS FOR LARGE MILITARY OPERATIONS NOW, AS A MATTER OF ROUTINE, CONTAIN SPECIFIC INSTRUCTION ON THE HUMANE TREATMENT OF CIVILIANS AND THE NEED TO TAKE PRISONERS. PRISONERS ARE NOW BEING TAKEN. A TOTAL OF (INSERT: NUMBER WILL BE SUPPLIED BY SEPARATE CABLE) HAVE BEEN CAPTURED SINCE (INSERT: DATE SUPPLIED BY SEPARATE CABLE). ON AUGUST 23, 1982, NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THAT FIVE EXTREMISTS WERE CAPTURED AND THREE SURRENDERED DURING A MAJOR MILITARY OPERATION. ONE OF THE CAPTURED WAS A WOUNDED 14 YEAR OLD WHO WAS TAKEN BY HELICOPTER *TO A NEARBY HOSPITAL. WE BELIEVE THIS IS THE FIRST TIME* THE ARMED FORCES HAS PUBLICIZED THE CAPTURE AND HUMANE TREATMENT OF GUERRILLAS DURING A COMBAT OPERATION. THERE HAVE BEEN AT LEAST SIX MAJOR MULTI-BATTALION OPERATIONS SINCE THE LAST CERTIFICATION AND YET THERE HAVE BEEN NO SUBSTANTIATED CHARGES OF WIDESPREAD ABUSES ASSOCIATED WITH THESE LARGE SCALE OPERATIONS. DURING SEPTEMBER 1982, THE ARMED FORCES CONDUCTED A MEDIA CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY TO SENSITIZE THE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND THE GENERAL POPULATION ABOUT THE NECESSITY *TO OBSERVE HUMAN RIGHTS.*

II.8 ROLE OF ICRC CONTINUES. THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES HAVE REPORTED THAT (INSERT: PERCENTAGE TO BE REPORTED BY SEPTEL) PERCENT OF ABOUT 33,000 ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL IN THE MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES HAVE RECEIVED HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC). MEMBERS OF THE ICRC HAVE VISITED PRISONS, PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES, AND

MILITARY UNITS TO INVESTIGATE THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. ICRC DELEGATES CAN AND DO VISIT DETENTION FACILITIES AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH. U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIALS RECENTLY VISITED THE COUNTRY'S TWO PENITENTIARIES WHICH HOLD POLITICAL PRISONERS -- MARIONA AND THE WOMEN'S FACILITY AT ILOPANGO. BOTH FACILITIES WERE REPORTED TO BE CLEAN, HEALTHFUL AND WELL-ADMINISTERED AS MEASURED BY COMMONLY ACCEPTED PRISON STANDARDS BOTH IN THE U.S. AND EL SALVADOR.

II.9 ALTHOUGH THE ARMED FORCES HAVE NO FORMAL CIVIC ACTION PROGRAM, MANY OFFICERS IN THE DEPARTMENTS HAVE

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COME TO RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING A CLOSE AND SUPPORTIVE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE POPULATION. IN EVERY DEPARTMENT, BUT ESPECIALLY THOSE WHERE THERE IS CONFLICT, COMMANDERS SERVE ON COMMITTEES WITH LOCAL RESIDENTS AND CIVIL AUTHORITIES TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS. THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMANDERS OF CABANAS AND SAN MIGUEL HAVE DEDICATED A GREAT DEAL OF THEIR TIME AND ATTENTION TO THIS, WITH NOTABLE RESULTS. EVEN THOUGH PORTIONS OF THOSE DEPARTMENTS BORDER ON AREAS OF HEAVY GUERRILLA CONCENTRATIONS, THE GUERRILLA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO MAKE INROADS WHERE MILITARY-CIVILIAN COOPERATION IS CLOSE. IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, UNITS IN THE FIELD PROVIDE SERVICES SUCH AS MEDICAL CARE, ROAD BUILDING, SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION, AND WELL-DIGGING WHERE THEY WOULD OTHERWISE BE UNAVAILABLE. THE MILITARY WORKS CLOSELY WITH GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCIES TO COORDINATE ASSISTANCE TO THE MORE THAN 250,000 PERSONS DISPLACED BY THE CONFLICT. THE ARMED FORCES CONTINUES TO SUPPORT ACTIVELY THE AGRARIAN REFORM. IT CONTINUES TO REPLACE REFORM BENEFICIARIES WHO HAVE BEEN EVICTED BY RECALCITRANT FORMER OWNERS, AND IS ACTIVELY ASSISTING A NEW FINATA PROGRAM TO IDENTIFY AND INCORPORATE POTENTIAL BENEFICIARIES INTO THE DECREE 207 PROGRAM. THESE ACTIV-

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TIES BEGAN FOR THE MOST PART IN 1982, AND CONTINUE TO DEVELOP DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR.

-- THE NATIONAL POLICE, THE SECURITY FORCE WITH THE MOST PROMINENT URBAN PRESENCE, HAS UNDERTAKEN CONSIDERABLE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE PUBLIC. THESE EFFORTS INCLUDE AN EDUCATION CAMPAIGN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS CONCERNING POLICE COMPORTMENT, AND THE ADDITION OF "PUBLIC SERVICE" INSTRUCTION TO THE POLICE TRAINING CURRICULUM.

-- THERE ARE ALSO INDICATIONS OF GREATER STRAIN IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND THE GUERRILLAS. ON DECEMBER 8 GUERRILLAS SURROUNDED A SOCCER FIELD IN SAN VICENTE DEPARTMENT AND TOOK 137 CIVILIANS CAPTIVE. ONE OF THE CAPTIVES WAS KILLED WHEN HE TRIED TO ESCAPE. THE OTHER 136 YOUNG PEOPLE WERE TAKEN AWAY AT GUN POINT AND GIVEN POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION. LESS SPECTACULAR, YET REVEALING MUCH ABOUT THE DAY-TO-DAY RELATION OF THE PEOPLE TO THE GUERRILLA, CASES OF HIGHWAY MURDER, ROBBERY, DESTRUCTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND "WAR TAX" EXTORTION ABOUND.

-- VIRTUALLY ALL MILITARY TRAINING PROVIDED BY THE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00217 06 OF 14 0906162

U.S. ARMED FORCES TO THE SALVADORAN MILITARY IN-COUNTRY, OR IN MORE FORMAL SCHOOLS AND COURSES IN THE U.S. AND

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PANAMA, INCLUDES TRAINING IN HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. CLASS-ROOM INSTRUCTION IS COMPLEMENTED IN A SUBSTANTIAL WAY BY AN "APPLICATION PHASE." THIS INCLUDES: EXPOSURE TO U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES, DISCUSSION AMONG STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS, GRAPHIC EXAMPLES OF CIVIL-MILITARY CO-OPERATION AMONG THE U.S. ARMED FORCES AND THE CIVILIAN COMMUNITY, AND DISCUSSION ON HOW BEST TO INCORPORATE THESE IDEAS INTO THE SALVADORAN CONTEXT. AS INDICATED ABOVE EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUCTION AND THE CODE OF CONDUCT HAVE BEGUN TO HAVE A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON REDUCING ABUSES IN THE FIELD.

III. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS.

- SEC. 727(A)(3): "CONTINUED PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING ESSENTIAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS, INCLUDING LAND REFORM. . . "

III.A. AGRARIAN REFORM.

1. AGRARIAN REFORM, WHICH IS THE CORNERSTONE OF THE REFORM PROCESS, HAS THREE COMPONENTS, TWO OF WHICH ARE ACTIVE. PHASE I AFFECTS OWNERS OF PROPERTY HOLDINGS IN EXCESS OF 500 HECTARES (CA. 1235 ACRES) AND ALSO INCLUDES HOLDINGS OF LESS THAN 500 HECTARES WHICH WERE VOLUNTARILY SOLD TO THE SALVADORAN AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION INSTITUTE (ISTA) WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTING PHASE I. PHASE II, WHOSE IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN DEFERRED SINCE ITS INCEPTION, WOULD AFFECT OWNERS WITH HOLDINGS IN THE 100 TO 500 HECTARES RANGE. PHASE III OF THE REFORM ALLOWS RENTERS AND SHARECROPPERS TO PURCHASE UP TO A MAXIMUM OF SEVEN HECTARES (CA. 17.3 ACRES) OF LAND WORKED UNDER SUCH ARRANGEMENTS AS OF MAY 6, 1980.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00217 06 OF 14 090616Z

2. SUMMARY OF PROGRESS TO DATE

PHASE I OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM ENCOMPASSES 328 PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES COMPLETING THEIR THIRD YEAR OF OPERATION. FORTY-SEVEN OF THESE IN CONFLICT ZONES HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY AFFECTED TO THE POINT THAT TWENTY-SEVEN HAVE BEEN ABANDONED. THE OPERATING FARMS HAVE 29,755 DIRECT BENEFICIARIES (COOPERATIVE MEMBERS) AND ENCOMPASS 0.8 MILLION ACRES OF LAND (APPROXIMATELY 18 PERCENT OF EL SALVADOR'S TOTAL FARM AREA). AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1982, A TOTAL OF DOLS 78,893,864 IN CASH AND BONDS HAD BEEN PAID

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OUT BY THE GOES IN COMPENSATION FOR 130 OF THE PHASE I FARMS. THE GOES MADE AVAILABLE IN DECEMBER 1982, AN ADDITIONAL DOLS 19.9 MILLION IN CASH FOR INTEREST PAYMENTS ON AGRARIAN REFORM BONDS AND FOR CASH COMPENSATION REQUIREMENTS. (TO DATE, 22 COOPERATIVES HAVE RECEIVED TITLES TO THE PROPERTIES WHICH THEY ARE WORKING.

UNDER PHASE III, AS OF DECEMBER 31, A TOTAL OF 39,344 SMALL FARMERS HAD FILED CLAIMS FOR 185,237 ACRES. THE INCREASE IN CLAIMS FILED IS THE RESULT OF A GOES NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO SOLICIT APPLICATIONS UNDER THE PHASE III PROGRAM. THE WESTERN ZONE HAS BEEN NEARLY COMPLETED AND EFFORTS ARE NOW FOCUSING IN THE MORE DIFFICULT EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE GOES IS TO COMPLETE THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN BY THE END OF FEBRUARY 1983, BUT RESULTS MAY BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED IN THE CONFLICT-RIDDEN EASTERN ZONE. AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1982 THERE WERE 34,674 PROVISIONAL TITLES ISSUED, 136 PROPERTY OWNERS PAID DOLS 3.6 MILLION IN CASH AND BONDS, AND 408 DEFINITIVE TITLES ISSUED. EVICTIONS, A MAJOR PROBLEM DURING THE PRIOR CERTIFICATION PERIOD, HAVE BEEN NEARLY HALTED. APPLICATIONS HAVE BEEN GENERATED AT A SUBSTANTIAL RATE, AND COMPENSATION PAYMENTS

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TO OWNERS HAVE INCREASED CONSIDERABLY. PERFORMANCE IN THE ISSUANCE OF PROVISIONAL AND DEFINITIVE TITLES HAS NOT BEEN AS IMPRESSIVE.

3. PHASE I PROGRESS SINCE JULY 1982

PROGRESS ON PHASE I OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM CONTINUES BUT HAS BEEN LIMITED SINCE THE LAST CERTIFICATION BY A LACK OF SUFFICIENT GOES RESOURCES TO FINANCE THE REFORM IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ECONOMIC DOWNTURN AND SEVERE FISCAL/MONETARY CONSTRAINTS. DESPITE THESE CONSTRAINTS THE GOES ESTABLISHED A COMPENSATION FUND AND DEPOSITED IN DECEMBER DOLS 19.5 MILLION TO BE USED FOR INTEREST PAYMENTS ON AGRARIAN REFORM BONDS AND ADDITIONAL CASH COMPENSATION REQUIREMENTS. DISBURSEMENT OF THESE FUNDS IS NOW IN PROCESS. OTHER CONSTRAINTS LIMITING PROGRESS INCLUDE INADEQUATE TECHNICAL SERVICES TO COOPERATIVES AND THE ABSENCE OF A CLEARER COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT POLICY ADDRESSING SUCH MATTERS AS THE NUMBER OF COOPERATIVE MEMBERS RELATIVE TO FARM SIZE AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR FARM MANAGEMENT ASSISTANCE. IN ADDITION, THE OPERATION OF PHASE I FARMS HAS BEEN AFFECTED ADVERSELY BY LOW WORLD PRICES FOR PRIMARY COMMODITIES AND BY SECURITY PROBLEMS PREVAILING IN THE COUNTRY. IN SPITE

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OF THESE PROBLEMS AND EXCEPT FOR THOSE COOPERATIVES IN CONFLICT AREAS, PHASE I FARMS ARE COMPLETING THEIR THIRD YEAR OF CONTINUOUS OPERATION.

SINCE JULY 1982, 6 ADDITIONAL EX-OWNERS WERE COMPENSATED A TOTAL OF DOLS 1.676 MILLION IN CASH AND BONDS. ISTA APPROVED AN ADDITIONAL 108 PROPERTIES FOR PAYMENT IN THE AMOUNT OF DOLS 68.7 MILLION IN CASH AND BONDS, BUT UNTIL DECEMBER LACKED THE DOLS 3.8 MILLION NEEDED FOR THE CASH PORTION OF COMPENSATION. INSUFFICIENT FUNDS TO MAKE INTEREST PAYMENTS ON OUTSTANDING AGRARIAN REFORM BONDS WAS ALSO A PROBLEM UNTIL DECEMBER WHEN THE GOES PROVIDED RESOURCES TO PAY DOLS 13.1 MILLION INTEREST DUE ON AGRARIAN REFORM BONDS USED AS PAYMENT FOR EXPROPRIATED LAND.

THE DELIVERY OF DEFINITIVE TITLES TO COOPERATIVES BY ISTA, WHILE CONTINUING, HAS BEEN SLOW. SINCE JULY, FOUR TITLES HAVE BEEN DELIVERED TO COOPERATIVES AS COMPARED TO TWELVE DURING THE FIRST 6 MONTHS OF 1982. IN ORDER TO ACCELERATE THIS ACTIVITY THE GOES INTENDS TO WORK ON IMPROVING LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES AND COORDINATION WITH OTHER GOES INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS.

A REDUCTION IN AREA PLANTED FOR MOST CORPS AND A CORRESPONDING DECREASE IN TOTAL PRODUCTION HAS BEEN ESTIMATED FOR PHASE I FARMS IN 1982-1983. IN PART, THIS IS THE RESULT OF 27 COOPERATIVES HAVING BEEN COMPLETELY ABANDONED DUE TO VIOLENCE AND CROPS AND EQUIPMENT OF ANOTHER 20 OPERATING FARMS BEING PARTIALLY OR TOTALLY DESTROYED OR THEIR OPERATIONS SERIOUSLY INTERRUPTED BY *SUBVERSIVES. OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING PRODUCTION AND INCOME HAVE BEEN LOW WORLD PRICES FOR PRIMARY COMMODITIES,*

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THE LACK OF MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM CREDIT NEEDED TO IMPROVE EQUIPMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE ON DECAPITALIZED FARMS, INADEQUATE DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT AND ADVERSE WEATHER, BOTH DROUGHTS AND FLOODS. THESE FACTORS HAVE ALSO ADVERSELY AFFECTED THE ABILITY OF A NUMBER OF PHASE I FARMS TO REPAY PRODUCTION LOANS AND CARRY THE BURDEN OF AGRARIAN REFORM DEBT.

THE AVAILABILITY OF INVESTMENT CREDIT TO PHASE I COOPERATIVES HAS BEEN PROBLEMATIC. ALTHOUGH SOME DOLS 14.8 MILLION WAS AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE BANKING

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OR TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS AS BENEFICIARIES. MOST DRAMATICALLY, AS A RESULT OF FINATA'S NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, THE FLOW OF NEW APPLICATIONS INCREASED MONTHLY FROM A LOW OF 108 IN JUNE TO 4,961 IN DECEMBER.
IN OCTOBER, FINATA PUT MOBILE TEAMS INTO THE FIELD WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF VISITING EVERY MUNICIPALITY IN THE COUNTRY BY THE END OF FEBRUARY 1989 TO SOLICIT NEW APPLICATIONS. AFTER AN INITIAL SUCCESS IN WESTERN EL SALVADOR, A SECOND MOBILE TEAM BEGAN WORK IN NOVEMBER IN THE EAST. STILL ANOTHER FINATA TEAM WAS ADDED TO SOLICIT APPLICATIONS FROM CAMPESINOS ON SELECTED PRE-REFORM ISTA FARMS, PARCELS OF WHICH WERE BEING RENTED. THE RESULTS OF THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN NOTEWORTHY. OF THE 13,174 NEW APPLICATIONS RECEIVED SINCE JULY, 9,929 ARE A DIRECT RESULT OF THE MOBILE CAMPAIGN AND AN ADDITIONAL 3,117 HAVE RESULTED FROM THE INDIVIDUAL TITLING ON PRE-REFORM ISTA FARMS.

PROGRESS HAS ALSO BEEN REGISTERED IN THE IMPORTANT AREA OF COMPENSATION. SINCE JULY, 123 EX-OWNERS HAVE BEEN COMPENSATED, COMPARED TO ONLY 13 PRIOR TO THAT TIME. A TOTAL OF DOLS 3,684,199 IN CASH AND BONDS WAS PAID TO 136 EX-OWNERS WHOSE PROPERTIES INCLUDED 3,278 PARCELS. PROGRESS ON DEFINITIVE TITLES WAS NOT AS RAPID AS HAD BEEN HOPED. NONETHELESS 400 TITLES WERE DELIVERED TO FORMER RENTERS WITH AN ADDITIONAL 460 PLANNED FOR ISSUANCE IN JANUARY.

SINCE THE PREVIOUS CERTIFICATION IN JULY, ONLY 109 NEW EVICITIONS HAVE BEEN REPORTED. CONVERSATIONS WITH FINATA FIELD PERSONNEL INDICATE THAT SOME OF THESE NEW

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EVICTIONS ACTUALLY OCCURRED PREVIOUSLY BUT HAD NOT BEEN REPORTED BY THE BENEFICIARIES. ONLY 39% OF THE REGIONAL EVICTED BENEFICIARIES HAVE BEEN REINSTALLED SINCE JULY. (FINATA REPORTS INDICATE THAT 2,289 BENEFICIARIES ARE STILL LISTED AS EVICTED). IN PART, THIS MAY BE DUE TO THE FACT THAT IN MANY CASES OTHER CAMPESINOS RENTED OR WERE GIVEN USE OF THE LAND BEING CLAIMED AND MUST BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO HARVEST THEIR CROPS BEFORE A REINSTALLATION CAN TAKE PLACE. OTHER CASES INVOLVE CAMPESINOS WHOSE CLAIMS AS BENEFICIARIES MAY, IN FACT, BE IN DOUBT. FINATA HAS RECENTLY BEGUN TO SCHEDULE

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REINSTALLATIONS WITH LOCAL MILITARY AUTHORITIES WITH THE HOPE THAT EVICTEES WITH LEGITIMATE CLAIMS CAN BE REINSTALLED BY THE END OF FEBRUARY.
WITH MUCH OF THE WESTERN AND CENTAL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY COVERED BY FINATA'S CAMPAIGN TO SOLICIT APPLICATIONS, IT CAN BE EXPECTED IN THE COMING MONTHS THAT EFFORTS WILL FOCUS ON COMPLETION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST, ON ISSUANCE OF PROVISIONAL AND FINAL TITLES, AND ON EFFECTING COMPENSATION. FUTURE PROGRESS IN ELICITING NEW APPLICATIONS WILL BE A FUNCTION OF SECURITY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EASTERN ZONE OF THE COUNTRY, A CONSISTENT AND EFFECTIVE EFFORT ON THE PART OF FINATA'S FIELD PERSONNEL, AND THE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OF THE CAMPESINO ORGANIZATIONS. AT SOME POINT IT WILL NO LONGER MAKE SENSE TO PROCESS NEW CLAIMS WHICH BY LAW MUST RELATE TO THE SITUATION OF POTENTIAL BENEFICIARIES IN MARCH 1980. PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF EVICTIONS WILL DEPEND ON CONSISTENT SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY AND FINATA. FINALLY, ELIMINATING BOTTLE NECKS IN THE LAND ADJUDICATION PROCESS AND EFFECTING COMPENSATION WILL CONDITION PROGRESS IN AWARDING DEFINITIVE TITLES AND WILL ALSO TEND TO MITIGATE THE EVICTIONS PROBLEM. RESOURCES WILL HAVE TO BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR COMPENSATION IN THE CONTEXT

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SYSTEM HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO PROVIDE SUCH CREDITS GIVEN THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT A NUMBER OF COOPERATIVES HAVE HAD TO RESCHEDULE PAYMENTS ON THEIR SHORT TERM PRODUCTION CREDIT. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION CREDIT, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS BEEN AVAILABLE DURING THE CURRENT CROP YEAR THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM PROVIDED PHASE I COOPERATIVES WITH DOLS 88.7 MILLION FOR PRODUCTION CREDIT. IN ADDITION DOLS 23.8 HAS PROGRAMMED TO RESCHEDULE LOANS EXTENDED DURING THE TWO PREVIOUS CROP YEARS.
ISTA INITIATED A MUCH NEEDED PROGRAM TO IMPROVE BOTH ACCOUNTING AND MANAGEMENT ON PHASE I FARMS. THE NEW PROGRAM BEGAN IN OCTOBER ON THE FIRST 10 FARMS. IN THE NEXT 6 MONTHS ISTA PLANS TO EXPAND THE PROGRAM TO 75 ADDITIONAL COOPERATIVES.

IN SPITE OF THE PROBLEMS FACING PHASE I, THE REFORM IS MOVING FORWARD. CAMPESINOS CONTINUE TO GAIN EXPERIENCE IN MANAGING THEIR FARMS, ASSISTED BY PERSONNEL FROM ISTA AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS. WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR OWN COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION (FESACORA) THEY NOW ARE IN A BETTER POSITION TO DEAL WITH GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTITIES WHICH AFFECT THEIR FUTURE.

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ISTA'S OVERALL ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY CONTINUES TO BE A CONSTRAINT TO MORE RAPID IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAND TRANSFER PROCESS AND TO THE PROVISION OF EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT ASSISTANCE TO COOPERATIVES. IN THE ENSUING MONTHS EFFORTS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD IMPROVING ISTA'S ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY AND PERFORMANCE IN DEALING EFFECTIVELY WITH ITS CLIENT COOPERATIVES.

4. PHASE III PROGRESS SINCE JULY 1982

PHASE III OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM HAS MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS SINCE THE PERIOD OF APRIL-JUNE OF THIS YEAR WHEN IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PHASE OF THE REFORM TEMPORARILY CAME TO A NEAR HALT. AGGRESSIVE ACTION BY THE GOES, AND PARTICULARLY FINATA, REVERSED THE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF THE INITIAL ACTIONS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-ELECTION PERIOD. THE GOES EFFECTIVELY DEALT WITH INCREASING NUMBERS OF EVICTIONS DURING THAT PERIOD; PUBLIC CEREMONIES ATTENDED BY HIGH RANKING GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY PERSONNEL TO DELIVER TITLES AND COMPENSATE EX-OWNERS MADE CLEAR THAT PHASE III OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM WAS STILL IN PROGRESS. INCREASED ADVERTISING BY FINATA ON RADIO, TELEVISION AND NEWSPAPERS [redacted]

ENCOURAGED BOTH LANDOWNERS AND POTENTIAL BENEFICIARIES TO VISIT FINATA OFFICES TO SUBMIT CLAIMS FOR COMPENSATION

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F SEVERE BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS.
B. PHASE I

	AS OF 7/31/82	AS OF 12/31/82	NET INCREASE (DECREASE)
- TOTAL NUMBER OF PROPERTIES INTERVENED	328	328	0
- ESTIMATED DIRECT BENEFICIARIES (COOP MEMBERS)	29,788	29,788	0
- LAND AREA AFFECTED (ACRES)	554,310	554,310	0
- PROPERTY PURCHASES (FORMER OWNERS COMPENSATED)	124	130	6
- COMPENSATION PAID			
- CASH	6,149,009	6,182,544	33,535
- BONDS	70,978,800	72,621,320	1,642,520

- TOTAL	77,127,809	78,803,864	1,676,055
TITLES ISSUED TO COOPERATIVES PHASE III - (DECREE 207)	18 AS OF 7/31/82	22 AS OF 12/31/82	4 NET INCREASE (DECREASE)
NUMBER OF FARMERS WHO HAVE FILED TITLE APPLICATIONS FOR LAND (DIRECT BENEFICIARIES)	29,706	39,344	9,638
TOTAL BENEFICIARIES (ESTIMATED AT 6 MEMBERS PER FAMILY)	178,236	236,064	57,828
LAND AREA AFFECTED (ACRES)	121,100	155,237	34,137
TITLE PETITIONS FILED	37,235	50,409	13,174
PROVISIONAL TITLES ISSUED	32,349	34,674	2,325
PORPERTY OWNERS COMPENSATED	13	136	123
AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION PAID	614,130	3,884,199	2,970,069
DEFINITIVE TITLES	281	468	187

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REINSTALLATION OF EVICTED BENEFICIARIES	2,138	2,532	394

III.B. ECONOMIC REFORMS

MARKETING REFORMS

- AT THE BEGINNING OF 1980, THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR NATIONALIZED THE MARKETING OF TWO MAJOR EXPORT CROPS, COFFEE AND SUGAR (THE THIRD, COTTON, WAS ALREADY BEING MARKETED THROUGH A PRODUCERS' COOPERATIVE). IT CREATED TWO STATE ENTITIES, THE NATIONAL COFFEE INSTITUTE

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(INCAFE) AND THE NATIONAL SUGAR INSTITUTE (INAZUCAR) WHICH, IN ADDITION TO PURCHASING CROPS FROM THE GROWERS OR PROCESSING PLANTS AND ARRANGING STORAGE AND SHIPMENT, HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADMINISTERING SALVADORAN EXPORTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL QUOTA ARRANGEMENTS (THE INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT, AND THE UNITED STATES SUGAR IMPORT PROGRAM) AS WELL AS NON-QUOTA EXPORTS.

- THE FUNCTIONS CARRIED OUT BY INCAFE WERE FORMERLY PERFORMED BY THE COMPANIA SALVADORENA DEL CAFE. THIS COMPANY, WHICH HAD SUFFERED HEAVY LOSSES AND WAS ESSENTIALLY BANKRUPT, IS BEING LIQUIDATED.

- THERE HAS BEEN GROWING INTEREST IN RETURNING THE MARKETING OF COFFEE EXPORTS TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AS A MEANS OF INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY OF MARKETING OPERATIONS AND RECOVERING QUALITY PRICE PREMIUMS WHICH PRIVATE SALVADORAN BRANDS HAD EARNED. IT IS ALSO ARGUED THAT PRICES BEING PAID BY INCAFE TO THE GROWERS HAVE NOT COVERED COSTS, THAT LARGE PORTIONS OF LAST YEAR'S CROP REMAIN UNSOLD, MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR GROWERS TO REPAY BANK CREDITS, AND THAT INCAFE HAS NOT BEEN SUFFICIENTLY

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AGRESSIVE IN MARKETING SURPLUS COFFEE STOCKS TO NON-QUOTA MARKETS. THESE PROBLEMS ARE LARGELY DERIVED FROM DEPRESSED PRICES OF COFFEE ON THE WORLD MARKETS AND DECLINES IN VOLUME OF IMPORTS BY CONSUMING COUNTRIES, AND RETURNING THE MARKETING OPERATIONS TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR WOULD NOT IN ITSELF RESOLVE THEM. ALSO, THE SERIOUS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CRISIS WHICH EL SALVADOR IS FACING ARGUES STRONGLY FOR RETAINING CONTROL OVER THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE RECEIPTS FROM THE COUNTRY'S MAJOR EXPORT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. NEVERTHELESS, FOR THE LONGER RUN, THERE IS WIDESPREAD OPINION THAT COFFEE MARKETING IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM IN EL SALVADOR.

- THE FORMATION OF INAZUCAR REPLACED INDEPENDENT MARKETING ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY PRIVATE GROWERS; NO CENTRALIZED SUGAR MARKETING COMPANY SIMILAR TO THE COMPANIA SALVADORENA DEL CAFE EXISTED PRIOR TO NATIONALIZATION. WITH SUGAR CURRENTLY BEING SOLD AT A SUBSTANTIAL LOSS, THERE APPEARS TO BE LITTLE INTEREST IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN TAKING OVER INAZUCAR AT PRESENT, ALTHOUGH THERE IS INTEREST IN INCREASING PRODUCER INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS.

III.B. FINANCIAL REFORMS

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FINANCIAL SYSTEM IN MARCH 1980 PROVIDED THAT INITIALLY THE GOVERNMENT WOULD PURCHASE ALL SHARES OF THE INSTITUTIONS THROUGH BONDS PAYABLE OVER FIVE YEARS. IT ALSO PROVIDED FOR THE SUBSEQUENT RETURN OF A MINORITY EQUITY TO THEPRIVATE SECTOR, THROUGH THE SALE OF SHARES, 20 PERCENT OF WHICH WOULD BE OFFERED TO THE EMPLOYEES OF THE INSTITUTIONS, AND 29 PERCENT TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR (WITH FORMER OWNERS TO BE GIVEN FIRST REFUSAL). PROCEEDS OF THE SALE ARE TO BE USED TO AMORTIZE THE BONDS.

- ISSUANCE OF BONDS TO THE FORMER OWNERS WAS PRECEDED BY AN AUDIT, WHICH TOOK LONGER TO COMPLETE IN SOME CASES THAN IN OTHERS. ALL SALVADORAN BANKS AND SAVINGS AND LOAN INSTITUTIONS HAVE NOW BEEN ACQUIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BONDS ISSUED; AMORTIZATION APPEARS *TO BE PROCEEDING ON SCHEDULE. SHARES HAVE NOT YET BEEN* SOLD TO THE PUBLIC, PENDING FORMATION OF THE COMPANIES AND REGISTRATION OF THE STOCK. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE SHARES WILL BE OFFERED IN FEBRUARY, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT YET KNOWN TO WHAT EXTENT THE PUBLIC WILL RESPOND.

- AT THE SAME TIME THAT SALVADORAN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS WERE NATIONALIZED, FOREIGN BANKS WITH BRANCHES IN THE COUNTRY WERE REQUIRED TO CLOSE OUT THEIR DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS WITHIN ONE YEAR FROM THE ISSUANCE OF THE DECREE. IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT TO DO SO IN PRACTICE, BECAUSE THE DEPOSITS HAD BEEN USED TO FINANCE OUTSTANDING LOANS WHICH COULD NOT QUICKLY BE CALLED IN. AS A RESULT, THE TWO FOREIGN BANKS AFFECTED HAVE BEEN GIVEN EXTENSIONS OF THE PERIOD DURING WHICH THEY CAN OPERATE, WHICH IS NOW DUE TO EXPIRE DECEMBER 31, 1985. THE REQUIREMENT ITSELF

IS BELIEVED BY SOME GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE LEADERS TO HAVE BEEN A MISTAKE, AS THESE BANKS PROVIDE LINKS TO THE INTERNATIONAL BANKING COMMUNITY WHICH ARE ADVANTAGEOUS TO EL SALVADOR, AND IN ANY EVENT, THE PRIMARY PROBLEM WHICH THE REFORM WAS DESIGNED TO ADDRESS--THE CONCENTRATION OF CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMY BY A SMALL GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS OR FAMILIES--IS NOT RELEVANT TO THESE BANKS. THERE IS ALSO SOME SUPPORT FOR THE EVENTUAL TRANSFER OF ALL INTERNAL BANKING OPERATIONS TO THE NATIONALIZED DOMESTIC BANKS. THE RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE AND OTHERS INVOLVING PROPOSALS "TO REFORM THE REFORMS" PROBABLY WILL FALL TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO BE ELECTED IN 1984.

- NATIONALIZATION HAS NOT SIGNIFICANTLY ALTERED THE NATURE OF THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, WHICH CONTINUE TO OPERATE ON A COMMERCIAL BASIS, ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE ABUSES OF THE PAST (FAVORITISM, THE MAKING OF UNSECURED LOANS, ETC.) APPEAR TO HAVE DECLINED. INCREASED PRIVATE PARTICIPATION IN THE SYSTEM, INCLUDING AT LEAST PARTIAL RETURN TO PRIVATELY OWNED BANKS, COULD, HOWEVER, IMPROVE THE MANAGEMENT PERFORMANCE AND HELP RESTORE INTERNATIONAL BANKING CONTACTS WHICH HAVE BEEN LOST IN THE LAST THREE YEARS.

- NOT ONLY ARE ISSUES ABOUT THE RESTORATION OF PRIVATE MARKET MECHANISM AND ABOUT THE PROPER ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN FOREIGN TRADE AND BANKING HEATEDLY DEBATED IN EL SALVADOR, BUT THERE IS ALSO CONCERN, PARTICULARLY AMONG ADVOCATES OF FREE MARKET ECONOMY, THAT THE U.S. LAW ON CERTIFICATION UNCONSCIONABLY CONSTRAINS THE EFFORTS OF MANY TO STRENGTHEN PRIVATE MARKET ECONOMIC MECHANISMS AND TENDS TO DENY EL SALVADOR POLICY OPTIONS.

III.C. POLITICAL REFORM

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III.C.1. THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY HAS CHECKED THE POLITICAL POLARIZATION, WHICH HAS PLAGUED THE COUNTRY FOR YEARS, AND IS LAYING A BASIS FOR A DEMOCRATIC, PLURALISTIC GOVERNMENT, BASED ON BROAD CONSENSUS. THESE EFFORTS, DIFFICULT IN THE BEST OF TIMES, ARE BEING ATTEMPTED WHILE EXTREMISTS OF THE LEFT AND RIGHT CONTINUE TO USE FORCE TO ACHIEVE THEIR OWN ENDS.

III.C.2. FOR EXAMPLE, THE GOVERNMENT HAS JUST GONE THROUGH ITS FIRST CABINET CRISIS. AFTER GIVE-AND-TAKE BY THE THREE MAJOR PARTIES, THE PRESIDENT ESTABLISHED HIS AUTHORITY TO CHANGE MINISTERS WITHIN HIS GOVERNMENT AND CHANGED TWO, WITH A THIRD STILL PENDING. WHEN THE DUST SETTLED, THE PARTIES RETURNED TO POLITICKING AND THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNING. WHAT WAS REMARKABLE IN THE LOCAL CONTEXT ABOUT THE EXERCISE WAS HOW ORDINARY IT WAS: IT CLOSELY RESEMBLED SIMILAR "CRISES" WHICH TAKE PLACE IN OTHER DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS AS A MATTER OF ROUTINE.
III.C.3

THE ELECTIONS OF MARCH 28 CREATED A REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR. THE LEGITIMACY OF THIS GOVERNMENT AND THE CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

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PRESIDENT MAGANA AND HIGH-RANKING MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY ARE GRADUALLY OVERCOMING THE YEARS OF DISTRUST

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AND DISTANCE BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN POLITICAL LEADERS. THE POLITICAL COMMISSION, CREATED BY THE MULTI-PARTY PACT OF APANECA, INCLUDES THE PRESIDENT AND THREE VICE PRESIDENTS, THE DEFENSE MINISTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER (ALSO REPRESENTING THE PDC PARTY), AND THREE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS (ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON OF ARENA, WILFREDO NAVARRETE OF PCN, AND FRANCISCO QUINONEZ OF PPS). THE COMMISSION HAS SCHEDULED MUNICIPAL AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS NO LATER THAN 28 MARCH 1984. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HAS APPOINTED AND CONFIRMED AN INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION TO OVERSEE THESE ELECTIONS. THE PRESIDENT IS EXPECTED SOON TO ANNOUNCE A PEACE COMMISSION WHICH WILL BEGIN WORK ON REVIEWING AMNESTY, DIALOGUE PROPOSALS, AND GENERAL RECONCILIATION. A NEW DRAFT AMNESTY LAW CONTINUES UNDER CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR.

III.C.4. THE FREE AND FAIR MARCH ELECTION SHOWED, AS DID THE FAILED GUERRILLA GENERAL OFFENSIVE IN JANUARY 1981, THAT THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE DO NOT SUPPORT THE GUERRILLAS. THE ELECTION WAS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN ESTABLISHING A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WHICH OFFERS THE BEST CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT. THE POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH CONTESTED THE ELECTIONS HAVE BEGUN TO PUT ASIDE DISTRUST AND RESENTMENT, AND HAVE COMPROMISED ON THE BASIC GOALS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY, AS EXPRESSED IN THE PACT OF APANECA. PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN SET FOR NO LATER THAN MARCH 28, 1984, AND A NEW CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION (CCE) HAD BEEN FORMED TO OVERSEE THIS NEXT ALL IMPORTANT STEP IN THE DEMOCRATIC

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PROCESS.
III.C.5.

MANY FEARED AN ARENA-LED RIGHTIST DOMINATION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOLLOWING THE MARCH ELECTIONS, BUT THIS HAS NOT OCCURRED. ON THE CONTRARY, EXTREME RIGHTIST ELEMENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE ASSEMBLY HAVE NOT ACHIEVED A CLEAR MAJORITY, AND ISSUES ARE BEING HAMMERED OUT WITHIN A DEMOCRATIC FORUM. THE PROCESS OF BARGAINING AND COMPROMISE HAS BEGUN TO TAKE HOLD. THIS IS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT IN THE CASE OF ARENA AND THE PDC.

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WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY EXISTED AS BLOOD ENEMIES. CENTRIST FORCES HAVE DOMINATED ON SIGNIFICANT OCCASIONS IN THE ASSEMBLY. MOST NOTABLY, ON OCTOBER 28 THE ASSEMBLY NARROWLY REFUSED TO APPROVE AN ARENA RESOLUTION REJECTING ALL DIALOGUE WITH THE FDR/FMLN, INSTEAD SENDING THE PROPOSAL TO COMMITTEE FOR "REASONED CONSIDERATION."
IV. ELECTIONS AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

SEC. 727(A)(3): "CONTINUED PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING ESSENTIAL...POLITICAL REFORMS..."

- (6): "FREE, FAIR, AND OPEN ELECTIONS AT THE EARLIEST DATE."

IV.1. THE PACT OF APANECA WAS SIGNED ON AUGUST 3, 1982 BY FOUR OF THE FIVE PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. ONLY THE SMALL DEMOCRATIC ACTION PARTY (AD) DID NOT SIGN, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE COOPERATED WITH PRESIDENT MAGANA. THE PACT COMMITS THE SALVADORAN POLITICAL SYSTEM TO WORK TOWARD ACHIEVING SEVEN SIGNIFICANT OBJECTIVES: PEACE, DEMOCRATIZATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC REFORMS, CONSOLIDATION OF REFORMS, CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY, AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. THE PACT OF

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00217 12 OF 14 0906382
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[redacted] SECTION 12 OF 14 SAN SALVADOR 00217

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APANECA REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY AND IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. (APPENDIX D: THE PACT OF APANECA).
IV.2. TWO OF THE THREE COMMISSIONS ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED FOR ACHIEVING THE PACT'S OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN CREATED: THE POLITICAL COMMISSION (APPENDIX E: FUNCTIONS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION) WAS ESTABLISHED ON AUGUST 29. ON SEPTEMBER 29, IT ISSUED A POLITICAL TIMETABLE:

---CALLING FOR THE DESIGNATION OF THE NEW CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION (CCE) BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

---INSTRUCTING THE CCE TO DRAFT A TRANSITIONAL ELECTORAL LAW TO GUARANTEE THAT ELECTIONS REFLECT THE PEOPLE'S FREE CHOICE.

---SETTING THE PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS FOR NO LATER THAN MARCH 28, 1984.

---SETTING A DEADLINE FOR THE DRAFTING (APRIL 20, 1983) AND THE SUBMISSION TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (JUNE 30, 1983) OF THE NEW ELECTORAL LAW.

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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00217 12 OF 14 0906382

---REQUIRING THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION BE PROMULGATED BY

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MARCH 31, 1983.
IV.3 THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WAS SET UP ON NOVEMBER 30 AND ITS MEMBERS INSTALLED ON DECEMBER 2. PRESIDENT MAGANA SAID, "THIS COMMISSION WILL BE IN CHARGE OF APPLYING THE OVERALL STRATEGY AND OF IMPLEMENTING MECHANISMS THAT WILL PROMOTE, DISSEMINATE, AND PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS." (APPENDIX C: TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND LIST OF MEMBERS).

IV.4. THE THIRD COMMISSION--THE PEACE COMMISSION--IS EXPECTED TO BE CREATED SOON. ITS PRINCIPAL GOAL WILL BE TO ENLARGE PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS FOR THOSE GROUPS WISHING TO ESCHEW VIOLENCE THROUGH SUCH MEANS AS OFFERING AMNESTY/SECURITY, DIALOGUE, ETC. THE COMMISSION IS ALSO EXPECTED TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT ON WAYS TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

IV.5. THE POLITICAL COMMISSION ALSO ESTABLISHED A NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION (CREN) COMPRISED OF THREE REPRESENTATIVE PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERS AND THREE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

IV.6. IN ITS SESSION OF NOVEMBER 16, 1982, THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PASSED A DECREE CREATING A TEMPORARY LAW FOR THE CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION. THE DECREE PASSED WITH MINIMAL OPPOSITION. IT WILL REGUALTE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION (CCE) UNTIL THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY APPROVES A PERMANENT ELECTORAL LAW. THE MEMBERS OF THE CCE ARE DRAWN FROM THE FIVE MAJOR PARTIES.
- THE DECREE CONSISTS OF 18 ARTICLES. AMONG THE MORE

PAGE 03 SAN SA 00217 12 OF 14 090638Z

IMPORTANT ARE:

ART. 2: THE CCE IS COMPOSED OF FIVE MEMBERS AND FIVE
- SUBSTITUTES.

ART. 3: THE CCE MEMBERS ARE RESPONSIBLE TO THE ASSEMBLY FOR ANY IMPROPER ACTIVITIES DURING THEIR TENURES.

ART. 5: AMONG THE SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CCE ARE:
- -DRAFTING A NEW ELECTORAL LAW
- -PREPARING A NEW ELECTORAL (VOTER) REGISTRY.
- -AUTHORIZING POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BY PARTIES IN FORMATION
- -PROVIDING PUBLICITY FOR FUTURE ELECTIONS.
- -PREPARING INTERNAL REGULATIONS FOR THE CCE.

ART. 6: THE PRESIDENT OF THE CCE IS ELECTED FROM AND BY
- THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

ART. 8: EACH REGISTERED PARTY IS AUTHORIZED TO NOMINATE
- ONE DIRECT REPRESENTATIVE BEFORE THE CCE (VOICE
- BUT NO VOTE).

IV.7. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IS DRAFTING A NEW CONSTITUTION. THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE HAS HELD NUMEROUS PUBLIC HEARINGS IN ORDER THAT THE CONCERNS OF PRIVATE CITIZENS AND NON-GOVERNMENT GROUPS WOULD BE CONSIDERED. PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW BUT THE COMMITMENT MADE TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO COMPLETE THE CONSTITUTION BY THE END OF MARCH 1983 BY ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT AND ARENA LEADER ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, IS ENCOURAGING.
V. INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDERS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF U.S. CITIZENS

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00217 13 OF 14 090537Z
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"A COMPLETE AND TIMELY INVESTIGATION OF THE DEATHS OF ALL UNITED STATES CITIZENS KILLED IN EL SALVADOR SINCE OCTOBER, 1979."

V. 1. CHURCHWOMEN.

SINCE THE JULY CERTIFICATION, THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF THE CASE OF THE FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN MURDERED IN EL SALVADOR. ON FEBRUARY 13, 1982, PRESIDING CIVILIAN JUDGE BERNARDO RAUDA MURCIA OPENED JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST FIVE FORMER NATIONAL GUARDSMEN AND DISMISSED PROCEEDINGS AGAINST A SIXTH, WHO WAS FOUND NOT TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE MURDERS. DURING THE NEXT NINE MONTHS, JUDGE RAUDA CONDUCTED THE JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION AND SUMMARY PHASE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AS REQUIRED BY SLAVADORAN LAW. IN THE SUMMARY PHASE, ALL "EXTRA-JUDICIAL" (POLICE) TESTIMONY WAS REPEATED BEFORE THE JUDGE. THE CONSIDERABLE BODY OF TESTIMONY WAS FORMALLY PREPARED FOR INCLUSION IN THE PLENARY (TRIAL) STAGE. IN ADDITION, NEW TESTIMONY WAS TAKEN AND SOME NEW EVIDENCE INTRODUCED. IN NOVEMBER, JUDGE RAUDA REVIEWED THE ENTIRE COURT RECORD. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE EVIDENCE WARRANTED ELEVATING THE CASE [redacted]

PAGE 02 SAN SA 00217 13 OF 14 090537Z

TO THE PLENARY STAGE, WHICH CULMINATES IN JURY TRIAL. ON NOVEMBER 16, JUDGE RAUDA ORDERED THE CASE TO TRIAL. ON [redacted] DECEMBER 6, HE APPOINTED THREE LOCAL ATTORNEYS AS COUNSEL FOR THE FIVE ACCUSED. SUBSEQUENTLY, TWO OF THE COURT-APPOINTED DEFENSE ATTORNEYS FILED APPEALS TO RETURN THE CASE TO SUMMARY STAGE FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE. THE DEFENSE ATTORNEYS COMPLAINED OF INADEQUATE TIME TO PREPARE THEIR DEFENSE. THE APPEAL HAS GONE TO THE APPELLATE COURT, WHICH HAS NOT YET RENDERED A DECISION.

UNDER THE SALVADORAN CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE, THERE ARE SEVERAL JUDICIAL STEPS BETWEEN THE ELEVATION TO PLENARY AND FINAL JUDGEMENT. THE PROSECUTION OR DEFENSE MAY APPLY FOR A CHANGE OF VENUE. ONCE VENUE IS DETERMINED, BOTH SIDES HAVE A 15 DAY "PERIOD OF PROOF" DURING WHICH TIME THEY MUST INTRODUCE ALL REMAINING EVIDENCE WHICH THEY PROPOSE TO CONSIDER IN TRIAL. FOLLOWING THE PERIOD OF PROOF, THE PROSECUTION PREPARES ITS LEGAL BRIEF IN RESPONSE. ON THE BASIS OF THE COURT RECORD AND THE TWO BRIEFS, THE JUDGE PREPARES A LIST OF "SPECIAL ISSUES" (QUESTIONS) FOR THE JURY. THE JURY IS THEN SELECTED. THE PROSECUTION AND DEFENSE PRESENT THEIR ORAL ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE JURY. THE JURY CONSIDERS THE ORAL AND WRITTEN ARGUMENTS, DELIBERATES ON THE JUDGE'S SPECIAL ISSUES, AND REACHES A VERDICT.

TESTIMONY IN THE CASE ALREADY MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC INDICATES THAT:

---THE FOUR CHURCHWOMEN AROUSED THE SUSPICIONS OF A GUARDSMAN ON DUTY AT THE AIRPORT BECAUSE OF THEIR "SUSPICIOUS APPEARANCE."

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00217 13 OF 14 090537Z

---BASED UPON THIS GUARDSMAN'S REPORT, THE SUB-SERGEANT IN COMMAND OF THE POST ORDERED THAT THE CHURCHWOMEN BE DETAINED.

---THE CHURCHWOMEN WERE DETAINED, DRIVEN AWAY, AND MURDERED SEVERAL MILES DISTANT FROM THE AIRPORT.

---THE CHURCHWOMEN'S VEHICLE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY BURNED BY THE MURDERERS. WHILE THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE WHICH SUGGESTS THE CONTRARY, THE WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE SO FAR INDICATES THAT THE SUB-SERGEANT WAS NOT ACTING PURSUANT [redacted]

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(A) Caption removed; transferred to O/FADRC
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Elijah Kelly Jr.
Date: 7-28-93

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[redacted] SECTION 14 OF 14 SAN SALVADOR 00217

EXDIS

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TO HIGHER ORDERS.
V.2. THE AIFLD CONSULTANTS.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COURT CONCERNING THE MURDER OF TWO U.S. LAND REFORM CONSULTANTS DOES SHOW HIGHER LEVEL INVOLVEMENT. IN MAY, 1982, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT CREATED A NEW INVESTIGATORY WORKING GROUP AND INITIATED A NEW INVESTIGATION INTO THE AIFLD MURDERS. THE WORKING GROUP RECONSIDERED MOST OF THE OLD TESTIMONY ALREADY IN THE RECORD AND INTERVIEWED MANY NEW WITNESSES. IN SEPTEMBER, 1982, TWO NATIONAL GUARDSMEN CONFESSED TO THE MURDERS. IN THEIR DETAILED CONFESSIONS, THEY IMPLICATED TWO SALVADORAN OFFICERS (LT. LOPEZ SIBRIAN AND CAPT. EDUARDO AVILA) AND A CIVILIAN IN THE MURDERS.

ON 22 SEPTEMBER 1982, THE TWO NATIONAL GUARDSMEN AND ON 27 SEPTEMBER 1982, LT. LOPEZ SIBRIAN WERE REMANDED TO A CIVILIAN COURT. REPORTS AT THE TIME INDICATED THAT CAPT. AVILA HAD FLED THE COUNTRY AND THE CIVILIAN SUSPECT REMAINED OUTSIDE OF EL SALVADOR. WITHIN THREE DAYS OF REMAND, JUDGE HECTOR JIMINEZ ORDERED THE DETENTION OF THE TWO GUARDSMEN FOR CONTINUED JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION (SUMMARY PHASE), BUT ORDERED THE RELEASE OF LT. LOPEZ SIBRIAN. THE FOLLOWING DAY, JUDGE JIMENEZ WAS TRANSFERRED FROM HIS COURT AND A NEW JUDGE--LOPEZ ARGUETA--NAMED. JUDGE LOPEZ REPEATED MUCH (BUT NOT ALL) OF THE INVESTIGATION TESTIMONY DURING THE SUMMARY PHASE OF SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1982. DEFENSE ATTORNEYS ATTENDED EVERY STEP OF THE PROCESS. ON 2 DECEMBER 1982, JUDGE LOPEZ ORDERED THE CASE AGAINST THE TWO GUARDSMEN TO PLENARY (TRIAL) STAGE AND DISMISSED THE CASE AGAINST LOPEZ SIBRIAN. THE ATTORNEYGENERAL IMMEDIATELY APPEALED THE DISMISSAL OF LOPEZ SIBRIAN AND THE DEFENSE ATTORNEYS APPEALED THE ORDER RAISING THE CASE AGAINST THE TWO GUARDSMEN TO PLENARY. THE SAN SALVADOR APPELLATE COURT HAS NOT YET ISSUED A DECISION ON THE APPEAL. LT. LOPEZ SIBRIAN REMAINS ON ACTIVE DUTY WHILE THE CASE IS PENDING. THE TWO GUARDSMEN ARE DETINED AT MARIONA PRISON.

THE PROSECUTION OF THE TWO NATIONAL GUARDSMEN CONSTITUTES REAL PROGRESS, BUT THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE AGAINST LOPEZ SIBRIAN SUGGESTS THAT THE CASE IS STILL SOME TIME FROM COMPLETION

V.3. OTHER US CITIZENS

PATRICIA CUELLAR

MS. CUELLAR, AN AMERICAN CITIZEN RESIDENT IN EL SALVADOR, DISAPPEARED FROM HER RESIDENCE ON JULY 18. LATER THAT DAY OR EARLY THE FOLLOWING DAY HER FATHER, A SALVADORAN

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CITIZEN, AND HIS MAID ALSO DISAPPEARED. UPON LEARNING OF MS. CUELLAR'S DISAPPEARANCE, THE EMBASSY IMMEDIATELY CONTACTED THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT TO REQUEST ASSISTANCE IN LOCATING MS. CUELLAR AND HER FATHER. IN RESPONSE TO THE EMBASSY'S REQUESTS, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT ASSIGNED A FULL-TIME INVESTIGATOR TO MS. CUELLAR'S CASE. FINALLY, THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA AND PRESIDENT MAGANA THAT AGENCIES AND/OR PERSONNEL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR, INCLUDING THE ARMED FORCES, WERE NOT INVOLVED IN THE ABDUCTIONS OF MS. CUELLAR, HER FATHER, OR HIS MAID. A WITNESS WHO WAS INTERVIEWED BY THE NATIONAL POLICE AND POLYGRAPHED BY THE FBI, HOWEVER, TESTIFIES THAT UNIFORMED, ARMED MEN ENTERED PARTRICIA CUELLAR'S APARTMENT AND REMOVED POSESSIONS ON THE SAME NIGHT AS HER APPARENT DISAPPEARANCE. THE INVESTIGATION HAS BEEN DELAYED BY THE REFUSAL OF ONE OF THE SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS TO IDENTIFY OR PRODUCE ITS ALLEGED EYE WITNESS OR WITNESSES IN THE CASE.

JOHN J. SULLIVAN

SINCE THELAST CERTIFICATION, THEREHAVEBEEN FEW SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN EFFORTS TO LOCATE MR. SULLIVAN, WHO HAS NOWBEENMISSING SINCE JANUARY 1981. THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADORHAS CONTINUED TOCOOPERATE WITH OUR EMBASSY IN EFFORTS TO LOCATE JOHN SULLIVAN. UNFORTUNATELY THERE HAVE BEEN FEW LEADS AS TO MR. SULLIVAN'S WHEREABOUTS. THE MOST PROMISING LEAD IN THE EXHUMATION OF A BODY AT NUEVA CUSCATLAN ON THEOUTSKIRTSOF SAN SALVADOR. AS REPORTED TO THE EMBASSY THE BODY OF AN INDIVIDUAL WAS DISCOVERED THE MORNING OF DEVEMBER 29, 1982, AND WAS BURIED THE FOLLOWING DAY.

[redacted]

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVEIDENCE POINTS TOTHESE BEING THE REMAINS OFJOHN SULLIVAN. NORMAL MEANS OFFORENSIC IDENTIFICATION HAVE NOT BEEN POSSIBLE DUE TO THE CONDITION OF THE BODY. IDENTIFICATION EFFORTS ARE CONCENTRATING ON COMPARISON OF BONE STRUCTURE. THESE EFFORTS CONTINUE. A SULLIVAN FAMILY PHYSICIAN APPARENTLY BELIEVES THAT THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL POSSIBILITY THAT THIS IS THE BODYOF JOHN SULLIVAN. IDENTIFICATION EFFORTS CONTINUE.

CONCLUSION. THIS STATEMENT CONCLUDES THAT EL SALVADOR [redacted]

HAS MADE PROGRESS ON ALL THE POINTS REQUIRED BY THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT. THE SITUATION IS NOT PERFECT AND THE PROGRESS HAS NOT AS GREAT AS DESIRED, BUT IT IS PROGRESS NONETHELESS. UNTIL THAT DAY WHEN NOBODY ELSE DIES A VICTIM OF THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE, THE PROGRESS IS INSUFFICIENT. THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IS WORKING TOWARD THAT DAY WITH A VIGOR THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN INCONCEIVABLE ONLY A YEAR AGO.

THE MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS CERTIFICATION REPORT AND THE LAST IS THAT THIS ONE DESCRIBES A PERIOD OF BUILDING DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES AND PRINCIPLES. IT IS HARD WORK, REQUIRING PATIENCE AND COMPROMISE. IT IS ESPECIALLY HARD IN A GOVERNMENT FORMED BY POLITICAL PARTIES WHOSE MISTRUST FOR EACH OTHER GOES BACK TWENTY YEARS AND MORE. YET THE WORK PROGRESSES ONE STEP AT A TIME.

THIS STATEMENT CERTIFIES PROGRESS ON ALL THE ISSUES REQUIRED BY LAW. BEYOND THAT, HOWEVER, IT CERTIFIES THAT A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS TAKEN ROOT IN EL SALVADOR. IF THAT SYSTEM PROSPERS, IT MAY EVENTUALLY CURE MANY OF THE ILLS THAT HAVE AFFLICTED SALVADORAN SOCIETY FOR YEARS. WHILE THIS IS A TASK WHICH THE SALVADORANS THEMSELVES MUST COMPLETE, THEIR SUCCESS WILL DEPEND IN

[redacted]

SOME MEASURE UPON U.S. SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING FOR THEIR EFFORTS. END TEXT.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 83HARARE00193

FILM= D830014-0093

DATE= 10 JAN 83

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FROM= HARARE

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TO= STATE
CAPE TOWN

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SUBJECT= AAI CONFERENCE IN HARARE: MUGABE'S OPENING REMARKS

REFERENCE= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON MICROFILM, ADS TEXT UNRETRIEVABLE

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CONCEPTS= CONFERENCE, OPENING, PRIME MINISTER, SPEECH, PEACE, SOVEREIGNTY, COUNTERINSURGENCY, REMARKS

TAGS= PREL, PGOV, ZI, US, XJ, AO, AAI, (MUGABE, ROBERT)

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PAGE 01 HARARE 00193 01 OF 02 101742Z

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Date 6/18/99 Exemption ____

ACTION AF-10

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8315
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 00193

DEPT. FOR AF/S - SIMPSON, CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY,
PASS CODEL ZABLOCKI FOR INFO

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ZI, US, XJ
SUBJECT: AAI CONFERENCE IN HARARE: MUGABE'S OPENING REMARKS

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS (FROM THE AS-PREPARED TEXT) OF THE SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER MUGABE AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE CONFERENCE IN HARARE JANUARY 10. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE BEING PROMPTLY INFORMED BY DEPT. OF ANY SIGNIFICANT PRESS COVERAGE IN US MEDIA OF THIS OR ANY OTHER EVENT DURING AAI CONFERENCE.

2. BEGIN EXCERPTS:
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PAGE 02 HARARE 00193 01 OF 02 101742Z

"DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, IT IS A MATTER OF THE DEEPEST REGRET AND CONCERN TO US THAT THE FIRST AND MOST CRUCIAL TASK THAT THE OAU SET ITSELF TWENTY YEARS AGO IS YET TO BE COMPLETED. I REFER HERE TO THE TASK OF DECOLONIZING OUR CONTINENT AND RIDDING IT, FOREVER, OF THE CRUEL SCOURGES OF RACIST DOMINATION AND OPPRESSION. IN ANGOLA, SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO OCCUPY PARTS OF THE SOUTH AND TO GIVE SUCCOUR TO THE UNITA BANDITS WHO, SO WE ARE TOLD BY SOME AMERICAN WRITERS, HAVE A HISTORY OF CONNECTIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA HAVE NOT KNOWN PEACE SINCE THE INVASION OF THEIR COUNTRY SOON AFTER INDEPENDENCE WHICH FORCED

THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT COUNTRY TO ASK FOR ASSISTANCE FROM FRIENDLY COUNTRIES.

"THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT DEMANDED SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM THAT COUNTRY. BEFORE 1980, SOUTH AFRICA GAVE THE IAN SMITH REGIME IN THIS COUNTRY ASSISTANCE IN ITS AGGRESSION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA AND EVEN ANGOLA. TODAY BANDITS TRAINED AS SABOTEURS AND EQUIPPED BY THE APARTHEID REGIME ARE DAILY INVOLVED IN ACTS OF BANDITRY AGAINST THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE, WHILE THE REGIME'S MERCENARIES HAVE GONE AS FAR AFIELD AS THE SEYCHELLES. OUR OWN FORCES HERE IN ZIMBABWE HAVE CLASHED WITH REGULAR SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AND ALSO CAPTURED SOME BANDITS AND DISSIDENTS WHO HAVE ADMITTED TO HAVING BEEN TRAINED AND DEPLOYED BY SOUTH AFRICA.

"RECENTLY, A SOUTH AFRICAN TERRORIST GANG INVADED LESOTHO'S TERRITORY, AND SLAUGHTERED INNOCENT BASOTHO CITIZENS AND SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES IN THAT COUNTRY. THESE BARBARIC ACTS ASSOCIATED WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY OF DESTABILIZATION WILL CONTINUE TO HAPPEN FOR AS LONG AS APARTHEID EXISTS IN THIS REGION.

"SOUTH AFRICA'S BEHAVIOOUR IS BASED ON ITS DETER-
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MINATION TO DEFEND ITS APARTHEID SYSTEM. IN THE FIRST PLACE, SOUTH AFRICA FEARS THE POWER OF EXAMPLE WHICH MAY BECOME A POTENT FORCE GIVING FURTHER INSPIRATION TO THE AFRICAN MAJORITY IT OPPRESSES IF NEIGHBORING STATES DEVELOP VIABLE ECONOMIES AND STABLE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES. SECONDLY, SOUTH AFRICA'S GOAL IS TO REDUCE NEIGHBORING STATES TO THE STATUS OF ITS ECONOMIC SATELLITES IN LINE WITH ITS BANTUSTAN POLICY IN ORDER TO CREATE THE SO-CALLED CONSTELLATION OF STATES IN THE WHOLE REGION. FINALLY, SOUTH AFRICA SEEKS TO INTIMIDATE INDEPENDENT STATES SO THAT THEY CEASE TO SUPPORT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS STRUGGLING TO OVERTHROW THE APARTHEID REGIME.

"FURTHERMORE, SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA HAS CONTINUED IN THE FACE OF BOTH THE GALLANT ARMED RESISTANCE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF SWAPO, AND IN DEFIANCE OF THE WISHES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO IMPLEMENT RESOLUTION 435 OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. UNTIL RECENTLY, SOUTH AFRICA HAD USED DELAYING TACTICS AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN A LONE BATTLE TO FRUSTRATE EFFORTS BY FRONT-LINE STATES AND THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP TO ACHIEVE AN EARLY AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. WHEN SWAPO ACCEPTED THAT ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD ON THE BASIS OF EITHER OF TWO ELECTORAL SYSTEMS, PREFERABLY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION AS OPPOSED TO THE SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCY SYSTEM, THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME REFUSED TO INDICATE THE SYSTEM IT PREFERS.

UP TO NOW THIS ISSUE HAS NOT BEEN RESOLVED.
"SO WE WONDER AND ASK OURSELVES; WHAT MORE CONCESSIONS MUST SWAPO MAKE, SHORT OF ABJECT SURRENDER TO APARTHEID AND APARTHEID-COLONIALISM, BEFORE ANY FURTHER FORWARD MOVEMENT TOWARD A SETTLEMENT IS SANCTIONED BY ALL THE PARTIES TO THIS DISPUTE? BUT THE MORE DISTRESSING ASPECT OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM AT PRESENT IS THE FACT THAT BLACKMAIL HAS BEEN INTRODUCED IN THE FORM OF THE
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SO-CALLED LINKAGE IDEA. I AM REFERRING HERE TO THE AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN DEMAND FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CUBAN FORCES FROM THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ANGOLA AS A PRECONDITION FOR THE DECOLONISATION OF NAMIBIA. AS A MEMBER OF THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP, WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO PLAY A MEDIATING ROLE, THE UNITED STATES HAS OBVIOUSLY INTRODUCED A STUMBLING BLOCK THAT MAY WELL IMPEDE THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS OF NAMIBIA, ALBEIT TEMPORARILY.

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PAGE 01 HARARE 00193 02 OF 02 101734Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10
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O 101700Z JAN 83
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8316
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 HARARE 193

DEPT. FOR AF/S - SIMPSON, CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY,
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"THE FRONTLINE STATES, AND INDEED THE WHOLE OF THE OAU, HAVE REJECTED THIS LINKAGE. THE UNITED STATES' INSISTENCE ON THIS LINKAGE, HAS GIVEN SOLACE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME. NOT ONLY HAS SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUED ITS PLUNDER, INCARCERATION AND MURDER OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, BUT IT HAS ALSO ESCALATED ITS CAMPAIGN TO DESTABILIZE THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF THE SUBCONTINENT. THAT PRETORIA IS NOW MORE DARING AND AGGRESSIVE THAN BEFORE CANNOT BE DOUBTED.....

"WE ALSO FIND IT DISTURBING THAT THERE IS AN INCREASING TENDENCY TO GIVE AID WITH POLITICAL STRINGS IN ORDER TO REDUCE THE RECIPIENTS INTO NEOCOLONIES AND PUPPETS OF
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PAGE 02 HARARE 00193 02 OF 02 101734Z

THE DONOR COUNTRIES. IT IS MORE UNFORTUNATE THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT AID SHOULD BE AN INSTRUMENT TO PRESSURIZE DEVELOPING NATIONS TO ADOPT OR ABANDON POS-

TURES AT INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS IRRESPECTIVE OF THE LATTER'S OWN CHOSEN PRINCIPLES AND CONVICTIONS. SUCH ATTITUDES ARE NOT PROMOTIVE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND THE STRENGTHENING OF GOOD RELATIONS. I HOPE THAT DURING YOUR PRESENT DIALOGUE, YOUWILL EXAMINE FRANKLY U.S. - AFRICAN RELATIONS ON THIS VITAL ISSUE.

"WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT AID IS NOT CHARITY. WE NOTE THAT IT IS OFTEN GIVEN AS MUCH TO BENEFIT THE DONOR AS THE RECIPIENT. THIS WE UNDERSTAND AS LONG AS THE TERMS ARE MUTALLY AGREED TO." END EXCERPTS.
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SUBJECT= PRESIDENT MOI'S INTEREST IN A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRESIDENT, INTEREST, SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, SITUATION, REPORT, NEGOTIATION, TROOP WITHDRAWAL

TAGS= PNAT, WA, US, CU, (MOI, DANIEL T)

PAGE 01 STATE 006723
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EXDIS

FOLLOWING NAIROBI 00534 DTD JAN 06, SENT ACTION NAIROBI, BEING RPTD FOR YOUR ACTION;

QUOTE [redacted] NAIROBI 00534

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PNAT, WA
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MOI'S INTEREST IN A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. PRESIDENT MOI ASKED AMBASSADOR JANUARY 5 WHAT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE TOWARD NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT WE CONTINUED HARD AT WORK SUPPORTED BY OUR CONTACT GROUP ASSOCIATES. WHEN MOI MENTIONED THE DEPARTURE OF CUBAN TROOPS, AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT NO GOVERNMENT WAS COMFORTABLE WITH FOREIGN TROOPS ON ITS TERRITORY AND WE WERE CONTINUING THE CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH LUANDA [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 006723

ABOUT AN UNDERSTANDING, PROBABLY A PRIVATE ONE, THAT THE CUBANS WOULD BE EASED OUT AS THE SOUTH AFRICANS LEFT. AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT IT WAS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT RES 435 WHEN THE CUBAN TROOP ISSUE WAS SETTLED. MOI EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THE ISSUE WAS MOVING ALONG.

3. AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER WOULD BE IN NAIROBI FOR THE MORNING OF SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, AND WE HOPED TO ARRANGE A CHAT WITH FONMIN OUKO AND/OR CHIEF SECRETARY KIEREINI. KENYANS WILL APPRECIATE A STATUS REPORT OF NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS FROM CROCKER. HARROP UNQUOTE SHULTZ

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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FILM= D830021-0758

DATE= 13 JAN 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= STATE

DRAFTER= DHSIMPSON:LR

OFFICE= ORIGIN AF

TO= CAPE TOWN
HARARE
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CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= DIRK MUDGE RESIGNATION AND SAG "INTERNAL" PLANS FOR NAMIBIA

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= RESIGNATION, MEETING, ELECTION, COUNCIL

TAGS= PGOV, WA, SF, (MUDGE, DIRK)

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(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
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PAGE 01 STATE 010128
ORIGIN AF-10

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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY, HARARE FOR CROCKER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, WA, SF
SUBJECT: DIRK MUDGE RESIGNATION AND SAG "INTERNAL" PLANS FOR NAMIBIA

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.)

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 010128

2. AN INFORMED AMERICAN SOURCE WHO HAS DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT WITH DTA "MINISTERS" AND OFFICIALS ON THE AG'S STAFF IN NAMIBIA AS WELL AS WITH SA AMBASSADOR FOURIE PROVIDED AF/S DIRECTOR SIMPSON FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND PROGNOSIS ON DIRK MUDGE RESIGNATION AND SAG "INTERNAL" INTENTIONS IN NAMIBIA JANUARY 12.

3. ALL SWA/NAMIBIA "MINISTERS" WILL FOLLOW MUDGE IN RESIGNING ON JANUARY 18. THE SAG WILL APPOINT NO "INTERIM GOVERNMENT" TO REPLACE THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BUT,

FOLLOWING THE FEBRUARY 28 DISSOLUTION OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND RESUMPTION OF DIRECT ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL (SAG) RULE, THE AG WILL APPOINT AN ADVISORY COUNCIL SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH EXISTED PRIOR TO THE 1978 ELECTIONS. THE SAG WILL ANNOUNCE NO ELECTIONS; THE AG/ADVISORY COUNCIL SITUATION WILL REMAIN IN PLACE UNTIL THE END OF 1983.

4. SOURCE PRESENTED PICTURE OF A BITTER AND RATHER DISTURBED MUDGE, WHO MAY BE FINISHED AS A POLITICAL FIGURE IN NAMIBIA. MUDGE APPARENTLY SEIZED UPON THE "PUBLIC HOLIDAYS" ISSUE AS AN OSTENSIBLE REASON TO RESIGN WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER "MINISTERS," ALTHOUGH THE DTA HAD BEEN LOOKING FOR SOME REASON TO RESIGN PRIOR TO THE FEBRUARY 28 EXPIRATION OF THEIR EXTENDED MANDATE, TO TRY TO ENHANCE THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THEIR DISTANCE FROM THE SAG IN NAMIBIA. MUDGE PRESENTLY REMAINS AT SWAKOPMUND ON VACATION WITH HIS FAMILY.

5. COMMENT: SOURCE'S ASSESSMENT THAT SAG WILL NOT CALL INTERNAL ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA UNTIL THE END OF 1983, DESPITE THEIR PREDICTABLE PROFESSIONS OF DIFFICULTY IN [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 010128

CONTINUING TO GOVERN NAMIBIA WITHOUT A POPULAR MANDATE IS CREDIBLE, GIVEN THE DISARRAY CLEARLY EXISTING WITHIN THE DTA, THE ABSENCE OF ANY VIABLE ORGANIZED ALTERNATIVE, AND THE LENGTH OF TIME THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO EVOLVE SUCH A POLITICAL BODY. IT IS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT THE SAG WOULD CALL INTERNAL ELECTIONS WITHOUT SOME CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT WOULD EMERGE FROM THEM. THE SAME STRENGTHENING OF INTERNAL POLITICAL FORCES WHICH THE SAG NOW APPEARS TO SEEK IS ALSO FULLY CONSISTENT WITH AN INTENTION TO PROCEED TOWARD INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED ELECTIONS AS PART OF IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 435. IF THE "END OF 1983" TIME-FRAME IS, IN FACT, AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF THEIR INTENTIONS, THERE WILL BE LESS REAL TIME PRESSURE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS THAN THERE WOULD BE IF THE SAG INTENDED TO PRESS FOR INTERNAL ELECTIONS AFTER THE RESIGNATION OF THE MUDGE "GOVERNMENT" OR AFTER THE EXPIRATION OF ITS MANDATE ON FEBRUARY 28. SHULTZ

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] UNCLASSIFIED

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 83LUSAKA00152

FILM= D830020-1131

DATE= 13 JAN 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= LUSAKA

DRAFTER= n/a

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TO= SECSTATE WASHDC
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CHANNEL= n/a

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EO= (OADR)

SUBJECT= KASSEBAUM VISIT TO ZAMBIA

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= VISIT, SITUATION, TROOP WITHDRAWAL, POLICY, MEETING, REPORT

TAGS= PREL, OREP, US, ZA, CU, (KASSEBAUM, NANCY L), (BOTHA, PIK), (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID), (NUJOMA, SAM)

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00152 01 OF 02 131419Z

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ☒ Declassify
Date 6/18/99 Exemption _____

UNCLASSIFIED

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-10 AF-04 NSCE-00 ARA-10
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 LUSAKA 00152

HARARE PLEASE PASS ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
FAGS: PREL, US, ZA
SUBJECT: KASSEBAUM VISIT TO ZAMBIA

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ZAMBIANS GAVE SENATOR KASSEBAUM WARM WELCOME AND FAVORABLE PRESS COVERAGE. SHE LUNCHED WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND BRIEFLY GREETED SWAPO HEAD NUJOMA WHO WAS ON HIS WAY TO AAI CONFERENCE IN HARARE.

3. SENATOR TOLD KAUNDA PIK BOTHA DESCRIBED U.S. AS INITIATOR OF CUBAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL IDEA. SHE WAS UPSET DURING HER TRAVELS TO FIND U.S. BLAMED FOR HOLDING UP NAMIBIA PROCESS WITH CUBAN ISSUE WHEN SOUTH
AFRICA HAD INSISTED ON WITHDRAWAL FROM BEGINNING. KAU DA SAID HE BELIEVED U.S. HA INTRODUCED CUBAN ISSUE TO SOUTH AFRICANS, WHO ACCEPTED IT QUICKLY. THE U.S. SHOULD DROP "LINKAGE" AND END SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA. SENATOR SAID ANY POLICY SHOULD BE CHANGED IF IT DID NOT WORK BUT WONDERED WHAT
[redacted]

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00152 01 OF 02 131419Z

APPROACH WOULD BE EFFECTIVE. SANCTIONS WERE DIFFICULT TO MAKE WORK. BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS, FOR EXAMPLE, BELIEVED DISINVESTMENT WOULD HURT THEM MORE THAN SAG. MEETING WITH NUJOMA WAS PRO FORMA AND UNPUBLICIZED. END SUMMARY.

4. SENATOR NANCY KASSEBAUM'S LUSAKA VISIT
JANUARY 11-12
FEATURED A MEETING AND LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA, A BRIEF IMPROMPTU SESSION WITH SWAPO LEADER NUJOMA, TALKS WITH UNIP LEADERS KAMANGA, LITANA AND MUDENDA, AND A VISIT TO THE MAKENI ECUMENICAL CENTER. THE ZAMBIANS

WELCOMED THE SENATOR WITH REAL WARMTH. PRESS COVERAGE WAS HEAVY AND GENERALLY POSITIVE.

5. PRESIDENT KAUNDA COVERED A NUMBER OF FAMILIAR THEMES IN HIS CONVERSATION: GRATITUDE FOR U.S. AID; SATISFACTION OVER THE CURRENT WARMTH OF BILATERAL RELATIONS AFTER THE BUSH VISIT; THE HISTORY OF ZAMBIA'S NONALIGNED POSTURE, FRIENDLY CRITICISM OF U.S. POLICY, AND IGNORED ADVICE TO THE WEST CONCERNING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; CONCERN OVER DELAY IN NAMIBIAN INTEPENDENCE PROCESS DUR TO SUDDEN INTRODUCTION OF "LINKAGE" ISSUE; COMPARISON OF SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND VERSUS SANCTIONS AGAINST SHOULD AFRICA; AND THE COMING EXPLOSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

6. SENATOR KASSEBAUM TOLD PRESIDENT KAUNDA THAT SHE HAD BEEN TROUBLED AND SURPRISED WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA INFORMED HER THAT CUBAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA WAS AN ISSUE INTRODUCED BY THE UNITED STATES. SHE HAD TOLD BOTHA OF HER BELIEF THAT WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM THE REGION HAD BEEN AN IMPORTANT [redacted]

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00152 01 OF 02 131419Z

ELEMENT OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO THE NAMIBIA ISSUE FOR THE BEGINNINT(##). THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD SHARED THAT VIEW AND INSISTED THAT THE ISSUE BE ADDRESSED. SHE ASKED PRESIDENT KAUNDA IF HE WAS SURPRISED AT FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA'S ASSERTION.

7. PRESIDENT KAUNDA RESPONDED WITH A SMILE THAT HE WAS NOT SURPRISED AT ALL. HE REVIEWED THE HISTORY OF PAST NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS OVER THE YEARS, DETAILING THEIR ABILITY TO RAISE NEW ISSUES TO DELAY THE PROCESS AT EACH STAGE. SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN READY TO SETTLE ON NAMIBIA AND PREPARATIONS WERE COMPLETE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 435 WHEN ELECTIONS OCCURRED IN 1980 AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION MADE STATEMENTS ON THE ISSUE. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, HE BELIEVED, INTRODUCED "LINKAGE" TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS, WHO ACCEPTED IT WITH ALACRITY. SENATOR KASSEBAUM RESPONDED THAT THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATION PROCESS WAS STALLED BEFORE THE ELECTIONS AND COLLAPSED AFTER THE PIM IN JANUARY 1981. THE CUBAN TROOP ISSUE HAD BEEN AN ELEMENT FROM THE OUTSET. THE CARDS WERE ON THE TABLE, IF NOT FACE UP. IF THE CARDS HAD BEEN LEFT FACE DOWN, KAUNDA RESPONDED, NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE MOVED TO OTHER ISSUES. SENATOR KASSEBAUM SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAD SQUEEZED EVERY OUNCE OF WORDING FROM OUR STATEMENTS TO PROVE THAT WE EMBRACED THEM. BUT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT.

NOTE BY OC/T: (##) TEXT GARBLED PARA 6, LINE 8. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00152 02 OF 02 131423Z
ACTION H-03

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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 LUSAKA 00152

8. LEAVING ASIDE WHO INITIATED THE IDEA, PRESIDENT KAUNDA ASKED THE SENATOR IF IT WERE NOT FEASIBLE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO ADMIT THAT THE "LINKAGE" POLICY HAD FAILED, AND TRY ANOTHER APPROACH THAT WOULD WORK. SENATOR KASSEBAUM SAID SHE BELIEVED IN FLEXIBLE DIPLOMACY. IF ONE APPROACH DID NOT WORK, ANOTHER ONE SHOULD BE TRIED. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO FIND OUT JUST HOW SERIOUS THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE TO SETTLE THE NAMIBIA ISSUE. SHE ASKED PRESIDENT KAUNDA WHAT COURSE HE WOULD SUGGEST THAT WOULD CHANGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW, BEARING IN MIND THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS FREQUENTLY GIVEN CREDIT FOR MORE INFLUENCE OVER PRETORIA THAN IT REALLY EXERCISED.

9. PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S RESPONSE WAS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO STOP SUPPORTING SOUTH AFRICA; POLITICALLY IN THE U.N.; ECONOMICALLY THROUGH INVESTMENTS AND IMF POLICY; AND SCIENTIFICALLY THROUGH TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER. HE URGED

THAT SANCTIONS BE IMPOSED. SENATOR KASSEBAUM RESPONDED THAT SANCTIONS DON'T WORK VERY WELL UNLESS YOU COULD GET ALL COUNTRIES TO PARTICIPATE. DISINVESTMENT WAS NOW AN ISSUE IN THE UNITED STATES, WHERE MICHIGAN AND MASSACHUSETTS LAST WEEK PASSED A BILL FORBIDDING THE STATE TO HOLD IN ITS PORTFOLIO THE STOCK OF AMERICAN COMPANIES WHICH HAD HOLDINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA. KAUNDA [redacted]

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00152 02 OF 02 131423Z

NODDED APPROVAL. BUT, SENATOR KASSEBAUM SAID, THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA DID NOT SUPPORT DISINVESTMENT. THOSE WITH WHOM SENATOR KASSEBAUM HAD DISCUSSED THE ISSUE HAD SAID THAT THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD SUFFER THE MOST FROM DISINVESTMENT. THE SENATOR WONDERED IN CLOSING WHETHER THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REALLY CARED. UNITED STATES POLICY HAD MOVED BACK AND FORTH OVER THE YEARS, BUT THE SOUTH AFRICANS DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE CHANGED VERY MUCH.

10. AT THE END OF THE MEETING BEFORE LUNCH, PRESIDENT KAUNDA TOLD SENATOR KASSEBAUM THAT SWAPO LEADER NUJOMA WAS IN STATE HOUSE AND ASKED IF SHE WOULD BE WNLLING TO GREET HIM BEFORE SHE LEFT FOR THE AIRPORT. SHE AGREED. THE MEETING LASTED FOR ABOUT FIVE MINUTES. SENATOR KASSEBAUM GREETED NUJOMA IN HER CAPACITY AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE CONFERENCE IN HARARE. SHE SAID THE CONFERENCE HAD BEEN FRUITFUL FOR HER AS A FORUM TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND HOPED IT WOULD BE THE SAME FOR NUJOMA. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO SET ASIDE RHETORIC AND EXPLORE THE REALITIES OF THE ISSUES IN SEARCH OF SOLUTIONS. NUJOMA, SMILING, RESPONDED WITH STANDARD RHETORIC, BLAMING THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FOR SLOWING THE NAMIBIAN INDEPNDENCE PROCESS AND VOWING THAT NAMIBIA WOULD BE FREE UNDER SWAPO LEADERSHIP WHETHER THE UNITED STATES OR SOUTH AFRICA WILLED IT OR NOT.

11. THE MEETING WITH NUJOMA WAS NOT REPORTED IN THE LOCAL PRESS.

12. SENATOR KASSEBAUM HAS NOT SEEN THIS MESSAGE. PLEASE PASS IT TO HER AS SOON AS CONVENIENT. PLATT

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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00152 02 OF 02 131423Z

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Case Number: s199900030

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00280 01 OF 02 171053Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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R 141952Z JAN 83
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4701
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 SANTIAGO 0280

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: 1/14/89
TAGS: ELAB, ICFTU, CI, PGOV
SUBJECT: NEW LAW MAY BAR FOREIGN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: A NEW AMENDMENT TO THE CHILEAN LABOR PLAN (A COLLECTION OF DECREES AND LAWS WHICH MAKE UP THE CHILEAN LABOR CODE) BANS FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO DOMESTIC LABOR UNIONS FROM FOREIGN SOURCES. THE LAW APPEARED WITHOUT PUBLICITY IN THE DIARIO OFICIAL DECEMBER 29, 1982. LABOR LEADERS WERE CAUGHT BY SURPRISE, AND DO NOT KNOW WHAT LIES BEHIND THE NEW LAW. THE PROVISION COULD IMPEDE ICFTU
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00280 01 OF 02 171053Z

AND ORIT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT IN CHILE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE AIFLD EDUCATION PROGRAMS ARE TARGETED. THE NEW LAW IS BOUND TO INCREASE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE GOC AND OPPOSITION LABOR GROUPS, BOTH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL. END SUMMARY.

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3. ON DECEMBER 29, 1982 THE DIARIO OFICIAL PUBLISHED AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 44 OF DECREE LAW 2756 (JULY 3, 1979) CONCERNING THE RULES FOR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. THE NEW PROVISION PROHIBITS UNIONS FROM CONTRACTING OR RECEIVING FINANCING "DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY" FROM FOREIGN PERSONS OR IUTIONS (PERSONAS O JURIDICAS EXTRANJERAS). THIS INCLUDES CONTRIBUTIONS, DONATIONS, LOANS OR ANY OTHER KIND OF FINANCING. PREVIOUSLY, ARTICLE 44 BARRED UNIONS FROM RECEIVING FUNDS FROM THE BUSINESS OR BUSINESSES WHERE THEIR MEMBERS WORKED. THAT PROVISION IS RETAINED IN THE NEW ARTICLE.

4. THERE WAS NO GOC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AMENDMENT AND ONLY ONE SANTIAGO PAPER (LA TERCERA DE LA HORA) CARRIED AN ARTICLE ON THE AMENDMENT. THE EMBASSY HAS CONSULTED SEVERAL LABOR LEADERS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW LAW, BUT THEY WERE UNAWARE OF WHAT PROMPTED THE GOC ACTION OR WHAT THE GOC INTENDED TO DO WITH THE LAW. THE EMBASSY HAS ALSO CONSULTED MID-LEVEL LABOR MINISTRY OFFICIALS WHO EXPRESSED NO KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE AMENDMENT..LABOR MINISTER MARDONES IS CURRENTLY ON VACATION BUT IS KNOWN TO BE OPPOSED TO SUCH RESTRICTIONS AS IMPRACTICAL.

5. THUS, AT THIS STAGE WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON THE ORIGIN OR PURPOSE OF THE BAN. OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION IS THAT THE ACTION MAY HVE BEEN PROMPTED BY THE LONG-STANDING DISPUTE BETWEEN LABOR LEADERS GUILLERMO MEDINA, THE PRO-GOVERNMENT LEADER OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00280 01 OF 02 171053Z

THE EL TENIENTE COPPER ZONE, AND EMILIO TORREZ, THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN COPPER WORKERS CONFEDERATION (CTC). IN THIS SCENARIO, WE UNDERSTAND THAT IN SEPTEMBER, 1982, TORRES ATTEMPTED TO OBTAIN A LOAN FOR THE CTC FROM THE VENEZUELAN WORKERS BANK, BUT THAT LOAN FELL THROUGH BECAUSE OF THE BANK'S FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES (82 BRUSSELS 16808). MEDINA, WHO IS THE LABOR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE, MAY HAVE SOUGHT THE AMENDMENT (WHICH WOULD HAVE MADE ILLEGAL THE ABORTIVE VENEZUELAN DEAL) AS A COUNTERPUNCH TO THE CTC EXECUTIVE BOARD DECISION IN OCTOBER, 1982, TO DISSOLVE THE EL TENIENTE ZONE (FEDERATION). THE LATTER WAS INITIATED BY TORRES IN AN EFFORT TO ISOLATE MEDINA IN THE COPPER SECTOR AND TO WEAKEN HIS LCREDENTIALS. THUS, THE PERSONAL SQUABBLE MAY HAVE LED TO THE NEW LAW. SUBSEQUENTLY, ON JANUARY 11, 1983, TORRES LOST HIS POSITION AS CTC PRESIDENT WHEN HIS UNION, BY LACK OF QUORUM, FAILED TO RENEW ITS AFFILIATION TO THE CTC. CTC STATUTES REQUIRE THE PRESIDENT TO BE FROM AN AFFILIATE. THE CHILEAN LABOR PLAN REQUIRES ALL UNIONS TO VOTE EVERY TWO YEARS WHETHER OR NOT TO REMAIN

AFFILIATED TO A FEDERATION OR CONFEDERATION. THE TWO YEAR PERIOD FOR TORRES' UNION LAPSED JANUARY 11. THERE CANNOT BE ANOTHER EFFORT TO OBTAIN A QUORUM, AND TORRES IS AUTOMATICALLY OUT. WE SUSPECT THAT MEDINA HAD A HAND IN THE EVENT.

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00280 02 OF 02 171046Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00
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	SAL-01	USIE-00	SP-02	SPRS-01	/108 W		

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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 SANTIAGO 0280

6. THERE ARE TWO OTHER POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR THE NEW LAW. IT IS WIDELY KOWN IN CHILE THAT THE ILLEGAL NATIONAL LABOR COORDINATOR (CNS), COMPOSED LARGELY OF LEFTIST CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND COMMUNIST UNIONS, HAS BEEN FINANCED BY EUROPEAN AFFILIATES OF THE ICFTU. ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS THE GOC HAS ATTEMPTED TO SUPPRESS THE CNS, AND IN EARLY DECEMBER 1982 EXPELLED ITS PRESIDENT MANUEL BUSTOS (82 SANTIAGO 7734). THE TIMING OF THE AMENDMENT BANNING FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS SUGGESTS AN ADDITIONAL WARNING TO THE CNS. THE OTHER POSSIBILITY STEMS FROM THE OCTOBER 1982 "SOLIDARITY" VISIT TO CHILE OF THE ICFTU, AFL-CIO AND ORIT REPRESENTATIVES (82 MEXICO 14945). THEY REFUSED TO MEET WITH MEDINA, WHO URGENTLY SOUGHT A MEETING TO BOOST HIS CREDENTIALS AS AN INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTED LABOR LEADER. THE GROUP, HOWEVER, DID MEET WITH TORRES. MEDINA AND PRESUMABLY THE GOC KNOW THAT FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE CNS AND THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00280 02 OF 02 171046Z

WORKERS (7$5) WAS AMONG THE TOPICS DISCUSSED BY THE GROUP IN CHILE. THUS, THE NEW LAW COULD BE IN RESPONSE TO THAT VISIT.

7. WHATEVER THE MOTIVE, THE GOC APPEARS NOW TO HAVSTABLISHED A LEGAL BASIS TO BA N FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE ICFTU, ORIT, AND CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIES (ITS) WHICH HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN CHILE -- ESPECIALLY THE PTTI (POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH), FITIV (TEXTILE), FIET (BANK AND CLERICAL), IMF (METALWORKERS), AND ITF (TRANSPORT). THE LATIN AMERICAN AFFILIATE (CAAT) OF THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LBOR (WCL) COULD ALSO BE AFFECTED.

8. WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT EITHER THE AIFLD PROGRAM OR THOSE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S LABOR DEPARTMENT (VICARIA OBRERA) (FINANCED IN PART BY THE INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION - IAF) WOULD BE IN DANGER -- AT LEAST NOT IMMEDIATELY -- SINCE THESE PROGRAMS ARE ESSENTIALLY IN EDUCATION AND SERVICES.

9. THE GOC MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO ENFORCE THE BAN. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MOST OF THE FUNDING, FROM THE ICFTU, FOR EXAMPLE, IS IN CASH AND THAT VERY LITTLE IN THE WAY OF RECORDING EXPENDITURES IS REQUIRED. NEVERTHELESS THE STAGE IS SET FOR INCREASED TENSION BETWEEN THE GOC AND THOSE SECTORS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL, OPPOSED TO IT. THEBERGE

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Department of State

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ACTION ARA-00

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AMEMBASS BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMCONSUL PORTO ALEGRE POUCH
AMCONSUL SALVADOR DA BAHIA POUCH
AMCONSUL RECIFE POUCH

[redacted] SAO PAULO 0126

ROME FOR THE VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 1/14/89
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, SHUM, BR, IT, AR, UY, PA, CI, VT
SUBJECT: BRAZILIAN CARDINAL RELEASES LIST OF 7,791 MISSING PERSONS (DESAPARECIDOS) IN ARGENTINA

1. [redacted]-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: SAO PAULO' CARDINAL ARNS AND THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOUTHERN CONE RELEASED ON JANUARY 13 A LIST OF 7,791 PERSONS MISSING IN ARGENTINA OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS. THE LIST, ALONG WITH A CALENDAR COMMEMORATING MISSING CHILDREN, WILL BE DELIVERED TO THE POPE BY CARDINAL ARNS. THE LIST HAS BEEN HAILED AS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE TO DATE. END SUMMARY.

3. CARDINAL DOM PAULO EVARISTO ARNS, ARCHBISHOP OF SAO PAULO, REVEALED AT A JANUARY 13 PRESS CONFERENCE A LIST OF 7,791 "DESAPARECIDOS" IN ARGENTINA BETWEEN DECEMBER 1977 AND DECEMBER 1982, THE LIST INCLUDES CITIZENS OF TWENTY-SEVEN COUNTRIES, AMONG WHICH ARE THIRTEEN BRAZILIANS. THIS LIST, ACCORDING TO THE CARDINAL AND AUGUSTO CONTE, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA, IS MORE COMPLETE THAN ANY TO DATE, INCLUDING THOSE OF AMNESTY INTERNATION. ARNS STATED THAT ALL NAMES WERE CHECKED WITH AT LEAST TWO INDEPENDENT SOURCES BEFORE PUBLICATION.

4. THE LIST WAS COMPILED AFTER TWO AND A HALF YEARS OF WORK BY THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOUTHERN CONE (CLAMOR). CLAMOR IS A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SAO PAULO. EIGHT ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS ALSO COLLABORATED, ALONG WITH SOME GROUPS FROM URUGUAY, AND AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

5. THE DIRECTOR OF CLAMOR, JAIME WRIGHT, TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE NUMBERS OF DESAPARECIDOS COULD REACH 15 THOUSAND. (NOTE: WRIGHT IS A PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER, BORN IN BRAZIL OF AMERICAN MISSIONARY PARENTS. HIS BROTHER IS A "DESAPARECIDO" IN BRAZIL SINCE 1973.) WRIGHT STATED IN TELCON WITH POLOFF THAT THE INFORMATION USED TO COMPILE THE LIST CAME MAINLY FROM MIDDLE AND UPPER-CLASS (READ "POLITICALLY AWARE") ARGENTINIANS. ACCORDING TO WRIGHT, IT IS ONLY RECENTLY THAT INFORMATION FROM NORTHERN ARGENTINA HAS BEGUN TO TRICKLE IN, AND INFORMATION FROM THE LOWER CLASSES IS STILL VERY RARE.

6. ON MONDAY, JANUARY 17TH, CARDINAL ARNS WILL PERSONALLY DELIVER A COPY OF THE LIST TO THE POPE. A COPY HAS ALREADY BEEN SENT TO THE PAPAL NUNCIO IN ARGENTINAN, MONSIGNOR UBALDO CALABRESI. ANOTHER COPY WAS SENT INDIRECTLY TO THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT VIA ITS EMBASSY IN DENMARK.

7. AT ARNS' PRESS CONFERENCE POLOFF ALSO RECEIVED A MIMEOGRAPHED LIST OF DESAPARECIDOS IN THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES: 128 BRAZILIANS IN BRAZIL SINCE 1964; 3 BRAZILIANS IN CHILE SINCE 1973; 13 BRAZILIANS IN ARGENTINA SINCE 1973; AND 2 ARGENTINIANS IN BRAZIL SINCE 1982. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHO AUTHORED THIS LIST, BUT PRESUMABLY IT ALSO WAS COMPILED BY ONE OF THE ARCHDIOCESE'S HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS.

8. AMCONGEN SAO PAULO IS POUCHING COPY OF LIST (815 PAGES) AND CALENDAR TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES FOR ITS PERUSAL AND TO PASS TO WASHINGTON IF IT SO DESIRES.

9. COMMENT: THE BRAZILIAN CHURCH, UNDER THE ACTIVIST LEADERSHIP OF CARDINAL ARNS, HAS TAKEN THE LATIN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PERSONS FOR POLITICAL REASONS. ACCORDING TO WRIGHT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VATICAN AND THE GOA MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE ARGENTINE CHURCH TO CONDUCT FAR REACHING INVESTIGATIONS, AND THEREFORE THE BRAZILIAN CHURCH HAS TAKEN OVER THE ROLE. PUSHING THE INVESTIGATION OF THE DESAPARECIDOS HAS BEEN A WAY OF KEEPING THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PUBLIC AND THUS DISCOURAGING THIS TYPE OF ACTION BY GOVERNMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN CONE OF LATIN AMERICA. ARNS' PRESS CONFERENCE WAS HELD ON THE SAME DAY THAT THE PRESIDENTS OF BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA WERE MEETING WITH ONE ANOTHER ON THEIR COUNTRIES' BORDERS. ARNS PROBABLY SCHEDULED THE PRESS CONFERENCE FOR THAT DAY SINCE IT HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED IN ADVANCE THAT BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT FIGUEIREDO WOULD NOT RAISE THE QUESTION OF THE DESAPARECIDOS WITH ARGENTINIAN PRESIDENT BIGNONE. THE TIMING WAS TOO PERFECT TO BE MERELY COINCIDENTAL. END COMMENT. LEARY

TT,

I think we should include one sentence on this new report in the section on disappearances in the Argentine report, even though this Church report was not issued until 1983. Do you agree.

LH

[redacted]

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11561

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS -
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part (X) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED (Ne 004) 1/16/83

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____ R

Internal Security Log: January 10-16, 1983

January 10

-- Eighth Chamber of Court of Appeals unanimously rejected recurso for Manuel Bustos and Hector Cuevas, both of whom were recently expelled from Chile. On the same day, the Fourth Chamber of the Court of Appeals left pending another recurso for Bustos filed by Valdes.

January 11

-- The Second Chamber of the Supreme Court rejected a recurso de amparo filed on behalf of Carlos Podlech.

-- Ministry of Interior asked the Supreme Court for clarification of its January 5 decision allowing "APSI" to publish national as well as international news.

January 13

-- The Agrupacion de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos submitted a list of 32 Chileans to the Foreign Ministry whom they claimed had "disappeared" in Argentina.

-- Two professors, Hector Malatrassis Aguilera and Alfredo Iriarte Iriarte, and an ex-detective, Luis Portilla Peralta, were ordered relegated to the north of Chile for two years by the Court of Appeals. They were convicted under the Internal Security Law of aiding the PCCH. The court also upheld a 400 day prison sentence on an arms charge by a military court. Since they were arrested in November 1981, the prison sentence has already been completed.

January 14

-- The First Chamber of the Supreme Court ruled a recurso de proteccion presented by Fernando Valenzuela Espinoza in an effort to avoid a Consejo de Guerra was inadmissible.

-- Exiled Chilean journalist Jose Sujer Maldavsky Kischinevsky, not living in France, filed suit in the Court of Appeals to be allowed to return to Chile.

-- Ministry of Interior filed charges of violating Internal Security Act against Andres Galanakis. He is being held in the Centro de Readaptacion Social. Investigating judge will be Sergio Dunlop of the Court of Appeals.

-- Professor Raul Poblete Sepulveda was declared reo by judge Ariaselva Ruz of Court of Appeals on charge of violating Internal Security Act. He is in libre platica at the Centro de Readaptacion. He was arrested on January 7, allegedly with subversive pamphlets in his possession.

1 of 55 11 11 Box 69 UNCLASSIFIED

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January 15

-- The Third Chamber of the Supreme Court upheld a lower court sentence of two years relegation for violating Decree 77 in cases of three PCCH members. They are: Alfredo Iriarte Iriarte (Chañaral), Hector Malatrassi Aguilera (Taltal) and Luis Portilla Peralta (Tocopilla).

January 16

-- Supreme Court Judge Enrique Correa Labra was only dissenting vote in a 4-1 opinion upholding expulsion of Carlos Podlech.

-- Hernan Liberona Clerk, a Chilean citizen, was expelled from Peru for activities in Communist Party which violated Peruvian law against political activities by foreigners.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

<<<***** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER *****>>>

DOC_NBR= 83STATE014608

FILM= D830029-0084

DATE= 18 JAN 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= STATE

DRAFTER= AF/S:PAKING

OFFICE= ORIGIN SS

TO= NIAMEY

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= EXDIS

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA: SOUTHERN AFRICA

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRESIDENT, CONVERSATION, SOUTHERN, FOREIGN, RELATIONS

TAGS= PEPR, US, ZA, XA, MZ, (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID)

[redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 014608
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DECAPTIONED

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
Date 6/8/99 Exemption ____

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EXDIS FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER

FOLLOWING LUSAKA 05496 DTD DEC 31, SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO DAR B SALAAM BONN GABORONE HARARE LONDON MAPUTO NAIROBI OTTAWA PARIS PRETORIA LAGOS USUN NEW YORK AND LILONGWE BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION.

QUOTE [redacted] LUSAKA 05496

EXDIS

DECAPTIONED

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PEPR, US, ZA
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA: SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT KAUNDA REACTED POSITIVELY TO AMBASSADOR'S NEW YEAR'S EVE BRIEFING ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE WELCOMED U.S. EFFORTS TO DEVELOP TIES WITH MOZAMBIQUE, URGED CLOSER U.S.
[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 014608

RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA AND STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE OPENING CONTACTSBETWEEN ANGOLA/MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTH AFRICA. KAUNDA REMAINED DEEPLY WORRIED ABOUT THE NAMIBIA PROCESS BUT WAS INTERESTED TO HEAR OF THE ACTIVITY BELOW THE SURFACE AND THE FACT THERE APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN SOME PROGRESS. HE URGED THE U.S. OO MOVE QUICKLY. HE HAD FOUND ANGOLAN PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS MORE CONFIDENT DURING HIS DECEMBER VISIT THAN IN SEPTEMBER, AND WAS WORKING TO BUILD THAT CONFIDENCE. KAUNDA CONTINUED TO DISAGREE WITH THE U.S. ON "LINKAGE", BUT WOULD CERTAINLY NOT STAND IN THE WAY IF THE ANGOLANS AGREED.END SUMMARY.

3. I SPENT AN HOUR ANE I HALF NEW YEAR'S EVE WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA REVIEWING THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN

AFRICA. DRAWING ON RELEVANT CABLES, I BRIEFED HIM ON EVENTS SINCE THE BUSH VISIT; THE BOTHA VCSIT TO WASHINGTON; THE CAPE VERDE TALKS; THE CROCKER CONSULTATIONS IN MOSCOW; OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID ON LESOTHO; DAS WISNER'S MEETINGS IN MAPUTO; THE MOZAMBIQUE-SAG TALKS IN KOMATIPOORT; AND THE CG MEETING IN NEW YORK. I CLOSED BY EMPHASIZING U.S. DETERMINATION TO MOVE AHEAD ON THE COURSE VICE PRESIDENT BUSH HAD DESCRIBED TO HIM. PARALLEL MOVEMENT ON CUBAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM ANGOLA WAS REQUIRED BECAUSETHE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD NOT SETTLE OTHERWISE. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT, WE BELIEVED, RAISE NEW ISSUES ONCE WE ACHIEVED MOVEMENT ON THE CUBAN ISSUE. IT WAS THE PROSPECT OF A NEGOTIATED CUBAN DEPARTURE THAT HAD ENABLED US TO WRAP UP VIRTUALLY ALL THE RESOLUTION 435 NAMIBIA PROBLEMS. WE HAD NO DESIRE TO PUT OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS ON THE SPOT, OR ENDORSE LINKAGE AS A DOCTRINE. THE MPLA HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT [redacted]

PAGE 03 STATE 014608

OF PARALLELISM IN PRINCIPLE, AND OFFERED SOME CUBAN WITHDRAWAL IN PHASE III AS SADF DRAWDOWN UNDER RESOLUTION 435 OCCURRED. THE SADF WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULE HAD BEEN PUBLISHED IN 8978. J TIMETABLE ON THE CUBANS WOULD ALSO BE NEEDED ALTHOUGH WE DID NOT ASK THAT IT BE PUBLISHED. THE FOCUS OF NEGOTIATIONS WAS NOW ON SEEKING SUCH A TIMETABLE. BOTH WE AND OUR CG PARTNERS WERE FULLY ENGAGED IN THE SEARCH. THE UNITED STATES WAS ALSO PRESSING THE CONCEPT OF MILITARY RESTRAINT AND MUTUAL COOLING OFF IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A MEANS TO CREATE THE CLIMATE NEEDED FOR FURTHER MOVEMENT.

4. I CLOSED MY PRESENTATION BY REQUESTING KAUNDA'S COMMENTS AND GUIDANCE, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF HIS RECENT TALKS WITH DOS SANTOS. THE UNITED STATES WANTED TO REMAIN IN VERY CLOSE COMMUNICATION AND WOULD BE ASKING HIS ADVICE PRIOR TO OUR NEXT SESSION WITH THE MPLA, WHICH WE EXPECT TO OCCUR IN JANUARY.

5. KAUNDA SAID HE WAS VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE COMPREHENSIVE BRIEF. HE WOULD BE CAREFUL TO MAINTAIN COMPLETE CONFIDENTIALITY, AS THE ONLY CORRECT BASIS FOR EARNEST DEALINGS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS. HE ADDED THAT WILTED PHIRI, WHO WAS THE ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT, MIGHT BE IN FURTHER TOUCH FOR CLARIFICATION IN DETAIL ON SOME POINTS.
6. KAUNDA WAS THANKFUL AND TOTALLY SUPPORTIVE OF U.S. EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH CLOSER RELATIONS WITH MAPUTO.

THESE WERE "VERY GOOD MOVES INDEED." HE ALSO FELT THAT THE U.S. SHOULD ESTABLISH CLOSER RELATIONS WITH LUANDA, A POINT HE HAD MADE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN IN HIS LAST LETTER. THE GOVERNMENTS IN THESE COUNTRIES MIGHT BE MARXIST, BUT KAUNDA KNEW THEIR LEADERS WERE DETERMINED TO BE NONALIGNED. MOVES TO BRING THEM [redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 014608

CLOSER TO THE UNITED STATES WOULD STRENGTHEN THEIR NONALIGNMENT AND WERE STRONGLY TO BE ENCOURAGED.

7. KAUNDA ALSO WELCOMED, AND HINTED HE HAD ENCOURAGED, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE'S MEETINGS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. HIS POSITIVE ATTITUDE WAS NOT TO JUSTIFY HIS OWN MEETING WITH BOTHA, NOR DID IT SIGNIFY IN ANY WAY AGREEMENT WITH APARTHEID. BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE SOUTH AFRICANS -- NO MATTER HOW DEEP THEIR DISAGREEMENTS AND SUSPICIONS -- TO KNOW THAT THEY WERE DEALING WITH DECENT HUMAN BEINGS. ALL OF THESE COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ZAMBIA, KAUNDA CONTINUED, HAD TO TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA. THEY DID NOT LIKE IT, BECAUSE IT MEANT THAT THEY, TOO, WERE SUPPORTING APARTHEID INDIRECTLY, BUT THEY HAD NO CHOICE. NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS WERE THE ONLY APPROACH THAT MADE ANY SENSE. THESE OPENING CONTACTS IN CAPE VERDE AND KOMATIPOORT WERE USEFUL EXERCISES.

8. KAUNDA URGED THE UNITED STATES TO BRING WHATEVER INFLUENCE IT HAD TO BEAR ON SOUTH AFRICA TO END ITS ECONOMIC WAR AGAINST NEIGHBORING STATES. THE DESTRUCTION OF FUEL TANKS IN BEIRA HAD INCREASED THE STATE OF DEPENDENCE OF ZIMBAB3 -,$.-)-28. THESE COUNTRIES AND OTHER NEIGHBORS WERE ALREADY DEPENDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA. ZAMBIAN MINES MUST BUY SPARES FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS, A STATE OF AFFAIRS THAT WOULD CONTINUE FOR THE FORSEEABLE FUTURE. MAPUTO WOULD BE DEPENDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS. IT IS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTEREST TO HELP ORGANIZE THESE ECONOMIES PROPERLY RATHER THAN EFFECTIVELY DESTROY THEM.

9. KAUNDA SAID HE REMAINED DEEPLY WORRIED ABOUT NAMIBIA. HE HAD SPOKEN OUT IN PUBLIC BECAUSE HE [redacted]

PAGE 05 STATE 014608

WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE APPARENT LULL IN ACTIVITY. HE REALIZED FROM MY BRIEFING THAT THERE HAD BEEN A LOT GOING ON BELOW THE SURFACE, AND APPEARED TO BE SOME. PROGRESS. HE URGED THE UNITED STATES TO SOLVE THE

PROBLEM QUICKLY AND OBJECTIVELY, TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO DEATHS AND DESTRUCTION. FURTHERMORE, IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO BE ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE ISSUE IN THE RECORDS OF HISTORY, AND TO SUPPORT THE DEMANDS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.

10. KAUNDA SAID HE HAD FOUND DOS SANTOS STRONGER AND MORE CONFIDENT THAN IN SEPTEMBER. THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT, FROM ZAMBIA'S POINT OF VIEW, WAS TO HELP BUILD THAT CONFIDENCE AND TO PROVIDE DOS SANTOS WITH HIGH DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION. THIS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. KAUNDA WAS NOT AT LIBERTY TO PROVIDE DETAILS OF HIS TALKS WITH DOS SANTOS. HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT DOS SANTOS' POSITION VIS A VIS THE UNITED STATES IN HIS CTNVERSATIONS ON CUBAN WITHDRAWAL HAD NOT CHANGED.

11. KAUNDA DID NOT AGREE WITH THE UNITED STATES ON THE LINKAGE ISSUE, AS WE WELL KNEW. BUT IF ANGOLA AGREED, THERE COULD BE NO OTHER WAY. ZAMBIA WOULD CERTAINLY NOT OPPOSE SUCH A SOLUTION. IT WAS A MATTER BETWEEN THE ANGOLANS AND THE CUBANS.

12. CAUNDA SAID HE HAD BEEN INTRIGUED AFTER THE BUSH VISIT TO SEE HIMSELF AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS PORTRAYED IN WASHINGTON MASS MEDIA AS SAYING ONE THING IN PUBLIC AND TAKING A MORE PRAGMATIC APPROACH IN PRIVATE. IN FACT, AS I KNEW FROM HIS TALK WITH VICE PRESIDENT BUSH, HE HAD SAID NOTHING IN PUBLIC THAT WAS AT VARIANCE WILH HIS PRIVATE COMMENTS. HE DID NOT APPRECIATE HAVING BEEN LUMPED TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS, AND THEREFORE HAD ASKED CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER REUBEN KAMANGA TO MAKE A CORRECTIVE STATEMENT. FOLLOWING UP ON THE BUSH VISIT, [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 06 STATE 014608

KAUNDA SAID HE HAD BEEN DELIGHTED TO RECEIVE THE THANK YOU NOTEFROM THE VICE PRESIDENT, AND WISHED TO SAY HOW DEEPLY HE HAD BEEN TOUCHED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT'S FAVORABLE PUBLIC REMARKS ABOUT HIM UPON DEPARTURE.

13. IN CLOSING, KAUNDA REPEATED HIS FAMILIAR DESIRE TO BUILD BRIDGES RATHER THAN DIG GULFS. ME HAD ASKED CUBAN VICE PRESIDENT BOSQUE TO PRAY FOR FIDEL CASTRO. ZAMBIA WANTED GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES AND BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MOSCOW (EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIETS DID NOT PRAY). HE HOPED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN AND SECRETARY GENERAL ANDROPOV WOULD WORK OUT A WAY OF DEALING WITH ONE ANOTHER.

4. COMMENT. KAUNDA WAS RELAXED AND CORDIAL THROUGHOUT
THE CONVERSATION. HE SHOWED STRONG INTEREST IN THE BRIEFING, GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT HE HAD NOT HAD

TIME TO CONSIDER RECENT EVENTS IN ANY DEPTH. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING IN VIEW OF HIS HECTIC SCHEDULE DURING THE PAST MONTH.

15. C DON'T THINK THE CONVERSATION WILL CHANGE KAUNDA'S MIND ON THE SUBSTANCE OF ANY GIVEN ISSUE. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, TEMPER HIS IMAGE, EMOTIONALLY PROCLAIMED IN PUBLIC, OF THE U.S. AS AN OBSTACLE TO THE NAMIBIA PEACE PROCESS. IN ANY CASE, IT SHOWS THAT HE REMAINS DEVOTED TO A MODERATE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE REGION AND NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO THE ISSUES.

PLATT

UNQUOTE SHULTZ

NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

*** Current Classification ***

UNCLASSIFIED

(Ne 0109

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full January 18, 1983
Exemption(s)

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Dear Senator Moynihan:

Thank you for your letter of December 6, 1982, on behalf of Ruth H. Wilson, Secretary of the Committee for Chilean Inquiry, concerning the arrest and detention of Alejandro Mario Diaz and Fermin Montes Garcia in Chile.

The Department of State does not have any additional information concerning either of these detainees. Therefore, we have requested our Embassy in Santiago to look into this matter and contact you directly with any information they may have on these cases.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Alvin Paul Drischler
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure - correspondence returned

The Honorable
Daniel P. Moynihan
United States Senate

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AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9702043 IS/FPC/CDR Date: 9-5-9
(X) RELEASE (X) DECLASSIFY
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ MANAGUA 281

EO 12356 : DECL: 1/20/89
TAGS : OREP
SUBJ : CODEL SOLARZ MEETING WITH COMANDANTE NUNEZ

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING IS A MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION DRAFTED BY CODEL STAFF OF MEETING ON JANUARY 18 OF CODEL SOLARZ WITH COMANDANTE CARLOS NUNEZ.

3. CONGRESSMEN SOLARZ AND LEACH MET FOR ALMOST TWO HOURS WITH CARLOS NUNEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE GRN COUNCIL OF STATE AND ONE OF THE NINE MEMBERS OF THE SANDINISTA NATIONALH DIRECTORATE, TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVING US-GRN RELATIONS. NUNEZ STRESSED GRN "FLEXIBILITY" AND DESIRE TO PURSUESFURTHER DISCUSSIONS ABOUT REDUCING TENSIONS IN REGION. POSSIBILITY OF ELIMINATING GRN ASSISTNCE TO EL SALVADOR GUERRILLAS AND REDUCING EAST BLOC MILITARY PRESENCE IN EXCHANGE FOR U.S. NON-INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA WAS PROBED. NUNEZ INDICATED GRN WAS PREPARED
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PAGE 02 MANAGU 00281 202011Z

TO DISCUSS SUCH AS APPROACH, BUT REFRAINED FROM OFFERING

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SPECIFIC GRN ASSURANCES OF COOPERATION.

4. NUNEZ BELIEVED THE FMLN IN EL SALVADOR WOULD BE WILLING TO ENTER A DIALOGUE TOWARD AN ELECTORAL PROCESS IF LAYING DOWN ARMS IS NOT A PRECONDITION. HE SAID THE WAR WAS STALEMATED AND SHOULD BE ENDED POLITICALLY.

5. NUNEZ EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAD REACHED A DECISION TO DESTROY THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION BY CARRYING OUT A CAMPAIGN OF DESTABILIZATION AND POTENTIAL WAR WHICH
ICTATED GRN "REALISM." WITH REGARD TO THE CONCERNS OF NEIGHBORING GOVERNMENTS ABOUT SANDINISTA EXPORT OF REVOWUTION, NUNEZ COMMENTED, "I'LL TELL YOU SINCERELY, WE ARE WILLING TO TAKE ALL MEASURES THAT MAKE POSSIBLE STOPPING THE HARDSHIPS OF NICARAGUA AND TO EFFECT COMPROMISES WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS." IN RESPONSE TO CODEL QUERY, HE ADDED THAT SURVIVAL OF NICARAGU'S REVOLUTION WAS NOT PERCEIVED TO REQUIRE REVOLUTION IN OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. ON THE CONTRARY, HE SAID SURVIVAL OF NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION WAS ESSENTIAL PRE-CONDITION FOR OTHER REVOLUTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

6. NUNEZ ASKED THAT NO PRE-CONDITIONS BE THE CONDITION OF A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-GRN DIALOGUE, PERHAPS BETWEEN SHULTZ AND D'ESCOTO, PREFERABLY LO TAKE PLACE IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO OR VENEZUELA, SERVING AS "HONORARY WITNESS."

7. NUNEZ SAID THE GRN WAS OPEN TO DISCUSSING AN AGREEMENT, INCLUDING VERIFICATION PROVISIONS, IN WHICH NO AID WOULD FLOW THROUGH NICARAGUA TO GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR, ASSUMING

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SUCH AID EXISTS, IN RETURN FOR U.S. ASSURANCES THAT AID THROUGH HONDURAS TO OPPONENTS OF THE GRN WOULD BE HALTED.

8. NUNEZ STATED THAT IN A CONTEXT OF REGIONAL AGREEMENT IN WHICH CONCOMITANT U.S. OBLIGATIONS WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN, THE GRN WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL AND THE POSSIBILITY OF REDUCING CUBAN AND SOVIET BLOC MILITARY PERSONNEL IN NICARAGUA.

9. ACCORDING TO NUNEZ, THE GRN HAD NOT YET DECIDED WHERE

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IT WANTED TO GO WITH ELECTIONS AND PARTIES. HE CLAIMED THAT INFRINGEMENTS OF PLURALISM ARE REFLECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THAT IN THE HOPE OF CREATING SOMETHING NEW POLITICALLY, THE GRN WOULD SEND A TOP-LEVEL MISSION TO STUDY THE MODELS OF COSTA RICA, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA, PERU, MEXICO, SWEDEN, FRANCE, FINLAND, WEST GERMANY, AND EAST GERMANY. CODEL SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO COMPARE EAST AND WEST GERMANY.

10. CODEL STRESSED THE NEED FOR A GRN ACT AS PROOF OF SERIOUS INTENT AND CALLED FOR FLEXIBILITY ON GRN PART IN DETERMINING STRUCTURE AS WELL AS CONTENT OF FUTURE DISCUSSIONS. CODEL RECOMMENDED GREATER USE OF U.S. EMBASSY. NUNEZ RESPONDED THAT AMBASSADORS, U.S. OR GRN, LACK DECISION-MAKING CAPACITY AND NOTED THAT IT WAS U.S. WHICH REJECTED LOPEZ PORTILLO'S PEACE INITIATIVE AND, LATER, THE MEXICO-VENEZUELA PROPOSAL FOR COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSIONS IN REGION. FROM SANDINISTA PERSPECTIVE, IT WAS U.S. WHICH APPEARED IMPLACABLE AND UNWILLING TO DISCUSS ISSUES IN APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL FORA.
QUAINTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3944
INFO RUESEG/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA 2127
RUEHCV/AMEMBASSY CARACAS 0566
RUEHGT/AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA 0900
RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO 2486
RUESJC/AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE 3811
RUESTE/AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA 0190
RUECHA/USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
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CLASS: [redacted]
CHRGF: PROG 01/20/83

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 00577

E.O. 12356: DECL: 01/20/89
TAGS: PGOV, ES
SUBJECT: (U) D'AUBUISSON LAUNCHES INVESTIGATION OF DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA

1. (U) JANUARY 19 DAILIES REPORT A PRESS RELEASE FROM CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON ANNOUNCING THAT HE WILL PROPOSE THE ASSEMBLY "INVESTIGATE THE GRAVE PERSONAL ACCUSATIONS" DEFENSE MINISTER GENERAL GARCIA HAS MADE AGAINST HIM. HE ALSO INTENDS TO PROPOSE THAT THE ASSEMBLY INVESTIGATE THE REASONS WHY ORDER NO. 1 OF THE ARMED FORCES TRANSFERRED LTCOL. OCHOA IN THE ASSEMBLY PLENARY ON JANUARY 20. (NOTE: GARCIA MADE NO PUBLIC ACCUSATIONS AGAINST D'AUBUISSON. AS FAR AS WE KNOW, THE ASSEMBLY HAS NO AUTHORITY TO "INVESTIGATE" ORDER 1, WHICH IS FORMALLY ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF.)

2. (C) D'AUBUISSON APPEARS TO BE FORMING UP HIS TROOPS FOR A PUBLIC ATTACK ON GARCIA. THE FIRST SKIRMISH CAME ON JANUARY 14 WITH AN ANTI-GARCIA (AMONG OTHER THINGS) DEMONSTRATION BY THE FRENTE FEMENINO (SEPTEL.) IT IS NOT CERTAIN THAT D'AUBUISSON WILL GET RESULTS IN THE ASSEMBLY ITSELF, BUT NO DOUBT THE FRENTE FEMENINO AND OTHER ARENA NOISEMAKERS WILL HELP ATTRACT THE PRESS TO THE SESSION. THE D'AUBUISSON-GARCIA ANIMOSITY HAS BEEN PRIVATELY BITTER SINCE THE POST-MARCH 1982 ELECTION PERIOD. TAKING THE ANIMOSITY PUBLIC PROMISES TO PROVOKE ANOTHER CHALLENGE OF AUTHORITY WHICH WILL BUILD ON THE OCHOA-GARCIA CONFRONTATION.
BLEAKLEY

[redacted] SS 577

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/20/93
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PAGE 01 MANAGU 00280 201925Z
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EO 12356 : DECL: 1/20/89
TAGS : OREP
SUBJ : CODEL SOLARZ DINNER WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE FOLLOWING CABLE WAS DRAFTED BY CODEL STAFF, BEFORE DEPARTURE FROM MANAGUA, REPORTING ON DINNERS, JANUARY 17, WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS AND EDITOR OF OFFICIAL FSLN NEWSPAPER, BARRICADA, AND JANUARY 18 AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE WITH MEMBERS OF COUNCIL OF STATE.

3. CONGRESSMEN SOLARZ AND LEACH MET FOR THREE HOURS ON JANUARY 17 WITH DIRECTOR OF NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS FOR THE GRN, SAUL ARANA, AND THYEE OTHERS, TO DISCUSS U.S. AND NICARAGUAN CONCERNS ABOUT CENTRAL AMERICA. ARANA SHOWED ANXIETY OVER A REGIONAL WAR WHICH WOULD INVOLVE NICARAGUA. HE STATED THAT DISCUSSIONS WERE WARRANTED TO DEFUSE THE SITUATION, BUT REFRAINED FROM TAKING TOO

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PAGE 02 MANAGU 00280 201925Z

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SPECIFIC POSITIONS. HE INDICATED DESIRE FOR U.S.-GRN

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DIALOGUE IN WHICH MAJOR GRN OBJECTIVE WAS ACHIEVEMENT OF A U.S. DECLARATION OF NON-INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA. IN THE CONTEXT OF SUCH A DIALOGUE "EVERYTHING WAS NEGOTIABLE."

4. ARANA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION MIGHT BE JEOPARDIZED BY ACTIVE SUPPORT OF THE FMLN IN EL SALVADOR, SINCE PROVISION OF ARMS COULD JUSTIFY U.S. MILITARY ACTION IN THE REGION. ARANA SAID THE GRN WOULD BE OPEN TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ABOUT MONITORING REGIONAL OR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ON ARMS, BUT OBJECTED TO AN OAS ROLE. THE GRN PREFERRED MONITORING UNDER UN SECURITY COUNCIL AUSPICES.

5. TO AVOID A REGIONAL WAR AND ECONOMIC CHAOS, THE GRN BELIEVED THE FMLN IN EL SALVADOR WOULD AGREE TO DIALOGUE REGARDING ELECTIONS, IF APPROPRIATE SECURITY GUARANTEES COULD BE PROVIDED. ARANA STATED THAT, IN CONTEXT OF REDUCING REGIONAL TENSIONS, THE GRN WOULD HELP FACILITATE SUCH AN ELECTORAL SOLUTION.

6. THE CODEL WAS TOLD THAT BECAUSE OF NICARAGUA'S SMALL SIZE AND WEAK ECONOMY, AS WELL AS THE GROWING POSSIBILITY OF A REGIONAL WAR, THE GRN NOW WAS "MORE FLEXIBLE."

7. AT THE DINNER ON JANUARY 18, GLING BEYOND EARLIER GRN FORMUAL THAT "EVERYTHING WAS NEGOTIABLE." COUNCIL OF STATE MEMBERS MARIANO FIALLOS AND ALVARO ARGUELLO, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, TOLD CONGRESSMEN SOLARZ AND LEACH THAT GRN WOULD BE LIKELY TO ACCEPT AN APPROACH BY WHICH U.S. WOULD AGREE TO GUARANTEE NON-INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA IN RETURN FOR A GRN COMMITMENT NOT TO ASSIST REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE REGION. COUNCIL OF STATE MEMBER RAFAEL SOLIS, WHO HAD

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ATTENDED THE DISCUSSIONS WITH NUNEZ EARLIER, (SEPTEL) ALLEGED THE EXISTENCE OF 200 U.S. MILITARY ADVISORS IN HONDURAS AND SUGGESTED THAT AGREEMENT ON ALL COUNTRIES IN THE REGION REDUCING SUCH OUTSIDE ADVISORS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. HOWEVER, HE DOUBTED AN AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED PRECLUDING ALL FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISORS.

8. SOLIS WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO INFORM CODEL THAT DANIEL ORTEGA HAD BEEN FULLY INFOJMED OF CODEL DISCUSSIONS AND BELIEVED IDEAS DISCUSSED COULD SERVE AS CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS

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FOR FORMAL U.S.-GRN CONSIDERATION. SOLIS EXPECTED PROSPECTS FOR REDUCING TENSION IN REGION WOULD BE PROBED FURTHER AT CODEL-ORTEGA MEETING ON THE NEXT DAY.

9. CODEL COMMENT: CODEL WAS IMPRESSED MORE WITH YOUTHFULNESS THAN PHILOSOPHICAL RIGIDITY OF SANDINISTA LEADERSHIP. IN ITS VIEW, CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN NEITHER TO UNDERESTIMATE THE CAPACITY FOR FOOLISH GRN DECISION-MAKING NOR TO PROVOKE IT NEEDLESSLY. THE SANDINISTAS COME ACROSS AS KIDS LEARNING THE LIMITS OF POWER. TEMPTED TO EXCESS, THEY SHOULD BE VIEWED NOT ONLY AS POTENTIAL OR ACTUAL MARXIST-LENINISTS, BUT IN GERERATION-GAP TERMS. COMMITMENT TO REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES IS FIRM,N BUT FUTURE DIRECTION OF GRN POLICY APPEARS UNRESOLVED.
QUAINTON

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UNITED NATIONS

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Special Project (1993)

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

Final report on the situation of human rights in El Salvador, submitted to the Commission on Human Rights by Professor José Antonio Pastor Ridruejo in fulfilment of the mandate conferred under Commission resolution 1982/28

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El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

CONTENTS

		Paragraphs	Pages
INTRODUCTION		1-16	1
I.	International and national legal rules applicable in El Salvador in the matter of human rights	17-21	14
II.	Current political situation in the Republic of El Salvador	22-37	16
III.	Situation with regard to the exercise of economic, social and cultural rights in El Salvador	38-51	20
IV.	Situation with regard to respect for civil and political rights in El Salvador	52-103	24
V.	Situation of refugees and other persons displaced as a result of current events in El Salvador	104-107	42
VI.	Situation with regard to compliance with the international rules of humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts	108-115	43
VII.	Conclusions	116-122	45
VIII.	Recommendations	123-125	47

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its thirty-fifth session on 15 December 1980, the General Assembly adopted resolution 35/192 on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador by 70 votes to 12, with 55 abstentions. In this resolution, the General Assembly expressed deep concern at the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador and deplored several aspects of the situation of human rights in that country. In addition, it requested the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in El Salvador. The text of the resolution is as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Noting that all Governments have an obligation to respect and promote human rights in accordance with the responsibilities they have undertaken under various international instruments,

"Bearing in mind resolution 19 adopted on 30 July 1980 by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women,

"Dismayed by reports of human rights violations in El Salvador and especially by the death of thousands of persons and the climate of repression and insecurity prevailing in the country, which favours terrorism by paramilitary groups and enables it to be engaged in with impunity,

"Deeply shocked by the vile assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, a prestigious personality, outstanding for his defence of the human rights of the Salvadorian people, and by the persecution of Salvadorian figures such as Monsignor Arturo Rivera Damas, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of San Salvador,

"Gravely concerned about the unknown fate of many persons detained by the authorities,

"Profoundly indignant at the assassination of Mr. Enrique Alvarez Córdova, President of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, as well as of five other members of the Executive Committee of that Front, perpetrated on 27 November 1980 in San Salvador,

"Considering that the supply of arms and other military assistance will serve to aggravate the situation in that country,

"1. Expresses its deep concern at the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador;

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"2. Deplores the murders, disappearances and other violations of human rights reported in El Salvador and requests the Salvadorian authorities to take prompt action to curb the reprehensible activities of paramilitary groups;

"3. Urges the Government of El Salvador to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in that country and to guarantee the safety of Monsignor Arturo Rivera Damas, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, whose life is in danger;

"4. Appeals for a cessation of violence and for the establishment of full respect for human rights in El Salvador;

"5. Calls upon Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance in the current circumstances;

"6. Requests the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in El Salvador."

2. The situation in El Salvador was considered by the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-seventh session under item 13 of the Commission's agenda, entitled "Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories". After the debate on this item, the Commission adopted resolution 32 (XXXVII) on the violation of human rights in El Salvador. In this resolution, the Commission requested its Chairman to appoint, after consultations within the Bureau, a Special Representative of the Commission whose mandate would be to investigate the reports about murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms which had taken place in El Salvador, based on information from all relevant sources and to report on his findings to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-eigth session. It further requested the Special Representative of the Commission to submit an interim report to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. The text of the resolution is as follows:

"The Commission on Human Rights,

"Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Noting that all Member States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and to carry out responsibilities they have undertaken under various international human rights instruments,

"Recalling that in its resolution 35/192 of 15 December 1980, the General Assembly stated its deep concern about the serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador and requested the Commission on Human Rights to examine, at its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights in that country,

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Project (1993)

"Deeply disturbed by the continuing reports about murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador,

"Deeply alarmed by the armed clashes in El Salvador and by the climate of violence and insecurity prevailing in the country,

"Mindful of the rules of international law, as contained in article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, which are applicable to armed conflicts not of an international character and which require the parties to the conflict to apply a minimum standard of protection of human rights and of humane treatment,

"1. Expresses its deep concern at the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador;

"2. Deplores the murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms reported in El Salvador;

"3. Calls upon all parties to bring about a peaceful settlement and to seek an end to acts of violence in order to end the loss of lives and the suffering of the people of El Salvador;

"4. Recalls that in its resolution 35/192 of 15 December 1980 the General Assembly calls upon Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance in the current circumstances;

"5. Urges the Government of El Salvador to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in the country;

"6. Emphasizes that the people of El Salvador have the right, as soon as appropriate conditions have been established, to establish a democratically elected Government, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror, and to determine their own political, economic and social future, free from outside interference;

"7. Requests its Chairman to appoint, after consultations within the Bureau, a Special Representative of the Commission whose mandate will be:

"(a) To investigate the reports about murders, abductions, disappearances, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms which have taken place in El Salvador, based on information from all relevant sources;

"(b) To make recommendations as to what steps the Commission could take to help to secure the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including economic, social and cultural rights;

"(c) To report on his findings to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-eighth session;

"8. Requests the Secretary-General to give all necessary assistance to the Special Representative of the Commission;

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"9. Invites the Government of El Salvador as well as all other parties concerned to extend their co-operation to the Special Representative of the Commission;

"10. Requests the Special Representative of the Commission to submit an interim report to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session;

"11. Decides to continue the examination of the situation of human rights in El Salvador with high priority at its thirty-eighth session."

3. In fulfilment of the mandate conferred on him by the Commission on Human Rights, the Sepcial Representative submitted a preliminary report to the General Assembly (document A/36/608). On 16 December 1981, the General Assembly adopted, by 68 votes to 22 with 53 abstentions, resolution 36/155, the text of which is as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recognizing the permanent validity of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Unversal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility to promote and guarantee the maintenance of those principles and to contribute to ensuring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

"Reiterating once more that all Member States have an obligation to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to fulfil in this respect the obligations they have undertaken through the various international instruments in this field,

"Recalling its resolution 35/192 of 15 December 1980, in which, among other things, it expressed deep concern for violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, especially in view of the death of thousands of people and the climate of repression and insecurity which prevailed in that country and deplored the assassinations, disappearances and other serious violations of human rights in El Salvador,

"Reiterating the appeal made by the General Assembly in that resolution for the cessation of violence and the re-establishment of full respect for human rights in El Salvador and for Governments of all States to refrain from supplying arms and lending other forms of military assistance in the current circumstances,

"Bearing in mind Commission on Human Rights resolution 32 (XXXVII) of 11 March 1981, approved by the Economic and Social Council in May 1981, which notes the persistence of the climate of violence and insecurity which prevails in El Salvador,

"Endorsing the appeal to the Salvadorian parties involved, made by the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 32 (XXXVII), to arrive at a peaceful settlement and put an end to violence in order to prevent further loss of lives and alleviate the suffering of the people of El Salvador,

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"Taking note of resolution 10 (XXXIV) adopted by the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, which states that only respect for article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights will assure to the Salvadorian nation, through the participation of all its political forces, the full exercise of its fundamental rights in establishing a democratically elected government, but also notes that at the present time these conditions do not exist in El Salvador,

"Having studied the interim report on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador prepared by the Special Representative appointed by the Commission on Human Rights, which confirms the seriousness of the situation prevailing in El Salvador and, among other things, provides evidence on the general attitude of passiveness and inactivity of the present Salvadorian authorities with respect to the constant human rights violations in that country,

"Noting that the situation in El Salvador, as clearly shown in the interim report of the Special Representative, has its root causes in internal political, economic and social factors,

"1. Reiterates its deep concern for the situation prevailing in El Salvador and the suffering of the Salvadorian people;

"2. Requests once more the Salvadorian parties involved to arrive at a negotiated political solution in order to establish, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror, a democratically elected government;

"3. Deeply deplores all acts of violence and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and regrets in particular the persistence of a situation in which governmental paramilitary organizations and other armed groups continue to act with total contempt for the life, security and tranquility of the civilian population;

"4. Draws the attention of all parties concerned to the fact that the rules of international law, as contained in common article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, are applicable to armed conflicts not of an international character and requests the parties involved to apply a minimum standard of protection to the affected population;

"5. Reiterates its appeal to all States to abstain from intervening in the internal situation in El Salvador and to suspend all supplies of arms and any type of military support, so as to allow the political forces in that country to restore peace and security;

"6. Affirms once more that it is incumbent only on the Salvadorian people to exercise its right to determine freely its political status and freely pursue its economic, social and cultural development and to establish the conditions and undertake the changes most adequate to its aspirations as a people and as a nation without external interference of any kind;

"7. Urges the Government of El Salvador to adopt the necessary measures to ensure a full respect for the human rights of its population in all their expressions, primarily by creating conditions which could lead to a political solution to the present crisis through the full participation of all representative political forces in that country.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

"8. Urges the parties concerned to co-operate and not interfere with the activities of the humanitarian organizations which are dedicated to alleviating the suffering of the civilian population in El Salvador;

"9. Requests the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-eighth session thoroughly to examine the situation in El Salvador on the basis of the final report of the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights;

"10. Decides to maintain under consideration, during its thirty-seventh session, the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, in order to examine anew this situation in the light of additional elements provided by the Commission on Human Rights and Economic and Social Council."

4. The Special Representative submitted his final report to the Commission on Human Rights, 1/ presenting it personally to the Commission on 4 March 1982. On 11 March 1982, the Commission adopted, by 25 votes to 5, with 13 abstentions, resolution 1982/28, the text of which is as follows:

"Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories: situation of human rights in El Salvador

"The Commission on Human Rights,

"Recognizing the permanent validity under all circumstances of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Reaffirming once again that all Member States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to fulfil the obligations they have undertaken through the various international instruments in this field,

"Determined to remain vigilant with regard to violations of human rights wherever they occur and to take measures in order to restore respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

"Recalling that in its resolutions 35/192 of 15 December 1980 and 36/155 of 16 December 1981, the General Assembly expressed its deep concern for the situation of human rights in El Salvador, especially in view of the death of thousands of people and the climate of repression and insecurity prevailing in that country,

"Recalling also its own resolution 32 (XXXVII) of 11 March 1981, in which the Commission decided to appoint a Special Representative on the situation of human rights in El Salvador,

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1/ E/CN.4/1502, Final report on the situation of human rights in El Salvador submitted by Professor José Antonio Pastor Ridruejo in discharge of the mandate conferred by Commission resolution 32 (XXXVII), 18 January 1982.

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

"Having carefully examined the report of the Special Representative, which confirms the persistence to this date of murders, abductions, terrorist acts and all grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, perpetrated by governmental paramilitary organizations and other armed groups;

"Noting in particular that the Special Representative, while noting the difficulties currently standing in the way of a normal functioning of justice in El Salvador, underlines the general attitude of passivity and inactivity on the part of the present Salvadorian authorities with regard to the constant violations of human rights in that country,

"Endorsing resolution 10 (XXXIV) of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which states that only respect for article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights will assure to the Salvadorian nation, through the participation of all its political forces, the full exercise of its fundamental rights in establishing a democratically elected government,

"Bearing in mind that the situation in El Salvador, as clearly shown in the report of the Special Representative, has its root causes in internal political economic and social factors, and that conditions in El Salvador for the effective exercise of civil and political rights, as contemplated by the Sub-Commission, do not exist at the present time,

"Reiterating its appeal to the Salvadorian parties involved, made in its resolution 32 (XXXVII), to reach a peaceful settlement and put an end to violence in order to prevent further loss of lives and alleviate the suffering of the people of El Salvador.

"1. Commends the Special Representative for his report on the situation of human rights in El Salvador;

"2. Expresses its deepest concern at the deteriorating situation in El Salvador, at the continued violations of human rights and at the resulting suffering of the Salvadorian people, and regrets that the appeals for the cessation of violence made by the General Assembly, the Commission and the international community in general, have not been heeded;

"3. Affirms that it is incumbent only on the Salvadorian people to exercise its right to determine freely its political status and freely pursue its economic, social and cultural development and to establish the conditions and undertake the changes most adequate to its aspirations as a people and as a nation without direct or indirect external interference of any kind;

"4. Reiterates the appeal made by the General Assembly to the Government of El Salvador to work together with all representative political forces in El Salvador towards a comprehensive negotiated political solution in order to establish, in an atmosphere free from intimation and terror, the appropriate conditions for the establishment of a democratically elected Government;

"5. Draws again to the attention of all Salvadorian parties concerned that the rules of international law, as contained in article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 on the laws of war, are applicable to armed conflicts not of an international character and requests all parties to the conflict to apply a minimum standard of protection of human rights and of human treatment to the civilian population;

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"6. Recalls that in its resolution 36/155 the General Assembly reiterated its appeal to all States to abstain from intervening in the internal situation in El Salvador and to suspend all supplies of arms and any type of military support, so as to allow the political forces in that country to restore peace and security;

"7. Calls upon all Salvadorian parties concerned to co-operate fully and not to interfere with the activities of humanitarian organizations dedicated to alleviating the suffering of the civilian population in El Salvador;

"8. Strongly urges the Government of El Salvador to take the necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in the country;

"9. Decides to extend the mandate of the Special Representative for another year and requests him to present his report on further developments in the situation of human rights in El Salvador to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session and to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-ninth session;

"10. Requests the Secretary-General to give all necessary assistance to the Special Representative of the Commission;

"11. Calls upon the Government of El Salvador as well as all other parties to extend their co-operation to the Special Representative of the Commission;

"12. Decides to consider the question of human rights in El Salvador at its thirty-ninth session as a matter of high priority."

5. In fulfilment of the mandate contained in the above-mentioned resolution of the Commission on Human Rights, the Special Representative submitted his interim report to the General Assembly 2/ and presented it personally to the Third Committee on 29 November 1982.

6. On 17 December 1982, the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/185, the text of which is as follows:

"Situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador

"The General Assembly,

"Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Conscious of its responsibility in all circumstances to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

---

2/ A/37/661, Interim report on the Situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, submitted to the General Assembly by Professor José Antonio Pastor Ridruejo in fulfilment of the mandate conferred under Commission on Human Rights resolution 1982/28, 22 November 1982.

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El Salvador Human Rights
Project (1995)

"Reiterating that the Governments of all Member States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to carry out responsibilities they have undertaken under various international human rights instruments,

"Determined to remain vigilant with regard to violations of human rights wherever they occur and to take measures in order to restore respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

"Recalling that in its resolution 35/192 of 15 December 1980 and 36/155 of 6 December 1981, it expressed its deep concern for the situation of human rights in El Salvador, especially in view of the death of thousands of people, the climate of violence and insecurity prevailing in that country, and the impurity of paramilitary forces and other armed groups,

"Bearing in mind Human Rights Commission resolution 32 (XXXVII) of 11 March 1981, in which the Commission decided to appoint a Special Representative on the situation of human rights in El Salvador, and 1982/28 of 11 March 1982, whereby it extended the mandate of the Special Representative for another year and requested him to report i.a. to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session,

"Taking note of resolutions 10 (XXXIV) and 1982/26 of the Sub-Commission on the elimination of all forms of discrimination and the protection of minorities,

"Taking note with grave concern of the interim report by the Special Representative, which confirms the unabated continuation of a climate of violence and insecurity in El Salvador with armed clashes, acts of terrorism and unbridled, large scale and grave violations of human rights, as well as the failure of the judiciary to fulfil its duties to uphold the rule of law,

"Observing that the elctions in El Salvador, as they were held last March, have not led to the cessation of violence or to any improvement in the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in that country,

"1. Expressed its deepest concern at the continued and unbridled violations of human rights and at the resulting suffering of the Salvadorian people, and regrets that the appeals for the cessation of violence made by the General Assembly, the Human Rights Commission and the international community in general, have not been heeded;

"2. Draws again the attention of all Salvadorian parties concerned that the rules of international law, as contained in article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 on the laws of war, are applicable to armed conflicts not of an international character and requests all parties to the conflicts to apply a minimum standard of protection of human rights and of human treatment to the civilian population;

"3. Notes that the situation in El Salvador, as clearly shown in the report of the Special Representative, has its root causes in internal political economic and social factors, and that conditions in El Salvador for the effective exercise of civil and political rights do not exist at the present time;

El Salvador Human Rights Project (1993)

"4. Reaffirms the right of the Salvadorian people to freely determine their political, economic and social future without interference from outside, and to establish a democratically elected Government, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror allowing full and unrestricted popular participation;

"5. Regrets that the Government of El Salvador has not responded to suggestions to initiate, through available channels, contacts to negotiate a peaceful settlement with all representative political forces in that country;

"6. Calls again upon the parties in El Salvador to seek an end to all acts of violence in order to end the loss of lives and the suffering of the people of El Salvador;

"7. Reiterates its appeal to the Government and other political forces in El Salvador to work together towards a comprehensive negotiated political solution in order to bring about a peaceful settlement and appropriate conditions for the establishment of a Government through free and unhampered elections, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror;

"8. Reiterates its appeal to all States to abstain from intervening in the internal situation in El Salvador and to suspend all supplies of arms and any type of military assistance, so as to allow the political forces in that country to restore peace and security and to allow the establishment of a democratic system;

"9. Strongly urges the Government of El Salvador to fulfil its obligations towards its citizens and to assume its international responsibilities in this regard by taking the necessary steps to ensure that human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully respected by all its agencies, including its security forces, and other armed organizations operating under its authority or with its permission;

"10. Further urges the judiciary in El Salvador to assume their obligation to uphold the rule of law and to prosecute and to punish those found responsible for assassinations, acts of torture and of other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment;

"11. Reiterates its call upon all Savadorian parties concerned to co-operate fully and not to interfere with the activities of humanitarian organizations dedicated to alleviating the suffering of the civilian population, wherever these organizations operate in El Salvador;

"12. Calls again upon the Government of El Salvador as well as all other parties concerned to continue to extend their co-operation to the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights;

"13. Requests the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-ninth session to continue to examine, as a matter of high priority, the situation in El Salvador on the basis of the report of the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights;

"14. Decides to maintain under consideration, during its thirty-eighth session, the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, in order to examine anew this situation in the light of additional elements provided by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council."

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El Salvador: Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

7. In view of the fact that in his previous report to the Commission the Special Representative referred to the human rights situation in El Salvador during the last quarter of 1979 and the whole of the years 1980 and 1981, this report will deal primarily with the situation prevailing in 1982. The Special Representative wishes to point out, however, that there is a natural continuity between his last report and the present one, which should therefore be considered in the light of the earlier report.

8. In drafting this report, the Special Representative used information furnished by the Government of El Salvador and other Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and other pertinent information concerning the situation of human rights in El Salvador.

9. The Special Representative considered that the continuation of the co-operation given him by the Government of El Salvador in 1981 would also be of great importance to him in carrying out his mandate. The United Nations Centre for Human Rights therefore sought from the Government of El Salvador, through the Ambassador heading that country's Permanent Mission at Geneva, authorization for the Special Representative to visit El Salvador again. On 4 August 1982 the Special Representative was informed that the Government of El Salvador was granting that authorization, although the visit was not considered official because the Government still had reservations of a legal nature concerning his mandate.

10. The Special Representative considers it his duty to state that the co-operation given by the Government of El Salvador has been full and open, both as regards the information supplied to him by the Ambassador to the international organizations at Geneva, and as concerns the facilities and freedom of action accorded him during his visit to the country, the information he was able to obtain, and the frankness of the conversations he had with highly-placed Government authorities. The Special Representative greatly appreciates this co-operation and takes it as a sign of the anxiety of the highest governmental levels in El Salvador to improve the situation concerning human rights of all kinds.

11. In fact, in his interviews with the authorities of the Republic of El Salvador during the third week of September 1982, the Special Representative noted a clear desire gradually to improve respect for human rights of all kinds in that country. The full and open co-operation of the Government in the implementation of the Special Representative's mandate, the assistance and facilities accorded during his visit to the country, the co-operation extended to the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, 3/ the establishment of a Human Rights Commission under the Apaneca Pact, and the efforts to give impetus to the activity of the judiciary are some of the signs of that desire. The Special Representative is also acquainted with the letter sent on 30 September 1982 to the Executive Secretary of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights by the Ambassador of El Salvador to the Organization of American States (OAS), inviting that Commission to carry out an on-the-spot investigation. The invitation was reiterated in the statement made in the General Assembly of OAS by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of El Salvador on 17 November 1982. 4/ The Special Representative

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3/ Letter of 1 December 1982 from Viscount Colville of Culross, Chairman of the Group, addressed to the Ambassador of El Salvador to the United Nations Office at Geneva expressing appreciation for the co-operation.

4/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador; Boletín Informativo para il Servicio Exterior, No. 28, 1 December 1982.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

has pleasure in reporting this concern for human rights shown by the Government of El Salvador and fervently hopes that it will be effectively translated into practice as soon as possible, particularly with regard to the basic right of human beings - the right to life.

12. The Special Representative arrived in El Salvador on the afternoon of Sunday, 19 September, and remained in the country until the morning of Saturday, 25 September. During his stay in the country, the Special Representative had interviews with the following authorities: the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Alvaro Magaña; the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Fidel Chavez Mena; the Minister of Defence, General José Guillermo García; the Minister of Justice, Mr. Ramiro Arturo Méndez Azahar; the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Manuel López Sermeño; the President of the Central Council for Elections, Mr. Jorge Bustamante; the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Hugo Carrillo; the Attorney-General of the Republic, Mr. Mario Adalberto Rivera; the Deputy Director of the Salvadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform, Mr. Gonzalo Martinez Menendez; the Director of the National Police, Colonel Carlos Reynaldo López Nuilla; and the Director of the Rural Police, Colonel Francisco Antonio Morán.

13. In San Salvador, the Special Representative also had interviews with the Apostolic Administrator, Mgr. Rivera y Damas, and with the representative of the National Association of Private Enterpreneurs (ANEP), Mr. Juan Vincente Maldonaldo. He also interviewed members of trade union organizations affiliated to the People's Democratic Union (UPD), including Mr. Alberto Albanenga Singueza, Mr. Jorge Camacho, Mr. Mario Espinoza and others. He had an interview with the President of the Salvadorian Red Cross, Mr. Ricardo López, and lastly, he had conversations with diplomats accredited in El Salvador and with a number of Salvadorian private citizens.

14. During his stay in the country the Special Representative had the opportunity to visit the Mariona Prison, where he conversed freely with the leaders of COPPES (Committee on Political Prisoners of El Salvador) and other political prisoners not affiliated to that body. He also visited the detention cells of the headquarters of the Rural Police and of the National Police, both of them in San Salvador, where he was able to interview political prisoners freely.

15. In Mexico City, the Special Representative of El Salvador had interviews with representatives of the Human Rights Commission (non-governmental); representatives of ANDES (National Association of Salvadorian Teachers); representatives of the Federation of Rural Workers; representatives of the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Persons Detained, Missing or Murdered for Political Reasons in El Salvador; Mr. Luis Alonso Gómez Mena, a former political prisoner; Mr. José Antonio Morales Carbonell and Mr. Juan José García Cañas, former political prisoners; Mrs. Ana María Rumayor, widow of the Dutch journalist Jocobo Kolster; and Mr. Jorge Pinto, former director of the San Salvador newspaper, El Independiente. In New York, the Special Representative had interviews with Mr. Guillermo Ungo, President of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and with Mr. Rafael Moreno, representative of the Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FDR-FMLN. In Washington, he interviewed Mrs. Ingrid Escapini, of the National Revolutionary Movement of El Salvador. Elsewhere, the Special Representative had conversations with Mr. Roberto Cuellar of Legal Aid and Mrs. García Villas of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador. The

RELEASED
El Salvador: Human Rights
Project (1994)

The Special Representative thanks these bodies and persons for their co-operation and wishes to stress the value of that co-operation and of the interest shown in respect for human rights in El Salvador.

16. After the interim report had been drafted, the Special Representative held interviews in Madrid with Mr. Alejandro Gómez Vides, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador, and in New York with Mr. Rafael Moreno, representative of the Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FDR-FMLN. He also had coversations in New York with various delegations of States Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

I. INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEGAL RULES APPLICABLE IN EL SALVADOR IN THE MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS

17. In his previous report to the Commission on Human Rights 5/ the Special Representative enumerated the international and national legal rules applicable in El Salvador in the matter of human rights. The information received regarding the main changes in these rules is set out below.

18. As mentioned in the previous report, 6/ the curfew was lifted in El Salvador on 15 October 1981. The state of siege or suspension of constitutional guarantees was lifted during the elections 7/ but decreed for a further 30 days from 20 April 1982 8/ and extended successively from then on. 9/

19. At its meeting on 26 April 1982 the Constituent Assembly recently elected in El Salvador adopted Decree No. 3 which provided that the Constitution of 1962 should remain in force, with certain amendments, until the new Constitution is promulgated. Under that Decree, the Constituent Assembly fully assumes normal legislative functions, and the validity of the legislative, administrative and judicial acts performed under the previous regime is recognized. 10/

20. On 18 May 1982, the Constituent Assembly approved Legislative Decree No. 6 11/ which temporarily suspended the application of Decree No. 207 of the Revolutionary Government Junta. Subsequently, Decree No. 6 was authentically interpreted by Decree No. 11 of the Constituent Assembly, 12/ as will be described in section III of this report.

21. The Special Representative feels that it would be useful to mention at this point the Handbook on normal operative procedure for counter-subversive actions undertaken by the National Police 13/ which he referred to in his previous report. 14/ A

5/ E/CN.4/1502, op. cit.

6/ Ibid.

7/ The Times, 30 April 1982.

8/ Diario Oficial del Gobierno de El Salvador, No. 71, "Decree No. 1089", San Salvador, 20 April 1982.

9/ Ibid., No. 92, Decree No. 7, 20 May 1982; No. 113, Decree No. 24, 18 June 1982; No. 118, Decree No. 26, 28 June 1982; No. 140, Decree No. 44, 28 July 1982 and subsequent decrees of the Constituent Assembly.

10/ Ibid., No. 75, 26 April 1982; El Diario de Hoy, San Salvador, 27 April 1982.

11/ Diario Oficial, op. cit., No. 94, 24 May 1982.

12/ Ibid., No. 98, 28 May 1982.

13/ Armed Forces of El Salvador, National Police, Guía de Procedimiento Operativo Normal de las Acciones Contrasubversivas que realice la Policía Nacional, 1 March 1980, revised version 23 September 1980, revised version 10 March 1982, p. 1.

14/ E/CN.4/1502, para. 26.

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ARGENTINA AND CHILE: CIVILIAN GOVERNMENTS

Adds to the certification requirements for both Argentina and Chile a new requirement that "an elected civilian government is in power". Prohibits all security assistance for FY 84 and 85 in the event of certification before a civilian government is installed.

DEPARTMENT'S POSITION: Opposed.

Talking Points--

-- The proposed amendment makes certification dependent not only on improvement in the area of human rights but also on the form of government.

-- It would be viewed as outside interference and set a difficult precedent for our relations with many other countries in the world which do not have elected civilian government.

-- The intent of the initial certification requirement was to work for real human rights improvement in both countres. To impose this new requirement now, changes the rules of the game.

ARGENTINA

-- It is in our national interest now to develop a cooperative relationship with the Argentine military which will play an important role in future GOA policy and in the peaceful settlement of the Falklands/Malvinas and Beagle Channel disputes.

-- This amendment, if passed, would severly reduce our ability to exert a moderating influence and to strengthen those in Argentina who oppose nationalist adventurism and/or a closer identification with the non-aligned and the Soviet Union.

CHILE

-- A rigid new certification condition now is not the best way to achieve further improvement in Chile's human rights performance. It will reduce, not increase our leverage with the Chilean Government.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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Exemption(s)

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Drafted:ARA/SC:RBHoward/DIKemp
4/8/83 Wang #3394S

Cleared:ARA/RPP:DCox
ARA:JMichel
HA:(Has refused to clear the above language and is still considering its position on the amendment.)

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00171 01 OF 02 211701Z
ACTION IO-15

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00171

E.O. 12356: DECL: 1/21/89
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, CI
SUBJECT: CHILE AND THE UNHRC

REF: (A) USUN 124; (B) GERSHMAN/HEWITT TELCON

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AT THE WEOG PREPARATORY MEETING FOR THE UNHRC, HELD ON JANUARY 11, THE U.S. SUGGESTED THAT TWO FEASIBLE OBJECTIVES RE CHILE AT THE UPCOMING UNHRC WOULD BE TO END THE SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM AND TO TRANSFER THE MANDATE FOR PREPARING THE REPORT TO THE SYG. WE TOOK THE VIEW THAT ENDING THE SPECIAL STATUS OF CHILE (THAT IS, TREATING THE ISSUE UNDER THE GENERAL HUMAN RIGHTS ITEM) AND ENTRUSTING THE SYG WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONDUCTING THE INQUIRY MIGHT WELL PRODUCE FRUITFUL RESULTS. NO ONE QUESTIONED THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IS STERILE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, OR THAT ENTRUSTING THE ISSUE TO THE SYG, CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 00171 01 OF 02 211701Z

WHO IS ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE TO LATIN FEELINGS AND HAS A REPUTATION FOR FAIRNESS AND OBJECTIVITY, MIGHT ENSURE A MORE COOPERATIVE PROCESS THAT WOULD ACTUALLY ACHIEVE RESULTS. CHILE NOW REFUSES TO COOPERATE IN ANY WAY WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR (MR. DIEYE OF SENEGAL), THE REPORTS ARE HOSTILE AND POLEMICAL, AND THE RESULTING

RESOLUTIONS MERELY PERPETUATE A SITUATION OF ANTAGONISM AND NONCOMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE UNHRC AND CHILE. THE QUESTION WAS HOW TO REACH A MORE DESIRABLE OUTCOME. MANY REPRESENTATIVES EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT WITHOUT SOME GESTURE OF COOPERATION BY CHILE, SUCH AS AN EXPRESSION OF READINESS TO COOPERATE IF THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE WERE MADE MORE EQUITABLE AND LESS POLITICAL, A MODERATE RESOLUTION WOULD NOT SUCCEED. YET IT WAS ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT SUCH A GESTURE IS MORE UNLIKELY THAN EVER IN THE WAKE OF THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT IN THE PLENARY OF THE GA (WHICH OVERTURNED THE UK AMENDMENT REMOVING THE RECOMMENDATION TO THE UNHRC TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SR). IT WAS NOTED THAT THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT, HAVING PERHAPS READ TOO MUCH INTO THE ADOPTION OF THE UK AMENDMENT, HAD AN EXTREMELY NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE MEXICAN MOVE AND WAS IN NO MOOD NOW TO BE CONCILIATORY. THUS, WHILE THE WESTERN GROUP CERTAINLY ACCEPTED THE LOGIC OF A CHILE RESOLUTION MODELLED ON THE POLAND RESOLUTION -- NONPOLEMICAL, ADDRESSING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS IN A NONPOLITICAL MANNER, AND ASKING THE SYG OR AN EXPERT APPOINTED BY HIM TO UNDERTAKE THE INQUIRY -- THEY COULD NOT SEE HOW WE COULD BREAK THE CURRENT DEADLOCK AND GET TO THAT POINT.

3. IN AN EFFORT TO EXPLORE WAYS TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK, AMB. SORZANO AND COUNSELLOR GERSHMAN DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH CHILEAN PERMREP TRUCCO. TRUCCO COULD NOT SAY FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 00171 01 OF 02 211701Z

A FACT THAT CHILE WOULD COOPERATE IF THE COMMISSION ELIMINATED THE SEPARATE ITEM AND THE SR AND ADOPTED A GENUINELY HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION OF THE KIND DESCRIBED ABOVE. HE DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT HE IS ALREADY IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE SYG AND KEEPS HIM FULLY INFORMED OF THE SITUATION AND OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS, AND THAT HE HAS REPEATEDLY MADE PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT, WHILE CHILE WOULD NOT COOPERATE WITH THE U.N. UNDER CURRENT ARRANGEMENTS, THEY WOULD COOPERATE WITH A FAIR AND EVEN-HANDED APPROACH. (COMMENT: DURING THE GA PLENARY DEBATE ON THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, TRUCCO SAID THE FOLLOWING: "WE WILL NOT COOPERATE WITH THE AD CASAM ENTITY WHICH BEARS THE NAME OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, NOR WITH ANY PROCEDURE WHICH MAY BE ATTEMPTED ARBITRARILY, EITHER THROUGH THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR THROUGH THE UNGA; NOW WILL WE COOPERATE WITH THE REGULAR PROCEDURES OF THE U.N. AS LONG AS THIS DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT PERSISTS. WE DEMAND THE SAME RIGHTS AND CONSEQUENTLY WE ACCEPT THE SAME DUTIES AS

THOSE WHICH APPLY TO THE OTHER 156 MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION. WE DO COOPERATE, AND WE SHALL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE, WITH ALL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH APPLY AN OBJECTIVE CRITERION AND A GENERAL STANDARD AND WHICH ARE KNOWN FOR THEIR DEEP HUMANITARIAN SPIRIT AND FOR THEIR REJECTION OF ACTIVISM AND POLITICAL DEMAGOGY IN THE LOFTY TASK THEY HAVE BEEN CARRYING OUT.")

4. AT THE SAME TIME, TRUCCO EMPHASIZED THAT CHILE WOULD NOT MAKE A GESTURE OR "A DEAL" FOR THREE REASONS. FIRST, THE MOMENT WAS NOT RIPE, SINCE HIS GOVERNMENT WAS STILL SMARTING FROM THE EVENTS AT THE UNGA. SECOND, HIS GOVERNMENT WAS ONLY ASKING THAT ITS RIGHTS AND SOVEREIGNTY BE RESPECTED, AND IT WOULD NOT THEREFORE OFFER ANYTHING IN RETURN FOR WHAT IS WAS ENTITLED TO -- FAIR TREATMENT AND THE RIGHT TO GIVE ITS CONSENT TO A PROCEDURE. FINALLY, HE HIMSELF COULD NOT TAKE THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 00171 01 OF 02 211701Z

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00171 02 OF 02 211703Z
ACTION IO-15

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00171

INITIATIVE ON THIS MATTER WITH HIS OWN GOVERNMENT SINCE HE HAD DONE SO ON TWO OCCASIONS IN THE PAST (ONCE IN 1973 WHEN THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS UNDERTOOK AN INQUIRY, AND AGAIN IN 1975 WHEN THE UNHRC

PROPOSED TO CONDUCT ITS FIRST INVESTIGATION) AND EACH TIME THE MOVE BACKFIRED AND LED TO ACRIMONY AND CHARGES OF BAD FAITH. AT THE SAME TIME, TRUCCO IMPLIED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT PROBABLY WOULD COOPERATE IF THE TERMS WERE EQUITABLE. HE NOTED THAT THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT EVEN BLOCKED COOPERATION WHERE IT WAS NOW POSSIBLE, AS IN THE CASE OF THE WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES WHICH IS NOT NOW IN THE PICTURE SINCE DISAPPEARANCE CASES ARE SENT DIRECTLY TO THE SR.

5. GERSHMAN SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT NOT EVEN BE NECESSARY FOR THE CHILEANS TO MAKE THE FIRST MOVE OR TO OFFER A RECIPROCAL GESTURE. AS TRUCCO HIMSELF HAD POINTED OUT, HIS OWN STATEMENTS INDICATE THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD COOPERATE IF THE TERMS WERE FAIR. THESE STATEMENTS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00171 02 OF 02 211703Z

COULD BE NOTED BY OTHERS AND, IF NOT REPUDIATED BY CHILE, COULD BE TAKEN AS A STATEMENT OF INTENTION. MOREOVER, AS WAS NOTED AT THE WESTERN GROUP MEETING, CHILE VOTED IN FAVOR OF RESOLUTION 37/200 WHICH URGED "ALL STATES TO COOPERATE WITH THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ITS STUDY OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS." SIGNIFICANTLY, POLAND AND THE ENTIRE SOVIET BLOC VOTED AGAINST THE RESOLUTION AND SPECIFICALLY AGAINST THIS PARAGRAPH IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE. IF THE U.S. WERE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A MODERATE RESOLUTION AND TO STATE THAT ON THE BASIS OF PAST STATEMENTS BY THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT WE EXPECTED COOPERATION WITH THE INQUIRY, IT MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO ORGANIZE A MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF SUCH A RESOLUTION.

6. TRUCCO WAS SKEPTICAL, ESPECIALLY GIVEN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT'S PRESENT ATTITUDE, BUT HE DID NOT REQUEST THAT WE ABANDON THE EFFORT. THEREFORE, GERSHMAN SUBSEQUENTLY RAISED THE ISSUE WITH UK REP FURSLAND WHO LED THE UK EFFORT IN THE GA AND COULD BE EXPECTED TO SPONSOR A MODERATE RESOLUTION IF IT STOOD A CHANCE OF SUCCESS. FURSLAND FULLY SUPPORTED OUR APPROACH BUT SUGGESTED THAT SENEGALESE SUPPORT OR ACQUIESCENCE WOULD BE NECESSARY TO NEUTRALIZE AFRICAN OPPOSITION. SINCE DIEYE IS NOW IN A NEW YORK HOSPITAL RECOVERING FROM HEPATITIS, THE MATTER COULD BE TAKEN UP DIRECTLY WITH HIM. THE PROSPECT OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR A MODERATE RESOLUTION AND FUTURE CHILEAN COOPERATION MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO BRING HIM ABOARD, ESPECIALLY IF HE IS TIRING OF HIS FRUITLESS TASK AS SR.

7. ONE ASPECT OF THIS WHOLE ISSUE WHICH WE MENTIONED TO TRUCCO AND SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND IS THE RELATIONSHIP CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00171 02 OF 02 211703Z

OF THE ISSUES OF CHILE AND POLAND IN THE UNHRC. WE HAVE INDICATED ALL ALONG THAT WE SUPPORT A SINGLE STANDARD ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND REJECT THE SELECTIVE APPROACH OF THE U.N. IF WE COULD SUPPORT A MODERATE RESOLUTION ON CHILE, THIS WOULD UNDERLINE THE AUTHENTICITY OF OUR POSITION AND SERVE NOTICE ON THE U.N. THAT WE EXPECT IT TO UPHOLD A SIMILAR STANDARD. WE COULD INSIST THAT CHILE BE TREATED NO DIFFERENTLY THAN POLAND AND THAT THE SYG GO TO THE SAME LENGTHS (EVEN TO THE POINT OF NOT CALLING GOBBI A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR BUT ONLY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SYG WHO WILL LOOK INTO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN POLAND) TO SECURE CHILEAN COOPERATION. IF CHILE DOES COOPERATE AND POLAND DOES NOT, THE CONSTRAST WILL BE INSTRUCTIVE AND USEFUL. AND IF POLAND DOES NOT COOPERATE AND CHILE DOES, WE WOULD BE IN A VERY STRONG POSITION TO ARGUE FOR MAINTAINING THE MANDATE ON POLAND. IF THEY INSIST ON MAINTAINING IT ON CHILE AND, CONVERSELY, FOR LIFTING THE MANDATE ON CHILE IF EVENTUALLY THEY SUCCEED IN DOING SO ON POLAND.

8. FOR ALL THE REASONS NOTED ABOVE, USUN THINKS IT IS USEFUL TO CONTINUE TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF PASSING AT THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE UNHRC A MODERATE CHILE RESOLUTION. AS A NEXT STEP, WE INTEND TO APPROACH DIEYE ALONG THE LINES NOTED ABOVE AND DISCUSSED WITH DEPT. IN TELCON (REF. B).
SHERMAN

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UNCLASSIFIED 01-24-03 KH025A

[redacted]

Senator Alan J. Dixon
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
Attention: Mary T. O'Connor

EXCISE

Dear Ms. O'Connor:

I would like to thank you very much for your letters of Jan. 4 and Jan. 10 regarding the response of the State Department to my inquiry on behalf of the disappeared Chilean engineer, Carlos Patricio Duran Gonzales. I am of course sorry that the Department was not able to provide any new information on this case. Would it be possible for the Senator to contact the Chilean Embassy in Washington and see if they can provide us with any new information on the whereabouts and legal status of Mr. Duran. Any assistance your office could provide would be most warmly appreciated.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

Title Project (#S1999X00130)
(U) Department of State
Date: Excise: X Deny:
Declassify in Part: Withheld in Full:
Exemption(s): B6

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PAGE 01 MANAGU 00336 01 OF 02 242103Z
ACTION H-03

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MANAGUA 336

EO 12356 : DECL: 1/24/93
TAGS : OREP (SOLARZ, STEPHEN)
SUBJ : CODEL SOLARZ VISIT TO NICARAGUA: WRAP-UP

REF : A) MANAGUA 280; B) MANAGUA 281; C) CARACAS 591

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DURING A SUCCESSFUL AND WELL FOCUSED TWO DAYS IN MANAGUA, CODEL SOLARZ MET WITH A BROAD RANGE OF FSLN AND OPPOSITION LEADERS. CODEL'S PRINCIPAL INTERESTS WERE PROSPECTS FOR US-NICARAGUA DIALOGUE, POPULARITY OF FSLN, AND EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. THE PERMANENT COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS NOTED DETERIORATION IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS RIGHTS SITUATION AS EVIDENCED BY THE FACT THAT THE GRN HELD FAR PRISONERS THAN HAD SOMOZA. THE DEMOCRATIC "COORDINADORA" STRESS ITS COMMITMENT TO THE PEACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE BUT RELATED T SEVERE PRESSURE ON OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES AND LABOR UNIONS. THE DIRECTORS OF THE OPPOSITION DAILY LA PRENSA
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PAGE 02 MANAGU 00336 01 OF 02 242103Z

WERE PESSIMISTIC AND DESCRIBED THE GRN'S CAPRICIOUS AND

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HEAVY-HANDED CENSORSHIP. PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERS OF COSEP EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULTIES IN CONDUCTING BUSINESS IN A SYSTEM WHERE THE FSLN CONTROLLED THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AA REGULATORY AGENCIES AND COULD CONFISCATE PROPERTY AT ANY MOMENT. ARCHBISHOP OBANDO Y BRAVO INFORMED THE CODEL OF THE FSLN'S ATTACKS ON THE CHURCH, PARTICULARLY THE VIOLENT INCIDENT IN MASAYA LAST AUGUST. THE OPPOSITION ALL STATED THAT THE FSLN HAD LOST POPULARITY SINCE 1979, BUT THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS AS TO ITS CURRENT LEVEL OF SUPPORT. ALL AGREED THAT THE NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES (FDN) COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY GROUPS HAD ELEMENTS OF SOMOZA'S EX-NATIONAL GUARD, BUT IN GENERAL, THEY WERE NOT AS PREPARED TO LABEL IT A SOMOCISTA ORGANIZATION AS CODEL MEMBERS HAD ANTICIPATED. THEY DID AGREE THAT EDEN PASTORA WAS POPULAR MILITARY FIGURE. ALL CONCURRED THAT US NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FSLN MIGHT BE USEFUL, SO LONG AS THEY RESULTED IN AN INTERNAL DEMOCRATIC OUTCOME. MEETINGS WITH FSLN LEADERS REPORTED REFTELS AND REPORT ON CODEL'S TRIP TO THE NORTHERN BORDER TRANSMITTED SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

3. CODEL SOLARZ MET WITH A BROAD RANGE OF FSLN AND OPPOSITION LEADERS DURING THEIR BRIEF VISIT TO NICARAGUA JANUARY 17 TO 20. IN ALL DISCUSSIONS, THE CODEL SHOWED INTEREST IN ASCERTAINING T CURRENT POPULARITY OF THE FSLN AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE TOWARD THE NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES (FDN) COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES OPERATING ALONG NICARAGUA'S BORDER WITH HONDURAS. THE CODEL QUERIED THE OPPOSITION GROUPS ON THE DIRECTION OF US POLICY, THE PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GRN, AND WHAT THE US SHOULD BE DOING TO HELP ALLEVIATE REPRESSION AND PROMOTE PLURALISM IN NICARAGUA. EMBASSY PERSONNEL WERE BARRED FROM MEETINGS WITH GRN OFFICIALS, SO CODEL STAFF MEMBER EDWARD FRIEDMAN DRAFTED REPORTS ON MEET-

INGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS AND COUNCIL OF STATE PRESIDENT CARLOS NUNEZ (REF A AND B). SEPARATE REPORT ON DINNER MEETING WITH JUNTA COORDINATOR DANIEL ORTEGA AND FOREIGN MINISTER MIGUEL D'ESCOTO TRANSMITTED REF C. REPORT ON LATE NIGHT SESSION WITH SALVADORAN COMMUNIST PARTY HEAD SHAFIK HANDAL WAS ALSO TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO EMBASSY CARACAS FOR TRANSMISSION. CODEL ALSO VISITED THE NORTHERN BORDER AREA ACCOMPANIED BY THE AMBASSADOR AND FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS (SEPTEL).

4. CODEL MET WITH PERMANENT COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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(CPDH) NATIONAL COORDINATOR MARTHA PATRICIA BALTODANO AND OTHER CPDH OFFICIALS WHO REVIEWED THE EVOLUION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. CPDH STRESSED DETERIORATION IN SITUATION IN RECENT MONTHS, PARTICULARLY SINCE EMERGENCY PROCLAIMED IN MARCH 1982. BALTODANO NOTED THAT IN ADDITION TO THE 3,000 FORMER NATIONAL GUARDSMEN IN PRISON, SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN 1982 THERE WERE ROUGHLY 600 NEW POLITICAL PRISONERS. MOST OF THESE HAD BEEN HELD INDEF-INITELY WITHOUT CHARGES OR TRIAL. THIS FIGURE WAS HIGHER THAN THE SOME 400 POLITICL PRISONERS HELD BY SOMOZA IN 1978. SUMMARY EXECUTIONS WERE NOT WIDESPEREAD, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE DOCUMENTED CASES OF PEOPLE BEING KILLED BY THE AUTHORITIES. PHYSICAL TORTURE WAS NOT A MAJOR PROBLEM. PRESS CENSORSHIP WAS THE SECOND MOST SERIOUS FORM OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. A CPDH WORKER WAS DETAINED FOR TWO MONTHS FOR MERELY DISTRIBUTING A CPDH REPORT ON ONE CASE OF A DATH AT THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. SINCE THE FSLN CONTROLLED THE NEWS, THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE WERE NOT ERTAIN WHO WAS DOING THE FIGHTING IN THE NORTH. BALTODANO INSISTED THE FSLN WAS TRYING TO DEVELOP A TOTALITARIAN STATE WHERE EVERYONE-WA COMPELLED TO ACTIVELY SUPPORT THE REGIME: E.G., PRESSURE WAS APPL TO JOIN THE SANDINISTA DEFENSE COMMITTEES (CDS). ELECTIONS WOULD BE MEANINGLESS AND JUNTA COORDINATOR ORTEGA HAD SAID THAT THEY WOULD BE HELD MERELY TO DECIDE WHICH OF THE COMANDANTES WOULD GOVERN. THE LITTLE PLURALISM THAT CURRENTLY

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EXISTED IN NICARAGUA WAS IN DANGER.

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PAGE 01 MANAGU 00336 02 OF 02 242124Z
ACTION H-03

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MANAGUA 336

5. THE CODEL SPENT OVER AN HOUR WITH THE DEMOCRATIC COORDINADORA WHICH WAS REPRESENTEDBY SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY (PSD) PRESIDENT ADAN FLETES, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADER FUIS RIVAS LEIVA, LIBERAL CONSTITUTIONALIST MOVEMENT (MLC) PRESIDENT SERGIO MONTEALEGRE, CONFEDERATION FOR LABOR UNIFICATION (CUS) OFFICIAL ALVIN GUTHRIE, AND NICARAGUAN WORKERS CENTRAL (CTN) OFFICIAL DONALD CASTILLO. THE COORDINADORA SAID IT OPPOSED VIOLENCE AND SUPPORTED ANY PLAN FOR ACHIEVING PEACE, INCLUDING THE MEXICAN/VENEZUELAN PROPOSAL, THE SAN JOSE PEACE FORUM, OR THE CONTADORA GROUP. THE POLITICAL PARTIES WERE UNDER MORE PRESSURE THAN IN SOMOZA'S TIME, AND SIMILARLY, FREE LABOR UNIONS HAD LOST THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND TO PARTICIPATE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. THE FSLN COERCED PEOPLE INTO PARTICIPATING IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE CDS, IN PART BY USING THE CDS'S ROLE IN ALLOCATING RATIONED NECESSITIES SUCH AS SUGAR AND RICE. IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO ASCERTAIN THE SANDINISTA'S POPULARITY SINCE SURVEYS WERE PROHIBITED AFTER A POLL CONDUCTED BY THE OPPOSITION DAILY LA PRENSA LAST YEAR INDICATED THEY WERE BACKED BY ONLY 30 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION. THE COUNTERREVOLU-
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PAGE 02 MANAGU 00336 02 OF 02 242124Z

TIONARIES WERE GETTING SOME SUPPORTN, ALTHOUGH MOST NICARAGUANS DID NOT SUPPORT THE FDN SINCE IT WAS HEADED BY EX-SOMOCISTAS.

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EDEN PASTORA AND ALFONSO ROBELO COULD GATHER GREATER INTERNAL SUPPORT, BUT THEIR VACILLATIONS HAD CUT INTO THEIR POPULARITY. IT WAS NOT RIGHT FOR THE US TO HELP COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES, BUT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT WITHOUT THE PRESSURE FROM THE NORTH, THE LIMITED SPACE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE TO THE OPPOSITION MIGHT NOT EXIST. WESTERN DEMOCRACIES SHOULD AID NICARAGUA IN WAYS THAT HELP THE OPPOSITION. IN ANY DIALOGUE WITH THE SANDINISTAS, THE US MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POSITION OF THE DOMESTIC OPPOSITION.

6. CODEL LUNCHED WITH PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO B., ROBERTO CARDENAL, JAIME CHAMORRO, AND VIOLETA B. DE CHAMORRO OF LA PRENSA AT DCM'S RESIDENCE ON JANUARY 18. WITH A FEW NOTEABLE EXCEPTIONS, THE LA PRENSA FAMILY WAS UNITED IN THEIR VIEWS OF THE SANDINISTA REGIME -- PAST, PRESENT AND FUTUPTM THE MOOED WAS PESSIMISTIC; THE OUTLOOK, GLOOMY. PEDRO JOAQUIN STATED THAT CENSORSHIP OF LA PRENSA WAS WORSE THAN IT HAD EVER BEEN UNDER SOMOZA. IT WAS OFTEN CAPRICIOUS, HEAVY-HANDED, AND WOULD CONTINUE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THE FAMILY EXPRESSED GREAT RESENTMENT AGAINST THE "MARXIST" COMANDANTES WHO, IN THEIR VIEW, HAVE APPROPRIATED THE REVOLUTION FROM VARIOUS GROUPS WHO FOUGHT TO OUST SOMOZA AND WHO ARE THE TRUE SANDINISTAS, I.E., NATIONAISTS. NO ONE IN THE FAMILY DEMONSTRATED MUCH OPTIMISM FOR PEACEFULLY REMOVING THE FSLN FROM POWER, BUT WHILE PEDRO JOAQUIN AND JAIME BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR AN ARMED UPRISING, VIOLETA DISSENTED, SAYING THE PEOPLE DID NOT WANT ANOTHER WAR. PEDRO JOAQUIN SAID LA PRENSA WOULD CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THE REGIME UNTIL THE PAPER WAS CLOSED OR THEIR PERSONAL SITUATIONS BECAME UNTENABLE.

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7. LEADERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR UMBRELLA GROUP COSEP, INCLUDING COSEP PRESIDENT ENRIQUE DREYFUS, INFORMED THE CODEL OF THEIR MANY DIFFICULTIES IN SURVIVING UNDER THE FSLN. THE GOVERNMENT'S ASSERTION THAT 60 PERCENT OF THE ECONOMY REMAINS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR WAS MISLEADING SINCE, BY CONTROL OF THE BANKS AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS AND THE FEAR OF CONFISCATION, THE SANDINISTAS COULD MANIPULATE THE ENTIRE ECONOMY. THE FDN WAS COMPOSED OF BOTH EX-NATIONAL GUARDSMEN AND "GOOD PEOPLE"; THEY APPEARED TO BE OPERATING INSIDE NICARAGUA AND RECEIVING SOME SUPPORT FROM THE PEASANTS. PASTORA WAS A POPULAR MILITARY LEADER AND MIGHT BE AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE NINE NOW IN POWER;

HOWEVER, HE WAS ALSO A LEFTIST AND WOULD DO LITTLE TO BENEFIT THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THE SANDINISTAS HAD LOST MUCH POPULARITY BUT STILL RETAINED THE SUPPORT OF MOST IN THE 15 - 25-YEAR OLD BRACKET SINCE THESE YOUTHS WERE IDEALISTIC AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE FSLN PROPAGANDA. THE US SHOULD WORK WITH OTHER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES, E.G., VENEZUELA, MEXICO, COSTA RICA, ETC., TO ARRIVE AT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. THIS SOLUTION MUST NOT SELL OUT THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE, HOEVER, AND MUST INCLUDE THE PROVISION THAT THE FSLN REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE INTERNAL OPPOSITION. DREYFUS CLOSED THE MEETING BY DELIVERING A MOVING ACCOUNT OF THE MONTHS HE WAS ENCARCERATED FOR HAVING WRITTEN AN OPEN LETTER CALLING UPON THE FSLN NOT TO ESTABLISH A TOTALITARIAN STATE.

8. FATHERS FERNANDO CARDENAL AND ALVARO ARGUELLO, CATHOLIC PRIESSTS, AND SIXTO ULLOA, HEAD OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ASSISTANCE AGENCY (CEPAD), DESCRIBED THE SITUATION FROM THE VIEW POINT OF THE PRO-FSLN CLERGY. THEY DELIVERED THE STRAIGHT PARTY LINE, EMPHASIZING THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION, AND ASSERTING THAT THE FSLN WAS BUILDING A TRUE DEMOCRACY THAT WOULD PROTECT THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE. THEY DENIED THAT REPRESSION EXISTED AND THEN SAID CENSORSHIP, ARRESTS, ETC., WERE NECESSARY TO DEFEND THE REVOLUTION AT A TIME WHEN IT WAS UNDER ATTACK FROM US IMPERIALISM. THE US SHOULD END ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST NICARAGUA AND THE OTHER PEOPLES

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OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

9. CODEL CALLED ON ARCHBISHOP OBANDO Y BRAVO WHO RECOUNTED THE HISTORY OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THE FSLN, HIGHLIGHTING THE "FATHER CARALLO INCIDENT" AND THE VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH SUPPORTERS AND SANDINISTA MOBS LAST AUGUST. HE NOTED THAT NEWS STORIES ABOUT THE BULGARIAN CONNECTION IN THE ATTEMPT ON THE POPE'S LIFE AND THE POPE'S VISIT TO NICARAGUA WERE PROHIBITED BY GRN CENSORS. THE ARCHBISHOP HEDGED IN HIS RESPONSE TO CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ' QUESTION ABOUT THE WISDOM OF A US/GRN DIALOGUE. HE SAID HE FAVORED DIALOGUE IN PRINCIPLE, ALTHOUGH AT TIMES, ONE SIDE (READ FSLN) SOUGHT IT ONLY TO GAIN GROUND.

10. COMMENT: DURING THEIR BRIEF VISIT TO NICARAGUA, CODEL SUCCEEDED IN MEETING WITH THE PRINCIPAL LEADERSHIP OF BOTH THE SANDINISTAS AND THE VARIOUS NON-FSLN GROUPS.

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THEY GAINED A GREATER AWARENESS OF THE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION CURRENTLY OPERATES. IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH FSLN COMANDANTES, THEY PERCEIVED MORE FLEXIBILITY THAN THEY HAD ANTICIPATED AND BELIEVED THAT THIS FLEXIBILITY COULD AND SHOULD BE EXPLOITED. AS THEY STATED IN A MEETING WITH THE PRESS UPON DEPARTURE, THEY CONCLUDED THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND NICARAGUA WERE POSSIBLE AND THEY PLANNED TO SPREAD THAT MESSAGE WHEN THEY RETURNED TO WASHINGTON.
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PAGE 01 TEGUCI 00733 01 OF 03 252136Z
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 TEGUCIGALPA 733

EO 12356: DECL: 1/24/93
TAGS: PEPR HO XK
SUBJ: CODEL SOLARZ MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PAZ BARNICA

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. CONGRESSMEN SOLARZ AND LEACH AND EDWARD FRIEDMAN CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER EDGARDO PAZ BARNICA ON JANUARY 17. CODEL WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR NEGROPONTE, POLITICAL COUNSELOR (NOTETAKER), AND PAO (INTERPRETER).

3. RELATIONS WITH NICARAGUA: THE FOREIGN MINISTER BEGAN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS BY OBSERVING THAT THE U.S. CAN PLAY A DETERMINING ROLE IN THE EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. SOLARZ SAID THE CODEL HAD COME TO HONDURAS BECAUSE THI BELIEVE THAT THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRATIC, CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT HONDURAS IS AN EVENT OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE REGION. THE CODEL WANTED A SENSE OF HOW THE U.S. CAN STRENGTHEN THE
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PAGE 02 TEGUCI 00733 01 OF 03 252136Z

DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN HONDURAS. THEY RECOGNIZED THAT ONE

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PROBLEM HONDURAS FACED WAS ITS TENSE RELATIONS WITH NICARAGUA AND SHARED THE GOH'S CONCERN WITH THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT. FROM TEGUCIGALPA THE CODEL WAS TRAVELLING TO MANAGUA, WHERE HONDURAN/NICARAGUAN RELATIONS WOULD CERTAINLY BE A MAJOR ITEM OF DISCUSSION, AND IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW WHAT PAZ THOUGHT THE NICARAGUANS WOULD HAVE TO DO TO IMPROVE RELATIONS.

4. PAZ BARNICA REPLIED THAT SINCE THE SUAZO GOVERNMENT'S INAUGUN A YEAR AGO IT HAS MAINTAINED FIXED FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES -- A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH WOULD REFLECT THE GOH'S INTERNAL POLICIES IN RESTORING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AFTER ALMOST 20 YEARS OF MILITARY RULE BY IRREGULAR GOVERNMENTS. HONDURAS' FOREIGN POLICY WAS BASED ON NON-INTERVENTION AND RESPECT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION; BUT IN ORDER FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION TO EXPRESS THEIR WILL THEY MUST BE ABLE TO DO SO THROUGH THE BALLOT AND THERE MUST BE RESPECT FOR THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. THERE ALSO MUST BE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS; WHERE THEY ARE VIOLATED, THERE WOULD BE A RETREAT FROM JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY. TO ACHIEVE SOLID PEACE AND DEMOCRACY, IT WAS NECESSARY TO HAVE REGIONAL TRANQUILITY.

5. PAZ EXPLAINED THAT IN MARCH 1982 HONDURAS PUT FORTH ITS PEACE PROPOSAL, WHICH HAS BEEN SUPPORTED BY MANY GOVERNMENTS INCLUDING THE US. THE BASIC PROPOSAL WAS THAT CENTRAL AMERICAN PROBLEMS MUST BE RESOLVED IN A REGIONAL AND COMPREHENSIVE MANNER. THERE WERE MANY ASPECTS TO THE PROBLEM -- ARMS TRAFFICKING FROM NICARAGUA TO EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS; NICARAGUAN/COSTA RICAN PROBLEMS; NICARAGUAN/HONDURAN PROBLEMS; AND, INDIRECTLY, NICARAGUAN/EL SALVADORAN PROBLEMS. THERE WERE NEARLY 40,000 REFUGEES IN HONDURAS, THE MAJORITY NICARAGUANS AND SALVADORANS. THERE WERE SERIOUS INTERNAL CONFLICTS OF A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL NATURE IN THE THREE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

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6. SOLARZ SAID HE RECOGNIZED THE MANY PROBLEMS OF THE REGION. HE WONDERED IF IT WAS POSSIBLE TO SOLVE SOME OF THEM WITHOUT SOLVING ALL. HONDURAS IS CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE SANDINISTAS FOMENT HERE AND THE SANDINISTAS SAY THEY ARE CONCERNED WITH PROBLEMS HONDURAS IS CREATING THERE. IF AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED TO STOP THIS PROBLEM, WHY WOULD IT NOT BE DESIRABLE EVEN IF ONE COULD NOT STOP THE PROBLEM OF SANDINISTA INVOLVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR?

7. PAZ REPLIAT WHILE THE NICARAGUANS HAVE SPOKEN OF BORDER

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SUPERVISION. THE GOH HAS PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL VERIFICATION AND PATROL OF PORTS, AIRPORTS AND LAND CROSSINGS. HONDURAS ALSO BELIEVES IT IS NECESSARY TO DECREASE THE NUMBERS OF FOREIGN ADVISORS IN THE REGION, DECREASE THE ARMS BUILDUP IN THE REGION. IN DECEMBER PAZ WENT TO MANAGUA TO PROPOSE SOLUTIONS TO BILATERAL, MULTILATERAL AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS. HE SPOKE WITH DANIEL ORTEGA FOR TWO AND A HALF HOURS ON ALL THESE SUBJECTS. THE SANDINISTAS WERE RELUCTANT TO DISCUSS THE GOH'S PROPOSALS. HONDURAS DOES NOT INEIST ON ONLY ITS PROPOSALS; IT IS OPEN TO GROUPING TOGETHER VARIOUS PROPOSALS AND IDEAS. AT THE SAN JOSE MEETING, FOR EXAMPLE, THE IDEAS OF HONDURAS AND OTHERS WERE GROUPED TOGETHER. BUT THE NICARAGUAN FOREIGN MINISTRY REFUSES TO DISCUSS ALL THESE IDEAS WITH COSTA RICAN FOREIGN MINISTER VOLIO. THE SANDINISTAS INSIST ON A SUMMIT MEETING OF PRESIDENT SUAZO AND COMMANDER ORTEGA, AS WAS PROPOSED BY PRESIDENTS HERRERA AND LOPEZ PORTILLO. SUAZO AGREES TO HAVE SUCH A MEETING, BUT WHEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE RIGHT. FIRST THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MUST GET TOGETHER AND SEEK A COMPREHENSIVE AND REGIONAL SOLUTION. THIS IS WHAT WE NOW PROPOSE TO THE NICARAGUANS AND WE WANT TO SEE IF WE WILL HAVE SOME SUCCESS.

8. SOLARZ SAID HE WISHED PAZ WELL WITH HIS PURSUIT OF A COMPREHENSIVE AND REGIONAL SOLUTION, BUT IF IT TURNS OUT THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, WHILE A BILATERAL SETTLEMENT WITH NICARAGUA IS POSSIBLE, WOULD THAT BE ACCEPTABLE? PAZ RESPONDED THAT HONDURAS

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IS ATTEMPTING TO DEAL WITH BILATERAL PROBLEMS WITH NICARAGUA. NAVAL AND ARMY COMMANDERS HAVE MET TO AVOID BORDER TENSIONS. BU ORTEGA INSISTED IN HIS MEETING WITH PAZ THAT THE CENTRAL AMERICAI CRISIS COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED IF A NICARAGUAN/UNITED STATES

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PAGE 01 TEGUCI 00733 02 OF 03 252138Z
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AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
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DIALOGUE IS BEGUN.

9. PAZ STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH BOTH NICARAGUA'S NEIGHBOR HONDURAS AND COSTA RICA, ATTACH TO PLURALISTIC GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA. PAZ SAID HE COULD SHOW THE CONGRESSMAN A COPY OF NICARAGUA'S PRENSA LIBRE IN WHICH EVERY ITEM ON HIS VISIT TO MANAGUA WAS CENSORED. HE BELIEVED THAT AS REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMOCRACY, THE CONGRESSMEN COULD UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTY OF NEGOTIATING WITH A COUNTRY WHICH WITHHOLDS ALL INFORMATION FRC ITS OWN PEOPLE.

10. PAZ SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE CRISIS IN CENTRAL AMERICA, IT HAD BECOME A STRATEGIC AREA IN THE HEMISPHERE WHICH WAS IMPORT NOW BECAUSE IT WAS A CONFLICT ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE COLD WAR STRUGGLE. BUT THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CRISIS ALSO HAD ITS ORIGIN INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF REPRESSION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, WHICH WHEN THEY TRANSLATED THEMSELVES INTO REVOLUTION, WERE EXPLOITED BY ENEMIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. SOMOZA WAS ONE OF THE MOST

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PAGE 02 TEGUCI 00733 02 OF 03 252138Z

SINISTER ELEMENTS IN THE HEMISPHERE. BUT ONE DID NOT WANT THE EXTREME RIGHT REPLACED BY THE EXTREME LEFT. PAZ STRESSED THE

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IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. CONGRESS INCREASING AID THROUGH RESPECT COOPERATION TO CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. THIS WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO ACHIEVE PEACE.

11. ACHIEVING PEACE IN EL SALVADOR: NOTING THAT PAZ HAD SPOK OF THE FOR DIALOGUE BETWEEN CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES, SOLARZ ASKED IF HE WOULD ALSO FAVOR DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOES AND THE FDR TO ACHIEVE PEACE? PAZ REPLIED THAT THE DESIRE FOR REGIONA DIALOGUE WAS INCORPORATED IN THE SAN JOSE DECLARATION. VOLIO *TOLD THE NICARAGUAN FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THE NEXT MEETING, IN* LARGER CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN FRAMEWORK, COULD TAKE PL IN MANAGUA, BUT THE SANDINISTAS REFUSE EVEN TO RECEIVE VOLIO.

12. IN THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR, PAZ REPLIED, THEY HAVE INTERNA PROBLEMS WHICH THEY MUST RESOLVE. PAZ SAID HE HAD LIVED THERE AND HAD SEEN HOW ZHE CAMPESINOS HAD BEEN TREATED ALMOST AS SLAVES. PEACE IN EL SALVADOR, AS IN EVERY OTHER COUNTRY, REQUIRES DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS, THROUGH RESPECT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.

13. SOLARZ NOTED THAT DURING HIS VISIT TO EL SALVADOR, MANY HA SAID THERE WAS A MILITARY STALEMATE AND THE ONLY SOLUTION IN T FORESEEABLE FUTURE WOULD BE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT THROUGH GOVERNMENT/OPPOSITION DIALOGUE. NOTING THAT THE USG COULD HAV INFLUENCE ON THIS NEGOTIATION, SOLARZ ASKED FOR PAZ' JUDGMENT WHETHER WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE IT. PAZ REPLIED THAT DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEKEND HE HAD HAD A CHANCE TO DISCUSS SOME OF THESE ISSUES WITH SALVADORAN FOREIGN MINISTER CHAVEZ MENA DURING THE BORDER DELIMITATION TALKS AT TELA. IT WAS IMPORTANT IN ANY COUNTRY TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION; FORTUNATELY THAT I NOT A PROBLEM IN HONDURAS. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE SALVADOR

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OPPOSITION INCORPORATE ITSELF THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE GUERRILLAS, WELL ARMED BY NICARAGUA AI CUBA, WILL NOT WANT TO TURN OVER THEIR ARMS BEFORE NEGOTIATIO THIS WAS A PROBLEM FOR STATESMEN IN WHICH THE US COULD BE A CI ACTOR IN ENCOURAGING PEACE.

14. PAZ STATED THAT THE GOH WAS WELL-DISPOSED TO HELP IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGND DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT BETWEEN SMALL AND BIG POWER HONDURAS HAS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND HOPES THEY WILL DEVELOP IN ECONOMIC TERMS AND ALSO POLITICALLY. IN THE

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PURSUIT OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY. PAZ OBSERVED THAT AMONG LATIN AMERICAN YOUTH IN THE PAST TWENTY YEARS THE U.S. HAD COME TO B SEEN AS RESPONSIBLE FOR SUPPORTING AND KEEPING IN POWER HATEFU MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS. PAZ SAID HE HOPED THIS WOULD NOT RECU AND THAT DEMOCRACIES WOULD BE SUPPORTED AND RESPECTED. IF HUM RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED, AS IN NICARAGUA, ARGENTINA, OR TO A LESSE EXTENT, IN GUATEMALA, THEN REBELLION GROWS.

15. WORST CASE SCENARIO IN EL SALVADOR: SOLARZ, NOTING THAT NEITHER OF OUR COUNTRIES WANTS TO SEE THE FMLN COME TO POWER I EL SALVADOR, ASKED WHETHER PAZ THOUGHT IT WOULD BE WISE FOR TH US TO SEND IN ITS OWN FORCES IF IT LOOKED AS IF THE FMLN WERE THE VERGE OF VICTORY. PAZ REPLIED THAT IT WAS BETTER TO PREVE THAT HAPPENING. INTERVENTION WAS ALWAYS HATEFUL. HONDURAS HA CONDEMNED INTERVENTION IN BUDAPEST AND AFGHANISTAN. THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS ARE WELL ORGANIZED AND SUPPLIED BY MOSCO HAVANA AND MANAGUA. THAT IS WHY ORTEGA INSISTS THAT A SOLUTIO REQUIRES DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S. SOLARZ ASKED IF PAZ WO BE IN FAVOR OF DIRECT DIALOGUE. PAZ RESPONDED THAT THE GOH WA IN FAVOR OF ALL DIALOGUE.

16. CBI: CONGRESSMAN LEACH ASKED FOR PAZ' VIEW OF THE IMPORTA OF THE CBI. PAZ REPLIED THAT WHEN IT WAS FIRST ANNOUNCED PRESIDENT SUAZO SAID IT WAS VERY VALUABLE BUT INSUFFICIENT. H HOPED THE CONGRESSMEN COULD INFLUENCE PASSAGE OF THE TRADE AND

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INVESTMENT COMPONENT. MILITARY AID WAS IMPORTANT TO MODERNIZE HONDURAS' ARMED FORCES, BUT PAZ HOPED THE U.S. COULD GIVE SPEC ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC AID. PAZ NOTED THAT SUAZO HAD MENTIONED PRESIDENT REAGAN THE SMALL BUT IMPORTANT FAAT HONDURAS'

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 TEGUCIGALPA 733

SUGAR QUOTA IS ONLY HALF THAT OF NICARAGUA. FOR THE U.S. THIS WAS A SMALL THING, BUT IT WAS NOT FOR HONDURAS. SOLARZ RESPON THAT IT DID SOUND "LOCO".

17. HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR: AS CODEL WAS DEPARTING, PAZ NOTED THAT DURING HIS YEARS IN WASHINGTON WITH THE OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HE HAD DEVELOPED GOOD RELATIONS WITH CONGRES MR FRIEDMAN AND CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ ASKED, IN VIEW OF PAZ' HUMA RIGHTS BACKGROUND, IF HE HAD ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE EXISTENCE OF ALLEGED SECRET PRISONS IN EL SALVADOR. PAZ REPLIED THAT DURIN THE ROMERO REGIME, THE OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAD VISITEC SALVADOR, PROVEN THAT THERE WERE SECRET PRISONS AND HAD PUBLIC DENOUNCED THEM. PAZ SAID HE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, BUT HE HAD HEARD THAT RIGHTIST MURDERERS OF THE RON REGIME WERE STILL IN THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT. PAZ OBSERVED THAT THE OBJECTIVITY OF THE OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COULD SEEN IN THE FACT THAT IT HAD VISITED NICARAGUA TWICE -- UNDER BOTH SOMOZA AND THE SANDINISTAS -- AND HAD CRITICIZED BOTH

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 023094

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWELL

FOLLOWING REPEAT SENT ACTION SECSTATE GENEVA SANTIAGO MEXICO LONDON DAKAR DTD JAN 25.

QUORE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 00199

E.O. 12356: DECL: 1/24/89
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, CI
SUBJECT: CHILE AND THE UNHRC

REF: (A) USUN 171; (B) MEXICO 16730

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS NOTED IN PARA 8 OF REFTEL, USUN COUNSELLOR GERSHMAN MET WITH CHILE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR DIEYE LATE FRIDAY TO DISCUSS POSSIBILITIES FOR A MODERATE RESOLUTION ON CHILE AT THE UPCOMING SESSION OF THE UNHRC. DIEYE WAS RECEPTIVE TO THE APPRAOCH AND INDICATED THAT HE WOULD BEGIN TO SPEAK WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR A RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

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3. GERSHMAN MET WITH DIEYE IN HIS HOTEL ROOM WHERE HE IS STILL RECUPERATING FROM HEPATITIS. WHILE DIEYE APPEARED QUITE WEAKENED FROM HIS ILLNESS, ME IS ENGAGED IN THE PREPARATION OF HIS REPORT TO THE COMMISSION AND WILL BE GOING TO GENEVA ON FEB. 20. GERSHMAN REVIEWED THE DISCUSSION HELD AT THE WESTERN GROUP MEETING ON JAN. 11,

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WHICH INDICATED THAT THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE A WESTERN CONSENSUS FOR A MODERATE RESOLUTION ON CHILE -- ONE THAT ENDED THE SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM AND ENTRUSTED THE SYG WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONDUCTING THE INQUIRY AND PREPARING THE REPORT -- PROVIDED THAT CHILE MADE A DECLARATION OF ITS WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE U.N. INVESTIGATION. THE PROBLEM, GERSHMAN POINTED OUT, IS THAT WE CANNOT EXPECT CHILE TO MAKE SUCH A DECLARATION AT THE PRESENT TIME, GIVEN THE STRONG REACTION OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT TO THE EVENTS AT THE GA AND ITS REFUSAL TO MAKE A CONCESSION IN ORDER TO BE TREATED EQUITABLY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS IS A POSITION OF PRINCIPLE ON THE PART OF THE CHILEANS. THEY CONSIDER IT THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO BE TREATED EQUITABLY AND WILL NOT MAKE A "DEAL" TO OBTAIN WHAT SHOULD BE THEIRS BX RIGHT -- THE RIGHT TO GIVE THEIR CONSENT TO A PROCEDURE.

4. GERSHMAN THEN SAID THAT THE U.S. IS TRYING TO EXPLORE WAYS OF BREAKING THE CURRENT IMPASSE, WHICH NO ONE FEELS IS CONTRIBUTING TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE U.N. OR TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE. OUR APPRAOCH IS BASED UPON OUR GENUINE COMMITMENT TO A SINGLE STANDARD ON HUMAN RIGHTS -- A STANDARD CONSTANTLY REITERATED BY AMB. KIRKPATRICK IN HER STATEMENTS TO THE THIRD COMMITTEE. FOR THIS REASON, HE SAID, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A RESOLUTION ON CHILE ODELLED ON THE POLAND RESOLUTION -- A RESOLUTION THAT WAS NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 STATE 023094

POLITICAL OR POLEMICAL BUT WHICH ADDRESSED ITSELF CONSTRUCTIVELY TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN A MANNER LIKELY TO ELICIT CHILEAN COOPERATION. WHILE THE CHILEANS WOULD NOT MAKE A DECLARATION OF THEIR READINESS TO COOPERATE FOR THE REASONS ALREADY STATED, HE NOTED THAT STATEMENOS MADE BY THE CHILEANS, MOST RECENTLY IN THE GA (PARA 3 OF REFTEL), CLEARLY INDICATE THAT THEY ARE COMMITTED TO COOPERATION IF THE PROCEDURE IS NONDISCRIM-INATORY. THE CHILEAN VOTE IN FAVOR OF GA RESOLUTION 37/200, WHICH CALLS FOR SUCH COOPERATION, CS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE CHILEAN ATTITUDE. GERSHMAN OBSERVED THAT THESE STATEMENTS COULD BE QUOTED AND, IF NOT REPUDIATED BY THE CHILEANS, COULD BE TAKEN AS AN INDICATION OF A POSITIVE ATTITUDE.

5. DIEYE RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT HE IS ABOVE ALL COMMITTED TO A SINGLE STANDARD ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WE SHOULD ADDRESS OURSELVES TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RE-GARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OR THE GOVERNMENT IN

QUESTION. AT THE SAME TIME, HE CAUTIONED AGAINST ANY OVERT LINKAGE WITH POLAND. THE TWO SITUATIONS ARE NOT IDENTICAL, AND NO PURPOSE WILL BE SERVED BY MENTIONING POLAND IN THE CONTEXT OF DEALING WITH CHILE. HE ADDED THAT THE KIND OF RESOLUTION DESCRIBED BY GERSHMAN WAS DESIRABLE AND POSSIBLE, IF ONLY THE CHILEANS WOULD MAKE A DECLARATION OF THEIR INTENTION TO COOPERATE WITH THE COMMISSION. INDEED, HE SAID, SUCH A RESOLUTION COULD HAVE BEEN ADOPTED AT THE LAST SESSION IF THE CHILEANS HAD MADE SUCH A DECLARATION.

6. GERSHMAN SAID HE AGREED THAT THE ISSUES OF POLAND AND CHILE SHOULD NOT BE EXPLICITLY LINKED. HE HAD MENTIONED POLAND ONLY TO INDICATE OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD A SINGLE STANDARD AND THAT WE DID NOT INTEND ANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO THAT EFFECT. HOWEVER, HE EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT WE CANNOT EXVECT FROM THE CHILEANS THE KIND OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 STATE 023094

DECLARATION DIEYE WOULD LIKE. WE HAVE TO FIND A SOLUTION WHERE THAT IS NOT A PRECONDITION. IN THIS REGARD, ME SUGGESTED THAT THE VERY FACT THE U.S. WAS PREPARED TO SUPPORT A MODERATE RESOLUTION, IF IT WAS GENUINELY NONPOLITICAL AND NONDISCRIMINATORY AND ESTABLISHED A CONSTRUCTIVE PROCEDURE, MIGHT BE THE FACTOR THAT COULD PERSUADE A MAJORITY AT THE COMMISSION TO SUPPORT THIS APPRAOCH. AT THE SAME TIME, GERSHMAN STATED THAT OUR POSITION WAS NOT A NEGOTIATING OR STARTING POSITION BUT A FINAL POSITION. THIS WAS IN THE NATURE OF THE SITUATION SINCE A RESOLUTION THAT DID NOT MEET THE STANDARD WE HAD ESTABLISHED WOULD BE MOST UNLIKELY TO ELICIT CHILEAN COOPERATION AND THUS THE WHOLE APPROACH WOULD UNRAVEL.

7. DIEYE SAID THAT WE SHOULD MAKE THE EFFORT ON THIS BASIS. IT WOULD NOT BE EASY, HE SAID, BECAUSE THE OPPONENTS OF CHILE ARE FEELING STRONG AFTER THEIR VCCTORY AT THE GA. IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO SPEAK WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS AND TO LAY THE NECESSARY FOUNDATION FOR THE RESOLUTION. HE WOULD SPEAK WITH THE MEXICANS AND AGREED THAT WE SHOULD SPEAK WITH THEM AS WELL. HE DID NOT FEEL THAT THE AFRICANS WOULD BE A PROBLEM. HE SAID HE WOULD ALSO SPEAK WITH CUBA. GERSHMAN SAID THAT THE EFFORT WOULD HAVE TO BE STARTED IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE TIME WAS SO SHORT. DIEYE AGREED, AND SAID THAT HE WOULD BEGIN HIS DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK, SINCE HE WOULD NOT BE LEAVING THE CITY UNTIL FEB. 10. THEY AGREED THAT THEY WOULD STAY IN TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER

TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS THAT WAS BEING MADE.

8. COMMENT: BEFORE THE MEETING, WE HAD CONSIDERED DIEYE THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO THE SUCCESS OF THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 05 STATE 023094

UNDERTAKING. HIS WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH US ON THIS MATTER MAY INDICATE THAT HE IS TIRING OF HIS THANKLESS TASK AS SR, AND POSSIBLY ALSO THAT HE IS NO LONGER UP TO THE TASK GIVEN HIS HEALTH PROBLEMS. HE ALSO SEEMED GENUINELY SYMPATHETIC WITH OUR APPROACH AND THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME CONSTRUCTIVE MOVEMENT ON THE ISSUE. IN LIGHT OF HIS ATTITUDE AND THE POSSIBILITIES THIS OPENS UP FOR SUCCESS ON THIS ISSUE AT THE COMMISSION, USUN FEELS THAT THE NEXT STEP IS FOR US TO APPROACH THE MEXICANS AND TRY TO GAIN THEIR SUPPORT OR AT LEAST TO NEUTRALIZE THEM. THE APPROACH WILL HAVE TO BE MADE IN MEXICO SINCE THEIR AMBASSADOR IN NEW YORK WILL NOT BE SYMPATHETIC AND GONZALEZ DE LEON WILL BE REPRESENTING MEXCCO IN GENEVA AND WILL UNDOUBTEDLY RESIST THIS MOVE, AS HE RESISTED A SIMILAR ATTEMPT TO MODERATE THE APPROACH TO CHILE AT THE GA. A VISIT TO MEXICO CITY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE BY USUN OFFICERS WOULD UNDERLINE THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR CONCERN AND MIGHT SET IN MOTION THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AT THE U.N. WHICH THE MEXICANS THEMSELVES HAVE SAID THEY DESIRE. (REF. B).
KIRKPATRICK UNQUOTE SHULTZ

01-27-83 (KH017)

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FRANK R. WOLF
10th District, Virginia

PLEASE RESPOND TO ADDRESS CHECKED

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SUBCOMMITTEES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

January 27, 1983

Mr. Powell Moore
Room 7261
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Project (S1990030)
To: Department of State
Date: X Deny
Partially: In Part In Full
Exemption(s): B6

ACTION

re: Mr. Carlos Lopez Vila

EXCISE

Dear Moore:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have received from one of my constituents concerning a matter within your Department's jurisdiction.

I would very much appreciate having a report on this matter. It would be helpful if you would direct your reply to me, attention: Bob Clark.

I appreciate your assistance and courtesy in being responsive to my constituent.

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:rc
Encl.

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INFORMATION ANALYSIS

re: Medical condition(s) + whereabouts of Carlos Lopez Vila in Chile

from [redacted]

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00251 01 OF 03 290115Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 00251

SANTIAGO PLEASE PASS TO AMB. JOSE SORZANO

E.O. 12356: DECL: 1/28/89
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, CI
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

REF: (A) USUN 171; (B) USUN 199; (C) SANTIAGO 475

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. USUN COUNSELOR CARL GERSHMAN MET WITH MAXIMO PACHECO AND GONZALO TABORGA OF CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AT US MISSION EVENING OF JAN. 27. CHRC MEMBERS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY FELICE GAER, DIRECTOR. OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LIGIA BOLIVAR ALSO WITH THE LEAGUE, WHO SERVED AS TRANSLATOR. PACHECO HAD REQUESTED MEETING WITH AMB. KIRKPATRICK, BUT SHE WAS IN WASHINGTON, SO THAT MEETING COULD NOT BE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 00251 01 OF 03 290115Z

ARRANGED.

3. PACHECO OPENED THE MEETING BY EXPLAINING WHY HE FELT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE WAS GROWING WORSE. FOLLOWING THE 1973 EVENTS, HE SAID, TORTURE WAS EXTENSIVE BUT NOT SYSTEMATIC, WHEREAS TODAY IT HAD

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BECOME AN INSTITUTIONALIZED FEATE OF THE REGIME. HE CHARGED THAT MEDICAL PERSONNEL PARTICIPATED IN THE PROCESS AS ADVISERS. HE ALSO RAISED THE EXILES PROBLEM, NOTING THAT THERE WAS A DISCREPANCY IN REPORTS ON THE NUMBERS OF EXILES. THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT SAYS THAT THERE ARE 11,000 WHILE SOME ORGANIZATIONS PUT THE FIGURE AS HIGH AS 200,000. THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION FIGURE, PACHECO SAID, IS 37,000.

4. GERSHMAN RECALLED THAT PACHECO HAD ORIGINALLY WELCOMED THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE GOC OF AN EXILES COMMISSION AND ASKED FOR HIS PRESENT VIEWS ON THE COMMISSION'S WORK. PACHECO SAID HE WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE HERE. HE NOTED THAT THE EXILES COMMISSION HAD SUBMITTED A LIST OF 562 NAMES TO THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING MANY "RELEVANT" PEOPLE SUCH AS JAIME CASTILLO. PINOCHET, HE SAID, REJECTED THE REPORT AND ORDERED THE LIST REDUCED TO 125 (INCLUDING ONLY ONE "RELEVANT" PERSON). HE SAID THAT EXILE COMMISSION MEMBERS WERE VERY UPSET BY THIS DEVELOPMENT AND THAT TWO LAWYERS WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION RESIGNED AS A RESULT. INSTEAD OF REPLACING THESE MEMBERS, WHICH WOULD HAVE INVOLVED PUBLIC EXPLANATION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE TWO RESIGNATIONS, PINOCHET DISBANDED THE EXILES COMMISSION ON DECEMBER 26TH. THE GOVERNMENT, PACHECO SAID, SUBSEQUENTLY PRO-DUCED A SECOND LIST OF 79 PERSONS ELIGIBLE FOR RETURN. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 00251 01 OF 03 290115Z

(NOTE: USUN WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY'S VIEWS ON ACCURACY OF THIS REPORT.)

5. AS EXPECTED, THE MAIN THRUST OF PACHECO'S REMARKS INVOLVED THE NEED TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON CHILE. HE SAID THAT THE SR WAS NECESSARY TO KEEP INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE DN THE GOC, ESPECIALLY AT A TIME WHEN ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES PRESAGED INCREASED REPRESSION. BOTH PACHECO AND TABORGA EMPHASIZED THAT THEY SYMPATHIZED AND AGREED WITH AMB. KIRKPATRICK'S CRITICISM OF DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT BY THE UNITED NATIONS IN FOCUSING ON CHILE AND A FEW OTHER LATIN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, THEY SAID THAT THE WAY TO END DISCRIMINATION IS NOT TO DISCONTINUE CURRENT INVESTIGATIONS BUT TO BROADEN THE LIST OF COUNTRIES TO INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE, CUBA AND AFGHANISTAN. THE U.N. IS IN THE PROCESS OF EVOLUTION TOWARD MORE EFFECTIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE TREATMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND THAT PROCESS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED,

NOT REVERSED.

6. GERSHMAN REPLIED BY SAYING THAT HIS CHILEAN VISITORS DID NOT FULLY APPRECIATE THE U.S. POSITION ON DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT BY THE U.N. OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. WE WERE NOT MERELY OPPOSED TO SELECTIVE CONCENTRATION ON LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. WE WERE ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE TREATMENT OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, SPECIFICALLY CHILE, WAS DISCRIMINATORY IN RELATION TO THE TREATMENT ACCORDED OTHER COUNTRIES UNDER INVESTIGATION. UNLIKE THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE UNHRC RESOLUTION ON POLAND WAS QUITE MODERATE AND ESTABLISHED A PROCEDURE WHEREBY THE SYG WOULD SEEK TO OBTAIN GOP COOPERATION. IN THE CASE OF CHILE, THE RESOLUTION WAS HARSH AND POLEMICAL AND APPOINTED A SR WITHOUT ESTABLISHING A PROCEDURE FOR

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PAGE 04 USUN N 00251 01 OF 03 290115Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00251 02 OF 03 290118Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 00251

SANTIAGO PLEASE PASS TO AMB. JOSE SORZANO

SEEKING THE GOC'S CONSENT. MOREOVER, WHEREAS THE POLAND RESOLUTION WAS TAKEN UP UNDER THE COMPREHENSIVE

AGENDA ITEM ON HUMAN RIGHTS, CHILE WAS DEALT WITH UNDER A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM -- THE ONLY COUNTRY SO TREATED BESIDES ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA. THESE PROCEDURES ARE DISCRIMINATORY AND THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE AND DO NOT SERVE THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS BUT ADVANCE A POLITICAL AGENDA.

7. IN THIS REGARD, GERSHMAN SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW THE CHRC AND THE INTERNATIONAL LEAG FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAD MADE A SERIOUS MISTAKE IN SUPPORTING THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT AT THE GA. (FYI: THE DAY OF THE VOTE IN THE GA, THE LEAGUE CIRCULATED TO ALL DELEGATIONS A STATEMENT BY THE CHRC URGING SUPPORT FOR THE MEXICAN AMENDMENT, CHARGING -- ERRONEOUSLY -- THAT THE UK AMENDMENT HAD TERMINATED THE SR'S MANDATE.) THE ONLY EFFECT WAS TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00251 02 OF 03 290118Z

HARDEN POSITIONS AND TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN CHILEAN COOPERATION WITH U.N. INVESTIGATIONS -- PRESUMABLY SOMETHING THAT THE CHRC DESIRED IF ITS PURPOSE WAS TO IMPROVE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND NOT MERELY TO CONDEMN THE GOC. THE GOC, IN FACT, HAD REPEATEDLY STATED ITS INTENTION TO COOPERATE WITH FAIR AND OBJECTIVE PROCEDURES, MOST RECENTLY IN THE GA PLENARY DEBATE. MOREOVER, THE GOC VOTED IN FAVOR OF RESOLUTION 37/200 WHICH CALLED UPON GOVERNMENTS TO COOPERATE WITH U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATIONS, A RESOLUTION THAT WAS VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED BY THE SOVIET BLOC. THE POSSIBILITY FOR COOPERATION WAS THUS THERE AND SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED -- NOT DISCOURAGED, WHICH IS THE REGRETTABLE EFFECT OF CURRENT PROCEDURES.

8. GERSHMAN STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT THE US IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH AND SUPPORT ANY EFFORTS MADE BY THE U.N. WHICH ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED WITH ADVANCING HUMAN RIGHTS AND ARE NOT POLITICAL AND POLEMICAL IN CHARACTER. UNFORTUNATELY, THE U.N. IS A HIGHLY POLITICIZED FORUM AND THE PROSPECT FOR BROADENING THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES UNDER INVESTIGATION TO INCLUDE CUBA OR NICARAGUA IS REMOTE. FOR THE MOST PART, THE COUNTRIES UNDER INVESTIGATION ARE DISPROPORTIONATELY THOSE WHICH ARE TARGETS OF COMMUNIST EXPANSION -- COUNTRIES, THAT IS TO SAY, WHERE THE SOVIET BLOC AND NAM MILITANTS CAN MOBILIZE A MAJORITY. THE REASON FOR THE EXTREME CONCENTRATION ON CHILE, FOR EXAMPLE, IS NOT THAT MANY OF THE SUPPORTERS OF THE RESOLUTION ARE SO CONCERNED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS BUT BECAUSE OF CHILE'S UNIQUE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AS A COUNTRY WHERE THE LEFT WAS TURNED

BACK. AS THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE SAID AFTER THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, THERE WOULD BE NO MORE CHILES.
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PAGE 03 USUN N 00251 02 OF 03 290118Z

THE EMPHASIS ON CHILE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WAS A REFLECTION OF THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE THE LEFT ATTACHED TO CHILE. THE U.S. WOULD NOT COOPERATE WITH THIS POLITICIZATION OF THE ISSUE, THOUGH WE WOULD COOPERATE WITH ANY SERIOUS EFFORT TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS. TOWARD THAT END, WE SOUGHT TO WORK WITH COUNTRIES GENUINELY CONCERNED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS BUT WOULD NOT JOIN COALITIONS OF TOTALITARIANS AND DEMOCRATS WHERE THE FORMER SET THE TONE.

9. PACHECO REPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN GIVEN A GREAT DEAL TO THINK ABOUT. HE HAD NOT REALLY CONSIDERED A SERIOUS ALTERNATIVE TO AN ALL OR NOTHING APPROACH ON CHILE. THE IDEA OF A DIFFERENT, EQUITABLE PROCEDURE WITH WHICH THE GOC MIGHT COOPERATE WAS A NEW THOUGHT AND A VERY INTERESTING ONE. HE ALSO WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THAT HE SHARED THE U.S. OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM AND DID NOT WANT THAT FOR HIS COUNTRY. HE IS A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, HE SAID, AND A FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION. HE KNOWS THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM AND DOES NOT LIKE IT. FOR THAT VERY REASON, IN FACT, HE FEARS THAT THE CURRENT POLARIZATION IN CHILE COULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE COMMUNISTS TO EXPLOIT THE SITUATION AND EVENTUALLY COME TO POWER. THE ONLY GUARANTEE OF TRUE STABILITY FOR CHILE IS DEMOCRACY.

10. GERSHMAN CONCURRED, REITERATING THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY. MOREOVER, HE SAID, HE WAS SURE THAT PACHECO WOULD AGREE WITH OUR VIEW THAT THIS DEMOCRATIC GOAL SHOULD NOT BE PURSUED IN A WAY THAT WOULD LEAD TO ITS OPPOSITE, AS FOR EXAMPLE, IN NICARAGUA. PACHECO AGREED, SAYING THAT HE FOUND THE DISCUSSION BOTH ILLUMINATING AND HOPEFUL. THE MEETING WAS CORDIAL THROUGHOUT AND ENDED WITH PACHECO EXPRESSING HIS APPRECIATION OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE U.S. CONCERN WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN HIS COUNTRY.
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PAGE 04 USUN N 00251 02 OF 03 290118Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00251 03 OF 03 290118Z
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INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 OIC-02
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 00251

SANTIAGO PLEASE PASS TO AMB. JOSE SORZANO

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CONFIDENTIAL

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1/30/83

NC0098

Internal Security Log, January 24 - 30, 1983

R

January 24

-- A civilian judge sentenced five individuals, identified as members of the MIR and accused of running a clandestine printing shop, to six years of exile. Five of the individuals (Fernando Hernan Alba Sanchez, Pedro Fernandez Lembach, Juana Aguilera Jaramillo, and Rita Pena Cardenas) were arrested last year; the fifth (Inez Diaz Tapia) is reportedly in hiding and was sentenced in absentia. The five are also awaiting sentencing by a military court on charges of weapons possession and assault.

-- An attorney for Hector Malatrassi Aguilera has filed a motion asking for his immediate release and transfer to Taltal. Malatrassi, arrested last year for anti-government activities, was ordered relegated to Taltal for two years.

-- The magazine "APSI" has resumed publication and a new edition is scheduled to be on the market today. The first edition to be published since the magazine was closed by the GOC last year will reportedly carry national as well as international news.

-- The GOC has prohibited the showing of a television documentary on the life of Eduardo Frei, co-produced by Icteus and Filmocentro. Attorneys for the producers have announced that they intend to lodge a complaint with the court of appeals.

-- La Union Nacional de Estudiantes Democraticos (UNED) issued a public statement protesting that economic and social conditions in Chile are preventing students from completing their education or pursuing the education of their choice.

January 25

-- An attorney for Luis Portilla Peralta and Alfredo Iriarte Iriarte has filed a motion asking for their release and transfer to the north of Chile. The two prisoners, along with Hector Malatrassi, were ordered relegated to remote areas of Chile for two years.

-- The Appeals Court has reopened the judicial investigation against two functionaries of CNI, accused of illegally detaining and mistreating three women last year. The court acted in response to an appeal by an attorney representing the three women.

-- La Segunda published an editorial criticizing the latest Supreme Court decision on APSI. Following a ruling on January 5 that the magazine could resume publication, the Supreme Court issued a "clarification" which specified that the magazine could publish only international news.

-- Celso Poblete Reyes, an attorney who allegedly attempted to instigate a demonstration of mutual fund savers, was detained by authorities.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Lot 85F 114 Box 59

UNCLASSIFIED

January 26

-- An attorney for APSI has announced that the magazine will file an appeal protesting the recent Supreme Court decision restricting the magazine's activities.

-- The Colegio de Periodistas expressed "surprise and indignation" over the recent Supreme Court decision on APSI.

-- El Mercurio published an editorial critizing the Supreme Court decision on APSI.

-- Three bombs exploded in a street in Valparaiso, injuring a passer-by.

-- By a vote of two to one, the Court of Appeals confirmed a lower court decision to free five students and two workers detained last year for allegedly distributing anti-government pamphlets.

-- The Court of Appeals reduced from six to four years of exile the sentence of four of five alleged members of a MIR cell accused of running a clandestine printing shop. The fifth member is reportedly in hiding and was declared "en rebeldia para todo los asuntos legales." Three other individuals implicated in the case (Juan Pablo Alba Sanchez, Ana Armijo Vasquez, and Arturo Rafael Santibanez Latorre) were released.

-- The Court of Appeals, responding to a writ of habeas corpus filed on behalf of Hector Lopez Acuna, ordered CNI to bring Lopez before the court. CNI informed the court that the subject had already been relegated to Quelien, a village in the remote province of Chiloe. Lopez was accused of lending an automobile to alleged terrorist Andres Galanakis.

-- Hector Manuel Valeria Salas, a cripple accused of distributing subversive literature, was released after being detained by Carabineros for six days. Valeria subsequently lodged a complaint with the Court of Appeals over his arrest and detention.

-- A military judge reduced from fifteen to three years the prison sentence of Sergio Godoy Fritis, an exile accused of entering Chile illegally. Godoy, who allegedly entered Chile illegally in 1979, was arrested and sentenced in 1981.

-- By a vote of two to one, the Fourth Chamber of the Court of Appeals accepted a recurso de amparo filed on behalf of Manuel Bustos.

-- Ricardo Claro Valdes, a private attorney, was ordered to appear at the Cuartel Central de Investigaciones for questioning by the Director of Investigaciones, General Paredes. Claro told reporters that Paredes assured him that there was no order for his detention but warned him that authorities were "disturbed" by his criticisms of Biminister Luders' economic policies. Claro subsequently lodged a complaint with the Court of Appeals.

January 27

-- Minister of Interior Enrique Montero announced that a new list of exiles who will be permitted to re-enter Chile will be released in late February or early March. Montero also told reporters that Celso Poblete, detained last week for his participation in an aborted demonstration of mutual fund savers, was questioned and released by police authorities.

-- Police and military authorities, alerted by an anonymous phone call, discovered two packages containing explosives near a bank in downtown Santiago. The explosives were immediately removed from the area and deactivated.

January 28

-- Rafael Carvallo presented a recurso de reposicion on behalf of Hector Cuevas at the Supreme Court, asking the court to reconsider the January 21 decision of the Court of Appeals to reject a recurso de amparo for Cuevas.

-- The Coordinador Nacional Sindical expressed approval of the decision of the Court of Appeals to accept a recurso de amparo filed on behalf of Manuel Bustos. At the same time, the organization expressed regret that a similar recurso for Hector Cuevas was rejected.

-- The Court of Appeals requested information from the Ministry of Interior on the Andres Galanakis case, in order to rule on a writ of habeas corpus presented on behalf of Hector Lopez Acuna. Galanakis, an alleged terrorist, was declared reo on January 20 for violating security laws. Lopez, who allegedly owned the automobile Galanakis was driving at the time of his arrest, was ordered relegated to a remote region of Chile.

January 29

-- The Second Chamber of the Supreme Court voted unanimously to accept an "orden de no innovar" from the Ministry of Interior which revokes a lower court's decision to accept a recurso de amparo on behalf of Manuel Bustos. The Supreme Court ruled that the lower court acted in error and that Bustos may not return to Chile.

-- General Hector Orozco, chief of the Zona en Estado de Emergencia, issued a warning that the government will adopt stricter measures to ensure that the "receso politico" is strictly enforced.

-- Several bombs exploded in Vina del Mar and Renaca, damaging a number of buildings. No injuries were reported.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SANTIA 00568 311932Z
ACTION HA-08

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4826
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 0568

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, CI
SUBJECT: RETURN OF EXILES TO CHILE

REF: A) SANTIAGO 475, B) USUN 251

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THE DETAILED AND USEFUL ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSATION WITH MAXIMO PACHECO (REF B), WHICH WE HOPE WILL SERVE TO REINFORCE OUR OWN EFFORTS TO CONVINCE THIS GENERALLY BALANCED AND MODERATE LEADER THAT CONTINUED UN BROWBEATING OF CHILE SIMPLY WILL NOT ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE. AT A MINIMUM YOUR REASONED AND FORCEFUL PRESENTATION SHOULD HELP OFFSET THE INFLUENCE OF TABORGA AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WHO SEEM TO WANT THE COMMISSION TO BECOME ANOTHER VEHICLE FOR OPPOSITION TO PINOCHET, GIVING PACHECO MORE AMMUNITION TO USE IN HIS OWN EFFORTS TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE RATHER THAN SEEK CONFRONTATION WITH THE GOC.

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SANTIA 00568 311932Z

3. AN INTERESTING EXAMPLE OF PACHECO'S LOW-KEY APPROACH HAS BEEN PROVIDED BY THE EXILE COMMISSION. (WE ARE REPATING EARLIER CABLES -- SANTIAGO 7724, 7764, AND 0359 -- WHICH REPORTED THE DECEMBER LIST OF 124 ALLOWED TO RETURN, THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE COMMISSION HAD BEEN DISSOLVED ON SUBMISSION OF THE

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT, AND THE JANUARY LIST OF 75 ADDITIONAL PEOPLE ALLOWED TO RETURN. GOC SOURCES INDICATE ANOTHER LIST OF RETURNEES WILL BE ISSUED IN THE FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY, AND WE WILL KEEP YOU ADVISED OF THIS AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING EXILES.)

4. PACHECO HAS FOLLOWED CLOSELY THE EVOLUTION OF THIS GOC INITIATIVE AND HAS HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH SOME OF THE EXILE COMMISSION MEMBERS AND OTHER GOC OFFICIALS. HIS UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE EXILE COMMISSION MEMBERS SINCERELY BELIEVED THAT THEIR MANDATE WAS TO COME UP WITH A SYSTEM THAT WOULD PERMIT THE ORDERLY RETURN OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF EXILES, INCLUDING PROMINENT POLITICAL FIGURES FROM DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. AGAIN ACCORDING TO PACHECO, WHEN THE PRESIDENT APPROVED ONLY A LIMITED NUMBER OF PEOPLE FROM THE COMMISSION'S LIST, THE MEMBERS WERE UPSET AND THE NON-GOVERNMENT MEMBERS SPOKE OF RESIGNING. HOWEVER, OTHER SOURCES INDICATE THAT INTERIOR MINISTER MONTERO AND ESPECIALLY JUSTICE MINISTER MADARIAGA COOLED TEMPERS AND WORKED OUT A FACE-SAVING FORMULA UNDER WHICH THE COMMISSION WOULD AGREE TO BE DISSOLVED AND ITS FUNCTION ASSUMED BY THEIR TWO MINISTRIES. WITH THIS ASSURANCE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ACCEPT THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS AS THE BASIS FOR APPROVING EXILES TO RETURN, THE NON-GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION HAVE NOT GONE PUBLIC WITH THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT OR CRITICISM.
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00568 311932Z

5. PACHECO THUS RELATED TO USUN THE SAME ACCOUNT THAT HE HAD EARLIER GIVEN US. WE BELIEVE THAT HIS ACCOUNT IS ACCURATE BUT INCOMPLETE, IN THAT IT MAY NOT TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF A GOC DECISION-MAKING PROCESS THAT GIVES THE APPEARANCE OF OPERATING IN FITS AND STARTS. PINOCHET DID APPROVE THE FORMATION OF THE EXILE COMMISSION AND SOME EXILES ARE BEING ALLOWED TO RETURN. BUT PINOCHET MAY NOT HAVE DECIDED, OR CHANGED HIS MIND, ABOUT THE VOLUME AND POLTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETURNEES, THUS DIFFERING WITH THE COMMISSION. GIVEN THIS APPARENT AMBIVALENCE WITHIN THE GOC, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT PACHECO HAS BEEN QUITE CIRCUMSPECT IN HIS PUBLIC COMMENTS, SAVING HIS CRITICISM FOR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS (AS WHEN CODEL BARNES VISITED SANTIAGO RECENTLY). NEITHER PACHECO NOR OTHER MODERATE HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES IN CHILE WANT TO RISK UNDERMINING A PROCESS WHICH, HOWEVER HALTINGLY, HOLDS OUT HOPE OF EASING THE EXILE PROBLEM. THEBERGE

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 00879 0117412
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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DEPT PLEASE PASS TO AID

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/1/89
TAGS: ELAB, PINS, SHUM, ES
SUBJECT: (U) PROBABLE UPD STATEMENT ON CERTIFICATION

REF: SAN SALVADOR 679

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

2. LABOFF SPOKE BRIEFLY WITH UPD CAMPESINO LEADERS SAMUEL MALDONADO (UCS) AND JORGE RUIZ CAMACHO (ACOPAI) ON 28 JAN 1993 ABOUT THE CERTIFICATION PROCESS IN THE U.S. CONGRESS. MALDONADO AND CAMACHO REPORT THAT THE UPD HAS HELD THREE MEETINGS TO WORK OUT A COMMON POSITION ON THE JANUARY CERTIFICATION. THEY REPORT THAT A DRAFT STATEMENT IS NOW READY AND WILL PROBABLY BE FORWARDED TO
CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 02 SAN SA 00879 0117412

WASHINGTON (VIA AIFLO) EARLY NEXT WEEK.

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3. THE UPD LEADERS NOTE THAT THEIR STATEMENT FOCUSES ONLY UPON THE AGRARIAN REFORM AND HUMAN RIGHTS CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.

(A) AGRARIAN REFORM.

- -- ON PHASE ONE, THE UPD STATEMENT WILL ARGUE THAT THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATORS ACTUALLY OPPOSE THE REFORMS. THE STATEMENT WILL DEMAND SUBSTANTIAL PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE PHASE ONE AGRARIAN REFORM AND FINANCING INSTITUTES.

- -- THE UPD STATEMENT WILL DEMAND THAT THE GOES BEGIN IMPLMENTATION OF PHASE TWO OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM.

- -- ON PHASE THREE (DECREE 207), THE UPD STATEMENT WILL BE RELATIVELY POSITIVE. THE UPD WILL NOTE SOME PROBLEMS FOR DECREE 207 BENEFICIARIES IN OBTAINING CREDIT. THE STATEMENT WILL DEMAND ANOTHER ONE YEAR EXTENSION TO THE DECREE (NOW SCHEDULED TO EXPIRE IN MARCH 1993).

(B) HUMAN RIGHTS.

- -- ON THE SHERATON MURDER CASE, THE UPD STATEMENT WILL CRITICIZE THE FINDING OF PROGRESS WITHOUT THE PROSECUTION OF LT. LOPEZ SIBRIAN.

- -- ON HUMAN RIGHTS GENERALY, CAMACHO REPORTS THAT THE UPD STATEMENT WILL FIND THE SITUATION BAD, BUT MARGINALLY IMPROVED OVER THE PAST YEAR. HE CLAIMS THAT THE UPD STATEMENT WILL CRITICIZE THE EXTREME RIGHT, THE EXTREME LEFT, AND THE SECURITY FORCES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

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PAGE 03 SAN SA 00879 0117412

4. MALDONADO THINKS THAT A UPD DELEGATION WILL GO TO WASHINGTON UNDER AIFLD AUSPICES TO TESTIFY BEFORE CONGRESS. HE IS UNCERTAIN WHO WILL REPRESENT THE UPD OR WHEN THE DELEGATION WILL GO.
HINTON

Department of State JS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/23/93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ); statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

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2-1-83

UNCLASSIFIED (KH0339)

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UNCLASSIFIED

Thesis for the degree of Licenciado in Juridical and Social Sciences, entitled: The Error of Law in Penal Matters.

Sull Elemento Soggettivo Nel Reato di Bancarotta del L'Imprenditore, Rome, 1965.

Prospectus for a Course on the Special Part of Penal Law, U.S.A. 1969.

Working materials for a course on Penal Responsibility of Corporations, Santiago 1970.

Report on the Seminar of the International Studies Institute.

Thoughts on the Efficacy of Regulations to Sanction Acts Related to Airplane Hijacking in the Light of Recent Events (1977).

Numerous articles published in the Penal Science Review and in the magazine "Gestión".

Married to María Luisa Fernández, three children: Miguel Andrés, Daniel Alberto and Macarena.

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Working and Publications

Thesis for the degree of Licenciado in Juridical and Social Sciences entitled: The Power of Law in Penal Matters.

"El Elemento Subjetivo Del Resto Di Bincarotta del Imprendidore" Rome 1965.

Prospectus for a Course on the Special Part of Penal Law, U.A.L.A. 1968.

Working materials for a course on Penal Responsibility of Corporations, Santiago 1970.

Report on the Seminar of the International Studies Institute.

Thoughts on the Adequacy of Regulations to Sanction Acts Related to Airplane Hijacking in the Light of Recent Events (1970)

Numerous articles published in the Penal Science Review and in the magazine "Gestión"

Married to María Luisa Fernández, three children: Miguel Andrés, Daniel Alberto and Macarena.

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2-1-83

(KH033)

NON-OFFICIAL TRANSLATION

The Embassy of Chile presents its compliments to the Department of State and has the honor of submitting herewith the curriculum vitae of Mr. Miguel Alex Schweitzer Walters, the Minister of Foreign Relations of Chile.

The Embassy of Chile avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Department of State the assurances of its highest and most distinguished consideration.

Washington, D.C.
February 1983

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N° 46

La Embajada de Chile saluda muy atentamente al Departamento de Estado, y tiene el honor de hacer llegar, adjunto a la presente nota, el Curriculum Vitae del Señor Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile, Don Miguel Alex Schweitzer Walters.

La Embajada de Chile se vale de esta oportunidad para reiterar al Departamento de Estado las seguridades de su más alta y distinguida consideración.

EMBAJADA DE CHILE WASHINGTON

Washington, D.C.

Febrero 1983

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RUEHCV/AMEMBASSY CARACAS 0620
RUEHGT/AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA 7987
RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO 2552
RUESJO/AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE 3869
RUESTE/AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA 0251
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CERGE: PROG 2/1/83

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

[redacted] SAN SALVADOR 0899

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, ES
SUBJECT: D'AUBUISSON THREATENS TO RESIGN

REF: SAN SALVADOR 796

1. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON CALLED THE ASSEMBLY TO SESSION AT 10 P.M. FEBRUARY 1. HE ASKED THE ASSEMBLY TO RATIFY ITS DECISIONS OF JANUARY 27 OR TO REJECT THEM. IF THE ASSEMBLY RATIFIES THESE ACTIONS (SEE REFTEL), THEN HE AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF ARENA ON THE ASSEMBLY DIRECTORATE WOULD RESIGN.

2. THE ASSEMBLY THEN RECESSED FOR AN HOUR. WHEN IT RETURNED, PDC DEPUTY GERARDO PASTORE MOVED FOR A FURTHER RECESS UNTIL 2 P.M. THE PDC SUPPORTED THIS MOTION BUT ASKED THAT THE RECESS BE UNTIL 3 P.M. AT 3 P.M. THE ASSEMBLY AGAIN RENEWED ITS SESSION. HOWEVER, DURING THE DEBATE AD DEPUTY NELSON SEGOVIA COLLAPSED. TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION SEGOVIA'S ILLNESS, THE ASSEMBLY ADJOURNED UNTIL 10 A.M. FEBRUARY 2.

3. DURING THE AFTERNOON SESSION'S DEBATE PDC AND AD DEPUTIES STATED THAT IT WAS NOT UP TO THE ASSEMBLY TO RULE ON THE LEGALITY OF, OR "RATIFY," THE JANUARY 27TH SESSION. PDC FACTION LEADER REY PRENDES SAID SUCH A RULING WOULD MORE PROPERLY BE LEFT TO THE SUPREME COURT. AD DEPUTY GONZALEZ CAMACHO ALSO SAID THE VALIDITY OF THE SESSION SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED BY THE ASSEMBLY. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ASSEMBLY FIRST VOTE ON WHETHER OR NOT IT WOULD DEAL WITH D'AUBUISSON'S REQUEST. ARENA DEPUTIES SPOKE OUT IN OPPOSITION TO SUCH AN IDEA. AD DEPUTY SEGOVIA WAS DEFENDING THE IDEA WHEN HE COLLAPSED.

4. COMMENT: POLOFF SPOKE WITH PDC AND AUTONOMOUS FACTION DEPUTIES AT THE ASSEMBLY BUILDING BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE AFTERNOON SESSION. IT APPEARS THAT THE COALITION THAT CARRIED OUT THE JANUARY 27TH SESSION IS HOLDING FIRM ON THE SESSION'S LEGALITY. HOWEVER, WHILE D'AUBUISSON'S

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DAYS AS PRESIDENT MAY BE LIMITED, THE COALITION ALSO SEEMS TO BE OFFERING HIM A CHANCE TO BACK DOWN GRACEFULLY. VOTING FIRST ON WHETHER OR NOT TO DEAL WITH D'AUBUISSON'S MOTION, RATHER THAN THE MOTION ITSELF, LEAVES ROOM FOR SOME SORT OF COMPROMISE. AD DEPUTY GONZALEZ CAMACHO EVEN REMINDED D'AUBUISSON DURING THE DEBATE THAT HE COULD STILL WITHDRAW HIS MOTION. IT APPEARS THE ASSEMBLY WANTS ITS PRESIDENT TO THINK LONG AND HARD ABOUT HIS ULTIMATUM. IF D'AUBUISSON DECIDES NOT TO BACK DOWN, NELSON SEGOVIA'S ILLNESS COULD COMPLICATE THE SELECTION OF A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT. NELSON SEGOVIA IS OFTEN MENTIONED BY MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES MAKING UP THE CENTRIST COALITION AS AN IDEAL COMPROMISE CANDIDATE.
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El Salvador Human Rights
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Case Number: s199900030

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 00843 01 OF 02 021445Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	OIC-02
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TO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part X In Full ____
Exemption(s) 1.5

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 00843

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/1/89
TAGS: UNHRC, SHUM, PORG, CY, ES, HO, GI, RP, AR, CI, ID
SUBJ: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES: DECEMBER 6-10 (82) SESSION

REF: A) GUATEMALA 681, B) GUATEMALA 0735, C) GENEVA 714
D) 82 GENEVA 12254

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. INTRODUCTION: VISCOUNT COLVILLE (UK), CHAIRMAN OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES (WGD) BRIEFED WESTERN MISSION OFFICERS ON THE WGD"S DECEMBER 6-10 SESSION. MISSIONS REPRESENTED AT THE BRIEFING WERE U.S., UK, NETHERLANDS, FRG, FINLAND, GREECE, AUSTRALIA AND DENMARK.

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Pages 2 and 3 have been eliminated because they are entirely irrelevant.

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9. CHILE: U.S. MISSOFF ASKED COLVILE WHETHER THE WGD CONTINUES TO LEAVE THE SUBJECT OF CHILEAN DISAPPEARANCES TO THE UNHC SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR. NOTING THAT CHILE HAS CONSISTENTLY DECLINED TO COOPERATE WITH UN PROCEDURES DIRECTED SOLELY AT CHILE, AND THAT THE WGD'S MANDATE IS UNIVERSAL, MISSOFF ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD NOT BE MORE PRODUCTIVE FOR THE WGD TO TAKE OVER THIS RESPONSIBIITY FROM THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR. COLVILLE REPLIED THAT WGD DOES NOT/NOT BELIEVE THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT WOULD RESPOND TO INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE PRE-1978 DISAPPEARANCES, AND THE GROUP HAS THEREFORE CONTINUED TO LEAVE THESE CASES TO THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAS CONTACTED THE CHILEANS ABOUT THREE RECENT CASES AND THAT HE IS OPTIMISTIC THAT THIS INTERCESSION WILL PRODUCE RESULTS. HE DECLINED TO COMMENT FURTHER ON THE CASES OR ON HIS CONTACTS WITH THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT.

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 01691 021836Z
ACTION SIL-01

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R 021833Z FEB 83
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY MADRID
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY OSLO

Chile Project (#S199900030)
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, ICFTU, CI
SUBJECT: SPECIAL ICFTU CONFERENCE ON CHILE -- SLATED
- FOR MARCH 11-12 AT MADRID

1. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) ANNOUNCED ON JANUARY 31 THAT IT WILL HOLD A SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILE ON MARCH 11-12 IN MADRID. EVEN THOUGH CHILE WILL BE SOLE AGENDA ITEM OF CONFERENCE IT IS NOT EXCLUDED THAT OTHER TIMELY LATIN AMERICAN TRADE UNION ISSUES MAY ALSO COME UP AT THE MEETING. MISSION UNDERSTANDS THAT AFL-CIO MAY DECIDE TO SEND AN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBER TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE. TEXT OF SELF-EXPLANATORY ICFTU PRESS STATEMENT OF JANUARY 31 FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT:

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE UNION CONFERENCE ON HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN CHILE.

IN THE FACE OF THE RECRUDESCENCE OF POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION REPRESSION IN CHILE, MARKED BY THE ASSASSINATION OF TUCAPEL JIMENEZ AND THE DEPORTATION OF MANUEL BUSTOS, PRESIDENT OF THE TRADE UNION FEDERATION COORDINADORA NACIONAL SINDICAL (CNS), AMONG OTHERS, THE ICFTU WILL HOLD A CONFERENCE ON CHILE ON 11 AND 12 MARCH 1983 IN MADRID, FOLLOWING A SUGGESTION MADE BY ITS COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA. PROMINENT TRADE UNION LEADERS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS KNOWN FOR THEIR
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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 01691 021836Z

COMMITMENT TO HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS WILL TAKE PART IN THIS CONFERENCE. THE AIM OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE TO REKINDLE WORLD PUBLIC INTEREST AND STEP UP TRADE UNION PRESSURE WITH A VIEW TO RESTORING FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN CHILE. END TEXT. VEST

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P830117-2361

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

February 5, 1983

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Dear Senator Sarbanes:

Thank you for your letter of January 5, 1983 requesting information concerning the arrest and detention of Carlos Lopez Vila in Chile.

Carlos Lopez was arrested December 14, 1981, in Antofagasta along with six others. They were charged with illegal political activities and endangering the internal security of the state. More specifically, they were accused of being active members of the illegal Chilean Communist Party. While incarcerated in the public prison in Antofagasta, Mr. Lopez complained of mistreatment but never formally filed charges in a court of law. On April 7, 1982, he was convicted of both charges by a court in Antofagasta and sentenced to two years internal exile in the town of Carahue in the south of Chile, where he is allowed the freedom of the town but must register with the police on a regular basis so that he may not leave the area. Since he was originally arrested on December 14, 1981, his two-year sentence was dated from that point and he will be eligible for release on December 14, 1983.

I hope this information is helpful.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

The Honorable
Paul S. Sarbanes,
United States Senate.

Drafted: ARA/SC:DIKemp;jgm
ARA #83-170 FAIM #0060749
Disk # 2304S

Clearance: ARA/SC:RBHoward
HA:RSnyder
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBadgett

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00634 031328Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NSC-01 NSAE-00 COME-00 HA-08
L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-09 PA-01 STR-14 SIL-01
USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 SPRS-01 /106 W
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R 031204Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4842
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 0634

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/3/89
TAGS: ELAB, PINS, CI
SUBJECT: LABOR MOVEMENT, IN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET, CALLS FOR PLEBISCITE

REF: A) 82 SANTIAGO 7304; B) 82 SANTIAGO 7734; C) 82 SANTIAGO 7017

1. (U) AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC WORKERS (UDT), 1,197 LABOR LEADERS SIGNED AN OPEN LETTER JANUARY 31, 1983 TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET REQUESTING A FREE, SECRET, AND INFORMED PLEBISCITE ON WHETHER THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTINUE IN POWER. THE SIX-PAGE LETTER RECOUNTS THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES, AS SEEN BY THE SIGNATORIES, OR "NINE YEARS OF POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM AND EXCESSIVE ECONOMIC FREEDOM".

2. (U) THE LETTER DENOUNCES THE LOSS OF PERSONAL FREEDOM AND NATIONAL (POLITICAL) ORGANIZATIONS, OF PERSONAL SECURITY THROUGH THE ARBITRARY ACTIONS OF ORGANS WHICH OPERATE ON THE MARGIN OF THE LAW, OF JOBS, OF NATIONAL IDENTITY, OF THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS, AND OF TRADITIONAL LABOR-
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00634 031328Z

MANAGEMENT RELATIONS (AS A RESULT OF THE 1979 LABOR PLAN). "NOBODY CAN DENY THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ACTUAL SITUATION FALLS EXCLUSIVELY ON THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH EXCLUDED CHILEANS FROM CONTRIBUTING OR PARTICIPATING, AND THUS ASSUMED, FOR ITSELF ALONE, THE SUCCESSES OR FAILURES OF THE POLITICAL/ECONOMIC MODEL. WE WISH THE ARMED FORCES HAD NEVER

PLACED THEMSELVES IN THIS SOLITARY AND COMPROMISED POSITION". THE WAY OUT, THE LETTER STATES, IS FOR THERE TO BE GREATER CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION INVOLVING ALL ELEMENTS OF CHILEAN SOCIETY. THE PLEBISCITE WOULD BE THE FIRST STEP.

3. (C) LABOR LEADERS HAVE TOLD THE EMBASSY THEY DO NOT EXPECT A FAVORABLE REACTION FROM PINOCHET, WHO IS FEELING PRESSURES FROM MANY SIDES DURING THE CURRENT ECONOMIC AND BANKING CRISIS. THE UDT DECIDED ON THE INITIATIVE DURING A YEAR-END MEETING CALLED TO ASSESS 1982 DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE LABOR MOVEMENT. THEY THOUGHT THE LETTER, WITH SIGNATURES FROM ALL SECTORS AND POLITICAL CURRENTS WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT WAS UNITED IN ITS OPPOSITION TO THE GOC AND ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES. IN ADDITION, THE UDT DECIDED THE LETTER WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO PINOCHET THAT LABOR LEADERS HAD NOT BEEN COWERED BY THE DECEMBER 3, 1982 EXPULSION OF LABOR LEADERS MANUEL BUSTOS AND HECTOR CUEVAS (REF A).

4. (C) THIS WAS THE FIRST JOINT ACTION BY THE UDT AND THE CNS SINCE THE SOLIDARITY VISIT TO CHILE LAST OCTOBER OF THE AFL-CIO, ICFTU AND ORIT REPRESENTATIVES (REF B). IN THIS REGARD, THE ACTION WAS ONLY PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL. THE EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS THAT THE CNS EXECUTIVE BOARD (WHICH HAS A MINORITY OF COMMUNIST MEMBERS) AGREED TO SUPPORT THE LETTER ON BEHALF OF ALL CNS MEMBERS. LATER, THE COMMUNIST
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00634 031328Z

MEMBERS OF THE CNS IN THEIR CAPACITIES AS LEADERS OF INDIVIDUAL UNIONS REJECTED THE LETTER AND REFUSED TO SIGN IT. WE UNDERSTAND THE COMMUNISTS TRIED TO PERSUADE UDT PRESIDENT EDUARDO RIOS TO TOUGHEN THE LETTER, AFTER IT HAD ALREADY BEEN SIGNED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF LABOR LEADERS. HE REFUSED, NOT WANTING TO RISK THE DEGREE OF LABOR UNITY ALREADY DEMONSTRATED BY THE SIGNATURES, AND BECAUSE OF THE LOGISTICAL PROBLEM OF REDISTRIBUTING A NEW LETTER. THUS, THE COMMUNISTS REFUSED TO SIGN IT, AND ONCE AGAIN THE CNS EXECUTIVE BOARD IS IN THE POSITION OF AGREEING ON AN ACTION, ONLY TO HAVE COMMUNIST MEMBERS REJECT IT. THIS WAS THE CASE LAST NOVEMBER, WHEN CNS PRESIDENT BUSTOS ORGANIZED AN ABORTIVE DEMONSTRATION IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLISH WORKERS (REF C). ON THAT OCCASION, THE COMMUNISTS WERE LET OFF THE HOOK BY THE GOC, WHICH PROBHITED THE DEMONSTRATION.

5. (U) LETTER HAS BEEN POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT.
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TELEGRAM

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INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

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FROM	CLASSIFICATION	0669
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO	UNCLASSIFIED	

12356
E.O. ~~XXXX~~
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: SHUM, CI
Response to Congressional Inquiry Pertaining to Imprisonment of Alejandro Mario Diaz and Fermin Montes Garcia
ACTION: SecState WASHDC

UNCLASSIFIED SANTIAGO 0669

Chile Project (#S19990003) FEB 4 14:42
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

H PASS: The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20515

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1. The Department of State has asked me to respond to your letter of December 6, 1982, on behalf of Ruth H. Wilson, concerning the arrest and detention of Alejandro Mario Diaz and Fermin Montes Garcia in Chile.

2. There is little I can add to the information Ruth H. Wilson has already provided on Alejandro Mario Diaz. He was one of ten persons arrested in Chillan between April 25 and April 27, 1982. The ten were identified as members of an extremist faction of a proscribed political party. On May 3, a military court indicted them on charges of violating the arms control law. Two Chilean human rights organizations, the Vicariate of Solidarity and the Human Rights Commission,

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:MLPorto:eb MP	2/3/83	243	ADCM:MLDurkee

CLEARANCES:
POL:JCStephens

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CLASSIFICATION

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SO153-101

OPTIONAL FORM 153
(Formerly FS-413)
January 1975
Dept. of State

are following their case closely. A source at the Vicariate of Solidarity informed a member of my staff that the ten are still in prison in Chillan and that a legal appeal filed on their behalf is pending.

3. Fermin Montes Garcia is suspected of being a member of an outlawed Marxist terrorist group, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). He was arrested on September 27, 1980, in Santiago. The charges against him include grand larceny, illegal possession of weapons, assault, and murder. Until recently, he was being held at a prison in Rancagua. However, because of health problems allegedly resulting from mistreatment during a previous confinement, he was transfered over a month ago to a penitentiary in Santiago. A member of my staff checked with the Vicariate of Solidarity and was told that Montes is now receiving medical attention.

4. I ~~hope~~ trust that this information will be helpful to you in responding to the concerns expressed by Ruth H. Wilson. You can ~~assure her~~ be assured that this Embassy makes every effort to follow cases such as these and that the Chilean government is well ~~xxxxx~~ informed of US views on human rights.

5. Please let me know if I can be of further assistance to you.

James D. Theberge
Ambassador

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PAGE 01 STATE 032966
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 HA-08 /025 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/SC:RBHOWARD:MAS
APPROVED BY ARA/SC:NSSMITH
HA:RSYNDER

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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

UNCLAS STATE 032966

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: 1982 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT - FINAL VERSION

1. FOLLOWING IS THE FINAL VERSION OF THE 1982 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR ARGENTINA. HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ARE STILL EMBARGOED, HENCE POST IS REQUESTED NOT TO RELEASE REPORT PENDING NOTIFICATION BY DEPARTMENT.

2. THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES HAVE HELD POWER SINCE 1976. THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT INSTITUTED MAJOR CHANGES. HOWEVER, IN 1982, EASING RESTRAINTS ON POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES AND COMMITTING ITSELF TO ELECTIONS BY NOT LATER THAN NOVEMBER 1983, WITH THE RESTORATION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT SET FOR NOT LATER THAN MARCH 1984. THESE CHANGES OCCURRED IN THE WAKE OF SEVERE AND GROWING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND ARGENTINA'S DEFEAT IN THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS CONFLICT. THEY FOLLOWED SIX YEARS OF MILITARY RULE, CHARACTERIZED BY THE USE OF HARSH MEASURES TO END TERRORISM AND CURB POLITICAL DISSENT, SEVERE LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND THE FREQUENT LACK OF PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. DURING THAT TIME, THE GOVERNMENT WAS UNABLE TO ESTABLISH A SOLID BASIS FOR UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 032966

ECONOMIC GROWTH OR A BASIC POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING.

3. IN JUNE 1982, PRESIDENT GALTIERI WAS REPLACED BY GENERAL (RET.) REYNALDO BIGNONE. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION LIFTED THE FORMAL BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON JULY L AND

IN AUGUST PROMULGATED A POLITICAL PARTIES LAW WHICH REQUIRED NEW REGISTRATION OF PARTY MEM0ERS TO BE FOLLOWED BY INTERNAL PARTY ELECTIONS IN PREPARATION FOR THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS. TRADE UNIONS, WHILE CIRCUMSCRIBED BY GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION DATING FROM 1976, HAVE BEEN FREE TO FUNCTION IN MANY CASES AS THOUGH THERE WERE NO CONTROLS. LATE 1982 WITNESSED AN UPSURGE IN POLITICAL AND LA3OR ACTIVITY. POLITICAL PARTIES (INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS) STAGED LARGE RALLIES, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HELD DEMONSTRATIONS, AND LABOR ORGANIZED A SUCCESSFUL NATIONAL STRIKE. AT LEAST L00,000 PEOPLE, ORGANIZED BY POLITICAL, UNION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, TOOK PART IN A "MARCH FOR DEMOCRACY" IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN MID-DECEMBER. THE OVERALL RESULT HAS BEEN A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE EXERCISE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS DURING THE SECOND HALF OF 1982.

4. THE PRESS ALSO HAS BEEN LESS INHIBITED IN 1982 THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE EARLY 1970S. CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS BECAME A MATTER OF COURSE. FOUR SMALL PUBLICATIONS WERE CLOSED BRIEFLY LATE IN THE YEAR, BUT OVERALL FREEDOM TO DISCUSS SENSITIVE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS EXPANDED MARKEDLY. IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA, SENSITIVE SUBJECTS HAVE BEEN OPENLY TREATED ON RADIO, BUT LESS SO ON STATE-OWNED TELEVISION.

5. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM DISPLAYED GREATER INDEPENDENCE IN UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 032966

1982. THE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED A MILITARY COURT RULING FOR THE FIRST TIME. LOWER COURTS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY RECEPTIVE TO HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS FILED ON BEHALF OF PRISONERS HELD UNDER STATE OF SIEGE POWERS. THE COURTS RULED IN FAVOR OF THREE OF THE PERIODICALS CLOSED BY THE AUTHORITIES. PRISON CONDITIONS CONTINUED TO DRAW CRITICISM FROM INMATES AND THEIR FAMILIES. HOWEVER, EARLIER REFORMS WERE REINFORCED; COURTS HAVE HEARD PRISONER-ABUSE CASES AND PUNISHED GUARDS FOUND GUILTY.

6. DESPITE THE SIGNIFICANT EXPANSION OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE OCCURRED IN 1982 WHICH MANY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN PROVOKED BY ELEMENTS LINKED TO THE STATE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS BUT OPERATING WITHOUT THE SANCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT. THESE UNCONTROLLED ELEMENTS WERE WIDELY HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR

HARASSMENT AND THREATS AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AND FOREIGN AND ARGENTINE JOURNALISTS, FOR THE ABDUCTION OF SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO LATER REAPPEARED, AND FOR TWO MURDERS. SOME OBSERVERS INTERPRETED THESE EFFORTS AS ATTEMPTS BY DISSIDENTS WITHIN, OR ASSOCIATED WITH, THE SECURITY FORCES TO UNDERMINE THE GOVERNMENT'S MOVEMENT TOWARD CONSTITUTIONAL AND CIVILIAN RULE.

7. THERE WERE NO REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES IN 1982. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND SOME POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE CONCENTRATED ON EFFORTS TO FORCE AN ACCOUNTING FOR PAST DISAPPEARANCES WHICH NUMBERED IN THE THOUSANDS, INCLUDING APPROPRIATE PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE. THESE EFFORTS GAINED IMPETUS WHEN THE PRESS REPORTED THAT UNMARKED GRAVESITES CONTAINED THE BODIES OF PERSONS WHO DISAPPEARED DURING THE MID-TO-LATE 1970S. GIVEN THE WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT MANY OF THE DISAPPEARED WERE KILLED WITH THE COMPLICITY OF OFFICIAL SECURITY
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 032966

PERSONNEL, THIS ISSUE IS A HIGHLY SENSITIVE AND IMPORTANT ONE FOR THE RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT INITIATED EFFORTS TO TRY TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH FUTURE CIVILIAN LEADERS ON THIS ISSUE PRIOR TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT. BY LATE 1982, THE GOVERNMENT IS BELIEVED PRIVATELY TO HAVE PROVIDED INFORMATION TO FAMILY MEMBERS REGARDING DEATHS AND BURIAL SITES IN APPROXIMATELY ONE FIFTH OF THE CASES OF PERSONS WHOSE DISAPPEARANCE WAS REPORTED TO THE GOVERNMENT BETWEEN 1974 AND 1982.

8. THE GOVERNMENT ACCELERATED RELEASES OF STATE OF SIEGE POLITICAL PRISONERS, HELD UNDER SPECIAL STATE OF SIEGE POWERS, FREEING APPROXIMATELY 425 IN 1982. THE NUMBER OF SUCH PRISONERS WAS REDUCED TO 243 AT THE END OF THE YEAR.

9. ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE EXPERIENCED GREATER FREEDOM OF ACTION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE BIGNONE ADMINISTRATION. IN AN IMPRESSIVE SHOWING, ABOUT 10,000 PEOPLE MARCHED IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN OCTOBER 1982 AND THEN A MUCH LARGER MARCH TOOK PLACE IN DECEMBER. THE RELAXATION OF RESTRICTIONS ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES HAS PERMITTED GREATER PRESS ATTENTION TO THE ACTIVITIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND ENCOURAGED PROMINENT ARGENTINE FIGURES TO LEND THEIR SUPPORT. URGED ON BY HUMANITARIAN GROUPS, MANY POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE ENDORSED OBJECTIVES

OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

10. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED VARYING ECONOMIC POLICIES SINCE 1976 BUT THE MAJOR THRUST HAS

BEEN TOWARD GREATER RELIANCE ONHE FREE MARKET, ALBEIT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 032966

WITHIN A CONTEXT OF EXTENSIVE EXISTING STATE CONTROLS. ARGENTINA WAS BESET BY A NUMBER OF SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN 1982 INCLUDING HIGH LEVELS OF INFLATION, A DEEPENING RECESSION, WHICH REDUCED REAL WAGES, AND INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT.

11.
1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

A. KILLING

THE TWO REPORTED KILLINGS FOR APPARENT POLITICAL MOTIVES WERE THOSE OF ANA MARIA MARTINEZ, SAID TO BE ACTIVE IN THE TROTSKYITE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, AND MARCELO DUPONT, WHOSE BROTHER CLAIMS HE HAS EVIDENCE IN A CASE OF MURDER THAT OCCURRED IN 1978. NEITHER CASE HAS BEEN RESOLVED. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THESE TWO MURDERS MAY HAVE BEEN PERPETRATED BY INDIVIDUALS WITH LINKS TO TO THE POLICE OR MILITARY OPERATING OUTSIDE THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROMISED THOROUGH INVESTIGATIONS.

12. B. DISAPPEARANCE

THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF DISAPPEARANCES IN 1982. VARIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE REPORTED SOME PERSONS AS DISAPPEARED. IN ALL TWELVE INSTANCES CITED, PERSONS ABDUCTED, DETAINED, OR TEMPORARILY MISSING RETURNED HOME OR WERE RELEASED WITHIN SEVERAL DAYS OF THEIR INITIAL ABSENCE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE INDIVIDUAL WHO REMAINS IN ACKNOWLEDGED DETENTION ON CRIMINAL CHARGES. ACCORDING TO HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, SOME ABDUCTORS REPORTEDLY TOLD THEIR VICTIMS THAT THEY REPRESENTED A STATE AUTHORITY, FROM WHICH THE HUMANRIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS INFERRED OFFICIAL COMPLICITY. THE GOVERNMENT DISCLAIMED UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 032966

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ABDUCTIONS.

13. DEMANDS THAT THE AUTHORITIES ACCOUNT FOR THE LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO DISAPPEARED IN THE PAST BECAME A MAJOR NATIONAL ISSUE IN 1982. CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT REMAINS AS TO HOW MANY PERSONS DISAPPEARED. THE MOST CAREFULLY DOCUMENTED LIST, COMPILED BY THE ARGENTINE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, CONTAINS APPROXIMATELY 6,000 NAMES. OTHER ESTIMATES ARE MUCH HIGHER. IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT MOST OF THOSE WHO

DISAPPEARED OVER THE YEARS ARE DEAD, MANY AS A RESULT OF ACTIONS BY SECURITY FORCES BUT ALSO SOME AT THE HANDS OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

14. IN LATE 1982, THE PRESS, POLITICAL PARTIES, AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS JOINED IN DEMANDING INVESTIGATIONS OF UNMARKED GRAVES RECENTLY IDENTIFIED AND THOUGHT TO CONTAIN THE BODIES OF SOME OF THE DISAPPEARED AND CALLING FOR LEGAL ACTION AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE. SEVERAL FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ALSO RENEWED ACTIVE EFFORTS IN LATE 1982 TO SEEK AN ACCOUNTING OF THEIR NATIONALS OR DESCENDANTS REPORTED AS DISAPPEARED. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED APPROXIMATELY 6,600 REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS AND IS BELIEVED TO HAVE PROVIDED INFORMATION TO FAMILY MEMBERS ON THE DEATHS AND IN SOME INSTANCES THE LOCATION OF THE REMAINS OF THE DISAPPEARED IN ABOUT 1,450 CASES. ON SEPTEMBER 29 THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR PUBLICLY SAID THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO COLLECT INFORMATION ABOUT DISAPPEARANCE CASES AND PROVIDE IT TO RELATIVES.

15. C TORTURE
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PAGE 07 STATE 032966

THE ARGENTINE CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS THE USE OF TORTURE, BUT ITS USE HAS BEEN NOTED IN BOTH HUMAN RIGHTS AND COMMON CRIMINAL CASES. THE COURTS HAVE SOUGHT TO CURB ITS USE. MOST OF THE PERSONS REPORTED AS TEMPORARILY MISSING IN 1982 CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO TORTURE BY ELECTRIC SHOCK OR THE PLACEMENT OF PLASTIC BAGS OVER THEIR HEADS CAUSING SUFFOCATION. IN MARCH, THE BUENOS AIRES LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION DENOUNCED WHAT IT REFERRED TO AS THE CONTINUING, SYSTEMATIC USE OF TORTURE BY SECURITY OFFICIALS. THE LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION OF SALTA PROVINCE AT MID-YEAR CHARGED THAT INMATES AT THE LOCAL PENITENTIARY WERE TORTURED AND BRUTALIZED REGULARLY BY GUARDS. IN

OCTOBER, FOUR POLICEMEN WERE ARRESTED BY JUDICIAL ORDER ON CHARGES OF TORTURING CRIMINAL SUSPECTS. THE SUPREME COURT IN NOVEMBER ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION INTO A JUDGE'S CONDUCT IN CONNECTION WITH ALLEGATIONS THAT SHE AND OTHER JUDGES HAD WITNESSED PRISONERS BEING TORTURED BY SECURITY FORCES, AS REPORTED BY A JOURNALIST IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN A DAILY NEWSPAPER IN OCTOBER.

16. ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE BRUTALITY CONTINUE TO APPEAR. BOTH THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE DENOUNCED CASES OF PRISONER ABUSE AND ENCOURAGED JUDICIAL INVESTIGATIONS. IN FEBRUARY, AS A RESULT OF A COURT INVESTIGATION, 12 POLICE OFFICERS WERE TRIED FOR BEATING A DETAINEE WHO SUBSEQUENTLY DIED OF HIS INJURIES. IN JULY, A FEDERAL

JUDGE SENTENCED A PRISON GUARD TO THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR BEATING SEVERAL IMMATES AT CASEROS PENITENTIARY. COURT ACTION WAS INITIATED AGAINST SEVEN POLICE OFFICERS IN CORDOBA PROVINCE AND SIX IN MENDOZA, ALL CHARGED WITH ABUSE OF PRISONERS, BUT NO VERDICTS HAVE BEEN RENDERED YET.

17. FOLLOWING STRONG EDITORIAL CRITICISM OF TORTURE AND UNCLASSIFIED

POLICE BRUTALITY, MINISTER OF INTERIOR RESTON ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1982 ORDERED PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS TO TAKE STEPS TO ELIMINATE THE USE OF TORTURE OR BRUTALITY BY PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL POLICE AND TO PREVENT GENERAL MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS. THE MINISTER ORDERED SEVERE MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST OFFICERS GUILTY OFEXCESSES. THE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED A LOWER COURT'S CONVICTION OF AN INDIVIDUAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT HIS CONFESSION WAS OBTAINED THROUGH TORTURE.

18. D. CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUED IN 1982 IMPLEMENTING REFORMS INITIATED IN 1980 TO IMPROVE PRISON CONDITIONS FOR THOSE DETAINED ON SECURITY GROUNDS. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT TREATMENT OF PERSONS DETAINED FOR OTHER THAN COMMON CRIMES IMPROVED MARKEDLY, INCLUDING ACCELERATION OF STATE OF SIEGE PRISONER RELEASES IN 1981 AND 1982. SOME OF THOSE RECENTLY RELEASED SAY THE GREATEST IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITIONS BEGAN FOLLOWING THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF

THE RED CROSS HAS FREE ACCESS TO PRISONERS TO CONDUCT INSPECTIONS. APPLICATION OF THE TEST OF REASONABLENESS TO THE SEVERITY OF SENTENCES CONTINUED TO BE A FACTOR IN THE GREATER ROLE PLAYED BY THE COURTS IN GRANTING HABEAS CORPUS RULINGS IN THE CASE OF PRISONERS HELD FOR SECURITY REASONS.

19. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN, HOWEVER, THAT POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE CONSISTENTLY TREATED MORE HARSHLY THAN OTHER INMATES. ALLEGEDLY, STRICTER VIGILANCE, LIMITED FACILITIES FOR EXERCISE AND UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 032966

REST, AND INADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE LEAD TO GREATER PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL STRAINS THAN IS THE CASE FOR COMMON PRISONERS. ONE SUICIDE OF A PRISONER HELD FOR SECURITY REASONS (JORGE TOLEDO IN CASEROS PRISON) WAS REPORTED IN JUNE 1982.

20. E. ARBITRARY ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT

THE ARGENTINE PENAL CODE, PROMULGATED IN 1924, GIVES THE POLICE AND COURTS BROAD AUTHORITY TO DETAIN PERSONS AND HOLD THEM INCOMMUNICADO FOR UP TO EIGHT DAYS. EVEN IN THE CASE OF MINOR OFFENSES, THE HOLDING OF SUSPECTS INCOMMUNICADO FOR A FEW DAYS IS COMMON. APART FROM THIS AUTHORITY, THE CONSTITUTION CONFERS POWER ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO DETAIN AND HOLD PRISONERS UNDER A STATE OF SIEGE; ONE HAS BEEN IN EFFECT IN ARGENTINA SINCE NOVEMBER 1974. (BOTH THE STATE OF SIEGE POWERS AND THE PRISONERS DETAINED UNDER THEM ARE CHARACTERIZED WITH THE WIDELY KNOWN ACRONYM PEN, "PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL"). THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT FOR HOLDING PEN PRISONERS, BUT THEY HAVE THE NOMINAL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO CHOOSE FOREIGN EXILE IN LIEU OF CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT. SINCE 1978 NEARLY 1,000 PEN PRISONERS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO EXERCISE THIS OPTION. OVER 50 FORMER PEN PRISONERS, PLUS MORE THAN 40 FAMILY MEMBERS, HAVE OBTAINED REFUGEE STATUS IN THE UNITED STATES; THE LAST PEN PRISONER TO RECEIVE PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES ARRIVED IN NOVEMBER 1981.

21. FROM 1974 TO 1981, OVER 8,700 PERSONS SUSPECTED OF TERRORISM OR SUBVERSION WERE DETAINED UNDER PEN POWERS, ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. TWO PERSONS WHO WERE FUGITIVES SINCE THE MILITARY COUP AND EMERGED IN LATE 1982 WERE DETAINED UNDER PEN POWERS BUT WERE LATER

RELEASED. DURING 1982, APPROXIMATELY 425 PEN PRISONERS WERE RELEASED, MOSTLY ON PAROLE. ACCORDING TO THE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 032966

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, AS OF THE END OF 1982 THERE WERE L01 PEN PRISONERS HELD WITHOUT TRIAL OR AFTER BEING ACQUITTED OR HAVING COMPLETED THEIR SENTENCES. ANOTHER 59 INDIVIDUALS WERE IN TRIAL STATUS, AND 83 WERE SERVING SENTENCES IMPOSED BY THE CIVILIAN COURTS. ANOTHER 345 INDIVIDUALS, DESCRIBED BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AS SUBVERSIVES, WERE DETAINED UNDER ORDINARY CIVILIAN OR MILITARY PENAL CODES (I,E., NOT PEN POWERS), WERE CONVICTED AND WERE SERVING THEIR SENTENCES. IN LATE DECEMBER L982, INTERIOR MINISTER RESTON SAID THAT NO PEN PRISONERS WOULD BE HELD IN PEN STATUS BY THE END OF L983.

22. F. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

PERSONS ACCUSED OF SUBVERSION OR TERRORISM MAY BE TRIED IN EITHER CIVILIAN OR MILITARY COURTS. THE ARGENTINE CIVILIANPENAL CODE PROVIDES FOR OPEN TRIALS AND RIGHTS TO DEFENSE. DESPITE SUCH GUARANTEES, DEFENDANTS CAN BE DENIED ACCESS TO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM, AND MOST OF THE PROCESS MAY BE CONDUCTED IN WRITTEN RATHER THAN ORAL FORM, A PRACTICE COMMON IN MANY LATIN AMERICAN LEGAL

SYSTEMS. MILITARY TRIBUNALS TRYING CIVILIANS ACCUSED OF INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS CONDUCT THEIR PROCEEDINGS IN SECRET. DEFENDANTS HAVE A MILITARY DEFENSE COUNSEL, USUALLY NOT A LAWYER, AND ARE NORMALLY DENIED ACCESS TO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM. THERE DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ANY MILITARY TRIALS OF CIVILIANS IN 1982.

23. THE CIVILIAN JUDICIARY DISPLAYED INCREASING INDEPENDENCE IN 1982. IN FEBRUARY, THE SUPREME COURT, IN AN UNPRECEDENTED RULING, OVERTURNED A MILITARY COURT'S CONVICTION OF A MAN CHARGED WITH BELONGING TO AN ILLEGAL JNCLASSIFIED

?AGE 11 STATE 032966

)RGANIZATION AND ORDERED A RETRIAL BY A LOWER CIVIL :OURT. ALL RULINGS BY LOWER COURTS, CIVILIAN AND 1ILITARY, MAY BE APPEALED TO THE SUPREME COURT, WHICH IN .982 SHOWED ITSELF INCREASINGLY DISPOSED TO ACCEPT SUCH \PPEALS. IN AUGUST, THE SUPREME COURT TOOK ISSUE WITH A :ULING OF THE ARMED FORCES' HIGHEST TRIBUNAL, THE COUNCIL

OF WAR, CLAIMING THE MILITARY COURT WAS "NOT COMPETENT" TO TRY AND SENTENCE AN INDIVIDUAL FOR SUBVERSIVE ASSOCIATION. THE PERSON CONCERNED WAS RELEASED, AS ORDERED BY THE COURT.

24. THE HIGH COURT ALSO BECAME MORE ACTIVE IN RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FOR WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS FILED ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUALS HELD ON SECURITY GROUNDS. LOWER CIVILIAN COURTS LIKEWISE HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR CONSIDERATION OF PEN-RELATED HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS. A DOCTRINE ADVANCED IN AN AUGUST FEDERAL COURT DECISION -- THAT "CITIZENS CAN NO LONGER BE DEPRIVED OF THEIR FREEDOM FOR SECRET REASONS" -- APPEARED INCREASINGLY TO INFLUENCE LOWER COURT RULINGS. IN NOVEMBER 1982 THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE COURT MORGUE ILLEGALLY CARRIED OUT AUTOPSIES AND ISSUED IMPROPER DEATH CERTIFICATES FOR PRISONERS REPORTEDLY KILLED IN THE LATE 1970S BY SECURITY FORCES.

25. G. INVASION OF THE HOME.

WARRANTS ARE REQUIRED BEFORE POLICE MAY ENTER PRIVATE PREMISES WITHOUT THE OWNER'S PERMISSION. THESE ARE ISSUED BY A JUDGE ON THE SHOWING BY POLICE OF PROBABLE CAUSE. LIKE OTHER RIGHTS, PROTECTION OF THE HOME HAS BEEN SUSPENDED BY THE STATE OF SIEGE. HOWEVER, THERE WERE NO REPORTS IN 1982 OF SECURITY FORCES INVADING HOMES.

26.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 032966

2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, INCLUDING:

A. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES OF THESE FREEDOMS HAVE BEEN CIRCUMSCRIBED SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF A STATE OF SIEGE IN 1974. THE MOST RECENT TREND, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, HAS BEEN TOWARD LIBERALIZATION, AND IT IS EXPECTED TO EXPAND FURTHER AS THE PROCESS OF CIVILIAN RESTORATION UNFOLDS. AS DOMESTIC POLITICAL COMPETITION HAS INTENSIFIED AND FOCUSED ON ELECTIONS, RESTRAINTS ON MEDIA AND FULLER EXPRESSION OF DISSENT HAVE LOOSENED. PUBLISHED CRITICISM OF THE MILITARY WAS A REGULAR MEDIA STAPLE BEFORE THE JULY LIFTING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND IT SUBSEQUENTLY GREW MORE POIMTED, WITH HUMAN RIGHTS

DEVELOPMENTS AND PARTICULARLY THE DISAPPEARED ISSUE RECEIVING PROMINENT TREATMENT. POLITICAL FIGURES HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT APPEAR DAILY ON THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA. EXTENSIVE TELEVISION COVERAGE OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT LABOR RALLIES IN DECEMBER ILLUSTRATE THE NEW LIBERALIZED ATMOSPHERE.

27. REMINDERS TO THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS CONCERNING SUBJECTS CONSIDERED SENSITIVE BY THE GOVERNMENT ARE ISSUED PERIODICALLY. IN NOVEMBER THE PRESS LEAKED AN APPARENTLY GENUINE GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM CONTAINING A LIST OF ISSUES THAT TELEVISION STATIONS AND MOST RADIO STATIONS WERENOT TO MENTION. THE ISSUES INCLUDED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, JOURNALISTIC COMMENTARY ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RELATED ISSUES. PRINT AND NEWS MEDIA DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE RECEIVED DIRECT WARNINGS IN 1982 AND PROVIDE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF THESE ISSUES. FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 032966

HOWEVER, FOLLOWING SEVERAL INDIRECT UNHEEDED WARNINGS, THE MILITARY JUNTA CLOSED FOUR PERIODICALS (THE FOURTH WAS A SUCCESSOR TO ONE OF THE FIRST THREE) FOR "BRINGING DISREPUTE UPON THE ESSENTIAL INSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC." THREE APPEALED THE CLOSURES AND WON IN COURT. THE LARGEST MAGAZINE WAS REPUBLISHING BY MID-DECEMBER.

28. SOME JOURNALISTS REPORTED ANONYMOUS THREATS, HARASSMENT, AND SURVEILLANCE BECAUSE OF THEIR WRITINGS. DURING THE DECEMBER 16, 1982 ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATION, SOME JOURNALISTS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS WERE BEATEN BY POLICE. SEVERAL FOREIGN JOURNALISTS COVERING THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR WERE KIDNAPPED IN TWO SEPARATE INCIDENTS. THEY WERE ROBBED, HELD SEVERAL HOURS, AND STRIPPED BEFORE BEING RELEASED. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THIS WAS THE WORK OF EXTREMISTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE STATE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS. THEN-PRESIDENT GALTIERI MET WITH THE JOURNALISTS TO OFFER PERSONAL APOLOGIES AND ASSURANCES OF PROTECTION. JOURNALISTS REQUESTING THEM WERE PROVIDED POLICE BODYGUARDS.

29. CENSORSHIP OF ARGENTINE AND FOREIGN LITERARY AND OTHER ARTISTIC WORKS DECLINED SIGNIFICANTLY IN 1982. FOREIGN BOOKS AND MAGAZINES IN THEIR ORIGINAL LANGUAGE ARE PRACTICALLY FREE OF CENSORSHIP, BUT SPANISH TRANSLATIONS ARE SUBJECTED TO THE SAME SCRUTINY AS WORKS

BY ARGENTINES. HOUEVER, JACOBO TIMERMAN'S HIGHLY-CRITICAL AND CONTROVERSIAL BOOK ABOUT HIS DETENTION AND TORTURE IN ARGENTINA, "PRISONER WITHOUT A NAME, CELL WITHOUT A NUMBER", WAS PUBLISHED IN ARGENTINA UNDER A DIFFERENT TITLE) AND IS AVAILABLE IN SPANISH. CENSORSHIP OF FOREIGN FILMS FOR POLITICAL AND MORAL CONTENT IS ROUTINE, BUT CENSORS SHOWED INCREASING LENIENCY IN 1982. FILMS AUTHORIZED FOR SHOWING INCLUDED "THE HOUSE ON GARIBALDI STREET", ABOUT THE KIDNAPPING OF UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 14 STATE 032966

ADOLPH EICHMANN FROM BUENOS AIRES, AND "NORMA RAE", WHICH PRESENTED LA0OR UNION ACTIVISM ATTRACTIVELY. SIMILARLY, DRAMA PRODUCTIONS ARE AGAIN DEALING WITH SENSITIVE POLITICAL ISSUES. THE "OPEN THEATER" STAGED A SERIES IN BUENOS AIRES THAT INCLUDED SEVERAL HIGHLY POLITICAL PLAYS. A CELEBRATED ARGENTINE FOLK SINGER, FORMERLY PROSCRIBED FOR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIES, WAS ALLOWED TO RETURN FROM EXILE TO PURSUE HER CAREER.

30. THERE ARE STILL RESTRICTIONS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN ARGENTINA. AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL, THERE IS AN OFFICIALLY PROMULGATED LIST OF ACTIVITIES, TOPICS, AND TEXTS .HICH ARE BANNED FROM CLASSROOMS. CONTROVERSY HAS ALSO BEEN SPARKED BY THE SELECTION CRITERIA IMPOSED BY T E GOVERNMENT FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS. AT THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS, SUBJECTS AND TEXTS ARE RIGOROUSLY PRESCRIBED BY THE AUTHORITIES.
31. THERE ARE REPORTS THAT BOTH WIRETAPPING AND LETTER OPENING BY THE AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN ARGENTINA DURING 1982.

32. B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

UNTIL THE LIFTING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND PROMULGATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES LAW IN AUGUST, PUBLIC MEETINGS WERE RESTRICTED TO ENCLOSED, ROOFED PREMISES, AND THEN ONLY WITH PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE AUTHORITIES. SINCE THEN, ALL GROUPS AND PARTIES, EXCEPT

RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS OUTLAWED FOR ESPOUSING VIOLENCE, HAVE BEEN FREE TO ORGANIZE AND ASSEMBLE. MAJOR RALLIES HAVE BEEN HELD BY VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES, INCLUDING UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 15 STATE 032966

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

33. DESPITE MILITARY INTERVENTION IN 1976, LABOR UNIONS REMAIN A POWERFUL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCE. APPROXIMATELY ONE-THIRDOF THE WORK FORCE IS UNIONIZED, MOSTLY URBAN, INDUSTRIAL LABORERS. THE UNIONS GENERALLY OPPOSE THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES. SINCE MID-YEAR, THE GOVERNMENT HAS RESPONDED TO UNION DEMANDS AND DEMONSTRATIONS WITH TOLERANCE AND SOMETIMES WITH WAGE INCREASES AND OTHER CONCESSIONS. THIS CONTRASTS WITH A MARCH 30, 1982 CRACKDOWN ON DEMONSTRATING LABOR GROUPS THAT RESULTED IN THE BRIEF ARREST OF HUNDREDS AND THE FATAL SHOOTING OF ONE DEMONSTRATOR.

34. MOST MAJOR TRADE UNIONS REMAIN SUBJECT TO INTERVENTION AND, THEREFORE, ULTIMATE CONTROL BY APPOINTED GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES. HOWEVER, IN LATE 1982 THE GOVERNMENT REMOVED MILITARY OVERSEERS FROM A HALF DOZEN LARGE UNIONS AND NAMED TRADE UNION LEADERS TO ASSUME THEIR CONTROL UNTIL UNION ELECTIONS ARE HELD. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE 1979 LABOR LAW, THE GOVERNMENT HAS OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED APPROXIMATELY ONE-QUARTER OF THE NATION'S MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND UNIONS. THEY HAVE PROCEEDED TO ELECT NEW LEADERSHIP AND TO OPERATE WITHOUT DIRECT INTERFERENCE.

35. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS OFFICIALLY SUSPENDED. NEVERTHELESS, SOME FIRMS CHOOSE TO CONSULT WITH LABOR LEADERS ON PAY, BENEFITS, AND OTHER ISSUES. THE BAN ON STRIKES IS NOT NOW EFFECTIVELY ENFORCED, AND THEY OCCURRED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY AFTER MID-YEAR. WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL GALTIERADP024
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PAGE 01 STATE 032966
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TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: 1982 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT - FINAL VERSION

1. FOLLOWING IS THE FINAL VERSION OF THE 1982 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR ARGENTINA. HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ARE STILL EMBARGOED, HENCE POST IS REQUESTED NOT TO RELEASE REPORT PENDING NOTIFICATION BY DEPARTMENT.

2. THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES HAVE HELD POWER SINCE 1976. THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT INSTITUTED MAJOR CHANGES, HOWEVER, IN 1982, EASING RESTRAINTS ON POLITICAL AND UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 032966

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND COMMITTING ITSELF TO ELECTIONS BY NOT LATER THAN NOVEMBER 1983, WITH THE RESTORATION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT SET FOR NOT LATER THAN MARCH 1984. THESE CHANGES OCCURRED IN THE WAKE OF SEVERE AND GROWING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND ARGENTINA'S DEFEAT IN THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS CONFLICT. THEY FOLLOWED SIX YEARS OF MILITARY RULE, CHARACTERIZED BY THE USE OF HARSH MEASURES TO END TERRORISM AND CURB POLITICAL DISSENT, SEVERE LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND THE FREQUENT LACK OF PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. DURING THAT TIME, THE GOVERNMENT WAS UNABLE TO ESTABLISH A SOLID BASIS FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH OR A BASIC POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING.

3. IN JUNE 1982, PRESIDENT GALTIERI WAS REPLACED BY GENERAL (RET.) REYNALDO BIGNONE. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION LIFTED THE FORMAL BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON JULY L AND IN AUGUST PROMULGATED A POLITICAL PARTIES LAW WHICH REQUIRED NEW REGISTRATION OF PARTY MEMOERS TO BE FOLLOWED BY INTERNAL PARTY ELECTIONS IN PREPARATION FOR THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS. TRADE UNIONS, WHILE CIRCUMSCRIBED BY GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION DATING FROM 1976, HAVE BEEN FREE TO FUNCTION IN MANY CASES AS THOUGH THERE WERE NO

CONTROLS. LATE 1982 WITNESSED AN UPSURGE IN POLITICAL AND LABOR ACTIVITY. POLITICAL PARTIES (INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS) STAGED LARGE RALLIES, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HELD DEMONSTRATIONS, AND LABOR ORGANIZED A SUCCESSFUL NATIONAL STRIKE. AT LEAST L00,000 PEOPLE, ORGANIZED BY POLITICAL, UNION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, TOOK PART IN A "MARCH FOR DEMOCRACY" IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN MID-DECEMBER. THE OVERALL RESULT HAS BEEN A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE EXERCISE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS DURING THE SECOND HALF OF 1982.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 032966

4. THE PRESS ALSO HAS BEEN LESS INHIBITED IN 1982 THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE EARLY 1970S. CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS BECAME A MATTER OF COURSE. FOUR SMALL PUBLICATIONS WERE CLOSED BRIEFLY LATE IN THE YEAR, BUT OVERALL FREEDOM TO DISCUSS SENSITIVE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS EXPANDED MARKEDLY. IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA, SENSITIVE SUBJECTS HAVE BEEN OPENLY TREATED ON RADIO, BUT LESS SO ON STATE-OWNED TELEVISION.

5. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM DISPLAYED GREATER INDEPENDENCE IN 1982. THE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED A MILITARY COURT RULING FOR THE FIRST TIME. LOWER COURTS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY RECEPTIVE TO HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS FILED ON BEHALF OF PRISONERS HELD UNDER STATE OF SIEGE POWERS. THE COURTS RULED IN FAVOR OF THREE OF THE PERIODICALS CLOSED BY THE AUTHORITIES. PRISON CONDITIONS CONTINUED TO DRAW CRITICISM FROM INMATES AND THEIR FAMILIES. HOWEVER, EARLIER REFORMS WERE REINFORCED; COURTS HAVE HEARD PRISONER-ABUSE CASES AND PUNISHED GUARDS FOUND QUILTY.

6. DESPITE THE SIGNIFICANT EXPANSION OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE OCCURRED IN 1982 WHICH MANY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN PROVOKED BY ELEMENTS LINKED TO THE STATE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS BUT OPERATING WITHOUT THE SANCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT. THESE UNCONTROLLED ELEMENTS WERE WIDELY HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR HARASSMENT AND THREATS AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AND FOREIGN AND ARGENTINE JOURNALISTS, FOR THE ABDUCTION OF SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO LATER REAPPEARED, AND FOR TWO MURDERS. SOME OBSERVERS INTERPRETED THESE EFFORTS AS ATTEMPTS BY DISSIDENTS WITHIN, OR ASSOCIATED WITH, THE SECURITY FORCES TO UNDERMINE THE GOVERNMENT'S MOVEMENT TOWARD CONSTITUTIONAL AND CIVILIAN RULE.

7. THERE WERE NO REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES IN 1982. HUMAN
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 032966

RIGHTS GROUPS AND SOME POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE CONCENTRATED ON EFFORTS TO FORCE AN ACCOUNTING FOR PAST DISAPPEARANCES WHICH NUMBERED IN THE THOUSANDS, INCLUDING APPROPRIATE PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE. THESE EFFORTS GAINED IMPETUS WHEN THE PRESS REPORTED THAT UNMARKED GRAVESITES CONTAINED THE BODIES OF PERSONS WHO DISAPPEARED DURING THE MID-TO-LATE 1970S. GIVEN THE WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT MANY OF THE DISAPPEARED WERE KILLED WITH THE COMPLICITY OF OFFICIAL SECURITY PERSONNEL, THIS ISSUE IS A HIGHLY SENSITIVE AND IMPORTANT ONE FOR THE RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT INITIATED EFFORTS TO TRY TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH FUTURE CIVILIAN LEADERS ON THIS ISSUE PRIOR TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT. BY LATE 1982, THE GOVERNMENT IS BELIEVED PRIVATELY TO HAVE PROVIDED INFORMATION TO FAMILY MEMBERS REGARDING DEATHS AND BURIAL SITES IN APPROXIMATELY ONE FIFTH OF THE CASES OF PERSONS WHOSE DISAPPEARANCE WAS REPORTED TO THE GOVERNMENT BETWEEN 1974 AND 1982.

8. THE GOVERNMENT ACCELERATED RELEASES OF STATE OF SIEGE POLITICAL PRISONERS, HELD UNDER SPECIAL STATE OF SIEGE POWERS, FREEING APPROXIMATELY 425 IN 1982. THE NUMBER OF SUCH PRISONERS WAS REDUCED TO 243 AT THE END OF THE YEAR.

9. ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE EXPERIENCED GREATER FREEDOM OF ACTION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE BIGNONE ADMINISTRATION. IN AN IMPRESSIVE SHOWING, ABOUT 10,000 PEOPLE MARCHED IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN OCTOBER 1982 AND THEN A MUCH LARGER MARCH TOOK PLACE IN DECEMBER. THE RELAXATION OF RESTRICTIONS ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES HAS PERMITTED GREATER PRESS ATTENTION TO THE ACTIVITIES OF UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 032966

HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND ENCOURAGED PROMINENT ARGENTINE FIGURES TO LEND THEIR SUPPORT. URGED ON BY HUMANITARIAN GROUPS, MANY POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE ENDORSED OBJECTIVES OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

10. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED VARYING ECONOMIC POLICIES SINCE 1976 BUT THE MAJOR THRUST HAS

BEEN TOWARD GREATER RELIANCE ONHE FREE MARKET, ALBEIT WITHIN A CONTEXT OF EXTENSIVE EXISTING STATE CONTROLS. ARGENTINA WAS BESET BY A NUMBER OF SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN 1982 INCLUDING HIGH LEVELS OF INFLATION, A DEEPENING RECESSION, WHICH REDUCED REAL WAGES, AND INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT.

11.
1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

A. KILLING

THE TWO REPORTED KILLINGS FOR APPARENT POLITICAL MOTIVES WERE THOSE OF ANA MARIA MARTINEZ, SAID TO BE ACTIVE IN THE TROTSKYITE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, AND MARCELO DUPONT, WHOSE BROTHER CLAIMS HE HAS EVIDENCE IN A CASE OF MURDER THAT OCCURRED IN 1978. NEITHER CASE HAS BEEN RESOLVED. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THESE TWO MURDERS MAY HAVE BEEN PERPETRATED BY INDIVIDUALS WITH LINKS TO TO THE POLICE OR MILITARY OPERATING OUTSIDE THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROMISED THOROUGH INVESTIGATIONS.

12. B. DISAPPEARANCE

THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF DISAPPEARANCES IN 1982. VARIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE REPORTED SOME PERSONS AS DISAPPEARED. IN ALL TWELVE INSTANCES CITED, PERSONS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 032966

ABDUCTED, DETAINED, OR TEMPORARILY MISSING RETURNED HOME OR WERE RELEASED WITHIN SEVERAL DAYS OF THEIR INITIAL ABSENCE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE INDIVIDUAL WHO REMAINS IN ACKNOWLEDGED DETENTION ON CRIMINAL CHARGES. ACCORDING TO HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, SOME ABDUCTORS REPORTEDLY TOLD THEIR VICTIMS THAT THEY REPRESENTED A STATE AUTHORITY, FROM WHICH THE HUMANRIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS INFERRED OFFICIAL COMPLICITY. THE GOVERNMENT DISCLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ABDUCTIONS.

13. DEMANDS THAT THE AUTHORITIES ACCOUNT FOR THE LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO DISAPPEARED IN THE PAST BECAME A MAJOR NATIONAL ISSUE IN 1982. CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT REMAINS AS TO HOW MANY PERSONS DISAPPEARED. THE MOST CAREFULLY DOCUMENTED LIST, COMPILED BY THE ARGENTINE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, CONTAINS

APPROXIMATELY 6,000 NAMES. OTHER ESTIMATES ARE MUCH HIGHER. IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT MOST OF THOSE WHO DISAPPEARED OVER THE YEARS ARE DEAD, MANY AS A RESULT OF ACTIONS BY SECURITY FORCES BUT ALSO SOME AT THE HANDS OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

14. IN LATE 1982, THE PRESS, POLITICAL PARTIES, AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS JOINED IN DEMANDING INVESTIGATIONS OF UNMARKED GRAVES RECENTLY IDENTIFIED AND THOUGHT TO CONTAIN THE BODIES OF SOME OF THE DISAPPEARED AND CALLING FOR LEGAL ACTION AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE. SEVERAL FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ALSO RENEWED ACTIVE EFFORTS IN LATE 1982 TO SEEK AN ACCOUNTING OF THEIR NATIONALS OR DESCENDANTS REPORTED AS DISAPPEARED. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED APPROXIMATELY 6,600 REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS AND IS BELIEVED TO HAVE PROVIDED INFORMATION TO FAMILY
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 032966

MEMBERS ON THE DEATHS AND IN SOME INSTANCES THE LOCATION OF THE REMAINS OF THE DISAPPEARED IN ABOUT 1,450 CASES. ON SEPTEMBER 29 THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR PUBLICLY SAID THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO COLLECT INFORMATION ABOUT DISAPPEARANCE CASES AND PROVIDE IT TO RELATIVES.

15. C TORTURE

THE ARGENTINE CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS THE USE OF TORTURE, BUT ITS USE HAS BEEN NOTED IN BOTH HUMAN RIGHTS AND COMMON CRIMINAL CASES. THE COURTS HAVE SOUGHT TO CURB ITS USE. MOST OF THE PERSONS REPORTED AS TEMPORARILY MISSING IN 1982 CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO TORTURE BY ELECTRIC SHOCK OR THE PLACEMENT OF PLASTIC BAGS OVER THEIR HEADS CAUSING SUFFOCATION. IN MARCH, THE BUENOS AIRES LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION DENOUNCED WHAT IT REFERRED TO AS THE CONTINUING, SYSTEMATIC USE OF TORTURE BY SECURITY OFFICIALS. THE LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION OF SALTA PROVINCE AT MID-YEAR CHARGED THAT INMATES AT THE LOCAL PENITENTIARY WERE TORTURED AND BRUTALIZED REGULARLY BY GUARDS. IN OCTOBER, FOUR POLICEMEN WERE ARRESTED BY JUDICIAL ORDER ON CHARGES OF TORTURING CRIMINAL SUSPECTS. THE SUPREME COURT IN NOVEMBER ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION INTO A JUDGE'S CONDUCT IN CONNECTION WITH ALLEGATIONS THAT SHE AND OTHER JUDGES HAD WITNESSED PRISONERS BEING TORTURED BY SECURITY FORCES, AS REPORTED BY A JOURNALIST IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN A DAILY NEWSPAPER IN OCTOBER.

16. ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE BRUTALITY CONTINUE TO APPEAR. BOTH THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE DENOUNCED CASES OF PRISONER ABUSE AND ENCOURAGED JUDICIAL INVESTIGATIONS. IN FEBRUARY, AS A RESULT OF A COURT INVESTIGATION, 12 POLICE OFFICERS WERE TRIED FOR BEATING A DETAINEE WHO SUBSEQUENTLY DIED OF HIS INJURIES. IN JULY, A FEDERAL JUDGE SENTENCED A PRISON GUARD TO THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR BEATING SEVERAL IMMATES AT CASEROS
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 032966

PENITENTIARY. COURT ACTION WAS INITIATED AGAINST SEVEN POLICE OFFICERS IN CORDOBA PROVINCE AND SIX IN MENDOZA, ALL CHARGED WITH ABUSE OF PRISONERS, BUT NO VERDICTS HAVE BEEN RENDERED YET.

17. FOLLOWING STRONG EDITORIAL CRITICISM OF TORTURE AND POLICE BRUTALITY, MINISTER OF INTERIOR RESTON ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1982 ORDERED PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS TO TAKE STEPS TO ELIMINATE THE USE OF TORTURE OR BRUTALITY BY PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL POLICE AND TO PREVENT GENERAL MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS. THE MINISTER ORDERED SEVERE MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST OFFICERS GUILTY OFEXCESSES. THE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED A LOWER COURT'S CONVICTION OF AN INDIVIDUAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT HIS CONFESSION WAS OBTAINED THROUGH TORTURE.

18. D. CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUED IN 1982 IMPLEMENTING REFORMS INITIATED IN 1980 TO IMPROVE PRISON CONDITIONS FOR THOSE DETAINED ON SECURITY GROUNDS. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT TREATMENT OF PERSONS DETAINED FOR OTHER THAN COMMON CRIMES IMPROVED MARKEDLY, INCLUDING ACCELERATION OF STATE OF SIEGE PRISONER RELEASES IN 1981 AND 1982. SOME OF THOSE RECENTLY RELEASED SAY THE GREATEST IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITIONS BEGAN FOLLOWING THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS HAS FREE ACCESS TO PRISONERS TO CONDUCT INSPECTIONS. APPLICATION OF THE TEST OF REASONABLENESS TO THE SEVERITY OF SENTENCES CONTINUED TO BE A FACTOR IN THE GREATER ROLE PLAYED BY THE COURTS IN GRANTING HABEAS CORPUS RULINGS IN THE CASE OF PRISONERS HELD FOR SECURITY
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 032966

REASONS.

19. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN, HOWEVER, THAT POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE CONSISTENTLY TREATED MORE HARSHLY THAN OTHER INMATES. ALLEGEDLY, STRICTER VIGILANCE, LIMITED FACILITIES FOR EXERCISE AND REST, AND INADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE LEAD TO GREATER PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL STRAINS THAN IS THE CASE FOR COMMON PRISONERS. ONE SUICIDE OF A PRISONER HELD FOR SECURITY REASONS (JORGE TOLEDO IN CASEROS PRISON) WAS REPORTED IN JUNE 1982.

20. E. ARBITRARY ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT

THE ARGENTINE PENAL CODE, PROMULGATED IN 1924, GIVES THE POLICE AND COURTS BROAD AUTHORITY TO DETAIN PERSONS AND HOLD THEM INCOMMUNICADO FOR UP TO EIGHT DAYS. EVEN IN THE CASE OF MINOR OFFENSES, THE HOLDING OF SUSPECTS INCOMMUNICADO FOR A FEW DAYS IS COMMON. APART FROM THIS AUTHORITY, THE CONSTITUTION CONFERS POWER ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO DETAIN AND HOLD PRISONERS UNDER A STATE OF SIEGE; ONE HAS BEEN IN EFFECT IN ARGENTINA SINCE NOVEMBER 1974. (BOTH THE STATE OF SIEGE POWERS AND THE PRISONERS DETAINED UNDER THEM ARE CHARACTERIZED WITH THE WIDELY KNOWN ACRONYM PEN, "PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL"). THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT FOR HOLDING PEN PRISONERS, BUT THEY HAVE THE NOMINAL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO CHOOSE FOREIGN EXILE IN LIEU OF CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT. SINCE 1978 NEARLY 1,000 PEN PRISONERS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO EXERCISE THIS OPTION. OVER 50 FORMER PEN PRISONERS, PLUS MORE THAN 40 FAMILY MEMBERS, HAVE OBTAINED REFUGEE STATUS IN THE UNITED STATES; THE LAST PEN PRISONER TO RECEIVE PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES ARRIVED IN NOVEMBER 1981.

21. FROM 1974 TO 1981, OVER 8,700 PERSONS SUSPECTED OF
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 032966

TERRORISM OR SUBVERSION WERE DETAINED UNDER PEN POWERS, ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. TWO PERSONS WHO WERE FUGITIVES SINCE THE MILITARY COUP AND EMERGED IN LATE 1982 WERE DETAINED UNDER PEN POWERS BUT WERE LATER RELEASED. DURING 1982, APPROXIMATELY 425 PEN PRISONERS WERE RELEASED, MOSTLY ON PAROLE. ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, AS OF THE END OF 1982 THERE WERE 301 PEN PRISONERS HELD WITHOUT TRIAL OR AFTER BEING ACQUITTED OR HAVING COMPLETED THEIR SENTENCES. ANOTHER

59 INDIVIDUALS WERE IN TRIAL STATUS, AND 83 WERE SERVING SENTENCES IMPOSED BY THE CIVILIAN COURTS. ANOTHER 345 INDIVIDUALS, DESCRIBED BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AS SUBVERSIVES, WERE DETAINED UNDER ORDINARY CIVILIAN OR MILITARY PENAL CODES (I,E., NOT PEN POWERS), WERE CONVICTED AND WERE SERVING THEIR SENTENCES. IN LATE DECEMBER L982, INTERIOR MINISTER RESTON SAID THAT NO PEN PRISONERS WOULD BE HELD IN PEN STATUS BY THE END OF L983.

22. F. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

PERSONS ACCUSED OF SUBVERSION OR TERRORISM MAY BE TRIED IN EITHER CIVILIAN OR MILITARY COURTS. THE ARGENTINE CIVILIANPENAL CODE PROVIDES FOR OPEN TRIALS AND RIGHTS TO DEFENSE. DESPITE SUCH GUARANTEES, DEFENDANTS CAN BE DENIED ACCESS TO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM, AND MOST OF THE PROCESS MAY BE CONDUCTED IN WRITTEN RATHER THAN ORAL FORM, A PRACTICE COMMON IN MANY LATIN AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEMS. MILITARY TRIBUNALS TRYING CIVILIANS ACCUSED OF INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS CONDUCT THEIR PROCEEDINGS IN SECRET. DEFENDANTS HAVE A MILITARY DEFENSE COUNSEL, USUALLY NOT A LAWYER, AND ARE NORMALLY DENIED ACCESS TO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM. THERE DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ANY MILITARY TRIALS OF CIVILIANS IN 1982.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 032966

23. THE CIVILIAN JUDICIARY DISPLAYED INCREASING INDEPENDENCE IN 1982. IN FEBRUARY, THE SUPREME COURT, IN AN UNPRECEDENTED RULING, OVERTURNED A MILITARY COURT'S CONVICTION OF A MAN CHARGED WITH BELONGING TO AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION AND ORDERED A RETRIAL BY A LOWER CIVIL COURT. ALL RULINGS BY LOWER COURTS, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, MAY BE APPEALED TO THE SUPREME COURT, WHICH IN 1982 SHOWED ITSELF INCREASINGLY DISPOSED TO ACCEPT SUCH APPEALS. IN AUGUST, THE SUPREME COURT TOOK ISSUE WITH A RULING OF THE ARMED FORCES' HIGHEST TRIBUNAL, THE COUNCIL OF WAR, CLAIMING THE MILITARY COURT WAS "NOT COMPETENT" TO TRY AND SENTENCE AN INDIVIDUAL FOR SUBVERSIVE ASSOCIATION. THE PERSON CONCERNED WAS RELEASED, AS ORDERED BY THE COURT.

24. THE HIGH COURT ALSO BECAME MORE ACTIVE IN RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FOR WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS FILED ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUALS HELD ON SECURITY GROUNDS. LOWER CIVILIAN COURTS LIKEWISE HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR CONSIDERATION OF PEN-RELATED HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS. A DOCTRINE ADVANCED IN AN AUGUST FEDERAL COURT DECISION -- THAT "CITIZENS CAN

NO LONGER BE DEPRIVED OF THEIR FREEDOM FOR SECRET REASONS" -- APPEARED INCREASINGLY TO INFLUENCE LOWER COURT RULINGS. IN NOVEMBER 1982 THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE COURT MORGUE ILLEGALLY CARRIED OUT AUTOPSIES AND ISSUED IMPROPER DEATH CERTIFICATES FOR PRISONERS REPORTEDLY KILLED IN THE LATE 1970S BY SECURITY FORCES.

25. G. *INVASION OF THE HOME.*

WARRANTS ARE REQUIRED BEFORE POLICE MAY ENTER PRIVATE PREMISES WITHOUT THE OWNER'S PERMISSION. THESE ARE ISSUED BY A JUDGE ON THE SHOWING BY POLICE OF PROBABLE CAUSE. LIKE OTHER RIGHTS, PROTECTION OF THE HOME HAS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 *STATE 032966*

BEEN SUSPENDED BY THE STATE OF SIEGE. HOWEVER, THERE WERE NO REPORTS IN 1982 OF SECURITY FORCES INVADING HOMES.

26.

2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, INCLUDING:

A. *FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS*

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES OF THESE FREEDOMS HAVE BEEN CIRCUMSCRIBED SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF A STATE OF SIEGE IN 1974. THE MOST RECENT TREND, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, HAS BEEN TOWARD LIBERALIZATION, AND IT IS EXPECTED TO EXPAND FURTHER AS THE PROCESS OF CIVILIAN RESTORATION UNFOLDS. AS DOMESTIC POLITICAL COMPETITION HAS INTENSIFIED AND FOCUSED ON ELECTIONS, RESTRAINTS ON MEDIA AND FULLER EXPRESSION OF DISSENT HAVE LOOSENED. PUBLISHED CRITICISM OF THE MILITARY WAS A REGULAR MEDIA STAPLE BEFORE THE JULY LIFTING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND IT SUBSEQUENTLY GREW MORE POIMTED, WITH HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS AND PARTICULARLY THE DISAPPEARED ISSUE RECEIVING PROMINENT TREATMENT. POLITICAL FIGURES HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT APPEAR DAILY ON THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA. EXTENSIVE TELEVISION COVERAGE OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT LABOR RALLIES IN DECEMBER ILLUSTRATE THE NEW LIBERALIZED ATMOSPHERE.

27. REMINDERS TO THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS CONCERNING SUBJECTS CONSIDERED SENSITIVE BY THE GOVERNMENT ARE ISSUED PERIODICALLY. IN NOVEMBER THE PRESS LEAKED AN APPARENTLY GENUINE

GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM CONTAINING A LIST OF ISSUES THAT TELEVISION STATIONS AND MOST RADIO STATIONS WERENOT TO UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 032966

MENTION. THE ISSUES INCLUDED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, JOURNALISTIC COMMENTARY ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RELATED ISSUES. PRINT AND NEWS MEDIA DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE RECEIVED DIRECT WARNINGS IN 1982 AND PROVIDE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF THESE ISSUES. FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, HOWEVER, FOLLOWING SEVERAL INDIRECT UNHEEDED WARNINGS, THE MILITARY JUNTA CLOSED FOUR PERIODICALS (THE FOURTH WAS A SUCCESSOR TO ONE OF THE FIRST THREE) FOR "BRINGING DISREPUTE UPON THE ESSENTIAL INSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC." THREE APPEALED THE CLOSURES AND WON IN COURT. THE LARGEST MAGAZINE WAS REPUBLISHING BY MID-DECEMBER.

28. SOME JOURNALISTS REPORTED ANONYMOUS THREATS, HARASSMENT, AND SURVEILLANCE BECAUSE OF THEIR WRITINGS. DURING THE DECEMBER 16, 1982 ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATION, SOME JOURNALISTS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS WERE BEATEN BY POLICE. SEVERAL FOREIGN JOURNALISTS COVERING THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR WERE KIDNAPPED IN TWO SEPARATE INCIDENTS. THEY WERE ROBBED, HELD SEVERAL HOURS, AND STRIPPED BEFORE BEING RELEASED. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THIS WAS THE WORK OF EXTREMISTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE STATE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS. THEN-PRESIDENT GALTIERI MET WITH THE JOURNALISTS TO OFFER PERSONAL APOLOGIES AND ASSURANCES OF PROTECTION. JOURNALISTS REQUESTING THEM WERE PROVIDED POLICE BODYGUARDS.

29. CENSORSHIP OF ARGENTINE AND FOREIGN LITERARY AND OTHER ARTISTIC WORKS DECLINED SIGNIFICANTLY IN 1982. FOREIGN BOOKS AND MAGAZINES IN THEIR ORIGINAL LANGUAGE ARE PRACTICALLY FREE OF CENSORSHIP, BUT SPANISH TRANSLATIONS ARE SUBJECTED TO THE SAME SCRUTINY AS WORKS BY ARGENTINES. HOUEVER, JACOBO TIMERMAN'S HIGHLY-CRITICAL AND CONTROVERSIAL BOOK ABOUT HIS DETENTION AND TORTURE IN ARGENTINA, "PRISONER WITHOUT A NAME, CELL WITHOUT A NUMBER", WAS PUBLISHED IN ARGENTINA UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 14 STATE 032966

UNDER A DIFFERENT TITLE) AND IS AVAILABLE IN SPANISH. CENSORSHIP OF FOREIGN FILMS FOR POLITICAL AND MORAL CONTENT IS ROUTINE, BUT CENSORS SHOWED INCREASING

LENIENCY IN 1982. FILMS AUTHORIZED FOR SHOWING INCLUDED "THE HOUSE ON GARIBALDI STREET", ABOUT THE KIDNAPPING OF ADOLPH EICHMANN FROM BUENOS AIRES, AND "NORMA RAE", WHICH PRESENTED LA0OR UNION ACTIVISM ATTRACTIVELY. SIMILARLY, DRAMA PRODUCTIONS ARE AGAIN DEALING WITH SENSITIVE POLITICAL ISSUES. THE "OPEN THEATER" STAGED A SERIES IN BUENOS AIRES THAT INCLUDED SEVERAL HIGHLY POLITICAL PLAYS. A CELEBRATED ARGENTINE FOLK SINGER, FORMERLY PROSCRIBED FOR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIES, WAS ALLOWED TO RETURN FROM EXILE TO PURSUE HER CAREER.

30. THERE ARE STILL RESTRICTIONS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN ARGENTINA. AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL, THERE IS AN OFFICIALLY PROMULGATED LIST OF ACTIVITIES, TOPICS, AND TEXTS .HICH ARE BANNED FROM CLASSROOMS. CONTROVERSY HAS ALSO BEEN SPARKED BY THE SELECTION CRITERIA IMPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS. AT THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS, SUBJECTS AND TEXTS ARE RIGOROUSLY PRESCRIBED BY THE AUTHORITIES.

31. THERE ARE REPORTS THAT BOTH WIRETAPPING AND LETTER OPENING BY THE AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN ARGENTINA DURING 1982.

32. B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

UNTIL THE LIFTING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND PROMULGATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES LAW IN AUGUST, PUBLIC MEETINGS WERE RESTRICTED TO ENCLOSED, ROOFED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 15 STATE 032966

PREMISES, AND THEN ONLY WITH PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE AUTHORITIES. SINCE THEN, ALL GROUPS AND PARTIES, EXCEPT RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS OUTLAWED FOR ESPOUSING VIOLENCE, HAVE BEEN FREE TO ORGANIZE AND ASSEMBLE. MAJOR RALLIES HAVE BEEN HELD BY VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

33. DESPITE MILITARY INTERVENTION IN 1976, LABOR UNIONS REMAIN A POWERFUL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCE. APPROXIMATELY ONE-THIRDOF THE WORK FORCE IS UNIONIZED, MOSTLY URBAN, INDUSTRIAL LABORERS. THE UNIONS GENERALLY OPPOSE THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES. SINCE MID-YEAR, THE GOVERNMENT HAS RESPONDED TO UNION DEMANDS AND DEMONSTRATIONS WITH TOLERANCE AND SOMETIMES WITH WAGE INCREASES AND OTHER

CONCESSIONS. THIS CONTRASTS WITH A MARCH 30, 1982 CRACKDOWN ON DEMONSTRATING LABOR GROUPS THAT RESULTED IN THE BRIEF ARREST OF HUNDREDS AND THE FATAL SHOOTING OF ONE DEMONSTRATOR.

34. MOST MAJOR TRADE UNIONS REMAIN SUBJECT TO INTERVENTION AND, THEREFORE, ULTIMATE CONTROL BY APPOINTED GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES. HOWEVER, IN LATE 1982 THE GOVERNMENT REMOVED MILITARY OVERSEERS FROM A HALF DOZEN LARGE UNIONS AND NAMED TRADE UNION LEADERS TO ASSUME THEIR CONTROL UNTIL UNION ELECTIONS ARE HELD. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE 1979 LABOR LAW, THE GOVERNMENT HAS OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED APPROXIMATELY ONE-QUARTER OF THE NATION'S MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND UNIONS. THEY HAVE PROCEEDED TO ELECT NEW LEADERSHIP AND TO OPERATE WITHOUT DIRECT INTERFERENCE.

35. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS OFFICIALLY SUSPENDED. NEVERTHELESS, SOME FIRMS CHOOSE TO CONSULT WITH LABOR LEADERS ON PAY, BENEFITS, AND OTHER ISSUES. THE BAN ON STRIKES IS NOT NOW EFFECTIVELY ENFORCED, AND THEY UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 16 STATE 032966

OCCURRED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY AFTER MID-YEAR. WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL GALTIERI CHALLENGED LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS, THE BIGNONE GOVERNMENT HAS TOLERATED THEM, INCLUDING MASS, ANTI-GOVERNMENT RALLIES IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN OCTOBER AND DECEMBER, AND A HIGHLY EFFECTIVE, NON-VIOLENT GENERAL STRIKE ON DECEMBER 6, 1982. VIOLENCE DID BREAK OUT AT THE END OF THE DECEMBER 16, 1982 DEMONSTRATION, HOWEVER, AND ONE DEMONSTRATOR WAS KILLED.

36. MANY UNIONS MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES TO INTERNATIONAL LABOR BODIES AND PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO). THE ILO CONSIDERS ARGENTINA TO BE IN VIOLATION OF ILO CONVENTION NO. 87 (FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION) BECAUSE OF LIMITATIONS ON ASSOCIATION CONTAINED IN THE 1979 LAW AND LEGAL RESTRICTIONS ON STRIKES, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, AND OTHER TRADE UNION RIGHTS.

37. C. FREEDOM OF RELIGION

BY CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENT, THE PRESIDENT OF ARGENTINA MUST BE A MEMBER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, TO WHICH AN

ESTIMATED 95 PERCENT OF ARGENTINES BELONG. RECENT GOVERNMENTS HAVE PUBLICLY AND VIGOROUSLY CONDEMNED RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION.

38. OTHER RELIGIONS MUST REGISTER WITH THE GOVERNMENT TO OOTAIN THE LEGAL RECOGNITION REQUIRED FOR THEIR CHURCHES TO OPERATE FREELY IN ARGENTINA. JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES ARE THE ONLY RELIGIOUS GROUP WHOSE PETITION FOR RECOGNITION, FILED IN 1981, HAS NOT BEEN GRANTED. EVEN SO, SINCE LATE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 17 STATE 032966

1981, ARGENTINA'S APPROXIMATELY 42,000 WITNESSES HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO ASSEMBLE WITHOUT PERMITS OR POLICE INTERFERENCE. PROBLEMS PREVIOUSLY EXPERIENCED WITH THE AUTHORITIES AND IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL HAVE EASED SOMEWHAT. AT PRESENT ABOUT 300 WITNESSES, ALL ARGENTINE NATIONALS, ARE UNDER ARREST FOR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE. THE USUAL PENALTY IS THREE TO FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE AT VARIOUS MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AROUND THE COUNTRY. CONDITIONS ARE NOT ONEROUS AND FURLOUGHS ARE GIVEN FOR AS MUCH AS A MONTH AT A TIME. A SUPREME COURT RULING IN 1981 HELD THAT WITNESS CHILDREN COULD NOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TRAINING AND BELIEFS RECEIVED FROM THEIR PARENTS. PROBLEMS REMAIN FOR OLDER STUDENTS, BUT ARE REPORTED TO BE SUBSIDING. A JEHOVAH'S WITNESS CHURCH IN COMODORO RIVADAVIA (A COASTAL TOWN ABOUT 1,000 MILES SOUTHWEST OF BUENOS AIRES) WAS BOMBED IN NOVEMBER 1982. THERE WERE NO CASUALTIES.

39. ARGENTINA'S JEWISH COMMUNITY OF 300,000-450,000 PRACTICES ITS RELIGION WITHOUT OFFICIAL RESTRAINT. IT REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE, AND THE GOVERNMENT MAINTAINS GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF AN OFFICIAL POLICY OF ANTI-SEMITISM. OCCASIONAL INCIDENTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO OCCUR. IN LATE FEBRUARY 1982 A JEWISH CEMETERY WAS DESECRATED WITH SWASTIKAS. THE GOVERNMENT STRONGLY CONDEMNED THE VANDALISM, WITH PRESIDENT GALTIERI'S PERSONAL DENUNCIATION GIVEN WIDE DISTRIBUTION BY ALL THE NEWS MEDIA. JEWISH COMMUNITY LEADERS CALLED THE GOVERNMENT'S REPUDIATION OF ANTI- SEMITISM "UNPRECEDENTED" IN ITS FORCEFULNESS.

40. D. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL, EMIGRATION, AND REPATRIATION

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 18 STATE 032966

41. INTERNAL AND FOREIGN TRAVEL AND EMIGRATION ARE BASICALLY UNENCUMBERED. PAROLED PEN PRISONERS ARE USUALLY RESTRICTED BY JUDGES TO THEIR MUNICIPALITY OF USUAL RESIDENCE FOR SIX TO NINE MONTHS; PERMISSION TO TRAVEL MUST BE RECEIVED FROM THE POLICE TO WHOM THE PAROLEES MUST REPORT PERIODICALLY. THERE ARE NO OTHER SIGNIFICANT RESTRICTIONS ON PAROLEES AND THERE ARE FEW, IF ANY, INSTANCES WHEN PAROLE IS REVOKED AND THE PERSON SENT BACK TO PRISON.

42. A SMALL NUMBER OF OFFICIALS OF THE CIVILIAN REGIME OUSTED IN 1976 ARE NOT PERMITTED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. IN MAY, 1982 THE GOVERNMENT ENDED THE PROBLEM OF ASYLEES IN LOCAL EMBASSIES BY GRANTING "SAFE CONDUCT" FOR PASSAGE TO MEXICO TO THE LAST ASYLEE, RESIDENT IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY SINCE 1976.

43. FORMER PEN PRISONERS WHO WERE GRANTED THE OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY GENERALLY ARE BARRED FROM RETURNING. IN A RARE EXCEPTION IN FEBRUARY, A FORMER PEN PRISONER AND EXPELLEE WAS PERMITTED TO RETURN. OTHER PEN APPLICANTS FOR SELF-EXILE UNDER THE RIGHT OF OPTION ARE CAREFULLY SCREENED, AND MOST REQUESTS TO EMIGRATE HAVE BEEN DENIED. ONLY ONE PEN PRISONER WAS ALLOWED THE OPTION TO GO TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1982.

44. ARGENTINA HAS A CONSIDERABLE REFUGEE POPULATION, DATING FROM AS FAR BACK AS THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD. IT INCLUDES EUROPEAN REFUGEES AND THOUSANDS OF LATIN AMERICANS WHO FLED TO ARGENTINA OVER THE YEARS. MOST OF THEM ENJOY LEGAL STATUS. THE REFUGEE POPULATION WAS SLIGHTLY AUGMENTED IN THE LATE 1970'S BY THE ADMISSION OF SEVERAL HUNDRED FAMILIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA REFUGEES.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 19 STATE 032966

THREE HUNDRED FOREIGNERS WERE NATIONALIZED AS ARGENTINE CITIZENS IN 1982.

45. E. FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

ARGENTINA HAS BEEN RULED SINCE 1976 BY A JUNTA MADE UP OF THE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY, NAVY, AND AIR FORCE WHO SELECT A MILITARY OFFICER (USUALLY RETIRED) TO SERVE

AS PRESIDENT OF THE NATION. THE JUNTA WAS DISBANDED FOR A PERIOD AFTER THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR BUT HAS BEEN RECONSTITUTED.

46. THE BIGNONE GOVERNMENT IS PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO HOLDING ELECTIONS IN LATE 1983 AND RESTORING CONSTITUTIONAL CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT BY MARCH 1984. A PRESIDEHT, DEPUTIES AND SENATORS IN THE BICAMERAL LEGISLATURES ARE TO BE ELECTED, AS WELL AS PROVINCIAL GOVEVNORS, MAYORS, LEGISLATORS, AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILS. SPECIFIC DATES HAVE NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR THE 1983 ELECTIONS BUT PRESIDENT BIGNONE HAS STATED THAT THE ELECTIONS WILL 0E HELD NOT LATER THAN THE FIRST SUNDAY IN NOVEM0ER. THE POLITICAL PARTIES LAW ISSUED IN AUGUST 1982 IS INTENDED TO FACILITATE DEMOCRATIC INTRA-PARTY ELECTION AND PROCEDURES. SOME PARTIES HAVE CRITICIZED THE ROLE OF COURT APPOINTED TEMPORARY OVERSEERS IN INTERNAL PARTY AFFAIRS.

47. NATIONAL, PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRAT;ON HAS BEEN LARGELY MADE CIVILIAN, WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF POLITICIANS AND TECHNICIANS TO MANY POSTS ASSUMED 0Y MILITARY OFFICERS AFTER THE 1976 COUP. IN 1982, NATIONAL -A0INET POSTS WERE IN THE HANDS OF CIVILIANS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE INTERIOR PORTFOLIO.

48. WOMEN PARTICIPATE FREELY IN POLITICS IN ARGENTINA, ONE OF ONLY THREE WESTERN HEMISPHERE NATIONS TO HAVE HAD
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 20 STATE 032966

A FEMALE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT MARIA ESTELLA MARTINEZ DE PERON, 1974-1976. OUTSIDE OF BUENOS AIRES AND OTHER MAJOR URBAN CENTERS, WOMEN ARE CONFINED TO A ROLE DEFINED BY ARGENTINE TRADITION. IN URBAN AREAS WHERE EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC OPPO,TUNITIES ARE SUPERIOR AND SOCIETY MORE OPEN TO MODERN TRENDS, WOMEN COMMONLY PARTICIPATE IN MOST PROFESSIONS. MARRIED WOMEN LIVING IN ARGENTINA MUST HAVE THE PERMISSION OF THEIR HUSBANDS TO TRAVEL ABROAD WITH THEIR MINOR CHILDREN, IF THE HUSBA;D IS NOT ACCOMPANYING THEM.

49.

3. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
ARGENTINA COOPERATES WITH BOTH THE UNITED NATIONS ON

SEPTEMBER REVIEWED ARGENTINE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT COVERING ITS 1979 ON-SITE INSPECTION. THE REPORT HIGHLIGHTED ARGENTINA'S RENEWED COOPERATION ITH THE IAHRC SINCE JUNE 1982 AND EMPHASIZED THE LIFTING OF RESTRAINTS ON CIVILIAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. WHILE IT CRITICIZED CONTINUATION OF THE STATE OF SIEGE, THE COMMISSION NOTED THE GOVERNMENT'S INFREQUENT ESORT TO STATE OF SIEGE POWERS AND STATED THAT THE IAHRC HAD RECEIVED NO REPORTS OF DISAPPEARANCES OR PEN DETENTIONS IN 1982. EQUALLY POSITIVE, ACCORDING TO THE REPORT, WAS THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM'S MORE ASSERTIVE EFFORT TO SAFEGUARD INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. THE COMMISSION WAS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON PAST DISAPPEARANCES.

50. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC)
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 21 STATE 032966

MAINTAINED ITS PRESENCE IN ARGENTINA, VISITING POLITICAL PRISONERS. LIKE MOST OTHER INSTITUTIONS IN ARGENTINA, HOWEVER, ICRC'S PRIORITIES WERE TEMPORARILY SHIFTED BY THE WAR. THE PROTECTION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION ON THE ISLANDS AND, AFTER ARGENTINA'S DEFEAT, OVERSEEING THE TRANSFER OF ARGENTINE PRISONERS BACK TO THE MAINLAND, WERE PRIMARILY ICRC PROGRAMS.

51. PRIVATE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS NUMBER EIGHT (THEIR SPANISH NAMES OR ACRONYMS ARE CITED PARENTHETICALLY): THE GRANDMOTHERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO (AUUELAS); THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY OF HUMAN RIGHTS (APDH); THE CENTER FOR LEGAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES (CELS); FAMILIES OF THE DISAPPEARED/DETAINED FOR POLITICAL REASONS (FAMILIARES); THE ARGENTINE LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN (LIGA); THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO (MADRES); THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (MOVIMIENTO ECUMENICO); AND THE PEACE AND JUSTICE SERVICE FOR LATIN AMERICA (PAZ Y JUSTICIA).

52. THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGTHS WAS CREATED BEFORE THE 1976 MILITARY COUP IN RESPONSE TO THE ABUSES THAT FLOWED FROM THE CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE THEN PREVAILING. WITH A MEMBERSHIP DRAWN FROM ALL SECTORS OF ARGENTINE SOCIETY, IT COLLECTS AND DISSEMINATES INFORMATION TO SENSITIZE PUBLIC OPINION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. THE ASSEMBLY COMPILED IN 1979 THE BEST-DOCUMENTED LIST OF ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCES, PROVIDING DATAON ABOUT 6,000 CASES. IT ALSO ADVISES AND ASSISTS

FAMILIES OF VICTIMS OF REPRESSION.

53. THE GROUP MOST WIDELY KNOWN NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY IS THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO. THE MOTHERS DEVELOPED LOOSELY AT FIRST AS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO IN 1976 BEGAN GATHERING AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE IN THE PLAZA DE MAYO TO IQUIRE INTO THE FATE OF THEIR FAMILY
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 22 STATE 032966

MEMBERS WHO WERE DETAINED AND/OR HAD DISAPPEARED. THEIR MEETINGS HAVE SINCE BEEN FORMALIZED IN SILENT VIGILS EVERY THURSDAY IN THE PLAZA.

54. THE CENTER FOR LEGAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES, FOUNDED IN 1978, IS THE NEWEST OF ARGENTINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. AS BOTH A DATA-COLLECTING AND LEGAL ASSISTANCE AGENCY, IT PREPARES COURT ACTIONS IN CASES OF DETENTIONS A;D DISAPPEARANCES, PROMOTES IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITIONS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND MAINTAINS ACTIVE CONTACT WITH FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. THE CENTER, TOGETHER WITH THE MOTHERS, IS BELIEVED TO HAVE THE WIDEST CONNECTION WITH FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS THE UN AND OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS.

55. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS OPERATED WITH INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS IN 1982 DESPITE MINOR INCIDENTS OF HARASSMENT AND SURVEILLANCE. WITH THE GENERAL TREND TOWARD POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION, A NUMBER OF PROMINENT ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS BEGAN TO PURSUE THEMES FORMERLY ESPOUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS. POLITICAL PARTIES, LABOR UNIONS, PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE HIERARCHY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAVE ADOPTED SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES PIONEERED SINCE THE MID-1970'S BY THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO, THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR ACTIVITIES AND EXPANDED THE SCOPE OF THEIR EFFORTS. THE MOTHERS' WEEKLY VIGILS IN THE PLAZA DE MAYO ARE BEING BROADENED INTO MARCHES TO OTHER CENTERS OF BUENOS AIRES, GIVING THEM AN EXPANDED PUBLIC PROFILE. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE ALSO TAKEN AN INCREASINGLY
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 23 STATE 032966

ACTIVE ROLE AT POLITICAL CONVENTIONS AND MEETINGS.

ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS ARE INCREASING THEIR ACTIVITIES IN THE CAPITAL AND THE PROVINCES, PROVIDING LEGAL AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SERVICES WITHOUT OFFICIAL HINDRANCE.

56. SOME OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO HAD DENIGRATING POSTERS HUNG ON THEIR HOMES WHILE THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DISCOVERED HIDDEN LISTENING DEVICES IN ITS HEADQUARTERS. OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS REPORTED RECEIVING ANONYMOUS THREATENING TELEPHONE CALLS.

57. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S 1982 REPORT, COVERING 1981, STATED THAT THAT ORGANIZATION'S MAIN CONCERNS IN ARGENTINA "CONTINUED TO BE THE UNRESOLVED QUESTION OF THE 'DISAPPEARED' PRISONERS, AND ARBITRARY DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL." THE FREEDOM HOUSE REPORT FOR 1982 CLASSIFIED ARGENTINA AS "NOT FREE," THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA'S 1982 REPORT ALSO CITED CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS.

58.

4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SITUATION

NOTHWITHSTANDING A CURRENT HIGH RATE OF INFLATION, A YEAR-AND-A-HALF RECESSION, AND HIGH RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT COMBINED (15 PERCENT OF A LABOR FORCE OF 11 MILLION), ARGENTINA'S POPULATION OF 27.7 MILLION ENJOYS A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING FOR A DEVELOPING COUNTRY. PER CAPITA INCOME IS $2,395 (1980); THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE, 40.8 PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS, (1981); AND POPULATION ACCESS TO SAFE WATER, 66 PERCENT (1975). THERE IS NO DISCRIMINATION IN THE AVAILABILITY OF FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH, OR EDUCATION ON THE BASIS OF SEX, RELIGION, RACE, OR ETHNIC BACKGROUND.
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PAGE 24 STATE 032966

59. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AT THE END OF 1982, THE SUBJECT WAS BEING DISCUSSED BY THE GOVERNMENT. LAWS GOVERN HOW EMPLOYEES MAY BE DISMISSED. SEVERANCE PAY IS HIGH AND EMPLOYERS TEND TO RETAIN WORKERS USING TEMPORARY LAYOFFS WHERE POSSIBLE TO AVOID DISMISSALS. REAL WAGES DROPPED SUBSTANTIALLY DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1982 DUE PARTLY TO A FREEZE IN PUBLIC SECTOR WAGES AND TO THE LENGTHY RECESSION. IN AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1982, ACROSS-THE-BOARD WAGE INCREASES TENDED TO RAISE REAL WAGES. THERE ARE PROVISIONS FOR A

MINIMUM WAGE, FAMILY ALLOWANCES, AND OTHER FRINGE BENEFITS; THESE HAVE ALSO RECENTLY BEEN INCREASED.

60. IN THIS LARGELY MIDDLE CLASS SOCIETY, 80 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION LIVES IN URBAN AREAS. MORE THAN 65 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OWN THEIR HOMES. THERE IS AMPLE PROTECTION FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP. ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE SOME MALNUTRITION DUE TO THE PROLONGED RECESSION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, THE AVERAGE ARGENTINE ENJOYS A HEALTHY, HIGH PROTEIN DIET (126 PERCENT OF DAILY CALORIC REQUIREMENTS). THE ADULT LITERACY RATE IS 94 PERCENT, AND PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLING IS FREE AND WIDELY AVAILABLE. IN THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES WHERE APPROXIMATELY ONE-THIRD OF THE NATION'S POPULATION RESIDES, 93.6 PERCENT OF THE 12-YEAR OLD POPULATION WAS ATTENDING SCHOOL AT THE TIME OFTHE DAM UNQUOTE SHULTZ
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FOLLOWING STATE 032966 DTD FEB 4, SENT ACTION BUENOS AIRES, BEING RPTD FOR YOUR INFO:

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SUBJECT: 1982 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT - FINAL VERSION

1. FOLLOWING IS THE FINAL VERSION OF THE 1982 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR ARGENTINA. HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ARE

STILL EMBARGOED, HENCE POST IS REQUESTED NOT TO RELEASE REPORT PENDING NOTIFICATION BY DEPARTMENT.

2. THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES HAVE HELD POWER SINCE 1976. THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT INSTITUTED MAJOR CHANGES, HOWEVER, IN 1982, EASING RESTRAINTS ON POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES AND COMMITTING ITSELF TO ELECTIONS BY NOT LATER THAN NOVEMBER 1983, WITH THE RESTORATION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT SET FOR NOT LATER THAN MARCH 1984. THESE CHANGES OCCURRED IN THE WAKE OF SEVERE AND GROWING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND ARGENTINA'S DEFEAT IN THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS CONFLICT. THEY FOLLOWED SIX YEARS OF UNCLASSIFIED

MILITARY RULE, CHARACTERIZED BY THE USE OF HARSH MEASURES TO END TERRORISM AND CURB POLITICAL DISSENT, SEVERE LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND THE FREQUENT LACK OF PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. DURING THAT TIME, THE GOVERNMENT WAS UNABLE TO ESTABLISH A SOLID BASIS FOR

ECONOMIC GROWTH OR A BASIC POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING.

3. IN JUNE 1982, PRESIDENT GALTIERI WAS REPLACED BY GENERAL (RET.) REYNALDO BIGNONE. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION LIFTED THE FORMAL BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON JULY L AND IN AUGUST PROMULGATED A POLITICAL PARTIES LAW WHICH REQUIRED NEW REGISTRATION OF PARTY MEMOERS TO BE FOLLOWED BY INTERNAL PARTY ELECTIONS IN PREPARATION FOR THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS. TRADE UNIONS, WHILE CIRCUMSCRIBED BY GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION DATING FROM 1976, HAVE BEEN FREE TO FUNCTION IN MANY CASES AS THOUGH THERE WERE NO CONTROLS. LATE 1982 WITNESSED AN UPSURGE IN POLITICAL AND LABOR ACTIVITY. POLITICAL PARTIES (INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS) STAGED LARGE RALLIES, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HELD DEMONSTRATIONS, AND LABOR ORGANIZED A SUCCESSFUL NATIONAL STRIKE. AT LEAST L00,000 PEOPLE, ORGANIZED BY POLITICAL, UNION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, TOOK PART IN A "MARCH FOR DEMOCRACY" IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN MID-DECEMBER. THE OVERALL RESULT HAS BEEN A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE EXERCISE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS DURING THE SECOND HALF OF 1982.

4. THE PRESS ALSO HAS BEEN LESS INHIBITED IN 1982 THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE EARLY 1970S. CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS BECAME A MATTER OF COURSE. FOUR SMALL PUBLICATIONS WERE CLOSED BRIEFLY LATE IN THE YEAR, BUT OVERALL FREEDOM TO DISCUSS SENSITIVE

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 032966

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS EXPANDED MARKEDLY. IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA, SENSITIVE SUBJECTS HAVE BEEN OPENLY TREATED ON RADIO, BUT LESS SO ON STATE-OWNED TELEVISION.

5. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM DISPLAYED GREATER INDEPENDENCE IN 1982. THE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED A MILITARY COURT RULING FOR THE FIRST TIME. LOWER COURTS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY RECEPTIVE TO HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS FILED ON BEHALF OF PRISONERS HELD UNDER STATE OF SIEGE POWERS. THE COURTS RULED IN FAVOR OF THREE OF THE PERIODICALS CLOSED BY THE AUTHORITIES. PRISON CONDITIONS CONTINUED TO DRAW CRITICISM FROM INMATES AND THEIR FAMILIES. HOWEVER, EARLIER REFORMS WERE REINFORCED; COURTS HAVE HEARD PRISONER-ABUSE CASES AND PUNISHED GUARDS FOUND QUILTY.

6. DESPITE THE SIGNIFICANT EXPANSION OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE OCCURRED IN 1982 WHICH MANY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN PROVOKED BY ELEMENTS LINKED TO THE STATE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS BUT OPERATING WITHOUT THE SANCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT. THESE UNCONTROLLED ELEMENTS WERE WIDELY HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR

HARASSMENT AND THREATS AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AND FOREIGN AND ARGENTINE JOURNALISTS, FOR THE ABDUCTION OF SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO LATER REAPPEARED, AND FOR TWO MURDERS. SOME OBSERVERS INTERPRETED THESE EFFORTS AS ATTEMPTS BY DISSIDENTS WITHIN, OR ASSOCIATED WITH, THE SECURITY FORCES TO UNDERMINE THE GOVERNMENT'S MOVEMENT TOWARD CONSTITUTIONAL AND CIVILIAN RULE.

7. THERE WERE NO REPORTED DISAPPEARANCES IN 1982. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND SOME POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE CONCENTRATED ON EFFORTS TO FORCE AN ACCOUNTING FOR PAST DISAPPEARANCES WHICH NUMBERED IN THE THOUSANDS, INCLUDING APPROPRIATE PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE. THESE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 032966

EFFORTS GAINED IMPETUS WHEN THE PRESS REPORTED THAT UNMARKED GRAVESITES CONTAINED THE BODIES OF PERSONS WHO DISAPPEARED DURING THE MID-TO-LATE 1970S. GIVEN THE WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT MANY OF THE DISAPPEARED WERE KILLED WITH THE COMPLICITY OF OFFICIAL SECURITY

PERSONNEL, THIS ISSUE IS A HIGHLY SENSITIVE AND IMPORTANT ONE FOR THE RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT INITIATED EFFORTS TO TRY TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH FUTURE CIVILIAN LEADERS ON THIS ISSUE PRIOR TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT. BY LATE 1982, THE GOVERNMENT IS BELIEVED PRIVATELY TO HAVE PROVIDED INFORMATION TO FAMILY MEMBERS REGARDING DEATHS AND BURIAL SITES IN APPROXIMATELY ONE FIFTH OF THE CASES OF PERSONS WHOSE DISAPPEARANCE WAS REPORTED TO THE GOVERNMENT BETWEEN 1974 AND 1982.

8. THE GOVERNMENT ACCELERATED RELEASES OF STATE OF SIEGE POLITICAL PRISONERS, HELD UNDER SPECIAL STATE OF SIEGE POWERS, FREEING APPROXIMATELY 425 IN 1982. THE NUMBER OF SUCH PRISONERS WAS REDUCED TO 243 AT THE END OF THE YEAR.

9. ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE EXPERIENCED GREATER FREEDOM OF ACTION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE BIGNONE ADMINISTRATION. IN AN IMPRESSIVE SHOWING, ABOUT 10,000 PEOPLE MARCHED IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN OCTOBER 1982 AND THEN A MUCH LARGER MARCH TOOK PLACE IN DECEMBER. THE RELAXATION OF RESTRICTIONS ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES HAS PERMITTED GREATER PRESS ATTENTION TO THE ACTIVITIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND ENCOURAGED PROMINENT ARGENTINE FIGURES TO LEND THEIR SUPPORT. URGED ON BY HUMANITARIAN GROUPS, MANY POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE ENDORSED OBJECTIVES OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 032966

10. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED VARYING ECONOMIC POLICIES SINCE 1976 BUT THE MAJOR THRUST HAS

BEEN TOWARD GREATER RELIANCE ONHE FREE MARKET, ALBEIT WITHIN A CONTEXT OF EXTENSIVE EXISTING STATE CONTROLS. ARGENTINA WAS BESET BY A NUMBER OF SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN 1982 INCLUDING HIGH LEVELS OF INFLATION, A DEEPENING RECESSION, WHICH REDUCED REAL WAGES, AND INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT.

11.
L. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

A. KILLING

THE TWO REPORTED KILLINGS FOR APPARENT POLITICAL MOTIVES

WERE THOSE OF ANA MARIA MARTINEZ, SAID TO BE ACTIVE IN THE TROTSKYITE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, AND MARCELO DUPONT, WHOSE BROTHER CLAIMS HE HAS EVIDENCE IN A CASE OF MURDER THAT OCCURRED IN 1978. NEITHER CASE HAS BEEN RESOLVED. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THESE TWO MURDERS MAY HAVE BEEN PERPETRATED BY INDIVIDUALS WITH LINKS TO TO THE POLICE OR MILITARY OPERATING OUTSIDE THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROMISED THOROUGH INVESTIGATIONS.

12. B. DISAPPEARANCE

THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF DISAPPEARANCES IN 1982. VARIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE REPORTED SOME PERSONS AS DISAPPEARED. IN ALL TWELVE INSTANCES CITED, PERSONS ABDUCTED, DETAINED, OR TEMPORARILY MISSING RETURNED HOME OR WERE RELEASED WITHIN SEVERAL DAYS OF THEIR INITIAL ABSENCE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE INDIVIDUAL WHO REMAINS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 032966

IN ACKNOWLEDGED DETENTION ON CRIMINAL CHARGES. ACCORDING TO HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, SOME ABDUCTORS REPORTEDLY TOLD THEIR VICTIMS THAT THEY REPRESENTED A STATE AUTHORITY, FROM WHICH THE HUMANRIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS INFERRED OFFICIAL COMPLICITY. THE GOVERNMENT DISCLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ABDUCTIONS.

13. DEMANDS THAT THE AUTHORITIES ACCOUNT FOR THE LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO DISAPPEARED IN THE PAST BECAME A MAJOR NATIONAL ISSUE IN 1982. CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT REMAINS AS TO HOW MANY PERSONS DISAPPEARED. THE MOST CAREFULLY DOCUMENTED LIST, COMPILED BY THE ARGENTINE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, CONTAINS APPROXIMATELY 6,000 NAMES. OTHER ESTIMATES ARE MUCH HIGHER. IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT MOST OF THOSE WHO

DISAPPEARED OVER THE YEARS ARE DEAD, MANY AS A RESULT OF ACTIONS BY SECURITY FORCES BUT ALSO SOME AT THE HANDS OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

14. IN LATE 1982, THE PRESS, POLITICAL PARTIES, AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS JOINED IN DEMANDING INVESTIGATIONS OF UNMARKED GRAVES RECENTLY IDENTIFIED AND THOUGHT TO CONTAIN THE BODIES OF SOME OF THE DISAPPEARED AND CALLING FOR LEGAL ACTION AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE. SEVERAL FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ALSO RENEWED ACTIVE EFFORTS IN LATE 1982 TO SEEK AN ACCOUNTING OF THEIR NATIONALS OR

DESCENDANTS REPORTED AS DISAPPEARED. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED APPROXIMATELY 6,600 REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS AND IS BELIEVED TO HAVE PROVIDED INFORMATION TO FAMILY MEMBERS ON THE DEATHS AND IN SOME INSTANCES THE LOCATION OF THE REMAINS OF THE DISAPPEARED IN ABOUT 1,450 CASES.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 032966

ON SEPTEMBER 29 THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR PUBLICLY SAID THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO COLLECT INFORMATION ABOUT DISAPPEARANCE CASES AND PROVIDE IT TO RELATIVES.

15. C TORTURE

THE ARGENTINE CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS THE USE OF TORTURE, BUT ITS USE HAS BEEN NOTED IN BOTH HUMAN RIGHTS AND COMMON CRIMINAL CASES. THE COURTS HAVE SOUGHT TO CURB ITS USE. MOST OF THE PERSONS REPORTED AS TEMPORARILY MISSING IN 1982 CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO TORTURE BY ELECTRIC SHOCK OR THE PLACEMENT OF PLASTIC BAGS OVER THEIR HEADS CAUSING SUFFOCATION. IN MARCH, THE BUENOS AIRES LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION DENOUNCED WHAT IT REFERRED TO AS THE CONTINUING, SYSTEMATIC USE OF TORTURE BY SECURITY OFFICIALS. THE LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION OF SALTA PROVINCE AT MID-YEAR CHARGED THAT INMATES AT THE LOCAL PENITENTIARY WERE TORTURED AND BRUTALIZED REGULARLY BY GUARDS. IN OCTOBER, FOUR POLICEMEN WERE ARRESTED BY JUDICIAL ORDER ON CHARGES OF TORTURING CRIMINAL SUSPECTS. THE SUPREME COURT IN NOVEMBER ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION INTO A JUDGE'S CONDUCT IN CONNECTION WITH ALLEGATIONS THAT SHE AND OTHER JUDGES HAD WITNESSED PRISONERS BEING TORTURED BY SECURITY FORCES, AS REPORTED BY A JOURNALIST IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN A DAILY NEWSPAPER IN OCTOBER.

16. ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE BRUTALITY CONTINUE TO APPEAR. BOTH THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE DENOUNCED CASES OF PRISONER ABUSE AND ENCOURAGED JUDICIAL INVESTIGATIONS. IN FEBRUARY, AS A RESULT OF A COURT INVESTIGATION, 12 POLICE OFFICERS WERE TRIED FOR BEATING A DETAINEE WHO SUBSEQUENTLY DIED OF HIS INJURIES. IN JULY, A FEDERAL

JUDGE SENTENCED A PRISON GUARD TO THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR BEATING SEVERAL IMMATES AT CASEROS PENITENTIARY. COURT ACTION WAS INITIATED AGAINST SEVEN
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 032966

POLICE OFFICERS IN CORDOBA PROVINCE AND SIX IN MENDOZA, ALL CHARGED WITH ABUSE OF PRISONERS, BUT NO VERDICTS HAVE BEEN RENDERED YET.

17. FOLLOWING STRONG EDITORIAL CRITICISM OF TORTURE AND POLICE BRUTALITY, MINISTER OF INTERIOR RESTON ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1982 ORDERED PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS TO TAKE STEPS TO ELIMINATE THE USE OF TORTURE OR BRUTALITY BY PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL POLICE AND TO PREVENT GENERAL MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS. THE MINISTER ORDERED SEVERE MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST OFFICERS GUILTY OFEXCESSES. THE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED A LOWER COURT'S CONVICTION OF AN INDIVIDUAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT HIS CONFESSION WAS OBTAINED THROUGH TORTURE.

18. D. CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUED IN 1982 IMPLEMENTING REFORMS INITIATED IN 1980 TO IMPROVE PRISON CONDITIONS FOR THOSE DETAINED ON SECURITY GROUNDS. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT TREATMENT OF PERSONS DETAINED FOR OTHER THAN COMMON CRIMES IMPROVED MARKEDLY, INCLUDING ACCELERATION OF STATE OF SIEGE PRISONER RELEASES IN 1981 AND 1982. SOME OF THOSE RECENTLY RELEASED SAY THE GREATEST IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITIONS BEGAN FOLLOWING THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS HAS FREE ACCESS TO PRISONERS TO CONDUCT INSPECTIONS. APPLICATION OF THE TEST OF REASONABLENESS TO THE SEVERITY OF SENTENCES CONTINUED TO BE A FACTOR IN THE GREATER ROLE PLAYED BY THE COURTS IN GRANTING HABEAS CORPUS RULINGS IN THE CASE OF PRISONERS HELD FOR SECURITY REASONS.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 032966

19. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN, HOWEVER, THAT POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE CONSISTENTLY TREATED MORE HARSHLY THAN OTHER INMATES. ALLEGEDLY, STRICTER VIGILANCE, LIMITED FACILITIES FOR EXERCISE AND REST, AND INADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE LEAD TO GREATER PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL STRAINS THAN IS THE CASE FOR COMMON PRISONERS. ONE SUICIDE OF A PRISONER HELD FOR SECURITY REASONS (JORGE TOLEDO IN CASEROS PRISON) WAS REPORTED IN JUNE 1982.

20. E. ARBITRARY ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT

THE ARGENTINE PENAL CODE, PROMULGATED IN 1924, GIVES THE POLICE AND COURTS BROAD AUTHORITY TO DETAIN PERSONS AND HOLD THEM INCOMMUNICADO FOR UP TO EIGHT DAYS. EVEN IN THE CASE OF MINOR OFFENSES, THE HOLDING OF SUSPECTS INCOMMUNICADO FOR A FEW DAYS IS COMMON. APART FROM THIS AUTHORITY, THE CONSTITUTION CONFERS POWER ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO DETAIN AND HOLD PRISONERS UNDER A STATE OF SIEGE; ONE HAS BEEN IN EFFECT IN ARGENTINA SINCE NOVEMBER 1974. (BOTH THE STATE OF SIEGE POWERS AND THE PRISONERS DETAINED UNDER THEM ARE CHARACTERIZED WITH THE WIDELY KNOWN ACRONYM PEN, "PODER EJECUTIVO NACIONAL"). THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT FOR HOLDING PEN PRISONERS, BUT THEY HAVE THE NOMINAL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO CHOOSE FOREIGN EXILE IN LIEU OF CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT. SINCE 1978 NEARLY 1,000 PEN PRISONERS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO EXERCISE THIS OPTION. OVER 50 FORMER PEN PRISONERS, PLUS MORE THAN 40 FAMILY MEMBERS, HAVE OBTAINED REFUGEE STATUS IN THE UNITED STATES; THE LAST PEN PRISONER TO RECEIVE PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES ARRIVED IN NOVEMBER 1981.

21. FROM 1974 TO 1981, OVER 8,700 PERSONS SUSPECTED OF TERRORISM OR SUBVERSION WERE DETAINED UNDER PEN POWERS, UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 032966

ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. TWO PERSONS WHO WERE FUGITIVES SINCE THE MILITARY COUP AND EMERGED IN LATE 1982 WERE DETAINED UNDER PEN POWERS BUT WERE LATER RELEASED. DURING 1982, APPROXIMATELY 425 PEN PRISONERS WERE RELEASED, MOSTLY ON PAROLE. ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, AS OF THE END OF 1982 THERE WERE L01 PEN PRISONERS HELD WITHOUT TRIAL OR AFTER BEING ACQUITTED OR HAVING COMPLETED THEIR SENTENCES. ANOTHER 59 INDIVIDUALS WERE IN TRIAL STATUS, AND 83 WERE SERVING SENTENCES IMPOSED BY THE CIVILIAN COURTS. ANOTHER 345 INDIVIDUALS, DESCRIBED BY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AS SUBVERSIVES, WERE DETAINED UNDER ORDINARY CIVILIAN OR MILITARY PENAL CODES (I,E., NOT PEN POWERS), WERE CONVICTED AND WERE SERVING THEIR SENTENCES. IN LATE DECEMBER L982, INTERIOR MINISTER RESTON SAID THAT NO PEN PRISONERS WOULD BE HELD IN PEN STATUS BY THE END OF L983.

22. F. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

PERSONS ACCUSED OF SUBVERSION OR TERRORISM MAY BE TRIED IN EITHER CIVILIAN OR MILITARY COURTS. THE ARGENTINE CIVILIANPENAL CODE PROVIDES FOR OPEN TRIALS AND RIGHTS TO

DEFENSE. DESPITE SUCH GUARANTEES, DEFENDANTS CAN BE DENIED ACCESS TO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM, AND MOST OF THE PROCESS MAY BE CONDUCTED IN WRITTEN RATHER THAN ORAL FORM, A PRACTICE COMMON IN MANY LATIN AMERICAN LEGAL

SYSTEMS. MILITARY TRIBUNALS TRYING CIVILIANS ACCUSED OF INTERNAL SECURITY VIOLATIONS CONDUCT THEIR PROCEEDINGS IN SECRET. DEFENDANTS HAVE A MILITARY DEFENSE COUNSEL, USUALLY NOT A LAWYER, AND ARE NORMALLY DENIED ACCESS TO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM. THERE DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ANY MILITARY TRIALS OF CIVILIANS IN 1982.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 032966

23. THE CIVILIAN JUDICIARY DISPLAYED INCREASING INDEPENDENCE IN 1982. IN FEBRUARY, THE SUPREME COURT, IN AN UNPRECEDENTED RULING, OVERTURNED A MILITARY COURT'S CONVICTION OF A MAN CHARGED WITH BELONGING TO AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION AND ORDERED A RETRIAL BY A LOWER CIVIL COURT. ALL RULINGS BY LOWER COURTS, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, MAY BE APPEALED TO THE SUPREME COURT, WHICH IN 1982 SHOWED ITSELF INCREASINGLY DISPOSED TO ACCEPT SUCH APPEALS. IN AUGUST, THE SUPREME COURT TOOK ISSUE WITH A RULING OF THE ARMED FORCES' HIGHEST TRIBUNAL, THE COUNCIL OF WAR, CLAIMING THE MILITARY COURT WAS "NOT COMPETENT" TO TRY AND SENTENCE AN INDIVIDUAL FOR SUBVERSIVE ASSOCIATION. THE PERSON CONCERNED WAS RELEASED, AS ORDERED BY THE COURT.

24. THE HIGH COURT ALSO BECAME MORE ACTIVE IN RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FOR WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS FILED ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUALS HELD ON SECURITY GROUNDS. LOWER CIVILIAN COURTS LIKEWISE HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR CONSIDERATION OF PEN-RELATED HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS. A DOCTRINE ADVANCED IN AN AUGUST FEDERAL COURT DECISION -- THAT "CITIZENS CAN NO LONGER BE DEPRIVED OF THEIR FREEDOM FOR SECRET REASONS" -- APPEARED INCREASINGLY TO INFLUENCE LOWER COURT RULINGS. IN NOVEMBER 1982 THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE COURT MORGUE ILLEGALLY CARRIED OUT AUTOPSIES AND ISSUED IMPROPER DEATH CERTIFICATES FOR PRISONERS REPORTEDLY KILLED IN THE LATE 1970S BY SECURITY FORCES.

25. G. INVASION OF THE HOME.

WARRANTS ARE REQUIRED BEFORE POLICE MAY ENTER PRIVATE PREMISES WITHOUT THE OWNER'S PERMISSION. THESE ARE ISSUED BY A JUDGE ON THE SHOWING BY POLICE OF PROBABLE

CAUSE. LIKE OTHER RIGHTS, PROTECTION OF THE HOME HAS
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 032966

BEEN SUSPENDED BY THE STATE OF SIEGE. HOWEVER, THERE
WERE NO REPORTS IN 1982 OF SECURITY FORCES INVADING HOMES.

26.

2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, INCLUDING:

A. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES OF THESE FREEDOMS HAVE BEEN
CIRCUMSCRIBED SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF A STATE OF SIEGE IN
1974. THE MOST RECENT TREND, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, HAS
BEEN TOWARD LIBERALIZATION, AND IT IS EXPECTED TO EXPAND
FURTHER AS THE PROCESS OF CIVILIAN RESTORATION UNFOLDS.
AS DOMESTIC POLITICAL COMPETITION HAS INTENSIFIED AND
FOCUSED ON ELECTIONS, RESTRAINTS ON MEDIA AND FULLER
EXPRESSION OF DISSENT HAVE LOOSENED. PUBLISHED CRITICISM
OF THE MILITARY WAS A REGULAR MEDIA STAPLE BEFORE THE
JULY LIFTING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND IT
SUBSEQUENTLY GREW MORE POIMTED, WITH HUMAN RIGHTS
DEVELOPMENTS AND PARTICULARLY THE DISAPPEARED ISSUE
RECEIVING PROMINENT TREATMENT. POLITICAL FIGURES HIGHLY
CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT APPEAR DAILY ON THE ELECTRONIC
MEDIA. EXTENSIVE TELEVISION COVERAGE OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT
LABOR RALLIES IN DECEMBER ILLUSTRATE THE NEW LIBERALIZED
ATMOSPHERE.

27. REMINDERS TO THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED RADIO AND
TELEVISION STATIONS CONCERNING SUBJECTS CONSIDERED
SENSITIVE BY THE GOVERNMENT ARE ISSUED PERIODICALLY. IN
NOVEMBER THE PRESS LEAKED AN APPARENTLY GENUINE
GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM CONTAINING A LIST OF ISSUES THAT
TELEVISION STATIONS AND MOST RADIO STATIONS WERENOT TO
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 032966

MENTION. THE ISSUES INCLUDED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS,
JOURNALISTIC COMMENTARY ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RELATED
ISSUES. PRINT AND NEWS MEDIA DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE
RECEIVED DIRECT WARNINGS IN 1982 AND PROVIDE EXTENSIVE
COVERAGE OF THESE ISSUES. FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER,
HOWEVER, FOLLOWING SEVERAL INDIRECT UNHEEDED WARNINGS,
THE MILITARY JUNTA CLOSED FOUR PERIODICALS (THE FOURTH

WAS A SUCCESSOR TO ONE OF THE FIRST THREE) FOR "BRINGING DISREPUTE UPON THE ESSENTIAL INSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC." THREE APPEALED THE CLOSURES AND WON IN COURT. THE LARGEST MAGAZINE WAS REPUBLISHING BY MID-DECEMBER.

28. SOME JOURNALISTS REPORTED ANONYMOUS THREATS, HARASSMENT, AND SURVEILLANCE BECAUSE OF THEIR WRITINGS. DURING THE DECEMBER 16, 1982 ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATION, SOME JOURNALISTS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS WERE BEATEN BY POLICE. SEVERAL FOREIGN JOURNALISTS COVERING THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR WERE KIDNAPPED IN TWO SEPARATE INCIDENTS. THEY WERE ROBBED, HELD SEVERAL HOURS, AND STRIPPED BEFORE BEING RELEASED. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THIS WAS THE WORK OF EXTREMISTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE STATE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS. THEN-PRESIDENT GALTIERI MET WITH THE JOURNALISTS TO OFFER PERSONAL APOLOGIES AND ASSURANCES OF PROTECTION. JOURNALISTS REQUESTING THEM WERE PROVIDED POLICE BODYGUARDS.

29. CENSORSHIP OF ARGENTINE AND FOREIGN LITERARY AND OTHER ARTISTIC WORKS DECLINED SIGNIFICANTLY IN 1982. FOREIGN BOOKS AND MAGAZINES IN THEIR ORIGINAL LANGUAGE ARE PRACTICALLY FREE OF CENSORSHIP, BUT SPANISH TRANSLATIONS ARE SUBJECTED TO THE SAME SCRUTINY AS WORKS BY ARGENTINES. HOUEVER, JACOBO TIMERMAN'S HIGHLY-CRITICAL AND CONTROVERSIAL BOOK ABOUT HIS DETENTION AND TORTURE IN ARGENTINA, "PRISONER WITHOUT A NAME, CELL WITHOUT A NUMBER", WAS PUBLISHED IN ARGENTINA
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 14 STATE 032966

UNDER A DIFFERENT TITLE) AND IS AVAILABLE IN SPANISH. CENSORSHIP OF FOREIGN FILMS FOR POLITICAL AND MORAL CONTENT IS ROUTINE, BUT CENSORS SHOWED INCREASING LENIENCY IN 1982. FILMS AUTHORIZED FOR SHOWING INCLUDED "THE HOUSE ON GARIBALDI STREET", ABOUT THE KIDNAPPING OF ADOLPH EICHMANN FROM BUENOS AIRES, AND "NORMA RAE", WHICH PRESENTED LAOOR UNION ACTIVISM ATTRACTIVELY. SIMILARLY, DRAMA PRODUCTIONS ARE AGAIN DEALING WITH SENSITIVE POLITICAL ISSUES. THE "OPEN THEATER" STAGED A SERIES IN BUENOS AIRES THAT INCLUDED SEVERAL HIGHLY POLITICAL PLAYS. A CELEBRATED ARGENTINE FOLK SINGER, FORMERLY PROSCRIBED FOR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIES, WAS ALLOWED TO RETURN FROM EXILE TO PURSUE HER CAREER.

30. THERE ARE STILL RESTRICTIONS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN ARGENTINA. AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL, THERE IS AN

OFFICIALLY PROMULGATED LIST OF ACTIVITIES, TOPICS, AND TEXTS .HICH ARE BANNED FROM CLASSROOMS. CONTROVERSY HAS ALSO BEEN SPARKED BY THE SELECTION CRITERIA IMPOSED BY T E GOVERNMENT FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS. AT THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS, SUBJECTS AND TEXTS ARE RIGOROUSLY PRESCRIBED BY THE AUTHORITIES.
31. THERE ARE REPORTS THAT BOTH WIRETAPPING AND LETTER OPENING BY THE AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN ARGENTINA DURING 1982.

32. B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

UNTIL THE LIFTING OF THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND PROMULGATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES LAW IN AUGUST, PUBLIC MEETINGS WERE RESTRICTED TO ENCLOSED, ROOFED PREMISES, AND THEN ONLY WITH PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

AUTHORITIES. SINCE THEN, ALL GROUPS AND PARTIES, EXCEPT

RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS OUTLAWED FOR ESPOUSING VIOLENCE, HAVE BEEN FREE TO ORGANIZE AND ASSEMBLE. MAJOR RALLIES HAVE BEEN HELD BY VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

33. DESPITE MILITARY INTERVENTION IN 1976, LABOR UNIONS REMAIN A POWERFUL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCE. APPROXIMATELY ONE-THIRDOF THE WORK FORCE IS UNIONIZED, MOSTLY URBAN, INDUSTRIAL LABORERS. THE UNIONS GENERALLY OPPOSE THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES. SINCE MID-YEAR, THE GOVERNMENT HAS RESPONDED TO UNION DEMANDS AND DEMONSTRATIONS WITH TOLERANCE AND SOMETIMES WITH WAGE INCREASES AND OTHER CONCESSIONS. THIS CONTRASTS WITH A MARCH 30, 1982 CRACKDOWN ON DEMONSTRATING LABOR GROUPS THAT RESULTED IN THE BRIEF ARREST OF HUNDREDS AND THE FATAL SHOOTING OF ONE DEMONSTRATOR.

34. MOST MAJOR TRADE UNIONS REMAIN SUBJECT TO INTERVENTION AND, THEREFORE, ULTIMATE CONTROL BY APPOINTED GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES. HOWEVER, IN LATE 1982 THE GOVERNMENT REMOVED MILITARY OVERSEERS FROM A HALF DOZEN LARGE UNIONS AND NAMED TRADE UNION LEADERS TO ASSUME THEIR CONTROL UNTIL UNION ELECTIONS ARE HELD. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE 1979 LABOR LAW, THE GOVERNMENT HAS OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED APPROXIMATELY ONE-QUARTER OF THE

NATION'S MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND UNIONS. THEY HAVE PROCEEDED TO ELECT NEW LEADERSHIP AND TO OPERATE WITHOUT DIRECT INTERFERENCE.

35. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS OFFICIALLY SUSPENDED. NEVERTHELESS, SOME FIRMS CHOOSE TO CONSULT WITH LABOR LEADERS ON PAY, BENEFITS, AND OTHER ISSUES. THE BAN ON STRIKES IS NOT NOW EFFECTIVELY ENFORCED, AND THEY UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 16 STATE 032966

OCCURRED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY AFTER MID-YEAR. WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL GALTIERI CHALLENGED LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS, THE BIGNONE GOVERNMENT HAS TOLERATED THEM, INCLUDING MASS, ANTI-GOVERNMENT RALLIES IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES IN OCTOBER AND DECEMBER, AND A HIGHLY EFFECTIVE, NON-VIOLENT GENERAL STRIKE ON DECEMBER 6, 1982. VIOLENCE DID BREAK OUT AT THE END OF THE DECEMBER 16, 1982 DEMONSTRATION, HOWEVER, AND ONE DEMONSTRATOR WAS KILLED.

36. MANY UNIONS MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES TO INTERNATIONAL LABOR BODIES AND PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO). THE ILO CONSIDERS ARGENTINA TO BE IN VIOLATION OF ILO CONVENTION NO. 87 (FREEDOM OF

ASSOCIATION) BECAUSE OF LIMITATIONS ON ASSOCIATION CONTAINED IN THE 1979 LAW AND LEGAL RESTRICTIONS ON STRIKES, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, AND OTHER TRADE UNION RIGHTS.

37. C. FREEDOM OF RELIGION

BY CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENT, THE PRESIDENT OF ARGENTINA MUST BE A MEMBER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, TO WHICH AN ESTIMATED 95 PERCENT OF ARGENTINES BELONG. RECENT GOVERNMENTS HAVE PUBLICLY AND VIGOROUSLY CONDEMNED RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION.

38. OTHER RELIGIONS MUST REGISTER WITH THE GOVERNMENT TO OBTAIN THE LEGAL RECOGNITION REQUIRED FOR THEIR CHURCHES TO OPERATE FREELY IN ARGENTINA. JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES ARE THE ONLY RELIGIOUS GROUP WHOSE PETITION FOR RECOGNITION, UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 17 STATE 032966

FILED IN 1981, HAS NOT BEEN GRANTED. EVEN SO, SINCE LATE 1981, ARGENTINA'S APPROXIMATELY 42,000 WITNESSES HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO ASSEMBLE WITHOUT PERMITS OR POLICE INTERFERENCE. PROBLEMS PREVIOUSLY EXPERIENCED WITH THE AUTHORITIES AND IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL HAVE EASED SOMEWHAT. AT PRESENT ABOUT 300 WITNESSES, ALL ARGENTINE NATIONALS, ARE UNDER ARREST FOR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE. THE USUAL PENALTY IS THREE TO FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE AT VARIOUS MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AROUND THE COUNTRY. CONDITIONS ARE NOT ONEROUS AND FURLOUGHS ARE GIVEN FOR AS MUCH AS A MONTH AT A TIME. A SUPREME COURT RULING IN 1981 HELD THAT WITNESS CHILDREN COULD NOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TRAINING AND BELIEFS RECEIVED FROM THEIR PARENTS. PROBLEMS REMAIN FOR OLDER STUDENTS, BUT ARE REPORTED TO BE SUBSIDING. A JEHOVAH'S WITNESS CHURCH IN COMODORO RIVADAVIA (A COASTAL TOWN ABOUT 1,000 MILES SOUTHWEST OF BUENOS AIRES) WAS BOMBED IN NOVEMBER 1982. THERE WERE NO CASUALTIES.

39. ARGENTINA'S JEWISH COMMUNITY OF 300,000-450,000 PRACTICES ITS RELIGION WITHOUT OFFICIAL RESTRAINT. IT REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE, AND THE GOVERNMENT MAINTAINS GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF AN OFFICIAL POLICY OF ANTI-SEMITISM. OCCASIONAL INCIDENTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO OCCUR. IN LATE FEBRUARY 1982 A JEWISH CEMETERY WAS DESECRATED WITH SWASTIKAS. THE GOVERNMENT STRONGLY CONDEMNED THE VANDALISM, WITH PRESIDENT GALTIERI'S PERSONAL DENUNCIATION GIVEN WIDE DISTRIBUTION BY ALL THE NEWS MEDIA. JEWISH COMMUNITY LEADERS CALLED THE GOVERNMENT'S REPUDIATION OF ANTI- SEMITISM "UNPRECEDENTED" IN ITS

FORCEFULNESS.

40. D. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 18 STATE 032966

TRAVEL, EMIGRATION, AND REPATRIATION

41. INTERNAL AND FOREIGN TRAVEL AND EMIGRATION ARE BASICALLY UNENCUMBERED. PAROLED PEN PRISONERS ARE USUALLY RESTRICTED BY JUDGES TO THEIR MUNICIPALITY OF USUAL RESIDENCE FOR SIX TO NINE MONTHS; PERMISSION TO TRAVEL MUST BE RECEIVED FROM THE POLICE TO WHOM THE PAROLEES MUST REPORT PERIODICALLY. THERE ARE NO OTHER SIGNIFICANT RESTRICTIONS ON PAROLEES AND THERE ARE FEW,

IF ANY, INSTANCES WHEN PAROLE IS REVOKED AND THE PERSON SENT BACK TO PRISON.

42. A SMALL NUMBER OF OFFICIALS OF THE CIVILIAN REGIME OUSTED IN 1976 ARE NOT PERMITTED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. IN MAY, 1982 THE GOVERNMENT ENDED THE PROBLEM OF ASYLEES IN LOCAL EMBASSIES BY GRANTING "SAFE CONDUCT" FOR PASSAGE TO MEXICO TO THE LAST ASYLEE, RESIDENT IN THE MEXICAN EMBASSY SINCE 1976.

43. FORMER PEN PRISONERS WHO WERE GRANTED THE OPTION TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY GENERALLY ARE BARRED FROM RETURNING. IN A RARE EXCEPTION IN FEBRUARY, A FORMER PEN PRISONER AND EXPELLEE WAS PERMITTED TO RETURN. OTHER PEN APPLICANTS FOR SELF-EXILE UNDER THE RIGHT OF OPTION ARE CAREFULLY SCREENED, AND MOST REQUESTS TO EMIGRATE HAVE BEEN DENIED. ONLY ONE PEN PRISONER WAS ALLOWED THE OPTION TO GO TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1982.

44. ARGENTINA HAS A CONSIDERABLE REFUGEE POPULATION, DATING FROM AS FAR BACK AS THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD. IT INCLUDES EUROPEAN REFUGEES AND THOUSANDS OF LATIN AMERICANS WHO FLED TO ARGENTINA OVER THE YEARS. MOST OF THEM ENJOY LEGAL STATUS. THE REFUGEE POPULATION WAS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 19 STATE 032966

SLIGHTLY AUGMENTED IN THE LATE 1970'S BY THE ADMISSION OF SEVERAL HUNDRED FAMILIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA REFUGEES. THREE HUNDRED FOREIGNERS WERE NATIONALIZED AS ARGENTINE CITIZENS IN 1982.

45. E. FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

ARGENTINA HAS BEEN RULED SINCE 1976 BY A JUNTA MADE UP OF THE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY, NAVY, AND AIR FORCE WHO SELECT A MILITARY OFFICER (USUALLY RETIRED) TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT OF THE NATION. THE JUNTA WAS DISBANDED FOR A PERIOD AFTER THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR BUT HAS BEEN RECONSTITUTED.

UNC-ASSIFIED ; 14

46. THE BIGNONE GOVERNMENT IS PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO HOLDING ELECTIONS IN LATE 1983 AND RESTORING CONSTITUTIONAL CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT BY MARCH 1984. A PRESIDEHT, DEPUTIES AND SENATORS IN THE BICAMERAL LEGISLATURES ARE TO BE ELECTED, AS WELL AS PROVINCIAL

GOVEVNORS, MAYORS, LEGISLATORS, AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILS. SPECIFIC DATES HAVE NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR THE 1983 ELECTIONS BUT PRESIDENT BIGNONE HAS STATED THAT THE ELECTIONS WILL 0E HELD NOT LATER THAN THE FIRST SUNDAY IN NOVEM0ER. THE POLITICAL PARTIES LAW ISSUED IN AUGUST 1982 IS INTENDED TO FACILITATE DEMOCRATIC INTRA-PARTY ELECTION AND PROCEDURES. SOME PARTIES HAVE CRITICIZED THE ROLE OF COURT APPOINTED TEMPORARY OVERSEERS IN INTERNAL PARTY AFFAIRS.

47. NATIONAL, PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRAT;ON HAS BEEN LARGELY MADE CIVILIAN, WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF POLITICIANS AND TECHNICIANS TO MANY POSTS ASSUMED 0Y MILITARY OFFICERS AFTER THE 1976 COUP. IN 1982, NATIONAL -A0INET POSTS WERE IN THE HANDS OF CIVILIANS, WITH THE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 20 STATE 032966

EXCEPTION OF THE INTERIOR PORTFOLIO.

48. WOMEN PARTICIPATE FREELY IN POLITICS IN ARGENTINA, ONE OF ONLY THREE WESTERN HEMISPHERE NATIONS TO HAVE HAD A FEMALE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, MARA ESTELLA MARTINEZ DE PERON, 1974-1976. OUTSIDE OF BUENOS AIRES AND OTHER MAJOR URBAN CENTERS, WOMEN ARE CONFINED TO A ROLE DEFINED BY ARGENTINE TRADITION. IN URBAN AREAS WHERE EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC OPPO,TUNITIES ARE SUPERIOR AND SOCIETY MORE OPEN TO MODERN TRENDS, WOMEN COMMONLY PARTICIPATE IN MOST PROFESSIONS. MARRIED WOMEN LIVING IN ARGENTINA MUST HAVE THE PERMISSION OF THEIR HUSBANDS TO TRAVEL ABROAD WITH THEIR MINOR CHILDREN, IF THE HUSBA;D IS NOT ACCOMPANYING THEM.

49.

. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF IUMAN RIGHTS
ARGENTINA COOPERATES WITH BOTH THE UNITED NATIONS ON EPTEMBER REVIEWED ARGENTINE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE UBLICATION OF THE REPORT COVERING ITS 1979 ON-SITE NSPECTION. THE REPORT HIGHLIGHTED ARGENTINA'S RENEWED OOPERATION ITH THE IAHRC SINCE JUNE 1982 AND EMPHASIZED HE LIFTING OF RESTRAINTS ON CIVILIAN POLITICAL CTIVITY. WHILE IT CRITICIZED CONTINUATION OF THE STATE F SIEGE, THE COMMISSION NOTED THE GOVERNMENT'S NFREQUENT ESORT TO STATE OF SIEGE POWERS AND STATED HAT THE IAHRC HAD RECEIVED NO REPORTS OF DISAPPEARANCES

OR PEN DETENTIONS IN 1982. EQUALLY POSITIVE, ACCORDING TO THE REPORT, WAS THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM'S MORE ASSERTIVE EFFORT TO SAFEGUARD INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. THE COMMISSION UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 21 STATE 032966

WAS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON PAST DISAPPEARANCES.

50. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) MAINTAINED ITS PRESENCE IN ARGENTINA, VISITING POLITICAL PRISONERS. LIKE MOST OTHER INSTITUTIONS IN ARGENTINA, HOWEVER, ICRC'S PRIORITIES WERE TEMPORARILY SHIFTED BY THE WAR. THE PROTECTION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION ON THE ISLANDS AND, AFTER ARGENTINA'S DEFEAT, OVERSEEING THE TRANSFER OF ARGENTINE PRISONERS BACK TO THE MAINLAND, WERE PRIMARILY ICRC PROGRAMS.

51. PRIVATE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS NUMBER EIGHT (THEIR SPANISH NAMES OR ACRONYMS ARE CITED PARENTHETICALLY): THE GRANDMOTHERS OF PLAZA DE MAYO (AUUELAS); THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY OF HUMAN RIGHTS (APDH); THE CENTER FOR LEGAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES (CELS); FAMILIES OF THE DISAPPEARED/DETAINED FOR POLITICAL REASONS (FAMILIARES); THE ARGENTINE LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN (LIGA); THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO (MADRES); THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (MOVIMIENTO ECUMENICO); AND THE PEACE AND JUSTICE SERVICE FOR LATIN AMERICA (PAZ Y JUSTICIA).

52. THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGTHS WAS CREATED BEFORE THE 1976 MILITARY COUP IN RESPONSE TO THE ABUSES THAT FLOWED FROM THE CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE THEN PREVAILING. WITH A MEMBERSHIP DRAWN FROM ALL SECTORS OF ARGENTINE SOCIETY, IT COLLECTS AND DISSEMINATES INFORMATION TO SENSITIZE PUBLIC OPINION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. THE ASSEMBLY COMPILED IN 1979 THE BEST-DOCUMENTED LIST OF ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCES, PROVIDING DATAON ABOUT 6,000 CASES. IT ALSO ADVISES AND ASSISTS FAMILIES OF VICTIMS OF REPRESSION.
53. THE GROUP MOST WIDELY KNOWN NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY IS THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO. THE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 22 STATE 032966

MOTHERS DEVELOPED LOOSELY AT FIRST AS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO IN 1976 BEGAN GATHERING AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE IN THE

PLAZA DE MAYO TO IQUIRE INTO THE FATE OF THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS WHO WERE DETAINED AND/OR HAD DISAPPEARED. THEIR MEETINGS HAVE SINCE BEEN FORMALIZED IN SILENT VIGILS EVERY THURSDAY IN THE PLAZA.

54. THE CENTER FOR LEGAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES, FOUNDED IN 1978, IS THE NEWEST OF ARGENTINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. AS BOTH A DATA-COLLECTING AND LEGAL ASSISTANCE AGENCY, IT PREPARES COURT ACTIONS IN CASES OF DETENTIONS A;D DISAPPEARANCES, PROMOTES IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITIONS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND MAINTAINS ACTIVE CONTACT WITH FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. THE CENTER, TOGETHER WITH THE MOTHERS, IS BELIEVED TO HAVE THE WIDEST CONNECTION WITH FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS THE UN AND OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS.

55. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS OPERATED WITH INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS IN 1982 DESPITE MINOR INCIDENTS OF HARASSMENT AND SURVEILLANCE. WITH THE GENERAL TREND TOWARD POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION, A NUMBER OF PROMINENT ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS BEGAN TO PURSUE THEMES FORMERLY ESPOUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS. POLITICAL PARTIES, LABOR UNIONS, PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE HIERARCHY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAVE ADOPTED SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES PIONEERED SINCE THE MID-1970'S BY THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO, THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR ACTIVITIES AND EXPANDED THE SCOPE OF UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 23 STATE 032966

THEIR EFFORTS. THE MOTHERS' WEEKLY VIGILS IN THE PLAZA DE MAYO ARE BEING BROADENED INTO MARCHES TO OTHER CENTERS OF BUENOS AIRES, GIVING THEM AN EXPANDED PUBLIC PROFILE. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE ALSO TAKEN AN INCREASINGLY ACTIVE ROLE AT POLITICAL CONVENTIONS AND MEETINGS. ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS ARE INCREASING THEIR ACTIVITIES IN THE CAPITAL AND THE PROVINCES, PROVIDING LEGAL AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SERVICES WITHOUT OFFICIAL HINDRANCE.

56. SOME OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO HAD DENIGRATING POSTERS HUNG ON THEIR HOMES WHILE THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DISCOVERED HIDDEN LISTENING DEVICES IN ITS HEADQUARTERS. OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS REPORTED RECEIVING ANONYMOUS THREATENING TELEPHONE CALLS.

57. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S 1982 REPORT, COVERING 1981, STATED THAT THAT ORGANIZATION'S MAIN CONCERNS IN ARGENTINA "CONTINUED TO BE THE UNRESOLVED QUESTION OF THE 'DISAPPEARED' PRISONERS, AND ARBITRARY DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL." THE FREEDOM HOUSE REPORT FOR 1982 CLASSIFIED ARGENTINA AS "NOT FREE," THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA'S 1982 REPORT ALSO CITED CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS.

58.

4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SITUATION

NOTHWITHSTANDING A CURRENT HIGH RATE OF INFLATION, A YEAR-AND-A-HALF RECESSION, AND HIGH RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT COMBINED (15 PERCENT OF A LABOR FORCE OF 11 MILLION), ARGENTINA'S POPULATION OF 27.7 MILLION ENJOYS A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING FOR A DEVELOPING COUNTRY. PER CAPITA INCOME IS $2,395 (1980); THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE, 40.8 PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS, (1981); AND UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 24 STATE 032966

POPULATION ACCESS TO SAFE WATER, 66 PERCENT (1975). THERE IS NO DISCRIMINATION IN THE AVAILABILITY OF FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH, OR EDUCATION ON THE BASIS OF SEX, RELIGION, RACE, OR ETHNIC BACKGROUND.

59. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AT THE END OF 1982, THE SUBJECT WAS BEING DISCUSSED BY THE GOVERNMENT. LAWS GOVERN HOW EMPLOYEES MAY BE DISMISSED. SEVERANCE PAY IS HIGH AND EMPLOYERS TEND TO RETAIN WORKERS USING TEMPORARY LAYOFFS WHERE POSSIBLE TO AVOID DISMISSALS. REAL WAGES DROPPED SUBSTANTIALLY DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1982 DUE PARTLY TO A FREEZE IN PUBLIC SECTOR WAGES AND TO THE LENGTHY RECESSION. IN AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1982, ACROSS-THE-BOARD WAGE INCREASES TENDED TO RAISE REAL WAGES. THERE ARE PROVISIONS FOR A MINIMUM WAGE, FAMILY ALLOWANCES, AND OTHER FRINGE BENEFITS; THESE HAVE ALSO RECENTLY BEEN INCREASED.

60. IN THIS LARGELY MIDDLE CLASS SOCIETY, 80 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION LIVES IN URBAN AREAS. MORE THAN 65 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OWN THEIR HOMES. THERE IS AMPLE PROTECTION FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP. ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE SOME MALNUTRITION DUE TO THE PROLONGED RECESSION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, THE AVERAGE ARGENTINE ENJOYS A HEALTHY, HIGH PROTEIN DIET (126

PERCENT OF DAILY CALORIC REQUIREMENTS). THE ADULT LITERACY RATE IS 94 PERCENT, AND PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLING IS FREE AND WIDELY AVAILABLE. IN THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES WHERE APPROXIMATELY ONE-THIRD OF THE NATION'S POPULATION RESIDES, 93.6 PERCENT OF THE 12-YEAR OLD POPULATION WAS ATTENDING SCHOOL AT THE TIME OFTHE DAM UNQUOTE SHULTZ

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PAGE 25 STATE 032966

NOTE BY OC/T: ORIG. DIST. ARA/HA.

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 00756 041823Z
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: SHUM, AR, SP, XT
SUBJ: ARGENTINE MOTHERS REPORT NEW DISAPPEARANCES

1. [redacted] SUMMARY: THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO ARE ON A SIX-NATION TOUR OF EUROPE. IN MADRID, THEIR FIRST STOP, THEY TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT "THREE NEW DISAPPEARANCES" HAD BEEN REPORTED IN ARGENTINA IN JANUARY. NEITHER WE NOR OUR CONTACTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS CAN FIND INFORMATION THAT SUPPORTS THAT CHARGE. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE ARGENTINE PRESS IS REPORTING THE TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP
[redacted]
[redacted]

PAGE 02 BUENOS 00756 041823Z

"MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO" TO SPAIN, ITALY, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, SWITZERLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS. PRESS

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REPORTS OF THE MOTHERS' FEBRUARY 1 PRESS CONFERENCE IN MADRID QUOTED THEM AS HAVING SAID THAT "THREE NEW DISAPPEARANCES" HAD BEEN REPORTED IN ARGENTINA IN JANUARY. THE PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANIZATION, MRS. HEBE DE BONAFINI, SAID THAT ONE OF THE THREE WAS RICARDO HAIDAR. SHE DID NOT NAME THE OTHER TWO.

3. (U) PREVIOUS PRESS REPORTS ABOUT HAIDAR STATED THAT HE WAS AN ARGENTINE WHO WAS ONE OF THREE SURVIVORS OF THE AUGUST 1972 EXECUTIONS OF 19 PRISONERS IN THE WAKE OF A MASS ESCAPE FROM TRELEW PRISON. HAIDAR REPORTEDLY WAS RELEASED FROM PRISON LATER, AND FLED THE COUNTRY IN 1977. HIS MOTHER, WHO LIVES IN MEXICO, REPORTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS THAT HAIDAR HAD DISAPPEARED IN ARGENTINA BETWEEN DECEMBER 18 AND 20, 1982. A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS WAS FILED ON HIS BEHALF ON JANUARY 10 BY THE CENTER FOR LEGAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES (CELS).

4. [redacted] CELS TOLD THE AMBASSADOR ON JANUARY 18 THAT THERE WERE SOME UNUSUAL ASPECTS TO THE HAIDAR CASE. CELS THINKS THAT HAIDAR WAS A MONTONERO, AND THAT HE PROBABLY RETURNED TO ARGENTINA ILLEGALLY LAST YEAR. CELS HAS NOT SO FAR RECEIVED A REPLY TO THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

5. (U) CONCERNING THE OTHER TWO ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCES THAT BONAFINI MENTIONED IN MADRID, WE HAVE NO IDEA TO WHOM SHE WAS REFERRING, AND NEITHER DOES CELS NOR THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA DE MAYO, WITH WHOM WE CHECKED. SHE MAY HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO THE KIDNAPPING OF A LABOR LEADER WHO WAS HELD FOR FIVE HOURS THE NIGHT OF JANUARY 16, POSSIBLY BY PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN [redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 03 BUENOS 00756 041823Z

DISCHARGED BY THE UNION. SHE MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO AN ALLEGED KIDNAPPING OF A YOUTH IN ROSARIO ON JANUARY 3 WHO APPEARED A DAY OR TWO LATER. HE WAS POSSIBLY PICKED UP BY AN ANTI-DRUG SQUAD OF THE GOVERNMENT.
SHLAUDEMAN

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EXCISE

PAGE 01 SANTIA 00669 041535Z
ACTION HCRE-00

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 H-01 ARA-16 HA-08 AMAD-01
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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4853

UNCLAS SANTIAGO 0669

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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise_X_ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, CI
SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY PERTAINING TO IMPRISONMENT OF ALEJANDRO MARIO DIAZ AND FERMIN MONTES GARCIA

TO: THE HONORABLE DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

DEAR SENATOR MOYNIHAN:

1. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS ASKED ME TO RESPOND TO YOUR LETTER OF DECEMBER 6, 1982, ON BEHALF OF CONCERNING THE ARREST AND DETENTION OF ALEJANDRO MARIO DIAZ AND FERMIN MONTES GARCIA IN CHILE.

2. THERE IS LITTLE I CAN ADD TO THE INFORMATION HAS ALREADY PROVIDED ON ALEJANDRO MARIO DIAZ. HE WAS ONE OF TEN PERSONS ARRESTED IN CHILLAN BETWEEN APRIL 25 AND APRIL 27, 1982. THE TEN WERE IDENTIFIED AS MEMBERS OF AN EXTREMIST FACTION OF A PROSCRIBED POLITICAL PARTY. ON MAY 3, A MILITARY COURT INDICATED THEM ON CHARGES OF VIOLATING THE ARMS CONTROL LAW. TWO CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION,
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00669 041535Z

ARE FOLLOWING THEIR CASE CLOSELY. A SOURCE AT THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY INFORMED A MEMBER OF MY STAFF THAT THE TEN ARE STILL IN PRISON IN CHILLAN AND THAT A LEGAL APPEAL FILED ON THEIR BEHALF ID PENDING.

3. FERMIN MONTES GARCIA IS SUSPECTED OF BEING A MEMBER

OF AN OUTLAWED MARXIST TERRORIST GROUP, THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR). HE WAS ARRESTED ON SEPTEMBER 27, 1980, IN SANTIAGO. THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM INCLUDE GRAND LARCENY, ILLEGAL POSSESSION OF WEAPONS,ASSAULT, AND MURDER. UNDER RECENTLY, HE WAS BEING HELD AT A PRISON IN RANCAGUA. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF HEALTH PROBLEMS ALLEGEDLY RESULTING FROM MISTREATMENT DURING A PREVIOUS CONFINEMENT, HE WAS TRANSFERRED OVER A MONTH AGO TO A PENITENTIARY IN SANTIAGO. A MEMBER OF MY STAFF CHECKED WITH THE VICARIATE OF SOLIDARITY AND WAS TOLD THAT MONTES IS NOW RECEIVING MEDICAL ATTENTION.

4. I TRUST THAT THIS INFORMATION WILL BE HELPFUL TO YOU IN RESPONDING TO THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY YOU CAN BE ASSURED THAT THIS EMBASSY MAKES EVERY EFFORT TO FOLLOW CASES SUCH AS THESE AND THAT THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT IS WELL INFORMED OF US VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

5. PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF I CAN BE OF FURTHER ASSISTANCE TO YOU.

JAMES D. THEBERGE
AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
SANTIAGO, CHILE
THEBERGE

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Internal Securit

January 30, 1983

-- An explosion i
destroyed three p

January 31, 1983

-- A military/civ
and Sergio Silva
terrorist attack

-- The Court of A

February 2, 1983

-- Four alleged members of the MIR, who were sentenced to four years of exile, will soon begin serving their sentences.

-- Relatives of six individuals detained and allegedly mistreated by security forces lodged a complaint with the Minister of Justice.

-- La Comision de Derechos Juveniles (CODEJU) has petitioned the courts, requesting information on the arrest and detention of Jorge Maturana Duenas.

-- The Court of Appeals rejected "amparos de recurso" for Alfredo Iriarte Iriarte, Manuel Malatrassu Aguilera, and Luis Portilla Peralta. The three will be relegated to remote regions in the north on February 7.

-- A writ of habeas corpus was filed on behalf of Luis Alberto Gonzalez Tapia, an exiled economist who attempted to enter Chile last Sunday and was detained at Pudahuel Airport. (Carlos Mazal of the International Migration Committee notified us that Gonzalez was forced to depart Chile and travelled to Bogota, where he is receiving assistance from the Committee.)

-- The Ministry of Interior denied rumors that Gabriel Valdes Subercaseaux and Belasario Velasco, both members of the Christian Democrats, had been arrested.

February 3, 1983

-- Eight members of the proscribed Izquierda Cristiana were notified today of their sentence of December 9, 1982. (See Santiago 7389, 12/10/82).

-- Maria Cecilia Rodriguez Araya, a leader of the Organization of Relatives of Missing Persons and Detainees, was arrested by the Chilean police at Pudahuel Airport when she was about to leave to attend a meeting of the organization in Madrid. According to sources from the organization, she was accused of carrying subversive literature. (This information was provided by a member of the organization and has not been released in the press.)

February 4, 1983

-- Four persons, who reportedly identified themselves as members of the MIR, attacked and set fire to a train between Valparaiso and Quilpue. A similar incident occurred in this area in October 1981.

-- The Court of Appeal rejected a writ of habeas corpus presented on behalf of Andres Nicolas Galanakis.

-- Jose Eliecer Opazo Ruiz, who was detained on January 31, 1983 for allegedly attempting to sabotage an electric power line, was

turned over to the courts for sentencing.

-- Five members of CODEJU were detained when they attempted to distribute literature protesting the arrest of Jorge Maturana and Victor Moraga in front of the Valparaiso court house. The five are Marcos Gonzalez, Dora Silva, Liliana Venegas, Elena Torros, and Jorge Contreros.

February 5

-- Three individuals -- Luis Rafael Caro Molina, Juan Humberto Canucha Alvarez, and Guillermo Contreras Espinoza -- were arrested for allegedly distributing anti-government pamphlets.

2/7/83

AJ020

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Buenos Aires

February 7, 1983

Ms. Kathie McCleskey
AAAS Clearinghouse on Science
and Human Rights
American Association for the
Advancement of Science
1515 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Dear Ms. McCleskey:

Ambassador Shlaudeman asked me to reply to your letter of December 9, and I have encouraging information for you. On February 3 the Argentine Supreme Court ordered the Executive Branch of the Government either to release Dr. Alejandro Raul Isla (spelled without an "s" in the press report) from prison under libertad vigilada (the conditional release that you mentioned) or to let him leave Argentina.

It will probably be a few more weeks before the Executive Branch decides which option it wishes to use, but based on similar cases during 1982, I would think that the Executive Branch will release Dr. Islas from prison under libertad vigilada (similar to parole in the U.S.). For your information, even in cases where an opportunity to leave Argentina has been offered to prisoners, a large majority of the prisoners have opted to stay in Argentina rather than go into exile abroad.

We will let you know of the Executive Branch's decision in this case when we have all the details.

Sincerely,

J. Anthony Allitto
First Secretary

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RELEASED
[illegible] Human Rights
[illegible]

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SF Date 9-11-93
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy (X), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83STATE 034616

UNCLASSIFIED

ADP575 [redacted]

PAGE 01 STATE 034616
ORIGIN ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-09
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

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FOR AMB ENDERS

FOLLOWING SAN SALVADOR 1047 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BOGOTA CARACAS GUATEMALA MEXICO SAN JOSE TEGUCIGALPA
USCINCSO QUARY HTS PN FEB 05 REPEATED QTE
C O N F I D E N T I A L SAN SALVADOR 01047
E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/4/89
TAGS: PGOV, ES
SUBJECT: POLITICAL-MILITARY CRISIS
1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.
2. POLOFF SPOKE WITH ARENA DIRECTOR ARMANDO CALDERON SOL ON FEBRUARY 4. (CALDERON HOLDS THE NUMBER THREE POSITION IN THE PARTY AFTER ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND HUGO BARRERA.) HE SAID THAT THE PARTY WAS NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL-MILITARY CRISIS, BUT THAT LEADERS WERE IN TOTAL AGREEMENT THAT GEN. GARCIA HAD TO GO. CALDERON THEN RECITED THE ACCUSTOMED LITANY OF SINS MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE COMMITTED--POOR CONDUCT OF THE WAR, INCREASED CORRUPTION, FAILURE TO SUPPORT THE PRIVATE SECTOR, ETC. HE NOTED THAT IT WAS OBVIOUS GARCIA'S SUPPORT IN THE ARMED FORCES HAD DWINDLED, THAT THIS REFLECTED ON [redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 034616

PRES. MAGANA, AND THAT BECAUSE OF THIS SITUATION, THE GOVERNMENT WAS GOING NOWHERE FAST.
3. FOR ITS PART, ARENA HAS PROPOSED THAT THE PARTIES LAY ASIDE THEIR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES TO FOCUS ON EFFORTS TO *END THE WAR.* ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON HAS CHANGED HIS CONCEPT OF A PACIFICATION STRATEGY FROM OFFERING AN AMNESTY AND THEN STRIKING OUT AT THE GUERRILLAS, TO STRIKING FIRST AND THEN OFFERING AMNESTY. THE NEW MINISTER OF DEFENSE WILL HAVE TO BE STRONG ENOUGH TO CARRY THIS OUT IF HE IS GOING

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83STATE 034616

TO BE SUCCESSFUL.
4. CALDERON SAID THAT POLITICAL MANEUVERING IN THE [illegible] WAS NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE PROBLEM OF MILITARY LEADERSHIP. *HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT INTER-PARTY FIGHT* ANOTHER DRAG ON GOVERNMENT PROGRESS. D'AUBUISSON'S OFFER TO RESIGN THE ASSEMBLY PRESIDENCY STANDS. HE DOES [illegible] THINK IT WILL COME ABOUT, ALTHOUGH THE DIRECTORATE [illegible] *PROBABLY BE CHANGED TO ADMIT THE PDC.*

5. HE ADMITTED THAT HUGO BARRERA'S ABSENCE DURING TH WEEK HAS REDUCED ARENA'S TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC CAPA DURIDG THIS CRITICAL PERIOD. BARRERA HAS CUT SHORT BUSINESS TRIP TO *CALIFORNIA TO RETURN TO EL SALVADOR* FEBRUARY 5. HINTON UNQUOTE DAM

[redacted]

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(CW0S0A) R

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(✓) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Buenos Aires

February 7, 1983

Ms. Kathie McCleskey
AAAS Clearinghouse on Science
and Human Rights
American Association for the
Advancement of Science
1515 MAssachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Ms. McCleskey:

Ambassador Shlaudeman asked me to reply to your letter of December 9, and I have encouraging information for you. On February 3 the Argentine Supreme Court ordered the Executive Branch of the Government either to release Dr. Alejandro Raul Isla (spelled without an "s" in the press report) from prison under libertad vigilada (the conditional release that you mentioned) or to let him leave Argentina.

It will probably be a few more weeks before the Executive Branch decides which option it wishes to use, but based on similar cases during 1982, I would think that the Executive Branch will release Dr. Islas from prison under Libertad vigilada (similar to parole in the U.S.). For your information, even in cases where an opportunity to leave Argentina has been offered to prisoners, a large majority of the prisoners have opted to stay in Argentina rather than go into exile abroad.

We will let you know of the Executive Branch's decision in this case when we have all the details.

Sincerely,

J. Anthony Allitto
First Secretary

c.c.Daniel Whitney, American Anthropological Association
Bob Schneider, Bureau of Human Rights, Depat. of State
Victor Johnson, House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives
Ray Walser, Desk Officer, Argentina, Dept. of State

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01179 01 OF 06 091903Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 OIC-02
AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-12 H-01 IO-15 NEA-07 NSC-01
ARA-16 NSAE-00 L-03 PM-09 PA-02 SAL-01 OES-09
USIE-00 SP-02 NRC-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 /128 W
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R 091838Z FEB 83
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7563
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
DOE WASHDC
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 06 GENEVA 01179

SECDEF FOR OSD/ISP, DARPA; JCS FOR J-5/DDIN; DOE FOR ASDP/ISA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CD): THE 192ND PLENARY SESSION, FEBRUARY 8, 1983

1. CD-017.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01179 01 OF 06 091903Z

2. SUMMARY: THE 192ND PLENARY SESSION OF THE CD SPILLED OVER INTO THE AFTERNOON TO ACCOMMODATE SEVEN SPEAKERS: BELGIUM, UK, GDR, AUSTRALIA, CHINA, CUBA AND KENYA. THE WESTERN DELEGATES EMPHASIZED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS ON A CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW) CONVENTION REPRESENTED IN VICE PRESIDENT BUSH'S STATEMENT AND DESCRIBED CONDITIONS AS FAVORABLE TO BEGIN DEVELOPING A CONVENTION. HUNGARY, AS COULD BE EXPECTED, TOOK A SWIPE AT THE U.S. FOR PURSUING CW MODERNIZATION WHILE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/TR 4/4/12
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PUTTING UP THE HOPE OF PROGRESS TOWARD A CW CONVENTION AS A SMOKESCREEN. AUSTRALIA LABLED ACCUSATIONS REGARDING A SMOKESCREEN AS NOTHING MORE THAN A SMOKESCREEN ITSELF. THE GDR AND CUBA MADE RATHER STANDARD POLEMICAL ATTACKS ON THE U.S. AND TOUTED SOVIET INITIATIVES. KENYA INTRODUCED A WORKING PAPER ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. END SUMMARY.

3. AMB. ONKELINX OF BELGIUM SUGGESTED THAT THE DEBATE IN EUROPE ON THE DUAL TRACK INF ISSUE MIGHT HINDER THE POSSIBILITY FOR REAL PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE WARNED THAT THE DEBATES BE BALANCED AND ATTEMPT TO AVOID POLEMICS AND SHOULD AVOID ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC OPINION OVER THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. TURNING TO THE CD, ONKELINX URGED THAT THE CD ESCHEW WASTING TIME ON ISSUES WHICH ARE NOT RIPE FOR NEGOTIATION SUCH AS "CLASSICAL DISARMAMENT" AND GIVE PRIORITY TO ISSUES WHERE REAL PROGRESS APPEARS POSSIBLE. PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO A CW PROHIBITION WHICH MAY BE FAIRLY NEAR IF ALL SHOW SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY. IN THIS CONTEXT HE WELCOMED VICE PRESIDENT BUSH'S STATEMENT. HE CALLED FOR AVOIDING TWO STUMBLING BLOCKS; GETTING BOGGED DOWN IN SEMANTICS, AND LOSING SIGHT THAT A CONVENTION COULD BE NO BETTER THAN ITS SEPARATE PARTS.
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AN ADEQUATE TREATY COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED IF IT DID NOT PROVIDE FOR ADEQUATE VERIFICATION. A RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS (RW) CONVENTION IS NOT AS IMPORTANT BUT MAY BE CLOSER TO READINESS IF THE LINKAGE BETWEEN ATTACKS ON NUCLEAR FACILITIES AND RADIOLOGICAL WARFARE CAN BE DEFINED. HE SUGGESTED IT WILL BE FOUND BETWEEN THE EXTREMES OF INSISTING THE TWO ISSUES ARE INTEGRAL AND THAT THEY ARE UNRELATED. ONKELINX SUPPORTED CONTINUATION OF THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN (NTB) WORKING GROUP (WG) WITH THE SAME MANDATE AS LAST YEAR. ANOTHER WG SHOULD BE SET UP ON OUTER SPACE ARMS CONTROL IF TERMS OF REFERENCE CAN BE AGREED. HE SUGGESTED IT SHOULD BEGIN STUDYING PRESENT CONVENTIONS TO DETERMINE WHERE GAPS EXIST. CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES ALSO HAVE ENORMOUS POTENTIAL. IN THIS REGARD HE CITED PRESIDENT REAGAN'S STATEMENTS LAST YEAR AND THE PRAGUE DECLARATION THIS YEAR AS BOTH SHOWING WILLINGNESS TO WORK ON CONCRETE MEANS TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WARFARE. ONKELINX CLOSED BY INDIRECTLY CHIDING THE USSR FOR INTERFERING WITH THE WORK OF THE GROUP OF SCIENTIFIC EXPERTS. HE URGED THAT ALL DELEGATIONS BE "NEGOTIATORS NOT TUB THUMPERS".

4. UK AMB CROMARTIE NOTED THE HEIGHTENED INTEREST IN THE CD AS MANIFESTED BY THE APPEARANCE OF THE CANADIAN DEPUTY PM AND MFA, THE FRG VICE CHANCELLOR

AND VP BUSH. HE REFERRED TO THE U.S. APPROACH TO
INF AS OFFERING THE PROSPECT OF "A SUBSTANTIAL
MEASURE OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT" AND REPRESENTING
"THE TURNING-POINT FOR WHICH WE HAVE ALL BEEN WAITING."
CROMARTIE TOO CALLED FOR PRAGMATISM AND A FOCUS ON CW.
HE REGRETTED THAT THE CW EXPERTS HAD BEEN PREVENTED
(BY THE USSR) FROM PREPARING A REPORT WHICH WOULD
HAVE REFLECTED A MEASURE OF AGREEMENT EMERGING IN

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01179 02 OF 06 091926Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	OIC-02
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	ARA-16	NSAE-00	L-03	PM-09	PA-02	SAL-01	OES-09
	USIE-00	SP-02	NRC-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	/128 W	

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R 091838Z FEB 83
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7564
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
DOE WASHDC
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 06 GENEVA 01179

SOME AREAS AND THAT THE WORK OF THE GROUP OF SCIENTIFIC EXPERTS HAS ALSO BEEN DELAYED (ALSO BY THE USSR). ON OTHER AREAS, THE UK URGED AN EARLY START TO THE NTB WG WITH THE SAME MANDATE AS LAST YEAR AND SUPPORTED THE FRG VIEW THAT THE LINKAGE OF ATTACKS ON NUCLEAR FACILITIES TO THE RW NEGOTIATION CREATES SO MANY LEGAL AND TECHNICAL PROBLEMS THAT IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THEY SHOULD BE COMBINED. IN ANSWER TO MEXICO'S CRITICISM OF THE U.S. ON THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF DISARMAMENT (CPD), CROMARTIE SAID "WE SHOULD NOT...
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DELUDE OURSELVES THAT IT REQUIRES A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF ONLY ONE, OR A FEW, STATES TO MAKE A CPD POSSIBLE." HE NOTED THAT LESS THAN HALF THE CD MEMBERSHIP HAD RESPONDED TO THE SYG'S REQUEST FOR VIEWS ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. HE JUDGED NEGOTIATIONS TO BE PREMATURE, ESPECIALLY UNTIL THERE IS ANY COMMON GROUND ON HOW TO TACKLE THE PROBLEM.

5. AMB HERDER OF THE GDR MADE A HEAVILY PROPAGANDISTIC STATEMENT WHICH DESCRIBED THE TWO ALTERNATIVES FOR MANKIND TO BE STOPPING THE ARMS RACE OR NUCLEAR HOLOCAST. 1983 MUST NOT BE THE YEAR OF THE MISSILE, HE SAID. HE REFERRED TO THE PRAGUE DECLARATION AS A PROGRAM FOR TRUE PROGRESS TOWARD DISARMAMENT AND QUOTED GENERAL SECRETARY HONECKER TO THE EFFECT THAT THE WORLD IS AT A CROSSROADS AND THAT WE MUST CHOOSE "REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION." HE THEN INDIRECTLY CITED THE U.S. FOR PURSUING PLANS FOR A "PROTRACTED NUCLEAR WAR" AS REFLECTED IN A "DEFENSE GUIDELINES FOR 1984 TO 1988." THIS PLAN PROJECTS A NUCLEAR FIRST STRIKE AND THE FULL INTEGRATION OF OUTER SPACE IN THESE "WAR PLANS." HE IMPLIED THAT VP BUSH SAID IN 1981 "ONE HAS TO HAVE A WEAPONS POTENTIAL WHICH INFLICTS MORE DAMAGE ON THE OTHER SIDE THAN THEY CAN DO TO US. THAT EXACTLY IS THE WAY TO VICTORY IN A NUCLEAR WAR." HERDER SUPPORTED THE G-21 APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND TOUTED THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSED TREATY ON RENUNCIATION OF MILITARY FORCE AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS. HE SAID INF DEPLOYMENT WOULD CHANGE THE TACTICAL SITUATION AND WOULD REQUIRE A RESPONSE. HE CITED "OVER 6000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS DEPLOYED TO THE WEST OF OUR BORDERS" AT PRESENT AND ASKED WHAT IS THE REFERENCE TO A MONOPOLY? THE GDR HAS REPLIED TO SWEDEN THAT IT WILL MAKE ITS ENTIRE TERRITORY
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A NWFZ IF RECIPROCATED ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. A NUCLEAR TEST BAN (NTB) SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED ON THE BASIS OF THE USSR DRAFT TREATY AND NOT THE U.S. INSISTANCE ON DISCUSSIONS OF VERIFICATION IN THE HOPES OF FINDING ONE SOME DAY "WHICH WOULD SUIT THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES." HE CITED A 12/17/82 ARTICLE IN THE NYT BY FORMER ACDA DIRECTOR RALPH EARLE THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION "HAS MADE CLEAR ITS INTENTION THAT IT WANTS TO CONTINUE TESTING" AND "THAT ITS REAL CONCERN APPEARS TO BE THAT A CTB WOULD PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING OF NEW WEAPONS..." HERDER SUPPORTED A FREEZE TO LIMIT MODERNIZATION AND OPPOSED THE NEUTRON BOMB ON THE BASIS THAT IT WOULD MAKE NUCLEAR WAR

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INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 OIC-02
AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-12 H-01 IO-15 NEA-07 NSC-01
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USIE-00 SP-02 NRC-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 /128 W
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R 091838Z FEB 83
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7565
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
DOE WASHDC
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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N 03 OF 06 GENEVA 01179

"WAGEABLE AND WINNABLE." HE WELCOMED STATEMENTS THAT INDICATED POSSIBLE PROGRESS ON CW NEGOTIATIONS BUT QUESTIONED THEIR SINCERITY IN LIGHT OF NEWS REPORTS OF AN "ADDITIONAL DOLS 150 MILLION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CW IN THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET." ALSO "IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO BRING UP PERMANENTLY NEW VERIFICATION DEMANDS." THE GDR SUPPORTS A REALISTIC VERIFICATION SYSTEM WHICH INCLUDES NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROCEDURES INCLUDING ON-SITE INSPECTION, HE SAID. LASTLY HE MENTIONED PROPOSALS FOR A CENTRAL EUROPEAN CHEMICAL-
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01179 03 OF 06 091928Z

WEAPON-FREE ZONE AND AGAIN CITED THE "DEFENSE GUIDELINES" DOCUMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT "OUTER SPACE OPERATIONS ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO OUR (U.S.) MILITARY CAPABILITIES. WE MUST MAKE SURE THAT TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS DO NOT BLOCK OPPORTUNITIES TO DEVELOP SUCH CAPABILITIES."

6. AUSTRALIA: AUSTRALIAN AMB SADLIER EXPRESSED HIS HOPES FOR SUCCESS IN THE INF NEGOTIATIONS WHICH, ALTHOUGH THEIR RAISON D'ETRE IS IN EUROPE, HE NOTED, WILL HAVE A BEARING ON THE WHOLE DISARMAMENT AGENDA. NOTING VARIOUS FACTORS WHICH HAVE SET BACK THE CAUSE OF DISARMAMENT BY SHAKING INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE--ACTIONS WHICH HAVE CHALLENGED PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER, OF

HUMAN RIGHTS, OF THE RULE OF LAW AND OF INTERNATIONAL TREATY COMMITMENTS, HE URGED THAT CONFIDENCE BE ESTABLISHED. HE CALLED ON DELEGATIONS TO ADOPT "DIFFERENT, MORE IMAGINATIVE ATTITUDES," AND TO GET AWAY FROM RHETORICAL REFERENCES TO "LACK OF POLITICAL WILL" OR THE DEPLOYMENT OF "SMOKESCREENS." THE CD HAS "AT LAST," HE SAID, "BEGUN TO FACE UP TO THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF VERIFICATION, WHICH IS CENTRAL TO DISARMAMENT" AND THERE CAN BE NO MORE DISARMAMENT TREATIES WITHOUT IT. HE REITERATED AUSTRALIA'S LONG-STANDING SUPPORT FOR A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY, AND SUPPORTED THE CONTINUATION OF THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN WORKING GROUP UNDER ITS OLD MANDATE, AS VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE ISSUES REQUIRE MORE ATTENTION THAN HAS SO FAR BEEN GIVEN TO THEM. PRAISING THE WORK OF THE GROUP OF SCIENTIFIC EXPETS (GSE), HE CALLED ON THE CD TO ENCOURAGE RATHER THAN DSCOURAGE THEIR WORK, AND NOTED THAT AUSTRALIA HAS OFFERED TO GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION TO ANY PROPOSAL TO SITUATE AN INTERNATIONAL DATA CENTER ON ITS TERRITORY. ON CHEMICAL
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WEAPONS, HE WELCOMED THE DETAILED IDEAS TO BE SUBMTTED BY THE U.S. AND URGED THAT THE CW WORKING GROUP CONTINUE UNDER A NEW CHAIRMAN WITHOUT A HIATUS. KEY PROBLEMS RELATED TO VERIFICATION AND TO SCOPE OF A CW BAN REMAIN. SUCH A BAN SHOULD INCLUDE A BAN ON THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, HE SAID, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE AMBIGUITIES REMAIN AS TO THE EXISTING PROHIBITION ON USE, AND "THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS REPORTEDLY CONTINUES." AS TO VERIFICATION, WHILE NATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS CAN SIMPLIFY THE TASK, HE SAID, THEY CAN NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR VERIFICATION MEASURES OF INTERNATIONAL SCOPE. AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM MUST PROVIDE FOR A MEASURE OF ON-SITE INSPECTION UNDER INTERNATIONAL

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01179 04 OF 06 092001Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 OIC-02
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ARA-16 NSAE-00 L-03 PM-09 PA-02 SAL-01 OES-09
USIE-00 SP-02 NRC-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 /128 W
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R 091838Z FEB 83 ZFF
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7566
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
DOE WASHDC
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 06 GENEVA 01179

AUSPICES. HE URGED "A NEW SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION"
IN THE CD LEST THE GOOD WORK ALREADY DONE BE FRUSTRATED
BY ACTIONS SUCH AS THOSE OF ONE DELEGATION (USSR)
WHO PREVENTED CONSENSUS ON THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS

EXPERTS REPORT, WITHOUT OFFERING AN EXPLANATION. THE WORK OF THE GSE ALSO, HE NOTED, HAS BEEN RECENTLY QUESTIONED (USSR). HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT CONSENSUS HAS NOT BEEN REACHED ON THE CHAIRMANSHIPS FOR SUBSIDIARY BODIES, DESPITE THE EXISTENCE OF UNDERSTANDINGS, AND INSISTED THAT THE CD GET ON WITH ITS WORK.
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7. PRC: THE NEW PRC AMB LI NOTED THAT NO SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS ON ANY IMPORTANT ITEM HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE FOUR YEARS SINCE THE CD WAS ESTABLISHED. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS SITUATION TO SUPERPOWER RIVALRY, ASSERTING THAT THIS RIVALRY COUPLED WITH THE ECONOMIC RECESSION HAVE RESULTED IN THE INTENSIFICATION OF ALL THE BASIC CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD. THE GRAVE MILITARY SITUATION IN EUROPE, THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN AND KAMPUCHEA, THE TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE STORMY SITUATION IN AFRICA, HE ASSERTED, ARE RELATED TO THE "SUPERPOWER RIVALRY FOR WORLD DOMINATION." BOTH SIDES, HE SAID, "ARE ENGAGED IN A CONTEST FOR MILITARY SUPERIORITY UNDER THE PRETEXT OF MAINTAINING A BALANCE." ONE SIDE HAS VASTLY INCREASED ITS DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, WHILE THE OTHER HAS STATED THAT IT WILL NEVER ALLOW THE OTHER SIDE TO GAIN SUPERIORITY, AND WILL TAKE STEPS TO ASSURE THAT IT DOES NOT. HE CALLED ON THESE COUNTRIES TO SHOULDER THEIR SPECIAL DISARMAMENT RESPONSIBILITIES BY TAKING THE LEAD IN SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCING THEIR WEAPONS. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE START AND INF TALKS WILL TAKE A SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE AND TAKE A STEP TOWARD CONVERTING "GUNS INTO BUTTER." IN AN INDIRECT REFERENCE HE CALLED INTO QUESTION THE POSITION OF THE USSR AT THE INF TALKS, BY NOTING THAT SUCH AGREEMENTS, SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE THE INTERESTS OF THIRD PARTIES, AND THE WEAPONS SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION SHOULD BE ELIMINATED, NOT JUST TRANSFERRED TO ANOTHER REGION WHERE THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO BE HARMFUL TO WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY.

AMB LI SAID EVEN IF THE SUPERPOWERS REDUCED THEIR
UNCLASSIFIED

ARSENALS BY 50 PERCENT THEIR SECURITY WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED, AND THEY DON'T DENY THIS POINT. STATING THAT CALLS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN AND FOR A CUT-OFF IN THE PRODUCTION OF FISSIONABLE MATERAILS WERE

JUSTIFIED, HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THEY (I.E. THE SUPER-POWERS ONLY) WILL HEED THESE CALLS. "CHINA IS WILLING TO COMMIT ITSELF TO NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT," HE SAID, NOTING THAT CHINA HAS ONLY A SMALL ARSENAL FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES, DESIGNED TO BREAK THE SUPERPOWER MONOPOLY AND TO ELIMINATE NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL. HE REITERATED CHINA'S PEDGE NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FIRST, AND NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, AND RENEWED THE PROPOSAL MADE BY HIS COUNTRY AT SSOD II THAT

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	OIC-02
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	ARA-16	NSAE-00	L-03	PM-09	PA-02	SAL-01	OES-09
	USIE-00	SP-02	NRC-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	/128 W	

R 091838Z FEB 83 ZFF
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7567
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
DOE WASHDC
USNMR SHAPE
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UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 06 GENEVA 01179

IF THE SUPERPOWERS TAKE THE LEAD IN REDUCING THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS BY 50 PERCENT, "CHINA WOULD BE PREPARED TO ASSUME OBLIGATIONS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS TO REDUCE THEIR OWN ARSENALS BY RATIONAL RATIOS TO THE POINT OF DESTRUCTION." CHINA SUPPORTS A ROLE FOR THE CD IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, HE SAID, AND TO THIS END, IT SUPPORTS THE ESTABLISH-MENT OF AN AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IN THE CD. ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS, HE NOTED THAT THERE WERE STILL WIDE DIVERGENCIES RELATED TO VERIFICATION AND
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01179 05 OF 06 091956Z

SCOPE OF A BAN. ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS INTERNATIONAL VERIFICATION AND ON-SITE INSPECTION, HE SAID, A MAJOR POWER WITH CHEMICAL WEAPONS (USSR) REMAINS AT A STANDSTILL. THIS IS OF CONCERN TO CHINA, AND HE EXPRESSED HOPES THAT THE CD WILL SPEED UP ITS NEGOTIATIONS AND ELABORATIONS THIS SESSION WITH A VIEW TO ELIMINATING THESE SAVAGE AND DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS. HE SAID THAT CHINA WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS GOAL.

THE SUPERPOWERS, AMB LI ASSERTED, HAVE EXTENDED THEIR ARMS RACE INTO OUTER SPACE -- ASAT WEAPONS ARE ALREADY BEING MANUFACTURED, RESEARCH ON PARTICLE BEAM AND LASER WEAPONS HAS INTENSIFIED, AND MILITARY ACTION IN OUTER SPACE HAS INTENSIFIED. "SPACE WARS," HE SAID, "ARE NO LONGER A FIGMENT OF SCIENCE FICTION." AMB LI REITERATED CHINA'S POSITION THAT OUTER SPACE SHOULD BE USED SOLELY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. HE SUPPORTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CD WORKING GROUP TO DEVELOP AN

"INTERNATIONAL LEGAL INSTRUMENT" BUT NOTED IN THIS REGARD THAT THE ISSUE TRULY IS EXTREMELY COMPLICATED. HE SAID THAT CHINA SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF DISARMAMENT. FROM EXPERIENCE, HE NOTED, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE NON-ALIGNED DURING CPD NEGOTIATIONS HAD MADE A NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS, BUT THAT "COUNTRIES WITH THE LARGEST ARSENALS WERE TRYING BY EVERY MEANS TO OBSTRUCT AGREEMENT." HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT DURING THE BREAK SINCE SSOD II THESE COUNTRIES HAD ENGAGED IN REFLECTION, AND HAD COME BACK TO THE CD WITH NEW IDEAS TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK.

8. CUBA: AMB SOLA VILA OF CUBA IN CADENCE WITH AN EARLIER SPEECH BY GDR AMB HERDER, TOOK THE U.S. TO TASK

FOR INTERNATIONAL ILLS RANGING FROM THE WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION TO THE MAINTENANCE OF ILLEGAL MILITARY BASES ON FOREIGN LANDS AND CONTINUED RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL.

IN HIS RATHER TYPICAL PARTY LINE ATTACK, HE DESCRIBED VICE PRESIDENT BUSH'S EUROPEAN MISSION AS A PUBLICITY STUNT LIKELY TO IMPRESS MADISON AVE BUT OF LITTLE OR NO USE IN FORGING WORLD PEACE. HE FURTHER DESCRIBED IT AS SIMPLY A DEVICE TO RATIFY THE ZERO OPTION, WHICH WAS NEITHER AN OPTION NOR ZERO.

WITH REGARD TO THE INF AND START TALKS, AMB SOLA VILA

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 GENEVA 01179 06 OF 06 091957Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	OIC-02	
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	ARA-16	NSAE-00	L-03	PM-09	PA-02	SAL-01	OES-09	
	USIE-00	SP-02	NRC-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	/128 W		

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R 091838Z FEB 83 ZFF
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7568
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
DOE WASHDC
USNMR SHAPE
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UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 06 GENEVA 01179

MERELY INDICATED THAT 42 MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES PROVOKED THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, YET THE U.S. IS NOW WILLING TO INTRODUCE OVER 600 INTO EUROPE.

ON MATTERS OF THE CD ITSELF SOLA VILA SAID THAT CUBA SUPPORTED WORKING GROUPS ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND OUTER SPACE AND CALLED FOR NEW TERMS OF REFERENCE ON THE NTB MANDATE.

9. KENYA: DR. DON NANJIRA, KENYAN REPRESENTATIVE TO
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 GENEVA 01179 06 OF 06 091957Z

THE CD, USED THE PLENARY SESSION AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO INTRODUCE INTO THE RECORD THE G-21 WORKING PAPER ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR (CD/341). IN A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE PAPER'S CONTENT DR. NANJIRA MADE A SOMEWHAT EMOTIONAL APPEAL TO THE CD MEMBERS THAT UNLESS THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES CEASED THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, MUTUAL ANNIHILATION WOULD RESULT. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, SAID DR. NANJIRA, IS ROOTED IN REFRAINING FROM THE THREAT OF USE OF FORCE AND NOT FROM THE CONCEPT OF DETERRENCE. SWAEBE

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00358 01 OF 02 092151Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10
OIC-02 AF-10 CIAE-00 EA-10 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06
NSC-01 ARA-16 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-09
PA-01 SAL-01 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01
PRS-01 /138 W
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R 092145Z FEB 83
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6348
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00358

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/9/89
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, CI
SUBJECT: CHILE IN THE UNHRC

REF: A)USUN 251, B)USUN 350

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. PARA 3 BELOW CONTAINS THE FRENCH TEXT OF A LETTER DATED JUNE 25, 1979 FROM CHILE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR DIEYE TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF CHILE DEMOCRATICO IN NEW YORK, A MR. BARIOS. THE LETTER WAS GIVEN US BY JAIME LAGOS OF THE CHILEAN MISSION WHO DESCRIBES BARIOS AS A MEMBER OF THE CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY. HE DESCRIBES LUIS GUASTAVINO, ANOTHER PERSON ASKED TO ASSIT THE SR IN THE PREPARATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00358 01 OF 02 092151Z

OF HIS REPORT, AS A FORMER COMMUNIST LEADER FROM VALPARAISO WHO REPRESENTED THE COMMUNISTS IN THE CHILEAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE ALLENDE PERIOD. LAGOS TELLS US THAT GUSTAVINO HEADS THE DELEGATION OF CHILE DEMOCRATICO IN GENEVA AND HAS ATTENDED ALL THE MEETINGS OF THE UNGA AND THE UNHRC WHERE HE HAS LOBBIED

ON THE CHILE RESOLUTION. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LETTER, ACCORDING TO LAGOS, IS THAT IT DEMONSTRATES THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE WORK OF THE SR ON CHILE AND CHILEAN RADICALS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILE DEMOCRATICO. WHILE THE LETTER HARDLY REVEALS ANYTHING STARTLING, IT WILL BE USED BY THE GOC AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE SR'S POLITICAL BIAS.

3. TEXT OF THE LETTER FOLLOWS:

CHER MONSIEUR,
COMME J'AI EU L'OCCASION DE VOUS L'INDIQUER LORS DE NOTRE DERNIERE ENTREVUE A NEW YORK, J'AI DECIDE DE TENIR UNE SERIE DE REUNIONS A NEW YORK A COMPTER DU 5 JUILLET PROCHAIN ET CE JUSQU'A EPUISEMENT DE MON ORDRE DU JOUR, CE QUI, EN TOUT ETAT DE CAUSE NE SAURAIT DEPASSER LE 13 JUILLET 1979.

POUR ME PERMETTRE DE MENER A BIEN CETTER REUNION, JE VOUS SERAIS PARTICULIEREMENT RECONNAISSANT DES DISPOSITIONS QUE VOUS VOUDREZ BIEN PRENDRE POUR QU'IL ME SOIT POSSIBLE D'ENENDRE DES TEMOINS RECEMMENT REVENUS DU CHILI ET SUSCEPTIBLES DE M'INFORMER LE PLUS COMPLETEMENT, SUR LA SITUATION ACTUELLE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME DANS CE PAYS.

JE METTRAI EN PARTICULIER L'ACCENT SUR LES POINTS
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 00358 01 OF 02 092151Z

SUIVANTS:

SITUATION ACTUELLE, ASPECTS CONSTITUTIONNELS ET JURIDIQUES RELATIFS AUX DROITS DE L'HOMME; ACTIVITES DES ORGANES DE SECURITE; POUVOIR JUDICAIRE; PROCESSUS D'ELABORATION ET D'ADOPTION DE LA NOUVELLE CONSTITUTION; LOI ANTITERRORISTE; DROIT A LA VIE, A LA LIBERTE ET A LA SECURITE DE LA PERSONNE; ARRESTATIONS; MAUVAIS TRAITEMENTS ET TORTURES; LIEUX DE DETENTION; EXIL; RETOUR AU PAYS; EXPULSIONS; DECHEANCE DE LA NATIONALITE; LIBERTE D'EXPRESSION ET D'INFORMATION; LIBERTE INTELLECTUELLE ET UNIVERSITAIRE; LIBERTE S'ASSOCIATION ET DROIT DE REUNION; DROITS ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIAUX; CHOMAGE; LEGISLATION SOCIALE RECENTE; DROITS SYNDICAUX; SITUATION DES POPULATIONS AUTOCHTONES.

JE VOUS INVITE EN CONSEQUENCE A PRENDRE CONTACT AVEC LA DIVISION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME A NEW YORK POUR PROPOSER LA LISTE DES TEMIONS QUI VOUS PARAISSENT LES

PLUS INTERESSANTS.

PAR AILLUERS, JE VOUS REMERCIE DE TOUTES INFORMATIONS QU'IL VOUS SERA POSSIBLE DE ME FAIRE PARVENIR POUR QUE JE PUISSE AVANCER DANS L'EXECUTION DE MON MANDAT.

J'ENVOIE CE JOUR LA MEME LETTRE A M. LUIS GUASTAVINO POUR LUI DEMANDER DE PARTICIPER LUI AUSSI A LA PREPARATION DES REUNIONS DE NEW YORK.

VEUILLEZ AGREER, CHER MONSIEUR, L'ASSURANCE DE MES MEILLEURS SENTIMENTS.

4. REGARDING THE COMMISSION ON EXHILES, WHICH FEATURED SO PROMINENTLY IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH PACHECO (REFTELS), LAGOS MADE THE INTERESTING OBSERVATION THAT GOC MIGHT WELL HAVE ACCEPTED THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 00358 01 OF 02 092151Z

INCLUDING THE RETURN TO CHILE OF MANY PROMINENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE UNFORTUNATE

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00358 02 OF 02 092151Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10
	OIC-02	AF-10	CIAE-00	EA-10	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06
	NSC-01	ARA-16	NSAE-00	HA-08	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09
	PA-01	SAL-01	RP-10	ACDA-12	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01
	PRS-01	/138 W					

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R 092145Z FEB 83
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6349
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00358

EVENTS AT THE UNGA LAST DECEMBER. THIS SEEMS PLAUSIBLE TO US, GIVEN THE STRENGTH OF PINOCHET'S REACTION TO THOSE EVENTS AND THE FACT THAT THE COMMISSION'S REPORT WAS PRESENTED IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER. IF CORRECT, THIS IS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE NEGATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS CONSEQUENCES OF THE PUNITIVE APPROACH TO CHILE IN THE UN. SHERMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

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Case Number: s199900030

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00350 01 OF 02 090018Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 OIC-02
CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08
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RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 SNP-01 SPRS-01 /089 W
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O 090012Z FEB 83
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6339
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00350

TEGUCIGALPA AND/OR SAN SALVADOR PLEASE PASS AMB. KIRKPATRICK

SANTIAGO PLEASE PASS AMB. SORZANO

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/8/89
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, CI
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MAXIMO PACHECO OF CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

REF: USUN 0251

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: MAXIMO PACHECO, THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, VISITED USUN A SECOND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00350 01 OF 02 090018Z

TIME ON TUESDAY, FEB. 8, TO MEET WITH COUNSELOR GERSHMAN PRIOR TO HIS (PACHECO'S) DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON AND SANTIAGO. HE MADE A LAST PITCH FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE U.S. VOTE ON THE CHILE RESOLUTION AT THE UNHRC. GERSHMAN REITERATED THAT THE RESOLUTION WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED TO ESTABLISH EQUITABLE PROCEDURES BEFORE

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE U.S. COULD SUPPORT IT. END SUMMARY.

3. PACHECO, ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY FELICE GAER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND TRANSLATOR MARTIN POBLETE (THE SOCIALIST TABORGA DID NOT ATTEND THIS MEETING), BEGAN BY SAYING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING NOT IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION BUT IN MORE POLITICAL TERMS. THE VOTES AT THE UNHRC FOR RENEWING THE MANDATE ON CHILE ARE ASSURED, HE SAID, BUT HE WAS CONCERNED THAT THE SUCCESS WAS DUE TO SOVIET BLOC SUPPORT. HE STRESSED THAT HE ADMIRED THE U.S. AS THE WORLD'S GREATEST DEMOCRACY AND FEARED THAT WE WOULD BE HANDING THE BANNER OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES BY JOINING WITH NON-DEMOCRATIC LATIN COUNTRIES IN OPPOSING THE RESOLUTION ON CHILE. SUCH A U.S. VOTE, HE SAID, WOULD BE SEEN AS A VOTE FOR PINOCHET, AT A MOMENT WHEN 80 PERCENT OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE OPPOSE PINOCHET AND THE GOVERNMENT FINDS ITSELF IN A DEEPENING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS. THE RESIGNATION YESTERDAY OF THE CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTER WAS A SIGN OF THIS CRISIS, HE SAID, AND CAME ABOUT, IN FACT, BECAUSE HE WAS HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ADVERSE RESULT AT THE UNGA. CLAIMING TO REPRESENT THE VAST MAJORITY OF CHILEANS, PACHECO SAID THAT A NEGATIVE U.S. VOTE "WILL HURT US," PARTICULARLY SINCE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE HAS NOT IMPROVED. HE REPEATED HIS VIEW THAT THE EXILE COMMISSION HAD BEEN A MOCKERY AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00350 01 OF 02 090018Z

REVEALED THAT THE GOC WAS NOT SERIOUS ABOUT IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

4. GERSHMAN REPLIED BY SAYING THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT FEEL COMPELLED TO JOIN WITH TOTALITARIANS IN SUPPORTING AN UNBALANCED RESOLUTION ON CHILE. WE HAVE INDICATED TO MANY PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE CHILEAN REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK, THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A GENUINE HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION ON CHILE THAT ESTABLISHED FAIR AND EQUITABLE PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH THE SITUATION. SUCH A RESOLUTION WOULD, WE THINK ELICIT THE COOPERATION OF THE GOC AND WOULD THUS HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT IN CHILE, BUT IT IS OPPOSED BY MEXICO, AS WELL AS CUBA AND THE REST OF THE SOVIET BLOC. THE QUESTION IS HOW TO BREAK THE CURRENT DEADLOCK AND GET A CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION. IF THE U.S. WENT ALONG WITH THE STANDARD TEXT, THERE WOULD BE NO INCENTIVE TO IMPROVE THE RESOLUTION ALONG THE LINES WE HAVE DESCRIBED. IT WOULD JUST BE A RHETORICAL EXERCISE, OF NO REDEEMING VALUE FROM A HUMAN RIGHTS POINT

OF VIEW. OUR DESIRE IS TO ENHANCE HUMAN RIGHTS, NOT TO ADOPT FASHIONABLE POSITIONS THAT ENTAIL COMPROMISE ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE. WE WOULD NOT GANG UP WITH TOTALITARIANS AGAINST CHILE.

5. PACHECO REPLIED BY SAYING THAT "THEORETICALLY YOU ARE RIGHT, BUT IN THE SPECIFIC CASE OF CHILE YOU ARE WRONG." THE ONLY COUNTRY CHILE FEARS, HE SAID, IS THE U.S. DESPITE THE CURRENT U.S. STANCE TOWARD CHILE, THE SITUATION HAS NOT CHANGED. THE TRAGEDY OF CHILE, HE SAID, IS THAT ONE MAN IS IN CHARGE, AN AUTOCRAT WHO HAS NO MIND FOR CONSENSUS AND WON'T WORK TOWARDS ONE. THERE IS NO ROOM FOR A DEMOCRATIC OPENING NOW IN CHILE ,HE SAID. THE ONLY WAY TO BE EFFECTIVE IS TO FORCE PINOCHET TO CHANGE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH. HE IS NOT

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00350 02 OF 02 090020Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	SS-10	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	DODE-00	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-08
	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	PC-01	OMB-01	INRE-00
	RP-10	USIE-00	SP-02	SR-06	SNP-01	SPRS-01	/089 W

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O 090012Z FEB 83
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6340
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00350

TEGUCIGALPA AND/OR SAN SALVADOR PLEASE PASS AMB. KIRKPATRICK

SANTIAGO PLEASE PASS AMB. SORZANO

SPEAKING OF THE FALL OF PINOCHET, BUT RATHER AN EFFORT TO FORCE AN OPENING, A TRANSITION TOWARD GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. HE OF COURSE FELT THAT CHILEANS MUST SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS ,BUT THE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT

IS SO STRONG THAT OUTSIDE HELP IS NEEDED. HE SUGGESTED THAT WE CONSULT WITH SOMEONE WE BOTH TRUST -- AMB. LANDAU, A MAN OF DEMOCRATIC INTEGRITY WHO HAS LIVED MANY YEARS IN CHILE AND UNDERSTANDS THE SITUATION. STRESSING THE POINT OF FAMILIARITY WITH THE SITUATION IN CHILE , HE SAID THAT NEITHER HIS INTERLOCUTOR, GERSHMAN ,NOR AMB. KIRKPATRICK HAD LIVED IN CHILE ,WHILE LANDAU HAS.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 00350 02 OF 02 090020Z

6. IN REPLY, GFRSHMAN SAID THAT PACHECO, FOR HIS PART, DID NOT WORK AT THE U.N. AND WAS NOT FAMILIAR WITH IT. IT WAS NOT A PLACE WHERE ONE COULD EASILY ACCOMPLISH CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSES. IT WAS, IN FACT, A PLACE WHERE TOTALITARIANS WERE FREQUENTLY ABLE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND FURTHER THEIR OWN DESTRUCTIVE PURPOSES. WE REGRET THAT, BUT THAT IS THE REALITY. IN THAT RESPECT, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN BILATERAL U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHILE AND U.S. VOTES AT THE UNITED NATIONS. BILATERALLY, WE HAVE MADE VERY CLEAR TO THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT OUR CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT IN THE U.N. OTHER THINGS ARE AT STAKE AS WELL. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STRESSED OUR OPPOSITION TO THE DOUBLE STANDARD ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE U.N. AS AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK STATED AT THE UNGA, WE STAND READY TO WORK WITH THE U.N. ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IF THE U.N. IS PREPARED TO ACT IN A SERIOUS AND EVENHANDED FASHION. BUT WE ARE FAR FROM THAT POINT AND WE WILL NOT MOVE CLOSER TO IT BY FOLLOWING THE COURSE PACHECO HAS PROPOSED. HAVING INDICATED OUR READINESS TO SUPPORT A MODERATE RESOLUTION ON CHILE, WE WILL WORK FOR THAT OBJECTIVE. WE FEEL THERE IS A POTENTIAL MAJORITY FOR THAT POSITION IN THE U.N. IT IS A POSITION THAT PACHECO HIMSELF SHOULD SUPPORT SINCE IT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS PICTURE IN CHILE. WE HAVE TALKED WITH THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND WITH SENEGAL, BUT WE STILL HAVE THE MEXICANS TO DEAL WITH. MEXICO, WHICH WILL BE HARD TO MOVE ON THE QUESTION, IS HARDLY THE EPITOMOF A DEMOCRATIC STATE AND IS WORKING HAND-IN-GLOVE WITH TOTALITARIAN CUBA. BUT WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS AND WE WOULD HOPE THEY WOULD RECEIVE THE SUPPORT OF SERIOUS PEOPLE.

7. PACHECO SAID THAT HE SHARED OUR VIEW OF THE MEXICANS
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PAGE 03 USUN N 00350 02 OF 02 090020Z

AND APPRECIATED OUR SINCERITY. INDEED, HE FELT THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY FRANK AND WORTHWHILE AND HOPED THAT THEY WILL BE CONTINUED. GERSHMAN REASSURED HIM THAT WE WILL NOT LET UP IN OUR EFFORTS AND HOPED THAT THEY WOULD EVENTUALLY BEAR FRUIT. WITH THAT, PACHECO RUSHED OFF TO CATCH HIS TRAIN FOR WASHINGTON.

8. AN INTERESTING FOOTNOTE TO THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH PACHECO IS A COMMENT FELICE GAER MADE IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH GERSHMAN. WHEN SHE WAS IN HILE OVER THE SUMMER, SHE SAID, SHE VISITED THE OFFICE OF SOLIDARITY, THE CHURCH-RELATED HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION. SHE SAID THAT SHE WAS AMAZED TO SEE A TELEX MACHINE IN SOLIDARITY'S OFFICES. THAT, GERSHMAN SAID, IS ABOUT ALL ONE NEEDS TO SAY ABOUT THE MUCH-MALIGNED DISTINCTION BETWEEN AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN STATES ,SINCE ONE COULD HARDLY EXPECT TO FIND A SOLIDARITY-TYPE ORGANIZATION , WITH OR WITHOUT A TELEX MACHINE, IN CUBA OR THE SOVIET UNION. ASKED WHETHER THE PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY WERE BRIGHTER IN CHILE OR CUBA, GAER SAID THAT CLEARLY THE PROSPECTS WERE BRIGHTER IN CHILE. THAT REALITY, GERSHMAN SAID ,SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED WHEN ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPING A MEANINGFUL HUMAN RIGHTS STRATEGY TOWARD CHILE OR IN ARRIVING AT A MORALLY SERIOUS APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS WORLDWIDE. GAER DID NOT DISAGREE.
SHERMAN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 7, 1983

Dear Senator Cranston:

Thank you for your letter of January 14 concerning the welfare and whereabouts of Ms. Emma Konig, a citizen of Argentina, on behalf of your constituents,

[redacted] have sought information on behalf of Ms. Konig since at least 1978. Since that date the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires has tried to obtain information regarding Ms. Konig, but without success. While Ms. Konig may be among the decreasing number of prisoners held under state of siege powers by the Government, it is also possible that Ms. Konig is one of the many who have disappeared in Argentina and about whose whereabouts we have been unable to obtain information. Accounting for the disappeared is one of the most difficult human rights problems facing the Argentine Government and one which we hope the Argentines will resolve.

We will again ask our Embassy to remain alert to your concern about Ms. Emma Konig and to respond to you in the event that there is new information.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): b1
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Alan Cranston,
United States Senate.

cc: American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Drafted:ARA/SC:RWalser:mas
1-28-83 X29166 #83-0214
(Wang #2287S) #0071229

Clearances:ARA/SC:KBHoward
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBartlett

UNCLASSIFIED 02-10-83 KH022A

P830628-2326

Justice
and Peace Office

Maryknoll Fathers & Brothers
Maryknoll, New York 10545
(914) 941-7590

8305084

February 10, 1983

R

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

The Honorable George Schultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

When the United Nations Human Rights Commission meets for its 39th session in Geneva this month, the Commission will vote on a resolution regarding the renewal of the mandate for the Special Rapporteur on Chile as requested by the General Assembly. I write to ask for your support in favor of retaining the Special Rapporteur.

The severe political and economic crisis in Chile has been accompanied by increased repression on the part of the Chilean government. The elimination of the mandate for the Special Rapporteur would certainly make government repression easier -- kidnapping, torture, illegal imprisonment, disappearances. The presence of the Special Rapporteur is away of helping the Chilean people in their difficult task of preserving human rights.

It is urgent that international action takes place to require the renewal of the mandate. I trust that in this matter you will be on the side of justice.

Sincerely,

Daniel P. Driscoll M.M.

Rev. Daniel P. Driscoll, M.M.
Director

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Justice and
Peace Office
The Maryknoll Fathers
Maryknoll, New York 10545

The Honorable George Schultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00808 101953Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSC-01 NSAE-00 SY-06 PM-09 PA-01 MCT-02 SAL-01
SYE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 /060 W
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P 101910Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4898
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN//INTAFF

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N TI A L SANTIAGO 0808

EO 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS CI
SUBJECT: MIRISTA KILLED IN SHOOTOUT WITH SECURITY FORCES

1.(U) CHILEAN SECURITY FORCES KILLED FERNANDO EUGENIO IRIBARREN GONZALEZ, AN ALLEGED LEADER OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT(MIR), IN A CONFRONTATION AT MANUEL RODRIGUEZ PLAZA IN DOWNTOWN SANTIAGO ON FEBRUARY 7.

2.(U) ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE CENTER(CNI) INTERCEPTED THE ALLEGED TERRORIST, WHO LIVED AT 333 CLUB HIPICO ST., APARTMENT C, AS HE WAS WALKING FROM HIS HOME AT APPROXIMATELY 11:00 AM. OFFICIAL VERSIONS OF THE INCIDENT INDICATE THAT IRIBARREN RAN WHEN HE SPOTTED THE POLICE, TAKING COVER BEHIND A DOOR ON ABDON CIFUENTES STREET. FROM THERE, HE ALLEGEDLY FIRED FOUR SHOTS AND ATTEMPTED TO HURL A GRENADE AT SECURITY PERSONNEL BEFORE HE WAS FATALLY WOUNDED BY CROSS FIRE. POLICE REPORTED FINDING A FRUDULENT IDENTITY CARD, A HOMEMADE GRENADE, A .32 CALIBRE SMITH WESSON REVOLVER, AND TWENTY-FIVE BULLETS IN HIS POSSESSION. THEY ESTABLISHED THAT HE HAD RENTED THE APARTMENT ON CLUB HIPICO
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PAGE 02 SANTIA 00808 101953Z

STREET SINCE LAST OCTOBER. IN A SEARCH OF THE DWELLING, THEY DISCOVERED A LARGE CACHE OF WEAPONS, INCLUDING SEVERAL EXPLOSIVES AND A GRENADE LAUNCHER SIMILAR TO ONES ALLEGEDLY USED IN THE ASSASSINATION OF THREE DETECTIVES IN 1981 AND IN AN ATTACK ON OME OF THE CONSUL OF EL SALVADOR IN 1982. THEY ALSO REPORTED FINDING MAPS AND BLUEPRINTS OF SANTIAGO, BOOKLETS ON GUERRILLA

WARFARE,A SECOND FRAUDULENT IDENTITY CARD, A FRAUDULENT PASSPORT, MEDICAL AND SURGICAL IMPLEMENTS, AND PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT.

3.(U) CNI HAS IDENTIFIED IRIBARREN AS A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND MILITARY APPARATUS OF THE MIR. OFFICIAL SOURCES CLAIM THAT HE PARTICIPATED IN AT LEAST THIRTEEN TERRORIST INCIDENTS SINCE 1981. THESE INCLUDE THE ATTEMPT ON THE LIEFE OF SUPREME COURT JUSTICE ISRAEL BORGUEZ IN SEPTEMBER 1981; THE ASSASSINATION OF THREE POLICE FUNCTIONARIES IN NOVEMBER 1981; AND THE ATTACK ON THE RESIDENCE OF THE SALVADORIAN CONSUL IN MARCH 1982. IRIBARREN IS ALSO IMPLICATED IN A NUMBER OF BOMBINGS AND HOLDUPS THAT OCCURRED IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS. TO DATE, OFFICIAL SOURCES HAVE NOT RELEASED INFORMATION ON HIS BACKGROUND PRIOR TO 1981.

4.(C) COMMENT: THIS IS THE SECOND INCIDENT IN LESS THAN FOUR MONTHS IN WHICH A MEMBER OF THE MIR WAS KILLED IN A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION WITH SECURITY FORCES. ON NOVEMBER 28, 1982, DAGOBERTO CORTEZ GUAJARDO, IDENTIFIED AS A LONG-STANDING MEMBER OF THE MIR, WAS KILLED BY POLICE IN WHAT THE PRESS DESCRIBED AS A SHOOTOUT(82 SANTIAGO 7235). IN BOTH CASES, THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE SUBJECTS' MIR BACKGROUNDS AND THE SEARCH OF THEIR DWELLINGS INDICATE THAT POLICE WERE CLOSING IN ON THEM. IN IRIBARREN'S CASE, THIS IS CORROBORATED BY REPORTS OF NEIGHBORS WHO RECALL SEEING PERSONS THEY NOW BELIEVE TO BE CNI PERSONNEL SURVEILLING THE AREA FOR SEVERAL
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00808 101953Z

DAYS PRECEDING THE SHOOTING. THE COINCIDENCE OF TWO SIMILAR SHOOTINGS IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY OF A POLICE TRAIL ON THE MIR LEADERSHIP, A SUBJECT DISCUSSED IN THE CABLE ON CORTEZ' DEATH. ANTI-GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDISTS MAY ATTEMPT TO PORTRAY IRIBARREN'S DEATH TO BE A STAGED KILLING R THAN A REAL CONFRONTATION WITH POLICEA, AS HAS BEEN DONE REGARDING EARLIER DEATHS IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT HIS DEATH WAS NOT INTENTIONAL, SINCE HE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY VIEWED AS AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF INFORMATION. FURTHERMORE, SINCE THE SHOOTING OCCURRED IN DAYLIGHT IN A HEAVILY POPULATED AREA, IT APPEARS MOST LIKELY THAT IRIBARREN SPOTTED THE POLICE SURVEILLANCE AND ATTEMPTED TO GET AWAY, SETTING OFF THE CHASE THAT ENDED WITH HIS DEATH. THEBERGE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 10, 1983

Dear Mr. Moorhead:

Thank you for your letter of January 21 on behalf of your constituent, ( ) concerning the human rights situation in Argentina, and in particular the cases of Sergio Ruben Pra, Pablo Bohoslavsky, and Jose Erlich.

Over the past few years considerable progress has been made in the release of prisoners being detained by power of the National Executive, the so-called PEN prisoners. This is a special emergency authority under state of siege powers granted to the Executive during the governmental crisis of the 1970s. I am pleased to inform you of the recent parole on November 2, 1982 of Sergio Ruben Pra.

We do not know the current status of Pablo Bohoslavsky or Jose Erlich. Cases of PEN detentions are systematically reviewed by Argentine authorities and we are hopeful that prisoners will continue to be released. The current number of PEN detainees is 243 and new releases are occurring monthly. We will ask our Embassy in Buenos Aires to investigate the status of these cases and to inform you of any new information on their cases.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Carlos J. Moorhead,
House of Representatives.

cc: American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Drafted:ARA/SC:MAShea:mas
2-2-83 X29166 #83-0394
(Wang #2358S) #0150092

Clearances:ARA/SC:RWalser
ARA/SC:RBHoward
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBartlett

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full
Exemption(s)

2-11-83

M0127A mother lo

(Original sent to Wash., DC office.
We will call NYC office about this inquiry).

COMMITTEE FOR CHILEAN INQUIRY

UNCLASSIFIED

1983 FEB 11 AM 10:34

SOL GORELICK
Chairperson

2-7-83

Ruth H. Wilson, Secy.,
415 Grand St., Apt. E.1905,
New York, N.Y. 10002.
Tel. (212) 674-3762

(COPY)

Senator Alfonse D'Amato,
Senate Office Bldg.,
Wash., D.C. 20510.

RE: Fermin Montes Garcia &
Alejandro Mario Diaz,
Chilean prisoners.

Dear Senator D'Amato:

We write to ask your intervention in behalf of the above-named "Prisoners of conscience" in Chile: a social worker, Alejandro Mario Diaz imprisoned since 4-26-83, and a former social work student, Fermin Montes Garcia, imprisoned for over two years.

As neither the U.S. State Dept. nor the Chilean Minister of Interior have responded to our messages, we ask that you use your good offices to get information about the status of these prisoners and especially to urge their immediate release.

Both young men have been tortured in efforts to extract evidence against them, and Mr. Garcia is in poor health with damaged ankles as a result of this mistreatment. The Chilean government has not been willing to supply medical reports, which should be requested again.

We enclose more information about these two victims of repression in Chile and would also like to talk with you or your aides about what could be done to help them. We will call your New York office after you have received this letter both in Washington and in New York City.

In view of cases of this kind, and the increasing violations of human rights in Chile in 1982, we are urging that the Chilean Junta not be certified for further U.S. aid. Will you too support this position?

Very Truly Yours,
Ruth H. Wilson, Secy.
Sol Gorelick, Chair

rw
Encl.
c/c New York City Office

Cooperating Groups:
American Orthopsychiatric Association
Association of Puerto Rican Social Service Workers
Emergency Committee to Defend Chilean Health Workers
National Ass'n of Social Workers, N.Y.C. Chapter
Physicians Forum
Radical Alliance of Social Service Workers
Social Service Committee, District 1199, National Union of Hospital Workers
Social Service Employees Union, Local 371, AFSCME
Social Service Workers for Chilean Freedom

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Printing donated by SSEU, Local 371, AFSCME, AFL-CIO

UNCLASSIFIED 13 FEB 83 We 014

February 15

-- Three striking Colbun workers -- Luis Rafael Caro Molina, Juan Humberto Conuecar Alvarez, and Lino Contreras Espinoza -- have been formally charged with infraction of the Law on Internal Security. The three were arrested on February 3.

R

-- A judge in Concepcion has ordered the release of four women arrested last week on charges of distributing subversive pamphlets. The four are Clara Emilia Torres Mora, Silvia Jeanette Bastias, Rosa Ximena Hinayado Rosas, and Rosa Cecilia Hinayado Rosas.

-- CNI personnel arrested 25 protesters during a takeover of vacant land in Summar.

-- The Court of Appeals of Santiago rejected a recurso de proteccion filed by attorneys representing Jorge Edwards and the publishers of Persona Non Grata.

-- The Ministry of Interior is considering charging the 25 detained on Summar with infraction of the Law on Internal Security.

-- The wife of Alfredo Iriarte Iriarte, who was relegated to Chanaral on February 8, has lodged complaints with the Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Court, charging that he is still being held in jail. She has also filed an amparo de recurso on his behalf.

-- The prosecutor in the Maria Cecilia Rodriguez case has discovered an outstanding 1979 indictment against her and several other women. Sixty-three other women have been ordered to appear before the court in connection to the 1979 charge.

February 16

-- CNI has identified the extremist killed in a shoot-out with police in Reñaca as Danilo Wilfredo Quezada Capetillo. His companion, who is reportedly in critical condition at Valparaiso's Naval Hospital, has been identified as Pedro Burgos Ibanez. Both were allegedly leaders of the MIR and are implicated in the recent wave of terrorist incidents in the Viña del Mar area. (Santiago 0982)

-- A bomb exploded in La Reina.

-- Jorge Edwards has appealed the decision of the Court of Appeals to reject a recurso de proteccion filed on his behalf.

-- Police arrested 83 (according to La Tercera) or 60 (according to El Mercurio) striking MADECO workers during a demonstration. All of those arrested were released in a matter of hours.

-- Attorneys representing a radio station in Ancud have filed a recurso de proteccion with the Court of Appeals. Employees of the station alledge that an unidentified man was seen surveilling the station last week.

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

Lot 85F 114 UNCLASSIFIED Box 59

-- Seven of the eight persons arrested last week in Ancud for distributing subversive pamphlets have been released unconditionally. The eighth was formally charged with infraction of the Law on Internal Security and has been freed on bail.

February 17

-- President Pinochet has authorized Carlos Podlech to return to Chile. Podlech, who was exiled last December, will reportedly be returning this weekend.

-- The Court of Appeals has acquitted Leopoldo Vargas, who was charged with infraction of the Law on Internal Security.

-- Carabineros frustrated an attempted takeover of vacant municipal sites in La Cisterna by over 100 poor residence of adjoining *poblaciones, including a number of women and children.*

February 18

-- Carabineros arrested three men -- Patricio Lopez Ramirez, Marcelino Colleo Calcomin, and Eduardo Catalan Astridillo -- who were burning tires and distributing subversive pamphlets in downtown Santiago.

-- The Court of Appeals will investigate the case of Joaquin Vicente Abarzua Leon, who was arrested on January 2 on charges of burning tires and throwing "miguelitos" in downtown Santiago. The Court must decide whether to acquit or indict him on charges of violating the Law on Internal Security. A military court has already formally charged Abarzua with infraction of the Arms Control Law.

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FEB 1983

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Dear Senaton Cranston,
I would like you in the name of human rights to find out about the weareabouts of Ana Ester Koldorf who in May of 1976 was arrested in Rosario, Argentina. She was a history teacher who was taken to the Villa Devoto prison. She is an Argentinian Jew. Ana finished her jail sentance but was not freed! Please respond.

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): 1.C
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

DECLASSIFIED
[illegible]

Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 7-22-98
Declassified under EO 12356 (X) in full; ( ) in part;
portions withheld: classified ( ); deliberative ( );
law enforcement ( ); privacy ( ), statutory ( );
not relevant to El Salvador ( ).

UNCLASSIFIED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83CARACA01249

ADP086 [redacted]

PAGE 01 CARACA 01249 01 OF 04 141333Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 DODE-00 IO-15
NSC-01 NSAE-00 PM-09 SP-02 /064,W
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P 141320Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4211
INFO CIA WASHDC
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USINT HAVANA

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 04 CARACAS 01249

DEPARTMENT FOR ENDERS
WHITE HOUSE FOR CLARK
CIA FOR DIRECTOR CASEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (KIRKPATRICK, JEANE), PREL, XK, US, ES, VE
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK'S LUNCH CONVERSATION WITH ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND ARENA LEADERS

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 9 WITH AMBASSADOR [redacted] KIRKPATRICK, ARENA LEADER ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND FIVE OTHER ARENA COHORTS GAVE AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK A FULL DOSE OF THEIR KIND OF MEDICINE. ARENA THEMES REMAIN CONSTANT: THE MILITARY STOLE THE PRESIDENCY FROM THEM LAST APRIL, INCOMPETENT LEADERSHIP IS PROLONGING THE WAR. IN FACT, IT IS LOSING THE WAR. TO WIN THE WAR IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO REACTIVATE THE ECONOMY WHICH WAS DESTROYED BY THE PDC REFORM PROCESS. DEFENSE MINISTER JOSE GUILLERMO GARCIA HAS TO GO. HE IS A

UNCLASSIFIED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83CARACA01249

POLITICIAN NOT A MILITARY LEADER. CORRUPTION IS RAMPANT AND AMONG THE MOST CORRUPT IS GARCIA. WHILE ARENA'S HIGH LEVEL OF PIQUE AT EVERYTHING REMAINS HIGH, CLEARLY THE FOCUS OF THEIR DISLIKE RIGHT NOW IS THE DEFENSE MINISTER. END SUMMARY.

3. AMBASSADOR HINTON HOSTED LUNCH IN HONOR OF U.S. UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE AMBASSADOR JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK WITH MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, ARENA CHIEF AND PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. ALSO ATTENDING WERE MAURICIO GUTIERREZ CASTRO, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC; HUGO BARRERA, ARENA VICE PRESIDENT AND 1ST FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY; RENE BARRIOS AMAYA, LEADER OF THE ARENA LABOR SECTOR AND 2ND FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY; GLORIA SALGUERA GROSS, 3RD SECOND SECRETARY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. ON THE AMERICAN SIDE, BESIDES THE AMBASSADORS, WERE ROGER FONTAINE OF THE NSC, THE DCM, AND THE POLCOUNS.

4. D'AUBUISSON STARTED THE CONVERSATION WITH A LONG STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT ARENA, AS OPPOSED TO THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, BELIEVED IN LEARNING FROM THE PAST, NOT RENOUNCING IT. WHILE ARENA MIGHT BE A [redacted]

PAGE 03 CARACA 01249 01 OF 04 141333Z

RIGHTIST PARTY, THIS RIGHTIST PARTY HAD BEEN THE FIRST TO PROPOSE, LAST JUNE, AN AMNESTY LAW. IT HAD BEEN OPPOSED BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND THEREFORE GOT NOWHERE. THIS COMING WEEK ARENA WILL PROPOSE IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DRAFT LEGISLATION THAT THE FDR BE INSCRIBED AS A LEGITIMATE POLITICAL FORCE IN THE COUNTRY. D'AUBUISSON SAID THAT IF THE FDR CAN WIN AN ELECTION WITH VOTES, ARENA WOULD RESPECT THAT VICTORY. HE WENT ON TO TALK ABOUT WHY ARENA HAS SUCH A BAD NAME IN THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT POLICY IN THE LAST ELECTIONS HAD BEEN FOR THE PDC TO WIN. AMBASSADOR HINTON TOLD D'AUBUISSON ABOUT THE CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH THEN JRG PRESIDENT DUARTE IN DECEMBER 1981. HE HAD TOLD DUARTE THAT HE DID NOT THINK THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS COULD WIN THE ELECTION. DUARTE REPLIED THAT THAT WAS THE WHOLE IDEA; THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAD NO INTENTION OF WINNING THE ELECTIONS. LEAVING THAT POINT BEHIND D'AUBUISSON NEXT SAID THAT THE "PDC REFORMS" HAD BEEN VERY BAD FOR THE COUNTRY. THE WORST OF THE THREE MAJOR REFORMS WERE THE BANK REFORMS AND THE REFORM OF THE FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR. ARENA RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BUT THE WAY IT HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT IN EL SALVADOR WAS A TECHNICAL DISASTER. HE FINISHED BY EMPHASIZING THAT UNDER THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP (READ DEFENSE MINISTER JOSE GUILLERMO GARCIA) THE WAR CANNOT

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83CARACA01249

BE WON.

5. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK TOLD D'AUBUISSON THAT SHE AGREED WITH HIM ON TWO POINTS. THE FIRST IS THAT THE MILITARY STRUGGLE IS IMPORTANT, NOT ONLY FOR EL SALVADOR

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83CARACA01249

ADPOST [redacted]

PAGE 01 CARACA 01249 02 OF 04 141336Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 DODE-00 ID-15
NSC-01 NSAE-00 PM-09 SP-02 /064 W
012001 141349Z /45

P 141320Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4212
INFO CIA WASHDC
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 04 CARACAS 01249

BUT FOR MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR EL SALVADOR'S NEIGHBORS WHO SEE THEIR FORTUNES CLOSELY TIED TO THAT OF THIS COUNTRY. SECOND, GUERRILLA WARFARE IS A POLITICAL PHENOMENON IN ORIGIN. IT IS A VERY DIFFERENT TYPE OF WARFARE. ONCE STARTED, HOWEVER, SOCIAL/ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BECOME IMPORTANT IN THIS KIND OF WARFARE.
6. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK THEN REMARKED THAT FOR HER THERE ARE ONLY TWO SYSTEMS OF POLITICS: THE POLITICS OF CONSENT AND THE POLITICS OF VIOLENCE. DEMOCRACY, THE POLITICS OF CONSENT, DOES DEMAND THAT THE POPULATION HAVE ACCESS TO WORK AND ENJOY SOME OF

[redacted]

PAGE 02 CARACA 01249 02 OF 04 141336Z

THE BENEFITS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS. IT IS A TRAGEDY, SHE NOTED, THAT WE ARE LETTING THE NICARAGUANS TAKE SO MUCH CREDIT FOR TEACHING THEIR PEOPLE TO READ AND FOR TEACHING THEM PROPER DIETARY PRACTICES TO AVOID MALNUTRITION. THEN SHE SAID THAT SHE RESPECTED ANY GROUP THAT LIMITS ITSELF TO DEMOCRATIC MEANS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ITS ENDS.

7. [redacted]SSADOR HINTON ASKED OF WHAT USE IS IT [redacted]EARN

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TO READ AND WRITE IF THE ONLY READING MATERIAL AVAILABLE ARE MARXIST TRACTS. HIS POINT, HE SAID, WAS TO POINT OUT THAT IN EL SALVADOR THERE IS RELATIVELY LITTLE CENSURE OF WHAT IS AVAILABLE TO READ.

8. D'AUBUISSON NOTED THAT A LITERACY CAMPAIGN, BOTH FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS, HAD EXISTED IN EL SALVADOR FOR YEARS. BARRERA INTERRUPTED TO POINT OUT THAT COMMUNISTS KNOW HOW TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF WHATEVER WEAKNESSES THERE ARE IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. ARENA BELIEVES THAT BOTH ILLITERACY AND MALNUTRITION COULD BE OVERCOME IN EL SALVADOR IF THE FUNDS EXISTED FOR SUCH PROGRAMS FROM EITHER NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL SOURCES AND THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER WAS DETERMINED TO ERADICATE THESE SCOURGES. HE ALSO ADVOCATED A MORE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH AREA BECAUSE THE NEGLECT OF PUBLIC HEALTH CREATES A SICKLY POPULATION WHICH IS AN EVER INCREASING BURDEN ON THE GOVERNMENT. AMBASSADOR HINTON COMMENTED THAT ALL THESE PROGRAMS, THE REFORMS INCLUDED, ARE IMPORTANT TO GAIN POPULAR SUPPORT NECESSARY TO WIN THE WAR.

9. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK OBSERVED THAT GUERRILLA WAR IS NOT WON BY POPULAR SUPPORT ALONE; GUERRILLAS

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WIN WARS BY VIOLENCE. THUS THE MILITARY ASPECT OF THE WAR IS THE MOST IMPORTANT IN THE SHORT RUN. IF THE GOVERNMENT LOSES MILITARILY NONE OF THE OTHER PROGRAMS MATTER. SHE THEN TURNED TO D'AUBUISSON AND INQUIRED WHAT HIS VIEWS WERE ON THE TACTICS FOR WINNING THE WAR. SHE UNDERSTOOD THAT HIS VIEWS WERE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT. D'AUBUISSON REPLIED THAT HIS VIEWS WERE CERTAINLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF GENERAL GARCIA. THIS IS NOT WORLD WAR II: THIS IS NOT THE WAR OF LARGE OPERATIONS; THIS IS A WAR OF PROPAGANDA WHERE THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE GUERRILLAS HAVE TO BE STUDIED. HE CRITICIZED THE HIGH COMMAND FOR ALLOWING TOO MUCH INFORMATION ON ITS PROPOSED OPERATIONS TO LEAK TO THE ENEMY. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALLOWING THE GUERRILLA TACTIC OF PROLONGING WARFARE TO TAKE PLACE. THIS WAR SHOULD BE SHORT, "LIGHTENING QUICK." GARCIA HAS ALLOWED IT TO BE PROLONGED. D'AUBUISSON ALLEGED THAT GARCIA HAD ALLOWED LEFTIST LEADER SALVADOR SAMAYOA TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY IN 1980. HE CRITICIZED GARCIA FOR LETTING ONLY THE SON OF PROMINENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT ANTONIO MORALES EHRLICH TO BE RELEASED FROM PRISON OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE CLAIMED THAT SALVADORAN COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL SHAFIK HANDAL HAD TOLD A PUBLIC MEETING AT THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY CAMPUS IN 1980 OF HIS ADMIRATION FOR GARCIA, THAT HE WOULD

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"BURN HIS HANDS" FOR HIM. THE U.S. HAS BACKED THE WRONG MAN--GARCIA. HE IS A CAPABLE, SHREWD MAN, BUT HE IS SINISTER (NEFASTO). IN REPLY TO AMBASSADOR HINTON'S QUESTION, D'AUBUISSON SAID THAT THE RECENT CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE WERE GOOD--"VERY

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83CARACA01249

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PAGE 01 CARACA 01249 03 OF 04 141338Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 DODE-00 IO-15
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012056 141349Z /45

P 141320Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4213
INFO CIA WASHDC
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 04 CARACAS 01249

GOOD."

10. RENE BARRIOS AMAYA THEN ENTERED THE CONVERSATION. HE NOTED THAT IN A WAR WORKING PEOPLE SUFFER MORE THAN ANYBODY, THEN HE GAVE A RAMBLING ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT SINCE WORLD WAR II. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY AGGRESSIVE. HE THEN DECLARED THAT (1) THE GOVERNMENT WAS LOSING THE WAR AND (2) THE U.S. IS NOT REALISTIC IN ITS ASSESSMENT OF EL SALVADOR. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK [redacted]

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PAGE 02 CARACA 01249 03 OF 04 141338Z

ASKED IF THOSE ASSEMBLED REALLY BELIEVED THAT, D'AUBUISSON REPLIED THAT IT IS "REAL." THIS IS A GOVERNMENT IMPOSED BY GARCIA LAST APRIL. THEN SPEAKING TONGUE IN CHEEK HE OFFERED A SOLUTION TO THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PROBLEM. LET THE FMLN WIN AND RECOGNIZE MOSCOW AS THE DOMINANT POWER IN THE REGION. "BUT GIVE US SALVADORANS AT LEAST PART OF SOUTHERN CAL[redacted]NIA. PERHAPS WE CAN TAKE A FEW DOCUMENTS WI[redacted] AND IMPOSE A LAND REFORM WHEN WE [redacted]HERE."

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 83CARACA01249

TURNING SERIOUS D'AUBUISSON DECLARED THAT THE ECONOMIC WAR WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE STRUGGLE.

11. D'AUBUISSON TOOK THE EXAMPLE OF PHASE II OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM AS ILLUSTRATIVE. "IT HANGS OVER THE ECONOMY LIKE THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES." D'AUBUISSON INSISTED THAT THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE MILITARY. ONCE AGAIN HE DECLARED THAT THE THREAT OF INVOKING PHASE II OF THE LAND REFORM WAS A DEAD WEIGHT ON THE ECONOMY.

12. HUGO BARRERA SAID THAT MANY PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF EL SALVADOR ASSUMED THAT THIS COUNTRY HAD NO FUNCTIONING ECONOMIC SYSTEM PRIOR TO THE COUP. THAT IS NOT TRUE; EL SALVADOR HAD A THRIVING ECONOMIC SYSTEM, BUT OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS GOVERNMENT POLICIES HAD EFFECTIVELY DESTROYED IT. EL SALVADOR MUST HAVE A SOUND ECONOMIC POLICY ALONG WITH A SOUND MILITARY POLICY, NOT "STUPID" ONES LIKE NOW. GIVEN SOUND POLICIES EL SALVADOR COULD SOLVE MANY OF ITS OWN PROBLEMS AND WITH A GREAT DEAL LESS U.S. MONEY REQUIRED. THE RULES OF THE GAME HAVE TO BE CLEARLY LAID OUT AND RESPECTED BY EVERYBODY. EL SALVADOR AT THIS MOMENT COULD USE AN "INJECTION" OF MONEY ON THE ORDER TO ONE BILLION DOLLARS WHICH IS [redacted]

PAGE 03 CARACA 01249 03 OF 04 141338Z

CERTAINLY LESS THAN THE COUNTRY LOST BECAUSE OF THE REFORM PROCESS. VICE PRESIDENT GUTIERREZ CASTRO CHIPPED IN WITH AN ATTACK ON PHASE II. HE ALSO SAID THAT PHASE III UNDER DECREE 207 IS "TERRIBLE" BECAUSE IT AFFECTS NOT WEALTHY LAND OWNERS BUT MORE COMMON FOLK OF A LOWER ECONOMIC ORDER. HE CHARACTERIZED PHASE II LAND REFORM AS "CRIMINAL." GUTIERREZ CASTRO PROCEEDED TO ATTACK GARCIA AND "THAT DEMAGOGUE" LTCOL GALILEO TORRES FOR IMPOSING PHASE III LAND REFORM ON THE COUNTRY. (EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR NOTE: LTCOL GALILEO TORRES IS THE PRESIDENT OF FINATA, THE GOES AGENCY RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTING PHASE III.)

13. D'AUBUISSON NEXT POSED THREE QUESTIONS:

--HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THE GOES HAS RECEIVED MORE MILITARY ASSISTANCE THAN AT ANY TIME DURING ITS HISTORY AND YET THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE GUERRILLAS IS GREATER THAN EVER?

--WHAT IS THE POINT OF WINNING THE WAR IF WHAT COMES OUT OF THIS STRUGGLE ARE PROGRAMS THAT ARE THE SAME AS WHAT THE MARXISTS WOULD HAVE IMPOSED?

--HOW CAN WE WIN THE WAR BY BORROWING MONEY THAT WE CAN[redacted]EPAY?

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM B3CARACA001249

NEVERTHELESS D'AUBUISSON CHARACTERIZED HIMSELF AS AN OPTIMIST. "WE ARE GOING TO WIN THIS WAR. THE PEOPLE HAVE NO WORK AND NO SECURITY." HE THEN DECLARED THAT IF THE SUBVERSIVES TAKE OVER "WE" WILL BECOME GUERRILLAS IF NECESSARY ON GUAZAPA VOLCANO. HE SAID HE FULLY

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM B3CARACA001249

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PAGE 01 CARACA 01249 04 OF 04 141338Z
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FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4214
INFO CIA WASHDC
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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[redacted]L SECTION 04 OF 04 CARACAS 01249

INTENDED TO DIE IN THIS COUNTRY. HE FINISHED THE LUNCHEON CONVERSATION BY DECLARING AGAINST WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS RAMPANT CORRUPTION IN THE GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS. AMONG THE MOST CORRUPT IN HIS ESTIMATION IS DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA.

14. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK CONCLUDED BY STRESSING THE NECESSITY FOR ALL PARTIES TO REMAIN IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND USE DEMOCRATIC MEANS TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS. SHE TOLD D'AUBUISSON THAT SHE HAD HEARD IN SEVERAL PLACES THAT D'AUBUISSON WAS A TERRORIST, A MAN WHO USES VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE HIS

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PAGE 02 CARACA 01249 04 OF 04 141338Z

GOALS, WHO INTIMIDATED HIS OPPONENTS WITH THREATS OF THE USE OF FORCE. THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO ITS LEADERS THAT DEMOCRACY WAS THE PROCESS THEY DESIRED. SHE TOLD D'AUBUISSON THAT SHE HOPED ARENA WOULD REMAIN WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. D'AUBUISSON ASSURED HER ARENA WOULD DO SO. LANDAU

EC011A

P B6

FEB 14 1983

Dear MR. Alan Cranston,

I am deeply concerned about Ana Esther Koldorf. She was arrested in 1978 by the police of Argentina for NO Reason. I'm sure that you are aware of this problem of the Jewish people.

Ana Esther Koldorf finished her Jail Sentance in five years, but they won't allow her to Leave. They have Tortured her and made her suffer very much.

Before She was Arrested She was a very very good History teacher. The police that that she would tell them Something bad About Argentina.

Thank you very much for Reading this Letter

Sincerely,

I

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

02-14-83 KH023

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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC MISSION ASSOCIATION

1233 LAWRENCE STREET, N.E. - WASHINGTON, D.C. 20017-4040

Telephone (202) 832-3112

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify/In Part ____ In Full ____
Exemption(s) ____

February 14, 1983

R

F830038-0132

Mr. George Shultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The time for the voting on the retention of the Special Rapporteur on Chile at the meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva is close at hand. Based on the information we have received, it is our opinion that the renewal of the mandate of the Special Rapporteur should be supported by the U.S. government.

It is the clear belief of many that the human rights situation in Chile will be helped by the retention of the Special Rapporteur; those who oppose the renewal of the mandate do not claim human rights will improve with the elimination of the mandate. Therefore, we urge our country to vote in favor of the renewal.

Sincerely,

Sister Ann Gormly

Sister Ann Gormly, SND de N
Asst. to the Executive Director

15.45

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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC MISSION ASSOCIATION
1233 LAWRENCE STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20017-4040

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Mr. George Shultz
Secretary of State
2201 C St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

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Case Number: s199900030

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PAGE 01 SANTIA 00896 161131Z
ACTION ARA-16

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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise ____ Deny ____
Declassify: In Part ____ In Full X
Exemption(s) ____

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 0896

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/15/89
TAGS: PINS, CI
SUBJECT: EXTREMIST KILLED AND COMPANION WOUNDED IN SHOOT-OUT WITH POLICE

REF: SANTIAGO 808

1. (U) CHILEAN SECURITY FORCES KILLED AN ALLEGED TERRORIST AND CRITICALLY WOUNDED HIS COMPANION IN A SHOOT-OUT IN RENACA ON THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 11. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, SECURITY PERSONNEL SURPRISED THE TWO MEN, WHO WERE PARKED IN A RENTED AUTOMOBILE ON THE ROAD THAT CONNECTS THE SEASIDE RESORTS OF RENACA AND CONCON, DURING A ROUTINE PATROL OF THE AREA. OFFICIAL VERSIONS OF THE INCIDENT INDICATE THAT THE TWO MEN STARTED SHOOTING, WOUNDING AN OFFICER AND SETTING OFF THE VIOLENT CONFRONTATION THAT LEFT ONE TERRORIST DEAD AND THE OTHER IN CRITICAL CONDITION. POLICE REPORTED FINDING EIGHTY POUNDS OF EXPLOSIVE IN THEIR AUTOMOBILE. TO DATE, OFFICIAL SOURCES HAVE NOT IDENTIFIED THE MEN, WHO WERE REPORTEDLY CARRYING FALSE IDENTITY DOCUMENTS.

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2. (U) THE SHOOTING COMES IN THE WAKE OF A RASH OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN THE AREA OF VALPARAISO AND VINA DEL MAR. ON JANUARY 26, THREE HOME-MADE BOMBS EXPLODED IN A STREET IN VALPARAISO, WOUNDING FIVE PEDESTRIANS; N JANUARY 29, SIMULTANEOUS EXPLOSIONS IN SEVERAL SITES IN RENACA DAMAGED AN ELECTRICAL TRANSFORMER AND DESTROYED THREE POWER LINES,

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CAUSING A PARTIAL BLACK-OUT FOR SEVERAL HOURS; ON FEBRUARY 4, FOUR EXTREMISTS WHO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS MEMBERS OF THE MIT SET FIRE TO A TRAIN BETWEEN VALPARAISO AND QUILPUE; AND, ON THE SAME DAY, A FIRE THAT IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN SET BY TERRORISTS DESTROYED A FAMOUS CHURCH IN VALPARAISO. OFFICIAL SOURCES CLAIM THAT THESE TERRORIST ACTS ARE THE WORK OF LEFT-WING EXTREMISTS, PRESUMABLY MEMBERS OF THE MIR. ALTHOUGH POLICE HAVE NOT IMPLICATED THE TWO MEN SHOT LAST FRIDAY IN THE WAVE OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS, NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS INDICATE THAT THE EXPLOSIVES FOUND IN THEIR AUTOMOBILE ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE USED IN THE BOMBINGS IN RENACA AND VALPARAISO.

3. (C) THE SHOOTING IN RENACA IS THE THIRD INCIDENT IN LESS THEN FOUR MONTHS IN WHICH AN ALLEGED TERRORIST WAS KILLED IN A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION WITH SECURITY FORCES. ON NOVEMBER 28, 1982, DAGOBERTO CORTEZ GUAJARDO, IDENTIFIED AS A LONG-STANDING MEMBER OF THE MIR, WAS FATALLY WOUNDED IN A SHOOT-OUT IN SANTIAGO (82 SANTIAGO 7235); AND, ON FEBRUARY 7, 1983, FERNANDO EUGENIO IRIBARREN GONZALEZ, ALSO IDENTIFIED AS A MEMBER OF THE MIR, WAS KILLED UNDER SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES (SANTIAGO 808). HOWEVER, THERE ARE CLEAR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FEBRUARY 11 SHOOTING AND THE PREVIOUS TWO. THRE IS EVIDENCE THAT CORTEZ AND IRIBARREN HAD BEEN UNDER POLICE SURVEILLANCE, WHILE THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF POLICE SURVEILLANCE IN THE LAST INCIDENT. MOREOVER, AGENTS OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE CENTER (CNI)
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PAGE 03 SANTIA 00896 161131Z

WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CORTEZ AND IRIBARREN KILLINGS, WHILE CARABINEROS RATHER THAN CNI AGENTS WERE INVOLVED IN THE LAST SHOOTING. UNFORTUNATELY, PRELIMINARY REPORTS OF THE FEBRUARY 11 INCIDENT ARE SKETCHY, AND A MORE RIGOROUS ANALYSIS OF THE INCIDENT WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE. THEBERGE

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2/15/83

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BUENOS AIRES
APO MIAMI 34034

February 15, 1983

Ms. Kathie McCleskey
AAAS Clearinghouse on Science
and Human Rights
American Association for the
Advancement of Science
1515 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20005

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Dear Ms. McCleskey:

I am happy to inform you that the Ministry of Foreign Relations has told me that Dr. Alejandro Raul Isla has been released from prison under libertad vigilada, which is similar to our parole.

Sincerely,

J. A. Allitto

J. Anthony Allitto
Political Officer

JAA:bw

cc: Daniel Whitney,
American Anthropological Assn.

Bob Schneider, Bur. Human Rights
Dept. of State

Victor Johnson, House Subcommittee
Inter-American Affairs

Ray Walser, Desk Officer, ARA/SC

8F123
178/293

02-16-83 (KH025.

P830025-0206 UNCLASSIFIED

ALAN J. DIXON
ILLINOIS

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
BANKING, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS
SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

EXCISE

P86

February 16, 1983

ACTION is assigned to ARA

TO: U.S. Department of State
Congressional Relations
H7256
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Clyde Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release_____ Excise_X_ Deny_____
Declassify: In Part_____ In Full_____
Exemption(s) B6

FROM: Alan J. Dixon
United States Senator

I am enclosing a copy of an inquiry that I received from [redacted].

Because of this office's desire to be responsive to all communications, your consideration of the attached is requested.

Your findings and views, in duplicate form along with the return of this correspondence, will be appreciated.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1983 FEB 24 PM 1 41
FADIC
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Please Respond To:

Bonnie I. Collins
Staff Assistant to
Alan J. Dixon, U.S.S.
230 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, IL 60604

re: Disappearance of Chilean engineer, Carlos Patricio Duran Gonzalez

From: [redacted]

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BELLEVILLE OFFICE:
618-235-0998
10 EAST WASHINGTON
BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS 62220

CHICAGO OFFICE:
312-353-5420
230 S. DEARBORN STREET
ROOM 3898
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60604

SPRINGFIELD OFFICE:
217-492-4126
POST OFFICE AND COURT HOUSE
ROOM 108
6TH AND MONROE
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS 62701

MOUNT VERNON OFFICE:
618-244-6703
FEDERAL BUILDING
ROOM 227
105 SOUTH 6TH STREET
MOUNT VERNON, ILLINOIS 62864

02-16-83 (KH026)

PB30029-1813

EXCISE UNCLASSIFIED

JOHN W. WARNER
VIRGINIA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 16, 1983

Case Project (#S19900030)
Department of State
Excise X Deny
Grant in Part In Full
Exemption(s) B6

Respectfully referred to:
CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RE: STATUS OF CARLOS LOPEZ VILA, A POLITICAL PRISONER IN CHILE. HAS THE U. S. RECEIVED A REPORT ABOUT HIS CONDITION?
THANK YOU.

ACTION is assigned to: MLK

Your consideration of the attached correspondence from a constituent will be appreciated. Your findings and views, in duplicate form, along with the return of the enclosures, are requested.

Thank you for your cooperation.

John W. Warner

JWW:nls

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DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

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From [redacted]

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 01831 01 OF 02 1617Z3Z 9486
ACTION HCRE-09

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 H-01 ARA-00 HA-08 AMAD-01
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R 161658Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6467

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BUENOS AIRES 01831

H PASS TO CONGRESSMAN MICHAEL BARNES AND CONGRESSWOMAN BARBARA MIKULSKI

ALSO FOR ARA/SC, HA/HR, AND INR

E.O. 12356:DECL N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJ: ARGENTINE REPLY TO CODEL BARNES' INQUIRIES

1. THE ARGENTINE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS GAVE US ON FEBRUARY 10 THE FORMAL REPLY FROM THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO THE LETTERS FROM CONGRESSMAN BARNES AND CONGRESSWOMAN MIKULSKI WHICH THEY LEFT WITH MINISTER OF INTERIOR RESTON DURING THEIR JANUARY VISIT. THE FOLLOWING IS AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THE NOTE FROM THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND WORSHIP:

BUENOS AIRES, FEBRUARY2, 1983

MR. MINISTER:

I AM ENCLOSING A NOTE SENT BY MICHAEL D. BARNES AND BARBARA MIKULSKI AND IN RESPONSE I INFORM YOU:

1. EMILIO ENRIQUE ARQUIOLA: WAS ARRESTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BRANCH UNDER DECREE NO. 169 OF JANUARY 23, 1975. HE HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO SIX YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT AND THE SENTENCE HAS BEEN APPEALED. AT THE TIME HE WAS DETAINED, HE SUFFERED FROM CHRONIC DIABETES WHICH NEEDED CONSTANT INSULIN TREATMENT, AND FOR THIS REASON HE RECEIVE INSULIN AND A SPECIAL FOOD DIET. HE NOW HAS THE GLUCEMIA STABILIZED. HIS HEALTH IS GOOD.

2. JORGE MARIO DOMINGO MARCA: WAS ARRESTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BRANCH UNDER DECREE NO. 1483 ON NOVEMBER 13, 1974. HE WAS OPERATED ON FOR A CEREBRAL ANEURYSM IN 1974 AND IS RECOVERING FAVOURABLY. HIS PRESENT HEALTH IS GOOD. HE HAS SOME TROUBLE SPEAKING BUT IS RECEIVING PROPER HEALTH TREATMENT. HE HAS HAD TOMOGRAPHIES TAKEN OF HIS LARYNX AND HAS HAD OTHER CORRECTIVE STEPS TAKEN AT THE SUGGESTION OF THE TEAM OF PHYSICIANS WHO ASSIST HIM, WHICH HELPED TO OVERCOME THE SPEAKING PROBLEMS.

3. ISIDORO AND EMILIA GELSTEIN: WERE ARRESTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BRANCH UNDER DECREE 2335 ON OCTOBER 9, 1975. EMILIA GELSTEIN'S ARREST CAME TO AN END BY DECREE NO. 3348 ON DECEMBER 21, 1979. BOTH WERE SENTENCED TO 12 YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR THE COMMISSION OF CRIMES UNDER ARTICLES 189, SUB- PARAGRAPH 4, AND 213 OF THE PENAL CODE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE ONE, LAW 20,840. THE SENTENCE EXPIRES ON OCTOBER 3, 1987. AT THIS MOMENT, THE HEALTH OF BOTH DETAINEES IS NORMAL.

4. BLANCA FRIDA BECHER DE MOCIULSKY: ARRESTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BRANCH UNDER DECREE NO. 3384 OF NOVEMBER 12, 1975. SHE HAS A SENTENCE OF 10 YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR THE COMMISSION OF CRIMES UNDER ARTICLES 141, 170, 189 SUB- PARAGRAPHS 3 AND 5, AND 213 OF THE PENAL CODE. SHE HAS HAD HEALTH PROBLEMS IN THE PAST BUT THESE HAVE NOT BEEN OF A SERIOUS NATURE, AND NOW HER HEALTH IS NORMAL. HER BEHAVIOR IS A PROBLEM BECAUSE SHE DOES NOT OBEY THE RULES OF THE PRISON. SHE CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION TO WHICH SHE BELONGED AS A MILITARY-FRONT COMBATANT, IN SPITE OF HER CONFINEMENT.

REGARDING THE CASES OF NELIDA AZUCENA SOSA DE FORTI; MONICA LEMOS DE LAVALLE; CECILIA LAURA MINERVINI; CLAUDIO MARIN GERBILSKY AND MAURICIO FABIAN WEINSTEIN, AT THE REQUEST OF THEIR FAMILIES, EXHAUSTIVE EFFORTS TO DETERMINE THEIR WHEREABOUTS HAVE BEEN MADE.

I SUGGEST TO YOU, MR. MINISTER, THE IDEA OF SENDING TO THE CONGRESSMEN COPIES OF THE BOOK "TERRORISM IN ARGENTINA", EDITED IN ENGLISH.

SINCERELY,

MAJOR GENERAL LLANIL RESTON
MINISTER OF INTERIOR

2. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, THE ARTICLES OF THE PENAL CODE MENTIONED IN MINISTER RESTON'S NOTE DEAL WITH THE FOLLOWING CRIMES:

A. ISIDORO AND EMILIA GELSTEIN
- ARTICLE 189, SUB-PARA 4: POSSESSION OF STOCKS OF
- WEAPONRY; PRISON TERM, 3-10 YEARS.
- ARTICLE 213: ILLICIT ASSOCIATION; WHEN THREE OR MORE
- PERSONS CONSPIRE TO COMMIT A CRIME; MINIMUM PRISON
- SENTENCE, FIVE YEARS.

OSHUM
Argentina
Ind. Inquiries

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6468

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 BUENOS AIRES 01031

H PASS TO CONGRESSMAN MICHAEL BARNES AND CONGRESSWOMAN BARBARA MIKULSKI

- ARTICLE 1, LAW 20,840: SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES (I.E.,
- REVOLUTION, PROMOTING TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT, ETC)
- PRISON TERM, 3-8 YEARS.

B. BLANCA MOCIULSKY

- ARTICLE 141: KIDNAPPING; PRISON TERM, 1-6 YEARS.
- ARTICLE 170: KIDNAPPING FOR RANSOM: PRISON TERM, 5-15
- ARTICLE 189, SUB- PARA. 5: POSSESSION OF MILITARY SPARE
- PARTS (E.G. BULLETS) WITHOUT LEGAL AUTHORIZATION,
- PRISON TERM, 3-6 YEARS.
- ARTICLE 213: SEE ABOVE UNDER GELSTEIN.

3. WE WILL SEND THE BOOK "TERRORISM IN ARGENTINA" AS SOON AS WE RECEIVE COPIES FROM THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATION WE WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THESE CASES AND TO KEEP THEM APPROPRIATELY HIGH ON OUR LIST OF HUMAN RIGHTS CASES TO RAISE WITH THE GOVERNMENT AS OPPORTUNITIES ARISE. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT MIGHT BECOME AVAILABLE. BUSHNELL

2/16/83

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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Dear Senator Cranston:

Thank you for your letter of February 5 on behalf of your constituent, [redacted] concerning the imprisonment in Argentina of Sergio Ruben Pra, Pablo Bohoslavsky, Jose Erlich, Jorge Enrique Arrieta, and Oscar Kulzanosky.

Over the past few years, considerable progress has been made in the release of prisoners being detained by power of the National Executive, the so-called PEN prisoners. This is a special emergency power granted to the Executive which was initiated during the 1976 state of siege. I am pleased to inform you of the recent parole on November 2, 1982 of Ruben Pra.

We do not know the current status of Messrs. Bohoslavsky, Erlich, Arrieta or Kulzanosky. Cases of PEN detentions are systematically reviewed by Argentine authorities and we are hopeful that prisoners will continue to be released. The current number of PEN detainees is 245 and new releases are occurring monthly. We will ask our Embassy in Buenos Aires to investigate the status of these cases and to forward the available current information.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Alan Cranston,
United States Senate.

cc: American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

850205
11561

Drafted:ARA/SC:RWalser:mas
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(Wang #2562) #0172089

Clearances:ARA/SC:RBHoward
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBartlett

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PAGE 01 BUENOS 01028 161654Z
ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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UNCLAS BUENOS AIRES 01028

FOR ARA/SC AND HA/HR

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJ: ARGENTINA CONTINUES TO RELEASE POLITICAL DETAINEES

REF: 82 BUENOS AIRES 5650

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA (GOA) RELEASED POLITICAL DETAINEES DURING 1982 IN LARGE GROUPS OF 30, 80, OR 100 AT A TIME. THUS FAR IN 1983, THE GOA'S RELEASES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE SMALLER IN NUMBER THAN IN 1982, PARTLY BECAUSE THERE WERE ONLY ABOUT 243 SUCH PRISONERS LEFT IN THE PRISONS AT THE END OF DECEMBER; BUT THE RELEASES DO CONTINUE. THE GOA RELEASED AT LEAST FIVE PEN DETAINEES FROM PRISON IN JANUARY. THOSE FIVE WERE PLACED UNDER "SUPERVISED LIBERTY", SIMILAR TO OUR PAROLE. OF THE FIVE, AT LEAST FOUR RELEASES WERE COURT ORDERED, WHICH INDICATES THAT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH CONTINUES TO ABIDE BY JUDICIAL BRANCH DECISIONS REGARDING POLITICAL PRISONERS, AS IT DID IN 1982. ALSO, SINCE THE COURTS CONTINUE TO ORDER RELEASES, WE EXPECT TO SEE MORE PRISONERS RELEASED SOON.

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 01028 161654Z

2. IN ADDITION TO THOSE FIVE CASES, SIX OTHER DETAINEES WERE GIVEN COMPLETE FREEDOM IN FEBRUARY. WE BELIEVE THAT

THE SIX WERE ALREADY OUT OF PRISON UNDER "SUPERVISED LIBERTY," BUT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM THAT FOR US TO DATE.

3. PER REQUEST OF ARA/SC, WE NOW AUTOMATICALLY SEND A COPY OF EACH NEW LIST OF RELEASES TO THE DESK. WE ALSO CHECK THE NAMES ON THE LISTS AGAINST OUR FILES TO SEE IF THERE IS ANY CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN PARTICULAR CASES. IN SUCH CASES WE INFORM THE INTERESTED CONGRESSMAN OF THE RELEASE VIA AN "H PASS" TELEGRAM. THERE WAS NO CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST ON RECORD AT THE EMBASSY REGARDING THE FIVE DETAINEES RELEASED SO FAR THIS YEAR.
BUSHNELL

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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ___

UNCLAS STATE 043869

E.O. 12356 N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE PEN PRISONER: ANA ESTHER KOLDROF

1. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED INQUIRY FROM CONGRESSWOMAN PATRICIA SCHROEDER CONCERNING ANA ESTHER KOLDROF, AN ARGENTINE HISTORY TEACHER, WHO, ACCORDING TO THE CONGRESSWOMAN, HAS COMPLETED HER PRISON SENTENCE BUT HAS NOT BEEN RELEASED. KOLDROF HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN TORTURED.

2. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY REPORT ON STATUS OF CASE.

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Department of State TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 SAN SA 01433 01 OF 02 181404Z 9521
ACTION ARA-08

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 EB-08
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4511
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
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EXCISE

[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 01433

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/17/89
TAGS: SHUM, ELAB, ES
SUBJECT: (C) ALLEGED SLAYING OF UNION LEADERS

REF: STATE 39686

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PARAGRAPH 4 OF REFTEL NOTES THAT THE SPOKESMAN WAS ASKED ON FEBRUARY 10 ABOUT "THREE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONISTS WHO WERE ABDUCTED EARLIER THIS WEEK AND FOUND DEAD WITH ALLEGATIONS THAT ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON MIGHT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED." WE HAD NEVER HEARD OF SUCH AN INCIDENT. UPON CHECKING, WE FOUND THAT THE FEBRUARY 8TH AFTERNOON PAPER "EL MUNDO" REPORTED THAT THREE BODIES WERE FOUND, ALL OF THEM SUPPOSEDLY EMPLOYED BY EL SALVADOR'S LARGEST INDUSTRIAL BAKERY, PAN LIDO S.A. THEY WERE FOUND WITH THEIR THUMBS TIED BEHIND THEIR BACKS, DEAD OF BULLET WOUNDS. AROUND THEIR BODIES WERE FOUND SEVERAL SHELL CASINGS OF 5.56MM AMMUNITION "FOR M-16 RIFLES," ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE.

3. [redacted]

POLCOUNS TALKED WITH HIM ABOUT THE INCIDENT FEBRUARY 14 CONFIRMED THE KILLINGS AND THE NAMES OF THOSE KILLED:

-- JOSE URIAS FLORES

-- OSCAR MOLINA

-- JOSE SALVADOR RAMOS

4. FLORES AND MOLINA WERE ROUTEMEN FOR A PAN LIDO DISTRIBUTOR. RAMOS WAS A MECHANIC FOR PAN LIDO. ON FEBRUARY 7 FLORES AND MOLINA BROUGHT THEIR TRUCK TO THE PAN LIDO SHOP BECAUSE IT HAD MECHANICAL PROBLEMS. RAMOS WORKED ON THE TRUCK AND THEN, IN THE EARLY AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 7, ALL THREE TOOK IT OUT TO TEST IT. THEY USED A DIRT ROAD WHICH PARALLELS THE BOULEVARD WHICH IN TURN GOES FROM DOWNTOWN SAN SALVADOR TO THE ILOPANGO AIRBASE.

5. WHEN THE THREE DID NOT RETURN, PAN LIDO EMPLOYEES STARTED LOOKING FOR THEM. PEOPLE AT A NEARBY INDUSTRIAL PLANT TOLD THEM THAT THEY HAD SEEN HEAVILY ARMED MEN IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES STOP THE TRUCK AND DRIVE AWAY IN IT WITH THE THREE VICTIMS. THESE WITNESSES SAID THAT THE TRUCK HEADED TOWARD THE AIRBASE. A PAN LIDO EMPLOYEE THEN WENT TO THE AIRBASE AND ASKED IF ANYBODY THERE HAD SEEN THE TRUCK. THEY WERE ANSWERED NEGATIVELY. THE EMPLOYEE THEN [redacted] WALKED AROUND THE PERIMETER OF THE AIRBASE AND CLAIMS THAT HE SAW THE TRUCK STOPPED INSIDE. HE RETURNED TO PAN LIDO TO REPORT TO HIS SUPERIORS.

AID THAT:

- -- ALL THREE WERE RESPECTED EMPLOYEES OF THEIR COMPANY. NONE BELONGED TO A UNION.

- -- ALL THREE, TO THE BEST OF HIS KNOWLEDGE, WERE APOLITICAL.

- -- HE DOES NOT PUT GREAT CREDENCE IN THE REPORT OF ONE PAN LIDO EMPLOYEE THAT HE SAW THE TRUCK AT THE AIR FORCE BASE. THE TRUCK BORE NO DISTINCTIVE MARKINGS; IT COULD BE A CASE OF SIMPLE MISTAKEN IDENTIFICATION.

- -- HE HAS NO INTENTION OF TAKING THIS UP WITH THE AIR FORCE. AS HE PUT IT, "THEY WOULD DENY IT AND CARELESS ACCUSATIONS CAN GET YOU IN TROUBLE."

- -- TO THE BEST OF HIS KNOWLEDGE ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THESE MURDERS.

7. WE HAD CHECKED PREVIOUSLY WITH TUTELA LEGAL. THEY CONFIRMED THAT THEY WERE THE SOURCE OF THE STORY. THEY CLAIMED THAT THEY WERE ORIGINALLY MISINFORMED ABOUT THE BACKGROUNDS OF THESE THREE MEN. THEY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NONE WERE UNION MEMBERS, MUCH LESS UNION LEADERS. AS MOLINA COMMENTED IT IS MOST UNLIKELY THAT TUTELA LEGAL WILL DISABUSE THE PRESS CONTACTS THEY ORIGINALLY GAVE THE STORY TO THAT THE THREE WERE NOT UNION LEADERS. MOLINA NOTED AS WELL THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD OF THE

RELEASED
El Salvador Human Rights
Special Project (1993)

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 SAN SA 01433 02 OF 02 181405Z
ACTION ARA-00

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	AD5-00	INR-10	SS-10	CIAE-00	EB-08
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4512
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
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Project (1995)

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 01433

AIR FORCE BEING INVOLVED IN THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY.

8. COMMENT. THIS IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE MINDLESS BRUTALITY THAT TAKES PLACE IN EL SALVADOR ALMOST DAILY. MOLINA'S RELUCTANCE TO PRESS THE AIR FORCE FOR MORE INFORMATION IS ALSO TYPICAL. TO OUR RECOLLECTION, AS WELL, THIS IS THE FIRST ACCUSATION WE HAVE EVER HEARD AGAINST THE AIR FORCE, ALTHOUGH THE AIR FORCE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SECURITY IN THAT SECTOR OF SAN SALVADOR. AS IN SO MANY MURDERS HERE, WE WILL PROBABLY NEVER KNOW THE MOTIVE FOR THEM NOR WHO IS RESPONSIBLE. ENYODOMMENT.

9. WE SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT DRAW ON THE ABOVE IN REPLYING TO THE QUESTION ABOUT THESE MURDERS. WE HAVE RECEIVED NO INQUIRIES FROM THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS HERE. TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE THE MURDER OF THESE THREE PEOPLE DESCRIBED ABOVE IS THE INCIDENT ABOUT WHICH THE SPOKESMAN WAS QUESTIONED.
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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DOC_NBR= 83STATE045459

FILM= D830092-0917

DATE= 18 PEB 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= STATE

DRAFTER= PREAMS:LR

OFFICE= ORIGIN AF

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TO= OAU COLLECTIVE
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CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [redacted]

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EO= N/A

SUBJECT= GUIDANCE ON ANGOLAN/SOUTH AFRICAN CEASEFIRE TALKS [redacted]

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= CEASEFIRE, GUIDANCE, TALKS, MEETING

TAGS= SCOM, MOPS, US, WA, AO, PRESS

[redacted]

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify
Date 6/8/99 Exemption _____

PAGE 01 STATE 045459
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10	CIAE-00
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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 12356: N/A - DECONTROL UPON USE
TAGS: US, WA, AO, SCOM
SUBJECT: GUIDANCE ON ANGOLAN/SOUTH AFRICAN CEASEFIRE TALKS

[redacted]

PAGE 02 STATE 045459

1. FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PROVIDED TO DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN FEBRUARY 17 FOR USE IN RESPONSE TO INQUIRIES CONCERNING IMPLICATIONS OF ANGOLAN/SOUTH AFRICAN DISCUSSIONS OF POSSIBLE CEASEFIRE. ADDRESSEES SHOULD SEEK OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE POINTS TO HOST GOVERNMENTS AS APPROPRIATE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

Q. THIS MORNING'S WASHINGTON POST REPORTS THAT A DE FACTO

CEASEFIRE IS IN EFFECT ALREADY BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ANGOLA ON THE NAMIBIA/ANGOLA BORDER. CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT?

A. OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT NO FORMAL CEASEFIRE IS YET IN PLACE BUT THAT, COMPLEMENTARY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY BETWEEN ANGOLA AND SOUTH AFRICA, ALL SIDES MAY HAVE SEEN SOME ADVANTAGE IN SHOWING A DEGREE OF MILITARY RESTRAINT IN RECENT MONTHS.

Q. THERE IS SOME SUGGESTION THAT THE TALKS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ANGOLA MAY LEAD TO A PEACE IN THE REGION THAT WILL PUT A HALT TO THE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE PROCESS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN SO AVIDLY PURSUING. COULD YOU COMMENT?

A. THE OBJECTIVES THAT ANGOLA AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE WORKING TOWARD IN THEIR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS ARE A MATTER BETWEEN THOSE TWO COUNTRIES. NO USEFUL PURPOSE COULD BE SERVED BY OUR COMMENTING ON THEM IN ADVANCE. HOWEVER, IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE THAT EVEN A LIMITED CEASEFIRE BETWEEN SOME OF THE PARTIES IN THE WAR-TORN SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION WOULD NOT BE, IN FACT, A CONSTRUCTIVE STEP TOWARD A MORE [redacted]

[redacted]

COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PEACE. THAT ARGUMENT WOULD HAVE TO RUN SOMETHING LIKE, "IT IS BETTER THAT THE PARTIES KEEP FIGHTING IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE PEACE." I FIND THAT APPROACH TO THE ISSUE DESTRUCTIVE RATHER THAN CONSTRUCTIVE.

Q. HOW DOES THE LOCAL CEASEFIRE LEAD TO THE REGIONAL PEACE THAT YOU ARE PROMOTING?

A. THE CONDITIONS OF REGIONAL SECURITY NECESSARY FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PEACE CAN ONLY BE ENHANCED BY A CEASEFIRE BETWEEN THE PARTIES. SUCH A REGIONAL PEACE COULD BRING INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 435 AND PERHAPS EVENTUAL NATIONAL RECONCILIATION TO ANGOLA AS WELL - WITH AN END TO THEIR CIVIL WAR AND A TURN TOWARD CONCENTRATING THAT NATION'S RESOURCES ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ONE ELEMENT IN OVERALL IMPROVED SECURITY IN THE REGION WOULD BE THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM ANGOLA AND FROM NAMIBIA.

Q. THERE IS THE SUGGESTION THAT ANGOLA IS NEGOTIATING AWAY SWAPO'S ABILITY TO KEEP UP MILITARY PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA TO RELINQUISH CONTROL OF NAMIBIA. IS THAT THE CASE?

A. I WOULD REITERATE OUR CONSISTENT POSITION FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS ADMINISTRATION THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE ALL EFFORTS TO BRING NAMIBIA TO INDEPENDENCE THROUGH

AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT UNDER UNSCR 435. ANY FREE ELECTIONS UNDER 435 WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE SWAPO. A CEASEFIRE - IF ONE WERE AGREED TO BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ANGOLA - WOULD BRING THE DAY OF IMPLEMENTATION OF 435 CLOSER, NOT FARTHER AWAY IN OUR VIEW.

Q. THE POST ARTICLE CONTENDS THAT IT IS SOUTH AFRICAN AND UNITA MILITARY PRESSURE, RATHER THAN US NEGOTIATING EFFORTS, THAT HAVE BROUGHT ANGOLA TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. WOULD YOU COMMENT?

[redacted]

PAGE 04 STATE 045459

A. SOUTH AFRICA AND ANGOLA HAVE BEEN FIGHTING OFF AND ON SINCE 1975, WITHOUT JUNCTURE FOR THE MOST PART. THEY HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY, AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL, SINCE DECEMBER 1982. IF A CEASEFIRE IS NOW IMMINENT, THE CONCLUSION ON THE RELATIVE EFFICACY OF THE TWO APPROACHES SHOULD SUGGEST ITSELF. - -

Q. WHEN WILL THE NEXT ROUND OF ANGOLAN/SOUTH AFRICAN TALKS TAKE PLACE?

A. THAT IS TO THE TWO PARTIES TO ANNOUNCE BUT WE UNDERSTAND THAT THEY ARE IMMINENT. END TEXT. SHULTZ

[redacted]

FAIM

P830023-0991

EC009

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 18, 1983

Dear Senator Cranston:

Thank you for your letter of February 5 on behalf of your constituent, [redacted] concerning the imprisonment in Argentina of Sergio Ruben Pra, Pablo Bohoslavsky, Jose Erlich, Jorge Enrique Arrieta, and Oscar Kulzanosky.

Over the past few years, considerable progress has been made in the release of prisoners being detained by power of the National Executive, the so-called PEN prisoners. This is a special emergency power granted to the Executive which was initiated during the 1976 state of siege. I am pleased to inform you of the recent parole on November 2, 1982 of Ruben Pra.

We do not know the current status of Messrs. Bohoslavsky, Erlich, Arrieta or Kulzanosky. Cases of PEN detentions are systematically reviewed by Argentine authorities and we are hopeful that prisoners will continue to be released. The current number of PEN detainees is 245 and new releases are occurring monthly. We will ask our Embassy in Buenos Aires to investigate the status of these cases and to forward the available current information.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
( ) Release (X) Excise ( ) Deny
Exemption(s): b6
Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
( ) Classify as __ ( ) Extend as __ ( ) Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Alan Cranston,
United States Senate.

cc: American Embassy
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Drafted:ARA/SC:RWalser:mas
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(Wang #2562) #0172089

Clearances:ARA/SC:RBHoward
ARA:ECoolidge
H:SBartlett

*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

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DATE= 19 FEB 83

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= NAMIBIA: UNSYG'S MEETING WITH CONTACT GROUP

REFERENCE= 83 USUN NEW YORK 438

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= GENERAL, MEETING, GROUP, SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATION, CONTACT

TAGS= PREL, SF, WA, UNSC, SECRETARY

[redacted]

PAGE 01 USUN N 00453 01 OF 04 190523Z
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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny (X) Declassify
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 00453

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: UNSYG'S MEETING WITH CONTACT GROUP

REF: USUN 438 (NOTAL)

1. [redacted] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SYG PEREZ DE CUELLAR ASKED TO MEET WITH CONTACT GROUP REPRESENTATIVES FEBRUARY 18, TO BRIEF THEM ON HIS TRIP TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. HIS PRESENTATION FOLLOWED CLOSELY [redacted]

PAGE 02 USUN N 00453 01 OF 04 190523Z

THE PREVIEW GIVEN US BY UNSR AHTISAARI FEBRUARY 17 (REFTEL).

3. PEREZ DE CUELLAR OPENED THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT HE WISHED TO BE COMPLETELY CANDID IN CONVEYING HIS IMPRESSION OF HIS TRIP. READING FROM A PREPARED SPEAKING NOTE, HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. GENERAL MOOD:

HE HAD FOUND A GROWING SENSE OF FRUSTRATION ANANTICIPA AMONG FLS OVER THE DELAYS IN REACHING A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIA QUESTION.

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-- FLS LEADERS HAD REPEATEDLY CHARACTERIZED THEMSELVES AS BEING "BLACKMAILED" AND "USED" TO "GIVE CREDIBILITY" TO THE CONTACT GROUP, AND TO "FRUSTRATE" THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SCR 435.
-
-- ALL FLS WANT THE CG TO INTENSIFY ITS EFFORTS "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SCR 435" AND TO BRING ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION "WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY."
-- THEY ALSO WANT THE UN TO "PLAY ITS PROPER ROLE."
-- ALL OF THE FLS MAINTAINED THAT THERE WAS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEIR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POSITION (E.G. LINKAGE). SOME ASSERTED THAT, IF ANYTHING, THEIR PRIVATE POSITIONS WERE EVEN HARDER.
-- AT THE SAME TIME, MANY FLS LEADERS HAD EXPRESSED THEIR DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE INABILITY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO ASSIST THEM IN SOLVING THEIR SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.
-

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B. ON THE SPECIFIC ISSUE OF LINKAGE:

-
-- ALL THE FLS REJECT LINKAGE. THEY ALSO MAINTAIN THAT THE QUESTION OF LINKAGE IS PURELY AN AMERICAN PROBLEM, NOT A SOUTH AFRICAN ONE. (HERE PEREZ DE CUELLAR INTERJECTED THAT SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE ALSO TOLD HIM THAT LINKAGE WAS AN AMERICAN INVENTION.)
-
-- ONE GETS THE FEELING, PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAID, THAT THE FLS BELIEVE THE LINKAGE IS DESIGNED TO FORCE MPLA RECONCILATION WITH UNITA.
-
-- AT THE SAME TIME, "EVERYONE" WANTS CONDITIONS THAT WOULD MAKE THE CUBAN PRESENCE UNNECESSARY.
-

C. REGARDING FLS CONCERNS ABOUT DESTABILIZATION:

-- THE FLS SEE SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVITIES AS EVIDENCE THAT THE SAG FEELS IT CAN ENGAGE IN THE DESTABBLIIATIQN OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES WITHOUT FEAR OF REPRISAL.
-- THE RESTORATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ZAIRE AND THE "ARRIVAL" OF ISRAELIS IN ZAIRE IS PERCEIVED, ESPECIALLY IN ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA, AS A FURTHER THREAT.
-- THERE IS A PERCEPTION AMONG THE FLS THAT THEIR WEAK AND FRAGILE STATES ARE BEING PRESSURED INTO ACCEPTING A SETTLEMENT THEY REGARD AS BOTH "UNFAIR AND UNJUST."
-

-- IN THAT CONNECTION, THE SYG SAID HE VIEWED THE FORTH-COMING MEETING BETWEEN THE SAG AND ANGOLA AS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. THE ANGOLANS ARE "DESPARATELY" LOOKING FOR SIGNS OF GOOD FAITH ON THE PART OF SOUTH AFRICA, WITHOUT WHICH THEY MAY NOT BE ABLE TO CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

SPECIFICALLY, THEY LOOKED FOR A SAG WILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM ANGOLA.

-- THE OTHER FLS "DID NOT DISAPPROVE" OF ANGOLA'S BILATERAL TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, BUT ARE CONCERNED AND

FEEL LEFT OUT. (AHTISAARI LATER ELABORATED THAT SOME FLS FEAR AN ANGOLA-SAG AGREEMENT THAT WOULD NOT THEN LEAD TO NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE.) THE SYG SAID HE HAD TOLD DOS SANTOS OF THEIR FLCONCERN, HAVING HEARD IT FROM FLS REPS IN NEW YORK. DOS SANTOS IN TURN HAD OFFERED TO BRIEF THE SYG AND OTHERS FOLLOWING THE NEXT SAG-ANGOLA

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PAGE 02 USUN N 00453 02 OF 04 190525Z

MEETING IN CAPE VERDE.

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D. CONCERNING THE US-ANGOLA AND SAG-ANGOLA DIALOGUES:

-

-- THE ANGOLANS HAD TOLD THE SYG THAT IT WAS "UNTIMELY AND IMPROPER"TO RESPOND TO THE IDEAS PRESENTED BY THE U.S. SO LONG AS SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS REMAIN ON ANGOLAN SOIL.

-- PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAD BEEN TOLD BY ONE FLS LEADER THAT THE CUBANS WOULD BEGIN TO LEAVE ONCE THAT SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA HAD BEEN REDUCED TO 1500 AFTER THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF THE NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT PLAN. HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO TELL THE U.S. THAT IT COULD USE THIS INFORMATION FOR ITS OWN INTERNAL PURPOSES. (WHEN ASKED LATER BY AMBASSADOR LICHENSTEIN FOR CLARIFICATION ON THIS POINT, PEREZ DE CUELLAR AND AHTISAARI STRESSED THAT THIS INFORMATION HAD NOT COME FROM THE ANGOLANS DIRECTLY AND THAT IT WAS NOT CERTAIN IN WHAT CONTEXT THE ANGOLANS HAD OFFERED THIS FORMULATION. AHTISAARI HAD EARLIER TOLD US IN CONFIDENCE THAT THE SOURCE WAS NYERERE, WHO PROFESSED TO HAVE IT ON STRONG AUTHORITY FROM THE ANGOLANS.)

-

-- IT IS CLEAR THAT THE FLS WANT A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT, AS WELL AS END TO SAG DESTABLIZATION. THEY PROFESSED NOT TO BE AWARE OF THE DETAILS OF WHAT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED BETWEEN ANGOLA AND THE US. SWAPO, ON THE OTHER HAND, PROFESSED TO BE WELL INFORMED AND SAID IT CONCURRED IN ANGOLA'S POSITION.

-

E. REGARDING THE TIMETABLE FOR ACTION ON NAMIBIA IN THE UN:

-- THE FLS HAD SAID THEY WERE PREPARED TO WAIT BEFORE

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PAGE 03 USUN N 00453 02 OF 04 190525Z

CALLING A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING.

-- THEY ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE COMPLICATED NATURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND OF THE LIMITATIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ACHIEVING SOMETHING CONSTRUCTIVE.

-
-- NEVERTHELESS, THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO TRY TO HOLD OFF A COUNCIL MEETING BEYOND MAY IF NO PROGRESS IS BEING MADE.
-
-- THE SYG SAID THAT, WHEN THE COUNCIL MEETS, HE WOULD BE OBLIGED TO PREPARE A REPORT THAT WOULD BE "HONEST AND STRAIGHTFORWARD."
-
4. IN CONCLUDING HIS PREPARED REMARKS, PEREZ DE CUELLAR EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL CONVICTION THAT WHAT WAS NEEDED NOW WAS SOME WAY TO SPEED UP THE PROCESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. A FACE-SAVING MECHANISM MUST BE FOUND THAT WOULD ENABLE AN AGREEMENT TO BE REACHED (I.E. ON THE CUBAN ISSUE). HE SAID HE WOULD WELCOME CONSULTATIONS ON THIS, ADDING THAT "THE UN COULD NOT PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IF IT WAS NOT WELL-INFORMED." HE CONCLUDED BY REITERATING THAT HIS PURPOSE IN CALLING THE MEETING HAD BEEN TO PROVIDE THE FIVE HIS CANDID AND HONEST APPRAISAL OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. HE INTENDS TO MEET NEXT WEEK WITH THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN PERM REP (WHOSE CREDENTIALS HE ACCEPTED FEBRUARY 17) FOR A SIMILAR DISCUSSION.

5. ASKED BY AMBASSADOR PELLETIER (CANADA) TO ELABORATE ON HIS DISCUSSIONS IN LUANDA AND HIS IMPRESSIONS OF DOS SANTOS, THE SYG SAID HE HAD FOUND DOS SANTOS, IF NOT THE STRONGEST OF LEADERS, A VERY PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC ONE. DOS SANTOS, IN REFERING TO THE NEXT MEETING WITH THE SAG IN CAPE VERDE, HAD GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WOULD BE DISCUSSING CONCRETE FORMULAS, BUT HE DID NOT DESCRIBE THEM. PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAID THAT DOS SANTOS HAD ARGUED VERY CLEARLY THAT THE KEY IS TO START BY SOLVING THE NAMIBIA QUESTION; ONCE THERE

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00453 03 OF 04 190527Z
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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 00453

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

WAS A UN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA, THERE WOULD BE NO RISK TO EITHER THE SOUTH AFRICANS OR THE ANGOLANS, AND NO NEED FOR THE CUBANS. (PEREZ DE CUELLAR ADDED THAT HE PERSONALLY SAW SOME LOGIC IN THIS THESIS.) DOS SANTOS HAD ALSO REHEARSED THE(FAMILIAR) STORY BEHIND THE JOINT CUBAN-ANGOLAN COMMUNIQUE OF FEBRUARY 4, 1981, AND HAD REMINDED THE SYG THAT THE CUBAN AND ANGOLAN REPS IN NEW YORK HAD EVEN TAKEN THE STEP OF "DEPOSITING" THE COMMUNIQUE WITH THE SYG LAST MARCH AS AN EARNEST OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO CUBAN WITHDRAWAL.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 00453 03 OF 04 190527Z

6. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION CONCERNING A POSSIBLE FACE-SAVING MECHANISM, AHTISAARI SUGGESTED THAT THE ANSWERS SEEMED TO REST ON WHAT WAS BEING REQUIRED IN TERMS OF CUBAN WITHDRAWAL (E.G. TOTAL OR SOMETHING SHORT OF THAT), AND WHETHER ONE COULD ADDRESS ANGOLA'S SECURITY CONCERNS. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS THEIR STRONG FEELING THAT WITHOUT SOME MOVEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA, IT WOULD BE "VERY DIFFICULT" FOR THE ANGOLANS TO GO FORWARD IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON CUBAN WITHDRAWAL. HE DESCRIBED THE ANGOLANS AS "DESPERATE" FOR SOME MOVEMENT ON THIS ISSUE, WHICH THEY ALSO SAW AS A TEST OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S GOOD FAITH AND INFLUENCE WITH THE SAG. THE SYG ADDED HIS HOPE THAT SOME MOVEMENT BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD TAKE PLACE SOON, BEFORE THE NEW DELHI SUMMIT, WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD ADD TO PRESSURES FOR ACTION IN NEW YORK.

7. IN SUMMING UP, PEREZ DE CUELLAR REITERATED THAT HE HAD FOUND A SENSE OF GROWING TENSION IN THE REGIDN. NO STATE WAS UNAFFECTED BY THE PERCEIVED THREAT OF SOUTH AFRICAN DESTABILIZATION. THE FLS GENERALLY EVINCED A DEEP SENSE OF FRUSTRATION AND DISLLUSIONMENT, NOT ONLY WITH THE CONTACT GROUP, BUT ALSC WITH THE SOVIETS. "THEY FEEL ISOLATED AND ABANDONED BY BOTH SIDES." AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAW ELEMENTS IN THE SITUATION FAVORING THE POSSIBILITY OF A SETTLEMENT. FOR HIS PART, THE SYG SAID HE HAD DONE HIS BEST TO DEFEND THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CONTACT GROUP, BECAUSE THERE COULD BE NO SETTLEMENT WITHOUT THE FIVE. HE HAD ALSO TOLD HIS FLS INTERLOCUTORS THAT HE INTENDED TO MAINTAIN HIS OWN IMPARTIALITY AND CREDIBILITY, AND TO PRESERVE HIS CHANNELS TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS. HE STRESSED AGAIN THAT "FROM YOUR SIDE AND MINE," SOMETHING MUST BE DONE TO PROVIDE GROUNDS FOR

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PAGE 03 USUN N 00453 03 OF 04 190527Z

HOPE, AND SAID HE WOULD WELCOME OUR REACTION IN DUE COURSE TO HIS ASSESSMENT.

8. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING, PEREZ DE CUELLAR ASKED AMBASSADOR LICHENSTEIN TO STAY BEHIND TO DISCUSS ANOTHER SUBJECT. IN THEIR PRIVATE MEETING, HE MADE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS:

-- FIRST, HE SAID HE HAD GAINED THE VERY STRONG IMPRESSION FROM HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH DOS SANTOS AND MACHEL THAT THEY WANTED HIM TO CONVEY TO THE U.S. THE MESSAGE THAT THEY DESPARATELY WANTED THE CUBANS OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE HAD BEEN SURPRISED AT THE STRENGTH WITH WHICH MACHEL HAD MADE THE POINT THAT"THE SOVIETS ARE USELESS; THEY DO NOTHING FOR US."
-- THE SYG HAD BEEN SURPRISED TO FIND THAT PAULO JORGE WAS NOWHERE IN EVIDENCE IN LUANDA. "KITO" RODRIGUEZ, HOWEVER, WAS PRESENT, AND HAD IMPRESSED THE SYG WITH HIS OPENESS AND REASONABLENESS, PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAID HE HAD GOTTEN THE CLEAR IMPRESSION FROM BOTH DOS SANTOS AND RODRIGUEZ THAT WITH THE CUBANS GONE, "SOMETHING COULD BE WORKED OUT" WITH UNITA. BOTH HAD ASKED THE SYG WHETHER ANGOLA "CAN DEPEND ON " THE GUARANTEES BEING OFFERED BY THE US, AND IT SEEMED EVIDENT THAT THEY WANTED HIM TO CONVEY THEIR CONCERN BACK TO US.
-- FINALLY, WITH REFERENCE TO DISCUSSIONS HE HAD HELD EARLIER WITH THE PORTUGUESE, PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAID IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE PORTUGUESE ARE WILLING TO DO EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO ASSIST ANGOLA IN THE AREA OF SECURITY GUARANTEES. IT IS NOT TIME FOR THE RETURN OF THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY TO AFRICA, BUT PORTUGAL APPEARS WILLING TO CONSIDER ANYTHING SHORT OF THAT.

9. RECALLING THAT HE HAD PROMISED SECRETARY SHULTZ A REPORT ON HIS TRIP, PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAID HE HOPED THIS

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PAGE 04 USUN N 00453 03 OF 04 190527Z

ORAL BRIEFING WOULD SERVE THAT PURPOSE FOR NDW. HE REITERATED AGAIN THAT HE IS AVAILABLE AND WILLING TO DO

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00453 04 OF 04 190527Z
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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

ANYTHING HE CAN TO ADVANCE A SETTLEMENT.
ADELMAN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** [redacted]

2/22/83

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

ARGENTINA PROJECT (F-2000000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full
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Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason ____

A5026

February 22, 1983

R

Mr. R. Scott Greathead
Chairman
Committee on International Human Rights
Room 47-92
Two World Trade Center
New York, New York 10047

Dear Mr. Greathead:

Thank you for sending me a second copy of your letter of September 10, 1982, to Elliott Abrams. Regrettably, your original letter was lost.

We, of course, share your interest in the human rights situation in Argentina. On November 15th I met with representatives of the Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo and discussed in detail their efforts to locate the thousands of persons who disappeared in Argentina in the mid-1970's. We also discussed how the US Government could be helpful. I was concerned to hear of the threats which have been made against that organization and against the Madres of the Plaza de Mayo.

I am hopeful that these threats will stop and that these two organizations will be able to continue their work free of threats or intimidation.

Sincerely yours,

Melvyn Levitsky
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Human Rights and
Humanitarian Affairs

Drafted:HA/HR:RESnyder:cml
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Chile Project (#S199900030)
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 01686

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/21/89
TAGS: SHUM, PREL, UNHRC, CI, MX
SUBJECT: 39TH UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC):
- MEXICAN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. A TOUGH MEXICAN TEXT ON CHILE IS NOW CIRCULATING AND IS TRANSMITTED HEREWITH. AT A WEO MEETING THERE WAS MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR ABOLISHING THE SPECIAL AGENDA ITEM FOR CHILE, BUT NO GOVERNMENT IS YET PREPARED TO INTRODUCE SUCH A MOTION.
END SUMMARY.

3. THE WEO WORKING GROUP ON LATIN AMERICAN QUESTIONS MET FEBRUARY 22. THE ONLY IMPORTANT ITEM TO COME UP WAS CHILE. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS SAID THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED FROM THE MEXICAN DELEGATION A COPY OF THE MEXICAN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CHILE. HE SAID THAT THE DRAFT SEEMED TO BE HARSHER THAN LAST YEAR'S RESOLUTION.
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01686 01 OF 03 221848Z

4. THE FRENCH REP ASKED WHAT POSITIONS GOVERNMENTS WOULD TAKE IF THERE WERE A MOTION, AS IN PAST YEARS, TO ELIMINATE ITEM 5 ON CHILE FROM THE AGENDA AND DEAL WITH CHILE UNDER ITEM 12 ALONG WITH OTHER SITUATIONS WHERE THERE ARE ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN

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RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. THE RESPONSE WAS AS FOLLOWS: THE REPS OF THE UK, THE US, FRG, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, FINLAND, AND JAPAN SAID THEY WOULD VOTE YES. FRANCE SAID IT WOULD VOTE NO. ITALY INDICATED A NO OR AN ABSTENTION. IRELAND WOULD ABSTAIN. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT "IN PRINCIPLE" HIS GOVERNMENT WAS AGAINST SPECIAL ITEMS FOR INDIVIDUAL CASES, BUT, AT THIS POINT, HE HAD NO IDEA HOW THE NETHERLANDS WOULD COME DOWN ON THE QUESTION--"YES, NO, OR ABSTAIN."

5. THE QUESTION WAS THEN ASKED WHETHER ANYONE WOULD INTRODUCE A MOTION TO DROP ITEM 5. SEVERAL INDICATED A RELUCTANCE TO DO SO. THE FRG REP SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT AS YET DECIDED ON THE MATTER.

6. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE MEXICAN DRAFT.

BEGIN TEXT:

QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

- THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS,

- AWARE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL, AND RESOLVED TO REMAIN VIGILANT WITH REGARD TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01686 01 OF 03 221848Z

THEY OCCUR,

- EMPHASIZING THE OBLIGATION OF GOVERNMENTS TO RESPECT AND PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO FULFILL THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEY HAVE ACCEPTED UNDER VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS,

- RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 11 (XXXV) OF 6 MARCH 1979, IN WHICH IT AGREED TO APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AND 1982/25 OF 10 MARCH 1982, IN WHICH IT DECIDED TO EXTEND FOR ONE MORE YEAR THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 33/173 OF 20 DECEMBER 1978 ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS AND 37/183 OF 16 DECEMBER 1982 ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE,

- EXPRESSING ITS GRAVE CONCERN THAT THERE IS NO IMPROVEMENT IN THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AS ESTABLISHED BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR IN HIS REPORT,

AND THAT NONE OF THE REPEATED APPEALS MADE BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE RESTORATION OF RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS HAVE BEEN HEEDED BY THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES, WHO PERSIST IN THEIR REFUSAL TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR,

- VOICING ITS DISQUIET AT THE ANNOUNCEMENTS MADE BY THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES PERMITTING THE RETURN TO THE COUNTRY OF THOUSANDS OF EXILES IN CONDITIONS RESTRICTIVE OF THEIR RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND BY MEANS OF DISCRIMINATORY MECHANISMS, AS WELL AS AT THE FACT THAT THE INALIENABLE RIGHT TO RE-ENTER THE COUNTRY THOSE
PERSONS,
-
- 1. COMMENDS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR HIS REPORTS ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 01686 01 OF 03 221848Z

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01686 02 OF 03 221851Z
ACTION IO-15

INFO	OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AID-07	INR-10	EUR-01	SS-10
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 01686

PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 1982/25 OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS;

- 2. REITERATES ITS GRAVE CONCERN AT THE PERSISTENCE OF SERIOUS AND SYSTEMATIC VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, AS ESTABLISHED BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AND,

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IN PARTICULAR, AT THE SUBVERSION OF THE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC LEGAL ORDER AND ITS INSTITUTIONS, THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE EXISTENCE OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH DOES NOT REFLECT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE FREELY EXPRESSED AND WHOSE PROVISIONS NOT ONLY FAIL TO GUARANTEE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS BUT SERIOUSLY LIMIT THEIR ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE;

- 3. REITERATES ALSO ITS GRAVE CONCERN AT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE REMEDIES OF HABEAS CORPUS OR AMPARO AND OF PROTECTION, OWING TO THE FACT THAT THE JUDICIARY IN CHILE DOES NOT EXERCISE ITS FULL POWERS IN THIS RESPECT AND PERFORMS ITS FUNCTIONS UNDER SEVERE RESTRICTIONS;
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01686 02 OF 03 221851Z

- 4. URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO PUT AN END TO THE STATE OF EMERGENCY UNDER WHICH SERIOUS AND CONSTANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE OCCURRING, AND TO REESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLE OF LEGALITY, DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE OF RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMITMENTS ENTERED INTO BY CHILE IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS;

- 5. LIKEWISE APPEALS ONCE AGAIN TO THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO INVESTIGATE AND CLARIFY THE FATE OF THE PERSONS WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO INFORM THEIR FAMILIES OF THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION AND TO PROSECUTE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH DISAPPEARANCES;

- 6. AGAIN URGES THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO PUT AN END TO INTIMIDATION AND PERSECUTION, AS WELL AS TO ARBITRARY ARREST AND DETENTION IN SECRET PLACES AND TO THE PRACTICE OF TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT WHICH, ON OCCASION, LEADS TO UNEXPLAINED DEATHS;
-
- 7. SIMILARLY CALLS ONCE AGAIN UPON THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT THE RIGHT OF CHILEANS TO LIVE IN THEIR COUNTRY AND TO ENTER AND LEAVE IT FREELY, WITHOUT RESTRICTION OR SUBJECTION TO ANY CONDITION, AND TO PUT AN END TO THE PRACTICE OF "RELEGATION" (CONFINEMENT WITH FORCED RESIDENCE) AND OF FORCD EXILE, PARTICULARLY OF THOSE WHO TAKE PART IN TRADE UNION OR ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES OR ACTIVITIES CONNECTED WITH THE

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DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS;
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01686 02 OF 03 221851Z

- 8. APPEALS ONCE AGAIN TO THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESTORE THE FULL ENJOYMENT AND XERCISE OF LABOUR RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY THE RIGHT TO FORM TRADE UNIONS, THE RIGHT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE;

- 9. CALLS AGAIN ON THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE CULTURAL IDENTITY AND TO IMPROVE THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION;

- 10. AGAIN REQUESTS THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND TO SUBMIT THEIR COMMENTS ON HIS REPORT AT THE FORTIETH SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS;

- 11. DECIDES TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR A YEAR AND REQUESTS HIM TO REPORT ON THE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AT ITS THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, AND TO THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ITS FORTIETH SESSION;

- 12. RECOMMENDS TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL THAT IT MAKE THE APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS TO ENSURE THAT SUFFICIENT FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND STAFF ARE PROVIDED TO IMPLEMENT THIS RESOLUTION;

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01686 03 OF 03 221851Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 01686

- 13. DECIDES TO CONSIDER, AT ITS FORTIETH SESSION, AS A MATTER OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY, THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE.

END TEXT.
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PAGE 01 STATE 048296
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TAGS: SOPN
SUBJECT: ARA NEWS ITEMS OF FEBRUARY 22, 1983

1. SUMMARY OF NEWSPAPERS:

-- SATURDAY WASHINGTON POST --

EL SALVADOR: AP FROM AGUILARES, EL SALVADOR PAGE 16
(THREE JOURNALISTS MISSING 20 MILES FROM SAN SALVADOR)
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 048296

NOTES DISAPPEARANCE OF AMCIT FREE-LANCE JOURNALIST

MICHAEL LUHAN AND TWO SWEDISH REPORTERS NEAR SUCHITOTO, WHERE HEAVY FIGHTING HAS BEEN HAPPENING. AP SAYS THERE WAS SPECULATION THE THREE HAD TRAVELED TO THE AREA TO CONTACT GUERRILLAS, BUT THAT COULD NOT BE CONFIRMED. LUHAN WRITES FOR THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS AMONG OTHER PUBLICATIONS. ABANDONED RENTAL CAR WAS FOUND NEAR AGUILARES, 20 MILES NORTH OF SAN SALVADOR, WITH JOURNALISTS' DOCUMENTS IN THE CAR. THREE MISSING MEN LEFT THEIR SAN SALVADOR HOTEL ON MONDAY, AND WERE WARNED BY SOLDIERS AT A MILITARY POST NEAR AGUILARES TO STAY OFF THE ROAD BECAUSE IT WAS HEAVILY MINED. NO INDICATION, HOWEVER, THAT THEY HAD COME TO HARM, SAYS AP. AP NOTES THAT "THE REGION IS HEAVILY PATROLLED BY GUERRILLAS, THE ARMY AND RIGHTIST DEATH SQUADS, AND FREQUENT CLASHES

BETWEEN REBELS AND GOVERNMENT FORCES MAKE IT ONE OF THE MOST HOSTILE IN THE COUNTRY."

-- SUNDAY WASHINGTON POST --

EL SALVADOR: _DON OBERDORFER PAGE 33 (MINES APPROVED, GRENADES DENIED FOR EL SALVADOR) SAYS THAT AFTER AN INTERNAL DEBATE, THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS APPROVED THE SHIPMENT OF CLAYMORE MINES TO SALVADORAN MILITARY FORCES BUT HAS REFUSED TO SUPPLY WHITE PHOSPHOROUS GRENADES. GOES REQUEST, MADE LAST FALL, SAYS OBERDORFER, "TOUCHED OFF ONE OF THE LATEST OF MANY DEBATES AMONG US OFFICIALS ABOUT THE TACTICS WEAPONRY AND POLITICAL IMPACT OF SALVADORAN MILITARY." OBERDORFER SAYS AMB. HINTON AND SALVADORAN FORCES ARE REPORTED TO BE DISSASTISFIED WITH WASHINGTON'S REFUSAL TO SUPPLY THE INCENDIARY GRENADES. "HINTON APPARENTLY MADE A CASE THAT THE GRENADES WERE UNCLASSIFIED

NEEDED TO HELP SPECIALLY TRAINED FORCES BREAK OFF CONTACT WITH GUERRILLAS AND TO SIGNAL FRIENDLY FORCES." THE PENTAGON AND STATE DEPT'S BUREAU OF POLITICO-MILITARY AFFAIRS BACKED THE REQUEST, SAYS OBERDORFER, BUT OTHER STATE DEPT. BUREAUS, INCLUDING ARA AND HA, "ARGUED SUCCESSFULLY THAT THE USE OF THE FIERY GRENADES AS ANTI-PERSONNEL WEAPONS WOUILD HAVE DEVESTATING EFFECT ON CIVILIANS. MOREOVER...A STRONG PUBLIC REACTION TO THE SUPPLY OF THE WEAPONS COULD UNDERMINE US EFFORTS IN EL SALVADOR." OBERDORFER SAYS A CENTRAL WORRY AMONG POLICY MAKERS IS THAT THE SALVADORAN MILITARY SITUATION IS ESSENTIALLY STALEMATED AND THAT, OVER TIME, THE GOES WILL BE WORN DOWN. THERE IS AGREEMENT IN THE PENTAGON AND

STATE DEPT. THAT NO SIGNIFICANT ADVANCES ARE BEING MADE AGAINST THE INSURGENTS AS THE GOES IS MAINLY IN A "REACTIVE MODE," HE SAYS, BUT QUOTES A STATE OFFICIAL AS SAYING THE GUERRILLAS ARE OPERATING CLOSE TO THEIR POTENTIAL. HE NOTES THAT "THERE IS A CONSENSUS IN GOVERNMENT THAT LITTLE OR NO MAJOR CHANGE CAN BE EXPECTED BEFORE THE CURRENT UNCERTAINTY IS RESOLVED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF GEN. GARCIA...MANY REPORTS SUGGEST THAT GARCIA IS LIKELY TO STEP DOWN DUE TO INTERNAL MANEUVERING WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS." AT THE SAME TIME, SAYS OBERDORFER, "EBBING SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORAN EFFORTS IN CONGRESS, AS WELL AS THE PERCEPTION OF
STALEMATE, HAS GIVEN RISE TO DISCUSSIONS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF NEW INITIATIVES IN THE DIPLOMATIC FIELD." HE NOTES STORIES ABOUT "TWO-TRACK" POLICY,D AND SECY. SHULTZ' AND OTHER OTHER OFFICIALS' DENIAL OF SUCH A POLICY. "STATE DEPT. OFFICIALS SAID THAT ONE PROPOSAL UNDER RECENT DISCUSSION IS FOR RENEWED EFFORTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA TO INDUCE NICARAGUA TO STOP SUPPORT INTERNATIONALRENA TO INDUCE NICARAGUA TO STOP SUPPORT OF SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS, RESTRICT ITS MILITARY RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND THE SOVIET BLOC AND MOVE TOWARD POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AT HOME IN RETURN FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS
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WITH THE US, INCLUDIG US ECONOMIC AID."

EL SALVADOR: COLMAN MCCARTHY OP-ED COLUMN PAGE G6 (EL SALVADOR'S DEADLY ASSAULT ON THE PRESS) NOTES THAT "THE SULLIVAN CASE IS ONE OF DOZENS OF UNREPORTED MYSTERIES INVOLVING JOURNALISTS IN EL SALVADOR. ACCORDING TO THE COUNCIL ON HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS, 13 KILLINGS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE PAST THREE YEARS. SOME WERE SALVADORANS, OTHERS FOREIGNERS. IN ADDITION TO THE SLAIN, 11 OTHER JOURNALISTS ARE MISSING AND PRESUMED DEAD. A LARGER, UNCOUNTED GROUP HAS BEEN IMPRISONED, WOUNDED THREATENED OR EXILED. PUT TOGETHER, THE NUMBERS REPRESENT AN ASSAULT ON THE PRESS THAT HAS BEEN A WAR WITHIN A WAR." MCCARTHY CITES FIGURE OF 5,935 NONCOMBATANT DEATHS LAST YEAR, "49 BY GUERRILLAS AND 5,349 BY GOVERNMENT FORCES AND RIGHT-WING PARAMILITARY GROUPS. NO ONE DOUBTS THAT THE SAME PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN KILLING MOST OF THE CIVILIANS ALSO SEE THE PRESS AS AN ENEMY TO BE ELIMINATED. IN THE CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS CERTIFICATION DEBATE, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT'S CONTEMPT FOR INDEPENDENT JOURNALISM IS SELDOM MENTIONED. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS AN OBVIOUS INTEREST IN EDITING OUT ANY

MENTION OF DEAD, MISSING OR JAILED JOURNALISTS. IT HAS TROUBLE ENOUGH STAMMERING THROUGH ITS DEFENSE OF A REGIME THAT HAS YET TO RESOLVE THE 1980 MURDERS OF THE FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN. SUCH A QUESTION AS WHETHER GOVERNMENT FORCES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MARCH 1982 AMBUSH KILLING OF FOUR DUTCH NEWSMEN (AS IS SUSPECTED BY INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS) IS A PUZZLE NOW ALL BUT FORGOTTEN," MCCARTHY CONTINUES. HE SAYS THE GOES REFUSES "TO MAKE EVEN MODEST CONCESSIONS TO FAIR-DEALING WITH THE PRESS," AND CONTINUES TO HOLD SEVERAL JOURNALISTS ON "HOKEY SUBVERSION CHARGS." THE SIMPLE UNCLASSIFIED

SOLUTIONS TO THE SULLIVAN CASE AND THE IMPRISONED JOURNALISTS, "RELEASING A BODY AND FREEING NONCRIMINAL JOURNALISTS, ARE TOO MUCH FOR THE REGIME (AND) TELL A STORY OF JUDICIAL PARALYSIS. MORE, IT SAYS THAT TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RIGHT WING, ATTACKING THE PRESS IS AS NEEDED AS KILLING CITIZENS WHO ARE SUSPECTED OF AIDING GUERRILLAS. JOURNALISTS ARE SEEN AS ALIGNED WITH THE ENEMY. THEY REPORT THAT THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM IS GOING NOWHERE, HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS IS NIL, AND US MILITARY AID MEANS MORE DEATH. THESE ARE AMONG THE REASONS THAT THE GUERRILLAS BEGAN AND CONTINUE THEIR REVOLUTION."

-- MONDAY WASHINGTON POST --

EL SALVADOR/NICARAGUA: CHRISTOPHER DICKEY FRONT PAGE FROM EL SALVADOR (NICARAGUAN AID CALLED NOT VITAL TO SALVADORANS, CONTINUED PAGE 18 UNDER HEAD NICARAGUAN AID TO REBELS CALLED 'PEANUTS') SAYS FOREIGN ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE GUERRILLAS ARE PROBABLY NOT AS EXTENSIVE OR AS VITAL TO THE OUTCOME OF THE WAR AS THEY ONCE APPEARED TO BE, ACCORDING TO DIPLOMATS AND US MILITARY OFFICIALS. DICKEY'S SOURCES SAY THAT THE GUERRILLAS HAVE CAPTURED ENOUGH ARMS FROM THE GOES ARMED FORCES TO "SUSTAIN THEIR NEEDS" IF THEY HAVE SUPPLEMENTAL AMMUNITION FROM OUTSIDE. "DESPITE THE INSISTENCE OF ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON THAT NICARAGUA IS CONTINUING TO PROVIDE A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF WEAPONS TO THE SALVADORAN REBELS, DIPLOMATS AND MILITARY OFFICIALS IN CENTRAL AMERICA SAY THAT FOR MORE THAN A YEAR THERE HAS BEEN VERY LITTLE SOLID EVIDENCE OF MATERIEL SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORANS ORIGINATING IN NICARAGUA." ONE SOURCE CALLED

THE SUPPLY, "PEANUTS," AND ANOTHER ESTIMATED IT AT 20-30 PERCENT OF THE GUERRILLAS' NEEDS AT PEAK TIMES.
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PAGE 06 STATE 048296

WASHINGTON OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, SAYS DICKEY, CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT SUCH AID IS VITAL TO THE GUERRILLAS. HE CITES COMMENTS BY SECY. SHULTZ AND CIA DIRECTOR CASEY.

DICKEY SAYS THAT "A GROWING CONCERN AMONG SOME US OFFICIALS IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS THAT PLACING TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON FOREIGN ARMS SUPPLIES AS THE SOURCE OF EL SALVADOR'S CURRENT PROBLEMS ALLOWS THE MILITARY HERE TO SIDESTEP THE SERIOUS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN WHICH THE CONFLICT IS ROOTED." HE IMPLIES THAT SOME SALVADORAN STORIES OF CLANDESTINE ARMS SUPPLY FLIGHTS MAY NOT BE COMPLETELY TRUE, AND MAY BE RELATED TO THE FEELING THAT THE SALVADORANS ARE FIGHTING WASHINGTON'S EAST-WEST WAR, AND THAT WASHINGTON SHOULD BE DOING MORE OF THE JOB ITSELF. THE REBELS, HE NOTES, DENY RECEIVING ANY IMPORTANT AMOUNT OF WEAPONS FROM SYPATHETIC GOVERNMENTS. HE ALSO NOTE THAT THE ISSUE OF NICARAGUAN SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORAN REBELS HAS BEEN A MAJOR OBSTACLE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND THE GRN. "EFFORTS TO INTERDICT ARMS SHIPMENTS FROM NICARAGUA OR TO PRESSURE THE GOVERNMENT THERE INTO CUTTING OFF ALL SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORAN INSURGENTS HAVE COLORED US POLICY THROUGHOUT CENTRAL AMERICA." DICKEY CONTINUES, SAYING THAT THE SUPPLY OF ARMS FROM NICARAGUA IS CONTINUING AT A "RELATIVELY HIGH LEVEL," INCLUDES HEAVY WEAPONS SUCH AS MORTARS, AND IS ARRIVING MORE BY AIR NOW THAN IN THE PAST. DICKEY SAYS, HOWEVER, THAT DESPITE THESE ASSERTIONS, "NOT A SIGNLE MAJOR SHIPMENT OF ARMS HAS BEEN CAPTURED IN OR NEAR EL SALVADOR SINCE A COSTA RICAN PILOT WAS CAUGHT IN 1981....ONE PROBLEM IN WASHINGTON'S APPRAISAL OF THE ARMS-SUPPLY PROBLEM IS ELECTRONIC AND PHOTOGRAPHIC INTELLIGENCE TO WHICH MOST US OFFICIALS ON THE ISTHMUS SAY THEY HAVE HAD NO ACCESS...US
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PAGE 07 STATE 048296

DIPLOMATS SAY THE INFORMATION HAS NOT EVEN BEEN SHOWN TO THE SALVADORANS TO AID THEM IN CATCHING ALLEGED SMUGGLERS."

-- TUESDAY WASHINGTON POST --

VENEZUELA: JACKSON DIEHL FRONT PAGE BOX FROM CARACAS (TOTTERING MARKET HAS VENEZUELA IN SUSPENSE, CONTINUED PAGE 12 UNDER HEAD VENEZUELA MAPS NEW OIL STRATEGY) SAYS OIL GLUT AND OPEC'S INABILITY TO RESOLVE SITUATION HAS LEFT VENEZUELA HELPLESS AND ALMOST PARALYZED ECONOMICALLY. AS GOV WAITS, THE PROBLEM, WHICH DIEHL NOTES COULD AFFECT THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS, THE PAYMENT OF A HUGE FOREIGN DEBT AND VENEZUELA'S MEMBERSHIP IN OPEC, GROWS. WITH EACH $1 THE PRICE OF OIL DROPS THIS YEAR, HE SAYS, VENEZUELA WILL LOSE $500 MILLION -- OR TWO PERCENT OF ITS TOTAL GOVERNMENT BUDGET. "AND WITH EVERY DECREASE OF 100,000 BARRELS FROM THE 1.6 MILLION BARRELS OF OIL VENEZUELA HOPES TO EXPORT PER DAY, $1 BILLION WILL BE LOST FROM THE REVENUE THAT FUNDS THIS NATION'S SOCIAL SERVICES, BACKS ITS INDUSTRIES AND ALONE HAS RAISED IT FROM POVERTY TO THE RICHEST STATE IN LATIN AMERICA." GOV ECONOMY IS DEEPLY VULNERABLE TO SHIFTS IN THE PRICE OF OIL, DESPITE A DECADE OF SPENDING ON DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, SAYS DIEHL, AND GOV OFFICIALS HAVE OFFERED NO HINTS OF HOW THEY WILL FINANCE THIS YEAR'S BUDGET OR RESPOND IN THE HEAT OF AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IF AN OIL PRICE WAR BREAKS OUT AMONG OPEC NATIONS. FEW BELIEVE VENEZUELA WILL SURVIVE WITHOUT RESHAPING OF THE ECONOMY, SAYS DIEHL, AND A NEW OIL MARKETING STRATEGY IS TAKING PLACE IN VENEZUELA, WHICH MAY DISTANCE IT FROM ITS OPEC COMMITMENTS. GOV OFFICIALS ARE TALKING OF A NEW EMPHASIS ON RELATIONS WITH NON-OPEC PRODUCERS AND CONSUMING NATIONS, PARTICULARLY MEXICO AND THE US. VENEZUELAN SOURCES SAY THAT VENEZUELA WILL BEGIN LOOKING TOWARD A POLICY CONCENTRATED ON THE HEMISPHERE. DIEHL NOTES THAT UNCLASSIFIED

THE GOV'S HAS TAKEN STEPS TO CONTROL THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, BUT THAT ITS RELUCTANCE TO TAKE THE MAJOR AUSTERITY MEASURES SOUGHT BY BANKERS, COMBINED WITH THE

UNWILLINGNESS OF MANY BANKS TO RISK MORE CAPITAL IN A SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRY, HAS LED MANY FINANCIAL EXPERTS TO CONCLUDE THAT VENEZUELA WILL SOON BE FORCED INTO A MAJOR RESCHEDULING OF ITS DEBT.

EL SALVADOR: NEWS BRIEF IN "AROUND THE WORLD" COLUMN PAGEE 7 (3 NEWSMEN REPORTED SAFE) SAYS THAT A REBEL RADIO BROADCAST HAS SAID THAT THREE JOURNALISTS, ONE AMERICAN, MISSING IN EL SALVADOR SINCE FEB. 14 ARE SAFE IN

GUERRILLA-CONTROLLED TERRITORY AND ARE SEEKING RED CROSS ASSISTANCE TO CROSS BACK INTO GOVERNMENT TERRITORY.

EL SALVADOR: PHILIP GEYELIN HAS OP-ED COLUMN PAGE 15 (SINKING IN THE EL SALVADOR QUAGMIRE) IN WHICH HE COMMENTS ON ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD CERTIFICATION. ALMOST AS A "THROW-AWAY," HE SAYS, ASST. SECY. ENDERS DURING HIS CERTIFICATION TESTIMONY SAID THAT "THE LEVERAGE (ON THE GOES) UNDER CERTIFICATION HAS BEEN HELPFUL -- INDEED, PERHAPS ESSENTIAL." GEYELIN ASKS IF THAT MEANS THAT "THE ADMINISTRATION'S DEVOTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND/OR ITS INFLUENCE IN SAN SALVADOR IS SO FEEBLE THAT CONGRESSIONAL REINFORCEMENT IS A NECESSITY?...SURELY (THAT) IS THE BEGINNING OF A WHIMPER IN AN ADMINISTRATION POLICY THAT BEGAN TWO YEARS AGO WITH SUCH A BANG." IN THOSE DAYS, GEYELIN SAYS, WE WERE TOLD NOT TO WORRY ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S REPRESSIVE WAYS OR THE DEATH SQUADS, SINCE THE US WOULD GIVE THE GOVERNMENT THE MILITARY TOOLS AND THE TRAINING TO WIN AGAINST THE GUERRILLAS, AND DEMOCRACY WAS JUST AROUND THE CORNER. NOW, HOWEVER, UNCLASSIFIED

GEYELIN SAYS, REBELS ARE RUNNING US-TRAINED FORCES RAGGED, AND ENDERS HIMSELF ADMITS A "STANDOFF." HIT SQUADS CONTINUE, GEYELIN SAYS. "ONLY THE PROMISE OF ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR GIVES ANY MEANING TO THE FRAGILE DEMOCRATIC PROCES SO LOUDLY HAILED WHEN THE HARD RIGHT WON LAST YEAR'S PRELIMINARY VOTING FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. ENDERS' AIR OF RESIGNATION TO A MEASURE OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT IS NOT THE ONLY SIGN THAT AT LEAST SOME ELEMENTS IN THE POLICY-MAKING APPARATUS HAVE A SENSE OF SINKING IN THE EL SALVADOR QUAGMIRE. A HEAVY DEBATE IS SHAPING UP WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION OVER HOW TO WRIGGLE FREE." A SENSE OF THIS COMES IN DENIALS OF POLICY CHANGES, GEYELIN SAYS. HE CITES "TWO-TRACK POLICY," SAYING ITS AIM IS CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR "WHAT PASSES FOR A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT" WHILE DISCREETLY EXPLORING A NEGOTIATED RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT. BUT, HE SAYS, AMB. KIRKPATRICK "OVERSIMPLIFIED WHAT ENDERS ACTUALLY IS UP TO," BY SEEKING TO REJCT ANY SUCH NOTION IN THE NAME OF "WASHINGTON, AND THE STATE DEPT., THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE US GOVERNMENT." IT WAS A CLASSIC WHITE HOUSE AND THE USGOVERNMENT." IT WAS A CLASSIC OVERKILL, A RINGING DENIAL OF ANY INTENT TO CUT A DEAL WITH ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE VARIOUS OPPOSITION FACTIONS BY WAY OF DIVVYING UP POWER WITHOUT BENEFIT OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, SAYS GEYELIN, WHO NOTES THAT ENDERS HAS SAID AS

MUCH PUBLICLY.

WHAT ENDERS HAS "LAID OUT IN A MEMO TO SECY. SHULTZ IS MUCH MORE OF A PRESENTATION OF ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO ARRANGE A SOLUTION THROUGH DIPLOMACY THAN A HARD-AND-FAST RECOMMENDATION," SAYS GEYELIN. "HE IS REPORTEDLY LOOKING FOR SOME WAY TO BROADEN THE PEACEMAKING EFFORT, AVOIDING DIRECT US DEALINGS WITH THE REBELS WHILE SEARCHING FOR A SOLUTION IN A WIDER CENTRAL AMERICAN CONTEXT. HE WOULD LIKE TO ENERGIZE A CONCERTED EFFORT BY THE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA WITH THE MOST TO GAIN BY DEFUSING THE EAST-WEST
UNCLASSIFIED

ASPECT OF THE CONFLICT. THE IDEAL OBJECTIVE WOULD BE THE REMOVAL OF ALL OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL CLASHES -- AMERICAN AS WELL AS SOVIET AND CUBAN. SOME KIND OF MULTINATIONAL FORCES AND INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE MOBILIZED TO MAKE AND KEEP THE PEACE." THAT'S A TALL ORDER, CONCLUDES GEYELIN, AND "ALSO A MEASURE OF HOW DISMAL THE PRSPECTS LOOK, GIVEN THE WAY THINGS ARE PROCEEDING IN EL SALVADOR, NICARAGUA, GUATEMALA AND THE REST OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD. CONGRESS IS INCREASINGLY RESTIVE. SCORN FOR THE 'CERTIFICATION' RITUAL FOR EL SALVADOR SPURS TALK OF CUTTING THE PRESENT MILITARY-AID LEVEL EVEN AS THE ADMINISTRATION TALKS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE NEED TO QUADRUPLE IT IF TODAY'S 'STANDOFF' IS NOT TO SLIP BACK INTO ALMOST TOTAL ANARCHY. SMALL WONDER THAT TOM ENDERS SHOULD BE ALMOST WELCOMING CONGRESSIONAL CONSTRAINTS IN THE INTEREST OF STRENGTHENING THE ADMINISTRATION'S HAND -- OR THAT THE REALISTS AT STATE, AT ANY RATE, ARE BEGINNING TO SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF EL SALVADOR."

-- TUESDAY WASHINGTON TIMES --

EL SALVADOR: CLETO DI GIOVANNI HAS OP-ED COLUMN PAGE 2C (EL SALVADOR: NEGOTIATIONS AND THE 'DECENT INTERVAL') WHICH NOTES GROWING CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN EL SALVADOR, WITH CONGRESS, STATE DEPT., JOURNALISTS, ACADEMICS, ETC. SUPPORTING THEM. SOME MAY OBJECT, HE NOTES, INCLUDING THE GOES, BUT AS IN VIETNAM, "IF WASHINGTON DECIDES IT'S TIME FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, RESISTANCE TO THAT IDEA AMONG THE NATIVES BECOMES MERELY A TECHNICAL DIFFICULTY." DI GIOVANNI CONSIDERS WHAT HE SAYS WOULD BE THREE PROBABLY CONSEQUENCES OF A SETTLEMENT LEADING TO A COALITION GOVERNMENT: 1) EVENTUALLY A COMMUNIST

DOMINATED GOVERNMENT; 2) A DISINTEGRATION OF MORALE AND DOMINATED GOVERNMENT; 2) A DISINTEGRATION OF MORALE AND DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES, AND 3) A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON "THE MORAL FIBER" OF THE US, SINCE IT WILL REINFORCE "THE VIETNAM SYNDROME -- A PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION IN OUR COUNTRY CHARACTERIZED BY IMPATIENCE WITH PROTRACTED GUERRILLA WARS, SUSCEPTIBILITY TO PRES MANIPULATION OF FACTS, AND A LACK OF INTEREST IN GETTING INVOLVED IN THESE CONFLICTS -- REGARDLESS OF WHERE THEY ARE OR WHAT US NATIONAL INTERESTS THEY THREATEN. THAT KIND OF REINFORCEMENT WOULD MAKE ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT ANY NEW COMMITMENT OF US RESOURCES TO COUNTER THE NEXT COMMUNIST ATTEMPT TO GRAB POWER SOMEWHERE," DI GIOVANNI SAYS. THIS IS THE WRONG TIME FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN TO YIELD ON HIS PRINCIPLES IN EL SALVADOR, HE CONCLUDES.

-- TUESDAY BALTIMORE SUN --

CENTRAL AMERICA: TWO RELATED STORIES UNDER SAME HEAD (WARNINGS ISSUED ON CENTRAL AMERICAN AID) PAGE 4. FIRST, BY KNIGHT NEWS SERVICE (BACK SALVADOR OR RISK WARS, ENDERS SAYS) NOTES ASST. SECY. ENDERS SPEECH MONDAY TO AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON, IN WHICH HE SAID THAT UNLESS THE US CONTINUES SUPPORTING EL SALVADOR, COMMUNIST GUERRILLA FORCES WILL SEIZE CENTRAL AMERICA AND "IN FOUR OR FIVE YEARS WE'LL BE FIGHTING ALONG THE BANKS OF THE PANAMA CANAL AND ALONG THE MEXICAN BORDER." ITEM SAYS ENDERS ALSO "SERVED NOTICE ON THE ;SOVIET UNION, CUBA AND NICARAGUA THAT THE US MAY TAKE 'DIRECT ACTION' SHOULD THEY PERSIST IN 'DESTABILIZING' GOVERNMENTS IN THE HEMISPHERE." ITEM SAYS SPEECH APPEARED "TO BE A SUDDEN TOUGHENING OF ADMINISTRATION TALK ABOUT CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, TALK THAT HAD SEEMED LESS COMBATIVE UNDER SECY... SHULTZ. BUT AN AIDE TO MR. ENDERS SAID LATER THAT THE SPEECH MARKED 'NO WATERSHED IN RHETORIC OR SUBSTANCE...HAD HE BEEN TALKING TO THE COUNCIL ON
UNCLASSIFIED

HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS, HE MIGHT HAVE TAILORED HIS REMARKS TO THOSE PORTIONS OF OUR POLICY WHICH ARE MORE MODERATE,' THE AIDE SAID, ADDING THAT US POLICY TOWARD THE REGION HAS NOT CHANGED. NEVERTHELESS, MR. ENDERS -- WHO SPOKE

WITHOUT A TEXT -- USED SOME OF THE TOUGHEST LANGUAGE IN RECENT MEMORY IN DISCUSSING THE REGION." SECOND ITEM, BY FRANK SOMERVILLE, RELIGION EDITOR OF THE SUN, (DON'T ISOLATE NICARAGUA, 3 BISHOPS ASK) SAYS THREE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS HAVE RETURNED FROM A FACT-FINDING TRIP TO CENTRAL AMERICA WITH A PLEA TO THE USG NOT TO ISOLATE NICARAGUA FROM "CRITICALLY NEEDED RESOURCES." GROUP, COMPOSED OF MOST REV. JAMES HICKEY, ARCHBISHOP OF WASHINGTON, MOST REV. PATRICK FLORES OF SAN ANTONION, AND MOST REV. PETER GERETY OF NEWARK, SPENT NINE DAYS IN EL SALVADOR, NICARAGUA AND HONDURAS. GROUP ISSUED SHORT SALVADOR, NICARAGUA AND HONDURAS. GROUP ISSUED SHORT THEY ARE PREPARING A "CONFIDENTIAL REPORT" FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE US BISHOPS' CONFERENCE. ABOUT NICARAGUA, GROUP'S STATEMENT SAID, "WE WANT TO STRESS OUR CONVICTION THAT THE CAUSE OF PEACE WOULD NOT BE BEST SERVED BY ISOLATING NICARAGUA FROM ACCESS TO CRITICALLY NEEDED RESOURCES. WE INTEND TO URGE OUR OWN GOVERNMENT TO AVOID ACTIONS OR STATEMENTS TEHAT WOULD TEND TO FURTHER SUCH ISOLATION." THEY SAID THEY ALSO BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY TO "SUPPORT THE CHURCH IN NICARAGUA IN ITS EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THOSE BASIC HUMAN FREEDOMS ESSENTIAL TO ITS CHRISTIAN HERITAGE."

-- SATURDAY NEW YORK TIMES --

EL SALVADOR: EDIT ("IF WAR'S HELL, WHAT'S THE ALTERNATIVE?") SAYS THAT IF THE SECRETARY MEANT TO SOUND TOUGH AND STEADY, HE "SOUNDED TESTY IN TELLING CONGRESS UNCLASSIFIED

WHY HE OPPOSED NEGOTIATIONS TO END EL SALVADOR'S CIVIL WAR." NO ONE FACTION HAS A MONOPOLY ON MAKING LIFE HELL IN EL SALVADOR ("IT WASN'T GUERRILLAS WHO KILLED FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN AND TWO AMERICAN LABOR OFFICIALS; THE ACCUSED WORE OUR SIDE'S ARMY UNIFORMS, AND NONE HAVE BEEN PUNISHED. AND FOR THE MOST PART, IT ISN'T GUERRILLAS WHO ROUTINELY DRAG CIVILIANS FROM THEIR HOMES TO BE TORTURED OR KILLED"), AND "THE INSURGENTS HOPE TO SHOOT THEIR WAY INTO POWER AND THEY SHOULD BE RESISTED, NOT ONLY WITH FORCE BUT ALSO WITH DEMONSTRATIONS THAT THERE ARE MORE HUMANE ALTERNATIVES," THE EDIT CONTINUES. NOTING THAT SIMILAR INSURGENTS SUCCEEDED IN NEARBY NICARAGUA "WHEN A CRUEL AND CORRUPT REGIME FELL OF ITS OWN DEAD WEIGHT. IT OUGHT TO BE THE AIM OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY TO PREVENT THAT HAPPENING IN EL SALVADOR, IF STILL POSSIBLE. THE SIGNS THERE NOW POINT TO A

BATTLEFIELD STANDOFF, WHICH MIGHT PROVIDE SOME OPENINGS FOR A BROKERED PEACE THAT RESTORES ORDER AND PROTECTS PLURALISM." THE EDITORIAL NOTES THAT "JUST THAT IDEA WAS REPORTED TO BE PERCOLATING IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, BUT MR. SHULTZ DENIES IT. HE DENIES IT SO VEHEMENTLY THAT MORE THAN THE MERITS OF ONE OR ANOTHER PROPOSAL SEEM TO DISTURB HIM. SURELY HE DOES NOT MEAN THERE'S NO CONCEIVABLE WAY TO TRANSFORM THE BATTLE INTO POLITICAL COMPETITION." TURNING BRIEFLY TO NICARAGUA AND US EFFORTS TO SECURE PLURALISTIC COMMITTMENTS ("NICARAGUA TODAY IS CERTAINLY NO ADVERTISEMENT FOR TRUSTING LEFTISTS; BUT AMERICA'S DIEHARD SUPPORT OF THE SOMOZA DICTATORSHIP WAS NO PRECEDENT FOR SIDING WITH REGIMES OF TERROR"), THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT "GIVEN THE MILITARY STANDOFF IN EL SALVADOR, AND THE PRESENCE OF MILITARYSTANDOFF IN EL SALVADOR, AND THE PRESENCE OF

DEMOCRATS AS WELL AS AUTHORITARIANS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BARRICADES, THERE MAY STILL BE ROOM TO BARGAIN. OF COURSE THE STATE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE THINKING ABOUT UNCLASSIFIED

NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE SALVADORAN FACTIONS; THAT IS ITS JOB."

EL SALVADOR: LYDIA CHAVEZ, REPORTING FROM SAN SALVADOR ("IN A SEESAW WAR, SALVADORANS HOLD THEIR PEACE" P. 2), CHARACTERIZES THE SITUATION OF THE THREE YEAR CONFLICT AS BEING WAGED IN CYCLES: "EACH BEGINS WITH AN ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE CLANDESTINE REBEL RADIO STATION THAT A NEW OFFENSIVE IS IMMINENT. GUERRILLAS, FOLLOWED BY GOVERNMENT TROOPS, THEN SWEEP THROUGH THE COUNTRYSIDE AND, IN A MATTER OF WEEKS, RETURN TO BASE CAMPS AND BARRACKS, LEAVING BEHIND BURNED-OUT BUILDINGS AND FRESH GRAVES." IN THE LATEST CYCLE, THE WAR CAME HOME TO 70,000 CIVILIANS AND 11 TOWNS IN THE PROVINCES OF USULUTAN AND MORAZAN. "BY LAST WEEK THE FIGHTING APPEARED TO HAVE EBBED AND THE CIVILIANS WERE RESUMING WHAT PASSES FOR NORMALCY IN THIS COUNTRY....THE CIVILIANS TOUCHED BY THE WAR NEVER TALK ABOUT WHO WON OR LOST. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A DIFFERENCE IN ATTITUDE BETWEEN THOSE WHO LIVE IN TOWNS VISITED FREQUENTLY BY THE WAR AND THOSE IN PLACES NEW TO IT."

BOLIVIA: SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG OP-ED PIECE ("THE GRAY AREAS") STATES THAT "HERPAHS IT IS THAT EVENTS LIKE HIS (KLAUS BARBIE) EXTRADITION AND COMING TRIAL, WHEN WE WILL

BE LOOKING AT SOMETHING BLACK AND WHITE, GIVE US A CHANCE TO TAKE THE GRAY AREAS OUT OF OUR CLOSETS AND STRUGGLE WITH THEM IN SEARCH OF PEACE OF MIND." SCHANBERG, WRITING ABOUT FORGETTING UNPLEASANT REMINDERS, BRING UP CAMBODIA -- "A SMALL, WEAK, REMOTE COUNTRY AT TENUOUS PEACE UNTIL 1970 WHEN OUR NIXON-KISSINGER GOVERNMENT, ALONG WITH OUR COMMUNIST ADVERSARIES, BROUGHT FORTH AND PROLONGED A WAR THAT KILLED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF UNCLASSIFIED

CAMBODIANS, MOSTLY CIVILIANS, IN THE END CREATING THE CONDITIONS THAT MADE POSSIBLE THE RISE TO POWER OF THE MANIACAL KHMER ROUGE WHOSE KILLING WAS GENOCIDAL AND EVEN MORE ENORMOUS."

-- SUNDAY NEW YORK TIMES --

EL SALVADOR: LYDIA CHAVEZ, REPORTING FROM SAN SALVADOR ("IN SALVADOR, THE TALE OF DENNIS, 21 MONTHS OLD") ON FRONT PAGE, NOTES THE "PAINSTAKING, FOUR-MONTH SEARCH FOR THE CHILD THAT FINALLY CAME TO AN END LAST MONDAY WHEN THE HEAD OF THE SALVADORAN NATIONAL GUARD TELEPHONED THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY AND SAID SIMPLY, 'I HAVE THE CHILD UNITED STATES EMBASSY AND SAID SIMPLY, 'I HAVE THE CHILD UNITED STATES EMBASSY AND SAID SIMPLY, 'I HAVE THE CHILD IN MY OFFICE.'" THE DISCOVERY OF THE US-BORN SON OF SALVADORAN PARENTS WAS THE SUBJECT OF EMBASSY PRESSURE ("AN EMBASSY SPOKESMAN SAID THEY MADE IT CLEAR TO GENERAL VIDES THAT ALL THEY WERE INTERESTED IN WAS THE CHILD AND WOULD NOT PURSUE AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE KILLING OF THE PARENTS"). PETER SCHEY, THE FAMILY'S ATTORNEY, IS QUOTED: "I GUESS THE QUESTION NOW IS WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF THE PARENTS, BUT WE DON'T KNOW IF WE'LL PURSUE THAT. IT IS A MIRACLE THAT WE MANAGED TO GET THE KID, AND RIGHT NOW WE ARE HAPPY WITH THAT."

CANADA/CARIBBEAN: MICHAEL KAUFMAN, REPORTING FROM OTTAWA ("TRUDEAU AND 16 CARIBBEAN LEADERS HOLD TALKS" P. 13), REPORTS ON THE SECOND SUCH MEETING WHICH "OFFICIALS SAID REFLECTED THE IMPORTANCE CANADA ATTACHES TO THE REGION NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF ECONOMICS AND SECURITY BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF DIFFERENTIATING ITSELF FROM THE UNITED STATES." CANADIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE CARIBBEAN CURRENTLY ACCOUNTS FOR THE GREATEST SHARE OF CANADIAN AID TO ANY PART OF THE WORLD IN TERMS OF DISTRIBUTION ON A PER CAPITA BASIS (CURRENTLY $400 MILLION). UNDER CANADA, UNCLASSIFIED

KAUFMAN REPORTS, MR. TRUDEAU HAS MADE THE CARIBBEAN THE ONE AREA OF THE WORLD WHERE ITS EFFORTS AND POLICIES ARE MOST CLEARLY DISTINCT FROM WASHINGTON'S. CANADA NEVER BROKE OFF RELATIONS WITH CUBA AFTER FIDEL CASTRO TOOK POWER, AND IT HAS ALSO BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO THE LEFTIST GOVERNMENTS OF NICARAGUA, GUYANA AND GRENADA.

BRAZIL: WARREN HOGE REPORTS FROM RIO DE JANEIRO THAT BRAZIL HAS ANNOUNCED A 30 PERCENT DEVALUATION OF ITS CURRENCY IN A MOVE THAT DRAMATIZES ITS CONTINUING DIFFICULTY IN ENDINGS ITS ECONOMIC CRISIS (P. 15). "ALTHOUGH OFFICIALS TRIED TO PORTRAY THE DEVALUATION AS AN INDICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S SERIOUSNESS IN ADDRESSING ITS BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS PROBLEMS, THE DECISION CARRIED ENOUGH COLLATERAL HAZARDS FOR BRAZIL'S STRICKEN ECONOMY TO SUGGEST THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS ALSO ACTING OUT OF DESPERATION."

SURINAME: AP REPORTS FROM THE HAGUE THAT A DUTCH JOURNALIST WHO REPORTED RUMORS THAT SURINAME'S MILITARY LEADER WAS ILL OR ON DRUGS HAS BEEN ARRESTED. NO INFORMATION WAS AVAILABLE ON WHETHER RUUD DE WIT (NETHERLANDS PRESS ASSOCIATION) HAD BEEN CHARGED WITH A SPECIFIC CRIME OR WHERE HE WAS BEING HELD. HE WAS THE FIRST DUTCH JOURNALIST ALLOWED BACK INTO SURINAME SINCE THE SHOOTINGS OF 15 PROMINENT DISSIDENTS BY GOVERNMENT FORCES ON DEC. 8.

EL SALVADOR: RICHARD J. MEISLIN, NYTIMES MIAMI-BASED CORRESPONDENT COVERING THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA, AUTHORS A LENGTHY NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE ARTICLE ("EL SALVADOR: THE STATE OF SIEGE CONTINUES: DESPITE CONDITIONS ATTACHED TO US AID, HUMAN-RIGHTS ABUSES
UNCLASSIFIED

CONTINUE IN EL SALVADOR" P. 34). "THE CERTIFICATION PROCESS'S INCREASINGLY TENUOUS CONNECTION TO THE REALITIES OF EL SALVADOR," MEISLIN WRITES, "IS RAISING NEW QUESTIONS IN CONGRESS AND EVEN WITHIN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ITSELF. THE FEELING, VARIOUSLY, IS THAT IT IS NOT BRINGING ABOUT THE DESIRED IMPROVEMENTS IN EL SALVADOR, IS CONTINUING TO PROVIDE AID TO A GOVERNMENT

WHOSE ACTIONS ARE AT LEAST QUESTIONABLE, OR IS DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THE DEEPER QUESTIONS FACING THE UNITED STATES IN ITS POLICIES TOWARD EL SALVADOR AND THE REST OF CENTRAL AMERICA." HE WRITES OF "AN INCREASINGLY URGENT DESIRE FOR A COGENT POLITICAL STRATEGY TO COMPLEMENT, OR EVEN REPLACE, UNITED STATES MILITARY SUPPORT FOR THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT." MEISLIN NOTES THAT THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE "IS NOT SO MUCH HELPING THE SALVADORANS WIN THE WAR AS KEEPING THEM FROM LOSING IT TO A GUERRILLA FORCE THAT HAS SHOWN...AN INCREASING SOPHISTICATION AND AN ABILITY TO 'ROAM AT WILL AND RAISE HAVOC,' AS ONE MILITARY MAN PUT IT." HE DESCRIBES FRUSTRATIONS AT THE SALVADORAN MILITARY'S INABILITY TO COPE WITH GUERRILLA TACTICS. IN TRACING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CERTIFICATION PROCESS, MEISLIN NOTES THAT "IN HINDSIGHT, WHAT THIS FAILED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WAS BOTH THE LEVEL OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE AID TO THE COUNTRY TO PREVENT A LEFTIST TAKEOVER, AND THE FAFT THAT THE ELEMENTS WITHIN SALVADORAN SOCIETY MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTIVITIES SO APPALLING TO CONGRESS -- WEALTHY, FAR-RIGHTIST CIVILIANS AND SECURITY-FORCE MEMBERS ACCUSTOMED TO PROTECTING THEIR INTERESTS -- WERE ALSO THE ONES WHO HAVE ALWAYS FELT LEAST THREATENED BY A LOSS OF UNITED STATES AID." "AN EVENHANDED DESCRIPTION OF EL SALVADOR TODAY," MEISLIN CONTINUES, "WOULD HOLD THAT WHILE LIFE IS STILL A NIGHTMARE, IT IS LESS OF ONE THAN A YEAR OR TWO AGO."

AGAINST A BACKDROP OF GUERRILLA EFFORTS, "SOME ELEMENTS
UNCLASSIFIED

OF THE 'LEGITIMATE' POLITICAL SPECTRUM ARE TRYING, WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO BECOME A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT -- A POLITICAL TERRAIN AS UNFAMILIAR TO MOST SALVADORANS AS THE SURFACE OF MARS. THE TASK IS MADE COMPLEX NOT ONLY BY ITS NOVELTY AFTER DECADES OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND RULE BY VIOLENCE, BUT BY THE FACT THAT MOST KEY POLITICAL ACTORS WHO IN OTHER PLACES WOULD BE ACCUSED OF NOTHING WORSE THEN BEING OTHER PLACES WOULD BE ACCUSED OF NOTHING WORSE THEN BEING OTHER PLACES WOULD BE ACCUSED OF NOTHING WORSE THENBEING LIBERAL, HAVE EITHER BEEN JAILED, BEEN KILLED, OR HAVE FLED THE COUNTRY OUT OF FEAR OF THE ALTERNATIVES." MEISLIN SUMMARIZES THE MOST RECENT CERTIFICATION DOCUMENTATION, AND THEN MOVES ON TO THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION. "THE FEARED RIGHT-WING COALITION HAS TURNED OUT TO BE FAR MORE MERCURIAL THAN ANYONE HAD

EXPECTED. THE CENTER RIGHT, WHICH HAS ENOUGH SEATS TO CONTROL THE OUTCOME OF LEGISLATION, HAS SHOWN FLEXIBILITY IN JOINING THE MODERATES OR THE FAR RIGHTISTS. WHILE THIS IS SEEN IN SOME QUARTERS AS A SIGN OF POLITICAL HEALTH, IT HAS ALSO RAISED THE FRUSTRATION OF D'AUBUISSON AND HIS SUPPORTERS CLOSE TO DANGEROUS LEVELS." WITHIN THIS AMBIENCE, MEISLIN SEES PRESIDENT MAGANA HAS PROVIDING MUCH OF THE GLUE OVER THE PAST 10 MONTHS AND "TO THIS MOMENT, HE HAS GENERALLY PREVAILED, AIDED IN HIS EFFORTS WITH THE ASSEMBLY BY A MILITARY LARGELY SYMPATHETIC TO HIS GOALS AND BY FRANCISCO JOSE GUERRERO, THE MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY." HIS MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM HAS BEEN THE CREATION OF A PEACE COMMISSION, ALSO MANDATED BY THE PACT OF APANECA, TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE COUNTRY'S GREATEST PROBLEM, THE CONTINUING GUERRILLA WAR. "THERE IS A WIDESPREAD, THOUGH NOT UNIFORMED SHARED, BELIEF THAT THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ONLY THROUGH UNCLASSIFIED

SOME TYPE OF DISCUSSION WITH THE LEFT. THE UNITED STATES, WHILE RULING OUT NEGOTIATIONS THAT WOULD RESULT IN A SHARING OF POWER BY AN UNELECTED LEFTIST FORCE, HAS BEEN PROMOTING THE IDEA OF FINDING A WAY TO BRING THE MODERATE LEFT BACK INTO THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE, THUS ISOLATING THE FAR LEFTISTS FIGHTING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE." IN CONCLUSION, MEISLIN OBSERVES THAT "THE LEFTIST INSURGENCY AND THE VIOLENT NATURE OF EL SALVADOR DID NOT DEVELOP OVERNIGHT, SALVADORANS REMIND IMPATIENT AMERICAN VISITORS, AND THEY WILL NOT QUICKLY BE RESOLVED. NOR, SALVADORANS SAY, ARE THEY SOLELY THE RESULT OF AGITATION BY OUTSIDE FORCES FROM CUBA AND NICARAGUA, ALTHOUGH THESE HAVE PLAYED A ROLE. THEY STEM FROM DECADES OF REPRESSION IN A SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN WHICH A SMALL NUMBER OF FAMILIES, PROTESCTED BY A SUCCESSION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENTS, HAVE CONTROLLED THE VAST BULK OF THE NATION'S LAND AND WEALTH, PAYING A PITANCE TO PEASANT WORKERS WHO HAVE HAD LITTLE OR NO VOICE IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN FATES. THIS WILL, THEY SAY, TAKE TIME, AND A LOT OF DELICATE MANEUVERING, TO UNDO."

-- TUESDAY NEW YORK TIMES --

URUGUAY: EDWARD SCHUMACHER HAS FEATURE FROM MONTEVIDEO PAGE 2 ON JORGE BATILE IBANEZ, OPPONENT OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF URUGUAY (URUGUAYAN VOTERS HEED VOICE AMONG URUGUAYANS REMAINS HIGH. BATILE "HAS PERHAPS MORE THAN ANYONE COME TO SYMBOLIZE OPPOSITION TO THE REGIME'S

AUTHORITARIAN RULE." SCHUMACHER INTERVIEWS BATILE ON POLITICAL FUTURE OF URUGUAY. HE NOTES BATILE IS-CENTRAL TO THAT FUTURE, AS THE POLITICAL PARTIES NEGOTIATE WITH-THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER TERMS FOR THE ;SCHEDULED TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. DESPITE HIS BANNING FROM POLTICS, BATILE WAS MAIN BEHIND-THE-SCENES STRATEGIST FOR THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN IN PLEBESCITE ELECTION HELD TWO YEARS AGO ON A PROPOSED CONSTITUTION, UNCLASSIFIED

WHICH GOVERNMENT LOST. BATILE REFUSES TO GO INTO EXILE, AND SAYS IF HE IS ARRESTED, IT SIMPLY MEANS MORE SUPPORT FOR THE OPPOSITION. HE AND OTHER POLITICIANS IN URUGUAY DO NOT PROPOSE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THEMILITARY, BELIEVING THAT SLOW PRESSURE WILL OUST THEM.

VENEZUELA: SPECIAL REPORT PAGE D7 FROM CARACAS (CURRENCY SALE HALTED BY CARACAS, SUBHEAD CAPITAL EXPORT IS ACCELERATING) NOTES GOV'S ORDER TO SUSPEND ALL SALES OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE MONDAY AND TUESDAY. GOV TOOK ACTION TO SLOW THE FLIGHT OF CAPITAL OUT OF THE COUNTRY. ITEM SAYS BANKERS AND FINANCIAL ANALYSTS PREDICT THE GOV;WILL SUPPLEMENT THE MEASURE WITHIN DAYS WITH FORMAL RULES. - ITEM NOTES THAT VENEZUELA IS CURRENTLYONE OF THE FEW COUNTRIES WHICH DOES NOT CONTROL CAPITAL MOVEMENT ACROSS ITS BORDERS, BUT THE COUNTRY HAS SUFFERED FROM-INCREASING FINANCIAL PROBLEMS IN RECENT MONTHS, BOTH FROM CAPITAL FLIGHT AND PROBLEMS IN REPAYING AND REFINANCING A GROWING FOREIGN DEBT. OIL EXPORTS HAVE FALLEN, ITEM;NOTES, AND MANY VENEZUELANS ARE MOVING THEIR MONEY TO BANKS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. GROUP FROM THE IMF IS SCHEDULED TO VISIT - VENEZUELA NEXT WEEK TO EVALUATE THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. "IF THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT REFINANCE PART OF ITS FOREIGN DEBT, AND IF THE RAPID DECLINE IN INTERNATIONAL RESERVES IS NOT HALTED, VENEZUELA WOULD REQUIRE IMF ASSISTANCE, ANALYSTS SAY."

-- TUESDAY CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR --

CENTRAL AMERICA: JAMES NELSON GOODSELL FRONT PAGE (WASHINGTON'S QUIET MILITARY BUILDUP IN CENTRAL AMERICA) NOTES JOINT US-PANAMANIAN MILITARY EXERCISES, IN WHICH STATED PURPOSE WAS TO DEFEND PANAMA CANAL. "HOWEVER, US UNCLASSIFIED

MILITARY COMMANDERS INVOLVED EMPHASESE THEY 'CANNOT IGNORE THE SECURITY THREATS OF CENTRAL AMERICA.'" HE ALSO NOTES US-HONDURAN EXERCISES RECENTLY, AND SAYS TWO EXERCISES TOGETHER "HIGHLIGHT THE CONTINUING AND, IN SOME
EXERCISES TOGETHER "HIGHLIGHT THE CONTINUING AND, IN SOME

CASES, GROWING US MILITARY ROLE THROUGHOUT CENTRAL AMERICA." GOODSELL REVIEWS MILITARY AID TO CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES, WHICH HE SAYS IS GROWING, ESPECIALLY IN HONDURAS. HE ALSO NOTES PAST MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA, AND LISTS COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY RUNDOWN OF CURRENT US AID. (HE INCLUDES WHAT HE CALLS $6.36 MILLION IN "AID" FOR SPARE PARTS, RADIOS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT TO GUATEMALA.)

EL SALVADOR: NEWS BRIEF "FOR THE RECORD" PAGE TWO SAYS THAT EL SALVADOR HAS REJECTED A CALL FOR A TRUCE IN ITS WAR AGAINST LEFTIST GUERRILLAS DURING THE POPE'S VISIT ON MARCH 6. "THE ARMED FORCES CANNOT ASK FOR A TRUCE BECAUSE IT IS NOT FIGHTING A CONVENTIONAL WAR," DEFMIN GARCIA SAID.

-- TUESDAY WALL STREET JOURNAL --

ECONOMY: LEAD EDIT (PROFIT AT THE WORLD BANK) IS CRITICAL OF WORLD BANK'S POLICIES. EDIT SAYS WORLD BANK IS EARNING PROFITS BECAUSE OF GAINS IN ITS BOND PORTFOLIO, AND BECAUSE REQUESTS FROM POOR COUNTRIES FOR LOANS ARE DOWN. THAT SHOULD BE GOOD, SAYS EDIT, BUT WORLD BANK WANTS TO PUMP MORE MONEY OUT IN LOANS DESPITE THE SHAKINESS OF THE WORLD ECONOMY. BANK BRAGS THAT IT HAS NEVER HAD A LOAN GO BAD, EDIT SAYS, BUT THAT IS NOT SURPRISING IF THE BANK ITSELF LOANS MORE MONEY TO ITS CLIENTS ALL THE TIME. EDIT CRITICIZES WORLD BANK POLICY OF TRANSFERRING MONEY TO "SOFT-LOAN" WINDOW OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION.
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BRAZIL: JULIA MICHAELS INSIDE SECOND SECTION PAGE 35 FROM RIO (BRAZIL DEVALUES CRUZEIRO BY 23 AGAINST DOLLAR) NOTES DEVALUATION WHICH TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY, AND WAS DONE IN AN EFFORT TO WIDEN BRAZIL'S TRADE SURPLUS. BRAZIL ALSO RAISED BY 10 TO 30 PERCENT ITS EXPORT TAXES ON A VARIETY OF PRODUCTS THAT THE COUNTRY DOESN'T WANT TO

MAKE MORE COMPETITIVE, MICHAELS SAYS. THESE INCLUDED COFFEE. GOB NOTED IT WOULD CONTINUE POLICY OF "MINI-DEVALUATIONS" AS IN THE PAST.

2. HIGHLIGHTS OF FEBRUARY 21 T.V. NEWSCASTS AND PROGRAMS:

-- FACE THE NATION - CBS - SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20 --

GUEST WAS SENATOR HENRY JACKSON, ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE.

Q: WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY... IF MEXICO, THAT HAS AN ABSOLUTELY COLOSSAL DEBT TO THE WEST,

IS NOT ABLE TO PAY THAT DEBT?

A: I PERSONALLY FEEL, AND IT IS BEING OVERLOOKED, THAT ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BEYOND THE MIDDLE EAST, WESTERN EUROPE AND NATO IS MEXICO. THE TARGET OF ALL OF THE CASTRO-SOVIET ACTIVITY IN CENTRAL AMERICA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, ETC., THE TARGET IS MEXICO. THE SITUATION IN MEXICO IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS, AND I CAN SAY TO YOU, CATEGORICALLY, THAT THE MOST THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE THAT I KNOW IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY BUSINESS LOOK UPON THE FRAGILITY OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN MEXICOAS INDEED, ALL OF SUDDEN ONE OF OUR PRIME CONCERNS, BECAUSE IF MEXICO IS DESTABILIZED AND IN UNCLASSIFIED

THE IMPROPER ADMINISTRATION OF OUR FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH MEXICO WE SHOULD PUT TOO MUCH OF A SQUEEZE ALL AT ONCE ON MEXICO, YOU COULD HAVE A REVOLUTION, AND YOU COULD HAVE A CASTRO GOVERNMENT ON OUR BORDER; AND I CAN'T THINK OF ANYTHING THAT WOULD SPEED UP THE PROCESS BY WHICH THERE WOULD BE AN ENORMOUS CLAMOR TO BEING OUR TROOPS FROM OVERSEAS BACK TO DEFEND THAT BORDER.

Q: WHAT WOULD YOU DO ABOUT MEXICO?

A: I THINK WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE RIGHT NOW IS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO GIVE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO COORDINATE ALL OUR PROBLEMS OF CREDITS AND LOANS BY OUR GOVERNMENT AND BY OUR BANKS WITH MEXICO WITH NATIONAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS, SO THAT THIS PROBLEM WILL BE MANAGED IN A WAY IN WHICH THERE WILL NOT BE THE POSSIBILITY OF AN OVERTHROW OF THE REGIME IN MEXICO, AND I THINK THAT IS DEFINITE, DEFINITE POSSIBILITY. NO ONE WANTS TO TALK ABOUT. BUT IT IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM THAT WE FACE

OUTSIDE OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND WESTERN EQUOPE.

3. PREPARED PRESS GUIDANCES FOR NOON BRIEFINGS:

-- SOUTHERN CONE: ENDERS TRIP -- 2/19/83 --

THE TRIP PROPOSED NEXT WEEK BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS THOMAS O. ENDERS TO URUGUAY, PARAGUAY AND BRAZIL WILL BE RESCHEDULED FOR A LATER, MUTUALLY CONVENIENT DATE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR.

-- JAMAICA ANNOUNCEMENT -- 2/18/83 --

THE PRESIDENT HAS INVITED JAMAICAN PRIME MINISTER EDWARD SEAGA TO THE WHITE HOUSE ON FEBRUARY 22, 1983. THE PRIME MINISTER WILL RECEIVE THE AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP MEDAL FROM
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DR. ROBERT J. MILLER, PRESIDENT OF FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE. PRIOR TO THE PRESENTATION, PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRIME MINISTER SEAGA WILL MEET TO DISCUSS ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

THE PRESIDENT PREVIOUSLY MET WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN KINGSTON ON APRIL 7, 1982 AND IN WASHINGTON ON JANUARY 18, 1981.

-- EL SALVADOR: SALVADOR ARMY ASKS U.S. FOR EMERGENCY AID --

Q: PENTAGON OFFICIALS ARE REPORTED TO HAVE SAID THAT EL SALVADOR HAS ASKED FOR EMERGENCY MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT DEFENSE SECRETARY NESTOR SANCHEZ IS QUOTED THAT "THERE IS A CERTAIN SENSE OF URGENCY ABOUT THIS.... THIS IS RUNNING SHORT ON US AND THIS HAS TO BE DONE FAIRLY FAST?" DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY COMMENT (DWOOD/LATIMES)

A: IT IS A FACT THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SHARP REDUCTION IN THE LEVEL OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM LAST YEAR'S $82 MILLION TO THE CURRENT $26.3 MILLION AVAILABLE UNDER THE FY-83 CONTINUING RESOLUTION. WHILE I'M NOT PREPARED TO PUT A PRECISE TIME FRAME ON THE EXTENT OF THE NEED, WE HAVE OBSERVED BEFORE THAT THE UNCERTAINTIES OF OUR ASSISTANCE UNDER THE CERTIFICATION PROCESS, AND THE

AMOUNT OF THAT ASSISTANCE THROUGH THE BUDGETARY PROCESS ITSELF, HAS AN ADVERSE IMPACT ON THE SALVADORAN ARMY'S ABILITY TO SUSTAIN ANY INITIATIVE. MEANWHILE, FOLLOWING THEIR LATE 1982 OFFENSIVES, THE GUERRILLAS HAVE NOT ABATED THE INTENSITY OF THEIR EFFORT -- AND THEIR OUTSIDE
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SUPPORT OF MUNITIONS CONTINUES AT A HIGH LEVEL.

WE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE CAREFULLY MONITORING THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO ANY REQUIRED FUNDS ABOVE THE CURRENT CR LEVELS.

-- EL SALVADOR: SOURCES OF AVAILABLE FUNDS FOR EL SALVADOR: FEBRUARY 19, 1983 --

IF ASKED ONLY:

Q: PRESS REPORTS, QUOTING PENTAGON OFFICIALS (DEPUTY ASSISTANT DEFENSE SECRETARY NESTOR SANCHEZ), INDICATE THAT EL SALVADOR IS FACING EMERGENCY NEEDS FOR ADDED MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THESE SAME SOURCES SUGGEST THAT SUCH FUNDS COULD BE SOUGHT THROUGH A SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGET REQUEST OR REPROGRAMMING, BUT THAT BOTH REQUIRE DOUBTFUL - -- ;EQUIRE DOUBTFUL
CONGRESSIONAL CONCURRENCE. THE OTHER ALTERNATIVE IS A DRAW-DOWN ON THE PRESIDENTIAL DISCRETIONARY EMERGENCY 506 FUND. DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY COMMENT?

A: AS YOU KNOW, OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, THE USG HAS UTILIZED ALL THREE PROCEDURES: IT HAS REQUESTED SUPPLEMENTAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH REQUIRES CONGRESSIONAL CONCURRENCE, IT HAS PROVIDED THE STIPULATED NOTIFICATION (NOTE: 15 DAYS) FOR REPROGRAMMING, AND IT AS DRAWN UPON SECTION 506.

I'M CERTAINLY NOT GOING TO MINIMIZE THE ISSUE OF EL SALVADOR'S NEED FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AND WE ARE CAREFULLY MONITORING THE SITUATION. AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, NO DEFINITIVE DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE.

NICARAGUA: USG ATTEMPTS TO INDUCE CESSATION OF ARMS --

Q: DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY COMMENT ON PRESS REPORTS (DON OBERDORFER/WASH POST 2/19/83) THAT "ONE PROPOSAL UNDER RECENT DISCUSSION IS FOR RENEWED EFFORTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA TO INDUCE NICARAGUA TO STOP SUPPORT OF SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS, RESTRICT ITS MILITARY RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND THE SOVIET BLOC AND MOVE TOWARD POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AT HOME, IN RETURN FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING U.S. ECONOMIC AID"?

A: THE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO REDUCE TENSIONS IN THE REGION HAS BEEN, AND CONTINUES TO BE, CENTRAL TO U.S. POLICY. AS YOU RECALL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS ENDERS' AUGUST 1981 VISIT TO MANAGUA AND OUR APRIL 1982 FORMAL EIGHT-POINT PROPOSAL BOTH REPRESENTED SERIOUS U.S. EFFORTS TO CARRY FORTH SUBSTANTIVE BILATERAL TALKS. IN OCTOBER OF LAST YEAR, THE USG PARTICIPATAED AS A SIGNATORY IN THE SAN JOSE FINAL ACT. THIS EMERGING DEMOCRATIC CONSENSUS IN THE REGION ADDRESSES KEY SUBSTANTIVE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE IN THE REGION INCLUDING THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION, LIMITS TO ARMS AND MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES, INTERNATIONAL SURVEILLANCE, RECIPROCAL AND VERIFIABLE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY AND SECURITY ADVISERS.

THESE REPRESENT BASIC ISSUES WHICH LIE BEHIND THE CURRENT TENSIONS, AND I THINK YOU CAN ASSUME THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPLORE ALL POSSIBLE EFFORTS TO GAIN A BROAD CONSENSUS ON BOTH THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION.
IMPLEMENTATION.
IMPLEMENTATION.
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IF ASKED ONLY:
Q: CAN YOU CONFIRM, AS THE ARTICLE SUGGESTS, THAT THE USG HAS AGREED TO PROVIDE THE GOES WITH CLAYMORE MINES, BUT NOT WHITE PHOSPHORUS GRENADES?

A: YES. THE ARTICLE IS ALSO ACCURATE IN INDICATING THAT THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS THEMSELVES ALREADY HAVE CLAYMORE MINES.

-- NICARAGUA: DISAGREEMENTS OVER IMPORTANCE OF ARMS TO SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS --

Q: DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY COMMENT ON RECENT PRESS REPORTS (CDICKEY/WASHPOST) FROM CENTRAL AMERICA WHICH INDICATE A DIVERGENCE IN THE ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF NICARAGUAN SUPPORT TO THE SALVADORAN INSURGENCY?

A: DURING THE PERIOD WHICH PRECEDED THE MARCH 1982 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS (DECEMBER 1981 AND JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1982), THE LEVEL OF SUPPORT FROM NICARAGUA TO SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS REACHED THE LEVELS WHICH WERE MAINTAINED PRIOR TO THE JANUARY 1981 SO-CALLED FINAL OFFENSIVE. SINCE THAT TIME, THERE HAVE OBVIOUSLY BEEN FLUCTUATIONS.

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S CURRENT ASSESSMENT IS THAT SHIPMENTS OF ARMS FROM NICARAGUA TO THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS HAVE BEEN AT A HIGH LEVEL SINCE OCTOBER WHEN THE GUERRILLAS BEGAN THEIR LARGEST SUSTAINED EFFORT OF THE THREE-YEAR INSURGENCY. MOST OF THESE SHIPMENTS ARRIVE FROM NICARAGUA BY AIR, SOME COME BY SEA.

SHIPMENTS FROM NICARAGUA, PARTICULARLY OF AMMUNITION, ARE CRITICAL TO SUSTAINING THE INSURGENCY. WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION HAVE BEEN CAPTURED BY THE GUERRILLAS, BUT UNCLASSIFIED

THESE CAPTURED SUPPLIES ARE FAR SHORT OF WHAT WOULD BE NEEDED TO PERMIT THE INSURGENTS TO ENGAGE IN HIT-AND-RUN ATTACKS AT THE CURRENT LEVEL.

THE EXISTENCE OF THE GUERRILLAS COMMAND-AND-CONTROL CENTER NEAR MANAGUA, WHICH DECIDES LOCATIONS IN EL SALVADOR TO BE ATTACKED, CONTINUES TO BE AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN INSURGENT EFFORTS. OUT-OF-COUNTRY TRAINING ALSO CONTINUES TO BE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT.

-- CENTRAL AMERICA: WARNINGS TO USSR, CUBA, NICARAGUA 2/22/82 --

Q: DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY COMMENT ON REMARKS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS ENDERS AT THE OPENING OF THE AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION THAT "IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA AND NICARAGUA THAT THE UNITED STATES MAY TAKE DIRECT ACTION IF THEY TRY TO DESTABILIZE NATIONS IN THE HEMISPHERE"?

(KNIGHT-RIDDER/BALT.SUN)

A: PART OF U.S. POLICY HAS BEEN DESIGNED TO DETER EITHER THE SOVIET UNION OR CUBA FROM CONVERTING NICARAGUA INTO THE KIND OF BASE WITH MODERN WEAPONS, FOR EXMAPLE, THAT COULD THREATEN ITS NEIGHBORS OR THE PANAMA CANAL OR MEXICO IN A FUNDAMENTAL WAY. I THINK IT IS UNDERSTOOD BY EVERYONE THAT IF THE SOVIET UNION OR CUBA, FOR EXAMPLE, INTRODUCED MIG FIGHTERS INTO NICARAUG, WE WOULD VIEW IT AS A VERY SERIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

WE HAVE, AT THE SAME TIME, ADDRESSED THE ISSUE OF ABROADER SETTLEMENT TO EASE THE TENSIONS IN THE REGION. IN OCTOBER OF LAST YEAR, WE PARTICIPATED AS A SIGNATORY UNCLASSIFIED

OF THE SAN JOSE FINAL ACT WHICH, AMONG ITS RECOMMENDATIONS, URGED THAT ALL THE FOREIGN SECURITY PERSONNEL GET OUT OF THE AREA -- AMRICANS, CUBANS, EAST GERMANS, RUSSIANS. ONE OF THE BEST WAYS OF GETTING THE AREA OUT OF THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE IS TO GET THE EAST-WEST REPRESENTATIVES OUT OF THE REGION.

-- EL SALVADOR: IS THE USG PURSUING A "TWO-TRACK" POLICY? 2/22/83 --

Q: THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF PRESS ACCOUNTS SUGGESTING A NEW "TWO-TRACK" POLICY BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR -- A STRATEGY COMBINING CURRENT SUPPORT TO THE GOES ALONG WITH THE PURSUIT OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, POSSIBLY USING THE "GOOD OFFICES" OF OTHER COUNTRIES (E.G. MEXICO, COLOMBIA, SPAIN, ET AL.). HAS U.S. POLICY CHANGED?

A: NO. WE HAVE NEVER FELT THAT THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TENSIONS IN EL SALVADOR, OR THE REGION AS A WHOLE, FOR THAT MATTER WERE SUSCEPTIBLE TO A QUICK SOLUTION. WHILE WE HAVE CONTINUED TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR WITH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE ARMED GUERRILLAS, WE HAVE ALSO SOUGHT THE BASIS FOR A LASTING POLITICAL SOLUTION. WHILE THAT SOLUTION MUST CLEARLY BE SALVADORAN IN CHARACTER, WE HAVE SUPPORTED THOSE EFFORTS TO LESSEN TENSIONS IN THE - REGION THROUGH BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES, AND THROUGH OUR PARTICIPATION OTHER INTERESTEDCOUNTRIES, AND THROUGH OUR PARTICIPATION AS A SIGNATORY OF THE SAN JOSE FINAL ACT.

A LASTING SOLUTION IS LIKELY TO TAKE TIME AND CONSIDERABLE DELICATE DIPLOMACY; IMPATIENCE ON ANYONE'S PART TO SIMPLY "NEGOTIATE" PROBLEMS AWAY OUTSIDE OF A DEMOCRATIC FRAMEWORK WILL NOT SATISFY EL SALVADOR, THE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 30 STATE 048296

OTHER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, OR THE UNITED STATES.

-- EL SALVADOR: RECONCILIATION AS A CHANGE IN POLICY? 2/22/83 --

Q: PRESS REPORTS SUGGEST AN INCREASED USG EMPHASIS ON POLITICAL RECONCILIATION IN EL SALVADOR, AS OPPOSED TO A MILITARY FOCUS. DOES THIS REPRESENT CHANGE IN POLICY?

A: CERTAINLY NOT. BASED ON OUR ASSESSMENT THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IMPLEMENTATION OF BASIC REFORMS, INCLUDING LAND REFORM, AND THE OTHER REQUIRED AREAS, WE HAVE SUPPORTED U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR THROUGH THREE CONGRESSIONAL CERTIFICATIONS. WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ARMED GUERRILLAS. WE INTEND TO GO ON SUPPORTING IT WITH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID.

AT THIS SAME TIME, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS ALWAYS THOUGHT THAT THERE SHOULD BE A POLITICAL SOLUTION, NOT A MILITARY ONE. BUT, IT MUST BE A POLITICAL SOLUTION THAT IS BASED ON DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS, NOT BASED ON A FORCED COALITION GOVERNMENT WHERE POWER IS DIVIDED UP OVER THE HEADS OF ITS CITIZENS.

-- PANAMA: NATIONAL GUARD HEAD CRITICIZES U.S. AMBASSADOR 2/22/83 --

Q: OVER THE WEEKEND, A LETTER PURPORTEDLY FROM THE HEAD OF THE PANAMANIAN NATIONAL GUARD TO U.S. AMBASSADOR EVERETT E. BRIGGS, RECEIVED WIDESPREAD MEDIA COVERAGE IN UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 31 STATE 048296

PANAMA CITY. THE ALLEGED LETTER WAS CRITICAL OF THE

AMBASSADOR'S CONTACTS WITH THE NATIONAL GUARD AND APPEARED TO THREATEN DECLARING HIM PERSONA NON GRATA IF THE PRACTICE CONTINUED. DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY COMMENT?

A: I CAN SAY THAT MR. BRIGGS, AS A NEWLY-ARRIVED AMBASSADOR, MADE A NUMBER OF VISITS AROUND THE COUNTRY FOR THE PURPOSE OF BECOMING ACQUAINTED WITH PERSONALITIES AND CONDITIONS; THESE ARE CUSTOMARY DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES

OF A COURTESY NATURE. THIS IS LONG-STANDING PROCEDURES ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE, AND IN KEEPING WITH DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE.

-- TRAIN ACCIDENT IN MEXICO -- 2/22/83 --

Q: WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE TRAIN ACCIDENT IN MEXICO ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19?

A: SATURDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 19TH, A PASSENGER TRAIN COLLIDED WITH A FREIGHT TRAIN AT GUAYAMAS, MEXICO, APPROXIMATELY THREE HOURS SOUTH OF HERMOSILLO.

Q: WHERE THERE ANY AMERICAN CITIZENS ABOARD THE TRAIN?

A: YES, THERE WERE. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, HAVE A CONFIRMED PASSENGER LIST AND DO NOT KNOW HOW MANY AMERICANS WERE ABOARD. WE ARE AWARE OF THREE AMERICANS WHO WERE INJUIRED AND ARE ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE THE WHEREABOUTS OF OTHER AMERICANS REPORTED TO BE ON THE TRAIN. A CONSULAR OFFICER FROM THE U.S. CONSULATE IN HERMOSILLO HAS VISITED THE SITE OF THE ACCIDENT.

-- JOHN SULLIVAN: UPDATE 2/22/83 --

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Q: WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT REPORTS THAT JOHN SULLIVAN'S REMAINS HAVE BEEN RETURNED TO THE U.S.?

A: REMAINS BURIED IN THE MUNICIPAL CEMETERY IN NUEVO CUSCATLAN, EL SALVADOR, WERE EXHUMED THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1983 AND FLOWN TO THE U.S. ON FEBRUARY 19TH. THESE REMAINS, WHICH MAY BE THOSE OF JOHN SULLIVAN, WILL BE EXAMINED IN THE U.S. TO PERMIT POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION. I HVE NO FURTHER DETAILS FOR YOU AT THIS TIME.

-- MICHAEL LUJAN MISSING IN EL SALVADOR: 2/22/83: --

Q: WHAT INFORMATION DO YOU HAVE ON MICHAEL LUJAN, AND AMERICAN FREE LANCE JOURNALIST AND TWO SWEDISH JOURNALISTS MISSING IN EL SALVADOR?

A: ACCORDING TO SALVADORAN PRESS SOURCES, A RADIO BROADCAST EMANATING FROM SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA INCLUDED INTERVIEWS WITH MICHAEL LUJAN AND ONE OF THE MISSING SWEDISH JOURNALISTS. IN THE BROADCAST, LUJAN REPORTEDLY ASKED FOR RED CROSS SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF A GUERRILLA AREA. HE ALSO REPORTEDLY STATED THAT HE AND HIS SWEDISH COLLEAGUES ARE NOT AFFILIATED WITH GUERRILLAS AND WERE PICKEDUPBY A GUERRILLAPATROL AFTER LEAVING THEIR CAR

AND TRAVELING ON FOOT. OUR EMBASSY IS TRYING TO VERIFY THIS REPORT AND IS CLOSELY MONITORING THE SITUATION. I HAVE NOTHING MORE FOR YOU AT THIS TIME. I WOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT THE AREA IN QUESTION IS STILL THE SCENE OF HEAVY FIGHTING BETWEEN GOVERNMENT TROOPS AND GUERRILLAS, AND THE SITUATION SHOULD STILL BE CONSIDERED HIGHLY DANGEROUS.

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Q: WHAT ARE THE SALVADORANS DOING TO LOCATE THE MISSING JOURNALISTS?

A: SALVADORAN HIGH COMMAND HAS ASSURED THE EMBASSY THAT IT WILL LOOK FOR THE JOURNALISTS AND WILL EXERCISE EVERY PRECAUTION TO ASSURE THEIR SAFETY.

IF ASKED ONLY:

Q: HAS THE EMBASSY BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE RED CROSS?

A: YES.

4. SUMMARY OF NOON BRIEFING: 2/22/83:

NO PRESS BRIEFING TODAY. SHULTZ

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL
Case Number: s199900030

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 048761
ORIGIN IO-15

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-10 OIC-02 ARA-16 HA-08
L-03 SP-02 /057 R

DRAFTED BY IO/HR:BZWEIBEN:BKM
APPROVED BY IO:DRTOUSSAINT
ARA/SC:RHOWARD (SUBS)
HA/MA:RGRANER (SUBS)
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O R 230057Z FEB 83
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Chile Project (#S199900030)
U.S. Department of State
Release X Excise Deny
Declassify: In Part In Full X
Exemption(s)

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 048761

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2/22/89
TAGS: NHRC, SHUM, PREL, CI
SUBJECT: 39TH HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC): ISSUE OF
- CHILE

REF: (A) GENEVA 1620, (B) GENEVA 1686

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AS INDICATED REFTEL (B), DEPT SEES LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR ELIMINATING ITEM 5 FROM HRC AGENDA. IN VIEW OF USG NEED TO MARSHALL SUPPORT FOR OTHER AGENDA ITEMS, USDEL SHOULD REMAIN IN THE BACKGROUND OF FRG EFFORTS AND ONLY "NUDGE" FRG'S WILLINGNESS TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE ON THIS QUESTION (REFTEL A). IT IS NOT NECESSARY, HOWEVER, FOR USDEL TO ENGAGE IN EXTENSIVE LOBBYING EFFORTS IF FRG IS WILLING TO TAKE THE LEAD. SHULTZ

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n/a
CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<***** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER *****>>>

DOC_NBR= 83HARARE01275

FILM= D830099-0957

DATE= 23 FEB 83

TYPE= TE

FROM= HARARE

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION AF

TO= STATE
BONN

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= N/A

SUBJECT= FRONTLINE HARARE SUMMIT: COMMUNIQUE

REFERENCE= 83 HARARE 1234

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= SUMMIT, MEETING, NEGOTIATIONS

TAGS= PNAT, PREL, PBTS, ZI, SF, WA

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PAGE 01 HARARE 01275 231241Z
ACTION AF-10

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify
Date 6/8/99 Exemption

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Date Printed: 02/[illegible]/1983 DOC_NUMBER: 83HARARE01275 CHANNEL: n/a

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03
PM-09 PA-02 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01
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P 231100Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8774
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS HARARE 1275

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PNAT, PREL, PBTS, ZI, SF, WA
SUBJECT: FRONTLINE HARARE SUMMIT: COMMUNIQUE

REF: HARARE 1234 (NOTAL)

1. AT THE END OF THEIR ONE-DAY SUMMIT IN HARARE FEBRUARY 20, THE FRONTLINE CHIEFS OF STATE ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE WHICH, INTER ALIA, "CATEGORICALLY REJECTED ANY PROPOSAL TO BRING
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PAGE 02 HARARE 01275 231241Z

SUCH EXTRANEOUS ISSUES AS LINKAGE OR PARALLELISM" INTO THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS, AND EXPRESSED THEIR "DEEPEST INDIGNATION OVER CURRENT EFFORTS TO BLACKMAIL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA." THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT SINGLED OUT, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. FULL TEXT FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN TEXT: THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE FRONTLINE STATES AND THE PRESIDENTS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) AND OF THE ANC (OF SOUTH AFRICA) MET IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE ON 20TH FEBRUARY, 1983.
-- THE DISCUSSIONS, WHICH WERE CONDUCTED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY AND CANDOUR, REVIEWED THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY

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THE PRESENT IMPASSE IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY OF AGRESSION AGAINST, AND ESTABILIZATION OF, THE FRONTLINE STATES.

-- THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA AND THE PRESIDENT OF SWAPO BRIEFED THE SUMMIT ON THE SITUATION OBTAINING IN ANGOLA AND THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN NAMIBIA.

-- ON NAMIBIA, THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR COMPLETE AND UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE BEING WAGED BY THE GALLANT NAMIBIAN PEOPLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF SWAPO, THE SOLE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. THEY REITERATED THEIR STRONG VIEWS THAT UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435 (1978) MUST REMAIN THE ONLY BASIS FOR RESOLVING THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE.

-- THEY, AS HAD DONE THE OAU, THE UN AND THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, CATEGORICALLY REJECTED ANY PROPOSAL TO BRING SUCH EXTRANEOUS ISSUES AS LINKAGE OR APARALLELISM BETWEEN A WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN FORCES FROM ANGOLA AND THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE.
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PAGE 03 HARARE 01275 231241Z

IN THIS CONTEXT THEY RECALLED WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE OAU, THE UN AND THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE HAVE ALSO REJECTED THAT LINKAGE. THEY STRONGLY CONDEMNED THE RACIST GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS AGGRESSION AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA AND DEMANDED THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM SOUTHERN ANGOLA. THEY THUS EXPRESSED THEIR DEEPEST INDIGNATION OVER CURRENT EFFORTS TO BLACKMAIL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, AND BLATANTLY INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA. THEY FULLY ENDORSED THE COMMUNIQUE AND RESOLUTIONS RECENTLY ADOPTED BY THE 40TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA.

-- AFTER REVIEWING THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REGION, THEY ROUNDLY CONDEMNED RACIST SOUTH AFRICA FOR RELENTLESSLY PURSUING ITS POLICY OF AGGRESSION AND DESTABILIZATION OF THE FRONTLINE STATES, AND IN PARTICULAR ITS RECENT INVASION AND MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE PEACE-LOVING KINGDOM OF LESOTHO. IN THIS REGARD THEY STRESSED THEIR RESOLVE TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN THEIR UNITY IN ORDER TO REPULSE CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION WHICH IS AIMED AT FRUSTRATING THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SADCC IN ORDER TO RETAIN ITS ECONOMIC DOMINATION OVER THE ENTIRE REGION.

-- THE LEADERS OF THE FRONTLINE TATES EXCHANGED VIEWS, AND REACHED A COMMON POSITION ON THE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES FACING THE OAU, ESPECIALLY THE TWICE-ABORTED 19TH SUMMIT. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR FULL SUPPORT

FOR THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE RECENT NAIROBI MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE, TO RECONVENE, WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITION, THE 19TH SUMMIT IN ADDIS ABABA SOMETIME IN MAY OR JUNE.

-- ON SOUTH AFRICA, THE LEADERS REITERATED THEIR UTMOST CONDEMNATION OF THE HEINOUS SYSTEM OF APARTHEID, AND PLEDGED THEIR FULLEST SUPPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH
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AFRICA IN THEIR GALLANT STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID AND FOR THE CREATION OF A NONRACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC STATE. THEY CALLED ON THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ISOLATE THE RACIST AND FASCIST REGIME IN A CONCERTED EFFORT TO FORCE IT TO ABANDON THE EVIL SYSTEM OF APARTHEID.

-- THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED THEIR PROFOUND GRATITUDE AND APPRECIATION TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE, CDE C.S. BANANA, AND THE HON. PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE, CDE R.G. MUGABE, FOR THE WARM AND BROTHERLY HOSPITALITY EXTENDED TO THEM AND THEIR DELGATION.

END TEXT.

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*** Current Classification *** [redacted]
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<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 24CAPET00517

FILM= D830102-0778

DATE= 24 FEB 24

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OFFICE= ACTION AF

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REFERENCE= 83 CAPE TOWN 442

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TAGS= PNAT, SF, WA

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PAGE 01 CAPE T 00517 01 OF 03 241430Z
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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ☒ Declassify
Date 6/8/99 Exemption _____

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P 241415Z FEB 24
FM AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
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[redacted] SECTION 01 OF 03 CAPE TOWN 00517

FROM EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PNAT, SF, WA
SUBJECT: (U) NAMIBIA IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS

REF: CAPE TOWN 442

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.)

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PAGE 02 CAPE T 00517 01 OF 03 241430Z

2. SUMMARY: NAMIBIA IS NOT A SALIENT ISSUE IN WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS, BUT COULD BE A VERY DISRUPTIVE QUESTION, DEPENDING ON WHITE PERCEPTIONS ABOUT HOW TERMS OF A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT AFFECT THEIR INTERESTS. AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THAT JUDGMENT WILL BE THEIR EVALUATION OF THE SAG'S DETERMINATION TO DEFEND THEIR INTERESTS. GIVEN THE STILL UNRESOLVED SPLIT IN AFRIKANERDOM, THE SAG WILL THEREFORE AVOID ACTIONS WHICH COULD BE CONSTRUED TO SUGGEST THAT ITS EFFORTS IN THAT REGARD ARE LESS THAN WHOLE-HEARTED. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE SAG REMAINS EXTREMELY CHARY OF AGREEING TO A SETTLEMENT WHICH COULD LEAD TO A SWAPO ELECTORAL VICTORY.

THIS SAG NERVOUSNESS IS HEIGHTENED DURING THE CURRENT SEASON OF BY-ELECTIONS, BUT IT IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE AT LEAST UNTIL THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL SUPREMACY IN AFRIKANERDOM IS RESOLVED. END SUMMARY.

3. NAMIBIA IS NOT--AND HAS NOT BEEN--A HIGH-PRIORITY ISSUE IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS. ONE YEAR AGO, A WELL INFORMED AFRIKANER JOURNALIST TOLD US THAT FOR EVERY ONE HUNDRED TIMES HE HEARD THE PHRASE "COLOREDS IN PARLIAMENT", HE HEARD "NAMIBIA" MENTIONED ONLY ONCE. THAT RATIO HAS CHANGED LITTLE IF AT ALL OVER THE PAST 12 MONTHS. THERE ARE OCCASIONAL FLURRIES OF INTEREST IN THE PRESS, BUT THESE QUICKLY DIE AWAY, AS "PROGRESS" OR "STUMBLING BLOCKS" PROVE EACH AS INDEFINITE AS THE OTHER. IN CONTRAST TO RHODESIA, NAMIBIA IS NOT A STORY YET ABOUT PEOPLE, BUT ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS, POSITIONS, PRIN-CIPLES AND FORMULAS. FEW NAMIBIAN FIGURES HAVE CAPTURED LOCAL ATTENTION AS DID NKOMO, MUGABE AND IAN SMITH. PRESENTED WITH YET ANOTHER GLOSS ON SCR 435, MOST READERS (AND VOTERS) ARE SIMPLY BORED.

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PAGE 03 CAPE T 00517 01 OF 03 241430Z

4. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE STORY LACKS POTENTIAL. MILITARY ACTIVITY ALREADY ARRESTS CONSIDERABLE ATTEN-TION, BUT THE REAL POLITICAL IMPACT IN WHITE SOUTH AFRICA WILL TURN ON THE ELECTORATE'S PERCEPTION OF HOW A SETTLEMENT AFFECTS THEIR INTERESTS. AS SENIOR SAG NEGOTIATIORS HAVE TOLD US, THE GOVERNMENT WHICH ACCEPTS A SETTLEMENT YIELDING A STREAM OF (WHITE) REFUGEES TO SOUTH AFRICA WILL FALL IN HOURS. SINCE IT RIGHTLY BELIEVES IT CAN PREVENT SUCH AN OUTCOME INDEFINITELY, THE SAG IS REALLY CONCERNED ABOUT OTHER OUTCOMES, ESPEC-IALLY SWAPO WINNING AN ELECTION (FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES ANYTHING OVER 50 PCT IS "WINNING"), EVEN AFTER THE CUBANS HAVE LEFT ANGOLA. MANY IN THE SAG AND THE NATIONAL PARTY FAIL TO SEE THE POSSIBILITY THAT A SWAPO-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT COMING FROM SUCH AN ELECTION WOULD BE ANYTHING OTHER THAN A SOVIET PUPPET. MOREOVER, AFTER SPENDING SO MUCH BLOOD AND TREASURE TO PREVENT SUCH A RESULT, THE SAG WOULD BE VULNERABLE TO RIGHT-WING ATTACKS IF IT WERE SEEN TO ACQUIESCE IN SUCH AN OUTCOME. THUS, WE HAVE WILLIE BREYTENBACH'S COMMENT TO THE DCM THAT IF THE CUBANS LEFT, ONLY HALF THE SAG'S REQUIRE-MENTS FOR A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE FULFILLED.

4A. OTHER NATS HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THE WISDOM--OR LIKELIHOOD--OF AN EARLY SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. VERLIGTE MP WYNAND MALAN, FOR EXAMPLE, TOLD THE DCM FEB.24 THAT HE THINKS A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE POSTPONED FOR FIVE YEARS OR SO, TO BEST SERVE SOUTH AFRICAN (AND AMERICAN)

INTERESTS. DIE BURGER DEPUTY EDITOR ALF RIES (A CONFIDANT OF THE PM) TOLD POL COUNSELOR THAT SAME DAY THAT THE SAG STILL EQUATES SWAPO WITH MOSCOW, AND CANNOT SEE A SWAPO-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT COMING TO POWER THAT WOULD NOT BE MOSCOW-DOMINATED. HE ALLOWED THAT A MAJOR WESTERN PRESENCE IN AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA COULD BLUNT SOVIET INFLUENCE, BUT

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PAGE 04 CAPE T 00517 01 OF 03 241430Z

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PAGE 01 CAPE T 00517 02 OF 03 241439Z
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[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 03 CAPE TOWN 00517

FROM EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PNAT, SF, WA
SUBJECT: (U) NAMIBIA IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS

HE THOUGHT IT A REMOTE POSSIBILITY, NOT TO BE COUNTED ON.
5. THE IMPACT OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH HAS BEEN FELT FOR SOME YEARS, HAS BEEN HEIGHTENED BY THE SPLIT

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PAGE 02 CAPE T 00517 02 OF 03 241439Z

IN THE NATIONAL PARTY LAST YEAR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUL OF AFRIKANERDOM. THAT STRUGGLE, LIKE OTHERS IN AFRICA, CONTINUES AND IS FAR FROM BEING RESOLVED DESPITE P.W. BOTHA'S IMPORTANT VICTORIES IN ITS EARLY

ROUNDS. THE UPCOMING MAY 10 BY-ELECTIONS ARE SYMPTOMATIC OF THAT STRUGGLE; SUCH EVENTS ARE OUTWARD SIGNS OF PERIODS OF SPECIAL INTENSITY, BUT THEY ARE BY NO MEANS THE ONLY MANIFESTATION. THE DELAY IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, TO JULY 1984, IS PERHAPS ANOTHER INDICATION THAT THE SAG CONTINUES, AND WILL CONTINUE, TO LOOK OVER ITS RIGHT SHOULDER AT IRREGULAR BUT FREQUENT INTERVALS TO SEE IF ANYONE IS FOLLOWING.

6. WHEN THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY OCCURRED IN FEBRUARY 1982, MANY NAT VERLIGTES WERE RELIEVED, BELIEVING THAT WITH THE MOST PROMINENT HARD-LINERS OUT OF THE PARTY, P.W. BOTHA COULD FORGE AHEAD WITH GREATER FREEDOM ON BOTH REFORM AND NAMIBIA. IT HAS NOT QUITE WORKED OUT THAT WAY. P.W. HAS GAINED CONSIDERABLY GREATER TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY WITHIN THE PARTY. BUT THE FUNDAMENTAL LIMITS TO HIS ROOM FOR MANEUVERING ARE SET BY THE POLITICAL HORIZONS OF THE AFRIKANER ELECTORATE, 47 PCT OF WHOM LEAVE SCHOOL AT U.S. GRADE 10. WE HAVE SEEN THOSE LIMITS DEFINED BY THE PUBLIC POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL PARTY AND ACTIONS OF THE SAG OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, INCLUDING ITS EVIDENTLY POPULAR MILITARY POSTURE IN ANGOLA.

7. MOREOVER, THE SAG HAS CONFRONTED A NEW PUBLIC RELATIONS PROBLEM SINCE THE SPLIT: PARTY DISCIPLINE USED TO KEEP MANY RIGHT-WING NATS FROM GOING PUBLIC WITH THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE SAG VIEW ON ISSUES LIKE NAMIBIA. THAT IS NO LONGER THE CASE. THE CP OFFERS AN ALTOGETHER-TOO-TEMPTING OPPORTUNITY TO RIGHT-WINGERS TO MAKE PUBLIC ATTACKS ON THE SAG WHICH COULD SCORE

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PAGE 03 CAPE T 00517 02 OF 03 241439Z

WITH WHITE VOTERS. IT IS FAIR TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT DESPITE DILIGENT EFFORTS TO MAKE AN IMPORTANT ISSUE OUT OF A POTENTIAL SWA "SELLOUT" BY THE SAG, THE CP HAS FAILED TO DO SO, EVEN IN SUCH SITUATIONS AS THE PARYS BY-ELECTION. FOR THE MOMENT, THE POWER OF THE NAMIBIAN ISSUE TO EFFECT SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS REMAINS POTENTIAL. IT IS LIKELY TO BECOME MORE ACTIVE ONLY AS THE POSSIBILITY OF A SETTLEMENT COMES CLOSER AND ITS SHAPE BECOMES CLEARER. THERE IS ANOTHER SCENARIO, HOWEVER, WHICH NP POLITICIANS CLAIM TO FEAR: DIRECT INTERVENTION IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS BY SWA NP LEADER KOSIE PRETORIUS, PERHAPS IN SUPPORT OF THE CP. PRETORIUS HAS MADE PLAIN HIS WILLINGNESS TO CAMPAIGN FOR TREURNICHT IN THE TRANSVAAL IF THE INTERESTS OF SWA WHITES APPEAR JEOPARDIZED BY P.W. BOTHA'S SAG. NO ONE REALLY KNOWS HOW POTENT THIS THREAT IS. SOME NAP MP'S BRUSH IT OFF, BUT OTHERS SEEM MORE WORRIED BY IT.

8. IN THIS SEASON OF BY-ELECTIONS, THE SAG HAS TO BE EVEN MORE AWARE OF SUCH PROBLEMS. HARRY SCHWARZ, A SHREWD OBSERVER, SAID IT BEST LAST WEEK: ANYONE

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WORKING ON A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO TAKE A HOLIDAY FOR THE NEXT TWO MONTHS. IN SHORT, THE SAG WOULD DO NOTHING TO ENDANGER ITS POSITION WITH THE VOTERS UNTIL AFTER MAY 10. MOREOVER, OTHER CONCERNS FLOAT TO THE SURFACE IN SUCH PERIODS OF HEIGHTENED AWARENESS: MP LOUIS NEL, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONALIST CAUCUS STUDY GROUP ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TOLD AN EMBOFF LAST WEEK THAT THE SAG WOULD BE IN VERY SERIOUS POLITICAL TROUBLE IF SWAPO WINS AN ELECTION IN NAMIBIA. THAT TROUBLE WOULD NOT BE ERASED, NEL WENT ON, EVEN IF THE ELECTION WERE "FREE AND FAIR", AND CONDUCTED AFTER A CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA.

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PAGE 01 CAPE T 00517 03
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[redacted] SECTION 03 OF 03 CAPE TOWN 00517

FROM EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PNAT, SF, WA
SUBJECT: (U) NAMIBIA IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS

9. TO SUM UP, THE SAG CONTINUES TO HAVE TWO MAJOR SETS OF CONCERNS IN THE NAMIBIA EQUATION: POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC. THOSE CONCERNS ARE DIRECTLY RELATED,

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PAGE 02 CAPE T 00517 03 OF 03 241442Z

BUT THEY ARE NOT IDENTICAL. A CUBAN WITHDRAWAL WOULD MEET THE SAG'S SECURITY CONCERNS, BUT IN ITSELF WOULD ONLY PARTLY RESOLVE ITS POLITICAL WORRIES ABOUT AN INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT. IN THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE OVER POLITICAL POWER IN AFRIKANERDOM, THE SAG MUST BE EVEN MORE SENSITIVE TO THOSE POLITICAL CONCERNS, AND ESPECIALLY NOW WHILE FACING THE MAY 10 BY-ELECTIONS. UNLESS THOSE ELECTIONS DEFINITIVELY ESTABLISH P.W. BOTHA'S NATIONAL PARTY AS THE LEADERS OF AFRIKANERDOM --AND WE DOUBT THAT THEY WILL--THAT SITUATION IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE. NICKEL

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS TALKING POINTS

REF: SMITH/BUSHNELL TELCON

1. THERE FOLLOW SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS IN ARGENTINA:

2. FOLLOWING THE TURBULENCE AND EXCESSES OF WAR AGAINST TERRORISM DURING BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY GOVERNMENTS IN THE 1970S, ARGENTINES HAVE INTERNAL ORDER AND VIRTUALLY NORMAL PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES. DURING THE PAST YEAR HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE CONTINUED TO IMPROVE, NOTWITHSTANDING THE STRAINS OF ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND MILITARY DEFEAT IN THE FALKLANDS WAR.

-- THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO POPULAR ELECTIONS THIS YEAR AND TO THE TURNOVER OF POWER TO THE ELECTED REGIME BY EARLY 1984. IT HAS PROMULGATED A POLITICAL PARTIES LAW; ALL PARTIES ARE ACTIVELY RECRUITING MEMBERS AND TAKING POLICY POSITIONS; THE GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGES POLITICAL ACTIVITY, MEETS WITH PARTY LEADERS, AND PERMITS FULL PRESS COVERAGE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

-- NEWSPAPERS AND THE PRIVATE RADIO STATIONS FREELY CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT.

-- LABOR UNIONS, DESPITE CONTINUATION IN SOME CASES OF THE CONTROLS IMPOSED AFTER THE 1976 COUP, HAVE BROAD FREEDOM IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. LABOR LEADERSHIP, ALTHOUGH BITTERLY OPPOSED TO GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES, FUNCTIONS WITH LITTLE HINDRANCE AND HAS READY ACCESS TO THE PRESS.

-- ALL FORMS OF PEACEFUL PUBLIC PROTEST AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN PERMITTED, INCLUDING STRIKES. DURING THE "MARCH FOR DEMOCRACY" IN DECEMBER, 100,000 PEOPLE ORGANIZED BY POLITICAL, LABOR AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS DEMONSTRATED IN DOWNTOWN BUENOS AIRES.

-- POLITICAL DISAPPEARANCES, WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS SAY TOTALED BETWEEN 6,000 AND 30,000 DURING THE DIRTY WAR, ROUGHLY FROM 1974 TO 1979, DROPPED FROM 15 IN 1980 TO TWO IN 1981 AND NONE IN 1982 OR 1983.

-- OF FORMAL REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF SOME 6,600 REPORTEDLY DISAPPEARED PERSONS, THE GOVERNMENT HAD RESPONDED BY LATE 1982 TO ABOUT ONE-QUARTER, INFORMING FAMILY MEMBERS PRIVATELY OF DEATHS AND SOMETIMES THE LOCATION OF REMAINS.

-- ARRESTS ORDERED UNDER STATE-OF-SIEGE POWERS, TOTALING 8,700 BETWEEN 1974-80, ALL BUT CEASED IN 1981-83. THE NUMBER OF PRISONERS STILL HELD UNDER THIS AUTHORITY DECLINED FROM 1,550 IN 1980, TO 640 IN 1981, AND TO 243 AT THE END OF 1982. RELEASES CONTINUE AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS SAID THOSE REMAINING IN PRISON WILL BE RELEASED THIS YEAR. SOME SENTENCES EARLIER IMPOSED BY BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY COURTS IN SUBVERSION CASES HAVE BEEN SHORTENED AND THE INDIVIDUALS RELEASED.

-- SANCTITY OF THE HOME, A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF ARGENTINES OFTEN VIOLATED IN THE DIRTY WAR, IS NOW RESPECTED WITH NO CASES OF ILLEGAL INVASION OF THE HOME REPORTED IN 1982.

-- THE JUDICIARY HAS STEADILY INCREASED ITS ROLE AND INDEPENDENCE. THE CIVILIAN SUPREME COURT HAS OVERTURNED MILITARY COURT FINDINGS, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE MILITARY'S HIGHEST TRIBUNAL, THE COUNCIL OF WAR. WHEN THE COURTS HAVE ORDERED PRISONERS RELEASED, THE GOVERNMENT HAS COMPLIED.

-- SOME PROBLEMS REMAIN. THREE 1982 MURDERS PRESUMED TO HAVE POLITICAL MOTIVES ARE STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION; FOUR PUBLICATIONS WERE BRIEFLY CLOSED IN 1982, ALTHOUGH THE COURTS PERMITTED THEIR REOPENING; THE TELEVISED NEWS MEDIA IS UNDER CAREFUL OFFICIAL CONTROL; JOURNALISTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CLAIM ANONYMOUS HARASSMENT AND THERE ARE WIDESPREAD DEMANDS FOR CLARIFICATION AND PUNISHMENT CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARED. BUSHNELL

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
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Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny
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FILM= D830106-0333

DATE= 24 FEB 83

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SUBJECT= MORE ON OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE SESSION

REFERENCE= 83 DAR ES SALAAM 995

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CONCEPTS= LIBERATION, COMMITTEE, SESSION

TAGS= PREL, AORC, WA, TZ, OAU, UNSC

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 01228 01 OF 03 241323Z
ACTION AF-10

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
☒ Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ☒ Declassify
Date 08/08/96 Exemption

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - SECTION INFO SHOULD READ 01 OF 03
VICE 01 OF 04

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OAU, WA, TZ
SUBJECT: MORE ON OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE SESSION

REF: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 995 (NOTAL), (B) DAR ES SALAAM 1057 (NOTAL)

1. [redacted] - ENTIRE TEXT.

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PAGE 02 DAR ES 01228 01 OF 03 241323Z

2. BASED ON POLOFF'S CONVERSATION DURING THE PAST WEEK WITH OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY LABAN OYAKA (PROTECT), THE NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA GORA IBRAHIM (PROTECT), TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SALIM'S PERSONAL ASSISTANT (PROTECT), AND EGYPTIAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS (PROTECT), WE HAVE GATHERED A BETTER SENSE OF THE DYNAMICS AT THE FEBRUARY 10-12 MEETING IN ARUSHA OF THE OAU COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MINOR VARIATIONS IN THE ACCOUNTS SHARED BY THOSE IN ATTENDANCE, THE FOLLOWING POINTS WERE MENTIONED BY TWO OR MORE OF OUR SOURCES AND CAN BE USED TO SUPPLEMENT REPORTS REFTELS:

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-- TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SALIM WAS ELECTED TO CHAIR THE MEETND RULED THE SESSIONS WITH A FIRM HAND, LIMITING DEBATE ON OCCASION AND ENSURING THAT ALL POINTS ON THE AGENDA WERE COVERED IN THE ALLOTTED PERIOD.

-- THE TOP PRIORITY FOR THE TANGOV APPEARED TO BE THAT THE MEETING RAN SMOOTHLY SO THAT A PRECEDENT COULD BE SET FOR THE VARIOUS FACTIONS OF THE OAU TO WORK TOGETHER ONCE AGAIN TOWARD SHARED GOALS. THE TANZANIANS HAD INSURED THAT THE POLISARIO WAS NOT IN ATTENDANCE AND THAT POTENTIALLY-DIVISIVE ISSUES WERE KEPT UNDER CONTROL. TANZANIA'S OBJECTIVES WERE MET IN THAT 21 MEMBER STATES OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE AND ELEVEN OTHERS AS OBSERVERS PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETING WITHOUT MAJOR DISRUPTION.

-- FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ATTENDANCE (TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA, NIGERIA, CAMEROON, AND ZIMBABWE, AS WELL AS THE KENYAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER) DOMINATED THE PROCEEDINGS. KODJO'S ROLE, AS WELL AS THAT OF OTHER OAU SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS, WAS KEPT TO A MINIMUM. ONE OBSERVER COMMENTED

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PAGE 03 DAR ES 01228 01 OF 03 241323Z

THAT KODJO WAS ON HIS BEST BEHAVIOR THROUGHOUT THE MEETING.

-- NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AUDU WAS PROBABLY THE MOST VOCAL OF DELEGATES. HE SURPRISED MANY BY THE VIRULENCE WITH WHICH HE ATTACKED THE U.S. ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS. AUDU AND ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GOMA WERE SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE KEY DRAFTERS IN THE HARSH COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING (REF B). SWAPO SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS MWESHINHANGA ALSO PLAYED A ROLE IN BEEFING UP THE COMMUNIQUE.

-- THE CALL IN THE COMMUNIQUE FOR AN IMMEDIATE SESSION OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO DISCUSS NAMIBIA FOLLOWED IN PART FROM A RECEPTION FOR THE DELEGATES HOSTED IN ARUSHA BY UN SECRETARY PEREZ DE CUELLAR. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD INDICATED HIS WILLINGNESS TO HAVE THE UN PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE AND SOME DELEGATES TOOK THIS AS AN INVITATION FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION BY THE UN.

-- THE AFRICA GROUP AT THHAS BEEN NOTIFIED OF THE COMMUNIQUE'S CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE SESSION OF THE UNSC. IT WILL BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO IMPLEMENT THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE'S INSTRUCTIONS WITHOUT DELAY. OYAKA TOLD US THAT THE MAJORITY OF DELEGATES HOPED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD BE PERSUADED TO PASS A RESOLUTION REAFFIRMING UNSC 435 AND STRESSING THAT EXTRANEOUS ISSUES (I.E., LINKAGE) NOT BE USED TO DELAY IMPLEMENTATION OF 435.
-- THERE WAS AN ACTIVE DEBATE AS TO WHETHER SPECIFIC MEN-

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TION OR CONDEMNATION SHOULD BE MADE IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE CONTACT GROUP. IN THE END, NO REFERENCE WAS MADE. IT WAS APPARENT TO DELEGATES THAT THE CONTACT GROUP'S AND FLS' NEGOTIATING ROLES HAD BEEN EFFECTIVELY STYMIED BY THE CUBAN TROOP ISSUE WHICH WAS OUTSIDE THEIR PURVIEW. CONDEMNATION OF THE CONTACT GROUP AS A WHOLE WAS REJECTED AS COUNTER PRODUCTIVE IN THAT IT WAS ARGUED THAT THE OTHER

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PAGE 04 DAR ES 01228 01 OF 03 241323Z

CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS COULD BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE IN DISUADING THE U.S. FROM INSISTENCE ON LINKAGE.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED TO OAU COLLECTIVE.

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 01228 02 OF 04 241229Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-01 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08
L-03 TRSE-00 PM-09 PA-01 INRE-00 SAL-01 USIE-00
SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 /074 W
----------035271 241314Z /41

P 241145Z FEB 83
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9902
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY VICTORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[redacted] SECTION 02 OF 04 DAR ES SALAAM 01228

-- A RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA DRAWN MOSTLY FROM PREVIOUS OAU PRONOUNCEMENTS AND DRAFTED BY THE OAU SECRETARIAT WAS ADOPTED PRIOR TO CONSIDERATION OF THE COMMUNIQUE. THIS RESOLUTION WAS FAR LESS HARSH THAN THE COMMUNIQUE. IT "FIRMLY REJECTS AND CONDEMNS ALL ATTEMPTS BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION" TO ESTABLISH ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN THE CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA, BUT SIMPLY CALLS FOR THE UNSC "TO DISCHARGE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES."

-- THE WORDS "FRUSTRATED" AND "ANGRY" WERE REPEATEDLY USED BY OUR SOURCES TO CHARACTERIZE THE DISCUSSIONS ON NAMIBIA. NONE OF THE DELEGATES BROUGHT FORTH NEW SOLUTIONS, BUT THE PREDOMINANT VIEW WAS THAT THE CURRENT PATH WAS DOOMED TO

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PAGE 02 DAR ES 01228 02 OF 04 241229Z

FAILURE. DURING THE CLOSED SESSIONS, NOT ONE DELEGATE IS SAID TO HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. WAS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH. THREE OF OUR SOURCES REMARKED THAT THE STRIDENCY OF THE DENUNCIATIONS OF THE U.S. WAS ALMOST UNMATCHED IN

THEIR MEMORY OF OAU DELIBERATIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. THERE WERE NO RESERVATIONS ON THE HARSH COMMUNIQUE.

-- THE ANGOLAN DELEGATION WAS HEADED BY ANGOLA'S AMBASSADOR IN DAR ES SALAAM, EUSEBIO S. JUNIOR. HE OFFERED ALMOST NO COMMENTS THROUGHOUT THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DISCUSSIONS. AS OYAKA COMMENTED, "NO ONE KNEW WHETHER JUNIOR WAS SILENT BECAUSE HE KNEW WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND WAS TOLD NOT TO REVEAL IT...OR BECAUSE HE DIDN'T KNOW ANY MORE THAN THE REST OF US...AND NO ONE WANTED TO EMBARRASS JUNIOR BY ASKING." THE ANGOLAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER HAD BEEN SCHEDULED TO ATTEND THE MEETING BUT HAD FAILED TO SHOW AT THE LAST MINUTE. THE LACK OF ANGOLAN INPUT INTO THE DISCUSSIONS ADDED TO THE SENSE OF FRUSTRATION BY OTHER DELEGATES.

-- THE ONLY OPEN ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE BETWEEN DELEGATES OCCURRED WHEN THE ANC AND PAC ARGUED OVER PROPOSED LANGUAGE FOR A RESOLUTION ON INTERNAL SOUTH AFRICA DEVELOPMENTS AND SPORTING LINKS. SALIM INSISTED THAT REPRESENTATIVES FROM BOTH ORGANIZATIONS JOINTLY AGREE ON LANGUAGE WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF A DRAFTING COMMITTEE AND THAT THEIR DISPUTE BE KEPT OFF THE CONFERENCE FLOOR. TENSIONS WERE HIGH BETWEEN ANC DELEGATES HEADED BY TAMBO AND PAC REPRESENTATIVES. THIS EXTENDED TO SOCIAL EVENTS. THE TANZANIANS DID THEIR BEST TO INSURE THAT BOTH DELEGATIONS WERE TREATED EQUALLY AND WERE CRITICIZED FOR THIS PRIVATELY BY SEVERAL DELEGATIONS SYMPATHETIC TO THE ANC.

-- ALTHOUGH SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES DOMINATED THE PROCEED-

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PAGE 03 DAR ES 01228 02 OF 04 241229Z

INGS, FRUSTRATIONS WERE ALMOST AS GREAT WHEN THE QUESTION OF OVERDUE ASSESSMENTS WAS DISCUSSED. A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR IMMEDIATE PAYMENT OF PAST-DUE CONTRIBUTIONS WAS PASSED. IT WAS DECIDED THAT PARTIAL PAYMENTS COULD BE MADE BY DONATIONS IN KIND. SEVERAL OFFICIALS INDICATED THAT, UNLESS MORE MONIES WERE RECEIVED SOON, THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE WOULD BE REQUIRED TO CURTAIL ITS ACTIVITIES. CAMEROON FOREIGN MINISTER OUMAROU AMINOU MADE A SPECIAL APPEAL IN HIS CLOSING REMARKS THAT CONTRIBUTIONS